μετα παντων των ἁγιων αμην

בראשית ברא אלהים

# THE ANCHOR YALE BIBLE DICTIONARY

בראשית ברא אלהים

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# THE ANCHOR BIBLE DICTIONARY

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**John David Pleins**

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# PREFACE

In view of Gary Herion's comprehensive Introduction to the *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, very little needs to be added byway of preface, but a few words may be helpful. The project itself was initiated early in the 1980s by conversations between Robert Heller, then head of the Religion Department at Doubleday, and me. Because of the widespread acceptance and use of the Anchor Bible Critical Commentaries, we felt that a companion work, the *ABD*, was an appropriate undertaking. As a consequence, I prepared a master plan, which called for a set of fives: five volumes, five years, five hundred contributors, and five million words. As such, it would have matched generally earlier major works of the same kind: the justly regarded classic work of the turn of the century, *The Hastings'*

*Dictionary of the Bible* (in five volumes, 1898–1904), and the well-known *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (also in five volumes, the first four appearing in 1962, with a fifth, supplemental volume in 1976). Now, at the end of the first major stage of this enterprise (the submission of the manuscript), the *ABD* has turned out to consist of six volumes, with nearly a thousand contributors, well over six million words, with the completed manuscript submitted to the publisher in just six years. That it was done within this period is a tribute to the last of the associate editors, Gary Herion, who delivered all six volumes in manuscript form from the beginning of June to the latter part of August, 1990. While a project of such magnitude is difficult to manage in its various aspects, the hardest part of all is to finish it and close it down. Getting started certainly was not easy, but once this huge vehicle was well under way, it threatened to become a runaway, moving faster and growing larger (like a snowball coursing down a mountainside) and sweeping everything in its path. It is difficult to imagine how dangerous a prospect this can be, of continuing and unlimited expansion, a never-ending process. It is not readily recognized that for each topic assigned there are many more that could be assigned, and between every two entries there could exist any number of others, all worthy of consideration. Even before the project has reached maximum speed and efficiency, and manuscripts are pouring in in large numbers, it is necessary to call a halt, turn off the power, and apply the brakes. The next most dramatic moment in the work comes with the decision to call a halt and the declaration that the dictionary is done. Of course it isn't (and never will be) "done" because the task of scholarship goes on, old entries need to be revised, and new entries need to be written; but when the deadline arrives, the work is finished. It takes a person of character and courage to make such a determination in the midst of the endless flow of words, but it is necessary. Not every assigned article is received within the time limits, and not every one that is received is finally acceptable. But at some point the declaration must be made, and the editors and the publisher must take what they have and go on to the second major stage: producing the work of a whole generation of scholars in book form. Gary Herion proved to be the right person in the right place at the right time. He came onboard after others had started the project and moved it along. But he finished it, and for that a special accolade is in order. He organized and coordinated the work force for this powerful push to the finish line, and he himself contributed a major effort in negotiating with authors, bringing in the manuscripts, reading and editing the latter. He set an example of conscientiousness and dedication that stirred the rest to emulation as well as embarrassment: he came earlier and stayed later as time wore on and the deadlines approached. He was the ideal coadjutor and chief of operations, and when the time came and the last whistle blew, he had successfully completed what others had started.

I wish to add a personal word of gratitude to all those who had a hand in this undertaking, and whose names are listed in Herion's Introduction. I want to mention in particular the administrative officers of the University of Michigan, who provided substantial material assistance for the *ABD*, in particular the several vice presidents for academic affairs who held the office during the life of the *ABD* project: Billy Frye, James Duderstadt, Charles Vest, and Gilbert Whitaker. Each VPAA in turn renewed the commitment and the support, the continuity being established and maintained by that most modest and self-effacing of associate vice presidents, Robert Holbrook, who has been a faithful backer of this project since its inception.

A final word of gratitude is owing to Astrid B. Beck, without whose constant and diligent oversight of the Project and the Program on Studies in Religion, neither would have succeeded or even survived. She maintained both at the highest levels of efficiency and equanimity during the most trying periods, when the entire building was being torn apart and rebuilt, and when the work force threatened to overwhelm the facilities, and the work load reached a crisis point. There is an unpayable debt owed by all of us.

DAVID NOEL FREEDMAN
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF
DECEMBER 7, 1990
Ann Arbor, Michigan

# INTRODUCTION

Every generation needs its own Dictionary of the Bible. Within its pages one can expect to find presented the essence of critical scholarship on subjects pertaining to the Bible, as those subjects are understood by students of that generation. Thus while such encyclopedic reference works provide a valuable service to their readers, in a larger sense they can never transcend the limits of their own historical contexts. In time they inevitably become outdated, and after a generation or so they can hope to achieve a sort of "second shelf life" as a valuable period piece, witness to where the field of biblical studies was at one point in its history.

It has been thirty years since the last major Bible dictionary appeared in America. The Biblical Theology movement was in its heyday, and a certain "consensus" on matters pertaining to the history and literature of both testaments had been established. When reviewing English-language Bible dictionaries of the time, one cannot help but notice the preponderance of word studies and of sweeping historical reconstructions that were characteristic of the field at midcentury. One critic at the time noted this and lamented that more attention was not being devoted to the critical issues of methods and assumptions. Baldly stated, it seems that scholarship at that time was more interested in presenting "the facts" than in considering critically how we know them to be "facts."The emphasis in biblical studies has changed considerably since then. The mainstream American consensus that held in the 1950s and early '60s unravelled during the 1970s. Sweeping historical reconstructions became increasingly rare as OT and NT scholars alike began to engage in often fierce debates over methods and assumptions (e.g., about the role and value of archaeology, and about the "literary" nature of biblical historiography).And when syntheses were attempted, one would very often find scholars moving beyond the venerable limits of the canon itself: the vocation of "biblical scholar" increasingly required one to be competent in dealing with a wide range of later, extrabiblical texts attesting to the complex emergence of early Judaism and early Christianity (or, as many would now insist, "early Judaisms and early Christianities").

The *Anchor Bible Dictionary* is no less a product of its time. In some respects, the situation since the 1960s is now reversed: scholars now tend to be more preoccupied with considering how we know something to be a "fact" than in assembling those "facts" into a meaningful whole. Thus the overwhelming majority of major articles found in the following pages devotes a good deal of space to the basic epistemological question: "How do we know what we know about this topic?" One will be hard pressed to find in these pages any sort of sweeping historical synthesis that presumes a scholarly consensus. Scholarly consensus simply does not exist here at the end of the twentieth century.

Nevertheless in these six volumes there are still many new and refreshing insights one can discover about biblical texts, about histories and personalities referred to therein, about religious ideas and themes that find expression in its pages, about ancient Oriental and Hellenistic intellectual and cultural contexts that almost invariably lie just beneath the surface of the text (if not on the surface itself), and about the processes that helped to ensure the Bible's central place in nascent Judaism and Christianity. In short, the *ABD* provides the scholarly world and the general public with an up-to-date and comprehensive treatment of all biblical subjects and topics. Our goal has been to provide an eminently readable and yet authoritative reference source for all readers of the Bible. To achieve this, we have assembled an international host of scholars—including prominent archaeologists, Assyriologists, Egyptologists, classicists, philosophers, and ancient historians—who have been selected on the basis of their expertise and special contributions to biblical scholarship. They come with diverse professional and confessional backgrounds, reflecting the growing pluralism and interdisciplinary interests of the field.

A review of *ABD* entries should quickly convince the interested student of the Bible that the *ABD* is indeed an invaluable reference source and a powerful research tool. Yet the perceptive reader scanning these pages and comparing its entries with those of other Bible dictionaries will also discover that there is something to be learned here about the field of biblical studies itself. One may note, for example, the

preponderance of new articles pertaining to the cultural history and social institutions that lie in the background of ancient Israel and early Christianity; this is so because these days there is a relatively large number of scholars with social science interests working in these areas. One will also note the large number of articles dealing with archaeological sites and excavations; this is so because the last twenty-five years have seen a veritable explosion of archaeological activity in the lands of the Bible. One will also note specific entries treating pseudepigraphic and apocryphal texts, Nag Hammadi tractates, and individual Dead Sea scrolls; this is so because the scope of scholarly interest has now extended beyond the conventional limits of the canon. One will note that the so-called "minor entries" on personal and place names usually go beyond the one- or two-sentence recapitulations often found in other Bible dictionaries; this is so because scholars today seem to have a keener interest in the often minute details associated with genealogies and toponyms, and they appreciate how a careful reexamination of these details can sometimes lead to fresh insights about the relationship between tradition and history. Conversely one will not find as many minor or midlevel entries dealing with biblical lexical items; this is so because we could not find many scholars interested in these subjects or able to push their presentations beyond those found in other Bible dictionaries. What this means is that in some areas related particularly to word studies the *ABD* simply does not replace such major English-language works as the *IDB* or the still-incomplete *TDOT*. This also reveals something about the agenda and the priorities of biblical scholarship in the 1970s and '80s.

One will also appreciate the extent to which biblical studies has become increasingly specialized and even fragmented during the past thirty years. This first became apparent to us during the assignment phase of the project, as more and more contributors expressed reservations about taking on assignments that did not lie within the immediate bounds of their particular "subject" or area of expertise. On the positive side, this means that most *ABD*entries devote greater attention to crucial matters of data and methodology, so that the reader usually gets an expert presentation of the basic issues associated with the study of this or that topic. However, as noted above, the drawback is a certain reluctance to place a given topic within a larger picture—to provide the sweeping and definitive synthesis that some readers desire and expect in a dictionary of the Bible. When presented, syntheses in *ABD* entries tend to be developed more cautiously than in earlier Bible dictionaries, and conclusions are frequently hedged with significant qualifications. That is simply the way responsible critical biblical scholarship tends to be practiced today. One ramification of this increased specialization is evident in our long list of contributors: those who would lament all this as "overspecialization" will no doubt delight in noting that in 1962 only 253 contributors were needed to write more than 7,500 entries for the IDB, while thirty years later almost four times as many were needed to write 6,200 entries for the *ABD*. This is an honest reflection of the nature of biblical scholarship here in the final decades of the second millennium.

If it really will be another generation before the next major English-language dictionary of the Bible is attempted, one senses that the *ABD* may in fact be one of the last of its kind. Somehow one suspects that the next major English-language Bible dictionary may not be something one "purchases" but something to which one "subscribes" (complete with annual updates and revisions); that—like money—its primary medium will not be ink-on-paper but electronic impulses (complete with three-dimensional, interactive, color graphics); that it will not be something you place on your shelf but that you load into your computer. Despite all the exciting possibilities this presents, it is also a bit discomforting. Perhaps more than anyone else, we who study the Bible should appreciate the power and the impact of the immutably printed word that, for better or worse, reflects an age and a perspective that cannot easily be erased or revised.

* * *

One of the happy duties associated with writing "introductions" is to acknowledge all those whose labors helped to bring these printed words before the reader. In the case of the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* this is a particularly happy assignment because of the camaraderie and friendships that developed over the

years as dedicated people applied their respective talents to the common task. This is not to imply that the production of the *ABD* was without serious practical challenges. No one affiliated with its production was a professional "dictionary maker." Rules and procedures tended to be invented as the need arose. In short, we learned how to create a Bible dictionary primarily by creating a Bible dictionary.

Challenges such as this (especially when they are associated with omnipresent deadlines) either fray people's nerves and drive them apart or draw them closer together. Fortunately the latter was the case. Those bonds tended to be strengthened as together we faced hardships such as unpredictable power failures and periodic fire alarms, incessant jackhammers operating just outside the office door, day after day of dust, and (not surprisingly) chronic computer malfunctions. But in the long run what held the bonds intact was the sense that the work was meaningful. Everyone involved in the *ABD* project soon came to share David Noel Freedman's passionate commitment to the field of biblical studies, and his belief that the time was right for a new multivolume encyclopedic reference work on the Bible. Few other scholars can command the worldwide respect and admiration that are prerequisite to a major collaborative venture such as this. Fewer still possess the ability and skill needed to orchestrate effectively the many necessary resources and personalities. David Noel Freedman could. If indeed the *ABD* should reflect the epitome of biblical scholarship in the last half of this century, who can be surprised that he should be its chief editor? At the beginning of the project, David F. Graf assisted Freedman as the first associate editor. One of Graf's initial tasks was to draw up a preliminary list of entries and to estimate projected lengths for each. Graf also expanded the enterprise from a purely textual project to a more comprehensive purview integrating the perspective of other related disciplines. In particular, there was an expansion of the archaeological entries for both the Ancient Near East and the Classical world. David R. Seely, a graduate student in biblical studies at the University of Michigan at the time, helped Graf in this initial process of preparing lists of entries.

Perhaps Graf's most important task was to identify leading scholars who could write the major *ABD* entries. He assembled a staff of consultants from leading specialists in various biblical fields and related disciplines. These scholars were extremely helpful in recommending potential authors for specific dictionary assignments, not only in the first year of the project but also over the years that followed. In making contact with potential authors, Graf was a tireless and ubiquitous presence at professional conferences, not only in the United States but also throughout Europe and the Middle East, cornering scholars one-on-one and enlisting them for the project. Initially the challenges were formidable: many scholars needed to be convinced of the need for yet another multivolume Bible dictionary, while almost all needed to come to terms with the sacrifices they were being asked to make to ensure that this new dictionary would be available soon and at an affordable price. Graf's perseverance and success ensured not only that the very finest and most appropriate authorities would write the major entries for the *ABD*; it also seems to have helped characterize the emerging relationship between the project and its contributors, most of whom came to envision their association with the *ABD* not simply as another professional transaction but as a personal investment in the future of biblical studies.

In 1985 John David Pleins joined Graf and assisted in the administration and organization of the project, which by then had already expanded to involve almost twice as many contributors as had been involved in earlier major Bible dictionary projects. In 1986 he assumed the duties of associate editor while Graf, who had accepted a faculty position at the University of Miami, continued to serve in a consulting capacity, assisting in the assignment of the remaining major entries. Pleins concentrated on assigning the midlevel entries, reading the growing number of major entries that were beginning to arrive, and streamlining office procedures for managing the growing stable of authors and assignments.

During the summer of 1987 Pleins accepted a faculty position at Santa Clara University, and I was asked to serve as the third associate editor of the *ABD*. In the months before his departure, Pleins did a masterful job of orienting me about all the complexities of the project. Together we drafted a comprehensive style guide for authors, thereby facilitating the editorial process by ensuring that all contributions would now display a higher level of uniformity and standardization. In the months that followed, both Pleins and Graf continued to be a valuable and accessible resource to me. Many other

projects would have been jeopardized by the number of staff transitions that affected the*ABD*, but Graf's and Pleins' continued cooperation and commitment to the project—and the good rapport that developed among the three of us—guaranteed significant continuity and made my task of completing the project much easier.

By early 1988 the *ABD* project had grown to include more than three times as many contributors as other dictionary projects, while the bulk of minor entries still remained unassigned. It became obvious that we would never be able to manage such a growing number of authors and assignments without a computerized data base. Robert Croninger of the Programs for Educational Opportunity in the University of Michigan's School of Education provided crucial advice and assistance as we initially began setting up this data base. Two graduate students at the University of Michigan, John Kutsko and Harry Weeks, played key roles in gathering data for these minor entry subjects and matching them with potential authors working in related areas of biblical studies. An emphasis in assigning minor entries was to recruit contributors from among the young scholars, women and men, who will be shaping the next generation of biblical studies. Mark Fretz, another graduate student, began researching and writing dozens of these entries to see how they might be improved beyond the usual one- or two-sentence recapitulations of the biblical text. His important work resulted in an *ABD* "Style Guide for Minor Entries," which contributors clear guidelines on how ideally to proceed. Although everyone realized that many minor entries simply cannot be expanded beyond one or two sentences, it was gratifying to observe that many of our contributors were able to provide far more informative"minor entries" than those typically found in other Bible dictionaries. The basic task of editing manuscripts began as soon as the first entries arrived in 1985. Not surprisingly, the dual responsibilities of reading manuscripts and managing assignments proved more than any single editor could handle. Especially with the major entries, various consultants and other editors m specific areas (such as New Testament and Intertestamental literature) had opportunities initially to read and respond to many manuscripts: among these editors who deserve special thanks are Herbert Grether, James Mueller, Paul Mirecki, and William Ward. Also, beginning m the fall of 1988, various graduate students in biblical studies provided part-time assistance, editing the minor entries but also copy editing other manuscripts to ensure uniform use of abbreviations, bibliographic style, and other format conventions. In addition to Fretz, Kutsko, and Weeks, these included Arnold Betz, April DeConick, Marianna Giovino, John Huddlestun, Brian Keck, Glenn LaPoint, Tim LaVallee, Robert Miller, and Helen Richards. In the last hectic year we added to the *ABD* staff a number of full-time assistants to help complete the editing of manuscripts. The first addition was Philip C. Schmitz, who joined the project full-time in the spring of 1989. In addition to editing a large number of manuscripts, Schmitz played a crucial role in supervising and coordinating the editorial activities of our various part-time graduate students and was a strong force in helping to guarantee that the bibliographies accompanying *ABD* articles met the most exacting standards of scholarly usefulness. In many respects Schmitz functioned as a fourth associate editor actively involved in every phase of the project providing extremely helpful advice and expertise on a wide range of matters.

Dale W. Manor, a doctoral candidate in archaeology at the University of Arizona, moved to Ann Arbor in the fall of 1989 to work full-time editing a large number of manuscripts dealing with archaeological and historical geographical matters. In implementing various editorial decisions for standardizing and improving the presentations of these subjects, Manor helped to set new standards that future dictionaries covering biblical places and archaeology must now strive to match.

In the spring of 1989 Leslie Barkley joined the project as Production Assistant, essentially serving as a full-time work coordinator. Within the first two months she learned how to direct the office routine and personnel better than I had done in the previous two years, as a consequence, our productivity and output increased significantly. She was extremely effective in identifying and anticipating problems and in establishing procedures for resolving them. In the year after we submitted manuscripts to the publisher, she remained on staff to help coordinate the final preparation of illustrations, prefatory material, corrigenda, and proofreading. She demonstrated a keen interest in the subject matter, an attention to detail, and a commitment to professional standards that would be the envy of many biblical scholars.

Between 1985 and 1990 the *ABD* project benefited from a rotating staff of part-time secretaries who handled the routine clerical duties associated with form letters, manuscripts, files, and phone calls. At various times this staff included Lisa Anderson, Kathleen Haviland, Amy Polack Catherine Kiah, Lisa O'Donnell, Daniel Slager, Paul Slager, Debra Abbott, Shawn Herkimer, Pamela Rejniak, Tina O'Donnell, and Sharon Manor. During the sometimes hectic times of transitions, Diane Feikema, Theresa Nehra, Lynette Lowey, and Jacqueline Phillips provided notable stability and continuity. Shereen Sauer of the University of Michigan Printing Services took an active interest in the *ABD* project, and consistently provided us with reliable and efficient photocopying assistance. In the final six months of the project, Dennis Moser provided invaluable assistance in the proofreading and in ensuring that the "mechanics" of the finished product indeed worked as intended.

The impression one may have from all of this is that the *ABD* office was always a crowded place buzzing with activity. That was not always the case. During the 1988–89 academic year—a critical phase in the life of the project—the *ABD* essentially had two staff persons: myself and my wife Carol. Although it is common for spouses to be mentioned in introductions, Carol's involvement in the project was uncommon. The year preceding the hiring of several full-time staff members was in many respects the most demanding (that was what justified the full staff), but Carol was there to handle the enormous onslaught of mail, the multitude of daily changes that needed to be made on the data base, the problems that seemed to be surfacing all around us, and all the minute details of managing workflow. She thereby freed me for the task of reading and editing the rapidly growing stack of manuscripts. While many people, thankfully, were on hand to share in the satisfactions of bringing this project to a close, I was very glad to have Carol with me during those months when the future of the project was most in doubt. (In addition, our third child, Daniel, was born in April of that year, and he became an intimate member of the "team.")Not the least we need to give credit and express appreciation to the donors who made significant contributions to the dictionary through financial support. First and foremost among these is the University of Michigan through the office of the vice president for academic affairs, specifically through support from Robert S. Holbrook, who never wavered in his goodwill for this research project and who lobbied for us with the higher powers for continued funding. The University of Michigan supported us not only with funds, but also with space and equipment. We are indeed grateful. Drs. Charles C. and JoAnne Walton Dickinson were also very generous with their financial support. Their contributions made it possible for us to fund our first research assistant for the dictionary, Mark Fretz, and it came at a crucial time of necessary expansion for the project. They continued their support over time; we owe them a great vote of thanks. In addition, we received financial help from Joy Ungerleider-Mayerson through the Dorot Foundation early in the project, again at a crucial time when resources were slim. We heartily thank all our donors.

A word of appreciation is also due to the Religion Department of the Bantam, Doubleday, Dell Publishing Group. At various key moments in the life of this project, certain individuals were on hand to help move this project closer to publication. Theresa D'Orsogna provided helpful advice throughout most of the project, and James Bell was instrumental in helping us to coordinate our editorial work with that of the publisher. Michael Iannazzi was instrumental in steering the *ABD* through its final production stages.

One colleague stands out as deserving special notice. Dr. Astrid Beck, the Program Associate for the University of Michigan's Program on Studies in Religion, has been a constant source of support to all of us who worked on the project and a key to its success. Had she done nothing more than serve as chief financial officer for the project, meticulously ensuring that the costs of editing the *ABD* were covered, she would merit abundant accolades. But she has done considerably more. She was our principal liaison with the university community: in addition to managing the university's religious studies curriculum and maintaining her own teaching load, she provided for all the space, equipment, and personnel needs of the dictionary project. She was an untiring and effective advocate of the project and a particularly graceful and calming presence whenever we confronted the frustrations of bureaucratic "red tape." She always promised to resolve problems, and she always managed to do so. Astrid was also our principal liaison with the publisher; she taught all of us the ins and outs of dealing with a major publisher, and she

especially sensitized me to publishing concerns of which I was completely ignorant. Furthermore she served the project directly as an author and as a translator; and whenever my own writing needed editing, I regularly turned to her. At every stage of the project—from its inception to its completion, in happy times and in sad ones—she has been a model of professionalism, a key adviser, and a good friend.

If it is true that one learns how to create a Bible dictionary simply by creating one, then it follows that the Bible dictionary in question will contain numerous mistakes and reflect occasional bad judgments. So it is with the *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. It also follows that the best time to start a major Bible dictionary project such as the *ABD* is immediately after one has completed a major Bible dictionary project such as the *ABD*—and then to make everything perfect and exactly right. That task, however, is perhaps best left to the next generation.

GARY A. HERION
ASSOCIATE EDITOR
DECEMBER 6, 1990
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# A

**AARON** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾahărōn* (אַהֲרֹן)]. AARONITES. The son of Amram and the brother of Moses and Miriam who was the eponymous ancestor of the priestly Aaronites and the paradigm for later priests. He dies at Mount Hur (Deut 32:50) and is succeeded by his son Eleazar (Num 20:22–29). Aaronites are the priests who claim descent from Levi through Aaron. They are often referred to as the "sons of Aaron" (Heb *bĕnê ʾahărōn*) (cf. Lev 3:8; 21:1; Num 10:8; Josh 21:4; 1 Chr 24:1; Neh 12:47) or as "belonging to Aaron" (Heb *lĕʾahărōn*) (cf. 1 Chr 12:28—Eng12:27; 27:17). The meaning of the name "Aaron" is uncertain, although it is perhaps derived from Egyptian.

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A. Introduction
B. Images of Aaron in the Biblical Literature
C. Aaron/Aaronite Relations with Others
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**A. Introduction**

The first task in understanding Aaron and the Aaronites is to examine the varied images of them in the biblical accounts. Sometimes there is a strong positive image of Aaron as the officially ordained priest of God. At other times, the picture is rather negative, portraying Aaron at odds with Moses and "mainline" religious practices. In examining these portrayals, it becomes clear that positive images appear in the later biblical materials and negative images are prominent in the earlier materials. It is also true that there is a significant body of biblical literature (the prophets—especially Ezekiel—and the Deuteronomistic History) in which priests are present but there is little or no reference to Aaron or his followers. Thus, in order to understand the images of Aaron and the Aaronites, one needs to be aware of the particular

literature in which these references to Aaron are found, and the specific time frame in which that literature emerged.

A second set of concerns when discussing Aaron and the Aaronites focuses on their relationship to other people or priestly groups. In terms of individuals, the question is primarily Aaron's relationship with Moses. In terms of the Aaronites, the question is how they relate to the Levites and Zadokites, two other major priestly factions.

Finally, Aaron and his descendants are the preeminent models of what it means to be a priest. They are the ones who perform the most holy of rituals, who handle the holiest of sacred objects and who enter the holiest of places. In addition, they are the ones who oversee all priestly functions and groups, and monitor the activities of the priests at both the temple and the tabernacle.

**B. Images of Aaron in the Biblical Literature**

It is clear that there is some ambivalence in the biblical texts toward Aaron. On the one hand, he becomes involved with the construction of the GOLDEN CALF (Exodus 32) and joins Miriam in opposing Moses (Numbers 12). On the other hand, Aaron and his sons are singled out to serve God as priests (Exodus 28–29; Leviticus 8–9). Somewhere amid these two perspectives stands a remarkable silence on the Aaronites (e.g. 1–2 Kings, Ezekiel), in which they are neither good nor bad. There are other priests or priestly groups present, but Aaron and the Aaronites are not part of that presence.

This confusing portrayal has been the subject of speculation for some period. As early as Wellhausen *(WPHI)* and Kennett (1905), it was suggested that the positive portrayal of Aaron emerged only in the post-exilic period and that the negative or neutral portrayals dated from the pre-exilic period. Since those early discussions, Meek (1929), Welch (1939), North (1954) and Cody (1969, 1977) have offered slight variations on the same basic position—that the positive image of Aaron is a product of the post-exilic period.

Their arguments are based on an examination of the materials in which Aaron appears. There are 346 references to Aaron in the Hebrew Bible (several in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha and 5 in the NT). A vast majority (296) appear in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. The remainder are spread out in Deuteronomy (4), Joshua (6), Judges (1), 1 Samuel (2), Micah (1), Psalms (9), Ezra (1), Nehemiah (3), 1 Chronicles (16), and Chronicles (7). The lack of appearances in Ezekiel, who is very concerned with priests, and the scarcity in Deuteronomy (4), where Moses plays a predominant role, are very curious. However, prior to drawing any conclusions, specific passages need to be investigated, and this investigation must be cognizant of the historical situation from which the passages emerge.

A safe place to begin such an examination is the work of the Chronicler, whose postexilic date is essentially undisputed. In 1–2 Chronicles one sees a prominent positive role for Aaron. He is the brother of Moses (1 Chr 5:29—Eng6:3); he and his sons make sacrifices, offerings, and atonement in the most holy place in the temple (1 Chr 6:34—Eng6:49); and Aaron and his sons are "set apart" to perform the most sacred of duties—to burn incense, to minister, and to bless (1 Chr 23:13; 24:19). Furthermore, in 2 Chr 26:16–21, it is explicitly indicated that only the sons of Aaron, and *not* King Uzziah, could burn incense to Yahweh.

There are many other positive portrayals of Aaron, but most are found in P (Priestly) material, a collection of material more problematical in terms of dating than the Chronicler's materials. The general consensus, albeit certainly not uniform, is that the present form of the P material reflects the understandings and perspectives of the early Second Temple period (i.e., postexilic period). Following that consensus yields a perspective on Aaron which is consistent with what emerged in the postexilic work of the Chronicler.

When one looks at the P material, one sees a very positive understanding of Aaron. A few examples from Exodus will support this point. Following the description of the ark and tabernacle (Exod 25:1–27:20), Aaron and his sons (the Aaronites) are to "tend" the tent of meeting (Exod 27:21), to serve Yahweh as priests (Exod 28:1), to wear priestly garments (Exod 28:3–43), including the Urim and Thummim (Exod 28:30), to be consecrated to Yahweh (Exod 29:1) and to be ordained (Exod 29:9, 35). To celebrate this ordination, a bull and two rams are to be sacrificed in Aaron's honor (Exod 29:10–37).

Finally, Aaron and his sons shall be anointed and consecrated as priests of Yahweh with "holy oil" (Exod 30:30–31). This positive image of Aaron continues through most of Exodus (with the exception of Exodus 32, which will be discussed later), throughout all of Leviticus and most of Numbers.

In Leviticus, much time is spent describing specific offerings and the procedures for those offerings. Consistently, Aaron, or "Aaron's sons, the priests" are specified as the only people authorized to perform these rituals. In Lev 6:1–9:24—Eng6:8–9:24, Aaron and his sons are instructed as to the law of the various offerings and their crucial role in these offerings. The ritual for anointing Aaron and his sons is spelled out in Lev 6:12–16—Eng6:19–23. The actual ceremony for the ordination of Aaron and his sons is prescribed in Leviticus 8–9. The regulations for the actions of the Aaronites—"the priests, the sons of Aaron"—are spelled out in Leviticus 21. The concern is to maintain the holy status of the priests so that they do not become defiled by such actions as marrying a divorced woman (v 7), letting one's hair hang loose (v 10), or coming in contact with a dead body (v 11). In addition, no person with a blemish may "offer bread" to Yahweh (v 18).

In Numbers 1–4, Moses and Aaron conduct a census of the people in preparation for war. Three factors should be considered when examining the role of Aaron in this census. First, the Levites, another priestly group, are numbered separately from the rest of the people (Num 1:47; 3:16–37), and are to be given to Aaron to stand (Heb *ʿmd*) before and serve (Heb *šrt*) him (3:6). The second point is that the line of succession to Aaron is established. In Num 3:2–3 Aaron's sons are listed and identified as anointed priests "ordained to minister in the priest's office" (literally "whose hands are filled for the priesthood" [Heb *mlʾ yd lkhn*], "to fill the hand," is the common Hebrew expression used to indicate ordination). Since Nadab and Abihu, two of Aaron's sons, have died (Leviticus 10), Eleazar and Ithamar, Aaron's other sons, are the successors to Aaron. Finally, *only* Aaron and his sons are to be priests. All others who seek to come near the tent of meeting should be killed (Num 3:10).

This perspective on Aaron's exclusive role as priest is continued in Numbers 16. The account records the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram against Moses and Aaron (Num 16:1–3) and contains the statement that only the descendants of Aaron can be priests (Num 17:5—Eng 16:40). This is curious since Korah, the son of Ishar, and Aaron, the son of Amram, are both seen as descendants of the priestly family of Levi (Exod 3:16–18; Num 3:17–19; 16:1). However, for the Priestly writer it is only Aaron's branch of the Levitical family which can claim the legitimate right to the priesthood at the temple and tabernacle. Other material in Numbers (except Numbers 12) conveys the same basic positive evaluation of Aaron. As with the Chronicler, the Priestly writer presents a positive image of Aaron.

In contrast to that perspective, one can find materials in which there is a negative, or at least neutral, image of Aaron. One example is in Deuteronomy. This material is examined first because it can be identified, with a comfortable degree of certainty, as having originated in a pre-exilic context. One example, in particular, is Deuteronomy 9, which contains part of Moses' presentation to the people. Of interest here is the telling of the story of Moses' descent from Mount Horeb after having received the two tablets of stone. Moses comes upon the people who have sinned and made a GOLDEN CALF (Deut 9:15–16). The story continues with a statement that Yahweh is so angry toward Aaron that he was about to destroy him. It appears that it is only Moses' intercessory prayer and his utter destruction of the Golden Calf which saves Aaron. It is certainly not a glowing recommendation of Aaron. Indeed, the only other appearance of Aaron in Deuteronomy is in 32:50, where Aaron is merely mentioned as a brother of Moses. Thus Deuteronomy neither presents a positive image of Aaron, nor contains a reference to Aaron as priest (unless one considers Aaron's role in the building of the Golden Calf as priestly—but even then it would not be seen as consistent with the mainline worship of Yahweh).

This negative perspective is not confined to this passage in Deuteronomy. In Exodus 32, although there is some discussion as to the integrity of the passage, Aaron is portrayed as the villain who receives the gold from the people (Exod 32:4a), makes the calf (Exod 32:4a, 35), declares, "These are your gods, O Israel, who brought you out of the land of Egypt!" (Exod 32:4b), and builds an altar before the calf (Exod 32:5). When Moses returns from the mountain, he indicates that Aaron has brought a great sin upon the

people (Exod 32:21) and has allowed the people to "break loose" (Exod 32:25). While Aaron seeks to redirect Moses' anger (Exod 32:22–24), his culpability is clearly indicated.

A third example of this negative image of Aaron is found in Numbers 12. Here Aaron and his sister Miriam challenge Moses' authority (12:1) and claim that Yahweh speaks through them as well as through Moses (12:2). The response of Yahweh is clear; Moses is the specially chosen spokesperson, and no one should challenge him (12:5–8). As punishment, Yahweh makes Miriam leprous and subsequently heals her only after Aaron pleads with Moses to petition Yahweh on their behalf.

All three of these passages which convey either a negative or a nonpriestly image of Aaron are generally considered to be preexilic in date. The single reference to Aaron in the prophets (Mic 6:4), which is preexilic, merely refers to Aaron as having been sent to Egypt with Moses and Miriam. In addition, there are precious few references to Aaron in the pre-exilic and exilic work of the Deuteronomistic Historian, which is surprising, given the number of times priests or priestly factions are mentioned. It is only in Joshua, where cities are distributed to the Levites (Josh 21:4, 13, 19), that Aaron is referred to as a priest. Finally, Ezekiel, an exilic work which spends much time discussing the roles and functions of the priests and priestly groups, never refers to Aaron or the Aaronites.

The implication of this examination of the biblical passages which refer to Aaron is that the positive image of Aaron and the Aaronites, and of their role as priests, arises in the post-exilic period. This may be expected since it reflects, in general, the prominent position of priests in the postexilic period, and, in particular, the emergence of the role of the high priest. In contrast, in the pre-exilic period Aaron is mentioned only a few times, often in a neutral or negative way, and very rarely as a priest. Thus one must conclude that the prominence of Aaron and the Aaronites as priests is a post-exilic phenomenon.

**C. Aaron/Aaronite Relations with Others**

A second area of consideration is the relationship of Aaron to other individuals and of the Aaronites to other priestly groups. Aaron's relationship to Moses is of primary importance. In terms of the associations of the Aaronites, there are two other priestly factions which have a significant role in the Hebrew Bible—the Zadokites and the Levites. It is clear that there is struggle, conflict, and competition among these three groups over who is going to have control of the priesthood. As indicated in the previous section, one must remember that all of these relationships are fluid and that Aaron's priority is emphasized in the later biblical materials.

The close association of Moses and Aaron is a common theme in the Pentateuch (although not exclusively found there [Josh 24:5; 1 Sam 12:6; Ps 77:21—Eng 77:20, 99:6]), particularly in the later (Priestly) writings of the Pentateuch. The association begins with the claim that Aaron is Moses' brother (Exod 4:14; 6:20; 28:1; Num 26:59; 27:12–13; Deut 32:50; 1 Chr 5:29—Eng6:3; 23:13). There are also over 65 instances where the phrase "Moses and Aaron" appears, almost like a word pair, and only a few instances where the phrase "Aaron and Moses" occurs (Exod 6:26; Num 3:1). What is striking about many of these instances is that the presence of "Aaron" is not crucial to the passage. It could easily be removed without a significant impact on the passage or its meaning (cf. Exod 7:8; 10:3; 16:6; Lev 9:23; 11:1; Num 4:1; 14:5; 33:1). So the evidence for a close association of Moses and Aaron is not absolutely certain, and it is primarily found in the later materials.

In the relationship between Moses and Aaron, it is clear that Moses has a more prominent role. Most often in the Torah, Yahweh speaks to Moses, who in turn speaks to Aaron (Exod 7:19; 16:32–34; Lev 17:1–2; Num 6:22–23; 8:1–2), or Yahweh speaks to Moses and Aaron at the same time (Exod 12:43; Lev 11:1; 14:33; Num 2:1; 19:1; 20:12). Only rarely does Yahweh speak directly to Aaron (Lev 10:8; Num 18:1). In addition, when one looks at the dynamics of the plague stories, there is a clear but subtle shift in the relationship between Moses and Aaron. At the beginning, Moses fumbles for words and pleads his incompetence until in anger Yahweh appoints Aaron to be Moses' spokesperson. Even then Aaron receives Yahweh's words through Moses (Exod 4:1–17; 7:19). Thus at the beginning of the plague stories Aaron has an important role. When both Moses and Aaron appear before Pharaoh (Exod 5:1, 7:10), it is Aaron's rod which becomes the serpent (7:10), swallows the rods of Pharaoh's magicians (7:12), is used to turn the Nile into blood (7:19), causes the plague of frogs (8:1—Eng8:5), and brings about the plague

of gnats (8:16–17). However, with Exodus 9, Aaron begins to fade from the scene, and it is Moses who brings the boils (9:10) and uses his own rod to bring hail and fire (9:23) and the locusts (10:12–13). One explanation of this shift is that the earlier plagues tend to be from the P writer and the later plagues tend to be from the older pentateuchal source, the J writer. Although there is considerable and justifiable discussion about the degree to which one can identify a particular passage or verse as J or P, the general perspective suggests that the older materials do not place an emphasis on Aaron whereas the newer materials do. Thus, like the prominence of Aaron as priest in the postexilic period, it seems that the association of Aaron with Moses also finds its greatest emphasis in the post-exilic materials.

Moses and Aaron also appear together when the people are "murmuring" during the Exodus. Usually this murmuring involves the rebellion of the people against the leadership. In Exodus 17 the people murmur against Moses (v 2). Aaron is not the target of the rebellion and his role in the incident is only that of holding up Moses' arms, along with Hur (v 12). In Numbers 12, the rebellion is again directed at Moses (v 1). However, this time it is Aaron and his sister Miriam who lead the rebellion against Moses. Finally, in Numbers 14 and 16, the rebellion is directed not just against Moses but also against Aaron (Num 14:2, 16:3). This confused situation becomes clear when one realizes that the early materials (Numbers 12, Exodus 17) either ignore Aaron or are negative toward him, whereas in the later materials (Numbers 14, 16) there is a positive picture of Aaron and a link with Moses.

When one turns to the priestly groups, it is apparent that the relations between the Zadokites and Aaronites change over time. During the monarchy, it is the Zadokites who play a prominent role in the priesthood and little is said about the Aaronites. One merely needs to look at the dearth of references to Aaron or Aaronites in Kings and Samuel (only 2 Samuel) in contrast to the 26 references to Zadok as the priest of the monarchy. At the end of David's reign, there is a conflict over the succession to the throne between Solomon and his followers and Adonijah and his followers (1 Kings 1–2). When Solomon is victorious in the struggle, he appoints Zadok as the priest of the Temple and expels Abiathar (1 Kgs 2:27), the associate of Adonijah. While there may be some debate over the actual association of Abiathar—whether he is Levite or Aaronite—it is clear that Zadok and his followers, the Zadokites, are the priests in good standing. That perspective continues in the late exilic work of Ezekiel; he never mentions the Aaronites. Rather, it is the Zadokites with the assistance of the Levites who are the priests (Ezek 40:46; 44:15; 48:11).

It is only in the post-exilic material of the Chronicler that any association between Aaron and Zadok appears, and the perspective is always that Zadok the priest is a descendant of Aaron (1 Chr 5:29–34—Eng6:3–8; 6:35–38—Eng6:50–53; Ezra 7:1–5), which preserves the priority of Aaron. In addition, the Chronicler seeks to clarify the relationship of Zadok and Abiathar, the two priests of David (2 Sam 8:17, cf. 1 Sam 22:20) who are rivals after his death. According to 1 Chr 24:3, Zadok is a descendant of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, and Abiathar is a descendant of Ithamar, also a son of Aaron. Thus, for the Chronicler, all priests are descendants of Aaron, which again stresses the post-exilic prominence of the Aaronites.

The relationship between the Aaronites and the Levites is much more confusing and more prone to be hostile than that between the Aaronites and the Zadokites. Nevertheless, this relationship also shows development and change. A prime example of the hostility emerges in Exodus 32. The complicity of Aaron in the Golden Calf apostasy has already been mentioned. At the end of that account, there is the punishment for those involved in the idolatry (Exod 32:25–29). Moses calls for those "on Yahweh's side" to join him in opposition to the people who "broke loose," and presumably that included Aaron. It is the Levites who respond to Moses' call and slay 3,000 people who participated in the apostasy. As a result of the Levites' actions, they are "ordained" to the service of Yahweh (Exod 32:29). The Hebrew text says "their hands are filled," which is a clear reference to their ordination as priests. It thus appears that the Levites' rise in status is directly related to their opposition to Aaron and his followers.

This same perspective is present when one examines 1 Kings 12. In this passage Jeroboam establishes two cultic centers in the Northern Kingdom at Dan and Bethel (vv 25–33), and makes two calves of gold for these centers (v 28). Jeroboam erects these calves and declares, "Behold your gods, O Israel, who

brought you out of the land of Egypt," the same phrase as was used by Aaron in Exod 32:4. In addition, when Jeroboam selects priests for his temple he explicitly excludes Levites (1 Kgs 12:31). (According to 2 Chr 13:8–9, Jeroboam excludes both Levites and Aaronites, which reflects the later post-exilic perspective of the Chronicler in which Aaron is the only true priest and could not have participated in the apostasy of the Northern Kingdom.) A further piece of data which links these two golden calf incidents of Exodus 32 and 1 Kings 12 together is that the two eldest sons of Aaron and the sons of Jeroboam have virtually the same names: Nadab and Abihu for Aaron (Exod 6:23) and Nadab and Abijah for Jeroboam (1 Kgs 14:1, 20). Furthermore, all four of these sons die as a result of their idolatry (cf. Leviticus 10; 1 Kgs 14:1–14; 15:25–30). So based on these early materials, the improper cultic practices of Jeroboam are associated with those of Aaron, and the Levites either do not participate or actively oppose those idolatrous religious practices.

Numbers 16 is another passage in which there is opposition between Aaron and the Levites. However, in this instance, it is Aaron who is declared the righteous follower of God; and it is Korah, the descendant of Levi, who revolts against Moses and Aaron. Indeed, the followers of Aaron (Aaronites) are explicitly identified as the priests of Yahweh to the exclusion of Korah (Num 16:1–5—Eng16:36–40).

This change in perspective on Aaron, where Aaron is now seen as the dominant priest, is reflective of the post-exilic materials of the Priestly writer and the Chronicler and again exemplifies the post-exilic relationship of Aaronites and Levites. It also shows that although all priestly factions traced their ancestry back to Levi, and Levi is considered ordained by God, the Levites' primary function is to serve the Aaronites.

When the census of the people is being taken by Aaron and Moses in Numbers, the Levites are explicitly set aside (Num 1:47) and not numbered at the beginning, since they have special tasks around the tabernacle. Later, however, the Levites are numbered and chosen by God to stand (Heb *ʾmd*) before Aaron and to "minister" (Heb *šrt*) to Aaron, since they are given to Aaron and his sons (Num 3:5–10; cf. 4:27). What is clear in this passage is that there is a distinction between the Aaronites as priests and the Levites, who, although also ordained, are secondary priests subordinate to Aaron.

Aaron is then to collect the Levites and consecrate them to service (Heb *ʿbd*) (Num 8:5–26; cf. 18:1–7). This perspective is continued in Chronicles, where there is a clear distinction between priests, understood to be Aaronites, and Levites (1 Chr 23:2; 24:31; 28:13, 21; and 2 Chr 7:6; 11:13; 13:9; 19:8; 23:4, 6). The Levites are to stand (Heb *ʾmd*) before the priests, the sons of Aaron (1 Chr 23:27–28), and guard (Heb *šmr*) the sons of Aaron (1 Chr 23:32; cf. 2 Chr 13:10; 35:14; Neh 12:47).

The priority of the Aaronites is illustrated in no better way than in the account in Num 17:16–28—Eng 17:1–13. According to the passage, each of the twelve tribes has a rod or staff, and each is to have the tribal ancestor's name placed on the rod. However, the rod representing Levi's tribe has Aaron's name written upon it. When all twelve rods are deposited in the tent of meeting to determine which of them will be chosen by God, it is the "rod of Aaron" which sprouts and bears "ripe almonds." This, of course, indicates Yahweh's selection of Aaron over all other (cf. *Ps-Philo* 17:1–4; 53:9). Finally, Aaron's rod, which is put before the "testimony" in the tent of meeting, is to become a sign that the people should not murmur against Yahweh (cf. Numbers 16).

In the following chapter (Numbers 18), where Aaron's priesthood and the role of the tribe of Levi are again discussed, the priority of Aaron and his sons as priests and the secondary status of the tribe of Levi are reiterated. The Levites are to minister to (Heb *šrt;* Num 18:2), to guard (Heb *šmr*; Num 18:3), and to serve (Heb *ʿbd;* Num 18:6) Aaron and his sons. This role of attending to Aaron and the Aaronites is given exclusively to the Levites (Num 18:4). However, the Levites are firmly cautioned *not* to approach the altar, lest they die (Num 18:3). This material in Numbers is late, again suggesting that the priority of Aaron and the Aaronites and the secondary status of the tribe of Levi (the Levites) emerges in the time of the Second Temple. In the material from the earlier periods, the Levites are often preferred, and it is the Aaronites whose activities are questionable and whose status is secondary to the Levites.

In general, it appears that Aaron's relationship with others has had the same mixed history as was seen in the review of Aaron in the biblical literature. In the monarchical period, Aaron and the Aaronites have a

secondary, nonexistent, or negative status in relation to the other priestly groups. That perspective changes in the post-exilic period of the high priest, when Aaron and his sons (the Aaronites) become the high priests and establish their superiority over other groups. They do this by a genealogical link which traces their ancestry back to Moses and beyond to Levi, and by the accounts of Yahweh's selection of Aaron as the chosen priest, the paradigm—preferred over the other priestly factions (Levites and Zadokites). Indeed, the other priestly factions became servants to Aaron and the Aaronites.

**D. The Priestly Functions of Aaron and the Aaronites**

The role of Aaron as priest emerges in the activities and functions he and his descendants, the Aaronites, perform. Of course, one of their main functions is to preside at cultic ceremonies. However, there are other related activities in which they are involved.

There are numerous references in which Aaron (or his descendants) officiate at and participate in cultic rituals. In fact, the majority of the discussion in Leviticus is devoted to the priestly functions of Aaron and the Aaronites. They perform the "burnt offering" (Lev 1:3–17; 9:12–14), the "cereal offering" (Lev 2:1–16), and the "peace offering" (Lev 3:1–17; 9:18–21). Aaron is not explicitly mentioned when the "sin offering" (Lev 4:1–5:13) or "guilt offering" (Lev 5:14–26—Eng5:14–6:7) are discussed. However, when the laws (Heb *tôrāt*) of the "sin offering" are presented (Lev 6:17–23—Eng6:24–30; cf. 9:8, 16:6), it is the Aaronites who are addressed. For the "guilt offering" Aaron is again not specified, but it is always a priest who officiates (Lev 5:16, 5:25–26—Eng6:6–7, 7:1–5), and Aaron is in charge when the offering of atonement is made (Leviticus 16). Thus the presumption that this anonymous priest should be understood as Aaron seems valid (cf. 1 Chr 6:34—Eng6:49).

Another priestly function of the Aaronites is participation in ordination. Indeed, the Aaronites participate in their own ordination ceremony (Leviticus 8). It is run by Moses at Yahweh's command, but Aaron and his sons participate by laying their hands upon the bull of the "sin offering" (8:14), the ram of the "burnt offering" (8:18), and the ram of the "ordination" (8:22). Finally, they are to eat from the ordination offering (8:31–36).

An important passage which outlines Aaron's duties is Leviticus 10:8–11. This passage is unusual because it is one of the few places where Yahweh speaks directly to Aaron rather than through Moses. Here Aaron is told to do three things: avoid drinking when going into the tent of meeting; distinguish between the holy and the common and between the clean and the unclean; and teach the people Yahweh's statutes. One curiosity about the passage is how closely it echoes Ezekiel 44. In Ezekiel the reference is not to Aaron but to the priests who are the sons of Zadok and who also claim descent from Levi. Nevertheless, the functions of the priests are very similar: the sons of Zadok are told not to drink before going into the temple (Ezek 44:21); to distinguish between clean and unclean (Ezek 44:23b); to teach the people the difference between holy and common (Ezek 44:23a); to act as judge (Ezek 44:24a; cf. Exod 28:29–30); and to keep Yahweh's laws (Ezek 44:24b). Although the priestly faction in charge may have changed, the priestly functions relative to the central shrine remain essentially the same.

The distinction between clean and unclean is the focus of Leviticus 11–14. Moses and Aaron (Lev 11:1) are to speak to the people about this distinction, and people who are thought to be diseased are to be brought before Aaron and his sons for examination (Lev 13:1–2). It is Aaron who is to determine clean and unclean in relation to disease, and to deal with unclean houses and how to cleanse them (Lev 14:33–57). The same standards of purity apply to the Aaronites themselves. They are to be without blemish and pure in all ways (Leviticus 21). This is another means of distinguishing Aaron from others, and supports the contention that Aaron is chosen above the others to be priest (Ps 105:26, 106:16) and to have access to the holy things (1 Chr 23:13) in the temple (1 Chr 24:19) or in the tent of meeting (Exod 27:21, Num 17:1–5—Eng 16:36–40).

In Joshua 21, the Aaronites are to receive 48 Levitical cities from among the cities recently conquered by the twelve tribes (vv 4, 10, 13, 19). These cities, along with their pasture lands (but not, presumably, the agricultural lands [Num 35:1–8]), are to be set aside as land in which the priests can live and raise herds. This perspective is reiterated in 1 Chr 6:39–66—Eng6:54–81, where there is a special reference to the sons of Aaron receiving cities of refuge (1 Chr 6:42–45—Eng6:57–60). They are said to receive 13

cities, although only 11 are listed by name, in which a criminal may find refuge from pursuers. In the other major references to the cities of refuge (Num 35:9–15; Deut 19:1–10; Joshua 20), only 6 cities are set aside, and there is no mention of the cities being given to Aaron. The Aaronite control of these cities of refuge may well reflect the Chronicler's post-exilic perspective, in which there is a positive image of Aaron, and the Aaronites are in charge of the priesthood.

Finally, the Aaronites are given the Urim and Thummim (Exod 28:30, Lev 8:5–9). These "sacred lots" are used to determine the will of Yahweh (Num 27:21; 1 Sam 14:36–42, 27:6; cf. 1 Sam 10:20–24) and to indicate the juridical role of Aaron (Exod 28:29–30a; cf. Ezek 44:24). In Num 27:21, it is Eleazar, the son of Aaron, the next in the priestly line (cf. Num 20:22–29), who uses the Urim to inquire whether Joshua should succeed Moses. The Urim and Thummim are thus symbols of special access to God's will; and, according to parts of the biblical tradition, they belong in the hands of the Aaronites.

It is clear that Aaron and the Aaronites play a prominent role as priests. Their fulfillment of that role is emphasized in the Hebrew Bible, especially in the later materials. That perspective continues in the intertestamental literature (4 Macc 7:11; *3 En.* 2:3; 48A:7), although there are surprisingly few references to Aaron in this material. In the New Testament, the book of Hebrews speaks of Jesus being called by God, just like Aaron (Heb 5:4–5). However, to distinguish Jesus from the priests of his contemporary time, Jesus is said to be of the order of Melchizedek, not that of Aaron and the Levites (Heb 7:4–22). Thus the writer of Hebrews is claiming a priestly authority for Jesus which predates that of Aaron or Levi and comes through Melchizedek at the time of Abraham (Gen 14:17–24; Ps 110:4; Heb 7:1–3).

**E. Summary**

Aaron and the Aaronites play an important role in the religious structure of ancient Israel. The emphasis upon them and their functions clearly indicates their place as the preeminent priests. However, close examination of the biblical literature suggests that this prominent role was not present at the beginnings of Israel and was not won without a struggle. The earlier materials indicate a more significant role for the Levite and Zadokite priestly factions than for the Aaronites. It is only with the realignment and reorganization forced upon the Israelites by the trauma of the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.E. that the Aaronites assume center stage. Then, in the writings of the post-exilic period, the Aaronites are portrayed as the paradigm of priests, and the other priestly groups are relegated to secondary or servant status. (See also PRIESTS AND LEVITES.)

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JOHN R. SPENCER

**AB** [Heb *ʾāb* (אָב)]. The fifth month of the Hebrew calendar, roughly corresponding to July and August. See CALENDAR.

**ABADDON** [Heb *ʾăbaddôn* (אֲבַדּוֹן)]. Derived from Heb *ʾābad,* "became lost," "be ruined, destroyed," "perish," Abaddon has a variety of nuanced meanings.

A poetic synonym for the abode of the dead, meaning "Destruction," or " (the place of) destruction." Abaddon occurs in parallel and in conjunction with Sheol (Job 26:6 and Prov 15:11; 27:20). It is also found in conjunction with Death (Job 28:22) and in parallel with the grave (Ps 88:12—Eng 88:11).

Although a place of mystery which is hidden from human eyes, Abaddon is clearly known by God (Job 26:6; Prov 15:11). It is twice personified: (1) along with Death, it speaks (Job 28:22); and (2) along with Sheol, it is insatiable (Prov 27:20). It is also remote: in Job 31:12, adultery becomes "a fire that consumes unto [as far as] Abaddon." See also DEAD, ABODE OF THE.

In Rev 9:11, the word "Abaddon" is personified as "the angel of the bottomless pit." It is also identified as the king of the demonic "locusts" described in Rev 9:3, 7–10, and is explained for Greek-speaking readers as Apollyon (Gk *apollyōn*), "destroyer."

The LXX usually translates Heb ›*abaddon* as Gk *apōleia*, "destruction"; the Vg renders it as Latin *perditio*, "ruin, destruction" (whence Eng "perdition," which ordinarily means "hell"); in Syr (Peshitta), the cognate word means "destruction," and is sometimes used in the Psalms to render "the Pit," which is another OT synonym of Sheol.

In rabbinic literature, the word has come to mean the place of punishment reserved for the wicked. Current English versions render this word variously in the OT: "Abaddon," "Destruction/destruction," "the place of destruction," "Perdition/perdition," "the abyss," "the world of the dead." In the single NT occurrence, the word is consistently transliterated as "Abaddon."

HERBERT G. GRETHER

**ABAGTHA** (PERSON) [Heb ›*ăbagtā*‹ (אֲבַגְתָא)]. See MEHUMAN (PERSON).

**ABANA** (PLACE) [Heb ›*ăbānâ* (אֲבָנָה)]. One of two rivers of Damascus, which Naaman the Syrian considered to be superior to the Jordan (2 Kgs 5:12). The Awaj and the Barada are now the chief streams that flow through the city of Damascus, the former representing the Pharpar of the Hebrew text and the latter the Abana. The Barada (Abana) has as its source a large pool of great depth on a high plain rising 1149 feet (383 m) in the Anti-Lebanon Mountains, 23 miles (37 km) northwest of Damascus. Making a rapid descent down the mountains, the stream flows through a picturesque gorge, across a plain, through Damascus, and loses itself in the marshy lake Bahret el-Kibliyeh about 18 miles (29 km) east of the city.

RAY LEE ROTH

**ABARIM** (PLACE) [Heb ‹*ăbārîm* (עֲבָרִים)]. A mountain range generally located east of the mouth of the Jordan river and northeast of the Dead Sea forming the northwestern rim of the Moabite tableland, thus separating the latter from the rift valley (Num 33:47–48). The highest peaks of this range rise about 600 feet above the Moabite plateau and overlook the Dead Sea some 4000 feet below their summits.

The mountains of Abarim, a southern extension of the Transjordan range, are located "in front of [the town of] Nebo" (Num 33:47). One of the peaks of this ridge is Mount Nebo (see also NEBO, MOUNT), which Moses ascended from the Plains of Moab (Num 27:12) and from which he viewed the land of Canaan prior to his death (Deut 32:49). The Israelites camped in the mountains of Abarim after leaving Almon-diblathaim and before reaching the Plains of Moab, the final stage of the exodus from Egypt (Num 33:47–48).

In Jer 22:20 the RSV treats ‹*ābārîm* as a proper name, assuming it to be a region as are Lebanon to the north and Basham to the northeast. However, the KJV translates ‹*ābārîm* by "passages." Similarly, several ancient versions (LXX, Vg and Pesh) reflect in their translations of ‹*ābārîm* in Jer 22:20 the verbal root meaning "to cross over" or "to pass over." Abarim may originally have been an appellative (reflected in the Gk of the LXX translation of Num 27:12 "*to oros to en tō peran*" i.e. "[places] on the other side [of Judah])" before it became the proper name "Abarim." The NEB emends the RSV reading "valley of the travelers" in Ezek 39:11 to read "the valley of Abarim" (see also TRAVELERS, VALLEY OF).

While most maps confine the Abarim range to the highland north of the river Arnon, several scholars (*GP* 1:379; *GTTOT*: 261; van Zyl 1960: 51) infer from Jer 22:20 and the name of the encampment Iye-abarim, which by definition appears to be associated with the Abarim range, that the hills of Abarim also

describe the mountains east of the southern end of the Dead Sea. Though the precise location of IYE-ABARIM is uncertain, scholars generally place it south of the Arnon gorge.

In antiquity Josephus (*Ant* 4. 8,§48), Jerome and Eusebius made reference to the Abarim hills (Lagarde 1966: 16,5; 89,8; 216,4). For references, see BEER (PLACE).

ARTHUR J. FERCH

**ABBA.** A form of the Aramaic word for "father" found in Gal 4:6; Rom 8:15; and Mark 14:36 alongside the Greek *ho patēr* as an address to God. The presence of *ho patēr* in every case (instead of the vocative *pater*) shows that the NT writers saw *abba* as a determinative form: *ʾabbāʾ*, "the father"; cf. Matt 11:16; Luke 10:21. Such forms are frequently used in Aramaic and Hebrew when a vocative is required: another example is *talitha* (Aram. *ṭalyētāʾ/ṭalyĕtāʾ*), rendered *to korasion* in Mark 5:41. Accordingly the explanation of *abba* as the determinative form of *ab* ("father") is almost certainly correct.

Alternatively the form has been explained as a rare vocative (in which case it could just as well be Hebrew as Aramaic) or as derived from children's baby talk (cf. "Papa," "Daddy"). If the last explanation were right, then the use of *abba* as an address to God in Mark 14:36 might be thought to imply a special, indeed a unique, intimacy. This view was held at one time by J. Jeremias, but he later came to regard it as "a piece of inadmissible naivety" (1967: 63). Wrong as it is, it deserves mention not only because of its extensive dissemination beyond the walls of academia but also because its influence can be detected even in the work of respected scholars such as J. G. D. Dunn (1975: 21–26; 1980: 22–23) and is explicit in the most recent writing of M. J. Borg (1987: 45). Apart from the intrinsic unlikelihood of the idea that Jesus ever addressed God as "Daddy," the suggestion is ruled out of court by one important fact: wherever *abba* is found with the meaning "father" or "my father" (in Mishnaic Hebrew or Targumic Aramaic), it is equally employed of the fathers of grown-up sons. One instance cited by G. Vermes (1983: 42) is Judah's threat to his unrecognized brother, Joseph, in the *Tg. Neof.* version of Gen 44:18: "I swear by the life of the head of *abba*, as you swear by the life of the head of Pharaoh your master …" And as J. Barr (1988) emphasizes, inferences concerning the meaning of words must be based upon function, not upon origin or derivation.

There is no evidence in pre-Christian Palestinian Judaism that God was ever addressed as *abba* by an individual Jew in prayer. Jeremias (1967: 59) adduces two instances in the Babylonian (*Talmud b. Taʿan.* 23ab) from stories told of sages who lived in the 1st century B.C.; but Schelbert (1981: 398–405) has shown these attributions to be insecure, a point reemphasized by Fitzmyer (1985: 27) in the most comprehensive of all recent discussions of the subject. Though God is frequently alluded to as the father of his people in the OT and elsewhere, the earliest attestation of *abba* as a personal address to God is Gal 4:6. This should not be taken to imply that the sense of God as the father of the individual supplicant was not pre-Christian: there are a few passages that perhaps indicate it: Sir 23:1, 4; Wis 2:16; 14:3. This evidence, however, is neither abundant nor strong.

The question why the Aramaic *abba* was retained in the Spirit-inspired prayer of Greek-speaking communities cannot be answered with certainty. But even the single attribution of the term to Jesus (in the prayer in Gethsemane) lends plausibility to the suggestion that Christian usage was prompted by an authentic tradition of Jesus' own prayer. This is supported by Paul's association of the prayer of the community with the divine sonship of Christ "God has sent the spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, 'Abba! Father!' " (Gal 4:6). The fact that Matthew and Luke have different renderings of Jesus' prayer to God in Gethsemane (*pater mou*, Matt 26:39; *pater*, Luke 22:42) may be explained in one of two ways: either the memory of Jesus' own prayer did not survive beyond the first written account; or else the use of *abba* in Christian prayer was no longer current in the Matthean and Lucan communities.

Finally, what are the christological implications of the use of the term by Jesus? Since the address was taken over by Christians in their own prayer, they cannot have seen it as evidence of an *exclusive* relationship between Jesus and God. Moreover, postbiblical usage (the only comparative material available) suggests that the nuance of *abba* as an address is closer to "Father" than the earlier Hebrew and Aramaic forms (*ʾābî* and *ʾăbî* respectively), which mean specifically "my father." These, like *abba*, can

be used in speaking about one's father as well as in addressing him; but unlike *abba,* they are not used of another person's father. Besides, the Gospels portray Jesus as urging his disciples to regard God as a father and to address him as their father in prayer. Nevertheless, taken in conjunction with other gospel evidence (e.g. Matt 11:25–27 = Luke 10:21–22) for Jesus' own awareness of God as Father, the use of *abba* constitutes one especially strong argument for the view that the personal sense of the fatherhood of God was a typically Christian development of the Judaic tradition, and that this probably originated in a recollection of Jesus' teaching and of the example of his own prayer.

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JOHN ASHTON

**ABDA** (PERSON) [Heb ‹*abdā*› (עַבְדָּא)]. **1.** The father of Adoniram (1 Kgs 4:6), an official in charge of forced labor during King Solomon's reign (1 Kgs 5:27—Eng5:14). Abda appears in a list of Solomon's high officials (1 Kgs 4:1–6).

**2.** The son of Shammua, and descendant of Jeduthun, one of 284 Levites listed among those who performed their duties in "the holy city" (Jerusalem) under Nehemiah (Neh 11:17; LXX variants of the name include *ōbēb* and *abdas*). As a descendant of Jeduthun, Abda was a member of a family set apart for musical service by King David (1 Chr 25:1–6). A parallel biblical list (1 Chr 9:14–16) mentions not Abda but Obadiah (also derived from the Heb root ‹*bd*), but the Neo-Babylonian Murašu Archive (dated ca. 429–428 B.C.E.) refers to an *Ab-da-*› son of *Aplā* (Hilprecht 1898: 45.5; Zadok 1976: 17), demonstrating the contemporaneous use of this name in Babylon.

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MARK J. FRETZ

**ABDEEL** (PERSON) [Heb ‹*abdĕ›ēl* (עַבְדְּאֵל)]. The father of Shelemiah, an official of unspecified status under Jehoiakim, King of Judah (Jer 36:26—LXX 43:26). Together with Jerahmeel and Seraiah, Shelemiah was ordered by the king to seize Baruch the scribe and Jeremiah the prophet (cf. Jer 26:20–24—LXX 33:20–24, where Uriah the prophet was similarly seized, and then executed). The MT phrase including "Shelemiah the son of Abdeel" (Jer 36:26) is missing in the LXX, and was likely lost through homoioteleuton (note the similarities between Heb *ben-‹abdĕ›ēl* and the preceding *ben-‹azrî›ēl*).

MARK J. FRETZ

**ABDI** (PERSON) [Heb ‹*abdî* (עַבְדִּי)]. **1.** A Levite of the clan of Merari, and father of Kishi and grandfather of Ethan (1 Chr 6:29—Eng6:44). His name appears in an extended genealogy listing Levi's descendants (1 Chronicles 1–9). Abdi's son Kishi (Heb *qyšy*) is probably the Kushaiah (Heb *qwšyhw*) of 1 Chr 15:17. His grandson, Ethan, served as temple singer under King David and eventually supplanted Jeduthun as head of the third clan of temple singers (1 Chr 6:16–34—Eng6:31–48; see Williamson 1979: 263).

**2.** The father of Kish, a Levite who helped cleanse the temple during the reign of King Hezekiah (2 Chr 29:12). See KISH. This Abdi is mentioned in a short list of Levites who cleansed the temple, rather than in an extended genealogy. However, the appearance of the name "Abdi" in lists from both the Davidic-Solomonic period (see above) and the Hezekiah period is noteworthy: both Abdi's were Levites of the clan of Merari, their sons had similar names (Kish/Kishi), and their descendants appear to have been involved in various aspects of temple service. On the one hand, this similarity may be historical: there may well have been two Levites named Abdi living three hundred years apart, the second of whom named his offspring Kish and thereby recalled the earlier "golden age" of David and Solomon. On the other hand, the similarity may be a purely literary creation, a technique whereby the Chronicler supported his portrayal of Hezekiah as a "second Solomon" (Williamson 1977: 119–25). A third view is that "Kish the son of Abdi" means "Kish the descendant of Abdi." According to this view, the legitimizing function of the Levitical genealogies (1 Chronicles 6) was utilized to indicate not a literal, biological father, but a real or fictive ancestor for this important Levite, who assisted in cleansing the temple in Hezekiah's time.

**3.** A descendant of Elam who returned from Babylonian exile. This Abdi was one of a number of returnees who married foreign women from "the people of the land" (Ezra 10:26 = 1 Esdr 9:27 [*abdia* is a variant of *ōabdeios* in 9:27]). Under Ezra, he was subsequently forced by a covenant made with God to separate himself from his foreign wife and her children (Ezra 10:1–44 = 1 Esdr 8:88–9:36; see also Neh 13:23–31).

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MARK J. FRETZ

**ABDIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿabdîʾēl* (עַבְדִּיאֵל)]. The father of Ahi, a prominent member of the tribe of Gad (1 Chr 5:15) in the northern Transjordan during the reigns of King Jotham of Judah and Jeroboam II of Israel (mid-8th century B.C.E.). According to various LXX manuscripts, Abdiel is not the father of Ahi but instead the father of either *zaboucham,* or *achibouz,* or simply the brother (Heb *ʾḥy*) of Buz (Gk *bouz*). The name "Abdiel" occurs in an extended genealogy of Israel that also identifies tribal locations within Palestine (1 Chronicles 2–8).

MARK J. FRETZ

**ABDON** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿabdôn* (עַבְדּוֹן)]. Four individuals mentioned in the OT bear this name, which is formed on the root *ʿbd* with an abstract or diminutive ending, thus evoking the sense of "service" or, possibly, "servile."

**1.** Abdon son of Hillel was from the town of Pirathon in Ephraim (possibly at or near Farʿata, ca. 10 km southwest of Shechem). He is one of the tribal leaders who "judged Israel," for "eight years," in the premonarchy period (Judg 12:13–15). Information about him is sketchy. That he had "forty sons and thirty grandsons," an odd progression, "who rode on seventy donkeys" may indicate declining wealth and prominence of one extended family in the central hill country where the territory of Ephraim and Manasseh merged. Territorial claims were still so unsettled that the area where Abdon lived is also called "Amalekite hill country" (12:15).

**2.** Another Abdon is the first-mentioned (1 Chr 8:23) of eleven sons of Shashak in a second genealogy of Benjamin. In contrast to the genealogy in the preceding chapter (1 Chr 7:6–12), chapter 8 is organized to show distribution of Benjaminite families, at some time not specified, outside as well as within the "Deuteronomic" description of Benjamin's territory (Josh 18:11–28; Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 53). Seemingly contradictory, or inconsistent, genealogies may coexist because they have different functions (Wilson 1977:203).

**3.** Another Abdon is the firstborn of Jeiel's 9 sons in a list of Saul's ancestors which is recorded twice (1 Chr 8:30 and 9:36).

**4.** Abdon son of Micah (2 Chr 34:20) is a member of the board of inquiry sent by King Josiah to the prophetess Huldah, for authentication of the rediscovered "book of the law." In the parallel account, however, the name is ACHBOR (2 Kgs 22:14).

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ROBERT G. BOLING

**ABDON** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿabdôn* (עַבְדּוֹן)]. Var. EBRON. Located in the tribe of Asher, Abdon is mentioned three times in the OT, once in the territorial allotment to Asher in Josh 19:28 (MT *ʿebrōn;* RSV Ebron) and twice in the Levitical City lists, Josh 21:30 and 1 Chr 6:59—Eng6:74. The biblical site has been identified with Khirbet ʿAbda (M.R. 165272), a site located 6 km E of the coastal city, Tell ʾAchzib. (See Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB; Noth *Joshua* HAT; Peterson 1977: 29–39.)

Khirbet ʿAbda is situated in the coastal plain of Acco and on the important Wadi el-Qarn. Tell ʾAchzib is located at the W end of the wadi, and Khirbet ʿAbda is situated where the wadi emerges from the Galilean hills. The importance of this site should not be minimized since it appears to have dominated an important trade route from Phoenicia to the Galilee region. The remains lie on a fairly large natural hill, and so the tell itself is actually smaller than at first appears. The surrounding countryside is lush, with the coastal plain able to support much agricultural activity. There is an ample water supply at the site.

Since the mid-18th century many geographers have visited the site, identifying it with different degrees of probability. They include Guérin (1868: 2:67), Kitchener (1881: 170), Garstang (1931: 98), Saarisalo (1929: 39–40), a survey team from the Palestine Department of Antiquities, and most recently the Levitical City survey team. From the surface surveys conducted at Khirbet ʿAbda, there is indication of occupation in the LB Age, Iron I, Iron II, Roman, Byzantine, and Arabic periods.

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JOHN L. PETERSON

**ABEDNEGO** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿābēd nĕgô* (עֲבֵד נְגוֹ)]. See SHADRACH, MESHACH, ABEDNEGO.

**ABEL** (PERSON) [Heb *hebel* (הֶבֶל)]. Second son of Adam and Eve (Gen 4:2). Abel was a herdsman who gave as a sacrifice to the Lord the firstborn of his flock and their fat portions. Yahweh's acceptance of this sacrifice and the rejection of the gift of Abel's brother, Cain, set the latter at enmity with him, prompting Cain to murder Abel in a field (Gen 4:8). The subsequent birth of Seth to Adam and Eve is understood by Eve as a replacement for Abel (Gen 4:25). In the gospels, Jesus assigns the guilt of all righteous blood—from that of Abel to that of Zechariah—to the Pharisees of his generation (Matt 23:35; Luke 11:51). The writer of Hebrews notes that by faith Abel brought a more acceptable sacrifice than his brother, Cain (Heb 11:4). The next chapter of Hebrews argues for the superiority of the blood of Jesus to that of Abel (Heb 12:24). Three issues surround the figure of Abel in the Bible: the question as to why God looked with favor on the offering of Abel; the meaning of the phrase "the blood of Abel" as it is used in the NT; and the meaning of the name "Abel" and its usage in the story of Genesis.

The biblical text gives no explicit reason for God's preference for Abel's offering. This has given rise to speculation. Even the writer of Hebrews does little more than observe the offering as characteristic of

faith. Explanations which focus on the difference in the type of offering of Cain and Abel (Gunkel *Genesis* HKAT, 37; Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 105) or on the difference in their disposition, like those which emphasize the inscrutable choice of God (von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 104; Westermann *Genesis 1–11* BKAT, 403–4), rely upon suppositions not explicit within the text. Nor is there any support for a rivalry between farmers and herdsmen (as disputed by Sarna 1970: 28). Note that *minḥāh,* "offering," can refer to a grain offering as well as to a meat offering. The text makes a distinction between Abel's offering of the "first" and Cain's offering of "some" (Cassuto 1961: 206–7; Sarna 1970: 29; Waltke 1986; Wenham *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 103–4). In offering the firstborn, Abel's act parallels that of Israelite sacrifices in which the firstborn represents both that which belongs to God as well as the entirety of the flock. By giving the firstborn and the best of the animal (i.e., the fat), Abel would be understood as having given everything to God.

Jesus' observation on the blood of Abel refers to the murder of Abel, which is interpreted as similar to that of a "prophet"; and to that of a martyr, apparently due to its association with the worship of God (Hill, *Matthew* NCBC, 315; Marshall, *Luke* NIGTC, 506; Légasse 1982; Fitzmyer, *Luke 20–24* AB, 946, 951).

The focus of Heb 11:4 is on the faith of Abel. He represents the first example of the righteous who are put to death for their faithfulness. In Heb 12:24 Abel's blood represents the murder of an innocent victim. It cries out for vengeance (Gen 4:10). The blood of Jesus could also represent the murder of an innocent victim. However, instead of a cry for vengeance, the blood of Jesus provides mercy before God (Le Déaut 1961:30–36; Moffatt, *Hebrews* ICC, 163–65, 218–19; Hughes 1977:453–57, 551–52).

Attempts to trace the meaning of the name "Abel" to the Akkadian *aplu,* "heir" (*IDB* 1: 4) or the Sumerian synonym, *ibila* (Landersdorfer 1916: 67–68), seem to be speculative. This is true despite the occurrence of these elements in Mesopotamian personal names. Nor is a relationship with the names Jabal and Jubal at the end of chapter 4 clear from the text (contra Skinner, *Genesis* ICC, 103). A simpler origin for the name can be found in the Hebrew root *hbl,* those meaning, "breath," reflects the more basic idea of that which is transitory (Cassuto 1961:202; von Rad, *Genesis* OTL, 104; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* BKAT, 398; *TWAT* 2:337–38; Wenham, *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 102). In the narrative of Genesis 4, Abel represents a figure whose life is cut short before its full time is accomplished. Although one may argue that Abel's name was intended to signify the general condition of humanity as subject to death, it is better to see the name as an anticipation of Abel's premature death.

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## ABEL-BETH-MAACAH (PLACE) [Heb *ʾābēl bêt-maʿăkâ* (אָבֵל בֵּית־מַעֲכָה)]. Var. ABEL OF BETH-MAACAH. A town in the N part of Israel conquered by Ben-hadad at the beginning of the 9th century B.C. (1 Kgs 15:20) and then by Tiglath-pileser III in 734 B.C. (2 Kgs 15:29). Its identification with *ʾbw€ m* in the Execration texts (E47) (Alt 1941: 33) is doubtful, but it can be identified with *ibr* no. 92 in the list of Thutmoses III (*LBHG,* 150) and thus must have been one of the Canaanite centers in the country. Its role during the revolt of Sheba (2 Sam 20:14–18) may indicate both a certain independence during the reign of David and the continuation of the Canaanite population. According to the proverb in 2

Sam 20:18, Beth-Maacah must have been famous for its council. The city has been identified with Tell Abel el-Qamḥ (M.R. 204296), 7 km WNW of Dan.

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**ABEL-KERAMIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾābēl kĕrāmîm* (אָבֵל כְּרָמִים)]. A town on the border of the Ammonites (Judg 11:33), probably identical with *Abila* in Eusebius' *Onomast.* (32, 14–16 Klostermann). According to Eusebius, the distance from *Abila* to Philadelphia/Rabbath Ammon/Amman is 6 roman leagues. Based on this reference, suggestions for the location of Abel-Keramim form a circle around Amman: Nāʿūr (M.R. 228142; *GP* 2: 233f), Khirbet es-Suq (*KISchr* I: 159, n. 3), and Kōm Yājūz (M.R. 237160; Mittmann 1969: 75). These identifications were all ruled out by Redford (1982a; 1982b), who identified Abel-Keramim with the *krmm* of Thutmosis' III list of Asiatic toponyms (see *ANET*, 242). However, Redford's own identification of Abel-Keramim at Tell el-ʿUmeiri (M.R. 234142) is open to criticism, since excavations there did not corroborate the LB occupation assumed by Redford on the basis of his survey. See UMEIRI, TELL EL-. Knauf (1984) adduced evidence from the Islamic conquest narratives, and proposed identifying Abel-Keramim with Saḥāb. According to early Islamic tradition, in A.D. 634 a battle was fought between "Ābil, Zīzaʾ, and Qasṭal" (cf. Donner 1981: 113f). The plain N of Zīzaʾ, NE of Qasṭal, and S of the Ammonite hill country, now transversed by the Hijaz railway and the location of Amman's international airport, would indeed have formed a splendid battleground for cavalry. To the N, this plain is dominated by Saḥāb. Sahab was a walled city in the 15th century B.C., and extensively occupied during the Iron Age. See SAHAB. Its vicinity was densely occupied by hamlets and farmsteads in the Late Byzantine and Umayyad periods (Gustavson-Gaube and Ibrahim 1986).

Abel-Keramim can be translated "pasture of vineyards," or since *Karamīm/Karamen is previously attested as this place's name, "the pasture of the vineyard town." Place names containing the *abel* element have a high frequency in the OT and in the present toponymy of S Syria, Jordan, and Palestine. These names seem to have originated among the nonurban population of this area in the course of the LB and Early Iron Age transition. These names may indicate the sociopolitical change which took place in this period, i.e. the demise of the city-states and the formation of the Aramaean, Israelite, and Ammonite tribal states.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**ABEL-MEHOLAH** (PLACE) [Heb. *ʾābēl mĕḥôlâ* (אָבֵל מְחוֹלָה)]. A town located in the western Jordan ghor (Judg 7:22; 1 Kgs 4:12). It was the hometown of the prophet Elisha, son of Shaphat (1 Kgs 19:16), and probably also of Adriel ben Barzillai the Meholathite, the son-in-law of Saul, the first King of Israel (1 Sam 18:19; 2 Sam 21:8). The name of the settlement means "meadow of dancing." It is one of a group of compound names formed with *ʾābēl,* "meadow, well-watered land," as a descriptive first element. Other examples include Abel-maim, Abel-shittim, Abel-keramim, Abel-mizraim, and Abel-beth-maacah. While the present spelling and vocalization of the second element means "dancing," it is possible that before the medial *waw* was added as a vowel marker, the nonvocalized consonantal text *mḥlh* designated the Manassite clan of Mahlah (Num 26:33; 27:1; 36:11; Josh 17:3; 1 Chr 7:18), indicating that the meadow where the town was founded belonged to the Mahlah clan.

The location of the ancient settlement is disputed. 20th-century proposals have included two sites on the eastern side of the Jordan: Tell Maqlub (M.R. 214201) inland on the north bank of the Wadi el-Yabis (Glueck 1945–48: 215–23) and Tell el-Meqbereh/Tell Abu Kharaz, in the eastern ghor at the mouth of the Wadi el-Yabis (Alt 1928:44–46; Noth 1959: 52–60); and four sites in the western Jordan ghor; Ras Umm el-Harrube (M.R. 196175) in the hills above the north bank of the Wadi Faria (Burney 1914: 94–96); Tell Abu Sifri (S)/Khirbet Tell el-Hilu, which lies at the junction of Wadi el-Helwah and Wadi el-Malih north of the Wadi Faria (Albright 1925: 18; Alt 1928:45; *GP*, 234; Simons 1959: 294; *LOB*, 284, n. 222); Tell el-Hamme, which lies at the mouth of the Wadi Losm el-hamme, about 5.25 km north of Tell Abu Sifri (Hölscher 1910: 17–18); and Tell Abu Sus, which lies about 15 km south of Beth She›an, at the southern edge of the Beth She›an Valley (Naor 1947:90–93; Zobel 1966: 97–101; Mittmann 1970: 128; Rosel 1976: 15; Zori 1977: 38–9; *LOB* 313; *HGB*, 63). The town's location on the western side of the Jordan River is clearly indicated by the description of the fifth Solomonic district in 1 Kgs 4:12. The district included the lowland areas forming an arc around the Gilboa spur, from Taanach in the Esdraelon Plain, westward, through the Beth She›an Valley, swinging south to include the western bank of the ghor to the southern boundary of Abel-Meholah, opposite Jokmeam.

A location in the western ghor is also indicated by the description of the flight of the Midianites from the Jezreel Valley in Judg 7:22–8:5. Attempting to return to their home in the east, which required the crossing of the Jordan (Judg 6:33), they are said to have moved southward from the Valley, to Beth-Shittah, as far as the riverbank of Abel-Meholah, near or opposite Tabbath. Gideon is to have sent mesengers to the inhabitants of the hill country of Ephraim to seize the waters as far as Beth-barah and also the Jordan against the retreating Midianites, to prevent them from fording the Jordan and escaping into Gilead or down the eastern ghor to the arabah region south of the Dead Sea. Their failure to act allowed the Midianites to cross the Jordan, forcing Gideon to cross in pursuit (Judg 8:1–5). Regardless of one's stance as to the historical reliability and date of the Gideon narrative (Payne 1983: 163–72), one can presume that the author of the story would have been familiar with the geography and the ancient road systems in the regions depicted in the story, which would not have changed significantly over time. The information provided requires a location for Abel-Meholah in the western ghor near the Jordan River, north of Beth-barah and near or opposite Tabbath, and north of the latitude of Succoth on the eastern bank of the Jordan, which was the first settlement Gideon reached after crossing the river. Eusebius places Abel-Meholah in the western ghor, identifying it with the Roman settlement known as Bethmaela ten Roman miles south of Scytholpolis (Beth She›an). In light of the available information, Tell el-Meqbereh/Tell Abu Kharaz, Tell Maqlub, and Ras Umm el-Harrube can be eliminated from potential candidacy.

Archaelogical surveys at Tell Abu Sifri (S)/Khirbet Tell el-Hilu have indicated occupation during the EB I, MB I, IIB, LB, Iron I-II, Pers, Hell, Rom, Byz, Medieval, and Ottoman periods (Zertal 1986: 141; cf. Gophna and Porat 1972: 218; Mittmann 1970: 336), while similar surveys at Tell el-Hamme have uncovered evidence of occupation during EB I, MB I, IIB, LB, Iron I-II, Pers, Hell, Byz, Medieval, and Ottoman periods (Gophna and Porat 1972: 214; Mittmann 1970: 338; cf. Zori 1977: 37). Excavations were begun at Tell el-Hamme in 1988. A preliminary survey at Tell Abu Sus yielded diagnostic shards from EB I-II, Iron I, Byz, and Arabic periods (Zori 1977: 38–39).

Of the three proposed locations in the western ghor, Tell abu Sifri (S)/Khirbet Tell el-Hilu and Tell el-Hamme would both seem to be located too far inland from the Jordan to have been along the theoretical Midianite retreat path in Judg 7:22. While settlements often controlled outlying fields or territory beyond the settlement proper, the reference to Abel-Meholah's "riverbank" suggests that the town was located close to the Jordan. Tell Abu Sus seems to be the best candidate in light of the description in both Judg 7:22 and 1 Kgs 4:12. In order for the equation with Tell Abu Sus to be upheld, future survey work or excavations would need to confirm occupation during the Roman period, to corroborate Eusebius testimony, and probably also Iron II occupation, the period when the Gideon story may first have become part of the Deuteronomistic History.

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**ABGAR, EPISTLE OF CHRIST TO.** This correspondence consists of two letters, one from Abgar V Ukkama "the Black," toparch of Edessa to Jesus of Nazareth, and Jesus' reply. Both are pseudepigraphic. The earliest surviving versions of this apocryphal epistle, which appear in Eusebius' *Hist. Eccl.* 1.13.6–10 (ca. A.D. 303) may be summarized as follows: Addressing Jesus as "good Savior," Abgar professes admiration for his cures accomplished "without medicines or herbs" and asserts that he must be "God, and came down from heaven to do these things, or … a Son of God." He invites Jesus to come to Edessa, on the one hand, to heal him of an illness [*pathos*] and, on the other, to take refuge since "the Jews are mocking you and wish to ill-treat you." In response, Jesus praises the ruler for his belief "not having seen me" (cf. John 20:29). Yet he replies that he cannot come since he "must first complete here all for which I was sent, and after thus completing it be taken up to him who sent me" (cf. John 16:5; 17:4). He promises to send one of his disciples to cure Abgar and to "give life to you and all those with you."

Eusebius claimed to have translated the letters from Syriac documents in the archives of Edessa (*Hist. Eccl.* 1.13.5), and he concluded, again claiming to follow his Syriac source, with the story of the fulfillment after Pentecost of Jesus' promises to Abgar, when the apostle Thomas sent Thaddeus (= Syriac "Addai"), one of the seventy, to Edessa (*Hist. Eccl.* 1.13.11–22). The letters appear in their earliest Syriac versions at the beginning of the *Doctrine of Addai* ca. A.D. 400 (Howard 1981: 6–8 = *Doc.Add.*). Here Jesus' reply is spoken to Hanan, Abgar's messenger and archivist, who puts it into writing. The wording of the letters themselves in Syriac is almost identical to Eusebius' Greek version. Here, however, and in later references two new features appear: (1) Jesus' letter adds a blessing or promise of protection for the city of Edessa (*Doc.Add.* 8:19–20; cf. CChr Ser. Latina 175: 27–105) and (2) Hanan also paints a portrait of Jesus and brings it back to Abgar with the letter from Jesus (*Doc.Add.* 8:20–9:4; Evagrius *h.e.* 4.27). Apotropaic powers were subsequently ascribed to copies of the letter as well as to the painting, which came to be known as an *acheiropoietos* icon (Dobschütz 1899: 102–96; Segal 1970: 75; Runciman 1931: 245–51). Despite the fact that Jesus' letter to Abgar was included in the Gelasian decretals' list of apocrypha (A.D. 494), the story of King Abgar and Jesus retained its popularity into the medieval period (Segal 1970: 75). Early scholarly acceptance of the letters as genuine has given way to various degrees of skepticism. Following Gutschmid (1887), Burkitt (1904: 10–38) argued that the ruler in question was Abgar IX (d. ca. A.D. 216) rather than Abgar V (d. A.D. 50) since he is mentioned in the Bardaisanite *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (= *BLC, see* BARDAISAN OF EDESSA) as having forbidden emasculation in honor of Atargatis when he "came to the faith" (*BLC* 607). Burkitt held further that, although the letters were pseudepigraphic, together with the rest of the *Doctrine of Addai* they shed light on Jewish-Christian evangelization of Edessa, which began in the latter half of the 2d century. In 1934 Bauer denied any

historical basis for the Abgar legend (Bauer 1971:2–12). Literary models for the legend have been seen in Josephus' account of the conversion of the Jewish rulers of Adiabene (Marquart 1903; Segal 1970: 67–69; cf. Murray 1975: 8–9) or in Manichaean literature (Drijvers 1980).

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**ABI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbî* (אֲבִי)]. Var. ABIJAH. Wife of Ahaz, king of Judah, and mother of Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18:2 = 2 Chr 29:1). Abi's name appears in the regnal formula of her son, Hezekiah. She is the daughter of Zechariah, whose place of origin is unknown. In the Chronicler's parallel account she is called Abijah [Heb *ʾabîyâ*]. See QUEEN.

LINDA S. SCHEARING

**ABI-ALBON** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbî-ʿalbôn* (אֲבִי־עַלְבוֹן)]. An Arbathite listed in a roster of King David's thirty chief warriors (2 Sam 23:31). His native town is probably Beth-arabah, possibly to be identified with *el-Gharabeh,* southeast of Jericho (cf. Jos 18:18, 22). The confusion associated with this name is signaled by the substitution of the name "Abiel" in the 1 Chr 11:32 parallel list. Several significant opinions about the name have been offered. Zadok (1979: 105) believes that Heb *ʾăbî-ʿalbôn* may be an altered form of an unattested *ʾabi-baʿlon,* and that the MT tendency to change pagan theophoric elements (such as *baʿlon*) to *ʾēl* accounts for the variant "Abiel" in 1 Chr 11:32. Mazar (1986: 94) holds that the original text read "Abibaal son of the Arbathite"; the replacement of the *baʿal* element with *ʾēl* rendered the Abiel associated with "the Arbathite" (preserved in 1 Chr 11:32), while the dropping of the *b* consonant in *bʿl* and fusion with the following word "son of" (Heb *bn*) rendered *ʾbyʿlbn* Abi-albon (2 Sam 23:31). McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB, 492) suggests that an even more complex textual history lies behind the MT reference to Abi-Albon. He believes that 2 Sam 23:31 originally read "Abial the Beth-arabathite" (Heb *ʾbyʿl bt hʿrbty*), but that the common prefix for town names, *bêt,* had been misread *bat,* "daughter of," and was "corrected" to *ben,* "son of." This "corrected" version is reflected in the LXX: *abiēl huios tou Arabōthitou,* "Abiel son of the Arabathite." Finally, a fusion of the name "Abial" with the word "son of" resulted in the name *ʾbyʿlbn,* vocalized Abi-Albon.

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**ABIASAPH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbîʾāsāp* (אֲבִיאָסָף)]. One of three sons of Korah (Exod 6:24), who led an uprising against Moses and Aaron in the wilderness (Numbers 16). Abiasaph is listed as the head of a Korahite clan in a genealogy relating Aaron and Moses to the Levitical order (Exod 6:14–25; cf. Num 26:5–11).
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**ABIATHAR** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾebyātār* (אֶבְיָתָר)]. The son of Ahimelech and priest of David (1 Sam 22:20–23). Abiathar fled to David with an ephod after the massacre of the priests of Nob at the hands of Doeg the Edomite. Saul had ordered the slaughter after hearing that Ahimelech had harbored David, supplied him with bread and a sword, and also inquired of God on his behalf. The text is not consistent concerning the precise location of Abiathar's delivery of the ephod to David. Earlier David is reported to have been in the forest of Hereth in Judah (1 Sam 22:5), yet we are later informed that Abiathar had fled to David at Keilah (1 Sam 23:6). A common solution, based on the LXX, is to understand this verse as referring to Abiathar's earlier flight and that he later accompanied David to Keilah. There is some confusion concerning the relationship between Abiathar and Ahimelech. In 2 Sam 8:17 the MT reads "Ahimelech the son of Abiathar," which conflicts with 1 Sam 23:26 and 30:7, whereas the Syriac reads "Abiathar son of Ahimelek." The Hebrew of 1 Chr 18:16 points to a similar confusion, but reads "Abimelech son of Abiathar." The LXX, Syr, and Vg suggest "Ahimelech" in line with 2 Sam 8:17. The reference to Abiathar in Mark 2:26 is usually explained as a result of this confusion in 2 Sam 8:17. However, it is difficult to see how Mark could have made such an error when the reference was to the incident with David at Nob where he accepted the consecrated bread from Ahimelech. The parallel passages in Matt 12:1–8 and Luke 6:1–5 both omit any reference to Abiathar.

The episode represents an important transition in the narrative of Saul's decline and David's rise since Saul has become increasingly isolated, culminating in his complete estrangement from Yahweh. The murder of the priests of Nob and the transfer of the ephod to David by Abiathar symbolizes Yahweh's complete withdrawal from Saul and his continuing presence with David. Abiathar provides an important medium of communication between Yahweh and David by consulting the ephod on David's behalf (1 Sam 23:9–12). McCarter (*1 Samuel* AB, 366) understands the episode as depicting David as the protector and preserver of the priesthood of Nob, whereas Saul is depicted as its destroyer. Gunn (1980: 88) understands the episode in literary terms; Abiathar provides David with access to the ephod and thus access to the divine realm of foreknowledge.

Those who treat the narratives in historical terms also see the relationship between David and Abiathar as particularly significant. During the rebellion of Absalom, Abiathar is willing to accompany David in his flight from Jerusalem (2 Sam 15:24–36). He and Zadok are said to be responsible for the ark of the covenant of God. Zadok and Abiathar are told by David to return to Jerusalem (15:27–28). They later (17:15–22) inform David, through their sons, of Hushai's warning not to wait at the fords of the wilderness. Bright (*BHI,* 200–1) sees David's strategy here as a brilliant move to combine Abiathar, as the representative of tribal Israel, with Zadok, as the representative of the indigenous Jerusalemite priesthood. Abiathar's support for Adonijah and Zadok's support for Solomon in the struggle for succession to the throne of David is often understood in similar terms. The representatives of tribal Israel were ousted in a purge at the beginning of Solomon's reign with Abiathar being exiled to Anathoth. Solomon spared him only because of his service to David (1 Kgs 2:26). Zadok's appointment in his place (1 Kgs 2:35) is understood in terms of the victory of urban Canaanite religious specialists. However, in the subsequent list of Solomon's officers, Abiathar is still recorded as priest alongside Zadok (1 Kgs 4:4); presumably, this refers to the beginning of the reign. The exile of Abiathar is presented in the Deuteronomistic History as the fulfillment of the word of Yahweh against Eli (1 Sam 2:30–36). This forms part of the common prophecy-fulfillment scheme in Deuteronomistic History. The implicit assumption that Abiathar was a descendant of Eli presumably rests upon 1 Sam 14:3.

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**ABIB** [Heb *ʾābîb* (אָבִיב)]. The first month of the Canaanite calendar, roughly corresponding to March–April. See the CALENDARS articles.

**ABIB, TEL.** See TEL-ABIB (PLACE).

**ABIDA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbîdāʿ* (אֲבִידָע)]. The son of Midian and grandson of Abraham's second wife, Keturah (Gen 25:4 = 1 Chr 1:33). The name "Abida" may be either a patronym or a toponym. Abida is used as a patronym both in the genealogy at the end of the Abraham narrative (Gen 25:1–4), and in the genealogy connecting Adam to Israel/Jacob (1 Chronicles 1). This patronym has traditionally been associated with the Arabian tribe of Ibadidi (*ANET*, 286; Glaser 1890: 259; Musil 1926: 292; Abel *GP*, 287); however, Ephʿal (1982: 89, 217) rejects this identification because it involves two radical a spelling change of the name "Ibadidi." Abida may also be a toponym associated with the modern town named *al-Badʿ* (or *al-Bedʿ;* a shortened form of Heb *ʾăbîdāʿ?*), located 25 km east of the Gulf of ʿAqaba and 120 km south of *al-ʿAqaba* in northwest Arabia, (Winnett 1970: 192; see also von Wissmann PWSup 12: 544 on *al-Badʿ* and *Mughayir Šuʿayb*).

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**ABIDAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbîdān* (אֲבִידָן)]. The son of Gideoni and leader of the Benjaminites (Num 2:22; 10:24) who assisted Moses in taking a census of the Israelites in the wilderness of Sinai (Num 1:1–16). Abidan also contributed offerings on behalf of the Benjaminites on the ninth day of the tabernacle dedication (Num 7:60–65).
MARK J. FRETZ

**ABIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbîʾēl* (אֲבִיאֵל)]. **1.** A Benjaminite, the father of Kish and Ner, and the grandfather of Saul and Abner (1 Sam 9:1; 14:51). The name probably means "my father is [the god] El." Abiel represents the fourth generation in the Saulide genealogy in 1 Sam 9:1. An identification of Abiel with Abijah, the son of Becher in the Chronicler's genealogy of Benjamin (1 Chr 7:8), has been suggested on the presumption that Becher can be equated with the Saulide ancestor Becorath, and that the final divine name elements have been interchanged (Malamat 1968: 171–72, n. 28).

Abiel's absence from the Saulide genealogy in 1 Chr 8:29–32 and 9:39–44 has been explained in different ways. One approach has been to argue that the name was dropped as the ancient records were adjusted to reflect altered rankings within Saul's extended family for possible succession to the Israelite throne (Flanagan 1981:59). A second approach has been to posit that the name is found in the Chronicles lists in the corrupted form Baʿal in 8:30 and 9:36 (Demsky 1971:17). In order for this view to be possible, it would also need to presume the principle espoused in the first approach to explain why Abiel becomes the son or brother of Kish in Chronicles instead of his father, as in Samuel. A third approach would be to suggest that Abiel has been deliberately removed from the genealogies in Chronicles and replaced by Ner as a means of secondarily linking the Saulide genealogy with the post-exilic genealogy of Gibeon (1 Chr 9:35–38 = 1 Chr 8:29–32). The occurrence of a Ner in the late Gibeonite list (1 Chr 9:36) seems to have led to the truncation of the early Saulide genealogy and to the substitution of Ner, Saul's uncle, for Abiel,

his grandfather. In this way the Ners would appear to be a single individual and the Saulide genealogy could be grafted onto the Gibeonite one (see NER).

**2.** The Arbathite, named in 1 Chr 11:32 as one of the "mighty men" of David's armies. In a list detailing the same group of individuals in 2 Sam 23:31 he appears as Abialbon, one of the military elite group known as the "Thirty." The variant reading in 2 Sam 23:11, Abiel *son* of the Arbathite, may indicate that the original text of that verse read "Abiel/Abial son of the Arbathite," or "Abi‹al/Abiba‹al the Beth-Arabathite" (Mc Carter *2 Samuel* 492; Mazar 1963: 316 n. 4). The name "Abial" would mean "my (divine) father is ‹Al (= the "High One"), while the name "Abibaal" would mean "my (divine) father is Baal (or 'the Lord')." The gentilic Arbathite indicates the person's town of origin, or clan association (see ARBATHITE).

Abiel's status within David's army is somewhat obscured by his twofold designation as a member of the "Mighty Men" and of "the Thirty." The correct vocalization and identity of the term usually translated "the Thirty," *šlyšm,* is disputed. One group understands it to designate the group of men who served as the third person of the chariot team (i.e., Haupt 1902). A second group suggests that it designated an institution not necessarily limited to thirty members that served either as the king's bodyguard (Elliger 1935: 68) or supreme command (Mazar 1963: 310). According to a third approach, the single form was a title meaning "of the third rank" that designated high-ranking officers (Mastin 1979: 153–54; Na›aman 1988: 71, 75). Of the three possibilities, the last one requires the least number of textual emendations and provides the most cogent explanation for the required equation of the functions "military elite" (*gibbôrîm*) and "officers" (*šālîšîm*) that are assigned to the same list of individuals in the two texts in 2 Sam 23:8–39 and 1 Chr 11:10–47. The group of officers apparently was headed by the commander of the entire militia, Abishai, and he was followed in rank by "the Three," Josheb-bassebeth, Eleazer, and Shammah, who served as commanders of the three subunits of the professional army. The remaining individuals, including Abiel, then served as commanders over smaller divisions within the three subunits (Na›aman 1988: 75). See also DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

**ABIEZER** (PERSON) [Heb *›ăbî‹ezer* (אֲבִיעֶזֶר)]. ABIEZRITE. Var. IEZER; IEZERITE. The name of two individuals in the Hebrew Bible. Although Abiezer may mean "father of help," or "my father is help," *›ab* (father) is here a relational noun used as a theophoric (or divine name) element and the subject of a nominal clause: "Ab is help" (*IPN,* 33, 67–75, 154). The use of the relational nouns *›ab* and *›aḥ* (brother) in a theophoric sense, according to Noth, derives from a period in early Semitic tribal history when the tribe maintained a familial identification with the tribal deity. This special relationship to the god of the tribe allowed that god to be designated "father" or "brother." Thus the name "Abiezer" would designate not a single god, universally identified as *›ab,* but the deity of the respective tribe (cf. Abijah "Yahweh is father"). The NT use of the Aramaic *Abba* for the deity would therefore appear to have its antecedents in ancient Semitic tribal religion.

**1.** The name of one of the families of Manasseh (Josh 17:2), named for its male progenitor (1 Chr 7:18). This Abiezer was the "son" of Gilead, a descendant of Machir; the reference to Iezer (Heb *›iy‹ezer*) among the "sons" of Gilead and to the family of the Iezerites in Numbers 26:30 probably applies to the

same group. This family received its inheritance west of the Jordan, and the judge and deliverer Gideon belonged to it (Judg 6:11, 34; 8:2).

**2.** A Benjaminite warrior among David's champions, who was a native of Anathoth (2 Sam 23:27 = 1 Chr 11:28). The same village was home to Abiathar the priest, and his likely descendant, the prophet Jeremiah. This same Abiezer is listed as the officer over David's monthly levies of 24,000 in the ninth month (1 Chr 27:12). The historicity of this second list, however, and its concomitant figures, is doubtful. It is more likely that 1 Chronicles 27 reflects more of an idealized view of David's military organization than a real one. As one of David's champions (Heb *šālišîm;* RSV: The Thirty), Abiezer was more likely a member of an elite corps of fighters loyal only to the king, rather than an officer over his monthly levies. See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS .

D. G. SCHLEY

**ABIGAIL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbîgayil* (אֲבִיגַיִל)*; ʾăbîgal* (אֲבִיגַל)]. **1.** Wife, first of Nabal, then of David (1 Samuel 25). She appears as the second wife/mother mentioned in two lists of David's sons born in Hebron (2 Sam 3:2–5 and 1 Chr 3:1–3). The name of her son is problematic, being either Chileab (2 Sam 3:3), Daluiah (LXX—2 Kgdms 3:3), or Daniel (1 Chr 3:1). Abigail first appears in 1 Samuel 25 as the wife of Nabal the Calebite. She is portrayed as the "ideal wife"—both beautiful and intelligent—while her husband is presented as ill behaved and rude. When Nabal refuses to accommodate David's request for food, it is Abigail who, unknown to her husband, hastily amasses the food and delivers it to David. Her speech to David, a masterful example of tact and diplomacy (vv 24–31), succeeds in averting David's wrath at Nabal (vv 32–35). Upon hearing of his wife's generosity, Nabal's heart "died within him" (v 37) and ten days later he was dead. 1 Samuel 25 concludes with David's marriage to both Abigail of Carmel, and to Ahinoam of Jezreel.

Abigail's name appears five times in the OT outside of 1 Samuel 25. Three times it is linked with Ahinoam of Jezreel. Both Abigail and Ahinoam accompany David to Gath (1 Sam 27:3), where they are later captured by an invading group of Amalekites (1 Sam 30:5). After their rescue (1 Sam 30:18), they journey with David to Hebron (2 Sam 2:2) where they bear David children (2 Sam 3:3 = 1 Chr 3:1). Of the five times Abigail's name appears outside of 1 Samuel 25, all except one (1 Chr 3:1) carry with it the epithet "widow of Nabal."

Recent literary approaches to 1 Samuel 25 underscore Abigail's speech and character. J. D. Levenson (1978) argues 1 Samuel 25 is a "narrative analogy" presenting a "proleptic glimpse" of 2 Samuel 11. Unlike Bathsheba, Abigail is the "ideal woman" whose "rhetorical genius" prevents David from killing her husband (Levenson 1978: 11–28). D. Gunn (1980: 98–100), while sharing Levenson's appreciation for the speech's artistry, rejects (1980: 154, n. 13) his conclusion that the episode is a "moral allegory." Abigail's speech reveals her to be "shrewd" rather than good, while Nabal is "unwise" rather than evil. While both Levenson and Gunn analyze Abigail's speech, A. Berlin focuses on Abigail's characterization. Abigail is an exaggerated stereotype—the model wife. David's treatment of her (as well as of Michal, Abishag, and Bathsheba) represents an "indirect presentation" of David. Moreover, each "private" response to the women in his life corresponds to a phase of David's "public" life. Thus, David's "eager but gentlemanly response" to Abigail mirrors his "self assurance as a popular leader" (Berlin 1983: 30–33).

Behind the literary presentation of Abigail lies the socio-political realities of her marriage to David. Nabal was a wealthy and probably influential Calebite. David's marriage to Nabal's widow was useful in bringing David much needed support from the south. This support might have been instrumental in David's being crowned king at Hebron—an area associated with the figure of Caleb in the text (Levenson 1978: 24–28).

**2.** Sister of David (1 Chr 2:16) and Zeruiah (2 Sam 17:25, 1 Chr 2:16); mother of Amasa (2 Sam 17:25, 1 Chr 2:17). The name of Abigail's father is unclear. 1 Chr 2:13–16 identifies Jesse as the father of Abigail, while 2 Sam 17:25 says she was the "daughter of NAHASH." Most critics prefer the reading in 1 Chronicles 2, explaining the discrepancy by either: (1) understanding "Nahash" as the mother of Abigail

rather than the father; (2) declaring the reading in 2 Sam 17:25 corrupt, an intrusion from v 27; or (3) positing an earlier husband (Nahash) of Jesse's wife, who fathered Abigail and Zeruiah.

The name of Abigail's husband is also problematic. The MT of 2 Sam 17:25 gives the name of Amasa's father as "ITHRA the Israelite," while 1 Chr 2:17 says it was "JETHER the Ishmaelite." The issue is further complicated by the variant reading in the $^{M}$ which identifies him as a "Jezreelite."

J. D. Levenson and B. Halpern (1980) argue that Ithra/Jethro was the real name of Abigail's husband ("Nabal") mentioned in 1 Samuel 25. They find it highly unlikely that the only two Abigails in the OT would be: (1) contemporaries, (2) sister-in-laws, and (3) married to men from the same geographical area (assuming Ithra/Jethro/Nabal to be from Jezreel and Jezreel to refer to the Judean town near Hebron). They therefore conclude there was only one Abigail—David's sister—who later became David's wife. Later tradition suppressed the memory of this incestuous union.

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LINDA S. SCHEARING

**ABIHAIL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbîḥāyil* (אֲבִיחָיִל)]. **1.** Father of Zuriel; descendant of Merari, Levi's youngest son (Num 3:35). Abihail's name appears in the epithet of his son found in the third and last division of the census list in Num 3:14–39. The census, ordered by Moses, involved the three Levitical branches of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. Abihail's son was leader of the Merarite branch during their journey in the wilderness.

**2.** Wife of Abishur, of the House of Judah; mother of Ahban and Molid (1 Chr 2:29). Her name appears in a genealogy of Jerahmeel, the great-grandson of Judah and Tamar.

**3.** A Gadite (1 Chr 5:14). Abihail is mentioned in the Gadite genealogy found in 1 Chr 5:11–17.

**4.** Mother of Mahalath; wife of Jerimoth; and daughter of Eliab (2 Chr 11:18). Abihail's name occurs in a genealogical note concerning Rehoboam's wives. The reading of the verse, however, is problematic:

*KJV:* And Rehoboam took him Mahalath the daughter of Jerimoth the son of David to wife, *and Abihail* the daughter of Eliab the son of Jesse;

*RSV:* Rehoboam took as wife Mahalath the daughter of Jerimoth the son of David, *and of Abihail* …

Some translators (i.e. KJV) conclude v 18 mentions two wives (Mahalath and Abihail) while others (i.e. RSV) assume only one (Mahalath). Although the Hebrew of v 18 is unclear, the context is helpful in determining its meaning. Since the following verses (vv 19–20) refer to v 18 using only the feminine singular, it can be concluded that only one wife, Mahalath, is mentioned. Thus, the reading which understands Abihail as Mahalath's mother (RSV), is to be preferred.

Abihail's daughter, Mahalath, is one of eighteen wives credited to Rehoboam, king of Judah. The marriages of both mother and daughter are particularly interesting. Abihail's husband (Jerimoth) and father (Eliab) were both sons of David. Her daughter married David's grandson (Rehoboam). Thus both Abihail and Mahalath married their cousins. Their marriages reflect a period of intermarriage within the Davidic house not witnessed elsewhere in the text.

**5.** Father of Queen Esther; uncle of Mordecai (Esth 2:15; 9:29; cf. also 2:7). His name appears twice in the epithet of his daughter, the alleged wife of King Ahasuerus.

LINDA S. SCHEARING

**ABIHU** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbîhû* (אֲבִיהוּא)]. One of four sons born to Aaron, the brother of Moses, by Elisheba (Exod 6:23). At Sinai, Abihu was singled out by God, along with Aaron and Nadab, as one of those leaders who would accompany Moses up the mountain (Exod 24:1, 9). He also performed priestly services for God as one of Aaron's sons (Exod 28:1; Num 3:2; 26:60; 1 Chr 5:29—Eng6:3; 24:1). When

Abihu and his brother Nadab offered "unholy fire" to the Lord, they were devoured by God's holy fire as punishment (Lev 10:1; Num 26:61; cf. Numbers 16). Although the sin committed by Abihu was not clearly defined (Lev 10:1–4; see Laughlin 1976 for various opinions), it served as a point of reference in identifying Abihu within the Bible (Num 3:4; 1 Chr 24:2). In Rabbinic literature the sins of Nadab and Abihu were multiplied and this incident (Lev 10:1–4) became the basis for teachings on cultic and ethical behavior in Judaism (see Shinan 1979).

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MARK J. FRETZ

**ABIHUD** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbîhûd* (אֲבִיהוּד)]. A grandson of Ben-jamin through Bela (1 Chr 8:3), the name "Abihud" is preserved in an extended genealogy of Israel that also identifies tribal locations within Palestine (1 Chronicles 2–8). According to the MT, the first three sons of Bela were "Addar, and Gera, and Abihud" (Heb *ʾaddār wĕgērāʾ waʾăbîhûd*); however, the text could easily be emended to read "Addar, and Gera, *that is,* the father of Ehud" (Heb *ʾaddār wĕgērāʾ waʾăbîʾēhûd*). Baker (1980) argues that the two separate individuals named Gera listed as sons of Bela (1 Chr 8:3, 5) were distinguished by the waw explicative, which followed the first Gera, providing a detail about him being the father of Ehud. Thus, MT *waʾăbîhûd* is divided into *waʾăbî,* "that is, the father of," plus *ʾēhûd* "Ehud," the judge mentioned elsewhere in his own right as the son of Gera (Judg 3:15). Note also the EHUD who had a son named Gera (1 Chr 8:6–7). Kuhn (1923) observed that a misunderstanding of the phrase *ʾby hwdyh* produced the name *ʾăbîhûd* ("Abihud"), and the Gk *abioud* (Matt 1:13) was based on the LXX rendering of this synthetic name (see ABIUD).

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MARK J. FRETZ

**ABIJAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbîyâ* (אֲבִיָּה)]. Var. ABIJAM; ABI. **1.** According to the MT, a man from the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr 7:6, 8). He was the grandson of Benjamin, being the son of Becher who was Benjamin's son. But some scholars are suspicious of the text of 1 Chr 7:6a. Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 145–49) present a detailed explanation in support of the contention that "Benjamin" in v 6 is a corruption of "Zebulun" and that 1 Chr 7:6–12 contains a Zebulunite genealogy. In that case Abijah would be from the tribe of Zebulun.

**2.** The second son of Samuel (1 Chr 6:13—Eng6:28). When Samuel appointed him and his older brother, Joel, as judges over Israel (1 Sam 8:1), they were corrupted by bribery. This perversion of justice contributed to Israel's disillusionment with the office of judge, which in turn aroused among the people the desire for a king (1 Sam 8:5).

**3.** A chief among the descendants of either Eleazar or Ithamar, sons of Aaron (1 Chr 24:3–4, 10). When David assigned the priests to service in the temple according to divisions determined by lot, Abijah became the leader of the 8th (1 Chr 24:10) from among 24 divisions. In their service the members of his division (as of all divisions) were obligated to observe the procedures first instituted by Aaron (1 Chr 24:19). Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist, was serving in the temple with the division of Abijah (Luke 1:5) when he received the announcement that he would have a son.

**4.** According to the MT of 1 Chr 2:24, she was the wife of Hezron, the mother of Ashhur, and the grandmother of Tekoa. She was probably the daughter of Machir (1 Chr 2:21). But the MT is uncertain here, an uncertainty which the LXX confirms by giving a different reading for v 24a, though it follows the MT in identifying Abijah as the wife of Hezron. Noting the LXX's dissatisfaction with the MT, modern scholars have attempted to reconstruct the text, and in the process they have altered also the name

"Abijah" and its immediate syntax. Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 92) offer one reconstruction. In this reconstruction "Abijah" is corrected to "Abiu," or "Abihu," meaning "his father." The reconstructed passage then reads, "Caleb went in unto Ephrath, the wife of his father, and she bore …" In this reading, "Abijah" is no longer a proper name. Williamson (1979: 353–55) offers another reconstruction. He considers the phrase "and the wife of Hezron was Abijah" to be a gloss; this eliminates the word "Abijah," in any of its possible forms or meanings, from the original text. Both Curtis and Madsen and Williamson provide detailed accounts of their process of reconstruction. The RSV translates: "Caleb went in to Ephrathah, the wife of Hezron his father, and she bore …" This translation also eliminates "Abijah" as a proper name.

**5.** A son of Jeroboam, king of Israel (1 Kgs 14:1). During Jeroboam's reign he fell seriously ill, which prompted Jeroboam to seek from Ahijah the prophet a favorable word on the issue of the illness. But in his quest, Jeroboam proceeded in a manner which determined some of the details of a melancholy conclusion to Abijah's illness. Having conducted himself wickedly as king, Jeroboam had already gained the disfavor of Ahijah, who had designated him king (1 Kgs 11:28–30) in the name of Yahweh. Therefore he sent his wife in disguise to Shiloh to seek the word from the prophet. But the design failed. Through Yahweh's intervention, the prophet identified her when she arrived and spoke judgment on Abijah: he would die when she reentered Tirzah to return to her residence. The boy died in accordance with the prophet's word. After his death, the seal on his father's wickedness, Israel awarded him a dubious distinction: Israel mourned him and buried him with proper ceremony. By contrast, all other members of Jeroboam's family upon their death were unceremoniously eaten by either dogs, if they died in the city, or birds, if in the country (1 Kgs 14:1–18). Abijah was awarded this distinction because in him was found "something pleasing to the Lord" (1 Kgs 14:13); the text does not identify what in the child pleased the Lord. The LXX includes this account (3 Kgdms 12:24g–n) in another version and earlier in the narrative of Jeroboam's life, immediately after his return from a flight to Egypt and before his accession. It also preserves details about Abijah which are lacking in the MT. According to the LXX, Abijah was born in Egypt. His mother's name was Ano; she was an Egyptian and a sister-in-law of Susakim, king of Egypt. Accordingly, Abijah was Susakim's nephew. Debus (1967: 55–92) discusses in detail the differences between the versions of the narrative in the MT and the LXX.

**6.** See ABIJAH, KING OF JUDAH.

**7.** The mother of King Hezekiah (2 Chr 29:1 = 2 Kgs 18:2). She was the wife of King Ahaz and the daughter of Zechariah. In 2 Kings she is called "ABI" in the MT, and "Abou" in the LXX.

**8.** A priest during the governorship of Nehemiah (Neh 10:8—Eng10:7). He endorsed, by the impress of his seal, a covenant which the people under Ezra's leadership made with Yahweh at the conclusion of the Feast of Tabernacles.

**9.** A priest, perhaps a Levitical priest, who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Neh 12:1, 4). He was one of the chiefs of the priests in the days of Jeshua (Neh 12:7), and he was the father of Zichri upon whom his authority devolved (Neh 12:17) in the days of Jeshua's son, Joiakim (Neh 12:12).

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GERALD J. PETTER

**ABIJAH, KING OF JUDAH.** Var. ABIJAM. The son of Rehoboam and king of Judah (1 Kgs 14:31), whose mother was Maacah, daughter of Abishalom (1 Kgs 15:2). The spelling of the same varies. In the MT of 1 Kings the name appears as Abijam (*ʾăbîyām*); some mss and the MT of Chronicles have Abijah (*ʾăbîyâ*), while the LXX has *Abiou.* It is also possible that the king's name was a theophoric compounded with the divine name "Yam," the Canaanite god of the sea, who is known from Ugaritic literature. Gray (*1–2 Kings*[3] OTL, 347, n. c) thinks that such a name of a king of Judah is inconceivable and that the divine element would have been a form of Yahweh. He argues that the LXX reading *Abiou*

suggests a variant *Abiyo* in which the final *w* may have been corrupted to *m*, which it closely resembles in the photo-Hebraic script.

He is said to have reigned three years (ca. 913–911 B.C.E.), but it appears it may have been only two (1 Kgs 15:2; 2 Chr 13:2; cf. 1 Kgs 15:1, 9). LXX reads "6 years" for the length of his reign: this would suggest a confusion between *šš,* "6," and *šlš,* "3." Miller and Hayes (*HAIJ,* 240) speculate that, owing to the short length of his reign and the extended length of the reign of his successor, Abijah either died early and Asa was a minor when he became king, or the queen mother acted as regent during the early years of his son Asa.

The evidence concerning Abijah's mother is confusing and inconsistent. 1 Kgs 15:2 records that his mother's name was Maacah the daughter of Abishalom (*ʾăbîšālôm*) whereas 2 Chr 11:20 reads "Absalom" (*ʾabšālôm*). Gray (*1–2 Kings*[3] OTL, 347–78, n. g) accepts the reading "Absalom" and argues that Maacah may well have been the "granddaughter" of Absalom, David's son, particularly since the usual place of origin of the father of the queen mother has been omitted. A further difficulty is that at the accession of his son, Asa's mother is also said to be Maacah the daughter of Abishalom (1 Kgs 15:10 = 2 Chr 15:16). Gray (*1–2 Kings*[3] OTL, 348, n. f) believes that 1 Kgs 15:10 may indicate that Abijah and Asa were brothers rather than son (cf. *HAIJ,* 240). He offers the alternative explanation that since Abijah reigned for such a short time Maacah may have remained as "the principal lady," while the mother of Asa was omitted. However, the MT and Vg of 2 Chronicles 13 record the name of Abijah's mother as Micaiah, daughter of Uriel of Gibeah. The LXX and Syr follow 1 Kgs 15:2 in suggesting that the queen mother was Maacah.

Although Abijah was condemned in typical Deuteronomistic terms for apostasy, nevertheless the dynasty was established for David's sake. It is stated that despite his apostasy, Yahweh gave him a lamp in Jerusalem, set up a son after him, and established Jerusalem (1 Kgs 15:4). The establishment of Jerusalem is important in the theology of the Deuteronomistic History as the site of the central sanctuary. The treatment of the reign of Abijah admirably illustrates the theological bias and selectivity of the Deuteronomistic History. The negative presentation of his reign invites a direct comparison with that of Asa his son who is portrayed as a cultic reformer in line with Deuteronomistic principles, who even removed the Asherah of Abijah's wife Maacah (1 Kgs 15:13). The one political aspect of the reign which is mentioned briefly, without comment, is that Abijah and Jeroboam I ben Nebat were at war. The Deuteronomistic History provides little, if any, useful information for the historian.

The Chronicler presents a significantly different account, representing Abijah as righteous and divinely blessed (2 Chr 13). His 14 wives, 22 sons, and 16 daughters are presented as a sign of favor from Yahweh (2 Chr 13:21). Whereas the Deuteronomistic History merely notes that Abijah was involved in the continuing border warfare with the north (1 Kgs 15:7), the Chronicler preserves a tradition of a major military conflict near mount Zemaraim in the hill country of Ephraim (2 Chr 13:13–20). Abijah's moralizing speech to Jeroboam and Israel is in distinct contrast to his rejection in 1 Kgs 15:3 for apostasy. The speech is usually understood as representing the Chronicler's own ideology since it justifies the Davidic dynasty and the Jerusalem cult installed by David. It then acts as a rejection of the apostasy of the north with a strong claim that Yahweh is the god of Judah as demonstrated in the military victory. Williamson (1977: 114), however, rejects the common interpretation that this is a piece of anti-Samaritan polemic, arguing that, although the speech criticizes the northern kingdom, it carries within it an appeal for repentance. Following Abijah's speech of justification to Jeroboam, he wins an overwhelming victory capturing Bethel, Jeshanah, and Ephron with their villages (2 Chr 13:19). The historical reliability of this information is difficult to assess; Miller and Hayes (*HAIJ,* 247) think that at most it can only refer to a border skirmish. The exaggerated numbers (see Dillard *2 Chronicles* WBC, 106–7) are a further reason for questioning the veracity of this report. Williamson (1977: 114–17) has demonstrated the importance of 2 Chronicles 13 within the structure of the work of the Chronicler, who draws a sharp distinction between the faithfulness of Abijah and the apostasy of Ahaz in 2 Chronicles 28. Ahaz is utterly condemned in terms which echo Abijah's rejection of the north in his speech to Jeroboam.

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**ABIJAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾabîyām* (אֲבִיָם)]. See ABIJAH (PERSON).

**ABILA OF THE DECAPOLIS** (M.R. 231231). A city belonging to a league of cities called the Decapolis, originally having ten members.

**A. Location and Identification**

Abila of the Decapolis has been identified with Quailibah (M.R. 231231) in N Jordan. Eusebius (*Onomast.* 32.16) states that Abila was located twelve Roman miles E of Gadara. The name from this ancient site has continued to modern times—Schumacher (1889) found that local tradition attached the name Abil to the N tell. In the 1984 excavations a stone inscription with the name "Abila" written in Greek was found on the site. An inscription (A.D. 133–44) at Tayibeh near Palmyra speaks of "Well-heralded Abila of the Decapolis." Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5.14), lists this Abila separately from the Lysanias Abila (W of Damascus), and Hierokles (*Synekdemos* 720, 721) identifies it as part of Provincia Arabia. Abila probably became a Decapolis city sometime between Alexander's conquests and the zenith of Seleucid power (ca. 198 B.C.). Polybius (5.69–70) states that Antiochus III (ca. 218 B.C.) conquered Abila, Pella, and Gadara. The Decapolis as a region is mentioned in the Gospels (Matt 4:25, Mark 5:20; 7:31), but no specific cities are mentioned.

Abila consists of two tells, Abila (N) and Umm el ʿAmad (S) with a "saddle" joining the two. The site is bordered on the E by Wadi Quailibah, on the N by Wadi Abila, and on the S by Ain Quailibah and its wadi. Tombs and graves are cut into the soft limestone mainly along the wadi ledges on the E, S, and N.

**B. Survey and Excavation**

The major inquiry into the site began in 1978 when W. Harold Mare of Covenant Seminary visited Abila as part of an overview of several Decapolis cities. A cooperative effort ensued with Dr. Adnan Hadidi, Director of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, and W. H. Mare as principal investigators to survey the area and excavate the site over several seasons beginning in 1980.

In 1980 a small survey team, using a time-controlled transect surface sherd collection technique in segments across the site, determined that there was occupation on the site at various times from the EB through the Umayyad periods. The heaviest concentration was in the Byzantine and Umayyad periods, diminishing in the Roman, Hellenistic, Iron Age II, and EB periods, with minimal evidence from the Chalcolithic, Neolithic, and Islamic periods. The subsequent excavations have confirmed the evidence of the 1980 survey project.

Ruins of a large rectangular building were found N of the stub of an E-W acropolis wall which stretches along the S crest of the tell. This building proved to be the remains of a 5th–6th-century triapsidal Byzantine basilica, with evidence at the central apse that it was built over an earlier Roman building (a temple?). The Umayyad rebuilding over the basilica and stockpiling of basilica architectural fragments for further use imply an Umayyad presence and possible construction of a mosque. Excavation N of the Byzantine basilica produced Byzantine and earlier materials—Byzantine loci and a water channel, remains of earlier Roman buildings, and reuse of still earlier Hellenistic walls. On the N slope was found a city wall preserved to a height of ca. 5 m; this proved to be at least of Roman-Byzantine origin. The S slope of the N tell had remains of a stairway and gate (?).

On the W side of the acropolis of Umm el ʿAmad were ruins of a residential section (areas D 5–7, 8–10) including a street, market, and a palaestra or residence with a two-column entrance. To the E of the residential section were the remains of a basilica (areas D 1–4, 11, 12), which Schumacher (1889) had suggested was a "temple," but which was another Byzantine basilica. Farther still to the E, was a theater nestled along the slopes of the "saddle." The theater overlooked the remains of a massive ruined building (a Roman bath?) and an ancient road which led eastward over a bridge crossing wadi Quailibah. A third Byzantine basilica was located on a ledge E of the theater. The three basilicas so far found at the site suggest a possible Byzantine bishopric headquarters at Abila.

Three underground aqueducts have been investigated. The Khureibah Aqueduct stretches 2.5 km, bringing water from the S to the Ain Qualibah area on the S of Umm el ʿAmad; this aqueduct was apparently dug during the Roman period. Two other aqueducts (ca. 1400 m long) direct water N from Ain Quailibah under the E edge of Umm el ʿAmad to the saddle area between the two tells. The upper aqueduct (one to two m higher on the ledge) seems to date from the Roman-Byzantine period, while the lower aqueduct was probably built in Hellenistic-Roman times or earlier (Persian or Iron Age).

The excavation of fourteen tombs (both loculus and arcosolium types) and nine simple graves along the E band of Wadi Quailibah (areas H and J) and the bank S of Ain Quailibah (area K) revealed important aspects of Early and Late Roman and Byzantine culture. Males and females and children (36 percent of the persons found had died before their 16th birthday) were buried with a variety of grave goods which imply a wide range of social stratification. Nine limestone anthropoid busts found in Tomb K 1 point to cult feasts or annual family reunions.

**C. Summary**

The research at Abila points to an Early Roman Abila of moderate size, with considerable expansion in the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. Evidence of the later Umayyad and earlier Hellenistic city is just emerging. The extent of later Islamic presence and earlier Hellenistic, Persian, Iron, and Bronze Age periods and still earlier habitations will be revealed through future excavation seasons.

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**ABILENE** (PLACE) [Gk *Abilene* (Ἀβιλενε)]. A tetrarchy named after its chief town, Abila, which is located on the bank of modern Barada (Abana) 18 miles NW of Damascus en route to Heliopolis (Baalbec). A Moslem legend places Abel's tomb near the ruins of an Abilenian temple, thereby preserving the ancient name. Luke 3:1 identifies Abilene as the tetrarchy of Lysanias (II) at the incipient stage of John the Baptist's ministry. Josephus is careful to associate Abila and Abilene with Lysanias, *he Lusaniou* (*JW* 2, 11.5; *Ant* 17, 6.10), an association found as late as the time of Ptolemy (ca. A.D. 170). Two Gk inscriptions from Abila support this association, and coincide with the chronology of Luke 3:1, i.e., between the years A.D. 14–29 (Yamauchi 1981: 99).

Abilene was originally part of the Ituraean kingdom of Ptolemy Menaeus (ca. 85–40 B.C.). In 36 B.C., M. Antonius executed Ptolemy's son, King Lysanias I, and divided Ituraea. Cleopatra received part of the kingdom, which in turn was transferred by her conqueror, Augustus, to Herod the Great in 20 B.C. (Bruce: 1971: 20, 248). Except for an Abila inscription identifying a second Lysanias (above), Abilene's history remains obscure until A.D. 37 when Gaius conferred the title "king" on his friend Herod Agrippa I, along with Abilene and additional territory. Procurators governed Abilene from the time of Agrippa I's death (A.D. 40) until Claudius conferred it upon Herod Agrippa II in A.D. 53. Upon the latter's death, Abilene became part of the province of Syria.

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**ABIMAEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbîmāʾēl* (אֲבִימָאֵל)]. A son of Joktan and thus the name of an Arabian tribe (Gen 10:28; 1 Chr 1:22), which has not been identified nor localized in a satisfactory way. The name is either to be analyzed as *ʾăbî* + *mā* (as an emphasizing enclitic particle) + *ʾēl* " (my) father is truly God" or, less probably, as Old S Arabic *ʾbm* (in the absolute state) + *ʾl*, i.e., "Father is God," which may be compared to the apotropaic formula *ʾbm wdm* "Father is (the God) Waddum" (*CIS* IV, 475 and 476; etc.), or to the Akkadian name *abumilum* "Father is God."

Hommel (1893: 16) has already pointed out that Old Arabic has a name type that contains the enclitic *-m*, e.g., *ʾlmnbṭ* "God has truly brought to light," *ʾlmydʿ* "God truly knows," and *ʾbmʿṯtr* "Father is truly *ʿAṯtar."* The last-mentioned name occurs as the name of a clan, *ʾhl/ʾbmʿṯtr*, in the early Sabaean inscription *RES* 2740,4 which was written not later than the 5th century B.C. and which had been found in the ruined ancient town of Haram in the Yemenite Jawf on the N side of the main wadi. The Sabaean boustrophedon text *CIS* IV, 516, in which the name *ʾlmnbṭ* is found (line 26), comes from the same place; and the fragmentary inscription *RES* 2847, in which the name *ʾlmydʿ* occurs, was discovered in the neighboring ancient site of Kamnā. From this epigraphic evidence, it can be concluded that proper names with the enclitic *-m* were only in use in the region of the town of Haram and are to be reckoned among the dialectal peculiarities which the inscriptions from this town show. With due reservation, it may therefore be supposed that the Hebrew form *ʾăbîmāʾēl* reflects a hitherto unattested Sabaean name **ʾbmʾl* which might have originated from the area of the ancient town of Haram.

The first who connected the biblical name *ʾăbîmāʾēl* with the Sabaean name *ʾbmʿṯtr* was Halévy (1885: 6–7); he thought, however, that both names contain the contracted form of the word for mother, *ʾm*, and are therefore to be interpreted respectively as "father of the mother of God" and "father of the mother of *ʿAttar*." The explanation of *ʾăbîmāʾēl* as "father of *māʾēl*" must likewise be rejected, since at such an early time no names are attested which are compounded with the element *ʾabû* (or *ʾăbî*) "father of," which later on became common among the Arabs. Another rejected interpretation is the comparison of the last part of the name, proposed for the first time by Bochartus (1674: 144–45), with the people or region *mali* mentioned by the Greek author Theophrastus (*Hist. Pl.* 9.4); this is, however, only a variant of *mamali*, the designation of the W Arabian mining region.

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**ABIMELECH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾabîmelek* (אֲבִימֶלֶךְ)]. Two or three persons in the Hebrew Bible bear this name.

**1.** A king of Gerar mentioned in Genesis 20 and 26:1–33. He is tied to the patriarchal narratives with regard to their pastoral nomadic activities and the fear Abraham and Isaac display whenever entering the political domain of a powerful ruler. Each enter Gerar, between Kadesh and Shur, seeking pasturage and water. They obtain both through the use of the "Wife-Sister" deception in which the patriarch, to save his life, hides his true relationship with his wife (note the first use of this motif in Gen 12:10–20, where the Pharaoh is the dupe). Once the king has mistakenly taken the patriarch's wife, Yahweh's displeasure is aroused against him and his people. Subsequently, Abimelech returns the wife to her husband, and is forced (through embarrassment and fear) to grant to him, in the form of a parity treaty, grazing rights and the use of wells within his territory.

The fact that this preliminary episode is found in both the Abraham and Isaac narratives suggests a literary doublet. It is possible, however, that the name "Abimelech," like Pharaoh, is simply a throne name used by all kings of Gerar. Thus whenever the "Wife-Sister" deception is used, it is applied to a

different ruler, but for the same reason, as a measure of self-defense by an immigrant against a powerful, indigenous ruler.

One additional problem in the Abimelech stories is found in Gen 26:1, where he is referred to as the "king of the Philistines." This is generally explained as an anachronism since the Philistines did not inhabit the area around Gerar until after the Sea Peoples' invasion of the Near East (*ca.* 1200 B.C.E.). Van Seters (1975: 52), however, takes this as evidence of the lack of historicity in the narrative, while Wiseman (1980: 150) points to the Gerarites as part of a settlement of Philistines prior to the mass invasions of the 13th century.

**2.** The name "Abimelech" also appears in the superscription of Psalm 34. The writer is either using the name as a generic title for all Philistine kings, or perhaps has confused Achish of Gath (1 Sam 21:10–15) with Ahimelech of 1 Sam 21:2.

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**3.** One of the sons of Jerubbaal who administered the central hill country (and by dint of conquest—Judg 8:1–17—Gilead) in the aftermath of their father's demise. The historian equates Jerubbaal with Gideon, and although the equation has often been questioned (e.g., Richter 1963: 157–67), the absence of any obvious reason for the historian to have inferred it (he could simply have introduced Abimelech as a filibuster) suggests that the equation was already traditional.

The name "Abimelech" means "the (divine) king is my father," and is of a type attested in Israel as well as its environs: cf. Ahimelech ("the king is my brother"; Old Palestinian variant Abimelech) in 1 Sam 21:2–9 (> Ps 34:1; 52:2); 22:10–16; 23:6; 26:6; 30:7; Abimilki, king of Tyre in the Amarna archive (EA 146–55); and the Philistine king Abimelech in Gen 20:2–18; 21:22–32; 26:1–26, where the name is evidently retrojected. It has no necessary monarchic overtones; but it is interesting that the earliest "king" in Israelite memory should have such a name, and it is possible that it is in fact a throne name.

Abimelech persuades the men of Shechem to prefer his personal kingship over the oligarchy of Gideon's sons. Killing his brothers, therefore, he enters into a covenant of kingship (9:5–21), characterized by a fable drawing on the normal topoi of Near Eastern royal apology, and sealed by the ordinary ceremony of blessings and curses (see Halpern 1978: 92–96). Abimelech resides in "*trmh*" (9:31; cf. Dossin 1957), probably identical with the "*ʾrmh*" of 9:41 (by interchange of *t* and *ʾ*), or Khirbet el-ʾUrma, about 7 km SE of Shechem (*WHJP* 1/3: 319 n. 56). Shechem's acceptance of his sovereignty makes him master of the central hills.

During Abimelech's reign, the Shechemites prey upon the trade routes leading through their territory (9:25), and sedition comes to the town (9:27–29). The name of the instigator, Gual (with Josephus) ben-Ebed, is probably invented—it means "despised, son of a slave." Abimelech's principal there is also named as in a folktale, Zabul ("prince," "magnate"). Zabul informs Abimelech that Gual plans to march from the temple of Baal/El Berit ("the lord/god of the covenant"), which was outside the town (9:46–49), in the aftermath of the feast of the vintage, and to lay siege to Shechem, the acropolis of which, at least, Zabul held (9:31–33). Abimelech therefore sets four ambushes in the field, and as Gual takes the field, his forces descend from all directions (those to the E are first confused with shadows, which, with 9:48, may have inspired the use of Burnam Wood in Macbeth). They worst Gual, who during the night is expelled from the town. The next day, therefore, Abimelech ambushes Gual and assaults and demolishes Shechem, and the "temple of El Berit" (9:30–49).

A similar action at Thebez (for an identification with Tirzah, see *WHJP* 1/3: 320 n. 61) ends in Abimelech's demise. Abimelech drives the defenders from the lower city to the citadel, and dies while attempting to burn the citadel. The manner of his death is proverbial—David cites it in 2 Sam 11:21: he is

crushed by a grindstone a woman drops from atop the wall (9:50–54). The short flirtation with kingship ends just after it begins, and it is another century before monarchy is reintroduced in the hills.

The tradition concerning Abimelech is to be dated quite early (see Halpern 1978; Rösel 1983, both with bibliography), although different critics identify various pieces of the textual formulation as deriving from later retelling (see Soggin *Judges* OTL, 163–66). In any case, the archaeological record at Shechem dovetails nicely with the story: the site was apparently abandoned after a destruction in the mid-12th century B.C.E. (Wright 1967: 365–66; Campbell 1976: 41), its reoccupation in the 10th century B.C.E. coinciding with the return of a monarchic government (Shechem commands the interior trade routes of Ephraim and Manasseh, and is a natural seat of government for the region N of Jerusalem). The reference in 2 Sam 11:21 to Abimelech's death is generally understood to be a token of an early composition. And Abimelech campaigns for the kingship of Shechem with the slogan that he is their "flesh and blood" (9:2)—that is, he qualifies to be their king because he is their kin. This expression, which must be linked to the insistence on endogenous kingship in Deut 17:14–16, appears elsewhere only in 10th century B.C.E. contexts, principally in connection with David (2 Sam 5:1–3; cf. 1 Chr 11:1–3; 12:23–40; and 2 Sam 19:11–13; note the transformation in J in Gen 2:23–24; 29:14, where Jacob ends by "serving" his kinsman). The slogan that repudiates the claim to kinship and kingship is "Who is Abimelech?" (9:28)—denouncing the claimant as a stranger. It, too, is used only in 10th century B.C.E. contexts, or in connection with 10th century figures (1 Sam 25:10; 2 Sam 20:1; 1 Kgs 12:16; see *BAR* 3: 170; Buccellati 1967: 100). Furthermore, it may be that the later historian misunderstood this tradition—which would be evidence that he inherited it: Abimelech becomes the son of Gideon's Shechemite concubine (Judg 8:31), i.e., a brother Shechemite, rather than a brother Israelite.

Finally, the memories of fighting at the city gate, differences between lower cities and citadels, dealing with citadels by burning them down, and socioethnic distinctions in Shechem all bear the mark of authenticity. The Shechemite depradations on the trade routes also probably reflect premonarchic reality (and cf. Judg 5:6). A 10th century B.C.E. date for the oldest version of the tale is the latest possible; the tradition itself probably extends at least into the 11th and perhaps into the 12th century B.C.E. It is possibly one of the oldest historical traditions Israel has preserved.

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**ABINADAB** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbînādāb* (אֲבִינָדָב)]. The name of three individuals. It means "my father is noble."

**1.** The father of Eleazar, Uzzah, and possibly Ahio, if the latter is a proper name and not a reference to Eleazar "his brother" (1 Sam 7:1; Sam 6:3, 4; 1 Chr 13:7). The men of the Gibeonite enclave town of Kiriath-jearim are reported to have moved the ark from Beth-Shemesh to "the palace/temple of Abinadab on the hill" (1 Sam 6:19–7:1) at the request of the latter group. Abinadab's son Eleazar is said to have been consecrated as priest to have charge of the ark (1 Sam 7:1). The context suggests that the ambiguous Hebrew term *bêt,* which can mean simply "house," but also "palace" or "temple," here refers to a temple or place complex containing a temple. Since it is unlikely that the townspeople would have moved the ark to the home of a common citizen for safekeeping, and in light of the purported need to seek out someone who could minister to Yahweh appropriately (cf. Klein *1 Samuel* WBC, 60), without invoking divine wrath (1 Sam 6:19–20), it is likely that Abinadab was himself a well-known priest.

Abinadab need not have been a priest in Kiriath-Jearim; he could have been the high priest for the entire Gibeonite enclave, connected to the enclave's main sanctuary. Kiriath-jearim was one of four cities in the

Benjaminite territory that formed a separate Hivite enclave. The main city of the enclave was Gibeon, and the remaining two were Chephirah and Beeroth. If the main goal of the author was to have the men of Beth-Shemesh turn the ark over to members of the neighboring Hivite enclave, it would have been natural to have them contact the closest Gibeonite city, Kiriath-jearim. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the men from the latter town are to be understood to have taken the ark home; it would have been more natural for them to have delivered it to the main Gibeonite sanctuary.

By having the men of Beth-Shemesh call out the nearest members of the Gibeonite enclave to remove the ark to their territory to deal with the wrathful Yahweh, who had just slain seventy of their men for looking into the ark, the biblical writer has indirectly implied that the Gibeonites would have known how to assuage the deity connected with the ark. The logical implication is that Yahweh was at home among the Gibeonites. An alternative understanding would see the choice of Kiriath-jearim to be based on the site's nodal point as the boundary between Judah, Benjamin, and Dan. Kiriath-jearim, Beth-Shemesh, and Ekron, the three reported stopping places of the ark on its return journey from Philistia, all occur in the Judahite boundary list in Josh 15:9b–11a, suggesting that the author of the narrative in 1 Sam 6:19–7:2 wanted to emphasize the ark's return within the boundaries of Judah, so linking it closely to the later tribe (Blenkinsopp 1969:147–48).

The "hill of Abinadab" is identified as KIRIATH-JEARIM in 1 Sam 7:2, compared to BAALE-JUDAH in 2 Sam 6:2. Both seem to be later glosses (Blenkinsopp 1969:156). The conflicting traditions are harmonized elsewhere in the Bible by equating the latter two names (Josh 15:9; 18:14; 1 Chr 13:6). Baale-Judah might itself be an artificial hybrid created by equating the town of Baalah (Josh 15:9; 1 Chr 13:6) with Kiriath-jearim (Blenkinsopp 1969:146; Mazar 1960:66). The site of "Abinadab's hill" is commonly linked with the place name "Gibeat-Kiriath (Jearim)" in the list of Benjaminite cities in Josh 18:28, although the final element in the name ("jearim") must be restored to the reading on the basis of purported haplography. It has been proposed that the Hill was the older Hivite-turned-Benjaminite town as opposed to the later Judahite settlement built on the adjoining hill (Aharoni 1959: 229), or simply a particular quarter of the city (McCarter *1 Samuel* 137).

An alternative identification of "Abinadab's hill" can be made on the basis of historical consideration. The ark almost certainly played a central role within Saul's national cult, a fact that led David to move it to his new capital at Jerusalem. As the site of the ark prior to David's reign, it is plausible to conclude that "Abinadab's hill" is an oblique reference to the religious capital of Saul's state. Textual tradition (esp. 1 Kings 3–9 and 2 Chronicles 1–2) tends to indicate that the great *bāmâ* sanctuary of Gibeon served as Saul's religious capital (Schunk 1963: 131–38; Blenkinsopp 1974; Edelman 1990). It has been suggested that the actual sanctuary might have been located southwest of Gibeon proper on the height of Nebi Samwil (see bibliography cited in Blenkinsopp 1969: 151, n. 32; Edelman 1990). No Iron I remains have been detected from surface survey, however, so the latter proposal remains conjecture (Kallai 1972: 185–86).

**2.** The second son of Jesse and older brother of David (1 Sam 16:8, 1 Chr 2:13). He is reported to have been a soldier in Saul's army along with his brothers Eliab and Shamma. The three are said to have been among the Saulide forces at the battle against the Philistines in the Elah Valley, when Goliath was killed (1 Sam 17:13). David is depicted as having been sent by his father to deliver the three older brothers provisions while in camp during this confrontation, providing the biblical writer a motive for David's presence at the time of the battle and his eventual reported slaying of Goliath. Since a variant tradition in 2 Sam 21:19 reports that Elhanan son of Jaareoregim the Bethlehemite slew Goliath, the historical reliability of the narrative account in 1 Samuel 16 is doubtful (for bibliography, see Klein *1 Samuel* WBC, 268). Nevertheless, it is conceivable that Abinadab and his two brothers had been present at the battle where Goliath was killed, as members of Saul's professional military forces (1 Sam 14:52).

**3.** A son of Saul, probably the fourth-born son and sixth child born to Ahinoam, who died in battle alongside his father and two brothers, Jonathan and Malchishua, on Mt. Gilboa. He and his brother Eshbaal do not appear in the two-generation Saulide genealogy in 1 Sam 14:49, but both are named subsequently in the fourteen-generation genealogy in 1 Chr 8:33–39; 9:39–44. The logical conclusion is

that they were both born after the first list was made. Abinadab must have been in his early twenties when he died, since he was eligible for military service, but apparently had not yet married or had any children. According to Num 26:2, 4, the military draft began at age twenty, although it is not certain whether this standard would have applied at the beginning of the monarchy. The age of marriage for ancient Israelite males, either for royalty or the common citizenry, is unknown.

**4.** For "son of Abinadab" (1 Kgs 4:11), see BEN-ABINADAB.

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

**ABINOAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbînōʿam* (אֲבִינֹעַם)]. The father of Barak, the military leader summoned by Deborah the prophetess to lead the Israelites into battle against Sisera, commander of the Canaanite army (Judg 4:2, 6–7, 12). In the "Song of Deborah" (Judg 5:2–31), two out of the three occurrences of the name "Barak" (vv 1, 12) are identified by the patronym "Abinoam."

MARK J. FRETZ

**ABIR.** See NAMES OF GOD (OT).

**ABIRAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbîrām* (אֲבִירָם)]. **1.** Son of Eliab, a Reubenite, who with DATHAN, KORAH, and 250 leaders of Israel conspired against the exclusive leadership of Moses and Aaron in the wilderness (Num 16:1–40). The conspiracy ended when, in the aftermath of a ritual contest with Aaron, the earth "swallowed" the leaders and fire devoured the 250. The name is theophoric, meaning "the exalted one is (my) father" (same as Abram). In the LXX the name occurs as Abiron.

It is generally agreed that this narrative represents the later editing of two such independent conspiracy traditions. Owing to the interest of the postexilic priestly redactor, the dominant strand in the present text is that concerning the attempted encroachment of the Levite Korah upon Aaronide priestly rights. However, underlying the story of Abiram is a quite different conspiracy against Moses' political leadership attributable to the epic tradition (J). Here the concern is Moses' sole claim to be "prince" (*śar,* v 13) over the people. The reference to "putting out the eyes" of the conspirators (v 14) is not to be dismissed as a figure of speech (so Budd *Numbers* WBC, 187), but is to be understood as a typical punishment for political treason. Whereas the Korah tradition ended in conflagration (a case of the punishment matching the offense), the theme of the earth swallowing the conspirators is at home in the Dathan-Abiram tradition. This earlier form of the tradition lies behind both Deut 11:6 and Ps 106:17. If Ps 106:17 predates the present form of the story in Numbers, then the mention of fire in the psalm could account for the development of the "Korah" tradition. That the tradition in the psalm is early is suggested by the fact that it places the conspiracy prior to both the apostasy at Horeb and the aborted invasion of Canaan, clearly out of synchronization with the present form of the narrative. The story of Abiram is often understood as a reflection of the loss of prestige by the tribe of Reuben following the period of settlement.

**2.** The firstborn son of Hiel of Bethel, the man who rebuilt the city of Jericho in the days of Ahab (1 Kgs 16:34). The text suggests that Abiram was offered by his father as a sacrifice at the laying of the foundation in order to effect the successful completion of the building program, just as his brother SEGUB was offered at its conclusion. The offering of such "foundation sacrifices" reflects a custom attested by archaeological discovery in which infants placed in jars have been found buried within the gate complex of a city. Whether the children were sacrificed or died of natural causes, the deuteronomist regards this action as the working out of the curse on Jericho spoken by Joshua in Josh 6:26 (Gray *Kings*

OTL, 334–35). He also links the episode to the evil deeds of Ahab, particularly Ahab's building projects. The rebuilding of Jericho is thus placed within the context of the deuteronomistic judgment on "the sins of Jeroboam" (1 Kgs 16:31).

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RODNEY R. HUTTON

**ABISHAG** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbîšag* (אֲבִישַׁג)]. A beautiful young woman from Shunem whose parents are unknown (1 Kgs 1:1–4). Her name, with the epithet "the Shunammite," occurs five times in the succession narrative in 1 Kgs 1–2 (1:3, 15; 2:17, 21, 22). Seeking a young maiden to attend the ailing king, David's servants locate Abishag "the Shunammite," who is "very beautiful." They bring her to David, but David "knows" her not (vv 3–4). Aside from a brief note about her ministering to David (1:15), nothing more is heard about Abishag until after David's death. Adonijah (Solomon's brother) asks Bathsheba to intercede with Solomon on his behalf. The purpose of this intercession is to secure Abishag as Adonijah's wife (2:16–18). Bathsheba does as Adonijah requests, but Solomon replies, "Ask for him the kingdom also …" (2:19–22) and has Adonijah put to death (2:24–25).

Attempts to reconstruct the historical Abishag focus on her relationship to David, the nature of her activities in David's court, and the political significance of Adonijah's request and Solomon's refusal.

Abishag's relationship to David is defined by her function in court. Commentators have alternatively suggested she was David's nurse (Montgomery *Kings* ICC, 72), his concubine (Gray *Kings* OTL, 77), or his queen (Mulder 1972: 43–54). The issue is whether Abishag's job was to cure or to test David. If Abishag's primary task was to cure him, then she is best likened to a nurse. Her actions constitute a kind of "contactual medicine" whereby the warmth of a beautiful young maiden was imbued—through contact—to an aging body. Both Josephus (*Ant* 7.14.3) and Galen (cited by Montgomery *Kings* ICC, 72) attest the practice. If, however, the issue was not David's health but his ability to rule, then Abishag's presence is better explained in terms of a test. The king's authority (and the nation's future) corresponded to his virility (Gray *Kings* OTL, 77). Abishag's presence "tests" the elderly David's sexual prowess. His failure to "know" Abishag (1:4) indicates his failure as king and precipitates the fight for succession which follows. If Abishag's function was to test David's virility, then it is possible she was admitted into David's harem either as concubine or wife.

After David's death, Adonijah's request for Abishag became the catalyst for his own death. What motivated this request and why did Solomon refuse? What was Abishag's political significance? Assuming Abishag was part of David's harem, Adonijah's request can be interpreted as an attempt to seize Solomon's throne. Since the appropriation of a king's harem appears to be tantamount to a bid for the throne itself (cf. 2 Sam 3:7ff.; 16:21ff.), the possession of Abishag as wife would be politically significant. One could argue, however, that Adonijah would have been a fool to make such an open bid. Instead, his request might have reflected nothing more ambitious than his desire for Abishag. Regardless of Adonijah's motives, however, Solomon chose to interpret his request as a direct threat (2:22). One can only speculate as to Solomon's reasons for this move. Either Solomon intentionally misunderstood Adonijah's motives; Adonijah did attempt to seize the throne; the whole accusation was a figment of Solomon's paranoid imagination (Gunn 1978: 137 n. 4); or Solomon realized Abishag—as witness to Bathsheba's conspiracy (cf. 1:15)—could be dangerous wed to his rival (Sanda, cited in Montgomery *Kings* ICC, 79).

Aside from historical considerations, the story and characterization of Abishag have been the object of recent literary analysis. David Gunn traces the political (David as King) and the personal (David as Man) themes found in the story of David and sees both converging in the story of Abishag. David's impotence as a man is echoed by his impotence as a ruler (Gunn 1978: 90–91). Adele Berlin accepts Gunn's observations, but focuses on the characterization of Abishag. For Berlin, Abishag is neither a fully developed character like other women in David's story (cf. Michal, Bathsheba), nor is she a stereotypical character (cf. Abigail). Rather, Abishag functions as an agent—a character about whom little is known

that is not necessary for the plot. The reader knows Abishag only through the eyes of the narrator or the other characters in the story. Thus Abishag is the "younger woman" to Bathsheba, a token of kingship to Solomon, and a symbol of impotence to David (Berlin 1983: 23–33).

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LINDA S. SCHEARING

**ABISHAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbîšay* (אֲבִישַׁי)]. One of the three sons of Zeruiah, David's sister (1 Chr 2:16; 2 Sam 17:25; see ZERUIAH). These men belonged to David's "inner circle" and presumably had served as his advisors and retainers since his early days as a fugitive from Saul (1 Sam 22:1).

The name Abishai is of obscure origin. It may be based on a theophoric element in a nominal clause, meaning something like "Father (Heb *ʾab-;* i.e., the god) is a gift (Heb *šay*)." It is also possible that the second particle is a shortened form of a longer three-radical root such as *šālôm,* in which case Abishai would be the equivalent of Absalom/Abisalom (see NAMES, HYPOCORISTIC). A third possibility is that Abishai is the Hebrew form of the Egyptian name *A/Ibša* (*AOT*², 51; cf. LXX *Abessa*) or the Akkadian name *Ibašši (-ilum).*

Abishai, who served as one of the chiefs of DAVID'S CHAMPIONS (Heb *šālišîm;* RSV: The Thirty; 2 Sam 23:8–39), is depicted as intensely combative toward the enemies of David, especially Saul (1 Sam 26:6–9) and Saul's kinsman Shimei (2 Sam 16:9–11). The narrator also implicates Abishai in the murder of Abner, the son of Ner (Saul's cousin and commander of the army) by his brother JOAB (2 Sam 3:30). Still, no mention of Abishai's complicity in this act is made in the account of Abner's death (2 Sam 3:20–27), in David's curse upon the perpetrator (2 Sam 3:29), or in David's avenging of this deed (1 Kgs 2:5–6).

Abishai is also credited with having saved David's life during the Philistine wars when he struck down Ishbi-benob, one of the descendants of the Rephaim (2 Sam 21:16–17). Thus, he was a valiant warrior about whom heroic tales were told—the true mark of a great warrior in ancient society. (Examples from Greek legend are Achilles, Ajax, Diomedes, and Odysseus at Troy.) Indeed, David appears to have retired from active military service as a result of this incident, so that the sons of Zeruiah, Abishai and Joab, appear as the leaders of David's army in the campaigns from the time of the Ammonite wars (2 Samuel 10–11; 12:26–31) on. According to 2 Sam 23:18–19, Abishai was commander of the *šālišîm* (RSV: The Thirty), an elite corps of renowned warriors within David's private army. This position gave Abishai a command in the army second only to his brother, Joab, the commander-in-chief. Abishai served in this capacity during the Ammonite wars and in the revolt of Absalom (2 Sam 18:1–5). Prior to the revolt of Sheba ben Bichri, however, David had removed Joab from his command (probably for killing the rebel Absalom against the king's express orders), so that Abishai initially appeared as the commander of the Cherethites and Pelethites in that conflict (2 Sam 20:6–7). By the end of the campaign, Joab returned to his command after killing the tardy Amasa. Thus, not only was Abishai one of David's warrior elite, but he served as second-in-command of the army after Joab, probably because of his status as commander of the *šālišîm* (although this status is not mentioned in the summary lists of David's officials: 2 Sam 8:15–18; 20:23–25).

Because Abishai generally appears working closely with his brother Joab, his absence from the intrigue surrounding the selection of David's successor is remarkable (1 Kings 1–2). A logical explanation for this absence is that Abishai by this time was dead. Certainly, had he been alive, he would have lent his support to the cause of Adonijah, whom Joab had backed in place of Solomon. Indeed, David's warrior elite is depicted as supporting Solomon, and Joab's nemesis emerges in the figure of Benaiah ben Jehoiada, another of David's warrior elite who is variously described as commander of the foreign mercenaries (the Cherethites and Pelethites; 2 Sam 8:18; 20:23) or commander of the bodyguard (the *mišmaʿâ;* 2 Sam 23:23). Since Abishai had commanded the foreign mercenaries during the revolt of Sheba (2 Sam 20:7), it

is likely that Benaiah was a latecomer to this position (Benaiah's most prominent role was as commander of the army under Solomon). It is perhaps not too bold to assume that Abishai had died prior to the attempt to crown Adonijah, necessitating the promotion of Benaiah. Abishai's departure from his accustomed command allowed for the entry of Benaiah into the drama surrounding Solomon's succession and guaranteed the victory of Solomon's party, and eventually, Joab's death.

Yet Abishai plays more than an historical role within the Davidic narratives: along with his brother, Joab, he is made a violent foil for the pious David. Thus the impetuous Abishai accompanies David into Saul's camp at night and urges David to let him kill the sleeping monarch (1 Sam 26:6–12). David righteously restrains the warrior, however, refusing to put his hand forth against the Lord's anointed. A further incident occurs in the murder of Abner. Although Abner's murder by men who are, after all, David's henchmen appears all too convenient to modern observers, the narrator seeks to exculpate David in the matter and lays the blame squarely on the heads of Joab and Abishai (2 Sam 3:30). Again David stands forth as the righteous man who refuses to shed the blood of the innocent and *who rejects stealth in killing,* while Joab and Abishai are portrayed as treacherous murderers (note the threat to kill Saul while he sleeps, and the slaying of Abner under the pretense of friendship). David says of Abner's death, "as one falls before the wicked you have fallen." Abishai appears as a foil a third time when David and his followers are abandoning Jerusalem in the face of Absalom and his rebel army (2 Sam 16:5–14). A man of the house of Saul, Shimei ben Gera, meets David and his retainers and curses them:

> Begone, begone you man of blood, you worthless fellow!
> The Lord has avenged upon you all the blood of the house of Saul, in whose place you have reigned.
> And the Lord has given the kingdom into the hand of your son Absalom.
> See! Your ruin is upon you—for you are a man of blood. (2 Sam 16:7–8)

Shimei's curse highlights a major *Tendenz* of the Davidic narratives: David's burden of guilt for his hand in the death of Saul and the extermination of Saul's line, and the writer's efforts to exonerate David in the matter. As in the camp of Saul, Abishai seeks David's permission to kill Shimei on the spot. David again refuses, rebuking Abishai and implying that Shimei has a right to curse him. Furthermore, David appeals to the Lord to look upon him in his affliction, and to repay him with good for this cursing. The impression thus created is that the sons of Zeruiah (who are addressed collectively here, though it is only Abishai who acts) are ruthless men of blood. Conversely, David righteously rejects even that claim upon his enemy's life and person which normally would have been granted him. Seen in this light, David emerges as the Wisdom tradition's paradigm of the righteous man who leaves vengeance in the hands of the Lord and does not put forth his hand in violence. Joab and Abishai are, conversely, the paradigmatic violent men—men of blood, ruthless and unrestrained in their wickedness. While Abishai fulfills this archetype in several instances, the final curse falls upon Joab, who is said to have avenged "in time of peace blood which had been shed in war," and to have put "the blood of war upon the girdle about his loins and upon the sandals on his feet" (1 Kgs 2:5, MT; *contra* RSV "*my* loins," "*my* feet"). It is precisely the juxtaposition of these two archetypes—the righteous man who will not put forth his hand to shed blood versus the wicked who is only too quick to draw his sword—that allows the author (or authors) of the Davidic narratives to place the blame for the blood shed under David (especially that of Saul's house) upon his nephews and loyal retainers, the sons of Zeruiah.

Thus two pictures of Abishai emerge from the Davidic narratives. As an historical figure, Abishai was probably one of David's staunchest supporters, a member of the king's own family who had probably been with him since his days as an exile from Saul in the Judean wilderness (1 Sam 22:1–2). As a literary figure, Abishai, along with his brother Joab, provides a violent foil for the self-renunciatory David, who will not lift his hand in to harm either his enemy, Saul, Saul's kinsmen, Abner and Shimei, or even his own rebellious son, Absalom.

D. G. SCHLEY

**ABISHALOM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbîšālôm* (אֲבִישָׁלוֹם)]. See ABSALOM (PERSON).

**ABISHUA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbîšûaʿ* (אֲבִישׁוּעַ)]. **1.** A high priest of the tribe of Levi and grandson of Eleazar (1 Chr 5:30–31—Eng6:4–5; 6:35—Eng6:50). In the post-exilic Jewish community, Ezra's authority was legitimized by proof of descent through the high priest Abishua (Ezra 7:5; 1 Esdr 8:2; 2 Esdr 1:2). Wilson (1977) notes that this is one of the functions of genealogical lists; sometimes these lists simply function to legitimize the positions of important individuals, rather than to transmit all the names of that person's ancestors and/or descendants.

**2.** A son of Bela the Benjaminite (1 Chr 8:4). This Abishua appears only in this extended genealogy of Israel (1 Chronicles 2–8), which also identifies tribal locations within Palestine.

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MARK J. FRETZ

**ABISHUR** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbîšûr* (אֲבִישׁוּר)]. One of two sons of the Judahite Shammai, a descendant of Hezron (1 Chr 2:28–29). Abishur, his wife Abihail, and his two sons appear in an unparalleled list of Jerahmeel's descendants (1 Chr 2:25–33) contained within the Chronicler's larger genealogy of Israel (1 Chronicles 2–8).

MARK J. FRETZ

**ABITAL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbîṭāl* (אֲבִיטָל)]. The mother of Shephatiah and a wife of King David (2 Sam 3:4 = 1 Chr 3:3). Abital's name occurs in two lists of sons born to David at Hebron. In one case (2 Sam 3:2–5), this list is inserted within the narrative concerning the strife between the houses of Saul and David; in the other case, its parallel (1 Chr 3:1–4) forms part of a larger genealogy of Israel (1 Chronicles 2–8).

MARK J. FRETZ

**ABITUB** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăbîṭûb* (אֲבִיטוּב)]. A son of Shaharaim the Benjaminite by Hushim, one of the two women whom Shaharaim subsequently sent away while he was living in Moab (1 Chr 8:8–11). The textually questionable MT refers to Hushim and Baara as "his (Shaharaim's) women" (Heb *nāšāyw*), but then calls Hodesh "his wife" (Heb *ʾištô*). Also, the children of the wife Hodesh are distinguished by the designation "heads of fathers' houses" (1 Chr 8:10), and are listed before the sons of the woman Hushim, who are simply named Abitub and Elpaal. Moreover, the text lists the descendants of Elpaal (1 Chr 8:12), but does not mention Abitub again, which may indicate Abitub's relative unimportance or else the author's disfavor of this son of Shaharaim.

MARK J. FRETZ

**ABIUD** (PERSON) [Gk *Abioud* (Ἀβιουδ)]. The son of Zerubbabel and father of Eliakim, according to Matthew's genealogy tying Joseph, the husband of Mary, to the royal house of David and Solomon (Matt 1:13). The name "Abiud," however, occurs neither in Luke's parallel genealogy of Joseph's ancestors (Luke 3:23–38), nor in the OT list of Solomon's descendants (1 Chr 3:10–24). This paradox has yielded no easy explanations. Kuhn (1923), for example, noted that the Chronicler lists a "HODAVIAH" (Heb *hôd-awyāhû*) as a descendant of Zerubbabel (1 Chr 3:24), and that the Heb form *hôdîyâ* "HODIAH" is frequently confused with this term (1 Chr 4:19; Neh 10:10). He then suggests that Matthew's *abioud* represents Heb *ʾăbîhûd,* and that *ʾăbîhûd* resulted from a combination of *ʾby* and *hwdyh* in the (unattested) phrase *zrbbl ʾby hwdyh ,* "Zerubbabel (was) the (fore)father of Hodiah," a phrase which perhaps telescopes the genealogy by conveniently leaping over all the names between Zerubbabel and Hodaviah/Hodiah. Kuhn believes that this "Hodiah" (Heb *hōdîyâ*) is rendered in Luke's parallel genealogy (3:26) as "JODA" (Gk *iōda*). Gundry (1982: 17) takes a less direct approach: he suggests that Matthew noted the name "Eliezer" in Luke's genealogy (3:29) and was reminded of the priestly lineage of

Aaron (1 Chr 5:29—Eng 6:3), whose sons' names included a similarly spelled Eleazar and Abihu (MT *ʾăbîhûʾ*, but LXX *abioud*). Gundry proposes that Matthew mistakenly believed that LXX *abioud* represented Heb *ʾăbî yĕ-hûd (â)* ("My father is Judah"), and that he lifted the name from its priestly context and inserted it into the genealogy of Joseph to help underscore his Judaean royal lineage.

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MARK J. FRETZ

**ABNER** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾabner* (אַבְנֵר)] Var. ABINER. The son of NER and cousin of Saul ben Kish. The name means "father is Ner" or "father is a lamp." The variant form "Abiner" means "my father is Ner"; "my father is a lamp." Abner served as commander of the first national Israelite army during the reigns of Saul and Eshbaal (1 Sam 14:50, 17:55; 2 Sam 2:8 etc.). The circumstances of his appointment are not related in the biblical texts, but it was common practice in ancient times to place blood relatives in positions of trust. The importance of Abner's position is indicated by his being seated beside King Saul at the observance of the New Moon festival (1 Sam 20:25). His status as commander seems to have prompted the Chronicler to report that he had dedicated war spoils for the maintenance of the temple, alongside Samuel, Saul, and Joab (1 Chr 26:27–28). Since the temple of Jerusalem did not exist during the time of any of those named, the tradition should probably be seen to derive from the Chronicler's pious imagination.

By having Saul request Abner to find out David's identity after the youth confronted Goliath (1 Sam 17:55–58), the biblical writer introduces irony into his narrative and at the same time, provides a basis from which to explore the motifs of loyalty and treachery. As Saul's loyal and trusted servant responsible for the kingdom's security, Abner is made responsible for the first formal introduction of David, the divinely chosen successor to Saul, the divinely rejected king. In addition, Saul's request to discover David's identity leads Abner to establish formal ties to the youth who will become his rival both within the Saulide military ranks, and within the political arena, for control of the Saulide throne.

The narrative tradition in 1 Samuel 26 portrays Abner in the additional role of the king's personal bodyguard. It reports that Abner slept next to the king in the camp during the pursuit of David, with the army surrounding the two, for protection. After David allegedly infiltrates the Saulide camp by night, stealing the king's spear and water jug, David chides Abner for not having kept a close enough watch over Saul in camp.

The historical reliability of Abner's depicted role as Saul's personal bodyguard in 1 Samuel 26 is doubtful. 1 Sam 22: 14 reports that David had served as the commander of Saul's personal bodyguard before his flight from the Saulide court. It appears that Saul had established a separate elite corps of professional soldiers who were not an official branch of the professional army but were loyal directly to him. David had a similar group, known as The Thirty (2 Sam 23:18). Abner apparently served as commander of the regular Israelite forces but was not involved directly with the royal bodyguard, which was under the command of another officer. It might be possible to presume that Saul was unable to find a suitable replacement the ranks of his bodyguard after David's flight and appointed Abner interim commander of both groups. It seems more likely, however, that the depiction of Abner in 1 Samuel 26 is to be understood as shaped by literary rather than historical concerns. Perhaps the author wanted to contrast David's superior service in protecting the king prior to his flight from court with that of Saul's most trusted servant, Abner. In this way he could illustrate the theme of David's blamelessness before Saul and Saul's unfounded suspicion and rejection of David.

In the wake of the disastrous battle at Mt. Gilboa that left Saul and his three eldest sons dead, Abner took Saul's remaining son ESHBAAL and crowned him as the new king of Israel at Mahanaim, the district capital of Saulide holdings in Gilead (2 Sam 2:8–9). Eshbaal was probably a youth under twenty at the time of his coronation. It can be presumed that Eshbaal's kingship would have been acclaimed by the surviving troops accompanying Abner, commander of the Saulide forces, to Mahanaim. (The army

played a similar role, serving as a convenient quorum of assembled Israelite citizens, in the subsequent coronations of Omri [1 Kgs 16:16] and Joram [2 Kgs 11:4–12]). During Eshbaal's brief two-year reign, Abner continued to serve as commander of the national Israelite army.

Abner's first task as Eshbaal's commander-in-chief was to secure the town of Gibeon, which may have served as the Saulide capital (2 Kgdms 21: 1–9), against seizure by David (2 Sam 2:12–32). Engaging in representative combat with David's men, each side chose 12 men to fight and determine who would control the city. All 24 died, leading to a draw. In the wake of the fighting that ensued, Abner killed Asahel, the brother of JOAB, commander of David's forces (2 Sam 2:23). Both Asahel and Joab were David's nephews. Three hundred and sixty of Abner's men from Benjamin are reported slain in the ensuing melee, while only nineteen of David's men were killed (2 Sam 2:30–31). A desire to portray Judah as the stronger of the two, and as the unofficial victor, is evident.

According to 2 Sam 3:1, 6, during Eshbaal's 2-year reign, there was war between the house of Saul and the house of David, during which time Abner was making himself strong in the house of Saul. It seems that Abner decided to take advantage of Eshbaal's youth and inexperience in his effort to gain the Israelite throne. As the longtime commander of the Israelite forces, he would have had most of the army's support in his bid to replace Eshbaal. Abner made further attempt to usurp the throne by having sexual relations with Saul's concubine RIZPAH (2 Sam 3:7), for possession of the royal harem gave a person title to the throne (de Vaux 1965:115–19). David is later reported to have received Saul's wives when he became king over Israel (2 Sam 12:8). Likewise, Absalom asserted his claim to kingship in Jerusalem by erecting a tent on the palace roof and having sexual relations with the ten concubines whom David had left behind "to keep the house" when he fled to Gilead (2 Sam 15:16; 16:20–22). After his return, David put the ten concubines under guard in a separate house, where they were provided for but were left to live out their lives as if in widowhood (2 Sam 20:3).

The Bible reports that Eshbaal chastised Abner for his actions with Rizpah; in response, Abner vowed to set up the throne of David over both Israel and Judah, in fulfillment of the divine promise to David (2 Sam 3:9–10). To this end, Abner is said to have negotiated with David, with the consent and support of the elders of Israel and Benjamin, to make David king over Israel in place of Eshbaal (2 Sam 3:12–21). The course of historical events underlying the present narrative depiction may have been slightly different. Abner's negotiations with David may have taken place as part of a larger plan for a coup d'état, in which Abner sought David's help in accomplishing his coup in exchange for promised cooperation between the two neighboring states. The incident with Rizpah would have been an additional step in the planned coup. Alternatively, Abner may have offered to deliver Israel to David in exchange for a position as commander of the combined forces of Israel and Judah, thereby ousting Joab from his post as commander of the Judahite forces (Josephus *Ant* 7.1.5; Hertzberg *Samuel* OTL, 260; VanderKam 1980: 531; cf. Grønbaek 1971:234–42). The occurrence of some sort of collusion between David and Abner is indicated by David's later appointment of Abner's son Jaasiel to be the leader of Benjamin, after he succeeded Eshbaal to the throne of Israel (1 Chr 27:21).

During his negotiations with David, Abner was killed by Joab, David's commander, and Joab's brother Abishai, to avenge Abner's slaying of their brother Asahel at the battle at Gibeon. Upon learning that Abner had been conferring with David, Joab tried to convince David that Abner was acting as a spy on Eshbaal's behalf. Without David's knowledge, Joab sent messengers after Abner to have him return to Hebron, whereupon he slew Abner in the city gate while talking to him in private (2 Sam 3:22–30). In spite of the biblical apologetic, there is growing recognition that David was actively involved in Abner's murder, either directly in a murder plot with Joab; indirectly, through manipulation of Joab by allowing him to murder Abner as part of a standing blood feud; or independently in some unknown fashion covered up in the biblical account (i.e. Hertzberg *Samuel* OTL, 261; Lemche 1978: 16–17; VanderKam 1980: McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 120–22; Cryer 1985: 392).

David cursed Joab and his father's house for the act of blood revenge, and had Abner buried in Hebron with a great display of public lamentation in order to convince both Judah and Israel that he had not plotted Abner's death (2 Sam 3:31–39). Ironically, Eshbaal's head would later be entombed with Abner's

remains (2 Sam 4:12) after his similar assassination, probably at David's command. David's brief dirge over Abner (2 Sam 3:33–34), written with the chiastic structure abb´a´, may artfully maintain the ambiguity of his cause of death by carrying over the initial interrogative *he* to the fourth line, rendering the answer to the initial question with a further question (Freedman 1987:127; cf. McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 111).

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

**ABODE OF THE DEAD.** See DEAD, ABODE OF THE.

**ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION.** A phrase occurring in the OT book of Daniel (11:31, 12:11, and perhaps 9:27), in 1 Maccabees 1:54, and in the teaching of Jesus as recorded in the synoptic gospels (Matt 24:15, Mark 13:14; see GOSPELS, LITTLE APOCALYPSE IN). The phrase refers in Daniel and 1 Maccabees to the desecration of the temple by the pagan emperor Antiochus Epiphanes in 167 B.C.E. and in the teaching of Jesus to some analagous disaster which he anticipates.

**A. Daniel and 1 Maccabees**

**1. The Hebrew Phrase in Daniel.** There are a number of textual and translational difficulties in the three Daniel texts. Dan 11:31 is most simply translated: "And they shall set up the abomination making desolate" (*wĕnātĕnû haš-šiqṣ mĕšōmēm*). Dan 12:11 speaks of "the time … for the setting up of an abomination being/making desolate" (*lātēt šiqṣ šōmēm*). Dan 9:27 reads literally: "and upon wing abominations making desolate" (*wĕ ʿal kĕnap šiqṣîm mĕšō-mēm*), which may mean: "upon the wing of abominations shall come one who makes desolate" (so RSV), or if the participle "making desolate" is construed with the noun "abominations" (even though in our texts the participle is singular and the noun plural), the text may mean: "On a wing … he will set up an abomination causing desolation" (so NIV). The meaning of the "wing" in 9:27 is in any case problematic, being variously explained by scholars, e.g. as referring to the "pinnacle" of the Jerusalem temple, to the "horns" of the altar in the temple, and/or to the "wings" of Baal portrayed as an eagle or winged sun. Other commentators have suggested emendation of the text, e.g. reading "and in its place" or "on their base" (*wĕ ʿal kannô/kannām*). (On these possibilities see Daniel commentaries and Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 147.)

Despite the uncertainty of such details, the overall sense of the passages in Daniel is clear and the same in all three passages (cf. also 8:13). They refer to the coming to Jerusalem of a pagan invader, who will forcibly end the traditional worship of the temple, as epitomized by the daily burnt offering, and who will introduce pagan worship ("the abomination of desolation") until the time of the end.

**2. Antiochus Epiphanes.** Almost all commentators, including those who question the scholarly consensus that Daniel in its present form is to be dated in the second century B.C.E., see in the Danielic "abomination" a reference to the profanation of the temple by Antiochus IV ("Epiphanes") in 167 B.C.E. The phrase in 1 Macc 1:54 refers quite explicitly to this event: "On the fifteenth day of Chislev, in the one hundred and forty-fifth year, they erected a desolating sacrilege upon the altar of burnt offering." Antiochus was ruler of the Seleucid empire, of which Palestine was a part, and he responded to an act of defiance on the part of the Jews by attacking Jerusalem and by seeking to abolish the practice of the Jewish religion. His most horrifying action was the desecration of the temple and the introduction there of pagan worship (i.e. "the abomination of desolation"). His action met with courageous resistance, inspired and led by the family of Judas Maccabeus. Against all odds, the Jews defeated the Seleucid armies and regained a significant amount of control of their own affairs, including of the temple; this was cleansed of

the "abomination" in 164 B.C.E., an event recalled ever after by the Jews in the feast of Hanukkah or Dedication (see MACCABEES, 1–2).

**3. Further Observations.** A number of further points about the Danielic "abomination" should be noted.

a. The unusual phrase "abomination of desolation" is commonly seen by scholars as a derogatory reference to the deity to whom Antiochus rededicated the Jerusalem temple. The new dedication was probably to Zeus Olympios (so 2 Macc 6:1), who may have been identified with, or at least given the Semitic name of, the Phoenician god *Baʿal šāmên* (= "Lord of heaven"). In order to avoid referring to the pagan deity directly, the author of Daniel parodies, substituting the term *šiqṷṣ* (i.e. abomination) for the name Baal (or Zeus) and the word *šōmēm* (i.e. desolating) for the consonantally similar *šāmêm* (i.e. of heaven). The term *šiqquṣ* is frequently used in the OT to designate something filthy or disgusting, and in particular idols; the substitution of this term for the name "Baal" can be compared to the use elsewhere in the OT of the word *bôšeth* ("shame") for Baal, as in the names in 2 Sam 4:1, 4, etc. (For a modification of this view, see Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 143–52).

b. There is some doubt as to whether "of desolation" is the best translation for the relevant Hebrew word(s) in the Daniel texts. The Heb root *šmm* can have the sense of "being desolate," e.g., of deserted places; but it can also mean "to be appalled." The Greek versions of the OT opt for the first sense, using the verb *erēmoō;* but many modern scholars consider that the second meaning is more likely in Daniel, and that we should translate the whole phrase as "appalling sacrilege." It is possible, however, that the author of Daniel intended several connotations: the term may have been a parody of the name of the pagan god (see above), and may have suggested both the desolation brought to the temple (spiritual desolation at least), and the appalling nature of what had taken place; it is just possible that there is also an allusion to Antiochus' supposed madness, since the root *šmm* sometimes has this sense in postbiblical Hebrew (Rowley 1932: 265).

c. What form did the "abomination" set up by Antiochus take? A reading of 1 Maccabees (1:54,59) and of Josephus (*Ant* 12 §252) suggests that a pagan altar was erected on top of the altar of burnt offering in the temple. There is no explicit mention of an idol being erected, nor of one being destroyed when the temple was cleansed (1 Macc 4:43). However, the later Christian and Jewish tradition that a statue of Zeus was erected in the rededicated temple (perhaps also statues of Antiochus himself) may have some historical foundation. The phrase "abomination of desolation" could be a reference to such an unmentionable thing, or to some other stone structure(s) associated with pagan worship (Rowley 1953: 310–12; Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 143–52). It has been suggested that Antiochus saw his rededication of the temple as the restoration of the original religion of the Jews rather than as the introduction of a new religion and deity; but whether this was his theory or whether he more simply saw himself as suppressing one undesirable and politically subversive religion and replacing it with something superior, the effect on the Jews was the same. (On Antiochus and his religious outlook, see Mørkholm 1966, and Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 104–60).

d. The suggestion that the Babylonian creation myth with its account of Marduk slaying the chaos monster Tiamat has influenced the Danielic portrayal of the "abomination" is of interest (Heaton *Daniel* TBC, 92–96). However, while it is plausible to postulate connections between the Babylonian myth and the four sea beasts of Daniel 7 and then also with the "beast" of Revelation, it is not clear that the myth has contributed at all directly to the Danielic description of the abomination.

**B. The Gospels and New Testament**

The LXX translates the Danielic phrase "abomination of desolation" in 12:11 with the words *to bdelugma tēs erēmōseōs* (similar phraseology being used also in 9:26, 11:31; cf. *bdelugma erēmōseōs* in 1 Macc 1:54). Matthew and Mark use precisely this Greek phrase in their parallel accounts of Jesus' eschatological discourse (Matt 24:15; Mark 13:14). In speaking of the future, Jesus warns generally of sufferings to come, and then says particularly, "When you see the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not to be [so Mark; Matt "in the holy place"], then let those who are in Judea flee to the mountains …" The picture is of a disaster in Judea and of enormous and widespread suffering, to be

ended only by the coming of the heavenly Son of Man. Luke's parallel passage does not have the phrase "abomination of desolation," but says, "When you see Jerusalem surrounded by armies, then know that its desolation has come near" (21:20).

The synoptic "abomination" has been variously interpreted (for a survey of views see, e.g., Ford 1979: 158–69). Many scholars have linked it to specific events in the 1st century, for example to the crisis that occurred in Palestine in 39–40 C.E., when the emperor Caligula ordered that his statue be placed in the Jerusalem temple (an order not eventually implemented, thanks to the emperor's death), or to the events leading up to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. More particularly some have identified the "abomination" with the disgraceful and bloody wrangling of the Zealots during the Jewish war (Jos *JW* 4 §196–207, 377–94, etc.), or with the Roman standards advancing on Jerusalem.

Other scholars have declined to see such historical significance in the phrase, preferring instead to interpret the "abomination" as the coming of an eschatological anti-christ figure, akin perhaps to the Pauline "man of lawlessness" and to the "beast" of Revelation. Others again have argued for a double reference to historical events in the 1st century and also to a future eschatological catastrophe.

To decide between such interpretations is a complicated task, entailing judgments about many related questions, e.g., about the history and authenticity of the traditions in question, about the respective dates of the synoptic Gospels, and about the nature of NT prophecy. And it may, of course, be that there are several interpretations of the "abomination" represented in the NT. However, a few further points may be noted.

**1. The Origin of the Tradition.** The Gospels ascribe the Christian "abomination" tradition to Jesus, but many scholars have questioned that attribution, arguing that the synoptic eschatological discourse contains a considerable amount of material that had its origin in the church (or even in Jewish tradition) rather than in Jesus' own teaching. They have argued on literary grounds for the composite nature of the eschatological discourse, and on theological and historical grounds for the tradition having its origin after Jesus' ministry, perhaps in the crisis situation provoked by Caligula in 39 C.E. This argument has been disputed by other scholars, who see the tradition as entirely congruous with other aspects of Jesus' teaching. (On the history of the discourse see commentaries, also Wenham 1984 for references.)

**2. Background Considerations.** In order to understand the NT use of the phrase "abomination of desolation," it is helpful, first, to be reminded of the historical and emotional importance of the Maccabean period and experience for the Jews of the 1st century C.E. It was natural for them to see parallels between their experience of Roman rule and the Maccabean experience of Seleucid rule and for them to regard the courageous stand of the Maccabees as an example and inspiration at times of tension or confrontation with Rome (even though there were differing views about what sort of resistance was called for). It was natural, too, for the Jews to be particularly sensitive to anything resembling the outrage perpetrated by Antiochus; thus, when Pilate ordered Roman legionary standards to be taken into Jerusalem, he was surprised by the massive outcry among the Jews (Jos *JW* 2 §175).

It is helpful, second, to recognize the importance of the book of Daniel within the Christian tradition of the NT period. It is not just the "abomination of desolation" that has a Danielic background, but also the tradition of the heavenly Son of Man, as now found in the Gospels; and it is possible that Jesus' kingdom teaching derives more from Daniel than anywhere else (Dan 2:44; 7:14, 27 etc.). It is hard to exaggerate the importance of Daniel for NT eschatology as a whole; Jesus' eschatological discourse in particular has been viewed as a midrash on Daniel (so Hartman 1966). The indebtedness of the NT to the book of Daniel is no doubt connected with the general interest of 1st-century Palestinian Jews in the Maccabean experience. That experience was seen as paradigmatic and prophetic.

Such an understanding is clear in Luke, who makes no reference to "the abomination," but who explicitly refers to "armies" surrounding Jerusalem, to the city's desolation, and then to the people being killed and taken captive, while the Gentiles trample the city. Luke's significant differences at this point from Matthew and Mark are often supposed to be a reflection of his post 70 C.E. standpoint; he has modified the Markan tradition in the light of his knowledge of the events and in order to distinguish clearly between the events of 70 C.E. and the eschatological coming of the Son of Man. Against this view

it has been argued that Luke's changes betray no specific knowledge of the events of 70 C.E., and that they could be simple clarifications of the obscure Markan wording, or even independent early tradition.

Although it is less obvious what Mark and Matthew intend when they refer to the "abomination of desolation standing," it is quite likely that Luke has correctly conveyed their meaning. Mark intriguingly has a masculine participle "standing" (*hestēkota*) with the neuter noun "abomination" (*bdelugma*), suggesting that he associated the awful event with an evil individual; he also refers to the abomination standing "where it ought not," whereas Matthew says more clearly "in the holy place." One possible explanation of Mark's obscurity is that he may have been writing at a sensitive time, when caution was appropriate; his gospel has often been dated to the period 66–70 C.E.. It is of interest to note that the Jewish writer Josephus sees Daniel's "abomination" as prophesying both the desolation of Antiochus and that perpetrated by the Romans (*Ant* 10 §276); the NT evangelists may have had the same understanding.

**3. Concluding Observations on the Synoptic Phrase.** If the Maccabean experience and the book of Daniel were so important in the 1st century C.E., then this is probably a clue that the NT "abomination" will have been understood by something analogous to the action of Antiochus, i.e., as an idolatrous attack on the people and temple of God by a powerful pagan force. The Gospels' own evidence supports the view that this was their understanding: Matthew specifically invites his readers to think back to Daniel (24:15), and it is possible that Mark's much debated "let the reader understand" is a similar invitation (13:14). All three evangelists include the injunction to those in Judea to "flee to the hills," a phrase reminiscent of 1 Macc 2:28 (cf. Matt 24:16; Mark 13:14; Luke 21:21). Luke has probable echoes of Daniel when he refers to the Gentiles treading down Jerusalem (Luke 21:24; cf. Dan 8:13).

Another clue to the evangelists' understanding of the abomination is the prediction of the destruction of the temple which in each Gospel precedes the eschatological discourse. Since the discourse, including the warning of the "abomination," is presented as explanatory of that prediction, there is a strong case for linking the setting up of the abomination with the predicted destruction of the temple (which is otherwise not mentioned in the discourse, unless the "coming of the Son of Man" is interpreted as a reference to that destruction). The picture, then, would appear to be of a major catastrophe, analogous to 167 B.C.E., but involving the profanation and destruction of the temple. The "desolation" in the synoptic phrase was probably understood literally.

**4. Other Parts of the New Testament.** Although the phrase "abomination of desolation" is not found in the NT outside the Gospels, the Danielic idea is probably reflected in the Pauline "man of lawlessness" in 2 Thessalonians 2, in the Johannine "Antichrist" of 1 John 2:18, 4:3, and in the "beast" of Revelation 13, 18. If we have in these different writings variations on a common eschatological theme and tradition, then 2 Thessalonians, if it is Pauline, is our earliest written contact with the tradition, showing it to be quite primitive. It may be that when Paul calls the lawless one "the man of perdition" or "of destruction," this is equivalent to the synoptic phrase "of desolation." But it is notable that both Paul and John, perhaps because they are writing in a Gentile context, describe the future evil in rather general religious terms without obvious political or military allusions (i.e., with no explicit reference to an attack on Jerusalem, though note Paul's reference to the man of lawlessness being in the "temple of God" and his remark about the Jews of Judea in 1 Thess 2:16), and also in terms of the appearance of an individual antichrist figure rather than in terms of an "abomination" being set up. It has been suggested that Paul was influenced in his thinking by Caligula's outrageous threat to the temple in 39–40 C.E., but his "man of lawlessness" is entirely explicable on the basis of the Danielic tradition. In Revelation the beast is clearly political in character, being the Roman empire, but the attack is now (after 70 C.E.?) not on the city of Jerusalem, but on the reconstituted people of God, i.e. the church.

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**ABORTION IN ANTIQUITY.** Abortion, natural and induced, is attested as a legal matter as early as the mid-2d millennium B.C. This article will consider abortion and related topics in the OT and the Ancient Near East, in ancient Judaism, the Greco-Roman world, and in early Christianity.

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A. Abortion in ANE Law and the OT
B. Abortion in the Hellenistic and Roman World
C. Abortion in Ancient Judaism and in the NT
D. Conclusion

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### A. Abortion in ANE Law and the OT

With the exception of the Middle Assyrian Laws (ca. 1600 B.C.), the earliest Near Eastern law codes (including the legal materials in the OT) do not deal with the willful destruction of the fetus with the consent of the mother, but mention only natural miscarriages caused by a blow from another party. According to the injunctions outlined in the Middle Assyrian Laws, if a woman has had a miscarriage by her own act, when they have prosecuted her (and) convicted her, they shall impale her on stakes without burying her (Middle Assyrian Laws 53, in *ANET* 185). This code further directs that if the woman dies in the process of inducing the abortion, her body will still be impaled (as a kind of poetic justice) and will be denied burial.

Several of the law codes of the Ancient Near East, the Code of Hammurabi (ca. 1950 B.C.), the Lipit-ištar Laws, the Sumerian Laws (ca. 1800 B.C.), the Hittite Laws (ca. 1300 B.C.), as well as the Middle Assyrian Laws contain stipulations providing for compensation when a woman has been caused to miscarry because of a blow that she received from another person, thus providing at least indirect evidence concerning the status of the fetus in these societies. The Code of Hammurabi directs that if a seignior [a man of rank or authority] struck a (nother) seignior's daughter and caused her to miscarry, he shall pay ten shekels of silver for her fetus. If that woman has died, they shall put his daughter to death (Code of Hammurabi 209–10, *ANET,* 175). The Code of Hammurabi further provides for compensation for miscarriages caused to the daughter of a commoner and of a female slave. In each of these cases the penalty is commensurately smaller: the miscarriage of the fetus of a commoner's daughter is assessed at five shekels of silver, while her death must be compensated by a half mina of silver; causing the miscarriage of a female slave was fined at two shekels of silver, while the one causing her death was obliged to pay one third of a mina of silver (Code of Hammurabi 211–14). The Sumerian Laws (4.1–2, *ANET* 525), the Lipit-ištar Laws (iii.2′–5′, 7′–13′; Civil 1965: 5), and the Middle Assyrian Laws (21, 50–52, *ANET* 181, 184–85), contain provisions similar to those in the Code of Hammurabi, although the penalties in the Middle Assyrian Laws are somewhat more stringent: the man causing the miscarriage by his blow must compensate for her fetus with a life. Further, in both the Lipit-ištar and Middle Assyrian Laws, if the woman dies, the man himself will be put to death (Lipit-ištar iii.7′–8′, Civil 1965: 5; Middle Assyrian Laws 50, *ANET* 184). The Hittite Laws provide a further refinement: the fine assessed for a miscarriage caused in the tenth (lunar) month of pregnancy is twice the amount of the fine when the miscarriage occurred during the fifth month (Hittite Laws 1.17–18, *ANET* 190). The fine assessed for a miscarriage in the tenth (lunar) month of pregnancy suggests a distinction made in the status of the fetus and the loss that it implies for the father or family. Unlike the other law codes, in the Hittite Laws the assault on the woman and her possible death as a consequence are not considered.

The codes discussed above were not designed primarily to protect the unborn, although that was certainly one result of these injunctions, because the exposure or killing of abnormal, deformed, or otherwise unwanted children was both tolerated and practiced among them (Ebeling *RLA* 1:322). These

laws and prohibitions were primarily sociopolitical in intent and protected the community from the potential loss of strength that a normal, healthy child could provide.

Exod 21:22–25 is frequently referred to in discussions of abortion. According to this passage, "When men strive together, and hurt a woman with child, so that there is a miscarriage, and yet no harm follows, the one who hurt her shall be fined, according as the woman's husband shall lay on him; and he shall pay as the judges determine. If any harm follows, then you shall give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burn for burn, wound for wound, stripe for stripe" (RSV). These verses present numerous exegetical difficulties that have resulted in widely differing interpretations. According to one view, the "harm" (Heb *ʾāsôn*) in the Hebrew text refers to an injury done to the woman, since (according to this interpretation of the passage) the miscarriage is explicitly mentioned in contrast or juxtaposition to the "harm." Thus, the *ʾāsôn* done the woman, through either serious injury or death, is punished more severely than the miscarriage of the fetus, thereby indicating that the fetus was not viewed as fully human. Those holding to this view also note that this interpretation closely parallels evidence from other Near Eastern codes (Paul 1970: 71; Loewenstamm 1977: 356; Weinfeld 1977: 129; Sinclair 1978: 179–82; Sinclair 1980: 110). According to others, the first instance refers to a blow that results in a premature birth, but produces no further complications (*ʾāsôn*) to the child, while the second case refers to an instance in which the miscarriage results in the death of the fetus. Thus, according to this view, the fetus could be viewed as having a status similar or identical to that of human beings (Cottrell 1973: 8–9[604–15]; Jackson 1973: 273–304; Waltke 1976: 3–13; House 1978–79: 117–20). While these differing interpretations of Exod 21:21–25 influence the view of the status of the fetus in Hebrew law, they provide at best only indirect evidence for the case of induced abortions.

**B. Abortion in the Hellenistic and Roman World**

Greek philosophers offered opinions on abortion that diverged as widely as did their perspectives on the moment of ensoulment. Plato believed that the fetus is a living being (Plutarch *De placitis philosophorum* 5.15). Still, he recommended abortions for women who conceived after the age of forty (*Resp.* 5.9). Aristotle (*Pol.* 7.15.25[1335b]) allowed abortions only before "sense and life have begun" in the fetus, which he viewed as coming as forty days for males and ninety for females (*HA* 7.3; *GA* 4. 1), and indicated by the movement of the fetus in the mother's womb. According to the Stoics, the fetus remains a part of the mother until it is born. Although no Greek Stoic whose writings are preserved takes a position on induced abortion, the Roman Stoic Musonius Rufus (whose views may have paralleled those of the earlier Greek Stoics) forbade induced abortions. However, it may also be here that the views of Aristotle and Musonius Rufus were more the result of a concern for the welfare of the state than for the fetus itself. The exposure of children was a practice tolerated, and in some instances even encouraged, by the same Greek philosophers and ethicists who took clear positions against abortion, probably for the same reasons, mentioned above, in the ancient Near Eastern societies: abortion was forbidden in order to protect the potential contribution to the society that the child would provide. However, once the child was born and found to be deformed in some way and, thus, a potential drain on the resources of the society, its death through exposure was allowed (Bennett 1923: 341–51; Eyben 1980–81: 12–19).

The paucity of Greek legislation on abortion makes it difficult to draw any definite conclusions concerning its legal status. According to a document falsely attributed to Galen, the lawmakers Lycurgus and Solon both enacted legislation prohibiting abortion and punishing its practice (Moòssides 1922: 64). While corroborating evidence is wanting, in the light of parallel laws in the ancient Near East, in particular the Middle Assyrian law punishing induced abortion, it is certainly not beyond the realm of possibility for induced abortion to have been forbidden in early Greek law as well. Indeed, according to the 1st-century Stoic philosopher, Aelius Theon, one of the orations by the Attic orator Lysias concerned "whether the fetus was human and whether abortions might be subject to penalty" (Dölger 1934: 10–12).

The Hippocratic oath forbids administering abortifacients (Nardi 1970: 59–60) except to expel a fetus that was already dead. On the other hand, there are reports of other methods recommended by Greek physicians in order to abort in the very earliest stages of pregnancy (Moòs-sides 1922: 68; Hèhnel 1936: 235; Crahay 1941: 14–15; Dickison 1973: 160). An inscription from Philadelphia in Asia Minor dating

from about 100 B.C. includes prohibitions against the taking of drugs to prevent birth (*atokeion*) or to cause abortions (*phthoreion* [Nardi 1970: 193–94]). This differs from other *Kultsatzungen* of the Hellenistic period in that the use of birth control devices and abortifacients are not merely viewed as the source of cultic impurity, but as ethical and moral failings (Dölger 1934: 19–20; Weinfeld 1977: 132; but cf. Crahay 1941: 17).

While induced abortion is only occasionally mentioned in Rome during the period of the Republic, it seems to have been very common during the early centuries of the Empire. In reaction to this growing permissiveness, eminent writers of the period raised their voices in praise of those who avoided it and against those who practiced it. Borrowing a military metaphor, Ovid says that the woman who first aborted a fetus "deserved to die by her own weapons" (*Am.* 2.14. 5–6). Seneca pays tribute to his own mother for never having "crushed the hope of children that were being nurtured in [her] body" (*Helv.* 16.3). Suetonius, Juvenal, and Pliny the Younger each report the tragic account of Julia, the niece of the emperor Domitian, whom he seduced and later compelled to undergo an abortion that resulted in her death (Suet. *Dom.* 22; Juv. 2.32–33; Pliny *Ep.* 4.11.16). Further, the exposure of unwanted infants, rare during the Republican period, appears also to have been commonplace under the Empire (Eyben 1980–81: 14).

**C. Abortion in Ancient Judaism and in the NT**

The LXX translators rendered Exod 21:22–23 in a manner that is markedly different from the received Hebrew text, apparently reflecting an awareness of the various strands of Greek philosophical thought on the status of the fetus: "If two men fight and they strike a woman who is pregnant, and her child comes out while not yet fully formed, he will be forced to pay a fine; whatever the woman's husband imposes, he will pay with a valuation. But if it is fully formed, he will give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe." Whereas in the Hebrew text the term *ʾāsôn* may be understood as referring either to the fetus or to the woman, the LXX rendering of this phrase as "fully formed" makes explicit its reference to injuring the fetus, not the woman. Further, the use of the term "not fully formed" and "fully formed" is reminiscent of Aristotle's distinction between fetuses in which "sense and life have begun" and those that have not. The LXX translation implies a view about the status of the fetus that is basically Aristotelian and takes a middle position between the Stoic and Platonic views (Gorman 1982: 34–35; cf. Salvoni 1975: 27). It stipulates the death penalty in the event of the death of a fully developed fetus that was caused to miscarry when the woman was struck by another person.

Philo of Alexandria (25 B.C.–A.D. 41), in his treatise on the Ten Commandments and other Jewish laws, *Special Laws* (*Spec Leg* III 108–9), discusses in the section on the commandment "Thou shalt not kill" the situation reflected in Exod 21:22–23. In this passage Philo says that if a man assaults a pregnant woman and strikes her in the belly, he will be required to pay a fine if the fetus is as yet unformed, as compensation both for the blow itself and for the fact that he has deprived "nature of bringing a human being into existence. However, if the fetus is formed, he will be put to death." Philo compares the formed fetus in the womb to "a statue lying in the sculptor's workshop needing nothing more than to be taken outside and released from confinement."

While retaining the LXX's distinction between the fetus that is "fully formed" and one that is not, Philo changes the specific situation that results in harm to the fetus from a fight between two men into one man's intentional assault on a pregnant woman. Most significant, however, is the moral tenor of his discussion. Unlike the text of Exodus, which is primarily concerned with nice legal distinctions, Philo emphasizes the moral wrongness of such an assault on the unborn. In Philo's view, one who injures a fetus that is not fully formed is guilty of an outrage against nature, while one who harms the formed fetus is guilty of the murder of a human being and is thus deserving of death (Gorman 1982: 35–36).

It is significant to note that the context in which Philo is speaking is part of an a fortiori argument against exposure. According to Philo, although Moses never includes exposure among prohibited practices, it is certainly implied, since Philo understands the law as prohibiting the destruction of life in utero. He is also challenging the justification of abortion by legal, medical, and philosophical authorities

who, he declares, claim that "the child while still adhering to the womb below the belly is part of its future mother" (Philo *Spec Leg* III 117). Philo's perspective also differs significantly from those of the Hellenistic world and the ancient Near East in that he is not primarily concerned with the prerogatives of the father, or the needs of the state, but with the rights of the mother and unborn child.

The Jewish historian Flavius Josephus briefly discusses the injunction in Exod 21:22–25 (*Ant* 4§278). However, unlike Philo, Josephus follows the Hebrew text rather than the LXX in his rendering of this passage. Further, Josephus has recast the statute sufficiently that the ambiguity inherent in the Hebrew original concerning the object of the "harm" (Heb. *ʾāsôn*) is eliminated: in the view of Josephus, it is the woman, and not the fetus, who is intended. According to Josephus, whoever kicks a pregnant woman, thereby causing the fetus to miscarry, will be fined according to the judges' determination (which fine will be given to the aggrieved husband) "for having by the destruction of the fruit of her womb, diminished the population." He further indicates that if the woman dies from the blow she received, he will be put to death.

In his apology for Judaism, Josephus writes: "The Law orders all of the offspring to be brought up and forbids women either to abort or to do away with a fetus, but if she is convicted, she is viewed an infanticide because she destroys a soul and diminishes the race" (*AgAp* 2.202). It is somewhat difficult to reconcile Josephus' statement here with his view expressed in *Ant*. In the former, a clear distinction in penalty is made for the death of the fetus and the death of the woman. Here, however, Josephus explicitly states that the willful destruction of the fetus is equivalent to murder (although, strikingly, no penalty is stated). The contradictions in the two statements may, perhaps, be reconciled (if they are to be harmonized at all) in the following manner: although the willful destruction of a fetus is viewed in a manner not unlike murder, because Josephus regarded the woman and not the fetus as the primary target of the attack in the passage in Exodus 21, he may be treating the death of the fetus in a manner somewhat different from the death of the woman. In any case, it is significant that Josephus describes the fetus as having a soul, and clearly forbids a deliberate abortion of the fetus.

The rabbinic writings reflect an interest in the status of the fetus as well as a concern for the health and well-being of the mother. A passage in the *Mekilta* (*Nez.* 8) indicates that the blow to a woman that results in a miscarriage described in Exodus 22 is an act to be punished by a fine, but not by death, as it would be in the case of a capital crime. Similarly, according to the Mishnah (*Nid.* 5:3), only the killing of a child already born ("one day old") is an offense subject to the death penalty, whereas no mention is made of abortion as a capital offense. A fetus only becomes a person after it is born, when the "greater part of the head" (i.e., the forehead) emerges from the womb (Mishnah *Ohol.* 7:6; *Nid.* 3:5). If the mother's life is endangered by the pregnancy, then the obligatory principle of *piqǎaḥ-nepeš* ("safeguarding of life") is invoked, and the termination of the pregnancy is mandated. Thus, "if a woman is suffering hard labor, the child must be cut up while in her womb and brought out member by member, since the life of the mother takes precedence over that of the child" (*m. Ohol.* 7:6). On the other hand, this same passage indicates that if the greater part of its head has already emerged, then nothing is done to it since no preference may be given to one life over another. Subsequent Talmudic discussions reiterate these same principles (Sinclair 1980: 122–14, 119–22).

The early Christians opposed both abortion and infanticide. While there is no direct reference to either practice in the NT, the *pharmakoi* mentioned in Rev 21:8 and 22:15 may refer to those who obtained abortifacients (cf. 9:21; 18:23; Gal 5:20). However, other writings of the early period of Christianity, such as the *Didache* and the so-called *Epistle of Barnabas,* expressly condemn both abortion and infanticide. *Didache* 2:2, in writing about the "two ways," notes that there is a great difference between these two ways. In an exposition of the second great commandment ("Love thy neighbor as thyself") as part of the "Way of Life," the author makes a list of prohibitions modeled on the Ten Commandments, including: "Thou shalt not murder a child by abortion/destruction" (*ou phoneuseis teknon en phthora*). The *Ep. Barn.* (19:5) contains the same prohibition immediately preceded by "thou shalt love thy neighbor more than thyself" (cf. *Apos. Con.* 7.3.2). According to *Did.* 5:2, among those who are on the "Way of Death" are "infanticides" and "those destroying the image of God" (cf. *Ep. Barn.* 20:2). Apparently, then, the

fetus was viewed as being a neighbor with the same rights—including the right to life—that the neighbor would have. Similarly, the early Christian apocalyptic literature reflects a moral abhorrence of willful abortion. The *Apocalypse of Peter,* roughly contemporary with the *Did.* and the *Ep. Barn.* and at one time included in the canon of scripture (in the *Muratorian Fragment* and by Clement of Alexandria), paints a graphic portrait of hell's population, which includes a scene in which women who have obtained abortions are in a gorge, up to their throats in excrement, while fire shoots forth from the infants who were aborted and strikes the women on the eyes. The *Apocalypse* continues by stating that the infants will be given to Temlakor, while the women who aborted them "will be tortured forever" (*Apoc. Pet.* [Ethiopic 8 = Akhmim Fragment 26]; cf. Clement of Alexandria *Ecl.* 41, 48–49 = *PG* 9.717–20; Quasten 1950: 144; Gorman 1982: 50–51).

From the 2d century on, opposition by Christian writers to induced abortion on ethical grounds continued, if not increased. The Christian apologist Athenagoras, in response to the charge that the Christians engaged in the ritual slaughter of children, asked what reason they might have to commit murder when they already assert that women who induce abortions are murderers and will have to give account of it to God. The same person, Athenagoras reasons, would not regard the fetus in the womb as a living thing and, therefore, an object of God's care and then kill it (*Presbeia* 35 = *PG* 6.969) For Clement of Alexandria (*Ecl.* 50.1–3 = *PG* 9.720–21; cf. Dölger 1934: 28–29), Tertullian (*An.* 27; cf. Emmel 1918: 33–44, 90–97), and Lactantius (*De opificio Dei* 17.7 = CSEL 27.56), ensoulment takes place at or immediately after conception. Thus, abortion at any stage of the pregnancy is viewed by them as unacceptable. The view in subsequent centuries is equally insistent on the moral right of the fetus to life. The councils of Elvira in A.D. 305 (Canons 63, 68 = *PL* 84:308–9; cf. Connery 1977: 46–49) and Ancyra in 314 (Canon 21; Cf. Nardi 1970: 496–501) contained canons against abortion. Similarly, the voices of Jerome (*Ep. 22 ad Eustochium* 13 = CSEL 54:160; *Ep. 121 ad Algasiam* 4 = CSEL 56:16), Ambrose (*Exameron* 5.18.58 = CSEL 32:184–85), and Augustine (*De nuptiis et concupiscentiis* 1.17 = CSEL 42:230) in the Latin West, and Basil of Caesarea (*Ep.* 188.2 = *PG* 32:671) and John Chrysostom (*Hom. in Rom.* 24 = *PG* 60:626–27) in the Greek East were raised against abortion and in defense of the life of the unborn (Nardi 1970: 483–582; Eyben 1980–81: 62–74; Gorman 1982: 53–73). See also *RAC* 1: 55–60; 2: 176–83.

**D. Conclusion**

In the ancient Near East, only the Middle Assyrian Laws provide explicit sanctions against those practicing the pre-meditated abortion of a fetus. The text in Exodus 22 gives only implicit evidence for the question of willful abortion. As a result, some scholars have attempted to elicit from other biblical texts an ethic that could be applied to the question of abortion (Waltke 1976: 3–13; Kline 1977: 193–201; Kurz 1986: 668–80). However, even where the evidence concerning the status of the fetus is somewhat ambiguous, there is no indication that premeditated abortion was tolerated in ancient Israel. On the other hand, the relatively permissive attitude in the ancient Near East toward the exposure of unwanted infants (for which there is no evidence available in ancient Israel) suggests that the prohibition of abortion, even where it existed, was designed more to protect the society from the loss of potentially productive members than from any particular concern with the rights of the fetus itself. A roughly analogous situation existed among the Greeks during the Hellenistic period: there was a general, though by no means uniform or monolithic, indisposition toward premeditated abortion, while the exposure of unwanted infants was widely tolerated. In Imperial Rome, the attitude toward abortion was more permissive than in the Hellenistic world, while exposure was also widely tolerated under the Empire. A significant development in attitude toward abortion can be seen in the writings of formative Judaism, particularly in Philo, as well as in early Christianity: not only is abortion prohibited—and exposure, too—but this prohibition rests upon an ethical concern for the fetus and the newly born. A further dimension to the discussion on abortion is added in the rabbinic writings, where the health and well-being of the expectant mother are taken into consideration.

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STEPHEN D. RICKS

**ABRAHAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾabrāhām* (אַבְרָהָם)]. Var. ABRAM. The biblical patriarch whose story is told in Genesis 12–25.

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## A. The Biblical Information

**1. Outline of Abraham's Career.** Abraham is portrayed as a member of a family associated with city life in Southern Babylonia, moving to Haran in Upper Mesopotamia *en route* to Canaan (Gen 11:31). In Haran, God called him to leave for the land which he would show him, so he and Lot, his nephew, went to Canaan. At Shechem in the center of the land, God made the promise that Abraham's descendants would own the land (Gen 12:1–9). Famine forced Abraham to seek food in Egypt, where the Pharaoh took Abraham's wife, Sarah, who Abraham had declared was his sister. Discovering the deception, the Pharaoh sent Abraham away with all the wealth he had acquired, and Sarah (Gen 12:10–12). In Canaan, Abraham and Lot separated in order to find adequate grazing, Lot settling in the luxuriant Jordan plain. God renewed the promise of Abraham's numberless descendants possessing the land (Genesis 13). Foreign invaders captured Lot, so Abraham with 318 men routed them and recovered Lot and the booty. This brought the blessing of Melchizedek, the priest-king of Salem to whom Abraham paid a tithe (Genesis 14). Following a reassuring vision, Abraham was promised that his childless condition would end and that his offspring would occupy the land, a promise solemnized with a sacrifice and a covenant (Genesis 15). Childless Sarah gave Abraham her maid Hagar to produce a son, then drove out the pregnant maid when she belittled her barren mistress. An angel sent Hagar home with a promise of a harsh life for her son, duly born and named Ishmael (Genesis 16). Thirteen years later God renewed his covenant with Abraham, changing his name from Abram, and Sarai's to Sarah, and imposing circumcision as a sign of membership for all in Abraham's household, born or bought. With this came the promise that Sarah, then ninety, would bear a son, Isaac, who would receive the covenant, Ishmael receiving a separate promise of many descendants (Genesis 17). Three visitors repeated the promise of a son (Gen 18:1–15). Lot meanwhile had settled in Sodom, which had become totally depraved and doomed. Abraham prayed that God would spare the city if ten righteous people could be found there, but they could not, so Sodom and its neighbor were destroyed, only Lot and his two daughters surviving (Gen 18:16–19:29). Abraham living in southern Canaan encountered the king of Gerar, who took Sarah on her husband's assertion that she was his sister. Warned by God, King Abimelech avoided adultery and made peace with Abraham (Genesis 20). Now Isaac was born and Hagar and Ishmael sent to wander in the desert, where divine provision protected them (Gen 21:1–20). The king of Gerar then made a treaty with Abraham to solve a water-rights quarrel at Beersheba (Gen 21:22–34). When Isaac was a boy, God called Abraham to offer him in sacrifice, only staying the father's hand at the last moment, and providing a substitute. A renewal of the covenant followed (Gen 22:1–19). At Sarah's death, Abraham bought a cave for her burial, with adjacent land, from a Hittite of Hebron (Genesis 23). To ensure the promise remained within his family, Abraham sent his servant back to his relatives in the Haran region to select Isaac's bride (Genesis 24). The succession settled, Abraham gave gifts to other sons, and when he died aged 175, Isaac and Ishmael buried him beside Sarah (Gen 25:1–11).

**2. Abraham's Faith.** Although it was Abraham's grandson Jacob who gave his name to Israel and fathered the Twelve Tribes, Abraham was regarded as the nation's progenitor (e.g., Exod 2:24; 4:5; 32:13; Isa 29:22; Ezek 33:24; Mic 7:20). Israel's claim to Canaan rested on the promises made to him, and the God worshipped by Israel was preeminently the God of Abraham (e.g., Exod 3:6, 15; 4:1; 1 Kgs 18:36; Ps 47:9). God's choice of Abraham was an act of divine sovereignty whose reason was never disclosed. The reason for Abraham's favor with God (cf. "my friend," Isa 41:8) is made clear in the famous verse, "Abraham believed God and he credited it to him as righteousness" (Gen 15:6; cf. Rom 4:1–3), and in other demonstrations of Abraham's trust (e.g., Gen 22:8). Convinced of God's call to live a seminomadic life (note Heb 11:9), Abraham never attempted to return to Haran or to Ur, and took care that his son should not marry a local girl and so gain the land by inheritance, presumably because the indigenous people were unacceptable to God (Gen 24:3; 15:16). Throughout his career he built altars and offered sacrifices, thereby displaying his devotion (Gen 12:7, 8; 13:4, 18), an attitude seen also in the tithe he gave to Melchizedek after his victory (Genesis 14). The places sacred to him were often marked by trees, a token of his intention to stay in the land (Gen 12:6; 13:18; 21:33). Abraham believed his God to be just, hence his concern for any righteous in Sodom (Gen 18:16ff.). Even so, he attempted to preempt God's actions by taking Hagar when Sarah was barren (Gen 16:1–4), and by pretending Sarah was not his wife.

In the latter cases, God intervened to rescue him from the results of his own deliberate subterfuge because he had jeopardized the fulfilment of the promise (Gen 12:17f.; 20:3f.).

The God Abraham worshipped is usually referred to by the name *yhwh* (RSV LORD); twice Abraham "called on the name of the LORD" (Gen 12:8; 13:4), and his servant Eliezer spoke of the Lord, the God of Abraham (Gen 24:12, 27, 42, 48). The simple term "God" (*ʾĕlōhîm*) occurs in several passages, notably Gen 17:3ff; 19:29; 20 often; 21:2ff; 22. Additional divine names found in the Abraham narrative are: God Almighty (*ʾel šadday,* Gen 17:1), Eternal God (*yhwh ʾēl ʿôlām* Gen 21:33), God Most High (*ʾēl ʿelyôn* Gen 14:18–22), Sovereign Lord (*ʾădōnāy yhwh*, Gen 15:2, 8), and Lord God of heaven and earth (*yhwh ʾĕlōhê haššā-mayim wĕhāʾāreṣ* Gen 24:3,7).

Abraham approached God without the intermediacy of priests (clearly in Genesis 22; elsewhere it could be argued that priests were present, acting as Abraham's agents but not mentioned). God spoke to Abraham by theophanic visions (Gen 12:7; 17:1; 18:1). In one case, the appearance was in human form, when the deity was accompanied by two angels (Gen 18; cf. v19). Perhaps God employed direct speech when no other means is specified (Gen 12:1f; 13:14; 15:1; 21:12; 22:1). Angels could intervene and give protection as extensions of God's person (Gen 22; 24:7, 40). Prayer was a natural activity (e.g., 20:17) in which Eliezer followed his master's example (Gen 24). Eliezer did not hesitate to speak of Abraham's faith and God's care for him which he had observed (Gen 24:27, 35). God commended Abraham to Abimelech as a prophet (Gen 20:7, *nābîʾ*). Abraham is portrayed as worshipping one God, albeit with different titles. Abraham's is a God who can be known and who explains his purposes, even if over a time span that stretches his devotee's patience.

**3. Abraham's Life-style.** Leaving Ur and Haran, Abraham exchanged an urban-based life for the seminomadic style of the pastoralist with no permanent home, living in tents (Gen 12:8, 9; 13:18; 18:1; cf. Heb 11:9), unlike his relations near Haran (Gen 24:10, 11). However, he stayed at some places for long periods (Mamre, Gen 13:18; 18:1; Beersheba, Gen 22:19; Philistia, Gen 21:3, 4), enjoyed good relations with settled communities (Gen 23:10, 18 mentions the city gate), had treaty alliances with some, and spoke on equal terms with kings and the Pharaoh (Gen 14:13; 20:2, 11–14; 21:22–24). He is represented as having owned only one piece of land, the cave of Machpelah (Genesis 23). Wealth flowed to him through his herds, and in gifts from others (Gen 12:16; 20:14, 16), so that he became rich, owning cattle, sheep, silver, gold, male and female slaves, camels and donkeys (Gen 24:35). He may have traded in other goods, for he knew the language of the marketplace (Genesis 23). His household was large enough to furnish 318 men to fight foreign kings (Genesis 14). He was concerned about having an heir, and so looked on Eliezer his servant before sons were born (Gen 15:2), and took care to provide for Isaac's half-brothers so that his patrimony should not diminish (Gen 24:36; 25:5, 6; cf. 17:18). While Sarah was his first wife, Abraham also married Keturah, and had children by her, by Hagar, and by concubines (Gen 25:1–6). His burial was in the cave with Sarah (Gen 25:9–10).

**4. Abraham, Ancestor of the Chosen People.** Belief in their ancestry reaching back to one man, Abraham, to whom God promised a land, was firmly fixed among Jews in the 1st century (e.g., John 8:33–58; cf. Philo), and is attested long before by the prophets of the latter days of the Judean Monarchy (Isa 41:8; 51:2; 63:16; Jer 33:26; Ezek 33:24; Mic 7:20). The historical books of the OT also contain references to Abraham (Josh 24:2, 3; 2 Kgs 13:23; 1 Chr 16:16–18; 2 Chr 20:7; 30:6; Neh 9:7, 8) as does Psalm 105. In the Pentateuch the promise is mentioned in each book after Genesis (Exod 2:24; 33:1, etc.; Lev 26:42; Num 32:11; Deut 1:8; etc.).

**B. Abraham in Old Testament Study**

**1. Abraham as a Figure of Tradition.** Building on meticulous literary analysis of the Pentateuch, Julius Wellhausen concluded "… we attain to no historical knowledge of the patriarchs, but only of the time when the stories about them arose in the Israelite people; this latter age is here unconsciously projected, in its inner and its outward features, into hoar antiquity, and is reflected there like a glorified mirage." And of Abraham he wrote, "Abraham alone is certainly not the name of a people like Isaac and Lot: he is somewhat difficult to interpret. That is not to say that in such a connection as this we may regard him as a historical person; he might with more likelihood be regarded as a free invention of

unconscious art" (*WPHI*, 319f.). The literary sources of the early Monarchy, J and E, drawing on older traditions, preserved the Abraham stories. At the same time, Wellhausen treated the religious practices of Abraham as the most primitive in the evolution of Israelite religion. Hermann Gunkel, unlike Wellhausen, argued that investigating the documentary sources could allow penetration beyond their final form into the underlying traditions. Gunkel separated the narratives into story-units, often very short, which he alleged were the primary oral forms, duly collected into groups as sagas. These poems told the legends attached to different shrines in Canaan, or to individual heroes. Gradually combined around particular names, these stories were ultimately reduced to the prose sources which Wellhausen characterized. Gunkel believed the legends arose out of observations of life associated with surrounding traditions, obscuring any historical kernel: "Legend here has woven a poetic veil about the historical memories and hidden their outlines" (Gunkel 1901: 22). The question of Abraham's existence was unimportant, he asserted, for legends about him could not preserve a true picture of the vital element, his faith: "The religion of Abraham is in reality the religion of the narrators of the legends, ascribed by them to Abraham" (122).

The quest for the origins of these elements has continued ever since. Martin Noth tried to delineate the oral sources and their original settings, building on Gunkel's premises (Noth 1948), and Albrecht Alt investigated religious concepts of the expression "the gods of the fathers" in the light of Nabatean and other beliefs. He deduced that Genesis reflects an older stage of similar seminomadic life, the patriarchal figures being pegs on which the cult traditions hung (Alt 1966). The positions of Alt and Noth have influenced commentaries and studies on Abraham heavily during the past fifty years. At the same time, others have followed the literary sources in order to refine them and especially to discern their purposes and main motifs (e.g., von Rad *Genesis* OTL). For Abraham the consequence of these studies is the same, whether they view him as a dim shadow in Israel's prehistory, or as a purely literary creation: he is an example whose faith is to be emulated. The question of his actual existence is irrelevant; the stories about him illustrate how generations of Jews believed God had worked in a man's life, setting a pattern, and it is that belief, hallowed by the experience of many others, which is enshrined in them (see Ramsey 1981).

**2. Abraham as a Figure of History.** Several scholars have searched for positions which allow a measure of historical reality to Abraham. While accepting the literary sources as the channels of tradition, they have seen them as reflecting a common heritage which was handed down through different circles and so developed different emphases. This explains the nature of such apparently duplicate stories as Abraham's twice concealing Sarah's status (Gen 12:11–20; 20:2–18). W. F. Albright and E. A. Speiser were notable exponents of this position, constantly drawing on ancient Near Eastern sources, textual and material, to clarify the patriarch's ancient context. Albright claimed the Abraham stories fitted so well into the caravan society that he reconstructed for the 20th century B.C. "that there can be little doubt about their substantial historicity" (1973: 10). Textual and material sources included the cuneiform tablets from Mari and Nuzi and occupational evidence from Palestine. The Nuzi archives were thought to have yielded particularly striking analogies to family practices in the stories (see Speiser *Genesis* AB). These comparisons were widely accepted as signs of the antiquity of the narratives, and therefore as support for the contention that they reflected historical events. Even scholars who held firmly to the literary analyses took these parallels as illlumination of the original settings of the traditions (e.g., *EHI*). In 1974 and 1975 T. L. Thompson and J. Van Seters published sharp and extensive attacks on the views Albright had fostered, Thompson urging a return to the position of Wellhausen, and van Seters arguing that the stories belonged to exilic times (Thompson 1974; Van Seters 1975). The impact of these studies was great. They showed clearly that there were faults of logic and interpretation in the use made of the Nuzi and other texts, and put serious doubt on the hypothesis of an Amorite "invasion" of Palestine about 2000 B.C. In several cases, they pointed to other parallels from the 1st millennium B.C. which seemed equally good, thus showing that comparisons could not establish an earlier date for the patriarchal stories. For many OT scholars the arguments of Thompson and Van Seters reinforced the primacy of the literary analysis of Genesis and its subsequent developments, allowing attention to be paid to the narratives as "stories" rather than to questions of historicity.

Inevitably, there have been reactions from a variety of scholars who wish to sustain the value of comparisons with texts from the 2d millennium B.C. These include an important study of the Nuzi material by M. J. Selman (1976) and investigations of the Mari texts in relation to nomadism by J. T. Luke (1965) and V. H. Matthews (1978). Equally important, however, are considerations of the methods appropriate for studying the Abraham narratives, and these will be discussed in the remainder of this article, with examples as appropriate.

**C. Abraham—A Contextual Approach**

When the literary criticism of the Old Testament was elaborated in the 19th century in conjunction with theories of the evolution of Israelite society and religion, the ancient Near East was hardly known. With increasing discoveries came the possibility of checking the strength of those hypotheses against the information ancient records and objects provide. Were Genesis a newly recovered ancient manuscript, it is doubtful that these hypotheses would be given priority in evaluating the text. A literary analysis is one approach to understanding the text, but it is an approach that should be followed beside others and deserves no preferential status.

The current analysis is unsatisfactory because it cannot be demonstrated to work for any other ancient composition. Changes can be traced between copies of ancient texts made at different periods only when both the earlier and the later manuscript are physically available (e.g., the Four Gospels and Tatian's *Diatessaron*). Moreover, the presuppositions of the usual literary analysis do not sustain themselves in the light of ancient scribal practices, for they require a very precise consistency on the part of redactors and copyists. Ancient scribes were not so hide-bound. Rather, the Abraham narratives should be judged in their contexts. They have two contexts. The first is the biblical one. Historically this sets Abraham long before Joseph and Moses, in current terms about 2000 B.C. (Bimson 1983: 86). Sociologically it places Abraham in the context of a seminomadic culture not controlled by the Mosaic laws, moving in a Canaan of city-states. Religiously it puts Abraham before the cultic laws of Moses, aware of God's uniqueness and righteousness, yet also of others who worshipped him, such as Melchizedek. To an ancient reader, there was no doubt that Abraham, who lived many years before the rise of the Israelite monarchy, was the ancestor of Israel, a position which carried with it the promise of the land of Canaan and of God's covenant blessing. That is the biblical context and it should not be disregarded (see Goldingay 1983). The detection of apparently duplicate or contradictory elements in the narratives, and of episodes hard to explain, is not sufficient reason for assuming the presence of variant or disparate traditions, nor are anachronisms necessarily a sign of composition long after the events described took place. These questions can only be considered when the narratives are set in their second context, the ancient Near Eastern world, at the period the biblical context indicates. Only if it proves impossible to fit them into that context should another be sought.

**1. Abraham the Ancestor.** Although Abraham's biography is unique among ancient texts, its role in recording his ancestral place is not. Other states emerging about 1000 B.C., like Israel, bore the names of eponymous ancestors (e.g., Aramean Bit Bahyan, Bit Agush). Some traced their royal lines back to the Late Bronze Age, and many of the states destroyed at the end of that period had dynasties reaching back over several centuries to founders early in the Middle Bronze Age (e.g., Ugarit). Assyria, which managed to survive the crisis at the start of the 1st millennium B.C., listed her kings back to that time, and even before, to the days when they lived in tents. In this context, the possibility of Israel preserving knowledge of her descent is real (cf. Wiseman 1983: 153–58). States or tribes named after ancestors are also attested in the 2d millennium B.C. (e.g., Kassite tribes, *RLA* 5: 464–73). Dynastic lineages are known because kings were involved. Other families preserved their lines, too, as lawsuits about properties reveal (in Egypt, Gaballa 1977; in Babylonia, King 1912: no. 3), but they had little cause to write comprehensive lists. Israel's descent from Abraham, the grandfather of her national eponym, is comparable inasmuch as he received the original promise of the land of Canaan. The ancient King Lists rarely incorporate anecdotal information (e.g., Sumerian King List, Assyrian King List; see *ANET,* 265, 564). However, ancient accounts of the deeds of heroes are not wholly dissimilar. Sargon of Akkad (ca. 2334–2279 B.C.), a king whose existence was denied when his story was first translated, is firmly placed in histories as the

first Semitic emperor, well attested by copies of his own inscriptions made five centuries after his death, and by the records of his sons. Stories about Sargon were popular about 1700 B.C., and are included among the sources of information for his reign from which modern historians reconstruct his career. Other kings have left their own contemporary autobiographies (e.g., Idrimi of Alalakh, *ANET,* 557). All of these ancient texts convey factual information in the style and form considered appropriate by their authors. The analyses of their forms is part of their proper study. Finding a biography in an ancient Near Eastern document that combined concepts drawn from the family-tree form and from narratives about leaders, such as Genesis contains, preserved over centuries, would not lead scholars to assume the long processes of collecting, shaping, revising and editing normally alleged for the stories of Abraham.

**2. Abraham's Career and Life-style.** Journeys between Babylonia and the Levant were certainly made in the period 2100–1600 B.C. Kings of Ur had links with north Syrian cities and Byblos ca. 2050 B.C., and in Babylonia goods were traded with Turkey and Cyprus ca. 1700 B.C. A detailed itinerary survives for a military expedition from Larsa in southern Babylonia to Emar on the middle Euphrates, and others trace the route from Assyria to central Turkey. If Abraham was linked with the Amorites, as W. F. Albright argued, evidence that the Amorites moved from Upper Mesopotamia southward during the centuries around 2000 B.C. cannot invalidate the report of Abraham's journey in the opposite direction, as some have jejunely asserted (e.g., van Seters 1975: 23). Where the identifications are fixed and adequate explorations have been made, the towns Abraham visited—Ur, Haran, Shechem, Bethel, Salem (if Jerusalem), Hebron—appear to have been occupied about 2000 B.C. (Middle Bronze I; for a summary of archaeological material, see *IJH,* 70–148). Gerar remains unidentified, nor is there positive evidence for identifying the site now called Tel Beer-sheba with the Beer-sheba of Genesis (Millard 1983: 50). Genesis presents Abraham as a tent dweller, not living in an urban environment after he left Haran (cf. Heb 11:9).

Extensive archives from Mari, ca. 1800 B.C., illustrate the life of seminomadic tribesmen in relationship with that and other towns (see MARI LETTERS). General similarities as well as specific parallels (e.g., treaties between city rulers and tribes) can be seen with respect to Genesis. Some tribes were wealthy and their chieftains powerful men. When they trekked from one pasturage to another, their passage was marked and reported to the king of Mari. Town dwellers and steppe dwellers lived in dependence on each other.

In Canaan, Abraham had sheep and donkeys like the Mari tribes, and cattle as well. This difference does not disqualify the comparison (*pace* van Seters 1975: 16), for the Egyptian Sinuhe owned herds of cattle during his stay in the Levant about 1930 B.C. Like Abraham, Sinuhe spent some of his life in tents, and acquired wealth and high standing among the local people (*ANET,* 18–22; note that copies of this story were being made as early as 1800 B.C.). To strike camp and migrate for food was the practice of "Asiatics" within reach of Egypt, so much so that a wall or line of forts had to be built to control their influx (ca. 1980 B.C., see *ANET,* 446). The story of Sinuhe relates that the hero met several Egyptians in the Levant at this time (*ANET,* 18–22); the painting from a tomb at Beni Hasan depicts a party of 37 "Asiatics" (*ANEP,* 3), and excavations have revealed a Middle Bronze Age settlement in the Delta with a strong Palestinian presence (Bietak 1979). Military contingents brought together in coalitions traveled over great distances to face rebellious or threatening tribes, as in the affair of Genesis 14 (see below C5). In an era of petty kings, interstate rivalry was common and raids by hostile powers a threat to any settlement. To meet the persistent military threat, many cities throughout the Near East were strongly fortified during the Middle Bronze Age; fortification provided well-built gateways in which citizens could congregate (Gen 23:10, 18).

Disputes arose over grazing rights and water supplies. Abraham's pact at Gerar is typical, the agreement duly solemnized with an oath and offering of lambs. Abraham was a resident alien (*gēr*), not a citizen (Gen 15:13; 23:4). Concern for the continuing family was normal. Marriage agreements of the time have clauses allowing for the provision of an heir by a slave girl should the wife prove barren (*ANET,* 543, no. 4; cf. Selman 1976:127–29). The line was also maintained through proper care of the dead, which involved regular ceremonies in Babylonia (see DEAD, CULT OF). Burial in the cave at Machpelah gave Abraham's family a focus which was valuable when they had no settled dwelling (cf., the expression in

Gen 47:30). Comparisons made between Abraham's purchase of the cave reported in Genesis 23 and Hittite laws (Lehmann 1953) are now seen to be misleading (Hoffner 1969: 33–37). However, the report is not a transcript of a contract, and so cannot be tied in time to the "dialogue document" style fashionable in Babylonia from the 7th to 5th centuries B.C., as Van Seters and others have argued (Van Seters 1975: 98–100), and at least one Babylonian deed settling property rights survives in dialogue form from early in the 2 millennium B.C. (Kitchen 1977: 71 gives the reference).

**3. Abraham's Names.** Abram, "the father is exalted," is a name of common form, although no example of it is found in the West Semitic onomasticon of the early 2d millennium B.C. The replacement, Abraham, is given the meaning "father of a multitude" (Gen 17:5). That may be a popular etymology or a play on current forms of the name "Abram" in local dialects for the didactic purpose of the context, the inserted *h* having analogies in other West Semitic languages. The name "Aburahana" is found in the Egyptian Execration Texts of the 19th century B.C. (*m* and *n* readily interchange in Egyptian transcriptions of Semitic names [*EHI,* 197–98]). Genesis introduces the longer name as part of the covenant God made with Abram, so the new name confirmed God's control and marked a stage in the Patriarch's career (see Wiseman 1983: 158–60). No other person in the OT bears the names "Abram" or "Abraham" (or "Isaac" or "Jacob"); apparently they were names which held a special place in Hebrew tradition (like the names "David" and "Solomon").

**4. Abraham's Faith.** A monotheistic faith followed about 2000 B.C. is, so far as current sources reveal, unique, and therefore uncomfortable for the historian and accordingly reckoned unlikely and treated as a retrojection from much later times. The history of religions undermines that stance; the astonishing impact of Akhenaten's "heresy" and the explosion of Islam demonstrate the role a single man's vision may play, both imposing a monotheism upon a polytheistic society. Abraham's faith, quietly held and handed down in his family until its formulation under Moses, is equally credible.

Contextual research helps a little. Further study has traced the "gods of the fathers" concept far beyond Alt's Nabatean inscriptions to the early 2d millennium B.C., when the term referred to named deities, and the god El could be known as *Il-aba* "El is father" (Lambert 1981). Discussion of the various names and epithets for God in the Abraham narratives continues, revolving around the question whether they all refer to one deity or not (see Cross 1973; Wenham 1983). Some ancient texts which apply one or two of these epithets to separate gods (e.g., the pair *ʾl* "God" and *ʿlywn* "Most High," in an 8th-century Aramaic treaty, *ANET,* 659), may reflect later or different traditions; the religious patterns of the ancient Levant are so varied that it is dangerous to harmonize details from one time and place with those from another. The OT seems to equivocate over the antiquity of the divine name *yhwh.* Despite Exod 6:3, the Abraham narratives include the name often. Apart from the (unacceptable) documentary analysis, explanations range from retrojection of a (post-) Mosaic editor to explanations of Exod 6:3 allowing the name to be known to Abraham, but not its significance (see Wenham 1983:189–93). The latter opinion may find a partial analogy in the development of the Egyptian word *aten* from "sun disk" to the name of the supreme deity (Gardiner 1961: 216–18). However, the absence of the divine name as an indubitable element in any pre-Mosaic personal name should not be overlooked. Abraham naturally had a similar religious language to those around him, with animal sacrifices, altars, and gifts to his God after a victory. He found in Melchizedek another whose worship he could share, just as Moses found Jethro (Gen 14; Exod 2:15–22; 8), yet he never otherwise joined the cults of Canaan.

**5. Objections to a 2d Millennium Context. a. Anachronisms.** The texts about Sargon of Akkad are pertinent to the question of anachronisms in the Abraham stories. In those texts, Sargon is said to have campaigned to Turkey in aid of Mesopotamian merchants oppressed there. Documents from Kanesh in central Turkey attest to the activities of Assyrian merchants in the 19th century B.C., but not much earlier. Therefore the mention of Kanesh in texts about Sargon and his dynasty is considered anachronistic. At the same time, the incidents those texts report are treated as basically authentic and historically valuable (Grayson and Sollberger 1976: 108). The anachronism does not affect the sense of the narrative. In this light, the problem of the Philistines in Gen 21:32, 34 may be viewed as minimal. Naming a place after a people whose presence is only attested there six or seven centuries later than the setting of the story need

not falsify it. A scribe may have replaced an outdated name, or people of the Philistine group may have resided in the area long before their name is found in other written sources. Certainly some pottery entered Palestine in the Middle Bronze Age from Cyprus, the region whence the Philistines came (Amiran 1969: 121–23). A similar position can be adopted with regard to the commonly cited objection of Abraham's camels. Although the camel did not come into general use in the Near East until after 1200 B.C., a few signs of its use earlier in the 2d millennium B.C. have been found (see CAMEL). It is as logical to treat the passages in Gen 12:16; 24 as valuable evidence for the presence of camels at that time as to view them as anachronistic. Contrariwise, the absence of horses from the Abraham narratives is to be noted, for horses could be a sign of wealth in the places where he lived (cf. 1 Kgs 4:26); horses are unmentioned in the list of Job's wealth (Job 1:3). Ancient Near Eastern sources show clearly that horses were known in the 3d millennium B.C., but only began to be widely used in the mid-2d millennium B.C., that is, after the period of Abraham's lifetime as envisaged here (Millard 1983: 43). Comparisons may be made also with information concerning iron working. A Hittite text tells how King Anitta (ca. 1725 B.C.) received an iron chair from his defeated foe. Recent research dates the tablet about 1600 B.C., yet iron only came into general use in the Near East when the Bronze Age ended and the Iron Age began, ca. 1200 B.C. Were the Anitta text preserved in a copy made a millennium after his time, its iron chair would be dismissed as a later writer's anachronism. It cannot be so treated; it is one important witness to iron working in the Middle Bronze Age (Millard 1988). Alleged anachronisms in the Abraham narratives are not compelling obstacles to setting them early in the 2d millennium B.C.

**b. Absence of Evidence.** Occasionally the absence of any trace of Abraham from extrabiblical sources is raised against belief in his existence soon after 2000 B.C. This is groundless. The proportion of surviving Babylonian and Egyptian documents to those once written is minute. If, for example, Abraham's treaty with Abimelech of Gerar (Genesis 21) was written, a papyrus manuscript would decay quickly in the ruined palace, or a clay tablet might remain, lie buried undamaged, awaiting the spade of an excavator who located Gerar (a problem!), happened upon the palace, and cleared the right room. If Abimelech's dynasty lasted several generations, old documents might have been discarded, the treaty with them. Egyptian state records are almost nonexistent owing to the perishability of papyrus, so no evidence for Abraham can be expected there.

Abraham's encounter with the kings of the east (Genesis 14) links the patriarch with international history, but regrettably, the kings of Elam, Shinar, Ellasar, and the nations have not been convincingly identified. R. de Vaux stated that "it is historically impossible for these five sites south of the Dead Sea to have at one time during the second millennium been the vassals of Elam, and that Elam never was at the head of a coalition uniting the four great near eastern powers of that period" (*EHI*, 219). Consequently, the account is explained as a literary invention of the exilic period (Astour 1966; Emerton 1971). At that date, its author would either be imagining a situation unlike any within his experience, or weaving a story around old traditions. If the former is true, he was surprisingly successful in constructing a scenario appropriate for the early 2d millennium B.C.; if the latter, then it is a matter of preference which components of the chapter are assumed to stem from earlier times. Yet the chapter may still be viewed as an account of events about 2000 B.C., as K. A. Kitchen has demonstrated (Kitchen 1977: 72 with references). A coalition of kings from Elam, Mesopotamia, and Turkey fits well into that time. To rule it "unhistorical" is to claim a far more detailed knowledge of the history of the age than anyone possesses. The span of the events is only fifteen years, and what is known shows how rapidly the political picture could change. Current inability to identify the royal names with recorded kings is frustrating; scribal error is an explanation of last resort; ignorance is the likelier reason, and as continuing discoveries make known more city-states and their rulers, clarification may emerge. (One may compare the amount of information derivable from the Ebla archives for the period about 2300 B.C. with the little available for the city's history over the next five hundred years.) Gen 14:13 terms Abram "the Hebrew." This epithet is appropriate in this context, where kings are defined by the states they ruled, for Abram had no state or fatherland. "Hebrew" denoted exactly that circumstance in the Middle Bronze Age (Buccellati 1977).

**D. Duplicate Narratives**

A major argument for the common literary analysis of the Abraham narratives, and for the merging of separate lines of tradition, is the presence of "duplicate" accounts of some events. Abraham and Isaac clashed with Abimelech of Gerar, and each represented his wife as his sister, an action Abraham had previously taken in Egypt (Gen 12:10–20; 20; 26). These three stories are interpreted as variations of one original in separate circles. That so strange a tale should have so secure a place in national memory demands a persuasive explanation, whatever weight is attached to it. In the ancient Near East, kings frequently gave their sisters or daughters in marriage to other rulers to cement alliances and demonstrate goodwill (examples abound throughout the 2d millennium B.C.). The actions of Abraham and Isaac may be better understood in this context, neither man having unmarried female relatives to hand. That they were afraid may reflect immediate pressures. For Isaac to repeat his father's procedure at Gerar is more intelligible as part of a well-established practice of renewing treaties with each generation than as a literary repetition (Hoffmeier fc.).

Abraham and Isaac both had trouble with the men of Gerar over water rights at Beer-sheba. Again, the narratives are counted as duplicates of a single tradition (Speiser *Genesis* 202), and again two different episodes in the lives of a father and son living in the same area is as reasonable an explanation in the ancient context. One king might confront and defeat an enemy, the same king or his son having to repeat the action (e.g., Ramesses II and the Hittites, Kitchen 1982 *passim*). The naming of the wells at Beersheba, usually labeled contradictory, is also open to a straightforward interpretation in the light of Hebrew syntax which removes the conflict (*NBD,* 128).

**E. Conclusion**

To place Abraham at the beginning of the 2d millennium B.C. is, therefore, sustainable. While the extrabiblical information is not all limited to that era, for much of ancient life followed similar lines for centuries, and does not demand such a date, it certainly allows it, in accord with the biblical data. The advantage this brings is the possibility that Abraham was a real person whose life story, however handed down, has been preserved reliably. This is important for all who take biblical teaching about faith seriously. Faith is informed, not blind. God called Abraham with a promise and showed his faithfulness to him and his descendants. Abraham obeyed that call and experienced that faithfulness. Without Abraham, a major block in the foundations of both Judaism and Christianity is lost; a fictional Abraham might incorporate and illustrate communal beliefs, but could supply no rational evidence for faith because any other community could invent a totally different figure (and communal belief can be very wrong, as the fates of many "witches" recall). Inasmuch as the Bible claims uniqueness, and the absolute of divine revelation, the Abraham narratives deserve a positive, respectful approach; any other risks destroying any evidence they afford.

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A. R. MILLARD

**ABRAHAM, APOCALYPSE OF.** A midrash based on the text of Genesis 15 presented in the form of revelation. The title of the book is preserved only in manuscript S (Codex Silvester), where it runs as follows: "The Book of the Revelation of Abraham, son of Terah, son of Nahor, son of Serug, son of Arphaxad, son of Shem, son of Noah, son of Lamech, son of Methusaleh, son of Enoch, son of Jared."

**A. Contents**

The main subject of the book is the election of Abraham and the covenant between God and Abraham and his descendants. Chapters 1–8 tell about the call of Abraham out of the midst of idolaters. After a deep reflection on the various forms of their idolatry, Abraham wants to know the true God who created the universe. God then appears to him in the form of fire and commands him to leave the home of his father Terah and to sacrifice a heifer, a she-goat, a ram, a turtledove, and a pigeon (Genesis 15) on the high mountain. Chapters 9–32 describe Abraham's journey to the mount of Horeb, the offering of the sacrifice, and the visions imparted to him. Abraham sees, among other things, the seven sins of the world (24:3–25:2) and the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem (27:1–12). God announces to him the punishment of the Gentiles and of the sinners belonging to the people of Israel (chap. 29). The vision of the "man going out from the left, the heathen side" (29:4) foretells the test of the people of God in the last days of this age. Before the age of justice, God will afflict "all earthly creation" with ten plagues (29:15, 30:2–8) and afterward send his Elect One, who will summon the people of God (31:1). Sinners will be punished and the righteous will triumph forever (chap. 32).

**B. The Text**

The *Apocalypse of Abraham (Apoc. Ab.)* is preserved only in Old Church Slavonic translation. According to common opinion, it was translated from Greek around A.D. 900 in Bulgaria, although translation from a Semitic original cannot be excluded (see below). The Old Church Slavonic copies of the text were very soon transferred, probably by monks, from Bulgaria to Russia and there diffused within some centuries in different transcripts. This fact explains why the present text of the book is influenced by the old Russian language. All nine extant manuscripts containing this pseudepigraphon are preserved in the museums and the libraries of the U.S.S.R. The oldest manuscript is the Codex Silvester (14th century), which is characterized by many omissions owing mostly to inadvertance of the copyists; the text itself is incomplete. The best text is preserved in manuscript B, which belongs to the Synodal Paleja Tolkovaja

(Sin 211, Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej 869, fols. 76–90, Moscow) and dates to the 16th century (see Philonenko-Sayer and Philonenko 1981; Rubinkiewicz 1977; 1987).

**C. The Integrity of the Text**

Most critics distinguish two parts in the *Apocalypse of Abraham:* the haggadic section (chaps. 1–8) and the apocalyptic section (chaps. 9–32). The two sections were probably written by different authors. Later, the two documents were most likely joined together into a single work. It seems, however, that only chapter 7 did not belong to the original text of the pseudepigraphon, and maybe also chapter 23 (the description of the sin of Adam and Eve, which undoubtedly reflects Jewish sources; the chapter could have been introduced into the *Apocalypse of Abraham* from another pseudepigraphon). A special problem is presented by *Apoc. Ab.* 29:4–13. Generally one assumes that the Man "going out from the left, the heathen side" (29:4), worshipped by the great crowd of the heathen, and insulted by some of the people of Israel, represents the figure of Jesus. Therefore, some critics claim that this passage is a Christian interpolation (*ANRW* 2/19/1: 137–51) or that it could be a "Jewish view of Jesus as an apostle to the heathen" (*EncJud* 1: 125–27). However, an exact analysis of the vision in *Apoc. Ab.* 29:4–13 proves that it must be original, and that it "has little in common with a Christian view of Jesus but recalls the beast in Rev 13:1–4" (Hall 1988). The heathen man may be identified as the Roman emperor. Only "the phrase identifying the man who is worshiped as a child of Abraham (29:9b) must be understood as a gloss, probably by a Christian interpolator who found Christ in the author's 'antichrist' " (Hall 1988).

In addition to these three passages, we may note some glosses, perhaps because of the Bogomil editor (*ANRW* 2/19/1: 137–51; Rubinkiewicz 1987; contrary Philonenko-Sayar and Philonenko 1981). The very strange statement that Abraham's issue are "the people (associated) with Azazel" must be understood in the light of the gloss "*ljudii s Azazilomû sii sout*" (22:5), "this is the people with Azazel," found in one of the manuscripts in the correct form. In the other manuscripts it is slightly different and incorporated into the main phrase. This fact explains the strange association of Azazel with the people of God and is in the spirit of the medieval slavonic sect of the Bogomils.

**D. Original Language**

The original language of the *Apocalypse of Abraham* was undoubtedly Semitic, either Aramaic or Hebrew. Many Semitisms are found in the text which cannot be explained simply by the influence of Septuagintal style. For example, *Apoc. Ab.* uses the positive instead of the comparative, indicating a Semitic original. The awkward Slavonic construction "heavy of (a big stone)" (1:5) renders Semitic *kbd mn,* which should be interpreted "heavier than (a big stone)." Also, prepositions are sometimes used according to Hebrew rather than Slavonic syntax (e.g., 8:4; 12:10; see Rubinkiewicz 1980).

**E. Date and Origin**

The *Apocalypse of Abraham* was written after A.D. 70, as is evident from its reference to the destruction of the Temple. If one assumes that plagues 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, (*Apoc. Ab.* 30:4–8) refer to the events from A.D. 69 and 70, and that plagues 2, 4, 6, 8, 10 (*Apoc. Ab.* 30:4–8) refer to the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, then it may be surmised that the text was composed between A.D. 79–81. This opinion is reinforced by the symbolic interpretation of the haggadic material found in *Apoc. Ab.* 1–6 (the idols symbolize the hostile kingdoms and kings: Marumat = Rome, Barisat = Babylon, [Su]zuch = Persia, "five other gods" = Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, and Titus), but this explanation must remain hypothetical (see Rubinkiewicz 1982).

The author of *Apoc. Ab.* belonged to the priestly environment. Some doctrinal affinities of the text with the Qumran writings—e.g., the opinion regarding the High Priest in the Temple, the liturgical milieu of the pseudepigraphon concentrated around the Feast of Tabernacles as the Feast of the renewal of the Covenant, and predeterminism contained in the text of this work—show at least some dependency on Essene doctrine. Despite these similarities, there is no convincing argument that the author of *Apoc. Ab.* was an Essene. The views expressed in the pseudepigraphon correspond equally well to the concepts represented by the priestly environment of Palestine in general, not just the Essene environment.

**F. Theology**

God is eternal (9:3) and He is the God who protects Abraham and his issue (9:4). He has created the universe, has elected Israel, has called her "my people" (22:5; 31:1), and will give her the victory over her enemies (31:1–2).

Angelology plays an important part in the pseudepigraphon. The most eminent person is the angel of God, Iaoel. His features resemble certain features of the Angel of God in Exod 23:20–23. His fundamental role is to protect and fortify Abraham (10:3). The chief of the fallen angels is Azazel (13:7). His power is on the earth (13:7–8; 14:6), but it is not unlimited; for example, Azazel has no power over the just (13:10).

The world is divided into two parts: (1) the land and the garden of Eden, and (2) the upper and lower waters. In the same way, mankind is divided into the people of God (Israel) and the Gentiles (21:3–7). However, there is no ontological dualism in *Apoc. Ab.* The world created by God is good (22:2). There is no other God except that one for whom Abraham searched and who is beloved (19:3). There is evil in the world, but it is not unavoidable. God has full control over the development of events and does not allow the body of the just man to fall under the control of Azazel (13:10). Azazel is wrong if he thinks that he may scoff at justice and disclose the secrets of heaven (14:4). He will be punished and banished to the desert, where he will remain forever (14:5).

The age of wickedness will consist of "twelve periods" (29:2). After this age comes the last judgment, preceded by the redemption of the righteous. First, however, ten plagues will affect all the world (29:15; 30:2–8). Then God will send his "Elect One" (31:1) and will gather the dispersed people of God. At this time, the Gentiles who oppressed Israel will be punished (31:2) and the apostates will be burned by the fire of Azazel's tongue (31:6). The Temple will be rebuilt and the cult restored (29:17–18). There is no explicit doctrine of the resurrection in the pseudepigraphon. However, this idea may be suggested by the symbol of the dew (19:4) and by the conviction expressed in 13:10 that the body of the just will not belong to Azazel. This may be connected with the exegesis of Ps 16:10, a Psalm utilized by Christians to prove the resurrection of Jesus (Acts 2:27).

### G. The *Apocalypse of Abraham* and the Bible

The books of Genesis and Ezekiel play fundamental roles in *Apoc. Ab.* The author begins his work with an allusion to Gen 20:13, adduced in light of targumic exegesis, and closes with reference to Gen 15:13–16 (*Apoc. Ab.* 32:1–3). *Apoc. Ab.* 8:4 and 9:1–4 reflect the expression contained in Gen 12:1 and 15:1 seen in the light of Ps 22:2–3 and Deut 33:29. The author quotes Gen 15:9 (*Apoc. Ab.* 9:5) and employs the image of Gen 15:17a (*Apoc. Ab.* 15:1). The text of *Apoc. Ab.* 20:4 reminds one of Gen 18:27 and that of *Apoc. Ab.* 20:6 alludes to Gen 18:30. *Apoc. Ab.* 18–19 is based on Ezekiel 1, 10. Abraham sees four living creatures (*Apoc. Ab.* 18:3–12; cf. Ezek 3:12–13), the throne (*Apoc. Ab.* 18:3; cf. Ezek 1:26), and the Divine Chariot (*Apoc. Ab.* 18:12; cf. Ezekiel 1, 10).

There is no direct relation between the *Apocalypse of Abraham* and the NT. There are nonetheless many parallel expressions which show that the authors drew from the same tradition (for example, *Apoc. Ab.* 13:3–14 and Matt 4:1–11 par; *Apoc. Ab.* 9:5–8; 12:1–10 and Gal 4:21–31; *Apoc. Ab.* 18:11 and Rev 5:9; see Rubinkiewicz 1987).

### H. The *Apocalypse of Abraham* and the Pseudepigrapha

The author of *Apoc. Ab.* follows the tradition of *1 Enoch* 1–36. The chief of the fallen angels is Azazel who rules over the stars and the main part of humanity. It is easy to find here the tradition of Gen 6:1–4 developed in *1 Enoch.* Azazel rebelled against God and, together with the other angels, united sexually with the daughters of men. He disclosed the secrets of heaven and caused great misfortune on earth. Therefore, he was expelled to the desert. Abraham, like Enoch, receives the power to tame Satan (*Apoc. Ab.* 14:3; *1 En.* 14:3). The tradition of 1 *Enoch* 10 about Azazel underlying *Apoc. Ab.* 13–14 permits us to understand better the difficult text of Matt 22:11–14 (see Rubinkiewicz 1984).

The *Apocalypse of Abraham,* with its Palestinian origin, early date of composition, common tradition with *1 Enoch,* and connections with NT writings, finds a place for itself among the most significant works of the Jewish world in the 1st century A.D.

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**ABRAHAM, TESTAMENT OF.** Although titled a "testament" in many of the extant manuscripts, the Testament of Abraham exhibits few of the traits of that genre. Abraham is instructed to make a testament in preparation for his death, but he neither relates his own personal history in order to instruct his descendants, nor imparts ethical advice to those who have gathered at his bedside. The "Testament" of Abraham is more closely related to the apocalyptic dramas, the descriptions of otherworldly journeys, and the legends about the death of Moses, which circulated widely in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, than it is to the other testamentary literature. The "Testament" focuses on the inevitability of death, God's just and merciful judgment (in contrast to Abraham's quick condemnation of sinners), and the fate of souls after death. The figure of Abraham bears some resemblance to the biblical character in that he is presented as hospitable and righteous, but he is also seen in the story as disobedient (refusing to go with God's appointed messengers) and self-righteous (condemning nearly everyone that he sees during his heavenly journey).

The work survives in two distinct Greek recensions, a longer version (A) and a shorter version (B). The two recensions probably derive from a common source, but neither is directly dependent on the other. Whereas the long version is thought to preserve the more original contents and order, the short version often preserves earlier wording and simpler vocabulary (James 1892: 49; Nickelsburg 1976: 85–93).

The story contains two parallel and symmetrical divisions: In the first part, Michael is sent by God to retrieve Abraham's soul (chaps. 1–15); in the second part, Death is sent to complete the task (chaps. 16–20; Nickelsburg 1984: 61). In part one, Abraham receives the visitor Michael with great hospitality, but after he discovers why Michael has come, he refuses to die (A2–7; B = Abraham tries to postpone death). Michael continues to try to persuade Abraham to obey God's will, but Abraham instead strikes a bargain with Michael that would allow him to see all the inhabited world before he dies (A8–9; B = "all God's creation"). During the journey, Abraham is repulsed by the wickedness that he sees, and he immediately calls for the death of the sinners (A10). God orders the tour to stop before Abraham condemns everyone; he then instructs Michael to take Abraham to the place where Abel is carefully weighing the deeds of the dead so that Abraham can see God's compassionate judgment (A11–13). God's merciful treatment of the souls persuades Abraham to pray on behalf of those he had condemned during his journey (A14).

Although Michael has fulfilled his part of the bargain, Abraham still refuses to die. Michael then returns to heaven and God sends Death to reclaim Abraham's soul (A15–16). Death attempts to frighten Abraham by showing him all manner of gruesome deaths (A17), and then tries to persuade him that a swift death is something to be sought because such a death precludes any further punishment (A17–19). Abraham still is reluctant to die; finally he is tricked by Death, and dies. The story concludes with the angels taking Abraham's soul to heaven (A20).

Aside from the minor differences mentioned in the summary, the longer and shorter recensions differ in two major ways: (1) the shorter recension places the judgment scene before the tour of the world; and (2) the judgment scene in the shorter recension is much less fully developed.

The two recensions are preserved in approximately thirty Greek MSS ranging from the 13th to the 17th century (for a full list, cf. Schmidt 1986: 1–3; Denis 1970: 32–33). The noteworthy other languages are Coptic (which generally follows B, but some elements resemble A; cf. Sparks' introduction to Turner 1984: 393), Ethiopic (based on the Coptic; cf. *HJP²* 3/2: 765), Arabic (also based on the Coptic), Roumanian (cf. Turdeanu 1981: 201–18, 440), and Slavonic (follows B; cf. Turdeanu 1981: 201–18, 440).

Scholars such as Ginzberg and Kohler argued for a Hebrew original for the work, but the consensus today is that the longer version of the Testament was composed in Septuagintal, or Semitic, Greek (cf. *OTP* 1: 873; Delcor 1973: 32–34). This position is strengthened by the close vocabulary parallels between the long recension and other books such as the Wisdom of Solomon and 2,3,4 Maccabees, which were clearly composed in Greek. The shorter version can easily be retroverted to Hebrew, but as Sanders notes, the Hebrew that results is a classical biblical prose style, not the Hebrew of the Greco-Roman period as evidenced by the Dead Sea Scrolls and early rabbinic literature (*OTP* 1: 873). It is therefore likely, though still not settled, that the shorter recension was also composed in Greek (cf. Schmidt 1986).

There are no historical allusions in the Testament. Thus estimates of the date of composition have ranged from the 2d century B.C.E. up to the 6th century C.E. (for the final form of the long recension), although most scholars regard the 1st century B.C.E. or 1st century C.E. as the most likely (*OTP* 1: 874; Schmidt; Delcor: 73–77; Collins: 226; Denis 1970: 36).

An Egyptian provenience for the Testament has been widely accepted (*OTP* 1: 875; Collins: 226; Denis 1970: 36; Nickelsburg 1984: 63). Cited in its favor are the similarities in vocabulary between the Testament and other works thought to derive from Egyptian Jewry (3 Maccabees, Testament of Job, 3 Baruch), the balancing of deeds (weighing of souls; chaps. A11–13), the three levels of judgment (which may reflect the three levels of jurisdiction in Roman Egypt; cf. Sanders: 875; Delcor: 18), and the portrayal of the figure of death as a heavenly courtier and servant of God (Nickelsburg 1984: 63). Schmidt has argued for a Palestinian provenience (see also Janssen), but he bases his claim on the doubtful position that the shorter recension was composed in Hebrew.

Undoubtedly a Jewish work, the Testament (especially the longer recension) does contain a few Christian additions (most notably in the judgment scene; cf. *HJP²* 3/2: 763; Nickelsburg 1984: 63). Whether any identifiable group within Judaism is responsible for its composition is still debated. Kohler and Ginzberg suggested that the work derived from the Essenes, and that idea, in a slightly diluted form, has been picked up by Schmidt, who argues that the work originated from "a popular Essenism." Delcor (70–73) has suggested that the work may have been written by the Therapeutae, an Essenelike group, but Sanders has refuted this position convincingly, noting especially that Abraham is presented in the Testament as a city dweller whereas the Therapeutae were strictly nonurban dwellers (according to Philo), and that the Judaism presented in the Testament is a "lowest-common-denominator Judaism" which lacks any sectarian attributes (*OTP* 1: 876; but cf. *HJP²* 3/2: 762).

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**ABRAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾabrām* (אַבְרָם)]. See ABRAHAM (PERSON).

**ABRON** (PLACE) [Gk *abrōna* (ἀβρωνα)]. A wadi along which the Assyrian general Holofernes razed all the cities in his western campaign during the Persian period (Jdt 2:24). However, the location of Abron is uncertain, and given the genre of the book of Judith, the historicity of this campaign and the "Assyrian" general is doubtful. The campaign is set in the territory of Cilicia (Jdt 2:21–25), suggesting that Abron is located somewhere between the NW bend of the Euphrates and the Mediterranean Sea. The confusion is compounded by the textual variants (Codex Sinaiticus *chebrōn;* Vg *mambre* [2:14]), which suggest that some ancient translators may have located Abron in the Hebron/Mamre region of Palestine. Some scholars, following Movers (1835), explain Gk *abrōna* as a translator's misunderstanding of the Heb phrase *b ʿbr hnhr* ("beyond the river"), designating "east of the Euphrates River," or "Mesopotamia" (cf. Josh 24:2, 14–15). However, from the Mesopotamian point of view, this phrase designated the region, or an administrative district, west of the northern bend of the Euphrates River (namely, Syria-Palestine; see Rainey 1969). In this phrase the Heb *ʿbr* was mistaken by the translator to be the actual name of the river. Others identify Abron with the Habur River (see HABOR), which joins the Euphrates 31 km NW of Dura (Soubigiou *Judith* Sainte Bible, 516).

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**ABRONAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿabrônâ* (עַבְרֹנָה)]. An Israelite camp-site on the exodus itinerary, located between the stations of Jotbathah and Ezion-geber, N of the Gulf of ʿAqaba (Num 33:34–35; see Deut 2:8; 10:6–7). The historical location of the site of Abronah remains uncertain, as do most of the sites on the wilderness itinerary (Num 33:1–49), and any proposed location of these sites presumes a theoretical travel route (Aharoni *LBHG,* 198). A modern site named both Ar *ʿAin ed-Defîyeh* or *Dāfiya,* and also *ʿEin Avrona* (Hebrew), located 15 km N of the Gulf of ʿAqaba, is one identification (Rothenberg, et al., 1961: 89; Baly 1963: 166; see also *RNAB,* 114), while Aharoni and Avi-Yonah (*MBA,* 174) allow for the tenuous possibility of Elat (modern *Umm Rashrash;* M.R. 145884), situated on the northern shore of the Gulf of ʿAqaba.

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**ABSALOM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾabšālōm* (אַבְשָׁלֹם)]. Var. ABISHALOM.

**1.** Third son of David. His mother was a foreigner, MAACAH, daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur (2 Sam 3:3; 1 Chr 3:2). He was one of six sons born to David at Hebron by six different wives. He was at the center of a long-running series of troubles that David had with his sons: he killed his older brother AMNON and later rebelled against David himself.

Absalom first appears in the story of Amnon's rape of their sister Tamar (2 Samuel 13). After the rape was committed, Absalom hated Amnon (13:22) with the same hatred that the latter had shown for Tamar (13:15–19), and he bided his time for revenge.

After two years, Absalom was able to lure Amnon—who himself had lured his sister into a trap—as well as "all the king's sons" to festivities at Baal-hazor, near Ephraim, during the time of sheepshearing (13:23–29). There, Absalom had Amnon killed and the brothers fled. David first mourned the death of Amnon, and then he mourned the absence of Absalom, who had fled to his mother's household in Geshur, where he remained for three years (13:30–39). David appears here and throughout as a noble, yet somewhat passive and detached hero.

Absalom was finally brought back through the efforts of Joab, David's general and nephew (2 Samuel 14). In an episode reminiscent of Nathan's parable that entrapped David into acknowledging his sin, Joab recruited a wise woman from Tekoa to masquerade as a bereaved mother whose remaining son's life was

threatened. When David's compassion led him to intercede, she pointed out to him that Absalom's lot was the same as her son's. Acknowledging her point, David restored Absalom from exile, but perhaps showed considerable insensitivity in not allowing him to come into his presence for 2 years (14:28). At this point we are told of Absalom's great beauty (just as his sister had been beautiful) and his full head of hair (14: 25–27). A reconciliation with his father finally was brought about after some persistence on Absalom's part (14:29–33).

Immediately thereafter, Absalom began an active campaign of subversion against his father (15:1–12). Just as people had admired his great beauty (14:25), so they now admired what they saw as his great wisdom (15:3–6). He conspired to be made king at Hebron, his birthplace and—ironically—the place of his father's acclamation as king and early reign over Judah and all Israel. (The duration of this campaign is uncertain; it was likely 40 days or 4 years, and not the 40 years of the MT at 15:7; *see* Conroy 1978: 106–7, n. 40.)

In the narrative, Absalom temporarily fades into the background after 15:12; the story now focuses on David's flight to the Jordan River and his encounters with various opponents and supporters along the way (15:13–16:14). As the conspiracy gained supporters (15:12), David was persuaded to flee from Jerusalem, along with his household and warriors loyal to him (15:13–23). Among these loyal ones was Ittai, leader of six hundred men from Gath and one of three generals who led the climactic battle against Absalom (18:2). David directed the priests Abiathar and Zadok that the ark should not accompany him in his flight (15:24–29), a contrast with earlier attitudes toward the ark (1 Samuel 4). David also met Ziba and Shimei (16:1–14), foreshadowing later events unrelated to Absalom (19:17–31—Eng19:16–30).

After David's departure, Absalom was able to enter Jerusalem without resistance (16:15). Ahithophel, David's respected counselor, had joined Absalom (15:12, 30–31), and he advised him to consolidate his position as king by taking his father's concubines, which Absalom did (16:20–23). He also counseled a selective strike that would kill only David (17:1–4). To counter Ahithophel's defection, David had enlisted one Hushai, the Archite, who then entered Absalom's court as a spy (15:32–37; 16:15–19). Hushai, acting in David's interests, advised a large-scale mobilization instead, and Absalom took his advice, prompting the rejected Ahithophel to commit suicide (17:5–14, 23). YHWH's hand was evident in this, since Ahithophel's advice had been good counsel (17:14)—the delay in mobilization allowed Hushai to send word to David about Absalom's plans via the two priests' sons Ahimaaz and Jonathan, setting the stage for the military confrontation (17:15–22).

The confrontation took place across the Jordan, in the dense Forest of Ephraim in Gilead. Absalom's forces were no match for David's seasoned followers, and many were lost to the sword or to the forest (18:1–8). The narrative slows to describe the death of Absalom and its announcement to David (18:9–32). Absalom's hair had gotten caught in a tree in the dense woods, and Joab killed him, aided by ten of his armor-bearers. The suspense builds as David awaits word of the battle, brought by two messengers. The moving climax is reached abruptly, in David's reaction to his son's death and his poignant lament (18:33).

Absalom had three sons, and a comely daughter whom he named after his sister (14:27). In light of 18:18, it appears that his sons died early in life. If he is the Abishalom of 2 Kgs 15:2, 10, then he had another daughter (or granddaughter), named for his mother, Maacah (contra the OG reading of 2 Sam 14:27b). She was the wife of Rehoboam, mother of Abijam, and (grand)mother of Asa (2 Kgs 15:2, 10, 13; cf. 2 Chr 11:20–22). The "Absalom's Monument" that he built to commemorate his own name due to his lack of heirs (2 Sam 18:18) is not the "Absalom's Tomb" that can be seen today on the eastern slope of the Kidron Valley. The latter dates to a much later period.

The story of Absalom has been seen as part of a large document known as the "Succession Narrative" (2 Samuel 9–20, 1 Kings 1–2; *see* Rost 1982, Whybray 1968), in which the primary concern is the struggle for succession to David's throne. However, this hypothesis fails to do justice to the appendix to 2 Samuel (chs. 21–24), and the evidence for the succession theme within the Absalom narrative itself (2 Samuel 13–18 [or 20]) is meager. Thus caution should be exercised here, to avoid subordinating too much to this one theme (Conroy 1978: 101–5; IOTS: 266–80).

**2.** The father of Mattathias, who was one of two who remained loyal to Jonathan Maccabeus when his army had been routed by the Syrians in 145 B.C.E. (1 Macc 11:70). This Absalom (GK *Apsalōmos*) also may have been the father of the Jonathan whom Simon Maccabeus sent on a mission to Joppe in 143 B.C.E. (1 Macc 13:11).

**3.** One of two envoys sent by the Jews to Lysias, Antiochus' deputy, to negotiate a peace after his defeat at Beth-Zur in 164 B.C.E. (GK *Abessalōm;* 2 Macc 11:17). The "House of Absalom" is mentioned in the Qumran commentary on Habakkuk, and it may have been an influential, pious family in the Maccabean period (Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 410).

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DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

**ABU ET-TWEIN, KHIRBET** (M.R. 158119). An Iron Age fortress located on the summit of a remote ridge in the W slopes of the Hebron Hills, E of the Valley of Elah. The site was surveyed and excavated in 1974–75 by A. Mazar. The fortress is a square structure, ca. 30 × 30 m, with thin outer walls, yet the corners are built of large boulders. A gate chamber led from the E into a square inner courtyard, surrounded by a double row of rooms on all four sides. The rooms were constructed by placing a row of monolithic pillars between the outer wall of the fortress and the inner wall which surrounds the courtyard. Division walls created rooms of different sizes, some of which were perhaps for storage and stables (see Fig. ABU.01). The pottery found in the fortress is mainly of the Iron Age II, but there are also forms dated to the 6th and even the 5th centuries B.C., pointing to a continuous use of the fortress even after the destruction of Judah in 587 B.C.

A small village existed during the Iron Age II on a saddle at the foot of the hill on which the fortress was located. The village consisted of a number of houses scattered over a large area, with open spaces between them.

It appears that the fortress was constructed during the period of the Monarchy (perhaps during the 8th century B.C.) as a guard position and observation point in the remote region, which separated the extensive urban settlements in the Shephelah from those on the summit of the Judean Hills. Similar fortresses were discovered in surveys farther to the N and S in the same relative geographical proximity. It appears that these fortresses were used also as stations in a system of communication, serving as points to transmit fire signals from the Shephelah to Jerusalem in time of war (see Jer 6:1; Zeph 1:16; 3:18; Ps 74:3; and Lachish letter No. 4), while in times of peace they probably housed garrisons and perhaps officials of the Judean Monarchy.

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AMIHAY MAZAR

**ABU GHOSH** (M.R. 160134). A prepottery Neolithic B (PPNB) site located within the limits of the present-day village of the same name. It is in the Judean hills ca. 12 km W of Jerusalem, 700 m above sea level. R. Neuville first explored the site in 1928 after flint artifacts and stone vessel fragments were found on the surface (Neuville 1929). In 1950, J. Perrott opened a trench (70 $m^2$) and recognized a 1 m thick archaeological layer (Perrott 1952). He recognized the similarities of the materials to the prepottery levels at Jericho, the only known stratified Neolithic site in Palestine at that time. New excavations were conducted at Abu Ghosh between 1967 and 1971, which opened an 800 $m^2$ area (Dollfus and Lechevallier 1969; Lechevallier 1978; Hesse 1978). As a result of the excavations, the following stratigraphic configuration was recognized: (a) a surface layer with terra rossa and coarse gravel, mixed with recent material (ca. 30 cm thick); (b) gray organic soil with angular stones and archaeological material *in situ* (ca. 0.50–1.10 m thick); and (c) sterile red clay (ca. 0.0–0.20 m thick) and bedrock.

Layer b yielded the remains of three levels of construction badly damaged by erosion and intrusive pits of later periods. In the relatively well-preserved intermediate level, the plans of large rectangular buildings were obtained. The walls, 0.60 to 1.10 m wide, were built with two rows of rough stones and rubble. The best preserved house measured 6.50 × 6 m. It had a white polished plaster floor with a band of red paint all along the walls. This house had been rebuilt once and the plaster floor showed evidence of two phases. Another house, also with remains of a plaster floor, had a row of three small compartments (0.80 × 1.00 m) along the S wall, which must have been used for storage. North of the buildings was an enclosure wall (18 m long), which seems to have marked the border of the settlement. Associated stone pavements, stone-lined pits, and hearths were located outside the buildings.

The remains of some thirty individuals, mostly represented by isolated bones, were recovered. In the undisturbed burials, the skeletons were in a flexed position (Arensburg, Smith, and Yakar 1978). Two adults, buried under the plastered floor of one house, were missing their skulls, but their mandibles were present. Five individuals had been buried in one location—the lower one, an adult, was undisturbed, while the remains of two adolescents and a child had been pushed aside to give place to the last burial of an adult.

The fauna included wild pig, cattle, gazelle, and deer, but the dominant species was goat (ca. 55 percent). From a study of the ages of the animals at death and the ratios of their sex, it appears that animal domestication was not fully developed (Ducos 1978).

The material culture is represented by the flint assemblage, polished stone artifacts, and bone tools. Fine brown, cream white, or reddish (most probably heat-treated) flint was used. The tools include small denticulated sickle blades (about 40 percent) and arrowheads of various types: tanged, winged and notched (Helwan and Jericho points), shouldered (Byblos) and foliated (Amuq) points, retouched by abrupt of flat pressure flaking. A few large amygdaloid axes with a polished edge, smaller axes with rectilinear sides, and small picks are present. Obsidian is represented by one arrowhead and a few bladelets. A good number of polished limestone bowls, basins, and flat dishes were present, as well as cupholes, grinding stones, and pestles (some in imported basalt). The bone tools were mainly awls, with some spatulas, and one needle. Other finds are scarce: a few animal figurines in unbaked clay, some beads in turquoise and green stone, a limestone pendant, and some worked cowrie shells.

From the data obtained through the geophysical survey and the excavations, the site seems to have covered an area of 2000–2500 $m^2$. The well-built stone houses and storage facilities suggest that this was a sedentary village. This is in agreement with the developing goat domestication and the reliance on harvesting and storing plants (cereals?) as inferred from the large number of sickle blades and grinding stones (no seeds were preserved). However, hunting was still an important source of food if one considers the wild species represented among the animal bones and the large number of arrowheads.

While no suitable samples were avilable for radiocarbon dating, the cultural features are consistent with the PPNB (7th millennium B.C.), most probably in its later phase. A later reoccupation of the site is indicated by the presence of small pressure-flaked arrowheads and a few large denticulated sickle elements.

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MONIQUE LECHEVALLIER

**ABU HAMID, TELL** (M.R. 192204). A Neolithic/Chalcolithic site in the Jordan Valley, on the terrace left by the marls of the Pleistocene lake Lisan, at an altitude of 250 m below sea level. The site

covers about 4.5 hectares, and is limited on its N and S by two deep wadis in which are perennial springs. Current annual precipitation is about 200 mm, allowing for some dry farming.

The site was discovered during the first season of the East Jordan Valley Survey in 1975 and has been dated to the Neolithic/Chalcolithic Period by Ibrahim, Sauer, and Yassin (1976: 51). The material collected during this survey was later discussed by Kafafi (1982). In the summer of 1985, G. Dollfus and Z. Kafafi revisited the site and initiated a joint Jordano-French expedition which conducted its first season of excavation in 1986.

In addition to a general survey of the site and a systematic collection of all the artifacts, various soundings at the site indicate that a maximum of 2.5 hectares were built up during one major phase of occupation, and the depth of deposits vary between 0.30 m to 1.20 m. The remainder of the site was apparently the scene of outdoor activities or enclosures for the herds.

Approximately 400 $m^2$ have been excavated, revealing two phases of construction. The basal level is characterized by planoconvex mudbrick walls defining rectangular rooms. No complete house has been excavated so far. The upper level is badly eroded, and consists of remains of walls and large numbers of pits (fire pits, storage pits, etc.) which disturb the earlier level. On the edge of the developed area, in what appears to be a storage area, one pit has produced a huge pithos—1.50 m high and 1 m in diameter.

The ceramic assemblage is homogeneous. Most of the vessels are handmade, while small conical bowls show traces of the use of a slow wheel. The surfaces are either rough or wet-smoothed, especially near the rim; slips and self-slips are frequent. The decoration consists of impressed designed, applied clay coils with nail impressions or lunates in relief; occasionally painted bands will also appear. Among the painted pottery, the designs are usually linear. Very few shards are covered with a dark red paint and burnished. Rare also are fragments with chevron designs. These categories of pottery show great similarities with those excavated at Tuleilat Ghassul, Tabaqat Fahil, Shuneh North, Neve Ur, and sites in the Golan and Hauran Heights ("Chalcolithic").

The flint industry consists of scrapers on tabular flints, end scrapers, micro end scrapers, sickle blades, adzes, axes, chisels, perforated disks of unknown function, borers, piercers, denticulated pieces, and notched pieces. The burins are rare and only three transverse-edge arrowheads have been collected so far. Ground stone tools, utensils, and vessels made out of basalt and limestone are abundant, as are also mace heads, some of which are made from hematite.

Preliminary analyses of faunal and botanical remains indicate that the subsistence strategy was mostly agropastoralism. Hunting does not seem to have played an important role: wild species represent a very low percentage of the faunal remains, and arrowheads are nearly absent.

While radiocarbon samples have not yet been analyzed, the architectural remains, the assemblage of the artifacts, and the subsistence activities suggest a date for the settlement in the first part of the 4th millennium B.C.

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G. DOLLFUS

ZEIDAN A. KAFAFI

**ABU THAWWAB, JEBEL** (M.R. 230174). A late Neolithic-EB I site south of Wadi Zerka (Jabbok).

**A. History of the Excavations/Explorations**

During his intensive surveys and explorations of the East Bank of the Jordan, Glueck visited the area of Jebel Abu Thawwab and identified it as Abu Trab (Glueck 1939: 225). Near the top of the mountain, he recognized three caves and considered them the results of earlier mining. In 1975, Coughenour investigated the caves and suggested, "A furnace or smithing operation might well be located by test excavations" (1976: 74). The caves were revisited during the er-Rumman Survey in 1985.

Z. Kafafi and R. Gordon of the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology at Yarmouk University visited the site in 1983 as a result of a note published by E. Gillet and C. Gillet (1983) in which they mentioned having collected Neolithic and EB pot sherds and flint tools. Several visits followed to gather surface sherds and flint tools, which were dated to the Late Neolithic (Yarmukian), EB I, Roman, and Byzantine periods. As a result of these preliminary investigations, the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology of Yarmouk University sponsored two seasons of excavations in 1984 and 1985 (Kafafi 1985a; 1985b; 1986a; 1986b), and conducted a survey in the area around the site in 1985 (Gordon and Knauf 1986).

**B. The Results of the Excavations**

Two main occupational phases were identified—the earliest dates to the Late Neolithic 1, the second phase is assigned to the EB I. These two phases are separated by a mixed fill, consisting mostly of small-sized stones. Both phases yielded architectural remains. Those of the Late Neolithic consisted of rounded and rectangular houses in addition to storage pits (Kafafi 1985b). The EB I buildings were rectangular with benches. All were built of medium-sized boulders and the Neolithic floors were made of either mud or pebbles, while those of the EB were of plaster.

The Yarmukian pottery assemblage consisted of both fine and coarse wares, red painted slip, and decorations consisting of incised herringbone chevrons, and red paint with parallel incisions. The forms represented were cups, simple bowls, deep bowls, and simple hole-mouth and globular jars. The flint tools consisted primarily of arrow-heads and sickle blades. In addition, points, knives, scrapers, burins, and spearheads were represented along with grinding and ground stones. The excavations also produced some bone tools, shells, and human and animal figurines.

The preliminary analysis of the botanical remains indicates that the following plants were predominant in the subsistence strategy: lentils, field pea, row barley, wheat, pistachio, and almond.

Although the samples for radiocarbon dating have not yet been analyzed, based on parallel, and stratigraphic, studies, the early phase of Abu Thawwab is consistent with the 6th millennium B.C. (Late Neolithic, "Yarmukian") and the late phase is consistent with the EB I.

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ZEIDAN A. KAFAFI

**ABUBUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Aboubos* (Ἀβουβος)]. The father of Ptolemy, son-in-law and murderer of the high priest Simon Maccabeus and governor over the plain of Jericho (1 Macc 16:11–12, 15). No other information concerning Abubus is available since his name occurs only in this narrative concerning the murder of Simon Maccabeus.

MARK J. FRETZ

**ABYSS, THE** [Gk *abyssos* (ἀβυσσος)]. "Bottomless," "unfathomed," or "unfathomable deep"; with the feminine article, it signifies "the deep" or "the underworld." The term occurs at least 34 times in the LXX, where in 30 instances it renders Heb. *tĕhôm* (or its plural); once for *mĕṣûlâ,* depths (Job 41:23—LXX 41:22—Eng 41:31); once for *ṣûlâ,* "depths" (Isa 44:27); and twice where the text is uncertain (Job 36:16; 41:24a—LXX 41:23a—Eng 41:32a).

In the OT, "the abyss" is not widely used in the English versions, although it is found in some of the more recent translations, rendering *tĕhôm* (NAB, 11 times; NEB, 7 times; NJB, 6 times; and AB, once).

NAB uses the word 3 times for *ʾăbaddôn,* "destruction" (Job 31:12; Prov 15:11, 27:20). *JPS* uses it once for *maʿămaqqîm,* "depths" (Isa 51:10, where it is parallel with *těhôm*).

The more usual English renderings of the words behind the LXX *abyssos* in the OT are "the deep," "the depths," and "deep." These terms, along with "the abyss," are used in the following senses which reflect meanings of Heb *těhôm* and its synonyms: (1) the primordial ocean (e.g., Gen 1:2); (2) the (deep) sea (e.g., Jonah 2:6—Eng2:5; Job 28:14, 38:16, 41:23—LXX 41:22—Eng 41:31); (3) the Red Sea (e.g., Ps 106:9—LXX 105:9; Isa 51:10, 63:13—with mythological overtones); (4) subterranean waters (e.g., Gen 7:11, 8:2; Prov 3:20; Ps 78:15—LXX 77:15); and (5) the depths of the earth, i.e., Sheol (Ps 71:20—LXX 70:20).

In intertestamental literature, "the abyss" carries a number of meanings: (1) the great deep under the earth, namely, that part of the universe set in opposition to the height of the heavens (Sir 1:3, 16:18, 24:5, 29, 42:18); (2) a poetic reference to the Red Sea where a personified wisdom delivered Israel (Wis 10:19); (3) the depths of the earth (*Jub.* 5:10); and (4) the abyss of fire, i.e., the place of torment for sinners and fallen angels (*1 En.* 10:13; 18:11).

In the NT, there are 9 occurrences of Gk *abyssos,* which, in the older English versions, are usually rendered by "the deep" (Luke 8:31, Rom 10:7) and "bottomless" or "the bottomless pit" (seven times in Revelation). Other English versions use "the abyss" or "the Abyss" with more or less frequency (RSV, twice; NASB, 7 times; JB, GNB, NIV, NJB, 8 times; NEB all 9 times). In 2 Pet. 2:4, NJB renders Gk *zophos,* "dark, gloomy (place)," as "the dark abyss" (i.e., hell).

There are two meanings for "the abyss" in the NT. First, it refers to (1) the place to which the forces of evil are consigned (e.g., the demons in Luke 8:31), and from which they come by way of a shaft (the demonic "locusts" of Rev 9:1–11; cf. ABADDON; Apollyon). From the abyss comes the beast (Rev 11:7), and into it is cast the dragon, i.e. Satan (Rev 20:1, 3). Second, in one passage "the abyss" is a synonym for Hades (Rom 10:7). See also DEAD, ABODE OF THE.

HERBERT G. GRETHER

**ACACIA.** See FLORA.

**ACCAD** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾakkad* (אַכַּד)]. One of the cities of Nimrod listed in the Table of Nations of the Yahwist (Gen 10:10). It is listed along with Babel and Erech (and possibly Calneh) in the land of Shinar. These cities are called the "*rēʾšît* of his kingdom." This Hebrew word can mean either "beginning" (cf. Isa 46:10) or "chief," "mainstay" (cf. Amos 6:1 and Jer 49:35). If the connotation "beginning" is correct, then it means that the cities formed the original nucleus of Nimrod's empire. But if the meaning is "main-stay," then Accad and the other cities are described as the most important ones of his kingdom (on the latter, see Speiser *Genesis* AB). Either interpretation is possible within the context.

Accad was known by the Sumerian name "Agade" (A-GA-DÈ$^{ki}$). This city was founded in the 24th century B.C.E. by Sargon I of Agade, and was the capital of his dynasty until it was destroyed during the fall of that dynasty in the 22d century B.C.E. It was never rebuilt. A Sumerian composition from the late 3d millennium B.C.E., known as *The Curse of Agade,* relates a legendary version of the demise of the city (for a translation and commentary, see Cooper 1983). Agade is mentioned occasionally in subsequent Mesopotamian literature, but its location has not yet been determined with any certainty. The name "Agade" continued to survive in the title "the land of Sumer and Akkad," referring to Babylonia, and in Akkadian (*akkadû*), the word for the Semitic language spoken by the people of Sargon. It is clear that Gen 10:10 refers to the city Agade, not the region of Babylonia, since it is listed along with other cities in Mesopotamia. It is interesting to note that the Yahwist must have had a source mentioning a city that had ceased to exist before the end of the 3d millennium B.C.E.

The reading of the LXX is *Archad.* There is no obvious reason for the change. It is possible that the *reš* was accidentally added in a Hebrew manuscript in reminiscence of the *reš* in the preceding word "Erech." In any case, this form of the name is clearly secondary and incorrect.

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JAMES R. DAVILA

**ACCENTS, MASORETIC.** See MASORETIC ACCENTS.

**ACCO** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿakkô* (עַכּוֹ)]. Var. PTOLEMAIS. One of the most prominent coastal cities in Canaan, mentioned only once in the OT in connection with the tribe of Asher's inability to drive out its inhabitants (Judg 1:31). On the basis of various Gk mss, it has been suggested that in Josh 19:30 Ummah (MT *ʿmh*) should be read Acco (*ʿkw*). The city was renamed Ptolemais during the Hellenistic-Roman periods, and it was there that the apostle Paul stayed for one day while en route from Tyre to Caesarea at the end of his third missionary journey (Acts 21:7).

Acco's importance may be attributed to its location at the juncture between the coastal road and the inland road leading through Galilee and Transjordan to Syria. OT Acco is identified with el-Fukhkhar (M.R. 158258) at modern Acre/Akko NE of the Naaman River and 700 m inland. The original size of the tell was ca. 200 dunams; however, its S side, apparently affected by its proximity to the river and by late destructions, has been almost totally destroyed. Here there are still remains of the swamps created near the outlet of the river. From the Persian period on, the settlement of Acco gradually moved off the tell and to the NW, along the Mediterranean.

**A. History of the City**

Acco is first mentioned in the Egyptian Middle Kingdom Execration Texts, where a Canaanite ruler of Acco named Tr'mw appears. Later, Acco is frequently mentioned in the Egyptian sources, which indicates that the population of the city was mainly Canaanite while the rulers were of Hurrian and Indoeuropean origins. These sources include the Karnak list of Thutmose III (*ANET,* 242), Amarna letters (13 times), and in a relief from the Karnak temple from the period of Rameses II, all of which testify to the city's importance. In the Ugaritic and Akkadian texts from Ugarit, Acco is among the few Canaanite cities mentioned. From the same period is a letter recently found in Aphek with the name of a high-ranked official, Adlaha of Acco.

In the 8th and the 7th centuries B.C., Acco appears to have been an important Phoenician city. According to Assyrian sources, the city (*Akku*) rebelled against Assyrian rule and was captured first by Sennacherib and finally by Ashurbanipal, who destroyed it and exiled its people. From the time of Cambyses on, Acco (Gk *akē*) was an important military and administrative center of the Persian empire.

In 332 B.C., Acco surrendered peacefully to Alexander the Great and remained autonomous. Throughout the wars of the Diadochi, it changed hands, but eventually, the city remained under Ptolemy II Philadelphus, who there established a *polis.* Acco-Ptolemais (as it was known) became a prominent trade center at that time, as indicated by the correspondence of Zenon. Following the Syrian wars, the city became a permanent part of the Seleucid empire and was renamed Antiochia-at-Ptolemais by Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Alexander Balas made Acco his second capital and royal fortress. During the Maccabean revolt, Acco was hostile to the Jewish cause; in fact, the city defeated Simon in 163 B.C., and it was there also that Jonathan was captured by Tryphon in 142 B.C. In 104 B.C., Alexander Jannaeus seized the city from him (later he had to surrender it to his mother, Cleopatra III). Acco was then captured by Tigranes of Armenia in 83 B.C.

The Roman phase in the history of Acco began with the arrival of Pompey and annexation of Judea to Rome in 63 B.C. Under Roman rule, Acco-Ptolemais became autonomous under the supervision of the Roman proconsul in Syria.

**B. Excavations on the Tell**

Prior to the systematic excavations in the 1970s, archaeological research of the city concentrated in uncovering tombs and in emergency digs occasioned by rubble-clearing work of new building projects in modern Acre. The tell itself, which had for hundreds of years been exposed to robbery and destruction and then to steady agricultural cultivation, had been subjected to several archaeological surveys, including that of Saarisalo (1929).

The systematic excavations of Tell el-Fukhkhar began in 1973 and thus far 10 seasons of excavations have been conducted in 8 areas on the tell. Also, 2 seasons were conducted in the lower (modern) city (Areas E and D), and short trial digs were also conducted there in Areas L, M, and N. Consequently, it is possible to obtain some sense of the history of Acco's settlement.

**1. Late Chalcolithic—EB IA.** Remains of the first stages of settlement were found in Area S on the S slope of the tell, opposite the fertile valley which extends along the N bank of the river and which may have served as an early anchorage. Foundations of stone-built walls, as well as several granary pits, were uncovered on the virgin soil. Sections of a few superimposed floors were cleared, and on the evidence of the pottery, the first settlement may date to the transitional period between the Late Chalcolithic and EB I. It appears to have ended abruptly after 2–3 generations; after its abandonment, there was most probably a gap in the settlement of Acco until the fortified MB I city was erected.

**2. MB I.** The earliest fortifications on the site were uncovered chiefly on the tell's N slope (Areas AB and B), and on the NW slope (Area F). It is still uncertain whether this fortification system encompassed the entire city or mainly its acropolis. Erected on the bedrock of the highest point of the hill, this fortification consisted in its base of a layer of hardened clay at least 2 m thick. Later a cyclopean wall of boulders ca. 3.5 m thick was erected on this rampart and a new layer of sloping rampart was attached to it. Over this, a brick wall with two bulging towers preserved up to 4 m high was constructed as a part of the fortification system. Attached to the N face of this enormous wall and traced for ca. 25 m was a stairway, consisting of 19 steps, which started from the top of the rampart. It seems that at least these first two stages of the fortification system belong to the MB I period. In the late stage, this rampart, including the stairway, was covered from the outside, and to its N the citadel ("Building A") was erected in the late MB I or early MB II period. The lowest level reached within the city to the S of the rampart (Area AB) and consisted of remains of stone walls, which supported and strengthened the inner slope of the rampart. On this slope, two burials in jars (one of a child and the other of an infant) accompanied by artifacts help to date it to the MB I period.

In Area F on the NW corner of the tell, a city gate ("Sea Gate") built into the rampart as part of the fortification system provided the best evidence for dating the earliest foundations of the city. The gate, preserved up to 3 m high, was approached by four steps and a rather narrow passage. It was composed of two interconnected units: a stone-built rectangular outer room and a square inner room built of bricks, with three pairs of gateway pilasters. The inner room, most probably a guardroom, had a second story, apparently leading to the towers on either side of the gate. The gate shows at least two phases of development within the MB I period, before it was filled in and went out of use. The quarter of the city ajoining the gate was partly excavated, and its architecture and the finds on all the floors, both in the gate itself and the gate quarter of the city, indicate its existence in at least three stages of the MB I period (ca. 2000–1800 B.C.).

**3. MB II–III.** The later stages of the fortification are characterized mainly by the citadel (Building A), a large brick building erected to the N of the rampart (Area AB). It probably served as a fortress from the end of the MB I until the end of the MB II period. In this two-story building was found an important stone-lined grave of a wealthy woman of high status. Skeletons of a woman and two children and a large number of burial gifts, including pottery vessels, jewelry, and scarabs, were discovered in the grave. On the inner face of the wall (constructed in the second stage of the fortification to support the rampart) were found scattered burials. Burials, either dug or built, continued in the MB III period, as for example, the burial found in a large square vaulted stone-built tomb in Area H. Beside local pottery, the artifacts also included fine pottery imported from N Syria or Anatolia, as well as scarabs, weapons, and jewelry. On the inner slope of the rampart, which was partly filled by now, a few structures, connecting walls, stone-built drainage installation, and granary pits were found. In the debris, many animal bones and a whole skeleton of a large donkey were found. This stratum was also found in the lowest level of Area C, where a handle of a large pithos bearing the impression of a Hyksos scarab was discovered.

Near the W end of the rampart (Area P), a section of a stone-built postern was excavated. It was about 2 m high outside and inside ca. 1.6 m. The floors consisted of flat stone slabs. It might have been used for both collecting water and communication from the city during seige or attack.

**4. LB I–II.** The citadel in Area AB continued during most of this period, though it was partly damaged possibly during Thutmose III's conquest. Into the additional layer of the rampart, LBI graves were installed. One of these was a very well-built stone grave; beside the skeleton were some rare types of bichrome ware and a large krater of the "chocolate-on-white" type. Some buildings were uncovered in Area A, among which was a public building made of mud bricks. The building was erected, according to the finds, at the end of the 15th or beginning of 14th century B.C. when Acco and its rulers are frequently mentioned in the El-Amarna tablets. A few burials with finds of the early LB period were found outside this building. Also uncovered was a well-preserved rectangular stone tomb with a low vault, a rare example in Canaan for this period. It was built into the NW slope of the rampart (Area H). Beside the pottery, the finds included scarabs, some of which were set in gold rings. In Area S, an outstanding find was an ivory cosmetic box in the form of a duck. Some damage inflicted on several buildings may be related to Seti I's campaign in the area.

Toward the end of this period, probably after Acco's destruction by Rameses II, the citadel fell into disuse and the place was partly converted into a workshop area. By then, there were almost no regular buildings, and instead, many silos and granaries were found in Area AB. Beside the local pottery, Cypriot and Mycenean sherds from the end of the LB II period were still found on the floors and in stone-lined pits and silos, testifying to a maritime trade relations between Acco, Cyprus, and the Aegean.

**5. The LB–Early Iron Transition.** The citadel disappeared at the end of the Bronze Age and the whole area was converted into an industrial quarter, associated with the making of pottery, the reworking of metals, and probably also the extraction of purple dye from murex shells. Layers of ash and workshop waste accumulated one on top of the other in the open spaces between craftsmen's installations and working floors. Among the finds in Area AB were crucibles, pieces of a clay tuyere, a stone jewelry mold, as well as remains of a furnace that was probably used for smelting copper and bronze for recasting. A large pottery oven with remains of a locally produced ware of Mycenean IIIc1 type was found. Such a pottery type was also found in a parallel stratum in Area F. Some whole local pottery vessels found in a pit, on top of the rampart (Area H) also belong to the transitional LB–Early Iron period. Typical to the local Canaanite culture are two small finds in Area K: one is a mold of a Canaanite goddess, probably an Asherah, and the other is a bronze male figurine with one hand raised, which probably represents the Canaanite god Reshef.

There are remains of poorly constructed houses mainly at the SW areas of the tell, as well as many granary pits. From Area H came a stone, mortar-shaped portable altar, bearing incised drawings of boats and boatmen; it was probably brought by newcomers to Acco. The presence of a large number of crushed murex shells (used also for the foundations of several floors) and a large piece of a jar covered with purple dye indicate the activity of the purple dye extracting. A scarab of Tausert found in Area AB, just below the workshop's floors, may help to date this stratum to the end of the 13th and beginning of the 12th century B.C.

This new material culture on the remains of the LB Canaanite city testify to a settlement of a non-Canaanite ethnic group, probably one of the "Sea Peoples" known to have invaded the country around that period. The evidence of the new material culture and specifically the pottery mentioned above provides grounds for assigning the finds to one of the "Sea Peoples," probably the Sherden, who are known mainly from Egyptian sources as having settled on the N coast of Canaan.

**6. Iron Age I–II.** The scarce architecture from the 11th and 10th centuries B.C. seems to indicate the decline of Acco, at the same time that to the N, Tyre was becoming a prominent city port in the region. The pottery includes vessels of the Phoenician "Achzib" type, as well as Cypriot "black-on-red" and "white painted" pottery, which seem to belong to the early stage of the Iron Age. A circular crucible found above the industrial area ascribed to the Sherden seems to indicate that the production of pottery continued in this place.

From the 9th century on, the city began to develop again, as inferred from the renewal of building activity, mainly for living quarters. The "bowl" of the city was by then filled in completely. The wall built in Area A to fill in and straighten the rampart formed a basis on which the city was leveled. In addition to the regular constructions on stone and brick, ashlar-built structures, probably public, appeared for the first time. A solid brick wall preserved to a height of 7 courses was found in one of the buildings which apparently continued to function in the early Assyrian period and was finally destroyed during the conquest of Sennacherib. Among the interesting finds was a hoard of little cubes of silver. In a later stratum a large building with a series of rooms still preserved to a height of 4 courses was destroyed by fire, indicating the destruction of the city probably during the period of Assurbanipal. The layers of ash contained fragments of various metals, testifying to the existence of a metal industry during this period. A stone construction, which might have been a part of a casemate wall, was traced in Area H. In Areas A and K, living quarters with a few industrial installations were uncovered. In Area A, there was evidence of a double destruction; the first may be assigned to the capture of the city by Sennacherib and the second should be related to Assurbanipal's conquest. In Area K, remains were found of what might be a fortification, but this is still unclear. In addition to local pottery, Phoenician and Cypriot types of wares were traced, as well as figurines dating from the 8th to the 6th centuries B.C. A tiny stone (perhaps used as an amulet) was found with a Phoenician inscription which reads ʾšʾ (Asha); also found was a stamped handle with an engraved horse and the inscription *ršp.*

**7. The Persian Period.** With the Persian conquest of Acco in the 6th century B.C., the city again became an important administrative, military, and economic center. In fact, the two well-defined Persian strata (5 and 4), starting with the last quarter of the 6th century (when Cambyses' expedition to Egypt took place) and ending with the city's conquest by Alexander the Great, provide evidence for an enormous expansion toward the bay. With the construction of a harbor, it became the major anchorage for military and mercantile traffic to and from Egypt. The results of the excavations show that although the city expanded beyond the tell itself, most of the population probably still lived on the tell during the period.

In Area K, where, as yet, only one stratum has been assigned to the Persian period, residential buildings with courts and ovens were excavated. The Persian level there is also represented by a series of deep pits, where a large amount of iron slag was found, testifying to the industrial character of this part of the city. A large cistern with a well-preserved plastered interior, which was probably built during this period, was linked with this industry. In Area A, remains of a three-room structure, built partly in the Phoenician style of stretchers and headers, was uncovered. It had probably been used for administrative and storage purposes. In a pit in its floor were found two Phoenician ostraca. One of them contained an order from the governor of Acco to the guild of metal craftsmen, to give a large number of metal vessels to the person "in charge of the temples." This provides evidence for the existence of Phoenician temples at Acco. Nearby, a well-constructed stone wall and some cultic artifacts were found, and these may have belonged to this temple. The finds, which include several zoomorphic and anthropomorphic male and female figurines, testify to the Phoenician character to this quarter.

A large quantity of imported Greek "black-on-red" figure pottery also turned up in the Persian strata, mainly on the W part of the tell. In Area F, among buildings constructed in the Phoenician style of headers and stretchers, a stone-lined pit, with a basalt base (*bothros*) was found, containing a large quantity of local, Cypriot, and Greek pottery. Among these was a rare Attic red-figured bell krater, portraying Heracles accompanied by satyrs and maenades, from the early 4th century B.C. The architecture and the finds indicate a prosperous city quarter, perhaps settled by Greek merchants.

**8. The Hellenistic Period.** The Hellenistic city on the tell was very well planned, and though the two strata from this period were subjected to robbery, destruction, and finally agricultural cultivation (at least from the Middle Ages on), one can still recognize the urban planning in most of the excavated areas of the tell. The town planning continued on the tell even after the main urban center of Acco had moved down to the maritime plain, to Ptolemais (see C below). A few structures, built in the Phoenician style of headers and stretchers, belong to the earliest stage of the era. The remains in Area K show well-planned buildings

with open courtyards, where the artifacts, especially the pottery, were mainly Hellenistic. The pottery, including amphorae with stamped handles, mainly of the 2d century B.C., provide evidence for well-developed trade relations, mainly with the islands of the Mediterranean and the Aegean. Metal and stone ware, jewelry, as well as figurines of different types (e.g., of a woman with her hands over her head), were found.

Above the Hellenistic strata were several badly preserved remains of a settlement from the Roman and Byzantine periods. There was little evidence from the Crusader period (mainly from the S part of the tell), even though the Crusaders occupied the tell. A stone structure uncovered in Area B1, guarding the route to the Galilee, may be dated to the time of Saladin. In the Ottoman period the earlier building remains had already been covered with soil and blown sand, and the tell was used as a pasture.

**C. Excavations in the "New City"**

Several of the rescue excavations undertaken in the area between the tell and the Crusader Ottoman city of Acre confirmed the assumption that the new city of Acco developed to the W of the tell as early as the Persian period. In the lowest stratum (9), reached in Area D (ca. 600 m W of the tell), local and Greek ware was found from the 5th century B.C. To the next stratum (8) belonged a wall constructed of ashlar stones and rubble fill from the late 5th and early 4th centuries. The next two strata (7 and 6) provide evidence for a flourishing Hellenistic city with a specific architecture, an important tombstone of a Greek from Crete, and coins which provide a date for the strata. The following stratum (5) belongs to the Roman period. In the next stratum (4) remains of a well-paved street and a drainage system serve as evidence of the prosperity of this part of the city during the Byzantine period. The discovery of remains of a Crusader building (in stratum 2) raises the question whether the walls of the Crusader city should not have existed more to the E than is generally accepted. A remarkable find from this stratum is a very rare chalice bearing a fragmentary Latin inscription and a cross which might indicate a Crusader church on the site. The last occupation of this part of the city is represented by stone installations from the Ottoman period (stratum 1).

Other rescue operations were conducted to the SW of Area D, where remains of nine settlement strata were excavated (Area E). The lowest stratum yielded local and Greek pottery and some remains from the late 5th and early 4th centuries B.C. In the next stratum was found a segment of the foundations of a large round tower (ca. 20 m in diameter) built of ashlar stones. Attached to the tower were remains of walls which belonged to a fortification system of the early Hellenistic period. In one area, a large number of lead arrows and slingstones suggest that some of the structures served as an armory. The destroyed walls testify to the many battles for Acco during the "Syrian Wars" in the Hellenistic period. Along one of the walls, unused pots with lids dating to the 3d century B.C. were found still standing on a floor. This enigmatic find and a Tanit sign on a jar may point to a local cult. In the next stratum, some changes in the structures could be observed until the fortification fell into disuse, apparently during the time of Vespasian. In the later Roman and Byzantine periods, a podiumlike structure was erected on the site. During the Arab period, a large installation for lime production existed in the area.

The last among the significant excavations in the new city took place N of the areas described above (Area L). Part of a building was discovered, most likely a temenos, erected in a Hellenistic style. This building, which existed in only one stratum, yielded many pottery figurines and lamps from the 3d century B.C., and certainly was used for cultic purposes.

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MOSHE DOTHAN

**ACHAIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Achaia* (Ἀχαια)]. Var. ACHAEA. A Greek region which twice gave its name to all of Greece before its Achaean League (280–146 B.C.) fell to the Romans (Polyb. 2.41; Thuc. 1.111, 115). All relevant NT references involve Corinth, Achaia's capital (Acts 18:12, 27; I Cor 16:15; 2 Cor 1:1).

The Achaean people came from the east and pushed out the region's original inhabitants, the Ionians. The latter are credited with founding the twelve coastal cities which became the fulcrum of the Achaean League. Following the Dorian invasions (ca. 1250 B.C.) Achaia, thus named by Homer after Achilles' men and Agamemnon's followers, realized an alliance of powerful cities between Elis and Sicyon. It was a commander-in-chief of the Achaean League, Aratus of Sicyon, who spearheaded their constitution (251 B.C.). Achaia managed several successful colonies, e.g., Sybaris and Croton, and is perhaps part of Philistine ancestory (*AHL,* 214). Although Achaia aligned with Rome in 198 B.C., it lost its autonomy in 146 B.C., when, after years of disputes, the Romans razed Corinth. Julius Caesar turned Rome's attention again to Achaia in 46 B.C. and rebuilt its former isthmian city, which became the Roman capital of Achaia in 27 B.C. (Apul *Met.* 10.18). Achaia now included all of the southern half of the Greek peninsula (Paus. 8). In this same year the Romans made the northern part of (former) Achaia into Macedonia, with a southern border stretching from the Eubian gulf west-northwest to around Actium. This division prefaces the reference "Macedonia and Achaia" which generally implied all of Greece (Acts 19:21; Rom 15:26; I Thess 1:8). The Romans often just used "Achaia" to define the parameters of Greece, excluding Thessaly. The early Christians recognized Macedonia and Achaia as one of the thirteen major Roman provinces (*MCBW,* 218). By A.D. 65 the provinces of Thessaly and Epirus were clearly defined and constituted Achaia's northern border; Actium, and the coastal territory to its immediate south, became part of Epirus.

Paul's eighteen-month stay in Corinth is dated by an Achaean inscription at Delphi which chronicles the tenure of proconsul Gallio (*SIG* 3.108). By the time of Nero's accession, Christianity had a permanent hold in Achaia, already boasting at least twenty churches.
JERRY A. PATTENGALE

**ACHAICUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Achaikos* (Ἀχαικος)]. A Corinthian Christian who, along with Stephanas and Fortunatus, traveled from Corinth to be with Paul in Ephesus (1 Cor 16:17). The name "Achaicus," which means "one who is from Achaia," suggests that he was a slave or former slave from that region since slaves were often named after the province from which they came. Paul rejoiced at the arrival of these three messengers because, as Paul expressed it, they made up for the absence of the other Corinthians which Paul keenly felt (16:17). He remarks that their presence refreshed his spirit (16:18), apparently because they relieved some of his worries about the Corinthian community. In turn, Paul observed that their coming would also lift the Corinthians' spirits, probably because they would know their envoys had brought him much comfort. Finally, Paul urges the Corinthians to "recognize these people" (16:18). That Paul concludes with this appeal suggests that they were among "Paul's people" in the community (cf. 1:12).

It is possible that the three men had brought a letter to Paul, although one should not deduce that they were therefore among those Corinthians who delivered the communication referred to in 7:1, nor among "Chloe's people" (1:11), since those groups brought disturbing reports to Paul. After their visit with Paul, Achaicus and the others probably carried 1 Corinthians back with them to Corinth (see Fee *1 Corinthians* NICNT, 46–66).

The reference to the household of Stephanas immediately preceding the reference to Achaicus and Fortunatus in 16:17 could imply that the latter two were members of that household, either slaves or attached freedmen, and thus that they were numbered among Paul's first converts in Achaia and were themselves ministers to the community in Corinth (16:15). (Indeed a few mss in the Western tradition read "and Fortunatus and Achaicus" in 16:15, but their inclusion here is most likely an assimilation to v 17.)

JOHN GILLMAN

**ACHAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿakan* (עָכַן)]. Var. ACHAR. Achan, the son of Carmi, son of Zabdi, son of Zerah, of the tribe of Judah, appears in the MT of Joshua 7 (the full form of his name is found in vv 1 and 18; shortened form in vv 19, 20, 24). In the Old Greek of Joshua and in the MT and Old Greek of 1 Chron 2:7, the name appears as Achar (in the preceding verse his grandfather's name is recorded as Zimri). This variation may be explained by graphic confusion between *resh* (*r*) and *nun* (*n*) at the end of the name in Hebrew. Or the two forms may represent a change from original "Achan" to "Achar" under the influence of the verbal root *ʿkr*, meaning to "trouble," which appears in Joshua 7:25 (so also in 6:18).

In defiance of a command from Joshua (6:17–19), Achan took of the booty from Jericho (specifically: "a beautiful mantle from Shinar, two hundred shekels of silver, and a bar of gold weighing fifty shekels") and hid the loot in his tent. He did not come forth on his own to confess. Rather, Joshua cast lots, beginning by tribes and working his way down to Achan himself. Confronted by this divine sleuthing, Achan finally confessed. His admission of guilt did not, however, save him from a drawn-out punishment of burning and stoning. Although the specific sin was Achan's, blame was shared widely. First by all Israel (see v 1), which suffered a defeat at Ai directly after Achan's theft. In some sense, Israel was to blame, if only indirectly. Achan's family was implicated more directly and suffered the same punishment as their leader.

Many scholars view Joshua 7:1–8:24 as a composite of two originally separate traditions—one dealing with Achan and the other with the battles for Ai. Some posit a primarily etiological basis for the Achan tale. They point to the statement, found in Joshua 7:26, that a mound of stones heaped upon Achan remained "to this day" in the Valley of Achor (a site usually identified by contemporary scholars with the modern *el-Buqeʿah,* a large plain SW of Jericho). Outside of Joshua 7, the Valley of Achor is found in Josh 15:7, Hos 2:15 ("I will make the Valley of Achor a door of hope"), and Isa 65:10 ("the Valley of Achor shall become a place for herds to lie down").

In the judgment of others, the story of Achan originated as intertribal polemic, with the tribe of Judah coming up on the losing side. Read in its present form, the story yields significant theological insight: all Israel must be totally obedient to Yahweh and his regulations for Divine Warfare if Israel is to be victorious. The sin of even a few is imputed to the entire community.

Although Achan/Achar is not mentioned in the Bible outside of the passages listed above, allusions to him have been detected at two points in the New Testament (see further Derrett 1986): in the story of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:1–10) and in the Parable of the Pounds (Luke 19:11–27) or Talents (Matthew 24:14–30). Later Jewish traditions emphasize Achan's confession and the further trouble he averted thereby (so *Sanh.* 43b; also *ʾAbot R. Nat.* and *Num. Rab.*). Although his sin cost him his life in this world, his confession gained him a place in the world to come. See also *EncJud* 2:211; Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB; and Butler *Joshua* WBC.

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**ACHBOR** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿakbôr* (עַכְבּוֹר)]. **1.** Father of Baal-hanan, a king of the Edomites prior to Israel's monarchy (Gen 36:38–39; 1 Chr 1:49). Achbor's name occurs in parallel lists of Edomite kings, the dates and duration of whose reigns are uncertain (Gen 36:31–39 = 1 Chr 1:43–51).

**2.** The son of Micaiah, father of ELNATHAN, and a courtier of King Josiah (ca. 640–609 B.C.E.; 2 Kgs 22:12, 14; Jer 26:22; 36:12). After the book of the law was found and read to Josiah, Achbor was sent as part of a royal delegation to inquire of Huldah the prophetess concerning the words of this book (2 Kgs 22:11–20; see 2 Chr 34:19–28, where "Achbor son of Micaiah" is replaced by "Abdon the son of Micah" [v 20]). Elnathan the son of Achbor played an important role in the administration of King Jehoiakim (ca. 609–598 B.C.E.).

MARK J. FRETZ

**ACHIM** (PERSON) [Gk *Achim* (Ἀχιμ)]. The son of Zadok and father of Eliud in Matthew's genealogy of Joseph, the husband of Mary (Matt 1:14). Although Achim is absent in Luke's parallel genealogy (3:23–38), his mention in Matt 1:14 may associate him with the lineage of the high priest Zadok (1 Chr 5:34–35—Eng6:8–9; Gundry 1982: 18). Also, the name "Achim" may be a shortened form of the name of Zadok's son Ahimaaz (1 Chr 5:34–35—Eng6:8–9; MT *ʾăḥîmāʿaṣ* = LXX *acheimaas*; for Gk *acheim*, cf. LXX 1 Chr 11:35; 24:16—Eng24:17).

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**ACHIOR** (PERSON) [Gk *Achiōr* (Ἀχιωρ)]. Achior the Ammonite appears only in Judith, in which he plays a prominent role as a gentile who embraces Judaism. He was among the leaders of Israel's neighbors whom Holofernes, general of Nebuchadnezzar, had summoned to inform him about the Israelite nation, who alone among the Western peoples dared to resist his army. In Jdt 5:5–21 Achior surveys Israel's biblical history from Chaldean origins to the post-exilic period. His rather deuteronomic claim that God would permit Holofernes to defeat them only if they had sinned nearly cost Achior his life (5:22). The general decided to postpone his execution and remarks ironically that the Ammonite would not see his face "until I take revenge on this race that came out of Egypt" (6:5). Achior was delivered to the Israelites of Bethulia, to whom he reported the conversation with Holofernes (6:10–21). Later Judith herself confirmed that what Achior had told the general was correct (11:9–10). Moreover, after Judith had beheaded Holofernes, Achior once more saw his face and was able to verify that the head she had brought to Bethulia was indeed the general's (14:5–10; Vg places these vv before 14:1). Achior then firmly believed in God and was circumcised, thus converting despite the command of Deut 23:3.

The name "Achior," which does not occur in the Hebrew Bible, has been explained in various ways (Steinmann 1953: 55–62; Moore *Judith* AB, 158, 162–63). One possibility is that it reproduces the Semitic name *ʾḥyʾwr* ("my brother is light"), which could be taken as a reference to the true insight which he brings in the book (Enslin 1972: 86). A second option, defended by H. Cazelles (1951: 125–37, 324–27), is to view it as a mistake for *ʾḥyqr*, the name of another gentile—the sage in the book of *Ahiqar* (in Tob 11:20 the Vg reads *Achior* where the LXX [v 19] has *Achikar*). Apart from the shared consonants at the beginning of the two names, there is little reason to think they have been confused. A third hypothesis is that the name is a corrupt form of *ʾḥyhwd* ("[my] brother is Judah"). In support of this option one should note that in Num 34:27 the name *ʾḥyhwd* appears in the LXX as *achiōr* (Cowley *APOT* 1: 252); and in the Syriac version of Judith *Achior* is spelled *ʾḥyhwd* (Steinmann 1953: 55). If this appealing suggestion is correct, then Achior's name, like that of Judith ("a Jewess"), would symbolize the role that he, a convert from a nation that was related to Israel (Gen 19:30–38), plays in the book.

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**ACHISH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾākîš* (אָכִישׁ)]. Philistine ruler of Gath, from whom David sought asylum when he fled from Saul. In 1 Sam 27:2 his father's name is given as Maoch (*māʿôk*), which closely resembles Maacah (*maʿăkâ*), father of King Achish of Gath according to 1 Kgs 2:39. There were probably two kings by this name: Achish I, son of Maoch, who was succeeded by Maacah, father of Achish II. In the title of Psalm 34, he is called Abimelech, a Semitic title perhaps adopted by Philistine rulers, rather than a personal name (cf. Gen 20:1–2; 21:34).

The name is not Semitic in form and has been related to Agchioses, a king in the neighborhood of Troy at the time of the Trojan War (Hom. *Il.* 2: 819). The name probably corresponds to that of *Ikausu* (ANET, 291), a Philistine king of Ekron in the days of Esarhaddon (681–669 B.C.) and Ashurbanipal (668–629

B.C.). Two names in a list of Keftui names from Egypt have been identified with Achish, particularly since the Philistines were reputed to have come from Caphtor (*Keftui*) in Amos 9:7 (Strange 1980). Corney (*IDB* 1: 27) has explained the name from Hurrian *akk sha (rur)*, "the king gives."

From a literary perspective, the figure of Achish is related to that of Goliath, another Philistine champion from Gath (1 Sam 17), in the narrative of David's rise to power (cf. Miscall 1986: 173–77). The story of David and Goliath concludes with the curious statement that "David took the head of the Philistine and brought it to Jerusalem" (1 Sam 17:54), foreshadowing David's rise to power in that city. When David slew Goliath, the women sang, "Saul has slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands" (1 Sam 18:7), a refrain which appears again on the lips of both the servants of Achish (1 Sam 21:11—Eng 21:10) and the Philistine commanders addressing Achish (1 Sam 29:5), forming a kind of frame around the story of David and Achish and connecting it to the earlier story of Goliath.

In his first encounter with Achish, David carried Goliath's sword with him, which he had received from the priest Ahimelech (1 Sam 21:9—Eng 21:8). Perhaps this explains his fear and feigned madness before Achish, king of Goliath's hometown (1 Sam 21:13–14—Eng 21:12–13). David's conduct on this occasion has been compared to that of other great men who feigned madness in difficult circumstances, such as Ulysses (Cic. *Off.* 3, 26), L. Junius Brutus (Dion Hal. 4, 68), the astronomer Meton (Ael. *VH* 13, 12), and the Arabian king Bacha (Schultens, *Anth. Vet. Hamasa*, p. 535). Subsequently, Achish accepted David and his men as mercenaries and gave David the city of Ziklag in exchange for his raids on southern tribes hostile to the Philistines (1 Sam 27:1–12). Because of the suspicion of some of his commanders, however, Achish excused David from participation in the fateful battle of Mount Gilboa in which Saul and his sons died.

There is an interesting play on the word "head" in the concluding episodes of the story of David and Achish. The Philistine commanders suggested that David would be reconciled to his lord (Saul) "with the heads of the (Philistine) men here" (1 Sam 29:4). Earlier, Achish had appointed David to be "the keeper of my head forever" (i.e., his permanent body guard; 1 Sam 28:2). After the battle of Mount Gilboa, the Philistines "cut off (Saul's) head … and fastened his body to the wall of Beth-shan" (1 Sam 31:9–10). In the tradition of Jephthah of old, David became both "head and leader over them" (Jdg 11:11), as foreshadowed in the words of Achish and his Philistine cohorts.

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**ACHOR** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿākōr* (עָכֹר)]. A valley (*ʿēmeq*) on Judah's northern border (Josh 15:7) identified with modern day *El Buqêʿah.* According to biblical tradition, Achan and his family were stoned and buried at the Valley of Achor after he violated the ban following the battle of Jericho. Achan's crime (Joshua 7) was the first Israelite act of disobedience after Israel crossed the Jordan; his death was the first divinely commanded punishment in the new land. Josh 7:25–27 (probably secondary) offers an etiological explanation of Achor's name. Joshua declares that Achan has troubled (Heb *ʿkr*) Israel and that God will trouble (*ʿkr*) him; the site of his execution is therefore called "trouble" (*ʿākôr*). The word play is further developed by LXX$^{B}$, Syriac, and 1 Chron 2:7, where Achan's name is rendered "Achar."

The Valley of Achor is included among the sites marking Judah's northern border (Josh 15:7), a list which moves uphill from the Jordan to Jerusalem. The reference to the Valley of Achor is omitted from the description of Benjamin's southern boundary (Josh 18:15–19), which otherwise parallels the list delineating Judah's northern border.

The negative character of both Achor's name and the Achan tradition allows Achor to function as a figure of eschatological change. According to Hos 2:17—Eng2:15, the Valley of Trouble will be made a

door of hope. Hosea's mention of Achor as a "doorway" may be a reference to an old road which F. M. Cross (*CMHE,* 110) has identified as an ancient route from the *Ḥajle* Ford through *El Buqêʿah* to Jerusalem. Isa 65:10 promises that the Valley of Sharon to the east and the Valley of Achor to the west will be given as rich pasture land to those who seek God.

Noth (1955: 42–55) has identified the Valley (*ʿēmeq*) of Achor with present day *El Buqêʿah* ("little valley"), a small plain (approximately five miles long and up to two miles wide) in the northern Judean wilderness, between Hyrcania and Qumran. *El Buqêʿah* is bounded on the north by the *Wâdī Dabr* system, and on the south by *Wâdī en-Nár* (the Kidron Valley). According to Noth, *El Buqêʿah* is the only site in the area around Jericho which could properly be called an *ʿēmeq* (that is, an arable, defensible depression, bordered by hills or mountains).

Noth's identification has achieved near consensus among biblical scholars. Wolff (1954: 76–81) has presented the strongest alternative proposal. He locates the Valley of Achor in *Wâdī en-Nuwēʿime,* a valley one-half mile wide by one mile long situated north of Jericho, a location which fits both the Benjaminite context of Joshua 7 and the northern prophet Hosea's reference to Achor. However, *Wâdī en-Nuwēʿime* is too far into Benjaminite territory (perhaps near the Ephramite border) to be cited as a marker for the Judean-Benjaminite boundary. That the Valley of Achor is included in the Judean but not the Benjaminite description of their joint border suggests that it belonged to Judah. Joshua 7 (long recognized as independent from the account of the conquest of Ai in Joshua 8) would then be a Judean story which had been carried to Gilgal and incorporated into its Benjaminite legends.

F. M. Cross and J. T. Milik's exploration of *El Buqêʿah* (1956: 5–17) uncovered three Iron Age II settlements (*Khirbet Abu Ṭabaq* [M.R. 188127], *Khirbet es Samrah* [M.R. 187125], and *Khirbet el Maqari* [M.R. 186123]) which they have identified with the desert cities Middin, Secacah, and Nibshan (Josh 15:61–62). The proposal has been well received; however, in the absence of evidence directly linking the desert cities to the Valley of Achor, or the Iron Age ruins to the desert cities, the identification must be considered tentative.

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## ACHSAH (PERSON)

[Heb *ʿaksâ* (עַכְסָה)]. The daughter of Caleb (1 Chr 2:49) and the wife of the Israelite judge Othniel (Josh 15:16–17 = Judg 1:12–13). For sacking the city Kiriath-sepher (Debir, see Josh 15:15 = Judg 1:11), Othniel received Achsah as a prize from Caleb. Subsequently, in addition to receiving territory in the Negeb, Achsah charmed Caleb into giving her the arable land known as the Upper and Lower Springs (Josh 15:13–19 = Judg 1:11–15; see Mosca 1984). Although the derivation of her name is uncertain, relating Achsah to those charming, seductive anklets that attracted attention in Isa 3:16–18 (Heb *hāʿakāsîm*) would certainly deepen our appreciation of the wordplays in these verses.

While in this story Achsah is Caleb's daughter and Othniel is "the son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb" (Josh 15:17; cf. Judg 1:13; 3:9–11; 1 Chr 4:13), the genealogical relationship between Achsah and her spouse is not self-evident (see Webb 1987: 233, n. 25). Since the name "Caleb" occurs as the son of both Jephunneh (see e.g., Numbers 13–14; Joshua 14–15; Judges 1; 1 Chr 4:15) and Hezron (1 Chronicles 2), but never occurs as the son of Kenaz (cf. 1 Chr. 4:15 where Caleb is the grandfather of Kenaz), therefore, contrary to the implication of Josh 15:17 = Judg 1:13, Achsah is not literally Othniel's niece. The relationship must be understood, rather, within the framework of how genealogies function in the Bible.

According to Wilson (1977: 183), genealogies can be used to delineate social and political ties between two groups and, in particular, to incorporate marginally affiliated clans in a central tribe. Since the genealogies of Caleb and Othniel are related in this way to the tribe of Judah (Yeivin 1971: 13–14), it can

be inferred that Joshua uses the term "brother" to express that Caleb and Othniel belonged to a common group, which was assimilated into the tribe of Judah (Meyer 1906: 348–49; Johnson 1969: 6). Thus, the marriage of Achsah to Othniel would have functioned to strengthen the ties between the clans of Othniel and Caleb.

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MARK J. FRETZ

**ACHSHAPH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾakšāp* (אַכְשָׁף)]. An ancient Canaanite city-state. Its antiquity and importance are known from a few early records. The Egyptian Execration Texts (*ca.* 20th–18th century B.C.), lists Achshaph among 64 other place names. These were well-known city-states ruled by a king, so the fact that Achshaph was included in the list is indicative of its prominence. The Karnak List of Towns conquered by Thutmose III (15th century B.C.) refers to Achshaph as a city in the Plain of Jezreel and Acco, in the district of Gaza. The Tell el-Amarna Letters (*ca.* 14th century B.C.) state that the kings of Acco and Achshaph (spelled *ʾakšapa*) provided military assistance to the King of Jerusalem and Shuwardata (Gath). The Papyrus Anastasi 1 (13th century B.C.) indicates that a road from Megiddo reached the Plain of Acco close to Achshaph, although it spelled Achshaph with an *ʿayin* instead of an *ʾalep.*

Achshaph is mentioned in the Bible solely in the book of Joshua. It is one of the city-states that joined the coalition of the northern kings (Josh 11:1) to fight Joshua and the Israelites. Obviously, on being defeated, it became a part of Asher's territory (Josh 19:25).

The reference to Achshaph in the book of Joshua is significant for two reasons. First, the tradition behind the book preserved a memory that Achshaph was a royal city in the N plain during the ancient times. Second, by mentioning a renowned ancient city the Deuteronomistic theologian illustrated that when the Israelites were obedient to the Lord, the cities of the northern coalition, the powerful Achshaph included, were defeated and their land given to Israel.

The location of Achshaph remains uncertain. Some identify it with Tel Keisan, which is located 6 miles SE of Acco. Remains from the Bronze Age and early Iron Age were found there. See KEISAN, TELL. Another likely site is Khirbet el-Harbaj (M.R. 158240), which is situated at the S end of the plain of Acco.

PAUL BENJAMIN

**ACHZIB** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾakzîb* (אַכְזִיב)]. Var. CHEZIB. **1.** A town allocated to the tribe of Judah (Josh 15:44). From the context of its placement among the other cities, it appears to have been in the Shephelah, probably at its juncture with the Judean hills. In Mic 1:14, it is mentioned among several towns on which the prophet presents various puns, playing upon the similarity of the sounds of the name of the town Achzib (Heb *ʾakzîb*) with "deceit" (Heb *ʾakzāb*). The town may be connected with the birth of Judah's son, Shelah, who was born to him by a Canaanite woman—the name of the city, CHEZIB (PLACE) (Heb *kēzîb*), is an apparent variation of Achzib.

While certain identification is not possible, Eusebius (*Onomast.* 172) identified the site with Chasbi, which is modern Tell el-Beida (M.R. 145116) near Adullam.

**2.** A tell on the Mediterranean coast (M.R. 159272) N of Acco. According to Josh 19:29, it was part of the territory of Asher, but they proved unsuccessful in expelling the Canaanites from the site (Judg 1:31).

Excavations directed by M. W. Prausnitz in 1963–64 revealed that at the end of the MB I, a trench had been dug in the *kurkar* E of the tell which had transformed the Achzib peninsula into a Mediterranean port

and island city. The circumference was defended by earth walls, a glacis, and a fosse. Apparently sacked in the beginning of the LB (mid-16th century B.C.E.), Achzib was rebuilt, but was again laid waste at the end of the LB. From the Iron Age IB (11th century B.C.E.), the town expanded to its largest size during the 8th century (Iron Age II), when it was conquered by Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. The rebuilt city, which is called Accipu in the Assyrian texts, flourished throughout the succeeding Persian period. The evidence from the storehouse excavations shows that it prospered until the beginning of the Roman period. Three squares excavated in the middle of the site attest to occupation by Byzantines, Crusaders, and Arabs.

Numerous excavations have been conducted in the various cemeteries (Central, Eastern, Southern, and Northern) beginning in 1941 and spanning over forty years. The first excavations were directed by I. Ben-Dor and the remaining operations since 1944 have been directed by M. Prausnitz. While all the cemeteries have produced Iron Age materials, only the Southern and Central cemeteries have produced burials from the MB I–II.

**a. The Central Cemetery.** Early Iron Age IB cist graves of the 12th–11th centuries B.C.E. have been excavated which contained one or two skeletons each. Characteristic grave goods were cylinder seals, bronze bowls, a bronze double axe, long-hafted lance heads, an ivory bowl with lion couchant, as well as numerous burnished bichrome pilgrim flasks and white-painted Cypriot bottles, all of which indicate a continuation of the LB Canaanite customs into the beginning of the Iron Age.

**b. The Eastern Cemetery.** At the end of the Iron Age IB, underground burial chambers with shafts were hewn into the rock. Inside each of the burial chambers were found the skeletons of 300 to 400 individuals. These were family tombs identical with contemporary Israelite funereal practices and architecture. The family vaults were apparently in continuous use for 250–300 years. The pottery inside the tombs consisted of a great number of red-burnished, and red-polished jugs with trefoil rims, as well as red-polished jugs with mushroom rims—all typical "Achzib" wares. Statistically the amount of early bichrome wares was minimal and pilgrim flasks were few and late. There was a range of proto Black-on-Red to Black-on-Red II/III wares dating from the end of the 11th to the 8th/7th centuries B.C.E. More than three fourths of all the pottery finds were jugs.

**c. The Southern Cemetery.** A different range of contemporary ceramics of the Iron Age II was predominate in this cemetery. Bichrome, Black-on-White, and Black-on-Pink pilgrim flasks represented the overwhelming majority of pottery in the early phase of the burials. Some chambers were built, some hewn into the rock. A shaft or dromos led to the entrance. Paradoxically the ceilings of the rock-cut chambers had been quarried to be covered again by a built upper structure—a *bamah* with altar, *maṣṣebah*, and a special ceramic repertoire of votives. These family vaults contained 250–300 bodies buried over a period of about 300 years. The early, middle, and final phases of these chambers are dated by the ceramics, scarabs, and cylinder and stamp seals.

The middle phase continued to use red-slipped flat pilgrim flasks reflecting the LB traditions. At this time (mid-9th century), however, white painted Cypriot wares disappear and were replaced by red-polished Achzib jugs with trefoil rims. There also appeared red-polished bowls and jugs with mushroom rims. This phase continued until the first third of the 7th century B.C.E. The final phase was highlighted by large storage jars used as ossuaries and receptacles for funeral gifts, which accompanied the deceased inside the family vault. To judge by seals and scarabs, the final phase ended in the beginning of the 6th century.

The Southern cemetery was also a burial ground for shaft burials of the 6th century. The absence of Attic wares strongly suggests that by midcentury, this sacred ground with its Canaanite and Sidonian traditions was no longer in use.

**d. The Northern Cemetery.** The areas excavated contained cremation urns and burials mainly of the Iron Age, Persian, and Hellenistic periods. Iron Age cremation urns had also been deposited in the sands of the peripheral regions of the Southern cemetery. Early cremation urns were large Sub-Mycenean kraters, White-Painted II–III geometric kraters, or Black-on-Red I–II wares belonging to the 10th–8th centuries B.C.E. Later cremation burials were made inside storage jars. Also significant was the custom of erecting a *maṣṣebah* immediately above the cremation urns or jars.

Cremation urns were also found clustered around the foundations of a large pavement covered by lime and chalk plaster which had been frequently resurfaced. There was an area surrounded by a wall in which was an altar—this is believed to have been a *bamah.* The absence of scarabs or other funerary gifts with the urns near the *bamah* leaves only typological and stratigraphic criteria for determining its date, apparently 8th century B.C.E. The types of kraters and storage jars used in this cemetery and the stelae have close parallels with those found in the lower levels of the Precinct of Tanit at Carthage. The preference for kraters as cremation urns in association with the contemporary Achzib red-slipped jugs clearly points to the continuation of Syro-Hittite traditions at Achzib.

Each of the cemeteries represents a separate cultural tradition—Late Canaanite-Sidonian, Israelite, and Syro-Hittite. Only after the 6th century B.C.E. did they become known as Phoenician.

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**ACRABA** (PLACE) [Gk *Egrebēl* (Ἐγρεβηλ)]. A town situated southeast of Dothan in the eastern hills of Samaria (Jdt 7:18). The Assyrian general Holofernes had the Edomites and Ammonites stationed in this area while his troops cut off the water supply to the Israelite town of Bethulia. However, the location of Acraba is uncertain, and given the genre of the book of Judith, the historicity of this campaign and the "Assyrian" general is doubtful. Most scholars (see Moore *Judith* AB, 173) identify Acraba with Acrabeta (modern *ʿAqraba*), located 40 km north-northeast of Jerusalem. Acraba may also be associated with the site AKRABATTENE (1 Macc 5:3), where Judas Maccabaeus defeated the Idumeans who were killing Jews in 164 B.C.E. (Goldstein *1 Maccabees* 294).

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**ACRE** (PLACE). See ACCO (PLACE).

**ACROSTIC.** A device employed in poetry whereby the initial letters or signs of each line, read downward, constitute a name, a sentence, or an alphabetic pattern.

The earliest examples of *name/sentence acrostics* are Babylonian. Two can be dated to the reigns of Ashurbanipal and Nebuchadnezzar II respectively, since they mention those kings by name. The best-known Babylonian acrostic, the so-called *Babylonian Theodicy,* has been provisionally dated ca. 1000 B.C.E. (Lambert 1960: 67). The acrostic may spell out a name (e.g., "God Nabu") or a sentence (e.g., in the *Theodicy,* "I, Sag-gil-kinam-ubib, the incantation priest, am adorant of the god and the king"). Six of the seven extant Babylonian acrostic poems (surveyed in Soll 1988: 305–11) are stanzaic. In all but one of the stanzaic acrostics, each line within the strophe begins with the same sign that began the strophe. This repeating stanzaic pattern is the typical pattern for the Babylonian acrostics. In the Babylonian writing system, one sign could represent more than one sound. Most of the acrostics make use of this polyphony of sign values. Thus, the most important consideration was a conceptual or visual one: the use of the same sign. Two of the prayers incorporate not only an acrostic, but also a *telestic:* the terminal letters of each line, read downward, also form a phrase.

Name/sentence acrostics also occur in Greek literature. The Christian acrostic in the Sibylline Oracles 8.217–50 reads *iēsous chreistos theou huios sōtēr stauros,* which in turn utilizes the well-known Christian acrostic *ichthys.*

The Hebrew Bible contains a number of *alphabetic acrostics.* The earliest biblical acrostics are probably the damaged acrostic in Psalms 9–10 and the partial acrostic (through *kap*) in Nahum 1; both are usually dated to the period of the Judaean monarchy. Many of the remaining biblical acrostics are probably either exilic or postexilic. Psalm 37 and Lamentations 1, 2, and 4 are stanzaic acrostics (see LAMENTATIONS); repeating stanzaic acrostics may be found in Lamentations 3 (3-line strophes) and Psalm 119 (8-line strophes). In Psalms 111 and 112, each individual colon (half of a normal line) begins with a consecutive alphabetic character. Psalms 25 and 34 both omit a *waw* line and add a *pe* line after

*taw*. This *pe* line thus becomes the last letter of the acrostic and combines with *ʾalep* and *lamed* (the first and middle letters of the acrostic) to form the consonants of the first letter of the alphabet, *ʾlp* (Skehan 1971: 74). The remaining biblical acrostics are Psalm 145 and Proverbs 31: 10–31. There are also three psalms from Qumran (see Sanders 1965) which are alphabetic acrostics: the Hebrew text of Sirach 51: 13–30 (11QPs$^{a}$Sirach, which also adds a *pe* line), the so-called Apostrophe to Zion (11QPs$^{a}$Zion) and the partial acrostic (through *pe*) 11QPs$^{a}$155 (also known [Syriac] Psalm III). For a more detailed discussion of alphabetic acrostics in the biblical period, see Marcus (1947), Holm-Nielsen (1960), and Soll (1990, chap. 1).

While acrostic poetry depends on knowledge of the art of writing and is therefore "scribal" in the sense that all ancient written literature is scribal, the acrostic should not be seen as exclusively, or even primarily, wisdom literature. Included among the biblical alphabetic acrostics are hymns (e.g., Psalm 145), prayers (e.g., Psalm 25), and wisdom poems (e.g., Prov 31:10–31). This same distribution of genres is found in Babylonian name/sentence acrostics as well.

While the biblical alphabetic acrostic is often considered to be a mnemonic device (e.g., Paul *IDBSup,* 600–1), this position is difficult to maintain in the light of parallel Babylonian acrostics, which no one supposes were written with a mnemonic end in view (for further discussion, see Soll 1988: 320–22). The use of the acrostic form is best understood by analogy with metrical or rhyme schemes as an aesthetic constraint. It provided ancient poets with stimulus, direction, and limit as they drew on their stock of divine epithets, lament motives, petitions, and other conventional features of religious poetry which could otherwise be piled on indefinitely.

In the case of a name/sentence acrostic, the acrostic identifies the poem's author, the purpose of the composition, the one to whom it is addressed, or some combination of these. Although the poet began with the acrostic text as a matrix for the work, habit causes the reader to begin reading horizontally rather than vertically. Thus the impression of the finished product is the reverse of the process of composition: the poem gives the appearance of generating the acrostic, as if revealing a secret about itself. All Babylonian name/sentence acrostics had some way of alerting the reader to the presence of the acrostic pattern.

The alphabetic framework is, by contrast, abstract; it does not say anything. Rather, it says everything, for the 22 letters of the alphabet can be used to make any combination of words. The alphabet is a ready metaphor for totality and completeness (Gottwald 1954: 23–32) and thus serves as an excellent frame for praising the qualities of God (Psalms 111 and Psalms 145), the just man (Psalm 112), or the capable woman (Prov 30:10–31). Even in poems not concerned with the enumeration of qualities, use of the alphabet evokes a sense of completeness without having to be comprehensive. The fact that the Semitic alphabet gave a much greater impression of organization than any of its adaptations to other languages and scripts (Driver 1976: 179–85) may also have led to its use as an ordering device for poetry.

The alphabetic framework was a fixed sequence that did not have to be justified, but was simply there, ready to be built on. The only variation in this order is the inversion of the *ʿayin-pe* sequence: *pe* precedes *ʿayin* in Lamentations 2, 3, and 4; Psalm 10; and the LXX of Proverbs 31:10–31. The *pe-ʿayin* inversion occurs in some epigraphic abecedaries as well (Cross 1980: 9–13), so variation on this point in the acrostics was not a question of poetic license, but of adherence to different ordering conventions.

The alphabetic sequence may have been understood as being complete numerically as well as linguistically, which would account for the 22-line poems in the Bible. This number of lines is clearly a deliberate choice in Lamentations 5, since the rest of the book consists of alphabetic acrostics. Psalms 33, Psalms 38, and Psalms 103 are also 22-line poems.

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WILL SOLL

**ACTS OF ANDREW.** See ANDREW, ACTS OF.

**ACTS OF ANDREW AND MATTATHIAS.** See ANDREW AND MATTATHIAS, ACTS OF.

**ACTS OF JOHN (BY PROCHORUS).** See JOHN, ACTS OF (BY PROCHORUS).

**ACTS OF PAUL.** See PAUL, ACTS OF.

**ACTS OF PETER.** See PETER, ACTS OF.

**ACTS OF PETER AND PAUL.** See PETER AND PAUL, ACTS OF.

**ACTS OF PETER AND THE TWELVE.** See PETER AND THE TWELVE, ACTS OF.

**ACTS OF PHILIP.** See PHILIP, ACTS OF.

**ACTS OF PILATE.** See PILATE, ACTS OF.

**ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.** See LUKE-ACTS, BOOK OF.

**ACTS OF THEKLA.** See THEKLA, ACTS OF.

**ACTS OF THOMAS.** See THOMAS, ACTS OF.

**ACTS, BOOK OF.** See LUKE-ACTS, BOOK OF.

**ADADAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿadʿādâ* (עַדְעָדָה)]. A city situated in the Negeb region of Judah toward Edom (Josh 15:22). In the Bible this name occurs only as part of a list of Judah's territorial inheritance (Josh 15:20–63). According to most scholars (e.g., Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 379), the MT *wĕʿadʿādâ,* "and Adadah," should be emended to read Heb *wʿrʿrh,* "and Ararah" (cf. LXX variants *arouēl, arouēr,* as well as *adada*). Some scholars, therefore, identify Adadah with *ʿArʿarah* (modern *Khirbet Aroer*; see Alt 1934: 19; Keel and Küchler 1982: 337), a site located some 20 km southeast of Beer-sheba, to which David redistributed some of the spoils of the Amalekites (1 Sam 30:28; see McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 436). Alternatively, Kallai (*KHG* 351) suggests that if no evidence of an Iron Age settlement is yielded from *ʿArʿarah,* then Tell ʾEsdar, located 2 km farther north-northeast should be considered. Aharoni (*LBHG,* 117) suggests that the name was originally Heb **Aroer-ʿArʿarah,* "ʿArʿarah the ruin" (Heb *ʿărôʿēr* indicates "a ruin" as does Arabic *khirbet*). Epigraphically, therefore, the name "Adadah" may have resulted from a transmutation in the name "ʿArʿarah "of the Heb letter *resh* to *daleth,* since these letters are difficult to distinguish in script.

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**ADAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿādâ* (עָדָה)]. The name "Adah" seems to have been common in the ancient Semitic world (compare Minaean *ʿdt* [?]; Thamudic *ʿdh*/*ʿdy*; Safaitic *ʿdʾ*/*ʿdy*; Aramaic *ʿdyh;* Neo-Punic *ʿdyt* [?]; Syrian *ʿaddā*/*ʿiddô*; Samaritan *ʿāda;* Nabataean *ʿdyw;* and Arabic *ʿaddijj*). It appears to be the shortened form of a personal name containing the element **ʿdw/y,* "to decorate, embellish" (Weippert 1971: 250; Stamm 1980: 130) (e.g., Heb *ʿadîʾēl, ʿadāyāh (û), ʾelʿādâ, ʿādîn (āʾ)* [?], and *ʿiddô (ʿ)* [?]; Sabaean/Safaitic/Ammonite [?] *ʿdʾl;* Libyanite *ʿdwn* [?]; Minaean/Safaitic *ʿdyn* [?]; and Gr *Kosadou* [gen. from *qsʿdʔ*]). Two women in the Hebrew Bible bear this name.

**1.** The first of Lamech's two wives, according to the genealogy in Gen 4:17–19. To her two sons, Jabal and Jubal, are attributed the life-style of the tentdweller and the herdsman, as well as the cultural achievement of musical performance.

**2.** The daughter of Elon the Hittite, and one of Esau's Canaanite wives (Gen 36:2). She was considered to be one of the Edomite tribal ancestresses alongside of Oholibamah and Basemath. Eliphaz, her only son and Esau's eldest, was born in Canaan (Gen 35:4, 10) and became the father of Teman, Omar, Zepho, Gatam, Kenaz, Amalek (and Korah?) (Gen 36:11–12), who are listed a few verses later as the "tribal chiefs" (*ʾallûpîm*) of Edom (vv 15–16). The three contradictory texts Gen 36:2–3, 26:34, and 28:9 are based on different traditions of P, hence the lack of harmony (Speiser *Genesis* AB, 279; Westermann *Genesis 1–11* BK, 684).

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**ADAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿădāyâ* (עֲדָיָה)*; ʿădāyāhû* (עֲדָיָהוּ)]. **1.** A Levite of the clan of Gershom, son of Ethan, father of Zerah, and grandfather of Ethni (1 Chr 6:26–27—Eng6:41–42). His name occurs in the middle of a genealogical list whose purpose was to substantiate the Levitical pedigree of Asaph, one of the temple singers appointed by King David (1 Chr 6:16–17, 33—Eng6:31–32, 48). With some justification this Adaiah [*ʿădāyâ*] has been equated with Iddo [*ʿiddô*] in 1 Chr 6:6—Eng6:21 (Schumacher *IDB* 1:42) but this identification is not absolutely certain. Although there are four names (Gershom, Jahath, Zimmah, Zerah) common to the two Gershomite Levitical lists involved (1 Chr 6:5–6—Eng6:20–21; 1 Chr 6:24–28—Eng6:39–43), the pertinent inner patterns Zimmah-Joah-*Iddo*-Jeatherai and then Zimmah-Ethan-*Adaiah*-Zerah-Ethni illustrate equally the configuration of differences. It is also worth noting that Chronicles traces Asaph's lineage through Adaiah to Levi's son "Gershom," not the more traditional "Gershon."

**2.** A Benjaminite, one of the sons of Shimei (1 Chr 8:21). His name is found in a list of Benjamin's descendants who are distinguished as heads of families living in Jerusalem (1 Chr 8:28). This Shimei [Heb *šimʿî*] is probably a textual corruption of the name SHEMA [Heb *šemaʿ*] mentioned ealier in 1 Chr 8:13. The complex 1 Chronicles 2–8 contains three epicenters: the lists of the tribe of Judah at the beginning, those of Levi in the middle, and those pertaining to the tribe of Benjamin at the end. This threefold arrangement reflected something of the territorial, social, and political realities of the postexilic period (see Weinberg 1981: 111–12).

**3.** The father of Maaseiah, who is seemingly listed as one of the "commanders of hundreds" [*śārê hammēʾôt*] that conspired with Jehoiada the priest to overthrow Queen Athaliah and install young Joash upon the Judean throne (2 Chr 23:1). According to 2 Kgs 11:4 these individuals were "the captains of the Carites and of the guards." By contrast, the Chronicler, true to his own ideology, apparently reports the plot as carried out exclusively by priestly and Levitical guards in order to avoid any hint of the desecration of the temple area by "foreign mercenaries" (Myers *2 Chronicles* AB, 131; Williamson *Chronicles* NCB, 315). On the connection of Levites with martial activities, see Spencer 1984: 270–71. Dillard, moreover, makes the intriguing observation that, whereas the first three occurrences of names (Azariah, Ishmael, Azariah) in 2 Chr 23:1 are introduced with the preposition *le*, the last two names (Maaseiah ben Adaiah, Elishaphat) are proceeded by the object marker *ʾet* before "the commanders of hundreds." While representative possibly of no more than a stylistic variation, this change in pattern may just as well indicate that for the Chronicler Maaseiah ben Adaiah was not intended to be included among the "commanders of hundreds." However, that the writer regarded the commanders as Levites seems to be implied in the activities envisioned in 1 Chr 23:6–7, 9 (see Dillard *2 Chronicles* WBC, 177 n.1c, 180–81).

**4.** The maternal grandfather of King Josiah (2 Kgs 22:1). It is characteristic of the Deuteronomistic history to introduce Judean kings through a fixed scribal formula. Included in this formula is the name of each king's mother. Jedidah, Josiah's mother, is cited as the daughter of Adaiah of Bozkath. BOZKATH (Josh 15:39) appears to be a SW Judean village in the vicinity of Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir) and Eglon (Tell el-Ḥesi).

**5.** A Judahite, the son of Joiarib, and father of Hazaiah (Neh 11:5). He is mentioned as an ancestor of Maaseiah, one of the Judean family heads resident in Jerusalem after the return from exile. The parallel text in 1 Chr 9:5 (RSV) makes no reference to Adaiah ben Joiarib but speaks rather of "the Shilonites: Asaiah [= Maaseiah?] the first-born, and his sons." However, the presence of Judah's two sons Perez (Neh 11:4; 1 Chr 9:4) and Zerah (1 Chr 9:6) in these two otherwise synoptic lists suggests that the MT behind the RSV's "the Shilonite/the Shilonites" [*haššilōnî*/*haššîlônî*] in Neh 9:5 and 1 Chr 9:5 might well be revocalized to read "the Shelanite/the Shelanites" [*haššēlānî*/*haššēlānî*] (see NEB), thus making this Adaiah actually a descendant of Judah through his third son Shelah (Gen 38:5; Num 26:20).

**6.** The son of Jeroham (1 Chr 9:12 = Neh 11:12) and one of the priests listed who returned from exile to live and work in Jerusalem. Adaiah and his brethren, heads of fathers' houses, are reported to have numbered 242 persons. A comparison of the two parallel verses cited reveals that Nehemiah 11 carries his ancestry back to the seventh generation, adding three additional names (Pelaliah, Amzi, Zechariah) to Adaiah's ancestry as given in 1 Chr 9:12.

**7.** A son of BANI (Ezra 10:29 = 1 Esdr 9:30) and **8.** a son of BINNUI (Ezra 10:39), two individuals who had married foreign women and who were induced to put them away along with their children, in the time of Ezra (Ezra 10:44 = 1 Esdr 9:36). The double occurrence of the name "Bani" in both Ezra 10:29 and 10:34 and the similar name "Binnui" in Ezra 10:39 have given rise to a number of textual emendations. Not all is settled even with respect to the name "Adaiah": thus 1 Esdr 9:30 reads *iedaios* for Adaiah in Ezra 10:29; accordingly, the text-critical apparatus of BHS suggests that the name "Adaiah" here be amended to read either *ye‹adya* or *yeda‹ya.* For the second Adaiah named in Ezra 10:39, there is no corresponding name parallel whatsoever in 1 Esdr 9:34. There, in fact, Binnui has become a one of Bani's sons!

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**ADALIA** (PERSON) [Heb *›ădalyā* (אֲדַלְיָ)›]. One of the ten sons of Haman (Esth 9:8). The names of Haman's sons appear within Esth 9:1–19, a passage long thought to be the denouement of the Esther story, although recent research has shown it to be independent of both the main story (Esth 1–8) and the two appendices; one on the origin of Purim (Esth 9:20–32), the other the praise of Mordecai (Esth 10:1–3) (Clines 1984: 39–49, 158–62). This passage resolves the question of what happened after king Ahasuerus granted the Jews permission to defend themselves against the attacks of hostile neighbors incited by Haman (Esth 8:11–12). In this narrative context the killing of Haman's male progeny is the reversal of his attempt to annihilate the Jews (Esth 3:9–15) (Berg 1979: 105ff.).

The authenticity of the names of Haman's sons is a matter of dispute. There are variant lists of the names in the LXX, the A-Text (= LXX L?) and other ancient versions (see the lists in Moore *Esther* AB, xlii–xliii; Haupt 1907–8: 175). It has been suggested from this that the spelling of certain names in MT may be corrupt, the Greek versions perhaps preserving a more accurate spelling (Moore *Esther* AB, xliv). Against this, the attestation in Iranian onomastica of a few of the names in MT Esther and the likelihood that many of them can be given sensible Iranian etymologies has renewed confidence in the superiority of the MT orthography (Millard 1977; Zadok 1986). While this also counters the claim that the names are the product of the writer's imagination, the use of probable real names proves nothing about the veracity

of the story. Many of the names of Haman's sons are, however, otherwise unattested, perhaps reflecting our limited knowledge of Iranian onomastica. The current state of knowledge of Iranian dialects leaves the analysis of many of the names uncertain and the etymologies given are often conjectural. For the analysis of many of the names there is often no advancement on the classic studies of Oppert (1894: 35–41), Justi (1895), Scheftelowitz (1901), and Bartholomae (1904). Their work on Iranian names in Esther is summarized by Paton (1908: 66–71). The most recent comprehensive survey of Iranian names is Hinz (1975), supplemented by Zadok (1986) on names in Esther.

*ʾădalyā* (LXX *barsa*) has a number of proposed Old Iranian etymologies for which see Paton (*Esther* ICC, 70f.) and Gehman (1924: 327), but none are convincing. *ʾădalyā* may be related to the name *dlyn* attested in a 6th century B.C.E. Aramaic text from Egypt (Bauer and Meissner 1936 line 16; *TAD*, 11–13), although this name also proves to be difficult to analyze (Grelot 1972: 500f.; Kornfeld 1978: 113 for Hurrian derivation). For an explanation of the LXX spelling, see Haupt (1907–8: 176).

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**ADAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾādām* (אָדָם)]. The Hebrew noun *ʾādām* generally denotes "human being," "humankind." The term is also used of the male individual in the Gen 2:4b–3:24 creation narrative.

**A. Etymology and Use in the OT.**

The etymology of the word is uncertain. *ʾādām* has often been associated with the root *ʾdm* "red." Evidence cited in support of this association is widespread. In Akkadian, *adamu* means "blood, red garment," and *adamatu* "black blood." In Aramaic, *ʾădām* and other cognate terms refer to "blood," while in biblical Hebrew *ʾādōm* means "red" (adj.), and the verb *ʾādōm* "to be red." The Ugaritic verb *ʾadm* appears in several places in connection with bodily cleansing and anointing, and is usually translated "to rouge or redden." It has been suggested that the use of *ʾādām* for "human" arises because of the reddish color of human skin.

The play on words in Gen 2:7 and 3:19 between *ʾādām* and *ʾădāmâ* "ground, earth," has not been overlooked in the search for an etymology of the former. The name *ʾādām* is given to the human creature believed to have come from the *ʾădāmâ.* Of course, word plays in themselves do not necessarily indicate the etymology of a word. They could simply be used by writers or editors for literary effect. However, in this case the suggested etymological connection ought not to be ruled out. The Akkadian *adamātu,* "dark red earth" (used as a dye), suggests that the Hebrew *ʾădāmâ* could also be derived from the root *ʾdm,* "to be red." *ʾādām* and *ʾădāmâ* could have been derived from the same root separately or the latter could have given rise to the former because of the similarity of skin tone to the color of the soil itself.

While we cannot draw any firm conclusions about the origins of biblical *ʾādām,* we should note that the word has cognates in other Northwest Semitic languages. *ʾdm* appears in both Ugaritic and Phoenician as "human being." In the former, the high god El is called *ʾab ʾadm,* "the father of humankind." The development of *ʾdm* for "humankind" would seem to have been confined to the Northwest Semitic

domain since the Akkadian word for "human being" is *awīlum/amī (ē)lu.* Thus, any etymological connection between *ʾādām* and either *ʾdm* "to be red," or the root for "ground, earth," would appear to be a localized Northwest Semitic phenomenon. The cognates for the latter two words range across the whole Semitic family.

**B. *ʾādām* in Genesis 1–11.**

*ʾādām* is used widely throughout the OT for "human-kind" or "human being." It also occurs as the proper name of the first of the forefathers of the human family in 1 Chr 1:1. This may also be the case in Job 31:33, Hos 6:7, and Deut 4:32. In Genesis 1–5 the situation is more complex.

The use of *ʾādām* in J is concentrated in the primeval history of Genesis 2–11. In Gen 2:4b–4:25, the term refers to a specific male being. Elsewhere in the primeval narrative, it refers to humankind in general, even in Gen 8:21, which recalls the curse of Gen 3:17–19. In the context of Genesis 2–11, the individuality of the figure *ʾādām* in Gen 2:4b–3:24 must be seen as representative. No doubt the sources of the stories dictated in part the shape of the J narrative. *ʾādām* usually appears with the definite article *hāʾādām* (exceptions being 2:5, 2:20, and 3:17, the last two of which many scholars have amended).

While the individuality of the *ʾādām* figure in Gen 2:4b–3:24 is evident throughout the story, the restriction of *ʾādām* to a male individual begins clearly only from 2:18. Thus the beginning of the story addresses the issue of human beings in general in the presence of Yahweh. The disobedience that follows is not to be blamed primarily on the woman in the garden, but is the responsibility of the whole human community, as the curses (3:14–19) reveal. In 4:1, 25, *ʾādām* is clearly used as the proper name of the father of Cain, Abel, and Seth. After these verses, J again employs the term in its broader context. We should note that the Septuagint and Vulgate begin to translate *hāʾādām* as a proper name in Genesis 2:19.

In Gen 1:26–28, P uses *ʾādām* collectively as male (*zākār*) and female (*nĕqēbâ*). A single couple is not indicated here. *ʾādām* in its composite whole as male and female is the image of God. In Gen 5:3–5, however, P clearly understands *ʾādām* as an individual, i.e., the father of Seth and other children. The writer even records Adam's age at death as 930 years. This transition in the P material cannot be properly understood apart from the intervening J narrative. Recent studies in the canonical shape of Genesis 1–11 (Childs *IOTS,* 148–50) have drawn attention to the interdependence of the J and P material and the theological import of their connection. Although Childs suggests that the J creation account plays a subsidiary role to that of P, he does point to the interconnection between creation (Genesis 1) and the history of humankind (Genesis 2). One should also note that, as the two chapters stand, they present a balanced picture of humanity. The creature made in the image of God, indeed invited into God's presence, is also the creature primarily responsible for the subsequent alienation and enmity within creation. The two sides of humanity presented in Ps 8:4–7 are seen in reverse order in Genesis 1–3.

The closeness and yet enmity between humans and creation is highlighted by the play on words between *ʾādām* either as "human being" or the first male individual, and *ʾădāmâ* "ground, earth." It is from *ʾădāmâ* that *ʾādām* is fashioned (Gen 2:7). The latter's task is to till the ground (2:6). When *ʾādām* disobeys Yahweh, the *ʾădāmâ* is cursed (3:17–19). This in turn causes hardship for *ʾādām.* The end of *ʾādām* is again to return to the *ʾădāmâ* (parallel to *ʿāpār* "dust"). This wordplay continues through the flood story and is highlighted in 4:11–12 and 5:29. The link between *ʾādām* and *ʾădāmâ* in terms of sin and curse is only alleviated in 8:21–22. The dependence of fertility on human behavior, which remains wicked (8:21; 9:18–27; 11:1–9), is broken.

While the wordplay between *ʾādām* and *ʾădāmâ* is unique to the biblical material, the notion that humans are in part formed from earth or clay was widespread in the ancient Near East. We find it in the Sumerian account of the creation of humans where Enki, in order to fashion servants for the gods, calls on Mammu to "mix the heart of the clay that is over the abyss" (see Kramer 1961: 72–73). Likewise in the story of Atrahasis, Ea assists Mami, "the mistress of all the gods," in fashioning humans by pinching off pieces of clay (Tablet I. 189–260; see Lambert and Millard 1969: 56–61; cf. *ANET,* 99–100).

**C. *ʾādām* in Intertestamental Literature.**

Little attention has been given to the *ʾādām* figure of Genesis 1–5 elsewhere in the OT. There are, however, possible allusions to *ʾādām* and the creation narrative in apocryphal literature (Sir 17:1; 49:16;

Tob 8:6; Wis 2:23; 9:2; 10:1). Renewed interest in and speculation concerning *ʾādām* is found in pseudepigraphal, rabbinic, and gnostic texts. The Greek text *Apocalypse of Moses* is the most familiar of these. It tells of the life of Adam and Eve outside paradise, the death of Abel, the birth of Seth, Adam's illness, and the journey of Eve and Seth to paradise in search of the oil of the Tree of Life which would cure Adam. Adam dies and his soul is taken into the presence of God by the Cherubim. Through the prayers of the angels, Adam is pardoned and taken back into the third heaven. While a good portion of this material overlaps with its Latin counterpart, *The Life of Adam and Eve*, the exact nature of the relationship between these two texts is difficult to determine (see *OTP*, 249–95 for a translation and discussion of both texts). See ADAM AND EVE, LIFE OF.

Emphasis in the *Apocalypse of Moses* focuses on two matters: (1) the nature of sin and the present human condition and (2) the hope of resurrection. The sin of Adam and Eve is their deliberate disobedience of God's command (*Apoc. Mos.* 8:2; 10:2; 23:4, etc.). Eve is the one who initially succumbs to temptation and then dupes Adam into following her example (7:2–3; 9:2; 14:2; 21:1–6). Both lose the visible righteousness and glory of God which they had in the beginning (11:2; 20:1–2; 21:2). This sin brings hardship upon humanity. However, the image of God in which they were created is retained in their son Seth (10:13; 12:1), who is born according to the appointment of God (38:4).

While Adam's death is a result of sin, it eventually provides an avenue to hope in resurrection. In his mercy God promises to pardon Adam and to raise him up to enjoy the benefits of paradise once again (28:4; 37:1–6; 41:3). This comes to fruition after his death. His former glory is restored (39:1–3) and the power of Satan is overcome, turning grief to joy. Just as others participate in the consequences of Adam's sin, so there is hope that the "holy people," those who adhere to the covenant, will share in his resurrection (13:3–5; 41:3).

Speculation in various noncanonical works also focuses on the figure of Adam. Philo stresses Adam's perfection (*Op* 47:136–141), while various other works describe his honor and beauty above other living beings (e.g., Sir 49:16; *Pesiq. Rab Kah* 101). This beauty was lost with Adam's sin (*Gen. Rab.* 11:2; 12:6). A motif of rabbinic thought is the enormous size of Adam, whose body stretches across the cosmos (e.g., *Gen. Rab.* 8:1; 21:3; 24:2; *Pirqe R. El.* 11; *ʾAbot R. Nat.* B8, etc.). Other passages note Adam's great wisdom (*Gen. Rab.* 24:2; *Pesiq. R.* 115a).

**D. Adam in the New Testament.**

The most significant references to Adam in the NT are found in Rom 5:12–21 and 1 Cor 15:21–22, 45–49. Here Paul develops his Adam-Christ typology (on the debated origin of this typology, see discussion in Cranfield *Romans* ICC, 269–95; Kasemann *Romans* HNT, 139–58; and Beker 1980). In Rom 5:12–21 Paul emphasizes the analogy between Adam, the one through whom sin and condemnation to death come into the world, and Christ, the one through whom life is offered to all. While this analogy presents Adam and Christ as those who shape the destiny of the world, the contrast is not to be ignored. The reign of grace and righteousness which comes through the second Adam confronts the reign of sin and death introduced through the first Adam and overcomes it.

In 1 Cor 15:21–22, the emphasis of the typology focuses on Christ as the one through whom resurrection to life comes. This theme is carried through in vv 45–49. In resurrection, one has a spiritual body, like that of the heavenly Christ, in contrast to the physical body which all humanity has in common with the earthly Adam. Paul draws on Gen 2:7 (LXX) as support. Here Paul could well be using the type of exegesis Philo exhibits in his discussion of Genesis 1:27 and 2:7, wherein he contrasts the heavenly, archetypal person with the historic Adam, made from dust (*Legum Allegoriae*, i.31). However, Paul understands these figures not as types but as eschatological and historical figures respectively (1 Cor 15:47).

Elsewhere in the NT, reference is made to Adam as the first generation of humanity (Jude 14 and Luke 3:38). In the latter text, he is foremost in the genealogy that leads to Jesus. In 1 Tim 2:13–14, the Eden story is used to justify the denial of teaching roles and positions of authority to women at that time. The writer stresses the prior creation of Adam, as well as the fact that Eve was the one deceived by the serpent. Adam is seen as completely innocent, while the woman in the story is labeled the transgressor.

Such a line of argument is in keeping with early Jewish exegetical interpretations of Genesis 3 (e.g. *Apoc. Mos.* 15–21; *Pirqe R. El.* 1, 13).

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**ADAM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾādām* (אָדָם)]. A city located in the Transjordan N of the place where the Israelites crossed the Jordan into Palestine (Josh 3:14–17). According to the biblical account of the crossing, the waters of the Jordan "rose up in a heap" at Adam (Josh 3:16). A strategic city, Adam was situated near the fords of the Jordan (Judg 7:24), S of the mouth of the Jabbok River and N of the mouth of wadi *Farʿah.* At Adam, significant travel routes intersected (2 Sam 18:23; Hos 6:9), which made it easily accessible to Pharaoh Shishak individual (ca. 945–924 B.C.E.) of Egypt, who captured Adam while on a military campaign through Palestine (1 Kgs 14:25–28; 2 Chr 12:1–12; see Kitchen 1973: 438; Mazar 1986: 146). Most scholars have traditionally located this site at *Tell ed-Dāmiyeh* (modern *Damiya*; see Glueck 1951: 331; Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 169), where landslides have been known to dam up the Jordan (Aharoni *LBHG,* 34; Keel and Küchler 1982: 491; Noth *Josua* HAT, 37).

The translation of the MT of Josh 3:16 reads, "one heap arose a great distance from Adam, the city which is beside Zarethan," and the written text (Heb *bēʾādām*) differs from what is to be read (Heb *mēʾādām*). The LXX rendering differs quite radically from the MT: "forming a single heap over a very wide area, as far as the frontier of Kiryath-Jearim" (see Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 156). Whereas the MT identifies the location of the obstruction of the water in relation to Adam, the LXX expresses the expanse of the flooding in relation to Kiriath-Jearim. Thus, a single story about the extent of flooding is formulated from two different points of reference.

The city of Adam may also refer to a sacred location in biblical poetry (see Mazar 1985: 17–18). Several verses of poetry which contain the Heb word *ʾādām,* traditionally translated "man," could be clarified by translating it " (the city) Adam." Consequently, Ps 68:19–Eng 68:18 and Ps 78:60 could benefit from this proposal (Goitein 1947), as could Hos 6:7 (even though LXX *hōs anthrōpos,* "as man," supports the traditional rendering of "man"; see Andersen and Freedman *Hosea* AB, 439).

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**ADAM AND EVE, LIFE OF.** Among several related narrative elaborations of the biblical account of Adam and Eve, the most important are the Greek *Apocalypse of Moses* and the Latin *Vita Adae et Evae.* An Armenian recension was translated loosely from the *Apocalypse of Moses,* or possibly from the Syriac (Conybeare 1895: 216–35), at least by 1000 C.E., although more probably during the 5th or 6th centuries. A Slavonic recension, translated from the Greek between 950 and 1400 C.E., combines the *Apocalypse of Moses* and *Vita* 1–11. Other documents, while part of the Adam cycle of literature, have no direct literary relationship with the *Apocalypse of Moses* and *Vita Adae et Evae*: the *Cave of Treasures,* the *Combat of Adam and Eve* (Ethiopic), the *Testament of Adam,* and the *Apocalypse of Adam* from Nag Hammadi.

The *Apocalypse of Moses* and *Vita Adae et Evae,* though sharing much material, also contain unique traditions:

| | *Ap. Mos.* | *Vita* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Adam and Eve search for food and repent by standing in the Jordan and Tigris rivers. | —— | 1–8 |
| 2. Satan, disguised as an angel, convinces Eve to curtail her penitence. | —— | 9–11 |
| 3. Satan explains his fall and consequent enmity toward Adam. | —— | 12–17 |
| 4. Eve escapes death and bears Cain by means of Adam's intercession. | —— | 18–22 |
| 5. Eve bears (Cain [*Ap. Mos.* 1:3]), Abel, Seth, *et al.* | 1:1–5:1 | 23–24 |
| 6. Adam reveals to Seth his rapture to paradise to see God. | —— | 25–29 |
| 7. Adam, on his deathbed, sends Eve and Seth on an unsuccessful quest for the oil of mercy. | 5:2–14:3 | 30–44 |
| 8. Eve exhorts her children to obey by recounting the temptation by Satan and expulsion from paradise. | 15–30 | —— |
| 9. Adam dies. | 31–32 | 45 |
| 10. Adam is pardoned. | 33–37 | 46 |
| 11. Adam is buried. | 38:1–42:2 | 47–48 |
| 12. Eve commands her children to preserve her and Adam's life on tablets of stone and clay. | —— | 49:1–50:2 |
| 13. Eve dies and is buried. | 42:3–43:4 | 50:3–51:3 |

The redactors of the *Apocalypse of Moses* and *Vita Adae et Evae* shape their mutual (e.g., *Apoc. Mos.* 5:2–14:3 and *Vita* 30–44) and unique (e.g., *Apoc. Mos.* 15–30) traditions in different ways, as a comparison of three major characteristics of both stories will demonstrate. First, Satan is prominent in *Apoc. Mos.* 15–30, where he is responsible for the deception of the serpent, Eve, and Adam, yet his role is even more prominent in *Vita Adae et Evae.* Satan deceives Eve a second time (chaps. 9–11), then explains thoroughly why he maliciously pursues Adam (chaps. 12–17). According to *Vita* 37–39, a "serpent" whom Seth recognizes as Satan, the "cursed enemy of truth, (and) chaotic destroyer," attacks him; in the parallel passage of *Apoc. Mos.* 10–12, only a rebellious "wild beast" attacks Seth.

Second, Eve is culpable for the first transgression in both accounts, but the redactor of *Vita Adae et Evae,* particularly in the unique material (chaps. 1–22), consciously denigrates Eve and exonerates Adam. Eve's unrealistic solution to hunger following explusion is to have Adam murder her, since she sinned, so that God may return him to paradise (chaps. 1–6); in contrast, Adam suggests sensibly that they repent. While the Jordan stops its flow and the entire animal world gathers around Adam when he repents, Eve succumbs again to Satan's deceit (chaps. 7–11). Subsequently, when she departs to die, Eve experiences birthpangs but receives no mercy, despite her desperate prayers, until Adam intercedes (chaps. 18–22).

Third, God's mercy, a significant theme in both stories, is interpreted differently. One message of *Vita Adae et Evae* is that penitence, properly performed, evokes God's mercy. The editor presents details of Adam's penitence in the Jordan (chaps. 6–8) and adds similar details to Seth's prayer at paradise (chap. 40; cf. *Apoc. Mos.* 13:1) to provide the readers with models of penitence. Because Adam repented properly, he was pardoned during his lifetime (chap. 46). In contrast, the main theme of the *Apocalypse of Moses* is that mercy is accessible only following death. Adam faces death, uncertain that God will be merciful (chaps. 31–32). He dies and, after a lengthy and suspenseful account of angelic intercession, is pardoned (chaps. 33–37). Finally, he receives the promise of resurrection twice (39:1–3; 41:2–3).

The preceding examples demonstrate that the *Apocalypse of Moses* and *Vita Adae et Evae* are similar, but significantly different from each other. The relationship between them is difficult to determine. Meyer (1895: 205–8) regarded the *Vita* as the older document. Fuchs (1900: 508–9) and Wells (*APOT* 2: 128–9) regarded the *Apocalypse of Moses* as earlier. It is equally possible that the two narratives were composed independently on the basis of traditions which they had in common (e.g., *Apoc. Mos.* 31–32 and *Vita* 45).

Many of the traditions underlying these texts were probably composed in Hebrew. However, the author of the *Apocalypse of Moses* was familiar with the LXX, and *Vita Adae et Evae* contains some Greek expressions (e.g., *plasma,* "creature," in 46:3), indicating that at least some of the original traditions may have been composed in Greek. There is little consensus, then, concerning the relationship of the Greek and Latin texts and the language of the traditions which preceded them other than that a diverse oral and literary history underlies these documents (Johnson *OTP* 2: 251).

Both sets of traditions are clearly Jewish, exhibiting parallels with many Jewish documents (notes in Johnson *OTP* 2: 258–95). Although *Apoc. Mos.* and *Vita* contain no historical allusions, several of these parallels indicate that the traditions embodied in both fit well into the 1st and early 2d centuries C.E. Josephus' *Ant* 1.2.3 contains a reference to tablets of stone and clay which is similar to *Vita* 49:1–50:2. The apostle Paul refers to Satan's being disguised as an angel of light (2 Cor 11:14 and *Vita* 9, *Ap. Mos.* 17) and to the location of paradise in the third heaven (2 Cor 12:2–3 and *Ap. Mos.* 37:5). The most important parallels which suggest a late 1st or early 2d century provenance are those between the *Apocalypse of Moses* and *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*: (1) the combination of allusions to Gen 1:26–27 and 2:7, the image of God and the work of God's hands, to appeal for divine mercy (*Apoc. Mos.* 33–37 and *4 Ezra* 8:44–45); (2) the loss of supramundane paradise (*Ap. Mos.* 27–29 and *2 Bar.* 4:3–7); and (3) emphasis upon the effects of the initial transgression on future generations, yet insistence upon individual responsibility as the prerequisite to eschatological glory (*Apoc. Mos.* 14, 28, 30 and *4 Ezra* 3:20–27; 4:26–32; 7:11–14; 7:116–31; *2 Bar.* 17:1–18:2; 23:4–5; 48:42–47; 54:13–19).

These parallels suggest that the traditions contained in these documents may belong to the 1st century C.E. The *terminus ad quem* for their composition is ca. 400 C.E., since several texts written shortly after that date, including the Armenian version, appear to depend upon them. No manuscripts date earlier than the 11th century for the *Apocalypse of Moses* and the 9th century for *Vita Adae et Evae.* See Johnson *OTP* 2: 249–95, and Wells *APOT* 2: 123–54 for text.

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**ADAM, APOCALYPSE OF** (NHC V,*5*). A Jewish-gnostic document found in the Nag Hammadi Library, a collection of papyrus manuscripts discovered in Upper Egypt in 1946. The *Apocalypse of Adam (Apoc. Adam)* purports to be a revelatory discourse that Adam delivered to his son Seth which was preserved for Seth's posterity. It is not to be identified with any previously known Adam text. Epiphanius (*Pan.* 26.8.1) mentions that the "gnostics" used "apocalypses of Adam," but little is known of them.

**A. Setting.**

*Apoc. Adam* is the fifth and final tractate in NHC V. *Apoc. Adam* is immediately preceded in NHC V by three other tractates bearing the title "apocalypse": an apocalypse of Paul and two apocalypses of James. The first tractate in NHC V is not an apocalypse but a highly fragmentary copy of *Eugnostos*, of which another copy is preserved in Codex III. The inclusion of four apocalypses in one book is unusual in the Nag Hammadi Library and does seem to be the result of a deliberate scribal collection.

**B. Text.**

The manuscript is preserved in the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo (codex inventory number 10548). The tops and bottoms of its 21 inscribed papyrus pages are all lacking text in varying degrees. Pages 69–70 are completely lacking all vestiges of first and last lines, while pages 67 (the verso, p. 68, is uninscribed), 71–72, and 77 are each lacking one to four lines at the bottom of the page.

As to its date and provenance, one cannot be certain. It was written in Greek sometime after the appearance of the Septuagint (250–200 B.C.E.), and then translated into Coptic (Sahidic dialect) sometime before the middle of the 4th century C.E., when the books of the Nag Hammadi Library were manufactured. It has been dated in its present form as early as the end of the 1st century C.E. Since its present form is thought to be the result of editorial redaction, the various component parts could perhaps be even earlier.

**C. Character and Contents.**

The narrative is cast as a revelatory discourse delivered by Adam to his son Seth "in the 700th year"; that is, just prior to Adam's death (cf. Gen 5:3–5 LXX). This feature suggests that the text is to be understood as the "last testament" of Adam, and to be associated with other testamentary literature in antiquity, such as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.* The selection of Seth as the son to receive the revelation, and the identification of Seth's namesake as "that man who is the seed of the great generation" (NHC 65,6–9; cf. Gen 5:3), also associates the text with other Sethian literature in antiquity. It has been described as an original writing of the gnostic sect of the Sethians (Turner 1986).

Unlike other gnostic writings, Adam describes his original androgynous "creation" in highly positive language (NHC 64,6–12). His "fall" is portrayed as a lapse into ignorance that is brought about by separation into male and female entities (NHC 64,20–28; cf. Gen 2:21–23), rather than by an act of disobedience to God's command not to eat of the tree "of the knowledge of good and evil," as it is reported in the Jewish biblical tradition (Gen 2:15–17; 3:1–19). Three unnamed heavenly figures then appear to Adam and their revelation to him becomes the subject of Adam's last testament to Seth (NHC 67,14–21).

Adam describes to Seth the origin of a special race of men, and their struggle against God, The Almighty (Gk *pantocrator*), or Sakla, who is portrayed as the creator god of the Jewish biblical tradition. Three attempts are made by the Almighty to destroy this race of men who possess the knowledge of the "eternal God" (NHC 68,10–16), which Adam also possessed in his primordial state (NHC 64,6–14).

Two of these attempts to destroy this special race of "Sethians" (cf. NHC 65,6–9), that of flood (NHC 69,1–16—the Noah story) and fire (NHC 75,9–16—the Sodom/Gomorrah story) are well known in Jewish biblical tradition, but are here given new interpretations. For example, the biblical flood narrative is explained as the attempt of a wicked creator to destroy the pure race of men who possess special knowledge of the eternal God, rather than as the judgment of a righteous God upon the wickedness of humankind (cf. Gen. 6:1–7). A third threat is lost in lacunas (NHC 71,8–72,1), but may be assumed because of a clear account of a third deliverance (NHC 72,1–15).

At the conclusion of these three attempts of the Almighty to destroy the great race, Adam describes the descent of a heavenly figure, the Illuminator of Knowledge. The sudden appearance of this heavenly figure shakes the cosmos of the Almighty, disturbing his heavenly court, i.e., his powers and angels. The Illuminator comes to "redeem" the souls of the seed of Noah "from the day of death" and to leave for himself "fruit-bearing trees" (NHC 76,8–17). He performs "signs and wonders" (NHC 77,1–3). And as the man on whom "the holy spirit has come," he "suffers in his flesh," (NHC 77,16–18), yet the god of the powers and his hosts do not see the Illuminator or his glory (NHC 77,7–15).

Perplexed by these events, the "angels and all the generations of the powers" in confusion ask about the source of the disturbance (NHC 77,18–27). The narrative continues with thirteen erroneous explanations for the Illuminator's origin made by "kingdoms," followed by the correct explanation of the "kingless generation" (NHC 82,19–83,7). The narrative then reports an apocalyptic scene, reminiscent of Matthew 25, in which those who oppose the Illuminator fall under the condemnation of death, while those who receive his knowledge "live forever" (NHC 83,8–29). The document concludes with a description of competing baptismal traditions, and a statement that the "words of revelation" are not to be inscribed in a book but rather "on a high mountain, upon a rock of truth" (NHC 85,1–18).

The struggle between the Almighty and the special race of men who possess knowledge of the "eternal God" is cast in the form of a gnostic midrash on the biblical story in which elements of the story (NHC 67,22–69,10; 70,3–71,4; 72,15–17; 73,25–27) are followed by a gnostic interpretation (NHC 69,18–70,2; 71,8–72,15; 72,18–73,24; 73,27–76,7) that sets out a Sethian explanation for the events in the story. The author never quotes the biblical passages directly, however, but draws on material that has already been influenced by Jewish exegetical traditions.

The thirteen erroneous kingdom explanations (NHC 77,27–82,19) for the Illuminator's origin are cast in highly structured prose with a recurring refrain. For example:

> The twelfth kingdom says about him:
> "He came from two illuminators.
> He was nourished there.
> He received glory and power.
> And in this way he came to the water."
> The third kingdom says about him:
> "He came from a virgin womb.
> He was cast out of his city
> —he and his mother—and was
> taken to a desolate place.
> He was nourished there
> and received glory and power.
> And in this way he came to the water."

Each of the thirteen kingdoms offers an explanation for the Illuminator's origin followed by statements of nourishing (except numbers 5, 7, 10, and 13), receiving power and glory (except number 11), and the concluding refrain: "And in this way he came to the water."

It is generally agreed that the explanations of the Illuminator's origin constitute traditional material that was later incorporated into the present document (Hedrick 1980: 130–54). It has also been argued (Hedrick 1980) that the document breaks down into two sections that appear to be two separate sources harmonized by an ancient editor with appropriate redactional comments at the point of the literary seams. One source (NHC 64,1–65,23; 66,12–67,12; 67,22–76,7; 83,7–84,3; 85,19–22) stands near the border separating Jewish apocalypticism and gnosticism. The general character of its gnosticism and its extensive use of Jewish traditions suggest that this source reflects a type of emerging Jewish gnosticism. The second source (NHC 65,24–66,12; 67,12–67,21; 76,8–83,7) contains few overt references to Jewish traditions, but reflects a developed gnostic mythology. The two sources were brought together in a group that argued for a spiritualized understanding of baptism and an ascetic life-style. The polemic against baptism (NHC 84,4–85,18; 85,22–31) at the end of the tractate is not directed against Christian baptism but reflects competing views of baptism within rival gnostic communities. The theory that the text breaks down neatly into two sources has been criticized, but it seems clear that the text as it now appears has been subjected to redaction (Pearson 1986).

**D. Significance.**

The text documents the existence of a type of heterodox Jewish gnosticism. It is "Jewish" in its knowledge and use of Jewish traditions, but in its intention the document is radically anti-Jewish since it constitutes a thoroughgoing Sethian-gnostic transversion of usual Jewish traditions. There are some

general parallels to the Christian tradition, but the document has no features that are necessarily Christian and it makes no use of New Testament texts. The redeemer-illuminator mythology in the document does not appear to have been derived from Christian groups or texts. Rather, the author draws instead (MacRae 1965) upon pre-Christian Jewish traditions of the persecution and subsequent exaltation of the righteous man as reflected, for example, in Wisdom 1–6 and Isaiah 52–53. *Apoc. Adam* reflects a type of non-Christian Jewish gnosticism prossessing a fully developed redeemer myth that did not pass through the Christian kerygma, but rather appears to be an independent parallel development.

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**ADAM, THE TESTAMENT OF.** Because of erroneous identification by 19th-century scholars, the *Testament of Adam* has only recently been classified as one of the pseudepigrapha of the OT. A composite document, the Testament is made up of three originally independent sections referred to as the Horarium, which is a catalog of the hours of the day and night, the Prophecy in which Adam foretells the future of the world, and the Hierarchy, which explains the names and functions of the different ranks of angels. In the Horarium (chaps. 1 and 2), father Adam is represented as revealing to his son Seth what parts of the created order, both natural and supernatural, render their praises to God at each hour of the day or night: demons at the first hour of the night, doves at the second, fish and fire at the third, etc.

In the second section, the Prophecy (chap. 3), Seth relates to the reader in Adam's own words what his father had prophesied just before his death concerning the future of the world. This is primarily an *ex eventu* prophecy of the coming of Jesus Christ and of the events of his life, death, and resurrection (as recorded in the NT), but the Prophecy also describes the Flood and the end of the world and answers questions about the Fall and related events. For example, we are informed that the forbidden fruit was really the fig, and that Cain actually killed Abel out of passion for Lebuda, one of their sisters. Seth also describes Adam's funeral in some detail. The most striking doctrinal feature of the Testament, the promised deification of Adam, is found in this section. Here Adam explains that it had been his wish and God's intention to make Adam a god, but that because of the Fall, the promised apotheosis had to be postponed until after the saving mission of Jesus Christ, at which time its occurrence was certain.

The third section of the Testament, the Hierarchy (chap. 4), lists the nine different kinds of angels and explains the role and function of each in the administration of the cosmos. For example, according to the

Hierarchy the archons control the weather; the authorities take care of the sun, moon, and stars; and the powers keep the demons from destroying the whole of creation. The nine classes of angels are in ascending order: angels, archangels, archons, authorities, powers, dominions, thrones, seraphim, and cherubim.

Although versions of the Horarium and Prophecy sections of the Testament have been found in Greek, Arabic, Ethiopic, Old Georgian, and Armenian, Syriac has been demonstrated to be the original language of the document in all three of its sections. Evidence for this are the puns and wordplays in the text that work only in Syriac. Also, the manuscript evidence for the Syriac text is considerably older than that for any other version, the earliest being British Museum MS Add 14,624, which dates from the 9th century. Corruptions in the Greek version have proved to result from mistaking one Syriac word for another, therefore demonstrating that the Greek is dependent upon the Syriac. The Arabic, Old Georgian, and Armenian versions did not appear until after a Syriac version was well established and well attested, and must therefore be secondary to it. The Ethiopic version is dependent upon the Arabic.

It is likely that the first section of the Testament, the Horarium, is taken from Jewish traditions which circulated before the 3d century C.E., since it completely lacks the Christian elements which are so prominent in the Prophecy and Hierarchy and since it displays several affinities with the Wisdom literature of the OT. This Jewish material appears to have been joined together with the Prophecy by a Christian redactor in the 2d or 3d century to form the present *Testament of Adam.* The Prophecy itself, though heavily Christianized, preserves some Jewish traditions about Adam and Eve found in other Jewish literature but not in the OT, among them the idea that Adam left to his posterity an esoteric understanding of creation and a knowledge of the future history of the world. But in the present document, the substance of Adam's legacy has been turned by the redactor into a Christian proof text. Subsequently, perhaps between the 3d and 5th century, the Hierarchy was added to the Prophecy and Horarium, because its angelology complemented theirs, though the addition never really caught on, being found in only one Syriac MS.

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**ADAMAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾădāmâ* (אֲדָמָה)]. A fortified city within Naphtali's territorial boundaries, the exact location of which is unknown (Josh 19:36; LXX variants also reflect the uncertainty). Adamah is not to be identified with Adam in the Transjordon (Josh 3:16), nor with Adami-neqeb (Josh 19:33; see Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 459). Aharoni (*LBHG,* 429) suggests a location 7 km W of the Sea of Galilee associated with Shemesh-adam (modern *Qarn-ḥaṭ-ṭin*). Rogerson (*RNAB,* 129) associates this same site with Madon (Josh 11:1; 12:19), and suggests that an unidentified location 7 km N of Capernaum may also be the location of biblical Adamah.

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**ADAMI-NEKEB** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾadāmî neqeb* (אַדְמִי נֶקֶב)]. After the conquest described in Joshua 6–12, the Transjordan tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh returned to the E bank of the Jordan River. The W bank proper was then divided among the remaining tribes. Several major tribal units were settled and Joshua cast lots (18:10) for the remaining seven. The sixth portion went to the tribe of Naphtali (Josh 19:32–39). The S border of Naphtali (and part of the N border of Issachar) ran from Heleph to the Jordan River where it comes out of the Sea of Galilee. Simons (*GTTOT* 194) says this is not a border but just a list of cities. Aharoni (*LBHG* 259) suggests the border ran just S of the line of Wadi Fajjas/Fegas. Kallai (*HGB* 235) considers it a border. RSV refers to the boundary while the Jerusalem Bible refers to the territory of Naphtali. One of the border sites, v 33, is Adami-nekeb.

Wright (*WHAB* 42) shows Adami-nekeb within the SW corner of Naphtali's territory, near its W boundary with Zebulun (which is Zebulun's E boundary). Verses 35–38 list Naphtali's fortified cities but

these are not the boundary cities, except that v 36 includes Adamah. It is not impossible this is Adami-nekeb. However, Adamah is in sequence with Chinereth and Hazor, which suggests it is in the N (Na‹aman 1986: 134).

Adami-nekeb is described as a city or town between the Sea of Galilee and Mt. Tabor. Adam means "man" (BDB, 10) or "ground," and Nekeb means "pierce" (BDB, 666), and hence a "pass" that pierces the mountain. It has also been translated "red pass," since ›*dm* means "red," perhaps a reference to the *terra rossa*, the "red soil" common to the land. Yet a third translation is "fortified hollow." The KJV translates it as two names, following the LXX which has two names, with various spelling. The Jerusalem Bible translates one name but spells it Adami-negeb. The Vulgate has "Adami which is Neceb." Aharoni (*LBHG*, 126–27) quotes the Jerusalem Talmud (Meg. 1, 77a) where Rabbi Yosi refers to Adami—Damin, the Nekeb—Saydatha. "Damin" is an Aramaic intermediate form between biblical Adami and Arabic Damiyeh.

The Palestine Exploration Survey maps locate Adamah at Khirbet Damiyeh, 7 m NW of the exit of the Jordan from the Sea of Galilee and Adami at Khirbet Adamah, 5–6 m S of the exit. However, Boling (*Joshua* AB, 458; *GTTOT* 196) et al. place Adami at Damiyeh. Gehman (*NWDS* 16) suggests that Adami of the narrow pass is called this to distinguish it from Adam of the ford, Josh 3:16. Khirbet Damiyeh is a Bronze Age and Iron Age site 5 m SW of Tiberias, on the W side of Sea of Galilee. It is above the Wadi Mu'allaqah, which flows into the Wadi Fegas (*HGB,* 235). The site called Darb el-Hawarnah was probably a fortress controlling the pass on the caravan route from Damascus by way of Hauran or Bashan, around the S end of Galilee to the plain of Acco. It was a major alternate route to the Via Maris (*LBHG,* 61).

The conquest lists of Thutmose III (1504–1450 B.C.) include a site, no. 57 at Karnak, called *nkbu* which may be Nekeb or Negeb (*GTTOT* 196; *GP* 398; *ANET* 242). However, Aharoni (*LBHG* 161, 183) identifies no. 57 as Tell Abu Hureireh, possibly biblical Gerar, while identifying no. 36, Adumim with Adami-nekeb, Kh. et-Tell, *above* Kh. ed-Damiyeh (he seems to identify the two tells, *LBHG* 429). While noting several authors who share this identification, S. Ahituve, identifies Thutmose's no. 36 with Tel Qarnei Hittin, the Horns of Hattin (quoted by Na›aman 1986: 128 n.23). Aharoni identifies Adamim in Papyrus Anastasi I, an Egyptian letter of the scribe Hori, as Adami-nekeb (*ANET* 477). Kallai (*HGB* 235, n.287) explains the et-Tell and Damiyeh distinction by noting there are three ruins on Damiyeh. Kh. et-Tell is the highest of these at the top of the slope. Simons (*GTTOT* 196; *NWDB* 659) suggests that if Nekeb is a separate place, it may be Kh. el-Bassum (Bronze Age), SE of Kh. ed-Damiyeh, E of Kefr Sabt.

Some identify Nekeb by its Talmudic name with a ruin called Seiyadeh, but Kh. Sayadeh is a late ruin (Roman) with no ancient tell nearby. Aharoni thought it probable that "the Nekeb" is not an ancient name but an appellative to Adami. Kallai (*HGB* 235, n.287) acknowledges Roland de Vaux's discovery of a settlement *south* of the Wadi Mu›allaqah, opposite Damiyeh, with remains of the same Bronze and Iron Ages as Damiyeh. De Vaux assumed the double settlements reflect the double name but this has not been accepted by others. Van Beek (*IDB* 1: 45) cautions Adami-nekeb is not ›Udm of the Keret Epic from Ugarit (*GP* 238), nor Amarna Letter no. 256, Udumu, a city in the land of Garu which was hostile to the Pharoah (*ANET* 486). These may be identified with Edom (Albright 1943: 14). It is of interest that all these names may be interpreted as "red" stone, object, thing, etc. The plural "Adummim" means "red stones," as in the red-streaked limestone cited earlier.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**ADAR** [Heb ʾ*ădār* (אֲדָר)]. The twelfth month of the Hebrew calendar, roughly corresponding to February and March. See CALENDARS (HEBREW).

**ADASA** (PLACE) [Gk *Adasa* (Ἀδασα)]. The town where Judas Maccabeus and his military band camped and subsequently defeated the Syrian general Nicanor and his troops (1 Macc 7:40–45). Josephus' account of this story locates Adasa 30 stades (ca. 4 km) from Beth-horon (*Ant* 12.10.5; see also his reference to the town Acedasa, in the province of Gophna, *JW* 1.1.6). Some scholars identify Adasa with modern *Khirbet ʿAdaseh,* a militarily strategic site located midway between Jerusalem and Beth-horon, ca. 8 km (60 stades) SE of Beth-horon, rather than the 30 stades recorded by Josephus (Abel *GP*, 238; Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 341). Adasa has also been identified with the ʾ*Adasa* northeast of Beth-horon in the province of Gophna, which was known to Eusebius (*HJP²* 1: 170).

MARK J. FRETZ

**ADBEEL** (PERSON) [Heb ʾ*adbĕʾēl* (אַדְבְּאֵל)]. The third of Ishmael's twelve sons (Gen 25:13 = 1 Chr 1:29). The LXX, however, transposing the letters *beta* and *delta*, spells the name *nabdeēl* (Gen 25:13) or *nabdaiēl* (1 Chr 1:29) in these parallel lists, and adds *ragouēl kai nabdeēl* "Ragouel (or Reuel) and Nabdeel" to the list of Dedan's sons in Gen 25:3. But the Lucianic version of 1 Chr 1:29 reads Gk *abdiēl,* and Josephus spells the name *abdeēlos* in his list of Ishmael's descendants (Ant 1.12.4). This rather consistent metathesis of the letters *beta* and *delta* in the Gk texts suggests that the difference in spelling is not simply a scribal error. Based on the LXX use of an initial *N*, Albright (1956: 13–14) suggests that *Nadab* is a hypocoristic doublet of Heb ʾ*adbĕʾēl,* and identifies Nadab with the Arabic name *Idibaʾil.* Other scholars identify Adbeel with the Arabian tribal and personal name *Idibaʾilu,* which appears in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III (*ANET*, 283; Ephʿal 1982: 215–16; Montgomery 1934: 45; Musil 1926: 291). Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 B.C.E.) first subjugated this northwest Arabian tribe, then appointed Idibiʾlu to the wardenship of the Egyptian border.

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MARK J. FRETZ

**ADDAN** (PERSON) [Gk *Charaathalan* (Χαραααθαλαν), *Charaathalar* (Χαραααθαλαρ)]. A leader of the exiles, who returned to Palestine from Tel-melah and Telharsha in Babylon (1 Esdr 5:36). The RSV form "Addan" is derived from the difficult LXX phrase, rendered by codex Vaticanus *hēgoumenos autōn charaathalan kai allar* , "their leaders (were) Charaathalan and Allar" (codex Alexandrinus spells the names *charaathalar* and *alar*). Bewer (1922: 30) argues that Gk *charaathalan* should be two words (*charaath* and *alan*), and that Gk *alan* resulted from a confusion in the transmission of Gk *adan,* since the triangular form of uppercase Gk *lambda* closely resembles the "tee pee" form of uppercase Gk *delta.* He bases this suggestion on the place name "Addan," attested in Ezra 2:59 and Neh 7:61. See ADDAN (PLACE). The occurrence of Addan as a personal name is unique to the list of returnees in 1 Esdras 5.

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MARK J. FRETZ

**ADDAN** (PLACE) [Heb ʾ*addān* (אַדָּן)]. Var. ADDON. A place in Babylon from which a group of Jews of undocumented ancestry returned to Palestine (Ezra 2:59 [LXX *ēdan*] = Neh 7:61 [Heb ʾ*addôn;* LXX *ērōn*]). The location of this site is unknown.

MARK J. FRETZ

**ADDAR** (PERSON) [Heb ʾ*addār* (אַדָּר)]. The first son of Bela and grandson of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:3).

The name "Addar" appears only in this portion of an extended genealogy (1 Chronicles 7–8) listing Benjamin's descendants. Parallel genealogies list "Ard" as either a son of Bela (Num 26:40), or a son of Benjamin (Gen 46:21); however, the list of Benjamin's descendants in 1 Chronicles 7 has neither name. See ARD. Albright (1939: 179–80), noting the similarity of the Hebrew letters *dalet*, *kap,* and *reš* (cf. Josh 16:2, 5; 18:13), argues that the names "Addar" and "Ard" are actually corrupted forms of the (unattested) Hebrew clan name **erek* "Erech" (cf. the gentilic ʾ*arkî* "Archite"). See ARCHITE.

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MARK J. FRETZ

**ADDAR** (PLACE) [Heb ʾ*addār* (אַדָּר)]. A border town in the southern Negeb region of Judah, near Hezron and Karka (Josh 15:3). The name "Addar" occurs as part of a lengthy list of Israelite tribal boundary sites (Joshua 15–17). The precise location of Addar is unknown. The name may be synonymous with Hazar-addar (cf. Num 34:4; see Noth 1935: 188), or possibly a parenthetical comment regarding the location of the border of Judah, e.g., "It went around Hezron (more specifically, it went up to Addar)" (see Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 365).

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MARK J. FRETZ

**ADDAX.** See ZOOLOGY.

**ADDI** (PERSON) [Gk *Addi* (Ἀδδι)]. **1.** The patronym of a clan of Israelite laypersons who returned from Babylonian exile (1 Esdr 9:31). Members of the clan of Addi were listed (after the sons of Bani) with those who married foreign women from "the people of the land," and who, under Ezra, were subsequently forced by covenant to separate themselves from these foreign wives and their children (cf. Neh 13:23–31). The name "Addi" does not appear in Ezra's parallel list (Ezra 10:18–44), although there the name "ADNA" does appear right after the listing of the sons of Bani (Ezra 10:30).

**2.** The son of Cosam and father of Melchi in Luke's geneaology of Joseph, the husband of Mary (Luke 3:28). The name "Addi" is absent in Matthew's parallel genealogy (Matt 1:1–17). Kuhn (1923: 214) finds an analogue in the MT name *pĕdāyâ* (2 Kgs 23:36), which the LXX renders *edeil.* The LXX apparently presupposes Heb ʿ*dyl,* "ADIEL" (1 Chr 4:36; 9:12; 27:25), a variant of which combines Heb ʿ*dy* [Gk *addi*] and an alternate theophoric ending (Heb *yh*) resulting in "ADAIAH." Given the unpredictable occurrence of Gk *addi* as a variant in manuscripts of four unrelated passages (Num 26:25—Eng26:16, RSV "Iddo"; 1 Chr 6:21, RSV "Eri"; 2 Chr 28:12, RSV "Hadlai"; 1 Esdr 9:31, RSV "Addi"), and the tenuous nature of identifying a specific individual simply on the basis of a particular form of a name, the Addi in Luke 3:28 must remain anonymous.

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**ADDITIONS TO DANIEL.** See DANIEL, ADDITIONS TO.

**ADDITIONS TO ESTHER.** See ESTHER, ADDITIONS TO.

**ADDITIONS TO JEREMIAH.** See JEREMIAH, ADDITIONS TO.

**ADDON** (PLACE) [Heb ʾ*āddôn* (אָדּוֹן)]. See ADDAN (PLACE).

**ADDUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Addous* (Ἀδδους)]. The name of one of the 17 families descended from Solomon's servants that returned to Jerusalem from Babylon (1 Esdr 5:34). The name "Addus" occurs only in that portion of the list providing names not attested in parallel lists (Myers *1 & 2 Esdras* AB, 68).

Those parallels instead list 10 families (Ezra 2:55–58 = Neh 7:57–60; LXX Neh 7:60 cites 11 families). Also, the summary in 1 Esdr 5:35 (and its LXX parallels in Ezra 2 and Nehemiah 7) numbers only 372 total "temple ministrants" and servants, while the MT parallels number 392 (Ezra 2:58; Neh 7:60).
MARK J. FRETZ

**ADER, KHIRBET** (M.R. 222068). A site in ancient Moab on the Transjordanian Plateau. It is located on the "King's Highway"—one of the major caravan routes in antiquity—some 7 km NE of the modern city of Kerak, Jordan. The ancient site comprises a large tell of about 10 acres and, separated by a small wadi, a much smaller mound. The modern village of Ader now occupies the site.

**A. History of Exploration.**

The site's best-known feature is its four *menhirs* (large upright monoliths), noted as early as 1806 by J. Seetzen and later by J. L. Burckhardt and A. Musil. W. F. Albright (1924; 1934) and N. Glueck (1933) investigated the architectural remains at the site and, by a study of the pottery, concluded that its main periods of occupation were the late EB, the Iron Age, and the Late Roman Period. In 1933, W. F. Albright and R. G. Head directed a two-week expedition, accounts of which were only published in preliminary fashion (Albright 1934; 1944). R. L. Cleveland (1960) later published the results of the original expedition.

**B. The Early Iron Age Remains.**

Khirbet Ader is most frequently referred to as one of a half-dozen or so excavated settlement sites found in the EB IV period, ca. 2400–2000 B.C. Given the growing evidence for a significant level of sedentism (small towns and villages) in Transjordan, it is now clear that this period was not the "nomadic interlude" as envisioned by K. Kenyon (Richard 1980). Both the 10-acre "city," as Albright describes it, and the small tell to the N were occupied in the EB IV; apparently only a portion of the main site was occupied during the Iron Age and Roman Period.

Almost 3 m of EB IV occupational debris attest to a permanently occupied agricultural settlement. Good arable land surrounds the site and nearby streams provide a permanent source of water. On the small tell, a trench measuring 10 m × 4 m revealed three occupational levels (A–C) with pottery that Albright compared with Tell Beit Mirsim strata I–J. Although the pottery appears mixed, clear stratification was present, consisting of the corner of a rectangular house in the latest level (A), a mudbrick wall, and much mudbrick debris and ash in level B, and an enigmatic level C that contained early pottery, particularly wavy ledge handles. A study of the pottery plates (Cleveland 1960) shows that the three phases exemplify the degenerate red-slipped and burnished pottery with rilled exterior that is characteristic of the end of the EB. On the basis of comparisons with other EB IV sites (Iktanu, Khirbet Iskander, ʿAroʿer, Bâb edh-Dhrâʿ), one can date Ader to the early part of the EB IV period (i.e., EB IVA–B). Ader's two clear architectural phases compare well with these sites, where two to four phases have been identified. A typical EB IV shaft tomb was also excavated on the small mound.

Originally four *menhirs* were noted at the site, one of which rested upon a step in the portico of a temple. Near the temple lay a massive stone slab with two round depressions, obviously an altar for offerings. Unfortunately this building, which was to be excavated fully in 1933, had been almost totally destroyed in the interim since Albright's first visit. From Albright's description and a published, though hypothetical, plan (Cleveland 1960: fig. 8), the temple appeared to be of tripartite design with the center room slightly offset. If Albright's observations are correct, this temple would be the earliest example of a type known during the MB and LB from Syria-Palestine at such sites as Shechem, Ebla, Alalakh, and Hazor.

Although Albright originally referred to the structure as the "Moabite Temple," he later placed it in the Canaanite Period. Given the apparent sole discovery of EB IV sherds and occupation on the small tell, as well as the associated *menhir*, it is highly likely that the building belongs in the EB IV period. Large *menhirs* (some 4 meters high) like those at Ader are also known from other EB sites (e.g., Bâb edh-Dhrâʿ, Khirbet Iskander, and Lejjun). In light of a recently excavated EB IV sanctuary at Bâb edh-Dhrâʿ and the monumental EB IV architecture (fortifications and gateway) at Khirbet Iskander, it would not be

impossible that such a temple could date to the EB IV. On the basis of excavations in Jordan over the past 15 years, it is becoming increasingly clear that the EB IV was a period of urban regression, and not a nomadic interlude. Moreover, the strong continuities now apparent between the EB III and the EB IV suggest that the collapse of the city-state system at the end of EB III and the subsequent adaptation to nonurban subsistence strategies (small towns, villages, and pastoralism) were a result of gradual internal processes, not nomadic invasions as earlier scholarship presupposed (Richard 1986).

**C. Iron Age and Roman Remains.**

On the main tell, excavation uncovered occupation of the Iron Age II and the Roman/Byzantine periods, although earlier EB IV occupation was noted. Only fragments of walls and associated Iron Age II pottery represent the Iron Age occupation on the mound. More substantial remains of the Roman/Byzantine period were found. The city wall was constructed in the Late Roman period (2d–3d centuries A.D.). Excavation showed that a tower on the N city wall, well built with a front wall of ashlars, dated to the Late Roman Period, but had been repaired in the Byzantine period. The domestic occupation uncovered within the city wall consisted of several walls comprising a fairly well-preserved room with a great deal of Roman (3d century) pottery. Below the floor of this room there was discovered a cist burial, in which some Nabatean sherds were also found. Interestingly, among the rubble within the room the excavators found a stone with a Hebrew inscription, thought to date from the Byzantine period.

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SUZANNE RICHARD

**ADIDA** (PLACE) [Gk *Adida* (Ἀδιδα)]. Mentioned in 1 Macc 12:38 and 13:13 as a Judean town fortified and occupied by Simon, the second brother of Judah the Maccabee. Adida is probably the biblical Harim of Ezra 2:32 (Heb *ḥārim;* Gk *arōth*) and which occurs in Neh 7:37 as Hadid (Heb *ḥādid;* Gk *adid*). Ezra and Nehemiah list Harim/Hadid along with Lod and Ono in whose vicinity Adida lay. Josephus describes Adida as located on a hill overlooking the plains of Judea (*Ant* 13.6.5 §203). Abel (1926: 218, 511 and *GP* 2: 340) considers Josephus' description of a hill as an exaggeration but deems Adida to be the modern *ʾel-Ḥaditheh* located 6 km NE of Lod (M.R. 145152).

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MICHAEL E. HARDWICK

**ADIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿădîʾēl* (עֲדִיאֵל)]. **1.** A Simeonite prince who, during Hezekiah's reign, was involved in Simeonite expansion to Gedor in search of pasture lands (1 Chr 4:36). His name appears in a list of Simeon's descendants (1 Chr 4:24–43) preserved within an extended genealogy of Israel (1 Chronicles 2–8).

**2.** The father of the priest Maasai, an exile who returned from Babylon to live in Jerusalem (1 Chr 9:12). In a parallel list of priests who lived in Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh 11:10–14), the name "Adiel" is replaced with Azarel (LXX variants include *esdriēl, ezriēl*). A possible connection between the names "Adiel" and "ADDI" must be rejected as being too tenuous.

**3.** The father of Azmaveth, the administrator in charge of the "treasuries" of King David, presumably in Jerusalem (1 Chr 27:25; see Rudolf *Chronikbücher* HAT 180). This name occurs in a list of stewards of crown property (1 Chr 27:25–31).

MARK J. FRETZ

**ADIN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿādîn* (עָדִין)]. The father of a clan of returnees who settled in the area of Jerusalem during the reign of the Persian ruler Artaxerexes (Ezra 2:15; 8:6; Neh 7:20; 1 Esdr 5:14 [where LXX renders the name variously as *adeiliou* and *adinou*]). While this leader's name occurs as a patronym in parallel lists of returnees (Ezra 2 = Nehemiah 7 = 1 Esdras 5), his descendants were variously numbered as 454 (Ezra 2:15 = 1 Esdr 5:14) or 655 (Neh 7:20; Codex Alexandrinus reads 654, as do variant readings of Ezra 2:15 and 1 Esdr 5:14; see Allrick 1954: 22). As a prince under Nehemiah, Adin set his seal to the covenant made with the Lord (Neh 10:17—Eng10:16).

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**ADINA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿădînāʾ* (עֲדִינָא)]. The son of Shiza and leader of a band of Reubenites associated with King David's chief military men (1 Chr 11:42). This group of Reubenite warriors reinforced David's armies, perhaps during his wars in the Transjordan (Mazar 1986: 102). The Chronicler's expansion (1 Chr 11:41b–47) of the parallel lists of David's military elite (1 Chr 11:10–41a = 2 Sam 23:8–39) includes Adina and 15 other men from the Transjordan. There is general agreement that these verses were not part of the original list, and Williamson (*1 & 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 104) and others (Mazar 1986: 101–2; Rudolf *Chronikbücher* HAT, 101) have argued convincingly that the Chronicler or a later redactor did not fabricate these names.

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**ADITHAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿădîtayim* (עֲדִיתַיִם)]. One of 14 towns grouped together in the Shephelah (foothills) of Judah (Josh 15:36). The name "Adithaim" occurs only here and the location is unknown. Abel (*GP* 2: 238; see also *RAB*, 148) suggests modern *el-Ḥadîtheh*, a site 4 km NNW of Yâlō, based on a comparison with Egyptian *kdtm* (no. 25 of the Shishak list); however, others dispute this and prefer to leave the location unspecified (Albright 1939; Noth *ABLA* 2: 78).

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MARK J. FRETZ

**ADLAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿadlay* (עַדְלַי)]. Father of Shaphat, the official in charge of King David's herds in the valleys (1 Chr 27:29). Adlai is unknown outside this list of stewards of crown property (1 Chr 27:25–31).

MARK J. FRETZ

**ADMAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾadmâ* (אַדְמָה)]. One of the "cities of the plain" associated by biblical tradition with Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 14:2, 8). Admah is mentioned (along with Sodom, Gomorrah, and Zeboiim) among the points marking the Canaanite's southern border (Gen 10:19). Shinab, King of Admah, was one of the five allies (along with the kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, Zeboiim, and Zoar) who were defeated by Chedorlaomer and his three confederates in the Battle of the Valley of Siddim (Gen 14:2, 8) (see also CHEDORLAOMER). While Admah is not specifically mentioned in the account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 19:24–28), the tradition that it was also destroyed as judgment for its sin is attested twice. Like Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboiim function as proverbial symbols of divine judgment. The fate of all four cities is held out as a warning to Israel not to disobey the

covenant (Deut 29:22—Eng29:23). Hosea 11:8 also recalls the divine overthrow of Admah and Zeboiim (cf. Wis 10:6).

The historicity of Admah's association with Sodom and Gomorrah is uncertain. Several scholars cite the greater number of references to Sodom and Gomorrah as evidence that Admah and Zeboiim are secondary additions to a core tradition. Admah and Zeboiim are, however, consistently associated with Sodom and Gomorrah within the written biblical tradition.

The site of Admah is uncertain. Simons (1959: 222–29) and others locate the cities of the plain in the SE corner of the Jordan Valley, to the N of the Dead Sea. Albright (1924: 8), tentatively identifying Admah with Adamah (Josh 3:16), also suggests that Admah and Zeboiim were located in the Jordan Valley, although he situates Sodom and Gomorrah under the shallow S bay of the Dead Sea. The Early Bronze Age ruins of Bab edh-Dra‹, Numeira, Feifeh, Khanazir, and Es-Safi, on the SE edge of the Dead Sea, have been hailed as the cities of the plain (van Hattem, 1981: 87–92). However, the archaeological evidence is inconclusive. See also SODOM, ZEBOIIM.

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**ADMATHA** (PERSON) [Heb ›*admātā*‹ (אַדְמָתָא)]. One of seven wise princes who counseled King Ahasuerus concerning matters of the law and judgment (Esth 1:14; cf. Ezra 7:14). Since the historicity of the book of Esther is uncertain, the identification of the characters cannot be verified. The name "Admatha" is absent in the LXX, which seems to have suffered corruption in this verse since it lists only three names (Gk *arkesaios, sarsathaios,* and *malēsear*).

MARK J. FRETZ

**ADMIN** (PERSON) [Gk *Admin* (Ἀδμιν)]. The son of Arni and father of Aminadab (Luke 3:33) in Luke's genealogy of Joseph, the husband of Mary (Luke 3:23–38). Matthew's parallel genealogy (Matt 1:1–17), replaces Luke's name sequence of Hezron—Arni—Admin—Aminadab with the sequence Hezron—Aram—Aminadab. According to the LXX, this Aram is Aminadab's father in Ruth 4:19 (MT reads *rām;* LXX variants include *aram* and *arran*), and in 1 Chr 2:9–10 (MT reads *rām;* LXX lists *ram* and *aram*). Luke's passage (3:33) contains a number of variant spellings of the name (e.g., *admin, aram,* and *admi*), attesting to the problems encountered by the copyists in attempting to establish the identity of Admin (Brown 1979: 60).

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**ADNA** (PERSON) [Heb ‹*adnā*› (עַדְנָא)]. **1.** A descendant of Pahathmoab and one of a number of returning exiles who married foreign women (Ezra 10:30). Under Ezra, Adna was subsequently forced by covenant to separate himself from his foreign wife and her children (Ezra 10:1–44 = 1 Esdr 8:88–9:36; see also Neh 13:23–31). LXX variants include *aidaine, idane,* and *edne,* and the apparent parallel in 1 Esdr 9:31 lists *addi* (see ADDI).

**2.** Head of the priestly family of Harim in the days of the high priest Joiakim (Neh 12:15). Adna may have been a contemporary of Adna no. 1 above, since the name of his father, "HARIM," also appears in connection with the issue of foreign wives (see especially Ezra 10:21; Neh 3:11); his priestly lineage, however (Neh 12:12–21), sets this Adna apart from the descendent of Pahathmoab.

MARK J. FRETZ

**ADNAH** (PERSON) [Heb ʿ*adnaḥ* (עַדְנַח)*;* ʿ*adnâ* (עַדְנָה)]. **1.** One of seven military leaders from the tribe of Manasseh who defected from King Saul's troops to serve David (1 Chr 12:21—Eng12:20) prior to the confrontation with the Philistines in which Saul died (1 Samuel 31). The wary Philistines did not permit David to enter into this battle (1 Samuel 29), and before David could return to Ziklag, Amalekites had raided the town; so Adnah (Heb ʿ*adnaḥ*), and the others were in a position to assist David against these raiders (1 Chr 12:21; see also 1 Samuel 30).

**2.** One of King Jehoshaphat's chief military officials who commanded an army of 300,000 soldiers in Judah (2 Chr 17:14). In the Bible his name (Heb ʿ*adnâ*) occurs in a large list of commanding officers who served Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 17:13b–19). This rare biblical name is inscribed on a stone bowl unearthed at Kuntillet-ʿAjrud. Based on archaeological and epigraphical evidence at ʿAjrud, and on Adnah's biblical connection with Jehoshaphat, Meshel (1978: 54) tentatively raises the possibility that the inscription and the Bible refer to the same person.

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**ADONAI** [Heb ʾ*ădōnāy* (אֲדֹנָי)]. One of the various names of God in the Hebrew Bible. The term is derived from Heb ʾ*ādôn* ("lord"), which in the biblical text refers both to the deity and to human rulers. Adonai is a modified form of the plural of ʾ*ādôn:* it bears the first-person suffix "my" and has been vocalized in a slightly different manner than "my lords," receiving a lengthened final *a*. Although based on a plural, it is usually translated into English as "my lord" or simply "Lord."

Adonai appears in the MT both as a title in its own right and as a substitute for the personal name of God, Yahweh. In order to preserve the sanctity of the Name, the Masoretes placed the vowel letters of Adonai underneath the consonants of Yahweh. This common substitution technique, called *qere/kethib* ("read/written"), clues readers to pronounce the Name as Adonai. In cases in which Adonai already appears, the hybrid form is read "Elohim." The RSV renders the substitution form as "LORD" (with all letters capitalized) while Adonai itself is translated "Lord" (with only the first letter capitalized).

The failure to recognize this substitution technique led later translators of the Hebrew Bible to render the form as it appears. Vocalizing the consonants YHWH with the vowels of Adonai (e, o, a) produced the new form "Yehowah," or in English "Jehovah." According to Kaufmann Kohler (*JEnc* 1: 201), this misreading can be traced to a Christian translator working in 1520 C.E. (See also YAHWEH.)

JULIA M. O'BRIEN

**ADONI-BEZEK** (PERSON) [Heb ʾ*ădōnî bezeq* (אֲדֹנִי בֶזֶק)]. The name of a Canaanite king reportedly defeated by the tribe of Judah in battle near Bezek (Judg 1:4–7). Wright (1946: 105–14) argued that this king was identical with Adoni-Zedek of Jerusalem (who was defeated and killed by Joshua, [Joshua 10]). Since nothing is said of this king's ruling over Jerusalem, and both names are distinctive, there is no substantive textual reason indicating that Adoni-Zedek was corrupted to Adoni-Bezek. The difficulty with Adoni-Bezek is that while the name is constructed as if Bezek were a divine name (cf. Adoni-Zedek—"My Lord is *ZDQ*," or Adonijah—"My Lord is Yahweh"), Bezek is unattested as a divine name. It is possible that there was a deity, Bezek, whose name was related to the Hebrew word *bāzāq,* found once with the meaning of "lightning" (Ezek 1:14). Until the discovery of such a deity, however, this suggestion is no more than guesswork.

A better possibility is to derive Bezek from the Hebrew word *bezeq*, meaning "fragment," or "sherd." This term is found as the name of a (rocky?) place in Judg 1:4–7 and 1 Sam 11:8. The site in Judg 1:4–7 would seem to lie near Jerusalem; but that in 1 Sam 11:8 may be identified with modern *Ibziq*, northeast of Shechem on the road to Beth-Shean. Since Bezek was a city, Adoni-Bezek is best read as "Lord of Bezek" (with ʾ*ădōnî-* forming the construct of ʾ*ādôn*, as is frequently the case with masculine nouns in the construct state (*BLe*, 525, §65j). That Adoni-Bezek was the ruler of Bezek is implied in that the men of

Judah "came upon Adoni-Bezek at Bezek" (Judg 1:4). Having captured this Canaanite king, the Israelites cut off his thumbs and big toes (Judg 1:6). Thereupon Adoni-Bezek said, "Seventy kings with their thumbs and big toes cut off used to pick the scraps from under my table; as I have done, so has God repaid me." That Adoni-Bezek was then carried back to Jerusalem, where he died, is probably a later gloss dating from the time when the Israelites controlled the city (See also ADONI-ZEDEK; BEZEK).

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D. G. SCHLEY

**ADONI-ZEDEK** [Heb *ʾădōnî-ṣedeq* (אֲדֹנִי־צֶדֶק)]. A Canaanite king of Jerusalem (Josh 10:1–3) whose name means either "My Lord is righteousness" (i.e., Heb *ṣedeq* = "righteousness"), or "My Lord is Zedek." The latter is more likely, since Adoni-Zedek is constructed as a noun clause with a theophoric element (or divine name). The Yahwistic equivalent of Adoni-Zedek is Adonijah—"My Lord is Yahweh." A Canaanite king of Salem (= Jerusalem; cf. Ps 76:2) bears a name with the same theophoric element: Melchi-Zedek (Gen 14:18; Ps 110:4)—"My King is Zedek." The theophoric element *ṣdq* also occurs in the syllabic writings from Ugarit in the names *Ili-Ṣaduq*—"My God is *Ṣaduq*" —and *Ḥammi-Ṣaduq*—"My Warmth (?) is Ṣaduq." *Adnṣdq* is also attested, providing a parallel to the biblical name Adoni-Zedek (*PTU*, 187). Although the term *sedeq* by itself never occurs in the Hebrew Bible as the name of a deity, the above evidence probably indicates the existence of an old Canaanite god, *Ṣedeq* (Ug *Ṣaduq*), who was at one time the patron deity in Jerusalem.

Further evidence indicates that this tradition continued into the Davidic monarchy. David's choice of a priest of unknown origin, Zadok ((Heb *Ṣādôq,* Ug *Ṣaduq*), to serve alongside Abiathar, may have resulted from a desire (or need) to secure the loyalty of the Jebusite cult in Jerusalem. This was done by recognizing its priest-king (Zadok) as high priest in Israel. That the Davidic kings viewed themselves as heirs to the Jebusite royal tradition is suggested by the writer of Ecclesiastes, ostensibly Solomon, who boasts of acquiring wealth "more than all who had been before me in Jerusalem" (Qoh 2:7).

Adoni-Zedek is depicted in Joshua 10 as the leader of a coalition of five southern Canaanite cities—Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Eglon, and Lachish—formed to punish the Gibeonites after they had made peace with Joshua. These kings came up against Gibeon and encamped by the city. Joshua, having made a forced march from Gilgal at night, surprised the Canaanite army and threw it into a panic. The Israelites smote them as they fled by way of the ascent of Beth-Horon (which runs west-southwest from Gibeon to the Shephelah). According to the biblical account, Yahweh also smote them with hailstones as they fled, and at Joshua's request, caused the sun to stand still while the Israelites finished the slaughter (Josh 10:11–13). The five kings escaped and hid themselves in the cave at Makkedah, whence Joshua took them and hanged them on five trees in the vicinity (Josh 10:16–27). It has been argued that this Adoni-Zedek is identical with Adoni-Bezek, the Canaanite king in Judges 1, but this proposition is doubtful. See also ADONI-BEZEK; ZADOK; MELCHIZEDEK (PERSON); GIBEON.

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**ADONIJAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾădōnîyāh (û)* (אֲדֹנִיָּהוּ)]. A name given three OT characters which means "Yah (weh) is (my) Lord."

**1.** The fourth son of David by his wife Haggith in Hebron, while David was king of Judah (2 Sam 3:4; 1 Chr 3:1–2); and heir apparent to the throne at the time of Solomon's accession. Adonijah's personal ambition led to his own demise in a story that echoes that of the rebellion and death of his elder brother Absalom.

The story begins with a note on the feebleness of David in his old age. Since the elder half-brothers Amnon, Absalom, and presumably Chileab were dead (1 Kgs 2:22), it was assumed by Adonijah, and perhaps by the general populace, that he was next in line for the throne. Though David may have promised Bathsheba, his favorite queen, that her son Solomon would succeed him—a fact that finds some confirmation in the exclusion of Solomon from Adonijah's feast—that pledge does not appear to have been seriously considered. The subsequent nomination of Solomon came as a surprise to the followers of Adonijah, who himself later claimed in conversation with Bathsheba: "You know that the kingdom was mine, and that all Israel fully expected me to reign" (1 Kgs 2:15).

With the help of David's general Joab and the priest Abiathar, Adonijah prepared a sacrificial feast near the spring En-rogel, to which he invited "all his brothers, the king's sons (except for Solomon), and all the royal officials of Judah (except for Nathan, Zadok, and Benaiah)," hoping to become king before his aged father died (1 Kgs 1:9). His plans were thwarted by the prophet Nathan, the priest Zadok, and Benaiah, commander of the royal bodyguard, who allied themselves with Bathsheba to forestall his succession.

When Bathsheba informed David of the events at En-rogel and the threat to her own life if Adonijah became king (1 Kgs 1:21), Nathan opportunely appeared, confirming her words and making his own appeal on the basis of loyalty to old friends and counselors. Together Nathan and Bathsheba moved the aged David to decisive action; and he ordered that Solomon be conducted on the royal mule in a procession to the spring at Gihon to be anointed and proclaimed king by Zadok. The instructions were immediately carried out and the new king, Solomon, was joyfully acclaimed by the people.

When the resounding acclamations of Solomon's procession were interpreted by Jonathan, the son of Abiathar, to mean the ruin of Adonijah's hopes, his adherents fled and Adonijah himself took sanctuary in the Temple by laying hold of the horns of the altar. Adonijah was subsequently persuaded to leave his asylum only by Solomon's promise to spare his life (1 Kgs 1:40–53).

After David's death, Adonijah asked Bathsheba to intercede with Solomon to give him in marriage the beautiful Abishag, his father's concubine and nurse. Solomon interpreted this as a bid for the throne and ordered Adonijah's execution at the hands of Benaiah.

Close parallels between the stories of Absalom (2 Samuel 15–18) and Adonijah (1 Kings 1–2) have been noted (Fokkelman 1981: 345–410; Long 1984: 33–52; and Gunn 1987: 104–111). Both men are described as handsome and appealing figures, who were not adequately disciplined by their father. Adonijah enlisted the help of "chariots and horsemen and fifty men to run before him" (1 Kgs 1:5), as Absalom had done before him (2 Sam 15:1). Both sought the crown on their own without David's support; and both came to a violent end. Adonijah's request from Solomon that he be given Abishag as his wife is reminiscent of Absalom, who, after taking Jerusalem and in order to secure his political position, publicly took David's concubines as his own (2 Sam 16:20–23). Adonijah's desire to marry Abishag may have been motivated by his love for her; but that decision was his final undoing. Whatever his real motives or the political significance of his act may have been, in terms of the story, he was rebelling against the king.

The story of Adonijah's rebellion and fate in 1 Kings 1–2 may also be interpreted in relation to the law of the king in Deut 17:14–20, which forbade the monarch from relying solely on force of arms, alliances (through marriage), or wealth. Adonijah's violation of the prohibitions of the law of the king foreshadows the more flagrant violations of this same law on the part of Solomon. The king is to follow the law of Moses, which is in the hands of the Levites.

**2.** A Levite who, together with princes and priests, instructed the people in the law during a mission to the cities of Judah in the third year of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 17:8).

**3.** A leading layman, one of the "chiefs of the people," who sealed the covenant of reform in the time of Ezra (Neh 10:17—Eng10:16).

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**ADONIKAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾădōnîqām* (אֲדֹנִיקָם)]. The father of a clan who, along with other lay families, returned from Babylon to Palestine (Ezra 2:13 = Neh 7:18 = 1 Esdr 5:14; also Ezra 8:13 = 1 Esdr 8:39). The precise number of returnees in Adonikam's clan is uncertain, owing to the occurrence of this name in multiple lists where the Hebrew-Aramaic numeral notation may have been miscounted (Allrik 1954). Adonikam may be identical with the ADONIJAH mentioned in a list of lay family heads (Neh 10:17—Eng10:16), since both are listed in conjunction with otherwise similar persons (Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* 239: Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 329).

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**ADONIRAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾădōnîram* (אֲדֹנִירָם)]. The son of Abda and an official in Solomon's court who was in charge of the forced labor used in many of the major building projects (1 Kgs 4:6; 9:15). This office was first mentioned late in David's reign and continued into the rule of Rehoboam (2 Sam 20:24; 1 Kgs 12:18). In the reign of David and Rehoboam, this office was held by Adoram. Some scholars take this to be a shortened form of the name "Adoniram." If this is the case, then one person held this office from late in David's reign until the crisis under Rehoboam—a period of some 40 years. The LXX supports this identification and uses the name "Adoniram" consistently in the passages referring to this official. Other scholars believe that it is possible, but not likely, that one person would have held this office for such a length of time.

Two factors suggest the importance of Adoniram's office: (1) the position is included in the small number of offices listed at the royal court, and (2) control of a force of 30,000 men certainly would have been given only to a most trusted individual (1 Kgs 5:28—Eng5:14).

Forced labor was a part of many societies in the Ancient Near East. Israel's distaste for this practice is probably to be seen in the demand for lighter burdens under Rehoboam (1 Kgs 12:4). When Rehoboam refused to change his harsh policies, Adoniram, the overseer of the hated forced labor, was murdered by the angry Israelites (1 Kgs 12:18).
PHILLIP E. MCMILLION

**ADOPTION.** The creation of a kinship relationship between two individuals that is recognized as essentially equivalent to one stemming from natural descent. In the ancient Near East, such ties were typically between adoptive parent(s) and a son or daughter, but individuals were adopted into other roles as well. Frequently the parties were relatives before the adoption took place. Adoption differs from fosterage in that the latter is a temporary arrangement which is not legally binding. The foster child receives support but not the status of son or daughter.

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A. Extrabiblical Sources
1. Cuneiform
2. Egyptian
3. Jewish
B. Adoption in the Bible
1. Possible Cases
2. Metaphorical Use
3. Issues

**A. Extrabiblical Sources.**

Because biblical references to adoption are both limited in number and seldom unambiguous, they have been interpreted with the aid of extrabiblical sources, particularly cuneiform texts.

**1. Cuneiform.** Relevant documents date at least from the beginning of the 2d millennium B.C.E. to the Achaemenid period, the majority coming from Old Babylonian (OB) and Middle Babylonian (MB) times. Since our sources span both a wide geographical range and the better part of two millennia, details of adoption practice from a given time and place were not necessarily universal.

Law collections (often called law codes) and adoption contracts are our primary types of documentation. The latter are more abundant and also more reliable, since the function of the collections is debated and their treatment of adoption incomplete. Contracts have their limitations as well; they do not as a rule present the circumstances leading to the adoption, or the age of the parties. Stipulations regarding adoption differed from contract to contract and "code" to "code" so that one cannot expect to discover general laws which governed Mesopotamian (or biblical) practice.

Schorr (1913) and Kohler, Koschaker, and Ungnad (1909–23) have collected a number of OB adoption texts; see also texts and bibliography in Ellis 1975. Speiser (1930) and Cassin (1938) present MB Nuzi texts with discussion (see also dissertations cited in Eichler 1989: 116–17 nn. 51, 56). References to adoption in the law collections (see *ANET*) are Codex Hammurabi (CH) §§170–71, 185–93; Laws of Eshnunna §35; and Middle Assyrian Laws (MAL) §A 28; cf. doubtfully MAL §A 41, Lipit-Ištar §27.

Other types of documents occasionally mention adoption. We read of the adoption of a foundling in "The Legend of Sargon" (*ANET*, p. 119) and, with details of the adoption procedure, in the lexical series *ana ittišu* (Landsberger 1937: 44–47). In addition, there are records of litigation over custody or inheritance rights of adoptees.

The most common Akkadian way to say "adopt" is *ana mārūtim leqŭ* "take for son/daughtership." Individuals could also be adopted into other roles, such as that of brother (*aḫḫūti,* "brotherhood"), sister (*aḫātūti/atḫūti*), or even father (*abbūti*). In cases known especially from Nuzi, women adopted in order to be given in marriage would receive the "status of (adopted) daughter" (*mārtūtu*), daughter-in-law (*kall[at]ūtu*), daughter or daughter-in-law (*mārtūtu u kall[at]ūtu*), or sister (*aḫātūtu*); for literature see Eichler 1989; nn. 36, 56, 61.

Adoptions were usually effected by an agreement between two parties, the adopter and the parent or guardian of the adoptee, but occasionally adoptees would act on their own behalf. A written contract recording the adoption typically included a statement of the adoptive relationship, clauses regarding its dissolution, a record of the oath of the parties, the names of witnesses, and the date. Some sources hint at an adoption ceremony.

Adoption in the cuneiform *Kulturkreis* took many forms. An individual might be adopted as heir, or into apprenticeship. Slaves were manumitted by adoption (Schorr 1913: nos. 23–35), and illegitimate children legitimated. Females were often adopted with a view to giving them away in marriage. An adoptive sister relationship between co-wives could promote family unity. A man without male offspring might adopt his son-in-law to keep property within the family. Money, land, or services often played a role in the adoption arrangement. At Nuzi, in particular, land sales took the form of an adoption (Cassin 1938: 51–274). The buyer was adopted and given land as an "inheritance" in exchange for a "gift" of equivalent value. These "sale adoptions" have often been seen as circumventing a prohibition against alienating ancestral property (cf. Lev 25:23–28); for this and other interpretations see Maidman 1976: 92–123.

**2. Egyptian.** Far fewer texts are preserved from Egypt (see Allam 1972). The "Story of Sinuhe" may contain an example of the adoption of a son-in-law in Syro-Palestine (*ANET* pp. 19–20). The "Extraordinary Adoption" text (ca. 1100 B.C.E.; Thompson 1974: 229 n. 141) refers to the adoption of a wife as the daughter and heir of her childless husband. Following the latter's death, the wife freed and adopted three slaves (her husband's children by a concubine?). One of them, a woman, married the wife's brother, whom the wife then adopted as son and heir. In a text from ca. 656 B.C.E., the Nitocris Adoption

Stela, Pharaoh Psammetichus had his daughter Nitocris adopted as successor to the celibate Divine Wife of Amon at Thebes.

**3. Jewish.** An Aramaic papyrus from the Jewish colony at Elephantine (*BMAP,* no. 8), dated to 416 B.C.E., refers to the manumission and adoption of a slave. Both adopter and adoptee bear Jewish names. Catacomb inscriptions attest to Jewish adoptions in the Roman period (Leon 1960: 232–33).

**B. Adoption in the Bible.**

**1. Possible Cases.** A list of proposed examples of adoption, arranged according to the identity of the adoptee, follows. In addition, Lev 18:9 may refer to an adopted daughter, but more probably to a case of remarriage.

**a. Children of Surrogate Mother.** Sarai, Rachel, and Leah each gave a female slave to her husband for the purpose of procreation (Gen 16:1–4; 30:1–13). Extrabiblical parallels are not decisive as to whether the primary wife in such a case adopted the surrogate's offspring (Thompson 1974: 254–59, 266–67). Two items in the biblical accounts may imply adoption by the wife: her regard of the children as her own (e.g., Gen 16:2; 30:3–13) and the possible allusion by Rachel to an adoption rite (Gen 30:3). The first point is generally conceded, but may be explained by the wife's ownership of the slave (Tigay *EncJud* 2:298). Moreover, the offspring are frequently called children of the slave. But (aside from source-critical considerations) it may be that, as in many societies, ties to the natural mother (or father, in the case of Ephraim and Manasseh) continued to be recognized. Regarding the second point, Rachel desired her slave to "give birth on my knees" (Gen 30:3), interpreted by Stade (1886) as referring ultimately to the practice of a woman giving birth onto her husband's knees. The husband's act, and by extension placing one's child on one's knees, was an acknowledgment of the child as a legitimate descendant (cf. Tigay *EncJud* 2: 299), while receiving or placing someone else's child on the knees signified adoption. Alternately, Rachel demonstrated her desire for children by assisting her slave in birth, or hoped to cure her own infertility (Tigay *EncJud* 2: 299).

**b. Children of Foreign Wives.** A proposal that the end of Ezra 10:44 refers to adoption has received new support from Akkadian and other parallels (Paul 1979–80: 183–85).

**c. Foundling.** After his abandonment, the infant Moses was discovered by Pharaoh's daughter "and he became her son" (*wayhî-lāh lĕbēn,* Exod 2:10). This verse and the fact that the adult Moses continued to live as an Egyptian (2:11,19) speak against mere fosterage. Commentators are quick to point out that the account reflects at most an Egyptian custom, but the point loses some of its force if the story is seen not as primarily historical, but as the Hebrew version of the widespread "birth of the hero" myth (cf. *ANET,* p. 119). The payment of Moses' natural mother to nurse him (2:7–10) echoes identical arrangements in Mesopotamian adoption contracts (e.g., Schorr 1913: nos. 8, 83). Two NT passages apparently understand Moses as the adopted son of Pharaoh's daughter (Acts 7:21, Heb 11:24).

**d. (Great-)Grandchildren.** The adoption of grandchildren, well known in modern times, is also attested in an Ugaritic document (Mendelsohn 1959). Three biblical cases are relevant. Ephraim and Manasseh are adopted by their grandfather Jacob (Gen 48: 5–6), who tells Joseph: "Your two sons … are mine … as Reuben and Simeon are." The adoption serves an evident aetiological purpose: to explain the place of Ephraim and Manasseh, rather than their father Joseph, among the 12 tribes of Israel. Jacob's blessing in Gen 48:15–16, in which Joseph is omitted from the sequence of generations, also has been interpreted as implying adoption. The notice that Joseph removed his sons from Jacob's knees may hint at an adoption rite (Stade 1886: 144–45).

The sons of Machir "were born on Joseph's knees" (Gen 50:23). Even granting Stade's view, this may have been merely an acknowledgment of legitimate descent. On the other hand, a tradition of the adoption of the Machirites could have served two purposes: to explain their relative prominence (e.g., Judg 5:14), or to explain the incorporation of this originally foreign clan (1 Chr 7:14) into Israel. A number of scholars have deduced a direct relationship between Joseph and Machir on independent grounds.

A third possible case is that of Naomi and Obed. After Naomi's son Mahlon died childless, his widow Ruth had a child, Obed, by Mahlon's kinsman. According to the custom of levirate marriage, Obed would be considered as Mahlon's son and hence Naomi's grandson. At one point (Ruth 4:16–17), Naomi held

Obed in her bosom (*bĕḥêqāh*) "and became his *ʾōmenet*" ("supporter," a vague term), whereupon the neighbors remarked "a son has been born to Naomi." The custom of an adoptive mother offering her breast to an adoptee is known among the Arabs and in other cultures, and an adoption account might have served to "Judaize" Obed (King David's ancestor), who would otherwise have had a Moabite mother. We do not know, however, that offering a breast to an adoptee was a Hebrew custom or that Naomi did so. The neighbors' words need not be taken literally. Adoption, it seems, would have deprived Ruth of someone to carry on Mahlon's name, and it is questionable if Naomi could unilaterally effect a change in Obed's status.

**e. Illegitimate Son.** Jephthah appears to have been legitimated and hence adopted, if legitimation in Israel was effected as in Mesopotamia (Schorr 1913: no. 12, Thompson 1974: 260; cf. CH §§170–71 [*ANET*, 173]). Although his mother was a prostitute, Jephthah was entitled to share his father's inheritance (Judg 11:1–2).

**f. Nephew or Male Relative.** The custom by which the offspring of a levirate marriage is ascribed to a childless deceased brother or male kinsman has been viewed as a postmortem adoption.

**g. Orphan.** Mordecai (Esth 2:7) supported his cousin Hadassah/Esther (*ōmēn ʾet-hădassâ*) and, after her parents' death, adopted her (*lĕqāḥāh ... lĕbat;* similarly Akk *ana mār (t)ūtim leqû*). It is doubtful that an unmarried woman of Esther's age could live with Mordecai except for an adoptive relationship. Although both were Jewish, they were living under Persian rule (as were those in the Jewish text from Elephantine), so it is not certain that a Jewish practice is reflected.

**h. Slave.** Manumission of slaves by adoption is well known in the ancient Near East, and manumitted slaves occasionally are named heir (e.g., Schorr 1913: no. 35; Muhammad's adopted son Zaid ibn Ḥāritha). Abram's fear that his slave would be his heir (Gen 15:2–3) seems to imply the slave's (possibly future) adoption, since normally only a relative could inherit (see e.g., Num 27:8–11). Although in Hurrian law an unrelated *ewuru* "heir" could inherit by default, there is no hint of this in biblical law. On Genesis 15, see further Thompson 1974: 203–30.

Jarha (1 Chr 2:34–35) is a probable example of the manumission and adoption of a slave. According to the common Mesopotamian practice, the slave (and foreigner) Jarha would have been manumitted by adoption before being married to his master Sheshan's daughter. Jarha's children are listed as Sheshan's descendants.

**i. Son-in-law.** Jarha also serves as an example of an adopted son-in-law. Barzillai, who married and took his father-in-law's name (Ezra 2:61, Neh 7:63), is probably another. Many features of the Jacob and Laban narrative, and particularly parallels to two Nuzi adoption texts (*ANET*, pp. 219–20, nos. 2 and 3), have suggested it as another example. Other features, however, distinguish this case from standard Mesopotamian adoption arrangements, and similarities to herding contracts have been noted. See recently Eichler 1989: 114–16.

**j. Wife.** An adoption of a wife as daughter is known from Egypt, but the oft-repeated notion that in Hurrian practice a wife could be adopted as her husband's sister and that this explains the "wife-sister" motif in the Bible (Gen 12:13 and parallels) is now widely rejected as based upon the (mis)interpretation of a small number of texts (Eichler 1989: 112–13).

**2. Metaphorical Use.** The father-son relationship of Yahweh and Israel may have been conceived at times as an adoptive one (Jer 3:19; explicitly in Rom 9:4). The relationship between God and king is illustrated using what are evidently adoption formulae in Ps 2:7, 2 Sam 7:14 (Tigay *EncJud* 2: 300–1). See Paul 1979–80: 177–80, 184.

Adoption (*huiothesia*) appears as a metaphor five times in NT writings ascribed to Paul (Rom 8:14, 23; 9:4; Gal 4:5; Eph 1:5), where it serves to distinguish the believer's sonship from that of Jesus and to illustrate the Christian's change of status, both accomplished and prospective. The background of the metaphor has variously been seen as Roman, with its concept of strong paternal authority; Greek, as the term *huiothesia* implies; or Hebrew, as implied in Paul's use of the semitic term *abba* in describing the adoptive father.

**3. Issues.** Definitions of adoption have varied, leading to varying evaluations of the extent to which it was practiced in Israel. Attempts to adhere to the strict meaning of Latin *adoptio* have led some scholars to include as true adoption only those cases where a person under paternal authority (*patria potestas*) is transferred to the authority of a third (free) individual and appointed heir. Adoption, thus narrowly defined, has been said not to have existed in Israel. But in addition to running counter to the general usage by scholars of the ancient Near East, this definition ignores the concept of adoption reflected in our texts. Adoption into sonship (*ana mārūtim*), for example, can occur when the adopter is a slave (Speiser 1930; no. 5) or a woman (Schorr 1913: no. 29); when the adoptee is a foundling (Landsberger 1937: 44–46), the adopter's illegitimate child (Schorr 1913: no. 12: cf. CH §§170–71) or a free individual (adrogation; Kohler, Koschaker, and Ungnad 1909–23: no. 1425); and in numerous cases where an inheritance is not mentioned.

Although adoption was practiced in ancient Israel, it is impossible to say to what extent this was true. Many of the biblical cases occur in the patriarchal narratives or on foreign soil, involve foreigners, or are uncertain. Moreover, adoption is not mentioned in biblical law. The nature of our sources is no doubt partly responsible for the seeming scarcity of biblical adoption. Biblical references are generally not explicit enough to allow confirmation (or denial) of proposed cases. The silence of biblical law collections may simply reflect their selective and incomplete nature; compare the haphazard notice adoption receives in the Mesopotamian collections. Since adoption was, it seems, of little theological interest (except as a metaphor), there was no particular reason to mention it; if we read of a barren woman, it is often only to set the stage for a miraculous birth.

The absence of adoption in postbiblical Jewish law, however, suggests that it was not prevalent in Israel, at least in later periods. Various explanations have been suggested (Boecker 1974): the importance of blood lineage to the Hebrews, the practice of polygyny, the custom of levirate marriage, and the belief that fertility or barrenness reflected God's will, which adoption would circumvent. No single explanation is completely satisfactory, and all address only the "demand" side of the equation, without explaining, for example, the place of orphaned or unwanted children in Israelite society.

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FREDERICK W. KNOBLOCH


**ADORAIM** (PLACE) [Heb ʾ*adôrayim* (אַדּוֹרַיִם)]. Var. ADORA. A town in the central hill country of Judah, listed among the cities fortified by Rehoboam near the beginning of his reign (2 Chr 11:9). An examination of the list of cities fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr 11: 5–12) shows that they form a logical and fairly consistent defensive line on the western, southern, and eastern frontiers of Rehoboam's

domains, supplemented by additional fortresses at key road junctions (*LBHG*, 290–94). This strongly suggests that the author of Chronicles had access to some sort of official military document delineating the defenses of the Kingdom of Judah. During Hellenistic and Roman times, this fortress-town was known as Adora (GK *adōra*). According to 1 Macc 13:20–21, Simon Maccabeus stopped the advance of Trypho at Adora. Josephus records (*Ant* 13.9.1) that Adora was captured by John Hyrcanus following the death of Antiochus 7 in 129 B.C., and that it still remained in Hasmonean hands at the time of Janneaus (*Ant* 13.15.4). It must have fallen into Roman hands soon thereafter, for it was among the cities rebuilt in 59 B.C. by Gabinius, proconsul of Syria (*Ant* 14.5.3). In the form "Aduram," this town appears in the book of Jubilees (38:9–24) as the location of the burial of Esau following his battle with Jacob. The ancient name is clearly reflected in the modern town of Dura, located approximately 7 km W, and slightly S, of Hebron (M.R. 152101). There is little doubt that the ancient town is to be located here, or at least in the immediate vicinity.

WADE R. KOTTER

**ADRAMMELECH** (DEITY) [Heb *ʾadrammelek* (אַדְרַמֶּלֶךְ)]. In 2 Kgs 17:31 it is reported that the Babylonians who were resettled in Samaria "burned their children in the fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim." The place name "Sepharvaim" may refer to the Babylonian city of Sippar, but the identity of the Babylonian god Adrammelech is unknown.

A. KIRK GRAYSON

**ADRAMMELECH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾadrammelek* (אַדְרַמֶּלֶךְ)]. According to 2 Kgs 19:37 (= Isa 37:38), one of the sons of the Assyrian king Sennacherib who, along with his brother Sharezer, assassinated their father. This Adrammelech may be identical with Arda-Mulishi, who is identified as a son of Sennacherib in Assyrian sources.

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A. KIRK GRAYSON

**ADRAMYTTIUM** (PLACE) [Gk *Adramytteion* (Ἀδραμυττειον)]. An ancient city of Mysia located along the NW coast of the Roman province of Asia (modern Turkey). A ship from this city, probably a small trading vessel, is mentioned in Acts 27:2. The ship was homeward bound when Paul, Luke, Aristarchus, and Julius the Centurion boarded it in order to journey from Caesaria to Rome via the Asian coast.

This city, located at the base of Mt. Ida, controlled a substantial port from its position at the head of the Gulf of Adramyttium (Hdt. 8: 42), which is across from the island of Lesbos. Today the harbor is filled with alluvial deposits and the site of the city is known as Karatash, while the original appellation is preserved in the name of the nearby town Edremit.

The founding of the city is problematic with three prevalent theories: it is the *Pedasus* of Homer; it was founded by Adramys, the brother of Croesus, in 3 B.C.; or it was one of many colonies established by merchants from the spice-rich area of S Arabia known as Hadhramaut (Harris 1925). The reading of the name with a rough breathing is indicated in the Vulgate rendering as *navem Hadrumetinam.* This may lend credence to Harris' theory.

The commercial importance of the city, indicated by the coins found at the site, peaked when Pergamum was the capital of the region but had faded by the NT period. Adramyttium, one of the chief cities of the province, was chosen to be the host of the provincial governor's law court, the assizes (*conventus*) of the NW district of the Roman province of Asia. It was the original place of the worship of Castor and Pollox and home of the orator Xenocles (the tutor of Cicero) (See Strabo 8: 1.66; Plutarch, Cicero 4). Adramyttium was noted for the production of a special ointment (Pliny N.H. 13: 2.5).

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JOHN D. WINELAND

**ADRIA, SEA OF** (PLACE) [Greek *Adrias* (Ἀδριας)]. An arm of the Mediterranean between Italy and the Balkan Peninsula joining the Ionian Sea in the southeast, commonly known as the Adriatic Sea. It is mentioned in the NT in relation to the apostle Paul's journey to Rome (Acts 27:27). Today, the name denotes the sea which extends from northwest to southeast, a length of nearly five hundred miles. The Italian shore is low, especially in the northeast basin around the delta of the Po, which is the largest river that flows into it. The east coast is rather rugged and fringed with islands. This allows for many good harbors on the Dalmatian coast as opposed to the relatively few found on the Italian side. The northeast winds, together with the prevalence of sudden squalls, makes navigation in winter difficult and dangerous.

The Sea was known in antiquity as Adrias, Adriatike Thalasa, Adriatikon Pelagos in Gk, and Adriaticum Mare, Adrianum Mare, or Mare Superum in Latin. According to Strabo (5.1), the name was derived from the old Etruscan city-colony ATRIA located north of the Po River. Justin (20, 1.9), however, suggests a Greek origin for the name. Originally, the name was applied to the upper (northwestern) part of the sea, but it became gradually extended southeastward some 6000 stadia (approx. 700 miles) as far as the Ionian Sea (Strabo 2,123), and even to the Sicilian Sea, including waters between Crete and Malta (Orosius 1, 2.90). Thus in antiquity it was understood that Malta lay at the western extremity of the Adriatic Sea (Procopius 1, 14), while Crete was surrounded by the same on the west (Strabo 3.17) and the same waters encompassed Sicily on the east (Strabo 3.4, 15). It seems that the name was first used interchangeably with the Ionian Sea, and gradually came to include it. "The Ionian Sea is part of what is now called the sea of Hadria," wrote Strabo (2, 5.20). According to Livy (5,33), Italy was surrounded by two seas, the Tuscan on the west and the Hadriatic on the east. The name therefore is more restricted today than it was in the past, when it not only included waters between Sicily and Crete, but might have been applied to the whole of the eastern Mediterranean with the exception of the Aegean Sea.

Therefore, it would be misleading to limit the reference from the Acts to what is today known as the Adriatic Sea. Because many of the Gk manuscripts call Malta *Melite* (with several variations in Greek and also Latin manuscripts), some have tried to see in the name an island other than Malta, namely modern Mljet in the Adriatic. Yet the most probable east-northeast direction of the wind called Northeaster (Gk *euroklydon* or *eurakylon,* Acts 27:14) would not support this suggestion. Scholars are still more inclined to understand the NT reference to *adrias* in a more general way, as opposed to the more restricted modern usage of the term.

To avoid a possible confusion in the use of different names some have suggested a strict distinction in the use of the terms the "Adrian Sea" and the "Adriatic Sea." Even though this may be done today, Ptolemy used the two names interchangeably (3. 4:Adria, and 3.17:Adriatic).

Acts 27:27 states that the vessel upon which Paul was going to Rome was "driven up and down" for fourteen days by high winds before its shipwreck on Malta. That the sea earned a tempestuous reputation in ancient times can be documented by records of such famous writers as Josephus (*Vita* 3) and Horace (Odes 1, 33).

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ZDRAVKO STEFANOVIC

**ADRIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿadrîʾēl* (עַדְרִיאֵל)]. A Meholathite, the son of Barzillai, and son-in-law of King Saul through marriage to one of the two royal princesses. There is some confusion as to which daughter of Saul he married. According to 1 Sam 18:19, he married the elder daughter MERAB, who had been promised to David, while the MT and LXX Codex Vaticanus of 2 Sam 21:8 report that he married the younger daughter MICHAL (PERSON). In 2 Sam 21:8, other manuscripts ($LXX^{LN}$ and 2 Heb mss) read Merab in agreement with 1 Sam 18:19 (instead of Michal). The Targum, in an attempt to resolve the conflicting readings, combines the names in the phrase *myrb drby't mykl,* lit. "Merab who is the [young] girl of Michal," which identifies Adriel's wife (Merab) while introducing a new element to the

relationship between Michal and Merab. Most scholars favor Merab as the true spouse, although a minority favor Michal, in spite of the conflicting traditions, believing the MT testimony in 2 Sam 21:8 to be the more difficult reading and the tradition to be an older and more reliable source than 1 Sam 18:19 (i.e., Stoebe 1958: 229; Glück 1965; Lemche 1978: 7–8). The royal marriage produced at least five sons, who were later executed by the Gibeonites for Saul's bloodguilt (2 Sam 21:8).

As a Meholathite, Adriel was an inhabitant of the town of Abel-Meholah, probably located at Tell Abû Sûs, in the W ghor (see ABEL-MEHOLAH). His marriage to a Saulide princess may have sealed a treaty between his city-state and Saul's new Israelite state (Edelman 1990). Such diplomatic marriages were an established convention in the ancient Near East (Malamat 1963:8–10). Abel-Meholah did not become a corporate part of the Israelite state until David or Solomon's reign, as indicated by the city's inclusion in Solomon's fifth district (1 Kgs 4:12). His name means "El is my help," and seems to be Aramaic. Some manuscripts read *ʿzryʾl,* which has the same meaning, but substitutes the Hebrew word *ʿzr* for its Aramaic cognate *ʿdr* (Nestle 1897; McCarter *2 Samuel* 439).

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**ADUEL** (PERSON) [Gk *adouēl* (ἀδουηλ)]. The son of Gabael and great grandfather of Tobit, a descendant of the tribe of Naphtali (Tob 1:1). The name "Aduel" is a possible variant of ADIEL; the *yod* in Heb *ʿădîʾēl* (1 Chr 4:36; 9:12; 27:25), if replaced with *waw,* would result in the Heb consonants *ʿdwʾl,* logically transliterated as Gk *adouēl.* Nonetheless, the name "Aduel" only occurs in this genealogy of Tobit.

MARK J. FRETZ

**ADULLAM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿădullām* (עֲדֻלָּם)]. ADULLAMITE. A city in the Shephelah region at approximately the midpoint of a line running from Bethlehem to Gath. It has been identified with modern Tell esh Sheikh Madhkur (Albright 1924:3–4; M.R. 150117).

In Gen 38:1, 12, and 20, in the story about Judah and Tamar, a character is identified as Hirah the Adullamite. He is called Judah's friend (38:12,20) and is entrusted with the deliverance of a pledge (38:20).

Adullam appears twice in Joshua. The king of Adullam is listed in Joshua 12 as one of the local kings whom the Israelites defeated on the west side of the Jordan (Josh 12:15). Adullam was allotted to the tribe of Judah (Josh 15:35).

Adullam occupies a prominent place in the story of David's rise to kingship. David fled from Saul to a cave near Adullam and there surrounded himself with a band of about 400 men (1 Sam 22:1). That this was a place of security for David's warriors is spelled out in 1 Chronicles 11, which refers to the place as "the rock." The syntax of the parallel passage in Samuel is confusing and probably the result of scribal error. Apparently there has been a substitution of the word for "harvest" or "harvesttime" (Heb *qāṣîr;* BDB, 894) for "the rock" or "the secure place" (Heb *haṣṣūr;* BDB, 849), the second of which is the term employed in Chronicles. Some versions of the LXX also have "the rock" instead of "harvesttime" at 1 Sam 23:13.

Chronicles lists Adullam as among the cities which Solomon's successor REHOBOAM fortified in anticipation of the invasion of Judah by the Pharaoh SHISHAK ca. 918 B.C.E. (2 Chr 11:7). Many commentators and historians accept the placing of this list in the reign of Rehoboam (see *BHI,* 233;

Na›aman 1986:6). Others, partly on the basis of archeological evidence at these sites, feel that the list belongs to the reign of another king, either JOSIAH (Fritz 1981) or HEZEKIAH (Na›aman 1986).

MICAH, a contemporary of Hezekiah's, mourns over Adullam among the cities of the Shephalah (Mic 1:15), possibly in advance of Sennacherib's invasion (see 2 Kgs 18:13 = 2 Chr 32:1).

Adullam appears twice in postexilic contexts. It is named as one of the places where the people of Judah settled after the Exile (Neh 11:30). In the time of the Maccabean revolt, Adullam once again served as a refuge, this time for Judas Maccabeus and his army after they defeated GORGIAS, the governor of Idumea (2 Macc 12:38). Here the place is referred to with a variant Greek spelling, *odollam.*

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JEFFRIES M. HAMILTON

## ADULTERY [Heb *ni›upîm* (נִאֻפִים)*;* also *zĕnût* (זְנוּת)*, zĕnûnîm* (זְנוּנִים), "whoredom," "harlotry"].

Sexual intercourse between a married or betrothed woman and any man other than her husband. The marital status of the woman's partner is inconsequential since only the married or betrothed woman is bound to fidelity. The infidelity of a married man is not punishable by law but is criticized (Mal 2:14–5; Prov 5:15–20). Biblical law shows similar leniency for sexual relations before a woman's betrothal (Exod 22:15–6; Deut 22:28–29; for possible exceptions [Lev 21:9, Deut 22:13–21], see below).

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A. Adultery as a Crime and Sin
B. Adultery and the Betrothed Maiden
C. The Prosecution of Adultery
    1. The Death Penalty
    2. Divorce
    3. Public Stripping of Adulteress
    4. Mutilation
D. Means of Execution
E. Adultery in the ANE
F. Adultery in the Biblical Narrative
G. Adultery in the Prophetic Books
H. Adultery in Wisdom Literature

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### A. Adultery as a Crime and Sin.

Adultery was a capital crime according to Lev 20:10 and Deut 22:22. Both parties must die. The reasons for the gravity of this crime are never explicitly stated in the OT, yet the patrilineal nature of Israelite society strongly suggests that mistaken paternity would surely be dreaded. If an act of undetected adultery produced offspring, a likely result would be the bequeathal of the family inheritance to this illegitimate heir. This is emphasized by Ben Sira (23:22–23); for a similar thought, see Qoh 6:1–2. Philo remarks that the deceived husband would be like a "blind man knowing nothing of the covert intrigues of the past," yet "forced to cherish the children of his deadliest foe as his own flesh and blood" (*Dec* 24:126–29). Fustel de Coulanges (1956:97) writes "… by adultery the series of descendants was broken; the family, even though living men knew it not, became extinct and there was no more divine happiness for the ancestors." While these remarks concern ancient Greece in particular, it is probable that the same could be said regarding Israel. Dread of the extinction of the family line is evident in the Priestly Code, among other places, with its punishment of *karet* (Gen 17:14, Exod 30:33,38, Lev 17:4,9, 20:3,5–6, etc.) and childlessness (Lev 20:20–21). The term *karet,* according to traditional Jewish exegesis, refers to early death and childlessness or the death of one's progeny without issue (see Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and S. D. Luzzato on Gen 17:14). According to the LXX and traditional Jewish law, the issue from an adulterous

union, like all prohibited unions, is the *mamzer* or "bastard" of Deut 23:3 (*m. Yebam.* 4:13; *m. Qidd*, 3:12), who is excluded from membership in the assembly of the Lord.

The economic aspect of the crime, i.e. as a simple violation of the husband's property, seems to have played a minor role compared with the social and religious dimensions of the crime. Adultery is the height of treachery (Jer 9:1; Mal 3:5; Ps 50:18) and adulterers are linked with murderers (Job 24:14–15). Adultery is an assault upon the sanctity of the nuclear family, which is divinely ordained (Gen 2:18,24; Prov 18:22). The prohibition of adultery, the 7th commandment of the Decalogue, along with the 5th—"Honor your father and mother …"—seek to protect this sacred institution. This may be the reason for the reversal of the 6th and 7th commandments and thus the juxtaposition of the 5th and 7th in the Nash Papyrus, some manuscripts of the LXX, and Philo (*Dec* 24:121).

Both parties to the illicit union are ritually defiled or rendered impure (*ṭm*›; Lev 18:20; Num 5:13; Ezek 18:6; 23:13,17; 33:26). The adulterer commits an "abomination" (*tô*‹*ēbâ;* Ezek 22:11), while adultery is included in the Pentateuch's catalog of sexual crimes which defile the land of Israel, causing it to "spew out its inhabitants" (Lev 18:20,24–25). It is considered a "great sin" (*ḥăṭā*›*â gĕdōlâ*) by the biblical author (Gen 20:9) and a "sin against God" (Gen 20:6; 39:9; Ps 51:6).

This characterization of adultery as a "great sin" was not limited to Israel. It is found in texts from Ugarit (Moran 1956: 280–81) and Egypt (Rabinowitz 1956: 73; see *ANET*, 24, where adultery is labeled a "great crime"). In several Akkadian texts, *ḫaṭû,* cognate to Heb *ḥṭ*›, "to sin," refers specifically to adultery (*CAD* 6:157); *ḫāṭītum* (fem. sing. part. of *ḫaṭû*) indicates an adulteress (*CAD* 6:153).

That the prohibition of adultery was included in the Decalogue, the only direct and unmediated address of YHWH to Israel (Exod 20:19; Deut 4:10; 5:20–21), indicates its grave nature. In accordance with the later conception of the Decalogue as the epitome of biblical law, Saadiah Gaon, followed by Abraham Ibn Ezra and Abarbanel, understood the 7th commandment as inclusive of all sexual acts prohibited in the Torah. While dealt with in the Decalogue and books of Leviticus (20:10) and Deuteronomy (22:22), adultery is neglected in the 4th major law collection of the Pentateuch, the so-called Covenant Code (Exodus 21–23).

**B. Adultery and the Betrothed Maiden.**

The betrothed maiden is one for whom a bride-price *(mōhar)* has been paid, but who still resides in her father's house awaiting consummation of the marriage (inferred from Exod 22:15–16; Deut 20:7 and comparative material, cf. Code of Hammurabi 130 [*ANET*, 171]; and the Laws of Eshnunna 26 [*ANET*, 162]). She is also subject to the Bible's harsh penalty for adultery. Deut 22:23–24 prescribes death for the betrothed woman who is found having sexual relations with a man "in the city" if their discovery is not prompted by her calls for help; her compliance is therefore assumed.

Deuteronomy's law concerning the slandered newlywed wife (22:13–21) may be another instance of the Bible's equation of betrothal and marriage. She is condemned to death for "whoring in her father's house" (v 21) but this, according to traditional Jewish exegesis, refers to her defloration subsequent to betrothal but before cohabition with her husband, when she still resided in her father's house. If, on the other hand, this law prescribes capital punishment for sexual relations which occurred before the woman's betrothal, Deuteronomy's harsh stand is unique both for the Bible and ancient Near Eastern law. Other laws prescribe a relatively light penalty for the ravisher of the unbetrothed virgin (Exod 22:15–16; Deut 22:28–29; also Code of Hammurabi 130 [*ANET*, 171] and Middle Assyrian Laws 55–56 [*ANET*, 185]). Finkelstein writes that while adultery was treated with the utmost gravity, the rape of an unmarried woman, by contrast, "seems to have been treated as a relatively mild offense, and except for the talionic element in Middle Assyrian Law 55 … was considered only an economic injury to the girl's father—or master, where the victim was a slave girl" (1966: 366–67).

According to Lev 19:20, the betrothed (*neherepet*, literally "assigned") slave girl and her lover are not executed because she "has not yet been freed," i.e. the regular penalty for adultery does not apply because she is still a slave and not because her "assignment"/betrothal is anything less than marriage (Milgrom 1977: 44–45): in the Bible, as in the ancient Near East in general, a slave girl is not a legal person and her

sexual violation is treated as a transgression of her owner's property for which he would seek compensation, not prosecution (Finkelstein 1966: 360).

**C. The Prosecution of Adultery**

1. The Death Penalty. Determining the legal reality in ancient Israel for the prosecution and punishment of the adulteress and her partner is problematic. At the close of the law on adultery, the Deuteronomist commands his audience to "sweep away evil from Israel" (Deut 22:22), which suggests that members of the community have the right and obligation to initiate proceedings against known adulterers in their midst. The collective divine punishment envisioned by the legislators of Deuteronomy and the so-called Holiness Code (Leviticus 17–26) make it imperative that transgressors of the law be prosecuted irrespective of the wishes of the offended party (Lev 18:24–30; 26:14–41; Deut 28:15–68). M. Greenberg contends that the law codes' decree of capital punishment was carried out "in all events. There is no question of permitting the husband to mitigate or cancel the punishment. For adultery is not merely a wrong against the husband, it is a sin against God, an absolute wrong" (1960: 12).

Others maintain that in practice, however, the penalty for adultery in Israel was more flexible, and further, that the initiation of proceedings against the offenders was the exclusive right of the husband (Loewenstamm 1962: 55–59; Jackson 1973: 33–34; Yaron 1969: 188, n. 77; McKeating 1979: 62–65). According to this view, Israelite judicial practice would have resembled that of Mesopotamia. While Mesopotamian law codes allow for the death penalty, the injured husband retained the right of pardon (Code of Hammurabi 129 [*ANET,* 171]; Middle Assyrian Law 15 [*ANET,* 181]; Law of Eshnunna 28 [*ANET,* 162] on its face doesn't allow for mitigation, but see Yaron 1969: 188–90).

Greenberg thinks that the biblical law's demand for execution was uncompromising because of the Israelite view that adultery was a sin against God; thus man could not opt to forgo it. Yet ancient Mesopotamia seems to have held a similar view of adultery, i.e. as an offense to the deity (see above; Lambert *BWL,* 119, 131), but its law codes do indeed allow the husband to mitigate the punishment. Perhaps this same dichotomy existed de facto in Israel.

Prov 6:32–35 suggests that execution was the maximum penalty imposed and that the fate of the adulterers was at the husband's discretion. The enraged husband will "show no pity on his day of vengeance; he will not have regard for any ransom." The cuckold, according to Proverbs 6, will not accept ransom (*kōper*) because of his insatiable anger, not because of its prohibition. Num 35:31–32 specifically rules out ransom in the case of homicide but not adultery (in which case it may have been permissable). On the other hand, the compensation mentioned in Proverbs 6 may refer to an illegal payment of money to the husband to avert prosecution; *šoḥad,* the parallel of *kōper* in v 35 suggests this (cf. Exod 23:8; Isa 5:23). Further, the international flavor of the book of Proverbs and scholarship's imperfect understanding of the "foreign woman" pericopes (Proverbs 2 and 5–7; see below) advises against viewing Israelite jurisprudence in the light of Prov 6:32–35.

Job refers to marital infidelity as an *ʿāwōn pĕlîlîm* (31:11), which Speiser (1963: 304) translates as "an assessable transgression" in accordance with his view that all examples of the root *pll* in Hebrew share the underlying concept of "assess." This suggests that the adulterer could compensate the cuckolded husband, who would determine the amount of damages according to his own discretion. Yet this translation appears inaccurate given its context. Job also calls adultery *zimmâ,* a word used regularly for "indecent and disgusting sexual conduct" (Pope, *Job* AB, 203) and a "fire burning down to Abaddon" (31:12). "Assessable transgression," however, suggests the relative mildness of the offense, which can be compensated by payment rather than corporal or capital punishment. Until our understanding of the root *pll* in this verse and its counterparts (Job 31:28 and Deut 32:31) is more certain, the preferred translation remains "criminal iniquity" or "criminal offense," which better conveys the severity of the deed.

Several biblical texts suggest that other measures short of execution were utilized to punish the adulteress.

2. Divorce. The Pharisaic school of Shammai suggested that the legal, biblical term for divorce, *ʿerwat dābār* (Deut 24:1–4), literally "nakedness of a thing," referred to adultery as a ground for such action (*m. Git.* 9:10), but this has been convincingly rejected (Neufeld 1944: 178–89; Lieber, *EncJud* 6: 123–24).

Both Jer 3:8 and Hos 2:4 suggest that the adulteress was divorced, but since the former text refers symbolically to the exile of the N kingdom, divorce (Heb *šlḥ,* literally "send off," "dismiss") provides the most appropriate metaphor. Hos 2:4 echoes the ancient Near Eastern formula for divorce, "You are not my wife" (Gordon 1936: 277–80, Yaron 1961: 46–47), although there is some doubt that divorce is intended here because "there would be no basis for all that follows" (Andersen and Freedman *Hosea* AB, 222).

3. Public Stripping of Adulteress. Stripping is mentioned in Hos 2:5, 12; Jer 13:22–26; Ezek 16:37, 39; and 23:26, 29. In all of these cases, the faithless wife who suffers this penalty is a symbol for apostate Israel (cf. Nah 3:5). Stripping, however, may have served as a prelude to execution rather than as an alternative to it (Ezek 16:37–41; Susanna 32). In *m. Soṭa* 1:5 the suspected adulteress is partially stripped before drinking the potion of "bitter waters" (Num 5:11–31).

4. Mutilation. Mutilation of the adulteress is mentioned in Ezek 23:25, but this should not be viewed as an Israelite practice since the prophet himself states, "and they (Oholibah's former lovers) shall judge you according to their law" (v 24; cf. Middle Assyrian Law 15 [*ANET,* 181]).

It should be noted that the biblical texts alluding to divorce, public stripping, and mutilation contain prophetic metaphors and hence they are not dependable sources for actual Israelite legal practice. In Ezek 16:39 and 23:26, 29, personified Jerusalem is stripped by her lovers, not her husband. In Hos 2:5, Jer 13:26, and Akkadian sources, the offending wife is stripped by her husband or his family to symbolize the withdrawal of her maintenance (Gordon 1936: 277; Greenberg, *Ezekiel* AB, 287). Apparent in Ezekiel 16 and 23, then, is the intrusion of the tenor of the metaphor, Israel's pillaging by foreign armies.

Obviously the de facto procedure for the prosecution of adultery is uncertain. In the biblical law of murder, the prosecution and execution of the murderer is left in the hands of the wronged individual, the kinsman of the deceased or "redeemer of blood" (Num 35:19–21, Deut 19:6, 12), yet the Bible's legislation seeks to regulate this ancient practice and transfer some responsibility to the public domain with the appointment of the refuge cities and the participation of public officials to distinguish between the intentional and unwitting manslayer (Exod 21:13–14; Num 35:9–29; Deut 19:1–13). After all, if the redeemer shirks his responsibility or kills an unintentional manslayer (the intention of *dām nāqî,* "blood of the innocent" of Deut 19:10), all Israel would be subject to blood-guilt (Num 35:33–34; Deut 19:10). Similarly, the criminalization of adultery in Israel was an expected development. An act which transgressed Israel's covenent with YHWH, the basic principles of which are found in the Decalogue, endangered the entire community, and so it was only natural that the prosecution of adulterers be transformed from a right which individuals may forgo to a duty incumbent upon all members of the community.

**D. Means of Execution.**

The method of execution for the guilty pair is not stated explicitly in either Lev 20:10 or Deut 22:22. The unchastity of the betrothed virgin of Deut 22:24 is punished by stoning, as is the premature defloration of the newlywed bride in Deut 22:13–21. Ezek 16:40 and 23:47 list stoning and stabbing among the punishments for wayward Jerusalem, yet here the crime is compounded by idolatry and infanticide.

The LXX of Susanna, v 62, mentions flinging those who accused the heroine of adultery into a ravine (see Deut 19:16–19); this practice coincides with the rabbinic mode of "stoning"–casting the criminal into a rocky ravine rather than casting stones at the criminal (*m. Sanh.* 6:4). The Talmudic means of execution for adultery was strangulation; this according to the exegetical rule that anytime the death penalty was decreed but the means not specified in the biblical text, strangling was intended (Sipra, Qedoshim 10:8; *b. Talm. Sanh.* 52b; according to R. Josiah, this was because it was the most merciful).

Burning is mentioned in Genesis 38 as the penalty for Tamar, whose status was that of a married woman (because she was promised to her *levir* Shelah). While fornication for the lay Israelite is not penalized in the law codes (see above on Deut 22:13–21), a priest's daughter who "defiles herself through harlotry" is burned to death because of the extraordinary demand of holiness for the priesthood (Lev 21:9).

Both parties, when known, are executed (Lev 20:10; Deut 22: 21, 22). According to A. Phillips (1970: 110), the execution of the adulteress in addition to the adulterer is an innovation of the Deuteronomic reform, but this is based on his uncommon notion that the Decalogue was addressed only to male Israelites and therefore only they were penalized. In the Bible's decree of the death sentence in Lev 20:10b, a singular verb, *yûmat,* is found with the compound subject, "the adulterer and the adulteress," which suggests to some that the latter is an addition (Noth, *Leviticus* OTL, 150; Phillips 1970: 111). Yet this grammatical irregularity is common enough in Biblical Hebrew (GKC, 145o), while Fishbane attributes it to the fact that the penalty clause *môt yûmat* is a frozen technical term (1974: 25, n.2). The equal punishment of both parties is typical of Mesopotamian law (Code of Hammurabi 129 [*ANET*, 171]; Middle Assyrian Law 13 [*ANET*, 181]; Hittite Law 197–98 [*ANET*, 196]). This serves to preclude the possibility that two of the involved parties conspired against the third. The phrase *gam šĕnêham,* "one as well as the other," (Deut 22:22), echoes this demand for equal justice.

**E. Adultery in the ANE.**

Several features distinguish Israel's laws on adultery from those of her neighbors.

1. Hittite Law 197 (*ANET*, 196) and perhaps Middle Assyrian Law 15 (*ANET*, 181; see Driver and Miles 1975: 45–50) allow the cuckolded husband to execute the couple with impunity if he finds them *in flagranti delicto,* i.e., in the very act of adultery. The biblical laws of jurisprudence seem to forbid this (Deut 17:6–7, 19:15, Num 35:30).

2. The paramour's knowledge about or ignorance of the woman's marital status is taken into account. If he was not aware that she was married, he would be acquitted (Finkelstein 1966: 369–70; Middle Assyrian Laws 13–14 [*ANET*, 181]). Biblical laws make no such allowance. Gen 20:3 suggests that in YHWH's eyes, the guilt of adultery is absolute.

3. The Mesopotamian law codes are more comprehensive, dealing with other matters tangential to adultery. For example, all of the major law codes deal with the cohabitation of a married woman with a second man in the event of desertion by her husband or his prolonged captivity in a foreign land (Laws of Eshnunna 29–30 [*ANET*, 162]; Code of Hammurabi 134–36 [*ANET*, 171]; Middle Assyrian Law 36 [*ANET*, 183]). Only later Jewish law takes up this issue (for sources, see Schereschewsky, *EncJud* 2: 429–33). Akkadian laws also deal with the accusation of adultery by a third party (Middle Assyrian Law 17–18 [*ANET*, 181]; Code of Hammurabi 132 [*ANET*, 171]; the Bible deals only with accusation brought by the woman's husband [Num 5:11–31; Deut 22:13–21]); and pandering as incidental to adultery (Middle Assyrian Law 22–24 [*ANET*, 181–82]).

**F. Adultery in Biblical Narrative.**

The theme of adultery is found several times in the book of Genesis. Both Abraham and Isaac try to pass off their wives as their sisters, allowing them to be taken (or nearly taken) by foreigners (Genesis 12:10–20; 20; 26:1–11). Both patriarchs assume that the people of Gerar and Egypt took the "great sin" of adultery very seriously and would rather make widows out of Sarah and Rebecca than incur the guilt of adultery (David Kimchi). YHWH's punishment for adultery in all three chapters is collective (12:17; 20:7, 17; 26:10).

In Genesis 38, Judah sentences his daughter-in-law Tamar to be burned for apparent adultery, i.e., having sexual relations while waiting for her *levir* to come of age. In Genesis 39 is found another false accusation of adultery, here in the guise of the attempted rape of a married woman, which is treated alongside uncoerced adultery in the law codes (Deut 22:23–27; Law of Eshnunna 26; Code of Hammurabi 130; Hittite Law 197–98).

King David committed adultery with Bathsheba, daughter of Eliam and wife of Uriah the Hittite, one of his faithful warriors (2 Samuel 11; 23:39). David's guilt is compounded by his successful plot to have Uriah killed in battle. This was necessary to prevent the disclosure of the king's role in Bathsheba's pregnancy. His fear was prompted certainly by the expected popular censure of his deed (Prov 6:33) but perhaps also by the application of Israel's law even to the king himself (Deut 17:19; cf. 1 Kings 21, where the limitation of royal power in Israel is apparent).

**G. Adultery in the Prophetic Books.**

The prophets frequently indicted Israel for marital infidelity (Hos 4:2,13–14; Jer 5:7; 7:9; 13:27; Ezek 22:11; 33:26; Isa 57:3; Mal 3:5). Jeremiah specifically condemned the prophets of his day for this act of treachery (23:14; 29:23).

Adultery is used as a metaphor for apostasy in several prophetic books (Hosea 1–3, Jer 2:23–25; 3:1–13, Ezekiel 16; 23). This symbolism is apt because both represent the betrayal of exclusive fidelity. Raw material for the creation of this symbolism is found in the Pentateuch. Israel is commanded to revere only YHWH (Exod 20:3; 22:19; 34:14; etc.) and the formula used to express their covenant relationship is similar to the "solemn words" for marriage in ANE texts (Lev 26:12; Deut 26:17–18; 29:12; see Yaron 1961: 46–47; Muffs 1965). YHWH is "jealous" or "impassioned" (*qannāʾ*) where Israel is concerned (Exod 20:5; 34:14) and idolatry, specifically calf worship, becomes Israel's "great sin" (Exod 32:21; 2 Kgs 17:21). Israel's worship of other gods is called "whoring" (Exod 34:16; Deut 31:16). It has also been suggested that the promiscuous behavior supposedly typical of the Canaanite fertility cult lies at the background of this motif.

Hosea is the first prophet explicitly to analogize apostasy and adultery. Some suggest that this notion first came to him as the result of his wife Gomer's infidelity; YHWH's command to take a "wife of harlotry" (1:2), then, was written after the prophet's domestic adversities and conveys his understanding of these events as determined by God. Others discount the historicity of Hosea 1–2 because of the obscure and allegorical nature of these chapters, while in Hosea 3 the promiscuous woman is probably not the prophet's wife. Cohen argues that Hosea's perception may be an outgrowth of the Israelite religion itself—a sort of "midrash" based on the commonly held analogy in Israel of marriage and covenant—rather than the result of an experience unique to Hosea (1966: 9–11).

Jeremiah 3:1–5, uses the legal form of Deut 24:1–4 to illustrate the injurious effects of Israel's "whoring with many lovers." Verses 6–13 tell the tale of two sisters, "Rebel Israel" and "Faithless Judah," both of whom are married to YHWH. While the former is divorced for adultery (the exile of the northern kingdom), the latter repents only halfheartedly (a reference to Josiah's reform, 2 Kings 22–23), and then proceeds (v 13)—despite YHWH's pleas to repent—to "spread her legs to strangers under every leafy tree" (Rashi's paraphrase of the difficult *wattĕpazzŭrî ʾet-dĕrākayik;* others render the vague "you scattered your ways"). Several of Jeremiah's other references to adultery may also be references to idolatry (5:7; 7:9; 13:22).

Ezekiel devotes more verses to this motif than either of his two predecessors. Indeed, chap. 16, with 63 verses, is the longest in his book, yet its excessiveness is not limited to quantity. Jerusalem here is a murderous nymphomaniac who makes even Sodom (here her "sister") seem righteous. In chap. 23, Ezekiel in 49 verses reworks in a similarly extreme fashion the motif of Jer 3:6–12, YHWH's marriage to two sisters.

**H. Adultery in Wisdom Literature.**

The Book of Proverbs, chaps. 2 and 5–7, warns against consorting with the adulteress, labeled also "a woman of evil" (6:24), but most often a "foreign" or "strange" woman (2:16; 5:3,20; 6:24; 7:5). She is dressed like a harlot (7:10), although is not identified as one (6:26 contrasts the harlot to the adulteress). Only in Proverbs 5 is the correspondence between an adulteress and the "foreign woman" uncertain since only her intended victim is presented as married (vv 15–20). She lures foolish men to her home with crafty words (2:16; 5:3; 6:24; 7:14–20). Associating with her leads to "death" (2:18–19; 5:5; 7:26–27), which may be a reference to judicial execution, premature death at the hands of God, or perhaps spiritual demise. She has forgotten the "covenant of her God" (2:17), a reference either to the Decalogue, which prohibits adultery, or perhaps to her marriage vows.

Her characterization as "foreign" or "strange" is explained in several ways: (1) as a dissolute woman, she places herself outside the circle of proper relations or outside the norms of the community (Snijders 1954: 88–100); (2) *zār* here as in other places refers to a third party or one other than the members of a specific group, family, or tribe (Deut 25:5; 1 Kgs 3:18; Prov 5:10, 17); (3) she is indeed a foreigner. Egyptian wisdom warns against consorting with a "woman from abroad," traveling without her husband and waiting to ensnare the naive youth (*ANET*, 420). Bostrom argues that she is a non-Israelite devotee of

a fertility goddess and that her sexual activity has a cultic function (1935: 103–55); or (4) she symbolizes either a Canaanite goddess and her cult, non-Israelite religion in general, or "the seductions of this world" (so Saadiah Gaon); most recently Fishbane (1974: 44) labeled Prov 6:20–35 an "inner biblical midrash on the Decalogue" in which the foreign woman symbolizes "the seduction of false wisdom" in direct contrast to divine wisdom in Proverbs 8 and 9.

Prov 30:20 underlines the nonchalance of the adulterous woman who euphemistically "eats, wipes her mouth," and then says, "I have done no wrong." According to Job, the adulterer wears a disguise to conceal his identity and, like the murderer and robber, waits for the cover of night to commit his crime (24:13–16). In his oath of piety, Job curses himself with his own wife's infidelity if "his heart was ravished by the wife of his neighbor and he lay in wait at his door" (31:9–12).

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ELAINE ADLER GOODFRIEND

**ADUMMIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾădummîm* (אֲדֻמִּים)]. After the conquest described in Joshua 6–12, Joshua divided the land by lot among the tribes of Israel. Joshua 15 describes the lot which fell to the tribe of Judah and gives a description of the boundaries of Judah. The N boundary (v 5) ran from the mouth of the Jordan River, where it empties into the Dead Sea, to Debir from the Valley of Achor and northward, turning toward Gilgal, which is opposite the ascent, *ma'aleh* of Adummim—which is on the S side of the valley (v 8). In Josh 18:11, we find a description of the lot falling to the tribe of Benjamin. The S boundary (v 15) goes from Kiriath-jearim to the Dead Sea and the mouth of the Jordan River (v 19). In 18:17 we read that the border goes from Enshemesh (*ʿên šemeš*) to Geliloth which is opposite the ascent of Adummim (LXX *Aithamin*).

The root means "red" (BDB, 10) and is in the plural form so one might translate it "double red" or "Big Red." It has also been translated "red places." Smith (1974:180–81) thinks the name is from the "curious red streaks" which appear from time to time on the stone. These in turn provided meaning for later names

like the Red Khan (inn), Khan el-Ahmar (M.R. 181133), one of the sites of the Inn of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:34). The Arabic name for a nearby hill and fortress NE or the Khan is Tal›at ed-Dumm, the ascent of blood, which probably also refers to the red marl rock formations, rather than the more pietistic derivation of the wounded traveler of the Good Samaritan story, or Jerome's reference that the pass was the way of the robbers.

The fortress was the Crusaders' Chastel or Citerne Rouge built by the Templars to protect the pilgrims going down to the Jordan River to the site of Jesus' baptism. The Crusaders also called the place la Tour Maledoin, perhaps following Eus. (*Onomast.* 260–340), who refers to the place as Maledomni, i.e., *ma›ale-adum-mim,* the ascent of Adummim. It was already a fortress in an earlier day. Eus. refers to a castle. Jerome (342–420) lists Adummim as a stronghold midway between Jerusalem (2500 ft. above sea level) and Jericho (770 feet below sea level). It is ca. 6 m SW of Jericho. Josephus (*JW* 4.8.3 § 474) describes the Jericho-Jerusalem distance as 18 Roman mi. 150 stadioi. He claims the Tenth Legion (Fretensis) came this way for the seige of Jerusalem (5.2.3 §69–70). The road itself is the middle one of three ancient caravan or trade routes from the Jordan Valley to the hill country. It follows the Wadi Qelt up through this pass at Adummim to Jerusalem (the N one goes to Bethel and the S one to Mar Saba). From Adummim, Jericho can be seen in one direction and the Mt. of Olives at Jerusalem in the other.

The name "Adummim" appears in the lists of Thutmose III and Sheshonk I and again in Papyrus Anastasi I, the Egyptian letter of Hori (*ANET* 242, 475–79). The latter asks sarcastic questions of a would-be scribe named Amen-em-Opet. These refer to locations in Canaan such as Shechem, Hazor, Adummim, Beth-shan, the Jordan River, etc. (*ANET* 477). However, these references may be to a different Adummim. Aharoni (*LBHG*, 61) identifies this Adummim with Adami-Nekeb while S. Ahituve considers it Tel Qarnei Hittin, the Horns of Hittin (quoted by Na›aman, 1986: 128 n.23).

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**ADVERSARY.** See SATAN.

**ADVOCATE** [Gk *paraklētos* (παρακλητος)]. Originally *paraklētos* had a passive sense, "one who is called alongside [to someone's aid]," and so was rendered in Latin as "*advocatus.*" In the NT it is used in an active sense (as is "advocate" in current English): "one who appears on another's behalf," "mediator," "intercessor," or "helper." In 1 John 2:1, Jesus Christ is referred to as our *paraklētos* who intercedes with (God) the Father on behalf of sinners. Some English versions paraphrase the word: "one to plead our cause" *(NEB),* "someone who pleads … on our behalf" (GNB), or "one who speaks in our defense" *(NIV).*

In the Gospel of John (14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7), *paraklētos* is identified with the Holy Spirit and is variously translated as the "Comforter" *(KJV, ASV),* "Counselor" *(RSV, NIV),* "Advocate" *(JB, NEB),* and "Helper" *(GNB, NASB).* R. Brown (*John 13–21* AB, pp. 637, 649, 685, 703; note also appendix V), recognizing that no single English word covers all the meanings of *paraklētos,* employs a virtual transliteration, "Paraclete" (see also *NAB* and *NJB*).

HERBERT G. GRETHER

**AENEAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Aineas* (Αἰνεας)]. A man at Lydda, bed-ridden with paralysis, whom Peter was instrumental in healing (Acts 9:32–35). This person is not otherwise attested, though the name itself is fairly common and is found in Greek classical writers and in Josephus (*Ant* 14.10.22).

HERBERT G. GRETHER

**AENON** (PLACE) [Gk *Ainon* (Αἰνον)]. John the Baptist baptized at this well-watered site along the Jordan River. According to Eus. (Onomast 40.1), this site is 6 miles S of Roman Scythopolis (*Beth-shean*), the capital of a Decapolis territory. John 3:23 identifies a nearby Salim (Salumias), a description in agreement with Eus. Aenon, perhaps from Ar ›*ain* spring, is appropriate for an area near Tell Sheikh Selim which has several springs. Wadi Far‹ah qualifies Nablus, E of Shechem, as yet another possibility

for Aenon (Albright 1954). Ironically, modern Salim, 3.5 miles E of Nablus, is also a contending site (Albright 1924). But the ancient location of Salim (Gen 14:18; Jer 48:5) was nearer to the aforementioned wadi Far‹ah than the modern site bearing the same name.

A Madeba mosaic map (ca. 560 A.D.). from Jordan complicates a positive location of Aenon. The map, on a Madeba church floor, shows two Aenon sites. One of the two sites positions Aenon W of the Jordan and may be synonymous with modern Salim, mentioned above. The mapmaker identifies this vaguely placed site as "near Salim," and a row of bluish-green cubes. Atheria (ca. 385 A.D.) qualifies Aenon as in a garden with a pool or spring, perhaps represented by the colored cubes. The second map site is N of the Dead Sea, on the E side of the Jordan, yet S of the first map site. The second site, near a hill and a spring, may also be the hill of Elijah, i.e., where he ascended to heaven.

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JERRY A. PATTENGALE

**AESORA** (PLACE) [Gk *Aisōra* (Αἰσωρα)]. A site mentioned in the book of Judith, whose exact location is unknown (Jdt 4:4). It forms part of the list of towns N of Jerusalem called upon to defend the city from attack by HOLOFERNES. The Greek name may be a translation of the Hebrew Hazor (Heb *ḥāṣôr*) or Hebrew Jazer (Heb *ya‹zēr;* see HAZOR; JAZER). If it is a translation of biblical Hazor, there are five cities in the Hebrew Bible with this name (Josh 11:1; Josh 15:23; Josh 15:25; Neh 11:33; Jer 49:28). Of these five, the two likeliest candidates for identification are the Hazor in Josh 11:1, located 10 miles N of the Sea of Galilee (modern Tell el-Qedah), or the Hazor in Neh 11:33, a town located in Benjaminite territory (modern Kh. Hazzūr). The likelier identification is with biblical Jazer, a fortified city in Gilead (Num 21:32, 32:35), which was disputed among the Israelites, Ammonites, and Moabites. It has been identified by Avi-Yonah and Aharoni (*MBA*, 179, map 211) with Kh. es-Sar (M.R. 228150), located 7 miles SW of Philadelphia in Transjordan, and thus in the line called for by the book of Judith, between Samaria and Jerusalem. However, given the genre of the book of Judith, it is possible that the name is entirely fictitious.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**‹AFFULA, EL-** (M.R. 177223). The remains of ancient ‹Affula are located within the modern town of that name, on the N slopes of the hill of Moreh in the heart of the Jezreel Valley. Little of the mound survives, but its occupation is known to extend from the mid-4th millennium through the Roman period, with Crusader and Ayyubid remains attested as well.

The name apparently derives from early Semitic *‹ōpel,* or "citadel." The site may be mentioned in the Egyptian Execration texts of the 19th century B.C., and again in the well-known list of Thutmose III in the 15th century B.C. In the Israelite period, ‹Affula would have been reckoned as one of the "daughters" of Megiddo (Josh 17:11). It may be identified with Arbela of Eusebius' *Onomasticon* (14.20) and with Afel of the medieval period.

‹Affula was excavated by E. L. Sukenik in 1926 and 1931; again in 1937 by Sukenik and N. Avigad; and then in 1950–51 by I. Ben-Dor and M. Dothan. These excavations, however, were little more than scattered soundings and clearance of tombs, and no final reports have appeared.

Stratum X belongs to the Late Chalcolithic and EB I (mid-late 4th millennium B.C.). The remains were mostly hearth and pits/silos, with pottery of the gray-burnished "Esdraelon" type marking the latest occupation. Stratum IX, later in EB I, with band-slipped wares, had crude house foundations. After a gap, Stratum VIII represented a reoccupation in EB III; few building remains were found, but the characteristic KHIRBET KERAK WARE appears. Stratum VII belongs to EB IV (ca. 2400–2000 B.C.). Subrectangular dwellings with ovens were found, together with typical large storejars, with "folded envelope" ledge handles.

Strata VI–V belong to the MB, spanning perhaps the entire period ca. 2000–1500 B.C. A planned settlement revealed streets, courtyards, domestic dwellings, pits/silos, pottery kilns, and several dozen intermural tombs.

Late Bronze I was not attested, but Stratum IV belongs to LB II (ca. 1400–1200 B.C.). Little but tombs were found, some containing Mycenaean and Cypriot imported pottery.

Stratum IIIB-A was the only Iron Age settlement, belonging to Iron I, and following closely in the ceramic tradition of Stratum IV. Phase IVB contained some Philistine Bichrome ware; phase IIIA was apparently destroyed in the mid-11th century B.C., perhaps during the time of Saul. A few large courtyard houses marked the first phase, as well as granaries, a kiln, and a few tombs. Only a few Iron II remains were noted, including a few sherds of Samaria ware.

Stratum II dates to the Roman period (2d–4th centuries A.D.), and Stratum I to the Crusader and Ayyubid period (11th–13th centuries A.D.).

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WILLIAM G. DEVER

**AGABUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Hagabos* (Ἀγαβος)]. A Christian prophet from Judea (Acts 11:27–30 and 21:10–14). In 11:27–30 Agabus goes with a group of other prophets from Jerusalem to Antioch and prophesies that there would be a famine "over all the world." Luke states that the prophecy was fulfilled during the reign of Emperor Claudius (41–54 C.E.). Although no worldwide famine occurred during the reign of Claudius, there are references to isolated famines throughout the Roman Empire during this time (Tac. *Ann.* 12.43; Seut. *Claud.* 18.2; Dio Cas. 60.11). According to Josephus (*Ant* 20.2.5 §49–53; 20.5.2 §100–1), there was a famine in Palestine during the procuratorship of Tiberius Alexander (46–48 C.E.), during which Queen Helena of Adiabene bought grain from Egypt and figs from Cyprus and distributed them in Jerusalem. Agabus's prophecy stirred the Christians in Antioch to send a collection by Paul and Barnabas to aid the Judean Christians (cf. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.3.4).

In 21:10–14 Agabus goes to Caesarea and delivers a prophecy accompanied by a vivid symbolic act in the fashion of the classical prophets (e.g. Isaiah 20; Jer 13:1–11; Ezekiel 4–5). He takes Paul's girdle and binds his own hands and feet and prophesies that the Jews would bind Paul and hand him over to the Romans if he proceeded to Jerusalem. His prophecy was not strictly fulfilled, for although the Jews did seize Paul, they did not hand him over to the Romans. Rather the Romans rescued Paul from the Jews and bound him in chains in order to protect him from the Jewish rabble (21:33). In any case, Luke clearly holds the Jews responsible for delivering Paul to the Romans (28:17).

Late tradition identifies Agabus as one of the Seventy and a martyr at Antioch.

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JOANN FORD WATSON

**AGAG** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăgag* (אֲגַג)]. The name of two kings of the Amalekites (Num 24:7 and 1 Sam 15:8–9, 20, 32–33), and perhaps a traditional or common name of all their kings—like Pharaoh in Egypt and perhaps Abimelech (Achish) among the Philistines. Though the etymological meaning is not certain, it is usually taken from Akkadian *agāgum,* "to get angry, furious." The Greek name "Ogygos," which appears to be Semitic in origin, has been derived from *ʾāgag,* "to flame" (Astour 1964: 200).

**1.** The name of a (legendary?) king mentioned by Balaam in an archaic poetic context, "his king shall be higher than Agag" (Num 24:7). Its usage here appears to be a wordplay on the term *gag,* "roof," which is found in Ugaritic and South Canaanite (EA 287:37). The context suggests a mythological character, which is rendered by LXX as *Gōg,* a figure that later leads the evil forces that rise up to war against

Yahweh in a climactic eschatological battle (Ezekiel 38–39). In Num 24:23 the term "Gog" (or more frequently "Og") is inserted by LXX in an obscure passage, which has been rendered (Albright *YGC* 14, n. 40):

And he saw Gog and delivered an oracle about him, saying:
The isles shall be gathered from the north,
  And ships from the farthest sea;
And they shall harass Aššur and harass ʿEber,
  But he (Gog) will perish forever.

**2.** The name of a king of the Amalekites whom Saul spared, contrary to a sacred ban imposed by Samuel in which the Amalekites were devoted to destruction because of their opposition to Israel at the time of the Exodus (1 Sam 15:2–3). Samuel's inference of perpetual war against the Amalekites seems to reflect the content of another fragment of archaic Hebrew poetry concerning Amalek (Exod 17:16) which has been rendered (Christensen 1975: 48):

For the hand is on Yahweh's banner;
The battle belongs to Yahweh,
Against Amalek from generation to generation.

In the Holy War tradition of ancient Israel, Amalek apparently played the role of archenemy. It would appear that Agag was the name of the king of Amalek within a body of archaic poetry, the "Song of the Wars of Yahweh" (cf. Num 21:14).

W. R. Smith (1927: 491–92) has argued that Saul spared Agag in order that he might be sacrificed according to an ancient Arab pattern for victorious warriors on their return from a foray; and that Samuel actually accomplished this offering by slaying Agag "before Yahweh" in Gilgal. In the biblical story, Saul's disobedience at this point occasioned his final break with Samuel.

The term "Agag" appears also in the book of Esther as the gentilic name of Haman (ch. 3:1, 10; 8:3, 5; and 9:24). Haupt (1906: 8, 12–14, 42 [nn. 111, 112]) argued that the designation "Agagite" here, perhaps a Hebrew adaptation of the epithet Gagite (*Gōgaios,* "northern barbarian"), was used to indicate to a Hebrew what "Macedonian" would to a Greek; and that it meant "Amalekite" in the sense of a contemptible, hateful person, but not implying that Haman actually had any genealogical tie with Amalek. However, Jewish tradition makes much of the connection, arguing that Samuel's execution of Agag came one day too late. It was during that brief interval between Saul's sparing of Agag and his execution by Samuel that he became the progenitor of Haman (*Meg.* 13a, *Targ. Sheni*; to Esther 4:13). See also AGAGITE.

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**AGAGITE** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăgāgî* (אֲגָגִי)]. A gentilic name identifying HAMAN, the enemy of the Jews in the book of Esther (Esth 3:1, 10; 8:3, 5; 9:24). By identifying Haman as an offspring of "Agag the descendant of Amalek" (Aram *ʾgg br ʿmlq*), the Targums elaborate on the MT, and Josephus supports this identification by referring to Haman as "the Amalekite" (*Ant* 11.6.5, 12). However, the LXX and its variant manuscripts prefer Gk *bougaion, gōgaion,* or *makedōn.* In the Latin witnesses, support is found for the MT (Vg. *Agag*), as well as for Gk *bougaion* (OL *bagogeum*).

Such diverse readings indicate that the ancient translators, like modern scholars, were attempting to interpret the term "Agagite." Of the modern scholars who support the MT reading, Paton (*Esther* ICC, 194) represents the position well. He suggests that the term "Agagite" literarily identified Haman as a descendant of Agag the king of the Amalekites, Israel's ancient and continual antagonists (Exod 18:8–16;

Num 24:7; Deut 25:17–19; 1 Samuel 15). Based on this premise, other scholars point out that the term "Agagite" fits the typology of "the enemy" of the Jews, which may account for LXX variants like *bougaion, gōgaion,* and *makedōn,* since these were "the enemy" at different periods of time (Altheim and Stiehl 1963: 212; Ringgren and Weiser *Esther* ATD, 127; Moore *Esther* AB, 35; Stein 1982: 569). Other suggestions are that Agagite may be a nickname for Haman (Simons 1959: 485), possibly an official title like "Pharaoh" (Keil *Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* BKAT, 632), or simply an Elamite name *A/Ag-ga-ga* (Zadok 1984).

Of those who emend the MT, Haupt (1908: 123) posits an original Heb **g›gy,* "Gagean or northern barbarian," from Codex Vaticanus' *Gōgaios* (Esth 3:1; see LXX *gōg* in Num 24:7), and also based on the correspondence of spelling in Gk and Heb. He thus identifies Haman as a northern enemy of the Persians, rather than of the Jews. Lewy (1939: 134), viewing the LXX *bougaion* as a transmutation of the West-Iranian word *baga,* "god," proposes an original Heb **bwgy,* "Bougaite or worshipper of Baga," identifying Haman as a devotee of the god Mithra (Esth 3:1; Add Esth 12:6). He contends that a Babylonian story about the persecution of Marduk worshipers ("Mardukians") by their enemies, the "Bougaions" (worshipers of Mithra), was adapted to the Jewish experience by supplying the appellative "Agagite." In Homeric literature Gk *bougaion* means "braggart" (*Il.* 13.824; *Od.* 18.79), but this seemingly has no relation to the LXX use of the term. Finally, based on evidence also cited by Lewy (above), and on the assumption that Gk *bougaios* and *bagaios* are the same, Hoschander (1923: 23) emends Heb *h›ggy* to read *hbgy,* "the Bagoan." However, unlike Lewy, he views this not as the name of a deity, but as a Persian gentilic name.

On literary grounds, it can be seen that the term "Agagite" functions on more than one level. As the textual variants cited by most scholars suggest (see e.g. Paton *Esther* ICC, Moore *Esther* AB), the term "Agagite" harkens back to the story of Agag (1 Samuel 15), with which the Esther story has some parallels (McKane 1961: 260), especially since Mordecai, like Saul (1 Sam 9:1–2), was a "son of Kish, a Benjaminite" (Esth 2:5). Within the book of Esther, Haman's role as the sole enemy of the Jews is indicated by the term "Agagite" (3:10; cf. 8:1; 9:10; see Clines 1984: 14, 42). Definition of the term "Agagite" is provided by parallel occurrences of other appellatives with the name "Haman" (Jones 1978: 40): the most complete identification of Haman, "Haman, the Agagite, the son of Hammedatha, the enemy of (all) the Jews" (3:10; 9:24), can be abbreviated by omitting one or the other of the appellatives. Therefore, in Esth 3:1 and 8:5 Haman is identified simply as "the Agagite," whereas in 9:10 the only label applied to him is "the enemy of the Jews." Also, the identification "Haman, the enemy of the Jews" (8:1) is complemented by "Haman, the Agagite" (8:3). These variant identifications of Haman in parallel verses in Esther clearly make "Agagite" virtually synonymous with "the enemy of the Jews."

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MARK J. FRETZ

**AGAPE MEAL** [Gk *agapē* (ἀγαπη)]. "Love feast," a specialized Christian use of the Greek word for love (*agapē*) to refer to a fellowship meal which was a principal occasion for charity to the poorer members of the church.

*Agapē* occurs with this meaning in the NT only in Jude 12 ("These are blemishes on your love feasts, as they boldly carouse together, looking after themselves") and as a variant reading in the parallel passage in

2 Pet 2:13. These passages reflect later problems associated with the agape—immoral conduct and selfish interest in the food more than genuine community love. Love (*agapē*) in early Christian usage was practical (1 John 3:17–18), so one use of the word came to be the meal served for benevolent purposes. The instructions of Jesus in Luke 14:12–14 were taken seriously in the early church. That *agapē* came to mean "love feast" is a testimony to the practical nature of early Christian love and to the prominence of a meal as a way of expressing love.

**A. Greco-Roman Religious Meals**

Greco-Roman society knew various types of religious meals. Especially important in the social life of the early Roman empire were the monthly banquets of the private associations. Whether based on nationality, a common occupation, or social concern, these clubs nearly always had a religious aspect (with a patron deity, a priest or priestess among the officials, and libations or other sacrifices as part of their gatherings) and provided burial services for their members. Whatever other functions these clubs served, the social fellowship of their regular meals together constituted an important feature. The members paid a monthly fee, but patrons often supplied the food or drink for the banquet. These convivial occasions had to be tightly regulated by statutes because of their rowdiness. Some of these regulations assess fines for disorderly conduct, prohibit a member taking another member to court to settle a dispute, and provide for functionaries to enforce proper conduct during the meetings (IG $II^2$ 1368). Celsus, the 2d-century pagan critic of Christianity, compared the agape to meals in pagan secret associations (Origen, *C. Cels.* 1.1).

**B. Jewish Religious Meals**

Judaism also had its religious associations whose members ate together, especially on sabbaths and festivals. These gatherings were of a soberer and more disciplined character than Greco-Roman club meals. The Mishnah's report of rabbinic disputes about the order of activities reveals the following elements accompanying the meal: washing hands, lighting lamps, blessing and breaking of bread, and blessing a cup of wine (*m. Ber.* 8). These features appear in Christian accounts of the agape. The Qumran community had its group meals at which the priest blessed the bread and wine (1QS 6.3–6; 1QSa 2.17–22), and the Therapeutae in Egypt had a festal meal and vigil which included prayer, exposition of the scripture, hymns, and a meal of bread and water (Philo, *Vita Cont* 64–89). Jewish religious meals provided the immediate antecedent for the practice of Jesus and his disciples.

**C. Jesus and His Disciples**

Religious meals in the early church may have had their origin in Jesus' meals with his disciples. The NT places a particular emphasis on Jesus' eating and drinking with his disciples after the resurrection (Luke 24:30, 41–42; John 21:12–14; Acts 10:41). During the ministry of Jesus the feeding miracles occupied a prominent place (Mark 6:35–44; 8:1–9 pars.); Luke showed a special interest in Jesus' teachings associated with meals (Luke 14:1–24).

The Lord's Supper was instituted in the context of a Jewish religious meal (Mark 14:22–25 pars.), and it continued to be observed in a meal setting (1 Cor 11:20–34). The disturbances at Corinth which Paul sought to correct may have resulted from Greeks carrying over into a Christian setting the convivial practices of their own (religious) club life. The poorer members were humiliated, since those better off ate the food and drink they furnished instead of sharing it or ate the best portions provided from the common fund before the poorer (workers) could arrive (1 Cor 11:21–22).

**D. Relation to Eucharist**

When the eucharist was separated from the meal in time and location (as it may have been from the beginning in intention and purpose), the latter moved more decisively in the direction of fellowship and charity. Terminology, however, continued to be interchangeable. Ign., *Smyrn.* 8 appears to use *agapē* for the eucharist (*Smyrn.* 7; cf. *Ep. Apos.* 15, which uses agape for the remembrance of the Lord's death), and Hippolytus, *Ap. Trad.* 26 (in some of its versions) uses "Lord's supper" for the love feast. The lack of clear distinctions shows in the competing interpretations of *Did.* 9–10. Do the prayers refer to a eucharist, an agape, or to a eucharist in the context of an agape? Since the compiler called the prayers eucharistic, the absence of a memorial of the death and resurrection is hardly conclusive that an agape is described.

Pliny the Younger at the beginning of the 2d century refers to two gatherings by Christians in Bithynia: one before dawn and another in the evening "to partake of food—but food of an ordinary and innocent kind" (*Ep.* 10.96). The latter meeting, he says, was suspended when he enforced the edict against unauthorized associations. The separate evening meeting and the willingness of Christians to give it up might suggest an agape rather than the eucharist. All later sources show a separation of the eucharist from the agape.

**E. Purpose**

The NT indicates the early disciples had meals for fellowship and/or benevolence. According to Acts 2:46, "Day by day … they partook of food with glad and generous hearts." The "daily distribution" to the widows in Acts 6:1–2 may have been of funds or of food. Such activities may have continued and later have been described by the word *agapē* or may have served as a precedent for the institution of the agape. A 2d-century apologist for Christianity declared that Christians "have their meals in common" (*Diogn.* 5).

**F. Later Descriptions**

The fullest descriptions of the love feast come from about the year 200. Tertullian gives this information:

> Our feast shows its motive by its name. It is called by the Greek word for love. Whatever is reckoned the cost, money spent in the name of piety is gain, since with that refreshment we benefit from the needy … We do not recline at the table before prayer to God is first tasted. We eat the amount that satisfies the hungry; we drink as much as is beneficial to the modest. We satisfy ourselves as those who remember that even during the night we must worship God; we converse as those who know that the Lord listens. After the washing of hands and lighting of lamps, each one who is able is called into the center to chant praise to God either from the holy scriptures or from his own talents. This is proof of how much is drunk. Prayer in like manner concludes the meal (*Apol.* 39.16–18).

The more detailed account by Hippolytus (*Ap. Trad.* 25–27) shows a concern with tight ecclesiastical control, for one of the clergy must preside. The benevolent purpose of the meal is highlighted and the recipients of the food were expected to pray for the host.

It was necessary that the love feasts be tightly regulated. Clement of Alexandria protested against the almost exclusive use of *agapē* for the social meal: "The meal occurs because of love, not love because of the meal" (*Paed.* 2.1.4–9). He attests that the meal had become the chief thing about Christianity for many, but he wanted to lift thoughts to a higher plane. Pagans misunderstood what they heard about the Christians' meal (Min. Fel. *Oct.* 9; 30–31), but their charges of immorality (Athenagoras, *Plea* 3) may have had some basis in fact in irregularities associated with the love feast (Tertullian, *Fasting* 17). Disorders in connection with love feasts led to efforts to suppress them in the 5th century. For further discussion see *DACL* 1: 775–848.

*Art.* Meal scenes are common in the Catacomb paintings. It is often difficult to know what is being depicted: a feeding miracle from the Gospels, the Last Supper, the eucharist, the heavenly banquet of the redeemed, a funerary meal in commemoration of the deceased, or an agape. The inscriptions "love" and "peace" suggest that some of the pictures depict an agape. These paintings may be a further confirmation of the central place which the common meal had in the religious experience of many ordinary Christians. The martyrs in the *Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas* 17 in their last meal on the day before their martyrdom, perhaps in anticipation of the heavenly banquet, partook of an agape "so far as they could."

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EVERETT FERGUSON

**AGE** In the OT usually in the sense of the age of a person or of people. In this sense it renders a number of terms or expressions in Hebrew. See OLD AGE. While this meaning also is found in the NT, much more often there it is used in the sense of one or both of the two ages (Gk *aiōn*) of the world, as conceived in late Jewish thought. This meaning is found in expressions such as "this age," "the present age," "the end of the age," and "that age," "the age to come."
HERBERT G. GRETHER

**AGEE** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾāgē* (אָגֵא)]. The father of the Hararite Shammah, one of King David's three chief "mighty men" (2 Sam 23:11). The name Agee only occurs once within this roster of David's "mighty men" (2 Sam 23:8–17) and is conspicuously absent in the parallel passage 1 Chr 11:11–19; the Lucianic text of LXX reads *ēla,* to which Mazar (1986: 91) emends the MT. However, based on occurrences of the term "Hararite" in the Samuel list and its Chronicles parallel, Agee may be related to another of these "mighty men." Compare the MT of the following verses:
(1) 2 Sam 23:11a *šammāʾ ben-ʾāgēʾ hārārî*
(2) 2 Sam 23:32b–33a *yĕhônātān šammâ hahărārî*
(3) 1 Chr 11:34b *yônātān ben-šāgēh hahărārî*
(1) "Shammah the son of Agee the Hararite" and (2) "Jonathan, Shammah the Hararite" become in Chronicles 11 (3) "Jonathan the son of Shagee the Hararite." It may be suggested that Heb *šāgēh* (1 Chr 11:34b) results from a combination of *šammāʾ* and *ʾāgēʾ* (2 Sam 23:11a), which reflects an association between Agee and Jonathan in 2 Samuel 23 (see Elliger 1935: 31). According to some scholars (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 493), the term "Hararite" (Heb *hrry;* see 2 Sam 23:11), together with its close variant (*hhrry,* see 2 Sam 23:33 and 1 Chr 11:34–35) and other proximate forms in these lists (*hʾrry,* see 2 Sam 23:33; *hḥrdy,* see 2 Sam 23:25; *hhrwry,* see 1 Chr 11:27), is a gentilic associated with an unknown clan. Others hold that "Hararite" is the name of Agee's hometown, and identify it with "Araru" of the Amarna Letters (Elliger 1935: 56).

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MARK J. FRETZ

**AGIA** (PERSON) [Gk *Augian* (Αὐγιαν)]. The daughter of Barzillai and wife of Jaddus, whose sons returned from exile and laid claim to the priestly office without proof of priestly ancestry (1 Esdr 5:38). The name Agia is absent in the parallel lists of Ezra 2:61 = Neh 7:63). Although the sons of Jaddus were excluded from priestly service, their ancestral lineage through Agia to Barzillai gave them venerable connection to Israel since the family of Barzillai had been especially favored by King David (2 Sam 17:27; 19:31–40; 1 Kgs 2:7).
MARK J. FRETZ

**AGING.** See OLD AGE.

**AGORA** (PLACE) [Gk *agora* (ἀγορα)]. A gathering place in the city or town that was used for business, social, and political purposes. The word derives from *ageirein,* meaning "to bring together." Paul and Silas were dragged to the *agora* at Philippi by irate citizens who were bringing a complaint there before the Roman authorities (Acts 16:19–21). Paul also debated with Epicurean and Stoic teachers in the *agora* in Athens (Acts 17:17). In view of such use of the space, some modern versions render the word as "public square" or "city square," rather than the traditional "market place" (RSV).

In the Gospels, the word is rendered "market place," and the contexts show that it referred to a place where more than buying and selling went on: An employer found workers (Matt 20:3), men liked to be greeted with respect (Matt 23:7 and parallel), and children played (Matt 11:16). But there is no evidence in the Gospels that the market places of Palestinian towns were used for political purposes.
HERBERT G. GRETHER

**AGRAPHA.** A word used to designate the noncanonical "sayings" of Jesus.

A. Toward a Definition
B. Sources
C. Study of the Agrapha
D. The Value of the Agrapha

## A. Toward a Definition

The term agrapha has been used since J. G. Koerner (1776) to refer primarily to "sayings attributed to Jesus which are not found in the four canonical Gospels." The choice of the designation agrapha, or unwritten sayings, was related to the idea that these materials were initially preserved orally and only later were incorporated into written documents, frequently as individual, isolated sayings. Sayings of Jesus such as those in Acts 20:35 and 1 Thess 4:15–17 have been referred to as agrapha, though they are within canonical writings. The vast majority of the agrapha are found outside the canonical writings. The term is currently used apart from the claim or attempt to demonstrate that the materials involved owe their existence to oral preservation of sayings or teachings of Jesus. The question of the origin of individual sayings is more an issue treated in investigating the materials than of defining the term.

Though the definition given above is the most widely used, one encounters others in the critical literature which warrant mention. Hennecke (1913: 17, 25) limited the designation agrapha to extracanonical, isolated sayings of Jesus. Quotations from known apocryphal writings were thus excluded. This distinction was related to the organization of his influential *New Testament Apocrypha* (1963), in which many of the sayings were treated elsewhere in the collection as parts of discussions of documents such as the apocryphal gospels. Mangenot (*DTC* 1: 625) restricted the designation to "authentic" or genuine sayings of Jesus not found in the four canonical Gospels. Resch (1906), in the second edition of his comprehensive collection of materials, used the term to refer to extracanonical scriptural fragments whether of the OT or NT.

In current usage the term agrapha is frequently a virtual synonym for, and may even be replaced by, "extracanonical sayings of Jesus." This latter designation is intended primarily to indicate location, not to suggest judgments concerning origin or theological or historical value. Most of the same range of materials is included, even those sayings attributed to Jesus in the canonical NT outside the Gospels, such as Acts 20:35. The major difference is that the term "extracanonical sayings of Jesus" usually includes more variant manuscript readings and citations from early Christian writings which parallel canonical sayings than was the case earlier with the designation agrapha. A major reason for this shift would seem to be the decreased emphasis on the search for "authentic" sayings and the increased emphasis on other types of studies of the formation and transmission of sayings of Jesus. More will be said in this regard when the value of the materials in the study of early Christianity is discussed below.

The sayings treated as agrapha are, in terms of their form, relatively analogous to those of the synoptic tradition. Most may be categorized using the form-critical designations initially developed by Rudolf Bultmann (1963) for the study of the synoptic tradition (parables, apophthegms, prophetic and apocalyptic sayings, wisdom sayings and proverbs, I-sayings, and community rules). Koester (1968) has used these categories in treating the sayings in the *Gospel of Thomas* and, more recently, Stroker (1988) has used them in categorizing the extracanonical sayings generally.

Since the term agrapha has been used primarily to refer to relatively short sayings essentially containing teachings, certain types of materials attributed to Jesus in early Christianity are usually excluded. (1) The infancy gospels contain some words attributed to Jesus, but these are usually comments on the miraculous deeds, or other events and encounters narrated, and are of a rather different nature from teachings. (2) Several documents are largely revelatory discourses of Jesus, usually in the form of dialogues between Jesus and one or more of his disciples. Lengthy dialogues, whether from the Nag Hammadi corpus or from analogous treatises in Codices Brucianus and Askewianus, and Papyrus Berolinensis 8502 are not treated as agrapha. The same is the case with most of the materials, also largely revelatory discourses, in the *Epistula Apostolorum*, *The Testament of the Lord*, and the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Peter*. Shorter

sayings from some of these documents are found in some collections of agrapha, however. (3) Sayings attributed to the preexistent Jesus are usually not included. (4) Quotations of biblical passages, whether from the OT or NT, are also not included when the understanding is present that Jesus was the one who spoke through the words of the biblical writers.

**B. Sources**

The sources in which agrapha or extracanonical sayings of Jesus are found are numerous and of wide variety. The following categorization is representative of those frequently found in the critical literature: (1) NT writings apart from the four Gospels; (2) variant readings or additions found in manuscripts of the Gospels; (3) quotations contained in the writings of the church fathers and other early Christian literature, such as the early liturgies and church orders; (4) manuscripts or fragments of manuscripts of noncanonical gospels and other noncanonical writings, usually designated NT apocrypha; (5) Manichaean and Mandaean writings; (6) ancient Jewish writings; and (7) Islamic writings.

Some documents from the Nag Hammadi corpus warrant special mention in this context, though they are a part of category 4 above. The importance of the *Gospel of Thomas* is unparalleled for the study of the extracanonical sayings. It consists of a collection of some 114 sayings, including parables, and is thus the largest single collection of sayings of Jesus outside the canonical tradition. Approximately one half of the sayings in Thomas have parallels within canonical materials, whereas the rest are without significant parallel. The relation of Thomas to the canonical gospels is debated, but an increasing number of scholars assess it as preserving a tradition of Jesus' sayings, literarily independent from the canonical tradition. Assessments of the agrapha since the initial publication of the *Gospel of Thomas* (Guillaumont 1959) have been significantly affected by this major new discovery. The sayings attributed to Jesus in the *Gospel of Philip* are easily distinguished from their context and are also to be included in collections and treatments of the agrapha.

Somewhat more complicated are the *Dialogue of the Savior,* the *Book of Thomas the Contender,* and the *Apocryphon of James.* These writings are currently in the literary form of revelation discourses. Recent studies indicate, however, that each may have made use of earlier collections of shorter sayings, many of which can be distinguished, at least tentatively, from their present literary context and reconstructed in an earlier form (Turner 1975; Koester 1979; Hedrick 1983; Cameron 1984; Emmell 1984). The analysis of these documents, and also of the revelation discourses mentioned earlier as usually not included among the agrapha, will likely yield an increasing number of shorter sayings, viewed as representing an earlier stage of tradition. These reconstructed, shorter sayings will likely become incorporated in future treatments of the agrapha or extracanonical sayings of Jesus.

**C. Study of the Agrapha**

The agrapha have been the subject of numerous and varied studies. Long before the major manuscript discoveries of the 19th and 20th centuries, scholars had called attention to these extracanonical sayings, had made collections of varying degrees of completeness, and had attempted to give some explanation of them and their place in the history of early Christianity. The best bibliography of the older literature was done by Pick (1908: 126–52). Resch (1906: 14–22) provides an assessment of much of the early works. Jeremias (1964: 4–13) has surveyed the materials since Resch.

The history of research is too extensive for inclusion here; nonetheless, a sketch of the major types of studies is necessary in order to understand current research and assessment of the importance of the agrapha.

An emphasis on collecting the materials understandably characterizes the first type of study. The earliest treatments of the agrapha were made by editors of the Apostolic Fathers and other early Christian writings, the first to my knowledge being that by Cotelier in 1672. He dealt with a number of important examples, citing parallel material, and was the first to indicate the wide distribution of extracanonical sayings of Jesus. Lists and short treatments of the agrapha are to be found from this time on. The first book which limited itself to the treatment of agrapha was by Dodd (1874).

An apex in collecting material was reached in 1889 with the publication of the first edition of Alfred Resch's work. Resch provided the most comprehensive collection of materials prior to the discovery of

the Egerton Papyri and the Nag Hammadi Codices. The second edition of his work (1906) dealt with the newly discovered Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Resch's goal, more strongly stated in the first edition than in the second, was to restore an *Urevangelium* or original gospel, written in Hebrew, fragments of which could be reconstructed from some of the agrapha and other material he had collected. Despite the failure of his broader attempt, Resch's collection of materials has remained not only useful but also, until recently, the most comprehensive available.

Preuschen (1901) published a collection of isolated sayings as well as fragments of apocryphal NT writings. Still useful collections of the texts of much of the material in the original languages were made by Erich Klostermann (1911; 1929) which contain fragments of noncanonical gospels, the Oxyrhynchus sayings, and a collection of 88 additional agrapha. The most complete early collection of the materials in English translation was made by Pick (1908). His earlier work (1903) also contained a sizable listing of agrapha. A comprehensive collection of the materials, in original language with English translations and parallel materials, has recently been published (Stroker 1988).

The question of authenticity dominates the second type of study (i.e., whether the passages in question contain sayings to be viewed as spoken by the historical Jesus). Nestle (1896) treated 27 agrapha he considered to be authentic sayings of Jesus. Ropes (1896) provided a critical evaluation of Resch's work, not only of his general thesis, but also of the underlying treatment of the agrapha and related material. Ropes eliminated from the main focus of the discussion passages whose contexts did not claim they were sayings of Jesus and also quotations from canonical texts secondarily attributed to Jesus. The question of authenticity was asked with rigor and persistence. Only a few passages from the mass of material collected by Resch were considered by Ropes to have any real claim to authenticity. With the publication of Oxyrhynchus Papyri 1: 654, 655 (Grenfell and Hunt 1898; 1904) the question of authenticity was posed with renewed urgency and, with some notable exceptions, has dominated research on the agrapha until relatively recently.

Following Ropes no comprehensive treatment of the agrapha appeared until that of Joachim Jeremias (1958; 1964) whose work has been very influential. Jeremias treats in detail only a small number of sayings, but in the initial sections of his work has a survey of the larger body of material. In his introduction he speaks of the unfortunate overemphasis on the question of authenticity, while the meaning of the sayings has largely been neglected. Jeremias is, however, in essential continuity with the quest for authentic sayings, departing from this type of study only in giving an exposition of the agrapha selected as potentially authentic (21 initially, 18 in later editions) in terms of their religious significance, finding or constructing a situation in Jesus' life in which they could have been said and expounding the sayings on the basis of such a context.

Jeremias stands at the virtual end of an approach to the study of the agrapha for which the quest for authentic sayings of Jesus was the primary concern, a quest which has focused on an ever-diminishing number of passages and relegated the bulk of the materials to the periphery. Hofius (*TRE* 2: 103–10) eliminated half of Jeremias' 18 sayings and considers the question of authenticity properly to *begin* with the investigation of the remaining 9, for some of which he harbors doubts.

The question of authenticity will never fully be given up; it has the same validity as the quest for authentic sayings of Jesus within the canonical tradition. The value of the agrapha, however, lies primarily in other areas.

A third type of study focuses on the processes of the formation of the extracanonical sayings. Here the quest for authentic sayings of Jesus is not primary; rather, extra-canonical sayings, including ones which parallel those within the canonical gospels, are studied for clues to understanding the ways in which Jesus' teachings were shaped and adapted in early Christianity. Walter Bauer (1909) is an early example of this type. As a methodological consideration, Bauer treats all sayings attributed to Jesus not found in the earliest reconstructable version of the NT as not originating from him or as modifications of earlier forms of Jesus' sayings. He then classifies the changes which can be observed by comparison with the canonical materials. Leon Wright (1952) is primarily concerned with materials which can be shown to have obvious contacts with the texts of the canonical Gospels. Differences between the agrapha and

patristic quotations on the one hand, and the canonical versions on the other, are grouped in terms of types of motivations which the alterations seem to evidence. The categories chosen are ones generally recognized by textual critics. Wright concludes that by and large the agrapha are dependent upon the canonical, and thus not upon an independent, parallel tradition. Bultmann (1963) has made more use of extracanonical sayings than one is aware of at first reading. There is no separate study of the agrapha, but examples are used to show the continuation in the extracanonical and postcanonical materials of tendencies in the development of tradition which Bultmann holds he has discerned within the synoptic materials themselves.

Helmut Koester (1957b), while reviewing Jeremias' work, called for a rather different approach to the study of the agrapha. Koester asserts that the same type of treatment should be given the agrapha as given the canonical sayings of Jesus, since neither can be properly assessed primarily in terms of the question of authenticity. "This demand is to be placed on the study of the extracanonical sayings of the Lord. They receive their own proper value from their *Sitz im Leben* and are immune against the verdict of inauthenticity even if they have their *Sitz* not in the life of Jesus but in that of the community" (1957b: 222). Both groups of materials are to be regarded as units of early Christian tradition, to be understood as representing situations in the life and thought of the early Christian communities. Their place and use in the life, thought, and worship of the early church are the key to the value of the extracanonical sayings. Neither the distinction between canonical and noncanonical nor the question of authenticity should rob them of their significance.

Studies along the lines called for by Koester thus may be viewed as representing a fourth type: that is, treating the agrapha and extracanonical sayings that closely parallel the canonical as parts of a larger treatment of the tradition of Jesus' teachings in the works of a given writer or a given body of tradition. Examples of this type are Bellinzoni (1967) and Kline (1975).

**D. The Value of the Agrapha**

As already indicated, the value of the agrapha and other extracanonical traditions of Jesus' teachings cannot be limited to the search for those few sayings which might be viewed as authentic sayings of the historical Jesus. Rather, the importance of these materials lies in their role in broadening our understanding of the development and transmission of traditions of Jesus' teachings. The following three areas may be mentioned as especially important in this regard.

The canonical tradition and the sources immediately behind the canonical gospels were neither the only collections nor the sole bearers of the traditions of Jesus' teachings. Koester (1957a) has shown that many of the sayings in the Apostolic Fathers are independent of the synoptic gospels. Further, the sayings in the *Gospel of Thomas* are best viewed as stemming from a collection which is independent of, and perhaps earlier than, the canonical Gospels. Thus the question of the earliest stages of the tradition of Jesus' teachings cannot be investigated on the basis of the canonical Gospels alone. Extracanonical sources provide some sayings without parallel in the canonical Gospels which, on the basis of their form and content, are to be viewed as stemming from very early stages of the Jesus tradition. Further, extracanonical sayings sometimes preserve a less-developed version of a canonical saying and may give us thereby access to a stage of tradition earlier than that of the canonical Gospels.

Secondly, Jesus' sayings were transmitted and redacted independently of the canonical tradition as well as in dependence upon it. In both the extracanonical and the canonical traditions, sayings were shaped and redacted in large measure to meet the needs of the communities. The processes of redaction of individual sayings and groups of sayings are largely analogous in the canonical and extra-canonical tradition. Thus the extracanonical sayings can help us achieve a more complete picture of the transmission and redaction of the sayings of Jesus and the relation of these processes to different groups within early Christianity.

Finally, the extracanonical tradition provides evidence that sayings from other sources have become attributed to Jesus. Our understanding of the extent to which sayings from other sources have become attributed to Jesus, a process discernible also in the canonical tradition, would necessitate study of the extracanonical materials.

Study of the agrapha or extracanonical sayings can thus broaden our understanding of the total picture of the early history of the Jesus tradition. In this context, the agrapha have considerable value, to the theologian as well as to the historian.

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**AGRICULTURE.** Agriculture is the cultivation of the soil for food products or any other useful or valuable growth of the field or garden; also, by extension, it includes any industry practiced by a cultivator of the soil in connection with such cultivation, as fruit raising, animal husbandry, dairying, and gardening. The study of ancient agriculture relies on archaeological finds (installations, tools, organic remains), biblical and extrabiblical (including literary and economic) texts, and comparisons with traditional practices in preindustrial societies.

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A. Background
B. Conditions
C. Agricultural Products
    1. Field Crops
    2. Vegetables
    3. Fruit Trees

D. Field Work
E. Influence on Culture

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**A. Background.**

Agriculture was the economic backbone of biblical Israel, where it was practiced by city dwellers as well as villagers. Its influence was very strong on many facets of daily life, including religion, law, and social behavior. The biblical farmer was the heir to a long agricultural tradition which originated in the Near East some time before the Neolithic period (ca. 7000 B.C.E.) with the domestication of plants and animals (Butzer 1971; Flannery 1973). However, while the biblical farmer did not introduce any new species, he improved farming methods and techniques for utilizing the produce. Domestication of food plants and animals was an important factor in the establishment of permanent villages. The earliest domesticated plants were cereals (two-rowed barley, emmer wheat, and einkorn wheat; Renfrew 1973: 30–81) and legumes (lentils and peas; Zohary and Hopf 1973). Fruit trees were domesticated much later ca. 4000 B.C.E. and included olive, vine, date, pomegranate, and fig (Stager 1985b). Among the earliest domesticated animals were sheep and goats (Nissen 1988: 24–27) which continue to dominate animal husbandry up to the present. Documentary and archaeological evidence shows that the last animal to be domesticated was the camel during the transition period from the LB to the Early Iron Age. The appearance of the camel in the Bible as a household animal of the Midianites in the Gideon stories (Judg 6:5; 7:12; 8:26) agrees with archaeological finds, while any earlier mention (e.g., Genesis 24) is anachronistic. See also ZOOLOGY.

Canaan's agricultural richness was recognized already in early historical times as evidenced by Egyptian records from the Old, Middle, and New Kingdom. Her agricultural wealth made her a target for invading armies coming to loot (*ARE* 1: 143; 2: 187, 189, 191; *ANET* 19, 228).

The repertoire of plants cultivated by the biblical farmer included several types of cereals, legumes, vegetables and spices, and a variety of fruit trees, each of which was grown in the area most suitable for it. The country is divided into several regions, highlands and valleys, each dominated by different geomorphological and climatic conditions, which determine soil types and water availability, the most important factors in agriculture (Hopkins 1985: 55–133; see PALESTINE, CLIMATE OF). The short rainy season (mid-October to April; see RAIN), the fluctuation in precipitation, and the rocky and hilly nature of most of the terrain made agriculture hard to practice; yet by careful selection of the proper species it became the mainstay of the country's economy throughout history. Some solutions to these problems were provided by the development and wide use of terracing and run-off farming in the highlands and in the Negeb, and the improvement of water collection and storage in underground reservoirs. Some scholars suggest that these factors enabled the Israelites to settle the Galilean, Samarian, and Judean highlands and to overtake the land whether by force or slow encroachment (Aharoni 1956; Stager 1985a). Later, during the monarchical period, these methods allowed settlement in newly acquired lands and along trade routes, for defense and economical reasons (Evenari et al. 1971).

Land could be owned by individuals (Num 27:1–8; Deut 21:15–17, 1 Kgs 21:1–3), royalty (1 Chr 27:26–28), and the priesthood (Num 35:1–8), all of whom, according to Israelite ideology, served as safekeepers because the land ultimately belonged to YHWH.

**B. Conditions.**

Conditions for agriculture in the Near East, and especially in Israel, are not very favorable. Many hardships have been encountered by the farmer, and these include lack of sufficient amount of water and soil. The terrain in most cases is uneven and rocky, and very few natural water sources are available; thus, farming in biblical times depended heavily on rain (Deut 12:11) and on the ability of the farmer to clear and prepare land (Josh 17:17–18; Isa 5:2). In most cases, irrigation was out of the question. Since the rainy season is short (October to April) and droughts are common, agriculture was always considered dependent upon the grace of the supernatural, be it the Canaanite fertility and nature gods or YHWH. For the Israelite farmer, the dependence on YHWH meant the observance of the covenant, which was rewarded by "rain … in its season" (Deut 11:13–17). Other conditions which caused crop failure included

diseases, locust attacks (Amos 7:1; Joel 1:4; 2:25), and other pests such as mice, worms, fruit bats, and weeds. Several of the plant diseases are mentioned either by name (smut, Heb *šiddāpôn;* rust, Heb *yērāqôn;* bunt, Heb *boʾšâ*) or by symptom (black rot in grapes, Heb *bĕʾūšîm,* Isa 5:2, 4; loss of olives to peacock eyespot, Deut 28:40; see Borowski 1987: 153–162).

On the other hand, the farmer could restore soil fertility and increase his yield by several methods which are not specifically mentioned in texts but can be surmised from written descriptions of certain practices or through analysis of the technology available to the farmer. Fallowing, using the Sabbatical Year (Exod 23:10–11) or another program, and organic fertilizing were probably used to a certain degree, the latter included the use of dung, compost, and ash. There is a very strong possibility that crop rotation, suggested by Isa 28:24–29 (see Borowski 1987: 148–151), was also used as a method for increasing crop yield and lowering plant diseases. One of the elements available to the biblical farmer for crop rotation and increased yield was "green manuring," the cultivation of legume plants to increase nitrogen presence and its availability to other plants (Borowski 1987: 148–149).

**C. Agricultural Products.** (See also FLORA.)

**1. Field Crops.** The biblical farmer did not introduce new plants to the variety already existing, however he chose those which suited his needs best. Field plants cultivated by the biblical farmer, as attested in the Bible and archaeological remains, included cereals (Heb *dāgān*), and legumes (Zohary 1982: 74–76, 82–84). Most common among the cereals were wheat (*Triticum durum* Desf. and *Triticum vulgare* [VIII.] Host.; Heb *ḥiṭputâ*), emmer (*T. dicoccum* [Schrank] Schuebl.; Heb *kussemet*), barley (*Hordeum;* Heb *śĕʿōrâ*), and millet (*Panicum miliaceum* and *Setaria italica;* Heb *dōḥan*). Legumes included lentil (*Lens culinaris Medic.*; Heb *ʿădāšîm*), broad bean (*Vicia faba;* Heb *pôl*), bitter vetch (*Vicia ervilia Wild.*), chick-pea (*Cicer arientum;* Heb *ḥāmîṣ*[?];), pea (*Pisum sativum*), and fenugreek (*Trigonela graecum*). In addition, the biblical farmer cultivated several spice plants such as black cumin (*Nigella sativa;* Heb *qeṣaḥ*), cumin (*Cuminum cyminum;* Heb *kammōn*), and coriander (*Coriandrum sativum;* Heb *gad*). Other plants were flax (*Linum usitatissimum;* Heb *pištâ*) and sesame (*Sesamum indicum*).

**2. Vegetables.** Vegetables (Heb *zērûʿîm; yārāq*) were part of the agricultural repertoire, although not as highly regarded as the other plants (Dan 1:11–16). They were grown in small plots or gardens and included cucumbers (*Cucumis sativus* or *C. chate;* Heb *qiššūʾîm*), watermelon or muskmelon (*Citrulus vulgaris* or *Cucumis melo;* Heb *ʾăbaṭ-ṭîhîm*), leeks or other greens (Heb *ḥāsîr*), onion (*Allium cepa;* Heb *bĕṣālîm*), and garlic (*Allium sativum;* Heb *šûmîm*).

**3. Fruit Trees.** Fruit trees were as important an element in biblical agriculture as field crops; however, they were not domesticated as early as cereals and legumes (Zohary and Spiegel-Roy 1975). The earliest remains of fruits in Canaan come mostly from the EB Age, although fig remains were found in Neolithic and Chalcolithic Jericho. The most popular fruit tree in biblical times was the grapevine (*Vitis vinifera;* Heb *gepen*), the fruit of which was used for making wine (*yayin*), raisins (*ṣimmûqîm*), and syrup (*mišrat ʿănābîm*). Other common fruit trees were fig (*Ficus carica;* Heb *tĕʾēnâ*), pomegranate (*Punica granatum;* Heb *rimmôn*), date (*Phoenix dactylifera;* Heb *tāmār*) and sycamore (*Ficus sycomorus;* Heb *šiqmîm*). Less common were the *tap-pŭḥ* (possibly quince or apricot), and mulberry (Heb *bākāʾ*). One common tree not mentioned specifically in the Bible is the carob (*Ceratonia siliqua*); however, there is no question that it was cultivated in biblical times.

The olive (*Olea europaea;* Heb *zayit*) was as important to the economy of ancient Israel as was the grapevine. Its fruit was made into oil (Heb *šemen*) to be used for cooking, lighting, ointments, and other religious and secular purposes. Like wine, oil was exported to other parts of the Near East and was one of the three main elements of the agricultural economy along with grain (Heb *dāgān*) and wine (Heb *tîrôš;* Hos 2:10—Eng2:8; etc.).

Several nuts were also cultivated, including almond (*Prunus amygdalus* Stokes; Heb *šāqēd*), pistachio (*Pistacia atlantica Desf.*; Heb *boṭnîm*), and walnut (*Juglans regia;* Heb *ʾĕgôz*).

**D. Field Work.**

The agricultural seasons are well enumerated in the OT; however, the best source of information is the Gezer calendar, a 10th century B.C.E. inscription from the site of biblical Gezer, which reads:

two months of ingathering [olives]/two months
of sowing [cereals]/two months of late sowing [legumes and vegetables]
a month of hoeing weeds [for hay]
a month of harvesting barley
a month of harvesting [wheat] and measuring [grain]
two months of grape harvesting
a month of ingathering summer fruit

A study of this inscription shows that sowing of cereals started after the Festival of Booths (Tabernacles) in the N Kingdom (end of October), harvesting barley commenced at the Passover festival (end of March), and the conclusion of wheat harvesting was celebrated with the festival of weeks/Pentecost (end of May; Borowski 1987: 31–44).

According to the Gezer calendar, sowing took place in the fall. Two months were devoted to sowing cereals and two more to late sowing and planting of legumes and vegetables. Since no sowing could have been done without plowing, either before or after, the farmer had to wait for the first autumn rains to soften the ground. Plowing was done with a wooden-frame plow to which a metal point (copper, bronze, and later iron) was attached, pulled by a team of animals, usually oxen. The same was done in large orchards and vineyards. In small plots, on slopes, and near the plants, a hand-held hoe was used. Sowing was performed either by broadcasting or by a seed drill attached to the plow.

Harvesting agricultural produce started in the spring, first with reaping barley, then wheat (see book of Ruth), followed by grapes and other fruit (see HARVESTS, HARVESTING). The Gezer calendar assigns seven months to the harvest. Harvesting cereals (*qāṣîr*) was followed very closely by threshing and winnowing to separate the grain. Grapes were immediately turned into wine or raisins and the same was done with other fruits. Storage of agricultural produce in its raw or finished state was done in specially constructed structures underground in pits and silos and above the ground in small rooms or large store-houses. The produce was stored in bulk or jars, depending on its nature and the nature of the storage facility.

Much of the technology used in processing agricultural produce is known from biblical descriptions, archaeological discoveries, and artistic representations from different parts of the Near East. Threshing was done either by stick for small quantities of certain types of plants (cumin) or by a threshing sledge or a wheel-thresher. Winnowing took place during times when the threshed material could be thrown in the air by a fork (*mizreh;* Isa 30:24) or a wooden shovel (*raḥat;* Isa 30:24) and be separated to its components (grain, straw, chaff) by the wind according to weight. Final cleaning was done with two different types of sieves, *kĕbārâ* (Amos 9:9) and *nāpâ* (Isa 30:28). The clean grain (*bār*) was stored in jars or in storage facilities such as grain pits (*ʾăsāmîm*) or storage houses (*miskĕnôt*).

Wine had to be produced immediately after harvest (*zāmîr* or *bāṣîr*) because fresh grapes could not be stored. The grapes were treaded on a flat, hard surface, and the juice which ran into a reservoir hewn in the rock or built out of stones and clay was collected into large jars, which were put for fermentation in a cool storage place. Raisins and raisin cakes were also made at that time by drying fresh grapes. The same process was used for drying and making cakes of figs and dates. These and other fruits such as pomegranates were also used for wine making.

Oil, like wine, was one of the exported commodities produced in ancient Israel. During the Iron II period, oil production technology made great strides with the development of the beam press. Until then, oil production was a simple matter. The olives were beaten or cracked in a mortar and then placed in straw baskets directly under stone weights. The pressed oil flowed into a container from where it was scooped into jars and stored. Small quantities of oil were produced by placing the beaten olives in water and scooping the floating oil. The beam-press innovation enabled the exertion of a much greater pressure on the olives by tying weights to a beam used as a lever under which the baskets were placed. This method facilitated the production of larger quantities of oil in less time and less effort (Eitam 1979; Gitin 1985; Kelm and Mazar 1989: 47–49).

**E. Influence on Culture.**

Agriculture dominated not only the economy but the whole of Israelite daily life. The Bible is saturated with agricultural symbolism, similes, and metaphors in parables, proverbs, prophecies, admonitions, hymns, and other literary forms (Judg 8:2; 9:8–15; Isa 5:1–8; Ezek 17:6–10). Many laws related to agriculture were formulated, such as those protecting the family inheritance (Num 27:1–8), concerning the protection and support of the poor, taxation, etc. (Exod 23:11; Lev 23:22; Deut 24:21). Israelite laws also regulated many aspects of agriculture such as the age at which fruit trees could be harvested, types of plants and where they could be planted (the law of *kil*ʾ*ayim,* Lev 19:19, Deut 22:9), and fallowing (sabbatical year). Religion and cult were strongly dominated by agricultural themes. The three main festivals associated with pilgrimages to Jerusalem all celebrate the beginning or ending of agricultural seasons. Passover (Heb *pesaḥ*) celebrates the beginning of cereal (barley) harvesting; Weeks (or Pentecost; Heb *šābūʿôt*) celebrates the end of the wheat harvest and with it the end of cereal harvesting; Booths (Heb *sukkôt*) marks the end of fruit ingathering and the beginning of the sowing season. Sacrifices and contributions to the Temple and its personnel were agricultural in nature (Num 18:8–32; Deut 18:1–9). Finally, and significantly, the rewards for observing the covenant with YHWH were spelled out in agricultural terms; ample rain in its appropriate season and resistance to plant diseases which led to abundance were the direct benefits of adherence to the covenant (Deut 28:22).

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**AGRIPPA** (PERSON) [Gk *Agrippas* (Ἀγριππας)]. The name held by two Herodian rulers in 1st century Palestine. Josephus' writings constitute our primary source of information for both, although both are also mentioned in the NT book of Acts: Agrippa I as the "Herod" who persecuted the early church in Jerusalem (12:1–23), and Agrippa II as the king who, years later, heard Paul's defense prior to Paul's journey to Rome (25:13–26:32).

**1.** Agrippa I was born in 10 B.C., son of Aristobulus and Bernice and thus, through Aristobulus, grandson of Herod. In early childhood he was sent with his mother to Rome. There he was brought up in the company of Claudius, who was his same age, and Drusus, son of Tiberius, who was slightly older. At the imperial court he made connections which were to prove vital to him in later life—not only with Claudius and Drusus, but also, through his mother, with Antonia, wife of the elder Drusus (Tiberius' brother), and with others besides, not least imperial freed-men (*Ant* 18.143, 191). It was largely in the pursuit of such connections that Agrippa borrowed and spent large sums of money. After the premature death of his companion Drusus in A.D. 23, Agrippa returned to Judea in a state of considerable poverty and, we are told, contemplating suicide.

By now Agrippa had married Cypros, daughter of Phasael. Her good offices won for Agrippa the help of his sister's husband, Antipas (*Ant* 18.145ff.). Antipas gave Agrippa an allowance and the post of *agoranomos* (market supervisor) at Tiberias, where he was to live. However, Agrippa soon found his position to be as ignominious as it was inadequate. We are told that Antipas taunted Agrippa over his dependence. Instead Agrippa looked to L. Pomponius Flaccus, Roman governor of Syria. He had become a friend of Flaccus during his time at Rome (*Ant* 18.149–50). At first Agrippa prospered in Flaccus' entourage. But he fell from favor when he took a bribe from the Damascenes to support their cause with Flaccus in a boundary dispute with the people of Sidon. Agrippa's brother and enemy, Aristobulus, had brought the bribe to Flaccus' attention (*Ant* 18.151–4).

Agrippa resolved to return to Italy but he lacked the funds to do so. He contracted a loan on disadvantageous terms with one Protos, a freedman of his mother whom she had left to Antonia. Agrippa sailed first for Alexandria, narrowly escaping the clutches of Herennius Capito, an imperial procurator who sought payment of Agrippa's outstanding debts to the imperial treasury (*Ant* 18.156–8). At Alexandria, Agrippa gained further funds through his wife, Cypros, who obtained a loan from Alexander the alabarch, who had already refused her husband (*Ant* 18.159–60).

Agrippa was received warmly by the emperor Tiberius on Capri, until a letter of complaint arrived from the outraged Capito. Tiberius now ordered that Agrippa be refused admission to him until his debt to the treasury had been paid. Antonia loaned Agrippa the necessary sum in memory of his mother and his upbringing with Claudius, her son. Tiberius now received him once more and placed him in the entourage of his grandson, Tiberius Gemellus. Meanwhile, Agrippa also sought the company of Antonia's grandson, Gaius, better-known by his nickname, "Caligula." A huge loan from a Samaritan freedman of Tiberius enabled Agrippa to pay his debt to Antonia and to spend lavishly as he pursued Gaius' favor (*Ant* 18.161–7). But Agrippa went so far in currying favor with Gaius that he found himself condemned by Tiberius on a charge of treason. Antonia's influence won him some privileges during his 6 months of imprisonment under the ever-present threat of execution (*Ant* 18.168–204).

Agrippa was only released upon Gaius' accession, after Tiberius' death, in A.D. 37. Gaius assigned him the northern domains of Philip the tetrarch and Lysanias with the title of king. Agrippa also received the symbols of the rank of praetor (*Ant* 18.228–37; Philo *In Flaccum* 40). Returning to Judaea in A.D. 38 he visited Alexandria where he eclipsed the Roman prefect of Egypt in his splendor (Philo *In Flaccum* 26–29). Upon the exile of Antipas in A.D. 39, Gaius gave Agrippa his tetrarchy (Galilee and Perea) in addition to Agrippa's other lands (*War* 2.183; *Ant* 18.255). At about this time Agrippa used his favor with Gaius and his diplomatic skills to block Gaius' plan of erecting a statue of his imperial self in the Temple at Jerusalem (Philo *Leg. ad Gaium* 261ff.).

At Rome again in A.D. 41, Agrippa is credited by Josephus with a major role in the tense negotiations which followed Gaius' assassination and which resulted in the accession of Claudius without full-blooded civil war. In reward, Claudius bestowed upon him the rest of the kingdom of Herod, his grandfather. Claudius formalized Agrippa's new position with a treaty ceremony in the Forum at Rome, held according to archaic custom, as Agrippa's coinage indicates (*Ant* 19.275 with *HJP²*, 445 n. 19). Agrippa also received the symbols of the rank of consul. For his brother Herod, Agrippa won rule over Chalcis (Dio 60.8.2–3).

Agrippa soon returned to his newly enlarged kingdom where he ruled to the benefit of Jerusalem and other cities, notably Berytus in Syria (*Ant* 19.335ff.). Yet, despite his close relationship with Claudius, Agrippa was instructed to abandon his fortification of Jerusalem by the emperor through Marsus, governor of Syria. Such fortifications were considered to be a potential threat (*Ant* 19.326–7 with *HJP²*, 448). On similar grounds Marsus broke up a gathering of kings which Agrippa had convened at Tiberias in A.D. 44 (*Ant* 19.338–42).

In general, Agrippa observed Jewish traditions scrupulously (*Ant* 19.331; though see *HJP²*, 451 on his coinage). He persecuted the Christians James and Peter, executing the former and chaining the latter (Acts 12:1–5). He died in A.D. 44 after a short illness which suddenly afflicted him while he presided at a festival in the emperor's honor at Caesarea-Strato's Tower. At the festival, Agrippa dressed in a silver

robe; the crowd, impressed with his radiance, acclaimed him a god. He did not reject the acclamation, and this act of vainglory was seen as the reason for his death (*Ant* 19.343–52; Acts 12:22–23).

Agrippa and Cypros had several children: Marcus Julius Agrippa (= Agrippa II); Drusus, who died before his father; Bernice; Mariamme; and Drusilla. Their names indicate a mixture of Jewish and family traditions with a concern for the Roman imperial family (Braund 1984: 111). Agrippa's own nomenclature, Julius Agrippa, indicates not only the Roman citizenship which he had inherited through Herod but also his family's links with the Roman Agrippa, a stalwart of Augustus' regime. Agrippa must have had a Roman forename, but this is not known: Marcus is usually assumed on the grounds that his son was Marcus, but it is also likely since the Roman Agrippa had also been Marcus. Like his son after him, Agrippa as king boasted the titles "Great King, Friend of Caesar, Pious and Friend of the Romans" (*HJP²*, 452; cf. 475). The book of Acts is exceptional in according him the name "Herod."

**2.** Agrippa II—or, to give him his Roman name, Marcus Julius Agrippa—was born in A.D. 28 the son of Agrippa I and Cypros (*War* 2.220 with *Ant* 19.354). At the time of his father's death in 44 A.D., young Agrippa was in Rome, where he was being brought up at the court of the emperor Claudius. Claudius, we are told, wished immediately to appoint him as his father's successor on the throne: Josephus implies that Claudius' formal treaty with Agrippa I may have contained some mention of the succession (*Ant* 19.360–2). However, the emperor's advisers dissuaded him from this plan in the light of Agrippa's youth and the kingdom's importance. In his stead Claudius therefore appointed a Roman governor (*Ant* 19.363).

While at Claudius' court, Agrippa took the opportunity of representing Jewish causes (*Ant* 15.407; 20.10ff. and 135). Claudius gave him the kingdom left vacant by the death of Herod of Chalcis, husband of his sister Bernice, in about A.D. 50 (*Ant* 20.104; *War* 2.223, with *HJP²*, Appendix 1). Josephus reckons the years of Agrippa's reign there from A.D. 49 (*JW* 2.284; cf. *Ant* 20.138). In 52 A.D. Agrippa was in Rome once more (*Ant* 20.134ff.). In A.D. 53, instead of Chalcis, he was given the former domains of Philip, Lysimachus, and Varus (*Ant* 20.138; with *HJP²*, 472 n. 7). Nero added parts of Galilee and Peraea, most importantly Tiberias, Tarichea, and Julias (*Ant* 20.159; *War* 2.252). These additions may be linked with the new eras which appear on his coinage in 56 A.D. and 61 respectively. In Nero's honor he renamed Caesarea Philippi as Neronias (*Ant* 20.211).

Agrippa has been acccused of excessive slavishness towards the Romans (notably by Schürer [*HJP²*, 474]); however, the accusation is not easily substantiated. His concern for Judaism is not in doubt; his discussions on Jewish legal matters with Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus tend to indicate as much (as Schürer [*HJP²*, 475] allows). That Agrippa's sister's husbands underwent circumcision may or may not be a further indication (*pace HJP²*, 475, who overemphasizes this). The book of Acts tends to suggest some interest in matters of religion, if a little detached, for he and his sister Bernice wished to see and hear Paul (25:22ff., especially 26:3). In particular, Agrippa's support of Jewish causes with Claudius ought not to be forgotten (above), nor the fact that he took costly steps to save the Temple from subsidence (*War* 5.36; *Ant* 15.391).

In A.D. 66 Agrippa was in Alexandria to congratulate Tiberius Julius Alexander, a man of Jewish origin who had become Roman prefect of Egypt. As the Jewish revolt developed in that year, Agrippa returned to Jerusalem to quell it. He failed to do so and became a target himself as the revolt flared up and split into factions (*War* 2.426). He was left little choice but to join with the Romans, which gave him the considerable military might and resources at his disposal (*War* 2.500–3; 523–5). Parts of his kingdom joined the revolt, notably Tiberias, Tarichea, and the fortress of Gamala, but Agrippa preferred to rule through delegates. He spent much of his time outside his kingdom at Berytus, a favorite city of the Herods, until the arrival of Vespasian in A.D. 67. Thereafter he kept close to Vespasian and his son Titus, who had also spent his youth at the court of Claudius (*HJP²*, 477).

Upon Nero's death in A.D. 68, Agrippa left for Rome together with Titus in order to congratulate the new emperor, Galba. In the course of their journey news arrived that Galba had been assassinated and replaced. Agrippa continued to Rome, but Titus returned to his father. On July 1, A.D. 69, Vespasian was proclaimed emperor at Alexandria; war with the other claimant, Vitellius, followed, so Agrippa returned

from Rome, staying with Titus, whom his father had left to deal with the Jewish revolt (Tacitus *Historiae* 2.1–2; 2.81; 5.1).

When Vespasian had established himself as emperor and the Jewish revolt had been crushed, Agrippa was rewarded for his loyalty with additional territory (details are lacking; see *HJP²*, 478). In Rome in A.D. 75 Agrippa was awarded the symbols of praetorian rank. Thereafter he all but disappears from history. Josephus tells us that Agrippa corresponded with him on the subject of his book on the *Jewish War,* praising its accuracy and admitting that he owned a copy (*Life* 65; *AgAp* 1.9). Agrippa seems to have died in the reign of Vespasian's younger son, Domitian, about A.D. 93 (*HJP²*, 480–83). His attitude toward the Romans, in part at least, is summed up in the speech which Josephus attributed to him. If Agrippa did not actually deliver this speech in trying to quell the revolt, he apparently later read and approved of it. The main point of the speech seems notably well-reasoned: namely, that the Romans were simply too strong to succumb to any uprising which Jewish revolutionaries could mount (*War* 2.345ff.).

Agrippa seems not to have married and not to have fathered any children. It was rumored that his relationship with his sister Bernice was incestuous: Josephus' denial of that rumor is as predictable and inconclusive as Juvenal's eager acceptance of it (*Ant* 20.145; Juv. 6.158).

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**AGUE** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**AGUR.** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾāgûr* (אָגוּר)]. The son of Jakeh, and author of a collection of Proverbs beginning in Prov 30:1. It remains unclear whether the pericope ends with the conclusion of the chapter or at an earlier point (verse 14?). See McKane *Proverbs* OTL, 643 for discussion. Cohen (*Proverbs* SonB, 200) cited a midrash that identified Agur as Solomon, the one who "stored up" (*ʾagar*) wisdom and (*nqh*?) "spewed it out" (*hiqqi*—for Jakeh) by taking many wives. Another ancient view of the passage understood "Agur" allegorically, i.e., as a reference to Solomon and saw "Jakeh" as David. Apparently, the Vulgate translated *ʾāgûr* as a passive participle, hence, "the Assembler" (from *ʾāgûr* "to gather"), an appellative rather than a proper name. The LXX reads "fear (my words)" based on the Hebrew *gûr* or *tāgûr* (*BHS*:1315), from *gûr* ("to dread").

The collection displays no unique character that would aid in recovery of information on the obscure Agur. The translation of the proper names (Agur and Jakeh) provides a preferred solution for the difficult passage, but the solution itself is not beyond question. Some commentators (e.g., Ringgren *Sprüche* ATD; Scott *Proverbs* AB, 175) read *hammassaʾî* ("the Massaite") for the difficult *hammassāʾ* ("the oracle"). Keil and Delitzsch (1950: 266–67) translated Prov 30:1 as "The words of Agur the son of Jakeh, of the tribe (the country) of Massa," claiming that both Agur and LEMUEL were Arabs. The name Agur does occur in Sabean inscriptions, though it is not found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. The word *hamassāʾ* has been emended to *mašālô* ("his *mašal*") by a number of recent interpreters. The most popular approach has been to read *massāʾ* as the common noun meaning "burden" or "oracle." Toy's suggestion that the word be omitted as a gloss is the most extreme solution (*Proverbs* ICC, 518). He also suggested that Agur was either a sage who lived well after Solomon, or an older figure whose authority was used by a later writer.

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**AHAB** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾaḥʾāb* (אַחְאָב)]. The name of two persons in the Hebrew Bible.

**1.** Son and successor of Omri, who ruled N Israel during the second quarter of the 9th century B.C. The exact dates of his reign are disputed: 871–852 B.C. (Begrich 1929; Jepsen and Hanhart BZAW 88); 874–

853 (Thiele 1965); 875–854 (Andersen 1969). The Deuteronomistic and prophetic traditions single him out as one of the worst kings of the N kingdom (1 Kgs 16:33; 2 Kgs 21:3, 13; Micah 6:16).

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A. Sources
B. Ahab's Foreign Policy
C. Ahab's Domestic Policies
D. Traditions about Ahab
    1. The Drought and the Contest on Carmel
    2. Naboth's Vineyard
    3. Building Projects
    4. The Battle of Qarqar
    5. Ahab's Death
E. Conclusion

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**A. Sources**

The sources for Ahab are 1 Kings 16:29–22:40, with the exception of chapter 19 (in which Ahab is mentioned only in verse 1, the introduction), chapter 20, and 22:1–38. These latter two references originally were not in the context of traditions about Ahab but instead of a later phase of the Omride dynasty or earlier phase of the Jehu dynasties, despite the occasional mention of Ahab's name (20:2, 13, 14; 22:20, see below). Given the tendentious nature of the remaining texts, however, caution is necessary when using them as historical sources. For example, the Elijah stories originate in prophetic circles of tradition which opposed the royal house of Omri (especially its religious policies), and which therefore depict Ahab as Elijah's antagonist. Also, the framework for the reign of Ahab (16:29–33; 22:39–40) is formed by the Deuteronomistic redactors of the book of Kings, who insert important traditional material here going back to the royal records of the N kingdom, but who utilize this material for their own negative assessment of Ahab.

These sparse historically relevant accounts of Ahab in the OT are supplemented by extrabiblical sources. Ahab is expressly mentioned in the so-called monolith inscription of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (see *ANET*, 277ff.). Likewise, the inscription of King Mesha of Moab refers in part to the reign of Ahab, without, however, mentioning him by name. The historical value of the excerpts from the historical work of Menander of Ephesus quoted by Josephus (*Ant* 8.13.2; cf. 8.13.1) is doubtful.

**B. Ahab's Foreign Policy**

Ahab was the exponent of a political program introduced by his father Omri, shaped mainly to counter the threat posed by the expanding power of the neighboring Aramean kingdom of Damascus (Unger 1957; Hallo 1960; Mazar 1962; Tadmor 1975; Lipiński 1978). Since the incursion of the Arameans into Galilee under Baasha (1 Kgs 15:16–22), the kingdom of Damascus remained a constant source of trouble which kept particularly the area E of the Jordan under pressure. However, we have no information about actual conflicts between Damascus and Israel in the time of Ahab. A massive Aramean invasion into the center of the Israelite territory, as reported in 1 Kings 20, is not likely to have occurred under Ahab. The story, originally transmitted anonymously, and referring to a later historical situation, was placed into the reign of Ahab by redactors, who inserted his name in various places (vv 2, 13, 14). The battle for Ramoth-Gilead, in which Ahab purportedly died (22:29–38), is also unhistorical. For a discussion of problems associated with the battles reported in 1 Kings 20 and 22, see ARAM (PLACE). Nevertheless, one may assume a constant state of tension between Aram-Damascus and Israel and possibly even border skirmishes.

These hostilities came to an end toward the end of Ahab's reign when a more dangerous enemy appeared on the scene and threatened both Syria and Palestine: the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III. Aram and Israel temporarily suspended their hostilities in order to oppose the Assyrians in a grand alliance of the Syro-Palestinian states ca. 853 B.C. The major part of Ahab's reign, however, seems to have been overshadowed by the Aramean threat. To meet this threat, Ahab conducted a deliberate policy of peace

and alliances with the neighboring states, especially Judah and Phoenicia. The border skirmishes with Judah, which had erupted periodically since the division of the kingdom at the time of Rehoboam, were probably terminated by Omri, but certainly by Ahab. The new state of peace and alliance was sealed by a political marriage: ATHALIAH (more likely a sister [2 Kgs 8:26] than a daughter of Ahab [2 Kgs 8:18]) was given in marriage to the Judean crown prince Jehoram. In the following period the Judean kings appear as partners in alliance with the N Israelite monarchs of the Omride dynasty.

In similar fashion, the relationship with the Phoenicians was placed on a new footing. Ahab, probably already as crown prince, married the Phoenician princess Jezebel, daughter of "Ethbaal, King of the Sidonians" (1 Kgs 16:31) or "Ittobaal, king of Tyre and Sidon" (Josephus *Ant* 8.13.1). It is doubtful whether the area of Mt. Carmel—which from time to time was in the hands of the Phoenicians—was returned to Israel in connection with the new alliance (Alt, *RGG*$^3$ 1: 189). By the time of Ahab, however, it was firmly under Israelite control. Furthermore, the alliance with the Phoenicians probably was intended less to settle territorial disputes than to insure a condition of peace in the NW and to encourage trade with the Mediterranean coast.

Finally, even the border wars with the Philistines (1 Kgs 15:27; 16:15) ceased. During Ahab's reign and beyond, relations with the Philistine city states seem to have been peaceful (2 Kings 1). East of the Jordan Ahab initially maintained Israel's hegemony over Moab and secured the S frontier of the Israelite settlement of the wadi Heidan against the mounting pressure from the Moabites. He doesn't seem to have attempted to recapture the territory between the Heidan and the Arnon, which was occupied by the Moabites. Thus, Ahab achieved a truce on all borders, and in some areas even secured allies, in order to meet the Aramean threat in the N.

**C. Ahab's Domestic Policies**

Ahab's domestic policies likewise were aimed at consolidating power. In order to relieve and obviate internal tension he pursued a policy designed to strike a balance between the Israelite population and traditionally Canaanite segments of the population. The speculation that Ahab opened his new capital of Samaria to the Canaanite influence in particular while his secondary residence Jezreel was intended primarily for the Israelite component of the citizenry (Alt *KlSchr*$^2$ 3: 258–302) cannot be documented. Yet it has a certain ring of truth, because Jezreel maintained its role as royal residence only among the rulers from the House of Omri and apparently lost this function after the revolution of Jehu and the anti-Canaanite purge of Samaria (2 Kings 9–10).

Ahab's policy of balancing Israelite and Canaanite interests also had consequences in the religious sphere. The Canaanite cult of Baal attained equal status and even received special governmental support through the influence of Queen Jezebel and her court. In Samaria, Ahab erected a temple to Baal with a Baal altar and an image of Asherah (1 Kgs 16:32f.). The god Baal who was worshipped there was identical to the Phoenician god Melkart whom Jezebel knew from her homeland. Ahab himself, however, was hardly a Baal worshipper (contrary to 1 Kgs 16:31); the names of his sons Ahaziah and Jehoram contain the root of Yahweh's name, and these names were Ahab's way of demonstrating his attachment to the God of Israel. Nevertheless, his policies of religious compromise and coexistence earned him the opposition of circles more zealously loyal to Yahweh, especially the prophet Elijah, who viewed Ahab's policies as a challenge to the requirement of exclusive worship of Yahweh (cf. 1 Kgs 18:21). This violent opposition continued among the prophetic groups even after the death of Ahab and has led to the dim view of Ahab preserved in the biblical tradition. Subsequently this portrait was adopted and further intensified by the Deuteronomistic redactors of the book of Kings (1 Kgs 16:30–33).

**D. Traditions about Ahab**

**1. The Drought and the Contest on Carmel.** The reign of Ahab is linked to the tradition of a severe drought whose beginning and end was traced to the activity of Elijah the prophet (1 Kgs 17:1; 18:41–46). It seems, however, that at this point the two were not yet antagonists. It is debatable whether this drought is identical with the one which Menander of Ephesus alleges occurred under Itto-baal of Tyre in Phoenicia (Josephus *Ant* 8.13.2), or whether the link between them was established by Josephus himself. The implication that the drought was caused by Ahab's idolatry (1 Kgs 16:29–17:1) was a construction of the

Deuteronomistic redaction: The original prophecy itself (17:1) contained no such attribution. It is possible (if not provable) that, like other originally basic information (e.g., a more detailed identification of the rank of Ahab and of the place of the prophecy), the original "cause" for the drought was deleted by the redactors in favor of their own explanation.

The tradition of the contest on Mt. Carmel was originally unrelated to Ahab. True, he is mentioned in the introduction (18:20), but he appears nowhere else in the entire narrative (18:21–40). The contest on Mt. Carmel was thus definitely not a "Haupt- und Staatsaktion" (Alt, *KlSchr*$^4$ 2: 147), but was likely a much more limited, local event in which the powers of state were unlikely to have participated. Nor does the first half of chapter 18 contain any historically reliable information on Ahab. The passage which describes how Ahab and his house minister, Obadiah, scour the whole country in search of feed for the royal mares (vv 3–6) most likely does not recount an historical incident, but is intended to demonstrate vividly the severity of the drought's burden on the land. The scene of the encounter between Ahab and Elijah (vv 16–20) serves primarily to link the theme of the drought to the tradition of the "divine judgment on Mt. Carmel."

**2. Naboth's Vineyard.** The story of Naboth's vineyard at Jezreel (1 Kings 21), on the other hand, is explicitly an Ahab tradition. In the present form of the chapter it is Jezebel, to be sure, who is the chief character of the episode. Yet it is Ahab who was most likely the original focus of the tradition. This is already evident in the fact that, at first, Elijah addresses only Ahab (vv 17–22), while the word of judgment over Jezebel appears as a later addition to the story (v 23). Furthermore, there exists a short parallel tradition to this story in 2 Kgs 9:25–26. Here, too, only Ahab is mentioned as the offender; Jezebel is not mentioned at all. Similarly, the story's motif of "intrigue"—Jezebel staging a fast day with Naboth presiding, bribing false witnesses to denounce him, and then putting him to death on trumped up charges—probably should be attributed to a secondary embellishment of the tradition. Originally it is probable that Ahab on his own initiative appropriated a piece of land belonging to Naboth of Jezreel (more likely a field outside the city [2 Kgs 9:25f] than a vineyard next to the royal palace [1 Kgs 21:1]) by falsely accusing Naboth (of high treason?) and executing him together with his sons (2 Kgs 9:26), who would retain a legal claim to the land.

This was probably an instance of conflict between the old Israelite property laws and the interests of the king. The former guaranteed the Israelite protection from sale or exchange of his inherited land, while the latter accommodated the expansion and consolidation of crown property. According to 1 Kgs 21:2, Ahab shared the belief common in the ancient Orient (as well as in Canaan) that property could be freely traded, bought, exchanged, or mortgaged (not unlike his father Omri, who purchased the hill of Samaria, 1 Kgs 16:24). He was thwarted, however, by Naboth's implicit appeal to the Israelite law of property (21:3) which prohibited the sale or exchange of inherited land except for its transferral as inheritance. The intent of this tradition was probably to show how Ahab employed the power of his royal office to eliminate Naboth and his sons unlawfully and to gain possession of their land. This instance of might before right was a perversion of the king's role, and indicates that in some ways the Israelite monarchy resembled ancient Oriental despotism. Consequently, Ahab received an announcement of impending judgment; in 1 Kgs 21:17ff. it is understood to have been conveyed by Elijah, but in 2 Kgs 9:25–26 it is mentioned only as the word of Yahweh without naming any prophet. According to the latter text the judgment was executed not against Ahab but his son Jehoram. See NABOTH.

**3. Building Projects.** The reign of Ahab brought Israel not only military strength and security, but also increase of commerce, economic prosperity, and material culture. As might be expected, Ahab's building activity is also emphasized by the Deuteronomistic frame (16:32f.; 22:39) which itself derives from the royal records. It is likely that he completed the construction of the new capital, Samaria, which his father Omri had founded. Mention has already been made of the construction of a Baal temple with altar and Asherah statue (16:32f.), which was intended primarily for Jezebel and her retinue, but also for a wider Canaanite population. The shrine was totally demolished during Jehu's rise to power (2 Kgs 10:25–27) and therefore it is no longer accessible to archaeological examination. According to 1 Kgs 22:39, Ahab

also built an "ivory house": This designates the royal palace (or a part thereof), the walls of which were decorated with ivory carvings.

The excavations at SAMARIA illustrate this fact. The ivory plaques found there represent the most important collection of Palestinian miniature art of this era. At least a part of it belongs to Ahab's time (Dussaud 1925). The images manifest the strong influence of Egyptian style, but are probably of Phoenician origin. A fortified casemate wall (stratum 2) ascribed to the Ahab period demonstrates Ahab's efforts to enclose the city. The design of the palace is no longer exactly ascertainable because of numerous structural additions. Especially noteworthy, however, is the brilliant wall construction using ashlars in a nearly seamless headers-and-stretchers technique, which cannot be attributed to indigenous Israelite traditions of craftsmanship. It is more likely that Ahab, like Solomon before him, employed Phoenician specialists who contributed their technical expertise in the construction of the capital city.

Besides Samaria there are other cities in the land which Ahab completed or developed into fortifications (Pienaar 1981). The latter normally were sitated in strategically important locations. Hazor, Dan, and En Gev protected the land against the Aramean threat; Megiddo shielded the plain of Jezreel against incursions from the coastal plain, especially by the Philistines; while Jericho (1 Kgs 16:34) apparently served as protection against possible Moabite attacks, or as a base of operations in S Cis-Jordan. Of course, it is not possible in every case to determine precisely whether the strata in question belong to the time of Ahab or to other Omride kings; however, in view of the remark in 1 Kgs 22:39 it seems most likely that the bulk of these should properly be attributed to Ahab.

The most striking archaeological findings come from MEGIDDO and HAZOR, both of which were heavily garrisoned fortresses. In the W part of the Hazor settlement there was a large citadel with unusually thick walls and a monumental gate which was originally adorned with proto-aeolic columns (Stratum 8). The excavations in Megiddo between 1960 and 1970 have caused a considerable revision of the old stratigraphy (Yadin 1975). The famed "stables of Solomon" now have turned out to be buildings from the time of Ahab (Stratum 4a); their function, however, remains disputed. In view of the large contingent of war chariots at Ahab's disposal, their use as stables cannot be ruled out; however, their interpretation as storehouses, or even as garrisons, is currently favored. A similar columned building in Hazor from the same era (Stratum 8) is plainly a storehouse. The immense water systems in Megiddo and Hazor are particularly striking. They, too, may be dated to Ahab's time. They each consisted of a vertical shaft (of 35 m at Megiddo; 30 m at Hazor) leading, via a stairway, to a horizontal tunnel. At Hazor this tunnel of 25 m led to the groundwater table in a gentle descent. At Megiddo water from a spring protected externally by a wall was carried to the shaft over a distance of 63 m. Both structures were engineering masterpieces of their time, insuring unhindered access to water from inside the city in the event of a siege.

**4. The Battle of Qarqar.** Toward the end of Ahab's reign a newly emerging enemy upset the balance of power in Syria and Palestine: the kingdom of Assyria. In 853 B.C. the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III mounted his first campaign against Syria. This event is not mentioned in the OT, but is known from Assyrian sources, particularly from the so-called Monolith Inscription of Shalmaneser (*ANET*, 278f.). Observing the Assyrian expansion, the Syro-Palestinian states suspended their internecine hostilities and formed a protective alliance against the greater danger. At the head of this coalition apparently stood the Aramean king of Damascus, Hadadezer. Immediately following him, Irḫulēni, king of the Arameans of Hamath, and Ahab of Israel (*aḫabbū sir›ilā›a*) are mentioned as most important allies. They were joined by lesser Syrian and Phoenician rulers as well as Arabian cameleers. With 2,000 war chariots, Ahab deployed the largest chariot force of all the allies. Shalmaneser had attacked the area of Hamath and had conquered and destroyed the town of Qarqar. It was here that the army of the allies challenged him. As may be expected from the style of the Assyrian royal inscriptions, the Assyrians won a brilliant victory; it was, however, more likely a failure, for Shalmaneser discontinued his advance and apparently gave up his plans of subjugating the enemy. In the years following he avoided marching into Syria and resuming the battle with the allies.

**5. Ahab's Death.** Ahab died shortly after the battle of Qarqar. According to 1 Kgs 22:29–38, he lost his life in a battle with the Arameans over the E Jordan city of Ramoth-Gilead. This implies that the Israelite-

Aramean alliance disintegrated quickly. However, the formula in 22:40 ("he was laid to rest with his father," which is generally used for a nonviolent death) contradicts such an implication, reflecting correctly the actual historical facts. 1 Kgs 22:29–38 is not a tradition yielding reliable historical data; at best it may reflect residual memories of the wounding of Ahab's son Jehoram near Ramoth-Gilead (2 Kgs 8:28–29; 9:14ff.). Furthermore, a notice of fulfillment has been inserted (22:38; cf 21:19). Thus it seems likely that Ahab died a peaceful and natural death in Samaria.

**E. Conclusion**

The portrait of Ahab and his dynasty (the "House of Ahab") has been negatively distorted in the OT tradition primarily because of his religious policies which were seen as a danger to the traditional worship of God in circles loyal to Yahweh. His skillful foreign policies, which provided Israel with strength, security, and prosperity, which safeguarded peace and the balance of power, and which, finally, contributed to the (temporary) containment of Assyrian expansionism, may be inferred from the few sources that yield reliable historical data. However, his contributions in this regard were ignored in the decidedly theological perspective of the OT witnesses (Whitley 1952; Gooding 1964; Cohen 1975). The negative picture of Ahab in the OT is influenced (1) by the circles of opposing prophetic groups who transmitted the events of that time through their own biased perspective and (2) by the transitions accompanying the Jehu revolution, which put an end to the "House of Ahab". In the judgment of later Deuteronomistic circles, Ahab was the worst of all the kings of the N kingdom (1 Kgs 16:33). For them, his behavior yielded a negative criterion for the assessment of subsequent kings or groups and their fortunes (2 Kgs 21:3, 13; Micah 6:16).

**2.** The son of Kolaiah who, along with Zedekiah the son of Maaseiah, was condemned by Jeremiah for prophesying false things to the Judean exiles in Babylonia (Jer 29:21–23). The two were also accused of committing adultery. Although the LXX omits 29:16–20 (the Lucianic text preserves them in a different order), the context of the passage suggests that, like their contemporary Hananiah (Jeremiah 28), these two prophesied a quick end to the exile. Apparently their prophetic activity earned them the disfavor of Nebuchadnezzar, who had them executed (probably for sedition). Consequently, Jeremiah anticipated that their deaths would be cited in a popular curse: "May Yahweh make you like Zedekiah and Ahab, whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire."

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**AHARAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾaḥĕraḥ* (אַחְרַח)]. The third son of Benjamin, following Bela and Ashbel in 1 Chr 8:1 (LXX variants include *aara, deira,* and *iaphaēl*). Since the name Aharah does not occur in parallel genealogies of Benjamin (Gen 46:21; Num 26:38; 1 Chr 7:6), it is difficult to identify him. These various genealogies differ in the names, number (from three to ten), and order of sons listed. The close variant name "Ahiram" is listed as the 3d son of Benjamin in Num 26:38 (like Aharah, this name occurs only once), suggesting that the list in 1 Chronicles 8 is dependent on Numbers 26.
MARK J. FRETZ

**AHARHEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥarḥēl* (אֲחַרְחֵל)]. The son of Harum and bearer of the family name (1 Chr 4:8). Located within a fragmented list of Judah's descendants (vv 1–23), the MT shows no connection between this verse and the surrounding context. The MT of v 8 (*wĕqōs hōlîd ʾet-ʿānûb wĕʾet-haṣṣobēbâ ûmišpĕḥōt ʾăḥarḥēl ben-hārûm,* "And Koz was father of Anub, and Zobebah, and the families of Aharhel the son of Harum") may be connected to v 7, if it is assumed that Heb *wĕqōṣ* has dropped out of the end of v 7 through haplography (Williamson *1, 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 59). This would make Koz the last named son of Ashhur and Helah, and thereby relate his offspring to Judah. Similarly, v 8 and v 9 are not interconnected, unless it is assumed that Jabez was also a son of Koz (Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 107).

Most scholars agree that the text of 1 Chr 4:5–9 is corrupt, and that v 8 stands apart from the preceding and succeeding verses. Therefore, genealogical connections between individuals in these verses are not easily established. If, as the MT suggests, Aharhel is indeed the son of Harum, it seems unlikely for him also to be a son of Koz (Rudolf *Chronikbücher* HAT, 30). If Harum is a gentilic variant of "Ram" (Heb *rûm*), with a prefixed definite article, then Aharhel is a descendant of Ram (Yeivin 1971: 199, n. 109). The LXX reading suggests a third possibility: The name Aharhel itself (*ʾăḥarḥēl*) is a textual corruption of the phrase *ʾăḥî rēkab,* "brother of Rechab" (*gennēseis adelphou Rēchab huiou Iareim,* "the progeny of the brother of Rechab, the son of Iarim"). Since the names Aharhel and Harum do not occur elsewhere in the Bible, and the foregoing questions cannot be satisfactorily resolved, no clear identification of Aharhel is possible.

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**AHASBAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥasbay* (אֲחַסְבַּי)]. The father of Eliphelet (2 Sam 23:34), one of David's champions (the *šālišîm;* RSV: The Thirty). That Ahasbai was from Maacah may indicate that he was a Syrian (see MAACAH), making his son one of the many foreign nationals among David's retainers. The town of Abel, in Beth-Maacah (2 Sam 20:14) probably refers to the region of Maacah in southern Syria as well (cf. Aharoni *LBHG* 167). On the other hand, 1 Chr 2:48; 4:19 list Maacah as a family group in southern Judah, raising the possibility that Ahasbai was a Judean. The parallel list in Chronicles (1 Chr 11:35b–36a) reads Eliphal the son of Ur, followed by Hepher the Mecherathite, instead of Eliphelet, the son of Ahasbai of Maacah. In this case it seems probable that the scribe misread the Hebrew consonantal text *ʿḥsby* as *ʿwr ḥpr,* though in other instances it appears as if the Chronicler is working with a somewhat different text from that in 2 Sam 23:8–39 (see DAVID'S CHAMPIONS).
D. G. SCHLEY

**AHASHTARITES** [Heb *hāʿăḥaštārî* (הָאֲחַשְׁתָּרִי)]. See HAAHASHTARI.

**AHASUERUS** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥašwērôš* (אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ); Gk *asyēros* (ἀσυηρος)].

1. The Persian king who chose Esther to be his queen (Esth 1:1; 2:16–17; cf. also Ezra 4:6). See ESTHER. He is to be identified with the famous XERXES (485–465 B.C.), but was mistakenly identified

in Jewish Midrash with Artaxerxes. Hoschander (1923) argued that Ahasuerus was to be identified with Artaxerxes II (403–359 B.C.). But extrabiblical evidence leaves little doubt that Ahasuerus was Xerxes, the son of Darius I. Shea (1976: 228) is able to list the spelling of both Xerxes and Artaxerxes in seven languages: Greek, Old Persian, Elamite, Aramaic, Hebrew, Akkadian, Egyptian (there is always a *t* in the spelling of the latter name).

Apart from Esther, this Ahasuerus is mentioned only in Ezra 4:6 in relation to an accusation which was lodged against the Jews in his reign. Morgenstern (1956, 1957, 1960, 1966) postulated a destruction of Jerusalem in 485 B.C. in the reign of Xerxes as the immediate background of Ezra and Nehemiah, but most scholars regard such a thesis as highly improbable.

Herodotus, in addition to depicting Xerxes' role in the invasion of Greece in 480 B.C., presents an unflattering portrait of the king as an impatient, hot-tempered monarch with a wandering eye for women. According to Herodotus (9.108–13), Xerxes (Gk *assouēros*) not only tried to have an affair with his brother's wife, but also did have an affair with her daughter.

According to Barucq (1961: 3), the role which Ahasuerus holds in Esther "conforms perfectly to Xerxes" as we know him from Herodotus. Moore (1975: 69) agrees: "Much of what the author of Esther says about King Xerxes corresponds fairly well with what the classical writers had to say about such things, for example, … his nasty and at times irrational temper (1:12; 7:7–8) …"

Ahasuerus is prominently portrayed on his throne in a fresco of the famous Dura Europos synagogue (Levit-Tawil 1983).

**2.** The father of Darius the Mede (Dan 9:1). See DARIUS THE MEDE.

**3.** The ruler who helped Nebuchadnezzar destroy the city of Nineveh (Tob 14:15). However, given the romantic and unhistorical nature of this apocryphal book, the identity of this character is in doubt. The author's chronological sequence seems to be so skewed (cf. Tob 1:4, which condenses events two centuries apart into one generation) that it is impossible to determine which ancient ruler he had in mind. He may have regarded this as the same Ahasuerus mentioned in Esth 1:1 and Ezra 4:6 (i.e., the Persian Xerxes; see 1. above), who came to the throne about 75 years after Nebuchadnezzar died. Other ancient sources confirm that Nineveh was actually destroyed in 612 B.C. by a coalition led by Nebuchadnezzar's father Nabopolassar and Cyaxares (*Uvaxšatra*) the Mede.

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**AHAVA** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾahăwā* (אַהֲוָא)]. Var. THERAS. The river (and possibly also a town) mentioned in Ezra's memoirs as the place where Ezra first gathered the exiles and proclaimed a fast before departing to return to Palestine (Ezra 8:15, 21, 31). Although limited data is available, and all proposed identifications assume a particular route for Ezra's return, Ahava presumably was located within a radius of 200 km from Babylon (Zadok 1979: 117).

One obstacle to identification lies in the abundant textual variants found in the relevant verses. In v 15, the Ethiopic *ahua* reflects MT tradition, but LXX variants including *euei (m)* and *thousi* do not support the MT. In vv 21 and 31, the LXX reads variously *thoue, aoue, daouath.* The 1 Esdras 8 parallels read

*theran* (41, 60—Eng8:61), while a variant of v 41 reads *potamon* (river) as the proper name itself. Josephus mentions no name, but simply refers to the place as the "other side of the Euphrates" (*Ant* 11.5.2). It is difficult to decipher whether the various mss reflect different *vorlagen*, or whether the scribes were attempting to make an identification of the site.

Although the canal Ahava still has not been positively identified by scholars (Delitzsch 1881: 193), and may simply refer to a large, unsettled area outside Babylon, it may be associated with various settlement sites. According to Williamson (*1, 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 116), Ahava may have been one of Babylon's artificial canals or waterways constructed for defensive purposes, whose source was the Euphrates. Winckler (1901: 518) identifies Ahava with the ancient city of *Opis* (Babylonian *Upi*), which was probably located north of Sippar along the Tigris. Obermeyer (1929: 15) identifies Ahava with "Awana" (where "na" signifies a district), a village located ca. 53 km north of Baghdad near the Tigris. Based on LXX *aoue* and *euei*, Gutman (*EncMiqr* 1: 122) proposes *Itu* (modern *Hīt*, probably the same as *Is*), a city located ca. 200 km northwest of Babylon on the Euphrates.

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**AHAZ** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾāḥāz* (אָחָז)]. The name is a hypocoristicon: a shortened form of names such as Ahaziah and Jehoahaz, "the LORD holds." These names probably reflect confidence in God's imminent presence, as in Ps 73:23, "I am always with you, you hold (*ʾāḥaztā*) my right hand" (*IPN*, 179).

**1.** The great-great-grandson of Saul, mentioned only in post-exilic genealogies (1 Chr 8:35, 36, and 9:41, 42; Ahaz is absent in the Hebrew of 9:41, probably as a result of haplography). These verses appear in the two nearly identical genealogies of Saul's family in 1 Chr 8:33–40 and 1 Chr 9:39–44. This list is from the end of the First Temple period (Demsky 1971: 20), and was preserved by Benjaminite families that survived the Babylonian exile (Williamson 1979: 356). The existence and preservation of the Saulide genealogy probably reflects the continued prominence of Saul's family, and perhaps even their hope that they would return to power (Ackroyd, *Chronicles Ezra Nehemiah* CBC, 42; Flanagan 1982: 25). The genealogy of Benjamin in 1 Chronicles 8 corresponds to the genealogy of Judah in chaps. 2–4, forming a frame around the other tribes of Israel. Benjamin and Judah are given this prominent position by the Chronicler because of their past loyalty to David and the Temple (Williamson, *Chronicles* NCB, 46–47) and because they are the two main tribes that returned from the exile (Ezra 1:5). The repetition of the genealogy in chap. 9 serves as a bridge to the narrative of Saul's death in chap. 10 (Demsky 1971: 17).

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**2.** The son and successor of Jotham, who assumed the throne when he was 20 years old and reigned for 16 years, ca. 742–727 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 16:2). The fuller form of the name Jehoahaz is found in the Assyrian annals of Tiglath-pileser III as Yauhazi (*ANET*, 282–4). The chronological difficulties connected with this reign are notoriously difficult. The precise timing of Ahaz's accession is obscured by the conflicting references in 2 Kgs 16:2 and 2 Chr 28:1 when compared with the contradictory information about the death of Ahaz and the accession of Hezekiah (2 Kgs 16:19–20; 18:1). If Hezekiah succeeded Ahaz when he was 25 years old (2 Kgs 18:2), then Ahaz could only have been 11 years old when he became a father since he is said to have been 36 at the time of his death (2 Chr 28:2).

Various aspects of the reign of Ahaz are described in three separate accounts in 2 Kings 16, 2 Chronicles 28, and Isaiah 7, as well as in Assyrian annals and inscriptions (*ANET*, 282–84). These accounts give very different assessments of the reign of Ahaz, as well as a number of conflicting details which are difficult to reconcile. Historians have tried to reconstruct the Syro-Ephraimite war on the basis of the accounts of Ahaz's reign in Kings, Chronicles, and Isaiah. All note that the broad outline appears to be recognizable, while the actual details are much more contentious. See SYRO-EPHRAIMITE WAR. A good account of the various difficulties can be found in Bright (*BHI*, 276–77) or Miller and Hayes (*HAIJ*, 340–46). These accounts are dependent upon critical judgments about the date of the various narratives as well as assessments of the priority of various conflicting details in the different accounts. There is some dispute over the correct date of Ahaz's appeal to Tiglath-pileser for assistance in fending off the anti-Assyrian coalition formed by N Israel and Syria. Judah was deprived of the important economic and strategic port of Elath by the Arameans (according to the MT of 2 Kgs 16:6) or by the Edomites (as many commentators emend the text). According to the Chronicler, the Edomites joined the attack upon Judah (2 Chr 28:17–18), while the Philistines made incursions into the Shephelah and Negeb. However, it is clear that the Assyrians soon subdued the region and defeated the Syro-Ephraimite coalition (ca. 734–732 B.C.E.).

Furthermore, it is often concluded that the consequences of Ahaz's action was to reduce Judah to a vassal state of Assyria (*BHI*, 276–77). A particular area of debate (Cogan 1974; McKay 1973) has been whether or not Ahaz introduced the worship of Assyrian astral deities into the Jerusalem temple and so throughout Judah. Such a view is based on the description of Ahaz's voluntary introduction of the altar from Damascus into the Jerusalem temple after his visit to Tiglath-pileser (2 Kgs 16:10). This is then thought to be confirmed by the fact that Ahaz was forced to pay tribute, in the form of temple treasures, to his Assyrian overlord. However, this standard interpretation has been challenged, particularly by Cogan (1974) and McKay (1973). They question the fact that Tiglath-pileser ever imposed Assyrian religion upon vassals or that Ahaz was forced to modify indigenous cults (McKay 1973: 5–12). It has been pointed out that the Deuteronomistic condemnation of Ahaz was for the introduction of Palestinian indigenous cults rather than for those of Assyria (Cogan 1974: 72–88). Ahaz's sacrificial cult is described in 2 Chr 28:23 as being carried out in honor of the "gods of Damascus." This suggests that the Jerusalem cult was based on common Syro-Palestinian models, rather than necessarily subject to Assyrian imperial religion. Cogan and McKay deny that the type of altar described is found in Mesopotamia. Ahaz is also seen as reviving the cult of child sacrifice associated with Molech. The phrase "he made his son pass through the fire" is taken as a reference to child sacrifice rather than some ritual ordeal: RSV "he burned his son" (cf. Deut 18:10).

The differing biblical and scholarly assessments of Ahaz's reign highlight the tendentious nature of the biblical narratives. Ackroyd (1968) has highlighted the differing theological concerns in the three narratives and their difficulty as historical sources. He maintains that it is not possible to conflate the accounts in order to arrive at an historical picture. Thompson (1982) has produced the most detailed study of the theological shaping of these narratives. Ackroyd (1984) has recently argued that Ahaz's submission to Assyrian power enabled Judah to survive the catastrophe which overtook the northern kingdom in 722 B.C.E., whereas Hezekiah's rebellion against the Assyrians resulted in disaster. He concludes that the biblical assessments of Ahaz's reign from a purely theological point of view present the opposite of an historically accurate picture.

The account of Ahaz's reign in 2 Kings 16 forms an important part of the Deuteronomistic presentation of the climactic advance of the S kingdom to its ultimate fate at the hands of the Babylonians in 587 B.C.E. Ahaz's reign is highlighted by the Deuteronomists in a number of important ways. He is not only condemned with the standard assessment that "he did not do what was right in the eyes of the LORD …," but his reign is introduced without mention of his mother, a very rare occurrence in regnal formulae paralleled only in the introduction to the reign of Jehoram (2 Kgs 8:16–17). Again, like Jehoram, Ahaz is also reviled further by being compared in his wickedness to the kings of Israel (2 Kgs 16:3; see 2 Kgs 8:18). The amount of space devoted to detailing Ahaz's religious and political deviations from the

Deuteronomistic ideal highlights the significance of this chapter within the Deuteronomistic History. Ahaz is presented as adding significantly to this spiral of cultic decline by following the abominable practices of the nations driven out by Yahweh and sacrificing and burning incense on the high places, hills, and under every green tree. His cultic failings are couched in language that makes his crime in the eyes of the Deuteronomists unambiguous and unforgivable. The appeal to Tiglath-pileser against the Syro-Ephraimite coalition, his subsequent building of the altar on the Damascus model, the payment of tribute, and various alterations to the temple are introduced without explicit comment or condemnation. However, in the context of the severe condemnation in the opening verses of the chapter (2 Kgs 16:2–4), this has to be read as further evidence of the inherent corruption of Ahaz's reign. Most reigns of S kings who are judged as unworthy as Ahaz are dismissed in a few verses. The significance of this chapter is that it stands immediately before the important editorial section in 2 Kings 17 detailing the destruction of the N for its apostasy. The present context, therefore, highlights that the S kingdom is progressing at an ever increasing rate to a similar fate.

The Chronicler's presentation of the reign of Ahaz further highlights the different theological assumptions underlying these major complexes within the Hebrew Bible. It is generally recognized that the Chronicler reworks the material from Kings in line with his/her own tendentious design. The overall condemnation at the opening of the chapter remains very much the same. However the details of the account are often strikingly different while much of the material is unique to the Chronicler. The treatment of Judaean captives by the N kingdom (2 Chr 28:8–15) is an addition by the Chronicler. Ahaz's problems with Israel and Syria are not presented as due to a coalition but as separate matters. Whereas 2 Kings 16 and Isaiah 7 state that the coalition besieged Jerusalem but was unable to take it, the Chronicler details devastating defeats by Syria and Israel. Williamson (1977: 114–18) has pointed out the significance of the chapter within the Chronicler's work. The various additions and changes made by the Chronicler to the Kings account reverse the presentations of the S and N kingdoms in 2 Chronicles 13. He highlights very significant literary parallels between 2 Chronicles 28 and 2 Chronicles 13 which emphasize the tendentious way in which the material is presented. At the end of the reign of Ahaz both communities have been defeated and are in partial exile. It is made clear that Ahaz has reversed the religious policies of Abijah and that Judah has assumed the apostate role previously attributed to N Israel.

Isaiah 7 provides a different perspective on the Syro-Ephraimite coalition and Ahaz's role in the affair. Ahaz symbolizes a lack of faith and trust in Yahweh. The symbolic naming of the children, Shear-jashub and Immanuel, are signs of hope presented to the king confirming that the coalition will be divinely defeated, provided Judah remains faithful. The implicit threat is to the Davidic dynasty since the signs are given to "the house of David" (7:2). Clements (*Isaiah* NCBC, 84) also points out that the attempt by the coalition to place Ben Tabeel on the throne further symbolizes the threat since it is usually assumed that the reference is to an Aramaean of non-Davidic descent.

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**AHAZIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥazyāh (û)* (אֲחַזְיָהוּ)]. The name of two kings in the OT. The name means "Yahweh has seized."

**1.** King of N Israel, the son and successor of Ahab, who reigned little more than one year. The calculations for his reign differ only slightly: 852–851 B.C.E. (Begrich and Jepsen), 853–852 (Thiele), 854–853 (Andersen).

The sources for Ahaziah of Israel are found in 1 Kgs 22:40, 50, 52–54 (—Eng 22:40, 49, 51–53; 2 Kgs 1:1–18; and 2 Chr 20:35, 37. The subsequent division of the book of Kings has split the account of Ahaziah's reign into two halves. Little is reported about the period of his reign. One can assume that it was too short a period of time to enable him to make changes in the policies he had inherited from his father Ahab, even if he had wanted to do so. He probably continued Ahab's policies, externally seeking peace and alliances and concentrating all his efforts on the prevention of a potential Syrian (and later an Assyrian) threat. Domestically, he probably continued to strive for a balance between the Israelite citizens and the traditionally Canaanite population by promoting equality of rights in social and religious affairs. This caused him (like his father Ahab before him) to be criticized by circles loyal to Yahweh, especially by the prophet Elijah. A concrete case of this is found in the narrative of 2 Kings 1. Because these few notices about Ahaziah derive from the prophetic tradition and the Deuteronomistic redactors, he is depicted negatively, as was his father Ahab.

2 Kgs 1:1, a noteworthy verse that seems rather abrupt, informs the reader that Moab rebelled against Israel after Ahab's death (i.e., during the reign of Ahaziah). This note appears in an almost identical formulation in 3:5, where it refers to the time of Jehoram, Ahaziah's successor. It introduces the narrative about the campaign of the kings of Israel, Judah, and Edom against King Mesha of Moab. This is most likely the original source of this information (3:5), but later Deuteronomistic redactors moved it to 2 Kgs 1:1, because it fit the chronological context better there ("after Ahab's death," which had just previously been reported). In this new context, however, this note served no purpose. Besides, the "defection of Moab" is difficult to imagine as a sudden event. In the last years of Ahab's reign the Moabites were probably already attempting to shake off their dependency, in order to exert more pressure on the areas of Israelite settlement in the N after Ahab's death (cf. *KAI* 2,174). The growing expansion of the Moabites under the rule of their king Mesha must have burdened the administrations of Ahaziah and Jehoram.

According to 1 Kgs 22:50 Ahaziah offered to let the Judean king Jehoshaphat participate in his naval enterprise in the Red Sea. It is certain that this notice depends on old reports. Jehoshaphat used his sovereignty over Edom in order to imitate the model of Solomon (1 Kgs 9:26–28; 10:11) and to resume his shipping trade headquartered at the Gulf of Aqabah. He had a fleet built at Ezion-geber (a location that has not yet been exactly determined near present-day Elath, perhaps Ǧesīret Faraʿūn), which was supposed to travel to Ophir (probably in S Arabia) where it would acquire gold through trade (22:48–49). Ahaziah also wanted to be involved in this financially promising expedition. It is possible that he offered Jehoshaphat the chance to join the undertaking by introducing him to the arts of ship construction and nautical affairs, which the Israelites had learned in their dealings with the Phoenicians. Whatever the circumstances and the background for this may have been, Jehoshaphat rejected Ahaziah's offer. The expedition miscarried; soon after its departure the fleet, which had been constructed by Judeans inexperienced in shipbuilding, was dashed to pieces.

In 2 Chr 20:35–37, the sole passage in Chronicles that mentions Ahaziah, this event receives a theological interpretation. By changing the details of 1 Kgs 22:48–50, the naval project was depicted as an enterprise shared by both kings. The words of an otherwise unknown prophet announce and interpret this failure as God's punishment for Jehoshaphat's alliance with the impious Ahaziah.

The most extensive story about Ahaziah, found in 2 Kgs 1:2–17, is a tradition about Elijah. Ahaziah is mentioned by name only at the beginning (v 2), although it is almost certain that he was indeed Elijah's opponent in this conflict. The original story encompassed only vv 2–8, 17. It derives unquestionably from historical facts, but uses them only as a framework for a theological statement. This narrative reports that Ahaziah has had an accident, falling from his upper chamber—either through the wooden window lattice or through the enclosure surrounding the roof, injuring himself seriously. In this condition he sent messengers to Ekron to obtain an oracle concerning his fate. The name of the god to which he appealed in 2 Kgs 1:2 is Baalzebub, "Lord of the Flies," which seems to be a distortion of the original name Baal-Zebul, "Prince Baal" (as attested in Ugaritic texts and even NT passages [Matt 10:25; Matt 12:24 = Mark 3:22 = Luke 11:15; Matt 12:27 = Luke 11:18f.; on the other hand, "Beelzebub" is attested in ms variants). This name refers to a salvation god of apparent supraregional importance. By sending messengers to this

deity in Ekron rather than to Yahweh, Ahaziah behaved as if there were no god in Israel to impart information and to decide matters of life and death. For this reason Elijah announces to Ahaziah his death, which then comes to pass. Therefore, Ahaziah died as a result of falling from the upper chamber of his palace in Samaria. Since he had no son, his brother Jehoram followed him on the throne (2 Kgs 1:17–18, in a textually difficult formulation which arose from the combination of diverse textual components: the end of the original story about Elijah, a Deuteronomistic framework for Ahaziah, and a synchronistic dating).

In their introduction (1 Kgs 22:52–54—Eng 22:51–53) the Deuteronomistic redactors of the book of Kings assess Ahaziah negatively, presenting him as an adherent of Baal. That has a certain basis in the following story in which Ahaziah appeals to "Baalzebub" of Ekron. As in the case of Ahab, it is questionable whether this evaluation is accurate in a strict sense. See also AHAB.

**2.** King of Judah, son of Jehoram and Athaliah, who ascended the throne as his father's successor at the age of 22 and reigned just barely one year, i.e., 845–44 (Begrich), 845 (Jepsen), 841 (Thiele) or 843–842 B.C.E. (Andersen).

Notices about Ahaziah of Judah are found in 2 Kgs 8:24–29; 9:16, 21–29; 10:13–14; and 2 Chr 22:1–2, 6–11. His name is mentioned also in 2 Kgs 11:1–2; 12:19; 13:1; 14:13; and 1 Chr 3:11. It is found in the distorted form "Azariah" in 2 Chr 22:6 (cf. 2 Kgs 8:29); he is called "Jehoahaz" in 2 Chr 21:17 (cf. 22:1) and 25:23 (cf. 2 Kgs 14:13), where the two elements that form the name are reversed. In all these cases the person's identity is guaranteed by the parallels.

The sources are diverse in nature. The Deuteronomistic framework for Ahaziah is found in 2 Kgs 8:25–27 and 9:28–29. It is possible that 8:28 derives from the notices of annals, and 8:29 corresponds nearly verbatim to the passage 9:15a, 16b. The large unit 9:1–10:17 was written to justify the demise of the Omride dominion and to legitimate the Jehu dynasty. In respect to Judah, it seems not to be tendentious.

According to 2 Kgs 8:28, Ahaziah, together with Jehoram of Israel, defended the E Jordanian boundary city Ramoth-Gilead (Tell er-Rāmīṯ) against the Syrians from Damascus who were led by their king Hazael. If this is true, Ahaziah had apparently little time to exert his power in Jerusalem and left the business of ruling principally to his mother Athaliah. In express contrast to 8:28, however, 9:14 knows nothing about Ahaziah's participation in the battles around Ramoth-Gilead. Like 9:16b, 8:29b knows only Ahaziah's visit to the wounded king Jehoram in Jezreel. Two possible solutions are imaginable. One can explain the conflict as a difference between S Judean (8:28) and N Israelite perspectives (8:29b = 9:16b; 9:14b, 15a), while a more radical solution anticipates the inauthenticity of the information in 8:28. The assumption of a small textual error at the beginning of 8:28 removes the subject Ahaziah from the sentence, producing the following reading: "And Joram, the son of Ahab, went into battle against Hazael, the king of Syria, in Ramoth-Gilead" (thus Würthwein *Kings* ATD 11/2, 324, following Ewald and Klostermann). Of course, this must be a very old textual corruption, since this wording is assumed in 2 Chr 22:5.

In any case, Ahaziah was present in Jezreel when Jehu arrived for the purpose of exterminating the Omride dynasty (8:28; 9:16b, 21, 23). Jehu killed Jehoram of Israel and also ordered the execution of Ahaziah of Judah, who fled S toward Beth-Haggan (En-Gannim) apparently hoping to fight his way back to Jerusalem. However, near (Ibleam Khirbet Bel'ame) he was seriously wounded by those who were pursuing him. He made it as far as Megiddo (Tell el-Mutesellim) where he died. His body was brought to Jerusalem and buried in the tombs of the kings (9:27–29). Concurrently, "forty-two brothers of Ahaziah," who likewise were staying in the N kingdom, presumably fell unexpectedly into the hands of Jehu, who had them executed (10:12–14). The authenticity of this bloody episode is not undisputed, although the number of Ahaziah's "brothers" seems unusually high. Either it is exaggerated, as often occurs in the OT, or the "brothers" should be understood in a nonliteral sense as members of the Davidic royal line, whose sovereign at that time was none other than King Ahaziah. The motives which led Jehu also to have the Judean king and his relatives killed are not entirely clear. Did he, by taking these measures, want only to prevent the dead king's (Jehoram's) cousin from taking blood revenge? Or did he also want to destroy the Omride dynasty along with its palpable allies? In any case, Jehu's sanguine deed ironically enabled the

Omrides to come to power in Jerusalem (i.e., Queen Athaliah's assumption of the government [11:1–3]), something he could not have anticipated or desired.

The Deuteronomistic redactors judge Ahaziah's religious behavior negatively and equate it with the "way of the house of Ahab." The context attributes his behavior to the influence of his mother Athaliah (8:26–27). The Chronicler expressly states (2 Chr 22:3) that Ahaziah's mother encouraged his apostasy from God. Ahaziah is described in this context as a person who subjected himself both religiously and politically to the influence of the "house of Ahab" (22:4–5). Otherwise, Chronicles provides information that is not present in its Vorlage in the books of Kings. According to 2 Chr 21:17 and 22:1, Ahaziah was supposed to have been the youngest son of Jehoram, who came to the throne, because all of his older brothers had either been led away or killed by Philistines and Arabs who had invaded Judah. In this case, one may suggest that the Chronicler had access to a special source. However, the historicity of this information is subject to serious reconsideration. This especially applies to the Chronicler's depiction of the demise of Ahaziah (22:5–9), which in part consists of excerpts from 2 Kgs 8:28–10:14 (v 5 = 2 Kgs 8:28; v 6 = 2 Kgs 8:29), and in part of summaries reported in that text (v 7 = 2 Kgs 9:21; v 8 = 2 Kgs 10:12–14). However, Ahaziah's death is described quite differently by the Chronicler than by the Deuteronomistic redactors. According to 2 Chr 22:9, Ahaziah hid in Samaria, where he was discovered and killed by Jehu, and subsequently also buried there. This completely contradicts the information presented in 2 Kgs 9:27–28. Even if one should think that a special tradition was used in Chronicles, its presentation is much more improbable than that found in 2 Kgs 9:27–28.

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**AHBAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾaḥbān* (אַחְבָּן)]. A son of Abishur and Abihail, of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr 2:29). The identity of Ahban is uncertain, a fact reflected by LXX variants (e.g., *achabar, ozabar,* and *adab*). The name itself occurs only in this extended genealogy of Israel identifying tribal locations within Palestine (1 Chronicles 2–8).

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**AHER** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾaḥēr* (אַחֵר)]. The father of Hushim according to the MT of 1 Chr 7:12; the name is attested only in this tribal genealogy. The MT of 1 Chr 7:12 reads *wĕšuppim wĕḥuppim bĕnê ʿîr ḥūšim bĕnê ʾaḥēr,* lit. "And Shuppim and Huppim the sons of Ir, Hushim the sons of Aher." The difficult grammatical construction of a plural "sons" preceded by only one name (Hushim) is only one problem in this text; the other problem is the fact that although Dan is included in the list of Jacob's sons (1 Chr 2:2), there is no Danite lineage in the subsequent tribal genealogies (1 Chronicles 2–8). The occurrence of the word *ʾaḥēr* in this difficult text can be interpreted not only as a personal name, but also as an adjective; if the text is emended, one can reconstruct in its place either different personal names or a cardinal number.

Klostermann (*RE* 4: 94) emends 1 Chr 7:12 to read *bny dān ḥšm bĕnô ʾeḥād,* "Sons of Dan: Hushim his son, one." This solution is supported by Gen 46:23 and less so by Num 26:42, while the proposed reading *bĕnô,* is supported by the LXX reading *huios autou,* "his son." The emendation of MT *ʾaḥēr* to the cardinal number "one" (Heb *ʾeḥād*) is justified since the Heb letters *dalet* and *reš* are easily confused, and since the Chronicler tends to number the sons (cf. 1 Chr 7:1, 3, 6–7). Although Rudolf (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 68) concurs with Klostermann's conclusion, he presumes that a marginal note (Heb *lĕpānîm lāʿîr šēm ʾaḥēr,* "previously the city had another name") on Judg 18:29a (MT *wayyiqrĕʾû šēm-hāʿîr dān,* "and they call the name of the city Dan") became a gloss in Klostermann's proposed text of 1 Chr 7:12. According to Rudolf's explanation, *ʾaḥēr* is an adjective ("another") displaced through textual corruption.

Along other lines Noth (*ÜgS* 1: 118) concludes that 1 Chr 7:12 should read "… and Shupham and Hupham. The sons of Dan: Suham. The sons of Asher [sic.]: …" Based on the assumption that the order of the tribes in Numbers 26 is the Chronicler's source, he completely revises the MT, and includes a postulated lacuna between vv 12 and 13. In order to place Dan and Asher in their proper order between Benjamin and Naphtali, according to Num 26:38–50 (cf. Gen 46:8–27), Aher (Heb *ʾaḥēr*) is either deleted, or emended to read Asher (Heb *ʾāšēr*). One other solution (Williamson 1973) is to emend the final word of 1 Chr 7:12 (MT *ʾaḥēr*) to read either *ʾard* (cf. Gen 46:21; Num 26:40 where Heb *ʾard* follows *ḥpm* in the order of names), or *ʾaddār* (cf. LXX of Num 26:40, *adar;* and 1 Chr 8:3 where a scribe may have mistaken the Heb letter *dalet* for *ḥet*). If, as Williamson proposes, 1 Chr 7:12 is a fragmentary verse that was added to vv 6–11, then the word Aher would have been produced by a scribal error. Thus, the absence of Dan is not a problem, because it did not occur in the fragment, which must be treated separately from the rest of the name list.

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**AHI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥî* (אֲחִי)]. The son of Abdiel and chief of one of the Gadite clans in the "pasture lands of Sharon" during the overlapping reigns of Jotham of Judah and Jeroboam II of Israel (1 Chr 5:14–16). The name occurs in a textually corrupt genealogical list, and combined with the fact that it is a form of the Hebrew word for "brother," it has presented problems for translators and interpreters alike. The pattern "son of X, son of Y, son of Z, etc." in 1 Chr 5:14–15 is interrupted by Heb *ʾḥy.* One solution is to retain the MT and take *ʾḥy* as a personal name, possibly a shortened form of Ahijah (Rudolf *Chronikbücher* HAT, 46), without the expected "son of." Another option, reflected in various ancient versions, is to read *ʾḥy* as the construct form of the common noun ("brother of;" see LXX *adelphou* and Vg. *fratres*); however, an expected proper noun does not follow the construct "brother of" in these mss, therefore, the sense is no more clear with this translation. Another option is to emend the text, as do some other LXX mss (1 Chr 5:14) by transposing *ʾḥy* and the preceding name Buz (e.g. *zaboucham, achibouz*). Although Heb *ʾḥy* occurs 35 times in the MT, the RSV translates it "Ahi" only here. In a similar instance (1 Chr 7:34) the RSV prefers to emend the text (*ûbĕnê šāmer ʾăḥî wĕrāwhgâ*, lit. "The sons of Shemer: Ahi and Rohgah") to read "The son(s) of Shemer his brother: Rohgah …" (*ʾăḥîw rā[w]hgâ*). This emendation seems to be based on the parallel in v 35 (*ûben-hēlem ʾāhîw,* "The son(s) of Helem his brother"). In 1 Chr 7:34 some LXX mss combine the two names (e.g., *achiouraoga, hēeig-kairagous*), others render Ahi quite literally (*achi kai rooga,* "Achi and Rooga"); but in support of the RSV, other mss combine *ʾḥy* with the following *waw* (LXX *achiouia;* Armenian *achiu;* see also LXX v 35 *adelphou autou*). Since *ʾḥy* is a common element in NW Semitic names (*AI,* 93.6; *PNPI,* 263–64; *APNM,* 160–61), it is plausible to argue that Ahi is indeed a personal name in 1 Chr 5:15; however, because the text is corrupt, an emendation similar to that made by the RSV in 1 Chr 7:34 could just as easily solve the problem.

MARK J. FRETZ

**AHIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥîyâ* (אֲחִיָּה)]. A clan leader who signed Nehemiah's pledge of reform (Neh 10:27—Eng10:26). In this list of leaders (vv 2–28) Ahiah's is the only name preceded by the Heb conjunction *waw.* Meyer (1896: 142) suggests that this distinguishes *wʾḥyh;* thus, by emending it to *wʾḥyw,* he changes the text to read "Rehum, Hashabnah, Maaseiah, and his brother Hanan …" The LXX of Neh 10:27, however, renders the name as *ara,* suggesting the name Arah, a prominent family name mentioned in Ezra 2:5 (= Neh 7:10).

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MARK J. FRETZ

**AHIAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥîʾām* (אֲחִיאָם)]. One of the Hararites listed in the parallel rosters of King David's warriors (2 Sam 23:33; 1 Chr 11:35). In the MT, these parallel lists spell the name of Ahiam's father as Sharar (2 Sam 23:33) or Sachar (1 Chr 11:35). Some variants of the LXX read *sacharō,* or *sachar ho*—lending support to Sachar as the original form. The designation "Hararite" possibly signifies either Ahiam's clan name (translated "the Urite" by McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 493), or the name of his hometown, which Elliger (1935: 56) identifies with the town Araru of the Amarna letters.

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MARK J. FRETZ

**AHIAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾaḥyān* (אַחְיָן)]. The son of Shemida, and grandson of Manasseh (1 Chr 7:19) listed within the extended genealogy of Israel (1 Chronicles 2–8). Ahian is not mentioned elsewhere in connection with Shemida, who is allotted land in the Cisjordon (Num 26:32; Josh 17:2). According to ostraca discovered at Samaria (Reisner, Fisher, and Lyon 1924: 228–29), Shemida is either the name of a tribal unit involved in commerce, or a place name like Shechem which also appears in the ostraca. Although Ahian does not occur in the ostraca, since other names in the biblical genealogy which are or might very well be geographical names do appear there, Ahian may be the place name which came to be associated with a tribal unit located in the Manassite region of Samaria.

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MARK J. FRETZ

**AHIEZER** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥîʿezer* (אֲחִיעֶזֶר)]. **1.** The son of Ammishaddai and leader of the tribe of Dan, who assisted Moses in taking a census of Israel (Num 1:12; 2:25). As tribal representative, Ahiezer contributed offerings on the 10th day of the tabernacle dedication (Num 7:66, 71) and commanded the Danites as a rear guard for Israel on the march from Sinai to Palestine (Num 10:25).

**2.** Chief of the Benjaminites who defected from King Saul to David at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:3). If the plural "sons" (Heb *bĕnê*) refers both to Joash and Ahiezer, as the RSV translates the MT, then Ahiezer would also be one of two sons of Shemaah the Gibeathite in this list of Benjaminite defectors. Of all the members of Saul's army who went over to serve David, some of the most noteworthy were these Benjaminites, since they were from Saul's own clan (see Rudolf *Chronikbücher* HAT, 105; Williamson 1981; Zeron 1974).

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MARK J. FRETZ

**AHIHUD** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥîhûd* (אֲחִיהוּד); *ʾăḥîḥud* (אֲחִיחֻד)]. Two individuals mentioned in the Hebrew Bible bear this name. In both its forms, this name has been translated "the brother (i.e., the god) is exalted" (*EncMiqr* 1: 215), with the kinship term *ʾaḥ* (brother) representing the theophoric element. Johnson (*IDB* 1: 67) offers the translations of "the (divine) brother is exalted" or "the (divine) brother is glorious." One suggestion (*Enemiqr* 1: 215; see esp. *IPN*, 146, 192) is that the name expresses the glory and majesty of the Lord that appear in nature and particularly in the heavens. However, the textual transmission of these vv has not been clear, as exemplified by the many LXX variants.

**1.** An Asherite, the son of Shelomi (Num 34:27), and one of those named (MT *ʾăḥîhûd*) in a list of tribal leaders. These leaders, "*neśîʾ îm,*" (Speiser: 1967), were appointed by Eleazar the Priest and Joshua the son of Nun to oversee the allotment of the land of Canaan W of the Jordan River to the 10 tribes of Israel. Based on the LXX variant (Gk *achiōr*) in this verse Ahihud has been identified with the name ACHIOR in the book of Judith (see Cowley 1913: 244).

**2.** A Benjaminite, his name (MT *ʾăḥîḥud*) appears in a genealogy which lists him as either the son of Heglam or the son of Gera (1 Chr 8:7). This genealogical ambiguity reflects the unclarity of the transmission of this and other vv in this passage. See ABIHUD.

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RAPHAEL I. PANITZ

**AHIJAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾaḥîyâ* (אֲחִיָּה)]. Nine persons in the Hebrew Bible/OT bear this name.

**1.** A priest, the son of Ahitub and great-grandson of Eli (1 Sam. 14:3). He was a priest in Shiloh and provided oracular guidance for Saul (1 Sam 14:18–19, 41–42). In 1 Sam 14:18, the MT indicates that Ahijah was in charge of the ark of God which was housed at Kiriath-jearim. The LXX reads instead "the ephod" which Ahijah is said to carry in 1 Sam 14:3. The ephod was an item of priestly apparel (Exod 28:1–43), which was also apparently used for oracular guidance. It is speculated that the garment contained a pouch to hold the Urim and Thummim. The fact that Saul requests oracular guidance is cited in support of the LXX reading against that of the MT. Since he was the son of Ahitub, it is assumed that he was also the brother of Ahimelech, the priest of Nob (1 Sam 22). Ahijah's connection to Saul is also important in literary terms, since the rejection of the house of Eli parallels the ultimate fate of Saul and his descendants.

**2.** A secretary within Solomon's bureaucracy (1 Kgs 4:3). Mettinger (1971: 24–30) believes that "Ahijah" disguises an Egyptian name similar to that of his brother "Elihoreph." The name of his father is Shisha, derived from the Egyptian *sš* "scribe." The phrase might be read as "sons of a scribe," i.e., members of a scribal guild. Mettinger has demonstrated that Solomon probably modelled his own bureaucracy on that of the Egyptians.

**3.** A prophet from Shiloh (1 Kgs 11:9) who supported Jeroboam's abortive coup against Solomon. He plays a crucial role in the Deuteronomistic History's portrayal of the split between the S and N kingdoms during the reign of Rehoboam. Ahijah meets Jeroboam, Solomon's overseer over compulsory labor, outside Jerusalem and through symbolic action and prophetic utterance provides the theological justification for the division of the kingdom after Solomon's death. The rending of Ahijah's cloak into 12 pieces and the giving of 10 to Jeroboam is reminiscent of Samuel's rejection of Saul in 1 Samuel 15. However, the LXX differs in a number of details from the MT, including the claim that this action was carried out by Shemaiah and not Ahijah. It is made clear that, although the socioeconomic reasons for the division stem from the oppression of the Davidic monarchy brought to a head by the policies of Rehoboam (1 Kings 12), the theological justification offered is the apostasy of Solomon. Ahijah promises Jeroboam a "sure house" (1 Kgs 11:38), echoing the dynastic promise to David in 2 Samuel 7. The final break brought about by the heavy tax burden levied by Rehoboam is presented in typical Deuteronomistic terms as the fulfillment of the prophecy of Ahijah (1 Kgs 12:15).

Later Jeroboam sends his disguised wife to Ahijah in old age in order to enquire if his son Abijah will survive his childhood illness (1 Kgs 14:1–18). The prophecy delivered by Ahijah is the fulcrum for the Deuteronomistic rejection of all N kings. Jeroboam is rejected for his apostasy, particularly the setting up of the rival N shrines of Bethel and Dan. The dynastic promise, which was couched in conditional terms in 1 Kgs 11:38–39, is withdrawn. The death of the child is again presented as confirmation of the prophecy of Ahijah. It is further fulfilled with the slaughter of the house of Jeroboam by Baasha (1 Kgs 15:29).

The prophecies of Ahijah are presented in Deuteronomistic terms and play a central role in the overall design of the Deuteronomistic History. Ahijah represents the ideal Deuteronomistic prophet whose words are fulfilled. Despite this clear Deuteronomic shaping, the narratives are thought to be multilayered. Many commentators accept that these narratives preserve authentic historical information about the nature of Israelite prophecy and sociopolitical disputes at the time of the division of the kingdom. Cohen (1965;

1971) believes that Ahijah represents a Shilonite priestly faction who supported Jeroboam's struggle with Rehoboam. This faction is thought to represent the pre-monarchic religious specialists, identified with Abiathar, who had become increasingly marginalized by the centralizing policies of Solomon. Jeroboam's establishment of royal shrines at Dan and Bethel also failed to restore the fortunes of the Shilonite priesthood. The view that Ahijah championed the restoration of the shrine at Shiloh was challenged by Noth (1966: 132–144) who argued that he was in favor of the political break with the S but not with a break with the Jerusalem cult. Wilson (1980: 184–87) has followed this general analysis in his discussion of Ahijah as a typical peripheral prophet from Ephraim. He represents the views of a group outside of and opposed to the royal establishment. His support group is presumably drawn from Ephraimites and probably from the old Shilonite priesthood ousted by Solomon. Ahijah challenged the royal establishment in an attempt to redress the balance in this struggle for power. Similarly, his rejection of Jeroboam is to be understood in factional terms of a center-periphery struggle for power.

The Chronicler refers to "the prophecy of Ahijah" as one of the sources for the reign of Solomon (2 Chr 9:29). There is no agreement over whether or not this refers to the material preserved in 1 Kings 11 and 14 or is a collection of material which did not find its way into the canon of the Hebrew Bible.

**4.** The father of Baasha, king of Israel, and member of the tribe of Issachar (1 Kgs 15:27, 33; 21:22; 2 Kgs 9:9). The LXX reads "who was of Beth Belaan" for "Issachar." Gray (*1–2 Kings*[3] OTL, 357, n.b) suspects that Beth indicated a place name in Issachar, yet only Bethshemesh appears in the tribal list in Josh 19:17–23. Belaan is not mentioned elsewhere as part of Issachar. The house of Baasha ben Ahijah becomes as reviled as that of Jeroboam I ben Nebat, who was the symbol of royal apostasy in the Deuteronomistic History (1 Kgs 21:22; 2 Kgs 9:9).

**5.** One of the sons of Ehud, a Benjaminite, carried into captivity (1 Chr 8:7). Ahijah may be a variant of Ahoah in v 4, as suggested by $LXX^B$ and the Syriac. The MT is difficult. 1 Chr 8:6 reports that the sons of Ehud were the heads of clans in Geba who were exiled to Manahath. However, Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, pp. 120–1) understands the phrase *wayyaqlûm* as "who were moved," i.e., emigrated, rather than as "they were carried into exile." Geba is mentioned in the list of Levitical cities (Josh 21:17; 1 Chr 6:60) and was fortified by Asa (1 Kgs 15:22; 2 Chr 16:6). The location of Manahath is disputed, but often identified with Malah near Jerusalem (*LBHG*, 381). The list of Ehud's sons in 1 Chr 8:7 begins with a conjunction suggesting that a name or phrase is missing. Furthermore, the names of two of the sons, Naaman and Gera, appear as sons of Bela (1 Chr 8:4–5). The various lists of Benjamin's and Bela's sons and their descendants show considerable variation (Genesis 46; Numbers 26; 1 Chronicles 7 and 8) and numerous textual difficulties, as evidenced in 1 Chr 8:6–7.

**6.** One of David's mighty men, a Pelonite (1 Chr 11:36). The MT of the corresponding list of David's mighty men in 2 Sam 23:8–39 provides an entirely different reading: "Eliam son of Ahithophel the Gilonite" (2 Sam 23:34). The two lists not only show considerable variations but are placed in different positions in relation to the reign of David. The Chronicler places the list at the very beginning of his reign, whereas in 2 Samuel it is found as an appendix to the reign of David. The list in Chronicles functions as a legitimation of David through the support of these warriors and all Israel (1 Chr 11:10).

**7.** One of the sons of Jerahmeel, a member of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr 2:25). Some mss of the LXX suggest that this is not a proper name but read "his brothers," while the Syriac reads "your brothers." Williamson (1979) has noted that the list of Jerahmeel's descendants (1 Chr 2:25–33, 33–41) forms the center of a chiasm within the genealogy of Judah. Interestingly the first part of Jerahmeel's genealogy (1 Chr 2:25–33) is segmented, while the latter half (1 Chr 2:33–41) is linear.

**8.** A Levite in charge of the temple treasury (1 Chr 26:20). There is some doubt whether a personal name is contained here or a more general phrase that introduces the Levitical families in charge of the temple treasuries. The LXX reads "Levites, their brothers," while NIV and Braun (1 Chronicles WBC, 248) translate the phrase as "their fellow Levites."

**9.** Ahiah, one of the chiefs of the people, who set his seal on the covenant of Nehemiah (Neh 10:27—Eng10:26). It is puzzling that this is the only name in the list of signatories to be preceded by the conjunction "and," *wa·ăḥîyāh*. The originality of the list of signatories placed at the beginning of the

document has been disputed (see Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 325–31 for a discussion of the various proposals).

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KEITH W. WHITELAM

**AHIKAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥîqām* (אֲחִיקָם)]. The son of Shaphan, and member of a very prominent Jerusalem family who held government office under Josiah (ca. 640–609 B.C.E.) and Jehoiakim (ca. 609–598 B.C.E.).

Ahikam's father, Shaphan, was royal secretary during the reign of Josiah (2 Kgs 22:3–20). Ahikam's brothers, Elasah (Jer 29:3) and Gemariah (Jer 36:10–12, 25), and Gemariah's son Micaiah (Jer 36:11–13), were also court officials. Although Ahikam's title is not given in the Hebrew Bible, it is evident that he was high-ranking. The office of *ăšer ʿal habbayit* ("who is over the house;" see, e.g., 1 Kgs 16:9; 18:3; 2 Kgs 18:18) was probably held by Ahikam's son Gedaliah. Most scholars now believe that a contemporary seal inscribed "to Gedaliah, who is over the house" belonged to this Gedaliah, son of Ahikam. It is possible that this office was hereditary and had earlier been held by Ahikam himself (cf. Katzenstein 1960: 153–54; Lohfink 1978: 338).

During the reign of Josiah, Ahikam (along with his father Shaphan) was appointed to a delegation sent to consult the prophetess Huldah on the occasion of the finding of the lawbook (2 Kgs 22:12–13; 2 Chr 34:20–21). Following Jeremiah's fiery "temple sermon" at the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign, Ahikam is reported to have saved the prophet from execution at the hands of the people (Jer 26:24; this note is preceded in Jer 26:20–23 by an account of how the prophet Uriah, who had delivered a similar message, had been executed). This incident not only attests the influence wielded by Ahikam, but also indicates that he, like other members of the family of Shaphan, was kindly disposed toward Jeremiah. Furthermore, Ahikam and his family were undoubtedly sympathetic to the pro-Babylonian position supported by Jeremiah. Ahikam's son, Gedaliah, was appointed ruler of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar after the fall of Jerusalem in 587–586 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 25:22; Jer 40:7).

While it is possible that Ahikam was deported in 597 B.C.E. (passages such as Jer 38:1–6 reveal that a new group of court officials surrounded Zedekiah), the fact that Ahikam's name fails to appear in Jer 36:9–26 suggests that he may have died some time before the reading of Jeremiah's scroll in Jehoiakim's 5th year.

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**AHIKAR/AHIQAR** (PERSON). Ahiqar has long been familiar as an Assyrian sage who was the hero of a book that was read and preserved by Jews of antiquity. There is no doubt that the many versions of the work that bears his name are nonhistorical in character, but recent discoveries have made it quite likely that there once was an Assyrian scholar by this name who served in the time of Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.E.). The name is spelled *ʾḥyqr* in the Aramaic papyrus from Elephantine. It means "my brother is precious/valuable."

**A. Ahiqar in the Book of Ahiqar**

The earliest extant form of the book is the fragmentary Aramaic text copied on a late-5th-century papyrus from Elephantine (Naveh 1970: 35). See also AHIQAR, BOOK OF. The text (text: Cowley 1923; translation: Lindenberger *OTP* 2: 479–507) describes him as "a wise and skillful scribe" (i.1: *spr ḥkym wmhyr*) who was "[ke]eper of the seal of Sennacherib" (i.3: *ṣb]yt ʿzqth zyśnḥ›ryb*). He was also "father of all Assyria, on whose counsel King Sennacherib and [all] the Assyrian Army [used to rely]" (iv.55: *›bwh zy ›twr klh zy ʿl ʿṭth snḥ›ryb mlk› wḥyl ›twr [kl› hww]*). He continued to hold high office into the time of Sennacherib's successor Esarhaddon (i.4–5), who calls him "O wise [s]cribe, counselor of all Assyria" (i.12: *s]pr› ḥkym› yʿṭ ›twr klh*). By this time, however, Ahiqar had reached an advanced age. As he had no son, he adopted his nephew Nadin and taught him his wisdom so that he could become his replacement. The nephew proved to be a scoundrel who plotted against his uncle and convinced Esarhaddon that he should be executed. (According to later, more complete versions of the story Nadin forged correspondence from Ahiqar which showed that he was scheming to seize the kingdom with foreign assistance.) A royal officer named Nabushumishkun was commissioned to kill Ahiqar, but the clever sage reminded him that under reversed circumstances he had saved the officer's life. A eunuch was executed instead of Ahiqar, and the Nabushumishkun hid the fallen wise man in his house. The preserved portion of the Aramaic narrative ends at this point in the story. The fuller versions (e.g., the Syriac, Armenian, and Arabic) continue the tale by relating that Esarhaddon soon needed Ahiqar's remarkable savoir faire because the Egyptian king, who had heard of the sage's "death," challenged the Assyrian monarch to send him someone who could construct a palace between heaven and earth. If he could, he would receive Egypt's revenue for 3 years; if he could not, Egypt would receive a similar amount from Assyria. Just when Esarhaddon feared that the challenge would prove disastrously costly, the officer told him that Ahiqar was alive. He was swiftly retrieved from his hiding place and dispatched to Egypt where he handled all difficulties with astonishing flair. He returned with great wealth to Assyria where he promptly settled accounts with Nadin. After Ahiqar had beat him severely and lectured him at length, Nadin died.

**B. Ahiqar in the Book of Tobit**

Although the Ahiqar papyrus was found at the Jewish military colony at Elephantine, nothing in the text suggests Jewish authorship of the work or even Jewish influence on it. Indeed, the presence of divine names such as El (vii.107; x,154,156,161 [?]; xii. 173 [?]), Šamaš (vi.92, 93; vii.108; ix.138; xi.171) and Šamayn (? vii.95) betray a polytheistic origin for the book. In the deuterocanonical book of Tobit, however, Ahiqar has been transformed from an Assyrian to an Israelite of the tribe of Naphtali who is a relative of Tobit. Tobit, which may date from the 3d century B.C.E. (Doran 1986: 299), manifests a number of important similarities with the book of *Ahiqar* (Greenfield 1981: 329–36). Both are set in Assyria at the time of the kings who ruled around the time of the destruction of Samaria (Tobit mentions Shalmaneser, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon [1:15–22]) and both are sapiential novels in which wise instructions are conveyed by an elderly character to his son at two similar locations. The book of Tobit mentions Ahiqar in four passages. In 1:21–22 Tobit reports that Esarhaddon "appointed Ahikar [*Achicharon*], son of my brother Anael to supervise all the finances of his kingdom; he had control of the entire administration. Then Ahikar interceded on my behalf and I came back to Nineveh. For he had been chief cupbearer, keeper of the privy seal, comptroller, and treasurer when Sennacherib was king of Assyria; and Esarhaddon renewed the appointments. Ahikar was my nephew and so one of my kinsmen" (NEB). The picture presented here resembles that in the book of *Ahiqar* except that the sage is now an Israelite. Later Tobit, after he became blind, notes that Ahikar cared for him for two years (2:10). Further evidence that the author of Tobit knew the Ahiqar story comes from 11:18 (v 19 in Greek) in which he mentions Ahiqar and Nadab (= Nadin), who are both identified as Tobit's cousins (so Sinaiticus [*hoi exadelphoi*]) or, in Vaticanus and Alexandrinus, Nadab is called Ahikar's nephew (*ho exadelphos autou*). Finally, 14:10 alludes to another part of the Ahiqar narrative: "My son, think what Nadab did to Ahikar who brought him up: he forced him to hide in a living grave. Ahikar survived to see God requite the dishonour done to him; he came out into the light of day, but Nadab passed into eternal darkness for his attempt to kill Ahikar. Because I [?] gave alms, Ahikar escaped from the fatal trap Nadab set for him, and

Nadab fell into the trap himself and was destroyed" (NEB). The end of this passage reflects the words of the final proverb in Ahiqar (Syriac 8:41; Greenfield 1981: 333–34).

**C. Other References**

Several ancient writers mention a character whose name closely resembles that of Ahiqar; they may be referring to the hero of the book (Harris, Lewis, Conybeare *APOT* 2: 715–17; Küchler 1979: 344–46; Lindenberger *OTP* 2: 491). The Christian writer Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150–215) claimed that the Greek author Democritus (ca. 460–370 B.C.E.) plagiarized from a stele of Ahiqar (*tēn Akikarou stēlēn* [*Str.* 1.69, 4]). In this connection, the Persian Muslim philosopher Shahrastani (1071–1153), in a collection of sayings from Democritus, cites three sayings which agree very closely with proverbs from the versions of Ahiqar. Strabo (ca. 63 B.C.E.–23 C.E.), in his *Geography* 16,2,39, gives from Poseidonius (135–51 B.C.E.) the names of famous seers; among them he names *Achaikaros* as being among the people from the Bosporus. It has been suggested that *Bosporus* is an error for *Borsippa,* so that the Mesopotamian savant could be intended (Harris, Lewis, Conybeare *APOT* 2: 716). This must be regarded, however, as quite uncertain. Diogenes Laertius (3d century C.E.) provides a list of the works by Theophrastus (372–287 B.C.E.), among which is one named *Akicharosa.* If all of these intend the Ahiqar known from the story and proverbs, they show that his fame, especially as a dispenser of wise words, was early and spread over a wider area than the Semitic world. The same could be concluded from the fact that the Greek *Life* of Aesop borrows heavily from the story and proverbs of Ahiqar in chaps. 23–32. It has also been suggested that Ahiqar's name should be restored on the 3d-century C.E. Roman mosaic of Monnus in Trier. In it there are 9 octagonal sections in each of which are pictured a Muse with a symbol of the art with which she is connected and an expert in that art or founder of it. In the section for Polymnia, the Muse often associated with dance and mime, is a figure only part of whose name is preserved. The letters *-icar* could well be part of Acicarus or Ahiqar (Lindenberger *OTP* 2: 492), though combining him with Polymnia is surprising (Küchler 1979: 352–55).

**D. Ahiqar as a Figure of History**

There have been several attempts to relate aspects of the Ahiqar story to history. W. von Soden (1936: 1–13) argued that Adad-šum-uṣur, one of Esarhaddon's advisors, was the historical point of origin for the Ahiqar legends. This official wrote many letters and exercised considerable influence in the court. As Ahiqar did, he requested from the king that his son Arad-Gula be given an important position. The son eventually did gain a post. Moreover, there is evidence that Adad-šum-uṣur fell from grace, though it is not known whether he was restored to his former status. But, as von Soden noted, no high official in the time of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon bore the name Ahiqar. In his opinion, a change of names took place during the transmission of the story so that Adad-šum-uṣur became Ahiqar. E. Reiner (1961: 7–8) has observed that the theme which provides the framework of the Ahiqar story—the "disgrace and rehabilitation of a minister"—was known in Babylonia and that it was fused with the other major theme—the "ungrateful nephew." A recent discovery at the site of ancient Uruk has cast some interesting new light on the Ahiqar tradition. German excavations there in 1959–60 unearthed in a room next to the *reš*-sanctuary a tablet (W 20030, 7) which provides a list of Assyrian kings from before and after the flood (van Dijk 1962: 44–52). An official called an *ummānu*—a term for both a learned man and high official (Reiner 1961: 9)—is named for each of the kings. For the time of King Esarhaddon (11. 19–20) it mentions that a man named $^{1}$a-ba-$^{d}$NINNU-da-ri (= aba-enlil-dari) was the *ummānu* and notes that the Ahlamu (= the Arameans) called him $^{1}$a-ḫu-'u-qa-a-ri. This is the name Ahuqar or Ahiqar. Consequently, there is now documentary evidence that Esarhaddon, who is the king with the primary royal role in the book of *Ahiqar,* had a chief advisor whose Aramaic name was the one found in the Aramaic version of the book. The list in which his name appears was copied in the year 147 of the Seleucid Era (= 165 B.C.E.), when Antiochus (IV) was king (11.23–24). It has also been noted that the only case of an Assyrian proverb that parallels one in *Ahiqar* (the Syriac version) is quoted in one of Esarhaddon's letters (Greenfield 1981: 335 n. 20), and that the name Nabushumishkun is the same as that of Merodach-Baladan's son who was taken captive by Sennacherib (Greenfield 1981: 335 n. 21).

It is clear from the reference to Ahiqar in the Uruk list that some sort of historical kernel lies behind the story. There was a wise man, possibly an author (Lindenberger 1983: 22), named Ahiqar in the court of Esarhaddon. Nevertheless, it is just as evident that the book which now bears his name has assumed folkloristic traits (Niditch and Doran 1977: 182–85) and can hardly be termed a historical document.

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**AHILUD** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăhîlûd* (אֲהִילוּד)]. **1.** The father of Jehoshaphat, the "recorder" in the royal administrations of David and Solomon (2 Sam 8:16; 20:24; 1 Kgs 4:3; 1 Chr 18:15). In the parallel lists of officials (2 Sam 8:16–18 = 1 Chr 18:15–17), the Gk provides numerous variants of the name Ahilud, tending to substitute more familiar names from nearby verses. For example, LXX *acheia* may be associated with *ʾăḥîyāh* (Ahijah), mentioned along with Ahilud in the list of Solomonic officials (1 Kgs 4:3); LXX *achimelech* (Ahimelech) is listed on verse after Ahilud (2 Sam 8:17) as one of the priests; while LXX *abimelech* (Abimelech) appears in the parallel of 1 Chr 18:16; Lucian's *acheinaab* may reflect Heb *ʾăḥînādāb* (Ahinadab), which occurs in the list of Solomonic officials (1 Kgs 4:12). Callaway's (1983) recent find of a jar handle with the name Ahilud on it makes it likely that by the end of the 11th cent. it was a common name.

The title held by Ahilud's son Jehoshaphat (Heb *mzkyr*) is usually translated "recorder," "herald." The extensive discussion of this term (see McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 254 for citations) leads one to conclude that JEHOSHAPHAT was some type of spokesperson for the royal court. Accordingly, it can be presumed that Ahilud's family had a favored position during the United Monarchy.

**2.** The father of Baana, prefect over the fifth of King Solomon's 12 administrative districts that included at least Taanach, Megiddo, and Beth-shean (1 Kgs 4:12; see *HG,* 61–64). Baana no doubt was favored because of the high status of his father's family within Israel. Presumably this Ahilud is the same as the father of Jehoshaphat (see above); the political situation would have favored the appointment of two brothers from a seemingly loyal family, the one (Jehoshaphat) as trusted "recorder," the other (Baana) as district prefect (see Mettinger 1971: 121).

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**AHIMAAZ** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥîmaʿaṣ* (אֲחִימַעַץ)]. The meaning of the name Ahimaaz is uncertain. Ar *maʿiḍa* "be angry" may be related, and thus BDB (p. 591) interprets the name as "my brother is wrath" (cf. the Safaitic personal name *ʾmʿd;* Ryckmans 1934: 131a). See, however, *IPN,* 235: 97. Three different men in the OT bear this name.

**1.** The father of Saul's wife Ahinoam. Both father and daughter appear only in 1 Sam 14:50.

**2.** Son of the priest Zadok; Ahimaaz was one of the supporters of David who stayed in Jerusalem or its environs after the king was forced to flee the city in the coup d'etat by his son Absalom (2 Sam 15:27). Ahimaaz and a companion, Jonathan the son of the priest Abiathar, were stationed at En-Rogel, a short walk from Jerusalem. From there they relayed information about Absalom's activities to the exiled king. In one celebrated incident (2 Sam 17:15–23), Ahimaaz and Jonathan, on their way to David with vital information about an impending attack by Absalom, were forced to hide in a well in Bahurim while agents of Absalom searched for them.

Although the son of a priest of the highest rank, Ahimaaz served David as a messenger (at least during the king's exile), evidently having an athletic bent; hence David's choice of him to bring word from En-Rogel. On one occasion Ahimaaz outran another messenger (2 Sam 18:23) and was identified from afar by a watchman on the basis of his gait (v 27), a detail which shows that he regularly brought messages to the king. He is nowhere said to perform a priestly role; rather it was Zadok's son Azariah (1 Kgs 4:12) who served as priest in Solomon's temple. (It is possible, however, that Azariah was Zadok's grandson, Ahimaaz's son; cf. 1 Chr 5:34–6—Eng6:8–10; the gloss at 5:36 is evidently placed with the wrong Azariah.)

The events related in 2 Sam 18:19–33 are informative with regard to Ahimaaz's character. Upon Absalom's death and the defeat of his army in the Forest of Ephraim, Ahimaaz volunteered to take word to David in Mahanaim. But Joab, the commander of David's forces, feared the king's reaction to news of his son's death, and sent an unnamed Cushite messenger instead. Ahimaaz, however, refused to be dissuaded, in spite of Joab's protest (v 22) that he would not be rewarded for his efforts. After asking for a third time, and less politely (v 23; the polite particle *nā*› is dropped and a simple future ("I will run") is used in place of the previous cohortative), he obtained Joab's leave. Although setting out later than the Cushite, Ahimaaz passed him by taking the apparently faster "Way of the Plain" (see Budde *Samuel* KHC, 287). Upon reaching David, he related only the defeat of Absalom's army; it devolved upon the hapless Cushite to tell David that his son was dead.

Some commentators have argued that Ahimaaz had good intentions, but became confused (Klaus) or evasive (Hertzberg *1 and 2 Samuel* OTL) under David's questioning, or that he acted in good faith throughout, having not heard of Absalom's death (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB). The latter is a difficult position to maintain; it was Absalom's death that brought an end to the fighting between the armies of David and Absalom (2 Sam 18:16), and as even Ahimaaz hints (v 29), it caused a great tumult. Even if Ahimaaz somehow had not previously heard the news—which was surely on everyone's lips—Joab mentions Absalom's death to him in v 20. McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB, 408) suggests that these are the narrator's words, not Joab's, but it nevertheless appears from Ahimaaz's conversation with Joab (particularly Ahimaaz's words in vv 22–23) that he understands Joab's reason for not sending him to David. Moreover, Ahimaaz's claim of ignorance about Absalom's welfare (that he heard a commotion but left before learning what it was about) is patently false, since it is without foundation in the preceding narrative, and since the Cushite, who left earlier, knew of Absalom's death. Ahimaaz, who was high-born and on close terms with David's general Joab (the latter calls him "my son" and tries to protect him from David's displeasure; Ahimaaz, for his part, is not afraid to argue with Joab), can hardly have been ignorant of Absalom's execution at the hands of Joab and his ten armor-bearers (18:14–5). Lastly, if Ahimaaz were to be seen as acting in good faith, the narrative would lose much of its rich irony and literary raison d'être.

It appears, on the contrary, that Ahimaaz possessed the same sort of craftiness that made Jacob an entertaining figure. The nameless Cushite, doubtless running along with dreams of a handsome reward from David, acts as a foil for Ahimaaz. (The notice of the latter's quicker route rules out the interpretation that the Cushite was passed because he ran slowly, reluctant through fear of David's response; on the contrary, as is seen in his words to David [vv 31–32], he believed that he carried good news.) The reader knows what the Cushite does not: that David will be devastated by the "good news," and that Ahimaaz is in hot pursuit. On the other hand, the reader is led to see Ahimaaz as an overeager naïf who carries news which is both bad and (since the Cushite left first) no longer new. But Ahimaaz takes this no-win situation

and turns it to his advantage, first by taking a shortcut and reaching David first, and second by appropriating the good news for himself, leaving the Cushite with the bad. In a final twist, however, Ahimaaz's actions come to nought as David senses that he has not been told everything, and bids Ahimaaz to stand by until the second messenger arrives.

David's statement that Ahimaaz "is a good man, and comes with good tidings" (v 27), is not to be taken at face value, but as an ironic touch. It is not Ahimaaz's goodness, but rather his opportunism, which makes him a bearer of good news. Similar irony is apparent when Jonathan (Ahimaaz's companion in 2 Sam 15:27, 36 and 17:17–21) comes bearing news for Adonijah (1 Kgs 1:42); the latter exclaims "Come in, for you are a worthy man and bring good news," but Jonathan replies (v 43), "No, for our lord King David has made Solomon king …"

**3.** A son-in-law of King Solomon and prefect over the district of Naphtali, charged with supplying provisions for the palace in the 8th month of every year (1 Kgs 4:15, cf. 4:7). Ahimaaz married Solomon's daughter Basmath. His name (found only in 1 Kgs 4:15) is lacking a patronym. Possibly "Ahimaaz" is in fact the surviving part of a patronym, since 5 of the preceding 7 names listed in 1 Kgs 4:8–14 are in patronymic form (i.e., early damage to the text may have destroyed the personal names of these individuals). Possibly identical to Ahimaaz 2.

Maaz, a shortened form of Ahimaaz or of a similar name, appears in 1 Chr 2:37. The related name Abimaaz was found on a seal impression from Jerusalem which reads *lṣpn ʾ/bmʿṣ* "belonging to *ṣpn* (the son of) Abimaaz" (Avigad 1970: 131 and pl. 30:c). A seal impression which, though missing one letter, appears to contain the same inscription was found at Azekah (Bliss 1900: 14–15, and 18 Cut 2/2).

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## AHIMAN (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥîman* (אֲחִימַן)]. Name of two people in the OT.

**1.** One of the "giant" descendants of ANAK (Num 13:22; Josh 15:14; Judg 1:10). Although it is possible that Ahiman could be the son of Anak (Josh 15:13), it seems unlikely since Anak is related to the legendary Nephilim (Num 13:33; see also Gen 6:4) which seems to put Anak himself back in the mists of history. Ahiman, along with Sheshai and Talmai, was probably a leader of the Anakim in the Hebron area (Num 13:22; Judg 1:10). The spies who were sent out by Moses to investigate Canaan were the first to encounter Ahiman (Num 13:22). The Anakim, whose unusual height and strength made them appear invincible (Num 13:33), were cited by 10 of the spies as the prime reason for their belief that Israel could not conquer Canaan. The biblical writers apparently felt it necessary to ensure that the eventual destruction of the Anakim was recorded in detail to indicate the power of God to triumph over even his most fearsome enemies. Although the text is unclear as to who conquered the Anakim (Joshua in Josh 11:21; Caleb in Josh 15:14; and Judah in Judg 1:10), both Joshua and Caleb, the spies who were confident that Israel could conquer Canaan, are associated with the conquest of Ahiman and the other Anakim. This desire to provide specific instances in which faithful individuals triumphed against incredible odds is probably responsible for the names of Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai being recorded throughout Israel's dealings with the Anakim rather than merely listing the Anakim as one of the nations conquered by Israel.

**2.** A Levite who was one of the gatekeepers in the temple after the return from exile in Babylon (1 Chr 9:17). According to 1 Chr 9:17, Ahiman is 1 of 4 gatekeepers, but Neh 11:19 excludes Ahiman and Shallum and lists only Akkub and Talmon. Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 174) and Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 136) suggest that since Ahiman is the last gatekeeper mentioned in the list in 1 Chr 9:17, the text should read *ʾăḥêhem* "their brothers" as does Neh 11:19 (rather than the proper name Ahiman). 1 Chr 9:24–26 emphasizes the fact that there were 4 gatekeepers, 1 for each side of the temple.

The Chronicler may well have added the name Shallum to the list in Neh 11:19 and changed "their brothers" in Neh 11:19 into the proper name Ahiman to produce the required 4 gatekeepers. At this time, however, it is impossible to decide definitely on the historicity of Ahiman. Neh 11:19 may well list only the 2 significant gatekeepers while 1 Chr 9:17 lists all 4 of the gatekeepers.
ROBERT C. DUNSTON

**AHIMELECH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥîmelek* (אֲחִימֶלֶךְ)]. **1.** The son of Ahitub, and father of Abiathar (1 Sam 21:2–10—Eng 21:1–9; 22:9–20; 23:6; 30:7). Ahimelech is sometimes identified with Ahijah (1 Sam 14:3, 18), but it is more likely that Ahijah is his brother (McCarter, *1 Samuel* AB, 239). If true, this would make Ahimelech the great-grandson of Eli.

Ahimelech was in charge of the priests at Nob located N of Jerusalem and close to Gibeah where Saul lived. Therefore, he was part of the religious establishment of Saul's kingdom. On one occasion David came to Ahimelech seeking food and a weapon. David pretended he was on a mission for Saul though he was really taking flight from Saul. Even though he was suspicious of David, Ahimelech gave him sacred bread and the sword of Goliath. Like Michal and Jonathan before him, Ahimelech was another of Saul's supporters who helped to preserve David's life. Unlike the others, he did not knowingly help David escape from Saul. However, Doeg the Edomite witnessed Ahimelech's act and later told Saul. Saul accused Ahimelech of treason, refused to accept his denial, and told his servants to kill Ahimelech and the other priests. When his own servants refused, Saul returned to Doeg. Doeg, who apparently had no reverence for Israelite priests, killed Ahimelech and 84 other priests, and wiped out the town of Nob. Only Abiathar, son of Ahimelech, escaped and fled to David. This fulfilled the prophecy of 1 Sam 2:31ff. about punishment on the house of Eli. It also shows that Saul was without further benefit of priestly counsel while David protected and preserved Abiathar. Later, Abiathar came to share priestly duties with Zadok.

**2.** A Hittite (Heb *ḥittî*) companion of David who remained silent when asked by David to accompany him into Saul's camp (1 Sam 26:6). The names of persons called "Hittites" in the OT are almost all good Semitic names, e.g., Ephron and Zohar, Gen 23:8; Judith, Gen 26:32; Adah, Gen 36:2, etc. Ahimelech likewise is a good Semitic name, meaning "my brother is king." Therefore, it is most likely that Ahimelech is part of a group of Canaanites and not a Hittite from Anatolia.

**3.** Son of Abiathar and grandson of Ahimelech in 1. above, according to 1 Chr 24:3, 6, 31. This Ahimelech worked with Zadok to organize the priests into 24 ancestral classes. His identity can be supported by the common practice (1 Chr 5:30–41—Eng 6:1–15) of naming the grandson after his grandfather (*CMHE*, 212–214). Others (e.g., Braun, *1 Chronicles* WBC, 238) argue against a separate identity for this Ahimelech for two reasons. First, Ahimelech is Abiathar's *father* elsewhere (1 Sam 22:20; 23:6; 30:7). Abiathar was active with Zadok (2 Sam 20:25) during David's reign and was replaced by Zadok (1 Kg 2:35) in Solomon's reign. Those verses that read "Ahimelech, son of Abiathar" could be either a scribal error, or the writer's judgment on Abiathar for supporting Adonijah instead of Solomon for the kingship. Second, the later Ahimelech is descended from Ithamar (1 Chr 24:3) while the earlier Ahimelech is descended (with Zadok) from Eleazar. This makes the later Ahimelech's lineage subordinate to Zadok. "Ahimelech, son of Abiathar" in 2 Sam 8:17 is usually taken as a scribal error and should be "Abiathar son of Ahimelech" (McCarter, *2 Samuel* AB, 253). The same approach is suggested for the parallel passage 1 Chr 18:16 (Abimelech is a scribal error there for Ahimelech).
JAMES C. MOYER

**AHIMOTH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥîmôt* (אֲחִימוֹת)]. The son of El-kanah, brother of Amasai, and father of another Elkanah, all Levites descended from Kohath (1 Chr 6:10—Eng6:25). In a subsequent genealogy, this line of descent differs by naming Mahath as the son of Amasai and father of Elkanah (1 Chr 6:20–21—Eng6:35–36; cf. 2 Chr 29:12). Rudolf (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 54) suggests that the name Ahimoth resulted from the conflation of an original MAHATH (Heb *maḥat*) with a later marginal gloss "his brother" (Heb *ʾāḥîw*); thus *ʾāḥîw* plus *maḥat* became *ʾăḥîmôt.* Further speculation on his identity is

difficult, because the name Ahimoth is unattested outside this genealogy of Levites (1 Chr 6:1–15—Eng6:16–30).
MARK J. FRETZ

**AHINADAB** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥînādāb* (אֲחִינָדָב)]. The son of Iddo and prefect over the seventh of King Solomon's twelve administrative districts named after the town Mahanaim (1 Kgs 4:14). As prefect, Ahinadab was in charge of supplying the royal court (family, servants, officials) one month per year. The district comprised the southern half of the Transjordan and included tribal territory from Gad (*HGB*, 65, 262–73; Jones *1 and 2 Kings. Vol. 1.* NCBC, 143) and possibly also from Manasseh and Reuben (Mettinger 1971: 118). The appointment of Ahinadab as prefect indicates that his family enjoyed high social standing at the time of Solomon.

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**AHINOAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥînōʿam* (אֲחִינֹעַם)]. **1.** The daughter of Ahimaaz (1 Sam 14:50), who became the wife of SAUL BEN KISH, and the first queen of the Israelite state. The name means, "my brother is joy." The Bible does not record her hometown. It appears that she bore Saul seven children: five sons and two daughters. According to the list of offspring in 1 Sam 14:47–48, which seems to derive from the early years of Saul's reign, Merab was the first-born; then Jonathan, the eldest male; Ishvi; Malchishua; and Michal, the younger daughter. Abinadab and Eshbaal, who are not named in the first list, but who are included in the Saulide genealogies in 1 Chr 8:33–40 and 1 Chr 9:39–44, appear to have been the last two born, with Eshbaal the youngest. Ishvi is not mentioned in the later genealogies, and probably died as a youth (see ISHVI).

**2.** A woman from the town of Jezreel, who became one of David's early wives (1 Sam 25:43; 27:3; 30:5; 2 Sam 2:2; 3:2; 1 Chr 3:1). While he was in flight from Saul, David is reported to have married her along with Abigail, the widow of Nabal (1 Sam 25:43), and the two women were to have accompanied him to Gath and resided there during his early mercenary service (1 Sam 27:3). Both Ahinoam and Abigail are reported to have been among those taken captive from Ziklag by the Amalekites while David was joining the Philistine troop muster at Aphek to do battle against Saul (1 Sam 30:5). The authenticity of the Amalekite incident is questionable; it serves on a literary level to contrast David's actions against the Amalekites with Saul's failure to eradicate them at Yahweh's command in 1 Samuel 15 (i.e. Gunn 1980: 110), illustrating once more his legitimate role as divinely anointed heir-elect to the throne on the eve of Saul's death. His defeat of the Amalekites emphasized his ability to serve as God's earthly vice-regent and military commander, while providing him with a convenient alibi for his whereabouts as Saul died on the battlefield at Gilboa (Edelman 1990). She bore David his first child, Amnon, after David had terminated his service to Achish of Gath and had moved from the Philistine town of Ziklag to Hebron (2 Sam 2:2; 3:2; 1 Chr 3:1).

It has been proposed that the two Ahinoams were the same individual on the basis of Nathan's comment to David that Yahweh had given him "his master's wives" in 2 Sam 12:8 (Levenson 1978: 27). Such a presumption would require David to have run off with the queen mother while Saul was still on the throne, which seems unlikely. In view of the possession of the royal harem as a claim to royal legitimacy (see ABNER), Nathan's comment can be related to David's eventual possession of Saul's wives after he ascended the throne in the wake of Eshbaal's death. Nathan refers to David's possession of more than a single wife of Saul's in v 23, which precludes the application of the phrase to Ahinoam alone. it is likely that the Jezreel that was Ahinoam's home was the town in S Judah, rather than the town in the Jezreel Valley. In his bid to build a rival state to Saul's in the hills of Judah, it would have been expedient for David to have wed the daughter of an important member of the community of Jezreel in the vicinity of Carmel (Josh 15:55, 56; Kh. Tewana?), an area with established viticulture that could offer David a possible economic base for his political growth (see DAVID).

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**AHIO** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾaḥyô* (אַחְיוֹ)]. According to the Hebrew text, 3 different people were named Ahio. However, since the consonantal spelling of Ahio (*ʾḥyw*) is identical with the word "his brother" or "his brothers," it is uncertain if all these Ahios should be read with the MT as personal nouns. The form of the name is unique; it is the only name in the Hebrew Bible to end with *-yô.* This might suggest that *ʾḥyw* should never be read as a personal name. However, extrabiblical epigraphic evidence of various types suggests that the suffix *-yô* was used in preexilic Israel: it is found in names in the Samaria ostraca (e.g., Gadio [*gdyw*; *KAI* 185), on seals (e.g., Abio [*ʾbyw*]; Hestrin and Dayagi-Mendels 1978: 36) and on the Kuntillet Ajrud inscriptions (e.g., Shemaio [*šmʿyw*]; Meshel 1978). Furthermore, the name Ahio itself is attested to in a preexilic seal, "Belonging to Ahio son of Saul" (*lʾḥyw bn šʾl;* Avigad 1975) and on a bronze bowl probably of Palestinian origin found in Nimrud (Barnett 1967: 4–6). The Ahio son of Saul seal is especially tantalizing given the connection of the name Ahio to the tribe of Benjamin and specifically to the family of Saul. In later sources, the name Ahio is used of at least 3 individuals in the Elephantine papyri. Thus, Ahio certainly existed as a personal name in Israel and the relative merit of the reading Ahio or "his brother(s)" must be decided on a case by case basis.

The recent epigraphic evidence suggests that the *-yô* element is theophoric (Zevit 1980: 12), and the name is a variant of Ahijah and should be understood as "my (divine) brother is YHWH." The suggestion that it is a profane name, "my little brother" (Noth *IPN,* 22) is unlikely given the newer evidence of *-yô* as a theophoric element.

Ahio refers to the following 3 individuals:

**1.** Son of Abinadab, who along with his brother Uzzah, drove the cart that transported the ark (2 Sam 6:3–4 = 1 Chr 13:7). Uzzah plays a major role in that narrative; when the cattle leading the cart stop, he steadies the ark, is killed by God, and David names the site Perez-Uzzah (2 Sam 6:6–8). Since Ahio played such an insignificant role in that narrative, there is no obvious reason why his name should have been remembered. Indeed, several ancient translations to 1 Chr 13:7 read the common noun "his brother(s)" rather than the proper noun, Ahio. These factors have suggested that Ahio in Samuel be emended to "his brother" or "his brothers." This is possible, though not compelling. The more radical solution of Budde (1934: 48–49), that Ahio has replaced an earlier "and his brother Zadok" (*wʾḥyw ṣdq*) involves too many conjectures concerning the text and the origins of the Zadokite priesthood.

**2.** A Benjaminite mentioned only in 1 Chr 8:14. His exact relation to others in the genealogy is unclear; some have seen him as the son of Beriah, mentioned in the previous verse (e.g., NEB), while others have suggested that he is descended from Elpa'al, mentioned in verses 12 and 18 (e.g., RSV). The abruptness of this genealogy and its use of parenthetic geographical statements make it unusually difficult to know how the people mentioned in it are related, and several scholars have rearranged it (Hogg 1899; Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 78). Furthermore, many have followed the Lucianic family of the LXX, and have emended Ahio to *ʾăḥêhem,* "their brothers" (so BHS). However, there is no contextual or syntactic reason to expect *ʾăḥêhem,* "their brothers" to appear in the genealogy at this point. Therefore, the vocalized Hebrew text Ahio, as a personal name, should probably be retained. In this case, it is noteworthy that another Benjaminite Ahio is mentioned in 1 Chr 8:31 = 9:37 (although that text too is beset with textual problems). Either the same individual is referred to, and he is placed in varying positions in different genealogies because of the respective author's differing conceptions about Ahio's importance, or Ahio might have been a traditional name among the Benjaminites. (See ALEMETH.)

**3.** A Benjaminite of the clan of Gibeon, brother of Kish (1 Chr 8:31 = 9:37). On the repetition of this genealogy in chap. 8 and 9, see AHAZ #1. It is unclear if this Ahio is related to Saul; this depends on whether the Kish of 1 Chr 8:30 is to be identified with the Kish of v 33 (Demsky 1971: 16–20) and

whether we assume (with Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 164) that the Chronicler has intentionally substituted Gibeon for Gibeah, Saul's birthplace. The Septuagint translates "and his brother," reading *wĕ›āḥîw*, but this is probably a misreading of the consonantal *w›ḥyw* by the translator; there is no contextual or syntactic reason for "and his brother" to appear in this type of genealogy. As noted above, the relationship between this Ahio and the Ahio of the Benjaminite genealogy in 8:14 is uncertain.

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MARC Z. BRETTLER

**AHIQAR, BOOK OF.** The book of *Ahiqar* is a rare example of a polytheistic work which was used and adapted by some Jewish groups. Like Tobit, it is a sapiential novel, i.e., it combines a dramatic story with wise instruction. It is the most ancient of the extrabiblical works preserved and read by Jewish people.

**A. The Story**

According to the most fully preserved versions of the plot, Ahiqar was a wise scribe and counsellor of the Assyrian kings Sennacherib and Esarhaddon (their order is reversed in the later versions). See AHIKAR/AHIQAR. As he lacked a son, the sage adopted his nephew Nadin whom he trained to be his successor by instructing him with wise words. Nadin did succeed the aging Ahiqar, but far from exhibiting appropriate gratitude to his uncle, Nadin framed him by forging treasonous letters in Ahiqar's name. When Esarhaddon was informed of Ahiqar's alleged crime, he sentenced him to death. It happened that Nabushumishkun, the officer commissioned to execute Ahiqar, had been saved by him at an earlier time when their roles were reversed and Ahiqar had been ordered to kill him. The officer agreed to spare Ahiqar and to kill a eunuch in his place. Once it became known abroad that Ahiqar was dead, the Egyptian king issued a challenge to the Assyrian monarch: If he sent him someone who could construct a palace between heaven and earth, Esarhaddon would receive the revenue for 3 years from Egypt. If no such expert could be found, then the Assyrian king would have to pay the Egyptian sovereign a similar sum. Esarhaddon bemoaned the loss of Ahiqar and was overjoyed to discover that his earlier order had been countermanded. Once he had recovered from his confinement, Ahiqar went to Egypt and handled all problems with stunning wit and wisdom. He returned to Assyria with the Egyptian revenue and took his revenge on Nadin. He severely punished him and scathingly criticized him for what he had done; the battered Nadin then swelled up and died.

**B. Versions**

The earliest extant version of Ahiqar is the fragmentary Aramaic text which was found at Elephantine. The papyrus dates from the late 5th century B.C.E. and contains parts of the narrative in 5 columns (through the "execution" of Ahiqar) and sayings on the remaining 9. Later, many other versions of the book appeared. Some small, very fragmentary parts of what may have been a 1st-century C.E. Demotic translation of Ahiqar have been identified (Küchler 1979: 333–37; Lindenberger 1983: 310–12), but their nature remains unclear. The two fragments with narrative sections do not agree in all details with known versions of the story, and the one fragment with sapiential teachings offers no correspondence with the other texts. Ahiqar was, in all likelihood, translated into Greek, but no copy of this version has been found. The Gk *Life of Aesop* (chaps. 23–32) does, however, contain sections which parallel the book, with Aesop assuming the role of Ahiqar and the Babylonian king Lykeros that of the ruler whom he serves. The hypothetical Greek Ahiqar eventually served as the base for translations into Rumanian and Slavonic, with the latter becoming the *Vorlage* of Russian and Serbian editions. The Syriac translation, which exists

in more than one recension, is the oldest and most valuable of the complete versions. From it Armenian and Arabic (and Karshuni) renderings were made, with the Armenian becoming the base for Georgian and Old Turkish translations. Some of the proverbs of Ahiqar are included in the Ethiopic *Book of the Wise Philosophers* which was translated from Arabic (Lindenberger 1983: 4–7). In some instances Ahiqar has been included as an appendix to *A Thousand and One Nights.*

**C. Date and Origin**

Even before the Elephantine papyrus was found, it was known that Ahiqar was pre-Christian in date because elements of its story, some of its principal characters, and aspects of its instruction are mentioned in Tobit (1:21–22 [Ahikar is called Tobit's nephew; see also 4QTobaram[a]]; 2:10; 11:18–19; 14:10 [see 4QTobaram[d]; his name in some mss at 14:15 is a mistake, perhaps for Cyaxares]). The discoveries in Egypt simply confirmed the antiquity of the work. The script of the Elephantine papyrus can be classified as "… formal or semi-formal of the end of the fifth century" (Naveh 1970: 35; Cowley 1923: 204). The story must, therefore, have been written at some time after the beginning of Esarhaddon's reign (680 B.C.E.) and before the copy of it from Elephantine was made. This battered text, which does not appear to be the autograph (Lindenberger 1983: 19), contains parts of both the narrative and the sayings, but the point (or points) where there was a change (or changes) from one to the other has not survived. This raises the problem whether the book as it stands is a unity (and thus probably composed at one time) or is a later combination of narrative and sayings which were originally separate and from different dates. As far back as the story can be traced, they are combined, but the proverbs or sayings appear to be written in an older form of Aramaic—in a Western dialect—than the official Aramaic of the narrative (Greenfield 1978: 97; Lindenberger 1983: 19, 279–304). If this is true, it may mean that different authors composed them and that it would then be possible to date the proverbs at an earlier time than the *terminus a quo* implied by the narrative; but the conclusion is not inevitable, in as much as traditional material such as the proverbs would naturally be in a more archaic or poetic diction than the narrative. Moreover, even in the Aramaic there are references to the narrative in the sayings. Finally, as noted by Küchler (1979: 330), the first words of the Aramaic papyrus (*ʾlh m] ly ʾḥyqr* [these are the words of Ahiqar]) imply that sayings are involved.

It was once thought that Hebrew might have been the original language of the book, but scholarly views changed with the discovery of the Aramaic text. The Assyrian setting of the tale suggested to some that the author wrote in Akkadian (so Cowley 1923: 205–08; Grelot 1972: 429) from which the Aramaic was translated (Cowley posited a Persian intermediary translation). Nevertheless, while this view continues to find defenders, it now seems more likely that both narrative and sayings were composed in Aramaic (Lindenberger 1983: 16–17, who notes an Aramaic word play in saying 41 [*ḥṭ* (arrow) and *ḥṭʾ* (sin)]).

**D. Structure**

As indicated above, it has been claimed that the sayings originated separately from the narrative so that the present combination of the two is due to a later editorial operation. All extant texts, however, contain both, but questions remain about the shape of the book because of uncertainties regarding the exact location of the sayings. It is obvious that major differences separate the Aramaic sayings and those of the later versions, and that for the sapiential material the latter also show variation relative to one another. But a more significant structural problem has to do with the original location of the proverbs, once they were joined to the narrative (if they were ever separate). In the Aramaic text, the columns numbered i–v contain narrative and vi–xiv offer sayings. None of the fragmentary narrative lines indicates a transition to the proverbs. This may entail that in the Aramaic version the sayings came at the end of the narrative (Cowley 1923: 210; Lindenberger *OTP* 2: 480). Grelot (1972: 432–51) attempts to integrate the two by arranging the columns in the order i, vi–xiv, ii–v, but the state of the text makes any conclusion quite uncertain. The major later versions—Syriac, Armenian, and Arabic—present two sets of sayings: the first (chap. 2) contains Ahiqar's instruction of Nadin and the second (chap. 8) his harsh words for him near the conclusion. The parallel sections in the *Life* of Aesop are distinctive in that the one section of sayings which Aesop delivers to his adoptive son Ennus is found before Aesop leaves for Egypt and just before Ennus' death. As nothing definite can be deduced from the Aramaic text and the Aesop material is a

special case, it is reasonable to suppose that the arrangement as given in the Syriac, Armenian, and Arabic versions is the original one. See also *ANET* 427–30; *APOT* 2: 715–84; *Proverbs* OTL.

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**AHIRA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥîra* (אֲחִירַע)]. The son of Enan and leader of the tribe of Naphtali, who assisted Moses in taking a census of Israel (Num 1:15; 2:29). As tribal leader, Ahira contributed offerings on the 12th day of the tabernacle dedication (Num 7:78, 83), and took charge of the military troop of Naphtali throughout Israel's march from Sinai to Palestine (Num 10:27).

MARK J. FRETZ

**AHIRAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾaḥîrām* (אַחִירָם)]. AHIRAMITES. The third of 5 sons of Benjamin and head of the Ahiramites, according to one Benjaminite genealogy (Num 26:38). While this is the only occurrence of the name, scholars have suggested that corrupt forms of "Ahiram" may exist in several other Benjaminite genealogies. One such case is Genesis 46:21, which lists 10 sons of Benjamin, including "Ehi, Rosh, Muppim, Huppim." It is widely agreed (e.g., Speiser *Genesis* 343) that these 4 names are a mechanical corruption of "Ahiram, Shephupham, Huppim." This correction would bring these names to agree with the 3d, 4th, and 5th sons of Numbers 26:38–9. A metathesis of the final *mem* of "Ahiram" and the initial *šin* of "Shephupham" would have created a name with the consonants *ʾalep-ḥet-reš-šin,* which could then have been broken into 2 names, "Ehi, Rosh." The resulting names, "Ehi, Rosh, and Muppim" do not occur in any other Benjaminite genealogy. Another possible occurrence of the name "Ahiram" is in the name "Aharah" who is listed in 1 Chr 8:1 as the 3d son of Benjamin. Schumacher (IDB 1:70) suggests that yet another corrupt form of "Ahiram" exists in the name "Aher" in 1 Chr 7:12. While this may seem superficially to be the case, most scholars follow the suggestion of Klostermann (*RE* 4) that the name should be read *ʾeḥād,* "one." There are other possibilities for the name "Aher" (which is nowhere else attested), including that of reading "Addar" (="Ard"), a name found in several Benjaminite genealogies (Williamson *1 Chronicles* NCBC, 78).

SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

**AHISAMACH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥîsāmāk* (אֲחִיסָמָך)]. A Danite and father of tabernacle craftsman OHOLIAB (Exod 31:6, 35:34, 38:23). Ahisamach is a rather typical W Semitic verbal sentence name (*IPN* 66–70). In such names kinship elements such as *ʾāb* "father" and *ʾāḥ* "brother" are "generally theophoric, the deity being identified as a protective relative." (*IDB* Sup, 620) The name, then, means "My [divine] brother supports/has supported." A similar name with the same verb, *Semachiah* "Yahweh supports/has supported" (1 Chr 26:7) is clearly theophoric. See also *TDOT* 1:7, 193.

STEPHEN A. REED

**AHISHAHAR** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥîšaḥar* (אֲחִישַׁחַר)]. A son of Bilhan (1 Chr 7:10), grandson of Jediael, appearing in a curious Benjaminite genealogy in 1 Chr 7:6–12a. The name means "brother of the dawn." This is the only appearance of the name in the MT (LXX *Achisaar*), and it does not appear in the Apocrypha or the deuterocanonical literature. Scholarship has been divided concerning the authenticity of this genealogy because of its place in the text, the more complete Benjaminite genealogy which follows in 1 Chr 8:1–40, the lack of reference to Zebulun and Dan within 1 Chronicles 1–9, the naming of only 3

sons of Benjamin (Bela, Becher, and Jediael), and the singular appearance of Jediael in the genealogy. Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 147) and Brunet (1953: 485f.) opt for the possibility of the genealogy being that of Zebulun. However, this approach suggests corruption of the text without sufficient manuscript support. Coggins (*Chronicles* CBC, 49), Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 108), and Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 78) suggest that this genealogy has replaced the tradition of Gen 46:21 at this point and reflects a postexilic military census list complete with inflated numbers of fighting men (see also Meyers *1 Chronicles* AB, lii). Since Ahishahar and the other sons of Bilhan are called *rā›šē hā›ābôt,* or heads of families, political and social organization may be reflected somewhat, as well as military organization. In early Israel, and probably continuing even as late as postexilic times, the *bēt ›āb* was the basic and most important socioeconomic unit. Harmon (1983: 150) has indicated that the head man of a *bēt ›āb* may have functioned along the lines of the bigmen of anthropological terminology. Orme (1981: 139) states that bigmen are successful, involved in community affairs, associated with feasts, and involved in arbitration in local disputes.

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**AHISHAR** (PERSON) [Heb *›ăḥîšār* (אֲחִישָׁר)]. One of Solomon's high officials *(śārîm),* who was in charge of the palace (1 Kgs 4:6). His duties as royal chamberlain, or majordomo (*‹al-habbāyit,* "over the house"), were centered on the administration of the royal household. Near Eastern parallels to this office suggest that he regularly received instructions from the king, controlled important communications and access to the palace, and oversaw other officials (*AncIsr* 1: 128–31; cf. Isa 22:22). In Israel the office may not yet have gained the importance which it held in other lands, as is suggested both by the occurrence of Ahishar's name toward the end of the list (1 Kgs 4:2–6), and by the fact, unusual for this list, that the name of his father is not mentioned. J. Gray (*Kings* OTL, 133) speculates that the lack of a patronymic may indicate the inferior nature of the office, or that Ahishar was of foreign, or humble, origin.

Even the form of the name is uncertain. As it stands, the name might mean "my brother has sung" (*ISBE* 1: 81). The Gk has *Achei* ($G^B$) or *Achiēl* ($G^L$). Montgomery (*Kings* ICC, 119) suggested that in the Gk text *Achei ēn,* the *ēn* may have been an error for *ēl,* pointing to a Heb *›ḥy›l,* with *šr* as a remainder of the patronym. Another possibility would be to vocalize *›aḥyāšār* ("my brother is righteous," *IPN* 189).

KENNETH H. CUFFEY

**AHITHOPHEL** (PERSON) [Heb *›ăḥîtōpel* (אֲחִיתֹפֶל)]. A famed wise man and royal counselor of David who figured prominently in Absalom's revolt against his father.

The name itself is composed of the theophoric element *›ăḥî-* followed by the obscure *tōpel,* otherwise unknown except as a place name in the lower Transjordan (Deut 1:1), which is to be identified with modern *Tafîla.* Noth suggests that the 2d particle be identified with the later Heb word *ṭpl = tpl,* meaning "to add to" (*IPN* 236).

Ahithophel's role in Absalom's revolt earned him a permanent place in the later Syriac vocabulary, where his name became an adjective—*›aḥitōpēlājā*—meaning "traitor." This same wise man was also the father of Eliam, one of David's champions (the *šālišîm;* RSV: The Thirty), who may be identified with Ammiel (*IPN* 15, n.2), the father of Bath-shua (= Bath-sheba, 1 Chr 3:5; see below).

As a wise man, Ahithophel was reputed to be "like the oracle of God" (2 Sam 16:23). Thus it was a fortunate turn of events for Absalom when Ahithophel threw in his hand with the rebels. It was on Ahithophel's advice that Absalom violated David's concubines "in the sight of all Israel" (2 Sam 16:21–23), as prophesied by Nathan (2 Sam 12:11), in order to demonstrate Absalom's complete break from his father. (In the ancient Near East, the usurpation of the royal authority of one's father also meant the

usurpation of his male virility, hence the great symbolic power of Absalom's act.) Ahithophel further advised Absalom to let him take a body of 12,000 men and strike David and his men immediately, while they were still weak and dispirited from the coup. Absalom was at first pleased with this suggestion, but Hushai the Archite, one of David's counselors (who was secretly working to undo Ahithophel's sound advice), opposed the plan. Hushai argued instead that Absalom should wait until all Israel had gathered to him. Then, when Absalom and the Israelites met David and his professional soldiers in the field, they would overrun David and his men by sheer force of numbers. When Absalom chose to follow the advice of Hushai, Ahithophel, certain of the impending disaster, went home and set his affairs in order, and hanged himself.

Ahithophel's participation in Absalom's revolt is indicative of the deep dissatisfaction with David's rule, even within the inner circle at court. While many may have joined the rebels in order to anoint a king who took a more direct interest in the affairs of the people than David (2 Sam 15:1–6), Ahithophel's reasons may have been private. That is, he may have been motivated by David's treacherous murder of Bath-sheba's husband, Uriah. If Ammiel, father of Bath-shua (1 Chr 3:5; Bath-shua, as the mother of Solomon, is to be read Bath-sheba) is the same person as Eliam, son of Ahithophel (2 Sam 23:34)—and this is not certain: the names are related, but in the same way that Joab [ = Yahweh is father] is related to Abijah [ = father is Yahweh], so that they are not identical—Bath-sheba would have been the granddaughter of Ahithophel. Ahithophel would then have had a very real and personal stake in the rebels' cause, namely revenge. One should wonder, however, at the absence of Ammiel (Eliam?) from among the conspirators. Bath-sheba's father would certainly not have been ignorant of what his own father had known of his daughter's marriage. In the end, Ahithophel's relationship to Bath-sheba must remain uncertain, as must his reasons for joining Absalom's revolt.

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D. G. SCHLEY

**AHITUB** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥîṭûb* (אֲחִיטוּב)]. **1.** A Levitical priest, the father of Ahijah and Ahimelech, and grandfather of Abiathar (1 Sam 14:3; 22:9, 11–12, 20). Ahijah was priest to Saul in Shiloh (1 Sam 14:3) and served the same king at Gibeah in his warfare with the Philistines (1 Sam 14:18–19, 36). Ahimelech the priest (contra the gloss in Mark 2:26) gave David holy bread and Goliath's sword at Nob (1 Sam 21:7, 10—Eng 21:6, 9) and perished when Doeg the Edomite massacred the priesthood there (1 Sam 22:18). Ahimelech's son Abiathar escaped to serve David as his chaplain during his "outlaw" period (1 Sam 22:20; 23:6; 30:7) and remained an important priest during David's early kingship (2 Sam 15:35; 20:25; 1 Chr 27:34?). Moreover, it is difficult to reconcile the claim that Ahimelech was Abiathar's son (2 Sam 8:17 = 1 Chr 18:16; also 1 Chr 24:6) unless there was an Ahimelech II. We are told that Abiathar's son/Ahitub's great-grandson, Jonathan, stayed behind in Jerusalem as one of David's spies after David's flight from Absalom (2 Sam 15:27, 36). Ahitub's brother's name was Ichabod, and both men are termed sons of Phinehas and grandsons of Eli, the high priest at Shiloh in the days of young Samuel (1 Sam 1:3; 4:21; 14:3). While one tradition traces Ahitub's ancestry through Eli back to Eleazar, Aaron's third son (2 Esdr 1:1–3), another tradition links this Ahitub through his son Ahimelech and grandfather Eli with Ithamar, the fourth son of Aaron (1 Chr 24:3; Josephus, *Ant* 5.11.5).

**2.** A Levitical priest, the son of Amariah (I?), father of Zadok (I?), and grandfather of Ahimaaz (2 Sam 8:17 = 1 Chr 18:16; 1 Chr 5:33–34—Eng6:7–8; 6:37–38—Eng6:52–53). Zadok (I?), with Abiathar, was a priest to David (2 Sam 15:35; 2 Sam 8:17; 20:25; 1 Chr 18:16). When Abiathar supported Adonijah as David's successor instead of Solomon, Solomon appointed Zadok (I?) as his high priest in place of Abiathar (1 Kgs 2:35). Ahimaaz, son of Zadok (I?) and grandson of Ahitub (I?), together with Jonathan ben Abiathar, likewise kept David informed of developments in Jerusalem following Absalom's conspiracy (2 Sam 15:27, 36).

**3.** A Levitical priest, the son of Amariah (II?), and the father of Zadok (II?), and grandfather of Shallum (1 Chr 5:37–38—Eng6:11–12). This Ahitub (II?) appears to be the same person listed in Neh 11:11 and 1 Chr 9:11 as the father of Meraioth and grandfather of Zadok (II?) and great-grandfather of Meshullam (= Shallum above?).

It may well be that 3. and 2. (and even 1.) above are actually all one and the same person (Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 128–29). Beside the Ahitub of Eli's lineage, the name Ahitub appears in 7 biblical genealogical lists: Neh 11:11; 1 Chr 9:11; Ezra 7:1–5; 1 Chr 5:27–41—Eng6:1–15; 1 Chr 6:35–38—Eng6:50–53; 1 Esdr 8:1–2; and 2 Esdr 1:1–3. Yet in only one of these lists, namely 1 Chr 5:27–41—Eng6:1–15, does the name Ahitub appear more than once. The fact that the pattern Amariah-Ahitub-Zadok occurs twice only in this one particular list readily suggests either a copyist's error or some deliberate scribal intention. This list is a long one, covering 26 generations in all, from Levi to Jehozadak, the high priest who went into exile (1 Chr 5:4—Eng6:15). The 2d list in the same chapter (1 Chr 6:35–38—Eng6:50–53) limits itself to repeat only the 12 names from the first half of its chapter counterpart, the high priests from Aaron through Ahimaaz. On the other hand, Neh 11:11 and 1 Chr 9:11 represent lists of only 6 names each, but names more suggestive of the lower half of the same long list in 1 Chr 5:27–41—Eng6:1–15. Neh 11:11 reads the names Ahitub-Meraioth-Zadok-Meshullam-Hilkiah-Seraiah; 1 Chr 9:11 reiterates the same first 5 names but changes the last name to Azariah. If Neh 11:11 and 1 Chr 9:11 should exhibit an early form of the list, Ezra 7:1–5 reflects another stage in its development as it solves the previous last name mixup through conflation (Azariah-Amariah-Ahitub-Zadok-Shallum-Hilkiah-Azariah-Seraiah-Ezra) and expands the upper end of the list to include the high priests from Aaron down through Meraioth. The long list in 1 Chr 5:27–41—Eng6:1–15 goes further, repeating the upper and lower pattern of names from Neh 11:11; 1 Chr 9:11; and Ezra 7:1–5. What turns up basically new in this long list are the hitherto unparalleled names Amariah-Ahitub-Zadok-Ahimaaz-Azariah-Johanan, filling the gap between Meraioth and Azariah of the former lists. Significantly the first 3 names of this addition of 6 names contribute to the double pattern of Amariah-Ahitub-Zadok already noted above. The remaining 2 somewhat-later lists from 1 and 2 Esdras then go on to presuppose the final stage reflected in the long list as the 12 names of 1 Esdr 8:1–2 draw from both the top and the bottom of the long list. 2 Esdr 1:1–3 parallels Ezra 7:1–5 closely, but between Amariah and Ahitub it includes 3 names completely new to all the previous lists: the names Eli-Phinehas-Ahijah. This suggests that the Ahitub intended in this last list is Ahijah, person 1. above, and, this, in a list which purports to link Ezra the priest to the line of Eleazar, not Ithamar.

If the double names Zadok and Ahitub in the long list are in fact a literary fiction created to supply a lineage to an otherwise unknown Zadok, the name of Ahitub known from the house of Eli (the house which Zadok displaced) could have been singled out by the biblical writer as a convenient and appropriate priestly ancestor (Rehm, *IDBSup*, 976–77). On the other hand, were it granted that the long list, though unique, is reliable, and that there were in fact historically more than one Ahitub and one Zadok in the priesthood descendent from Eleazar, the threefold delineation above might stand.

Interestingly, Katzenstein (1962), in his study of the high priests from Solomon to Jehozadak, thinks there may have been as many as 22 high priests in office during this time span. This would add 9 names to the 13 currently on record in 1 Chr 5:27–41—Eng6:8–15 for this span in the long list. Besides the one Ahitub expected in this part of the list, he postulates 3 Zadok's, 4 Azariah's, and 2 Amariah's. Katzenstein follows closely the sequence of high priests given by Josephus (*Ant* 9.1.1; 9.7.1; 9.10.4; 10.8.5–6) and believes that the extra names in Josephus were omitted by the biblical writers because they knew these priests to be non-Zadokites (see Katzenstein 1962: 382–84).

**4.** The son of Elijah and the father of Raphaim and the distant ancestor of Judith, the heroine of the apocryphal book of the same name (Jdt 8:1). As Judith's supposed ancestry is traced back 16 generations to Israel or Jacob, the author sought to impress upon his readers the rich Jewish heritage of the God-fearing widow of Bethulia who single-handedly captivated and decapitated the fearsome invader Holofernes.

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ROGER W. UITTI

**AHLAB** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾaḥlāb* (אַחְלָב)]. A town within the tribal boundaries of Asher whose non-Israelite inhabitants were driven out during the Heb conquest of Palestine (Judg 1:31). Although in Josh 19:24–31 the list of towns located on Asher's territorial boundary does not mention Ahlab, LXX$^{B}$ of Josh 19:29 reads *apo leb* "from Leb," which may reflect a Heb *vorlage* of **mlb*. However, the LXX reading *aalaph* in Judg 1:31 supports a derivation from Heb *ʾḥlb* rather than *ḥlb*.

Discussion focuses on a metathesis within the name of the letters *lamed* and *bet*. Whereas Judg 1:31 reads "Ahlab, and Achzib, and Helbah," Josh 19:29 concludes with "Mehebel to Achzib." Boling and Wright (*Joshua* AB, 453) argue that Heb *mʾḥlb* "from Ahlab" was the original reading in Josh 19:29, and identify Ahlab with Mehebel. Other scholars identify the two towns, but view Ahlab as an equivalent or variant of Mehebel (Meyer 1906: 540; Fisher 1975: 286). More specifically, Abel (*GP*2: 67), followed by Aharoni (*LBHG*, 235), concludes that the doublet of Ahlab and Helbah in Judg 1:31 expresses a metathesis of Mehebel. In contrast, Kallai (*HGB*, 222) suggests that Ahlab has no parallel in Josh 19:29, whereas Helbah matches a proposed reconstruction Heb **mḥlb* (MT *mḥbl*). This might be supported by the Assyrian inscription of Sennacherib (*ANET*, 287), which lists towns in the area of Sidon, and mentions the town of Maḫalliba. Since the time of Delitzsch (1881: 284), scholars have associated Ahlab with this Maḫalliba, identifying Ahlab with modern *Khirbet el-Maḥalib* located ca. 6 km northeast of Tyre (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 455). See also MAHALAB.

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MARK J. FRETZ

**AHLAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾaḥlāy* (אַחְלָי)]. **1.** Although listed as a son of Sheshan (1 Chr 2:31), Ahlai probably was a daughter (in view of v 34) given in marriage to Sheshan's Egyptian slave, Jarha (v 35). However, some scholars understand vv 34–41 as representing a different genealogical source and feel no need to harmonize this passage with v 31, thus concluding that Ahlai was a son. The expression "son(s) of" may be used in the sense of "descendant" or "offspring." Since the MT of 1 Chr 2:31 uses the plural "the sons of," the single daughter (or son) Ahlai, may possibly be understood here as the progenitor of a clan or family bearing her/his name. Because of Sheshan's failure to produce sons, Ahlai probably was the founder of a branch of the important family of Jerahmeel, the first-born of Hezron, grandson of Judah. The Jerahmeelites' association with the Kenites (1 Sam 27:10; 30:29), the similarity of several of their names with the Edomite genealogy in 1 Chronicles 1, and the correspondence of some personal names with place names, allows some scholars to identify them with foreign elements in Israel (Gen 15:19) and the shift of Edomites from southern Judah northward following the destruction of Jerusalem (Braun, *1 Chronicles* WBC, 45 and Myers, *1 Chronicles* AB, 15).

**2.** The mother (or possibly father) of Zabad, who was one of the mighty men of the armies of David (1 Chr 11:41b). Zabad is listed as a descendant of Sheshan's daughter in 1 Chr 2:36, supporting the conclusion that Ahlai was his mother and identical with #1 above. 1 Chr 11:41b–47 appears to be a continuation of the comparable list in Samuel (2 Sam 23:24–39) and contains names not found there.

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W. P. STEEGER

**AHLAMU.** See ARAMEANS.

**AHOAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾaḥôaḥ* (אַחוֹחַ)]. 6th son of Bela and grandson of Benjamin, according to one Benjaminite genealogy (1 Chr 8:4). Many scholars have proposed that "Ahoah" is a mistake for AHIJAH (e.g. Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 84), due to the evident dittography in v 7, "Naaman, Ahijah, and Gera." The Hebrew script of the two names *ʾaḥôaḥ* and *ʾahîyāh* are nearly identical. This proposal is supported by the Gk (LXX), Syr, and Aramaic versions. The Gk reads *achia* for the name in both v 4 and v 7.

SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

**AHOHI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥôḥî* (אֲחֹחִי)]. Var. AHOAH. AHOHITE. Although seen by some as a corruption of Ahijah (Heb *ʾăḥîyāh* vs. *ʾăḥôḥî*), Ahohi is a gentilic noun designating membership in the clan of Ahoah (Heb *ʾăḥôaḥ*), which was counted among the descendants of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:4). That David usurped the Israelite throne from the Benjaminite king Saul did not prevent a number of Benjaminites, including some from the clan of Ahoah, from fighting in David's service. These included Eleazar the son of Dodo (2 Sam 23:9–10; 1 Chr 11:12), the second of "the three," one of David's most renowned warriors. Although the RSV lists Eleazar as "the son of Dodo, the son of Ahohi," the correct reading is probably "Eleazar, the son of Dodo, son of an Ahohite." Either reading would reflect the same Hebrew phraseology; it simply makes more sense to read Ahohi in its plain sense as a gentilic noun, rather than construing it as a proper name.

In the Chronicler's list of David's heroes, the deeds of Eleazar, the son of Dodo, and Shammah, the son of Agee the Hararite, have been combined into a single account (1 Chr 11:12–14; probably when the copyist skipped from the Hebrew *neʿespû-šām* [2 Sam 23:9b] to *wattĕhî-šām* [2 Sam 23:11]). Besides Eleazar, 2 Sam 23:28 recalls one Zalmon, the Ahohite, whose name parallels that of Ilai (Heb *ʿîlay*, emend to *ṣîlay?*) the Ahohite in 1 Chr 11:29. See ILAI; ZALMON.

Finally, the mention of Dodai the Ahohite in the list of monthly levies (1 Chr 27:4) may refer to the father of Eleazar the son of Dodo. Thus, at least two or three Benjaminites from the clan of Ahoah fought in David's select corps of heroic warriors, a fact which may testify both to David's popularity among Saul's picked men (cf. 1 Sam 18:6–8), and to the antiquity of David's own corps of champions (Heb *šālišîm*).

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D. G. SCHLEY

**AHRIMAN.** See ZOROASTER, ZOROASTRIANISM.

**AHUMAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥûmay* (אֲחוּמַי)]. A member of the tribe of Judah and the son of Jahath (1 Chr 4:1–2). However, he may have been a Calebite, since Shobal, the grandfather of Ahumai, is identified as a descendant of Caleb in 1 Chr 2:50, 52. The genealogy found in 1 Chr 4:1–7 was originally a Calebite list, which has been incorporated into the overall genealogical list of Judah (1 Chr 2:3–4:23). The motivation for this incorporation may have been the Chronicler's interest in "all Israel" as a whole and the tribe of Judah in particular. (For further discussion, see Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC; Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC; Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC.)

H. C. LO

**AHURA MAZDA** (DEITY). The name of the supreme god worshipped in the Zoroastrian religion. Ahura means "Lord" and Mazda means "Wisdom". The name was originally an appellation of an ancient Iranian divinity, conceived of as the spirit or force of wisdom. His earthly prototype was presumably the high priest who counseled and guided the tribe. Zoroaster, in founding the religion, exalted him as the one eternal Being, wholly wise and good, and very powerful, but not yet omnipotent, that is, his power is presently limited by that of the Evil Spirit, likewise self-existent (see ZORASTER, ZOROASTRIANISM), whom at the end of time he will destroy. For this purpose Ahura Mazda created

by his thought lesser divinities and this world (*Y[asna]* 31.11). This creative act was accomplished with the aid of the Holy Spirit (*Y.*44.7, 51.7, cf. 31.3), who is one with him, and yet distinct. The lesser divinities are of the same essence and will as their Creator, and to venerate any one of them is to venerate Ahura Mazda. Zoroastrianism is also known to its adherents as "the Mazda-worshipping religion," which emphasizes its essential monotheism.

Zoroaster invoked Ahura Mazda in all his hymns (the *Gathas*), and the whole *Avesta* was regarded by the orthodox as revealed by him to his prophet. This view is still upheld by some, on the grounds that, though of multiple authorship, it all derives essentially from Zoroaster's teachings, and so is informed by Ahura Mazda's omniscience. All devotional acts begin with veneration of Ahura Mazda, and the 5 obligatory daily prayers in Avestan are prefaced by the affirmation in Persian: "Ohrmazd is Lord." The Sassanian king Vahram V answered Christian accusations of polytheism by declaring that "he acknowledged only one God. The rest were but as courtiers of the King" (Hoffmann 1880: 42).

Zoroaster believed that he saw and spoke with Ahura Mazda repeatedly. He declared himself "eager to behold and take counsel" with him (*Y.*33.6), and when rejected as his prophet turned to him for aid. "Take heed of it, Lord, granting the support which friend should give to friend" (*Y.*46.2). He saw him anthropomorphically ("the tongue of Thy mouth" *Y.*31.3, cf. *Y.*28.11; "the hand with which Thou holdest …" *Y.*43.4); but also with awe, as clad with the sky as garment (*Y.*30.5), the One who "established the course of the sun and stars … upheld the earth from below, and the heavens from falling" (*Y.*44.3, 4).

The earliest recorded reference to Ahura Mazda, as *as-sa-ra ma-za-aš,* is in an Assyrian cuneiform text of probably the 8th century B.C. This was presumably the Old Iranian divinity, since Zoroastrianism had probably then only just reached western Iran. Ahura Mazda was named many times by Darius the Great (522–486 B.C.) in his inscriptions; and Western scholars used to think that he was represented on Achaemenian monuments by a crowned male figure in a winged circle. This is now interpreted rather as a symbol of the Royal Fortune. Zoroastrianism remained, it seems, aniconic until the late 5th century B.C., after which cult statues were created of Ahura Mazda and other divinities. None of these survives, because of the successful iconoclasm of the Sassanians (224–652 A.D.). Rock sculptures show him as a kingly figure, standing or on horseback, and once holding the *barsom,* the priestly bundle of rods (Pope 1938: 154A, 156, 160A; Christensen 1936: 90–1, 226–7, 255). No representations of him are now made, but in living Zoroastrianism, as in the religion's earliest days, his worship is conducted in the presence of ever-burning fire, regarded as a symbol of truth and enlightenment.

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MARY BOYCE

**AHUZZAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăḥuzzām* (אֲחֻזָּם)]. A member of the tribe of Judah and son of Asshur (1 Chr 4:5–6). According to the problematic MT text of 1 Chr 2:24, Ashhur was the posthumous son of

Hezron. On the other hand, the LXX text indicates that Ashhur was the son of Caleb who, after the death of Hezron, married Ephrathah, Hezron's wife. Thus Ahuzzam may have been a Calebite. The incorporation of the Calebite descendants into the Judahite genealogy may reflect a later period when the tribe of Caleb was absorbed into the tribe of Judah.
H. C. LO

**AHUZZATH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăhûzat* (אֲחֻזַּת)]. Accompanied Abimelech, king of Gerar, and Phicol to make a covenant with Isaac (Gen 26:26—only occurrence of the name in OT). Ahuzzath is referred to as Abimelech's "friend" (*mērēʿēhû*). This was an official title devoid of emotional connotation; it denoted a counselor to the king on various administrative matters (Donner 1961; Van Selms 1957). A priest named Zabud, for example, is called a "friend of the king" in a list of court officials (*śārîm;* 1 Kgs 4:2–6; cf. Hushai, 2 Sam 15:37; 16:16–17). Abimelech and Phicol also appear in Genesis 21 when they make a covenant with Abraham. The long time span between this covenant and the one with Isaac makes it unlikely that the same parties were involved in both instances. Thus, scholars have suggested that either "Abimelech" and "Phicol" were recurring titles or family names (Kidner 1967: 154), or that only one covenant was actually made but it was differently reported in variant traditions (Speiser *Genesis* AB, 203).

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DAVID SALTER WILLIAMS

**AHZAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾaḥza (y)* (אַחְזַי)]. Father of Azarel and grandfather of Amashsai who is cited as a leader of one of the important priestly families in Jerusalem at the time of the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem by Nehemiah (Neh 11:13). Meshillemoth and Immer are reported as his father and grandfather. In the comparable list of 1 Chr 9:12 this person seems to be known by the name of Jahzerah (Heb *yaḥzērâ;* LXX$^{B}$ *iediou*). There Meshullam, Meshillemith, and Immer are named as his ancestors.
ROGER W. UITTI

**AI** (PLACE) [Heb *hāʿay* (הָעַי)]. Var. AIATH; AIJA? The name (meaning "the ruin") of a place mentioned in connection with Abram's early migration into the land of Canaan (Genesis 12–13), and with Joshua's subsequent conquest of that land (Joshua 7–8). It is usually identified with Et-Tell (M.R. 174147), a 27.5 acre site E of modern Beitin (biblical Bethel).

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A. Biblical References
B. Location and Description
C. History of Excavations
  1. The Garstang Soundings (1928)
  2. The Rothschild Expedition (1933–35)
  3. The Joint Archaeological Expedition (1964–76)
D. Settlement Phases
  1. The Pre-Urban Village
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E. The Problem of the Conquest of Ai

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**A. Biblical References**

Genesis 12:8 reports that Abram "removed to the mountain on the east of Bethel, and pitched his tent, with Bethel on the west and Ai on the east." Bethel and Ai seem to be landmarks locating the mountain on which Abram built his altar to the Lord, as is the case also in Gen 13:3–4. The conquest of Ai, related in Josh 7:2–5 and 8:1–29, is related from the perspective of the site as a landmark: "So Joshua burned Ai, and made it forever a heap of ruins, as it is to this day" (8:28). Topographical descriptions in the accounts indicate that it is the same landmark referred to in Gen 12:8. Ai is mentioned again in Josh 10:1–2 and 12:9, first in relation to Gibeon (el-Jib), and second, to Bethel. The statement in 10:2 that Gibeon "was greater than Ai" does not appear in the Septuagint, and is probably an expansion of the tradition similar to that found in Joshua 7–8 in the MT. In 12:9, Ai is located "beside Bethel," similar to the location in 7:2.

The name "Aiath," which seems to be a variation of Ai, appears in Isa 10:28 in association with Rimmon (possibly modern Rammun, E of et-Tell), Michmash (Muchmas), Geba, Ramah (er-Ram), and Gibeah (Tell el-Ful). Whether the reference is to Et-Tell is not clear, although Aiath would be in the same vicinity. Neh 11:31 lists an "Aija" among the villages of Benjamin in the postexilic period, among the same villages named in Isa 10:28f., and since "Bethel and Ai" are named in the list in Neh 7:32, Ai and Aija seem to be understood as two different places. However, it should be noted that the reference to "Aija" does not appear in the Septuagint. The biblical evidence thus favors identification of Ai with the landmark site known as et-Tell, E of Beitin and atop the watershed plateau overlooking Jericho 9 miles eastward in the Jordan Valley.

**B. Location and Description**

In his *Onomasticon,* Eusebius wrote that Bethel was located 12 Roman miles N of Jerusalem on the right side of the road leading to Neapolis (modern Nablus), and that Ai was located at a minor ruin E of Bethel. Whether he referred to the site of et-Tell is not certain, because there are other small ruins in the vicinity. It is possible that only the acropolis area of et-Tell was regarded as Ai, because John Garstang in 1928 made the same identification, overlooking the other three-fourths of the ancient tell that stretched down the slope eastward (see Callaway 1972: 14–18).

Et-Tell and another site in the SE edge of modern Deir Dibwan, Khirbet Haiyan (M.R. 175145), were suggested by E. Robinson in 1838 as possible locations of biblical Ai. The position of et-Tell recommended itself to Robinson, but he did not discern the presence of ancient walls and buildings because they were covered with heaps of unworked stones. Thus he favored the small ruin just S of Deir Dibwan whose name he did not record. It was later identified as Khirbet Haiyan by C. R. Conder in the Palestine Exploration Fund Survey (Saunders 1881: 95–96).

Captain Charles Wilson did a reconnaissance survey from Nablus to Jerusalem in 1866, and gave particular attention to Bethel and Ai. He noted the modern village of Beitin, 9 miles S of Shiloh, which he identified with biblical Bethel. On a hill adjoining the village, and E of it, was a fortified Christian church, and E of it the hilltop ruins locally known as "Et-Tel, 'the heap'." Its location corresponded to the description in Gen 12:8 and Joshua 7–8, so Wilson identified et-Tell with biblical Ai on the evidence of the biblical references and the topography of the area.

In a surface survey of the region E of Bethel in 1924, W. F. Albright became convinced that et-Tell was indeed the ruin of an ancient city, and that no other proposed site could possibly date to the time of the Israelite settlement in Canaan. Khirbet Haiyan had no surface pottery that could be attributed to the LB Age, or to Iron Age I. The tradition that Joshua "burnt Ai and made it a heap (tell) forever" (Josh 8:28) seemed to support his position. Albright's identification of et-Tell with Ai was therefore based upon biblical traditions and the topography of the region and was supported by the evidence of an ancient city of the Canaanites which lay under the heaps of stones. His location of the site of Ai has not been seriously challenged in the last half-century (*EAEHL* 1: 36).

**C. History of Excavations**

**1. The Garstang Soundings (1928).** The first excavations at Ai (et-Tell) were conducted by John Garstang in September, 1928. 8 trenches were opened, 5 against the outer face of the S city wall, and 3 inside the city in the acropolis area. The results of his work were never published although a summary report of 3 typed pages and a sketch plan was submitted to the Department of Antiquities. He did claim in

a later book that LB pottery dating to ca. 1400 B.C. was found, and was left "in the collection of the American School," now the Albright Institute in Jerusalem. This pottery has not been located for a 2d opinion of its dating. The supposed discovery of a 1400 B.C. city at Ai supported Garstang's dating of the fall of Jericho at the same time, and confirmed the traditional date for the Exodus and Conquest generally accepted at the time (Callaway 1980: 1–4).

**2. The Rothschild Expedition (1933–35).** Judith Marquet-Krause directed the second excavation at Ai, with the support of Baron Edmond de Rothschild of Paris. Inspired by the prospect of "resurrecting" the ancient biblical city of Ai from the dust of its ruins, she embarked upon a series of annual campaigns in 1933 which were abruptly terminated by her death in 1936 as she prepared for the 4th year of work.

The Rothschild excavations were confined to the upper part of et-Tell, between contours 835 and 850 on the site plan (see Fig. AIP.01). This was the area sketched by Garstang in 1928 as the entire site. During 2 months of work in the 1st campaign, the so-called palace was unearthed, a part of the Iron Age I village was discovered and tombs in the necropolis NE of the tell were excavated. A long and productive six-month campaign in 1934 continued excavations of the Iron Age village, uncovered the lower-city fortifications near contour 835, and discovered the "sanctuary" in the citadel area of the acropolis (see D.4. below). A final campaign in 1935 focused on completing excavation of the Iron Age village, which was found to be constructed on top of EB remains with no intervening occupation evidence. The lower city was also extended inside the city walls, and the "Postern Gate" inside an elliptical tower was found. All of the lower-city remains belonged in the EB Age. This limited the Iron Age village to the acropolis area (Callaway 1972: 18–22; 1980: 4–7). See Fig. AIP.01.

**3. The Joint Archaeological Expedition (1964–76).** Beginning in 1964, J. Callaway directed 9 seasons of work at Ai and other sites in the region until 1976. 8 sites were opened at et-Tell in areas adjacent to the Rothschild excavations and in new areas along the lower E city walls as follows: site A, the sanctuary and citadel fortifications; site B, the Iron Age village; site C, the lower city near contour 835; site D, the temple-palace complex on the acropolis; site G, the lower-city residential area; site H, the east city-wall fortifications; site J, the wadi gate fortifications; and site K, the corner gate and reservoir (see Fig. AIP.01). All of the city below contour 845 on the site plan was found to be EB, dating before ca. 2400 B.C., with Iron Age agricultural terraces indicating it was placed in cultivation by the founders of the Iron Age village ca. 1200 B.C.

Three sites in the vicinity of et-Tell were excavated to complete an archaeological profile of the region. Khirbet Haiyan, located on the regional plan and a candidate for the location of biblical Ai, was excavated as site E in 1964 and 1969. It was found to be a Byzantine settlement founded on scattered remains of the First Temple period, or 1st century A.D. Khirbet Khudriya, E of et-Tell, was excavated as site F in 1966 and 1968, and was also a Byzantine settlement or possibly a monastery. Tombs in the valley adjacent to the settlement yielded pottery, ossuaries, and objects from as early as the 1st century B.C.

Salvage excavations were conducted in 1969, 1970, 1972, and 1974 at Khirbet Raddana (M.R. 169146), in the N edge of modern Bireh, with sites designated R, S, and T. Hewn pillars of two Iron Age I houses, contemporary with those at site B at et-Tell, were uncovered during the construction of a new road on the site, and the Joint Expedition was invited to excavate them. It was thought that the evidence of these houses would supplement that of the houses at et-Tell. They were found to be part of a small unfortified village settled about 1200 B.C., and abandoned about 1050 B.C., the same as the village at Ai (et-Tell) (Callaway 1972: 22–26; 1980: 7–18).

**D. Settlement Phases**

The following settlement phases have been identified:

| STRATUM | PHASE | DESCRIPTION | PERIOD | CHRONOLOGY |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pre-Urban | I–II | Unfortified Village | EB IB | 3200–3100 B.C. |
| Urban A | III | Walled City of 27.5 Acres | EB IC | 3100–2950 B.C. |
| Urban B | IV–V | Remodeled Buildings and Fortifications | EB II | 2950–2775 B.C. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Urban C | VI–VIII | Reconstructed City and Fortifications | EB III | 2775–2400 B.C. |
| Intermediate | IX | Site Abandoned | ——— | 2400–1200 B.C. |
| Iron Age | X–XI | Unfortified Village above Contour 845 | Iron Age I | 1200–1050 B.C. |
| Byzantine-Islamic | XII | Site Terraced and Cultivated | ——— | 5th Century to Present |

**1. The Pre-Urban Village.** Remains of an unfortified village, reaching from site C at contour 835 to the acropolis area, were found underneath the first-city wall system. The village was at least 200 m in length, making it larger than the Iron Age village built centuries later. Artifacts from this phase reflect a population made up of overflow from other sites, such as Jericho 9 miles away in the Jordan Valley, together with an increment of newcomers to the region. The new elements in the village culture at Ai eventually dominated in later periods that carried over from Chalcolithic by the indigenous population. There seem to have been movements of population from N Syria and Anatolia as early as EB IA that introduced pottery forms such as carinate platters, holemouth jars with inward rolled rims, and painted decorations of line-group designs.

**2. The Urban A Walled City.** A well-planned walled city enclosing about 27.5 acres was constructed at the beginning of EB IC, or ca. 3100 B.C. Its fortifications were laid out on natural contours of the hilltop site, and they fixed the limits of the city in its succeeding phases until final destruction about 2400 B.C. There is debate among scholars whether the EB IC walled city grew out of the previous unwalled village, or was imposed upon the village by newcomers (see Schaub 1982: 67–75). My view is that newcomers who brought with them experience in city-building imposed the Urban A plan upon the local villagers. Fortifications at sites A and C were built over large areas of village houses, and the entire site was carefully divided into spatial components seemingly too sophisticated to have emerged from the village culture.

Components of the city that can be located on the site plan are: (1) the acropolis complex at site D; (2) the citadel and later sanctuary at site A; (3) a market and residential area at site C, houses at site G, and 4 city-gate complexes at sites A, K, J, and L. Urban life in the city revolved around the temple-palace compound on the acropolis. Enclosed by its own walls (2-m-wide) inside the city, the temple and palace lay side by side with the temple on the E, and the palace structures (that continued in use until EB III) enclosing both ends and the back side of the temple (see D on Fig. AIP.01).

Of the 4 city gates in the Urban A phase, 3 were 1 m wide and constructed straight through the fortification walls. These were the citadel (site A), postern (site L), and corner (site K) gates. Walls at the postern gate were preserved more than 2 m high, and there was evidence that the narrow passageway was covered, making it a kind of tunnel through the wall. Only 1 side of the wadi gate (site J) was uncovered, and since the excavated area was more than 1 m wide, this gate must have been wider than the others.

The Urban A city was inhabited by a substantial element of indigenous people whose pottery culture is rooted in the Chalcolithic period, indicating that the village population of EB IB was largely absorbed by those whom I regard as newcomers in EB IC. Radical changes in lifestyle from village to urban life, with the imaginative spatial planning of the new city, indicates that new leadership was imposed from the outside. Antecedents of this culture are traced to coastal and N Syria, as well as to S Anatolia.

**3. The Urban B Remodeled City.** Violent destruction abruptly terminated the Urban A phase at Ai ca. 2950 B.C. The citadel at site A was burned, leaving scorched stones as mute testimony of the event. A blanket of ashes covered the acropolis building floors of polished plaster. New leadership seems to have been imposed upon the population, and the city was rebuilt and extensively modified.

The culture of the new regime contrasts with that of the preceding one. Fortifications were widened and strengthened. The citadel gate was closed by an addition of about 0.75 m to the width of the original wall, and the postern gate was closed and discontinued. The lower-city gate in site C was constructed in this phase, presumably because the location was more easily fortified than the postern gate site. The temple-palace at site D was rebuilt, and the palace area was constricted to about half its original size by construction of a wall (2 m wide) with curved corners in the middle of the previous space. These modifications suggest ad hoc building and remodeling inferior to that of the original city.

Analysis of pottery and artifacts suggests that the transition to Urban B was brought about by local conflict rather than by outsiders. A movement from N to S can be traced in the pottery forms of the Urban B phase, suggesting that ultimate outside influences came from the N through settlements in N Canaan.

A massive destruction by fire over all of the excavated areas brought the Urban B city to an end shortly before the beginning of the 3d Dyn. in Egypt. At sites A and C, collapsed roof beams were covered over by stones from walls and clay which covered the beams; they smoldered with enough intensity to dissolve the stones into calcined masses, cementing pieces of pottery into lumps and baking sun-dried bricks into a pottery-like consistency. At site D, the temple-palace compound, walls either collapsed or tilted precariously, suggesting that an earthquake struck the city. In the N wall of the temple, a rift in bedrock sliced through the main room and through the wall, leaving stones tilted into the break. When the city was rebuilt in the Urban C phase, the tilted curved corner wall of the temple-palace was buttressed and preserved in the reconstruction.

**4. The Urban C Reconstructed City.** That the Urban B city lay in ruins for some time is evident in erosion channels in some houses that were built over in the Urban C phase. At Site A, the fortifications were rebuilt first, then houses were constructed against the inner face of the walls. Some 20 to 40 years must have elapsed, therefore, between the destruction of the Urban B phase and the completion of the Urban C city.

Egyptian involvement in the rebuilding is evident at the temple-palace area on the acropolis and at site K in the SE corner of the fortifications. Pier bases in the temple were shaped with copper saws, probably like those known in Egypt from the 1st Dyn., and the temple wall (2 m wide) was built of hammer-dressed stones shaped like bricks and laid in mud mortar like bricks. The interior of the wall was plastered, with the plaster continuing on the floor and up to the piers resting on the rectangular-shaped bases. Alabaster and stone vessels imported from Egypt were among the temple furnishings (see Callaway 1972: 248).

At site K, a carefully engineered open-water reservoir was constructed inside the corner of the city wall. A closely laid stone-paved floor was set in a backing of red clay, and a dam of red clay (2.5 m high) faced with stones formed the perimeter on three sides. The floor sloped from W to E toward the city wall. Estimates of the capacity of the reservoir (25 m wide) range from 1,800 to 2,000 cubic m. This would be enough to supplement rainfall and other sources for a population of 2,000 inhabitants (see *EAEHL* 1: 45).

An interruption in the Urban C city seems to have occurred about 2550 B.C., evidenced by broken down and rebuilt city walls, and major changes in the temple area. It seems that the fortifications inside the city around the temple were again strengthened, completely eliminating the former palace area back of the temple. The temple was made into a royal residence, and a modest sanctuary was constructed against the Citadel at site A in what had been a residence. This is the "Sanctuary" discovered by Marquet-Krause in 1934, which was actually a sanctuary only during the last half of the Urban C phase. Khirbet Kerak pottery and objects on the altar of the new sanctuary and in adjacent rooms imply a new influence from the N of Canaan during this phase (Callaway 1978: 52–55).

Another violent destruction overtook the city about 2400 B.C., during the 5th Dyn. of Egypt. No definite identity of the aggressor is known, but a scene in the tomb of Inti at Dishashi depicts the capture of a Canaanite town, and a mutilated inscription names two cities, neither of which can be identified. If Ai was taken from control of Egypt about 2550 B.C., it would be among the cities in Canaan listed for recapture in any campaign to regain control of the region. In any case, the city was completely destroyed and abandoned, and was not reoccupied until Iron Age settlers came upon the ruins of the site 1,200 years later, ca. 1200 B.C.

**5. The Iron Age I Village.** Waves of settlers from the N, S, E, and W made their way into the highlands of Canaan about 1200 B.C., in an unprecedented series of disruptions around the E Mediterranean combined with the decline of major powers that had controlled the area. Those who settled the small village of Ai seem to have come from the W, being part of a larger migration of refugees fleeing from the recent and more warlike newcomers to the coastal region. By the time of this migration, the original name

of the ancient city had been lost in a litterbox of history, and it was simply The Ruin, a popular designation of the mound as a landmark.

The new villagers were able to wrest a living from their arid environment by the introduction of two new technologies. First, they dug cisterns in the soft limestone underneath and beside their houses to capture rainwater. Second, they terraced hillside slopes on contours and planted them in various crops. At Ai, the village was located on the acropolis above contour 845, and the remainder of the ancient ruin was terraced and placed in cultivation. The only fortifications were those left standing from the EB city, which were broken down in places and covered over by heaps of stones. Estimates of the population range from 150 to 300 persons.

That the new settlers had experience in hill-country farming is evident in their subsistence strategy and the village layout and houses. Houses were characterized by piers, either of stacked stones or hewn monoliths, that supported the roofs and divided space in the "great-rooms." Some houses had a 3d room across the back of the main area. Streets at Ai were paved with cobblestones set in red clay which led to the thresholds of the closely spaced houses. A high dividing wall separated two compounds of houses in site B, suggesting that several extended families made up the population of the village.

An interruption in the life of the village occurred about 1125 B.C., and there seems to have been an increase in the population. Numerous silo granaries were built in open areas around houses and even in the streets. The ruins of the EB temple were occupied with a crude stone wall separating the spacious interior into 2 living areas. Silos were built in the corners of the ancient structure. The introduction of silo granaries in the new phase represents a difference in storage methods from the earlier phase, when large storejars were used for grain and other foods and occasional silos were cut into the bedrock floors of houses. The latter phase of occupation lacks the orderliness in both houses and streets of the original phase (see Callaway 1985: 37–43).

**E. The Problem of the Conquest of Ai**

Reconciliation of the archaeological evidence with the biblical account of the capture of Ai is difficult, because the evidence does not agree with the prevailing views of the event. The older view of a 1400 B.C. conquest based upon 1 Kings 6:1 (held by Garstang) is not supported because there was no occupation of the site at that time. Albright's view of a conquest about 1250–1230 B.C. is also unsupported, which he himself recognized. He ascribed the conquest related in Josh 8:1–29 to nearby Bethel which was destroyed at the time, instead of to Ai, and conjectured that later tradition confused the accounts and attributed the destruction to Ai. This view is weakened by the LXX omission of reference to men of Bethel participating in the defense of Ai in Josh 8:17. A fragmentary text of Josh 8:3–18 from Qumran Cave 4 is also a shortened version similar to that of the LXX, although the reference in Josh 8:17 is one of the missing fragments. It is quite probable, however, that the mention of Bethel is a Masoretic expansion and is, therefore, secondary. Martin Noth held that the Ai account in Joshua 8 is legendary and etiological in nature, and is therefore unhistorical. Marquet-Krause and de Vaux, and, more recently, Yigael Yadin and A. Malamat, view the account as primarily etiological.

We are left with the options of discounting the historicity of the Ai account or of placing the conquest in a chronological context later than LB. The latter is here proposed, and it is suggested that the interruption of the Iron Age village about 1125 B.C. would be an appropriate time (Callaway *IDB* Sup., 16). However, there is increasing evidence from excavations and surveys of the hill country from the Negeb to Esdraelon that a military conquest as described in Joshua 1–11 is without archaeological support, and that the settlement depicted in the book of Judges matches the evidence more accurately. The hundreds of villages, among which was that at Ai, founded on hilltops and supported by an agricultural subsistence, were occupied by people who fled from conflicts and violence to the safety of the hills. Indeed, the original settlers at Ai seem to have come to the highlands by way of the lowlands to the W and N instead of from the E (as depicted in popular "conquest" and "sedentarization" reconstructions). The people at Ai would thus be part of the large population of villagers in the highlands that emerged as the Israel we know in the book of Judges.

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**AIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾayyâ* (אַיָּה)]. The name means "hawk" or "falcon" (Lev 11:14; Deut 14:13; Job 28:7), and Hicks (*IDB* 1: 73) suggests it was a nickname. According to Westermann (*Genesis 12–36* BK, 567), the presence of animal names in genealogies (e.g., Genesis 36) suggests that the list developed in an early period.

**1.** First of the two sons of Zibeon, the son of Seir, a Horite living in Edom (Gen 36:24; 1 Chr 1:40). His brother Anah was probably the father of Oholibamah, one of Esau's wives (Gen 36:2, 18). This assumes that the Anah in Gen 36:2 is the *son* of Zibeon (reading Heb *ben* with the LXX, Syriac, and Sam Pent, rather than the MT *bat* "daughter") and therefore the brother of Aiah (Gen 36:24). Aiah's name occurs in a brief Horite lineage placed among Edomite genealogical lists in Genesis 36 and 1 Chr 1:36–42. His father was the head of a Horite clan (Gen 36:20–21) and his brother was noted for discovering "hot springs" of water in the desert (Gen 36:24). These facts are the biblical witnesses to the close relation between the Edomites and the Horites (see Bartlett 1969). The latter probably comprised the pre-Edomite population of Edom, which later became assimilated to the Edomites (Deut 2:12).

**2.** The father of Rizpah, a concubine of Saul (2 Sam 3:7). The name occurs four times in 2 Samuel and is exclusively used as a patronym, "Rizpah, the daughter of Aiah" (2 Sam 3:7; 21:8, 10, 11). Aiah's importance stems from the fact that his daughter was a member of the first Israelite king's harem. After Saul's death she became the concubine of his successor and son Ishbosheth, and was at the center of royal intrigue, when Abner (the military commander) was accused of sleeping with her (2 Sam 3:7). Such an act constituted an attempt to seize the leadership from Ishbosheth (cf. 2 Sam 16:21–22; 1 Kgs 2:13–25). Aiah's daughter also bore two sons for Saul: Armoni and Mephibosheth. Both were killed to appease Yahweh for a previous treacherous act of Saul against the Gibeonites (2 Sam 21:1–14).

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**AIATH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿayyāt* (עַיָּת)]. See AI (PLACE).

**AIJALON** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾayyālôn* (אַיָּלוֹן)]. Located in the tribe of Dan, Aijalon was an important city in the history of ancient Israel. The first reference to the city is in EA 273, where Aijalon and Gaza are mentioned as "falling away to the Habiru." However, Dussaud (1927: 230) has suggested that Aijalon was known to the Egyptians even earlier in the Middle Kingdom period.

Judg 1:35 reports that the Danites had initially failed in their attempt to take Aijalon from the Amorites. When it eventually fell to the Israelites it was assigned to the tribe of Dan on or near the border with Ephraim (Josh 19:42). Aijalon is mentioned in a poetic fragment, in parallelism with Gibeon, as a place where the moon and sun respectively halted at the command of Joshua (Josh 10:12). Saul and Jonathan defeated the Philistines at Aijalon after the battle of Michmash (1 Sam 14:31). Jonathan was responsible for the initial success, but Saul and the rest of the army shared in the subsequent battle. If it is correct to identify Elon as Aijalon, the next mention of Aijalon is in 1 Kgs 4:9. The RSV notes that Elon-beth-hanan belongs to the second administrative district of Solomon; the consonantal MT (*ʿylwn*), however, raises the possibility that Aijalon is the intended reference. When the monarchy was divided, Aijalon was included

in the tribe of Benjamin. In 2 Chr 11:10 Aijalon, built by Rehoboam as a defensive city, belonged to Judah and/or Benjamin, while in 2 Chr 28:18 the city belonged to Judah. In the Levitical city (Albright 1945; Peterson 1977: 340–51) lists Aijalon is the third Danite city in Joshua (21:24), while in the 1 Chronicles list there is no mention of the tribe of Dan and instead Aijalon is a continuation of the Ephraim allotment (6:54—Eng6:69).

Aijalon was located at the W end of the Valley of Aijalon on the major trunk road which led into the hill county, past Gibeon, and ultimately reached Jerusalem. The importance of Aijalon in the biblical record depended on its strategic location. The Valley of Aijalon is the most important of all the natural trade routes through the Shephelah. There is no reference to Aijalon during or after the exile, although the Aijalon Valley continued to be an important trade route. According to Josephus (*JW* 2.513–16) Cestius Gallus, governor of Syria, took the Aijalon Valley route in his campaign against Jerusalem in A.D. 66. Eusebius mentions Aijalon in his *Onomasticon* (18:13–14). (See also Epiph. *Adv. Haeres* 2.702.)

There are two sites that have been identified with biblical Aijalon, Yalo and Tell Qoqa. Since Robinson (1841: 63–65) all major geographers have identified Yalo (M.R. 152138) with Aijalon. It was Albright (1924: 10) who first observed that Tell Qoqa had many EB shards on it, making it the "older Aijalon," while Yalo has many of the later periods.

Yalo is located three kilometers E of Imwas, twenty kilometers WNW of Jerusalem, and ten kilometers ESE of Gezer. From the summit of the mound, one has a perfect view of the Aijalon Valley as it wraps itself around the N, NW, and NE sides of the tell and then disappears to the NE into the surrounding hills.

Tell Qoqa is situated immediately to the SE of Yalo, separated by a little valley. While Albright argued that Tell Qoqa was the older city, there is evidence that both sites were occupied during the same periods and that the boundary separating EB Qoqa and fortified Yalo is not as distinct as had been argued earlier.

From the surface surveys conducted at Tell Qoqa, pottery has been found from the Early Bronze Age, Middle Bronze Age II, Late Bronze Age, Iron I, and Iron II periods. At Yalo there is indication of Middle Bronze Age II, Late Bronze Age, Iron I, Iron II, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman-Byzantine, and Middle Ages and Ottoman occupation.

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**AIN** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿayīn* (עַיִן)]. Var. ASHAN. **1.** A town marking the idealized E border of the "promised land," located in the vicinity of the Sea of Galilee (Num 34:11). The location of the place is unknown. The text indicates that Ain is located W of Riblah; if this is the same Riblah mentioned in 2 Kgs 23:33, then Ain would be near Kadesh on the Orontes River in modern Syria near the NE border of Lebanon. On the other hand, since the Vulgate here refers to Riblah in connection with "the spring (Heb *ʿên*) of Daphne," it is possible that Ain is actually identical to Kh. Dufna (M.R. 209292), 24 miles N of the Sea of Galilee (and 1.5 miles W of Tel Dan). It is also possible to identify Ain with Kh. Ayun (M.R. 212236), 2.5 miles E of the S tip of the Sea of Galilee.

**2.** A Levitical city mentioned three times in the OT, first in Josh 15:32, where it is assigned to the tribe of Judah and is a part of the administrative district of Hormah; second in the Levitical city list in Josh

21:16, where it is the seventh city in the Judah/Simeon list; and third in 1 Chr 4:32, where Ain is given to the descendants of Judah and Simeon.

The city of Ain presents problems, regarding even its name. In Josh 21:16 the city is called Ain (*ʿayīn*), while in the parallel Levitical city list in 1 Chr 6:44 (—Eng 6:59) it is called Ashan (*ʿāšān*). Albright (1945: 61) has suggested that Ashan should also be read in Joshua 21 as in the Chronicler. He argued that between the 2d century B.C. and the 3d century A.D. the Hebrew "Ain" replaced the correct "Ashan." Consistently the Greek texts have *Asan.*

There is a lack of clear understanding regarding the identification of the biblical Ain. It was Robinson (1841: 625) who first suggested the identification of Kh. Anim el-Ghuwein (M.R. 156084). Kh. Anim is an unimpressive small mound in the center of a small, shallow, circular valley. The surrounding hills are low. Immediately to the W of the tell is Wadi Sha'b el Jabu, which leads into Nahal Anim. The site is located not too far from the ancient highway from Hebron to Arad that passed through Juttah and es-Samu.

There have been no archaeological excavations conducted at Kh. Anim, although there have been archaeological surveys. The Archaeological Survey of Israel visited the site and there identified Iron II, Hellenistic, Roman-Byzantine, and Medieval pottery. The levitical city survey team also found Iron II, Roman-Byzantine, and Arab shards at the site.

However, the identification of Ain with Kh. Anim was challenged by Wilson (1847: 354) following the text of the Chronicler, and it was Musil (1907: 66) and others who identified Ain with Ashan. Kh. Asan is 3.2 km N of Beersheba, near Nahl Asan. There are good reasons to identify biblical Ain/Ashan with Kh. Asan simply on linguistic grounds, but there are also geographical considerations. Although the site remains archaeologically unknown, it is clearly in the tribe of Simeon and on a major trade route leading N into the Shephelah.

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**ʿAIN GHAZAL.** A Neolithic village located on the Zarqa (Jabbok) River at the NE edge of the modern city of Amman. Although badly disturbed by highway, commercial, and civic construction until 1981, four seasons of "rescue archaeology" in the years 1982–85 have produced a relatively complete picture of the site's history.

Three major occupational phases occurred at ʿAin Ghazal: the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (PPNB; ca. 7250–6200 B.C.), the PPNC period (ca. 6200–5800 B.C.), and the Yarmukian phase (ca. 5400–5000 B.C.) of the early ceramic Neolithic. Early in its development, ʿAin Ghazal was already a thriving village of some 10–12 acres, supported by goat herding and such agricultural products as peas, lentils, wheat, barley, and chick-peas. Hunting of wild game (especially gazelle and cattle) and the collection of wild plants (especially figs, almonds, and pistachios) still provided about half of the dietary needs. Long-range contacts are evidenced by Anatolian obsidian, S Jordan minerals, asphalt from the Dead Sea, and shells from the Mediterranean and Red Seas. As early as 7100 B.C. ʿAin Ghazal was also an important Levantine religious center, with plaster human statuary reflecting a sophisticated system of public ritual and ceremony. Smaller clay human and animal figurines indicated more personal, family-oriented concerns on health, fertility, and magic/luck in hunting. Housing consisted of spacious and sturdy rectangular stone dwellings with well-made plaster floors, many decorated on the interior walls and floors with geometric and linear designs.

By 6500 B.C. the village had doubled in size, reflecting the excellent environmental resources to sustain population growth, and by the end of the 7th millennium it extended over more than 30 acres, more than three times the size of contemporary Jericho, making ʿAin Ghazal one of the largest population centers of the Near East.

Shortly after 6200 B.C., a sudden alteration in the character of the archaeological material at ʿAin Ghazal indicates that a significant cultural change had occurred despite the evidence of occupational continuity. Conspicuously different architecture, stone tools, economic foci, and human burial practices emerged that have no counterparts in other areas of the Levant, suggesting that the Jordanian highlands underwent a locally inspired cultural adaptation, possibly associated with an increased emphasis on exploiting desert regions to the E.

It is not known yet how long this peculiarly Jordanian Neolithic development lasted, but ʿAin Ghazal was eventually abandoned sometime in the early 6th millennium. Several centuries later a new social group appeared at the site, radically different in cultural terms because of the production of well-made pottery, though the construction of flimsy and impermanent pit dwellings continued. Preliminary analysis suggests these new Yarmukian people were no longer full-time farmers but relied instead on nomadic pastoralism centering on herds of goats, sheep (?), cattle, and perhaps pigs, aided by domestic dogs.

A multiyear campaign of excavations will resume at ʿAin Ghazal, and it is anticipated that significantly greater resolution will emerge concerning the daily lives of the people of this important site.

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GARY O. ROLLEFSON

**ʿAJJUL, TELL EL-** (M.R. 093097). A large site (ca. 28 acres) of the MB to LB located ca. 7 km SW of Gaza. According to Albright (1938: 337), the name means "Mound of the Little Calf." The tell is situated ca. 1.5 km inland from the Mediterranean coast on the N bank of Nahal Besor (Wadi Ghazzeh). The coastline S of Gaza is composed of steep slopes and low cliffs except where the Nahal Besor empties into the sea. Here the estuary meanders through low, rolling sand dunes that once provided convenient access from the sea to Tell el-ʿAjjul and the coastal road. It was along the Nahal Besor, a natural frontier between Egypt and Canaan, that the Hyksos built several fortifications including Tell el-ʿAjjul. These control points were all protected with a typical "Hyksos" rampart and fosse of the MB period.

**A. Identification**

Excavations at Tell el-ʿAjjul have produced no inscriptional evidence to suggest its name in antiquity. F. Petrie assumed the site to be ancient Gaza, but the consensus of modern scholarship suggests that Tell el-ʿAjjul is Eusebius' "Beth-Aglaim" (*Onomast.* 48:19), 8 Roman miles (11.6 kms or 7.3 miles) from Gaza. While the direction from Gaza is unclear in Eusebius and the Madeba Map places a "Bethagidea" SE of Gaza, Jerome locates it on the coast by referring to it as "Bethagla maritima." The objection that Eusebius' Beth-Aglaim was 8 Roman miles from Gaza rather than the 6 of Tell el-ʿAjjul is not major. First, the ancient road probably did not go straight to Gaza but skirted the sand dunes by connecting with the "kurkar" ridge S of Gaza, making the road longer. Secondly, the Nahal Besor is the only convenient access from the coast to Tell el-ʿAjjul and the coastal road for several kms.

**B. Archaeological Evidence**

J. Starkey first took note of Tell el-ʿAjjul and persuaded F. Petrie to excavate there. Petrie began excavations in 1930 and continued until 1934 for a total of four seasons. A fifth season of excavating at Tell el-ʿAjjul was carried on by E. H. Mackay and M. Murray in 1938. Petrie quickly published four well-illustrated volumes of the results of his excavations (Petrie 1931–34), but his methods were somewhat lacking and any early material from Tell el-ʿAjjul should be used with caution. Since it is difficult to identify Tell el-ʿAjjul in ancient sources as a particular historical site during the MB, we must rely on the archaeological remains to recreate the history of this city and ancient texts to provide the context in which this city flourished. Several eras of the settlement are represented by the terms City I, City II, and City III. There is evidence of a settlement before these three cities and of continued occupation by a military garrison after City III began its decline into the Iron Age.

**1. Early Settlements.** The first signs of occupation at Tell el-ʿAjjul may have been found by James Starkey on the S bank of the Nahal Besor opposite Tell el-ʿAjjul. He dated his finds to the EB. On the N side of the estuary, Petrie uncovered a cemetery W of the tell in which he found a profusion of copper weapons after which he named the area the "Copper Age Cemetery." He erroneously attributed this cemetery and a small find of vases and shards to the Chalcolithic Age (before 3150 B.C.E.). The cemetery is actually of the EB IV (as early as 2200 B.C.E. or as late as 2000 B.C.E.). The settlement at Tell el-ʿAjjul began to urbanize during the Egyptian 12th Dynasty of the MB I (Rainey 1972: 369–408). The evidence for this community were found in artifacts from the S quarter of the mound (Kempinski 1974: 147) and the contents of the "courtyard cemetery" in the N quarter that date from the late 12th to the early 13th Dyn.

**2. City III and Palace I.** The middle of the 18th century B.C.E. saw internal and domestic problems in Egypt. With Egypt's weakened central authority, Tell el-ʿAjjul's fortunes apparently improved. They built some of the most notable fortifications and public buildings in Canaan. In constructing the fosse around the fortification, they excavated blocks of sandstone, which were used for the foundation of the palace. The fosse measured some 6 m deep and 15–18 m across. From the bottom of the fosse to the top of the fortification was probably over 45 m. One entry faced the sea, and another was in the center of the NE wall toward Gaza. Inside the secured perimeter was built the largest palace (Palace I) of this age ever found in Palestine. It measured ca. 50 by 39 m. The walls of the palace were 2 m thick (suggesting a possible second story), and it had rooms on three sides around a courtyard. Palace I was destroyed with the coming of the 15th Dyn. or the "Hyksos" period (1668 B.C.E.).

**3. City II and Palace II.** The remains of City II and Palace II reflect a period of great prosperity during the MB III "Hyksos" period. This came about as a result of Tell el-ʿAjjul's strategic position at the W end of the trade routes that came from the E via Elath and the Negeb. Three particular finds of this period reveal some of Tell el-ʿAjjul's commercial and political activity. First, stylized Cypriot pottery inspired local potters to make what has become known as "Bichrome Ware." It is characterized by geometric ("Union Jack") patterns, fish, and birds. It became so popular along the coast that it has become a diagnostic indicator of this period. Secondly, the tomb of a Hyksos nobleman was uncovered and with him were found his chariot and horses. Since chariots were a new military innovation of the period and were financed and controlled by affluent nobility, it appears that Tell el-ʿAjjul was ruled by such feudal lords. Confirming the presence of an affluent nobility was the third discovery of a hoard of gold jewelry of superb craftsmanship.

**4. City I and Palaces (Fortresses) III–V.** With the defeat of the Hyksos by Ahmose I and the establishment of the 19th Dyn. (1567–1320 B.C.E.), Egypt gained control of trade from the E. This reduced the economic prospects of Tell el-ʿAjjul, and City I began its decline with a major part of the population moving to Gaza (the site of the new administrative center of the 19th Dyn. in Canaan). The debate continues concerning the date of Palace (Fortress) V and the continuing occupation at Tell el-ʿAjjul. Some contend (Kempinski 1974: 148) that the fortresses continued at Tell el-ʿAjjul until the middle 12th century B.C.E., after which it was abandoned near the end of the 12th century B.C.E. with the influx of Philistines into S Palestine. Others (Albright 1938: 358), relying on evidence of the cemetery

near the fortress, have dated the fortress to the latter part of Iron Age I (1000–900 B.C.E.) and have proposed occupation on the site until that time.

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DALE C. LIID

**AKAN** (PERSON) [Heb ʿ*aqān* (עַקָּן)]. Var. JAAKAN. A clan name mentioned in the genealogy of Seir the Horite in Gen 36:27. Akan is listed as one of the three sons of Ezer, and he is thus a grandson of Seir. The name in this form only appears in Genesis 36, but it is equivalent to the name JAAKAN found in the matching genealogical clan list in 1 Chr 1:42. These clans, not to be equated with the Hurrians, are part of the original "inhabitants of the land" mentioned in Gen 36:20, who lived in the area of Edom (perhaps as cave dwellers) prior to the coming of the Esau clans.

VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

**AKELDAMA** (PLACE) [Gk *Akeldamach* (Ἀκελδαμαχ)]. An uninhabited area outside Jerusalem where Judas Iscariot committed suicide and was buried (Acts 1:19). The name "Akeldama" is derived from the Aramaic expression *ḥăqēl dĕmaʾ* ("field of blood"), which came to be attached to the location through its connection with Judas Iscariot (on the form, see BDF §39.3). Klostermann (*apud* Lake 1965: 13) suggests that the translation of the Aramaic in the Acts account was generated by later Christians eager to promote their perspective and that the phrase originally referred to "field of sleep" and was a euphemism for a cemetery. Klostermann's position is rejected by Kirsopp Lake, who questions the etymological argument that substitutes the word for "blood" with the word for "sleep." Lake also suggests that there is no usage of the term "field of sleep" meaning cemetery in associated ancient literature (Lake 1965: 13). The transliteration provided in Acts 1 is superior. Acts 1:18 identifies Judas as purchasing this property with the blood money acquired from the priests for betraying Jesus. Judas' purchase of the land, however, was effected only after his suicide, by the proxy of the priests (Matt 27:3). The plot they purchased with the blood money was reportedly the potter's field in which Judas had committed suicide (Matt 27:5). The potter's field was subsequently set aside as a cemetery for foreigners.

The place known as the potter's field could have been either the possession of a specific potter or a place that acquired that name through its association with potters. The significance of the previous ownership of the land arises in that the purchase of the potter's field is reported by Matt 27:10 to be a fulfillment of a prophecy of Jeremiah. This citation, however, appears to be a combination of Zech 11:12–13; Jer 18:2–12, Jer 19:1–13, and Jer 32:6–9.

The description of Akeldama as the potter's field has contributed to locating the site. The OT frequently associates the S side of Jerusalem with potters. The area beyond the Potsherd Gate (Jer 19:2) in the Hinnom Valley was the location of Jeremiah's demonstration of the smashing of a newly purchased clay jar to proclaim the coming events of the Babylonian expansion. The Potsherd Gate is equated with the Dung Gate (Neh 2:13) in the Tg. Yer. It is maintained by many that it attained its name because it overlooked a pottery dump. In Jeremiah's message he implies that the name of the location would change from Topeth or Valley of Ben Hinnom to the "valley of slaughter" following the Babylonian advance (Jer 19:6). This final description is close to the later Aramaic name.

The Hinnom Valley S of Jerusalem is argued to be the location of Akeldama. This valley was desecrated in the eyes of pious Jews from the time of Kings Ahaz and Manasseh, who promoted Molech worship there (2 Kgs 23:10). In the 1st century A.D. the valley was used as a refuse dump for the city of Jerusalem (see Mark 9:47). These aspects would have contributed to the non-occupation of the site. The

priests would have been able to purchase the land there at a relatively low price, and foreigners not concerned with Jewish religion would have had no problems with being buried in that location.

In the 4th century Jerome affirmed a S location of Akeldama in opposition to Eus., who held that it was N of Jerusalem. The traditional site is located on a level space on the S side of the Hinnom Valley, just before it joins the Kidron Valley. A ruined structure 24 m by 17 m is located on the site today. This structure was used as a communal burial place for centuries. Today a Greek monastery stands near the site and carries the name. This site cannot be conclusively shown to be the actual site of Akeldama.

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ROBERT W. SMITH

**AKHENATEN.** Second son of Amenhotep (Amenophis) III of the 18th Dynasty by his great king's-wife Tiye, and king of Egypt for nearly 17 years (Wenig 1972), 1377–1361 (Redford 1984: 57) or 1350–1334 (Wente and Van Siclen 1976: 218).

Born probably in Memphis while his father yet resided in the northern capital, Akhenaten is not pictured on any known monument prior to his accession and would not have been in line for the throne had his older brother Thutmose not died prematurely (Gauthier 1912: 335f.). When the royal family took up residence in Thebes for the first jubilee (Redford 1984: 51–52f.) Akhenaten accompanied them. There he appears as "king's-son" in dockets from his father's reign (Hayes 1951: 172, fig. 27[KK]), and there he came to the throne as Amenhotep IV when Amenophis III died, there being no substantial evidence for any coregency (Redford 1967: 88ff.; Von Beckerath 1984: 11f.; contra Aldred 1988).

For the first few months of his reign he continued work on monuments left unfinished at his father's death: the gate of the 2d Pylon (Lauffray 1980: 87ff.), and the decoration of a monumental portal on the south of Karnak (Redford 1983: 368). On the latter the falcon-headed Re-Harakhty is the only god who appears as the recipient of Akhenaten's worship, a harbinger of things to come. To his name is added an epithet that had enjoyed some currency in solar theology: "He who rejoices in the horizon in his name 'Light which is in the Disc' " (Gunn 1923; Fecht 1967; Munro 1981; Redford 1976: 54, n. 123). That the predilection for one god constituted something more than mere henotheism is strongly suggested in an early "speech from the throne" in which Akhenaten introduces his god to the court. Therein he describes his celestial deity in terms of uniqueness, transcendence, and permanence that were to become common throughout the reign, while at the same time accusing the gods of having "ceased one after the other" (Redford 1981).

Throughout the reign frequent mention is made of the king's "teaching," which may be merely the largely poetic description of the wonders of the sun-spawned universe seen through the eyes of a sensitive aesthete. The Hymn to the Sun-disc (Auffret 1981; Bernhardt 1969; *AEL*, 96–107; von Nordheim 1979), echoes of which seem later to be heard in Psalm 104, describe the solar deity as the creator and sustainer of the universe, the guarantor of life and the eternal hypostasis of pharaonic monarchy in the heavens. In the latter capacity the deity is granted the double cartouche, hailed in royal terms, and conceived in art as the mirror image in the heavens of king Akhenaten upon earth. Pursuant to his iconoclastic urges, Akhenaten rid the cult of images of deity as well as mythology, and even the decorative arts and the script were purified of anthropomorphic and theriomorphic elements (Redford 1984: 173ff.). The great Hope of all Egyptians, the multifarious world of the Beyond, the Underworld over which Osiris and his congeners presided, was done away with; and although outward forms, such as shawabtis, mortuary texts, and sun hymns were retained, they were expurgated of all allusions to the Underworld (Assmann 1972; Redford 1980; Redford 1984: 169ff.).

Akhenaten honored his god by inaugurating a new icon, a new art style, and by championing a temple design influenced by Heliopolis. The new icon was derived from the earlier Re-Harakhty figure by the simple expedient of suppressing the figure, retaining the disc, and appending a multitude of sticklike arms. Introduced in anticipation of the jubilee to be celebrated in the 2d and 3d year, the "Sun-disc" (as Akhenaten referred to his deity) was termed "the Great, living Disc which is in jubilee, Lord of heaven

and earth," and suffered its lengthy name to be confined within two cartouches. The new art-style, an "expressionistic" treatment of natural forms based on an accentuation of the salient features of the king's personal appearance and showing a predilection for feminine softness, was introduced at the same time as the brainchild of Akhenaten himself, who issued the appropriate directives to his master artists (Aldred 1968 and 1973; Pillet 1961; Schäfer 1931).

The "Heliopolitan" type of temple consisted of a simple series of open courts (in contrast to the closed processional temples), oriented eastward and centering upon an altar. At Thebes, the erstwhile residence, four major temples were constructed, the largest of which (the *Gm[t]-p*$^{3}$*-itn*) was the venue of the great jubilee (Redford 1973, 1975, 1977; Smith and Redford, 1977). Additional structures were the *Rwd-mnw*, the *Tni-mnw*, and the "Mansion of the *bnbn*," given over to the queen and centered upon the sole obelisk of Thutmose IV, E of the Amun temple. Another *Gm-itn* was erected at Kawa in Nubia (Breasted 1902; Porter and Moss 1952: 180ff.), Memphis (Löhr 1975) and Heliopolis (Habachi 1971; Löhr 1974) were both provided with temples to the Sun-disc, and offering lists allude to cult installations throughout the Delta (Saad 1971). After year 5 two vast temples were included in the new city "Horizon of the Disc" (Amarna), one the "House of the Sun-disc" incorporating another *Gm-p*$^{3}$*-itn* and a *Ḥwt-bnbn*, and a "Mansion of the Sun-disc," possibly a royal mortuary temple (Petrie 1894; Gunn and Pendelbury, 1923–51; Samson 1972; reliefs: Roeder 1969; Hanke 1978).

The royal family is already in evidence at the outset of the reign. Nefertiti, the Great Royal Wife, of unknown parentage but undoubtedly of Egyptian birth (Seele 1955: 170), appears in the jubilee with her first daughter, Meretaten. Before the 5th year two additional daughters had been born in rapid succession, Meketaten and Ankhesen-paaten; and at Amarna three more girls appeared before year 9, but these apparently died in infancy (Smith and Redford 1977: 83ff.). Sons are conspicuous by their absence, but one Amarna text refers to the "bodily son of the king, Tut-ankhu-aten" (Roeder 1969, pl. 106). Nefertiti herself seems to lose influence and drop out of sight toward the close of the reign, but may have survived her husband (Redford 1975: 11f.). Of the other wives the best known is Kiya, who appears briefly at Amarna (Fairman 1961: 29; Harris 1974; Hanke 1978). That Nefertiti appears at the close of the reign under the guise of a *male* coregent, Smenkhkare, has been mooted but remains highly controversial (Harris 1973; 1974; 1977; Samson 1981; 1982; Tawfik 1981).

The decision to abandon the old capital, Thebes, was taken perhaps as early as year 4, when the high priest of Amun is found working in the quarries (Redford 1963). Shortly after followed the wholesale destruction of Amun's name and iconography throughout the land. By year 6 construction at the new site of Amarna, the "horizon" which the Sun-disc had chosen (Aldred, 1976), was far enough advanced for the court to take up residence. Akhetaten was the god's site, and owed nothing to Thebes or Memphis: it was planned from the outset for the services of the new god (Smith 1981, 314ff.; Samson 1972; O'Connor fc.). The old administrative families were ignored, and a roster of "new men" replaced them. Chief among these were the chamberlain Tutu, the general Maya, the high priest Meryre; of the "old guard," Ay, the general and emanuensis, and Parennefer, the butler, found places in the new order (Hari 1976). Though Akhenaten might contemplate travel abroad, the new city was to be the permanent residence of court and government.

The army remained prominent throughout the reign (Schulman 1964), but Akhenaten's aversion to accompanying his troops in the field and his self-confessed refusal to "deal harshly" in foreign affairs lent his administration an irresolute character (cf. EA 162.40–1; Helck 1971, 168ff.; Kitchen 1962; Redford 1984, 185ff.; Several 1972). A campaign was mounted in Nubia (Helck 1980; Schulman 1982), and some sort of punitive action in Asia may have been contemplated before his death. But in the north, action seems to have been largely restricted to exiling recalcitrant natives (Edzard 1970) and removing dissidents and suspects to Egypt for interrogation (EA 162.67–77). Neutralized in the war between Khatte and Mitanni, Akhenaten watched inactive as the Hittites swiftly destroyed Mitanni and subverted her erstwhile dependencies in North Syria (Astour 1981). An incipient revolt in Nu-khashshe looked to Egypt for help, but this did not materialize, and the rebels were crushed (Redford 1984: 197ff.). Before the end of the

reign, the border state of Kadesh had defected to the Hittites, to be followed upon the return of Asiru, its king, from detention in Egypt, by Amurru (Freydank 1960; Klengel 1965).

Akhenaten passed away probably less than 6 months into his 17th year of rule, perhaps in the early summer. He was probably buried in his tomb in the royal wadi at Amarna (Martin 1974), but because of pillaging, virtually nothing remains of the interment. The extent to which any of the grave goods in tomb 55 of the Valley of the Kings represents his mortuary paraphernalia is a moot point (Schnabel 1976; Reeves 1981). Branded a rebel by later generations, and omitted from the king lists (Gardiner 1938), Akhenaten lived on in a folklore only partly preserved for us (Krauss 1976; Redford 1985, chap. 8).

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**AKHETATEN** (PLACE). See AMARNA, TELL EL-.

**AKIBA, RABBI.** Leading rabbinic teacher of the first third of the 2d century C.E. (d. 135). Akiba's influence on the early development of the rabbinic tradition was very great; the vast majority of the authorities cited in the Mishnah were Akiba's disciples and successors, and indeed the major texts of the early rabbinic canon are said to have been the work of these disciples (see *Sanh.* 86a). Reflecting this influence, the image of Akiba presented in rabbinic texts is that of the ideal devotee of Torah; as one might expect with any such idealized portrait, traditional narratives concerning him are so colored with legend and reverential exaggeration that biographical conclusions cannot easily be drawn from them.

The picture of Akiba as ideal Torah scholar emerges from several well-known stories. He is described as having been born to poverty (*Ber.* 27b) and has having been in his early years a bitter enemy of the emerging learned elite (*Pesaḥ.* 49b), but is said then to have devoted years of study to the Torah and finally to have become the greatest Torah master of his day. His role in historical memory as Sage par excellence is reflected as well in a number of stories putting Akiba at the center of rabbinic-Patriarchal politics of the late 1st and early 2d centuries (*Ber.* 27b–28a, *j. (Talm.) Ber.* 4:1 7cd; *Roš. Haš.* 2:9), while the end of Akiba's life too was remembered as exemplary: he joyously died a martyr's death during Hadrian's persecution of Judaism because he could not abandon the public teaching of Torah (*Sanh.* 12a, *Ber.* 61b).

Akiba's influence on the developing tradition was primarily of two sorts. He is identified as the individual chiefly responsible for the systematic arrangement of Oral Torah according to subject matter (*j. [Talm.] Šeqal.* 5:1 48c, *t. Zabim.* 1:5, *ʾAbot R. Nat.* 18), and he is credited with having devised an elaborate hermeneutic of Scripture which allowed him to find meaning in every letter and every diacritical mark of the text (*Menaḥ.* 29b). The inference from the perfection of Scripture that every detail of the text has meaning was opposed by Akiba's great contemporary Ishmael b. Elisha, who insisted to the contrary that "Scripture speaks the sort of language that people use" (*Ber.* 31b), but Akiba's hermeneutic is reflected in much subsequent *midrash* (the *Mekhilta* of R. Simeon b. Yohai, *Sifra,* and *Sifre Zuta* on Numbers, along with numerous Talmudic passages), and according to Jerome (*ad* Isa 7:14) it stimulated the production of a new Greek translation of the Bible as well. The aggadic image (*Menaḥ.* 29b) of Moses visiting Akiba's academy and finding himself unable to understand the interpretations of the Torah propounded there offers later rabbis' acknowledgment that Akiba's hermeneutic was strikingly original

but only tenuously linked to the apparently intended meaning of the text; interpretation letter by letter allowed for great freedom, but also led to disregard for context and plausibility in both aggadic and halakhic contexts (*Ḥag.* 14a, *Sanh.* 38b, 51a, 67b).

Akiba's willingness to discover unexpected and far-reaching implications in Scripture is reflected as well in his apparent interest in the more recondite aspects of early rabbinic religion, such as *merkabah* ("chariot") mysticism and the other secret teachings that came to be known as *Pardes* (the "garden"). Even in such realms, however, Akiba remained the model for later generations to emulate; of the four who "entered the garden," only he "entered in peace and came out in peace" (see *t. Ḥag.* 2:2, *j. (Talm.) Ḥag.* 2:1 77b, *b. (Talm.) Ḥag.* 14b).

On the basis of one Talmudic tradition (*j (Talm.) Taʿan.* 4:7 68d), much recent historiography has described Akiba as an enthusiastic supporter of Bar Kokhba's rebellion against Rome, but the most recent investigations (Schaefer) have cast doubt on this conception. (See also *EncJud* 2: 488–92; *JEnc* 1: 304–10.)

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**AKITU.** The Sum Á-KI-TI, and its Akk cognate *akī tu (m),* may refer either to the *akītu* festival proper or to a temple in which this festival was celebrated. The origin and etymology of this noun is unknown. On account of the Akk plural form *akiā ti,* some scholars consider Sum Á-KI-TI to be a Sem loanword, borrowed from Old Akk (cf. *AHW*: 29). The Sum term for "New Year" is ZAG-MU(-K), lit. "the (end) limit of the year," borrowed into Akk as *zagmukku*/*zammukku.* Both the Sum and Akk terms may refer either to New Year's Day or to the New Year festival proper.

**A. The *akītu* and the New Year Festivals in Sumerian Religion (ca. 2500–1800 B.C.E.)**

The *akītu* and the New Year (ZAG-MU-K) seem to have been two distinct festivals in Sumerian religion.

**1. The Sumerian *akītu* Festival.** The earliest references to the *akītu* festival are implied in Pre-Sargonic economic texts from Ur and Adab, dated to the "Month of Á-KI-TI," i.e., the sixth month and first month of the local calendars, respectively. The *akītu* festival in Ur, during the Ur III period (ca. 2100–2000 B.C.E.) and the Isin-Larsa period (ca. 2000–1760 B.C.E.), took place twice a year: in the sixth (or seventh) month, i.e., in the beginning of the barley sowing season; and in the first (or twelfth) month, i.e., when the barley harvest began. This duality arose as a result of a shift in the beginning of the calendar year from the seventh month (i.e. the autumn) to the first month (i.e. the spring), which resulted in two *akītu* festivals: the " (*akītu* of the sowing (season)" and the "*akītu* of the harvest (season)." The same duality can also be observed in the Bible, where both the first month (Nisan) and the seventh month (Tishre) are referred to as the turning points of the year (cf. Exod 12:2; 23:16). The *akītu* in Nippur, on the other hand, took place in the fourth and twelfth months, in Lagash and Umma, perhaps once a year, in the eighth month. The exact day of the month on which the festival was celebrated is not known. The *akītu* was celebrated in a special temple in the open country, situated near a canal. It was usually dedicated to the city god, and therefore offerings were presented there to his statue or emblem. A major and joyful event of the festival was the procession, in the course of which the god's statue and his entourage were carried from his temple to the *akītu* temple and back, partly by chariot and partly by boat. The responsibility for the festival fell on the king. As to its religious significance, it is assumed that the *akītu* festival marked the beginning of the agricultural year, or semiannual season. In the course of his visit to the *akītu* temple, the city god was believed to have blessed the fields, in anticipation of the renewal of agricultural work (Falkenstein 1959: 166).

**2. The New Year Festival in the Neo-Sumerian Period (ca. 2100–1800 B.C.E.).** The inscriptions of Gudea (ca. 2100 B.C.E.) and some cultic-literary texts from the OB period indicate that in the Neo-

Sumerian period. New Year's Day was considered as an important festival, on which special cultic rites (Sum PILLUDA) were performed, under the aegis, and probably with the personal participation, of the king. The most important cultic event in the Sumerian New Year festival was the Sacred Marriage rite (*hieros gamos*). In Lagash and elsewhere, this rite was probably conceived as having taken place on the divine level, i.e., between the city god and his wife. The Ur III kings, however, seem to have introduced a new feature into the cult, borrowed from the Uruk tradition: sacred union between the deified king in the role of the fertility god Dumuzi, and a priestess representing Inanna, the goddess of love (cf. van Dijk 1954: 83–8; J. Klein 1981: 124–66). The kings of Isin also celebrated the sacred marriage rite on New Year's Day in their capital with a priestess, who represented Inanna, identified with the city goddess Nini-sinna. The celebrations in Isin involved a great variety of cultic personnel, including transvestites (Römer 1965: 128–49; Reisman 1973: 185–92). The sacred union between the god and the goddess, or their earthly representatives, was believed to fertilize nature and society alike for the coming year, and thus ensure plenty and abundance for the land (Jacobsen 1975: 68–71). Another important feature of the New Year festival in Sumer was the ceremony of the "Determining of Fates." The sacred marriage itself usually culminated in a blessing (lit. "fate-decreeing") for abundance and fertility, which the goddess bestowed upon the king and the land. The Lagash sources also indicate that on New Year's Day, major religious and political decisions were taken, probably by oracular guidance, including the appointment of rulers and state and temple officials. On this day, criminals and immoral persons were excluded from the communal meal in the temple, and the rights of the orphans and widows were enforced (Heimpel 1981: 66–8; 88).

**B. The *akītu* (New Year) Festival in the 1st Millennium B.C.E.**

**1. In Babylon.** In Babylon, unlike in other Mesopotamian cities, from early times the *akītu* was celebrated only once a year, in the month of Nisan, and thus it gradually merged and became identified with the New Year festival (*zagmukku*). In the 2d millennium B.C.E., with the rise of Babylon to supremacy, the *akītu*/New Year of Nisan, which was dedicated to Marduk, became the most important festival in Mesopotamia, including the city of Assur. In 1st millennium Babylon, the New Year festival was celebrated in a great pomp and rejoicing, during the first eleven days of Nisan. The climactic event of this festival was the divine procession to the *akītu* temple and the celebration of the *akītu* ritual there. The participation of the king in the *akītu*/New Year festival was obligatory, and his duties included, *inter alia*, a declaration of innocence before Marduk on the fifth of Nisan, and "seizing the hand of Bēl" (i.e., Marduk) and accompanying him to the *akītu* temple. The ritual of the Babylonian New Year festival is described in detail in a text from the Seleucid period (i.e. the 3d century B.C.E.), containing instructions to the high priest (*šešgallu*), as to the cultic activities to be performed in the temple, from the second to the fifth of Nisan (Thureau-Dangin 1921: 127–54; *ANET*, 331–34). During these days, prayers and incantations are recited to Marduk, beseeching him to calm his anger and bless the king and the people for the coming year. On the fourth day, the great Babylonian mythic poem *enūma eliš,* describing Marduk's victory over Tiamat (the primeval sea) and the creation of the world by him, is recited before the god. On the fifth day, after the temple has been thoroughly purified, the king is led before Marduk. The high priest takes away from him his royal insignia, strikes him on his cheeks, pulls his ears, and makes him bow down to the ground. At this point, the king has to utter a declaration of innocence, in which he asserts that he did not neglect the worship of the god, nor did he harm the sacred city of Babylon or its protected people. Thereupon, the high priest utters a favorable oracle, assuring the king that Marduk listened to his prayer and will bless his kingship and destroy his enemies. After the high priest returns to the king his royal insignia, he again strikes his cheek, and if "his tears flow—Bēl is appeased; if his tears do not flow—Bēl is angry; an enemy will rise and bring about his downfall" (*ANET*, 334, 429–52). The description of the *akītu* ritual in the above text has been lost. Nevertheless, some of its highlights can be culled from the inscriptions of NA and NB kings. On the fifth day of Nisan, the statues of Nabû and other deities arrived at Babylon. The festive procession to the *akītu* temple took place most probably on the ninth of Nisan (Berger 1970: 156). The king "seizes" the hand of Marduk and conducts him to the *akītu* temple outside the city. There, on the tenth of Nisan, a cultic drama, symbolizing Marduk's primordial victory over Tiamat and the forces of chaos, was enacted in some way (Lambert 1968: 104–12; 1963: 25:

189–90). The purpose and meaning of this ritual is not clear. Some see in it society's identification with the powers of nature, when the seasons change and natural life renews itself (Frankfort 1948: 314); others assume that the *akītu*, originally an agricultural festival, became a national festival, commemorating the establishment of the Babylonian empire or its reunification, in the guise of a primordial cosmic battle (Jacobsen 1975: 76). It is interesting to note that the association of the New Year with the creation of the world survived in the rabbinic interpretation of the Jewish New Year festival. Since New Year's Day was considered to be the time of decreeing the fates for the coming year, the ritual of Fate Decreeing was performed during the festival twice: once on the fifth (or sixth) of Nisan, in the sanctuary of Nabû in Babylon, called the "Dais of Fates" (Akk *parak šīmāti*), and a second time in Marduk's temple, upon his return from the *akītu* temple. The New Year festival ended on the eleventh day, and on the twelfth day Nabû and all the gods returned to their cities. According to an earlier hypothesis (Zimmern 1918: 2–20; Pallis 1926: 221–43), the New Year festival's cultic drama included another episode, in which Marduk, prior to his battle with Tiamat, was put to death, taken down to the netherworld, and resurrected, in imitation of the cult of the dying god Dumuzi—Tammuz. However, the NA cultic commentary, on which this hypothesis is based, turned out to be nothing but an anti-Babylonian or pro-Babylonian propaganda. The purpose of this text was either to justify Sennacherib's destruction of Babylon and capture of Marduk's statue, in terms of a divine trial (von Soden 1955:51: 130–166), or to explain Marduk's exile and his return to his city, in terms of death, descent to the netherworld, and resurrection (Frymer-Kensky 1983: 131–44). In any case, this vestigial and late addition to the New Year's Day ritual has nothing to do with the motif of the dying fertility god.

**2. In Assur and Other Cities.** In early times, most probably, the Babylonian god Marduk played the central role in the New Year celebrations in Assur. Only after Sennacherib destroyed Babylon, capturing Marduk's statue (in 684 B.C.E.) and elevating Assur to the rank of Marduk, did Assur become the central figure in the celebrations. Sennacherib reports in his inscriptions that he rebuilt the old *akītu* temple in honor of his god Assur, and renewed the *akītu* festival there. From his description of the representations engraved on the bronze gates of this temple we learn that, in Assur, just like in Babylon, a cultic drama, symbolizing Assur's victory over Tiamat, was enacted in the *akītu* temple (*LAS*, 135–43). However, contrary to an erroneous hypothesis, Sennacherib did *not* embody the god Assur in this cultic drama (cf. *LAS*, 142:15+1; *Enc Miqr* 7: 310; *CAD* K, 289a). Other Mesopotamian cities, in the 1st millennium, beside Babylon and Assur, preserved ancient local traditions and did not normally celebrate the *akītu* festival on New Year's day (cf. Falkenstein 1959: 159; 177, note 52). Thus, in Uruk two *akītu* festivals were celebrated: one in Nisan and one in Tishre. The *akītu* of Nineveh was probably celebrated on the 16th of Ṭebēt (i.e., the sixth month), whereas that of Arbela (Milkiya), sometime in the month of Ab (i.e., the fifth month).

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**AKKADIAN LANGUAGE.** *See* LANGUAGES (AKKADIAN).

**AKKO** (PLACE). See ACCO (PLACE).

**AKKUB** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿaqqûb* (עַקּוּב)]. **1.** Head of a family of temple gatekeepers in the postexilic period who are listed as returnees from Babylonian exile under the leadership of Zerubbabel and others (Ezra 2:42 = Neh 7:45 = 1 Esd 5:28). While this list appears in Ezra 2 immediately after the return of Sheshbazzar, there are several indicators that it is not a list of that group who first responded to Cyrus' edict. Not least of these is the absence of the name "Sheshbazzar," which raises the question of the relationship between SHESHBAZZAR and ZERUBBABEL. Myers (*1 Chronicles* 15–16, 146) surveys various views about the origin and purpose of this list. Recent scholarship tends to follow Rudolph (*Ezra und Nehemia* HAT 17) in understanding it as a composite list of groups who returned from exile in the early years of the Persian period (Clines 1984: 44; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 31–32). It is uncertain whether Ezra 2 is copied from Nehemiah 7, or Nehemiah 7 is copied from Ezra 2, or both are copied from some other original document (Fensham 1982: 49; Clines 1984: 44–45). The list is also found in 1 Esdras 5 as those who returned with Zerubbabel during the reign of Darius.

The family of Akkub continued as gatekeepers throughout the postexilic period (1 Chr 9:17; Neh 11:19; 12:25), the individual names in these verses being properly understood as names of families.

**2.** Head of a family of NETHINIM (temple servants) who also are listed as returnees from Babylonian exile under the leadership of Zerubbabel and others (Ezra 2:45 = 1 Esdr 5:30). The names Akkub and Hagab are lacking in the parallel list at Neh 7:48. Either the Ezra list has made repetition of Akkub from v 42 and Hagabah from earlier in v 45 (Batten *Ezra, Nehemiah* ICC, 90) or the scribe copying the list for Nehemiah 7 skipped from Hagabah to Hagab (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 26). The nature of the scribal error is related to the larger issue of the literary relationship between the lists.

**3.** One of the men who assisted Ezra in the public reading of the law by explaining the reading to the people (Neh 8:7–8). That Akkub and his fellows are properly identified as Levites (1 Esdr 9:48 and Vg as opposed to MT) is supported by Neh 8:9 and the references to the teaching role of the Levites in 2 Chr 17:7–9; 35:3. Understanding what these men did hinges on the meaning of v 8, especially the word *mĕpōrāš* (RSV "clearly"). Traditionally this has been understood as referring to the Levites' translation from Hebrew to Aramaic. However, it may refer to their explaining the meaning and implication of the old law in a new setting. Some have understood the term as referring to the activity of the men standing with Ezra (v 4), meaning that they read clearly or divided the reading into paragraphs, pausing to allow the Levites to give their explanation. (Ackroyd *Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah* TBC 295–96; Kidner 1979: 106; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 277–79, 290.)

**4.** A post-exilic member of the royal family of David descended from King Jehoiachin (1 Chr 3:24). According to the MT, Akkub is the eighth generation from Jehoiachin. However, in v 22 "the sons of Shemaiah" may be a dittograph, because the list of five sons of Shemaiah is followed by the numeral six. If the phrase is deleted, v 22 then lists the six sons of Shecaniah, yielding only seven generations from Jehoiachin to Akkub. At v 21 the RSV follows LXX, Vg, and Syr in reading "his son" (*bnw*) instead of

"the sons of" (*bny*) before the last four names in the verse. Such a reading adds four generations, yielding eleven or twelve generations from Jehoiachin to Akkub. This uncertainty about the number of generations involved affects attempts to date the list and, as a consequence, the generation of Akkub. (See Ackroyd *Chronicles* TBC, 34 and Williamson 1982: 58.)

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**AKRABATTENE** (PLACE) [Gk *Akrabattēnē* (Ἀκραβαττηνη)]. The district where Judas Maccabeus defeated the "sons of Esau," i.e., the Idumeans or Edomites (1 Macc 5:3). The Hellenistic form of the name may be associated with Akrabbim, an important ascent from the Arabah to the northern Negev at the southern border of Judean territory. Josephus (*JW* 2.12.4; 4.9.9) mentions a toparchy near Shechem (Nablus) with the same name, but it is not clear whether this is identical with the area where Judas fought. Regardless, the Akrabattene of Josephus should be connected with the "Akrabattine" of the Onomasticon of Eusebius (cf. Klostermann 1904: 14,10; 86,25; 108,20; 156,30; 160,14).

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**AKRABBIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿaqrabbîm* (עַקְרַבִּים)]. The name, meaning "scorpions," is part of the compound geographical name *maʿăleh ʿaqrabbîm* ("ascent of scorpions"). According to Num 34:4; Josh 15:3; Judg 1:36, Akrabbim was an outermost point on the S borderline of the Judean territory SW of the Dead Sea. The name may be equated with hieroglyphic *ʿqrbt* mentioned in the topographical lists of the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III at Thebes (Edel: list "$B_N$ li.11"), which in turn seems to be identical with a name preserved as *mqrpt* in the great Palestine List of Thutmose III (No. 94). The latter is probably a misreading of a form *ʿqrpt* supposedly existing in an earlier version of the list (Görg 1974a; but see Redford 1982). The ascent of Akrabbim should be connected with one of the passes between the Arabah and the Wadi Fiqre and Kurnub. It is usually identified with Naqb eṣ-Ṣfar (Abel 1933; Noth *Joshua* HAT; but cf. Aharoni *LBHG*). There were three way stations from the bottom to the top, known today as Rugm Ṣfar, Khirbet Ṣfar, and Qaṣr Ṣfar, all of which were "Nabataean in origin, Roman in repair, and Byzantine in reconstruction" (Glueck 1959: 207). The ascent may have been a station point on the ancient expedition routes of Egyptian kings to the different copper mines near the Arabah and to Transjordanian places as early as the 18th dyn. (Haider 1987). In Roman and Byzantine times the pass served as a convenient and important way from the Mediterranean Sea to Edom, Moab, and Elat (Harel 1959; 1967). Named after the ascent, the adjacent area seems to be the AKRABATTENE where Judas Maccabeus defeated the Idumeans (1 Macc 5:3).

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**AL ʿUBAID** (30°59´N; 46°03´E). A small tell (350 m long and 7–8 m high) in S Mesopotamia, 6 km W of Ur, excavated by H. R. Hall in the spring of 1919 and by L. Woolley in 1923 and 1924. It is famous for having been the site of a 3d millennium B.C. Sumerian temple and for having furnished the first proof of painted ceramics characteristic of the long Neolithic period in Iraq. Consequently, the name of the site has been used to designate the Neolithic culture of Iraq.

**A. The Temple and Its Artifacts**

The sanctuary belonged to the series of temples built on terraces; it stands inside an oval enclosure characteristic of the Early Dynastic period (first half of the 3d millennium). Some inscriptions on bricks prove that it was still in use during the era of the third Dynasty of Ur (21st century) and that it was dedicated to Ninhursag, goddess of the mountain. Nothing has been found of the temple itself, but a study has been made of the platform that supported it (33 by 26 m), its stairway leading to the SE side and a second one leading to the NW side, and its subsequent phases of reconstruction. It was surrounded by an oval enclosure which was possibly double (85 by 65 m) and which delimited the sacred area. A magnificent collection of artwork was found where it had been deliberately stuffed into the masonry during the reconstruction of the building. Among these works were representations of bulls, birds, bronze lion heads, copper columns nailed onto wooden beams (or with mosaic incrustations encased in bitumen and pressed against the trunks of palm trees), heads of nails from the architectural decorations, and the famous relief of the Imdugud, with its lion-headed eagle binding two stags. Also discovered were several statues (some complete, others in fragments) among which is the one of Kurlil; a golden jewel belonging to Aannipadda, King of Ur and one of the most ancient kings of history; the foundation inscription of the temple dedicated to Ninhursag by this king; fragments of inscribed vases; and a very famous frieze of the dairy in stone and shell on a base of bitumen. This series of artwork represents the most beautiful collection found on one site in Mesopotamia; it is all the more remarkable given the small area and limited period of occupation of this site. This collection alone would have ensured the reputation of Al-ʿUbaid.

**B. The Neolithic Culture**

In his excavations, Woolley also found potsherds of painted ceramics with black motifs generally in geometric shapes on a background of greenish hue (the color of the paste) which could be dated back to a prehistoric era. Further research carried out on neighboring sites such as Eridu and later throughout Mesopotamia produced findings that indicated a particularly important phase of the historical development. It is now known that this "Ubaid culture" represents the last great stage in the evolution of Near-Eastern Neolithic societies before the intensified urbanization toward the end of the 4th millennium. This culture acquired its main characteristics during the 6th millennium and disappeared toward 3700 B.C. after having influenced in varying degrees and in various ways the entire region between the E Mediterranean and Iran, the Anatolian plateau, and the end of the Arabian peninsula.

It is from the birth of this culture that the emergence of a distinctive "Mesopotamia" is dated. Before then, the alluvial valleys in the desert areas were not subject to the agricultural techniques of the first Neolithic or pre-Neolithic societies; the colonization of this area along the Tigris and Euphrates rivers was not undertaken until the 7th millennium, and it was a fairly slow process beginning in the S regions. It is in the S—at Eridu (Ubaid 1), then at Hajji Muhammad (Ubaid 2)—that one can see the first evidence of this new culture, characterized by its ceramics, the use of curved nails and clay sickles, as well as by architecture which progressed rapidly towards a certain monumentality (thanks to the application of new techniques such as molded bricks or the use of pilasters in reinforcing the building without increasing the amount of masonry).

From Ubaid 2, this culture began to appear beyond its Mesopotamian cradle; indeed, it spread rapidly toward the N and NW along the great rivers; it is in the regions of Mandali (Hamrin basin) as well as in Assyria (Tepe Gawra) that its first developments have best been analyzed. But this culture also dominated the entire area of the Khuzistan, where it was to contribute to the elaboration of the Susiane; finally it

progressed S toward the Persian Gulf also, where its presence can be seen on many sites on the coast of Saudi Arabia. The full expansion and the greatest extension of Ubaid culture took place between 4500 and 3700 B.C. corresponding to the Ubaid 3 and 4 phases; its two centers—one in S Mesopotamia, the other in Assyria and the Hamrin—express two aspects of this culture which continue to progress in the Gulf, on the Iranian plateau, and particularly toward the countries of the Mediterranean Levant and Anatolia. Yet, the further one goes from the Mesopotamian bases, the more the unique features of Ubaid are diminished in favor of local and regional tendencies and influences.

The society associated with this Ubaid culture became increasingly complex during its two-millennia span. There was hardly anything in common between most of the 6th millennium villages and the great centers of the mid-4th millennium. These changes are seen first of all in the technical capabilities evident in the production of most of the material goods and in the economic foundations of the social structure. Originally in the marshes of S Mesopotamia, the basic occupations of life were fishing and hunting in the swamps and the neighboring deserts. But the originality of the inhabitants who settled in that region lay in their ability to apply irrigation techniques in non-marshy areas in order to develop the crops, techniques similar to those used previously during the Samarra era. This included a remarkable new step, drainage, without which it would have been impossible to cultivate the land for very long because of the high salt concentration. Irrigation and drainage also entailed a change in the group's habits and life-style; the traditional and more individualistic methods of economic subsistence would not facilitate the new strategy for exploiting the land. Without reinforcing community practices, irrigation would have been impossible. Other discoveries characterize this period, in particular one dealing with the uses of fire. Ceramics became more widespread but were still done by hand; also, metal began to appear, still on a very small scale, and primarily in the form of jewelry. Nevertheless, this indicates a growing mastery of metallurgy which would eventually take firmer hold some centuries later with the beginnings of the Bronze Age.

This better technical ability both in agriculture and in the production of material objects (pottery and metal) had important consequences on the evolution of society. If the villages showed no sign of social differentiation at the beginning of the 6th millennium, the same cannot be said during the 4th: Tepe Gawra (levels 12 and 11) in particular clearly shows the juxtaposition of simple buildings accommodating common people with larger homes which belonged to the dominant group (who undoubtedly held the power); certain other buildings seem to have been considered as specialized shops.

But why this emergence of S Mesopotamia beginning with Ubaid 2? Why was it accompanied by such a vigorous geographical diffusion of its cultural traits? Finally, why was it succeeded by a new supremacy in that region at the time of Uruk (3300–3100 B.C.), during the 3d millennium? The answers are still uncertain, but it could be that "necessity was the mother of invention": the tension created by the absence of basic raw materials (such as wood) and the need to acquire these prompted a search for other ways to meet the basic human needs. Natural waterways would have become the most favored means of transportation in order to ensure such supplies, and consequently those routes became the avenues along which the cultural characteristics of Ubaid would have spread to the surrounding countries. Therefore the transmission of ceramics is merely a material reflection of a much more vigorous exchange which resulted in a sort of standardization of Near-Eastern civilization. This uniformity began with the elaborate forms in S Mesopotamia, particularly in the region of Ubaid, where it was first recognized by modern scholars.

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**AL-ʿULA.** See DEDAN.

**ALALAKH.** A Bronze Age city identified with Tell ʿAṭšan (or Atchana; 36°15′N; 36°23′E). See also AMUQ PLAIN.

**A. The Site and Its Yield**

The Bronze Age city of Alalakh was uncovered by the British mission headed by Sir Leonard Woolley, in the years 1937–1939 and 1946–1949, at the large mound called Tell ʿAṭšan (Turk Açana). It is situated in the S part of the Plain of Antioch, some 400 m E of the Orontes and less than 3 km SE of the bridge where the road from Antakya to Aleppo crosses the river. The excavations disclosed seventeen levels of occupation, with remains of private and public buildings (palaces, temples, and fortifications), artifacts, and works of art, but most important, a rich epigraphic corpus represented by over five hundred cuneiform tablets (principally from the Levels VII and IV) and a long historical inscription engraved on a royal statue at the time of Level IV. The excavator's report (Woolley 1955; cf. 1953) was later corrected and modified in several points dealing with chronology and historical reconstruction (i.e., by Mellink 1957; Albright 1957; Astour 1972; Gates 1976, 1981, 1987). The inscription on the statue of King Idrimi was first published by S. Smith (1949) and subsequently studied and published anew by several other scholars (an English translation, *ANET*, 557–58; a collated hand copy, transliteration, and translation by Dietrich and Loretz 1981, with a commentary by Klengel 1981). A catalog of tablets numbered from one through 453a and comprising 466 items, many of them presented in copies and/or transliterations, with a general introduction, was published by Wiseman (1953, supplemented by his 1954, 1958, 1959a, and 1959b). A number of items in Wiseman's publications were collated and published in full (in transliteration) by Dietrich and Loretz 1969a, 1969b, and 1970, with an additional forty-three tablets (all from Level IV), which brings the total number of known tablets to 509; but several of them remain unpublished, and there may still be some tablets unaccounted for in the Museum of Antakya. The seal impressions on the Alalakh tablets have been collected and commented upon by Collon (1975).

**B. History of Alalakh**

The earliest occupational strata of Tell ʿAṭšan were found to lie below the present level of groundwater. The potsherds extracted from the liquid mud at the bottom of a special caisson pit included a small number of specimens attributable to the Amuq I and J phases of the ceramic sequence of other excavated mounds of the area and datable, respectively, to ca. 2400–2250 and 2250–2000 B.C. This proves that the site was already inhabited in the period of the EBLA archives. Alalakh appears indeed in the Ebla texts under the name *A-la-la-ḫu*$^{ki}$, more often spelled *ʾA*$_x$ (NI)-*la-la-ḫu*$^{ki}$, as a dependency of Ebla and apparently not having a vassal king of its own. Later, in the records of the Third Dynasty of Ur (2063–1955 B.C., low chronology), a state *Mu-ki-iš*$^{ki}$ or *Mu*-(tm)xž *-gi*$_4$*-iš*$^{ki}$ is mentioned (along with Ebla and two other cities formerly subject to Ebla) among the vassals of the kings of Ur. Late Bronze Age sources from Alalakh, Ugarit, and Hatti make certain that Mukiš was the name of the Plain of Antioch and adjacent hill areas with Alalakh as its capital. The construction of the first palace in Level XIII of Alalakh (the sequential position of which seems to coincide with the period of Ur III) also testifies to Alalakh's achievement of autonomous statehood. In the 18th century B.C. Alalakh came under the sway of the new, powerful kingdom of Yamḫad with its capital at Ḫalab (Aleppo). It must have been one of the unnamed cities of the Cedar and Boxwood Mountains and the seacoast raided by King Yaḫdun-Lim of Mari ca. 1740 B.C. (an event marked perhaps by the end of Level X at Alalakh). No inscriptional material has been found in Levels XVII–VIII.

Written documentation on the history of Alalakh (and, to an extent, of Yamḫad) first appears in Level VII, which should be dated ca. 1650–1570 B.C. According to the tablets AT 1 and 456, King Abbān I of Yamḫad gave Alalakh to his younger brother Yarim-Lim in appreciation of his loyalty to him during a civil war and as compensation for the loss of his former fief, Irridi, east of the Euphrates. Yarim-Lim's installation as the appanage king of Alalakh was marked by the erection of a new great palace, a total rebuilding of the temple of Ištar, and the construction of a citadel. The palace archives yielded at least 175 Akkadian-written tablets, including legal contracts, judicial acts, deeds of purchase or exchange of towns,

deliveries of food staples, loans, ration lists, etc. The texts bear witness to Alalakh's commercial relations with Emar and Carchemish on the Euphrates; with Ebla and other cities of Yamḫad; with Ugarit on the seacoast and Alashiya (Cyprus); with Tunip, Qatna, and Amurru in central Syria; and even with remote Babylonia. They also testify to a growing presence of a Hurrian-speaking element in northern Syria.

The period of Level VII encompassed the reigns of Yarim-Lim and his son Ammitaqum and ended in the destruction of Alalakh by the Hittite king Hattušiliš I. This event marked the beginning of a long series of Hittite campaigns aiming at the conquest of Yamḫad, which caused great destruction in northern Syria and culminated in the sack of Aleppo by Muršiliš I, ca. 1531 B.C. As for Alalakh, it was quickly rebuilt and regained a certain prosperity (Level VI) but no longer had a king of its own. Northern Syria became an object of contention among the Hittites, the Hurrian kingdom of Mitanni in northern Mesopotamia, and the 18th Dynasty of Egypt. An independent kingdom was briefly restored at Aleppo, ca. 1525 B.C., by Ilim-ilimma I, an offspring of the old dynasty of Yamḫad. The new king was, however, soon overthrown, probably at the instigation of Mitanni. A younger son of Ilim-ilimma, Idrimi, fled to Ammia in northern Phoenicia, where he was able to build ships and recruit troops and, after seven years of exile, to land in force on the coast of his homeland. He made Alalakh his capital and recovered his father's domain but was forced, after seven more years of hostilities, to enter into a vassalage treaty with Parattarna I, king of Mitanni, and to help him against the Hittites. Out of the Hittite booty he built a palace at Alalakh, part of which was uncovered in Level V. Idrimi reigned for thirty years (until ca. 1480 B.C.) and was succeeded by his son Adad-nirari, as stated in Idrimi's pseudo-autobiographical inscription.

No records survived from Level V (reigns of Idrimi and Adad-nirari) except for three of Idrimi's tablets that had been transferred to the archives of the Level IV palace. But it is known from the annals of Thutmose III and other Egyptian records of his time that, during that Pharaoh's war with Mitanni, he conquered northern Syria up to the Euphrates (in 1472 B.C.) and received tribute from Alalakh (in 1467 B.C.). In 1463 B.C., however, the Mitannians recovered all of northern Syria. The throne of Alalakh passed now to Idrimi's other son, Niqmepa, a loyal vassal of Mitanni. He built a new palace, different from the previous one in its architecture and orientation. The palace was expanded by Niqmepa's son Ilim-ilimma II, but was burned and destroyed, probably by the Hittite king Tud-haliyaš I in ca. 1430 B.C. The period of the existence of Niqmepa's palace forms Level IV of Alalakh. The ruins of the palace revealed an archive of about three hundred tablets which include interstate treaties, testimonies of Alalakh's relations with its Mitannian overlords, legal documents, census lists by settlements and socio-legal classes, ration lists, inventories, and other records. The tablets display a very significant increase of Hurrian influence in onomastica and vocabulary, which no doubt reflects the political influence of Mitanni. The inscribed statue of Idrimi dates from the time of Level IV.

Very little epigraphic material comes from Level III. Alalakh and most of the rest of northern Syria remained under the overlordship of Mitanni. When the Hittite king Šuppiluliumas I invaded Syria in 1366 B.C., the king of Mukiš-Alalakh, Itur-Addu, and his allies of Niya and Nu-ḫašše resisted him but finally lost. The fall of Alalakh to Šuppiluliumaš marks the transition to Level II. The victorious Hittite king gave much of Alalakh's territory to the pro-Hittite kingdom of Ugarit and to the newly established kingdom of Carchemiš and created from the rest of it another Hittite appanage under the name "Kingdom of Halab." After that, Alalakh was ruled by Hittite princes. Hittite presence is evidenced from a couple of Hittite tablets, several Hittite stamps, and a stele with a Hittite hieroglyphic inscription. Along with the Hittite capital, Hattušaš, and most cities of western Syria, Alalakh was utterly destroyed by the invasion of the Sea Peoples soon after 1200 B.C., and was never rebuilt.

**C. Importance of the Alalakh Finds**

Alalakh has no direct bearing on the Bible because of the geographical and chronological distance between them. Indirectly, however, it is of interest to biblical studies by the light it sheds on the Syro-Palestinian and Near Eastern context of biblical *realia*. The relevant points are here succinctly summarized.

**1.** The inscriptional and stratigraphical material from Alalakh, with its direct and indirect synchronisms with Mari, Assyria, Babylonia, the Hittite kingdom, and Egypt, was of paramount importance for the revision of ancient Near Eastern chronology of the second millennium B.C.

**2.** The texts from Level VII disclosed the political structure of the Great Kingdom of Yamḫad, the largest West Semitic state of the Middle Bronze Age. Of particular interest is the vassalage treaty between King Abbān of Yamḫad and his brother Yarim-Lim of Alalakh.

**3.** The texts of Level IV present a vivid picture of a medium-sized Syrian state of the Late Bronze Age, at the time of Mitannian hegemony. They show us a stratified society of several legally determined classes, from the highest (*mariannu*) to the lowest (*ḫubšu*), and give us a clearer notion of their respective obligations and privileges than do other sources. The term *ḫubšu* has been often equated with Heb *ḥopšî* "freeman," but most likely incorrectly.

**4.** The ubiquitous ḪABIRU are mentioned in several texts of Level IV (and probably in a date formula of Level VII) as a specific group of the population. Far from being described as a heterogenous and despised assemblage of refugees, fugitives, and outlaws without civil rights (as claimed by a widely accepted theory), they appear as bearers of arms in census lists, one of them is registered as a priest of the goddess Išḫara, and we hear of a Ḫapiru "house" (in this case, as often in Akk and Heb phraseology, meaning a tribal unit) consisting of 1,436 men, eighty of whom owned chariots, which would put them on the same military level as the *mariannu* class.

**5.** The treaties between Idrimi and Pilliya (AT 3) and between Niqmepa and Ir-$^{d}$IM, of Tunip (AT 2) (both translated by Reiner in *ANET*, 531–32) are among the earliest of their kind in the Near East and of considerable juridical and diplomatic interest.

**6.** The texts of Level VII and especially of Level IV, though none of them is written in Hurrian, contain so many Hurrian personal names and Hurrian loan words that they have made an important contribution to our knowledge of the Hurrian language (see Draffkorn 1955).

**7.** The biographical inscription of Idrimi, written in the first person but actually composed some years after his death, is an early and in many ways unique specimen of Syro-Palestinian narrative literature, unique in its time but anticipating, in a way, such biblical biographical stories as those of Joseph and David (see Wiseman 1955 for this and other parallels).

**8.** Finally, the succession of palaces and temples at Alalakh forms a chapter in the history of Syro-Palestinian secular and sacral architecture, including those of Israel and Judah.

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**ALCIMUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Alkimos* (Ἀλκιμος)]. Name of a high priest who held office in Jerusalem in the years 161–159 B.C.E. (1 Maccabees 7; 9; 2 Maccabees 14). He is condemned by the author of 1 Maccabees as the leader of the "lawless and irreligious" Jews (1 Macc 7:5). The name "Alcimus" is Greek, and it probably stands for the Hebrew "*Yakim,*" which may be equivalent to "*Eliakim*" (cf. 1 Chr 24:12 in the LXX).

Alcimus was probably appointed to office by Antiochus V and Lysias to succeed Menelaus. When Demetrius I took over the Seleucid throne, Alcimus approached him and was reconfirmed by him in his office. About two years later he passed away, and the high priesthood remained vacant for several years.

The ancient sources are inimical towards Alcimus. According to 2 Maccabees he "defiled himself" in the time of the persecutions (14:3), while 1 Maccabees inculpates him in the treacherous murder of sixty Hasidim (7:12–16); and his death is explained as a punishment for his tearing down a wall in the temple (9:54–56). This information should be treated skeptically, since both authors had their reasons to criticize Alcimus, who was an opponent of Judas and a contender for the high priesthood, which was taken by the Hasmoneans shortly afterward (152 B.C.E.).

It is impossible to place Alcimus exactly within the various groups within Jewish society at that time. The fact that he replaced Menelaus and was negotiating with the Hasidim would show him to be lesser a Hellenizer than 1 and 2 Maccabees would like us to believe. Nevertheless the breach between him and the Hasidim, and the legend concerning him and the sage Yosi son of Yoezer (*Gen. Rab.* 65:26 and parallels) point to a certain division between him and the Hasidim which might have been on religious grounds, as well as with Judas and his followers on political grounds. The additional meager information from Josephus is that he was not of the Oniad house (*Ant* 12. 387), but we do know that he was a priest (*Ant* 20. 235). According to *Genesis Rabbah* (65. 26) Alcimus was the nephew of Rabbi Josi ben Yoezer, who himself was of priestly family. There his name is Yakim Iṣ Zerorot. Alcimus' position within Jewish society of that time is hard to define. Scholars propose various suggestions, from mild hellenizer to pietist leader. However, the most we can assume is to envision Alcimus as politically pro-Seleucid, culturally a non-hellenizer and socially opposed to the Hasmoneans.
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**ALEMA** (PLACE) [Gk *Alema* (Ἀλεμα)]. Usually understood as one of six cities in Gilead where Jews were being held captive by the Gentile inhabitants of the cities after the rededication of the Temple (1 Macc 5:26). News of their plight was delivered by Nabateans to Judas Maccabeus, who was already three days' journey across the Jordan, coming to the defense of Jews who had fled Gentile persecution to the city of Dathema. After Judas rescued the Jews in Dathema, he turned to attack a city whose name is listed as Alema in several MSS, and liberated Jews in Chaspo, Maked, Bosor, Carnaim, "and the other cities of Gilead" (5:36, 44). Thus, 1 Macc 5:35–44 seems to describe the defeat of five of the six cities mentioned by the Nabateans. The site of Alema is unknown, but is often identified with Alma, located eight and one-half miles SE of Bosor (Abel *GP*, 241; Baly *GB*, 216). Some scholars (e.g. Abel *GP*, 34) suggest it might also be the city of Helam mentioned in 2 Sam 10:16.

This reading of 1 Macc 5:26, 35 is by no means certain, however. Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 301) notes a change in prepositions from "*eis*" (at) to "*en*" (in) before the word "Alema," suggesting that "Alema" was the name of the district in which Bosor was located and that Jews were under siege in only five cities: Bozrah, Bosor in Alema, Chaspho, Maked, and Carnaim. Also, the mention of "Alema" in 5:35 is by no means certain. Various MSS of 1 Maccabees read "Mella," "Mala," "Mapha," or "Maapha." Goldstein cogently argues (*1 Maccabees* AB, 302) that a scribe would hardly alter a text in which one of the places mentioned in 5:26 reappeared, but might well supply a name from 5:26 not specifically listed in 5:35 as being defeated. Hence, he concluded that the place name in 5:35 was irretrievably lost.

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**ALEMETH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿālemet* (עָלֶמֶת)]. The name of two men in the book of 1 Chronicles.

**1.** Son of Becher and grandson of Benjamin according to 1 Chr 7:8. The genealogy of Benjamin in that chapter is at variance with the Benjamin genealogies in the Torah (Gen 46:21; Num 26:38–41) and elsewhere in 1 Chronicles (8:1–40); this, combined with other factors, has led some scholars to assume that 1 Chr 7:8–12 originally described another tribe, and was incorrectly attributed to Benjamin (*Chronicles* ICC, 147–149). However, it is not unusual for variant genealogical traditions to exist for a single tribe, since each variant might have served a different function, might date from a different period, or might reflect a different understanding of the power relationships within the tribe (Johnson 1969 and Wilson 1977). Thus, the received text is probably correct, and 1 Chr 7:8–12 should be understood as a Benjaminite genealogy (*Chronicles* NCBC, 77–78). Some evidence suggests that this genealogy in its final form might date to the postexilic period (*1 Chronicles* AB, 53). According to 1 Chr 6:45(— Eng 6:60), Alemeth was a levitical city in Benjamin (See ALEMETH [PLACE]). Anathoth, also a city in Benjamin, is mentioned alongside Alemeth. Thus, the creator of this section of the genealogy was defining a relationship between various Benjaminite cities by positing an ancient kinship relationship between ancestors with the city names. This practice is typical of genealogical thinking (Wilson 1977), and is found elsewhere in biblical genealogies (Demsky 1982). The connection of the personal name "Alemeth" to a specifically Benjaminite city suggests that the attribution of the genealogy to Benjamin in 1 Chr 7:6 is correct. The connection to Benjamin is further fostered by the overlap of the names Jeremoth/Jerimoth and Elioenai/Elienai in both chapter 7 (vv 7 and 8) and in the Benjamin genealogy in chapter 8 (vv 14 and 20). The minimal extent of overlap between these two genealogies and the placement of Alemeth at radically different periods of the tribe's history is not surprising; it is not unusual for very different relationships between ancestors or clans to be posited by different genealogies of the same tribe.

**2.** A descendant of Saul, son of either Jehoaddah (1 Chr 8:36) or Jarah (1 Chr 9:42). If we accept the reading of 9:42 and connect Jarah (*yʿrh*) with the city Kiriath-jearim (*qryt yʿrym*), then this verse which mentions Alemeth, Azmaveth, and Moza, all city names in Benjamin, is using genealogical language to describe the dispersion of the Benjaminite clans (Demsky 1971: 19). On the doubling of the Benjamin genealogy in 1 Chronicles 8 and 9, see AHAZ.

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**ʾALEP.** The first letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

**ALEXANDER THE GREAT** (PERSON). Alexander III of Macedon, "the Great," was born in July 356 B.C., the son of Philip II and the Epirote princess Olympias. His childhood years coincided with the expansion of Macedonian power both S into the Greek peninsula and E through the Balkans. Greek authors of the time described Philip II as a man of extreme ambition, a trait which Alexander himself was to display in great measure throughout his life. His mother, to whom Alexander had a much closer attachment than to his father, was also ambitious, both for herself and for her son, and may be largely responsible for his belief that he had a special relationship with the gods. For about three years (ca. 342–340) Aristotle acted as Alexander's tutor. It is impossible to say how far he influenced the thinking of his royal pupil, though Alexander's love for Homer's *Iliad* may be due in part to Aristotle.

Alexander acted as regent for his father in 340, and in 338 commanded the left wing of the Macedonian army, facing the Theban Sacred Band at the battle of Chaeronea, at which the combined forces of Thebes

and Athens were crushed and Macedonia became the arbiter of the destiny of the Greek states. After the battle, Alexander escorted the bones of the Athenian dead to Athens—the only occasion on which he visited that city.

In 337, Philip divorced Olympias and married the much younger Cleopatra, daughter of a Macedonian noble. The marriage caused great dissension in the royal family, with Alexander both indignant for his mother's sake and concerned about his own prospects of succession. Hence when Philip was assassinated in the following year, there was some suspicion that Olympias and Alexander were behind the assassination. Nevertheless, Alexander succeeded with little difficulty, thanks to the support of senior generals such as Antipater and Parmenion, though there did occur the usual liquidation of potential rivals and enemies. In Greece, he was swiftly recognized as *hēgēmōn* (Leader) of the Greek League of Corinth established by his father in the previous year and as commander-in-chief of the forces for the impending invasion of the Persian Empire. The following year, 335, was spent in securing the N frontier of Macedonia against barbarian uprisings and in suppressing a rebellion in Greece led by Thebes. The ruthless destruction and enslavement of Thebes was an act of terror to deter similar revolts during the king's absence in Asia.

The campaign against Persia was the major legacy of Philip to Alexander. It was to be a joint campaign of Macedonians and the Greeks of the League of Corinth under the command of Philip, the Macedonian king. The publicly proclaimed reasons for the attack were to liberate the Greek cities of Asia Minor from Persian control and to punish the Persians for the burning of Greek temples 150 years earlier under Xerxes. Other factors motivating Philip will have been the prospect of plunder and the acquisition of territory. A Macedonian army had been operating in NW Asia Minor since 336. We do not know how far, if at all, Philip's intentions went beyond those publicly proclaimed; and this is true also for Alexander, when he crossed into Asia in the spring of 334. The army which he led amounted to about 40,000 men and 160 ships. The kernel of the army was about 15,000 Macedonians, superbly trained and organized by Philip. The League of Corinth supplied 7,000 troops and the fleet, in whose loyalty Alexander appeared to have little confidence.

The first two years of the war (334–333) saw the majority of the coast of Asia Minor and the major centers in the interior fall into Macedonian hands. The Persian armies were twice defeated in pitched battles: at the river Granicus, soon after the crossing, and at Issus in November 333. At Issus the Persian king Darius himself led his army; his flight from the battlefield left his family hostage to Alexander. Soon after the Granicus victory, the Greek cities of Asia Minor who joined Alexander were given their freedom and democratic governments. But at the same time, his lack of confidence in his Greek fleet and the strength of the Persian fleet caused him to disband his fleet and adopt the strategy of conquering the Persian fleet from the land. This meant gaining control of all bases used by the Persians and also opened up the real danger of a Persian naval counterattack on Greece and Macedonia. Indeed, the Persians made such good use of their naval opportunities in the Aegean that Alexander was obliged to form a new navy in 333 and the danger was not finally averted until mid-332. To gain control of the home bases of the Persian fleet, Alexander was committed to the conquest of the seaboard as far south as Egypt—far beyond the limits of Asia Minor. His expanding ambitions can be further seen in his reply to the offer of peace made by Darius after Issus, in which Alexander rejects peace and claims now to be "Lord of Asia," that is, the Persian empire, only a small part of which he had hitherto conquered.

The greater part of 332 was taken up with the seven-month siege of Tyre, which supplied the main contingent to the Persian fleet. During the siege, a second peace offer, in which Darius offered to cede the whole W part of his empire as far as the river Euphrates, was rejected. The capture and enslavement of Tyre, preceded by the final breakup of the Persian fleet, was reminiscent of the brutality of the capture of Thebes. Then moving S and capturing Gaza after a two-month siege, Alexander entered the Persian satrapy of Egypt unopposed. Here, as well as honoring the local gods, he was crowned Pharaoh, thus becoming the son of Amun-Re. This divine sonship may have been one of the factors which impelled him to visit the famous oracle of Ammon in the desert at Siwah. Ammon (Amun) had long been equated by Greeks with Zeus, and sonship of Ammon could well be understood as meaning the sonship of Zeus.

Certainly Alexander visited the oracle because Perseus and Heracles, to both of whom he traced his ancestry, had consulted it; and emulation of his divine ancestors increasingly played an important part in Alexander's actions. What questions he put and what answers he received are beyond our knowledge, but it is possible that any belief he may have had in his own superhuman nature was strengthened by the visit. It was probably before the visit that he laid the foundations of what was rapidly to become the greatest city in the Mediterranean world (see ALEXANDRIA).

In spring 331, Alexander left Egypt to strike into the heart of the Persian empire for the decisive engagement with Darius, who had been gathering a new army for almost two years. The battle that took place at Gaugamela on October 1st sealed the fate of Darius and his empire, though Darius once again escaped from the battlefield. One source tells us that after the battle Alexander was proclaimed King of Asia, presumably by his Macedonians.

Instead of pursuing Darius E, Alexander turned S to seize the major cities of the Persian empire, especially Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis. At Babylon, he appointed a former Persian enemy as satrap (governor)—the first of a series of such appointments in the central and E satrapies. This practice may have been calculated to win over the Iranian governing class, but it was bound to be controversial with the Macedonians. The climax of his lengthy stay at Persepolis was the deliberate burning of the royal palace, perhaps intended as a symbol of the overthrow of Achaemenid Persia.

In late spring 330, Alexander set out in pursuit of Darius, who had been trying to raise a new army in Media. Significantly, the Greek troops of the League of Corinth were now discharged and sent home, a sign that the original purpose of the expedition was now completed. The hapless Darius was betrayed by his lieutenants and murdered. His alleged dying request to Alexander to avenge his murder enabled the Macedonian to portray himself as the legitimate successor and avenger of Darius and the assassins as regicides and rebels. When the leading regicide, Bessus, was captured, he was punished and executed in the traditional Persian way of dealing with rebels—another sign of Alexander's growing assumption of the style of the Great King. Soon after Darius' death, in Hyrcania, Alexander began to wear the dress of the defeated Medes and Persians, though perhaps at first only in his dealings with the Iranians.

The next two-and-a-half years, until early 327, were occupied with the reduction of the satrapies of the E and NE of the Persian empire, especially Bactria and Sogdiana. The fighting encountered in this area was perhaps the most difficult and constant yet encountered by the Macedonians, since for the first time they were facing what might be called "nationalist" resistance against the foreign conqueror, whatever claims to legitimacy he might make. Indeed, Alexander's marriage to the Sogdian princess Rhoxane (late 328) was probably more a political gesture than the love match described by ancient sources; it was certainly not popular with the Macedonians, who regarded it as degrading for their king to marry a foreign captive. The founding in this area of a large number of "cities," populated mainly by Macedonian veterans and Greek mercenaries, is a testimony to its warlike and rebellious nature. For the cities were intended primarily as garrisons; economic and "cultural" motives were purely secondary.

During these years in the E satrapies, there occurred three incidents which indicate a growing undercurrent of hostility and resentment among the Macedonian nobility toward Alexander, especially in connection with his orientalizing practices. The first, in late 330, was the alleged conspiracy of Philotas, the commander of the elite Companion cavalry. The execution of Philotas and subsequent murder of his father, Parmenion, removed a powerful family group inherited by Alexander from Philip. The murder by Alexander of Clitus, another of the older Macedonians, during a drunken quarrel at Bactra in 328 was caused by Clitus' outspoken criticism of Alexander's growing "orientalism." An attempt, perhaps in early 327, by Alexander to extend to Macedonians and Greeks the Persian practice of *proskynēsis,* or abasement before the king, foundered on the opposition led by Alexander's own court historian, the Greek Callisthenes, nephew of Aristotle. It is possible that Alexander's reason for trying to introduce this ceremony went beyond a desire to have a uniform court ceremonial. To Greeks and Macedonians, prostration implied the worship of a god, and Alexander, the descendent of Heracles and son of Zeus-Ammon, may have been paving the way for the announcement of his own divinity. Soon after this a conspiracy to murder the king, formed by the Royal Pages, was discovered. Their leader, when arrested,

gave Alexander's increasing orientalism and un-Macedonian behavior as the impulse for their attempt. The Pageboys were executed, as was their tutor, Callisthenes, whom Alexander believed to be behind the plot. The killing of Callisthenes probably exercised a deep influence on the attitude towards Alexander of the Peripatetic school of philosophy, founded by Aristotle, Callisthenes' uncle.

In the spring of 327, the army crossed the Hindu Kusch to begin the invasion and conquest of what the Greeks called India (roughly modern Pakistan). The Indian campaign, which lasted for over two years, had been planned by Alexander for at least three years. India had once been a part of the Achaemenid empire; Heracles and Dionysus were believed to have been there; and contemporary geography conceived of India as being much smaller than it really was and as terminating eastward in the encircling ocean. The desire to reclaim his rightful inheritance, to equal and even surpass the exploits of his ancestor and of Dionysus, and to reach the bounds of Asia and the world were powerful motives for Alexander's invasion. After securing the voluntary submission of the ruler of Taxila, Alexander defeated the neighboring king, Porus, in a battle on the river Hydaspes (modern Jhelum) in June 326. Porus was reinstated in his kingdom, but as Alexander's vassal. By now the Macedonians were probably aware that the end of India was not near; it stretched eastward interminably, with endless marching and fighting in prospect. It is not therefore surprising that at the river Hyphasis (modern Beas), the soldiers refused to go further, forcing Alexander to abandon his ambitions in this direction. The army did not, however, simply retrace its route westward, for Alexander put into operation another long-matured plan—to voyage down the river Indus to the sea and then to attempt a land march and sea voyage along the coast to the Persian Gulf and back to the center of the empire. The joint naval and military descent of the Indus involved much savage and brutal fighting, with the Brahmins leading the native resistance and Alexander pursuing a policy of wholesale slaughter. The king himself was nearly killed in the assault on one town, and the severity of his wound may have contributed to his early death. Despite the awful slaughter, the conquest of India was largely ephemeral and a failure.

Arriving at the Indus delta in the summer of 325, Alexander set about preparations for the joint naval and military expedition westward. The fleet was commanded by the king's old friend Nearchus; Alexander himself led the army, less a large detachment that had already been sent westward by an easier route. The army was to leave first and was ostensibly to reconnoitre possible harbors and leave supplies for the fleet. Its march led it through the Gedrosian desert (Makran), whose inhospitable nature Alexander must have known; but he was eager to succeed in bringing an army through a region where Cyrus the Great and the legendary Semiramis had failed. Heat and lack of food and water turned the march into an unparalleled disaster, in which as many as 90,000 persons may have died. It was a grave blow to Alexander's pride and reputation. The fleet, too, suffered great privations, but eventually, about December 325, it joined up with the remnants of the army in Carmania. The voyage had, at any rate, shown that it was possible to sail from the Indus to the Euphrates.

On his return to the center of the empire early in 324, Alexander found a state of turmoil and confusion. His prolonged absence in India had led many to believe that he would never return. Consequently many satraps had engaged in oppression and mismanagement and were behaving as independent dynasts. Many of the oppressive satraps were Iranians, but prominent Macedonians were also found guilty. Alexander's friend and treasurer, Har-palus, had grossly abused his position and fled westward to Greece before Alexander's arrival, taking with him a large amount of money and many mercenary soldiers. Harpalus' money was to play an important part in the Athenian-led revolt against Macedonia which broke out upon Alexander's death. The task of punishing the guilty and reestablishing the king's authority lasted for several months into 324.

The year 324 was eventful in other ways. Despite opposition amongst the Macedonian nobility and the apparent failure of his Iranian satraps, Alexander pressed on with his orientalizing policy. At Susa, a mass wedding celebration was held at which eighty of the king's close friends and companions married noble Iranian brides. The ordinary Macedonian soldiers too had their unions with native women solemnly legitimized. About 30,000 Persian youths, trained in Macedonian weaponry and significantly called by Alexander his "successors," reached Susa and were incorporated in the army. This last event especially

vexed the Macedonian soldiers, whose resentment of Alexander's orientalizing practices had been steadily growing over the years. Soon after, at Opis, Alexander's demobilizing of 10,000 veteran Macedonians provoked them to mutiny. They believed that their king no longer held them in high regard and was trying to get rid of them and replace them with orientals. The mutiny was broken by Alexander's clever use of psychological tactics, and the men agreed to their discharge. Before their departure Alexander, in a grand symbolic gesture, held a huge banquet for 9,000 Macedonians and Persians, with the Macedonians holding the places of honor. At the banquet Alexander pronounced his famous prayer for "concord and partnership of the empire for Macedonians and Persians." Scholarly opinion is divided as to whether this was a genuinely programmatic utterance or merely an empty gesture at the end of a dangerous incident. Certainly the basic problem still remained: if Alexander was to continue as Lord of Asia, what was his relationship to be with the Macedonians, who had won Asia for him and on whom he was still greatly dependent?

A little before this, Alexander had issued a decree to all the Greek cities to receive back their political exiles. His motives for this are puzzling: he may have wished to ensure for himself partisans in the Greek cities which were hostile to Macedonian domination, or it may have been intended as a beneficent gesture which would solve a long festering and disruptive pattern among the Greeks. But the decree, a clear breach of the covenant of the League of Corinth, was a major factor in the decision of Athens and other cities to try to shake off the Macedonian yoke. Some scholars believe that this decree was accompanied by a request from Alexander to the Greeks to worship him as a god. A god, it is suggested, could properly interfere in the internal affairs of the League of Corinth, though its Macedonian leader could not. Such an argument is almost certainly mistaken. Yet it is certain that Greek cities in 324 debated and in some instances agreed to Alexander's deification, and it is highly likely that the impulse came from Alexander himself. Why Alexander wished to be worshiped by the Greeks must remain a matter for speculation. It is improbable that he wanted to establish a theocratic empire. There is no evidence that Persians and other Iranians received such a request, and he must have been fully conscious of the hostility of his Macedonians to such an idea. But there were precedents among the Greeks for the worship of a living ruler; indeed, it is almost certain that cults of Alexander himself had already been established by the Greek cities of Asia Minor at the time of their liberation. It is almost certain too that Philip himself had, at the end of his life, both believed in his own divinity and been the object of cult worship in some Greek cities. Alexander, the son of Zeus-Ammon and the descendant of the god Heracles, had surpassed all mortals, as well as Heracles and the god Dionysus, in the magnitude of his achievements. He may well have considered that the appropriate recognition of his greatness was to be worshiped as a living god and that the Greeks were the appropriate people to accord him this honor. His deification created a powerful precedent for his successors (see below) who, in Ptolemaic Egypt and Seleucid Syria, established cults of themselves and their relatives. The worship of Roman emperors may be seen as the continuation and extension of the well-established tradition of ruler-cult among the Greeks.

But if he was given divine status by the Greeks, he did not live long to enjoy it. The death of his closest friend and virtual deputy, Hephaestion, in late 324 was a devastating blow to the king. In the late spring of 323, he was in Babylon preparing the enormous naval and military forces needed for his projected conquest of the Arabian peninsula. The motives for the expedition, which was associated with plans to colonize the Persian Gulf, were commercial and personal. Arabia was famed for its spices; but Alexander, hearing that the Arabs worshiped only two gods, was eager to be added to that number. The preparations were well advanced when the king was struck by an illness and died on 10 June 323. Some believed that he was poisoned, but it is more likely that his death was the result of disease, perhaps malaria, exacerbated by constant heavy drinking and a constitution weakened by wounds and years of hardship. His body, after lying in state in Babylon, was to have been transported to Aegeae in Macedonia, there to be buried with the other kings of Macedonia. But Ptolemy, after gaining the satrapy of Egypt in the division of the empire among the leading generals, seized the body and took it to Egypt, where it lay for centuries in the king's own city, Alexandria.

The nature of our ancient evidence, with its tendency to heroize Alexander, makes it difficult to give an accurate assessment of the king and his achievements. Some traits in his personality seem certain: he was passionate in his nature and capable of great excesses in his emotions; he could be extravagantly generous to his friends and to those who voluntarily submitted themselves to him, but ruthless and brutal in suppressing opposition, real or imagined. He was a hard drinker and capable of great violence when drunk. His admiration for Greek culture, especially the poetry of Homer, cannot be doubted. He was deeply conscious of his heroic and divine ancestors, Achilles and Heracles, and eager to emulate and surpass them, particularly Heracles. Those who speak of his "heroic" nature refer mainly to his insatiable and consuming desire for glory, which was to be gained by conquest and doing what nobody before him had done, and his constant desire to do something new was complemented by a mind that was always eager to see something new. From his early years, perhaps under the influence of his mother, he had regarded himself as set apart from the rest of humanity; and it is no cause for surprise that in his later years he should have become convinced of his own divinity.

As a general he owed much to the army and officers he inherited from Philip. He was a great tactician and cavalry commander, but his ability as a grand strategist is open to question. The siege of Tyre shows not necessarily his siegecraft, but his single-minded determination. That he was a great and inspiring leader of men is obvious from the fact that his Macedonians followed him as far as India before refusing to go further, despite the years away from home and the appalling hardships frequently encountered. Even the meeting at Opis was partly motivated by the men's jealousy for Alexander's affections, and their grief at his death was deep, though significantly they later insisted that Philip Arrhidaeus, the feebleminded but Macedonian-born half-brother of Alexander, should succeed Alexander in joint kingship with Alexander IV, the infant son of the oriental Rhoxane. They loved his person while rejecting his policies.

There are many deficiencies in Alexander as a ruler. His lust for overseas glory and conquest meant that his native Macedonia was deprived of its king for virtually the whole of his reign, though the demands made on Macedonian manpower for these conquests may have permanently weakened the homeland. His failure to reconcile the Greek city-states to Macedonian rule resulted in the widespread revolt which broke out on the news of his death. In Asia itself he made only minor changes to the Achaemenid system of government, perhaps because he regarded it as generally satisfactory, perhaps because he did not have the time, but perhaps because he was not interested in the art of government. Certainly the turmoil in which he found the empire on his return from India demonstrated the need for a period of firm and benevolent government. Yet Alexander's main concern in these last years seems to have been with plans for ever more conquest on an enormous scale. The claim of one ancient writer that "under Alexander's kingship it was not possible for the ruled to be the victims of injustice at the hands of their rulers" cannot be taken as universally valid. It is highly improbable that, as has been claimed, Alexander was a believer in universal "Brotherhood of Man" or that he wished to blend together, "as in a loving-cup," all the many different peoples of his empire. He was certainly aware of the problem facing him as a foreign conqueror ruling over a proud people with an imperial heritage. If he was to remain Lord of Asia, he must win the adherence of the traditional governing class and try to reconcile these people and the Macedonians to each other, at least as long as he needed the Macedonians. He may have intended Macedonians and Iranians to become the joint ruling class of the empire, but there are signs that his inclinations were increasingly toward the ways of the East rather than the more austere and independent ways of Macedonia. Had he lived longer, the hardest task before Alexander would have been that of defining his relationship with his Macedonians.

The effects of Alexander's reign and conquests were far reaching. From the wars which broke out among his generals after his death there eventually emerged the great successor kingdoms of the East, each under its Macedonian dynastic family; the most important are Ptolemaic Egypt and Seleucid Syria. These are the states in which Hellenic civilization became modified into what is now called Hellenistic civilization. The Near East was opened up to Greek and Macedonian settlement and exploitation. Great cosmopolitan cities, each with its Greco-Macedonian upper class, grew up in the successor kingdoms, the most famous of which was Alexander's own Alexandria in Egypt, with its royally founded and endowed

library and museum. Greek, in its modified *koine* form, became the language of the educated classes throughout the Near East. As early as the third century the OT was translated into Greek at Alexandria and Greek was the language of the NT (see SEPTUAGINT). The Greeks who migrated to these new cities took with them their culture as well as their language and thus brought about the spread of Hellenism. Nor was the process one-sided; Asian art, literature, and, above all, religion exerted increasing influence on the Greeks. For Greek religion offered little, either in the present or the future, to the ordinary person. But the mysteries of Isis and Osiris, Sarapis, Mithras, and eventually Christianity, which promised a life of bliss hereafter, were eagerly embraced by Greeks and Macedonians both in Asia and in the old country. During the second century Rome rapidly became the dominant power in the eastern Mediterranean, and it was this Hellenistic Greek civilization that overcame the fierce victors. Greek ideas, science, and literature were absorbed by the Romans and modified by their own native traditions and ways. The resulting Greco-Roman culture was in its turn transported by the Romans to their western provinces and so formed the basis of the civilization not only of the Latin countries, but of all western Europe.

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**ALEXANDER** (PERSON) [Gk *Alexandros* (Ἀλεξανδρος)]. **1.** Alexander Balas, also known as Alexander Epiphanes, was a pretender and eventual ruler of the Seleucid kingdom between 158 and 145 B.C.E. (1 Macc 10:1, 15–21, 47–67, 88–89; 11:1–17). The author of 1 Macc 10:1 calls him "Alexander Epiphanes, son of Antiochus (IV)," while other ancient authors call him "Alexander Balas." He claimed to be the son of Antiochus IV and therefore the rightful heir of the Seleucid throne. However, among the ancient sources only 1 Maccabees, Josephus, and Strabo believe his claim; the rest deny it. The name "Balas" may have been his original family name (Just. *Epit.* xxxv.1.6) or it may have been a form of Baal, a Syrian divine name equivalent to Alexander's divine name "Epiphanes."

When Demetrius I overthrew the weak Antiochus V and his prime minister Lysias, he incurred Rome's displeasure. Roman mistrust, plus Demetrius' foreign policies, disaffected him from the kings of Asia Minor and Egypt. Therefore, these kings and the Romans were willing to support a pretender to the throne.

In 158 B.C.E. Alexander Balas claimed to be the son of Antiochus IV; he even resembled his claimed brother, Antiochus V. The next year, Attalus II, king of Pergamum and enemy of Demetrius, sent Alexander to Cilicia, on the border of the Seleucid Kingdom, to establish Alexander's claim and threaten Demetrius. In the summer of 153, Alexander received the support of the Roman Senate for his claims to the Seleucid throne with the help of Laodice, the daughter of Antiochus IV, and Heracleides of Miletus, another enemy of Demetrius. While Demetrius developed a drinking problem, Alexander and Heracleides developed support and an army. In 152 Alexander took control of Ptolmais, with the help of a populace disgusted with Demetrius.

Demetrius sought the help of the Jews against Alexander by offering Jonathan, the brother of Judas Maccabees (1 Macc 9:28–31), the right to raise an army and rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. Alexander made Jonathan a counteroffer that included the high priesthood, royal honors, and military benefits.

Despite Demetrius' further offer of lower taxes, freedom of religion, and political rights, Jonathan sided with Alexander (1 Macc 10:7–47; 11:28–37).

The ancient sources do not describe clearly the war between Alexander and Demetrius. Yet they do agree that in the summer of 150 Alexander secured the throne after Demetrius died in battle when he fell from his horse into a swamp. At that point the 23-year-old Alexander declared himself king. Ptolemy VI (Philometer) came to Ptolemais, where he gave his daughter, Cleopatra, in marriage to Alexander. Jonathan rode in state from Jerusalem to Ptolemais where Alexander honored him with a royal purple robe, the privilege of "Friend of First Rank," and the military and administrative governorship of Judah and three sections of Samaria (1 Macc 10:51–66).

Unfortunately, Alexander was lazy, inept, and licentious. Domination by his mistresses and friends alienated him from the populace. His friend Ammonius used the position of prime minister to eliminate his personal enemies. While Alexander lived at Ptolmais, his friends, Hierax and Diodotus (Tryphon), oppressively ruled Antioch.

After four years of growing discontent, Demetrius II, son of the dead king, sailed from his refuge at Knidos, Crete, with a mercenary army to Cilicia. Alexander moved from Ptolmais to Antioch to halt Demetrius' advance. The governor of Palestine, Appollonius, rebelled against Alexander, but Jonathan stopped the revolt. In 145, Ptolemy came to Alexander's aid with a land army and a navy. However, Ptolemy switched his allegiance from Alexander to Demetrius, claiming there was an attempt on his life by Alexander's friend Ammonius. When Alexander would not hand over Ammonius for punishment, Ptolemy assumed that Alexander had conspired against him. The sources do not agree on the story. Diodorus (32.9) claims that Ptolemy invented the story in order to justify his change of allegiance (1 Macc 11:8–12).

Alexander left Antioch and went to the area around Cilicia, presumably to fight Demetrius. Hierax and Tryphon also switched allegiance and turned the people of Antioch against Alexander. Ammonius tried to escape the city dressed as a woman but was found out and killed. Ptolemy VI then marched into Antioch and crowned himself the king of Asia. Then he offered his daughter, Cleopatra, to Demetrius II, along with a promise of support. Demetrius accepted both offers and came to Antioch, where Ptolemy crowned him as king of Asia and therefore as vassal to Egypt.

At this point Alexander returned from Cilicia to Antioch, where his army fought the armies of Demetrius and Ptolemy on the plains next to the Oinoparas River. When Alexander's army lost, he fled to Abai in Arabia, probably in the Syrian desert. He took refuge with a sheik variously named by the ancient sources as Diocles or Iamblichos (Diodorus), Zabdiel (1 Macc 11:17), or Eimalkouai (1 Macc 11:39). Alexander had left his infant son in the safekeeping of this sheik a year earlier. Assassins decapitated Alexander at Abai, though sources do not agree on their identity. Diodorus says that it was two of Alexander's friends, Heliades and Cassius (32.9c–10.1), while 1 Macc 11:17 says it was Zabdiel the Arab. Perhaps Zabdiel was the Arabic name of either Heliades or Cassius (Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 428). Alexander's assassins brought his head to Ptolemy, just before Ptolemy died of battle wounds. Thus, Demetrius II Nicator replaced Alexander Balas.

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**2.** Son of Simon of Cyrene and brother of Rufus (Mark 15:21). In view of the large Jewish community in Cyrene and the probability that Simon had come to Jerusalem for the pilgrimage feast of Passover, we may assume Alexander and his family were Greek-speaking Jews (cf. Acts 2:10; 6:9; 11:20; 13:1). This judgment may receive further support from an ossuary discovered in the Kidron Valley in 1941, on which were found Greek and Hebrew inscriptions identifying the box as having been prepared for "Alexander, son of Simon" and, perhaps, "Alexander the Cyrenian." This latter reading is debated, though additional evidence in the tomb suggests that its owners were a family from the Diaspora Jewish community of Cyrenaica. Presumably, Alexander and his brother are mentioned by Mark because they were known to

Mark's intended audience. This is suggested, first, by the fact that Simon is introduced curiously, not with reference to his father, as we might expect (cf. Mark 1:19; 2:14; 3:17, 18; 10:46), but to his sons. Second is the problem of the retention of the names by Mark; their omission by Matthew and Luke—most likely dependent on Mark—suggests that these two names had an additional significance beyond mere received tradition. This significance is obviously known only to Mark, but not important to Luke or Matthew. Indeed, elsewhere Mark is sparing enough with his use of proper names. Third, although mention of Simon in Mark allows a minor character to exemplify the humble role of a disciple, an important Markan motif, no such theological role can be assigned to the casual naming of Simon's sons. Some scholars find additional evidence of the connection of Alexander and Rufus with Mark's intended audience in the reference to Rufus, "chosen in the Lord," in Rom 16:13, but this begs many questions related to the location of Mark's church, the authorship of Romans 16, and the possibility of multiple persons bearing this name.

**3.** A relative of the high priest Annas (Acts 4:6). In this passage, Alexander appears to exert considerable influence in the affairs of the temple as a member of the high priest's family, which is contrasted with the uneducated apostles (Acts 4:13). Apart from this reference, nothing is known of this Alexander.

**4.** A Jew of Ephesus (Acts 19:33). In the course of Paul's evangelistic mission at Ephesus, the silversmith Demetrius incited a riot among the smiths of the city, who feared damage to their industry as a result of the iconoclasm of Paul's converts (Acts 19:23–41). During the confusion of the ensuing rally for Artemis in the theater, the Jews put forward Alexander as their spokesperson. Presumably, they expected him to disassociate the Jews from the followers of the Way. Recognizing Alexander was a Jew, thus no friend to Artemis, however, the mob refused him the opportunity to speak. Some have suggested that Alexander was himself a smith and was thus well suited to speak in this instance, and that this same Alexander reappears as an enemy of Paul in 2 Tim 4:14 (see #6 below); this is highly speculative.

**5.** False teacher at Ephesus (1 Tim 1:20). Alexander, together with Hymenaeus, is identified as having repudiated the faith (i.e., the gospel) and a good conscience, then as a result, as having been excommunicated from the church. If Alexander's teaching was consistent with the false teaching with which 1 Timothy is concerned, it was speculative, argumentative, given to asceticism, dualistic (with an attendant dim view of the material world), and possessive of an over-realized eschatology (cf. 1 Tim 1:3–7; 3:1–13; 4:3; 6:3–10). In spite of the reference to *gnosis* (knowledge) in 1 Tim 6:20–21, it is doubtful that we can claim Alexander as an early teacher of Gnosticism per se. It is easier to find here a less-developed attempt to syncretize the Christian faith with Jewish and Hellenistic philosophy. In any case, as a result of his activity, Alexander has been "handed over to Satan," an apparent reference to his being set outside the fellowship of the Christian community. Some, however, influenced by the parallel expression in 1 Cor 5:1–5, see here a more focused reference to Satan's role in physical punishment. The goal of this disciplinary action was restorative—i.e., that Alexander be taught not to blaspheme. Some have tried to identify this Alexander with that mentioned as Paul's foe in 2 Tim 4:14 (see #6 below). In this regard, it is noteworthy that both references, 1 Tim 1:20 and 2 Tim 4:14, refer to his being judged. Proponents of this view assume that, by the time of the writing of 2 Timothy, either Alexander has not yet been excommunicated or, even after having left Ephesus, he continues to pose a threat to Christian leaders like Timothy.

**6.** Metalworker at Ephesus (2 Tim 4:14). According to 2 Tim 4:14–15, Alexander had done great harm to Paul and had strongly opposed his message. It has been argued that this great harm should be identified with Alexander's role as a witness for the prosecution in Paul's trial in Rome. Others, noting that Timothy was warned to beware of Alexander in Asia Minor, have argued that he was instrumental in Paul's arrest. There is no firm evidence to identify this Alexander with either of the two men of the same name in Acts 19:33 and 1 Tim 1:20 (see #4–5 above). The name itself was common in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. (See Fee *Timothy, Titus* GNC).

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**ALEXANDRA SALOME** (PERSON) [Gk *Alexandra Salome* (Ἀλεξανδρα Σαλομε)]. Var. SALINA. Wife of the Hasmonean kings Aristobulus I and Alexander Jannaeus; mother of the high priest John Hyrcanus II and of the pretender to the throne Aristobulus II; and ruler of Judaea 78–69 B.C.E. (*Ant* 13.11.2; 13.12.1; 13.15.5; 13.16.1–6). Alexandra's first husband, Aristobulus I, had seized power from his mother, imprisoned her and his brothers, and let her starve in prison. As Aristobulus lay dying, Alexandra engineered the death of his brother and successor Antigonus in order to avoid her mother-in-law's fate. When Alexandra succeeded Aristobulus, she freed his brothers from prison and married the youngest, Alexander Jannaeus. Expecting him to be weak, she hoped to influence him to favor the Pharisee party. However, his monarchical claims and his aggressive foreign policy alienated the Pharisees, leading to an unsuccessful rebellion (90–85 B.C.E.) that cost 50,000 lives.

In 78 B.C.E., upon Alexander's death, Alexandra completed the conquest of Ragaba and triumphantly returned to Jerusalem as the queen. She made peace with the Pharisees and appointed as high priest her elder, weaker son, John Hyrcanus, a supporter of the Pharisees. The Pharisees executed anyone who helped Alexander Jannaeus persecute them, including Diogenes, the leader of the Sadducees. Her younger son, Aristobulus, a Sadducee supporter, complained to Alexandra. She acceded to his demand for control of some Judaean forts, unfortunately setting the stage for civil war after her death.

In foreign policy, Alexandra remained neutral in wars of Roman expansion and in Seleucid and Ptolmaic disputes. She fostered Judaean security by enlarging her army and by taking hostages from neighboring territories. The only military expedition during her reign was a futile attempt by her son, Aristobulus, to prevent the conquest of Damascus. Later, when Tigranes, king of Armenia, attacked Phoenicia, Alexandra avoided conflict by paying him large tribute. Otherwise, her reign was exceptionally prosperous.

In 69 B.C.E., when Alexandra fell ill, Aristobulus revolted by capturing twenty-two Judaean cities. Though reluctant to believe that he was rebelling, Alexandra eventually took his wife and children hostage. She underestimated Aristobulus' power when she advised Hyrcanus and the Pharisees not to worry. After her death, Aristobulus and Hyrcanus fought a civil war that led to Roman intervention and domination.

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**ALEXANDRIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Alexandreia* (Ἀλεξανδρεια)]. This article will focus mainly on the archeological evidence for the Jewish community in Alexandria up to 117 C.E. and for Christianity before Constantine.

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A. History
1. The Jewish Community
2. The Christian Community
B. Topography
C. Jewish Papyri and Inscriptions
D. Christian Evidence
1. Churches
2. Cemeteries
3. Papyri and Inscriptions

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**A. History**

Alexandria was founded by Alexander the Great in 331 B.C.E. on a site already partially occupied by a native Egyptian village, Rhakotis (31° N; 30° E). (The name "Rakote" was retained as a designation for Alexandria in Coptic usage.) Cleomenes of Naukratis was its first governor, and Deinokrates of Rhodes was its first architect. Upon the death of Alexander in 323 B.C.E. Egypt came under the rule of Ptolemy, a Macedonian general and companion of Alexander. Under Ptolemy I ("Soter") the city became the capital of Egypt, though as a Greek city it was often distinguished from Egypt proper. The city prospered under the Ptolemies and quickly became the cultural and educational center of the Hellenistic world.

**1. The Jewish Community.** Jewish immigration into Egypt from Palestine had begun as early as the 6th century B.C.E., and Jews flowed into the new city in large numbers almost from the beginning, many as prisoners of war. (Josephus reports that Alexander himself settled Jews in the city, *JW* 2.487; cf. *AgAp* 2.35.) The earliest archeological evidence for the Jewish community of Alexandria consists of tombs in the E necropolis of Ibrahimiya dating to the time of Ptolemy II, or perhaps as early as Ptolemy I (323–285 B.C.E.).

The Jews were organized as a *politeuma* ("Community"; cf. *Let. Aris.* 310), and were encouraged by the Ptolemies and later by the Roman emperors to live according to their ancestral customs. By the 1st century C.E. the Jewish population in Alexandria numbered in the hundreds of thousands. Philo claims that in his time there were at least a million Jews in Egypt (*Flacc* 43), and a large proportion of these must have lived in Alexandria.

With the coming of Roman rule in 30 B.C.E., the economic situation of the Jews in Egypt began to change. With the imposition of the *laographia* ("poll-tax") in 24/23 B.C.E., applicable to native Egyptians and other non-Greek groups, the concern for civic rights among many of the Jews became acute, and relations with the Greek population became strained. A pogrom against the Jews in 38 C.E. prompted a group of Jews, led by Philo, to appeal to the emperor, an appeal that was unsuccessful. The assassination of Caligula in 41 and the favorable attitude adopted by Claudius brought a temporary lull in the strife. Matters came to a head again in 66 when, with great loss of life, a riot was put down by Philo's apostate nephew, Tiberius Alexander, Prefect of Egypt (*JW* 2.487–98). A revolt of the Jews under Trajan in 115 brought massive destruction, and by the time it was put down in 117 the Jewish community had been virtually annihilated (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.2). One monument destroyed by the Jews during that revolt was the Nemeseion, built by Julius Caesar for the head of Pompey (Appian *BCiv.* 2.380), a structure some scholars have identified with the famous "Alabaster Tomb" now located in the Latin cemetery (cf. Fraser 1972,2: 108).

Jews did not become a significant presence in the city thereafter until the 4th century C.E. From that time a good deal of tension existed between them and the Christians, culminating in the destruction of the Jewish community under Archbishop Cyril in 415.

**2. The Christian Community.** The origins of Christianity in Alexandria are obscure, but it is safe to assume that the earliest Christians were Jews from Palestine. During the 2d century C.E. Christianity became a significant presence in the city, although archeological evidence for Christianity before the 4th century is very scanty.

After the Jewish revolt of 115–17 Hadrian sponsored considerable rebuilding in the city, but from the time of Caracella on (211–217) a number of disasters ensued: the city was sacked by Caracella in 215, by Aurelian in 273, and by Diocletian in 295. Further destruction, aimed at uprooting paganism, occurred under Christian rule. The most significant was the destruction of the Serapeum under Theodosius I in 391, led by Archbishop Theophilus. Further devastations occurred with the invasion of the Persians in 617 and its aftermath.

After the Arab conquest of Alexandria in 641, the city entered a period of many centuries of decline, eclipsed by the new capital at Fustat (Old Cairo) and by the maritime city of Rashid (Rosetta) on the mouth of the W branch of the Nile. By the time Napoleon and his forces arrived in Alexandria in 1798 it had been reduced to a small village of a few thousand inhabitants. The modern development of Alexandria as a city began under Muhammad Ali (1805–1848).

**B. Topography**

Alexandria was built on a ridge of land lying between the Mediterranean Sea to the NW and Lake Mareotis to the S. The dominant feature of the area is the bay formed by a promontory called in ancient times "Lochias" (modern Silsileh), protected by the island of Pharos lying offshore. Our knowledge of the topography of ancient Alexandria is based almost exclusively on the detailed description provided in Book 17 of the *Geography* written by Strabo, who was resident in the city ca. 24–20 B.C.E. (For extensive discussion of Strabo's account and the correlative evidence, see Fraser 1972,1: 7–37; 2: 12–111 [notes].) Unfortunately, many of the details of his account cannot be corroborated archeologically, since in the last century intense building activity has taken place in those areas which could have yielded important archeological information had scientific excavations been carried out in time. In addition, Alexandria lies on land which has subsided some four meters since antiquity. Hence the contours of the shoreline have changed; some built-up areas of the ancient city now lie submerged beneath the sea, and early occupation levels in some parts of the city are now below the water table.

Strabo gives the dimensions of the city as 30 stades in length (E–W) and 7 or 8 stades in width (N–NW S). He mentions the wide streets intersecting the city, the two broadest of which cut one another into sections at right angles (17.1.8). The long one, Via Canopica, ran from the Necropolis in the W to the Canopic Gate in the E (1.10), and is now thought to correspond generally with the modern Sharia el-Hurriya.

Up to a third of the entire city was occupied by an area called "the Palaces" (*ta basileia*), resplendent with beautiful buildings such as the Museum (presumably including the Library, which, however, Strabo does not mention) and the *Sēma,* containing the burial places of Alexander and the Ptolemies (1.8). The sites of these structures are unknown, but the "Palaces" neighborhood extended from Cape Lochias W and S. In the Roman period that area was called "Brucheion" (Bruchium) and was largely abandoned during the reign of Aurelian. Strabo distinguishes that larger area from the "inner royal palaces" (*ta endoterō basileia,* 1.9) concentrated on and near Lochias.

Strabo next describes the city as one would encounter it if sailing into the Great Harbor (the E harbor, now silted up and used only for small craft). To the right lay the island of Pharos, with its famous lighthouse. (That island is the traditional site of the translation of the LXX; cf. *Let. Aris.* 301; Philo *Vita Mos* II.35–36.) To the left were the reefs and promontory of Lochias, with its royal palace and private royal harbor. Opposite that small harbor was Antirrhodos, an island with a royal palace and another harbor. Rising in the background was the Theater, and the Poseidium, an elbow of land on which was a temple of Poseidon. Mark Antony had extended a mole from there out into the harbor, at the end of which he built a palace called the "Timonium" (1.9). No certainly identifiable remains of the Theater have turned up, but it is thought to have been situated near the modern Government Hospital. Remains of the Poseidium and Timonium were visible in the 19th century, and underwater excavations could probably even now turn up some evidence of value. See Fig. ALE.01.

Strabo continues his discussion by referring to structures further W: the Caesarium, the Emporium and warehouses, and ship buildings extending as far as the Heptastadion. The Heptastadion ("seven stades" long) was a mole connecting the mainland with Pharos; it served to divide the Great (E) Harbor from the Eunostos (W) Harbor (1.9). No trace of the Heptastadion remains; it has been silted over, with the result that Pharos is no longer an island. The site of the Caesarium, or Sebasteion (cf. Philo *Gaium* 151) is known, and the obelisks standing at its entrance remained until the 19th century, when they were removed respectively to London ("Cleopatra's Needle") and New York. The Caesarium was turned into a church in the 4th century and became the Patriarchal Cathedral until its destruction in 912.

Strabo next describes the W part of the city. The Eunostos Harbor, today the main harbor of Alexandria, had within it an artificial harbor called "Kibotos," which was connected to Lake Mareotis by a canal. The Kibotos was the main commercial harbor for boat traffic from the Nile River inland. A "Necropolis" is mentioned as lying outside of the city to the W. The only building specifically mentioned for this part of the city is the Serapeum (1.10). Strabo saw the Ptolemaic Serapeum, but it was greatly extended in the Roman period and then destroyed by Christian zeal in 391. It is the only temple in Alexandria that has been excavated (see Adriani 1966: 90–100; plates 28–31, for summary and full bibliography). Its ruins lie

in what was the native Egyptian neighborhood Rhakotis. One of its prominent landmarks is the so-called "Pompey's Pillar" (set up in honor of Diocletian).

Strabo next turns his attention to the central part of the city, mentioning the beautiful Gymnasium with its porticoes and groves, situated on the main E–W street (Via Canopica), and the Paneium, a sanctuary of Pan lying on a hill (1.10). No certain archeological corroboration is available for these structures (cf. Adriani 1966: 222, 233). Proximity of the Gymnasium to the Great Synagogue (see below) is suggested by Philo's account of the troubles in 38 C.E. (*Gaium* 132–35; cf. Pearson 1986: 148, n. 85). Outside the Canopic Gate to the E lay the Hippodrome (cf. *3 Maccabees* 4–6), and then, 30 stades from Alexandria, Nicopolis (1.10), a new community founded by Augustus Caesar.

Strabo does not provide any details concerning the city wall, nor does he mention the necropoleis that lay to the E of the city. The first systematic attempt to locate the ancient walls and the street grid on the basis of archeological probes was that of the astronomer Mahmoud-Bey, whose map showing the walls and the streets has been the basis for subsequent topographical research (Mahmoud-Bey 1872). Unfortunately, his results are not reliable, though his street grid, representing the Roman (not Ptolemaic) streets, is widely used (cf. Fig. ALE.01). Especially problematic is his location of the E wall, which would accordingly have enclosed the Ptolemaic necropoleis of Shatby, Ibrahimiya, and Hadra. These necropoleis, as dictated by custom, must necessarily have lain *outside* the original wall of the city. The 9th century Arab wall, of which some traces remain, enclosed a much smaller area of the city.

Strabo does not say anything concerning the location of the Jewish neighborhoods, or those of other ethnic groups, nor does he mention the division of the city into quarters named for the first five letters of the Greek alphabet (cf. *Ps.-Callisthenes* 1.32). However, in his lost historical work (*Historica Hypomnemata*) he states that a "great part" of the city of Alexandria had been alloted to the Jews (quoted in Josephus *Ant* 14.117; cf. Stern 1976: 277–82). Philo reports that two of the "letters" were predominantly Jewish, though Jews lived elsewhere in the city as well (*Flacc* 55). In his *Jewish War* Josephus describes the 66 C.E. Roman attack on the Jews concentrated in "Delta" (*JW* 2.495). The "Delta" quarter has often been identified with the Jewish neighborhood he mentions elsewhere as the city's finest residential quarter, adjacent to the palaces, by the sea "without a harbor" (*AgAp* 2.33–36), an area easily identifiable as the section to the E of Lochias (modern Silsileh) near Shatby Beach. But, since a papyrus dated to 13 B.C.E. locates the Kibotos harbor "in Delta" (*BGU* 1151, lines 40–41), "Delta" must have been in the W part of the city. It would therefore have been one of the *two* predominantly Jewish quarters mentioned by Philo (Adriani 1966: 239; Pearson 1986: 147).

The neighborhood E of Lochias was probably Alexandria's oldest and most important Jewish section. Here was probably located the greatest of Alexandria's many synagogues (see Philo *Gaium* 132–135; cf. *Flacc* 41), a double-colonnade basilica described in rabbinic sources as "the glory of Israel" (*t. Sukk.* 4.6; *j. Sukk.* 5.1; *b. Sukk.* 51b), and destroyed by Trajan during the revolt of 115–117. No archeological evidence for Jewish habitation in this area has been found, although synagogue inscriptions have been found in Hadra to the E, and in Gabbary, W of the ancient city. Jewish tombs were found in the E and W necropoleis in the early part of this century, but no trace of them remains today (see C below).

Topographical references in the legendary *Acts of Mark*, narrating the story of the founding of Christianity in Alexandria, correlate well with the two "Jewish" areas mentioned, "Delta" in the NW part of the city, and the main residential area in the NE, thus also reinforcing the supposition that the earliest Christians in Alexandria were Jews (cf. Pearson 1986: 151–54; see D below). For the early 3d century, a good case has been made for locating the "catechetical school" and the center of ecclesiastical Christianity in general in the main Greek area of the city, Bruchium (Andresen 1979: 428–52). By the 2d century, if not earlier, Christians would have been found among the Egyptians residing in Rhakotis. It may have been among these Christians that the apocryphal *Gospel of the Egyptians* first circulated (Pearson 1986: 150).

**C. Jewish Papyri and Inscriptions**

No papyri have survived the humid climate of Alexandria, but numerous papyri attesting to Jewish life in Alexandria have been found elsewhere in Egypt, and have been published in *CPJ* (Tcherikover et al. 1957–64; see index, vol. 3: 197–98).

The Jewish inscriptions from Egypt comprise nos. 1424–1539 of *CII* (Frey 1952), conveniently republished in *CPJ* 3: 138–66. Sixteen of these are from Alexandria (1424–39).

Nos. 1424–31 are tomb inscriptions from the early Ptolemaic necropolis of Ibrahimiya. The first three, presumably the oldest, are in Aramaic, the others in Greek. (On this Jewish necropolis see esp. Breccia 1907; cf. Goodenough 1953: 62–63, figs. 863–64.) No. 1434, very fragmentary, is possibly a dedication by Jews to the royal house, found in the necropolis of Kom al-Shuqafa. Nos. 1435–38 are votive inscriptions, 1439 an inscription of ownership (*Ioulianou*) on a plaster amphora, with menorah.

The most important of the inscriptions are nos. 1432 and 1433, both fragmentary synagogue inscriptions, neither found *in situ.* No. 1432, found in Gabbary (the W necropolis area in antiquity) records the building of the synagogue (*proseuchē*) by Alypos and its dedication to "the great God who listens to prayer" "on behalf of the queen and the king" (Cleopatra VII and Antony), 37 B.C.E. No. 1433, found in Hadra (part of the E complex of necropoleis in antiquity), was dedicated to "God Most High" (*theō hypsistō*), and probably dates from the 2d century B.C.E.

Of the other synagogue inscriptions found in Egypt, no. 1440 from Schedia (modern Kafr el-Dawar), not far from Alexandria, records the dedication of a *proseuche* built by "the Jews" in honor of "King Ptolemy (III Euergetes) and Queen Berenice his sister and wife and their children." This inscription, and one from Crocodilopolis with the same kind of dedication (1532A), are the oldest synagogue inscriptions in existence, dating from between 246–221 B.C.E.

Two other inscriptions from Egypt, provenience unknown, may be from Alexandria: no. 1446, a votive inscription, and 1447, a dedicatory inscription on a statue base.

Two inscriptions not included in the corpus are worth mentioning here. The first is a tombstone of uncertain provenience now in the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, inscribed (in Greek) *Iouda* over a "solar" menorah, with shofar and palm-branch (cf. Goodenough 1953: 63, fig. 896). The other one is a partial Hebrew inscription (*brkm*) on a piece of an amphora dated to the 1st or 2d century C.E. and probably imported from Palestine. It was uncovered in the Polish excavations at Kom el-Dikka in downtown Alexandria (Fiema 1985).

**D. Christian Evidence**

**1. Churches.** The evidence for the existence of church buildings in Alexandria before the 4th century is very scanty. Church buildings certainly existed in Egypt before the 4th century, for Eusebius reports on the massive destruction of churches during the Diocletianic persecutions (*Hist. Eccl.* 8.2), and there is documentary evidence for church buildings in Egypt (with the use of the term "ekklesia" for such buildings) as early as the 3d century (Judge and Pickering 1977: 59–61, 69). Church buildings would have existed in Alexandria as well.

Epiphanius, writing in the late 4th century, lists the Alexandrian churches known to him (*Haer.* 69.2): (1) "Caesarea" (built on the site of the Caesareum under Archbishop Athanasius in 368); (2) "Of Dionysius" (location unknown, attested from the time of Athanasius but presumably connected in some way with Bishop Dionysius [246–64], replaced because of its inadequate size by the church of St. Athanasius [see (7) below]); (3) "Of Theonas" (see below); (4) "Of Pierius" (location unknown, presumably named for the 3d century Alexandrian presbyter mentioned by Eusebius [*Hist. Eccl.* 7.32.26–30]); (5) "Of Persaea" (unidentified); (6) "Of Dizya" (unidentified); (7) "Of Mendidion" (a church built by Athanasius near the temple called either "Bendidion" [for the god Bendis] or "Mendidion" [for the Egyptian god Mendes], and eventually converted into the Mosque of the Souq al-Attarin after the Arab conquest); (8) "Of Annianus" (location unknown, but possibly connected in local legend with the traditional successor of St. Mark, Annianus [68–83, but see below]); and (9) "Of Baukalis" (the memorial to St. Mark attested from the 4th century and located in an area then called *Boukolou,* earlier part of the ancient Jewish quarter E of Lochias.)

Epiphanius' list ends with the phrase "and others." One prominent church left unmentioned by Epiphanius should have been known to him: the church of St. Michael (or the church of Alexander), which Bishop Alexander (313–26) created from a temple previously dedicated to Saturn. This church was situated near the Paneum, E of the Caesarea church. Perhaps Epiphanius' reference to a church "of Annianus" (no. 8 above) is mistaken and should have read "of Alexander" instead.

For our purposes, the most important of these churches mentioned by Epiphanius are the "Baukalis" church (#9 above) and the church of St. Theonas (no. 3 above). The former is reputed to have been founded in the time of St. Mark as the first church in Alexandria (*Acts of Mark* 5). In the early 4th century it was a parish church served by the presbyter (and later heretic) Arius. No trace of it remains. The church of St. Theonas, named for the Alexandrian bishop (282–300), is the earliest church building for which we have adequate documentation. It was rededicated by Bishop Alexander to the Virgin Mary, and was eventually turned into the "Mosque of a Thousand Pillars." It was severely damaged by the French in 1798, and its remains were obliterated in 1829. (On the churches of Alexandria *see* esp. Leclercq *DACL* 1: 1107–25.)

**2. Cemeteries.** The earliest reference to Christian cemeteries in Alexandria is found in a letter of Bishop Dionysius (246–264) quoted by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 7.11.10; cf. 7.13.1). A cemetery located in the W suburbs is mentioned in the *Passio* of St. Peter I (Bishop of Alexandria, 300–311); it had been constructed by him and served as his own burial place (Viteau 1897: 83).

Christian tombs have been found in both the E and W necropoleis, but almost all have been obliterated during this century, many of them without adequate documentation. Most of them seem to have dated from the period after the Peace of the Church (313). (*See* esp. Leclercq, *DACL* 1:1125–54; Adriani 1966: 122–23, 183–86; plates 41, 102–104; Krause 1966: 105–107). By far the most important are the Wescher Catacomb discovered in 1858 in the Karmuz district, not far from Pompey's Pillar, and the famous catacomb complex of Kom al-Shuqafa. The latter was discovered in 1900 and is still a tourist attraction (Adriani 1966: 172–180; plates 96–101). The Wescher Catacomb (Leclercq, *DACL* 1: 1125–45; Adriani 1966: 184–86; plates 103–104) was an elaborate tomb complex with rich decoration. Two staircases led down to an open chamber with an apse in the W wall. To the E was a gallery of 32 loculi on two levels, and to the N a chamber with three arcosolia. The main chamber contained a baptistry, and was evidently also used for *refrigeria* (memorial meals) and other Christian services. The paintings and frescoes representing Christ, saints, and prophets are now thought to have dated from the end of the 4th to the 7th centuries (Krause 1966: 107). Of this important Christian monument nothing remains.

**3. Papyri and Inscriptions.** No papyri have been found in Alexandria itself, and very little papyrus documentation exists for Alexandrian Christianity prior to Constantine. One very important piece of evidence does exist, however, a papyrus from the Fayyum in the Amherst collection (P. Amh. I [1900] 3a; see Judge and Pickering 1977: 48, 54–55; Snyder 1985: 152–53). This papyrus, dating from 264–282, is a fragmentary letter from a Roman Christian to Christian brethren in Arsinoe (presumably a church). In it the Alexandrian church, under the leadership of "Maximus the Papa" (Bishop 264–282), is understood to be performing banking functions as a financial intermediary for Christians. Other Alexandrians named in the letter include Theonas, presumably then serving as a financial secretary to Maximus, who eventually succeeded Maximus as Bishop (282–300).

A corpus of Christian Greek inscriptions from Egypt was published early in this century but is now unfortunately out of date (Lefebvre 1907). Of the inscriptions published in this corpus, nos. 1–56 are from Alexandria. A few of these, all tomb inscriptions, are dated by Lefebvre to the period before Constantine. Nos. 21 and 22 are from Gabbary (W necropolis), and no. 47 is from Hadra (E necropolis). No. 33 is a group of inscriptions from the Wescher Catacomb; Lefebvre's dating (3d or 4th century) is probably too early. Nos. 34 and 35 are inscriptions from the "Tomb of Rufinus" in Karmuz (cf. Leclercq *DACL* 1: 1149–50) and are dated to the Antonine period (2d century). No. 54, from Mafrouza, is dated to 148. Nos. 34, 35, and 54 may not be Christian; they have only the formula *eupsychei*, "farewell," a formula widely used both by pagans and Christians.

To conclude, it must be acknowledged that the documentary evidence provides a very incomplete picture of the social life of Christians in Alexandria before the time of Constantine.

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BIRGER A. PEARSON

**ALEXANDRINUS.** See CODEX ALEXANDRINUS.

**ALGEBRA.** See MATHEMATICS, ALGEBRA, AND GEOMETRY.

‹**ALI, TELL** (M.R. 202234). A Neolithic/Chalcolithic site on the W bank of the Jordan River, one mile S of the Sea of Galilee, on a terrace 10–15 m above an important junction, E–W from the Yarmuk Valley (Sha'ar Hagolan) to the Mediterranean coast, and N–S from the Huleh (Beisamoun) to Munhata and Jericho. The site was blessed with copious springs and drainage into the Jordan (Prausnitz 1959).

Four seasons of excavations (1955–1957, 1959) undertaken by the Israel Department of Antiquities (Prausnitz 1970) revealed four superimposed strata beginning with $IV^{a-b}$ to $I^{(a)-b-c}$, ranging chronologically from Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (PPNB) and Pottery Neolithic (PN), to the Early Chalcolithic.

The architecture of stratum IV consisted of straight walls with rounded corners and round huts (?), whose pebble floors which had been sunk into the earth were characteristic of stratum $IV^{a,b}$. In stratum III a straight wall with a thin plaster floor was unearthed. Beneath the floor a crouched, decapitated skeleton was discovered. Stratum II revealed a large, irregular, built enclosure 13.60 × 8.80 m with what appears to be a row of two or three rooms, 2.50 × 3.50 m, placed inside the outer walls to face an inner court which is paved with pebbles. The buildings of the uppermost stratum, $I^{(a)-b-c}$, were rectangular houses 6 to 10 m long and about 4 m wide, set in clusters around a central area and adjacent to large tracts of arable land on the terrace (Vita-Finzi and Higgs 1970).

Flint and stone industries of stratum IV contain a number of microlithic blades and a crescent. According to recent terminology (Crowfoot-Payne 1983), stratum IV would thus belong to an incipient PPNB of the middle of the 7th millennium B.C. The double-ended (including naviform) cores typical of the PPNB, long blades, and "reaping knives" are common from strata IV to II. Pressure-flaked long blades and daggers come from stratum $I^{c}$. Among the arrowheads found at the site were the Jericho point,

with marked, notched tang and wings (represented from IV to $I^c$); the Byblos point, without wings (stratum III); and the Amuq point, leaf-shaped with a tang and the oval point (strata II–$I^b$). The latter two types of points are pressure-flaked and fluted.

Pottery vessels were first discovered in stratum II, although an animal figurine was found in IV (PPNB). Thick-walled, handmade, chaff-tempered clay hole-mouth jars with lug handles were the earliest local ceramics. Probably imported were bowls decorated by painted and burnished red bands around the rim and reserved unpainted areas, decorated by cuts and slabs, as well as incised straight and wavy lines. This pottery has exact parallels in the "Coastal Neolithic" at Hazorea (Anati 1973), at Ras Shamra $V^{A-B}$ (de Contenson 1977), which places Tell ʿAli II to the middle/last quarter of the 6th millennium B.C. A third type of pottery had been decorated by glossy bands of creamy paint in dark to medium red. The paint had been allowed to trickle down the body in stripes. Stratum $I^{b-c}$ produced fine monochrome burnished pottery in various shades of black to gray and dark brown to red. This pottery belongs to the dark-faced burnished ware, which at Hazorea is an upper part of the "Coastal Neolithic," at Munhata $2^A$ is called "wadi Rabah phase" (Perrot 1968), and is also known in the Amuq C-D. The upper stratum ($I^a$) at Tell ʿAli brought to light thumb-impressed and painted ware, which is well known all over N Palestine and dated to the Early Chalcolithic, the turn of the last quarter of the 5th millennium B.C.

At Tell ʿAli, from the PPNB to the Early Chalcolithic an archaeological, stratigraphic sequence was traced for the first time. Later work at Munhata and Hazorea proved the sequence for the whole of N Palestine. Links were established along the coast of the N Levant with Byblos and Ras Shamra and inland Ramad and Amuq (Mellaart *CAH*$^3$ 1/1: 264–9).

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M. W. PRAUSNITZ

**ALIA AIRPORT** (PLACE). A cemetery of the 2d–3d century A.D. discovered at the present Queen ʿAlia International Airport S of Amman, Jordan. In 1978, a number of tombs and an inscription were noticed during the construction of the maintenance hangar area. After further investigation, it was clear that the site consisted of a large cemetery below a series of hills on which some ruined structures were found. The tombs were covered by relatively level soil 1.5–2.0 m thick. The inscription, which is Thamudic, was one of the key finds for the interpretation of the site.

M. Ibrahim directed a rescue excavation of the cemetery. All soil from within the graves was sifted, and five burials were lifted entirely. These remains were then examined by B. Frohlich at the Smithsonian Institution. Apparently these were remains of an Arab tribe which lived just outside the border of the Roman Empire between the arable plateau and the arid land. The site lay some 6 km beyond permanent settlements and cultivation and was in an area of pastoral grazing. Although a few shards indicate activity during the early Islamic period, the cemetery belongs entirely to the Roman Imperial period. It occupies an area of 65 m square. Most of the families were buried in individual graves forming rows.

Among the burial goods, leather was quite prevalent. In addition to leather footwear and possibly folded clothing, large sheets of leather were buried. They were thin (0.2 cm.) and were originally quite supple. It seems most likely that these large sheets of leather were made to cover the backs of horses or camels. Square saddles are shown in numerous representations in the art of Palmyra and S Syria of the 3d century A.D. Other artifacts show a close relationship between this community and the Roman settlers. Women and children were adorned with jewelry, including earrings, necklaces, finger rings, bracelets, and

anklets—mostly of bronze. A few of the women were provided with gold earrings and additional toilet articles. Four seals were found in the graves. One was a scarab seal set in a pendant in a bronze band with a loop behind it. It shows a monkey and a griffin facing each other above a crocodile and winged uraei. Another seal is of a dark green stone and may have originated in Saudi Arabia. It is believed to have been held as an heirloom for at least 700 years before being deposited in the grave. Some 225 beads were found, some of precious stone such as carnelian, amethyst, agate, and coral. Fifteen rings of hollow gold beads were also found. Cosmetic items include spatulae and cosmetic spoons, kohl tubes, hairpins, a wooden comb, and a glass rod. The epigraphic evidence, burial practices, leather finds, and the location of the cemetery all support the attribution of these graves to the Arab population rather than to the Roman army.

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MOAWIYAH M. IBRAHIM

**ALIAH** (PERSON) [Heb ʿ*alyâ* (עַלְיָה)]. See ALVAH (PERSON).

ʿ**ALLA, DEIR.** See DEIR, ʿALLA.

**ALLAMMELECH** (PLACE) [Heb ʾ*alammelek* (אַלַּמֶּלֶךְ)]. A town located in the inheritance of the tribe of Asher (Josh 19:26). The OT form can be translated as "oak of the king." However, the LXX has preserved variants, such as *alimelech,* which have led some scholars to suggest that the original Semitic form of the name was ʾ*ltmlk.* Scholars (*LBHG,* 160) have used this hypothesis to equate Allam-melech with town Number 45 (Eg *rtmrk*) in the conquest list of Thutmose III at Karnak. If this supposition is correct, the history of Allammelech can be extended into the Late Bronze Age.

Scholars have concluded that Allammelech was located in the southern part of the territory, in the Plain of Acco, from the position of Allammelech in the list of border towns. The Plain of Acco was densely settled in the Iron Age (*HGB,* 429), and several tells have been suggested as the location of Allammelech. The site most frequently mentioned (*GP,* 66) is Tell en-Nahal (M.R. 157245), which provides a general indication of the probable location of Allammelech, although the evidence in support of any identification is slight.

MELVIN HUNT

**ALLOGENES** (NHC XI,*3*). A Gnostic apocalypse, written in the form of an epistle, relating the secret revelations and extra-bodily visions of Allogenes to his son, Messos. The name and title "Allogenes" literally means "the stranger" or "the foreigner." It is, however, a pseudonym and tells us nothing about the historical identity of the author.

*Allogenes* clearly belongs to a tradition, reported by Epiphanius, which designates Seth as "Allogenes" and attributes various books to him (*Pan.* 39.1.5; 40.2.1–2; and 40.7.1–5). The text also shows close affinity with a group of other texts discovered near Nag Hammadi which are usually designated as "Sethian" (Schenke 1974; Turner 1986). *Allogenes* shares with these texts the following characteristics: self-designation of gnostics as "seed" (56,30); Allogenes-Seth as the Gnostic savior; the divine triad, Father-Mother-Son (the Invisible Spirit, Barbelo and Autogenes); and the salvific role of the "illuminators." There is a particularly close affinity with *The Three Steles of Seth, Marsanes,* and *Zostrianos;* all three of these texts depend heavily upon technical philosophical terminology. *Allogenes,* however, contains no specifically Jewish or Christian language of any kind, but does draw heavily upon technical philosophical terminology.

It is highly probable that Plotinus knew a Greek version of *Allogenes.* Porphyry writes that Plotinus was acquainted with revelations by Allogenes and Messos, among others, and attacked them in lectures and in his treatise *Against the Gnostics* (*Plot.* 16). Although Plotinus' work cannot be read solely as an attack on *Allogenes,* Allogenes does contain the type of philosophical language and conceptuality Plotinus may have felt deserved refutation. It draws heavily upon philosophical terms and concepts current in Middle

Platonism, especially with regard to the philosophical speculation on the rise of the soul and the divine hierarchy. The divine hierarchy of Plotinus, for example, is quite close to that of Allogenes. Compare:

*Plotinus*
One
Mind
Soul 1. directed toward intelligible realities
2. mediator
3. directed toward things of this world
*Allogenes*
One Invisible Spirit
Mind Barbelo
Logos (Son) 1. Kalyptos (the intelligible *logos*)
2. Protophanes (mind actualized)
3. Autogenes (savior, acts in particulars for their correction)

The author of *Allogenes* combines in a unique and coherent manner traditional Sethian materials (its basic mythological pattern, magical prayers, and the ritual of ascent) with contemporary philosophical speculation on the rise of the soul and the divine hierarchy. He does not reduce Sethian mythology to a philosophical system, nor does he allow either mythology or philosophical conceptuality to control the flow of logic in the text. But there is a clear shift away from a more typically Gnostic view of salvation as escape from this evil world toward a view of salvation as the experience of self-recognition and direct apprehension of God.

The narrative progression in *Allogenes* is found in the account of the character Allogenes' reaction to his experiences. This account provides the reader with a clear description of the progression of the soul toward salvation. Allogenes moves from fear, ignorance, and disturbance of soul to knowledge, stability, praise, silence, and finally joy. The main point of the text is to convey an understanding of the nature and process of salvation. Salvation itself is understood as knowledge of God and Self, achieved first through auditory, and then through visionary, revelation. The emphasis in the content of the auditory revelations is on epistemology and ontology, that is to say, on coming to knowledge of true Being. The visionary revelation describes the direct apprehension of Self and God in the extra-bodily ascent of the soul. *Allogenes* is most probably closely connected with the Sethian rite of ascension in that it provides mythological-philosophical reflection upon the necessity for an ascension, the content of the ascent (insofar as that can be communicated), and its ultimate significance (Schenke 1981: 601–2).

Discovered in 1945 near Nag Hammadi in Egypt, the text survives in only one manuscript dating to the first half of the 4th century. Though originally written in Greek, it survives only in Coptic translation (Sahidic).

The underlying Greek text may be dated to the first quarter of the 3d century since it is highly probable that a version was known to Plotinus. It should not be dated earlier since the philosophical treatment of epistemology and ontology reflects philosophical conceptuality current in the late 2d and early 3d centuries.

Although translation into Coptic cannot decisively lead to the conclusion that the original was composed in Egypt, nonetheless the particular combinations of mythological elements and philosophical speculation make Alexandria a distinct possibility.

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KAREN L. KING

**ALLON** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾallôn* (אַלּוֹן)]. Descendant of Simeon. The only reference to him occurs in 1 Chr 4:37, where he is recorded as the grandfather of Ziza. The list of individuals in 1 Chr 4:34–37 were "princes in their families" (1 Chr 4:38). This certainly means that Meshobab, Jamlech, Joshah, Joel, Jehu, Elioenai, Jaakobah, Jeshohaiah, Asaiah, Adiel, Jesimiel, Benaiah, and Ziza were all princes of the tribe of Simeon in the days of the Judean King Hezekiah (late 8th century). While most scholars seem to assume that Allon is also a prince, the text is not at all clear that the antecedent of "these" (Heb *ʾēlleh*) also includes their ancestors when named. Allon is not mentioned in the Syr Peshitta version, since it omits entirely the list of Simeonite princes. In their place the Syr reads, "And they had a great name. And their dwellings were beautiful and quietness and peace was around them." This is an indication that there were variant traditions of this passage extant in ancient times (for discussion and bibliography see Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC). However, since the Peshitta is left with no antecedent for its reference in 4:38—"And these are the names of the princes who were there"—it is more likely that the Peshitta text represents an omission, rather than the original situation (although some scholars disagree). The word "*ʾallôn* " refers to some kind of vigorous tree, possibly an oak, and is probably derived from the root "*ʾwl*" meaning "be in front, strong" (KB, 19).
H. ELDON CLEM

**ALLON-BACUTH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾallôn-bākût* (אַלּוֹן־בָּכוּת)]. A place in the vicinity of Bethel where Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, was buried (Gen 35:8). The name literally means "oak of weeping." In Judg 4:5 there is a reference to a "palm tree of Deborah" located between Ramah and Bethel in the hill country of Ephraim, but the context explicitly mentions a different type of tree and implies an association with a different Deborah (the prophetess/judge, not the nurse of Rebekah).
GARY A. HERION

**ALMIGHTY** [Heb *šadday* (שַׁדַּי), *ʾēl šadday* (אֵל שַׁדַּי); Gk *pantokrator* (παντοκρατορ)]. General name given to the patriarchal family god and later identified with Yahweh. "Almighty" translates the Hebrew *Shaddai* of the pre-Mosaic tradition (Gen 17:1; Cross *CMHE,* 13–75) and is identified with Yahweh in the Mosaic tradition (Exod 3:13–17; 6:2–3). See GOD, NAMES OF.

Albright (1935: 192–193) has shown that the name derives from northern Mesopotamian roots and came to Canaan with the ancestors of the Israelites as a patriarchal family god. Wright (1962: 51) sees the relationship of the clan to its deity as probable background for the later covenant relationship between God and Israel (Exod 6:4). Anderson (1986: 44) indicates points of similarity between Shaddai and the Canaanite god El, but notes that theological differences in the nature of Israel's God and the covenant relationship called for essentially different response in worship and morality. DeVaux (*AncIsr,* 294) points to enhanced qualities of Yahweh worship at cult sites formerly used for El worship.

The Greek of the Apocrypha and New Testament renders the Hebrew "Shaddai" by *pantokrator,* a compound of *pan* (all) and *krátos* (power, might). In the Intertestamental Period the living tradition is reflected in the prayer of Jonathan (2 Macc 1:24–29) recalling both divine attributes and covenant relationship. During events of Jewish history from 180 to 161 B.C.E. the people of Israel under the leadership of the Maccabees invoked God's almighty power in military confrontations (2 Macc 7:35; 8:11); and to strengthen their conviction of divine fidelity to their eternal covenant with the Lord (2 Macc 1:25; 3:22; 5:20; 6:26; 7:38). In the New Testament ten instances of *pantokrátor* are predominantly in

Revelation, with only one in 2 Cor 6:18. Thus the descriptive designation "Almighty" in connection with the name of the Lord God is consistent in biblical usage.

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BETTY JANE LILLIE

**ALMODAD** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾalmôdād* (אַלְמוֹדָד)]. Firstborn son of Joktan and hence the name of a South Arabian tribe (Gen 10:26; 1 Chr 1:20), which, however, has neither been identified nor localized in a satisfactory way. Retaining the Masoretic vocalization, the first syllable could be conceived as Arabic *ʾāl,* "family, clan," the name of a specific clan could then be seen in the following part of the name, probably *ʾāl mawdad.* There are attestations of such a name in Old South Arabic; in Sabaean *mwddm* occurs as a proper name (*CIS* IV, 94,5), and in Qatabanian *mwddn* is to be found as a clan name (*RES* 3902, No. 98,2). The Hebrew form *-môdād* could very well be derived from an Old South Arabic *mwdd-n, mawdad-ān,* and in this case it cannot be excluded that the region where the tribe of *ʾalmôdād* lived has to be localized somewhere in the area of the ancient kingdom of Qatabān, the center of which was the capital Timnaʿ in the Wadi Bayḥān in present-day South Yemen. Qatabān is mentioned for the first time in the Old Sabaean text *RES* 3945; the earliest Qatabanian inscriptions, however, do not go back to the time in which the biblical table of nations originated.

Glaser (1890: 425) was inclined to recognize in *ʾalmôdād* the Minaean clan of Gabʾān, members of which are called "friends" of the king during the time concerned in the inscriptions (*ʾhl gbʾn mwddt* … "clan of Gabʾān, friends of …;" *RES* 2771,2; *RES* 2774,1; etc.). The interpretation of the first syllable of *ʾalmôdād* as the Arabic article *al-*, according to which the meaning of the name would be "the friend," is hardly acceptable and was already rejected by Gesenius-Kautzsch (GK, 118).

In case one gives preference to the vocalization of the LXX, *elmōdad,* the first syllable of the name could be conceived as the name of "God," Heb *ʾēl.* Reading the name in this way, *ʾelmôdād* could be interpreted as "God is loved" or "God is a friend"; cf. also Old Sabaean *mwd,* "friend," and the Heb proper name Medad, LXX *mōdad* (Num 11:26), the Aramaic *mwdd* inscribed on a clay-tablet from Niniveh (*CIS* 11, 43, R6), in cuneiform writing *mu-dadu,* Akkadian *mudādum,* all of which mean "friend, beloved." Hommel (*HAW* 3.1.1: 554–5), however, regarded the *m* in *ʾlmwdd* as an emphasizing enclitic particle, and wanted to read the name *ʾelī-mā-wadd,* " (my) God is truly Wadd," Wadd being an ancient Sabaean deity and the main god of the Minaeans.

Certainly erroneous is the connection, first proposed by Bochartus (1674: 112–13), of *ʾalmôdād* with the *alumaiōtai* in Ptolemaeus (*Geog.* 6.7.24), an otherwise unattested tribe at the NE coast of the Arabian peninsula.

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**ALMON** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿalmôn* (עַלְמוֹן)]. Var. ALEMETH. A city given to the descendents of Aaron the priest (Josh 21:18). BDB (p. 761) derived it from *ʿlam,* "conceal, hidden;" others suggest it means "sign" or "road mark." Albright thought the meaning of the name was obscure. It is spelled *Gamala* in LXX, *Almon* in LXX Codex Alexandrinus, *Amala* in LXX Codex Vaticanus, *Elmon* in LXX Lucian, and *Alemeth (Allemeth)* in 1 Chr 6:45 (—Eng 6: 45; *Galemeth* in LXX; *Alamoth* in LXX Lucian). Almon and Alemeth both come from the same root. Josh 21:1ff describes the allotment of 48 cities and their pasture lands (not cultivated lands) to the Levites according to the commandment of Moses in Num 35:1–8, since they did not get territorial allotments as such. Boling (*Joshua* AB, 492–494) dates the list to the mid-8th century on archaeological grounds: surface collection of potshards and other data show most of the sites

were occupied then, with ʿAlmon occupied in the 9th and 8th centuries. Myers, on the other hand, dates them to the reign of David on historical grounds—when the country was still divided among tribes and before Solomon separated it into administrative districts (*1 Chronicles* AB, 48).

Almon is one of 13 cities given to the priests (the sons of Aaron) and one of 4 cities in the tribal territory of Benjamin. The four in Josh 21:17–18 include Gibeon (el-Jib), Geba (Jaba'), Anathoth (Anata), and Almon, while 1 Chr 6:60 leaves out Gibeon (Geba is at times a short form of Gibeon and Gibeah [Tell el-Ful]), all NE of Jerusalem. ʿAlmon is ca. 5 mi. from Jerusalem. Neither ʿAlmon nor Anathoth is in the list of Benjaminite cities in Josh 18:21–28. ʿAlmon is identified with Kh. ʿAlmit (M.R. 176136), a tell between Geba and Anathoth, 1 mi. NE of Anata, on the road to Ain Farah which runs into the Wadi Qelt to Jericho. Albright (1924) suggested the modern ending shows the pointing is wrong in Chronicles and in turn, "the relation between *ʿAlmon* and *ʿAlmit* is dialectical, and is precisely like that between *tahton* and *tahfit*, the *ît* being the archaic feminine of the *nisbeh* in *î* …" Avi-Yonah (*EJ* 1: 666) notes that "Almon" is erroneously identified with Ailamon (Aijalon) on the Madeba map (6th century A.D.) based on a reference in Eus. (*Onomast.* 18: 14). In the Crusader period, Amieth (Alemeth) is mentioned along with Aneth (Anathoth) and Farafonte (Ayn Fara).

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**ALMON-DIBLATHAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿalmōn dib-lātayim* (עַלְמֹן דִּבְלָתָיִם)]. One of Israel's wilderness wandering encampments located within the territory of Moab between Dibon-gad and the mountains of Abarim (Num 33:46, 47). It has been equated by some with Beth-diblathaim (mentioned in Jer 48:22 and in the Moabite stone, line 30), a site which has been tentatively identified with *Deleilat esh-Sherqiyeh* (M.R. 228116), a small town about halfway between Dibon and Medeba. Others have thought that Almon was a daughter settlement of Diblathaim, that is Beth-diblathaim, and have located the former at nearby *ʿAin ed Dib.* All of the suggestions are speculative at present.

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**ALMOND.** See FLORA.

**ALOES.** See PERFUMES AND SPICES; FLORA.

**ALPHA.** The first letter of the Greek alphabet.

**ALPHA AND OMEGA.** The first and last letters of the Greek alphabet. The phrase "the Alpha and the Omega" is used three times in the book of Revelation, twice as a self-designation of God (1:8; 21:6) and once as a self-designation of Christ (22:13). The meaning of "alpha and omega" is evident from the descriptive phrases used in conjunction with it. Rev 1:8 further describes God as the one "who is and who was and who is to come, the Almighty," whereas in 21:6 "the Alpha and the Omega" is supplemented by the phrase "the beginning and the end." Christ identifies himself as "the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end" (22:13). The juxtaposition of the terms "alpha" and "omega" unites creation and eschatology. The God who brought the world into existence is the same one who will bring the world to completion. As the Alpha, God is the creator of all things; everything has its beginning in God (Rev 4:11). To refer to God as the Omega is to affirm that all of creation finds its purpose and meaning in God, for God will bring the universe to its final consummation. What God commenced "in the beginning" (Gen 1:1), God will direct to its conclusion.

Furthermore, all of history is under the control of God, not just its beginning and ending. In later rabbinic writings the first and last letters of the alphabet were used to denote something in its entirety. Abraham was said to have kept the law from *ʾalep* to *taw* (the first and last letters of the Hebrew alphabet), meaning that he obeyed the entire law. In a similar way, to describe God as the Alpha and the Omega is not a restriction of God to only the beginning and the end but is a declaration of the totality of God's power and control. God is "the Almighty," and as such all "salvation and glory and power belong

to our God" (Rev 19:1). Nothing is outside the purview of God. The claim that God is the one "who is and who was and who is to come" is a restatement of the same idea.

The author of Revelation, because of his exalted Christology, can apply the same phrases to Christ that he used for God. He too is the first and the last, the beginning and the end, the Alpha and the Omega. Elsewhere in the NT, Christ's role in creation is explicitly stated (John 1:3; Col 1:16). The idea of Christ as the Omega or the end is particularly appropriate in Revelation which depicts Christ as the means through which God's purposes are accomplished, not only as the slain lamb (5:9), but also as the victorious rider on the white horse (19:11–21).

The source for the author of Revelation's description of God as the first and the last was likely the Hebrew Bible, specifically Isa 41:4; 44:6; and 48:12, passages which emphasize the uniqueness of God. Although the symbolic use of the first and last letters of the alphabet is not found there, this practice can be documented in Hellenistic writings, in Josephus, and in rabbinic literature.

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**ALPHAEUS** (PERSON) [Gk *halphaios* (ἁλφαιος)]. **1.** Father of Levi the tax-collector (Mark 2:14; Luke 5:27 [D]; *Gos. Pet.* 14:60).

**2.** Father of James the apostle, as distinguished from the apostle James the son of Zebedee (Matt 10:3; Mark 3:18; Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13).

Although nothing more is known for certain about either Alphaeus, it has been suggested that the two are actually the same person. Assuming that Levi is to be identified with Matthew the apostle, then another pair of brothers in addition to Peter, Andrew, James, and John would be among the twelve, i.e., James and Matthew. The manner in which Alphaeus is used in the lists of the apostles, however, strongly suggests two different individuals are intended. Alphaeus is used to distinguish this James from the son of Zebedee. Furthermore, since two sets of brothers among the twelve are identified (Matt 10:3), if there were a third set, they surely would also have been identified as such.

Several textual witnesses for Mark 2:14 read "James the son of Alphaeus" rather than "Levi the son of Alphaeus," thus eliminating one difficulty, but suggesting that another tax-collector, named James, was a follower of Jesus. The textual variation is likely an attempt to harmonize Mark 2:14 with Mark 3:18 and Matt 10:3=Luke 6:15. But it creates another difficulty when compared to its parallel, Luke 5:27, which reads "a tax-collector named Levi." The variant reading is unlikely original.

The second Alphaeus is sometimes identified with Clopas (John 19:25) or Cleopas (Luke 24:18). The identification with Clopas is based on the assumption that only three women at the cross are mentioned in John 19:25 (and not four) as in the parallel verses (Matt 27:56; Mark 15:40). Thus, Mary the sister of Jesus' mother is said to be the wife of Clopas, and is supposedly listed second in Matt 27:56 and Mark 15:40 as Mary the mother of James and Joseph (Joses in Mark). Consequently, James is the son of Alphaeus (Clopas) and Mary, thus making him a cousin of Jesus. This conclusion would suggest that five cousins of Jesus were among the twelve apostles. While such possibilities are interesting they are more speculative than provable.

Identifying Alphaeus with Clopas/Cleopas is based on the claim that they are variations of a common Aramaic original (e.g., Edersheim 1899,2: 603). Since the form of the original has not been established, such an argument offers little support for identifying Alphaeus with Clopas. Cleopas is an abbreviated form of the Greek name Cleopatros and should not be identified with Clopas. See also CLOPAS, CLEOPAS, JAMES (PERSON), LEVI, MARY (PERSON), MATTHEW.

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**ALTAR** [Heb *mizbēaḥ* (מִזְבֵּחַ)*;* Gk *thysiastērion* (θυσιαστηριον)*, bōmos* (βωμος)]. Altars occur in a wide range of religions, both geographically and chronologically, often related to the concept of tables, hearths, thrones, or burial mounds. In the ancient world, any surface on which offerings were made or placed for a deity could be considered an altar. Altars could be portable or stationary, simple or elaborate (*EncRel* 1: 222–27).

**A. Altars in the Hebrew Bible**

While scholars speak of altars in connection with a variety of phenomena, the primary term for altar in the Hebrew Bible is *mizbēaḥ* (400x) which is derived from the root *zbḥ*, "to slaughter." Altars are distinguished from other cultic structures such as temples and high places. Although all temples had associated altars, it appears that not all altars were part of a temple complex. Altars were constructed at places which were considered to have a sacred character, points where contact between the human and the divine could occur. For a discussion of Heb *bāmâ,* see HIGH PLACE.

**1. Construction.** Throughout the period of the monarchy, it was the king who was held accountable for the construction and maintenance of altars and related structures (Ahlström 1982: 1–9). It is uncertain if altars were built by private persons. Although a variety of nonroyal figures from the Hebrew Bible are credited with the construction of altars (e.g., Noah, Abraham, Moses, etc.), it may be that these figures were given "royal" prerogatives in the tradition because of their status. While there are other clear cases of nonroyal figures constructing altars (e.g., Balaam in Numbers 23), these figures are acting on the authority of a royal patron.

It appears that "natural" rock altars were used for rituals in some cases (Judg 13:15–20), although the term *mizbēaḥ* is not always used in the description of this type of situation (1 Sam 6:14–15; 14:33–34). The terminology associated with altars in the Hebrew Bible indicates that altars were normally thought of as being constructed in some sense. The most common verbs used for the establishment of altars are "to build" (*bnh*) and "to make" (*ʿśh*). In some cases these are used interchangeably (cf. Gen 35:1–7) although *bnh* is not used with altars constructed with metal. Other terms associated with the construction of altars are "to establish" (*qūm*), "to set up" (*nṣb*), "to put/place" (*śîm*), "to arrange/set in order" (*ʿrk*), and "to found" (*kūn*). The terms used to describe the repair of altars include "to heal" (*rpʾ*), "to make new" (*ḥdš*), and "to purify" (*ṭhr*).

Within the Hebrew Bible are several accounts of religious "reforms" which include the decommissioning or destruction of altars. A variety of terms are used for this activity. Since these same terms are often used for the demolition of buildings and other manmade structures, it indicates that altars also were normally constructed. The most common verb for destruction is "to tear down" (*ntṣ*), occurring often in the Deuteronomic material. Other terms include "to cause to depart/decommission" (*śîr*), "to throw down" (*hrs*), "to tear apart" (*qrʿ*), "to smash" (*šbr*), "to be waste" (*ḥrb*), "to be desolate" (*šmm*), and "to break" (*ʿrp*).

Although very often single altars are assumed in the Hebrew Bible, it is clear that multiple altars were known. This is indicated by the occurrence of the plural (*mizbĕḥôt*) and from the fact that it was necessary to distinguish certain altars (e.g., the altar of burnt offering). The story of Balaam's construction of seven altars (Numbers 23), while not necessarily reflecting historical reality, also indicates knowledge of the use of multiple altars.

One feature of the design of Israelite altars was the presence of "horns" (*qĕrānôt*). As can be seen in numerous examples of smaller incense altars and from the larger altar found at Beer-sheba (see below), these "horns" were projections from the corners. The precise significance of the horns is not known. One theory is that the original function of the horns was to aid in binding a victim to the altar. This may be given some support in Ps 118:27. Also, owing to the special sanctity of the altar, a person accused of a murder could "grasp" the horns of the altar to receive a measure of protection (but cf. Exod 21:14; 1 Kgs 2:28–34; Milgrom 1980). Jer 17:1 seems to indicate that the horns could be engraved, but the text is possibly corrupt. The cutting off of the horns is used as a symbol of the destruction in Amos 3:14. Horned altars are not unique to Israel. They are found in Canaanite contexts (Stendebach 1976: 190–92), in

excavations at temples in Cyprus (cf. Karageorghis 1981; Ionas 1985), and other locations throughout the ancient Near East (cf. Yavis 1949: 165–66).

Altars associated with the tabernacle were considered portable, being equipped with rings through which poles could be inserted for transport. While portable altars are known from nomadic contexts, there is no evidence that the altars constructed during the period of the Israelite or Judahite monarchies were normally moved. The historical evaluation of the portable altars of the tabernacle is dependent on the larger historical questions surrounding the tabernacle itself.

**2. Materials.** The Hebrew Bible mentions a variety of materials used for the construction of altars. It would appear that the ideology concerning the materials of the altar changed over time and/or from place to place. In the introductory material to the Covenant Code (Exod 20:24–25), an initial command is given that an "altar of earth" (*mizbēaḥ ʾădāmâ*) be constructed. The precise meaning of this unique term is uncertain. Robertson (1948) thinks it means simply an altar of "natural" materials. Galling (IDB 1: 97) states that it refers to an altar constructed as a "low cube of clods of clay." The existence of mudbrick altars in this region would make it more likely that some type of earthen brick is intended (cf. Isa 65:3).

In Exodus 20, however, the possibility of construction of a stone altar is admitted. As might be expected in Israel, stone is the assumed building material for altars. In Exod 20:25, Josh 8:31, and Deut 27:5–7, where altars of stone (*mizbēaḥ ʾăbānîm*) are specified, it is commanded that these stones be unworked by iron. This command may reflect the idea that the unworked stone contained something of the "natural" presence of the deity which would be dissipated through the working with iron (Galling IDB 1: 97). Most scholars believe that Exod 20:25 is the earliest of the three passages, reflecting an attempt at cultic reform prior to the Deuteronomist. This prescription was not universally followed since altars constructed of hewn stone were constructed in Judah (cf. Beer-sheba below). It would appear that altars which included horns could not be either of "earth" or "unworked stone" (cf. Wiener 1927: 2–3).

Exod 20:26 gives an impression of the size of an altar by commanding that the altar not be mounted by means of steps in order that the "nakedness" of the priest not be exposed. This command implies that steps were part of the normal construction of the altar. Altars with steps are known from early times in Canaan (cf. Megiddo below), but steps are not conspicuous in the description of altars from the period of the Israelite and Judahite monarchies (cf. Beer-sheba below however). It would appear that the problem of exposure was solved differently in Exod 28:42–43, which commands the wearing of "pants" by Aaron and the officiating priests (cf. Lev 6:3—Eng6:10).

Several types of altars constructed with metal are also prominent. Two different bronze altars are mentioned as being located in the forecourt of the tabernacle/temple. (Note the mention of bronze altars also in Phoenician *KAI* I:2 #10.4 and Punic *KAI* I:14 #66.1.) The altar associated with the tabernacle (Exod 27:1–8; 38:1–7) is described as constructed of acacia wood (5 by 5 by 3 cubits) and overlaid (*ṣph*) with bronze. While it is clear that the description of this altar does not derive from a "nomadic" past, the source of the description is unclear. Some scholars believe that the description of the tabernacle derives from the Davidic period but is based on a premonarchic model (Cross 1984). Others date it to Solomonic (Haran 1978: 189–204) or even later periods. The altar in the forecourt at which the regular sacrifices were conducted was called the "altar of burnt offering" (*āh mizbēaḥ hāʿôlāh*) in the Priestly source and in Chronicles (but cf. Gadegaard 1978).

The Chronicler believed that Solomon also constructed a bronze altar (20 by 20 by 10 cubits) in the forecourt of his temple (2 Chr 4:1). It should be noted, however, that the construction of this altar is omitted from the parallel description in 1 Kings 7 although the presence of a bronze altar is assumed in 1 Kgs 8:64, 2 Kgs 16:14–15, and Ezek 9:2. Some scholars believe that the notice of construction has been displaced from its original location in 1 Kings to Chronicles. It is possible that this altar should be differentiated from an altar of stone (note the use of *bnh*) built by Solomon mentioned in 1 Kgs 9:25. This stone altar may also be implied in the wording of 2 Kgs 16:14. (Additional support for the existence of two altars can be found in Gadegaard 1978: 40–41 although his interpretation of "high place" may be questioned.) This stone altar constructed by Solomon may be the one which is replaced (2 Kgs 16:10–16) with a "great altar" (*hammizbēaḥ haggādôl*) modeled after an altar seen by Ahaz in Damascus. At that

time the bronze altar was moved and reserved for inquiries by the king himself. The regular sacrifices of the nation and king were conducted on the new "great altar."

Another noteworthy altar is that described in some detail in Ezek 43:13–17. At the center of the reconstructed land, Ezekiel envisions a three-tiered altar mounted by steps (12 by 12 cubits on the top tier and 16 by 16 cubits on the lowest tier). This idea may be based on a Babylonian model (Albright 1920: 139–41) or even on Ahaz's "great altar" (*IDB* 1: 98; Haran 1978: 194).

The normal placement of sacrificial altars in the Hebrew Bible was in the courtyard in front of the temple, although altars on the roof were also known (cf. 2 Kgs 23:12, Judg 6:26). (Note may also be made of the Ugaritic text *UT* Krt:73–80, which speaks of the hero offering sacrifices on a wall // tower // roof.)

There is no evidence of the use of sacrificial altars in the interior of the tabernacle or temple. In fact, sacrificial rituals are specifically excluded from the temple itself in Exod 30:9. The normal activities associated with a sacrificial altar are also indicated in Josh 22:28–29 where the trans-Jordanian tribes claim that their "altar" is in fact a "memorial" (see below). They claim their "memorial" is not intended for the normal activities of "burnt offering, cereal offering, or for sacrifice" (v 29). Even types of offerings which might be associated with a "presentation" altar are burned (Exod 29:25). Vessels and offerings were placed "before" (*lipnê*) the altar, not upon it (cf. Deut 26:4; Zech 14:20). It is also possible that images of gods were placed near the altar (cf. 1 Sam 6:15; Ezek 6:13).

Within the interior of the tabernacle/temple were "altars" connected to the use of incense. Exod 30:1–10 and 37:25 describe an "altar" of acacia wood overlaid with gold (1 by 1 by 2 cubits) within the tabernacle. Most scholars think that this "altar" was not part of the original description since its presence is not noted in Exodus 25 or 26:33–37 as expected. This altar is paralleled by the description of an altar of cedar overlaid with gold constructed by Solomon (1 Kgs 6:20, 22). For further discussion of these altars, see INCENSE ALTARS where the "altar of incense" (*mizbēaḥ haqqĕṭōret*) and "incense altars" (*ḥammānîm*) are treated. Ezekiel also mentions an "altar of wood" (*hammizbēaḥ ʿēṣ;* Ezek 41:22) found within the temple, but goes on to describe this rather as a "table" (*haššulhān*).

**3. Activities Associated with Altars.** The most common activities associated with altars in the Hebrew Bible are the burning of sacrifices upon the altar. Some passages (e.g., Gen 22:9–10) might indicate that the offering was actually slain upon the altar (cf. Gadegaard 1978: 35–36). The usual practice reflected in the text, however, is the slaying of the victim beside (*ʿl*) or in front of (*lipnê*) the altar in order that blood could be collected for other ritual purposes.

Several verbs are used to describe the actions of cultic personnel in connection with the altar. The most common terms refer to the offering of sacrifices, "to cause a sacrifice to ascend" (*ʿlh*) and "to burn offerings" (*qṭr*). In addition to the obvious role of the altar in the burning of offerings to the god, the altar (especially the foundation [*yĕsôd*] and the horns) was the recipient of blood from the sacrificial victims. A wide range of terms is used to describe the application of blood to the altar, including (prominently) "to toss, throw" (*zrq*). While blood and oil were applied to the altar, the altar did not function as a libation table as found in earlier Canaanite practice (cf. Megiddo below).

The significance of the preposition (*ʿl*) used with these verbs is unclear. In some instances it seems to indicate that the action takes places "upon," i.e., on top of, the altar (e.g., 1 Kgs 9:25). In other cases, it denotes proximity (e.g., 2 Chr 1:6). The clear picture seems to be that wood was placed on the top of the altar. The sacrifice was then placed upon the wood. The precise function of a bronze grating mentioned in connection with the tabernacle altar (cf. Exod 27:4) is not known. As discussed earlier, the altar is assumed to be large enough and high enough to need steps. The verb "to descend" is used when Aaron leaves the altar in Lev 9:22. (Note might be taken of the similar Ugaritic use of *mdbḥt* with the verb *yrd,* "to go down," in *UT* 1.20.)

Although the tabernacle altar is described as hollow (*nĕbūb*), in no case are actions described which indicate that the sacrifice was burned within the altar. It may be that the altar was filled with earth in order to dissipate the heat generated in the burning of sacrifices. Several examples of altars constructed with a fill of ash or earth/rubble are noted by Yavis (1949: 62–63, 84, 97, 100, 111, 115, 129, 154, 169, 175–76, 178–80, 204, 207–13). This method of construction might answer the principal objection to the use of

these altars as burnt-offering altars made by Gadegaard (1978). This method was suggested earlier by the rabbis but rejected by Robertson (1948: 17–18).

In several cases it appears that the normal usage of *mizbēaḥ* has been extended. The only apparent reference to a "presentation altar" is in Ezek 41:22 where an "altar of wood" (2 by 2 by 3 cubits) is described as "a table which is before Yahweh." It also seems that the altar located within the tabernacle/temple was used only for the burning of incense, not other sacrifices (see above). It is more likely that the understanding of the term "altar" has expanded to include these cases rather than an otherwise unknown ancient use of the term having been preserved.

The term *mizbēaḥ* is also used for another type of construction which serves primarily as a "memorial" within the Hebrew Bible. Several "altars" are given names, often in connection with some unusual event (cf. Gen 33:20; 35:7; Exod 17:15; Josh 22:10–34; and Judg 6:24). In none of these cases are sacrifices actually offered upon these "altars." Whether these constructions were memorials which the author calls "altars" or whether they were altars which later authors attempted to legitimize by assigning an acceptable function is not clear (cf. Snaith 1978; Van Seters 1980: 232). A similar case of a rock being designated as a named "memorial" is found in 1 Sam 7:12, but without the term *mizbēaḥ* being used.

Altars did have other functions. Altars were built to mark the territory associated with the deity (cf. 1 Kgs 18:17–40; 2 Kgs 5:17) although altars in foreign territories were also known (e.g., Elephantine, cf. Wiener 1927: 8–9). As noted above, within Israel the altar also served as a place of asylum.

There are differences among the various "authors" of the Hebrew Bible in their portrayal of altars. The Yahwist assumes Levitical distinctions for the altars even in the pre-Mosaic period. The Priestly author does not allow Levitical distinctions before Sinai. He assumes the existence of only one altar since Sinai but in some senses has reduced its sanctity compared to earlier ideas (e.g., it no longer provides asylum; Milgrom 1980). The Deuteronomist (Deut 12:15–24) loosens the connection between the altar and the slaughter of animals prescribed in earlier writings (Lev 17:1–7).

**B. Archaeological Evidence**

A survey of the literature would seem to indicate that the archaeological evidence for altars is quite extensive. In fact, from an archaeological perspective, there is little agreement on the type of installation to which the term "altar" is applied. It is used for everything from large platforms to somewhat smaller installations with evidence of burning in courtyards of temples to numerous types of flat surfaces with "cup marks" found in a wide variety of contexts (cf. Kittel 1908: 98–146). These later examples are extremely difficult to evaluate archaeologically since they often occur outside of obvious cultic contexts and are impossible to date with any confidence. It may even be questioned whether their function is cultic rather than practical. It is clear that cultic activities took place within the context of wine and olive pressing and threshing floors (cf. Ahlström 1982: 25 n 89). It is doubtful, however, that these installations should be termed "altars" on the basis of the usage of the term in the literature of the Hebrew Bible.

An example of these difficulties can be seen with an "altar" found at Ṣarʿa west of Jerusalem. There is found a large, stepped stone block (2.16 by 2.16 by 1.3m) on which is a series of channels and cup marks (Kittel 1908: 104–8; *IDB* 1: 100). Many scholars have related this installation to the offering of Manoah reported in Judges 13. It must be noted, however, that the date of this installation is unknown, and also that the term "altar" is only indirectly applied to the rock upon which the offerings were made in the Judges account. Whether there is, in fact, any connection between these two pieces of evidence is unknown.

**1. Early Altars in Canaan.** There existed in Canaan a long tradition of altar construction prior to the Israelite period. Already in the Chalcolithic period there is evidence that altars were in use. In a broadroom sanctuary at Ein Gedi, directly opposite the entry, a horseshoe-shaped altar composed of large stones was found. Bones and broken clay figurines were found within the ashes of the altar (Ussishkin 1971: 29).

The tradition of broadroom temples with raised platforms opposite the entry may be carried on into the Early Bronze Age (cf. Megiddo XIX Temple 4050 and Megiddo XV Temples 5192 and 4040, although no evidence of sacrifice is present). One of the most impressive altars discovered in Canaan was

unearthed at the site of Megiddo (Structure 4017). Located in an area surrounded by temples, this large, nearly circular stone altar (8 m diameter) stands 1.4m high and was mounted by a flight of steps. The altar and surrounding enclosure was in existence through at least four phases during EB III–IV. The surrounding area was littered with bone and pottery fragments and the top had indications of burning (Loud 1948: 61–64, 70–84). (Concerning the Early Bronze Age "temples" and associated altars claimed for Ai [et-Tell], cf. Ottosson 1980: 128–30 n.2.)

Structures similar to the circular altar at Megiddo have also been found at a temple dated to MB II B–C at Nahariyah. A three-phase circular stone structure (14 m diameter) with two steps was found in the courtyard of the temple. Among the stones of this structure was organic material which may have been the remains of offerings. About 4 m distance from the circular structure the excavators discovered a small stone installation they described as an altar. However, they give no evidence of its use. Finds from the courtyard include ash, bones, figurines, and pottery associated with cultic activity. Ottosson's conclusion that the circular structure may have functioned as an altar is more likely than the smaller installation indicated by the excavators (Ottosson 1980: 99–101; Dothan 1974: 14–25). Cf. also the circular structures dated to MB IIB–LB I at Tell Kittan (Eisenberg 1977: 77–81).

A later level (VIII) at Megiddo also reveals evidence of a small (1.10 by 1.10 by.55m), lime-plastered mudbrick "altar" or "table" in court 5020. Although no evidence connects this building to cultic activity, its similarities to the Acropolis Temple at Lachish might be noted. If this connection is valid, the strong Egyptian influence at Lachish would make identification as a "table" or "presentation altar" more likely since blood sacrifice was apparently not part of the Egyptian ritual at that time. No direct evidence of burning or sacrifice is mentioned on or near the structure (Loud 1948: 113–14).

Galling has related this structure to others found at Tell ʿAjjul and Shechem (*IDB* 1: 99). It would seem, however, that these latter examples are altars in courtyards in front of the temple while the example from Megiddo is differently located within an internal court. The altar from Shechem may have been founded in the courtyard of the *migdal*-type Temple Ib and was prominent in its position directly in front of the entrance of Temple 2. It is constructed of mudbrick and stone (2.2 by 1.65 by.35 m?).

Late Bronze Age Hazor also has an example in Area H of a centrally located altar in front of a temple which was used through several levels. In the forecourt of the temple of Stratum 2 (LB I) containing ash and bone remains, a large (3.5 by 2 by.3 m?) altar (2534) and nearby a smaller one (2554) were found. In the course of time the courtyard was enclosed (but remained unroofed?). It seems likely that the installation (2218) in a similar position in front of the later Temple IA (LB III) is the remains of an altar carrying on the same tradition.

In the main room (2113) of this same temple, several "libation" and "offering" tables were found. Other finds also imply that liquid offerings were important in this sanctuary (cf. Ottosson 1980: 32). This is also evident in the placement of a "libation altar" in the passageway just outside the forecourt of the Stratum IB temple. Also during Stratum I in Area F, a large stone block (2.4 by.85 by 1.2 m) with two depressions was found. Although there were finds of pottery and bones around this "altar," it differs from the other "altars" in that there is no clearly related temple. If this was an altar, it is not evident what type of offerings were associated with it. The prominence of libation installations in Area H might indicate that this "altar" also functioned as a libation table (cf. Yadin 1972: 100–1 and fig. 25). A similar large stone was found at the MB II–LB "High Place" at Gezer in front of the monoliths. Its function is also unknown.

A recent study of the mudbrick "altars" from the Beth Shan IX has found little support for their designation as altars (Ottosson 1980: 63–66). The "altar" associated with the Fosse Temple at Lachish may better be termed a dais since this building was clearly roofed and the installation would not have functioned for burning sacrifices.

**2. Altars from the Israelite Period.** A series of Philistine temples from Iron Age I have been excavated at Tel Qasile. In the courtyard (111) of the Stratum X temple, a low (1.3 by 1.5 by.1 m) stone foundation for an altar was discovered. The floor of the courtyard contained sherds, animal bones, and ash. A less well preserved altar (108) may be found in the following Stratum IX courtyard (Mazar 1980: 40–41, 51).

Also dated to the early Iron Age is an installation located on Mt. Ebal near ancient Shechem (Zertal 1985, 1988). This installation has been connected to the altar described in Josh 8:30–35 by the excavator. Others have claimed that the ruins are a house/watchtower (Kempinski 1986). The main structure is approximately 9 by 7 m and is preserved to a height of 3.27 m. It contains a fill of pottery, ash, and bones. According to the excavator, the structure is approached by ramps, one of which is 1.2 m wide. The structure is surrounded by an inner courtyard which contains numerous "installations" with ash, animal bones, or clay vessels. The entire area is surrounded by an enclosure wall (250 by 52 m). The "altar" complex was preceded by a circular stone structure (2 m diameter) also filled with ash and bones.

Within the Judahite fortress at Tel Arad, a shrine was discovered including an altar which continued in use over several periods. It is reported by the excavator that near a square stone altar in an open area of the lowest level were pits with burned bones. During the following periods, the sanctuary was constructed with a square earth and field-stone altar (5 cubits$^2$) centrally located in the courtyard. A large flint slab was found on top of this altar. In later strata the altar was rebuilt in the same location, but an addition of a wall to the north of the courtyard meant that it was no longer centrally located. According to the excavator, the altar was not in use in the final temple complex, a fact which is attributed to the "reforms" of Hezekiah (Aharoni 1968: 2–32). Problems with the stratigraphy and reporting of the evidence from Arad make these historical conclusions difficult to verify. It is likely that the altar(s) of this shrine should be dated to the 7th century B.C.E. (cf. Ussishkin 1988: 142–57).

Similar controversy surrounds the discovery of a large (1.57 m high) horned altar at Tel Beer-sheba. This altar, made up of a number of dressed stones, was found reused in the walls of a storehouse from Stratum II just east of the gate. The excavators believe it was part of a now destroyed sanctuary of an earlier level (Aharoni 1974: 2–6). Yadin has argued that it belongs to a sanctuary of Stratum II (reconstructed in Building 430 to the west of the gate). He believes that the steps of this room originally led to the top of the altar (Yadin 1976: 5–14). Since there is no evidence of burning on the stones of the altar, its actual function is unclear. Because its form is similar to that of numerous smaller incense altars, it may be that it was used for incense rather than burnt offerings.

Generally, the conclusions from the archaeological evidence confirm those reached from textual evidence. Altars for burnt offerings stood in the forecourt of the temple. Only incense altars were found within the interior. (cf. Ottosson 1980: 117, 119 n.14). Altars were constructed primarily of stone, although mudbrick and stone-and-earth constructions were also known. As would be expected, no altars constructed with precious metals have survived.

**C. Altars in the NT**

The LXX and NT generally distinguish between legitimate (*thusiastērion*) and illegitimate (*bōmos*) altars. The latter term is the common word for altar in classical Greek. For study of the archaeological evidence for Greek altars, cf. Yavis (1949).

The term *bōmos* is found only once in the NT in Paul's speech in Athens (Acts 17:23). The basis for his speech is the observation of an altar dedicated to "The Unknown God." There is evidence both from archaeology and from ancient authors to indicate that this type of altar may have been known in Athens. This evidence includes an inscribed altar from 2d century C. E. Pergamum probably reading "to unknown gods" (*IDBSup*, 19).

A number of references in the NT refer back to altars (*thusiastērion*) within the accounts of the Hebrew Bible (cf. Matt 23:35, Luke 11:51, Rom 11:3, Jas 2:21). Another group (Matt 23:18–20, 1 Cor 9:13, etc.) refer to the contemporary altar in the temple of Herod. This altar is described by Josephus (*JW* 5.5.225) as large (50 by 50 by 15 cubits) with a ramp approach. These measurements are somewhat larger than indicated in the Mishnah (30 by 30 by 5 cubits; *Mid.* 3:1).

The reference in Luke 1:11 speaks of Zechariah's service at the altar of incense within the temple. A group of passages in Revelation also imply the existence of a golden horned altar (probably for incense) within the heavenly temple (cf. Rev 9:13).

The only direct reference to a Christian altar is in the metaphor found in Heb 13:10, and its significance is disputed. Some think that the reference is to the cross, others to the communion table, etc. (cf. *IDBSup,* 19–20; *TDNT* 3:183). For a survey of the ideology of later Christian altars, cf. *EncRel* 1: 225–26.

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ROBERT D. HAAK

**ALTAR OF WITNESS.** See WITNESS, ALTAR OF (PLACE).

**ALTARS, INCENSE.** See INCENSE ALTARS.

**ALUSH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾālûš* (אָלוּשׁ)]. A place in the desert where the Israelites camped after leaving Egypt (Num 33:13). It is listed between Dophkah and Rephidim, and is located somewhere in the area between the Wilderness of Sin and that of Sinai. It may possibly be identified with Wadi el-'Eshsh (cf. *Numbers* WBC, 355). The Sam. Pent. reads "Alish."

GARY A. HERION

**ALVAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿalwâ* (עַלְוָה)]. Var. ALIAH. One of the tribal chiefs of Edom/Esau, according to the list of the chiefs in Gen 36:40–43 (= 1 Chr 1:51b–54). The two variant forms of this name (*ʿalwâ* in Gen 36:40; *ʿalyâ* in 1 Chr 1:51 [but note Qere *ʿlwh*!]), along with the two variant forms of the name of the first son of Shobal (Alvan/Alyan; Heb *ʿalwān/ʿalyān;* Gen 36:23=1 Chr 1:40), all refer to

the same Seiritic-Horitic clan belonging to the tribe of Shobal. See ALVAN (PERSON). The derivation of the name from Hurrian (Feiler 1939; Ginsberg and Maisler 1934) cannot be verified. Rather, it seems to be derived from a Semitic root: *ʿ*lw* (Arabic) or *ʿ*ly* (NW Semitic), meaning "to be high/lofty/elevated" (cf. Arabic ʿ*lw*n;* Sabaean, Liḥyanite, Safaitic ʿ*lyn*). Alvah/Alvan probably represents the Edomite form of the name (while Aliah/Alian conveys the "Hebraized" form), formed according to **Pa*ʿ*l* with "Bildungs suffixe" -*ā* and -*an* (Weippert 1971: 244, 260).

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ULRICH HÜBNER

**ALVAN** (PERSON) [Heb ʿ*alwān* (עַלְוָן)] Var. ALIAN. A clan name mentioned in the genealogy of Seir the Horite in Gen 36:23. These clans, not to be confused with Hurrian groups in Mesopotamia, are mentioned as the original "inhabitants of the land" of Edom (perhaps as cave dwellers). Alvan is listed as one of the five sons of Shobal and he is thus the grandson of Seir. The name in this form only appears in Genesis 36, but an alternate form, Alian, does appear in the matching genealogical clan list in 1 Chr 1:40. This variant may be due to the confusion between *waw* and *yod.* (But see discussion in ALVAH.) See Deut 2:12–22 for mention of the dispossession of the Horite clans in the region of Seir (Edom) by the encroaching "sons of Esau." This conquest is paired in the text with the conquest by the Israelite tribes of Canaan.

VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

**AM HAʾAREZ.** A Hebrew term (sing. ʿ*ăm hāʾārĕṣ;* pl. ʿ*ămmê hāʾāreṣ,* ʿ*ămmê hāʾărāṣôt*) literally meaning "people of the land." The term occurs 73 times in the OT (51 times in sing. forms and 22 times in pl. forms). The LXX translates the term *tò laòs tēs gēs,* though in Lev 20:2 and Dan 9:6 it is translated *to ethnos to epi tēs gēs* and in Lev 20:4 *hoi autochthones tēs gēs.*

Because of its frequency the term has generated a variety of opinions as to its exact meaning. The term ʿ*ăm* is contrasted with the term *gôy* (Rost 1934: 147). The latter is taken to refer to people in general, while ʿ*ăm* is thought to refer to the specific population of a territory. There is also a general consensus that ʾ*ārĕṣ* is interchangeable with certain other terms, e.g., ʿ*ăm yĕhûdāh* (2 Kgs 14:21). ʿ*ăm* likewise is said to be coterminal with the term ʾ*ănšê,* as in ʾ*ănšê yĕhûdāh* (2 Sam 2:4) (Würthwein 1936: 15).

The debate over the term centers around its use as a *terminus technicus.* The most extreme point of view on its technical sense is represented in the classic work of Mayer Sulzberger (1909). Sulzberger argues that in ancient Israel there existed a national assembly (Edah) composed of two houses (Nesiim and Zekenim). The Nesiim was the smaller of the two chambers (12 members) and the Zekenim the larger (70 members). The Zekenim were elected representatives from the 11 tribes exclusive of Levi (Sulzberger 1909: 8–13). Sulzberger notes that the Edah was dissolved upon the death of Joshua. He then attempts to identify an entity which carried on those functions between the death of Joshua and the clear emergence of a political body in the Gerusia of the Hellenistic period. In his view, the ʿ*ăm hāʾārĕṣ* was this entity, and he cites a number of passages to support this (Gen 23:7, 12, 13; Lev 4:27; 20:2, 4). Chiefly, however, it is in the events surrounding the downfall of Athaliah and the critical role that the ʿ*ăm hāʾārĕṣ* played in that episode (2 Kings 11, esp. vv 14, 18–20) that Sulzberger sees the clear evidence of the political function of the group.

Sulzberger's views, however, were generally considered to be too extreme, too tendentious, and too heavily dependent on textual interpretations that failed to take into account the complex nature of the use of the term and the contexts in which it occurred.

The prevalent position on the term was elaborated by Ernst Würthwein (1936). He argues that the term indicates the cadre of fully enfranchised male citizens (1936: 18). This group represents a sort of power elite, the band of those who form the solid core of the nation. Würthwein argues that this group not only formed a distinct social group but that they represented, in effect, a powerful class whose economic, social, and military power combined to make them a critical faction in the functioning of the state (1936: 15–18).

He traces the development of this group from the earliest period of the monarchy, identifying the *ʿăm hāʾārěṣ* with the *ʾănšê yĕhûdāh* of 2 Sam 2:4. The power of the group was most prevalent in the early period of the Davidic-Solomonic monarchy when the interests of the various "tribal" groups had to be carefully manipulated to achieve consensus on the monarchy and on the specific choice of kings. This sense of independence from the monarch was stronger certainly in N Israel than in S Judah, where the symbiosis of royal and group interests had been largely accomplished through the political skills exercised by David in his acquisition of power. In Judah the interests of the monarch had become, in effect, the interests of the people. But at the earliest stages there were still vestiges of this independent power. The power was certainly based in tradition, but the real power of the group rested on its military capacity as a militia.

In response to this old ideology of a militia, both David and Solomon were able to develop significant independent military power by gathering a personal bodyguard and armed force whose loyalty was to the king and not to the nation as a whole (Würthwein 1936: 20).

But despite this older sense of a body of freeholders, the most significant development of the concept of the *ʿăm hāʾārěṣ* came after the breakup of the two kingdoms, and specifically in Judah in the period between Athaliah (842–837 B.C.E.) and the Exile (589 B.C.E.). During this period, according to Würthwein, we can clearly see the term being used to designate a specific, identifiable class. The cases cited are first the role of the *ʿăm hāʾārěṣ* in the overthrow of Athaliah and the selection of Joash (2 Kings 11; 2 Chronicles 23). In that instance the *ʿăm hāʾārěṣ* are associated with other clearly designated groups (priests, palace officials, military leaders) in the revolution and enthronement of the new king. There is also a note in 1 Kgs 11:18 which associates the *ʿăm hāʾārěṣ* with the military group who destroyed the temple of Ba'al (though this reference is omitted in 2 Chronicles 23). A second case is 2 Kgs 21:25 (= 2 Chr 33:25), where the "people of the land" slay the assassins of Amon (642–640 B.C.E.) and participate in the election and enthronement of Josiah (640–609 B.C.E.). A third instance is 2 Kgs 23:30 (= 2 Chr 26:1), which associates the "people of the land" with the enthronement of Jehoahaz.

More evidence of a class of "people of the land" is found in 2 Kgs 23:35, where the "people of the land" are taxed to raise tribute for Pharaoh Neco. There is a regular association of the *ʿăm hāʾārěṣ* with recognized social classes in other areas as well. In Jer 1:15; 34:19; 37:2; 44:21, they are associated with princes and priests, eunuchs, servants of the king, and the king himself, all of which would seem to indicate some sense of a distinct group at this period.

While acknowledging the work that Würthwein has done, Nicholson examines the term outside the Kings-Chronicles-Jerusalem complex (i.e., royal establishment) and argues that in these other instances (Gen 23:7, 12, 13; 42:6; Exod 5:5; Leviticus 20) the term is ambiguous at best and in many ways nearly generic (1965: 60–62). He further considers the main texts from Kings, and in each of these he raises doubts about the specific uses of the term. Stretching further into Ezekiel (12:19; 33:2; 39:13; 45:22; 46:3, 9), he makes the case for a contextually based interpretation of the term.

Nicholson's arguments parallel in some sense the position taken by de Vaux (*AncIsr*, 70–72). De Vaux sees the term as simply designating the "body of free men, enjoying civic rights in a given territory" (p. 70). He considers the term's use in three periods. First, in the preexilic period, it is associated with specific groups: the king or the prince, the king and his servants, priests and chiefs, the chiefs, the priests, and the prophets, and with no others. But he argues that it designates simply the "whole body of citizens" (p. 71). De Vaux is at pains to show that in 2 Kgs 11:20, where a distinction apparently is made between "the people of the land" and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the distinction is not based on "class" differences but simply on residency (those inside and outside the city). Second, at the time of the return

from Exile, the term at first has this old meaning, but in Ezra and Nehemiah it begins to change. Finally, in the rabbinic literature, it becomes a pejorative term.

Halpern (1981) considers the evidence and argues that the term *ʿam* is the consanguineous unit, the corporation of Israel, and the people (*ʿăm-*) of the land are the people who have the land in common (1981: 196–98). He argues against any connection between the people of the land and military units, and generally supports a contextual interpretation.

There is no question that the term changes meaning dramatically after the exile. De Vaux and others show that in Haggai (2:4) and Ezekiel (7:27; 12:19; 22:19; 22:29; 33:2; 39:13; 45:16; 45:22; 46:3; 46:9) the term retains its preexilic sense. This may also be the case in Dan 9:6. But in Ezra and Nehemiah the term begins to take on a different meaning. On the one hand, Ezra 2:2 and Neh 7:7 seem to designate the men/people of Israel and the men/people of the land much as in the preexilic period. But, on the other hand, Ezra 4:4 contrasts the "people of the land" and the "people of Judah" in a way that indicates a conflict of interests.

Most significantly, the term is used in the plural in the postexilic period; it is used either to indicate the group which opposed the restoration of the temple state or to refer to the heterogeneous population which the returnees found in the land. This population is characteristically viewed with disdain (Ezra 9:1, 2; 10:2, 11; Neh 10:20–31).

In a recent study of this late development in the use of the term, Gunneweg has proposed that the term *gôlâ* takes on a revised and enriched meaning. The *bĕnê hāggôlâ* are the true congregation in contradistinction to all the inhabitants of the land, the *ʿămmê hāʾărāṣôt.* Thus the terms intend a theological meaning for what were once sociological groups. Gunneweg designates this a "semantic revolution" (1983: 437–40). The rabbinic use then picks up on this late development and the term eventually comes to have a pejorative meaning. It refers to the ignorant, the impious, the nonobservant, etc.

From this general review it is clear that there is little evidence to support extreme interpretations of the term. But there is sufficient evidence in various periods to indicate that within a carefully defined context the term may have specific senses. Our growing knowledge of the social construction of early Israel may help clarify the specific contextual situations that justify one or another use of the term.

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JOSEPH P. HEALEY

**AMAD** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿamʿād* (עַמְעָד)]. A town in the inheritance of Asher (Josh 19:26). From the position of Amad in the list of border cities, its general location should be sought in the S portion of the tribal territory. Evidence is not sufficient to determine an identification with any site.

MELVIN HUNT

**AMAL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿāmāl* (עָמָל)]. A descendant of Asher, whose name appears in an abbreviated genealogy in 1 Chr 7:30–40, which lists the "men of Asher" who were "heads of fathers' houses, approved, mighty warriors, chief of the princes." One third of the names given in Asher's genealogy are found nowhere else in Scripture; such is the case with the name Amal. Little is known of him, except that

his name means "heavy labor," "vexation," or "trouble," that his father's name is Helem, and that Zophah, Imna, and Shelesh are listed as his brothers.

J. RANDALL O'BRIEN

**AMALEK** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿămālēq* (עֲמָלֵק)]. AMALEKITE. One of the six sons of Eliphaz and a grandson of Esau, whose mother was Timna, Eliphaz's concubine (Gen 36:11, 12; cf. 1 Chr 1:36). Amalek was one of the "chiefs of Eliphaz in the land of Edom" (Gen 36:15,16). In the biblical tradition, the terms "Amalek," "Amalekite," and "Amalekites" are used to designate the descendants of Eliphaz who, like Esau, are linked with the land of Edom. The Amalekites were a nomadic or seminomadic people, descendants of Esau and one of Israel's traditional enemies. They are not mentioned by name in any extra-biblical source, so the OT provides the only written evidence on this relatively obscure people.

**A. Origin**

Gen 14:7 says that Chedorlaomer and the coalition of eastern kings "subdued all the country of the Amalekites" at a place called Enmishpat, i.e., Kadesh (Khirbet el-Qudeirat in N Sinai?). Various explanations have been given for the apparent contradiction this verse seems to raise: how a "country of the Amalekites" could be attached to an episode that antedated Esau, Eliphaz, and Amalek. Some scholars regard this reference as a blatant anachronism, while others say it is simply an editorial insertion, an updating of the text by a later editor who knew that the Amalekites occupied the region mentioned in Gen 14:7 during his lifetime or sometime before. It would have been perfectly normal to link Kadesh with the Amalekites through much of Israel's history. Still others suggest that the descendants of Esau intermarried with related but earlier nomadic groups, became dominant, and the designation was used retroactively.

In one of his oracles, Balaam referred to Amalek as "the first of the nations" (Num 24:20). This verse, too, has been the focus of a wide range of interpretation, but it is possible that the diviner was alluding to Amalek's status as one of the most ancient peoples. By whichever argument one explains the problem with Gen 14:7, it should be noted that the use of the term "Amalekites" in a patriarchal narrative is not completely incongruous with Amalek's genealogy in Gen 36:9–12.

**B. Territory**

As reported in Gen 36:16, Amalek was associated initially with Edom. The highly mobile—nomadic or semi-nomadic—lifestyle of the Amalekites, as described in all biblical passages that mention their name, should prepare the reader to understand Edom as a homeland from which later generations ranged far and wide. Throughout their entire history, as far as it is known, Amalekite social and economic institutions were shaped by two major factors. First, most of the Amalekites seem to have occupied the less desirable fringe areas adjacent to land capable of supporting more sedentary populations. Their seasonal migrations or raiding expeditions did take them as far north as the hill country of Ephraim (Judg 12:15) and as far west as the Philistine territory around Ziklag (1 Sam 30:1–2). Most episodes involving the Amalekites take place along the transitional zone of S Canaan or Judah, where desert and sown come together.

Second, the Amalekites were scattered across a vast territory. Num 13:29 notes that "the Amalekites dwell in the land of the Negeb," but this verse does not reflect the whole picture; it simply isolates this people from other peoples who lived in the same proximity at a point in time. The full scope of the Amalekites' wanderings, at least in the time of Saul, is described in 1 Sam 15:7: "And Saul defeated the Amalekites, from Havilah as far as Shur, which is east of Egypt." Thus, Amalekite tribes inhabited the wilderness between W Sinai and the Arabah of Arabia, depending on the meaning of Havilah in this verse. In fact, the Amalekite way of life is better understood when it is observed that the Ishmaelites ranged over a similarly defined territory (Gen 25:18). Though some scholars regard these statements as "geographical hyperbole," it can be reasonably assumed that the various Amalekite tribes indeed needed such a large area in which to live given its limited sources of water and food. It should be remembered that for at least part of their history the Amalekites used camels for transportation in times of war and peace (cf. Judg 6:5; 7:12).

**C. History**

Because of Amalek's occupation on the border of Palestine, in Sinai and the Negeb, these tribes were in conflict with the Hebrews from the time of their wilderness wanderings until the early monarchy. Indeed, every encounter between Amalek and Israel recorded in the OT is marked by hostility. It is likely that the other sedentary peoples near ancient Israel (e.g., Egypt, Edom, Moab) had similar problems with the Amalekites, but information on these other lands is unavailable.

The hostilities between Amalek and Israel began during the Hebrew sojourn in the Sinai. Exod 17:8–13 describes this first encounter, an apparently unprovoked attack upon Israel at Rephidim. It is possible that the Amalekites feared the Israelite incursion into the region of Kadesh (cf. Gen 14:7, where this place is linked with Amalek). Perhaps the Amalekites thought the Hebrews represented competition for water or would interfere with their trade routes. At any rate, Deut 25:17–18 says that the Amalekite attacks were merciless; this harassment led to great enmity between Israel and Amalek. The Amalekites were defeated (Exod 17:13), and they were placed under a permanent ban (17:14–16; Deut 25:17–19). Memory of Amalek's opposition to Israel was still alive in the days of Samuel and Saul (1 Sam 15:2–3).

With the defeat of the Amalekites, Israel controlled Kadesh-barnea (cf. Num 10:11–21:3). When the Hebrew spies returned to Kadesh (13:26), they reported that the Amalekites, among other peoples, blocked Israel's ambition to enter and occupy Canaan (13:29). According to Num 14:25, the Lord warned Israel to avoid contact with Amalek and take a more circuitous route to the promised land. This warning was not heeded, the Hebrews attempted to enter the hill country of southern Canaan, and they were repelled by the Amalekites and Canaanites (14:44–45; Deut 1:44). The Israelites were pursued all the way to Hormah (Tel Masos?), a settlement that was probably in Amalekite hands during other periods. One of the most interesting references to the Amalekites from the period of the Israelite wilderness wanderings is found in Num 24:20, where Balaam makes what could be interpreted as the only positive statement about this people in the whole Bible. Also important is the fact that Balaam "looked on Amalek," presumably from "the top of Peor, that overlooks the desert" (23:28), perhaps localizing the Amalekites to the S Jordan Valley.

Several significant references to Amalek come from the book of Judges, which deals with the Israelites after they had assumed a more sedentary existence within what they regarded as their own territory. According to Judg 3:12–14, Eglon, the king of Moab, allied himself with or hired as mercenaries the Ammonites and Amalekites to attack Israel. This Transjordanian confederacy defeated the Hebrews and captured "the city of palms," almost certainly the environs of Jericho. While this passage seems to locate an Amalekite center in Transjordan, Judg 12:15 mentions the existence of a similar enclave in the territory of Ephraim at Pirathon, which the text identifies as "the hill country of the Amalekites." Once again, this reference highlights the wide geographical range of Amalek.

In a similar raid from across the Jordan, the Amalekites are named as one of the peoples who invaded the regions west of the Jordan, including "the neighborhood of Gaza" (Judg 6:3–5) and the valley of Jezreel (6:33). Both of these episodes link Amalek with the Midianites and the people of the East (Qedemites), and both raids were made with the use of camels (6:5; 7:12). Although Judges says that Gideon defeated these nomadic invaders, they continued to threaten the security of Israel's settled communities on other occasions.

The most detailed and most decisive encounters between Amalek and Israel are found in the Samuel narratives on Saul. Soon after he became king of Israel, this great warrior resumed the traditional warfare with the Amalekites (1 Sam 15:2–3). From the town of Telaim, whose exact location is unknown, Saul moved against the Amalekite frontier to the south of Judah and attacked "the city of Amalek" (15:4–5). This is the first recorded instance in which Israel invaded Amalekite territory, actually striking what must have been the tribal center at that time. While it is not necessary to take the word "city" literally in this instance, since it is likely that "the city of Amalek" was more of a fortified camp, some scholars (e.g., Herzog 1983: 43, 47) have identified this ancient place with Tel Masos (M.R. 146069), located 7 miles east-southeast of Beer-sheba (cf. Edelman 1986: 82). Others locate the Amalekite center in N Sinai, somewhere in the vicinity of Kadesh-barnea.

In 1 Sam 15:6 intriguing reference is made to the presence of the Kenites among Amalek. Because his war was with the traditional foe of Israel, the Amalekites, Saul allowed the Kenites to depart. Saul's military victory is noted in 15:7, but his failure to execute the ban against Amalek constituted a spiritual failure. Saul's retaliation was not complete, since he took booty and a prisoner, Agag, the king of Amalek, who was later killed by Samuel (cf. 15:8–9, 20, 32–33). Agag was a traditional name or title for Amalekite kings (cf. Num 24:7), who were undoubtedly tribal chiefs like the "kings" of Midian and other nomadic groups (cf. Num 31:8, etc.). Most important is the fact that the name (or title) Agag is the only known Amalekite proper name. See AGAG; AGAGITE.

After David was given Ziklag by Achish, the Philistine, he continued the Hebrew offensive on Amalek's territory (1 Sam 27:8–9). While David's small army was away, the Amalekites carried out a retaliatory raid against David's Negeb base, burning Ziklag and taking prisoners (30:1–2). With the help of an Egyptian who had been a slave of the Amalekites, David located their camp beyond the Besor (Wadi Ghazzeh), defeated them in a pitched battle, and recovered all spoil (30:11–20). In fact, David looted the Amalekite encampment while 400 of their young men fled on camels (30:17, 20).

According to 2 Sam 1:1–10, David learned that Saul had been killed by an Amalekite, probably a mercenary in the Philistine army (cf. 1 Sam 31:1–6; 2 Sam 4:9–10). Most important are the statements that summarize David's military activities and name the Amalekites among those subdued (2 Sam 8:12; 1 Chr 18:11). David's victories seem to have brought an end to the threat that the Amalekites posed to the communities of Israel, for these enemies are no longer named as serious opponents after the days of Saul and David (cf. Ps 83:5–11 for a list of Israel's enemies in an unknown context, including Amalek in v 7).

Eph'al (1982: 63) observes that the names Hagarites, Ishmaelites, Midianites, and Amalekites are not mentioned in biblical accounts that narrate events after the mid-10th century B.C. (with the exception of 1 Chr 4:43). Instead, the collective term Arab(s) appears, along with a number of other names (e.g., Buz, Dedan, Qedar, Sheba). Not surprising is the fact that the vague designation, "people of the East," occurs in passages on both sides of the mid-10th century. So the specific name, Amalekites, seems to disappear from the historical memory of the biblical writers, but the people themselves merged with other groups, took on new names, or were identified by the generic term Arab.

As noted above, the only reference to Amalekites after David's era is found in 1 Chr 4:43. This verse observes that only a "remnant of the Amalekites" was left in the time of Hezekiah (late 8th century B.C.), and this group was defeated by the Simeonites in Mt. Seir. Landes (*IDB* 1: 102) suggests that Amalekite history ended where it had begun, in Edom. Eph'al (1982: 66, 80) says that Seir could refer to both sides of the Arabah in this instance. If so, this verse provides the only datum on the Negeb's inhabitants in the 9th–8th centuries B.C.

### D. Archaeological Remains

Landes (*IDB* 1:102) and other scholars state that archaeological research has thrown no light on the Amalekites. Though some progress has been made in associating specific groups of nomads with archaeological evidence (cf. Parr 1982; Sawyer and Clines 1983; Rosen 1988), no recovered data are attributed to Amalek with any degree of certainty. Intensive surveys make it possible to say that the Negeb had very little occupation in the Late Bronze Age and that its resettlement began in the early Iron Age, especially in the 11th–early 10th centuries B.C. As Rothenberg (1967: 92–97) suggested, some of the small fortified settlements in the Negeb highlands can be linked to the Amalekites. Certain scholars (e.g., Herzog 1983: 43, 47) have identified Tel Masos with the place called "the city of Amalek" in 1 Sam 15:5. Of course, more data must be recovered before such conjectures can be verified.

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**AMAM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾămām* (אֲמָם)]. A town in the Negeb district of the tribal inheritance of Judah (Josh 15:26). Although its site has not been definitively located, it lay in the area E and S of Beer-sheba (Josh 15:21; Cross and Wright 1956: 212). Abel (*GP* 2: 242) proposed placing Amam on the Wadi eṣ-Ṣīni on the basis of the variant *sēn* in LXX$^{B}$. Recently Naʾaman (1980: 146) has advocated locating Amam at the site of Beʾer Nevatim (Bir el-Hamam) on the Nahal Beʾer-Sheva (Wadi Meshash). Amam may be mentioned in the longer form of its name as Beth-amam ("House of Amam") in one of the ostraca from Beer-sheba (Aharoni 1973: 71–72).

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**AMANA** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾămānâ* (אֲמָנָה)]. A mountain cited along with Lebanon, Senir, and Hermon (Cant 4:8). Probably one of the mountains near the source of the Amana River comprising the Anti-Lebanon range. Solomon bids the Shulammite maiden (Cant 6:13) to leave these beautiful mountain peaks of her northern country land.
RAY LEE ROTH

**AMANUENSIS.** This term, taken from Latin ("of the hand"), denotes one who writes what another dictates, or copies what another has written, and thus means a secretary or scribe. A person performing this function is designated in the Hebrew Bible as a *sōpēr,* and in the Greek NT as a *grammateus.* In both cases, however, it is necessary to distinguish between the scribe as a person skilled in writing who works as a secretary, and the scribe as a member of a professional class devoted to the study and interpretation of the Torah of Moses. Most of the biblical references to scribes have the latter meaning in view and occur in post-exilic biblical literature. This article, however, will treat only the former sense, i.e., a secretary skilled in the art of writing or copying manuscripts.

Allusions to *sōpēr* as "secretary" are frequent in the Hebrew Bible. The scribe was a traditional and necessary functionary of the royal court; specific mention is made of the secretaries of David (2 Sam 20:25, 2 Kgs 12:10), Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18:18, 37; 19:2), Josiah (2 Kgs 22:3–12, 2 Chr 34:15–20), Joash (2 Chr 24:11), and Jehoiakim (Jer 36:12, 20). The activities of royal secretaries included, among other things, record-keeping and the drafting of royal letters and decrees; in some cases, the secretary also served as a counselor in matters of state, since the scribe, by reason of training and experience, was not only skilled in writing but was also often "a man of understanding" (cf. 1 Chr 27:32). Military commanders regularly relied on secretaries to maintain rolls and records, and to draft orders and communiqués (2 Kgs 25:19, 2 Chr 26:11, Jer 52:25). Even a prophet could employ an amanuensis if circumstances warranted. The signal instance of this is Jeremiah's reliance on Baruch to transcribe the prophet's oracles from dictation and read them in the temple precincts, a place where Jeremiah himself had been forbidden to appear (Jer 36).

The Greek term *grammateus* occurs only once in the NT in its normal sense of "clerk" or "secretary" (Acts 19:35), yet here the term designates not a "secretary," in the simple sense, but a high civic official whose duties included the drafting of decrees of the citizenry, administering civic funds, and transacting affairs of the city. (The frequent translation "town clerk" is not quite apposite.) Still, the activity of secretaries is elsewhere intimated in the NT, especially in the letters of Paul. It was apparently Paul's custom to dictate his letters to a secretary. The "oral style" of the letters is only one indication of this. In Rom 16:22, one Tertius expressly designates himself as the transcriber of the letter. Paul's practice in

other letters of adding greetings (1 Cor 16:21, 2 Thess 3:17, Col 4:18), an asseveration (Phlm 19), and a summary statement (Gal 6:11–18) in his own handwriting implies that the letters themselves were written at the hands of amanuenses who transcribed at Paul's dictation. Indeed, 2 Thess 3:17 claims that Paul's appended greeting, written in his own hand, was a "sign" or "mark" employed in each of his letters. This practice suggests that these letters were normally in the handwriting of a secretary. A similar use of an amanuensis is also indicated by 1 Pet 5:12. In dictating his letters to a secretary, Paul was following a well-established practice in antiquity. Many papyrus letters preserved from the period were written in the hand of a secretary, with the final greeting or other closing matter written in the hand of the sender. In addition, classical literature often attests the use of a secretary. Cicero, a prolific letter writer, often dictated letters to his secretary, Tiro, and frequently alluded to this practice. Plutarch mentions it for Caesar (*Vit. Caes.* 17.3), Pliny the Younger mentions it for his uncle (*Ep.* 3.5, 9.36), and Quintilian objects to its widespread use (*Inst.* 10,3,19) (Bahr, 1966, concisely surveys the evidence).

The use of amanuenses by Paul has occasioned the development of various "secretary hypotheses," each of which seeks to explain why some letters attributed to Paul (e.g., Ephesians, Colossians, 1–2 Timothy, Titus) differ significantly in vocabulary, style, and conceptuality from the undoubtedly authentic letters. It is claimed that Paul did not dictate all his letters verbatim but sometimes provided only an outline or rough notes, leaving the actual composition to an amanuensis. While such theories might help to explain rather wide variations in vocabulary and style among letters attributed to Paul, they do not satisfactorily account for conceptual and situational differences. Nevertheless, Paul's use of amanuenses, together with the fact that he often names others as co-senders with himself (1 Cor 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1; Phil 1:1; Col 1:1; 1 Thess 1:1; 2 Thess 1:1; Phlm 1), suggests that the problem of the authorship of some Pauline letters may be even more complex than is usually assumed.

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**AMARIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾămaryâ* (אֲמַרְיָה); *ʾămaryāhû* (אֲמַרְיָהוּ)]. **1.** A Levitical high priest, the son of Meraioth and father of Ahitub and grandfather of Zadok (I) (1 Chr 5:33–34—Eng6:7–8; 1 Chr 6:37–38—Eng6:52–53). The name occurs in the most extensive and perhaps most recent of all the preexilic priestly genealogies in the OT (1 Chr 5:29–41—Eng6:3–15) and also in a comparable abbreviated high priestly list from the same chapter (1 Chr 6:35–38—Eng6:50–53). Unlike the longer list which traces the high priesthood from Aaron through Eleazar down to the Exile, this second comparable list traces the high priestly lineage from Aaron on through Eleazar only as far as Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok (I) (Williamson *Chronicles* NCB, 74).

**2.** A Levite of the Kohathite clan, the second of four sons of Hebron (1 Chr 23:19; 24:23). He is presented as a contemporary of David. His name is found in a supplemental list of Levites (1 Chr 24:20–31) which presupposes a still earlier Levitical list (1 Chr 23:6–23).

**3.** A Levitical high priest, the son of Azariah and father of Ahitub (II?) and grandfather of Zadok (II?) (1 Chr 5:37–38—Eng6:11–12; Ezra 7:2–3). Within the long high priestly list of 1 Chr 5:29–41—Eng6:3–15 the threefold pattern of Amariah-Ahitub-Zadok occurs twice (1 Chr 5:33–34, 37–38—Eng6:7–8, 11–12). The reliability of this list is undermined by the fact that in no other high priestly list of the OT does one find such repetition with respect to these names. Also, the names of known high priests for the period from the narratives of Kings and Chronicles do not always correlate with their supposed high priestly correspondents in this long list. (For the suggestion that the Chronicler's list included only those high priests who were known to have been Zakokites, see Katzenstein 1962: 382–84.) Still, the period between the Exodus and the Exile, from Aaron through Ezra, requires more names than the 14 (1 Esdr 8:1–2), 17

(Ezra 7:1–5), or even 20 (2 Esdr 1:1–3) given in the other lists. The 23 names (from Aaron to Jehozadak) given in the long list of 1 Chr 5:29–41—Eng6:3–15 are more salutory, even if they, too, seem to fall short (since 23 generations × 25 years per generation yields only 575 years for a period estimated to be closer to 700 years long). Accordingly, were the long list to be regarded as somewhat authentic, there would be no need to equate this Amariah with 1. above. Moreover, all three lists which cite Amariah as an ancestor of Ezra the priest (Ezra 7:1–5; 1 Esdr 8:1–2; 2 Esdr 1:1–3) list Zadok as the father of Shallum, and two of the three lists name Azariah as Amariah's father (Ezra 7:3; 2 Esdr 1:2), suggesting also that the Amariah intended here is Amariah II, not I. 1 Esdras 8 complicates the issue, though, in that while it knows Zadok as Shallum's father it cites Uzzi as Amariah's immediate predecessor, prompting linkage in this case with the upper half of the longer priestly list. Neh 11:11 and 1 Chr 9:11, on the other hand, appear to focus on the bottom end of the same long list, with Ahitub named as the father of Meraioth and Zadok (II?), but there is no mention of Amariah whatsoever. In 2 Esdr 1:1–3, Amariah's son, grandson, great-grandson, and great-great-grandson are purported to have been Eli, Phinehas, Ahitub, and Zadok (II?) respectively. The names Eli, Phinehas, and Ahitub, however, are not paralleled at this point in Ezra 7:3 (= 1 Esdr 8:2) or in any other high priestly list and are therefore most suspect.

**4.** A high priest in King Jehoshaphat's time (873–849 B.C.), placed in charge over all ecclesiastical and religious matters (2 Chr 19:11). His father is not named. He may be the same as 3. above (Schumacher *IDB* 1: 102–3).

**5.** A Levite, one of six persons appointed by King Hezekiah (787/86–715 B.C.) to assist in the distribution of the portions of the free-will offerings in the cities of the priests (2 Chr 31:15).

**6.** The son of Hezekiah and father of Gedaliah (Zeph 1:1). He is cited as a progenitor of the prophet Zephaniah ben Cushi, active during the reign of King Josiah (640–609 B.C.). In view of the unusual length of the opening prophetic genealogy, the ancestor intended may well be King Hezekiah (KJV Hizkiah) of Judah.

**7.** A Levitical priest (Neh 12:2). His name occurs on a list of priests and Levites who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Neh 12:1, 7). His descendant, Jehohanan, represented one of the priestly courses active during the high priesthood of Joiakim, Jeshua's successor (Neh 12:13).

**8.** A priest, a contemporary of Nehemiah (Neh 10:4, 9—Eng10:3, 8). He is listed as one of the persons who set their seal to the covenant document reconstituting the postexilic community.

**9.** A Judahite, the son of Shephatiah, descendant of Perez (Neh 11:4). He is cited as an ancestor of the Judahite Athaiah [*ʿătāyâ*] ben Uzziah, one of the 10 percent of the people in the days of Nehemiah who volunteered to live in Jerusalem rather than with the majority in the country towns of Judah. In the otherwise parallel verse, 1 Chr 9:4, there is no mention of any Athaiah; instead Uthai [*ʿûtay*] ben Ammihud, descended from Perez, is named. The nearest 1 Chr 9:4 comes to Amariah [*ʾămaryâ*] is in the name "Imri" [*ʾimrî*] (Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 185–86).

**10.** One of the sons of Binnui (RSV), and a contemporary of Ezra (Ezra 10:42). His name appears on a list of those who had married foreign women and who were induced by Ezra to send such wives away along with their children (Ezra 10:44 = 1 Esdr 9:36). The RSV has adopted the suggested reading of *BHS*, namely, "and of the sons of Binnui" (Ezra 10:38) [= *ûmibbĕnê binnûy* for MT's "and Bani and Binnui" = *ûbānî ûbinnûy*= KJV]; NEB supports the RSV with "of the family of Binnui." Cf. LXX "the sons of Banui = *hoi huioi banoui*. In the interest of consistency, the RSV's synoptic parallel (1 Esdr 9:34) has adopted the reading "Amariah" [= Gk *amaria*] for the present Greek text's "Zambris" [LXX *zambris; zambrei*], even though the father of this person is said to be "Ezora" [LXX *ezōra*].

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**AMARNA LETTERS.** An important corpus of cuneiform documents found at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt.

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A. Discovery and Publication

B. The Archive and Its Chronology
C. Script and Language
D. The International Correspondence
E. The Vassal Letters
F. Egyptian Government in Canaan
G. The Network of Canaanite City-States
H. The Nonurban Elements (ʿApiru and Sutu)
I. The Amarna Letters and the Bible

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**A. Discovery and Publication**

In the late autumn of 1887 a woman of the bedouin tribe of Beni ʿAmrān discovered a number of tablets in the ruins near the village of Hajji Qandil. The place where the tablets were found is located on the eastern bank of the Nile, ca. 300 km south of Cairo and was called by scholars el-Amarna, after the name of the bedouin tribe. The site of el-Amarna was known to be the seat of Akhetaten ("the Horizon of Aten"), the residence of the Egyptian king Akhenaten, and the tablets unearthed there were part of the royal archive of the Pharaoh.

The local bedouin excavated the site and sold the tablets to a local dealer. The tablets were then sent to Upper Egypt and sold to the representatives of European museums. The Berlin museum got the majority (201 tablets), the British Museum (82 tablets), and the local museum of Cairo (51 tablets) also obtained large collections, and other museums and private persons bought numerous tablets (*PWCJS* 9: 11–14). Overall, 336 tablets are known today from this illegal dig. A certain part of the tablets was totally destroyed at that time, though it is impossible to verify their number (Knudtzon, Weber, and Ebeling 1915: 1–15; Sayce 1917).

A few years after the discovery, in 1891–92, a systematic excavation was conducted at the site by Sir Flinders Petrie (1894). He dug where the tablets were found (House No. 19) and its neighborhood and discovered 21 additional tablet fragments. In later years, three other archaeological expeditions worked at the site of el-Amarna (in 1911–14, 1921–23, 1926–37) and a further 23 tablet fragments were discovered. The overall number of tablets published is now 380 (Moran 1987; *PWCJS* 9: 3–16).

Publication of the Amarna tablets began soon after their discovery (Winckler and Abel 1889–90; Bezold and Budge 1892; Winckler 1896). A decisive step was made by J. A. Knudtzon, who systematically collated all tablets discovered until 1907 and published a comprehensive text edition (EA Nos. 1–358), accompanied by extensive historical commentary by O. Weber and detailed indexes by E. Ebeling (Knudtzon, Weber, and Ebeling 1915). At the same time, Schroeder (1915) published a new facsimile of the largest collection of Amarna tablets, that of the Berlin museum.

Twenty-two additional tablets were uncovered and published in various publications between 1915 and 1970 and were collected and edited in one volume by A. F. Rainey (1970). A final tablet was published by Walker (1979). Recently, W. L. Moran (1987) has published a new edition of all the letters, in which were included many new readings, extensive philological discussions, and detailed indexes. Moran's edition considerably advances the understanding of the corpus and marks a new stage in the research of the archive.

**B. The Archive and Its Chronology**

The tablets were discovered in the "office-house of the letters of Pharaoh," which was the place where the cuneiform staff of the foreign department must have been located. Of the corpus of 380 tablets, only 32 were not letters. These tablets served for the study of the art of cuneiform writing and reading. Among them were lexical texts (EA 351–54, 373), a list of gods (EA 374), syllabaries (EA 348, 350, 379), and literary texts (EA 340–41, 356–59, 375) (*PWCJS* 9: 27–33). These texts are closely related to well-known lexical and literary ancient Near Eastern tablets. Among the literary compositions one may note the Myth of Adapa, the Myth of Nergal and Ereshkigal, and the text entitled "The King of the Battle." Notable also is an Egyptian-Akkadian dictionary (EA 368), in which the Egyptian words are written syllabically by cuneiform signs.

The corpus of letters can be divided into two distinct groups: a small group of 44 letters that were exchanged between Egypt and other great powers and a much larger group of over 300 tablets that were exchanged between Egypt and vassal kingdoms in Canaan and northern Syria.

Numerous tablets written by the pharaohs either to "great kings" (EA 1, 5, 14, 31) or to vassal rulers (EA 99, 162–63, 190, 367, 369–70) were discovered among the Amarna tablets and may be regarded as letters that—for unknown reasons—were not dispatched abroad (i.e., they are not copies of the original letters) (Moran 1987: 19–20).

The city of Akhetaten (el-Amarna) was founded on virgin soil by Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) (ca. 1350–1334) in his 4th year and became his residency in his 7th year. It served as the capital city until his death and was abandoned by the royal court in the 3d year of Tutankhamen (ca. 1334–1325) (Hornung 1964: 79–94; Redford 1967: 156–62). However, the earlier tablets discovered in the archive were written in the last decade of Amenhotep III, Akhenaten's father. It is thus clear that many letters were brought from the previous capital (Thebes) to the new capital when the royal court moved there. These must have been those that were necessary for future correspondence. One may further assume that certain letters were taken from Akhetaten at the time of its abandonment. The number of letters transferred in both cases is unknown nor do we know how many tablets were destroyed when the archive was discovered and before the value of the tablets was recognized (Campbell 1964: 32–35). What was left at el-Amarna is a unique collection which is different in its assemblage from all other ancient Near Eastern archives (Riedel 1939; Campbell 1964: 35–36; Na›aman 1981a: 173–74).

The archive covers less than thirty years (from ca. the 30th year of Amenhotep III to Tutankhamen's 3d year). The exact time span depends on whether or not there was a coregency between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten, a problem still debated by scholars (e.g., Kitchen 1962; Campbell 1964; Redford 1967; Kühne 1973; Krauss 1978).

**C. Script and Language**

The Amarna letters were written in cuneiform signs on clay tablets. The cuneiform script was already known in northern Syria in the 2d half of the 3d millennium B.C. (at Ebla). The Canaanite cuneiform tradition is rooted in the north Mesopotamian and north Syrian traditions of the OB period (18th–17th centuries B.C.) (Anbar and Na›aman 1986–87). Almost all the letters in the Amarna archive are written in Akkadian, i.e., an East Semitic language. Thus, letters exchanged between the Egyptian pharaohs and their vassals in Canaan were written in a language that was foreign to both. Akkadian (i.e., Babylonian) had acquired in the 14th century B.C. the status of an international language (*lingua franca*), by which kings reigning all over the Near East were able to communicate.

The art of reading and writing cuneiform was known only to a relatively small group of experts who studied this craft for a period of many years. The diffusion of the Amarna letters all over Canaan and the many local variants show that expert scribes were situated in all of the important kingdoms. Since all diplomatic correspondence was in their hands, they attained a high social position and had certain influence on the direction of foreign affairs. A number of letters (EA 286:61–64; 287:64–70; 286:62–66; 289:47–51; 316:16–20) illustrate how important it was at that time to find ways to flatter and patronize the Egyptian royal scribes.

A small number of letters to "great kings" were written in their local language, i.e., Assyrian (EA 15), Hurrian (EA 24), and Hittite (EA 31–32), while the rest were written in Akkadian, although the dialect of these letters is sometimes regarded as "peripheral." That is because the language of these letters has retained certain archaic features, such as sign forms, logograms, vocabulary, and grammar, which were considered "classical" in earlier periods but have already disappeared from the cuneiform tradition of Mesopotamia and have been preserved only in the western periphery (Moran 1987: 22–24).

Two cuneiform traditions may be detected in the Canaanite and north Syrian letters. The one is Hurro-Akkadian, which is typical of tablets emanating from the north, that is, Hurrian-speaking kingdoms that were governed and influenced by Mitanni (Wilhelm 1970; Izre‹el 1985; Moran 1987: 24–27). The other tradition is widespread in all areas of Canaan and was strongly influenced by the current West Semitic language. The grammar of these documents was so deeply transformed by the local language and dialects

that the letters may be regarded as being "West Semitized" (Rainey 1975: 395). The Canaanite Amarna letters (with the exception of the letters from Jerusalem and Tyre: see Moran 1975a; Grave 1980: 216–18; 1982: 178–79) may be regarded as eastern in their vocabulary and as western in their grammar (Moran 1987: 27). It goes without saying that they constitute a very important source for the study of the dialects current in Canaan in the 14th century B.C. (Moran 1950; 1960; 1965; Rainey 1971; 1973; 1975; 1978; Izreʿel 1978).

**D. The International Correspondence**

The relations between Egypt and the other great powers of the ancient Near East occupy a central place in the correspondence. The latter powers were Babylon (EA 1–14), Assyria (EA 15–16), Mitanni (EA 17, 19–30), Arzawa (EA 31–32), Alashia (EA 33–40), and Hatti (EA 41–44). Their kings called each other by proper names (Alashia is an exception) and expressed their equal political status by the addressing formula (e.g., "Say to PN, king of GN … thus says $PN^2$, king of $GN^2$ …"), by the denomination "brother" (i.e., a king of equal rank), and by employing the same words for greeting. Moreover, only they were entitled to be called "great king," that is a king who was a suzerain of vassal states and was equal in his political status to the other great powers (Moran 1987: 62).

The "great kings" exchanged messengers who traveled between the capital cities and transmitted letters, verbal messages, and gifts from one court to another. These gifts had symbolic as well as economic value (Liverani 1972; Zaccagnini 1973). Bringing a gift was an inseparable element of the international correspondence; but gifts were also supposed to be of equal value and there are many complaints in the letters about the inferior quality and the poor value of received gifts. Egypt was the source of gold for all other countries and there are many requests in the letters for Egyptian gold (Edzard 1960). The correlation between good relations and expensive gifts is illustrated by the words of a Babylonian king who described a reaction to a previous rich shipment of gold by the words (EA 11 rev. 21–23): "The gold [is abundant. Among] the kings there are brotherhood, friendliness, peace and [good] relations. [He is] rich with precious stones, rich with silver, rich with [gold]."

Exchanging gifts was sometimes regarded as a kind of indirect commerce, but there were also direct commercial relations, both by land and at sea, between the great powers, and as a rule every king was responsible for the safety of the foreign merchants who stayed in the territories under his authority. Thus, when his merchants were robbed and murdered at Ḫannathon, the king of Babylon wrote to the king of Egypt (EA 8:25–33): "Canaan is your land and its kings are your servants. It was in your land that I have been robbed. Investigate them and repay the money that they took. Execute the men who slew my servants and avenge their blood. But if you do not slay these men, they will do it again and attack either one of my caravans or even your messengers and relations will be cut off between us."

Diplomatic marriage between a "great king" and the daughter of another is well attested in the letters (Pintore 1978). It was always the Pharaoh, however, who married foreign princesses and brought them to his harem. Egyptian kings refused to marry their daughters to other kings and to send them abroad (EA 4:6–7): "From old, the daughter of an Egyptian king has not been given in marriage to anyone") (Pintore 1978: 78–79; Schulman 1979). Thus, Amenhotep III, who enjoyed a long reign of 38 years, married two Babylonian princesses, two Mitannian princesses, and one from Arzawa (Schulman 1979: 183–84). Marriages between kings were negotiated by the two courts and the marriage gifts were an important (though delicate) element within the negotiation. Indeed, the richest lists of gifts known from the Amarna archive were recorded on such occasions (EA 14, 22). The foreign princesses did not attain the position of "great wife of the king" (i.e., queen) in the Egyptian harem but remained wives of second rank (Schulman 1979: 183).

The Amarna archive is our earliest witness for the international character of the Late Bronze Age. These relations were first established in the 15th century and lasted (though with considerable changes) until the end of the 13th century, encompassing all major civilizations of western Asia. The great powers divided among themselves the entire civilized world, each dominating its vassals, and established a set of strict rules for international correspondence (Kestemont 1974).

Impressive as it is, one should not be dazzled by the polite tone and the external gestures that find expression in the international correspondence. Much more important than all these were the *realpolitik* and the actual struggle for power and for dominion, and indeed, these struggles dominated international relations in the late stages of the Amarna period.

Since the 15th century B.C., the kingdom of Mitanni had been a strong power whose vassal's border in Syria reached the northern boundary of the land of Canaan. In the course of the Amarna period, Šuppiluliumas, the Hittite king, conducted several campaigns against Mitanni and conquered the former Mitannian vassal kingdoms in northern Syria, thus reviving the Hittite's old claims over these areas. Aššur-uballiṭ, king of Assyria, took advantage of the situation and attacked the crumbling kingdom of Mitanni in order to expand the Assyrian territories. At the same time he tried to be recognized as a "great king" by the other western Asiatic great powers and to establish with them diplomatic relations (EA 15–16) (Artzi 1978).

The immediate result of the Hittite expansion to northern Syria was the deterioration of Hittite-Egyptian relations. Both kingdoms claimed domination over Amurru and Kadesh (Qidshu) and the armed struggle between the two powers is mentioned in the latest letters of the archive and would last for several decades (Kitchen 1962; Helck 1971: 168–214; Krauss 1978; Murnane 1985).

**E. The Vassal Letters**

The majority of the letters in the archive were sent by the vassals in Canaan and in northern Syria. The latter's tablets were probably sent at a relatively late stage when Mitanni, their overlord, was defeated by the Hittites and they addressed Egypt for help (Redford 1967: 216–25; Na›aman 1975: 15–17, 210–14, 229–30). There are also seven letters (EA 99, 162–63, 190, 367, 369–70) that were addressed by the Pharaoh to his vassals in Canaan (see above). One may easily compare the ways in which one side addressed the other.

The humiliated tone of the vassal letters as against the commanding words of the letters of the pharaohs is the most conspicuous formal trait of the correspondence. In spite of regional variations, the vassal letters closely resemble each other in their words. "Speak to the king, my lord …; thus says PN, your servant …" is typical of the addresses to letters in which the lord-vassal relations are deliberately emphasized. The Pharaoh is only called by the title "king" (with the exception of the two northern letters from Qatna, EA 53:1 and 55:1). Greeting formulas are quite rare, the main exception being the letters of Byblos (e.g., "Rib-Addi speaks to his lord, king of all countries, the great king, king of the battle. May the Lady of Byblos give strength to the king, my lord."). In place of greetings in the introductions to most of the letters one finds expressions of humiliation emphasizing the inferior status of the vassal as against his lord. To illustrate the introduction of a vassal letter we shall translate a typical south Canaanite letter (EA 328:1–16):

> To the king, my lord, my god, my Sun, the Sun from heaven; thus says Yabni-ilu, the ruler of Lachish, your servant, the dust under your feet, the groom of your horses. At the feet of the king, my lord, my god, my Sun, the Sun from heaven, I have fallen seven and seven times, on the belly and on the back.

The king, on the other hand, addressed his vassals by short words: "To PN, ruler of GN, speak! Thus [says] the king." There is no greeting and the tenor of the letters is a combination of commands and threats.

However, the commanding tone of the royal letters and the humiliated expressions of the vassals should not obscure the historical reality. When examining the letters, it becomes clear that the vassals enjoyed much more freedom than one may deduce from the formal analysis of the letters and often they operated on their own behalf, contrary to the obvious Egyptian interests in the land of Canaan.

The major events occurring within the land of Canaan during the Amarna period were the foundation of the strong kingdom of Amurru in the north and the expansion of Lab›ayu of Shechem and his sons in central Palestine. The first episode is directly linked with the armed struggle between Mitanni and Hatti over the domination of Syria. The rulers of Amurru took advantage of the situation and greatly expanded their territory along the coast and the middle Orontes Valley. During the last stages of the archive, ‹Aziru of Amurru was still an Egyptian vassal, but soon afterward he had signed a vassal treaty with the Hittites,

thus transgressing his oath to the Pharaoh and joining his enemies (Klengel 1969: 178–208, 245–99; Altman 1973).

The offensive of Lab›ayu of Shechem and his sons was motivated by the desire to expand their territory and become the strongest and most influential power in the country and by their hatred of the newly established Egyptian centers of government, in particular that of Beth-shean (Campbell 1965; Na›aman 1975: 27–46; Spalinger 1983: 96). They formed a powerful coalition that included Gezer in the south and Gath-Carmel in the north. A countercoalition, headed by the kings of Megiddo and Acco and supported by the Egyptian authorities, was formed in reaction and succeeded in bringing the Shechemite offensive to an end.

When examining the Amarna letters it is clear that the ambitions of local rulers, the power of the nonurban elements in local affairs, and the readiness of Egypt to interfere and operate in local disputes were the principal factors that influenced internal affairs in Canaan. Egypt was strong enough to quell all rebellions and to bring to an end all inner struggles, save possibly for the northern-most area, where its vassals bordered on another imperial power.

The Amarna archive is our main (and sometimes only) source for the study of many aspects of Canaan in the Late Bronze Age prior to the Israelite settlement in the land. Some of these aspects will be examined in the following paragraphs (Helck 1971: 246–55, 474–91; *CAH*$^3$ 2/2: 98–116; Frandsen 1979; Na›aman 1982: 195–241; Groll 1983).

**F. Egyptian Government in Canaan**

Soon after the conquest of Canaan by Thutmose III (1482 or 1457), the Egyptians tried to organize it as a province. The main source of information for the measures undertaken at that time are the Amarna tablets, written ca. 100 years after the foundation of the Egyptian province in Asia.

The Egyptians left the array of Canaanite kingdoms which they conquered and established a network of six garrison cities to administer and rule the land. Four were situated along the coast: Gaza and Joppa in the south and Ullasa and Ṣumur in the north. Two other centers of government were established on the main crossroads: Beth-shean in northern Palestine and Kumidi in the south of the Beqa‹ Valley of Lebanon (Helck 1971: 251–52; Na›aman 1981a: 177–78). The garrison cities also controlled considerable surrounding farmlands. For example, the fields west of the city of Beth-shean were annexed by Thutmose III and administered by the Egyptians (Na›aman 1981b). The cities themselves served as centers for the Egyptian personnel in Canaan and for the garrison troops stationed in the land. They were also the gathering places for the tributes and gifts of the vassals. The latter were required to guard the cities and the special installations therein and to cultivate and harvest their territories.

The number of Egyptian troops stationed in Canaan was relatively small. They included only the garrison troops (*ṣābē maṣṣarti*) installed either in the garrison cities or in certain strategic or vulnerable city-states (e.g., Jerusalem, Megiddo, Acco, Byblos). These troops are mentioned many times in the vassal letters; their number vary from less than fifty soldiers to three hundred (Pintore 1972; 101–6). The regular troops (*ṣābē piṭāti,* "archers") were stationed in Egypt and embarked on campaigns when the situation demanded their presence. On such occasions they were accompanied by chariot troops and usually returned to Egypt after completing their mission (Pintore 1972; 1973).

The territory in Asia under Egyptian rule was apparently divided into subunits; their number, however, is debated among scholars. According to the common view, it was separated into three districts: Palestine with its seat at Gaza, the coast of Lebanon with its center at Sumur, and south Syria with its seat at Kumidi (Helck 1971: 248–52; *LBHG*, 146–53; De Vaux 1968: 25–28). According to another view, it was divided into two subunits: Palestine plus the Phoenician coast and south Syria (including the Bashan and the kingdom of Hazor). This twofold division was the outcome of the historical situation of the Middle Bronze Age ((Na›aman 1975: 166–72, 227; 1981a: 183–84). The assumption that the garrison city of Beth-shean was the seat of another (fourth) district (Hachmann 1982a: 44–47) is not very likely.

At the head of the Egyptian hierarchy in Canaan were the governors, possibly one in each province. Their Egyptian title was "messenger of the king to every foreign land" (Edel 1953: 55–63; Singer 1983: 18–21). Other officials were of various Egyptian ranks and titles, but the Canaanite scribes usually

employed one and the same title, *rābiṣu* ("commissary"), to denote all ranks and titles of Egyptian functionaries serving in Canaan. It is impossible therefore to be precise concerning the Egyptian titles (unless they can be identified with well-known Egyptian officials) and exact analysis of the Amarna correspondence might only reveal the relative status of the various functionaries mentioned therein. The situation is even more complicated since some of the officials arrived on special missions from Egypt and were not part of the bureaucratic apparatus in the land.

A set of prohibitions was imposed upon the vassals and the Egyptian officers were responsible for their fulfillment. Examination of the letters reveals that the Egyptian apparatus was often rather flexible in what was permissible or prohibited to the vassal, not to mention those cases in which two Egyptian commissioners supported different sides of a conflict.

The vassals were obliged to pay tribute and send gifts, though only a small part of these were recorded in the letters. They served in the Egyptian garrison cities, cultivated their territories, and secured the caravan routes traversing their kingdoms. They provided armed forces for Egyptian campaigns and served as a supply network for armies that moved in Canaan and along the coast. It is evident that the Canaanite city-states were an important support for the Egyptian government abroad, enabling her to control, with the help of only a few officials and a relatively small number of troops, its Asiatic province. The various military, strategic, and economic advantages that Egypt gained in the Amarna period from the occupation of Canaan was bought for a relatively low price (see Na›aman 1981a). It was only at a later time that conditions changed, obliging Egypt to alter its policy and to intensify its involvement in the land (Weinstein 1981: 17–23; Na›aman 1982: 241–51; Singer 1988).

**G. The Network of Canaanite City-States**

The land of Canaan was divided into a network of kingdoms of various sizes and strengths. Since only the rulers of these political units were allowed to correspond with the Pharaoh, the Amarna letters are our main source for composing the list of city-states. The gaps of information may be filled by the Egyptian topographical lists and particularly by the Egyptian royal inscriptions. The relative strength of the kingdoms may be deduced from analysis of these sources.

The three most important kingdoms in Palestine in the 14th century B.C. were Gezer in the northern Shephelah, Shechem in the central hill country, and Hazor in the north. Other important city-states in the south were Ashkelon, Lachish, and Gath (?) (Tell es-Ṣāfi); Jerusalem (and Debir, according to archaeological excavations) dominated the southern part of the hill country, Gath-padalla was the strongest kingdom in the Sharon region, while Rehob, Megiddo, Shim‹on, Acco, and Akhshaph were the most important kingdoms in the northern plains. Shechem and Hazor may be regarded as the only territorial kingdoms, the others may be characterized as city-states (Na›aman 1988).

The coast of Lebanon was divided among several kingdoms of equal strength (Tyre, Sidon, Byblos), and Amurru in the north emerged as an important territorial kingdom in the course of the Amarna period (see above). Damascus was the most influential kingdom in south Syria; its ruler enjoyed an outstanding high status and prestige and functioned as the main supporter of the Egyptian governor of Kumidi (Hachmann 1970; 1982b). Many other kingdoms were located in the area of the Beqa‹ of Lebanon (e.g., Ḫashabu, Tushulti, Ḫasi, Ṭubiḫu, Enishazi), in the Bashan (Ashtaroth, Buṣruna, Ḫalunnu) and east of Mount Lebanon (Ruḫizzi, Lapana). Their relative strength in the Amarna period cannot be established, owing to the paucity of documentary evidence (Klengel 1970: 4–29, 56–70, 96–112; Hachmann 1970: 84–88; Ahituv 1984).

North of the land of Canaan was the strong kingdom of Kadesh (Qidshu), which dominated the land of Takhshi. It was a vassal of Mitanni, but when that kingdom fell, it tried to expand its territory and conquer parts of the land of ‹Amqi (the Beqa‹ of Lebanon), thus attacking the vassals of Egypt situated there (EA 140, 170, 174–76, 363) (Klengel 1969: 139–71; Krauss 1978: 63–70).

The network of Canaanite units was composed of kingdoms of higher and lesser rank. The chain of events was determined primarily by the former while the latter cooperated with them, either willingly or not. The strong kingdoms were able to dictate the policy of the lesser kingdoms and even to intervene in their inner affairs.

At the head of each kingdom stood the local ruler. In his relations with the Pharaoh he was regarded as a city ruler (*ḫazannu*), like any other Egyptian mayor (*ḥ›ty-‹*). The title was intended to emphasize the fact that he occupied his position with the approval of the Egyptian overlord. However, only in exceptional cases did the Pharaoh actually intervene in matters of succession, enforcing his own candidate (always of the local dynasty) as city ruler. In internal relations within Canaan and in contacts with his subjects, the local ruler was considered a king who ascended the throne through the dynastic principle and, in turn, left his throne to his heir after him (see EA 8:25, 30:1, 70:20, 88:46, 92:32–34, 109:46, 139:14–15, 140:10–12, 147:67, 148:40–41, 197:14–15, 41–42, 227:3, 256:7–8, 306:24).

Not enough details of the internal structure of the kingdoms are reported in the letters since they mainly reflect foreign affairs, that is, relations with Egypt and with neighboring kingdoms. We do know that the capital city was the focus of each unit, and usually it was either its sole or its principal urban center. The king's palace was the center of government for the kingdom and the bureaucratic apparatus operated either in the palace or in its vicinity. Around the capital city were tracts of agricultural fields cultivated by its inhabitants and in the peripheral areas were numerous villages and hamlets with their own fields and pasture land.

The actual power of the king in his city and territory varied from place to place and from period to period. It was dependent upon external factors and upon the power of the civil instititions. Several episodes are described in the letters in which a king was deposed and removed from his town (i.e., Rib-Addi of Byblos and Yashdata of Taanach) or even killed (Aduna of Irqata, Zimredda of Lachish, and the rulers of Ammiya and Ardata). The power in certain cases (i.e., Byblos, Taanach, Irqata, Ammiya, and also Tunip) was in the hands of the citizenry, although such an oligarchical rule in a city-state was only temporary and apparently did not last long. The only exception is that of Arwada, a small island near the coast of Lebanon, in which the power was (as far as we know) permanently in the hands of the council of elders.

**H. The Nonurban Elements (‹Apiru and Sutu)**

During the 16th century B.C. the urban culture of Canaan suffered a heavy blow. Many fortified cities were destroyed and some were deserted for a long period of time. It has been estimated that the total occupied area in Palestine decreased in the Late Bronze Age I to a third of that of the Middle Bronze Age II and that the number of settlements was only ca. 30–40 percent (Gonen 1981: 63–69) of what it had been. The destruction was particularly severe in the hill country, the lower Jordan Valley, and the Negeb. The decline of urban life brought about an immediate increase of the pastoral and brigand elements and resulted in the growing insecurity of the land.

It is against this background that the frequent mention of the ‹Apiru (and the Sutu as well) in the Amarna letters should be evaluated. In the ancient Near Eastern documentation, ‹Apiru is a designation for people who were uprooted from their original political and social frameworks and forced to adapt to a new environment and way of life. The ‹Apiru are known from many western Asiatic societies in the 2d millennium B.C. Their different traits and social behavior in each area were the outcome of this adaptation to new circumstances. The Amarna tablets are the largest single group of documents in which the term ‹Apiru is mentioned. According to the letters, they were scattered all over Canaan and had an important effect on events which took place in the land (Bottéro 1954; Greenberg 1955; Loretz 1984).

However, the Amarna letters show a unique development in the meaning of the appellation ‹Apiru. On many occasions, the term became a derogatory designation for rebels against Egyptian authority (Mendenhall 1973; Na›aman 1986a: 275–78). In the letters of Byblos, for example, the term ‹Apiru was frequently applied to ‹Abdi-Ashirta of Amurru and his son ‹Aziru. Also the expression "to become ‹Apiru", which is repeated in many letters from all areas of Canaan, implies desertion from the Pharaoh and his supporters, the city-states' rulers, and defection to the side of his opponents, who were thus regarded as outlaws (Liverani 1979). The extension of the term ‹Apiru in order to denigrate these elements that opposed the authors of the letters is the result of the political nature of the Amarna correspondence, in which every ruler tried to justify his deeds before the Pharaoh and to slander his

opponents. This must be taken into consideration when trying to determine the role of the authentic bands, brigands, and mercenaries in the Amarna period.

Even after the elimination of those letters which, directly or indirectly, refer in general terms to city-states' rulers and their supporters, it is evident that the nonurban elements played an important role in Canaan in the 14th century B.C. They appear in letters either as bands or as individuals who were recruited and served as mercenaries in the army. As bands, they operated on their own behalf or took advantage of the conflicts between rulers and cooperated with one side or another (e.g., the conflicts between Amurru and Byblos or between Shechem and its neighbors). Alongside the ʿApiru appear also the Sutu (EA 195:24–29; 246 r. 6–7; 318:10–14), which was the Akkadian appellation for the pastoral nomadic elements.

As an illustration of the historical role of the ʿApiru one may present a group of letters from south Canaan, in all of which city-states' rulers bitterly complained of distress and serious difficulties in their kingdoms, and indeed, soon afterward they all disappeared from the historical arena and were replaced by others (Naʾaman 1975: 145–53; 1979: 676–82). The reason for the short period of unrest and rebellion, of which the ʿApiru are accused, was probably the temporary strengthening of the nonurban elements in these areas. In another case, a band of ʿApiru stayed in the city of Tushulti under the patronage of its ruler, raided the neighboring cities, and set them on fire, until they were attacked by Tushulti's neighboring rulers and forced to leave their shelter in the city (EA 185–86).

The existence of large groups of nomads and refugees may well explain the power of kingdoms situated in the hill country (e.g., Shechem, Hazor, and Amurru). Located near the nomadic enclaves, they were able either to hire soldiers from their members or to cooperate with their leaders (e.g., EA 71:20–22; 87:21–24; 148:41–43; 195:24–32; 246:5–10; 254:31–37).

**I. The Amarna Letters and the Bible**

Numerous details that appear in biblical descriptions of pre-Israelite Canaan fit nicely into the picture constructed from the Amarna tablets. These are the division of the land into many entities, each ruled by a king; the description of certain entities as being composed of a major city and its surrounding villages (compare EA 74:19–24; 228:13–17, 238:4–8 to Josh 15:45–47; 17:11, 16: Judg 1:27); the coalition of kingdoms as a means to gain power (compare EA 366 to Joshua 10–11); and the chariots (though anachronistically described as built of iron) as the main basis of Canaanite military power.

However, other details do not fit nicely into the picture described by the Amarna letters. Many sites that appear as Canaanite in biblical descriptions are not mentioned in the Amarna archive and, according to archaeological excavations, were either small villages or entirely uninhabited in the Late Bronze Age (e.g., Jericho, Ai, Jarmuth, Hebron, Beer-sheba, Arad). Most prominent is the city of Hebron, which, according to biblical tradition, was an important center in the time of the Patriarchs and in the conquest period, whereas the city is not mentioned in any source of the Late Bronze Age and the site of ancient Hebron (Tell er-Rumeideh) was uninhabited in this period. Also, the king of Jerusalem appears at the head of a coalition of kingdoms located in the hill country and the Shephelah (Joshua 10). The territory and the political standing of the king of Jerusalem, according to the Amarna tablets, seem to have been relatively modest and one would hardly assume that its king was able to head a coalition in which remote cities like Lachish and Eglon took part (Naʾaman 1975: 104–15; 1986b: 470–72).

There is no indication in the Amarna tablets of a diversity of ethnic groups in the land of Canaan; the inhabitants of the land were all considered to be Canaanites (De Vaux 1968). The biblical tradition, however, mentions groups of variegated ethnic origin in different parts of the land (e.g., Philistines, Hivvites, Hittites, Jebusites, Girgashites, Perizzites), which hardly fits the perceived reality of the Amarna period. It rather reflects the Iron Age, when biblical descriptions of the land and its inhabitants were first recorded (Mendenhall 1973: 142–63; Mazar 1981).

The description of the city of Shechem in the days of Abimelech (Judges 9) is closely related to that of the Canaanite cities in the Amarna tablets. The institution of the lords (*baʿalê*) of Shechem is the same as the *bēlē āli* of the Amarna letters (EA 102:22; 138:49). The role of Zebul as a magistrate (*śar hāʿiyr*) who administered the city for the ruler (Abimelech) is parallel to that of the *ḫazannu* ("mayor") in ancient Near

Eastern societies. However, the general situation drastically changed: Shechem was subjugated by the tribe of Manasseh and the tribal leader, Abimelech, resided within his clan and had nominated a mayor as his representative in the city. The city council tried to regain power by hiring a band of ʿApiru under the leadership of Gaal, just as Canaanite rulers in the Amarna period would do to attain the same goal, or as the lords (*baʿalê*) of Keilah did when they hired David and his band to protect the city against the Philistine raids (1 Sam 21:1–13). Abimelech's immediate attack on the city of Shechem and the expulsion of the band of Gaal (Judg 9:34–41) finds an exact parallel in the above cited case of the ruler of Tushulti, who, under pressure by his neighboring rulers, was forced to drive the band of ʿApiru out of his city (EA 185–86).

The description of "the justice (*mišpāṭ*) of the king" in 1 Sam 8:10–18 has sometimes been compared with Canaanite and north Syrian societies of the Late Bronze Age (Mendelsohn 1956). However, the distorted outlines of the institution of kingship in Samuel's antimonarchical polemical speech hardly fit any ancient Near Eastern kingship either in the 2d or the 1st millennium B.C. Isolated kings may well have treated their subjects in such an arbitrary and vicious manner, but despotism of the kind portrayed in the speech was not typical of well-established kingdoms, including the Canaanite city-states of the 2d millennium B.C. It has been alternatively suggested that the "king's justice" was originally a disguised polemical composition written against the despotic institution of kingship established in Israel by King Solomon (Crüsemann 1978: 66–73), but the discourse was probably composed at a much later time, either in the 7th or the 6th century, when the failure of the Israelite kingdom to provide security for its subjects became historical reality.

Overall, the image of Canaanite civilization as reflected in the Bible is far from accurate. Only certain outlines are precise, whereas other details reflect the reality of the time in which they were written, that is, the 1st millennium B.C. The history of the land of Canaan and its civilization must be studied from external sources and particularly from the Amarna letters. The authenticity of biblical data should always be examined against this background.

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NADAV NA‹AMAN

**AMARNA, TELL EL-** (27°38′ N; 30°52′ E). The site of the premier city and residence of the Egyptian Pharaoh Amenophis (Amenhotep) IV (alias Akhenaten ca. 1377–1360 B.C.); located on the east bank of the Nile in the 15th nome (township) of Upper Egypt, ca. 180 miles S of modern Cairo. The Pharaoh named his new city Akhetaten (Eg *€ ḫt-itn* "the horizon of the Sun-disc").

Although the area had been frequented in earlier periods by mining expeditions to neighboring Hatnub, the decision to found a city must have been taken no later than Akhenaten's 4th year. By year 6, the king's family was in residence, and the greater city and environs (on both banks) delimited by a series of boundary stelae.

Chosen perhaps because the eastern cliffs resembled the hieroglyphic sign *€ ḫt* "horizon," the city became the center of worship of the king's sole god, the Sun-disc. Two major temples to the god occupied

its central area, the "Mansion of the Sun-disc" (Eg *ḥwt-itn*), and the *Gm-ʿitn* ("The Sun-disc is found") with ancilliary shrines in the N and S suburbs.

The settlement constituted a "planned" city, arranged along a broad N–S avenue, connecting the king's residence on the N with the central city and the "Viewing Place of the Disc" on the N. The city housed a formal palace, administrative blocks and granaries, residences for the immediate members of the royal family, and well-planned villas for the state officers and courtiers. The necropolis on the E was divided into a N and S cemetery, flanking the E wadi wherein the royal tomb was located.

In the 3d year of Tutankhamen (ca. 357 B.C.), after approximately 16 years of residence, the royal family left the city for Memphis, and the court and general populace soon thereafter moved out. Under Horemheb (ca. 1347–1318 B.C.) the temples and public buildings were systematically demolished, and the masonry shipped to other sites (especially Hermopolis) for reuse. There is some evidence of very limited building activity under the Ramessides.

The site is also famous for the discovery in 1888–89 of the cache of tablets known as the "Tell el-Amarna Letters"—the "dead files" of international state correspondence from the reigns of Amenophis III, Akhenaten, and Tutankhamen. See also AMARNA LETTERS; AKHENATEN.

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DONALD B. REDFORD

**AMASA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿămāśā* (עֲמָשָׂא)]. **1.** Kinsman of David (2 Sam 19:14—Eng19:13) whom Absalom appointed to replace Joab as commander of the army during his rebellion against David (2 Sam 17:25), a post Amasa retained after David's return to power, only to be murdered by Joab in the early stages of the suppression of Sheba's rebellion. According to 2 Sam 17:25, his father was Ithra, the Israelite, (according to 1 Chr 2:17, Jether the Ishmaelite) and his mother Abigail the daughter of Nahash. However, this latter name may be a textual corruption from 2 Sam 17:27, because Abigail is also identified as the sister of Joab's mother Zeruiah. According to 1 Chr 1:16–17, both these women were sisters of David and presumably daughters of Jesse. It has been alternately suggested that Abigail was David's half-sister and not Jesse's daughter. The wording of 2 Sam 17:25 suggests that there was something unusual or irregular about Abigail's marital relationship with Ithra.

Although it remains a matter of dispute whether the tribe of Judah joined the northern tribes in rebellion against David or remained neutral, Amasa's support of Absalom indicates that high-ranking Judahites were active in opposing David. Although the professional troops of David commanded by Joab defeated the national militia led by Amasa, David's position was still tenuous enough to require special overtures to Judah for a quick return to the throne. The appointment of Amasa was one factor in David's successful appeal to his fellow Judahites (2 Sam 19:12–15—Eng19:11–14). David's tilt to Judah seems to have precipitated Sheba's subsequent rebellion.

Amasa failed to carry out David's orders to muster the militia of Judah in three days to meet the Sheba crisis (2 Sam 20:4–5). Perhaps he simply did not have enough time, or perhaps he felt it would be personally inexpedient to attack Israel with the militia of Judah. David's professional troops set out alone, among them Joab (vv 6–7). Amasa encountered them at Gibeon and was treacherously stabbed by Joab, who immediately took back effective control of the army (vv 8–11). The details of this murder are obscure but imply premeditation and trickery. The sight of Amasa's body was not permitted to hinder the army's progress (vv 12–13). Amasa's murder would later help justify the liquidation of Joab upon Solomon's accession (1 Kgs 2:5, 32). From a literary standpoint, the biblical author seems to treat David's

offer to Amasa as one of several errors in personal and political judgment (for other examples, see 2 Sam 13:21; 18:5; 19:2–4—Eng19:1–3; 19:42–44—Eng 41–43; 1 Kgs 1:6).

Amasa has sometimes been identified with Amasai (Heb *ʿămāśay*), the chief of the "Thirty" (1 Chr 12:19—Eng12:18), who pledged loyalty and peace to David when Saul was hunting for him (See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS). There is no solid evidence either for or against this proposal.

**2.** Son of Hadlai, one of four chiefs of Emphraim who supported the prophet Oded in opposing a proposal to take captives from Judah into Samaria, cared for them instead, and returned them south (2 Chr 28:12–15). Luke's parable of the Good Samaritan reflects this narrative (compare v 15 with Luke 10:34).

RICHARD D. NELSON

**AMASAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿămāśay* (עֲמָשַׂי)]. A name found throughout Chronicles in the Hebrew Bible.

**1.** A Levite from the clan of Kohath, a descendant of Elkanah and relative of Ahimoth (1 Chr 6:10—Eng6:25). He is also mentioned as the father of Mahath and as a Levitical musician in the genealogy of Heman (1 Chr 6:20—Eng6:35). Both contexts appear concerned to trace the lineage of Samuel the prophet, to whom the Chronicler assigns Levitical ancestry (1 Chr 6:13, 18—Eng6:28, 33; cf. 1 Sam 1:1); this reflects the Chronicler's pervasive interest in the prophetic function of the Levitical musicians (1 Chr 25:1–8; 2 Chr 20:14; 29:25; 34:30; 35:15). Since Mahath is mentioned in 1 Chr 6:20—Eng6:35; (cf. 2 Chr 29:12), some correct Ahimoth to *ʾăḥîw maḥat,* "his brother Mahath" (cf. *BHS*).

**2.** One of the priests appointed by David to blow the trumpets before the ark during its transfer from the house of Obed-edom to Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:24).

**3.** The father of Mahath, a Kohathite at the time of Hezekiah (2 Chr 29:12). Since #1 and #3 both involve an Amasai, father of Mahath, some have equated these figures, though they were presumably separated by centuries. More probably the recurrence of the names reflects the practice of papponymy (naming sons for grandfathers) or some other naming convention.

**4.** Chief of the "Thirty," a group of David's military elite (1 Chr 12:19—Eng12:18). The only other person known to have held this title, according to the MT, was Jashobeam (1 Chr 11:11, though he is chief of the "Three" in some LXX mss). This Amasai is occasionally equated with either (1) Abishai the brother of Joab, chief of the "Three" (2 Sam 23:18, MT; but "Thirty" in two Hebrew mss and Syr), or (2) Amasa, another prominent military figure (2 Sam 17:25; 20:4–13). Assessing this Amasai is complicated by debate regarding the identification of the "Three" and the "Thirty" (see DAVID'S CHAMPIONS). The Chronicler in this context is concerned to show growing support for David among those formerly loyal to Saul (1 Chr 12:1–8, 17—Eng12:1–7, 16).

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RAYMOND B. DILLARD

**AMASHSAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿămašsa (y)* (עֲמַשְׁסַי)]. Var. MAASAI. A Levitical priest, the son of Azarel and grandson of Ahzai (Neh 11:13). His name calls to mind one of the important priestly families listed as resident and active in Jerusalem at the time of Nehemiah, ca. 444 B.C. In the parallel verse in 1 Chr 9:12 his name occurs as Maasai [Heb *maʿśa (y)* or *maʿăśa (y)*] ben Adiel ben Jahzerah. The textual apparatus of *BHS* itself posits his name as more originally either AMASAI [Heb *ʿămāśa (y)*] or Amasai [Heb *ʿămāsa (y)*]. Such a name is common elsewhere in Chronicles: 1 Chr 6:10—Eng6:25; 6:20—Eng6:35; 12:19—Eng12:18; 15:24; 2 Chr 29:12. Both 1 Chronicles and Nehemiah trace his lineage back to Immer, a Levitical priest descended from Aaron through his son Eleazar (1 Chr 24:14). Amashsai and his brethren are said to have numbered 128 men.

ROGER W. UITTI

**AMASIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿămasyâ* (עֲמַסְיָה)]. Amasiah (meaning "Yahweh carried or supported"), son of Zichri, was from the tribe of Judah and a lieutenant of Adnah, commander of Jehoshaphat's standing army (2 Chr 17:16). He stands out in this list of military commanders for his piety and altruistic motives for service. His volunteering for Yahweh's service is perhaps in contrast to the other commanders who possibly, along with the rest of the army, were conscripts (*AncIsr* 1: 231). He is said to have commanded 200,000 men. Meyers (*2 Chronicles* AB, 78, 98) suggested that these numbers are best explained by translating the Heb *ʾelep* as " (military) unit" of unknown strength rather than "thousand." Amasiah would have then commanded 200 "units."

KIRK E. LOWERY

**AMAW** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿammô* (עַמּוֹ)]. According to the RSV, the land "near the River" in which was located Pethor, the city from which Balaam traveled to curse the Israelites (Num 22:5). The KJV and the AV follow the MT and LXX, which read "the land of the sons of his people (*ʿammo*)" while the Syriac, Vulgate, and Samaritan versions have "the land of the Ammonites (*bene-ʿammon*)." Gray (*Numbers,* ICC, 325) suggested that MT lost the final nun and thus changed Ammon to *ʿammo.* "The River" has been taken to mean the Euphrates River. Pethor has been identified with Pitru, near Carchemish, 400 miles and 20 days' journey by camel to the N of Moab and hence a minimum of 80 days for the two round trips described in 22:7–36. Ammon, on the other hand, is easily a donkey's journey from Moab. While the Ammonites did not live by the Jordan River, it is not impossible that here "the River" is the Jordan.

Excavations in 1967 at Tell Deir ʿAlla (biblical Succoth?) in the Jordan Valley discovered a series of texts written in ink on plaster. They record the vision and interpretation of Balaam the son of Beor. While the texts date from centuries later, their contents could be from an earlier time, but in any case they reveal a Jordan Valley tradition about a diviner named Balaam. The story recorded in Numbers 22–24 may refer to the same prophet or a different one. But the Deir ʿAlla texts strengthen the translation which has Balaam coming from the Ammonite area.

Amaw, however, still has support. Deut 23:4 records Balaam as coming from Pethor in Mesopotamia. Albright (1950: 15–16 n. 13; 20) translated ʿAmau on a statue of King Idrimi excavated in 1939 by Sir Leonard Woolley at Atchana, ancient Alalakh, in Syria, near Antioch on the Orontes. The statue is dated ca. 1450 B.C. by Albright and 1375 B.C. by Woolley and Sidney Smith. The translation in *ANET* spells it Amaʾe (p. 557). Idrimi lived in the city of Emar and later ruled Halab (Aleppo), Mukishkhi, Niʾ, and Amaʾe (or Amaw). Pitru in Amaw was actually not on the Euphrates itself but on the Sajur River, a few miles from its juncture with the Euphrates. The Sajur is a tributary from the W. It is a sizable stream whose lower stretch flows between two ranges of low chalk hills. Amaw or Amau is in the valley of the Sajur, between Aleppo and the Euphrates. Pethor or Pitru is mentioned by Shalmaneser III (860–825 B.C.). Pethor as *Pe-d-rui* appears in the lists of Thutmose III (1504–1450 B.C.) who conquered Amaw. The country is also mentioned in the tomb of Qen-Amun, an Egyptian officer of Amenhotep II (1450–1425 B.C.), the son of Thutmose III. Egyptian *ʿmw* means Asiatic or Syrian. This may influence the interpretation of these Egyptian references. Similarly, some find a reference to Amaw in Exod 15:14 where RSV has "the peoples" in parallel with Philistia, Edom, Moab, and Canaan; i.e., Amaw may be listed here as another land like these others.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**AMAZIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾămaṣyāhû* (אֲמַצְיָהוּ)]. The name held by four persons in the Hebrew Bible. The name means "Yahu is strong" (*TPNAH* 75: 163).

**1.** The 9th ruler of the southern kingdom of Judah (ca. 800–783 B.C.), the son of Joash, king of Judah (ca. 837–800 B.C.).

The accounts of Amaziah's reign in Kings and Chronicles (2 Kings 14=2 Chronicles 25) are in substantial agreement, with the exception of material in Chronicles which explains Amaziah's disastrous motivation for his war with Israel and his subsequent fall (see 2 Chr 25:5–10). Scholars are in disagreement concerning the historical reliability of this material, which is unique to Chronicles.

2 Kings 14 gives Amaziah's age as twenty-five when he was made king following the assassination of his father. The length of his reign is given as 29 years with the additional synchronism in 2 Kgs 14:17 that he lived fifteen years beyond the death of Jehoahaz, king of Israel, i.e. to ca. 769 B.C. The unusual length of the reign of his son and successor Azariah (Uzziah), 52 years, has led to the suggestion that he had his son rule with him as coregent, a practice known also in Israel (Gray *Kings* OTL, 65–68; Barnes, fc., 197 n. l, m).

His father, Joash, was murdered by two of his retainers (2 Kgs 12:20–21). As soon as Amaziah's rule was secure, he had these men, who were still in royal service, executed (2 Kgs 14:5=2 Chr 25:3–4). The sources do not explain what Amaziah had to do in order to consolidate his power.

The first major recorded event of his reign which our sources report is his war against Edom. He is said to have slain 10,000 in the otherwise unknown Valley of Salt (Heb *gayĕʾ hamelaḥ*), the location of which is uncertain. The Arabah just S of the Dead Sea has been proposed (*LBHG*, 313), as has the *Wadi Milh* E of Beer-sheba (Gray *Kings* OTL, 605).

Amaziah then took Sela and renamed it Joktheel. The identification of Sela with the later site of Petra was first given in LXX and later accepted by Eusebius (*Onomast.* 36.13; 142.7; 144.7). This identification has been accepted by many scholars (Avi-Yonah *EAEHL*, 943) although contested by Haram (1968: 201–12). Aharoni has proposed *es-Sela* (*LBHG*, 37).

In addition to the 10,000 slain in the Valley of Salt, 2 Chr 25:37 adds that Amaziah slew an additional 10,000 by throwing them from the cliffs above the valley. This detail is repeated by Josephus (*Ant* 9 §191).

Following his successful clash with Edom, nothing more is recorded of any Judean expansion to the S or E. The consolidation of Judean control of the S end of the King's Highway as far as Elath had to wait until the reign of Amaziah's son and successor Azariah (2 Kgs 14:22).

For reasons which are unclear, Amaziah challenged Jehoash, king of Israel, to battle. They met at Beth-shemesh in Judah, E of Jerusalem, where the Judean army was routed and Amaziah taken prisoner. He was taken to Jerusalem, where Jehoash broke down a portion of the N wall and plundered both the palace and the temple. Jehoash returned to the N, taking with him hostages to ensure Amaziah's good behavior.

While the origin of this dispute is not given in the account in 2 Kings 25, 2 Chronicles 14 adds that mercenaries from Israel hired by Amaziah for his war with Edom, but then released prior to the battle, vented their anger at being denied the chance for plunder by plundering some Judean villages on their way home. Amaziah, angered by this, then declared war on Israel. Another possibility is that the conflict began as a border dispute, or that it began over control of the W terminus of the trade routes leading to the Gulf of Aqaba. A combination of the latter two possibilities seems likely (Gray *Kings* OTL, 608).

Amaziah, like his father, fell victim to an assassination plot. Our sources record that, although he fled from Jerusalem to Lachish in order to escape, he was handed over to the conspirators and killed. His body was brought up to Jerusalem on a horse, an act of disrespect, where he was buried with his ancestors in the city of David.

**2.** The priest at the N, royal sanctuary of Bethel during the reign of Jeroboam II (ca. 786–746 B.C.). He attempted to expel the prophet Amos from the temple there, forbidding him to prophesy in the N kingdom and reporting his pessimistic oracles, which were weakening the land, to the king (Amos 7:10–17).

**3.** The son of Hilkiah and father of Hashabiah, a descendant of Merari son of Levi. 1 Chr 6:31–47 is a text which is concerned with presenting the legitimacy of the office and descent of the Levitical singers. The appointment of temple singers is here traced back to the reign of David after he brought the ark to Jerusalem.

**4.** Father of Joshah, and a descendant of Simeon mentioned in 1 Chr 4:34.

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RUSSELL FULLER

**AMEN** [Heb *ʾāmēn* (אָמֵן)]. Within the Hebrew Bible, "Amen" typically appears at the close of commands, blessings, curses, doxologies, and prayers. Fundamentally, it is used to confirm what has been said before, by way of response (Num 5:22; Deut 27:15–26; 1 Kgs 1:36; Jer 11:5; 28:6; 1 Chr 16:36; Neh 5:13; 8:6). That it acquired the status of a formal response at an early period is shown clearly by Jer 28:6, where the prophet appears to confirm that Hananiah has said, by a conventional usage of "Amen," and then proceeds to contradict it. The majority of usages already cited appear in public, often liturgical contexts, so that the responsive usage in Psalms comes as no surprise (Pss 41:13; 72:19; 89:52; 106:48). The last usage is—together with 1 Chr 16:36; Neh 5:13; 8:6—especially instructive, as "the people" are explicitly instructed to say "Amen" (and "Hallelujah," rendered "Praise the Lord" in the RSV). In function and formal usage, "Amen" serves to confirm what has gone before, usually—but not exclusively—in public, liturgical contexts of divine praise. The usage of 1 Kgs 1:36 (cf. also Isa 65:16) establishes the idiomatic, nonliturgical origins of the usage.

The translation of the word has proved problematic, although its function is straightforward. The verbal *ʾmn* is associated with several meanings in its various forms, from "support," "be faithful" (*Qal*) through "sure," "established" (*Nipʿal*), to "stand firm," "believe" (*Hipʿil*). A meaning such as "truly," "surely," or "so be it," seems clear, although none of those renderings entirely captures the nuance of the Hebrew. Within the manuscripts of the LXX, there is a notable variety of renderings of Heb *ʾāmēn.* Predominantly, "so be it" (*genoito*) is the preferred rendering (Num 5:22; Deut 27:15–26; Jer 11:5). But "truly" (*alēthôs*) is also possible (Jer 35:6 LXX), and there are several occasions (1 Chr 16:36; Neh 5:13; 8:6 [the latter two being 2 Esdr 15:13 and 8:6 in the LXX]) when Heb *ʾāmēn* is simply transliterated as *amēn.* 1 Esdr 9:47 and Tob 8:8 demonstrate that the transliteration had gained some currency in the Greek-speaking circles for which the Septuagint was intended; the latter passage also shows the propriety of "Amen" within private prayer. Just as the development of a generic affirmation into a public, often liturgical, response is attested in the Hebrew Bible, the LXX reveals a tendency for the word to be used in other religious contexts. Notably, there is even support among some manuscripts of the LXX to close books with a solemn "Amen" (Tobit, *3* and *4 Maccabees*).

Generally speaking, the use of "Amen" within the NT is predictable, once the evidence of the Hebrew Bible and the LXX is taken into account. Pauline habits in this regard are representative, as he uses "Amen" to round off blessings and doxologies (Rom 1:25; 9:5; 11:36; 15:33; Gal 1:5; Phil 4:20). He also uses it to confirm his own prayers by way of closing his letters, although some of the usages (in 1 and 2 Corinthians and Romans) are probably scribal additions. But in both the range of its usage and the variety of its manuscripts, the Pauline corpus stands within the precedents of the LXX, although Pauline usage is both more frequent and more consistent than is the LXX. Paul also gives some hint of the reason for this greater frequency and consistency when he refers to "Amen" as a liturgical response of the church in Corinth (1 Cor 14:16; cf. 2 Cor 1:20).

Pauline usage is also consistent with that of the deutero-Pauline corpus, as well as of the Pastorals (Eph 3:21; 1 Tim 1:17; 6:16; 2 Tim 4:18; Heb 13:21). The ubiquity of "Amen" was by no means limited to the Pauline circle, as much the same usage can be encountered in 1 Pet 4:11; 5:11; Jude 25, and such passages could be augmented by means of reference to variant readings. Revelation might particularly be noted, however, as evidencing a liturgical, responsorial usage in early Christian worship (1:6, 7; 5:14; 7:12;

19:4; 22:20); indeed, Jesus Christ can here be known as "the Amen," because his witness is sure (3:14). Such a development is innovative, but in line with the liturgical and christological tendency of the document.

Curiously, the only oddity of usage within the NT (as judged in comparison with the Hebrew Bible and the LXX) is attributed to Jesus himself. Instead of a responsive, liturgical usage, Jesus presents "Amen" as introductory and asseverative, in the form "Amen, I say to you …" (Matt 5:18 plus 73x in the gospels). The agreement among the gospels in respect of this diction becomes all the more striking when certain deviations in Luke and John are explained. Luke's relative infrequency is mitigated by his use of "truly" (*alēthôs*) and "in truth" (*ep› alētheias*) as a virtual equivalent of *›āmēn* (4:25; 9:27; 12:44; 21:3). The LXX is commonly appealed to by way of precedent for Luke's procedure, and "truly" clearly conveys the sense of "Amen," but the translation is syntactically sensitive. The introductory position of *›āmēn* makes the natural equivalent in Greek (*genoito*) impracticable, with the result that Lukan style is at this point scarcely Septuagintal. The Johannine doubling *Amēn amēn* (John 1:51, etc.) is normally said to be liturgical, and in this instance the usage of the Hebrew Bible and the LXX does appear to be antecedent.

The mystery remains: why should an unusual, introductory, and asseverative usage be ascribed to Jesus, when the normal usage of "Amen," even within the NT, is responsive? A straightforward answer to that question was provided by Joachim Jeremias, who argued that Jesus himself employed well-known language in a radically fresh way, in order to assert in advance the authority of his pronouncements. As is frequently the case in his work, Jeremias proceeds by comparing dominical diction with rabbinic conventions (Jeremias 1971: 35–36) and concludes that deviations of the former from the latter are hallmarks of Jesus' own message.

Such an approach remains widely represented and particularly serves the interests of those who argue that Christianity in some sense transcends Judaism. In this particular case, Jeremias' argument has encountered two obstacles. First, it has been suggested that there is some precedent, prior to Jesus, for introductory "Amen" (Strugnell 1974). Indeed, some of the uses within the Hebrew Bible may be so described (1 Kgs 1:36; Jer 28:6) and may be among the best examples of the usage with its basic meaning. Even in such cases, however, although the usage is introductory within dialogue, it is in fact responsive to a previously established statement. It is the proleptically asseverative function of Jesus' use of "Amen" which makes it appear unusual. To that extent, Jeremias' argument may be justified, although it also must be refined somewhat. The second challenge of Jeremias' position is far more radical. K. Berger has attacked the consensus that "Amen" is essentially a locution of Hebrew-speaking Judaism. He urges the view that, on the turf of Hellenistic Judaism, Hebrew "Amen" was used with the introductory function of *ē mēn* in Greek. This usage, he argues, was taken up within Christian communities to mark the faithful transmission of tradition (Berger 1970: 72, 93, 147, 151, 159–63).

The evidential basis of Berger's case is slender. Chiefly, he relies upon the introduction, "Amen, I say to you," in the *T. Ab.* 8:7 (Berger 1970: 15). What is crucial for Berger is that the introduction precedes a quotation of Gen 22:17, which commences with *ē mēn* in the LXX. Such evidence falls far short of constituting an analogy to the ubiquity of asseverative "Amen" in the gospels, but it does at least establish that the idiom is meaningful within the context of Hellenistic Judaism. In any case, as Berger admits (1972: 47–50), the usage in the *T. Ab.* is certainly not to be seen as an antecedent of dominical usage in the gospels. Neither the date nor the tradition history of the document admits of such a conclusion (Sanders *APOT* 1: 871–81). But Berger successfully explodes any confidence that introductory "Amen" must be seen as an instance of Semitism, and he raises the possibility that the idiom is at home within Hellenistic, Greek-speaking Judaism.

A mediating point of view has been articulated by B. D. Chilton, on the basis of the Old Syriac gospels and Targumic diction (Chilton 1978). The Syriac versions are of interest, in view of the relatively close relationship between that language and the Aramaic of 1st-century Palestine. Curiously, the Old Syriac gospels simply read *›myn* where *amēn* appears in the Greek, but there are occasions when the term is omitted. That would tend to support Berger's contention, in that it makes "Amen" appear more natural in Greek than in Syriac. On the other hand, the Syriac versions also suggest that another introductory

asseveration analogous to *amēn* in the Greek gospels survived from Aramaic. The locution in question is "in truth" (Syr *bqwšṭ*), an unusual usage in the Syriac gospels but a common expression in Aramaic. It appears, for example, at Gen 3:1; 17:19; 18:13; 20:12; 42:21 in *Targum Onqelos*, corresponding to a variety of introductions in the Hebrew and Greek texts; similarly, it occurs at *T. Isa.* 37:18; 45:14, 15. *T. Isa.* 37:18 is of special interest, because *mnm* (which is closely related to "Amen") is the corresponding term in Hebrew, while "in truth" (*epi alētheias*) appears in Greek (cf. also Gen 18:13; 20:12 LXX). The clear possibility emerges that "Amen" in the gospels represents "in truth" in the Aramaic tradition of Jesus' words, as Luke's presentation at 4:25; 9:27; 12:44; 21:3 would also suggest.

Introductory and asseverative "Amen" in the gospels may therefore represent dominical usage, but not in the direct manner Jeremias suggested. The Aramaic assurance, "in truth," was transformed within Hellenistic circles steeped in the language of Judaism and became "Amen." That added weight to the authority and liturgical impact of Jesus' sayings, and conveyed the theological conviction that the one who spoke was sufficiently credible as to be called "the Amen" (Rev 3:14).

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BRUCE CHILTON

## AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH, HISTORY OF THE.

### A. Beginnings: 1900–18

During the 19th century only a handful of Americans were engaged in archaeological research centering on the ancient Near East; most notable among them was Edward Robinson, explorer-biblical scholar, whose travels in the Holy Land signaled a new era in the topographical study of that part of the world. It was only at the turn of the century that Americans became involved in a concerted way; the year 1900 marked the establishment in Jerusalem of the American School for Oriental Study and Research, shortened later to the American Schools of Oriental Research; it is even better known today by the acronym ASOR.

Sponsored by three similar professional organizations—the American Oriental Society, the Archaeological Institute of America, and the Society of Biblical Literature—ASOR came into being; but the individual most responsible for the establishment of ASOR was J. Henry Thayer, professor of NT at Harvard. As president of the Society of Biblical Literature, he advocated strongly that such action be taken and worked tirelessly to make it happen.

According to ASOR's original constitution, "The main object of said School shall be to enable properly qualified persons to prosecute Biblical, linguistic, archaeological, historical, and other kindred studies and researches under more favorable conditions than can be secured at a distance from the Holy Land."

In the summer of 1900, Charles C. Torrey of Yale went to Jerusalem to set up ASOR's first overseas institute; he also served as its director during that academic year. ASOR's original quarters in Jerusalem consisted of only one large room in the Grand New Hotel (today, the New Imperial Hotel), in the vicinity of the Jaffa Gate. Torrey's first objective, shared by all his successors, was to build a research library for the School.

From 1900 to the beginning of World War I the School was managed by annual directors, who were scholars in one or another aspect of Near Eastern studies, including the Bible. However, they had no firsthand contact with the Near East. Thus, they spent most of their time familiarizing themselves with the land and visiting historical sites, and consequently had little opportunity to develop a coherent academic program for the School. Nonetheless their presence during those early years marked an important beginning for the School.

When David G. Lyon of Harvard was director of the School in 1906, he secured permission from the Ottoman government to excavate the site of ancient Samaria, situated near the modern village of Sebastiyeh. This Harvard-sponsored project was the first American dig conducted in Palestine. George A. Reisner, prominent Egyptologist, played a leading role in this undertaking; at the same time he set the standards for archaeological method and recording in Palestine, thereby influencing all future archaeologists.

James A. Montgomery of the University of Pennsylvania, director of the School immediately before the outbreak of World War I, was forced to leave Jerusalem after only three months. The activities of the School in Jerusalem were at a standstill for the remainder of the war. Montgomery continued to exercise great influence on the affairs of the School from Philadelphia, eventually being elected ASOR's first president (1921–34).

**B. Between the Wars: 1919–45**

The School in Jerusalem reopened in 1919. That same year saw the appearance of the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (BASOR),* today a leading journal in the field of Near Eastern archaeology, edited successively by Montgomery, William F. Albright, Delbert R. Hillers, David N. Freedman, William G. Dever, and Walter E. Rast. In 1921 when the American Schools of Oriental Research was legally incorporated, "Schools" was deliberately pluralized to make room for other institutes that might eventually be established in the Near East.

The most prominent name associated with the Jerusalem School in the 1920s, as well as with ASOR for the next five decades, was William F. Albright, who was director of the School from 1920 to 1929, again from 1933 to 1936. When he completed his directorship in Jerusalem, Albright returned to America and became the W. W. Spence Professor of Semitic Languages at Johns Hopkins University.

Under Albright the Jerusalem School became an important research center, as well as a base for archaeological excavations. The field trips conducted by Albright have become legendary; during such trips the participants collected artifacts of all kinds, including pottery, and did limited surveys of selected sites. Albright brought to bear on these trips his extraordinary knowledge of philology, geography, pottery, and several other specialties, to the great benefit of his traveling companions.

Albright also conducted excavations, beginning at Tell el-Ful (Gibeah) in 1922. Between 1926 and 1932 Albright excavated at Tell Beit Mirsim, 12 miles SW of Hebron. Classifying the stylistic changes in potsherds at Tell Beit Mirsim, Albright constructed a ceramic typology, which he correlated with the stratigraphy of the tell. Through a combination of stratigraphy and typology, the two basic techniques of the archaeologist, Albright established the pottery chronology for Palestine. In 1927 and 1934 he directed the excavations at Bethel, one of the cities most frequently mentioned in the Bible.

Because many ASOR members had great professional interest in ancient Mesopotamia, Baghdad was chosen as the site of ASOR's second overseas institute. George A. Barton of the University of Pennsylvania was its first director, and Albert T. Clay of Yale the resident professor. Formally inaugurated in 1923, this School was the first American research institute in Baghdad. Because it lacked its own building, the American consulate provided office space for the Baghdad School. By 1925 the Jerusalem School was housed in permanent quarters, but the Baghdad School has never had its own residence.

Initially the Baghdad School conducted archaeological surveys, in addition to detailed study of all the excavated sites. Excavations were also undertaken by Americans at such well-known sites as Yorghan Tepe (Nuzi), Khorsabad, Tepe Gawra, and Tarkhalan.

Meanwhile the Jerusalem School continued to sponsor excavations at such sites as Tell en-Nasbeh (Mizpah), Gerasa (Jerash), Beth-zur, and Beth-shemesh.

The next long-term director of the School in Jerusalem, after Albright, was Nelson Glueck, who served in the 1930s and '40s, a period marked by serious political disturbances. While director of the Jerusalem School, Glueck inaugurated the *Newsletter,* an informal account of current projects; it has become an integral part of ASOR's publications program.

Glueck was a scholar-explorer in the tradition of Edward Robinson. Having learned excavation method and pottery chronology from Albright at Tell Beit Mirsim, he was well prepared for the monumental explorations he undertook in Transjordan and the Negeb; in all, he surveyed more than 1500 sites. Many of his conclusions have withstood the test of time, even though more sophisticated methods have been developed meanwhile.

Second only to Albright among the leading ASOR figures was G. Ernest Wright of Harvard. Although he was more prominent in ASOR after World War II, already in 1938 he launched the *Biblical Archaeologist (BA),* ASOR's popular quarterly. Never content to be an ivory-tower scholar, Wright was eager to communicate to the interested nonspecialist the results of scientific research. It is a special tribute to Wright that in 1987 the *Biblical Archaeologist* celebrated its golden jubilee. Subsequent editors, including Edward F. Campbell, H. Darrell Lance, David N. Freedman, and Eric M. Meyers, have maintained the high standards set by Wright.

**C. A Decade of Development: 1945–55**

In this postwar era archaeology continued to develop as a scientific discipline. Individual excavations were overshadowed, however, by the accidental discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the most exciting event in the history of biblical archaeology. ASOR played its role in the identification and ongoing decipherment of these texts through the scholarly efforts of John C. Trever, Millar Burrows, William H. Brownlee, Frank M. Cross, and a host of other epigraphists, archaeologists, and biblical specialists.

After the inevitable disruptions caused by World War II in both Syria-Palestine and Iraq, the Baghdad School undertook a new phase of excavations at Nippur, which continued for 25 years. Albrecht Goetze of Yale directed the Baghdad School after the war and was responsible for founding in 1947 the *Journal of Cuneiform Studies (JCS),* a scholarly review of the literature, languages, and cultures of ancient Mesopotamia. The Baghdad School also participated in several surface surveys in Iraq, notably those under the supervision of Robert McC. Adams of the University of Chicago.

**D. An Era of Expansion: 1956–67**

The most significant American undertaking of this period was the Shechem excavations in central Palestine, under the direction of G. Ernest Wright, who combined stratigraphic digging and daily ceramic analysis with a detailed recording system. Shechem was the training ground for prospective American archaeologists; almost every later excavation, including Gezer, Hesi, Shema, Lahav, and Idalion (in Cyprus), reflected the influence of the Shechem expedition.

Another prominent ASOR figure was James B. Pritchard, associated with the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. In this era he excavated three important sites: el-Jib (Gibeon), Tell es-Saidiyeh (Zarethan), and Sarafand (Zarephath). Joseph A. Callaway of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary excavated at et-Tell (biblical Ai) between 1964 and 1972. Apart from its merit as an exemplary field project, this dig demonstrated that archaeology and the biblical text are sometimes in conflict. The lack of artifactual evidence from the Late Bronze Age (1550–1200 B.C.) at this site makes it difficult to reconcile the traditional date of the "conquest" of Canaan, as recounted in the book of Joshua, with the archaeological record.

One of the most promising American archaeologists of this period was Paul Lapp, another long-term director of the Jerusalem School, whose career was cut short by a drowning accident in 1970. Before the tragedy he had already excavated at seven sites, including Araq el-Emir, Taanach, and Bab edh-Dhra. He has been accurately described as "the outstanding Palestinian archaeologist of his generation."

In 1964, G. Ernest Wright led a small expedition to Gezer in Israel but soon turned the project over to his students, William G. Dever and H. Darrell Lance. Applying what they had learned at Shechem, and at the same time introducing some new techniques, the Gezer staff fielded a quality dig. Hundreds of American volunteers were initiated into archaeology at the Gezer field school; several of them have become directors of their own excavations.

**E. The Modern Period: 1967–85**

In the aftermath of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, ASOR established an institute in Amman to provide for American archaeology in Jordan. The newly erected international boundaries along the Jordan River

prevented the Jerusalem School from filling that role, as it had done in the past. In response to the political reality, the institutes in Jerusalem and Amman were separately incorporated; the Jerusalem School was renamed appropriately the W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research (AIAR), while the Amman School was named the American Center of Oriental Research (ACOR). Among the fine directors of ACOR, James A. Sauer deserves to be singled out; more than any other, he shaped the destiny of this center. As a result, ACOR has become a leading research center in Jordan. Sauer also led surveys, advised the Department of Antiquities, and lectured regularly in the University of Jordan.

ACOR has sponsored several excavations in Jordan; among the more significant are the ongoing dig at Bab edh-Dhra directed by Walter E. Rast and R. Thomas Schaub, as well as the long-term project at Tell Hesban, under the direction of Siegfried H. Horn, and later Lawrence T. Geraty of Andrews University, with Roger S. Boraas as chief archaeologist. In conjunction with the excavation of this latter site, a regional survey was conducted. Incorporating new techniques, this project was a model of interdisciplinary research and environmental studies.

Beginning in 1971, William G. Dever became the fourth long-term director of the Albright Institute. Building on the achievements of his predecessors, he expanded the archaeological facilities and the academic program of AIAR. His long-term successor, Albert E. Glock, continued these programs, and the current director, Seymour Gitin, has further developed them.

In addition to sponsoring traditional excavations relating to the Bronze and Iron Ages, both AIAR and ACOR are expanding the temporal horizons by digging sites that fit in both early (e.g., prehistory) and late (e.g., early Judaism, the beginnings of Christianity, and Islam) on the archaeological time scale.

ASOR has also expanded its traditional geographical boundaries. Prevented by civil war from digging in Lebanon, ASOR pursued the Phoenicians at two of their principal colonies—Cyprus and Carthage. To facilitate excavation, ASOR established a temporary institute at Carthage and a permanent one in Nicosia, called the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute (CAARI). Anita Walker of the University of Connecticut was its first director, followed by Ian Todd of Brandeis, and Stuart Swiny.

Because the land of Syria and its cultural heritage are central to ASOR's interests, Damascus would be an ideal place to establish a research institute. Few countries in the Near East can match the archives at Mari, Ugarit, and Ebla, all in Syria. Efforts to have a center in Syria have thus far not been successful, but ASOR maintains a cordial relationship with Syrian archaeologists and has also conducted limited excavations and surveys in Syria.

After World War II archaeological field method, including the techniques of retrieval and recording, improved considerably; by 1970 the method became far more sophisticated. The most obvious development is in the composition of the dig staff; today, both natural and social scientists are present in the field alongside the archaeologists. In the past the primary concern was with events such as warfare and conquest, which constitute political history. Today's objective is to recover every aspect of the ancient people's daily life, including their social organization, economic structure, population expansion, and trade patterns. Natural and social scientists, especially anthropologists, are rendering invaluable assistance to archaeologists as they pursue this holistic approach.

To guarantee that ASOR-sponsored projects meet the standards set by the new technology, the Committee on Archaeological Policy was instituted to oversee all field work. As first chairman of this committee, Edward F. Campbell, with the able assistance of Michael D. Coogan, played a substantial role in raising the standards of ASOR's digs. As Campbell's successor, William G. Dever has continued to insist upon professionalism in all aspects of ASOR's archaeological projects.

On the occasion of ASOR's 85th birthday in 1985, its members rejoiced in the accomplishments of the organization; at the same time they were vitally aware of how much remains to be done. The achievements are the result of innumerable scholars, many of them anonymous (as in this article), working together. Only cooperative effort of this kind will insure the success of ASOR in the years ahead.

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PHILIP J. KING

**AMERICAN VERSIONS.** See VERSIONS, ENGLISH (AMERICAN VERSIONS).

**AMI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾămî* (אֲמִי)]. A variant form of "Amon" in Ezra 2:57, it is therefore also the RSV rendering of the Gk *Allōn* in 1 Esdr 5:34. For both, see AMON (PERSON).

**AMITTAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾămittay* (אֲמִתַּי)]. According to 2 Kgs 14:25 and Jonah 1:1, the father of the prophet Jonah. Noth (*IPN,* 162) suggested that the name is a shortened form of a nominal sentence using the Hebrew word for "truth" or "faithfulness" (*ʾemet*). Thus it means literally "my truth" or "my faithfulness," but that presumably stands for "God is my truth" or "God is my faithfulness."

RICHARD D. WEIS

**AMMAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾammâ* (אַמָּה)]. A hill E of Gibeon that lies "before Giah on the way of the wilderness of Gibeon" (2 Sam 2:24) that descends to the Jordan Valley. On the evening of the battle at Gibeon between the men of Israel and the servants of David, Joab (David's captain) and his brother Abishai came to this hill at sunset while pursuing Abner (Israel's captain). Abner and his men were fleeing toward the Jordan River and the city of Mahanaim. While the location of Ammah has not been conclusively identified, scholars have speculated about its location. This speculation is based on both linguistic analysis and practical geographic considerations. The Hebrew word *ʾammâ* may come from the Akk *ammatu,* cubit or foundation (Borée 1930: 35). In Rabbinic Hebrew, however, *ʾammâ* can mean a canal for water or a sewer (*m. Šabb.* 3:4; *Kil.* 3:2). Though the LXX transliterates the name of the hill as *Amman,* both Aquila and Theodotian translate the Hebrew word *ʾammâ* as *hydragōgos* (a water lead or channel). The Vulgate likewise provides *aqua ductus* as a translation. Since Giah (Heb *gîaḥ*) may indicate a spring (from the verb *gîaḥ,* to burst forth), one could conclude that the hill, Ammah, was a hill with a water channel related to the water source, Giah. The LXX, however, transliterates *gîaḥ* as the proper name *Gai,* a transliteration of the Hebrew word *gayʾ* (valley). Aquila and Theodotian translate it as *pharaggos* (chasm, ravine, or gully), and the Vulgate translates it as *vallis* (valley). This has led investigators to conclude that Giah is a valley and that Ammah stands at its side (*EncMiqr* 2: 419). Press (1951: 158) identified this valley as Sahel Geba, which is E of Gibeon and lies S of Wadi Suweinit, which separates Geba (modern Jebaʿ, M.R. 175140) from Michmash (modern Mukhmas, M.R. 176142). See also GEBA. Along the side of the valley there is a cave called Heb *maʿārat ʾl gāyâ.* According to Press, the earlier name of the valley continues in the name of this cave. It is true that Sahel Geba lies along a possible route that Abner may have taken to reach the Jordan Valley, but in order to accept it as an accurate identification one must assume that the common word for valley, *gayʾ,* was replaced, in the text, by the rare form *gîaḥ.* Scholars have, therefore, not agreed upon a place identification for Ammah. It is accepted that Ammah lies somewhere E of Gibeon on what the text calls "the way to the wilderness of Gibeon." Aharoni (*LBHG,* 60) identified "the way to the wilderness of Gibeon" as a branch of the "way of the wilderness" that ran more or less along the traditional boundaries between Benjamin and the House of Joseph (Josh 16:1–2; 18:12–13).

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SUSAN E. MCGARRY

**AMMAN** (M.R. 238151). The capital city of the modern Hashemite kingdom of Jordan, situated in the Transjordan tableland E of the Jordan Rift Valley. Archaeological explorations in the environs of the city have revealed evidence of its character in biblical times. In OT times the city was known as "Rabbah of the Ammonites," while through the Hellenistic-Roman period it was known by the name "Philadelphia." Modern Amman thus overlies the classical Philadelphia, which in turn overlies OT Rabbah of the

Ammonites. Indeed, the springs that still provide water to Amman have made this place a site of habitation since Paleolithic times.

**A. Description**

During the last few decades, the city has grown out of all proportion, and an important part of downtown Amman has been built on the major ruins of the Roman city in an area less than 2 sq. km. Its well-preserved buildings and striking features of its Roman town plan show the various aspects of Roman art and engineering.

The old city consists of an upper and a lower section. See Fig. AMM.01. The former is built on a prominent hill and constitutes the acropolis (now the Citadel) of the city. This hill is a strategic natural L-shaped oblong plateau overlooking the forum area in the lower section to the S. It consists of two rectangles of unequal dimensions. Steep wadis surround the acropolis on all sides except on the N, where the acropolis was separated from the rest of the hill by an artificial depression. The acropolis area itself rises from E to W in three terraces. From very early times this hill had been a fortress of great importance. The lower city is associated with the wadi bed below and to the S of the acropolis; the *Seil Amman* divides this lower area into two long narrow strips of land. In Roman times, streets, public buildings, and a forum were built along this wadi bed.

**B. The Ammonite Period**

The Iron Age, or Ammonite period, is well represented throughout the city of Amman. These remains attest the Ammonite capital city of Rabbah, where David sent Uriah the Hittite, husband of Bathsheba, to die in battle (2 Sam 11:14–21). On the Citadel, building remains and artifacts were located on the upper and lower terraces. An early 9th-century Ammonite inscription in Aramaic was discovered outside the walls of the Citadel and is believed to have been a royal record of a magnificent building scheme which was undertaken at Rabbath Ammon (i.e., Amman). It is one of the most important stone inscriptions yet found in the area from a linguistic and paleographic view. Some scholars see in it a closer relationship between Ammonite and Hebrew than between Moabite and Hebrew prose in the 9th century B.C. (*BASOR* 193: 2f.; *BASOR* 198: 38f.). Another Ammonite inscription was found on a small bronze bottle discovered at Tell Siran near Amman. The inscription speaks of vineyards, gardens, and cisterns which belong to the time of two Amminadabs, kings of the Ammonites in the 7th century B.C. (*ADAJ* 18: 5; *BASOR* 212: 14; *Berytus* 22: 115f.; *BA* 37: 13f.).

Many Iron Age tombs discovered in the vicinity of Amman contained a good range of pottery objects, anthropoid coffins, figurines, various seals, jewelry, and mirrors (*QDAP* 11: 81; *ADAJ* 11: 41f.; *ADAJ* 20: 57f.; *ADAJ* 16: 91f.; *AUSS* 9: 179f.). Ammonite pottery, as all Iron Age pottery of E Jordan, shows a highly developed industry. Much of this pottery is covered with red or brown slip, highly polished, and often decorated with bands of dark brown paint and sometimes with bands of white paint between them (*AJA* 36: 295f.; *QDAP* 11: 67f.; *QDAP* 13: 92f.; *QDAP* 14: 44f.; *APEF* 48f.). In plastic art, the Ammonites show an advanced stage in this field. Historically important are a group of clay figurines which represent a horse-and-rider type and a small statue in limestone bearing the inscription in Aramaic, "Yarah‹azar, chief of the horse," which indicate the existence of Ammonite cavalry apparently modeled on Assyrian cavalry (*QDAP* 11: 67f.; *ADAJ* 1: 34f.).

**C. The Classical Period**

In the Hellenistic period the city was renamed Philadelphia to honor Ptolemy II Philadelphos, the Hellenistic ruler of Egypt (285–247 B.C.). In 218 B.C. it was captured by Antiochus III the Great, the Hellenistic ruler of Syria. For about a century before the Roman conquest of the Near East, Amman belonged to the Nabataeans. When Pompey conquered Syria and Palestine (ca. 63 B.C.), Philadelphia became the southernmost member of the Decapolis. In 106 A.D., it became a city in the Roman province of Arabia. Situated on the magnificent Via Nova Traiana which joined Bosra with the Red Sea, Philadelphia enjoyed a long period of prosperity during the 2d century A.D.

**1. The Acropolis.** On the acropolis close to the S wall was built a temple dedicated to Hercules. See Fig. AMM.02. Only part of its podium and the column bases of the *pronaos* remain *in situ.* Apparently the temple was *prostyle tetrastyle* with one column on either side of the portico. The antae, which were

made of half columns, terminate in rectangular pilasters set at the angles of the cella wall. The podium on which the temple was erected is a rectangle 8 m × 19 m. A fragmentary inscription discovered in the debris around the temple indicates that it was built during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (169–80 A.D.). Partial excavation near the temple shows that it was built on the site of a sacred rock which, as shown by pottery finds, has quite a long history, beginning in the EB Age (ca. 3000 B.C.).

Recognizing its strategic value for the region of Amman, the Romans rebuilt the ancient fortress on the acropolis and surrounded it with massive walls which rank among the finest of ancient fortifications. These walls consist of lower courses which incline inward in steps of heavy, well-jointed, rusticated stonework with drafted edges overlaid by a wall of smooth square stones of excellent quality.

**2. The Lower City.** Along the N bank of the *Seil Amman* ran the colonnaded street and on the E end was a monumental gateway. Another monumental gateway apparently led up to the temple on the hill. South of the *Seil* were situated the forum, the theater, the odeon, and the nymphaeum. See Fig. AMM.01.

The forum is bordered by porticos on three sides and closed on the N by the bend in the *Seil* and the colonnaded street beyond. The forum and porticos constitute an irregular ensemble in the form of a trapezoid rather than a rectangle. Including the colonnades, the forum measures 100m on the S side, 48 m on the W, and 50 m on the E side. See Fig. AMM.03. The total area of the forum is approximately 7620 sq. m. Thus, the forum at Amman ranks among the largest of Roman imperial fora.

The theater is located against a natural recess at the foot of a rocky hill to the S of the forum. The *cavea* was apparently at least partially hollowed from the hillside and the artificial portions were built upon masses of stonework and barrel vaults. The theater is semicircular in plan with three horizontal divisions of seats. The external diameter of the auditorium is 85 m and its internal diameter is 40 m. The height of the theater from the ground in front to the top of the back wall is about 25 m. Numismatic evidence indicates that the theater was built in the middle of the 2d century A.D.

The odeon is semicircular in plan with a stage building that is connected with an outer wall by a barrel-vaulted passage with a corner tower at each end. The *cavea* is oriented to the W and is built up entirely from ground level of well-dressed blocks of limestone sometimes bossed and drafted especially in the interior sections. The external diameter of the *cavea* is 38 m and its internal diameter is 22 m. Stratigraphic as well as stylistic evidence indicates that the odeon was built in the first quarter of the 2d century A.D.

The nymphaeum, which lies farther SW, is very close to the point where a small branch of the *Seil Amman* flowing from N to S empties into the main stream. Unfortunately, it is presently impossible to determine the actual extent and complexity of the building, since today the area is jammed with modern structures which have sadly encroached upon the ancient remains. The dimensions and architectural elements of the existing S wall indicate that the building was truly monumental. This wall is built in the form of a half octagon with three large apsidal recessions, each flanked by small niches. The center apse measures 8.5 m in width and each of the side apses is 5.5 m wide. The width of each of the small niches is 1.25v. The order of the colonnade which originally ran parallel to the four sides of the wall was Corinthian. The nymphaeum was built in the 2d century A.D.

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ADNAN HADIDI

**AMMIDIANS** [Gk *Ammidioi* (Ἀμμιδιοι)]. A family returning from exile in Babylon with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:20). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, this family does not appear among their lists of returning exiles. Omissions like this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra or Nehemiah. Furthermore, problems associated with dating events and persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text. Heltzer (1977: 64–

65) has argued that the name of this family's progenitor was Heb *ʿmdyh.* (See also Myers *1–2 Esdras* AB.)

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MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**AMMIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿammîʾēl* (עַמִּיאֵל)]. Var. ELIAM. The name Ammiel is a compound of the Hebrew words *ʿam* ("people, relatives") and *ʾel* ("God"), thus signifying "My kinsman (relative?) is God." The name was given to four different OT individuals.

**1.** A son of GEMALLI, Ammiel represented the tribe of Dan among the twelve men Moses sent to spy out the land of Canaan (Num 13:12). Though not the head of the tribe of Dan (cf. 7:66), he was one of its leading members (13:2, 3) and was no doubt selected because of his suitability for the mission to be carried out.

**2.** The father of MACHIR, who hid MEPHIBOSHETH, the son of Jonathan, from David in his house at Lo-debar (2 Sam 9:4, 5), located east of the Jordan River somewhere near Mahanaim. The people in this exposed region, in constant peril of raids from the E and the N, appear to have been supportive of strong central governments which could provide protection and, therefore, were opposed to insurrections such as those of David and later Absalom. Thus Ammiel and his family were strong supporters of Saul and his son Ishbosheth, who set up his throne at Mahanaim. Machir became loyal to David after Ishbosheth's death, possibly because of his kindness toward Mephibosheth, and is listed as one of the three individuals who brought provisions to David in exile at Mahanaim during Absalom's rebellion (17:27). The fact that Ammiel is mentioned in 2 Samuel 17 is a clue that Machir's considerable wealth may have been inherited. Mauchline (*Samuel* NCBC, 243), infers that the family belonged to the tribe of Manasseh.

**3.** The father of BATHSHUA (a phonetic variation of BATHSHEBA), one of David's wives, and thus the grandfather of Solomon (1 Chr 3:5). In a parallel text, 2 Sam 11:3, the two parts of his name are transposed into Eliam, which means "My God is a kinsman." McCarter (*2 Samuel* 285) proposes that the mention of a married woman's father implies that Ammiel/Eliam (see ELIAM) was an important man. It is an unlikely possibility that the father of Bathshua and the father of Machir were the same person, which could explain Machir's change of heart toward David. If that is true, and Hertzberg (*Samuel* OTL, 309–10) is also correct that Ammiel/Eliam was the son of Ahithophel mentioned in 2 Sam 23:34, it would help explain some of the intrigues in David's court. For further discussion, see Smith *Samuel* ICC.

**4.** The sixth son of OBED-EDOM, a Levite, one of the doorkeepers who took care of the S gate of the temple complex and who also were in charge of the storehouse (1 Chr 26:5, 15). This appointment was made toward the end of David's lifetime (1 Chr 23:1).

JON PAULIEN

**AMMIHUD** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿammîhûd* (עַמִּיהוּד); *ʿammîḥûr*]. Five individuals mentioned in the Hebrew Bible bear this name. Ammihud is a theophoric name, comprised of the kinship term *ʿam* (kinsman) representing the divine, and the root *hwd*, "glory, exaltation," and may be translated as "The divine is exalted" (*EncMiqr* 6: 287). An alternate translation is "My kinsman is splendor" (*IDB* 1: 107). The name is similar in form and meaning to the names Abihud and Ahihud. Note that, in the Targum to 2 Sam 13:37, Ammihud appears instead of the MT Ammihur, and the LXX of Num 34:28 translates the entire gentilic *benamioud* (Heb *ben-ʿammîhûd*).

**1.** The father of Elishama, who was one of the leaders (Heb *nĕśîʾîm*) of the tribe of Ephraim during the journey through the Sinai wilderness (Num 1:10; 2:18; 7:48, 53; 10:22). According to 1 Chr 7:26, Ammihud was the great-grandfather of Joshua.

**2.** The father of Samuel, who was one of the leaders of the tribe of Simeon at the time of the allotment of the land of Canaan to the Israelites (Num 34:20).

**3.** The father of Pedahel, who was one of the leaders of the tribe of Naphtali at the time of the distribution of the land of Canaan to the Israelites (Num 34:28).

**4.** In 2 Sam 13:37, the MT is written *ʿammîḥûr*, but read *ʿammîhûd*. This person was the father of Talmai, the king of Gesher, uncle of Absalom. The latter had fled to Talmai after murdering Amnon, the half-brother of Absalom, and resided with him for three years.

**5.** The son of Omri, from the clan of Perez, who was the son of Judah and the father of Uthai. This Uthai was the head of the clan listed among the first postexilic settlers of Jerusalem (1 Chr 9:4).

RAPHAEL I. PANITZ

**AMMINADAB** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿammînādāb* (עַמִּינָדָב)]. The name of four individuals in the Hebrew Bible.

**1.** A Judean, a descendant of Perez and ancestor of David through Boaz (1 Chr 2:10; Ruth 4:19–20). He was the father of Nahshon, a prominent figure in the tribe of Judah (Num 1:7; 2:3; 7:12, 17; 10:14), and Elisheba, the wife of Aaron (Exod 6:23). He is also mentioned in the genealogy of Jesus (Matt 1:4; Luke 3:33; Gk *Aminadab*).

**2.** A son of Kohath and father of Korah (1 Chr 6:7—Eng6:22). Amminadab is not found in other lists of the sons of Kohath; in these other texts Izhar is found instead of Amminadab, and Korah is the son of Izhar (Exod 6:18, 21; cf. 1 Chr 5:28, 6:3—Eng6:2, 18; Num 3:19). LXX$^{A,L}$ have Izhar in 1 Chr 6:7—Eng6:22, though this reading more probably developed as a correction. Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 71) and Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 54) both provide detailed and somewhat ingenious explanations of how this difficulty may have arisen. Within the context of 1 Chr 6:7–18—Eng6:22–33 the Chronicler appears to be concerned with the lineage of Samuel the prophet (1 Chr 6:13, 18—Eng6:28, 33), to whom he assigns Levitical ancestry (1 Sam 1:1). This reflects the Chronicler's pervasive interest in the prophetic function of the Levitical musicians (1 Chr 25:1–8; 2 Chr 20:14; 29:25; 34:30; 35:15).

**3.** A descendant of Kohath, leader of a family in the clan of Uzziel, who takes part in the transfer of the ark from the House of Obed-edom to Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:10–11).

**4.** The father of Esther according to the LXX of Esth 2:15; 9:29. MT identifies her father as Abihail.

RAYMOND B. DILLARD

**AMMISHADDAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿammîšaddāy* (עַמִּישַׁדָּי)]. The father of Ahiezer, who was a captain of Dan during the wilderness journey (Num 1:12; 2:25; 7:66, 71; 10:25). The name occurs only as a patronym of Ahiezer. Rather than the late, artificial "people of the Almighty," his name means "my kinsman is Shaddai," the theophoric element (Heb *šaddāy*) being common in the ancient Near East (see Fowler 1988: 53–54, 251).

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JOEL C. SLAYTON

**AMMIZABAD** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿammîzābād* (עַמִּיזָבָד)]. The son of Benaiah son of Jehoiada, commander of David's corps of champions.

The name itself is constructed from the theophoric element *ʿammî*, literally "the father's brother," or "uncle," and the verb, *zābād,* "to give (as a gift)." Here *ʿammî* is a familial particle used to refer to the family, clan, or tribal deity (cf. *IPN* 15, n.2; 47, 66–79, esp. 77).

Ammizabad is recorded in the Chronicles as having commanded Benaiah's division of the monthly levies of 24,000 troops (1 Chr 27:6), possibly while Benaiah was commander of David's champions, although this list is of dubious historical value (see DAVID'S CHAMPIONS; see also BENAIAH). The Heb has "his [Benaiah's] division was Ammizabad his son."

D. G. SCHLEY

**AMMON** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿammôn* (עַמּוֹן)]. AMMONITE. The son of Abraham's nephew Lot, who was the product of an incestuous union between Lot and one of his daughters (Gen 19:36–38). As such, Ammon serves as the eponymous ancestor of the Ammonites, a Transjordanian people whose kingdom

the Israelites encountered in their exodus march to the Promised Land (Num 21: 24–35; Deut 2:16–37). Later David waged war against the Ammonites (2 Samuel 11–12).

The history of Ammon is known from written sources only from the 8th century B.C., when it is mentioned in the Neo-Assyrian annals. The historical value of the biblical references to the Ammonite kingdom is hard to evaluate because of the partly legendary character of the sources relating to the Exodus and the relatively late date of the final redaction of the unit. Most recent research tends, in fact, to lower the date of the biblical redaction to almost the same period as the Neo-Assyrian annals. Therefore, nothing is scientifically certain about Ammon and the Ammonites before the 8th century. The Ammonites are not mentioned in Egyptian historical writings.

Happily, archaeology provides abundant proof of the existence of the Ammonites before the 8th century. The site of the capital, Rabbath-Ammon, was occupied from the EB Age, and became a powerful city-state in the MB II period (18th century B.C.). It is known that a decrease in population marks the LB Age (16th–13th centuries). Some traces testify to a new occupation in the Early Iron Age (but it is unlikely that Iron Age Rabbath-Ammon had a rampart before the 10th century). The region around Rabbath-Ammon also shows signs of occupation in the Early Iron Age; the transition from LB to Early Iron Age passed peacefully there. Archaeology can no longer cite as evidence the monuments popularly called the "Ammonite towers" in dating the occupation. These watchtowers of the region were used in successive periods from the 8th century B.C. and their foundation is spread over different periods.

**A. The Biblical Traditions**

The historical origin of the Ammonites is not specified in the OT; they were already present in Transjordan when the Hebrews arrived. A popular tradition derives the name from the incest of Lot (Gen 19:36–38); the Ammonites would thus be "Arameans" in the OT sense. It is possible that in another biblical tradition the Ammonites are considered "Amorites," as are their immediate neighbors, the Moabites (seen as a brother in Gen 19:36). But the OT designation "Amorites" does not have the precision frequently given it by modern historians. Nothing proves that the Ammonites were the fruit of an invasion, Aramean or Amorite, or that they must have settled down (Pitard 1987: 87). The archaeology of the capital city shows a continuous, if irregular, occupation. We still do not know precisely who the Bronze Age Ammonites were. Most probably, they were simply the native people of the country.

**1. The Accounts of the Conquest.** There is no biblical reference to the conquest of an Ammonite kingdom. Moses and his forces go around the region of Amman. According to the schema of Num 21:24–35, the Hebrews subdue the Amorite kingdom of Heshbon, then the town of Jazer, and finally, after a detour, that of Edrei in Bashan. In Deut 2:19 and 37, there is recounted an explicit order of God not to attack Ammon. The territories around Ammon are therefore divided between the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh. Gad is the closest to Ammon, with Jazer as its nearest neighboring city. This territory is the nucleus of Gilead, a geographic name which will have greater territorial expansion over the ages. It will extend N as far as the Yarmuk, country of Machir-Manasseh (cf. Num 32:39). However, it should be noted that Num 32:34–38 implies that Gad had a territory so vast as to encompass Reuben and approach Moab. These Hebrew neighbors of Ammon fought with one another and with Moab. They weakened with time (as Gad absorbed Reuben, and then it was absorbed by the Arameans of Damascus).

From the biblical schema of the conquest it is difficult to ascertain what historical factors can account for the fact that the "Amorite" kingdom of Sihon was fought and conquered (Num 21:21–31) while the kingdom of Ammon was not. Furthermore, there is no formal mention of the "kingdom" of Ammon in the accounts of the conquest. It is possible that, at the period in which these accounts are set, Ammon was only a mediocre political entity. But Ammon had been urbanized centuries before the time proposed for the arrival of the Hebrews. It certainly had a local "kingdom." More probably, the silence concerning Ammon reflects the period when these accounts were written, and a later political situation of the Aramean period, when no one could possibly imagine the Hebrews conquering such a powerful kingdom.

**2. The Period of the Judges.** Ammon is mentioned in connection with Israel's conflicts in the period of the Judges. The first incident is minor, connected with the struggle between the Benjaminites and Moab.

In Judg 3:13, it is mentioned that the Moabite king, Eglon, was allied with the Ammonites; but these latter play no part in the rest of the account. Judg 11:4, 12–33 refers to Gileadite resistance (led by Jephthah) against the Ammonites. Here for the first time there is reference to an unnamed "king" of the Ammonites. But the account of Jephthah vv 15–26 is untrustworthy: Ammon and Moab are confused, and the Moabite god, Chemosh, is attributed to the Ammonites.

**3. The Period of Saul and David.** The Ammonite king, Nahash, besieged Jabesh of Gilead, which was rescued by Saul in 1 Sam 11:1–11. Nahash was succeeded by his son Hanun, a contemporary of David. The conquest of the Ammonite capital, Rabbath-Ammon, by David (2 Samuel 10–12) marks the true entry of the Ammonites into history. At the time of the revolt of Absalom, "Shobi, son of Nahash, from Rabbah of the Ammonites" came to bring material aid to David, although he did not offer military assistance (2 Sam 17:27). This Shobi, if he really was the son of the king Nahash, would then be the brother of Hanun. He may have been enthroned by David in place of Hanun after the conquest of Rabbath-Ammon.

The OT has nothing more to say about the Ammonites during the time of David. Probably their history was independent of that of the Hebrews after the death of Solomon. The only significant point of contact is the mention of family links between Hebrews and Ammonites. Solomon had Ammonites among his foreign wives (1 Kgs 11:1). Naamah, mother of King Rehoboam, was an Ammonite.

**4. The Preexilic Period.** In the 9th century, during the reign of Jehoshaphat, Ammon, Moab, and Edom united in order to attack Judah; they were unsuccessful, probably because of dissension among the allies (2 Chr 20:1, 10, 22–23). A similar coalition took place during the reign of Jehoiakim, at the end of the 7th and beginning of the 6th centuries (2 Kgs 24:2). Before this, however, Uzziah of Judah and his son Jotham received tribute from Ammon in the 8th century (2 Chr 26:8; 27:5). Just before the fall of Jerusalem, there was an attempt to form an alliance between Judah and her neighbors, including the Ammonites (Jer 27:3). But this alliance was preceded by an attack by the "Chaldeans, Arameans, Moabites, and Ammonites" against Judah about 601 B.C. (2 Kgs 24:2). Ezek 21:25, 33 suggests that Nebuchadnezzar attacked Ammon.

**5. Exilic and Postexilic Periods.** After the destruction of Jerusalem, the assassin of Gedaliah took refuge with the Ammonites (Jer 41:10, 15). In the time of Nehemiah the Ammonites opposed the rebuilding of Jerusalem (Neh 4:1–2). The Ammonites are cited as adversaries one last time in the Maccabean wars (1 Macc 5:6–7).

**6. The Prophetic Literature.** Special mention must be made of the references to Ammon in the prophetic oracles. These are often outside the context of precise biblical chronology and belong to a stereotyped literary genre, where Ammon is found as the traditional enemy of Israel, generally associated with Moab and Edom. This is the case in Amos 1:13–15; Isa 11:14; Jer 9:25; 25:21; 49:1–6; Ezek 25:1–5; Dan 11:41; and Zeph 2:8–9. Other texts, which are not oracles, make the same association, e.g., Jer 27:3.

Apart from this prophetic literature, allusions to Ammon are found in Ps 83:7–9; Ezra 9:1; Neh 13:23; Jdt 5:2; 7:17–18. These are clearly late, and the precise historical context is difficult to determine.

**B. The Extrabiblical Evidence**

The evidence of biblical historiography must be compared with the extrabiblical historical evidence. The earliest document is Neo-Assyrian and dates from the time of Tiglath-pileser III. The author states that toward 733 B.C. the king Shanib (or Shanip) of Bit-Ammon paid tribute (*ANET,* 282a). The campaign of Tiglath-pileser probably had serious consequences, destabilizing the whole region (Oded 1970: 177) and leaving a relative vacuum which enabled incursions by desert nomads.

A letter from Nimrud mentions the tribute of the "sons of Ammon" under an Assyrian king who reigned between Tiglath-Pileser and Sargon II (Saggs 1955: 135, text XVI, line 35). The king Shanib was the grandfather of a certain Yarih-Ezer (who was probably not king), who is quoted in the inscription of a statue discovered at Amman in 1949. In 701 B.C. Sennacherib mentions a king of Ammon, Pudu-Ilu, or Buduili (*ANET,* 287b) who was still reigning at the time of Esarhaddon, about 677 (Borger 1956: 60, line 62). Assurbanipal mentions Pudu-Ilu's successor Amminadab, who about 667 paid tribute to the Assyrians (*ANET,* 294a). The names of these three kings are confirmed by local epigraphic documents, in

particular the seals of their ministers (Bordreuil 1986: 134, 137). Among these documents may be noted the Tell Siran bottle (Zayadine and Thompson 1973: 135), which ennumerates "Amminadab, king of the Ammonites, son of Hiṣṣal-El, king of the Ammonites, son of Amminadab, king of the Ammonites." Thus we discover that Amminadab I was succeeded by Hiṣṣal-El, who in turn was succeeded by Amminadab II, taking us down to about 600–590 B.C. Toward 587, the king Baalis (Jer 40:14) is attested by a seal of Tell Umeiri, which names him "Baal-Yasha" (Herr 1985: 170). This is the last Ammonite king whose name has been preserved. Josephus (*Ant* 10.181–82) states that Nebuchadnezzar defeated the Ammonites and the Moabites in 582–581 B.C. This marked the end of the Ammonites as a political force.

The Ammonite Kings

| | |
|---|---|
| Nahash (ca. 1030–1000) | 1 Sam 11:1–12; 12:12; 2 Sam 10:2 |
| Hanun son of Nahash | 2 Sam 10:1–4; 1 Chr 19:2–6 |
| Shobi son of Nahash | 2 Sam 17:27 |
| Shanib (ca. 733) | *ANET*, 282 (Tiglath-pileser III) |
| Zakur son of Shanib | Ammonite Statue J.1656 |
| Yarih-Ezer (?) | Ammonite Statue J.1656 |
| Pudu-Ilu/Buduili (ca. 701–677) | Borger 1956: 60 (Sennacherib and Esarhaddon) |
| ʿAmminadab I (ca. 667) | *ANET*, 294 (Assurbanipal) |
| Hiṣṣal-El, son of Amminiadab | Tell Siran bottle |
| ʿAmminadab II, son of Hiṣṣal-El | Tell Siran bottle |
| Baʿalis/Baal-Yasha (ca. 587) | Jer 40:14; bulla of Tell ʿUmeiri |

Under the Persian Empire, Ammon was a district of the fifth satrapy, "Beyond-the-River," under the authority of a *peḥa* or Governor. In Neh 2:9–10, Tobiah, "the Ammonite servant" (*ʿbd*), appears at the side of Sanballat the Horonite of Samaria and Geshem the Arab (Neh 2:19) to oppose the rebuilding of the walls and temple of Jerusalem. He was therefore a functionary of the king, as suggested by Neh 2:19.

In the Hellenistic period, the capital of the Ammonites kept the name of Rabbatamana, as attested by Polybius *Histories* V.71, who mentions it in connection with the siege of Antiochus III in 218 B.C. The Seleucid king conquered the city by gaining control of the water-supply system of the acropolis (the cistern and access tunnel to the N). Under Ptolemy Philadelphus II, about 250 B.C., the name of the city was changed to Philadelphia, in honor of the king's sister-wife Arsinoe Philadelphia. Nevertheless the Zenon papyrus, PSI 616, mentions Rabbatamana, and the papyrus PCZ 59009, which dates from April to May 259 B.C., is signed at Birtha of Ammanitis. In fact, in this document the cleruchies of Tobias appear.

In the Hasmonean period, the Bible suggests that Judas Maccabeus subdued the region W of Amman (i.e., the city of Jazer and its dependent towns) in 163 B.C., after defeating a certain Timothy, chief of the Ammonites (1 Macc. 5:6–7). This W section was called Peraea. There is very little information concerning its late history up to the Roman conquest.

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## AMMON (PLACE) [Heb *ʿammôn* (עַמּוֹן)]. See RABBAH (AMMON).

## AMMONITE LANGUAGE. See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

## AMNON (PERSON) [Heb *ʾamnōn* (אַמְנֹן)].

**1.** Firstborn son of David. His mother was Ahinoam of Jezreel (2 Sam 3:2; 2 Chr 3:1), whom David had taken as a wife at the same time as Abigail (1 Sam 25:42–43). He was one of six sons born to David at Hebron by six different wives.

Amnon otherwise is known only for an episode recounted in 2 Samuel 13, where he raped his half-sister Tamar. He is lovesick over his beautiful sister and is encouraged by a cousin, Jonadab, to gain access to her via a trick (2 Sam 13:1–5). When he does so, he first attempts to persuade her to lie with him, but she refuses to do so without their father's sanction (vv 6–13). He then forcibly rapes her and disgustedly casts her away (vv 14–19). Their brother Absalom hears of this and plots revenge, which is not accomplished for two years, when Amnon is killed, ironically, by a ruse on Absalom's part (vv 20–29).

The story is a masterpiece of drama, suspense, and irony. It is the first of several stories of David's troubles with his children following his own sin in 2 Sam 11–12, and it echoes that story (Fokkelmann 1981: 124–25; Gunn 1978: 98–100). Both David and Amnon, for example, see and desire a beautiful woman and conspire to get her. David attempts to cover his sin by a murder; Amnon ironically, David's son, is himself murdered.

Within the Amnon story the literary and dramatic climax is reached with the actual rape, in v 14 (Ridout 1974: 80–84; Fokkelmann 1981: 99–114). The climax is approached with a drawn-out, suspense-building account of the scene and the dialogue in Amnon's bedroom (vv 8–13). The shift from love (or lust) to hate and disgust after the rape is sudden, forceful, and dramatic (vv 15–17; cf. 22). Amnon's death is related in a matter-of-fact way (v 29), highlighting the emerging status of Absalom.

**2.** A son of Shimon, in the genealogy of descendants of Judah (2 Chr 4:20). Nothing further is known of father or son.

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**AMOK** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿāmôq* (עָמוֹק)]. A priest mentioned in the list of Israelites who returned from exile to Jerusalem in the days of Zerubbabel (Neh 12:7). His name, along with some 14 others, is lacking in the major LXX manuscripts, but this probably represents a secondary scribal omission. Later in the same chapter (v 20), Amok is again part of a list in the MT, this time cited as the father of Eber, the head of a priestly family. Once again, many manuscripts of the LXX omit his name (as well as many of the other names of priestly households). As Myers (*Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, lxvi) has pointed out, such omissions in the Greek characterize quite a number of the lists of Nehemiah (especially in Codex Vaticanus); the majority of these omissions cannot simply be explained as mechanical errors such as homoioteleuton or homoioarkton.

Although the Heb *ʿāmôq* appears only twice in the MT as a proper name (both instances having already been noted), the essentially identical term *ʿāmōq* appears some 17 times as an adjective meaning "deep" or "unfathomable." R. A. Bowman (*IB* 3: 785) is probably correct in translating the priestly name Amok as metaphorical, "inscrutable" or "wise" (cf. also the Akkadian parallels which he cites). Very possibly the full priestly name was Amokiah ("Yah[weh] is wise/inscrutable") or Amokel ("El [God] is wise/inscrutable"), or the like.

Recently, Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 355–66) has argued persuasively for the relative primacy of the list of priestly families found in Neh 12:12–21, arguing that from this list a later editor has transcribed vv 1–7. As Williamson points out, it is less likely that someone invented the names of the added generation in vv 12–21, names which are not paralleled elsewhere, than that the names of the family heads were merely transferred from this list to the list found in vv 1–7. He further notes that the names found in vv 19–21 (as well as the analogous vv 6a–7a), namely Joiarib, Jedaiah, Sallai (Sallu), Amok, Hilkiah, and Jedaiah, probably represent a later expansion of the original list, attributable to the same or a later editor. Both the inclusion of the conjunction "and" in the MT before both lists (and used nowhere else in either list), as well as the observation that precisely these same six names are lacking from the list of priests in Neh 10:3–9 (—Eng 10:2–8), lend strong support to his proposed reconstruction. Thus, the original list underlying both lists of priests in Nehemiah 12 (as well as the one in Nehemiah 10) appears to have been considerably shorter; and more to the point, it probably did not include the name Amok at all (see also the comments of Bowman [*IB* 3: 784], and the references cited there). Presumably such an addition was made to align the lists with the actual priestly hierarchy in later times.
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**AMON** (DEITY) [Heb *ʾāmôn* (אָמוֹן)]. An Egyptian deity who was recognized as the "king of the gods" by the time of the New Kingdom. He was connected with the city of Thebes, an association remembered by some of the later biblical writers. In Egyptian his name means "hidden" or "invisible one" (Eg *Imn*). His name is found twice in the OT: in Nah 3:8, where the Egyptian city of Thebes is called *nō ʾāmôn,* and in Jer 46:25, where Jeremiah declares that Yahweh will punish Amon of Thebes (Heb *ʾāmôn minnôʾ*) through Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon.

In Egypt, Amon is often associated with the wind and air and even the "breath of life." He is usually portrayed in human shape with a crown of two tall upright plumes, although some representations also incorporate elements of his sacred animal, the ram, and his sacred bird, the goose. Herodotus tells an amusing story which was meant to explain Amon's association with the ram as well as why Egyptians refused to sacrifice the ram except once a year (Hdt 2.42; Armour 1986: 140). Amon, together with the vulture goddess Mut and the god Khons, formed the Theban triad of father, mother, and son. Amon is also identified with Min, the fertility god of Coptos and Akhmim. In these instances he bears the name Amon-Min and, like Min, he is represented in ithyphallic form.

Amon is first mentioned in the Unas Pyramid Texts (§446) as a primeval deity belonging to the Ogdoad of Hermopolis ("the City of the Eight Primeval Gods") where he is accompanied by his female

counterpart, Amaunet. He was worshiped at Thebes in the 11th Dynasty, but it was with the emergence of the powerful 12th Dynasty that he became prominent (cf. the personal name of the founder of the 12th Dynasty, Amenemhat, "Amon is Supreme").

Amon became state god of Egypt with the emergence of the 18th Dynasty and the foundation of the New Kingdom. Prior to this, the Hyksos (Dynasties 15 and 16) had established Avaris in the Delta as their capital and had elevated the importance of the god Seth. After Ahmose, founder of the 18th Dynasty, expelled the Hyksos he once again chose Thebes to be the capital city. As the empire expanded in the New Kingdom under such mighty pharaohs as Thuītmose III, so did the power of Amon, who was seen as being responsible for all of the military successes. Amon was especially credited with victories over foreigners, including the driving out of the Hyksos and the subsequent military excursions into Asia Minor. Having thus subjugated all of the foreign deities, he became "king of the gods." At the same time, the priesthood of Amon greatly increased their power and wealth, the wide influence of Amon's priesthood being reflected in the numerous and elaborate temples and shrines devoted to Amon which spread throughout Egypt, especially on the banks of the Nile.

As Amon rose to preeminence among the gods, he also took on characteristics of Re, the sun god. Amon, "the king of the gods," and Re, the creative power in the sun, were seen as one and the same and henceforth referred to as the supreme god, Amon-Re. Amon had gone from a local deity to a national war god and then to an omnipotent deity who absorbed the elaborate creation mythology surrounding Re. A new cosmogony was developed centering around the creative power of Amon and the city of Thebes as the place where creation had originated. Frankfort (*KG*, 160) has stressed that the fusion of Amon with Re was not a "trick of priestly syncretism intended to add glamour to the god of the capital of Thebes. In reality," Frankfort suggests, "it was a truly creative thought which realized the potentialities of a combination of the concept of the creator-sun with that of Amon, the 'breath of life,' 'the hidden one,' who, as one of the Eight of Hermopolis, was part of the uncreated chaos." Be that as it may, the priests of Amon were nevertheless the direct beneficiaries of their god's new elevated status.

The supremacy of Amon was interrupted for a brief period of time. Amenophis IV, better known as the heretic pharaoh Akhenaten (ca. 1377–1360 B.C.E.), broke with the cult of Amon and favored a solar monotheism which worshiped Aten, the Sun-disc. Akhenaten went to great lengths to extirpate the Amon cult, including expunging the god's name from monuments, destroying sacred images of Amon, and purging any mention of Amon in ritual or mythology. Yet Akhenaten's efforts ultimately proved unsuccessful. Shortly after his death, his religious beliefs in Aten as well as his capital Akhetaten were abandoned. The cult of Amon, which was never totally relinquished, started to resurge even in Akhenaten's last year and grew even stronger during the reign of Smenkhkare. Amon worship was fully restored by Tutankhamen with Thebes serving again as the capital. A famous text from Ramses III of the 20th Dynasty known as the Harris papyrus gives an inventory list of the great wealth of Amon's temples which included "5000 divine statues, 86,486 servants, 421,362 head of cattle, 433 gardens and orchards, 691,334 acres of land, 83 ships, 46 workshops, 65 cities and towns" as well as vast amounts of gold, silver, and incense (see *ANET*, 260–62).

Nahum 3:8 uses the sacking of Thebes (Heb *nō› ›āmôn*) in 663 B.C.E. by the Assyrians as a warning of divine judgment against the equally powerful city of Nineveh.

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**AMON** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾāmôn* (אָמוֹן)]. Var. AMI. **1.** The son of Manasseh, who ruled over Judah for two years, ca. 642–640 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 21:19–26=2 Chr 33:21–25). Amon came to the throne at the age of twenty-two, being one of Manasseh's youngest sons. His reign was cut short by an assassination plot carried out during a palace revolt by his courtiers. These conspirators were in turn killed by the "People of the Land" (Heb *ʿam hāʾāreṣ*), who then put Amon's eight-year-old son Josiah on the throne.

The silence of the biblical text with regard to the motive for the assassination has intrigued scholars, who have attempted to conjecture as to the underlying political and religious causes behind the coup d'état. Malamat (1953: 26–29) has argued that Amon was assassinated by those who objected to his pro-Assyrian policy. Such a hypothesis would fit well with what we know of the general uprising against Assurbanipal in 640 B.C.E. Perhaps owing to Egyptian incitement, the conspirators felt it was time to throw off the Assyrian yoke. Yet this view has recently been challenged by Cogan and Tadmor on chronological grounds (*2 Kings* 275–76).

Other scholars have suggested that the conspirators were religiously motivated. Both accounts by the Deuteronomist and the Chronicler state that Amon practiced the abominable ways of his father Manasseh. Thus it has been conjectured that Amon was assassinated by those who favored the religious reforms of Hezekiah. Nielsen (1967: 103–6), for example, notes the struggle going on between the Jerusalem priesthood and those who favored Manasseh's religious policies.

Finally, it has also been suggested (Cogan and Tadmor *2 Kings* 276) that perhaps Manasseh's older sons who were passed over for the throne may have been behind the assassination of their younger brother.

It is, of course, impossible to decide the extent to which Amon's assassination was politically or religiously motivated based on the data at hand. Our theological historians (the Deuteronomistic account followed by the Chronicler) are more interested in articulating the damning report that Amon "did what was displeasing to Yahweh just as Manasseh his father had done" with idolatry being singled out for special mention (2 Kgs 21:20–22=2 Chr 33:22). Some scholars have suggested that this may argue against the historicity of the Chronicler's description of Manasseh's repentance. In order to be consistent with his earlier description of Manasseh's repentance, the Chronicler departs from the Deuteronomistic account by pointing out that "Amon did not humble himself before Yahweh as had his father Manasseh" (2 Chr 33:23).

**2.** A governor (Heb *śar hāʿîr;* cf. Avigad 1976: 178–82) of Samaria during the days of Ahab (1 Kgs 22:26=2 Chr 18:25). Some scholars would rewrite his name *ʾmr* (cf. LXX's *sem (m)ēr/em (m)ēr*) instead of MT's *ʾmn* (cf. Stade 1885: 173–75). In this narrative Ahab charged Amon and Joash, "the son of the King," with keeping the prophet Micaiah under arrest and feeding him bread and water until Ahab returned "safely" from the fatal battle at Ramoth-gilead.

**3.** In a census list, Nehemiah 7:59 mentions the "children of Amon" as among those who returned from the exile under Zerubbabel and Jeshua's leadership. They are listed among the "children of Solomon's servants." In the parallel list in Ezra 2:57 they are called "children of Ami [Heb *ʾāmî*]."

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**AMORA, AMORAIM.** The traditional title for the Jewish rabbinic authorities ("rabbis") living from about 200 C.E. to around 500 C.E. (the "Amoraic period" of rabbinic Judaism). The term (Heb *ʾămôrʾa* [sing.], *ʾamôrʾaîm* [pl.]) comes from the root (*ʾmr*) which means "to speak" or "to interpret." The name stems from their activities in interpreting the Mishnah.

The location and importance of the rabbis changed during this period. Palestine comprised the Amoraim's first center, but after approximately 400 C.E., they disappeared from history. The Amoraim in

Babylonia were initially subordinate to the Palestinians, but after 400 they constituted the only rabbinic movement. As archaeological and literary evidence makes clear, however, in neither area did the Amoraim control the religious activities of the Jewish people early on. It was not until about 500 C.E. that the Babylonian Amoraim gained authority among the populace.

Each group of rabbis bears responsibility for a legal compilation called a TALMUD. The two Talmuds show similarities in form and goal. Each text is organized as a "commentary" on the Mishnah. The Amoraim thus reinterpret the Mishnah's focus on the temple cult as a way of life based on the synagogue and school—with emphasis on prayer, study, and right actions. This transformation also appears in Leviticus Rabbah—a "commentary" to Leviticus—which changes Leviticus' focus on temple worship to an interest in morality and prayer. Thus, the Amoraim played the pivotal role in transforming Judaism from a religion of sanctification through the temple cult to a religion of salvation through sanctification by ethical behavior, prayer, and study.

There is a second, rare, usage of the term *amora* found in the Talmuds. It is a technical term designating someone who interprets for teachers. In a school, the teacher would briefly make a point, usually in a low voice; the Amora would then repeat the point in a louder voice and in a simpler manner so that all could hear and understand.

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**AMORITES** [Heb *ʾemōrî* (אֱמֹרִי)]. In biblical tradition, the designation of one of the seven to ten nations (Josh 7:10; Gen 15:19–21) that inhabited Canaan before the formation of the Israelite federation.

**A. The Name**

The term *amurru* first occurs in Old Akkadian sources as the general designation of "the West," referring to the W wind, and to the geographical area lying to the (N) W of Mesopotamia. The most frequent usage of the term refers to the population of that W region as an ethnic designation. Its semantic equivalent, Sumerian MAR.TU was used already in the mid-3d millennium B.C. even at Ebla in an ethnic or cultural sense, designating the population of the "West" that was recognized to be foreign to the population of Mesopotamia proper by culture as well as by language. It was also the name of a deity the characteristics of which are obscure. The meaning of the Sumerian term and how it came to designate the Amorites is unknown.

**B. The Language**

Amorite was a very important factor in the history of the Semitic languages, but information about it derives almost exclusively from personal names that can be identified as Amorite by grammatical and other contrasts to the standard onomastics of Akkadian. Nevertheless, considerable information concerning the language has been obtained from these names (Huffmon 1965). Some 6000 Amorite and other non-Akkadian personal names have been identified (Gelb 1980), and in addition some Amorite words appear in cuneiform sources, especially the archives of Mari.

Though early investigations of the language induced some scholars to term it "East-Canaanite" (Bauer 1926), it is clear that Amorite was an independent branch of Northwest Semitic, though it is far from clear to what extent it contrasted to the languages of the inland Syrian region to its W, and to the languages of the coastal region of Palestine and Lebanon (Mendenhall 1985; fc.c). Its West Semitic affiliation is guaranteed by the verbal system with prefixed and suffixed tenses, and preformatives with *ya-* instead of the East Semitic *i-*, as well as by a predominantly West Semitic lexical inventory (but see below).

**C. The People and Culture**

It has been a conventional scholarly opinion for decades that the Amorites were a nomadic population of the Syro-Arabian steppeland (Kupper 1957), who infiltrated into N Syria, gradually became sedentary, and then civilized enough to form states and empires. This view was based ultimately upon old 19th-

century romantic ideas about the nomadic origins of all Semitic populations (Kupper 1957: xiv), and probably more immediately on the Sumerian satire on the Amorites preserved in Sumerian literature of the OB period. In this famous satire the Amorites are described as not burying their dead, eating uncooked meat, not living in houses—in short, as uncivilized nomadic barbarians (Cooper 1983). Though the description is patently untrue, or perhaps only technically apposite, the scholarly world seems to have taken this urban Sumero-Akkadian scurrilous description of Amorite culture at face value because it fitted in with preconceived theories about successive waves of nomads from the Arabian desert as the origin of the Semitic-speaking populations.

In sharp contrast to traditional ideas, a much more productive and realistic approach to the problem of Amorite culture is based upon a recognition of the fact that this population complex had its homeland in the region from the Euphrates River to the upper Khabur and Balikh river valleys S of the Anatolian mountains (Luke 1965). The many hundreds of small unfortified village *tells* in this region (Mallowan 1947: 10–11; Meijer 1986), many of which were occupied already in the Chalcolithic period, identify the culture as basically a village farming culture from time immemorial, but characterized also by a constant contact with urban cultures that were themselves powerfully influenced by the Sumero-Akkadian urban civilization of Mesopotamia. This region also was traversed by the main trade routes between Mesopotamia, Syria, and Anatolia. It is entirely possible that in early 3d-millennium sources the entire region from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean Sea may have been included in what the Sumerians called MAR.TU (Haldar 1970), and that the term may already have been applied therefore to non-Semitic-speaking persons as well.

The N part of this region was characterized by adequate rainfall for agriculture and intensive utilization of arable land. The archaeological record of the dense population of this region inevitably meant that an increasing portion of the population was dependent upon large-scale animal husbandry as their economic base. This was in turn greatly facilitated by the enormous range of steppeland to the S, extending all the way from W Mesopotamia to the Arabian desert, and to the SW to the fringe area of E Syria through the oasis of Palmyra. This large-scale sheepherding in turn implied a symbiotic relationship with urban societies that utilized the wool for the production of, and international trade in, textiles that is already attested in the texts from Ebla (Matthiae 1980). The seasonal movements of village shepherds, especially those residing along the Euphrates Valley, with their flocks between these steppe regions to the S and what is termed the "Upper Country" in the Mari texts, probably led to a contrast designated by the Amorites themselves as the group called *Banu-Yamina* "Southerners," i.e., residents of the Euphrates Valley region who engaged in irrigation agriculture as well as pastoralism, and the *Banu-Sim*ʿ*al* "Northerners," of the rainfall agriculture region. This seasonal movement also has usually been confused by modern scholars with relatively recent nomadic cultural adaptations.

The economic base of the old Amorite society was thus a diversified one combining the high productivity of agricultural villages with the equally high productivity of animal husbandry. The bureaucratic archives of Mari in the 18th century B.C. give abundant evidence of this. The tax receipts of the palace indicate that persons with Amorite names made contributions of *agricultural* produce equally with such contributions made by persons who had Akkadian names. It is interesting, however, that tax payments of *animals* were made by persons who bore Amorite names only (Kerestes 1982). The evidence strongly suggests that, at least in the irrigation-based villages around Mari, the population engaged in agriculture was much more likely to become "Akkadianized" than were the shepherds. It is probable that the irrigation canals maintained by the king of Mari created a dependency and tendency toward assimilation to the Akkadian urban culture on the part of village farmers that was not characteristic of her much more independent shepherds.

Already at the dawn of history urban societies within the Amorite geographical region had been powerfully influenced by the urban cultures to the east (Matthiae 1980), but not until the Mari texts of the Old Babylonian period do we have some concrete evidence for the potential and actual friction between the urban society and the village/pastoral productive complex upon which it was dependent. The famous warning to the king of Mari not to ride upon a horse but upon a donkey because he was the king "not only

of the Akkadians, but also of the Khana" illustrates the contrast. Much more important, however, is the evidence for the nearly constant conflict between successive kings of Mari and a coalition of tribes called "Benjaminites." The conflict ultimately stemmed from the fact that two generations earlier a king of Mari had, through military conquest, extended his control over city/village complexes to the W, absorbing their territory and populations into his imperial domain (see Kupper 1957: 47–81, who completely misunderstood the historical situation).

The tribal organization of the Benjaminites as well as other social entities referred to in the Mari texts had nothing to do with nomadism; rather, such organization is a constant in village society, especially when solidarity among villages is necessary to counterbalance the increasing domination of a central government. See also BEDOUIN AND BEDOUIN STATES. Unfortunately, little is known of the internal social organization of Amorite populations: they had officials known as *rabi amurrim* ("chief of Amurru") and *ʾabi amurrim* ("father of Amurru") and Amorite towns and villages had officials appointed by the king. These village heads were called *sugagum* in Amorite but *šāpirum* in Akkadian, and had to pay large sums to the royal treasury for their appointment (*CAD s.v. sugagum*). Furthermore, some regions had kings (*šarrum*) such as those defeated by the grandfather of Zimri-Lim. Their territory became part of the Mari empire, and their cities (Abattum, Tuttul, and Terqa, as well as no doubt others) became seats of provincial governors.

**D. Amorite History Reconstructed**

Contrary to present accepted opinion, it is probable that the sedentary Amorite culture of NE Syria had a continuity from the Chalcolithic or even Neolithic period on to the end of the MB Age. Though earlier Assyriologists identified this region of high population density with the land of Subartu and a non-Semitic-speaking folk, all the evidence we have indicates persons of the region have perfectly good Amorite names. It is not until the end of the MB Age that there is evidence for a massive shift of population in the entire N Syrian region, with the establishment of the empire of Mitanni and its predominantly Hurrian and Indo-European population.

In the absence of usable written documents prior to the EB Age, there is no way of proving or disproving this thesis. What does appear to be certain is that the growth of population in this region resulted in increasing emigration to the E, and there is now no reason to believe that what was happening in the W was any different. By the end of the 3d millennium B.C. Amorites were already settled in fairly large numbers in the cities of Mesopotamia (Bucellati 1966). Before the end of the 3d Dynasty of Ur, the king had erected a long wall that was intended to stop the Amorite infiltration and incursions into his territory. According to ancient traditions, a coalition of Amorites and Elamites destroyed Ur (ca. 1960 B.C.), and within a century virtually all of the old cities of Mesopotamia were ruled by kings who bore Amorite names.

It is certain that a similar process was taking place in the W regions along the Mediterranean coastal plain (Mendenhall 1985), though the evidence is very meager compared with that available for Mesopotamia and provides little, if any, basis for a chronology of the process. Ugarit had an Amorite dynasty in control of the city by about 1900 B.C. that continued in power until the city was destroyed at the end of the LB period. Similarly, Byblos had kings with Amorite names by about 1800 B.C., and it is perhaps no coincidence that the first (known) Amorite king of Byblos, Shemu-Abu, had the same name as that of the founder of the 1st Dynasty of Babylon, Sumu-Abum. Whether or not the destruction or collapse of the city-states of Palestine and Lebanon at the end of the EB III period (about 2300 B.C.) had anything to do with Amorite infiltration is at present an unanswerable question. It would seem improbable, to judge from what is known of Mesopotamian history. Furthermore, the earliest evidence for Amorite political control of coastal city-states comes half a millennium after the EB III destructions, and therefore makes most implausible the theory that Amorite incursions were responsible.

The turbulent times that attended the transition from the MB to the LB Age (16th century B.C.) seem also to have seen the disintegration of the old Amorite culture in the N Syrian homeland. There can be little doubt that this was brought about by incursions of Anatolian populations from the N. It is possible that the process was already beginning in the earlier phases of the MB period, and may help account for

the Amorite migrations to the E and W. By the end of the 16th century the whole of N Syria was under the domination of the Hurrian empire of Mitanni; by the beginning of the 14th century many of the city-states of Syria, the coastal region, and Palestine (as far S as the Hebron area) were ruled by kings who bore Hurrian or Indo-European names. Alalakh in N Syria shows a significant population shift from very predominantly Semitic names to equally predominant Hurrian names between the 18th and 15th centuries. Ugarit on the coast had a population less than 40 percent Semitic, and in most of N Syria and the coastal region dynastic names shifted from Semitic, to Hurrian, and then to Luwian. By the Iron Age N Syria was known as *mat ḫatti,* "land of the Hittites."

During the LB Age, the Amorites had evidently become thoroughly assimilated into local populations both in the E and the W, as well as in the NE Syrian homeland, so that after that is no longer possible to identify a specific Amorite cultural/linguistic population group.

**E. "Amorite" as a Political Designation**

It was noted above that in native Amorite society there were already kings and other titles that designated political functions or offices. Following the diaspora of Amorites in the 20th to 19th centuries, there was evidently a multitude of political titles that made use of the term Amurru or the Sumerian MAR.TU. The term "father of the land of Amurru" was used at Larsa by an Elamite king, and subsequently by other kings including Hammurapi. The title became "king of the Amorites" by Hammurapi's 35th year and was a standard appellative of kings from then on, obviously devoid of any ethnic connotations. It was even included in standard lexicographical texts: LUGAL MAR.TU = *šar-ru a-mur-ri-i* (Kupper 1957: 174–77).

In the LB Age there was established a kingdom of Amurru in the upper Orontes Valley region of Syria. It is attested already in the Alalakh texts of the 15th century, and its history is well recorded in the Hittite and Amarna archives until its destruction at the beginning of the Iron Age. Abdu-Ashirta, a vassal of the Egyptians, established a dynasty in that kingdom that can be traced for six generations. His successor, Aziru, became a vassal of the Hittites as Egyptian power in the N began to wane, and we even have the text of the suzerainty treaty between him and the Hittites.

The next and last occurrence of the royal title "king of the Amorites" occurs in the biblical references to Sihon, who associated with Heshbon in Transjordan, and who was defeated in the earliest recorded battle of the newly established Israelite federation (Numbers 21). There can be little doubt of the historicity of the event, even though the present narratives are of course garbled by the overlay of later tradition and interpretations. His royal title must have derived from, and represented a continuation of, the political traditions of the old N Syrian principality of Amurru. Together with a number of other puzzling traditions (notably the Balaam narratives), this title strongly indicates a considerable influx of population into Transjordan and Palestine at the time when destructions in N Syria were leaving much of that region virtually depopulated. At the same time (i.e., the transition from LB to Early Iron Ages) the population of Transjordan saw a very sharp rise in density, and the only reasonable source for this rapid growth was the region to the N. Even the name Sihon (as well as Og of Bashan, who is also identified as an "Amorite" king) has no reasonable Semitic etymology. As was true also in Mesopotamia, the term "Amorite" no longer had any ethnic or linguistic significance and had simply become part of the traditional titulary of kings with N Syrian cultural connections. The conclusion is inescapable that Sihon and others were the remnants of N political entities that attempted to reestablish their old political regimes in another region—exactly as the neo-Hittite state of Carchemish successfully did for a time, after the destruction of the Hittite state and empire ca. 1200 B.C.

That Sihon and Og were not the only illustrations of such a process is indicated by the fact that the Amorites are also included in all of the various "Tables of Nations" scattered through the Pentateuch and Joshua. These lists designate political regimes and not merely "ethnic" groups. This is evident both from the fact that they are labeled *gōyîm* (which is probably best defined as "a politically organized military gang") and from the fact that some of them, such as the Jebusites of Jersualem, can definitely be identified with specific city-states. It has been established that the regime of Jerusalem already in the Amarna period derived from N Syria (Moran 1975). Its Amorite derivation is indicated not only by its name, *Yebus*

(which is Amorite *Yabusum*), but also by the bitter condemnation of the prophet Ezekiel (16:2–3), who accurately described its origin as a hybrid of Amorite and "Hittite" (i.e., N Syrian) forebears. Even the language of standard biblical prose, that of Jerusalem, betrays its Syro-Hittite heritage in its use of the verb *hyh,* "to become," that is attested elsewhere only in Amorite and at Zenjirli (and of course in the much later attested Aramaic), instead of the otherwise standard Phoenician-Arabic verb *kwn* that stems from the EB Old Coastal Dialect of Palestine.

**F. The Amorite Cultural and Religious Legacy**

To the E, the disappearance of the Old Akkadian language and its replacement by Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian is most probably the result of Amorite influence in Mesopotamian speech and eventually writing. A similar but not identical process took place in the W. The Old Coastal Semitic of the Byblos Syllabic texts was replaced by a complex of local dialects that have long been termed "Canaanite," but all of which exhibit a blend of the older dialect with very strong influence from Amorite that can be traced especially in proper names and vocabulary (Mendenhall 1985: chap. 10; fc.b). In contrast to the E, where the older Old Akkadian disappeared entirely, the basic structure of the older language, the Old Coastal Semitic, survived in various fringe areas from the Biqaʿ of Lebanon to the Sinai peninsula, and eventually became literate in the inscriptions of Old North Arabic and Old South Arabic.

Historically more important, however, is increasing evidence suggesting that venerable cultural and religious traits all over the ANE have Amorite origins. Long ago it was noted that the myth of cosmic conflict was probably Amorite in origin, and was adapted in the E in the Babylonian creation epic, and in the W in the Ugaritic myth of the conflict of Baʿal and Yamm. Accompanying the mythical motifs, the Amorite deities Dagan, Hadad, and ʿAnat became established in the W superimposed upon earlier deities of ʾAthirat and Yamm, ʾIl, ʾIlat (Baʿalat), and a Baʿal, whose proper name is unknown, but who is later identified with the Amorite storm god Hadad. The details of the process remain to be worked out, but the syncretistic process itself can hardly be questioned (Vine 1965).

Furthermore, it is now possible to trace, at least in theory, the reasons for the extremely close parallels between biblical and Old Babylonian literary works. It is virtually certain that such motifs as the flood story were mediated to the Palestinian region through N Syrian (Hurrian) versions of an old Amorite narrative. However, much more impressive is the earliest biblical law code of Exodus 21–23: its striking similarities to the Code of Hammurapi and other Mesopotamian law codes reflect their common derivation from Amorite traditions and customary law.

Probably the single most important Amorite contribution to the biblical tradition was the Abraham narrative in Genesis, which was in all probability a specifically Palestinian epic tradition (for the archaeological correlations, see Dever *IJH,* 70–120). In spite of the fact that it has been thoroughly reworked to fit the political concerns of a *much* later period (Mendenhall *AIR,* 337–56), the basic structure of the narrative fits entirely the nature of the historical process of Amorite migrations attested in the Bronze Age sources: from infiltration to political control legitimized through a divine gift of the land (though the latter stage is, of course, presented in the biblical narrative as realized only with King David).

Finally, it should be noted that some of the most important concepts in the theological vocabulary of the Hebrew Bible are either demonstrably or probably of Amorite origin. Foremost is the concept of divine deliverance that became the concept of "salvation" expressed in various forms of the root *yšʿ.* At least sixteen gods and divine epithets appear as subjects of the verb "to save" in the Amorite personal names. Other key theological terms that are probably Amorite are *ṣdq,* "righteous"; *nqm,* "vindication"; *yšr,* "upright" (there was probably a native Coastal Dialect cognate, but with a semantic contrast); *špṭ,* "to judge"; *ḥsd,* "faithful," and perhaps *zkr,* "remember" (Mendenhall fc.b).

In summary, from the MB Age on there was no region of the Levant that had not been influenced by the Amorite language and culture in various ways and various degrees. Their cultural and linguistic influence was a lasting one that is gradually coming to light, especially in the areas of religion and law. Past generations of scholars credited the Babylonians with these cultural achievements; however, it now appears that the Babylonians themselves were merely the recipients, in part the product, and to some degree the vectors of the ancient Amorite village heritage, until they succumbed to the perpetual

temptation of urban imperialism. It is equally clear that the Amorite populations were themselves drastically modified by the various cultures into which they became integrated in the later phases of the Bronze Age, so that eventually they ceased to exist as a distinct cultural group.

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## AMOS (PERSON) [Heb *ʿāmôs* (עָמוֹס)]. **1.** See AMOS, BOOK OF.

**2.** The son of Manasseh and father of Josiah, according to Matthew's genealogy tying Joseph, the husband of Mary, to the House of David and Solomon (Matt 1:10). Amos is unknown as an ancestor of Jesus in any other biblical documents, except Luke's genealogy (see below), but there is a significant textual variant with Amon, Gk *amōn* (see ASAPH). The external evidence for Amos is strong (Sinaiticus B, C, [$D^{Luke}$], St. Gall, Tiflis, Leningrad, $f^{1}$, 33, $it^{c, d\ Luke, ff1, g1, k, q}$ $cop^{sa, bo, fay}$, arm, eth, geo), with Alexandrian and some Caesarean witnesses, as well as Eastern versions, in comparison with the weaker external evidence for Amon (K, L, W, Leningrad, $f^{13}$, *Byz Lect*$^{m}$, $it^{a}$, Vg, $syr^{c, s, p, h, pal}$). The UBS committee "was impressed by the weight of the external evidence" (*TCGNT* 2) for Amos, though it recognized opposing positions (cf. Borland 1982: 501–3). If Amos is adopted—as it is by only a few standard versions, including RSV and NAB (contra AV, NEB, NASB, NIV, JB)—the genealogy appears to be in error, possibly with insertion of the OT prophet Amos (Luz *Matthew 1–7* EKK, 90 n.14) for the more historically correct Amon, found in the king-list of 1 Chr 3:13–14 and in 2 Kgs 21:18. Gundry (1982: 16) believes Matthew may have chosen or coined the spelling "Amos" for a secondary allusion to the prophet, as he did with Asaph (RSV Asa) (1:7–8), but this is dubious (cf. Brown 1977: 60–61). Amon probably should be read instead, on the basis of the OT evidence, although, unlike the MT, the LXX on which Matthew may well depend illustrates a diversity of readings, including Amos and Amon.

**3.** The father of Mattathias and son of Nahum, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam (Luke 3:25). It falls within a list of seventeen otherwise unknown antecedents of Jesus (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 500), except for Matthew's genealogy (which appears in adapted form in Luke 3:23–31 in the codex Bezae) (see above). Whereas Amos may, according to Marshall (*Luke* NIGTC, 163), represent the king Amon (2 Kgs 21:18), Amoz the father of Isaiah (2 Kgs 19:2), or the prophet, the name here probably is not to be equated with any OT person bearing a similar name (cf. Hervey 1853: 136–37), even in light of Luke's theme of Jesus as prophet (see Johnson 1969: 240–52). Kuhn (1923: 211) must stretch the evidence to see a relation between Amos and Simeon (3:30) as a result of corrupt writing and placement.

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**AMOS, BOOK OF.** Amos (Heb *ʿāmôs* (עָמוֹס)) was an 8th-century Hebrew prophet who was born in the S kingdom of Judah but whose ministry was directed mainly to the N kingdom of Israel. Prophesying probably shortly after 760 B.C.E., Amos is reckoned as the earliest of the so-called writing prophets. The book bearing his name contains both oracles by him and some biographical information about him. It is the sixth book in the prophetic section of the Hebrew Bible and the third book of the "minor Prophets" (in the LXX it is the second book, before Joel).

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A. Biography
B. Historical Setting
C. Theological Ideas and Motifs
D. Structure and Content
E. Literary and Rhetorical Features
F. Text and Canon

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**A. Biography**

Our knowledge of Amos the man is restricted to the information provided in the book of Amos. He was from Tekoa (Amos 1:1), a small garrisoned fortress ca. 10 miles S of Jerusalem and slightly W of the wilderness of Judah, a barren and rocky wasteland that falls toward the Dead Sea. He was variously described as a *nōqēd,* "shepherd" (1:1), a *bôqēr,* "cattleman" (7:14), and a *bôlēs,* "gouger [of sycamore figs]" (7:14). Undoubtedly, then, he came from an agricultural background, but the exact natures of his duties are in doubt. Early scholarship assumed that Amos was a poor manual laborer, a shepherd and goatherd who, possibly in the off season, worked as a dresser of the sycamore trees that grew in the lowlands in the Jericho Valley. The latter work involved cutting the fruit while it was still on the tree so that it would ripen at the proper time. It was generally assumed that the figs were eaten by the poor, including Amos, who may also have cut figs in exchange for grazing rights.

These early interpretations arose not so much from an understanding of the words used to describe Amos' profession—*nōqēd* occurs in only one other place in the OT, and both *bôqēr* and *bôlēs* are *hapax legomena*—as from the thrust of Amos' message. Scholars assumed that, since Amos was a champion of the poor and a critic of the wealthy, he must have had a modest upbringing. For a number of reasons this conclusion must be rejected.

The one other OT occurrence of *nōqēd* is in a reference to Mesha, king of Moab (2 Kgs 3:4). Mesha was obviously the "owner of herds," a breeder on a large scale, not a poor shepherd. *nōqēd* also occurs at Ugarit in the colophon of a text that indicates a possible cultic significance to the term (*CTA* 6.6 = *UT* 62.55): *rb khnm/rb nqdm,* "Chief of Priests/Chief of (Temple)-herdsmen" (*ANET,* 141b). Both these references suggest that Amos was either a shepherd who owned his sheep or an official who tended the royal or temple herds.

The Ugaritic text creates the intriguing possibility that Amos worked as an official in the service of Uzziah (2 Chr 26:10) or the Jerusalem temple. This cannot be ruled out. However, it appears that the term *nōqēd* is not in and of itself a cultic or royal term but one that derives those connotations from the surrounding text (cf. *CTA* 71.71 = *UT* 113.71). Thus, we would argue that Amos was not a royal or cultic

figure but one of the *ʿăm-hāʾārēṣ*, the well-to-do class of citizens who owned cattle, sheep, and goats. The *ʿăm-hāʾārēṣ* maintained tribal authority and Yahwistic orthodoxy, two characteristics of Amos' message (see Soggin 1987: 10–11).

This interpretation of Amos' vocation clears up the problem of understanding *nōqēd* and *bôqēr* together. *nōqēd* has generally been interpreted as a herder or breeder of small animals (sheep and goats), while *bôqēr* has been reserved for one who breeds large animals (cattle) (cf. the Kilamuwa inscription from Zinjirli [*KAI* 24:12]). It has been argued that the terms are incongruous, that poor farmers did not have the resources to breed and tend both small and large domestic animals. This led to emendations of the text: since *nun* and *bet* are often confused in writing, as are *dalet* and *reš*, scholars sometimes emended the MT to read *bôqēr* for *nōqēd* or *nōqēd* for *bôqēr,* thereby eliminating the problem. Others suggested that the reference to "flock" in Amos 7:15 influences the reading of *bôqēr* (from large animals to small) (7:14). Neither proposal is necessary, however, when we accept that Amos was rich enough to own sheep, goats, and cattle.

Finally, although the poor did eat sycamore figs, the fruit was mostly used for cattle fodder. Thus, the description of Amos as a *bôlēs* may refer to his ownership of sycamore orchards as a feed crop rather than to the specific act of cutting the figs.

The information regarding Amos is scarce, so that which does exist is worked and reworked, interpreted and reinterpreted in an attempt to enhance our understanding of the prophet. Since we have no first-person account of Amos' call to prophesy—as we do, for example, with Jeremiah—intense attention has been paid to the biographical record of Amos' confrontation with Amaziah, the high priest of Bethel (7:10–17), for it is there that Amos proclaimed to Amaziah that Yahweh "took him from following the flock" and called him to "go and prophesy to my people Israel" (7:15). Amos also states: *lōʾ nābîʾ ʾānōkî, wĕlōʾ ben-nābîʾ ʾānōkî* "Not a prophet I, nor the son of a prophet I" (7:14).

Much has been written about this statement, and scholars uniformly agree only on one point: the term *ben-nābîʾ*, "son of a prophet," refers to a member of a prophetic guild (1 Kgs 20:35; 2 Kgs 2:3; 4:1, 38). As the monarchy developed, those who anointed kings and supposedly had a direct line to Yahweh established guilds to perpetuate their profession by recruiting and training future prophets. The guilds were undoubtedly supported from the royal treasury: in troubled times the royal family would need favorable predictions to secure the support of the populace, who would have looked to the prophets as messengers of Yahweh. By Amos' time there were probably few, if any, independent prophets. Part of the importance of Amos and his oracles lies in the fact that he was the first prominent independent prophet of the monarchy. His message is not that of the prophetic guilds; anyone can prophesy who hears Yahweh (Amos 3:8).

In Hebrew Amos 7:14 is a nominal verbless clause. In such instances, the tense of the implied verb "to be" is understood from context. Here, it can be either present tense (from the influence of v 13b) or past tense (from the influence of v 15). The reading "I *am* not a prophet nor the son of a prophet" would suggest that Amos had separated himself from the prophets of the palace, whom he considered corrupt and unable to speak for Yahweh. "Amos is bent on *contradicting* Amaziah's assumption that he is a professional prophet, not somehow *reinforcing* it" (Auld 1986: 26), as a reading in the past tense might suggest. Auld (pp. 26–27) also suggests that the present tense is to be read unless context dictates otherwise; that the three nominal clauses in v 14 (*lōʾ nābîʾ ʾānōkî / wĕlōʾ ben-nābîʾ ʾānōkî / kî bôqēr ʾānōkî ûbôlēs*) suggest a continuing present; and that the *lōʾ,* "not," is an emphatic negative, not the *lʾ* affirmative as in Ugaritic. He concludes that Amos was reinforcing his independence of the corrupt prophetic unions that announced only what their employer, the king, allowed.

The reading "I *was* not a prophet" would suggest that Amos was emphasizing that he was not a prophet at the time of his calling, that he had no prophetic training, and that he did not turn to prophecy for economic or other ulterior motives. Scholars (see, e.g., Mays, *Amos* OTL, 137–39) who argue for a past tense note that Amos referred to prophets (2:11; 3:7), spoke in oracles and sayings like other prophets, and interceded like other prophets (7:2, 5). Amaziah called what Amos was doing "prophesying" (*tinnābēʾ,* 7:12, 16), and Amos said that he was called and sent to "prophesy" (*hinnābēʾ,* 7:15). Soggin

(1987: 8) notes that "throughout the book the verb *nbʾ* and the noun *nābîʾ* (the verb six times, the noun four times) never have negative connotations." Amos also received visions like other prophets (7:1–9; 8:1–9:6) and was called a *ḥōzeh,* "seer" (7:12), a synonym for *nābîʾ* and a term usually appearing in the titles of prophetic books and the Chronicler's work—the term *rōʾeh,* "public seer," is not used and may be yet another way that Amos denied his connection to the paid religious profession. Based on this evidence, one could argue that Amos did not consider all prophets to be corrupt and thus was not denying that he was a prophet, although he might be denying that he was the son of a prophet.

It is possible to propose a new solution to the problem of tense in this passage. It may be that Amos 7:14b–15—that is, Amos' response to Amaziah—is part of the dialogue between Amos and Yahweh at the time of Amos' call. We have, in compressed form, Amos' excuse for not wanting to obey Yahweh and Yahweh's response. Just as Jeremiah (Jer 1:4–10, esp. vv 6–7) responded, "I do not know how to speak, for I am only a youth," so Amos responded, "I am not a prophet nor the son of a prophet, but just a cattleman and fig cutter." Yahweh's response to Jeremiah was, "Go to whom I send you; speak what I command," and Yahweh's response to Amos was, "Go, prophesy." Thus, the tense of the verbless clause is present, which satisfies the linguistic arguments, but it references a past situation, which allows for a better interpretation of Amos as a prophet. And in reiterating his call, or part of it, Amos responded to Amaziah's concerns. Zevit (1975) notes that Amaziah assumed that Amos earned his living as a prophet, usually spoke in Judah, and was on his own in Bethel (Amos 7:12). Amos countered that he did not earn a living as a prophet, had a divine mission to Israel, and was not on his own but was called by Yahweh (7:14–15). Amos supplied all of this information to Amaziah through a recollection of his call.

The sayings and oracles of Amos convince us that he was cognizant of the history of Judah, Israel, and their neighbors (1:3–2:16). He knew about the cultic and political centers of Israel and Judah and their practices (Jerusalem—2:5, 6:1; Samaria—3:9, 4:1, 6:1; Bethel—3:14, 4:4, 5:5–6, 7:13; Gilgal—4:4, 5:5, Beer-sheba—5:5, 8:14; Dan—8:14). Amos was also aware of the social hierarchy and power structures that existed. The variety of his literary structures and his heightened rhetoric convince us that he was a gifted orator (see E below). All these factors lend credence to the view that Amos was a very gifted, highly educated individual, not a poor shepherd. It is romantic but highly unreasonable to think that the lofty motifs and grand oration of the book of Amos came from an uneducated manual laborer. It has also been suggested that the bold and brash statements of Amos (4:1, 5:5, 6:12, etc.) show that Amos is young. Yet the problems depicted by Amos would lead even older men and women to decry the situation with boldness and sarcasm.

In summary, Amos was an economically independent landed aristocrat who, believing that he had been called by Yahweh, became a prophet to the N kingdom of Israel. After the events of 7:10–17, it is assumed that Amos returned to his ranch in Judah. There is a pseudepigraphic legend that Amos was tortured by Amaziah and then was killed by Amaziah's son (see *OTP,* 391), and another that he was killed by King Uzziah (Ginzberg 1937–66: vol. 4: 262; vol. 6: 357 [*Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah 97*]). We have no evidence that there is any truth to either story.

**B. Historical Setting**

Amos' ministry is dated to the reigns of Jeroboam II (786–746 B.C.E.), king of Israel, and Uzziah (783–742 B.C.E.), king of Judah, "two years before the earthquake" (1:1). The earthquake, remembered centuries later (Zech 14:4–5), was severe, and evidence of its occurrence appears in the remains of Stratum VI at Hazor (King 1988: 21, 38), which can be dated to the mid-8th century. Josephus (*Ant* 9.222–27) connects the earthquake with an act of impiety on Uzziah's part around 760 B.C.E. (see 2 Kgs 15:5; 2 Chr 26:16–20).

If we date the earthquake to around 760 B.C.E., this coincides with Jeroboam's reconquest of Transjordan (Amos 6:14; see 2 Kgs 14:23–29), which also occurred around 760 B.C.E., and with Uzziah's impiety and subsequent leprosy. Jotham, Uzziah's son, reigned as regent from 750 to 742 B.C.E., and then, after his father's death, as king from 742 to 735 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 15:6; 2 Chr 26:21). If Amos' ministry had fallen in the regency of Jotham (750 B.C.E. onward), then presumably Jotham would have been mentioned in the superscription to the book. Thus, we can date Amos shortly before 750 B.C.E., or around 760 B.C.E.

The extraordinary length of the reigns of Jeroboam and Uzziah gives some clue to the historical situation during the early to mid-8th century B.C.E. First, this was a period of peace and expansion for Israel and Judah. The wars that threatened the two kingdoms during the reigns of the predecessors of Jeroboam and Uzziah were over. Assyria to the NE and Egypt to the S were both on the decline and were no threat to the smaller nations of Syria-Palestine. Israel and Judah took the opportunity to expand their borders to those of the old and revered Davidic-Solomonic empire.

The most important annexation for Israel was Gilead and the Transjordanian cities of Lo-debar and Karnaim (6:13–14). The King's Highway, the major trade route from the Tigris-Euphrates river valley to the Gulf of Aqaba and Egypt, ran through Gilead and the Transjordan. Thus, Gilead had been continually contested by Israel and Aram (Syria). With the Assyrian destruction of Damascus, the capital of Aram, Aram went into a decline around 801 B.C.E., which allowed Israel to assume control. Jeroboam, the greatest king of the Jehu dynasty, annexed the area of Gilead and occupied the Transjordan and Judah. Israel thus controlled the major trade route in the area and thereby reaped great wealth.

This was therefore a period of great prosperity for Israel. The stability of the region allowed for the safe conduct of caravans down the King's Highway, which was in Israelite hands. Trading with Egypt and Arabia in the S and Byblos and Syria in the N greatly increased the wealth of Israel and Judah. Amos describes this wealth, which is also evidenced in the archaeological remains of the time. Samaria, located 42 miles N of Jerusalem on a hill about 300 feet above the valley, was established by Omri (876–869 B.C.E.) as the third capital of Israel after Shechem and Tirzah, and excavations there and elsewhere have confirmed the wealth of the rulers and leaders of Israel. Over 500 ivory fragments from the 9th and 8th centuries have been found at Samaria (cf. Amos 3:15). Finds from other cities include over 300 ivories from Megiddo, a bed of ivory from Salamis in Cyprus (6:4), and two palaces facing in opposite directions, from Zinjirli, possibly evidence of the winter and summer houses in Amos 3:15 (also 6:11; cf. 1 Kgs 21:1, 18; Jer 36:22; *KAI* 216.17–20). Houses of hewn stone, or ashlar masonry (Amos 5:11), are found at Samaria. (See King 1988 for descriptions of the archaeological excavations and their findings.)

Auld (1986: 13) argues that, by the time of Amos, Israel was not prosperous but in decline: "The disparity between rich and poor which Amos found so objectionable may have been the result, not of recent prosperity acquired by some under Jeroboam's long reign, but of a longer established decline which bore most heavily on the poor." Hayes (1988) agrees with this interpretation of the historical situation. Yet the archaeological evidence argues for prosperity, not depression, during the mid-8th century. Further evidence comes from Tirzah, the capital of Israel before it was moved to Samaria. Excavations at that city have revealed that in the 10th century B.C.E. houses were of uniform size throughout the city, but by the 8th century one section of the city contained large houses, evidence of prosperity, while the other section contained the small houses of the poor. Megiddo was also a prosperous city during Jeroboam's reign (King 1988: 39). And Amos' description of the elaborate *marzēaḥ* banquets held by the rich (6:4–7) and his reference to the rich women of Israel as the "cows of Bashan" (4:1), fattened on their wealth and security, do not suggest a long-established decline. Thus, we can assume that Israel's domination of Gilead and the King's Highway led to a prosperity that enveloped the royal family and prominent members of society but did not trickle down to the poor. It is this uneven distribution of wealth in the 8th century that set the atmosphere for the social crimes that Amos so violently abhorred.

**C. Theological Ideas and Motifs**

The Israelites were a religious people. Pilgrimages to Bethel, Gilgal, and Beer-sheba, the sacred precincts of Israel, were commonplace (4:4; 5:5). Freewill and thanksgiving offerings and tithes were performed regularly (4:4), and there were many religious assemblies and festivals (5:21–23). By all criteria, then, the Israelites assumed that they were performing the cultic and ritual requirements necessary to appease Yahweh. Furthermore, they considered their wealth and security as evidence that Yahweh was pleased. They assumed that their steadfast devotion to cultic ritual exempted them from the requirements of righteousness and social justice and from the consequences of wrongdoing. Through sacrifice they could guarantee divine favor and their own survival. The peace and prosperity the nation enjoyed must have, to many Israelites, validated their lives, values, and assumptions as the chosen people of God.

Yet the people had turned the official view around and were reasoning in reverse: their prosperity proved that they were righteous. The distinction, while a fine one, is nevertheless important: the obligation of the covenant was to pursue righteousness and justice; prosperity would follow as a by-product of God's pleasure. The pursuit of wealth rather than righteousness was an unacceptable short cut, and wholly abhorrent to Yahweh, according to the prophet. "Amos' severe judgment is a repudiation, not of the cult itself, but of the cult as it was practiced in the eighth century B.C.E. … One's conduct in the marketplace must always conform to one's attitude in the holy place" (King 1988: 89).

And Israel's did not. Amos decried the social injustice, the oppression of the poor, and the lack of any moral or ethical values on the part of the rich and powerful. According to Amos, the spokesman of Yahweh, Israel was a violent, oppressive, and exploitative society. The poor had to sell themselves into slavery to pay off trivial debts (2:6; 8:6). The rich falsified weights and measures (8:5) and traded dishonestly (8:6). Even the courts, the last bastion of hope for the poor, were corrupt. Judges were bribed to cheat the poor out of what little they had (2:7; 5:10, 12). In fact, Israel was no longer capable of acting with justice (3:10; cf. 5:7, 24; 6:12). Truth and honesty were now hated (5:10).

Huffmon (1983: 111–12) is correct in suggesting that, when these social crimes are placed in historical context, four ideological points in Amos' message can be discerned: (1) the socioeconomic lifestyle of the Israelites is opposed to traditional values; (2) socioeconomic reorganization without compassion is not acceptable; (3) the resulting oppression of the poor cannot be tolerated; and (4) participation in the cultus gives a false sense of confidence.

Israel had profaned the true tradition upon which the nation was founded, the Book of the Covenant. The ancient prohibitions against sexual abuse (Exod 21:7–9), debt slavery (22:24), charging interest to the poor (22:25), the misappropriation of collateral (22:26–27), the corruption of the legal process (23:6–8), and fraudulent weights and measures (Deut 25:13–16) were ignored (Amos 2:7; 2:6; 5:11; 2:8; 5:10, 12; and 8:5, respectively) in the greedy race for more wealth. Partial corroboration of these practices comes from the Meṣad Ḥashavyahu ostracon (ca. 625 B.C.E.), whereon a reaper complains that his garment (*beged*) had been impounded and asks the military governor to intervene and retrieve it (King 1988: 24–25).

In the wake of these social crimes, Amos cried: "Let justice (*mišpāṭ*) roll down like waters, and righteousness (*ṣĕdāqāh*) like an overflowing stream" (5:24). In the ancient Near East deities were uniformly considered the source of water. Amos noted that it is justice and righteousness, not cultic ritual alone, that bring forth the divine salvific waters.

Given the peace and prosperity that existed, Amos undoubtedly knew that he had an uphill battle to convince the nation of the truth of his message. He thus took every opportunity to show that his message was Yahweh's message. In his confrontation with Amaziah (7:10–17) Amos denied any relationship to the prophetic unions and claimed that his ministry and message were the direct result of a call from Yahweh (see A above). Were it not for Yahweh's call, he would be tending to his agricultural business. Amos also emphasized the importance of his message through exaggerated and sarcastic rhetoric (see E below). But more importantly, Amos switched the meaning of common, traditional religious ideas, such as the election of Israel, "the day of Yahweh," and salvation history.

Israel viewed themselves as the elect of God, chosen by Yahweh to be His people, His nation; and they considered that election as an occasion of privilege and prosperity. Yet, for Amos, the people had turned the doctrine of election upside down. Election meant, first and foremost, special responsibility and obligation, which Israel could discharge only through the proper treatment of their fellow human beings. Amos measured the moral health of Israel and found the country fatally ill. Amid the peace, prosperity, and religious enthusiasm there was no fundamental loyalty to God, social justice, and ethical standards. Amos declared that Yahweh had thus rejected Israel's corrupt cult (5:21–24), which had produced a false sense of security and encouraged moral depravity. Amos cried out: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth. Therefore, I will punish you for all your iniquities" (Amos 3:2).

The concept of election included not only the assurance that Yahweh would preserve them as a people, but also the anticipation that the "day of Yahweh" would come, a day of salvation when all Israel's

enemies would be destroyed and Israel would stand before the world as a testimony to God's power and authority. With the expansion of the kingdom and with the peace that existed, many Israelites must have thought that "the day" had come and that Jeroboam was the "messiah." Amos, however, reversed the popular interpretation of the "day of Yahweh." It became a day of destruction, not salvation; of darkness, not light; of punishment, not prosperity (4:12; 5:18–20; 8:9–10).

So salvation history became judgment history. In a beautiful parody of the salvation story of Israel's deliverance from Egypt and entrance into the land of Canaan (Pss 105; 136:10–22), Amos turned the plagues of Egypt upon Israel (4:6–13). Unlike the Egyptians, however, Israel did not respond. The God of the conquest was now the God of destruction (2:9–16); the God of the Exodus was now the God of all nations, and the specialness of His relationship with Israel was now destruction, not election. Just as He will destroy the nations surrounding Israel and Judah, so will He destroy Israel and Judah.

With no evidence of a remorseful Israel, Amos had no choice but to become, and thus to forever be known as, a prophet of doom, whose images are those of war (3:11; 6:14; 7:17), defeat (5:3), deportation (4:2–3; 6:7; 7:11, 17), and death (5:2–3, 16; 6:9; 7:11, 17; 8:3; 9:10). He predicted the destruction of Israel (3:12, 15; 5:2, 17; 7:9, 11; 9:8), the razing of the capital Samaria (6:8), the captivity of the Israelites by the Assyrians (5:27; 6:7; 7:11), and the destruction of Damascus, Philistia, Tyre, Edom, Ammon, Moab, and Judah (1:3–2:5). All of this began to take place in 734 B.C.E. when Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.E.), king of Assyria, mounted his first campaign to the W, conquering the coastal areas of Palestine. Hazor, Megiddo, Galilee, and Gilead were captured in 733 B.C.E., and Damascus and Syria in 732 B.C.E. By 727 B.C.E. the small nations of Syria and Palestine, including Israel and Judah, were vassals of Assyria. In 722 B.C.E., after a brief revolt, Samaria was razed, the leaders of Israel were exiled, and Israel became a province of Assyria.

The question has always existed in Amos studies: Did Amos hold out any hope of redemption and renewal? "Many of Amos's words are very bleak: their surface meaning can be read no other way. But is their intent simply at worst to jeer at those on their way to deserved perdition, or at best to annotate their record and arraign them before capital sentence is carried out? Or is the purpose of Amos's sharp criticism to shock his people into self-understanding *and a commitment to amelioration?* He refuses to commit his God to a positive response, but he does leave the door open" (Auld 1986: 65). Auld and others assume that every prophet brought a message of both doom and hope, that every prophet presented a futuristic picture of hope no matter what the crimes and the punishment. It could be argued, however, that Amos' original message did not contain even a shred of hope for Israel. (For a discussion of the oracle of hope and restoration in 9:11–15, as well as the doxologies, see F below.)

According to the prophet, the Israelites were beyond redemption (3:10; 5:10) and ready for the punishment that Amos must have sensed was on the horizon. Why would he have projected hope if he knew it was a matter of time before Assyria turned its attention to the west? It is important to note that, unlike other prophets who held out great promise for a remnant that would survive, Amos assumed that there would be no remnant (4:2b; 6:10), or at least that that remnant was in jeopardy. One could also argue that, even if Amos had wanted to present some hope, to do so to such a self-righteous audience enjoying peace and prosperity would have softened the message and led them to turn a deaf ear.

**D. Structure and Content**

Scholars have divided the book of Amos in a number of ways. Koch and others (1976), for instance, divide the book into four parts (chaps. 1–2, chaps. 3–4, 5:1–9:6, and 9:7–15). Van der Wal and Talstra (1984), criticizing Koch's four-part structure, divide the book into two parts (chaps. 1–6 and 7–9). They argue that the superscription implies that two books, one of "words" and one of "visions," were joined together. Most recently, Limburg (1987) has proposed a sevenfold division of the book, each division further subdivided into seven parts. He would propose a three-part structure. Chaps. 1–2 are clearly a unit. Whether chaps. 3–6 should be subdivided into any smaller units is debatable, but it seems clear that this section should be separated from the visions at the end of the book (chaps. 7–9), the third section.

**1. Chapters 1–2.** The book of Amos begins with a classical prophetic superscription (1:1, cf. Hos 1:1; Isa 1:1; Jer 1:1). It contains chronological and geographical information on the prophet's ministry and

identifies his profession; it also provides a description of the contents of the book—"the words of Amos … which he saw." The patronym of the prophet, another feature of the standard superscription, is here missing. The awkwardness of the two dependent clauses has led Mays (*Amos* OTL), Soggin (1987), and others to suggest that the original superscription was as follows: "The words of Amos of Tekoa which he saw concerning Israel two years before the earthquake." The rest they consider the work of a Deuteronomic redactor during Josiah's reform or the Exile. Whether or not this is true, it is important to note that the original superscription is a late addition to the book and not original with Amos. This is not unusual and in fact is the case with all of the prophetic superscriptions of the OT.

After a detached oracle (1:2), there is a series of indictments and sentences against various nations who were adjacent to and had contact with Israel throughout its history (1:3–2:5). (1) *Damascus,* the capital of the Aramaean kingdom to the NE of Israel, was accused of ruthless warfare (1:3–5). It had "threshed Gilead with iron threshing sledges," perhaps a reference to King Hazael's conquest of Gilead (2 Kgs 10:32–33). (2) Yahweh indicted the *Philistines,* Israel's rival for possession of the land of Canaan, because of their exile of a people to Edom (1:6–8). This was possibly a reference to the practice of trading captured prisoners to Edom as slaves to be used in the copper mines located there. (3) *Tyre,* the ancient trading center along the Mediterranean, was convicted of the same practice as the Philistines, as well as for broken agreements (1:9–10). (4) *Edom,* which lay SE of Judah, was the target of the fourth oracle (1:11–12). With the exception of Judah, Edom was the most closely associated with Israel: the nation descended from Esau, Jacob's brother (Genesis 36). Edom had "pursued his brother [Israel] with a sword," a reference to the hostility between the two brothers that was symbolic of the animosity between the two nations throughout their existence. (5) *Ammon* was the next nation to be indicted by Yahweh (1:13–15). The nation, which lay E of the Jordan bordering the Israelite territory of Gilead, was accused of a brutal aggression against Israel, one that included "ripping open" pregnant women. (6) *Moab,* which lay E of the Dead Sea and whose S border joined Edom's N limits, was accused of desecrating the dead, defiling the bones of the king of Edom (2:1–3). (7) *Judah,* the sister kingdom of Israel, was convicted of "rejecting the law of Yahweh" (2:4–5). Except for the latter oracle against Judah, all of the others refer to crimes against humans. This, and the use of Deuteronomic language (*tôrāh* and *šāmar*), has led some scholars to regard the oracle against Judah as a secondary addition, but its exclusion would destroy the formal structure of the whole, as we shall see.

The condemnation and judgment upon each nation began, "For three transgressions … and for four …," a poetic technique that provided a formal structure to the whole (this technique of X, X+1 was common in the wisdom literature of the ancient Near East; see Prov 6:16; 30:15; *Ahiqar* vi.92 [*ANET,* 428b]; *UT* 51.iii.17–18 [*ANET,* 132b]). Thus, there are seven indictments against seven nations, that is, the sum of three plus four. And certainly not lost on the audience was the fact that, when Israel conquered Canaan, it displaced seven nations whom Yahweh condemned and removed from the land because of their inhumanity to humans. Seven nations are now again subject to removal. Yet the climax comes with the addition of one more nation, *Israel* itself—the seventh plus one, the last, separate from the others. Israel, charged with social injustice, had proven to be no better than the Amorites, whom they displaced when they entered the land of Canaan (2:6–11). Just as Israel's seven neighbors were to be punished for various breaches of international law and morality—a sentence that Israel would have applauded—so Israel was to be punished for its lack of justice and compassion to fellow human beings.

When Amos finished his oracle on Judah, the seventh, the audience must have thought he was finished. How shocking it must have been to hear him continue, and to condemn them. "Amos [here was] original in asserting that social injustices and transgressions of the moral code in Israelite society (perhaps equated with 'the law') have the same moral status as transgressions of the much more 'self-evident' laws of international conduct and of the practice of war" (Barton 1980: 49). And, as we have noted, Amos was unique in turning the doctrine of election upside down with his belief that "Israel was not indemnified against punishment but was all the more accountable in view of her election" (Barton 1980: 49).

**2. Chapters 3–6.** This section contains oracles against Israel and predictions of its destruction, and the vast majority of scholars consider this section of the book to contain the actual words of Amos. This

section begins with Amos' new interpretation of what election means to Israel: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities" (3:2). This sets the tone and provides the main theme for this section.

Amos then fortifies his position as a prophet, and his message as one that comes from Yahweh, with a series of rhetorical questions (3:3–8). Here Amos uses exaggeration to point out the obvious. The questions, all demanding a "No" answer, lead the audience to anticipate the confirmation of Amos as a prophet, who is speaking only because Yahweh has spoken to him.

After confirming his role as the messenger of God, Amos delivers a series of oracles against Samaria and Bethel. The arrangement is an A, B, A´, B´ pattern: first those who dwell in Samaria are condemned (3:9–12), then those at the sanctuary of Bethel (3:13–15), then the women of Samaria (4:1–3), and then those at the sanctuaries of Bethel and Gilgal (4:4–5). Amos addresses both the political and cultic centers in his denunciation of Israel's corrupt social practices.

As we noted above (C), 4:6–13 contains a parody of the salvation history of Israel. This parody is arranged in a 2+2+1 pattern (see Gese 1981), with a doxology (v 13) at the end. As we will see, this is the same pattern that appears with the visions (7:1–9; 8:1–3; 9:6) (see Gese 1981: 75–78). There are two pairs of visions, plus a fifth, with a doxology (9:5–6) at the end of the section.

Amos' references to Israel's past would have been familiar to all Israelites. Yet Amos reinterpreted their significance. Just as Yahweh plagued Egypt in order to exact the deliverance of His people, so Yahweh plagued His people Israel to exact their return to Him. Just as He destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, so He destroyed part of Israel. These calamities were brought upon the nation by God to effect its repentance and return to righteousness. But each attempt at reconciliation ended in failure: " 'Yet you did not return to me,' says Yahweh." When they did not respond, Amos taunted, "Prepare to meet your God, O Israel!" (4:12). A meeting that Israel could only have imagined as a pleasant experience now becomes an occasion for the wrath of God to rain down upon those who are present.

Lest Israel think that Amos is happy about the destruction to come, a lamentation over the fallen house of Israel immediately follows (5:1–2). In the classic *qinah* meter of a lament, Amos communicates Yahweh's sorrow over the near complete devastation of Israel—only 10 percent of the population will survive.

The lament in 5:1–2 begins a lengthy section that utilizes a chiastic pattern (A, B, B´, A´) to organize the material. Scholars have argued until recently tht 5:1–17 contains fragments of various sayings given by Amos at different times. That now appears not to be the case. De Waard (1977) demonstrated that 5:1–17 was a palistrophe with the following sections: A—elegy (vv 1–3); B—"seek and live" (4–6); C—complaint (7); D—doxology (8–9); C´—complaint (10–13); B´—"seek good, not evil" (14–15); and A´—mourning (16–17). Lust (1981), expanding on De Waard's structure, considers the entire section from 4:1 to 6:7 to be a chiasm. Again, the doxology at 5:8–9 is the turning point for the structure.

A note about the doxologies is in order. There are three doxologies in the book of Amos (4:13; 5:8–9; and 9:5–6), each significantly placed as an integral part of its respective literary pattern. They underscore Yahweh's power throughout history, emphasizing the point that, if He chooses, He can do *against* Israel what He has previously done *for* Israel. Although most scholars consider the doxologies late editions to the book of Amos (see F below), the fact that they are inherent in the literary structures suggests either that they are original or that both they and the structure are late. The former seems preferable, and it is best to regard the structures and the sayings as original.

A series of woes appears from 5:18 to 6:14. Subjects include "the day of Yahweh" (5:18–20), the cult (5:21–27), the military security of the nation (6:1–3), the *marzēaḥ* feast (6:4–7), and the destruction to come (6:8–14). Amos' description of the *marzēaḥ* feast is particularly intriguing. The feast, attested from the 14th century B.C.E. to Roman times, had either a religious or a funerary significance. It lasted for several days, during which time meat and wine were served to banqueters who were prostrate on couches. There was much eating, anointing with oil, and music (*nebel* is a lyre, not "harp" as RSV [see King 1988: 154]). Amos seems to address the practice of the feast both to show the injustice of such luxurious

feasting while the poor are in such misery and to suggest that, if the feast is a funerary feast, then the participants should mourn for the poor and for the destruction that is soon to take place.

**3. Chapters 7–9.** This unit contains five visions which are broken by a biographical narrative (7:10–17, see A above) and a series of condemnations against Israel (8:4–14). Through these five visions Amos demonstrated the meaning of "prophet" as "seer." He saw events or objects, whether in visions or in everyday life, which he interpreted or which were interpreted for him with respect to the religious situation in Israel. The visions are grouped in pairs in which the imagery is different but the message and its meaning are the same. Within each pair the imagery intensifies, becoming more cataclysmic.

The first pair of visions was a locust plague destroying crops before they were harvested (7:1–3) and a cosmic fire that devoured both the land and the great deep (7:4–6). Although the visions were different, the message was the same: destruction had been decreed against Yahweh's people. When the prophet interceded with Yahweh on behalf of the threatened people, Yahweh agreed and spared the people, or at least postponed the punishment. In both visions, the Lord repented, saying, "It shall not be."

The second pair of visions likewise differed in content and imagery, but the message communicated by them was the same: Yahweh will no longer relent or forgive; the time for mercy is past, and destructive judgment is now certain. The prophet no longer intercedes. In the third vision, Amos saw Yahweh standing beside a wall, with a plumb line in His hand (7:7–9). Much as a mason or a carpenter plumbs a wall to determine if it is straight, so Yahweh plumbed His people, measuring them against His standard of justice and righteousness. Israel failed the test, and this time Yahweh would not spare them. God declared that the land would be made desolate, that Israel would be laid waste, and that He would "rise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword." The fourth vision contains a play on words. Amos saw a basket of summer fruit (*qayiṣ*), and Yahweh interpreted it for him as the end (*qēṣ*) of His people (8:1–3). As in the third vision, so here, Yahweh will not spare those who would make a mockery of His moral teachings. As one gathers in the summer fruit, so Yahweh will gather His people for destruction.

Sandwiched between the third and fourth visions is a narrative about the prophet and his dramatic confrontation with Amaziah, the high priest at the Bethel sanctuary (7:10–17). The words of Amos were unpopular with the religious and political leaders of Israel and posed a threat to Amaziah's authority and control over the cult. Whether Amos threatened Jeroboam—which would have been treason—or whether Amaziah distorted Amos' words for his own gain is difficult to determine and has been the subject of much scholarly debate, but the text shows that Amaziah went to King Jeroboam and reported that Amos had threatened the king's life (vv 10–11). With this report, Amaziah undoubtedly received royal permission to escort Amos across the border. Amaziah thus ordered Amos to go back to Judah, to prophesy in his own land, and never to prophesy at Bethel again (vv 12–13). Amos recounted his call from Yahweh to be a prophet to Israel and indicated that it was his duty to prophesy and preach against Israel (vv 14–16). He then gave Amaziah a personal message concerning his destiny: Amaziah was to be carried away to be executed in an alien country after witnessing his wife's prostitution and his family's death (v 17).

The reason that this narrative is sandwiched between the third and fourth visions is to explain why Yahweh's decision to destroy Israel is irreversible. The behavior of the high priest—in rejecting the message of Amos with its divine warning and in going further by effectively denying the prophet's right and necessity to speak—closes off the last chance Israel has to hear the truth and repent. Thus, Yahweh cannot rescue and spare Israel now that the opportunity for repentance is gone for good.

After an interlude of oracles, including one likening the "day of the Lord" to a solar eclipse (8:9–10), two of which Amos could have witnessed (784 and 763 B.C.E.), the fifth vision points beyond the destruction of the nation and the exile of the people to the obliteration of the leadership, the final act in the drama of judgment. Yahweh stood beside the altar of the temple and ordered its destruction and the elimination of all the people (9:1–6). Not only will Yahweh destroy the land and its inhabitants, but He will raze the sacred precinct where He was worshiped and kill all those who maintained His cult. No one will escape the wrath of Yahweh, no matter where they may hide. Yahweh, the God of hosts, the creator and sustainer of the world, will perform His judgment upon Israel.

The visions are followed by two oracles that close the book. The first (9:7–10) is a prophecy of terrible destruction on the nation Israel. The imagery is vivid: no one shall escape the evil destruction, not even those who think they can hide in foreign countries, for Yahweh will scoop up and shake the nations through His sieve, and not one Israelite shall fall through. All Israel shall be caught in the coming destruction.

This vivid oracle of destruction is followed by a vision of the last days when the land and its fruitfulness will be restored and renewed and a new age of reconciliation and restoration will begin. The vision describes the restoration of the Davidic kingdom, prosperity, and security (9:11–15). Scholarly consensus is that this last promise of renewal is a 6th-century exilic addition. Eighth-century prophetic oracles were often revised and reapplied to the similar 6th-century experience of Judah (e.g., Micah), and consequently 8th-century materials were often interlaced with those of the sixth. That appears to be the case here. First, v14b contradicts 5:11b. Second, there is a discordant tension between the severe oracle of destruction in the preceding verses (7–10) and the glorious hope of renewal here. Third, as we have noticed above, nowhere else in Amos is his judgment and condemnation of Israel mitigated. Fourth, the phrase "unsteady booth of David" most likely refers to the imminent destruction of Judah in 587/6 B.C.E., over a century and a half later than Amos. The phrase "restore the fortunes" is clearly later terminology (see Isa 63:9; Micah 7:14). Fifth, the "remnant of Edom" probably refers to those left after Edom's destruction by the Babylonians, also in the 6th century (Ezek 25:12–14). For these reasons, it seems likely that 9:11–15 is a late addition to Amos (see F below for a discussion of other late additions).

**E. Literary and Rhetorical Features**

The language is rich and the literary features abundant in the book of Amos. In addition to the literary structures (chiasm, alternation) pointed out in the previous section, Amos uses a number of other features to formulate his message. The use of divine appellatives, the alternation between first and third person, and between second and third person with reference to addressees, and the creation of sound patterns all aid in knitting together the larger structure of 4:1–6:7 (Tromp 1984). Amos is fond of progressive numerical formulas, using them to structure at least three sections of the book: the X+1 pattern of 1:3–2:14 and the 2+2+1 quinary patterns of 4:6–13 and chaps. 7–9.

Amos employs a variety of types of literature. The messenger formula typical of diplomatic correspondence in the ancient Near East (2 Kgs 19:10–19) is used abundantly by prophets, including Amos. The introductory formula "thus Yahweh has said/says" and its variations ("Yahweh has sworn," "an oracle of Yahweh") is used approximately twenty times throughout the book. Amos presents visions, as we have noticed, testimony ("Hear this word," 3:1; 4:1; 5:1), woes ("Woe to," 5:18; 6:1; 6:4), proverbs (3:3–6), wisdom (5:13), laments (in 3/2 *qinah* meter, 5:1–2), and doxologies (4:13; 5:8–9; 9:5–6). Judgments in the form of reproaches and oracles of doom of course appear throughout the book.

Amos' use of rhetorical features include exaggeration (2:6–8; 3:9–11; 4:1–3; 5:21; 6:12–13), word play (5:5b; 8:1–2), antithesis (2:13; 5:4–5, 24), verbless sentences (5:18; 6:1–3, 6, 8, 14), taunts (4:4–5), riddles (6:12), comparisons (2:9; 5:2, 7, 19), and metaphors (1:3; 2:13; 3:12; 9:9).

**F. Text and Canon**

The book of Amos for the most part contains the words of Amos, the 8th-century prophet. There are, however, sections that everyone agrees are not written by Amos: the superscription (1:1) and the biographical account of the prophet's confrontation with Amaziah (7:10–17). It is generally assumed that the disciples of Amos supplied these sections when they preserved Amos' words in writing, either during or shortly after his ministry. His disciples also may have organized Amos' oracles into the present patterns that we have. For instance, the oracles to the foreign nations in 1:3–2:5 may have been separate oracles that were brought together by those who followed Amos.

The general consensus is that the social matters are the true words of Amos. Although Koch and others (1976; 1982/3) argue that the doxologies (4:13; 5:8–9; 9:5–6) are late, de Waard (1977) and Tromp (1984) have shown that they are an integral part of the structure present in their respective sections (see the discussion in D above). To consider them late, then, is to consider the structuring of these sections a late editorial function. Since the doxologies reaffirm the power of Yahweh to act as the prophet has said

he would and do not go against the grain of any sections that are considered original with Amos, it seems best to attribute the doxologies to Amos and/or his disciples.

Lust (1981) has suggested that 5:4–6 and 5:14–15 are part of the Deuteronomic redaction since they mimic Deut 12:5 and 30:15, respectively. But which work influenced the other? It is possible that the "seek X, not Y" phrase and its variations such as "seek X and live" were common examples of the rhetoric of the monarchy. Amos could easily have been the first to record them. Amos 1:2 is sometimes rejected as late on the basis of its similarity with Joel 3:16 and Jer 25:30–31, but again, Joel and Jeremiah could have been copying Amos.

Some scholars also reject the originality of the oracles against the nations of Tyre (1:9–10), Edom (1:11–12), and Judah (2:4–5; see D above). It has been argued that the oracle against Tyre should be dated post-604 B.C.E. to the time of Nebuchadnezzar II (cf. Ezek 26:1–28:19). Ezekiel's proclamation against Edom (25:12–14) has led some to regard Amos' oracle against that nation as similarly emanating from the exilic period. As we have noted, the Deuteronomic language in the oracle against Judah suggests a 7th- or 6th-century date (see Barton 1980: 24). Yet all of the smaller nations of Syria-Palestine were alternately strong independent states and then vassal provinces numerous times from the 8th century until the conquest of the Near East by Cyrus the Persian. There were ample occasions to condemn each of the above, and the prophecies of Ezekiel almost two centuries later should not deter us from assuming that the prophets of Yahweh also had problems with these nations in the 8th century. Furthermore, an elimination of these oracles from the set destroys the entire structure of chaps. 1–2 and eliminates the movement toward the ultimate climax of the series, the oracle against Israel. As noted above, there can be little doubt that 9:11–15 is a later addition to the book.

Scholars disagree on what other sections can be attributed to Amos or his disciples and on the development of the text of the book. Hammershaimb (1970), for instance, considers the entire book to be the genuine sayings of Amos that were put together by his disciples. Gordis (1971) and, more recently, Limburg (1987) assume that the book is substantially the unified work of Amos. Hayes (1988) believes that the book is the result of later redactors pulling together short snippets of the genuine speeches of Amos. Mays (*Amos* OTL) considers 1:3–6:14 to be from Amos, with the rest the result of redactions that reached down into the exilic period. Rudolf (*Joel, Amos, Obadjah, Jona* KAT) reduces the material original to Amos to 1:3–2:16. He assumes that Amos' disciples developed the rest of the book, except for 9:11–15, which Rudolf argues is late.

Wolff (*Joel and Amos* Hermeneia) believes that chaps. 3–6 are from Amos and that the rest has been developed in six layers: (1) chaps. 1 and 2 and (2) the five-part series of oracles and visions from Amos himself (cf. Gese 1981); (3) the Amos school (disciples); (4) the Bethel interpretation during the period of the Josianic reform (3:14b; 5:5b; 9:1–4); (5) the Deuteronomic redaction; and (6) the postexilic salvation eschatology. Coote (1981), adapting Wolff's work, assigns the book to a three-stage process of growth: (1) "the words of Amos"; (2) "Justice and the Scribe," the message reactualized in the 7th century; and (3) "Exile and Beyond." More than likely there were three stages in the development of the book of Amos: (1) the original words of Amos, including the sayings (1:3–6:14; 8:4–14; 9:7–10) and the first-person narratives ("visions," 7:1–9; 8:1–3; 9:1–6); (2) the work of the disciples, including the superscription (1:1) and the third-person narrative (7:10–17); and (3) a later editing that appended the oracle of hope to the end of the book (9:11–15).

The book of Amos, in its present form except for 9:11–15, was undoubtedly part of the first edition of the Hebrew Bible. That edition, compiled between 560 and 540 B.C.E. by the Jewish community in exile, included the Primary History (Genesis–2 Kings) and the prophetic corpus associated with that history (1 Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the first 9 books of the minor prophets). The last date recorded in this material is 561 B.C.E., the 37th year of the exile of Jehoiachin and the 1st year of the reign of Awil-Marduk, king of Babylon. This may refer to the actual date and place of publication. Amos 9:11–15 was probably added to the book after Jewish hopes were aroused by the decree of Cyrus in 538 B.C.E. By the dedication of the second temple in 515 B.C.E., the book of Amos was in its present form.

As far as the text is concerned, "in the main the ancient versions of Amos attest the same text of the book as the familiar Hebrew" (Auld 1986: 57). The LXX lacks "the oracle of Yahweh, God of Hosts" in 6:8 and 6:14, and some Gk versions lack 3:10, but otherwise the LXX and the other versions represent a text similar to the MT; there are no important variations. Furthermore, the MT is in good condition. The text is difficult in places (2:7; 3:12; 5:6, 26; 7:2; and 8:1) where some scholars recommend emending the MT, but in general problems with interpretation of the text arise from our lack of understanding, not the corruption of the text itself.

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**AMOZ** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾāmôṣ* (אָמוֹץ)]. The father of the prophet Isaiah (Isa 1:1). Other than his name, the Hebrew Bible gives us no information about Amoz. Furthermore, this name is the only direct information we have about Isaiah's origins. See ISAIAH. The name occurs thirteen times in the Hebrew Bible and is always part of the phrase "Isaiah the son of Amoz" (Isa 1:1; 2:1; 13:1; 20:2; 37:2, 21 [=2 Kgs 19:2, 20; cf. 2 Chr 32:20]; 38:1 [=2 Kgs 20:1]; 2 Chr 26:22; 32:32). According to Jewish tradition, Amoz was the brother of King Amaziah, the father of King Uzziah (*Meg.* 10b; *Soṭa* 10b). Hence, Isaiah would have been in the line of David. While there are a number of other indications that Isaiah possessed a close connection to the court, it is impossible to confirm this late tradition. The name Amoz is the short form of the name Amaziah, Heb *ʾămaṣyāhû* ("YHWH is strong"). This type of name is at home in the world of cult poetry in which one recognizes that YHWH is the source of strength for his adherents. In addition to Amaziah, the names of the other Judean kings of the 8th century B.C.E. are formed in a similar manner: Uzziah ("YHWH is my strength"), Jotham ("YHWH is upright"), Ahaz (short form of Joahaz="YHWH has seized"), Hezekiah ("YHWH is my strength") (Wildberger *1–12* BKAT, 5; *IPN,* 190). The name *ʾāmôṣ* also appears on a seal of unknown provenance. Although Anderson (1960: 57–58) has argued that this seal belonged to a professional scribe who was none other than the father of Isaiah, it is highly unlikely that this seal ever belonged to the biblical Amoz (Kaiser *Isaiah 1–12* OTL, 2; Wildberger *Isaiah 1–12* BKAT, 5).

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**AMPHICTYONY.** That premonarchic Israel had a structure analogous to that of the classical amphictyony is a theory which enjoyed wide acceptance over half a century. The success of the theory resulted from its explanatory power: it not only provided a credible and illuminating account of an early obscure period, but it also supplied a context within which to locate the formative stages of the Pentateuch and the origins of distinctively Israelite institutions and traditions which could not be explained within the frame of reference of Israel as a monarchic state. Recent criticism of the theory, while not necessarily leading to its absolute rejection, has at least made such comprehensive use of the analogy inappropriate.

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A. The Classical Amphictyony
B. The Theory of an Israelite Amphictyony
C. Reception of the Theory
    1. The Tribal Lists
    2. The Central Sanctuary
    3. The Function of the Amphictyony
D. Alternative Models for Premonarchic Israel

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**A. The Classical Amphictyony**

"Amphictyony," probably originally the proper name of a tribe rather than a compound expression meaning "to dwell around," was the term applied by Demosthenes in the 4th century B.C.E. to a sacred league which, from the beginning of the 6th century B.C.E., had its center at the shrine of Apollo at Delphi. It is to this league that the term originally belongs, and only by analogy is it later applied to other leagues. Thus, Strabo (9.2.33) refers to the amphictyony at Onchestos, and also (8.6.14) to the 7-member amphictyony at Calauria, both centered on sanctuaries of Poseidon. The Delphi league, the institution

about which most information exists (though deriving from a relatively late date in its history) and the league to which the term "amphictyony" properly applied, is, therefore, the model against which the appropriateness of any analogous use of the term is to be tested.

The Delphi amphictyony was a sacred league of 12 peoples; their number remained constant, though political events sometimes led to changes in the identity of the members. It was originally based on the sanctuary of Demeter at Thermopylae, but later came to take the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi also under its protection. The chief functions of the league related to the sanctuary, which the amphictyonic members undertook to maintain and defend. This task was organized by the *hieromnemones*, the chosen delegates of the amphictyonic members (perhaps together with the *pylagoroi*, apparently either the original delegates of the league when it was based on Pylae, or delegates charged with particular functions). The *hieromnemones* met regularly in assembly at the sanctuary for festivals, to administer the finances of the amphictyony, and to keep the sanctuary and its access roads in good repair. Although the cultic focus is essential—a characteristic reflected also in the manifest lack of political unity among the members, between whom internecine warfare was not unknown—the purpose of the amphictyony was not wholly cultic. The members undertook not to destroy any of the towns of the league and not to cut off their water supplies, within the framework of attempting to preserve a state of political equilibrium between the members. Thus, it was not simply for the purpose of maintaining a sanctuary that the amphictyony came into existence, but rather in order to give cultic expression to an agreed state of mutual relations which had already been achieved.

**B. The Theory of an Israelite Amphictyony**

Amphictyonic structures have been proposed for the Philistines (by Rahtjen) and the Sumerians (by Hallo), but it is with reference to Israel that the analogy has been most extensively developed outside the classical world. The term "amphictyony" had already been long introduced into the Israelite context (by, for example, Alt 1929: 438–39; see further Bächli 1977: 17–20) when Noth published his highly influential study *Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels* in 1930. Here the analogy was convincingly expounded in full detail. Further studies by Noth of the pentateuchal laws, the history of the pentateuchal traditions, and the "judge of Israel," culminating in his *The History of Israel*, elaborated his primary study and developed its consequences for associated areas of OT study. Through the use of this analogy, Noth was able to give institutional form to a premonarchic Israel which he, under the strong influence of Weber, conceived of as a religious entity, the covenant people of Yahweh.

Noth (1930: 3–39) based his study on the OT tribal lists. These lists describe Israel, in common with other non-Israelite peoples, as a community of twelve tribes, descended from the twelve sons of Jacob. The lists may be, as in Genesis 29–30, of the sons of Jacob, or, as in Numbers 26, of the tribes of Israel; but the number twelve is consistently maintained. Even when there is variation in the constituent elements of the lists the total number remains fixed. The main discrepancy between the lists and the one which divides them into two basic categories is that some lists include the tribe of Levi while others do not: Genesis 49 is taken as the basic form of the former group, and Numbers 26 of the latter. The sons of Jacob appear in Genesis 49 in the following order: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Zebulun, Issachar, Dan, Gad, Asher, Naphtali, Joseph, and Benjamin. The birth story of Genesis 29–30 shows that the first six are sons of Jacob by his wife Leah, the next four by the handmaids Bilhah and Zilpah, and the last two by his second wife Rachel. The tribes of Israel are listed in Numbers 26 in the following order: Reuben, Simeon, Gad, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, Manasseh, Ephraim, Benjamin, Dan, Asher, and Naphtali.

The chief variation between these lists, the presence or absence of Levi, is important in that it allows a chronological ordering of the lists, for the type which includes Levi is probably older than that which does not. The reason is that it is easier to explain how Levi should have been secondarily omitted from the list than to explain its secondary inclusion. Levi's inclusion in Genesis 49 among the other brothers presupposes that, as in Genesis 34, it is a "secular" tribe. Otherwise, however, and historically, Levi is known only as a priestly tribe separate from its fellow tribes and having no land possession; it is this later status of Levi which is reflected in its omission from the list of Numbers 26. Both lists, in terms of their absolute date, must reflect conditions of the premonarchic period. The later of them, Numbers 26,

supports this conclusion since it assigns to the tribes families which may be identified as city-states of the mountain territories of Palestine (Shechem, Tirzah, and Hepher), but none which may be identified as city-states of the plains. These presupposed conditions would antedate Israelite expansion into the plains, especially in the time of David.

Other variations between the lists, following on the omission of Levi, include the substitution of Manasseh and Ephraim for the single Joseph, and the transfer of the tribe of Gad from a position near the end of the Genesis 49 list to a new position among the Leah group of tribes formerly occupied by Levi. Both changes are significant, the one reflecting a concern to maintain the total of twelve, and the other intending to preserve a total of six for those tribes reckoned as descended from the sons of Leah. It is this concern for consistency which suggests that there is a historical reality behind the lists in the actual life and constitution of Israel in the period of the judges from which these lists derive.

It is at this point that Noth (1930: 39–60) introduced the analogy of the classical amphictyony through which the reality of premonarchic Israelite life might be clarified. The number twelve of the tribes of Israel is an institutional necessity to be understood within the framework of a tribal federation analogous to the later Greek amphictyony at Delphi. In both cases the number is related to the months of the year and the need to maintain the central sanctuary on a rota basis. As in Greece, so in Israel, that number remained constant while the constituent elements of the total were open to variation. In the Israelite context the concern for the number six of the Leah group of tribes should be given a similar explanation. This group represents an older amphictyonic organization of six tribes, only secondarily extended to twelve (Noth 1930: 75–80). Historically, this presupposes that the Leah tribes were the older inhabitants of the land; their organization was extended to a membership of twelve through the inclusion of the handmaid tribes (Dan, Gad, Asher, Naphtali) on the occasion of the entry into the land of the Rachel tribes (Joseph and Benjamin) under the leadership of Joshua. This older six-tribe Leah amphictyony was superseded by the twelve-tribe amphictyony, but alongside the latter there coexisted a six-tribe amphictyony comprising the southern tribes living on the mountains of Judah: Judah, Caleb, Othniel, Cain, Jerahmeel, and Simeon. Thus, Judah and Simeon effectively belonged to two amphictyonies: the larger one was centered on Shechem, to which Joshua summoned the tribes at the conclusion of the entry of the Rachel tribes (Joshua 24), and the smaller one was centered on Hebron and formed the base of David's later elevation to kingship. These were the cult centers which the tribes undertook to maintain; it was here that they, in their representatives, the *nĕśî᾽îm* (a list of whom appears in Num 1:5–15), met to conduct the business of the amphictyony and to participate in the common worship of their amphictyonic God, Yahweh. Shechem, the first center of the twelve-tribe amphictyony, was where the ark was kept; following the movements of the ark, it may then be conjectured that the amphictyonic central sanctuary was subsequently to be found at Bethel, Gilgal, and, finally, Shiloh (*NHI,* 94–95). Through its common cult the amphictyony expressed its essential character as a sacral union. Joshua 24, which records the foundation of the twelve-tribe amphictyony, also reflects the form by which these tribes worshiped Yahweh: it was a covenant form, in which the tribes regularly affirmed their acceptance of the conditions of the covenant proclaimed to them as the law of Yahweh. The amphictyony was, therefore, the institution through which the people of Yahweh came into existence.

Noth's reconstruction was highly influential for a number of reasons. As Sasson (1981: 8–9) has noted, it reflected contemporary German historiographic interest, rooted in recent German history, in the rise of the nation-state, and thus integrated Israel's early history directly and meaningfully into more general historical experience. Moreover, it supplied a framework of historical explanation which was credible for Israelite traditions and institutions of the premonarchic period and beyond. Thus, in general terms, it provided a theory of the nature of an Israel distinct from the monarchic state and presupposed by the monarchic state and also indeed by pentateuchal tradition in general: the monarchy was an institution founded on an already existing Israel; the pentateuchal tradition has its focus on an Israel of the type of the amphictyony rather than the monarchy. It is to such an Israel that the laws of the Pentateuch are addressed, rather than to a monarchic state (Noth 1966: 20–36), and it is within such an Israel that the "minor judges" (Judg 10:1–5; 12:7–15) should be understood to have functioned (Noth 1950: 404–17).

The war between the tribe of Benjamin and the rest of the tribes of Israel (Judges 19–21) was an amphictyonic war with a direct parallel in the Greek context (Noth 1930: 100–6). The traditions behind Deuteronomy and the covenant faith which was found to be reflected in both psalms and prophets could all be seen as rooted in amphictyonic Israel of the premonarchic period (Nicholson 1967: 37–57). Thus, the explanatory power of the amphictyony model together with its conformity to contemporary historiographic interests and values ensured the more or less general acceptance of the theory in OT scholarship.

**C. Reception of the Theory**

The theory of an Israelite amphictyony received its definitive formulation in the work of Noth; it is, therefore, to Noth's presentation that criticism has, especially in the last two decades, been directed. The historical and geographical distance which separates premonarchic Israel from the classical amphictyony, together with the lack of any Hebrew term which might be a possible counterpart to the Greek "amphictyony," have been considered by, for example, Fohrer (1966: 801–16) general points of weakness in the analogy (though, it should be emphasized, issues such as influence or dependence of one culture on another do not arise in the context of an analogy); but it is in three major areas that the appropriateness of the analogy has been substantively questioned.

**1. The Tribal Lists.** Noth's fundamental dependence on the OT tribal lists is problematic for at least two reasons. In the first place, the essential characteristic of the amphictyony was its central sanctuary; but the primary evidence for the presence of an analogous institution in Israel is the consistency of the number twelve of the Israelite tribes. In the classical context, however, associations with varying numbers of members could be termed amphictyonies, the number of members being a secondary or even irrelevant matter. Even when the number twelve is found in the Greek context it is doubtful that it is to be related to the amphictyonic duties of the members. These duties were probably not discharged by the members on a regular monthly rota, but rather by the council of the amphictyonic representatives gathered at the central sanctuary. The number twelve, as De Vaux (EHI: 702–3; see also Mayes 1974: 117 n.57) has recognized, expresses totality (as in 1 Kgs 7:44; 10:20; 19:19) and need not be related to practical concerns. Its presence or absence in any context is, therefore, generally irrelevant to the issue of the existence of an amphictyonic institution.

Secondly, Noth's treatment of the relationship and dating of the tribal lists is generally questionable. The argument that there is a chronological relationship between them begs the question of their purpose, for it is apparent that the very different types of list which are being compared (genealogical, tribal, territorial) need have no direct relationship: thus, Genesis 49 could be older or later than Numbers 26. That any of them belong to the premonarchic period is also doubtful. The order of tribes which Numbers 26 offers can be adequately explained only in the late context of the priestly writing (Hoftijzer 1959: 241–63; Mayes 1974: 16–34), which, in a series of lists (Num 1:20–43; 2:3–31; 26), is describing the layout of the Israelite camp in four companies, each company consisting of three tribes: the effect of the priestly ordering is that Judah, the favored tribe, is the leading tribe of its company encamped on the eastward side. The priestly background of this list effectively removes it from consideration for an institutional structure of Israel in the premonarchic period. The list of the type of Genesis 49 is no more closely related to that time. That the entity Joseph, which appears there, is the original entity which later split into Ephraim and Manasseh (and Ephraim appears in the early Judges 5), is in fact unlikely. The earliest and original use appears to have been "House of Joseph" and this expression came into existence in the monarchic period as a collective designation for a northern group, parallel to the designation "House of Judah." "Joseph" is, in other words, a secondary formation which presupposes the existence of Ephraim and Manasseh and also the stabilization of very complex tribal movements and relationships which were still in progress throughout the whole of the premonarchic period and beyond. In the case of neither Numbers 26 nor Genesis 49 can a premonarchic background credibly be claimed, and thus the view that these lists are to be explained within the framework of an Israelite amphictyony must come under serious question.

**2. The Central Sanctuary.** The amphictyonic central sanctuary was, by definition, integral to that organization. In the Israelite context, however, the information on such a sanctuary is sparse, and this aspect of the theory in fact played a secondary role in Noth's presentation. It was only on the basis of having already, through consideration of the tribal lists, established the existence of an Israelite amphictyony, that Noth then addressed the question of its central sanctuary. Here, in a concrete expression of their common allegiance to Yahweh, the tribes of Israel were supposed regularly to have celebrated a covenant festival. The focal point of the Israelite amphictyony was its sacred ark, and, as reflected in its movements through the period of the judges, the central sanctuary was established first of all at Shechem, and then subsequently at Bethel, Gilgal, and Shiloh, the last-mentioned being the sanctuary of the ark at the end of the premonarchic period.

The criteria proposed to determine whether or not a particular sanctuary was an amphictyonic central sanctuary are largely circumstantial. This in itself is not a decisive weakness, but it must be of some significance that the laws of the OT, and in particular the book of the covenant (Exod 20:23–23:33), which has been identified as amphictyonic law, make no reference to obligations laid on the Israelite tribes to maintain and protect a central sanctuary (and in fact the Book of the Covenant surely envisages a number of local sanctuaries); nor does this law identify the Israelite *nĕśî᾽îm* as tribal representatives gathered at such a sanctuary (Exod 22:27—Eng 28). In the absence of such direct evidence two specific criteria (the presence of the ark and the celebration of the covenant festival), together with one general criterion (acknowledgment as supreme by all the tribes of Israel), are taken to determine the existence of a central sanctuary (Irwin 1965: 161–84).

It must be said, however, that even granted the sufficiency of these criteria they provide no certain evidence of the central status of any premonarchic Israelite sanctuary (Mayes 1974: 34–55). The celebration of a covenant festival at any sanctuary in pre-Deuteronomic times is increasingly a matter of doubt; the ark was certainly to be found at Gilgal and Shiloh (and perhaps also at Bethel, Judg 20:27), though its connection with Shechem (Josh 8:30–35) is attested only in what is certainly a Deuteronomistic passage. These may not, however, be considered particularly pressing issues, derived as they are from OT rather than classical contexts. Yet on the question of the general acknowledgment of a sanctuary as central by all the members of amphictyonic Israel, the result is no clearer. The summoning of all the tribes to Shechem (Joshua 24) is related only in a post-Deuteronomistic story of highly dubious historical value (Mayes 1983: 49–51). Gilgal and Shiloh were sanctuaries of clearly quite distinct Yahwistic traditions, the first of which formed the eventual background for Saul's kingship while the second provided the theological basis for David's kingship. These cannot be treated in any respect as central sanctuaries of a unified Israelite cult. The evidence relating to Bethel is also unclear: the story of the rape and murder of the Levite's concubine in Judges 19–21, which Noth treated as an authentic amphictyonic tradition, forms the context for the statement that "the people of Israel arose and went up to Bethel, and enquired of God" (Judg 20:18), but Shiloh is also mentioned here as the sanctuary of a yearly feast of Yahweh (21:16–21), while in the same story (20:1) it is at Mizpah that "the congregation assembled as one man to the Lord." Although it is certainly conceivable that secondary expansion of the story has overlaid an original reference to just one sanctuary, it is also more than probable that any critical procedure undertaken to recover that older story will also remove its "all-Israel" (and so its "amphictyonic") frame of reference. It appears, therefore, that with regard to this, the fundamental aspect of the amphictyonic organization, there is no unequivocal support for an analogous structure in premonarchic Israel.

**3. The Function of the Amphictyony.** It is possible that the classical amphictyony could still be claimed as an analogy of some heuristic value for premonarchic Israel even in the face of the weaknesses already noted. This would require, however, a form of theory rather different than that originally proposed by Noth and elaborated by himself and others later. As Gottwald (1979: 376–86) has noted, in the classical context the amphictyony was a cultic organization; it did not provide the framework within which a social and political entity was founded, but rather presupposed those historical, social, and political developments which led to the existence of a people; it was by a people, already united in

military and other leagues, that an amphictyonic structure was adopted for the purpose of maintaining the balance of political and social power which had already been achieved.

Within the Israelite context, however, the amphictyony has been made to serve a much more comprehensive function. It is here not only a cultic organization, but also social, political, ethnic, and perhaps also military. Even if (with Smend 1970) the practice of holy war is to be seen as an activity of a military league quite independent of the amphictyonic institution, the latter still has a range of functions which sets it apart from the classical organization. It is within the amphictyony that Israelite political, social, and ethnic consciousness is held to have been formed. Not only did her tribal representatives meet at the central sanctuary, but here also her judges functioned, while it was within that framework that there gradually evolved the normative account of Israelite ethnic origins which eventually found its deposit in the Pentateuch. Moreover, this Israelite amphictyony is held to have been so integral to Israelite identity that it survived the introduction of the monarchy and lived on alongside the monarchic institution as that essential Israel addressed by prophecy and law. The analogy cannot possibly bear the weight of theory with which it is here elaborated.

It is clear that Noth was by no means unaware of this problem, for he himself pointed to the artificial and schematic character of the tribal lists as well as the inconsistency between the particular tribes which they include on the one hand, and the historical role (or lack of it) of these same tribes, on the other. He argued (1930: 40–41), however, that this artificiality did not in itself invalidate the historical reality of the institution, for the latter is an administrative organization created from already existing raw material: just as Solomon, for the maintenance of his royal court, established twelve districts in his kingdom, districts which did not reflect any natural divisions of Israelite tribal territories, so also the amphictyony was an artificial but nevertheless historical institution erected on given social and political realities. The implication of this argument was, as Noth (1930: 55–56) acknowledged, that it was not in fact through the amphictyony that the tribes of Israel first came together. Rather, through the accidents of history, such as common invasion of a new land and common opposition to outside forces, the unity of Israel was first established, a unity which the amphictyony was then designed to preserve. In the elaboration of the theory of an Israelite amphictyony, this significant aspect of its background and context has been generally overlooked.

**D. Alternative Models for Premonarchic Israel**

In recent study of the premonarchic period attention has shifted away from the issue of an Israelite amphictyony both toward other possible analogies for understanding the totality “Israel” and toward the study of the basic social units of which any possible Israelite federation was composed. In the latter context the significance of the family and clan, over against the tribe, as the basic social and economic units has been stressed, especially by Gottwald (1979: 239–92); and as a framework within which they may have been comprehended, the possibility of using the segmentary lineage system, known among African tribes, has been explored, by Crüsemann (1978: 201–8) and Frick (1985: 51–69). Either as an alternative or as a supplement to the analogy of the segmentary society, Israel has also been described as an association of chiefdoms (Flanagan 1981: 47–73; Frick 1985: 71–97; Rogerson 1986: 17–26), the chiefdom analogy being particularly appropriate for the rule of Saul, though perhaps also suitable for the earlier premonarchic period.

None of these more recent developments is in fact incompatible with the theory of an amphictyony in premonarchic Israel, at least insofar as the functions of the latter are restricted to what is suggested by the classical model. Thus, while it must be admitted that, for the present, the evidence in favor of such an organization in Israel is not convincing, the possibility is still open that, within an Israel organized as a segmentary society or an association of chiefdoms, amphictyonic relationships existed between larger or smaller groups of tribes or other social units already united on other grounds. It might be through such relationships that the complex and still uncertain history of the development of Yahwism within Israel will be better understood; but it is unlikely that the analogy will become reestablished as a form by which the nature of the totality of Israel, at any period, is to be expressed. See also Noth, *HPT*.

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A. D. H. MAYES

**AMPHIPOLIS** (PLACE) [Gk *Amphipolis* (Ἀμφιπολις)]. An ancient city of Macedonia located on a terraced hill on the E bank of the Strymon River just S of Lake Cercinitis and about 4 km N of the estuary of the river and the harbor city of Eion. On his second missionary journey, Paul with Silas passed through this city while traveling on the Via Egnatia from Philippi (approximately 50 km to the E) to Thessalonica (Acts 17:1). The city was set on a hill surrounded by the river on three sides and protected by a wall on the E side. This geographical situation of Amphipolis and its prominent position provides the rationale for its name, which means "around the city" (Thuc. 4.102).

The Thracian founders of the city originally called it *Ennea Hodoi* or "Nine Ways," which indicates its early importance as a commercial and military center. Athenian attempts to colonize the city failed in 497, 476, and 465 B.C. but succeeded in 436 B.C. under the leadership of Hagnon. Amphipolis came under

Spartan control in 424 B.C. when Brasidas conquered the city. The efforts of Thucydides, general over Thrace, only succeeded in saving the harbor city of Eion. Despite the efforts of the Athenians to regain control of Amphipolis it remained a free city until Philip the Great of Macedonia conquered it in 357 B.C. After the Romans conquered the region at the Battle of Pydna in 168 B.C. they divided Macedonia into four districts, designating Amphipolis as a free city and the chief city of the first district (Livy 45.17–18, 29–30).

The city, which lies in a fertile river valley, was noted for its wine, oil, and wood. Silver and gold were mined in the adjacent hills and fine woolen textiles were manufactured in this region. During the Roman period the city commanded a strategic position along the Via Egnatia, the bridge across the Strymon River.

Excavations at the city have revealed several tombs from the classical and Hellenistic periods. Four early Byzantine basilicas have been uncovered and they house beautiful mosaic floors. Several coins and inscriptions have been discovered at the city.

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JOHN D. WINELAND

**AMPLIATUS** (PERSON) [Gk *ampliatos* (ἀμπλιατος)]. A Roman Christian who received greetings from Paul in Rom 16:8 as "my beloved in the Lord." Since he was known personally by Paul, who had not yet been in Rome, Ampliatus must have lived in the E of the Roman Empire for a while before he came to Rome. His name, a typical slave name, shows that he probably was a slave or freedman (see the epigraphical material in Lampe *StadtrChr*, 144, 152–53). A connection to Flavia Domitilla and the Ampliatus-Cubiculum in the Roman catacomb "Domitilla" (Cranfield *Romans* ICC, 790) does not exist (Lampe *StadtrChr*, 20–21).

PETER LAMPE

**AMRAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿamrām* (עַמְרָם)]. Var. AMBRAM (LXX). The name of two men in the OT.

**1.** A second-generation Levite, the son of Kohath, and the father of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam (1 Chr 5:24–29—Eng. 6:2–3). Amram is a biblical figure without a narrative; he appears only in late genealogical lists. The earliest attestation of Amram appears in Exod 6:18. Amram's presence in the genealogy of Exod 6:14–25 most likely resulted from the priestly writer's unification of three or four authentic genealogical sources (Möhlenbrink 1934: 187–90). Once Amram entered the pentateuchal tradition, the priestly writer utilized the name in order to establish a distinct levitical family with specific roles for the conquest of the land (Num 3:19, 27). The appearance of Amram follows a similar pattern in Chronicles. The Chronicler, probably drawing upon the levitical lists in Exodus 6 and Numbers 2–3, included Amram as an individual (1 Chr 5:29—Eng6:3) and as the name for a levitical family (e.g., 1 Chr 26:23).

**2.** A son of Bani who lived in the Persian province of Judah during the mission of Ezra (Ezra 10:34). Amram was one of many Judeans who had married non-Judean wives. He consented to divorce his wife during the reforms of Ezra under the threat of complete ostracism from the Jerusalem temple-state.

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JOHN W. WRIGHT

**AMRAPHEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾamrāpel* (אַמְרָפֶל)]. King of Shinar (Gen 14:1, 9), one of the allies of Chedorlaomer. Shinar is an alternate name of Babylonia in the OT and in some Egyptian and cuneiform records of the 2d millennium (1QapGen 21:23 and the Targums render it by *bbl* "Babel"). Amraphel was identified with Hammurapi by Schrader (*SPAW* 1887: 600–5), who assumed that the biblical form of the name arose from a miswritten Hebrew rendering of a variant of the cuneiform name.

This identification, once widely accepted, was later virtually abandoned, mainly because Hammurapi was never active in the W.

If one proceeds from the premise that the four eastern kings of Genesis 14 were modeled on the four kings of the "Chedorlaomer texts" (see CHEDORLAOMER), one must look among them for the one who is attested as a king of Babylonia. This is $^{m}$*I-bil-*$^{d}$*Tu-tu* (Spartoli 158+962: rev. 27) who, according to his characteristic there (rev. 24–29) and in Spartoli III,2: 3–9 (where the name is broken off), clearly corresponds to Marduk-apal-iddina II (Merodach-baladan), chief of the Chaldean tribe of Bīt-Yakin in the Sea Land, who twice seized the throne of Babylon from Assyria (722–710 and 703 B.C.). He was viewed as an alien usurper by the Babylonian priesthood and patriciate and especially hated because of his removal of divine statues from Babylon and other cultic centers of Babylonia when he twice retreated to the Sea Land. In extant versions of the Chedorlaomer text, the form *I-bil-Tu-tu* represents a pseudonym or cryptogram of the common ideographic spelling of the name Marduk-apal-iddina, which was AMAR.UTU.IBILA.SUM$^{na}$. The IBILA element was simply moved to the initial position and rendered phonetically as *i-bil*, while the AMAR.UTU (Akk "Marduk") element was replaced by another common name for that god, Tutu. The author of Genesis 14, however, seems to have had at his disposal a version in which the correct ideographic spelling was preserved: he simply read the first element (AMAR.UTU) phonetically as *ʾamar,* and gave the second element (IBILA) its regular Akkadian value *apal* (commonly pronounced *pal* in composite names). The result would hence have been **ʾamarpal* (cf. LXX *amarphal;* Astour 1966: 94–99).

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**AMULET.** See MAGIC (ANE).

**AMUQ PLAIN.** A small plain in S Turkey located on the curve of the Orontes, a river which runs S–N to this point, where it then flows S–W to empty into the Mediterranean. It forms a meeting point, or crossroads, of the following: the Ghab Valley through which the Orontes flows; the N road which runs along the E border of the Amanus; and the road which goes E to Aleppo and to the Euphrates. Thanks to this last section of the Orontes River, this area is directly linked to the coastal region. This situation explains why, in spite of its marshy and unhealthy conditions, this plain has been inhabited by man almost continuously since the Neolithic period.

Two different expeditions have helped to uncover the history of the region. The first was under the auspices of the Oriental Institute of Chicago. It excavated the sites of Chatal Hüyük, Tell Jdeide, and Tell Tayinat between 1933 and 1937 under the direction of C. W. McEwan and R. J. Braidwood. Information gathered pertained mainly to the Neolithic period as well as the 3d and 1st millennia. The second expedition was led by Sir Leonard Woolley to Tell Atchana; its first stage was from 1937 to 1939, and its second stage from 1946 to 1949. It very satisfactorily completed the sequence thanks to the discovery of Alalakh, a city that existed in the 2d millennium.

Occupation of the region seems to have begun in the 6th millennium. The Neolithic era was then well under way: agriculture and the rearing of livestock were the basic activities, and ceramics had already been introduced. Through an in-depth study of ceramics and of its association with the various categories of lithic materials found at Chatal Hüyük and especially at Tell Jdeide, R. J. Braidwood and his team divided the period which extends from 6000 to 2000 B.C. into ten clearly defined phases which they designated from A to J. These letters mark high points of the evolution of N Syria and the progressive transformation of lifestyles during the Neolithic period and the growth of the villages (phases A–E from 6000 to 3500 B.C.), the chalcolithic period, and the still very gradual introduction of the use of metal (phase F, 3500–3000), and finally the Bronze Age which, in the 3d millennium (phases G–J), saw the progressive spread of tools and metal armaments, the building of the first cities, and the birth of writing.

During almost the whole of this long period, N Syria appears to have been culturally dependent on Mesopotamia, and it seems that its development was largely the result of the exceptional dynamism of the civilization of the Region of the Two Rivers. Nevertheless, as Ebla reveals, the power of the Syrian economy grew rapidly in the 3d millennium, allowing real originality to soar to great heights. Evidence of this is a group of little bronze statues found at Tell Jdeide which is perhaps one of the most ancient expressions of a type of statue for which the Syrians became particularly renowned throughout ancient times.

Nevertheless, it is the rise of the city of Alalakh about 2000 B.C. that prompts the observation that this region was involved in the profound changes that affected Syria. Indeed, this city looks like a small regional capital within the kingdom of Aleppo, or the kingdom of Yamhad, and at the same time it reflects the life of N Syria during the 2d millennium. The excavations brought to light the existence of seventeen levels (not all of which correspond to a real historical phase). Woolley dated their development between 3200 and 1200 B.C. In reality, the beginnings of the city certainly do not go back further than 2000, and the first important period seems to have been a level 7, which must be dated to the 18th century. The site is famous for having yielded clay tablets which illustrate various areas of public and private life. The architectural documentation consists of a sanctuary, the center of political power, the city gate, and some houses.

One can follow the transformations of the temple throughout the millennium thanks to the seven phases which have been discovered and which show that the basic plan was always respected, even if some modifications gave each one its own particular appearance. The different levels were very simply organized: starting with a large room which was approximately a square with a porch on its SE side overlooking a small courtyard, these levels do not, in most cases, have characteristic furnishings for worship, since these were certainly to be found at a higher level; thus it is generally thought that the temple was shaped like a tower and belonged to a typical Levantine series of which the most famous examples have been found at Ugarit. The palace on level 7, or the palace of Yarim-Lim, a contemporary of Hammurapi of Babylon (18th century), which unfortunately is incomplete, extended immediately E from the temple. Evidently it had a floor where royal apartments were probably located, and large reception rooms, while the servants' quarters were located on the ground floor. The quality of the construction in dressed stone for the door jambs and certain sections of the walls and an armature of wooden beams filled with unbaked bricks on the upper levels clearly show that this building belonged to the E Mediterranean world. This is also confirmed by the presence of mural paintings in which one can recognize strong Minoan features.

The palace on level 4 or the palace of Niqmepas (late 15th to early 14th centuries) followed a totally different concept, for there one finds many elements belonging to the architectural style called *Hilani.* This style, which was highly favored at the beginning of the 1st millennium, emphasizes the existence of a southern influence undoubtedly linked to the development of the prestigious Hittite empire. Elements of the fortification system and the gigantic gate give some idea of the protection of the city, and the house designs, which were unfortunately all too often reduced to just the foundations, depict certain aspects of daily life.

Evidence of the artistic life of the city has come to light thanks to the discovery of statues and fragments of statues, among which one can mention the superb head in diorite found on the floor of the temple at level 7. Woolley thought the head represented the king Yarim-Lim who was described in various written texts, but he had not the slightest proof for that identification. The quality of this portrait, unique in Alalakh, is so remarkable that it seems highly improbable that it came from a local workshop. On the other hand, the statue of King Idrimi is dated about 1400 B.C.—it portrays him in a sitting position on a slightly raised throne that has been poorly separated from the original block of white magnesite. This statue shows unskilled workmanship: its poorly traced features and complete lack of artistic quality indicate that it could very well have been made in a local workshop that was little prepared for such a great endeavor. Concerning the inscription, the text engraved on the statue also holds some surprises which seem to indicate a lack of experience more easily attributable to the stonecutter than to the scribe.

The hundreds of cuneiform tablets discovered mainly on levels 7 and 4 show that people had a perfect grasp of writing in the city of Alalakh in the 18th century. This fact should not be surprising, for even if the city did not play a regional political role, its position on the busy commercial route implied habitual use of this technique. Thanks to these tablets, valuable information has been gathered on the Syrian situation pertaining to the 18th as well as to the 14th centuries; they have even contributed to calling into question the chronology accepted until the Second World War regarding the 1st Babylonian Dynasty.

Alalakh is important to us for providing information on a small city in N Syria, and also for partially filling in the gaps left by the absence of findings in Aleppo, the true capital of the kingdom of Yamhad in the Middle Bronze Age.

During the 1st millennium, the Orontes River maintained its importance. The port of El-Mina and the city of Antioch clearly show this. But one must take particular note here of the site of Tell Tayinat, which was excavated by the team from the Oriental Institute of Chicago. This site revealed levels of the Iron Age where many of the famous *Hilani*-style buildings were discovered.

Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, there are remains of a temple in elongated shape, exactly like a megaron which appears to be characteristic of N Syria and which provided the model of the famous temple of Solomon in Jerusalem.

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JEAN-CLAUDE MARGUERON

TRANS. PAUL SAGER

**AMZI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾamṣî* (אַמְצִי)]. **1.** A Levite, the son of Bani, the father of Hilkiah, and the grandfather of Amaziah (1 Chr 6:30–31—Eng6:45–46). His name occurs in a list of twelve descendants of Merari, Levi's son, which legitimizes Ethan ben Kishi as one of three levitical singers appointed by King David. The Ethanites were to stand at the left side (1 Chr 6:29—Eng6:44) of Heman, the more prominent levitical musician.

**2.** A levitical priest, the son of Zechariah and the father of Pelatiah (Neh 11:12). He is cited as a progenitor of Adaiah, one of the priests living in Jerusalem at the time of Nehemiah. Unfortunately, Amzi is not mentioned in the abbreviated list of Adaiah's ancestors in 1 Chr 9:12.

ROGER W. UITTI

**ANAB** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿanāb* (עֲנָב)]. A city in the southernmost part of the hill country of Judah (Josh 15:48–50). It is about three miles west of Debir (Dahariyeh). The Egyptian texts of the 19th Dynasty refer to it as *Qrt ʿnb,* hence its original name is likely to have been *Kiriat-ʿanab.* Its modern Arab name is *Khirbet ʿUnnâb eṣ-Ṣeghîreh,* but is called Tel Rekhesh in modern Hebrew. The remains of an Iron Age city have been found at the site.

The book of Joshua mentions it as one of the cities inhabited by the Anakim (Josh 11:21). When Joshua launched his attack, the Anakim, though mighty, could not stand before him. Joshua and his armies took Anab and it was allotted to the tribe of Judah (Josh 15:20, 50).

PAUL BENJAMIN

**ANAEL** (PERSON) [Gk *Anaēl* (Ἀναηλ)]. The brother of Tobit (Tob 1:21). Tobit claimed that Anael was the father of Ahikar, whom Esarhaddon (Assyrian ruler from 681 to 669 B.C.) appointed accountant and chief administrator over his whole empire. See AHIKAR. No name better demonstrates the fictional nature of the book of Tobit and its characters than Anael, through whom the well-known figure of Ahikar was made not only Jewish but a relative of Tobit; indeed, one who interceded with Esarhaddon to have

Tobit pardoned for past "crimes" against the state (e.g., burying the bodies of faithful Jews left exposed) and allowed to return to Nineveh from hiding.

PAUL L. REDDITT

**ANAFA, TEL** (M.R. 210286). A Hellenistic and Roman site in the Huleh Basin.

**A. Identification and Location**

Tel Anafa is situated in the upper Galilee at the base of the Golan Heights. The site lies near the crossroads of the N–S trade route through the Jordan and Massyas valleys with the E–W road from Damascus to Tyre which in the Late Hellenistic and Roman eras constituted one of the major outlets of the immensely profitable trans-desert trade route to the W. The tel is small, about 160 m long and 110 m wide, and rises some 10 m above the surrounding Huleh Basin. Although excavations have shown that the mound was occupied almost continuously from the EB Age through the 1st century C.E., the best-preserved and most impressive remains belong to the Late Hellenistic era when the occupants appear to have profited greatly from their location near the trade routes. At that time the tel served as the acropolis of a larger town, the walls of which were revealed in the fish-pond construction of the early 1970s but which are now covered by the surrounding cotton fields. After ten years of excavation there is still no evidence for the ancient name of the town in Hellenistic times; the presence of several other Hellenistic settlements nearby in the Huleh Basin make it impossible to identify the tel confidently with any particular Hellenistic settlement mentioned in texts or inscriptions.

**B. Excavations**

Ten seasons of field work have been carried out in two series of excavations at Tel Anafa. The first series, under the directorship of S. Weinberg, was in the field for five seasons between 1968 and 1973. The second series fielded five summer campaigns between 1978 and 1986, under the codirectorship of S. Weinberg and S. Herbert.

In the ten seasons of excavations approximately 1000 $m^2$ of the tel were dug to depths of as much as 6 m, although the average depth of penetration was ca. 2.5 m. The earliest habitation levels reached in the deeper probes belong to the MB period, but pottery found in terrace fills and other secondary deposits bears witness to the occupation of the site in the latter part of the EB Age. Nowhere on the tel was sterile soil or bedrock reached. When, in the early years of the excavation, it became clear that there were over 3 m of Hellenistic accumulation, well stratified into several major architectural phases, the decision was taken to concentrate on the Hellenistic remains, opening large areas to clarify the extent and plan of the Hellenistic buildings.

**C. Hellenistic and Roman Era Buildings**

The N half of the tel is dominated by the substantial remains of a large Hellenistic building (the LHSB) ca. 38 m square. The walls of this building are a mixture of cut limestone ashlar blocks and basalt fieldstones and are preserved in a few instances to a height of over 2 m. The mixed ashlar/rubble construction technique is characteristic of Phoenician settlements from the Iron Age through Hellenistic eras. The use in some of the walls of the Greek dry masonry elements, such as swallowtail clamps and rectangular dowels sealed with lead, points to a mixed Greco-Phoenician tradition. Also indicative of Greek building tradition was the decorative stucco which faced many of the walls. The painted and gilded stucco imitated drafted blocks, egg-and-dart moldings, and Ionic and Corinthian column capitals. The plan of the building can be restored as suites of rooms on four sides opening onto a central courtyard measuring 9 × 12 m. There is a major paved entrance to the NW. A bath complex along the E side of the court bears witness to the luxurious standard of living of the inhabitants. The bath complex consists of three rooms, the southernmost the working area for heating the water, the middle and northern rooms for bathing and dressing. The bathing room contains a large plaster basin for the heated water and a decorated mosaic floor. The mosaic measures 3.5 × 2.3 m. It is the earliest decorated mosiac pavement yet found in Syro-Palestine. The mosaic is made up of black diorite and white marble tesserae between 1 and 1.5 cm square. The design includes a black border around the edges of the mosaic; the interior is divided into three panels of unequal size by black bands running N to S. The westernmost panel contains a clear

checkerboard design, the other two panels are decorated with nonrepresentational curvilinear motifs in the manner of Hellenistic irregular mosaics. Excavation under the mosaic and plaster basin revealed a primitive hypocaust system of mudbrick pillars separated by heating channels which ran underground from a stone firing pit in the S room. Such elaborate bathing suites are not common in Greek houses or palaces in the Hellenistic era and the presence of such a complex in the LHSB at Tel Anafa is another indication of the mixed cultural background of the Hellenistic inhabitants of the tel.

The evidence of the numerous coins and stamped amphora handles found at Tel Anafa points to a date late in the third quarter or early in the fourth quarter of the 2d century B.C.E. for the original construction of the LHSB. A coin of Alexander Zebina (128–125 B.C.E.) found in the construction fill of the S room of the bath is the latest find under any of the original floors of the building. Also present under these floors were small amounts of Eastern Sigillata A wares. A massive leveling and terracing operation took place with the construction of the LHSB, obliterating earlier architectural remains. In only a few spots are earlier Hellenistic structures preserved. These take the form of boulder walls with pebble floors and are tentatively dated to the 3d century B.C.E. and are associated with the coins of Ptolemy II and III found on the site. Hellenistic black slipped wares and "Parthian" green glazed pottery were found in the Early Hellenistic fills.

In the first quarter of the 1st century B.C.E. the LSHB underwent substantial alterations in which it was divided into a number of separate units. First a large building with thick rubble walls was built over its NE corner. Shortly thereafter the North Building was built up against the W wall of the Northeast Building. At the time of the construction of the North Building, the paved entrance at the NW was blocked and the W rooms of the LHSB were realigned; in addition, the floor levels of the W rooms and central court were raised ca. 0.5 m and paved with basalt. The bath remained in use throughout the remodeling. Coins of independent Tyre and Sidon, and Rhodian stamped amphora handles of period VI (108–80 B.C.E.) date the alterations to the first quarter of the 1st century B.C.E.

Although the area as remodeled in the 1st century B.C.E. is less grandiose in plan, both the architecture and the finds show that this was still a period of prosperity and Greek influence. Both the North and Northeast buildings are relatively large and spacious structures; the North Building is decorated with painted stucco, albeit simpler than on the LHSB; imported luxury products such as the Late Hellenistic redwares and molded glass bowls are still abundant at these levels; stamped amphora handles of period VI (108–80 B.C.E.) are common; Hellenized coins of 1st century B.C.E. independent Sidon are the largest single issue present at the site. There are no signs that this period of prosperity was brought to an end by military conquest or violence of any sort. Although there are some signs of fire in the houses on the S slope there is no general layer of conflagration on the site. The archaeological record instead shows a picture of abandonment and gradual decay of the Hellenistic buildings. The evidence of the coins and the stamped amphora handles suggests strongly that this abandonment took place early in the second quarter of the 1st century B.C.E. Of 319 coins found at Tel Anafa, only one must be dated between 75 B.C.E. and the early years of the 1st-century C.E.; none of the 122 stamped amphora handles found in the excavations need be dated after 80 B.C.E.

The site was resettled early in the 1st century C.E., probably under the impetus of Herod Philip, whose coins appear in and under the walls of this phase. The buildings of this period are much smaller and simpler than their Hellenistic predecessors, the most common plan being long and narrow 2-room structures built of undecorated rubble. The walls of this phase are sometimes founded directly on the preceding Hellenistic structures and often use blocks robbed from these earlier walls. In addition to the Herod Philip coins, Early Roman lamps with molded discus and sigillata wares in Early Roman shapes date this occupation phase to the 1st century C.E. By the end of the 1st or early 2d century C.E. the site is again abandoned and never reoccupied in any major way.

**D. Summary and History**

The results of ten seasons of excavation show the site of Tel Anafa to have been occupied almost continuously from the EB Age through the 1st century C.E. The large and deeply founded buildings of the Late Hellenistic era have disturbed and largely obscured the remains of the earlier habitations, but give us

a vivid picture of a rich Hellenized settlement of Late Seleucid times. The evidence of the coins and stamped amphora handles together with the architectural remains of the Hellenistic levels indicates that there was a minor Ptolemaic settlement on the site in the 3d century B.C.E. This was succeeded in the second half of the 2d century B.C.E. by a prosperous Seleucid settlement which took an active part in the trade of the Late Seleucid Empire and flourished through the first quarter of the 1st century B.C.E. The chaotic conditions surrounding the disintegration of the Seleucid Empire probably led to the site's abandonment sometime shortly after 75 B.C.E. The tel was reoccupied in the early years of the 1st century C.E. as part of the reorganization of the Galilee under Herod Philip, whose capital was at nearby Caesarea Philippi (modern Banias). It was again abandoned toward the end of the century and not reoccupied in antiquity.

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S. C. HERBERT

**ANAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿănâ* (עֲנָה)]. One of the sons of Zibeon, and the father of Esau's wife Oholibamah (Gen 36:2, 14, 18, 25; 1 Chr 1:40). MT Gen 36:2, 14 *bat* ("daughter") is to be corrected to *ben* ("son") according to Gen 36:24; 1 Chr 1:38, 40. According to the tribal system of the Edomites, Anah was considered to be a Seiritic-Horitic clan of the tribe of Zibeon (Weippert 1971: 439–51).

Anah is also identified as the one "who found the 'water' [MT *hapax legomenon hayyēmim*] in the wilderness as he pastured the asses of Zibeon his father" (Gen 36:24), and this passage has been the subject of some debate (cf. Yellin 1933; Glaser 1933). Beeston (1974) translated Heb *yēmim* according to the LXX as "lakes"; Anah fell victim to a mirage—says Beeston—and acquired a nickname: "the one who found lakes in the desert." Driver (1975) derived Heb *yēmim* from a supposed Heb **ym* "[a kind of] fish, living in lakes and marshes" (cf. Syr *ymmʾ*, Ar *yamm*). Speiser (*Genesis* AB, 279–80) and Grill (1967) suppose a metathesis of *y* and *m* in *hayyēmim,* and reads *hammayim* "water" (cf. Vg *aquas calidas*).

The interpretation of the name Anah is uncertain. Earlier it was frequently derived from Arabic *ʿāna* ("wild donkey"). The derivations from Hurrian (Feiler 1939; Ginsberg and Maisler 1934) are open to doubt. Anah is most likely the shortened form of a name constructed with **ʿny* "to answer" (Weippert 1971: 245).

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ULRICH HÜBNER

**ANAHARATH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾănāḥărāt* (אֲנָחֲרָת)]. The sixth place listed in the description of the territory of Issachar (Josh 19:19). The name also appears in the topographical list of Thutmose III (no. 52: *i-n-h-r-t;* Simons 1937: 117). Amenhotep II captured Anaharath in his second campaign to Asia. The list of booty included 17 *maryanu,* six children of princes, 68 "Asiatics," and seven chariots of silver and gold. Anaharath was the northernmost place mentioned, and from there Amenhotep II apparently returned to Megiddo (*ANET,* 247; Edel 1953: 134–35, 157; Aharoni 1960: 181–83).

The biblical references and the position of the town in Thutmose's list show that Anaharath was located in the hill country of Issachar. It was suggested that the ancient name had survived in that of the village Nʾaurah (de Saulcy 1877: 22–23; Albright 1926: 229). Another identification put forward was that of Tell el-ʿAjjul (M.R. 093097), a site overlooking the main N–S route, the so-called "Via maris" (*EncMiqr* 1: 451). Aharoni (1967) has shown, however, that the only true tel in the region with suitable LB finds is Tell el-Mukharkhash (Tel Rekes; M.R. 194228), 7 km SE of Mt. Tabor. Recent surveys (Zori 1977: 116–20; Gal 1980: 33–40) and excavations (Gal 1981) have confirmed this identification.

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RAFAEL FRANKEL

**ANAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿanāyâ* (עַנָיָה)]. One of the men standing at Ezra's right hand when Ezra stood before the Water Gate and read from the Book of the Law of Moses (Neh 8:4). He is also listed as one of the brethren who set their seal to the covenant (Neh 10:23—Eng10:22). The name Anaiah means "The Lord has answered one's prayer." This form is found frequently in hymns of thanksgiving (Pss 69:14, 17, 18; 143:1, 7).
GARY C. AUGUSTIN

**ANAK** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿănāq* (עֲנָק)]. ANAKIM. A people who occupied Canaan before the arrival of Israel and traced their ancestry back to Anak. Apparently, *anaq* was originally a common noun whose meaning was "neck" or "necklace," and gradually Anakim became the name of a tribe, with the possible meaning "long necked" (=giant).

Anak was the son of Arba (Josh 15:13; 21:11), the founder of Kiriath-arba (i.e., Hebron; Josh 21:11). Though his son's name gave rise to the gentilic, Arba was regarded as "the greatest man among the Anakim" (Josh 14:15).

All of the biblical references agree that the descendants of Anak were tall, of gigantic size (Deut 2:10, 21; 9:2). When the Hebrew spies returned from their mission in Canaan, they warned Israel about the Amalekites, Hittites, Jebusites, Amorites, and Canaanites (cf. Num 13:29), but the spies were especially concerned about the Anakim. In Num 13:28 it is recorded that the spies made general comments about the strong people who lived in the land, in large and fortified towns, but then they added, "and besides, we saw the descendants of Anak there" (cf. Deut 1:28). Num 13:33 connects the Anakim with the infamous Nephilim: "the sons of Anak, who come from the Nephilim" (cf. Gen 6:4). Deut 2:10, 20–21, and 9:2

identify the Anakim with the Emim, Zamzummim, and Rephaim. So it is not surprising that the hearts of the grasshopper-sized Hebrew spies melted at the sight of these giants, and this report had the same result on the Israelites who heard it. But Moses predicted that the Lord would give the Israelites victory over the Anakim, "a people great and tall" (Deut 9:2–3).

While most biblical references locate the Anakim in S Canaan, more specifically in the environs of Hebron (Num 13:22; Josh 14:12–15), there is a single passage that says the Anakim originally inhabited a much wider territory. This passage, Josh 11:21–22, reports that Anakim used to occupy the hill country of Judah (at Hebron, Debir, and Anab specifically) *and* the hill country of Israel. More importantly, it reports that this dreaded enemy was virtually wiped out by Joshua (with Caleb being responsible for the expulsion of the Anakim from Hebron; cf. Josh 14:12–15; 15:13–14; Judg 1:10), with the only survivors remaining in the Philistine cities of Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod. Incidentally, the RSV rendering of Jer 47:5 follows this tradition and places the Anakim in a Philistine context as well. It is most probable that Goliath of Gath and the other giants of 2 Sam 21:16–22 (cf. 1 Chr 20:4–8) were regarded as descendants of the Anakim remnant in Philistia.

In the Egyptian Execration Texts (*ANET,* 328–29), there are references to several princes with Semitic names who are identified as rulers of *Iy-ʿanaq.* Many scholars regard this as a tribal name related to the Anakim, but this connection is not certain (cf. Albright 1928). Apart from these texts, which date to the 19–18th centuries B.C., there are no other extrabiblical references that shed light on the Anakim.

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**ANAMIM** [Heb *ʿănāmîm* (עֲנָמִים)]. The third "offspring" of Egypt (Gen 10:13). On the basis of the plural suffix marker, *-îm,* this figure seems to be the name of an ethnic group, the identification of which remains uncertain. Albright (1920–21: 191–92) attempted to find this name in a Neo-Assyrian text (KAV no. 92 line 41), occurring beside the place name of Caphtor. He equated the latter with Crete and the former (*a-na-mi*) with Cyrene. Later studies of this text have read this name as *a-na-kù,* eliminating the possibility of a reference to the Anamim (Albright 1925: 236–37; Weidner 1952–53: 22).

A second suggestion (Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 212) is to emend the text, following LXX *ʾenemetiem,* and to read *knmtym,* identifying the place with Egyptian *knmt* in the Libyan desert. A third option, following targum Pseudo-Jonathan and some of the fragmentary targums, is to interpret Anamim as referring to *mrywtʾy,* a place identified as W of Alexandria (Cassuto et al. *EncBib* 6: 309). While the other "offspring" of Egypt appear to reflect place names or people who lived in or near Egypt, there remains uncertainty as to the identification of a number of them (cf. LUD and NAPHTUHIM), including Anamim. The order of the names appear to be according to the number of consonants in the root, beginning with two (Lud) and proceeding to four (Naphtuhim and all the names of v 14), thus the order is probably not intended to follow a geographical sequence (Wenham *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 224).

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RICHARD S. HESS

**ANAMMELECH** (DEITY) [Heb *ʿănammelek* (עֲנַמֶּלֶךְ)]. A god or goddess to whom, along with Adrammelech, the former inhabitants of Sepharvaim offered child sacrifice (2 Kgs 17:31). Sargon II had settled the Sepharvites in Samaria after deporting much of the local populace.

The interpretation of this otherwise unknown god-name depends in some part on the understanding of the name Adrammelech. Some who follow Albright (*ARI,* 163) in assuming that *ʿadra (m)-* conceals an incorrectly written form of Hadad would find in *ʿana (m)-* the name of the goddess Anat. Thus NAB translates "King Hadad and his consort Anath," and Gese (Gese et al. 1970: 110), "Hadad König, ʿAnat

des Königs." The very existence of such a god as Hadad-milki or the like has been called into question, however (see Kaufman 1978). An alternate interpretation (Albright *ARI,* 163; Cogan and Tadmor *2 Kings* AB, 212) suggests a reflex of the name of the Sumerian sky god Anu in Anammelech. In fact, neither of these explanations is completely satisfactory.

The reference to child sacrifice with this divinity might indicate that the *-melek* element of the name does not have to do with the word for king, but with the much-discussed word (from a root *y/hlk*?) for sacrifice which also appears in the name Molech or Moloch (see Gibson *TSSI* 3: 74–75; and, specifically with the name Anammelech, Green 1975: 179–87).

Kaufman (1978: 102–3) argues from both literary and linguistic considerations that Sepharvaim was a city in Phoenicia, not in Syria, Babylonia, or even Elam as many assume.

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WILLIAM J. FULCO

**ANAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿānān* (עָנָן)]. A signatory to the code of Nehemiah and a lay leader of the people (Neh 10:26). The name comes from the Heb root *ʿnn* = "appear." Along with Anani, who is mentioned in 1 Chr 3:24, the name may be an abbreviated form of the name Ananiah, who is a lay leader mentioned in Neh 3:23 (Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 142).

FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**ANANI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿănānî* (עֲנָנִי)]. The last recorded descendant of Jehoiachin, the last king of the S kingdom of Judah. In 1 Chr 3:24 he is listed as the seventh and final son of Elioenai. He *may* be mentioned in a letter written in Aramaic from the Jewish mercenaries settled on the island of Elephantine in Egypt to Bogoas, the Persian governor of Judah ca. 413 B.C.E. The letter is a petition for permission to rebuild their temple dedicated to "Yahu the God of Heaven" (*ANET,* 491–92). If the reconstruction by Cross (1975) of the Judean restoration is correct and the Anani mentioned in the Elephantine letter is indeed the same as the Anani of 1 Chr 3:24, then he would have been the contemporary of the Jerusalem High Priests Johanan II and Jaddua II. For a contrasting view of the period, see Widengren (1977: 489–538). The name may mean " (Yahweh) has revealed himself" (*ISBE* 1: 120).

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RUSSELL FULLER

**ANANIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿănanyâ* (עֲנַנְיָה)]. Father of Maaseiah, whose son, Azariah, was involved in the repair and reconstruction of Jerusalem's walls under the direction of Nehemiah (Neh 3:23). He is identified by some scholars with Anan, who is mentioned in Neh 10:26, and with Anani, who is mentioned in 1 Chr 3:24, both of which may be abbreviated forms of Ananiah (Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 142). The name is comprised of two elements: the Heb root *ʿnn,* "appear," and the theophoric name *yah* = "Yaweh." The normal translation for the name is "Yahweh has appeared" (Fowler 1988: 103).

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FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**ANANIAH** (PLACE) (Heb *ʿănanyâ* (עֲנַנְיָה)). One of the villages in the territory of Benjamin where the children of Benjamin lived after the return from exile in Babylon (Neh 11:32). Though the verse that lists Ananiah among the Benjaminite towns is missing from the LXX, it appears as Gk *Anania* in the

Codex Sinaiticus and the recension Luciani. Some scholars identify Ananiah as modern Bêt Hannîna (Press 1955: 742–73) 4 km NNW of Jerusalem. Others (Albright 1923: 9) would dispute this identification because the three towns listed in this verse, Anathoth, Nob, and Ananiah, move from N to S geographically. Beth Hannina is NW of them all while Ananiah should be found S of the others and E of Jerusalem. There are two villages here, Bahurim (Râs el-Tumein, M.R. 174133) and Bethany (el-ʿAzarîyeh, M.R. 174131). Albright (1923: 9) identified Ananiah with Bethany. Citing parallel examples from the Bible, he argued that Beth ʿAnaniah (after the founder Ananiah) and ʿAnnaiah were interchangeable and the slight difference between Beth ʿAnaniah and Beth ʿAniah is due to syllabic haplology. Early claims that Bethany lay not in Benjamin but in Judah (Press 1955: 43) were answered first by the explanation that the old borders of Judah may have been altered in the days of Nehemiah (Kallai 1960: 86). Later identifications of several places whose names appear in the boundary descriptions between Judah and Benjamin (Josh 15: 7; 18: 16–17) affirm the possibility that the border passed just S of Bethany (*EncMiqr* 6: 311). En-shemesh, for instance, has been identified with ʿAin Ḥoḍ (M.R. 175131) and En-rogel with Bir Alyub (M.R. 172130). Thus Bethany lies near the S border of Benjamin and could be this Persian-period village. During the excavations of the old city W of the present town of Bethany, a number of objects from the Persian period were found (Saller 1957: 374), giving additional support to the theory that this is the site of the postexilic village of Ananiah. See also BETHANY.

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SUSAN E. MCGARRY

**ANANIAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Hananias* (Ἁνανιας)]. Probably a transcription of the not uncommon Hebrew name *ḥănaněyāh,* "God is merciful," with a Greek ending. Here we are concerned with five individuals who bore this name.

**1.** The angel Raphael claims that he is Tobit's kinsman Azariah, the son of the great and noble Hananiah, i.e., "God helps, son of God is merciful" (Tob 5:13). Given the edifying nature of the book of Tobit, there is probably a play on the meaning of the names (Zimmermann 1958: 75).

**2.** An Ananias is named in the genealogy of Judith (8:1). Since this book likewise is an edifying story, any serious treatment of the genealogy is wasted effort (Enslin 1972: 110). Rather, the genealogy stresses the purity of the heroine's descent from Israel, and some of its fictitious names may have been borrowed from Numbers (1:6, 8; 26:8, 57) and from Nehemiah (12:12–21; Craven 1983: 84–85).

**3.** Ananias, a Christian of Jerusalem, appears in a story of a rule miracle of punishment (very similar to divine judgment) paralleled by that of his wife, SAPPHIRA (Acts 5:1–11). Luke portrays women as men to suggest equality (O'Toole 1984: 118–26).

Although they were free to do as they wished with their property, both before and after the sale, Ananias and Sapphira agreed to deceive the apostles and the community about the price of a field, and so Ananias places only a part of the proceeds at Peter's feet. But Peter asks Ananias, "Why has Satan filled your heart to lie to the Holy Spirit?" and further describes his crime as lying to God, not to human beings. The victory of the Spirit and God, represented by Peter and the community, over Satan in Ananias and Sapphira is complete. When reproved by Peter, Ananias says nothing. Rather he falls down and dies, and others wrap him up, carry him out, and bury him. The resultant effect is that great fear comes on all who hear of the event.

What originally happened cannot now be deciphered. The names, Ananias and Sapphira, and the analogous story in 1 Cor 5:1–8 show the possibility of a historical kernel for Acts 5:1–11 (Lüdemann 1987: 71). Luke surely contrasts Ananias (Sapphira) and Barnabas of the preceding pericope (Acts 4:36–

37); also the parallels to Judas, the condemnation of Simon (Acts 8:20–23), and the blinding of Elymas (Acts 13:6–11) come to the fore.

**4.** In Damascus, a Jewish Christian, Ananias (Acts 9:10–7; 22:12–6), who is a devout observer of the law and well spoken of by all the Jews, has a vision of Christ, who sends him to lay hands on Paul and cure his blindness, to baptize him so that he may wash away his sins and be filled with the Holy Spirit. Ananias protests because of Paul's reputation and the harm he has done to the Christians. In the meantime, Paul has received a vision about Ananias' coming. When Ananias arrives, he performs his assignment and likewise tells Paul that God appointed him to know his will and to see the Just One whose witness he must be and for whom he will suffer.

This portrayal of Ananias is largely due to Luke. Ananias is not mentioned in the conversation story of Paul in Acts 26, and what is said in Acts 22 would not be completely intelligible, if one had not already read chap. 9. Moreover, the particular vision genre is found in the NT only in Luke (Acts 9:4–6, 10–16; 10:3–6; 22:7–10; 26:14–18; Lohfink 1965: 53–60). Lüdemann (1987: 119–20) argues that it is hardly possible to make a well-grounded historical judgment about the person of Ananias and his part in the conversion/call of Saul, but there remains the problem of the name which Luke surely would not have otherwise introduced (cf. Acts 5:1–11; 23:1–5; 24:1). Stählin (*Acts* NTD, 136) concludes that Ananias was from Palestine, which may well be an indication of an independent, probably chronologically prior to the persecution of the Christian Hellenists, spread of the gospel and community beyond Palestine. To be sure, Acts 22:14–16 are more Jewish in tone. Ananias' protest represents a traditional motif which stresses either the significance and unprecedented nature of the command (cf. Exod 3:11; Jer 1:6; Luke 1:18–20) and/or the remarkable nature of the conversion (Roloff *Acts* NTD, 106, 323). According to Hengel (1979: 84), Ananias was probably an important intermediary between the Christians and Damascus and Paul.

**5.** Ananias, the son of Nedebaeus, was high priest under Claudius and Nero ca. 47–58 C.E. Paul appears before him claiming innocence (Acts 23:1–10), and Ananias orders one of the attendants to strike him on the mouth (cf. John 18:22–23). Paul retorts with the prophetical (Haenchen *Acts* Meyerk, 637) statement, "God shall strike you, you whitewashed wall," and points out that such an action is contrary to the law according to which Paul is supposedly being judged. When informed that he is speaking against the high priest, Paul apologizes with a scriptural citation (Exod 22:28). Later (Acts 24:1), Ananias leads the Jewish accusers of Paul before Felix.

Lüdemann (1987: 252–53, 258) sees Paul's presentation before the high priest whom he insulted and the names of Ananias and the lawyer Tertullus in Acts 24:1 as historical, because there was no good reason for creating such a tradition. The presence of Ananias in Acts 24:1 reveals for Luke the weight that the Jewish officials attached to Paul's case. Finally, it is hard to see how Paul could have been ignorant of Ananias' office. Did he not know who gave the command to strike him or was Paul being ironical: one would not expect a high priest to transgress the law (Munck *Acts* AB, 223)?

Josephus provides further information. Ananias was assigned the high priestly office by Herod, king of Chalcis (*Ant* 20 §103). After an outbreak of violence between the Jews and Samaritans, the governor of Syria, Quadratus, sent Ananias and others off in chains to Caesar (*JW* 2 §243; *Ant* 20 §131), but they were rescued through the influence of Agrippa II. Ananias may have enjoyed something of a reputation among the people; he certainly used his wealth to bribe individuals and to pay court to the procurator, Albinus, and the high priest who succeeded him. Through the capture of his son and other household members, the Sicarii forced Ananias to convince Albinus to release many of their followers. On the other hand, Ananias' slaves went to the threshing floors and took by force the tithes of the priests. They beat those who refused to yield. As a result, some poor priests died from starvation (*Ant* 20 §205–13). During the Jewish War, Ananias was seen as a friend of the Romans and his house was burned. Although he managed to flee to the palace of Herod the Great, he and his brother, Ezechias, were later caught and killed by Zealots (*JW* 2 §426, 429, 441–42).

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**ANANIEL** (PERSON) [Gk *Ananiēl* (Ἀνανιηλ)]. The grandfather of Tobit (Tob 1:1). In Codex Sinaiticus the name Ananiel appears also in 1:8, which reads in part: "as Deborah, the wife of Ananiel my father, commanded." This verse designates Ananiel as the father, rather than the grandfather, of Tobit. It contradicts Alexandrinus and Vaticanus, as well as Tob 1:1 in Sinaiticus itself, in all three of which Ananiel is listed as Tobit's grandfather. Zimmermann (1958: 49) suggests that the problem is due to the error of a copyist, whose eye strayed to the name Anna in v 9, causing him to insert the similar name Ananiel in v 8. Without the name Ananiel, the phrase in Sinaiticus would read identically with the phrase in Alexandrinus and Vaticanus.

The Hebrew form of the name (*ḥănî·ēl*) is a compound of the noun *ḥănînâ* (favor) and the noun *·el* (God), meaning "favor of God" or "God is merciful." The name appears twice in the OT, designating a prince of the tribe of Manasseh (Num 34:23) and a chief of the tribe of Asher (1 Chr 7:39).

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**ANASIB** (PERSON) [Gk *Anasib* (Ἀνασιβ)]. Ancestor of a priestly family who returned from exile in Babylon with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:24). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, this family does not appear among their lists of returning exiles (cf. Ezra 2:36; Neh 7:39). Omissions such as this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra or Nehemiah. Moreover, problems associated with dating events and persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text. Identification of Anasib is further complicated by numerous textual variants. The most significant of these variants listed in Hanhart (1974) are: Lat *Eliasib* in the Vg, Gk *sanabeis* in Codex Vaticanus, and Gk *sanaseib* or *sanasēb* in various minuscules.

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MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**ANATH** (DEITY) [Heb *·ănāt* (עֲנָת)]. An ANE goddess.

### A. Anath According to Nonbiblical Sources

Anath apparently was worshiped by the Amorites already in the 3rd millennium B.C. Her cult is attested in records from the Amorite kingdom at Mari during the reign of Zimri-lim (ca. 1780–1758 B.C.). The goddess was closely associated with the city Ḫanat (about 75 miles SE of Mari), which may have been a cult center of Anath.

Literature from Ugarit is the most important source for an understanding of the goddess. In a passage in the Baal Epic, Anath is depicted as a fierce, invincible warrior, slaughtering people, tying their heads and hands to her person, wading knee deep in the blood and gore of those she has slain, reveling in fighting and destruction. Sated with battling, Anath calmly wipes her victims' blood from her house and washes herself. Later in the epic Anath is Baal's ally in his quest for El's permission to build a palace. She presents Baal's petition before El in a most disrespectful manner, threatening him with physical violence. Because El does not give the desired response, Baal and Anath next persuade Asherah to intercede on Baal's behalf. When El finally issues his permission, Anath is the one who announces the good news to Baal. After his palace is built, Baal comes under the power of Mot ("Death"). Anath finds Baal, buries him, and, in mourning for him, makes incisions on her body, besides sacrificing many animals. Her heart

yearning for Baal "like the heart of a cow for her calf, like the heart of a ewe for her lamb," Anath seizes Mot and destroys him. With this victory of Anath, Baal revives and returns to his throne.

In the story of Aqhat, Anath desires a bow and arrows, made by the craftsman of the gods, which are possessed by Aqhat. She offers the hero gold and even immortality. Refusing Anath's proposal, Aqhat not only accuses the goddess of lying, but also insults her by implying that she is unable to use the bow. Furious, Anath appears before El, addressing him in the same disrespectful way she does when presenting Baal's petition before El in the Baal Epic. After El acquiesces to her plan for revenge, Anath plots with her servant Yatpan, who evidently takes on the form of a bird. Hovering above Aqhat in the midst of a flock of birds, Anath releases Yatpan, who swoops down and fatally strikes Aqhat. Anath weeps for Aqhat; further, she fails to acquire his bow, which somehow falls into the water and is broken.

The dominant characterization of Anath presented by the extant Ugaritic texts is that of a warlike, bloodthirsty, violent goddess. Insolent, impetuous, relentless, she is the outstanding goddess of these texts (as compared to Asherah and Ashtoreth), due not to her position or rank, but to the force of her personality. Anath, having an intense love for Baal, is usually paired with him as his consort and ally (one exception being the story of Aqhat). See also BAAL (DEITY). In fact, victories over certain enemies which are ascribed to Baal in some Ugaritic passages are attributed to Anath in others. This may be a case of variants, or it may be due to the fact that both Baal and Anath fighting as a pair achieved these triumphs; perhaps the battles of one deity had become blended together with those of the other in the people's minds. There are allusions to the beauty and fertility of Anath, but no preserved text clearly depicts her as giving birth to offspring. However, Anath can be viewed as a fertility goddess in this sense: she is Baal's partner, zealous for his cause, aiding him, and by her defeat of Mot, enabling Baal to come back to life. Moreover, in the Kirta Epic, Kirta is promised that his firstborn son will be suckled by Anath. Finally, Anath is portrayed a number of times as a winged goddess.

Epithets of Anath seen in the Ugaritic literature include "Mistress of Royalty," "Mistress of Dominion," "Mistress of the Highest Heavens," "Lady," and "Maiden." She is referred to as the sister of Baal, probably not in the literal sense, but because of their close companionship. Her title "Virgin" is not to be understood literally, since texts picture her as having intercourse with Baal. Among proposals of scholars are that "Virgin" indicates Anath's perpetual youth, beauty, and nubility; her never bringing forth offspring; her ability to restore her own virginity; her cultic chastity; or her inaccessibility (as an unconquerable martial divinity). Another title of the goddess, Ug *ybmt lʾimm,* remains enigmatic. Both words have received various translations: the first, for example, "Sister-in-Law," "Progenitress," "Nubile Widow"; the second, "People(s)," "Nations," "Rulers," "Mighty One."

Anath was also worshipped in Egypt, particularly during the 19th Dynasty. Rameses II seems to have had a special preference for the goddess. Statues have been found depicting the pharaoh with Anath. A few preserved steles with identifying inscriptions portray Anath being petitioned. One, dating to the reign of Rameses III, was found outside Egypt: it belonged to an Egyptian official in Beth-shan. In a short offering prayer the dedicator asks for "life, welfare and health." The Egyptian representations show Anath clothed, wearing a crown, sitting or standing (Beth-shan), and either armed or unarmed. On the Beth-shan stele she holds a scepter and sign of life. In the magical texts Anath repulses angry demons in battle. The Egyptians closely associated Anath with Ashtoreth (an association evidenced in Ugaritic passages). Both are mentioned in a magical text (13th century B.C.) as the "great goddesses who conceive but cannot bring forth." See ASHTORETH.

There is less evidence concerning Anath from the 1st millennium B.C. Personal names with "Anath" (or some variant) as a theophoric element appear in upper Mesopotamia, and as far W as Carthage and Hadrumetum. Inscriptions mentioning the goddess come primarily from Cyprus. One of these, from Lapethos, is a 4th-century Phoenician-Greek bilingual, which identifies Anath (named in the Phoenician section) with Athena (named in the Greek section). Anath is called the "refuge of the living." In the lore of Sakkuniathon, Anath is probably to be identified with "Athena."

Texts from the 5th-century Jewish colony at Elephantine indicate the worship of Yahweh, but also of Anath-bethel and Anath-yahu. Basically two proposals for understanding these names have been

presented by scholars. The first is that the names demonstrate the worship of Anath at Elephantine; she was regarded as Yahweh's consort. The second, more likely to be correct, is that "Anath" in these names is a hypostatized aspect or quality of Yahweh: it is an Aramaic noun meaning "Providence," "Sign," or "Time." Thus, "Anath-bethel" is "Providence/Sign of the House of God," "Anath-yahu" is "Providence/Sign of Yahweh."

It is probable that at least the memory of Anath continued as late as the 3rd century A.D. Evidence from Palmyra (specifically, theophorous names) points to this conclusion. Also, in the opinion of most scholars, Anath is one of the goddesses included in the composite deity Atargatis, the Syrian goddess whose worship eventually spread throughout the entire Mediterranean world.

**B. Anath in the OT**

There are only indirect and very limited traces of the cult of Anath in the OT. Of the three great Canaanite goddesses (Asherah, Anath, Ashtoreth), Anath is the least attested. Three place names—Anathoth (e.g., Josh 21:18; Jer 1:1), Beth-anath (Josh 19:38; Judg 1:33), and Beth-anoth (Josh 15:59)—have usually been explained as involving the name of the goddess. Since "Anathoth" may be a shortened form of "Beth-anathoth," it is conceivable that the three had the same general meaning, "House of Anath." The names would then indicate that at one time Anath was worshiped in these locations.

Shamgar, a mighty fighter in Judges (3:31; 5:6), is designated *ben ʿănāt,* "the son of Anath." The name "Shamgar" is non-Israelite (best seen as Hurrian in origin). Scholarly opinion varies as to understanding "the son of Anath." For example, this designation is seen as indicating Shamgar's community; Shamgar was from Beth-anath (*IDB* 4: 306). Another interpretation, seeing in the designation mention of the war divinity Anath, is that it is a military title or epithet (Craigie 1972: 239–40). However, Cross (1980: 7) thinks that *ben ʿănāt* may be a simple personal name. After comparing inscriptions on two arrowheads dating to the late 12th and late 11th centuries B.C., he suggests that the designation be understood as "the (son of) Son of Anath." Ben Anath ("Son of Anath") was Shamgar's father, who was named after the goddess. Extrabiblical onomastic data indicate that personal names often consisted of "Son of" plus the name of a deity. Since Ben Anath was named after the warrior goddess Anath it is quite possible that he came from a military family.

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**ANATH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿănāt* (עֲנָת)]. Ostensibly the father of Shamgar, a judge of Israel (Judg 3:31), his identity and even reality have been questioned. Albright (*ARI,* 111) first suggested that the phrase *ben-ʿănāt* actually should be read *bêt-ʿănāt* ("house or temple of Anath"), a city in Galilee. Shamgar then becomes a (the chief?) citizen of that town which Israel was unable to conquer (Judg 1:33). Others identified the city as Anathoth, the birthplace of the prophet Jeremiah (Gray 1957: 127–29). Craigie (1972: 239) interprets *ben-ʿănāt* as a military name or title. Anath was the Ugaritic goddess not only of fertility but of war as well, appearing in Egyptian and Mari texts in a martial role. Further, the name *bn.ʿnt* appears in two lists of personal names from Ugarit (*PRU* 2/43: 12; 61: 6). In this case, the translation of the phrase might very well be "mercenary." If Anath was an actual person, it is unlikely that he was an Israelite or a convert to Yahweh, for we would not expect him to hold the name of a competing deity during a period when Israel is contending with the Canaanites for the land.

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**ANATHOTH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿănātôt* (עֲנָתוֹת)]. A priestly city in the tribal territory of Benjamin, first mentioned in the Bible as the home of Abiezer and Jehu, two of David's bodyguards (2 Sam 23:27; 1 Chr 11:28; 12:3; 27:12). This important town is not mentioned in any of the early narratives dealing with events such as the conquest or the allotment of cities to the tribes.

Abiathar, the last chief priest of Eli's family, was exiled to his estate in Anathoth because he had supported Solomon's rival, Adonijah. Solomon said that Abiathar deserved death, but because he had carried the ark of the Lord before David, Solomon instead deposed him from the priesthood and exiled him to Anathoth (1 Kgs 2:26). Anathoth is mentioned by Isaiah (10:30) as one of the places on the Assyrian route, but the city was spared destruction.

The prophet Jeremiah was born in Anathoth (Jer 1:1). It was here that he began to prophesy and here that the people of Anathoth rebuked him because he had accused them of breaking the covenant and had prophesied that evil would come upon them. Later, Jeremiah purchased the field of Hanamel in Anathoth as a symbol of God's promise that life someday would return to normal (32:7–9). Jeremiah's last reference to Anathoth appears in a letter from the exiles in Babylon to the religious authorities in Jerusalem (29:27). After the Exile, 128 men of Anathoth returned with Zerubbabel to their town (Ezra 2:23; Neh 7:27) and Anathoth was resettled by the Benjaminites (Neh 11:32).

The debate over Anathoth's location is whether it lies on the high mound (Ras el-Kharrubeh) immediately S of the village of Anata or in the valley next to Anata (M.R. 175135). Anata is situated on a broad ridge composed of three hills connected by saddles. To the S of Anata is a low plateau, and then the N slope of Ras el-Kharrubeh.

Ras el-Kharrubeh is a hill 4.5 km NE of Jerusalem. A low valley and several small hills lie between Ras el-Khar-rubeh and the ridge which the Mount of Olives occupies. Wadi Farah with its steep, rocky sides is the nearest water supply to Ras el-Kharrubeh. Neither Ras el-Kharrubeh nor Anata lies on a major highway, but they are within 3 km of the main road from Jerusalem to Shechem and near the junction of the "Way of Beth Horons."

The early historians who identified biblical Anathoth all associated the site with Anata. Josephus (*Ant* 10 §114) identified Anathoth as the home of Jeremiah "which is twenty stades distant from Jerusalem." Eusebius (*Onomast.* 26.27–29) placed Anathoth 3 miles N of Jerusalem in the tribe of Benjamin.

Many pilgrims—including Burchard of Mt. Zion, Marino Santo, John Poloner, and Brother Felix—visited biblical Anathoth during the time of the Crusades. Following the Crusades, the site is not mentioned again until the last century, when E. Robinson also identified ancient Anathoth with Anata. The French geographer M. V. Guérin (1869: 76–79) was the first person to record a visit to Ras el-Kharrubeh.

The most important archaeological work at Anata and Ras el-Kharrubeh was done over fifty years ago by E. P. Blair and A. Bergman (Biran). This work was initiated because Alt had earlier suggested that OT Anathoth was initially at Ras el-Kharrubeh but was moved to Anata after the exile. Blair was given the responsibility of conducting soundings at Anata. As he walked the surface, he was convinced there was not enough debris to indicate that an ancient settlement had occupied this site. His five probes supported that observation, yielding only Arabic, Byzantine, Hellenistic, and Roman deposits (Blair 1936). Because there were no pre-Hellenistic remains, Blair concluded that Alt's views were correct.

Biran's survey at Ras el-Kharrubeh identified pottery from Iron I to Byzantine (Bergman 1936). Out of two probes a few sherds were found from the end of Iron I, some from Iron II, and a few more from the Persian-Hellenistic and Roman periods. Biran concluded that the site was occupied from about the 9th century to Byzantine times. The settlement reached its peak in Iron II (between 800 and 600 B.C.), although it continued to exist in Persian-Hellenistic times, finally coming to an end in the Byzantine period. As a result of the work done by Blair and Biran, the identification of Ras el-Kharrubeh with Anathoth is universally accepted among Israeli, European, and American archaeologists.

There was no subsequent archaeological work at either Anata or Ras el-Kharrubeh until the Levitical City survey team visited the two sites in 1971. At Anata, all the sherds found were Arab and Byzantine (as Blair had observed), with the exception of one possible Iron II sherd. At Ras el-Kharrubeh there was an abundance of pottery dating from Iron II as well as Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods. The earliest sherd from Iron II was from the 9th century, and the 8th century had the most impressive amount.

The Levitical City survey work at Ras-Kharrubeh and Anata supports the original claims of Alt (Peterson 1977: 409–26). At these two sites we have another example of an Iron Age/Persian city shifting locations during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. During the Iron Age the biblical city of Anathoth was located at Ras el-Kharrubeh, but during the Hellenistic-Roman periods it was relocated down the valley to the village that today bears its name.

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**ANATOLIA.** The Asian portion of the modern republic of Turkey. The area shows a great deal of topographic variation; some of the main features include a central plateau, a mountainous region in the east, and a fertile plain in the southern region around Adana. See Fig. ANA.01. Because it was one of the crossroads of the ancient Mediterranean world, it has a rich and diverse history, including numerous historical and cultural contacts with Syro-Palestine and its people. This entry will survey the prehistory and history of Anatolia, and will summarize some of the broad features of Anatolian mythology, especially that preserved by the Hittites. See also the entry on HITTITES.

## *PREHISTORY OF ANATOLIA*

The prehistoric period in Anatolia runs from the Lower Paleolithic (ca. 400,000 B.P.) to the end of the EB III period (ca. 2000 B.C.). The beginning of the historic era is marked by the emergence of the Hittites.

### A. Paleolithic

Finds from the Paleolithic period are relatively few. Although they occur in both open-air and cave sites, the data are uneven owing to a lack of concerted systematic surveys. The Karain cave near Antalya currently offers the best continuous chronological sequence for prehistoric Anatolia (Mellaart 1975: 93), showing evidence of occupation from the Lower (ca. 400,000 B.P.) to the Upper Paleolithic periods (ca. 30,000–13,000 B.C.). Of special interest is the final undisturbed Upper Paleolithic level (II) which yielded the remains of both *Homo neanderthalensis* and *sapiens* (Esin and Benedict 1963: 340). A final Neolithic phase from Karain can be roughly correllated with the Cilician Neolithic periods (cf. Mellink 1965: 105–6). New excavation is currently being carried on by Turkish and American excavators at Yarimburgaz cave, near Istanbul, where the earliest evidence of human habitation in Turkey is being uncovered Stone tools and fossilized faunal remains unearthed in the cave date to at least 700,000 B.C. Other late-Paleolithic-period sites have been found at Macun Çay near Ankara and Tekköy on the Black Sea coast (Esin and Benedict 1963). Sites such as these indicate that early food-gathering and -collecting communities existed somewhat N of the regions traditionally associated with Anatolia's earliest human habitation.

### B. Epipaleolithic

The Epipaleolithic period (ca. 13,000 B.C. to 8,500 B.C.) was a time of intense experimentation. While true agriculture was still unknown, the subsistence pattern of the previous era was gradually supplemented by what has been termed "incipient agriculture." Preadaptive technologies associated with this strategy allowed for a greater exploitation of available food resources. The chipped-stone industry underwent a marked development which is especially apparent in the microlithic tools. Sites attributed to this period are concentrated in a series of caves located on the lower elevations of the once heavily forested Taurus

range, overlooking both the Lycian plain and the Mediterranean (Mellaart 1975: 34–35, 92–94). Two such sites are Belbaşı (ca. 13,000 B.C.) and Bildibi (ca. 9,000 B.C.), both of which display hunter-gatherer economies. While Bildibi C showed some evidence of experimentation with grains, the environment proved unsuitable for the adaptation of agriculture and the region was bypassed in succeeding periods in favor of arable lands farther north.

**C. Neolithic**

The earliest evidence of settled life in Anatolia dates to the Neolithic age (Mellaart 1975; Todd 1980). At the outset of the period (8500–5500 B.C.), man was already experimenting with the plants and animals living around him, and soon began to realize the possibility of manipulating the environment for his own benefit (Reed 1977; Wright 1971). The "incipient agriculture" of the preceding period gave way to a primitive form of true agriculture and the development of village-farming sites across the "fertile crescent." The SE stretch of Anatolia formed the N arc of this crescent and sites such as Çayönü served as bases from which agriculture expanded into W Anatolia.

The Anatolian Neolithic is commonly divided into two phases, the aceramic and the ceramic (Mellaart 1975; but cf. Todd 1980). During the aceramic phase (8500–6500 B.C.) settled communities first appear in conjunction with domesticated plants and animals. The results of archaeological exploration suggest that regional differences already existed during the earliest phase of the Neolithic. Data are uneven, however, as the pertinent sites are few and scattered. The ceramic phase (6500–5500 B.C.), as its name suggests, is characterized by the first appearance of pottery. The economies of both Neolithic phases were similar. Dry-farming communities predominated and were located in areas with arable lands. Such sites were also near local sources of water and scattered examples of irrigation are known. Animal husbandry was introduced early but became more prevalent during the later stages of the Neolithic. Faunal remains show that wild game was also heavily exploited, especially in the period's early phase. Some communities supplemented this base economy by using local resources (i.e., obsidian) as a means of trade. At present, most of the information concerning the Neolithic derives from sites located in the S reaches of the peninsula. Recent salvage excavations along the Euphrates, however, have provided important new information at sites such as Hayar Höyük, Gritille, and Cafer Höyük.

Çayönü is currently the earliest settled site known in Anatolia. Evidence suggests that it was occupied as early as 8000 B.C. and provides fascinating information about the shift from a hunting and gathering to a village-farming economy (cf. Braidwood et al. 1981). The site covered about 30,000 $m^2$ and housed several hundred people. Handworked obsidian and flint tools were found in abundance at Çayönü, as were grinding stones and other materials for food processing. Bone and antler tools also appeared, as did small beads, pendants, and figurines. Copper artifacts were more abundant than expected for such an early date. True pottery was completely absent from the site, but white plaster vessels (*vaisselles blanches*) occur in the upper levels. While botanical remains suggest the appearance of domesticated grains by 7000 B.C., evidence of domesticated animals does not appear, with the exception of the dog (ca. 7000 B.C.), until somewhat later. This situation is not unlike that of other transitional Anatolian Neolithic sites such as Aşikli Höyük, Suberde, and Hacilar (V).

Çatal Höyük (East) is the best known of the Neolithic sites in Anatolia and best represents the developments which were taking place during the later part of the period (Mellaart 1967). The site was well planned and carefully constructed, made up of contiguous mudbrick houses with entryways through the roof. The walls and floors were plastered and burnished as in contemporary Jericho. Pottery was found in all thirteen excavated levels, though aceramic levels undoubtedly lie farther below. While the pottery appears to be strictly utilitarian in nature, other arts and crafts attest to a nonutilitarian aspect in the culture. Although no altars were found, the discovery of shrines with bucrania, wall paintings, plaster reliefs, and cult figurines suggests a strong religious orientation. Taken together, these materials provide evidence for a sophistication not previously suspected in central Anatolia.

The chipped-stone industry of Çatal Höyük is particularly significant. The people who inhabited Çatal Höyük made almost exclusive use of obsidian from nearby volcanic flows for their tools and weapons. The fact that local Anatolian obsidian was found at Jericho, among other places in the Levant, suggests

that the inhabitants of Çatal Höyük were involved in some form of long-distance trade (Renfrew, Dixon, and Cann 1966). While one need not understand the term "trade" in an exaggerated sense, some sort of exchange must be hypothesized in order to account for the movement of Konya obsidian so far abroad. The occurrence of Mediterranean shells, metal ores, and pigments not found locally also point to the existence of such trade. The economy of Çatal Höyük, however, continued to be based on agriculture, and irrigation appears at Çatal Höyük around 6000 B.C. The diet of Çatal Höyük remains one of the most varied yet discovered in the Neolithic. Although no definite proof was found of domesticated animals, animal husbandry probably played a significant role in the town's economy. Weapons, wall paintings portraying hunt scenes, and the bones of wild animals, however, indicate that hunting was still important. Çatal Höyük comes to an end around 5400 B.C., although after a short interval a new settlement is founded across the river. This later settlement belongs to the Early Chalcolithic period.

**D. The Chalcolithic Period**

The three phases of the succeeding Chalcolithic period last from about 5500 to 3000 B.C. and seem to have gradually developed out of the Neolithic period with no clear signs of cultural upheaval. The Early Chalcolithic period (5500–4500 B.C.) is best known from sites localized S of the Kizil Irmak. This initial phase is sometimes called the "late Neolithic" because its economy shows little change from the preceding Neolithic, remaining agriculturally based. Faunal studies are incomplete, but animal husbandry probably existed at Hacilar, much as at contemporary sites such as Erbaba and Can Hasan where sheep, goats, cattle, and perhaps pigs were kept. Botanical remains indicate that foodstuffs were much like those at Çatal Höyük with einkorn, emmer, as well as 2- and 6-rowed barley being mainstays along with peas, lentils, chick-peas, acorns, and hackberries. The distinguishing characteristic of the period is the development of painted pottery, the earliest examples of which apparently come from Mersin. The principal Anatolian site of the Early Chalcolithic is Hacilar, where the red-on-creme pottery attained a high degree of development (Mellaart 1975: 111). The examples from levels V–II are considered the hallmark of the period. Two distinct phases of fine clay figurines are found at Hacilar, the first (levels IX–VI) which displays the statuary at its unrivaled best, and the second (levels V–II) which lacks much of the creativity and charisma of the earlier examples. Nonetheless, the statuary, as a whole, is unmatched by anything else of its time. Early levels were unfortified, but security is enhanced in period II, with the addition of an outer defense wall formed by employing a line of contiguous structures on the perimeter of the site as a defensive measure. The site was destroyed and abandoned about 4800 B.C., leaving no apparent links to succeeding cultures.

Subsequent phases of the Chalcolithic are not well documented, especially in central Anatolia. The Middle Chalcolithic period (4500–3500 B.C.) is most evident along the Euphrates River where Late Ubaid cultural remains indicate a Mesopotamian intervention. This interlude represents the beginning of a persistent pattern of Mesopotamian riverine expansion which continues through the Middle Bronze Age (Marfoe 1987). Ubaid pottery at sites along the land route to the Ergani-Maden copper mines near Diyarbakir seems to confirm the motivation behind this expansion, and Ubaid pottery from Fraktin suggests that Mesopotamian influence may have also extended into central Anatolia at this time. The Late Chalcolithic (3500–3000 B.C.) is imprecisely understood in both western and central Anatolia (Yakar 1985, cf. chart 107). In the east, the Uruk culture succeeded the Ubaid and, like its predecessor, followed the main river routes north. Uruk expansion into Anatolia is documented in a series of enclaves which included sites such as Tepe Gawra, Tell Brak, Tarsus, Carchemish, Habuba Kabira, Kurban Höyük, and Norşuntepe before its sudden collapse around 3000 B.C. (Algaze 1987).

The legacy of early Anatolian prehistory is one of innovation, growth, and preparation. Important changes occurred inside Anatolia related to the development of greater food production and sedentism. The Early Bronze Age (3000–2000 B.C.) ushered man into a new age. Rapid developments in metallurgy, a greater accumulation of wealth and property, larger cities, and increased social organization all occur. Trade and military ventures bring Anatolia increasingly into contact with the outside world. In spite of its "internationalism," however, small villages with an agriculturally based economy remain the backbone of the country. The Early Bronze Age of Anatolia is conveniently divided into three periods.

## E. The EB I Period

The initial phase of the Early Bronze in Anatolia (3000–2800 B.C.) displays a proto-urban village character marked by the first appearance of distinct, though parochial, cultural regions. EB I is represented in the NW by the pre-Troy I cultures of the Troad and related island sites off the coast such as Poliochni (on Lemnos), Thermi (on Lesbos), and Emporio (on Chios). The exact placement of the pre-Troy I sequence is not completely understood, but on the basis of comparative ceramics it appears to antedate Troy I with Kumtepe Ic coming near the end of EB I (Yakar 1985; Mellink 1986). The small and later fortified town of Troy I can only begin then near the end of the EB I period (ca. 2800 B.C.; cf. Yakar 1985: 116). It should be noted, however, that attempts to interpret the evidence from Troy have led to serious disagreement over Anatolian chronology which stems, in part, from differences in the chronological systems currently in use. While some scholars would put more reliance on European and Aegean sequences established on the basis of comprehensive radiocarbon dates (Easton 1976), others feel that it is more productive to link Troy to the Aegean only after it is securely tied to central Anatolia and, through historical synchronisms, to the better-established Near Eastern chronologies (cf. Yakar 1985: 111).

The EB I is not easily demarcated in central Anatolia. It may be part of a cultural complex that is not totally indigenous to the region, perhaps including parts of Thrace, the Troad, and the Pontic regions. Evidence is found in the ceramics of Alişar, Kültepe, and Alaca Höyük, but details are unclear because of a lack of clear ties to more secure chronologies. EB I levels are dated primarily on the basis of affinities in the material culture to the preceding Chalcolithic period and the lack of foreign imports prevalent in the succeeding EB II (cf. Mellink 1965: 110–13). Because its upper chronological limit is sometimes thought to overlap with the Chalcolithic, the complex is often referred to as "Late Chalcolithic." Other north-central sites tied to this horizon include Büyük Güllücek, Horoztepe, and Maşat Höyük. The EB I is also represented at Bağbaşi in Elmalı plain, and Beycesultan (XX–XL) near Denizli.

Eastern Anatolia became the theater of the Early Trans-Caucasian movement (ETC) about this same time (Kelly-Buccelati 1974). Also known as the Khirbet Kerak, Kura-Araxes, or Karaz culture (in reference to other areas where it has been isolated), the ETC movement is defined by the distinctive red-black polished ware with fluted and grooved decoration found in its wake. The movement begins in the Araxes Valley situated between the Black and Caspian seas during the 4th millennium, and then spreads E into Iran. It has been suggested that the impetus of this movement originated, as it so often does in Anatolia's history, in the desire to obtain raw materials in the form of native copper and copper ores (Kelly-Buccelati 1974: 353). The first elements of the ETC arrive in eastern Anatolia around 2800 B.C.

## F. EB II

The EB II sequence (ca. 2800–2400 B.C.) is composed of roughly contemporary cultures whose contemporaneity is based on clear synchronisms in the following period. Among these are middle and late Troy I (including Troy IIa) in the NW, the "Copper Age" cultures of central Anatolia, and the Cilician EB II. Urbanism is on the rise and imposing walls begin to appear at regional centers like Troy, Alaca Höyük, Kültepe, Norşuntepe, and Arslantepe. Fortified cities such as these suggest aggressive kingdoms vying for power. The number of metal weapons such as battle-axes, swords, and spears found at these sites provide further evidence of militarism and the need for defense. The reason behind this urban growth and apparent aggressiveness is debated. Much of it, especially in the eastern and central regions, may be a response to the Mesopotamian movement into the region in search of raw materials. As Anatolian metals such as copper, lead, gold, silver, and electrum were among the most highly coveted of these resources, those who controlled the access to them must have reaped startling wealth, not to mention jealous competitors.

In the northwest, Troy I survives until about 2600 B.C. and is followed by a hiatus in occupation before the EB II concludes with the complete rebuilding of the Troy IIa citadel around 2500 B.C. (cf. Mellink 1986: 149, pl. 16; Yakar 1985), an event which is approximately contemporary with the last phase of the Early Dynastic III period in Mesopotamia (cf. Yakar 1976: 56). Inland, its influence is felt as far away as Beycesultan (XIX–XVII).

The EB II of central Anatolia is represented by "Copper Age" levels at Alişar Höyük, Acemhöyük, and Kültepe. The development of small settlements into large fortified cities suggests an increasingly urban orientation. Alaca Höyük is of particular importance for this period. Among the discoveries at Alaca are the royal tombs (Yakar 1985: 185). These rectangular shaft tombs must have been the final resting places for several generations of the city's royal house. The men were buried with weapons and the women with domestic articles and jewelry. Also among the contents of these tombs are the enigmatic "standards" and the metal remains of furniture. The numerous metal remains found in the tombs reveal the same advanced technological skills as found at Troy.

The origins of the Alaca culture are disputed. Unfortunately, the royal tombs cannot be stratigraphically dated, but on the basis of "Copper Age" pottery found in the tomb, they were tentatively placed at the end of the EB II or early in the EB IIIa, though some tombs seem to date a little later (cf. Yakar 1985: 176, 177–79, 185). While some have tried to link the Alaca culture to the Kurgan cultures of the north, and the Black Sea coast site of Maikop in particular (Yakar 1985: 185), there is no clearly definable means of tracing its origins.

Meanwhile, eastern Anatolia continued to bear the brunt of the Early Trans-Caucasian movement which reached the area of the Keban dam and Malatya around 2800 B.C., later finding its way to the Amuq around 2600 B.C. ETC influence is also felt at this same time in central Anatolian "Copper Age" sites such as Kültepe and Alaca Höyük (Kelly-Buccelati 1974: 301–33). Farther south, the seizure and occupation of the town of Purušḫanda (perhaps located at Acemhöyük) by Sargon I (ca. 2400 B.C.) renewed the Mesopotamian presence in the region and suggests that this part of Anatolia was well known to Mesopotamians as early as the 24th century B.C.

**G. EB III Period**

The last phase of the Early Bronze Age (ca. 2400–2000 B.C.) witnessed major developments taking place throughout Anatolia. The upper limit of subphase EB IIIA is determined by the inauguration of the Cilicio-Troadic connection and the introduction of wheel–made pottery to Troy IIb. These events provide clear chronological synchronisms between Troy IIb–g and the Cilician EB IIIA. In the case of Tarsus, the evidence is strong enough to postulate an intrusive settlement of West Anatolians (Mellink 1986: 149–51). This intrusion may have been brought about by seafaring warriors and merchants who followed the coast, much like the "Sea Peoples" of the later 13th–early 12th centuries.

The EB IIIA in central Anatolia is characterized by a continuity that goes back to the EB II (Yakar 1985: 183). The region, however, was not isolated from the larger events of the period. Depatas and one-handled cups found at such sites as Alişar, Kültepe, and Acemhöyük indicate that the region was intimate with the affairs of the EB IIIA (Özgüç 1986; Mellink 1986). The similarity of jewelry from Troy, Alaca, and Eskiyapar provides another indication of strong relations between Troy and her central Anatolian counterparts (Mellink 1986: 142).

In the E, a middle phase of the ETC movement begins about 2400 B.C., but its energy is apparently spent by 2100 B.C. In fact, a pattern of cultural fragmentation has already developed in the E in which numerous local cultures flourish during the last part of the 3d millennium. This patchwork of small polities is characterized by large walled towns and many local ceramic traditions which actually begin in the middle of the 3d millennium and continue into the 2d (Marfoe 1987: 34).

The EB IIIA period came to an end around 2300 B.C. when Troy II was overrun and the Cilicio-Troadic connections were severed by a force of uncertain origin (cf. Mellink 1986: 151). The EB IIIB is marked by the erection of Troy III–V, which were roughly contemporary with the later central Anatolian EB III. Along the coastal areas of W and SW Anatolia the Minoans became the dominant seafarers, supplanting the native West Anatolians, while the inland areas of W and S Anatolia are thought to have provided the backdrop for the movement of the Indo-European-speaking peoples into Anatolia (cf. Yakar 1976).

The areas N of the Kizil Irmak do not seem to have been affected by the aggressive action which brought an end to Troy II (above) and many of the principalities to the S (Yakar 1985: 183). Important EB III settlements maintained themselves at Alaca Höyük, Maşat, Kültepe, Acemhöyük, Karahöyük-Konya, and Alişar Höyük. It may be that in the cities of this area, especially those farther N, are to be found the

"indigenous" Hattians who preceded the Hittites and bequeathed to them so many of their cultural trappings.

Although it was not uncommon for these EB III settlements to be overthrown from time to time, occupation is quickly resumed with no signs of cultural collapse. Signs point to internal or internecine conflict rather than external force, a point which is confirmed in the cultural continuity seen between the EB III and succeeding MB/LB cultures, as well as the expanding foreign contacts. Kül-tepe-Kaneš, in anticipation of its role as the nexus of the Old Assyrian trade network in the Middle Bronze Age, shows signs of increasing prosperity from its foreign trade (Özgüç 1986). Other towns also grow, either in response to similar economic catalysts or as places of refuge from the internecine struggles convulsing the region. Near the end of the period the Mesopotamian link is again apparent in the form of traders from Ur (III) and Assyria who successively followed the long-established trade routes to central Anatolia. As a result of such external influences, the cultural horizon of central Anatolia was considerably broadened in advance of the political shift which was to turn the focus of the ancient world to Anatolia for much of the 2d millennium. When the EB III came to an end around 2000 B.C., the stage was already set for the emergence of the Hittites.

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RONALD L. GORNY

## *HISTORY OF ANCIENT ANATOLIA*

Both archaeological and textual source material is abundant for ancient Anatolia. Many sites have been excavated and have yielded a wealth of evidence about architecture, city planning, pottery, metallurgy, and material culture in general for all periods of Anatolian history. Textual remains from a number of sites have provided philologists and historians with material for the history of early Asia Minor. The many different languages, scripts, and writing media reflect the diversity of the area's history. The cuneiform system of writing is represented by clay tablets written in at least two dialects of Akkadian, Hittite, and Urartian, as well as Urartian monumental inscriptions in stone. From the Hittite kingdom and many Neo-Hittite cities, steles and monuments written in the Luwian hieroglyphic script are extant. Phrygians and Lydians left inscriptions in their own languages and distinctive scripts based on Phoenician

or Greek alphabets. There is a wealth of inscriptional material in Greek and Latin from the later periods, as well as information in some Greek and Roman writers.

**A. Old Assyrian Merchants**

History begins in Anatolia with the tablets of the Old Assyrian merchants. These merchants, based in Aššur, came into Anatolia near the beginning of the 2d millennium B.C. and established trading colonies (Old Assyrian *kārum*) to facilitate regular trade between Aššur and Anatolia. The most important of these colonies was at the city of Kaneš, modern Kültepe. In the upper levels of the *kārum* were discovered a number of tablets, primarily economic documents, written in cuneiform in the Old Assyrian script and dialect. Formal trade agreements were drawn up with local Anatolian rulers, who offered the merchants protection but also exacted taxes on their commerce. Indo-European names occur in some of the documents, indicating that the Hittites were already present in Anatolia in this period, although not as a recognizable political entity. Also found in the *kārum* district were a number of cylinder seals, a distinctively Mesopotamian type of seal which was rolled across a wet clay bulla or tablet as a signature. The seals show Mesopotamian and Syrian as well as native Anatolian motifs.

On the site of the city itself a palace has been identified. Tablets in Old Assyrian were also found in this building; the local ruler apparently employed scribes from the *kārum.* One of the most interesting is a letter from another Anatolian ruler to the king of Kaneš. In another building was found a dagger or spearhead inscribed "the palace of Anitta the king." Opinion is divided as to whether this indicates that Anitta was king at Kaneš or that he sacked the city and the dagger was lost there.

The advent of the Assyrian traders begins the historical period in Anatolia; those merchants brought with them among other things the concept of writing and the use of cylinder seals. Later Hittite texts refer to a city called Neša (Kaneš) as their city of origin, which accords well with the evidence of the Hittite names in the Kaneš tablets. Thus the Hittites were exposed to the cultural influence of the foreign merchants from Aššur, some elements of which are discernible in the Hittite cultural tradition.

**B. Hittites**

The main textual source for Hittite history is the large corpus of cuneiform texts discovered at the Hittite capital of Ḫattuša, modern Boğazköy, in central Turkey. Most of the texts are in Hittite, the earliest attested Indo-European language. Archaeological evidence for the Hittites is extensive; major sites include Boğazköy, Maşat, Alaca Höyük, and Alişar.

The first recorded king of the Hittites was Anitta, very probably the same king whose dagger was found at Kültepe. The one major text attributable to him lists the cities which he conquered. One of these was Ḫattuša, which was resettled and made the capital by the Hittites under Ḫattusilis I ca. 1650 B.C. Perhaps the most important document for this king's reign in his "Political Testament," in which he addresses the assembled nobles on the subject of his adoption of a new heir after the treachery of his own son. His adopted successor, Muršili I, expanded Ḫattusilis' empire and even made a raid deep into Mesopotamia, conquering Babylon and ending the OB dynasty of Hammurapi ca. 1595. However, Muršili on his return was murdered in the first of a long series of dynastic disputes. The Old Hittite period ends with the king Telepinu, who promulgated an edict defining rules for dynastic succession designed to end the intrigues which had crippled the kingdom since Muršili's assassination.

After a Middle Hittite period of somewhat meager documentation, the New Hittite period begins with the reign of Šuppiluliumas I, who embarked on an ambitious program of empire building. Later kings maintained and increased the conquered lands, administering an empire extending in all directions from Ḫattuša. Important texts in this period include the annals of Muršili II, in which are detailed year by year the campaigns of the king, a treaty between Ḫattusilis III and Rameses II which is famous because it is extent in copies both from Ḫattuša and from Egypt, and the "Apology" of Ḫattusilis III, an early piece of political justification in which the king defends his usurpation of the throne from his nephew. The reign of Ḫattusilis' successor, Tudḫaliya IV, is characterized by his religious reforms. Shortly after that king's reign the capital was captured and burned and the empire collapsed. Scholars have yet to penetrate the mystery of who it was that so dramatically brought to an end one of the great empires of the Near East. See also HITTITES.

**C. Neo-Hittite States**

Although the collapse of the capital at Ḫattuša signaled the end of the Hittite empire, many of the cities throughout the empire retained their Hittite character for centuries after the imperial structure had vanished. The culture of these Neo-Hittite cities shows a mixture of Hittite and Aramean elements. An important source for their political history are the annals of the kings of Assyria, who eventually incorporated all of these cities one at a time into their empire. The archaeological record from this period includes excellent architectural remains and wonderful examples of sculpture, both relief and in the round. There are also a number of inscriptions in hieroglyphic Luwian, although there is no corpus of nonmonumental documentation analogous to the Hittite archives at Ḫattuša.

Karkamiș, on the modern Syria-Turkey border, was a provincial capital during the Hittite empire and became one of the most important Neo-Hittite cities. Much of the 1st-millennium city has been excavated, revealing the truly magnificent series of orthostats (stone slabs, carved in low relief, used to decorate the walls of public buildings). Many of these orthostats may now be seen in the Ankara museum. The art of Karkamiș influenced all of the surrounding states and was probably transmitted to the Greeks by the Phrygians.

One of the most spectacular of all the Neo-Hittite sites is Karatepe. Here the orthostats have been preserved *in situ*, giving the modern visitor an idea of the layout of the city and its decoration. The reliefs and the long bilingual inscription of King Azitawanda in hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician illustrates the blending of Hittite and Phoenician elements at Karatepe.

The history of the Neo-Hittite period is one of many small city-states, heirs at least in part to Hittite culture, which maintained themselves as independent principalities but were never able to reunite the area as the Hittite empire had done. This made them susceptible to attack, and their history as independent states ended as each individual city was incorporated into the expanding Assyrian empire in the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. Thereafter their distinctive Hittite-Aramean character was lost and they were absorbed culturally as well as politically into the Assyrian empire. The period immediately after the Neo-Hittite states is thus for southern Anatolia one of Assyrian domination.

**D. Urartians**

The extremely mountainous E region of Anatolia was called by the Assyrians of the late 2d and 1st millennia Urartu or Uruatri. A number of Urartian sites have been discovered. These include Van, Toprakkale, Altıntepe, and Çavuștepe in Turkey and Karmir-Blur and Erin-Berd in the Soviet Union. Urartian cities follow the general pattern of utilizing the region's steep-sided hills as natural fortification, supplemented with defensive walls. The cities normally have huge cisterns cut in the rock and an extensive system of storage jars, for withstanding the sieges of the Assyrians mentioned below.

Archeology has also brought to light a number of monumental rock inscriptions of the Urartians, written in Assyrian cuneiform but in the Urartian language, which shows some affinities to Hurrian. Approximately 25 tablets have been found in addition to the rock inscriptions. Still, much of our understanding of Urartian political history comes from the Assyrian sources.

The Urartian homeland is well protected by mountains and rather inaccessible from Assyria, its main enemy. The Assyrians could only campaign in Urartu for a few weeks out of the year, because the passes through which they had to go were only open for a short time. This dictated the Urartian strategy for defending their homeland, which was simply to withdraw within their walled fortress towns and utilize their stored provisions to wait out the Assyrian siege. The development of Urartian political organization from a tribal system to a unified monarchy may be traced in the Assyrian sources over a period of several centuries. By the 9th century B.C., Urartu was the object of regular campaigns by the Assyrians. In the first half of the 8th century, Urartian power was at its zenith as they pushed west to the Mediterranean, coming into contact with the Neo-Hittite states. The Urartians managed to hold some of their conquered lands until Tiglath-pileser III reasserted Assyrian control and pushed the Urartians back into their mountainous homeland. Thereafter the history of Urartu is primarily one of defense against periodic campaigns of the Assyrians. Urartu as an independent kingdom in the written sources disappeared with its

conquest by the Medes in the later 7th century B.C. The Urartians are best known to us today through their excellent metalwork and ivory carving, their jewelry, and their armor.

**E. Phrygians and Lydians**

The Phrygians were contemporaries of the Urartians who lived in central Anatolia around the Halys River, the modern Kızıl Irmak. Primary written sources for their history are Greek legends, such as the Midas story, and Assyrian historical documents. The Phrygians had their own alphabetic writing system based on the Phoenician alphabet, but the corpus of Phrygian is very small and is limited mostly to monumental inscriptions. Their main site is the capital at Gordion. Outside the ancient city are several huge burial tumuli. The largest of these is referred to as that of Midas, but there is no evidence for this identification. Another site is a rock-cut building façade at Midas city in W Anatolia which includes an inscription.

The Phrygians may appear in written sources as early as the 11th century B.C., in the reign of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I. Sargon II (8th century) records a military confrontation with the Phrygian king Mita (the Greek Midas) in Cilicia in S Anatolia. Soon after this clash with Assyria the Cimmerians ca. 690 B.C. swept into Anatolia and took Gordion, with Midas, according to tradition, committing suicide at the loss of his kingdom. After the Cimmerian invasion, Gordion was rebuilt, but although the architecture and material culture closely resemble that of the earlier city, the rebuilding was done by the Lydians, not Phrygians. The Phrygians worshiped the goddess Kubaba/Cybele, who in later periods became an important mother-goddess in Anatolia.

The Lydians, as noted above, added the Phrygian region to their own when Gordion was destroyed by the Cimmerians. The Cimmerians also attacked the Lydian capital of Sardis in W Anatolia, but King Alyattes managed to repel them. Written sources for the Lydians are meager, including a few texts in Lydian and mention of them in Homer and Herodotus. From Herodotus, we learn that Alyattes pushed his kingdom to the Mediterranean, destroying Smyrna (modern Izmir) at the beginning of the 6th century B.C. Excavation at Sardis has brought to light much of the material culture of the Lydians. They were in close contact with the Greeks throughout their history, and much of their art shows affinities with that of the Greeks of the Archaic period. Croesus, the last Lydian king, ca. 561–547 B.C., consulted the oracle at Delphi and attacked the Persians on the strength of the oracle's reply. The result of his attempt to expand his kingdom at the expense of the Persians, however, was that the Persians took Sardis and ended the Lydian kingdom.

**F. Ionian City-States**

The W coast of Anatolia of the 1st millennium is referred to as Ionia because of the many Ionian Greek city-states founded there during the migrations at the end of the Bronze Age. Important sites include Ephesus, Priene, Miletus, and Didyma. Greek literary sources supplement the extensive archaeological record.

Throughout the 7th century B.C. several Lydian kings in succession attacked various Ionian cities in their expansion to the west. Alyattes, mentioned above, laid siege to the important port city of Miletus for 12 years and succeeded in taking Smyrna. His successor Croesus is recorded as giving gifts to Ionian temples, especially the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, but he attacked that city as well. A number of the mainland Ionian cities were paying tribute to Lydia up until the fall of that kingdom to the Persians. The island cities were free of this burden as the Lydians had no fleet. The Ionian city-states are well known for their intellectual life; the pre-Socratic philosophers Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes all came from Ionian Anatolia.

**G. Persian Period**

Greek and Persian literary sources furnish the main evidence for the Persian occupation of Anatolia, as the Persians left little distinctive archaeological evidence. The Medes, a group associated with the Persians, are recorded in Anatolia early in the 6th century B.C., fighting with Lydia. In 546 the last Lydian king, Croesus, attacked the first Achaemenid (Persian) king, Cyrus. When Cyrus took the Lydian capital of Sardis the remainder of Anatolia rapidly followed. For the next two centuries the Persians ruled Anatolia from several different satrapies, or provincial administrative centers. One of the best-known

satraps was Mausolus of Halicarnassos, whose funerary monument was the Mausoleum, one of the 7 wonders of the world.

The Ionian city-states, taken by the Persians in the wake of their conquest of Sardis, revolted in 499 B.C., winning only a temporary freedom. After quelling the revolt, the Persians attempted to placate the Ionian cities in order to secure their flank before launching their invasion of the Greek mainland. The failure of Xerxes' Greek invasion weakened Persian control of the Greek cities in Anatolia as well, although it was not until Alexander the Great's campaigns through Anatolia in the middle of the 4th century B.C. that the Persians were expelled. The Persians ruled Asia Minor politically, but had little influence culturally, the various pre-Persian cultures of Anatolia remaining essentially the same.

**H. Hellenistic Period**

This is the period between Alexander's expulsion of the Persians and the coming of the Romans. Sources for this period include the various Greek historical sources on Alexander and his successors as well as archaeological evidence from many sites. Some parts of Anatolia were incorporated into the empire of Alexander and his successors, while other areas managed to escape conquest or reasserted their independence, forming small kingdoms. The north central region was never conquered by Alexander and remained independent until the Roman period.

An important kingdom of this period was that of Pergamon (modern Bergama), located on the W coast. The foundation of the kingdom dates to Philetaeros, 283–263 B.C. The remains of the city on its acropolis are still very impressive. Attalus I (241–197 B.C.) built the magnificent altar of Zeus, now on exhibit in Berlin, to commemorate a victory over the Gauls of central Anatolia. Pergamon's close cultural contact with mainland Greece is indicated by Attalus II's endowing of a stoa at Athes. The last Pergamene king, Attalus III, bequeathed the kingdom to Rome at his death in 133 B.C.

One of the best known of the independent Hellenistic kingdoms of Anatolia is that of Commagene, situated in SE Anatolia. It is justly famous for the funerary monument of its king, Antiochus I Epiphanes, deep in the mountains at Nemrud Dağı. The site contains a huge burial tumulus with pavilions facing both the rising and setting sun with colossal stone statues of Hellenistic gods, in which group Antiochus included himself. There are also other monuments and inscriptions in the area. The culture of Commagene as preserved shows a unique mixture of Greek and Iranian elements. The kingdom remained independent until A.D. 72, when it was incorporated into the province of Syria by Vespasian.

**I. Roman Period**

Rome began expanding into Anatolia in the 2d century B.C. and eventually took all of the region, splitting it into several provinces, the largest of which were Asia, Galatia, and Cappadocia. Besides the acquisition of Pergamon and Commagene mentioned above, a landmark in the Roman takeover was the final conquest by Pompey ca. 67 B.C. of the district of Pontus on the Black Sea after three wars with its last ruler, Mithridates VI. Abundant Roman sites in Anatolia have yielded archaeological evidence and many inscriptions in Greek and Latin. A number of Roman writers mention Asia Minor as well. Important sites include Ephesus (modern Selcuk), Hierapolis (modern Pa-mukkale), and Aphrodisias. The seven churches of Revelation are all located in Anatolia; some of them are at cities with extensive Roman remains; at others almost nothing is left today. For the archaeology of the seven churches, see the comprehensive study of Edwin Yamauchi cited in the bibliography.

Unlike the Persian rulers of Anatolia, who left little in the archaeological record, the Romans built cities in Anatolia which are distinctively Roman, with the normal elements of Roman cities such as baths, a forum, theater, and stadium. The culture was a mixture of Greek and Roman elements with an additional Anatolian admixture. Artemis of Ephesus was a syncretized deity distinctive to this Anatolian Greco-Roman city, and Cybele, attested (as Kubaba) from the Hittite and Phrygian periods, was worshiped throughout Roman Anatolia as a mother goddess. The last major influence on the culture was the advent of the new religion of Christianity, which revolutionized the beliefs of its formerly pagan converts and eventually led to the founding by Constantine of a new capital of the now Christian empire just across the Bosporus from the Anatolia where Christianity experienced much of its early growth.

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GREGORY MCMAHON

## *ANATOLIAN MYTHOLOGY*

Although many different peoples lived in Anatolia in ancient times, we know little about any Anatolian mythology outside of that preserved by the Hittites. A few myths for later Anatolian peoples are found in Greek and Latin sources. The cuneiform texts found in the Hittite archives at their capital of Ḫattuša, modern Boğazköy, include a number of mythological tales. Most of these mythological texts are in the Hittite language, but there are also some in Hattic, Hurrian, and Akkadian. As is the case with any archive of clay tablets, portions of the texts are often missing where the tablet has been broken or abraded away.

The mythology preserved in the Hittite archives reflects two main borrowed traditions: that of the Hattians (pre-Hittite inhabitants of Anatolia), and that of the Hurrians, a people of N Mesopotamia who exerted great cultural influence on the Hittites in their later history, transmitting elements both of their own and Mesopotamian culture to their northern neighbors. The Hattian myths are not independent literary creations; rather, each forms an integral part of a ritual and had a magical potency as it was recited at the performing of the ritual. These Hattian myths, reflecting a native Anatolian tradition, date from the Old Hittite period, when the influence of the Hattians was strongest on the developing Hittite culture. The foreign mythology borrowed from the Hurrians, and to a lesser extent the Mesopotamians and Canaanites, dates from the New Hittite or Empire period. A more complete treatment of Hittite mythology is available in the article, on which some of the following depends, by Güterbock (1961) (see also Goetze *ANET*[3], 120–28).

### A. Old Hittite Mythology

Although the Hattian myths are preserved mostly in Hittite copies, their origins in the Hattian tradition may be seen in the Hattian names for all of the major deities and their location in the Hattian homeland in north central Anatolia. The motif running through most of the Old Hittite myths is that of a crisis in the Hittite lands caused by the disappearance or incapacitation of a deity. This requires the gods to convene and work out a solution to restore the missing god, a solution which often involves the assistance of a mortal. When the god once again assumes his proper place, the land is restored to full vigor and produces its bounty for the people.

The myth of the "Moon That Fell from Heaven" exists in a bilingual Hattic-Hittite copy. Its fragmentary condition renders its unclear story even more difficult to understand. All that we can understand from this myth is that the moon (i.e., the moon god) falls down from heaven and various deities then send messengers after it in an attempt to retrieve it and restore it to its proper place in the heavens. The accompanying ritual is designed to propitiate the storm god and is to be performed "when the storm god thunders." It is not clear how the myth's plot is related to the accompanying ritual.

The myth of the "Disappearing Deity" is actually a series of myths with more or less the same plot and different deities cast in the lead role. Although the extant copies of these myths are in Hittite, their locale and primary characters again indicate a Hattian origin. The main theme involves the disappearance of one deity in a fit of anger, the quest to find and bring him back, and his restoration to the company of the gods.

The best-known example of this myth is the one in which the god Telepinu disappears. When in anger he deserts the populated areas and goes out into the hinterland, the resultant cessation of fertility and growth threatens the people with famine. When the gods assemble, they realize that Telepinu is absent and, afraid of dying of hunger themselves (because the people cannot make sacrifices), send out a bee to find Telepinu. The bee finds the sulking god and stings him awake. Telepinu, further enraged, causes more havoc in the land, at which point Kamrušepa, the goddess of healing and magic, is commissioned to

bring him back. There follows a description of the ritual designed to appease the god, who eventually returns, restoring fertility to the land.

In other versions of the myth other gods, e.g., the sun god, Inara, disappear, and the methods used to find the absentee god vary somewhat. It is usually not specified what has caused the god to become so angry that he deserts his people. In the story of the disappearance of the storm god, the sin of his father is given as the reason for the god's leaving. It is interesting that the gods themselves must resort to magic to restore the missing deity to their company. The dependence of the gods on the offerings of man is reflected in the concern they feel for their own well-being when man's food supply is threatened. These Old Hittite disappearing deity myths should not be confused with the "dying god" myths of other ancient cultures. They exhibit marked differences from such myths; for example, the god does not die but only disappears. Unlike dying god myths, the disappearing deity myths are not related to any seasonal pattern.

Another myth from the Hattian tradition is that of Illuyanka. Unlike the other Old Hittite myths, which are integrated into a ritual procedure performed only as needed, the Illuyanka myth was recited as part of the state cult, at the yearly *purulli* festival. The word *illuyanka* is the Hittite noun "serpent, snake." There are two different versions of the story. In one the serpent defeats the storm god in battle, whereupon the storm god seeks assistance from the other gods to regain supremacy. To aid him the goddess Inara prepares a feast which includes an abundance of alcoholic refreshment and secures the assistance of a mortal, Ḫupašiya, who promises to help in return for Inara's love. Inara then invites the serpent to the feast, at the end of which he is too inebriated or too swollen to go back down into his hole. When Ḫupašiya has tied him up and rendered him harmless the storm god comes and kills him, thus restoring his supremacy. In the rather tragic conclusion, Ḫupašiya goes to live with Inara but finds that he misses his wife and children. After looking out the window and seeing his family, he is killed by Inara when he expresses his desire to rejoin them.

In the other version of the myth the serpent takes the eyes and heart of the storm god when he defeats him in battle. The storm god then marries a mortal woman and has a son, whom he gives to the serpent's daughter in marriage. Instructed by his father the storm god, the son, upon entering his new bride's house, asks for his father's heart and eyes from the serpent, which he then takes to his father. When the storm god has thus restored his body to full capacity, he is able to destroy the serpent and his family. Again the plot contains an element of tragedy, as the storm god's son, now a member of the serpent's family, tells his father to kill him along with his new father-in-law, the serpent. This second version must be understood in light of the *antiyant-* form of marriage, in which a man enters his bride's house and, in lieu of bringing a bride price, receives a gift from his new father-in-law for leaving his own family and becoming part of his bride's family. The storm god's heart and eyes are the marriage gift which the son requests, but as an *antiyant-* husband he has joined his life to that of his new family and must share their fate.

Other Old Hittite myths include that of "Telepinu and the Daughter of the Sea God," in which the sea god becomes angry, but instead of leaving the land, he carries off another god, the sun god. His anger is understandable, because he has given the sun god to Telepinu as a marriage gift in an *antiyant-* marriage, but Telepinu has not remained in his house as an *antiyant-* husband should, but has returned to the house of his father the storm god.

In a ritual for the erection of a new palace some mythological passages are included in the magical proceedings which give a rare glimpse into Hittite conceptions of the netherworld. Goddesses spinning the thread of life are depicted, and the ritual includes a prayer to them to give long life to the owner of the new palace. The story elements, as part of a magical procedure, were considered to have magical potency in securing the desired result.

**B. New Hittite Mythology**

The mythology of the New Hittite or Empire period reflects the strong influence of the Hurrians on the culture of the Hittite kingdom in its later period. As most of the myths are not preserved in Hurrian-language copies, we are fortunate to have these myths preserved in their Hittite versions. We do not know how closely these versions followed the Hurrian originals. The main characters, all Hurrian or

Mesopotamian deities, and the settings of the myths in the Hurrian homeland indicate the Hurrian origin of the material.

There is a cycle of Hurrian myths describing the struggle among the gods for supremacy in heaven, with different generations battling against each other to establish themselves as king. One of this cycle is the myth often referred to as "Kingship in Heaven." The plot involves Anu (the Mesopotamian sky god) deposing his lord Alalu, a lesser-known Mesopotamian god. Kumarbi, a Hurrian deity identified as the "father of the gods," serves Anu, but in his turn seeks to depose him. Kumarbi, as he chases Anu, swallows his "manhood" and eventually gives birth to the storm god (Hurrian Tešub), who as the issue of Anu's "manhood" is considered the son of Anu, not of Kumarbi. Ea, the Mesopotamian god of wisdom, becomes involved in the dynastic dispute, but the end of the text is missing. Although we do not have the resolution of the story we may infer from Tešub's position in the Hittite pantheon that he became king of the gods.

Another myth in this cycle of cosmic battles, the "Song of Ullikummi," tells more of the battle between Kumarbi and Tešub. Kumarbi, in plotting to regain his throne from the usurper Tešub, sleeps with a rock, the issue of which is the giant Ullikummi. He is placed on the shoulder of Ubelluri, the giant who supports the earth and seas on his shoulders. With so solid a foundation, the stone monster grows rapidly and in 15 days has reached the heavens. The first to notice him is the sun god, who reports the matter to Tešub. Tešub, Tašmišu, and Ištar, the Mesopotamian goddess of love, go out to observe the monster. When Ullikummi proves immune to Ištar's blandishments, Tešub is forced to battle the monster. Tešub is defeated, and Kummiya, his city, is threatened by the monster. Tešub's brother Tašmišu recommends getting help from Ea, the god of wisdom, who suggests weakening Ullikummi by cutting his bond with Ubelluri with the cleaver which was used at creation to separate the heavens from the earth. Again the ending of the tablet is broken away; we leave the story with the renewal of battle between Tešub and Ullik-ummi, the latter boasting of his prowess. The final result, however, must have been a victory for Tešub, again inferred from his position at the head of the Hittite pantheon. The cycle of succeeding generations of gods overthrowing their forebears and usurping the throne of heaven is thus broken with Tešub, who manages to take the throne from Kumarbi, but also successfully defends it from the next generation as represented by Ullikummi. The motif of generations of gods ruling successively in the heavens is seen in the Babylonian creation epic, *Enuma Eliš,* and was probably borrowed by the Hurrians. In turn the close parallels in these Hurrian-Hittite myths to Hesiod's *Theogony* may indicate influence from the Hittites on Greek cosmology.

The myth of the "Kingship of KAL" presents a similar story of the struggle for supremacy in heaven. Again Tešub's position is threatened, and he in fact loses the throne when Ea appoints KAL king of heaven. The god KAL becomes arrogant in his rule of heaven, causing Ea to regret his action. Ironically, Ea seeks help from Tešub's old rival Kumarbi in reinstating Tešub on the throne of heaven. The gods decide on action against KAL when his rebelliousness becomes contagious and the people stop providing food and drink offerings for them. Once again the tablet is broken before the end of the story, but it seems that Tešub was restored to the kingship and KAL was punished. In this story, as in that of Ullikummi, Ea is involved in dynastic disputes and seems to have some authority over who rules in heaven.

The myth of "Silver" is another Hurrian myth in which the protagonist, called Silver with no divine determinative, is upset because the gods do not recognize him. He pulls the sun and moon down to earth; when they worship him and ask for mercy he has pity on them. In another episode he hits an orphan with a stick, who responds by reminding Silver that he too was once an orphan. Silver is moved to tears by this and goes to his mother's house, apparently for comfort. In the next episode, probably related to the preceding one, Silver forces his mother to tell him who his father is. He learns that his father is Kumarbi and his brother is the storm god, Hurrian Tešub. Thus in this myth Kumarbi, not Anu, is the father of Tešub. In Urkiš, Kumarbi's home, Silver looks for his father but does not find him. Eventually the storm god (Tešub) goes to see Silver because he is agitating the land, at which point the text is lost.

The story shows some interesting points. Although Silver is obviously very powerful if he can pull down the sun and moon, he does not occur elsewhere among the gods of the Hittites. His name is written

without the divine determinative almost invariably used for names of gods. Silver's classification as an orphan offers an interesting insight into Hittite-Hurrian society. Although his mother is still alive, Silver is considered an orphan because he has no father, or at least he does not know his father and thus has no lineage. When he is told who his father is, he can recognize his ancestry and is therefore no longer an orphan. There is no character quite like Silver in other ancient Near Eastern mythology, and because he does not occur elsewhere in the Hittite corpus he remains a somewhat mysterious figure.

In the myth of the sun god, the cow, and the fisherman, the divine and mortal come into direct contact. The sun god observes the cow from the heavens and, overcome with desire, approaches and talks with her in the guise of a young man. In a very broken passage of the tablet he apparently sleeps with her, after which the counting of months signals a pregnancy, followed by the birth of a child. When the child is born the cow complains that her offspring looks human and not like a calf. What follows has been interpreted in two different ways. Friedrich in his early edition (1949) described the scene in which the cow opens her mouth like a lion and goes to her child as the cow's attempt to kill her child, which did not resemble the calf that she was expecting. More recently Hoffner (1981: 192–93), has suggested that the cow opened her mouth wide to lick the child as she cared for it. However we interpret the passage, the child lives, the sun god delights in his child, and he sends animals to protect it. Eventually a fisherman finds the child and somehow realizes that it is the sun god's child. When he brings it home his barren wife simulates birth pains for the benefit of the neighbors and then brings forth the baby as her own. The cow's attitude toward the child is not completely clear, but the fisherman and his wife consider it a blessing from the sun god.

The myth of Appu contains a strongly drawn moral lesson, beginning with a statement about the vindication of just men and retribution for evil men. Appu is a man of great wealth but no offspring. The reason becomes clear: he has never "taken hold" of his wife. When he tells the sun god of his childlessness, that deity suggests that he drink himself into a state of intoxication and then sleep with his wife. The result is two sons for Appu; the first he names Idalu, "evil one," and the second Ḫandanza, "just one."

After Appu dies, Idalu forces a division of the father's property, taking the good cow and giving Ḫandanza the bad one. The sun god intervenes, however, and makes the poorer cow prosper, which inspires Idalu to covet the beast which he maliciously assigned to his brother. The issue eventually goes to the gods to be resolved, with the sun god and then Ištar of Nineveh rendering judgment.

The myth, through the use of characters with allegorical names, makes it easy to understand the moral of the story. Ḫandanza the just one, despite the machinations of Idalu the evil one, prospers because of his righteousness. The sun god as the god of justice (an association going back to Mesopotamian antecedents) makes Ḫandanza's inferior cow surpass Idalu's good cow. The myth offers interesting insights into Hittite ideals of moral rectitude and justice being worked out in the earthly sphere through divine intervention.

Another Hurrian myth preserved in a Hittite version is that of Kešši. Kešši is a hunter who after his marriage to a beautiful woman neglects all of his former activities, the most notable of these being sacrifices of bread and wine to the gods, and hunting. His retirement from hunting angers his mother, to whom he had been in the habit of bringing part of the fruits of his hunting expeditions. He responds to his mother's resentment at the cessation of these gifts by going back out to the field to hunt. Unfortunately the gods in their anger at the loss of Kešši's sacrifices have hidden all the game. After wandering for three months, loath to return to the city empty-handed, Kešši eventually falls ill and has a series of dreams. Most of these dreams are lost in the broken portion of the tablet. The fourth dream involves a boulder which falls from the sky and crushes some servants. In the sixth dream, Kešši dreams that he has a collar on his neck and a woman's anklet on his foot. When he does return home, his mother interprets the dreams for him, but the interpretations, like most of the dreams, are broken away in the tablet. This particular myth is unusual in that it exists in a Hittite version, a Hurrian version, and an Akkadian version from the Amarna scribal school.

There are two other Hurrian myths which exist only in fragmentary Hittite versions. In one the protagonist is Gurparanzaḫ, a name derived from the Hurrian name for the Tigris River. We may infer

that the myth was borrowed from Mesopotamia by the Hurrians from the fact that the action of the story takes place not in the Hurrian homeland but in central Mesopotamia. Here again the Hurrians have transmitted a Mesopotamian theme to the Hittites. Another fragmentary Hurrian myth is that of the devouring serpent Ḫedammu who succumbs to Ištar's attractions.

A "Hittite" myth which has a Canaanite instead of Hurrian background, judging from the names of the divine characters, is that of Elkunirša. This name is a Hittite rendering of the Canaanite *ʾēl qônê ʾereṣ*, "El creator of the earth." In this myth Ašertu (Canaanite Ašerah), wife of Elkunirša, propositions Elkunirša's son, the Canaanite storm god Baal, who goes and tells his father about it. The significance of this appears to be Ašertu's questioning of her husband's virility and a consequent appeal to a younger generation's vitality. Elkunirša tells Baal to go ahead and sleep with Ašertu and humiliate her. When he does this she is angered and works her way back into Elkunirša's favor so that she can revenge herself on Baal, to which her husband eventually agrees. The goddess called Ištar in the text, representing the Canaanite Astarte or ʿAnat, overhears Ašertu's plans for revenge and warns her brother Baal so that he can protect himself. In the Hurrian myths Tešub the storm god was Ištar's brother, and we see the same sibling relationship in this Canaanite myth.

Güterbock (1961: 155) has identified a Syrian origin for another myth, that of Mt. Pišaiša. The text is fragmentary; we may discern that Mt. Pišaiša rapes Ištar and then asks for clemency when she exacts revenge.

In addition to the foreign Hurrian and Syrian myths preserved in Hittite versions from Boğazköy, the Mesopotamian Gilgamesh epic is also extant in copies from the Hittite capital. Güterbock (1961: 154) has pointed out that the Hurrian version of this epic from Boğazköy is evidence for the role of the Hurrians in transmitting this element of Mesopotamian culture to the Hittites. Hittite and Akkadian versions for Gilgamesh exist as well.

The two main streams of Hittite mythology reflect the two primary influences on their culture. In the early period the gods and the myths that define their relationships were adopted from their Anatolian predecessors, the Hattians. They thus preserve an older prehistoric mythological tradition. As the Hittite state matured it came increasingly into contact with the Hurrians to the S, who both served as transmitters of Mesopotamian cultural elements and also passed on their own characteristic culture. Although some of the characters are Mesopotamian, the myths preserved by the Hittites are distinctively Hurrian and provide a rare glimpse into the Hurrian world. The Hittites thus play their most important role as preservers rather than originators of Anatolian mythology.

**C. Later Mythology**

Mythological material concerning later Anatolian peoples is preserved in some Greek and Latin authors. With the political and cultural integration of Anatolia into the Greek and Roman world, it becomes increasingly difficult to define what is distinctively "Anatolian" mythology. Without wishing to impose a distinction between classical and Anatolian mythology which the ancients did not recognize, we may note several myths which appear to be based on Phrygian or Lydian originals. Further references to mythological passages in classical writers may be found in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* sub Attis, Cycnus, Heracles, Laomedon, and Midas.

Several Phrygian myths revolve around the character of Midas. There is a historically documented Midas, a Phrygian king of the 8th century B.C. who appears in Assyrian sources. Uncertainty about the relation of this king to the Midas of legend is reflected in the separation of the two entries for Midas in the *OCD*. In one of the Midas stories the king, reflecting the classical tradition that satyrs are privy to valuable wisdom which they will divulge if forced to do so, plots the capture of a satyr who regularly visits his garden. By mixing wine with the water of the garden's well or spring where the satyr normally drinks, the king gets him too intoxicated to escape. Midas then questions his captive; various ancient authors differ on what wisdom the satyr imparted to the Phrygian king.

Another story about Midas told both in Hyg., *Fab.* 191.1 and Ov. *Met.* 11.146–93 describes the musical contest between Pan and Apollo. When Midas rejects the decision for Apollo by the judge, Mt. Timolus, Apollo punishes the king's preference for the pipes of Pan by giving him donkey ears. Although Midas

hides those ears beneath a cap, he cannot keep the secret from his barber. The barber, unable to contain the secret but bound not to reveal it to anyone, goes and whispers it in a hole in the ground, which he then covers up. The reeds which grow up on the spot are privy to the secret and whisper it as the wind blows them.

The most famous of the Midas stories (Ov. *Met.* 11. 84–145) is that of the Midas touch. In gratitude for the king's returning Silenus to him, Dionysius offers Midas whatever he wishes. The king requests that whatever he touches be turned to gold. After the first flush of excitement, as he sits down to a meal, he discovers that food and drink are also susceptible to his golden touch. Dionysius, answering Midas' prayer to be rid of the accursed gift, instructs him to wash it away in the headwaters of the Pactolus River. Thus this etiological myth explains why the Pactolus is such a rich gold-bearing stream. In one variation to the story Midas turns his daughter to gold before ridding himself of the "gift"; in another he dies of starvation because he cannot cleanse himself of the golden touch.

Another Anatolian myth of the Phrygian-Lydian milieu is that of Attis and Agdistis. Pausanias 7.17.9–12 relates two versions of the story, of which the first is probably Lydian. In this story Attis, born a eunuch of a Phrygian father, moves to Lydia where he officiates at Lydian rites for the mother goddess (Cybele). Zeus becomes angry at Attis' increased favor with the mother goddess and attacks the Lydians by sending a boar to ravage their crops. Among those killed by the boar is Cybele's favorite, Attis. Probably dependent on this version is the tale told by Hdt. 1.34–45, of Atys, son of the Lydian king Croesus, who was killed by a spear during a boar hunt.

In the second version, probably Phrygian, the demon Agdistis, who was the product of seed dropped on the ground by Zeus while asleep, is hermaphroditic. In their fear of Agdistis the gods castrate the demon. An almond tree grows up from the cut-off member, the fruit of which fertilizes a daughter of the Sangarius River, who bears Attis. Exposed at birth, the young Attis is nurtured by a billy goat, and when he reaches maturity, Agdistis falls in love with him. Attis meanwhile has been betrothed, but during the wedding ceremony Agdistis appears, causing Attis to go mad and castrate himself, as does his prospective father-in-law. Agdistis repents of the deed, and although the story does not state that Attis died, this is implicit in Agdistis' petition to Zeus to grant Attis' body immunity from decomposition. Ov. *Fast.* 4.221–44 tells a different version in which Cybele drives Attis mad in vengeance for his forsaking her for the nymph Sagaritis (whose name looks like the name of the river Sangarius, whose daughter bore Attis in the Phrygian version of Pausanias). In the insanity induced by Cybele, Attis castrates himself, which for Ovid explains why the devotees of Cybele and Attis castrate themselves while evoking the writhings of Attis in his madness. The similarity of these two versions and the later role of Attis as the consort of Cybele in the great Cybele cult indicates that we should see in Agdistis some form of Cybele. Note, however, that both Agdistis and Cybele appear in the myth as told by Arnobius (*Adv. Nat.* 5.5–7).

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GREGORY MCMAHON

**ANATOLIAN LANGUAGES.** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY)

**ANCESTOR WORSHIP.** Ancestor worship and cults of the dead reflect acts directed toward the deceased, functioning either to placate the dead or to secure favors from them. See DEAD, CULT OF THE. The study of ancestor worship in the Bible was popular at the end of the 19th century among both anthropologists and biblical scholars who felt that death rites held the key to Israelite religion (see Spronk 1986: 3–83 for history of research). There has also been a resurgence of interest in ancestor worship and

related death rituals in recent scholarship (Heider 1985; Spronk 1986; Lewis 1989), which has attempted to set the biblical data within its ANE context. The Yahwism which became normative in ancient Israel was resolute in its condemnation of ancestor worship. Yet ancient Israel shared a solidarity with the other cultures of the ANE and it should not be surprising to find cults of the dead in some forms of popular religion.

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A. Ancestor Worship in the ANE
1. In Egypt
2. In Mesopotamia
3. At Ugarit
B. Ancestor Worship in Ancient Israel
1. Deuteronomistic Literature
2. Prophetic Literature
3. The Holiness Code and Other Priestly Material
4. Psalms
5. Wisdom Literature
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**A. Ancestor Worship in the ANE**

In the ancient Near East the dead were perceived to be able to bestow blessings on those who provided them with the proper cult. Conversely, the dead might occasionally act malevolently if they were not accorded the proper services. Magical literature from Mesopotamia mentions the restless ghost who returns to haunt the living.

**1. In Egypt.** The cult of the dead in ancient Egypt is well known, owing to the fascination surrounding the pyramids, mummification, and the Book of the Dead. The Egyptian preoccupation with death has been described by many scholars (e.g., Gardiner 1935: 5–45; Frankfort 1948: 88–123). It is not the fear of the dead which takes center stage in ancient Egypt but rather the provision for the deceased. A great deal of resources were devoted to making sure that the dead, including royalty, nobility, and to a lesser degree commoners, would have everything they needed to exist comfortably in the hereafter. The tomb of Tutankhamen is our best example of how the pharaoh was provided with elaborate furnishings for his next life. The dead were also greatly dependent on others to continue to provide them with the essential offerings long after the initial interment (cf. the contractual agreements mentioned in Gardiner 1935: 27, 43–44).

**2. In Mesopotamia.** A concise example of ancestor worship in Mesopotamia is found in the following plea from a *kispu* text: "Come (O dead ancestors), eat this, drink this and bless Ammiṣaduqa, son of Ammiditana, the king of Babylon" (Finkelstein 1966: 96–97). In the Mesopotamian cult of the dead a "caretaker" (*pāqidu*) was responsible for the care of the ghost (*eṭemmu*) of his deceased ancestor. This care included essential services such as making funerary offerings (*kispa kasāpu*), pouring water (*mê naqû*), and invoking the name (*šuma zakāru*) (Bayliss 1973: 116). Newly published texts from the Kuyunjik collection have given us new insights into the intricate art of necromancy in ancient Mesopotamia (Finkel 1983–84: 1–17).

**3. At Ugarit.** Our understanding of Canaanite ancestor worship has been greatly enhanced by the publication of the Ugaritic texts. One text (*KTU* 1.161) describes a liturgy of a mortuary ritual directed toward the deceased royal ancestors, some of whom are called *rapiʾūma* (see REPHAIM). The deceased are invoked to assist in bestowing blessings upon the reigning king. Other texts (*KTU* 1.6.6.45–49; 1.113) refer to the deceased as "gods" (*ilu*). This was an attempt to describe the preternatural character of the deceased who were not "deified" in the sense that they became like one of the high gods of the Ugaritic pantheon. After all, even though King Keret is the god El's son, he still must die like a mortal.

Some scholars (e.g., Pope 1981: 176) have also argued that the *marzeaḥ* at Ugarit and elsewhere was "a feast for and with departed ancestors corresponding to the Mesopotamian *kispu*" (see Lewis 1989: 80–94 and BANQUETING HALL/HOUSE).

The importance of ancestor worship at Ugarit is also underscored by the frequent occurrences of *ilib,* the "divine ancestor," which occurs characteristically at the head of pantheon lists as well as various other genres such as epic texts and sacrificial and offering lists (Lewis 1989: 56–59).

All evidence points to a vibrant cult of ancestor worship at Ugarit as in Mesopotamia and Egypt. This is further confirmed by the archaeological excavations at Ras Shamra which have documented the use of pipes leading from ground level down into the tomb. These pipes (cf. Akk *arūtu*) were used to provide the deceased with water, which was one of the essential services (Schaeffer 1939: 50; cf. *mê naqû* above). Libations were also offered to the dead through openings in the top of corbel vaults (Schaeffer 1938: fig. 42).

**B. Ancestor Worship in Ancient Israel**

In the past, scholars were all too eager to emphasize the "uniqueness" of Israelite religion over against her pagan neighbors (see Miller 1985: 201–12). Thus, scholars of such stature as de Vaux (*AncIsr,* 60), Wright (*Deuteronomy IB,* 487) and Kaufmann (*KRI,* 312–16) asserted quite dogmatically that ancestor worship was nowhere to be found in the Bible. More recently scholars have started to appreciate the cultural solidarity which ancient Israel shared with her neighbors (e.g., *CMHE*). As it developed, Yahwism borrowed many Canaanite motifs while rejecting others. In its earliest periods it is difficult to distinguish between Israelite and Canaanite religion. As Yahwism progresses, we may talk of a "normative Yahwism" as reflected in the prophetic and Deuteronomistic literature. This Yahwism which became normative condemned ancestor worship. Yet a strong case can be made for the existence of ancestor worship in some forms of "popular religion" (for discussion of terminology, see Lewis 1989: 1–2). What emerges from various biblical texts is the picture of an ongoing battle throughout ancient Israel's history between adherents of what becomes normative Yahwism and those who practiced death rituals.

**1. Deuteronomistic Literature.** Deuteronomistic legal material contains clear restrictions against consulting one's dead ancestors (Deut 18:10–11), giving offerings to the dead (Deut 26:14) and engaging in self-laceration rituals (Deut 14:1) which were typical of Canaanite death cult practice. It can safely be inferred from these laws that cults of the dead existed and flourished in ancient Israel to the extent that they were considered a threat to what becomes normative Yahwism.

Deuteronomistic narrative material also preserves vestiges of death cult practices. The *locus classicus* for any examination of necromancy in the Hebrew Bible is Saul's encounter with the necromancer at Endor in 1 Samuel 28. Despite Deuteronomistic editing, the efficacy of the practice of necromancy is left intact. The dead Samuel who is conjured from the netherworld in this narrative is called an *ʾĕlōhîm* "god," or better yet, a "preternatural being" as elsewhere in the ancient Near East. Other passages which may contain vestiges of death cult practices are 2 Sam 12:15–24; 18:18; 2 Kgs 9:34–37; 13:20–21 (see Lewis 1989: 99–127).

**2. Prophetic Literature.** The prophets also encountered the practice of consulting one's deceased ancestors within some segments of Israelite society. Isaiah of Jerusalem and the person(s) responsible for collecting the oracles against the nations used necromantic imagery with pejorative overtones (Isa 8:19; 29:4; 19:3). Halpern (1986: 118–19) also places Isaiah 28 in the context of the ancestral cult.

Jer 16:5–8 speaks against those who go to the funeral banquet house (Heb *marzēah;* see BANQUETING HALL/HOUSE) and those who lacerate themselves for the dead. Ezek 43:7–9 refers to an abominable practice done by kings upon their death. It seems that they had engaged in the practice of placing either their corpses or their royal mortuary steles in close proximity to the temple precinct, resulting in its defilement. Isa 57:6 and 65:4 (cf. 45:18–19) also contain a good deal of death cult imagery, including libations and offerings given to the dead ancestors and all-night vigils in tombs (Lewis 1989: 143–60; 1987: 267–84).

In summary, the prophetic literature supports the picture we get from the Deuteronomistic literature. Necromancy and other death cult practices involving ancestor worship seem to have been so common in

certain segments of ancient Israelite society that the prophets could freely pick up on this imagery in their critiques.

**3. The Holiness Code and Other Priestly Material.** The HOLINESS CODE contains prohibitions against conjuring and consulting one's dead ancestors (Lev 19:26–32; 20:6, 27) which were being practiced in certain "nonorthodox" segments of Israelite society. Other priestly material seems almost preoccupied with the defiling nature of the corpse, the bones, and the grave. It has been suggested that this too is a reflection of an attempt to combat a cult of the dead (Meyers 1983: 102, 104).

**4. Psalms.** Spronk (1986: 249, 334–37) has argued that the "holy ones who are in the earth" in Ps 16:3 is a reference to deified ancestors. Ps 106:28 also makes mention of "sacrifices to dead ancestors" (*zibḥê mētîm*) in its description of the Baal Peor incident (cf. Num 25:1–5).

**5. Wisdom Literature.** The attitude of the wisdom tradition toward ancestor worship is represented in Job 14:21 and Qoh 9:4–6, 10. These passages provide a remarkable contrast to 1 Samuel 28 (see above). In the latter, the dead are represented as having knowledge about the affairs of the living and necromancy is portrayed as an efficacious practice. The wisdom tradition, as represented by these two passages, gives no credence to necromancy. The deceased are not knowledgeable about the affairs of the living. Ancestor worship would prove fruitless because the dead do not have the ability to grant favors to the living.

**6. Archaeological Data.** We can never be too cautious when it comes to drawing inferences from physical remains. Albright (1957: 242–58) hypothesized that the "high places" (*bāmôt*) were funerary in character, yet the archaeological and textual material with which he supported his thesis has not borne up under closer scrutiny (Barrick 1975: 565–95). Ribar (1973: 45–71) has identified several tomb installations which, he believes, suggest that offerings were made to deceased ancestors on a repeated basis and hence qualify as denoting a cult of the dead. What is of particular interest in this regard is the practice of cutting apertures into the ceilings of tombs through which offerings for the dead were introduced. Storage jars were often placed directly over the heads of corpses. Cooley (1983: 47–58) has recently published more of the material from Dothan, one of the most important sites relating to ancestor worship and secondary burials. In short, the archaeological evidence corroborates the hints we glean from the textual material, namely, that cults of the dead existed in ancient Israel despite the best efforts to eradicate their existence.

## C. Conclusions

Ancient Israelites shared a cultural solidarity with their neighbors with regard to their attitude toward ancestor worship. The texts mentioned above (apart from the Wisdom Literature) support the notion that there was an ongoing battle by the Yahwism which emerges as normative against the practice of necromancy and other death rituals such as self-laceration and presenting offerings to one's deceased ancestors. This Yahwism condemned ancestor worship as blatant acts of disobedience against Yahweh, whose sovereignty was challenged when one looked elsewhere to control human destiny.

In priestly phraseology, when one dies he is "gathered to his kin" (*ne›ĕsap ›el ‹ammāyw*). In Deuteronomistic terminology one "sleeps with one's fathers" (*šākab ‹im ›ăbôtāyw*) (Alfrink 1943: 106–18; 1948: 118–31). Such usage regarding joining one's ancestors in the underworld is closely tied to clan solidarity (cf. *qabūṣī didāni*, "the 'gathered ones' of the Didanu tribe" [*//rapi›ī arṣi*] in *KTU* 1.161.3, 10). This solidarity was strengthened and promoted by ancestor worship, which was practiced despite efforts to the contrary.

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**ANCIENT VERSIONS.** See VERSIONS, ANCIENT.

**ANDREW** (PERSON) [Gk *Andreas* (Ἀνδρεας)]. The NT shows little interest in Andrew. His name occurs only twelve times, four of these merely in lists of apostles (Mark 3:18; Matt 10:2; Luke 6:14; Acts 1:13). According to Mark, Jesus called Andrew and his brother Peter to leave their nets to "become fishers of men" (1:16–18); at their home in Capernaum Jesus healed Peter's mother-in-law (1:29–31); and Andrew—along with Peter, James, and John—heard Jesus predict the destruction of the temple (13:3). Matthew adds nothing to Mark's picture of Andrew, and in fact omits the name in his redacting of Mark 1:29–31 and 13:3 (cf. Matt. 8:14 and 24:3). Outside of lists of apostles, the author of Luke/Acts omits reference to Andrew altogether.

Andrew fares somewhat better in the fourth gospel. He is the first of the apostles called by Jesus (1:35–40). He brings his brother Simon Peter to Jesus (1:41–42), and he informs Jesus concerning the lad with the expandable lunch (6:8–9) and about Greeks who wanted to see him (12:22). None of these narratives appears in the Synoptic Gospels, and some of the information in them in fact contradicts the Synoptics. According to John, Andrew's home was not Capernaum but Bethsaida (1:49), and he was called not from fishing but from the retinue of John the Baptist (1:35–40).

Andrew also appears in the *Gospel of the Ebionites* (Epiph. *Haer.* 30.13), the *Gospel of Peter* (14[60]), *Epistula apostolorum* (2), *Pistis Sophia* (e.g., 96 and 136), but none of these apocrypha develops the portrait of the apostle beyond that already in the NT. Andrew is little more than Peter's shadow and Jesus' occasional interlocutor. The *Muratorian Fragment* adds only that Christ told Andrew that John would write his gospel.

This near silence stands in stark contrast to the late 2d century *Acts of Andrew,* one of the five major apocryphal Acts of Apostles. Although the book no longer survives in its entirety, it must have been expansive. Gregory of Tours (6th century) epitomized the *Acts of Andrew* in order to rescue it from rejection by many "because of its excessive verbosity." According to Gregory, the *Acts of Andrew* narrated Andrew's departure from Jerusalem to missionize Achaea, but he soon left Achaea to rescue Matthias from cannibals. After doing so he returned to Achaea by northern Anatolia, Thrace, and Macedonia, converting pagans, exorcising demons, healing the sick, raising the dead, and breaking up

families with his preaching of mandatory celibacy. When he arrived in Patras, Achaea, he converted Maximilla, the wife of the proconsul Aegeates; she thereafter forswore sex with her husband. Aegeates crucified the apostle next to the sea (see ANDREW, ACTS OF).

This explosion of interest in the apostle issues not from a latent Andrean tradition that simply had found no earlier expression but from the author's decision to write a Christian *Odyssey,* for which Andrew was well qualified. He once was a fisherman, he had brought Greeks to Jesus, and his very name resonated with the Greek word for courage (*andreia*). Like Odysseus, Andrew sails from Achaea to rescue Matthias from Myrmidons. Myrmidons appear in Homer as allies to Achilles, but a contrived etymology later generated a myth that Zeus once transformed ants (Gk *myrmēkes*) into humans, who retained their former, formic traits. Andrew returns to Achaea through a series of dangerous adventures and in the end dies at the edge of the sea, tied to his cross like Odysseus at the mast. The apostle thus returns to his heavenly home beyond the flux, temptations, and dangers of this world. Patras, the place of his execution, was the closest major Achaean city to Ithaca, Odysseus' island home. In addition, the *Acts of Andrew* contained a visit to the netherworld, danger at sea, and Christianized counterparts to Penelope and Telemachus, Odysseus' wife and son. The proconsul who ordered Andrew's crucifixion is Aegeates ("one from Aegae"), a figure inspired by Odysseus' nemesis, Poseidon, whose Homeric home was Aegae.

Even after the composition of the *Acts of Andrew,* the apostle remained relatively obscure for nearly six centuries. Because of its popularity among Manicheans, the *Acts of Andrew* itself was poorly transmitted except for the Myrmidon story, which soon circulated independently as the *Acts of Andrew and Matthias in the City of the Cannibals.* In 357, Constantius II deposited the apostle's putative remains in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, along with those of Luke and Timothy. By the 6th century, Patras and Sinope boasted of having been evangelized by Andrew, but there is little evidence that Christians elsewhere gave the apostle special attention.

Sometime in the 8th century, however, Andrew was pressed into service to legitimate Byzantine claims to apostolicity. For centuries, the church in Rome had claimed Peter as its founder. On the other hand, Byzantium, largely the product of Constantine's relocation of the imperial capital to the E, could claim no founding apostle. This was not so problematic when Rome and Byzantium were on good terms, but when the two great ecclesiastical centers parted ways, Byzantium was in desperate need of apostolic pedigree. Andrew was perfectly suited for the purpose. According to the gospel of John, he was the first of the apostles to come to Jesus, and later he brought his brother Peter, Rome's favorite, to the Lord. The *Acts of Andrew* and traditions derived from it had placed Andrew's ministry in the region of the Black Sea, and if one can trust the epitome of Gregory of Tours, the Acts in fact sent the apostle to Byzantium. Furthermore, from the time of Constantius II, Andrew's relics reposed in Constantinople's Church of the Holy Apostles.

Such long-standing associations between Andrew and the city generated a legend that when Andrew, the *Protokletos* (First-Called), visited Byzantium he appointed as bishop Stachys (cf. Rom 16:9), who inaugurated an unbroken line of bishops. In the 9th century, soon after the origin of this legend, several versions of his passion appeared along with three different Byzantine "Lives" of Andrew. A monk named Epiphanius, the author of one of these "Lives," claimed that virtually every tribe on the shores of the Black Sea appealed to Andrew as the founder of its church: the Scythians, the Sogdians, the Gorsini, the Iberi, the Sousi, the Phousti, the Alani. Andrew also allegedly visited Amisus, Trapezunta, Iberia, Phrygia, Ephesus, Bithynia, Laodicea, Mysia, Odyssopolis, Chalcedon, Heraclea, Amastra, Zalichus, Neocaesarea, Sebastopolis Magna, Zecchia, and Sinope. His reputation in the East now was secure. He remains the patron of Russian Orthodoxy by dint of a legend that he preached as far north as Kiev.

Andrew also became popular in the West. In 1204, crusaders stole Andrew's relics from Constantinople and took them to Amalfi, Italy. According to ancient Celtic tradition, St. Regulus (4th century) took the apostle's arm to St. Andrews, Scotland, where the archdiocese still celebrates the event each May 9. The Anglo-Saxon epic *Andreas,* a poetic recasting of the *Acts of Andrew and Matthias,* shows the importance of the apostle in the British Isles at an early date.

In iconography, Andrew often appears with unkempt hair and a long beard, attended by a ship, a fish, or a net. His most distinctive signature is his X-shaped cross, a feature not attested prior to the 7th century. Andrew's feast day is November 30.

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**ANDREW AND MATTHIAS, ACTS OF.** An early Christian apocryphal tale featuring two of the disciples of Jesus. The *Acts of Andrew and Matthias* begins with the apostles casting lots to see where they will preach. Andrew goes to Achaea and Matthias to the city of the cannibals, which the Latin and Anglo-Saxon witnesses (along with one Greek manuscript) name Myrmidonia. Myrmidonia is home to Myrmidons, Achilles' allies in Homer. After Homer there arose a myth that Myrmidons once were ants (Gk *myrmēkes*), who retained some formic traits even after becoming human. Some authors emphasized the positive qualities of ants, e.g., thrift, industry, organization, while others emphasized their imperialism, might, and ferocity. Even the Greek versions of the *Acts of Andrew and Matthias* that lack the word "Myrmidonia" witness to the cannibals' ancestry from ants. In the middle of the city they had built a large furnace (Gk *klibanos*) for roasting their victims. (Such furnaces were mud structures reminiscent of anthills.) When Matthias arrives, they drug him and incarcerate him for thirty days of fattening. Andrew leaves Achaea to rescue Matthias and floods the cannibals as one might flood ants. They repent, and Andrew stops the flood but plunges the worst of the cannibals into an abyss in the middle of the city, like so many ants down an ant hole. In the abyss they see places of eternal bliss and torment, but Andrew promises to return to raise them up again.

Insofar as Andrew never returns to raise the Myrmidons, the *Acts of Andrew and Matthias* obviously is incomplete. Originally it seems to have continued in the late 2d-century *Acts of Andrew.* The best surviving witness to the *Acts of Andrew,* a 6th-century epitome by Gregory of Tours, begins by narrating Andrew's rescue of Matthias from Myrmidonia. Three Byzantine "Lives" of Andrew likewise attest to this story near the beginning of Andrew's career. The *Acts of Thomas* and the *Acts of Philip,* both of which borrowed extensively from the *Acts of Andrew,* likewise knew of the Myrmidon story. On the other hand, chaps. 11–15 of the *Acts of Andrew and Matthias* could not have been written prior to the 4th century. Here Andrew narrates how Jesus refuted Jewish high priests by making a sphinx in a pagan temple summon Abraham from his tomb to witness to Jesus' divinity. These chapters also seem to anticipate the transformation of pagan temples into churches, a practice not common until the 5th century. Not only do these chapters come from a later period, they are foreign to the content and narrative flow of the rest of the *Acts of Andrew and Matthias* and are poorly attested in textual and in external witnesses.

One therefore should assume that the frame-story of the *Acts of Andrew and Matthias* first appeared at the beginning of the 2d-century *Acts of Andrew,* just as it does in the epitome by Gregory of Tours. In the 5th century, someone detached the story from the rest of the *Acts of Andrew* and inserted chaps. 11–15 in order to support the controversial Christian reappropriation of pagan temples. Later, the Greek manuscript tradition dropped all references to Myrmidonia because of its associations with pagan mythology. The story was popular in the Middle Ages: it exists in Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Old Slavonic, Latin, and Anglo-Saxon as well as in Greek. It received its most famous expression in the Anglo-Saxon heroic epic, *Andreas,* but it also inspired episodes in the *Acts of Thomas, Acts of Philip, Acts of Mark, Acts of Peter and Andrew, Acts of Andrew and Philemon,* and the *Martyrdom of Matthew.*

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**ANDREW, ACTS OF.** The *Acts of Andrew* is an important account of Andrew's travels, beginning in Pontus and ending in Patras, Achaea, where the apostle is martyred. Andrew goes from city to city, performing miracles, preaching the word of salvation, and converting the crowds.

He travels by way of Amasia, Sinope, Nicea, Nicodemia, Byzantium, Thrace, Perinthus, Philippi, and Thessalonica. On arriving in Patras, he converts the city (including the proconsul Lesbios) and performs many miracles. Then he visits several Achaean cities: Corinth, Megara, and perhaps Sparta. He then is warned by a vision about returning to Patras. Upon his return to this city, he heals and converts Maximilla, the wife of Aegeates, the new proconsul. He performs many healings and then converts Stratocles, Aegeates' brother. After her conversion Maximilla becomes celibate, which provokes the furor of Aegeates such that he arrests Andrew. The converts reconvene in the prison to hear the apostle's preaching. It is here that the martyrdom of Andrew begins. Because Maximilla refuses to return to conjugal life, Aegeates, out of revenge, crucifies the apostle. He dies after having preached from his cross to the assembled inhabitants of Patras for three days.

The *Acts of Andrew* is an original and homogeneous work insofar as it was composed from start to finish by the same author, who had no need to introduce or to compile preexisting literary materials. The apostle's speeches, which are important in this work, are rich in content and betray signs of educated style and composition. They transmit the basic features of the author's theology.

**A. Transmission of the Text**

The *Acts of Andrew* was written in Greek, but unfortunately has not come down to us in its original form. There are, however, five types of documentation that allow partial reconstruction.

**1. The *Liber de miraculis*** (Gregory of Tours) (Bonnet 1884: 821–46). The Gallic bishop, Gregory of Tours (6th century) held in his hands the complete text of *Acts Andr.*, most likely in Latin translation. His Latin summary of this book preserves the basic features of the narrative framework, and for this reason it is priceless: it is the only document that now permits one to recognize the general layout of the work and of the collective accounts of Andrew's travels. A comparison with the sources that represent some of the primitive content of the *Acts Andr.* (especially Coptic papyrus *Utrecht 1*, *Laudatio*, and JS) show that Gregory (1) omitted the speeches, (2) often modified the structure of the text, and (3) twisted the meaning of the work to make it more acceptable to Catholic conscience. After chap. 36, he very briefly summarized the account of the martyrdom by referring to a Latin *Passio* which already existed (surely *Passio sancti Andreae Apostoli* known by the title *Conversante et docente*; Bonnet 1894: 374–78).

**2. Coptic papyrus *Utrecht 1*** (Quispel 1956: 129–48). This papyrus contains the translation of an excerpt from *Acts Andr.* corresponding to chap. 18 of *Liber de miraculis*, an episode located in Philippi. It was not transmitted together with other sections of *Acts Andr.*, for it ends with the title "The Act of Andrew." The excerpt occupies pp. 1–15 in the manuscript, but the first eight pages as well as pages 11 and 12 are lost.

**3. The *Armenian Passio*** (Tcherakian 1904: 146–67; Leloir 1986: 228–57). This translation dates to the 6th century and is a complete version of the end of *Acts Andr.* comprising the martyrdom of Andrew in Patras and part of the speech spoken in prison just prior to the martyrdom. It preserves some of the sections of the text omitted by all of the Greek witnesses. The translator sometimes bends the text to make it more "orthodox" and more biblical.

**4. Five Gk recensions of the end of the *Acts Andr.*** The end of *Acts Andr.* is preserved in five Gk recensions. The problem here is that the documents reproduce the primitive text of *Acts Andr.*, but they do not cover the same portions of the text, and they do not always preserve the same elements.

**a. The *Passio of Andrew* preserved in two manuscripts: Sinai *gr. 526* (fol. 121v–132) and Jerusalem, *Saint Sabas* 103 (fol. 155–168v)** (Detorakis 1981–82: 325–52). This *Passio,* designated by JS, is the longest. It begins well before the *Armenian Passio,* narrating what Andrew did and said in Patras before his martyrdom. It begins with an account of the healing of a servant of Stratocles, Aegeates' brother, and continues to the end of *Acts Andr.* A comparison with the *Armenian Passio* and other Gk witnesses shows that it has not preserved all the elements of the text. The scribe who initiated this version was particularly fond of abbreviating the speeches.

**b. The excerpt of *Acts Andr.* preserved in Vatican *gr. 808* (fol. 507–12)** (Bonnet 1898: 38–45). This fragment of *Acts Andr.* is mutilated at the beginning and end. It takes place in the narrative sequence of JS, ending just prior to the beginning of the martyrdom. It reproduces faithfully the portion of the *Acts* that it covers.

**c. The *Passio of Andrew* preserved in Ann Arbor 36 (fol. 60v–66v).** This unedited *Passio* covers the narrative of Andrew's martyrdom. It begins immediately after the mutilated ending of the Vatican *gr. 808.* Like JS, it has not preserved all the elements of the primitive text. The speeches in particular fell victim to abbreviation, but these lacunae are not the same as those in JS, demonstrating that Ann Arbor 36 did not derive from JS, but that they are two text types derived from a common ancestor: the *Acts of Andrew.*

**d. The *Passio of Andrew* attested to by Paris, *B.N. 770* (fol. 43v–46), and by Jerusalem, *Saint Sabas 30* (fol. 154v–156v), known as *Martyrium alterum A*** (Bonnet 1898: 58–64). Like Ann Arbor 36, this recension covers all of the martyrdom, but with some deletions, much more numerous and significant than in the recensions treated above.

**e. The *Passio of Andrew* contained in Paris, *B.N. 1539* (fol. 304–305v), known as *Martyrium alterum B*** (Bonnet 1898: 58–64). Like the two *Passio* below, this version preserves the whole of the martyrdom, but with even more numerous deletions.

**5. Some excerpts of *Acts Andr.* are preserved in Gk revisions.** There exist Lives or *Passio* of Andrew, dependent on *Acts Andr.*, which preserve some Gk extractions from the apocryphon:

**a. A Gk version of the *Letter of the Presbyters and Deacons of Achaea*** (Bonnet 1898: 1–37). This letter, originally written in Latin, was translated into two major Gk versions. One of them, which begins with *haper tois ophthalmois hēmōn,* also included in chaps. 10–15 some important excerpts from the primitive *Acts Andr.* These excerpts, found at the end of the martyrdom, without exception can be identified in the other Gk witnesses.

**b. Two versions that derive from the same recension of the *Acts Andr.*** These are *Martyrium prius* (8th century) (Bonnet 1898: 46–57) and a work of Nicetas the Paphlagonian known as *Laudatio* (9th–10th century) (Bonnet 1894: 311–52). They report the conversion of Patras and of the proconsul Lesbios (*Martyrium prius* 3–8; *Laudatio* 34–37) and Andrew's speech to the cross (*Martyrium prius* 14; *Laudatio* 46). *Laudatio,* however, also contains the account of the healing of Stratocles' servant (chap. 43), which conforms to the beginning of JS. It also contains some lines (chap. 48, p. 348, ll. 8–22) identifiable in Gk witnesses to the martyrdom. It presents also an account of a healing at Patras (chap. 41) that correlates with chap. 33 of *Liber de miraculis.*

From these five Gk recensions of the ending of *Acts Andr.* and from the excerpts preserved by the three Gk revisions identified above, it is possible to reconstruct a single text. The reconstruction does not try to reproduce the exact text of *Acts Andr.*; a comparison with the *Armenian Passio* demonstrates that some passages remain lost in all of the Gk witnesses. Rather, the reconstruction seeks to establish the original text as much as possible, and thus enlarges considerably a basis from which to study the theology of this apocryphon.

One should add to these five types of witness a second Sahidic Coptic fragment (4th century) of two badly preserved folios (Barns 1960: 70–76). It contains a conversation between Jesus and Andrew in which the apostle presents a short balance sheet for his apostolic activity. Barns proposes to attach it to an

apocryphal gospel or better to *Acts Andr.* The hypothesis concerning the appropriateness of this fragment for *Acts Andr.* appears reasonable enough, although one cannot demonstrate it with certainty.

**B. The Author's Theological Perspective**

The author of *Acts Andr.*, even though he tells a story of Andrew's travels and martyrdom, has little interest in writing a biography. His intent, rather, is to transmit a message of salvation. The *Acts of Andrew* is propagandistic, meant for anyone who wished to hear and receive that message.

This salvation consists of liberation by means of self-realization, a realization that the soul (or "new man"), which is of divine origin, is captive in the body—a prey to the vicissitudes inherent in this condition, deceived and dominated by demonic forces. As soon as a person becomes aware of this fact, he or she is liberated from constraints bound to the corporeal and demonstrates this by adhering to sexual abstinence, dietary frugality, and rejection of worldly honors. The believer lives spiritually with those who have experienced the same liberation and who are of the same nature. He or she awaits death as the definitive liberation from all corporeal bounds, when he or she will return to God, will meditate on Him, and be united with Him insofar as they share the same nature.

The apostle (see Prieur 1981: 121–39) is the one who bears this revelation of salvation. His words which resonate in the "new man" are like a mirror in which one recognizes one's true nature.

The incarnate Christ, the dead and risen one, the preacher of God's reign, plays no role in this process of salvation. The *Acts of Andrew* makes virtually no distinction between the Father and the Son. It is one and the same divinity who is in turn named God, Father, Jesus, Christ. The Holy Spirit is absent. The *Acts of Andrew* contains no reflections on the origin of the world or of evil: everything focuses on human salvation.

**C. Origin of *Acts Andr.***

**1. Gnosticism.** The *Acts of Andrew* displays certain obvious affinities to Gnosticism. Lipsius considered it a gnostic writing, like the other apocryphal Acts (1883: I, 543–622). Flamion combatted this idea by arguing that the author of *Acts Andr.* moved within the context of the Great Church (1911: 145–77). Quispel returned to the alleged gnostic character of *Acts Andr.*, but claimed more precisely that one could have professed the ideas contained in it without leaving the Catholic Church (1956: 129–48). Hornschuh, though recognizing the gnostic traits in *Acts Andr.*, did not believe it was possible to label it gnostic (1964: 270–97).

The affinities between *Acts Andr.* and Gnosticism obtain especially to dualism. They also concern salvation. But dualism does not determine what the human essence is in terms of natural inherent properties. In the context of the message of salvation, one must make a decision to align oneself on the side of the light or on the side of darkness. However, *Acts Andr.* offers no explanation for the fall of the soul. It appeals neither to the notion of the Pleroma nor to that of the Aeons. It offers no gnostic cosmogony. Properly speaking, *Acts Andr.* is therefore not a gnostic text; rather it shares a gnosticizing mentality current at the time.

**2. Platonism.** Several features relate *Acts Andr.* to Platonism: the discovery of the interior human essence presented as a spiritual childbirth; Andrew presented as a master of maieutics, whose death resembles that of Socrates; the spiritual mirror: the liberation and flight of the soul; and God presented as the good and the beautiful.

Flamion (1911) thought that *Acts Andr.* was Neoplatonic, but that would place it in the 3d century, which is too late. Hornschuh, however, saw affinities between *Acts Andr.* and Middle Platonism on the one hand and with the thought of Tatian on the other.

**3. Stoicism.** The *Acts of Andrew* also exhibits some stoic characteristics, especially in matters of morality. Andrew exhorts his listeners not to be carried away by their passions but to unify their behavior with their interior disposition. He is unflinching in the face of death, not because he was insensitive to sorrow, but by virtue of his spiritual elevation.

**4. Reflections of the Mentality of the Age.** It would seem impossible to relate *Acts Andr.* to a particular philosophical or religious milieu. We already have seen several different currents of thought to which one might compare the *Acts*, though without being able to identify it with any of them precisely. It

is better to try to see in these various currents witnesses to an age. It is a spiritual atmosphere, influenced by Platonism and Neopythagorism, which blossomed in the 2d and 3d centuries.

**5. Time and Place of Origin.** The *Manichean Psalter,* which contains some allusions to the content of *Acts Andr.* (Allberry 1938: 142, 143, 192), establishes the 3d century as the *terminus ad quem* for the redaction of the apocryphon, but the *Acts* had to have originated earlier, between 150 and 200, closer to 150 than to 200. The distinctive christology of the text, its silence concerning the historical and biblical Jesus, and its distance from later institutional organization and ecclesiastical rites militate for an early dating. Moreover, its serene tone and unawareness of any polemic against some of its ideas as heterodox, particularly in the area of the christology, show that it derived from a period when the christology of the Great Church had not yet taken firm shape. One might repeat here the line of argumentation employed by Junod and Kaestli for locating the *Acts of John* in the same period (1983: 695). Moreover, *Acts John* displays several affinities with *Acts Andr.*, such as the literary genre, structure, and theological orientations.

Concerning the place of origin, there is nothing that can settle the matter in favor of one region over another. The text could have been drawn up as easily in Greece or in Asia Minor, in Syria or in Egypt. Alexandria in particular commends itself for the spiritual and intellectual milieu where a text like *Acts Andr.* might first have seen the light of day.

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**ANDREW, FRAGMENTARY STORY.** See ANDREW, ACTS OF.

**ANDRONICUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Andronikos* (Ἀνδρονικος)]. **1.** A deputy of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (2 Macc 4:31, 32, 34, 38). According to the account in 2 Macc 4:30–38, when a revolt broke out in Tarsus and Mallus, Antiochus left Andronicus, a Friend of the King (v 38), in charge as his deputy. Menelaus used this opportunity to bribe Andronicus with gold vessels stolen from the temple in Jerusalem. After Onias exposed this episode publicly, he fled to the temple of Daphne at Antioch for sanctuary. On the advice of Menelaus, Andronicus brought Onias out of the temple by deceit and murdered him. Learning of this murder upon his return, Antiochus stripped Andronicus of his rank, publicly humiliated him, and put him to death at the very spot of Onias' death. Classical sources (Diodorus Siculus 30.7.2–3 and John of Antioch) state that the reason for Andronicus' death was his murder of Antiochus, son of Seleucus IV,

on behalf of Antiochus IV. A number of solutions for the differing accounts of Andronicus' death have been proposed: (1) the date of Andronicus' death was the same year as Onias' (170/169 B.C.) and may have suggested to the writer of 2 Maccabees a cause-and-effect relationship; (2) the author of 2 Maccabees may have fabricated the story for his own theological reasons (Hengel 1974: 2: 183 n. 132; 185 n. 142); Antiochus IV may have used this incident as a pretext for silencing Andronicus before he could implicate Antiochus IV in the murder of the younger Antiochus (Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 238–39).

**2.** Official of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (2 Macc 5:23). Andronicus was placed over the temple on Mt. Gerizim after Antiochus IV invaded Judea and Samaria. If Andronicus' position was the same as Philip's in v 22, then he was commander of a garrison stationed on Mt. Gerizim. Goldstein (*2 Maccabees* AB, 261) further proposes that Andronicus may have been the predecessor of Apollonius, a military commander (1 Macc 3:10) or governor of Samaria (*Ant* 12.5.5 §261).

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**3.** A Christian apostle in the time of Paul, born a Jew. Both Andronicus and Junia, who were apostles prior to Paul (Rom 16:7; cf. 1 Cor 15:7–8), belonged to the limited number (but exceeding "twelve") of early Christian apostles who had seen the resurrected Christ (cf. 1 Cor 15:5–9; 9:1, 5–6; Gal 1:17). Because of their Greek names they may have belonged to the Greek-speaking Jewish-Christian group in Jerusalem (Acts 6; Cranfield *Romans* ICC, 190), and later to the early missionaries based in Antioch who initiated the mission to the gentiles (11:20) and whom Paul joined (13:1; 11:19–26; Gal 1:21; cf. Lüdemann 1987: 144 for the historicity of the Acts traditions). In any case, Andronicus and Junia at some point worked with Paul in the missionary effort to the gentiles, because all three of them went to prison together (Rom 16:7; Lampe *StadtrChr*, 58, 148–49). As Rom 15:24, 16–20, 30–32 presume, they also consented to Paul's program of a worldwide mission to the gentiles.

Andronicus and Junia, who possibly was his wife and had accompanied him as an active missionary (Rom 16:7; cf. 1 Cor 9:5), moved to Rome before Paul did. Paul greets both of them in Rom 16:7 and calls them "outstanding among the apostles" (not "in the eyes of the apostles"). This compliment served at the same time as a recommendation for Paul himself, who no doubt was trying to establish himself in Rome: being highly controversial in the east because of his law-free gentile mission, Paul could point out that these outstanding Jewish-Christian apostles were close to him.

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**ANEM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿānēm* (עָנֵם)]. A town in the inheritance of Issachar assigned to the Gershomite clan of the Levites as a levitical city (1 Chr 6:58—Eng6:73). Another list of levitical cities is preserved in Joshua 21, where in v 29 Anem is replaced by En-gannim.

Most researchers have concluded that the two OT lists of levitical cities were derived from a single original. As a result, a number of attempts have been made to equate Anem and En-gannim. Albright argued (1926: 231), using evidence from the LXX, that both Anem and En-gannim obscured an original Heb form of *ʿnʿnm,* which he located at Olam (M.R. 197230). While a number of scholars have accepted Albright's identification, Kallai (*HGB,* 425) has noted that Albright's argument requires a series of scribal errors to be correct, and has rejected it.

Kallai has suggested that the consonantal *ʿnm* is either an abbreviation or merely a shortened form of the toponym En-gannim, *ʿngnm.* If this theory is correct, Anem/En-gannim should be located at Jenin (M.R. 178207). See also EN-GANNIM (PLACE).

It remains a possibility that Anem is a distinct location, unrelated to En-gannim. Abel (*GP*, 244) has suggested Khirbet Anim (M.R. 202231) as a likely location for an independent Anem.

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**ANER** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿānēr* (עָנֵר)]. A brother of Mamre and of Eshkol (Gen 14:13), all three of whom are described as Abram's allies (Gen 14:24). The latter verse belongs to the passage vv 17, 21–24 about the contest in generosity between the king of Sodom and Abram, which contradicts v 10 (that the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah had perished in asphalt pits) and vv 14–15 (that Abram routed the army of the four eastern kings with just his own 318 house-born men), and is obviously an interpolation. From there, the names of Aner and Eshkol were added by an editor to v 13 along with the ethnic "Amorite" for Mamre. Elsewhere in the OT, Eshcol and Mamre are names of places near Hebron and not persons; it is therefore probable that Aner was originally also a toponym in the same area. (*ʿnr* in the list of levitical cities in the territory of Manasseh, 1 Chr 6:55, is a miscopy of *tʿnk* "Taanach" in Josh 21:25.) The divergent forms of the name in LXX, Samuel, and QL raise a doubt about the correctness of its writing in the MT, but its original form and etymology cannot be reconstructed.

MICHAEL C. ASTOUR

**ANER** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿānēr* (עָנֵר)]. A town of the tribe of Manasseh assigned as a levitical city to the Kohathites of the tribe of Levi (1 Chr 6:55—Eng6:70). In a second list of levitical cities (Josh 21:25), Aner is replaced by Taanach. Most scholars have concluded that both OT lists reflect a single original, so attempts have been made to equate the two toponyms.

The generally accepted solution has been the proposal that Aner was derived from Taanach (Heb *taʿnak*) because of two simple scribal errors. The initial *taw* of Taanach was lost to the preceding word, while the final *kap* was changed to a *reš* (the form of both letters being similar in antiquity). If this hypothesis is correct (*HGB*, 470), then Aner should be equated with Taanach (M.R. 171214).

If Aner is an independent town, unconnected with Taanach, then its location is not known.

MELVIN HUNT

**ANGELS.** In modern usage the term "angels" refers to heavenly beings whose function it is to serve God and to execute God's will.

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***OLD TESTAMENT***

A. General Matters
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**A. General Matters**

**1. Terminology.** Although no single term corresponding precisely to the English word "angels" occurs in the Hebrew Bible, there is a rich vocabulary for such beings. Some of the expressions either denote their divine status (e.g., *bĕnê (hā) ĕlōhîm,* lit., "sons of God" [such grammatical constructions identify generic categories (divine beings), not genealogical relationships], Gen 6:2, 4; Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7; *bĕnê ʾēlîm,* "sons of gods, divine beings," Ps 29:1; 89:7—Eng 89:6; *ʾĕlōhîm,* "gods," Ps 82:1) or denote their special sanctity (*qĕdōšîm,* "holy ones," Ps 89:6, 8—Eng 89:5, 7). Other terms refer to their functions (*měšārĕtîm,* "ministers," Ps 103:21; *śār,* "commander," Josh 5:14; *ṣĕbāʾôt,* "hosts, army," Ps 89:9—Eng 89:8; 103:21). The most common of these functional terms if *malʾāk,* "messenger, envoy." It is from the translation of *malʾāk* in the LXX (Gk *aggelos*) that the English word "angel" derives. As terms denoting functions, both *aggelos* and *malʾāk* can refer equally to human or angelic beings. Consequently, there are occasionally passages in which it remains disputed whether the reference is to a heavenly being or a human one (see Judg 2:1; Mal 3:1). It was only with the Vulgate that a systematic distinction was made between angelic emissaries (Lat *angelus*) and human ones (Lat *nuntius*). Nevertheless, there are indications that already in the LXX *aggelos* was beginning to take on the quasi-technical meaning of heavenly being. In several instances *aggelos* is used for terms such as *bĕnê (hā) ʾĕlōhîm* (Gen 6:2; Deut 32:8; Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7), *ʾĕlōhîm* (Ps 8:6; 97:7; 138:1), and *śār* (Dan 10:21; 12:1), and in one case *malʾāk* is translated as *theos* (Qoh 5:5—Eng 5:6). There is even one instance in the Hebrew Bible (Judg 13:6) in which a character implies a distinction between a "man of God" (*ʾîš ʾĕlōhîm*) and a "messenger/angel of Yahweh" (*malʾāk yhwh*).

Extrabiblical literature from the late Second Temple period (3d century B.C.E.–1st century C.E.) reflects many additional terms for angels. These include "watchers" (Aram *ʿîrîn,* Dan 4:10, 14, 20; *Jub.* 4:15, 22; *1 En.* 1:5); "spirits" (Heb *rûḥôt,* 1QH 1:11; 1QM 12:9; *Jub.* 15:31; *1 En.* 15:4; cf. 1 Kgs 22:21); "glorious ones" (Heb *nikbĕdîm,* 1QH 10:8; *2 En.* 21:1, 3; "thrones" (Gk *thronoi, T. Levi* 3:8; *2 En.* 20:1); "authorities" (Gk *exousiai, 1 En.* 61:10; *T. Levi* 3:8); "powers" (Gk *dynameis, En.* 20:1); and many other descriptive and functional terms.

**2. Historical Development.** Any survey of the concept of angels has to take account of the growth and development of the idea over the centuries, the different literary genres in which references occur, and the different social contexts from which the ideas emerge. Although references to angels occur in the oldest strata of the OT (in pentateuchal narratives and in early poetry), there is a clear increase in speculation about the heavenly world in prophetic writings from the exilic and early postexilic periods. It is in the late Second Temple period, however, that the most developed speculations occur. Why there should have been such a development in lore about heavenly beings is not fully understood. Increasing contact with Babylonian and Persian religious traditions may be one element (Russell 1964: 257–62), though most of the features of the developed angelology have clear antecedents in preexilic Israelite tradition. Perhaps much of the speculation on the heavenly world was not really new but represents old Israelite popular religion which only finds its way into literary sources in the postexilic writings (Collins 1977: 101–4). Be that as it may, the increase in discourse about angels in the later sources indicates that those authors found the speculation on the heavenly world a useful way to explore serious religious and theological issues—the weakness of Israel in a world of empires, the difficulty of understanding cosmos and history, the existence of evil, the failure of human religious institutions, the hope and experience of transformation, and so on.

**B. Preexilic Concepts**

**1. The Divine Council.** In Israel, as in the ANE in general, the underlying conception of the heavenly world was that of a royal court. Yahweh was envisioned as a king, and at his service were divine beings who served as counselors, political subordinates, warriors, and general agents. These divine beings were often referred to as a collective group (Gen 28:12; 33:1–2; Pss 29:1; 89:6–9) and were understood to

constitute a council ("the council of El," *ʿădat ʾēl,* Ps 82:1; "the conclave of Yahweh/Eloah," *sôd yhwh,* Jer 23:18; *sôd ʾĕlôah,* Job 15:8), "the conclave/assembly of the holy ones" (*sôd/qāhāl qĕdōšîm,* Ps 89:6, 9). Similar expressions occur in ANE sources (Phoen: *mpḫrt ʾil gbl qdšm*; Ug: *pḫr ʾilm, pḫr bn ʾilm, dr ʾil,* etc.; Akk: *puḫur ilāni;* see Mullen 1980). The most extensive description of the council and its tasks in the OT is found in 1 Kgs 22:19–22. There, the prophet Micaiah ben Imlah sees the enthroned Yahweh with "all the host of heaven standing about him on his right and on his left." When Yahweh poses a question to the council, there is general discussion ("and one said one thing and another said another"), until a specific proposal emerges ("then a spirit came forth and stood before Yahweh and said …"). Prophets might stand in the council of Yahweh to receive a word (Jer 23:18, 22; Isaiah 6). The council was also a place of accusation and judgment (Psalm 82). Perhaps because of their privileged place in the divine council, angels were considered to be paragons of knowledge and discernment (2 Sam 14:17, 29; 19:28).

According to Deut 32:8 (LXX and 4QDeut), when God organized the political structure of the world, each of the nations was assigned to one of the angels/minor deities, with Israel reserved for Yahweh's own possession. Psalm 82 assumes a similar setup but describes the revocation of the arrangement. In that text God brings accusation before the divine council concerning the failure of these minor deities to ensure justice, for which they are to be ousted and killed. See DIVINE ASSEMBLY.

**2. The Heavenly Army.** In Deut 33:2, Yahweh is said to be accompanied by ten thousand holy ones as he advances from the southland (cf. the reference in Ps 68:18 to the many thousands of chariots with Yahweh at Sinai). These are undoubtedly the angelic armies that are referred to in the common divine title Yahweh of Hosts. In one of the rare instances in which an individual angelic being with a clearly defined office is mentioned, Joshua encounters a mysterious figure with a drawn sword who identifies himself as "the commander of the army of Yahweh" (*śār ṣāba yhwh,* Josh 5:14). When the prophet Elisha was besieged, he was given protection by "horses and chariotry of fire," invisible to all whose eyes were not opened by Yahweh (2 Kgs 6:17).

**3. Agents and Messengers. a. Role and Significance.** In addition to the various roles that the angelic beings play as a group, there are many texts which describe the actions of a single angelic figure. Almost always in these instances the term *malʾāk* ("messenger") or *malʾāk yhwh/ (hā) ʾĕlōhîm* ("messenger of Yahweh/God") is used. The term "messenger" should not be construed too narrowly, however, for these divine beings carry out a variety of tasks. They do announce births (of Ishmael, Gen 16:11–12; Isaac, Gen 18:9–15; Samson, Judg 13:3–5), give reassurances (to Jacob, Gen 31:11–13), commission persons to tasks (Moses, Exod 3:2; Gideon, Judg 6:11–24), and communicate God's word to prophets (Elijah, 2 Kgs 1:3, 15; a man of God, 1 Kgs 13:18; cf. 1 Kgs 22:19–22; Isaiah 6; Jer 23:18, 23). But the angel may also intervene at crucial moments to change or guide a person's actions (Hagar, Gen 16:9; Abraham, Gen 22:11–12; Balaam, Num 22:31–35; the people of Israel, Judg 2:1–5) and may communicate divine promises or reveal the future in the course of such intervention. In addition angels may be the agents of protection for individuals or for Israel as a whole (Gen 24:7, 40; 48:16; Exod 14:19–20; 23:20, 23; 32:34; Num 20:16; 1 Kgs 19:5–8; 2 Kgs 19:35=Isa 37:36; Pss 34:8—Eng 34:7; 91:11). But they may also be Yahweh's agents for punishment (Genesis 19; Num 22:33; 2 Samuel 24=1 Chronicles 21; Pss 35:5–6; 78:49).

In contrast to later writings, these texts exhibit almost no interest in the heavenly messengers themselves. They are not individuated in any way. They do not have personal names or definite offices (though see Josh 5:14). It is generally argued that the term *malʾāk yhwh* should not be translated "*the* messenger of Yahweh," as though referring to a particular divine being, but simply "*a* messenger of Yahweh" (Hirth 1975: 25–31). Either translation is grammatically possible. The messengers are not described (see Judg 13:6 for a partial exception) and are often not even recognized. When human beings do realize the identity of the one who speaks with them, the reaction varies. In some narratives no reaction at all is described (e.g., Genesis 19), while in others the reaction is reverence (Josh 5:14–15) or fear (Judg 13:21). In short, these texts show no speculative interest in the divine messenger whatever. The messenger is of significance solely for the sake of the message (Westermann 1985: 244).

**b. Relationship to Yahweh.** Many of these narratives about the *mal›āk yhwh* pose a long-standing problem of interpretation: what is the relationship between the messenger/angel of Yahweh and Yahweh? In many of the narratives the *mal›āk* initially appears to be a distinct figure. But at some point in the account it appears as though Yahweh were personally present instead of the *mal›āk yhwh*. In Gen 16:7, for example, when Hagar has run away from Sarai's cruel treatment, the text says that "a *mal›āk yhwh* found her by a well in the wilderness." The two converse and the narrator again identifies the one who speaks with Hagar as a "*mal›āk yhwh* " in vv 9, 10, and 11. But the words which the *mal›āk yhwh* speaks in v 10 ("I will multiply your descendants …") appear rather to be the first-person speech of Yahweh himself. In the following verse, however, the *mal›āk yhwh* again speaks of Yahweh in the third person. Yet v 13 begins, "Hagar called the name of Yahweh who spoke with her, 'You are a God of seeing.' …" The end of the verse is textually corrupt but is probably to be translated "I have indeed seen God after He saw me." The apparent interchangeability of the *mal›āk yhwh* and Yahweh cannot be resolved by assuming a clumsy merging of two traditional stories. The same ambiguity occurs in many narratives (e.g., Gen 21:15–21; 22:11–12; 31:11–13; Exod 3:2–6; Judg 6:11–24). Numerous suggestions have been put forward to account for this peculiar feature (e.g., that the *mal›āk yhwh* is a sort of hypostasis of the deity; that a functional identity exists between messenger and sender; that the phrase *mal›āk yhwh* is a late, pious interpolation; that the alternation between Yahweh and *mal›āk yhwh* has to do with point of view; etc. See the review in Hirth 1975: 13–23). But the explanation that seems most likely is that the interchange between Yahweh and *mal›āk yhwh* in various texts is the expression of a tension or paradox: Yahweh's authority and presence in these encounters is to be affirmed, but yet it is not possible for human beings to have an unmediated encounter with God (cf. *TWAT* 4: 901; Hirth 1975: 83–84). Hagar is correct—she has seen God. But the narrator is also correct that the one who appeared to her was a *mal›āk yhwh*. The unresolved ambiguity in the narrative allows the reader to experience the paradox. It would be misleading, however, to suggest that this perspective was a dogmatic belief of ancient Israelite religion. There are other narratives in which God appears and converses with human beings, with no reference to a *mal›āk yhwh* (e.g., Genesis 15), and yet others in which the *mal›āk yhwh* is consistently distinguished from Yahweh (e.g., 1 Kings 19). Religious beliefs and forms of expression were probably no more uniform in ancient Israel than in any other age.

The quality of ambiguity which attaches to the *mal›āk yhwh* allows it to be used to stress either God's presence or distance, as in the various traditions that a *mal›āk* accompanied the Israelites on the exodus from Egypt (Exod 14:9; 20:20–23; 32:34; Num 20:16). In Exod 14:9 the *mal›āk* is associated with the pillar of cloud and, like it, functions as a manifestation of the presence of Yahweh with the people. There is a degree of theological speculation in Exod 23:20–23 in the subtle way in which the presence of Yahweh is understood to be manifest. Yahweh speaks of sending the *mal›āk* before the people to protect and guide them and warns the people to obey the *mal›āk,* "because my name is in him." Deuteronomistic theology uses the same concept of the name of God to describe the way in which Yahweh is present in the Jerusalem temple (1 Kgs 8:16, 29; 9:3; cf. Jer 7:12). By contrast, Exod 33:2–3 uses the image of the *mal›āk* to describe Yahweh's absence. The passage follows the account of the apostasy with the golden calf. "I will send a *mal›āk* before you … for I will not go up in your midst, because you are such an obstinate people that I might consume you on the way."

**c. Relations between Angels and Humans.** Although speculation about the angelic world or the relation between divine and human beings does not seem to have attracted much attention in preexilic writings, there is one brief text which raises such questions, Gen 6:1–4. There the interbreeding between divine beings (*bĕnê hā ›ĕlōhîm*) and human women is described. Although the passage is obscure in many respects, the offspring of the union become the ancient warriors of reknown (LXX, *gigantes*, "giants"). Although not presented as a rebellion in heaven or as a "fall" of divine beings, the results of the mating are troubling to Yahweh, who decrees a limit to the human life span as a consequence. It has recently been argued that this passage preserves an old alternate introduction to the flood story, in which the flood was sent to eliminate these half-human/half-divine beings who threatened the order of creation (Hendel

1987: 13–26). Whatever role the tradition may have played in ancient Israel, it became the source of intense speculative development in later centuries.

**C. Exilic and Early Postexilic Developments**

It is probably not accidental that the 6th century saw a considerable increase in speculation about the heavenly world and its angelic inhabitants, especially in the prophetic literature. The problem of the destruction and the reconstitution of Judah's national institutions required a mode of thinking that could encompass the disaster in some coherent and meaningful structure and provide confidence in the possibility of reconstruction.

**1. Ezekiel.** Ezekiel's vision of the coming destruction of Jerusalem (Ezekiel 8–11) begins with the appearance of an angelic being who is described in terms derived from the account of the glory of Yahweh (*kābôd yhwh*) in 1:27. The destruction of Jerusalem is carried out at Yahweh's command by other angelic figures described only as six armed men (9:2). An angelic scribe ("a man clothed in linen who had a writing case at his side," 9:3) marks those who are to be spared. Ezekiel's vision of the angelic destroyers provides a graphic reassurance that the destruction, terrible as it is, remains under the direct control of the God of Israel and does not simply represent the triumph of the Babylonians (cf. *2 Baruch* 6–8, written after the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans). Corresponding to Ezekiel's vision of the destruction of Jerusalem is his vision of the temple as it is to be rebuilt (Ezekiel 40–48). Ezekiel is guided through the structure by an angel ("a man whose appearance was like that of bronze," 40:3) who measures the various structures for Ezekiel and explains the purposes of some of them (e.g., 42:13–14).

The cherubim or living creatures (*kĕrûbîm; ḥayyôt*) described in Ezekiel 1 and 10 are not, properly speaking, angels. The description in Ezekiel and the graphic depictions of similar figures from the ANE indicate that they were winged creatures combining human and animal features. Indeed, they may be described as the animals of the heavenly world. Unlike the "messengers" or the "sons of God," cherubim have only limited functions. They serve as watchdog-like guardians (Gen 3:24; Ezek 28:14), as winged mounts (2 Sam 22:1; Ps 18:11—Eng18:10), and as bearers of the throne chariot (Pss 80:1; 99:1; Isa 37:16; Ezekiel 1; 10). Perhaps because of their protective role, they were frequently used as decorative motifs in temples and on cultic furnishings (Exod 25:18–20; 26:31; 1 Sam 4:4; 1 Kgs 6:23–36). Similarly, the seraphim of Isaiah 6 are not angels but winged serpentine figures associated with the iconography of the Yahwistic cult (Isa 14:29; 30:6; cf. Num 21:6–9; 2 Kgs 18:4). Isaiah has partially assimilated them to the role of members of the divine council. Later tradition interpreted both seraphim and cherubim as classes of angels.

**2. Zechariah.** Faced with serious issues of social restructuring and institutional restoration, Zechariah, one of the early postexilic prophets, articulated his message largely in terms of angelic visions. According to Petersen (*Haggai and Zechariah 1–8* OTL, 115–16), "rather than proposing, as had Haggai, that the temple needed to be rebuilt, or that Zerubbabel was to be anointed as king, Zechariah experienced Yahweh's angelic agents and discerned how the new religious and social order was to be initiated. What Zechariah reports in these visions is initial restoration within the cosmic order … Yahweh's steeds and angelic host are busy with the work of creating a new social and religious structure that will affect the entire world, not just Judah." Zechariah's message is made particularly authoritative through his claim that he is not only announcing what should be done on earth but what is already being done in heaven and will soon become evident on earth.

Zechariah concretizes the ancient notion of the army of Yahweh by describing the horses, riders, and chariots which roam the earth, returning to report to the angel of Yahweh and to present themselves before Yahweh (Zech 1:7–17; 6:1–8). The chariots are identified with the four winds (Zech 6:5; cf. Ps 104:4). It appears that in Zechariah's visions the figure identified as the *mal·āk yhwh* has become a distinct and powerful figure in the heavenly world. He has several functions in the visions: guide and interpreter for Zechariah (Zechariah 1–6 *passim*); intercessor for Israel, who receives words of consolation that he commands Zechariah to proclaim (1:12–17; cf. Isa 40:1–9); presider and judge in the divine council (Zechariah 3); and commander of the angelic patrols (Zech 1:11; 6:7).

**3. The *Śāṭān.*** The angelic figure of the *śāṭān* in Zech 3:1–2 is not to be understood as the cosmic enemy of God of later angelology. The word is a common noun ("opponent, accuser") and is related to the verb *śāṭan,* "to accuse." Both noun and verb can be used of human beings as well as of angelic ones (Num 22:22; 1 Sam 29:4; Zech 3:1; Ps 109:4). Here one should translate, "He showed me Joshua the high priest standing before the *mal›āk yhwh,* and the accuser was standing at his right hand to accuse him." The accuser is simply a member of the divine council who has brought to judgment a high priest who is cultically impure. The picture is very close to that of Job 1–2. "At the time when the sons of God came to present themselves before Yahweh, the *śāṭān* also came among them" (1:6; see also 2:1). There, too, the *śāṭān* raises questions about a person whom he suspects of self-interested piety. The only other contemporary text which mentions this figure is 1 Chr 21:1. A comparison with the parallel text, 2 Sam 24:1, shows that "the anger of Yahweh" in 2 Samuel has been concretized by the Chronicler as the action of a member of the divine council. While the *śāṭān* is not depicted as an enemy of God in any of these texts, the fact that in Zechariah and Job his view is repudiated by God and *mal›āk yhwh* indicates the beginning of the development of the *śāṭān* as a sinister figure (see Petersen (*Hagai and Zechariah 1–8* OTL, 189–90). The notion of an angel who has particular responsibility for an individual, guiding and interceding on behalf of that person, is developed in Job 33:23–26 (cf. 5:1; 16:19). A close parallel to this conception is the "personal god" of Mesopotamian religion (Jacobsen 1976: 147–64).

**4. Other.** In general, 1–2 Chronicles tends to be somewhat more vivid in its description of angelic figures than parallel texts in Samuel-Kings (compare 2 Sam 24:16–17 with 1 Chr 21:15–30). The idea of heavenly beings as a chorus of praise, reflected already in Psalm 29, is associated with God's act of creation in Job 38:7 (see also *11QPs$^a$ Creat* 26:13; Neh 9:6). In Ps. 148:2 the angelic chorus (*mal›ākîm//ṣĕbā›ôt*) is the first in a chain of praise embracing all creation (cf. Ps 103:20–22).

**D. Second Temple Period**

It is in the late Second Temple period that speculation about the heavenly world and its inhabitants becomes fully developed. There are some new developments in angelology, the most significant being the dualistic notion of evil angels opposed to God, but most of the beliefs about angels are essentially expansions and concretizings of older notions. Numerous references to angels can be found in many genres of literature produced in different social settings, suggesting that a general body of lore concerning angels was common to the popular religion of the era. But the concentration of extensive angelological speculation in certain genres of literature (esp. apocalypses) and in the literature of certain communities (e.g., Qumran) reminds one that the religious and intellectual significance of angelology differed among various Jewish groups.

**1. Functions and Appearance of Angels.** The general function of the angel as the agent of God's will is widely attested. Retellings of OT narratives (especially *Jubilees* and *Pseudo-Philo*) tend to introduce angels where they did not occur in the OT, oftentimes as performing some act which the OT attributes directly to God (e.g., *Jub.* 38:10; 10:22–23; 14:20; 19:3; 32:21; 41:24; 48:2; *Ps-Philo* 11:5; 15:5; 19:12, 16; 61:5). In the book of Tobit the belief in a protecting angel (cf. Gen 24:7) is dramatized with all the ironic and humorous potential of the situation richly realized (*HBD,* 791–803). Angels help and protect the pious and bring their prayers before God (Dan 3:25, 28; *1 En.* 100:5; *1QM* 13:10; *T. Jud.* 3:10; *T. Dan.* 6:5; *T. Naph.* 8:4; *T. Jos.* 6:7; *T. Benj.* 6:1; *Ps-Philo* 38:3; 59:4; *3 Macc.*6:18–19; *Vita* 21). Angels also decree and execute punishment in accordance with God's will (Dan 4:13–26; *T. Naph.* 8:6; *1 Enoch* 56). An angelic scribe keeps records which are opened at the time of judgment (Dan 7:10; *1 En.* 89:61–77; 90:14–20; *2 En.* 19:5; *Ap. Zeph.* 3; 7).

The angel as teacher and mediator of revelation is a well-attested motif, even in nonapocalyptic texts (*Joseph and Asenath* 14–15; *Jub.* 1:27–29; 10:10–14 [cf. *1 Enoch* 8]; *T. Reu.* 5:3; *T. Levi* 9:6; *T. Iss.* 2:1; *T. Jos.* 6:6). In apocalyptic writings, the angelic revealer, heavenly guide, and interpreter of mysteries and visions becomes a standard feature (e.g., Daniel 7–12; *1 Enoch* 17–36; *Apocalypse of Abraham* 10–18; *4 Ezra* 3–14). The appearance of the angel often evokes an acute emotional reaction from the person who sees it (Dan 10:7–9; *2 En.* 1:3–8; *Ap. Ab.* 11:2–6).

Certain angels are identified by personal names, the most frequently named being Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel (Dan 9:21; 10:13; Tob 12:15; *1 En.* 9:1; 21:10; *4 Ezra* 4:1; *Sib. Or.* 2:215; *1QM* 9:15–16). For various lists of other angels, see *1 En.* 8; 20; 82:13–20. Frequently, the angel's appearance is described in terms of light, fire, shining metals, or precious stones, a tradition based on Ezekiel's description of the glory of God (Dan 10:5–6; 2 Macc 3:25–26; *Jos. As.* 14:9; *2 En.* 1:3–5; *Ap. Ab.* 11:1–3; *Ap. Zeph.* 6:11–15). Their garments are white linen or white with golden sashes (Dan 10:5; 12:6; 2 Macc 3:26; 11:8; *T. Levi* 8:2; but see *Ap. Ab.* 11:2). Angels are assumed to be spiritual creatures whose physical manifestations and apparent eating and drinking are shams (Tob 12:19; *Ap. Ab.* 13:4; *T. Ab.* 4:9–10; Philo, *Quest. Gen.* 4:9; Jos. *Ant.* 1.11.2 §197). There was even speculation on special angelic food and its qualities (*Jos. As.* 16:12–16; Wis 16:20; *Vita* 4:2; cf. Ps 78:23–25). Although angels are spirits and may be called "gods" (*ʾēlîm, ʾĕlōhîm*), they are created beings (*Jub.* 2:2). There is some evidence that certain Jewish groups believed the angels to have assisted God in the creation of the world (Fossum 1985: 192–213). Rabbinic Judaism found the notion theologically dangerous and vigorously rebutted it (Segal 1977). In *Jubilees,* even though angels are created on the first day, they have no role in the creation of the world except to praise the work of God (*Jub.* 2:3; cf. *11QPs*$^{a}$ *Creat* 26:13; Job 38:7).

**2. The Heavenly Court/Temple.** The old notion of the divine council continued to be central for the image of the angelic world. In QL in particular the language of council (*ʿēdāh*), assembly (*qāhāl*), and conclave (*sôd*) is prominent (esp. in *Hodayot; ŠirŠabb*). Graphic depictions of the heavenly court are frequent in apocalypses, though the emphases differ from those of OT sources. The splendor and magnitude of the scene are stressed, but the deliberative role of the council is all but eliminated (Dan 7:9–10; *1 En.* 14:19–23; 40:1–7; *2 Enoch* 20; *4 Ezra* 8:21–22). Rather, it is a place of judgment (Dan 7:10–14; *1 En.* 60:2–6), of revelatory pronouncements (Dan 7:13–14; *1 Enoch* 15–16), and of praise (*1 En.* 61:9–13; *2 En.* 20:4–21:1; *Ap. Ab.* 10:9; 18:11–14; *Ps.-Philo* 18:6). According to some sources, the praise is sung in a special angelic dialect (*T. Job* 48–50; cf. *Ap. Zeph.* 8:4).

Not only royal court but also temple imagery informs the picture of the heavenly world (*1 Enoch* 14). Consequently, the angels may be described as priests who serve in the heavenly temple (*Jub.* 30:18; 31:14; *T. Levi* 3:5–6; *1QSb* 4:24–26; *ŠirŠabb, passim*). In *Jubilees* the angels of the presence and the angels of holiness observe the Sabbath and the Feast of Weeks and are said to have been created circumcised (*Jub.* 2:17–18; 6:18; 15:27). Later rabbinic tradition rejected the notion that the Torah is observed by the angels (see Schäfer 1975: 111–59, 229).

**3. The Angelic Hierarchy.** The angels are organized in a hierarchical manner. There may be a single superior angel and/or a small group of archangels (usually four or seven), sometimes designated as the angel(s) of the presence (Tob 12:15; *T. Levi* 8:2; *Jub.* 1:27, 29; 2:1–2, 18; 15:27; *1 En.* 9:1; 20:1–7; 40:1–10; 71:9–13; 90:21; *1QM* 9:15–16; *1QSb* 4:25; *1QH* 6:13; cf. Isa 63:9). Where a single angel heads the hierarchy, he is sometimes identified as Michael, the angel who has particular responsibility for the people of Israel (Dan 12:1; *Vita* 13–15). The figure known as the Angel of Truth (*1QS* 3:24) or the Prince of Light (*CD* 5:18; *1QS* 3:20; *1QM* 13:10) in Qumran literature is in all probability to be identified with Michael (compare *1QM* 13:10 with 17:6–8), as is Melchizedek in *11QMelch.* Many sources also identify various groups and classes of angels (*Jub.* 2:2, the angels of the presence and the angels of holiness; *ŠirŠabb*$^{d}$ [4Q403 1 i 1–29] and *ŠirŠabb*$^{f}$ [4Q405 13 4–7], seven chief and deputy princes; *1 En.* 61:10, cherubim, seraphim, ophanim, angels of power, angels of the principalities; *2 Enoch* 20, ten classes of angels in the seventh heaven; *T. Levi* 3:5–8, archangels, messengers, thrones, authorities; etc.). In some texts the classes of angels are assigned to different heavens (e.g., *T. Levi* 3; *2 Enoch* 3–20). There also developed the notion that all the physical processes of the cosmos (e.g., the movement of sun, moon, and stars; the phenomena of fire, wind, rain; the growth of plants and animals; etc.) are all under the control of particular angels or groups of angels (*Jub.* 2:2; *1 En.* 60:16–22; 82:9–20; *2 Enoch* 19; *1QH* 1:10–11).

For apocalyptic literature, the detailed speculation about the heavenly world, its angelic beings, and their functions is not mere window dressing for the historical and eschatological message which the seer often receives. Rather, such knowledge in itself serves the purpose of theodicy, inasmuch as it provides insight into a system of order and purposive power.

**4. War in Heaven.** The angels are also closely related to the historical process and its outcome. Just as there are angels over the natural workings of the cosmos, so there are angelic leaders of the nations. Their actions are sometimes directed by God, but on occasion they exceed their orders (*1 En.* 89:59–64) or act to oppose the angels God has assigned to help Israel (Dan 10:13, 20; 12:1). The notion that Israel was aided in times of crisis by angelic warriors was widely shared (2 Macc 3:25–26; 11:8; 15:22–23; cf. Jos. *JW* 6.5.3 §298), but received a distinctive development in apocalyptic and related literature. While older Israelite tradition had described the conflict between Yahweh and the kings of nations opposed to Israel, apocalypses imagine a two-tiered, mirror-image conflict. The conflict on earth between Israel and its enemies is the counterpart of the conflict in heaven between angelic armies. Victory will mean the establishment of the kingdom of Michael among the angels and of Israel among the nations (*1QM* 17:6–8; *As. Mos.* 10:1–10; cf. Dan 7:13–14, 26–27). Although references to angelic armies are very frequent in the apocalypses, the most detailed account of the eschatological battle and the role of the angels is to be found in the Qumran War Scroll (*1QM*).

**5. Angelic Dualism.** The development of the old notions of the angels of the nations and of God's angelic army is probably one source of the dualistic thinking characteristic of much of the angelology of this period. The influence of Iranian religion is also usually assumed, though it is difficult to demonstrate in detail. In some texts the opposition between an angelic ruler of the forces of light and an angelic ruler of the forces of darkness is made explicit (*4Q ʿAmram*; *1QS* 3:13–4:14). Various names attach to the leader of the evil angels: Melchiresha (*4Q ʿAmram*$^{b}$ 2 3′; *4QṬeharot*$^{d}$ [*4Q280*] 2 2); Belial (*1QM* 1:1; 13:11; *1QS* 2:4–5; *CD* 5:17–19); Beliar (*Jub.* 1:20; *T. Reu.* 2:2; *T. Jud.* 25:3); Mastema (*Jub.* 10:8; *1QM* 13:11); Satan (*1QH* fr. 4, line 6; *Vita* 9–16). In retellings of biblical narrative he is depicted as the enemy of Israel's ancestors (*CD* 5:17–19; *Jub.* 17:15–18; 48:2, 9, 17).

The speculative reinterpretation of Gen 6:1–4 was another important aspect of dualistic theology. In the Enoch literature the angels who mate with women corrupt the earth and its inhabitants, prompting the intercession of the archangels. Although the immediate consequences of the breach are resolved, the mating produces a race of evil spirits subject to Mastema (*1 Enoch* 6–16; *Jub.* 10:1–14; cf. *Genesis Apocryphon* 2). Only in the eschatological victory and final judgment would the rebellious angels, the evil spirits, and their human allies be completely destroyed (*1 En.* 90:17–27; *As. Mos.* 10:1–10; *T. Sim.* 6:3–6).

**6. Communion with the Angels.** While the angelic armies figure prominently in eschatological visions of salvation, access to the heavenly world and the company of angels during one's lifetime or at death was also desired as a form of deliverance. Enoch's sojourn with the angels was a special case (*Jub.* 4:21–26; *2 En.* 1:8–10). But the tradition that Enoch and other seers were clothed with heavenly garments and became like the angels may describe a kind of transformation which was sought by apocalyptic communities (*2 Enoch* 22; *Ap. Zeph.* 8:3; cf. *1QS* 4:6–8). According to some sources, the righteous dead will dwell with the angels (*1 En.* 39:4–8; cf. Rev 6:9–11). The literature of the Qumran community, however, speaks of enjoying present communion with the angels as part of the blessedness of membership in the community of the new covenant (*1QS* 11:7–8; *1QSa* 3:3–11; *1QH* 3:21–22; 6:12–13; 11:10–14).

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CAROL A. NEWSOM

## *NEW TESTAMENT*

The NT conception of angels (Gk *aggeloi*) is derived from that of the OT and Judaism and does not make any important modifications or innovations of its own (see above). The NT does not provide a systematic discussion of angels. Rather, angels are incidental characters in the story of redemption. Consequently references to them are concentrated in the accounts of Jesus' birth and resurrection in the Synoptic Gospels, the account of the founding of the Church in Acts, and the account of the final consummation in Revelation.

### A. Their Nature

Angels are supernatural heavenly beings created by God (Col 1:16). They are described as spirits (Heb 1:7, 14) and as holy (Mark 8:38; Luke 9:26; Acts 10:22; Rev 14:10). They are presented as robed in white garments (Matt 28:3=Mark 16:5; John 20:12; Acts 1:10; Rev 19:14) and radiating great light (Matt 28:3; Luke 24:4; Acts 10:30; Rev 10:1; 15:6; 18:1). By their very nature they also radiate the glory of God (Luke 2:9; 9:26; Acts 12:7; 2 Pet 2:10; Jude 8; cf. Acts 6:15) and praise him (Luke 2:13–14; Rev 5:8–14; 7:11–12; 19:1–8).

In form they are akin to humankind and are often referred to as men (Mark 16:5; Luke 24:4; Acts 12:15; Heb 13:2), but are different enough to evoke fear in (Matt 28:1–8; Mark 16:5–8; Luke 1:11–12; 2:9–10; 24:5; Acts 10:4) and worship from (Rev 19:10; 22:8–9) human beings. Angels are asexual (Matt 22:30 par.) and transcend time (Luke 20:34–36). Their knowledge is more comprehensive than humankind, but not unlimited (Matt 24:36=Mark 13:32; Eph 3:10; 1 Pet 1:12). Their strength is also a notable feature (2 Thess 1:7; 2 Pet 2:11; Rev 5:2; 10:1; 18:21). They possess their own languages (1 Cor 13:1) and are intently concerned with the salvation of humankind (Luke 15:10; Eph 3:10; 1 Tim 5:21; Pet 1:12; cf. 1 Cor 4:9), offering the prayers of the saints on the golden altar (Rev 5:8; 8:3–4), observing worship (1 Cor 11:10), and ministering to the Christian (Heb 1:14).

There are myriads and legions of angels (Matt 26:53; Luke 2:13; Heb 12:22; Jude 14; Rev 5:11; 9:16), but only two are named, the archangels Gabriel (Luke 1:19) and Michael (Jude 9; Rev 12:7). Gabriel is a messenger and Michael a warrior. An archangel is referred to in 1 Thess 4:16 and possibly others in 1 Tim 5:21. In Revelation there appear to be vestiges of the Jewish notion of four or seven archangels in the references to seven spirits (1:4; 3:1; 4:5; 5:6) or angels (8:2) before the throne, four living creatures waiting on the throne (4:6; 5:6), and four angels who preside over the four corners of the earth (7:1). The latter indicates a job differentiation among angels as well, for there are angels over the elements, including water (Rev 16:5; cf. John 5:4 var), fire (Rev 14:18; cf. Heb 1:7), and wind (Rev 7:1; cf. Heb 1:7). The elemental spirits (*stoicheia tou kosmou*) of Gal 4:3 and Col 2:8, 20 may be a reference to demonic angels ruling the world. See ELEMENT, ELEMENTAL SPIRIT.

The category of archangels is indicative of a hierarchy among angels, a hierarchy which is also found among evil angels with Satan as their head (Matt 25:41). Unlike other Jewish works, in the NT these hierarchies remain unelaborated, but are implied in the designation "principalities and powers" (Rom 8:38; 1 Cor 15:24; Eph 1:21; 2:2; 3:10; 6:12; Col 1:16; 2:10, 15; 1 Pet 3:22).

Angels have free will, and those in heaven chose to obey (Matt 6:10) while others chose to rebel (Jude 6; 2 Pet 2:4). The latter are led by Satan (Matt 25:41; Rev 12:7–9) and he seeks to imitate the angels of light (2 Cor 11:14). In the final conflagration, Michael and his angelic host will fight and defeat Satan and his angelic hosts (Rev 12:7–9). Their fate is to be cast into the lake of fire (Matt 25:41).

In the early christological debates, the superiority of Christ over the angels was stressed (Eph 1:21; Col 2:15; Heb 1–2; 1 Pet 3:22) and worship of angels strictly prohibited (Col 2:18; Rev 19:10; 22:8–9). In fact, angels are said to worship Christ (Heb 1:6). Evil angels are to be judged by the saints (1 Cor. 6:3).

### B. Their Function

Angels also serve as guardians of individuals and churches. The angels of children in Matt 18:10 are apparently guardian angels. The seven angels of the seven churches in Revelation 2–3 have been identified by some as guardian angels. Belief in a guardian angel underlies Acts 12:15 where Peter is mistaken for his angel. In a guardian capacity, an angel releases the apostles (Acts 5:19–20) and Peter (Acts 12:6–11) from prison.

In part functioning as guardians and in their role as servants which they share with humankind (Rev 19:10; 22:8–9), angels minister to Jesus while he was accomplishing his mission. During the temptation, Satan points to the extremes to which the angels will go to keep Jesus from harm (Matt 4:6=Luke 4:10–11), and angels come and minister to Jesus after the temptation (Matt 4:11; Mark 1:13). They also minister to Jesus in Gethsemane once he has accepted his fate (Luke 22:43 var). Twelve legions of angels are readied for Jesus' defense at his arrest (Matt 26:53), and angels roll the stone from the entrance of the tomb at the resurrection (Matt 28:2). In short, Jesus spoke of them as "ascending and descending upon him" (John 1:51).

A major function of angels is as messengers and instructors. The thought of angels speaking to someone was not foreign to the audience of the NT (John 12:29). As well as by a direct presence, angels often deliver their message in a dream (Matt 1:20–21; 2:13, 19–20, 22) or a vision (Acts 10:3–6; Rev 1:10).

Moses received the Law from an angel (Acts 7:38, 53; Gal 3:19; Heb 2:2). Angels were witnesses to the incarnation (1 Tim 3:16). Paul assumes that angels can preach a gospel (Gal 1:8) and the Pharisees assume that an angel could have spoken with Paul (Acts 23:9). Angels are harbingers of the births of John the Baptist (Luke 1:11–20) and Jesus (Luke 1:26–38). They advise Joseph about the nature of Mary's child (Matt 1:20–21). They proclaim the birth of Jesus to the shepherds (Luke 2:8–14). They warn Joseph to flee to Egypt with Mary and Jesus (Matt 2:13) as well as when to return (Matt 2:20). They give instructions to the women at the tomb (Matt 28:5–7=Mark 16:6–7=Luke 24:4–7). Two angels speak to the disciples at Christ's ascension (Acts 1:10). An angel speaks to Moses in the burning bush (Acts 7:30, 35, 38), advises Philip where to travel (Acts 8:26) and Cornelius to send for Peter (Acts 10:3–6, 22, 30–32; 11:13–14), and reassures Paul that he would stand before Caesar (Acts 27:23–24). As typical of apocalyptic writings, an angel escorts John through his visions (e.g., Rev 17:7).

Angels are integrally involved in judgment, both ongoing and at the final consummation. In an ongoing capacity, angels killed Herod because he accepted the worship of the crowd (Acts 12:20–23). In the final consummation an archangel announces Christ's descent at the parousia (1 Thess 4:16) and other angels announce phases of the final judgment (Rev 10:1–7; 14:6–7), begin its initial processes (Rev 5:1–2; 14:14–16), and are active in it (Rev 8–9; 15–16; 20:1–3). They will accompany Christ at his parousia (Matt 16:27; 25:31; Mark 8:38=Luke 9:26; 2 Thess 1:7; Jude 14–15), will gather the elect (Matt 24:31=Mark 13:27), and will separate the evildoers for destruction in the fire (Matt 13:39–42, 49–50; 25:31–46; Jude 14–15). Possibly as a council, they will witness Christ's denial of those who denied him (Mark 8:38=Luke 9:26; 12:8–9; Rev 3:5; cf. Rev 14:10). The role of angels is often portrayed in military fashion (Rev 19:14, 19), as warriors at Christ's bidding (Matt 26:53).

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## ANGELS OF THE SEVEN CHURCHES

(Gk *aggeloi tōn hepta ekklēsiōn* (ἀγγελοι των ἑπτα ἐκκλησιων)). This expression is found only in Rev 1:20 in the preparatory vision of the risen Lord (1:9–20). Here the angels of the seven churches are equated with the seven stars in the Lord's right hand (cf. 1:16). The identity of the seven angels is uncertain, with both human and superhuman identifications being possible (see Hemer 1986: 32–34; McNamara 1966: 192–98).

### A. Human Identifications

It has been proposed that the angels are messengers from the seven churches sent to John and/or the messengers from John entrusted to deliver the letters. Although virtually always being a reference to a heavenly messenger, *aggelos* is used occasionally in both the OT (Mal 2:7; 3:1) and the NT (Matt 11:10; Luke 7:24; 9:52; Jas 2:25) to refer to a human messenger. The leaders of the church, perhaps their bishops, is also a possible identification. However, elsewhere in the NT *aggelos* is never used to designate a church leader.

Against both of these identifications is the fact that the content of the letters of chaps. 2–3 pertain to the churches themselves, not to a third party, whoever the angels may be. Against any identification of the angels with any human being is the fact that all of the other 66 occurrences of *aggelos* in Revelation and virtually all other known occurrences refer to supernatural beings. Also, the use of angels to represent human beings or churches is virtually unknown in apocalyptic literature.

However, it should be noted that *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Exod 39:37; 40:4 identifies the seven lamps of the lampstand of the tabernacle as the seven stars or planets, and the latter in turn as "the just that shine unto eternity in their righteousness." This equation supports a human identification for angels and corresponds to the symbolism of Revelation in which the lampstands represent churches.

**B. Superhuman Identifications**

The seven angels have been identified as the guardian angels of the seven churches. Nations (Deut 32:8 LXX; Dan 10:13, 20; 12:1; Sir 17:17) and individuals (*Jub.* 35:17; Matt 18:10; Acts 12:15) are portrayed as having guardian angels. However, this identification is not satisfactory because of the difficulty of the resulting scenario in which Christ directs John to write a letter to the churches, but John in turn addresses it to their guardian angels instead (1:11).

Widely accepted is the position that the angels are personifications of the prevailing spirit of the churches, the spiritual counterpart of the earthly reality. This would make the angels akin to the Persian *fravashis,* heavenly counterparts of earthly individuals and communities. The difficulty that the letters are addressed to the angels but pertain to the churches is thus eliminated, for both can be addressed simultaneously. However, although the stars and the lampstands are distinguished in Revelation as angels and churches respectively, in this solution they are now virtually equated. Ultimately no identification has as yet been totally satisfactory.

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DUANE F. WATSON

**ANGER.** See VIRTUE/VICE LISTS; WRATH OF GOD.

**ANGLE, THE** (PLACE) [Heb *hammiqṣōaʿ* (הַמִּקְצֹעַ)]. "Place of corner-structure," "corner buttress": corner of a building (Exod 26:24; 36:29); corner of a court (Ezek 46:21); corner post of the altar (Ezek 41:22). Particularly, an important and well-known part of the defense structure of Jerusalem, built by Uzziah king of Judah when he fortified the city by constructing towers at the Corner Gate, at the Valley Gate, and at the angle (2 Chr 26:9). Destroyed in the conquest of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, this section (Neh 3:19–20, 24–25) and other sections of the wall were repaired by Nehemiah, ca. 430 B.C. Being mentioned in the vicinity of the Water Gate (3:26), the wall of Ophel (3:27), and the East Gate (v 29), "the Angle" seems to have been located along the E wall of Jerusalem, somewhere near the Water Gate (which may have led to the Gihon Spring) and the earlier house (palace) of David (Mare 1987: 123–26).

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W. HAROLD MARE

**ANIAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾănîʿām* (אֲנִיעָם)]. The fourth son of Shemida (1 Chr 7:19) in the genealogy of Manasseh (7:14–19). His name occurs only once in the Bible and may have meant "people's lament" (*ʾānâ* + *ʿam*) or "I am kinsman" (*ʾănî* + *ʿam*). Noth (*IPN,* 237) suggested that the name is a scribal mistake for Noah, one of the five daughters of Zelophehad (Num 26:33).

1 Chr 7:19 is a genealogical fragment whose relationship to the rest of the Manassite genealogy (7:14–18) is unclear. The verse records the names of Shemida and his four sons, but it does not link them to the Manassites who were listed earlier. Consequently, a number of proposals have been made to integrate the verse more effectively into the rest of the Manassite genealogy. Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 152)

have proposed, for example, that Shemida was the fourth son of Hammolecheth (v 18); this would make Aniam her grandson. Others, however, have argued that Gilead was the father of Shemida, just as Num 26:30–32 indicates (cf. Josh 17:1–3). In this case, Aniam would have been Gilead's grandson. Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 69–71) is the most persuasive of those who favor this position, and his presentation involves a comprehensive emendation of the Manassite genealogy in 1 Chronicles 7 on the basis of Num 26:28–34.

M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**ANIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿānîm* (עָנִים)]. A town situated in the SW hill country of Judah (Josh 15:50), within the same district as Debir. The only OT reference to this settlement, whose name means "springs," occurs in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The theory that this list is derived from an administrative roster compiled under the Judean monarchy (Alt 1925) has been widely accepted, although controversy continues over the precise makeup of the districts, the proper context of the town lists of Benjamin and Dan, and the period of the monarchy to which the original roster belongs (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 64–72). Anim may be the same place as Hawini of the Amarna Letters (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 388). Eusebius (*Onomast.* 26.9) associates Anim with the Christian town of Anaia, situated nine Roman miles S of Hebron. Anim is most probably to be identified with Khirbet Ghuwein et-Tahta (Aharoni *LBHG* 300; M.R. 156084), located approximately 20 km S of Hebron and 4 km S of es-Samu (ancient Eshtemoh?). Khirbet Ghuwein et-Foqa, just to the northeast, may be the location of Christian Anaia (Gold *IDB* 1: 300).

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WADE R. KOTTER

**ANIMAL.** See ZOOLOGY.

**ANKLETS** [Heb *ʿākāsîm* (עֲכָסִים)]. The word *ʿekes,* found only in the plural in the Hebrew Bible, indicates a piece of jewelry worn around the ankle, as are bracelets worn encircling the wrist. The only biblical text mentioning anklets is Isa 3:18, in which the decadent garb of self-indulgent Israelites is listed in considerable quantity. Twenty-one items are presented, and anklets head the list. Perhaps their position at the top of the list, where they are followed by "headbands," is meant to indicate that the items that follow are those that adorn the entire body, from foot to head.

Anklets were usually made of metal, although some glass examples have been found. Of the metal ones, bronze examples are most common, but the existence of gold, silver, and iron specimens can be established either through the discovery of actual examples or through analogy with the more commonly found bracelets or rings. All of these circular metal items of adornment were made by bending straight wires or bands into a rounded shape. Sometimes the ends were left open; on some examples they have been welded or twisted together. Metal anklets were usually undecorated except for the occasional clubbing or flattening of the free ends in unclosed examples.

Although bracelets, armlets, necklaces, and rings were apparently worn by both men and women, it is difficult to determine whether the same can be said for anklets. In graphic art from the ancient Semitic world, depictions of human figures tend to be those of upper-class individuals, clad in ceremonial garb. This means that long cloaks or outer garments cover the lower legs and obscure the areas in which anklets would be worn. However, certain renderings of deities, especially those depicted nude or semi-nude, are instructive. Although such figures are often very simple and stylized, the use of jewelry as adornment stands out in the absence of items of clothing. A comparison of female and male Canaanite gods rendered in metal (see Negbi 1976) shows a number of examples of female figures with anklets but only one or two possible males so adorned.

The graphic information is valuable in showing the way the anklets were worn. Several examples of single anklets, that is, one on each ankle, can be seen. But in the preponderance of instances, anklets were worn in sets of three and four, and probably also in sets of five and maybe even six (Seibert 1974: pls. 41,

54, 56, 59, 63). The fact that anklets were worn in groups informs the meaning of Isa 3:16, in which the prophet mocks the haughty daughters of Zion, who strut about wantonly, "tinkling with their feet." The verb in this passage is derived from the word for anklet and indicates the jingling noise produced by the movement of the feet of a person wearing anklets.

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CAROL MEYERS

**ANNA** (PERSON) [Gk *Hanna* (Ἀννα)*; Anna* (Ἀννα)]. **1.** The wife of Tobit and mother of Tobias. Anna serves three roles in the story of Tobit. First, she is the object of piety for Tobit and Tobias. Tobit marries Anna, who is a member of his paternal clan, and thereby provides a good example for Tobias and other Jews in the Diaspora (1:9). Tobit instructs Tobias to honor his mother after Tobit's death and to bury her in Tobit's grave (4:3–4), which Tobias does (14:10).

Second, she is the ideal wife. When Tobit no longer hides from Sennacherib, he returns to Anna and Tobias (1:20). Later, when Tobit is blinded by the sparrow droppings, Anna takes up "women's work," which the Vg explains as weaving cloth (2:11 LXX—2:19 Vg). Thus she exemplifies the ideal wife of Prov 31:10–31. She values Tobias more than any riches he can bring back from his dangerous journey (5:18–23), and she watches the road for his return (11:5–6, 9).

Her third role is to be a foil to Tobit's piety. When her employers give her a kid as a bonus, Tobit accuses her of theft. Her retort in LXX questions the value of his piety if it makes him such a blind know-it-all (2:14). In Vg, which explicitly compares Tobit to Job (2:15 Vg), Anna says his piety is vain (2:22 Vg), making her more like Job's wife. Whereas Tobit trusts that God's angel will take care of Tobias (10:1–3), Anna rejects his belief and despairs of Tobias' life with fasting and lament (10:4–7). Yet it is Anna who watches for Tobias daily (11:5–6, 9) and who sees him first, so even her despair was not without hope.

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MITCHELL C. PACWA

**2.** An elderly and especially devout Jewish widow portrayed in Luke 2:36–38 who should not be confused with the Anna of Tobit, a deuterocanonical book. Strikingly, Anna is the only woman in NT called a prophetess (using the Greek noun form of the word). Thus, she is to be understood in the light of such OT figures as Deborah and Huldah. Comparisons should also be made with the intertestamental figure of Judith who, like Anna, was devout, lived to about the same age (105), and did not remarry after her husband died (Judith 16:23). The Lukan material raises the question of whether or not there was some sort of Jewish order of widows who had specific functions in the temple, for example, to pray (Witherington 1988: 140–41). This might explain her apparently constant presence in the temple. It should also be noted that, according to Luke's portrait of Anna, she, unlike Simeon, goes forth to proclaim the good news about the Messiah (Plummer *Luke* ICC, 71). This foreshadows one of the roles assumed by female believers in Luke's 2-vol. work (cf. Priscilla in Acts 18). It is also possible that Luke intends for the reader to see parallels between Luke 1–2 and Acts 1–2, in which case Anna anticipates what will happen when the spirit is poured out on all flesh, and both sons and daughters prophesy (Stahlin *TDNT* 9:451). There may also be some truth in the suggestion that Anna is portrayed by Luke as one of the ʿ*anawim*, i.e., the pious Jewish poor (Brown 1977: 446). Luke does seem to have a special interest in such people, and in view of his theme of reversal of fortunes (cf. Luke 4:17–19), he seems to promote women like Anna as examples of how the gospel affects human lives. Anna may also be seen as a model of faith in action, one who responds positively and properly to the coming of the Messiah.

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BEN WITHERINGTON III

**ANNAN** (PERSON) [Gk *Annan* (Ἀνναν)]. See HARIM.

**ANNAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Hannas* (Ἅννας)]. High priest in Jerusalem between ca. A.D. 6, when he was appointed by Quirinius, and A.D. 15, when he was removed by Valerius Gratus (*Ant* 18.2.1, 2 §§ 26–35; Luke 3:2). Annas' later prominence, long after his deposition, and the success of his family in high priestly office, make it seem unlikely that he was deposed as a result of official displeasure; he served the accommodation with Rome very well (Smallwood 1976: 155–56, 159). Although, as we shall see, there are references in the gospels to his being high priest during the capital proceedings against Jesus, that claim is incorrect: Caiaphas was high priest at the time, and—in chronological terms—he was the most successful high priest of the period (see CAIAPHAS). But the influence of Annas survived his personal high priesthood. Five of his sons—Eleazar, Jonathan, Theophilus, Matthias, and the younger Annas—all held that office (*Ant* 20.9.1 §198; Enelow *JEnc* 1: 610), and the claim is made in John 18:13 that Caiaphas was actually his son-in-law.

The continuing influence of Annas makes certain misstatements in the NT explicable. The odd reference to the joint high priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas, in Luke 3:2, and the unqualified reference to him alone as high priest in Acts 4:6, are perhaps the most obvious instances. But the latter case might give us pause, before we dismiss it as a simple error. The scene in Acts 4 represents an inquisition of Peter and John by the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem, following their healing of a lame man at the Beautiful Gate of the temple (Acts 3:1–26). The mention of Annas occurs within a description of the assemblage of the council (4:5f), which is specifically said to include, not only priests, but "rulers, and elders, and scribes" (v 5). After referring to Annas as high priest, v 6 mentions "Caiaphas, and John, and Alexander, and as many as were from high priestly stock." It seems quite clear that Acts refers to Annas' position of leadership within a vital faction of the Sanhedrin, to his driving force behind the inquisition. The primary opposition to Jesus is priestly (cf. vv 1–3), and Annas appears to be leading the opposition. The usage of the term "high priest" is therefore loose (and technically incorrect), but scarcely incomprehensible.

The family of Annas appears in consistent, sometimes deadly, opposition to Jesus' movement during its early years. Aside from Annas' personal involvement in the condemnation of Jesus, to which we shall turn below, we see in Acts 4 a formality of opposition, which hardens Jesus' movement in its tendency toward a formal break with Judaism. Peter boldly proclaims, "Let it be known to you, and all Israel, that by the name of Messiah Jesus of Nazareth—whom you crucified, but whom God raised from the dead—this man stands before you whole" (4:10); that amounts to a stinging, personal statement of judgment against Annas, Caiaphas, and anyone else who had anything to do with Jesus' execution. The presentation of Acts therefore uses Annas as emblematic of the distinction between the rulers who crucified Jesus and those Jews who decided to follow him (cf. v 4 and see GAMALIEL). The "John" mentioned in v 6 may be Annas' son, a future high priest (cf. the full spelling, "Jonathan," in representatives of the so-called Western text; Lake and Cadbury 1933: 42; and Jeremias 1969: 197 n. 161). In ca. A.D. 62, Annas' son and namesake took the opportunity of a hiatus in Roman rule to arrange the death of James, the brother of Jesus (*Ant* 20.9.1 §§ 197–203; Smallwood 1976: 279–80). That the very name "Annas" should have become something of an inverted icon within the NT, a symbol of hierarchical opposition to Christianity, is therefore quite understandable.

It is nonetheless surprising to find the uniquely Johannine scene of the session at Annas' house (18:12–24). Annas is insistently called "high priest" (vv 15, 16, 19, 22) despite the fact that Caiaphas is as well (cf., above all, the confusion caused by the usage in v 24); indeed, Jesus is struck for answering Annas as high priest sharply (v 22). Annas' very residence is said to be high priestly (v 15), and Jesus is brought there by a contingent of Roman and Jewish forces (v 12). Moreover, the Johnannine scene poses the gravamen against Jesus in terms quite different from the Synoptics': Annas is concerned about Jesus' disciples and teaching, while Caiaphas' focus in the Synoptics is the temple and christology. It seems obvious that Annas features in John, at least to some extent, as typological of Jewish enmity toward Jesus and his movement.

Behind the text of John, however, there may be an important trace of historical reminiscence. The issue which mortally opposed Caiaphas to Jesus had been Jesus' inflammatory action of occupying the temple. The immediate occasion of Jesus' act was his opposition to the placement of vendors of sacrificial animals in the precincts of the temple. Given that such an arrangement was unusual, and could have caused opposition, the question arises, why would Caiaphas have permitted it? It has become conventional, among Christian scholars of the NT, to claim that references in rabbinica to "the sons of Ḫanan," merchants of such animals, should be identified with Annas' family (cf. Jeremias 1969: 20, 49; Edwards *ISBE* 1: 128).

A full acceptance of the suggested identification would provide a picture in which Annas opposed Jesus for economic, not simply theological, reasons. A certain amount of evidence might be said indirectly to support it. The family of Ḫanan is decried for its conniving practices in Talmud (*Pesaḥ.* 57a), and problems of extortionate pricing by merchants of sacrificial animals are addressed in Mishnah (*Ker.* 1.7). But to make of Annas a 1st-century equivalent to Shylock on the basis of such evidence is more to indulge the rhetorical reference to Annas in the NT than to describe it. The fact is that Ḫanan is a common name in rabbinica; indeed, the name is used to refer to a real or fictitious scoundrel on some occasions (cf. *B.Qam.* 37a, 115a). To ascribe the sitting of the merchants, the resulting occupation of the temple by Jesus, and the complicated proceedings against him all to Annas' venal motives, and simply because he bore a common name which was also associated with vendors, appears tendentious in the extreme. The very prominence of Annas and his family during the period, and his possible relationship to Caiaphas, suggest that the sitting of the merchants (and their subsequent removal) occurred with his approval. But to speculate on his character—and especially to suggest that his motivation was economic—is to proceed far beyond the evidence and to desert exegesis in favor of a long-discredited, apologetic stance.

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BRUCE CHILTON

**ANNIAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Annias* (Ἀννιας)]. Ancestor of a family who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:16). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, this family does not appear among their lists of returning exiles (cf. Ezra 2:17; Neh 7:23). Omissions such as this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra or Nehemiah. Furthermore, problems associated with dating events and persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**ANNIUTH** (PERSON) [Gk *Anniouth* (Ἀννιουθ)]. See BANI.

**ANNUNUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Announos* (Ἀννουνος)]. One of the priests or Levites recruited upon Ezra's request to return with him to Jerusalem and serve in the temple (1 Esdr 8:47—Eng8:48; not included in the parallel list in Ezra 8:19).

There is a discrepancy between Ezra 8 and 1 Esdras 8. Ezra 8 says that Ezra assembled only Levites missing from the first group to return to Jerusalem (8: 17–19). Ezra takes measures to secure the "ministers" (*mšrtym*), apparently for menial work. In 1 Esdras, both priests and Levites are absent, and Ezra sends for priests (*tous hierateusontas*; 1 Esdr 8:45—Eng8:46).

The list of the priests and the temple servants in 1 Esdr 8:46–48—Eng vv 47–49 seems to be excerpted from a complete list. In Codex Alexandrinus, Annunus is identified as the brother of Jeshaiah, another priest in the same list. Codex Vaticanus omits the first half of 1 Esdr 8:47—Eng v 48, where both Annunus and Jeshaiah (his brother) are mentioned.

The absence of the name in Ezra 8:19 leads C. T. Fritsch (*IDB* 1: 138) to suspect that a corruption of *wĕʿittô,* "and with him," in Ezra 8:19 gave rise to the name Annunus.

JIN HEE HAN

**ANOINTED, THE.** See CHRIST; MESSIAH.

**ANT.** See ZOOLOGY.

**ANTELOPE.** See ZOOLOGY.

**ANTHOTHIJAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿantōtîyâ* (עַנְתֹתְיָה)]. One of the sons of Shashak, according to the longer genealogy of Benjamin given by the Chronicler (1 Chr 8:24).

SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

**ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE OT.** As an academic discipline, anthropology is organized differently in different countries. In North America the subject is often called cultural anthropology. It is interested in the comparative study of societies and cultures, seeking to formulate general theories about how culture changes in response to such things as alterations in the environment, population increase and control, and the introduction of new technologies. In Britain it is usually called social anthropology, focusing on the study of single societies. The aim is not to produce general theories of culture, but to show how in each given case a society's beliefs, kinship system, exercise of power, etc., form a coherent set of symbols which reflect and constitute that society's understanding of the world.

**A. The Interface with OT Study**

The way in which anthropology is organized in different parts of the world has affected the way in which it has been used in OT studies. Thus, recent attempts in North America to reconstruct the origin of the Israelite tribes and the emergence of the Israelite state have depended on general theories of culture change. In Britain attention has been focused upon OT sacrifice and ritual as part of a set of coherent symbols. The continent of Europe has been more influenced by the British than by the North American approach; indeed, the French sociologist E. Durkheim exerted considerable influence upon the development of British social anthropology in the present century.

Twenty years ago there was broad agreement in OT study on a number of issues that overlapped with anthropology. With regard to Israel's origins, it was believed that the Israelites were seminomads who had entered Canaan either forcefully or peacefully, and had then settled down (sedentarized). The intellectual life of the ancient Israelites was thought in many ways to resemble that of "primitives": they could not distinguish easily between the individual and the group, and the personality of one person could merge into that of another so that, for example, a messenger was simply an extension of the personality of whoever had given him the message. It was held that in matters of worship the Israelites used sacred drama which differed little from magical beliefs, and that, by enacting the humiliation of the king and his restoration, the Israelites sought to influence the agricultural cycle for the coming year. It was also believed that the Israelites had little idea of scientific causation and therefore readily regarded as miraculous what modern observers would explain in natural terms.

In the past twenty years the picture has changed considerably. The view that the Israelites were sedentarizing seminomads has been strongly challenged by an alternative theory: that they were peasants who had rebelled against their Canaanite overlords and had established an alternative, egalitarian society. The previous view of the intellectual life of the Israelites has been shown to rest upon ideas about primitives that hardly apply to the Israelites, who, culturally, were far more advanced.

In Britain the impetus for a new evaluation came from anthropologists themselves. E. R. Leach applied to the opening chapters of Genesis the interpretation of myths then being pioneered by the French sociologist C. Lévi-Strauss, and he followed this up with a paper entitled "The Legitimacy of Solomon" (1969). However, Leach believed that OT narratives had no historical value whatsoever, and that they were texts which sought to resolve the paradox that Israel was a separate people yet in full contact with other peoples. At the same time, by inviting refutation, Leach's articles forced British OT scholars to become familiar with the type of anthropology to which Leach was indebted. Probably the most influential work at this time was that of anthropologist Mary Douglas, which was both an attack on the idea of "primitive mentality" and an attempt to show that the animals listed in Leviticus 11 were

prohibited because they were anomalies with respect to the classification of the world implied in Genesis 1 (see below).

In North America the impetus came not from anthropologists but from OT scholars, arising from their strengths in archaeology and in the study of the ANE in general. The mention of nomads in the Mari correspondence, of *šasu* and *sutu* nomads in Egyptian and Akkadian texts respectively, not to mention the *ḫabiru* of the Amarna and other texts, made it necessary to turn to anthropology to try to discover the precise nature of these groups. G. E. Mendenhall was the first scholar to question the seminomad "sedentarization" hypothesis on the basis of studies derived from anthropology (1962), although his contribution was overlooked until it was restated in his *Tenth Generation* (1973). Since then, especially in North America, there has been an explosion of interest in anthropology among OT scholars, although most of the attention has focused on Israel's origins and the nature of Israelite prophecy.

**B. Israel's Self-awareness**

As noted above, Mary Douglas' essay "The Abominations of Leviticus" (1966: 41–58) argued that certain creatures are prohibited in the OT because they are anomalous. According to Genesis 1, the world is divided into heavens, earth, and seas; and the creatures appropriate to these areas are, respectively, those with wings and two legs, those with two legs who walk or four legs who go on all fours, and those with fins. Other creatures, such as those with wings and four legs, or land creatures with no legs at all, do not fit the classification and are therefore prohibited. Although Douglas' explanation can be faulted at a number of points, her intention was to see these prohibitions as something essentially logical, given the Israelite world view. The prohibitions were part of a complex set of social mechanisms that ordered the world and marked off the sacred from the secular.

This sort of approach was taken further by Douglas Davies (1977) and applied to Israelite sacrifice. The complicated ritual for the rehabilitation of the "leper" in Leviticus 14 shows how the Israelites divided the world into sectors with strong barriers, that needed powerful social rituals to enable them to be crossed. The restored leper, for example, after shaving off all his hair, washing all his clothes, and bathing, had to spend seven days in a sort of social limbo, inside the camp but outside his own tent. On the eighth day he again shaved, washed his clothes, and bathed, so that the final offerings for his full restoration to society could be made. In the Day of Atonement ceremony, there are very powerful rituals used to counterbalance the social effects of individual and corporate wrongdoing during the previous year. The entire sanctuary is cleansed by means of blood sprinkling, and a goat over whom all the sins of the people have been confessed is led across boundaries, from the sanctuary through the camp and out into the wilderness, symbolizing and effecting the removal of what is socially disruptive from the ordered relationships of the camp.

It becomes clear that, if Israelite self-awareness begins to be approached in this sort of manner, a quite different picture emerges from that of the "primitive" living in a mystical sort of communion with nature and fellow Israelites. Reality for the Israelite, in fact, was carefully ordered and structured; therefore, the task of future research should be directed toward elucidating this order more thoroughly. There remains, however, a different problem. When was Israelite self-awareness ordered in this manner? Was this self-awareness held by all the people, or just some of them? Leach was able to avoid this problem by supposing that OT narratives were devoid of historical (diachronic) value, resembling the (synchronic) data collected by a field anthropologist. Douglas Davies qualified his study by saying that views he described were those of the Israelite leaders after the Exile. It is obvious from the OT itself, however, that diverse self-conceptions existed in Israel: the common people and their rulers often refused to accept the prophetic interpretation of Israel's religion, and many Israelites found the fertility religion of Canaan more attractive than the ethical monotheism of the prophets. Thus, for all its value, study of the mental life of the Israelites in terms of a single coherent system of symbols cannot deal with the diverse religious conflicts recorded in the OT.

**C. Israelite Prophecy**

Recent work on Israelite prophecy from an anthropological perspective has been able to make a start on this matter of religious conflict. Whereas older scholarship dealing with prophecy was interested in the

mental states of the prophets (esp. the role of "ecstasy"), the anthropological approach has sought to identify the part played by society in the processes by which people become prophets and act out their prophetic roles. Petersen (1981) divides Israelite prophecy into two main types: peripheral possession prophecy and central morality prophecy. The former is common among groups who are at the margins of society, their leaders have support groups, and their god is sometimes amoral. Central morality prophets are active in times of national difficulty, often lack support groups, and affirm the standard morality of the state. This typology certainly makes sense of some OT material. The prophetic groups led by Elijah and Elisha resemble peripheral possession prophets, while Isaiah and Jeremiah resemble central morality prophets. Undoubtedly there is more to the matter than this, but the anthropological approach immediately sets up a typology unavailable to approaches simply asking questions that ignore social dimensions. Long (1981) has investigated the matter of conflict between prophets and regards such conflict as common, if not normal. In the case of such prophetic conflict, Wilson (1980) suggests that the outcome is often determined by the relative strengths of the prophets' support groups. This is an area where much remains to be done.

**D. Israel's Origins and Early Social Organization**

Work on Israel's origins has engendered keen debate and posed fundamental questions of method. Mendenhall (1962; 1973) and Norman Gottwald (1979), whose somewhat similar but different accounts of Israel's origins in terms of a peasants' revolt have challenged the seminomad immigration theory, are dependent upon a type of American cultural anthropology which assigns an important role to factors such as technological innovation and population growth and response in the development of societies. This is one reason why both have eschewed the idea of Israel's origins in terms of the immigration implied in the book of Joshua in favor of an explanation in terms of developments within Canaanite society itself. On the other hand, Niels Peter Lemche (1985), in what is the most comprehensive discussion in this area so far, has insisted that OT scholars must be as widely read as possible in the anthropological literature, and must be aware of the differing schools in anthropology and their assumptions. He maintains that the aim of such reading must be to circumscribe the use of common sense by indicating how societies actually function and what manifestations are likely and unlikely.

Lemche shows that nomadism is a very complex phenomenon encompassing peoples without leaders as well as peoples with princely families that traditionally offer leadership. Nomads may well be related to settled peoples in nearby villages. Some may become day laborers out of necessity and be forced to settle down. Others may settle down because they become rich, investing their surplus in land. There is no particular type of land especially suited to nomadism, and sedentarization is not something particularly desired by nomads. Settling down involves losing freedom to move around, and it may bring the likelihood of having to pay taxes. Nomadism is a multi-resource phenomenon which adapts to the prevailing political circumstances.

Lemche rejects the idea that farmers and cities are often in conflict, a view central to Gottwald's work. He cites examples of farmers living in close harmony with cities. Indeed, cities may be best defined as geographical collections of disparate units. On segmentary and egalitarian societies, Lemche shows that segmentary societies are not necessarily egalitarian, and that societies that have an egalitarian ideology do not necessarily have egalitarian praxis. He rejects on anthropological grounds the views of Mendenhall and Gottwald, and although he does not himself subscribe to an immigration type view of Israelite origins, he indicates that it cannot be ruled out on anthropological grounds.

Lemche also devotes a section to an analysis of early Israelite social structure. In the late 1970s a consensus seems to have emerged according to which Israelite society consisted of three major elements: family, clan, and tribe, indicated by the Hebrew terms *bêt ʾab, mišpaḥâ* and *šebeṭ.* Tribes were geographical associations of groups. Lemche convincingly challenges this consensus and establishes an alternative. He argues that the term *bêt ʾab* designates both the family and the lineage, the difference between the two being that a family is a residential group while the lineage is a descent group that links families. He also argues that *mišpaḥâ* overlaps with *bêt ʾab* in designating a lineage, and that it probably also designates a maximal lineage, that is, a reckoning of descent from a family to a founder of a tribe or

major group. Lemche notes that *mišpaḥâ* is much less frequent in the OT than *bêt ʾab,* and that no leader comes from a *mišpaḥâ.* On the evidence available to us from the book of Judges, Israelite tribes were not segmentary egalitarian societies. They were territorial groups with potential for united action under single leaders. Even the so-called "minor judges" of Judges 10:1–5 and 12:8–15 seem to have been wealthy and powerful individuals, with large families. In the case of three of them, it is noteworthy that a tribal area is called a land (Heb *ʾereṣ;* cf. Judg 10:4; 12:11, 15).

On the matter of the origin of the tribes, anthropology does not give much assistance. It seems likely that Gottwald's view cannot be established on anthropological grounds, namely, that Israelite tribes were not "true" tribes, but were secondary formations in response to the oppressive policy of Canaanite cities. Although some of the tribal names, e.g., Judah and Ephraim, may be geographical designations taken over by groups living in those areas, this is not true for all tribal names, some of which are clearly personal names. Some sort of nomadic origin cannot be ruled out in these cases, although it is difficult to say when and under what circumstances these groups became sedentary. Another difficult question is that of the origin of the twelve-tribe system. Granted the now widespread rejection of Noth's theory that Israel was a twelve-tribe amphictyony in the period of the judges, it may be necessary to look for the origin of the twelve-tribe system in the united monarchy of David and Solomon, intended to be a legitimation of the rule of Judah over a group of tribes that had not previously been united, unless they had united under Saul in the face of the Philistine threat. It is clear from texts such as Genesis 49 and Deuteronomy 32 that tribal fortunes varied and that some tribes, for example Simeon, were absorbed into other tribes. It is usually held that these adjustments must have taken place before the monarchy; but this assumes that we know more about Israelite tribes than we actually do. If tribal adjustments involved shifts in inner loyalties that posed no threat to the state and its administration, then adjustments could have taken place during the monarchy, and may have been reflected in texts such as Genesis 49 and Deuteronomy 33.

In fact, the way in which anthropology is used in connection with Israel's origins will depend on the view that individual scholars take of the date and manner of composition of the Pentateuch and the Deuteronomic History. If the trend toward dating the "Yahwist" source to the postexilic period becomes anything like a consensus, this will have important consequences for the use of anthropology in determining Israel's origins. In short, anthropology can indicate what is likely and what is not likely in the structure and function of societies, but it cannot be a substitute for historical critical study of the OT text.

**E. Emics and Etics in OT Study**

A fundamental difference between Mendenhall and Gottwald concerns the place of Israel's religious ideology in the formation of the Israelite people. For Mendenhall, the revolt that brought Israel into being was inspired by the ideology of the God who had redeemed a group of slaves from Egypt and had made a covenant with them. For Gottwald, religious ideology was the *product* of economic and social circumstances, not the cause; therefore, Israel's religious ideology resulted from the formation of an egalitarian society in the period 1250–1050 B.C. In taking this view, Gottwald has put the issue of "emics" and "etics" on the agenda of OT study.

One of the main sources for this part of Gottwald's approach is the American anthropologist Marvin Harris, who has provided a persuasive presentation of what is known as cultural materialism (1979). Following Marx, Harris maintains that the mode of production in the material life of a society determines the general character of its social, political, and spiritual processes. If society is divided into infrastructure, structure, and superstructure (with the first term designating mode of production, population size, patterns of work, etc.; the second term designating kinship systems and political life, etc.; and the third term designating myths, symbols, magic, and religion), then changes in the infrastructure will affect the structure and superstructure, but not vice versa. (For example, if an animal is hunted to near extinction, it will be necessary for a society to hunt a different animal. This may entail changes in social organization and may also result in myths that explain why the near extinct animal is "taboo.") Harris' approach is etic, that is, he wishes anthropology to make quasi-scientific generalizations about societies that can be verified or falsified. Emic explanations, on the other hand, which Harris eschews, are

explanations of societies in terms of what their members think about themselves. As such, emic explanations are not open to verification or falsification.

The difference between etic and emic explanations is well illustrated by Harris' disagreement with Mary Douglas about why pigs are unclean animals in the OT. Douglas' explanation is emic, that is, in terms of the world view of the OT itself. Pigs do not fit the classification system in which four-legged animals must chew the cud and part the hoof. Harris' explanation is etic, that is, in terms of a general theory of culture. According to him, the pig is prohibited because its natural habitat—forests and the edge of swamps—was not readily available in Israel and in other parts of the NE, whereas it was available, for example, in Europe (where there was no such prohibition). Harris therefore makes a good case for etic explanations and attacks the sort of British social anthropology described above (see B). While taking Harris' point, however, it is difficult to see how Israelite sacrifice could be explained in purely etic terms. There are parts of human life, such as uncertainty, illness, and death, that are essentially questions of human existence, and which demand answers that belong to the realm of religion and symbolism.

Gottwald identifies himself as a cultural materialist (1979: sec. 50–51) and at the end of his book he makes a plea for a biblical sociology. This would investigate the infrastructure of ancient Israel at every stage of its development, with a view toward establishing how changes in the infrastructure led to changes in social organization and religious belief. There is also a hermeneutical dimension to this. Biblical sociology would investigate the fortunes of what Gottwald holds to be the pristine manifestation of Yahwism, namely, the establishment of a liberated egalitarian society, which was eventually eclipsed when power was centralized under the monarchy. The OT approached in this way becomes a challenge to establish today a liberated egalitarian society appropriate to our world.

Etic studies are already beginning to become a feature of OT scholarship, especially with the investigation of Iron Age agriculture in Israel. In the matter of the formation of the Israelite state, it is recognized that environmental factors played a part which, compounded with the Philistine threat, brought about the need for a new type of social organization (see Frick 1985). Yet etic approaches must be combined with the fact, attested in the anthropological literature, that individuals such as Saul and David played a part in facing crises, and can substantially affect their outcome.

Serious anthropological study of the OT is only just beginning; but, compared with the situation twenty years ago, OT scholars now have available to them resources that should enable considerable progress to be made.

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**ANTHROPOMORPHISM.** See YAHWIST ("J") SOURCE.

**ANTILEBANON** (PLACE) [Gk *Antilibanos* (Ἀντιλιβανος)]. Geographical region NE of Galilee situated between Lebanon and Damascus, the major feature of which is a range of mountains running SW to NE (Jdt 1:7). The region of Antilebanon is separated from Lebanon by the Al-Biqaʿ Valley (known as Coele-Syria in antiquity), the N extension of the Rift Valley. Mt. Hermon (2750 m), known as Sirion to the Sidonians and Senir to the Amorites (Deut 3:9), dominates the S part of the Antilebanon region and the range of mountains which also has this designation.

The Antilebanon region receives mention in the biblical tradition only in Jdt 1:7 within a list of regional names which includes Cilicia, Lebanon, and Damascus. The Vulgate translation, which generally is shorter than the Greek text, omits any reference to it. In the story of Judith the "Assyrian" king, Nebuchadnezzar, seeks assistance from the W part of his empire in a war against King Arphaxad. Antilebanon, part of Nebuchadnezzar's empire, refuses along with many other W regions to send him assistance. Because of this challenge to his authority Nebuchadnezzar initiates a military campaign to enforce his rule, and this sets the scene for the story of Judith's heroic feat.

Although Antilebanon is not mentioned by name in the OT, presumably reference is made to this region or portions of it under other names such as Lebanon and Mt. Hermon.
L. J. PERKINS

**ANTI-MARCIONITE (GOSPEL) PROLOGUES.** Short prefixes to the gospels of Mark, Luke, and John (if one existed for Matthew, it has been lost) which at one time were widely believed to have an anti-Marcion bias. The anti-Marcionite Prologues were found together for the first time in the 8th century Latin ms T (Toletanus) and later in the mss FNS. They were designated "anti-Marcionite Prologues" by Donatien de Bruyne (1928), who argued that these prefixes formed a single literary unit, were anti-Marcion in sentiment, and were written in the last half of the 2d century (ca. 160–180). He also claimed that Irenaeus, ca. 180 C.E., was acquainted with them and that the *Monarchian Prologues,* ca. 4th century, depended on their Latin translations. It is generally agreed, as De Bruyne claimed, that all of these prologues were originally written in Greek even though the only surviving Greek ms is of the Lukan prologue (*Athens 91* or *=A*). The Mark and John prologues are only found in Latin.

Although many leading scholars after De Bruyne (e.g., Julicher, Lietzmann, and especially Harnack) agreed with his conclusions, more recently scholars have moved away from those views, contending that, with the exception of the prologue to John, the prologues are neither anti-Marcion in sentiment nor is there a common literary thread which links them together. Further, some scholars argue that they may have originated sometime after the mid-4th century and perhaps followed the *Monarchian Prologues,* though others continue to believe that the Markan and Lukan prologues stem from a time before Irenaeus. The evidence is inconclusive. What is more certain is that the Lukan prologue circulated at first independently of other prologues as is obvious from its inclusion of other writings (the Apocalypse and the gospel of John), its manifestly different style, and its considerably longer length than the prologues to Mark and John.

The prologue to John continues to be the most disputed of the prologues because of its claims that John the apostle dictated his gospel to Papias and that he (John) both opposed and condemned Marcion. Most scholars today agree that this prologue is both anachronistic and historically false. It appears that its author based some of his comments on a faulty reading of Tertullian's *Adv. Marc.* 4.5,3. The current lack of confidence in the prologue to John, however, does not carry over to those of Mark and Luke, whose importance for critical studies should be examined separately.

The prologues support the widespread traditions of the Church regarding the authorship of the canonical gospels and they also suggest the importance of these gospels in the life and worship of the Christian

churches at least by the end of the 4th century. Their value for canonical questions is, however, limited because of the difficulty of dating them with precision.

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LEE MARTIN MCDONALD

**ANTINOMIANISM.** The conviction that believers are freed from the demands of God's law by depending upon God's grace for their salvation (thus *anti* "against" + *nomos* "law"). Although the word "antinomian" is not found in Scripture, Scripture's own history tells of the struggle to maintain balance between law and grace—between an appreciation of God's merciful and unconditional response toward God's people on the one hand, and their obliged and obedient response to God's law on the other. Believers, who emphasize the unconditional promises that God makes when covenanting with His people, but then downplay what God expects of His people, tend toward an antinomistic faith; the opposite emphasis leads to legalistic faith.

The OT does not speak of an antinomistic threat to Israel's covenant with God. It does, however, speak of two different covenant traditions, sometimes placing them in tension (Hillers 1969; Brueggemann 1979): the Davidic tradition which emphasizes God's unconditional commitment to Israel, and the Mosaic which emphasizes Israel's obligations to its God. When Israel understood itself primarily in Davidic terms, as God's prophets were inclined to point out, it was inclined to depreciate God's Torah both as gospel and as demand.

Earliest Christianity's antinomistic struggles are clearly envisioned by the NT (Wall 1987). Paul battled legalistic religion by emphasizing the importance of what God does through Christ to fulfill the promise of salvation. According to Paul's "theologic," moral righteousness is the *anticipated* outcome of God's justification of those who depend upon Christ's death and resurrection rather than works in keeping with the Law (Torah). Such faith places the redeemed community "in Christ"—a place where God's spirit can now lead God's people to ethical fruit (Gal 5:16–25), and where the "righteousness of God" has now released them from the obligation to obey Torah as a condition of covenant blessings (Rom 7:1–8:17; cf. 2 Cor 5:21). This moral calculus, which clearly subordinates ethical concerns to theological convictions, led some of his converts to lawlessness (1 Corinthians) and his opponents to accuse him of a disregard for ethical conduct (Rom 3:1–8).

In response, Paul clarified that God's grace brings liberty from sin and not liberty to sin (Rom 6:1–11). However, the antinomian trajectory, first sounded within some gnostic communions of the 1st and 2d centuries (e.g., Valentinians) with continuing echoes in some charismatic communions today, finds most of its biblical warrants from Paul (and to a lesser extent from John, who always refers to *nomos* in a pejorative way). Thus, one must look to the non-Pauline corpus for Scripture's own built-in corrective. The writer of Hebrews reminds the reader that salvation itself is jeopardized if the demand of the gospel is forsaken (5:11–6:8). James speaks of the eschatological banishment (2:12–13) of the "worthless religion" (1:26) which confesses right faith but fails to obey God's law of mercy (2:14–26); eschatological Israel is justified by works, not by *sola fide* (2:24). 2 Peter condemns a Pauline group for promising moral freedom (2:19) when virtue is what saves (1:5–11). Finally, 1 John was no doubt written against gnosticizing Christian teachers who claimed to have a sinless nature (1:10) and so lived without sin (1:8). According to 1 John, to act upon their moral claims would yield a life of "lawlessness"—an indifference to Christ's death (2:1–2) and to sin, and thus to God's law of love (3:4–15).

While the synoptic evangelists depict Jesus as a Torah-observant Jew (Moo 1984), Luke's emphasis is on the risen Jesus, who viewed the Law primarily as God's *promise,* not His demand (Wilson 1983)—an antinomistic disposition. Matthew's emphasis, on the other hand, is on a scribal Jesus who viewed obedience to his rigorist interpretation of Torah as necessary for salvation (5:17–20). Further, the evangelist's use of the word group *anomia/anomos* polemicizes against antinomians in his own church (Barth 1963).

Thus, these self-correcting, canonical "conversations" call the Church from the margins of the gospel to its center, where both God's grace and God's demand are found.

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ROBERT W. WALL

**ANTIOCH** (PLACE) [Gk *Antiocheia* (Ἀντιοχεια)]. A number of cities built by various Seleucid kings bore the name "Antioch." The two that had the most important impact on the peoples of the Bible were the Antioch in Pisidia (south central Turkey) and the Antioch on the Orontes River in Turkey near the modern border with Syria.

### *ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA*

Pisidian Antioch was a city in south central Turkey founded in the 3d century B.C. by one of the Seleucid kings, probably Antiochus I or Antiochus II, and initially occupied by settlers from Magnesia on the Maeander in Ionia. The city has been identified with ruins just east of the modern town of Yalvaç (38°17′N; 31°11′E). Around the middle of the 2d century B.C. a fine Ionic temple was built at the extramural sanctuary of Mên Askaênos, an Anatolian deity and the most important god of the city (Mitchell and Waelkens fc., chaps. 2–3). Little else is known of Antioch's history in the Hellenistic period, but it became prominent in 25 B.C. when the Roman emperor Augustus annexed the central Anatolian province of Galatia, to which it belonged, and refounded the city as a Roman colony populated by veterans from the Roman legions V and VII (Levick 1967: 29–41). It swiftly became an important and successful commmunity. Between 15 B.C. and A.D. 35 three members of the imperial household—Drusus, brother of the future emperor Tiberius; C. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the father of the emperor Nero; and L. Cornelius Sulla Felix, son-in-law of Germanicus—as well as two Augustan generals, P. Sulpicius Quirinius and M. Servilius, held honorary magistracies in the colony. At the same time the city center was adorned with a magnificent series of buildings connected with the imperial cult: a Roman-style podium temple set in front of a semicircular portico at the head of a large colonnaded square, a colonnaded street named after the emperor Tiberius, a triple arched gateway, which was completed in A.D. 50, and a staircase linking the street with the imperial sanctuary (Robinson 1926; Mitchell and Waelkens fc., chap. 4). Also during this period members of Antioch's leading families began to hold important positions in the Roman military and administrative hierarchy, and the elite of the colony were among the first easterners to enter the Senate at Rome (Levick 1967: 103–20; Halfmann 1979). The colony continued to prosper through the 2d and 3d centuries and under Diocletian became the metropolis of the newly constituted province of Pisidia. An early 4th-century governor, Valerius Diogenes, was responsible for an important building program and was also active in the persecution of Christians (*MAMA* 1 no. 170; Calder 1920), but by the end of the century Antioch had an orthodox bishop in correspondence with St. Basil, and had witnessed the construction of several major churches (Mitchell and Waelkens fc., chap. 2 and appendix 1; Kitzinger 1974).

The time of Antioch's greatest prosperity came during the 1st century after its refoundation by Augustus, and it is against this background that the most famous episode in its Christian history, St. Paul's mission, should be viewed. Paul visited Antioch three times (Acts 13:13–52; 16:1–6; 18:23—on

the last two occasions Antioch is not named but a visit may be presumed). On his first missionary journey Antioch was his first stopping point in Asia Minor, and the first place where he proselytized among both gentiles and Jews (Acts 13:42–49). This visit, perhaps in A.D. 47, occurred precisely as the great building program for the city center was nearing completion. The choice of Antioch reveals much about the character and strategy of Paul's mission. He had come from Perga in Pamphylia, on Turkey's south coast, where he had not stopped to preach, and before that from Paphos on Cyprus, where he had won over, at least temporarily, his most distinguished convert, the governor Sergius Paulus (Acts 13:5–12). We now know that Sergius Paullus (as his name should be written) himself came from Pisidian Antioch: members of his family received honors there and intermarried with another prominent local family, the Caristanii. They also acquired large estates in central Anatolia (Halfmann 1979; Mitchell, *ANRW* 2/72: 1073–4; Mitchell 1981). It is overwhelmingly likely that Paul, who had almost certainly adopted the Latin name in place of the Hebrew Saul in recognition of the meeting with Sergius Paullus (Dessau 1910), was directed to Antioch by his recent convert. There were other reasons why Antioch should have been an attractive destination. The clear purpose of Paul's journeys was to visit major cities in the eastern parts of the Roman Empire: colonies such as Alexandria Troas, Philippi, and Corinth; or leading provincial cities like Thessalonica, Beroea, Athens, and Ephesus. The ultimate goal, demonstrated not only by events but by the early Epistle to the Romans, was Rome itself. Although in the event most of Paul's known converts came from lower-class backgrounds (Meeks 1982), he clearly had ambitions to win over the leaders of society in the cities. Pisidian Antioch was a natural target for his activities. It not only contained a large population of Roman citizens, but was even divided, following Roman practice, into wards (*vici*) which were named after prominent landmarks or institutions of the city of Rome itself (Levick 1967: 76–78). The splendid buildings associated with the imperial cult were on a scale that could hardly be paralleled in the Greek part of the empire and emphatically underlined these associations. Antioch would have appeared to Paul as a model of the capital itself.

Paul's first addresses in Antioch and nearby Iconium were in the synagogues, which may have had their origins in the Hellenistic period when the Seleucid Antiochus III is known to have settled Babylonian Jews in Phrygia (Josephus *Ant* 12 § 147). He reminded them of the tradition to which they belonged and identified Jesus as the savior descended from David whose coming had been prophesied to the Jews. The address contains one of Paul's most explicit descriptions of the crucifixion and resurrection as proof of the fulfillment of those prophecies. According to Acts, the mission attracted so much attention that on the Sabbath following the first address almost the whole city, Jew and gentile alike, turned out to hear Paul, causing the leaders of the Jewish community to turn against him. They looked for support from leading persons in the city and from highborn women who were "god-fearers" (*sebomenai*). This expression distinguishes the group from the *Ioudaioi,* Jews in the full sense, and it is illuminated by other passages in Acts which separate Jewish sympathizers from Jews, and by inscriptions from Asia Minor which make clear that these divisions were characteristic of most of the communities of the Diaspora (Millar and Vermes 1986: 150–77). Since the leading women of Antioch were certainly members of the Roman colonial families settled by Augustus, it is clear that, as in contemporary Rome, Judaism was winning converts among the aristocracy of the period.

Some twenty years after Paul's visit to Antioch, the Phrygian city of Acmonia, which also had a prominent Roman community, had a synagogue built with funds provided by a highborn woman of Galatian descent, Iulia Severa. She had close associations with the locally established Roman family of the Turronii, one of whom was the leading member of the synagogue, another a high priest of the Roman imperial cult (*MAMA* 6 nos. 264–65). This cultural milieu is strikingly similar to that implied by the account in Acts of Paul's experience in Antioch.

In the longer term the mission failed. Apart from the information that can be extracted from the apocryphal 2d-century *Acts of Paul and Thecla,* relating the martyrdom of one of Paul's notable converts, there is virtually no trace of Christianity in Pisidian Antioch before the peace of the Church in the 4th century A.D.

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## *ANTIOCH OF SYRIA*

Antioch of Syria was built on the Orontes River (36°14′N; 36°07′E; now in modern Turkey) about 300 B.C.E. by Seleucus I. It continued to grow in size and influence during the Hellenistic period. Legends and some archaeological remains suggest that pioneering Greeks had settled in the area before the city was founded. Its lush river valley and the plain to the north—which included a lake—normally provided ample supplies of grain, olives, grapes, and fish. From springs to the south in Daphne, the favored summer home of the wealthy, fresh water reached the city via two aqueducts. Antioch flourished, despite its vulnerable military position between the mountains north of it and the broad valley around it. Seleucia Pieria, its port, lay less than a day's walk from Antioch. The two cities were connected by the Orontes, which usually carried cargo from the port to the metropolis. A break in the Lebanese mountains fostered trade with the East. Chinese porcelain was discovered in the excavations and a silk industry still exists in the village of Samandağı, not far from the site of Seleucia. Antioch also became an important military center after it was incorporated into the Roman Empire in 64 B.C.E. and served as a staging area for wars between Rome and its eastern adversaries.

When Seleucia Ctesiphon was destroyed in 165 C.E., Syrian Antioch ranked as the third largest city of the Roman world next to Rome and Alexandria. Ancient and modern estimates of its size vary. Ancient sources range from 600,000 (Pliny *HN* 6.122 for Seleucia Ctesiphon's population) to 200,000 (Chrysostom *Pan. Ign.* 4). Modern historians suggest about 100,000 in the 1st century C.E., but if the metropolitan region as well as slaves are included, the number well may exceed this conservative estimate.

The site is still breathtaking. On a clear day one can see from Mt. Casius southwest of Antioch all the way to Cyprus. Temperatures are moderate and rainfall is usually sufficient. But frequent earthquakes and the shifting trade routes led to rapid decline after the Arab invasions. Modern Antakya is a bustling small city that occupies much of the ancient site. Ruins of the walls, the hippodrome, a large structure that might be the foundation of Diocletian's palace, masonry works to control flooding, and portions of the aqueducts can still be seen. The most important artifacts, however, are the magnificent mosaics found during the 1932–39 excavations (Princeton University and the Sorbonne). Most of them are displayed in the Antakya museum (others at Princeton and the Louvre). They form perhaps the best single collection in the world.

Seleucus I built Antioch on the SE side of the Orontes, setting up the streets in a normal grid pattern, except for the main one. This thoroughfare, complete with temples and shops, baths and beggars, ran NNE from the S gate to a central point within the city and then NE to the E gate. It was finished in the Roman period when Herod the Great paved it with marble, and Tiberius later built the colonnades. Thus, in the 1st century C.E. Antioch was a beautiful, important center of commerce, culture, and political power.

### A. Judaism

No specific piece of literature about Jews in Antioch was written in the city or addressed to the Jewish community there. But a number of sources important for the history of the city, including not only the Talmud and Josephus, but also the *Chronographia* of Malalas, contain information about Antiochene Jewry.

The earliest settlers of Seleucus' city—aside from the native Syrians and perhaps Greek pioneers—were his own soldiers, which included Cretans, Cypriots, and Jews. Josephus claims that the Jews were granted rites as a *politeuma,* a "political state," by Seleucus, but corroborating evidence for such early status is lacking (*AgAp* 2 §39, *Ant* 12 § 119, *JW* 7 § 43). The situation of the Jewish community in Antioch during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (175–163 B.C.E.) was apparently quite difficult. Epiphanes' successors returned brass votive offerings, previously sent by Antiochene Jews to Jerusalem and confiscated there, but large-scale repression of Jews at Antioch is unknown. 2 Macc 4:33–38 speaks of a former Jewish high priest, Onias II, who lived in greater Antioch, most likely at Daphne. He came to the metropolis after Jason had assumed the high priesthood. When Antiochus Epiphanes marched away from Antioch, he left a man named Andronicus in charge. Onias discovered that a certain Menelaus had stolen vessels of gold from the Jerusalem temple and sold them. Overwhelmed with anger, Onias made the deed public but, fearing for his life, he fled to a place of refuge in Daphne, possibly the temple of Apollo. Antiochus' deputy Andronicus agreed to give him protection but then killed him when he left the sanctuary. Andronicus' reason was simple: he had in his possession some of the golden pieces Menelaus stole.

Even though its size warranted respect, the Jewish community often did not fare well with the general populace of Antioch. A rebellion under Demetrius II (145–139 B.C.E.) was put down not only by the ruler's Cypriot mercenaries, but also by troops he requested from Jonathan of Israel. Thus Jewish soldiers were among those who ravaged the city and killed a number of its Jewish citizens. Alexander Jannaeus of Israel later refused to recruit Syrian troops for his army, perhaps because of their hatred for Jews (Josephus *Ant* 13 §137; 1 Macc 11:45–47).

After the coming of the Romans, Jews at Antioch showed their continued importance, a power that both exalted their position and made them objects of envy. Between 30 and 20 B.C.E. Herod the Great used his enormous wealth to demonstrate his allegiance to Rome by paving the main street of Antioch with marble (Josephus *JW* 1 §425; *Ant* 16 §148). In 9–6 B.C.E. a Jewish emir, a "military commander," from Babylon named Zamaris was allowed to take up residence in greater Antioch. Because he brought 100 relatives and 500 mounted bowmen, he was settled north of the walled city in the plain. That decision implies that some Jews were already living there, perhaps as farmers (Josephus *Ant* 17 §23–27).

When Caligula decided to have a statue of himself as Zeus made and set up within the Jerusalem temple, he ordered the governor of Syria, Petronius, to carry out his will. The statue was constructed at Sidon. Either there or at Ptolemais Jews offered their first protests. But a strange account of an Antiochene circus riot between Blues and Greens during the governorship of Petronius (39–41 C.E.), may be related to Caligula's plan. Petronius supported the Greens and so did the Jews. The Blues were angered by the games, became violent, eventually burned at least one synagogue, and killed a number of Jews. Perhaps the Jewish community wanted to influence Petronius quietly through the available city institutions by supporting his party. Whatever their intention, they became the target of the riot (Malalas 244.15–245.1).

In the sixties, Antiochus, the son of a Jewish leader, rushed into a crowded theater and shouted that the Jews were plotting to burn the city. He led the angered crowd in making various Jews sacrifice to pagan gods or die, and was given command of troops who forced his people to break the Sabbath by working as they did on other days. A few years later, when fire broke out in the business and administrative center of the city and Antiochus repeated his charges, only the intervention of C. Pompeius Collega, the governor of Syria, prevented a pogrom (Josephus *JW* 7 §46–62).

The Roman general and future emperor Titus received much political attention with his triumphal entry into Antioch after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. A mass of Antiochene citizens pleaded with him to destroy their Jewish community, but he refused to annihilate the Jews, to expel them, or to withdraw their rights as a *politeuma.* Yet to please the citizens he took some of the booty from Jerusalem, bronze cherubim from the temple, and placed them at the Daphne Gate. At a higher place on the gate itself he put up statuary that probably depicted Aeternitas and thus reminded everyone of Rome's victory in Jerusalem. Since most of Antioch's Jews lived in the southern quarter around the Daphne Gate, they were continually

humiliated by these strong symbols of their defeat (Josephus *JW* 7 §96–111; *Ant* 12 §121–124; Malalas 281.4–5).

Both the influence and the financial position of Jews within the city waned even into the early part of the second century. When Rabbis Akiba, Eliezar, and Jehoshua came to collect support for Jewish scholars, the assembled funds were meager, nothing like the gold sent to Jerusalem in the earlier periods (*j. Hor.* 3, 48a). But by the end of the century, there is some evidence that the Jewish community was recovering. The Jew Asabinos was an owner of important property and a member of the city Senate (Malalas 290.14–20).

**B. Christianity**

No biblical literature explicitly claims that it was composed in Antioch; neither is any Scripture specifically addressed to Christianity in the city. Many NT scholars suppose that Matthew was written in Antioch. Meier, following Streeter (1924), has argued that Matthew originated in the city but, like Streeter, he offers only conjectural argument (Brown and Meier 1983). The claims rest on Streeter's contention that no gospel could have gained wide acceptance had it not come from a major center. Matthew was used by Syrian writers such as Ignatius of Antioch, but no point in the text of the gospel demands that it was written in Antioch. Kingsbury (1977) claims on the basis of internal evidence that Matthew must have come from a wealthy urban church, and thus from Antioch, the great Syrian center. History does not require that wealth, culture, and influence exist only in great urban centers. But, given those strictures, Antioch is the best candidate for the place where Matthew was composed.

Shepherd (1956) argued that the letter of James was written in Syria, but he did not claim it came from Antioch. Following patristic citations, Fitzmyer supports Antioch as the city in which Luke wrote his gospel (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB). No clear detail in the gospel or Acts demands that they were composed in Antioch. Harnack (1908) proposed a written Antiochene source for the book of Acts. Jeremias (1966) and Bultmann (1967) basically agreed, but Dupont (1960) and Haenchen (1968) have disputed that suggestion.

The only firsthand report of events in Antiochene Christianity comes from Paul (Gal 2:11–14). The conflict between Peter and Paul focused on gentile and Jewish Christians eating together, perhaps celebrating agape feasts. They ignored either the strict laws about food or those concerning table fellowship, rules important to both conservative Judaism and conservative Jewish Christianity. According to Paul's account, Peter agreed to these meals and participated in them until men "sent by James" from Jerusalem challenged his position. Although Gal 2:11–14 provides the basis of this report, the entire letter forms Paul's defense of Christian freedom against the demands of Judaizers.

Peter's position deserves closer attention. Paul claims that "the rest of the Jews [i.e., Jewish Christians] and Barnabas" accepted Peter's decision. This acceptance evidently was based on the concern Jewish Christians had for their counterparts in Palestine. With Judaism still well established in that region, there would be difficulty recruiting new members were the initiates called upon to break the established customs. Peter's reversal may have been affected by his concern for evangelism in Palestine and unity in the whole Church.

If that description of the conflict between Peter and Paul is correct, then perhaps the following relationship between Galatians 1–2 and Acts 15 makes sense. The conference in Jerusalem debated the validity of gentile mission and probably occurred before Paul's confrontation with Peter. It decided that missions to Jews and to gentiles were appropriate. But the leaders did not foresee that areas of overwhelming gentile populations might lead to congregations including both Jewish and gentile Christians. In that atmosphere, all the food laws and the rules for table fellowship would come under pressure.

The relationship between Galatians and Acts 15 remains confused. The reported letter from the Jerusalem conference indicates that Jewish Christians compromised but did not sacrifice what was in their view necessary for Jewish mission and Christian unity. If Paul accepted such a decision, which is itself uncertain, he did not allow it to dictate his sense of growing gentile mission or his understanding of practice within Jewish-gentile congregations.

The background for this interpretation is provided by Acts 11:19–20. Haenchen (1968) and others find these comments to be editorial transitions of questionable historical value. But if a group of Jewish Christians fled the persecution in Jerusalem and preached in Antioch *only* to Jews, then an audience ready to hear Peter's position and that of James' representatives was in place. Paul was prepared to do almost anything consistent with the gospel to win followers to Christ (Philippians and Romans), but some Jewish Christians in Antioch originally were willing only to continue the tradition they knew. For them, Jesus was the Messiah of Jews. Yet others rejected such restrictions; they preached also to Greeks. The stage was set for conflicts not debated at the Jerusalem council.

Perhaps the early problems in Jerusalem concerning Jewish and Hellenistic widows had demanded discussions about the nature of the community in the midst of such cultural variations (Acts 6). Judaism had partially solved the problems by organizing itself into various synagogues; at least, we know that in Jerusalem there were synagogues of Cypriots and Hellenists. The earliest Christians, however, found such separations difficult. They apparently appointed functionaries to deal with the problems, one of whom, Nicolaus, had come from Antioch. But the details are slight, and the accounts questioned by many careful scholars.

Acts 11:26 indicates that the term "Christians" was first used in Antioch. No evidence suggests that it arose elsewhere. Tacitus, Suetonius, Pliny, and other non-Christians found some form of the word to be descriptive. Among the so-called Apostolic Fathers it occurs only in Ignatius' letters, and appears again in Theophilus' apology. The verb form in Acts 11:26 does not specify whether the Antiochene Christians gave themselves that name or it was given to them by outsiders. Malalas (252.8–13) reports that Evodius, the bishop who followed Peter, created the term, but his account primarily indicates that later Christians found it important to claim they chose the name for themselves. Bikerman (1949) has argued persuasively for the name being the Christians' choice, yet Downey (1961), who brilliantly connected the incident with the circus conflict during the reign of Caligula, saw the term as a Roman creation. If this word arose in a time when Jews were suffering a pogrom, the Christians' need to distinguish themselves from Jews and the authorities' need to identify them as non-Jews well may have coincided.

The reference to a large famine under Claudius (Acts 11:27–30) forms the context of yet another story about Antiochene Christianity. Some historians take the reference seriously as an attempt by Luke to tie his account to important events. Within the NT, the visit of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem with relief creates problems of chronology. Textual variants for Acts 12:25 demonstrate the difficulties early Christians had with this sequence. In various manuscripts Paul and Barnabas return "to Jerusalem," "from Jerusalem," or "to Antioch." Paul specifically claims in Gal 1:18 and 2:1 that he did not go to Jerusalem until 14 years after his conversion. That amount of time does not appear to elapse between Acts 11:29–30 and 14:25–15:35. Although it is plausible that Antiochene Christians aided Jerusalem Christians during a famine, the chronology is indecipherable.

In Acts 13:1 the mention of prophets and teachers as leaders suggests the earliest organizational pattern for the Christian community in Antioch. It is they who send Paul and Barnabas on a mission to the wider world. Those named are of interest. Symeon and Manaen bear Semitic names while Symeon's name *Niger* is ambiguous. Although it might refer to his skin coloring, in ancient literature it can also refer to temperament or some important event in the bearer's life.

Manaen, the *suntrophos* of Herod the Tetrarch, most probably was a man of position, who worked within the inner circle of Herod Antipas' court. The word *suntrophos* could mean only that he was the child of a wet nurse or a household servant, one who was a companion of the king during his youth. But it is unlikely that Luke would have emphasized that connection. Herod the Great had paved the central street of Antioch and doubtless had an embassy in the city to oversee the project. Perhaps his son also placed prominent people in the metropolis.

Lucius of Cyrene indicates another interesting relationship. The North African city of Cyrene had a large Jewish colony. Perhaps Lucius came directly from that city. He might have heard the gospel there or he might have become a Christian as a result of evangelization of a synagogue like that of the Cyrenes in Jerusalem or some other city. We cannot tell. At best we know that Lucius considered Cyrene to be his

home and that he was a Christian leader in Antioch. His Latin praenomen, Lucius, perhaps like that of Paul, suggests important Roman connections.

Acts does not speak of the confrontation between Paul and Peter at Antioch. But if Barnabas remained convinced of Peter's position as Paul describes it in Gal 2:13, his disagreement with Paul about John Mark in Acts 15:36–41 may have involved another issue. Barnabas and John Mark might represent a team that intended to preach more to Jews than to gentiles, or at least a twosome that was willing to leave the decisions of the Jerusalem council intact, and thus avoid the problems Antiochene Christianity presented for Jerusalem Christians.

Such an explanation strengthens the interpretation that Antioch developed into a center of Jewish Christianity led by people who did not agree with Paul's position. Some have found Acts 18:22–23 to imply that Paul returned, argued his case once more, and was again rejected. Yet that well may be a misinterpretation. According to Acts 15:40, when Paul and Silas left Antioch on the so-called second missionary journey, the church at Antioch supported their mission.

In Gal 2:13 Paul did not say that gentile Christians in Antioch had disagreed with his views. Furthermore Paul praises Barnabas in 1 Cor 9:6. The event described in that passage occurred after the disagreement in Antioch. Perhaps Paul and Barnabas were eventually reconciled. At least no one should claim that Pauline Christianity definitely lost its place in Antioch during the apostle's lifetime.

Ignatius, who flourished in Trajan's reign, turned certain Pauline positions upside down; others he kept fundamentally intact. He argued for monepiscopacy and his own personal authority, but fought both docetic and Judaizing treatments of christology. During the last half of the 2d century, various gnostics taught in the metropolis. Menander, Saturninus, Cerdon, Tatian, and Axionicus have all been associated with Antioch (Just. *Apol.* 1.26; Iren. *Haer.* 1.22; Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.10–5.2; Epiph. *Anac.* 46.1; Tert. *Adv. Valent.* 4.3).

The Jewish Christian character of Antiochene Christianity is apparent. About 180 C.E. Theophilus, the bishop of Antioch, wrote a Christian apology so marked by Hellenistic Jewish arguments that it might almost pass for Jewish literature. And Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.22, 36) employed lists of bishops for the metropolis that begin with Peter and fail to mention Paul. Even the later history of Antiochene Christianity often indicates the strength of gentile appeal, rooted in an appreciation for and appropriation of Jewish tradition and hermeneutic.

The metropolis served as a crucible in which more than one understanding of Christianity took shape. There Christianity became a world religion. It supported a mission to gentiles, insisted upon close connections to Judaism, and formed a Jewish-gentile Christian community.

**C. Other Religions**

In the process of founding Antioch, Seleucus I apparently offered sacrifices to Zeus Kasios in Seleucia Pieria, to Zeus Keraunios in Iopolis, and to Zeus Battiaios on the site (Malalas 198.23–201.3). The importance of Zeus is indicated by the various names under which he was represented in the city: Epikarpios, Nemean, Nikephoros, Philios, Soter, as well as the Olympian Zeus (Lib. *Ep.* 11.51; Just. *Epit.* 39.2.5–6; Julian *Mis.* 346B–D; Malalas 275.10; 283.4–9 [Jeffreys et al. 1986]). Only the Tyche of Antioch has a similar significance in the fragmentary remains from the metropolis. Her statue was created early and dominated Antiochene life (Malalas 201.1–2; 276.6–9). Statuettes and coins depict her presence. Apollo was worshipped at Daphne in a marvelous temple that burned in the 4th century C.E. (Lib. *Ep.* 11.94–99; Sozom. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.19). A beautiful statue of Artemis graced the city from Hellenistic times (Lib. *Ep.* 11.59–65).

The metropolis had an Isis cult; lamps, statuary, inscriptions, and mosaics, as well as the ruins of a temple, evidence its presence. The Romans built temples to their pantheon and set up statues to honor their former rulers. By the time of Augustus, deified emperors were well represented in the city. In 7/6 B.C. he appears on coins issued in Antioch as the high priest of his own cult. About 117 C.E., Hadrian built a small but lovely shrine to the deified Trajan and constructed a temple to the nymphs that included a statue of himself represented as Zeus (*Suda* s.v. Iobianos).

Julian (*Mis.* 346B–D), Libanius (*Ep.* 11.16–27), Livy (41.20.9), and Malalas (29.15–16; 30.2–3; 235.6–7; 246.10–19; 263.11–17; 283.4–9; 302.6–9; 307.5–20) also speak of temples or shrines built to honor Aphrodite, Ares, Asclepius, Athena, Calliope, Demeter, Dionysus, Hecate, Herakles, Hermes, Io, Jupiter Capitolinus, Kronos, Minos, the Muses, and Nemesis as well as statuary honoring many other gods. Most of these worship centers were active during the Roman period.

The famous Antiochene Olympic games always involved Greek and Roman gods. A Syrian Maiuma festival was incorporated into the celebrations for Dionysus and Aphrodite (Malalas 284.21–285.11). Mosaics and the visit of Apollonius of Tyana indicate the influence of magic within the city in the 1st century C.E. (Philostr. *VA* 6.38). Euphrates of Tyre, a popular Stoic preacher, may also have been in the metropolis during that period (Pliny *Ep.* 1.10).

Many of these religions had declined by the 4th century C.E., as Libanius and Julian indicate, but they continued to be influential. In the 6th century two Antiochenes were prosecuted in Constantinople for pagan practices (Michael the Syrian 2:271). Thus Syrian Antioch was a center of many Greco-Roman religions well beyond the period of interest to biblical students.

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**ANTIOCHIANS** [Gk *Antiocheis* (Ἀντιοχεις)]. Hellenized Jews living in Jerusalem enrolled as privileged citizens of Antioch (2 Macc 4:9, 19; see 1 Macc 1:13–14). "Antiochians" is the rendering of 2 Macc 4:9, 19 in the NAB. The term is variously rendered in other versions: "citizens of Antioch" or "Antiochian citizens" (RSV, GNB), "Antiochenes" (NEB), and "Antiochists" (JB, NJB). When Jason bought the high priesthood from Antiochus IV, his deal included the Hellenization of Jewish citizens through institution of the gymnasium, citizenship training, and enrollment as Antiochian citizens.

These Hellenized Jews did not form a united party in Jerusalem. In 175 some supported Jason, an Oniad, while by 172 another group supported Menelaus, a Tobiad whom Antiochus appointed high priest in Jason's place for a bribe (2 Macc 4:23–50). In 169, Jason and his supporters tried to retake Jerusalem upon hearing the false rumor that Antiochus IV had died in Egypt. Jason took the city, forcing the supporters of Menelaus to flee to the citadel for their lives. However, Antiochus' return forced Jason to flee. This power play among the Antiochian Jews incited Antiochus' violence against Jerusalem and his despoiling of the temple treasury, with Menelaus' help (2 Macc 5:1–16). In 167, Antiochus built a fortress and a mercenary garrison in Jerusalem to protect the Antiochians (2 Macc 5:22–26; 1 Macc 1:29–33). The Antiochian citizens became irrelevant after the success of the Maccabean revolt.

Three theories try to explain the nature of the Antiochian citizenship. First, Antiochus gave privileges to cities of his empire by making them into "Antiochs" and their citizens into "Antiochians" (Bevan 1966; Tcherikover 1959). Second, the Antiochians were a group of Hellenized citizens who gathered around the gymnasium as a surrogate for a true polis until a polis could be established (Bickermann 1979). Third, Antiochus, formerly a hostage in Rome, tried to imitate Roman extension of citizenship to people in cities of his empire in order to insure their loyalty (Goldstein *Maccabees* AB).

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**ANTIOCHIS** (PERSON) [Gk *Antiochis* (Ἀντιοχις)]. Concubine of Antiochus Epiphanes IV (2 Macc 4:30). Antiochus IV's official queen was Laodice, who may have been his sister. According to oriental custom, Antiochus IV assigned the maintenance of Tarsus and Mallus, two Cicilian towns, to Antiochis' care. The Seleucid kings ruled by right of conquest and had sovereign authority over their conquered domain to dispose of their lands as they wished. The revenues of the two cities were assigned to Antiochis for her maintenance, and she was probably given authority to intervene in official affairs of state, perhaps affronting the Cicilians' pride. The citizens of the two cities revolted in A.D. 170, demanding the immediate attention of Antiochus IV.

The coins of Tarsus indicate that Antiochus conferred the privileges of an Antiochene city upon Tarsus. An inscription from A.D. 166 indicates that Tarsus continued to enjoy the privileges of Antiochene citizenship after the revolt against Antiochis. Nothing is known of Antiochis or this rebellion apart from the reference in 2 Maccabees.

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**ANTIOCHUS** (PERSON). A Macedonian name (*"opposer"*) borne by the father of Seleucus I, founder of the Seleucid dynasty of Syria, hence favored by the following kings of the dynasty.

**1. Antiochus I Soter** (*"savior"*) (281–261 B.C.). Born 324 B.C., the son of Seleucus I and the Bactrian princess Apama, he was coregent before becoming king after his father was assassinated in 281 B.C. Having consolidated control over Syria, Antiochus renounced the Macedonian ambitions of Seleucus (a treaty made with Antigonus Gonatas, 278 B.C.) and concentrated upon expanding Seleucid power into Asia Minor. This brought him into conflict in 280/279 B.C. with Ptolemy II of Egypt, and later with the Gauls (Galatians), who had crossed the Hellespont in 278/277 B.C. after devastating Greece and Macedonia. The exact outcome of the First Syrian War (274–271 B.C.) with Ptolemy II is unclear, except that Coele-Syria continued under Egyptian control. It was Antiochus' victory over the Gauls in the so-called elephant battle of 275 (or 270) B.C. which gained him his title Soter, but he was defeated at Sardis in 262 B.C. by the Galatian mercenaries of Eumenes of Pergamum (paid for by Ptolemy). Like his father, Antiochus keenly promoted Hellenism through colonization, founding many cities particularly in Iran, and it was he who established the Seleucid ruler cult.

**2. Antiochus II Theos** (*"god"*) (261–246 B.C.). Coregent (from 268 B.C.) before succeeding his father, Antiochus I. His control of Asia Minor was soon challenged by Ptolemy II (Second Syrian War, 260–253[?] B.C.). Antiochus seems to have emerged the overall victor, but by offering a huge dowry Ptolemy prevailed upon him to make a dynastic marriage with his daughter Berenice. His repudiated wife, Laodice (Antiochus' half-sister), set up a rival court at Ephesus, which Antiochus had recently liberated (259/258 B.C.) from the tyrant Timarchus (it was this action which gained Antiochus his title Theos). Strife between the two queens was to culminate after Antiochus' death (246 B.C.) in the murder of Berenice and her son by Antiochus, and the Third Syrian (or Laodicean) War (246–241 B.C.) between Ptolemy III, Berenice's brother, and Seleucus II, Antiochus' son by Laodice. The events of his reign are alluded to in Dan 11:6–9.

**3. Antiochus III the Great** (223–187 B.C.). Born 241 B.C., the younger son of Seleucus II Callinicus, he succeeded his brother Seleucus III Soter in 223 B.C. In the Fourth Syrian War against Egypt (221–217 B.C., but interrupted in 220 B.C. by the revolt of Molon in Media) he reached Ptolemais in Phoenicia in

winter 218/217 B.C. before being defeated by Ptolemy IV Philopator at Raphia in Gaza on 22 June 217 B.C. (Polybius 5.51–87). Ptolemy thus regained control of Coele-Syria and Antiochus turned his attention eastward against Parthia, Armenia, and Bactria; it was his conquests there (212–205 B.C.) which gained him the title of the Great. On the accession of the young Ptolemy V Epiphanes (204 B.C.), he formed a secret alliance with Philip of Macedon to conquer and partition Egypt (Livy 31.14), and the Fifth Syrian War (202–200[?] B.C.) saw him extend Seleucid domination to the Sinai. An invasion of his kingdom from Pergamum, engineered by the Romans, who were becoming alarmed by Antiochus' energy and ambition, allowed the Egyptian general Scopas to recover the lost ground temporarily but Antiochus finally defeated the Egyptians at the Battle of Panium (200 B.C.). He thus gained control of all of Palestine. Military governors and a system of tax farming were introduced throughout Judea but the high temple of Jerusalem was guaranteed inviolate and granted subsidies (Josephus, *Ant* 12.3.3–4 §§129–53). Under the peace settlement of 195 B.C., Antiochus gave Ptolemy his daughter Cleopatra I with the revenues of Coele-Syria and Palestine as dowry but kept control of those areas himself. He now turned toward Asia Minor, settling 2000 Jewish families from Mesopotamia in Lydia and Phrygia as part of his pacification effort. His invasion of Thrace (194 B.C.) finally wore out Roman patience and a lengthy war ensued, which ended in his defeat at Magnesia in 190 B.C. The treaty of Apamea (188 B.C.) compelled him to send twenty hostages, including his son Antiochus IV, to Rome and to yield any claim to Asia Minor W of the Taurus. Warlike to the last, Antiochus was killed in 187 B.C., plundering the temple of Baal in Susa. The major events of his reign are alluded to in Dan 11:10–19.

**4. Antiochus IV Epiphanes** (*"manifest" [as a god]*) (175–164 B.C.). Younger son of Antiochus III, he returned from Rome when his brother Seleucus IV Philopator sent his own son Demetrius as hostage in his stead, and usurped the throne after Seleucus was assassinated. His unpredictable character—at one time generous to a fault, at another fiercely tyrannical—is described by Polybius, who gave him the nickname Epimanes (*"utterly mad"*) (26.1a.1), and by Diodorus (29.32) and Livy (41.20). It was his instability, verging upon insanity, which was to lead to the excessively harsh treatment meted out to the Jews by this otherwise energetic and capable ruler.

Antiochus' ambition was to use the common culture of Hellenism to unify the diversity of the Seleucid empire. Accordingly, he was easily won over by promise of payment from Jason, leader of the pro-Greek faction in Jerusalem, to make him high priest in place of his brother Onias III, and willingly allowed him to Hellenize the city by establishing a gymnasium and an ephebic class and by inscribing its citizens as Antiochenes (i.e., Jason may have wished to reorganize Jerusalem as a Greek polis called Antioch, although the exact interpretation is disputed).

This state of affairs, described in 2 Macc 4:7–22, lasted from ca. 174 B.C. to ca. 171 B.C. until Menelaus, another pro-Hellenist whose conduct was to be even more offensive to the orthodox, supplanted Jason by offering Antiochus even more for the high priesthood. Jason, however, reasserted his claim, apparently believing Antiochus had died while on his second campaign against Egypt (170/169 B.C.). He seized Jerusalem and besieged Menelaus in the citadel (2 Macc 5:5). Antiochus construed this as rebellion and, returning with his army to Syria in late 169 B.C., he savagely attacked the city, butchering its inhabitants and looting the high temple (2 Macc 5:11–23; Josephus, *Ant* 12.5.3 §§246–47).

Worse followed. Invading Egypt again the next year, Antiochus was met outside Alexandria by a Roman delegation led by C. Popilius Laenas and given an ultimatum to desist at once from all hostilities against Egypt or her territories. With his stick Popilius drew a circle in the sand around Antiochus, who had asked for time for consultation, and insisted that he decide before stepping out of it (Polybius 29.27; a famous incident retold by many other sources). Antiochus had no choice but to withdraw his forces. According to Dan 11:30, it was outrage at this affront that decided Antiochus to enforce his Hellenization policy upon the Jews, even to the extent of completely exterminating them and their religion.

In 167 B.C., Apollonius, his chief tax collector, was dispatched with 22,000 men and attacked Jerusalem on the Sabbath. Most of the male population was killed and the women and children enslaved; those few who could left the city. The city walls were demolished and the old city of David refortified (the Akra) and furnished with a military garrison (1 Macc 1:29–36; 2 Macc 5:24–26). There followed the prohibition

of all Jewish rites and the rededication of the high temple to Olympian Zeus. A monthly check was made, and anyone found with a copy of the Book of the Law or a child who had been circumcised was put to death (1 Macc 1:54–64; *Ant* 12.5.4–5 §§248–64). In December 167 B.C. (on 25 Kislev) the first pagan sacrifice was performed on the altar to Zeus which had been erected over the altar of burnt offering in the temple: this is *"the abomination of desolation"* alluded to in Dan 11:31 and 12:11 (cf. 1 Macc 1:54; Mark 13:14 in a Gk version).

Antiochus' decree, promoted vigorously throughout all his domains (2 Macc 6:8–9), was met at first only with passive resistance from the Jews, although of the most heroic kind (2 Macc 6:10–7:42; further elborated in *4 Maccabees*). Open defiance, however, soon followed, first at Modein, a village NW of Jerusalem, where the priest Mattathias refused to obey the local Syrian commissioner and sacrifice to the heathen gods. He killed the commissioner, overturned the altar, and fled with his sons to the hills (1 Macc 2:1–28; *Ant* 12.6.1–2 §§265–72). They were joined by others but many were massacred in a Syrian attack when they refused to defend themselves on a Sabbath (1 Macc 2:32–38; *Ant* 12.6.2 §§272–78). Mattathias persuaded the survivors that the right of self-defense had to take precedence and he was now joined by many of the Hasidim. His guerrilla bands traveled Judea, defying the prohibitions and harassing the Syrians (1 Macc 2:42–48).

When Mattathias died (166/165 B.C.), the leadership was taken over by one of his five sons, Judas Maccabeus, advised by his brother Simon. As the Jewish forces grew more confident, Judas continued his father's successes. These culminated in the rout of one Syrian force under Apollonius, whom Judas himself killed, and then another larger army under Seron, the local commander-in-chief (1 Macc 3:10–24; *Ant* 12.7.1 §§287–92).

News of the widespread revolt in Judea reached Antiochus when he was about to embark on a campaign in the E (165 B.C.). Lysias, left as vice-regent and guardian of Antiochus V, was ordered to depopulate the country. His generals Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias arrived in Judea with a large force, so confident that they had with them slave traders ready to purchase the Jewish prisoners (1 Macc 3:38–41; 2 Macc 8:8–11; *Ant* 12.7.3 §§298–99). That confidence, though, was misplaced. The Jewish forces under Judas, now organized into a regular army, evaded a large search party under Gorgias and fell upon the main force in camp at Emmaus, completely routing it. Finding their camp ablaze when they returned and the Jews ready to offer battle, Gorgias and his troops fled the country (1 Macc 4:1–25; 2 Macc 8:12–36; *Ant* 12.7.4 §§305–12).

The campaign was resumed (probably in fall or winter 165/164 B.C.) by Lysias himself with a larger army (1 Macc 4:28–35; *Ant* 12.7.5 §§313–15; although the historicity of this campaign is disputed). Judas met him near Beth-zur and once again won the day. The subsequent peace negotiations, which resulted in an amnesty for the Jews and an end to their active persecution, are probably reflected in the letters quoted in 2 Macc 11:16–21, 27–33, and 34–38.

Judas was now established in control of all Judea, except for the Akra (occupied by Syrian troops until their final expulsion by Simon in 142/141 B.C.), and could attend to purifying and restoring the temple. The new altar of burnt offering was dedicated in December 164, three years to the day (25 Kislev) after it had first been profaned (1 Macc 4:52–59; *Megillath Taanith* [ed. Lichtenstein] §23).

Antiochus meanwhile, after quelling the revolt of Artaxias of Armenia (165 B.C.), had invaded Elymais (Elam), where he was foiled in an attempt to sack the temple of Artemis (Aphrodite in some accounts). He withdrew to Tabae in Persia and died there in late 164 B.C. of consumption (according to Appian, *Syr.* 66), although several lurid accounts of his death through divine retribution are given by 1 Macc 6:1–17 (cf. *Ant* 12.9.1 §§354–59) and 2 Macc 1:13–17 and 9:1–29.

**5. Antiochus V Eupator** (*"born of a noble father"*) (164–162 B.C.), second son of Antiochus IV. Left under the guardianship of Epiphanes' foster brother Philip, he was only nine years old when he became king in 164 B.C. and was seized by the army commander Lysias, who made himself guardian and regent. After the Maccabean recovery of the high temple (December 164 B.C.; the letter in 2 Macc 11:22–26, purporting to be from Antiochus to Lysias, which guarantees Jewish religious rights, may come here rather than be part of the settlement of 162 B.C.), Judas laid siege to the Syrian garrison in the citadel

(163/162 B.C.). Antiochus and Lysias responded by invading Judea and besieging Beth-zur (1 Macc 6:18–31). After defeating Judas' army at Beth-zachariah (1 Macc 6:32–46; misrepresented as a Jewish victory by 2 Macc 13:15–17), they took Beth-zur and put Mt. Zion under siege. But news that Philip was advancing on Antioch compelled them to lift the siege and grant lenient terms. The Jewish fortifications were destroyed and the Jews again made subject to Syria but they had kept their religious freedom intact. Antiochus and Lysias soon defeated Philip but shortly afterward they were betrayed to a new pretender, Demetrius I Soter (162–150 B.C.) and were murdered (1 Macc 7:1–4; 2 Macc 14:1–2; *Ant* 12.10.1 §§389–90).

**6. Antiochus VI Epiphanes Dionysus** (*"the manifest Dionysus"*) (145–142 B.C.), son of Alexander Balas and Cleopatra Thea. He was still a child when Alexander's general Diodotus Tryphon promoted him as a claimant to the Seleucid throne, then occupied by Demetrius II Nicator (145–140/139 B.C.). Jonathan, who had initially helped Demetrius quell a revolt in Antioch by sending 3000 armed men (1 Macc 11:38–53), took their side when Demetrius broke his promise to withdraw from the fortresses of Judea. After Antiochus was set up as king, Jonathan and Simon were made his generals (1 Macc 11:54–59) but their subsequent successes alarmed Tryphon. He captured Jonathan by trickery and eventually killed him in 143/142 B.C. (1 Macc 12:39–53; 13:23–4) before having Antiochus murdered (by corrupt surgeons, according to some sources) and assuming the throne himself (1 Macc 13:31–32; *Ant* 13.7.1 §§218–20).

**7. Antiochus VII Sidetes** (*"man of Side"*) (138–129 B.C.), so called because his youth was spent at Side in Pamphylia. Younger brother of Demetrius II Nicator, he successfully contested the throne after the latter's capture by the Parthians, defeating the usurper Tryphon (*Ant* 13.7.1–2 §§221–24; Strabo 14.5.2 §668). To ensure Jewish support, he granted Simon the right to mint coinage as well as confirming all earlier privileges (1 Macc 15:1–9), but after his success he reneged and demanded the surrender of Joppa, Gazara, and the citadel of Jerusalem and the arrears of their tribute (1 Macc 15:26–36). Refusal led to war and the rout of his general Cendebeus by Simon's sons (1 Macc 15:38–41; 16:1–10; *Ant* 13.7.3 §§225–27). Later Antiochus himself invaded Judea and besieged John Hyrcanus in Jerusalem (135/134 B.C.). After a lengthy siege the city was surrendered on terms and its walls demolished (*Ant* 13.8.2–3 §§236–48; the exact dates of the siege remain uncertain). Antiochus was killed in 129 B.C. while campaigning against the Parthians, leaving the way clear for Hyrcanus to continue the expansionist policies of Jonathan and Simon.

**8. Antiochus VIII Grypus** (*"hook-nosed"*) (125–96 B.C.). Born 141 B.C., the second son of Demetrius II Nicator and Cleopatra Thea. He reigned jointly with her from 125 to 121 B.C. In 114/113 B.C. he was deposed by his half-brother Antiochus IX Cyzicenus but returned in 111 B.C. and regained most of Syria, Cyzicenus retaining only Coele-Syria (Porphyry, Eusebius *Chron.* I. col. 260). The continuing conflict between them meant that Judea under John Hyrcanus was once more completely independent of Syria (*Ant* 13.10.1 §§273–74).

**9. Antiochus X Eusebes** (*"pious"*) (95–83 B.C.). Son of Antiochus IX Cyzicenus, he spent most of his reign in dynastic struggles with the five sons of Antiochus Grypus (Seleucus VI, deposed in 95 B.C.; Antiochus XI Philadelphus, defeated and killed after a brief time in power [94 B.C.]; Philip I Philadelphus [94–83 B.C.]; Demetrius III Philopator [95–88, B.C.]; and Antiochus XII Dionysus [87–84 B.C.], killed in battle against the Nabateans). These years, described in detail by Josephus (*Ant* 13.13.4 §§365–71; 14.3–15.1 §§384–91), represent the death throes of the Seleucid dynasty. In 83 B.C., Tigranes, king of Armenia, seized Syria and ruled it for fourteen years via a viceroy until his own defeat by the Romans (69 B.C.).

**10. Antiochus XIII Asiaticus** (69–64 B.C.), son of Antiochus X Eusebes. Set up as a client king by Lucullus after the defeat of Tigranes, Antiochus was challenged and deposed by Philip II, grandson of Antiochus Grypus, in 65/64 B.C. The Seleucids' rule over Syria was finally ended by Pompey in 64 B.C. and Syria was made a Roman province (63 B.C.).

**11.** Unrelated to the Seleucid dynasty is Antiochus, father of the Numenius who was one of the envoys sent by Jonathan Maccabeus in 144/143 B.C. to negotiate friendly relations with Sparta and to renew the treaty made by Judas Maccabeus with the Romans (1 Macc 12:16; 14:22; *Ant* 13.5.8 §§163–70).

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**ANTIPAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Antipas* (Ἀντιπας)]. An abbreviated form of the name *Antipatros* (Antipater).

**1.** A martyr of the Church in Pergamum, described as Christ's faithful witness (Rev 2:13); the same description is given to Christ himself (Rev 1:5). Legend among later hagiographers (e.g., Simon Metaphrastes and the Bollandists) has it that Antipas was slowly roasted to death in a brass bull during the reign of Domitian (Mounce, *Revelation* NICNT, 97).

**2.** Father of Antipater (see no. 3, below). According to Josephus, King Alexander and his wife made Antipas "general of all Idumea" (*Ant* 14.1.3).

**3.** Father of Herod the Great, also known as Antipater. Josephus described him as an Idumean who was procurator of Judea (*Ant* 14.1.3). See HEROD THE GREAT.

**4.** Son of Herod the Great and Malthrace who was appointed tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea (Hoehner 1980; *HJP²* 1: 340–53). In the NT he is always referred to as Herod and is mentioned in the gospels as the king who had John the Baptist arrested and executed (Matt 14:3–12 = Mark 6:17–29; *Ant* 18.5.2) and subsequently interrogated Jesus during his trial in Jerusalem (Luke 23:6–12). See also HEROD ANTIPAS; HERODIAS.

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**ANTIPATER** (PERSON) [Gk *Antipatros* (Ἀντιπατρος)]. Son of Jason (1 Macc 12:16; 14:22). He is mentioned twice as an envoy sent by Jonathan with Numenius, son of Antiochus, to Rome and Sparta. Their purpose was to seek the renewal of friendship and alliance with Rome and Sparta (1 Macc 12:1–23). The successful completion of their mission to Sparta is recorded in a letter from Sparta (1 Macc 14:20–23) which mentions the honorable reception of the envoys. If, as scholars suggest, 1 Macc 15:15–24 is dislocated in the present text and should be relocated after 14:24, then the Roman response would be seen in the letter from the consul Lucius. In this case Antipater would still be in the company of Numenius (1 Macc 15:15), who would have been directed back to Rome after Jonathan's death on behalf of Simon (Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 492–500). Antipater was chosen as envoy because of his father Jason, son of Eleazar, who undertook a similar mission under Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc 8:17–32).
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**ANTIPATRIS** (PLACE) [Gk *antipatris* (ἀντιπατρις)]. The city to which Paul was taken on his way from Jerusalem to Caesarea (Acts 23:31). Also, at Matt 13:54 Codex Sinaiticus originally had Jesus "coming to Antipatris," but the *anti-* was subsequently crossed out so that it read (correctly) "home country" (Gk *patris*). Antipatris has been identified with Tell Ras el-ʿAin (M.R. 143168) on the source of the Yarkon River 26 miles S of Caesarea. One of the five biblical towns named "Aphek/Aphekah" occupied this site in pre-Hellenistic times. See APHEK, no. 4. Extensive archaeological excavations (see bibliography) and the abundance of written documents mentioning this city make it possible to reconstruct the long history of the site.

**A. Bronze Age**

The earliest occupation at Ras el-ʿAin dates to the Chalcolithic period (4th millennium B.C.), but the first walled city was erected there only in the EB Age (ca. 3200 B.C.). The site was therefore one of the earliest walled cities in Palestine, comprising more than 30 acres at the time. Fine earthenware bowls

produced in this EB city were appreciated by many of the inhabitants of the cities in the central hill country and Negeb. This town was probably the central city of the Sharon plain during most of the 3d millennium B.C.

After the collapse of the EB civilization the site was deserted for a time (2300–2000 B.C.), but a new town was built there at the advent of the MB Age (2000–1550 B.C.). The archaeological finds and the historical sources demonstrate that during the MB Age this city—Aphek—was once again the most prominent city of the Sharon plain. In the Egyptian Execration Texts of the 19th–18th centuries B.C. it was listed as the town of "Apiqum," ruled by "Yanakilu," a prince with an Amorite name. Its importance at that time is probably reflected in the appelation "Aphek of the Sharon" in the LXX (Josh 12:18). Six archaeological stages have been distinguished at MB Aphek: (1) resettlement of the site; (2) building of the city walls and of Palace I; (3) building of Palace II and restoration of the city walls; (4) Palace II abandoned; (5) building of Palace III; and (6) restoration of Palace III. There was violent destruction of the site by the mid-16th century B.C.

Under the Egyptian empire (LB Age), the city of Aphek was reduced to a strategic stronghold on the Via Maris. It appears among the cities on the coastal road in Thutmose III's topographical lists and as a town in the S Sharon in the annals of Amenhotep II (*ANET,* 246). Palaces IV and V (of the 15th–14th centuries B.C.) were built on the acropolis on a smaller scale but with the same orientation as the MB palaces. Palace VI of the 13th century, however, was just a small fortified residency built for the Egyptian governor who now ruled Aphek in place of a local prince. This reverse in government probably occurred when Rameses II took measures to strengthen his military bases in Canaan before marching into battle against the Hittite forces in Syria. Two similar lime-coated winepresses were found near this Palace VI residency, containing Canaanite wine jars of the same type as those from the residency's storerooms. Egyptian pottery bowls and other Egyptian artifacts were found in the debris, fallen from the residency's upper story.

The Palace VI residency appears to have been attacked, conquered, and put to fire during the last third of the 13th century. Egyptian artifacts and various inscriptions were found in the debris of its upper floor; however, two cuneiform tablets warrant special mention. One is a trilingual lexicon (the first and only of its kind) that has, in addition to Akkadian and Sumerian, Canaanite written in its third column. The other is a letter sent from the governor of Ugarit to the Egyptian high commissioner of Canaan. Written in Akkadian, it deals with the transactions of wheat between Canaan and Ugarit, taking place in the harbor cities of Jaffa and Acco. The letter has been dated to ca. 1230 B.C. on prosopographic grounds (see Owen et al. 1987), and this must have also been the date of the final destruction of Canaanite Aphek. In the OT, Aphek is mentioned for the first time in the roster of Canaanite cities conquered by Joshua (Josh 12:18).

**B. Iron Age**

Aphek was resettled during the 12th century B.C. by a people of unknown origin. The architecture of their houses is paralleled only at Tell Abu Huwam in Haifa Bay. Fishing was essential in their subsistence economy. Typical Philistine artifacts, including several female deity figurines ("Ashdodah"), attest to the presence of the Philistines at Aphek during the 11th century B.C. A clay tablet from this level, bearing an undeciphered inscription, may be a clue to the yet unknown Philistine script. This Aphek is mentioned several times in the Bible as a Philistine base. It was there that the Philistines had gathered their armies before the Battle of Ebenezer (1 Sam 4:1) and from there David was sent back to Ziklag when the Philistines summoned their armies before the Battle of Gilboa (1 Samuel 29). ›Izbet Sartah, an early Israelite settlement located 2 miles E of Aphek, has been suggested as the possible site of Ebenezer.

Israelite Aphek was rebuilt during the period of the united monarchy, but was devastated by an enemy around 900 B.C. and never totally recovered. Because of its strategic location the site was mentioned in several documents of the time. The OT states that Hazael took from the hands of Jehoahaz king of Israel the seacoast as far as Aphek (2 Kgs 13:22b). Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, mentioned "Apiqu, which is on the border of Samaria," as a station on his march toward Egypt. In an Aramaic letter of about 600 B.C., written to the pharaoh probably by the king of Ekron, Aphek is mentioned as the place at which the marauding Babylonians were last intercepted.

**C. Hellenistic and Roman**

The town prospered again in the Hellenistic period under the name of Pegai, and it was renamed "Antipatris" by Herod the Great, in honor of his father Antipater (*Ant* 16.5.2; *JW* 1.21.9). Its importance during the Roman period was mainly as a crossroad town, halfway between Jerusalem and Caesarea. Paul stayed there overnight on his two-day journey from Jerusalem to Caesarea (Acts 23:31). The town was destroyed by Vespasian during the Jewish War (*JW* 4.8.1), was rebuilt again on a larger scale, and was totally decimated by the earthquake of A.D. 363, never to be restored.

Archaeological rescue excavations were carried out at Ras al-ʿAin (or Tel Aphek) by the Palestine Department of Antiquities and by the Israel Department of Antiquities. Major excavations were carried out at the site by Tel Aviv University Institute of Archaeology from 1972 to 1985.

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**ANTIPHRASIS.** Saying the opposite of what is meant, as for example when Job's wife urges Job to "bless" (*brk;* i.e., curse) God and die (Job 2:9). See BIBLE, EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE.

**ANTONIA, TOWER OF** (PLACE) [Gk *to anastēma tēs Antonias* (το ἀναστημα της Ἀντονιας); Lat *turris Antonia*]. Primary military fortification of Jerusalem adjoining Herod's temple under both Herodian and Roman rule and called the Antonian Fortress (*JW* 5.5.8 §240).

Specific reference to the fortress does not occur in the NT, but rather in the pages of historians, particularly Josephus. The latter describes the structure in meticulous detail, providing information that it was located where the N and W angles of the temple conjoined, built upon a rock 50 cubits high and from there rising an additional 40 cubits. At each corner of its rectangular walls the fortress was surmounted by turrets that reached the height of 50 cubits in all but its SE corner. There, in a commanding position, a great turret of 70 cubits overlooked the temple and its courtyards. Inside, the fortress was furnished as lavishly as a palace with baths, courtyards, and quarters for a large number of troops (*JW* 5.5.8 §§238–45). Clearly the fortress was strategically located to accomplish Herod's purpose of dominating the temple through a garrison which could readily allay any disturbance that might arise in the temple precincts (*JW* 1.21.1 §401).

The fortress was not actually a new construction by Herod, but rather a major renovation and expansion of an existing fortification known as the Baris [Heb *bira* fortress]. According to Josephus (*Ant* 15.11.4 §403), this structure dated from the time of Hyrcanus I (135–105 B.C.) and occupied the site of an even earlier fortification, the Tower of the Hundred in Nehemiah's wall (Neh. 3:1). The Baris was much used and "formed a safe and convenient residence for the Hasmonean princes at the times when they were obliged to perform high priestly duties in the temple" (Paton 1977: 131). The exact ground on which the Antonian tower was constructed has yet to be determined. The fortress itself was destroyed during Titus' siege of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. when it was invested and later razed by the V and XII Roman legions (*JW* 5.11.4 §467; 6.2.1 §93). The site of the tower, along with the whole temple area, comprised the location of one of two fora in Hadrian's Aelia Capitolina, built over the ruins of Jerusalem a century after its

destruction. Foundation stones often attributed to Herod's fortress complex seem rather to belong to Hadrian's forum, and archaeological efforts to locate the fortress precisely remain inconclusive (Benoit 1976: 87–89; Benoit 1952: 545–50; Peters 1985: 76).

Herod named his fortress in honor of his friend, the Roman triumvir Marcus Antonius (Tac. *Hist.* 5.11; *JW* 1.21.1 §401; *Ant* 15.11.4 §409). It was to Mark Antony that Herod owed his rule over Judea. When the Hasmonean Antigonus, with the aid of Parthian intervention, wrested back control from Herod's father, the Roman procurator Antipater, Herod fled to Rome and, with Antony's support and a compliment of 11 legions under the command of Antony's lieutenant Sosius, reasserted his authority in Judea. At Antony's urging, the Roman Senate created Herod king of Judea (Tac. *Hist.* 5.9; App. *BCiv.* 5.75; Dio Cass. 49.22; *JW* 1.14.3 §280–18.3 §357; *Ant* 14.14.3 §377–16.4 §491; Huzar 1978: 160–66). The strategic position of the Antonian fortress on a height commanding both city and temple did not escape the notice of the Romans, who after Herod also garrisoned the tower (Tac. *Hist.* 5.11–12; Peters 1985: 75–76). Whether the tower served as the *praetorium,* or administrative headquarters of the Roman procurator, is questionable. Herod's palace was more likely used in this capacity and as residence of the governor (Benoit 1952: 531–45).

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**ANTONY, MARK.** See MARK ANTONY.

**ANUB** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿānûb* (עָנוּב)]. A son of Koz recorded in a from the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr 4:8). The name has been identified with ANAB in Josh 11:21 and 15:50. Grammatically, Anub is a passive participle ostensibly from the root *ʿnb,* the nominal form of which means "grape." The meaning of the name itself is not clear and has been variously defined as "bound, tied" or "modest."

JAMES M. KENNEDY

**APAME** (PERSON) [Gk *Apamē* (Ἀπαμη)]. A concubine of Darius I (521–486 B.C.) who wielded much power over her king, according to 1 Esdr 4:29–32. The apocryphal author informs us that it was not one of Darius' wives, i.e., Atossa, Artystone, Parmys, and the daughter of Otanes, but Apame, daughter of Bartacus the Illustrious (or Thaumastos Bartacus), who "dominated" the king. Apame's historical significance is preserved solely through an illustration of women's power given at "The Banquet of Darius" (1 Esdr 3:1–4:63). Darius probably captured Apame during his conquest of the Greeks (Herodotus 3–6).

Concubines were commonplace at the Persian court. Darius' father, Artaxerxes, had 360 concubines, seeing one per day. Persian soldiers had permission to take concubines on military excursions. However, Apame's actions—teasing and mocking the king—are inconsistent with the contemporary mores and gender roles. Even the queens survived under the mercy of the king (Esth 1:15–20; and the role of Darius' queen Atossa in Aeschylus' *Pers.*). The context of the Apame story obviously stands in stark contrast to the biblical account (Ezra 1–8). Three major differences between the accounts are (1) the king under whom Zerubbabel returned—Cyrus (Ezra 2:2) or Darius (1 Esdr 4:13); (2) the nature of Zerubbabel's authority—God of Israel and King Cyrus (Ezra 4:3) or King Darius (1 Esdr 4:47–58); and (3) Zerubbabel's reason for involvement—heritage and the law of Moses (Ezra 3:2) or cleverness and application of the Apame story (1 Esdr 3:1–4:63).

Numerous cognates of Apame and references to Persian concubines are known: wives of Seleucus I Nicator, Magas, and Prusias were all named Apama. And at least six ancient sites were named Apamea.

JERRY A. PATTENGALE

**APELLES** (PERSON) [Gk *Apellēs* (Ἀπελλης)]. A Roman Christian who received greetings from Paul in Rom 16:10. Paul called him "approved in Christ." Within the literary sources and in more than 37,000 Roman inscriptions, Apelles' name occurs only twenty-seven times (Lampe *StadtrChr,* 138–42, 149, 153). Since the name was not common there, it probably indicates that Apelles had immigrated to Rome from the east of the Roman Empire.

Sinaiticus and some minuscules read *apellēs* instead of *apollōs* in Acts 18:24 and 19:1. These writers probably identified the Christian Alexandrian scholar of Acts 18:24–28 with the Roman Christian of Rom 16:10, and suggested that the latter was "approved" because "through grace he greatly helped [the Christians in Greece] … showing by the scriptures that the Christ was Jesus" (Acts 18:27–28). Indeed, in the 2d century C.E. a (gnostic-Marcionite) scholar named Apelles had studied in Alexandria and afterward taught in Rome (see Lampe *StadtrChr,* 350–51). With this in mind and by confusing the 1st and 2d centuries, Sinaiticus may have merged the two NT persons. All other important manuscripts correctly read *apollōs* in Acts 18–19 (cf. also 19:1 with 1 Cor 1:12; 3:4–15).

PETER LAMPE

**APHAIREMA** (PLACE) [Gk *Aphairema* (Ἀφαιρεμα)]. Samarian district that became part of Judea during the early Hasmonean era (1 Macc 11:34). The unprincipled Demetrius II Nicator ("the conqueror"; 145–141 B.C.) promised Aphai-rema ("separation") to Judea's high priest/governor in exchange for loyalty (1 Macc 11:34). The Seleucid king also promised the Samaritan districts of Lydda (Lod) and Ramathaim (Arimathea). But Judea did not realize the actual confirmation of these transfers until the reign of Antiochus VI—who was still preoccupied with the Seleucid-Ptolemaic power struggle. Aphairema consisted of the SE region of Samaria, which was predominantly mountainous (Ezra 2:33; Neh. 7:37). Later, as the NE region of Judea, Herod the Great (d. 4 B.C.) renamed Aphairema as the Thamniticam toparchy, after its new capital Thamna—W of the town Ahairema. During Rome's municipal territory system, the town Ahairema (*et Taiyibe,* Eusebius' Ephraim, *On.* 24.3) was in the Aelia Capitolina territory and just S of the Neapolis boundary. The Romans most likely routed the Jerusalem–Gophna road through Aphairema during the Bar Kokhba revolt (Avi-Yonah 1976: 185).

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JERRY A. PATTENGALE

**APHEK** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾăpēq* (אֲפֵק)*; ʾăpēqâ* (אֲפֵקָה)*; ʾăpîq* (אֲפִיק)]. Var. APHIK; APHEKAH.

The place name Aphek appears eight times in the MT as *ʾăpēq* or *ʾăpēqâ* (Josh 12:18; 13:4; 19:30; 1 Sam 4:1; 29:1; 1 Kgs 20:26, 30; 2 Kgs 13:17). A ninth reference to *ʾăpēqâ* (Josh 15:53) is translated "Aphekah" in the RSV (see APHEKAH; and no. 5 below). The form *ʾapîq* (RSV "Aphik") occurs in Judg 1:31. The Lucianic version of the LXX provides a final scriptural reference to Aphek in a verse appearing after 2 Kgs 13:22 (see no. 4 below).

To the earliest scholars it was already clear that these referred to several places. Eusebius, for example, already distinguished four places of this name (Klosterman 1904: 22, line 21; 26, line 15; 30, line 16; 34, line 11). However, the exact number and their geographical locations remain a matter of controversy. The name also appears in other ancient written sources. Some of these references—such as those appearing in the topographical list of Thutmose III, in the description of the military campaign of Amenhotep II, and the reference to "the tower of Aphek" by Josephus (*JW* 11.19.1)—can each be related to one of the biblical Apheks (see no. 4 below). Other references, such as that in the Execration Texts (Posener 1940: 69, E9), lack additional geographical information and are therefore difficult to relate to one specific Aphek.

Albright's (1922) suggestion that there were five biblical Apheks is accepted here. Albright also suggested, however, that the name Aphek is connected with the Assyrian *apēqu*—"be strong, firm, solid"—and means a fortress. Other scholars relate the name to the Hebrew *ʾapîq*—valley bed/river

torrent (Alt 1925: 52–53, 53 n.1). Since some of the sites proposed for these various Apheks are situated alongside rivers or near springs of water, the latter explanation seems preferable.

**1. Aphek of Asher.** A town in the tribal territory of Asher listed in the group of cities at the end of the description of the territory of Asher (Josh 19:29–30) and again (as Aphik) in the list of cities that the tribe of Asher did not inherit (Judg 1:31). These two lists were almost certainly derived from a common source. Some have identified this Aphek with Tel Kurdana (M.R. 160250) at the sources of the Na'aman River 9 km SE of Acco (Alt 1928: 58–59; Mazar 1939), and consequently the kibbutz founded nearby has been named Aphek. Alternatively, others (Saarisalo 1929: 32, no. 1) have associated it with Tel Kabri (M.R. 164268), a large site of 32 hectares, 4 km E of Nahariya. There are four large springs in its vicinity, the richest in the center of the site. The name Tel Kabri is a modern one, the site encompassing the ruins of the villages et-Tell, en-Nahr, and the N area, Dhahrat et-Tell. The site is presently being excavated (Kempinski and Miron 1987; Kempinski 1987; 1988). The cities not inherited by Asher were more probably in the northerly parts of the coastal plain, and therefore the identification with Tel Kabri is preferable. Both Tel Kurdana and Tel Kabri contain considerable MB remains, allowing for the identification of the Aphek of the Execration Texts at either site.

**2. Aphek of Aram.** A town in or near the territory of Aram (Syria) from which Ben-hadad, king of Damascus, departed for battle against Ahab, and to which he retreated after being defeated (1 Kgs 20:26–30). The reference to the God of Israel being a God of the mountains (1 Kgs 20:23, 28) implies that the battle took place in the plain. Elisha's prophecy (2 Kgs 13:17) presumably refers to the same Aphek. Thus, Aphek is to be sought in Aramean territory but near or in the plain and on the route to Israel.

Eusebius (Klosterman 1904: 22, lines 19–22) refers to "a large village called Apheka of the town Hippos" in the Golan area; however, there he located the Aphek (Heb *ʾăpēqâ*) of Josh 13:4 (see no. 3 below), not the one mentioned in 1–2 Kings. The Apheka of Eusebius is to be identified with modern Fiq (M.R. 216242), 4 km E of Qalat al Hisn (Hippos-Suseita). Early finds have not been reported from this site, and Aharoni (*LBHG,* 304, n.60) suggested placing the biblical Aphek instead at Kh. el'Asheq (ʿEin Gev) on the shore of Lake Kinnereth (M.R. 210243). Recently, however, D. Ben Ami has discovered a tell by the name of Tel Soreq (M.R. 215242) in the valley to the NW of Fiq and suggested that it is the biblical Aphek. In excavations carried out at this site Iron Age fortifications of the 8th and 9th centuries have been uncovered, as have finds from the EB IV, MB II, and LB II periods (Beck and Kochavi 1987–88). The site is very small, however, so that identification with Aphek remains in doubt.

**3. Aphek in Lebanon.** A town defining a portion of the border of "the land that yet remains (to be possessed)," mentioned alongside references to Sidonian and Amorite territories (Josh 13:4). Eusebius, who understood "the borders of the Amorites" to refer to Transjordan (Exodus 21; Numbers 21, 32, etc.), located this Aphek in the Golan (Klosterman 1904: 22, lines 19–22). However, although the text is corrupt and attempts at complete restoration remain conjectural, vv 4–6 almost certainly demarcate a region the N border of which is the border of the land of Canaan (Num 34:7–9), while its S border constitutes the N limit of the tribal territories as described in Joshua (Aharoni *LBHG*, 215–17; Naʾaman 1986: 39–73). Noth (1938: 48–49) understood Aphek to mark the S border of "the land that remains" and suggested that it was probably the Aphek of Asher (see no. 1 above) or even that in Sharon (see no. 4 below). The other portions of the description are from S to N, however, and the identification of Aphek with Afqa (M.R. 231382) on the sources of Nahr Ibrahim in Lebanon NE of Beirut seems likely (Dussaud 1927:14). This reinforces the identification of Lebo Hamat ("the entrance to Hamath," Num 34:8) with Lebwe to the E of Afqa (Elliger 1936: 44), thus placing Aphek on the N border of Canaan.

**4. Aphek in Sharon.** A town in the Sharon plain area whose king was listed as being defeated by the Israelites at the time of Joshua (Josh 12:18). The text is problematic, however. The MT reads, "the king of Aphek, one; the king of Lasharon, one," while the LXX seems to presuppose "the king of Aphek of Sharon, one." Its relative proximity to Philistine territory is confirmed by 1 Sam 4:1 and 29:1, as well as by the Lucianic version of the LXX, in which the note that "Hazael took from [Jehoahaz'] hands all Philistia from the Western Sea to Aphek" appears after 2 Kgs 13:22 (=4 Kgdms 13:22). This Aphek on the coastal plain is referred to in a number of other ancient sources, most notably Thutmose III's

topographical list (No. 66) (Simons 1937: 117), Amenhotep II's second Asiatic campaign (Edel 1953; *ANET,* 246), Esarhaddon's campaign to Egypt (*ANET,* 292), an Aramaic papyrus mentioning the king of Babylon at Aphek (Porten 1981: 36), and the tower of Aphek in or near Antipatris (*JW* 2.19.1).

Early scholars did not identify a town by the name Aphek in the Sharon; without exception they followed Eusebius in placing the Aphek of 1 Sam 29:1 in the Jezreel Valley (Klosterman 1904: 30, line 16). The current identification of this Aphek with the tell of Ras el-ʿAin (M.R. 143168) at the sources of the Yarkon River was the result of the work of a series of scholars over a period of several decades. Wellhausen (1889: 254) was the first to show that the Philistines mustered their forces at Aphek *before* going up to Jezreel, demonstrating that the events took place in the following order: (1) 1 Sam 28:1–2; (2) 1 Samuel 29; and (3) 1 Sam 28:3–25. He also suggested that at the Battle of Ebenezer (1 Sam 4:1) the Philistines mustered their forces at this same Aphek, and that the later battles against Aram (see no. 2 above) were fought at the same Aphek somewhere in the N Sharon. Smith (1895), however, was the first to utilize Egyptian documents to show that Aphek was in the S Sharon. Guthe (1911) showed that Josephus' reference to the tower of Aphek connected Aphek to Antipatris, which was already known to be on Tel Ras el-ʿAin. Alt was the first to suggest that Aphek was actually on the tell, but it was Albright (1923a; 1923b) who published his views first, Alt only publishing his later (Alt 1925: 50–53). See also ANTIPATRIS.

**5. Aphekah in Judah.** One of the nine towns listed in the sixth district of Judah, the capital of which is presumed to have been Hebron; the RSV renders the name as APHEKAH (Josh 15:33). Alt (1932: 16–17) identified this town with Kh. el Hadab (M.R. 155098) 7 km SW of Hebron, while Abel (*GP,* 2: 247) identified it with Kh. Kan'an (M.R. 157102) 3 km SW of Hebron. Kochavi's recent survey, however, confirms the identification of this Aphekah with Kh. el Hadab, a site 4.5 acres in size with remains of fortifications and large quantities of Iron Age sherds. Below the site are two large springs, ʿEin el Dibleh and ʿEin Fawar (Kochavi 1972: Site 176, 22, 29, 62, 68).

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RAFAEL FRANKEL

**APHEKAH** (PLACE) [Heb ʾ*ăpēqâ* (אֲפֵקָה)]. A town situated in the central hill country of Judah (Josh 15:53), within the same district as Hebron. The only OT reference to this settlement, whose name perhaps means "enclosure" or "fortress" (from the root ʾ*pq*, "hold," "be strong"), occurs in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The theory that this list is derived from an administrative roster compiled under the Judean monarchy (Alt 1925) has been widely accepted, although controversy continues over the precise makeup of the districts, the proper context of the town lists of Benjamin and Dan, and the period of the monarchy to which the original roster belongs (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 64–72). The location of Aphekah is not well known, although it most probably lay SW of Hebron. Suggested identifications include Khirbet Kana'an (*GP*, 247; M.R. 157102), Khirbet el-Hadab (Alt 1925; M.R. 155098), and Khirbet Marajim (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 389; M.R. 152099). Only the latter identification is supported by evidence of occupation during the Iron Age (Kochavi 1974: 3 n.2).

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**APHERRA** (PERSON) [Gk *Apherra* (Ἀφερρα)]. A servant of Solomon whose descendants returned from exile in Babylon with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:34). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, this family does not appear among their lists of returning exiles (cf. Ezra 2:57; Neh 7:59). Omissions such as this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra or Nehemiah. Furthermore, problems associated with dating events and persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text. Heltzer (1977: 66) suggests that Apherra is a Gk rendering of the Heb ʾ*prḥ*.

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MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**APHIAH** (PERSON) [Heb ʾ*ăpîaḥ* (אֲפִיַח)]. The ancestor of Saul ben Kish, the first King of Israel (1 Sam 9:1). The name may mean "sooty" (McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 168) or, alternatively, "large foreheaded" (*IPN*, 227). LXX$^{A}$ offers the variant form Aphech, which presumes a final *qop* instead of a final *ḥet*.

The genealogy for Saul in 1 Sam 9:1 probably represents a use of the motif of the seven-generation pedigree as a literary device to emphasize Saul's destiny to greatness from birth (Sasson 1978: 185). Apparently only six generations of names from Saul's family were known, forcing the author to include an unnamed "Yimnite man" as Aphiah's father and the founding generation to enable him to employ the literary device. The MT and LXX$^{B}$ both describe Aphiah as "the son of a Yim (i)nite man." The LXX offers a variant reading, "a Yim (i)nite man," which would appear to indicate Aphiah's own clan affiliation instead of that of his father, and which loses the seventh generation from the genealogy. Since the opening phrase in the verse describes Kish as a Benjaminite, there is no need to repeat the Benjaminite affiliation of the founding ancestor, and the Hebrew text does not read "*Ben*jaminite" for Aphiah's father, but merely "Yiminite."

It appears that the founder of the Saulide family is not to be associated with the tribe of Benjamin, which is the common presumption (i.e., Hertzberg *1 and 2 Samuel* OTL, 75; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 164, 167), but rather with the neighboring Asherite clan of Yimnah (1 Chr 7:35), probably located in southeastern Mt. Ephraim in the vicinity of Bethel (Edelman 1988: 44–58). The same clan is found subsequently in the story in v 4 as the third territory within Mt. Ephraim that Saul traversed in search of his father's lost asses. The author of the story appears to have deliberately introduced word play between *Ben*jaminite (*bny-myny*) and Yimnite (*ym (y)ny*) and to have used it to foreshadow Saul's kingship over the portion of Mt. Ephraim that was toured in quest of the asses, the symbol of royalty par excellence in

Israel and other Semitic ANE societies. He was implying that Saul had a legitimate claim to dominion in the area because of his ancestral roots in Yimnah. Later editors apparently misunderstood the original author's intention and presumed that "Yimnite" was a shortened or defective reference to "Benjaminite," leading one to introduce the medial *yod* into both occurrences of the name in 1 Samuel. A similar misunderstanding probably produced "Yiminite" from an original reading "Yimnite" in 2 Sam 20:1 and Esth 2:5. The Syr and Targum readings reflect the same presumption that the phrase designates Benjamin.

It is possible to suggest that the MT and $LXX^B$ text preserves a conflated reading of the two variants "Yim (i)nite man" and "Benjaminite" (i.e., Hertzberg *1 and 2 Samuel* OTL, 75; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 168). However, four factors indicate that the MT and $LXX^B$ reading is correct as it stands: the genealogical context of the list, which would favor the retention of the term "son" to express the filial relationship between Aphiah and the following person; the existence of the seven-generation motif as a documented ancient literary device; the introductory identification of Kish as a Benjaminite that would render a subsequent mention of Benjamin superfluous; and the identification of Aphiah's father as a Yim (i)nite rather than a *Ben*jaminite. The $LXX^L$ would appear to reflect a loss or dropping of the word "son" by a scribe who did not understand the force of the phrase.

Aphiah's absence from the Saulide genealogy in 1 Chr 8:33–40 and 1 Chr 9:39–44 is probably due to the Chronicler's artificial grafting of the Saulide family tree onto the postexilic genealogy of the clans inhabiting Gibeon, which resulted in the deletion of the names of four known Saulide ancestors (for details and alternate suggestions, see NER and ABIEL).

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

**APHID.** See ZOOLOGY.

**ʿAPIRU.** See HABIRU, HAPIRU.

**APIS** (DEITY). The sacred bull-god of Egypt, whose sudden departure is ridiculed by the prophet Jeremiah as a signal of the catastrophe that is about to befall Egypt (Jer 46:13–15). The biblical passage is problematic. The MT suggests that v 15 is a bicolon: *maddûaʿ nisḥap ʾabbîreykā / lōʾ ʿāmad kî yhwh hădāpô* ("Why was your majesty [?] swept away? / It could not stand because Yahweh expelled it")—although some Heb mss read a singular *ʾbyrk*, "your bull." The LXX translates the verb *nisḥap* ("it was swept away") as *ephygen ho Apis* ("Apis has run away"), suggesting a Heb *Vorlage* of **nās ḥap* ("Apis has fled")—*ḥap* being the Heb form for the name of this bull-god (cf. Eg *ḥpw*). Thus, v 15 would be rendered as a tricolon that makes explicit reference to this well-known Egyptian deity: "Why has Apis fled? / Your bull not stand? / Surely Yahweh has expelled him!"

Festivals associated with Apis began very early in Egyptian history and are recorded on 1st Dynasty inscriptions as well as on the Palermo stone (recto iii:12; see also Ael. *NA* 11.10). Although he was a fertility deity associated with procreation as well as agricultural bounty, Apis also enjoyed celestial associations. During the New Kingdom period he came into close association with Ptah, the principal deity of Memphis, and was invoked as the "manifestation" and "hypostasis" of Ptah (Sandman 1946: 196–98). While this might suggest that Apis was simply the visible form of Ptah (Hornung 1982: 136), the two were nevertheless distinct deities and were never confused.

When an Apis bull died, his successor was diligently sought throughout Egypt and could be identified by coloration and distinctive markings: black coat with a white triangle on the forehead, a white vulture on its back, and a "scarab" beneath its tongue (Herodotus 3.28). The temple to which he was immediately taken stood S of the Ptah temple in Memphis, and comprised *inter alia* a colonnaded court where the bull could be viewed (Herodotus 2.153; Stabo 17.807) as well as an embalming chamber. Classical sources which mention the ritual drowning of an aged bull (Griffiths 1970: 511) are not confirmed by native Egyptian texts, and during the 1st millennium B.C. the average life span of a bull was 16–19 years (Kitchen 1982: 62).

The obsequies attendant upon the death of an Apis entailed lavish expense and involved the entire kingdom. Until the Ramesside age the bulls were buried above ground in the Saqqara necropolis; but during the reign of Rameses II a special hypogeum with galleries and chambers was carved out in the same area (Lauer 1976: 11ff., 217ff.). An adjacent gallery was devoted to the burials of the "Mothers of Apis." At each interment, numerous commemorative steles were deposited by the priests and workmen who had officiated at the ceremony, and these memorials (especially those dating from the 8th century B.C. through Ptolemaic times) often contain important genealogical and chronological information (Malinine et al. 1968).

During the late period, as Memphis became a key political center where accreditation had to be secured by those who aspired to rule Egypt (see MEMPHIS), the worship of Apis took on the form of a national cult. In this connection, Jeremiah's ridicule of the fleeing Apis (44:15) can be seen as a metaphorical reference to the dissolution of the Egyptian kingdom. Libyan, Kushite, Saite, and Ptolemaic kings all carefully honored the bull cult (Crawford 1980; Redford 1986: 276ff.); and Apis, when identified with Osiris, became a major ingredient of the Greco-Roman deity "Serapis" (Stambaugh 1972). Roman emperors, while generally acting against the interests of its priests, were nevertheless careful not to offend Apis (Redford 1986: 301f.), and the cult survived probably until the late 4th century A.D.

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**APOCALYPSE, LITTLE.** See GOSPELS, LITTLE APOCALYPSES IN THE.

**APOCALYPSES AND APOCALYPTICISM.** This entry consists of five separate articles. The first two discuss the genre of "apocalypse" and provide an introductory overview to the subject. The third covers "apocalyptic" literature in Mesopotamia and the question of its connection to biblical apocalyptic writings. The fourth and fifth articles respectively provide more in-depth discussions of early Jewish and early Christian "apocalyptic" writings.

## *THE GENRE*

### A. Definition

In recent attempts to add precision to the terminology used in discussing the phenomenon loosely called apocalyptic, "apocalypse" has come to designate a literary genre in contrast to the related concepts "apocalyptic eschatology" and "apocalypticism" (see also the heading "Early Jewish Apocalypticism" later in this article). This triad and the specific definitions given to each of its members are of considerable heuristic value in the scholarly attempt to clarify a complex ancient phenomenon (Koch 1972: 23–28; Hanson *IDBSup,* 27–28). Heuristic devices must not be regarded as more than they are, however, namely, tools useful to the extent that they shed light on the ancient materials themselves. In using such tools, one does well to remember that the ancient apocalyptic writers did not distinguish rigidly between genre, perspective, and ideology, and from this it follows that such categories should be used only with great sensitivity to the integrity and complexity of the compositions themselves.

In using the term "apocalypse" to designate a genre, we are utilizing a derivative of the Greek noun *apokalypsis* ("revelation, disclosure"). The first attested use of the term to refer to a literary work is in the opening line of the book of Revelation, "The *apokalypsis* of Jesus Christ." This bears both historical and formal significance: historical inasmuch as the book of Revelation has exercised considerable influence on the Western understanding of the genre; formal inasmuch as the book exhibits nearly all of the principal characteristics of this genre (pseudonymity being one notable exception).

The first two verses of the book of Revelation contain *in nuce* the narrative structure of the genre: a *revelation* is given by God through an otherworldly *mediator* to a *human seer* disclosing *future events.* V 3 contains an added feature commonly found (or implied) in apocalypses, namely, an *admonition.* Beyond these three verses the book of Revelation as a whole casts further light on this genre. It offers descriptions of the seer's response to awesome revelatory experiences that resemble those recurring in other apocalypses. True to the structural complexity of many apocalypses, the book of Revelation embraces a series of vision accounts, interspersed with smaller genres like the epistle, the doxology, the victory song, and the blessing. And while the emphasis is on the visionary experience of the seer as the mode of revelation, in chap. 4 the seer, following a heavenly summons to "come up hither," finds himself in the heavenly throne room, thus providing an example of the "heavenly journey" found, often in vastly elaborated form, in other apocalypses.

A group headed by J. J. Collins expanded on earlier studies of the genre apocalypse by analyzing all of the texts classifiable as apocalypses from the period 250 B.C.E. to 250 C.E. and concluded with this definition: " 'Apocalypse' is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an other-worldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial, insofar as it involves another, supernatural world" (Collins 1979: 9). The distinction between a temporal and a spatial axis in the mode of revelation found in this definition reflects the fact that, while the eschatological perspective stemming from prophecy is of central importance in early Jewish and Christian apocalypses, descriptions of otherworldly journeys, lists of natural phenomena, and diverse kinds of cosmic and celestial speculations also are found in some of those apocalypses. When consideration is given to the perennial tension between temporal and spatial definitions of salvation (e.g., mythic versus epic views of reality in antiquity and historical versus existential views today), the juxtaposition of temporal and spatial axes within ancient apocalypses seems conceptually fitting.

**B. Antecedents**

While fully developed apocalypses first appear in the 3d and 2d centuries B.C.E., two biblical books from the 6th century B.C.E. adumbrate many of the formal features of the genre and can be viewed as important sources. In the opening verse of the book of Ezekiel the prophet reports that "the heavens were opened and I saw visions of God." In its present form the book of Ezekiel is constructed around five visions, revealing both future judgment and future salvation. In a series of eight visions in Zechariah 1–6 the prophet views supernatural phenomena which are then explained by an interpreting angel as bearing on future events. It seems plausible to assume that later visionaries considered themselves to stand in the tradition of such worthy predecessors.

**C. Important Apocalypses**

Smaller units embedded in the gospels and epistles of the NT aside, chaps. 7–12 of the book of Daniel share with the book of Revelation the distinction of alone representing the genre of the apocalypse in the Bible. Like the book of Revelation, Daniel 7–12 contains a series of visions (7, 8, and 10–12). In all three cases the seer receives the vision through an angelic mediator and the content has bearing on future judgment and salvation.

*1 Enoch,* which is actually an anthology of apocalyptic writings ascribed to the antediluvian figure Enoch and arising over a period of at least two centuries, is preserved in an Ethiopic translation of a Greek version (partially preserved) of Aramaic originals (fragments discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls). The earliest of the Enochic apocalypses originated at least a half century before Daniel 7–12. Notable among these earliest materials are chaps. 6–11, which trace the rise of evil in the world to the rebellion in heaven alluded to in Gen. 6:1–4, and chaps. 17–36, which describe the heavenly journeys of Enoch. Clearly datable to the period of the Maccabean revolt is the allegorical history of the world in chaps. 89–90 referred to as the "Animal Apocalypse," and the "Apocalypse of Weeks" in *1 En.* 93 and 91:12–17. These apocalypses from *1 En.* illustrate the eclectic nature of the genre as it took shape in the Hellenistic period, for we find eschatological visions in continuity with earlier prophecy combined with sapiential and speculative materials reflecting other influences. Nevertheless, the dominant emphasis of these

apocalypses and those discussed below is harmonious with the themes of earlier Israelite religion, for they reveal a time/place beyond the fallen present in which God's sovereignty will be restored and the righteous will be vindicated.

*4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch.* These two works are closely tied together by common themes and a shared setting in the aftermath of the Roman destruction of Jerusalem and the temple. In *4 Ezra* three dialogues between seer and an angel are followed by three visions which, in an allegorical fashion recalling Daniel and the Maccabean period apocalypses of *1 Enoch,* desribe the movement of history through the ages down to the concluding divine denouement. *2 Baruch* similarly combines dialogue and visions into a tapestry of apocalypses and other genres subservient to the eschatological theme of the fulfillment of human history in final judgment and salvation.

**D. Setting and Function**

Though the degree to which the above-mentioned apocalypses preserve traces of their historical setting varies, it is evident in general terms that they all reflect a situation of crisis and aim at offering assurance of salvation to those alienated from the power structures of this world and suffering for their religious convictions. Daniel envisions the imminent destruction of Antiochus IV and the conferral of the kingdom on the "saints of the Most High." In *4 Ezra* the angel explains that the vision of the transformation of the woman from mourning and weeping to glory signifies the transformation that is about to happen to Zion. In the book of Revelation, visions of the downfall of the beast and the victory of the lamb gave assurance of the final vindication of those suffering under Roman persecution. Though more difficult to integrate into the theme of assurance in time of crisis, even those sections revealing the mysteries of the heavens and the secrets of the vast cosmos contribute to the effort to establish a basis for hope transcending the ever changing experiences of this world. The setting and function that can be glimpsed behind the Jewish and Christian apocalypses thus indicate that, while those communities and movements that we can characterize under the rubric of "apocalypticism" expressed themselves in genres ranging all the way from the testament to the song of victory, the genre of the apocalypse is more intimately related to the phenomenon of apocalyptic than any other literary form.

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## *INTRODUCTORY OVERVIEW*

The word "apocalyptic," though properly an adjective, in common parlance has come to designate the phenomenon of the disclosure of heavenly secrets in visionary form to a seer for the benefit of a religious community experiencing suffering or perceiving itself victimized by some form of deprivation. The book of Daniel is the foremost literary example of this phenomenon in the world of Jewish antiquity, though Jewish apocalyptic writings range far beyond the Bible and betray connections with related phenomena in other cultures.

The problem with the proper usage is that it leaves unclear what qualities determine whether a given experience or written account fits the category apocalyptic: whether literary characteristics, a particular world view or pattern of ideas, or a certain type of social setting. This unclarity has led scholars to prefer a triad of definitions, differentiating between "apocalypse" as a literary genre, "apocalyptic eschatology" as a religious perspective, and "apocalypticism" as a community or movement enbodying an apocalyptic perspective as its ideology (Koch 1972; P. Hanson *IBDSup,* pp. 28–34; Collins 1984).

**A. Apocalypse**

Though the phenomenon designated "Jewish apocalyptic" comes to expression in more than one genre, the specific genre "apocalypse" occupied a privileged position. First used explicitly as the designation of a writing in antiquity in Rev. 1:1, the structure of the apocalypse reflects more closely than any other genre

the essential characteristics of the apocalyptic phenomenon, and its history is more closely intertwined with the history of Jewish apocalyptic than is the history of any other genre.

**B. Apocalyptic Eschatology**

The ideas and concepts that come to expression in apocalyptic writings range broadly from ancient mythic motifs to biblical themes to speculation reflecting a Hellenistic milieu. Nevertheless, as the genre "apocalypse" enjoys pride of place on the literary plane, a world view we can designate "apocalyptic eschatology" more frequently than any other perspective provides the conceptual framework within which the diverse materials encompassed by the apocalyptic writings are interpreted.

Eschatology, as the study of "end-time" events, developed earlier in biblical prophecy. The perspective of apocalyptic eschatology can best be understood as an outgrowth from prophetic eschatology. Common to both is the belief that, in accordance with divine plan, the adverse conditions of the present world would end in judgment of the wicked and vindication of the righteous, thereby ushering in a new era of prosperity and peace. In an early postexilic prophetic oracle, Yahweh announces:

> For the former troubles will be forgotten,
> For now I create new heavens
> and a new earth (Isa 65:16b–17a).

Prophetic eschatology and apocalyptic eschatology are best viewed as two sides of a continuum. The development from the one to the other is not ineluctably chronological, however, but is intertwined with changes in social and political conditions. Periods and conditions permitting members of the protagonist community to sense that human effort would be repaid by improved fortune tended to foster prophetic eschatology, that is, the view that God's new order would unfold within the realities of this world. Periods of extreme suffering, whether at the hands of opponents within the community or those of foreign adversaries, tended to cast doubts on the effectiveness of human reform and thus to abet apocalyptic eschatology, with its more rigidly dualistic view of divine deliverance, entailing destruction of this world and resurrection of the faithful to a blessed heavenly existence.

**C. Apocalypticism**

The social and political setting within which most of the Jewish apocalyptic writings arose is a matter of scholarly conjecture. A noteworthy exception is the corpus of sectarian writings found at Qumran. Though actual examples of the genre of the apocalypse at Qumran are rare and fragmentary in form, the sectarian writings are permeated with the perspective designated above as "apocalyptic eschatology." Within the community at Qumran, the perspective of apocalyptic eschatology had been elevated to the status of an ideology, functioning to inform its interpretation of Scripture, to provide the basis for its understanding of Jewish and gentile adversaries, and to supply a historiographic point of view from which to develop a detailed scenario of final conflict and divine vindication of the elect.

Apocalypses and other writings sharing the perspective of apocalyptic eschatology originating outside of the Qumran community were copied and studied within that community (e.g., the writings within the Ethiopic corpus designated *1 Enoch,* minus the parables, and *Jubilees*). Though these writings differ at important points from the Qumran writings, shared views on calendar, angelology, demonology, cosmology, and eschatology suggest that different communities embodying the perspective of apocalyptic eschatology maintained contact with one another, possibly with the consciousness of being united under the umbrella of a wider Essene movement.

Hopefully future archaeological findings coupled with intensified study of existing written and archaeological material will shed further light on Jewish apocalypticism. In such scholarship the temptation to try to homogenize all apocalyptic writings into one broad movement must be eshewed. *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch,* bearing affinities as they do with Pharisaic teachings, illustrate that not all apocalyses come from the Essenes. Apocalyptic themes in later rabbinic writings indicate that an apocalyptic motif in a literary composition does not constitute proof of origin in an apocalyptic movement (Block 1952). Apocalypticism, as a designation for a movement that has adopted the perspective of apocalyptic eschatology as its ideology, must accordingly be used with great caution and only in cases where

sufficient evidence accumulates to point to a community that has constructed its identity upon the world view of apocalyptic eschatology.

**D. Sources of Jewish Apocalyptic**

What were the influences that fostered the development of Jewish apocalyptic? Scholars were once confident that the source could be traced to a form of Persian dualism with which Judaism came into contact in the Second Temple period. Support for this view has evaporated as the result of studies indicating that the Persian sources upon which the hypothesis rested were written over a half millennium after the period of alleged influence.

Gerhard von Rad, reviving an idea advanced in the 19th century, argued that the Wisdom tradition was the source of Jewish apocalyptic (Von Rad 1972). This he did by identifying the heart of apocalyptic not in eschatology but in a deterministic interpretation of history. Von Rad's hypothesis has found few followers and many critics, largely due to the fact that apocalyptic eschatology—while not excluding other patterns of thought—frequently provides the conceptual framework into which other materials are integrated and on the basis of which they are interpreted (Von der Osten-Sachen 1969).

The source that continues to emerge from the debate concerning origins with the highest degree of credibility is biblical prophecy. Here the key lies within a group of writings that can either be designated "late prophecy" or "early apocalyptic" (e.g., Isaiah 24–27; Isaiah 56–66; Zechariah 9–14), insofar as they occupy a transitional position between the more historically oriented perspective of classical prophecy and the more transcendent view of salvation characteristic of the apocalyptic writings. Challenges to the prophetic source theory, however, have also made a contribution: they have indicated that Jewish apocalyptic becomes increasingly complex over the course of the centuries and especially as it enters the Hellenistic era, at which point it draws freely upon rather refined sciences such as learned speculation on celestial and terrestrial phenomena and sapiential reflection betraying stronger connections with Mesopotamian mantic traditions than with Egyptian or Israelite wisdom (Collins 1977; Stone 1976).

**E. Theological Meaning**

As the writer of the book of Daniel drew upon the words of the prophet Jeremiah to explain his troubled times, and as the teachers of Qumran expounded on the books of Habakkuk and Nahum to reveal the eschatological significance of current events, so too Herbert Armstrong and Hal Lindsay command the attention of millions with their biblically based predictions of apocalyptic denouement. Diligent historical-critical study, combined with hermeneutical theory that pays attention to the multivalence of symbols and the complexities involved in the transfer of meaning from ancient settings to a world far removed in time, can restrain reckless readings of Jewish apocalyptic writings that abet international tension and can serve instead as a guide to a more accurate understanding of these mysterious compositions and to a more fitting appreciation of the abiding significance of the messages addressed by ancient apocalyptic seers to those engulfed by suffering and overwhelmed by dread (Hanson 1987).

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## *AKKADIAN "APOCALYPTIC" LITERATURE*

Research in Akkadian literature over the last decade or so has led to the suggestion that the origins of apocalyptic literature may be found there. The particular type of Akkadian literature in question is the so-called "Akkadian prophecies." This article will first describe briefly the Akkadian prophecies and their

purpose, then go on to discuss the question of whether or not these are eschatological in nature and what possible relationship they may have to Jewish apocalyptic literature.

Akkadian prophecies are actually pseudoprophecies, for they consist in the main of predictions after the event (*vaticinia ex eventu*). The predictions are presented as a chronological sequence of reigns and are often introduced by some such phrase as "a prince will arise." It is a feature of Akkadian prophecies that the rules are never mentioned by name but it is often possible to identify them since various details such as the length of their reigns are often given. The reigns themselves are described as "good" or "bad" and the vocabulary and literary style of these prophecies generally is that of Akkadian omen literature.

Akkadian prophecies are a purely literary phenomenon and there is no evidence for any oral background. This is in contrast to Akkadian oracles which, as the name implies, were oral pronouncements to the king by ecstatics and are not relevant to our discussion of apocalyptic literature. The number of Akkadian prophecies so far recovered is quite small; in fact only five main compositions are as yet known. Of these five only two are directly relevant to the present topic: the *Dynastic Prophecy* and the *Uruk Prophecy*.

Scholars generally agree that the writer of an Akkadian prophecy wished to justify or advocate an idea, institution, or development in his own time by means of a long preamble in which he pretends to have predicted other ideas, events, and institutions of previous times. He then concludes this series of pseudopredictions with a prophecy that the particular idea or institution which he wished to justify or advocate would be established by the gods. Now the peculiarity of the two prophecies just mentioned, the *Dynastic Prophecy* and the *Uruk Prophecy*, is that each seems to conclude with a real prophecy; that is, something that the writer himself only wished would come about but had not actually done so in his lifetime. Thus the *Dynastic Prophecy* seems (the text is unfortunately badly broken) to conclude with a prediction that the Seleucid Empire in Babylonia will fall. In other words, it is the product of anti-Macedonian feeling in Babylonia. The conclusion of the *Uruk Prophecy* is even more significant. After prophesying various good and bad reigns for the city of Uruk, the writer ends with a prediction that a king will arise in Uruk and rule the four quarters: that is, the world. The last two sentences read, "His reign will be established forever. The kings of Uruk will exercise dominion like the gods." There is no doubt that this is a real prediction since in fact such an event never happened. There is more significance, however, than that to these sentences; they are clearly eschatological in nature.

The evidence for eschatology in the Akkadian prophecies immediately provides a major link with apocalyptic literature. The idea that world history will end in a millennium, when all wrongs will be righted and all just people rewarded, is a major feature of Jewish apocalyptic literature, such as the book of Daniel and, by extension, the Christian book of Revelation, and of the apocalyptic tradition which developed in medieval times. We cannot give any specific date to the *Uruk Prophecy* in Mesopotamia but it is well established that the genre called Akkadian prophecy was present before 1000 B.C. It cannot yet be shown that the earlier Akkadian prophecies had eschatological ideas in them; indeed this has been debated in scholarly circles. Nevertheless, the presence of eschatology in the later prophecies seems to fit well in the context of this genre and probably is an indigenous development. Thus there is good reason to suggest, even though it cannot be proven, that apocalyptic literature has its origin in the Mesopotamian literary genre called Akkadian prophecies.

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## *EARLY JEWISH APOCALYPTICISM*

The term "apocalypticism" is derived from the Greek word *apokalypsis,* "revelation," which is used to designate the book of Revelation in the NT (Rev 1:1). The term is variously used to refer to a social movement or movements, a system of thought, or, more vaguely, a spiritual movement. The starting point, however, for any use of "apocalyptic," "apocalypticism," and related terms is a distinctive body of literature from ancient Judaism and early Christianity.

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A. Literary Genre
B. From Apocalypse to Apocalypticism
C. Israelite Background
D. Foreign Influences
E. Earliest Jewish Movements
F. Qumran
G. Other Jewish Apocalyptic Movements
H. Function of Apocalypticism

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**A. Literary Genre**

Historically this corpus has been recognized because of its resemblance to the canonical Apocalypse of John, or book of Revelation. "Apocalypse" was a well-known genre label in Christian antiquity, beginning from the end of the 1st century C.E., when it appears as the introductory designation in Rev 1:1 (Smith 1983: 18–19). Thereafter apocalypses are attributed to both NT (Peter, Paul) and OT figures (e.g., the gnostic *Apocalypse of Adam,* the Cologne Mani Codex speaks of apocalypses of Adam, Sethel, Enosh, Shem, and Enoch). Prior to the late 1st century C.E. the title is not used. (Its occurrence in the manuscripts of *2* and *3 Baruch* may be secondary.) It is possible, nonetheless, to identify a corpus of Jewish writings from this earlier period which fit a common definition (Collins 1979: 21–59). This definition is first of all formal: *an apocalypse is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient.* It also recognizes a common core of content: an apocalypse *envisages eschatological salvation and involves a supernatural world.* Finally, there is, on a rather general level, a common function: an apocalypse is *intended to interpret present, earthly circumstances in light of the supernatural world and of the future, and to influence both the understanding and the behavior of the audience by means of divine authority* (Yarbro Collins 1986: 7). This definition fits all the Jewish writings which are generally classified as apocalypses: Daniel, *1 Enoch, 2 Enoch, 2 Baruch, 3 Baruch, 4 Ezra, Apoc. Abraham,* and a few works of mixed genre (*Jubilees, T. Abraham*). Note also *T. Levi* 2–5 which is part of a larger work, and *Apoc. Zephaniah,* which is problematic because of its fragmentary character. It also fits an extensive corpus of Christian writings, beginning with Revelation, *Hermas,* and *Apoc. Peter.* Examples can also be found, with some distinctive variations, in Gnosticism (*Apoc. Adam,* 2 Apoc. James), among the later Jewish mystical texts (e.g., *3 Enoch*), and also in Greek, Latin, and Persian literature (see the various essays in Collins 1979).

The definition of apocalypse given above fits an extensive body of literature, which was produced over several hundred years. It is not suggested that the genre remained static or was consistently uniform. In fact, the definition serves only to delimit the corpus, and allows for considerable variation and development within it. To begin with, it is possible to distinguish two broad types of apocalypses: the historical type (e.g., Daniel) in which revelation is most often conveyed in symbolic visions and presents an overview of history culminating in a crisis, and the otherworldly journeys (of which the earliest example is found in the *Book of the Watchers, 1 Enoch* 1–36), which are more mystical in orientation. It is also possible to distinguish various historical clusters of apocalypses which have their own distinctive emphases and concerns—e.g., within the Jewish corpus one might distinguish the early Enoch literature, the apocalypses of the Diaspora, or those composed after the fall of Jerusalem, *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* (see Collins 1984). Moreover, there is always some overlap between the apocalypses and other genres, e.g., the historical reviews which are characteristic of the historical apocalypses are also typical of the *Sibylline*

*Oracles* and of the testamentary literature. While the apocalypses constitute a distinct genre, they cannot be understood in isolation from the various types of related literature.

**B. From Apocalypse to Apocalypticism**

We have seen that the genre apocalypse is characterized in part by core elements of content, specifically a lively belief in the supernatural world and the expectation of eschatological salvation.

Belief in a supernatural world is, of course, characteristic of religion in general. Against the background of the Hebrew Bible, however, the apocalyptic literature shows a heightened interest both in otherworldly regions and in supernatural beings. So Enoch describes the abodes of the dead and the places of judgment, and ascribes the origin of evil to the sin of the Watchers, or fallen angels. This aspect of apocalypticism has often been overlooked because of a preoccupation with eschatology, but it has been repeatedly emphasized in recent years (e.g., Gruenwald 1980; Rowland 1982). It is an important feature of all the apocalypses, not only of the heavenly journeys.

Eschatology, too, was characteristic of much of the prophetic tradition. In the apocalyptic literature, however, it takes on a new character. The distinctive novelty here was the belief in the judgment of the dead. An apocalypse like Daniel might still proclaim an eschatological kingdom of Israel, but it also promised that the faithful would rise in glory, and thereby offered a perspective on life which was very different from that of the Hebrew prophets.

Taken together, these core elements of content constitute *a world view,* which was new and distinctive in Judaism when it first emerged in the Hellenistic period, although it subsequently came to be widely accepted. The belief in a judgment beyond death and in the influence of angels and demons on human life created a framework for human decisions and actions. *This world view or "symbolic universe" which is extrapolated from the apocalypses is what we call "apocalypticism."* It can also be expressed in other literary forms. The *Discourse on the Two Spirits* and the *War Scroll* from Qumran are not presented as revelations mediated by an angel, but they are generally and rightly recognized as apocalyptic in the broader sense that they exhibit the apocalyptic world view. Apocalypticism, then, is a broader phenomenon than the literary genre. From the historical point of view, the world view is prior to the production of apocalypses (i.e., people who believe in angels and demons and in an eschatological judgment are likely to write apocalypses, although they may also express themselves in other genres). From the viewpoint of the modern scholar, however, the literary genre is prior (i.e., the world view is recognized by analogy with the apocalypses).

In his influential article in *IDBSup,* Paul Hanson defined apocalypticism not only as a "symbolic universe" but as "the symbolic universe in which an apocalyptic movement codifies its identity and interpretation of reality" (*IDBSup,* 30). One of the strengths of Hanson's article lay in his realization that one cannot speak simply of *the* apocalyptic movement: there is no demonstrable historical link between the people who produced the early Enoch literature and those who wrote *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch,* or the other distinct clusters of apocalyptic texts. He was also right in recognizing that apocalypticism *can* serve as the "symbolic universe" of a movement. Nonetheless, there is no automatic connection between apocalypticism and social movements. In many cases we know very little of the social matrix in which apocalyptic literature was produced. A work like *4 Ezra* may have been the product of a relatively isolated individual, who was not part of a movement in any meaningful sense of the word. We should beware of inferring social movements too readily from literary evidence.

**C. Israelite Background**

Jewish apocalypticism first emerges clearly in the Hellenistic age, but it is in many respects a development of old strands in the religion of Israel (see Collins 1987: 548–50). There is obvious continuity between the apocalyptic expectation of a final judgment and the prophetic "day of the Lord." The idea of a cosmic day of judgment is widely attested in the prophets and the psalms (e.g., Pss 96, 98; Isa 2:4). The apocalyptic interest in the heavenly world is a development of older ideas of the heavenly council (e.g., Ps 82:1) which can be traced back to Canaan and Mesopotamia in the 2d millennium (Mullen 1980). The degree of continuity between the apocalyptic world view and the older religion of Israel is hard to assess, because the mythological elements in Israelite religion are not well represented in

the Hebrew Bible. We read in Isa 24:21–23 that "on that day the Lord will punish the host of heaven, in heaven, and the kings of the earth, on the earth … They will be shut up in a prison, and after many days they will be punished." This passage evidently presupposes a fuller narrative than is now extant. In *1 Enoch* 18, Enoch is shown the prison of the host of heaven. We cannot infer that all the transcendent world toured by Enoch was presupposed in Isaiah 24, but we must recognize that the apocalyptic writers had at their disposal a much fuller mythology than is now extant in the Hebrew Bible. Light has been shed on some apocalyptic passages, notably Daniel 7, by the Ugaritic myths, which were written down over a millennium earlier (Collins 1977: 96–103). Because of the high degree of selectivity in the editing of the Hebrew Bible, the lines by which this material was transmitted down to the Hellenistic age are no longer in evidence.

Paul Hanson claims to find the perspective of apocalyptic eschatology already in the late 6th century B.C.E., especially in the oracles of Isaiah 56–66 (Hanson 1975). On Hanson's reconstruction, the authors of these oracles belonged to a disenfranchised group, which was excluded from power in the restored Jerusalem temple. As they despaired of rectifying this situation by human means, they called on their God to "rend the heavens and come down" (Isa 64:1) and envisaged "a new heaven and a new earth" (Isa 65:17). Hanson traces a movement which persisted from the time of the Exile to the end of the 5th century and is attested in Zechariah 9–14, Isaiah 24–27, Malachi, and possibly Joel. Perhaps the most radical vision is found in Isaiah 24–27, where we are told that God "will swallow up death forever" (Isa 25:8).

This bold reconstruction of a social movement is quite hypothetical, but its historical plausibility does not concern us here. For our purposes, the essential point is that the world view of these postexilic writings is significantly different from what we will later find in *1 Enoch* and Daniel. The crucial difference can be seen in the nature of the eschatology. In Isaiah 65 the new creation is one where "the child shall die a hundred years old, and the sinner a hundred years old shall be accursed," but they will die nonetheless. There is no question of personal immortality. Even Isaiah 24–27, which speaks of the destruction of death and says that God's dead shall live (Isa 26:19), most probably only envisages the resurrection of the Israelite people, in the manner of Ezekiel 37. There is still no suggestion that a human being can pass over to the world of the angels or become a companion to the host of heaven. Consequently these oracles retain the this-worldly emphasis traditional in biblical prophecy. In view of this, the oracles of Isaiah 56–66 and other postexilic prophecies are best regarded as examples of late prophecy, even though some of their themes are later taken up in a new context in the apocalypses. This is also true of the visions of Zechariah 1–6, which are closer formally to the apocalyptic visions than any material in the Hebrew Bible before the book of Daniel, and which are more obviously supportive of the cultic institutions than Isaiah 56–66. There again, the goal envisaged is the restoration of Israel so that everyone would invite his neighbor under his vine and under his fig tree (Zech 3:10).

**D. Foreign Influences**

The development of apocalypticism in the Hellenistic period cannot be understood exclusively against the background of older Israelite religion. Judaism was exposed to a wide range of influences in the postexilic era and there were some analogous developments in other traditions at this time. The earliest Jewish apocalypses are those attributed to Enoch and Daniel, both of whom have strong links with Mesopotamia. The figure of Enoch seems to be modeled to a great degree on legendary Mesopotamian sages, especially Enmeduranki, founder of the guild of *barus* or Babylonian diviners (VanderKam 1984: 38–45). One of the earliest of the writings attributed to him is primarily concerned with the movements of the stars, a topic which enjoyed much greater prominence in Babylonian tradition than in Israel. The book of Daniel is set in the Babylonian Exile, and Daniel is portrayed as a professional sage, skilled in the interpretation of dreams like his Chaldean colleagues. There is, then, reason to suspect that the earliest stages of Jewish apocalypticism developed in the eastern Diaspora, though conclusive evidence is lacking.

It is not surprising, then, that some scholars have sought the background of Jewish apocalypticism in Mesopotamian traditions (Lambert 1978; VanderKam 1984; Kvanvig 1987). There is no evidence that the Babylonians ever developed an apocalyptic tradition, but some aspects of Babylonian thought may have had an influence on the development in Judaism. Many scholars have observed the affinities between

apocalyptic revelation and the "mantic wisdom" of the Chaldeans (Müller 1972). Both involve the interpretation of mysterious signs and symbols and both carry overtones of determinism. The omen collections, which are the primary literature of Babylonian divination, are very different from the Jewish apocalypses. There are, however, two Mesopotamian genres which are significant for the background of Jewish apocalypticism. One is the dream vision, whose influence is undeniable in the case of Daniel, but is also in evidence in the Enochic *Book of Dreams* (*1 Enoch* 83–90). The most interesting example is the 7th-century Assyrian *Vision of the Netherworld,* in which a prince, in his dream, is taken before the king of the netherworld, issued a warning, and allowed to return to life. The attempt to demonstrate direct influence of this composition on the apocalypses of Enoch and Daniel has not been convincing (Kvanvig 1987), but it is potentially important for the development of the subgenre of otherworldly journeys. Unfortunately we have as yet few examples of such visions of the netherworld (see also the death dream of Enkidu in the Epic of Gilgamesh). The second Mesopotamian genre which is relevant here is more closely related to the historical apocalypses and has only come to light in recent years. This is the genre of Akkadian prophecy, defined as "a prose composition consisting in the main of a number of 'predictions' of past events. It then concludes either with a 'prediction' of phenomena in the writer's day or with a genuine attempt to forecast future events" (Grayson 1975: 6). In at least some cases they are pseudonymous (Marduk, Shulgi; the attribution of other oracles is uncertain because of fragmentary preservation). Examples range in date from the 12th century to the Seleucid era. Such *vaticinia ex eventu* figure prominently in the historical apocalypses (e.g., Dan 8:23–25, Daniel 11. See Lambert 1978). These Babylonian prophecies do not end with the transcendent, cosmic eschatology which characterizes apocalypticism, and are not properly called "apocalyptic," but they provide one of the building blocks for one type of apocalypse.

Unlike the Babylonians, the Persians had a well-developed apocalyptic tradition, which has often been assumed to be the source of Jewish apocalypticism (e.g., Bousset 1966: 478–83). In recent years scholars have become reticent about positing Persian influence, because of the notorious difficulties of dating. Most of the relevant Persian material is extant in Pahlavi works, which are as late as the 9th century C.E. The traditions involved are certainly much older than this but are difficult to date with any confidence. One of the primary texts in dispute is the *Bahman Yasht,* or *Zand-i Vohuman Yasn,* a full-blown apocalypse of the historical type, which includes a vision of a tree with four metal branches symbolizing kingdoms (cf. the statue in Daniel 2). This composition has been widely thought to be based on a lost Zand of the Avesta, which was widely influential in the Hellenistic age (Eddy 1961: 17–20; Widengren 1983: 105–27). Recently, however, the existence of this Avestan Zand has been questioned, and the possibility of Jewish influence on Persian apocalypticism has been raised (Gignoux 1987: 355). Another major witness to pre-Christian Persian apocalypticism is the *Oracle of Hystaspes,* which is not extant and must be reconstructed from the writings of Lactantius. This work has sometimes been regarded as a Jewish pseudepigraph (so Flusser 1982) and, while most scholars accept it as Persian, the uncertainty of provenance is symptomatic of the problems of Persian apocalypticism.

Despite the problems, the possible influence of Persian apocalypticism of Judaism cannot be discounted. A brief (and problematic) account of Persian religion attributed to Theopompus (about 300 B.C.E.) attests a belief in an ongoing dualistic struggle between light and darkness, the activity of angelic and demonic beings, and the division of history into periods (Plut. *De ls. et Os.* 47). Belief in resurrection is undisputedly old in Persian religion (Widengren 1983: 81), as is the motif of the heavenly journey (Gignoux 1987: 364). Persian influence on the dualism of the Dead Sea Scrolls is widely admitted. The full relationship between Persian and Jewish apocalypticism, and the degree of influence of the one on the other, remains one of the major unresolved problems in the study of apocalypticism.

Many of the features of apocalypticism which are paralleled in Babylonian and Persian material are also paralleled more widely in the Hellenistic world. There was a long-standing tradition of political prophecy in Egypt, which was adapted in the Hellenistic period in the *Potter's Oracle* (Griffiths 1983: 283–93). The *Sibylline Oracles,* adapted in Judaism and Christianity, were in origin a Greek genre. The motif of the otherworldly journey was widespread in the Hellenistic-Roman world, as were various forms of belief in

immortality. The currency of these ideas in the general environment may have stimulated their acceptance in Judaism. This is not to detract from the thoroughly Jewish character of apocalypticism as it developed in *1 Enoch* and Daniel, but to recognize that Hellenistic Judaism was a product of its age and should be studied in its cultural context.

**E. Earliest Jewish Movements**

The earliest Jewish apocalyptic movement is that associated with the figure of Enoch. In this case we have a cluster of apocalypses (the *Book of the Watchers,* the *Astronomical Book,* the *Book of Dreams,* the *Apocalypse of Weeks,* all now gathered in *1 Enoch*) which are in demonstrable continuity with one another. All are ascribed pseudonymously to the antediluvian figure of Enoch. The Aramaic fragments from Qumran require a 3d-century date for the earliest stages of this movement (Milik 1976; Stone 1980: 27–35). The earliest documents of this corpus (the *Astronomical Book* and the *Book of the Watchers*) are largely concerned with cosmological lore. In both cases, however, the order of the cosmos has been disrupted: in the *Astronomical Book* by "many heads of the stars" who go astray (*1 Enoch* 80) and in the *Book of the Watchers* by the fallen angels. It is disputed whether the *Book of the Watchers* is a reflection on the problem of evil in general (Sacchi 1982) or a more specific reaction to the cultural changes of the Hellenistic age (Nickelsburg 1977). Neither of these early apocalypses shows the expectation of imminent divine intervention which is often taken to be constitutive of apocalypticism (cf. Daniel and Revelation), but they do affirm an ultimate divine judgment. The Mesopotamian parallels to the figure of Enoch and the interest in the astral world in the *Astronomical Book* suggest that the earliest stages of this tradition were formed in the eastern Diaspora, although the evidence is not conclusive (VanderKam 1984). The Enoch tradition undergoes some development in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* and the *Book of Dreams.* These documents were produced closer to the time of the Maccabean revolt and were certainly written in Palestine. Both apocalypses contain lengthy reviews of history in the guise of prophecy and culminate with divine intervention and a final judgment. Both also give clear indications of the formation of a distinct group, called "small lambs" in *1 Enoch* 90:6 and "the chosen righteous from the eternal plant of righteousness" in *1 Enoch* 93:10. We know nothing of the organization of this group. They endorsed the military action of Judas Maccabee and the use of the sword against sinners (91:11), and claimed to have a sevenfold teaching (93:10) of which the writings attributed to Enoch are presumably representative. It is possible that they are identical with the Hasidim who are mentioned as supporters of Judas Maccabee in 2 Macc 14:6 (cf. 1 Macc 2:42; 7:12–13) but the Hasidim are not otherwise known to have had the range of cosmological interests attested in the books of *Enoch.*

A contemporary but distinct apocalyptic movement is attested in the book of Daniel. In Daniel 11–12 we read of wise teachers (*maskilim*) who instruct the many in a time of persecution and some of whom are martyred. Unlike the militant "lambs" of Enoch, these people appear to be quietists, who look to their heavenly patron Michael for victory. Some of their traditions are related to those of the Enoch literature (compare the visions of the divine throne in Daniel 7 and *1 Enoch* 14) but the two groups cannot be simply identified.

The book of Daniel has its own tradition history, which is reflected in the tales in Daniel 1–6. Here again there is reason to suspect that the early stages of the tradition were formed in the eastern Diaspora, although the apocalyptic visions of chaps. 7–12 were certainly composed in Palestine.

**F. Qumran**

The Qumran community presents a special set of problems for the study of Jewish apocalypticism. The Qumran library included multiple copies of the apocalypses of Daniel and Enoch. It also included some fragmentary works which are possibly apocalypses (4Q‹Amram, *The New Jerusalem*) and some eschatological revelations related to Daniel, which contain the four-kingdom motif (4QPsDan ar, and an unpublished vision of four talking trees, Garcia-Martínez 1987: 206–7). On the other hand, none of the major works of the sect is in the form of an apocalypse, and it is not clear that any apocalypse was composed at Qumran (Stegemann 1983: 495–530). Nonetheless, Qumran has often been described as an apocalyptic community, and with justification (Collins 1990). The *Community Rule* (1QS), the most authoritative description of the community we have, contains a treatise on the two spirits, which is

thoroughly apocalyptic in its world view: human life is ruled by the warring spirits of light and darkness, but in the end God will intervene and reward the children of light with life without end (1QS 3–4). The *Damascus Document* (CD), which legislates for a wider community, alludes to this cosmic dualism (CD 5:18) although it does not expound it in the manner of 1QS, and it anticipates the destruction of the wicked by the hand of the angels of destruction (CD 2:6). The *War Scroll* (1QM) provides the rule for the eschatological war of the sons of light against the sons of darkness, in which the heavenly host mingles with the human combatants, and Michael is finally exalted over Belial. The sectarians believed they were living in the age of wrath, the last age, when the final battle was imminent (CD 1:5; 1QH 3:28). Other documents reflect the community's interest in the heavenly world. The *Hōdāyôt* express the belief that the members of the community were already in fellowship with the angelic council (1QH 3:19–22), and the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* describe the divine praises uttered by the various classes of angels. The fact that the community did not produce apocalypses may be due to the belief that the Teacher of Righteousness had become the medium of revelation for the community (1QpHab 7:4–5).

There is no doubt that the Qumran community was influenced by the world view expounded in the apocalypses of Daniel and Enoch. The precise relation of the community to those apocalyptic movements is unclear, however. CD 1 describes the emergence of "a plant root" in the "age of wrath." Many scholars have noted the similarity to the "chosen righteous from the eternal plant of righteousness" in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (*1 Enoch* 93:10) and assumed that the Enoch movement was simply the early stage of the Essene sect, before the arrival of the Teacher of Righteousness or the settlement at Qumran, or that both texts refer to the formation of the Hasidim, who are then taken to be the percursors of the Essenes (see Nickelsburg 1983: 641–54). The Qumran sect shared with the Enoch group the 364-day calendar, and we know that a dispute over the calendar was an important factor in the formation of the sect. Nonetheless it is too simple to identify either the early Essenes or their precursors with the Enoch movement. We have seen reason to believe that the book of Daniel was the product of a different group than the Enoch literature. Yet it was no less influential at Qumran. Moreover, the halachic (legal and ritual) concerns which are so important at Qumran are not reflected at all in either *1 Enoch* or Daniel. We must resist the temptation to conflate all apocalyptic groups of the early 2d century into one movement. The Dead Sea sect was certainly influenced by the apocalypses, but it is best considered as a distinct movement.

The Qumran community provides the only instance in which we have substantial evidence about the social organization of an apocalyptic movement. In many respects it runs counter to the stereotypical ideas of such movements. It is rigidly hierarchical, legalistic, and preoccupied with questions of purity. We should not infer that all apocalyptic movements were organized in this way. The character of the Qumran community was shaped to a great degree by the priestly traditions of its members. An apocalyptic world view does not in itself imply a particular form of social organization.

**G. Other Jewish Apocalyptic Movements**

We are very poorly informed about Jewish apocalyptic movements apart from the Dead Sea sect, but it is salutary to remember that even the Qumran community was unknown half a century ago. The *Similitudes of Enoch* speak of "the community of the righteous" (*1 Enoch* 38:1) but tells us nothing about how that community was organized. We know of various movements in the 1st century C.E. which may have had an apocalyptic character. The preaching of John the Baptist evidently concerned "the wrath to come" but our information about his world view is very sketchy. Josephus writes of "deceivers and impostors, who under the pretense of divine inspiration fostering revolutionary changes, persuaded the multitude to act like madmen" (*JW* 2.13.4 § 258–60). Again, we do not know enough about these people to say whether their world view can properly be described as apocalyptic. At the end of the 1st century, *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* witness to a debate going on in some circles about the justice of God, which was conducted within an apocalyptic world view. Whether this debate implies any significant social movement, however, is an open question. In the Diaspora, the *Sibylline Oracles* attest a tradition which extended over more than 200 years. That tradition, in its earlier phase (Book 3), was closer to the this-worldly eschatology of the prophets than to apocalypticism but it developed strongly apocalyptic features in later books (especially Books 1–2 and 4, see SIBYLLINE ORACLES).

## H. Function of Apocalypticism

It is apparent from this brief sketch that our knowledge of the social settings of Jewish apocalypticism is quite limited. This limitation cannot be overcome by adopting ideal models from cultural anthropology and deducing social settings from them, but only by the discovery of new information about the actual historical circumstances of ancient Judaism. It should be apparent, however, that those settings are diverse.

It has been generally assumed that apocalypticism arises from the experience of alienation, or in times of crisis (e.g., Hanson 1987: 75). This assumption is defensible if we grant that alienation, and crises, may be of many kinds. Apocalypticism can provide support in the face of persecution (Daniel), reassurance in the face of culture shock (the *Book of the Watchers*) or social powerlessness (the *Similitudes of Enoch*), reorientation in the face of national trauma (*2 Baruch, 3 Baruch*), consolation for the fate of humanity (*4 Ezra*). What is constant is not the kind of problem addressed but the manner in which it is addressed. In each case the apocalyptic revelation diverts the attention from the distressful present to the heavenly world and the eschatological future. This diversion should not be seen as a flight from reality. Rather it is a way of coping with reality by providing a meaningful framework within which human beings can make decisions and take action (compare the *maskilim* in Dan 11: 32–34).

Finally we should note that, just as apocalypticism cannot be identified with a single social movement, so it cannot be identified with a single strand of theology. To be sure, it involves some consistent assumptions about the way the world works, e.g., the inevitability of a final judgment. Within the framework provided by these assumptions, however, there is room for diversity of theological traditions. There is a great difference between the priestly legalism of Qumran and the sapiential traditions which inform *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch,* which are closer to the mindset of the rabbinical schools. It could also be adapted to a radical departure from traditional Judaism in the rise of Christianity.

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JOHN J. COLLINS

## *EARLY CHRISTIAN*

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A. The Milieu of Jesus
B. Jesus
C. The Synoptic Tradition
    1. The Sayings Source
    2. Mark
    3. Matthew and Luke
D. Paul
E. The Book of Revelation
F. The Apostolic Literature
G. The Gnostic Apocalypses
H. The Christian Apocrypha

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### A. The Milieu of Jesus

As is now generally accepted, Judaism in the time of Jesus was diverse (Nickelsburg and Stone 1983: 1). Although Jesus lived between the two main periods during which most of the Palestinian Jewish apocalypses were composed (the 3d–2d centuries B.C.E. and the late 1st century C.E.), there is evidence that the apocalyptic world view was widespread in Palestine during his time and that this world view was frequently linked to political issues. As was noted above, the community at Qumran had copies of Daniel and apocalypses attributed to Enoch. Even if they did not compose apocalypses themselves, their major works expressed an apocalyptic world view. Their expectations of the future included an eschatological battle in which foreign rulers (the Romans in the later documents) and their Jewish collaborators would be defeated. There is no evidence that Jesus had direct contact with the community at Qumran. Nevertheless, the fact that Philo and Josephus wrote descriptions of their way of life and beliefs shows that these were not unknown, even outside Palestine, assuming that the members of the community were ESSENES; (for the texts from Philo and Josephus in English translation, see Dupont-Sommer 1973: 21–36). The fact that at least some of the manuscripts of the *War Scroll* are in Herodian script shows that this document was very important from about 30 B.C.E. to about 70 C.E. (Cross 1961: 118, 120 n.20).

The *Assumption* or *Testament of Moses* is not an apocalypse but is closely related to the genre. This work was composed in the 2d century B.C.E. but was updated after the death of Herod in 4 B.C.E. (Collins 1979: 45). This work is especially important for the context of Jesus' teaching because it refers to God's kingdom in an apocalyptic context (*Testament of Moses* 10). That context includes vengeance on the enemies of Israel (vv 2, 7, 10). In the revised form of the work, the enemies were understood to be the Romans (Yarbro Collins 1976: 186).

It is likely that the occasion for the revision of the *Testament of Moses* was the unrest that followed the death of Herod the Great in 4 B.C.E. (Jos. *Ant* 17.9.1 § 206–17.12.2 § 338). This unrest included the activities of three messianic pretenders, Judas the Galilean, Simon, and Athronges (9.5 § 271–9.8 § 285). The *Testament of Moses*, however, has greater affinity with the earlier nonviolent protest of Judas and Matthias, the interpreters of the law, than with the activist royal pretenders (Yarbro Collins 1976: 186; see Horsley and Hanson 1985: 110–17).

When Archelaus was deposed and exiled, Judea, Samaria, and Idumea were annexed to the Roman province of Syria. Unrest broke out again in 6 C.E. when Quirinius, Octavian's legate, took a census of the

property of the Jews. Judas the Galilean led the revolt (Jos. *Ant* 18.1.1 § 1–18.2.1 § 26; see Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* 393, 401–2). Besides this violent uprising, two further incidents of nonviolent resistance occurred. The first, in 26 C.E., involved opposition to Pilate's bringing Roman standards into Jerusalem, because of the images of the emperor (presumably Tiberius) on them (Jos. *Ant* 18.3.1 § 55–59; *JW* 2.9.2 § 169–2.9.3 § 174). The other centered on Gaius' command, in about 40 C.E., that his legate to Syria, Petronius, erect his statue in the temple (*Ant* 18.8.2 § 261–18.8.9 § 309; *JW* 2.10.1 § 184–2.10.5 § 203).

At some point during the reign of Tiberius, and probably during the time of Pontius Pilate was prefect of Judea, John the Baptist preached a message and performed a baptism of repentance (in addition to the gospels of the NT, see Jos. *Ant* 18.5.2 § 116–19). Josephus' account of John's message is very uneschatological, whereas the accounts of the gospels are thoroughly eschatological. The lack of eschatology in Josephus' picture is probably due to his well-known bias in that regard. It is likely that John announced the "wrath to come" (see the saying from Q, the Synoptic Sayings Source, preserved in Matt 3:7–10 = Luke 3:7–9). This "wrath to come" was probably an element of the apocalyptic eschatology shared by John and the fourth book of the *Sibylline Oracles* (see especially lines 152–74).

Besides the evidence for the prevalence of apocalyptic eschatology during the time of Jesus, it is probable that at least one apocalypse was written around that time in Palestine. The *Similitudes of Enoch,* preserved in *1 Enoch* 37–71, was apparently not part of the collection of Enoch books at Qumran. This lack allowed J. T. Milik to argue that the *Similitudes* is a Christian work of the 3d century (1976: 89–98). His argument has not won support, however, and most specialists date the work between the reign of Herod the Great and the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E. (Yarbro Collins 1987: 404–5). Since the latest historical allusions relate to the Parthian invasion of Palestine in 40 B.C.E. and Herod's treatment in the warm springs of Callirrhoe, the usual methods of dating lead to a date around the turn of the era (Collins: 1979: 39; cf. 1984: 143).

The apocalyptic texts mentioned in this section, especially Daniel, had an influence on the people living in Jesus' time and no doubt on Jesus himself. The political unrest following Herod's death was still vivid for those who had experienced it, and they probably spoke of it now and then to their children. The tensions that gave rise to that unrest were not far beneath the surface and, at least in some circles, were linked to apocalyptic eschatology.

**B. Jesus**

During most of the 19th century, Jesus was viewed primarily as a teacher and social reformer (Schweitzer 1968). In 1892, Johannes Weiss published a study that led to the rediscovery of the apocalyptic aspect of the teaching of Jesus. Much of the work of biblical scholars and theologians in the first half of the 20th century centered on the task of assimilating this discovery and its consequences. A certain shift occurred in 1960 when Ernst Käsemann declared that, although Jesus made the apocalyptically determined message of John his point of departure, his own preaching was not fundamentally apocalyptic but proclaimed God as near at hand. Käsemann was "convinced that no one who took this step can have been prepared to wait for the coming Son of Man, the restoration of the Twelve Tribes in the Messianic kingdom and the dawning of the Parousia …" (1969: 101). The positions of Philip Vielhauer (1965: 87–91) and Norman Perrin (1967: 154–206) are similar.

In recent work on the historical Jesus, his life and teaching have been placed in the context of Jewish restoration eschatology (Sanders 1985). Events of Jesus' life that make this reconstruction credible are his baptism by John; his choosing twelve disciples to have a special role, presumably a role symbolic of the renewal of the twelve tribes of Israel; his carrying out a prophetic symbolic action in the temple that probably foretold its destruction and renewal; and his execution by the Romans for sedition. Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom of God and the miracles attributed to him can and ought to be interpreted in the context suggested by the major features of his life, namely Jewish restoration eschatology.

If Jesus' teaching about the eschatological restoration included the activity of the heavenly "son of man" foretold in Daniel 7, it would be appropriate to speak of his teaching as apocalyptic. Scholars are divided on this issue. Some argue that the Son of Man sayings were composed by Jesus' followers after the appearances to them of Jesus as the risen Lord (e.g., Vielhauer 1965; Perrin 1974: 10–93). Others argue

that Jesus spoke of a heavenly Son of Man but did not identify himself with that figure (e.g., Bultmann 1968: 112, 122, 128, 151–52; Yarbro Collins 1987). Others argue that Jesus not only spoke of a Son of Man but identified himself with that heavenly being (e.g., Caragounis 1986: 174–75).

An argument in favor of Jesus' having an apocalyptic orientation is that the movement with which he associated himself (that of John the Baptist) seems to have been apocalyptic and the movement that commenced among his followers very shortly after his death, the earliest Christian community in Jerusalem, also seems to have been apocalyptic (Perrin and Duling 1982: 71–79; Käsemann 1969: 102). It is more credible historically that Jesus' life and teaching stood in continuity with these movements rather than in discontinuity.

**C. The Synoptic Tradition**

The synoptic tradition is a diverse body of oral and written materials centering on the life and teaching of Jesus that circulated in Christian circles in the first two centuries C.E. It is known primarily from the Synoptic Gospels, Mark, Matthew, and Luke, but also from several early apocryphal gospels (Koester 1980: 112). As indicated above, there is a widespread consensus that the earliest Christian community was an apocalyptic community (see also *BTNT* 1: 37–42; Allison 1985; Sanders 1985: 91–95).

**1. The Sayings Source.** According to the explanation of synoptic relationships called the Two Source Theory, the authors of Matthew and Luke used two written sources, the gospel of Mark and the Synoptic Sayings source, often referred to as "Q" (from the German *Quelle*, meaning "source"). The latter does not survive independently but must be reconstructed by synoptic comparison. The soundest method of reconstruction is to include material found in Matthew and Luke but not in Mark, or in all three but in two forms in either Matthew or Luke (a Markan form and a Q form). Such a reconstruction suggests that Q contained a variety of smaller literary forms, including brief narratives, such as the story of Satan's testing Jesus, wisdom sayings, pronouncement stories, and prophetic and apocalyptic sayings. It is likely that Q concluded with an apocalyptic or eschatological discourse (Kümmel 1975: 66, Perrin and Duling 1982: 102).

As reconstructed from Matthew and Luke, the Sayings Source is heavily influenced by apocalyptic eschatology. Most often its apocalyptic hope is expressed in sayings about the return of Jesus from heaven as the Son of Man, e.g., Luke 12:40 = Matt 24:44. His coming was expected to be like lightning or the primordial flood (Luke 17:24 = Matt 24:27; Luke 17:26 = Matt 24:37). The social setting of this apocalyptic material was an environment of persecution by "this generation," leaders in Jerusalem, and Pharisaic leaders (Perrin and Duling 1982: 103–7).

Recently, John Kloppenborg has argued that the apocalyptic form of Q is secondary and that, in its original form, the Sayings Source was a nonapocalyptic wisdom document, belonging to the genre "instruction" (Kloppenborg 1987a). Kloppenborg has certainly advanced the discussion of the genre of Q, but his argument regarding an early nonapocalyptic form is problematic because of its differentiation of source and redaction along "pure" formal lines (Yarbro Collins, forthcoming a and b). Kloppenborg has also argued that the Sayings Source, even in its latest recoverable form, is not apocalyptic because "it does not fully share the situation of anomie which impels apocalypticism towards its vision of a transformed future" (1987b). This argument is not compelling because it uses a single hypothetical characteristic of apocalypticism to determine whether a work is apocalyptic or not.

**2. Mark.** With Mark the gospel tradition reaches its apocalyptic peak. Its genre has been seen as parabolic (Kelber 1983: 117–29). Joel Marcus has pointed out the apocalyptic character of the parables in Mark (1986: 62–65, 229–33). According to Norman Perrin, the gospel of Mark presents "an apocalyptic drama" in three acts, involving the work of John the Baptist, the work of Jesus, and finally the mission of the disciples into the world (Perrin and Duling 1982: 238). Although in some ways the gospel of Mark resembles ancient biographies (Aune 1987: 46; Talbert 1988), its genre is better described as historiography in the apocalyptic mode (Yarbro Collins 1990: 148).

Mark begins with the words, "The beginning of the good news of Jesus the Messiah." The "good news" (gospel) here refers to the entire work and teaching of Jesus. Mark's account of this good news begins with a prophecy attributed to Isaiah (1:2–3) and the indication that this prophecy was fulfilled in the

activity of John the Baptist (1:4). John himself then prophesies the coming of one mightier than he (1:7–8). This prophecy is fulfilled in the narrated arrival of Jesus to be baptized (1:9–11). Jesus later prophesies his own death and resurrection (8:31; 9:31; 10:32–34). The reader is led to understand the narration of the fulfillment of this prophecy as an apocalyptic-eschatological event in light of the two major discourses of Jesus, both of which are apocalyptic in character (chaps. 4 and 13; see Marcus 1986; Brandenburger 1984; Allison 1985: 26–39). The ending of Mark is open-ended (Kelber 1983: 129). It does not signify closure at the point of the failure of the male disciples of Jesus to stand by him at the cross or of the female disciples to announce the resurrection. Rather, it demands that the readers bring to mind the unnarrated portion of the story (Magness 1986: 114–17). The rest of the story includes the apocalyptic-eschatological events of the proclamation of the good news to all nations (13:10) and the revelation of the Son of Man (13:24–27).

**3. Matthew and Luke.** Besides preserving the apocalyptic material of Mark and adding that of Q, the gospel of Matthew has modified, in an apocalyptic direction, certain passages taken from Mark. For example, Matthew's parable chapter has become even more apocalyptic than Mark's with the addition of the parable of the weeds and its interpretation (13:24–30, 36–43). To Mark's account of the transfiguration, Matthew has added elements typical of apocalyptic visions (17: 2, 6–7). To the apocalyptic discourse, Matthew has added phrases like "the close of the age" (24:3), "the sign (of the Son of Man)" (v 30), and the reference to a loud trumpet call that will accompany the sending out of the angels to gather the elect (v 31). Likewise, the death and resurrection of Jesus are accompanied by apocalyptic signs not mentioned by Mark (27:51b–53; 28:2–4). The emphasis in Matthew is more on the aspect of fulfillment than on expectation of the conclusion of the apocalyptic scenario. This impression is given primarily by the theme of the presence of the risen Lord with the community (18:20; 28:20).

It is now generally agreed that Conzelmann overstated the degree to which the author of Luke-Acts departed from the world view of apocalyptic eschatology (see, e.g., Fitzmyer, *Luke* AB, 18–23, commenting on Conzelmann 1960 et al.). Nevertheless, a shift is evident from the expectation of an imminent revelation of the Son of Man to the concerns of the daily life as a Christian. This shift is evident in the use of apocalyptic traditions in ethical exhortation (Tannehill 1986: 243, 246–51).

**D. Paul**

It is widely agreed that Paul's world view was apocalyptic (Käsemann 1980; Beker 1980). Paul viewed the resurrection of Jesus as the beginning of the apocalyptic event of the general resurrection (1 Cor 15:12–20; cf. Dan 12:2–3). In his earliest letter, the focus is on the imminent return of the risen Lord and the union of Christians in fellowship with him, both the few Christians who have died and the majority expected to survive (1 Thess 4:13–18; cf. 1 Cor 15:51–52). In his later letters, Paul accepts the possibility that he will die before the return of Christ (Phil 1:19–26; cf. 2 Cor 5:1–10). Since the literary genre apocalypse and related texts expressing apocalyptic eschatology are not always characterized by imminent expectation, this shift in Paul's thought may not be used to argue that his later letters are not apocalyptic. The understanding of history expressed in Rom 8:18–25, for example, is apocalyptic. The primordial past is portrayed indirectly as a lost age of glory and freedom from decay (note the allusion to Gen 3:17 in v 20). The sufferings of the present time are the eschatological woes that precede the new age of glory and freedom that will begin with the general resurrection, the "redemption of our bodies" (v 23; cf. 1 Cor 15:20–28).

Besides the temporal apocalyptic dimension, Paul reflects interest in the spatial dimension of apocalyptic revelation (Segal 1986). His conversion or call is described as "a revelation of Jesus Christ" (Gal 1:12). In 2 Cor 12:1, he speaks of "visions and revelations of the Lord." By way of example, he speaks of a man who was caught up to the third heaven, to paradise, where he received secret revelations (vv 2–4). His remark that "a thorn was given me in the flesh" to keep him from being too elated by the abundance of revelations (v 7) implies that the "man" taken up to the third heaven was Paul himself. In 1 Corinthians 2, Paul speaks of "a secret and hidden wisdom of God, which God decreed before the ages for our glorification" (v 7). This combination of heavenly and eschatological revelation in Paul is comparable to what we find in the book of Daniel.

**E. The Book of Revelation**

The book of Revelation is the only apocalypse in the NT, and even it is a mixed genre, since the account of the revelation received by John is embedded in an epistolary framework (1:4–6; 22:21). Like the book of Daniel, Revelation brings heavenly mysteries to bear on a social crisis. In this case, the crisis is the tension between Roman ideology and Christian messianism (Yarbro Collins 1984; cf. Schüssler Fiorenza 1985). For a discussion of this work, see the article on REVELATION, BOOK OF.

**F. The Apostolic Literature**

Among the works conventionally called the "apostolic fathers" by modern scholars is one apocalypse, the *Shepherd of Hermas.* Internal evidence suggests that this work was composed by a Jewish Christian freedman in Rome. It was written, perhaps in stages, between about 90 and 150 C.E. (Osiek forthcoming in *NTApocr* 3). The work consists of three parts: visions, mandates, and similitudes. At least the part containing the visions is an apocalypse (Hellholm 1980), but it is appropriate to speak of the entire work as an apocalypse (Osiek 1986).

Heavenly revelation plays a major role in the work. In Visions I–II, a heavenly figure, an elderly lady, allows Hermas to copy the content of a heavenly book so that he can communicate it to the faithful. The mandates or commandments and the similitudes or parables, that constitute the bulk of the work, are presented as the revelation given to Hermas by a heavenly being in the dress of a shepherd (Visions V.1–5). The work also has a strong eschatological interest. The term *thlipsis* is used both for persecution and for the impending eschatological crisis (Vis II.ii.7–8, iii.4; III.vi.5; IV.i.1, ii.5, iii.6; cf. Sim VIII.iii.6–7). Apparently the apocalyptic eschatology of this work included the transformation of the faithful to an angelic state after death (Vis II.ii.7).

Although the *Didache* is a church order in terms of genre, it expresses apocalyptic eschatology. This is especially apparent in the concluding chapter (16), a short apocalyptic discourse. This discourse is related to Mark 13 and parallels, especially to Matthew 24. *Didache* 16, however, does not follow that text closely, but seems to be largely independent, perhaps drawing on oral tradition. It shares with Matthew 24 the notion of a "sign" linked to the appearance of the Lord (Son of Man) on the clouds and the motif of a trumpet call. Its distinctive elements, relative to the synoptic apocalyptic discourse, are the fiery trial and the deceiver of the world. The latter is presented in terms reminiscent of the lawless one in 2 Thessalonians 2 (cf. Holland 1988).

**G. The Gnostic Apocalypses**

There is an emerging consensus that the religious philosophy called "Gnosis" (or Gnosticism, especially in its more developed forms) originated in the diverse matrix of Judaism in the late Hellenistic period (Rudolph 1983: 277). Thus, Gnosticism should no longer be described as a Christian heresy. In spite of the essential independence of Gnosticism from Christianity, the two movements came into contact early, perhaps already in Paul's time (Rudolph 1983: 300–2) and a gnostic form of Christianity emerged in the 2d century (Layton 1987: 20–21).

The literature produced by Christian gnostics included a number of apocalypses (Fallon 1979: 124). An early and classic example is the *Apocryphon* or *Secret Book of John* (Fallon 1979: 130–31; Layton 1987: 23–51). This work was composed in Greek (although it survives only in Coptic), probably in the 2d century C.E. The narrative framework involves Jesus' appearance after his resurrection to John the son of Zebedee on the Mount of Olives. In a dialogue between the two, the Savior reveals the nature of God as the source of all being, the structure of the divine world (*pleroma*) before creation, the story of creation (Genesis 1–4 retold from a gnostic perspective), and the secrets of salvation. John is commissioned to relate these mysteries to those who are like him in spirit. In the concluding narrative framework he communicates the revelation to his fellow disciples.

Several gnostic apocalypses include a heavenly journey (Fallon 1979: 136–39). One of these is the *Apocalypse of Paul* (preserved in Coptic and not to be confused with the Christian aprocyphal *Apocalypse of Paul* preserved primarily in Latin). The narrative framework involves an appearance of the Holy Spirit as a little child to Paul on a mountain near Jerusalem. The Spirit then takes Paul on a journey through the ten heavens (the longer, later version of *2 Enoch* also has a journey through ten heavens). In the seventh

heaven is an "old man," probably the God of the Jewish Bible, who tries to prevent Paul from going beyond that heaven. Paul, however, with the help of the Spirit and a special sign, is able to ascend further. In the tenth heaven Paul meets his fellow spirits. The descent of Paul is not narrated and there is no concluding narrative framework.

**H. The Christian Apocrypha**

The *Apocalypse of Peter* (preserved in Greek fragments and in Ethiopic) is one of the oldest Christian apocryphal apocalypses. It was probably composed around 135 C.E., since the activity of the Jewish messianic claimant, Bar Kokhba is indirectly portrayed as the eschatological crisis. Like many of the gnostic apocalypses, its narrative setting seems to be after the resurrection of Jesus (Yarbro Collins 1979: 72–73). Jesus is the mediator of heavenly revelation, in this case, of the signs and events of the end and visions of the places of reward and punishment (Himmelfarb 1983: 8–11). Other Christian apocryphal apocalypses in which revelation is mediated through epiphanies, visions, and auditions include *Jacob's Ladder,* the *Book of Elchasai,* the *Apocalypse of St. John the Theologian* (modeled on the canonical book of Revelation), the *Questions of Bartholomew,* the *Book of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle,* and parts of other works (Yarbro Collins 1979).

The oldest Christian apocryphal apocalypse of the heavenly journey type is the *Ascension of Isaiah.* This work is probably a composite made up of two originally independent works, a Martyrdom of Isaiah and a Vision or Ascent of Isaiah. The latter is the apocalypse and is contained in chaps. 6–11 (Yarbro Collins 1979: 84). Isaiah's journey is through the seven heavens and involves revelation of the different kinds of angels inhabiting each. The climax is a "prophecy" of the descent of "the Beloved" (Christ) through the seven heavens, his mission on earth, and his ascent back into the seventh heaven. In the present time it is the wicked angel Sammael and the angels of the firmament who determine events on earth. The strife on earth reflects the strife among the angels. Other Christian apocryphal apocalypses of the journey type include the Latin *Apocalypse of Paul,* the Greek *Apocalypse of Ezra,* the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of the Virgin Mary,* the *Story of Zosimus,* the Greek *Apocalypse of the Holy Mother of God,* a Coptic *Apocalypse of James* unrelated to the two discovered at Nag Hammadi, a Coptic work entitled *The Mysteries of St. John the Apostle and Holy Virgin,* the Greek *Apocalypse of Sedrach,* and parts of other works (Yarbro Collins 1979). Many of these works are concerned with punishments (Himmelfarb 1983) and rewards after death. They are important for many reasons, one of which is that they formed the raw material for Dante's *Divine Comedy.* On apocalypticism in the Middle Ages, see McGinn (1979).

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**APOCRYPHA.** The Greek noun *apokrypha* (ἀποκρυφα) means "hidden." It is used to denote writings on the fringes of the canon of the OT and NT. See also the CANON articles.

### *OLD TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA*

The term "Old Testament Apocrypha" signifies numerous Jewish religious writings that date from approximately 300 B.C.E. to 70 C.E.

Today "apocrypha" does not refer to "hidden" secrets, as in Dan 12:9–10 and *4 Ezra* 14:44–48. According to a wide consensus, and to the definition of PSEUDEPIGRAPHA as an open literary category, the OT Apocrypha should be defined as a closed and focused collection. This ancient literary collection, therefore, contains 13 works found in the old Greek codices of the OT—namely Codex Vaticanus, Codex Sinaiticus, and Codex Alexandrinus—but not in the *Biblia Hebraica* or OT.

All were written in a Semitic language and in Palestine, except for the Wisdom of SolomonSolomon and 2 Maccabees, which were composed in Greek, probably in Alexandria. All are preserved in Greek, in one or more of the Greek uncials already mentioned, and sometimes also in other languages.

Many Jews by the 2d century B.C.E. contended that prophecy lasted only from Moses to Ezra (see Josephus, *AgAp* 1; *4 Ezra* 14; *B. Bat.* 14b–15c). The Apocrypha were composed long after Ezra and were thus attributed to biblical heroes, like Jeremiah, Baruch, and Solomon, who antedated Ezra, were internal expansions to Esther or Daniel, or were "histories" of the successes or excesses of the Maccabees.

These Jewish documents were considered authoritative and inspired by many early Jews. They were not used, however, by Alexandrian Jews to fill out the canon in contrast to a Palestinian canon. While different Jewish groups, especially the Essenes and the Samaritans, had expanded or contracted collections of sacred writings, there were not two Jewish canons in prerabbinic Judaism. Philo of Alexandria did not use the Apocrypha as authoritative scripture. He quoted especially the Torah. Today Jews do not consider the Apocrypha canonical; their canon is the *Biblia Hebraica,* which is completed by the Mishna, Tosephta, and the two Talmuds.

The early Greek codices of the Bible are Christian collections; they contain not only the OT but also the NT, the Apocrypha, sometimes one or more of the Pseudepigrapha, and even additional Christian compositions. Hence, the inclusion of the Apocrypha into a canon may well be a Christian innovation.

In the 4th century C.E. Jerome was dissatisfied with the Old Latin version of the OT. He translated the canonical books from Hebrew into Latin, and produced the Vulgate, which is still authoritative in Roman Catholicism. Since he worked from the Hebrew and not the Greek version of the OT, he limited his Vulgate to the Hebrew canon. He considered the additional documents in the Greek canon of scripture to be "apocryphal." Later the Western church added to the Vulgate the Apocrypha, probably using the Old Latin version. In reaction to the Protestant Reformation and Luther's relegation of the Apocrypha, the Roman Catholic Church, on April 8, 1546, at the Council of Trent, declared the Apocrypha to be part of the Christian canon. Hence, today Roman Catholics contend these works are "Deuterocanonical" and inspired.

In the 16th century, Luther and the early Protestants rejected as canonical the additional books in the canon. They were antipathetic to apocalyptic thought, and had a distorted view of 2 Maccabees, because 12:43–45 had been used to support the Roman Catholic idea of purgatory, and of Tobit and other works in the Apocrypha, because they had been used to prove the doctrine of works righteousness. Luther placed the apocryphal works at the end of his translation of the OT and labeled them "Apocrypha." Protestants today do not consider the Apocrypha canonical, even though some books, especially Ben Sira, are often considered authoritative and even inspired.

The *Epistle of Jeremiah* was written well before 100 B.C.E. Confirmation of this date is now evident, because a Greek fragment was found in Qumran Cave VII that dates from circa 100 B.C.E. The original was composed sometime around 300 B.C.E. Containing only 72 or 73 verses, the work, influenced by Jeremiah 10:1–16, is an exhortation not to fear or worship idols.

*Tobit* was probably composed around 180 B.C.E. It is a romantic story instructing, among other values, that God does indeed help those faithful to his laws. The *dramatis personae* are Tobit, a righteous exile in Nineveh; Anna, his wife; Tobias, his son; Sarah, a bride who loses seven bridegrooms in succession; Asmodeus, a demon who successively slays Sarah's bridegrooms on their wedding nights; and Raphael, the angel who defeats the demon.

*Judith*, composed around 150 B.C.E., is a story about how the heroine Judith defeats and beheads Holofernes, the Assyrian general, and delivers her nation. The author intended to exhort Jews to reject evil, especially when it is represented by an invading enemy, and to be obedient to Torah. One of the most startling features of *Judith* is that the author had Judith pray to God to help her to lie.

*3 Ezra* (also named 1 Esdras and even III Esdras), was written sometime between 150 and 100 B.C.E. It is a conserted attempt to rewrite 2 Chr 35:1–36:23, Ezra, and Nehemiah 7:38–8:12. 3 Ezra 3:1–5:6 is independent of the OT. Tendencies in the book are the elevation of Ezra as "high priest," the celebration of the Temple, and the preoccupation with Zerubabel.

*Additions to Esther* are six expansions to Esther in its Greek form: Mordecai's dream, Artaxerxes' letter which orders the Jews to be exterminated, prayers by Mordecai and Esther, Esther's successful audience before King Artaxerxes, the king's second letter which praises the Jews, and the interpretation of Mordecai's dream. The date for these additions is clearly pre-70 C.E., but they may have been added to Esther in different years from 167 to 114 B.C.E., or sometime in the 1st century B.C.E. The authors of these additions added color to the story, provided an apology for Judaism, and—most importantly—supplied God's name, the theological words, and ideas conspicuously absent in Esther. For example, salvation now comes not as a result of Esther's courage but because of her piety.

*The Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men*, *Susanna*, and *Bel and the Dragon* are three documents added to Daniel and date between 165 and ca. 100 B.C.E. *The Prayer of Azariah* turns the reader's attention to the Jews facing martyrdom and away from the wicked king. It stresses that there is only one God and that he is just.

*Susanna* is an attractive tale about a desirable and virtuous woman who is charged by two elders because she refuses to have sex with them. She is rescued by Daniel, who cross-examines them and reveals that they are lying.

*Bel and the Dragon* preserves two stories. One describes how Daniel proves that the priests, not the idol Bel, eat the food presented to it. The other tells how Daniel destroys an idol but is saved by Habakkuk, who is aided by angels.

*1 Baruch* dates from the 1st or 2d centuries B.C.E., and is composite. It opens with an acknowledgment that Jerusalem was destroyed because of Israel's sins and with a plea for God's forgiveness. It then moves through a poetic celebration of wisdom, to a description of how the lament from Jerusalem was heard.

*Ben Sira* (Sirach or Ecclesiasticus) was probably composed around 180 B.C.E. by a conservative teacher in Jerusalem. It is an apology for Judaism and a critique of Greek culture. Typical themes are the reverence for the Temple, the Torah, and the belief in one God who is just and merciful. A Heb mss of *Ben Sira* was found at Masada.

The *Wisdom of Solomon*, perhaps written in the 1st century B.C.E., is a blend of Jewish wisdom traditions with Greek and Egyptian ideas. Wisdom is clearly personified.

*1 Maccabees*, composed near the end of the 2d century B.C.E., celebrates the military exploits of the Maccabees up to the rule of John Hyrcanus. The author is pro-Hasmonean, but does not articulate the importance or value of martyrdom. This document is a major source for studying the history of 2d-century Palestine.

*2 Maccabees*, written in the latter part of the 2d century or the early decades of the 1st century B.C.E., is an epitome of the lost five-volume history by Jason of Cyrene. Much more theologically oriented than 1 Maccabees, 2 Maccabees stresses the resurrection of the body, the efficaciousness of martyrdom, and the revelatory dimension of miracles. It is anti-Hasmonean. Two letters introduce the Epitome. The first is probably authentic, was composed around 124 B.C.E. in a Semitic language, and is an appeal to celebrate Hanukkah. The second letter is probably inauthentic, dates between 103 and 60 B.C.E., and may have been composed in Greek.

Formerly *4 Ezra* (also called II Esdras and even the Apocalypse of Ezra) and the *Prayer of Manasseh* were considered a part of the OT Apocrypha. However, they are not found in the oldest Greek codices of the LXX, are pseudepigraphical, are not found in many collections of the Apocrypha, and are now frequently and rightly considered among the books in the OT Pseudepigrapha.

For additional information, consult the entries on each of the documents mentioned above. For texts, see *APOT* and *APAT*. See also JSHRZ and *HJP²* 3/2.

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## *NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA*

Although there are problems with the definition (see below), the term "New Testament Apocrypha" has generally come to refer to various early Christian writings that are not included in the canonical NT.

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A. The Problem of Definition
B. The Range of NT Apocryphal Literature
C. The Value of NT Apocrypha
D. Sources

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**A. The Problem of Definition**

In general, the term "New Testament Apocrypha" has come to refer to that corpus of early Christian literature that shares with the writings of the NT proper—with respect either to form and content, or to similar claims to apostolic derivation—a common self-consciousness in laying claim to the authority that derives from the age of Christian origins. Like the books of the NT, the apocryphal NT writings derive from various early Christian communities and from various time periods. But unlike the books that have come down to us as the "canonical NT,"the apocryphal writings generally did not achieve the level of widespread ecclesiastical use that would have prompted their inclusion in most of the early Christian canonical lists.

When one attempts to go beyond a definition of this general sort, one inevitably encounters difficulty. For example, if one follows the natural inclination to develop a definition of "apocrypha" based upon the use of its cognate Greek and Latin terms by early Christian authorities, the inconsistency with which the word is applied to various works inevitably poses a problem. The dilemma is illustrated by the disparate uses of the term in the latter part of the 2d century and the beginning of the 3d. On one hand, Clement of Alexandria can use "apocryphal" in quite a literal sense to refer to certain "secret" books said to be in the possession of followers of the heretic Prodicus (*Strom.* 1.15.69.9). The books in question, incidentally, have little to do with the NT at all but are of Persian origin, and thus fall outside of what most scholars today would choose to treat as NT Apocrypha. On the other hand, Tertullian seems to use the term without regard for its literal meaning "secret." For him it has become simply a term of disparagement, since he uses it in tandem with the adjective *falsa* to indicate his low opinion of the *Shepherd of Hermas* (*De pud.* 10.6). And again, it is instructive to note that the term is applied to a book which few today would treat under the rubric of NT Apocrypha, assigning it instead to that special (though similarly ill-defined) category of early Christian literature known as the "Apostolic Fathers." Finally, one finds the term employed by Irenaeus to refer to certain writings of the Marcosians, who have as their intent, as he puts it, the "perversion" of scripture (*Adv. haer.*, 1.20 [xiii], 1), as though the books in question were simply heretical adaptations of writings Irenaeus regards as having scriptural authority. Though the Secret Gospel of Mark provides at least one example where this was in fact the case (Koester 1980a), Irenaeus' use of the term here would not apply to most of the books modern students would consider to fall within the category "NT Apocrypha."

Scholars have not shown any greater degree of unanimity in defining just what is meant by the term "NT Apocrypha." The use of "apocrypha" generally to denote early Christian works not found in the canonical NT occurs already in the title of Michael Neander's 16th century collection of apocryphal NT writings: *Apocrypha: hoc est, narrationes de Christo, Maria, Joseph, cognatione et familia Christi, extra Biblia.* It is doubtful that this usage bears any direct relationship to ancient uses of the word "apocrypha," but derives instead analogically from the Protestant reformers' use of "Apocrypha" to refer to those OT writings accepted as canonical by the Council of Trent, but rejected by Luther as "not held equal to the sacred scriptures," and thus relegated to an appendix in his landmark German translation of the Bible.

But in this century, prominent scholars have pressed for a definition of NT Apocrypha which goes beyond the simple meaning "extrabiblical," or "noncanonical." In his learned volume on the *Apocryphal New Testament,* M. R. James used the term "apocryphal" primarily in its common, or popular, sense of connoting "false or spurious" (p. xiv), thus implying that the chief characteristic separating this material from the NT proper is the fact that it, unlike the canonical writings, does not derive from the apostolic hands to which it lays claim. However, today, when most critical NT scholarship entertains similar doubts about roughly two thirds of the canonical NT itself, such a definition clearly will not suffice. Wilhelm Schneemelcher also sought a definition in history, calling apocryphal those books which "from the point of view of Form Criticism further develop and mould the kinds of style created and received in the New Testament …, which are distinguished by the fact not merely that they did not come into the New Testament but also that they were intended to take the place of the four Gospels of the canon (this holds good for the earlier texts) or to stand as enlargement of them side by side with them." (*NTApocr* 1:27–28). But as Koester (1980a) has pointed out, this sort of stratifying approach, which regards the corpus of

canonical writings as necessarily early, and all of the apocryphal literature as part of a late, secondary effort to continue that which the NT had already started, is not supported by the MSS evidence, and may reflect more our own canonical predispositions than the literary histories of the books themselves. At the very least, such a definition could only be applied with great difficulty to a work such as the *Gospel of Thomas,* which is certainly not modeled upon any NT writing (and possibly predates many of them), a problem Schneemelcher himself could already foresee (*NTApocr* 1:60–64).

**B. The Range of NT Apocryphal Literature**

Most recent collections have chosen to organize and present the corpus of NT apocryphal literature in terms of the four genres represented in the NT itself: gospels, acts, letters, and apocalypses. This, of course, presupposes the sort of definition proffered by Schneemelcher, in which apocryphal works are regarded primarily as secondary attempts to supplant various NT writings. If one can no longer accept this view of apocryphal literature, it serves no useful purpose to retain these categories, especially since the parameters suggested by them, if taken seriously, would exclude from consideration many important early Christian apocryphal works. Schneemelcher himself was already testing the limits of these parameters by including in his collection such works as the *Books of Jeu* or *Thomas the Contender* under the rubric of "gospels." These two works are but a few droplets of the great flood of new material that has recently come onto the field owing largely to the discovery in 1945 of a hoard of Coptic gnostic texts at Nag Hammadi in upper Egypt. As the publication and study of these new documents proceeds, the range of types and genres of literature to be considered under the heading of NT Apocrypha will have to be expanded greatly. It clearly will no longer suffice to organize all of NT apocryphal literature into the four traditional categories represented in the canonical NT. The categories of material indicated in the following list of apocryphal works is suggestive of the great variety of NT apocryphal literature written and used by early Christians (see also related entries in the ABD).

**New Testament Apocrypha**

1. Gospels and Related Forms
   a. Narrative Gospels
      - *The Gospel of the Ebionites*
      - *The Gospel of the Hebrews*
      - *The Gospel of the Nazoreans*
      - *The Gospel of Nicodemus (The Acts of Pilate)*
      - *The Gospel of Peter*
      - *The Infancy Gospel of Thomas*
      - P. Egerton 2 (a fragment of an unknown narrative gospel)
      - P. Oxy. 840 (a fragment of an unknown narrative gospel)
      - *The Protevangelium of James*
   b. Revelation Dialogues and Discourses
      - *The (First) Apocalypse of James* (NHC V)
      - *The (Second) Apocalypse of James* (NHC V)
      - *The Apocryphon of James* (NHC I) (a revelation discourse cast in an epistolary framework)
      - *The Apocryphon of John* (NHC II, III, IV, and BG 8502)
      - *The Book of Thomas the Contender* (NHC II)
      - *The Dialogue of the Savior* (NHC III)
      - The *Epistula Apostolorum* (a revelation discourse cast in an epistolary framework)
      - *The Gospel of the Egyptians* (distinct from the Coptic Gospel of the Egyptians—cf. below under Treatises)
      - *The Gospel of Mary* (BG 8502)
      - *The Gospel of Philip* (NHC II)
      - *The Letter of Peter to Philip* (NHC VIII) (a revelation discourse cast in an epistolary framework)
      - *Pistis Sophia*
      - The Questions of Mary

- The Questions of Bartholomew
- The Second Treatise of the Great Seth (NHC VII)
- *The Sophia of Jesus Christ* (NHC III and BG 8502)
- The Two *Books of Jeu*
- Bodlian Copt. MS d54 (a fragmentary dialogue between Jesus and John)

c. Sayings Gospels and Collections
- *The Gospel of Thomas* (NHC II)
- The Synoptic Sayings Source (Q)
- *The Teachings of Silvanus* (NHC VII)

2. Treatises
- *On the Origin of the World* (NHC II)
- *The (Coptic) Gospel of the Egyptians* (NHC III and IV)
- *The Gospel of Truth* (NHC I and XII)
- *The Hypostasis of the Archons* (NHC II)
- *The Treatise on Resurrection* (NHC I) (a treatise cast in epistolary form)
- *The Tripartite Tractate* (NHC I)

3. Apocalypses
- *The (Coptic) Apocalypse of Elijah*
- *The (Arabic) Apocalypse of Peter*
- *The (Coptic) Apocalypse of Peter* (NHC VII)
- *The (Greek/Ethiopic) Apocalypse of Peter*
- *The (Coptic) Apocalypse of Paul* (NHC V)
- *The (Latin) Apocalypse of Paul*
- *The Apocalypse of Sophonias*
- *The Apocalypse of Thomas*
- *The Ascension of Isaiah* (chap. 6–11)
- *The Christian Sibyllines*
- *The Concept of Our Great Power* (NHC VI)
- *The Book of Elchasai*
- *V* and *VI Ezra*
- *Melchizidek* (NHC IX)
- *The Mysteries of St. John the Apostle and the Holy Virgin*

4. Acts
- *The Acts of Andrew*
- *The Acts of Andrew and Matthias*
- *The Acts of John*
- *The Acts of Paul (and Thecla)*
- The (Coptic) Act of Peter (BG 8502)
- *The (Greek) Acts of Peter*
- *The Acts of Peter and the Twelve* (NHC VI)
- *The Acts of Philip*
- *The Acts of Thomas*
- *The Kerygmata Petrou*

5. Letters
- The Abgar Legend
- *The Correspondence between Paul and Seneca*
- *The Epistle of Pseudo-Titus*
- *Paul's Letter to the Laodiceans*

6. Liturgical Materials

a. Homilies

- *The Interpretation of Knowledge* (NHC XI)
- *The Kerygma of Peter*
- *The Testimony of Truth* (NHC IX)
- *A Valentinian Exposition* (NHC XI)

b. Psalms
- *The Odes of Solomon*

c. Prayers
- *On the Annointing* (NHC XI)
- *On Baptism A* (NHC XI)
- *On Baptism B* (NHC XI)
- *On the Eucharist A* (NHC XI)
- *On the Eucharist B* (NHC XI)
- *A Prayer of the Apostle Paul* (NHC I)

Though this list is relatively inclusive, it is not exhaustive of all the works that might come under consideration as NT Apocrypha. For example, in the early editions of his *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen,* Edgar Hennecke included the *Didache,* the letters of Clement of Rome, and other works normally associated with the corpus "Apostolic Fathers," which some today would still insist on including in any complete listing of the NT Apocrypha. There is also the question of how far to extend the chronological limits of the designation NT Apocrypha. For example, should one consider the later apocryphal acts, such as the *Acts of Xanthippe and Polexena* or the *Martyrdom of Peter,* as also belonging to this corpus? The current trend seems to be toward inclusivity rather than limitation, since such a designation as NT Apocrypha, as abstract as it may be, does tend to be suggestive of a "canon" of texts worthy of scholarly attention. Over the last two decades, a group of Swiss scholars forming *l'Association pour l'étude de la litterature apocryphe chrétienne* has been attempting to rectify the years of scholarly neglect under which many such later apocryphal works have suffered by publishing new critical editions and French translations of (eventually) all the Christian apocrypha (including OT Apocrypha) in the Series Apocryphorum of Corpus Christianorum.

**C. The Value of NT Apocrypha**

It has been customary to speak of the NT Apocrypha in terms of their value in bearing witness to the history of early Christianity only as it developed in the 2d and 3d centuries or later. More recent investigations of particular apocryphal works, however, have called into question this scholarly convention by dating certain books, or the traditions of which they have made use, to the 1st century. For example, Helmut Koester and James M. Robinson have argued for a view of Christianity in the 1st century that takes account of the traditions and tradition-historical tendencies at work in the *Gospel of Thomas,* which many today have come to view as a 1st-century Christian text (Robinson and Koester 1971: 71–113, 114–57, 158–204). In a separate article Koester (1980b) has suggested that in addition to the *Gospel of Thomas,* the *Dialogue of the Savior* may also bear witness to the development of the early Christian sayings tradition in the 1st century. Following upon an earlier suggestion of Koester (1980a: 126–30), John Dominic Crossan has argued in a recent monograph (1988) that the *Gospel of Peter* can be used to reconstruct a version of the passion narrative that predates both the synoptic version and that of John. Finally, Charles Hedrick (1988) has edited a collection of essays by various scholars exploring the value of apocryphal gospel traditions for addressing the question of the historical Jesus. All of these efforts reflect a current trend, especially among American scholars, to reexamine old historical assumptions about apocryphal literature in general, and to view apocryphal literature as the product, not of various attempts to rewrite or supplement the canonical texts, but of the great diversity of belief and practice that existed in early Christianity almost from its inception.

**D. Sources**

English translations or summaries of most of the works listed above may be found in M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament,* or Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha (NTApocr),* an English translation of the 4th edition (1959) of their German collection, *Neutestamentliche*

*Apocryphen.* The latter has recently appeared in a new German edition (1987), and a new edition of James' collection is currently being prepared by J. Keith Elliott. A new four-volume collection of apocryphal texts sponsored by Polebridge Press is also currently in production. For the Nag Hammadi texts, and those found in BG 8502, English translations are to be found in James M. Robinson, General Editor, *The Nag Hammadi Library.*

Critical editions of most of these texts are also available. Greek texts of many of the apocryphal gospels are to be found in Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha,* published originally in 1853, and reissued in 1966. The standard text for the apocryphal acts is that of Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha* (1959), also an update of an earlier volume assembled by Tischendorf (1851). Members of *l'Association pour l'étude de la litterature apocryphe chrétienne* have begun issuing new editions of the apocryphal acts in the Series Apocryphorum of Corpus Christianorum, including Eric Junod and Jean-Daniel Kaesteli, *Acta Iohannis* (1983), and Louis Leloir, *Acta Apostolorum Armenaica* (1986). Critical editions of the Nag Hammadi texts have appeared in the series Nag Hammadi Studies, including *Codex I* (H. W. Attridge, ed.), *Codices III,2 and IV,2: The Gospel of the Egyptians* (A. Bohlig, F. Wisse, P. Labib, eds.), *Codex III,5: The Dialogue of the Savior* (S. Emmel, ed.), *Codices V,2–5 and VI with P. Berol. 8502, 1 and 4* (D. M. Parrott, ed.), *Codices IX and X* (B. A. Pearson, ed.). Critical editions of all of the Nag Hammadi Codices are currently in production or imminently forthcoming in this series. Carl Schmidt's text of the *Pistis Sophia* has been published in the same series (Nag Hammadi Studies 9, R. McL. Wilson, ed.), as well as his text of the *Books of Jeu* from the Bruce Codex (Nag Hammadi Studies 13, R. McL. Wilson, ed.). The entire text of BG 8502 was published originally by Walter Till in 1955, and reissued in a revised edition by Hans-Martin Schenke in 1972. The Syriac text of the *Odes of Solomon* is published with an English translation by James H. Charlesworth in the SBLTT series. The texts pertinent to the reconstruction of the Synoptic Sayings Source (Q) have been published by John Kloppenborg. A new fragment of P. Egerton 2 has just been published by Michael Gronewald, and should thus be added to the fragment originally published by Bell and Skeat. For critical texts of other NT apocryphal works and fragments, one should consult the appropriate sections of Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *NTApocr*.

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STEPHEN J. PATTERSON

**APOLLO** (DEITY). After Zeus, the most important deity in the Greek pantheon, and the most Greek of all the gods. His cult was prominent throughout the Mediterranean world. As a vegetation deity, he guards against plagues of mice, grasshoppers, and plant diseases, and as a god of herds, he offers protection, especially against wolves. Very early he has a reputation for healing powers, but in time his son Asclepius takes over this function. Warding off evil usually implies power to effect its opposite, and as the god of purity, Apollo sends in retribution destructive plagues or sickness. Hence purification and expiation rites were a strong feature in his cult.

In the Greco-Roman world, prophetic powers were associated especially with Apollo, whose principal oracle was located at Delphi. Strabo (9.3.12) reports that Apollo slew the Python, a serpent or dragon that guarded this oracle. The Greek term *pythōn* came to be used in reference to the Python's spirit of divination that inspired the deity's medium at the shrine in Delphi (Plut. *De def. or.* 414e). Acts 16:16 uses the term in apposition to *pneuma* (spirit) in a description of a woman similarly possessed.

That Paul sets high value on prophecy is apparent from 1 Cor 14:1–5. Since women were used as oracular media for Apollo at some oracles in Greece, it is not surprising that prophecy is associated also with female members of the Corinthian church (1 Corinthians 11). But Apollo is a deity of order, and Paul, for whatever other reasons, relates to this cultural feature with his insistence that female prophets wear appropriate head covering (vv 11–16).

The Greek instinct for moderation found in Apollo the balance to Dionysos, who was especially associated with ecstatic worship and had found an early welcome at Delphi. Since Apollo sponsors reasoned discourse, his priest at Delphi interpreted the Pythia's responses. A related concern for harmony is evident in Paul's instruction concerning prophecy and the interpreter's role in connection with ecstatic speech ("tongues" 1 Cor 14:22–25). He also teaches that the "spirits of prophets are subject to prophets, for God does not encourage disorder (*akatastasia*) but harmony (*eirēne*)" (vv 32–33). Paul's declaration that he would rather speak five intelligible words than tens of thousands in ecstatic utterance (v 19) would be well understood in Hellas.

The broad range of talent exhibited at Corinth (1 Cor 14:26) parallels the beneficent civilizing influence that was traditionally associated with Apollo. At the same time it attests the depth of Paul's awareness of basic Hellenic values (Rom 1:14; 1 Cor 9:19–23), the cultivation of which contributed to a pervasive symmetry that was so highly prized among Greeks and expressed in maxims that were inscribed at Delphi: *gnōthi sauton* (know yourself), *mēden agan* (nothing too much). These maxims attest the reputation that Delphi had for a civilizing influence.

Apollo's oracle at Delphi became world-renowned for the counsel it gave in ordering the lives of those who sought advice on commercial ventures, political issues, and a variety of personal problems, but in St. Paul's time its influence had declined. Yet Apollo's reputation for moral earnestness was so well established that if Christianity was to prevail in Greece, it was imperative that spirit-filled leaders in Christian communities be able to assist people in need of counsel. Paul met the need by including in his Corinthian correspondence a number of answers to perplexing problems. Of special interest is the fact that his letters to Corinth contain the highest concentration of his own claim to be spirit-inspired.

Numerous stories illustrate that Apollo's advice was not to be taken lightly, for sacrilegiousness paid an especially dreadful fee (Parke and Wormell 1956:1. 378–92). In like manner, Christian rites are to be approached with due reverence and concern for their moral implications (1 Cor 5). As at Delphi, trivializing of rites can be disastrous. Unworthy participation in the Eucharist accounts for an unusual incidence of sickness and death (11:30).

In one most vital respect there was an unbridgeable gulf between Apollo and Jesus Christ. Apollo in all his purity remains at a distance from humanity. No devotee of his would ever have said, "I live in Apollo

and Apollo lives in me." Apollo had no defense against Paul's oracle in Gal 2:20 and one in 2 Cor 13:4: "Jesus was crucified in weakness, but lives by the power of God. For we are weak in him, but in dealing with you we shall live with him by the power of God."

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**APOLLONIA** (M.R. 131178). A Persian to Byzantine site located on a sandstone cliff on the shore of the S Sharon Plain, 17 km N of Jaffa, and 34 km S of Caesarea. The site in Arabic is called ʿArsuf. The shoreline includes a small natural haven, still used by local fishermen.

**A. Research and Excavations**

The site was first identified with Apollonia by Reland (1714: 570). Its main remains aboveground, which include the Early Arabic city wall and the Crusader castle, have been described by Guérin (1875: 375–82) and by Conder (1882: 137–40). Rescue excavations were conducted in 1950 (Ben-Dor and Kahane 1951: 41–43), and in 1962 and 1976 (Israel Dept. Ant. 1962: 11; 1976: 63; see Ovadiah and Birnbaum 1989). Excavations on a larger scale were undertaken in 1977 in the commercial quarter in the city's center (areas A–D), and in 1980–81 on both sides of the S city wall (area E), as well as in the *donjon* of the Crusader castle (area $F^1$; Roll and Ayalon 1989: 23–117). Since 1982, excavations have been carried out by I. Roll in the W of the city (area H) and in the castle's chapel (area $F^2$).

**B. Early Remains**

Scattered surface finds of Neolithic flint tools and some sherds from EB I indicate sporadic occupation of the site in those early periods. A few sherds from Iron Age IIA (9th century B.C.) found at the bottom of area H, and an Ushebti statuette of the 26th Dyn. (late 7th–early 6th centuries B.C.) from the surface (Giveon 1970: 347–8), indicate occasional occupation also in OT times. Therefore, there are no grounds for identifying the site with the biblical "town of Resheph" supposedly mentioned in 1 Chr 7:25 (Clermont-Ganneau 1896b: 259–60; see Kallai 1986: 155 n. 121), nor with one of the cities named in the campaign lists of Tiglath-pileser III (Forrer 1920: 61; see Tadmor 1985: 180–82).

**C. The Persian Period**

Architectural remains from two consecutive phases, uncovered in area H on the virgin soil, indicate that the earliest permanent settlement on the site belongs to that period. Infant burials in jars found in the NE and a large rubbish pit uncovered in area D show that this settlement was confined to the cliff's W edge. The finds include: (1) local pottery—mainly storage jars typical to the inland; (2) imported pottery—mainly Black Glazed Ware from Greece; (3) a great number of *Murex brandaris* shells, from which royal purple has been extracted; (4) a lot of twenty coins—all, except one, minted in Sidon; (5) an ostracon that mentions Eshmun, the chief god of Sidon. Clermont-Ganneau (1876: 374–75) was the first to point out that the Arabic toponym *ʿArsūf* derives from the name of the Phoenician god Resheph; hence it has been suggested that the original name of the site was *(A)rsôp* (Albright 1931–32: 167 n. 20) or rather *(A)ršōf* (Yzreel 1989). That makes one more link with the kingdom of Sidon, which was also known as "the Land of the Reshephs" (*KAI* 15; see Fulco 1976: 47). This data indicates that the earliest settlement at Apollonia was Sidonian, that it served as a trading center which had commercial ties with inland Palestine on one hand and with the Greek world on the other, and that it possessed a purple dye industry. The beginnings seem to date to the early 5th century B.C., when the Sidonian king Eshmunazar II was rewarded by the Persians with "Dor and Jaffa [and] the rich corn lands in the Plain of Sharon," as attested in the inscription on his sarcophagus (*KAI* 14.1.19), in return for the employ of his fleet against the Greeks (Kelly 1987: 39–56).

**D. The Hellenistic Period**

This period is represented mainly by assemblages of pottery uncovered in areas D and H and in two more spots along the cliff's W end, which indicate that the inhabited area was more or less the same as previously. The pottery includes local types, as well as imported wares from the main Hellenistic centers of the E Mediterranean. Large numbers of unbroken *Murex brandaris* shells have been found, and some *Murex trunculus* shells with their back knocked off; these seem to indicate that not only Royal purple (*ʾargāmān*) was produced in Hellenistic times, but also the much appreciated Hyacinthine purple (*tĕkēlet*) (Ziderman 1987: 15–33; see, however, McGovern et al. 1988: 81–90). Josephus, who provides the earliest historical records on the site, mentions Apollonia as a town that belonged to the Jews under Alexander Jannaeus (*Ant* 13.15.4 §395), then as a city restored by Gabinius (*JW* 1.8.4 §166). The name "Apollonia" derives from that of the Greek god Apollo, who was identified with the Phoenician god Resheph already in the early 4th century B.C. (*KAI* 39, 41; see Clermont-Ganneau 1876: 374–75; 1896b: 260; Fulco 1976: 50–52). Hence, there is no reason to think that the town was founded by Seleucus I (Hölscher 1903: 60), or by Apollonius, the Seleucid general under Demetrius II (Conder 1882: 137; Tcherikover 1970: 93).

**E. The Roman Period**

To the Roman period belongs an architectural complex with underground storage rooms, from the 2d (phase I) and early 3d (phase II) centuries A.D., uncovered in area E close to the main descent to the haven. The pottery includes large numbers of rough local storage jars, as well as finer pieces of Eastern Sigillata ware and African Red Slip ware. The latter indicate commercial ties with the main centers of pottery making along the Syro-Phoenician coast and in N Africa. Finds from the surface include: the sculpture of an eagle with a monogram of Emperor Julian and two inscribed stelae (Clermont-Ganneau 1882: 96, 134; Vincent 1909: 445–46), an ostracon with a love formula and a ring with a wish for good health (*SEG* 1957: 846; 1964: 466), all in Greek. That reflects a typical Greco-Roman city of the Mediterranean Orient and Apollonia is indeed recorded as such, between Caesarea and Jaffa (Shürer 1979: 114–15), by Pliny (*HN* 5.13.69), by Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5.15.2), and on the *Tabula Peutingeriana.* Apollonia is not mentioned in the Rabbinic literature nor in the NT. However, one may consider the possibility that the men sent by the centurion Cornelius from Caesarea to Jaffa to bring Peter (Acts 10:1–9) did spend the night at Apollonia, which is at the distance of one day's travel from Caesarea.

**F. The Byzantine Period**

This is the period when the city reached its largest expansion, up to 130 acres according to the pottery spread over the surface. It included a commercial area in the center, a large church in the SE, an industrial area in the N where oil, wine, and glass have been produced, and an anchorage along the shore. More manufacturing installations were found in the S and in the W. Byzantine Apollonia emerged as a main commercial, industrial, and maritime center, which served not only the whole of S Sharon, but also much of W Samaria. Various finds indicate that the city's prosperity was due mainly to its growing and lucrative Samaritan community (Sussman 1983: 71–96). There are no grounds for thinking that the name of the city was changed to Sozousa and to Aphthoria—a theory suggested by Clermont-Ganneau (1896a: 337–39; 1897: 18–20) and widely accepted ever since. Stephanus of Byzantium (ed. Meineke 1849: 106, 596) mentions both, Apollonia (no. 13, "near Jaffa") and Sozousa ("in Phoenicia"), as two different cities. Aphthoria is described by Petrus the Iberian (ed. Raabe 1895: 112) as a village located only 12 miles S of Caesarea.

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**APOLLONIUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Apollōnios* (Ἀπολλωνιος)]. The name of five men mentioned in their several capacities in 1 and 2 Maccabees.

**1.** The Son of Thraseas or (with a slight emendation) a son or native of Tarsus (2 Macc 3:5), and governor of Colesyria under Seleucus IV Philopater (the brother of Antiochus Epiphanes). Polybius (31.13.2–3) tells of a man named Apollonius who was removed from office after the murder of Seleucus by his minister Heliodorus in 175 B.C. (cf. Hengel 1974: 2.11, 272) and retired to Miletus. Polybius' Apollonius could be the son of Thraseas, but certainty is impossible. During the reign of Seleucus IV (187–175 B.C.), a Benjaminite (or a man from the clan of Bilgah) named Simon opposed the high priest Onias III, and turned to Apollonius for help. To entice Apollonius to act, Simon told him about money deposited at the Temple. Apollonius, in turn, informed Seleucus, who dispatched Heliodorus to Jerusalem to investigate (2 Macc 3:4–8). When Heliodorus attempted to confiscate Temple funds, he was struck by a heavenly apparition and nearly died (3:22–25). (In the account of this same event in *4 Macc. 4:1–14*, Apollonius himself, rather than Heliodorus, attempted the confiscation with similar results.)

The identity of the next-mentioned Apollonius (2 Macc 4:4) is debated, because the text is obscure. If one accepts the reading *Apollònion Menestheōs* (Apollonius, son of Menestheos), he is the same person who appears in 4:21. Goldstein argues (*2 Maccabees* AB, 222) that he is different from the Apollonius in 3:5 or 5:24. Bartlett (*Maccabees* CBC, 236) also accepts the reading, but identifies him with the native of Tarsus (as opposed to the son of Thraseas) in 3:5. The defective text, however, gives reason for suspecting the name *Menestheōs,* which could have been supplied from 4:21. On the whole, in fact, it appears that the Apollonius of 4:4 was the same as Apollonius, the son of Thraseas/Tarsus (3:5, 7) since both passages describe an Apollonius who (1) was governor of Colesyria and Phoenicia during the life of Seleucus and (2) supported Simon against Onias III. The author mentions the death of Seleucus in 4:7, so if the son of Thraseas was the same as the Apollonius mentioned by Polybius, he left office for Miletus.

**2.** The Son of Menestheus, sent by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (ruled 175–163 B.C.) to Egypt for the coronation of Philometer ca. 172 B.C. (2 Macc 4:21). Scholars often assume that this Apollonius was also the unnamed collector of tribute sent by Antiochus IV with 22,000 soldiers to Jerusalem in 167 B.C. (1 Macc 1:29–30). The same event is retold in 2 Macc 5:24–26, in which the official, Apollonius, was called a "captain of the Mysians," who were mercenaries from Mysia in NW Asia Minor (Goldstein *1*

*Maccabees* AB, 211). As mentioned above, it is possible that this Apollonius was the same as the native of Tarsus or even the governor of Samaria (see below; cf. Dickson *HDB* 1: 123–24). Also, one cannot exclude the possibility that the son of Menestheus and the captain of the Mysians are different people. On the whole, however, it seems best to see 2 Macc 4:21, 5:24–26 and 1 Macc 1:29–30 as referring to the same person, the son of Menestheus, who seemed not to have been a governor but to have been a trusted emissary of Antiochus.

**3.** The Governor of Samaria, killed in battle by Judas Maccabeus (who captured and used the sword of Apollonius the rest of his life [1 Macc 3:12]). This Apollonius appears suddenly in 1 Macc 3:10, with no introduction and no further designation. Josephus, however, identifies him as the governor of Samaria (*Ant.* 12.7.1 §287). Goldstein accepts that identification and argues that his army would have included surrounding gentiles (Arabs, Idumeans) and Greeks from Samaria itself, but no Samarians (*1 Maccabees* AB, 245–46).

**4.** The Son of Gennaeus, one of five regional rulers under Antiochus V Eupater (ruled 164–162) who persecuted Jews (2 Macc 12:2).

**5.** The Governor of Colesyria and Phoenicia under Alexander Balas (see Joseph. *Ant* 13.4.3 §88, who calls him Apollonius Daus) and Demetrius II Nicator. He is sometimes considered to be the son of Apollonius, son of Thraseas/Tarsus. Polybius mentions (31.19.6 and 21.2) an Apollonius who was the foster brother and confidant of Demetrius I Soter, and who helped him escape from Rome, where he was held hostage. Demetrius landed in Tripolis and ousted Antiochus V Eupater (1 Macc 7:1; 2 Macc 14:1). If the Apollonius in Polybius is the same as the Apollonius in 1 Macc 10:69, his close relationship to Demetrius II Nicator (ruled 145–139 and 129–125) would be explained on the basis of his previous relationship to the father Demetrius I. At any rate, in 147 B.C. Demetrius II sailed to Cilicia from Crete with a large mercenary army, intending to unseat Alexander Balas. As governor of Colesyria he named Apollonius, who apparently already held that position under Alexander Balas (Jos. *Ant* 13.4.3 §88), if not Demetrius I. Apollonius gathered a large army and besieged Jamnia. Meanwhile, he threatened Jonathan, the high priest, in Jerusalem, who attacked Joppa with an army of ten thousand men. Apollonius appeared to retreat from Joppa toward Azotys, taking 3,000 cavalry with him, but leaving 1,000 in hiding to surround Jonathan when he followed. The ambush failed; Jonathan attacked, and at the height of the battle Simon and his forces joined Jonathan. The Seleucids were routed, Azotus and the Temple of Dagan burned (1 Macc 10:67–85).

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**APOLLOPHANES** (PERSON) [Gk *Apollophanēs* (Ἀπολλοφανης)]. A Syrian whom the army of Judah the Maccabee slew at the fortress of Gazara (2 Macc 10:37). The Maccabean forces had pursued Timotheus, the defeated commander of an invading Syrian army, to the fortress at Gazara, in the low hills of W Judaea. Jason of Cyrene, the author of 2 Maccabees, should have written Jazer, a town in Moab where this action probably took place (see 1 Macc 5:6–8; and *Ant* 12.8.1). The Maccabean soldiers killed Timotheus and his brother, Chaireas, the only other inhabitants of the town mentioned by name along with Apollophanes. Nothing is known about Apollophanes' position in the city. (See Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB.)

MITCHELL C. PACWA

**APOLLOS** (PERSON) [Gk *Apollōs* (Ἀπολλως)]. A charismatic young convert in the early Christian community, described as "a man of learning, powerful in the scriptures" (Acts 18:24, NEB) who eventually had some impact on the churches of Achaia, notably Corinth (Acts 18:27; cf. 1 Cor 1:12; 3:4–6; etc.). As a native of Alexandria, Apollos (or Apollonios, according to Codex D) grew up in the leading

center of Hellenistic and Platonic thinking E of Greece. We can only speculate about his intellectual links there, and a number of scholars have suggested he had direct acquaintance with Philo or the Therapeutae. He is presented in Acts as an eloquent speaker with more than a little skill at debating, although it is possible (if not probable) that Luke has exaggerated Apollos' abilities; regardless, there is no doubt that in general his credentials, at least within the context of the synagogue, were impressive.

The note that he was "instructed in his own country (Codex D) in the word of the Lord" (Acts 18:25), if genuine (as claimed by Foakes-Jackson, *Acts* MNTC), does not prove that Christianity had reached Alexandria by A.D. 50. The phrase "word of the Lord" probably refers to the LXX, not the Christian gospel. The possibility that he had contact with John the Baptist is also tenuous, even though according to Luke "he knew only the baptism of John" (Acts 18:25). It is most likely that this knowledge came either from contact with some of John's disciples or from a fragmentary report of the events in Palestine between A.D. 25–30. Apollos is also said to have "taught accurately the things concerning Jesus" (Acts 18:25), which for Luke apparently meant an accurate acquaintance with the facts of Jesus' life (cf. the "orderly account" of Luke 1:3), probably including the account of the resurrection. Yet it seems not to have included any knowledge about what took place immediately after Jesus' ascension; i.e., the coming of the Holy Spirit. Thus, the note in Acts 18:25 that Apollos was *zeōn tō pneumati* ("fervent in spirit," RSV) cannot refer to the Holy Spirit, since this would be inconsistent with his subsequent experience with Aquila and Priscilla (v 26) and with Paul's subsequent experience preaching in Apollos' wake (Acts 19:1–7).

Apollos' fervor appears to have impelled him to become an itinerant Jewish preacher, whose travels eventually brought him to Ephesus. There he began "to speak boldly in the synagogue" (Acts 18:26), an activity made possible by the customary invitation to visitors to make any comments they wished. At that time, Priscilla and Aquila—already introduced in Acts 18:2 as residents of Corinth who had earlier been victims of Claudius' general expulsion of all Jews from Rome (A.D. 49)—were present in the synagogue at Ephesus. They appear to have found his message deficient, and "they took him and expounded to him the way of God more accurately" (18:26). This would appear to have been more than just a casual exchange, and may have involved taking Apollos to their home for an indefinite stay. The "way" they expounded was probably stamped with Paul's distinctive influence, since the couple appear to have been Paul's friends and colleagues from their earlier days together in Corinth.

From Ephesus, Apollos wished to take his freshly supplemented message to Achaia (i.e., Greece), and he received the enthusiastic support of the Ephesian Christians in this endeavor (18:27). According to Codex D, Apollos' trip was urged by some Corinthian Christians currently living at Ephesus (Aquila and Priscilla might possibly fit into such a category). At Corinth, Apollos "greatly helped those who through grace had believed" (18:27), apparently a reference to catechetical instruction of new converts, and he "powerfully confuted the Jews in public, showing by the scriptures that the Christ was Jesus" (18:28). It is not clear what kind of scriptural exegesis is intended by this phrase, although it may be safe to infer that it was stamped by Paul's own christological exegesis of the OT (cf., e.g., Rom 10:6ff.; 1 Cor 10:1ff.; Gal 4:22ff.). That it was "allegorical" in the tradition of Philo's exegesis is purely a guess drawn from Apollos' Alexandrian background.

The church at Corinth apparently lionized Apollos to the point of making him the object of partisan loyalty, a point that is readily apparent in Paul's first epistle to that church (1 Cor 1:12). In that letter, Paul met the challenge not by directly confronting Apollos, but by attacking the Corinthian tendency toward factiousness (1 Cor 4:6). Indeed, Paul lists Apollos as among those who were with him at Ephesus when he composed 1 Corinthians (15:12). Some in the Corinthian church apparently wanted Apollos to return to minister to them, but Apollos refused, presumably out of concern for (and disapproval of) their factiousness. The only other NT reference to Apollos occurs in Titus 3:13, where Titus is asked "to speed Zenas the lawyer and Apollos on their way." The apparent meaning of these words is that the two had been commissioned by Paul to take the letter to Titus, but that they should not tarry long at Crete after delivering it.

The figure of Apollos has become symbolic of both eloquence and knowledge of scripture. Certainly the picture of him that emerges from the NT is of one who was a firm supporter of Paul, and of one who was, despite his natural abilities, in no way interested in competing with or subverting Paul's influence and authority. He seems to have preferred taking the subsidiary role of helping to strengthen churches which had already been established.

Luther suggested that Apollos was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, a suggestion which has received renewed popularity in recent years because of the implied connection with Alexandrian exegesis (cf. Heb 11:8–16 with Philo *Abr*) and to the suggestion that there is a complex interplay between Hebrews and Paul's Corinthian correspondence (Montefiore *Hebrews* BHNTC). But since we have no sample of writing from Apollos with which to compare Hebrews, the suggestion appears to be extremely tenuous (Hurst 1985).

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**APOLLYON** [Gk *Apollyōn* (Ἀπολλυων)]. The Greek name, meaning "Destroyer," given in Rev 9:11 for "the angel of the bottomless pit" (in Hebrew called ABADDON), also identified as the king of the demonic "locusts" described in Rev 9:3–10. These "locusts" rise out of the bottomless pit (see ABYSS) and for five months torture "those of mankind who have not the seal of God upon their foreheads."

In one manuscript (syr$^{ph}$), instead of Apollyon the text reads "Apollo," the Greek god of death and pestilence as well as of the sun, music, poetry, crops and herds, and medicine. Apollyon is no doubt the correct reading. But the name Apollo (Gk *Apollōn*) was often linked in ancient Greek writings with the verb *apollymi* or *apollyō,* "destroy" (cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1080–82). From this time of Grotius, "Apollyon" has often been taken here to be a play on the name Apollo (*TDNT* 1:397). The locust was an emblem of this god, who poisoned his victims, and the name "Apollyon" may be used allusively in Revelation to attack the pagan god (Ford *Revelation* AB, 152) and so indirectly the Roman emperor Domitian, who liked to be regarded as Apollo incarnate (Caird *Revelation* BHNTC, 120). See also DEAD, ABODE OF THE.

HERBERT G. GRETHER

**APOLOGETICS, NT.** Apologetics in the NT comprises a study of the "art of persuasion" employed by the early Christians. Such persuasion evolved in a context of Jewish and Hellenistic thought and laid a foundation for the 2d century apologists.

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A. Introduction
B. Judaism
C. Paganism
D. Roman Empire
E. Other Forms of Christianity
F. Conclusion

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**A. Introduction**

Much of early Christian literature, including the NT, was written to promote and defend the Christian movement. As the early Christians attempted to appeal to the inhabitants of the Greco-Roman world at large, use was made of the strategies and methods of Hellenistic religious propaganda. The appropriation of such apologetic-propagandistic forms was essential if Christianity was to succeed in the face of competition from other religions (Fiorenza 1976: 1–25; cf. Georgi 1971: 124–31).

The study of early Christian apologetics typically begins with the writings of the Greek apologists of the 2d century: Quadratus and Aristides, but especially Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, Melito, and Theophilus. It would be incorrect, however, to presume that these were the *first* Christian apologists. As early as the 1st century, Christians were compelled to defend their religious convictions against a variety of opponents, both within and without, and their apologetic arguments can be discerned in the NT itself.

Indeed, many of these arguments were subsequently picked up and developed by the apologists of the 2d century (Droge 1988).

Apologetics as the "art of persuasion" is a function of rhetoric, specifically the rhetoric of the law courts (Betz 1976: 100). An "apology" (*apologia*) is, *sensu strictu*, a speech of defense in reply to a speech of the prosecution. The earliest Christian preaching is reported to have occurred in a context of this sort (Acts 2:14–35; cf. 22:1; 24:10; 25:8, 16; 26:1, 24; Phil 1:7, 16; 2 Tim 4:16). According to Luke, Jesus himself predicted that his disciples would be required to make an apology (*apologeomai*) before the legal authorities of their day (Luke 12:11). More generally, the author of 1 Peter exhorts his readers to "be prepared to make a defense (*apologia*) to anyone who calls you to account for the hope that is within you" (3:15). Yet, examples of apologetic arguments can also be found in the NT where the terms *apologia/apologeomai* are not explicitly used. For convenience these may be arranged into four broad categories: defense against (1) Judaism, (2) paganism, (3) the Roman Empire, and (4) other forms of Christianity. The impression should not be left, however, that these categories are mutually exclusive. In some instances, apologetic arguments have two or more opponents in view at one time.

**B. Judaism**

Apologetics in the NT takes as its starting point the crucifixion of Jesus, because the idea that the messiah was to suffer and die completely contradicted Jewish expectation. The historically undeniable fact of the crucifixion therefore required a defense of Jesus' messianic status against the Jewish objection that "a hanged man is accursed by God" (Deut 21:23; cf. Gal 3:13–14). The Christian response came most often in the form of an appeal to the Jewish scriptures themselves, for it was believed that these ancient oracles had predicted that the messiah would suffer, die, and be raised from the dead: "Was it not necessary that the Christ should suffer these things and enter into his glory? And beginning with Moses and all the prophets, he [sc. Jesus] interpreted to them in all the scriptures the things concerning himself" (Luke 24:26–27; cf. Acts 3:18–25; 8:30–35; 26:22–23; 1 Cor 15:3–8). The OT passages which figure prominently in this "passion apologetic" include Isaiah 42–44; 49–51; 52–53; 61; Psalms 22; 31; 34; 41; 42–43; 69; 109; 118; and Zechariah 9–14. The argument from prophecy (in reality an act of historical imperialism) became the hallmark of Christian apologetic toward Judaism, not only in the NT but also in Christian apologetics of the 2d century (e.g., the *Preaching of Peter;* Aristo's *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus;* and Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*). However, it was not without its appeal to Greeks (cf. Acts 10:43; Justin, *1 Apol* 33.5; 34.1–11; 48.1–6).

Matthew carries this hermeneutical principle one step further, for he is concerned to demonstrate that not only Jesus' passion but his entire life and teaching were in agreement with the Jewish scriptures. For example, he expands upon sayings of Jesus by adding quotations from the OT (9:13; 12:5–8, 40; 21:16), and he repeatedly emphasizes that the events of Jesus' life fulfilled divine prophecy: "This took place to fulfill (*hina plērothē*) what the Lord had spoken by the prophet …" (1:22; 2:15, 17, 23; 4:14–16; 8:17; 12:17–21; 13:14–15, 35; 21:4–5). Matthew also enters into controversy with Judaism in the Sermon on the Mount by criticizing popular Jewish piety (6:2, 5, 16; 7:5) and presenting Jesus as the legislator of a righteousness superior to that of the scribes and Pharisees (5:20).

Mark takes a somewhat different approach. In addition to the argument from prophecy, he places the necessity for Jesus' suffering and death on the lips of Jesus himself in the form of "passion predictions" (8:31; 9:30–31; 10:32–34, 45). Like the other evangelists, Mark is also anxious to respond to Jewish accusations that Jesus was demon-possessed (3:19b–30 par.), that he did not fast (2:18–22 par.), keep the sabbath (2:23–3:6 par.), or observe laws of ritual purity (7:1–23 par.), and that he associated with sinners (2:15–17 par.) and claimed authority to forgive sins (2:1–12 par.).

Obviously, the resurrection itself was used by Christians as an important argument for the messianic status of Jesus, predictions of it being found, for example, in Psalms 16; 110; and Jonah 1. Apparently, however, allegations were made that the disciples of Jesus had stolen his body and thus faked the resurrection. The apologetic story of the setting of the guard at the tomb of Jesus is clearly an attempt to refute this accusation (Matt 27:62–66; 28:4, 11–15; cf. Craig 1984: 273–81).

The argument from prophecy gave rise to another problem. If Jesus had indeed been the promised messiah, why did the Jews for the most part reject him? The answer comes again in the form of OT citations about the failure of Israel to recognize the messiah (Ps 118:22; Isa 6:9–10; 8:14; 28:16; 29:10). Paradoxically, the unbelief of the Jews becomes a *proof* for Jesus having been the messiah! In the gospels, Jesus repeatedly draws attention to the failure of the Jews to believe in him, just as their ancestors had refused to believe the prophets (Matt 13:10–15 par.; 21:33–45 par.; cf. Acts 4:11; 28:26–27; 1 Pet 2:7–8). Paul expresses a similar view in Rom 9:30–33 and 11:7–10. The author of the Fourth Gospel also shares this perspective (12:37–41), but he carries it to a sinister extreme by demonizing the Jews (8:43–47). The problem of Jewish unbelief is one of the themes of Stephen's speech in Acts (7:51–53), but the speech goes considerably beyond this to argue that Christianity has superseded Judaism as a world religion. In particular, Stephen is sharply critical of the Jewish law and temple cult (Acts 6:11, 13), as Jesus himself seems to have been (Mark 7:18–19; 14:58; John 2:19).

In Gal 3:1–29 Paul engages in a critique of Judaism and presents a theoretical justification for his rejection of the Jewish law. A striking feature of Paul's argument is that the *lateness* of the law proves its lack of validity (Grant 1952: 223–24). On the other hand, God's covenant with Abraham (who is a type of the pagan convert) has both chronological and theological priority. According to Paul, the law of Moses represents a decline from an originally superior state of affairs. Indeed, the law brings with it a "curse" (Gal 3:10, 19–25; cf. Betz, *Galatians* Hermeneia, 144–46). A similar view was expressed before Paul's time by the influential polymath Posidonius of Apamea in his studies of primitive religion (Grant 1952: 224). His account of the origin of Judaism (preserved by Strabo 16.2.35–39; Nock 1959: 8, however, posits a Jewish source for Strabo) describes how the pure religion which Moses established in Jerusalem was later corrupted by "superstitious and tyrannical men" who instituted dietary regulations, ritual observances, and circumcision. Something like this informs Paul's rejection of the law in Galatians. He radicalizes it, however, by placing the point of decline earlier: the corruption of Moses' successors has become the corruption of Moses *himself*, or of the (fallen?) angels who gave him the law (Gal 3:19; cf. Grant 1952: 224). Paul takes a similar position with respect to Judaism in Rom 2:1–4:25, though his tone is far more conciliatory.

The appeal to the Jewish scriptures also had a positive apologetic value. In addition to vindicating the "crucified messiah," the appeal had the effect of providing Christianity with a past history, indeed, an ancient and venerable one. In the Greco-Roman period, it was axiomatic that nothing could be both new *and* true (cf. Celsus, according to Origen, *Cels* 4.14). The attempt to anchor Christianity backward in the ancient writings of Moses and the prophets gave the impression at least that Christianity had antiquity on its side. Thus, Christianity becomes the "true Israel," and Christians the true descendants of Abraham (Gal 3:7, 9, 14, 29; 6:16; Rom 9:6–8). It was the task of the apologists of the 2d century to draw out the implications of this (see especially Justin, *1 Apol* 23.1; 31.8; 44.8–10; Tatian, *Orat* 31.1; Theophilus, *Autol* 3.16–30; Tertullian, *Apol* 19.1).

**C. Paganism**

If the idea of a crucified messiah was scandalous to Jews, it also offended Greek sensibilities (Celsus, according to Origen, *Cels* 1:54: "Celsus … reproaches the savior for his passion, saying that he was not helped by his father, nor was he able to help himself"; cf. 1.66, 69; 2.16, 36, 55, 63, 67–70). In the NT almost no attempt is made to alleviate the offense of the cross. Paul, for example, admits that the doctrine of "Christ crucified" (*Christos estauromenos*) is foolishness, at least according to recognized standards of wisdom; but he insists nevertheless that through the crucified (and resurrected) Christ, God has accomplished what human wisdom and philosophy could not: the redemption of mankind from the demonic powers of the cosmos (1 Cor 1:18–2:16; cf. 2 Cor 13:4; Gal 6:14). It is really only the author of the Fourth Gospel who, in gnosticizing fashion, reinterprets the crucifixion and thereby reduces its importance as a vicarious sacrifice.

One way the NT attempts to establish the divinity of Jesus is through the miracles he is said to have performed. The gospels of Mark and John, for example, portray Jesus as a wandering miracle worker who demonstrated his divine power by his deeds (Mark 4:35–5:43; 7:24–8:9; John 2:1–11; 4:46–5:9; 6:1–14;

9:1–7; 11:1–44). There is, however, an inherent weakness in the "argument from miracle," because opponents of Christianity could use the miracles as evidence that Jesus was a *magician,* not the son of God (so Celsus, according to Origen, *Cels* 1.68; 2.48–53). The 2d-century apologists are acutely aware of this. There is relatively little appeal in Justin to the miracles as evidence of Jesus' divinity. Justin recognizes that miracles only carry conviction to those who are actual eyewitnesses, and evoke no wonder in those who are dependent on secondhand testimony (*Dial. Trypho* 69.6).

In its attitude toward Greek religion the NT adopts a tradition going back to Hellenistic Judaism (Wisdom of Solomon 13–15). This tradition finds its clearest expression in Rom 1:18–32, where Paul criticizes pagan religion (Castellino 1963: 255–63). According to him, the history of Greek religion is one of degradation and corruption spurred on by men who have suppressed the truth. It therefore stands under divine wrath (1:18). This was not always the case, however, for originally mankind had a better, albeit approximate, conception of deity. These initial religious beliefs arose from man's intellectual contemplation of God's invisible nature insofar as it could be discerned in the creation (1:20; cf. Wis 13:1, 5; Philo, *Praem* 43). Paul characterizes this primordial religion simply as the knowledge of God (1:21). At some point, however, a process of corruption began. Instead of rendering proper worship to God, men "directed their thoughts to worthless things" and began to worship the images of men and animals (1:21–23; cf. Wis 13:10, 13–14; 14:17; 15:18). Thus, "they exchanged the truth for a lie and worshipped the creation instead of the creator" (1:25). The corruption of religion consequently brought about the perversion of morality, for having abandoned a proper understanding of God, men fell prey to their passions and engaged in unnatural sexual practices and assorted crimes (1:26–28). Indeed, according to Paul, it is the invention of idolatry which is the origin and cause of all the vices which destroy society (1:29–31; cf. Wis 14:12, 17). In this way the curse of God's wrath accomplishes its purpose. Paul's concern here is to demonstrate on the basis of a *theologia naturalis* that the Greeks are "without excuse" (*anapologētoi,* 1:20; 2:1), for there is a sufficient knowledge of God available to all men to ensure their responsibility (Ferguson 1962: 193).

Elsewhere Paul exhorts Christians to "shun the worship of idols," for whoever participates in pagan religious ceremonies is in reality worshipping *demons,* not God (1 Cor 10:14, 20–21; cf. 1 Thess 1:9–10; 2 Cor 6:15–16; 1 John 5:21; Rev 9:20). The belief that the traditional gods of Greek religion and myth were actually demons derives from Jewish tradition (*1 En.* 19:1; 99:7; *Jub.* 1:11; 22:17), but it is also found in the Academic critique of popular religion (Plut. *De def. or.* 417 CE; *De Is. et Os.* 360F; 361B; cf. Decharme 1904: 220–32, 454–64). The apologists of the 2d century employ both traditions to support their criticism of Greco-Roman religion (Justin, *1 Apol* 5.2–6.1; *2 Apol* 5.2–5; Athenagoras, *leg.* 24.3–27.2). The fact that many Christians refused to participate in pagan worship led directly to the charge that they were "atheists."

There are two passages in Acts in which Luke brings Christianity into direct confrontation with paganism (Acts 14:8–18; 17:16–34; cf. Grant 1986: 25–26, 49–51). In the first episode, Paul and Barnabas visit the Roman colony at Lystra, where Paul heals a man who had been crippled from birth. The Lystrans are so awed by the miracle that they suppose "the gods have come down … in the likeness of men" (14:11). Indeed, Barnabas and Paul are called Zeus and Hermes, and sacrifices are prepared for them. Paul, however, delivers a brief speech to dissuade the Lystrans (14:15–17). This is the first instance in Acts where Paul preaches to pagans without any link to the synagogue or Judaism (Haenchen *The Acts of the Apostles* MeyerK, 431). Paul urges the Lystrans to turn from "vain idols" (*ta mataia;* cf. LXX Jer 2:5) to a living God who created the world (14:15, citing Exod 20:11; cf. 1 Thess 1:9–10). Although in past generations God has allowed the pagans (*ta ethnē*) "to walk in their own ways" (Acts 17:30), he can still be perceived in the natural order of the cosmos: "For he did good and gave you from heaven rains and fruitful seasons, satisfying your hearts with food and gladness" (14:16–17; cf. Rom 1:20). It is interesting that in this non-Jewish context Paul's preaching is based on a kind of natural theology instead of the argument from prophecy. The fact that the name of Jesus is never used (not even in the miracle) is striking.

The apologetic theme of Paul's speech at Lystra is more fully developed in his speech at Athens (Acts 17:16–34). Once again Paul condemns idolatry, but this time the debate is with Epicurean and Stoic philosophers as well as with the officials of the Areopagus (on the historical problems, see Haenchen *Acts* MeyerK, 527–29). Furthermore, Paul's preaching at Athens contains an explicit reference to "Jesus and the resurrection." The Epicureans dismiss Paul as a "babbler" (*spermologos*), while the Stoics regard him as a "preacher of foreign divinities" (*kataggeleus xenōn daimoniōn*), presumably Jesus and his consort "Anastasis" (17:18). The educated reader of Acts could scarcely overlook the similarity to the charge against Socrates (*kaina daimonia eispherōn,* Xenophon, *Mem* 1.1.1; cf. Haenchen, *Acts* MeyerK, 527). Consequently Paul is brought before the court of the Areopagus in order to determine what his "new teaching" is (17:20). Paul begins his defense by calling the Athenians "very religious" (*deisidaimonesteroi*, 17:22; cf. 25:19), for while wandering through the city he discovered an altar dedicated "To an unknown god" (*agnostō theō,* 17:23). Paul concludes from this that the Athenians, or pagans generally, stand in a positive and negative relation to the one, true God: they worship him (along with many other gods!), yet they do not know him (Haenchen, *Acts* Meyer K, 521). Hence, Paul proclaims him. Alluding to Isa 42:5, he argues that the creator and lord of the cosmos does not live in man-made temples, nor is he in need of sacrifices from men. On the contrary, he is the one who "gives to all men life and breath and everything" (17:24–25; cf. 14:17). It is man's obligation therefore to seek God, for "he is not far from each one of us" (17:27). As proof of this, Paul quotes a line from the Stoic Aratus' poem *Phainomena* (5), a widely read and valued text: "For we are indeed his [according to Aratus, Zeus'] offspring" (17:28; cf. Cadbury 1955: 46–49). Paul goes on to point out that since we are God's offspring, we should not imagine that the deity is like an idol (17:29). The Hellenistic-Jewish philosopher Aristobulus (2d century B.C.) had cited this passage from Aratus to make a similar point (according to Eus. *Praep. Evang.* 13.12.3–7). Paul's polemic is directed not so much at the religion of the philosophers as it is aimed at Greek popular religion (Haenchen, *Acts* Meyer K, 525). At this point the speech takes a different turn. In the past, God has overlooked "the times of ignorance" (i.e., he had not punished the Greeks as they deserved; cf. 14:16; *contra* Rom 1:18–32); but now a decisive change has occurred: all men must repent because God is going to judge the world by "a man" (Jesus, though he is not named). The proof of this is that God has raised Jesus from the dead (17:30–31). With this, God ceases to be *unknown* (Haenchen, *Acts* MeyerK, 525). Once again the proclamation of the resurrection is incomprehensible to Paul's hearers: the Epicureans openly mock it, while the Stoics postpone a decision. "Some," however, are converted (17:32–34).

Both the Areopagus speech and Paul's address at Lystra anticipate some of the main lines of 2d-century Christian apologetics (Geffcken 1907: xxxii–xxxiii).

**D. Roman Empire**

Examples of political apologetic abound in the NT, especially in the Lukan writings. It is Luke alone, for example, who connects the birth of Jesus with the census decree of Augustus (2:1–7; similarly, 3:1–2), implying thereby that Christianity rightfully belongs to the general course of world history (cf. Acts 26:26, "for this was not done in a corner"). The 2d-century apologist Melito of Sardis delights in pointing out that the birth of Christ coincided with the establishment of the Roman Empire by Augustus (according to Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.26.7–8). Like the other evangelists, Luke is concerned to prove that Jesus was devoid of revolutionary intentions. In response to the provocative question about the payment of taxes to the emperor, Jesus insists that they should be paid (20:20–26 par.). Paul makes much the same point in Rom 13:1–7, as does the author of 1 Pet 2:13–17. In the Fourth Gospel an attempt is made to clear Jesus of the charge of being a political revolutionary by having him refuse to become king by popular acclamation (6:15; cf. 18:36). Luke is also anxious to demonstrate that Jesus was innocent of the charge of sedition. According to Luke, Pilate does not condemn Jesus (23:25; *contra* Mark 15:15; Matt 27:26); instead he pronounces him innocent on three occasions (23:4, 14, 22; cf. John 18:38; 19:4, 6). Furthermore, Luke exonerates the Romans of all culpability in the execution of Jesus: the Jewish authorities are the ones who willfully conspire to have Jesus condemned as a political revolutionary (20:20; 23:2, 5, 18–19, 23; cf. Matt 27:24–25). This in turn prepares the way for the defense of

Christianity against the charge of sedition in Acts (Légasse 1981: 249–55). Once again it is the Jews who make the accusation: "They are all acting against the decrees of Caesar, saying that there is another king, Jesus" (Acts 17:7; cf. 24:5). Paul's response is typical: "Neither against the law of the Jews, nor against the temple, nor against Caesar have I offended at all" (25:8). Throughout Acts, Luke introduces an impressive array of Roman officials who display benevolence toward Christian missionaries (especially Paul) and who repeatedly attest that the charges brought against them have no factual basis (Acts 13:7, 12; 16:37–39; 18:12–16; 19:35–40; 23:26–30; 25:24–27; 26:30–32). Indeed, Paul is permitted to carry on his missionary work "openly and unhindered" even while being detained under military surveillance in Rome (28:30–31). Luke's political apologetic is intended to emphasize that there is nothing seditious about Christianity; on the contrary, Christians are law-abiding subjects of the Roman Empire. The apologists of the 2d century make the same claim (Justin *1 Apol* 17.1–3; Tertullian, *Apol* 21–24; 30–4; 32.1–3; 39.2).

An altogether negative evaluation of the Roman Empire is found in the Apocalypse of John, the result perhaps of active persecution of Christians by the state. The Pauline and Lukan view of the Empire as, on the whole, just and beneficent is here replaced by one which sees the Empire as energized by demonic forces bent on destroying the churches of God. This hostility is expressed through two principal agents: the "beasts" of Revelation 13. The first of these, the beast from the sea, is the Roman Empire itself (13:1–10); the second, the beast from the earth (or the false prophet), is the imperial cult (13:11–18). In the face of this onslaught, the apocalyptic writer advocates martyrdom, not violent resistance, for he is convinced that God and Christ will eventually triumph over the forces of evil in a great cosmic battle. The importance of Revelation should not be underestimated even though it is scarcely at the center of the NT.

**E. Other Forms of Christianity**

In the 1st century, Christianity lacked a uniform church structure and theology. Instead Christian communities tended to be shaped theologically and organizationally by their respective founders. Relations among these groups often ranged from close cooperation to competition and outright hostility. Nowhere is this clearer than in the Galatian churches established by Paul. His letter to these churches presents the first systematic apology for Christianity, not to outsiders but to Christians themselves (Betz 1976: 99–114). In Galatians, Paul defends what he calls "the truth of the gospel" (2:5, 14), that is, *his* gospel, "the gospel of the uncircumcision" (2:7; cf. 1:6–7; 5:6; 6:15).

Sometime after Paul's departure from Galatia, Jewish-Christian missionaries arrived from Jerusalem and attempted to persuade the Galatians that they were obligated to observe the law of Moses and receive circumcision if they hoped to achieve salvation (2:15–21; 3:2–5; 4:21; 5:2–12; 6:12–17). Paul's defense takes the form of an "apologetic letter" (Betz, *Galatians* Hermeneia, 14–15, 24, 28, 30). He begins by placing his opponents in historical perspective, identifying as their predecessors the dissenting faction at the Jerusalem council: the "false brethren" (2:4–5), the "men from James" (2:12), and the "circumcision faction" (2:12), as well as the Cephas group at Antioch (2:11–14). Furthermore, Paul contends that his "law-free" gospel was officially recognized by the "pillar apostles" of the Jerusalem church (2:1–10). Next, Paul appeals to scripture to prove that his gospel to the Gentiles represents the fulfillment of God's covenant with Abraham (3:1–29). Since Paul's opponents had success in winning the Galatians over to their side (i.e., to a form of Christian Judaism), Paul is compelled to define and defend his theology over against Judaism (see above, section B). Finally, in the allegory of Hagar and Sarah (4:21–31), Paul argues that only those who rely on faith and not the law are the true children of Abraham.

In its polemic against the doctrine of justification by faith, the letter of James provides evidence for the theology and continued existence of Paul's Jewish-Christian opponents (Jas 2:14–26; cf. Luedemann 1983: 194–205).

Galatians was not the only letter in which Paul had to defend himself against rival missionaries. In the letter fragment preserved in Phil 3:2–4:3 we learn that, like the opponents in Galatia, the adversaries encountered in Philippi also advocated a form of Christianity which included observance of the Jewish law and circumcision. Paul angrily refers to these opponents as "dogs" (3:2), turning on them the common term of abuse used by Jews of pagans (cf. Mark 7:27). In hyperbolic fashion Paul redefines circumcision

as a form of ritual mutilation (3:2; cf. Gal 5:12) and argues that righteousness cannot be obtained through the law but only through faith in Christ (3:9; cf. Gal 2:16).

Paul also encountered Jewish-Christian missionaries in Corinth who boasted that they were "Hebrews, Israelites, and descendants of Abraham" as well as "servants of Christ" (2 Cor 11:22–23; cf. Georgi 1964: 31–82, 219–46). These "superapostles" (11:5; 12:11) arrived in Corinth carrying letters of recommendation (3:1, from Jerusalem?) and claiming that they had performed miracles (12:11–12) and received mystical experiences (12:1–9). Since, however, they do not mention the law or circumcision, they appear not to have been the same opponents Paul encountered in Galatia and Philippi. These missionaries criticized Paul, saying that "his letters are weighty and strong, but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech of no account" (10:10–12). Furthermore, they argued that Paul's refusal to accept money from the Corinthians was either because he had no apostolic authority (12:11–18; cf. 11:7–9) or because he planned to steal from the collection (12:17). Paul first responded to these opponents in the letter fragment of 2 Cor 2:14–6:13 and 7:2–4. This letter appears to have been unsuccessful, however, for after a personal visit to Corinth, Paul was again compelled to defend himself in a letter partially preserved in 2 Corinthians 10–13, the so-called "letter of tears" mentioned in 2:4. This letter is a defense (cf. *apologeomai* in 12:19) of Paul's apostleship and ministry and displays a considerable amount of literary and rhetorical sophistication (Betz 1972: 13–42). Although Paul asks the Corinthians not to evaluate him by his opponents' criteria (10:1–18), he finally does so himself in the "fool's speech" of 11:16–12:13. Paul contends that he fully measures up to his opponents in terms of pedigree and spirituality (11:22–23; 12:1–16). Paradoxically, however, he insists that his superiority consists of the dangers, insults, and misfortunes that have plagued his career as an apostle: "If I must boast, I will boast of the things that show my weakness" (11:23–33; cf. 12:7–10, the "thorn in the flesh"). In this way, Paul makes clear that the Corinthians should not judge him in comparison with his opponents. Instead they must examine themselves to see whether they are holding the faith and whether Christ is present among them (13:5). If this is the case, then Paul has stood the test (Koester 1982: 2.130).

A completely different situation is presupposed by Paul's first letter to the Corinthians. Here Paul is not contending with *outside* rivals (but note the references to Apollos, 1:12; 3:4–6, 22; 4:6; 16:12). His polemic is addressed instead to the Corinthians themselves. In fact, the problems with which Paul deals seem to have resulted from a misunderstanding of what he himself had preached. Since he does not accuse the Corinthians of believing a "different gospel," 1 Corinthians is not an apologetic letter like Galatians or 2 Corinthians 10–13 (Koester 1982: 2.121).

In Colossians, Paul (or a Paulinist) is once again arguing with Jewish-Christian opponents who advocate circumcision (2:11) and the observance of dietary regulations and festivals like new moon and sabbath (2:16, 21). This is reminiscent of the situation in Galatians and Philippians, but in Colossians there is a gnostic dimension to the opponents' theology (*philosophia,* 2:8; cf. Koester 1982: 2.264–65). The opponents regard Christ as the head of a hierarchy of cosmic powers (1:16; 2:10). Union with Christ therefore could only be achieved through the mediation of angelic powers, probably in the context of a mystery-like initiation (2:18). In responding to this form of Christianity, the author of Colossians admits that Christ is the chief of the cosmic powers (1:15–20; 2:10; cf. Eph 1:21–22); but he maintains that through Christ's death these cosmic powers have been conquered and disarmed (2:15). At the same time the author contends that the Jewish law has also been canceled through Christ's death (2:14).

The precise identity of the opponents attacked by the author of the Pastoral Letters is difficult to determine. There are references which seem to fit both Jewish-Christians (1 Tim 1:7; 4:3; Titus 1:10, 14) and "gnostics" (1 Tim 6:20; 2 Tim 2:18), as well as false teachers generally (1 Tim 6:5, 10; 2 Tim 3:6–7; Titus 1:11). Only rarely, however, does the author enter into theological debate with his opponents (1 Tim 4:1–5). Instead, he prefers name-calling (Karris 1973: 549–64). The Pastorals seem therefore to have been designed as a manual or handbook to enable church leaders to identify and reject "heretical" brands of Christianity (Koester 1982: 2.304).

The author of the document known as 2 Peter warns his readers about those who distort the scriptures, including Paul's writings (3:16), with "cleverly designed myths" (1:16; cf. 2:1–22). In particular, these

opponents reject the doctrine of Christ's parousia: "Where is the promise of his coming? For ever since the fathers fell asleep, all things have continued as they were from the beginning of creation" (3:4). The author of 2 Peter does not defend the traditional understanding of the parousia, but presents a general eschatological view of the dissolution of the cosmos, similar to the Stoic doctrine of "conflagration," *ekpy-rōsis* (3:5–13; cf. Käsemann 1964: 169–95), with criticisms by Neyrey 1980: 407–31).

The author of 1 John argues against a "gnostic" interpretation of the Gospel of John. He identifies his opponents as those who deny that Jesus "came in the flesh" (4:2) and who refuse to identify the heavenly Christ with the earthly Jesus (2:22). In response, the author of 1 John insists on their identity (5:6–8) and maintains that such a view is in full accord with the intentions of the gospel (1:1–4). The author of 3 John is critical of a certain Diotrephes, who "does not acknowledge my authority" (9–10). The problem, however, seems to be more one of ecclesiastical politics than of theological controversy.

**F. Conclusion**

On the basis of this general survey of apologetics in the NT, the following conclusions may be drawn: (1) The appeal to the Jewish scriptures lies at the heart of the apologetic enterprise, both with respect to Judaism and the wider Greco-Roman world. It is on this basis that Jesus' messianic status is said to be proven and that Christianity's claim to be a world religion is established. In some instances even intramural controversies are resolved by an appeal to the OT. (2) The NT response to Greek religion is decidedly negative. Greek religion is rejected as idolatrous and the gods of the Greeks are exposed as demons who have deceived and enslaved mankind. Here the NT adopts the perspective of Hellenistic Judaism and, indeed, of Greek philosophy itself. Nevertheless, on the basis of an appeal to natural theology, pagans are held accountable, for there is sufficient knowledge of God available to them to ensure their responsibility. (3) With one exception, the NT uniformly views the Roman Empire as just and beneficent. Likewise, Christians are portrayed as loyal, law-abiding subjects of the Empire. (4) Many of the apologetic arguments found in the NT anticipate the main outlines of 2d-century apologetics. (See Bardy *RAC* 1: 533–43; Kamlah *RGG*$^3$ 1: 477–500.)

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A. J. DROGE

**APOPHTHEGM.** New Testament interpreters have used five different terms to refer to brief narratives that culminate in a saying of Jesus: (1) apophthegm; (2) paradigm; (3) pronouncement story; (4) chreia; and (5) anecdote. R. Bultmann, who used the term apophthegm, defined the form as "sayings of Jesus set in a brief context" (1963: 11). M. Dibelius, who used the term "paradigm," defined the form as an example narrative, "a record of a particular situation in a form which is as far as possible free of tendency and therefore of individuality and color" (1934: 37). He added that "many a Paradigm reaches its point in, and at the same time concludes with, a word of Jesus" (1934: 56). V. Taylor, using the term "pronouncement story," defined the form as stories that "quickly reach their climax in a saying of Jesus which was of interest to the first Christians because it bore directly upon questions of faith and practice" (1949: 23). R. Tannehill, using at one time the term "apophthegm" (*ANRW* 2/25/2: 1792–1829) and at another time "pronouncement story" (1981a, 1981b), expanded the definition to: a brief narrative in which the climactic (and often final) element is a pronouncement which is presented as a particular person's response to something said or observed on a particular occasion of the past. There are two main parts of a pronouncement story: the pronouncement and its setting, i.e., the response and the situation provoking the response. The movement from the one to the other is the main development in these brief stories (Tannehill 1981a: 1; cf. *ANRW* 2/25/2: 1792–93).

In recent years, as rhetorical analysis of the New Testament has come under the influence of the study of ancient rhetoric, a growing number of interpreters have started to use the term "chreia" for these units. According to our earliest extant definition, a chreia is a concise statement or action attributed with aptness to some specified character or to something analogous to a character (Butts 1987: 187; cf. Hock and O'Neil 1986: 83). This definition calls attention to action as well as speech, but even more important is the rhetorical framework in which the definition occurs. Ancient rhetoricians manipulated the chreia by adding comments at the beginning and end, by expanding situations, questions and answers, and by elaborating the chreia into an argumentative sequence of units or into an essay. This means that a concise statement or action attributed to a specific person was a primary means for exploring, transmitting, and clarifying information about life in the world. The form, therefore, was not closed and unchangeable, but open and fluid. Since most of the features of the chreia discussed by the rhetoricians appear in the NT (see Robbins 1988a), interpreters have begun to analyze brief, medium, and longer units as instances of abbreviated, expanded, and elaborated chreiai (Mack 1988; Mack and Robbins 1988).

With the use of the term "chreia," interpreters have broadened the understanding of the relation of early Christian stories to stories in Hellenistic and Roman literature and society. Many more instances of chreiai exist in contemporary Greek and Roman literature than in contemporary Jewish literature. In the context of this observation, K. Berger, B. Mack, and V. K. Robbins have used the more general term "anecdote" as well as chreia, pronouncement story, and apophthegm to refer to the units (Berger *ANRW* 2/25/2: 1034–1432; 1984; Mack 1987; Robbins 1988b). This terminology reflects an awareness of fluidity within the form and of widespread existence of the form in Hellenistic and Roman culture.

No matter which of the five terms interpreters have used, all of them consider eleven well-known stories to represent the form: Eating with Tax Collectors and Sinners (Mark 2:15–17); the Question about Fasting (Mark 2:18–22); Plucking Grain on the Sabbath (Mark 2:23–28); True Relatives of Jesus (Mark 3:31–34); Blessing the Children (Mark 10:13–16); The Rich Young Man (Mark 10:17–22); The Sons of Zebedee (Mark 10:35–40); Paying Taxes to Caesar (Mark 12:13–17); On the Resurrection (Mark 12:18–27); The Anointing at Bethany (Mark 14:3–9); and Healing of the Man with Dropsy (Luke 14:1–6).

Dibelius, using the term "paradigm," discussed seven stories beyond this common group. One of them, Prophet without Honor (Mark 6:1–6), has been included by most interpreters except Taylor, who called it a "story about Jesus" rather than a "pronouncement story" (1949: 75). Cleansing the Temple (Mark 11:15-17) often is not included since the saying of Jesus derives from scripture. A third story, the Inhospitable Samaritans (Luke 9:51–55), often is not included since most early manuscripts do not contain the response, "and he [Jesus] said, 'You do not know what manner of spirit you are of; for the Son of Man came not to destroy men's lives but to save them.' " Dibelius also included four healing stories in addition to Luke 14:1–6: The Demoniac in the Synagogue (Mark 1:23–28); The Paralytic (Mark 2:1–12); The Man with the Withered Hand (Mark 3:1–6); and Blind Bartimaeus (Mark 10:46–52). Many interpreters today include the first three, because of the decisive speech and action of Jesus, but only a few include the healing of blind Bartimaeus.

Bultmann discussed forty-seven stories in the section on apophthegms in the Synoptic Gospels. During the 1980s this list expanded dramatically. In 1984, Berger presented a list of sixty-seven units (1984: 80–82) and Tannehill discussed approximately eighty-five units (*ANRW* 2/25/2: 1792–1829). In addition to the eleven units universally accepted and Prophet without Honor (Mark 6:1–6), Berger and Tannehill discussed twenty-two units Bultmann had discussed in his investigation of apophthegms: Beel-zebul Controversy (Mark 3:22[23]–30); Defilement (Mark 7:1–15); Dispute about Greatness (Mark 9:33–37); Strange Exorcist (Mark 9:38–40); Who Can Be Saved? (Mark 10:23[26]–27); Already Left Family (Mark 10:28–31); Question of Authority (Mark 11:27–33); Greatest Commandment (Mark 12:28–34); Widow's Penny (Mark 12:41–44); Temple Destruction (Mark 13:1–2); Following (Matt 8:19–22; Luke 9:57–62); Baptist's Question (Matt 11:2–6; Luke 7:18–23); Praise of Children (Matt 21:14–16); Shekel in Fish's Mouth (Matt 17:24–27); Mary and Martha (Luke 10:38[40]–42); Woman Blesses Jesus' Mother (Luke 11:27–28); Parable of Rich Fool (Luke 12:13–21); Repentance or Destruction (Luke 13:1–5[9]); Prophet Perish in Jerusalem (Luke 13:31–33); Kingdom of God in You (Luke 17:20–21); Zaccheus (Luke 19:1–10); and Disciples Praise Mighty Works (Luke 19:37–40). In addition, Berger and Tannehill included ten units not included by Bultmann among apophthegms: Sign Request (Mark 8:11–12); Question about David's Son (Mark 12:35–37); Temptation of Jesus (Matt 4:1–11; Luke 4:1–13); Forgiveness (Matt 18:21–35); Inquiries to the Baptist (Luke 3:10–15); Return of the Seventy (Luke 10:17–20); Continuation of the Greatest Commandment (Luke 10:29–37); Narrow Door (Luke 13:22–30); Lovers of Money (Luke 16:14–15[31]); and Faith and Worthy Servant (Luke 17:5–6[10]). Beyond this, Tannehill (1981b) includes approximately thirty-five Synoptic Gospel units that Berger (1984) does not include. In turn, Berger introduces ten units from the Gospel of John and two from Acts: Why Do You Baptize? (John 1:24–27); Temple Cleansing (John 13:22); Question to John about Jesus (John 3:25–36); Jesus' Food (John 4:31–34); Work of God Is to Believe (John 6:28–29); Request for Sign (John 6:30–34); Refusal to Go to Jerusalem Openly (John 7:1–9); Adulterous Woman (John 8:1–11); Going to Jerusalem Again? (John 11:8–10); Mary Anoints Jesus (John 12:1–8); What Should We Do? (Acts 2:37–39); What Should I Do? (Acts 16:30–31).

When the lists of Berger and Tannehill are combined, approximately one hundred units in the Gospels and Acts now are being discussed as apophthegms or pronouncement stories. Along with this expansion of the list has come significantly new systems for classifying the units. A classification system among the forms began with Bultmann, who distinguished biographical apophthegms from controversy and didactic apophthegms. Tannehill grouped the synoptic units under five categories: (1) correction stories; (2) commendation stories; (3) quest stories; (4) objection stories; and (5) inquiry stories (1981a; 1981b; *ANRW* 2/25/2: 1792–1829). Berger and Robbins have introduced the categories of deliberative, judicial,

and epideictic rhetoric in their classifications of stories (Berger 1984: 91–92; Robbins 1984). In addition, Robbins has grouped more than 1700 stories from antiquity according to the life cycle of a person and the major groups of people with whom the person interacts during the adult stage (1988b). The life-cycle categories are: (1) conception and birth; (2) childhood through beginning of adult career; (3) adult career; (4) old age; and (5) death. During the adult stage, the main character interacts with eight different kinds of people or groups: (1) associate or friend (individual); (2) associates or friends (group); (3) family; (4) feminine person(s); (5) general person or audience; (6) leader or representative (of a group or type); (7) specified group; (8) young person(s). This classification shows that these brief stories, each attributed to a specific person, are natural constituents in a biography of a person's life (cf. Berger 1984: 82).

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VERNON K. ROBBINS


**APOSTASY.** See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES.

**APOSTLE.** An apostle in the NT is an envoy, an ambassador, or a missionary. In the NT the term "apostle" is applied to one who carries the message of the gospel.

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A. Definition and Origin
B. Apostles as Missionaries
C. Jesus' Disciples as Apostles
D. Paul as Apostle of the Gentiles
E. False Apostles
F. Christ as Apostle


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### A. Definition and Origin

The early Christian title of apostle, although well attested in the NT and other early Christian sources, presents a number of still unresolved problems. The noun "apostle" (*apostolos*) is originally an adjective derived from the verb *apostellō* ("send"), found in the NT with a considerable range of meanings. The basic concept is that of the sending of messengers or envoys; an apostle can also be called *angelos* ("messenger," e.g., Luke 7:24; 9:52) or *kērux* ("herald," e.g., 1 Tim 2:7, 2 Tim 1:11; cf. Mark 1:45; 2 Cor 5:20). Apostles can be human or divine, sent by human or divine authorities.

The original adjective *apostolos* is attested only infrequently in Greek literature, referring to an envoy or a bearer of a message in a general sense (e.g., Herodotus 1.21; Plato, *Ep.* 7.346a). This technical meaning conforms to the Aramaic *selîaḥ* (Ezra 7:14; Dan 5:24; cf. 2 Chr 17:7–9; for references and bibliography, see Spicq, 1982). In the Hellenistic era, the concept of the divine envoy was applied by Epictetus to the ideal cynic (*Diss.* 3.22.3; 4.8.31), but the term *apostolos* does not occur. Christianity, therefore, appears to have picked a secular term and made it into a specific office and title.

In addition to evidencing a bewildering range of applications of the title of apostle, the NT and the early patristic literature also attempt to define it. Since scholarship is still divided on many of the questions, the following definitions must be seen as part of the argument and not as final answers.

The basic definition given by Origen (*Jo.* 32.17, ed. Preuschen 1903: 453, line 17) is simple: "Everyone who is sent by someone is an apostle of the one who sent him." The concept involves legal and administrative aspects and is basic to all types of representatives, envoys, and ambassadors. In the area of Christian religion, the term "apostle" can refer to a messenger, human or divine, sent by God or Christ to reveal messages or to reveal *the* message of the gospel. Origen's definition, although later, is grounded in the NT itself; e.g., John 13:16: "Truly, truly I say to you, a servant is not greater than his master; nor is he who is sent greater than the one who sent him" (cf. also Matt 10:40–42; Gal 4:14). More specific is the definition given in Acts 1:21–22, according to which an apostle must be "one of the men who have accompanied us during all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John until the day when he was taken up from us …" Paul mentions (2 Cor 12:12; cf. Rom 15:19; Acts 5:12) the practice of the apostle legitimating himself by "the signs of the apostle" (*ta sēmeia tou apostolou*): i.e., "by signs and miracles and wondrous deeds." In the Petrine traditions, the task of the apostle is seen as transmitting the words of the prophets and of Jesus to the church (2 Pet 3:2; cf. the prophetic function of the apostles in Jude 17). Paul did not conform to any of these definitions, a fact that explains his position as an outsider and the difficulties he had obtaining recognition.

**B. Apostles as Missionaries**

Chronologically, in the earliest use of the term in the NT, *apostolos* is an administrative designation for envoys, delegates, and representatives. Their title and function are given in 2 Cor 8:23 (cf. Phil 2:25) as "envoys of the churches" *(apostoloi ekklēsiōn)*, that is, envoys appointed and sent out by the churches to represent them (see Betz *2 Corinthians 8 and 9* Hermeneia, 73, 81, 86). In other places, the term "apostle" is understood in a more religious sense as a missionary and preacher of the gospel. Acts 1:21–26 and 13:1–3, passages describing the appointment of different types of "apostles," show that such appointments did not exclude divine intervention and authorization. The tasks of these apostles could vary but they seem to be centered in the proclamation of the gospel and the founding and administering of new churches (see 1 Cor 9:5, 12:28; Eph 2:20; 3:5; 4:11; Rev 18:20; *Did.* 11:3–6). Rom 16:3–16 includes a long list of greetings, among them the two apostles Andronicus and Junias (Rom 16:7). Perhaps the name "Junias" was corrected by scribes to replace Junia, a female name; such a correction would indicate that a woman (here possibly a married couple like Prisca and Aquila in 16:3, and Philologus and Julia in 16:15, although none of them is called apostle) could serve as a missionary apostle (see BAGD: 380, s.v. *Iounias*; Schüssler-Fiorenza 1983: 160–204).

**C. Jesus' Disciples as Apostles**

A different concept of apostle is presupposed when the title is attributed to former disciples (*mathētai*) of Jesus who had been witnesses of his resurrection (Matt 10:2, 28:16–20; Mark 16:14–18; Luke 24:47–49; John 20:19–23; cf. 1 Cor 9:1). There are, however, complications. The decisive passage, 1 Cor 15:3–7, cites a composite formula combining different terminological usages (see Conzelmann *1 Corinthians* Hermeneia, 251–60): v 5 names Cephas, Peter and the Twelve, v 7 includes James, the brother of Jesus (not called apostle in Gal 1:19; 1 Cor 9:5; see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 78), and "all the apostles" without clarifying how they are related to the "500 brothers" (v 6) not called apostles. At a later stage, the gospel writers, especially Luke, identify the disciples of Jesus during his life on earth with the apostles and the Twelve, creating the concept of the Twelve Apostles (see Matt 10:1–2; Mark 3:14 with variant readings; Luke 6:13; Acts 1:23–26; Klein 1961). Originally, either in the earliest church or in Jesus' life-time, the Twelve (*hoi dōdeka*) were a separate institution (see 1 Cor 15:5; Acts 6:2) representing the twelve tribes of Israel (Matt 19:28; see Sanders 1985: 98–106). While their number was fixed, the names in the lists of the apostles vary to some extent (see Mark 3:16–19; Matt 10:2–4; Luke 6:14–16; Acts 1:13, 23, 26; for later lists, see *NTApocr,* 35–79; cf. also Mark 14:10, 43 and parallels; John 6:71, 12:4, 20:24; Acts 6:2). Luke's concept of the Twelve Apostles in effect limits the number to the disciples of the historical Jesus and denies the title of apostle to Paul (except Acts 14:4, 14, where Barnabas and Paul,

owing to a pre-Lukan source, are called apostles). For Luke, the Twelve Apostles are the leaders of the Jerusalem church (see especially Acts 4:35–37; 5:2, 27–32; 6:6; 8:1, 14, 18; 9:27; 11:1; 15:1–6, 22–23; 16:4 [the last time apostles are mentioned in Acts]). Consequently, Luke does not call the missionaries apostles.

**D. Paul as Apostle of the Gentiles**

The origins of Paul's concept of apostleship are still shrouded in mystery. In early Christianity the term was controversial, as can be seen from the NT. Paul's letters reveal some developments. In accordance with an earlier stage of the tradition, Barnabas and Paul served as missionary "apostles" (cf. Rom 16:7; Acts 13:2–4; 14:4, 14; 1 Thess 2:1–7). Paul's bold attempt to rank himself alongside Cephas and the Twelve (1 Cor 15:3–10), however, met resistance, especially in the churches not founded by Paul, causing fierce debates about what constitutes apostleship. These debates reflect the fact that Paul's own interpretation of the title and office rested on rather different theological presuppositions by which he gave apostleship a completely new interpretation. This can have occurred only at a somewhat later time, not at the beginning of Paul's ministry. At the conference in Jerusalem (Gal 2:8; see Betz *Galatians*, 98–99; Lüdemann 1984: 76–77; 1980–83, 2: 62–63), and even in the prescript of the early letter of 1 Thessalonians (cf. also Phil 1:1; 2:25; Phlm 1), he did not call himself apostle (cf. its ambiguous usage in 1 Thess 2:7). The title appears as Paul's self-description in an epistolary prescript first in Gal 1:1, perhaps as a result of the conflict in Antioch (2:11–14), and then becomes standard (1 Cor: 2:7; 2 Cor 1:1; Rom 1:1; then Col 1:1; Eph 1:1; 1 Tim 1:1; 2 Tim 1:1, 11; Tit 1:1; differently 2 Thess 1:1).

Paul's reinterpretation of the concept questioned fundamental assumptions held by the church before Paul. He rejected the idea that having known the historical Jesus personally was a valid criterion (2 Cor 5:16). Indeed, the gospels point out that those who knew Jesus best during his life on earth—his disciples and his family—came to understand his message only after the resurrection. On the other hand, if witnessing the resurrection was the criterion, Paul qualified as an apostle, since he too had a vision of the risen Lord (Gal 1:16; 1 Cor 9:1–5; 15:1–10). If founding churches was the criterion, Paul had worked more in this task than everyone else (1 Cor 15:10). Looking back at his mission, he calls himself the "apostle of the Gentiles" (Rom 11:13; cf. 1:5–7, 13–15). When Christ appeared to him and called him to preach the gospel to the Gentiles (Gal 1:15–16), Paul took this call to mean that he was given a unique role in salvation history. In Rom 1:1; 1 Cor 1:1, Paul claims to be a "called apostle" (*klētos apostolos*), analogous to the former disciples of Jesus (cf. Mark 1:16–20 and parallels; 6:7; Matt 10:1, etc.). Not appointed by human authorities (Gal 1:1, 12) but by the risen Christ himself, he came to regard himself as the personal representative (*mimētēs*) of Christ on earth (1 Thess 1:6; 11:1 Phil 3:17; see Betz 1967). This fact implied that Paul's entire physical and spiritual existence was to be understood as an epiphany of the crucified and resurrected redeemer (Gal 6:14, 17; 2 Cor 2:14–5:21; 6:4–10; 12:7–10; 13:3–4; Phil 3:10). His missionary campaigns were to be regarded as a decisive phase prior to the *parousia*, in which the gospel had to be preached "from Jerusalem in a wide curve as far as Illyricum" (Rom 15:19) and indeed as far as Spain (Rom 15:24). This mission, when completed, would be regarded as the "offering of the gentiles" in which he officiated as the chief "celebrant" (Rom 15:16). In the Last Judgment, Paul expected to present his gentile churches unblemished and pure to Christ (1 Thess 2:10–12; 5:23; 1 Cor 1:8; 2 Cor 1:14; 11:2; Phil 2:15; furthermore Col 1:22; Eph 5:27).

Paul's concept of apostleship, while not conforming to the common criteria as exemplified by Luke-Acts, effectively changed these criteria, a process reflected in the NT. In this reinterpretation, other influences came into play. Widengren (1950; for bibliography, see Betz *Galatians*, 75) pointed to notions in Syriac Gnosticism that may have contributed to Paul's concept of apostleship. Betz (1972) showed that Paul was influenced by the Socratic tradition in which Socrates was seen as a messenger sent by the deity. Whatever influences there may have been, however, Paul, through his debates and struggles, and through his own suffering and death (cf. Col 1:24), defined the concept of apostleship in a radically new way that also determined its understanding and application in the post-NT era.

**E. False Apostles**

Paul's claim to apostleship reflects a more general confusion about the question of who was truly an apostle. Was James, "the brother of the Lord," an apostle (see Gal 1:19; 1 Cor 9:5; see Betz *Galatians,* 78)? The evidence is ambiguous. Contrary to Acts 14:4, 14, Paul himself evidently avoided attributing the title to Barnabas (cf. Gal 2:1–10, 13; 1 Cor 9:6). Paul sometimes mentions other missionary apostles whom he apparently considers to be inferior in status when compared to himself (see B, above). When he ridicules his opponents as "false apostles" (*pseudapostoloi,* 2 Cor 11:13) or "superapostles" (*hyperlian apostoloi,* 2 Cor 11:5; 12:11), he unfortunately does not reveal their names. That these opponents had even less respectful titles for him is suggested by the term "miscarriage" *ektrōma,* 1 Cor 15:8). The struggle over the definition and criteria of true and false apostleship (see also Rev 2:2), in analogy to that over true and false prophecy, raged well into later church history as part of the battles against heresy (see *NTApocr,* 35–74; furthermore HERESY AND ORTHODOXY IN THE NT).

**F. Christ as Apostle**

Peculiar is the fact that only Heb 3:1 calls Christ an apostle: "Jesus, the apostle and high priest of our confession" (see Braun *An die Hebräer* HNT, 71–74, 78). This, however, appears to be a late application of the term which may have older roots (cf. Matt 15:24; Luke 4:18, 43). The Fourth Gospel still contains what seem to be traces of an older usage. We find here not only the definitive statement of 13:16 (cited above, A) but also, through the terminology of sending (*apostellō*), the description of Christ's entire mission. Jesus Christ, the Logos and Son of God, was sent by God into this world (3:16–17, 34; 5:36–38; 6:29, 57; 7:29; 10:36; 11:42; 17:3, 8, 18, 21, 23, 25; 20:21; cf. 1 John 4:9, 10, 14). In turn, Jesus sends out his disciples (4:38; 17:18; 20:21). They are called the Twelve, not apostles (6:67, 70–71; 20:24). It seems that the Fourth Gospel, without offering reasons, studiously avoids the title of apostle, while presuming the concept and terminology of sending. Perhaps the matter is related to the general similarity between Johannine christology and Pauline apostleship, a similarity which may reflect the still unexplained relationship between Johannine and Pauline Christianity.

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**APOSTLES, EPISTLE OF.** The *Epistle of the Apostles* (or *Epistula Apostolorum*) is an early apocryphal Christian work of unknown authorship. Originally written in Greek, the *Ep. Apos.* survives only in Ethiopic (complete text), Coptic (approx. two thirds), and Latin (fragments). The title has been inferred from the opening sentence, "What Jesus Christ revealed to his disciples as a letter …" (1.1;

Duensing 1963: 191); but this translation of Ethiopic *maṣ-ḥaf* ("book," "writing") has been questioned (Vanovermeire 1962: 112; Hills 1989: 2). The date and place of writing are disputed. Schmidt (1919) argued for 170–180 C.E. and Asia Minor; more recently Hornschuh (1965) has made a strong case for Egyptian provenance and a date ca. 120 C.E.; late 2d-century Syria has also been suggested (De Zwaan 1933).

What is clear is the *Ep. Apos.*'s genre. Chaps. 1–12 and 51 frame the body of the work (chaps. 13–50), which is a post-Easter dialogue between Jesus and the apostles. The former speaks as the risen Revealer, the latter as united witnesses to the Revealer's words and deeds (see esp. 29.5). The speeches' stereotyped introductions (e.g., "He [± answered and] said to us"; "We said to him") and rhetorical expressions (e.g., "Until what day do you ask?" [22.2]; "What you wish, say to me, and I will tell you without grudging" [24.5]) are conventional in contemporary literary dialogues (e.g., in *Shep. Herm.* and the Nag Hammadi tractates *Ap. Jas.* [NHC I,*2*], *Thom. Cont.* [NHC II,*7*], and *Dial. Sav.* [NHC III,*5*]).

The principal topics of the dialogue are the Lord's heavenly descent and incarnation (chaps. 13–14); the remembrance of his death and his second coming (15–18); resurrection and judgment (19–29; 38–39); the mission of Paul (31–33); the signs of the end (34–37, adapted from an apocalypse; cf. the 5th-century *Testament of the Lord* 1–11, where the same apocalypse has been used); the commission of the disciples to preach, teach, and baptize (40–42); and orthodoxy and discipline (43–50). These diverse topics are unified by the author's concern to define the community in terms of keeping the Lord's commandments, to summarize the "faith" of the apostles (see esp. 5.21–22), and to offer a "revelation" that has present and ethical, as well as future and heavenly, content.

Of special interest is the use of gospel traditions, both in the dialogue (chaps. 13–50) and in its preface (1–12). For example, in *Ep. Apos.* 4–5 a list of miracles is expanded to include dialogue; this list is in turn appended to the hymnic or poetic chap. 3. Chaps. 3–5 thus constitute a christological aretalogy, whose function is to affirm the authority of the apostles and the traditions they reveal. In chaps. 41–42 a dominical saying prohibiting titles (cf. Matt 23:8–9) is reformulated to suit the author's situation. In *Ep. Apos.* 43–45 the parable of the Wise and Foolish Maidens, familiar from Matt 25:1–13, is narrated and explained through dialogue. In each of these sections some knowledge of the NT Gospels is probable. But there are no certain quotations from any NT writing, and the author appears to write without any awareness of a "canon" of NT scriptures. Indeed, among the proof texts quoted in the *Ep. Apos.* are several sayings not found in extant Jewish and Christian literature (see esp. 11.8).

Most commentators have seen as the work's primary purpose an orthodox defense against gnostic Christianity, since the author warns against "Simon and Cerinthus" in chaps. 1 and 7; these two are commonly identified as first among heretics by other 2d- and 3d-century writers. But this judgment must be treated with caution. First, the position of the "opponents" is never spelled out, nor is it explicitly contradicted. Second, the *Ep. Apos.* itself falls short of later 2d-century definitions of orthodoxy (e.g., in Irenaeus). Third, the author appears as much concerned with catechism and church order as with theological debate; the condemnation of heresy is standard in later church orders (e.g., Hippolytus *Apostolic Tradition* [ca. 215 C.E.] and the several church orders deriving from it; cf. also the *Catechetical Lectures* of Cyril of Jerusalem [d. 386 C.E.]).

More conspicuous is the author's emphasis on the disciples, as successors to the risen Lord and as "founders" of the Church (see esp. *Ep. Apos.* 33.2). The importance of baptism is stressed (e.g., in 5.21, where the best mss read "great Christians," an Ethiopic idiom for "the baptized"; 27.2; 42.3, 7), as is the eucharist (or "agape," in chap. 15) and the idea of a universal mission (e.g., in 30.1). This suggests that the *Ep. Apos.* is witness to the flowering of an ecclesiastical self-consciousness in an environment of competing Christian groups, but before the emergence of the "Great [or Catholic] Church."

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**APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS AND CANONS.** An early church manual of liturgical and ecclesiastical regulations that usually is dated to the end of the 4th century (ca. C.E. 380) and is ascribed to the region of Syria. The text is divided into 8 books, each of which incorporates several more ancient writings. Ancient Syriac texts, and subsequently Ethiopic and Arabic translations, indicate a knowledge of only the first 6 books, which suggests that these books formed the original core of the work to which Books 7–8 were added later. The complete corpus of materials has been preserved in Greek, Latin, and Coptic editions.

With the addition of occasional editorial alterations, Books 1–6 are formulated around the *Didascalia Apostolorum* (3d century). Book 7 utilizes much of the *Didache* (2d century) and the *Kadusha* prayer of early Jewish liturgy. The *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus* serves as a foundation for the 85 legislative canons that appear in Book 8, where a familiarity with the *Clementine Liturgy* also is evident.

The author of *Apos. Con.* has not been identified with certainty. The complete form of the title *(Constitutions of the Holy Apostles)* suggests that the 1st-century apostles have authored these materials, but this undoubtedly is a pseudepigraphical feature. So, too, the attestation within the text that these instructions originally were transmitted through the agency of "Clement" (6.18.11; presumably Clement I of Rome) should be rejected. It is much more likely that a later compiler, perhaps the Pseudo-Ignatius, who is responsible for the "longer recension" of the epistles of Ignatius, should be considered as the appropriate compiler of the text. The consistency in style and editorial technique further support the argument that a single editor is responsible for the final form of the text.

The contents of *Apos. Con.,* which include numerous moral exhortations and the outline of specific religious obligations, have been carefully arranged to meet the needs of early Christian believers. Throughout the text there is a strict dependence upon the authority of the OT and the NT, in addition to a rigid, legalistic interpretation of both. Book 1 is directed toward the circumstances of the laity, who are encouraged to follow a strictly ethical code of daily existence. Book 2 focuses upon the qualifications and obligations of the clerical orders. The offices of deacon and widow are addressed in Book 3, as are instructions for the correct observation of baptism ritual. Specific issues with regard to charity are discussed in Book 4. The fate and situation of those who are persecuted and martyred for the Christian faith are summarized in Book 5, followed by a review of heresies and schisms in Book 6. The "Two Ways" motif of early Jewish-Christian literature serves as the background of Book 7, where numerous ancient exhortations and liturgical traditions have been preserved. Book 8 concludes the text with a review of spiritual gifts and numerous points of worship and ecclesiastical order for the clergy.

Several special features characterize the corpus. The text recognizes a well-developed series of ecclesiastical offices, which includes the positions of bishop, presbyter, deacon, widow, sub-deacon, door keeper, and others. The role of the bishop in this structure is exalted greatly. At the conclusion of *Apos. Con.,* a list of canonized texts is offered which omits Revelation, but which includes *3 Maccabees, 1* and *2 Clement,* and *Apos. Con.* itself. While the text incorporates a significant number of prayers that reveal distinctly Jewish origins (see Books 7–8; Goodenough 1935: 306–58), it bears a distinct antipathy toward Jewish customs as they were practiced among early Christians.

The authenticity of *Apos. Con.* ultimately was rejected by the Council of Trullo in 692, an act which served to diminish its influence within later ecclesiastical tradition. The entire corpus of the Canons was

accepted as genuine by John of Constantinople, however, and subsequently it gained authority throughout the Eastern Church, where it still is used today.

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**APOSTOLIC COUNCIL.** See JERUSALEM, COUNCIL OF.

**APOSTOLIC FATHERS.** A collection of early Christian writings traditionally regarded as having been set down by people directly or indirectly associated with the apostles. A complete modern edition will include the following (the order varies considerably): *1 Clement, 2 Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Didache, Barnabas, Papias, Hermas, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Diognetus,* and *Quadratus* (cf. Bihlmeyer, Fischer). Separate discussions of each of these writings is provided in this dictionary. The purpose of the present article is to discuss the history of the collection as a whole and to indicate the bearing that the study of the Apostolic Fathers (AF) has on the study of the NT and early Christianity.

A line of distinguished editions of the AF leads back to a work published by the French scholar, J.-B. Cotelier, in Paris in 1672. The attention given to this body of material in the 17th century was prompted as much by the concern of humanism to return to the authentic sources of Western civilization as by the theological polemics of the reformation and counterreformation. The use of the expression "Apostolical Fathers" can be traced back at least as far as William Wake, who in 1693 published a translation of *1 Clement, Polycarp, Ignatius, Martyrdom of Ignatius, Martyrdom of Polycarp, Barnabas, Hermas,* and *2 Clement* (de Jonge). The subtitle of the work spoke of these writings as "being together with the Holy Scriptures of the NT, a complete collection of the most primitive antiquity for about CL years after Christ." And in the introduction to the third edition (1719), we are told that these works were "truly written by those whose names they bear, and that those writers lived so near the apostolical times, that it cannot be doubted, but that they do indeed represent to us the doctrine, government, and discipline of the church, as they received it from the apostles; the apostles from Christ, and that blessed Spirit, who directed them both in what they taught, and in what they ordain'd." Wake (now Archbishop of Canterbury) also noted that all this "is so exactly agreeable to the present doctrine, government, and discipline of the church of England by law establish'd; that no one who allows of the one can reasonably make any exceptions against the other." The expression "Apostolic Fathers" was also soon employed by the Lutheran theologian and scholar Thomas Ittig in his edition of 1699 (with reference only to materials associated with the names of Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp) and by the Reformed (Armenian) biblical scholar and theologian Joh. Clericus (Jean Le Clerc) in his reedition of Cotelier in 1698 (with reference to materials associated with the names of Barnabas, Hermas, Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp).

The previous work of two other English scholars—Patrick Young and James Ussher—is important in accounting for the emergence of the special attention given to the AF in this period. As early as 1633, Young in his capacity as Royal Librarian published *1 Clement* from Codex Alexandrinus, the celebrated 5th-century biblical manuscript presented in 1628 to Charles I by Cyril Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople. Young refers to the author as being "of almost the same time as the apostles, the disciple of Paul, and the successor of Peter," and to the writing as "this divine and clearly apostolic epistle." He also expresses the wish that the English king may be granted in his own realm the peace and harmony urged by Clement on the dissenters in Corinth long ago.

Even more important from the point of view of the impetus given to the scholarly investigation of the AF and the early church was the brilliant discovery by Archbishop Ussher of the shorter form of the letters of Ignatius (1644), which is generally accepted as genuine today. The discovery also had the effect

of upholding the episcopal system as a feature of the earliest period. This was one reason that not long afterward the Reformed theologian and scholar, Jean Daillé, published an important study of Dionysius the Areopagite and the (shorter form of the) letters of Ignatius (1666) in which he attempted to prove the inauthenticity of both bodies of writings (Harrison 1936: 135). Posterity has accepted his judgment about the Areopagite but not (for the most part) about Ignatius. John Pearson, bishop of Chester, wrote an especially influential book defending the authenticity of the shorter form of the letters of Ignatius (1672). In the long run, however, Daillé's general insistence that the fathers of the church possess no special theological authority and must be approached historically was prophetic of the spirit that was to dominate the study of the early church in Western Christianity.

Additions to the roster of AF were subsequently made by Andreas Gallandi (a forerunner of Migne), who included also the letter to Diognetus, the fragments of Papias, and the fragment of Quadratus (1765). And finally, the startling discovery of the Didache by Bryennios (published in 1883) led to the inclusion of that document also among the AF.

The Bryennios manuscript (an A.D. 1056 codex of the Greek patriarchate in Jerusalem, formerly in the library of the Hospice of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Constantinople) represents a convenient point from which to look back to the role of the AF before modern times. The first writing in the codex is a brief "Synopsis (Survey) of the Old and New Testament" attributed (wrongly) to John Chrysostom. This is followed by *Barnabas, 1 Clement, 2 Clement,* the *Didache,* and the long recension of the letters of Ignatius (Harnack 1893: 11–12). The manuscript suggests an interest in the AF comparable in some ways to that of the later and more critical age already discussed. This is all the more surprising since the collection was put together at a time when (from the end of the 7th century on) little had been heard of the AF (other than Ignatius), and people's conception of the early period had been shaped primarily by forgeries long associated with the names not only of Ignatius but also of Clement of Rome, Dionysius the Areopagite, and Justin Martyr (Grant 1962: 428–29).

More real knowledge of the AF was available to the contestants in the Christological debates of the 5th and 6th centuries. Here interest in the AF centered primarily on Ignatius, who was appealed to by all sides. What stands out in this connection is that ultimately the short (and presumably authentic) recension of the letters of Ignatius proved most congenial to the monophysite cause (Grant 1962: 426–27). Much less significant use was made of *Polycarp, 1 Clement, 2 Clement,* and *Hermas* in this period; and appeals to *Papias* were even more isolated (Grant 1967: 24–32). Moreover, authentic early materials had to compete with the whole range of pseudepigraphical writings already noted.

Clearer conceptions of who and what the AF represented can be found in the 2d, 3d, and 4th centuries. Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Eusebius shed particularly important light on their reception (Grant 1962: 421–26). In these writers most of the AF were provided with rather direct links to the apostolic age; but forgeries were only beginning to cloud the horizon, and in some quarters problems of authenticity were discussed. Thus Eusebius set *Hermas, Barnabas,* and the *Didache* among the "spurious" items that make up the second component of the writings "not universally accepted" as scriptural (antilegomena); he noted that *1 Clement* was still read in many churches; he observed that *2 Clement* was not used by the ancients; he declared the romances written in the names of Clement of Rome forgeries; he suggested (in line with Alexandrian tradition) that *Hermas* was useful for elementary instruction; and he expressed his doubts about the intelligence of *Papias.* A wide range of concerns affecting theology, spirituality, ethics, and church order were involved in the appeal to these writings in this period. Although they rarely dominate any discussion, their importance should not be underrated. It may be noted (for example) that Irenaeus' millennialism owed a good deal to what he knew of *Papias;* that striking passages such as the lines from *Hermas* on the oneness of God who contains all but is himself contained by nothing, or the verses from *Ignatius* on the hidden entrance of Christ into the world, set the tone in a variety of contexts; and that the reworking of the material of the *Didache* in later church orders (the *Didascalia* and the *Apostolic Constitutions*) attests to its prestige.

It follows from what has been said that attention to the AF in the early church often took the form of a consideration of their possible canonicity (Ruwet 1942; 1948; 1952; Andry 1951; Grant 1964: 13–33;

Kümmel 1966: 344–51). For the presumed association of their authors with the apostles gave them credentials as strong as some of the writings ultimately accepted into the NT. The most important points are these (though some are matters of dispute): Irenaeus came close to treating *1 Clement* and *Hermas* as scripture (but seems not actually to have done so). Tertullian dealt with *Hermas* as scripture in his pre-Montanist period. Clement of Alexandria regarded *1 Clement, Hermas, Barnabas,* and the *Didache* as inspired writings. Origen dealt with *Hermas, Barnabas,* and the *Didache* similarly, but at the same time seems not to have regarded them as canonical. Eusebius, as we have seen, is less receptive to these three books and regards them as spurious. Finally, Athanasius (in his famous festal letter on the topic) clearly sets the *Didache* and *Hermas* outside of the canon, but does so in such a way as still to reflect the high evaluation of these writings in the Alexandrian tradition. It should also be noted that Codex Sinaiticus (4th century) included *Barnabas* and *Hermas;* that Codex Alexandrinus (5th century) contained *1 Clement* and *2 Clement;* and that a catalog found in Codex Claromantanus (6th century) lists among the books of the NT (in addition to two other unusual works) *Barnabas* and *Hermas* (though all four items are set off by a dash).

Clearly the criterion that obtained most widely in thinking about the AF and drawing them together as a group in ancient and modern times was their presumed connection with the apostles or at least their presumed antiquity relative to (most) other noncanonical writings of the early church. In other respects they are very diverse indeed, and the difficulties inherent in defining the collection have grown rather than lessened over time (Jouassard 1957). As regards form, most of the AF in the modern collections are letters. But whereas *1 Clement, Ignatius,* and *Polycarp* are true letters, *Barnabas* (a theological tract), the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (a martyrology), and *Diognetus* (an apology) are letters only in an external sense. The other writings of the AF represent a homily *(2 Clement),* a church order (*Didache*), and a kind of apocalypse (*Hermas*). Papias' discussion of the words and deeds of Jesus is known to us only in a series of fragments, and we have but one tiny quotation from the apologist Quadratus.

The status of the authors of these writings is also diverse: Ignatius, Polycarp, and (probably) Clement had some kind of official standing in their churches; the author of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* recedes behind the authority of the church for which he writes; the individual who wrote to Diognetus is unknown; *Barnabas, 2 Clement* and the *Didache* are pseudonymous; *Hermas* was written by a man who sets himself apart from the clergy.

Moreover, rather different forms of the early Christian experience are represented by these writings. Aspects of the literary and theological world of Paul are reflected in some of the letters. But whereas *Polycarp* breathes the spirit of the Pastorals, and *1 Clement*'s Christianity is almost equally unadventuresome, Ignatius infuses his Paulinism with qualities reminiscent of John and other mystical (perhaps even quasignostic) strands of thought. Yet both Clement with his idea of succession and Ignatius with his emphasis on monepiscopacy set the stage for the further development of a catholic conception of ministerial authority. And this in turn may well be connected with the greater openness of *1 Clement* and *Ignatius* to elements derived from the popular culture of the Greco-Roman world. Indeed, the remarkable fact about most of the other Apostolic Fathers is the extent to which they remain indebted to various forms of Judaism. Thus the *Didache* not only looks like an extension of the concerns of Matthew's gospel, but also falls back on Jewish and Jewish-Christian materials in the realm of ethics and ritual that are not derived from the NT. *Barnabas* is reminiscent especially of Hebrews, but is even more clearly indebted to Jewish lore and at the same time more negatively disposed to Judaism as a historical and social fact. *2 Clement* represents (in the words of Hans Windisch) "a Synoptic-Gospels Christianity reformulated and domesticated in the light of late Judaism" (cf. Bihlmeyer 1956: xxix). And *Papias'* millennialism shows that themes from fully developed forms of apocalyptic thought were still alive in some circles. Similarly, *Hermas* registers the impact of a wide range of Jewish theological, angeological, and ethical ideas within the framework of an apocalyptic outlook (though elements from popular Greco-Roman culture also play an interesting role in his thought). Different again is the *Martyrdom of Polycarp,* which represents a complex weaving together of Jewish, Christian, and more popular elements that gave

rise to the church's version of the holy man. And finally, the apologetic strategies of *Diognetus* (and *Quadratus*) belong to another whole order of theological and literary activity.

Modern views about the authenticity, dating, and historical setting of the AF have robbed even the criterion of antiquity of much of its significance. Most of the AF are, to be sure, relatively early. But no significant link between any of them and the apostles now seems particularly likely. Indeed, the *Didache, Barnabas,* and *2 Clement* all seem to be pseudonymous. And the reason for including *Diognetus* in the collection is undercut by the recognition that its last two chapters, which include the ambiguous reference to the author as "a disciple of apostles" (11.1), do not belong to the writing. A glance at the articles on the separate writings will also show that there is much dispute about the dating of most of these books and that at least some of them probably fall outside the period in question. Conversely, there are other early Christian works, both canonical and noncanonical, that seem to fall into this period. Above all, we are much more acutely aware today of the striking differences between the forms of Christianity reflected in the AF whatever their date may be. The conclusion seems inescapable that as a collection they represent nothing very definite in either theological or historical terms. NT scholarship, then, is moving even more consciously (in spite of the many difficulties involved) toward an integration of the AF with the later materials of the NT and with early noncanonical literature not included in the AF (cf. Koester 1982, 2: 147–347).

The very diversity of the AF has meant, however, that studies that have focused on this collection as a whole (usually with the exception of the apologetic materials) have worked with a sample of early Christian literature sufficiently broad to guarantee interesting results. Of particular importance here for NT scholarship have been the efforts to read the AF for the light they can shed on the reception of the various books of the NT. The report of the committee of the Oxford Society on this problem (1905) is still fundamental. But commentaries on the biblical books and studies of the individual writings of the AF have introduced many refinements. Nothing like an adequate summary of these discussions is possible here (for a survey of the findings, see Kümmel 1966: 337–40). It may be noted, however, that especially interesting investigations have been undertaken regarding the use of the Synoptic Gospels and of synoptic tradition in the AF. The debate is dominated by two books: Massaux (1950) and Koester (1957). The full range of possibilities are taken into account in these works: quotation of (or allusion to) one or the other of the Synoptic Gospels, reliance on some kind of harmonization of the written Gospels, knowledge of oral tradition, independent access to tradition peculiar to one of the Gospels, and so forth. In general, it may be said that Massaux (who worked with the whole range of Christian literature to the time of Irenaeus) emphasized the importance of Matthew to the church from the earliest times and the reliance by the majority of authors on Matthew in a written form. Koester, on the other hand, emphasized the extent to which the AF were indebted to oral tradition. Many of Koester's conclusions have been questioned by Grant (1964: 35–86), and the whole issue has been thoroughly reviewed by Köhler (1987), who finds himself closer to the position of Massaux than of Koester. It is clear, however, that the work of Koester has contributed to a considerably more flexible notion of the possibilities in the reception of the Synoptic Gospels and of synoptic tradition in the early church.

Other studies devoted to the AF as a whole also retain their value in characterizing the Christianity of the period. Thus Torrance's classic treatment of grace in the AF (1948) is still useful even though he measured them too exclusively against Paul, took a Barthian approach to Paul too much for granted in so doing, and failed to note the elements in the AF that represent to some extent functional equivalents of the category of grace. Klevinghaus' demonstration of the eclipse of the significance of Israel as a historical reality in the AF (1948) remains generally convincing. More recently, Eijk's careful analysis of the doctrine of the resurrection in the AF (1974) is distinguished by special sensitivity to the differences between the individual writings. Other more or less useful studies on the AF as a whole are to be found on such topics as the connection between ethics and dogma (Hörmann 1952), the terminology for evil spirits (Gokey 1961), views of material re-creation (O'Hagan 1968), and moral teachings (Liébaert 1970). Naturally attention to the AF (sometimes as a distinct group) will also be found in histories of Christian thought, the ministry, the liturgy, spirituality, and so forth. Although peculiarities of one kind or the other

are associated with each of the AF, it is perhaps Ignatius who strikes commentators most as rising above expectations in literary and theological terms.

It should be noted in conclusion that the basic tools for the study of the NT—Bauer's lexicon, Kittel's theological wordbook, and the grammar of Blass and Debrunner—give significant attention also to the AF. An excellent concordance to these writings was published by Heinrich Kraft in 1963.

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WILLIAM R. SCHOEDEL

**APPAIM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾappayim* (אַפַּיִם)]. One of the two sons of Nadab (1 Chr 2:30). Since his brother died childless, Appaim's descendants are an important part of the family of Jerahmeel, the firstborn son of Hezron, grandson of Judah. The MT uses the plural "The sons of" in recording Appaim's issue (1 Chr 2:31); however, the single son, Ishi, may be understood here as the progenitor of a clan or family bearing his name. Appaim is a dual form meaning "nostrils" but may also mean "nose," "anger," or "temper" and is derived from the verb meaning "to be angry."

W. P. STEEGER

**APPEAL TO CAESAR.** Under the Empire, all holders of Roman citizenship possessed among their citizen rights the *ius appellationis ad Caesarem,* or right of appeal to Caesar. According to the great 3d-century jurist, Ulpian, the right of appeal was guaranteed to all Roman citizens, whether residents of Italy or the provinces under the provisions of a *lex Iulia de vi publica,* ennacted at the beginning of the Empire by Augustus, who thereby instructed Roman magistrates and officials that citizens should not only have the right of appeal from local judicial authority to Rome, but should also not be inflicted with death, scourging, prolonged imprisonment, or torture without full due process of law, including the right of *appellatio* (*Dig.* 48.6.7). There is some question as to when Augustus' law came to be extended to the provinces (Millar 1977: 508–9; Jones 1960: 54–55), but "late in the reign of Augustus there is a clear instance, in the second edict of Augustus from Cyrene, … that by that date the *lex Iulia* was being applied to actions in the provinces" (Sherwin-White 1963: 60). This process, along with other aspects of the emperor's judicial role, seems to have been regularized under successive emperors (Millar 1977: 509–14) so that by the early 3d century Severus Alexander was quick to warn provincial officials of any obstruction or abuse against those who made appeals. (*Dig.* 49.1.25 = *P.Oxy.* 2104).

The right of *appellatio* in the Empire replaced an earlier basic citizen right of the Roman Republic, the *ius provocationis ad populum,* or right of calling (*provocare*) on the entire body of citizens in assembly to overturn the judicial decisions of magistrates. Extended to all Roman citizens by the terms of a *lex Valeria* of 300 B.C., the exercise of *provocatio* was guaranteed in all capital cases, and could be exercised as well in other criminal cases, but apparently not in civil cases (*OCD* 892–93). Before 300 B.C. *provocatio* may have been utilized, but without assurance of receiving hearing before the *populus* assembled in the *Comitia Tributa,* or Tribal Assembly. The tribune of the plebs (*tribunus plebis*) was the presiding officer of this assembly and may have referred appeals to the body as a function of his *ius auxilii,* the right of rendering aid to any citizen whom he judged the victim of unjust magisterial authority (*coercitio*). The tribune could take action himself, or through the assembly, to overturn magisterial decisions either upon appeal or on his own initiative (Kunkel 1966: 54, 72; *OCD* 892–93). It is likely that the *appellatio ad Caesarem* derived directly from this tribunician *ius auxilii.* Cassius Dio (51.19.6–7) reports that in 30 B.C. Octavian Caesar was granted the tribunician authority of *ius auxilii* for life. The remaining powers of the tribune (*tribunicia potestas*) were granted to Octavian after his accession as Augustus, and it was from this tribunician power that Augustus and all subsequent emperors exercised judicial authority as the special protector of the Roman citizen body, a role which under the Republic had belonged to the plebeian tribune (Millar 1977: 509; Jones 1960: 54; Crook 1967: 70–71).

The exercise of *appellatio* was common among provincial Christians with Roman citizen status who had been accused of wrongdoing. The most familiar instance of appeal to Caesar is, of course, that of Paul. When about to be subjected to scourging under the direction of Felix, Procurator of Judaea (*OCD* 434), Paul "lays claim to the protection afforded by his Roman citizenship" (Millar 1977: 511), under the provisions of the *lex Iulia,* demanding that as a Roman he not be beaten uncondemned of any crime and protected from the same at the hands of the Jews (Acts 22:25–30; 23:27). It was when Paul was about to be tried before the tribunal of Porcius Festus, the successor of Felix as Judean procurator, that he proclaimed his appeal to Caesar (Acts 24:27–25:22). There is some difficulty, however, in understanding the precise nature of Paul's *appellatio,* since "it has the character of a rejection of one court in favor of

another one rather than of an appeal from a verdict" (Millar 1977: 511). It has been suggested that the *lex Iulia* entailed not only appeal to the emperor after verdicts were rendered, but also the right to challenge the jurisdiction of a particular court by requesting a change of venue to Rome, a process that may more properly be referred to as *provocatio* than *appellatio* (Sherwin-White 1963: 115–16). Apparently provincial governors were not strictly bound to refer criminal cases to Rome. The well-known correspondence between Pliny and Trajan concerning the procedure for trying Christians with Roman citizenship indicates some confusion in the matter of jurisdiction (Pliny, *Ep.* 10.96.4). Certainly there is ample attestation of governors both trying and executing citizens in the provinces, suggesting that as a matter of practicality jurisdiction was retained by local magisterial authority unless there was by the defendant formal recourse to *provocatio* or to *appellatio* (Sherwin-White 1963: 58–63).

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JOHN F. HALL

**APPHIA** (PERSON) [Gk *AApphia* (Ἀαπφια)]. A Christian greeted in the salutation of the letter to Philemon (Phlm 2). While some have proposed that this woman's name was spelled incorrectly in the aspirated form "Apphia" in Philemon, rather than the more familiar unaspirated Roman name "Appia," copious documentation exists for the aspirated form from Phrygian inscriptions, where the name appears to be of native origin (Lightfoot 1879: 306–8). A Phrygian provenance for Apphia's name also accords with the widely held opinion that Philemon was addressed to Christians living in Phrygia, most probably in the small town of Colossae.

Why Apphia, along with PHILEMON and ARCHIPPUS, was singled out for special greetings in Philemon 1–2 has occasioned much speculation. A common assumption has been that she was Philemon's wife (or daughter) and Archippus was their son (or her brother). This is related to the supposition, based on the phrase "your house" (Philemon 2), that all three lived in the same household. However, the possessive in this instance is singular in the Greek, leaving open the possibility that the house referred to was the domicile of Archippus, although many commentators nevertheless read the "you" as referring back to Philemon. The latter tend to see Apphia as having a leadership role in the house church owing to the presence of that group in the home where she and her husband (or her father) lived. That may be a correct analysis, but it remains possible that, if the house was rather that of Archippus, then Apphia's mention by Paul, with her obvious importance among the Colossian Christians, must rest on different grounds.

In this connection, it is noteworthy that Paul addresses Apphia as "sister" in the same context in which he calls Timothy "brother," Philemon "beloved fellow-worker," and Archippus "fellow-soldier." While the RSV prefaces each of these appellatives with "our," the Greek refers to Timothy as "the brother" (*ho adelphos*) and Apphia as "the sister" (*tē adelphē*). Paul thus appears to distinguish between titles with which he uses the definite article and those with the possessive pronoun (cf. Phil 2:25 where the Gk identifies Epaphroditus as "*the* brother and *my* fellow worker and fellow soldier").

It has been argued that in using the definite article rather than the possessive pronoun, Paul focuses on the social positions of brother and sister, not on the individual's relationship with him. Further, whenever Paul uses the definite article with "brother(s)" or "sister(s)," the general sense conveyed is that one is a believer. This leads N. Petersen, for example, to conclude that "the brother or sister is thus an egalitarian identification applicable to all members of the church, whereas the use of the possessive pronoun has … a hierarchical connotation because it links those of whom it is used to Paul's *position" e.g. as his* fellow-worker or *his* fellow-soldier (1985: 172; his italics in quote).

These observations suggest that in Paul's greeting of Apphia, her role as a believer and community member was foremost in his mind. Thus, he probably did not single her out because of her relationship to

Philemon or Archippus, nor to himself, but because she was an outstanding, faithful member and leader of the Colossian community whom he happened to know.

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**APPHUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Apphous* (Ἀπφους)]. Nickname of Mattathias' youngest son Jonathan (1 Macc 2:5), the successor of Judas Maccabeus. Two Hebrew roots may be conjectured for the nickname: *hpṣ*, "to seek, search," or *ḥpṣ*, "to desire." The second one may best suit a child's nickname—"desired, favorite." For the nicknames of Mattathias' sons, see GADDI. See also JONATHAN.

URIEL RAPPAPORT

**APPIAN WAY** (PLACE). Roman road connecting Rome, Capua on the Bay of Naples, and Brundisium on the Adriatic. It was constructed under the Roman censor Appius Claudius Caecus in 312 B.C.

Until the harbor of Ostia was developed by the emperors Claudius and Trajan, Puteoli, on the Bay of Naples, served as the major seaport for Rome. From the 2d century B.C. until the 1st century A.D., the normal route in approaching Rome by sea was to sail to Puteoli, as Paul did (Acts 28:13–15). The traveler then used the suburban roadways to reach Capua, from which the journey to Rome, 132 Roman miles, normally took five or six days. Landmarks of the journey were the rich fields of Campania, the shore of the Gulf of Gaeta, the plain of Fundi, and the seaside bluff at Tarracina. Here the wetlands of the Pomptine Marshes permitted a canal to be built, 19 Roman miles long. Canal boats allowed the traveler to continue the journey during the night somewhat more comfortably than on the road: the poet Horace (*Sat.* 1.5) includes an account of this boat in his colorful, detailed description of a trip on the Appian Way from Rome to Brundisium. At Forum Appii, the canal ended and the road continued in a straight line past Tres Tabernae and the hill towns of Lanuvium and Aricia to the Porta Capena in Rome, located at the end of the Circus Maximus.

The roadway, 14 Roman feet wide, was covered with gravel, and flanked by wide pedestrian walkways of pounded earth. Travelers used horses, carriages, or their feet, and could stay overnight at inns or the villas of acquaintances. All along the road were tombs, houses, shrines, and commemorative monuments. Towns and villages like Forum Appii and Tres Tabernae ("Three Taverns") offered lodging, stables, and food. Under Domitian (A.D. 95) a shortcut, the Via Domitiana, bypassed Capua and went directly along the coastline from Sinuessa to the harbor at Puteoli—its construction is the subject of Statius, *Silv.* 4.3: 40–55.

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**APPIUS, FORUM OF.** See FORUM OF APPIUS.

**APPLE.** See FLORA, BIBLICAL.

**APRON.** Translates a word in Gen 3:7 that is rendered "girdle" in other passages in which it is used and represents an item of clothing. The Hebrew word has its root in a verb, *hgr*, which has a primary meaning of "gird." Thus it refers to a garment that is wrapped around the body.

Its basic usage in the Bible is to indicate an undergarment of some sort, that is, a garment that covers the upper part of the lower body. For men, at least, such a garment would have been one that covered the genital organs. Apparently, in ancient Semitic custom, young children ran about with a loose shirt or cloak. As they reached sexual maturity, they began to wear an "apron" or loincloth. This custom seems to underlie a passage in 2 Kgs 3:21, which describes a comprehensive military muster involving all who were able to bear arms, from youngest to oldest. The youngest in this instance were those who had begun to wear the apron or girdle; wearing that item of clothing represented adulthood with respect to military

service. In this sense, it might also be linked with military garb, since a warrior would be stripped down to this minimal garment when going into battle.

The appearance of "apron" in the Eden story in Genesis also points to its meaning as a fundamental item of clothing, one that would cover the sexual organs of females as well as males. The woman and man in the garden, after eating of the forbidden fruit, gain human cognition. This involves realization that they are naked, a condition to which they respond with the human characteristic of making clothing—aprons of fig leaves—for themselves.

Although the apron is a basic item of clothing, listed along with "sandals" in 1 Kgs 2:5 to represent the garb of a man, David, upon whom innocent blood had been spilled in peace time, it evidently also came to mean a decorative piece of clothing, such as a belt or sash. Such accessory items could be extravagantly made, either of costly fabrics or perhaps even studded with precious gems. The prophet Isaiah contrasts the ostentatious apparel of wealthy women with what they will wear in the day of God's judgment. Among the radical changes in their garb will be the use of a rope in place of a "girdle" (Isa 3:24). Similarly, the value of the apron or girdle appears in 2 Sam 18:11, where Joab says he would have given a lot—"ten pieces of silver and a girdle"—if only the man who brought him news of Absalom's hanging had cut the body down from the tree.

CAROL MEYERS

**AQIBA** (PERSON). See AKIBA, RABBI.

**AQUILA** (PERSON) [Gk *Akylas* (Ἀκυλας)]. Aquila, an important Christian missionary in the mid-1st century C.E., is mentioned in 1 Cor 16:19, Rom 16:3–5, Acts 18:2–3 (historically reliable traditions; Lüdemann 1987: 206, 209–10); 18:18, 26; and 2 Tim 4:19.

**A. Pontus and the First Stay in Rome**

Aquila was probably freeborn; the epigraphical material indicates that ordinarily the name "Aquila" was not a slave name (see Lampe *StadtrChr,* 142, 151–52). A Jew from Pontus (Acts 18:2), Aquila was among the first Christians in Rome who still belonged to the synagogues of the city. Together with his wife, Prisca, and others, he propagated Christianity in at least one of the Roman synagogues. This Christian proclamation led to tumultuous controversies among the Roman Jews, so that the administration of the emperor Claudius expelled the main quarrelers, including Aquila and Prisca, from the city in 49 C.E. (Acts 18:2, Suet. *Claud.* 25.4: "*Iudaeos impulsore Chresto [sic] assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit,*" *Oros.* 7.6.15–16, cf. Cass. Dio 60.6.6–7). Alternative interpretations would be that the commotion was caused not by Christians but by a Roman Jew, Chrestus (e.g., Solin *ANRW* 2/29/2: 659, 690), and that Aquila was not converted before he arrived at Corinth (e.g., Lüdemann 1987: 209). This is not probable for several reasons (for detailed discussion see Lampe *StadtrChr,* 4–7): (1) The Roman inscriptions never show the name "Chrestus" as a Jewish name; (2) it would have been a strange coincidence if, as a Jew in Rome, Aquila had been involved in a commotion caused by a certain Jew "Chrestus" and later, as a Christian, had worked as a missionary of "Christus;" (3) since Lat *Christus*/Gk *christos* was unusual for pagan ears and *Chrestus* a common pagan name (see Lampe *StadtrChr,* 6), both could easily be confused by pagan writers like Suetonius. The Christians were indeed often called *Chrestianoi* by pagan people (see Tac. *Ann.* 15.44; Tert. *Apol.* 3; *Ad Nat.* 1.3; Lactant. *Div. Inst.* 4.7). (4) Aquila was already a Christian before Paul settled in Corinth: Paul lived in Aquila's dwelling in Corinth (Acts 18:3), but his first christening in the city was Stephanas, not Aquila. In addition, Paul baptized no one else in Corinth except Crispus, Gaius, and Stephanas' household (1 Cor 1:14–16; 16:15). If Aquila had been christened by somebody other than Paul in Corinth, e.g., by Silas or Timotheus, Luke would have liked to report such success (cf. e.g., Acts 18:8). (5) It is not likely that the unbaptized Jew Aquila housed the Christian missionary Paul in Corinth and even gave him a job to support him (Acts 18:2–3), especially if the Jew Aquila had acted on the Jewish side of the controversies in Rome, fighting Christian preaching about Christ. Finally, (6) Gk *Ioudaios* in Acts 18:2 can be easily understood as Jewish-Christian (see Acts 16:1,20; 21:39; 22:3,12; cf. 9:10; Gal 2:13).

**B. Corinth Profession and Social Status**

From Rome the couple moved on to Corinth, where Paul first met and lodged with them and worked in Aquila's workshop (Acts 18:2–3). Their craft was tent making (Acts 18:3). Contrary to the traditional view that both were leather workers selling primarily to the military, they more likely sewed linen tents for private customers for use as tents on the beach, sunshades in the atrium, or market stalls (see Lampe 1987; leather tents for the military were sewn mainly by imperial slaves and freedmen or by the soldiers themselves, many of whom were craftsmen, as attested in Vegetius *de re militari* 2.11 and inscriptions at Hadrian's Wall).

Aquila has often been described as a wealthy man who owned one or more houses and ran a rather large business which employed several workers (e.g., Hengel 1973: 46; Lüdemann 1987: 209; Ollrog 1979: 26–27; Wilckens *Romans* EKKNT, 134) but evidence points in a different direction (Lampe *StadtrChr,* 158–64). Like most independent craftsmen, Aquila belonged to the poor strata of society; only a few craftsmen—mostly producers of luxury articles such as goldsmiths and jewelers—were wealthier. Paul "was in want" while he made his living by working in Aquila's shop (2 Cor 11:9). He himself considered his choice of work as a tentmaker as humiliating (2 Cor 11:7; cf. 1 Cor 4:11–13; 1 Thess 2:9). In Corinth, he did not preach in Aquila's dwelling, although he lodged there. Also, Aquila's dwelling in Ephesus did not seem to have enough space for Paul's audience, although a subgroup of the Ephesian Christians met there as a house church (Acts 18:7, 2; 19:9; on these as historically reliable traditions, see Lüdemann 1987: 209–11, 222). Aquila's ability to travel (Lüdemann 1987: 209) is not an indication of considerable financial means (Lampe, *StadtrChr,* 162–64).

**C. Ephesus**

After more than one and a half years (Acts 18:11, 2; cf. Lüdemann 1987: 207), Aquila and Prisca moved from Corinth to Ephesus, where they were again active as missionary co-workers of Paul and formed a church in their home (1 Cor 16:19; cf. 2 Tim 4:19; Acts 18:18). The couple "risked their necks" for Paul's life (Rom 16:4) probably during their stay in Ephesus, where Paul was exposed to serious dangers (1 Cor 15:32; 2 Cor 1:8–9). The historicity of the Ephesian episode about Apollos told in Acts 18:26 is very doubtful (Lüdemann 1987: 215–16); *parrēsiazesthai* is a Lukan word, and there is a tension between v 25 and v 26: Apollos already taught "accurately" about Jesus (v 25) before he was instructed "more accurately" by Prisca and Aquila (v 26). Luke, the advocate of the apostle Paul, suggests in v 26 that Prisca and Aquila turned Apollos into a staunch supporter of Pauline Christianity. The pre-Lukan tradition (cf. vv 24–25), however, only knew that Apollos once worked in Ephesus at the same time Paul, Prisca, and Aquila did (cf. also 1 Cor 16:12, 19), and that Apollos was a Christian pneumatic (cf. also the Apollos party in Corinth [1 Cor 1:12] in the context of the Corinthian pneumatics and enthusiasts, e.g., 1 Corinthians 12–14). As such, Apollos was more likely a competitor of Paul (1 Cor 1:12; cf. 3:10b, 12–15) on whom the apostle could not impose his plans while he stayed in Ephesus (1 Cor 16:12). We do not know whether Prisca and Aquila at least housed Apollos in Ephesus (Acts 18:26; Weiser 1985: 508).

**D. Second Stay in Rome.**

Around 55–56 C.E. (after Claudius' death in 54 C.E. and between the writing of 1 Corinthians and Romans), the couple returned to Rome (majority opinion now holds that Rom 16:3–5 is part of the original letter to the Romans, Lampe *StadtrChr,* 124–35). This last move may have been strategically motivated: Aquila and Prisca were possibly sent as Paul's vanguard to Rome, where he wanted to get a firm footing with his gospel before continuing to Spain. In Rome, Aquila and Prisca again hosted a house church (Cranfield *Romans* ICC, 786). They were the first to receive greeting from Paul in Romans 16, where Paul praised them. Their prominence as Paul's co-workers was remembered by the later church: 2 Timothy used their names for the epistle's fictitious historical frame, at the beginning of a list of greeting (4:19). Church tradition of the 6th century claimed that the house church of Aquila and Prisca was the basis of the later Roman "title" church, "Prisca" on the Aventine. There is no proof for this connection (Lampe *StadtrChr,* 11).

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**AQUILA'S VERSION.** Aquila was a Jewish translator active in the first quarter of the 2d century C.E. His Greek version of the OT was preserved by Origen in the third column of his Hexapla (compiled during the second quarter of the 3d century). According to tradition, Aquila, born a pagan, converted to Christianity and thence to Judaism. He studied with a number of rabbis, of whom Akiba was one. His version of the biblical text is marked by extreme literalism, in which he sought to reproduce closely not only the meaning, but also the form of his Hebrew *Vorlage.* In so doing, he does not seem to have been influenced by the exegetical emphases of Akiba or of any other particular rabbinic tradition (cf. Barthélemy 1963). Although it has been suggested that Aquila and Onqelos (to whom a Targum on the Pentateuch is attributed) are one and the same, the evidence for such an identification is not convincing.

As argued persuasively by Barthélemy (1963), Aquila should be seen as the culmination of at least a century's worth of translational activity within the Jewish community. Most of his techniques find their antecedents in an earlier recension designated by Barthélemy as *kaige* (see THEODOTION). In fact, it is likely that Aquila's version was a revision of this *kaige* Greek text and that he had no independent knowledge of the Old Greek (or original Greek translation) for most books of the OT. It is difficult to imagine that a reader with no knowledge of Hebrew could have easily followed Aquila's text, so completely did he shape his Greek into the Semitic mold. It would, however, be useful as a textbook and as a source for quotations on the Jewish side of the continuing polemics with Christians.

Because of its many literalistic tendencies and its frequent recourse to stereotyped or etymological renderings for Hebrew words and phrases, Aquila's version is also valuable for modern textual critics and exegetes. Up until the beginning of this century, his work was known mainly through brief citations in rabbinic and patristic sources and from textual notes in the margins or body of a few manuscripts. (It is also suggested that the "Septuagint" text of Qoheleth was produced by Aquila.) Today we have, in addition, some continuous text (for details, see Jellicoe 1968). Although for some this material simply confirms a negative assessment of Aquila's efforts, a fairer assessment of it serves to remind contemporary scholars that his approach was not nearly so heavy-handed and mechanistic as it is often portrayed. Moreover, the literalism Aquila exemplified was undoubtedly compatible with the exegetical concerns of his own day, and for this he was praised even by Christians like Origen and Jerome.

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**AR** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿār* (עָר)]. A Moabite toponym used as the name of a town, a region, or both. As the name of a town, Ar could refer to a particular site (i.e., the proper name of a town), or it could be used as a general term for "city." (Moabite *ʿār* is the equivalent of Hebrew *ʿīr,* "city.") Because of the diverse usage of the term, the exact location of Ar cannot be determined with certainty on the basis of the OT, though the historical and geographical data in the Bible provide tantalizing clues for this task.

In the biblical tradition, the designation Ar is found almost exclusively in Numbers and Deuteronomy, in passages dealing with the Israelites' passage through and around Moabite territory. Most of these verses bear directly upon the subject of Moab's northern border at the time of the Hebrew migration, with

all data supporting the view that Ar—as the name of a town or a region—was located near this northern boundary, the Arnon. In Num 21:14–15, the "seat of Ar" (i.e., "dwelling of Ar") is mentioned in connection with "the valleys of the Arnon," "the slope of the valleys," and "the border of Moab." Deut 2:18 refers to Ar's proximity to "the boundary of Moab" and, like the forementioned text, probably refers to the name of a prominent town on or near the Arnon (cf. Num 21:28, though some read "as far as" or "cities of" in place of the proper noun "Ar" in this verse). It is possible that "the city of Moab" (*ʿīr moab*), mentioned in Num 22:36, and "the city that is in the valley" (Deut 2:36; Josh 13:9, 16; 2 Sam 24:5) allude to Ar, but this is quite uncertain.

In contrast to the passages that use the designation Ar with reference to a city, specifically or generally, are verses that seem to use Ar as the name of a region, as a synonym for Moab (Deut 2:9, 29). The appearance of Ar in Isa 15:1 may be still another way in which this term was used in the OT. In this verse, the only occurrence of Ar in a poetic text, the prophet refers to a successful campaign against the Moabites. Ar and Kir are named in parallel lines, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to decide which of the following interpretations is correct: (1) Ar and Kir were the two principal towns of Moab (perhaps capitals in different periods), south of the Arnon, and Isaiah narrates the spread of news about the attack from city to city; (2) these terms refer to the towns of Moab in general (*ʿār* = Moabite for "city" and *qir* = Heb for "wall" or "walled city"); or (3) Ar and Kir are identical, with the poetic parallelism requiring two different designations for the same place (cf. Schottroff 1966: 179–81; Weippert 1979: 17–18).

Among the sites that have been identified as Ar of Moab are Kerak (probably ancient Kir/Kir-hareseth), Rabbah (ancient Areopolis/Rabbath Moab), Khirbet el-Miṣnaʿ (M.R. 223767), Khirbet el-Medeineh (M.R. 330768), and Khirbet el-Bālūʿ (M.R. 244855). Although it is impossible, at present, to state with certainty that any of these sites was ancient Ar, it is fair to say that the available geographical, historical, and archaeological evidence seem to favor Khirbet el-Bālūʿ (Miller 1989).

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**ARA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾărāʾ* (אֲרָא)]. One of the descendants of Asher listed in the select genealogy in 1 Chr 7:30–40. Ara, whose name, perhaps, means "lion," is described as one of the "heads of fathers' houses, approved, mighty warriors, chief of the princes," in Asher's genealogy. Perhaps since Asher was a lesser tribe, originating from the Jacob-Zilpah union (cf. Gen 46:17–18), little emphasis is placed on his lineage. One third of the names listed in this genealogy in 1 Chronicles 7 are found only here in Scripture. Indeed, the name "Ara" appears nowhere else.

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**ARAB** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾărāb* (אֲרָב)]. A town situated in the central hill country of Judah (Josh 15:52), within the same district as Hebron. This settlement, whose name perhaps means "hiding place" (from Heb *ʾrb* "to lie in ambush"), is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62; see also BETH-DAGON). Arab may also have been the home of PAARAI the Arbite (Heb *haʾarbî*), one of David's champions (2 Sam 23:35). The ancient name is clearly reflected at modern Khirbet er-Rabiyeh (*LBHG* 372; M.R. 153093), which lies approximately 13 km SW of Hebron. Although the location is quite acceptable, it is not yet known whether Khirbet er-Rabiyeh was occupied during OT times.

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**ARABAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿărābâ* (עֲרָבָה)]. A biblical term variously used referring to all or portions of the Great Rift valley in Palestine, running from the Sea of Chinnereth (Galilee) in the N, through the Jordan Valley to the Dead Sea, and from there to the Gulf of Aqaba in the S. Along with the coastal plains, the Shephelah, the Negev, and the mountains, it is one of the principal geographical regions in Palestine (Josh 11:16). This region is a depression in the earth, for the most part below sea level, which provided a natural barrier and a border between Israel and her neighbors Ammon, Moab, and Edom to the E.

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A. Description
B. Terminology and Occurrences
C. History

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**A. Description**

Arabah refers to the section in Palestine of the Syrian-East African Rift—the Great Rift—which runs from Turkey to Mozambique. It can be divided into three distinct areas: the Jordan Valley, extending from the Sea of Chinnereth, including both sides of the Jordan river, to the Dead Sea; the region of the Dead Sea itself, including the desert wasteland on either side; and the modern Wadi el-ʿArabah, which designates the region running from the southern end of the Dead Sea, slightly W and S to the Gulf of Aqaba. While the biblical term was used in reference to the whole or parts of this entire area, in modern usage the designation "Arabah" refers specifically to the wilderness area in the S portion, the Wadi Wadi el-ʿArabah, from the S end of the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Aqaba.

The Jordan Valley extends from the S end of the Sea of Chinnereth to the Dead Sea and is divided between the Galilee-Beth-sheʾan Basin in the N and the Ghôr in the S by a narrowing referred to as the "Jordan waist." The Jordan winds its way from the Sea of Chinnereth 65 mi (105 km) before entering the Dead Sea (all statistics from Orni and Efrat 1980), and the valley ranges in width from 15 mi to 4 mi and dropping from about 700 ft (213 m) below sea level at the Sea of Chinnereth to 1300 ft (396 m) below sea level at the Dead Sea. See also JORDAN RIVER. The N half of the valley is well watered and relatively fertile while the S portion is drier and less cultivated. In the lower Ghôr is found the site of the ford of Adam (Josh 3:16) and farther S a rugged territory called in the Bible the "jungle of the Jordan" (Jer 12:5; 49:19; 50:44; Zech 11:3), a wilderness area known for its lions. From the E the Jordan River is joined by the rivers Yarmuq, ʿArab, Taiyebeh, Ziqlab, Yabis (perhaps biblical "brook Cherith" 1 Kgs 17:3), Jabbok, and Fariʿa. On the E bank of the southernmost portion of the Jordan River is the area called the well-watered "plains of Moab" (*ʿarĕbôt-môʾab*), the site of biblical Abel-shittim (Num 33:49; Josh 2:1, 3:1; Mic 6:5), while the W bank is the area of the "plains of Jericho" (*ʿarĕbôt-yĕrʾiḥô*).

The Dead Sea, sometimes referred to as the "Sea of the Arabah" (*yām hāʿărābâ*), extends 50 mi (80 km) S from the mouth of the Jordan, and at its widest point is 11 mi (18 km) wide. The level of the water has fluctuated throughout history but presently is about 1300 ft (396 m) below sea level. The Rift Valley extends beneath the level of the water another 1300 ft (396 m) to 2625 ft (800 m) below sea level, making it the deepest continental depression in the world. The sea is surrounded by a narrow shore on either side at the foot of the mountains—the highlands of Judah to the W and the plateau of Moab on the E. Besides the Jordan River, the Dead Sea is fed by the rivers Zerqa, Maʿin, Arnon, and Kerak from the E, while on the W are found the springs of ʿAin Feshka (near Qumran), En-gedi, and En Bokek. In biblical times the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah were located along with the cities of the plain somewhere in the S part of this region which, according to the Bible, was consideraly more fertile than it is today (Gen 13:10). Today this whole region is largely desolate, the S portion containing a salt plain and mountain, Har Sdom.

The southernmost section of the Arabah or Great Rift in Palestine extends from the S end of the Dead Sea 103 mi (165 km) to the S and slightly W to the Gulf of Aqaba. It varies in width from 20 mi (32 km) in the central sections to only 3 mi (5 km) in the S section near Elat. It rises abruptly in altitude going S from about 1300 ft (396 m) below sea level at the Dead Sea to 690 ft (210 m) in only a couple of miles

and then ascends gradually to sea level at Elat in the area of ancient Ezion-geber. This area is covered with alluvial sand and gravel, and because of the lack of precipitation, the vegetation consists of sagebrush, camel thorns, and acacia. This area was of particular significance throughout history because it contained the only deposits of iron and copper in ancient Israel (Deut 8:9) which have been mined and smelted since Chalcolithic times. This area and the copper industry have been documented by Glueck (1970: 59–103) and Rothenberg (1962; 1972). See TIMNA. In addition, the port of Ezion-geber and/or Elat was the gateway for trade with Egypt, Africa, and Arabia and hence was the beginning of important trade routes that led N connecting with Gaza and the Via Maris to the W and through Edom, to the King's Highway in the E.

The route leading from the Gulf of Aqaba to Syria through the Great Rift is called by some the Rift Valley Road. It diverged into two roads from the Gulf of Aqaba to Syria interrupted by the cliffs of the Dead Sea and a basalt dam N of the Sea of Chinnereth. The W branch ran from Elat through Oboth to En-gedi and the E branch from Elat to Punon and the Wadi Kerak. From the Dead Sea N, both roads continued to Galilee but continuing from there to the N there was only one road (Baly, *GB,* 98).

**B. Terminology and Occurrences**

In the past some have argued the root of the word "Arabah" (Heb *ʿ-r-b*) originally meant "arid" or "sterile" (*BDB,* 787). In recent times this view has been seen as tenuous. The term "arabah" does often occur in contexts suggesting a general reference to "desert" or "wilderness" without a specific geographical point of reference. In most of these cases the term occurs without the definite article. It is possible the word developed the general sense of "wilderness" or "desert" simply from the fact that much of the area within the Arabah, especially in the S section of the Arabah, is in fact arid and desolate. This general usage is primarily found in poetry, especially in the prophets, and RSV usually translates "desert." See, for example, "Sharon is like a desert" (Isa 33:9); "a wolf from the desert" (Jer 5:6). The word is rendered as "plain" in "the whole land shall be turned into a plain" (Zech 14:10). Often the term "arabah" occurs in conjunction with other words meaning "wilderness" or "dry land." It is found as a parallel term to *midbār,* RSV "wilderness," in several passages: "waters shall break forth in the wilderness (*bammid-bār*) and streams in the desert (*bāʿărābâ*)" (Isa 35:6). See also Isa 33:9; 40:3; 41:19; 51:3; Jer 17:6; Job 24:5. In addition, it is found in conjunction with other terms meaning "wilderness" or "dry land": "the wilderness (*midbār*) and dry land (*ṣiyyâ*) shall be glad, the desert (*ʿărābâ*) shall rejoice and blossom like a crocus" (Isa 35:1). See also Jer 2:6; 50:12; 51:43, where it occurs with *ṣiyyâ* and *midbār* and with "salt land" (*mlḥ*) in Job 39:6. Even where such a general sense is intended, it is possible that some of these contexts are a reference to the Arabah proper.

When "arabah" occurs with the definite article (*hāʿărābâ*), it is rendered by RSV as "Arabah," and in most cases designates a specific geographical place or area within the Rift Valley. Josh 11:16 lists this region as one of the major geographical areas in the Promised Land: "Joshua took all the land, the hill country, and all the Negeb, and all the land of Goshen, and the lowland, and the Arabah and the hill country of Israel" (Josh 11:16). There is a reference to the Arabah as the region on both banks of the Jordan Valley crossed by Abner on his way from Gibeon to Mahanaim (2 Sam 2:29). Several references are made to the Arabah as the E bank of the Jordan Valley from the Sea of Chinnereth to the Dead Sea (Deut 3:17; 4:49; Josh 12:1, 3), and there are references to the W bank of the Jordan Valley where Gilgal is located (Deut 11:30) and where the men of Ai went out to meet Israel in battle (Josh 8:14). The "plains of Jericho," where the fleeing King Zedekiah was apprehended by the Babylonians (2 Kgs 25:4; Jer 39:4; 52:7), are also referred to as the Arabah. The region to the W of the Dead Sea is referred to in 1 Sam 23:24: "David and his men in the wilderness of Maon, in the Arabah to the south of Jeshimon." Ezek 47:8 ("the water flows towards the eastern region and goes down into the Arabah") refers to the region of the Dead Sea and perhaps by extension to the whole of the S Arabah. The only explicit reference to the S portion of the Arabah, present-day Wadi el-ʿArabah, is found in Deut 2:8, where the children of Israel moved S from Kadesh "from the Arabah road from Elat and Ezion-geber."

The term "arabah" is occasionally used as a designation of a road or route, and Heb *derek hāʿărābâ* is variously translated: "Arabah road" (Deut 2:8), the road in the vicinity of Elat and Ezion-geber; "way of

the Arabah" (2 Sam 4:7), the route from Mahanaim to Hebron; and "direction of the Arabah" designating a route from Jerusalem to the area of Jericho (2 Kgs 25:4; Jer 39:4; 52:7). The plural form (*ʿărābôt*) occurs in two expressions where it is translated as "plains": *ʿarĕbôt-mô ʾāb* "plains of Moab" (Num 22:1; 26:3, 63; 31:12; 33:48–50; 35:1; 36:13; Deut 34:1, 8) and *ʿarĕbôt-yĕr'iḥô* "plains of Jericho" (Josh 4:13; 5:10; 2 Kgs 25:5; Jer 39:5; 52:8).

Several times the Dead Sea is referred to as the "Sea of the Arabah" (*yām hāʿărābâ*), often qualified as the Salt Sea. This term is found referring to the Dead Sea as a landmark delineating the boundaries of the tribes of Israel across the Jordan (Deut 3:17; 4:49; Josh 12:3), as well as in the description of the Jordan "flowing down toward the sea of the Arabah, the Salt Sea" (Josh 3:16). It is also found as the border of the N kingdom when Jeroboam II "restored the border of Israel from the entrance of Hamath as far as the Sea of the Arabah" (2 Kgs 14:25). In Amos 6:14 there is mention of the "brook of the Arabah" (*naḥal hāʿârābâ*) also in the context of the borders of Israel "from the entrance of Hamath to the Brook of the Arabah" in a passage that suggests Amos might be parodying Jeroboam's achievement mentioned in 2 Kgs 14:25. It is not certain if Amos intends a specific brook of water in the region such as the Wadi Qelt or the brook Zered (called in Isa 15:7 *naḥal hāʿârābîm* "brook of the willows") as the S border. Some have suggested that Amos may intend the Wadi el-ʿArabah, and Arabic term, referring to the whole area from the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Aqaba.

In addition there is a reference to the "plains of the wilderness" (*ʿrbwt hmdbr*; Qere in 2 Sam 15:28 and 17:16), which in its context suggests that part of the Arabah on the borders of the Judean wilderness, probably the Jordan Valley N of the Dead Sea. RSV, however, follows the Kethib reading "fords of the wilderness" (*ʿabĕrôt hāmmidbār*), referring to the crossing point of the Jordan in this area.

**C. History**

While not specifically mentioned, the area of the Arabah played a significant part in the patriarchal narratives. When there was conflict between the servants of Abraham and Lot over the shortage of pastureland, they divided the land between them. Lot chose the Jordan Valley because it was well watered, and he settled in the area around Sodom (Gen 13:2–13). The wealth and prosperity of the cities of the plain attracted the kings from the E, who sacked the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah and were pursued and caught by Abraham (Genesis 14). Later the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah were totally destroyed by "brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven" (Gen 19:24).

In the 14th–12th centuries B.C. mines in the S Arabah were heavily worked by the Egyptians, but later in Iron Age I–II production was left again to the local tribes of Midianites and Kenites. As prophesied by Moses, it was the site where iron and copper could be found in the Promised Land (Deut 8:9).

The children of Israel passed through the Arabah on their journey from Kadesh-barnea to Ezion-geber (Deut 2:8) before turning N and E to avoid the borders of Edom and Moab. The Amorites under Sihon had seized the Moabite portion of the Arabah, which was in turn captured and populated by the Israelites (Num 21:21–30; Deut 2:24–37). This area was the scene of the apostasy at Abel-shittim (Numbers 25). The plains of Moab (*ʿarĕbôt-môʾāb*) on the E bank of the Jordan N of the Dead Sea was the site of the Israelite camp that witnessed the final acts and received the final words of Moses (Numbers 32–36; Deut 1:1, 7). It is the area where the Israelites camped before they crossed to Jericho (Num 22:1; 3:48–50; 35:1; 36:13); where the census of Israel was taken before the entry into the Promised Land (Num 26:3, 63); where the booty was taken after the defeat of the Midianites (Num 31:12); the place from whence Moses ascended to Mt. Nebo in order to view the Promised Land (Deut 34:1, 8); and a landmark in the designation of the inheritance allotted to the tribes on the other side of the Jordan (Deut 3:17; 4:49; Josh 12:1, 3). Israel witnessed the miraculous parting of the Jordan (Josh 3:14–17) and crossed the Jordan under the direction of Joshua to the "plains of Jericho" (*ʿarĕbôt-yĕr'iḥô*), camping at Gilgal, which became the headquarters for the first phase of the Conquest. On the plains of Jericho, Israel prepared for the capture of Jericho (Josh 4:13), here is where they renewed the covenant through circumcision, celebrated Passover, and where the manna stopped (Josh 5:1–10).

The N portion of the Arabah is the scene of the incident of Abner fleeing after his defeat at Gibeon (2 Sam 2:29), and the area which the assassins of Ishbosheth crossed from Mahanaim to bring the head of

their king to David at Hebron (2 Sam 4:7). Throughout the history of Israel the S Arabah was a strategic area, both because of the copper industry as well as the seaport. It is recorded that Solomon "built a fleet of ships at Ezion-geber" (1 Kgs 9:26–28; 10:11; 2 Chr 8:17–18; 9:10–11), which pursued trade with Arabia and Africa. After Solomon's death, the area reverted to the Edomites, only to be reconquered by Jehoshaphat of Judah, who also built a fleet of ships (1 Kgs 22:48; 2 Chr 20:36). The dispute with Edom continued as Elath was recaptured by Amaziah (2 Kgs 14:22) or Uzziah (2 Chr 26:2), finally falling to the Edomites (2 Kgs 16:6). When Zedekiah fled Jerusalem toward the wilderness, he was captured by the Babylonians in the plains of Jericho in the Arabah, near Jericho (2 Kgs 25:5; Jer 39:5; 52:8).

The S section of the biblical Arabah was inhabited by the Nabateans in the 3d century B.C., and the Romans reopened copper mining in this area in the 1st–3d centuries A.D.

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**ARABAH, BROOK OF THE** (PLACE) [Heb *naḥal hā‹ărābâ* (נַחַל הָעֲרָבָה)]. A place mentioned in Amos's pronouncement of doom against Israel (Amos 6:14). Together with the "entrance of Hamath," the Brook of the Arabah is used to delineate the geographical extent of Yahweh's punishment: since the former (Heb *lĕbo› ḥămat*) seems to designate the N border of the promised land (Num 34:7–9; Josh 13:5; Ezek 47:15–16), the latter presumably designates the S border. However, elsewhere the S border is characteristically referred to as the "Brook of Egypt" (Josh 15:4; Ezek 47:19) or as "the Shihor, which is east of Egypt" (Josh 13:3). On the one hand, it is possible that the Brook of the Arabah is one of these, and therefore provides a coastal referent for the S boundary of Yahweh's punishment. The Brook of Egypt is usually identified with Wadi el-‹Arish, which drains the central Sinai N into the Mediterranean, while Shihor (Eg *š hor*) may be the easternmost branch of the Nile delta (*IDB* 4: 328; *ISBE* 1:549). On the other hand, it is possible that the Brook of the Arabah provides an inland referent for the S boundary. It may be equivalent to the Brook of Zered SE of the Dead Sea, a suggestion supported by the fact that the word "Arabah" is usually used to designate the Dead Sea basin and the area directly S of it to Aqaba. See also ARABAH; EGYPT, BROOK OF; SHIHOR.

GARY A. HERION

**ARABAH, SEA OF.** See SALT SEA.

**ARABIA** (PLACE) [Heb *‹ărab* (עֲרַב)]. ARABIAN. The OT has no true geographical place name "Arabia," the collective noun *‹ărāb* ("Arabs") being used to designate the region; the geographical term "Arabia" appears only in Greek texts. Arabs are also sometimes referred to in the OT as *bĕnê qedem* "people [literally "sons"] of the East" (*e.g.*, Judg 6:3, 1 Kgs 4:30) and their region as *›ereṣ qedem*, "land of the East," or simply *qedem*, "East" (so Gen 25:6, Isa 2:6).

**A. History and Geography**

The origin of the Arabs is debated; the conventional view is that they originated in the central or S part of the Arabian peninsula (e.g., Montgomery 1934, Hitti 1970). The inclusion of the S part of the peninsula in the designation "Arabia" is not, however, attested until Roman times, nor do people identified as "Arabs" appear in ancient texts as inhabitants of the S region until the same period (Eph‹al 1982:8); prior to that time the S region was known by the names of the various kingdoms that inhabited it, such as Saba, Qataban, and Hadhramaut. Considerable evidence favors the theory that the Arabs first appeared on the N, W, and E edges of the Syrian desert, with an extension into the Negev, the Sinai peninsula, and the N part of the Hejaz (the NW coast and mountain range of the Arabian peninsula).

Egyptian texts as early as the 3d millennium B.C. refer to inhabitants of the S Levant as "sand-dwellers," a term that originally must have alluded to nomads, although even at that early date it also applied to

sedentary Levantine peoples. The homeland of these Asiatics was sometimes designated, as in the Egyptian story of Sinuhe which originated in the 20th century B.C., by the Semitic word *qedem.* Archaeological investigations have shown that nomads were much in evidence in Syro-Palestinian life during the period 2200–1900 B.C., following the collapse of the EB cultures, but partially withdrew to the S and E desert regions during the subsequent centuries of ascendancy of the Canaanite city-states. The tendency of nomads to press into Palestine and W Transjordan as the Canaanite culture began to disintegrate during the latter part of the 1st millennium B.C. was impeded by the establishment of Edom, Moab, Israel, and other fledgling kingdoms. During much of the 1st millennium B.C. Arabs moved about on the fringes of the settled regions, not only providing the sedentary peoples with sheep, goats, camels, asses, and animal by-products such as skins and wool, but also serving as itinerant merchants trading in spices, dates, embroidery, incense, iron, copper, gold, precious stones, pearls, and other commodities, some of which originated in distant places (see Gen 2:11, 1 Kgs 10:2, Ezek 27:21–22).

Arabs were also active in the extreme S part of Palestine and Transjordan during the OT period. Nomadic groups, often called by tribal names rather than the generic term "Arab," had long moved about in the W part of the Negeb between Judah and the "Brook of Egypt" (Wadi el-ʿArish, the traditional border between Palestine and Egypt) and in the rugged terrain E toward Edom and Midian. The Midianites, who were related to, if not identical with, the biblical Ishmaelites, were of Arab stock, and engaged in caravaneering. The biblical story of Joseph describes a Midianite caravan on its way from Gilead in the Transjordanian highlands to Egypt, passing through the vicinity of Dothan in N Palestine (Gen 37:25–28). The traders carried with them stock items of resin, balm, and myrrh, and also trafficked in slaves. Some Arab tribes probably made their living, as they did at later times in history, by preying upon such caravans, or by raiding villages or the encampments of other Arabs.

The earliest known appearance of the word "Arab" in extrabiblical texts is in an Assyrian record from the time of Shalmaneser III which states that an Arab leader named Gindibuʾ, who probably had his home on the SW edge of the Syrian desert, went with troops and 1000 camels to participate in a military coalition against the Assyrians that culminated in the battle of Qarqar in 853 B.C. Arabs appear frequently in the records of a number of later Assyrian monarchs, from Tiglath-pileser III through Ashurbanipal (745–627 B.C.), sometimes as allies and sometimes as the vanquished. Tiglath-pileser's annals identify various Arab tribes or leaders that were nominally integrated into the Assyrian empire. Under Sargon II, some Arabs were resettled in Palestine and elsewhere, either voluntarily or otherwise (see Ephʿal 1982: 105–8). Arabs also appear sporadically in the records of the subsequent Neo-Babylonian and Persian empires. None of the Near Eastern empires could, however, effectively control these nomads or their territories permanently; at most they could make incursions into the inhospitable desert regions, and usually had to content themselves with striking bargains with the Bedouin leaders to achieve their main goal, that of keeping commercial routes open. See BEDOUIN AND BEDOUIN STATES.

During the Greco-Roman period, the Arabs became much better known than previously. Geographers began to make rudimentary distinctions among the regions inhabited by Arabs, referring to the North Arabian region as "Arabia Deserta" and the SW coast of the Arabian peninsula as "Arabia Felix." Damascus was generally regarded as standing at the NW corner of Arabia Deserta (cf. Jdt 2:25). A third region, Arabia Petraea, emerged in Edom as one group of Arabs, the Nabataeans, rose to prominence during the 3d–1st centuries B.C. Transforming tribal leadership into kingship and their nomadic way of life into a sedentary existence, the Nabataeans gradually increased their cultural sphere N and W during this time, becoming prosperous through trade. They vigorously and creatively adapted Hellenistic-Roman culture to their indigenous traditions, particularly in their capital city of Petra. By the early 1st century A.D., at its zenith, the kingdom of Nabatea dominated a large part of Transjordan and the Negev (see Glueck 1959 and 1970, Bowersock 1983, and Negev 1986). See also NABATEANS.

The Romans, who had actively entered the governance of the Levant with Pompey's conquest of Syria and Palestine in 64–63 B.C., maintained the Nabataeans as a client state within the larger geographical region they called "Arabia" (comprising portions of Transjordan, S Syria, the Negev, and the NW Arabian peninsula) for well over a century, but in A.D. 106 annexed a large part of the Nabatean kingdom as a

Roman province. Subsequently, attempting to prevent the still populous non-Nabatean Arab groups situated farther to the E and S from encroaching upon the boundaries of the empire, the Romans established a series of military posts in Transjordan (see Bowersock 1983 and Parker 1986), but these only partially achieved their purpose and after several centuries were abandoned; ultimately the Romans proved to have little more success than previous empires in controlling the Arabs. During the 4th–6th centuries A.D. the Arabs had considerable contact with the Byzantine world, but it was only when Islam emerged in the 7th century A.D. that they moved to the forefront of Near Eastern history.

**B. In the OT and Intertestamental Literature**

Eph'al (1982: 60–63) points out that in the earlier historical texts in the OT bedouin peoples are referred to by various tribal names (chiefly Amalekites, Midianites, and Ishmaelites) or simply as people of the East; in later passages they still sometimes appear as people of the East, but are also designated by the generic term "Arab" or by names representing kingdoms, oasis cities, or other previously unknown groups. Eph'al suggests that the change of terminology occurred in the mid-10th century B.C., at the end of the reign of King David. While such may have been the case, the biblical evidence for the change in terminology is scanty and somewhat questionable prior to the 7th century B.C. The first mention of Arabs in the records of the Hebrew monarchy appears in 1 Kgs 10:15 (=2 Chr 9:14), where the somewhat uncertain Hebrew text can be read as stating that Solomon received gold from "all the kings of the Arabs [or Arabia]." Inasmuch as Solomon is reported to have fostered commerce via the Red Sea, the passage may attest to gifts proffered by rulers of the kingdoms of the SW Arabian peninsula; the LXX, however, does not mention Arabs or Arabia but states that Solomon received tribute from "all the kings of the coast"—by which is perhaps meant the N Hejaz, where Tema, Dedan, and other caravan centers were located. Similarly the account of the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon's court (1 Kgs 10:1–13) may have concerned the ruler of a N branch of the Sabaeans, located in the Hejaz and conducting operations both S along the Red Sea and N into the Negev. A case can, however, be made for the traditional interpretation of the story, which identifies Sheba with the Sabaean kingdom of the SW Arabian peninsula (see Eph'al 1982: 63–64, 88–89, 227–29). Vv 11–12 of the account, which mention wood and precious stones that Solomon is said to have brought from Ophir, concern trade with more distant places than the Hejaz, but this information is an addition to the story.

Arabs are referred to several times in the Chronicler's history of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. 2 Chr 17:11 states that Arabs gave large gifts of sheep and goats to Jehoshaphat, king of Judah (873–849 B.C.), who had attempted to reactivate Solomonic trade routes through the Red Sea (1 Kgs 22:47–49). 2 Chr 21:16 (cf. 22:1) alludes to a brief but destructive invasion carried out against Judah by the Philistines and "the Arabs who are near the Ethiopians" during the reign of Jehoram (859–853 B.C.). The Chronicler also mentions several times an Arab tribe known as the Meunites (2 Chr 20:1, 26:7; Ezra 2:50 = Neh 7:52), who are also attested in Assyrian records. That same work speaks of the Philistines, the Meunites, and "the Arabs that dwelt in Gurbaal" (26:7; cf. 14:12–14) as groups attacked by King Uzziah of Judah (783–750 B.C.); such a war, if historical, probably was waged out of concern not to acquire more territory but to control lucrative trade routes through the S end of the Levant. Precisely how historical these various states are is difficult to determine, since Chronicles is a relatively late postexilic work, and references in it to Arabs may reflect, in part, contemporaneous circumstances (cf. Eph'al 1982: 65–71). The corresponding narratives in 2 Kings do not mention Arabs, and the LXX versions of the passages in 2 Chronicles often differ slightly from the Hebrew text, either omitting reference to Arabs or apparently attempting some clarification (e.g., "the Arabs and those who bordered on the Ethiopians" in 2 Chr 21:16 and "those that dwelt on the rock" in 2 Chron 26:7, the latter perhaps alluding to the Edomite stronghold at Petra or its vicinity).

In the prophetic tradition of the late 8th–early 6th centuries B.C. North Arabia continues sometimes to be alluded to as the East (e.g., Isa 11:14, Jer 49:28), and older tribal terminology occasionally appears, but the newer names of Arab groups such as Dedan, Tema, and Kedar (Qedar) are also frequent. The latter, all located in the NW corner of the Arabian peninsula, are often linked in prophetic poetry. Isa 21:11–17, which includes an oracle "concerning Arabia," uses all three names; the fact, however, that this oracle is

lacking in the LXX raises some doubt as to its date. Jer 25:23–24 (LXX 32:23–24) refers to Dedan, Tema, Buz, and the Arabs who "cut the corners of their hair [i.e., have a distinctive tonsure]; all the kings of Arabia and all the kings of the mixed tribes that dwell in the desert." Montgomery (1934: 29–30) has pointed out that this may be the earliest unquestionable OT reference to "Arabs" dating from the latter part of the 7th or the early 6th century B.C. Ezekiel's list of nations that traded with the city of Tyre names not only Dedan and Kedar but also Sheba and Ramah as well, and gives important details regarding their commerce (Ezek. 27:20–22).

Some of the wisdom literature of the OT and the intertestamental period indicates that Arabia had a reputation for fostering men of wisdom, an idea that is also found occasionally in prophetic literature (e.g., Obad 8, Jer 49:7). The conventional presupposition about Arab wisdom is found in 1 Kgs 4:29–31, where Solomon's wisdom is said to have surpassed even that of the "people of the East." Epigrams and other wise sayings were sometimes believed to have an Arab origin (1 Sam 24:13 and perhaps Prov 30:1, 31:1). The postexilic wisdom book of Job refers to its protagonist as the greatest of the people of the East (Job 1:3), and makes allusions to persons and places in North Arabia, such as the Sabaeans (Job 1:15), the oasis of Tema (Job 6:19), and the land of Uz (Job 1:3; see also Lam 4:21, where Edom and Uz were paired); it has been thought by some scholars that the book had its origins in that region (but compare Montgomery 1934: 172–73).

The scanty references to the Arabs in the postexilic historical accounts in the OT, which should probably include at least some of the passages in Chronicles, show that the Arabs continued to be a force in the Levant during the 5th–3d centuries B.C. During the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem around 445 B.C. Nehemiah's efforts on behalf of the Jews were opposed by a coalition of several groups, the leaders of which were Sanballat the Horonite, Tobiah the Ammonite, and Geshem the Arab (Neh. 2:19; cf. 4:1—Eng4:7, 6:1). The question of the identification of this personage is discussed in Eph'al (1982: 197, 210–14), who suggests that Geshem probably ruled a group of Arabs that lived in the desert to the south of Judah. Extrabiblical sources attest to a king of Kedar named Gashmu, who was contemporary with the biblical Geshem, if not identical with him.

Jewish concern with Arabs in the 2d–1st centuries B.C. and the early 1st century A.D. tended to focus on the bedouin of Transjordan and the Negev; those in other regions are rarely mentioned. Zabdiel the Arab, who figures briefly in 1 Macc 11:16, and the Arabs called Zabadeans, who appear in 1 Macc 12:31, may have inhabited a part of the Negev. The word "Arab" sometimes was used with its old connotation of "nomad" (e.g., 2 Macc 12:10–12, where it is asserted that 5000 Arabs with 500 horsemen attacked Judas Maccabeus and were defeated, after which they "departed to their tents"); other references, however, show that the term could be used as a virtual equivalent of "Nabatean" (1 Macc 5:25, 39, 9:35, and 2 Macc 5:8).

**C. In the NT**

"Arabians" (i.e., inhabitants of Arabia, not necessarily entirely synonymous with "Arabs") are mentioned only once, as such, in the NT, as one of many kinds of foreigners living in Jerusalem who participated in the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost (Acts 2:11). Paul mentions Arabia in his brief allusion to his conversion and subsequent departure "into Arabia," followed by his return to Damascus (Gal 1:17). This Arabian sojourn, of unspecified duration, took place somewhere on the edge of the Syrian desert or in Transjordan. Paul's famous escape from Damascus (2 Cor 11:32–33) took place under the kingship of Aretas IV, during a period of domination of the city by the Nabataeans.

**D. In Biblical Theology and Imagery**

Arab influence on the Bible was most intensively examined during a half-century period, from around 1885 to 1935. Julius Wellhausen wrote the first extensive modern treatise on the subject with his *Reste arabischen Heidentums,* published in 1887. His pioneering work was followed by others, among which were W. Robertson Smith's *The Religion of the Semites* (1894), G. Jacob's *Altarabische Parallelen zum Alten Testament* (1897), M.-J. Lagrange's *Études sur les religions sémitiques* (1905), D. S. Margoliouth's *The Relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the Rise of Islam* (1924), Albrecht Alt's *Der Gott der Väter* (1929), and James Montgomery's comprehensive (and still highly useful) *Arabia and the Bible* in

1934. The historical and ethnographic work that was done decades ago has shown that the impact of Arabia and the Arab culture on the Bible was far greater than the occurrences of the words "Arabs" and "Arabia" in the Bible might suggest, a fact that is being reinforced by more recent research. The Arabs constituted a significant factor in the formation of the Israelite thought, not simply as an environmental presence but as a wellspring of influential cultural and religious concepts, only a few aspects of which can be touched upon here.

The OT recognition of the closeness of Arab and Hebrew cultures is reflected in the lineages incorporated in Genesis. Although lacking in ethnographic sophistication, these priestly genealogical constructions acknowledge nomadic groups as near relatives of the Hebrews. Unfortunately the dating of information in the lists is very uncertain and interpretation is replete with difficulties (see Ephʿal 1982: 231–40). Some Arab tribes, including ones found in the Hejaz, are said to be descended from Abraham's son Ishmael by his less-favored wife, Hagar (Gen 25:12–18), while others, which were geographically closer to Palestine, such as Midian, are alleged to be Abraham's sons by his wife Keturah (Gen 25:1–6). The Joktanite tribes, whose separation from the Hebrews is ascribed to an era before Abraham (Gen 10:26–29), include some of the peoples of South Arabia who may have had ancient non-Arab origins. The descent of "those who dwell in tents and have herds" (Gen 4:20) from Jubal represents yet another genealogical tradition incorporated into Genesis, as does the lineage of the Edomites from Esau (Genesis 36).

Although the OT distinguishes between Hebrews and Arabs, numerous passages indicate that there was widespread recognition of the concept that Israel's physical and spiritual origins lay in the desert. The story of Cain and Abel in the JE epic tradition suggests a divine preference for Abel the shepherd rather than Cain the agriculturist (Gen 4:2–5; but see ABEL). Many aspects of patriarchal traditions are clarified by Arab concepts and practices, such as the welcome which Abraham gives to his angelic visitors (Gen 18:1–8) and the practice of a leader's returning to his tribe to obtain a wife for his son (Genesis 24). Arab customs that illuminate early biblical traditions are discussed in detail by Montgomery (1934) and others. (Since, however, Arab customs persisted throughout the biblical period, these affinities cannot be used as evidence for the historicity or antiquity of any particular sources or passages.) More normative yet for Hebrew theology is the account of the Hebrew exodus from Egypt, which has a subtle, multifaceted relationship to Bedouin culture, tracing Israel's fundamental encounter with God and his law to an experience in the wilderness of Sinai at a time when the Israelites were living in a manner much like that of the Arabs. The tradition has overtones of the rejection of both agricultural and urbanized life in favor of the more rigorous but purer life of the nomad. Furthermore, Moses is said to have gained knowledge about Yahweh, the Hebrew God, from his father-in-law, Jethro, a Midianite Arab.

By virtue of this communal memory of desert origins, biblical writers cherished the concept of the wilderness as the home to which Israel must return, if only figuratively, for spiritual sustenance. When the Northern Kingdom seceded from the Davidic monarchy, the poetic cry was "every man to his tents, O Israel" (2 Sam 20:1). The traditions about Elijah, and to a lesser extent Elisha, emphasize the prophets' orientation toward the wilderness. The theme appears in later prophets, among them Jer (2:2) and Hos (2:14). Arabia continued to exert a powerful influence in the thought of earliest Christianity. The Gospels emphasize the wilderness tradition when presenting Jesus as the successor to John the Baptist, an Elijah-like figure whose life and message echo the sternness and spiritual integrity of the Hebrew experience of the exodus (Mark 1:4–9 and par). When on the verge of his public ministry, Jesus goes into the wilderness, where he contemplates, and rejects, the temptations of materialism and urban culture (Mark 1:14–13 and par). The concept again reappears in the apostle Paul's withdrawal to Arabia following his conversion (Gal 1:17).

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**ARABIA, LANGUAGES OF (SOUTH).** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY) and (PRE-ISLAMIC SOUTH ARABIA).

**ARABIA, PREHISTORY OF.** Some 80 years have elapsed between Hogarth's seminal work, *The Penetration of Arabia* (1904), and the first synthesis of recent archaeological work on the peninsula by Tosi (1986). While much of the Near East and particularly the "Holy Land" had been increasingly scrutinized by archaeologists since Hogarth's work, investigation into the Arabian past lagged behind. The Danish expeditions to the Arab Gulf countries beginning in the 1950s were the first to open up the potential not only for archaeology but for biblical readers as well.

Defining "Arabia" remains a complex and difficult task. Workable definitions depend on historical perspective, geomorphology (including flora/fauna, climatology), and the definition of archaeological assemblages and political considerations. If we were to strictly apply the concept of "Arabian peninsula" as defined by the Persian Gulf and Red Sea, following the 30° lat. we would place the upper boundary of Arabia just north of the Nafud desert at Jauf. However, much of the desert/steppe north of the Nafud has historically been defined as *Arabia Deserta*, so perhaps a better criterion for defining the northern limit of Arabia would be the 250 mm isohyet. This rainfall line divides the Fertile Crescent from the steppe/desert. Using this criterion, we can briefly suggest 10 major divisions: (1) the North Arabian Desert, encompassing southern Syria, western Iraq, eastern Jordan, and northern Saudi Arabia extending to the Nafud desert, (2) the Nafud Desert and the eastern arm—the Dahna, (3) Eastern Arabia, stretching from Kuwait to the United Arab Emirates, (4) Oman including Dhofar, (5) the Najd, covering the center of the Arabian peninsula, bounded on the north and south by the Nafud and the Rub al-Khali and on the east by Eastern Arabia respectively, (6) the Hejaz, located along the northern Red Sea and including Midian, (7) the Asir/Yemen, defining the western highlands of the peninsula, (8) the Tihama, which is the Red Sea coast along the southern portion of the peninsula, (9) the Rub al-Khali sand desert, and (10) the Hadhramaut, stretching along the Arabian Sea.

The question of "prehistory" involves chronological considerations. Strictly speaking, our discussion ends when formal writing systems are developed in the peninsula. These are generally regarded as offshoots of the Proto-Sinaitic alphabet system (Gelb 1963: 122–27; Albright 1969; Millard 1986: 392–95) and do not antedate the early 1st millennium B.C. Thus, properly speaking, the prehistory of the Arabian peninsula begins with the appearance of hominids in the early Pleistocene and ends with the advent of early Iron Age oases' states ca. 1000 B.C. However, "history" as an expression of written records impinges on the Arabian experience almost from the beginning of writing. Thus, Dilmun (Eastern Arabia) seems to occur in Uruk period IV texts ca. 3000 B.C. (Nissen 1985: 229–30, 1986; Englund 1983) and continues to be mentioned along with later Magan (Oman) well through the 1st millennium B.C. (Potts 1978, 1983, fc.a, fc.b). Amorites (MAR.TU) as early pastoral nomads inhabiting the North Arabian desert are known from both the Ebla and Mesopotamian texts (ca. 2500 B.C.) (Archi 1985; *POTT*, 103). Equally early may be the Tihama of the southern Red Sea mentioned as part of Punt in the 5th Egyptian Dynasty (ca. 2400 B.C.) (*CAH* 1/2/14: 183). Finally, Midian occurs in Middle Kingdom Egyptian Execration Texts datable to ca. 1800 B.C. (Posener 1940: 88–90; *CAH* 1/2/21: 554–55).

Biblical references to the Arabian peninsula begin at a very early date and can be divided into two groups: (1) semihistorical attributions datable to a pre-Israel state period (Joseph account, Gen 37:25–28; Moses and the Exodus, Exod 2:15ff.; Gideon and the Midianites, Judg 6:11ff.) and (2) historical descriptions of Iron Age Arabia contemporary to the OT state of Israel (e.g. "Kings of Arabia" in 1 Kgs

10:15; Ophir and Tarshish in 1 Kgs 10:11ff.; Dumah in Gen 25:14, Josh 15:52; Dedan in Gen 10:7, Jer 25:23; Teima in Gen 25:15, Job 6:19; Qedar in 1 Chr 1:29, Ps 120:5 and "Arabs" in Neh 4:7, 6:1ff.). The latter also clearly help define the *terminus* for our brief introduction to Arabian prehistory and the former can be perhaps integrated in brief summaries of the relevant regions of Arabian prehistory.

Keeping in mind the strictures concerning the nature of the peninsula, we can summarize its prehistory in roughly four major blocks: (1) the Paleolithic, (2) the Neolithic, (3) the Chalcolithic/Early Bronze Age, and (4) the 2d millennium B.C. (Middle–Late Bronze Ages). The Paleolithic at this point has little relevance for Biblical studies although the evidence to date suggests that the Pliocene–Pleistocene epochs had a profound impact on the human and natural landscape of both Arabia and the Levant (Sayari and Zotl eds. 1978; Jado and Zotl eds. 1984; McClure 1984). North and West Arabia, in many respects, mirror the archaeological record generated along the Levantine coast and Syria. Already by the Oldowan period (ca. 1.5 million B.P.), sites have been recorded both in the Dead Sea rift valley (Ubeidiyah), the Negev and the Orontes River Valley, as well as the North Arabian desert in the vicinity of Jauf (Parr et al. 1978: 34; Whalen personal com.). The Acheulean is well represented in the Arabian peninsula, particularly by the sites of the Mindel-Riss interglacial (ca. 300,000 B.P.) (Zarins et al. 1980: 12–15; Zarins et al. 1981: 14–16; Whalen et al. 1981: 46–47). Work in the central Najd at such sites as Dawadmi (Whalen et al. 1983: 9–21; Whalen et al. 1984: 9–24) and at embayments along the southern Red Sea (Zarins et al. 1982: 35–36) has been particularly illuminating in reconstructing the distant human past. The Mousterian Middle Paleolithic (ca. 50,000 B.P.) can be found at virtually every Paleolithic site (see the above Acheulean references). In this regard, the evidence again parallels finds from the Levantine coast. The Upper and Epi-Paleolithic periods (40,000–10,000 B.P.) are seemingly absent from the peninsula, except along the northern fringes in the Northern Arabian desert (Copeland and Hours 1971; Garrard et al. 1986; Fujimoto 1978). In sum, the Paleolithic of the peninsula can be found along the northern and western portions of the peninsula swinging south along an arc through the Najd into the Hadhramaut. The entire Eastern Province and Oman seems devoid of this extremely long period in human development. By 10,000 B.P., most of the peninsula may have been abandoned as well. In addition, with the advent of the Holocene, the established climatological patterns of the previous epochs also disappeared, creating new hydrological, climatological, and landform expressions (Whitney 1983; Potts 1985: 677–80).

The Neolithic period saw the beginning of the "Agricultural Revolution" along the "Fertile Crescent" (Mellaart 1975; Bar-Yosef 1980; Moore 1982) and the re-establishment of people throughout the peninsula. The Neolithic experience in Arabia expressed itself in three different ways. First, the idea of pastoral nomadism began in the Northern Arabian desert (Zarins fc.a). This began around 6000 B.C. in conjunction with animal domestication in the Fertile Crescent (Zarins 1989a). Its earliest archaeological manifestation consisted of rock art, structural remains (habitation sites, kites, tumuli, pillars) and material culture (Tosi 1986: 473–74). Initial dependence was on both sheep/goats and cattle. By 5000 B.C. the phenomenon was widespread throughout the Northern Arabian Desert, the Najd, the Asir, and the Hejaz/Midian (Zarins 1979; Zarins et al. 1980: 17–20; Zarins et al. 1981: 19–23; Zarins et al. 1982: 30–32). Second, slightly after 5500 B.C. Eastern Arabia and Oman experienced the direct effects of Mesopotamian and Iranian contacts, and sedentary village life became characteristic of the region. The Ubaid Tradition of southern Mesopotamia has been found in Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, and the U.A.E. (Masry 1974; Potts 1978; fc.b; 1985: 681–82; Oates 1978; 1986; Tosi 1986: 468). Subsequent developments in the region demonstrated a well-knit international network tying together the eastern part of the Arabian peninsula with the Indian subcontinent, Mesopotamia, and eastern Africa (Tosi 1986: 476). The Neolithic of Highland Yemen and the Asir took the form of a hybrid (DiMario fc.; Fedele 1985; fc.a; fc.b; Zarins et al. 1981: 21). Sedentary influences from Eastern Arabia via the Hadhramaut were integrated into a local culture influenced by the pastoral nomadism of the Najd and the Rub al-Khali "Neolithic" (Edens 1982, fc.). The third manifestation of the Neolithic period may have begun much earlier, but our recoverable record only begins with 7000 B.C. Here we are dealing with the shell middens of the Tihama, Oman, and the southern Arabian Ocean littoral. A series of site successions demonstrate

close ties with East Africa, Eastern Arabia, Irtan, and India (Biagi et al. 1984; Zarins and Zahrani 1985; Zarins and Badr 1986; Tosi 1985: 363–69; 1986: 472; personal com.).

The subsequent period, 4000–2000 B.C., we have labeled Chalcolithic/EB, following the Levantine terminology. The trends established for the previous period in the peninsula continued to develop. People continued to herd goats/sheep and cattle. Donkeys and horses were introduced, which increased the population's mobility and range. Pastoral nomadism in its early form reached a climax but began a precipitous decline by 2000 B.C. (Zarins fc.a). Sites from the period are widespread in Northern Arabia, the Najd, Hejaz, and Asir/Yemen. The sedentary settlements of the Eastern Province continued to expand with such sites as the Qalat on Bahrain (Bibby 1969; Hoejlund 1986) and Hili 8 (Cleuziou 1981; 1982; 1986) providing long-term sequences. Tumuli fields in the U.A.E./Oman (Frifelt 1975; Vogt 1985; DeCardi 1978), Bahrain (Ibrahim 1982; Mughal 1983), Qatar (Tixier et al. 1980), and Eastern Saudi Arabia (Zarins ed. 1984; Adams et al. 1977; Potts et al. 1978) also provided additional data for reconstructing past cultural manifestations (Larsen 1983; Potts 1985: 683–94; Tosi 1986: 469). The latest work in Yemen has also provided data on the stage prior to the development of South Arabic civilization (De Maigret 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984). Midden coastal sites along the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean continued to enjoy relative prosperity. (See relevant citations in Neolithic section.)

The last period under review here, 2000–1000 B.C. (MB–LB), represents enigmatic developments on all fronts in Arabia. For pastoral nomadism, the emphasis on herding sheep/goats, cattle, and equids began to change radically during this period and camel domestication became preeminent (Bulliet 1975; Zarins 1989b). Concomitantly, structural remains became more ephemeral as greater mobility was demanded. Climatic and ecological change may have been tied to altered monsoonal rain patterns. Historical development during this period saw the change from Amorites to Shosu/Arameans and later Arabs. Site remains which definitely can be attributed to this period are so far rare (Zarins et al. 1981: 28–31 and pl. 11). The settled sites of the period along Eastern Arabia also became rare (Edens 1986; Bibby 1969) and the oasis concept which began to unite with the incipient rise of the South Arabian states can be attributed to this period (Parr and Gazdar 1980). The Midianite entity (Sawyer and Clines eds. 1983; Mendenhall 1984) also arose at this time in the Hejaz/Midian, and sites when adequately surveyed (Ingraham et al. 1981: 71–75) and excavated (Rothenberg 1972) may go a long way in shedding light on the related biblical accounts of Joseph, Moses, and Gideon. The key to our understanding of the Midianites and their biblical associations may lie in the future excavations at Qurayya. Midden sites on the Red Sea coast and the Arabian Sea have also been located and show promise in linking the Red Sea with Egyptian expansion during the Middle and New Kingdoms (Zarins fc.b.).

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**ARABIA, RELIGION OF (SOUTH).** See SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION OF.

**ARABIC LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

**ARAD** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿarād* (עַרָד)]. One of the six sons of Beriah, according to the longer genealogy of Benjamin given by the Chronicler (1 Chr 8:15). The Greek (LXX) reads *ōrēr* and *ōdēd* instead of *ʿarād* and *ʿāder,* evidencing confusion between the Hebrew letters *reš* and *dalet.*

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**ARAD** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿărād* (עֲרָד)]. A town in the S Negeb of Judah, mentioned four times in the Bible, mainly in connection with the Canaanite king of Arad who defeated the Israelites when they first attempted a S entrance into Canaan (Num 21:1; 33:40). Later, the king of Arad is listed among the conquered kings of Canaan (Josh 12:14). The area was subsequently allotted to the Kenites who were descendants of Hobab, Moses' father-in-law (Judg 1:16). A fifth reference to Arad may be found in Josh 15:21, where the MT *ʿeder* may reflect a transposition of the *reš* and *dalet* (LXX$^{B}$ reads *Ara*).

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A. Identification and History of Excavations
B. Results of Excavations

1. Early Bronze Age
2. Iron Age (Strata XII–VI)
3. Later Periods (Strata V–II)

C. Controversies

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**A. Identification and History of Excavations**

The site of Arad ("Greater Arad"?) can be identified by a perfect preservation of the name in the Arabic form of Tell ʿArâd. The site (M.R. 162076) stands on a prominent mound in the NE section of the Beer Shevaʿ Valley, exactly where Eusebius (*Onomast.* 14.1–3) located it—4 miles from (Malaatha Tell Milḥ) and 20 miles from Hebron. The identification of the site with ancient Arad is further strengthened by the discovery of inscriptions from the site which also preserve the name (see Herzog et al. 1987: 22 [photograph]).

R. Amiran and Y. Aharoni began excavations at Arad in 1962, and because of the unique nature of each of the areas of investigation, it proved advantageous to separate the projects into two distinctive efforts. Amiran's work concentrated on the huge EB town on the lower tell. Her work has provided valuable information about 4th–3d millennium B.C. town planning, trade connections, cultic paraphernalia, and ceramic collections. Aharoni directed five seasons (1962–67) on the upper tell, mainly on the Iron Age fortress. In 1976, Z. Herzog directed an additional season which focused specifically on the E gates of the fortress and was done in conjunction with reconstruction work being carried out by J. Campbell.

After his survey of the Beer Shevaʿ basin in the late 1950s, Aharoni sought to implement a regional excavation study which began with his project at Arad. Following the work at Arad, seven seasons of study focused on BEER-SHEBA, while other expeditions studied Tell el-Milḥ (Tel Malhata) and Kh. el-Meshâsh (Tel Masos). See MALHATA, TEL, and MESHASH, KHIRBET El-. Other projects have since worked at sites such as Kh. Gharrah and Kh. Ghazzah. See IRA, TEL and UZA, HORVAT respectively. In this comprehensive effort, Aharoni had sought to apply A. Alt's (1925) territorial history model to field exploration. The goal has been to coordinate and compare the material and epigraphic remains from the field research with information obtained from biblical and other historical sources in order to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of the political history of the E Negeb.

Among other innovative techniques, the Arad expedition initiated the practice of carefully dipping all sherds in water to expose any evidence of ink-written inscriptions. Fortunately, the dry climate helped to preserve many inscriptions that became visible in the dipping process. This has allowed over 100 Iron Age Hebrew inscriptions to be identified, as well as several dozen additional inscriptions written in Aramaic from the late Persian period. A few others were found written in Greek and Arabic.

A significant consequence of this large inscriptional repertoire is that the alphabet has now been paleographically documented through several Iron Age strata. See ARAD OSTRACA. The later strata particularly have yielded a sufficiently large corpus to provide a fairly broad base for analyzing the Hebrew script and orthography. The stratum VI archive pertaining to Eliashib (see B.2.f below) attests to the daily operation of an administrative supply center which served the needs of local patrols and probably catered in part to the trade caravans passing through the area. The language of these inscriptions is standard late biblical Hebrew exhibiting linguistic and syntactical parallels with the Bible. The few historical details that are referred to are tantalizing, but are seldom explicit enough for adequate reconstruction (see Yadin 1976; however cf. Aharoni 1981: 104 n. 2 [remark by A. Rainey]).

**B. Results of Excavations**

**1. Early Bronze Age.** The lower city, which is fortified with a stone wall and projecting towers, encloses ca. 22 acres (90 dunams) and has four strata of settlement from the EB (evidence of an earlier Chalcolithic occupation, stratum V, was also discovered). Stratum IV was an unfortified village of the late EB I. The EB II strata (III and II) were the principal fortified urban phases. For a site plan, see Fig. CIT.02. With its blocks of private residences, its cultic and public buildings, and an efficient water collection and storage system (especially important since no wadis, springs, or wells exist in the immediate vicinity), the EB town had many of the basic features of a typical urban center. The

semicircular towers of the city wall correspond to the stylized Egyptian representation of a Canaanite city (cf. the Narmer palette; *ANEP*, fig. 297). EB Arad apparently had fairly extensive trade connections with Egypt, as inferred from the presence of Egyptian ceramic pieces in every stratum (as well as other small finds), and inferred especially from the discovery of a *serekh* of Narmer of Egypt (Amiran 1974). Stratum I was a squatters' village in the late EB II, resting on the ruins of the earlier strata. The site was essentially deserted by the beginning of EB III. For further discussion of the EB city, see Amiran 1965, 1970, 1972; Amiran et al. 1978; Amiran, Goethert, and Ilan 1987; and Dever 1982.

**2. Iron Age (Strata XII–VI).** The excavators of the upper tell of Arad have identified seven strata spanning the Iron Age. Their hope was to use the data gathered from the excavation—the stratigraphic profile of Arad, the extensive ceramic collection (which spans the Iron Age), and the relatively large number of epigraphic finds (mostly ostraca from the upper strata)—in conjunction with information found in historical sources, and to synthesize these into a comprehensive political history of the region.

Almost from the beginning, the excavations at Arad have generated controversy (e.g., Yadin 1965), much of which centers around fundamental stratigraphic questions and their implications for chronological reconstruction. Consequently there are competing and often irreconcilable syntheses about the "history" attested by the ruins. The presentation here generally follows the major summary of the excavation team, but strives to point out along the way some of the questions and issues that have been raised by others (see especially C below).

**a. The Unfortified Site (Stratum XII).** The first Iron Age establishment was an unwalled village with evidence of a low wall at some points along the perimeter, and with remains of dwellings found on the W side. In the center of the settlement was a courtyard in which stood a circular brick-filled platform (ca. 6 m diameter) and a smaller rectangular stone platform (an altar?), which may indicate some priestly connections (see Fig. ARA.01). This suggestion is corroborated by the reference in Judg 1:16 which mentions that "descendants of the Kenite, Moses' father-in-law" (reads: "sons of Hobab the Kenite") settled near this area (Herzog et al. 1984: 2–6). The E Negeb was later referred to as "the Negeb of the Kenites" (1 Sam 27:10).

**b. The 10th Century (Stratum).** A square fortress (ca. 50 by 50 m) was built on the ruins of Stratum XII. Its fortifications used the common casemate construction, consisting of two parallel walls divided into chambers by cross walls. Large rooms lined the E wall, and the gate, which faced E, stood in the NE corner.

A temple (or shrine) stood in the NW quadrant of the fortress. This entire religious complex was aligned along an E-W axis, and consisted of an outer courtyard on the E end, and a sanctuary with a raised cubicle (ca. 1.2 by 1.2 m) in its back wall on the W end. In the W cubicle (i.e., the Holy of Holies) were found flint stelae still bearing traces of red pigment. Two small stone incense altars (made without horns), which probably originated in this stratum, were found lying on the second of three steps which led into the W cubicle (these altars still bore on their upper surfaces traces of burnt material which has been analyzed as animal fat; Aharoni 1967: 247 n. 29). In the courtyard apparently stood a sacrificial altar of which only the foundation stones remain (these became the foundation and step of the altar in the later strata; see below).

The details of the building plans of the cultic installation at Arad and the description of the Temple are remarkably similar—only the "Holy Place" is significantly different. While the Tabernacle and the Temple are both described as having a long room as the "Holy Place" (cf. Exod 26:15–25; 1 Kgs 6:2), the building at Arad instead has a broad room (its opening in one of the long walls).

The rear wall of the temple was built solidly against the inner casemate wall of stratum XI; this has contributed to the conclusion that the shrine was contemporary with the fortification wall (Aharoni 1971: 36). However, from the reports published thus far, it is unclear whether the back wall of the shrine (i.e., the Holy of Holies) was actually bonded into the casemate wall or simply abutted it (see further, C below). However, the temple seems to have remained in use through the next three strata (X–VIII). Its association with Yahweh is inferred from the discovery of letter 18, which mentions the "House of YHWH" (Heb *bêt* YHWH; Aharoni 1981: 35–38).

Stratum XI was destroyed by fire (Herzog et al. 1984: 8). It is possible that this destruction can be correlated with Shishak's 925 B.C. campaign into Israel (1 Kgs 14:25–26; 2 Chr 12:2–9) when he conquered, among other sites, two fortresses in S Israel which he recorded on the Karnak inscription (nos. 107–112): *ḥgrm ʿrd rbt ʿrd n-bt Yrḥm* (i.e., "the citadels of Greater Arad and Arad of the house of Jeruḥam"; *LBHG*, 215–16). Thus, stratum XI was a royal outpost probably founded during the United Monarchy, and its pottery may be a standard example of 10th-century Israelite wares (Herzog et al. 1984: 8–9); however, some have suggested that the fortress may have been founded in the 9th century instead (e.g., Mazar and Netzer 1986: 89–90; Mazar 1990: 439).

**c. 9th Century (Stratum X).** In the next stratum, the fortress wall was significantly modified (see Fig. ARA.02). The surviving casemate rooms were filled with stone and earth to form a solid wall, but a new wall was constructed on the W side. The renovation involved constructing a "sawtooth" semibuttressing pattern on the outside of the fortification walls; the purpose of this semibuttressing pattern is unclear. The NE corner, where the original gate had been, became the site of a storehouse, and the gate was relocated to the center of the E wall.

Because of the sanctity of the temple's site, the area was thoroughly cleaned and the temple repaired, with a northward extension added to the Holy Place. Aharoni (1971: 39–40) argues that the reconstructed shrine adopted a new "royal cubit" standard of measurement equivalent to 52.5 cm whereas the earlier standard for the cubit had been 45 cm.

In contrast to the expansion of the temple buildings, part of the area of the courtyard was lost with the addition of a N side chamber. A water channel to the cisterns below the temple passed through a tunnel under the solid W exterior wall. These underground cisterns may have been used during the earlier stratum, and may have been natural caves predating the construction of the fort (although the contemporaneity of this water system with stratum X has been questioned; see C below).

The sacrificial altar in the courtyard was rebuilt using as its foundation the altar remains from stratum XI. Part of the old altar became the step for the new one. The new altar measured 5 by 5 cubits and 3 cubits high—according to the description of the tabernacle altar (Exod 27:1). It was constructed of unworked field stones with a clay and mud core. The top of the altar was a slab of flint surrounded by a plaster channel to drain fluids. Since the four corners of the altar were broken off, it remains unclear whether this altar originally had horns like that at Beer-sheba.

Two small bowls (nos. 102 and 103), each inscribed with (the same) two signs, were discovered on the step of the altar. Some controversy has surrounded how the signs (esp. the "three-pronged" second sign) are to be read, as well as the implications these readings have for the dating of stratum X. The excavation team reads the signs as the two Hebrew letters *qop-kap* (abbreviation for *qōdeš kôhănîm*, "sacred to the priests"), insisting that the script—particularly the round-bottomed *kap* on bowl 103—is archaic, suggesting that the bowls may have been preserved from an even earlier period (Herzog et al. 1984: 32). Cross (1979), however, contends that the letters are Phoenician *qop-šin* (abbreviation for *qdš,* "sacred"), and that the round-bottomed "*kap*" on bowl 103 is actually a "perfectly normal" three-pronged *šin* paleographically dating to the late 7th–early 6th century B.C. (p. 75). He also notes that the "*kap*" on bowl 102 has a variant trident form also found in late 7th–early 6th century Phoenician *šins,* and that the *qop* on both bowls has the shape of "a type which flourished in the 7th century" (p. 76). In response, the Arad team focused on Cross' trident-shaped "*šin*" (bowl 102) and argued that it is actually a vertical stroke that "can only belong to a [Hebrew] *kap*" (Herzog et al. 1984: 32). There seems to be no easy resolution to this *kap-šin* dispute, and a great deal obviously hinges on the handwriting standards of the ancient inscriber as well as on contemporary judgments about whether the vertical stroke on bowl 102 is an extension of the right-hand "prong" (suggesting a *kap*) or an extension of the middle "prong" (suggesting a *šin*). If it is the former, the balance is tipped toward a 9th-century date for stratum X; if it is the latter, the balance is tipped toward a 7th-century date. Furthermore, the ceramic typology of these two bowls has been attributed by some to a date "considerably later" than the 9th century (cf. Dever 1970: 173–74 and n. 76). The excavators point out, however, that the bowls were sealed *below* floor levels of strata VIII, VII, and VI, and on one of these later floors was found smashed 7th-century pottery (Herzog et al. 1984: 12). Since

the earliest attributed stratum beneath which the bowls were sealed was VIII, one wonders if the bowls then should be associated with stratum IX instead of X. Indeed, the excavators have expressed varied opinions of the stratigraphic provenance of these bowls. Aharoni's report in 1964 states that the bowls were found "on a step in front of an earlier (stratum IX [sic!]) altar structure" (Aharoni and Amiran 1964: 282), but he later revised his conclusion and attributed them to stratum X (Aharoni 1968: 20). If the first assignment is valid, then the bowls would have to be associated with stratum VIII remains *at the earliest!*

Stratum X may have been constructed either by Asa (ca. 910–870 B.C.; 2 Chr 14:4–6; 1 Kgs 15:23), or Jehoshaphat (870–848 B.C.; 2 Chr 17:1–2, 12–13; 21:3), the two strongest kings of Judah in the 9th century. Their purpose was probably to control the route to Elath (1 Kgs 22:47–48; 2 Chr 17:10–12). As noted above, the date of the destruction of the stratum is even less certain. It may have been destroyed during the reign of Jehoram (848–841 B.C.), either when Edom revolted against Judah (2 Chr 21:8, 10) or when the Philistines and Arabs invaded Judah and sacked the palace (2 Chr 21:16–17). An alternative date could be during the reign of Joash, when Hazael invaded Judah (ca. 815 B.C.; 2 Kgs 12:18–19 [—Eng 12:17–18]; 2 Chr 24:23–24), but it is unclear if Hazael's invasion affected the S districts of Judah. Because of its similarity with the ceramic repertoire of strata IX and VIII, Y. Aharoni dated the end of stratum X to ca. 800 B.C. (see statement in Herzog et al. 1984: 12). M. Aharoni (1985) attributes the destruction to the first quarter of the 8th century, which essentially agrees with Mazar and Netzer's (1986: 89–90) and Ussishkin's (1988) 8th-century assignment of the stratum (see C below).

**d. The 8th Century (Strata IX–VIII).** With only minor modifications, the plan of the fortress in stratum IX remained essentially unchanged from that of stratum X. The area adjacent to and inside the S wall served as living quarters, and included seven dwelling units. The reorganized temple compound accommodated the addition of a new compartment to the E, its entrance was moved to the SE corner, and a stone-lined pit was dug next to the altar.

The stratum IX renovation probably occurred during the reign of Uzziah (ca. 767 B.C.; 2 Kgs 14:22; 2 Chr 26:2, 7–8), when he regained control over the Negeb and the caravan routes which passed from Arabia to the Mediterranean coast. It was probably destroyed during the Syro-Ephraimite war against Ahaz (734 B.C.) when the Philistines and Edomites to the W and S also conspired against Judah (2 Kgs 16:6; 2 Chr 28:17–18).

Stratum VIII represents the newly rebuilt fortress. The outer wall was reused, but the temple underwent radical changes. The main hall and the "Holy of Holies" remained essentially unchanged. However, the excavators report that a 1 m deep fill in the courtyard "completely covered" the sacrificial altar at this time (Herzog et al. 1984: 19). Presumably it was at this time that the two inscribed bowls (mentioned above) were buried at the foot of the abandoned altar (see above).

Not only was the level of the courtyard raised at this time, but also its area was diminished by the construction of a multiroom structure in the NE corner. In one of its rooms was found inscription 49 (notations written on the outside of a deep bowl), which refers to the "Sons of Korah" and the "Sons of Bezal[el]." Another room, S of the Holy of Holies, yielded inscriptions 50–52, which contain typical Levitical names. This suggests that the staff of the Arad temple either included guilds of cultic personnel similar to those in Jerusalem, or that these cultic officials were present (late 8th century B.C.) to supervise Hezekiah's reforms (which included the elimination of places of sacrifice outside of Jerusalem; cf. 2 Kgs 18:4; 2 Chr 31:1).

Two features of stratum VIII seem to imply an association with Hezekiah: the abandonment of the altar, and the ceramic repertoire (which is identical to that of Lachish stratum III). Hezekiah attempted to unite the remaining N tribes with Judah (2 Chr 30:6), and to make Jerusalem the exclusive site for worship around 715 B.C. To facilitate his plan, he eliminated the local shrines and destroyed their altars (2 Kgs 18:22; Isa 36:7; 2 Chr 31:1; 32:12). The fortification of Arad stratum VIII, however, probably was part of Hezekiah's futile defensive measures against the military threat of Assyria (2 Chr 32:27–29; also 2 Kgs 18:8). The destruction of this stratum likely occurred when Sennacherib invaded Judah in 701 B.C.

**e. Late 7th Century (Stratum VII).** At this time the temple itself was abandoned, and the incense altars were buried at the entrance to the Holy of Holies when the ruins of the temple were covered over.

The solid wall of stratum VIII had been badly damaged on its S side, and the initial strategy to secure the fortress involved building a new wall 2 m inside the older line; an outer wall was then built on the foundations of the older one, making a casemate system. Apparently the other three walls were rebuilt as solid walls (cf. Herzog et al. 1984: 22). One of the S rooms yielded three seals which had belonged to "Eliashib son of Oshiahu," along with several ostraca listing commodities in Egyptian hieratic symbols (Israelite scribes had earlier adopted hieratic symbols for numbers, measures, and commodities).

It is unclear when this construction occurred—Manasseh probably could not have refortified Arad until after the death of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria (648 B.C.), and after he was freed from personal exile (2 Chr 33:11–17). Perhaps Manasseh (who died ca. 642 B.C.) or his grandson, Josiah (reigned 641–609 B.C.), built Arad stratum VII. Josiah began his reforms in his 12th year (ca. 629 B.C.), shortly after Assurbanipal had stepped down from the throne of Assyria. Stratum VII was probably destroyed during one of Nebuchadnezzar's campaigns into Judah (597 B.C.; cf. 2 Kgs 24:2; Jer 13:18–19).

**f. Early 6th Century (Stratum VI).** Very shortly after the destruction of Arad VII, a new casemate wall was constructed over the ruins of the former solid wall. This new defensive system was fortified with projecting towers on the W corners and along the W wall, while another small tower stood along the S wall. The foundation trench of the inner wall of the casemate system penetrated into the old sanctuary buried below. The gate, a simple passage through the casemate system with no defensive towers flanking it, was moved from the E to the N side.

The interior of the fortress appears to have been a large open area. The date of this stratum is inferred from the late Iron Age pottery found *in situ* on the floors which were laid against the walls of the stratum VI buildings. The excavators contend that the comb-tooth patterns on some of the stones in this stratum (which some would attribute to the Hellenistic period; see C below) were already in secondary use and therefore originated even earlier than stratum VI (Herzog et al. 1984: 26–27).

The occupants of the site, however, appear still to have been Judeans, as inferred from the archive of ostraca found in a room on the S side. Most of these were addressed to Eliashib (see above), indicating that he had returned as a commander (or at least as custodian of supplies). The paleographic similarity with the Lachish Letters (i.e., Lachish II) imply a date at the end of the Judean monarchy. Stratum VI may have been built after Zedekiah was called to Babylon (ca. 594 B.C.) to explain his participation in earlier anti-Babylonian activities (Jer 51:59; cf. 27:2–28:17). The site probably was destroyed by the Edomites during Nebuchadnezzar's campaign against Judah in 587 B.C. (Obad 10–14; Ps 137:7). Strengthening this historical reconstruction was the discovery of inscription 24 (found in the ruins outside the fort), which ordered Eliashib to dispatch reinforcements to the nearby town of Ramoth-negeb, "lest the Edomite should come there."

**3. Later Periods (Strata V–II).** In the Persian period, the Arabian king of Kedar, who had helped Cambyses invade Egypt, controlled the caravan routes. He also controlled Gaza and the N Sinai coast as far as Ienysos (el-Arish?; Hdt. 3.4–5). Thus, Arad was within his area of control. Somewhat typical of the Persian period in Palestine, no architectural remains were preserved in Arad V—only ash pits, in which were discovered 85 Aramaic ostraca dating from the mid-4th century B.C. The inscriptional data indicate that Arad served as a supply station along the caravan routes; the pits were used to store goods for the animals and personnel.

During the Hellenistic period (stratum IV), a massive rectangular tower (ca. 20 by 20 m) was built in the SE corner of the mound (see Fig. ARA.02). It was founded on bedrock, which meant that in removing the earlier remains, the builders disrupted the stratigraphy of the site in that quadrant. A courtyard, in which were various rooms, joined the N and W sides of the tower. The Hellenistic installation reused portions of the earlier stratum VI fortification walls as portions of the enclosure walls for this tower complex. It is unknown who built the tower, but it is possible that John Hyrcanus, who recaptured control of Idumea (including the Negeb) in 125 B.C. (*Ant* 5.1.22 §82; cf. 13.9.1 §257–58; *JW* 1.2.6 §63), may have built it as part of his defensive line.

Probably in the latter part of the 1st century B.C., and as a means of protecting the S frontier of his kingdom, Herod authorized construction of a small rectangular fort (ca. 31 by 37 m) on the SW corner of

the Arad mound. The few small finds (including two Greek ostraca) date to the 1st century A.D. When the Romans conquered the Nabateans in A.D. 106, the frontier advanced farther S, rendering the forts in the Negeb generally obsolete. After an occupational gap of some 500 years, a caravanserai was built on the ruins of the earlier remains.

**C. Controversies**

While there are many questions regarding the interpretation of Arad (too many to detail in this article), the most recent work which brings much of the material together is by D. Ussishkin (1988). Among other problems, he questions the contemporaneity of the water channel and cistern with the shrine in stratum X (see Fig. ARA.02), and furthermore he insists that the shrine did not even exist earlier in stratum of the fortress. This conclusion is partially based upon the fact that the shrine lacks any evidence of fire destruction. Since the excavators attributed the destruction of stratum to fire during the campaign of Shishak (Aharoni 1968: 6; Herzog et al. 1984: 8), it seems peculiar that, if the shrine had existed in that stratum, no scars of such a conflagration would be present, even after a thorough cleaning. Furthermore, Ussishkin points out that an insufficient amount of stratum ceramic evidence was discovered with the shrine (which one might attribute to the cleaning operation) to necessitate the shrine's attribution to that stratum. The main argument then for its stratum attribution seems to be the fact that the rear wall of the Holy of Holies was built up against the inner casemate wall of stratum (but see B.2.b above).

Along with other archaeologists (e.g., Zimhoni 1985: 85–86; Mazar and Netzer 1986), Ussishkin furthermore argues that the ceramic repertoire of strata X–VIII shows such a significant degree of homogeneity that all of these strata might be compressed into the 8th century (cf. the implication of M. Aharoni 1985). He then places the founding of the shrine not in stratum XI of the fortress (10th century), but in stratum VII (i.e., either the late 8th or early 7th century; this stratigraphic reassignment of the shrine would then agree with Cross' [1979] paleographic analysis of the inscribed bowls found near the altar [although see Herzog et al. 1984: 12]).

Ussishkin, with others (e.g., Yadin 1965; Nylander 1967), challenges the overall stratigraphic assignments by suggesting that the stratum VI casemate wall should not be dated to the early 6th century B.C. but was actually contemporaneous with the stratum IV Hellenistic tower. Therefore he dates the wall to the Hellenistic/Roman period, basing this conclusion largely on the presence of characteristic tooth-combed Hellenistic style ashlars in the casemate wall, and on the stratigraphic relationship of that casemate wall to the Hellenistic tower (however, see B.2.f above).

Obviously much uncertainy exists, and the implications of these problems on the intended historical/archaeological construct (e.g., Arad's association with Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, etc.) are great and may demand significant revision.

The chronological reassignments by Ussishkin and others of the strata at Arad, however, have difficulties when studied in conjunction with the paleographic analyses of the ostraca, which have been used to further our understanding of paleographic evolution. See ARAD OSTRACA. According to the excavators, the ostraca were found in various strata and in various areas, and given the arguments of Ussishkin and others, severe disruptions ensue if the ostraca are chronologically reassigned. At least four options exist to explain these tensions: (1) the paleographic analysis by Aharoni and company is essentially correct, and assuming the excavators attributed the ostraca to the correct strata, Ussishkin's arguments will need to be revised significantly or rejected; (2) if Ussishkin and others have provided workable stratigraphic interpretations, then the ostraca may have been mistakenly assigned to the wrong strata (cf. Zimhoni 1985: 84–85; Ussishkin 1988: 153); (3) if Ussishkin and others have provided correct analysis of the stratigraphy of the shrine, and if the ostraca are then reassigned correspondingly, the contribution that these ostraca make in comparative paleographic study will need to be reevaluated; or (4) a proper understanding of the materials has not been determined.

It remains unclear whether any of these matters can ever be resolved. Most of the site has already been excavated, providing limited opportunities for excavators to go back to the site to reinvestigate particular aspects of the stratigraphy. Hopefully, the final excavation reports will clarify these issues.

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**ARAD OSTRACA.** Eighty-eight Hebrew, eighty-five Aramaic, five Arabic, and two Greek ostraca were discovered during excavations at Tell Arad, in the eastern Negeb, from 1962–1967 (with the exception of Hebrew ostracon 88, found in 1974). Three more Hebrew ostraca were found in 1976. As indicated by paleography and archaeological context, the Hebrew ostraca come from the 10th–6th centuries, the Aramaic from the 5th–4th centuries, the Greek from the 1st–2d centuries C.E., and the Arabic from the 7th–9th centuries C.E. Many of these texts, however, are fragmentary. Among the Hebrew ostraca, for example, only 15 are whole, and 7 of these include only 1 name. Twenty preserve only single letters. Most of the Aramaic ostraca are poorly preserved, with only a few entirely legible. The 5 Arabic sherds are also fragmentary, and the 2 Greek inscriptions are too incomplete to understand.

The Hebrew ostraca have attracted the most attention. They come from strata XI through VI, that is from the 10th to the 6th century B.C.E. The original excavators are certain about the dates of the earliest and latest Hebrew strata, on the basis of archaeological, historical, and paleographic considerations. They feel fairly confident about their dating of the intermediate strata. However, on controversies surrounding the stratigraphic dates, see ARAD (PLACE). Among preexilic Hebrew inscriptions, only the Lachish ostraca are comparable in number and significance. That so fragmentary a collection is considered so significant testifies, though, more to the relative paucity of inscriptional material from ancient Israel than to its intrinsic importance. In most disciplines such material would hardly win a nod, much less a covert glance.

### A. Orthography and Syntax

The Hebrew ostraca from Arad tell us a number of things. In general they confirm our understanding of the orthography and syntax of preexilic Hebrew. The principles of Hebrew orthography developed by Cross and Freedman (1952) hold, except that the existence of internal *matres lectionis,* only suspected

previously, has now been proven (*yod* for medial *î* is regular at Arad, and *waw* for medial *û* is almost universal). Other medial long vowels are consistently unmarked. As for final vowels, Aharoni (1975; 1981), who published the first complete edition of the Arad material, believed that final *-ā* on *qtl* 2d masculine singular forms is represented by the *mater lectionis h* in *wktbth* (7.6) and *yd‹th* (40.9). While possible, this explanation is not the most probable one. Given the clues of the Masoretic text (the short form of the *qtl* 2nd masculine singular preserved in the orthography, apparently reflecting the popular speech we would also expect in the nonliterary Arad texts) and the evidence of other inscriptions, it is better to take the *h* in these cases as a *mater* for the 3rd masculine singular pronominal suffix *ō*.

The ostraca add to the evidence for a Judahite dialect which, before the exile, generally did not contract diphthongs. The consistent use of the theophoric element *yahū* (as opposed to *yaw* or *yô*) in personal names at Arad may be further evidence for such a dialect (approximately 30 of roughly 85 different personal names are formed with this element). In short, the Arad ostraca expand rather than alter our knowledge of Hebrew orthography. The same is true with regard to syntax. One small point should be noted in passing. In 3.2–3 and 16.4 Aharoni read *waw* with perfect forms as conjunctive. P. Miller has observed that "while there appear to be such forms in late preexilic prose of the Bible, one should not assume too easily that the *waw* with perfect is conjunctive. Both … may be cases of perfect consecutives" (1985: 504). These perfects are simply examples of a use of the perfect long known from Old Testament prose (see Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley, 106 i; Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hébrew biblique* 112f.). If one wants to give them a name, the linguistic category "performatives" should be used (the word itself accomplishes something: e.g. "I decree/order/command") and they should be designated "performative perfects." Here and elsewhere the ostraca merely follow what had already been known about preexilic prose.

**B. Content**

Aharoni summarized the content of these inscriptions as "epistles to commanders of Arad with military and administrative information; instructions for the supply of wine and bread to military units and other people; instructions for the sending of consignments of oil and food to various fortresses; taxes from various places; lists of people, some with the addition of numbers; lists of the apportionment of wheat and other commodities; inventory lists of the storehouses, one of them in hieratic; registration of dates; offerings and donations to the sanctuary; and various other partial lists" (1981: 141). Given the fragmentary character of these inscriptions, one suspects that far too much has been deduced from such a limited base of evidence.

Unquestionably, a certain "Eliashib" is either addressed or referred to in many of the inscriptions. It is not clear what his position was, nor is the extent of his authority evident. A number of the ostraca contain intriguing references. Ostracon 24 (found outside the fortress on the W slope and dated on basis of orthography), for example, indicates fear of an Edomite advance against Ramat-negeb. Both Aharoni (1981: 149) and Lindsay (1976: 25) have tried to sketch the historical circumstances surrounding this reference; but paleography does not yet enable us to date inscriptions as precisely as their reconstructions demand, nor is our knowledge of this time period very full. Aharoni likewise tries to elaborate the Edomite background to Ostracon 40, but here the reconstruction is even more tenuous than with 24 since the inscription is so poorly preserved.

Aharoni concludes his discussion of the historical information gathered from these ostraca by stating: "We could not have expected a more surprising confirmation to our historical hypotheses than the epistle of Jehoahaz (Inscription 88), in which he announces his crowning, insists on energetic military preparations, and mentions the king of Egypt. This is full confirmation of the destruction of Stratum VIII in the year 609 B.C.E., and an additional proof of the high position of Eliashib, who received his instructions directly from the king" (1981: 150). The text which bears such weight simply reads as follows:

(1) *›ny mlkty bk[1]* ... (1) I have come to reign in all …

(2) *›mṣzr‹w* ... (2) Take strength and …

(3) *mlk mṣryn l …* (3) King of Egypt to …

It is impossible here to catalog all that has been derived from these texts, but historical statements based on the Arad ostraca should always be compared against the actual inscriptions themselves.

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**ARADUS** (PLACE) [Gk *Arados* (Ἀραδος)]. An island and a city 3 km off the Phoenician (modern Lebanese) coast, 3 miles N of Beirut (1 Macc 15:23). Strabo (16.2.13–17) records that the inhabitants were descendants of exiles from Sidon, which would agree with the biblical references to the corresponding Hebrew eponym ARVAD (Gen 10:18; 1 Chr 1:16). Aradus was prominent enough to receive a letter from Lucius, consul of the Romans, in 139 B.C. (1 Macc 15:23). Being a well-protected island producing warriors and seamen famous in their service to Tyre (Ezek 27:8, 11), Aradus was always commercially productive and remained independent until the time of Nebuchadnezzar, ca. 627 B.C. Although its commercial productivity declined somewhat, the prominence of Aradus rose again under the rule of the Persians and Seleucids (Rostovtzeff 1967: 846; Seyrig 1950: 17–20; Elai, 1987). Specifically through an alliance with Seleucus Callinicus of the Seleucids, Aradians exerted their influence extensively on the mainland. In general, Strabo describes the Aradians as a prudent and industrious people with respect to their maritime affairs. Along with their good fortunes (for example, Seleucus Callinicus' granting of the right of *asylia*) they prospered.

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**ARAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾārāḥ* (אָרַח)]. **1.** Head of a family of Babylonian exiles who are listed as returnees under the leadership of Zerubbabel and others (Ezra 2:5 = Neh 7:10 = 1 Esdr 5:10). Later in the postexilic period Tobiah, the adversary of Nehemiah, married a woman from the family of Arah (Neh 6:18). For further discussion and bibliography, see AKKUB.

**2.** A son of Ulla listed in the preexilic genealogy of the tribe of Asher (1 Chr 7:39). Because Ulla is not mentioned earlier in the list, some emend the name to coincide with a previous one; but Braun (1986: 118–19) argues against such emendation.

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**ARAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾărām* (אֲרָם)]. **1.** The fifth son of Shem in the genealogical list of Genesis 10, which is known as the Table of Nations (Gen 10:22). Aram is the eponymous ancestor of the ARAMEANS, an important West Semitic people. The section of the Table of Nations in which Aram appears is usually attributed to the Priestly source of the Pentateuch. P has placed Aram in the same generation as the eponymous ancestors of Elam and Assyria (Ashur), two generations earlier than the eponymous ancestor of the Hebrews (Eber—Gen 10:24). The position of Aram as a son of Shem reflects the importance of the Aramean tribes during the 1st millennium B.C.E. Four sons of Aram are listed in v 23. These apparently represent certain Aramean tribal groups, although little is known concerning any of

the four. These sons are listed as brothers of Aram in the genealogical list of Chronicles (1:17), but this is probably due to a haplography of the phrase "The sons of Aram" from the text of Chronicles.

**2.** Son of Kemuel, grandson of Abraham's brother, Nahor (Gen 22:21). The genealogy of Nahor (22: 20–24) reflects a different (and probably earlier) tradition about the ancestry of the Arameans from the one found in Genesis 10 (see above). The twelve sons of Nahor, including Aram's father, Kemuel, appear to be eponymous ancestors of various Aramean tribes. Aram himself (here perhaps to be understood as the ancestor of the state of Aram-Damascus) is placed in the same generation as Jacob/Israel. This genealogical tradition stresses the idea of the close relationship between Israel and the Arameans, which pervades the book of Genesis (cf. Deut 26:5).

**3.** A son of Shemer in the genealogy of Asher in 1 Chr 7:34.

**4.** The Greek rendering of the name RAM in the genealogy of Jesus, Matt 1:3. The KJV has "Aram" here, while modern translations tend to replace it with "Ram" [cf. 1 Chr 2:9–10]. The name "Aram" also appears in the genealogy of Jesus in Luke 3:33 in the KJV. Later translations substitute the name ARNI, following the text of the most ancient manuscripts, where "Aram" was found in the Textus Receptus.

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**ARAM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾărām* (אֲרָם)]. The name of an important Aramean nation, located in southern Syria, which flourished between the 11th and 8th centuries B.C.E. Its capital was Damascus, currently the capital of the modern state of Syria. In many English translations, the name "Aram," when referring to this state, is translated (inaccurately) as Syria.

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A. The Name
B. History of Aram
1. Early Relations with Israel
2. Mid-9th Century B.C.E.
3. The Aramean Empire
4. Radyan's Coalition and the End of Aram

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**A. The Name**

The use of the name "Aram"as a political or ethnic designation is not restricted, however, to this particular state. It occurs many times in compound names of states largely populated by Arameans, who were one of the most important ethnic groups in the Near East during the late 2d and the 1st millennia B.C.E. Thus there are references to Aram-Beth-Rehob, Aram-Damascus, Aram-Maacah, Aram-Naharaim, Aram-Zobah, and Paddan-Aram. In a few cases the name "Aram"alone is used to designate Aram-Naharaim (Num 23:7; Judg 3:10; Hosea 12:13) or Aram-Zobah (2 Sam 10 = 1 Chr 19; see ARAM-NAHARAIM; ZOBAH; DAMASCUS; PADDAN-ARAM; etc.). In some other occurrences, "Aram" is used more generally to refer to the Aramean kingdoms or people as a whole (1 Kgs 10:29 = 2 Chr 1:17; Judg 10:6; Amos 9:7). From 6th-century sources which deal with the destruction of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 24:2 and Jer 35:11), the name refers to Aramean tribes that lived in Mesopotamia, and from which Nebuchadnezzar had assembled his army.

But by far the most common usage of the term "Aram"in the Bible is as the name of the state centered around Damascus. This is the virtually exclusive use of the name in the books of Kings, Chronicles, and Isaiah, where the majority of the attestations occur.

**B. History of Aram**

Our knowledge of the history of Aram-Damascus is unfortunately limited. No written documents directly from the kingdom itself have been discovered to date, so that the only sources of information available are writings from neighboring states (mainly Israelite [i.e., biblical] and Assyrian texts). These, quite naturally, do not give a full picture of Aram, since they deal only with their own state's relations with that kingdom. Because of this, our knowledge centers upon Aram's role in the realm of international politics, while details of its internal life and culture remain obscure.

**1. Early Relations with Israel.** The kingdom of Aram-Damascus makes its first appearance in historical documents in 2 Sam 8:5–6. During a decisive conflict between Israel and Zobah, the two major powers of Syria-Palestine during the late 11th and early 10th centuries B.C.E., the army of Aram-Damascus is reported to have taken to the field in support of Zobah and its king Hadadezer (Aramaic, Hadad-ʿi (dr). David, the king of Israel, defeated the army and took control of Damascus, placing garrison troops there. Aram-Damascus thus became part of the empire of David, apparently as an occupied territory rather than as a vassal state.

Nothing else is known about Aram until the time of Solomon (mid-10th century). 1 Kgs 11:23–24 states that during Solomon's reign, a certain Rezon, son of Eliada, who had been a servant of the king of Zobah whom David had defeated, gathered together a group of malcontents, seized Damascus, and there proclaimed himself king. Rezon went on to remove Damascus from Israelite control. There is no indication that Israel was able to significantly oppose this action, and 11:25 suggests that Damascus remained outside Israel's control for a substantial part of Solomon's reign.

With the division of Solomon's kingdom into two smaller states ca. 932, and the resultant collapse of Israelite hegemony in the region, a period ensued when there was no dominant political power in Syria-Palestine. But by the beginning of the 9th century, Aram, with its capital at Damascus, had become a significant influence in the region. Little is known about Aram between the time of Rezon (about the middle of the 10th century) and the reign of Bir-Hadad I (biblical Ben-Hadad), who is mentioned in 1 Kgs 15:16–22 (= 2 Chr 16:1–6) in connection with a boundary war between Baasha of Israel and Asa of Judah (early 9th century). However, Bir-Hadad's patronymic in 15:18, "Ben-Hadad, the son of Tab-Rimmon, the son of Hezion," apparently furnishes the names of Bir-Hadad's two predecessors on the throne. There is also a reference in v 19 to a treaty that had been made between Bir-Hadad's father and Asa's father, although the details of this treaty are not known. But it is clear that Aram had become a state of comparable stature to Israel and Judah during the decades following the death of Solomon.

When Bir-Hadad I became involved in this boundary dispute between Israel and Judah, he sided with Judah (after a substantial bribe was sent to him by Asa) and attacked Israel from the north while Baasha's forces were concentrated in the south against Judah. He attacked and destroyed a number of major towns in Israel's territory to the north of the Sea of Galilee (1 Kgs 15:20). Baasha was forced to withdraw his army from the border with Judah and come to terms with Bir-Hadad, although no information is given concerning what these terms were.

**2. Mid-9th Century B.C.E. a. Hadad-ʿiḏr and Assyria.** By the fifth decade of the 9th century B.C.E., Aram had become one of the most powerful states in Syria-Palestine, if not actually the most powerful. This coincided with the first Assyrian attempts to extend their domination into central and southern Syria. In 853, Shalmaneser III of Assyria marched into the territory of the kingdom of Hamath, where his forces were met by a coalition of Syro-Palestinian states near the town of Qarqar. The coalition is described in an inscription of Shalmaneser III (known as the Monolith Inscription; *ANET,* 278–79) as having been made up of twelve states. The leader of the coalition is named as Adad-idri of Aram (Aramaic Hadad-ʿiḏr, the namesake of the king of Zobah defeated by David; see above), and he is said to have brought with him 1200 chariots, 1200 horsemen, and 20,000 footsoldiers. This is the largest contingent of horsemen and footsoldiers and the second largest group of chariots contributed by a member of the coalition. He was joined by two other major powers in the region, Irḫulena of Hamath and Ahab of Israel, who contributed the majority of the rest of the army (the other nine members of the coalition were more modestly represented). The coalition appears to have been successful at stopping Shalmaneser's advance. Although Shalmaneser claims to have won, it is clear from the inscription that he was obliged to return immediately

to his homeland, without making further moves against any members of the coalition. Nor did he return to Syria for another four years.

The leadership of this coalition continued to rest in Hadad-ʿiḏr ’s hands for several years. Shalmaneser returned to Syria in his tenth, eleventh, and fourteenth years (849, 848, and 845 respectively), each time battling with the coalition, always headed by Hadad-ʿiḏr. At no time was Shalmaneser able to decisively defeat the coalition. Hadad-ʿiḏr’s continued leadership role in this alliance indicates the prestige which Aram enjoyed in relation to the other states of central and southern Syria and Palestine during these years.

**b. “Ben-Hadad” and Ahab.** There has been considerable scholarly discussion concerning the relationship between Hadad-ʿiḏr of the Assyrian inscriptions and the king of Aram called Ben-Hadad in 1 Kings 20 and 22. These two chapters describe three battles between Israel and Aram, which are said to have taken place during the final five years of the reign of Ahab of Israel. If these chapters are reliable, then the king called Ben-Hadad in 1 Kings 20 (or “Ben-Hadad II,” according to many scholars) should probably be identified with Hadad-ʿiḏr of the Assyrian inscriptions.

However, there are a number of elements in these two chapters which have led several scholars (including Jepsen 1941–45: 154–59; Miller 1966; and Pitard 1987: 115–25) to propose that the accounts of the war between Israel and Aram here do not belong originally to the period of Ahab, but rather to the time of Joash (or Joahaz, according to Miller 1966: 442–43) some fifty years later. A number of arguments have been put forward to substantiate this proposal. For example, literary analysis indicates that the accounts of the two battles in 1 Kings 20 did not originally provide the name of the king of Israel. Furthermore, the description of Israel’s political situation in this chapter is seriously at odds with what is known of the reigns of both Omri and Ahab from other biblical passages (cf. 1 Kgs 16:27; 22:39), as well as extrabiblical texts. For example, Shalmaneser’s Monolith Inscription reports that Ahab furnished 2000 chariots (the largest contingent of chariots from any member of the coalition) and 10,000 footsoldiers to the battle of Qarqar. Also, the Stela of Mesha, the king of Moab (*ANET,* 320–21), describes the domination of Moab by Omri and Ahab. Finally, archaeological evidence demonstrates that Israel was economically prosperous and able to support significant civilian and military building projects during this time. All of these suggest quite clearly that Ahab and Omri were very powerful kings (see AHAB), in contrast to the king of Israel in 1 Kings 20, who is portrayed as a weak vassal of Ben-Hadad of Aram (cf. 1 Kgs 20:1–9, esp. v 9) and his father, who is also described as having been dominated by Aram (20:34).

While such a portrayal does not fit well with the times of Omri and Ahab (i.e. ca. 886–853), it does match excellently with the reigns of Joahaz and Joash (ca. 814–782), when Israel was dominated by Hazael and his son Bir-Hadad (Heb Ben-Hadad; see 2 Kgs 13:22–25). It was during the reign of this Bir-Hadad that Joash was able to rebel successfully against Aram and defeat Bir-Hadad’s army in a decisive battle near Aphek (2 Kgs 13:17). It should be noted that the decisive battle in 1 Kings 20 is also fought at Aphek. With regard to the account of Ahab’s death in battle against Aram at Ramoth-Gilead (1 Kgs 22:1–36), scholars have suggested that this account has developed from the story of the wounding of Ahab’s son, Joram, in battle at Ramoth-Gilead during the time of Hazael (2 Kgs 9:14–15; see Miller 1966: 444–46). Thus, it appears unlikely that there was a major war between Aram and Israel during the reign of Ahab. The stories in 1 Kings 20 rather illuminate events that took place some fifty to sixty years after the death of Ahab. The king of Aram called Ben-Hadad in these stories, as well as in the stories of Elisha and the Aramaeans in 2 Kings 5–7 (insofar as they may be regarded as historical), should be identified with Bir-Hadad, the son of Hazael (often referred to as “Ben-Hadad III” by many scholars; see B.3.b below). The only exception to this is the story in 2 Kgs 8:7–15.

Major changes occurred in Aram between 845 and 842, although the exact details are not known. 2 Kgs 8:7–15 gives an account of how a usurper named Hazael assassinated the king of Aram and seized the throne. The name of the king of Aram in this passage is Ben-Hadad. It is possible that the incorporation of the Ben-Hadad stories into the account of the period of Ahab has led to the use of his name in this story as well, and that the correct name of the king assassinated by Hazael was actually Hadad-ʿiḏr. But it is also possible that Hadad-ʿiḏr died sometime between 845 and 842 and was succeeded by a Bir-Hadad, who in

turn was assassinated by Hazael. Unfortunately there is not enough evidence to determine the actual course of events.

**3. The Aramean Empire. a. The Reign of Hazael.** After Hazael seized the throne, ca. 842, the anti-Assyrian coalition that had been headed by Hadad-ʿiḏr collapsed and war broke out between Aram and Israel. A battle took place between Hazael's troops and the army of Joram of Israel near Ramoth-Gilead, a border town in the northern part of Israel's Transjordanian territory (2 Kgs 8:28–29; 9:14–15a). During this battle, Joram was wounded and was forced to retire from the area. It was at Ramoth-Gilead during this period of tension that Jehu began the revolution that would result in the assassination of Joram and Jehu's seizure of power in Israel (ca. 842/41, 2 Kgs 9). Relations between the two states did not improve after Jehu's rebellion, but Hazael had to turn his attention elsewhere in 841, when Shalmaneser III returned to Syria. With the coalition in shambles, most of the Syro-Palestinian states, including Hamath and Israel, submitted to the Assyrian king. But Hazael did not. Aram's army was defeated by Shalmaneser near Mt. Senir (the Mt. Hermon area), and the Assyrian army temporarily beseiged Damascus. But the city was not captured, and Shalmaneser marched on to the coast, where he received the submission of several kings, including Jehu of Israel (*ANET,* 280).

Hazael had to fight the Assyrians alone two more times (apparently Shalmaneser's 21st and 22d years, 838 and 837) as well. We know virtually nothing of the circumstances of these campaigns. But afterward, Shalmaneser's attention turned to lands in the north, and thirty years would elapse before the Assyrians would again march into southern Syria.

Once the pressure from the Assyrians subsided, Hazael returned to his policy against Israel. Jehu's bloody purge of supporters of the overthrown Omride dynasty had weakened Israel to the point that Hazael was able to annex Israel's Transjordanian territories (2 Kgs 10:32–33). By the reign of Jehu's son, Joahaz, Israel was virtually, if not actually, a vassal to Aram-Damascus. According to the Lucianic mss of the LXX (following 2 Kgs 13:22), Hazael also invaded and conquered Philistia. He then turned eastward and attacked Judah. Jehoash, the king of Judah, sent Hazael an extensive tribute, thereby presumably becoming a vassal, and Hazael then withdrew from Jerusalem (2 Kgs 12:17–18).

Thus during the reign of Hazael, Aram developed into a significant empire which covered much, if not all, of southern Syria and Palestine. Some scholars have proposed that Hazael also dominated northern Syria (Mazar 1962: 114; Jepsen 1941–45: 168), but none of the evidence adduced for this proposal is compelling. As far as can be determined from current evidence, Hazael's empire extended only as far north as Hamath's southern boundary. But even if he did not control northern Syria, Hazael had made Aram into one of the most significant states in the Levant. Hazael's reign, while beginning so poorly, appears to have become the period of Aram's greatest strength.

**b. Bir-Hadad and the Collapse of the Empire.** Hazael was succeeded, probably ca. 800 B.C.E., by his son Bir-Hadad (traditionally known in most scholarship as Ben-Hadad III, since Hadad-ʿiḏr was normally identified with the Ben-Hadad of 1 Kings 20 and thus designated Bir-Hadad II). Bir-Hadad is known from the Bible (2 Kgs 13:3–7, 22–25; and probably, 1 Kings 20; 2 Kgs 6:24–7:20), from a stone inscription of Zakkur (formerly vocalized as "Zakir"), king of Hamath and Luash (*ANET,* 655–56), and from Assyrian inscriptions of Adad-nirari III. All of these sources of information indicate that Bir-Hadad was unable to hold on to the political power established by his father. The Assyrian king Adad-nirari III besieged Damascus, probably in 796 B.C.E., and received a substantial tribute from the king of Aram, who is called Marʾi in the Assyrian inscriptions. Marʾi, which in Aramaic means "my lord," is almost certainly a title of Bir-Hadad. The inscription of Zakkur describes an attack on his capital city in Luash by a coalition of kings that was led by Bir-Hadad. In this campaign, Bir-Hadad was unsuccessful, being forced to lift the siege around the city before a surrender. He also suffered serious losses to Israel, which regained its independence at this time (see particularly 2 Kgs 13:22–25). As suggested above (B.2.b), it is probable that the accounts of two battles between Israel and Aram in 1 Kings 20 should be attributed to the time of Bir-Hadad, the son of Hazael, and Joash of Israel. We do not know in which chronological order all of these political reverses took place, but it is clear that by the end of Bir-Hadad's reign, Aram had lost much of its political power.

It is not known how long Bir-Hadad ruled, but it does appear that Aram's fortunes continued to decline during the first half of the 8th century. Only a few facts are known from this period, but they reveal the situation fairly well. In 773, the Assyrians, under Shalmaneser IV, once again attacked Aram, and a recently discovered (but as yet unpublished) stela describes the tribute given to Shalmaneser by the king of Aram, named Hadianu. During the same period, Israel experienced its last major revival under Jeroboam II (ca. 782–748). 2 Kgs 14:25, 28 suggest that Jeroboam was able to dominate Aram during his reign.

**4. Raḏyan's Coalition and the End of Aram.** Aram's last period of political influence and independence began about the middle of the 8th century with the reign of Aram's last king, called Rezin in the Bible (Aram, Radyān). Raḏyan was on the throne by 738, when his name appears on a list of vassals who brought tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria that year. During the years 737–735, TiglathPileser was involved in a series of campaigns to the north and east of Assyria. Raḏyan at this time formed a new coalition of Syro-Palestinian states (including Tyre and Israel) which rebelled against Assyria.

The coalition included Tyre and Israel, and apparently in an attempt to force Judah to join the coalition, Raḏyan and Pekah of Israel attacked Judah and besieged Jerusalem (see 2 Kgs 15:37; 16:5–9). Their plan was to replace the young king Ahaz of Judah with an anti-Assyrian puppet ruler, named Tabeel in Isa 7:6. Ahaz, against the advice of Isaiah (cf. Isaiah 7), sent a large gift to Tiglath-Pileser, asking for help against Aram and Israel. Tiglath-Pileser marched into Syria in 734, apparently capturing Tyre and the Philistine coast that year. Over the next two years, Tiglath-Pileser turned his attention directly toward Aram and Israel. During the campaign of 732, Aram was finally and fully defeated by the Assyrians. Accounts of the fall of Aram are found both in 2 Kgs 16:9 and in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser. The Assyrian king claims to have destroyed 591 towns in the sixteen districts of Aram during the course of the campaign. In the end, Damascus was captured, and Raḏyan was killed. The Assyrians annexed the land of Aram into the empire, and the land was divided up into provinces. This was the end of the independent state of Aram. (For more details of the coalition formed by Raḏyan, see SYRO-EPHRAIMITE WAR; see also *POTT* pp. 134–55.)

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**ARAM-MAACAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾăram maʿăkâ* (אֲרַם מַעֲכָה)]. See MAACAH (PLACE).

**ARAM-NAHARAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾăram nahărayim* (אֲרַם נַהֲרַיִם)]. Geographical name of an area in upper Mesopotamia, located around the great bend of the Euphrates River in N Syria. The name occurs five times in the Bible, and is often translated "Mesopotamia" in English versions, following the LXX rendering. It appears as the name of the ancestral home of Abraham's family in Gen 24:10 (the same area seems to be designated Paddan-Aram in the Priestly Pentateuchal source). It is also named as the homeland of Balaam, the son of Beor (Deut 23:5), and the country of Cushan-Rishathaim, the first of the oppressors of Israel in the book of Judges (Judg 3:8). David is said to have fought with troops from this area, during his war with Ammon and its Aramaean allies (1 Chr 19:6, cf. Ps 60, superscription [v 2 in Hebrew]). There are also two, possibly three, cases in which this area is simply designated by the term "Aram" (Judg 3:10; Hosea 12:13; and Num 23:7[?]). Various commentaries discuss the problems of the homelands of both Balaam and Cushan-Rishathaim.

A number of extrabiblical sources make reference to this land during the last half of the 2d millennium B.C.E. Several Egyptian pharaohs of the New Kingdom had dealings with or attempted to conquer this area, which they called Naharin (a). Attestations of this name are found in texts from the time of Thutmosis I (late 16th century) to the reign of Rameses III (early 12th century). The region is also known from the Amarna Letters (14th century) in the forms *na-aḫ-rí-ma* and *na-rí-ma.* Only in the Bible does the name occur prefixed with "Aram." In those instances where the term appears in connection with the patriarchs (and probably the other attestations as well), it is being used anachronistically, since the area probably was not under Aramaean control prior to the 1st millennium. From the 1st millennium B.C.E., there are no extrabiblical references to this area either as Naharaim or Aram-Naharaim.

Precise boundaries of the land of Naharaim cannot be determined from the preserved texts, but the towns said to be located in the land include Harran, Nahor, Pethor, and Tunip. These indicate that the designation covered areas on both the west and east sides of the Euphrates, as well as the Balikh River valley and perhaps part of the Habur River triangle (Finkelstein 1962: 84–86). See also ARAM (PLACE); MESOPOTAMIA; and *POTT* pp. 134–55.

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**ARAMAIC LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (ARAMAIC).

**ARAMAIC LETTERS.** See LETTERS (ARAMAIC).

**ARAMAIC "MESSIANIC" TEXT** (4QMess ar). The siglum "4QMess ar" refers to ten little fragments in Aramaic found in cave 4 at Qumran. The fragments are written on soft leather, and the maximum dimensions of the whole are 20 × 38 cm. The script dates between 30 B.C. and A.D. 20. Their first editor, Jean Starcky (1964), labeled them an "Aramaic messianic text"; indeed he believed that they constituted an astrological text about the Messiah, since the child described in the fragments is said to be the Elect of God (*baḥîr ʾelaha*). The main assertions about the child are that "in his youth he will become like a man who does not know anything, until the time when he shall become skilled in the three books. Then he will become wise and will be endowed with discretion … His calculations [will succeed] because he is the Elect of God" (Fitzmyer 1974: 142–43). In the second column, which is badly fragmented, it is stated that "waters will cease" and a Holy One and Watcher (more correctly, a Wakeful, Vigilant, Watchful, or Alert One) is mentioned.

Shortly after its first publication and the publication of the related horoscope (Allegro 1964), Fitzmyer published a radically different interpretation: the text is not a horoscope (because there are no stars or signs of the Zodiac) and is not messianic (because "Elect of God" is not always a messianic title), but is part of the physical description of the forefather Noah (1974). J. C. Greenfield (1973: xx–xxi) preferred an identification with Melchizedek, but the Noachic identification has prevailed in later studies. P. Grelot (1975) then proceeded to identify the three books mentioned in the fragments with the three books of Enoch mentioned in Jubilees 4:16–26. These three books are probably found in 1 Enoch: the Astronomical Book, the Book of Dreams, and the Book of the Wakeful. (Other books were subsequently added to these three in 1 Enoch.) In *Jub.* 7:38, Noah is said to receive the complete tradition of Enoch, his great-grandfather. The Noachic identification rests on the link between the three books mentioned in our text and Enoch the ancestor of Noah, on the phrase "waters will cease" (taken as a reference to the Deluge), on the mention of Holy One and Wakeful both here and in col. 2 of 1QapGen which deals with the birth of Noah, and on the fascination with the birth of Noah in intertestamental literature (*1 Enoch* 106–8; *Jubilees* 4–10) and in as yet unpublished Qumran fragments from caves 4 and 11.

The thorough study by Florentino García-Martínez (1981) concludes that our fragments form part of a lost book of Noah mentioned in *Jub.* 10:13 and 21:10 and in patristic references. These suggest that the book of Noah was among other things an herbalary or medical guide to healing plants that also provided

halachic prescriptions for food and blood. Parts of this lost book may have been incorporated in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees.*

4QMess ar provides a parallel to Simeon's declaration on the destiny of the child Jesus in Luke 2:34–35. The term "elect" is used 24 times in the NT, 20 times in the plural referring to the predestined saints, and 4 times in the singular with reference to the messiah (Luke 23:35; John 1:34 variant reading; 1 Pet 2:4, 6). Thus by the time of the NT, the term "elect of God" in the singular as found in our text had taken on a messianic significance in certain circles. In the OT the term "my Chosen One" or "my Elect" is used of David (Ps 89:4), the Servant of Yahweh (Isa 42:1), and Moses (Ps 106:23). Our text helps to fill out the intertestamental picture.

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**ARAMAIC SCRIPT.** About 1100 B.C. the Aramaeans adopted the alphabetic script which was employed at that time by the Canaanites and Phoenicians. They wrote in this same script until the mid-8th century B.C. Moreover, at the beginning they may even have written in the Phoenician language as well, because by the end of the 9th century B.C. the stele of Kilamu, king of Yadi (Sam›al, where an Aramaic dialect was spoken), was inscribed in the Phoenician language. However, two later texts from Sam›al, the so-called Hadad inscription and the Panammu inscription, were written in the local Aramaic (Sam›alian) dialect. Only at the end of the 8th century B.C., Bar-Rekub, king of Sam›al, wrote his stele in the Aramaic language, which does not differ from that of Bar-Hadad king of Damascus, Zakkur king of Hamath, and the Old Aramaic inscription from Sefire.

In the scripts of all the inscriptions mentioned above and of other Aramaic monumental inscriptions, no clear Aramaic features are discernible; except for the two-bar *ḥet* in the inscription of Bar-Rekub, the scripts are generally Phoenician in character. The first distinctively Aramaic features appear in the mid-8th century B.C. cursive scripts, e.g., on the inscribed bricks from Hammat, where there is a one-bar *ḥet* (see also the inscribed lion weights from Nineveh, from the last quarter of the 8th century B.C.).

In 1979, reports of the discovery of the life-size statue of a man with a bilingual Assyrian-Aramaic inscription from Tell Fekheriye, near Gozan, aroused some doubts concerning the formerly held theory of the early development of the Aramaic script and its branching off from the Phoenician ca. 750 B.C. (which was described above). It is almost generally accepted that this statue with its inscription was erected in the 9th century B.C. However, the script of the Aramaic version of the inscription does not resemble the scripts of the contemporary Aramaic and Phoenician (or Moabite) inscriptions, but rather the 11th-century B.C. Proto-Canaanite script. If the Aramaic version on the Fekheriye statue was indeed written in the 9th century B.C., and not—as the paleographic criterion would indicate—in the 11th century B.C., then we may assume that this is a deliberate archaization, i.e., a successful imitation of a set of letters which was used 200 years earlier. Otherwise we should have to conclude that people speaking Aramaic in the region of Gozan managed to preserve for two centuries an archaic script which was not influenced by the development that took place elsewhere.

The impact of the Phoenician script on people who wrote in Aramaic was so strong that they took over the set of 22 letters employed by the Phoenicians without adding to it a single character, even though the phonetic system of the Aramaic language was much richer than that of the Phoenician. In Aramaic there

were e.g., *ḏ* and *z*; but they wrote in the Phoenician way only *z* (*zy, znh, zhb*); there were *ṯ* and *š,* but both consonants were represented only by *š* (*šlš, šql*). Only in the 5th-century B.C. Aramaic inscriptions and documents we find "gold" written *dhb* and "to weigh" written as *tql.* Even in the Tell Fekheriye inscription, only 22 letters were used; the only exception there is that *ṯ* was expressed by *s* and not by the usual *š.*

At the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. the Aramaic script and language were employed only—or mainly—by the inhabitants of the Aramean kingdoms, but from the 8th century B.C., after the Assyrians conquered these states and realized that the Aramaic script was much more convenient than their cuneiform writing, they granted the Aramaic language and script a special status. Aramaic became an official means of communication in the western provinces of the Assyrian empire. Very soon it turned into an international language in diplomacy and trade. Not only did the ministers of Hezekiah ask Rab-shakeh to speak to them in Aramaic "for we understand it" (2 Kgs 18:26), but 100 years later, at the end of the 7th century B.C. Adon the king of a certain Philistine (or Phoenician) city wrote to Pharaoh king of Egypt an Aramaic letter in which he asked for military aid against the advancing Babylonian troops that had already conquered Aphek (*KAI* 266). The diffusion of the Aramaic language and script increased in the Babylonian and Persian kingdoms.

After 732 B.C., the year of the Assyrian conquest of Damascus (the southernmost Aramaic city-state), the Aramaic script ceased to be a national script, and people of various national or ethnic origins began writing in it. Therefore the Aramaic script, not being restricted by the conservativeness which characterizes national writing traditions, was used for purely practical purposes. This phenomenon enabled the evolution of a cursive script which did not preserve the older letter forms, and any unnecessary strokes were dropped from the letters. As early as the end of the 7th century B.C., the Aramaic script looked like shorthand in comparison with the Phoenician and, particularly, with the Hebrew script.

Aramaic script was widely used in all the provinces of the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian empires. In a vast area extending from Asia Minor and Afghanistan to Egypt and North Arabia, the type of Aramaic script encountered was uniform, and no regional variations evolved even in the remotest provinces. The standards were fixed by the royal scribes, who wrote in a conservative formal cursive style. Everybody who learned to write was taught to follow the standard calligraphy of the formal cursive script but practically only the scribes adhered to the scribal rules. Other educated persons allowed themselves to write faster and thus to introduce innovations in the forms of the letters. This kind of writing—i.e., the free cursive style—caused the changes which eventually led to the development of the script. Those who learned reading and writing and had only a limited use for this knowledge tried imitating the formal style, but wrote clumsily in the vulgar cursive style. Besides the cursive style (with its three sub-styles: formal, free, and vulgar) the Aramaic script also had a lapidary style, which was practiced mainly for engraving on hard material, but even on stone the cursive (mainly the formal cursive) style very often prevailed.

The scripts of the 9th- and 8th-century Aramaic monumental inscriptions, which resemble those of the contemporary Phoenician ones, can be defined as lapidary. The influence of the Aramaic cursive can be seen only in the late 8th-century lapidary writing (e.g., the two-bar *ḥet* in the Bar-Rekub inscription). However, soon the Aramaic cursive became dominant, and even on stelae and seals cursive letters were engraved. The lapidary style, of course, was known everywhere, its most famous representatives from the Persian period being the inscriptions from Asia Minor, Tema in North Arabia as well as the "Yehud" and "Mozah" jar stamps stemming from various Judaean sites. With the fall of the Persian empire, the lapidary Aramaic style fell into disuse. However, its cursive counterpart survived, and its descendants exist even today.

The Aramaic inscriptions and manuscripts from the 8th to the 3rd century B.C. were written in the uniform Aramaic script. The number of these texts is quite large, including graffiti, dedicatory inscriptions, stelae, burial inscriptions, boundary inscriptions, seals, coin legends, clay tablets, ostraca (among them dozens from Elephantine, Arad, and Beer-Sheba), and manuscripts written on parchment

and papyrus. The majority of the papyri belong to the 5th century B.C. and stem from the Jewish military colony in Elephantine in Upper Egypt, but papyri have also been found in Hermopolis, Saqqarah, and Edfu in Egypt (the Edfu papyri are generally from the 3d century B.C.), as well as in Wadi Daliyeh, E of Samaria in Palestine (from the 4th century B.C.).

The ca. 100 papyri from Elephantine include name lists, private and official letters, legal documents, and three literary texts—an Aramaic version of the Behistun inscription, the Proverbs of Ahiqar, and a fragmentary narrative text of Bar-Punesh (*CAP* 71). The Elephantine papyri and ostraca are very important for the study of the Aramaic script in the 5th century B.C.: the legal documents bear exact dates and mention the names of the scribes who were either professionals, writing in a semiformal hand, or chance scribes, writing in a free cursive hand. In addition to the possibility of examining the handwriting of the various Elephantine scribes at fixed dates, the autograph signatures display the writing of the witnesses with various degrees of penmanship. Thus in these signatures the vulgar cursive style, the writing of the unskilled writer, is also represented.

There is a clear distinction between the writing of the professional scribes from Elephantine and that of the scribes of Arsham, the Persian governor in Egypt. The latter wrote in a very formal cursive hand, whereas the former wrote in the less conservative, semiformal style, more influenced by the free cursive. However, the professional scribes of the Elephantine documents and those of the Arsham letters wrote in shaded scripts, i.e., they distinguished between the horizontal thick strokes and the thinner vertical strokes, while the chance scribes and the writers of the private letters wrote more carelessly without shading and generally in more developed handwritings. Thus in the Elephantine documents the three substyles of the cursive (free, formal, and vulgar) can be seen. This indicates that in the 5th century B.C. a large number of the inhabitants of Elephantine knew how to read and write, a fact which is evidence of a literate society, not only there but most probably in various areas in the Persian period and presumably even earlier (the Hebrew epigraphic material from the 7th-century B.C. Judah provides similar evidence).

Whereas in the Hebrew and Phoenician scripts the rightward diagonal downstrokes were shaded, in the Aramaic script the horizontal bars were thickened. This phenomenon can be followed from the 8th-century B.C. ink-written texts onward. This kind of shading is characteristic of all the scripts which evolved from the uniform Aramaic script. The modern descendants, like Jewish (square Hebrew), Arabic, and Syriac, follow this tradition. It is difficult to explain why the Aramaic script deviated from the system of shading that was employed by the Phoenicians, but possibly the reason may be found in the method of writing used by the Aramaic scribes in the Assyrian and Babylonian empires. It seems likely that most of these scribes, who were probably not of Aramaean origin, were bilingual and thus were used to writing in the cuneiform script with a stylus on soft clay. Actually there are dozens of clay tablets written in the cuneiform writing that bear Aramaic endorsements, and there are other clay tablets bearing only Aramaic texts. The way of holding the stylus for writing the cuneiform wedge-shaped marks has not been studied thoroughly, but perhaps the scribes who wrote in Aramaic were influenced by the cuneiform scribes, and this may account for the horizontal shading in the Aramaic script and its descendants.

It seems likely that the eastern neighbors of the Israelites, i.e., the Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites, who spoke in dialects akin to Hebrew, learned the alphabet only in the 9th century B.C. Mesha, king of Moab, wrote his stele in the Moabite language but employed the Hebrew script, as it was used at that time by the inhabitants of Israel and Judah. Although no contemporary Edomite inscription is known at present, there is enough evidence to suppose that in the 9th century B.C. the Edomites also wrote in the Hebrew script. The Ammonites, however, adopted the Aramaic script from their northern neighbors Aram-Damascus (for an example of this, see the Amman Citadel Inscription). See EPIGRAPHY, TRANSJORDANIAN.

After the fall of Damascus in 732 B.C. and with the beginning of the Assyrian control of the King's Highway in Ammon, Moab, and Edom, the political and cultural influence of Israel and Judah on Moab and Edom came to an end. Because Aramaic was the official script in the western provinces of the Assyrian empire, Aramaic elements began to intrude into the scripts of Moab and Edom. Thus, while in the 7th-century B.C. inscriptions of the Moabites and Edomites there are Hebrew, Aramaic, and some

peculiar local letter forms, in the 6th century B.C. the Aramaic forms prevail, and eventually the Hebrew elements disappear altogether. In the late 6th and 5th centuries no letter forms specifically Ammonite, Moabite, or Edomite are discernible, and the inscriptions were written solely in the Aramaic script, even those written in the Canaanite dialects.

After the conquest of Alexander the Great and the fall of the Persian empire, Greek replaced Aramaic as the official language and script of the government. However, Aramaic was already so deeply implanted that it continued to be spoken and written by all the nations who had formerly been under the Persian rule. The uniform Aramaic script continued to exist almost for 100 years; only in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. the various descendants began to crystalize.

Among the Eastern offshoots of the Aramaic script the following branches are discernible:

1. *The Syriac-Palmyrene branch.* As the Syriac and Palmyrene scripts have many common characteristics, the conclusion that they had a common ancestor is almost inevitable. It seems likely that both the Syriac and the Palmyrene scripts developed from the Aramaic chancellery script which was used in the 3d and 2d centuries B.C. in the Seleucid royal court in addition to the official script. In time, Syriac became the language and script of the Christian community whose center was in Edessa, but it was also adopted by the Palestinian Christians. The Palmyrene script was used mainly by the inhabitants of Palmyra and by Palmyrene emigrants all over the Roman empire; it was also accepted in Babylonia (where magic bowls were inscribed in it), as well as by the Manichaeans, who wrote sectarian texts in an Iranian dialect.

2. *The North Mesopotamian branch* is primarily known from the inscriptions discovered in Hatra, an oasis between the Tigris and the Euphrates, where a small kingdom flourished under Parthian suzerainty. This script was also accepted in Assur and Dura-Europus and even extended to Armenia and Georgia. The Armenians and Georgians did not speak Aramaic but wrote in this script, probably using the Aramaic words as ideograms.

3. *The South Mesopotamian branch* is best known from the script which was used from antiquity until modern times by the Mandaeans, a gnostic sect in Khuzistan and in the neighboring regions in Iran and Iraq. The earliest Mandaic texts probably stem from the 4th century, but the largest number come from the 6th century A.D. The Mandaic script developed from the Aramaic offshoot which was used in Elymais, where another petty kingdom under Parthian suzerainty existed.

4. *The Iranian branch.* The Parthians, the Persians, and the Sogdians wrote in scripts that evolved from the uniform Aramaic script during the Achaemenid period. They generally used Aramaic ideograms, but in time the phonetic writing prevailed.

In the West, two scripts developed from the uniform Aramaic script:

5. *The Jewish script* is the ancestor of the medieval and modern (square) Hebrew script. F. M. Cross distinguished in its early evolutions three phases: Archaic or Proto-Jewish (ca. 250–150 B.C.), Hasmonaean (ca. 150–30 B.C.), and Herodian (ca. 30 B.C.–A.D. 70). This classification is mainly based on the variety of manuscripts found in Qumran, known as the Dead Sea Scrolls (Cross 1961: 174). The Jews, preferring this script, neglected their old Hebrew script, which was the national script of the inhabitants of Israel and Judah in the First Temple period. However, the original Palaeo-Hebrew script continued to be used in the Second Temple period by narrow circles. Its connotation was mainly nationalistic (coins) or religious (Pentateuch scrolls and the Tetragrammaton in texts written in the Jewish script), but it was also occasionally used in daily life.

Not only was the Palaeo-Hebrew script abandoned by the Jews (and preserved only by the Samaritans), but also the Jewish cursive (see the papyri from Wadi Murabba‘at and Nahal Hever) ceased to exist after the defeat of Bar-Kokhba in 135 A.D.

6. *The Nabatean script* is well known from the monumental inscriptions which have survived in Nabatean cities, and from the graffiti found in the Sinai. Some Nabatean deeds were found in Nahal Hever which have been dated to the beginning of the 2d century A.D. The (formal and free) cursive style employed in these deeds clearly shows that the Nabatean script is the ancestor of the (classical) Arabic script.

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**ARAMEAN CONCUBINE.** See ASRIEL; MACHIR; MANASSEH (PERSON).

**ARAMEANS.** Assyrian and biblical texts reveal the presence of people called Arameans living in most parts of Syria from the end of the 2d millennium B.C.

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A. History of the Arameans
1. 11th to 9th Centuries B.C.
2. 8th Century B.C.
3. Later Times
B. Prehistory of the Arameans
C. Aramean Society
D. Aramean Culture and Religion
1. Art of the Arameans
2. Aramean Religion

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**A. History of the Arameans**

**1. 11th to 9th Centuries B.C. a. Assyrian Sources.** Tiglath-pileser I (ca. 1114–1076) campaigned from Assyria westward against an enemy named *ahlamē armāya* early in his reign, crossing the Euphrates in doing so. A badly broken Assyrian Chronicle may imply that Arameans pressed into Assyria itself later in his reign (TCS 5: 189). His son Aššur-bel-kala (ca. 1073–1056) followed his father's steps, but his inscriptions are less extensive and less explicit; they simply refer to *māt arime,* "the land of Aram." Both kings relate where they encountered these people: along the Euphrates from the Babylonian frontier at Rapiqu to Carchemish, in Mount Bishri, Tadmor (Palmyra) in Amurru, as far as the foot of the Lebanon mountains. Aššur-bel-kala met them in the mountains to the north, around the sources of the river Habur, an area where his father had fought the Mushki (often identified with the Phrygians). However, this was not the Arameans' most easterly penetration. They moved near to the heart of Assyria, settled E of the Tigris, and brought about a "dark age" from about 1050 to 930. When Assyrian royal reports resume under Aššur-dan II (ca. 934–912), the king relates his conquest of areas near the capital city of Aššur, and of Arameans who were evidently also not too distant. Adad-nirari II (ca. 911–891) continued his father's expansive policies, conquering Aramean sheikhs living in the Zagros foothills, an Aramean tribe called Teman near Nisibin, and reestablished Assyrian control over upper Mesopotamia as far W as the Habur River. Here the Assyrians faced the Aramean state of Bit-Bahyan, ruled by Abi-Salam at Guzan (biblical Gozan, now Tell Halaf), and took tribute. Campaign reports by Aššurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III (ca. 883–859 and 858–824) disclose the presence of other Aramean states as far W as the river Euphrates, the major ones being Bit-Adini, Bit-Bahyan, Bit-Khalupe, and Bit-Zaman. References in various Assyrian inscriptions mention Aramean tribes taking control of these areas at the end of the 11th century, and the Assyrian kings plainly felt they had a right to rule there as their forebears had done in the 13th century. Other Aramean groups settled along the lower course of the Euphrates and farther E, all the way into Babylonia.

These Assyrian kings subjected the rulers they conquered, but allowed them, or chosen replacements, to continue to rule, requiring only loyalty and regular tribute. This was the case, it seems, at Guzan, where local princes ruled their people with the title "king" (*mlk*), but in their own Assyrian text they were called "governor" (*šaknu*; Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil and Millard 1982). Refusal of some to remain submissive or joining alliances with still independent states brought Assyrian troops back in punitive campaigns which occasionally led to the installation of Assyrian governors and officials in place of the local rulers. The career of Akhuni of Bit-Adini exemplifies the process. Having submitted to Assyria in 876 B.C., he was

hostile to the next Assyrian king, Shalmaneser III, who eventually disposed of him and made his major town, Til-Barsip, an Assyrian stronghold (855 B.C.).

Under the leadership of Adad-idri (Hadadezer) of Damascus, an alliance of kings opposed the Assyrians. Among them were Urhilina of Hamath (whose name is neo-Hittite) and Ahab of Israel. The battle of Qarqar in 853 was followed by Assyrian attacks in 849, 848, and 845 until the coalition broke down. Two Assyrian campaigns against Damascus (841, 838) brought home booty, including a bead from a temple in a city of Hazael, king of Damascus (*ANET,* 281), but Damascus itself was not taken. Shalmaneser fought in Cilicia as well, defeating the Aramean king of Sam›al, Khayan, in 858. Khayan, together with Arame of Aguš (Arpad), paid tribute to him in 853 B.C.

The years of unrest and relative weakness of Assyria which followed allowed some of the Syrian states to strengthen themselves. A revolt in Gozan (Tell Halaf), suppressed in 808 B.C., was perhaps the outburst of nationalism by King Kapara, whose sculptures the German excavators found (see C, below). However, since he and his father, Khayan, remain unattested in other texts, the date cannot be set, and some would place him almost a century earlier (Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil, and Millard 1982: 100–1; Sader 1987: 30–44).

**b. Hebrew Sources.** In the SW, Aramean expansion met another recently established people, Israel. Apart from the obscure Cushan-rishathaim of Aram-naharaim who oppressed Israel early in the settlement period (Judg 3:8–10), the first Aramean groups encountered by Israel are the states of Zobah and Beth-Rehob in the days of Saul and David (1 Sam 14:47; 2 Sam 8:3, 5; 10:6–19; 13:37–39). These lay in the Lebanon Valley with Zobah extending to the N. The king of Zobah whom David fought was Hadadezer of Beth-rehob, his name being the same as that of the 9th-century king of Damascus who faced Shalmaneser III (in Assyrian texts Hadad-idri). Hadadezer had made himself overlord of all Syria, and David's final conquest of him "when he went to restore his control along the Euphrates River," and of the forces that came to his aid, gave Israel suzerainty over the whole of that territory at one blow (2 Sam 8:3–8, an event which apparently followed the campaigns in Transjordan, 2 Sam 10–12). A later Assyrian report of Aram capturing Pethor and Mut-kinu on the Euphrates at about 1000 may refer to Hadadezer's rule (*LAR* 1.603). Hadadezer's intervention in Transjordan is the first sign of a long-continuing Syrian interest in that area (2 Samuel 10). Hadadezer did not rule in Damascus, but during Solomon's reign one Rezin set himself up as king there. At the end of the 10th century, Asa of Judah (ca. 911–870) hired "Ben-Hadad son of Tab-rimmon, the son of Hezion, king of Aram, who was ruling in Damascus" against Israel, asking him to break his pact with Baasha of Israel and institute treaty relations such as had existed between their fathers (1 Kgs 15:18, 19). Some scholars suggest the ancestor Hezion was identical with Rezin, the names being linguistically equivalent (see *POTT,* n.23). The description "king of Aram, who was ruling in Damascus" may imply that the title "king of Aram" was not yet as tightly bound to that city as it became in Israelite perspective (cf. 1 Kgs 20:1). That the Ben-Hadad of Asa's time was the same as the Ben-Hadad of Ahab's is disputed (see BEN-HADAD). The name is possibly a dynastic one, and the Ben-Hadad who fought Ahab (1 Kings 20) and whom Hazael murdered (2 Kgs 8:7–15) could be a successor, the Adad-idri of the Qarqar alliance (see a. above). There is no support for W. F. Albright's contention that the Melqart Stele (*ANET,* 501; *ANEP,* 499), found near Aleppo, was erected by Ben-Hadad, son of Tab-rimmon (Pitard 1987: 138–44; note that the reading proposed there is as speculative as all others because the surface of the stone is too abraded to permit any certain reading of line 2). Ben-Hadad enjoyed both success and failure in his attempts to dominate Israel (1 Kings 20, 22). Some coercion may have brought Ahab of Israel to his side at Qarqar (853), the battle which resulted in Ahab's death and also demonstrated that there was no deep bond between the two kings (ca. 852; 1 Kings 22), despite occasional trade agreements (1 Kgs 20:34). Hazael, whose accession is set about 843 by Assyrian texts, continued to harass Israel (2 Kgs 8–12; 13:3, 7). During its period of power, Damascus absorbed the kingdoms of Zobah, Geshur, and Maacah, and overran Israelite territory in the NE (1 Chr 2:23; Mazar 1986: 121–22).

**c. Aramean Sources.** No Aramean chronicles or annals survive. From the 9th century B.C. there are a very few royal inscriptions and no other Aramaic texts. Of primary importance is the statue of a ruler from Tell Fekheriyeh (ancient Sikan, next to Tell Halaf, ancient Gozan), which reveals that the local king and his father doubled as Assyrian prefects for the region about 870–825 (Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil, and

Millard 1982; a later date is canvassed by H. Sader [1987: 26, 27], but on the less than compelling grounds of artistic style). A king of Aram named Bar-Hadad dedicated a stele to Melqart (of Tyre), but the location of his realm is uncertain (see above). From the same date are two ivory plaques inscribed "for our lord Hazael" which had been taken as booty to Assyrian palaces at Arslan-Tash (ancient Hadatu) and Nimrud (ancient Kalhu); neither yield much information.

From these varied sources the following very incomplete outline of the Arameans in the 9th century emerges. Independent tribal states had grown up around various old urban centers where Arameans had overcome the local populace and replaced or dominated them. However, some towns of the earlier dynasties, survivors from the Hittite Empire, continued to maintain themselves.

**2. 8th Century B.C.** Combining sources gives a more coherent picture (for greater detail, see *CAH* 3/1:372–441). About the year 800 B.C. Hazael apparently still ruled a powerful Damascus, giving way ca. 797–796 to his son Ben-Hadad III, who was still able to dominate Israel. In the north of Syria, Arpad, overcome by Shalmaneser III, was now resurgent under Atar-šumki, son of Adramu. He led a group of eight princes who suffered renewed Assyrian attacks in 805 and 804, then submitted to Adad-nirari III without losing independence. All the Aramean regions to the east were now under Assyrian control, their governors in some cases still being local dignitaries (e.g., Bur-Sagale of Gozan, Millard 1972: Oded 1979), although there were rebellions from time to time (Gozan in 759–758). Adad-nirari III and his three sons who succeeded him were either content to, or not able to do more than, hold formal suzerainty over the states of west Syria, not interfering unless they acted against Assyrian interests. The apparent weakness of Assyria between 800 and 745 is partially belied by the campaigns against Aramean states on several separate occasions, and by Assyria's role in determining the boundary between two of them.

The kingdom of Hamath (modern Ḥama) separated Arpad from Damascus. In the 10th century, Hamath and Damascus had been hostile toward each other (2 Sam 8:9), but in the 9th century they joined forces against Shalmaneser III. At that time the rulers of Hamath bore "neo-Hittite" names (cf. "the kings of the Hittites" 2 Kgs 7:6), but early in the 8th century one with a West Semitic name, Zakkur, seized the throne. A usurper, perhaps from Ana on the mid-Euphrates (Millard fc.), he incurred the enmity of his neighbors. Ben-Hadad (Bar-Hadad) of Damascus led a coalition against him including kings of Arpad, Que, the Amq, Gurgum, Sam›al, and Melid (*ANET*, 655). They besieged Zakkur in Hazrak, north of Hamath, capital of the Lu'ash region, but divine intervention saved Zakkur, whose stele commemorates it. This event is plausibly associated with an Assyrian campaign "against Mansuate" in 796. Mansuate was evidently NW of Damascus, and part of its territory, so the same campaign is identified with the one in which Adad-nirari III took heavy tribute from "Mari›" king of Damascus (Mari›, Aramaic for "my lord," being a title of the king). The death of Hazael may have given the Assyrians the opportunity they needed to reassert control over S Syria and to support a pro-Assyrian king in Hamath. The Assyrian king then drew the border between Arpad and Hamath. All Syria's main states were subject to him. No Assyrian armies invaded for twenty years afterward, according to the available records.

Ben-Hadad III began his rule continuing Hazael's domination of Israel, but "the Lord provided a deliverer" (2 Kgs 13:3–5). This unidentified deliverer may be seen as the Assyrian king Adad-nirari III or his commander-in-chief, Šami-ilu, in the expedition of 796 (Millard 1973: 162). Whoever the deliverer was, Damascus became weaker, so that Jehoash of Israel defeated Ben-Hadad three times, recovering territory lost to Hazael (2 Kgs 13:25). The next king of Israel, Jeroboam II (ca. 793–753) created a realm that encompassed Damascus, reaching the border of the Hamathite kingdom, if not claiming authority over it (2 Kgs 14:25, 28). Jeroboam's ascendancy may have followed Assyrian campaigns against Damascus in 773 and Hazrak in 772. With his death that power was lost because an isolated Assyrian document mentions that Khayan ruled Damascus about 773. Whether this was the personal name of Ben-hadad III or a successor is unknown. Sometime after 750, Rezin occupied the throne of Damascus. Tiglath-pileser II names him among his tributaries from 738 B.C. onward. With Tyre and Israel, Rezin tried to force Judah to join a league against Assyria, but Ahaz secured his position by submitting to Tiglath-pileser (2 Kgs 15:5–9). Damascus fell and Rezin was executed in Assyrian campaigns of 733 and 732 and the region became an Assyrian province.

In the north, Mati‹-›el followed his father Atar-šumki on the throne of Arpad. In 754 Aššur-nirari V of Assyria imposed a vassal treaty on him (*ANET,* 532–33). Mati‹-›el also entered another pact with a suzerain called Bar-ga›yah, king of a country whose name is written *ktk,* whose identity is a riddle still awaiting a convincing solution (for an impressive attempt see Lemaire and Durand 1984). The Aramaic stelae presenting the terms of the treaty, although incomplete, are the longest specimens of Old Aramaic. This agreement may have been the cause of Ashur-nirari V's attack or, if Arpad joined with Bar-ga›yah afterward, the cause of further Assyrian campaigns against Arpad in 743–740.

Accidental preservation of a series of stone monuments at Zinjirli (ancient Sam›al) reveals the history of this small state between ca. 800 and 725. King Panammu, son of QRL (reading unknown), perhaps a son of Kilamuwa, boasts of his prosperity on a statue erected to honor the god Hadad. Family quarrels led to the death of Bar-Ṣur, probably a son of Panammu, and seventy royal sons (cf. 2 Kgs 10:1–11). Eventually the Assyrian Tiglath-pileser II set Panammu II, son of Bar-Ṣur, on the throne. His son, Bar-Rakkab, inscribed a statue in memory of his father, who died fighting with the Assyrians at Damascus, ca. 732. Bar-Rakkab's own inscriptions record his loyalty to Tiglathpileser III, who died in 727. Sometime thereafter Sam›al was annexed by the Assyrians and Esarhaddon erected a stele there (see CAH 3/1:372–441; Sader 1987: 153–84; *TSSI* 2: 60–93).

Sargon II of Assyria crushed a revolt in Hamath led by Yau-bi›di (720) and with that blow extinguished any flickering hopes of Aramean nationalism. All the former Aramean territories had already become provinces of the Assyrian empire. Arameans continued to live in them, but their identity was diluted by the Assyrian deportations (Oded 1979). The tribes in Babylonia maintained a quasi-independent status, joining Chaldeans and Elamites in anti-Assyrian uprisings, but their identity, too, became blurred during the Neo-Babylonian empire.

**3. Later Times.** The adjective "Aramean" continued in use as a description of individuals after all the Aramean states had disappeared. Sennacherib's counselor Ahiqar was so titled in the 5th-century B.C. papyrus copy of his story, and Jews living in Egypt were sometimes called Arameans at Elephantine at the same time (*CAP*, 15–16; Kraeling 1969: 47). The term probably came to denote one whose native language was Aramaic, and it was through their language and script that the Arameans left their mark on world history, and in the New Testament.

**B. Prehistory of the Arameans**

The scribes of Tiglath-pileser I qualified the Arameans as *ahlamu* (see as above). None of the various explanations proposed for *ahlamu* have proved satisfactory, and it may be a proper name (see Moscati 1959). After the texts of Tiglath-pileser I and Aššur-bel-kala, the word almost disappears from cuneiform records, except in one aspect of scribal tradition. Babylonian academics included some foreign words in the lexical texts they compiled, and among them are a few plant names which are labeled "Ahlamite," and in certain Persian and Seleucid period texts Ahlamite clearly means Aramaic or Aramean (Brinkman 1968: n. 1799). Thus this name was well rooted in Babylonian. Persons described as Ahlamite appear sporadically in documents of the latter half of the 2d millennium B.C., and as far back as the reign of Ammiṣaduqa of Babylon (ca. 1646–1626 B.C.) a tribe of Ahlamites was living near Sippar (*RGTC* 5:5; *RGTC* 3:5; van Lerberghe 1982). Although the relationship of Ahlamu to Arameans is unclear, the Assyrians saw it as very close, so a scribe of the 9th century might have termed "Aramean" the people whom his predecessor in the 13th century B.C. would have termed "Ahlamite." The situation can be understood if the Ahlamites were the section or group of the Arameans whom the Babylonians first encountered. (A similar situation led Europeans to give the name "Chinese" to all the Han peoples because the rulers of the Ch'in state controlled the regions to the west; see Bishop: 1938.)

Besides the cuneiform references to Ahlamu before 1100 B.C., various occurrences of Aram have been cited as evidence that this name was current in earlier periods to denote the Aramean people (Dupont-Sommer 1953). Further investigation has shown that none of these can be definitely linked with Aram, and all are personal or place names, never gentilics (Kupper 1957: 112–14). Exceptions to this verdict are two examples of Aram in Egyptian texts. A list of place names from the reign of Amenophis III (ca. 1390–1352) mentions "the one of Aram" (Eg *p-jrm*), and a report from an officer on the eastern frontier

of the Delta about 1210 tells of a colleague arriving from a town "in the district of Aram" (Edel 1966: 28; *ANET,* 258–59). When only the second text was available, scholars emended Aram to Amor, but the discovery of the earlier text makes that unlikely). At Ugarit a king gave away land including "fields of Arami" which might, in the light of the Egyptian evidence, be the same name. These are the earliest occurrences of Aram which could be identified with the Arameans and their territory, outside the Old Testament text.

The Patriarchal Narratives of Genesis claim the presence of Arameans in upper Mesopotamia early in the 2d millennium B.C. (for the date, see ABRAHAM). It was to Aram-naharaim that Abraham's servant went to find a wife for Isaac, and her relatives are titled "Arameans" (Gen 24:10; 25:20, cf. 28:5; 31:20, 24). Commentators usually call these references anachronistic, assuming that they are additions to old stories, or that they came naturally to writers of the late Monarchy, the exilic, or postexilic periods, who were rewriting traditional tales, or inventing the stories. If that were the case, their portrayal of a specific region "Aram" in upper Mesopotamia at a time when all independent states had been absorbed into provinces of the Assyrian, Babylonian, or Persian empires reflects knowledge of either an older position, or an ethnic or geographic rather than political terminology, otherwise unknown to us. After the mainly hostile relations between the national states of Israel, Judah, and the Arameans of Damascus during the Monarchy, it would be startling to find Israel asserting her ancestors were Arameans without any qualification, so claiming kinship with a different people, and jeopardizing their national distinctiveness. If, on the other hand, the Genesis and related references to Aram are accepted as coming from the early 2d millennium B.C. with the narratives in which they stand, they tell of Aramean people living in upper Mesopotamia at least 6 centuries before other sources mention such a people there. Before discounting this as incredible, it is necessary to ask if it is possible. Studies of ANE cultures show that it is. Documentation is sporadic even for major centers like Nineveh and Babylon; knowledge of upper Mesopotamia depends largely upon what was recorded in other places (e.g., Mari, Aššur, Nineveh, Hattušas), only a few texts have been found in that area itself. One town, Sikan, is known to have existed in the 9th century because both Assyrian texts and the inscription of a local king attest it (Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil, and Millard 1982), but it is also mentioned in a text written at the end of the 3d millennium B.C. (Salvini 1982: 18; *RGTC* 2: 164). Unless the town was known by the slightly different name *Waššukanni* in the 2d millennium B.C., there is a large gap in its history, and from the 1st millennium sources alone it might have been considered a place first built by the Arameans. (For other examples of words and types of objects "hibernating" in this way, see Millard 1984 and 1986). That the Pentateuch preserves very ancient information about the Arameans in a comparable way should not, therefore, be totally rejected; to do so is to risk deforming the evidence.

Of course, the Patriarchal Narratives reached their present form long after the events they describe; Laban the Aramean probably did not speak what is now recognized as Aramaic, any more than Abraham spoke biblical Hebrew. A picture of the Arameans originating as a tribe in Upper Mesopotamia about 2000, remaining there for several centuries, gradually growing, until increased numbers, drought, famine, and other agents forced them to spread E and W seems plausible. The eruption of the Aramean tribes into upper Mesopotamia and their expansion into Babylonia is comparable with the spread of the Amorites along the same routes a millennium earlier. Kinship of Arameans and Amorites is possible, but the attempt by M. Noth (1961) to prove the Arameans originated from the Amorites was disproved by D. O. Edzard (1964). Certainly there are a few similarities, such as names beginning with *ya* or ending with *-an*, and although when the only distinctive Aramean feature, the language, can be analyzed—and none survives from before ca. 850 B.C.—it has some markedly different characteristics (see the ARAMAIC articles), no more can be said at present than that both stem from a common NW Semitic ancestor. The declaration of Deut 26:5, "My father was a wandering Aramean," which asserts a shift to a higher status, reflects the same traditions, and can be understood well in the light of 2d millennium B.C. society (Millard 1980).

The prehistory of the Arameans remains to be elucidated through future discoveries of texts from the region which seems to have been their home, the "land between the two rivers," sometimes specified as

"Aram between the rivers" (Aram-naharaim). It is noteworthy that the earliest occurrences of the name "Naharaim," outside the Bible, are in Egyptian texts which present it in the form *nhrn* with a shift of final *m* to *n*, a feature later found in Aramaic (*NBD*, 67). The construction Aram plus qualifier recurs in the expressions Aram-Beth-Rehob, Aram-Damascus, Aram-Maacah, and Aram-Zobah in the OT, and is reminiscent of the reverse forms such as Sippar-Amnanum and Sippar-Yahrurum of the OB period (Kupper 1957: 51–52; 75–76). The former define the segment of the tribe by its settlement, the latter define the segment of the settlement by the resident tribe. For a people to be called after the region they inhabited early in their history is a normal occurrence. Aram, therefore, may have been a region in upper Mesopotamia from which the Arameans took their name.

Relationships between the people and the men named Aram in Genesis are not clear. Aram, son of Shem, Asshur, and Elam (Gen 10:22, 23) appear to be intended as national ancestors of their respective nations. The Aram son of Kemuel, son of Nahor, and Chesed son of Nahor (Gen 22:21) may be coincidental rather than ancestors of the Arameans and Chaldeans.

**C. Aramean Society**

The Mesopotamian cuneiform texts provide valuable information about the Arameans. There were numerous tribes or clans; the names of over forty are listed for Babylonia. The meager evidence about them shows they retained some measure of identity until the rise of the Neo-Babylonian state late in the 7th century B.C. and that they were scattered in many small villages rather than occupying large towns (Brinkman 1984: 12–15). When the Arameans set up recognizable states in N Mesopotamia and Syria, these were mostly distinguished by tribal names. Some were descriptive, like Teman, "southerner," others perhaps derived from eponymous ancestors, such as Bit-Aguš, for which an ancestor named Guš or Aguš seems to be attested. The tribes clustered around tribal centers which sometimes gave their names to the kingdoms that developed, such as Damascus. Each tribe was ruled by its own chieftains or sheikhs, whom Assyrian texts perhaps entitled *našiku* (Heb *nāsîk* Josh 13:21). Adad-nirari II of Assyria faced three different rulers of the Teman tribe (*GARI* 2: 424–30), and there were a number governing the Laqê tribes on the mid-Euphrates at the same time. According to 1 Kgs 20:1–34, when Ben-Hadad II of Damascus failed to capture Samaria with thirty-two kings in his alliance, he replaced them with governors.

During the 9th century B.C. most of the Aramean states developed into monarchies, their kings vying with one another for power and greater realms. There was probably never an Aramean empire (contra Mazar 1986), rather an ever-changing pattern of alliances dominated by the strongest king of the moment, which was often the king of Damascus (as Bar-Hadad II at the Battle of Qarqar, Bar-Hadad III against Zakkur of Hamath).

The Arameans were seminomadic pastoralists, based in villages set in the countryside near good sources of water. Some of the populace remained in the villages throughout the year, while others took the flocks to find pasture. In this they followed the style attested for the Amorites a millennium before, for Laban and his family (Genesis 29–30), and for others since. The term *kaprum,* "village," known in the Mari tablets, continued as a designation for Aramean settlements (Aram *kĕpar*). The Aramean lifestyle affected the Assyrian language, which took over their terms for steppe and hill country (*mudabiru,* cf. Heb *midbar,* and *gabʿani,* cf. Heb *gibʿâ*).

Assyrian lists of booty taken from Aramean towns include grain, cattle, and sheep, and about 700 B.C. the area around Harran was occupied by small farmers raising livestock, grain, and vines, according to the "Harran Census" (Fales 1973). Unfortunately, lacking Aramaic documents, legal deeds, and any literature, it is impossible to describe their social customs in any detail.

**D. Aramean Culture and Religion**

The Aramean states were centered around existing cities and absorbed the remnants of LB populations. Although many cities in the W suffered in the upheavals of the 12th century, knowledge and skills survived. Aramean tribes-men assimilated much of the material culture of their predecessors and the continuing traditions of the Hittites. Of prime importance was the adoption of the Phoenician alphabet for writing the Aramaic dialects even though the phonemes did not correspond exactly. This script spread with the Arameans all over the Near East and, with the Persians, into India. The simplicity of the alphabet

enabled it to supplant cuneiform, a process already beginning in Mesopotamia under the Assyrians (Millard 1983).

**1. Art of the Arameans.** Palaces of Aramean kings unearthed at Tell Halaf and Zinjirli display the plan identified by scholars as the *bīt hīlani* which Assyrian kings admired and copied as a "Hittite" (i.e. western) style. A wide portico led to a long reception or throne room with a latrine and stairwell at one end and sometimes smaller rooms behind. The stairs probably rose to an upper story containing a major room above the portico lit by a series of recessed windows.

These and other important buildings were adorned with sculptures. Usually they were carved in low relief on slabs up to three feet high. Doorways were guarded by lions, bulls, or mythical beasts, and at Tell Halaf the pillars of the portico were divine or human figures carved in basalt. (Other palaces may have had carved wooden pillars which do not survive.) These carvings follow Hittite styles and were presumably made by artists trained in a few central schools. It is almost impossible to distinguish sculptures made for neo-Hittite rulers at Malatya (ancient Melid), Carchemish, or Hamath from those made for Aramean kings at Zinjirli or Tell Halaf (*CAH* 3: Plates, 65–91). Assyrian influences do appear in some cases, however, as in the Tell Fekheriye statue of Hadda-yish‹i, king of Gozan (Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil, and Millard 1982). The Melqart Stele of an unidentified Bar-Hadad and a slab carved with a sphinx found in Damascus have Phoenician models (see *ANEP*, 494). Thus no truly Aramean sculptural style can be identified.

Aramean seals are equally without distinguishing features. Both stamp and cylinder seals carry common Phoenician, Assyrian, Babylonian, or Persian motifs; only the correlation of script and name forms allow them to be identified as Aramean (Bordreuil 1986: 75–107 shows good examples).

Carved ivory panels decorating wooden furniture found at Assyrian and Syrian sites (Nimrud, Tell Halaf, Tell Ta‹yinat, Hamath) share a somewhat heavy style which is comparable with the neo-Hittite stone carving and may indicate a school of craftsmen at home in N Syria, perhaps at Hamath. In contrast, plaques of finer, more elegant appearance, with evident Egyptian models, may stem from a workshop in Damascus (Winter 1976; 1981). Both styles are local adaptations of motifs current elsewhere.

No specifically Aramean metalwork or jewelry can be isolated, although some bronze bowls found at Nimrud show similar artistic forms to the S Syrian ivories and have been claimed as "Aramean Art" (Barnett 1967). In pottery the red burnish known in early Iron Age Palestine is widespread among Aramean settlements, but its origin is not yet known.

**2. Aramean Religion.** Scattered Aramean inscriptions, rare references in the OT and cuneiform texts, later recollections, and the evidence of personal names are the only sources for knowledge of Aramean religion during the time of the native kingdoms. More extensive information from the Persian and Hellenistic eras (notably from the Elephantine papyri and the Palmyrene inscriptions) may echo earlier phases, but only very careful investigation can separate the concepts of different periods.

Each city had its own pantheon and patron deity, sometimes tied to the ruling family (as Rakkab-el at Zinjirli). However, Hadad or Hadda was the most prominent deity and patron of the kings of Damascus who called themselves Bar-Hadad, "Son of Hadad." He had a temple in Damascus—probably where the Umayyad Mosque stands—where he was also known as Ramman, "the Thunderer" (Greenfield 1987). Whether he or El, the supreme god, was known as Be‹el-šamem ("lord of heaven") is unclear. Be‹el-šamem was the one who gave victory to Zakkur of Hamath, advising him through prophets and oracles, yet Zakkur erected his stele of thanksgiving to El-wer, his patron, a form of the god Hadad. In the N the moon god was prominent, Harran being his ancient seat. He was known either by his West Semitic name Šahr, or by the Aramaic form of the Babylonian moon god Sin, Si›. Other gods named include Šemeš, the sun; Rešep, god of plague; Ba‹alat; ‹Atar (earlier Athtar); and ‹Atta (earlier ‹Anat). All of these divinities were indigenous; the Arameans only adopted them and made certain culture-specific changes. Others were adopted from Assyrian and Babylonian: Nabu, Našuh (Nusku), (N)Inurta, and Nergal. In the Sefire treaty the divinities invoked include several pairs, El and ‹Elyon, Heaven and Earth, Day and Night. These pairs which are apparently sometimes hypostatizations, but not necessarily in male and female

oppositions (*ANET,* 659). Personal names often reveal the traditional or popular attitudes to the gods (see Fowler 1988).

Temples and shrines certainly existed, but so far, excavations reveal little concerning them. The small temple beside the palace at Tell Taʿyinat, although built in a neo-Hittite town, may indicate that the simple plan of entry, main hall, and shrine, inherited from the 2d millennium, was normal. There is no doubt that hilltops and springs must have been sites for pilgrimage and worship. Prayers and vows, festivals with communal meals, and celebrations of the dead are known from various Aramaic texts.

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A. R. MILLARD

**ARAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾarān* (אֲרָן)]. A clan name associated with tribal groups living in the region of Edom and mentioned in the genealogy of Seir the Horite. These peoples, not to be confused with Hurrians, inhabited that area prior to the coming of the Esau clans, a more aggressive people who subsequently dispossessed them (Deut 2:12–22). Their designation as "cave dwellers" may be a reflection of their true condition, or it may be a disparaging remark by their conquerors. Aran is listed as the second

of the two sons of Dishan, and he is thus the grandson of Seir. The name appears in this form in both Gen 36:28 and in the matching genealogical clan list in 1 Chr 1:42. Aran may be a variant of the name OREN, a man (clan name) mentioned in the genealogy of the tribe of Judah in 1 Chr 2:25 as the son of Jerameel.
VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

**ARARAT** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾărārāṭ* (אֲרָרָט)]. A country located in eastern Asia Minor which flourished from the 9th to the 6th centuries B.C.E. Its center was near Lake Van and its boundaries (uncertain at times and places) extended into modern Iran, Iraq, Russia, and Turkey. A conservative estimate of its area is roughly that of the state of Kansas (ca. 82,000 sq. mi.) and the maximum estimate is about 200,000 sq. mi. It was within the "mountains of Ararat" that, according to the biblical account (Gen 8:4), Noah's ark came to rest. A specific peak is not mentioned, and the modern designation "Mt. Ararat" does not occur in Scripture. (See ARK, NOAH'S.)

Jeremiah uses the term to designate a large geographical area when he speaks of "kingdoms" being summoned by the deity: Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz (51:27). Similarly, the author of 2 Kgs refers to assassins fleeing to "the land of Ararat" (19:37; cf. Isa 37:38). Assyrian records often refer to the same area as a country called Urartu.

**A. The History of Ararat/Urartu**

The term, of Assyrian origin, seems to be geographically descriptive ("mountainous country"?) rather than ethnic, and first occurs in the records of King Shalmaneser I (early 13th century, B.C.E.). He used it to refer to a collection of eight political entities situated southeast of Lake Van, against whom he mounted a successful military campaign. His son (Tukulti-Ninurta) refers to the same area as "the lands of Nairi" and mentions forty-three local rulers whom he defeated there. For a while, the terms "Urartu" and "Nairi" are used concurrently, but finally the more comprehensive geographical term (Urartu) predominates. Natives of the area, however, prefer the designation "the land of Biainili," and only one known inscription refers to it as "Urartu."

By the late 9th century, a unified Urartian state emerged under the rule of King Sarduri I, whose dynasty was to continue for the next two centuries. Mutual defense against Assyrian incursion may have contributed to the process of unification (Zimansky 1985: chap. 4). Since the country was situated at the junction of major mountain ranges (Pontic, Zagros, and Caucasus), multiple access was available to the potential invader through valleys. At the same time, the partitions of the area, created by high ridges, insulated it from sustained foreign control.

Expansion, especially to the SW in order to control trade routes and to gain access to the Mediterranean, brought resistance from Assyria, beginning with Sarduri's predecessor, Aramu. Shalmaneser III was forced to campaign against him, and then depicted his activities on the huge bronze gates of the city Imgur-Enlil (modern Balawat), SE of Nineveh. This outstanding example of Assyrian art shows, in successive registers, not only the victorious activities of Shalmaneser's army, but also the nature of Urartian dress, weapons, and valuables which were seized.

At the zenith of their country's power, Urartian monarchs pursued a vigorous program of building which included towns, temples, massive citadels, and irrigation projects (including an aqueduct fifty mi. in length). Financial support came from the natural resources of the area (metals, salt, agricultural products, and horses). Objects of Urartian origin have been found as far afield as Greece and Italy. Manpower for the construction projects was provided by thousands of prisoners who had been captured through the conquest of surrounding territory.

The native hieroglyphic script was inadequate for the needs of a rising bureaucracy and of international diplomacy, and Assyrian cuneiform script was adopted for such purposes. Similar borrowing is evident in Urartian literary style, in the design of military equipment, and in the arts.

An Assyrian revival, under the energetic Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 B.C.E.), included the recovery of territory that had been lost to the Urartians in Syria. Sarduri II lost a major battle (743) but was not pursued into the homeland. In 735, however, the Assyrian king laid seige to the Urartian capitol, Tushpa, on Lake Van. The fortress proved impregnable, but the devastation of the surrounding territory weakened

Urartian power and led to the loss of surrounding vassal states. Only with difficulty did the next ruler, Rusa I, succeed in restoring the state, even as the Assyrians were preoccupied with internal problems.

Another Assyrian resurgence began with Sargon II (721–705 B.C.E.), who, in 714, regained territory all along the S and W border of Urartu and even invaded the SE part of the homeland. He reports that he laid waste pastures, agricultural land, and irrigation projects, as well as capturing the sacred city of Musasir and carrying off the statue of the national deity, Haldi. He lists plunder in the amount of a ton of gold, 10 tons of silver, 109 tons of bronze, and more than 300,000 other items (Piotrovsky 1969: 112). Sargon also depicted aspects of his campaign, in massive relief, on the walls of his palace at Dur-Šarrukin (Khorsabad). King Rusa of Urartu, overcome with remorse, committed suicide. Nonetheless, the Urartian state remained intact, even if severely chastened. Restoration began immediately under King Argišti II and his son Rusa II. This included (usually) friendly relations with a massive influx of nomadic tribes from across the Caucasus Range, initially the Cimmerians [Heb *gōmer*] and then the Scythians, much to the consternation of the Assyrians. (Eventually, the Cimmerians skirted Urartu to the NW and settled in central Asia Minor.)

The building of new towns and massive fortifications characterized Urartian royal activity during much of the 7th century, and in this they were so successful that the Assyrians (with troubles of their own) did not desire to renew hostilities.

The end of the Urartian state came swiftly, and from an unexpected source. The Medes, residents of what is now NW Iran, had joined with the Babylonians in bringing the Assyrian Empire to an end. They destroyed the old capital at Ashur in 614 B.C.E. and the new capital at Nineveh in 612. (It is slightly later, in 594, when Jeremiah attests to the existence of the Urartian state, as cited above.) The Medes, assisted by Scythians, then mounted a massive campaign about 585 B.C.E., sweeping over the Urartians and Cimmerians, on their way to battle the king of Lydia, in W Asia Minor. Shortly thereafter, the area was incorporated into the empire of the Persians (see Fig. ARA.03).

A population element from the SW (mentioned as early as the 7th century by King Sarduri II as "Arme") moved into the former boundaries of Urartu, mingling with the local population. Thus Darius the Persian, reporting his conquest of the area (ca. 520 B.C.E.), refers to it as "Armenia," a designation that endures to the present day. However, the older designation (Urartu/"Ararat") was retained for one of the NE subdivisions. Thus, St. Jerome (4th century, C.E.) can remark that "Ararat is a region in Armenia on the Araxis [River]." This shift in terminology has produced a modern confusion about the location of the biblical "mountains of Ararat" (Gen 8:4) and the landing place of Noah's ark.

**B. "Mount Ararat" and Noah's Ark**

Within the Araratic subdivision of Armenia (39°42´N; 44°18´E) is a spectacular and isolated mountain, nearly 17,000 feet in elevation, which the Armenian population called Masis. It is now known by the Turks as Büyük ("mount") Ağri Dağ. Around the 11th–12th centuries (C.E.), the tradition developed that it was the landing place of Noah's vessel, and thus modern "ark searchers" have come to call it "Mount Ararat." Claims have been made, without foundation, that remnants of the biblical craft are still to be found there. (See NOAH AND THE ARK.)

Since the ancient kingdom of "Ararat" was much more extensive than the Armenian subdivision, early Jews, Christians, and Muslims sought the ark's landing place on the southern border where the mountains first arise from the Mesopotamian plain. The area of choice was called Qardu (n), and hence the Aramaic and Syriac versions of the Bible render Gen 8:4 as "the mountains of Qardu." Greek and Latin writers refer to the area as that of the Karduchi-people or as Gordyaea (the consonants *g, k,* and *q* easily interchange in these languages). In Turkish, the specific peak is known as Cudi Dağ, and atop its peak Nestorian Christians had erected several monasteries, including one at the summit known as the Cloister of the Ark. Later, the Muslim conquerors erected a mosque at the site and claimed to have removed enough wood of the ark to construct another mosque at the base of the mountain. To them, the mountain was known as Jabal ("mount") Judi, a designation in the Quran for the landing place (11:44). Even in recent times, persons of various faiths gathered annually atop this peak to commemorate Noah's first sacrifice after leaving the Ark (Bell 1911: 38).

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LLOYD R. BAILEY

**ARATUS** (PERSON). A Stoic poet of Soli in Cilicia (315–240 B.C.E.). A portion of the opening invocation to Zeus from his astronomical poem *Phaenomena* is quoted in the speech of Paul at the Areopagus (Acts 17:28): "For we are indeed his [God's] offspring." *Phaenomena,* Aratus' only completely extant poem, was widely known and liked in the Roman world; it was translated into Latin by Cicero, Caesar Germanicus, and Avienus. The latter two of these translations survive, along with fragments of Cicero's.

HERBERT G. GRETHER

**ARAUNAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾărawnâ* (אֲרַוְנָה)] Var. ORNAN. A Jebusite (non-Israelite native of Jerusalem) who sold David a threshing floor on which the king erected an altar (2 Sam 24:16–25 = 1 Chr 21:15–27). This story established the sanctity of what would become the site of Solomon's temple (1 Chr 22:1, 2 Chr 3:1) by asserting that it was the place where the angel of pestilence had stopped to spare Jerusalem and that David's sacrifice there had averted the epidemic (2 Sam 24:16, 25). The narrative also served to legitimate the temple's location on Jebusite soil by emphasizing that David had purchased the threshing floor in proper legal form and that he had done so at the command of God's prophet, Gad. If historical information can be derived from this sanctuary legend, a possibility denied by Fuss (1962: 164), it may reflect David's tolerant assimilation of the Jebusite elements within his new capital and respect for their property rights outside the walls of the city. It might also indicate that David made some sort of provision for the temple his son would build.

Both Araunah and his threshing floor have been the focus of intense scholarly interest. His puzzling name occurs in several different variants: as Awarnah and Aranyah as well as Araunah in the MT tradition of 2 Samuel 24, as Ornan in Chronicles, and as Orna in the LXX and 4QSam[a]. The name has been explained as the Hittite word for "aristocrat" and more believably as the Hurrian term for "lord." Such suggestions indicate that Araunah was a title rather than a personal name. This observation, coupled with the apparent designation of Araunah as "king" in the MT of 2 Sam 24:23, have led to the opinion, at least as old as Luther, that Araunah was the last Jebusite king of Jerusalem. One scholar has even identified him with Uriah the Hittite (Wyatt 1985: 41–49). It has also been suggested that his "threshing floor" was already a Jebusite holy place and that David took it over for the worship of Yahweh. According to this hypothesis, elements of a pre-Israelite sanctuary legend featuring Araunah as the cult founder can be traced within the present narrative (Rupprecht 1976: 5–17). The disturbed state of the text of 2 Samuel 24 makes it difficult to assess these theories.

The version of this story in 1 Chronicles describes Araunah (Ornan) as a further witness to the angel's appearance along with four of his sons.

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RICHARD D. NELSON

**ARBA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿarbaʿ* (אַרְבַּע)]. Presented alternately as the greatest of the Anakim (Josh 14:15) and as the father of Anak (Josh 15:13; 21:11). It is unlikely, however, that Arba, which means four, is a personal name. The LXX treats Arba as the name of the principal city of the Anakim and not as the name of its most renowned citizen. Various suggestions for the meaning of Kiriath-arba, the ancient name of the city of Hebron, have been proposed: "city of four clans," "city of four districts," "city of four famous persons." (See Soggin *Joshua* OTL; Miller and Tucker *Joshua* CBC; Noth *Joshua* HAT.)

PAULINE A. VIVIANO

**ARBATHITE** [Heb *ʿarbātî* (עַרְבָתִי)]. A gentilic noun, possibly derived from the place name "Arabah" (Heb *ʿărābāh*) (2 Sam 23:31 and 1 Chr 11:32). This place name may be associated with the Arabah (Heb *ʿărābāh*), that is, the Rift (or Jordan) Valley. Applied to one Abi-albon/Abiel in the list of DAVID'S CHAMPIONS, the term "Arbathite" would designate this warrior as an inhabitant of the Arabah. Another, perhaps better, possibility is that Arbathite refers to an inhabitant of Beth-Arabah (M.R. 197139) (Heb *bêt-ʿărābāh*), a village on the border of Judah with Benjamin (cf. Josh 15:6, 61; 18:22; also, LXX Josh 18:18: *Baitharaba*).

D. G. SCHLEY

**ARBATTA** (PLACE) [Gk *Arbatta* (Ἀρβαττα)]. Arbatta's only historical mention is in connection with the successful attacks by Simon Maccabaeus against the heathens (1 Macc 5:23). This passage reveals only three certain identifications: Arbatta was N of Jerusalem, S of Ptolemais, and contained a Jewish constituency—perhaps a strong minority. Simon Maccabaeus, the Hasmonaean leader, assisted the "Jews of Galilee and Arbetta" in their S journey to Judea. Suggestions for Arbatta's location include: El-Bateiha, the plain N of the Sea of Galilee, the Arabah, and the toparchy of Akrabattis. The latter is an erroneous association (1 Macc 5:3) and the first two are within the boundaries of Hasmonaean Galilee—an inconsistency with the text. "From Arbatta" may likely be a scribal mistranslation of "from Narbatta." Narbatta, a Jewish enclave in Hasmonaean Caesarea, fits the context of the apocryphal account. The district was inland and on the logical route of Simon, i.e. from Ptolemais, around Mt. Carmel, through the W edge of Galilee, proceeding along the coastal route and then ascending to Jerusalem (Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 300, 533).

JERRY A. PATTENGALE

**ARBELA** (PLACE) [Gk *Arbela* (Ἀρβελα)]. A city in Galilee captured from Judah in 160 B.C. Demetrius I Soter (Seleucid ruler 162–150 B.C.) sent Bacchides and Alcimus to Judah to battle Judas, eventuating in his death (1 Macc 9:22). The Syrian army departed from Antioch (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.11.1 §421) and came to Arbela in Galilee. 1 Macc 9:2, however, says they traveled "by the road which leads to Gilgal." Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 372) follows Josephus and reads "*galgala*" as "Galilee," instead of "Gilgal." This reading is appropriate since Greek scribes wrote "*galgala*" for "Galilee" at Josh 22:10 and "Gilgal" for "Galilee" at Josh 12:23 (Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 372).

Arbela (M.R. 195246), probably the same place as Beth-Arbel in Hos 10:14, has long been identified with the unexcavated ruins at the modern village of Irbid, which sits on the SE side of the Wadi Hamam, with a row of caves on the opposite face of the ravine (Grove *SDB,* 148). Josephus says that Bacchides besieged and captured Jews who had fled (presumably from Arbela) into nearby caves (*Ant.* 12.11.1 §421). The full designation of the place of battle in 1 Macc 9:2 is "Messaloth in Arbella." The Heb word *mĕsillôṯ* refers to a raised way, often a highway (but never a city street) or stairs. It is assumed that the "*Messaloth*" of 9:2 was the name for the caves in the vicinity of Arbela. Josephus mentions the caves again as the hideout of robbers (*Ant.* 14.15.4 §415; 14.15.5 §422–28), who were extracted from the caves with hooks when Herod had his men lowered over the face of the cliffs. Josephus also reports that he fortified Arbela (*Life* 37 §188) and held a conference of Jews at the village (*Life* 60 §34).

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PAUL L. REDDITT

**ARBITE** [Heb *ʾarbî* (אַרְבִּי)]. A gentilic noun designating Paarai, one of David's champions (2 Sam 23:35). Arbite is probably derived from the place *ʾărāb,* in the hill country of Judah (Josh 15:52).

D. G. SCHLEY

**ARCHAEOLOGY, SYRO-PALESTINIAN AND BIBLICAL.** Syro-Palestinian, as well as "biblical" archaeology, have been periodically surveyed by several specialists, including W. F. Albright

(1938, 1951, 1969), G. E. Wright (1947, 1958, 1969a, 1969b), P. W. Lapp (1969), A. E. Glock (1985, 1986), W. G. Dever (1974, 1976, 1981, 1985, 1988, fc.b.), Toombs (1987), and P. R. S. Moorey (1981). The present essay will attempt to update the discussion by describing the current "state of the art" with special reference to: (1) the development of this branch of archaeology as a discipline; (2) the elaboration of its theoretical position since ca. 1970; and (3) the distinctive approach of the American "school." Since the purpose of this article is general orientation, the reader will more easily find the *results* of recent archaeology under other entries on specific sites, periods, and topics. Nor will we treat in much detail recent advances in archaeological field *method* (which in most discussions has meant simply excavation technique), since that has been adequately done elsewhere, and indeed a consensus has now been reached on what constitutes good field archaeology (see Dever and Lance 1978; Dever 1980b, 1985; Lance 1981; but cf. Harris 1979, Chapman fc. for still newer techniques).

A few words of explanation may be in order regarding what could seem a narrow and overly speculative approach.

1. The overriding emphasis here on theoretical trends is deliberate and programmatic. Even though it has infrequently been attempted, it is only by placing Syro-Palestinian and biblical archaeology in their changing conceptual framework that we can really appreciate what is happening today. Archaeology is not merely an antiquarian pursuit, the discovery of fascinating relics; it is an intellectual inquiry, one that seeks to penetrate and illumine human experience in the past. Thus *theory*—by which we mean not "speculation," but the basic way in which the discipline of archaeology sees itself—is clearly fundamental.

2. No apology is made, either, for emphasizing the American intellectual horizon. This is not to assert that American contributions have been pivotal (although they have), but simply to acknowledge that this article is primarily directed to an audience that is largely American. Furthermore, there really is no such thing as Syro-Palestinian or "biblical" archaeology per se. Each of the various "schools" that obviously exist, whether American, European, or Middle Eastern, is the product of a distinctive cultural and social environment, in some ways unique, each constantly changing. We shall therefore seek to explain *why* archaeology has taken the particular form that it has in recent developments in America, as well as predict where the discipline may be headed. (Hereafter we shall use the term "Syro-Palestinian archaeology" for the overall discipline, relating it, of course, to biblical studies where pertinent.)

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## A. The Maturation of the "New Archaeology"

The first trend we wish to highlight has, according to some scholars, virtually revolutionized our field. In the past decade or so, several treatments have analyzed the somewhat belated impact of the "New Archaeology" of the 1960s in Americanist circles on our branch of archaeology (see most explicitly Dever 1976, 1981, 1985, 1988; Glock 1985; Toombs 1987). Since trends in that direction are by now well established (indeed they are dominant), it will be sufficient to summarize them here. Beginning on

American digs of the late 1960s, various of the following theoretical and methodological tenets, mostly pioneered by New World archaeologists in America, had come to influence research design, fieldwork, and (to a lesser degree) analysis and publication of material. Let us look at them in turn, assessing in each case how far we have come.

**1. A Multidisciplinary Approach.** This grew out of the attempt to retrieve more than simply architectural and ceramic phases, which had been the conventional foci. We began to pay attention to floral and faunal remains, traces of past subsistence systems, evidence for environmental change, and indeed *all* data on material culture that by chance had been preserved in the archaeological record. That meant that alongside traditional stratigraphers and ceramic experts (and of course, biblical historians), expedition dig staffs included colleagues from many branches of both the social and the natural sciences. Typically one might find geographers, geomorphologists, climatologists, paleobotanists and paleozoologists, physical and cultural anthropologists, historians of technology, computer programmers, and still other specialists in fields formerly thought quite remote from archaeology.

The first multidisciplinary approaches at Gezer and elsewhere were, of course, purely pragmatic, rather than representing any far-reaching theoretical reformulation. The new look remained tentative and frankly experimental for many years, and demonstrably superior results are still not available in fully digested and integrated final reports. Nevertheless, the impact of the multidisciplinary approach is probably stronger than that of any other aspect of the "new archaeology," and the commitment to it greater. This is seen particularly in vastly more sophisticated research design. The proposals from Syro-Palestinian (and NE) archaeologists that come up for review in committees of the American Schools of Oriental Research, the National Endowment for the Humanities, or the National Geographic Society are now routinely multidisciplinary (and, of course, would not be funded otherwise). The best of these proposals measure up to the theoretical standards of modern archaeology anywhere. This is all the more impressive, since only 15 years ago our branch of archaeology was often dismissed by other archaeologists as hopelessly parochial, naïve, and amateurish. (One recalls Sir Mortimer Wheeler's famous comment: "Palestine, that perennial example of bad field archaeology.") It is a sign of our coming of age that we are finally able to compete successfully for both approval and financial support, even from secular circles. It is probably the adoption of a multidisciplinary approach, more than any other single change, that has helped to bring Syro-Palestinian archaeology into the mainstream.

The new field methods that the multidisciplinary approach brought into vogue were often essentially simple, but their results were revolutionary. They included principally fine-sieving, froth flotation, and palynology (the analysis of pollen grains) for the identification of plant and animal remains, and thus of ancient climate, subsistence, diet, and the like (for other tools, see A.3). Among American multidisciplinary projects of high caliber in the 1970s–1980s, we might single out, in Israel, the Central Negev Highlands Project of W. G. Dever and R. Cohen; the Shema-Meiron-Nabratein project of E. M. Meyers, C. Meyers, and J. F. Strange; the Lahav excavations of J. D. Seger; the Shiqmim excavations of T. E. Levy; and the joint project of S. Gitin (with T. Dothan) at Tel Miqne. In Jordan, we would note the Bâb edh-Dhrâ‹ excavation of R. T. Schaub and W. E. Rast; the Madeba Plains project of L. T. Geraty and others; the ‹Ain Ghazzal excavations of G. Rollefson; the Khirbet Iskander excavations of S. Richard and R. Boraas; and the Tell el-Hayyāt excavations of S. Falconer and B. Magness-Gardiner.

**2. An Ecological Orientation.** The employment of multidisciplinary staffs inevitably broadened the scope of Syro-Palestinian archaeology. At first, this was largely to accommodate the diverse theoretical interests of staff specialists, but gradually larger questions were asked of the archaeological enterprise itself. Many of these, and especially those that appeared most amenable to archaeological investigation, centered around the fundamental question of the site's (and therefore, the culture's) relation to the environment. Previously, individual archaeological sites had been excavated as phenomena in themselves, with little regard for their relationship either to each other or to their settings. (Some Palestinian sites might as well have been in Nebraska, the way they were dug and published.) Most excavators seemed to assume that intersite and environmental relationships were self-evident, others that they were unworthy of consideration. But the failure was probably due more to Syro-Palestinian archaeology's traditional

*historical* (i.e., biblical) orientation, so that explanations of cultural change had been sought in ideological, rather than in material factors. Soon, however, borrowing the "new archaeology's" dominantly anthropological and *ecological* orientation brought about the recognition that any culture's distinctive form may be largely (although, of course, not exclusively) due to economic factors, and these in turn are heavily conditioned by the natural environment. In the newer view, culture is an adaptation to such factors as geographical situation, climate, proximity to natural resources and trade routes, and the availability of raw materials. Thus, while rightly eschewing either historical or economic determinism, Syro-Palestinian archaeologists in the 1970s began to study sites in their larger setting, both cultural/historical and natural.

The major research strategies that evolved entailed more surveys and excavations carried out on a regional scale; the comparative study of changing settlement types and patterns of distribution, often using tools developed by economic geographers (such as rank-size hierarchies, Central Place Theory, or other forms of locational analysis); attempts to reconstruct ancient climate and subsistence systems, including technological adaptation; and the first serious demographic projections yet done in our field. All of these questions were not pursued with equal urgency on all projects or for all periods. But the general orientation has proven so pervasive and so salutary that one can scarcely imagine the field before its introduction. The environmental data now being accumulated, when fully processed and published, will open up vistas undreamed of a generation ago and will allow the first comprehensive grasp of many periods and problems. All of the excavation projects mentioned above in Israel and Jordan, as well as surface surveys too numerous to mention, would be examples of the newer ecological orientation in fieldwork. In interpretation, a series of articles by both Israeli and American archaeologists has dealt with demographic issues in periods from the Early Bronze Age through the Roman period.

**3. Systems Theory.** Closely related to both the multidisciplinary and ecological approaches is the employment of some of the basic principles and categories of several disciplines commonly grouped under the rubric of General Systems Theory. The fundamental postulate is that the "organized state" consists of a number of adaptive subsystems, the whole being greater than the sum of its parts. These subsystems are all organically interrelated in a delicate but dynamic and constantly changing equilibrium, so that a change in any part of the system will have an effect on the rest of the system. Depending upon the balance of inputs and outputs of information and energy, as well as the action of "feedback loops" and "deviation amplifying" or "reducing" mechanisms, systems may succeed in maintaining "homeostasis," evolve to higher levels of integration, or collapse altogether (cf. orientation in Dever 1989).

While originally applied to the investigation of biological phenomena, systems theory has increasingly been adapted to many aspects of humanistic studies, including economics, data management, social planning, and the like. A recent citations analysis (Schiffer 1978) has shown systems theory now to be the dominant theoretical approach in Americanist archaeology. As applied to archaeology, the systemic paradigm might operate on the following assumptions: (1) culture is a uniquely human adaptive response to the natural environment; (2) culture is specific to particular conditions in time and space, collective, patterned, cumulative, transmittable; (3) culture is thus "systemic," i.e., it is the total adaptive system, comprising the interaction of a number of subsystems, such as settlement location in relation to natural habitat, technology, economic strategies, kinship and social structure, political organization—as well as ideology (including art, philosophy, and religion). Obviously, the operations of all these subsystems do not leave equal traces in the archaeological record (thus the difficulty of reconstructing philosophy and religion in the absence of texts). Yet insofar as material remains are not mere chance, but reflect patterned human thought and action, the archaeological record contains the "material correlates of behavior." Therefore archaeologists should seek to discern the nature, effect, and interaction of *all* the various subsystems that may leave identifiable physical remains. Fortunately, the multidisciplinary and ecological approaches noted above provide us with the necessary tools to exploit the archaeological record better. In summary, if the evolution of culture (not to mention the elucidation of the cultural process) is a major goal of archaeology, and not merely the writing of a narrow sort of "political history," then archaeologists *must* be systemic in their approach.

Thus far the theory and rationale may appear to be impeccable. The implementation, however, is another matter, and one that may confront seemingly insurmountable barriers. Among the difficulties are the incomplete nature of the archaeological record as preserved in a typical Middle Eastern mound; the daunting prospect of inferring cultural patterns from "mute" artifacts; and the sheer intractability of human social systems, past or present. Nevertheless, the systemic approach has sufficient practical and heuristic advantages that it is likely here to stay. If nothing else, paying attention to the subsystems noted above is a more efficient approach, in that it allows us to organize our research better, according to more convenient categories; to collect more varied data; and to undertake analysis more systematically, so as to answer specific questions regarding society and economy. At the present stage of research, we have been most successful in recovering settlement patterns and subsistence systems for ancient Palestine, with growing potential for demographic studies. The reconstruction of social organization is still in the beginning stages, although some useful evidence is now at hand. Ideology and religion have been neglected and are admittedly the most formidable subsystems to fathom, especially for the preliterate periods. But even here progress is being made, especially in illuminating the popular cult. (On the latter, see C.3 below.) One barrier is that the *enormous* quantity of data now being generated by the multidisciplinary and systemic approaches simply cannot be managed, much less published, with existing systems. Computerization of archaeology will obviously be necessary, both in basic recording of information and in multivariate statistical analysis, yet predictions made some years ago as to a "computer revolution" in our branch of archaeology (as Dever 1976) have not yet materialized.

The remaining trends that characterized American "new archaeology" in the 1960s and 1970s were: (4) *the use of "ethnoarchaeology,"* or analogies drawn from still-surviving primitive cultures in order to explicate archaeological remains from the remote past; (5) *dependence upon evolutionary models,* drawn from parallels in biological evolution, to explain cultural change, with emphasis, however, on a multilinear trajectory, on the distinctive nature of human behavior, and on human evolution; (6) *insisting on exploiting archaeology's full potential for explaining human behavior,* as well as elucidating the (presumably) universal character of the cultural process, as discerned through comparative and cross-cultural analyses; and (7) *the preference, in some circles, for an "explicitly scientific," or "nomothetic" approach,* which attempts to apply the methods of the natural sciences (especially as seen in the philosopher of science, Carl Hempel), with the major goal presumed to be the formulation and testing of universal "laws" of the cultural process.

These latter four trends, while exerting some influence upon Syro-Palestinian archaeology, have not been nearly as determinative as the first three. Ethnoarchaeology, for instance, despite its obvious potential and its common sense application on a small scale from the very beginning, has had little sustained attraction. This may be partly explained by the lack of anthropological and ethnographic training on the part of practitioners in our field, partly by a colonialist (and later a local nationalist) disdain for "native customs" that appeared too primitive to shed light on ancient high civilizations. Or again, "evolution" in any form was anathema to most archaeologists in our field, given their frequent biblical background (although the bias was more a matter of instinct, or even ignorance, than of conscious rejection).

The behavioralist-processualist and nomothetic schools were simply too esoteric to win many followers. Many might have objected (had they paid any attention at all) that the realm of human nature, unlike the biological realm, does not easily conform to any "laws," certainly not to those subject to verification by predictability. There is also the problem of whether culture, i.e., in the sense of a universal phenomenon, can be adequately described, much less "explained." Above all, there is room for doubt as to whether the archaeological record preserves enough evidence, even when fully exploited, to enlighten us sufficiently on the past cultural process, much less the present. For many, the basic question would have been whether archaeology can aspire to true "scientific method." (The question should have been *which* scientific method; see C.2 below.) Meanwhile, the current discussion in archaeology has been deflected somewhat away from the behavioralist and nomothetic schools by the trenchant critique of Ian Hodder (1986) and his call for a "post-processualist" approach that may be more closely aligned again with historical

archaeology. Even more radical is the recent Neo-Marxist work of Shanks and Tilley (1987), arguing for a "post-modern," socially aware archaeology—a view so revolutionary that reviewers have described the impact of the work as "the loss of innocence." Thus the "new archaeology" of the 1970s–1980s is becoming *passé* before we have even caught up with it.

Underlying much of the skepticism in our own field, one suspects, was the assumption (albeit unspoken, or even unconscious) that ancient Palestine, especially Israel in the biblical period, was unique—somehow "superhistorical," not governed by the normal principles of cultural evolution. In its cruder form, this is simply religious fundamentalism, a rejection of "secular" history. But even in more sophisticated versions, it cannot escape the charge of special pleading. In any case, the real (and quite plausible) reasons for misgivings regarding these latter aspects of the "new archaeology" were ignored in favor of particularist or "historical" explanations, in an apparently unquestioned belief that the latter were sufficient.

Each of the above tenets of New World archaeology had varying influence in our field. Furthermore, they were often borrowed rather naïvely, with little appreciation for the difficulty of applying them to the mounds of the ANE, with their long history and exceedingly complex stratification. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that it was precisely the major trends of American "new archaeology" in the 1960s that provided the theoretical framework, such as it was, for Syro-Palestinian archaeology as it developed in the 1970s, and even more in the 1980s (see further Dever 1981, 1985; Glock 1985). It would be gratifying to think that the "revolution" was born of inner intellectual ferment, as our disciple matured, but that was not the case (see C.2 below).

**B. Toward an Independent Discipline?**

The several trends that we have just discussed suggested to some that by the early 1970s American Syro-Palestinian archaeology was moving out from under the domination of biblical studies that had characterized the Albright-Wright era, toward status as an independent discipline. It was clear that the domination of the classic "biblical archaeology" movement was threatened not only by external developments, in the form of the challenge of the "new archaeology," but also by internal weaknesses, both historical and theological. In particular, the goal of utilizing archaeology to provide historical validation for such episodes in the biblical tradition as the patriarchal and conquest eras was not met. As D. N. Freedman—one of Albright's most prominent disciples, and an eloquent advocate of "biblical archaeology"—recently admitted with admirable candor (1985: 6):

> Albright's great plan and expectation to set the Bible firmly on the foundation of archaeology buttressed by verifiable data seems to have foundered or at least floundered. After all the digging, done and being done and yet to be done, how much has been accomplished? The fierce debates and arguments about the relevance of archaeology to the Bible and vice versa indicate that many issues remain unresolved. Can anyone say anything with confidence about the patriarchs or the patriarchal age? The fact that skeptical voices now dominate the scene indicates that Albrightian synthesis has become unglued and we are further from a solution than we ever were. Archaeology has not proved decisive or even greatly helpful in answering the questions most often asked and has failed to prove the historicity of Biblical persons and events, especially in the early periods.

**1. The Collapse of the "Biblical Archaeology" Movement.** In retrospect, it is clear that the "archaeological revolution" envisioned by Albright and his followers simply never materialized. After a generation or so, mainstream American biblical scholarship moved away from reactionary and positivist positions such as Albright's, more in the direction of Continental scholarship—particularly of the German school, which had remained suspicious of American-style "biblical archaeology" all along. It could be argued that in America, "biblical archaeology's" demise in the 1960s coincided with the much-discussed "death of biblical theology." In any event, there were soon calls for "biblical archaeology's" replacement by a more specialized, professional secular discipline termed "Syro-Palestinian archaeology" (reviving Albright's 1938 alternate term; on the above, see Dever 1974 and many subsequent treatments, especially 1980a, 1985). There was heated opposition at first, much of it the result of semantic confusion or emotional overreaction from biblical scholars and threatened amateurs (cf. Dever 1982; Lance 1982;

Glock 1986). Nearly all archaeologists, however, especially the younger generation, but also including most former "biblical archaeologists," embraced the "new archaeology" (above) with enthusiasm. The relatively easy transition may seem surprising, but it was probably due to the fact that little intellectual or theoretical revolution was involved; the "new archaeology" was exhilarating simply because it promised freer inquiry and more exciting results (cf. Wright 1974). American Syro-Palestinian archaeology, always pragmatic, remained so, and in this lay much of its stability in a period of crisis and change.

It is beyond dispute that in the struggle of the "two archaeologies" (the term of Glock 1985) in the 1970s and 1980s, Syro-Palestinian has triumphed. The new look is evident everywhere: in typical proposals and in nearly all projects in the Middle East; in papers in the leading journals and at the national professional meetings; and particularly in the several graduate programs (see C.2), where the cutting edge of research is visible. There may be a good deal of nostalgia for the older style of "biblical archaeology" (along with legitimate concerns for preserving the biblical connection), but virtually no one in America *does* such archaeology anymore, not even fundamentalists. (In Europe and the Middle East, few ever did, so these developments may be construed largely as a chapter in *American* intellectual and religious history; cf. Dever 1985; fc.a.). What has happened can perhaps best be summarized by noting that in the past decade or so Syro-Palestinian archaeology has "come of age," although still conscious of its parentage. Emerging to dominate the field, it may be characterized as: (1) specialized, (2) professional, and (3) secular.

**2. Syro-Palestinian Archaeology as a Putative Discipline.** Thus the debate about "biblical archaeology" now seems over, in both biblical and archaeological circles. But can that be taken as evidence that Syro-Palestinian archaeology has become an "independent, autonomous *discipline*," as some had advocated and others now simply assume? In order to answer that question, we may suggest the following criteria by which disciplines may normally be distinguished. A field of inquiry may be said to constitute a "discipline" when it possesses: (1) a class of distinct phenomena to be investigated, and data that are pertinent to the task; (2) a coherent body of appropriate theory, from which specific methods and standards are derived; (3) a group of practitioners who have the minimum professional and academic positions needed to survive; (4) educational and training programs sufficient to replace personnel; (5) the necessary financial resources to underwrite basic, continuing research; (6) professional organizations that foster a sense of corporate identity, facilitate collaborative projects, guarantee standards, and promote the discipline's interests; (7) adequate organs for dissemination and publication of results; (8) self-conscious, well-worked-out relationships with other allied disciplines; and (9) adequate public support to enable the discipline to compete in the marketplace of ideas and institutions.

Without going into documentary detail, it may be asserted that Syro-Palestinian archaeology at its present stage of progress *does* meet all these criteria, at least in modest measure. In fact, some of these tests were met long ago, even by "biblical archaeology," and others have now been met by the earnest and deliberate efforts of the current generation to create a discipline. Thus Syro-Palestinian archaeology exists as at least a fledgling professional and academic discipline—one, however, which remains pathetically small (despite a large popular following) and one whose future is by no means secure (see C.2 below). Meanwhile, "biblical archaeology" also survives, although not as an academic discipline per se (which it never actually became). In our view, the latter is better conceived as an interdisciplinary pursuit, popular or serious, i.e., a *dialogue between* several disciplines (including, of course, Syro-Palestinian archaeology; Dever 1974, 1976, 1980a, 1981, 1985; and C.3 below). The debate over the "disciplinary" question, however, is not fully resolved. A few scholars think that Syro-Palestinian archaeology should remain a branch of biblical studies (Wright 1969a), or even specifically of "biblical archaeology" (Cross 1973). Others hold that both types of archaeology have attained or can attain full disciplinary status (Lance 1982; Toombs 1982; Glock 1986).

**3. Possibilities for a Dialogue between Disciplines**. The fundamental question, often overlooked in the recent debate, is not whether Syro-Palestinian archaeology is, or should be, a separate discipline (it is in any case); or whether it can still be related to its parent-disciplines, ANE and biblical studies (it must be, however that relationship is construed). Such questions reveal a serious misunderstanding of archaeology

today, and they only perpetuate sterile controversies. The misconceptions may take several forms. The most naïve is that the rationale and purpose of "biblical archaeology" (and, by extrapolation, Syro-Palestinian archaeology) is simply to elucidate the Bible, or the lands of the Bible. Scarcely more enlightened, however, is the contention of some scholars that archaeology is only the "handmaiden of history"; that archaeologists, by mastering the tools of their trade, become "mere technicians," isolated from humanistic studies; or that "professionalism" is to be decried in a discipline (that is, in other than one's own). It is worth noting that these supposedly serious objections to archaeology as a discipline come almost exclusively from biblical historians, Northwest Semitic/Hebrew epigraphers, Assyriologists, and other students of *texts,* who although highly specialized themselves, value archaeology mainly for producing literary remains (thus Cross 1973; but cf. Dever 1982, Lance 1982). These scholars seem oblivious to the equally valid historical data to be derived solely from the analysis of *material culture remains.* That is where archaeology today can make a valuable, indeed unique, contribution to humanistic studies.

Virtually all these and other objections to archaeology as a discipline may be removed simply by recalling what the original thrust of the "new archaeology" in the early 1970s was. It was not to make Syro-Palestinian archaeology "autonomous" in the sense of isolating it from other disciplines, but only to free it from its exclusive dependence upon ANE and biblical studies, so that it could develop according to its own inner dynamics, as a branch of general archaeology. From the beginning, the stress was upon the *inter*disciplinary character of all archaeology today, and thus upon the need for *dialogue* with many disciplines (see Dever 1974 and all subsequent treatments). The partners in this dialogue would still include, of course, the parent disciplines of ANE and biblical studies; but they would also include many of the other social sciences, especially anthropology, and increasingly the natural sciences. The intent was not to narrow the discipline, but to broaden it; not to cut off dialogue with biblical studies, but to promote it, this time on a new and sounder basis, with archaeology now an equal partner. Unfortunately, as we shall see, while the "declaration of independence," as well as the fresh perspective and degree of specialization that distance allowed, took place in archaeology in the past decade or so, the renewed dialogue has scarcely begun.

It may be pertinent at this point to look at the way other disciplines develop, that is, how they reshape themselves and form new alignments with allied disciplines. Here Thomas J. Kuhn's classic work *The Structure of Scientific Revolution* (rev. ed., Chicago, 1970) is most instructive. Kuhn's point of reference is, of course, the natural sciences, but his arguments are quite plausible when applied to the social sciences as well. Kuhn shows that periodic "revolutions" typically take place in a discipline not as a result of the overturning of the basic *theoretical* orientation owing either to external or internal changes, but rather as the result of largely pragmatic considerations. After a period of "normal science," during which the majority of younger practitioners happen upon a better way of doing science, there subsequently ensues a struggle between competing paradigms, in the course of which the established view is challenged but never entirely displaced. When a new majority consensus is reached, however, a new phase of "normal science" may be said to have been achieved—after which, in due time, the process will repeat itself.

On Kuhn's analogy, we may argue that the period from ca. 1970–1985 witnessed a true "revolution" in "biblical" and Syro-Palestinian archaeology. There was not then, nor has there been since, an integrated plan of action, much less the laying of a comprehensive intellectual groundwork (i.e., theory). Nor is there yet much published evidence to justify the claims often made for superior results. Finally, the "new archaeology" has not discovered for the first time the "right" way of doing archaeology, or the final truth about any archaeological interpretations. What *has* happened is precisely Kuhn's "paradigm shift," followed by a generational struggle. Elsewhere it has been argued (Dever 1988) that this development constitutes Syro-Palestinian archaeology's "fourth revolution," following the stratigraphic revolution of the 1950s–1960s. If so, then we are now entering a period of "normal science" when we can expect less controversy and more productivity as new data are generated by new research procedures. Furthermore,

since theoretical formulations usually *follow* revolutions, it is also a time for reflection and critical assessment, such as we are attempting here.

We may now return to the unresolved issue above, concerning the relationship of the "post-revolutionary" discipline of archaeology to other disciplines. The issue was often posed in this manner: Is Syro-Palestinian archaeology still to remain a branch of ANE and biblical *history,* or of *anthropology* (Cross 1973)? This, however, is a false dichotomy. Archaeology today is not a "branch" of any discipline; it is a discipline itself (above), not "ancillary" to any (i.e. subservient; cf. Lat. *ancillarius*, "relating to maidservants"). As for choosing between the two supposed alternative target disciplines, it is true that Syro-Palestinian archaeology has recently moved somewhat closer to the discipline of anthropology. This is regarded by many as salutary, since it has often been observed than on the academic scene "American archaeology is anthropology, or it is nothing." Nevertheless, archaeology today is, as we have noted, *inter*disciplinary in character, and it should draw its strength and vitality from that fact. As for the best "home" for the discipline, this has more to do with matters of academic convenience than with intellectual issues. One of Syro-Palestinian archaeology's most impressive and beneficial recent achievements is that today the discipline could be readily housed in a Near or Middle Eastern, religious studies, history, classics, or anthropology department; and certainly in one of the few archaeology departments in North America. The latter development—the establishment of nonareal, all-embracing departments of archaeology, independent of anthropology, Near Eastern, or classical departments—is perhaps the clearest indication that archaeology *is* a viable academic discipline today (see Wiseman 1980). Syro-Palestinian archaeology still draws upon ANE and biblical studies for much of its areal content, i.e., its subject matter. But increasingly it looks to the natural sciences for its analytical procedures, and to anthropology and the other social sciences for its theoretical orientation. Rather than seeking to confine archaeology within such labels as "history," "anthropology," or "science," we should celebrate its multifaceted variety (cf. also Schiffer 1988). Archaeology (like anthropology) benefits from and contributes to many other disciplines. (For the question of whether archaeology possesses a unique epistemology or methodology of its own, see C.2 below.)

**C. The Shape of the Future**

To use an analogy we have already implied, Syro-Palestinian archaeology is a child of venerable parents, recently "come of age." But does the young adult have a future? We may suppose so. In attempting to answer that question fully, however, we need to catalog several desiderata, all of which must be achieved in some measure if our discipline is to survive and prosper in America. Let us look first at external circumstances, i.e., the situation in the Middle East.

**1. Fieldwork Abroad.** It is obvious that American Syro-Palestinian archaeology—as a serious scholarly enterprise, devoted to original research and to innovative teaching—is dependent upon fieldwork possibilities in the Middle East. It is equally obvious that there are, however, many conditions that threaten our future, conditions over which we often have no control.

While American archaeologists (along with Europeans) pioneered nearly all the formative developments in archaeology in the Middle East over the past century, today they are restricted, and even excluded, in many countries. Thus there is little current American fieldwork in Turkey, Syria, Iraq, or Egypt; none in Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States, or Iran. Only Israel, Jordan, and Cyprus actively facilitate American excavation and research. Even in the latter three countries, however, the American role is inevitably diminishing as the national schools come to dominate the scene. These national schools enjoy formidable advantages: continual access to and choice of all the sites; the freedom to work out priorities on a national scale; logistical support of national institutions such as government departments, universities and museums, and various research facilities; a vast, largely unpublished database to which they have constant and expert recourse; hundreds of secure professional positions; and an increasingly enlightened public that at its best generates a large-scale, national consciousness of and identification with the archaeology of the region (especially in Israel) that not even "biblical archaeology" in its heyday could match. (On the Israeli school, see further Dever 1973, 1980b; Ussishkin 1982; Bar-Yosef and Mazar

1982; Stern 1987; A. Mazar 1988; and further on the Israeli and other national schools, see also Dever 1985.)

As the national schools mature rapidly, continually adopting the best of foreign methods to add to their own, they seem to lack only adequate funds and workforce. Much of the slack has been taken up, of course, by foreign and "joint projects." In Israel, for instance, most of the budget on many so-called "joint projects" is American, and nearly all the laborers are American student volunteers. But such arrangements will probably be counterproductive for us in the long run. They may provide many amateurs with the adventure of archaeology, but they are unlikely to train or help to place the necessary number of professionals needed to sustain American archaeology as an independent school. In this post-Colonial era the reduced role of foreign excavators is probably appropriate, but nevertheless it could bode ill for the future of our discipline. Some fear that we may end up spectators at a game we invented! More serious is the possibility that we shall eventually lose the capability of doing original (i.e., field) research, without which archaeology has neither control of the basic data nor the critical stance necessary for sustained scholarship. Furthermore, at the risk of sounding chauvinistic, we must insist that there are unique and legitimate *American* interests in the archaeology of the Middle East. Our intellectual and spiritual roots are there, too, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that American scholarship can serve our own interests best.

It is not primarily the growing competition with the national schools that is worrisome, however. After all, we should applaud the progress of archaeology anywhere and relish the competition. Of much greater concern are several conditions created by the fact that the Middle East is a developing area. The first is the rapid modernization and escalation of the economy throughout the area. This not only destroys thousands of archaeological sites before they are even mapped, but also makes the costs of doing both salvage and excavation work almost astronomical. The local schools can barely manage to keep up; but if archaeology has become an expensive necessity for them, it may soon be an impossible luxury for us. The second is the rising tide of nationalism and extremism in the area, often coupled with religious fanaticism, as well as violently anti-American sentiments. This obviously creates political instability, which may render local archaeology tenuous but threatens foreign archaeology with extinction. One disturbing side development of nationalism that affects archaeology, even where it is still able to plan and carry out long-term projects, is the unfortunate creation of an atmosphere where archaeology can easily be perverted to foster ethnic rivalry, or simply to serve the ends of national policy. (This trend, albeit minor, may already be perceived in a heightened interest in "pan-Islamic" archaeology in the Arab world; or in increased focus on ancient Israelite settlements in modern Israeli-occupied territories such as the West Bank, or "Judea" and "Samaria," as they are now being called.) Still more ominous is the outright opposition of some extreme elements to archaeology per se. Both the Muslim Brotherhood in several Arab countries and the ultra-Orthodox in Israel have harassed archaeologists in the field, vandalized monuments, and lobbied to outlaw excavations. If local archaeologists incur such wrath by offending traditional and religious sensitivities, we can easily imagine that foreign archaeologists may be placed in an absolutely impossible situation. Of course, one hopes that saner, more civil heads will prevail, but it is not easy to be sanguine about the Middle East today. Whatever transpires in the near future, it appears that archaeology in the Middle East will become more politicized, not less so.

The picture is not, however, entirely bleak for American archaeology in the Middle East. For one thing, we are obviously still needed and welcomed in several countries. Israel, Jordan, and Cyprus all encourage and support an astonishing number and variety of international projects, as well as many foreign archaeological institutes. The American Schools of Oriental Research, for instance, maintains flourishing and indeed expanding archaeological institutes in all three countries, as well as coordinating more than forty current American field projects. In these countries we may also take comfort in the existence of fully competent and enlightened Departments of Antiquities that are vigorously opposing all the threatening developments that we have noted above. But we must ask: what should the *American* role be in the future?

There remain a number of things that we can and should do, even if the initiative has now passed from us to the indigenous national schools. First, American archaeologists must vigilantly maintain our oft-asserted position of strict political neutrality—even at the risk of disappointing our beleaguered local friends on both side, who might welcome a warmer personal identification or emotional commitment. We must remain "disinterested scholars" in the best sense. The recent emergence of a more secular school of American archaeology should help us to avoid certain sentimental or pious motivations that have always been dangerous in archaeology, now more so. (Certainly, the typical Protestant theological mentality of many earlier archaeologists is hardly an asset in Israel today, nor is the Bible in any form in the Arab countries; cf. Dever fc.a.)

Second, the keyword should not be "competition," but "cooperation." Rather than duplicating the efforts of the national schools, we should be developing complementary projects—especially those that focus on neglected or little-known sites, periods, or problems. This will probably mean fewer large, long-term excavations of major tells, and more work with experimental methods, regional surveys, small one-period sites, and in general more of the specific "problem-solving" archaeology that is now in vogue. Not only are the expenses and logistics of such projects more manageable for foreign excavators, but the returns on the investment may be vastly superior in terms of readily published results, pertinent to the ongoing archaeological discussion. A final strategy may be to attempt fewer unilateral projects and to participate more in the cooperative or "joint" projects now being seen in Israel and Jordan. These projects pose many organizational difficulties, of course, and they sometimes offer limited opportunities for the development of the American partners, but they may be attractive, even necessary, in the future. Whatever happens, American Syro-Palestinian archaeology must remain in the field, but in the future it will need to concentrate a relatively greater proportion of its resources on *scholarship.* This will entail theoretical reformulations; creative synthesis and integration of the data; publication of past and continuing fieldwork; and above all, increasing attention to promoting the health of the discipline in America, both in terms of academic and popular support (see C.2 below).

**2. The Discipline at Home.** The internal factors that affect the future of American Syro-Palestinian archaeology may seem less intractable, but they are, if anything, even more formidable. Let us look initially at the practical, then the theoretical aspects (on the following, see further Dever 1982, 1985).

**a. Some Practical Considerations.** First and foremost, it is obvious that we must guarantee the survival of the field, which has managed rather remarkably in the past two decades or so to establish itself as a fledgling discipline. That is, *in addition* to winning over and maintaining the considerable popular support that "biblical archaeology" has always enjoyed in America, Syro-Palestinian archaeology must successfully make the final transition to professional and academic status. If it cannot do so, the entire enterprise may collapse, because archaeology has now become too complex, sophisticated, and expensive to survive solely on an amateur basis. Such support is vital (after all, "amateurs" are the truest "lovers" of all), but full-time specialists in fieldwork, research, and teaching are also essential. (Where would American archaeology be if its only clientele consisted of fascinated lay people, collectors, and a few pot hunters, i.e., it if could not support excavations, museums, and university departments of anthropology?)

Providing jobs will require retaining many essentially part-time positions in small church-related schools, in college departments of religion, or in seminaries. But it also means creating new positions, whether in university departments of Near Eastern studies, anthropology, or elsewhere, in order to supplement the few that we already have. Already relatively small but thriving graduate programs specializing in Syro-Palestinian archaeology (sic) exist at Toronto, Chicago, Harvard, Pennsylvania, Duke, and the University of Arizona. (Only the chair at Harvard is endowed, however.) At least forty Ph.D. students, of very high caliber and with considerable field experience, are in training in these programs, but it remains to be seen how (or whether) they can be placed. Clearly, the future of the discipline depends largely upon the fortunes of this up-coming generation, who embody all the ideals of the "revolution" we have sketched above, but whose careers are in jeopardy.

In addition to employment, it is clear that we also need funds for fieldwork and publications, our basic forms of research. To its credit, the "newer archaeology" has recently won substantial grants from secular

sources such as the National Endowment for the Humanities, as well as several other public and private foundations. It is absolutely essential to retain and increase such funding as archaeology becomes less directly related to religious and theological concerns, and at the same time enormously more expensive.

Related to funding, but also to other basic problems, is the necessity for publishing prompt preliminary field reports: full-scale, integrative final reports; synthetic overviews of various periods and problems; and especially interpretive treatments relating recent discoveries to biblical studies, ANE studies, general archaeology and anthropology, and other disciplines. Here we have been so negligent and undisciplined that specialists in other fields can scarcely be faulted for not keeping up with progress in our branch of archaeology or making use of the data that we regard as crucial (unpublished "data" cannot be said to be "given," or made public, in any significant sense; see further below). The complexity and expense of modern archaeology have, of course, made publication immeasurably more difficult (cf. Dever 1982, 1985), but more urgent than ever, especially if Syro-Palestinian archaeology aspires to be a truly scholarly discipline.

A final desideratum may be fundamental to all our needs, the strengthening of learned societies and professional organizations. In our case, this is primarily the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR), which since 1900 has effectively served the interests of both lay people and academicians in the fields of ANE languages, history, and archaeology, as well as many aspects of biblical studies (King 1983). ASOR's in-country institutes and many field projects in the Middle East have already been mentioned. Here we should emphasize that ASOR, despite its traditional character and the formidable obstacles to the full development of archaeology, has been able not only to accommodate the thrust of the newer archaeology but to facilitate it. Indeed, ASOR today has become the principal institutional spokesman for the emerging discipline of Syro-Palestinian archaeology, while still retaining its venerable biblical connection (a considerable achievement). It sponsors the majority of American field projects in the Middle East, and its annual meetings and many publications serve as the main forum for presenting the results. Furthermore, ASOR's overseas institutes have long been not only significant research centers but also stepping stones in the careers of young archaeologists who were long-time directors (Albright, Glueck, Lapp, and others). Yet ASOR has not been as successful in another area that has now become crucial, i.e., the education of the American public and the promotion of archaeology on a broader scale. ASOR has only recently begun to reach beyond biblical circles for its audience, or to lobby effectively for federal support of Syro-Palestinian archaeology (although the short-term progress is impressive). And ASOR has yet even to face the challenge of creating new professional and academic positions, which in America can probably be done only with widespread public sympathy and support. We need *urgently* to "mainstream" Syro-Palestinian archaeology and "biblical archaeology" if we are to survive in the melée of ideas and institutions in a democratic society. Our motto should be: "Out of the cloister, into the academy, and even the marketplace."

**b. Theoretical Considerations.** Here again we would argue that theory, while it is not necessarily prior in the sense of initially provoking changes in a discipline, is nevertheless of primary importance in sustaining ferment and growth once begun. Biblical and Syro-Palestinian archaeology, however, have always been deficient in awareness of the importance of theory and method, being practically inclined instead. Thus there is virtually no bibliography on theory and method in our field before the 1970s, and little critical discussion even now—in surprising contrast to the voluminous and lively literature in Americanist archaeology (see Schiffer 1978, esp. 1988). This lack may be explained by the rather parochial and backward nature of our discipline until recently, as well as the fact that the impetus for change has been largely derived from other branches of archaeology. The characteristic pragmatism is best seen in the fact that when "method" finally began to be treated in the literature, the discussion was largely confined to field technique, i.e., "how to dig." Thus various stratigraphic and recording methods were hotly debated in the 1970s (see Wright 1969b; Dever 1973, 1980b; Lance 1981; cf. Chapman 1986). Yet we would argue that the fundamental *intellectual* issues in archaeology, i.e., theory, have never been seriously addressed by our branch. (But see programmatic essays by Dever 1981, 1985, fc.a; Strange

1982; Glock 1985, 1986; and even as early as Wright 1974; cf. Chapman fc. for a reactionary critique, from a British perspective.)

It was apparently overlooked that method *is* theory—in the sense that the questions selected for investigation inevitably shape the manner of inquiry. Thus our indictment is not that "biblical archaeology" lacked a theoretical framework, but rather that its assumptions were: (1) drawn from issues in biblical history and theology, not archaeology; and (2) rarely made explicit, much less critically evaluated. As an example, the desire to comment upon the "historicity of the Patriarchs" may be a fruitful inquiry in *biblical* scholarship, but it hardly constitutes appropriate archaeological theory, much less a research strategy (as was assumed by a former generation). Ironically, some of the same "biblical archaeologists" who became deeply involved in developing theological hermeneutics, such as G. E. Wright, never sought to formulate an *archaeological* hermeneutic. Albright came closest, in some of his mature synthetic treatments (like *FSAC*), and especially in several candid essays late in life on various philosophies of history (sic, *not* archaeology) and their impact on his thinking (see Dever 1981; contra Chapman fc.).

We are not suggesting that interpretive issues were avoided. On the contrary, the interpretation of nearly every discovery of "biblical" and Syro-Palestinian archaeology has been endlessly discussed, in lively and often polemical disputes that have come to characterize these disciplines in the minds of many. That most controversies were never resolved, however, is due largely to the fact that the discipline never developed a truly archaeological epistemology, that is, there existed no consensus on basic interpretive method. Even as "historical" archaeology, this approach was deficient. Evidence was gathered selectively, conclusions were drawn and debated, and interpretations advanced—all on the basis of an appeal to "history" (usually some school of biblical history). But what history *was,* and how a modern historiography was possible using archaeological data, were questions scarcely raised. Rarely was it specified what was meant by "history" (except as *Heilsgeschichte,* or "salvation history"), and "archaeology" was seldom given even minimal definition. (A definition of "culture" was rarer still.)

By epistemology we mean, of course, theory and method at their most fundamental level—a theory of knowledge—without which the word "discipline" is a tragic misnomer for a field of inquiry. A properly archaeological epistemology would confront such "obvious" questions as these, among others. What is the nature of the site-formation process, both natural and cultural (i.e., what is a tell?)? How does context affect the interpretation of an archaeological find (i.e., what is a locus?)? What constitutes an archaeological datum? What is the role of analogy in archaeological reasoning? Is there a uniquely archaeological logic? How may we extrapolate behavior from artifacts? What determines culture and culture change? The list could be expanded, but the point is clear: until we have wrestled long and earnestly with such basic questions of knowledge, archaeology is likely to remain little more than treasure hunting—a collection of chance finds, miscellaneous objects, and random "facts," without reference to an intellectual framework in which they might become meaningful. (For virtually the only explicit pleas for theory, see Dever 1981, 1985; Strange 1982; Glock 1985.)

Epistemology, however, operates at a level even *more* fundamental than the interpretive: it effectively determines the quality of the data we gather. In most research, but particularly in archaeology, what we "discover" is usually not by chance but is rather the direct outcome of what we think we know, what more we are trying to find out, and how we propose to go about the inquiry. To put it another way, there are few "facts" in archaeology. There are *artifacts* which can *become* "data," but only when they are properly excavated in context, interpreted in relation to a pertinent question, and published (i.e., "given") in full. The notion that the archaeologist is an "objective" scientist, who approaches a site with a mind that is a tabula rasa, is incredibly naïve—and dangerous. We see in the dirt only what we are sensitized to see; and unfortunately, we unwittingly destroy the rest of the evidence in getting it out of the ground. Field archaeology is, after all, an unrepeatable experiment. For example, an earlier generation routinely discarded animal bones, because (as it would have been said) "we already know what people ate in antiquity." Thus unique opportunities to study subsistence were irrevocably lost, since the necessary data were not collected. The present generation, therefore, which would like to ask new questions of the data,

often cannot even formulate an adequate hypothesis until it gathers a better set of data. Archaeology can progress as a branch of learning, humanistic or scientific, only by such rigorous, systematic, cumulative theory building and theory testing. That is what we mean by epistemology.

The point may be driven home by an example or two. An earlier article on the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine, by the eminent Israeli historian and archaeologist Benyamin Mazar (1968), is now regarded, and rightly so, as a classic. It was a brilliant synthesis of what was known at the time, given the orientation of nearly all Syro-Palestinian archaeologists to what we have termed above "political history." The major data surveyed, in masterly fashion, bear upon the stratigraphy of the sites, fortifications, epigraphic remains, international relations in the Levant, and ethnic movements. The focus is on the great ideas, individuals, and institutions of the time, i.e., *public* events, or "political history." As a historical survey, much of this is still valid, and indeed a fundamental starting point for further research. But in this article there is virtually no reference to concerns that we would consider essential today: settlement patterns, technology, social and economic history, and demography. Even aesthetics and religion are neglected. Such terms as "culture" never appear. The treatment of the Middle Bronze Age in the illustrious $CAH^3$ by Kenyon (1973) is not much different in emphasis.

Now Mazar and Kenyon may be forgiven for not addressing these issues in the 1960s, because the data were not then available. But the data were unavailable *because* archaeologists and historians had been asking the wrong questions, or more accurately, questions that were simply inadequate in terms of stimulating explicit research designs that could focus on the *whole* range of data that were potentially available. The almost exclusive orientation of most Syro-Palestinian archaeologists toward "political history" was, of course, never explicitly stated, but it can be extrapolated from the typical methods employed and the results obtained. The twin foci were: (1) stratigraphy, or learning how to dig correctly, so as to separate major architectural phases; and (2) ceramic chronology, fixing absolute dates for the strata, mostly of destruction layers, in order to correlate them with biblical and other texts that described major episodes in political history. Field projects concentrated on large tells, especially ones that could be identified with biblical sites; and there the objective was mostly the clearance of fortifications, i.e., major architectural remains that could be expected to produce datable pottery and objects. Exposures were often narrow, with a preference for deep sondages that sampled all strata.

It needs to be stressed again that the chief goals of this kind of archaeology, although rarely acknowledged, were: (1) an outline of the political history of the major sites; and (2) a correctly dated local ceramic sequence. On sites being dug, there was relatively little exposure of domestic areas, i.e., of private dwellings, of storage and industrial installations, or of terraces, courtyards, and other open areas. There was virtually no interest in off-tell features (except for cemeteries) that might have revealed the use of water, land, and other natural resources. Smaller satellite villages, encampments, and the rural hinterland remained totally unknown, since there was little interest in environmental setting, and almost no regional survey work was undertaken.

It is true that the earlier generation of Syro-Palestinian and "biblical archaeologists" (the "third revolution," ca. 1930–1960) did hone the tools of comparative stratigraphy and ceramic chronology to a fine edge, perhaps unmatched anywhere else in the Middle East. But even here, the limited objectives are clear in retrospect. Stratigraphy in the Wheeler-Kenyon (or better, "baulk/debris-layer"; cf. Dever 1973) method focused somewhat mechanically on observing and recording soil layers empirically, so as to separate "loci" cleanly. But there was inadequate awareness of what we would now call "site formation processes," or the cultural and natural activities that *formed* these depositional features in the first place, and thus were capable of explaining their function in a larger context (Schiffer 1987). Or again, the common pottery of Palestine was exhaustively analyzed and catalogued (mostly on the basis of shape and decoration) so as to chart its typological development, which resulted in a relatively precise ceramic chronology. But with very few exceptions, pottery was not studied with a view to what it might contribute to our knowledge of the history of technology, to aesthetics, or to international relations and trade, i.e., to *culture* and *cultural change.* Above all, it is the models of cultural change themselves that were deficient. Most were reductionist and diffusionist. The term "culture" usually meant little more than a ceramic

assemblage; and a new "pottery culture" meant a "new people," probably a new ideology. Major ethnic movements and foreign invasions (i.e., "historical" events) were invoked to explain nearly every transition in ancient Palestine. There was little emphasis on indigenous socioeconomic factors, technological innovation, or the overall evolution of local culture in any sense. In all these characteristic emphases of the former generation we see clearly the paradigm at work: the objective was "political history," *not* socioeconomic, technological, or true cultural history (in contrast to the typical *Kulturgeschichte*, for which the earlier approach is now faulted).

Syro-Palestinian archaeology will progress not so much by further mastery of stratigraphy and ceramic chronology, or by perfecting field technique (although progress in these areas was and is a necessary goal), but rather by becoming more sophisticated in its epistemology. That will necessitate our beginning to see "theory" not negatively, as we have done ("speculation" or "unsubstantiated claims"), but rather positively, as simply a body of heuristic principles that are capable of governing and advancing archaeological research (Schiffer 1988). Such theory should be comprehensive, systematic, clearly focused, and as empirically verifiable as possible. That is really what we mean by speaking, as we do so often today, of "research design."

An alternate model to "political history" in the future might be derived from the *annales* school of social and economic history, which utilizes massive archival documentation to look behind ideology, beyond the great episodic public events, to the daily life and environment of countless individuals, over vast sweeps of time. Thus Fernand Braudel's well-known *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II* (1970) sets forth a three-tier system. The upper level is a "history of events," a history that moves rapidly but is superficial. Beneath that, a second level comprises the "history of social groupings and their interactions," which moves much more slowly. Deeper still is an "undercurrent" of smaller groups and individuals in the setting of the natural environment, in which all the higher levels of history are rooted, whose movement unfolds gradually and can only be measured in millennia, *la longue durée.* Another instructive work of this school is E. Le Roy Ladurie's *The Peasants of Languedoc* (1974).

Archaeology does not, of course, possess the extensive written documentation that can be sifted through by historians of the *annales* school, nor can it perhaps ever write really fine-grained individual history. But archaeology today is ecological and focuses on setting; it turns up masses of obscure artifactual data that reflect the daily life of ordinary individuals; and it is unique among all disciplines in its sensitivity to cultural change over very long periods of time. Thus there is good reason to believe that Syro-Palestinian archaeology has scarcely begun to fulfill its potential for writing social and economic history on a much broader scale than formerly thought possible. (See further Dever 1988 on the "fourth revolution.") The tools are at hand, because the very multidisciplinary, ecological, and systemic approaches noted above already point promisingly in the right direction.

Insofar as we may succeed in broadening the scope of Syro-Palestinian archaeology's focus, we may achieve yet another goal that many find desirable today, that of integrating the discipline into the general field of archaeology and anthropology. (At the same time, we may still conceive our discipline as "historical archaeology," provided that the history writing is not one-dimensional.) That this goal has not been achieved, or even seriously attempted, is painfully obvious. Ancient Palestine has several attractions: a pivotal geopolitical situation in the Fertile Crescent, the great cradle of civilization; a long history of archaeological investigation that is more intensive relative to land area than that of any other country in the Middle East, with a rapidly growing database; and enormous popular appeal as the Land of the Bible. Yet anthropologists and social historians seeking cross-cultural comparisons typically ignore Palestine as a case study, especially in contrast to Egypt and Mesopotamia, and even poorly known Syria. Why is this?

Part of the neglect may be due simply to a secularist, antibiblical bias among many anthropologists (who, after all, can be parochial too). Some of it may also be due to suspicions, unfortunately well founded, about the quality of our data, much of it indeed poorly excavated in the past, as well as to others' ignorance of better work done recently. But it must be admitted that the isolation of Syro-Palestinian archaeology is largely our own fault. Until recently we had conceived the field as a branch of biblical

studies, remaining aloof from the ongoing history of American archaeology and anthropology as an intellectual and disciplinary enterprise (see the illuminating history of American archaeology in Willey and Sabloff 1980). Indeed, we had prided ourselves on our "amateur" status and had often resisted professionalization. This meant that most archaeologists in our field were simply not asking the same questions as archaeologists generally. They did not read or publish in mainstream journals; they did not participate in professional societies or annual meetings of other archaeological and anthropological organizations; above all, they did not teach in or share programs with university departments of anthropology, where most of New World and European archaeology, as well as Near Eastern prehistorical archaeology, was being done.

Among recent and current issues in world archaeology would be the following, for example: (1) the rise and collapse of complex society; (2) the balance of idealist and materialist paradigms in the reconstruction of cultural change; (3) the social history of archaeology/anthropology; (4) space-time systematics, artifact variability, cultural patterning, and the material correlates of behavior; (5) site-formation processes and the nature of the archaeological record; and (6) archaeological identification of ethnicity. In addition, the several theoretical thrusts of the "new archaeology" noted above all reflect a number of specific questions about settlement types, subsistence, social structure, population growth, and the like. A dispassionate survey of the way Syro-Palestinian archaeology is taught, or a comparative citations analysis of the literature in our field and in the field of archaeology in general, would reveal that we have contributed very little to the discussion of these key issues, and we have only begun even to be aware of them. (If American Syro-Palestinian archaeology lags behind, the national schools in the Middle East, with the exception of Levantine prehistory, are even further behind—although their isolation is perhaps more understandable.) Younger specialists may be committed to the task of "mainstreaming" Syro-Palestinian archaeology, but it will likely take a generation for the new orientation to produce tangible results. (The best measure may be to keep up with journals like *American Antiquity*; or especially the ongoing volumes edited by M. B. Schiffer, *Advances in Archaeological Theory and Method,* London, 1978 and following.) Not until then will the "revolution" be complete.

**3. Toward a New "Biblical Archaeology" as "Dialogue."** The developments we have sketched above, as well as those predicted for the future, may be regarded as legitimate, even inevitable. But they nonetheless raise a prospect that many may find rather daunting: the possibility that the newer, "secular" Syro-Palestinian archaeology may no longer offer much to the elucidation of the Bible. In conclusion, we shall try to show that precisely the opposite is true, that indeed a *new style* of "biblical archaeology" is emerging. It emphasizes the possibility of a renewed and more fruitful dialogue *between* the two disciplines, now that they are attaining maturity (much as had been [perhaps overly-optimistically] predicted in Dever 1974 and several subsequent works, especially 1981, 1985).

There are, of course, formidable obstacles in the way of such a dialogue. Many observers believe that the two disciplines continue to move farther apart, and there is indeed some evidence of that. But we do not consider that primarily the fault of archaeologists, because we have supposedly become, as some critics put it, "overspecialized," "narrowly professional," "technicians rather than humanistic scholars." The simple fact is that, on the one hand, the practitioners of "biblical archaeology" failed to carry out their program of validating biblical history and faith through archaeology, and then gave up. On the other hand, biblical scholarship has increasingly moved away from its original historical-critical concerns to increasingly *literary* concerns, or to structural linguistics and the "metahistorical" understanding of language, finally to canonical criticism and the like. In all such cases, archaeology's attempt to recover the original context and events of the biblical texts—"the history behind the history"—tends to be regarded as simply irrelevant. History has become merely hermeneutics. Yet we would contend, exactly as Albright and Wright did (especially 1969, 1969a), that without the corrective of archaeology, its provision of "external" data, its unique ability to penetrate *behind* the tradition in the literature, to a more objective "secular" history, biblical studies is in constant danger of degenerating into subjective speculation, carrying neither historical nor theological conviction. (For the necessity of holding the two disciplines together, see, in addition to Dever as cited above, Albright 1969; Wright 1969a; Lapp 1969;

Lance 1982; Sauer 1982; Meyers 1984; Glock 1986.) Whether the biblical texts are truly "historical" or merely possess an essential "historicality," it really *does* matter what actually happened in the past, not just how the religious community came to interpret the supposed events for its own needs in its own time and circumstance.

The time is now ripe for a renewed dialogue between the "new archaeology" and contemporary biblical studies. Such a dialogue is timely precisely because both disciplines have now moved away from the positivist Albrightian synthesis toward what appears to be an emerging consensus, though still largely inarticulate and even unselfconscious. Ironically, the new "secular" archaeology is better equipped to contribute to the coming dialogue than the old archaeology was, because it is more competent professionally, more open and flexible in its presuppositions, and at the same time less mired in tendentious theological views that have little to do with proper archaeological investigation. We may be coming, at last, to the point of Morton Smith's remarks over twenty years ago in his presidential address before the Society of Biblical Literature: "For a correct history of the Israelites we must have the archaeological facts determined quite objectively and independently by competent archaeologists, and the Biblical texts likewise by competent philologians, and then we can begin to compare them" (1969: 34).

But what can *archaeology* contribute specifically to the dialogue? Or to use a phrase turned by two of "biblical archaeology's" most eminent exponents, in their final treatments (Wright 1971; de Vaux 1970), "What is it that archaeology can and cannot do?" Implied, of course, is the fundamental question of the relation of artifacts to texts, of material culture to culture, of archaeology to history—all of which will have to be rethought in this post-Albrightian, "post-positivist" era.

**a. Textual Remains and Their Contribution.** While the task of literary interpretation is best left to specialists, the archaeologist is entitled to remind us that texts, too, are limited as a source of history, because of the fundamental problem of interpretation, both ancient and modern. Thus the Hebrew Bible must be regarded by the historian as a largely late, composite document; highly selective and incomplete in the materials it includes; basically establishment-oriented and therefore "elitist" in outlook. The Bible is theocratic history, sometimes blatantly propagandistic, not history but *Heilsgeschichte.* (The Bible usually does not pretend to be otherwise; it is we who are often naïve, not the biblical writers.) It is obvious that in the Hebrew Bible there is little or no "objective history" to be found, perhaps for the premonarchical period little material that is even useful to the historian. Nor is the problem confined to the Hebrew Bible Old Testament (although virtually all "biblical archaeology" concerned itself with that part of the Bible; but cf. Strange 1982). Archaeology can no more aid directly in the task of "rediscovering the historical Jesus" than it can in recovering the "patriarchal" or "conquest" eras at ancient Israel. As historians we are limited ultimately by the fact that the Bible asks not so much "What happened?" as "What did it *mean?"* Systematic theology goes further, of course, to ask "What *does* it mean?" To put it in another fashion, archaeology may aid in small but significant ways in getting at the "history behind the history," i.e., in the task of writing a history of Israel, or even a history of the religion of Israel, but scarcely at all in the task of formulating an Old Testament theology.

Furthermore, in considering the problem of interpretation, the common notion that "texts are eloquent but artifacts are mute" must be laid to rest. How effectively *either* class of data mediates past realities to us is dependent upon how skillfully and sensitively the data are interpreted. A text, biblical or otherwise, simply by virtue of exhibiting written signs, rather than other symbolic expressions of human thought and behavior, may be no more "objective" in the witness it bears than any other object, no more comprehensive than an archaeological sample, no more transparent in significance than an artifact. With both types of evidence, we must try to "decode" the meaning (or various meanings) in another time and place and circumstance (that will always remain elusive), then try to translate this for our own situation.

The analogy between the role of interpretation in understanding texts and artifacts may be carried even further. The Bible itself, at least in human terms, is an artifact from the past, one that reflects the lives and thoughts of those who shaped it. Yet there is one unique feature. The Bible as we have it is clearly both what it *was* in its original context and usage, plus what it has *become* over the centuries as Scripture, constantly reinterpreted by Synagogue and Church. For the secular historian (sic), the primary difference

between the Bible as a literary *corpus* and other texts that have been brought to light by archaeology is simply that the former was never discarded or lost, but rather was continually preserved and revised by a still-living community. Thus the Bible, in *archaeological* terms, is what we may call a "curated artifact." The problems of interpretation are similar—but just as difficult.

**b. Artifactual Remains and Their Contribution.** Most of the data from ancient Palestine that happen to be preserved are artifactual, not textual (the Bible being, as we have observed, a notable exception). Such data are often poorly preserved and in any case constitute an atypical representation of what must once have been present in the archaeological record. The context necessary to supply meaning may be missing, or misunderstood owing to faulty excavation. From these tantalizing physical remains—bits and pieces of the past—what can we learn, if anything, of history and culture that will *complement* and supplement the study of texts?

We have attempted above to show how much *more* illuminating the "new archaeology" can be than the old. To summarize briefly here, first, archaeology may contribute a knowledge of the larger context in which the Bible emerged, both physical and cultural, without which it cannot be fully understood. Archaeology alone is capable of bringing to life again the ANE setting, the neighboring lands and people and cultures. This provides the background against which the Bible can be portrayed so as to give it a credibility—an immediate, vivid, flesh-and-blood reality—that it cannot possibly have when read solely as Scripture, or as a long-lost literature isolated from its origins.

Second, archaeology, while it may not be able to give an ultimate explanation of events, historical or theological, can provide at least what we may call the "ecology of change." At any given period it can document the local conditions in Palestine that may have given rise to a situation that made changes possible, as well as putting these changes into the context of the natural environment and long settlement history of Palestine. Thus archaeology need not ignore, much less contradict, the historical and primarily religious affirmations of the ancient biblical writers. But it can, and should, supplement these partial explanations with an understanding of *other* factors that we moderns find helpful in assessing change—environmental, cultural, technological, socioeconomic, and other. Concerning these powerful agents of change, the Bible tells us next to nothing. This parallel and complementary "natural history," or "secular history," of ancient Palestine is recoverable only through archaeology (including, of course, additional extrabiblical texts that may be brought to light), and indeed only beginning now with the new tools at our disposal. Thus the book of Joshua and the works of the Deuteronomistic historians (Joshua-Kings) portray the emergence of Israel in Canaan as the result of a sudden, unified military conquest of the Twelve-Tribe League under the leadership of Joshua—a miraculous gift of Yahweh. Archaeological evidence, however, shows beyond doubt that most Late Bronze Age Canaanite sites in Palestine were not destroyed ca. 1200 B.C., and that nearly all the identifiable early Israelite settlements were established peacefully on virgin soil (Finkelstein *AIS*). Therefore, from the point of the secular historian, the ascendancy of Israel was part of a gradual, exceedingly complex process of socioeconomic change on the Late Bronze–Iron I horizon, not a "miracle" at all. See also ISRAEL, HISTORY OF (ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE ISRAELITE "CONQUEST") and SETTLEMENT OF CANAAN.

Finally, archaeology can look at the "other side of the coin," that is, at popular culture, at folk religion, possibly even at individual history in some cases (such as the *annales* school attempts). For instance, normative Israelite religion as reflected in the Hebrew Bible was supposedly Yahwistic. Archaeology, however, reveals that folk religion was highly syncretistic, that the popular cults of ancient Israel were strongly influenced by the Canaanite fertility religions.

**D. Conclusion**

In this essay we have tried to look briefly at Syro-Palestinian and "biblical" archaeology—at their history, their changing relationships, and especially their future prospects. The latter perspective is necessary, but risky, for archaeology by definition is full of surprises. Archaeology is also one of the fastest-moving of all the social science disciplines today, both in theoretical reformulations and in the astonishing type and array of new data that it is turning up. The "archaeological revolution" predicted by Albright is not over, as many seem to believe, but scarcely begun (even if it is not happening in the way

he expected). And among Syro-Palestinian archaeology's many future accomplishments will certainly be the writing of a more comprehensive and satisfying history of ancient Palestine in both the Old and New Testament periods.

What archaeology cannot do, however, even at its best, is to "prove" the Bible in any sense—either by demonstrating that the events claimed by the biblical writers as central to the "salvation history" actually happened, much less by validating the theological inferences that are drawn from these events, whether ancient or modern. The notion that historical proofs can confirm, or even enhance, religious *faith* is a contradiction in terms.

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WILLIAM G. DEVER

**ARCHELAUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Archelaos* (Ἀρχέλαος)]. The eldest son and successor of Herod the Great (cf. Matt 2:22), who ruled over Judea and Samaria from 4 B.C. until A.D. 6. Most of what we know about Archelaus comes from the Jewish historian Josephus. He reports that Archelaus and his brother Antipas, Herod's two sons by Malthace, a Samaritan, were raised in Rome.

In Judea, Antipater accused Archelaus (who was in Rome) not only of denouncing Herod for the murder of his half-brothers Aristobulus and Alexander, but also of claiming that Antipater would soon be another of Herod's victims (Jos. *Ant* 17.80), accusations which caused Herod to hate Archelaus (Jos. *Ant* 17.146). But shortly before his own death, Herod discovered that he had been duped by the scheming Antipater, and drafted the final version of his will naming Archelaus as principal heir to his kingdom (Jos. *Ant* 17.188–89).

Archelaus arranged Herod's funeral, and, we are told, he refrained punctiliously from accepting the royal title "king" until it had been confirmed by Augustus (Jos. *Ant* 17.202). He promised to rule more mildly than Herod, and was immediately showered with demands for the reduction and abolition of taxes, the release of prisoners, retribution against Herod's favorites, and replacement of the high priest appointed by Herod. Although Archelaus took a conciliatory stance, serious unrest developed, especially under the influence of those who supported the memory of Judas and Matthias, traditionalist Jews who had opposed Herod (Jos. *Ant* 17.149–67). This unrest reached such a point that Archelaus ordered his cavalry to put a stop to it; they killed some 3000 Jews in the Temple precinct during Passover (Jos. *Ant* 17.218).

Archelaus sailed for Rome to press his case with Augustus, taking with him Nicolas of Damascus, who had been Herod's great orator, and Herod's sister, Salome (who intended, we are told, to undermine Archelaus by drawing Augustus' attention to the disorder and carnage associated with Archelaus' brief rule). At the same time, Antipas also made his way to Rome to lay claim to Herod's throne. We are told that in Rome he gained the support of Herod's relatives, all of whom hated Archelaus. Meanwhile, Sabinus, imperial procurator of Syria, wrote to Augustus leveling accusations against Archelaus, who had thwarted his attempts to seize Herod's wealth (cf. Jos. *Ant* 17.221).

During Archelaus' absence in Rome, unrest had grown to large-scale rebellion. Varus, Roman governor of Syria, restored order. He also gave permission for a Jewish delegation to sail for Rome to request annexation and direct Roman rule over Judea (Jos. *Ant* 17.299–314). Augustus finally decided upon a compromise: Archelaus was awarded a large part of his father's kingdom (Judea proper, Samaria, and Idumaea, together with the cities of Strato's Tower-Caesarea, Sebaste, Joppa, and Jerusalem). From these territories Archelaus received an annual income of 600 talents. But Archelaus was not made "king" of these territories; instead, he was given the title of "ethnarch," probably to reconcile the Jewish delegation which had requested the abolition of the monarchy (Braund 1984: 142). However, Augustus is also said to have promised Archelaus that he would be awarded the royal title if and when he had proved himself a

capable ruler (Jos. *Ant* 17.317). The coins of Archelaus (which bear no image) indicate that he was known as "Herod, ethnarch" (*HJP²* 354 n.4). Josephus, however, calls him "king," which, although technically inaccurate, might also constitute "oblique evidence on the scope of the office of ethnarch" (Sullivan *ANRW* 2/8: 309).

Archelaus remained in office until A.D. 6, and few details of his brief rule are known. He founded a town, which he named Archelais; he rebuilt the royal palace at Jericho in lavish style; and near Jericho he irrigated a plain and planted it with palm trees. Josephus indicates that he was not a popular ruler: he reports that leading Jews and Samaritans "finding his savagery and tyranny intolerable" brought accusations against him before Augustus (Jos. *Ant* 17.342); and that Archelaus, "remembering past differences, behaved savagely not only towards the Jews but also towards the Samaritans" (*JW* 2.111). Augustus summoned Archelaus through a man (also called Archelaus) who was responsible for the ethnarch's affairs at Rome; the manner of summons was a calculated insult. After a brief hearing, Augustus confiscated Archelaus' property and exiled him to Vienne in Gaul. Archelaus probably lived out his days in Vienne, although his tomb was later pointed out to those who visited Bethlehem (Jos. *Ant* 17.342–44; *HJP²* 356 n.13).

Many of Archelaus' troubles were inherited from Herod, although he himself had offended Jewish tradition in a number of ways. First, he had deposed the high priest Joazar (because he had supported Jewish malcontents) and he had appointed Eleazar, Joazar's brother, to take his place (cf. Jos. *Ant* 18.93 on priestly vestments). Second, he had married Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus I of Cappadocia, a union which offended Jewish tradition because Glaphyra had already borne a son to Archelaus' brother, Alexander, her first husband. In fact, Archelaus was Glaphyra's third husband, since she had married King Juba II of Mauretania after Alexander's death (Jos. *Ant* 17.339; Sullivan *ANRW* 2/8: 296–394).

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**ARCHER.** See MILITARY ORGANIZATION IN MESOPOTAMIA.

**ARCHIPPUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Archippos* (Ἀρχιππος)]. A Christian greeted in the salutation of the letter to Philemon, identified as a "fellow soldier" of Paul (Philemon 2), and as one urged to fulfill the "ministry" (*diakonia*) he had received in the Lord (Col 4:17). Since Archippus is mentioned immediately after PHILEMON and APPHIA in Philemon 2, he is usually taken to have been a member of Philemon's household, perhaps a close relative of Philemon and Apphia, such as a son or a brother.

The evidence, however, may also be read plausibly to identify Archippus as the head of the household and, as such, the owner of the slave Onesimus (Knox *Philemon IB,* 49–51). It has been argued, first, based on the grammatical rule that a pronoun agrees with its nearest antecedent, that the singular pronoun "you" in the phrase "the church in your (Gk *sou*) house" (Philemon 2) could refer to Archippus. Second, the "ministry" that Archippus is asked to fulfill in Col 4:17, not further specified in that context, could be a reference to the veiled request in Philemon 13–14 to free Onesimus. Finally, Philemon 1 presupposes that Paul's "beloved fellow worker," Philemon, is to read the letter to the house church. If Philemon were the slaveowner, nothing would stop him from destroying the letter and punishing Onesimus. But if Archippus is the household head, then Paul would be effectively applying pressure on him to free Onesimus by having the letter read in his own house church and a decision thus made in the context of his Christian community (Cope 1985: 47). Nevertheless, against this identification of Archippus is the fact that the letter is addressed first of all to Philemon; for this reason he is usually taken to be its primary addressee and the owner of Onesimus.

The greeting in Philemon 2 also identifies Archippus as Paul's "fellow soldier" (Gk *sustratiōtēs*), i.e., his "fellow worker" (cf. Philippians 2:25, which indicates the two epithets are synonymous). The circumstances under which Paul came to know Archippus, however, are unknown. The military metaphor may indicate that Archippus, like Paul or perhaps at some time along with him, experienced conflict in his service of the church, probably in a position of leadership.

In Col 4:17, Archippus, who by implication is not presumed to be in Colossae, is said to have received a "ministry" in the Lord, although the nature of his role is not further specified. J. B. Lightfoot (1879: 244) has argued that the solemnity of the warning to fulfill that ministry "points to a continuous service, rather than an immediate service." Just prior to this warning in Col 4:16 is a reference to the neighboring church of Laodicea, which suggests that Archippus served that church, perhaps as its leader. But had he been neglectful or timid or somehow in need of an admonition to do his work? Or was his service of such difficulty that it required the courage of a soldier? Given Paul's respectful salutation to this Christian in the opening words of Philemon, the latter is more likely.

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JOHN GILLMAN

**ARCHITE** [Heb ›*arkî* (אַרְכִּי)]. A gentilic formation referring to a clan located SW of Bethel which became a part of Benjamin (Josh 16:2). Five of the six occurrences of the word refer to Hushai, the most celebrated member of the clan, famous for his distinguished service as David's counselor (2 Sam 15:32; 16:16; 17:5, 14; 1 Chr 27:33). The term in Joshua 16:2 has to do with the marking of the S boundary of the tribe of Joseph at "ATAROTH the territory of the Archites." This has caused confusion because of another Ataroth mentioned in v 7 as being on Ephraim's N border. The S Ataroth marks the border of the Archite clan and is called "Ataroth-addar" in Joshua 16:5 and 18:13, which may mean "Greater Ataroth" (Boling and Wright *Joshua* 397–9).

SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

**ARCHITECTURE.** See ART AND ARCHITECTURE articles.

**ARCHIVES OF MURASHU.** See MURASHU, ARCHIVE OF.

**ARCHONS, HYPOSTASIS OF.** See HYPOSTASIS OF THE ARCHONS (NHC II,*4*).

**ARD** (PERSON) [Heb ›*ārd* (אָרְדָּ)]. Var. ADDAR. ARDITES. One of Benjamin's ten sons, according to the Benjaminite genealogy of Gen 46:21, and head of the Ardites (Num 26:40). The variant form of the name, i.e., "Addar," is easily explained as a transposition of the Hebrew consonants *reš* and *dalet.* The LXX of Num 26:30 reads *adar.* Several variants for the name as it appears in 1 Chr 8:3 exist in the Gk, where the MT also transposes the consonants to read ›*addār.* Ard's relationship to Benjamin also varies. In Gen 46:21 he is numbered among ten sons of Benjamin, whereas in Num 26:40 and 1 Chr 8:3 he is a son of Bela and, thus, a grandson of Benjamin. Gen 46:21 also considers two other sons of Bela (Naaman and Gera) to be sons of Benjamin. This variance in family relationship raises the question of how to interpret the expression "sons of," whether it refers to direct family relationships or to clan affiliation (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 83). Williamson finds the name "Ard" in yet another Benjaminite genealogy (1 Chr 7:12). He suggests that the name "Aher" in that verse is a slip for "Addar" or "Ard" (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 78). However, most scholars still follow the suggestion of Klostermann in reading the word ›*eḥād,* "one," an emendation supposing yet another confusion of *reš* and *dalet* (*RE* 4:94).

SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

**ARDAT** (PLACE) [Lat *Ardath*]. The name of the field to which Ezra was directed (2 Esdr 9:26), by whose bounty he was nourished, and upon whose slopes he received a vision. As with most of 2 Esdras, there is no surviving Gk form of this place name. The Syriac form is ›*rpd* and the Aramaic ›*rbd* (perhaps meaning a grain measure). The Latin versions also vary: Ardat (Codex Sangermanesis), Ardad (Codex Ambianesis), Ardas (Codex Complutensis), and Ardaf (Codex Mazarinaeus). Jacob Meyers suggests that Ardat is the name of a small locality near Babylon (*1–2 Esdras* AB, 270). Supporting this suggestion, Abel offered the ruins of Orthosia (Ard) on the site of Ullaza, which is not far from Sumer as a possibility (*GP* 1: 4). He identified this site as the Egyptian ›*rt*, which occurs in the description of the fifth campaign

of Thutmose III as a destroyed city (*ANET*, 239). Another possibility mentioned by both Meyers and Abel is the village of Ardat mentioned a number of times in the Amarna letters near Tripoli or Byblos. There has been no conclusive site identification.
SUSAN E. MCGARRY

**ARDON** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾardôn* (אַרְדּוֹן)]. One of the sons of Caleb (1 Chr 2:18). In the LXX, the name *Orna*, which is otherwise unknown, appears in the place of Ardon. Thus it is not certain whether Orna is a variant of Ardon or whether it refers to a different person.
H. C. LO

**AREINI, TELL EL-** (M.R. 129113). Tell esh-Sheikh Aḥmed el-ʿAreini (Arabic "Mound of Sheikh Aḥmed al-ʿAreini") is a mound of some 70 acres (exact limits undefined) on the N outskirts of the modern development town of Gat, just at the junction of the Coastal Plain and the Shephelah, on the S bank of the Wâdi Lachish. It was initially renamed "Tel Gath" by the Israel Geographic Names Committee, following the early identification with "Gath of the Philistines" proposed by Albright, Alt, and others, but the failure of more recent excavations to produce any pertinent Iron I material has resulted in the site's being renamed "Tel ʿErani.[w] Alternate identifications might be Eglon or Mamshat (S. Yeivin), or possibly Libnah (Condor, B. Mazar). Limited soundings were carried out by S. Yeivin in 1956–1961, but only scant preliminary notices of the extensive material have been published (Yeivin, *EAEHL* 1:89–97 and references there; and cf. Weinstein 1984).

The lower city, comprising the bulk of the site, has a lower terrace (area D) and a higher terrace, the former of which has produced the greatest variety and quantity of Egyptian Predynastic and Early Dynastic material of any site in Palestine. The stratification of area D was poorly observed, however, and is much debated, so only a tentative outline of its phases can be given. Strata XII–VII are equivalent to the Egyptian Gerzean/Predynastic period (ca. 3500–3200 B.C.); stratum VI corresponds to the Late Predynastic and may have had a city wall (ca. 3200–3100); stratum V, in which Narmer's *serekh* was found, corresponds to the 1st Dynasty (ca. 3100–2800); strata IV–II correspond to the late 1st into 2d Dynasty (ca. 2800–2650); and stratum I has no clear Egyptian material (ca. 2650–?).

The major question regarding area D concerns Yeivin's sometime claim (never clearly articulated) that stratum VI ends in a major destruction, which should be attributed to Pharoah Narmer of the 1st Dynasty, whose *serekh* (signature) was found on a stratum V sherd (cf. Weinstein 1984 for the evidence and an opposing view). In any case, the succeeding city, which contains the bulk of the Egyptian material, was one of the sites in Palestine most closely connected with Early Dynastic Egypt, whether by trade contacts or otherwise. After the beginning of Dynasty III and the Old Kingdom period (at the latest), the lower city was abandoned, and it lay unoccupied throughout the remainder of the Early Bronze, Middle Bronze, Late Bronze, and Iron I Ages.

The Iron II and later upper city (principally areas A/G) of the NE corner rises some 45–55 ft. above the lower city, but it is only about 15 acres in extent. There were few impressive remains. The phases would appear to be roughly dated as follows:

| STRATUM | CENTURY (B.C.) |
|---|---|
| IX | 8th |
| VIII | late 8th |
| VII | 8th/7th |
| VI | early 7th |
| V | mid-late 7th |
| IV | early 6th |
| III–II | Persian |
| I | Hellenistic |

Byzantine and modern Arab burials lie on and around the mound. On the highest point is the *wêli* (tomb) of the sheikh after whom the mound is named; and nearby are the ruins of the abandoned modern village of ʿIraq el-Manshiyeh.

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**ARELI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾarʾēlî* (אַרְאֵלִי)]. ARELITE. A son of Gad, grandson of Zilpah and Jacob, and ancestral head of the Arelites. His name is entered last among the seven sons of Gad mentioned in the list of the descendants of Israel that went to Egypt (Gen 46:16; *Jub.* 44:20 places him second to last). In the census reported in Numbers 26, he is again the last mentioned of the seven descendants of Gad whose names were adopted as clan names (Num 26:17—LXX 26:26). The LXX readings in Gen 46:16 (*ariēlis*) and Num 26:26 (*ariēl*—MT 26:17) suggest the Hebrew spelling *ʾarîʾel*, but the Samaritan Pentateuch reads *ʾrwly*, and the Syriac reads "Adil."

RICHARD W. NYSSE

**AREOPAGUS** (PLACE) [Gk *ho Areios pagos* (ὁ Ἄρειος παγος)]. The Areopagus, or Mars' Hill, was one of the more prominent topographical features of ancient Athens. It reaches a height of 377 ft. and appears to have received its name from an association with Ares, the Greek god of war, though some moderns have derived the name from *Arai* ("Curses"), interpreted as a term designating the Furies, whose cave was located on the NE slope of the hill. It was on the Areopagus that St. Paul stood in A.D. 51 when he delivered his sermon on the unknown god (Acts 17:19–22; Gärtner 1955: 45–65). The Acropolis, some 140 ft. higher, stands a short distance to the SE; and the agora, where Paul talked with passersby and disputed with Stoic and Epicurean philosophers before being taken to the Areopagus (Acts 17:16–18), spreads out below it almost directly to the north. On his ascent from the agora, Paul probably would have rounded the precipitous NE brow of the hill, the Cave of the Furies above him and to his right, and would have climbed toward the summit from the extreme SE by the stairway cut into the rock that is still in use today. (For a map, see ATHENS.) As they had since classical times, the slopes of the Areopagus constituted a residential area when Paul was in Athens.

Paul's conversion of Dionysius the Areopagite (Acts 17:34), whose surname signifies that he was a member of the Council of the Areopagus, gave the hill Christian associations that have persisted into modern times. Dionysius himself became the patron saint of Athens as well as, by tradition, her first bishop and a Christian martyr. The ruins of the Church of St. Dionysius, constructed in the 16th century, are presently visible on the high terrace just below the NE brow of the Areopagus (Travlos and Frantz 1965). At the E end of the church are the remains of the well, supposedly near the home of the Areopagite, where according to local tradition St. Paul was hidden from his persecutors.

**A. The Council of the Areopagus**

The ancient references to the Council, or Boule, of the Areopagus are usually imprecise, and its history can for the most part be written only in general terms. Named after the hill where it met, and descended from a Homeric-style council of elders that advised the king (see, e.g., *Iliad* 2.53 ff., 10.194 ff.), the council was long composed exclusively of aristocrats, and in the transition from monarchy to aristocracy it gradually assumed many previously regal powers and functions. In the first half of the 7th century B.C., still at the height of its authority, the Council of the Areopagus was the main governing body of Athens, with far-reaching and undefined religious, judicial, censorial, and political power, including a general control over the annual selection of the nine archons, the city's chief magistrates who "went up to the Areopagus" after their term of office, where they then sat for life (see Fig. ARE.01).

The story of the slow and comparatively gentle democratization of Athens—which was over 150 years in the making and began imperceptibly about 620 B.C. when Draco codified the laws, thereby defining,

and so limiting, the powers of the magistrates and the Council—is also the story of the gradual demise of the Council's authority. Solon confirmed that authority when he rewrote the laws in 594 B.C., but simultaneously laid the foundation for its deterioration, by allowing appeal from the judicial decisions of magistrates to his new people's court, and by opening the archonships, which would provide all future Areopagites, to men of wealth who were not aristocrats. It appeared to emerge without further damage from the constitutional reforms of Cleisthenes at the end of the 6th century B.C., but here again his institution of a council attached to the popular assembly could not but reduce the influence of the Council of the Areopagus and encourage the assumption of its functions by the new body.

A substantial loss of Areopagitic prestige was indirectly assured in 487 B.C. by the expansion of the role of sortition in the selection of archons. But the renewal of the Council's prestige and authority that resulted from its patriotic conduct during Xerxes' invasion (480–479 B.C.) was not undergirded by any constitutional change that would give it permanency. The *coup de grace* was seemingly delivered in 462 B.C. by Ephialtes, who made the only direct attack on the Council's integrity that is recorded and, with perhaps some assistance from Pericles, persuaded the assembly to transfer to itself, its own council, and the popular courts the bulk of the Areopagites' responsibilities. The largely honorific body that remained nevertheless continued to survive, though it took on an increasingly popular appearance itself during the years after 460 B.C., with first the reduction and then the effectual removal of property qualifications for appointment to the nine archonships that constituted the single source of Areopagites.

The reason for this survival is not far to seek. The Council of the Areopagus was a body hallowed by its antique origins, and as such it exercised certain functions so deeply rooted in religious tradition as to be virtually sacrosanct. It was never deprived of these, preeminently the jurisdiction in specific types of homicide cases. In the mythological version of its origins presented in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (11.397–753), Athena herself founds the Council as a homicide court for the initial purpose of trying Orestes for the murder of his mother Clytemnestra; and Pausanias (I.28.5–6), writing a century after Paul's visit to Athens, indicates that when the Council convened on its hill to judge homicide cases, the accused still stood on the Rock of Insolence and the accuser on the Rock of No-Mercy (Frazer 1913: 362–66). It was this residue of sacred responsibility that preserved the Council in the wake of Ephialtes' assault, and which served as the basis for its eventual resurgence into an important political institution.

We find signs of its revival in the late 5th and the 4th century B.C., when it assumed special public duties in times of crisis, for example after the Athenian defeats by the Spartans at Aegospotami (405 B.C.) and by Philip of Macedon at Chaeronea (338 B.C.). The process of resurgence continued into the Roman period, with the result that by the middle of the 1st century B.C. the Council had reverted to its early status and become the chief governing body of Athens, its membership no doubt again limited to men of wealth and oligarchic sentiment with whom the Romans preferred to deal. Yet there were differences: Roman dignitaries were now sometimes numbered among the Areopagites, and gone forever was the old freedom of judgment and action. It was a Council of the Areopagus so reconstituted that directed the public life of Athens when Paul was there, and would apparently continue to do so until the end of classical antiquity.

**B. Paul at the Areopagus**

The Acts 17 references to the Areopagus have generated a considerable outpouring of scholarly ink over the past 250 years. The interpretive problem hinges on the exact meaning of "the Areopagus" (*ho Areios pagos*), and the solutions essayed may be divided into two basic groups. One view, supported by a tradition prevalent among the Church Fathers, holds that the term in question is an abbreviated designation for "the Council of the Areopagus," and that Paul was subjected to a formal judicial process, regardless of whether this was a trial or some sort of hearing, and regardless of whether the Council was meeting on the hill that gave it its name or at the Stoa Basileios in the agora (where its sessions had commonly been held since the 4th century B.C.). The other view, which seems preferable, regards *ho Areios pagos* as simply a reference to Mars' Hill, and contends that Acts provides no evidence of judicial proceedings, only an indication that Paul preached on the Hill in response to the request of those with whom he had conversed in the agora.

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**ARETALOGY.** The recitation of the *aretai* (Gk "virtues," "mighty deeds") of a god, hero, or charismatic figure.

**A. The Greco-Roman World**

The term "aretalogy" includes a variety of forms of a common practice of hellenistic religion and politics. Many laudatory inscriptions, carefully phrased encomiums, and eulogistic biographies are still extant. Scholars have investigated the popular appeal and propagandistic value of a wide variety of such "aretalogical" accounts and have demonstrated that the differences among these texts and recitations of praise are at least as interesting as their commonality.

The term "aretalogy" was used rarely in antiquity and possessed no specific literary or oral form (see Sir 36:13 [14] and Strab. *Geographus* 17.1.17). On the other hand, Isis inscriptions from Delos speak of an "aretalogist" who was a dream interpreter, perhaps recounting the miraculous cures which Isis performed in dreams (see *IG* 11.4.1263). In turn, those who recited fabulous wonders were scorned by Roman authors as entertaining liars (Juv. *Egyptian Satire,* 15: Suet. *Aug.* 74). Modern scholars of the history of religions have thus identified "aretalogy" with the recitations of the "aretalogists," paying particular attention to its value as a mode of religious proclamation or propaganda. The chief example remained the appeal which Oriental and Egyptian traditions made to a broader public on the basis of the recitations of the mighty deeds and virtues of a god or cult figure.

Such cultic recitation took on a distinctive form in the "self-praises of Isis." Several inscriptions display a well-wrought form in which Isis declares "I am …," announcing herself as the ruler of heaven and earth, mistress of fate and weather, legislator of helpful human ordinances, dispenser of wealth and source of wisdom. Such catalogs of her "virtues" could also be recited by others in third-person declarations, "She who …" These lists of glorious attributes and mighty acts may also be compared with the inscriptions of the healings which were placarded at Epidaurus in praise of Asclepius. Those lists for the healing cult were another form of "aretalogy" in the religious marketplace of the Greco-Roman world.

Laudatory biographies and letters of recommendation of charismatic prophets, healers, and itinerant philosophers have also been identified as "aretalogical" by modern scholars. Such cycles of stories and claims produced a peculiar literature which the satirists such as Lucian of Samosata could mock. In the effort to promote a particular figure as inspired or divine or as a "divine man" (Gk *theios anėr*), authors adopted various catalogs of virtues or mighty acts (*aretai*). Philosophers, rulers, and wonder workers could all be credited with divine or semidivine status although the specific criteria for such deifications were distinct. The praise of the wisdom of Socrates or the self-sufficiency of Diogenes may even be formally similar to the glorification of Alexander's courage or the recitation of the miraculous power of Asclepius' cures.

All of these distinct "aretalogical" traditions provide a window on the religious marketplace of the Greco-Roman world. Egyptian cults were striving for recognition and support for adherents in the west, exporting Isis to Rome along with the grain of the Nile and seeking recognition and support for Egypt's spiritual heritage and institutions were as legitimate as any in the dominant culture.

Popular philosophers competed for converts and healing shrines for adherents. The virtues of the philosophers could be catalogued in direct praise of their oral example or as cynic displays of disdain for conventional standards. Miraculous cures and mighty acts of shamans and rulers were listed as documentation of divine authority or agency. At the end of the 2d century C.E., Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* presented a synthesized portrait of the wonder-working Pythagorean philosopher. Earlier sources telling of Apollonius' marvelous acts of magic and supernatural power may still be

identified within Philostratus' "life" of the philosopher, but Philostratus had produced a new example of a more complex "aretalogical" literature.

**B. Jewish Wisdom and Mission**

Many forms of contemporary Jewish tradition clearly participated in this Greco-Roman religious marketplace, and a variety of texts may be called "aretalogical" in close comparison with the traditions discussed above. The cleanest parallels can be drawn with Hellenistic Jewish texts of Egyptian provenance, but the competition among religious and philosophical traditions for adherents and converts is much more extensive.

The praise of Wisdom in both Proverbs 8 and Wis 9:18–10:21 recalls conventions of the praises of Isis. Whether Wisdom recites her own praises or is praised in third-person declaration, her "aretalogy" rivals that of Isis both in form and in the mythic creative and saving roles which she plays. Like Isis, Wisdom has become the consort of God whom the king desires as his bride (Wis 8:2–9). Still, her tasks are explicitly identified with Jewish scriptural traditions, and no accommodation is offered to those outside of "a holy people and blameless race" (Wis 10:15). Thus the audience for this "aretalogy" does not appear to be a broad public in the Greco-Roman world. Wisdom was being praised for the benefit of Jews who were intimidated by the power of Isis and the Egyptian royal theology which she represented.

The glorification of Moses by Artapanus was another kind of aretalogy, imitating the novelistic glorification of Egyptian and other nationalistic heroes. The biblical Moses is still central, but this worker of plagues and liberator of Israel is also praised as the founder of the nomes of Egypt, the inventor of ships, and a godlike Hermes who gives the Egyptians their sacred letters and interprets them. The folklore of national heroes is not as theologically particular as wisdom traditions nor so discriminating of moral virtue as the lives of the philosophers. But Artapanus' glorious portrait of Moses placed him in the proud company of such rulers and champions as Semiramis the Babylonian and Sesostris the Egyptian. Once again, the audience for such extravagant stories of Moses was probably only Egyptian Jews who were eager to be assured of the importance of their heritage within the dominant culture.

Philo's *Life of Moses* raised the aretalogy of Moses to a new level of the glorification of the "sage" and "divine man" who is at once the ideal king, lawgiver, high priest, and prophet (I.334; II.2–7, 187, 292). Whether written for Hellenistic Jews or non-Jews, Philo's account adapted the biblical account freely, dressing Moses in the philosopher's cloak and the robe of the statesman. Even the biblical miracles were heavily rationalized, ignored or turned into verifications of Moses' possession of the virtue of piety (*Vita Mos* II. 284). The recitation of miracles was not primary in this aretalogy. The hellenistic ideal of kingship is much more the controlling standard.

Josephus also indulged in effusive praise of Moses as the "most excellent general, the wisest adviser and the most conscientious of all guardians." Next to him such lawgivers as Lycurgus, Solon, and Zaleucus were only born yesterday (*AgAp* 2.154–58). Josephus was explicitly responding to the charges of others that Moses was an evil leper who organized the outcast Jews with the advice to attack the Egyptian population, showing goodwill to no one (*AgAp* 1.237–50, 304–8, 2.121–22). Writing in a time when the Roman order had driven the Jews into fighting for their right to live, Josephus' aretalogy is transparent in its defense of Moses' virtue, wisdom, and power.

**C. New Testament Aretalogies and Mission**

Early Christian proclamations of Jesus quickly adopted and adapted many forms of praise and testified to Jesus as Messiah, Savior, Son of God, Lord, and Son of Man. All such recitations of Jesus' words, works, life, death, and resurrection could be broadly called aretalogical. After all, the Christian mission also had to make its way in the Greco-Roman religious marketplace. But more specific comparisons have proved helpful in a few areas.

The "superlative apostles" of 2 Corinthians (12:11–12) may reflect a kind of Jewish Christian missionizing in which a particular kind of inspired exegesis, signs, wonders and mighty works were standard credentials. Perhaps Paul is contending with a kind of "divine man" tradition in which these star performers have their letters of recommendation and their loyal adherents. Then Paul's "foolish"

recitation of his weakness and suffering is a counter-aretalogy, intended to discredit the self-praises of these "false apostles."

If the probability of pre-Gospel collections of miracle stories is high, then were these sources a kind of aretalogy? John probably used a Signs Source, and Mark may have drawn upon a cycle of miracle stories but subsumed them in a cross-resurrection narrative structure. Perhaps the Gospel genre is a kind of critique of the aretalogical traditions of the Greco-Roman religious marketplace.

On the other hand, perhaps the Gospels themselves should be viewed as aretalogies too. Luke-Acts in particular appears to appropriate the miracle traditions and glorify the Lord and the apostles without any sharp caution about the misuse of the Jesus traditions (apart from the clear perversion by Simon Magus and the Sons of Sceva in Acts 8 and 19). Some interpreters also regard the Fourth Gospel as using the Signs quite uncritically in a straightforward effort to glorify Jesus as the Son of God "striding over the earth."

The discussion is important since it requires the interpreter of the New Testament to view the mission of the early church within the competitive religious context of the 1st century. Paul and the evangelists have been described by some scholars as confounding the aretalogies of contemporary religious propaganda with the kerygma of Christ crucified. Other interpreters have argued that even the Gospels and Paul's recitations of his "foolishness" are distinctive aretalogies but not formally unique. Since the term is not technically specific, the discussion of "aretalogies" will continue to provide fruitful occasions for the comparison and contrast of the Gospels and early Christian proclamation with a wide range of religious and political recitations of praise of saviors, lords, cult figures, and gods.

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**ARETAS.** Dynastic name of at least four kings of the royal house of Nabatea located at Petra. The earliest Nabatean Aramaic inscription from Elusa on the Petra-Gaza road in the Negev mentions an "Aretas, King of the Nabateans." Proposals for a date of the inscription vary from the beginning to the end of the 2d century B.C. (see Wenning 1987: 141). The Aramaic spelling of the name, *ḥrtt,* occurs rarely and is of disputed etymology, but it does appear as a personal name occasionally in Safaitic (Harding 1971: 282). It has been associated with the common Arabic name of *ḥariṯa,* "ploughman" (al-Khraysheh 1986: 93) and it is interesting that the name "*ḥāriṯat,* king of Hagar" appears in Aramaic on coins of the mid-2d century B.C. found at Susa (Robin 1974: 110). Hagar has been connected with the *Agraioi* of Greek sources, a people who controlled the E sector of the caravan route leading from Babylon through Dumat al-Jandal (Jauf) to Petra and the Mediterranean port at Gaza (Eratosthenes apud Strabo 16.4.2). The proposal that the original homeland of the Nabateans was located in this same region of the Persian Gulf (Milik 1982) offers some support to these connections and may help explain other features of Nabatean culture, e.g., the use of Aramaic and the name of "Hagiru" for the queens and princesses of the Nabatean royal house (as known from coins; see Meshorer 1975: 79).

**1.** *Aretas I (ca. 170–160 B.C. fl.).* The first known dynast of the Nabateans is a contemporary of the early Hasmonean rulers. In 168, the Jewish high priest Jason sought refuge with an "Aretas, tyrant of the Arabs," before whom he was tried and/or imprisoned (2 Macc 5:8; cf. Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 256).

This Aretas is most likely the same king of the Nabateans referred to in the Elusa inscription as "tyrant," a word frequently used as a synonym for "king." The Nabateans under his rule appear to have been friends with the Maccabean rulers Judas (1 Macc 5:24–28; cf. Jos *Ant* 12.8.3 §335) and Jonathan (15.22). A perplexing reference to Arab nomads who skirmished with Judas (2 Macc 12:10–12) probably refers to Arabs existing outside the Nabatean circle (Bowersock 1983: 19–20), perhaps the Itureans (Kasher 1988: 30; see also ITURAEA).

**2.** *Aretas II (ca. 100 B.C. fl.).* Under hiq reign, the Nabateans first came into conflict with the Hasmonean kingdom. In 100 B.C., Alexander Jannaeus beseiged the important commercial port of Gaza. Aretas had pledged to protect the town, but he failed to send military assistance in time to defend it from the attack by the Hasmonean ruler (Jos. *Ant* 13.13.3 §358–64). Justinus' Latin epitome of Pompeius Trogus' *Historiae Philippicae* (39.5.5–6) mentions an Arab king named Herotimus who led campaigns into Syria and Egypt. Herotimus probably is to be identified with Aretas II. These conflicts have been interpreted as a struggle for control of the lucrative trade routes of Palestine during the decline of the Hellenistic powers of Syria and Egypt. This Aretas is also alluded to in the oldest Nabatean inscription known from Petra, where he appears as the father of Obodas I, his successor as king of the Nabateans (ca. 93–85 B.C.). This has led to the suggestion that he is the "founder of the Nabatean dynasty" (*HJP²* 1: 577), but this ignores the evidence for the earlier monarchs (Starcky *DBSup* 7: 905). Some archaic Nabatean coins known from Gaza and Petra have also been associated with his reign (Meshorer 1975: 10–11), the earliest issues by any of the Nabatean kings.

**3.** *Aretas III (ca. 85–62 B.C.).* The early years of his reign represent a period of Nabatean expansion. As a young prince, he founded the settlement of Aurara (modern Hymayma) between Petra and Aqaba, evidently to promote the trade along this important route that connected the Nabatean capital with the Red Sea (Uranius' *Arabicus* apud F. Jacoby *FGrH* 675 F1b; Eadie 1984). In 85, after the death of the Seleucid ruler Antiochus XII, Aretas acquired Coele-Syria and Damascus as part of his realm (Jos. *Ant* 13.5.2 §392). In coins struck at Damascus between 84–72 B.C., Aretas is entitled in the Greek legend the "Philhellene" (Meshorer 1975: 12–16), indicating the adoption of the Hellenistic tradition of the region. In 82, he launched a campaign into Judea where he defeated Alexander Jannaeus in a battle at Adida. After the setback, however, the Hasmonean ruler led a counterattack that saw the loss of Nabatean territories in Moab and Gilead (*Ant* 13.5.3–4 §393–97). In 72–71 B.C., the invasion of Tigranes of Armenia into Syria also forced Aretas to withdraw from Damascus (13.16.4 §419). After the death of Alexander Jannaeus in 76 B.C., his widow, Queen Alexandra, assumed ule until her death in 67 B.C. Afterward, a dynastic quarrel broke out between her sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. The Idumean ruler Antipater, who supported Hyrcanus, had established friendly relations with the Nabateans, as a result of his marriage to a prominent Nabatean woman named Cypros, the mother of Herod the Great (*Ant* 14.7.3 §121; *JW* 1.181). As a result, he advised Hyrcanus to flee for refuge to "Aretas of Arabia" and enlist his support. Forming an alliance with the Nabatean ruler, Antipas and Hyrcanus then led a campaign against the opposition party of Aristobulus at Jerusalem. In response, the Roman general Pompey sent his envoy Scaurus to help defend Aristobulus. Under threat of being declared an enemy of Rome, Aretas withdrew from Jerusalem, but 6000 of his forces were slain by Aristobulus at Papyron, near Jericho, during their retreat (*Ant* 14.1.1–2.3 §1–33). Afterward, Scaurus beseiged Petra, but withdrew after the king paid him 3000 talents (*Ant* 14.5.1 §80–81; *JW* 1.124–30). During his aedileship in 58 B.C., Scaurus issued coins at Rome depicting a long-haired Aretas kneeling beside his camel in submission to himself (Crawford 1974: 446, no. 422). Henceforth, Nabatea came under Roman sway as a client kingdom.

**4.** *Aretas IV (9–8 B.C.–A.D. 40–41).* The zenith of Nabatean political and economic fortunes took place during the almost half-century of his lengthy reign. After the death of Obodas III in 9 B.C., Syllaeus, "the brother of the king" and chief administrator of the kingdom, assumed control of the state and even issued coinage depicting him as the monarch (Meshorer 1975: 36–40). Augustus recognized him as the official ruler, but an Aeneas assumed control of the throne at Petra under the name of Aretas (IV) and sent an embassy to Rome to plead his case and condemn Syllaeus. Although not a direct descendant of Obodas III, Aeneas appears to have been from a collateral line of the royal house, related to Malichus I (58–30

B.C.). However, the Roman emperor dismissed Aretas' claims, sending his envoys and their gifts back to Nabatea, as he had failed to request the emperor's permission before assuming rule. In spite of his initial rejection of Aretas' petition, Augustus found other complaints about Syllaeus more persuasive. These were issued by Herod the Great through his agent Nicolaus of Damascus. As a result, Syllaeus was condemned and later executed by Augustus, who reluctantly recognized Aretas as the legitimate ruler of Nabatea (Jos. *Ant* 16.9.1–4 §271–99 and 10.8–9 §335–55).

The lengthy reign of Aretas is the best documented of any Nabatean monarch. The coinage issued in his reign is immense, representing an estimated 80 percent of all Nabatean coinage. It has been found at scattered sites throughout the Levant (including Cyrus, Dura-Europos, and Susa) and even in Europe (Aventicum, Switzerland). It is also important for the portraiture of the monarch, who is depicted with a mustache after A.D. 18. A gap in the issues and inscriptions of his reign between 4–1 B.C. and a cryptic comment by Strabo (16.4.21) has led to the suggestion that the Nabatean kingdom had been annexed briefly, then transformed again to the status of a client state (Bowersock 1983: 54–55). The motive may be associated with Herod's death in 4 B.C., when Aretas provided auxiliaries to assist the Syrian legate Varus in quelling political unrest in Judea (*Ant* 17.10.9 §287; *JW* 2.68). Their disobedience of the Roman commander's orders during the affair prompted their dismissal and perhaps Roman intervention in Nabatea (*Ant* 17.10.10 §296). Nevertheless, other chronological gaps in the coinage and inscriptions of Aretas' reign exist, rendering this interpretation inconclusive. Moreover, the standard epithet "lover of his people" (*raḥem ʿanmeh*) that appears on Aretas' coinage has been interpreted as an implicit rejection of such titles as *philoromaios* and *philokaisar* used by other Roman client kings and a protest against any suggestion of servility (*HJP²* 1: 582). The epithet appears on his coins and inscriptions from the beginning to the end of his reign.

Under Aretas, the formative stage of Nabatean material culture took place. Their distinctive art, architecture, pottery, and peculiar Aramaic script all developed their classical style during his reign. Many of the monumental structures at Petra have been assigned to his time, such as the construction of the theater and Qaṣr al-Bint; the famous Khazneh at the terminus of the Siq has also been proposed as the great king's final resting place. The development of the Negev cities at the time—Oboda, Mampsis, Nessana, Elusa, and Sobata—further reflects the economic prosperity of the period. In addition, Madāʾin ṣaliḥ (ancient Hegra) appears to have been founded early in his reign, serving as an important emporium for the caravan trade in aromatics from South Arabia. Nabatean merchants in A.D. 3–6 even erected a sanctuary at the port of Puteoli in Italy (CIS II 158). The administrative and military organization of Aretas' realm reflect these foreign contacts; his officers bear titles adopted from the Hellenistic and Roman overlords: strategoi, hipparchoi, chiliarchoi, and even a centurion appear in inscriptions during his reign. In many respects, the cultural achievements of Aretas IV represent a fitting parallel to those of his contemporary in Judea, Herod the Great.

Aretas had at least two wives during his lengthy reign: Huldu (from 9 B.C.–A.D. 16) and Shuqailat (from A.D. 18). They are not designated his "sisters" (*ʾḥt*) on coins during his reign, in contrast to the wives of his royal successors Malichus II (A.D. 40–70) and Rabbel II (A.D. 71–106), but inscriptions indicate that both Huldu (CIS II 158) and Shuqailat (CIS II 354; Khairy 1981) were entitled his "sister." The "title" has been taken literally, but it many only represent an important rank in the hierarchy of the royal court of Nabatea (Meshorer 1975: 61). Syllaeus was also called the "brother of the king [i.e., Obodas II]," although he was the son of Teimu, not Obodas II. The members of the royal family of Aretas IV late in his reign are listed in a recent inscription found at Wadi Musa (Khairy 1981). It names four sons (Malichus II, Obodas, Rabbel, and Phasael) and four daughters (Shaʿdat, Shaqilat II, Gamilat, and Hageru); the latter princess was also the mother of a child named Aretas, the grandson of Aretas IV. Intermarriages between the royal families of the various monarchies were common in the East and existed in the relations of the Petraean royal house with the Herodian dynasty: one of Aretas' daughters—perhaps Shaʿudat (Starcky *DBSup* 7: 914)—was married to the tetrarch Herod Antipas before he divorced her to marry Herodias, the wife of his half-brother Herod Philip. John the Baptist condemned the action and was imprisoned and finally executed by Antipas around A.D. 29 (Matt 14:3–12 and par.). Aretas' anger found

revenge only later, in A.D. 36, when he attacked and defeated the army of Antipas. Tiberius sent Vitellius the governor of Syria to punish Aretas for his action, but the Roman emperor's death in A.D. 36–37 canceled the expedition (*Ant* 18.5.1–3 §109–25).

The only specific biblical reference to Aretas IV appears in Paul's letter of 2 Corinthians in which he refers to his escape in a basket lowered from a window in the city wall that was guarded by the "governor [*ethnarch*] under king Aretas" (11:32–33). The circumstances remain obscure, but the Jewish and Nabatean Arab community appear to have acted in concert against Paul (cf. Acts 9:24). The ethnarch of Aretas has been taken to be a royal official charged with oversight of the Nabatean commercial colony established at Damascus (*DBSup* 7: 915; Rey-Coquais 1978: 50; Knauf 1983), rather than an indication the city constituted part of the Nabatean realm. A parallel has been found in an official with the title of "ethnarch" who was responsible for the Jewish community at Alexandria (Jos. *Ant* 14.17). But others feel that Paul's description of the incident seems to place the Syrian city clearly under Nabatean control, however briefly (Bowersock 1983: 68). Since the episode appears to have occurred in the reign of the emperor Caligula (A.D. 37–41), it has been associated with his general policy of extending the territories of the client kings in the East (Jewett 1979: 30–33, 99). No coinage from Damascus appears to have been struck during his reign or that of Claudius. Paul's prior contacts with Nabatea (Gal 1:17) may also account for the animosity of Aretas' official in Damascus, but the sources are silent about his Arabian sojourn. The odd inclusion of the incident in his list of hardships (see Fitzgerald 1988: 18–19) has been explained as an inversion of Roman military imagery, emphasizing the apostle's humiliation in retreating over a wall, in contrast to the distinguished award (*corona muralis*) given to the first courageous Roman soldier to scale the wall of the enemy (Judge 1968: 47; cf. Furnish *2 Corinthians* AB, 542). As such, it illustrates again the "weakness" of Paul.

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**ARGOB** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾargōb* (אַרְגֹּב)]. A district E of the Jordan valley of uncertain location. The name Argob occurs three times in the chapter of Deuteronomy recounting the capture of the Amorite kingdom of BASHAN that was ruled by OG (Deut 3:4, 13, 14) and once in the account of Solomon's administrative districts (1 Kgs 4:14). The name consistently appears in the construction *ḥebel ʾargōb,* and its proper interpretation presents several problems. The Hebrew noun *ḥebel* can denote a measured tract or area (note *schoinismos* [1 Kgs 4:13]), and thus would seem to imply a clearly delineated section of Bashan. The etymology of the name "Argob" suggests a possible identification of the area, though difficulties remain. The toponym *ʾargōb* is probably related to the rare noun *regeb* "clod (of earth)"

(found only in Job 21:33; 38:38), perhaps referring to a tract of arable land. The name is replaced in *Tg. Yer.* with the word *tarkona,* which may be a transliteration of Gk *trachōn,* a substantive meaning "rugged, stony region" and also the name of the large basalt formation about 20 mi. S of Damascus (called in Arabic *el-Leja* "the Refuge"; see TRACHONITIS). The location of this formation well E of the Jordan stands in the way of its identification with Argob, because Deut 3:14 implies that the region of Argob extended W "as far as the border of the Geshurites and Maacathites"; that border is generally placed at the Nahr er-Raqqad, the westernmost N-S tributary of the river Yarmuk.

Other locations have been proposed for Argob, though none can claim consensus. The region known as Batanea to the W and S of Trachonitis is one possibility (*GB,* 215). Its rich soil has been farmed by the Druze in more recent times. Simons (*GTTOT,* 8–9, 13) extends the region of Argob W to Nahr er-Raqqad and N to Mt. Hermon (although *GTTOT* Map V twice shows Argob lying along the Wadi al-Harir [also called Hreir or Ehrer], considerably E of Raqqad). Mazar (1961: 24) located Argob along the banks of the Wadi el-ʾAllan (another Yarmuk tributary situated between Raqqad and Harir). Avi-Yonah (*EncJud* 1) placed Argob between the wadis Raqqad and ʾAllan.

Bergman (1936: 239) suggested Jebel Druz as the location of Argob, though he doubted that the Israelite conquest included territory N of the Yarmuk. Ottosson (1969: 111–12) places Argob in N Gilead, *south* of the Yarmuk and S of Bashan (although he appears to extend Bashan S of the Yarmuk).

The location and extent of the region of Argob is further complicated by the biblical statement (Deut 3:13) that it is conterminous with the kingdom of Og and apparently also with the region called HAVVOTH-JAIR (Deut 3:14). The latter cities are said to be in Bashan (Josh 13:30) but also in Gilead (Num 32:40–41; Judg 10:4). The sixth Solomonic administrative district comprised Havvoth-jair in Gilead and the region of Argob in Bashan (1 Kgs 4:13), clearly distinguishing the locations of the two regions.

Another biblical reference to Argob (2 Kgs 15:25) is textually problematic. The phrase *ʾet-ʾargōb wĕʾet-hāʾaryê* may be misplaced from v 29, a list of places captured by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser. The second member of the pair may be a corrupt reading of *yāʾîr* from the place name Havvoth-jair. If this reasoning is correct, then Argob is distinguished from Havvoth-jair in this instance as well.

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## ARGOB AND ARIEH (PERSONS) [Heb *ʾargōb* (אַרְגֹּב) and *ʾaryēh* (אַרְיֵה)]. Possibly two

coconspirators with Pekah or victims along with the king, Pekahiah, of Pekah's conspiracy (2 Kgs 15:25), but more likely place names. The MT includes these two names in a grammatically difficult sentence, but they are omitted in many English translations (RSV, NAB, NEB). Various solutions to the problems posed by these two names have been suggested. Klostermann emends the text to read "with his four hundred warriors" suggesting that Pekah was able to eradicate the entire royal guard. Geller proposes that the text should be translated "near eagle and lion" indicating the place where Pekahiah was murdered. Geller argues that as Sennacherib was murdered between statues of protective deities set up at the gates of the royal palace, so Pekahiah was murdered between guardian statues of his palace. Most modern translators accept Stade's solution that Argob and Arieh are place names and should be omitted. It is possible that a scribe's eyes wandered from the Gilead of v 29 to the Gilead of 25, where he then inserted place names that should actually be in v 29. Argob is the name of a district of Bashan (Deut 3:4, 13, 14; 1 Kgs 4:13). Arieh, similar in spelling to Havvoth-jair which is elsewhere associated with Argob (Deut 3:14), refers to a group of settlements in the area. (See Gray *Kings* OTL; Jones Vol. 2 of *Kings* NCBC.)

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**ARIANISM.** See ARIUS, ARIANISM.

**ARIARATHES** (PERSON) [Gk *Ariarathēs* (Ἀριαραθης)]. Ariarathes V Eusebes Philopater, king of Cappadocia (ca. 163–130 B.C.), [1 Macc 15:22]. He appears in a list of recipients of the letter sent by the consul Lucius endorsing the leadership of Simon, the High Priest. The letter stresses the renewal of friendship and alliance between Rome and Judea, forbids war against Judea by Roman allies, and allows for the extradition of prisoners. The placement of Ariarathes V after Attalus II reflects accurately both their submission to Rome and the strong ties between the two men. Attalus II married Ariarathes' sister, Stratonice. He also came to Ariarathes' aid when the latter's half-brother, Orophernes, had seized the throne of Cappadocia. Later they together attacked the city of Priene in an attempt to regain funds stolen by Orophernes, but they withdrew after Rome ordered them to cease. Ariarathes V died during the battle of Leucae while fighting with the Romans against Aristonicus, who attempted to seize the throne of Pergamum after the death of Attalus III.

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**ARIDAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾarīday* (אַרְדַי), *ʾărîday* (אֲרִידַי)]. One of the ten sons of Haman (Esth 9:9). On problems surrounding this list of names, see ADALIA. Aridai (LXX *arsaion*) possibly renders the otherwise unattested Old Iranian name **Arya-dāyah-* "the Iranian tending for", or **Arya-da-hyu-* "of Iranian land, country."

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**ARIDATHA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾărîdātāʾ* (אֲרִידָתָא)]. One of the ten sons of Haman (Esth 9:8). On problems surrounding this list of names, see ADALIA. Aridatha (LXX *sarbaka* cannot be harmonized with Aridatha and must represent another name) possibly renders the otherwise unattested Old Iranian name **Arya-dāta*—"brought forth from the Aryan."

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**ARIEH.** See ARGOB AND ARIEH.

**ARIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾărîʾēl* (אֲרִיאֵל)]. Var. IDUEL. Even though the Hebrew terms that stand behind the transliteration "ariel" occur rarely in the Bible, "ariel" seems to carry a wide range of meanings: (1) a poetic name for Jerusalem (Isa 29:1–2, 7); (2) a common noun for "heroes" or "champions" (2 Sam 23:20; 1 Chr 11:22; cf. Isa 33:7); (3) a common noun for "altar hearth" (Ezek 43:15–16; cf. Mesha Inscription, line 12); and (4) a personal name, a proper noun (Ezra 8:16). This rapid overview actually reduces a complicated discussion to its simplest form, and the balance of this entry pursues the use of this word as a personal name. At the outset it should be recognized that there is much dispute over the etymology of "ariel" (lion of God?) and how the word was used in the ways listed above (Segert 1961: 241; *KAI* 2: 175; Andersen 1966: 90; *TSSI* 1: 80).

In Ezra 8:16, the personal name "Ariel" occurs in a list of "leading men" who helped Ezra solve a problem. In the parallel text in 1 Esdr 8:43, he is called Iduel (Gk Idouēlos). During the reign of Artaxerxes, Ezra received permission to lead a party of exiled Judeans from Babylonia back to Jerusalem. When he had gathered this group of men at "the river that runs to Ahava," whose exact location is

unknown, Ezra took note of the fact that there were no "sons of Levi" among the large number. (A similar scarcity of Levites is noted in Ezra 2:40.) Accordingly, he summoned some of the leading men of the day, including Ariel, and apprised them of the situation. They were dispatched to a place called Casiphia, also unidentified, to speak to a leader named Iddo; he and his "brethren" were the temple servants (Hebrew *nětînîm*) at Casiphia. Apparently, the appeal of men like Ariel was successful, since "ministers for the house of God" were found to accompany Ezra and his party of émigrés (Ezra 8:15–20).

An intriguing use of the word "ariel" occurs in 2 Sam 23:20 (paralleled in 1 Chr 11:22). These verses mention the valor of Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, one of David's mighty men. To illustrate his courage, the last part of the sentence reports that Benaiah "smote *two ariels of Moab*" (RSV), while the KJV renders this line "he slew *two lionlike men of Moab.*" A marginal note in the RSV informs the reader that the meaning of the term "ariel" is not known, and the KJV translators informed their readers that "ariel(s)" should be translated literally "lions of God." The KJV has chosen to follow the MT and translate "two ariels" into English as "two lionlike men" (i.e., "heroes" or "champions," which is probably a correct rendering). Likewise, the RSV follows the MT's wording, "two ariels," but leaves ariels untranslated. On the other hand, the LXX reconstructs the phrase to say *"The two sons of Ariel of Moab,"* thereby making Ariel a proper noun, the name of a Moabite father whose sons were slain by Banaiah. This use of "ariel" as a Moabite name can be compared with one of the proposed translations of a phrase in line 12 of the Mesha Inscription, *ʾrʾl dwdh* "Arel its commander" or "Arel its chief." Though the use of *ʾrʾl* as a man's name still finds support in scholarly circles, most seem to prefer "altar hearth" in this expression, as in Ezek 43:15–16 (Kaiser *Isaiah* OTL, 266–67).

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**ARIEL** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾarîʾēl* (אֲרִיאֵל)]. When used to refer to a place, Ariel is a descriptive term applied to the city of Jerusalem: "Ho Ariel, Ariel, the city where David encamped"; "Yet I will distress Ariel …"; "And the multitudes of all the nations that fight against Ariel …" (Isa 29:1, 2, 7). The suggestion that the term is a compound of *ʾari* and *ʾel* to mean "lion[ness] of God" is inferred by some from references to Judah (whose capital was Jerusalem) as "a lion's whelp" (Gen 49:9) and to the leader of Judah, Jesus Christ, "the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David" (Rev 5:5). References in 2 Sam 23:20 to one of David's men as a valiant man who killed men of Moab and a lion, and in Isa 33:7 (where some postulate *ʾerʾellam* to be derived from *ʾarîʾel;* cf. *BDB,* 72) to the brave men of Judah during Sennacherib's onslaught are cited in support of this view. It is noted that in 2 Sam 23:20 the LXX reads, "the two sons of Ariel of Moab," while the MT has "the two ariel(s) of Moab." In Ezek 43:15 there is a curious MT reading, *harʾēl,* "mountain of God," in the context of a description of the altar; some versions here have *ʾarîʾēl* ("lioness of God") and *ʾarīʾêl* ("altar hearth, hearth of God"; the *Qere* has *ʾarīʾêl*). This latter interpretation, "altar hearth, hearth of God," is supported by some scholars because it fits the meaning of Ezek 43:15 where an altar for Jerusalem is described, an altar with four "horns," or projections, one at each of the four corners, and they see a parallel in the *ʾarʾel (?) dwd* which the Moabite Stone (line 12) says Mesha king of Moab dragged before the god Chemosh (*ANET,* 320). On this view the concept of altar hearth comes for *ʾarah,* "burn," similar to the Arabic *ʾira tun,* feminine "hearth." If this is the root, the *lamed* at the end of the word *ʾariʾel* is considered a formative. Thus, Isa 29:1, 2, 7 speaks of Jerusalem in solemn terms as the city on which God will bring his wrath, and Jerusalem will be like a burning altar hearth.

W. HAROLD MARE

**ARIMATHEA** (PLACE) [Gk *Arimathaia* (Ἀριμαθαια)]. Var. ARIMATHAEA; HARMATHAIM; RAMATHEM; RAMATHA; RAMAH; RAMA; ER-RAM. Each of the Gospels mentions this town only once, and always in association with JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA—who placed Christ's body in his own tomb (Matt 27:57; Mark 15:43; Luke 23:50; John 19:38). This Jewish town (Luke 23:50) was in the

Shephelah hills area, approximately 20 mi. E of modern Jaffa, and it most likely is identical with either modern Ramathain (Jos. *Ant* 13.4.9) or Rathamein—Samaritan toparchies. In 145 B.C., the Syrian king Demetrius II Nicator delivered three Samaritan toparchies, including Arimathea, to the Jewish leader Jonathan (1 Macc 11:34).

Both Eusebius and Jerome identify Arimathea with the birthplace of Samuel, i.e., Ramah or Ramathaim-zophim, "the two Ramahs" or "twin heights" within Ephraim (1 Sam 1:19). The *Onomasticon* identifies it with this site (Aramathem-Sophim) near Thamna and Lydda (Euseb. *Onomast.* 144.28; 1 Sam 1:1). In the 4th century Jerome reported that the Holy Paula visited this location. Strong traditions from the Middle Ages buttress this claim, celebrating this town as the prophet's original home. And even a monastery of Joseph of Arimathea was erected there. Conflicting traditions urge Arimathea's location at modern Rentis, 15 mi. E of Jaffa. Other suggestions for Arimathea include er-Ram and el-Birah-Ramallah, 5 and 8 mi. N of Jerusalem, respectively. The mosaic Madeba Map also warrants attention, listing Armathem and Arimathe.

All of the above suggestions coincide with the Heb *hārāmāta,* Ramathaim (1 Sam 1:1). The directive *he-*, "toward Rama," geographically accommodates the above selections. *Hārāmāta* becomes *Armathaim* in the LXX.

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**ARIMATHEA, JOSEPH OF.** See JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA.

**ARIOCH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾaryôk* (אַרְיוֹךְ)]. **1.** King of Ellasar and one of the allies of Chedorlaomer (Gen 14:1, 9). The identities of both Arioch and his kingdom have been controversial since ancient times (see ELLASAR on its identifications in ancient versions). After the decipherment of cuneiform and the emergence of the first fragmentary data on Babylonian history, E. Schrader (1883: 135) identified Ellasar with Larsa in S Babylonia, and Arioch, with one of its kings, (W)arad-Sin, via the hypothetical variant spelling of his name as $^{m}$*Èri-*$^{d}$*A-ku* (both signifying "servant of the Moon-god"). A little later, the same scholar identified Amraphel with Hammurapi. When it was ascertained that the reign of Warad-Sin was not contemporaneous with that of Hammurapi, Dhorme (1908: 209; 1931: 262) replaced Warad-Sin as the prototype of Arioch with his brother and successor Rim-Sin. But the onomastic side of the equation was so convoluted and contrary to Akkadian phonetics and writing that Dhorme himself later abandoned it. Böhl (1930: 23) identified Ellasar with Telassar and explained *ʾaryôk* as Iranian **aryaka* "the Aryan." When the Mari texts disclosed the existence of a "son" (i.e., a vassal) of King Zimri-Lim named *Ar-ri-wu-uk*, Böhl (1945: 66; 1946: 17) transferred to him the identification with Arioch, though—as stated by Noth (1951)—without substantiation. Moreover, Dossin (1934: 118–19) pointed out that a kingdom listed in Genesis 14 along with Elam, Babylonia, and Hatti (see TIDAL), must have also been a major power. He explained Ellasar as a transcription of one of the cuneiform writings of *Aššur.* Böhl (1953: 46) and Dhorme (1956: 42) reached the same conclusion independently. (On Lipiński's connection of the name "Arioch" with that of a satrap of Armenia Minor in the 3d century B.C., written *Ariukēs* in Greek and *hry [w] kʾ* in Aramaic, see ELLASAR.)

It has been noted since the publication of the "Chedorlaomer texts" (see CHEDORLAOMER) that the patronymic of one of their four royal characters, written $^{m}$ÌR-É-*ku-a* and $^{m}$ÌR-$^{d}$É-*a-ku*, resembles the name "Arioch." The name of the king himself is written ideographically. After the initial efforts of transliterating it by various scholars, Astour (1966: 83) ascertained that its actual writing is $^{m}$BÀD.MAḫ-$^{d}$MAŠ, to be read $^{m}$*Tukulti-*$^{d}$*Ninurta*. The "Chedorlaomer texts" recount how the king in question plundered and flooded Babylon, killed its people, sat on the throne of Babylon as its lord, carried away its gods among the booty, and was murdered by his own son. This fits the Assyrian and Babylonian evidence about Tukulti-Ninurta I, king of Assyria (1243–1207 B.C.). His pseudo-patronymic in the "Chedorlaomer texts," preceded by the unusual relative-determinative pronoun *šá,* is actually a descriptive epithet (with a play of homophones, often used in these texts): " (he) who sacked *É-ku-a*," the central cella of the temple Esagila in Babylon, from which the historical Tukulti-Ninurta I carried away to Assur the revered statue

of Babylon's patron god Marduk. The other occurrence of the pseudo-patronymic in these texts reverses the final two signs as *É-a-ku.* It is apparently the latter form that underlies Arioch in Genesis 14, where he is correctly ascribed the kingship of Assur, albeit in the cryptic transcription "Ellasar."

**2.** The captain of Nebuchadnezzar's guard (Dan 2:14, 15, 24, 25).

**3.** King of the Elymeans (Elamites), Jdt 1:6. The name of the latter two characters has evidently been borrowed from Genesis 14.

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**ARISAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾarîsay* (אַרִיסַי)]. One of the ten sons of Haman (Esth 9:9). On problems surrounding this list of names, see ADALIA. Arisai (LXX *rouphaion*) perhaps renders the otherwise unattested Old Iranian name **Arya-sāya*—"Iranian protector/defender." For an explanation of the Greek name as a corruption of MT, see Haupt (1982: 70).

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**ARISTARCHUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Aristarchos* (Ἀρισταρχος)]. A Jewish Christian from Thessalonica in Macedonia, one of Paul's travel companions (Acts 19:29), fellow workers (Col 4:11; Phlm 24), and fellow prisoners (Col 4:10). Present with Paul when Colossians and Philemon were written, Aristarchus sends his greetings to the recipients of both letters. The identification of Aristarchus in Col 4:10 as Paul's "fellow prisoner" (Gk *sunaichmalōtos,* lit. "prisoner of war") is probably to be taken in the strict sense referring to a time and place when Aristarchus was imprisoned with Paul (Ephesus, Caesarea, or Rome). However, it is not known when or where Aristarchus was actually imprisoned. For this reason the term has sometimes been interpreted in a metaphorical sense, meaning that Aristarchus, like Paul, was held "captive" by Christ.

Col 4:11 also names Aristarchus, Mark, and Jesus, called Justus, as the only "men of the circumcision" among Paul's "fellow workers for the kingdom of God" who were with him during his imprisonment. The presence of these Jewish Christian missionaries is comforting to Paul (Col 4:11). This would be particularly the case in light of the earlier crisis at Antioch (Gal 2:11–21), and its aftereffects (cf. Gal; Phil 3) when Paul was opposed by many Jewish Christian missionaries (see Ollrog 1979: 45–46).

In Acts, Aristarchus is identified as a Macedonian in 19:29, as being from Thessalonica in 20:4, and as both in 27:2. In the first text, he is linked with GAIUS, another Macedonian. These two travel companions of Paul were present with him at the riot led by the silversmiths in Ephesus. In that confusion, Aristarchus and Gaius were seized and dragged into the immense Ephesian theater, probably to be questioned about Paul's activities. Apparently they were freed shortly after the town clerk had diffused the fracas. Since Acts refers to Aristarchus twice within "we-passages" (20:4; 27:2), it has been speculated that Aristarchus knew Luke and that the notably vivid scene of the riot in 19:29, not a "we-

passage," may nonetheless be attributed to an eyewitness account that Aristarchus provided for Luke (Bruce 1977: 289).

When the rioting ceased, Paul, presumably with Aristarchus and Gaius, departed for Macedonia and then for Greece. Later, Aristarchus, Secundus (also a Thessalonian), and others accompanied Paul on his return from Greece (Corinth) to Macedonia; from there they went ahead of him to Troas (20:5). A few years later, Aristarchus also traveled with Paul from Caesarea to Rome (27:2), where he may have shared in his imprisonment, possibly voluntarily (cf. Col 4:10). In Rome, Aristarchus may have come into contact with Epaphras, another fellow prisoner of Paul (Phlm 23).

One other possible reference to Aristarchus occurs in 2 Cor 8:18–19, where Paul, commending Titus to the Corinthians, mentions sending also "the brother who is famous among all the churches for his preaching of the gospel," a person who "has been appointed by the churches to travel with us." The strongest literary evidence for identifying Aristarchus as this brother is the parallel use of the term "travel companion" (*sunekdēmos*) found in the NT only here in 2 Cor 8:19 and in Acts 19:29 where Aristarchus is so described (Redlich 1913: 217–18). An identification of this unnamed brother with Aristarchus, however, remains hypothetical.

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**ARISTEAS THE EXEGETE.** A Jewish author who flourished prior to the mid-1st century B.C.E. whose work *On the Jews* treated, at the very least, the biblical figure Job. To what extent he treated other matters is not known. He is generally designated "exegete" or "historian" because of his interest in the biblical text, especially its historical and genealogical features. This designation also serves to distinguish him from the author of the Letter of Aristeas to Philocrates, which relates the story of the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek (see ARISTEAS, LETTER OF).

The primary testimony for Aristeas is Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* 9.25.1–4, a section of some thirty lines taken from the pagan author Alexander Polyhistor, who, instead of giving a direct quotation, merely summarizes Aristeas' account of Job.

There is also a possible allusion to Aristeas in *Let. Aris.* 6, which mentions a previous communication in which the author "related the facts about the Jewish race." This may be a reference to another work, however, or it may even be a literary fiction. It has also been suggested that the author of the *Letter of Aristeas* borrowed his name from Aristeas the Exegete. Given the ambiguity of the evidence, these two pieces of testimony are perhaps best left unrelated. *Let. Aris.* 6 does become an important consideration, however, in the question of dating.

Similar to other noncanonical traditions (e.g. *T. Job* 1:1; 2:1–2; 3:1), Aristeas identifies Job with Jobab, one of the Edomite kings mentioned in Gen 36:31–39. In fact, Job is said to be the son of Esau and Bassara. Since the biblical account identifies Jobab as the great-grandson of Esau (Gen 36:33), the text of Eusebius may be corrupt at this point. In any case, Aristeas places Job within the lineage of Esau in the patriarchal period, as is the case in other traditions (*Ps-Philo* 8:8; *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Gen 36:11). He also locates Job in the land of Ausitis (LXX Job 1:1; MT "Uz"), which he further identifies as being near Idumaea and Arabia.

The overall portrait that emerges in Aristeas' account of the biblical story is Job the Patient; the image of Job the Questioner is completely absent (Doran, *OTP* 2: 855).

In spite of the brevity of Polyhistor's summary, it is clear that Aristeas is dependent on the LXX. This is seen in the proper names he employs, such as Jobab (Gen 36:33–34), Bassara (Gen 36:33), Ausitis (Job 1:1), Zophar, king of the Minnaites (Job 2:11), as well as in the close correspondence between his description of Job's possessions and that in LXX Job 1:3, the similarity of language used to describe his afflictions, and his designation of the three friends as "kings" (LXX Job 2:11; the titles are absent in MT).

One of the chief critical problems is how Aristeas relates to the LXX epilogue to Job (*Add. Job* 42:17b–e). The similarity of material suggests either that one depended on the other, or that both drew on a common tradition.

Since Aristeas was preserved by Alexander Polyhistor (ca. 105–30 B.C.E.), it is certain that he flourished prior to the mid-1st century B.C.E. Since he used a Greek translation of Genesis and Job, he appears to have flourished after the mid-3d century B.C.E., when these Hebrew texts began to become available in Greek. If there is a definitive connection between *Let. Aris.* 6 and Aristeas the Exegete's work, it must antedate the *Letter of Aristeas,* which may be as early as the 3d century B.C.E. But as noted earlier, this connection is very tenuous. Accordingly, scholars have generally dated him from the 2d century to the mid-1st century B.C.E.

Because of his apparently exclusive dependence on the LXX, scholars have tended to locate him in a Greek-speaking setting such as Egypt. Given the brevity of the fragment, however, the provenance must remain an open question.

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**ARISTEAS, LETTER OF.** The Letter of Aristeas addressed by Aristeas to a certain Philocrates describes the translation of the Pentateuch into Greek. As such, it is one of the principal sources of information about the origins of the SEPTUAGINT (LXX).

**A. Summary**

The contents of the Letter (*Let. Aris.*) can be summarized as follows: Aristeas relates how Ptolemy II King of Egypt (285–247 B.C.) requested Demetrius his librarian to make a complete worldwide collection of books for his library at Alexandria (vv 1–8). He soon collected over 200,000 books and told the king that his target was 500,000. There were also the laws of the Jews which needed translation and to be put into the library. So the king ordered a letter to be sent to the Jewish high priest about this matter (vv 9–11). Aristeas took this opportunity of raising with the king the question of the Jewish prisoners, about 100,000 in number, held in Egypt. Their release was successfully negotiated, and the king also paid compensation, 20 drachmas per prisoner, and decreed accordingly (vv 12–27). After this the king required Demetrius to report to him on the Jewish Scriptures. His report quoted in full emphasized the need for a version of them in the library, and suggested asking the high priest at Jerusalem to send 72 delegates, 6 from each of the 12 tribes (vv 28–32). The king agreed, and wrote accordingly, sending gifts and news of the release of the prisoners (vv 33–34). His letter and Eleazar's reply are given in full (vv 35–51); also a description of the gifts (vv 51–82).

A description of the temple at Jerusalem follows (vv 83–104). This "digression" (v 112) ends with a description of the countryside (vv 112–20). Eleazar dispatched the envoys, and there is a lengthy apology for the Jewish Law, especially its monotheism, in contrast with the polytheism of its neighbors and their worship of sacred animals and idols (vv 121–71). When the embassy arrived in Alexandria, a royal banquet lasting 7 days was held in welcome, during which the king questioned the guests in turn about their religion, the nature and its relevance to the exercise of royalty. Each question is answered (vv 173–294). The banquet ends and Aristeas apologizes to Philocrates for the length of this account, but insists on its accuracy (vv 295–300).

After the banquet, the work of translation soon began. Drafts were made, compared, and a final Greek version was completed in just 72 days, whereupon it was read to the Jewish community and approved (vv 301–11). Demetrius was ordered to guard the books carefully, and finally gifts were exchanged and the translators returned home (vv 312–21).

**B. Authorship and Date**

Aristeas wrote the *Let. Aris.* to his brother Philocrates. He was one of the envoys but no further details are given about him. We can conjecture that he was a Jew living in Alexandria (Pelletier 1962: 56). His familiarity with Jewish worship and way of life is apparent, but his interests were not limited within that area.

In one passage (v 16) he seems to associate himself with those who also call God the Creator "Zeus," i.e., Greeks or Hellenists, but this somewhat inconclusive statement is outweighed by his special knowledge of Jerusalem and the temple worship (vv 83–118). This would indicate that Aristeas was probably a Jew. It is tempting to conclude from the setting of *Let. Aris.* that its author likewise came from Alexandria, but this is conjectural.

The reference to the Egyptian King Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–247 B.C.) and the use by Josephus (A.D. 37–?110) of *Let. Aris.* as a source (*Jewish Antiquities* 12.2.118) provide broad indications of the date. Within these limits the suggested dates, as summarized by Jellicoe (1968: 48–50) fall into three groups: early, ca. 150–100 B.C., and 1st century B.C. It is less probably a contemporary document—and therefore early—because the Pentateuch seems to be assumed by the author to be a well-established version, the origin of which he describes.

**C. Translation**

The consideration of the translation involves identifying the original which was translated, together with the method and procedure adopted in the undertaking. In respect of the first, *Let. Aris.* (v 30) states "the books of the law of the Jews, with some others, are wanting [i.e., not in the Library at Alexandria], for these works are written [Gk *legomena* lit. "spoken"] in Hebrew letters and language, but they have been transcribed [Gk *sesēmantai*] somewhat carelessly and not as they should be." It is not clear whether *Let. Aris.* is referring to Hebrew copies of the Law, or to existing Greek versions in the Library at Alexandria: in both cases they are criticized as somewhat inadequate. Moreover the crucial words (v 30) are ambiguous, as Pelletier (1962: 118–20) clearly indicated. There is difficulty too with *sesēmantai,* which is variously thought to have meant "written," "interpreted," and "rendered" (Shutt *OTP* 2: 25–29). If the view is taken that earlier Greek versions of the Law were consulted by the Seventy, it is possible to try and identify them. Jellicoe (1968: 50) thinks that *Let. Aris.* was written to defend a rival Greek version emanating from Leontopolis.

The amount of space given to the actual work of translation is short (vv 301–11). In addition to the difficulty mentioned above, *Let. Aris.* (v 302 and Pelletier [1962: 230 n. 2]), says simply that the translators "harmonized" their drafts, by comparing and agreeing on a final version. There must have been some guidelines for such harmonization. The ease and speed with which agreement was reached raise further suspicions, and all these considerations confirm the view that *Let. Aris.* in its account of the actual work of translation is inadequate and unreliable.

**D. Purpose**

The foregoing raises the difficult question of the purpose of *Let. Aris.* Clearly part of its purpose was to describe the translation of the Jewish Law into Greek. But equally clearly, that explanation is insufficient to account for the brevity of that passage, which is covered by vv 301–11 out of vv 322. The preceding sections are longer and more detailed, as the Summary indicates. There is a lengthy description of Palestine and Jerusalem, and at the banquet each one of the Seventy is questioned and gives his answer. If then, as seems likely, the actual translation is not the only focus of *Let. Aris.* can we identify the wider purpose? The content of the questions and answers at the banquet may provide a clue. They are concerned with Judaism and the Law, and the desire to present an apology for both in an environment which does not pay much attention to such things, and knows little or nothing about Palestine. *Let. Aris.* seeks to redress that balance, and this wider purpose would be more understandable if, as seems likely, the work emanated from Alexandria and even from the Jewish community which was established there.

In the Christian era the LXX version was highly esteemed (Swete 1902: 29), and the Hebrew version was neglected until Origen (ca. A.D. 185–254) revived interest in the Hebrew by comparing it with the Greek version. Similarities and differences were established in the texts, and the Greek version was defended against the Hebrew. *Let. Aris.* was used in that defense, and was considered to be verbally

inspired (Pelletier 1962: 81–86). In spite of its limitations, it cannot be ignored in the study of the Septuagint.

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**ARISTIDES** (PERSON). According to Eusebius, both Quadratus and Aristides presented Christian apologies to the Emperor Hadrian at Athens, probably in 124 C.E. Aristides was unknown to scholars for many years, though his work survived in at least two 4th-century papyri (*POxy.* 15: 1778). The Mechitarists of Venice published an Armenian fragment in 1878, and in 1889 J. R. Harris discovered the whole apology in a 7th-century Syriac manuscript at St. Catherine's on Sinai. J. A. Robinson immediately found that the Greek apology had been used for a lengthy section of the Greek novel *Barlaam and Josaphat,* ascribed to John of Damascus. The text can be reconstructed from the last two witnesses and confirmed by the fragmentary papyri.

Arguments have continued about the recipient's identity, for the Syriac version is addressed by "Marcianus Aristides the Athenian philosopher" to Antoninus Pius, while the Armenian agrees with Eusebius that he addressed Hadrian. Conceivably the original version is reflected in the Greek text, which was later revised and expanded for his successor Antoninus. In any event the apology is quite early, antedating the more ambitious work of Justin.

The arrangement is simple: The work begins with a semiphilosophical description of God and then shows how the gods of various nations fall short. These are the Chaldaeans, who worship the elements/planets; the Greeks, who worship human beings, vulnerable and erratic; and the Egyptians, who worship animals. The Jews are better than any of these people but worship angels and observe the ritual law. Christians are best, for they trace their genealogy back to Jesus the Christ and practice pure love and benevolence. The Syriac version emphasizes their dislike of homosexuality, perhaps more appropriately mentioned to Antoninus than to Hadrian. Christians are slandered by the Greeks but they are just and holy.

Presumably Aristides belongs to the sequence of important Christians at Athens in the 1st and 2d centuries, beginning with Paul's address there and the historical Dionysius the Areopagite, and continuing through Aristides and perhaps Quadratus to the Athenian correspondents of Dionysius of Corinth and to another philosopher-apologist, Athenagoras.

The 4th-century papyri show that Aristides was still read even though later Greek Christians fail to mention Aristides or quote from the apology. Its simplicity must have seemed unfortunate in a period of increasing literary sophistication, when even Diognetus was forgotten. Later Christians liked to see quotations from Scripture, but Aristides supplied none.

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**ARISTOBULUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Aristoboulos* (Ἀριστοβουλος)]. Several significant people in ancient and sacred history. It is a common Greek name meaning "best counselor." See also ARISTOBULUS (OT PSEUDEPIGRAPHA).

**1.** Greek historian who accompanied Alexander the Great on his campaigns. At 85 years of age he wrote a work on Alexander which was highly regarded in the ancient world for its trustworthiness. Only fragments of the work are extant.

**2.** Jewish priest referred to in 2 Macc 1:10, who lived in Egypt during the reign of Ptolemy VII. In a letter written by Judas Maccabaeus in 165 B.C.E., Aristobulus is addressed as a representative of the Egyptian Jews and teacher or counselor of Ptolemy VII.

**3.** Eldest of five sons of John Hyrcanus, who was named Jehuda or Judas but is better known by his Greek name "Aristobulus." In 110 B.C.E., with his brother Antigonus, he laid siege to Samaria (Josephus *Ant* 13.10.2–3; and *War* 1.2.7). When Hyrcanus died in 107 B.C.E., he decreed that his widow should succeed him and that Aristobulus should serve as high priest (Josephus *Ant* 13.11.1). Aristobulus usurped the reign in 104 B.C.E. and may have been the first Hasmonean to arrogate to himself the title of "king" (Josephus *Ant* 13.11.1; compare, however, Strabo). He also apparently allowed himself to be called "Philhellene" because of the favor he showed to the Greeks (Josephus *Ant* 13.11.3; and *War* 1.3). Aristobulus subdued the Ituraeans and compelled them to convert to Judaism. To secure his power, he imprisoned and starved to death his mother and three of his brothers. Aristobulus' favorite brother, Antigonus, later came under false accusations made by a number of jealous enemies including Aristobulus' wife, Salome Alexandra. Antigonus was also murdered but Aristobulus himself died within the same year (104 B.C.E.) with a conscience stricken with self-remorse (Josephus *Ant* 13.11.1–3; and *War* 1.3.1–6).

**4.** Younger son of Alexander Jannaeus by Alexandra (Josephus *Ant* 13.16.1; and *War* 1.5.1). During Alexandra's 9-year reign, he opposed the Pharisees, whose influence his mother had sought. When Alexandra died in 70 B.C.E., she was succeeded by her eldest son, Hyrcanus, whom Aristobulus engaged in war, forcing Hyrcanus to resign his crown and high priesthood (Josephus *Ant* 13.16; 14.1.2; *War* 1.5; 6.1). Hyrcanus was given refuge by Aretas, King of Arabia Petraea. In 65 B.C.E., Aretas invaded Judea, defeated Aristobulus' forces, and laid seige to Jerusalem (Josephus *Ant* 14.1.3–4; and idem., *War* 1.6.2). In this connection, Josephus refers to a certain Onias, whom he describes as "a righteous man and dear to God," and whose prayers for rain in a time of drought were miraculously answered. The followers of Hyrcanus tried unsuccessfully to force Onias to place a curse on Aristobulus. Instead Onias prayed that neither side would succeed, and as a result, the infuriated mob stoned him to death (Josephus *Ant* 14.2.1). Some scholars associate Onias with the Teacher of Righteousness mentioned in the Dead Sea Scrolls and either Hyrcanus II or Aristobulus II as the Wicked Priest. In 65 B.C.E., Rome interceded in the Judean affairs, initially supporting Aristobulus, but the following year Pompey decided to support Hyrcanus II, and Aristobulus and his two daughters were taken to Rome. In 56 Aristobulus escaped from Rome and appeared in Palestine, again claiming the throne. He was severely wounded in battle, captured, and sent as a prisoner to Rome with his son Antigonus. In 49 Julius Caesar freed Aristobulus, and supplied him with two legions in an attempt to recover Judea and weaken Pompey's political position. Quintus Metellus Scipio, Governor of Syria, had Aristobulus poisoned on his way to Palestine.

**5.** The grandson of number four, the son of Alexander and the brother of Herod the Great's wife, Mariamne. His mother, Alexandra, attempted to obtain the high priesthood for her son by persuading Cleopatra to influence Antony. Consequently Herod deposed Ananelus and bestowed the office to Aristobulus. Alexandra renewed complaints against Herod to Cleopatra and, under increasing suspicion, attempted to escape with her son to the protection of the Egyptian court. In 35 B.C.E., Herod had Aristobulus drowned at Jericho (Josephus *Ant* 15.2.3; and *War* 1.22.2).

**6.** One of the sons of Herod the Great by Mariamne, who was sent with his brother Alexander to Rome, where they were educated in the house of Pollio (Josephus *Ant* 15.10.1). Upon their return to Judea, their brother Antipater excited the suspicions of Herod against them, which were exasperated by the indignation the brothers showed at the murder of their mother. Aristobulus and Alexander were accused by Herod before Augustus at Aquilea in 11 B.C.E. but were temporarily reconciled with their father through the mediation of the Roman Emperor. In 6 B.C.E. the brothers were again charged with plotting against Herod but were reconciled through the efforts of Archelaus, King of Cappadocia, the father-in-law

of Alexander. After being accused for a third time in 6 B.C.E., Augustus permitted Herod to arraign the two before a council which convened at Berytus. The brothers were condemned and strangled soon after at Sebaste (Josephus *Ant* 16.1–4; 8; 10; 11; and *War* 1.23–27; see also Strabo 16.756).

**7.** Son of Aristobulus, discussed above in number 6, and Berenice, surnamed "the younger" (Josephus *Ant* 21.2), the grandson of Herod the Great. He was educated in Rome with his two brothers together with the future Emperor Claudius (Josephus *Ant* 18.5.4; 6.1; and 20.1.2). Aristobulus lived at enmity with his brother Agrippa I. He accused Agrippa I of taking a bribe from the Damascenes, ultimately placing Agrippa at variance with Flaccus, the Roman Proconsul of Syria (Josephus *Ant* 18.6.3). Aristobulus joined the protest in Jerusalem against Caligula when the emperor attempted to erect statues in the Temple (Josephus *Ant* 18.8; *War* 2.10; and Tacitus *Hist* 5.9). Aristobulus was married to Jotapa, a princess from Emessa, by whom he had a daughter with the same name (Josephus *Ant* 18.5.4; and *War* 2.11.6). Aristobulus survived his brother Agrippa I, who died in 44 C.E. (Josephus *Ant* 20.1.2.; and *War* 2.11.6).

**8.** Son of Herod, King of Chalcis, great-grandson of Herod the Great, and grandson of Aristobulus. Aristobulus obtained his father's kingdom of Chalcis from the Romans sometime after 52 C.E. when it was taken from his cousin Agrippa II (Josephus *War* 7.7.11). Nero made Aristobulus King of Armenia Minor in 55 C.E. and added to his dominions a portion of Greater Armenia (Josephus *Ant* 20.8.4; and Tacitus *Ann* 13.7; 14.25). In 73 C.E., Aristobulus joined forces with Cassenius Paetus, the Roman Consul of Syria, to fight against Antiochus, King of Commagene. Aristobulus was married to the daughter of Herodias, Salome, by whom he had three sons (Josephus *Ant* 18.5.4).

**9.** A Roman named by Paul in Rom 16:10. According to tradition, Aristobulus was the brother of Barnabas, one of the 70 disciples, ordained a bishop, and was eventually a missionary to Britain.

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**ARISTOBULUS (OT PSEUDEPIGRAPHA).** Jewish philosopher-exegete who flourished in Alexandria in the 2d century B.C.E. He wrote a work in Greek, possibly multivolumed and entitled *Explanations of the Book of Moses,* of which only several short fragments survive. The exegetically focused exposition employed a form of allegorical interpretation and had an explicit philosophical orientation. In both respects, Aristobulus anticipates Philo of Alexandria, although there are important qualitative differences in their approach and outlook. Common to both, however, is a concerted effort to address issues of biblical interpretation in light of current Greek philosophical positions and modes of interpretation, and in doing so, show that the best of Hellenistic thought and culture had already been embodied in the Mosaic law.

Five fragments from Aristobulus' work have survived. The first fragment, preserved in Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 7.32.16–18, is from an earlier treatise on the Passover by Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea (d. ca. 282 C.E.). Here Aristobulus asserts that the feast of Passover occurs during simultaneous solar and lunar equinoxes, thus when the sun and moon are at polar opposites in their orbiting positions.

The remaining four fragments, which are preserved in Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica,* are direct quotations. Portions of these fragments are quoted earlier in Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 6.3.32.5–33.1 and 6.3.32.3–4 (Frg. 2); 1.22.150.1–3 and 1.22.148.1 (Frg. 3); 5.14.99.3 and 5.14.101.4 (Frg. 4); 6.16.137.4–138.4; 6.16.141.7b–142.1; 6.16.138.4b; 6.16.142.4b–144.3; and 5.14.107.1–4 [+108.1] (Frg. 5). Portions of Frg. 4 are also contained in Clement *Protr.* 7.73.2.

Frg. 2 (*Praep. Evang.* 8.9.38–10.17) defends the biblical use of anthropomorphisms, based on interpretation "according to the laws of nature" (*phusikos*), as opposed to a "mythical and human way of thinking about God" used by those "devoted to the letter alone." Using a primitive, relatively undeveloped form of allegorical interpretation, Aristobulus explains biblical references to God's hand (power), standing (universal supremacy), and descent (the manifestation of God's universal majesty).

Frg. 3 (*Praep. Evang.* 13.12.1–2) asserts that Plato and Pythagoras borrowed much of their teaching from an early Greek translation of the Mosaic law. This fragment represents an explicit, well-developed example of the tradition, which circulated in a variety of forms, that Greek philosophy is traceable to Hebrew origins.

Frg. 4 (*Praep. Evang.* 13.12.3–8) explains the anthropomorphic expression "God spoke" and further expands the argument for Greek dependence on Moses by providing a lengthy quotation attributed to Orpheus which contains faint echoes of the biblical text. It also contains a quotation from the *Phaenomena* of Aratus (ca. 315–240 B.C.E.), altered to show that this Greek author was actually speaking unwittingly of the God of the Jews.

Frg. 5 (*Praep. Evang.* 13.12.9–16), which focuses on the sabbath, provides an allegorical interpretation of certain biblical statements, e.g., God rested on the seventh day. Through the use of number speculation drawn from various philosophical traditions, Aristobulus also interprets the sabbath as expressing the primal significance of the number seven as the ordering principle of the universe. He further posits Greek dependence on the Mosaic law by citing references attributed to Hesiod, Homer, and the mythical figure Linus attesting the special significance of the seventh day.

There is strong evidence for dating Aristobulus during the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (181–145 B.C.E.). "Ptolemy the King" to whom the work is dedicated and addressed is identified by Clement (*Strom.* 1.22.150.1) and derivatively by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* 9.6.6) as Philometor. This fits with Aristobulus' own reference to Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283–247 B.C.E.) as the addressee's "ancestor" (*Praep. Evang.* 13.12.2). Roughly the same period is envisioned when Clement (*Strom.* 5.14.97.7) and Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* 8.9.38) identify him as the Aristobulus of 2 Macc 1:10, the leading addressee of the letter sent by Judas Maccabeus and the Judean Jews to the Jewish community in Egypt. This latter piece of evidence is controversial, however, since it may have influenced Clement (and therefore Eusebius) in their historical reconstruction (Walter 1964: 13–16).

Conflicting, but less compelling, evidence for an earlier date during the reign of Philadelphus occurs in Anatolius, who identifies Aristobulus as one of the 70 who translated the Hebrew Bible into Greek (Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 7.32.16; similarly, one textual tradition of Clement *Strom.* 5.14.97.7).

Aristobulus is clearly Jewish since he speaks of "our Law" (*Praep. Evang.* 8.10.1, 8; 13.12.8; also cf. 13.12.1, 13) and calls Solomon "one of our ancestors" (13.12.11) and Moses "our lawgiver" (8.10.3). What is clear from his writings is made explicit in the tradition: he is a self-styled philosopher. Clement (*Strom.* 1.15.72.4) and Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* 9.6.6; 13.11.3–12.1 [title]) identify him as a Peripatetic, familiar "with Aristotelian philosophy" (*Praep. Evang.* 8.9.38). The term, however, should not be taken as a technical description of a particular philosophical school since it had a wider connotation during the Hellenistic period. Aristobulus' philosophical position is more appropriately described as eclectic, showing traces of Pythagorean, Platonic, Aristotelian, and Stoic influence. 2 Macc 1:10, while problematic, suggests that he was of a priestly family and served as "teacher of Ptolemy the king." The latter may mean that, in keeping with the tradition of the sage who instructs the king, he tutored the young Philometor and addressed a didactic work to him commending Jewish wisdom as the true philosophy (Hengel 1973, 1: 164). But whether he exercised such influence in the Ptolemaic court at that time is disputed (Collins, *OTP* 2: 833).

His role as exegete is reflected in Anatolius' characterization of his work as "exegetical books on the law of Moses" (Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 7.32.16) and also echoed by Eusebius' own description (*Praep. Evang.* 7.13.7) of his work as "interpretation of the sacred laws."

An Alexandrian provenance is suggested by the close association, both within the fragments themselves and in the later tradition, of Aristobulus with Ptolemaic Egypt. This is reinforced even more if 2 Macc 1:10 is reliable testimony to Aristobulus, since it specifically includes him with the "Jews in Egypt." Besides these numerous explicit connections, the philosophical tenor of the exposition, the allegorical mode of interpretation, and the broad familiarity with a wide range of classical Greek texts and philosophical positions fit well an Alexandrian setting. It has even been suggested that he was a member of the Alexandrian Museum (*HJP²* 3/1: 579).

Earlier scholars seriously doubted the authenticity of the fragments, arguing that the presence of forged quotations within them and signs of dependence on Philo of Alexandria require them to be dated in the Christian era. More recent scholarship, especially Walter (1964: 35–123), has defended their genuineness

by noting, for example, that the style of language and relatively undeveloped form of allegorical interpretation fit the Hellenistic period.

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**ARIUS, ARIANISM.** Arius (256–336 C.E.), a presbyter of the Baucalis region of Alexandria (Boulerand 1964: 175), began a controversy ca. 318 (Schneemelcher 1954: 394) with Bishop Alexander of Alexandria over the nature of Christ's relation to the Father (Gregg and Groh 1977: 263). This controversy led ultimately to Arius' condemnation by the Council of Nicaea (325 C.E.), to the exclusion of his ideas from orthodoxy in the Creed and Anathemas of Nicaea, and to the movement known as Arianism.

Nothing is known about Arius' biography other than a probable birth in Libya sometime in the 3d century and an ordination to the office of deacon by Peter of Alexandria and to the office of presbyter by Achillas (Williams 1987: 29–32, 40). Reports of Arius' death in 336 may be reliable, though the circumstances were embellishments of his enemies (Williams 1987: 80–81). Current scholars are divided on the extent of Arius' personal impact on the movement, between those who see Arius as an essentially isolated figure and those who see him as an influential member of the circle of early Arians (Groh 1986).

Orthodox opposition to the emergence of a new wave of Arian theologians in the 350s, called in the scholarly literature Neo-Arians, led to the formation of the classic doctrine of the Trinity associated with the so-called Creed of the Council of Constantinople (381), which Christians recite today as the "Nicene" Creed (Kelly 1972: 296).

Kopecek has shown that the thought and liturgical emphases of these Neo-Arians should not be confused with those of Arius, especially, and the other early Arians (1979: 20–21, 25; Kannengiesser 1982b: 54–57; Gregg 1985: 174–75; Gregg and Groh 1981: ix, 8 and n. 38).

It is the *early* Arians (ca. 318–ca. 341 C.E.) who are most important in regard to biblical exegesis within the "Antiochene" tradition of Lucian (Bardy 1936). In addition to Arius, especially important are Asterius the Sophist (d. ca. 341; also called the "Sacrificer" because of his lapse in a persecution) and Eusebius of Nicomedia (d. ca. 342), bishop successively of Berytus, Nicomedia, and Constantinople. Although Eusebius' literary legacy amounts to only a single letter (Opitz 1935b: 15–17), his prominence as the acknowledged leader of the Arian movement after Nicaea and his favor with the imperial court were probably due to the fact that he was a patrician and a relative of the future emperor Julian (361–363 C.E.) (Barnes 1981: 70 and n. 79).

**A. Sources**

The sources collected and edited by Optiz (1935a–b) need to be supplemented for Arius by quotations and commentary in the writings of Bishop Athanasius of Alexandria (328–73 C.E.) and by the sources collected by Bardy (1936: 221–95; 1930: 266). Recently, an original text of Athanasius' *Ar.*, one of the most important sources for Arianism, has been established as contained in the first two extant *Ar.* (Kannengiesser 1983 and *tableau récapitulatif*). Kannengiesser rules out Athanasian authorship for *Ar.* 3 (1983: 310–68, 409), but his thesis that *Ar.* 3 was composed by Apollinaris of Laodicea (1982a: 994–95) or his school (1983: 414–16) is problematic. *Ar.* 3 should be considered to be most probably an anti-Arian writing by Athanasius from an as yet unspecified redaction or treatise.

A major debate is also under way (Kannengiesser 1982b: 12–17; Williams, Hall, Kannengiesser in Gregg 1985: 1–78; Stead 1978) over the best text and the exact original wording of Arius' *Thalia* in the three systematic citations of it reported by Athanasius (*Ar.* 1.5–6; *ep. Aeg. Lib.*12; *syn.* 15); and attempts to uncover the metric scheme (Stead 1978: 40–52) have not succeeded in guiding us to a normative text of

Arius' systematic thinking (Kannengiesser, Gregg 1985: 61). Doctrinal disagreements among the versions seem, however, overdrawn; and an attempt to attribute a Neo-Arian redaction to *syn.* 15, thus lowering its value as a source for Arius' own thought, has been advanced and disproved in the same volume (in Kannengiesser 1982b: 54–57). Firm judgments about Athanasius' general trustworthiness as a reporter of opponents' opinions must await a better understanding of his methods (Stead 1976: 129–35) and a sifting of the mass of recent scholarly literature on Athanasius (Kannengiesser 1985).

The fragments of Asterius' *Syntagma* (Bardy 1936: 341–57) have recently been discriminated according to their two preserving sources by Wiles, who has shown that their content does not necessarily conflict with each other (Gregg 1985: 120). Asterius' *Homilies on the Psalms* (Richard 1956) Wiles has also shown to reflect differing, but not necessarily conflicting, emphases than the fragments (Gregg 1985: 135). To the homilies adjudged Asterian by Richard (1956), Wiles has further authenticated homilies 1, 10, 14, 24.4–15 (Gregg 1985: 140–44).

**B. Christological Emphases**

Scholarship of the last hundred years had tended to stress uncompromising monotheism, either Jewish or philosophical (Ricken 1969; Boulerand 1972: 101–74), as the central Arian motivation in subordinating Christ to God. More recent scholars (as chronicled in Norderval 1985) have ruled out such concerns and focused attention on the centrality of the Arians' distinctive Christology (Lorenz 1979: 223–24; Gregg and Groh 1981: 1–42, 77–129). Against the insistence of their orthodox opponents that Christ was the eternal essence, Word, Wisdom of the Father, Arians stressed Christ's creaturely dependence on God's will, emphasizing the Son's limited knowledge of the Father (Gregg and Groh 1977: 266). For Arius and Asterius, these affirmations of Christ's creaturehood safe-guarded a true incarnation, in which the redeemer could suffer and save (Gregg and Groh 1981: 4; considerably extended, qualified, and refined by Wiles and Hanson in Gregg 1985: 135–37, 181–83). Thus our earliest (ca. 324 C.E.) systematic orthodox source against the Arians (Alex. Al. *Ep. Alex.*, Optiz 1935b: 25) criticizes them for emphasizing all the Gospel and Epistle passages, including Phil 2:5–11, which mention Christ's passion and humiliation and for ignoring all those texts which, to the orthodox, stress Christ's common nature or essence with the Father.

Thus, in opposition to the orthodox, Arians accented the creaturely commonality of Christ with those he was to redeem and, hence, Christ's importance as representative creature and model (Gregg and Groh 1981). In other contexts they emphasized the special role that Christ played in the work of creation and salvation (Casey 1935: 10; Tetz 1952–53), as Wiles has recently suggested on the basis of the Asterian homilies (in Gregg 1985: 135). Thus they seem to have made a slightly different (but not necessarily contradictory) aim or appeal depending on the context: on the one hand, Christ is special, and even sole agent by which creation and salvation are accomplished; on the other hand, Christ is the model of the perfect (= perfected) creature.

This double aim or appeal informs their use of the Christological title "only-begotten" (*monogenes*) (John 1:14; 3:16; 1 John 4:9). It can mean the only creature brought into being directly by God, or *firstborn* (that is, first in a series), or even *identical image;* but the term always carried with it notions of "first Son" or "favored Son," rather than "absolutely unique Son of God," as in orthodox texts (Gregg and Groh 1984: 315–16; expanded on and corrected in Gregg and Groh 1978: 276–78).

**C. Uses of Scripture**

In their use of Scripture, the Arians excelled as rhetors and tended toward literal and typological exegesis. In dogmatic contexts, they used the Scriptures to provide terminological distinctions and definitions (Gregg and Groh 1981: 7–8, 21, 89–90, 166–68). In homiletical contexts, they, often rhetorically, pursued the moral meaning and application of texts and exhortation of the hearers (Casey 1935: 10), as Wiles has observed (in Gregg 1985: 124–25).

Traces of the allegorizing of scriptural texts as practiced by the Alexandrian school are absent in Arian exegesis. This absence makes claims that the Arian crisis was a conflict of Alexandrian hermeneutics (Kannengiesser 1982b: 1–4) problematic, though Wiles (Gregg 1985: 125) has shown that Asterius stressed the titles of the Psalms in his homilies, as did Origen and some of his disciples.

The long-term importance of Arius and his circle for scriptural exegesis and interpretation seems to reside in their forcing Alexandrian orthodoxy to develop clearly its hermeneutic of Scripture (*Ar.* 3.26; Alex. Al. *Ep. Alex.* 35, Opitz 1935b: 25); and if Athanasius' later account of the discussions at Nicaea is to be believed (*decr.* 19–20, Opitz 1935a: 17), Arian exegetical strategy can be credited with forcing the insertion of a nonscriptural term "of the same essence" (*homoousios*) into a key article of the Creed for the first time in Christian history.

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**ARK OF THE COVENANT.** A sacred object that represented the presence of God in ancient Israelite religion.

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**A. Designations**

There are two Hebrew words translated as "ark" (Lat. *arca* "box, chest") in the English: (1) *ʾărôn,* ancient Israel's most sacred cultic object which was probably originally a box of some sort, and (2) *tēbāh,* the boat which Noah built. In addition to the sacred ark, *ʾărôn* also refers to a collection box in the temple (2 Kgs 12:10, 11—Eng12:9, 10; 2 Chr 24:8, 10, 11) and the sarcophagus of Joseph (Gen 50:26). References to the ark appear in different formulations 195 times. Only 53 examples (a little over a quarter of the total number) refer to the ark without any qualification, and very few of these occur without an antecedent referent with a fuller name for the ark. It appears, therefore, that the qualifications are important for one's understanding of the significance of the ark in the various traditions (Maier 1965: 82–83).

**1. Ark of God/YHWH.** The ark is most often (82 times) associated with some divine name: "ark of God," "ark of YHWH," "ark of the God of Israel," "ark of the lord of all the earth," or the like. Most of these occur in the Deuteronomistic History; the rest are in Chronicles. In the Ark Narrative of 1 Samuel 4–6, we learn that the ark was associated with the divine name "YHWH of Hosts who sits enthroned upon the cherubim" (1 Sam 4:4; cf. 2 Sam 6:2; 1 Chr 13:6). This is usually regarded as the fullest and most ancient liturgical name of the ark. Some scholars have argued for the priority of the "ark of God" designations (von Rad, *PHOE,* 115–16), suggesting that it was only at Shiloh that the name of the ark was changed from "ark of God" to the more specific "ark of YHWH." But this is extremely difficult to demonstrate, as is the claim that the two sets of names represent two different strata in the ark stories. Indeed, the occasional juxtaposition of the two divine names (e.g., Deut 10:8; 31:9; Josh 3:3; 1 Kgs 2:26) and sometimes the translation of the names in the versions (e.g., LXX 1 Sam 4:3, 22; 5:2) suggest that the designations "ark of God" an "ark of YHWH" are probably to be treated for the most part as interchangeable names. The variations are usually stylistic rather than ideological. An exception is the name "ark of the god of Israel," all 7 occurrences of which are put in the mouth of the Philistines in connection with the ark's sojourn in Philistine territory (1 Sam 5:7, 8 [3x], 10, 11; 6:3). In the same literary context, the ark is most often called the "ark of YHWH" by the narrator (1 Sam 5:3, 4; 6:1, 2, 11, 15, 18, 19; 7:1). If any significance is to be attached to the specific designations in the narrative about the ark's sojourn, it is surely that the ark represents the power of Israel's God, the "hand" of YHWH (see D.1 below).

**2. Ark of the Covenant.** This designation appears 40 times, 30 times with various forms of the divine name. Thus, one finds "ark of the covenant of YHWH," "ark of the covenant of God," "ark of the covenant of the lord of all the earth," and so forth. In all cases, the term "covenant" appears to define the ark. The association of the ark with the covenant is typical of the Deuteronomists; it is their special designation of the ark. The statistic that stands out in this category, however, is not so much the places where the name does occur, but where it does not. It does not occur at all in the P work (Seow 1985: 186–87). Instead of "ark of the covenant," P uses a substitute name for the ark, even though the covenant is a key theological concept for P.

**3. Ark of the "Testimony."** This designation occurs, with one possible exception (Josh 4:16, which is generally taken to be a Priestly gloss), only in the Priestly material in the Tetrateuch. It is P's distinctive term for the ark; no one else uses it. The word that is usually translated as "testimony" (*ʿēdût*) is actually a

synonym for "covenant" (Seow 1985: 192–93). We know this from cognates in Egyptian, Akkadian, and Old Aramaic. In Hebrew poetry *ʿēdût* is found in parallelism with *bĕrît*, the normal word for covenant in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Ps 25:10; 132:12). In certain contexts, the Priestly writer uses *ʿēdût* where another writer would have used *bĕrît*. Thus, whereas Deuteronomy calls the tablets given at Sinai "tablets of the *bĕrît"* (Deut 9:9, 15), P calls them "tablets of the *ʿēdût*" (Exod 27:8; 31:18). It follows, then, that "ark of the *ʿēdût"* is P's equivalent of the Deuteronomistic "ark of the *bĕrît."* Since P knows the word *bĕrît*, the difference between the designations of the Deuteronomist(s) and P should be explored (see D.3 below).

**4. Allusions to the Ark.** Outside the Pentateuch and the historical writings, the ark is mentioned by name only once in the Psalter (Ps 132:8) and once in the Prophets (Jer 3:16). This has led some to conclude that the ark was no longer in existence throughout most of the monarchical period (Haran 1963: 46–58). It should be noted, however, that in poetic texts and cultic contexts the ark, which represented the real presence of the deity, may be known simply by the divine name or some theological term. In similar manner, divine images of Mesopotamia were not always called statues, they were regularly referred to as "gods." Alternatively, the name of the god or goddess may be mentioned where the image of the deity is meant. Thus, the reference to YHWH dwelling in a tent (2 Sam 7:6) is clearly to be equated with the ark being in the tent (2 Sam 7:2). So, too, the expression "before YHWH" or "before God" may frequently be synonymous with "before the ark" (e.g., Lev 16:1–2; 2 Sam 6:4–5, 14, 16, 17, 21; 1 Sam 10:25; 2 Kgs 16:14; 1 Kgs 8:59, 62–65; 9:25; Josh 6:8; 1 Chr 1:6; 13:10 [cf. 2 Sam 6:7]; Judg 20:26–27). Related to this, the mention of YHWH's presence (*pānîm*) may also be an allusion to the ark (e.g., Num 10:35; Ps 105:4).

It is probable that Ps 47:6 [—Eng 47:5] refers to a procession of the ark, even though the ark is not mentioned by name (cf. the vocabulary of 2 Sam 6:15). The opening verse of Psalm 68 is similar to the incipit of the ancient Song of the Ark in Num 10:35 and is, perhaps, part of a liturgical text used in connection with the procession of the ark in the early monarchy. In Ps 78:61, there is an allusion to the ark's capture by the Philistines (1 Sam 4:10–11), but the ark is not mentioned by name. Rather, the ark is called simply "his might" and "his glory." This verse echoes the designation "the ark of your might" in Ps 132:8. Some scholars argue, therefore, that the exhortation to "seek YHWH and his strength" (Ps 105:4) contains an allusion to the ark. Indeed, this very portion of the Psalm is cited by the Chronicler (1 Chr 16:11) as part of a liturgy used with the procession of the ark, albeit he places the procession in the time of Solomon's inauguration of the temple. In the same liturgy, the Chronicler quotes from Psalm 96, which states that YHWH's "might and glory" (the same pair of words as in Ps 78:61) are in the temple (Ps 96:6; cf. 1 Chr 16:27). It should be noted that "glory" (*kābôd*) denotes the ark in 1 Sam 4:21–22, where the capture of the ark is lamented as the departure of glory from Israel.

It is commonly acknowledged that Psalm 24 contains an "entrance liturgy" used during the procession of the ark. The psalm celebrates YHWH's cultic return as mighty warrior and glorious king (Cross, *CMHE*, 91–99). This return of YHWH was, no doubt, represented by the procession of the ark. The psalm was perhaps sung antiphonally, with those who led the procession and the "gatekeepers of the ark" (cf. 1 Chr 15:23–24) singing different portions of the liturgical text. Just outside the gates of the city, or the doors of the temple, the celebrants heralded the arrival of the ark:

Lift up your heads, O Gates;
Be lifted up, O Ancient Doors
That the King of Glory may come in!
  Who is this "King of Glory?"
YHWH strong and mighty,
YHWH the mighty warrior.
Lift up your heads, O Gates;
Lift up, O Ancient Doors
That the King of Glory may enter.
  Who is the "king of Glory"?
YHWH of Hosts, He is the King of Glory!

(Ps 24:7–10)

**B. Parallels**

In order to shed light on the antiquity of the ark and its function, scholars this century have tried to relate the ark to various cult objects in the ANE. Accordingly, the ark has been compared with the Egyptian procession barques on which statues of the gods were placed (Gressman 1926), the sarcophagus of Osiris or the Tammuz chest of the Babylonians (Hartmann 1917–18: 209–14), the step shrine of Petra which was known also among the Hittites (Reimpell 1916: 326–331), and ceramic miniature temples at Megiddo (May 1935–36), among others. Two parallels merit attention here.

**1. Tent Shrine.** Early in its history, the ark was closely associated with divine presence. In fact, it was so closely associated with the presence of YHWH that it was thought to be an extension of YHWH's personality. YHWH was thought to be present whenever the ark was present. The ark led the people in their wanderings "to search for them a resting place" (Num 10:33). Whenever the ark proceeded, YHWH would be addressed directly:

> Arise, O YHWH,
> Let your enemies be scattered
> Let your foes flee from your presence.

(Num 10:35)

By the same token, the homeward march of the ark was initiated by the call to YHWH to return (Num 10:36). The martial language in these fragments of an ancient liturgy recalls the use of the ark as a war palladium (Num 14:44; 1 Sam 4:2–9). The ark was the place where the leaders of the tribes of Israel sought oracles for holy war (Judg 20:26–27; 2 Sam 5:19, 23).

Such portrayals of the ark in relatively early sources has prompted comparison of the ark with the *qubbāh,* a pre-Islamic tent shrine of the Arab bedouin (Morgenstern 1945; Cross 1961). The *qubbāh* (cf. Num 25:8) was carried from place to place by the nomads; it led the tribes in their search for water and campsites, was used for divination, and functioned as a war palladium. It was made of red leather (cf. Exod 26:14) and contained two sacred stones (betyls). A bas-relief from a temple of Bel at Palmyra (ca. 1st century B.C.E.) shows a camel in procession, carrying a tent whose red color is still faintly visible. Several Palmyrene texts indeed mention the *qubbāh* (Zobel *TDOT* 1 367). Variations of this cult object survived in the *ʿuṭfāh* (also called *markab*) and *maḥmal* of later Muslim bedouin. Some of these receptacles carried the Quran.

According to Diodorus Siculus, the Carthaginians also had a "holy tent" *(hiera skēnē)* which they carried with them to battle (Diod. 20.65). An altar was located near this tent shrine. Philo Byblius, quoting Sanchuniathon's "Phoenician history" (ca. 7th century), speaks of an ox-drawn shrine among the Phoenicians (*Praep. Evang.* 10.12; cf. 1 Sam 6:7, 11; 2 Sam 6:3).

There is a strong tradition in the Bible linking the ark with a tent. Referring to the capture of the ark by the Philistines (1 Sam 4:1–7:2), one text speaks of YHWH's forsaking "the tabernacle of Shiloh, the tent where he dwelled" (Ps 78:60–61; cf. 1 Sam 2:22), although the sanctuary at Shiloh is called *hêkāl* (temple/palace) in 1 Sam 1:9; 3:3. (A common view is that there was, in fact, no temple at Shiloh and that the allusions to a temple are anachronistic retrojections from the later Jerusalem temple (Cross, *CMHE,* 73; Haran 1962: 14–24). But it has been pointed out that both notions of the divine abode were already associated with the Canaanite high god, El [Seow 1989: 33–41].) In this connection, it is possible to argue that the tent shrine housing the ark was somehow *in* the temple (cf. the priestly gloss in Josh 18:1 about the establishing of the tent of meeting at Shiloh). According to one source, it was David who built a tent in which the ark was enshrined (2 Sam 6:17; 1 Chr 15:1, 3). Nathan's oracle is explicit that YHWH (i.e., the ark) had not remained (*yāšab*) in a temple but had been moving about "in a tent *and* in a tabernacle" (2 Sam 7:6). According to 1 Kgs 8:4 (cf. 2 Chr 5:5), Solomon brought the ark in procession with the "tent of meeting" and other cultic appurtenances—as if the tent which sheltered the ark was brought into the sanctuary along with the ark.

There is no text more emphatic about the ark being enshrined in a portable tent than P, although the precise relationship of the "tent" and "tabernacle" in P is difficult to sort out. In P, the ark is hidden by the

*pārōket* veil which was "over the ark"—even as the *kappōret* was "over the ark" (Exod 30:6; 40:3)—and covering it (Exod 40:3; 21; cf. Num 4:5 and *b. Sukk.* 7b; *b. Soṭa* 37a). The verb "cover" in this context is the same as the verb for the cherubim's overshadowing of the ark. It is interesting, therefore, to note that Josephus describes the wings of the cherubim covering the ark "as under a tent or dome" (*Ant* 7.103–104). Josephus also reports that the ark and tent were both brought into the temple together (*Ant* 8.101). Jewish traditions suggest that the tent and the ark were removed from the temple during the destruction of Jerusalem (2 Macc 2:4–8; cf. *b. Yoma* 53b). Finally, the tradition of the tent shrine housing the ark is known in Heb 9:4 where the ark is said to be located "behind the second curtain," *in a tent.*

**2. Throne Footstool.** The ark at the Shiloh sanctuary is associated with the divine name "YHWH of Hosts who sits enthroned upon the cherubim" (1 Sam 4:4). This divine epithet combines the notions of YHWH as warrior and king. Moreover, the sanctuary is called a *hêkāl,* "temple" or "palace" (1 Sam 1:9; 3:3). The royal background of the cult at Shiloh has prompted some to argue that the origin of the ark is to be located not in the desert, but in the urban centers of Canaan. The nomads of the desert, it is presumed, would not have used the analogy of kingship prior to the establishment of the monarchy. This is fallacious, however. The idea of YHWH's kingship is presumed in several archaic, premonarchical poems (see Exod 15:18; Num 23:21; Deut 33:5). Moreover, the idea of a tent dwelling for God does not rule out the concept of YHWH's kingship. The chief god of the Canaanite pantheon, El, is regularly depicted in iconography and in the Ugaritic texts as a divine king. Yet El's domicile is explicitly stated to be a tent (*CTA* 4.4.20–26; *ANET*, 133).

In the Solomonic temple, the ark is placed in the innermost sanctum (*dĕbîr*), beneath the outspread wings of the cherubim (1 Kgs 8:6–7). Another passage says the cherubim were each 10 cubits high with the span of their outstretched wings 10 cubits wide (1 Kgs 6:23–28). The two cherubim together appear to have formed some sort of a throne for the invisible God (Mettinger 1982: 19–24). Cherubim thrones are well attested in Syria-Palestine. A beautiful ivory plaque has been excavated from the LB level Megiddo showing a king on a throne seat supported by winged sphinxes, with a procession of people paying homage to him. From the same site and period comes a tiny ivory model of an empty throne, again with winged creatures. The bas-relief from the sarcophagus of Ahiram, king of Byblos (ca. 10th century B.C.E.) likewise depicts a human or divine king sitting on a cherubim throne. A Punic stela from Sousse (Hadrumetum) and a scarab from Sardinia both show the god El as king on a throne.

Scholars from early in this century have proposed that the ark was such a throne and that the cherubim were carved on the side of the ark. But this is problematic. According to the dimensions of the cherubim and the account of the emplacement of the ark, it appears that the ark was not the cherubim-throne. Rather, the ark was probably regarded as the footstool of the invisibly enthroned deity. As such, it is closely associated with the notion of YHWH's enthronement, but it is not the throne *per se.* It should be noted that footstools regularly came with the throne in the ANE. The cherubim thrones of the sarcophagus of Ahiram and the ivory plaque of Megiddo both show boxlike footstools at the base of the throne. The god El, the enthroned deity par excellence among the West Semitic deities, also has a stool (*hdm,* as in Hebrew) on which he places his feet (*CTA* 4.4.29–30; *ANET*; 133).

It has been argued that when a treaty was sealed in the ANE, the treaty document was sometimes placed in a container which served as the footstool of a deity (de Vaux 1967). Thus, for example, a copy of the treaty between Rameses II (an Egyptian) and Ḫattusilis III (a Hittite) was placed at the feet of the images of Re and Teshub respectively. It is interesting in this connection to note that footstools from the Hittite kingdom were frequently box-like. Tutankhamen's footstool was also boxlike, as was Ahiram's. Footstools from Urartu were made of wood (ebony or acacia), and were sometimes ornately decorated and gold-plated.

The ark is called the footstool explicitly in 1 Chr 28:2 in the words of David: "I had it in my heart to build a house of rest for the ark of the covenant of YHWH, for the footstool of our God." In Psalm 99, YHWH is said to be enthroned on the cherubim as a mighty king, and people are summoned to worship "at his footstool" (Ps 99:5). In a psalm that concerns the procession of the ark, a similar exhortation is issued: "Let us enter his dwelling, let us worship at his footstool" (Ps 132:7).

**C. History**

**1. Premonarchical Period.** The precise provenance of the ark is obscure. The biblical traditions point to an early premonarchical origin, and there is nothing to preclude that possibility. The ark is associated with Moses not only in the late sources, but also in the earliest texts. The Song of the Ark (Num 10:35–36) is placed in the context of the wilderness wandering under the leadership of Moses. A defeat of the Israelites in this same period is attributed to the lack of divine support: "neither the covenant-ark of YHWH nor Moses departed from the camp" (Num 14:44).

The ark was from the start a cultic and political symbol; its presence signified the presence of YHWH. According to the book of Joshua, the ark led the people in a conquest ritual (Josh 3:1–5:1; 6:1–25). The text is not written as a historical narrative about the conquest. Rather the interest appears to be in the ritual legitimation of Joshua and Israel.

When the ark entered the Jordan, the waters were held back and stood in a heap (cf. Psalm 114). Its crossing, therefore, was equated with the crossing of YHWH: "Lo! The ark of the Covenant, the Lord of all the earth is crossing over before you in the Jordan!" (Josh 3:11). The political significance of the ritual is never in doubt: that Israel might know that YHWH was with Joshua (Josh 3:7), and that all the nations might know that YHWH was with Israel (Josh 4:10, 24; 5:1).

Upon crossing the Jordan, a sanctuary was established at Gilgal (Josh 4:19). Sometime after the establishing of the Gilgal sanctuary, the ark was moved. The mention in Judg 2:1 that "the angel of YHWH" went up from Gilgal to Bochim is generally taken to be an allusion to the transfer of the ark. The site of Bochim is not known, but it is probably in the vicinity of Bethel (cf. LXX here assumes Hebrew "to Bochim and to Bethel"). The verb used of the angel's going to Bochim is commonly used in conjunction with processions (see Ps 47:6—Eng 47:5; 2 Sam 6:1, 15; 1 Kgs 8:1; etc.) At all events, the ark ended up in Bethel where an oracle was sought by the leaders of the tribal confederacy, in preparation for holy war against the tribe of Benjamin (Judg 20:18, 26–27). Both Gilgal and Bethel were situated within the territory of Ephraim, as was Shiloh, where the ark was located prior to its transfer to Jerusalem. All evidence suggests that the ark was originally the emblem of the northern (Ephraimite) confederacy, and Gilgal, Bethel, and Shiloh each served as its central sanctuary at some time. This shifting of sanctuaries is recalled in Nathan's oracle: "I (YHWH) have been moving about in a tent and a tabernacle" (2 Sam 7:6). According to a Priestly gloss, it was at Shiloh that "tent of meeting" was established (Josh 18:1).

At Shiloh the ark was kept in the sanctuary, where an annual festival was celebrated (Judg 21:19; 1 Sam 1:3, 21; 2:19). In the time of Samuel the ark was in the custody of Eli and his family, who traced their roots to Moses himself. It was at Shiloh that the ark was first called by the name of "YHWH of Hosts who sits enthroned upon the cherubim."

The ark continued to be used as a war palladium. According to the Ark Narrative of 1 Samuel 4–6, the ark was brought into battle with the Philistines near Shiloh. It was a desperate measure to avert defeat. However, the ark was captured by the Philistines, and when the news of its capture was reported to Eli, he fell backward, broke his neck, and died. The loss of the ark was mourned as the departure of YHWH's glory. According to the narrator, the ark was in Philistine possession for 7 months. Finally it was returned because it was causing the Philistines much trouble: a bubonic plague broke out in the Philistine cities.

**2. Early Monarchical Period.** The ark was moved from Philistine territory to Kiriath-jearim, where it remained in the custody of Abinadab the son of Eleazar for 20 years (1 Sam 6:21–7:2). It fell into oblivion during the days of Saul. The Chronicler says that it was neglected (1 Chr 13:3) and Ps 132:6 assumes that it was lost. Saul may be vindicated by 1 Sam 14:18, but "ark" in that text is usually taken to be a mistake for "ephod" (as some Gk mss suggest). So it may be true, after all, that Saul was not interested in the ark.

Given its obvious importance for the unity of the N confederacy, it is surprising that the ark did not play a more prominent role in the politics of Saul. In the light of the league's punitive war against the Benjaminites (Judg 19–21)—a war that was waged after an oracle was sought before the ark at Bethel (Judg 20:8, 26–27)—it is possible that Saul, a Benjaminite, may have been at odds with the leadership at

Shiloh, the new center of the league (cf. Josh 22:12). Saul's break with Samuel and the priests of Nob may be evidence of this conflict.

In any case, the ark remained in Kiriath-jearim until David "found" it there "in the Highland of Jaar" (Ps 132:6). The political significance of David's action is commonly recognized. In contrast to Saul, David sought to ally himself with the Shilonite confederacy. The ark that was transferred to Jerusalem bore the very name of "YHWH of Hosts who sits enthroned upon the cherubim" (2 Sam 6:2; 1 Chr 13:6). That was precisely the name of the ark at Shiloh (1 Sam 4:4). David brought the ark in cultic procession into "the City of David" and set it in its place, in the tent. In his time, the ark continued to function as a war palladium from time to time (cf. 2 Sam 11:11; 1 Sam 15:24–29).

By all accounts, David did not build a temple to house the ark. Rather, it fell upon Solomon to do so. Upon the completion of the temple, Solomon brought the ark in procession into the innermost sanctum (1 Kgs 8:1–12). Although 1 Kings 8 is composite, with considerable exilic material embedded therein, it is still possible to discern a historical kernel. The gist of the account of the transmission of the ark is certainly pre-Deuteronomistic, as is a poetic fragment possibly from the Book of Jashar but now put in the mouth of Solomon:

> YHWH [LXX adds: "has established the sun in the heavens"]
> He said he would dwell in a storm cloud.
> I have indeed built for you a royal house
> the dais of your throne forever (vv 12–13).

Although the temple was completed in the month of Bul (1 Kgs 6:38), the procession was not held until the month of Ethanim, almost a year later (1 Kgs 8:1–2). The inauguration was deferred probably to coincide with the autumn New Year, a season for the celebration of divine kingship. That was a time for inauguration and renewal of temples in the ANE. The procession also coincided with the Feast of Sukkoth (1 Kgs 8:2, 65; cf. Josephus, *Ant* 8.100), which is called "the yearly feast of YHWH at Shiloh" (Judg 21:19; cf. 1 Sam 1:3, 21; 2:19).

Beyond the processions under David and Solomon, it is difficult to speak with certainty about cultic processions of the ark in the monarchical period. The ark is said to have had poles enabling it to be carried in cultic processions. In Solomon's temple, the poles were so long that their ends were seen "from the holy place before the inner sanctuary" (1 Kgs 8:7). Psalm 132 alludes to David's transfer of the ark and may, in an earlier version, have been used in conjunction with that procession or with the one under the auspices of Solomon. Psalms 24, 47, and 68 should probably be dated to the early monarchy, and may have been used in ritual processions of the ark (Fretheim 1967).

**3. Disappearance.** It is not certain precisely when and how the ark was lost; the Bible is silent on this matter. Some have conjectured that it was destroyed or removed in the monarchical period as a result of Shishak's raid in the 10th century (1 Kgs 14:25–28), or when Jehoash king of Israel plundered the temple in the wake of Judah's defeat (2 Kgs 14:8–14), or during Manasseh's syncretistic renovation of the temple (2 Kgs 21:4–6). The problem is compounded by the fact that the ark is not listed among the spoils from the temple that Nebuchadrezzar took to Babylon when Jerusalem was sacked (2 Kgs 25:13–17; Jer 52:17–23). This does not, of course, preclude a different date for the capture of the ark (say, 597 B.C.E.) or a different fate for it (i.e., destruction).

Several traditions place the disappearance of the ark to a date around the end of the 7th century and the beginning of the 6th. According to the Chronicler, along with his other reforms, Josiah ordered that the "holy ark" be placed in the temple because "you need not carry it upon your shoulders" (2 Chr 35:3). This text is problematic; its veracity is difficult to authenticate. The Chronicler believed that the ark was still in existence in the time of Josiah, but it was in transition—as it had been at one time. Perhaps he was making the point that Josiah reinstated the ark which had been removed from the adytum (possibly in the time of Manasseh) and had been in temporary shelters. In any case, Jeremiah spoke—*vaticinium ex eventu*?—against overconfidence in "the ark of the covenant." The ark's presence in the temple gave people a false sense of security about YHWH's permanent presence in their midst. Jeremiah declared that

people would no longer say "the ark of the covenant of YHWH" (Jer 3:16). They would no longer remember the ark, visit it, or make it again.

According to some Jewish traditions, the Babylonians removed the vessels of gold, silver, and bronze, but Jeremiah removed the ark and the sacred tablets and hid them from the Babylonians. This tradition may be traced at least to the historian Eupolemus (see Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 9.39). A similar account is related by Alexander Polyhistor of Miletus in the 1st century B.C.E., but he was probably dependent on Eupolemus for this story. In a variant of this account, Jeremiah hid the tent, the ark, and the altar of incense in a cave on the mountain from which Moses saw the Promised Land (2 Macc 2:4–8). Another source has it that Josiah hid the ark under a rock "in its place" (*b. Yoma* 53b–54a; *m. Šeqal.* 6:1–2). According to a legend, an angel descended from heaven during the destruction of Jerusalem and removed the sacred vessels from the temple (*2 Bar.* 6:7). These accounts are obviously ways of coping with the unthinkable destruction of the ark of divine presence at the hands of Gentile invaders. More credible is the lament over the desecration of the temple and plundering of the ark during the destruction of the First Temple (2 Esdr 10:20–23). In any case, all traditions point to the exilic period for the disappearance of the ark.

It appears that the ark was not rebuilt for the Second Temple. Jeremiah declared that it was not to be made again (Jer 3:16). There is no mention of the ark anywhere in Ezekiel's blueprint for the new temple (Ezekiel 40–48). In the spot where the ark would have stood, there was, instead, a "stone of foundation" three fingers high (see *m. Yoma* 5:2). Otherwise, the adytum appears to have been empty. Josephus reports that such was the case (*JW* 5.5), and the Roman historian Tacitus concurs with this report (*Hist.* V.9). According to Josephus, when Pompey forced his way into the temple in 64 B.C.E., the Romans saw the sacred objects, which Josephus then enumerates without mentioning the ark (*Ant* 14.71–72; *JW* 1.152–53).

**D. Theology**

**1. The Ark Narrative.** The narrative in 1 Samuel 4–6 recounts the capture of the ark by the Philistines. Scholars have demonstrated that the ark functions here as Israel's equivalent of the divine statue in Mesopotamia (Delcor 1964; Miller and Roberts 1977). The ark represents the presence of YHWH.

In their battle against the Philistines, the elders of Israel called for the ark to be brought. The narrator reports that even the Philistines recognized the theological significance of the ark. They cried, "Woe to us! Who can deliver us from the *hand* (Heb "hand" = "power") of these gods?" (1 Sam 4:8). This was the significance of the ark in the narrative: it manifested the power of YHWH (see Miller and Roberts 1977). Indeed, in this ark story as elsewhere, the ark's presence demonstrated the power of YHWH. Likewise the purpose of the procession of the ark in Joshua is stated thus: "that all the peoples of the earth may know that the *hand* of YHWH is mighty" (Josh 4:24).

In desperation, the Israelites brought the ark. The presence of the ark was supposed to assure victory against the enemies. But the ark was captured instead, and the Israelites fled (1 Sam 4:10, 17). Things were not supposed to happen that way with the ark. When the ark, representing the presence of God, came into battle, the enemies were supposed to flee (Num 10:35; Pss 68:2—Eng 68:1; 114:3, 5). In the Ugaritic myth, when the divine warrior Baal-Hadad gave forth his voice, the enemies fled to the forests (*CTA* 4.7.29–37; *ANET*, 135). But in the Ark Narrative of 1 Samuel, it is YHWH's army that flees, and the enemies capture the ark.

For the narrator, the ark's capture provided an opportunity to argue again for YHWH's power. The ark was deposited in the temple of the Philistine god, Dagon, in Ashdod. The next day, "Dagon had fallen face to the ground before the ark of YHWH" (1 Sam 5:3). The wording recalls Joshua's gesture of penitence: "he fell face to the ground before the ark of YHWH" (Josh 7:6). The Philistines raised the statue of Dagon again. But the next day, "Dagon had fallen face to the ground before the ark of YHWH" (1 Sam 5:4). This time, Dagon's head and both his hands are cut off. Thus the hand of YHWH was demonstrated against the god of the Philistines; the hands of Dagon were cut off. According to the narrator, the hand of YHWH was heavy upon the people of Ashdod (1 Sam 5:6) and they were smitten

with tumors. The people of Ashdod concluded: "The ark of the god of Israel must not remain with us, for his hand is heavy upon us and upon Dagon our god" (1 Sam 5:7).

The ark was sent to Gath and the hand of YHWH was against that city (1 Sam 5:9). When the ark came to Ekron, the people there concluded that it was brought there to slay them. Again, "the hand of God was heavy" in Ekron because the ark was there (1 Sam 5:11). Indeed, the presence of the ark in Philistine territory showed that the hand of YHWH was against them (2 Sam 5:3). And so the ark was returned "to its place" in Israel.

**2. Transfer of the Ark.** The ark that David transferred to Jerusalem is called the ark of "YHWH of Hosts who sits enthroned upon the cherubim" (2 Sam 6:2). The epithet brings to mind the image of YHWH as victorious warrior. Indeed, it appears that the procession appropriately follows YHWH's triumph over the Philistines at Baal-perazim. Having received an oracle from YHWH (we presume before the ark, cf. Judg 20:8, 27), David defeated the Philistines. Thereupon, he likened the victory to the divine warrior's cosmogonic defeat of chaotic waters: "YHWH has broken my enemies like the breaking of Waters" (2 Sam 5:20; cf. 6:8). After a second oracle and victory of the divine warrior, David brought the ark from Baale-judah (= Kiriath-jearim) to Jerusalem. The ark was marched into the city with cultic dancing, dramatizing the victorious return of the Warrior (Seow 1989). Finally the ark was placed in the newly won place. With this dramatic procession, many of Judah's theological traditions may be associated. Some of the traditions may even have grown from that significant event—traditions concerning YHWH's eternal choice of both David and Zion and traditions about Zion's inviolability in the face of enemy encroachments. Certainly many of these themes may be located in Psalm 132, some form of which may have been used in connection with David's procession of the ark.

**3. The Ark in Deuteronomy.** In contradistinction to earlier tendencies, Deuteronomy appears to downplay the importance of the ark. Accordingly, the ark does not appear anywhere in Deuteronomy in connection with the enthronement of YHWH. It is neither a war palladium, nor is it associated with the presence of God. The ark does not have that mysterious power that strikes people dead (1 Sam 6:19; 2 Sam 6:6–8; Lev 16:1). Rather, the ark in Deuteronomy is, as von Rad says, a demythologized ark (*PHOE*, 103–24). It is viewed merely as a receptacle for the tablets of the covenant (Fretheim 1968). It appears always to be mentioned incidentally. The narrator's interest in every case is on the covenant and the tablets that represent the covenant. So when the second set of tablets were commissioned at Sinai, the ark was also ordered—as if for the sake of the tablets alone. The author wastes no time in specifying the nature of the ark: it is a wooden *ʾărôn*, "box" (Deut 10:1), an ark of acacia wood (Deut 10:3). After YHWH had written on the tablets, they were placed in the ark (Deut 10:5). Likewise, when the "book of the Law" was completed, Moses commanded the Levites to put it by the side of the ark of the covenant "that it be there as a witness against you" (Deut 31:26). The Deuteronomic ark has no significance by itself; it is merely a receptacle in which and beside which the covenant documents are placed. Nothing is mentioned in D about the cherubim, or anything else that may suggest the throne. Nothing is said about the acacia wood being gold-plated. The ark in Deuteronomy seems to be, simply, an *ʾărôn,* "box, chest."

**4. The Ark in P.** By far the most detailed and meticulous description of the ark is found in P. Exod 25:10–22 purports to be part of a heavenly blueprint which Moses received for the construction of the tabernacle and its appurtenances. The ark was then constructed by a certain Bezalel (Exod 37:1–15). According to the plan from on high, the ark was to be a chest of acacia wood, 2.5 cubits long, and 1.5 cubits wide and high (i.e., 4 feet 2 inches by 30 inches by 30 inches). The wood was to be overlaid with gold on every side, with a molding of gold "upon it" all around—probably upon all four sides of the ark. In addition, there were four "feet" on each of which the builder was to then add a golden ring to hold two carrying poles. These poles were also to be made of acacia wood and plated with gold. The poles were always to be left in the rings, ready to be carried. The tablets (called "the stones of *ʿēdût*" or, simply, *ʿēdût* in P) were to be deposited in the ark. On top of the ark there was to be a *kappōret* (covering) made of pure gold. It was to be as long and wide as the ark, but nothing is said of its thickness. This was for P a covering for the ark as well as a symbol of the propitiation of sins epitomized by the ritual before the ark on *yom kippūr,* "the day of atonement" (Lev 16:2ff.). Two cherubim were to be crafted "from the

*kappōret"* (i.e., all of one piece), one cherub at each end of the *kappōret.* The cherubim were to face one another and have outstretched wings overshadowing the *kappōret.*

There is no chance in the description of P for the ark to be mistaken for a throne, or the footstool of a throne. It is emphatically a box in which the tablets were kept. To that extent, P's description is like that in Deuteronomy. The cherubim are not part of a throne. They are small ornate handiwork on the covering of the ark, unlike the huge cherubim described in 1 Kgs 6:23–28; 8:6–7 which are separated from the ark. Moreover, in contrast to the creatures on cherubim thrones, P has the cherubim facing each other: "their faces one to another, toward the *kappōret* were their faces" (Exod 25:20). Their outspread wings cover the ark. Thus, P leaves no room for the interpretation of the ark as a throne or the footstool of a throne. The ark was a *rendezvous* where God would meet the people, but it was not the locus of a throning presence. Such is the nature of divine presence, according to P: it is not confined to one place; rather, it is manifested from time to time as the deity wills (Lev 16:2). According to P, in the time of Moses YHWH chose to speak from between the cherubim on the *kappōret* of the ark (Num 7:89). That was a chosen place; it was theologically significant. While P admits that the ark may be one meeting point for God and the congregation, he takes pain to dissociate God from the ark (Seow 1985). The ark is associated with some form of the divine name 112 times in the Bible; but it never once occurs with the divine name in P. It appears that P was reacting to a misconception of divine immanence. Confidence in YHWH's presence had apparently become overly dependent on the ark's presence, so that the disappearance of the ark was causing an undue crisis of faith. For P the ark was not in any way to be associated with God's kingship; it was also not the indispensable mark of God's presence.

Related to the issue of God's abiding presence is the question of the covenant's validity. Whereas the ark is called "the ark of the covenant" (*ʾărôn habbĕrît*), "the ark of YHWH's covenant" (*ʾărôn bĕrît yhwh* ), or the like in 40 cases throughout the Bible, the ark is not associated with the *bĕrît* in the Priestly work. Instead of *bĕrît,* P uses the synonym *ʿēdût* (incorrectly translated as "testimony" in many English translations) and speaks of the "ark of the *ʿēdût"* (Exod 25:22; 26:33, 34; 30:6; etc.). But P knows the word *bĕrît.* The *bĕrît* for P is eternal and never to be destroyed (Gen 9:8–17; 17:1–27). The eternal validity of that covenant is indicated by signs, like the rainbow, that cannot ever be eradicated or removed. The *ʿēdût* is never used of the covenant per se, only for the covenant tablets. Hence the instruction: "you shall put the *ʿēdût* into the ark" (Exod 25:16, 21). In this way, then, P was able to speak of the eternal validity of God's covenant with Israel, even in the face of the disappearance of the ark. The tablets may be shattered, but the covenant is eternal.

**5. The Ark in Chronicles.** Many of the Chronicler's references to the ark are parallel to and essentially derived from the accounts embedded in the Deuteronomistic History concerning the transmission of the ark under the aegis of David and Solomon. There are distinctive elements in Chronicles, however. It is reiterated time and again that the sacred ark was to be handled only by the priests and Levites (1 Chr 15:2, 12; 16:4), "gatekeepers of the ark" (1 Chr 16:23–24) and certain ministers of music (1 Chr 6:31–32; 16:37). By all accounts, the ark came into prominence under the patronage of David. The Chronicler states that the ark was indeed neglected in the days of Saul, and it was David who restored it to its rightful place (1 Chr 13:3–4). The contrast here between the negligent Saul and the pious David reminds one of the propagandistic claims in the royal inscriptions of Mesopotamia that portray the legitimate king as the "restorer of the forgotten cult" (Seow 1989). This view is certainly consonant with the ritual behind Psalm 132, which the Chronicler quotes (2 Chr 6:41). Faithful David swore that he would not rest until the rightful place of YHWH be restored and the ark was "rediscovered" (Ps 132:1–5). The procession of the ark by Solomon receives considerably more attention than in 1 Kings 8, but no significance may be discerned in most of the Chronicler's embellishments.

**E. NT References**

The Greek word *kibōtos* (the equivalent for Heb *ʾărôn*) occurs 6 times in the NT. Only 2 of these (Heb 9:3–5; Rev 11:19) refer to the cult object; the rest concern Noah's ark.

The account of the ark in Hebrews 9 purports to be a description of the ark under the "first covenant" which is superceded by the new covenant. The description is in substantial agreement with the account of

P, although the name of the cult object here is "the ark of the covenant," which never occurs in P. The ark was enshrined in a tent behind the second curtain, together with the golden altar. It was gold-plated, and the cherubim were perched atop the covering (Propitiatory), overshadowing it (vv 3–5). The Gk word *hilastērion* used here to translate the Heb *kappōret* is found also in Rom 3:25, but it is impossible to know if the author here was thinking of the *kappōret* or the expiatory function of it. The writer of Hebrews lists the ark's content: a golden jar of manna, Aaron's rod that blossomed, and the tablets of the covenant. The jar of manna and rod of Aaron are both mentioned in P, but there the items are placed "before the *ʿēdût*" (Exod 16:32–34; Num 17:8–10)—that is, before the ark (cf. Exod 27:21; 30:36; Lev 16:13; 24:3).

In Rev 11:19 the ark is called " (God's) ark of the covenant" (*hē kibōtos tēs diathēkēs autou*), which represents a Greek adaptation of the Deuteronomistic name. In the vision of the eschatological temple, the disciple sees the ark in God's temple in heaven, with all the signs that in the Hebrew Bible normally accompany the theophany of the storm god, the divine warrior. So the ark is once again associated with the presence of God.

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**ARK, NOAH'S.** See the NOAH AND THE ARK articles.

**ARKITE** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿarqî* (עַרְקִי)]. One of the offspring of Canaan (Gen 10:17). The *-î* suffix suggests that this is a gentilic, reflecting the inhabitants of the coastal Phoenician town of Irqata. The name of this town appears in Egyptian (*ʿ€ qty/ʿ€ qtm*), Hittite (*ir-qà-ta*), and Akkadian sources, including the 2d millenium B.C. Amarna letters (*ir-qat, ir-qàt, ir-qa-ta, ir-qà-ta;* cf. Hess 1984: 495) and 1st millenium B.C. Neo-Assyrian texts (*ar-qa-a, ir-qa-na-ta-a-a;* cf. Parpola 1970: 31, 176; for the second spelling as a mistake, cf. Tadmor 1961: 245 n. 49). The name of this town also appears in later Classical sources (Honigmann *RLA* 1: 153–54; Hawkins *RLA* 5:165–66). Irqata has been identified with Roman Caesarea of Liban, modern Tell Arqa (M.R. 250436), 12 mi. NE of Tripoli, where excavations have revealed occupation throughout the Bronze and Iron ages (Dussaud 1927: 80–91; Thalman 1978; Wenham *Gen 1–15* WB, 226). Just as Gen 10:16–18 associates the Arkites with Heth, the Amorites, Arvad, the Zemarites, and Hamath; so also does a Hittite prayer mention Irqata in association with Amurru, and the Neo-Assyrian sources associate Arqa/Irqa (na)ta with Arwada, Ṣimirra, and Ḫamat.

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**ARMAGEDDON** (PLACE) [Gk *Armagedōn* (Ἀρμαγεδων)]. The location of the final battle of earth's history as described in the book of Revelation. The word appears only once in the Bible and is Hebrew in origin (Rev 16:16). (See REVELATION, BOOK OF.) The most natural understanding of the Greek found in most manuscripts is "mountain (from the Hebrew *har*) of MEGIDDO." While the Greek spelling differs considerably from the Hebrew word "Megiddo," it is identical to the Septuagint transliteration in Josh 12:21 (ms A *mageddōn*), Judg 1:27 (ms A), and 2 Chr 35:22. Another transliteration of Megiddo in the LXX parallels the manuscript variant *mageddōn* (4 Kgdms 9:27—Eng 2 Kgs 9:27). Thus Nestle (*HDB* 2: 305) considered an allusion to Megiddo the most probable explanation of the term "Armageddon." It is interesting, however, that the only place in the OT where the Hebrew adds a final "n" to Megiddo, Zech 12:11, the LXX does not transliterate, instead it translates "Valley of Megiddo" as " (the pomegranate grove) cut down in the plain" (*ekkoptomenou*).

The region of Megiddo was an ancient battleground. There the armies of Israel under DEBORAH and BARAK defeated SISERA and his Canaanite army (Judg 5:19 and context). Later, it was the scene of the fatal struggle between JOSIAH and Pharaoh NECO (2 Kgs 23:29, 30; 2 Chr 35:22). This was such a memorable event in Israel's history that the mourning for Josiah was recalled a hundred years later (Zech 12:11). Thus, if the writer of Revelation was alluding to this ancient battleground, its significance for ancient Israel made it an appropriate background to his description of the final battle between the forces of good and evil.

Bousset (*Revelation* MeyerK, 399), however, pointed out that the phrase "Mountain of Megiddo" is problematic. While the OT knows of a city of Megiddo (Josh 17:11; Judg 1:27; 1 Kgs 4:12; 9:15; 2 Kgs 9:27; 23:29, 30), a king of Megiddo (Josh 12:21), a valley of Megiddo (2 Chr 35:22; Zech 12:11), and

waters of Megiddo (Judg 5:19), it knows of no "Mountain of Megiddo." A number of solutions to this problem have been offered over the centuries and continue to be offered.

Early Church Fathers, such as Hippolytus and Jerome, sought to locate Armageddon in Palestine, offering suggestions such as the Valley of Jehoshaphat (cf. Joel 3:2, 12) or Mount Tabor (cf. Judg 4:6, 12). The first proposal to gain wide currency was advanced by the earliest commentators on the book of Revelation, Oecumenius (early 6th cent.—see Hoskier 1928: 179–80) and Andreas of Caesarea (ca. 600 A.D.—see Schmid 1955: 1/175). Perhaps taking their cue from the LXX translators of Zech 12:11, who apparently understood *mĕgiddôn* to be derived from the Hebrew root *gdd* which means "to cut" or "to gash," they argued that the kings of the earth are gathered in Rev 16 to the "Mountain of Slaughter" to be exterminated. Supported by LaRondelle (1985: 23, 1989: 71–73), this view has never been refuted, yet does not attract wide support among scholars.

F. Junius (1599) associated Armageddon with "the mountain places of Megiddo." In marginal notes to the *Geneva Bible* he suggested that the battle of Armageddon is God's reversal of the reproach His people suffered with the defeat of Josiah. Several 19th-century scholars (see Bousset *Revelation* MeyerK, 399) sought to overcome the absence of a "mountain of Megiddo" in the OT by linking the battles at Megiddo with Ezekiel's description of Gog being defeated on the "mountains of Israel" (see Ezekiel 38 and 39, a passage alluded to in Rev 20:8–10).

Lohmeyer (*Revelation* HNT, 133–34) added a new twist to the "mountain of Megiddo" interpretation by associating Armageddon with Mount Carmel, an allusion to Elijah's confuting of the prophets of Baal. He appealed for support to *Ginza*, a much-later Mandean work, where demonic powers gather on Mount Carmel to plan their final assault on the forces of God. Shea (1980: 160–62) carries the argument a step further by seeing a multitude of allusions throughout Revelation to Elijah's experience on Mount Carmel, with dragon, beast, and false prophet being the latter-day counterparts of Ahab, Jezebel, and the prophets of Baal. As in the original instance, the issue is settled in Revelation by fire and by sword (Rev 19:20, 21).

While the first two explanations are based on how the translators of the LXX understood the Hebrew Bible, a number of attempts at emendation have also come into play. Many 19th-century scholars (see Nestle *HDB* 2:304–5 and Bousset *Revelation* MeyerK) noted that the difference between *har* and *ar* in Greek is a simple breathing mark, and such markings are generally omitted in the earliest manuscripts. Thus *armagedon* could be the equivalent of the Hebrew "city of Megiddo" (*ʿîr-mĕgiddô*), an allusion to the fortress city which guarded ancient Israel's most critical mountain pass.

Other scholars, beginning with an unsigned article in *ZAW* (1887: 170–71), gave attention to emendations of *magedōn.* In unpointed Hebrew *mĕgiddô* is identical in form to *migdô* which means "fruitful" or "his fruitfulness," "his choicest gifts." Thus, Bowman (*IDB* 1: 227) feels that Armageddon means "his fruitful mountain," a reference to eschatological Jerusalem (Joel 4:16–18—Eng 3:16–18, cf. Zechariah 14). This would associate the final battle scene with Jerusalem, as is also the case in Rev 14:14–20 and 20:7–10. Charles (*Revelation* ICC, 2: 50) combines both emendations; Armageddon means "fruitful city," which recalls John's title for the heavenly city in 20:9 (Gk *tēn polin tēn ēgapēmenēn,* "the beloved city").

One of the most popular emendations of *magedōn* was proposed by Hommel (1890). He suggested that the Greek *gamma* in *magedōn* is a transliteration, not of the Hebrew *gimel* but of the Hebrew *ʿayin.* Thus *har-magedōn* would be a corruption of the Hebrew *har-môʿēd,* or "mountain of assembly." Torrey (1938: 244–48) argues that Armageddon is a reference to Isa 14:13 where the "mountain of assembly" is the heavenly court in which God's throne is located. In Isaiah 14 the King of Babylon is called the "Day Star," a term applied to Christ in Revelation. Thus, *har-môʿēd* recalls Hebrew mythology, where Mount Zion is the earthly counterpart of the heavenly throne room (Ps 48:3—Eng 48:2). Armageddon, then, is Babylon's final attempt to usurp the throne of God in its attack on end-time Jerusalem.

Gunkel (1895: 263–66) understood Armageddon to be a name with mythic origins, probably based on *1 Enoch* 6 where the evil angels gather on Mount Hermon to prepare for their assault on the daughters of men. Bousset follows Gunkel in suggesting that behind this reference lies an ancient myth, preserved in

Mandean works, which described the assault on the holy mountain of the gods by an army of demons that is gathered by evil spirits, then destroyed by the gods of light.

The abundance of solutions and the great creativity with which they have been developed suggests that it is unwise to be dogmatic about the etymology of Armageddon. Nevertheless, current scholarship generally settles on a link with Megiddo or *har-mô‹ēd* as the best explanation of *harmagedōn.*

The major difficulty with the *har-mô‹ēd* interpretation is the great linguistic distance between *mô‹ēd* and *magedōn.* While it is true that *gamma* is the only Greek letter that could correspond to the Hebrew *‹ayin,* there is no external evidence that *mô‹ēd* was ever transliterated as *magedōn* or even *mogēd,* whereas LXX evidence exists for transliterations of *mĕgiddô* and *mĕgiddôn.* Furthermore, the strength of Torrey's argument is largely diluted if one doesn't accept his theory that the Apocalypse is the translation of a Hebrew original.

It is probably safest, then, to avoid emendation and to either follow the Church Fathers or Lohmeyer and Shea, or to consider the problem unresolved. Many arguments have been raised against the "Mountain of Megiddo" interpretations, particularly by Jeremias (1932) and Torrey (1938): (1) there is no Mount Megiddo in pre-NT literature; (2) the earliest exegetes never interpreted it in this way; (3) the mythical world mountain was never associated with Megiddo in apocalyptic; (4) in Hebrew eschatology the final struggle is fought around Jerusalem (Zechariah 12 and 14; Joel 4—Eng 3; cf. Revelation 14; 20:7–10). These are, however, basically arguments from silence. They do not preclude the possibility that the author of Revelation saw elements of the ideological battle on Mount Carmel as decisive in the final battle between good and evil.

In fact, as Shea (1980: 158–60) points out, Megiddo is often used to speak of something else in the geographical area. The phrase "waters of Megiddo" (Jdg 5:19) is a reference to the Kishon River. And while Megiddo was not a mountain, it wasn't a valley either—it was located on an elevation overlooking the Plain of Jezreel or Esdraelon. Since the city was located at the foot of the Carmel range, "mountain of Megiddo" could easily be a reference to Mount Carmel (1 Kgs 18:19, 20; 2 Kgs 2:25; 4:25). It was on Mount Carmel that fire was called down from heaven to prove that Yahweh was the true God (cf. Rev 13:13, 14). It was there that the false prophets were defeated (cf. Rev 16:13–16). If John was alluding to Elijah's experience on Mount Carmel, he understood the battle of Armageddon to be a spiritual conflict over worship (cf. Rev 13:4, 8, 12, 15; 14:7, 9, 11; cf. 16:15; 17:14) in which all would be brought to a fateful decision with permanent results.

As part of the sixth bowl plague (16:12–16), the battle of Armageddon comes at a pivotal point in the book of Revelation. It parallels the sixth trumpet plague (9:13–21), where military imagery is combined with descriptions of demonic beings. The gathering effected by the three unclean spirits (16:13) is the demonic counterpart to the gathering call of the three angels of Rev 14:6–11. The reference to the demonic trinity connects this passage also with chaps. 13 and 19, where the same characters are at work. And finally, the battle is described in other but parallel terms in 17:12–17. The sixth bowl plague is not the battle of Armageddon itself; it is the gathering of forces for the battle. The battle itself accomplishes the fall of Babylon, which is outlined in the seventh bowl plague (16:17–21), in 17:16 and in chap. 18. For further discussion see *ISBE* 1:294–95, *EncBib* 1:310–11, *TDNT* 1:468, and *EWNT,* 366–67.

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**ARMENIA** (PLACE). A country constituting a series of plateaus joining Asia Minor to Iran. Great variation in altitude, terrain, climate, and plant life lead to strong regional disparities. Some mountains rear up to 17,000 feet, as does Ararat; they and their flanks impede travel. The prevailing E-W direction of the mountain ranges especially hampers N-S movement. The Euphrates River rises in Armenia, leading S; two other large rivers flow to the Caspian Sea.

The *Armenioi* were known to Greeks from at least the 6th century B.C. Armenia is listed on the Behistun inscription of Darius, and received Persian governors. The Orontids, a line of Persian descent, ruled there from about 400 B.C., and assumed the title of "King" after Alexander's day. Upon the defeat of the Seleucid Antiochus the Great by Romans and their allies in 190/189 B.C., the Armenian descendants of Artaxias formed a royal house which lasted until the time of Christ. A branch of the Armenian royal family also ruled in Commagene.

Armenia's greatest impact on the world of the Bible occurred in the reign of the Artaxiad King Tigranes. He had grown to maturity as a hostage at the Parthian court, but was released about 95 B.C. in return for "seventy valleys in Armenia" (Strabo 11.14.15.532). Tigranes married the daughter of Mithradates Eupator of Pontus and set out to aid that monarch in his long contest with Rome. He jointly raided Cappadocia, and conquered adjacent Sophene, thus extending Armenia's territory to a point across the Euphrates from Cappadocia. Tigranes eventually took to carrying off Cappadocians to populate his new fortress, Tigranocerta, near the upper Tigris.

Tigranes linked himself to Parthia, sending a daughter for marriage to Mithradates II. He also proved willing to contend with Parthians for territory. The Armenian holdings rapidly expanded, as Tigranes recovered the seventy valleys and seized territories which were nominally Parthian. He overcame Atropatene, Gordyene, Osrhoene, Adiabene, most of Mesopotamia, and Greater Media. In Eastern fashion, he left kings in place, often married to his own daughters. Thus on his coinage appeared the proud title "King of Kings" after Mithradates II died in 88/87 B.C.

The Parthian monarchs Orodes I and Sinatruces could not prevent the rapid expansion of Armenia at this time. Nor could the last Seleucids. Tigranes crossed the Euphrates about 87 B.C., assuming the hegemony of Commagene and Syria (Justin 40.1).

Tigranes took Antioch, effectively terminating the Seleucid Empire after more than two centuries. As a "successor" (*diadochus*) to the Seleucids, he continued their coinage and dynastic era. For fourteen or more years he ruled in Antioch, calmly adding to his territories and moving toward Judea. It escaped domination through timely negotiation and gifts, first by Alexander Janneus and then by his widow, Alexandra Salome (Sullivan 1970, chap. 5, §11 with n. 8–10 and chap. 3, §9.iii).

In 69 B.C., Tigranes had to face a challenge at home, necessitating withdrawal from Syria. Near Tigranocerta, he fought the Roman Lucullus but lost. For the rest of his reign (down to ca. 55 B.C.), he remained in control of his ancestral kingdom, but no longer of Syria. The last Seleucids sought to resume rule there, but Pompey pointed out that Tigranes had conquered them and Rome had conquered Tigranes.

In 67 B.C., Tigranes again took the field in Cappadocia, but an invasion of Armenia by his renegade son, supported by Phraates III of Parthia, drew him home. Tigranes gradually withdrew his support for Mithradates Eupator, thus dooming him to eventual Roman conquest.

The reputation of Tigranes for inflicting discomfort on his neighbors masks his service to Armenia. During a long reign (95–55 B.C.), he brought it safely through the Seleucid collapse, the rise and fall of Eupator in Pontus, the advent of Rome in the East, and threats from Parthia. His family continued to rule there for over half a century more.

King Artavasdes II (55–34 B.C.), son of Tigranes, continued his father's policy of marriage ties with Parthia. Nevertheless, he offered to support Crassus in 53 B.C. during an invasion of Parthian territory; Crassus declined and met disaster at Carrhae.

Armenia could not be counted a Roman ally in the aftermath. Cicero in 51 B.C. camped near Cybistra "so that Artavasdes, the Armenian King, whatever his policy might be, would know that an army of the Roman people was not far from his territory." He heard that "the Armenian King was about to make an attack on Cappadocia" (Cic. *Fam.* 15.2.2; 15.3.1). Perhaps as a consequence of Carrhae, Artavasdes assumed his father's title, "King of Kings," on his coinage.

Increased Roman activity against Parthia involved Artavasdes when Mark Antony proceeded against Parthia in 36 B.C. Among his allies stood "the greatest of all, Artavasdes of Armenia" with a large force. Antony allowed him to guide the expedition, and found himself detouring by way of Media Atropatene, where Artavasdes had scores to settle. When Artavasdes abruptly withdrew, Antony had to face winter and a Parthian army; he extricated only a portion of his men.

Antony seized Artavasdes in 34 and deported him to Egypt, where he died probably by Cleopatra's hand in 30 B.C. This proved a blunder, bringing no gain to Rome despite Antony's claim of an Armenian conquest. Armenians denied Antony access to their treasuries, one of his motives. The affair left a legacy of bitterness still discernible fifty years later (Tac. *Ann.* 2.3.2).

Artaxias II, son of Artavasdes, succeeded without interval, supported by the nobility. With Parthian assistance, he maintained himself (34–20 B.C.) and even carried out a massacre of Roman residents in the kingdom. He appears to have fallen to a family conspiracy (Dio 49.39 f.; Joseph. *Ant* 15.104f.; Tac. *Ann.* 2.3).

The death of Artaxias in 20 B.C. opened a century of intensified maneuvering to gain control of Armenia. A series of Artaxiad descendants of Tigranes the Great carried out brief reigns with Roman recognition. After their eclipse about A.D. 1, two kings of Atropatene also ruled Armenia briefly, but the Parthian Vonones I replaced them about A.D. 7. From A.D. 18 to 34, a successful Roman nominee, Zeno-Artaxias, proceeded from the dynasty of Pontus to the Armenian throne. Two Judaeans, descended from Archelaus of Cappadocia, tried to rule Armenia with the blessings of Rome. The first of these, Tigranes V, died in A.D. 36; the second, Tigranes VI, ruled Armenia in A.D. 60–62. Two Roman nominees from Asiatic Iberia also tried Armenia. Interspersed with these were rulers drawn from the Parthian royal house. (See *ANRW* 2/8: 300, 938; and Sullivan 1970, Chaps. 2 and 5.)

The "Armenian Question" in Roman-Parthian relations persisted. Long Roman supply lines precluded an effective military policy in Armenia. For instance, Corbulo's forces in A.D. 62 had to carry provisions by camel, and at times suffered real privation (Tac. *Ann.* 13.39; 14.24; 15.12). Romans also had difficulty delivering sufficient troops and had to rely on allies in Commagene and elsewhere. Armenians, both commoners and nobility, exhibited hostility to Rome (Tac. *Ann.* 15.27).

A compromise in A.D. 66 allowed Nero to invest the Arsacid Tiridates as king of Armenia at a ceremony in Rome (Dio 63.1–7). This arrangement held for half a century with Arsacids ruling Armenia and recognized by Rome.

Trajan tried to convert Armenia into a province in 114, but by 116/7 the Parthians again furnished a king for it. A long series of Arsacid kings appeared there in the 2d and early 3d centuries. Sometimes they bore Arsacid names reflecting in addition a grant of Roman citizenship, such as Aurelius Pacorus, "Great King of Armenia," known from an inscription in Rome (*OGIS* 382; see too *ANRW* 2/8, Parthian stemma after p. 938 and Magie 1950; 1528f. n. 2).

Armenia suffered occasionally from other invasions, as when the Alans raided it sometime before A.D. 137 (Dio 69.15). Parthians attacked it early in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, but in A.D. 163 the counterinvasion by Lucius Verus resulted in a Roman appointee as king, Sohaemus, whose name suggests descent from the royal house of Emesa, from which another Sohaemus had been chosen by Nero to rule nearby Sophene (Tac. *Ann.* 13.7). An invasion by the troops of Caracalla failed in ca. A.D. 215.

The Sassanid Persian overthrow of the Arsacids about A.D. 227 led to a change in Armenia as well, with greater receptivity to a Roman alliance, since the Arsacid dynasty sought to rule on in Armenia. Between 251 and 253, King Shapur invaded Armenia (Magie 1950: 1568 n. 29). In A.D. 297, Romans obtained by negotiation with Persia important satrapies along the Tigris in the vicinity of Armenia, but eventually returned several of these (Jones 1971: 224).

From late in the 3d century until well into the 4th, a locally acceptable king ruled Armenia with Roman support, and a peace between Rome and the Iranians led to a much-needed period of peace. A portion of Armenia itself was obtained by Rome in A.D. 387.

In early Byzantine times, further satrapies were detached, and the territory termed "Inner Armenia." The administration continued to be through local rulers. The legal system remained the "old law" of Armenia.

In Armenia, little essentially changed from the time of Tigranes to that of Justinian 600 years later. In those centuries, Armenia maintained its integrity and preserved the traditions which produced a long line of native kings in the middle ages, despite continued pressure from the outside. Eventually, emperors of Armenian extraction ascended the Byzantine throne.

The claim has been made that Armenia became the first state to recognize Christianity officially, early in the 4th century. This religion slowly replaced the variegated pantheon of syncretistic Iranian divinities previously worshiped there, and it became a vigorous institution, like Armenia itself.

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**ARMENIAN VERSIONS.** See VERSIONS, ANCIENT (ARMENIAN)v VERANCIENTARMENIAN.

**ARMLET.** See JEWELRY.

**ARMONI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾarmōnî* (אַרְמֹנִי)]. A son of Saul, probably the eldest son borne by Saul's concubine Rizpah, the daughter of Aiath (2 Sam 21:8). The name means "my citadel." Armoni was publicly executed (Polzin 1969) during a religious barley harvest festival along with 6 other Saulides in the early years of David's accession to the Israelite throne after Eshbaal's murder (2 Sam 21: 1–14). The present report provides two explanations for the execution: (1) bloodguilt on Saul and his house for Saul's killing of the Gibeonites (v 1) (Prado 1954: 51), and (2) Saul's breaking of a treaty that was established between Israel and the Gibeonites by Joshua, by seeking to slay the Gibeonites "in his zeal for Israel and Judah" (v 2; Malamat 1955). Both reasons are presented as having led to a 3-year famine during David's reign.

After oracular consultation to determine the cause of the famine, David is said to have called the remaining Gibeonites to him to determine how expiation could be made for Saul's action. They are said to have demanded that 7 Saulides be turned over to them so that they could execute them at GIBEON on the mountain of Yahweh, following the LXX reading (*bgbʿwn bhr yhwh*). The MT locates the place of execution "at Gibeah/the hill of Saul, the chosen one of Yahweh" (*bgbʿt šʾwl bḥyr yhwh*). The MT reading reflects a substitution of Gibeah of Saul for Gibeon, and the further attempt to disguise the reference to Gibeon as the mountain of Yahweh by changing "mountain" into the passive participle "chosen one," substituting *ḥet* for *he.* The existence of a famous *bāmâ* sanctuary at Gibeon with Yahwistic connections (1 Kgs 3:5; 2 Chr 1:3–13 with much fictional embellishment) favors the LXX reading as genuine. In addition, while the adjective "chosen" is used to describe Saul's legitimate choice by Yahweh to be king in 1 Sam 10:24, it is similarly used in connection with David's relationship to

Yahweh and appointment of king-elect after Saul's rejection by Yahweh in 2 Sam 6:21. The expression is by no means unique to Saul or distinguishes him from David in the context. It is hard to understand why the author would want to stress Saul's legitimate royal associations in connection with the site of execution, unless perhaps he wanted to highlight Saul's fall from grace by reminding the reader that the family of the former chosen one was now being punished by the new chosen one. The MT phrasing is awkward, reflects the anti-Gibeonite bias that permeates the Deuteronomistic writings (Kearney 1973), and may have arisen from a pious scribe who was influenced by this bias and altered the original wording to harmonize with 1 Sam 10:24 and 11:4 (for another explanation, see McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 438).

The bodies of the 7 were left exposed until rain fell, from mid-April until October or November, and their bones were subsequently buried together with the exhumed remains of Saul and Jonathan in the family tomb in Benjaminite Zela. It has been suggested that the execution was done as part of a fertility rite, in which the bodies of the dead would have been dismembered and scattered in the fields to bring fertility to the land (i.e. Cazelles 1955: 167–69; Kapelrud 1955:120).

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**ARMORY.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

**ARMY (MESOPOTAMIA).** See MILITARY ORGANIZATION IN MESOPOTAMIA.

**ARMY, HERODIAN.** See HERODIAN ARMY.

**ARMY, ROMAN.** See ROMAN ARMY.

**ARNA** (PERSON) [Lat *Arna*]. An ancestor of Ezra, the father of Meraioth and the son of Uzzi according to the genealogy of Ezra in 2 Esdr 1:1–3. Slightly different pedigrees of Ezra are found in Ezra 7:1–5 and 1 Esdr 8:1–2 (cf. 1 Chr 5:27–40—Eng6:1–14). Though the name Arna does not appear in the Ezra text, the order of the names suggests that Arna is in parallel to Zerahiah in Ezra 7:4 (see also 1 Chr 5:32—Eng6:6). The genealogy in 1 Esdr 8:1–2 leaves out Arna (Zerahiah) along with the two generations after him.

JIN HEE HAN

**ARNAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾarnān* (אַרְנָן)]. The fourth son of Hananiah the son of ZERUBBABEL and brother of Obadiah and Rephaiah, in 1 Chr 3:21, the genealogy which records the postexilic descent of the line of David. The RSV follows the Gk and Vg. The Heb, however, makes Arnan the son of Obadiah and father of Rephaiah.

RUSSELL FULLER

**ARNI** (PERSON) [Gk *Arni* (Ἀρνι)]. An ancestor of Jesus, according to a textually confused part of the Lukan genealogy (3:33a). The reading of this name is adopted by the *UBSGNT* as part of a series of 3 names which are "the least satisfactory form of the text, a reading that was current in the Alexandrian church at an early period" (Metzger 1971: 136). It is also in the text of Nestle–Aland *Nov TG*. The name is not found, however, in many ancient Gk manuscripts of the NT, nor is it contained in the OT genealogies of 1 Chronicles 2 or Ruth 4.

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**ARNON** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾarnôn* (אַרְנוֹן)]. A perennial stream whose tributaries drain much of the Moabite plateau on both sides of the Arnon gorge (modern Wadi Mojib). The Arnon's source is near Lejjun, ca. 10 miles NE of Kerak. From its meager beginning, the stream flows NNW for ca. 15 miles, and then it courses an equal distance to the W, finally emptying into the Dead Sea. The Arnon's mouth is just north of the halfway point on the Dead Sea's eastern shore, at Ras el-Ghor; its perennial flow makes the Arnon the most important river on the sea's E side. The outflow of the Arnon itself is greatly increased by the water of Wadi Heidan, which merges (from the N) with the Arnon 2 miles from the latter's mouth (cf. Mattingly 1983).

The Arnon is named in the Bible 25 times, but it is most famous because its small, rapidly descending stream has created, through the millennia, a huge canyon along its E–W route. The section of Wadi Mojib whose N rim is less than 2 miles south of Dhiban is almost 3 miles across, from rim to rim. Its depth varies from 1,300 feet to 2,300 feet. Naturally, the wadi's length and depth made N–S travel in this area difficult—and certainly more time-consuming. Such streams, which cut across Transjordan's tableland, partially explain why the King's Highway was situated so far to the E. Because it bypassed the W edge of the escarpment and the deep gorges that run E–W, the so-called Desert Highway became an important N–S thoroughfare. A major confluence of the Arnon is located ca. 2 miles E of where the modern highway (perhaps following the route of the ancient King's Highway) crosses the riverbed. This point is just south of Aroer, a site which the Bible frequently identifies as sitting on the edge of the Arnon. The biblical designation "valleys of the Arnon" (Num 21:14) is quite appropriate for the convergence of canyons at this spot.

All of Transjordan is subdivided into 5 smaller regions by 4 wadi systems that run from E to W, draining the water from the plateau into the Jordan Rift: from the N these are (1) Yarmuk, (2) Jabbok, (3) Arnon, and (4) Zered. The Arnon itself divided Moab into 2 parts. While the S boundary of Moabite territory was fixed by the Zered (modern Wadi el-Hesa), Moab's N border fluctuated. In times of strength, the Moabites controlled the land between the Zered and the vicinity of Heshbon ca. 22 miles N of the Arnon. After he reclaimed northern Moab from the Israelites, King Mesha repaired the highway that crossed the Arnon at Aroer (Mesha Inscription, line 26), an event illustrating the unification of both parts of Moab. When Moabite power waned, their domain was reduced to the undisputed heartland of Moab, the territory between the Zered and the Arnon. Thus, the Arnon served as a natural boundary when political and military factors assigned it that purpose, but it was not enough of a barrier to create cultural differences on its two sides.

As noted above, the Arnon sometimes served as a boundary between the Moabites, Amorites (Num 21:13, 24, 26; and 22:36), and the Israelites (Deut 2:24, 36; 3:8, 16; Josh 13:16; 2 Kgs 10:33; cf. 2 Sam 24:5). References to the Arnon in the oracles of Isaiah (16:2) and Jeremiah (48:20) allude to its status as an important point in the N–S route through Moab.

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GERALD L. MATTINGLY

**ARODI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾarôdî* (אַרוֹדִי)]. Var. AROD. ARODITES. The 6th of 7 sons of Gad named in the genealogy relating Joseph to Jacob (Gen 46:16). In a parallel genealogy which identifies the clans that constituted the 40,500 Gadites in the wilderness census (Num 26:17—LXX 26:26), the personal name is Arod (Heb *ʾarôd*) and the clan name is Arodites (Heb *ʾarôdî*). Several factors favor the long spelling: (1) the names of 5 of Gad's sons have the *î* ending, in both lists (Gen 46:16 = Num 26:15–17—LXX 26:24–27); (2) the LXX, Syr, and Samaritan Pentateuch texts read the *î* ending in Num 26:17; (3) in this sequence of names with the same ending, the *î* could easily have dropped out. Regardless of the original spelling, there is no doubt that the two genealogies list the same person.

JOEL C. SLAYTON

**AROER** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿarōʿēr* (עַרְעֵר)]. AROERITE. Since it is likely that the name means "crest of a mountain" or "juniper," such frequent use of this place-name is not unusual.

**1.** The overwhelming number of references to a place named Aroer are made in connection with the so-called "Aroer on the Arnon." This settlement, more properly viewed as a fortress throughout most of its history, was situated on the N rim of Wadi el-Mujib, the biblical River Arnon. In fact, many of the biblical verses that mention this particular Aroer refer specifically to its location on the edge of the spectacular canyon that the Mujib has formed (e.g., Deut 2:36; 4:48; Josh 12:2; 13:16). Aroer's strategic location made it a natural checkpoint on a territorial border, as in the day of the Amorite kingdom of Sihon (Deut 4:48; Josh 12:2; cf. Judg 11:22) and during the Hebrew conquest and settlement in Transjordan (Deut 2:36; Josh 13:9). In both of these cases, the Arnon and, consequently, the fortress of Aroer marked the frontier with Moabite territory, to the S of the Arnon.

According to Num 32:34, Aroer was refortified by the Israelite tribe of Gad, though it was originally assigned to the Reubenites (Josh 13:16). At the time of David's census, Aroer was a logical starting point for the numbering of Hebrews who lived E of the Jordan. Aroer's strategic significance on the rim of the Arnon is highlighted again in the 2d half of the 9th century B.C., when Aroer is named as the S limit of the Syrian king Hazael's control of Transjordan (2 Kings 10:33). Very important is the reference to Aroer in line 26 of the Mesha Inscription (ca. 830 B.C.), where the Moabite king Mesha was credited with refortifying the site after his victory over Israel. Aroer was under Moabite control when it is mentioned for the last time in the Bible, in Jer 48:19.

Ancient Aroer is linked with certainty to the site of a small Arab village—and its imposing tell—named ʿAraʿir, which is located ca. 3 miles SE of Dhiban (biblical Dibon) and 21/2 miles E of the so-called King's Highway (M.R. 228097). Excavations were conducted in 3 seasons of fieldwork, from 1964 to 1966, by a Spanish team which was under the direction of Emilio Olávarri (*EAEHL* 1: 98–100). ʿAraʿir yielded pottery and other artifacts that dated from ca. 2250 B.C. until the 3d century A.D., though the site was not occupied continuously over this long period. There was, for example, an occupational gap during the Middle Bronze Age, but evidence from the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age was recovered. The most important excavated structure is a fortress that measures ca. 50 yards on each side and was built of large blocks of stone laid in header-stretcher style. Olávarri attributes the construction of this fortress to Mesha.

**2.** Located in Transjordan and mentioned in Josh 13:25 and Judg 11:33. According to the former, this Aroer was "E of ["opposite" or "before"] Rabbah" (M.R. 238151) (modern Amman) and formed part of the boundary between the Israelite tribe of Gad's territory and Ammonite country. This description has been used to place this Aroer in the vicinity of es-Sweiwina, which is located south of Amman, but no excavations have been made that allow scholars to identify the location of this second Transjordanian Aroer with any certainty.

**3.** Place located E of the Jordan Rift has become known because of its appearance in the Heb text—and in the King James Version—in Isa 17:2a ["the cities of Aroer are deserted"]. If this reading is followed, it would seem to indicate that there was another Aroer in the neighborhood of Damascus. While this is possible, many translations, including the RSV, omit any reference to an Aroer by following the LXX and rendering 17:2a as "her cities will be deserted for ever."

**4.** Place located in the Bible to the W of the Jordan (1 Sam. 30:28). In this verse, the Hebrew historian says that David distributed loot to the elders of Aroer, after he recovered his wives from the Amalekites who had raided Ziklag. It is assumed that this was the home of Hotham the Aroerite, father of two of David's "mighty men" (1 Chron 11:44). Since the time of Edward Robinson's 1838 travels through Palestine, this Aroer has been linked with the Negev site of ʿAraʿarah, which is located ca. 12 miles SE of BEER-SHEBA (M.R. 148062).

ʿAraʿarah was excavated between 1975 and 1981 by A. Biran and R. Cohen. They concluded that this 5-acre site was first settled in the 7th century B.C. and was occupied, intermittently, until ca. A.D. 70. Though it is possible that further excavations might uncover remains from the 11th or 10th centuries B.C., it does not appear that ʿAraʿarah was occupied in the time of David. Biran has suggested that Davidic

Aroer can be identified with Tel Esdar, which is located ca. 11/2 miles N of ʿArʿarah, and that the name Aroer was transferred to the latter site when it was founded in the 7th century B.C. Excavations at Tel Esdar did recover remains from the 11th–10th centuries B.C., but there is no other assurance that Biran's suggestion is correct.

The name Adadah (Josh 15:22) may be a corruption of ʿArʿara, another form for Aroer; the LXX reads Aruel for this place-name. It has also been identified with Khirbet ʿArʿarah, though this, too, is uncertain.

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GERALD L. MATTINGLY

**AROM** (PERSON) [Gk *Arom* (Ἀρομ)]. Ancestor of a family returned from exile in Babylon with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:16). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, this family does not appear among their lists of returning exiles (cf. Ezra 2:17; Neh 7:23). Omissions such as this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra or Nehemiah. Furthermore, problems associated with dating events and persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text. Fritsch (*IDB* 1: 231) indicates that Arom may be a variant of HASHUM found in Ezra 2:19 and Neh 7:22. Although this is possible, the location of Hashum differs in the sequence of names found in Ezra 2 and Nehemiah 7, and Hashum (Gk *Asom*) itself occurs in 1 Esdr 9:33.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**AROMATIC CANE.** See PERFUMES AND SPICES.

**ARPACHSHAD** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾarpaḫšad* (אַרְפַּכְשַׁד)]. **1.** A son of Shem and the father of Shelah in the MT (Gen 10:22, 24). In the LXX and in the NT (Luke 3:36; cf. also Jubilees 8:1), Cainan is inserted in the genealogy between Arpachshad and Shelah. In the MT, the lifespan of Arpachshad is given as 438 years, with thirty-five as the age at which he fathered Shelah. Analyses of the personal name have included: the 1st part of the name as the geographic name *Arrapḫa,* probably situated at modern Kirkuk; and the 2d part of the name as *kaśdîm,* the gentilic, Chaldeans. This analysis of the first name would seemingly locate the name in the geographic context of Arpachshad's brothers (Gen 10:22) and assign it a Hurrian etymology (Albright 1924: 388–89; Cazelles *POTT* 22). Cf. also the suggestion of Gordon (*IDB* 1: 231) to identify the 1st 3 letters with the putative Hurrian element *arip.* This understanding of the 2d element might explain the absence of Babylon in the Table of Nations (Simons 1959: 9–10). However, these interpretations fail to explain the entire name. The *patah-šĕwā* pattern, repeated 3 times, may suggest an artificiality in the pronunciation, reflecting an early loss of the original understanding of the six-consonant, non-Semitic (?) name. Two problems arise related to the mention of Arpachshad in Gen 11:10. First, the verse describes Shem as begetting Arpachshad 2 years after the flood when he was 100 years old. If Noah fathered Shem at 500 (Gen 5:32) and the Flood occurred in his 600th year (Gen 7:6, 11), then a discrepancy of 2 years appears. A temporal interpretation of the waw-consecutives in Gen 5:32 (Cryer 1985: 247–248), combined with Shem's position as 2d born (Cassuto *Genesis,* pp. 260–61), allows for a period of 2 years. Then Shem would have been born in Noah's 502d year and Arpachshad in Noah's 602d year (Cryer 1985: 247–48). A second problem arises when it is observed that the genealogies designate the eldest son of the new generation by listing him first or alone. This occurs in Gen 11:10–11 with Arpachshad. However, in Gen 10:22 Arpachshad appears 3d among the offspring of Shem. Unlike Genesis 11, which relates Abram's ancestry to Shem, Genesis 10 describes the geographical distribution of peoples in the known world. The "brothers" of Arpachshad are all gentilic or geographic names, and the order of the names in the text has nothing to do with order of birth.

**2.** The leader of the Medes who was defeated by Nebuchadrezzar (Jdt 1: 1). This figure is otherwise unknown in ancient sources. Attempts to identify Arpachshad with a Scythian king and to argue for an Iranian etymology are speculative (Brandenstein 1954: 60, 62).

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**ARPAD** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾarpād* (אַרְפָּד)]. City in N Syria identified with modern Tell Rifaat (36° 28′ N; 37° 06′ E). Biblical references (2 Kgs 18:34 = Isa 36:19; 2 Kgs 19:13 = Isa 37:13; Isa 10:9; and Jer 49:23) to its conquest by Assyria reflect Arpad's importance in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C.E. when it served as capital of the land of Bit-Agusi. A series of archaeological excavations at Arpad in the 1950s and 1960s by M. V. Seton-Williams and of the surrounding region in the 1970s by J. Matthers (1981) have uncovered architectural, ceramic, osteological, and other types of remains which span from the Chalcolithic in the 5th millennium B.C.E. to the Islamic era.

The main sources for the history of Arpad in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C.E. are Assyrian historical texts. The records of Adad-nirari III (810–783) mark the first known reference to the place as Arpad, but more common names include Yakhan and Bit-Agusi. Despite intermittent independence, Arpad paid tribute to Assurnasirpal (885–860), and suffered significant attacks from Shalmaneser III in 849 and Adad-nirari III in 805. Perhaps describing events in 796, Zakkur of Hamath reports in his Aram inscription (*KAI*, #202) that he was delivered, possibly with the help of Adad-nirari III, from an attacking coalition headed by Bargush (= Atar-shumki?) of Arpad. Mati'-ilu of Arpad concluded a treaty with Ashur-nirari V (754–746) in 754, and later, as recorded in the Sefire inscriptions (*KAI*, #222), another with a still obscure Bar-ga'yah of *ktk*. Mati'-ilu's apparent revolt led to the conquest and reduction of Arpad to an Assyrian province by Tiglath-pileser III in 740. After 740 Arpad never regained its former power, although it did participate in an uprising suppressed by Sargon in 720.

Precise reconstruction of the royal line of Arpad in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C.E. remains a difficult problem. W. Pitard's (1988) recent identification of a certain Attar-hamek in the much discussed Melqart Stele may suggest the existence of previously unrecognized kings of Arpad. However, the numerous uncertainties associated with the stele, ascribed to the kingdom of Damascus by many scholars, leaves the following relative chronology as the most certain: Agusi (1st half of 9th century); Arame (ca. 858–ca. 834); Atar-shumki (ca. 805–ca. 796?); and Mati'-ilu (ca. 754?–740).

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HECTOR AVALOS

**ARPHAXAD** (PERSON) [Gk *Arphaxad* (Ἀρφαξαδ)]. 1. Ruler over the Medes (Jdt 1:1). He rebuilt the wall of Ecbatana, and was defeated by Nebuchadnezzar in the mountains of Rages.

However, according to our historical sources, no Persian or Median king by the name of Arphaxad ever existed. Therefore, the character is usually considered fictitious, although Ball suggests that the name may be a corruption of "Arbaces," the name of the first Median king. The name is probably taken from the book of Genesis, where it is given as Arpachshad (Heb *ʾarpakšad*). He is the 3d son of Shem, born after the flood, who became the grandfather of Eber, the ancestor of Abraham. The name Arpachshad may be geographic in origin, indicating an area of Mesopotamia.

**2.** Ancestor of Jesus (Luke 3:36). See ARPACHSHAD.

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SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**ARRAY, BATTLE.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.

**ARSACES** (PERSON) [Gk *Arsakēs* (Ἀρσακης)]. Name or title of Parthian kings, including the one who captured Demetrius II (1 Macc 14:2–3). The name may have been simply a title used by Parthian kings who claimed descent from Artaxerxes II, whose name was Arsaces before he took the Persian throne.

Appian (*Syrian Wars* 67) identifies the Arsaces who captured Demetrius II with Phraates (176–171 B.C.E.). However, his dates are 30 years too early. It must have been his younger brother, Mithradates I (171–138).

This Arsaces influenced Jewish history in 165, when Antiochus IV marched E, perhaps because of Parthian threats. On his return to Syria after a defeat by Mithradates I, Antiochus died at Gabae. Mithradates was then able to conquer Media and Mesopotamia.

Jewish history mentions him explicitly because in 142 Demetrius II mustered an international army to invade Mesopotamia. The purpose was to secure Mesopotamia for the Seleucids and to raise a force strong enough to defeat Trypho, a pretender to the Seleucid throne. After some initial successes, Arsaces Mithradates defeated Demetrius' army and captured Demetrius (1 Macc 14:2–3). Mithradates treated Demetrius very well and even gave the prisoner his own daughter, Rhodogune, in marriage. Mithradates died in 138. Demetrius remained a Parthian prisoner until 130, when Arsaces Phraates II set him free during an unsuccessful invasion by Demetrius' brother, Antiochus VII.

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MITCHELL C. PACWA

**ART AND ARCHITECTURE.** Seven articles are included under this general heading. The first two, respectively, provide broad historical surveys of ANE art and of ANE architecture, excluding Egypt. The third article focuses more closely upon the art and architecture specifically of Mesopotamia, while the fourth provides an overview specifically of Egyptian art and architecture. The fifth article treats Persian art of the Achaemenid period, while the final two cover, respectively, early Jewish art and architecture and early Christian art.

### *ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN ART*

Ancient Near Eastern art customarily includes the sculpture, pottery, painting, and glyptic produced in W Asia from their earliest appearances until the fall of the Achaemenid Persian Empire in 331 B.C. At the end of that period, the systematic introduction of Greek forms and styles in architecture and the visual arts throughout western and central Asia created new fusions of indigenous and Eastern Mediterranean forms in addition to Near Eastern traditions. In the mid-7th century of our era, the Islamic conquest of W Asia brought about significant changes in the forms and institutions of Near Eastern art and architecture. Yet established trends in a variety of media continued to flourish, and a neat division between pre-Islamic and Islamic Near Eastern art is difficult to establish (Ettinghausen 1962; Grabar 1973).

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A. Scope
B. Western Discovery of ANE Art
C. The Production of Art in the ANE
D. Artistic Developments before 4000 B.C.
E. Arts of the Early Urban Communities (to ca. 2350 B.C.)
F. The First Empires (ca. 2350–1200 B.C.)
G. The Neo-Assyrian and Achaemenid Persian Empires (ca. 1200–330 B.C.)
H. Hellenism and Near Eastern Traditions (ca. 330 B.C.–A.D. 250)
I. Arts of Late Antiquity (ca. A.D. 250–650)

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#### A. Scope

Unlike "Egyptian" or "Greek" art, the term "ancient Near Eastern art" does not embrace a coherent body of works of art linked by an obvious unity of style, purpose, or means of expression. Moreover, it includes works made by artisans of a variety of ethnic identities. No histories of art survive from the

ANE; typological, aesthetic, and historical categories and trends have been established only in modern times. Because the modern distinction between art and craft is difficult to apply to the ANE, scholars generally admit a wide range of objects to the realm of art.

Although often treated as a geographical and cultural entity, the ANE encompassed a long history and a diverse set of physical environments. In artistic developments, as in other forms of cultural expression, such as languages, component regions in large measure followed independent avenues. It is customary to subdivide the Near East into several principal geographical regions—Mesopotamia, Iran, the Levant, and Anatolia—and to trace developments in art and architecture accordingly. Those divisions are generally agreed to correspond in significant ways to regionally characteristic and long-lived patterns of artistic and architectural expression, although it is also true that at most periods in antiquity each region was open to outside influence through movements of works of art, of patrons and artisans, and of conquerors and prophets. Because Mesopotamia alone provides a continuous sequence of excavated building remains and works of art accompanied by written records beginning about 3200 B.C., it continues to serve as a framework for ANE art as a whole. Yet all regions of the Near East displayed independent artistic traditions, and Mesopotamia, at various periods in its history, was in turn the recipient of forms, styles, and techniques of manufacture that had originated elsewhere.

That diversity of environment and culture helped to shape regional differences in the development of materials, technologies, and traditions employed for works of art or architecture. In Mesopotamia, in the major river valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, natural resources for materials used in building or in fashioning works of art were limited primarily to plentiful quantities of clay and reeds. Gypsum and alabaster, stones suitable for building or for carving sculptures, existed in N Mesopotamia. Sources of ores, including gold, silver, copper, and iron, as well as certain varieties of stone, were available in the mountainous regions of Anatolia and W Iran. Works of art also employed prized materials imported to the Near East by sea or by land, often from considerable distances. The hard stone diorite, for example, used in Mesopotamia at certain periods for large-scale sculptures, was probably imported from islands in the Persian Gulf or from coastal ports along the shores of the Indian Ocean (Heimpel 1987). Lapis lazuli, a semiprecious stone favored for jewelry and also used together with other materials for decorative inlays, was very likely transported to the Near East via overland routes from present-day Afghanistan (Herrmann 1968). Ivory, another luxury material employed for furniture, inlays, and cosmetic items, came from elephant and hippopotamus hunted in Egypt and W Asia (Lucas 1962: 32–33; Barnett 1982: 3–15).

The periods under consideration also witnessed the development of critical technologies that shaped artistic energies as well as economies and societies. The domestication of animals and cultivation of plants, and the development of metallurgy in copper, gold, silver, and iron, took place in the ANE. Those technologies created materials for works of art as well as ways of fashioning or decorating them. Metal tools for carving stone, the use of plants or mineral pigments for coloring dyes or paint, and wool for textiles, in turn allowed new opportunities for artistic expression (Moorey 1985; Lucas 1962; Singer, Holmyard, and Hall 1954). Pyrotechnologies that made possible the production of good-quality ceramic objects fired at high temperatures, together with the materials faience (the common term for glazed sintered quartz) and glass, were all invented in the ANE (Moorey 1985). The invention of writing, a dramatic step in communications technology, took place in Mesopotamia about 3200 B.C. Among its many profound effects on Near Eastern history and society was the development of means of communication among artisans and architects (Cooper 1988; Kilmer 1990; Michalowski 1990).

A history of art depends on determining the sequence of forms and styles, as well as the relationships between works of art produced in different areas of a region. Works of ANE art are located within a relative chronological framework based on stratigraphic sequences discovered during excavations. In relative chronologies, works of art can be assigned a place in a series established through stratigraphic evidence. Many of them can also be dated in years, that is, in relation to our time, through such scientific means as radiocarbon dating of organic materials, or thermoluminescence of fired clay (Brothwell and Higgs 1970: 35–108). After the invention of writing in Mesopotamia, about 3200 B.C., written sources can be added to the evidence of archaeological context to assist in dating a monument. Inscriptions preserved

on works of art, or names of individuals known from written documents, often make it possible to link a building or work of art with a dynasty or ruler known from cuneiform sources, which can in turn be dated via Mesopotamian, N Syrian, and Egyptian absolute chronologies (*CAH* 1/2: 173–93, 193–239).

Historians of ANE art investigate the forms, styles, subjects, and function of examples of painting, sculpture, and glyptic, seeking to compile a descriptive history of those categories of material and their sequence of development. They also investigate the social, political, and cultural contexts of works of art, their makers, patrons, and owners. When available, written sources—literary texts, correspondence, administrative records, annals, or inscriptions—are used to help reconstruct those contexts. Works of ANE art are usually classified and studied with close attention to the social and political circumstances in which they were made and used. Such evidence serves not only to help establish a probable date and place of manufacture for an object, but also contributes significantly toward understanding the circumstances of its creation, function, and meaning. Through study of their forms, subjects, and development, works of art and architecture can furnish information about the rituals, aesthetic sensibilities, or cultural traditions that engendered them. In turn, therefore, they help to supplement information available in ancient texts by providing an independent, rich, and complex set of sources documenting aspects of religion, politics, economics, and society. Works of art play a significant role in reconstructing the broader cultural history of the ANE.

A history of ANE art has been compiled principally by studying remains of buildings and artifacts recovered from excavations carried out during the 19th and 20th centuries. In addition, many objects purportedly of ANE origin have entered museums or private collections via the art market; for such material, authenticity or provenance must be established through technical criteria or by visual comparisons with works of known date and place of manufacture. Finally, ANE texts often describe or mention works of art or techniques of manufacture poorly represented in the archaeological record, thereby helping to reconstruct a more accurate and complete picture of the scope, purpose, and historical significance of artistic production in the ANE.

**B. Western Discovery of ANE Art**

Prior to archaeological confirmation of their civilizations, many ANE peoples and places were already known through the Bible and through classical accounts, those texts that had long formed the core of the Western tradition. European knowledge was based on biblical sources preserving names of ancient Mesopotamian cities, and on descriptions by classical authors, including Herodotus, Xenophon, Arrian, and Strabo, mentioning cities and monuments of Asia Minor, Babylonia, and Persia.

The historical interest of the Near East as the "Holy Land," in addition to its commercial and political importance, first prompted Western curiosity about its past. Many ancient monuments, in particular those dating to late antiquity, remained visible; consequently, they were the first sets of ruins that attracted the attention of European merchants or diplomats. Architectural remains and rock reliefs of Achaemenid and Sassanian Persia, for example, were described in Western travelers' accounts of the 16th and 17th centuries. The 18th and 19th centuries brought additional opportunities for Europeans to visit the ancient monuments of Mesopotamia; sites identified included the visible ruins of ancient cities named in biblical accounts, such as Babylon and Nineveh. European travelers to the Near East initiated modern awareness of its antiquities, and published illustrated narratives of their journeys that disseminated information to a wide and fascinated public.

As British and European interest in Near Eastern antiquities grew, travelers with sketchbooks were often succeeded by explorers with pick and shovel. Systematic, large-scale investigation of ruins began during the 1840s at sites in N Mesopotamia identified as Assyrian cities mentioned in the Bible. In 1843, Paul Emile Botta, then French consul at Mosul, uncovered the palace and sculptures of the Neo-Assyrian king Sargon at the site of Khorsabad. In 1845, the Englishman Austen Henry Layard (1817–1894) began digging at the site of Nimrud in N Mesopotamia, uncovering monumental architecture and sculpture, clay tablets and stones inscribed in the cuneiform script, and other finds (Lloyd 1980; Silberman 1982). The initial focus on places named in the Bible granted the monuments—and the cultures that had produced them—a status as part of the Western tradition, and imperial rivalries fed the demand for antiquities at

home. As a result of British, French, and later German efforts, vast quantities of objects were transported to national museums in London, Paris, and Berlin. The presence of those monuments, in turn, helped to inspire scholarly attempts to integrate ANE monuments into the histories of other ancient arts, especially those of Egypt, Greece, and Rome (Bohrer 1989).

The decipherment of cuneiform, achieved during the 1840s and 1850s, served to open a new vista on the whole of Mesopotamian civilization as well as to enhance interest in Mesopotamian antiquities. Study of the texts revealed that Babylonia, as well as Assyria, had been home to important civilizations, and the later 19th century saw the investigation of S Mesopotamia and the discovery of civilizations predating the Neo-Assyrian Empire. European and American campaigns devoted to the recovery of early Mesopotamian monuments began in the late 19th century, at the Sumerian cities of Nippur and Telloh. A new, earlier era of Mesopotamian civilization was revealed through German excavations at Warka, ancient Uruk (biblical Erech), which began in 1912 and continued after the World Wars. In the 1920s and 1930s, then commencing again after World War II, archaeological investigations grew significantly in number and began to explore systematically the regions beyond the Tigris and Euphrates valleys. Excavation of increasingly earlier occupation became a priority of field research (Lloyd 1980). Those investigations revealed that the beginnings of art in the ANE were to be found at least as early as the Neolithic era.

Classical, and later biblical, references also supplied the initial impetus for European exploration of ruins in Anatolia. Travelers in search of monuments described by classical authors also came upon ruins which were, by the mid-19th century, recognized as those of earlier, pre-Greek cultures. Monuments with "hieroglyphic" inscriptions found in parts of present-day SE Turkey and N Syria were identified as the work of the Hittites, a people known from references in the Bible and in Egyptian and Assyrian records. In 1906, a German team began excavations at the modern site of Boğazköy, in north central Turkey, identified as ancient Hattusha, the capital of the Hittite Empire (Bittel 1970: 3–23). Since the 1930s, archaeological investigations carried out over a wide region of Turkey have also revealed extensive evidence for developed artistic styles and iconographies dating as early as the 7th millennium B.C.

Ruins dating to the Seleucid, Parthian, and Sassanian eras, many of them comparatively well preserved, early on attracted the attention of Western travelers. Scholarly interest in the art or architecture of those eras generally came later, however, and was directed principally toward sites in Syria and Mesopotamia (including Aššur, Dura Europus, Seleucia-on-Tigris, and Hatra). Excavation and analysis of the material was initially undertaken primarily as a branch of Hellenistic, Roman, or Islamic studies, and has only in recent decades been systematically investigated as an independent field of ANE art (Colledge 1977; Downey 1988; Herrmann 1977; see also EARLY CHRISTIAN ART, EARLY JEWISH ART AND ARCHITECTURE, below).

**C. The Production of Art in the ANE**

Only an incomplete account of ANE art can be reconstructed from available archaeological and textual sources. The initial concentration on S Mesopotamia in excavations and research of the 19th and early 20th centuries has shifted since the 1930s in favor of a more balanced interest in the art produced in all regions of the ANE. Yet not all regions played an equally significant role in the history of art, and there were in any given period centers of artistic production that exercised influence beyond their political boundaries. The creation and development of forms and styles in architecture, sculpture, seals, vessels, and jewelry are known in their main outlines from Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and the Levant. A comparably extensive series of sites with stratified occupation sequences and well-dated monuments is at present lacking for Iran.

Historians of ANE art must also contend with the uneven recovery and preservation of relevant categories of evidence. Organic materials, such as woven textiles, and fragile media, such as wall painting, are preserved only under exceptional circumstances; the scope of their production and their place in the history of ANE art is therefore extremely difficult to judge. Metalwork, a principal medium of ANE art, survives in only a small proportion to its original abundance. Ancient written sources, such as

texts describing the manufacture or commercial exchange of those materials, or inscriptions preserved on statue bases, help to indicate the kinds and quantities of works of art once produced in the ANE.

For the vast eras of prehistory, the circumstances of artistic production can only be surmised. The shift from food-collecting to food-producing economies, or the "Neolithic revolution," is generally considered to have made possible the support of full-time artisans. Already in Neolithic times, there was a long-distance exchange of valued materials, such as obsidian, for tools and other artifacts (Cann, Dixon, and Renfrew 1970). Craftsmen may have specialized not only in the full-time manufacture of objects for utilitarian or ornamental use, but also in the design and shaping of specific raw materials.

Although no detailed records describing the organization of artistic production survive from historical periods, references preserved in the cuneiform literature of several cultures can be used to reconstruct aspects of the social and economic circumstances in which works of art were made. Philologists and historians have retrieved from administrative records, correspondence and inscriptions information on the artisan, his social role, and the conditions of his employment. In most cases, artisans were organized in palace or temple workshops, where they held lifetime positions. In those institutions, specialized personnel were given temporary or long-term assignments, either within the capital or in peripheral locations administered by the palace or temple. Most abundant among the documents concerning craftsmen employed by such institutions are the MB Age archives from the palace at Mari. At Mari, the category "artisan" (Akk *mār ummênim*) included physicians, scribes, barbers, cooks, and masons, all of whom were part of the palace bureaucracy (Zaccagnini 1983: 247–49; Sasson 1990).

Artisans were also employed by assignment from one court to another, usually at a foreign ruler's express request. Thus, specialized craftsmen—including physicians and diviners as well as sculptors—were sent to and from Egypt, Babylonia, and Hatti during the LB Age. During the 1st millennium B.C., it seems that there was a higher number of slaves among those engaged in specialized crafts during this period. At the same time, there are examples of groups of artisans in Neo-Babylonian Eanna who bargained with their employers over aspects of their professional responsibilities and working conditions (Zaccagnini 1983: 250–64).

Since archaeological investigations in the Near East have devoted most time and effort to the exposure of palace and temple complexes, including the archives of those institutions, we are best informed on the production of art for political and religious purposes. In a number of cultures, art helped to define the relationship between the ruler and society, both human and divine. To that end, works of art were often used to create and circulate an image of a ruler that conformed to social expectations, or that sought to introduce a new order or set of relationships. In addition, kings were directly involved with rituals in the construction of temples and palaces, and sometimes also participated in the design and decoration of buildings or works of art (Root 1979: 16–23).

Artistic interaction between different regions of the ANE came about through a variety of mechanisms, involving the movement of artisans as well as works of art. Trade, diplomacy, imperial expansion, and voluntary or forced population movements were among those mechanisms. Key sculptural monuments displayed in Mesopotamian sanctuaries were moved to the site of Susa, in SW Iran, through a series of raids on Mesopotamian cities by kings of Elam in the 12th century B.C. (*CAH* 2/2: 486). Cult images, endowed with powers of healing, were transported over long distances, usually in response to the express wish of an individual ruler (*CAH* 2/1: 346).

Relatively little is known of the production of art for private, nonroyal settings, at least before the Roman era. Personal possessions recovered from tombs, for example, help to determine the kinds of objects individuals of non-royal status would have owned and treasured. The abundant category of cylinder seals and their impressions, many inscribed with the names of their owners, furnishes an exceptional opportunity to investigate works of art belonging to individuals of different social levels, the personal selection of subjects or styles, and the function, meaning, and reuse of those works of art (Gibson and Biggs 1977; Collon 1987).

**D. Artistic Developments before 4000 B.C.**

With the development of agriculture and animal husbandry in the Near East around 9000 B.C., permanently inhabited settlements provided a new and hospitable environment for artistic energies. Sources for reconstructing the beginnings of art are sculptures, vessels, or ornaments, made of clay or stone, found in settlements or graves over a wide region of W Asia (Mellink and Filip 1974; Mellaart 1975). Works of art seem to have been created for purposes of cult and magic, as far as we can reliably reconstruct their meanings and function. At Neolithic Çatal Hüyük, in south central Turkey, wall paintings and plastered relief sculptures document an elaborate cultic iconography involving bulls, felines, and human female figures. Plastered human skulls from Neolithic Jericho suggest that art functioned in a cult of ancestors. Common to Neolithic sites over a wide area of the Near East are figurines made of clay or stone in the shape of humans, most often females, or of animals.

Less practical ambitions must also have fed the urge to fashion clay, stone, or perishable materials into an image or pattern, or to decorate a surface. The medium of pottery developed early in the Near East, initially for the manufacture of simple containers; the earliest known examples, from the sites of Mureybit in N Syria, and Ganj Dareh Tepe, in W Iran, date to about 8000 B.C. By the 5th millennium B.C., potters at a number of sites in the Near East were producing ceramic vessels of high technical quality, and had adopted the medium as an important vehicle of artistic expression. A material that permits unlimited variations and ways of shaping, clay can also be transformed through firing; in addition, it provides a wealth of opportunities for decoration through incision, relief ornament, and the addition of a colored slip or paint. Excavations in northern and central Mesopotamia have yielded the painted pottery styles known as Samarra and Halaf. In Anatolia, a painted pottery style best known from the site of Hacilar also appeared during the late 6th millennium B.C. (Mellink and Filip 1974).

Architectural remains dating to this period are usually made of perishable or readily weathered building materials, including sun-dried mudbrick or reeds. Most buildings seem to have been ordinary dwellings, with adjacent space used for keeping animals. Several Neolithic sites have also yielded examples of substantial stone architecture, or of functionally specialized structures, such as fortifications or storerooms. A series of temples unearthed at sites of the Ubaid culture in Mesopotamia, dating to the 5th millennium B.C., bears witness to the standardization of ritual in the form of building plan, interior furnishings, and exterior decoration (see ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN ARCHITECTURE below).

**E. Arts of the Early Urban Communities (to ca. 2350 B.C.)**

With the invention of writing in Mesopotamia around 3200 B.C., new sources became available for understanding the purpose and meaning of architecture and works of art. In addition, writing appeared increasingly on works of art, in association with images. This close link between art and writing in Mesopotamia, forged early, continued throughout its history (Cooper 1988). Another key artistic development of the period was the invention of the cylinder seal in Mesopotamia. Engraved with patterned or figured designs, the seals were rolled across wet clay tablets or lumps of clay used to seal vessels, consignments of goods, and door latches of storerooms (Collon 1987). Seals and seal impressions have been recovered from every period of Mesopotamian history, furnishing the largest and richest source for tracing the variety and development of artistic styles and iconography. The appearance of this characteristic object elsewhere in the Near East also documents Mesopotamian commercial or cultural influence (Collon 1987; Gibson and Biggs 1977).

The art and architecture of the early urban settlements has been most thoroughly investigated at the site of Uruk, in S Mesopotamia (see also ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN ARCHITECTURE; MESOPOTAMIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE below). The construction of monumental temple complexes built of molded, sun-dried mudbrick, following a standard plan and decoration, continued the developments in religious architecture of the Ubaid period. Along with standardized, monumental constructions for religious practices came the use of statuary in temple complexes. Preserved examples display a wide range of forms and styles, including life-sized, composite sculptures made of stone and other materials. Uruk has also yielded the first appearance of the *stele,* a block of stone carved in low relief on one or both sides, which remained a characteristic form of commemorative art throughout Mesopotamian history.

The first fully literate period in Mesopotamia, known as the Early Dynastic period (ca. 3000–2350 B.C.), allows us to chart developments in art and architecture in the city-states of Sumer. Excavations at several sites offer a stratification of building remains and also of associated finds, such as sculptures and cylinder seals. Temple complexes continued as the principal form of monumental architecture in the city-states of Early Dynastic Sumer. Along with inherited notions of building design and decoration, votive statuary placed in temples suggests a continuity of religious rituals and their artistic expression. Small sculptures in the form of stylized human worshippers were made of stone or metal; stone plaques carved in relief depicted worshippers in ceremonies, such as banqueting or the construction of temples.

The Early Dynastic period coincided with the rapid development of metallurgy in gold, silver, and copper alloy. Throughout the Near East, metal became the pre-eminent prestige material for vessels, weapons, jewelry, and other portable objects. Testifying to the technical and aesthetic achievements of early metalsmiths as well as to an elite taste in works of art are the remarkable objects recovered from the Royal Cemetery at the site of Ur. Grave goods included weapons, jewelry, vessels, and musical instruments, made of a wide variety of materials (shell, mother-of-pearl, lapis lazuli, wood, gold, silver, copper), often in combination with each other (Moorey 1982: 51–103). These objects, many carefully placed in royal graves, attest to a demand at the highest social levels for these imported precious materials, skillfully worked by local artisans. Secular energies in Early Dynastic Sumer were also manifested in works of art depicting military victories of the ruler, which became more frequent toward the end of the period (e.g., the stele of Eannatum: Orthmann 1975: pls. 90–91).

Independent artistic traditions in ceramics and metal-work flourished in central Anatolia during the 3d millennium B.C. At the site of Alaca Hüyük, in north central Turkey, a cemetery of shaft graves contained rich treasures made of copper alloy, gold, and silver, including vessels, jewelry, and sculptures in the form of human figures or of animals. These sculptures often combine different metals on a single object, producing a distinctive surface pattern or emphasizing parts of figures with gold or silver (Bittel 1976: 30–50). The decoration of pottery with black or copper-red slipped, polished surfaces also reflects the influence of metalwork. The "treasures" from the citadel at Troy, dating from the end of the 3d millennium, attest to another sophisticated metalworking center in NW Anatolia.

**F. The First Empires (ca. 2350–1200 B.C.)**

The rise of the Akkadian dynasty ca. 2350 B.C. brought an end to the political organization of Sumer in independent city-states. With the new concept of world empire, works of art could also serve to transmit imperial messages; this purpose of art would be increasingly exploited throughout antiquity. Although the capital of the dynasty, Agade, has not been discovered, art produced during the period of Akkadian domination has been recovered from several sites in Mesopotamia and N Syria. In addition, examples of Akkadian royal sculpture have come to light at the site of Susa, in SW Iran, where they were taken during raids by Elamite kings in the 12th century B.C. and rediscovered in the 20th century by a French team of excavators. One of the masterpieces recovered from Susa was the stele of Naram-Sin (Orthmann 1975: pl. 104).

After the Akkadian domination of Mesopotamia was brought to an end around 2200 B.C., a revival of Sumerian art and architecture ensued in the old city-states of S Mesopotamia. Traditional forms of religious architecture and of commemorative art were promoted energetically by the rulers of the Third Dynasty of Ur (ca. 2112–2000 B.C.). A series of statues of Gudea, ruler of Lagash (reigned ca. 2130 B.C.) also illustrates the intentional revival of Sumerian artistic traditions. The statues, many of them carved from blocks of diorite, depict the ruler in the traditional roles of pious worshipper and builder of temples (Orthmann 1975: pls. 53–57). Babylonia was also a powerful center under the First Dynasty of Babylon (ca. 2000–1600 B.C.), but almost nothing is known of its monumental art. The stele of Hammurabi, recovered from Susa, continues the tradition of earlier Mesopotamian stelae (Orthmann 1975: pl. 181). More eloquent testimony to the artistic achievements of this period are the palace, wall paintings, and sculptures preserved and excavated at the site of Mari, on the Euphrates River in N Syria (Parrot 1974). Mari, founded in Early Dynastic times, now rose to a new prominence as the capital of a kingdom ruled

by a powerful local dynasty. Its MB Age remains and archives help to supplement the almost complete lack of material from Hammurabi's Babylon.

During the first half of the 2d millennium B.C., monumental art and architecture of individual style and consequence were developing on the Anatolian plateau under the auspices of the Hittites, an Indo-European-speaking people who probably moved into the area of present-day central Turkey around 2000 B.C. The official art of the Hittite Empire, preserved in rock reliefs, architectural sculptures, and seals, frequently depicted the king engaged in worship or religious ceremonies (Bittel 1976: 166–219). Hittite architecture has been most extensively revealed at the site of Boğazköy, ancient Hattusha, capital of the Old Hittite Kingdom and Empire (ca. 1650–1200 B.C.). Cuneiform archives recovered from several complexes at the site have permitted identification of some of the structures. The Hittite royal palace was a complex of adjacent, individual structures connected by large open courtyards. Built of massive stone foundations with mud-brick and timber superstructures, the palace buildings included large halls filled with wooden columns. Excavations at the capital have also furnished extensive evidence for Hittite temples, which followed a precise plan of axial entrance, central courtyard, and rear room containing the cult image (Bittel 1976: 105–35; Orthmann 1975: 399–419).

In the late 2d millennium B.C., a lively artistic exchange linked the Near East with Egypt and the Aegean world. Correspondence preserved at the city of Tell el-Amarna in Egypt, dating from ca. 1380–1362 B.C., bears eloquent witness to that internationalism, cultivated by the most powerful rulers of the Near East. The kings of Mitanni, of Kassite Babylonia, of Ugarit in Phoenicia, and of the Hittites, as well as the rulers of the 18th Dynasty in Egypt, exchanged artisans as well as works of art (Smith 1965).

**G. The Neo-Assyrian and Achaemenid Persian Empires (ca. 1200–330 B.C.)**

A series of destructions on the coasts of the Aegean and the E Mediterranean, dated to ca. 1200 B.C., brought an end to a number of important cities. Following those destructions, Mesopotamia regained political ascendance in W Asia under the Assyrians. Dramatic testimony to Assyrian military and imperial ambitions are the remains of their capitals, located in the "Assyrian triangle" of N Mesopotamia. The interior walls of the palaces at Nimrud, Khorsabad, and Nineveh were decorated with carved, painted reliefs depicting detailed narratives of military campaigns and ritual scenes. Fragmentary wall paintings survive from the palace of Sargon at Khorsabad, and from the governor's palace at Til Barsip in N Syria.

Important centers of ivory-carving flourished in N Syria and Phoenicia in the early 1st millennium B.C., in part under Assyrian royal patronage. Assyria was also involved in artistic exchanges with its neighbors in Phrygia, Urartu, and W Iran. The 9th through 7th centuries B.C. also saw the export of Near Eastern metalwork, ivories, and textiles to the Aegean world and to Etruria, stimulating the local production of "Orientalizing" styles.

The end of Assyrian rule in 612 B.C. was followed by the rise of the Achaemenid Persian dynasty to the status of world empire in W Asia. Under the leadership of Cyrus (reigned ca. 560–539 B.C.) and his successors, the Achaemenid Persians came to rule over western and central Asia, parts of SE Europe, and Egypt. With the shift of Near Eastern power to the dynasty's homeland in Iran, Iranian traditions played an increasingly central role in the creation of art and architecture for royal and elite patrons. Achaemenid Persian art also drew on the traditions of Assyria, Egypt, and Anatolia (see PERSIAN ART below). The monumental art and architecture of Achaemenid Persia are best known from the site of Persepolis, located in SW Iran. Built on an artificial platform with limited access, buildings consisted of individual rectangular structures, made of locally quarried limestone, with frequent use of stone columned interiors. On the exterior walls of several of the buildings, sculptures in low relief depicted processions of Medes and Persians, processions of tribute bearers from throughout the empire, and scenes of the Persian king enthroned or engaged in ritual combat (Root 1979). Achaemenid Persian imperial art was also created and circulated throughout the empire in the form of seals, coins, and official gifts, often vessels, made of precious metal. Other centers of artistic production in the empire have been investigated primarily in Anatolia, where art flourished under the patronage of local dynasts; artisans trained in Greek, Persian, and Anatolian traditions were employed to design and execute seals, coins, palaces, sanctuaries, and tombs (*CAH* 4: 211–33).

## H. Hellenism and Near Eastern Traditions (ca. 330 B.C.–A.D. 250)

The Asian conquests of Alexander the Great in the 330s B.C. brought the Achaemenid Persian Empire to an end. The Seleucids, the successors of Alexander's general Seleucus, ruled over Mesopotamia and Syria from ca. 312–130 B.C. Under the Seleucids, cities with substantial Greek populations were founded over a wide region of western and central Asia. These foundations introduced into the Near Eastern repertoire on a large and systematic scale Hellenistic forms and styles in architecture, sculpture, metalwork, and painting (Colledge 1987).

In 246 B.C., the Parthians, an Iranian-speaking tribe originally from NE Iran, defeated the Seleucid armies and established rule over Mesopotamia and Iran. Their official art is known only from coins and from a few rock reliefs; but in the areas under their control flourished developments in art and architecture that drew on a vast range of traditions extending from the E Mediterranean to Han China. Art produced in the Parthian empire has been most extensively studied at sanctuary complexes in Syria, Iraq, Iran, and the Soviet Union, revealing a great variety in concurrent styles and techniques employed for architecture and sculpture (Colledge 1977; Downey 1988). Among the architectural forms developed in this era was the *iwan,* a barrel-vaulted three-sided hall, that became a principal element in Sasanian Persian and Islamic architecture.

## I. Arts of Late Antiquity (ca. A.D. 250–650)

Following their victory over the Parthians in A.D. 246, the Sasanian Persian dynasty revived Iranian traditions in art and architecture while maintaining artistic exchanges with the Roman, and later Byzantine, empires. In addition, the Sasanian Persians pursued commercial and cultural relations with central Asia and China.

Monuments of the Sasanian era have been most extensively preserved and investigated in Mesopotamia and W Iran (*CHI* 3: 1055–1112). Architectural remains, mainly of palaces, have been investigated at Kish, Bishapur, Sarvistan, and Qasr-i Shirin; they demonstrate a continuity of Hellenistic and Roman forms and styles along with Near Eastern developments, including the *iwan.* A characteristic form of royal Sasanian art was the commemorative rock relief, carved on the natural cliff face, in the dynasty's homeland of SW Iran; most depict the investiture of the king or the king engaged in a ritual hunt. The royal hunt was also a principal theme of the decorated silver plates that were manufactured during the Sasanian era (Harper and Meyers 1981). Sasanian glass was exported over a wide area of western, central, and East Asia; patterned silks became highly prized in W Asia and Europe. The legacy of Sasanian Persian art and architecture included the transmission of ANE traditions to the West via the art of the Roman and Byzantine empires.

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ANN C. GUNTER

## *ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN ARCHITECTURE*

If architecture is defined as building conditioned by aesthetic considerations, the Near East may reasonably claim the longest architectural history of any region on earth. Yet it is by no means easy to isolate and delineate a single dominant tradition in the area—comparable, for example, to Egyptian, Roman, or Gothic architecture—since the rubric "ancient Near East" covers many millennia and much cultural diversity in which recognizable, enduring monuments that would foster adherence to a uniform canon are lacking. Any general treatment of the subject, therefore, inevitably involves a rather artificial process of grouping and selection. The distinction between Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and the Levant employed here is no exception. Each of these subregions was subject to the others' influences and boundaries between them were never static, while, on the other hand, there is often evidence of independent local development within each area. Nevertheless, there are certain unities that prevail over the entire Near East and the convention of devoting a chapter to the ANE in general surveys of the history of architecture is not entirely without justification.

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A. General Comments
B. Preurban Developments
C. Mesopotamia
    1. General Remarks
    2. Domestic Architecture and Town Plans
    3. Sacred Architecture
    4. Secular Structures
D. Anatolia
    1. General Remarks
    2. Domestic Architecture

3. Sacred Architecture
4. Secular Structures
5. Mortuary Architecture
E. Syria and Palestine
1. General Remarks
2. Domestic Architecture
3. Sacred Architecture
4. Secular Structures
F. The Legacy of ANE Architecture

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**A. General Comments**

One unifying feature of crucial significance is the prevailing use of mud brick as the primary building material. In many cases, particularly in S Mesopotamia, this is virtually all that remains for the archaeological study of architecture since such supplemental materials as stone, timber, and even baked bricks were valued and consequently removed from ruined buildings for reuse. Elsewhere in the Near East substantial stone foundations often remain as evidence of ground plans, but even under these circumstances, most of the above-ground walls of buildings were made of unbaked mud brick.

A consequence of reliance on this water-soluble building material is that ANE architecture did not last long. Under the best of circumstances, with annual replasterings and continuous maintenance, a mud-brick building has a life expectancy of less than a century. An abandoned edifice loses its architectural definition in a few years. Even the most monumental and massive structures in the area, city walls and the solid ziggurats of Mesopotamia, had to be shored up periodically in antiquity and survive today only as eroded and barely recognizable shadows of their former grandeur. The study of ANE architecture, therefore, is largely the study of building plans, not existing structures; and elevations must be reconstructed on basis of limited secondary sources such as pictorial representations and literary descriptions.

Mud brick has also done much to shape the character of Near Eastern archaeology; structures composed of it tend to be relatively massive, and their rapid decay leads to the buildup of cultural debris in artificial hills, or tells. It is not surprising that archaeological research has tended to focus on these, since they are obvious repositories of cultural information in stratified contexts. The excavation of tells is a labor-intensive process which has been conducted with varying degrees of skill over the last century. Every tell is made up of mud brick in various states of decay, and it is not always easy to judge what is or is not in a relevant position for architectural reconstruction. No economical system of preserving original mud brick exists, and since buildings are superimposed excavation implies destruction. Usually nothing remains at the end but notes, photographs, and plans, and there is often much uncertainty if not skepticism about specific aspects of any given building. The broad horizontal exposures that were typical of early 20th-century archaeology in the Near East involved hundreds of workmen moving tons of earth and are no longer economically feasible. Modern excavators have tended to select smaller sites, and specific edifices, rather than attempting to expose neighborhoods or entire city plans. All of these factors lend an unusual measure of uncertainty to our understanding of the history of architecture in the Near East.

**B. Preurban Developments**

The earliest buildings appear in the Levant before the introduction of agriculture and the domestication of animals. What remains of the earliest open-air structures are circular pits, 2 to 7 m in diameter, sunk to a depth of roughly 0.5 m. Field stones were often used for flooring and a portion of the above-ground walls. Although the superstructural detail of these is unknown, occasional traces of postmolds suggest that they were made of perishable materials. The earliest example, found associated with Kebaran lithics at ʿEn Gev in the Golan, is isolated, but groups of such structures dating to the range of 10,000 to 8000 B.C. were found at such sites as Muryebat on the Euphrates and ʿAin Mallaha near Lake Huleh. This appears to be the only type of edifice constructed by human beings at that time (Wright 1985, 1: 24).

This architectural uniformity, however, disintegrates quite early in the Neolithic and never returns. Perhaps the most celebrated example of early Neolithic sophistication is Jericho, where around 8000 B.C. there is ample evidence of collective, organized building activity in the form of a substantial wall along the perimeter of the site and an abutting stone tower 8 m high containing a staircase. Although the original interpretation of these as defensive structures has been challenged as anachronistic (Bar-Yosef 1986: 157–62), there can be no doubt that they represent landmarks of architectural sophistication.

Elsewhere there is equally dramatic evidence of early experimentation with building forms and materials. The range of functional differentiation in architecture can be illustrated merely by looking at three sites: 7th-millennium aceramic Çayönü in S Turkey, Beidha in Jordan, and 6th-millennium Umm Dabaghiyah in Iraq's N Jezira. At Çayönü the variety of building styles varies over time, beginning with simple pit houses followed by those with grill plans, broad pavements, cell plans, and finally large rooms. Most interesting are the broad pavement plans which have, as the name implies, pavements of flagstones or, in one case, pink terrazzo with white stripes. These buildings frequently have freestanding stones preserved within them and have therefore been interpreted as having some religious function. On the other hand, each cell of the cell-plan structures held different goods—an indication that these buildings were used for manufacturing or storage. At Beidha a similar pattern can be seen. After a developmental sequence from round to rectilinear structures was completed, three contemporary building types have been found. There, too, special purpose structures with stone pavements and standing stones have been interpreted as serving a religious purpose. Single-room, freestanding houses constructed of handmade mud bricks with a heavy, sometimes painted, plaster floor were clearly residential, and plans of this type remained popular in the Levant until the 3d millennium (Wright 1985, 1: 284). Associated with these at Beidha were "passageway houses," which may be conceived as a single long room divided into six alcoves by internal buttresses (see Fig. ART.01). From the objects found in each bay, these have been interpreted as manufacturing areas by the excavator. At the slightly later site of Umm Dabaghiyah and at other sites with Hassunan pottery, residential structures consisting of two or three rooms are clustered around a series of very long buildings consisting of as many as 50 small rooms. The excavator has argued that these were used for centralized storage.

These examples present a picture of Neolithic architectural diversity which is repeated at many other sites in the Near East. One may also speak of a broad trend, with many exceptions, of round house forms being supplanted by rectilinear ones, semisubterranean structures replaced by those laid out on the surface, and *tauf* superseded first by handmade mud brick and then by molded mud brick.

Some sites, of which the most dramatic is 6th-millennium Çatal Hüyük, located in Turkey's Konya Plain, exhibit architectural traditions all their own. Although only a portion of its settled area has been excavated, the exposures suffice to reveal a densely settled neighborhood of adjoining houses built of rectangular, mold-made mud bricks (see Fig. ART.02). There appears to be a standard house plan, consisting of one square "living" room with sleeping platforms and a cooking area, and two subsidiary rooms, an air shaft and, sometimes a shared courtyard. Houses at Çatal Hüyük shared common walls, stepping up the mound to provide light, and access was by ladders through the roof. Çatal Hüyük's uniqueness lies in the many houses which were distinguished by elaborate painted and molded decorative elements, associated with especially rich grave goods accompanying the dead who were, as at many Neolithic sites, buried beneath the floors. These features have led the excavator to single such houses out as "shrines," but since one house in three is apparently so favored the socioreligious implications are perhaps less straightforward than this term would suggest.

**C. Mesopotamia**

**1. General Remarks.** It is customary to subdivide discussions of the Mesopotamian archaeological record between Assyria in the N and Babylonia, or Sumer and Akkad, in the S. There are, in fact, major differences in the architectural traditions of the two areas, but for historical periods the primacy of the S, particularly with regard to public buildings, is indisputable. The most obvious factor discriminating the two regions is the relative poverty of the S in terms of building materials; the only local resources available to the creators of the first urban civilization were mud, straw, reeds, date palms, and water.

There was no stone of any kind in the immediate vicinity and wood suitable for roof beams and doors also had to be imported. Nor was there a readily available supply of fuel for firing bricks, so the favored building material, at least insofar as it appears in the archaeological record, was unfired mud brick. In most cases this was either laid directly on the ground or put in recessed foundation trenches; there was no tradition of using stone foundations as damp courses in S Mesopotamia as there was in other parts of the ANE, although in some cases baked bricks served this purpose. Reed matting was used both in roofs and on floors, where traces of it were frequently preserved. There was doubtless also much building in reeds alone, with bundles tied together and bent into arches over which mats were thrown to form a kind of vault. Such structures, attested on cylinder seal designs and still seen in modern villages in marsh areas, are more or less archaeologically invisible. They may actually have been a fairly common house type that is underrepresented in an archaeological record based primarily on the investigation of tells. In Assyria both stone and timber were more readily available from the foothills of the nearby Taurus and Zagros flanks, but mud brick was the basic building material there as well.

**2. Domestic Architecture and Town Plans.** For most of the post-Neolithic Mesopotamian sequence, the basic house consists of mud-brick walls delineating rectilinear rooms around an internal courtyard. In the early periods some other plans are to be found, especially in the N. These include round houses, a distinctive T-shaped plan at the Samarran site of Tell es-Sawwan, and the ʿUbaid tripartite house with a long central room and a row of subordinate rooms on each of the long sides. It has been argued that the latter was the origin of what was to be a basic temple form (Roaf 1984).

The ideal Mesopotamian courtyard house, as seen in house plans drawn on clay tablets and in rare examples found archaeologically, consisted of a central court with rooms arranged on all four sides. Functional distinctions between entrance chambers, kitchens, bathrooms, storage and living rooms can often be made. In reality this ideal plan was usually distorted by the location of surrounding structures, the needs of the particular family, and the need to accommodate various nonresidential functions. Such distortion was facilitated by the malleability of mud brick—in which doorways can be opened and closed at will—and by the tradition of using party walls that characterizes Mesopotamian cities. Thus houses with rooms on only two or three sides of a court, those with multiple courts, and those with trapezoidal or even triangular rooms and courts are common, and over time the transformation of one type of organization into another is very common.

Despite nearly a century of excavation, evidence for the actual layout of cities in Mesopotamia is disappointingly meager, although this is an area in which recent research is making significant contributions. Significant residential districts have been uncovered at 3d-millennium Tell Taya, Abu Salabikh, and Khafajah, and at the 2d-millennium sites of Ur, Sippar, and Nippur. Nearly all show the pattern of narrow winding streets with houses tightly clustered together which is typical of the organic growth of residential districts in the absence of centralized planning. Within these areas, small chapels and possible shops have been identified, but by and large the areas are overwhelmingly domestic in nature (see Fig. ART.03).

All such areas so far uncovered have exhibited an intermingling of large and small houses. This suggests that such neighborhoods were not segregated by wealth and class, an impression which is confirmed by the available cuneiform documentation. Thus the older idea that each Mesopotamian city was divided into specialized quarters is unsupported by current research. It is suggested instead that the city itself grew around several different focal points, where an initial larger building would be surrounded by the houses of its clients, kinsmen, or dependents. One of the clearest examples of this is seen at Khafajah, where the Temple Oval has a walled residential quarter occupied by temple dependents built up against it.

There were, of course, parts of the city marked off for the major institutions, and in most cities the ziggurat was part of a complex of temples and related structures that were physically separated from the residential areas by their own enclosures. Sacred buildings, however, were not confined to a single part of the city, and each Mesopotamian city-state was served by a number of temples.

**3. Sacred Architecture.** The term "temple" has two different, but not mutually exclusive nuances: (1) a residence of the god or his cult, and (2) a place of worship. It is clear that Mesopotamian temples also had important economic functions, since their role in storage, rationing, trade, and landholding is well established by texts. In both Assyria and Babylonia the core element of sacred architecture was an elongated room, the cella, in which the image of the god was placed in a niche or on a raised podium at one end. The configuration of rooms around this room, and the place from which one gained access to this key room varied, and the emphasis once given in scholarly writings to the cultic significance of bent-axis as opposed to straight-axis approaches to the altar has been blurred by recent discoveries.

Two sites provide the basic paradigms for the development of sacred architecture through the 5th and 4th millennia: Eridu in the S and Tepe Gawra in the N. Excavations at the former have revealed a sequence of superimposed cultic structures beneath a later ziggurat, the earliest of which is little more than a single square room with internal buttresses. Over time later shrines were built over older ones, the cella became increasingly elongated, subsidiary rooms were added, and the whole was increasingly embellished until in the late ʿUbaid period (early 4th millennium) the temple stood on a platform, had a clearly developed tripartite form with smaller rooms flanking the cella, was oriented with its corners to the cardinal points of the compass, and was decorated with a niched brick facade. All of these features are characteristic of sacred architecture in the succeeding period of urban development.

At Tepe Gawra there is more variety in temple plans. Round structures are present in the earliest levels and a seventeen-room circular building approximately 19 m in diameter reiterates the form found in the early Uruk period (level 11A). In between, there are some tripartite temples which bear a resemblance to the later ʿUbaid temples of Eridu, and in the later Uruk period a new temple form with a direct axis through a porch to a long cella is found.

It is in the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr periods that the increase in scale and complexity of sacred architecture so typical of S Mesopotamian cities is first found. The largest exposures from this period are found at Uruk, where the 50 × 80 m dimensions of Temple D, in the Eanna district, make it some four times the size of the latest ʿUbaid temple at Eridu, yet still recognizable as a building of the same form. The celebrated "White Temple," the last of a series in the area of the Anu ziggurat, may be taken to exemplify the practice of raising some temples onto platforms in a process that is felt to culminate in the emergence of the ziggurat in the 3d millennium (Lenzen 1941). In addition to the increase in building size, this period saw, more than any other, experimentation with the embellishment of temples. Colored baked clay and occasionally stone cones were driven into the plaster of the walls to make patterns of diamonds and chevrons, and at one site, Tell Uqair, the complex painted designs that decorated the interior were recovered.

Temples formed administrative centers of the emerging Mesopotamian cities and one of their primary functions was storage. The earliest complex recording devices that have yet been discovered—clay bullae, cylinder seal impressions, and archaic cuneiform tablets—are all associated with these buildings.

In the 3d millennium the temple type established earlier persisted, accompanied by increasing elaborative embellishments, especially of the associated courtyard and outbuildings. Perhaps the best example of long-term development from the late 4th through the first half of the 3d millennium is seen in the Sin Temple at Khafajah (Delougaz and Lloyd 1942). One dramatic new development, which proved to be short-lived, was a temple precinct surrounded by an oval enclosure wall. Temple ovals were some of the largest religious structures in their day, and examples have been found at Khafajah, ʿUbaid, al-Hibba, and Bahrain. The oval at Khafajah, the best known example, is a double enclosure that separates a temple platform off from the rest of the community, and contains a residence, generally felt to be that of the head priest of the temple, between the inner and outer oval. Although this specific form is confined to the Early Dynastic period, the idea of separating off the sacred area continued, and may be seen with particular clarity in the sacred precinct around the ziggurat at Ur in the Ur III period.

The emergence of the ziggurat, that most memorable of Mesopotamian sacred architectural forms, is probably to be related to the elevated temple platforms that can be seen in this period. The early history of ziggurats, however, is obscured by later rebuilding (Lenzen 1941). Most of the major ones that survive

today date to the massive building projects of the Third Dynasty of Ur, when economic conditions apparently made it possible to fire prodigious numbers of bricks to be used as outer sheeting. The best preserved of these in S Iraq is at Ur (see Fig. ART.04), where the lower stages and arrangement of approaching staircases were still clearly visible before reconstruction. Nowhere is the uppermost stage or summit temple preserved, and Herodotus' description of seven stages has perhaps been overused in reconstructing earlier ziggurats.

**4. Secular Structures. a. Palaces.** Buildings defined as palaces appear later in the Mesopotamian sequence than temples. There is a rather enigmatic building at the site of Jemdet Nasr itself, but the best preserved early palace is the "A palace" at Kish, dating to the second quarter of the 3d millennium. This is an elaborate residence, with separate areas grouped around different courtyards and connected to each other by narrow passageways. The whole is separated off from the community at large by a wall, through which there was only one point of access. The conglomerate character of palaces is best illustrated by the Old Babylonian palace at Mari which was destroyed in the 18th century B.C. (see Fig. ART.05). Here the function of various areas—reception, residential, storage, manufacturing, recording, etc.—can tentatively be identified on the basis of textual and artifactual evidence. Palaces such as these, in which there were subunits grouped around different courtyards within the larger compound, were almost certainly the norm in Mesopotamia.

A thoroughly regular planned administrative structure can be seen in the rectangular palace at Tell Brak, in NE Syria (see Fig. ART.06), which was built of mud bricks, some of which were stamped with the inscription of the Akkadian king Naram-Sin. This building, of which only the foundations survive, is undoubtedly the artifact of an imperial administration in an outlying region of the Akkadian Empire. No similar buildings are found in the more central territories of that empire but similarly planned structures with more specialized functions dating to the following Ur III period have been excavated near the ziggurat at Ur. One other building that has been called a palace, the Northern Palace at Tell Asmar, is also atypical in plan. But this structure, with its complex drainage system, has more recently been interpreted as a manufacturing center, probably used for tanning leather or fulling cloth (Delougaz, Hill, and Lloyd 1967: 196–98). It would appear that special-purpose buildings, many of which may indeed have been under royal aegis, had a variety of plans and should not be included under the rubric of "palace" because they lacked the residential function that is crucial in the definition of Mesopotamian palaces.

Assyrian palaces show the same general principle as Babylonian palaces—being organized into suites of rooms surrounding courts—but they have a much more standardized form. In essence there are two major courtyards, one which is the center of public functions and the other which belongs to the ruler's private residence. A group of rooms constituted the interface between these, among which was the long, narrow throne room, with side entrances and a dais at one end where the king held court (Turner 1972).

**b. Fortifications and Defenses.** Although some early sites, such as Tell es-Sawwan and Chogha Mami, had walls or other means of delimiting the perimeter of the community, the first really massive city walls date to the beginning of the 3d millennium B.C. While at places like Uruk it is relatively easy to trace the perimeter of the 3d-millennium city walls, the state of preservation of the mud brick is nowhere good enough to offer information on the technique of construction, or the details of their gateways.

The best-preserved walls and gateways that we have from the area come from the 1st millennium, particularly from Assyrian sites. At the late-8th-century Assyrian capital of Khorsabad the walls bore stone crenelation of a type that also appears to have been standard in Urartu. Each gateway was flanked by two towers, and attached sculptures, in this case winged bulls (*lamassu*), stood on either side of each entrance. Assyrian reliefs also provide some information on what fortifications of the time must have looked like.

**D. Anatolia**

**1. General Remarks.** The architectural traditions of Anatolia are distinctly different from those of Mesopotamia despite cultural contact that manifests itself in religion, literary tradition, and other forms of art. Urbanism was not as pervasive in Bronze Age Asia Minor as in Mesopotamia, although there were interludes during which settlement mounds of 20 or more hectares were not uncommon, such as in the

MB Age when Assyrian merchants brought literacy to the Anatolian Plateau for the first time. However, the creators of Anatolia's greatest civilization, the Hittites, lavished their efforts on one particular site, the imperial capital at Hattusha (modern Boğazköy), at the expense of other cities and even this, as recent excavations have shown, was more a city of temples than a dense concentration of inhabitants.

Anatolia is geographically quite diverse and relatively rich in natural resources and building materials by Near Eastern standards. Parts of it were heavily forested and suitable building stone was readily available in all areas. Although it is difficult to generalize about so extensive an area, which includes coastal regions, mountains, deserts, and a central plateau, precipitation is generally abundant and the extreme differences in temperatures between the hot, dry summers and the cold, damp, winters led to more rapid weathering of mud brick here than was the case S of the Taurus. Tectonic instability is felt to have been a major consideration in the development of a characteristic timber-reinforced stone and mud-brick wall building technique. Stone foundations are more or less the rule for walls in this area.

**2. Domestic Architecture.** Anatolia's character as a bridge between Europe and Asia and a mosaic of regionalism is manifest in the diversity of its domestic architecture. In W Anatolia, for example, an elongated rectilinear building plan with an antechamber and primary room at the rear aligned along a single axis is the most noteworthy and distinctive building plan of the 3d millennium. This "megaron" form was first identified in the earliest levels of Troy (see Fig. ART.07), but is well documented at other W Anatolian sites such as Beycesultan, and appears also on the S coast of Asia Minor.

Another fundamentally Anatolian house type is more characteristic of, but by no means limited to, the Central Plateau and the period of Hittite domination in the 2d millennium. Its basic component is a unit of two rectangular rooms side by side, both of which face onto a courtyard that is delineated by a wall. There was generally a second story over the two rooms which was reached by a staircase from the court that led up to a balcony. Ground floors were apparently used for business activities and the second floor served for the basic living and sleeping areas. Complexes of these basic units, closely packed together and often with some modifications, can be seen at such sites as Kültepe and Boğazköy (Naumann 1971: 368–376).

Diversity rather than conformity to clearly defined types is most characteristic of Anatolian domestic architecture, however. Most houses seem to have reached their final configuration through agglutination of groups of rectangular or trapezoidal rooms. Although the use of interior courtyards is not unknown in Anatolia—in fact they are essential components in temples and palaces—they are rare in domestic architecture. Courtyards are more apt to lie beside or in front of freestanding houses, and in some cases there are rooms on two sides of a court. The idea of a house which enclosed open space with rooms on three or four sides, so fundamental in Mesopotamia, seems to have been foreign to the lands north of the Taurus (Naumann 1971: 381).

**3. Sacred Architecture.** The number of Hittite temples known has been dramatically increased through recent excavations on the upper city at Boğazköy. Until a decade ago the number stood at five, but it now exceeds thirty. While these vary somewhat in plan, they are all composed of the same basic elements: a gate; a staircase, probably to the roof rather than a second story; a large, nearly square courtyard; a porch opening on the courtyard and through which one had to pass to reach, albeit indirectly, the cella; one or more cellae in which there was a podium for the cult image; and a suite of rooms that could only be reached through the cella (Naumann 1971: 451–58). The largest of these temples and the only one extant in the lower city, the "Great Temple" at the foot of Büyükkale is surrounded by a massive complex of narrow storerooms, within several of which were found the temple archives (see Fig. ART.08). Many of the features of these temples are also seen in the imperial buildings that limited access to the nearby open-air rock sanctuary of Yazilikaya. Unlike Hittite sculptural style and hieroglyphic writing which survived in modified form south of the Taurus in the Iron Age, the Hittite temple plan disappears with the collapse of the empire.

One other noteworthy Anatolian form is the Urartian *susi*, or tower temple. It had a regular ground plan with thick walls in the form of a square enclosing a single square room. The corners were strongly reinforced and the doorway was emphasized by niching that recalls similarly recessed cult sites that the Urartians carved on rock faces and used as places of worship. These give some idea of the towerlike

dimensions of the *susi* and invalidate earlier attempts to reconstruct a much lower elevation for these buildings based on an Assyrian relief.

**4. Secular Structures. a. Palaces.** There is no definable "Anatolian" style of palace plan; virtually every building so identified is unique, and it is not always possible to be entirely confident in assigning functions to buildings, particularly in those cases where documentary evidence is lacking. For example, the group of *megara* that forms the core of the Troy II citadel is distinguished from ordinary houses by monumentality, but is this due to cultic or secular significance? Major buildings composed of suites of rectilinear rooms built around courtyards in an additive process at such sites as Beycesultan, Acemhüyük, and Kültepe are more confidently deemed to have served as residences of rulers and administrative centers. One would expect to find the grandest Anatolian palace on Büyükkale, the royal acropolis of the Hittite capital (see Fig. ART.09), and what appears there is a unique complex of individual structures grouped around an ascending series of four courtyards rather than a single edifice (Bittel 1970: 63–90). The general arrangement of these was dictated by the topography of the eminence on which they were built, which was a natural fortress further isolated from the rest of the site by a fortification wall through which there were three gates. Like the courtyards of the temples, those of the palace complex were bordered by open pillared halls. Of the residential and administrative buildings coming off of these, one particularly noteworthy structure has foundations that appear to have supported a grid of 25 pillars to roof a 25 × 25 m audience hall. If this reconstruction is correct, it provides a clear antecedent for the pillared audience halls of Urartu and Achaemenid Persia.

That the palace/administrative architecture of Büyükkale is typical of the Hittite Empire is demonstrated by other sites on the Plateau. At Massat Hüyük the organizing feature is a again large courtyard bordered by pillars. At Alaca Hüyük a monumental gateway decorated with sculpted orthostats gives access to a small square out of which another, smaller gateway opens into a long, narrow court with porticoes on either side and a group of public buildings. Hittite texts make it clear that there were many such palaces in the Empire.

**b. Fortifications and Defenses.** Walled and fortified sites were characteristic of Anatolia from the Chalcolithic period on, to judge by the evidence of such sites at Hacilar and Mersin. Even at such modest villages as EB Age Demircihüyük there were clear arrangements made for defense, in this case a circular arrangement of houses facing inward with a stone and mud-brick wall forming the outer perimeter.

The 2d millennium saw the emergence of much stronger fortifications. Those of Troy VI, in which a substantial wall of drafted stones is buttressed and battered, are particularly noteworthy. The most elaborate fortifications, however, are to be seen at Hattusha, particularly in the great wall of the upper city. This enclosure is composed of a massive rampart, on top of which a casemate wall was constructed of cyclopean masonry. It was marked at regular intervals by towers and a smaller defensive wall ran in front of it to provide additional protection. The arched gateways, each flanked by relief sculpture, had two internal buttresses and towers on either side. Beneath the sphinx gate, the southernmost of the city, there was a 70-m-long underground passageway of cyclopean stonework to provide a more clandestine means of leaving the city.

The art of fortress building in Anatolia attained its highest level in the kingdom of Urartu, which from the 9th through the 7th centuries B.C. dominated the territory of what is now E Turkey, NW Iran, and the Armenian Soviet Republic. Urartian architecture is almost exclusively fortress architecture, and although some settlement areas have been excavated, these are almost all areas of elite housing associated with major citadels. Zernaki Tepe, a site at the NE end of Lake Van where there is evidence of a planned settlement of rectilinear houses laid out on a grid plan, remains something of an anomaly in the area. Although frequently cited as an example of Urartian building, it has produced little evidence of actual occupation and thus cannot be dated to the Urartian period with any confidence.

The favored sites for fortress construction in Urartu were on rock spurs overlooking plains in which intensive irrigation was practiced. Foundations for fortress walls were grounded on bedrock, with stone steps carved in the living rock to secure a solid footing. There is evidence that the Hittites pioneered this technique at Büyükkale and the hilltop structure at Gavurkale, but the Urartians used it much more

regularly and extensively. The stone course of walls could be up to two meters high, but generally was more on the order of one meter, above which the walls were built in large, standardized mud brick. These walls stepped up and down sharply graded inclines and often rose to several stories in height, to judge by their thickness (in some cases five or six meters) and from contemporary drawings of fortresses on Urartian bronze belts, as well as a bronze model of a fortress facade found in excavations at Toprakkale.

**5. Mortuary Architecture.** Burial customs in Anatolia hardly merit treatment in a discussion of architecture before the Iron Age, although the imperial Hittite shrine of Yazilikaya should be mentioned in this context. In the 1st millennium, massive burial mounds are found associated with the three major kingdoms that dominated inland Asia Minor prior to its inclusion in the Persian Empire: Lydia, Phrygia, and Urartu. In the latter case these mounds appear to be an early form of elite burial that was later replaced by large burial chambers carved out of solid rock, the best preserved examples of which have been found in the cliff on which the citadel rock of Van is constructed. The Lydian and Phrygian mounds are much more numerous and prominent, and in each case they are grouped around the capital of the kingdom. None of the Lydian tombs has been found intact, although an ashlar burial chamber has been found in one of them, the "Tomb of Gyges." The tombs at Gordion, on the other hand, have been excavated with spectacular results. The largest of these, the so-called Midas tomb, contained a royal burial rich in grave-goods such as bronze cauldrons, numerous fibulae, and wooden furniture. The tomb itself was comprised of a conical mound of earth heaped up over a burial chamber that consisted of a log cabin protected by an additional outer log wall. In later burials, such as those at Midas City to the W, the Phrygians also carved out burial chambers with decorated facades in living rock.

**E. Syria and Palestine**

**1. General Remarks.** Although subject to the influence of Egypt, Anatolia, and Mesopotamia, the Levant developed a cultural tradition of its own, with distinctive architectural forms that are not paralleled in any of the surrounding areas. It is precisely these that have been of particular interest to biblical scholarship.

The climate of the Levant is more moderate than Anatolia, with its temperature extremes, or Mesopotamia, with its aridity. Building materials are more abundant than in Mesopotamia, but less so than in Anatolia. The basic material used for walls was again mud brick—usually, but not invariably, with stone socles. The Amanus and Lebanon ranges were celebrated for their timber in antiquity, but this resource does not seem to have been a major factor in the architectural record of the Levant.

**2. Domestic Architecture.** There appears to have been a certain amount of continuity in domestic architecture in the transition to urban life, at least insofar as the individual, broad-roomed house remained the most common form. See also CITIES (LEVANT). This form loses its predominance at the end of the EB Age, and in the second major urban period, the MB Age, private houses tend to be of a more elaborate, multiroomed type. There appears to be a great deal of diversity in the region, however, with numerous examples of both Mesopotamian courtyard houses and houses, perhaps of Egyptian inspiration, in which crosswalls divide the building into sections that are then subdivided into square rooms. A residential district at MB Halawa, on the Euphrates, displays nearly a score of houses of similar plan coming off of narrow streets and alleys laid out in a not quite perpendicular grid. In each case the single entrance from the street enters a courtyard, off of which there are two or three rooms. At Tell el-Ajjul, near Gaza, one sees neighborhoods in which much less planning is in evidence and wealthy houses are scattered among those that appear to be considerably smaller and more impoverished.

In the early part of the Iron Age, a distinctive building known as the "four room" house emerged, and because of the temporal coincidence, has been termed the "Israelite" house. See also HOUSE, ISRAELITE. The basic elements are a rectangular ground plan entered on one of the short sides, the division of the front part of the building into three sections by walls or columns running parallel to the long walls, and a broad room at the back of the building. This type of building is an autonomous development in the S Levant with antecedents in the Bronze Age. The designation "Israelite" is accurate only insofar as many Israelites lived in them—the same form is also found in Philistine settlements.

**3. Sacred Architecture.** The most famous building of the ANE, Solomon's temple in Jerusalem, is known only through literary testimony (1 Kings 5–6; 2 Chronicles 2–3; Ezekiel 41). It is described as a long building with two columns at its entrance, a vestibule (*ʾûlām*), a cella (*hêkāl*) in the rear of which was another division, the *dĕbîr*—the holiest part of the sanctuary. Around three sides of the building was a three-story annex (*yāṣûaʿ*) containing storerooms. Busink's (1970) admirable and thorough study of both the philological evidence and archaeological comparanda for the reconstruction of this building has, however, failed to produce a consensus on many of its key features. See also TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

One of the reasons for this uncertainty is that there are so many paradigms of sacred architecture in the Levant to chose from. Here, as elsewhere, temples originally seem to have developed out of domestic architecture, not surprisingly since they were conceived as residences for deities. In the Chalcolithic, for example, there is a celebrated example at Ein Gedi, where the basic form of the main structure is simply a large broad-roomed house with a platform against its rear wall. That this was a very special building, however, is made clear from its dominant position in a precinct that is walled off from the rest of the site and can be entered only through a monumental gateway. Even in the 3d millennium, however, there are other temple forms in existence, such as the twin porch temples of Megiddo and the Acropolis temple of Ai, with its annex and row of columns running along the long axis of the central room. In the 2d millennium, even more diversity is evident in the major urban sites. Ugarit has two major temples, the ground plans of both showing two more or less square adjoining units, the smaller being the entrance-way and the latter the cella. At Shechem, Kamid el-Loz, and Megiddo one sees tower temples, where heavy reinforcement on either side of the entrance to the single-room cella must have created an impressive entranceway. There are square temples, such as the one excavated at the Amman Airport; temples based on the four-room house plan, e.g., at Tell el Far'ah; and the Fosse Temples of Lachish, in which the main room is distinguished by four columns in a square arrangement. In LB Hazor at least three different temple types appear to have been functioning at the same time.

One particular type of N Syrian temple form does show a coherent strain of stylistic evolution for over a millennium, beginning in the MB Age. The earliest known example is at Ebla, but it also appears at Alalakh, Hama, and, most spectacularly, ʿAin Dara. It is essentially a long, freestanding building of tripartite form, which has its entrance through an open porch, often between two columns, on one of the short sides. There is an intervening court, and then a main chamber, at the rear of which is a raised area. In some cases, a raised ambulatory runs along one, two, or three of the sides of the building.

Despite the diversity of Levantine sacred buildings, however, one would not be likely to confuse any of them with Anatolian or Mesopotamian temples, and one may hazard a few generalizations about their character. By and large, Syro-Palestinian temples are smaller than others in the Near East and they are more apt to be freestanding buildings with a direct-axis approach to the altar. They are more apt to be designed to create an impression from the outside, rather than emphasize interior space and obstruct their appearance confused by annexed rooms and storehouses.

**4. Secular Structures. a. Palaces.** The most clearly defined early palaces in the Levant are found in Syria—at Ebla, Alalakh, and Ugarit. The S Levant, where textual evidence is meager and palaces are normally defined as residential structures distinguished by larger-than-normal size, has nothing to match those sites in the 3d and 2d millennia. Palace G at Ebla, in which the royal archives were discovered, is only partially preserved around two sides of a large, unroofed courtyard (see Fig. ART.10). At the N end of this there is a podium and, in the corner nearby, a staircase and guard chamber. On the E a ceremonial staircase of a quite different order ascends from the courtyard and not far from it, an unprepossessing annex of thin mud-brick walls projected from the same facade. Around its interior were the shelves on which the tablets of the archive were stored. Behind the massive walls that ringed the courtyard were other administrative rooms of the palace. Unfortunately, it is difficult to make much sense of this partial plan. The excavators have argued that it was not an internal courtyard, but rather an external one, but if so, it is unique. A second major palace at Ebla, dating to the MB Age and as yet incompletely published, included an almost "industrial" workshop where rows of grinding stones indicate that production was

highly organized. A group of princely tombs were hollowed out beneath the floors of this palace, in keeping with a general Near Eastern tradition of royal burials in palaces, best known in Mesopotamia.

The palace at Ugarit is also a major monument of Levantine royal architecture, and displays many of the same characteristics that we have noted in palaces elsewhere: it is a composite structure of more than 90 rooms built around a multiplicity of courtyards, put together in a way suggestive of frequent additions, modifications, and expansions made to the original edifice. Unlike the palace at Mari, there was more than one entrance to this complex, but only the one on the W side had any monumentality and, to judge by tablet finds in the vicinity, it was through this that the public and administrative business of the palace passed.

A characteristic N Syrian architectural form that also has a relationship to palaces is the so-called *bīt hilani,* although the archaeological referent of this Assyrian term is not securely established. The edifice generally associated with this term in archaeological parlance is a broad room with an opening to a portico which was often flanked by subordinate rooms. The best preserved examples are found in 1st-millennium sites S of the Taurus, such as Zincirli, Carchemish, and Tell Halaf, although the 15th-century palace at Alalakh also contains this element and it has been argued that the *bīt hilani* was originally an Hittite innovation.

**b. Fortifications, Gateways, and Defenses.** As in other parts of the Near East, the first consistent tradition of city wall building belongs to the early part of the 3d millennium. At EB II Arad there is a stone wall built at ground level, punctuated with semicircular tower bastions (see Fig. CIT.02). The Ebla texts speak of various city gates so it would appear that site was also walled, presumably around the edge of the natural mesa on which the site is built, where in fact the walls of the MB city have been excavated and one major gateway dating to that period has been uncovered which is in a good state of preservation.

In the early 2d millennium, changes in the technology of warfare demanded much more solid fortification walls than had been customary in the previous era. Earthen ramparts were used to raise the level of the wall's foundation and presumably make it more difficult for a battering ram or siege engine to approach. Middle Bronze fortifications were stout enough that they continued to be used at many sites until the end of the Bronze Age, centuries after their original construction.

The last major innovation in wall construction was the introduction of casemate walls in the Iron Age. Although casemate walls were not as strong as solid constructions, they presented an impression of mass and solidity that was perhaps as important as real strength in an age in which royal propaganda appears to have been an international passion.

Gateways show an evolution toward increasing complexity from the 3d through the 1st millennium B.C. Initially consisting of simply reinforced towers or buttresses on either side of the entrance, they developed a multichambered form at the beginning of the 2d millennium. This gatehouse form persisted into the Iron Age, although it was further elaborated into the "Solomonic Gate" with four, rather than three, portals. The Levantine tradition of the S did not include sculptural decoration of these gateways, although the early example from MB Ebla does make use of ashlar masonry. In northern Syria, the Hittite tradition of reliefs on orthostats was maintained in Iron Age principalities.

**c. Other Public Buildings.** It is probable that much of the administrative activity of sites of the ancient Levant was in fact conducted in ordinary residential buildings which give no architectural manifestations of this additional function, except perhaps size. One distinctive form of a planned public building is quite conspicuous at most major sites in the S during the Iron Age, however, and has parallels in Urartian sites of the same era. The essence of the ground plan is a large rectangular building with two parallel rows of columns flanking its long axis. The floors between the columns and the walls were paved, but the central corridor was not. Sometimes groups of these structures were placed next to each other, sharing long walls. The function of these buildings has long been a matter of controversy; when first discovered at Megiddo they were identified as royal stables and many still hold to this view, but it has also been argued that they are storehouses, or possibly even markets (Herr 1988). See also STABLE, STABLES.

**F. The Legacy of ANE Architecture**

It would be hard to make a case for any strong persistence of ANE architectural traditions in the modern world. Mud brick, whose characteristics so conditioned ancient monumental building in the area, is not much favored today, except in rural vernacular architecture. While many of the architectural forms have continued directly up to the present, particularly at the level of domestic architecture (e.g., the courtyard house) on the more monumental level one must look only for indirect influences. Long after the megaron form was first attested in Anatolia it became a hallmark of Mycenaean architecture and its plan is mimicked within the peristyle of the Greek temple. Some Hittite influence is seen in Urartu, and Urartu's influence, such as it was, is apparent in the architecture of Achaemenid Persia. But generally, monumental building traditions of the ANE died out as they were modified and transformed during the Persian, Hellenistic, and Parthian eras, the periods in which Mesopotamian civilization itself faded and eventually died.

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## *MESOPOTAMIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE*

The art and architecture of ancient Mesopotamia (now Iraq) have their foundations in the fertile area between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, Mesopotamian art began in the late 4th millennium B.C., during the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr periods; developed in the 3d millennium under the Sumerians and Akkadians; and flourished in the 2d and 1st millennia under the Babylonians, Mitannians, Kassites, and Assyrians. A well-defined architecture, although in the beginning very simple, evolved into elaborately planned temple sanctuaries and secular edifices. Artistic creativeness was expressed in a long tradition of sculpture and relief carving. Wall paintings were utilized during the historical periods, and their subjects range from figural compositions to ornamental bands of animal, floral, and patterned motifs. The chief vehicle of pictorial art is the cylinder seal, whose entire surface was covered with carvings (known as glyptic), so that when it is impressed in a soft clay, the design in reverse appears in relief and can be endlessly reproduced by rolling.

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A. Protohistoric and Early Dynastic Periods

1. Architecture

2. Sculpture and Relief
3. Decorative Art and Seal Design

B. Dynasty of Akkad and the Neo-Sumerian Period
1. Architecture
2. Art

C. Dynasties of Isin/Larsa, Babylon, Mitanni, and Kassite
1. Architecture
2. Sculpture and Painting
3. Seal Design

D. Late Assyrian Period
1. Architecture
2. Sculpture and Decorated Monument
3. Wall Relief and Ivory Work

E. Neo-Babylonian Dynasty

F. Summary and Trend

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**A. Protohistoric and Early Dynastic Periods (ca. 3500–2334 B.C.)**

**1. Architecture.** The earliest monumental buildings consist of temples and sanctuaries. Temples were constructed on an elongated, rectangular plan. The nucleus of the layout is a T-shaped room. On each of the two sides of the long room were smaller ones, and on one short side was the cult room, flanked on each side by a smaller room. The entrance to the temple was on one of the long sides, termed the bent-axis approach. The outside walls of the building were decorated with niches in three steps. The cycle of collapse and rebuilding, of many centuries, brought about the raised site of the temple, above the level of its surroundings (Moortgat 1969: 1–2).

A characteristic feature of the buildings was the use of sun-dried mud brick, reed, and wood. Structures were occasionally strengthened with limestone facing. Another method was the use of baked nail-shaped clay cones set into a clay bed. The cones were generally painted in red, blue, black, or white, which resulted in mosaic designs resembling textile patterns. In the Eanna sanctuary at Uruk was a large cone-mosaic court that included a pillared terrace covered with mosaic (see Fig. ART.11). A small temple in the same sanctuary had the walls of the open court entirely decorated with mosaic (Frankfort 1970: 24–25; Moortgat 1969: 3; Strommenger 1964: 378–82).

After 3000 B.C., a fundamental change in religious architecture occurred. The sacred structure, containing a gate room with stairs, one or more shrines, workrooms, and living quarters, was conceived as a unity. All the rooms were grouped around a central courtyard, and a protective wall surrounded the sanctuary. Sanctuaries of the type with the central courtyard, known as the House Plan temple, have been excavated in the Diyala region, at Khafaje, Tell Agrab, and Tell Asmar. Closely associated with temples was the ziggurat. It was a tower of one or more receding stages, more or less square, and at the top was a shrine. A ramp or flight of stairs led to the upper levels. Evidence for ziggurats in the Early Dynastic period occur at Kish, Nippur, Ur, and Uruk. The palacelike complex at Kish was an imposing residential and administrative center. The main building forms an oblong rectangle and a flight of stairs led to the monumental entrance, flanked by towers. The central area is a large square courtyard, with many rooms arranged along the four sides. The walls were white-plastered and fragments of inlaid friezes, showing walking sheep, men and women performing daily activities, and processions of chained prisoners, were found near the monumental entrance (Crawford 1977: 24; Moortgat 1969: 20–25; Strommenger 1964: 398).

**2. Sculpture and Relief.** Sculptured figures in the round in Mesopotamia before 3000 B.C. consist of idol-like figurines molded from clay. Male and female statuettes of later date are carved from alabaster and gypsum and molded. The statuettes are fixed onto bases and show distinctive anatomical and facial features. Statuettes of males are bearded, with or without long hair, or beardless and bald, and their wrap-around skirts with tufts reach below the knees (see Fig. ART.12). Those of females show a variety of

hairstyles and headdresses, and their long garments cover one or both shoulders. All the figures are posed frontally, their bare feet kept slightly apart, and their hands clasped at the waist. Many statuettes are worshipper types, both standing and seated, each placed in the temple as a substitute for the worshipper himself. Statuettes are sometimes embellished with inlay eyes of shell and black limestone, and hair and beard blackened with bitumen (Frankfort 1970: 45–59; Moortgat 1969: 33–35, 37–41; Strommenger 1964: 394).

Reliefs were employed to decorate cult vessels formed as bowls, libation jars, and tall cylinder-shaped containers. On the stone objects the reliefs vary from flat to high, to the extent of parts being in the round. Their subjects include domestic animals (ox and sheep), beasts of prey (lion and eagle), and mythical scenes. Two alabaster vessels, both from Uruk, have the outside surfaces decorated with extensive friezes. One object, shaped like a trough, shows a herd of sheep around a reed hut. The other object, a tall container, has rows of friezes on which a long parade of figures offering sacrifices, a herd of sheep, and produce of the fields are depicted. The stele, an upright stone block with narrow sides and rounded top, was decorated in relief with pictorial scenes and in later times had carved inscriptions. A basalt fragment of the Protohistoric period depicts two episodes of a king fighting a lion. The historical stele is exemplified by the limestone slab belonging to Eannatum (ca. 2600 B.C.), a ruler of Lagash, ancient Girsu. All four sides are covered with narrative scenes commemorating a military victory, and a detailed inscription fills the open spaces between the pictures. Votive plaques of stone with a perforated center, square in shape, have relief decorations divided into several registers. Themes include the ritual banquet, ritual scenes with gods seated on thrones, wrestling, and animal battles. Stone maces decorated with relief also served as votive objects (Frankfort 1970: 24–31, 67–73; Moortgat 1969: 41–44; Strommenger 1964: 396).

**3. Decorative Art and Seal Design.** Decorative art objects of the Early Dynastic period were made from precious metal, wood, and stone. A fine example is the engraved silver vessel from Tello. Two pictorial friezes encircle the vessel: cattle lying down, and lion-headed eagles (Imduguds) hovering above grasping lions and goats. A large relief of sheet copper from Tell ʿUbaid, almost a sculpture in the round, again depicts the lion-headed bird Imdugud, this time grasping a stag in each claw. The panel was nailed over a wooden core and set up on the facade of a temple. Exquisite examples of the goldsmiths' work were discovered in the Royal Cemetery at Ur (ca. 2650 B.C.). Objects include fluted beakers, bowls and cops, a helmet of beaten gold in the shape of a hairstyle with added perforated ears, a dagger whose blade and sheath are of gold, and its hilt of lapis lazuli studded with golden nails. There are also statues of a ram by a flowering shrub, the famous "Standard of Ur" with narrative scenes on both sides, lyres and chests, all of which are adorned with red stone, blue lapis lazuli, gold leaf, and white shell inlay over a wooden core (Frankfort 1970: 60–66, 71–75; Moortgat 1969: 41–42; Strommenger 1964: 397–99).

Early cylinder seals are cut from limestone, darker stones, lapis lazuli, rock crystal, and talc (steatite). Designs on seals and sealings (impressions on clay) depict recurrent themes: rows of animals, a bearded man in a variety of roles, boating scenes, activities connected with the production of manufactured goods, and patterns based on the rosette, circle, lozenge, and chevron. Contest scenes have elaborate compositions and among the contestants are a lion, bull, human-headed bull, and naked human figure. In banquet scenes participants drink from a large vessel through drinking tubes, or from cups. Frequently, musicians and servants accompany the banquet (Collon 1987: 14–31; Frankfort 1970: 35–37, 77–82). See also SEALS, MESOPOTAMIAN.

**B. Dynasty of Akkad and the Neo-Sumerian Period (ca. 2334–2000 B.C.)**

**1. Architecture.** A new development in temple building was the arrangement on one axis of a succession of courts and rooms leading to the main chamber, which contained the niche for the image of the deity. Examples of this method of building are the Ningal temple and the Enki temple, both at Ur. The Gimilsin (Shu-Sin) Temple at Tell Asmar, ancient Eshnunna, is a square building with a similar ground plan (see Fig. ART.13). The outside is decorated with flat buttresses, but the entrance is emphasized by two towers ornamented with stepped recesses. The best preserved ziggurat is that of the moon god Nanna at Ur. The four corners are oriented to the four points of the compass, and the casing of baked bricks is

arranged in niches and flat buttresses. A central and two side staircases lead to the first level, where a gatehouse was built. The central stair continued to the highest platform, on which the actual temple was built. The temple tower of Innin (Inanna) at Uruk was simpler, and the outside walls were provided with flat buttresses. The ziggurat is constructed of brickwork, and layers of reed matting and reed straw are built into the structure at regular intervals. In addition, horizontal channels in which are thick reed ropes probably served to anchor the outside walls against the pressure of the weight of the bricks from inside (Frankfort 1970: 104–9; Moortgat 1969: 45, 56–59; Strommenger 1964: 406–9).

The palace became of greater importance than it had been in Early Dynastic times. The so-called Akkadian Palace at Tell Asmar is an enlarged dwelling house. The palace at Tell Brak discloses a new formal concept. It was a mighty building, 100 m square, that had a main and three small court systems enclosed by a perimeter wall. The so-called old palace at Ashur shows a similar ground plan. The kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur continued to apply the same building concept of a palace, as exemplified by the royal residence of Ur-Nammu and Shulgi (2112–2047 B.C.) (Moortgat 1969: 45–47, 59–60; Strommenger 1964: 402–3).

**2. Art.** Sculptures of this period, which show a relationship to the previous ED, have plastic form and gain in calm monumentality. Modeling is more detailed, limbs have more organic proportion than before, and individual differences are prominent. Considerable life-size diorite statues seem to have been made of several rulers; unfortunately, no excavated statue is preserved entire. There are torsos of life-size statues of the Akkadian ruler Manishtusu (2269–2255 B.C.); numerous statues of Gudea (ca. 2200 B.C.), a local ruler of Lagash; and fragmentary statues and statuettes of other kings and women. Portrait heads are often strikingly naturalistic (see Fig. ART.14), and features are symmetrically placed and reflect a canon of proportion (Frankfort 1970: 84–86, 93–97; Moortgat 1969: 48–51, 62–65).

A fragment of a victory stele of Sargon of Akkad (2334–2279 B.C.) contains the portrait of the king, accompanied by a servant with a sunshade. Fragments of other stelae bearing reliefs depict battle scenes arranged in registers. The celebrated stele of Naram-Sin (2254–2218 B.C.) was erected in Sippar. The scene on the stone monument is a dynamic composition in which the Akkadian king, considerably larger than his companions, places his left foot on the bodies of two fallen enemies (see Fig. ART.15). Votive stelae and stone plaques from Tello generally show scenes related to religious ceremonies. The great stele of Ur-Nammu has as its subject matter the cult functions of the ruler as temple builder and builder of canals (Frankfort 1970: 86–87, 102; Moortgat 1969: 47–49, 51–52, 65–68; Strommenger 1964: 404–6).

Akkadian cylinder seals are cut in deeper relief, the compositions are better balanced, and the style acquires a new dynamism. Contest scenes were generally reduced to two pairs of equally matched opponents. In Akkadian times the banquet scene was often replaced by presentation scenes before a deity. The sun god was the most popular, and other popular deities were the water god, vegetation gods and goddesses, and a snake god. Seals of the post-Akkad period depict birds, boats, or two figures on either side of a tree. Presentation scenes become more standardized and there are few variations: a worshipper is led by a goddess before a seated deity, and an inscription is almost always added (Collon 1987: 32–39; Frankfort 1970: 89–91).

**C. Dynasties of Isin/Larsa, Babylon, Mitanni, and Kassite (ca. 2000–1150 B.C.)**

**1. Architecture.** Religious sanctuaries excavated so far, both large and small, disclose distinctive ground plans, and architectural decorations are occasionally added. Foundation walls of the main sanctuary at Ashur, dated to the reign of Shamshi-Adad I (1813–1781 B.C.), show that the building was composed of a central courtyard complex and several forecourts laid out at different levels. The Ishtar-Kititum building at Ishchali, ancient Neribtum (ca. 1800 B.C.), was a vast complex joining three temples in a large rectangle. The actual Kititum temple follows the one-axis arrangement of courts and rooms. The small Mitanni temple at Tell Brak (ca. 1600 B.C.), nearly square in plan, has the facade decorated with inset panels of three engaged half-columns. The entrance leads into a wide chamber, with a shallow niche almost opposite the door. The niche is flanked by half-columns, and from it a stepped dais projects into the chamber. The great Karana temple at Tell al-Rimah was entirely symmetrical in plan and attached to a rectangular ziggurat on one side (ca. 1600–1350 B.C.). The building was constructed with an elaborate

architectural decoration of multiformed half-columns and pilasters surrounding the courtyard and the facade of one large chamber. Associated with the door of this chamber are stone orthostats with reliefs of divine figures and hybrid creatures. A modest temple of the Kassite king Karaindash (1445–1427 B.C.) was built at Uruk and dedicated to the goddess Inanna. The building is rectangular and freestanding, its entrance is situated on the main axis, and at the corners are bastions. Entirely new, the outer wall has recesses made out of molded bricks, in which male and female deities who stand and hold vases with water streams flowing from them are depicted. The molded reliefs form the oldest examples of Kassite architectural sculptures (Frankfort 1970: 107–9, 127–29; Moortgat 1969: 76–78, 93–98, 106–8, 116–18; Oates 1967: 78–80, 88–90; 1987: 181–87; Strommenger 1964: 416–17, 423–24, 434–35).

**2. Sculpture and Painting.** The few examples of stone sculpture in the round that survive are fragmentary, and the finest one is the expressive head of a king (ca. 1750 B.C.). Stone vases in the form of animals retain a precise, decorative style. Among the known small bronze statuettes of the Old Babylonian period are two from Ishchali. One is of a god stepping with the left foot on a couchant lamb, and the other is of a goddess seated on a simple stool. Both deities have four faces (Frankfort 1970: 110–19; Moortgat 1969: 88–89; Strommenger 1964: 420, 422).

Stone reliefs are represented by a number of fragments, which show military battles and the representation of a king beside an inscription. At the top of the stele on which Hammurabi's legal code is inscribed (ca. 1760 B.C.), the king stands alone before the throne of the sun god. The scene is worked in rounded relief. An important type of monument of the Kassite period is the so-called *kudurru* (or "boundary stone"), which recorded a grant of land and was shaped like a stele. Its subject matter consists mainly of symbolic emblems of deities (see Fig. ART.16). The character of the divine symbols is an iconographic picture-language, with the symbols arranged in friezes, one above the other, from the astral gods to the chthonic powers. Reliefs on the front sides of two stone pedestals, supports for divine emblems, are fine examples of Middle Assyrian art (ca. 1240 B.C.). One work illustrates the king as worshipper, once standing and again kneeling, and the other illustrates the king standing between two hero figures who grasp tall wheel-topped standards. Small terra-cotta plaques, showing reliefs pressed from molds, were especially popular in the Old Babylonian period. A majority of the plaques represent deities, and other subjects include mythical scenes, scenes of family life, and individual figures of musicians, craftsmen, and animals (Frankfort 1970: 119–23, 129–30, 131–35; Moortgat 1969: 85–86, 100–3; Oates 1979: 99–101).

Evidence for wall paintings is rare. Impressive wall paintings found at Mari include the so-called Investiture of Zimri-Lim (ca. 1780 B.C.). Those from the palace at Nuzi (ca. 1400–1350 B.C.) are preserved only in small fragments. The designs consist of horizontal and vertical bands and metopes decorated with palmette trees, human and bulls' heads, and geometric patterns. The paintings are in red, pink, white, black, and gray on plaster. A Kassite palace built at Aqar Quf, ancient Dur Kurigalzu, was decorated with wall paintings showing geometric themes, floral patterns, and processions of men in white garments, dark hair, and red faces and arms against the gray walls. A few fragments of wall paintings from the MA palace at Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta (ca. 1240 B.C.) had pictorial motifs placed in metopelike panels and framed by ornamental bands (Frankfort 1970: 132, 135–37; Moortgat 1969: 99–100, 118–19; Oates 1979: 62–63; Strommenger 1964: 421).

**3. Seal Design.** The business archives (inscribed clay tablets) of the merchants of Ashur (ca. 1920–1800 B.C.), who had a trading colony just outside Kültepe in Anatolia, were sealed with cylinder seals of Assyrian and foreign manufacture. The seals of Ashur are based on previous styles, but the execution is often crude. Figures are flat and linear, or elongated. Isin/Larsa seals are often made from heametite, a hard iron oxide. Presentation scenes continue from earlier periods, but filling motifs are now added in the spaces surrounding the figures. The worshipper stands with his hands clasped and almost invariably faces the seated deified king. Scenes of later date depict only standing figures, which consist of the king with a mace, a suppliant goddess, or the warrior goddess. About 1600 B.C. sintered quartz, also known as faience, frit, or paste, appeared as a new material for seals. It was easy to cut, could be fired or glazed, and was mass-produced. Subjects include horned animals, stylized human figures, decorative bands of net

patterns, and linked chevron trees, center-dot circles, stars, and guilloches. Kassite seals were made of hard stones, such as chalcedony, and the designs reflect their dependence on Mesopotamian traditions. Most of the seals have prominent inscriptions, leaving little space for the designs. Seals of the MA period (ca. 1350–1150 B.C.) reflect a new, vital, and original style. Popular themes are winged griffin-demons holding up their prey by the legs, an animal striding toward a tree, and fights between animals (Collon 1987: 41–47, 58–59, 65–69; Frankfort 1970: 140–42).

**D. Late Assyrian Period (ca. 1150–612 B.C.)**

**1. Architecture.** Major evidence for Assyrian architecture comes from four cities: Ashur, Kalhu (Nimrud), Dur-Sharrukin (Khorsabad), and Nineveh. The main plan of the Assyrian temple is a long room, with or without an anteroom, that leads to a small cult room on a low platform, reached by a flight of stairs. The double temple at Ashur was dedicated to the gods Anu and Adad (ca. 1120 B.C.). The temple proper consists of two long chambers with deep cult niches and side rooms between two massive stepped towers. In front is a rectangular courtyard surrounded by a suite of rooms. The temple precinct with ziggurat at Khorsabad, ancient Dur-Sharrukin, contained five shrines of the Assyrian plan arranged around open courts enclosed by small rooms (late 8th century B.C.). Each shrine was dedicated to a different deity. More elaborate is the temple of Nabu at the same site. It is placed on a terrace and is divided into a forecourt and central court; the temple itself lies behind the latter and is enclosed by long corridors on three sides. Ezida, an enormous religious structure at Nimrud, ancient Kalhu, contained within it the temple of Nabu. There were over 35 rooms, in addition to four large courts and a number of long corridors. Ezida was organized like a fortress: there was a defensive wall and the only access to the building was up a ramp that led through a gate with heavy buttresses on either side. It remained in use from the 9th through 7th centuries (Mallowan 1975: 231–38; Oates 1968: 115–120; Strommenger 1964: 444–47).

The Assyrian palace, together with temples and administrative buildings, was situated within the fortified acropolis of the city. The NW Palace at Nimrud was built in the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.). It includes the forecourt (the *bābānu*) and the primary apartments, reception halls, domestic quarters, and an administrative wing (the *bītānu*). The largest room in the whole layout is the throne room, the true center of the whole palace. The plan radiates about a great open court; all the groupings of the chambers and smaller courts are neatly balanced and articulated. Other palaces excavated at Nimrud are the so-called Center Palace of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.), the Central Palace of Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.), the SW Palace of Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.), and the remains of a palace of Ashur-etel-ilani (after 626 B.C.). The palace of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) at his newly founded city of Dur-Sharrukin stands on its own terrace and extends outside the city wall and at the same time forms its strongest bastion (see Fig. ART.17). The great throne room has three entrances that face onto a vast open court. The two palaces of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) and Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.) are situated on the hill of Nineveh. Sennacherib described his royal residence as the "palace without a rival," and it was built in accordance with a new ground-plan design. The palace has at least three main entrances, of which two are provided with huge triple portals. The room arrangements grouped around the courts are completely different in shape and function; moreover, the room complexes are accessible from several sides. The North Palace of Ashurbanipal was only partially excavated. Within the complex is a large, long rectangular room that can be reached from a great hall through a triple portal. In particular a series of connecting long corridors or ramps lead up from a columned entrance to the main palace area (Frankfort 1970: 143–51; Mallowan 1975: 93–97, 164–65, 200–5; Moortgat 1969: 126–29, 151–53; Strommenger 1964: 437–88, 450–51).

Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud, the so-called *ekal-masharti,* was an independent military installation. Its exclusive character is indicated by the line of the outer wall, reinforced externally by towers set at regular intervals. The fort proper with its 200-odd rooms and four separate quadrants had residential quarters for officers, barracks, stables, workshops, magazines, and the residency for the king and his court. Fort Shalmaneser was built in the reign of Shalmaneser III and continued in use till 612 B.C. Palace F at Dur-

Sharrukin copied the *ekal-masharti* in Nimrud. It was the royal arsenal, the military center of Sargon II (Mallowan 1975: 369–83; Moortgat 1969: 137–39).

**2. Sculpture and Decorated Monument.** A rare bronze statuette dedicated to an Assyrian king, probably Ashur-dan I (1178–1133 B.C.), is of a slender figure dressed in a tunic, with a small shoulder shawl. Missing are the head, arms, and feet. Another unusual work is the torso of a statue of a nude woman, modeled in stone and inscribed with the name of Ashur-bel-kala (1073–1056 B.C.). There are several large stone statues of 9th-century-B.C. Assyrian kings. The royal figures are posed frontally and dressed in long wraparound shawl garments. Statues of deities, each distinguished by a horned cap and holding a box in both hands or else a vase from which streams of water flow, were placed in temple precincts (Frankfort 1970: 152; Mallowan 1975: 88–89; Moortgat 1969: 121–22; Strommenger 1964: 440–41, 443).

Reliefs with historical subjects appear on pillarlike stone monuments described as obelisks. The Broken Obelisk shows within a recessed panel bound captives before the Assyrian king, and above the scene are divine symbols (ca. 1070 B.C.). The White Obelisk has relief friezes in eight registers that extend around all four sides. The pictorial themes include warlike expeditions, ritual activities, and the hunt of wild animals. The monument is dated to the reign of Ashurnasirpal I (1049–1031 B.C.) or Ashurnasirpal II. The Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III has five registers of panel reliefs on each of the four sides. The scenes show local rulers paying homage to the Assyrian king, while attendants from different regions bring tribute. On royal stelae, the Assyrian king is always portrayed with shoulder-length hair and long beard; he is dressed in the prescribed royal costume and carries the weapons of kingship. In the space above and in front of the ruler's head are symbols of important deities whose awesome splendors are conferred upon the king, pictorially. The royal stelae were set up in temples, at city gates, and in captured foreign cities. Rock reliefs of Assyrian kings were carved at the sides of mountains located in different parts of the Near East, and many are extant (Barnett 1975: pl. 2; Mallowan 1975: 62–63; Moortgat 1969: 122–23; Strommenger 1964: 208).

**3. Wall Relief and Ivory Work.** The integration of architecture and pictorial art occurred early in the 9th century B.C., when wall reliefs replaced painting in the Assyrian palace. The unity of art and architecture was maintained throughout the following two centuries. Important portals throughout the palace area were lined with huge winged human-headed bull (*lamassu*) and winged human-headed lion (*šedu*) sculptures, whose duty it was to prevent evil spirits from entering. Stone slabs framing the doors were carved with winged and wingless human-headed and bird-headed genies and their images engendered a divine, protective atmosphere. Whole rooms within the palace had the lower part of their walls covered with limestone blocks, several meters high. Narrative scenes carved in relief on the stone blocks are essentially historical and deal with the Assyrian king's great deeds in war and hunting (see Fig. ART.18). The events are expressed in monumental manner. Pictorial compositions, which became a determining factor in the development of style, are arranged in various ways. The episodic scene centers around a single activity; the narrative frieze shows a sequence of related events in one or more registers; the mural-type scene abandons the use of registers and, instead, dominates the entire surface of the stone block; and processions of large-scale human figures consist of soldiers, Assyrian officials, priests and musicians, and foreigners advancing to the Assyrian king and his personal attendants (Barnett 1975; Frankfort 1970: 157–60, 168–71, 174–94; Strommenger 1964: 441, 443, 448, 451).

Ivory carving as an art form was established in the Near East by the start of the 1st millennium B.C. Ivories in Assyrian style generally consist of flat plaques carved with incised designs of subjects and persons familiar from the palace wall reliefs. Other plaques show highly skilled carving in flat, low-relief style. Many decorated ivories were overlays for furniture and smaller objects. Purely Assyrian-style ivories became rare in the 8th century, in consequence of overhunting and extermination of herds of elephants which roamed parts of Syria (Mallowan 1978: 12–25; Herrmann and Mallowan 1974).

**E. Neo-Babylonian Dynasty (625–539 B.C.)**

Babylon's principal palace was the Southern Palace, built in the reign of Nebuchadnezzer II (604–562 B.C.). It contains five great courtyard complexes in parallel arrangement, resembling the multiplicity of

the ordinary dwelling house. The decoration of the facade of the vast throne room facing the outer court was made of multicolored glazed bricks. Richly decorated glazed bricks were also used for the massive walls of the so-called Processional Way and Ishtar Gate. Enamel brick technique in Babylon had two variants: a completely flat, painted and glazed surface or a glazed relief composed of molded bricks. The subject matter consists of slender trees with volute capitals, friezes of palmettes, and lions, bulls, and serpent-dragons (*mušhuš*). Babylon's most important temple was Esagila, the dwelling place of the god Marduk. The Marduk sanctuary is a complex of buildings around open courts, the temple, and the ziggurat, all of which are enclosed by a rectangular perimeter wall. Remains of impressive NB temples have been found at excavated cities, including Sippar, Ur, Borsippa, and Kish (Frankfort 1970: 203–5; Moortgat 1969: 158–62; Oates, 1979: 144–46).

Art objects of the Neo-Babylonian period are sparse. The upper part of a stele of Nabonidus (555–539 B.C.) illustrates the royal figure standing below three divine symbols. Seals of Babylon, both in iconography and style, were probably influenced by Assyrian glyptic. One class of NB seals depicts a priest before the symbols of various deities (Collon 1987: 80–83).

**F. Summary and Trend**

Throughout the millennia, the art and architecture of Mesopotamia were linked by a unified tradition which stemmed from a comprehensive religious, political, social, and economic outlook that was homogeneous. The essential character of works of art may be defined as a striving for harmony, symmetry, and lucid description. Moreover, specific structures and works of art display a striving for monumentality, magnificence, and dynamic description, such as the ziggurat, Assyrian palace, and stele of Naram-Sin. The complexity and outward variations between artworks reflect the different levels of technical skill and feeling for style prevailing at any one time.

Systematic studies on Mesopotamian art have progressed in several important ways. One method of study focuses upon stylistic development and art-historical interpretation (Schlossman 1979; 1981–82; Reade 1979a, b; 1980a, b). Another method examines works of art within the context of aclinistrative, historical, or social settings (Gibson and Biggs 1977; Winter 1976). Both approaches have contributed to the understanding of Mesopotamian art. Finally, recent archaeological exploration has uncovered additional ancient edifices, and those discoveries have enlarged the understanding of Mesopotamian architecture (Weiss 1985: 6–19).

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PAULINE ALBENDA

## *EGYPTIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE*

Egyptian architectural monuments and the other works of art which they contained constitute the largest visible legacy from pre-Classical times in the Near East. Their traditions continued into the early centuries A.D., and were very influential in much of the ancient world. Architecture and representational art formed an integrated system, whose basic organization was created around the beginning of the dynastic period (Baines 1989a). The majority of works of all periods down to Roman times fit within this system, which forms the most important presentation of ideology. Writing also partakes of the system: much preserved writing is on permanent monuments incorporated within architectural and artistic contexts, and has its full meaning within those contexts. Art was central to Egyptian high culture; in times of prosperity, a high proportion of resources was used to create works of art (see in general Aldred 1980).

Representational art in particular must be understood in terms of iconographic as well as representational conventions (see C.3 below). Both these types of convention affected compositions in ways that are sufficiently alien from those of Western art to need explicit study. Iconography related to a system of decorum which governed what was depicted and how it was shown in most contexts, and had extensions outside the artistic sphere (Baines 1985a: 277–305).

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A. The Status of Art
B. Architecture
    1. Introductory: Domestic and Other Structures
    2. Materials and Forms
C. Representational Art
    1. Introduction
    2. Sculpture in the Round
    3. Relief and Painting
D. Minor Arts
E. Change; Legacy to the Near East

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### A. The Status of Art

It is often wrongly claimed that Egyptian art is not "art": that there was no Egyptian word for art, the concept of artistic creativity was lacking, and all works had a function (e.g., Wolf 1957: 66–68; Junge fc.). The linguistic argument is based on the fact that the Egyptian word *hmt* means "craftsmanship" rather than Western "art," but it is invalid, because Egyptian lacks words for many comparable abstractions, such as religion or politics, yet this does not show that Egypt lacked those phenomena. The absence of these words demonstrates something about Egyptian classification, but not about art (see Müller fc.). The other components of the argument implicitly use an over-narrow Westernizing conception of art—that it must be the expression of an individual personality and is essentially functionless. They cannot be sustained in the face of the demonstrable high status of some artists (e.g., Krauss 1983), the meaningful variation and stylistic development of works of art, and the resources and prestige vested in their production. Artists worked in teams, as is normal in most artistic traditions and necessary for manipulating intractable materials and creating very large works. This does not imply any devaluation of the resulting product or of those who were responsible for its design and execution. What can hardly be attributed to Egypt is the ideologically and behaviorally loaded Western conception of the "artist" (see also Drenkhahn 1976: 62–72).

Another debate has been about the interpretation of artistic production as having a "re-creative" purpose. Rituals that might be depicted on temple walls would substitute for their real performance, while statues of the deceased and the decoration of his tomb would enable him to survive the loss of his mummy and the cessation of his mortuary cult. The unquestionable "realism" of Egyptian representational forms

would be explained along the same lines, as being required so that what was shown should come to life in the correct form (e.g., Iversen 1975: 5–7). This interpretation is not based on texts, but rather seeks to explain the choice of subject matter in temple and tomb decoration and some particular features of the record, such as the mutilation of signs representing human and animal figures in the Pyramid Texts inscribed in the mortuary chambers of late 5th and 6th Dynasty pyramids (Lacau 1914). Although some aspects of decoration have "performative" elements (Derchain 1989), this approach is generally implausible. In these areas, Egyptian art partakes of the character of central symbolic statements, and comparable phenomena could be found in many cultures.

**B. Architecture**

**1. Introductory: Domestic and Other Structures.** Architecture is both the principal artistic form and the context for other works of art (Jéquier 1920–24; Badawy 1954–68; de Cenival 1964; Smith 1981). The ultimate context of architecture is the Egyptian natural and social environment. Any general influence of the natural environment on architectural forms is, however, uncertain, except insofar as the dry, hot climate allowed the use of flat forms and encouraged measures to circulate air. An important environmental element is orientation. One or two temples have an astronomical orientation (Krauss 1985: 49), but the main astronomically oriented structures are mortuary, in particular the pyramids, whose sides face the cardinal points. Most temples are oriented to the Nile. Those on the west bank are entered from their "east" side and have an axis facing "west"; the reverse applies to those on the east bank. These orientations are variable according to the local direction of the river, so that, for example, the temple of Dendara faces north; the orientation of many other buildings was dependent on their connections with different structures on the same site.

The social environment is more significant than the natural. The highly centripetal Egyptian state was organized around the king, the capital or residence of the king, and, in earlier periods, the king's mortuary monument. In the New Kingdom and later, the royal city had a cosmic significance and formed a stage on which the king's actions and the life of the whole settlement assumed "historical" meaning. Rather similar meaning should be attributed to the royal palace, whose design shows many analogies with temples (O'Connor fc.a; fc.). At the other end of the scale of society and of architectural grandeur, everyday dwellings could have had architectural significance, as in many societies, but such a meaning can hardly be recovered. Most preserved nonelite housing is proletarian in organization and acquires architectural value chiefly through its context in large planned settlements. Elite manorial houses, as depicted especially in New Kingdom tombs, were set in large garden compounds, and had an urban counterpart in the elite "villas" of el-Amarna. These structures had both prestige and religious aspects, but have hardly been investigated for their architectural meaning (collection of material on domestic architecture: Roik 1988). Rural housing of the nonelite, which could have preserved more general cultural significance, is almost wholly unknown.

The majority of preserved architecture is stone built and funerary, consisting of freestanding or rock-cut tombs sited on the edge of the Nile Valley between Cairo and Aswan. These include royal tombs, varying in size from modest structures to the Great Pyramid. Preserved temple complexes belong principally to the New Kingdom and Greco-Roman period. There are also rock-cut temples in the desert escarpment in Egypt and Lower Nubia.

**2. Materials and Forms.** The principal constructional materials were stone and brick, but reed and matting were widespread for temporary structures, while some prestige building, for example of baldachins for royal and divine thrones, was in wood.

**a. Brick.** Mud brick, which survives less well than stone, was used for religious and secular structures from temples to houses (Spencer 1979). The earliest preserved brick dates to the Naqada II period, before the unification of the country. At first, the material was used for prestige purposes, becoming widespread only later. Nongeometric use of mud, as in wattle-and-daub, was probably always the standard technique for rural houses.

Mud brick was used with skill and imagination. Rich effects were created in elaborately paneled facades to the enclosures and outside walls of palaces and tombs. The characteristic "palace facade" form of these

was perhaps originally royal, and remained a royal symbol, but it was used by others as well, especially in mortuary contexts. Its design is comparable with Mesopotamian motifs, but may not have been derived from them.

Brick enclosures were often on a colossal scale, especially in the Late Period; some walls are as much as 15 m thick. A characteristic feature of enclosure walls is the alternation of level sections of brickwork with undulating or concave and convex ones (e.g., Barguet 1962: 29–40). The purpose of this practice has been argued by different authors to be symbolic of the primeval waters, or to be structural (see Spencer 1979: 114–16, favoring the symbolic interpretation).

In brick buildings with interior spaces, the Egyptians mastered difficult structural elements such as wide unsupported vaults and domes. One reason for developing these techniques, which are more commonly found in burnt-brick traditions, is the scarcity of structural timber in Egypt. These forms contributed to the impressive appearance of utilitarian buildings, such as groups of magazines within temple complexes (see Fig. ART.20; Vandersleyen 1975: pl. VII). But the design of large dwelling and ceremonial areas, such as palaces, which have to be studied principally from ground plans, appears superficially less orderly, and is not well understood.

**b. Stone: Forms and Symbolism.** Most of the main preserved monuments are built of limestone or sandstone (with parts in granite and other hard stones). Their structural forms are simpler than those of mud brick, but their symbolism is more elaborate. The earliest large-scale buildings, in the 3d Dynasty step pyramid complex of Djoser at Saqqara, look to plant models, from reeds and flowers to tree trunks, for the forms of columns and of decorative motifs. The complex is a successor of mortuary enclosures of the first two dynasties, in which similar structures may have been built in mud brick (O'Connor fc.b.), but brick hardly influenced the stone forms.

Stone structures are either largely solid, like the pyramids, or are based on load-bearing walls, columns, and pillars (Clarke and Engelbach 1930). Roofs are flat, and the distance spanned by roof beams is restricted to the maximum length for an unsupported architrave, about 3 m for limestone and 7 m for sandstone (used from the New Kingdom on). Forms are generally rectilinear, but are relieved by the characteristic batter of external surfaces (perhaps derived from brickwork or building in mud), by column styles, and by decorative features. Only a few buildings are geometric, the best known being the Valley Temple of Chephren at Giza (e.g., Lange and Hirmer 1968: pls. 32–33) and the cenotaph of Sety I at Abydos (Frankfort 1930); both are constructed mainly of granite. Large internal spaces are interrupted by the columns which carry the roof, and include the typical hypostyle halls of temples. In contrast with the generally axial design of temples, these halls have strong transverse accents.

Arches were not used in stone until the Late Period, and the only vaulting was corbelling, which was carved in New Kingdom temples to produce curved ceilings for sanctuaries and occurs in the rock-cut burial chambers of New Kingdom royal tombs (e.g., Vandersleyen 1975: pl. 93).

Most columns have capitals, and abaci are common (*LÄ* 5: 343–48). Their forms are generally derived from aquatic plants, especially papyrus, but including lotus, date palms, and, in late times, elaborate composites. The date palm, which is also a common model, should be considered aquatic, because palms frequently have their bases in marshy ground. Fluted and polygonal columns are known. Two characteristic features of wall design are the torus moulding, a cylindrical treatment of edges and corners applied to the most varied structures and features, and the cavetto cornice, a form which flares forward above a vertical or battered surface. Detailed examples of these suggest plant models in the lashing of edges of panels and the gathering of heads of plants at their tops. Two vital decorative motifs are the uraeus, or protective rearing cobra, which often occurs as a frieze, and the sun disk, which is found typically in the cavetto cornice above doorways.

Wall surfaces of stone structures were decorated with painted reliefs. By the 4th Dynasty some royal mortuary temples had a rich repertory of scenes, whose subjects included the worship of the gods, the provisioning of the temple by its estates, and "historical" events primarily showing the king's dominance of the world and maintenance of order. The relief area of a wall was set off by a dado of horizontal

moulding lines at the bottom, and at the top the hieroglyph for sky or a *kheker* frieze, which seems to derive from tassels at the edge of a fabric.

Temples in particular exploited the potential of light and darkness (see Fig. ART.21). They were theoretically oriented to face sunrise or sunset, and their outer areas were relatively light, but light struck directly into the interior only down the axis, when the inner doors were opened. Small window openings were cut in roofs, in the upper parts of walls, and at the juncture of wall and roof. Side rooms were completely dark. The decoration, whose primary purpose was its enacting of the symbolic world depicted in the reliefs, rather than creating something to be seen, could be seen only when illuminated by lamps. As in many other traditions, the completed work of art was hardly intended to be viewed.

In addition to their decoration, temples contained ritual equipment and many large and small statues. They were surrounded by service buildings and enclosed within mud-brick enclosure walls. Priests alone could enter temples and the gods, whose dwellings they were, left them only at festivals. Despite this seclusion, temples had a central significance as symbolic, sanctified representations of the perfect world at creation (Barguet 1962: 336–40; Baines 1976; Finnestad 1985). This meaning can be read in linear fashion off the plan of a complex, from the enclosure wall through the various areas and rooms into the sanctuary, or vertically, in the decoration of single walls. The slightly raised floor level of the sanctuary marked the original mound of creation, while the individual scenes and the wall surface as a whole represented the sanctified cosmos, terminating in the sky at the top. The entrance pylon of a temple (e.g., Vandersleyen 1975: pls. 91, 103), which consisted of a pair of high walls with battered faces flanking a central doorway, was its largest single element and was decorated with semi-apotropaic scenes of the king slaughtering his enemies. The wall decoration within the temples added to its meaning. Their reliefs show the king (in Graeco-Roman times the Ptolemy or Roman Emperor) offering to the gods and receiving benefits from them, and are organized into registers with sequences of scenes that summarize the stages of rituals or obey more abstract schemas. The world of the reliefs is almost exclusively divine and royal; its relation to humanity is indirect.

The forms of tombs are more various than those of temples and their meaning less well understood. There was almost always a distinction in location and form between royal and nonroyal tombs.

Royal tombs developed from the unmarked brick-lined pits of the first two dynasties at Abydos, through the pyramid complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms (Edwards 1985–86), to the rock-cut tombs of the New Kingdom in the Valley of the Kings (Hornung 1988) with their accompanying mortuary temples at the Nile Valley edge, and small Late Period structures in temple enclosures (Stadelmann 1971). Early royal tombs point to a cosmic destiny of the king in the next life. The pyramids have a stellar orientation, but may also be related to solar beliefs, while perhaps further symbolizing the first created matter. Their meaning seems closely related to that of the obelisk, which was both a cult object in its own right and a decorative element placed in pairs outside tombs and later temples. New Kingdom royal tombs are decorated with compositions concerned with the nightly passage of the sun god through the underworld, and their design too may symbolize the underworld.

Early nonroyal tombs, which are termed mastabas, have the form of stylized mounds with battered sides (in stone constructions from the 4th Dynasty on); the symbolism of this form is uncertain. The deceased was buried in a chamber at the bottom of a shaft cut within the mastaba structure. The mortuary cult centered on a niche, normally at the south end of the tomb, whose form derived from a section of mud-brick paneling. This niche became the Old Kingdom "false door," through which the deceased's spirit received offerings, while the area before it was extended to form a chapel, and much of the originally solid mastaba superstructure was gradually taken up by additional decorated rooms.

Rock-cut nonroyal tombs were constructed in all periods from the late 4th Dynasty on. Their decoration and focus on the false door were similar to mastabas, and their burials were also at the bottoms of shafts. Often rock-cut tomb complexes consist of a forecourt and paneled facade in front of the internal rooms. The standard form of a New Kingdom Theban tomb comprised a transverse room, parts of which might have "secular" decoration, with a longitudinal room behind leading to an offering place at the back. In the 18th Dynasty these tombs began to have religious scenes among the decoration, and by the 20th Dynasty

almost all secular decoration had disappeared. In the artisans' tombs at Deir el-Medina, the decorated chambers were often underground and had vaulted ceilings, assimilating them to the forms of sarcophagi and burial chambers; these rooms had exclusively mortuary decoration.

From the mid–New Kingdom on, new forms of free-standing tombs modeled on temple designs developed in the Memphite area. These were influential into very late times, producing such masterpieces as the 4th–3rd-century B.C. tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel (Lefebvre 1923–24). By that date, however, few of the elite built major tombs, and this type is relatively poorly known. Examples at such sites as Saqqara have been more thoroughly destroyed than earlier tombs.

**C. Representational Art**

**1. Introduction.** The images that filled architectural spaces and decorated their surfaces were all designed on the same basic principles. Egyptian art therefore has a stylistic unity which has been recognized since antiquity. The application of its principles is best seen in the canon of proportions (e.g., Robins 1986), which provided a convenient and accurate means of depicting objects, especially the human form, on squared grids (see Fig. ART.22), while facilitating the organization of artists in teams. The rendering of nature, which underlay the canon of proportions and has analogies in sculpture in the round, is very different from that of Western art. Its most important characteristics are its reliance on outlines and nonincorporation of foreshortening and related optical phenomena. Within its conventions, it strove toward what may be termed realism, that is, proportional accuracy and approximation to visual schemata, rather than toward extremes of stylization. For Westerners, there has often seemed to be a contradiction between its nonuse of perspective and its realism, and this problem has been alternately overlooked and commented on at length. Since perspective and foreshortening are characteristic of few artistic traditions, the methods so clearly exemplified in Egyptian art should be considered universal (Baines 1985b) and perspective a special case, rather than the other way around. Although the Westerner's difficulty with finding a way to approach Egyptian representation results largely from its realism, there is nothing inherently contradictory in the presence of realism in a nonperspective tradition.

As in many cultures, almost all works were planned to be painted, or were naturally colored (cf. Reuterswärd 1958). With few exceptions, coloring was polychrome. The basic coloring system consisted of black, white, red, yellow, green, blue, with gray both as a hue and as a neutral; brown and pink were later added to the repertory. Colors could appear in more than one shade. The color classification visible on the monuments is more complex than that known from the Egyptian language, but both fit the universal "color encoding sequence" of Berlin and Kay (Baines 1985c). Painting was the last stage of work on sculpture and relief; because many works were not finished, people will have been familiar with the appearance of unpainted works (see also Smith 1949: 105–29; 244–72).

**2. Sculpture in the Round.** The products of Egyptian techniques are easily appreciated in statuary (e.g., Russmann fc., Vandersleyen 1975: pls. 115–236). Apart from a geometrical character which is basic to the system and was probably valued for its dignity, the human figure is depicted realistically. Great mastery was achieved in stone-working, in rendering the masses of the human form and of detail, and in the modeling of faces and of the upper part of the body (see ART.23).

Except for the Old Kingdom, most statues come from temples and show gods, kings, and human beings more or less in repose, standing with the left foot forward, or seated or squatting (see Fig. ART.24), singly or in small groups. They are idealized, with a concept of beauty not very different from that of the modern West. Transient or dynamic poses and the depiction of aged and careworn features are relatively rare, but are characteristic of many of the finest works. Iconographic details indicate the identity of many gods and of the king, but in addition most statues are inscribed with the owners' names and titles; statue and inscription complement each other so that the statue is the last "hieroglyph" of the text (which does not mean that text is more important than statue; Fischer 1974). Sculptures from colossi 15 m high to figurines of a few centimeters are remarkably uniform in style, but small works can be surprisingly free, especially in wood (which is greatly underrepresented in the record). This applies particularly to decorative figures like unguent jars in the form of offering bearers carrying pots (see Fig. ART.25).

Art-historical work has tended to focus on the faces of statues and on problems of dating. The question of whether the Egyptians made "portraits" is much debated. While the features of some individuals, especially of royalty, are evidently depicted in statuary, the term "portrait" is so culturally loaded as to make its application to alien traditions problematic; meaningful answers to these questions depend on clarifying what is being asked. It is clear that the features chiefly at issue are those of kings (e.g., Tefnin 1979; Müller 1988), and that during the periods when distinctive royal faces were carved many other people were depicted with faces similar to those of kings. The only time when faces have a very clear iconographic significance was the later 12th Dynasty, when Senwosret III and Amenemhat III were depicted with suffering countenances probably signifying the role of the "suffering king." For other periods, especially the Late Period (Bothmer 1969; Brooklyn Museum 1988), marks of age were typical of nonroyal sculpture. Statues additionally derived acquired much of their meaning from iconography. People commissioned many statues of themselves with differing iconography that included the physique, which was youthfully slender in most cases, and prosperously obese for older, wiser figures.

The two principal contexts for sculpture were tomb and temple. There is little evidence for statues in other public places, except where large areas of a city were linked by avenues, principally of sphinxes (best known in Thebes). In addition to stone and wood, statues were made in copper or bronze and precious metals, and sometimes in composites of different substances. Very little bronze sculpture is known from before the Late Period, but casting was mastered impressively, if only for royal statues (Wildung 1984: 209, fig. 184; Old Kingdom molded statue Lange and Hirmer 1968: pl. 80). Temple reliefs depicting cult statues show a far wider range of types than is physically preserved (e.g., Davies 1953: pls. 1–5), most of them being made of wood, metal, or a mixture of the two.

Sculpture of different periods varies greatly in style and character. The time of the widest range of contemporary variation was the Late Period, when statues were the principal monuments of most members of the elite (Bothmer 1969; one group of royal sculpture: Russmann 1974).

**3. Relief and Painting.** Egyptian principles of representation have more distinctive consequences in relief and painting (Schäfer 1986). Despite fundamental differences of type, these two media share a linear mode of representation, and reliefs could be carved on the basis of existing paintings (e.g., Baines 1989b); preparatory drawings for both were essentially the same. Low raised relief was normal indoors and sunk relief, in which the stone of the background between the figures was not removed, outdoors; sunk relief shows up better in sunlight.

Compositions are organized as groupings conveying information visually, not as visual or perceptual images (see Fig. ART.26). The picture surface is an area to be filled, not three-dimensional space or a specific location, and there is no fixed point from which compositions are to be viewed. Figures are related to one another by their actions and gestures or by overlapping, while relative size indicates relative importance, not distance. The chief organizing element in compositions is the register, a sequence of figures or separate scenes on a single baseline. A set of registers fills a wall surface, while principal figures or scenes may be the height of several registers and bracket them together. Designs are arranged to fill a surface evenly and arrange it meaningfully, rather as in the layout of an illustrated book. The register compositions of temples (see Fig. ART.27), especially of the Late and Greco-Roman Periods, are more rigid than those of nonroyal tombs, and exhibit complex ordering principles that unify entire walls (Winter 1968: Part 1). The composition of scenes is so highly conventionalized that it is often meaningless to ask what locations or furnishings are shown in the scenes. The most prominent exceptions to, or extensions of, the normal principles of composition are in the royal battle reliefs of the New Kingdom (e.g., Gaballa 1976; Epigraphic Survey 1986).

The human figure exemplifies representational principles most fully. The body is treated as a set of aspects unified by its outline (the composition of male and female figures differs slightly). For figures standing at rest, a profile head encloses a single, mostly enlarged eye, and the shoulders are shown at full width, while a front profile joins the forward armpit to the waist. The hips and legs are again in profile; the feet are mostly separate. This construction retains proportional accuracy and allows figures to interact naturally on the picture surface, as well as being in harmony with Egyptian ideals of physical beauty.

Because full faces are not shown, it does not address itself to the viewer or suggest the third dimension strongly. Similar compositional principles govern the representation of most objects. Any conventional form is necessarily a choice among many possibilities; once forms were devised, they mostly varied only in detail.

Private tombs of the Old-Middle Kingdoms contain a wide range of scenes of "daily life," such as agriculture, fishing, marsh pursuits (see Fig. ART.28), and craftsmen; religious elements are largely confined to burial scenes and texts (Vandier 1964–78; Harpur 1987). The absence of scenes of gods and kings is probably determined by decorum. The purpose of the decoration is little understood and is hardly stated in the accompanying texts. Essential aspects seem to be commemoration of a successful life and praise of the deceased (Assmann 1983), and the preparation of offerings for the mortuary cult. The deceased "observes" the agricultural activities around him and only participates actively in hunting in the marshes, which probably symbolizes in part passage into the next world (Groenewegen-Frankfort 1951: 28–62). In the New Kingdom, scenes of the king rewarding the tomb owner were added to the repertory. Almost all scenes have identifying and descriptive text captions. Most Old Kingdom tombs at Giza and Saqqara are decorated in relief, while New Kingdom Theban tombs have more paintings, whose flexible medium encourages freer and livelier effects (see Fig. ART.29; Davies and Gardiner 1936; Mekhitarian 1954); relief, however, was used in some of the finest Theban tombs (e.g., Lange and Hirmer 1968: pls. 166–77). Late Period reliefs divide into Theban (e.g., Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983) and Lower Egyptian types (Leahy 1988). Both regions are significant for their artistic innovations, for their inclusion of new subject matter, such as the major underworld compositions characteristic of New Kingdom royal tombs, and for their complex mix of innovation and eclectic use of models from earlier periods.

**D. Minor Arts**

In prosperous periods, especially the mid–New Kingdom, vast numbers of decorative everyday and funerary objects were made (e.g., Hayes 1959; Boston 1982; Hildesheim 1987). These followed the same representational principles as relief and painting, and, because of the diagrammatic character of representation, depictions of items such as boxes and preserved pieces can correspond closely to each other.

The "minor art" which consumed most resources may have been jewelry (see Fig. ART.30; Aldred 1971; Wilkinson 1971), for which gold, silver, and precious stones were used in great quantities. Egypt was the major producer of gold in the ANE, and the Eastern Desert abounded in semiprecious stones, but some materials, such as lapis lazuli, were imported from great distances at corresponding cost. Both royal and nonroyal jewelry are known, apart from its probably extensive use in the cult of the gods and deposition in burials, while body ornaments were worn by men and women in many contexts. Some jewelry, for example from the tomb of Tutankhamen, is of great symbolic and iconographic complexity.

Egyptian furniture, which is the chief preserved corpus from the ancient world (Fischer 1986: 169–240), is remarkably elegant and sophisticated, and several other genres, such as cosmetic equipment, were as highly developed. Art was thus not confined to temples and tombs, but pervaded elite life as a whole. Nonetheless, the principal preserved record is from tombs, and includes very important categories of material, such as coffins and sarcophagi. Despite the constraints of decorum, there was stylistic and formal uniformity across the genres of minor art, from temple and tomb to objects of household use.

Some categories of objects were generally devoid of artistic significance. Most pottery is plain and utilitarian, and painted wares are known only from one or two short periods (Bourriau 1981; Hope 1981, 1987). The reason for this is probably in part that the focus of elite interest in vessels was on stone—worked with astonishing virtuosity in the Early Dynastic Period (el-Khouli 1978)—and metal. Metal vases were widespread, but few are preserved (see Insley Green 1987).

**E. Change; Legacy to the Near East**

Egyptian art may seem static and rigid, but within its representational system it evolved very greatly. Development tended to be uniform in direction within major periods, mostly moving toward greater complexity and richness, but artists often sought inspiration in works of much earlier times than their own (cf. Baines 1988: 133–40). This tension between continuity with the immediate past and innovation with a

backward glance is known from many long-lasting traditions. The fruitful development of native Egyptian art continued at least until the Roman conquest. The only time of truly radical departures was the attempted religious "revolution" of Akhenaten, during which both the style and the subject matter of reliefs and statuary were transformed, while representational conventions also changed significantly; most of these innovations were soon rejected. The motivation for Akhenaten's artistic changes may have been principally a desire for a radical break with what went before. The king will have commissioned the artists who produced the new style, among whom Bak is known by name and from his mortuary monument, but the phrases with which Bak describes his dependence on the king for teaching turn out to be conventional, so that they may not support the hypothesis of a special role for Akhenaten (Krauss 1986).

Egyptian artistic forms were very influential in the ANE. From the Old Kingdom or earlier, Egypt had close relations with Byblos, from which it imported timber in particular, and to which it exported both works of art and raw materials. Poorly provenanced finds of this period have appeared in Anatolia and the Aegean (e.g., Smith 1965: figs. 10–11). By the early 2d millennium B.C., objects and motifs like scarabs and the winged solar disk, as well as more general Egyptian iconography, spread to Syria (Teissier 1989). During the late 2d and early 1st millennium, Egypt exercised a dominant cultural influence in parts of Syria-Palestine, while particular categories of objects, such as ivories, acquired an "Egyptian" style and were disseminated as far afield as Mesopotamia (e.g., Herrmann 1986: 18–19; Kitchen 1986).

In the case of ivories, the medium for transmission of this influence may have been the material itself, for which Egypt was the principal source, but the influence may be earlier than the date of the objects discovered. In other cases, it is more difficult to assess what objects carried artistic styles abroad, because the most easily transported materials, such as wood or Egyptian faience (e.g., Tait 1963), are seldom well preserved archaeologically, while jewelry, which is known, for example, from Byblos (Vandersleyen 1975: pl. 396b), will have tended to be recycled, and has largely vanished. Here, the inventories of gifts in the Amarna letters (Moran 1987: e.g., nos. 13–14, 22, 25), which describe objects by weight of materials used and largely ignore their manufacture, have similar implications. In addition, fragile objects, particularly ones used in everyday contexts, are poorly known from Egypt. Such gaps in the material will tend to suggest that Egyptian exports and influence in the Near East were less significant than they may in fact have been.

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JOHN BAINES

## *PERSIAN ART*

This article will focus on the art of the Achaemenid Persian empire (ca. 538–330 B.C.), but will also include some comments about Persian architecture. The art of this period not only reflects the complexity and diversity of the empire itself; it also ideologically reinforces the notion of a world now under control.

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A. Historical Background
B. An Overview of the Evidence
C. Achaemenid Monumental Art
D. Achaemenid Seals
E. Conclusion

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### A. Historical Background

The Persians, like the Medes, were of the Indo-European linguistic family. They had gradually migrated from an aboriginal eastern homeland to the Zagros mountains of W Iran by the close of the second millennium B.C. By the 9th century B.C., these Persian and Median tribes had established themselves securely along the E fringe of the Assyrian empire. The heads of the Persian tribes were vassals of the Medes during the critical period when the Assyrian empire was overthrown by a Median and Babylonian alliance (612 B.C.). The Persian Cyrus II (reg ca. 550–538 B.C.) was a prince of the Achaemenid clan. When he overthrew the yoke of Median domination, he fell heir to the large territories acquired by the Medes from the earlier Assyrian realm.

It was once thought that the Medes and Persians were nomadic groups without traditions of monumental architecture and sculpture up until the time of Cyrus the Great. More recent discussion (Root 1979: 28–42) has attempted to place these peoples firmly in a context of settled patterns of assimilation within the Mesopotamian/Iranian cultural sphere. We learn from Assyrian annals that Medes and Persians lived in fortified citadels as early as the 9th century B.C. Archaeological investigations in the W Zagros area have now verified these Assyrian records by retrieving sites in Median territory which show the architectural sophistication of these citadels and, in some cases, their closeness to representations of W Iranian settlements on Assyrian historical reliefs (Young 1969; Young and Levine 1974; Stronach 1969; Gunter 1982). Even in its preempire phase, then, the Achaemenid dynasty enjoyed access to the ancient traditions of Mesopotamia and Elam. In art, these traditions form a critical backdrop to the imperial program created by the early Achaemenid kings. Again from Assyrian royal annals we know that Cyrus I, grandfather of

Cyrus the Great, sent one of his sons to the court of King Assurbanipal (mid-7th century) in a diplomatic maneuver. This demonstrates the integration of the dynasty already in its preimperial period within the political networks of the time. It also shows that these Persians were actively exposed to the visual grandeur of Assyrian palatial contexts. At the end of the same century, paylists record Persians working alongside Egyptians, Ionians, Lydians, Medes, and Elamites at the court of Nebuchadnezzar II of Babylon. This demonstrates the integration of the Persians within the systems of artistic *production* as well as consumption in Mesopotamia before the formation of their empire. Persian interaction with the indigenous Elamites in SW Iran was also an important factor in their ultimate imperial artistic formulations. The Achaemenid dynasts took over the ancient Elamite title King of Anshan; they used Elamite as an administrative language; and it is becoming increasingly clear that they also drew extensively upon Elamite artistic models in the creation of their own imperial style.

Under Cyrus II the Achaemenids pushed all the way to Lydia, conquering the mighty Croesus in 547 B.C. Babylon fell to Cyrus in 539 B.C. The empire reached its greatest extent under Darius I (reg 521–486 B.C.)—stretching from India into N Greece and across Egypt. The Achaemenids maintained power until 330 B.C., when Alexander finally succeeded in crippling the Persian regime after prolonged campaigning.

Achaemenid art must be understood against the historical background of the ANE cultures which preceded it. It must also be understood with reference to the factors of cultural idiosyncracy which the Persians brought with them into the Mesopotamian/Iranian sphere. And finally, it must be understood in terms of the diversity of regionalisms reflected in the vastness of the imperial domain.

**B. An Overview of the Evidence**

Achaemenid art is preserved in a full range of media: official architecture in stone and brick, architectural sculpture in stone and molded brick, freestanding sculpture in stone and metal, rock relief, wall painting, seals (preserved as actual artifacts and as impressions on documents), imperial and provincial (satrapal) coins, jewelry, horse trappings and weaponry, vessels of stone, glass, and metal, ornamental ivory and wood carving, and textiles. Only tantalizing vestiges of wall paintings, textiles, glassware, metalwork, ivory and wood carving have been preserved—owing to their ephemeral nature and to the tendency for metal to be melted down for reuse. The major sites from which evidence has come for the study of Achaemenid art are the capitals of Pasargadae (Stronach 1978), Persepolis/Naqsh-i Rustam (Schmidt 1953–70; Tilia 1972–78), and Susa (Perrot 1981; Perrot et al. 1971; 1972; 1974)—all in SW Iran—and the rock relief and inscription at Behistun in NW Iran (Root 1979: 58–61, 182–226). Retrieved Achaemenid remains from Babylon are significant but not extensive (Haerinck 1973; Seidl 1976). Ecbatana, the Median capital in NW Iran which was occupied later by the Achaemenids as a summer residence, lies under modern Hamadan and has not been systematically explored (Muscarella 1980: 31–35). To date, no satrapal governor's palace has been excavated, although the site of the important palace at Daskyleion in Anatolia has been identified and surveyed, with an impressive corpus of small finds awaiting full publication (Balkan 1959).

Significant random finds from outlying sectors of the Achaemenid sphere provide glimpses of art and society under the Persian kings which add to the picture encapsulated most completely at Persepolis. Nevertheless, it remains unfortunate that at present very little is yet known archaeologically about the eastern periphery of the empire. New perspectives on the history of the Achaemenids in this region should encourage further archaeological investigation (Briant 1984).

One of the difficulties in dealing with aspects of Achaemenid art relates to the types of textual sources available for interpretive assistance. The official imperial texts which have come down to us are informative on a certain level (Kent 1953); but some tend to be neglected by art historians and others tend to be misinterpreted (Root 1979: 7–11; 1988; fc.). A good example of the latter phenomenon is the so-called Susa Foundation Charter of Darius the Great. This text enumerates specific tasks performed by specific subject peoples in the construction and decoration of the palace at Susa. Its function as a propaganda text meant metaphorically to characterize imperial domain has usually been overlooked in favor of a interpretation which takes literally the allocation of tasks along strict ethnic lines. The absence of Persians in the listing has been used to show that Persian artisans must have had no role in the building

of Achaemenid Susa. It seems clear, on the contrary, that the absence of Persians in the list reflects the idea that the text is a way of describing Persian political power over other peoples.

None of the imperial texts preserves an explicit narrative account of court ceremonies, such as might help to fathom some of the iconographical intricacies of official representations. Similarly, there are no extant travelogues written by Persians of the Achaemenid period giving descriptions of cities or monuments. Administrative documents, letters, and graffiti provide valuable but oblique views of certain aspects of artistic production (Roaf 1980; Root 1979).

The texts most often culled for information on Persian art and society are the Greek sources such as Herodotus' *Histories* (5th century B.C.) and Xenophon's *Anabasis* (4th century B.C.). The classical texts are rich; but they are problematic because of the externality of their perspectives on the Persian empire—an externality which is compounded by the naturally Greek-oriented focus of most of the scholars who comment upon them. Important recent discussions, however, are attempting to redress the balance (Sancisi-Weerdenburg, ed., 1988; Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Kuhrt, eds., 1988; Kuhrt and Sancisi-Weerdenburg, eds., 1988).

The OT contains little *explicit* information on Achaemenid art, although it may well be that careful analysis can reveal more suggestive material than was once thought (see below).

**C. Achaemenid Monumental Art**

Pasargadae was founded by Cyrus II after his victory over Croesus of Lydia in 547 B.C. It features a fortified citadel (originally intended to accommodate administrative and ceremonial structures). In the plain below, palaces, a garden pavilion, a gatehouse, a tower (probably for the safekeeping of ritual paraphernalia) and the house-type tomb of Cyrus have been excavated and studied. Remains of the stone water courses for a formal garden provide our first documented example of the Persian "paradeisos" (see Fig. ART.31). This predilection for reception palaces with deep shady porticoes overlooking gracious symmetrical gardens is echoed throughout the subsequent history of Persian architecture. A striking reminiscence of the paradise ambiance of Pasargadae is the 17th-century-A.D. palace of Chehel Sutun at Isfahan, where the features of architecture and environmental tableau are still well enough preserved explicitly to evoke the original aesthetic and conceptual principles common to both the medieval and the ancient sites.

At Pasargadae, as at Persepolis somewhat later, the palace architecture uses stone for the skeletal structure: for foundations, stairs, columns, and door and window frames. Mud brick originally fleshed out these elements. The stoneworking at Pasargadae displays significant characteristics of Lydian and Ionian technique and aesthetic (Nylander 1970). The masonry of the citadel platform clearly reflects a desire to emulate Hellenic forms of drafted ashlar blocks, for instance. And the technical details of joining and tooling suggest the important part played here by masons from the west brought to work at the Persian court in the wake of the fall of Sardis.

The buildings at Pasargadae also incorporate elements of ANE tradition. With great doorways and columns of stone, the Pasargadae Gatehouse was designed to impress the visitor with allusions to the triumphs and aspirations of the king. Assyrianizing attached sculptures of guardian bulls protruded from the main portals, while the jambs of the side doors were decorated in low relief with the image of a winged figure wearing the royal robe of Elam and an elaborate Egyptian war crown. See Fig. ART.31. An accompanying inscription declared, "I am Cyrus, an Achaemenian." The inscription may well have been meant to suggest that the representation showed the king himself in an allegorical mode of imperial aspiration. In this context, the wings acquire interest as an echo of the benevolent guardian figures of Assyrian palace reliefs. They may have been intended to allude to the protective, nurturing properties of these magical creatures—creatures who in manifold variants figured prominently in the symbol-laden architectural decoration of Israelite palaces as well (e.g., 1 Kgs 6:23–37). The wings possibly also relate more specifically to a prophetic dream recorded by Herodotus (I. 209). Here, Cyrus is supposed to have envisioned Darius with wings overshadowing the entirety of the Achaemenid empire encompassing both Europe and Asia. Thus the winged figure of Pasargadae may symbolize at once the perpetuation of

venerable Near Eastern traditions of guardian creatures and also a more assertive allegorical concept of world dominion.

Indeed, the concept of harmonious world order is the central theme of the entire program of Achaemenid Persian imperial art. This art is not historical in the annalistic sense. Rather, it is historical in a cosmic sense. Ideas about political events and relationships are distilled for presentation in elaborate metaphorical statements. Quasi-realistic depiction of the events themselves (such as are featured in Assyrian palace reliefs) have no place in the extant repertory of official Achaemenid art.

The monument of Darius I at Behistun emphasizes this aspect of Achaemenid art. See Fig. ART.32. Often characterized as the sole example of Achaemenid historical art, this rock relief is in essence highly abstract in its depiction of history. The inscription gives details of a series of battles against rebels fought by various of Darius' generals in far-flung regions of the empire over the course of more than one year. But the accompanying relief offers an ideological précis of this narrative. Here, Darius stands with one foot upon the squirming prostrate figure of the pretender Gaumata. Behind the king, two of his generals and weapon bearers symbolize the full host of loyal men who backed the newly declared monarch. Stretching out before Darius is a row of bound captives—the rebels who in the historical narrative were described as having been dispatched separately in diverse encounters. Hovering above the entire scene, facing Darius, appears the figure of Ahuramazda in the winged disc.

The god Ahuramazda is repeatedly invoked in the imperial texts as the agent of imperial success with whom the king appears to enjoy a symbiotic relationship. The rendering as a half-length human figure emerging from a winged disc hearkens back to Neo-Assyrian representations of the god Assur. Because the image of Ahuramazda is never actually labeled in Achaemenid art, it has generated much controversy among scholars. Some have rejected the traditional interpretation in favor of variant nuances of the idea that the figure in the winged disc represents the "Xvarnah"—the essence of glory—of the king himself as this concept is articulated in later (post-Achaemenid period) Zoroastrian texts (Shahbazi 1974; 1980; Calmeyer 1979; Jacobs 1987). Others have urged retention of the traditional interpretation as the one which suits the conceptualizations apparent from texts of the Achaemenid period itself (Root 1979: 162–81; Lecoq 1984). The figure of Ahuramazda (as this article will persist in characterizing it) plays a role in many representational contexts of Achaemenid art. The very fact that the divine figure resembles the royal figure in dress and attitude correlates neatly with the complete marriage of goals between god and king as portrayed in the texts.

The controversy over the identity of the figure within the winged disc is particularly significant in the context of biblical studies because it forces us into the vexing issue of the religion practiced at the Achaemenid court (Herrenschmidt 1980). Although Ahuramazda is the primary deity invoked in the official texts, allusions do exist in the documentary evidence to the veneration of other gods as well, e.g., Behistun (Kent 1953: 132). Similarly, some evidence exists for *representations* of gods other than Ahuramazda in Achaemenid art (characterized with reference to seals in Moorey 1979). If the Achaemenids were Zoroastrians, their Zoroastrianism was of a variety not fully clarified through non-Achaemenid texts. Certainly, for instance, it was not strictly monotheistic, and the rendering of divine images was not prohibited.

Official Achaemenid policy emphasized the pragmatism of condoning regional spiritual behavior as well as regional political and economic structure. In keeping with this policy, the Achaemenid king might display himself as Pharaoh, Son of Ra, in Egypt (Posener 1936; Root 1979: 61–72); he might rebuild the temple at Jerusalem; and he might patronize an artistic establishment in the Persian heartland which drank deeply of ancient Mesopotamian/Iranian cult practices. It is difficult to assess the extent to which the ecumenicalism of official policy reflects active cult belief as opposed to purely formal embrace of the imagery and protocols of other cultures (Kuhrt 1987). The monumental art of the dynasty in the heartland suggests conscious reinforcement of links with the critical ancient traditions of the empire. This is seen first at Pasargadae (where we have already noted the winged figure of the Gatehouse). In the partially preserved door-jamb reliefs of Palace S, creatures of the Assyro-Babylonian cult world (a bull-man, a

fish-garbed priest, an eagle-footed, human-legged creature) proceed out of the courtly chamber along with a presumably sacrificial bovine (Stronach 1978: 68–77).

At Persepolis, founded by Darius II in ca. 515 B.C., the program of architectural reliefs is more elaborate and more subtle in its evocations of ecumenical hegemony. The carved facade of Darius' rock-cut tomb at nearby Naqsh-i Rustam (copied by all subsequent Achaemenid kings) shows the king before a blazing fire altar with Ahuramazda and an emblem of the sun and moon in the field above. See ART.33. The king and his altar stand atop a great carved platform which is raised off the ground by personifications of the lands of the empire. Darius' platform recalls the throne of Solomon (2 Chr 6:12) upon which Solomon stood in appearance before the assembly of Israel. Interestingly, the Achaemenid representation is the only preserved illustration of a royal appearance atop a dais of such dimensions from the entire ANE, excluding Egypt.

The lifting of the platform by peoples of the empire is frankly metaphorical. As the tomb inscription states: "If now thou shalt think that, 'How many are the countries which King Darius held?' look at the sculptures [of those] who bear the throne, then thou shalt know, then it shall become known to thee: the spear of a Persian man has gone forth far …" (Kent 1953: 138).

The supporting figures on the Achaemenid relief lift up their king by assuming the ancient Atlas pose—frontal torso, with arms raised above the head and burden resting effortlessly on outspread fingertips. Within the iconographical traditions of the ANE, from Egypt to Iran, this pose had consistent and significant cosmic implications relating to the joyous elevation of celestial bodies (Root 1979: 131–61, for full discussion of this image). Under the patronage of Darius, a conflation of political and cosmic associations was achieved in imperial art. A provocative parallelism occurs here with the poetic metaphor of Psalm 22—where Yahweh is characterized as enthroned on the praises of Israel (v 4—Eng v 3).

Another important representational type depicting the Achaemenid king in monumental art is preserved on the stairway facades of the great Apadana at Persepolis (Root 1979: 227–84; 1985 passim). See Fig. ART.34. Here, in its original state, both the N and the E stairway were decorated with the same relief program. At the center an over-life-size representation of the king enthroned under a baldachino acts as a visual and conceptual fulcrum for a vast expanse of figural imagery. An official bows before the king, serving to announce the imminence of a procession of gift bearers from the subject lands. Ranged in three registers of relief facing the central royal tableau appear depictions of delegates of non-Persian peoples of the empire. A Persian usher takes the leader of each delegation by the hand. This motif places the scene squarely within the ancient Mesopotamian tradition of presentation scenes in which a petitioner is brought forward by the hand or the wrist into the presence of a deity or a deified king. The specific sculptural formula used for the execution of the Apadana image of hand-holding is a conscious reminiscence of a traditional Egyptian patterning of interlaced hands. In the Egyptian context, the image and its precisely articulated rendering was used from the Old Kingdom through the Late Period in depictions of the deceased being brought forward into the presence of Osiris for the last judgment.

The Apadana reliefs thus offer another example of a conflation of political and spiritual message. The Achaemenid king has assumed the role of a quasi-divinity before whom a regiment of pious, gift-bearing petitioners will be led by the hand. In this case, the petitioners are the members of the imperial world created by the Persian king. This world has been characterized in the official artistic program of the dynasty as a harmoniously ordered enterprise. The force of the Persian king is played out in terms evocative of a kind of spiritual power which is more compelling than mere military might described in annalistic detail.

The question naturally arises as to whether or not the reliefs of the Persian kings show him as a deified ruler who was actually worshiped at the court. At this point in our understanding of the issue it seems best to acknowledge the suggestiveness of the artistic program without insisting upon any specificity of underlying cult activity. We have absolutely no Persian textual reinforcement of Achaemenid date for the worship of the king as a god. The nature of Achaemenid kingship is certainly revealed in part through careful analysis of the imperial art (Root 1979). It becomes clear that the Persians established a concept or ideal of kingship which stressed the notion of peaceful coexistence centered around the charismatic

persona of the Great King, King of Kings. But many questions remain (Kuhrt 1984; 1987). Hopefully the time will soon be ripe for an informed reappraisal of several brilliant, if problematic, commentaries on the impact of Achaemenid concepts of kingship upon the imperial cults of later periods—from Alexander to the Hellenistic and Roman rulers and the dynasts of Sasanian Persia (e.g., Taylor 1927; 1931; L'Orange 1953).

**D. Achaemenid Seals**

Numerically, the single most frequently depicted image in Achaemenid art—both monumental and small-scale—is the image of the hero mastering beasts. See Fig. ART.35. This motif, in many variants, accounts for roughly two thirds of all extant Achaemenid representations in the medium of seal carving (Garrison 1988; Greenfield 1962). Research currently underway (Root and Garrison fc.a. and fc.b.) will soon provide the material basis for reassessing the relationships in meaning between the many privately owned seals bearing the hero image and the examples of the image employed in official contexts of imperial relief sculpture and imperial administrative seals.

The variant of hero motif which portrays the human protagonist controlling two symmetrically placed beasts may ultimately prove particularly interesting in this regard. Like most imagery in Achaemenid art, this one has a very ancient pedigree. Under the patronage of the early Achaemenid kings, its significance may, however, have achieved a subtle tuning—just as other venerable images were adapted to a new imperial environment. The tomb inscription of Darius the Great emphasizes the supreme moral importance of the blameless life: e.g., "By the favor of Ahuramazda, I am of such a sort that I am a friend to the right, I am not a friend to the wrong" (Kent 1953: 140). On Achaemenid seals, the image of the master of beasts—quietly and without weaponry controlling the forces of animal violence in an emblem of balanced accomplishment—suggests the possibility of a specific meaning. In Daniel 6 (which is set in Achaemenid times although not written in Achaemenid times), Daniel is delivered from the lions by the force of his blamelessness, as one who has done no wrong. Post-Achaemenid seal imagery in Iran develops the antique master-of-beasts image into an illustration specifically meant to allude to the Daniel story (Lerner 1977: 22–30). It seems plausible that under the Achaemenids, the popularity of this image on private seals already reflected a conceptual reworking of the ancient visual formula. In the Achaemenid context, the reworking took place, of course, before the writing of Daniel. Thus, its significance to Daniel is of a different order. The Achaemenid motif would have been popularized specifically to display an emblem of officially sanctioned virtue: the owner as a blameless person whose rectitude and right-minded attitude toward the king was symbolized by his portrayal as pacifier of wild beasts. In this case, the story in the book of Daniel would carry historical weight as the reflection on some level of a metaphorically expressed ethos actually current at the time when the story was intended to be set. An interesting issue—too complex for full discussion here—involves the fact that the hero on these seals often seems to wear a Persian royal crown. Without pursuing all the ramifications of this feature, one relevant possibility emerges in the context of biblical studies. The easiest solution to the issue of identifying the crowned figure would name it an image of the king himself. In this case, it would be the king depicted on innumerable private seals as the Blameless One, rather than a generalized personage meant to epitomize the *owner* of any particular seal. On the other hand, further insights may possibly be gleaned from Esth 6:6 and 8:15. Here, Mordecai is decked out in the robes and crown of the king for a public appearance in order to demonstrate the royal favor bestowed upon him. The private seals of the Achaemenid period showing crowned masters of beasts may thus relate to an actual Persian tradition of bestowing honor—a tradition reflected also in the later textual allusions in Esther.

**E. Conclusion**

The last 20 years have witnessed great scholarly advancement of our knowledge about Achaemenid Persian art in the dynastic heartland of SW Iran. The impact of this art upon the cultures under imperial control is, however, largely an undeveloped topic. One overview of the material evidence provides an indispensible step in the right direction (Moorey 1980). Specifically regarding the impact of Persian rule in Israel, major efforts now enable us to begin an evaluation of the penetration of Achaemenid art (Stern 1973). Analytical studies are moving in the direction of seeing far greater Persian artistic impact in the

provincial regions than was once thought. And some scholars are making significant advances in correlating occurrences of strong artistic influence from Persia with specific historical events and political climates within the 200-year span of the empire (e.g., Mørkholm and Zahle 1972).

As we are told in the book of Esther, decrees of the Persian king were sent out far and wide, translated into the languages of specific localities. We learn the same from Darius' own words at Behistun. The discovery that an Aramaic version of the Behistun text from Elephantine in Egypt incorporates segments drawn from Darius' *tomb* text as well enhances our appreciation of the availability of material originally created in the heartland (Greenfield and Porten 1982). Now we know that the Behistun relief of Darius was copied for Babylon along with the text (Seidl 1976).

Official Persian art was designed for widespread dissemination and message conveyance, just as the official decrees were. From the imperial coinage emblazoned with imagery of the king-as-archer (Carradice 1987; Root 1989) to the grandiose metaphorical displays on the architectural facades of Persepolis, the overarching message is one of a world under control. The pervasive image of kingship stresses dynastic identity rather than personal idiosyncracy. The pervasive image of imperial domain and social hierarchy stresses cooperative—even joyous—service and the virtues of blamelessness.

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MARGARET COOL ROOT

## *EARLY JEWISH ART AND ARCHITECTURE*

This article will focus on two distinctive periods when Jewish art and architecture flourished: late in the Second Temple period (Hellenistic and Early Roman), and in the period of late antiquity immediately following (Late Roman and Byzantine). Differences between these two periods are significant, and are primarily political and social. In the former period, when the Jews enjoyed varying degrees of political autonomy, the art reflects not only the influence of the larger Greco-Roman culture but also the attempt to withstand those influences through the development of strictly aniconic features. In contrast to the national spirit of Second Temple period art, that of late antiquity is more an expression of communal and local life, and is replete with concrete visual images that are both figurative and symbolic.

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A. Late Second Temple Period
1. Architecture
2. Art
3. Synagogues
B. Late Antiquity
1. Synagogue Architecture
2. Art
C. Conclusions

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### A. Late Second Temple Period

During the Second Temple period, when there was a Jewish state in Palestine and a central Temple in Jerusalem, the ruling classes, though Hellenized, retained parts of their Jewish faith and laws. The art and architecture of the period show connections with the neighboring Greco-Roman culture. However, at the same time it reflects an attempt to withstand those influences by evolving strictly aniconic features. It is characterized by highly skilled indigenous stonework, by the predominant oriental elements of endless patterns, by the elements of *horror vacui*, by plasticity of carving, and by symmetrical stylization.

**1. Architecture.** The architecture of the late Second Temple period is reflected in Hasmonean remains found in sites and in structures that were later reconstructed or completely renovated in connection with subsequent Herodian architectural projects. These buildings and renovations left an enduring mark upon the art and architecture of the period.

**a. Hasmonean.** Hasmonean architecture mostly survives in remains of fortifications, desert fortresses, in funerary art, water systems, and the recently excavated Hasmonean palace at Jericho. The Hasmonean palaces especially exhibit clear architectural features. The characteristic features of the Hasmonean palaces include a central court surrounded by rooms. A hall with two columns *in antis* in the southern part of the court led to the triclinium, and probably served as a reception hall. This basic plan characterizes all the palaces at Masada, as well as the twin palaces at Jericho probably built at the same time, and was inspired by Hellenistic architecture.

**b. Herodian.** Comprehensive and monumental building projects were undertaken during Herod's reign (37–4 B.C.E.). The two sources of data relating to the Herodian construction projects are literary and archaeological. The major literary sources are the works of Josephus, particularly *Ant.* 15–17 and *JW* 1–2 and 5. Extensive archaeological excavations undertaken recently add information which both complements and contradicts the literary sources.

Josephus mentions 33 building projects, 20 of which were within the borders of Herod's kingdom while 13 were in other countries. This list of Herodian architectural projects includes references to the construction, reconstruction, and extension of towns, fortifications, palaces, and fortresses, as well as references to the Temple in Jerusalem, the largest single structure (the Royal Stoa), the largest palace (the 50-acre palace at Herodium), and one of the largest harbors ever constructed in antiquity (at Caesarea). Many of these monumental structures have survived and have been excavated in the last decades. See HEROD'S BUILDING PROGRAM; HERODIUM (M.R. 173119); CAESAREA (PLACE); etc. Most of these structures were built during Herod's reign, but renovations and reconstructions were undertaken during the 1st century C.E. until the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E.

Herod built three new towns: Antipatris, Caesarea with its magnificent harbor, and Sebaste (Samaria) with its temple of Augustus. In the newly established towns Herod built temples, palaces, theaters, stadia, fortifications, and harbors. Within the Jewish Kingdom Herod carried out several projects. He built extensively in Jerusalem, particularly its Temple, a palace, town fortifications, and towers, as well as many public buildings and institutions. In the Judean desert he constructed or renovated several splendid palace-fortresses: Masada, Herodium, Alexandrion (Sartaba), Cypros, Machaerus, and the winter palaces at Jericho. The Herodian building projects included public structures and private buildings, as well as other structures such as palace-fortresses which incorporated monumental as well as utilitarian, functional sections. The palace-fortresses in particular combined luxurious, leisurely living with the need for security.

**(1) Jerusalem Temple.** Herod's temple in Jerusalem is the largest known temple in antiquity. One of the architectural wonders of the ancient world, and a unique structure, it must have made a magnificent impression on visitors. The Temple was the focal point for the Jewish nation, the center for worship, and the place where political, economic, and spiritual affairs of world Jewry could be discussed and determined. It was also the destination for pilgrims during the festivals, and therefore needed to accommodate thousands of people who gathered there to celebrate. One of the major reasons behind the enormity of the Herodian Temple building project was to meet this need.

The archaeological excavations carried out during the course of a decade (1968–78) have resulted in important data being disclosed concerning the areas of the Temple Mount gates and the areas outside the west, south, and east retaining walls. Streets, squares, and monumental passageways have been uncovered. See also TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

**(2) Palaces.** King Herod's reign is remarkable, in the architectural sphere, for the many monumental edifices either renovated or newly built in both towns and fortresses. Herod concerned himself especially with the building of palaces which could be used both for administrative as well as for recreational purposes.

The typical architectural features of these palaces followed the common plans of the Roman *domus* and *villa* ("townhouse" and "country-house" respectively). A Herodian palace was usually an elaborate building with several wings. The main wing contained the triclinium (a peristyle court with rows of columns and double columns in its corners), an inner garden, a bathhouse, and dwelling rooms. The

extended palace complex usually also included recreational facilities, including pools for swimming and sailing boats, and elaborate gardens, such as the sunken garden at Jericho (palace III). Water installations, such as aqueducts and channels, brought water to the pools and gardens, as well as to the residential wings.

**(3) Fortresses.** Seven fortresses known to have been built in the Judean desert (Masada, Herodium, Cypros, Hyrcania, Alexandrium, Machaerus, and Dok) constitute an important component of Herodian architecture. The fortresses were located in the desert, within view of each other. They were isolated and autonomous. Built on mountaintops, they were each strongly fortified, and had extensive systems for the entrapment and storage of water. They functioned primarily as military bases for defense, but also as places of refuge for political and spiritual reasons. In times of violent confrontation and upheaval, they acted as shelters. The fortresses also served as administrative centers for important routes, and for agricultural and royal farm areas and palaces; they were also used for guarding the borders. They even served as burial places both for the Hasmoneans and for Herod. Elaborate palaces were constructed on their premises. Masada was the most spacious of all and had several palaces on its summit, which served as leisure resorts. The fortresses sometimes extended into the lower areas of their mountains; Herodium had buildings and installations built below the mount.

**2. Art.** Second Temple period Jewish art is a purely decorative art characterized by a mixture of native traditions and Hellenistic-Roman features. Hellenistic-Roman culture greatly influenced the upper classes (of all the Near Eastern countries), as is attested to by the predominance of Hellenistic-Roman architecture and by the use of the Greek language and its institutions which affected many aspects of everyday life. Politically, the country was first under Hellenistic and later Roman rule. However, resistance to the intrusive culture was strong, in part because of the force and vitality of the Jewish religion which continued to influence the community's activities. Traditional aspects of Judaism so conceptually dominated its decorative art that neither figurative nor symbolic representation were depicted.

The various ornamental devices and the repertoire of motifs were part of the general stream of Roman art, especially its provincial and eastern tributaries. Decoration in Herodian architecture attests to the influence of Roman art. Hellenistic tradition, moreover, survived into the later Herodian period. A locally developed style is encountered mainly in funerary art, on tomb facades, on ossuaries, and on sarcophagi (see BURIALS, JEWISH). The style of Jewish art followed the basic oriental elements: (a) the "endless" and "all-over" patterns, (b) symmetrical stylization; (c) deep carving resulting in contrasts between parts, intensifying the play of light and shadow; and the so-called (d) *horror vacui*—the ornament filling of all available space.

Decoration of buildings, palaces, houses, and bathhouses of the Second Temple period mainly focused on the use of wall paintings, stucco-plaster moldings, and ornamental floor pavements. The decorative elements, motifs, and designs are characterized by a total lack of animate motifs or symbolic emblems. This stems from the reluctance of all Jews, including the ruling families such as that of Herod and his dynasty, to decorate any building or tomb with religious or iconic symbols. The biblical prohibition of "no graven image" (Exod 20:4; Deut 4:16; 27:15) was carefully kept.

Jewish art in the late Second Temple period exhibits several characteristic features. First, stonework, carving, and use of relief characterize Jewish Second Temple–period art and continue later in Jewish synagogal art. Stonework was one of the most prevalent crafts of Jewish art that flourished in Herodian times. It utilized the locally available stone, and created a new type of ornament. The designs were sketched in by compass and ruler and carved out by chisel in a deeply incised and stylized manner. Stonework is found in the architecture of buildings and tombs and in funerary art. Stone craft is also used for objects of daily life, such as ornamented stone tables and domestic vessels. Second, the repertoire of ornamental aniconic motifs reflects a rigid choice of floral, geometric, and architectural patterns, some of which were adopted from Hellenistic art. Third, Jewish art also displays many oriental elements, including the simple local art encountered mainly in Jewish burials as well as that seen in the palaces and

tombs. The difference lies usually in the quality of execution and in the attention paid to decorative details.

Thus, there evolved a local Jewish art, strictly aniconic, using neither figures nor symbols. In their struggle against paganism and idolatry, the Jews refrained from using animate motifs and representational art. Only with the decline of paganism during the 3d century did the attitude of Jewish art change, resulting in the use of figurative motifs (see B. 2 below).

**3. Synagogues.** Several public structures of the Second Temple period which have been discovered in the last decades are considered to be synagogues. These include structures found at Masada, Herodium, Gamla, and Migdal, a recently uncovered structure at Capernaum (under the later synagogue), and another synagogue—now lost—reported at Chorazin.

The excavated structures are assumed by scholars to be synagogues because of the circumstantial evidence of similarity to each other in architectural plan and, therefore, in function, even though no actual proof has been uncovered. All the structures were built as oblong halls, and the halls were divided by rows of columns into a central nave and surrounding aisles. See Fig. ART.36. Stepped benches were erected along all four walls of the hall facing the center. The structures also share a similar date for their construction in the 1st century C.E. (although Gamla may have been erected as early as the end of the 1st century B.C.E.).

Upon the evidence of the structures themselves, it should be noted that they differ from later synagogues in plan, function, and decoration. First, from the architectural point of view, no new conceptions in construction have been discerned, but the impression is rather one of local extemporization. Second, these structures existed only for a short time in the 1st century C.E., and were never built again, except for Capernaum. Only in the case of the 1st-century building found under a later synagogue at Capernaum can one assume that it is a synagogue, due to its location. Third, these assembly halls lack the most important feature of the later synagogue: the Torah shrine. Finally, during the 1st century the Temple in Jerusalem was still the center for worship and ritual for the entire Jewish community in Judea and the Diaspora; it was *there* that one could participate most fully in the ceremonies, in the teaching of the Law conducted in the Temple courtyards, and in the resolution of administrative questions. These local centers of worship probably existed as community assembly halls, where services would be conducted probably only on Sabbaths and feast days. The assembly structures at the fortresses of Masada, Herodium, and Gamla probably served as local assembly halls during the years of the revolt against Rome, a time during which it was extremely difficult for their respective congregations to travel to Jerusalem to participate in Temple worship. At the same time as these structures were serving as small community centers, worship was presumably also being conducted in them, although no convincing proof of this has been found. With the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 C.E., local structures began to flourish which necessarily became sites of local worship and community centers. In these halls Torah reading came to be emphasized, and thus the distinctive feature of the later synagogues, the Torah shrine, begins to emerge.

**B. Late Antiquity**

**1. Synagogue Architecture.** An important innovation of Jewish art in Late Antiquity (3d–7th cents. C.E.) is associated with the construction and decoration of the synagogue. The synagogue building functioned as an assembly hall for the local congregation as well as a spiritual, religious, and social center. Its use as a community assembly hall determined its architectural plan, which took the form of a large hall divided only by supporting columns, with benches along the walls. But the diverse architectural styles uncovered indicate that no universal or uniform synagogue plan existed. Opinions vary considerably as to the evolution of synagogue architecture. Several attempts have been made to categorize and explain the different types and the divergence in style of the synagogues scattered throughout many regions (see Avi-Yonah 1981: 272–73; Meyers 1980: 97–108).

Generally the internal plan of the synagogue building consists of two rows of stone columns which divide the main hall lengthwise into a central nave and two side aisles (as in the late Second Temple period). The majority of synagogue plans are oblong and all have longitudinal axes. In addition,

synagogues within Israel itself exhibit several other common features, the most prominent of which are the facades and its portals, the Torah shrine, and the gallery.

The major architectural feature they shared was the Torah shrine. From its inception following the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple, the Torah shrine became a permanent fixture in the synagogue building. Always built on the wall facing Jerusalem, the Torah shrine housed the Ark of the scrolls and structurally took the form of either an aedicula, a niche, or an apse. See Fig. ART.37. The preponderance of *aediculae* found in excavated Galilean and Golan synagogues indicates that the aedicula was the characteristic structure for containing the Ark in these regions. In the case of synagogues which possessed two flanking aediculae, it seems that they had separate functions. One aedicula served to house the Ark of the Scrolls, while the other possibly held the menorah. Synagogues with *niches* have been found scattered throughout Palestine. There may have been local as well as traditional influences at work, because two of the niched synagogues are located at Tiberias while three are in Judea within close proximity of each other (Susiya, Eshtemoa, and Rimmon). The *apse* is a dominant architectural feature in the synagogue from the 6th century on, functioning as the container for the Ark and, possibly, the menoroth. The orientation of the apse is toward Jerusalem. Typological differences in the Torah shrines should be attributed either to local preferences, popular vogues, or historical development. Chronologically, the aedicula is the earliest type of Torah shrine (already in existence by the 2d century) and the most popular type in Galilean and Golan synagogues.

Construction of new synagogues in the 6th century shows a significant change in synagogue architecture by the addition of the apse as Torah shrine enclosure. Several renovated synagogues had their aedicula or niche replaced by an apse already in the 5th century (Ḥammath-Gader and Maʿoz Ḥayim). In the 6th century the apse was an integrally planned structure. The aedicula, on the other hand, even though built to be used as a permanent structure, was an appendage built onto the original internal wall only after the synagogue building had been constructed.

The most striking feature of synagogue architecture is the fundamental uniformity of design among synagogue structures. Differences occur, however, when certain structural features have to be adapted to liturgical requirements: to the changes, for example, in form of the Torah shrine (aedicula, niche, and apse) or to the development of the monumental facade in Galilean and Golan synagogues. Generally, the Jews tended to use a spacious hall to serve the congregation for reading the Torah and for prayer, but added the specific features of Torah shrine, benches, and gallery to suit their particular needs. Nevertheless, a definite originality of design can be distinguished in the characteristic triple facade of the building, and in the ornamentation infused with Jewish motifs and symbols (see below).

Scholarly opinion differs concerning the origin of the synagogue building plan and its sources of inspiration, such as the Hellenistic basilica, pagan triclinium, or other public structures. It appears most likely that synagogue structures were a synthesis and accumulation of a variety of plans and architectural features which were themselves influenced by traditional customs as well as by contemporary vogues, together with the Jewish congregation's social and religious needs. The rich ornamentation of the facade, walls, floors, and other areas of the synagogue was influenced by contemporary architectural styles in secular and religious buildings in both Israel and Syria. A combination of all these elements resulted in a house of worship functionally planned and lavishly decorated by the Jewish congregation. Utilizing previously constituted tenets within their own tradition, the Jews also adapted various elements of architecture and art from their neighbors. In this way, they succeeded in creating aesthetic and monumental structures.

Synagogues were not built according to a stereotyped plan, nor were they designed according to fixed custom or law. Synagogue building plans can be classified in two distinct categories: (1) those where the longitudinal stone structure is columnated, has benches, and is characterized by a richly decorated stone facade (distinctive of the Galilean and Golan synagogues); and (2) those where the broadhouse or "basilical" type of building is characterized by an axial court and narthex in front of the prayer hall, which obviates the need for a decorated facade. Buildings of this latter type were usually constructed of concrete, and constitute most synagogues found in Palestine.

Furthermore, several features encountered in most of the excavated and surveyed synagogues direct attention to an originality and individuality in their plans. These features include the Torah shrine, the triple portal, and the gallery, as well as various methods of ornamentation of the facade, interior, and floors. The highly ornamented facade exterior, characteristic of the Galilean and Golan synagogues, is an additional original synagogue structural feature.

Differences in plans among contemporary synagogues are usually due to regional and local traditions and local priorities as well as fashion. Changes in synagogue designs probably came about as a result of changes in theological concepts. Whereas Galilean synagogues indicate a preference for entrances and Torah shrines both on the same, Jerusalem-oriented wall, in other localities the Torah shrine is on the Jerusalem-oriented wall with the entrance on another.

**2. Art.** In contrast to Second Temple–period art which was aniconic and devoid of any figurative designs, a major change occurred at the end of the 2d century and even more so during the 3d century when representational art began to flourish. It was at this time that the barriers within which Judaism protected itself against foreign influences were being shattered. During this period the Jews acquired some of the customs and decorative elements from surrounding cultures; despite the traditional prohibition of such art contained in the Second Commandment (Exod 20:4–5; Deut 5:8–9), Jews began to develop their own figurative and representational art, using pagan motifs, figures, and animals, both for synogogal and for funerary art.

Symbolic and figurative art became possible for several reasons. First, the attitude of the rabbis became more tolerant. Such changes, reflected in Talmudic literature, were the result of political, economic, and social circumstances (Urbach 1959). Second, the influence of the surrounding cultures, from which certain pagan and mythological motifs were taken, became much stronger. Third, Jewish literature, legends, and Midrashim began to influence artistic traditions.

Judaism had no tradition of figurative art, and consequently the Jews were influenced by Hellenistic figurative art, using contemporary pattern books as well as creating their own. The Jewish attitude that developed with respect to art was basically to regard it as decorative—something to add beauty and ornamentation to buildings. Even mythological scenes found their way into Jewish buildings (such as the House of Leontis) as did many other pagan motifs (e.g., funerary art of Beth Shearim and synagogal architectural decoration and pavements). Jews of this period were unafraid of idolatry, and indeed felt that they were allowed to depict religious subjects. Judaism seems to have been indifferent to pictures and did not ascribe to them any sanctity. Therefore, for example, there was no reason to prevent the depiction of representations on pavements which were trodden upon; furthermore, walking upon pavements with such depictions insured that no sanctity or sacred quality would be attached to the scenes. Such a depiction was not considered to be a "graven image" such as those prohibited by the law. This might have been the reason why even pagan elements such as the zodiac were used. Judaism instead attached much more importance to the written word; this may be inferred from the iconoclastic destruction of the Naʿaran synagogue pavement, in which the letters, however, were preserved, or from the synagogues at Rehov and En Gedi, where floors paved with long inscriptions were left untouched.

**a. Jewish Symbols.** Specific Jewish symbols, such as the menorah, the Ark, and the ritual objects are attested in both synagogal and funerary art. These symbols express profound and significant values distinctly associated with Judaism, and thus were used frequently throughout Late Antiquity by Jews not only within Israel but also in the Diaspora, where they held a prominent place in the repertoire of Jewish art. These chosen religious symbols were derived from the Temple rites and ceremonies, which is why only a few symbols were actually used and why the repertoire is so limited.

Many other symbols and images were taken from the contemporary Hellenistic-Roman world; forms were borrowed but divested of their original meaning. Even if the form of the pagan motif was appropriated it would be wrong to assume that its symbolic value was also transferred. On the contrary, a symbol has a certain value which is applicable only within its context; it loses that significance and value when transplanted into another cultural context.

The real threat to Judaism's survival from this time on was from Christianity, which developed out of Judaism and had religious and cultural affinities with it. This challenge to Judaism's independence was even stronger from the 4th century on, when Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire. It was this time especially that the Jews needed to assert their own identity and therefore turned to certain symbolic expressions. They chose specific symbols which the Jewish communities as well as individuals felt expressed their distinctive faith, and could represent religious ideas with which they could identify.

An interesting example of the way in which a sign developed into a symbol may be seen in the case of the menorah. The menorah was probably a professional sign of the priests during the Second Temple period, signifying their duty and office, as well the sacred Temple vessel, along with the Table. Only after the destruction of the Temple did the menorah image change from a limited and specific official emblem into a more universal symbol of general but profound connotation, thus becoming the principal symbol of Judaism itself.

The major Jewish symbols were objects such as the menorah, the Ark, the ritual utensils, and the conch shell. The motifs and emblems in Jewish art borrowed from the pagan world were used without their original meaning, and for their decorative effect only, or were given a different significance in Jewish art (such as the zodiac, which now served as a calendar, and lions, which now signified the guarding of the Jewish symbols such as the menorah and the Ark). Jews carefully selected motifs and iconography of a symbolic character and depicted them in their synagogal and funerary art.

Due to extensive synagogue excavations as well as historical research, knowledge and evidence are now much more extensive than before. It seems reasonable to infer that an Ark of the Scrolls (in the shape of a wooden chest) stood inside the architectural structure of the Torah shrine in the synagogue building. Representations of the Ark in Jewish art confirm that in the synagogues of Late Antiquity a wooden Ark of the Scrolls stood inside the Torah shrine, regardless of its form (aedicula, niche, or apse). Nevertheless the Ark was also part of the symbolic repertoire of Jewish art: it represented much deeper connotations, being an integral part of the focal point of Jewish worship, the Torah. It also symbolized the place of prayer and of the Scriptures and their study in the destroyed Temple. Renditions of the Ark are encountered on tomb walls and doors, and on lamps found outside a synagogue context. On mosaic floors the Torah shrine is commonly depicted with two menoroth flanking it; this probably represents the actual positioning of the Torah shrine and menoroth in their prominent place on display in the synagogue building (see Fig. ART.38).

Depictions of a menorah flanked by ritual objects, or of the more elaborate Torah Shrine flanked by menoroth and ritual objects, came to symbolize participation in the annual pilgrimages, the Feast of the Tabernacles (the most important annual festival), and, by association, the Temple and its eventual rebuilding.

**b. Figurative Art.** The repertoire of Jewish figurative art included themes such as biblical stories, mythological designs, and motifs of animals and human figures which also occur in Jewish poetry. The significance of these symbolic and iconographic themes lies in its contrast with the contemporaneous aniconic Christian art; these artistic themes thus became a means of emphasizing the difference between the Jewish and Christian arts.

**(1) Biblical Scenes.** Biblical themes on synagogue mosaics were selected from a relatively small number of familiar biblical stories: the Sacrifice of Isaac, Noah's Ark, Daniel in the Lions' Den, the Twelve Tribes, and King David. Noteworthy is the recurrence of biblical scenes in more than one synagogue mosaic pavement within Palestine and on mosaics and frescoes in the Diaspora: *The Offering of Isaac* at Beth ›Alpha (see Fig. ART.39) and Dura Europos; *Noah's Ark* at Gerassa and Misis-Mopsuestia in Cilicia; *Daniel in the Lions' Den* at Na‹aran and Susiya; and *David* (= Orpheus) at Gaza and Dura Europos, and with Goliath's weapons at Marous. They were depicted in simple narratives, although some of the scenes as a whole may have had symbolic meanings. The scenes had in common the illustration of the theme of salvation and were associated with prayers offered in time of drought. The choice of themes was derived from the religiocultural climate of the period and meant to be a reminder of

and reference to traditional historical events; there was no intention of using these themes for symbolic or didactic purposes, as suggested by some scholars (Goodenough 1953, 1: 253 ff.). However, the style, form, and artistic depiction on each of these floors is completely different, and each scene may be traced back to a distinct influence or source. The biblical scenes found so far do not seem to have a common denominator as regards style or origins. However, some similarity does exist in the arrangement of connecting panels and subject matter found both at Beth ›Alpha and Na‹aran, suggesting a common source of social affinities.

**(2) The Zodiac Panel.** Four of the ancient synagogues discovered so far in Israel, ranging in date from the 4th to 6th centuries, contain mosaics showing the zodiac cycle: Ḥammath Tiberias, Beth ›Alpha, Ḥuseifa, Na‹aran. A fifth synagogue, that of Susiya near Hebron, at one time also contained a zodiac mosaic floor, but it was later changed into a geometric pattern. The mosaic at the ‹En Gedi synagogue yielded an inscription which includes the names of the zodiac signs followed by the names of the corresponding Jewish months.

It is highly characteristic of Jewish art that a pagan subject (in this case the zodiac) should be adapted to express a Jewish idea (such as an annual calendar). In the Roman world zodiac signs are of solely cosmic and astronomical significance, whereas in Christian, as in Roman, art, the calendar is represented by the labors of the months. Jewish art preferred an abstract and symbolic zodiac, rather than the naturalistic representation of human activity depicted on the Christian examples, in order to assure the people of the religious nature of the calendar. The fact that the zodiac was used frequently makes it clear that the Jewish community was not interested merely in a strictly decorative design for its floors. The fundamentally pagan zodiac cycle came to serve the Jewish community as a popular, symbolic calendar, and was employed as a significant framework for the annual synagogue rituals.

**c. Artistic Motifs.** Popular and common motifs in Jewish art indicate a persistent preference for particular themes in Jewish ornamentation. Sources for the motifs used in Jewish art include (1) tradition and the continuation of popular motifs deriving from Jewish art of the Second Temple period; (2) selected decorative patterns and motifs taken from contemporary (Greco-Roman, Syrian, and Nabatean) art, but now devoid of their symbolic context and significance; (3) chosen motifs from pattern books; and (4) motifs of symbols significant for Judaism. A motif consists either of a combination of several antithetic or heraldic elements such as lions flanking a menorah or Nikae flanking a wreath, or of a single image or object such as a rosette. The motifs include: flora and plant ornaments, geometric motifs, fauna and animal motifs, human figures, mythological motifs, and genre motifs.

Definite tendencies are revealed in the persistent selection of heraldic and antithetic symmetrical designs, such as lions, eagles, bulls, Nikae, peacocks, birds, horned animals, dolphins, and rosettes, which are depicted on sarcophagi, synagogue lintels, friezes, and mosaic floors. A common source for the motifs in Jewish art, most probably a pattern book, is indicated by the stylization of pose and posture as well as the patterning when representing animals, plants, and other ornaments; it is less likely that such motifs were copied directly from nature.

## C. Conclusions

The strictly aniconic and nonsymbolic art characterizing the Second Temple period was the outcome of Judaism's struggle against paganism and idolatry. By the rigid observance of the prohibition against animate images, the Jews retained their own identity and distinctiveness.

This quality of the art of the Second Temple period completely disappeared during the period of Late Antiquity. In Late Antiquity, art and architecture were influenced by political and social changes in Palestine, most particularly by the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple and the removal of the center of Jewish life to Galilee. The prevailing architectural structure was now the synagogue, which replaced the Temple as the center of Jewish religious, national, and social life. In addition, the decline of paganism and the rise and expansion of Christianity caused a change in the Jewish attitude toward its own art; it now expressed its ornamentation and decorative architecture by figurative and symbolic means. With the destruction of the Temple, the need for a concrete visual image became strongly felt. Thus, only during this period do the Temple implements take on a symbolic significance in synagogal and funerary art.

Jewish art is an example of an art lacking figurative tradition, and having a weakly developed visual sense and an environment with strong external cultural influences. It is based on the ability and skill with which the artists related to the needs and requirements of their patrons, whose prerequisites were based mainly on decorative demands. A limited selection of symbols and subjects were chosen by the Jewish community and by its donors, who made their choice from available pattern books. Certain original aspects of ancient Jewish art which continually occur could be explained as being the result of the specific needs of the Jewish community, of its traditions, and of artists' innovations.

Jewish art was essentially a decorative art with both ornamental and iconographic functions. It was an art which consisted of an indigenous local tradition, with at the same time appropriations from the surrounding Greco-Roman and Christian cultures; it possessed an oriental style, and was characterized by the use of specific symbols, motifs, and iconography. However, despite those elements borrowed from neighboring cultures, Jewish art retained within it the fundamental beliefs, customs, and traditions of the Jewish people.

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RACHEL HACHLILI


## *EARLY CHRISTIAN ART*

While some elements of early Christian art have always been available for observation, our present knowledge depends on the advent of archaeology as a scientific discipline. Early Christian archaeology has been closely, though not exclusively, attached to the excavation of the catacombs in Rome. It was there that Giuseppe Marchi (1795–1860) projected a series of studies which would encompass inscriptions, architecture, pictures, and sculptures. The expedition of this gigantic task fell on the able shoulders of Giovanni B. de Rossi (1822–94), then secretary of the Vatican Library. From his efforts sprung a school of collecting, organizing, and interpreting—a school which produced many journals and dictionaries (e.g., *DACL* and the more recent *Enciclopedia cattolica*). The school at Rome tended to interpret early Christian art in light of concerns found in contemporaneous patristic literature, or in terms of later dogmatic considerations.

There were detractors from this position, but not until about 1930 did another school of interpretation arise. Scholars like Hans Lietzmann, Franz Joseph Dölger, Theodor Klauser, and Erich Dinkler formed a group that interpreted early Christian art in light of the culture of the Mediterranean world. This more contextual approach has inspired a prodigious number of studies and is best represented by the *RAC* and the serial *JAC*.

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A. Stages
B. Sources
C. Major Symbols
1. The Anchor
2. The Boat
3. The Fish
4. The Bread
5. The Vase
6. The Vine and Grapes
7. The Lamb
8. The Dove
9. The Olive Branch
10. The Orante
11. The Good Shepherd
D. Pictorial Representations
E. Conclusion

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**A. Stages**

The first art of the Christians bore little resemblance to Jewish art as we know it. Though we can note similarities in style and in relationship to the Hellenistic environment, there is little correspondence in content. The art of the floor of the synagogue at Beth ›Alpha, for example, or the front wall of the synagogue of Dura-Europos reflects either the influence of non-Jewish artisans (such as the use of the zodiac) or an interest in illustrating Jewish practices and episodes from the Hebrew Bible. See EARLY JEWISH ART AND ARCHITECTURE, above. Similar concerns do not appear in the earliest Christian art.

For the first 150 years of the church there was no type of Christian pictorial art. As the Christian faith interacted with Hellenistic culture it slowly developed, independent of Judaism, its own symbol system and eventually pictorial art itself. If there were a Christian art it now lies indistinguishable from contemporary Greco-Roman materials. The first art consisted of symbols derived primarily from the Hellenistic social matrix. About the turn of the 2d century Clement approved certain of these key Christian symbols:

> Let our seals be the dove, or the fish, or a ship sailing before a fair wind, or the lyre for music, which seal Polycrates used, or a ship's anchor, which Seleucus carved on his device, and if there be a fisherman, he will recall an apostle and children drawn from the water. (*paed.* 3,11)

All of the symbols mentioned by Clement can be found at the earliest stages of Christian art. Near the end of the 2d century, about 180 C.E., pictorial representations began to appear which could be identified as Christian. The themes of these representations derived from Hellenistic culture, often utilizing the earliest symbols, though the context often reflected a biblical story or a liturgical practice. Christian pictures appeared simultaneously as plastic carvings on sarcophagi and as frescoes in catacombs and house churches. Though most of the early Christian pictorial representations were utilized in Christian contexts, they obviously addressed those formed by the contemporary Hellenistic culture. Eventually, as the culture became more Christian, and as Christianity was recognized as a legitimate faith expression, Christian art took on more of an illustrative and pedagogical role. For the sake of epochal clarity we speak of that change as the accession of Constantine in 313 C.E., though the time of the Roman Bishop Damasus (366–84) better represents the beginning of Christian orthodoxy. Any discussion of early Christian art would note the changes which might occur through these historical stages.

**B. Sources**

In order to distinguish stages in early Christian art it becomes necessary to determine what elements preceded the Constantinian era. For such a determination accuracy in dating is preferable to completeness.

A narrow list of sources for 3d-century *frescoes* includes the baptistry at Dura-Europos, the sacrament chapels at St. Callixtus (Rome), the double chamber of the Lucina Area in St. Callixtus, the Flavian Gallery in the Domitilla catacomb (Rome), the Capella Greca in the Priscilla catacomb (Rome), and the hypogea in the catacomb of St. Gennaro (Naples).

There are also numerous early *plastic scenes on sarcophagi:* one found in the Kaisar Friedrich Museum, Berlin; the Sta. Maria Antiqua sarcophagus, Rome (see Fig. ART.40); Museo Pio cristiano 119, the Vatican; Ny Carlsberg 832, Copenhagen; the Jonah Sarcophagus in the British Museum, London; the Sarcophagus of Hertofile in the Thermal Museum, Rome; Museo Pio cristiano 236, Julia Juliane, the Vatican; the Noah sarcophagus in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier; the Jonah-Sarkophag, Prinz-Paul-Museum-Garten, Belgrade; le Mas d'Aire Sarcophagus in l'eglise Sainte Quitterie du Mas, Aire-sur-l'Adour, France (see Fig. ART.41); the Albana sarcophagus, Quirinius-Kappelle, Friedhof St. Matthias, Trier. In addition to these complete sarcophagi, there are a number of fragments in Rome and elsewhere throughout the ancient Roman Empire. Some pieces, found in the provinces, though 4th-century pieces actually parallel Roman Christianity of the 3d century (e.g., the remarkable collection found in the Musée d'Art Chretien in Arles, France).

There are no known certain *sculptures* which predate Constantine. The remarkable Jonah statues (Jonah Swallowed, Jonah Cast Up, Jonah at Rest, and Jonah as an Orante) as well as the Good Shepherd, now lodged in the Cleveland Museum of Art, appear early in many respects but cannot be accurately dated. The *mosaics* of Mausoleum M in the Vatican necropolis are the only certain 3d-century Christian mosaics, though one can hardly ignore the floor on the N hall of the cathedral at Aquileia. Yet, little can be learned from its animal scenes. The S floor at Aquileia, with its Jonah and Good Shepherd, could be considered borderline 3d century.

**C. Major Symbols**

As in any culture the first Christian symbols not only identify the developing faith, but serve as an artistic resolution for what otherwise are significant conflicts or tensions for the community. Symbols are to be read in terms of such temporal conflicts rather than necessarily as dogmatic theological signs. This is especially evident in several of the earliest nautical symbols which reflect a conflict with the environment.

**1. The Anchor.** As a simple symbol the anchor appeared frequently on catacomb *tituli* (marble grave markers) of the 3d century. See Fig. ART.42. By the 4th century it had almost totally disappeared. The anchor had no significant prior use as a religious symbol. Since any significance in Hellenistic culture was lacking, it has been suggested that the anchor represents a hidden cross, a disguise no longer needed when Christianity went public. However, in 3d-century popular Christianity there were few, if any, symbols of efficacious suffering and dying. As a popular symbol the cross was not hidden; it simply was not utilized. As a Christian metaphor the anchor occurs only once in the NT (Heb 6:19, as a symbol of hope). Since early Christian symbols or scenes seldom reflect any biblical meaning, there is no reason to assign the sense of hope to the anchor. Along with the other nautical symbols mentioned by Clement, the anchor reflects Christian conflict with the environment (implied by water). In the faith community the believer finds security.

**2. The Boat.** Like the anchor, the boat expresses security in an alien environment; but unlike the anchor it had a prior history. In some ancient religions the boat bore the dead to the other world, while in the Bible boats normally protected from threatening waters—e.g., the ark (Gen 6:19); Jonah's boat (Jonah 1:4); and the stilling of the storm (Mark 6:45–52). While the boats of early Christianity are not yet the salvific Church of the 4th century (Cyprian, *de catholicae ecclesiae unitate,* 6), they do offer deliverance to a threatened people.

**3. The Fish.** Though one of the most frequently used symbols of the early church, nevertheless the fish defies accurate analysis. Like the other nautical symbols the fish signifies secure life in conflictive situations. It is found with another nautical symbol, the anchor. One famous stela, that of Licinia (Museo Nazionale, Rome) contains a fish on each side of an anchor. An inscription reads "fish of the living" (Gk *ichthus zōntōn*).

Some suppose this inscription, and the fish itself, refers to the use of Gk *ichthus* ("fish") as an acrostic meaning "Jesus Christ, God's Son, Savior." While no other symbols bear such a dogmatic meaning, and many uses of the fish symbol cannot refer to the Jesus acrostic, still the identification of the fish with Jesus cannot be denied. Tertullian wrote: "But we little fish, according to our *ichthun* Jesus Christ, are born in the water, nor were we saved in any other manner than by remaining in the water" (*De Bapt.* 1).

While Tertullian knew the social context of the fish (the newly baptized Christian remains in the water), he also knew the acrostic reference of "fish" to Jesus.

Apart from the acrostic, Jesus can be identified with the fish of the agape meal. Every known representation of the agape meal prior to Constantine shows fish, bread, and wine. While the meal may be based on the NT eucharistic passage of the Feeding of the Five Thousand (Mark 6:30–44), other inscriptional material identifies the fish meal with "the Fish from the Fountain, the very great, the pure, which the holy virgin seized" (Epitaph of Abercius). Fourth-century literary material can speak of the eucharist as the Christ feeding the people with 5 loaves and 2 fishes, and Christ is himself that bread and that fish (Paulinus of Nola, *epist.* 13, 11).

The fish symbol then refers both to the social implication of entering the faith community (baptism into a community of security) and a major means of maintaining membership in that community (the fish of the eucharist and/or agape). By the end of the 2d century this powerful symbol had also started to take on the dogmatic nature of the famous acrostic.

**4. The Bread.** Like the fish, the symbol of bread refers primarily to liturgical practices. It always appears in meal scenes with fish and wine (note the well-known combination symbol from the crypt of Lucina in S. Callixtus, Rome). Normally the artist portrayed bread as a small round object, often placed in a basket. In the eucharistic meal scenes there are 5 or 7 such baskets (see Mark 6:30–44 and 8:1–10). Such loaves or baskets of bread can be found in the symbol systems of many religions (Goodenough 1953–68; 5: 62–95). For most unofficial religions of the Mediterranean area, bread symbolized the fellowship of a religious meal or fellowship with the extended family and community through meals for the dead.

**5. The Vase.** While the vase does not appear as a eucharistic calix (or chalice) until the peace of Constantine, it does appear fairly often as a symbol in early Christian art. It cannot be the container from which the eucharist/agape wine was drunk, which was a small glass beaker. The vase occurs often with a dove, the primary symbol of peace for early Christians. Given that meaning and its frequency in both Christian and non-Christian burial areas, we can suppose it represents the unity of the extended family or faith community. As such it symbolically held the wine for the nearly universal meal for the dead. After Constantine its meaning and function shifted to the newly formed orthodox eucharist, where it was now portrayed as a calix.

**6. The Vine and Grapes.** The artistically ubiquitous vine brought a rich history of meaning. In Judaism and early Christianity it signified the source of life, especially the life of the faith community (Isa 5:1–7; John 15:1–11), and was prominent in Hellenistic religions (e.g., the cult of Dionysus'. The most prominent use of the vine in early Christianity occurs in Mausoleum M in the necropolis of St. Peter's. A green vine surrounds a gold sky with Christ Helios driving across it. See Fig. ART.47.

Grapes sometimes occur with the vine, though more often with a dove. The dove signifies the peace of the faith community, achieved by eating the grapes (drinking the wine) of the community meal. As with the fish and bread, eventually the grape was identified with Christ, a grape (wine as blood) which suffered for us (Clem. *paed.* 2,2). The grape survived the peace of Constantine because it took on the Christological, cultic meaning.

**7. The Lamb.** In most instances the lamb of early Christianity appears in bucolic scenes, either with the Good Shepherd or an Orpheus-like figure. See Fig. ART.40. While it would be tempting to identify the lamb with such biblical images as the innocent ewe lamb of Nathan's parable (2 Sam 12:1–6), it is more probable that pastoral scenes reflect the hospitality of the early church. Like the sheep of John 10:1–8, the lamb symbolizes the religious actor enjoying the presence of (and community associated with) the Good

Shepherd. That sense of community can be found as late as in the apse of S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna, though there restricted to the community of the apostles.

After the peace of Constantine the lamb became a major symbol of the crucified Christ (Gallia Placida, Ravenna). The celebrative Passover lamb, as Jesus (1 Cor 5:7 and John 1:29), has become the sacrificial *agnus dei* (Rev 5:6).

**8. The Dove.** This symbol has a rich and extensive history. In other cultures it can refer to fertility, sexuality, love, and religious sentiments. In early Christianity the dove, as a symbol, appears often with the olive branch, a symbol of peace (see Figs. ART.42 and ART.43), and frequently with the inscription *IN PACE* (see Table 1, from Bruun 1963).

Table 1

| | WITHOUT *IN PACE* | WITH *IN PACE* |
|---|---|---|
| Dove alone | 45 | 37 |
| Dove with olive branch or tree | 21 | 30 |
| Dove with Christogram | 17 | 24 |
| Dove with other symbols | 16 | 15 |

Prior to Constantine (and the Christogram) the dove must have signified that peace and satisfaction deriving from faith and participation in the faith community. The dove and its counterpart, the Orante (see below), occurred often in biblical scenes of conflict. After the peace of Constantine, when social conflict had lessened, the dove referred more to peace of the soul, while the Orante eventually disappeared altogether.

**9. The Olive Branch.** The olive branch occurs primarily with the dove, though sometimes alone. In biblical scenes it is found almost always in Noah and the Ark, sometimes in Jonah, and sometimes in The Three Young Men in the Fiery Furnace. Its consistent placement makes fairly certain its symbolic identification with *pax*—the peace of the community in the face of conflict, as well as the peace of the *refrigerium* (meal with extended family and special religious dead).

**10. The Orante.** One of the two human symbols consists of a woman with upraised hands. See Figs. ART.40, ART.43, ART.44. Her head is nearly always covered with a veil and a tunic of the 3d century (*orans tunicata et velata*). She exists as a separate figure, but, more important, through the 4th century is the main figure of nearly every biblical scene, both fresco and sculpture. She is Noah in the Ark, Jonah in the Boat, Jonah Spewed Out of the Sea Monster (Fig. ART.41, right side of lid), Daniel Between the Lions (Fig. ART.41, left of center), Susannah with the Elders (Fig. ART.44), The Three Young Men in the Fiery Furnace, and sometimes Lazarus. She is the most important symbol in early Christian art.

The Orante has a long history in the Greco-Roman social matrix. Since there seems to be no major significance assigned to the biblical contexts in which the Orante is placed, it must be assumed the Orante has kept its traditional meaning, now transferred to a Christian pictorial backdrop. From examples of the Orante in public art (coins) and sepulchral art, it seems to have been associated mainly with familial piety. Given the biblical contexts used by the artists, the scenes must indicate a community (familial) victory in the midst of various conflicts (deliverance). Once the conflicts diminished during the reign of Constantine, the Orante essentially disappeared from Christian art.

**11. The Good Shepherd.** The second human figure is a male shepherd pictured with a member of the sheep family, normally a ram, on his shoulders. See Fig. ART.40. The symbol, a *criophorus,* has an ancient history dating as far back as 1000 B.C.E. in Near Eastern circles. A number of meanings for the symbol have been suggested. The use of the Good Shepherd in baptistries (Dura-Europos, Naples?) as well as catacombs and meeting places indicates that the shepherd bore the religious actor into the faith community (or family of the dead). For that reason the Good Shepherd has been identified as *humanitas,* in contrast to the Orante as *pietas.* One might think of it as ecclesial hospitality. After Constantine, the Good Shepherd became the most popular symbol for Christ himself.

**D. Pictorial Representations**

Given the sources for early Christian art as noted, we can make a comparative analysis of subjects. Despite the limited number of pre-Constantinian sources, nevertheless a numerical count of artistic subjects is possible (see Table 2). Such a count reveals some remarkable data. The Jonah story completely dominates the subject matter of early Christian art (60 percent of all subjects represented belong to it); of subjects derived from the OT, 72 percent are specifically from Jonah. The story of Jonah stresses deliverance (often Jonah appears as the Orante), and most other subjects drawn from the OT also stress deliverance: Noah in the Ark, the Sacrifice of Isaac (Isaac also as an Orante, though see Fig. ART.41, left lid of sarcophagus), Moses Striking the Rock, Jonah Cast into the Sea, Jonah and the Ketos (or Sea Monster), Jonah at Rest (see Fig. ART.40, left), Three Young Men in the Fiery Furnace, Daniel in the Lion's Den (see Fig. ART.41, left of center), Susannah and the Elders (see Fig. ART.44), and David and Goliath. Of all early Christian pictorial interpretations, 74 percent deal with deliverance and, even more striking, 94% of all subjects from the OT involve the deliverance motif. While the biblical narrative appears to have no place in this material, perhaps the crisis represented does: threat of water (social environment), threat of religious persecution, threat of starvation, threat of death, threat of oppression by the state, and the threat of legal prejudice. After the time of Constantine all of these scenes disappeared except Noah and the Ark (which remained now as a symbol of the church) and Moses Striking the Rock (shifted to Peter Striking the Rock).

Table 2

| Biblical Representation | Fresco | Mosaic | II Sarc | Roman Frag | Other | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Giving Life to Eve | | | | | 1 | 1 |
| 2. Adam and Eve | 1 | | 2 | | 1 | 4 |
| 3. Noah in the Ark | 3 | | 3 | 2 | | 8 |
| 4. Sacrifice of Isaac | 2 | | 1 | 2 | | 5 |
| 5. Harassment of Moses | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| 6. Moses Striking the Rock | 4 | | 1 | | | 5 |
| 7. Moses and the Bush | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| 8. Ascension of Elijah | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| 9. Jonah Cast into the Sea | 4 | 1 | 8 | 23 | 2 | 38 |
| 10. Jonah and the Ketos | 1 | | 8 | 17 | 2 | 28 |
| 11. Jonah at Rest | 5 | | 7 | 25 | 5 | 42 |
| 12. Tobit and Fish | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| 13. Three Young Men in the Fiery Furnace | 1 | | | 3 | | 4 |
| 14. Daniel in the Lion's Den | 2 | | 2 | | 2 | 6 |
| 15. Susannah and the Elders | 3 | | | 1 | | 4 |
| 16. David and Goliath | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| 17. Wisemen | 1 | | | | | 1 |
| 18. Baptism of Jesus | 3 | | 1 | 2 | | 6 |
| 19. Jesus Teaching | | | 1 | 1 | | 2 |
| 20. Healing of the Paralytic | 2 | | 1 | | | 3 |
| 21. Healing of the Demon Possessed | | | 1 | | | 1 |
| 22. Healing of the Lame | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| 23. Healing of the Crippled | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| 24. Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes | | | 1 | 1 | | 2 |
| 25. Woman at the Well | 2 | | | | | 2 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 26. Resurrection of Lazarus | 2 | | 2 | 1 | 5 |
| 27. Walking on the Water | 1 | | | | 1 |
| 28. Women at the Tomb | 1 | | | | 1 |
| 29. Fisherman | | 1 | 2 | | 3 |
| 30. Woman with Flow of Blood | | | 1 | | 1 |
| 31. Christ Helios | | 1 | | | 1 |

Adam and Eve is the only biblical scene of any consequence which does not convey deliverance. See Fig. ART.45. For most of later Christian history the scene portrays the fall of the first man and woman, but in these earliest scenes there is no sign of sin. Instead, the scene represents the same bucolic paradise of Jonah at Rest or the Good Shepherd.

The Jonah cycle requires special consideration. There are three Jonah stories: (1) Jonah, often as an Orante, standing on a troubled boat; (2) Jonah, often as an Orante, coughed up from inside a sea monster; and finally (3) Jonah lying under a vine. See Fig. ART.40 left. In the latter scene the iconography of Jonah matches precisely the iconography of Endymion (a mythical companion of the moon goddess Selene), who is also pictured reclining in paradisiacal repose (Endymion was a favorite figure on Roman sarcophagi). The three scenes, not always seriatim, represent chapters of the book of Jonah. Yet each stands on its own. Jonah in the boat and with the sea monster are both nautical scenes in which the Orante Jonah finds deliverance. According to the Jonah narrative there is no reason for Jonah to "be delivered" while in the boat. The last scene simply combines the pastoral scene of the Good Shepherd with the well-known iconography of Endymion.

Scenes from the NT center on Jesus rather than the Orante. Though deliverance often occurs, the artists focus on the deliverer, Jesus. Normally they portrayed Jesus as a young, curly-haired, beardless, wonder-worker. The figure reminds one of contemporary Hercules iconography. Of 31 NT scenes, 12 show Jesus healing (e.g., the paralytic; see Fig. ART.41 lid, left of center) or raising from the dead (e.g., Lazarus; see Fig. ART.41, left). In these Jesus often has his hand outstretched toward the healed, although sometimes he points with a wand.

Despite the emphasis on healing, the baptism of Jesus appears more often than any other scene. Jesus appears as an older child being baptized by a bearded adult (typical iconography representation of a river God), while a dove hovers overhead. See Fig. ART.40, right. While we may have an illustration of the baptism of Jesus with the descent of the Spirit, more likely the scene reflects the baptismal practice of the 3d-century church: an adolescent is baptized into the peace (dove) of the faith community. If this reflects baptism, then the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes signifies the agape meal (also a rather frequent scene) with its inevitable fish and baskets of bread. The Multiplication scene might refer to deliverance for the hungry, but more likely it associates the meals of the early church with the popular feeding of the five thousand (recounted 4 times in the Synoptics). The meal could be the eucharist, the Love Feast (*agape*), or the meal with the dead (*refrigerium*).

Most of the NT scenes relate iconographically to the Hellenistic social matrix. The scene of the wise men portrays representatives of foreign powers giving a crown of gold (*aurum coronarium*) to the emperor. See Fig. ART.46. In the birth scene, Mary and Jesus are represented iconographically similar to Isis and the child Horus.

On Roman sarcophagi or in mausoleums the deceased (male) often was portrayed reading to a younger person. Transferred to Christian sarcophagi (see Fig. ART.40) the scene has been taken by some as the *traditio legis*, the passing of the law the next generation (Jesus to Peter). If the teaching figure is indeed Jesus, the iconography fits better with that of wandering philosophers. In addition to the wonder-worker Jesus there was in the earliest art a *Christus philosophicus* who taught the faith community (sarcophagus of Velletri). Only after the peace of Constantine did that shift to Jesus teaching only the apostles (based on scenes of the emperor with the officers of the empire; see the arch of Constantine and then eventually the Jesus of the Byzantine apses, the *maiestas domini.*

A beautiful mosaic of Christ Helios was discovered in mausoleum M of the necropolis under St. Peter's. See Fig. ART.47. The scene shows a Christ figure, with sun rays streaming from his head, crossing a golden sky in a biga. Earlier some Jewish artists had portrayed the ascension of Elijah as a contrast to the intensely popular Sol Invictus (synagogue of Dura-Europos). Christians followed the example. While the carving on the wooden doors of 5th-century S. Sabina shows the same scene, the artist of Mausoleum M took an extra step: Christ, in the iconography of Elijah, became the sun god himself.

**E. Conclusion**

One critical scene (the crucifixion of Jesus) and its accompanying symbol (the cross) did not occur in early Christian art. Probably the first scene of Jesus suffering occurs on the Vatican's Passion sarcophagus, carved ca. mid-4th century. About the same time one artist transformed the Constantinian *chi-rho* to a cross, the *crux immissa.* This may be the first clear use of the cross as a symbol, if we discount as a prank the so-called Palatine cross, a donkey on a cross. See Fig. ART.48.

In the social matrix from which Christianity arose, the major concerns were deliverance, security, kinship, and healing. The symbol of suffering and criminal death did not appeal to an oppressed people. After the peace of Constantine the passion narrative and the cross could symbolize the redemptive use of power. Thus, attempts to find hidden crosses in anchors, ship masts, palm trees, and cryptic language miss this important point.

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**ARTAPANUS.** A Jewish author who flourished in Egypt prior to the mid-1st century B.C.E. and wrote a historical romance entitled *On the Jews* (perhaps *Judaica*). Three short fragments of the work survive, treating respectively Abraham, Joseph, and Moses, primarily as they relate to Egypt. The fragments display a remarkable level of syncretism, reflected by the manner and extent to which popular religious and cultural traditions from Egypt and the Graeco-Roman world are interwoven into the biblical story.

No verbatim excerpts from Artapanus' work survive. Instead, portions were summarized by the pagan author Alexander Polyhistor, who flourished in Rome in the mid-1st century B.C.E., and these summaries were later quoted directly in Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* 9.18, 23, 27. Prior to the time of Eusebius (ca. 260–340 C.E.), a brief portion of the third fragment concerning Moses was quoted by Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150–215 C.E.) in *Strom.* 1.23.154.2–3.

The first fragment (*Praep. Evang.* 9.18.1), consisting of only a few lines, describes Abraham's migration to Egypt and his subsequent return to Syria twenty years later, noting especially his role in providing astrological instruction to Pharaoh.

A somewhat longer second fragment (*Praep. Evang.* 9.23.1–4) depicts the circumstances of Joseph's coming to Egypt and his subsequent rise to power. The biblical account is embellished considerably as Joseph is made responsible for impressive land reforms and the discovery of measures, both of which earned him high esteem among the Egyptians. Also mentioned is his marriage to the Egyptian Asenath, daughter of a priest of Heliopolis.

A considerably longer third fragment (*Praep. Evang.* 9.27.1–37) focuses on Moses, covering the period from his birth until the arrival of the Israelites in the wilderness. It follows the storyline of Exodus but includes many nonbiblical features which give the story a distinctively Egyptian cast. Like Abraham and

Joseph, Artapanus' Moses emerges as a cultural benefactor of the Egyptians, but his list of achievements exceeds that of his biblical predecessors. Besides being a brilliant military strategist who protects Egypt from the Ethiopians (also reported in Josephus *Ant* 2.10.1–2 §§ 238–53), he embodies the Hellenistic ideal of scientific discovery as the inventor of ships, military weapons, and other implements useful to Egyptian life. Perhaps most important, he emerges as the originator of philosophy. His role as renowned sage is underscored in the claim that he became the teacher of Orpheus and came to be identified with the god Hermes. Artapanus also credits him with the efficient organization and administration of the state, as well as the founding and organizing of Egyptian religious cults, a role in which the Egyptians came to revere him as divine. Another nonbiblical feature is an encounter between Moses and Pharaoh in which Pharaoh died for blaspheming the name of God but was miraculously restored to life by Moses. Artapanus also modifies the biblical account of the plagues and omits reference to the Passover. He also reports local traditions explaining how the Israelites crossed the Red Sea.

What is known about the author is derived largely from the surviving fragments themselves. Other than the above mentioned passages, he is referred to nowhere else. His unusual name seems to be of Persian origin, and this may suggest a mixed descent. Though earlier scholarship found it difficult to conceive of a Jewish author capable of such a high level of syncretism (and for this reason viewed him either as non-Jewish or as an apostate Jew), recent scholarship is much more certain of his Jewish identity, primarily because of the subject matter of the fragments. His main concern is to relate sympathetically the biblical story, which he knows from the LXX. He not only portrays Abraham, Joseph, and Moses in heroic terms, enhancing their stature as worthy religious leaders and cultural benefactors of Egypt, but also appears to be responding to negative criticisms. Thus he both promotes and defends the biblical story. His ardent zeal for his own religious tradition typifies the popular romance literature during the Hellenistic period: concern to establish legitimacy for one's own cultural tradition *vis-à-vis* other national traditions by presenting an attractive, interesting account of the heroes of that tradition based on one's own sacred books.

As to his date, it is only known for certain that he preceded Alexander Polyhistor (ca. 105–30 B.C.E.), who summarized his work (see Freudenthal 1875: 143–74, 215–18). His use of the LXX would place him after the mid-3d century B.C.E., when a Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible probably began to become available. If he is responding to anti-Jewish accounts of the Exodus, such as those of Manetho (ca. 280 B.C.E.), as seems likely, this would also establish an earlier reference point for dating. Within this 200-year range, 250–50 B.C.E., other dates have been suggested based on specific evidence. References in the fragments to the worship of Isis and allusions to mystery religions have been correlated with efforts by Ptolemy IV Philopator (221–205 B.C.E.) to promote the worship of Dionysus among Jews in Egypt (cf. *3 Macc.* 2:29–30). The reference to the conscription of Egyptian farmers (Frg. 3.7) may also point to the time of Philopator, who initiated the practice prior to the battle of Raphia (217 B.C.E.). If the mention of a Jewish temple built in Heliopolis (Frg. 2.4) is a reference to the temple at Leontopolis (established by Onias IV ca. 167–164 B.C.E.), this would suggest a time during the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 B.C.E.). Another clue to dating may be provided by Artapanus' mention of elephantiasis as the cause of the Egyptian king's death (Frg. 3.20). Although Plutarch (*Mor.* 731A) reports that the disease was first identified in the 1st century B.C.E., it appears to have been known and described in Egypt by Bolus of Mendes as early as the 3d century B.C.E. The strong apologetic tone of the fragments would suggest a period from the end of the 3d century to the middle of the 2d century B.C.E. The level of confidence they reflect would point to a period of relative stability reminiscent of the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor.

As for the provenance, the thorough Egyptian cast of the fragments and the explicit preoccupation with Egyptian names and places makes an Egyptian setting almost certain. Whether the setting was specifically Alexandrian is not as certain, primarily because Artapanus reflects awareness of a broader range of native Egyptian traditions, and in certain respects differs conspicuously both in outlook and literary sophistication from other Jewish literature generally associated with Alexandria.

The Artapanus fragments are generally grouped with Hellenistic Jewish historical writings, but they are "history" only in the minimal sense that they rehearse the biblical story. Their nationalistic flavor, their

conspicuous tendency to glorify ancestral heroes, and the incorporation of a wide range of popular traditions suggests that Artapanus' work belonged to the genre of popular, historical-romance literature.

While the Artapanus fragments provide some useful information relating to Egypt and Egyptian Judaism, their value does not depend on whether what they report is historically accurate, but rather on what they reveal about the historical situation out of which they arose and to which they attest. Specifically, Artapanus becomes a valuable resource for understanding the historical reality of Greek-speaking Judaism in an Egyptian setting perhaps as early as mid-3d century B.C.E. Scholars have always been intrigued by the extent of syncretism reflected in the fragments, even though their assessment of Artapanus' motives and ultimate loyalties have differed widely. Because of his portraits of Joseph and Moses in particular, he has figured prominently in the "divine man" debate. Scholars continue to debate what it meant for a Jewish author during the Hellenistic period to elevate Moses to near-divine status and offer such a positive description of Egyptian religion. All such assessments, however, must reckon with the question of genre in determining appropriate criteria for judging Artapanus' literary achievement. The widely acknowledged apologetic dimension in the Artapanus fragments makes them a valuable resource for understanding the social dynamics of Jewish responses to anti-Jewish polemics in the Hellenistic period. To the extent that the fragments reflect Artapanus' attempt to clarify misconceptions about Judaism and thereby gain cultural respectability, his work belongs within the tradition of "competitive historiography" that became well developed in the Hellenistic age (Collins, *OTP* 2:891–92). Yet, however outwardly directed his work might have been, it doubtless functioned to reinforce the faith and confidence of his fellow Jews.

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## ARTAXERXES (PERSON) [Aram ʾ*artaḥšaśtā*ʾ (אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׂתָּא); Gk *Artaxérxēs* (Ἀρταξέρξης)].

Persian king in whose reign the missions of Ezra (Ezra 7:1) and Nehemiah (Neh 2:1) took place. There were three Persian kings having this name, yet the biblical text neither specifies nor distinguishes among them: Artaxerxes I (Longimanus) son and successor of Xerxes I, ruled 465–425 B.C.E.; Artaxerxes II (Mnemon) son and successor of Darius II, ruled 404–358 B.C.E.; and Artaxerxes III (Ochus) son and successor of Artaxerxes II, ruled 359–338 B.C.E. The name may also have been assumed by Arses who ruled 338–336 B.C.E., and Bessos, who claimed the throne soon after Alexander's conquest (Cook 1983).

The name Artaxerxes appears in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah in five distinct contexts:

1. Ezra 4:7 relates that a letter was sent to Artaxerxes by BISHLAM, MITHREDATH, and TABEEL. Nothing of the contents of this correspondence is told.

2. Ezra 4:8–23, in Aramaic, reports correspondence from REHUM and SHIMSHAI to Artaxerxes; included is a copy of a letter from Persian officials notifying Artaxerxes that repatriated Jews are rebuilding Jerusalem—the wall and its foundations are specifically mentioned (Ezra 4:12–13). Also included with this report is a rescript from Artaxerxes ordering a halt to all such building in Jerusalem "until a decree is made by me" (Ezra 4:21). Olmstead (1948:313) suggested that the complaint to Artaxerxes in Ezra 4:8–23 is a result of a nationalist faction who tried to gain independence after Ezra's mission but before Nehemiah's. Others have seen the complaint of Ezra 4:8–23 as a result of Nehemiah's work on the wall. See Rowley (1955:554–57) for a discussion of these and other positions.

3. Ezra 6:14, still part of the Aramaic source, is a summary statement attributing the completion of the Temple to the Persian rulers CYRUS, DARIUS, and Artaxerxes. The anachronistic character of the

mention of Artaxerxes in the context of the building of the Temple has been a point of much discussion on the composition of the Aramaic section and of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah as a whole.

4. The mission of Ezra in the reign of Artaxerxes is introduced at Ezra 7:8; included is a rescript in Aramaic from Artaxerxes authorizing Ezra's religious and judicial duties, and instructing the treasurers of the satrapy Beyond the River to provide support to Ezra. Ezra began his mission in the "seventh year of the king" (Ezra 7:8); along with Ezra a contingency of people were allowed to emigrate to Judea "in the seventh year of Artaxerxes the king" (Ezra 7:7). If Artaxerxes I is the intended king then the mission occurred in 458 B.C.E. Herrmann (*HHI,* 309) argues that this is the view of the final editor. However, some scholars, most recently Miller and Hayes (1986), argue that Ezra's mission occurred under the authority of Artaxerxes II, that is, in 398 B.C.E. Bright *(BHI*) and Noth *(NHI*), by emending or rejecting the dates in the text, have argued that Ezra's mission occurred late in the reign of Artaxerxes I.

5. Neh 2:1 states that "in the twentieth year of King Artaxerxes" Nehemiah made his request directly to Artaxerxes to return to Jerusalem to rebuild it. Neh 5:14 identifies the inclusive dates of Nehemiah's mission in the reign of Artaxerxes "from the 20th year to the 32d year of Artaxerxes the king, 12 years." See also Neh 13:6. If Artaxerxes I is the intended ruler the 20th year would be 444 B.C.E. and the 32d year would be 427 B.C.E. Nehemiah made a return visit to Judea sometime after Artaxerxes's 32d year and remained in Judea for an unspecified time (Neh 13:6). Texts from Elephantine (*CAP* no. 30) and the Samaria Papyri (Cross 1975) have provided external evidence for identifying SANBALLAT, Nehemiah's rival, as the governor of Samaria in the reign of Artaxerxes I. Most scholars are now agreed that Nehemiah's mission occurred in the reign of Artaxerxes I.

Artaxerxes's name is rendered with 2 spellings in the MT: (1) ›*artaḥšaśtĕ*‹ in Ezra 4:8, 11, 23 and 6:14 (but note the variant ›*artaḥšaśtā*‹ in Ezra 4:7); and (2) ›*artaḥšastĕ*‹ beginning in Ezra 7:1. The 2d spelling is used to the end of Ezra and throughout the text of Nehemiah. Torrey (1910:38) suggested that the change from the Hebrew *śin* to *samek* is indicative of Artaxerxes I and Artaxerxes II respectively: the enemy of the Jews in Ezra 4 is Artaxerxes I, while the friend of the Jews in Ezra 7 and Nehemiah 2 is Artaxerxes II. Aramaic texts from Elephantine (*BMAP*, 132) spell Artaxerxes's name with the *samek.* Kraeling's papyrus 12, an Aramaic text dated to the reign of Artaxerxes II, uses the same spelling as those texts dated to Artaxerxes I (*BMAP*, 270). Other variants are involved as well which make Torrey's correlation difficult since variants occur even when the same ruler is intended (see *BMAP*, 142). Despite the difficulty of arguing that a practice in Egypt is the same as that of the redactor of Ezra and Nehemiah, Torrey's suggestion has not met with widespread acceptance.

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**ARTEMAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Artemas* (Ἀρτεμας)]. A companion of Paul in the later years of Paul's career (Tit 3:12). It is never mentioned, however, where Artemas and Paul met. The letter to Titus portrays Paul as planning to send either Artemas or Tychicus to Crete, presumably to take Titus' place temporarily as the leader of the church there. Thus freed, Titus would be able to meet Paul at Nicopolis where he had decided to spend the winter. Of the several cities named Nicopolis, most commentators judge the reference in Tit 3:12 to be Nicopolis in Epirus on the W coast of Greece. Since there is a tradition preserved in 2 Tim 3:10 that Titus went to Dalmatia, to the north of Nicopolis, it is probable that he visited Paul along the way in Nicopolis and that Artemas (or Tychicus), if Paul followed through with his plan, spent time in Crete serving the church while Titus was away.

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**ARTEMIS** (DEITY). Probably the most popular of the Hellenic deities, Artemis was worshiped wherever the Greeks settled and by the Romans as Diana after she was identified with the Italian goddess of that name. Her occasional identification with the Greek moon-goddess Selene had begun by the 5th century B.C., but she did not popularly become the moon until the advent of astrology religion in the Hellenistic age. Daughter of Zeus by the Titaness Leto and twin sister of Apollo, Artemis was born either on the island of Delos, where the Horn Altar, constructed of the horns of goats sacrificed to her, became famous as one of the wonders of the ancient world, or on the nearby island Ortygia. She consistently appears among the twelve Olympians, as in the Parthenon frieze, and is prominent in Greek literature, art, and public festivals from the Homeric period on. Her name, however, is etymologically obscure and her personality multifaceted and enigmatic.

Her typical form in literature and art (see, e.g., *Od.* 6.99–109, *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 16–20, Eur. *Hipp.;* Callim. *Dian.* 1–182) is that of the Lady of the Wilds (Agrotera), a virgin huntress, pure and inviolable (*hagne*), who ranges the woodlands and mountains amid a retinue of sportive, dancing nymphs. Youthful, lithe, and dispassionately beautiful, she is often accompanied by a deer, and the bow is her constant attribute. She could be deadly and remorseless toward those who threaten her chastity or offend her, as when she turned Actaeon into a stag and let his own hounds tear him apart because he came upon her at her bath in a mountain stream, or when she sent the Calydonian boar to ravage the lands of Oeneus who had ignored her at sacrifice, or when she slew the daughters of Niobe with her arrows—as did Apollo her sons—to avenge Niobe's disparagement of Leto. Her role in the destruction of the giant Tityus, who attempted to rape Leto, and of the giants Otus and Ephialtes, who assaulted respectively her chastity and Hera's, seems, at least to a modern, more justifiable.

Before Artemis became one of the great gods, she may have been merely a wood nymph herself; for in the Peloponnesus she bore such epithets as Limnatis (Lady of the Lake), Lygodesma (Willow-Bound), and Cedreatis (Cedarn). She may at some point in her development have exhibited theriomorphic qualities: The visual arts sometimes represent her as winged, and in her cult at Brauron, in Attica, girls in her service pretended to be bears (cf. the varying accounts of her attendant nymph Callisto, who was seduced by Zeus and then turned into a bear).

Artemis the virgin huntress paradoxically contained within her personality obvious characteristics of a mother goddess, probably acquired in Asia Minor and from the Creton goddesses Britomartis and Dictynna, with whom she was sometimes identified. She zealously protects the suckling young of all wild animals, nuturing at their birth the very creatures she will later slaughter in the hunt; see, e.g., Aesch. *Ag.* 134–143, where she is incensed with Zeus' two eagles for devouring a pregnant hare. Fertility characteristics are strikingly apparent in her cult at Ephesus in Asia Minor: The Artemis whom the Ephesian mobs proclaim as "Great" at Acts 19:23–40 is a multi-mammary grotesque. In her capacity as mother goddess, Artemis was even the protectress of human children and was often identified with Eileithyia, the goddess-proper of human childbirth.

The darker aspect of Artemis' personality is perhaps summed up and symbolized in her frequent identification with Hecate, a goddess of witchcraft and the moon who roves the night and was worshiped at the traditionally haunted-crossroad. It is an aspect alluded to in *Il.* 21.479–88, where Hera reviles Artemis for being a "lion to women" with a Zeus-given right to kill them at her pleasure, presumably at childbirth; and it is present in the myths of Actaeon, Niobe, and the Calydonian boar. Nowhere does this aspect come to the fore more starkly than: (1) at *Ag.* 104–247, when Artemis demands, and receives, the sacrifice of Agamemnon's virgin daughter Iphigenia, as simultaneously an atonement for the eagles' slaughter of the pregnant hare and a propiatory act to procure the release of the wind-bound Greek fleet from Aulis for the expedition against Troy; and (2) in Eur. *IT* when Iphigenia, saved from sacrifice at Aulis by the miraculous substitution of a hind and transported by Artemis to the land of the Taurians on the farthest shores of the Black Sea (according to the variant legend here followed), presides as priestess of Artemis over the sacrifice of all foreigners who wander to that land. There was probably a symbolic reminiscence of human sacrifice in the cultic rites of Artemis Tauropolus in Attica (a man's throat is

scratched to the point of bleeding with a sword), whither according to the *IT* (see especially 1446–1461) Orestes and Iphigenia brought the goddess' cult statue after they escaped from Taurica. The shedding of human blood was also an important component in the rites of Artemis Ortheia at Sparta; during these events, which became a tourist attraction in Roman times, youths were whipped until they bled. Similarly, human sacrifice may lie behind the holocausts of fruit and live animals in honor of Artemis Laphria at Patrae. The substitution of a hind for the sacrificial victim (see Eur. *IA* 1532–1618 for an account of this miracle) bears comparison with that of the ram for Isaac in Genesis 22.

We may, at least to a point, account for the confusing multiplicity and ambivalence in Artemis' personality by regarding her as a humanized representation of untamed nature, which appears benign and life-giving at one time or place and cruel and destructive at another. And we may risk going somewhat further by regarding her as simultaneously a representation of what the Greek male, in the collective psyche of a male-dominated society, both admired and feared in the female. But Artemis is perhaps the most difficult of the Hellenic deities to comprehend and will undoubtedly always elude full explanation.

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**ARTHROPODS.** See ZOOLOGY.

**ARUBBOTH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾărubbôt* (אֲרֻבּוֹת)]. A city mentioned only once in the Bible as the seat of Ben Hesed, governor of Solomon's 3d district (1 Kgs 4:10). The difficulty in identifying the city is a result of this singular reference, containing no specific geographic indicators. Its identification therefore requires a proper overview of the nature and character of this Solomonic district list (1 Kgs 4:7–19).

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A. Location of Solomon's Third District
B. Other Possible References to Arubboth
C. Khirbet el-Hamam
    1. Location and Description
    2. Excavations
D. The History of Arubboth-Narbata


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**A. Location of Solomon's Third District**

Two primary approaches have been suggested for understanding the geographic principles of the district divisions. According to the first (Alt, *KlSchr* 2: 76–89; Aharoni 1976), the districts were of 2 different types, the first being identical to the Israelite tribal territories, and the second including former Canaanite areas in the coastal plain and large valleys (the latter being defined by a listing of cities). The 3d district is defined as follows: "Ben Hesed in Arubboth, to him belonged Socoh and all the land of Hepher." According to this first approach, the fact that this district included a list of cities means that this district was formerly "Canaanite," located in the N Sharon between the Yarkon and Wadi ez-Zerqah rivers. (Consequently, in this approach the first district [the hill country of Ephraim] would have stretched far N of the tribe's original inheritance to include, during the period of the district division, the tribal territory of

Manasseh as well.) Thus, Mazar (1935) suggested locating Hepher at Tel Iphshar (M.R. 141197), and Arubboth at Tel el-Assawir (M.R. 151210), near the W opening of the ʿIron pass leading to Megiddo.

Albright (1925) in particular offered another approach, pointing out the methodological problem of identifying Arubboth and Hepher in the coastal plain. The daughters of Zelophehad (the granddaughters of Hepher, Josh 17:1–4), appear in the Samaria Ostraca as territorial units in the NE part of the Manasseh hill country. Tirzah, for example, who belongs to Hepher's family, is located well inland, about 10 km NE of Shechem. Therefore, it seems more likely that the 'Land of Hepher' should be located in the hill country *within* the nuclear tribal allotment rather than in the formerly Canaanite area in the coastal plain (annexed to the monarchy only in the time of David). A coastal plain locale for the 3d district is also challenged by the archaeological data: Tel Iphshar is too small to have been a Canaanite city-state like Hepher (Josh 12:17), and Tel Assawir contained no sherds of the 10th century B.C.E. The site therefore could not have been a district capital during this period.

**B. Other Possible References to Arubboth**

Certain assistance for the identification of Arubboth is found in the fact that the city (and the district) of that name probably existed throughout the Iron Age, the Persian, Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods as well. According to Grintz (1957: 31), the tradition in Taanit Scroll, describing Jewish fortified cities in the Samaria region in either the Persian or the Hellenistic period, is linked with the Jewish settlement in the Dothan Valley, as told in the book of Judith. Others relate it to the settlement of the area by Jews after its conquest by John Hyrcanus in 106 B.C.E. It is possible that the name of the area in the Taanit Scroll, *Nabrachta,* is connected to one of the offshoots of the geographic name Arubboth (see below).

The area is mentioned in 1 Macc 5: 21–23: Simon the Hasmonean, after his victory over the Gentiles at Acre, brought to Jerusalem the Jews of Galilee and "Arbattoi," which seems to be a Jewish district located between the W Galilee and Jerusalem. The syntax of the name indicates a possible connection to Arubboth, since only the suffix differs from the original, without change in the basic consonants of the name.

The Byzantine historian Georghios Kedrenos cites a list of the Herodian toparchies (divided among Herod's sons), where the toparchy of Narbatton is mentioned along with Galilee and Perea. All 3 came under the jurisdiction of Herod Antipas. This list suggests that during the Herodian period there existed in N Samaria a Jewish district named Narbatton. Since both Galilee and Perea were Jewish districts, we may assume that this division was based upon the necessity of separating the Jewish toparchies from those of the Gentiles. It is worth noting, however, that this Byzantine source is controversial.

Finally, the area is mentioned twice by Josephus, along with a definition of its geographic location. First, in his description of the events close to the outbreak of the Jewish Revolt in May, A.D. 66, Josephus reports that a clash broke out between Greeks and Jews around the Great Synagogue of Caesarea; after the emperor Nero ruled in favor of the Greeks, the Jews took their Torah scrolls and went to one of their inheritances called Narbata, located 20 stadia from Caesarea (*JW* 2: 291). The second reference is connected with the report about Cestius Gallus' punitive campaign against Jerusalem in October A.D. 66; Josephus reports that Gallus sent forces of cavalry from Caesarea to Narbata, who "destroyed the district and set the villages aflame" (*JW* 2: 509).

The name of the area is not mentioned again. An analysis of the sources suggests a linguistic connection in the series Arubboth–Nabrachta–Arbatta–Narbata, based on the preservation of the ancient nucleus *r-b-t,* whose meaning is uncertain. The changes over a millennium are probably connected with the influx of Aram prefixes and suffixes into spoken Hebrew. Such include the prefix *n-* and the geographic suffix *-a* (as in Suseita and Gamla). Kampffmeyer (1892) showed that changes in suffix and prefix do not alter the nucleus of the name, and therefore we have in these sources evidence for the continuity of the district and the city in the same area (N Samaria, not the N Sharon valley). As for the distance of 20 stadia (12 km) from Caesarea to Narbata (*JW* 2: 291), Avi-Yonah (1962: 12, 127) showed that most of Josephus' distance indicators relate to distances between the district capital and the toparchy's border. We may, therefore, suggest that the border between the boundary of Caesarea and the toparchy of Narbata was the point where the Coastal Plain meets the Samaria hills, at a distance of 12 km from Caesarea.

**C. Khirbet el-Hamam**

**1. Location and Description.** During the course of a detailed archaeological survey on behalf of Tel Aviv and Haifa Universities, a previously unknown tell—Kh. el-Hamam—was discovered in 1978. This site seems to fit well the identification of Arubboth-Narbata. The site (M.R. 163201) rises S of the riverbed of Wadi Jiz, in a rugged and stony hill area, between the Dothan valley and the Coastal Plain.

The city stretches across two hilltops. The N hilltop is approx. 70 dunams in size; it is fortified naturally by means of steep slopes at the W, N, and E; at the S it is connected to the lower slope by means of a gradual and convenient downgrade. Its upper acropolis, about 25 dunams, was surrounded by a double city wall. The S hilltop is the larger one, and contains remnants of structures and caves with no indication of fortification.

A sophisticated Roman siege system surrounding the city was discovered and explored, including a circumvallation, three camps, and a siege ramp. The circumvallation is 1,516 m long and 2.2 m thick, encompassing the city from the W, N, and E. Alongside it were discovered Camp B (excavated) and Camps C–D (unexcavated). The supposed location of Camp A was the S hilltop.

**2. Excavations.** The siege system and the city itself were excavated during 1980–1984 (Zertal 1984). Camp B of the siege system lies on the el-Birkeh hill, approx. 600 m E of the city. It is a square structure (22 × 22 m) with opposite gates at the N and S. Rooms and floors were unearthed inside, upon which were found cooking pots and other vessels dated to the 1st century A.D., very similar to the material of Masada. In addition, a coin of Herod Archelaus (4 B.C.E.–A.D. 6) was found. The excavated part of the circumvallation was found to be identical in structure and dimensions to the E circumvallation and the walls of Camp A at Masada. Some towers were discovered along the circumvallation. Camp C at Kh. el-Hamam is a small structure (10 × 10 m), and camp D which lies on a slope next to the paved road that led to the city from the important Caesarea-Ginae road, is similar to Camp B. The siege system at Kh. el-Hamam is one of 4 extant, complete Roman systems connected with the Jewish Revolt (A.D. 66–70) and the Bar-Kokhba Revolt (A.D. 132–135): Masada, Bethar, Machaerus, and Narbata (Kh. el-Hamam). The latter is the only one found N of Jerusalem.

Three areas within the city itself were excavated: (1) the central section and the siege ramp; (2) the S wall; and (3) a group of houses in the upper W part of the city. In the central section a continuity of pottery groups was discovered, ranging from the 10th century B.C.E. until the 2d century A.D., confirming the conclusions of the survey. The city wall of the Iron Age dates to the 10th century B.C.E. and should possibly be identified as the Solomonic city wall of Arubboth. It is approx. 3 m thick, and was founded upon a low stone cliff. This wall continued to be in use during Iron II (the Israelite kingdom), and possibly also through the Persian period into Hasmonean times (2d century B.C.E.), when the city was refortified by an additional and new wall. At this stage, the Iron Age city wall became a supporting wall which encircled the city and lay outside the new wall. The entrance to this new wall was from the protected N side. The width of the Hasmonean wall is approx. 2 m, and it was the wall used to protect the city during the Jewish Revolt in A.D. 66. Two blocks of structures were excavated in the upper W area, dating to the Hellenistic-Herodian periods. Beneath it, fragmented Iron Age structures were exposed.

Beneath and outside the line of the walls, a sophisticated water system was explored and partially excavated. This includes 3 hewn cisterns in the form of subterranean chambers, plastered with a special plaster identical to that of the water system at Masada. Each of the chambers contained 600–1,000 cubic m of water, and were filled by means of a hewn opening. An aqueduct, whose entire route is as yet unknown, was connected to the cisterns.

The small finds include nearly 100 coins, dating from Ptolemy II (beginning of the 3d century B.C.E.), through the beginning of the 2d century A.D. In addition, carved stone vessels were unearthed, typical of Jewish settlements during the Second Temple period.

From a historical point of view, the results of the excavation support the identification of the city as Narbata, which was the only city in Samaria to take part in the Jewish Revolt. According to Josephus, it was also the only Jewish region in this area, otherwise populated by veterans of the Hellenistic and Roman armies (Sebaste) and by Samaritans. A few arrowheads, catapult stones, and a partial level of

destruction at Kh. el-Hamam indicate that the battle over the city did not last long. We may assume that the city surrendered not long after the siege system was built. It is unclear why there is no mention of the siege of Narbata by Josephus. Despite that, there are actually no alternate identifications for the site, and it fits the location of Arubboth-Narbata in 3 major criteria: (1) the archaeological and historical periods of occupation, (2) the geographical context and location, and (3) the preservation of the name. The latter is still preserved in the vicinity in the form of Arrabeh (M.R. 169201), a village some 6 km to the SE, at the S fringe of the Dothan Valley. Apparently, the name shifted there after the destruction or abandonment of the city Narbata.

**D. The History of Arubboth-Narbata**

The results of the excavation indicate that the city was founded at the middle of the 10th century B.C.E., but there may have been a small village there founded a few decades earlier. Along with the foundation of the city the N hilltop was fortified, evidently creating an administrative center and seat of the regional governor. This foundation coincides with the intentions of the authorities, who preferred founding new sites, free of previous tribal traditions. Wright (1967) and Mazar (1975: 131) showed that Makaz (probably the capital of the 2d district) and Arubboth belong in this category.

The existence of the city, which was supported by the Arubboth district, continued during the period of the N Israelite kingdom. It is probable that the Jewish district of the Persian period in the Dothan valley, mentioned in the book of Judith, was connected somehow with the Arubboth district. Upon the Hasmonean conquest of Samaria by John Hyrcanus, the city underwent great development. A new city wall was built, thus creating a kind of fortified acropolis. During this period, or a bit later, the city of Arbatta grew and many new homes were built on the slopes of both the N and S hilltops. During the 1st century A.D. the name was changed to Narbata, and the city maintained some connection with the Jews of Caesarea.

Upon the outbreak of the Jewish Revolt, some of the Caesarean Jews moved to Narbata, taking with them their Torah scrolls. In this account, Josephus is possibly referring to persons belonging to the Zealot party in Caesarea, who thus declared an open revolt against the Romans (Zertal 1982). The place was finally abandoned at the beginning of the 2d century A.D.

From a geographic-historic viewpoint, it seems that the 3d Solomonic district coincided with the boundaries of Manasseh in the hill country (Josh 16:5–9; 17:7–13). This conclusion, which supports in broad lines Albright's approach (see A above), is also based upon the recent identification of Hepher (Josh 12:17) with Tel Muhaffar, a large fortified site situated at the N boundary of the Dothan valley. The identification of Hepher and Arubboth within the bounds of the Manasseh hill country conforms with the biblical data, the evidence of the Samaria Ostraca, and the Second Temple traditions.

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ADAM ZERTAL

**ARUMAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿărûmâ (אֲרוּמָה)]. A town in Ephraim mentioned once or twice in the story of Abimelech son of Gideon (Judges 9). According to Judg 9:41, Abimelech resided briefly at Arumah. The text of Judg 9:31 is problematic. MT reads "he (scil. Zebul) sent messengers to Abimelech *bĕtormāh";* the last word consists of the Heb preposition *bĕ-* "in, at, by means of," and an otherwise unattested noun *tormâ,* whose root is possibly *rmh* "to deceive" (thus LXX$^{B}$ *en kryphē,* "in secret" [cf.

LXX$^{A}$ *meta dōrōn* "with gifts," reading *trmh* as *tĕrūmâ* "offering, gift"]; KJV "privily"; ASV "craftily"; Boling *Judges* AB, 179 "by a ruse"). The consonants *btrmh* of MT should perhaps be read **bêt [ʾă]rūmâ* "Beth Arumah," thus creating a second mention of the site (*GTTOT*, 297).

Arumah is generally located at Khirbet el-ʿOrmah (M.R. 180172) 5 miles SE of Shechem (*LBHG*, 242). It is not to be identified with RUMAH further N (*LBHG*, 329–31).

HENRY O. THOMPSON

**ARVAD** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾarwād* (אַרְוָד)]. ARVADITES. One of the "offspring" of Canaan (Gen 10:18), who supplied rowers and guards for Tyre (Ezek 27:8, 11). Arvad is named in the list of places to which the Roman consul sent his proclamation of alliance with Simon (1 Macc 15: 23, if the textual rearrangement of Goldstein *Maccabees* pp. 492–500 is followed). The Genesis reference has the gentilic suffix *-î.*

The city of Arvad, modern Ruad (M.R. 229473), is the most nothern of the Phoenician cities, located on an island adjacent to the coast. It is mentioned in an Egyptian text (*ʾá-r-du;* cf. Helck 1962: 310). In the Amarna letters it seems to have allied with Amurru against Byblos and Tyre (*ar-wa-da;* cf. Klengel 1969: 206; Katzenstein 1973: 42; Hess 1984: 436). It appears frequently in Assyrian and Babylonian texts on into the 1st millennium B.C., having to do with Syria (Unger *RLA* 1: 160–61).

Of some interest for comparison with the military aspect of the Arvadites mentioned in Ezekiel 27 is the mention of 200 soldiers from Arvad who fought with the opponents of Shalmaneser III at the battle of Qarqar in 853 B.C. (cf. Katzenstein 1973: 156). For the Assyrian kings, Arvad was the city "in the midst of the sea" (*qabal tamtim;* cf. Wiseman 1951: 24). There is a possible portrayal of Arvad as the island receiving wood in a Khorsabad relief (Parrot 1961 plate 48; Katzenstein 1973: 243). In this context, the Ezekiel passage associating renowned rowers with Arvad becomes meaningful (Ezek 27:8). Apparently it was sufficiently independent of the Seleucids in the mid-2d century B.C. to receive a proclamation from Rome.

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RICHARD S. HESS

**ARZA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾarṣā* (אַרְצָא)]. Chamberlain of Elah, king of Israel, at Tirzah (1 Kgs 16:9). Though it was at the house of Arza that an intoxicated Elah was assassinated by Zimri, it is not known if Azra was a part of the conspiracy against the king. As chamberlain, literally "over the house," Arza may have been responsible for the royal property at Tirzah as well as the king's domestic affairs. The name, Arza, may be derived from the root, *rṣh,* (to be pleased, acceptable). Noth suggests an Arabic derivation from *ʾaraḍatun* "wood fretter" (IPN, 230). (See Gray *Kings* OTL; Noth *Könige* BKAT; Würthwein *Könige: 1 Könige 1–16* ATD; De Vries *1 Kings* WBC.)

PAULINE A. VIVIANO

**ARZARETH** (PLACE) [Lat *Arzareth; Arsareth*]. A land to which the 10 tribes of Israel were deported; to reach this region required a journey of a year and a half from the Euphrates river (2 Esdr 13:45). No place by this name is attested. To understand this reference, one must appreciate that the original Heb or Aram of 2 Esdras is no longer extant, and that all we have are Lat (and other) translations. Thus, some have suggested that the name preserves a corruption of Heb **ʾereṣ ʾarat,* "land of Ar (ar)at" (i.e., N Armenia). However, it is more likely that the Lat here contains and conceals the Heb *ʾereṣ ʾăḥeret,* "another land" (cf. also 2 Esdr 13:40). This phrase appears in Deut 29:27 (—Eng 29:28), an exilic

addition attributing to Moses the prediction about the scattering and deportation of the sinful Israelites. It is noteworthy that the early rabbis applied this phrase in their discussions about the dispersion of the Ten Tribes (*m. Sanh.* 10:3). Therefore, it is likely that the Semitic original of 2 Esdras did the same, and that the Lat translator has corrupted the original and transformed it erroneously into a proper name "Arzareth" (see Wright 1871).

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GARY A. HERION

**ASA** (PERSON) [Heb ʾāsā (אָסָא)]. Son and successor of Abijam/Abijah and the 3d king of Judah after the division of the united monarchy. According to the synchronisms provided in 1 Kings, Asa's rule began while Israel's first king, Jeroboam, was still in power (15:9); it spanned the reigns of Nadab, Baasha, Elah, Zimri, and Omri; and it ended in the early years of Ahab's rule (16:29). He ruled for 41 years (1 Kgs 15:10; 2 Chr 16:13), which Albright (1945) dated to 913–873 B.C.E.

**A. Sources**

The primary account of Asa's reign is given by the Deuteronomistic historian in 1 Kgs 15:9–24. The author indicates that he has drawn his information from the annals of the kings of Judah (1 Kgs 15:23), but his ideological perspective is clearly stamped on the account.

The Chronicler presents a somewhat longer account in 2 Chr 13:23b–16:14 (—Eng 14:1b–16:14), parts of which parallel the account in 1 Kings but the rest includes added material of debated historical worth. It is clear that the Chronicler has used the Kings account as a principal source, even as he reshaped and added to it in order to present his own perspective on Asa's reign. Whether the Chronicler has used sources beyond 1 Kings to present his account of Asa is uncertain, but it is possible that he has. For example, the Chronicler's detailed information about Asa's army (2 Chr 14:7) and related notes elsewhere in his work (cf. 17:14–19; 25:5 and 26:11–15) may preserve "authentic material relating to the conscript army" (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 20, 261–2). Welten, however, contends that these passages are pure fabrications, reflecting the organization of Hellenistic armies in the time of the Chronicler (1973: 79–114). Whether the Chronicler's added information is based on additional sources or not, it must be used with caution in reconstructing the events of Asa's reign.

Two major aspects of Asa's reign are covered by both the Deuteronomistic historian and the Chronicler: (1) a religious reform and (2) a successful response to Baasha's invasion of Judah.

**B. Asa's Reform**

The account in 1 Kings indicates that the reform included the following actions by Asa, who (a) expelled the male cult prostitutes from the land; (b) removed all the images which his predecessors had made; (c) deposed his mother (grandmother?) Maacah from her position as queen mother (*gĕbîrâ*) because she had made an abominable image (*mipleṣet*) for Asherah; (d) destroyed this image by cutting it down and burning it; and (e) brought votive offerings into the temple. The Deuteronomistic historian praises Asa for doing "that which was right in the sight of Yahweh, like David his father" (15:11) and claims that, although the "high places" (*bāmôt*) were not abolished, the king was completely loyal to Yahweh all his life (15:14).

The Chronicler adds that Asa abolished the foreign altars and incense altars, and also claims (2 Chr 15:9–12) that Asa, in the 3d month of the 15th year of his reign, assembled all of Judah, Benjamin, and those who had come to live with them from Ephraim, Manasseh, and Simeon, to enter into a covenant to seek guidance from Yahweh. Those who refused to seek Yahweh, whether old or young, male or female, were put to death (2 Chr 15:13). Whether such a covenant ceremony took place is debated, but Williamson has suggested that the Chronicler's account of these matters is based on a special source and presents a plausible rendering of what took place (*Chronicles* NCBC, 269–71).

Asa's removal of Maacah from the position of queen mother is mentioned in 1 Kgs 15:13 and 2 Chr 15:16. Because her association with the goddess Asherah would have brought her into conflict with Asa's reform, Ahlström has concluded the queen mother's position was essentially cultic in nature (1963: 57–

85). Other possibilities for understanding the queen mother's role have been reviewed recently by Andreasen (1983).

**C. Asa's Response to Baasha's Invasion**

1 Kgs 15:16 indicates that border conflicts between Judah and Israel continued throughout the reigns of Asa and Baasha, but the Deuteronomistic historian focuses on a decisive phase of the struggle. According to this account, Baasha marched into Judah as far as Ramah, which he fortified to cut off access to Jerusalem. Asa responded by sending an appeal, sweetened with a good portion of Judah's treasure, to Ben-hadad, the king of Aram, in Damascus. At that time Aram and Israel were allies, but Asa's request was for Ben-hadad to break off the alliance with Israel. Ben-hadad did so, and sent his forces into N Israelite territory, forcing Baasha to abandon Ramah. Asa then issued a proclamation to all Judah, with no exemptions, and they dismantled Baasha's fortifications at Ramah and used the stones and timbers to fortify Geba and Mizpah (vv 17–22).

The Chronicler's account places these events in the 36th year of Asa's reign (2 Chr 16:1; this conflicts, however, with 1 Kgs 16:6 and 8 which indicate that Baasha had died some 10 years earlier). On the theory that the Chronicler's chronology is based on a source which referred to the 36th year of the division of the monarchy, not of Asa's reign, Baasha's invasion and the related events would have taken place in the 16th year of Asa's reign (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 256–7). It is possible, however, that the Chronicler's chronology serves theological rather than historical purposes (Rudolph 1952; Dillard 1980).

**D. The Chronicler's Other Additions**

The Chronicler has also added to his narrative about Asa an account of the invasion of Zerah the "Cushite" (14:7–13) and speeches to Asa by Azariah ben Oded (15:2–7) and the seer Hanani (16:7–10).

The speeches of Azariah and Hanani are taken by most scholars to be creations of the Chronicler. Azariah's speech is inserted between Asa's victory over Zerah and the account of Asa's religious reform. The Chronicler uses it to depict Asa's reform as inspired by Yahweh. Hanani's speech, on the other hand, condemns Asa for relying on Ben-hadad in the affair with Baasha, rather than on Yahweh as he did in the victory over Zerah. Von Rad has maintained that these and other speeches in 1 and 2 Chr reflect standard Levitical homiletic practice which the Chronicler has employed for his own theological purposes (*PHOE,* 267–80).

Many scholars believe that the account of Asa's victory over Zerah, though written in the Chronicler's style, is based on an event which the Chronicler knew from one of his sources. There is debate, however, over the identity of the invading forces. One view is that Zerah "the Cushite" was an Ethiopian general dispatched to Judah by Osorkon I in his latter years (Kitchen 1973: 309); another view is that the invading forces were a mercenary group stationed at Gerar from the time of Sheshonk's campaign against Judah (*BHI,* 234–35); still another view is that "Cush" in this context refers to an ethnic Bedouin group in the vicinity of Judah which menacingly invaded Asa's territory (Hidal 1976–77: 100–1). In the absence of more evidence, all of these theories remain mere speculation.

The Chronicler also credits Asa with the fortification of cities in Judah (2 Chr 14:6–7). Without entirely ruling out building activity in Asa's reign (cf. 1 Kgs. 15:23), Williamson notes the Chronicler's thematic emphasis in these verses, i.e., the author seeks to establish a connection between Asa's building activity and the peace that Yahweh had supposedly given him as a result of his reform (*Chronicles* NCBC, 260; cf. Welten 1973: 15–19).

**E. Asa's Death**

Asa developed a disease "in his feet" near the end of his life (1 Kgs 15:23); the Chronicler says this happened in the 39th year of his reign (2 Chr 16:12). The nature of this disease has been much discussed. Gout, dropsie, or gangrene have been most frequently suggested. The possibility cannot be excluded, however, that "feet" in this instance, as elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, is a euphemism for genitals (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 276–7; *HAIJ,* 241). Asa was buried in Jerusalem and succeeded by his son Jehoshaphat.

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CARL D. EVANS

**ASAHEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿăśâ›ēl* (עֲשָׂהאֵל)*;* Gk *Asael* (Ἀσαελ)]. The name of 4 or 5 men in the OT.

The name Asahel is formed as a sentence using the verb *ʿaśâ* "to make," "to do" with the divine name El. Asahel means "El has done" or "El has made."

**1.** Asahel was one of the 3 sons of Zeruiah, David's nephews and retainers (see ZERUIAH). As with other figures of tradition, Asahel was remembered by a brief descriptive verse: he was "fleet as the gazelle" (cf. Goliath of Gath, "the shaft of whose spear was like a weaver's beam," 2 Sam 21:19; 1 Chr 20:5). While his brothers served throughout David's reign, Asahel was killed by Abner, the son of Ner, during the war between David and Ish-bosheth, the successor to King Saul (2 Sam 2:18–32); he was buried in the tomb of his father in Bethlehem. Joab, his brother, treacherously slew Abner in revenge for Asahel's death (2 Sam 3:22–30), an act which brought bloodguilt onto David's house, and in expiation for which David had his son and successor Solomon kill Joab (1 Kgs 2:5–6).

The inclusion of Asahel in the lists of David's heroic warriors (2 Sam 23:24; 1 Chr 11:26) suggests that these lists go back to the beginning of David's reign. That this same Asahel is listed as an officer over David's monthly levies (1 Chr 27:7), by which time he should have been dead, however, calls into question the historicity of that list (see DAVID'S CHAMPIONS), unless his name was placed upon this division posthumously to honor him (*IDB* 1:244).

Na›aman's argument (1988: 77–79) that the story of Asahel's death at the hands of Abner was fabricated upon the strength of his mention in these lists is merely meant to support his own view that David's champions were really his high officer corps. 1 Chronicles 27 is the only text where a significant number of David's heroic warriors are presented as officers. Na›aman's thesis requires him to discredit the account of Asahel's death during David's reign in Hebron, since it is highly unlikely that David had actually had a highly organized standing army based on successive monthly levies of 24,000 men each, 288,000 in all, *before* he became king of Israel. (Even the inflated figures of 1 Samuel 11 give Judah only 30,000 men; but cf. *IDB* 1:244.) The story of Asahel's death then, while likely embellished (storytelling and the writing of history were not mutually exclusive categories in the ancient Near East), is probably based on solid historical traditions.

**2.** One of six Levites sent in the 3d year of Jehoshaphat into the villages of Judah with the priests Elishama and Jehoram to teach the book of the law (2 Chr 17:7–8).

**3.** A Levite who assisted in the collection of tithes and devoted offerings in the temple during Hezekiah's attempted centralization of worship (2 Chr 31:11–13; cf. Hayes and Irvine 1987: 48–49).

**4.** The name of the (otherwise unknown) father of one Jonathan, an exile at the time of Ezra. Along with Jahzeiah, the son of Tikvah, this Jonathan opposed Ezra the scribe in his efforts to get the exiles to put away their foreign wives and children (Ezra 10:1–15, esp. v 15).

Although there is some ambiguity about this verse (cf. Vg and NJPSV, which put Jonathan and Jahzeiah in charge of Ezra's commission), Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 156–57) has convincingly argued for the RSV rendering. 1 Esdras 9:14, however, clearly agrees with the Vg and NJPSV Ezra.

**5.** One of the "sons of Ezora" who dismissed his foreign wife following Ezra's action (1 Esd 9:34). The RSV name is AZAEL, as in Ezra 10:41, but it is rendered "Asahel" in and Meyers equates it with the name in Ezra 10:15 (Meyers *Esdras* 89). It is *azaelos* in the LXX. The name is also found as *aazaēlos, azēlos* at Murabba‹at (Meyers *Esdras* 93; DJD 2.227; *Les Grottes de Murabba‹at,* DJD 2/94:12). If this

person is the same as Asahel (4) above, then it is understandable that Jonathan would oppose an action which would result in the expulsion of his mother.

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D. G. SCHLEY

**ASAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *‹ăśāyâ* (עַשָׂיָה)]. The name of 4 individuals in the Hebrew Bible.

**1.** A Levite from the Merari clan, one of the leaders appointed by David to move the ark from the house of Obed-edom to Jerusalem (1 Chr 6:15—Eng6:30; 15:6, 11). Many regard 15:4–10 as a later insertion into Chronicles; however, Talmon (*IDBSup,* 322) and Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 89, 121–22) argue that the repetition of the names in 15:11 is a literary device marking an insertion of source material by the original author.

**2.** One of the royal officials under Josiah, sent as part of a delegation to consult with the prophetess Huldah regarding the discovery of a book of the law in the temple (2 Kgs 22:12, 14; 2 Chr 34:20).

**3.** One of the leaders of the tribe of Simeon (1 Chr 4:36), among those who fought near Gedor (= Gerar?) and against the Meunites (1 Chr 4:38–43).

**4.** One of the descendants of Judah's son Shelah who returned to Jerusalem after the Babylonian captivity (1 Chr 9:5). Since the Chronicler gives the total number of those from the tribe of Judah who returned (1 Chr 9:6b), and since he lists descendants of Judah through Perez (1 Chr 9:4) and through Zerah (1 Chr 9:6a), MT Shilonites should be revocalized to Shelanites, the descendants of Judah's son Shelah (cf. Num 26:20; Neh 11:4–6).

RAYMOND B. DILLARD

**ASAIAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Asaias* (Ἀσαιας)]. A descendant of Annan and one of the returned exiles who was required by Ezra to divorce his foreign wife (1 Esdr 9:32). In the parallel text of Ezra 10:31, the name ISSHIJAH appears in the position Asaias holds in 1 Esdr 9:32.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

**ASAPH** (PERSON) [Heb *›āsāp* (אָסָף)]. ASAPHITE. Three individuals in the OT bear the name Asaph (see also 4. below). In addition, this name occurs in the inscription *l›sp* on a seal from Megiddo which has been variously dated to the 8th or 7th century B.C.E. (Diringer 1934: 168–69).

**1.** Son of Berechiah, eponymous ancestor of "the Asaphites" (RSV: "sons of Asaph"), and one of the great families or guilds of musicians and singers in the Jerusalem temple (1 Chr 6:39; 25:1, 2; 2 Chr 5:12). The headings of 12 psalms (50,73–83) include the designation *lĕ›āsāp,* most likely an indication that they were a part of an Asaphic collection or were performed according to the style or tradition of the guild bearing Asaph's name (note also the Asaphic attribution of the psalm anthology in 1 Chr 16:7–36). The theory that the Asaphic tradition was of N Israelite origins (Buss 1963) is intriguing but highly speculative, given that the rationale for attribution in the headings of the psalms remains uncertain.

At the time of the return from the exile, "temple singers" (1 Esdr 5:27; 1:15) in general could be referred to simply as "Asaphites" (Ezra 2:41 [ = Neh 7:44; 1 Esdr 5:27]). The prominence of this guild is also apparent in the designation of the Asaphite Uzzi the son of Bani as "the overseer of the Levites" (*pākîd halĕwiyyim*) over the work of the house of God (Neh 11:22). The subsequent reference to Persian support (Neh 11:23; see Rudolph *Esra Nehemia* HAT, 187) and the contrast of Uzzi's area of responsibility with that of Pethahiah the son of Meshezabel in the succeeding verse ("all matters concerning the people," Neh 11:24) support the suggestion that this guild at some point oversaw the Jerusalem cultus under Persian sponsorship (for a differing view see Clines *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 219). This scenario would accord well with the prominence given to the ancestor Asaph in 1 Chr 16:1–6, 37–42, where he is designated "the chief" (*hāro›š*) of the Levites minstering before the ark in Jerusalem, while the priest Zadok and the singers Heman and Jeduthun were appointed by David to serve at Gibeon. Postexilic development in the guilds of singers (Gese 1974, Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC,

120–22; opposed by Clines *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 55–56) resulted in the replacement of the Asaphites by the guild of Heman as the preeminent group (cf. esp. 1 Chr 25:5).

Of Asaph himself, little can be said with confidence. According to the Chronicler, Asaph was a descendant of Gershom the son of Levi and one of three Levitical singers whom David placed in charge of the service of song in the house of YHWH (1 Chr 6:16–33—Eng6:31–48; 15:16–19). Nevertheless, both the Levitical and Davidic connections are so characteristic of the Chronicler's attempts to legitimate the cultus of his own day (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 73, 122) that they must remain suspect. Mowinckel speculated that if Asaph was a historical figure at all, he "probably belonged to the temple personnel after the reconstruction under Zerubbabel, or perhaps in late preexilic times" (1962: 2: 96; contrast, however, Clines [*Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 56] Asaph "was not improbably a contemporary of David"). That Asaph is designated "the seer" (*haḥōzeh,* 2 Chr 29:30; see also Heman in 1 Chr 25:5, Jeduthun in 2 Chr 35:15, and "who should prophesy" [Qere: *hannibbĕʾîm*] in 1 Chr 25:1) is probably an indication that the musical guilds of the Chronicler's day fulfilled the function of cultic prophesy (see Johnson 1962: 69–74).

**2.** Father (or possibly "ancestor") of Joah the recorder under Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18:18,37 = Isa 36:3, 22). Nothing more is known of this individual.

**3.** "Keeper of the forest" under the Persian king Artaxerxes (Neh 2:8). Nehemiah requested authorization from Artaxerxes to procure timber from the forest under Asaph's jurisdiction for rebuilding Jerusalem's wall and temple. This Asaph may have been a Jew who, as Nehemiah did, rose to a position of some administrative prominence under Persian rule. It is also possible, however, that the name is an assimilation into Hebrew of a Phoenician or Persian name (Clines *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 143). The location of the forest is unknown.

**4.** "From the sons of Asaph" in 1 Chr 26:1 should be read "son of Ebiasaph" with $LXX^B$ and with 1 Chr 9:19. Asaph of the Levitical genealogies (see item 1 above) belonged to the family of Gershom; it was Ebiasaph who was of the lineage of Kohath (Exod 6:25; 1 Chr 6:8,22—Eng6:23,37).

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J. S. ROGERS

**ASARAMEL** (PLACE) [Gk *Asaramel* (Ἀσαραμελ)]. According to 1 Macc 14:27–28, "on the eighteenth day of Elul, in the one hundred and seventy-second year, which is the third year of Simon the great high priest, in Asaramel in the great assembly of the priests and the people and the rulers of the nation and the elders of the country, the following was proclaimed to us." Asaramel (*en asaramel* in Codex Alexandrinus, VL, and Vg; *en saramel* in all other witnesses) appears to be the location where a proclamation was made recognizing the contribution of the Hasmoneans in the defense of Judaism and the Jewish people. One cannot escape the conclusion that the Gk text treats Asaramel (or Saramel) as a place, and yet no such location is known to have existed. Asaramel has been generally treated by translators as a corruption of the original Heb occurring during translation into Gk or during the transmission of the Gk text. Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 501) notes that although there is mss evidence that the point of origin could be included in a decree, our text places the reference "in Asaramel" after the date and not after the reference to the assembly (14: 28) according to the form of extant witnesses. One possibility is that *en asaramel* is a corruption of the Heb *ḥāṣēr ʿam ʾēl,* "the court of God's people." This means that Simon was the great high priest in the Temple. Such an interpretation raises the question of why the term would have been transliterated rather than translated. The Syr translator of 1 Macc translated the Gk as *rbʾ bʾsryl* (or *dbʾsryl*), "prince of Israel." Syr uses *rbʾ* to translate the Heb *śar* (cf. Sir 10:24). If the Syr is correct, the original Heb behind Asaramel was *śar ʿam ʾēl,* "the Prince of God's People." We are therefore dealing

with a title rather than a location. This possibility is supported by 1 Macc 13:42 and 15:1 which accord Simon a political title as well as the priestly. Thus 1 Macc 14:27 declares Simon to be both a great high priest and prince. Zeitlin (1950: 227) proposed that the preposition *en* which preceded *asaramel* could have been added later to make sense out of what was thought to have been a place name, and Goldstein (1976 *1 Maccabees* AB, 502) suggested that an original *waw* ("and") was changed into a *bet* ("in") owing to an error in phonetic spelling or hearing or perhaps a garbled Gk text. It is also possible that a later scribe, thinking Asaramel to be a place name, altered the "and" to an "in" in order for the text to make sense.

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**ASAREL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăśarʾēl* (אַשַׂרְאֵל)]. One of the 4 sons of Jahallelel in the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr 4:16). In the LXX, the name appears as *Iserael*, which Curtis (*Chr* ICC, 110) believes to be an altered form of "Israel." Among the brothers of Asarel, Ziph is actually the name of a town in southern Judah (*LBHG*, 256, 291) so there is a possibility that Asarel may also be an eponym. (For further discussion, see Myers *1 Chr* AB; Williamson *Chr* NCBC.)

H. C. LO

**ASCENSION OF CHRIST.** The doctrine of the ascension includes the ascent, the session at God's right hand, and the judgment. It has been interpreted through the Person of Christ, through the work of Christ, and through both (Walker 1968: 80–81). There is "no incident in the life of Jesus at one and the same time so beset with difficulties and so essential as the Ascension" (Barclay 1961: 315). It may well be the most neglected doctrine of the church (Jansen 1959: 17), even though it is considered one of the most important themes of the NT, and the heavenly intercession and PAROUSIA are inexplicable apart from it (Donne 1977: 567) and the doctrine of God makes no sense without it (Haroutunian 1956: 280).

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A. OT Roots of the Ascension
B. NT Witness
C. History of the Doctrine

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**A. OT Roots of the Ascension**

The coronation psalms (24, 47, 68, 110, 118) prefigure the ascension, exaltation, and session (Toon 1984: 21–29). In the LXX ascent language is used in Psalms 24(25):3, 47(48):5 and 68(69):18, and the phrase "sit at my right hand" of Ps 110(111):1 prefigures Christ's exaltation and is the most quoted OT text in the NT. Enoch (Gen 5:24, Heb 11:5) and Elijah's (2 Kgs 2:1–18) ascensions give other historical examples. The word *anelēmphthē,* used of Elijah's translation in the LXX of 2 Kgs (4 Kgdms) 2:11, is used of Christ's ascension in Mark 16:19 and 1 Tim 3:16.

**B. NT Witness**

The ascension is considered the essential link between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith (Donne 1983: 25). For the NT, the description of the ascension is secondary to its theological meaning (Robinson *IDB* 1: 246). Nearly all NT writers testify to the ascension, although the Epistles (Rom 8:34, Ephes 1:20–21, 4:8–11, Heb 6:20) assume rather than describe it (Holwerda *ISBE* 1: 311). The Gospels focus on the physical aspects, whereas Paul, the theologian, emphasizes Christ's spiritual body (Simpson 1968: 419–20). The Johannine pericopes do not mention the ascension, but imply it on several occasions (John 8:14, 21; 13:3, 33, 36; 14:4, 5, 28; 16:5, 10, 17, 28). They portray Christ in the descent-ascent motif of his journey from and to his Father.

Gk terms describing or referring to Christ's ascension include *analēmpseōs* "received up," "assumption" (Luke 9:51); *diestē apʾ autōn* "withdrew from them" (Luke 24:51); *hypagō* "I go" (John 7:33; 8:14; 13:3, 33, 36); *metabē ek tou kosmou* "remove out of the world" (John 13:1); *poreuomai* "going away" (John 14:2; cf. *apelthō,* John 16:7); *aphiēmi ton kosmon* "I leave the world" (John 16:28); *kai poreuomai pros*

*ton patera* "and go to the Father" (just as in the incarnation he came from the Father, *egō para thou Theou exēlthon* [John 16:27]; cf. *pros se erchomai* "I come to you" [John 17:11, 13]); *analēmphtheis aplˋ humōn eis ton ouranon* "taken up from you into heaven" (Acts 1:11); *anabas eis hyphos,* "ascended on high" (Eph 4:8); *hyperypsōsen* "highly exalted" (Phil 2:9); *anelēmphthē en doxę̄* "was taken up in glory" (1 Tim 3:16); *poreutheis eis ouranon* "gone into heaven" (1 Pet 3:22); and *hērpasthē* "was snatched up" (Rev 12:5). In Luke 24:51, Acts 1:11, 22 and 1 Tim 3:16 the verbs are all passive, whereas in John 3:13, 6:62, Eph 4:10 and Heb 4:14 they are all active—indicating that Christ is drawn from the world by God and also goes of his own volition (cf. Metzger 1968: 80).

**C. History of the Doctrine**

"Belief in the ascension was universal in the early church, both in East and West" (Swete 1910: 1), but its critics are found through the centuries. By the 4th century the ascension was celebrated in the liturgy, although even after Augustine (354–430 C.E.) its doctrinal development continued (Bray 1988: 47).

The only direct reference to the ascension in the Apostolic Fathers is the phrase *anebē eis ouranous* "He ascended into heaven" (*Ep. Barn.* 15.9), showing already the confessional formulation of the doctrine. This is also evident in Justin Martyr (*1 Apol.* 21.1; 31.7; 42.4; 46.5; 50.12; 54.7; *Dial.* 34.2; 39.4; 63.1; 85.1; 108.2; 132.1). Melito of Sardis refers to the ascension in his paschal homily (*Pass.* 104.788). The doctrine is assumed by Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.10.1; 3.4.2) and Origen (*Princ. praef.* 4) and adverted to by Tertullian (*Adv. Prax.* 2; *Praescr.* 13; *Virg. vel.* 1). Its formulation in the Apostles' Creed—*ascendit in caelis sedit ad dextram Patris* ("he ascended into heaven, seated at the right hand of the Father")—became normative for the theology of the western churches.

The scholastic interpretation of the ascension in medieval theology is exemplified in the *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas of Aquinas. It was fitting that Christ's unchanging life after his resurrection take place in heaven, the "place of incorruptibility," rather than on earth, a place subject to change and corruption (*Summa* 3 q. 57a 1).

With the Reformation, early Protestant orthodoxy appropriated the doctrine of the ascension particularly in the context of disputes concerning the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

In the 16th century, Melancthon was the first to attempt to harmonize the ascension with science, and Calvin produced a Copernican revolution through his ascension studies. Whereas previously scholars focused on Christ present with his Body—the Church—making it impossible (they thought) to be bodily present at God's throne, Calvin reversed this by stressing the bodily presence of Christ in heaven alone (*Institutes* [1559] 4.17.12, 26). Whereas, too, emphasis had been on the person of Christ, Calvin considered the work of Christ—Godwards and manwards, breaking new ground in his *triplex munus* (threefold office) of the ascended Christ as prophet, king, and priest. Calvin upheld the bodily ascension of Christ to God's throne, with no bodily presence in church or sacrament (*Institutes* [1559] 4.17.12). He supported a localized humanity of the ascended Jesus in contrast to Luther's ubiquitous omnipresence of his humanity (WA [1527] 23.133).

Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) rejected the ascension as having any part in the doctrine of Christ's person (*Christian Faith* [1830] 2.99). The century was preoccupied with history rather than with the session at God's throne, with individualism rather than with the corporate humanity in Christ, with his prophetic ministry on earth rather than also with his priestly ministry in heaven. Most of the 19th-century "lives of Jesus" omitted the ascension, ending with the resurrection, and systematic theologians (Hodge, Shedd) barely mentioned it. By contrast, Milligan's book broke new ground by presenting the ascension's authenticity.

Cosmological questions, biblical criticism and secularization reduced interest in the ascension in the 20th century (Toon 1984: 141). Harnack's article "Das Apostolische Glaubensbekenntniss" ("The Apostles' Creed") (1892) had questioned the biblical data because of its cosmology. Today the 16th-century Eucharistic controversy is deemed by some irrelevant, because Christ is viewed as above space and time (Harvey 1966: 28). Karl Barth (1960: 453–54) opposed visualizing the ascension "as a literal event, like going up in a balloon." Rather it was an entrance into a dimension of the created world "provisionally inaccessible" to the disciples. T. F. Torrance presented (1976) the reality of the ascension

within a post-Copernican cosmology, and many concur that the ascension is not destroyed by an outdated cosmology.

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**ASCENT OF HERES** (PLACE). See HERES, ASCENT OF (PLACE).

**ASCENT TO HEAVEN.** See HEAVEN, ASCENT TO.

**ASCLEPIUS** (NHC VI,*8*). The title assigned to the 8th tractate in codex VI of the collection of 4th-century Nag Hammadi Coptic manuscripts. The text, which extends from line 15 of p. 65 to line 43 of p. 78 of codex VI, has suffered considerable damage to the first half-dozen lines or so of each page beginning with p. 67. The Coptic dialect of NHC VI is Sahidic, with some Akhmimic and Subakh-mimic variants.

The document lacks a title in the manuscript. The title *Asclepius* derives from the fact that this tractate represents a Coptic translation of a portion (sections 21–29) of the Hermetic dialogue which is so entitled in its Lat translation (the only version preserving the complete dialogue). The title *Asclepius*derives from the name of one of the interlocutors of the dialogue, the Greek and Roman demigod Asclepios/Aesculapius. The Greek original underlying both the Coptic and the Lat versions was entitled *The Perfect Discourse,* fragments of which are preserved in citations made by later authors. The earliest of these authors, the church father Lactantius, proves that *The Perfect Discourse* existed at the beginning of the 4th century C.E.; its composition may therefore be plausibly assigned to the 3d century. In those passages where the Gk original can be compared with both the Lat and the Coptic, the Coptic is markedly and consistently closer to the Gk than is the Lat, confirming that it more faithfully translates *The Perfect Discourse* than does the paraphrastic Lat *Asclepius.*

It is uncertain why the parameters of the Coptic excerpt are such as they are. It is possible that the Coptic text represents one or more of what may have been originally smaller, independent units of Hermetic literature that were eventually redacted into a larger Gk tract summarizing all Hermetic doctrine, hence a "perfect" discourse. This may also help to explain why the prayer that concludes the Latin *Asclepius* (sec. 41) appears in Coptic as a separate, *preceding* tractate in NHC VI (see THANKSGIVING, PRAYER OF). It is equally possible, however, that the current parameters of the Coptic *Asclepius* are simply due to the whims either of the Coptic translator or, more likely, of the copyist. In a note which immediately precedes the excerpt (65.8–14) and which he may have intended in part as an introduction to it, the translator/copyist informs the reader that many Hermetic discourses are in his hands and that he hesitates to copy them all.

As defined by the parameters of the Coptic excerpt, at any rate, *Asclepius* preserves the typically Hermetic form of a dialogue between mystagogue (in this case Hermes Trismegistos) and initiate (here Asclepios), covering a wide range of topics. Beginning with an exposition of the mystery of sexual intercourse (65.15–34), Hermes expounds on the distinction between the many who have no knowledge of God's mysteries and the few who do (65.34–66.25). For the latter, this *gnosis* is a healing of their passions, while the passions of the former are incurable. Although mortal and subject to passions because of their material bodies, humanity has been granted such knowledge from God, making man immortal and akin to God (66.26–68.19). This kinship with God enables man, like God himself, to create gods, if only in human likeness (68.20–69.27). Such gods are truly living gods, not merely the statues by which they are portrayed, as disbelievers think. There will come a day, however, when Egypt's worship of the gods will be scorned by blasphemous foreigners who will prohibit their worship, persecute the faithful, and fill the land with tombs. Egypt, the temple of the world, will be deserted by the gods and desecrated by the crimes of these men (69.27–73.22). But the Creator, who desires the Good, will destroy this perverted society as he has before, with water and fire, finally restoring the world and the faithful (73.23–at least 75.36). The excerpt closes by describing death and depicting the examination of the departed soul by a great spirit appointed by God to judge souls. The respective rewards and punishments due are described at length.

What its Christian readers made of the originally pagan Egyptian justification for the cult of images and eschatological polemic against its destruction (68.20–73.22) is difficult to say. Perhaps they simply saw in themselves the fulfillment of its prophecies, much in the same way as other contemporary Christians adduced pagan oracles as witnesses, however grudging or unwitting, to the truth and power of Christianity. It is readily understandable, on the other hand, that contemporary Christian readers, in particular ascetics, would find the discussion of saving *gnosis*, elimination of the passions, kinship to God, the destruction of a sinful world and the judgment of souls (65.34–68.19; 73.22–78.43) attractive reading. *Asclepius* attests, at any rate, the free exchange of literature among various religious groups, Christian and non-Christian alike, in late antique E Roman settings.

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**ASCLEPIUS, CULT OF.** Asclepius was the most important god of healing in the Greco-Roman world. In the 1st century C.E. and even more in the 2d, his benefactions as a miraculous healer and divine guide were celebrated in hundreds of temples across the Roman empire. Inevitably, as Christianity emerged proclaiming traditions of Jesus as a miraculous healer, Jesus' virtues were compared with the powers and widely attested wonders of Asclepius.

Asclepius was probably originally an earth deity worshiped before the Greek migrations in the town of Tricca in Thessaly (Hom. *Il.* 2.729–31), though later Epidaurus claimed to be his birthplace (Paus. 2.26.1–27.6). His name was spelled in a variety of ways in its earliest Greek forms, including Aiskalapios, which gave rise to the Latin form, Aesculapius. The etymology of the name is obscure, but by the 4th century B.C.E. a tradition of interpretive word-plays had begun to emerge (Plut. *Mor.* 845B). In the 1st century C.E., for example, Cornutus says that "Asclepius derived his name from healing soothingly (*epios*) and from deferring the withering (*aposklesis*) that comes with death" (*Compend.* 33).

Asclepius was incorporated into Greek mythology with characteristics of both hero and deity. He was the son of Apollo and the mortal Coronis, according to the most common myth. In a jealous rage Apollo killed Coronis but saved Asclepius from her womb, and gave him to the centaur Chiron, who taught him all the healing arts (Pind. *Pyth.* 3; Ov., *Met.* 2.542–648). Asclepius had a family, which included the heroic sons Podilarius and Machaon, whom Homer identified as physicians among the Greeks at Troy (Hom. *Il.* 2.729–33; 11.833–36). His wife and daughters were his familiar companions in his various sanctuaries and were believed to personify aspects of the healing arts: Epione, his wife; Hygieia, his most prominent daughter; and other daughters, Panaceia, Akeso, Iaso, Aigle, and others. Asclepius' skill was such, according to the myth, that he even raised a mortal from the dead and might have done the same for all humankind, but Zeus forestalled granting humanity such salvation from death by striking Asclepius down with a thunderbolt. In his death, however, Asclepius was elevated to the status of a god, and it is as a full deity with both chthonic and celestial characteristics, that he functions in the historical Asclepius cult centers. He was always closely linked to Apollo, sharing the epithet "Paean," and in the imperial period sometimes even identified with Zeus.

The expansion of the Asclepius cult began in the 5th century B.C.E., especially from Epidaurus, where Asclepius was associated with the ancient cult of Apollo Maleatas. Epidaurus actively promoted the cult and established branch sanctuaries in numerous cities. Perhaps most important was the introduction of the cult into Athens in 420 B.C.E., under the patronage of the aged Sophocles, who was said to have provided his home as a sanctuary of the god until his temple on the S slope of the Acropolis was finished (*IG* $II^2$, 4960a; *Etym. Magn.* s.v. *dexion*). Sophocles composed a paean to Asclepius that continued in use at least into the 3d century C.E. Athenian influence may have contributed to the expansive building program that enhanced the sanctuary at Epidaurus throughout the 4th century. In the early 4th century Epidaurus fostered a branch sanctuary in Pergamon and later in the century sponsored another just inside the city walls of Corinth.

In 293 B.C.E., when a plague struck Rome, the Sibylline Books—perhaps supported by an oracle from Delphi—instructed the Romans to bring Asclepius from Epidaurus to Rome. He was brought, according to legend, in the form of a sacred serpent and chose the Tiber Island for his sanctuary (Livy 10.47; Ov. *Met.* 15:622–745). The only major sanctuary of Asclepius that tried to maintain independence from Epidaurus was that at Cos, the home of Hippocrates, which claimed to have been established directly from Tricca in the 6th century B.C.E. In Ptolemaic Egypt, Asclepius flourished through his identification with the legendary deified physician Imhotep (Imuthes).

The Asclepius cults went through major periods of expansion in the 4th and 3d centuries B.C.E. and again in the 2d century C.E. During the earlier period, Epidaurus, as the god's greatest center, not only expanded its role as place of pilgrimage for healing—promoted in official inscriptions recounting scores of the god's miracles—but also strove to become a Panhellenic center like Delphi or Olympia. In addition to buildings directly related to the cult, Epidaurus added a gymnasium, stadium, baths, and its justly famous 14,000–seat theater. Its wealth was attested in the excellent construction of such buildings as the

round Tholos and in the colossal gold and ivory cult statue of the seated Asclepius by the Parian sculptor Thrasymedes. The god's Zeus-like visage expressed grandeur and benevolence; he held a staff in his left hand and extended his right over the head of his sacred serpent (Paus. 2.27.2). In the Roman period, Epidaurus again expanded, adding Roman baths, a music hall, and hotel facilities with 160 rooms.

Epidaurus early developed the regimen of incubation in the sanctuary that was widely used throughout the history of the cult. Typically a pilgrim might undergo a 3-day period of purification with baths and abstinence from sexual intercourse and certain foods such as goat meat and cheese. Afterward, he brought an animal sacrifice to Apollo and offerings of honey cakes to other divinities. He then might sacrifice a piglet to Asclepius and give an offering of money appropriate to his own wealth. As he entered the sleeping chamber (*abaton* or *enkoimeterion*), where he hoped and expected to receive either immediate healing or some helpful prescription from the god in a dream, he would bring offerings of cakes to Fortune, Memory, and Law. The person slept wearing a sacred laurel wreath and left it behind on his bed in the morning (Burkert 1985: 267–68). What followed depended on the dreams experienced by the pilgrim and might vary from an instant cure to a prescribed dietary regimen to an extended period of apparently nonsensical treatments. In any case, the pilgrim was expected to complete his visit to the sanctuary by bringing a thank-offering to the god.

The effectiveness of Asclepius' ministry throughout the Greco-Roman world is attested by the archaeological discovery of hundreds of votive tablets and graphic representations of portions of the body healed by the god. The cult gave emphasis to the needs of the individual and promoted a personal devotion to the god. Such attachment is apparent in numerous inscriptions, but appears most vividly in *Sacred Tales* of orator Aelius Aristides, who was incapacitated by a variety of maladies and spent many months at the Asclepieion in Pergamon during the 2d century C.E. In that period the sanctuary at Pergamon reached its greatest prosperity. Like Epidaurus it had grown with the affluence of the times and the popularity of its deity to be a large health spa complex, and supported a school of medicine led by Galen, the leading physician of the period.

In pagan debates with Christianity, Asclepius as savior and healer played a distinctive role. Both Celsus and later Julian portrayed his activity as clearly parallel to Christ. Christian polemic disparaged many details of the myths attached to Asclepius, and even when powerful deeds were conceded to him (such as driving the plague out of Rome), these were attributed to the power of the devil, since Asclepius himself was a demon. In spite of Christian persecution, the cult continued until the 5th century C.E.

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**ASENATH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾāsĕnat* (אָסְנַת)]. Egyptian daughter of Potiphera, priest of On, given by Pharaoh to the patriarch Joseph as wife, and mother of his sons Manasseh and Ephraim (Gen 41:45, 50–52; 46:20). While the Hebrew Bible simply identifies Asenath as Joseph's Egyptian wife and mother of his sons, later Jewish traditions sought to explain how one of the most revered patriarchs could marry the

foreign daughter of a pagan priest (Aptowitzer 1924:239–306). By far the longest of these traditions is an anonymous Gk work, JOSEPH AND ASENETH, *(Jos. Asen.*) composed between the 1st cent. B.C.E. and the 2d cent. C.E., probably in Egypt (*OTP* 2: 177–201). What is striking about this work, vis-à-vis the biblical narrative, is that the female character is as fully developed as that of the patriarch Joseph, if not more so. Asenath is the beautiful 18-year-old virgin daughter of Pentephres, priest of Heliopolis and satrap of Pharaoh. A willful and headstrong woman, Asenath spurns all her suitors, preferring the seclusion of her tower to worship her many idols. After rejecting her father's request for her to marry Joseph, Asenath later falls in love with Joseph upon seeing him. Joseph, however, refuses Asenath's love, insisting that he cannot kiss a foreign woman who worships dumb idols and eats at their table. Asenath then repents of her idols and her arrogance and converts to the God of the Hebrews. She can now become a suitable mate for the most pious and chaste of the patriarchs, Joseph.

The name Asenath is characteristically Egyptian. The first 2 consonants have the meaning, "she belongs to …," followed probably by the goddess Neit. This is a common name of the Middle Kingdom and first Intermediate (2000–1500) (*ISBE* 1: 314; Kidner *Genesis* TOTC, 197).

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GALE A. YEE

**ASHAN** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿāšān* (עָשָׁן)]. Var. BOR-ASHAN. A city which was originally part of the allotment of the tribe of Judah (Josh 15:42, but see below) and which was later given to the tribe of Simeon (Josh 19:7, 1 Chr 4:32). The site has been associated with Khirbet Asan, NW of Beer-sheba (see *IDB* 1:248). This site remains unknown archaeologically (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 438). A variant, Bor-Ashan ("well of Ashan"), occurs at 1 Sam 30:30 as one of the cities to which David sent spoil after his defeat of the Amalekites.

Ashan served as a Levitical city according to 1 Chr 6:44—Eng6:59. A difficulty arises when one notices that some mss of the LXX have *asan* (the Gk form of Ashan) at Josh 21:16 rather than Ain as in the MT. Since Joshua 21 lists the cities given to the tribe of Levi, this would reinforce the placing of Ashan with the Levitical cities. The relationship between Ain and Ashan in the other city-lists, however, is unclear.

Another problem arises when one compares the Simeonite city-lists of Joshua 19 and 1 Chronicles 4 with the Judahite list of Joshua 15. The terms of the scholarly debate on this comparison center on whether Ashan rightfully belongs at Josh 15:42 (it is missing from the LXX at this point) or at Josh 15:32 on the basis of comparisons with the Simeonite lists. In favor of the first position, see Kallai-Kleinman 1958:159 n. 1. The case for the second position is made by Cross and Wright 1956:214. This debate has implications for the administrative location of Ashan. If Ashan belongs at Josh 15:42, then it was grouped with the cities of the Shephelah, or Lowland, region (cf. Josh 15:33). If Ashan belongs at v 32, however, one would place its administrative district further S (cf Josh 15:21).

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**ASHARELAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăśarʾēlâ* (אֲשַׂרְאֵלָה)]. Var. JESHARELAH. One of the 4 sons of Asaph who were appointed to prophesy with musical instruments under the direction of their father and the king (1 Chr 25:2). The KJV reads Asarelah in accordance with the dominant MT tradition, while the RSV reads the name according to the Heb variant tradition *ʾăšarʾēlâ.* Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 186) and others suggest that *ʾăšarʾēlâ* is a conflation of the words *ʾăšarʾēl* and *ʾēlleh,* "Asharel. These (are) …" Such a scribal error may also have included the omission of the word "four," thus explaining why the sons of Asaph are not explicitly numbered as are the sons of Jeduthun (1 Chr 25:3) and Heman (1 Chr 25:4).

A comparison of the lists of names in 1 Chr 25:2–6 and 1 Chr 25:9–31 reveals that the three brothers of Asarelah in 1 Chr 25:2 receive the 1st, 3d, and 5th lots which were cast to determine duties (1 Chr 25:8–12). The 7th lot fell to Jesharelah (1 Chr 25:14), and the resulting pattern suggests that Jesharelah and Asharelah are names for the same person. While most scholars suggest that 1 Chr 25:9–31 is either literarily dependent upon or historically later than 1 Chr 25:2–6 (Williamson 1979: 255–7), Petersen (1977: 67) contends that 1 Chr 25:9–31 contains the more-original forms of the variant names. Such a view opposes the conflation theory mentioned above. Petersen (1977: 68) suggests that 1 Chronicles 25 originally dealt only with the sons of Asaph, thus explaining the lack of explicit numbering of the sons of Asaph in 1 Chr 25:2.

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**ASHBEA** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾašbēʿa* (אַשְׁבֵּעַ)]. See BETH-ASHBEA (PLACE).

**ASHBEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾašbēl* (אַשְׁבֵּל)]. ASHBELITES. One of the sons of Benjamin and head of the Ashbelites, according to 3 genealogies of Benjamin (Gen 46:21; Num 26:38; 1 Chr 8:1). A 4th Benjaminite genealogy replaces Ashbel with "Jediael" (1 Chr 7:6), a substitution made perhaps to remove the heathen sounding "Ashbel" (man of Baal?), replacing it with the more acceptable sounding "Jediael" (known to God?). The Syr and Ar read "Ashbel" in 1 Chronicles 7:6 instead of "Jediael." Two of the Benjaminite genealogies which include Ashbel speak of him as Benjamin's 2d son (1 Chr 8:1; Num 26:38), while the other (Gen 46:21) lists him as Benjamin's 3d son. In Genesis 46:21, the 2d son is "Becher." Johnson *IDB* 1:248 suggests that Becher can be restored to both Numbers 26:38 and 1 Chronicles 8:1, rendering Ashbel as Benjamin's 3d son in all 3 genealogies. He does this by suggesting that Becher was misplaced in Numbers 26:35 among the sons of Ephraim (the LXX does omit Becher from Numbers 26:35), and that Becher (Heb *beker*) was mistakenly treated as "his first-born" (Heb *bĕkōrô*) in 1 Chronicles 8:1. Williamson is critical of attempts to emend 1 Chronicles 8:1 to read "Becher" as a 2d son, pointing out that the series of ordinals, "the second, the third, etc.," continue through all 5 of Benjamin's sons, making a harmonistic emendation unlikely in this text (*Chronicles* NCBC, 83). See BECHER.

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**ASHDOD** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾašdôd* (אַשְׁדּוֹד)]. Var. AZOTUS. An important Philistine city mentioned in several passages in the Bible. The ancient city is identified with modern Tel Ashdod (M.R. 117129), 15 km N of Ashkelon and ca. 4 km inland from the Mediterranean Sea. The main coastal road from Gaza to Jaffa runs just E of the tell; in antiquity this was known as the "Way of the Philistines" or the "Via Maris." The Lachish river in the region of Ashdod was navigable until recently; at its outlet stands Tel Mor, which most probably served as Ashdod's harbor (Dothan 1960; 1973b).

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## A. Textual References

The people of Ashdod are first mentioned in Ugaritic, both in cuneiform and alphabetic texts from the 14th–13th centuries B.C. These texts deal mainly with Ashdod textile merchants who brought both purple wool and garments from Ashdod probably to Ugarit. The Ashdod merchants living in Ugarit and in its port Maʿhadu (Minet el-Beideh) bear mostly W-Semitic names.

Ashdod, its inhabitants, and its surrounding territory appear in the Bible many times. In Josh 11:21–22, which recounts how Joshua wiped out the Anakim, there is a note indicating that some Anakim remained in Ashdod. Although Ashdod was assigned to the tribe of Judah (Josh 15:47), it does not seem to have been conquered by the Israelites. After the battle of Ebenezer, Ashdod became the scene of the story about the temple of Dagon to which the ark of the covenant was brought by the Philistines (1 Sam 5:1–7). After the Philistines suffered several more disasters during its stay, the ark was moved to Gath.

Ashdod is not mentioned in the Bible again until the reign of Uzziah, king of Judah, who "broke down … the wall of Ashdod and built cities about Ashdod and among the Philistines" (2 Chr 26:6). The conquest of the city in 712 B.C. (Isa 20:1) and its relations with Assyria are well-known from the inscriptions of Sargon II (cf. *ANET*, 284–287). From these sources we know that in 713 B.C. the city, under Azuri, revolted against Assyria. Consequently, Sargon placed Ahimetu on the throne, quelling the revolt while Yamani, who had made himself the king of Ashdod, fled to Egypt. The destroyed city and its territory were annexed by the Assyrians and became a province under an Assyrian governor. In the period of Sennacherib the city did not participate in the revolt of other Philistine cities, and the territory of Ashdod was restored to an independent monarchic status under Mitinti (*ANET*, 287–88). The next vassal king, Ahimilki is mentioned in Assyrian sources under Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal (*ANET*, 291, 294). According to Herodotus, during Ashurbanipal's reign Ashdod withstood an Egyptian siege for 29 years, until it was conquered by Psamtik I. After Nebuchadnezzar's conquest, the king of Ashdod is mentioned as a captive at the Babylonian court (*ANET*, 307–8), while Ashdod and its territory became a Babylonian province. Some of these and later events of Ashdod's history are also mentioned in the Bible (Zeph 2:4; Zech 9:5–6; Neh 4:1–2). During the Persian period Ashdod is mentioned in the book of Judith (2:28).

Our primary sources for the history of Ashdod during the Hellenistic and Roman periods are 1 Macc (5:68; 10:77–78; 13:34; 16:10) and Josephus' *Antiquities*, which contains many references to Ashdod, some of which do not occur in the Bible (*Ant* 5.87; 5.128; 13.395). The city is mentioned only once in the NT (as Azotus; Acts 8:40). In the Roman period, Pompey returned Ashdod, among other cities, to its former inhabitants, and Gabinius restored it (*JW* 1.156, 165f). Later, Ashdod belonged to the Herodian dynasty, until it fell into the hands of the Romans (*JW* 4.130). Strabo and Pliny are among the Roman writers who refer to Ashdod. Eusebius' *Onomasticon* records that *Azotus* (i.e., Ashdod) was a "notable small town," and Hieronymus writes that Ashdod, described as *insigne oppidum* in his time, was the oldest of the 5 Philistine city-states.

## B. Excavations

The city of Ashdod consisted of 2 parts: an acropolis of at least 20 acres, and a lower city, the exact limits of which have not yet been determined since it is still covered with dunes (but which certainly extended over more than 100 acres). The excavations were carried out in 10 areas. On the acropolis 23 strata were uncovered; in the lower city only the 10 uppermost strata were excavated.

Seven seasons of excavations were conducted between 1962–70. The first 2 were sponsored by a joint project of the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, the Carnegie Museum of Pittsburgh, and the Israel Department of Antiquities, while the last 2 seasons (1971–72) were conducted by the Department of Antiquities alone.

**1. Middle Bronze Period.** The acropolis was first settled at the end of the MB III period (stratum XXIII). The most significant discovery is a city gate in area G at the N end of the tell. The brick gate has a straight entrance and two pairs of pilasters. Remains of an earth rampart were traced on both sides of the gate. The join between the gate and the rampart is reinforced by short, tongue-like walls. The plan is similar to that of the E gate at Shechem. The pottery is mostly of the second half of the 17th century B.C.,

indicating that the fortified city was built during the early part of the 15th (Hyksos) Dynasty (1674–1567 B.C.), possibly during the reign of Apophis I. A cylinder seal (Kassite?), though unstratified, is evidence for contacts with Mesopotamia, while some early black-on-red pottery testifies to contact with Cyprus. The earlier gate was destroyed and a new fortification line and probably also a gate—of which little was preserved—were built N of it in the later phase of stratum XXII. In stratum XXI some walls and a paved floor were found in this area. The pottery, including some Cypriot imports, dates from the time between MB III and LB I.

**2. Late Bronze Period.** In the later stage (stratum XX) a section of a thick brick wall with an adjoining pavement may have been part of a defensive structure (gate?) in area G. Bichrome ware now appears in quantity and the Cypriot pottery imports grow. At least two small early LB buildings were uncovered. The most prominent feature of stratum XIX is part of a complex including three parallel walls, a wall perpendicular to them, and a courtyard. The pottery, both local and Cypriot (base ring I) and some Mycenaean wares, testify that this stratum belongs to the last stage of LB I. A great stretch of paving (stratum XVIII) was unearthed in area G, enabling a clearer separation between the strata below and above it. This stratum was also attested in area B, the earliest in the E part of the tell. One of the trenches revealed a foundation laid down for the construction of the city wall protecting the S edge of he acropolis; the wall itself was almost completely washed away. The finds include imported base ring I and bi-chrome wares and suggest dating of stratum XVIII to the transition between LB I and early LB II.

The building remains above the site of the gate in area G indicate that the area again became important. The first substantial structures encountered since stratum XX were found here. The walls, pavement, and floors associated with a large fortified building (probably constructed already in stratum XVIII) may best be followed in the remains of strata XVI–XIV. Its 1.5 m thick walls were made of bricks resting on a ca. 1-m-high stone foundation. According to one possible reconstruction, this was a rectangular fortified building (ca. 34 × 27 m), with 8 rectangular rooms and halls in parallel rows, as well as a plastered pool and a cistern. Two circular stone column bases probably supported columns at the entrance to the building. A plastered cistern in one of the courts collected rainwater from the roofs and transferred it through a channel to another cistern. The building was damaged at the end of stratum XV; the finds, however, which included LB II local, Cypriot, and Mycenaean pottery, indicate the continued prosperity of the LB II city. Sporadic murex shells found in this and in other LB strata point to the significance of the purple industry at Ashdod and its anchorage at Tel Mor. Some of the finds also come from the debris used as a fill for the later settlements (strata XIII–XII). These include a glass fragment with a cartouche of Rameses II, an Egyptian stone palette, and a large fragment of a stone doorjamb with part of a hieroglyphic inscription: "Fanbearer (on) the Right Hand of the King." This inscription, which may be attributed to the 18th–19th Dynasties, is the first found in Canaan mentioning one of the highest Egyptian officials. The building thus seems to have been an Egyptian stronghold palace. In the same period (strata XVI–XIV), on the S side of the tell (area B), a large brick building was uncovered; it may have been a farmhouse, consisting of a central courtyard flanked by rooms. Finds, including Mycenaean pottery, figurines, and scarabs, indicate the prosperity of the city during the Amarna and 19th Dynasty periods.

The end of the LB, though well-attested all over the site, was especially evident in area H. A destruction layer ca. 1 meter thick covered the remains of a brick building with LB and Mycenaean IIIB sherds still on the floors. The destruction of stratum XIV all over the site (and specifically the destruction of the palace in area G) seems to end the Egyptian domination of Ashdod towards the late 19th Dynasty.

**3. Iron Age Period. a. Stratum XIII.** Though the impact of the destruction is evident throughout the site, the transition from the LB city (stratum XIV) to the Iron Age city (stratum XIII) can best be demonstrated in area G. The new inhabitants reused some parts of the stronghold palace for completely different purposes. Some small, poorly constructed rooms were constructed in one of the yards, including a potters' workshop and storerooms. A large number of whole vessels found there show a new style of pottery belonging to the new inhabitants, who came with the 1st wave of the Sea Peoples. These people brought with them a different cultural background expressed, e.g., in the forms and decorations of their pottery, some of which had monochrome decoration very close to the Mycenaean IIIcI pottery in Cyprus.

Near the potters' quarter was a square structure of plastered bricks, covered with ashes mixed with small bones and potsherds and with a reused round stone pillar base blackened by fire. This was probably an altar used by the new settlers. The most interesting of the other finds was a cylinder seal with seated figures, having bird-like heads in Aegean style, and undeciphered signs (letters?).

In area H a large residential quarter was uncovered with two complexes of buildings separated by a wide street. A large rectangular building (17 × 13 m) N of the street had a courtyard and a few rooms bounded on one side by a double wall. Some of the pottery was still made in the Canaanite tradition; however, the most distinctive group was of the Mycenaean IIIc1 type. This pottery appeared at Ashdod before the typical Philistine pottery and may have been brought by some as-yet-unidentified group of the Sea Peoples prior to the arrival of the Philistines proper (stratum XII).

**b. Stratum XII.** The Philistine settlement is represented best in this stratum in area G. The new inhabitants used the remains of the Canaanite-Egyptian palace as part of their defensive line, creating a kind of "casemate" wall (two parallel walls with regular partitions between them). Some of the empty areas of stratum XIII now became industrial centers. In one of the rooms was found a clay bathtub-like basin containing some sherds and a glass ingot. Nearby, a stone bench, a few crushing stones, and remains of a brick structure indicate some sort of an installation (perhaps a glass kiln). The pottery included typical Philistine bi-chrome ornamented vessels.

In area H the residential quarter with the dividing street continued to utilize the stratum XIII plan, with some changes. However, a significant addition was found in the N complex of the buildings: an apsidal-like brick structure built above a rectangular base. On the N-most part of this complex a large hall included stone column bases, which might have supported a roof and a rectangular structure (altar?). At a short distance from the apsidal (cultic?) structure was found a figurine of a seated woman, shown as part of a throne. It probably represents a Philistine goddess (nicknamed "Ashdoda"). Fragments of such figurines, whose prototype seems to have been the Mycenaean "Great Mother," were found on the acropolis throughout strata XII–X. The finds in the rooms of this complex—which contained Philistine pottery, scarabs, beads, cosmetic ware, and ladies' jewelry made of gold, faience, bone, and ivory, as well as gold discs ornamented with Aegean patterns and a seal engraved with enigmatic signs—indicate that this residence may have belonged to high-status women.

In area A remains of a well-built brick structure were uncovered. One of the walls was a double one (1.25 m thick). This structure, most probably part of a tower, served as a part of the defense line of the acropolis and continued this function into strata XI and X; it subsequently lost its importance when a new line of defense, the city wall, was constructed also encompassing the lower city.

**c. Stratum XI.** The increasing prosperity of the city and the growth of its population led to the expansion of the acropolis, N of the casemate city wall of stratum XII (area G). The casemate wall, as well as the courtyards and rooms S of it were rebuilt on a plan similar to that of stratum XII, but with some changes. In the open area to the N of this fortification, a new building complex, made of bricks, was built. The pottery, mainly Philistine, also included a *lekane* bowl known from Greece (Mycenaean IIIcI period) and a large fragment of a pithos decorated with wavy molded application, certainly of foreign origin. In one area a large number of slags and lumps of bronze may suggest a metal industry.

In area A the tower from the previous stratum was still in use. The walls, however, were preserved only on its N side. On the floor, sherds characteristic to the 11th century, mostly Philistine, were found. In area H, a part of a city (?) wall at least 4 m wide was discovered. In addition to the usual Philistine vessels, some sherds of the Mycenaean IIIcI type were still found.

**d. Stratum X.** In this stratum the expansion of the Philistine city reached its climax. The settling of the lower city probably progressed in all directions outside the acropolis. Its excavated section (area M) reached as far as ca. 400 m to the SE of the acropolis. This enormous expansion was certainly due to the increase of population and wealth in the 11th century. This led to the establishment of a new defense line, which had to secure both the upper and the lower city from a possible enemy attack from the E.

The "casemate" wall in area G was demolished and a residential quarter was built above it. To the N was found a wall (4.5 m wide), probably part of the above-mentioned wall in the lower city (area M).

Under its foundation a "foundation deposit," consisting of vessels characteristic to the 2d half of the 11th century, was found. A seal in the form of a seated lion with an incised "Ashdoda"–like figure of a seated musician also helped to date this stratum.

The first settlement in the lower city in area M—stratum Xb—was most probably unwalled; a few trenches revealed a kind of "pioneering" settlement of the early 11th century with few pottery kilns and foundations of some walls. The pottery still exhibited Philistine elements. Only after a generation or so, in stratum Xa, was the settlement fortified. An excavated section of this fortification revealed a city gate and a wall attached to its S and N. The gate consisted of 2 towers, each containing 2 chambers on the W and a solid watchtower in front with a passageway 4.2 m wide. The gate area was 13.75 m long and 16.5 m wide, and it was built of bricks with some stone foundations. The partly exposed city wall is ca. 4.5 m wide. This fortification, which is not unlike some of the early Iron Age fortifications in the Israelite hill country, suits the period of the climax of Philistine power and expansion, which continued during Saul's reign and may have been established as a defense against the Israelites. This is probably the city associated with the biblical story of the capture of the ark (1 Sam 5: 1–7). In a silo and kiln beside the gate a few complete storage jars provide a probable dating for the end of this stratum. Both the typical "Ashdod ware" with a red hand-burnished slip and a black decoration and the black-on-red decoration are first attested in this stratum. The fortifications of stratum Xa in Ashdod were destroyed in the first half of the 10th century, probably by Siamun (ca. 967 B.C.), though a possible conquest of Ashdod by David should not be excluded. There are no building remains from the transition period between the destruction of this and the construction of the next gate a generation or so later (stratum IX; see below).

Stratum X in area H/K is likely to correlate with its later phase (Xa) in other areas. The finds show a mixture of Philistine and other elements in pottery (e.g. red, irregularly burnished pottery). One outstanding find from this area was an incense pottery stand, which shows 5 figurines of musicians playing different instruments. Above them is an incised procession of domestic animals. Such musicians (as depicted in this cult stand) probably served in a local cult place not yet discovered. The scene recalls the story of Samuel foretelling Saul's encounter with the band of prophets coming down from the high place and playing musical instruments, an incident associated with the Philistine fortress at Gibeath-elohim (1 Sam 10:5). It seems that Dagon's cult in Ashdod as described in the Bible and represented probably also by this stand fits the city of stratum X, in contrast to the female-oriented (probably Aegean-inspired) cult of Ashdod in the early Philistine strata XII–XI.

**e. Stratum IX.** The lower city wall and gate (area M) were destroyed sometime in the 1st half of the 10th century B.C. Only about a generation later a new fortification was built to the S of the earlier (stratum X) gate. The new gate (20.5 m by 18.5 m) was much larger than the former one; made of bricks with rubble foundations and ashlar at the front and rear, it consisted of 2 watchtowers with 3 rooms each. The gateway, 5 m. wide and paved with crushed kurkar, passed between the 2 towers and led into the city. The city wall, 8.7 m wide, narrows after 40 m to a width of 5 m on the S. On both sides of the gate, several storerooms were uncovered with bronze and iron tools, a pair of scales, and other finds. This was the largest gate in the history of Ashdod and was of the "Solomonic" type and period, which has occasioned some debate. Evidence of subsequent repairs in the gate indicates its use over a long period of time. It was partly destroyed ca. 760 B.C., possibly by Uzziah (2 Chr 26:6).

The expansion of the lower city in this period is well represented in area D, located to the S of the acropolis. The early remains included a large building of which brick foundations and several floors were uncovered. In the S the area was surrounded by a 3-m-thick wall which may belong to the city wall of this period. Among the finds the typical Ashdod Ware (red burnished with black decoration, which had already been attested in stratum Xa elsewhere on the site) was predominant, completely replacing the Philistine ware.

**f. Stratum VIII.** In this stratum a group of large houses consisting of courtyards surrounded by rooms was excavated in Area D. In one of these buildings 7 kilns were established, indicating a potters' quarter; each of these kilns was rebuilt and reused many times. In the S part of area D a building was excavated, a part of which at least served as a temple. To one of the walls was attached a rectangular altar made of

white-washed bricks. Both in this room and in adjacent areas was found a large quantity of small figurines (both male and female) belonging to clay offering-tables. With them was also found a large number of domestic animal figurines belonging to the *Kernoi* type of round, hollow libation vessels.

In some of the rooms, secondary mass-burials were found, and a very large amount of human remains was uncovered beneath the floors. It seems that this is probably the city destroyed during the Assyrian conquest by Sargon II in 712 B.C. Three fragments from an inscription on a basalt stele, erected in Ashdod and found in a dump, corroborate this evidence. They belong to a stele which is a copy of a victory stele erected in Khorsabad, where the names of Sargon and the conquered cities, including Ashdod, are preserved. Ashdod seems to be a unique site insofar as the archaeological, the biblical (Isaiah 20), and the Assyrian evidence all corroborate this same event.

Following the destruction of the stratum IX gate complex in area M (see above), the gate complex was repaired, probably by Azuri (ca. 730 B.C.) after Tiglath-pileser III's compaign. The new gate tower was similar to the one of the previous stratum, but the chambers were larger than in the previous gate and a new defensive element was added to its N tower. The plan of the N storerooms was also changed. New floors covered the remains of stratum IX. Part of a wall, which belonged to a large structure, was uncovered outside the N tower. A passage probably served either to house a staircase or as a postern. The finds scattered on the floors, in addition to pottery and other objects, also included fragments of a crucible and tuyere. The gate and the whole vicinity were destroyed by Sargon II; the signs of the breached gate tower are still visible.

**g. Strata VII–VI.** Even after the destruction of most of the excavationVIII city, the potters' section in area D was still active in stratum VII. Several large pits full of ashes and refuse were found near the kiln area with additional figurines, which belonged perhaps to the discarded temple of stratum VIII. Some of the kilns were found with their air vents still intact, and a number of finished vessels were also there.

The few inscriptions in Hebrew characters found (not in situ) may be ascribed to stratum VII or VI. Among these are *(h)phr,* " (the) potter," the denominations *nṣp, bqʿ,* and *pym* on weights, and a *lmlk* stamp on a jar handle. The Hebrew script indicates trade relations between Ashdod and the kingdom of Judah. Perhaps Ashdod was even conquered by Judah in the days of Josiah who, according to some scholars, probably expanded his kingdom as far as Mesad Hashavyahu, N of Ashdod.

The gate of stratum VIII (area M) was reconstructed, perhaps as Sennacherib's reward to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, for his loyalty to Assyria. No major alterations could be observed in the plan of the gate of stratum VII, but at least two phases of settlement were recognized. Few burials found in the area, both human and animal, belong to the earlier phase. The final destruction of the gate area (by Psamtik I or Nebuchadnezzar) took place most probably around 600 B.C.

The scanty remains of the Babylonian period (stratum VI) indicate the decline of the city. The fortifications of Ashdod (area M) do not seem to have ever been used again, and some buildings covered the ruins of the gate. There are few remains of buildings, but the few pottery kilns and traces of metalworking suggest that the area became primarily an industrial site.

**4. Persian Period.** In this period (stratum V) a partial revival could be detected, at least on the acropolis (area A). Although most of the remains in this area were destroyed during the Hellenistic period, the Persian occupation is still well-represented here. Foundations of 2 buildings and a deep fosse were discovered. The large quantity of pottery characteristic to the whole Persian period found here suggests a long period of settlement in this area. A small ostracon with Aram cursive script was found describing the quantity of wine delivered in the name of a man called Zebadia. Dated to mid-5th century B.C., this Aram inscription might be in "the language of Ashdod" mentioned in Neh 13:24, the dialect probably spoken by the Philistines.

The Persian period is best represented in area K by the remains of a large building of which 4 of its halls were excavated; it seems to have served as an administrative center for the Persian governor. Although its exact dimensions have not been determined, the building was certainly not smaller than the "governor's palaces" of this period excavated in Lachish and Qasile. Remains of 2 buildings were found in the former gate area (area M). The walls, ca. 1 m wide and made of bricks, were preserved to a height of 2 courses.

In addition to the pottery characteristics of the Persian period (such as the mortaria and lamps), there was also the earliest import of the Attic black-glazed ware. In a number of oval pits some burials of dogs were found.

**5. Hellenistic Period.** Town planning is obvious in the Hellenistic strata (IV–III) in area A, though no remains of fortification were found. Streets were laid out between groups of well-constructed buildings. A special technique, combining brick foundations and stone walls, was employed in these buildings, as well as in a public building which was probably part of the agora of the city. In one of its rooms was a small cult place, on the floor of which was found a stone offering-table. In Stratum IIIb the courtyard of the building was used for storage. The finds included large Rhodian wine jars and black-glazed Attic vessels. A lead plaque, probably representing a deity with a fish tail (Atargatis?), as well as 2 miniature stone altars—one incised with the letter M (Marnas?)—and some weapons were found in a thick layer of ash from stage IIIb of the cult place. A coin of Ptolemy II (271–246 B.C.) found in the IIIb level helps to date this stratum. The latest coin found there was of Antiochus VIII, dated to 114 B.C. This coin establishes a *terminus post quem* date for John Hyrcanus's conquest of Ashdod, which stayed in Hasmonean hands until the time of Pompey.

Very few structures were preserved in the Hellenistic strata (IV–III) of area K. These included a pottery kiln and a large refuse pit containing Hellenistic pottery. Also, the floors provided a very rich repertoire of both local and imported pottery of the 3d and 2d centuries B.C., ending ca. 50 B.C. The only structure which survived in area M was a pottery kiln full of Hellenistic sherds. Among these, a fragment of a bowl with dark reddish glaze dated to the mid-2d century B.C. was found. Several coins were found here, the earliest being a coin of Ptolemy II, minted in Tyre.

**6. Roman and Byzantine Periods.** The layout of the town changed completely during the period of King Herod (stratum II) and it is obvious that the city by then was much smaller. A large building of at least 3 rooms was uncovered NW of area A. In one of its rooms, paved with stone slabs, were remains of a circular, clay oven. Among the finds were lamps, which have parallels in Corinth, stamped handles of amphorae, and Terra Sigillata bowls. A large pit filled with burned sherds, animal bones, and refuse might be related to the neighboring kilns. The last phase of stratum II came to an end most probably with the destruction of Ashdod by Vespasian during the 1st Jewish Revolt. The only remains in area M are pits with metal slags and kiln refuse. The pottery found in a pit dug into the Iron Age city wall helps to date this stratum to the early Roman period.

The general features of the previous early Roman stratum (II) could still be identified at the first phase (Ib) of stratum I, which dates to the late 1st century A.D. In area A a small pit was dug inside the larger pit from stratum II; it was full of workshaft refuse. A reservoir, probably for water storage, was also uncovered. Among the finds, a peculiar pilgrim flask should be mentioned as well as a few coins of this period. The few area M structures excavated from the late Roman period included a kiln made of brick discovered to the E of the early city-wall. Although Eusebius still referred to Ashdod as a "significant town," it seems that such a description did not apply to *Azotus Mesogaios* (i.e., inland Ashdod) but to *Azotus Paralios* (on the coast). See ASHDOD-YAM (M.R. 114132). By that time the inland Ashdod was inhabited by Jews (as indicated by a synagogue screen found there) and by Samaritans (as indicated by a section of an inscription and a talisman found in the excavations of the uppermost stage of stratum I).

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MOSHE DOTHAN

**ASHDOD-YAM** (M.R. 114132). An archaeological site ca. 5 km NE of Ashdod. The city is mentioned (as *ašdud-immu*) in connection with Sargon II's 713 B.C. campaign against Yamani, king of Ashdod (*ANET,* 286). Yamani hastily fortified not only Ashdod, but also Gath and Ashdod-Yam, the latter apparently serving as a rear base for the city in times of danger.

Archaeological surveys were conducted at Ashdod-Yam from 1965 to 1968. Ten cuts were made in the rampart-like structure and at its base, and the city wall was exposed in 3 of these cuts. Two earthen glacis retained the wall on its inner and outer sides. The 3.1-m-thick wall was built of reddish sun-dried brick, and the outer glacis was mainly made of local sand and kurkar. It was evidently designed to prevent assaults by siege engines and battering rams. The inner glacis served to counter the pressure of the outer one. Two periods of occupation are attested at the site itself. The earlier, which includes the period of construction of the fortifications, dates to the latter half of the 8th century B.C. The later occupation dates to the 7th century B.C., a time when the fortifications were no longer used. Thus, the uncovered wall and glacis are likely the ones built by Yamani (Kaplan 1969).

In Roman-Byzantine times occupation stretched 500 m N of the Iron Age fortifications, along the coast, and the city was then known as *Azotus Paralius.* Here are found the ruins of the Crusader-Mamluk fortress known to the Crusaders as *Castellum Beroardi* and to the Muslims as *Mahûz Isdûd*.

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J. KAPLAN

**ASHER** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾāšēr* (אָשֵׁר)]. ASHERITE. The eponymous ancestor of the Israelite tribe of Asher, reported to have been the 8th-born son of Israel's eponymous ancestor Jacob. The name means "happy one," "righteous one." It may also be the name of a god, the male form of the goddess Asherah (*IPN,* 131).

Asher's secondary status among the Israelite tribes is marked in tradition by his "birth" to Leah's handmaid Zilpah, rather than to one of Jacob's 2 wives (Gen 30:12). As a member of the idealized premonarchic Israel, Asher is included alongside its 11 brethren tribes either implicitly or explicitly in the oppression in Egypt (Exod 1:4); the exodus, the Sinai covenant, and the wilderness wandering (Num 1:40–1; 2:27; 10:26; 26:44–47; Deut 27:13); and the conquest of the land of Canaan (Josh 19:24–31; Judg 1:31–32).

The territory traditionally associated with Asher is located in the W Galilean hills, adjoining the Phoenician coast to the W, Sidon to the N, Naphtali to the E, Zebulon to the SE, and Mt. Carmel to the SW (Josh 19:24–31; *HGB* 204–24). The narrow strip of territory was fertile land, particularly suited to olive orchards (Deut 33:24) and vineyards. Gen 49:20 alludes to Asher's agricultural bounty, referring to the "royal dainties" the region will yield. Judg 5:17 indicates that involvement in maritime activity provided Asher's inhabitants with an additional source of economic prosperity.

The association of the name Asher with the W portion of Galilee tends to be supported by Egyptian texts. The name appears with the determinative for foreign land as early as the reign of Pharaoh Seti I (1291–1272 B.C.E.) (Simons 1937: 147). Two additional occurrences are known from the reign of Rameses II (Simons 1937: 162; *ANET* 475–79), and an additional unpublished reference appears in the Golenischeff collection (Gauthier 1925: 105). The occurrence of Asher in the list of Seti I provides the clearest indication for the name's connection with W Galilee. It appears in a geographical sequence between Kadish, probably representing the Syrian city-state of Kadesh on the Orontes River with its surrounding domain, and Megiddo, the city-state that controlled the NW portion of the Megiddo Plain–Jezreel Valley corridor. Asher seems to represent the hinterland of Phoenicia at the time of Seti I, the W Galilean hills N of Megiddo, as far as Lebanon (Müller 1893: 236).

The Galilean region of Asher did not become part of the Israelite state until the reign of David. Saul did not control Galilee (2 Sam 2:9; see ASHURITES). David was the first Israelite king to have secured the Megiddo Plain–Jezreel Valley corridor by capturing Megiddo and Beth Shean. It is logical to conclude that he was able to gain subsequent control over Galilee. Although no administrative lists from David's reign have been preserved, under Solomon, Asher was joined with Bealoth, probably Zebulon, to form one of the 12 administrative districts of Israel (1 Kgs 4:16). It is likely that Solomon had inherited the pre-established district from his father. Solomon ceded the N portion of Asher, the region of Cabul, to Hiram of Tyre as payment for Tyrian workers and supplies in connection with the building of the palace and temple in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 9:13). Israel's ability to maintain control over Asher and the rest of Galilee during the period after the split of the United Monarchy (ca. 917 B.C.E.) has not been documented, but was probably sporadic.

In addition to the Galilean territory of Asher, there was a group of Asherite clans located in the S portion of the central Ephraimite hill country (Abel 1937: 219–20; *LBHG*, 244; Edelman 1985: 86; Edelman 1988; see ASHURITES). While it is possible that the two groups were not interrelated but merely shared the same name by coincidence, it is generally presumed that the two groups ultimately shared a common origin and that the more S group had somehow splintered off from the better-known Galilean group (Steuernagel 1901: 31; Abel 1937: 219; Malamat 1962: 146; Yeivin 1957: 99–100; *LBHG*, 244; Edelman 1985: 86).

The detailed genealogy for the tribe of Asher in 1 Chr 7:30–40 pertains to the S Asherite group exclusively. Two analyses of its structure have been proposed. The first considers it to be a homogenous segmented genealogy, containing a few textual corruptions that have obscured its otherwise systematic presentation. Textual errors have crept in vv 35–38 in the listing of the descendants of the 4 sons of Helem/Hotham: Zophah, Imna, Shelesh, and Amal. Thus, Beri and Imrah of v 36 (*bry ymrh*) are not to be seen as additional sons of Zophah, but instead, as corruptions of an original phrase "sons of Imna" (*bny ymnh*). In v 37, the word "sons" (*bny*) should be restored before Shelesh to signal the listing of his offspring, and an additional 3d name is suspected to have inadvertently been dropped from the roster of descendants. Finally, in v 39, a medial *mem* should be restored in the name Ulla, rendering an original Amal rather than Ulla, to list descendants of Helem/Hotham's final son from v 35. According to the second structural analysis, the genealogy contains 3 source strands (vv 30–35; vv 36–37; vv 38–39) that have been combined secondarily to form a single genealogy. The occurrence of name-overlap between the 3 strands (Zophah; Beriah/Beri; Shelesh/Shilshah; Shua/Shual; and Jether/Ithran) indicates that the strands represent enumerations of the same group at different points in its existence (Edelman 1988).

The only names in the Asherite genealogies that can possibly be associated with clans in the N Galilean territory of Asher are Beriah and his siblings Imnah, Ishvah/Ishvi, and Serah. Beriah, Serah, and Imnah also appear as clan groups within the enclave, but it is possible that segments of these clans remained in the Galilean Asherite territory while other portions migrated S. The preservation of the names of Beriah and siblings by the S group may have been motivated by a desire to maintain a record of their founders' positions in the genealogical tree of the parent tribe.

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**ASHERAH** (DEITY) [Heb *ʾăšērâ* (אֲשֵׁרָה); *ʾăšêrâ* (אֲשֵׁירָה)]. Asherah appears in the OT both as the name of a Canaanite goddess and of her wooden cult-symbol. She is known in the Ugaritic texts under the name of Athirat (*ʾaṯrt*), where she functions as consort of the chief god, El, and mother of the gods. Prior to the discovery of the Ugaritic texts some scholars denied that Asherah was the name of a goddess while others wrongly equated her with Astarte (Ashtoreth). Since Yahweh is equated with El in the OT, it is understandable that in syncretistic circles Yahweh also appropriated Asherah as his consort.

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A. Asherah in Extrabiblical Texts
1. Akkadian Sources
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5. Syro-Palestinian Inscriptions
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B. Asherah in the OT
1. As a Goddess
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**A. Asherah in Extrabiblical Texts**

**1. Akkadian Sources.** We know from the Ugaritic texts that Athirat was equivalent to the Mesopotamian deity Ašratum. Ašratum is known from cuneiform texts dating from the 1st Dyn. of Babylon (ca. 1830–1531 B.C.), where she appears as the consort of the god Amurru. In the first half of the 14th century B.C. the name of the goddess Asherah appears in the name of the king of Amurru Abdi-Aširta ("servant of Aširta"), who is mentioned a number of times in the El-Amarna letters. It has also been generally supposed that Asherah is mentioned in one of the 15th century B.C. Akkadian texts from Taʿanach, but this has been questioned by A. F. Rainey (1977: 59).

**2. Ugaritic Texts.** The most complete source of information about the goddess Asherah comes from the Ugaritic texts, discovered at the site of Ras Shamra on the Syrian coast from 1929 onwards. She is there called *ʾaṯrt*, generally vocalized as Athirat, and she is the consort of the supreme god, El. Sometimes she is called *ʾilt* (Elat), lit. "goddess," as befits the wife of El (*ʾil*). She is the mother of the gods and is accordingly called *gnyt ʾilm* "the procreatress of the gods." The gods are referred to in *KTU* 1.4.VI.46 (= *CTA* 4.VI.46) as "the seventy sons of Athirat" (*šbʿm. bn. ʾaṯrt*). The later Jewish notion of the 70 guardian angels of the nations (cf. 1 En 89:59; 90:22–25; Tg. Ps.-J. on Deut 32:8) must ultimately go back to this, via the idea in Deut 32:8 whereby the Most High "fixed the bounds of the peoples according to the number of the sons of God" (so LXX, 4Q Deut).

Her stock epithet is *rbt ʾaṯrt ym* (e.g. *KTU* 1.4.III.27 = *CTA* 4.III.27), which should be rendered "Lady Athirat of the sea." The view that the expression should be rendered "She who treads on the sea," which is popular in some circles (e.g., Cross *CMHE*, 31), is to be rejected, since (1) the goddess was simply called Ašratum already in the 1st Dyn. of Babylon, which suggests that the shorter form of the name is original, and (2) we know of no conflict between Athirat and the sea. Though certainty is not possible, it may be that the name *ʾaṯrt* means "sanctuary." One should perhaps compare her epithet *qdš,* which similarly means "holy place" or possibly "holiness" (see below).

Athirat plays an important role in the Ugaritic text involving Baal's desire for a house (palace/temple) in *KTU* 1.4 (= *CTA* 4). Having defeated the sea god, Yam, and assumed the kingship (*KTU* 1.2 = *CTA* 2), Baal is in need of a house. First Anath demands a palace for Baal from El, but without success (*KTU* 1.3.V = *CTA* 3.V). When Athirat, however, intercedes with her husband El, she is successful (*KTU* 1.4.III–V = *CTA* 4.III–V).

Athirat appears again in another Ugaritic mythological text, *KTU* 1.23 (= *CTA* 23), where she is one of 2 women, the other being *rḥmy,* whom El seduces, and this act leads to the birth of Shaḥar (Dawn) and Shalim (Dusk). It is not clear who *rḥmy* is; the common view that she is Anath is improbable, since we have no other evidence that she was a wife of El, and it seems inappropriate for a goddess repeatedly called "the Virgin Anath" to be a mother goddess.

**3. Egyptian Representations.** Asherah is sometimes called *Qdš* in the Ugaritic texts. *Qdš* is also attested as the name of a goddess in Egypt, where she appears on reliefs and amulets of the New Kingdom (cf. *ANEP*, pls. 470–74), especially the Ramesside period, and is characteristically represented nude, wearing a Hathor wig, standing on a lion, holding snakes in one hand and flowers in the other, and sometimes she holds snakes in both hands. Often she is portrayed together with the deities Resheph and Min and her erotic aspect is emphasized. Most remarkable is the representation on a Theban relief at Winchester College in England (now missing) where the goddess is called *qdš- ʿstrt-ʿnt,* thus indicating a fusion of *Qdš* (Athirat) with the two other important Canaanite goddesses, Astarte and Anath. Figurines and plaques of the *Qdš* type are attested in Syria and Palestine from the period ca. 1700–1200 B.C., which we may confidently regard as depictions of the goddess Athirat. It is noteworthy that the depictions of Athirat/*Qdš* make her role as a fertility goddess abundantly clear. This aspect of her nature is played down in the Ugaritic texts, but emerges again in the OT, where she is constantly associated with Baal and is clearly connected with sacred prostitution in 2 Kgs 23:7.

**4. Hittite Mythology.** We possess a Hittite myth about a god Elkunirša, his wife Ašertu, and the storm god, dating from the second half of the 2d millennium B.C. (*ANET,* 519). These deities must correspond to El (more precisely *ʾl qn ʾrṣ* "El creator of the earth"), Athirat (Asherah) and Baal-Hadad, and an underlying Canaanite myth is clearly reflected here. According to the myth the storm god came to Elkunirša's house, and there Ašertu tried to seduce him. Following his refusal, she threatened him with her spindle, but the storm god went off to Elkunirša's tent at the Mala (= Euphrates) river and informed him of Ašertu's attempted seduction. Elkunirša replied by saying, "Go, sleep with her! Lie with my wife and humble her!" The storm god obediently complied but also informed her that he had slain 77/88 of her sons, which led to her lamenting them for 7 years. According to a second fragment, the goddess Ištar (probably = Astarte) overheard a bedroom conversation between Elkunirša and Ašertu and told the storm god about it. Regardless of how the myth ended, we have here evidence of some estrangement between Elku-nirša (El) and Ašertu (Athirat).

**5. Syro-Palestinian Inscriptions.** At Kuntillet ʿAjrud, in NE Sinai, inscriptions have been found referring to 'Yahweh and his Asherah.' One pithos contains the inscription *brkt. ʾtkm. lyhwh. šmrn. wlʾšrth,* "I have blessed you by Yahweh *šmrn* and his Asherah." The word *šmrn* could be rendered "our guardian," but the translation "of Samaria" is more likely (cf. *lyhwh tmn wlʾšrth* "by Yahweh of Teman and his Asherah," which also appears at Kuntillet ʿAjrud). Scholars disagree as to the meaning of "his Asherah," whether it refers to the goddess Asherah, her cult symbol, or a word meaning cella or chapel. It seems most likely to mean the cult-symbol, a wooden pole or suchlike, related to the goddess Asherah. Indirectly, therefore, the allusions probably do imply that Asherah was Yahweh's consort. That it is the goddess Asherah herself who is denoted by 'his Asherah' is syntactically inappropriate, since personal names are not found with a pronominal suffix in biblical Heb. The meaning 'cella' or 'chapel' may also be excluded, since this is not attested elsewhere in Heb, unlike some other Semitic languages.

The pithos mentioning "Yahweh of Samaria and his Asherah" has underneath the inscription a drawing depicting 3 figures: a lyre player and 2 other figures similar to each other, generally thought to represent the goddess Bes. It has been proposed, however, that these latter represent "Yahweh and his Asherah" of the inscription (Gilula 1978–79). But this is unlikely, and the drawings are probably unconnected with the inscription. For example, why should there be 3 figures, if only 2 are mentioned (Emerton 1982:10)? Moreover, the figure claimed to represent Asherah seems to have a square-cut beard, suggesting a god and, indeed, a characteristic of the god Bes (Beck 1982: 27–28).

Curiously, at about the same time as the discoveries at Kuntillet ʿAjrud, another site, Khirbet el-Qom, near Hebron, also yielded a text which seemingly refers to Yahweh's Asherah:

*ʾryhw. hʿšr. ktbh*
*brk. ʾryhw. lyhwh*
*wmṣryh lʾšrth hwšʿlh*
*lʾnyhw*
*wlʾšrth*
*ʾ??rth*

This should most likely be rendered:

Uriyahu the rich wrote it.
Blessed be Uriyahu by Yahweh.
For from his enemies by his Asherah he has saved him.
by Oniyahu
and by his Asherah
his A (she)rah

A. Lemaire (1977: 599, 602) felt forced to emend the text so that *lʾšrth* follows immediately after *lyhwh,* but as the above rendering shows, this may be unnecessary.

It has been claimed that Asherah is mentioned on a plaque from Arslan Tash in Syria, dating from the 7th century B.C., with Aram script and Phoenician orthography. However, since the word in question is *ʾšr,* those who adopt this view either have to emend the text to *ʾšrt,* the form we should most naturally expect, or suppose that we have an anomalous spelling here. It is far more natural to suppose, as most scholars believe, that *ʾšr* denotes the god Asshur (cf. *ʾšr* as the spelling of the place Asshur in *KAI* 24: 8), and since Arslan Tash (Ḫadattu) was an Assyrian province at the time, a reference to the Assyrian god Asshur at this point is not inappropriate.

**6. Later Phoenician Sources.** It has been argued by F. M. Cross (*CMHE,* 28–34) and others, e.g. W. A. Maier (1986: 96–118), that the goddess Tinnit is to be equated with the goddess Asherah. Tinnit is best known from Punic inscriptions, where she appears as the consort of the god Baal-Ḥammon, but it is now clear that she was already worshiped in Phoenicia quite early (cf. the Sarepta text below). The arguments in favor of her equation with Asherah are, however, open to question.

First, it is claimed that her name means "the One of the dragon," and Ugaritic *ʾaṯrt ym* is compared, understood as "She who treads on the sea (dragon)." However, not only does *ʾaṯrt ym* not have this meaning, but if *tnt* were really related to *tnn* 'dragon' (which is improbable), one would expect it to mean "the female dragon" rather than "the One of the dragon"!

Second, Baal-Ḥammon is commonly supposed to be El, so it is claimed that his consort Tinnit ought to be Asherah. However, Baal-Ḥammon is probably rather a form of the god Baal. The name itself suggests this, and the god is in fact often simply referred to as Baal in Punic inscriptions, and never as El. Latin inscriptions refer to him as *frugifer* and *deus frugum,* suggesting a fertility deity. It is true that classical sources often equate Baal-Ḥammon with Kronos, who usually represents El, but we know that Kronos could also denote Baal, and the fact that Kronos devoured his own children may well have encouraged his equation with Baal-Ḥammon, the god of child sacrifice. Thus, there are not compelling grounds for identifying Tinnit with Asherah. Tinnit is equated with Astarte in a 7th century B.C. Phoenician inscription from Sarepta and associated with (though distinguished from) Astarte in an inscription from Carthage (*KAI* 81:1). She was perhaps a form of the goddess Anath or alternately an independent goddess serving as Baal's consort.

**7. Inscriptions from Arabia.** It is now known that Asherah is not mentioned as ʾAširā on a 5th century B.C. Aram inscription from Tema (*KAI* 228) as had previously been commonly believed; rather the divine name in question should be read ʾAšimā, as another Tema stele makes clear (Cross 1986: 393). However, the goddess Athirat is attested in S Arabia (Ryckmans 1951: 44). Although the Arabian Athirat has often been seen as a sun goddess, this is not certain.

**B. Asherah in the OT**

In the OT the Heb word *ʾăšērâ* is used to denote both the name of the Canaanite goddess, well-known from the Ugaritic texts, and also a wooden cult-object that was her symbol.

**1. As a Goddess.** The ancient versions failed to recognize that OT Asherah was the name of a goddess, and it was only with the discovery of the Ugaritic texts that scholars as a whole were convinced that this was one of the basic meanings of the word in the OT. The places where the name Asherah seems to denote the goddess rather than her cult object are 1 Kgs 15:13; 18:19; 2 Kgs 21:7; 23:4, in addition to Judg 3:7, where the plural form Asheroth appears. In 1 Kgs 18:19 we read of the "four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal and the four hundred prophets of Asherah, who eat at Jezebel's table," who are to confront Elijah on Mt. Carmel. The fact that the prophets of Asherah play no part in the subsequent story in 1 Kings 18 suggests that the reference to them may be a gloss. However, the parallelism with the prophets of Baal makes it natural to suppose that whoever added the gloss about the prophets of Asherah understood Asherah to be the name of a deity. In 2 Kgs 23:4 the name Asherah is likewise paralleled with that of Baal, as well as with the host of heaven, thereby indicating that Asherah is a deity. Referring to Josiah's reformation in 621 B.C. it states, "And the king commanded Hilkiah, the high priest, and the priests of the second order, and the priests of the threshold, to bring out of the temple of the Lord all the vessels made for Baal, for Asherah, and for all the host of Heaven." Both 1 Kgs 15:13 and 2 Kgs 21:7 speak of the image of Asherah, passages in which it is natural to suppose that Asherah is the goddess. In the former passage we read of Asa's removing Maacah, his mother, from the position of queen mother, because of the abominable image for Asherah which she had made. Asa cut down the image and burned it in the Kidron valley. 2 Kgs 21:7 mentions a graven image of Asherah that Manasseh placed in the temple of Jerusalem.

Judg 3:7 uses the plural form Asheroth—"And the people of Israel did what was evil in the sight of the Lord, forgetting the Lord their God, and serving the Baals and the Asheroth." Some scholars wish to emend Asheroth to Ashtaroth, which is paralleled with the Baals in Judg 2:13; 10:6; 1 Sam 7:3,4; 12:10. However, the fact that Asheroth is the *lectio difficilior* inclines one to believe that it is the correct reading here. It is not clear whether "Asheroth" refers to different local manifestations of the goddess Asherah or is a way of referring to Canaanite female deities generally. The same uncertainty applies to the precise meaning of the terms "Baals" and "Ashtaroth."

**2. As a Cult Object.** The LXX and Vg usually rendered Asherah by "grove," which accounts for the translation in the KJV. The Mishnah similarly understood the Asherim to be living trees that were worshiped, e.g., grapevines, pomegranates, walnuts, myrtle, and willows (cf. *m.* ʿ*Or.* 1:7, 8; *m. Sukk.* 3:1–3; *m.* ʿ*Abod. Zar.* 3:7, 9, 10; *m. Me*ʿ*il.* 3:8). It is quite clear, however, from a number of OT references that the Asherim were manmade objects; verbs used in connection with them include "make" (ʿ*āśâ,* 1 Kgs 14:15; 16:33; 2 Kgs 17:16; 21:3, 7; 2 Chr 33:3), "build" (*bānâ,* 1 Kgs 14:23), and "erect" (*nāṣab,* 2 Kgs 17:10), which are inappropriate for living trees. It should also be noted that Jer 17:2 speaks of "their Asherim beside every luxuriant tree," which would be odd if the Asherim were themselves actual trees. This makes it impossible to suppose that the Asherim were living trees. The view that they were always living trees is today held by A. Lemaire (1977: 604–7), but some claim more moderately that the Asherim were sometimes living trees. Deut 16:21 might suggest this, often rendered as it is "You shall not plant any tree as an Asherah beside the altar of the Lord your God, which you shall make." However, the word ʿ*ēṣ* can mean "wood" as well as "tree," and since all the other references to the Asherah in the OT indicate that it is a manmade object, including various references elsewhere in the Deuteronomic corpus, it is more natural to suppose that this is the meaning of ʿ*ēṣ* here.

That the Asherah cult object symbolized the goddess Asherah in some way is clear from the fact that both are mentioned in similar contexts in the OT. Thus, 2 Kgs 21:3, where we read that Manasseh "erected altars for Baal, and made an Asherah, as Ahab king of Israel had done, and worshiped all the host of heaven, and served them," can be compared with 2 Kgs 23:4, where we read of "all the vessels made for Baal, for Asherah, and for all the host of heaven."

W. L. Reed (1949) has argued that the Asherah was simply an image of the goddess Asherah. However, though symbolizing the goddess Asherah, the Asherah cult object does not appear to have been an image of her, since the Asherim are frequently mentioned alongside *pĕsîlîm* "graven images" (an expression

including images of wood) as distinct objects (cf. Deut 7:5; 12:3; 2 Chr 33:19; 34:3, 4, 7; Mic 5:12–13—Eng5:13–14).

The most likely view is that the Asherah was a wooden pole symbolizing the goddess Asherah. We may compare the statement in Philo of Byblos which declares that the Phoenicians "consecrated pillars and staves (*rhabdous*) after their names (i.e. of their gods)" (Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 1.10.11).

In view of the perishable nature of wood and our lack of certain depictions of the Asherah, we cannot be dogmatic about its form. However, it is plausible to suppose that, as a wooden pole, it may also have embodied tree symbolism. If so, this would explain the later misunderstanding that they were actual trees. This interpretation may perhaps claim support from the following consideration. It has been shown (Day 1980) that Isaiah 26–27 appears to be modeled on Hosea 13–14, there being a series of eight parallels which they share, all but one of them coming in the same order. Now the verse corresponding to that mentioning the Asherim in Isa 37:9 is Hos 14:9—Eng 14:8, which alludes to trees; Yahweh declares, "Ephraim, what has he still to do with idols? It is I who answer and look after him. I am like a luxuriant cypress, from me comes your fruit." There may even be a word play on the names of the goddesses Anath and Asherah in the words *ʾanî ʿānîti waʾăšurennu,* "It is I who answer and look after him," though it is probably going too far to accept J. Wellhausen's emendation to *ʾănî ʿanātô waʾašērātô,* "I am his Anath and his Asherah." Further evidence which might possibly support the equation of the Asherim with stylized trees comes from Pella in Transjordan. Here 2 cult stands were discovered dating from the 10th century B.C., one of which has stylized trees on its sides and the other has depictions of a nude goddess standing on a lioness' head (cf. Asherah/*Qdš*).

The view here adumbrated, namely that Asherah in the OT is the name both of a goddess and of her wooden cult symbol, is the most widely held view, and indeed seems clear enough from the evidence. É. Lipiński, however, supposes that Asherah in the OT denotes variously a sacred grove and a shrine (chapel/cella). It should be pointed out against Lipiński's view that instances which he ascribes to each of these two meanings occur in the same context—cf. 2 Kgs 18:4; 23:14, 15, where Asherah is alleged to mean "grove"; and 1 Kgs 14:23; 2 Kgs 17:10, where it is claimed that it means "shrine." This suggests that Asherah has only one meaning, not two, throughout these passages. Now the former group of passages refers to the Asherah being cut down, and here Lipiński himself agrees that a shrine cannot be intended, while the latter group of passages alludes to Asherim under every luxuriant tree, which makes it unlikely that the Asherim were themselves trees. Since we have seen that the Asherah refers to the same object in both groups of passages, it follows that the Asherah can be neither a shrine nor a grove.

The Asherim, together with *maṣṣēbôt* "pillars," as well as altars, were a regular feature of the local shrines, the "high places" (*bāmôt*), where Canaanite or syncretistic Canaanitizing worship was practiced in ancient Israel. Those who are accused of worshiping Asherah or constructing Asherim include the people in the period of the Judges (Judg 3:7), Jeroboam I (1 Kgs 14:15), Rehoboam (1 Kgs 14:23), Asa's mother Maacah (1 Kgs 15:13), Ahab (1 Kgs 16:32; cf. 1 Kgs 18:19), Jehoahaz (2 Kgs 13:6), the N Kingdom before its downfall in 722 B.C. (2 Kgs 17:10, 16), and Manasseh (2 Kgs 21:3, 7). Those who are said to have removed this cult include Gideon (Judg 6:25–30), Asa (1 Kgs 15:13), Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18:4), and Josiah (2 Kgs 23:4, 6, 7, 14, 15). We do not hear of Asherah or Asherim in later literature, apart from Isa 27:9 (perhaps dating from the 5th century B.C., part of a section which is probably dependent on Hos 13–14).

In the prophets, in addition to Isa 27:9 and Jer 17:2, Asherim are also mentioned in Isa 17:8 and Mic 5:13 (—Eng 5:14). It is possible, though by no means certain, that the Asherah is intended in the reference in Hos 4:12, "My people inquire of a thing of wood, and their staff gives them oracles." The context suggests that we have here an idolatrous practice connected with the Canaanite fertility cult. It is unlikely, however, that Asherah is intended in the allusions in Isa 6:13; Jer 2:27; Ezek 8:3–5; Amos 8:14; or in Gen 30:13.

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**ASHHUR** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾašḥûr* (אַשְׁחוּר)]. According to 1 Chr 2:24, he is the son of Hezron and father of Tekoa. However, the birth of Ashhur after his father's death and the textual confusion of the MT of 1 Chr 2:24 have caused many scholars (e.g., Braun *1 Chr* WBC, 27; Williamson 1979:355) to emend the text on the basis of the LXX, which states that Ashhur is a son of Caleb.

In 1 Chr 4:5 the descendants of Ashhur are incorporated into the genealogy of Judah. This may reflect the later assimilation of the Calebites into the tribe of Judah. The fact that Tekoa is the name of a town in southern Judah has led some scholars to understand the word "father" to mean "settler" or "founder." The similarity between Asshur and Hur, another son of Caleb (1 Chr 2:19), causes some confusion. Curtis (*Chr* ICC) believes the two names actually refer to the same person, Hur being an abbreviated form of Ashhur. Williamson (*Chr* NCBC, 59), on the other hand, prefers to regard Ashhur as the younger brother of Hur. In the LXX, the name Ashhur appears differently in 1 Chr 2:24 and 4:4; in the former passage the name is spelled *Aschod,* while in the latter it appears as *saour.* In Codex Alexandrinus, however, the name is spelled *aschour.*

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**ASHIMA** (DEITY) [Heb *ʾašîmāʾ* (אַשִׁימָא)]. A god or goddess of uncertain identity, worshiped by the people of Hamath (modern Hama in Syria) who were settled in Samaria by Sargon II after he had deported most of the local population (2 Kgs 17:30). The most widely accepted interpretation of the word Ashima is that it is an Aram form meaning "the Name." As such it would likely refer to one or more of the NW Semitic goddesses Anat, Astarte, or Asherah. Designations such as Face-of-Baal, Name-of-Baal, and possibly Sign-of-Baal are not uncommon for these goddesses, and seem to indicate that the goddess in each case is a particularized manifestation of Baal (*EncRel,* 1: 262–63, 471, 491–92).

A peculiar extension of this type of name formation is encountered at the Aramaic-speaking Jewish community at Elephantine, Upper Egypt, ca. 400 B.C. Bethel, literally "Temple-of-El," is a well-attested divinity in the Levant, but in this rather syncretistic community there are also *ʾšmbytʾl* and *ʿntbytʾl,* Name-of-Bethel and Anat-of-Bethel (*BMAP,* 87–90; *ArchEleph,* 163–79). Some scholars (e.g., Gese in Gese, Höfner, and Rudolph 1970: 189–92) would associate the *ʾšm-* element with the god Eshmun, but this is not a widely accepted view (see also Cogan and Tadmor *2 Kings* AB, 211–12); the suggestion that deities with names compounded with *ʾšm-* are masculine (*ANET,* 491, n. 9a) does not seem to square with the comparative Sem evidence.

The only other possible reference to Ashima in the Bible is Amos 8:14, "those who swear by the *ʾašmat šomrôn,* … and say 'as the *derek* of Beer-sheba lives.' " Although many translate "shame of Samaria" and

"way of Beer-sheba" in this verse, it seems more likely that the first expression is "Ashima of Samaria." If that is the case, the obscure *derek* is probably not "way," but a garbled reference to the same deity referred to in 2 Kgs 17:31 as *tartaq.*

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**ASHKELON** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾašqĕlôn* (אַשְׁקְלוֹן)]. A large seaport town located on the Mediterranean coast 20 km N of Gaza and 50 km S of Tel Aviv (M.R. 107119). The city has had a long and eventful history, stretching from at least the latter part of the 4th millennium. Its biblical significance begins in the Conquest narratives as one of the cities of the Philistine Pentapolis (Josh 13:3) and later is the object of one of Samson's outbursts (Judg 14:19). During the prophetic period, Ashkelon was a frequent object of denunciation (cf. Jer 25:20; 47:5, 7; Zeph 2:4, 7; Zech 9:5). Ashkelon's importance as a port city was enhanced by its fertile soils and easily accessible fresh water. Famous in antiquity for its onions, the modern word "scallion" is derived from the name Ashkelon.

Archaeological investigations at Ashkelon were undertaken by John Garstang and his assistant W. J. Phythian-Adams in 1920 (Garstang 1921; 1922; 1924; Phythian-Adams 1921; 1923). Modern archaeological excavations resumed at Ashkelon in 1985 (Stager and Esse 1987). The most-recent excavations have recovered traces of 3d millennium B.C. occupation on the N edge of the site, but the first recorded historical attestation of the name Ashkelon appeared in the Egyptian Execration Texts, in which Ashkelon was vilified as an enemy of Egypt. The city was mentioned in both the Berlin and Brussels texts (Sethe 1926: 53; Posener 1940: 65), and its appearance in the Execration Texts is no doubt a result of its strategic importance as a major city located in the border zone between Egypt and Palestine.

Evidence from modern excavations indicates that at least the N end of the massive ramparts surrounding the city was constructed during the MB, roughly corresponding to the date of Ashkelon's mention in the Execration Texts. If the MB city included the area encircled by the more recent Byzantine and Crusader fortifications, ancient Ashkelon would have been more than 60 hectares in size, one of the largest sites in Palestine in that period.

During the LB Ashkelon was firmly under the control of the Egyptian Pharaoh. Ashkelon's king, Widia, sent at least 7 letters to Akhenaten's court at El Amarna, (EA 320–26, 370), in which he promised loyalty and quantities of food, drink, oil, grain, and oxen for the Pharaoh's troops. In another less-cordial context, however, the ruler of Jerusalem, Abdi Ḫeba, revealed a plot involving Ashkelon, Gezer, and Lachish to supply provisions to the Egyptian king's enemies, the Ḫabiru (EA 287).

Ashkelon, as befits its importance as a border city, remained under direct Egyptian suzerainty throughout the LB. Rebellion was punished swiftly. A relief on the walls of the temple at Karnak, originally ascribed to Ramses II but now re-dated to Merneptah (see Stager 1985; Yurco 1986 for a discussion of the problem), depicts Egyptian troops storming the city of Ashkelon with the legend "the wretched town which his majesty took when it was wicked, Ashkelon. It says: 'Happy is he who acts in fidelity to thee, (but) woe (to) him who transgresses thy frontier!' " (*ANET* 256). Ashkelon was mentioned again by Merneptah in what is often referred to as the Israel stela (1207 B.C.), "Plundered is the Canaan with every evil; carried off is Ashkelon; seized upon is Gezer; Yanoam is made as that which does not exist; Israel is laid waste, his seed is not …" (*ANET* 378).

An inscription on a small ivory plaque excavated at Megiddo dating to the time of Rameses III refers to a singer named Kerker who evidently was employed in a Temple of Ptah at Ashkelon (*ANET* 263). By the 8th year of Rameses III (1187 B.C.), a year in which he defeated a coalition of Sea Peoples that included the Philistines, the settling of the S coastal plain of Palestine and its domination by the Philistines was assured. Ashkelon was included, along with Gaza, Ashdod, Ekron, and Gath, as one of the main cities of the Philistine Pentapolis (Josh 13:3; 1 Sam 6:17). These cities would remain linked throughout the

biblical period and into classical times. (For recent treatments of the Philistines see Dothan 1982; Mazar 1985.)

During the Iron I period, references to Ashkelon centered on its association with the Philistines and the cities of the plain which could not be conquered by the Israelites. According to biblical tradition, Ashkelon was allotted to the tribe of Judah, which took possession of the hill country but could not drive out the inhabitants of the plain who had chariots of iron (Judg 1:18–19; also Josh 13:3). Ashkelon also shared the miseries that befell its Philistine neighbors when they captured the ark of the covenant after the battle of Ebenezer. To forestall further suffering, the Philistine cities promptly returned the ark with reparations (1 Sam 6:17). In the period of the Judges, the only direct contact, albeit bloody, is related in the story of Samson's riddle. After the Philistines solved his riddle, Samson went down to Ashkelon, killed 30 men, took their garments, and presented them to his tormentors to pay off his bet (Judg 14:19).

During the 10th century B.C., Ashkelon and the other Philistine cities remained a force to be reckoned with by the fledgling Israelite monarchy. David's reaction to the death of Saul and Jonathan in the battle of Gilboa dramatically illustrates the serious conflict that raged between Philistine and Israelite at that time: "Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets (or bazaars) of Ashkelon; lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised exult" (2 Sam 1:20).

By the 8th century B.C. Ashkelon remained associated with Ashdod, Gaza, and Ekron, and in the Assyrian records is still reckoned as belonging to Philistia. In 734, the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III campaigned in Philistia against a coalition that included Aram, Edom, Israel, and Philistia. While on this campaign he forcibly collected tribute from Ashkelon's king, Mitinti. In a 2d campaign to Philistia, Tiglath-pileser III captured Ashkelon and Mitinti's son, Rukibtu, who had succeeded his father on the throne. During this period the prophet Amos referred to the demise of the "remnant" of the Philistines from Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Ekron (Amos 1:8). Rukibtu, as far as is known, remained loyal to the Assyrian kings. The cities of Philistia played an important role as intermediaries between the Assyrian Empire and Egypt. Tribute from Philistia to Sargon included silver, garments of byssus and linen, rolls of papyrus, and elephant hides (Tadmor 1966: 93; Ephʿal 1984: 87 n. 267). That these exotic items could be sent as tribute to Assyria underscores the active commercial links that existed between Egypt and Philistia during this period.

Loyalty to Assyria was shattered during the reign of Sennacherib, however, as the king of Ashkelon was overthrown by a usurper named Ṣidqia in 701 B.C. Ṣidqia made an alliance with Hezekiah against Assyria, and together they deposed Padi, the ruler of Ekron, who had remained loyal to Assyria along with Mitinti of Ashdod (not to be confused with Mitinti of Ashkelon) and Sillibel of Gaza. Sennacherib's campaign into S Palestine in 701 restored Padi to the throne and stopped Hezekiah's rebellion; Ṣidqia of Ashkelon was deported. The Assyrian monarch replaced Ṣidqia with Sharruludari, the son of the loyal vassal, Rukibtu. Assyrian annals indicate that the territory of Ashkelon was extensive enough to include Jaffa, Beth-Dagon, Azor, and Benei Brak (Tadmor 1966: 96; see also Marcus 1977 for a discussion of the succession from Ru-kibtu to Sharruludari).

By the mid-7th century B.C. Ashkelon was ruled by another Mitinti, the son of the usurper Ṣidqia. Mitinti sent tribute to both Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. Ashkelon remained loyal to these Assyrian rulers throughout their reigns and probably served as one of the staging posts for the periodic Assyrian invasions into Egypt.

By the latter part of the 7th century, Assyrian power was faltering, and it is to this period that an enigmatic passage in Herodotus describes an attempted invasion of Egypt by hordes of Scythians sweeping down out of the Caucasus. Although their invasion of Egypt was unsuccessful, the returning Scythian soldiers sacked the Temple of the Celestial Aphrodite in Ashkelon, after which, as Herodotus reports, they were struck with a horrible disease as divine retribution (1.103–6). The prophet Zephaniah referred to this period when he warned Philistia of the fate which would befall it (Zeph 2:4), and suggested that Judah would finally possess the seacoast. His prophecy that Judah would "lie down at evening in the houses of Ashkelon" (Zeph 2:7) should be seen against the background of the expansionist policies of Josiah.

The dissolution of the Assyrian empire in 612 B.C. led to a time of shifting loyalties for Philistia. It is clear from the references in Jeremiah that the Philistine cities were rebellious against the new Babylonian regime and courted destruction by their refusal to pay tribute to Nebuchadnezzar (Jer 25:20; 47:5, 7). By the winter of 604 B.C., Ashkelon was destroyed and its king was deported to Babylonia (Wiseman 1956: 69, see also Porten 1981 and Stern 1984: 1–4 for discussions of the campaign). Exiled Ashkelonites received rations at the Babylonian court. Those specifically mentioned included the sons of Aga, the last king of Ashkelon; sailors; and various nobles (Weidner 1939: 928).

Despite the dire prophesies of the prophet Zechariah (9:5), writing toward the end of the 6th century B.C., Ashkelon once more became a flourishing seaport during the Persian period under the nominal control of Tyre. Pseudo-Scylax in his *Periplus* (2d half of 4th century B.C.), mentions a royal Tyrian palace at Ashkelon (Stern 1984: 10). Ashkelon's temples were known throughout the ancient world. In addition to the Temple of Celestial Aphrodite mentioned by Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus (2.4.2–6) writing in the 1st century B.C. describes a large lake at Ashkelon regarded as sacred to the goddess Derceto (Atargatis), a goddess with the head of a woman and the body of a fish. The legend recounts Derceto's union with one of her mortal votaries which led to the birth of the famous Queen Semiramis. Semiramis was abandoned to die of exposure, but was kept warm and fed by doves, a bird which several ancient authors report as sacred at Ashkelon.

After Alexander's conquest of the Levant and Egypt, Ashkelon fell under the rule of the Ptolemies and later the Seleucids (after Antiochus III's defeat of the Egyptian army in 198 B.C.). Ashkelon remained an independent city throughout the Maccabean period, although the city was threatened by the high priest Jonathan in 147 B.C. after his victory over Apollonius, the governor of Coele-Syria. The ancient tension between highland and lowland, so palpable in the book of Judges, was apparent again as Apollonius taunted Jonathan "do not, therefore, deceive yourself, sitting in the mountains and thinking that you are strong; but if you have confidence in your force, come down to the plain … you should know, however, that the best men of each city are in my army, and these are the very men who have always been victorious over your ancestors. And you shall have a contest with us on ground where one cannot fight with stones, but with arms, and where there is no place to which you can flee when defeated" (*Ant* 13.89). Jonathan burned the temple of Dagon at Ashdod, and the Ashkelonites met him outside their city with gifts to prevent a similar calamity in their city. By 111 B.C., Ashkelon asserted its independence from Seleucid rule by minting silver coinage, and by 104 B.C. was minting its own coins according to a new era (Avi-Yonah 1977: 59).

Ashkelon remained a free Greek city throughout the Roman period. In the early 1st century B.C., Alexander Janneaus made Antipas, Herod the Great's grandfather, a general over all Idumea. Antipas established close relations with the Nabateans and the two former Philistine cities of Gaza and Ashkelon (*Ant* 14.10), undoubtedly to control the trade routes across the Negev from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean coast. Ties between Ashkelon and Herod's family were close if one lends credence to Julius Africanus' assertion that Herod's grandfather had spent his childhood as a temple servant in the Temple of Apollo at Ashkelon (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 1.6.2–3). Herod never conquered Ashkelon, preferring that it remain a free city, but Josephus wrote that he built baths, fountains, and colonnades for the populace (*JW* 1.422). Upon Herod's death he bequeathed a palace at Ashkelon to Emperor Augustus who in turn presented it to Herod's sister, Salome (Jones 1938: 165).

With the first significant stirrings of the Jewish revolt in 64 A.D., tensions ran high between the Jews and the inhabitants of the Greek cities. In Ashkelon one riot resulted in the slaughter of 2,500 of the city's Jews (*JW* 2.477). The Jewish revolt against Rome did not directly affect the city, and Ashkelon's sea trade thrived during the Late Roman period. It was known for its agricultural produce, especially wheat, onions (Strab *Geog.* 16.2.29), and a heavy wine that was exported to European markets to be used in celebrating the Eucharist (Avi-Yonah 1977: 195; Riley 1975: 30). The acts of the Council of Constantinople indicate that by 536 A.D. Ashkelon was the seat of a bishop.

With the Muslim conquest of Palestine in the 7th century A.D., Ashkelon became a Muslim city, although Jews and Christians continued to live within its walls. In 940 the Church of *St. Maria Viridis* (St.

Mary the Green) was attacked and destroyed, after which the bishop escaped to Ramla. The probable remains of this church were excavated by the recent archaeological expedition to Ashkelon (Stager and Esse 1987: fig. 2). Crusader efforts to capture Ashkelon did not succeed until 1153. Between the Crusader capture of Jerusalem in 1099 and in 1153, Ashkelon served as the main point of contact between the Fatimid government in Cairo and the Crusader kingdom. Jews taken captive in the Holy Land were ransomed at Ashkelon, often with money provided by the Cairene Jewish community (Goitein 1982: 309–15).

By 1187, Ashkelon had surrendered to Saladin after his victory over the Crusaders at the Horns of Hattin. The 3d Crusade, led by Richard the Lion-Hearted in 1191, forced Saladin to abandon Ashkelon, but not before he purposely destroyed it to prevent its falling into Crusader hands. The destruction is vividly recounted by al-Qadi al-Fadil, where Saladin is reported to have said, "I take God to witness, I would rather lose all my children than cast down a single stone from the walls" (Benvenisti 1970: 118–19). Richard partially rebuilt Ashkelon the following year, but Ashkelon was finally surrendered and completely destroyed in an agreement between Richard and Saladin. A castle was built on the site by Richard, Duke of Cornwall, in 1240, but by 1270 the Mamluk sultan, Baybars, destroyed the castle, and Ashkelon was never reoccupied.

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DOUGLAS L. ESSE

**ASHKENAZ** [Heb *ʾaškĕnāz* (אַשְׁכְּנָז)*; ʾaškanaz* (אַשְׁכַּנַז)]. First "descendant" of Gomer who is the first "offspring" of Japheth in the Table of Nations (Gen 10:2–3). In Jer 51:27, Ashkenaz appears—along with Ararat and Minni—as a kingdom called upon to oppose Babylon. The name is identified with the neo-Assyrian Ishkuza (*iš-ku-za-a-a;* cf. Parpola AOAT 6: 178), who appeared between the Black and Caspian Seas in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., driving out the Cimmerians (cf. GOMER; this association is reflected in Genesis 10) and threatening the Assyrians. For Herodotus, these people came to be called the Scythians. The correspondence of the consonants in Ashkenaz, Ishkuza, and Scythian is obvious; although the reason for the *nun* in the biblical name is not clear (Westermann *Genesis 1–11 BK,* p. 506;

Wenham *Genesis 1–15 WBC pp.* 217–18). The use of a prosthetic *ʾalef* in the Sem forms may suggest an initial consonant cluster in the name which was unacceptable to Sem.

Although cultural associations reach back into the 3d and 2nd millennia B.C., present archaeological evidence for a distinctive Scythian culture begins in the 7th century B.C., especially at Nemirov Gorodische, an agricultural settlement between Odessa and Kiev (Yamauchi 1976: 242; 1982: 63–85). Possible portrayals of Scythians appear on 9th century reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II, but the first neo-Assyrian mention of the Ishkuza occurs during the time of Sargon II in the 8th century B.C. Driving back the Cimmerians, the Scythians were able to push S to dominate "Asia" (E Turkey) and Media in the latter part of the 7th century B.C. (Millard 1979). About this time, a Scythian raid against Egypt was stopped by Psammetichus I (Hdt. 1.105). For the later history of the Scythians and the question of their identification with the enemy from the N mentioned in the first part of Jeremiah, see SCYTHIANS.

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RICHARD S. HESS

**ASHNAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾašnâ* (אַשְׁנָה)]. **1.** A town in the Shephelah, or lowlands, of Judah (Josh 15:33), within the same district as Azekah, Zanoah, and Socoh. The only reference to this settlement occurs in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Jos 15:21–62; see also BETH–DAGON). The location of the ancient settlement is uncertain. Suggested identifications include Aslin (Cohen *IDB* 1: 254), on the edge of the coastal plain E of Azekah, and Khirbet Wadi Allin (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 384), just SE of Beth Shemesh.

**2.** Another town in the Shephelah of Judah (Josh 15:43), located further to the S within the same district as Libnah and Mareshah. Its single occurrence is also in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah. The site cannot be identified with certainty, although modern Idna, located 10 km E of Lachish, has been proposed (*IDB* 1:254; M.R. 148107).

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**ASHPENAZ** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾašpĕnaz* (אַשְׁפְּנַז)]. An important official in the court of Nebuchadnezzar (605–562 B.C.). In Dan 1:3 he is described as the king's chief eunuch who was responsible for the selection and education of members of the Jewish royal family and aristocracy (among whom were Daniel and his 3 companions, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah) who went into exile in Babylon after the fall of Jerusalem (586 B.C.). The etymology of the name has not been satisfactorily explained, but its form points to a Persian origin, possibly Old Persian *ašpinja* "inn," and it has been suggested (Lacocque *Daniel* CAT, 21–22) that originally the text read here *rab ašpinza,* the innkeeper (in the royal palace). Almost the same consonants (*ʾspnz*) are found in an Aram incantation bowl from Nippur dated ca. 600 B.C. Although the name appears only once in the opening chapter of Daniel the descriptive title "chief of the eunuchs" (*śar hassārîsîm*) appears 6 times. The special relationship between Daniel and Ashpenaz (Dan 1–9) has its literary parallel in the association of Joseph and Potiphar, an Egyptian "officer" (lit. "eunuch") of the Pharaoh (Gen 39:4). There is no need to think that Ashpenaz was castrated or that Daniel and his companions were eunuchs. The descriptive title designates a principal functionary employed at the royal court. In the Gk versions Theodotion simply resorts to transliteration (*Asphanez*) and the LXX invents a new name (*Abiesdri*) based on a misinterpretation of the title "steward" in Dan 1:11.

PETER W. COXON

**ASHTAROTH** (DEITY). See ASHTORETH (DEITY).

**ASHTAROTH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿaštārôt* (עַשְׁתָּרוֹת)]. ASHTERATHITE. The name of a city in Bashan, situated on a mound known today as Tell ʿAshtarah in Syria (M.R. 243244). According to the OT, prior to its conquest by the Israelites, it was, together with Edrei, the dwelling place of Og, king of Bashan (Deut 1:4; Josh 12:4; 13:12, 31; cf. Josh 9:10, where it occurs without Edrei). Ashtaroth was occupied by the half-tribe of Manasseh (Machir, Josh 13:31) and became a Levitical city, allotted to the Gershonites (cf. Josh 21:27, where MT curiously has *bĕʿeštĕrâ,* and 1 Chr 6:56 [—Eng 6:71]). See BEESHTERAH (PLACE). 1 Chr 11:44 states that one of David's mighty men was Uzzia the Ashterathite, which appears to place his origin in Ashtaroth. Gen 14:5 speaks of a city ASHTEROTH-KARNAIM, inhabited by the Rephaim, which was subdued by Chedorlaomer and his allies. It is disputed whether Ashteroth-karnaim is to be equated with Ashtaroth or with the neighboring site of Karnaim.

Ashtaroth is possibly mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts at the end of the 19th century B.C.E. as *ʿs[ ]ʾtm* (Egyptian ʾ can represent Sem *r*). More clearly the place is referred to in the records of Thutmose III (ca. 1479–1425) as *ʿstrt,* in the el-Amarna letters (14th century) as *ʿaš-tar-te,* and in Assyrian inscriptions as *as-tar-tu.* A limestone relief discovered at Nimrud and now in the British Museum depicts Tiglath-pileser III's capture of the city in 732 (*ANEP,* 366).

In two Ugaritic serpent charm texts *ʾṯtrt*, i.e., Ashtaroth, is mentioned as the seat of the god *Mlk*, apparently the prototype of the later Molech and/or Milcom (*KTU* 1.100.41 = *Ugaritica* V 7.41, and *KTU* 1.107.17 = *Ugaritica* V 8.17; Pardee 1988). More controversial is the proposal of B. Margulis (Margalit) (1970: 292–304) who finds that the place-name "Ashtaroth" in the word *ʾṯtrt* in the passage in *KTU* 1.108.2b–3a (= *Ugaritica* V.2.2b–3a) *ʾil. yṯb. bʿṯtrt ʾil ṯpṭ. bhd rʿy,* which he renders as "El sits (enthroned) in Ashtoreth, El rules in Edrei," provides a remarkable parallel to the passage about Og, king of Bashan, dwelling in Ashtaroth and Edrei (cf. Josh 12:4). Though this rendering is ingenious, one can more plausibly translate the passage as "El (or the god) sits next to Astarte, El (or the god) the judge next to Hadad the shepherd." Against Margalit's view stand the evidence (1) that the place-name Edrei begins with ʾ, but *hd rʿy* with *h*; (2) the alternative translation makes better sense in what is clearly a banquet scene; and (3) the text continues *dyšr wyḏmr bkmr,* "who sings and plays the lyre," suggesting that the preceding *hd rʿy* is a personal rather than a place-name. See also Ferrara and Parker 1972: 37–39.

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**ASHTEROTH-KARNAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿaštĕrōt qarnayim* (עַשְׁתְּרֹת קַרְנַיִם)]. In Gen 14:5, the first locality in the enumeration of the places overrun by the 4 eastern kings (see CHEDORLAOMER) on the route of their invasion. There they defeated the REPHAIM. As with most of the chapter's geography and ethnography, this item follows the historical introduction to Deuteronomy, according to which OG, king of Bashan, lived in Ashtaroth and Edrei (Deut 1:4) and was the last remnant of the Rephaim (Deut 3:11). Ashteroth-karnaim is the same city as ASHTAROTH in Bashan, now Tell ʿAštara in S Syria, near the border with Jordan (M.R. 243244). Its name in Gen 14:5 does not mean "the two-horned Astarte" but indicates that it was located near Karnaim, now Tell Ṣaʿd, 4 km NE of Tell ʿAštara. The route of the 4 kings to the Valley of Siddim reproduces, in the opposite direction, the itinerary of the Israelites in Deuteronomy 1–3. See also ASHTORETH (DEITY); CARNAIM.

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**ASHTORETH** (DEITY) [Heb *ʿaštōret* (עַשְׁתֹּרֶת)]. Var. ASHTAROTH. The name by which the Canaanite goddess more commonly known as Astarte is referred to in the OT; Ashtaroth (*ʿaštārôt*) is the plural form of this name. Astarte was a consort of Baal, the great Canaanite storm and fertility god, and is well-attested in many extrabiblical texts.

**A. Ashtoreth and Ashtaroth in the OT.**

It is generally accepted that the vocalization of the name of the goddess as *ʿaštōret* in the OT is a deliberate scribal distortion of an original *ʿaštart,* which is the form we should naturally expect in light of the extrabiblical parallels (cf. Gk Astarte, Akkadian Ishtar, etc.). It is virtually certain that the distorted vocalization reflects the vowels of the Hebrew word *bōšet* "shame," a term employed in place of the divine name Baal in such references as Hos 9:10 and Jer 11:13 as well as in some personal names (e.g., Eshbaal of 1 Chr 8:33; 9:39 is called Ish-bosheth in 2 Sam 2:10, 12, etc.). The name of the Canaanite god Molech (*mōlek*) is probably likewise distorted.

In the OT we find the singular form Ashtoreth only in 1 Kgs 11:5, 33 and 2 Kgs 23:13. In 1 Kgs 11:5, 33 she is referred to as "the goddess of the Sidonians," an appropriate description since extrabiblical texts make it clear that she was indeed the leading goddess at Sidon. 1 Kings 11 refers to her cult as one of a number of idolatrous practices pursued by Solomon as a result of the influence of his foreign wives. 2 Kgs 23:13 mentions that Josiah defiled the high place which Solomon had set up for Ashtoreth, and this is stated to have been E of Jerusalem, to the S of the mount of corruption.

All the other allusions in the OT are to the plural form Ashtaroth. It has, however, often been supposed that we should emend Ashtaroth to Ashtoreth in 1 Sam 31:10, where we read that the Philistines "put Saul's armor in the temple of Ashtaroth and fastened his body to the wall of Beth-shan," a passage which may imply that the temple itself was in Beth-shan. The emendation is attractive; Astarte among other things was a goddess of war, which makes the placing of armor in her temple not inappropriate. However, it should be pointed out that the parallel in 1 Chr 10:10 says that Saul's armor was placed "in the temple of their gods," which may presuppose the plural reading Ashtaroth already in the Chronicler's *Vorlage.*

All the other references to the Ashtaroth are alongside allusions to the Baals (Judg 2:13; 10:6; 1 Sam 7:4; 12:10) or simply "the foreign gods" (1 Sam 7:3), and are mentioned in connection with the apostate worship of the Israelites during the period of the Judges. When we read of "the Baals and the Ashtaroth," it may be that this is simply a way of speaking about Canaanite gods and goddesses generally, just as in Akkadian *ilāni u ištarāti* means simply "gods and goddesses." On the other hand, it is not impossible that various local manifestations of Baal and Astarte are intended. It has sometimes been supposed that "the Baals and the Asheroth" in Judg 3:7 should be emended to "the Baals and the Ashtaroth," a proprosal supported by 2 Hebrew manuscripts, the LXX, and the Syriac version, but "the Asheroth" should perhaps be preferred as the *lectio difficilior* (i.e., "the more difficult reading," and therefore unlikely to have been corrupted from "the Ashtaroth").

The pairing of the Ashtaroth with the Baals is appropriate, since it is clear from the Ugaritic texts and elsewhere that Astarte was a consort of Baal, as also was Anath. It is actually Anath who plays the preponderant role as Baal's consort in the Ugaritic texts, although Astarte does appear as Baal's spouse in a less dominant role. However, Astarte was apparently more prominent as Baal's consort in the world reflected in the OT (as is certainly also the case in 1st millennium Phoenician inscriptions), and Anath appears only vestigially in OT place names like Anathoth and Beth-Anath. These differences may reflect regional or temporal variations. A further problem is posed by the fact that "Asherah" or "the Asherah" is mentioned alongside Baal a number of times in the OT (Judg 6:25, 28, 30; 1 Kgs 18:18; 2 Kgs 23:4; cf. Judg 3:7), suggesting that she, too, is regarded as Baal's consort, although in the Ugaritic texts she is El's wife. See ASHERAH.

Astarte may be "the queen of heaven" mentioned in Jer 7:18, 44:17, 18, to whom the women made cakes of bread (7:18), burned incense, and poured out drink offerings (44:17, 18). Astarte is referred to as "the mistress of heaven" a number of times in Egyptian texts. On the other hand, it is conceivable that either Asherah or Anath is being referred to in Jeremiah. At any rate, we seem to have here a goddess

popular in folk religion, which suggests a local Canaanite cult rather than the Mesopotamian Ishtar, whom some scholars have envisaged.

In addition to the place name ASHTAROTH or ASHTEROTH-KARNAIM ("Ashtaroth of the two horns"), the name of the goddess lingers on in an interesting expression found in the book of Deuteronomy. This is the phrase *ʿaštĕrôt ṣōʾnekā* (Deut 7:13, 28:4, 18, 51), commonly rendered "the young of your flock," and in each case it is mentioned alongside *šĕgar ʾalāpêkā,* "the offspring of your cattle." This expression is clearly a vestige of an earlier belief when the goddess Astarte was thought of as responsible for the fertility of the flocks. Interestingly there is evidence that *šgr,* too, was regarded as a deity by the Canaanites; he is mentioned alongside Astarte as receiving a sheep by way of offering in *KTU* 1.148.31 (= *Ugaritica* V 9, rev. 9). Cf. too the Balaam text from Deir Alla, I.16, where mention is made of *šgr.wʿštr,* "*šgr* and ʿAshtar."

**B. Extrabiblical Allusions to Astarte**

Precursors of the Canaanite goddess Astarte are to be found in the Mesopotamian Ishtar and the Eblaite Ashtar. In the Ugaritic texts the name of the goddess Astarte is spelled *ʿṯtrt* (probably vocalized ʿAthtart), and there she appears as a consort of the storm and fertility god Baal, though somewhat less prominently than Anath. As such she is referred to as *ʿṯtrt. šm. bʿl* "Astarte-name-of-Baal" in Keret's curse of his son *Yaṣṣib* (*KTU* 1.16.VI.54–57 = *CTA* 16.VI.54–57) and it is generally accepted that the same epithet should be restored in the similar incantation in the Baal-Yam myth in *KTU* 1.2.I.8 (= *CTA* 2.I.8). It is interesting to observe that the identical epithet occurs much later in the 5th century B.C. inscription of Eshmunazar king of Sidon (*KAI* 14.18), and one may also compare the expression "Tinnit-face-of-Baal" (*tnt pn bʿl*) in numerous Punic inscriptions (e.g., *KAI* 78.2).

Since Astarte and Anath were both consorts of Baal, it is appropriate that we find them mentioned together on a number of occasions. Thus, they appear together in the list of deities cited in both of the Ugaritic serpent charms (*KTU* 1.100.20, 1.107.14 = *Ugaritica V.*7.20, 8.14), the former of which names their common dwelling place as *ʾinbh.* They act together in preparing food at El's banquet (*KTU* 1.114.9–14 = *Ugaritica V.*1.9–14) and subsequently go hunting together (lines 22–23), though in another text Astarte is mentioned hunting alone (*KTU* 1.92 — *PRU* V 1). They unite in attempting to restrain Baal from smiting Yam's messengers (*KTU* 1.2.I.40–42 = *CTA* 2.I.40–42), but later in the story we read of Astarte (alone) rebuking Baal, whether for being too harsh or too lenient towards Yam is not entirely clear (*KTU* 1.2.IV.28–30 = *CTA* 2.IV.28–30). On another occasion (*KTU* 1.108.2 = *Ugaritica V* 2.2) it seems likely that Astarte is referred to as being present at a banquet alongside El or Rpʾu, as well as Hadad and Anath, though some scholars insist that the place Ashtaroth is here intended. In the Keret epic, Astarte's beauty is implied, for it is said of the maiden Huray that her "grace is as the grace of Anath (and) her fairness as the fairness of Astarte" (*KTU* 1.14.III. 41–42 = *CTA* 14.III.145–146).

A common Ugaritic epithet of Astarte is *ʿṯtrt.šd* (e.g., *KTU* 4.182.55, 58 = *PRU* II.106.52, 55), apparently meaning "Astarte of the field," but the precise significance of this has not been properly elucidated. We also read of local manifestations of Astarte, *ʿṯtrt.mrḥ,* "Astarte in Mari" (*KTU* 1.100, margin line 2 = *Ugaritica V.*7, margin line 2), and *ʿṯtrt ḫr* (*KTU* 1.43.1, 112.13 = *CTA* 33.1, *Ugaritica VII,* RS 24.256, line 13), apparently "the Hurrian Astarte," a deity known in ancient Egypt and in a Phoenician inscription (Cross 1971: 189–95). Presumably these are ways of speaking of Ishtar, the Mesopotamian goddess who is equated with Astarte in the Ugaritic god lists (cf. *KTU* 1.47.25 [*CTA* 29, rev. 3]) and *KTU* 1.118.24 (= *Ugaritica VII,* RS 24.264 + 280, line 24) with *Ugaritica V* 18.24). The identity of Astarte with Ishtar as well as later with Aphrodite in classical times makes it virtually certain that she was equated with Venus. Maybe Canaanite ʿAthtar (*ʿṯtr,* the masculine equivalent form) was the morning star and Astarte the evening star, though explicit evidence for this in Canaanite sources is lacking.

In Egypt, the cult of Astarte, alongside that of a number of other Canaanite deities, was especially prevalent during the period of the New Kingdom, but it also continued into the Late period. For example, from the time of Amenhotep II (ca. 1427–1396 B.C.) to the Late period she was worshiped at *Prw-nfr,* the harbor of Memphis, alongside her consort Baal-Zaphon. Herodotus (2.112) refers to her cult there as that of the "foreign Aphrodite." Astarte is prominent as a goddess of war in Egypt and is depicted a number of

times riding a horse, holding in her hands either a spear and a shield, or a bow and arrow (Leclant 1960: 1–67). Further, she is attested as a military patron of the Pharaohs Amenhotep II (ca. 1427–1396 B.C.), Thutmose IV (ca. 1396–1386 B.C.), and Rameses III (ca. 1185–1154 B.C.), and she was also a protector goddess of Pi-Ramesse, the new city of Rameses II (ca. 1279–1213 B.C.). She is sometimes mentioned alongside Anath, as in the Harris Papyrus, where they are referred to as "the two great goddesses who were pregnant but did not bear." (Does this shed any light on the common Ugaritic epithet "the virgin Anath"?) Like Anath she was a consort of Seth (= Baal). Her father is said to be Ptah or Re. A recurring title is "the Mistress of Heaven" and we also find references to "the Hurrian Astarte" (noted above).

Astarte appears in an interesting, although unfortunately fragmentary, Egyptian papyrus of the 18th or 19th Dyn. (ca. 1550–1187 B.C.), commonly dubbed "the Astarte papyrus" (cf. *ANET*, 17–18). The story clearly reflects an underlying Canaanite myth and has at least some points in common with the Ugaritic myth of Baal and Yam. The Sea (called Yam) demanded tribute of the gods, which was brought by Renenut, the harvest goddess. At a later stage, after the Sea had seen Astarte, it demanded Astarte herself as tribute. The end of the papyrus is broken, but probably told how Seth (i.e., Baal) fought and overcame the Sea. Morenz (1962: 307–9) has argued that this myth may well underlie the well-known classical story of Perseus and Andromeda.

The worship of the goddess Astarte was widespread throughout the Phoenician world in the 1st millennium B.C. Thus, she was the chief goddess of Tyre, being worshiped alongside the other main deities Melqart and Baal-Shamem, while at Sidon she was the leading female deity and was worshiped alongside the gods Baal and Eshmun. She is also attested elsewhere in the Phoenician world, e.g., at Kition in Cyprus and at Pyrgi in Etruria. We know from a 6th century B.C. inscription that she was equated with the goddess Tinnit at Sarepta on the Phoenician coast—this is the earliest reference to Tinnit, later famous in Punic inscriptions as the consort of Baal-ḥammon.

In Philo of Byblos' account of Phoenician mythology (ca. 100 C.E.), Astarte, along with Rhea and Dione, is taken by Kronos-El as wife. By Astarte, Kronos had 7 daughters, Titanids or Artemids, and 2 sons, called Desire (Pothos) and Love (Eros). There is a suggestion of Astarte's association with Baal and their subordination to El (cf. Ugarit) in Philo's statement that "Greatest Astarte and Zeus, called both Demarous and Adodos, king of gods, were ruling over the land with the consent of Kronos." Compare also Astarte's epithet "Greatest" with her designation as *rbt* in Phoenician inscriptions. Philo goes on to say that "Astarte placed upon her own head a bull's head as an emblem of kingship," which calls to mind the place name Ashteroth-karnaim (Gen 14:5), lit. "Ashtaroth of the two horns." There seems to be some play on Astarte's name in Philo's further statement that "while travelling around the world she discovered a star (*astera*) which had fallen from the sky. She took it up and consecrated it in Tyre, the holy island." Finally, he reveals that the Phoenicians identified Astarte with Aphrodite, a fact which is well-attested elsewhere.

There was a goddess called Atargatis, the consort of Hadad, whose cult was popular in Syria in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. An important site of her cult was at Hierapolis (Bambyke) and is described by Lucian of Samosata in his *De Syria Dea* in the 2d century C.E. She is there called Hera, and Hadad is named Zeus. It is generally thought that the name Atargatis is a compound of Astarte (*ʿttrt*) + Anath (*ʿnt*) in an Aramaizing form *ʿatta.* (The view that the latter part of the name represents Attis is now rejected.) *ʿtrʿth* is by far the most common Aram form attested, though variants such as *ʾtrʿt* are also found. R. A. Oden (1977: 58–107) has argued that Atargatis combined not only Astarte and Anath but also Asherah, but this is unproven. Whereas Lucian distinguishes Atargatis from Derketo (Lucian, *Syr. D.* 14), other classical sources such as Pliny the Elder (*HN* 5.19) equate the two. Derketo was a goddess who was woman on the top half and a fish on the bottom half.

A number of nude female figurines found in archaeological excavations in Palestine have popularly been known as "Astarte plaques." The emphasized breasts and genitals certainly indicate a fertility goddess, but the close analogy of Egyptian depictions of the goddess *Qdš,* i.e., Asherah (cf. the Hathor hairstyle), suggest that the plaques in question represent Asherah rather than Astarte. Egyptian depictions of Astarte regularly depict her clothed. See ASHERAH.

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JOHN DAY

**ASHURBANIPAL** (PERSON). The last great king of Assyria, who ruled from 668–627 B.C. (see MESOPOTAMIA, HISTORY OF for a more complete discussion of his reign). The Assyrian form of his name, *Aššur-bāni-apli,* means "the god Ashur is the creator of an heir." Although Ashurbanipal exercised control over the kingdom of Judah, and his soldiers on more than one occasion marched through Palestine on campaigns against Egypt, he is never specifically mentioned in the Bible.
A. KIRK GRAYSON

**ASHURITES** [Heb *ʾăšûrî* (אֲשׁוּרִי)]. The name of the 2d of 5 districts that comprised the kingdom of Israel during the latter part of Saul's reign, and during Eshbaal's (i.e. Ish-bosheth's) brief reign (ca. 1000 B.C.; 2 Sam 2:9). The Syr and Vg read "Geshurites," while the Targum paraphrases with the expression, "house of Asher." The LXX reads *thasiri.* The present spelling of the name is probably best understood as an early corruption of "Asherites" (Edelman 1985: 85–86).

The Ashurite district is the only one designated by a gentilic form, rather than a geographical term. The district list in 2 Sam 2:9 would seem to be organized according to the common ancient principles of boundary descriptions. Limits are set out in terms of the 4 cardinal directions. The Ashurites can accordingly be understood to represent the westernmost district, in contrast to Gilead, the easternmost; Jezreel the northernmost; and Benjamin, the southernmost. Ephraim is an intermediate N-to-S element (cf. Ahlström 1986: 89).

No satisfactory identity can be found for the Ashurites based on the received spelling of their name. They cannot represent the Assyrians, who were not active in Canaan at this time. Neither can they plausibly be identified with the Arab tribe, the Asshurim, the sons of Dedan (Gen 25:3), who would not have been settled within W Canaan at the time of Saul and Eshbaal (cf. Lahav 1982/83; Ahlström 1986: 90). The variant reading "Geshurites" does not yield an acceptable geographical or political answer either, even though it has been adopted by a small group of scholars (i.e. Mauchline *1–2 Samuel* NCBC 6: 204; Ackroyd *First Book of Samuel* CBC, 33; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 82–83; 87–88; *HAIJ* 1986: 139–40). As an independent kingdom located in the S Golan (2 Sam 3:3; 13:37), GESHUR could not have formed the W border of Saul's Israel (see SAUL).

The Ashurites are most commonly equated with the Galilean tribe of Asher, and, by extension, are thought to represent the entire Galilee region (for bibliography, see Edelman 1985: 90, n. 4). Recent archaeological survey work in the S area of Issachar has yielded no remains datable to the Iron I period (Gal 1982), so Saul's reported control over the S Issacharite hills north of the Megiddo Plain–Jezreel Valley corridor (1 Sam 31:7; 1 Chr 10:7) can be considered literary fiction. Bearing this in mind, neither Asher nor Galilee could have formed the W limit of Saul's state.

The most plausible identification of the Ashurites would seem to be with some portion of the Asherite enclave that was located in the S region of the Ephraimite hill country (see ASHER). The detailed tribal genealogy for Asher that is found in 1 Chr 7:30–40 appears to enumerate members of this S Asherite group at 3 points during its existence, at times when it was controlled by the Judahite court (Edelman

1988). Perhaps the term in 2 Sam 2:9 designates the W clans of the enclave, including Beriah, Serah, Shomer/Shemer, and Japhlet, who occupied the towns of Aijalon, Upper and Lower Beth Horon, ʾUzzen-sheʾerah, the area N of Lower Beth Horon, and possibly Timnath-Serah.

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

**ASHVATH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿašwāt* (עַשְׁוָת)]. The great-great-grandson of Asher mentioned in the abbr. genealogy of Asher (1 Chr 7:33). The complete count of the sons of Asher "enrolled by genealogies, for service in war" numbered 26,000 men. Ashvath, whose name perhaps means "bright," is described in the list as one of the "heads of fathers' houses, approved, mighty warriors, chief of the princes" (7:40).

Perhaps it is because Asher was a tribe of lesser importance, having originated from the Jacob-Zilpah union (cf. Gen 46:17–18), that his lineage received only passing interest. Indeed, one third of the names appearing in Asher's genealogy are found nowhere else in Scripture. The Chronicler is content to give the names of Ashvath's brothers, father (Japhlet), and grandfathers. Beyond this limited information, little or nothing else is known about him.

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**ASIARCHS.** The title signifies an office which was associated with the league of Greek cities in the Roman province of Asia. However, the exact nature of the connection has been much debated because of the apparently contradictory information supplied by the sources.

There are 3 main kinds of evidence for asiarchs. The most common are Gk inscriptions dating between the 1st and 3d centuries A.D. These are followed in number by a fairly large group of bronze coins which were issued by the cities in the province between the mid-2d and the mid-3d centuries, and which bear the names of asiarchs. The 3d type of evidence consists of references in diverse literary works, ranging from *The Geography* of Strabo and the Acts of the Apostles in the early imperial period to passages from legal codices of the 5th and 6th centuries.

Despite this wide-ranging evidence, or rather because of it, the nature of the asiarch's role in the province still has not been fully clarified. The information available is so diverse that no single homogeneous explanation taking all into account has been forthcoming so far. Indeed, over the period of more than a century, there have been many different interpretations. In the main, these have centered on whether or not the asiarch should be considered identical with the high priest of the imperial cult of the province, the "archiereus" of Asia. The division of opinion is not simply between those who believe and those who do not that the terms "asiarch" and "archiereus" of Asia are two designations for the one office. Even among those who agree in this respect, significant differences in detail occur.

According to one view, the titles referred to the same office but were used in specialized ways to denote specific functions of the position; for example, the archiereus of Asia only bore the title asiarch in every 4th year when he presided over the provincial festival (Monceaux 1885: 60–62; Merkelbach 1978: 288). An alternative view is that archiereus of Asia was the title used during the term of office while that of asiarch was a life-long designation retained afterwards (Larsen 1955: 119; Rossner 1974: 106–7). A 3rd interpretation is that the two titles, although originally separate, had become completely interchangeable by the 2d century, the existence of 2 different titles for the same office was due to a development during the 1st century A.D. in which the older title, asiarch, gradually became more popular than that of archiereus of Asia. According to this theory, the title archiereus of Asia was virtually out of use by the time of Hadrian, and the term asiarch was used to describe the head of the imperial cult in Asia from that

time onwards (Lightfoot 1889: 407–8; Taylor 1933: 261; Deininger 1965: 49–50). This last interpretation of the evidence is the one most widely accepted today.

Yet the argument that the titles are identical has not always been accepted as adequately proved (Chapot 1904: 479–80; Sherwin-White 1973: 404); and some indeed have maintained that the 2 offices were entirely separate. One such view argued that the asiarch functioned only as the president of the festival of the league of cities (Le Bas-Waddington 1870: 245–46), while others have gone further and suggested that the asiarch was primarily linked, not to the league of cities at all, but to individual cities. Two versions of this view exist: (1) that the asiarchs were delegates sent by the cities to the annual assembly of the federation of cities (Brandis *PW* 2: 1577–78); and (2) that the asiarchs were benefactors of the cities, which conferred the title on the occasion of important demonstrations of public spirit, such as a festival or a gladiatorial combat (Magie 1950: 449–50).

The question cannot be considered as settled even today, despite the apparent consensus in favor of the identity of the asiarch and archiereus of Asia in scholarly literature of the last decade and a half. All interpretations of the asiarch proposed so far can still be countered at certain points. For example, it can be argued that imprecise chronology, confusion in distinguishing the local and provincial levels of the imperial cult, and lack of evidence connecting the asiarch with the league of cities in the first 3 centuries render useless some evidence. This applies to the *Martyrdom* of Polycarp and the inscriptions concerning Iulius Reginus of Ephesus, on which the pro-identity view is based (Chapot 1904: 476–77; Magie 1950: 1300). Against those who advocate a separate asiarch and archiereus of Asia it can be argued that insufficient weight is attached both (1) to Modestinus' description of the asiarchs as a national priesthood and (2) to the fact that both asiarchs and the archiereus of Asia sometimes bear qualifying titles referring to the temples of one or other of the major cities of Asia (Deininger 1965: 46–47).

Undoubtedly the controversy over the nature of the "asiarchy" has been complicated by attempts to draw in evidence not only from the province of Asia but also from other provinces in which *-arch* titles are attested (Guiraud 1887: 97–99; Taylor 1933: 256–57; Deininger 1965: 42–43). However, since this question is not yet settled in provinces such as Lycia, Galatia, Bithynia, or Pontus, arguments based on such comparisons are of little value, if any. Moreover, regional differences between provinces, as well as differences in the historical development of the various leagues of cities, make such an approach methodologically unreliable (Chapot 1904: 468–69; Sherwin-White 1973: 442–43). In addition, the broad assumption that all evidence is equally applicable to all periods takes no cognizance of changing political and economic factors (Larsen 1955: 119; Rossner 1974: 111). When these variables are taken into account, it seems unlikely that jurists writing in the first half of the 3d century can be used without extreme caution to throw light on the nature of the asiarchy in the 1st and 2d centuries. The situation demands a comprehensive study of a single, yet representative, body of evidence combined with a strict chronological approach. Such conditions are fulfilled by the inscriptions from Ephesus which now number approximately 5,000; more than 100 asiarchs and archiereis (pl. of archiereus) of Asia are represented over a period of two and a half centuries (*IvEph* 1–8 [1979–84]).

These inscriptions provide the greatest body of direct evidence available at present concerning asiarchs who lived relatively close in time and place to those mentioned in Acts 19:31. In particular, there are 4 asiarchs whose terms of office can be precisely dated between the years A.D. 92/93 and 117/18: P. Vedius Antoninus, Tib. Claudius Aristio, T. Flavius Pythio, and T. Flavius Aristoboulus (*IvEph* 2: 429, 508; 3: 858; 5: 1500). The earliest, Aristio, was asiarch in 92/93, less than 50 years after the events recorded in Acts as taking place in that very city. All 4 asiarchs are documented by 5 or more inscriptions. Aristio appears in more than 20 separate texts and is also mentioned in a letter of Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 6/31:3).

These 4 asiarchs all held Roman citizenship and belonged to important families of Ephesus. Moreover, the inscriptions reveal a common pattern of participation in the life of the city, including their activities as benefactors: the financing of specific projects such as an aqueduct (*IvEph* 7/2: 4105); the erection of statues to members of the imperial family or to important Roman officials in Ephesus (*IvEph* 7/1: 3033); and the performance of public services such as an embassy to Rome on behalf of the city (*IvEph* 3: 728; Wörrle 1973: 473–74). The standing of the asiarchs at Ephesus is also indicated by the statues erected by

the city to them and to their relatives in turn (*IvEph* 2: 425; 3: 638, 728; 7/1: 3064). All this, however, was typical for members of most of the leading families of Asia during the early imperial period and was not limited to the asiarch or archiereus. It therefore reveals nothing specific about these offices except that holders of both titles were frequently drawn from the same families. Nevertheless, this similar family background conceals details of the specific function of each of the two titles which may be extracted by a closer examination of the other aspects of the office-holder's activity.

Aristio, one of the four earliest epigraphically attested asiarchs of Ephesus, is recorded on different occasions with each title, from which it is possible to observe in what circumstances the titles were used. From the various texts in which Aristio appears in an official capacity—as distinct from those inscriptions which are purely honorary—it is clear that each title was used in a different sphere of public life. When Aristio officiated at the dedications made by certain cities of Asia to Ephesus's first provincial temple of the imperial cult in 88/89 and 89/90, he bore the title archiereus of Asia (*IvEph* 2: 234, 235; 5: 1498). But when he bore the title asiarch he was acting as a city magistrate in the capacity of prytanis (chief official) or secretary of the populace, at the same time that he participated in projects of the city not of the provincial league (*IvEph* 2: 427, 461, 508). This close association between the asiarchy and the highest city magistracies of Ephesus, particularly the grammateia, is equally in evidence in the careers of the other 3 early asiarchs, Antoninus, Pythio and Aristoboulus. Each of these was asiarch at the same time as he was grammateus of the populace (*IvEph* 2: 429; 3: 858; 5: 1500). Indeed, the association between these two offices may also be reflected in the Acts of the Apostles since these are the only 2 official positions of the city which are mentioned in the description of the riot of the silversmiths of Artemis (19:28–41).

The available chronological information confirms such an interpretation of the asiarchy's close link with civic magistracies and its individual existence apart from the *archierosynē,* "high priesthood," of Asia. Where proconsular dates are included in the inscriptions, they provide a clear distinction between the occasions on which Aristio held first the provincial *archierosynē* and then the asiarchy (*IvEph* 2: 234, 235, 461, 508). The occurrence of the title asiarch here cannot be interpreted simply as an honorary title retained by Aristio after his term of office as archiereus of Asia had expired; for he, and also Pythio, appear in inscriptions without the title some years after they are known definitely to have been asiarch (*IvEph* 5: 1500; 7/1: 3217b). Furthermore, the features that are commonly taken to imply that the title asiarch was an alternative designation for the provincial priest are lacking, not only in the case of Aristio but also in that of the other 3 asiarchs. There is no evidence, for example, of the so-called temple titles which later appear attached to the names of asiarchs and which, it has been suggested, prove that the titles asiarch and archiereus of Asia were identical (Deininger 1965: 47). Nor is there any indication in the inscriptions relating to the 4 asiarchs that they were in any way connected with the festival of the league of cities of Asia. Although the probability of such a link has frequently been proposed by those seeking to prove that the titles were identical, it is of no relevance here.

The separation in function of the asiarch and archiereus of Asia appears to be confirmed by another inscription from Ephesus (*IvEph* 1a: 27), dating to A.D. 104, which records the details of the perpetual foundation established in that year by Vibius Salutaris. In specifying the benefits and duties under the terms of the endowment, the inscription lists the archiereus of Asia and other sacred officials as a group quite distinct from those described as former asiarchs. The ex-asiarchs are grouped with civic bodies such as the *gerousia* (council of elders) and *boule* in a manner which coincides exactly with the way the inscriptions of Aristio, Pythio, Aristoboulus, and Antoninus link the asiarchy with the *grammateia* (office of secretary) or the *prytany* (presidential office of the senate) (Kearsley *NDIEC* 4 fc.).

When it is recalled that asiarchs are documented by Strabo (14. 649) well before the institution of the imperial cult in Asia, the independence of the asiarchy from the provincial *archierosynē* is not remarkable. Since also there is no evidence at all for a connection between the asiarchs and the league of Asian cities during the Late Republican period, their close relationship with the leading officials of Ephesus under the early Empire is quite credible. Unfortunately, however, it is not yet possible to determine more precisely the function of the asiarch, nor to ascertain whether or not there was more than one at a time. So far no unequivocal epigraphic evidence on this point is available and, although Acts

19:31 refers to "asiarchs," it has usually been argued that the designation there only represents a life-long honorific title applied to wealthy members of society (*contra* Kearsley 1988: 50–51). Moreover, the limited time period to which the evidence of the inscriptions of Aristio, Pythio, Aristoboulus, and Antoninus applies, from the late 1st century until the beginning of the reign of Hadrian, must be emphasized. Any developments which may have occurred subsequently between the asiarchy and the *archierosynē* of Asia remain outside the scope of this evidence.

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**ASIBIAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Asibias* (Ἀσιβιας)]. See HASHABIAH (PERSON).

**ASIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿăśîʾēl* (עֲשִׂיאֵל)]. **1.** The great-grandfather of Jehu, one of 13 princes or chiefs in the tribe of Simeon during the reign of the Judean king Hezekiah (715–687 B.C. [1 Chr 4:35]th). Jehu was one of only 3 princes whose lineage was traced. Apparently the genealogy in vv 24–43 was intended to update earlier genealogies (Gen 46:10; Exod 6:15; and Num 26:12–14) and to explain the demise of Simeon vis-à-vis Judah (cf. 1 Chr 4:27; Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 30).

**2.** An elder ancestor of Tobit from the tribe of Naphtali (Tob 1:1). Asiel transliterates the Heb name *yaḥṣîēl* (Jahziel, cf. 1 Chr 7:13), a variant of *yaḥṣĕēl* (Jahzeel, cf. Gen 46:24 and Num 26:48). Jahzeel is listed as the eponymous founder of a family within the tribe of Naphtali (Num 26:48). If Jahzeel and Asiel are the same person, Tob 1:1 designates the particular family to which Tobit belonged. Whether the genealogy is genuine cannot be determined. The presence of geographical and historical errors in the book of Tobit (e.g., Tobit claims to have been a young man when the Israelite monarchy divided in 921 B.C. and to have gone into exile in 722) has led many scholars to consider the book fiction.

**3.** One of the 5 scribes trained to write rapidly (2 Esdr 14:24), who took down the books dictated by Ezra (2 Esdr 14:37–46). Various mss list the total number of books as 94 or over 900. The passage is often interpreted to mean that Ezra dictated 24 canonical and 70 non-canonical books (cf. Myers *Esdras* AB, 320–21; Russell 1964: 85–88), though the nature of the books is not clear from the text. In view of the obscurity of these verses, their import for the understanding of the canonical process is limited.

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**ASKEWIANUS, CODEX.** See PISTIS SOPHIA.

**ASMAR, TELL.** A site located on the plain of the lower basin of the Diyala, a river that descends from the Zagros mountains and joins the Tigris at the point where Baghdad is situated. Its ancient name, Eshnunna, is the Sumerian form of the Semitic name Ishnou by which it was known in the 3d millennium.

Two extensive archaeological operations, different in nature but complementary, yielded some very precise information on the history of the region. The 1st was a series of traditional campaigns led by the Oriental Institute of Chicago under the direction of H. Frankfort and P. Delougaz to the tells of Tell

Asmar, Khafadje, Tell Agrab, and Ischaeli 1930–36—a remarkable undertaking, the results of which for many years formed the basis of our knowledge of Babylonia of the 3d and 2d millennia. The 2d operation was carried out in 1957–58, again under the auspices of the Oriental Institute; this survey by R. McC. Adams indexed 867 archaeological sites. The study of fragments of ceramic pottery collected on these sites allowed for the dating and defining of the major evolutionary phases of the region from the end of the Neolithic period to our day, shedding light on the fundamental role played by irrigation in that period. It established the initial emergence of the first cities in the 4th and 3d millennia B.C., linked to their birth, and their renaissance at the end of the 1st millennium A.D.

Tell Asmar is a good example of the 1st phase of development of the region. The ruins extends more than 1 square km; it is formed by a main tell, approximately 600 by 400 m, and bordered on the W and S by smaller tells. It was on the main tell that most of the research was carried out. It is probably at the end of the 4th millennium B.C. that the beginnings of the site are dated, but practically nothing is known of the city of that era.

A part of an older wall with a gate was found by the excavators on the N and E sides of the N palace. This seems to show that the city in the 1st part of the 3d millennium was rather limited in its dimensions and could have occupied only the central part of the main tell. Judging from what was uncovered by the excavation, the N palace was a long building, approximately 70 by 30 m, separated from the outer wall by a small open space and bound on the E by a passageway that ran N–S with an entrance door leading to it. The most remarkable feature of the building is in the oblong rooms of the E part, where installations of baked bricks coated with bitumen-like little platforms are backed against the wall. Midway a fissure had been cut that was the starting point of an evacuation duct connected to a drainage system, which was also constructed of baked bricks and was closed in by an arch. The main pipe of the sewage system was found under the surface of the N–S passageway. One is tempted to interpret these platforms as toilets, although the number of these installations (7) in a constricted space casts doubt on this supposition. However, certain authors have seen them as unworkmanlike installations. In spite of this uncertainty, the quality of this arrangement emphasizes the attention that the Sumerians gave to the problems of urban sanitation in the middle of the 3d millennium B.C.

A recent analysis of the ruins of this palace points to 2 important conclusions: (1) The existence of a floor over the totality of the discovered edifice has been established and (2) it has been shown that this edifice was the most imposing part of a complex which also developed on the E side of the passageway. This E wing was composed of 2 or 3 main buildings situated next to one another, whose interior arrangements are unfortunately unknown. The whole structure was linked by halls running through the individual blocks. The main hall was placed exactly in the pathway of the door of the older wall and served as the backbone of the complex by giving access to all the buildings. Transversal footbridges on an upper level connected the different architectural units. The palace therefore appears more important in function than it did at the time of its uncovering, revealing the sophisticated aspects of an architecture often poorly perceived.

Dwelling houses were uncovered on the W flank of the palace, and in the middle of these was a small temple, known as the temple of Abu, where excavation has allowed scholars to trace the history and the modifications throughout the ED period (1st half of the 3d millennium). Usually, the temple comprised a single long room with a podium which undoubtedly received the insignia of the divinity; at times, 1 or 2 small rooms for storage or for lodging the priest were added. Nevertheless, one phase was characterized by a building which was more important than the others; it was called the “square temple.” Instead of a long room with one podium, this temple contained three podiums, each one occupying part of a square central space in the foyer of the building where the passageways crossed. A stairway situated in the NE corner gave access to either a terrace or an upper floor. This monument became famous because one of the sanctuaries contained a set of small statues which had been buried in the ground during antiquity according to the common practice when sacred or worship-related articles were no longer used. Most of them depict worshipers and generally measure not more than about 30 cm in size; 2 of them are particularly interesting: the taller one measures 72 cm and portrays a person of masculine sex; the 2d

measures 59 cm and portrays a woman. Some scholars see them as a divine couple, others as a royal couple—there is no proof to substantiate either interpretation. The sculpture does not possess the fine quality of the one from Mari, but the general outline and the facial features as well as the emphasis laid on the huge eyes, which nearly cover the face, give them an uncommon force.

South of the palace and the temple of Abu was a residential quarter. A level-by-level detailed study yielded precious information on the dwellings and private life of the ED III period and the beginning of the Agade period.

In the late 3d and early 2d millennium B.C. the city may well have known its most splendid period. The new city wall (the Larsa town wall) reveals the great expansion of the area occupied by the city and important monuments constructed 200 or 300 m to the S of the preceding group of buildings. The main block was called the palace of the rulers and the Gimil-Sin temple. That the edifice was the official power center is clear from its plan, centering on the foyer which was also the throne room according to the then-prevailing custom in Mesopotamia. A central corridor leads through a large courtyard to a first long room along one small side; in the back of this was a beautiful suite of rooms, including a very large room where receptions, banquets, and official ceremonies took place. Smaller architectural suites served as apartments for the king and his relatives, or as centers specializing in administrative management and economic reserves. This layout characterized all the palaces of that period. The palace was in use for at least 3 centuries and underwent changes which really did not affect the official residential suites but did remodel the outlying buildings.

The most remarkable added feature, still unique today, was the Gimil-Sin temple (now called the Shu-Sin temple), dedicated to a deified king of the 3d dynasty of Ur which dominated the region for some decades; this was added onto the E facade of the palace. Built according to the common Babylonian plan (a square space in the center surrounded by rooms), this edifice was desacralized at the time that the dynasty disappeared in 2004 B.C., a fact clearly showing the political character of the edifice. This building was then transformed into an annex like any other in the palace. Other monuments of that era (e.g., the building of Azuzum, the S building, the audience hall of Naram-Sin, and living quarters) complete the description of the city. Regaining its independence, Eshnunna played an important political role especially by opposing for a while Hammurabi's hegemonistic intentions; but it finally capitulated, and the region then went into a long decline.

The influence exercised by a regional capital such as Eshnunna can be measured thanks to the excavation of Tell Harmal (ancient Shaduppum). Excavated by T. Baqir in 1946, this small trapezoidal shaped city, lying a little to the S of Baghdad, certainly played an administrative role in the region. The team uncovered a double temple, a group of 2 temples joined side by side, chapels, and a large building where the priests and administrative personnel undoubtedly lived, as well as private houses. But it was the discovery of cuneiform texts which assured the importance of that small site. Tariffs, mathematical texts, literary texts, and above all fragments of a compendium of laws written in Akkadian by King Dadusha around 1790 B.C., clearly show the role of that city as a division of the central administration located in Eshnunna.

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JEAN-CLAUDE MARGUERON

TRANS. PAUL SAGER

**ASMODEUS** [Gk *Asmodaios* (Ἀσμοδαιος)]. The name of the evil demon that killed the first 7 husbands of Sarah, the daughter of Raguel, each on their wedding night in the apocryphal story of Tobit (Tob 3:8). When Tobit's son Tobias was married to Sarah, however, by following the advice of the angel

Raphael he warded off the demon by placing a fish's heart and liver on burning incense. Raphael then captured and bound the fleeing demon.

The derivation of the name is uncertain. It is often taken to come from Aesma Daeva, "the wrath demon," of the Zoroastrian *Avesta*. According to popular Jewish etymology, the Heb name Ashmedai (whence the Gk Asmodeus) was derived from *hismid,* "destroy, exterminate."

For the postbiblical assessment of Asmodeus—a very different one, found in the Talmud and in later Jewish folklore—see Roth, *EncJud* 3: 754–55.

HERBERT G. GRETHER

**ASNAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾasnâ* (אַסְנָה)]. The head of a family of NETHINIM (temple servants) listed among those exiles returning from Babylon to Jerusalem and Judah (Ezra 2:50 = 1 Esdr 5:31). The name is absent from the list as recorded in Nehemiah 7. Galling (1951: 157) prefers to view these lists as registers of the *gôlāh* religious community in Judah. Although Zadok (1980: 113) believes the name remains unexplained by using onomastic criteria, its similarity to ASENATH (Heb *ʾāsĕnat*), the name of Joseph's Egyptian-born wife (Gen 41:45), has suggested that it has an Egyptian theophoric origin.

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RODNEY H. SHEARER

**ASPATHA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾaspātā* (אַסְפָּתָא)]. One of the 10 sons of Haman (Esth 9:7). On problems surrounding this list of names see ADALIA (PERSON). Aspatha (LXX *phasga*) perhaps renders the otherwise unattested Old Iranian name **Aspa-pati,* "master horseman."

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PETER BEDFORD

**ASPHAR** (PLACE) [Gk *asphar* (ἀσφαρ)]. A pool in the wilderness of Tekoa, to which Jonathan Maccabeus, his brother Simon, and their army fled from Bacchides (1 Macc 9:33). Bacchides was one of 2 commanders sent to Judah ca. 160 B.C. by the Seleucid ruler Demetrius I Soter (reigned 162–150). Eschewing retreat, Judas threw himself and his dwindling army into battle against Bacchides and eventually was killed (1 Macc 9:18). When the Jews regrouped under Jonathan, Bacchides sought his life, but Jonathan and his army fled to Asphar. The full name of the place reads in Gk "*to hudor lakkou asphar*." Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 380) thinks that the LXX translated the Heb word "*bor*" ("cistern") as a common noun "*lakkou,*" missing the fact that "*bor*" was part of the name of the place: Bor-Asphar. Asphar was located "in the wilderness of Tekoa" (1 Macc 9:33). F.-M. Abel (1949: 196–97) identified the site with a place named Bir ez-Zaʿfarān near Tekoa, where a pool or cistern provided water, an identification accepted by Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 380), but rejected by Simons (1959: 412 §1151–52) on the grounds that the name occurs at several different places.

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PAUL L. REDDITT

**ASRIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾaśrîʾēl* (אַשְׂרִיאֵל)]. ASRIELITE. The 3d son of Gilead and great-grandson of Manasseh listed in the 2d census taken by Moses in the wilderness (Num 26:31). The Asrielites, along with the other clans of Gilead, received land allotments in Cisjordan (Josh 17:2). The identity of Asriel is confused, however, by the obscurity of 1 Chr 7:14. Rather than Asriel being understood as a son of Manasseh, in the more orderly readings of Numbers and Joshua he is the son of Gilead. Some phrase or understanding, unimportant to the descent of Asriel, has been lost from the

Chronicler's reading, which only mentions 2 of the 6 clans, or 3 if Abiezer is taken to be Jeezer. The name Asriel may mean "God is joined."
JOEL C. SLAYTON

**ASS.** See ZOOLOGY.

**ASSAR, TEL** (PLACE). See TEL-ASSAR (PLACE).

**ASSAYER.** See INTEREST AND USURY IN THE GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD.

**ASSEMBLY, DIVINE.** See DIVINE ASSEMBLY.

**ASSEMBLY, GREAT.** See GREAT ASSEMBLY.

**ASSHUR** (DEITY). See MESOPOTAMIA, HISTORY OF (HISTORY AND CULTURE OF ASSYRIA).

**ASSHUR** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾaššûr* (אַשּׁוּר)]. One of the sons of Shem and the eponymous ancestor of the Assyrians (Gen 10:22; 1 Chr 1:17). There is debate over whether the reference to Asshur in Gen 10:11–12, which follows vv 8–10 in which Nimrod is associated with the cities of Babylon, Erech, and Accad in S Mesopotamia (Shinar), names a person or a place (either the land or the city). Those who support the former derive it from a literal translation of the passage "from this land (Shinar) went forth Asshur." Those who prefer the latter assume that the context from the previous verses requires that Nimrod, not a ruler named Asshur, be responsible for the construction of the Assyrian cities; they generally translate (although the syntax is awkward) "from this land, he (referring to Nimrod) left for Asshur." For further discussion see *Genesis* AB.

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GARY H. OLLER

**ASSHUR** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾaššûr* (אַשּׁוּר)]. The references to Asshur in the Bible are not to be confused with the references to the tribe of Asher. Also to be distinguished is a certain man called Ashhur who was the son of Caleb and the father of Tekoa who is mentioned in 1 Chr 2:24 and 4:5.

In the Bible the references to Asshur are always to the land, people, and king of Assyria as well as to their patronymic Asshur. In Gen 10:22 and 1 Chr 1:17 Asshur is said to have been a son of Shem. Assyria and Assyrians are frequently mentioned in the books of the Bible and often these references can be fitted into the larger context of Assyrian history and ancient Near Eastern history in general. (See MESOPOTAMIA, HISTORY OF.) However, there are several references, particularly in the prophets, for which no specific date or historical context is known. These references are best considered in the context of the specific book involved.

The god Asshur, the national god of Assyria, is never mentioned in the Bible although there is the rare reference to Assyrian religion. The city Asshur, which was the original capital of the kingdom of Assyria, is also never specifically referred to in the Bible. Nevertheless, it ranked with Nineveh, Calah, and Arbela, as one of the chief cities of Assyria and therefore deserves some further description.

The location of the settlement which developed into the city of Asshur was a logical one from the point of view of social and economic patterns in the region. Asshur was located on the Tigris River at the extreme S limit of the zone of regular rainfall in the Assyrian heartland. Thus it could draw on the rich agricultural resources of the surrounding countryside and at the same time was in proximity to the flourishing Sumero-Babylonian civilization to the S. In other words it was strategically located on the N-S trade route going up and down the Tigris. It was also well situated on a major E-W trade route since it was precisely at the site of Asshur that caravans commonly forded the Tigris river, the reason being that the mountain chain called the Jebel Himrin, which dominated the landscape E of the Tigris, faded into the plain at the site of Asshur. In fact the city of Asshur was built on the final outlying spur of the Jebel Himrin, which circumstance also provided Asshur with natural fortifications, particularly on the N frontier.

Although native traditions, preserved in Arabic sources in medieval and modern times, never forgot where ancient Asshur was located, it was only in the 19th century that Europeans recognized the identification of the site. Systematic archaeological excavation of the site began early in the 20th century with a German expedition led by Walter Andrae. This continued until the outbreak of World War I in 1914. Excavations were not resumed until the late 1970s by an Iraqi Expedition which has been continuing until the present time.

The history of the city of Asshur is intricately involved with the history of Assyria. Only a brief survey need be given here. There is evidence of prehistoric settlement at the site but it is only in the mid-3d millennium B.C. (*ca.* 2400 B.C.) that there is written evidence of a real city-state called Asshur. It was Shamshi-Adad I (1813–1781 B.C.) who usurped the native dynasty at the city-state of Asshur and incorporated the city into a larger political unit which included most of N Mesopotamia. In the 14th century B.C. Asshur became the capital of a land which was for the first time called Assyria, a kingdom which included the cities Nineveh and Arbela. This was the beginning of the period of the Middle Assyrian Empire and the start of major building operations at Asshur. Asshur continued to be the capital until the 9th century B.C. when Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) moved the capital to Calah. Then in the 7th century B.C. the capital was once again moved, this time by Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.), to Nineveh. Despite Asshur losing its status as the administrative capital of the Assyrian empire, it remained throughout Assyrian history the spiritual heart of Assyria where her kings were crowned and buried.

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A. KIRK GRAYSON

**ASSHURIM** [Heb *ʾaššûrîm* (אַשּׁוּרִים)]. A clan name mentioned in the genealogy of ABRAHAM by his wife KETURAH in Gen 25:3. Asshurim is listed as one of the 3 sons of Abraham's grandson DEDAN, the son of JOKSHAN. These 3 sons are not found in the matching, but abbreviated, genealogical clan list in 1 Chr 1:32–33, perhaps reflecting shifts in population or a changing political situation by the time of the Chronicler. Asshurim is not related to Assyria or the Assyrians, but may possibly be identified with Syrians. This group (note the plural form of the name) is one of many obscure ARABIAN tribal groups which inhabited the fringes of the Negev and N Arabian regions. Their very obscurity was used by the biblical author(s) who wished to contrast starkly the importance of the descendants of Isaac, and even those of Ishmael, with the children of this secondary wife.

VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

**ASSIR** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾassîr* (אַסִּיר)]. 1. A Levite, the son of KORAH (Exod 6:24; 1 Chr 6:7—Eng6:22). The genealogy of Korah recorded in Exod 6:24 may be one of numerous postexilic expansions (compare Noth *Exodus* OTL, 59). The Samaritan Pentateuch reads Assur (*ʾassūr*) for Assir in Exod 6:24.

2. A Levite, the son of EBIASAPH, a descendant of the preceding (1 Chr 6:8, 22—Eng6:23, 37). Both Assir, the son of Korah, and Assir, the son of Ebiasaph, are mentioned only in the genealogy in 1 Chr 6:1–15—Eng6:16–30. The genealogy in 1 Chr 6:16–33—Eng6:31–48 lists only Assir, the son of Ebiasaph, while Exodus 6:16–25 lists only Assir the son of Korah. The differences in the genealogies can be explained 3 ways: (1) There could be 2 men named Assir; one was accidentally dropped or dropped when compressing the genealogy; (2) there is only one Assir; the lists were accidentally expanded during copying; or (3) the differences can be explained by the artificiality of the lists; the 2 lists were constructed for different purposes and have little basis in fact.

TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**ASSOCIATIONS, CLUBS, THIASOI.** Clubs, guilds, and corporations were a feature of the Greco-Roman world from the 4th century on into the Roman imperial period. Most of the information about these organizations is derived from inscriptions and documentary papyri.

According to Aristotle, the essence of association (*koinōnia*) is friendship (*Eth.Nic.* 8.9.1 [1159b]). Pythagoras is alleged to have founded in the latter half of the 6th century a society of which it could be

said that "men who live at distant points count one another friends before they even know or speak with one another" (Iamb. *VP* 237).

Developed out of common interests, all associations were cultically oriented, but other objectives were also frequently satisfied (Arist. *Eth.Nic.* 8.9.5 [1160a]). To achieve honored familial status, numerous Attic groups, whose members called themselves *orgeōnes,* were formed in devotion to deities and local heroes. Broader in outreach and interest were the *thiasoi,* originally associated with Dionysos. Also popular were the *eranoi* or mutual-aid societies, which persisted into Roman imperial times. The names of the associations are many. Frequently mentioned are guilds of artists, who were devoted to Dionysos and the promotion of music and drama. Merchants, who are on occasion linked with shippers in common enterprise, found that cities located on sea routes provided an attractive base for combining business with sociability. In addition, there appears an almost endless variety of guilds that shared a common trade or practice: stone masons, bankers, architects, physicians, tanners, cobblers, producers of linen or woolen goods, dyers, farmers, gardeners, bakers, barbers, fishers, to cite but a few.

Aristotle also notes the close relationship of associations to the state (*Eth.Nic.* 8.9.4 [1160a]), and the accuracy of his observation is borne out by many inscriptions relating to crafts whose proceedings are modelled after official records in the public sector. A decree of a society devoted to Sarapis (Danker 1982: 154–55) is typical not only of the style of formulation but of the subject matter included in such decrees:

> WHEREAS [Zopyros], the treasurer of the Sarapiastai, and the clerk Theophanes, and the trustee Olympichos have time and again proved themselves beyond reproach …, be it RESOLVED that the Sarapiastai commend and crown them with a wreath of olive in the temple of Sarapis at the next sacrifice of the Sarapiastai …; and be it further resolved to commend and crown the priestess Nikippe for offering the sacrifices at the appointed times. And be it finally resolved to record this decree on a stone stele and to set it up in the [temple of Sarapis], with expenses for these items to be met by the treasurer Zopyros out of the Association's account.

Luke, who was familiar with Greco-Roman bureaucratic style, uses this type of formulation in Acts 15:22–29 to record the action of the association of Christians at Jerusalem respecting a problem that had originated in Antioch.

Hellenic interest in mental and physical agility encouraged the formation of 2 types of gymnastic associations for men. At Athens, in the 4th century B.C.E., members in the group known as the *epheboi* (ephebes) ranged in age from 18 to 19. The end of the 2d century B.C.E. saw ephebes involved in a variety of cultural activities, including intellectual pursuits and study of literature, mathematics, astronomy, and music, which were in some localities supported by substantial library facilities and visiting professorships as supplements to their gymnastic training (*IG*$^2$ 1913: no. 1028 = *SIG*$^3$ 1917: no. 717; Danker 1982: no. 17). Alumni from this class of youths formed a substantial membership base for associations called *neoi* or *neōteroi,* whose participants ranged "from a minimum age of nineteen or twenty years to an indeterminable maximum" (Forbes 1933: 2). Their activity was chiefly athletic. The *ephebeia* program spread rapidly from the 4th century on and became especially popular in Asia Minor, where it became a problem especially for Jews (1 Macc 1:14–15; 2 Macc 4:9–15; Josephus *Ant* 12.5.1 §240–41; Schürer *HJP²* 1: 148–49). On the other hand, when Claudius, in 41 C.E., decreed the end of Jewish membership in Alexandria's gymnasium, Jewish aristocrats protested bitterly (*CPJ* 1960: no. 153.88–93). In 1 Pet 5:5, the word *neōteroi* (young men) is part of a common Gk word pair, *presbyteros-neōteros* (elder-younger), and is not used in a technical societal sense.

Roman inscriptions exhibit 2 major classifications of associations, generally termed *collegia:* those sanctioned by the state and a broad range of private associations, many of which were composed of members engaged in a common craft (Kornemann PW 4: 380–480). One of the most exotic was "The Inimitables," whose members' main purpose was to challenge one another in gourmet expenditures (Plut. *Vit.Ant.* 28).

Viability of such private clubs generally depended on their conformity to requirements for public order. Luke's report of the uproar generated by the guild of silversmiths at Ephesos (Acts 19:23–40) captures

both the religious factor that was a feature of all associations and the unpredictable nature of their relationship to the Roman state. For the most part, Rome was inclined to be permissive toward private associations (Pliny 10.33, 34), and Trajan's reply to Pliny's query concerning *eranoi* in the free city of Amisus suggests that policy respected precedent (10.92, 93). Given the whirl of social contacts encouraged by societies, the conversion of a merchant like Lydia (Acts 16:14) and of a craftsperson like Alexander, who is cited in 2 Tim 4:14, would expedite transmission of the Christian message. Similarly, St. Paul's tent-making activity offered generous exposure of the gospel to the gentile world. But as indicated in connection with the affair at Ephesus, political winds could also blow adversely, and Suetonius sums a breadth of imperial viewpoint in his assessment of policies adopted by Augustus: "A number of political parties were formed in the name of a new association, with no other purpose in mind than the commission of every sort of criminal act … Therefore he closed down all associations (*collegia*), except those that enjoyed a long-standing reputation and were not disruptive of public order" (*Divine Augustus* 32.1). Illegal collegia were similarly disbanded after a riot in 59 C.E. at Pompeii (Tac. *Ann.* 14.17).

Some indication of respect for public opinion, and likewise some knowledge of the kind of formalities that were followed in meetings of associations, can be derived from the minutes of a club called the Iobakchoi, whose members were devoted to the worship of Dionysos. So pleased was the membership with the revision of their statutes that with a unanimous vote they had them inscribed on stone (Danker 1982: no. 22). Included in the bylaws are proscriptions forbidding unruliness (cf. 1 Tim 3:3; Tit 1:7), monopolizing the podium (cf. 1 Cor 14:26–33), and publicly litigating internal disputes (cf. 1 Cor 6:6; Jas 5:16), as well as a penalty for lax enforcement (cf. 1 Corinthians 5). In related vein, an association of Ephesian devotees of Demeter assured a proconsul that their annual celebration of the mysteries would be carried on with "due observance of the established customs" (Danker 1988: 288). Ancient and modern generalized allegations of insobriety, promiscuity, and even orgies in connection with guild celebrations and Greco-Roman religious rites in imperial times run the hazard of being libelous. NT broad-brush references to gentile iniquity especially require some discounting.

As Acts 2:9–11 indicates, there was a broad distribution of Jews in the provinces, and inscriptional evidence shows that Luke did not overstate the case (Schürer *HJP²* 1: 3–86). The customary term for Jewish cultic associations in the Greco-Roman world was *synagogē* or congregation (Acts 6:9; 9:2 and passim; Schürer *HJP²* 2: 429–31). This word, along with the title *archisynagogos* (head of a meeting group), is also used in connection with non-Jewish societies (Poland 1909: 355–58), but most frequently to denote a meeting of the society rather than the society as an entity.

Because Jews enjoyed prestige for their ancient heritage, their associations or synagogues received favorable treatment from the state—*religio licita* is not an accurate description of Jewish status—except when they were alleged to be offenders of public order. Thus, on the one hand, Julius Caesar exempted Jews from his restriction on the formation of religious associations (*thiasoi; Ant.* 14.10.8 §215), and Gallio "looked the other way" at Corinth (Acts 18:5). On the other hand, Claudius at one time suppressed their assemblies at Rome (Dio Cassius 60.6.6), avowedly in the interest of national stability. Jewish and Gentile Christians similarly experienced sporadic local animosities. It is not surprising, therefore, that the writer of 1 Peter emphasized that his addressees were to avoid any conduct that was destructive of public order (4:12–16; cf. Paul's counsel in Rom 13:1–7; 1 Thess 5:14; 2 Thess 3:11; and the passages cited above in connection with the *Iobakchoi*).

Since a festive meal played an important part in Greco-Roman associations, St. Paul could not avoid the subject in his pastoral career at Corinth. The minutes of the Iobakchoi association referred to above include one type of format that would be followed in a meeting, with emphasis on sacrificial rites and distribution of sacrificial meat. Their worship program affords insight into the kind of counsel recorded in 1 Cor 8 and 10 and 2 Cor 6:14–7:1, in which St. Paul discusses the subject of participation (*koinōnia*) in the type of meeting described in the minutes of the Iobakchoi. It is also to be observed that Greco-Roman auditors would have been reminded of their previous cultic experience by his emphasis on

commemoration (1 Cor 11:25), which is echoed in Luke 22:19. The social implications for Christians who left their old associations for the new were, as 1 Pet 4:12–16 and Rev 2:20 suggest, formidable.

From the sources hitherto available, it is impossible to define the precision the status of women and slaves in Greco-Roman associations, but the description in Luke 8:1–3 of services rendered by women is in keeping with inscriptional evidence which shows that in collegia of the imperial period women generally took second place to males and were in the main limited in leadership roles to service as benefactors. Thus a number of women, notably Epikteta (*IG* no. 330), founded clubs and gymnasia. Luke's understanding of the role that women of high station played in Hellenic cultural life is apparent from his observations in Acts 17:4, 12, and it is probable that, like Lydia (Acts 16:14–15), Paul's convert at Athens named Damaris became the founder of a house-church (Acts 17:34). It appears that a few clubs, especially those under Roman influence, admitted slaves to their membership. House-oriented groups would naturally include them in some capacity.

The inscription respecting the Iobakchoi probably reflects a common bureaucratic structure. But the differences between their detailed administrative structure and those exhibited in the NT are striking. Indeed, it is improbable that Christians of the 1st century were at all in debt to Greco-Roman structures for administration of their cult. Furthermore, it appears that early Christian communities lacked a fixed-dues structure or rules for admission and made no provision for a priestly office.

Greco-Roman inscriptions offer no evidence of any special interest in meeting the needs of the poor outside of their own associations (Waltzing 1895: 1:145–47; 300–21; Pliny *Tra.* 10.92, 93). Trajan's reply (Pliny 10.93) to Pliny's letter (10.92) shows sympathy for commoners (*tenuiores*), who band together to meet special needs in their midst. In this respect they were like most early Christian groups, which focused on needs within their own religious affiliation (Acts 2:42–47; 4:32–37; 2 Cor 8–9; Gal 6:10). Much other philanthropy in the Greco-Roman world was carried out along other routes and, as inscriptions attest, "both in public and in private" (see BENEFACTOR). In ancient Hellas, care of the deceased was both a public and a private concern, but in the Roman world burial societies became popular, especially as a means of qualifying for legitimate association. Aristotle's view is the sum of the matter: Brothers and comrades have everything in common, yet in varying ways and degrees (*Eth.Nic.* 8.9 [1159b]; cf. 9.2.9 [1165a]).

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**ASSOS** (PLACE) [Gk *Assos* (Ἄσσος)]. Port city of Assos located in NW Anatolia in the region known as the Troad just N of the island of Lesbos (39°28' N; 26°21' E). In the final stages of the 3d missionary journey Paul went by himself from Alexandria Troas to Assos (cf. Acts 20:5–6 with Acts 20:13), where he then rejoined his companions who came by ship (Acts 20:14). This was a distance of about 20 miles.

It is possible that Paul wanted to be by himself as he contemplated the probability that he would not see his beloved friends in Asia any more (Acts 20:38). Hemer (1976: 105) has suggested that Paul may have lingered behind to instruct the believers at Troas, then left by the more direct land route, perhaps on

horseback, to meet his companions at Assos. Burdick (1978: 42) thinks that Paul may have wished to instruct the believers on the way to Assos.

Assos was founded by Aeolian immigrants from N Greece in the early 1st millennium B.C. By 600 B.C. Assos had become the most important city of the Troad with a population of about 12–15,000 according to Clarke (1882: 77). In the 6th century, Assos came under the domination of the Lydians. It fell to the Persians with Cyrus' conquest of Lydia and Ionia in 546. Assos regained its freedom with the victory of the Greeks over the Persians at Mycale in 479. On the basis of the Athenian tribute lists, Cook (1973: 383) estimates that the population of Assos in the 5th century had fallen to 4,000.

In the 4th century B.C., Hermeias, a former slave who had studied under Plato, became the tyrant of Assos. He invited his friend Aristotle to stay at Assos between 347 and 343. It was during his sojourn there that Aristotle began work on his important treatise *Politics.* Cleanthes, the successor of Zeno as the head of the Stoics in Athens, was born in Assos in about 331. It was possibly from Cleanthes' "Hymn to Zeus" that Paul quoted the phrase "For we are also his offspring" in his famous sermon in Athens (Acts 17:28).

Assos was excavated in 1881–83 by J. T. Clarke and F. H. Bacon. This was the very first excavation sponsored by the newly formed Archaeological Institute of America. The city walls, which were erected in the 4th century B.C., are still in a marvelous state of preservation. According to Akurgal (1970: 64), "These walls are the most complete fortifications in the Greek world."

On top of the 700-foot-high acropolis stood the impressive temple of Athena. The trapezoidal agora was flanked by a N Stoa (115 m long) and a shorter S Stoa. The S Stoa was a 3-storied structure with 13 shops on the middle floor and bathrooms on the lowest floor. The mixture of the Doric and Ionic styles reflects the period of Pergamene influence (241–133 B.C.). The S Stoa overlooked the theater, where the spectators would have had a clear view of the harbor.

Like the rest of W Asia Minor, Assos fell to the Romans with the death of the last Pergamene king in 133 B.C. Inscriptions reveal the presence of many resident Romans, and also a devotion to the cult of the emperors.

In 1981–82, Ü. Serdaroğlu excavated in the area of the W gate and in the area of the Athena temple (Mellink 1983; cf. Wescoat-Holtzmann 1981).

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**ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN.** See VIRGIN, ASSUMPTION OF THE.

**ASSYRIA** (HISTORY AND CULTURE). See MESOPOTAMIA, HISTORY OF.

**ASTARTE** (DEITY). See ASHTORETH (DEITY).

**ASTROLOGY IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST.** Ancient astrology is divisible very roughly into 2 essentially different systems: (1) *Omina,* which studied celestial phenomena as *signs* or indicators of future terrestrial events, and which originated in ancient Mesopotamia, and (2) astrology proper, which studied the *influence* of the heavenly bodies on the course of events on earth, and which originated in the Hellenistic Greek sphere.

In the ancient Near East, prediction of mundane events on the basis of celestial phenomena began in Mesopotamia and was a form of divination (*omina*). Celestial divination shared its underlying rationale and the form of its scholastic tradition with those of the other forms of Babylonian divination, such as extispicy (inspection of the liver). The celestial divination which emerged in the context of Old Babylonian scribal scholarship (ca. 1800 B.C.) was subsequently expanded, codified in a compendium entitled *Enūma Anu Enlil* (hereafter abbreviated EAE) and preserved into the Seleucid period; during the Seleucid period, the 2d major form of ancient astrology developed within the context of Hellenistic Greek science, probably under some degree of influence from Babylonian *omina.* This Hellenistic astrology took a number of forms (see below sub C), but all forms had in common the notion that the situation of the heavens at a given moment were determinative of various aspects of terrestrial life (an individual's life, the fate of a nation, or the propitiousness of an undertaking).

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A. Babylonian Celestial Omina
B. Transmission from Mesopotamia
C. Late Babylonian Developments and Greek Astrology

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**A. Babylonian Celestial Omina**

The earliest attestation for the use of celestial *omina* as portents, appears in a number of Old Babylonian tablets. They comprise a purely Akk genre (i.e., no Sum prototypes are known). The Old Babylonian texts are concerned primarily with lunar eclipses (although solar and weather *omina* occur as well) and represent forerunners to the lunar eclipse section of the later EAE (Rochberg-Halton 1988). Textual evidence points to the establishment of the "canonical" series during the Kassite period, but the bulk of surviving sources are those of the Neo-Assyrian version from the library of Assurbanipal at Nineveh (7th century B.C.). Earlier versions of EAE from Middle Assyrian and Middle Babylonian sources with parallels in Hittite sources (Hit and Akk texts from Boğazköy) serve to outline the literary development of the series. While the series provided a standard reference work for the scholars specialized in celestial divination (*ṭupšarrūtu Enūma Anu Enlil*), the textual tradition was not rigidly fixed and it seems that EAE circulated in various recensions.

In its canonical form, EAE numbered some 70 tablets organized into 4 sections according to the phenomena of interest: The 1st section (EAE 1–22) pertains to phenomena of the moon god Sin, such as lunar visibility, halos, eclipses, and conjunctions with planets and fixed stars; the 2d section (EAE 23–36) refers to the phenomena of the sun god Samas, such as coronas, parhelia, and eclipses; the 3d (EAE 37–49/50) contains meteorological phenomena of the storm god Adad, such as lightning, thunder, rainbows, cloud formations and winds; and the 4th section (EAE 50/51–70) contains planetary *omina* such as first and last visibilities, stations, acronychal risings as well as *omina* for fixed star-phases. (Textual sources may be found in Virolleaud 1908–12; Reiner and Pingree 1975 and 1981; Rochberg-Halton 1988.)

The treatment of the phenomena in EAE is predominantly schematic; patterns such as left-right, above-below, or traditional sequences used in noncelestial omen literature, such as the colors white, black, red, yellow, and variegated, are frequently employed. Schematization brought about the introduction of nonoccurring phenomena (i.e., phenomena not observable in nature) for the sake of the schematic symmetries. The schemata also stand in relation to the predictions associated with the phenomena. The techniques for arranging the signs is structurally related to those of all Mesopotamian scholarly divination and to some extent also to the Sum-Akk lexical lists; as such they are determined more by scholastic scribal traditions and conventions than by the natural requirements of the celestial phenomena themselves. It is in this methodological sense that, although EAE comprised a major part of the written corpus of Mesopotamian scribal scholarship, and contributed much to the systematization of astronomical observation, the corpus can in no way be considered scientific in the modern sense, but certainly preliminary to the development of scientific inquiry into nature.

Celestial *omina* are expressed casuistically: if *x* occurs (in the sky), then *y* will occur (on earth). The relationship between *x* the phenomenon and *y* the predicted event was evidently not causative, but one of

simple association or correlation. That is to say, the celestial phenomena were indicators, not causes of future events. This rules out astral influence as an underlying rationale for celestial *omina.* The diviners regarded all natural phenomena as comprising a symbolic language of the gods which made possible knowledge of future events. By means of the system of schematic correlation of celestial sign (omen protasis) and terrestrial event (omen apodosis) the divine language was decipherable to the scholars. Because nature was not yet fully separated from divine forces, the correlations of natural phenomena and human concerns in the form of omens made direct and concrete links between human spheres of existence and the divine. The terrestrial events recorded in EAE apodoses are almost entirely public concerns. Uppermost are predictions concerning the prosperity or downfall of the king and his army, or the country as a whole and its enemies. Floods, crop failure, and pestilence also frequently appear. The existence of predictions for private individuals in celestial *omina* should be noted, however, as a rare exception.

In the period of the Sargonid kings, celestial divination seems to have had its most widespread use and took on a status second only if not equal to extispicy. From the Neo-Assyrian period are preserved "astrological" reports from scholars in various Assyrian and Babylonian cities. The Neo-Assyrian reports contain actual observations of celestial phenomena and omens of relevance excerpted from the reference work EAE (Oppenheim 1969; Parpola 1970–1983). It becomes especially clear in this source material that celestial divination was practiced hand in hand with apotropaic magic (*namburbû* rituals), particularly as a means of protecting the king against ill portents. The best example of this is the substitute king ritual (*šar pūḫi*) which was sometimes necessitated by the occurrence of a lunar eclipse.

**B. Transmission from Mesopotamia**

Scholarly divination was that product of Mesopotamian intellectual history which made the broadest and most profound impact beyond the cultural and temporal spheres of Mesopotamia proper. Celestial divination, liver divination, birth omens (the series *šumma izbu*), and omens about everyday life (the series *šumma ālu*) can be traced both to the E and W of Mesopotamia beginning already in the 2d millennium, and are preserved within non-Mesopotamian contexts well into late antiquity (in India, Egypt, and in the Greco-Roman tradition).

EAE was transmitted during the 2d millennium to other parts of the Near East: to Susa, with an exemplar of EAE 22 in Akk and an Elamite text containing lunar and meterological omens; to Syria, with Akk lunar eclipse omen texts in both Akk and Hit. Also indicative of a widespread 2d millennium interest in celestial *omina* are a few examples of celestial omens in Ug, as well as a Ug text in which a solar eclipse is reported and interpreted by means of liver divination (cf. a lunar eclipse interpreted by extispicy mentioned in a Mari letter, Oppenheim 1969: 132 n.47, for bibliography, see Rochberg-Halton 1988). In many cases of "peripheral" evidence for celestial *omina,* the material is not directly traceable to early Mesopotamian (i.e., pre-1st-millennium) sources. While our extant 2d-millennium Mesopotamian celestial omen texts represent perhaps only a part of a more extensive and varied corpus, it is clear that once the idea of drawing predictions from celestial "signs" was taken over by other cultures and intellectual traditions these individual interests and requirements produced textual traditions within their specific content and construction that do not present exact parallels to texts from Babylonia proper.

Evidence for transmission to India from the 5th century B.C. onward, probably as a result of the Achaemenid occupation of the Indus Valley, comes from Vedic and Sanskrit omen collections that show clear Babylonian parallels: notably the *Gargasaṃhitā* (1st century, but dependent on older sources); the *Pāli Dīghanikāya* (4th or 3d century); *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* of Varāhamihira (ca. 550); the Jaina *Bhadra-bāhusaṃhitā* (10th century?); and *Pariśiṣṭas* of the *Atharva-veda* (10th or 11th century?) (Pingree 1973: 119 and 1978: 614–18).

A Demotic papyrus (late 2d or early 3d century A.D.) in 2 books dealing with eclipses of the sun and moon (Book I) and other lunar omens (Book II) attests to the transmission of EAE to Egypt, most likely in the 5th century B.C. (Parker 1959). The dominant features of the omen papyrus—the assignment of months, hours of the day or night, and divisions of the sky to countries—clearly stems from the schematic design of the Neo-Assyrian corpus of EAE eclipse tablets. A Gk astrological work composed in Egypt in the 2d century B.C., under the fictitious authorship of "Nechepso and Petosiris," attests to Egypt's role in

the transmission of Babylonian celestial omens (as well as Greek horoscopic astrology) during the Hellenistic period. Other Hellenistic Gk astrological works stemming from Egypt show Babylonian influence: Book II of Ptolemy's *Apotelesmatika,* "Astrological Influences" (also referred to as the *Tetrabiblos*) (ca. A.D. 150), Book I of Hephaestio of Thebes' *Apotelesmatika* (ca. 415), and John Lydus' *Peri se-meiōn,* "On Signs" (560).

In the Hellenistic period various W Semitic traditions stemming ultimately from Mesopotamia but representing admixtures of omens and Greco-Roman astrology may be cited: Hermetic texts associated with the Sabians of Harran, e.g. the *Apocalypse* of Daniel (in Gk, Ar, and Syr); the Syr *Book of the Bee;* the Mandaean *Book of the Zodiac* (Sfar Malwašia) (Drower 1949); and a number of omen texts concerning thunder and earthquakes in Gk, Ar, Syr, and Aram (Qumran Cave 4, Milik 1959: 42).

**C. Late Babylonian Developments and Greek Astrology**

In addition to reliable textual evidence for the transmission of Babylonian *omina* during Achaemenid and Seleucid periods to the Greek sphere, a great many references to "Chaldeans" in connection with astrology are found in Hellenistic Gk writings. This connection between so-called Chaldeans and astrology represents part of a general trend beginning in the 4th century B.C. and persisting throughout the Hellenistic period in which Greeks credited ancients (Babylonians/Chaldeans or Egyptians) with all manner of esoterica, but particularly astrological speculation. While interest in the ancient "scientific" traditions of Babylonia may have intensified during the later Hellenistic period, what the Greeks actually knew about Mesopotamian celestial divination was doubtless not as complete as the many attributions of astrological theories to "Chaldean astrologers" would indicate. These late attributions found in Hellenistic scientific works do not necessarily provide reliable historical sources for the determination of the origins and sources of astrology.

In the Achaemenid period, there appears evidence of the incorporation within celestial *omina* of a number of elements new to this period, namely the zodiac and the derivation of personal predictions from celestial phenomena at the time of birth, which may be seen as the rudiments of what the Greeks developed as personal horoscopy (genethlialogy). The zodiac became the essential tool for Gk astrology. It represents an imaginary band extending about 6° on either side of the ecliptic (the apparent path of the sun with respect to the fixed stars in one year), and was divided into 12 "signs" of equal 30° length. Its invention in Babylonia, ca. 500 B.C., provided a standard reference system for use in astronomy. The earliest evidence for the existence of the zodiac comes from two 5th century cuneiform horoscopes, in which positions of the planets are cited with respect to zodiacal signs. The existence of the zodiac is also suggested in Achaemenid astronomical cuneiform texts, the oldest of which relates longitudes of conjunctions of the sun and moon, computed by a schematic method, with solar eclipses. The phenomena computed in these texts can be dated with relative certainty to 474, although the writing of the tablets could well have been later. (Aaboe and Sachs 1969: 17, Text B obv. col. v with heading *lu-maš* "zodiacal sign".) Another text whose astronomical phenomena are dated to ca. 430 (Neugebauer and Sachs 1967: 193, 197–98, Text C) lists phenomena for Venus and Mars plus a column containing values of "col. φ" in the Babylonian lunar theory.

Cuneiform evidence for the prediction of an individual's future by the observation of celestial phenomena at the time of birth seems to be of Seleucid origin (4th and 3d centuries B.C.). These *omina* are in the form "if a child is born (*šerru alid*) when Jupiter has come forth, (his life) will be regular, healthy, he will be rich, will grow old, (his) days will be long" (TCL 6 14:29, see Sachs 1952: 66 and 68), or "a child is conceived *(šerru reḫi)*" followed by celestial phenomena and personal predictions (LBAT 1588 and 1589 passim, see Pinches and Sachs 1955). Zodiacal nativity omens are also known, in the form "if (a child) is born in the middle of Aries" (LBAT 1592 i 16). Although quite late in the history of Babylonian celestial divination, such nativity omens have forerunners in older omen traditions referring to the birth of a child on a certain date, but without consideration of the heavens. For example, "if a child is born in Nisannu" (Labat *Calendrier* 64:1ff. [followed by other months of the year] and duplicate Bab. 1 192ff; TCL 6 12 obv. section 4:18). Hittite parallels confirm the antiquity of this tradition (2d millennium) (KUB 8 35:1–10), as does an Akk text from Boğazköy (KUB 37 118 rev. 6–18). Representing another

extension of the traditional omens of EAE, zodiacal omens (often of the moon in various signs of the zodiac) begin to appear in Neo-Babylonian and Late Babylonian texts (Rochberg-Halton 1984).

What may be considered Babylonian precursors to Greek horoscopes begin to appear ca. 400 B.C. and record computed positions of the 7 planets (moon, sun, Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, Saturn, Mars) on the date of a birth. These state the data as follows: "On such-and-such a date a child was born (*šerru alid*); at that time, the moon was in zodiacal sign *n,* the sun was in …, Jupiter was in …, etc." The presentation of data always follows the order of planets mentioned above. Additional astronomical events of that month are frequently appended, particularly eclipses (solar and lunar) as well as the lunar datum "NA," which represents the length of visibility of full moon on the W horizon after sunrise, i.e., the time between sunrise and moonset (Sachs 1952). These texts are clearly related to the aforementioned nativity *omina* in that some have predictions which parallel those found in the apodoses of that genre.

The cuneiform horoscopes attest to the continuation and expansion of Babylonian "scientific" traditions; they comprise a genre with affinities not only to (nativity) omen literature, but also, with respect to terminology, to contemporaneous non-mathematical astronomical texts, e.g., the diaries, almanacs, or eclipse reports (published in LBAT). The horoscopes also provide important source material for the study of the transmission of both astronomy and astrology from Babylonian to Gk science.

Another idea of Late Babylonian origin is the micro-zodiac, in which each 30° zodiacal sign was itself divided into 12 parts (Akkadian *zittu* [HA.LA] "share" or "part"). The micro-zodiac had both astronomical and astrological application, and the 12 parts, or *dodekatemoria,* were later integrated into Greek (and Indian) astrology. Other Babylonian elements may be traced (*bīt niṣirti,* which the Greeks termed *hypsoma* "exaltation"; correlation between stars, planets, and stones and plants; zodiacal triplicities) which were adopted and modified for use in Gk astrology and astral magic; but in the main, Babylonian celestial divination had only selective influence on Greek astrology.

As indicated above, the two systems were founded on entirely different theoretical bases. In contrast to Babylonian celestial divination, astrology depended for its existence on the concept of celestial influence and on the geocentric Aristotelian cosmos. The influence of the heavenly bodies on the sublunar region was given physical justification through Aristotelian physics. According to Ptolemy, the motion of the ether, the 5th (celestial) element, through the 8 celestial spheres penetrated to the sublunar elements (earth, air, fire, water) and affected their change. This constituted the mechanism of astrological causation, not the will of gods (Ptolemy Tetr. I.2). Astrology's claim that the motions of the celestial bodies were not only indications but also actual causes of change on earth shows astrology to be antithetical to divination, which depends solely on the will of the deity to provide signs.

The 4 branches of astrology that emerged and became widespread during the Hellenistic period are (1) genethlialogy, (2) general astrology, (3) catarchic astrology, and (4) interrogatory astrology. Pingree gives a summary of the sources and methods of these 4 categories in (1973: 119–25, see also Bouché-Leclercq 1899).

Genethlialogical or horoscopic astrology stems from the notion that the positions of the planets at the moment of an individual's birth directly influence the future course of that person's life. The *horoscopus* or ascendent (the point of intersection of the ecliptic and E horizon) was computed for the moment of birth and the relative positions of planets in the zodiacal signs at the time are interpreted by means of elaborate theories about their relationships. Just when the Greeks adopted the zodiac (and the notion of ecliptic) is not clear. Despite the fact that Pliny (HN 2:31) credits Cleostratus (550–500 B.C.) with its introduction into Gk science, our only irrefutable evidence comes from the fact that the early treatises on spherical astronomy by Autolycus and Euclid, ca. 300 B.C., already assume knowledge of both ecliptic and zodiac.

Gk horoscopes date from the 1st century B.C. and continue to the beginning of the Islamic period, with the bulk of the documents falling within the first 2 centuries A.D. The documents consist of papyri from Egypt, and Byzantine codices which contain the "literary horoscopes" such as those in the *Anthology* of Vettius Valens (2d century A.D., Neugebauer and van Hoesen 1959). Demotic horoscopes are also known, all but one of which fall within the 1st half of the 1st century A.D. (Neugebauer 1943 and Neugebauer and

Parker 1968). Gk horoscopes provide evidence of the transmission of astronomy from Babylonia to Hellenistic Greece. Linear or arithmetical methods of Babylonian astronomical computation, as opposed to the geometrical-kinematic methods of the Gk astronomical tradition to which the *Almagest* belongs, are employed in Gk astrological texts. Neugebauer has suggested that a Gk horoscope for the year A.D. 137 has preserved the ancient definition of the linear methods. According to Neugebauer's restoration of the passage, the astrologer says he has computed the position of the sun according to the method of "greatest and smallest (velocity)," an apt description of a linear "zig-zag" function (Neugebauer and van Hoesen 1959: 42 No. 137c col. i lines 11–12). The zig-zag function is a term descriptive of the constantly increasing and decreasing arithmetical progressions used to compute the periodic (synodic) phenomena of the moon and planets in some of the Seleucid Babylonian mathematical astronomical texts. In other words, Babylonian linear methods were discarded in the creation of Gk astronomy, but preserved by Gk astrology.

General astrology brings to bear the situation of the heavens at a significant moment (e.g., at vernal equinox, or at an eclipse, or at some planetary phenomenon) on the public sphere. Predictions are given for countries, cities, populations, etc. (Pingree 1973). Parallels with the emphasis on the public sphere in the apodoses of the EAE tradition are readily found. The method and philosophical underpinnings of general astrology, however, are related to those of genethlialogy, not to *omina.*

Catarchic astrology was also developed by analogy with genethlialogy. If a person's life was influenced by the heavens at the moment of birth, then so could any act or undertaking similarly be influenced by the horoscope of its inception. By means of catarchic astrology, an individual could choose propitious moments for various activities. This form of astrology circumvents the determinism of genethlialogy by providing the possibility of choosing one's own future course of action. Catarchic astrology is attested in the 2d or 1st century B.C. in Hermetic texts applying astrology to medicine and in the work of Serapion. Later, catarchic astrology is found in e.g., Dorotheus of Sidon, "Manetho," Firmicus Maternus, and Hephaestio of Thebes (see Pingree 1973: 124 for further discussion).

A distant parallel worthy of note here occurs in a Neo-Assyrian omen text in which divination by the twinkling of stars (*kakkabu išrur*) in various relations to the observer (right, left, behind, in front) determines whether an undertaking will be favorable (*damqu*) or unfavorable (*aḫi*). The text begins "if someone starts out on an undertaking" (*šumma amēlu ana ṣibûtišu tebīma*) (Bab. 4 116 c [K.139] and p. 125).

Interrogatory astrology enabled the determination of answers to specific questions by the casting of a horoscope for the moment the question was presented. The impulse to learn the outcome of certain events or circumstances is also reflected in a relatively poorly attested branch of Mesopotamian divination in which *omina* were impetrated. In this kind of divination, which Oppenheim termed "operational," the deity was asked by a diviner to respond to a query and was expected to communicate the answer by affecting an object to be observed by the diviner. Such was achieved by throwing lots, observing the action of oil on water, or the movement of smoke from a censer. Operational divination generally yielded binary (yes-no) responses. Celestial divination did not belong to this category, but rather provided signs (changes in natural phenomena) unprovoked by a diviner; however, evidence shows that the techniques were sometimes mixed, so that observation of celestial phenomena, such as shooting stars, at the time a question was posed could be interpreted in a binary (favorable or unfavorable) manner, and these decisions were meant for private individuals. Whether or not such celestial divination techniques were transmitted from Mesopotamia and contributed in any way to astrological interrogations is not ascertainable due to a complete lack of evidence. It is more probable, as Pingree suggests (Pingree 1973: 124), that interrogatory astrology developed out of catarchic astrology and provided another wedge between the determinism of genethlialogy and an individual's desire to exercise free will in making decisions.

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FRANCESCA ROCHBERG-HALTON

**ASTYAGES** (PERSON) [Gk *Astyagēs* (Ἀστυαγης)]. The last king of the Medians (585–550 B.C.) before the rise of the Persian Empire (see MEDIA (PLACE)). His name in Old Persian was *Aršti-vaiga* "Brandishing a Lance," *Ištumegu* in Akk. Astyages married a Lydian princess as part of the peace pact which ended the Medo-Lydian War in 585 B.C. (Herodotus 1.73–74). His daughter Mandane married a Persian, Cambyses I, and gave birth to the famous Cyrus the Great (see CYRUS). This hybrid nature of Cyrus' parentage is reflected in a response from the Delphic Oracle (Hdt. 1.91), which warned the Lydians to beware when a "mule" became king of the Medes. The Persians had developed into a kingdom subordinate to the Medes during the reign of Cyaxares (625–585 B.C.), Astyages' father.

Xenophon's propagandistic *Cyropaedia* "The Education of Cyrus" described Cyrus' perception of Astyages' Median garb: "Then he noticed that his grandfather was adorned with pencillings beneath his eyes, with rouge rubbed on his face, and with a wig of false hair—the common Median fashion."

As in many other examples from Greek folklore, Herodotus tells about a dream which forewarned Astyages that his grandson, if allowed to live, would overshadow him. Later Herodotus narrates the terrible vengeance Astyages took upon Harpagus, the man who failed to see to the death of the child. In a story which recalls the myth of Tantalus and his son Pelops, Astyages served Harpagus with the flesh of his own son (Hdt. 1.110).

When Cyrus came of age, he led the Persians in a revolt against his Median grandfather in 550, as most scholars have interpreted the Nabonidus Chronicle, or, according to Drews (1969), in 553. According to Herodotus (1.127–28) Cyrus overcame the Medes in two battles. Strabo (15.3.8) located the scene of the decisive battle in the plain where Cyrus was to build his new capital: "Cyrus held Pasargadae in honor because he there conquered Asytages the Mede in his last battle, transferred to himself the empire of Asia, founded a city, and constructed a palace as a memorial to his victory."

The Nabonidus Chronicle confirms Herodotus' account (1.127–30) that Cyrus was aided in his victory by the defection of Astyages' own men. Stronach (1971: 4) suggests that Cyrus' half-Median background may explain why the Medes never revolted against him.

Ctesias (König 1972: 50) recounts that Princess Amytis tried to hide her father in the palace. Though he was captured, his life was spared, according to Herodotus 1.130: "As for Astyages, Cyrus did him no further harm, and kept him in his own house till Astyages died."

The apocryphal Additions to Daniel (Bel 1:1; Add Dan 14:1 in the LXX and Vg) asserts: "When King Astyages was gathered to his ancestors, Cyrus of Persia succeeded him" (lit. "received his kingdom").

This is inaccurate on two counts: (1) the Medes did not control Babylon; (2) Cyrus had to wrest the kingdom from Astyages in battle. See the discussion in Moore *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions*.

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**ASUR** (PERSON) [Gk *Asour* (Ἀσουρ)]. A temple servant who was the progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:31). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, this family does not appear among their lists of returning exiles (cf. Ezra 2:52; Neh 7:53). Omissions such as this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra or Nehemiah. Furthermore, problems associated with dating events and identifying persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**ASYNCRITUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Asygkritos* (Ἀσυγκριτος)]. A Roman Christian who received greeting from Paul in Rom 16:14 (see PATROBAS). Asyncritus' name occurs only twice according to the epigraphical and literary sources from the city of Rome (Lampe *StadtrChr* 140–42, 148). Since the name was not common there, it probably indicates that Asyncritus immigrated to Rome from the E of the Roman Empire.

PETER LAMPE

**ATAD** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾaṭad* (אָטַד)]. Place "beyond the Jordan" mentioned in Gen 50:10 and 11 where the funeral cortège, bearing the body of Jacob homeward from Egypt to Canaan for burial, stopped and mourned him for 7 days. Since the name occurs in the phrase "*gōren hāʾaṭad,*" some have translated this as "threshing floor of (the place) Atad," while others have preferred to take the whole phrase, Goren-ha-Atad, as a place name meaning "the threshing floor of (or bordered by) thorns." According to v 11, the local Canaanite inhabitants renamed the place Abel Mizraim after observing the great mourning of the Egyptians. This aetiological explanation seems to be based on the wordplay between *ʾēbel* "mourning" and *ʾābēl,* an element found in toponyms and translated earlier as "meadow" but more recently as "watercourse" or "creek."

Problems exist in locating Atad/Abel Mizraim, described as being "beyond," that is, E "of the Jordan." While the 6th century A.D. Madeba mosaic map presents a possibility in locating an Alon Atad (terebinth of Atad) near Beth Agla (Beth Hogla—modern Deir Hajlah) between Jericho and the Dead Sea, this is on the wrong side of the Jordan. Also scholars have questioned why the procession would choose an indirect route to Hebron which apparently took them around the S end of the Dead Sea and northward through the Transjordan. Numerous explanations have been offered, including that it is a prefiguration of what would happen when the bones of Joseph would make the same journey, so that even in death, Jacob showed his descendents the road to the promised land. Finally it has been suggested that 2 different traditions on the burial place of Jacob, one E of the Jordan, the other W in Canaan, have been combined in the text.

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**ATARAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿăṭârâ* (עֲטָרָה)]. One of the 2 wives of Jerahmeel and mother of Onam (1 Chr 2:26). From the list of descendants in vv 29–33, one may conjecture that Atarah mothered a more-

extended family of Jerahmeelites than did Jerahmeel's 1st wife Hezron. Since Hezron is also a place name, Curtis (*Chronicles* ICC, 93; cf. Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 14–15) suggests that Atarah derives from the place name Ataroth (Num 32:3, 34; Josh 16:7; also found in various compound place names Josh 16:5; 18:13; and variant compounds Num 32:35; 1 Chr 2:54). He further conjectures that Atarah's position as the 2d wife suggests that Jerahmeel's sons by Hezron were nomad families while the descendants of Atarah represented a settled life. Atarah means "crown" or "wreath" and is derived from the verb meaning "surround."

W. P. STEEGER

**ATARGATIS** (DEITY). A goddess worshiped in Syria in Hellenistic and later times. Her principal cult center was the city Hierapolis-Bambyke in Syria (modern Membidj), NE of Aleppo. The Hieropolitan temple dedicated to the *Dea Syria* (as Atargatis was widely known) was described with tongue-in-cheek credulity by the satirist Lucian of Samosata in mid-2d century C.E. Details about the identity of the goddess, her iconography, her consort, and the cults celebrated in their honor as given by Lucian in his *De Syria Dea* comport nicely with information derived from other Gk and Latin authors (PW 2/2: 1896) and surviving inscriptions from other sites (see Oden 1977: 47–53).

The name Atargatis is Sem, of Aram origin, and results from the juxtaposition of the names of 2 goddesses of great antiquity in the W Sem-speaking regions of Syria. The name is found in Aram inscriptions (principally Palmyrene) spelled *ʿtrʿth* and in other Aram inscriptions (e.g., Nabatean, Hatran) spelled *ʾtrʿtʾ* (with the initial pharyngeal consonant attenuated to a glottal stop). Gk *Atargatis* is a consensus representation with a number of variants. The 2 elements of the Sem name are *ʿtr-*, the characteristically Aram form of the divine name, best known from Phoenician sources as Astarte, and *ʿt-*, an Aram variant of the divine name Anat, spelled *ʿnt* in Ug texts (on the etymology see *WbMyth* 1/1: 237; Oden 1977: 58–61).

Another important shrine to Atargatis was founded by citizens of the city of Hieropolis resident on the island of Delos in A.D. 128/7. Gk inscriptions from this site make it certain that the consort of Atargatis was the W Semitic god Hadad, also known by the epithet Baal and identified with Zeus. Atargatis was correspondingly identified with Hera (Oden 1977: 55–58). The union of these 2 divinities was celebrated in a ritual of sacred marriage (Gk *hieros gamos*). Among the Nabateans the male consort was Dušara, later identified with Zeus-Hadad.

A temple of Atargatis, called in Greek the *Atargation,* is mentioned in 2 Macc 12:26. The temple was in the vicinity of the Gileadite town of Carnaim (Gk *karnion*), which should be identified with Ashteroth-karnaim of Gen 14:5 (see CARNAIM). It is possible that Carnaim and the *Atargation* were 2 separate places, presumably Seikh Saʿad and Tell ʿAstara. The town of Karnaim was destroyed by Judas Maccabaeus during an expedition into Gilead about 163 B.C. and the inhabitants who fled to the *Atergation* were put to death (2 Macc 12:18–29, 1 Macc 5:24–25; Josephus *Ant* 12.8.4).

While it is certain that *Atargation* means "Temple of Atargatis" (see for example 1 Macc 5:43–44), the Biblical name Ashteroth-karnaim suggests that there was originally a sanctuary of Astarte at the site (see also ASHTAROTH). An Egyptian stele at Tell ʿAstara contains a relief of a goddess with the horns of a cow; Astarte was often depicted as Hathor in Egypt, and the latter's iconography includes bovine features. The link between Astarte and Atargatis is preserved in Strabo's statement that the Syrian goddess was originally called *Athara* (*Geog.* 16.4.27).

Cultic centers for the worship of Atargatis were located throughout the ancient Mediterranean world, with Syrian centers in Baalbek, Caesarea, Ascalon, Khirbet Tannur, Damascus, Palmyra, and Dura Europus. The cult of Atargatis was popularized by Syrian merchants, slaves, and soldiers and by mendicant eunuch priests (Apuleius *Met.* 8.24), spreading the cult to Greece, Macedonia, Egypt, Italy, and the Balkans. The Temple of Atargatis at Baalbek had tame lions, bears, and bulls in its precinct (Lucian *De Syria Dea* 41) and sacred doves were kept at the Temple in Hierapolis (Lucian *De Syria Dea* 14, 41, 54).

Atargatis was depicted as a mermaid or surrounded by dolphins, and her sanctuaries often had sacred pools. According to one legend, the Syrian goddess originated from an egg which fell from the heavens to the Euphrates River. Fish delivered the egg to shore and it was hatched by a dove. Zeus rewarded the fish by making them a sign in the zodiac. Atargatis was also known as Derceto, who was a maiden inspired by Aphrodite with love for a youth who was worshipping at her shrine. Derceto gave birth to a daughter by this youth but was filled with such shame that she exposed the child and attempted to drown herself, at which time she was either miraculously turned into a fish (Diodorus Sic. 2.4) or saved by fish (Hyginus Astron. 2.30). The illegitimate child was saved by a fish and raised in the Temple of Aphrodite and grew up to be the legendary Queen Semiramis. Sacred fish were common to the cult of Atargatis and laws were enacted to punish those who stole or hurt the sacred fish (Lucian *De Syria Dea* 14, 47; compare further with Aelian *De Nat. Animal.* 2.30). The priests of Atargatis ate sacred fish meals according to Lucian (*De Syria Dea* 44), and the image of the goddess at the Temple at Heiropolis was bathed each year in a sacred lake.

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## ATAROTH (PLACE) [Heb *ʿăṭārōt* (עֲטָרֹת)]. A name for 2 different places in the OT.

1. A fortified town captured by the tribe of Gad (Num 32:3) from Sihon, king of the Amorites, and Og, king of Bashan, on the E side of the Jordan; it was rebuilt for cattle and sheep (Num 32:34).

Mesha, king of Moab in about 830 B.C.E., boasts on the Moabite Stone of Ataroth's destruction (ANET, 320): "Now the men of Gad had always dwelt in the land of Ataroth, and the king of Israel had built Ataroth for them; but I fought against the town and took it and slew all the people of the town as a satiation (intoxication) for Chemosh and Moab." Ullendorf *(DOTT)* supposes that Mesha captured the "altar hearth of David" (*ʾar'el dawidum*), but this reference seems to be a proper name for the town chieftan who was replaced by the "men of Sharon and Maharith." *ʾr'el* might be similar to the biblical *Ariel,* which is often thought to be an altar hearth in Jerusalem; but it appears doubtful that official cultic sacrifice was sanctioned in the 9th century on this side of the Jordan at Ataroth.

Ataroth, meaning *crowns,* is a reasonable metaphor for an ancient dwelling place, designed with height, to protect people and livestock. The modern location for the town is identified by consensus with Khirbet ʿAṭṭarûs (M.R. 213109).

2. A border town shared with Benjamin and belonging to Ephraim on the W side of the Jordan, which was previously controlled by the Archites (Josh 16:2, 7). The Archites are known in the Bible only because king David's loyal diplomat Hushai was an Archite (2 Samuel 15–17).

Noth recognized that Ephraim (Josh 16:1–3) shared the same boundary description as Benjamin (Josh 18:12–13). However, it is not clear from the text that Ataroth in 16:2 is the same as Ataroth-addar in 16:5, since the narrative is also minimizing the confused contours of territory allotted to Ephraim and the W-Jordan Manasseh—both descendants of Joseph (see Seebass 1986: 78). Alt (1953: 9–10) thinks that this W-Jordan Ataroth is the premonarchic name for Mizpah of Benjamin because modern Khirbet ʿAṭarah is found at the foot of the ancient remains of Tell en Naṣbeh, which is ascribed with great controversy to Mizpah. Alt conjectures that the name was changed to Mizpah during Asa's reign. Muilenburg (*IDB* 1: 305) objects that the remains at Khirbet ʿAṭarah do not date earlier than the Roman period, though Alt is merely speculating that Tell en Naṣbeh had an earlier name which is preserved in the local village memory of Khirbet ʿAṭarah.

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**ATAROTH-ADDAR** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿăṭṭārôt ʾaddār* (עֲטָרוֹת אַדָּר)]. A border town between Ephraim and Benjamin on the W side of the Jordan river (Josh 16:5, 18:13). Many critics conclude that the reference to Ataroth in Josh 16:2 has left out *ʾaddār,* but Boling (*Joshua* AB, 402) suggests that the boundary makes more sense if *ʾaddār* is dropped from Josh 16:5. Thus Ataroth would be the NE border town for Ephraim, and Ataroth-addar of Josh 18:13 a S border town of Benjamin.

However, based on LXX (Codex Vaticanus) translations of these verses, Albright notices that rather than the *ʾaddār* of Heb, $LXX^{B}$ has *erok* (16:5) or *orech* (18:13), which are both misspellings of *erek* (Heb *ʾerek*). Albright proposes that there was an obvious confusion of the Heb *ʾerek* (read *ʾarkî* in 16:2) with *ʾaddar,* since *dalet, reš,* and *kap* are nearly identical in Heb square script. By this reconstruction of a very confused text, all references to Ataroth-addar should actually refer to the same W-Jordan Ataroth of the Archite clan on Ephraim's NE border.

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**ATER** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾāṭēr* (אָטֵר)]. 1. Head of a family of Babylonian exiles listed as returnees under the leadership of Zerubbabel and others (Ezra 2:16 = Neh 7:21 = 1 Esdr 5:15). The leader of the clan affixed the family name to the covenant document of Nehemiah in Neh 10:18—Eng10:17. Since Ater is a Babylonian name, the name Hezekiah (which follows it immediately in the Zerubbabel list and is introduced by *l-,* "namely,") is best understood as the older Heb name for the family (Ezra *IB,* 579). For further discussion see AKKUB.

Many do not regard the list and covenant of Nehemiah 10 as belonging originally in this context. Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 325–30) surveys various views about the origins of this list. He concludes that it was compiled from other lists in Ezra and Nehemiah in order to be attached to the terms of an agreement drawn up by Nehemiah following his reforms of Nehemiah 13. This document was then kept in the temple archives until it was inserted into its present position. (See also Clines 1984: 199–200; *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 174–75; Jepsen 1954: 87–106.)

2. Head of a family of gatekeepers who are also listed as returnees from Babylonian exile under the leadership of Zerubbabel and others (Ezra 2:42 = Neh 7:45 = 1 Esdr 5:28).

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**ATHACH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿătāk* (עֲתָךְ)]. A village in Judah to which David sent gifts after his defeat of the Amalekites (1 Sam 30:30). Most scholars see a connection between this Athach and the Ether in Josh 15:42 and 19:7. In Josh 15:42 some manuscripts of the LXX read *Ithak* and *Athak,* among other variants (see *NHT,* 227). The presence of a village called ASHAN or Bor-Ashan in each of the lists in Josh 15:42, 19:7 and 1 Sam 30:30 alongside Ether/Athach makes the equation of the two all the more tempting, though which spelling should receive priority remains an open question. The presence of Ether in the MT of 2 of the 3 lists tips the scales in its favor in the eyes of many (see McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 434; for dissenting opinion to the above, see *ISBE* 1: 349). In either case, a location in the Shephelah is likely (cf. Josh 15:33–47, though some scholars dispute the presence of both Athach/Ether and Ashan at Josh 15:42—see the discussion at ASHAN; see *MBA,* 83) McCarter (*1 Samuel* AB, 434) places the site at modern Khirbet el-ʿAter, about 15 miles NW of Hebron.
JEFFRIES M. HAMILTON

**ATHAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾătāyâ* (אֲתָיָה)]. A Postexilic inhabitant of Jerusalem, the son of Uzziah, and a lay leader from Judah (Neh 11:4). Athaiah is described as the family head of the clan of Perez. He is identified by some scholars with Uthai (Heb *ʿwty*), who is also described as a member of the clan of Perez in a parallel list found in 1 Chronicles 9 (see v 4; Batten *Ezra and Nehemiah* ICC, 268; Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 188). However, the list in Chronicles is a considerably different recension, shaped for other purposes, or, perhaps, by other information (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 186). As a result, the description of subsequent generations is completely at odds with that found in Nehemiah (Schumacher *IDB* 1: 306).

FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**ATHALIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿătalyāh (û)* (עֲתַלְיָהוּ)]. Var. GOTHOLIAH. In addition to the name of an infamous queen of Judah (see 3. below), "Athaliah" was also the name of 2 men listed in the Heb Bible. The meaning of the name Athaliah is controversial, since it cannot be traced to a Heb verb root. If derived from Akk, the meaning "Yahweh has manifested his glory" (*IPN,* 191) is conceivable. Assuming an Ar root, a meaning like "Yahweh is just" (Bauer 1930: 78) is possible. J. Gray (*1 and 2 Kings* [3d ed.] OTL, 536) also supports an Ar derivation: "In view of the names *ʿaṯal* and *ʿaṯalan* from the Northern Hejaz, we suggest rather an Arabic derivation *ʿaṯala* ('to be abundant, bulky'), the name referring, perhaps, to a robust child." Given the limits of our current knowledge, the problem cannot be solved. In any case, it is likely that this Heb name represents the oldest documented use of a female (see 3. below) having a name with the theophoric component "Yahweh."

1. The son of Jeroham, and the head of one of the prominent Benjaminite families dwelling in Jerusalem (1 Chr 8:26). The name is part of a longer list of Benjaminites that appears immediately before the note suggesting that the list represents census data taken at the time of the exile (1 Chr 9:1).

2. A descendant of Elam and father of Jesaiah (Ezra 8:7). The parallel list in 1 Esdr 8:33 renders his name Gotholiah (Gk *Gotholias*). His son Jeshaiah accompanied Ezra from Babylonia to the river Ahava, and from there back to Jerusalem.

3. Israelite princess who, through marriage into the Davidic dynasty, became queen mother of Judah and briefly ruled there herself (2 Kgs 8:18 [= 2 Chr 21:6], 26 [= 2 Chr 22:2–3]; 11:1–20 [= 2 Chr 22:10–23:21]; 2 Chr 24:7). The actual dates of her reign are disputed: 845–839 B.C. (Begrich 1929); 845–840 B.C. (Jepsen and Hanhart 1964); 841–835 B.C. (Thiele 1965); 842–837 B.C. (Andersen 1969).

**a. Athaliah's Parentage.** The exact parentage of Athaliah is as unclear as is the meaning of her name, although her descent from the family of Omri is certain. In 2 Kgs 8:26 (= 2 Chr 22:2) she is called a "daughter of Omri." On the other hand, in 2 Kgs 8:18 (= 2 Chr 21:6) she is called "daughter of Ahab," though without reference to her proper name. The Lucianic branch of the LXX tradition has eliminated the contradiction by also reading 2 Kgs 8:26 as "Ahab" in an obvious attempt at harmonization. Josephus, too, echoes that tradition by regularly calling her "daughter of Ahab" (*Ant* 8.15.3; 9.7.1).

The problem has provoked extended discussion. To smooth out the difference, "daughter" in 2 Kgs 8:26 was often taken as "granddaughter" (i.e., of Omri). But this is just as impossible as interpreting "daughter of Omri" as "belonging to Omri's family" in some broader sense. The OT speaks often of the "house of Ahab" but never of the "house of Omri." Thus, the "daughter of Omri" should be understood in its literal sense.

The better and more numerous arguments favor the likelihood that Athaliah was a daughter of Omri and therefore a sister of Ahab. It would be difficult to reconcile her chronological data with that of Ahab if Ahab had been her father. Furthermore, the value of the two text traditions is unequal: 2 Kgs 8:26 is derived from the Judean royal annals, whereas 8:18 is a later theological judgment of the Deuteronomist redactors; thus, the older and more reliable tradition indicates that Athaliah was a daughter of Omri. The designation "daughter of Ahab" (8:18) may finally be explained as of secondary origin. (The Syr Peshitta, incidentally, reads "sister of Ahab" in its rendering of the parallel passage, 2 Chr 21:6.) "Daughter of Ahab" apparently means "member of the house of Ahab," a phrase also occurring in the same verse. The

"house of Ahab" had already become a standard term for the Omridic dynasty. Thus, no textual error needs to be assumed in 2 Kgs 8:18. According to Begrich, the most likely meaning of the biblical phrase is "… for it is from the House of Ahab that his wife descended" (1935). It is possible that Athaliah was born shortly before Omri's death, grew up as an orphan at the court of Ahab, and could therefore be termed a "daughter of Ahab" (Katzenstein 1955). But even this speculation is unnecessary in view of the late origin of 2 Kgs 8:18. Therefore, Athaliah was the daughter of Omri and sister of Ahab.

**b. Athaliah's Influence on Judah.** In the course of the political alliances pursued by Omri and his son and successor Ahab, Athaliah was given in marriage to the Judean crown prince Jehoram. This political marriage, which took place during the reigns of Ahab of Israel and Jehoshaphat of Judah in the year 867 B.C. (*BHH* 1: 144), put an end to the latent hostilities and tensions which had prevailed between the two kingdoms since the death of Solomon. The price Israel paid apparently was the complete withdrawal from those territories of the tribe of Benjamin which Asa of Judah had occupied a few decades before (1 Kgs 15:16–22). On the other hand, Judah was in turn drawn into the political wake of its stronger neighbor to the N. Apparently, however, Judah resisted being lured into the battles on Syrian soil. There was no Judean contingent in the battle of Qarqar (853 B.C.) in which Ahab, together with Hadadezer of Damascus, Irḫulēni of Hamath, and other allied minor states, managed to halt the advance of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III.

Athaliah's husband Jehoram, apparently regent for his father Jehoshaphat since 852, ruled only a short time: 847–845 (according to Jepsen). Ahaziah, Jehoram's son by Athaliah, then ascended the throne. As queen mother, Athaliah now held the exalted position of "sovereign" (Heb *gĕbîrâ*), which included an extraordinary ceremonial position, and probably also special influence on matters of state (Molin 1954; on Athaliah's role as queen mother, see Donner 1959 and Ihromi 1974). If, during his brief reign, Ahaziah joined Jehoram of Judah in the campaigns against the Arameans at Ramoth-Gilead (2 Kgs 8:28), we must assume that, already at that time, Athaliah wielded much of the power of government. Ahaziah had gone to be with the wounded Jehoram at Jezreel, was there swept up in the overthrow of the Omri dynasty, and was assassinated at Jehu's behest (2 Kgs 9:21–29). Another 42 members of David's royal family, who happened to be in the N kingdom at the time, were also murdered on Jehu's orders (10:12–14).

This monstrous carnage, and even more the slaughter of Omri's royal family (i.e., all of Athaliah's relatives) in Jezreel and Samaria, swiftly ended the alliance between Judah and Israel. The heavy bloodletting suffered by the house of David as a result of the Jehu revolution enabled Athaliah to seize absolute power in Jerusalem. Following the custom of the usurpers in the N kingdom to annihilate completely the overthrown dynasty (1 Kgs 15:29; 16:11; 2 Kgs 10:17), Athaliah had the surviving males of David's house murdered (2 Kgs 11:1 = 2 Chr 22:10). Thus, the "eternal dynasty" almost ended prematurely. Ahaziah's son Joash, however, escaped the massacre (2 Kgs 11:2–3 = 2 Chr 22:11–12).

Athaliah now ruled as absolute monarch for several years, a circumstance unprecedented in all the history of Israel and Judah until the time of the Hasmoneans. She apparently attempted to apply to Judah patterns of Omridic politics, as they had been practiced especially by Ahab in the N kingdom. Thus, it is historically probable that she erected a temple for Baal and granted certain rights to the cult of Baal in order to accommodate the traditionally Canaanite segment of the population. She found support for her rule in certain circles of the court and with the inhabitants of Jerusalem (some of whom possibly continued to be influenced by Jebusite traditions; 2 Kgs 11:20 = 2 Chr 23:21; *IDB* 1: 306). Opposition to her rule, which eventually brought about her downfall, came from the priests of the temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem, from some military circles, and from Judeans with full citizenship.

In the 7th year of her reign, Athaliah was deposed by a palace revolution (2 Kgs 11:4–20 = 2 Chr 23:1–21). The instigator of the conspiracy was Jehoiada the priest. He and the temple guards (these were "Levites," according to the Chronicler) proclaimed the youth Joash king within the temple precincts. Athaliah, who was apparently surprised by the events, had no opportunity for any counter-measures and was slain in the royal palace (2 Kgs 11:16, 20). The temple of Baal in Jerusalem was laid waste by the "people of the land," that is, by the citizenry of the province of Judah (11:18). The attempt to introduce into Judah a royal rule modeled after that of Omri came to a definitive end with Joash's accession to the

throne. (See Stade 1885; Rudolph 1950; Liverani 1974; and Levin SBS, 105 for discussions of the narrative about the overthrow of Athaliah in 2 Kings 11.)

The Deuteronomistic redactors of the books of Kings attributes the religious apostacy of Jehoram (2 Kgs 8:18) and Ahaziah (8:26–27) to Athaliah's influence over them. This accusation becomes much more explicit in the work of the Chronicler, which depicts her as responsible for Ahaziah's godlessness (2 Chr 22:3). Chronicles further denigrates the image of Athaliah by a remark that is not contained in the books of Kings, noting that Athaliah allegedly let the temple in Jerusalem go to ruin while favoring the cult of Baal (2 Chr 24:7). The Chronicler uses this (historically uncertain) allegation in order to explain renovations in the temple at the time of Joash (2 Kgs 12:4–16 = 2 Chr 24:4–16).

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WINFRIED THIEL

**ATHARIM** (PLACE) [Heb *hāʾătārîm* (הָאֲתָרִים)]. The name of the route the Israelites were following when they were attacked by the king of Arad (Num 21:1). The Heb word, preceded by the definite article, is obscure, and LXX$^{A}$ reads "spies" (Heb *tārîm?*). Aharoni (*LBHG,* 40, 53, 273) identifies it with the road that S of Hebron branches SE to Arad, passes Aroer and Oboda, and proceeds to Kadesh-Barnea. Although there are no LB remains, during the monarchic period a chain of Israelite forts was built along this road (Herzog 1983: map p. 42; Cohen 1985), and it is reasonable to assume that it was a significant route in even earlier periods (Aharoni et al. 1960). See also RAMAT MATRED.

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GARY A. HERION

**ATHENOBIUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Athēnobios* (Ἀθηνοβιος)]. A courtier of Antiochus VII Euergetes (Sidetes) (1 Macc 15:28, 32). As Antiochus VII sought to reestablish control over the lands of the Seleucid kingdom, he sent Athenobius, who had the rank of "friend of the king," as envoy to Simon the high priest. Through Athenobius, he demanded either the return of Joppa, Gazara, and the citadel in Jerusalem (all former Seleucid holdings) or 1,000 talents of silver as restitution and tribute. Athenobius interpreted Simon's assumed position and his response as defiance to the king. Simon continued the privileges bestowed on Jonathan by Alexander Balas (1 Macc 10:88, 89) and Antiochus VI (1 Macc 11:57, 58), but not reaffirmed by Antiochus VII, although he had previously led Simon to believe they would be continued (1 Macc 15:2–9). Simon's response that Jerusalem was part of Judea's original inheritance and that Joppa and Gazara were captured only as defensive measures was not acceptable to

Athenobius. Simon's counteroffer of 100 talents of silver as restitution further infuriated Athenobius. As a result of his negative report, Antiochus sent Cendebeus to invade Judea (1 Macc 15:35–16:10).
RUSSELL D. NELSON

**ATHENS** (PLACE) [Gk *Athēnai* (Ἀθηναι)]. ATHENIAN. The polis (city-state) of the Athenians which unified the peninsula of Attica at an early date, thereby creating a political entity geographically defined by sea and mountain with an area of approximately 1,000 square miles. The most prominent topographical feature of the city itself (37°59´N; 23°44´E), situated 3–5 miles inland from its harborage on the Sa-ronic Gulf to its W, was the Acropolis, a precipitous mass of rock around which the city spread out in roughly circular fashion. Lower than the Acropolis and a short distance to the NW is the Areopagus, or Mars' Hill, where in A.D. 51 St. Paul preached his sermon on the unknown god (Acts 17:16–34). The city wall, originally built in the early 5th century B.C. with a circumference of 5–6 miles, reached its greatest extent in the 2d century A.D., when the Roman emperor Hadrian added a segment in the shape of a polygon in the W. Only the vine, the fig, and the olive could thrive in the thin soil, rocky terrain, and generally dry climate of Attica, whose chief natural resources were rich supplies of clay and building stone and the mines at Laurium, which yielded a large quantity of silver into Roman times.

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A. History
1. Mycenaean and Hellenic Ages
2. Hellenistic Age
3. Athens and Rome
B. Literature and Philosophy
C. Antiquities

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**A. History**

**1. Mycenaean and Hellenic Ages.** The story of Athens can be told only in broad outline prior to the commencement of her recorded history in the 7th century B.C. The Gk-speaking invaders who ca. 2100 B.C. began moving into the Balkan peninsula and imposing their control over the earlier inhabitants were attracted to the Acropolis. Athens was both a state of secondary importance in the Mycenaean Age (ca. 1600–1200 B.C.) and a center of relative stability during the Dark Ages (ca. 1200–750 B.C.) that followed.

By the early 7th century B.C., 2 gradual political processes were complete: the unification of Attica and the transformation of monarchy into aristocracy. But the Council of the Areopagus, the governing body of nobles named after the hill where it commonly met, proved unable to resolve the social and economic crisis that afflicted Athens (along with the rest of Greece) in the 7th century; and it was probably in 594 B.C. that the aristocrat Solon was appointed archon with power to reform the entire political, judicial, and economic fabric of the polis. He refused to make himself tyrant and instituted a set of extensive but moderate reforms that pointed Athens firmly in the direction of democratic evolution. They nevertheless failed to eliminate the extreme factionalism that was debilitating the body politic, and in 540 B.C. a nobleman named Pisistratus took advantage of the situation to institute a benevolent tyranny that was to last for 30 years. When Pisistratus' son and successor Hippias was deposed in 510 B.C., the old factionalism immediately flared up, only to be extinguished once and for all by another aristocratic lawgiver, Cleisthenes. In the waning years of the 6th century, Cleisthenes enacted a series of constitutional reforms that moved Athens still further in the direction of total democracy and converted sectionalism and aristocratic rivalry into patriotism and constitutionally regulated ambition.

A stern test awaited the new democracy. During the latter half of the 6th century, the Persians had conquered Ionia (i.e., the Greek city-states of coastal Asia Minor and the nearby islands), and mainland Greece soon lay within their designs. A first move was made in 490 B.C., when King Darius sent an expeditionary force to subdue Athens. Its commander encountered the Athenians on the plain of Marathon in NE Attica, and there the Persians suffered their first major defeat at the hands of Greek hoplites. Marathon, however, gave Athens only temporary respite from the threat of Persian domination, for in 480

B.C. Xerxes, Darius' son and heir, personally led a vast army, supported by an armada of comparable size, across the Hellespont and into Greece from the N; the Athenians, whose triremes constituted half the Greek navy, evacuated Athens and joined the allied fleet in the narrows between Attica and the island of Salamis, where the Persian armada was trapped and annihilated. The next year, the allied Greeks destroyed the army Xerxes left behind after his personal departure, and the Athenians turned to restoring their ravished city.

The half century that succeeded the Persian wars witnessed the evolution of Cleisthenic democracy into the radical democracy associated with the name of Pericles, the dominant figure in Athenian public life from the early 450s until his death in 429 B.C. It also witnessed another event of momentous consequence for the future of Greece: Athens succeeded in gradually transforming the Confederacy of Delos, organized on that island in 478 B.C. by the Athenians and the Aegean Greeks for the purpose of liberating the Ionians and driving the Persians out of the Aegean, into its own maritime empire. It was this empire, and the wealth and naval supremacy it entailed, that provoked the grand conflict between Athens and Sparta known as the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.). In the course of this war, Athens' strategic advantages and military successes were mitigated by a plague that reduced her population by a third, by a failure to accept peace at the appropriate time, and above all by a disastrous attempt to conquer the island of Sicily; eventually, there were no more triremes and Athens was blockaded into surrender.

Athens had inflicted mass executions and enslavements on a number of Greek states that had defied its will; and many Athenians reasonably feared that they themselves would suffer similar punishment. But the terms of peace imposed by Sparta in the spring of 404 B.C., though harsh enough for an imperial city, were much more lenient: Athens was to relinquish its empire, limit its navy to a dozen warships, and demolish a goodly portion of its fortifications. Later that year, the democracy was overthrown and the oligarchical regime notorious as the Thirty Tyrants began its bloody career; in scarcely more than a year, however, the Thirty had been deposed and the democracy restored.

Athens quickly undertook to recover what it could of its lost prestige and power, and Athenian maritime fortunes prospered to the extent that in 377 B.C. Athens was able to form a Second Athenian Confederacy. But Athens' imperialist tendencies drove its allies into revolt, and by 348 B.C. the Confederacy had disintegrated. In the meantime, a new challenge to Athenian maritime supremacy had arisen: Philip II of Macedonia, who in the 350s and 340s B.C. methodically extended his hegemony over the N Aegean littoral and into Thessaly and central Greece. The Theban and Athenian hoplites who confronted him on the plain of Chaeronea in Boeotia (338 B.C.) were unequal to the task required of them, and on that day Athens, and the other city-states of Greece, ceased to be a determining factor in the political life of the ancient world. Philip, however, was uncommonly lenient in his treatment of Athens: he refrained from invading Attica, restored without ransom the 2,000 Athenians captured in the battle, and conveyed the Athenian dead to their city under royal escort. Once more, as in 404 B.C. and as would be the case again and again, Athens had been saved by its past, notably its service to Hellas when the Persians had invaded, and by the artistic and intellectual stature it had achieved.

**2. Hellenistic Age.** The Hellenistic Age was ushered in by the battle of Chaeronea and by the subsequent conquests of Alexander, Philip's son and successor. As it dawned, Athens made a futile attempt to recover its independence by revolting from Macedon in 323 B.C. (at the news of Alexander's death); the following year the Macedonian regent Antipater put down the revolt, replaced the Athenian democracy with an oligarchy, and stationed a Macedonian garrison in Piraeus, the port of Athens. By 272 B.C. the grand struggle for power among Alexander's successors had ended and in its course determined that the Hellenistic world would have 3 centers of power: the kingdoms of Antigonid Macedonia, Seleucid Asia, and Ptolemaic Egypt. For mainland Greece, the age ended in 168 B.C. when the Romans deposed the last of the Antigonids and divided Macedon into 4 separate republics. During the late 4th and 3d centuries, the Athenians had to accept the presence of foreign garrisons in Piraeus and even in the city itself; and the question of whether a citizen was pro-Macedonian or nationalist in his political sympathies gradually became more significant than that of his constitutional preference.

The oligarchy set up by Antipater yielded in 317 B.C. to the rule of the Aristotelian philosopher Demetrius of Phalerum, maintained in power by Antipater's son Cassander. In 307 B.C. Demetrius the Besieger took Athens from Cassander and reinstated democracy. Proclaimed as "savior-god" by the Athenians, he and his seraglio took up residence in the Parthenon. By 276 B.C., Athens had become a more-or-less-permanent dependent of Demetrius' son Antigonus Gonatas, the philosopher king who founded the Antigonid dynasty and treated Athens as the spiritual and philosophical capital of his Macedonian sphere of authority. This privileged position did not, however, prevent Chremonides and his fellow nationalists from once again raising Athens in revolt. Despite Athens' spirited failure in the Chremonidean War (267–262 B.C.), Antigonus was typically lenient when Athens surrendered. But the revolt had exhausted the Athenian yearning for the old freedom, and for the following century and a half, Athens would be content with its role and reputation as the cultural and intellectual center of Hellas. Its reward for acquiescence and political realism came in 228 B.C., 11 years after Antigonus' death, when the Macedonians for a price of 150 talents withdrew their troops from Attic soil.

**3. Athens and Rome.** Athens remained at peace with the Antigonids until Philip V invaded Attica a few months before the outbreak of the Second Macedonian War (200–197 B.C.), his disastrous conflict with Rome. Athens sided with Rome, endured Philip's repeated devastation of the Athenian countryside, and rejoiced with the other Greek states when the victorious Roman general Flamininus proclaimed their freedom at the Isthmian Games of 196 B.C. Athens was again allied with Rome when the latter defeated Philip's son and heir Perseus in the Third Macedonian War (171–168 B.C.) and then converted his kingdom into republics. On this occasion (166 B.C.), Athens was rewarded more tangibly for its loyalty to Rome, and was given possession of the island of Delos, now a free port. Athens nevertheless severed its friendship with Rome in 88 B.C., when the nationalists exerted themselves one last time and seized control of the government from the pro-Roman oligarchs. They immediately accepted an alliance with Mithridates of Pontus, who was already in the process of invading Greece and was now able to use Piraeus as his base of operations. The Roman general Sulla soon drove Mithridates out of Greece, but Athens was stubbornly defended by the nationalists and had to be taken by storm (86 B.C.). Given the ancient protocol for dealing with cities so captured, Sulla was benign in his treatment of Athens: his soldiers were allowed to loot and massacre for a while and the ringleaders of the uprising were executed, but no further punishment was exacted; with the oligarchs restored to power, the city was left in possession of its former liberty.

As Athens recovered from the devastation of the Mithridatic fiasco (the city's final attempt at political action independent of the Romans), it became more than ever a cultural center and university town, where the study of philosophy and rhetoric flourished. It became the place to which Roman senators and other wealthy foreigners sent their sons to study (and came themselves to visit and to patronize). Hellenistic kings had done so in the past and so, before long, would Roman emperors. Julius Caesar pardoned Athens for following Pompey in 49–48 B.C., as did Octavian and Antony for espousing the cause of the republican Brutus in 44–42 B.C. The favors with which Antony then courted Athens while he ruled the East came to an end only when Octavian, soon to be Augustus, defeated him at Actium in 31 B.C., ushering in the period of the Roman Empire. Although Octavian deprived Athens of the island of Aegina (which Antony had given to Athens) and imposed some economic restrictions, he did not otherwise penalize the city for supporting his rival; indeed, he even confirmed Athenian possession of Attica and 8 islands, including Salamis and Delos. Athens in fact was never incorporated into the Roman provincial system and enjoyed the privileged status of *civitas foederata,* which gave Athens judicial authority over its own citizens and exempted them from the obligation to pay taxes to Rome.

Athens lost some of its artistic treasures to Caligula and Nero, but the emperors of the 1st century otherwise treated the city with deference, and at the turn of the century (A.D. 98–117) Trajan attempted to rectify the city's fiscal disrepair, which had been initiated by Sulla's depradations and aggravated by the exactions imposed on Athens during the civil wars marking the end of the Roman republic (49–31 B.C.). But the completion of Trajan's task was left to his philhellenic successor Hadrian (A.D. 117–138), who, in the most-favored-city tradition of Antigonus Gonatas, became Athens' grandest patron ever. Hadrian

engaged in a monumental building program intended to render the city worthy to be the material and spiritual seat of his Union of the Panhellenes (created for the purpose of revitalizing Greek civilization). Imperial favors continued under Hadrian's successors Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161), who endowed a chair of rhetoric, and Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–180), who added 4 chairs of philosophy and thereby transformed Athens into a true university.

The deterioration of Athens had already set in before a band of Heruli and other Goths overran Attica and pillaged the city in A.D. 268, the final year of the reign of Gallienus, another Athenian. Athens nevertheless managed to reassert itself, and even to persist as the leading center of Hellenic rhetoric and philosophy during the 2 centuries extending from the conversion of Constantine in A.D. 312 to the reign of Justinian (A.D. 527–565), when paganism, at least as a publicly practiced religion and formally studied system of thought, was gradually (and for the most part benignly) eliminated from the Roman Empire. Athens indeed fared better than other cities at the hands of Christian emperors collecting the artistic treasures of old Greece: Constantine spared Athenian shrines when he assembled art works to adorn his new capital on the Bosporus, and though Theodosius (A.D. 408–450) confiscated famous statues throughout Greece, he did not remove the chryselephantine Athena from the Parthenon. The Visigoth Alaric left the city of Athens unharmed, but the mysteries of Demeter and Core were never revived after he sacked Eleusis in A.D. 397, and at some point, perhaps not until the 6th century, the Parthenon became the Church of the Virgin Mother of God. In A.D. 529 Justinian, as part of his determined effort to eradicate the remaining traces of paganism from the empire, closed the philosophical schools of Greece and thereby officially terminated the intellectual history of classical Athens.

**B. Literature and Philosophy**

The extant literature of Athens begins at the turn of the 7th–6th century B.C. with the fragmentary poetry of the lawgiver Solon, in which he set forth his moral and political views. After a hiatus of a hundred years, poetic literature resumed under the aegis of the state with the dramas produced in competition at the public festivals honoring the god Dionysus. The overlapping dramatic careers of the great tragic poets (first Aeschylus and then Sophocles and Euripides) span almost exactly the 5th century: of their surviving plays (which with one exception draw their plots from Greek myth and legend), 7 each were written by Aeschylus and Sophocles and 18 (possibly 19) were written by Euripides. The sole extant representative of the Old Comedy, with its fantastic plots and contemporary references, is Aristophanes; 11 of his plays have come down to us, the first produced in 425 B.C. and the last in 388. We also possess one complete play and substantial portions of several others by Menander (died ca. 290 B.C.), the leading poet of the New Comedy—a theater of manners offering its audiences stylized plots and characters derived from daily life.

The city's extant prose, far greater in quantity than its poetry, may be described under the headings of rhetoric, history, and philosophy. Rhetoric was fostered by democracy with its attendant litigation and public discussion, and a large number of speeches on a comprehensive variety of topics has been preserved from a period extending from about the middle of the 5th to the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. Of the Alexandrian canon of ten orators, two perhaps are most worthy of mention. The first is Isocrates (436–338 B.C.), a failed public speaker but influential stylist, who opened a school of rhetoric and in a series of closet orations and open letters published his views on education, ethics, and political matters. The second is Philip II's antagonist Demosthenes (384–322 B.C.), who attacked the Macedonian king in his *Philippics* and other speeches and defended his own political career in his oration *On the Crown.* We possess a substantial historical literature by two Athenians: Thucydides (ca. 460–ca. 400 B.C.), banished for dereliction of duty as a general during the Peloponnesian War, whose monumental but unfinished account of that conflict comes to an end in 411 B.C.; and Thucydides' continuator Xenophon (ca. 428–ca. 354 B.C.), a prolific writer on a variety of historical and quasi-historical subjects whose *Hellenica* records the history of Greece from 411 to 362 B.C.

Athenian philosophy begins with Socrates, put to death in 399 B.C. after being convicted of impiety. Although he wrote nothing, the example of his moral convictions, personal courage, and dialectic methodology inspired and informed the thought of Plato (427–348 B.C.), who was as great a writer as he

was philosopher, and who made Socrates the central character and spokesman of his own thought in all but a few of his (later) dialogues. After Plato, Athens produced only a single resident philosopher of permanent significance, Epicurus (341–270 B.C.), who in fact had been born and raised on the island of Samos off the coast of Asia Minor.

The Attic dialect as written by Plato and the orators would long continue to provide the dictional standard of rhetoric and learned discourse in Greece, and by the 4th century B.C. this dialect was spreading widely abroad as the Koine, in which the LXX and the NT would be composed. But by the early 3d century B.C. the literary and philosophic creativity of Athens had been spent. Even so, the influence of Plato and the Academy he founded about 385 B.C., which enjoyed a continuous existence until Justinian's edict in A.D. 529, functioned as a kind of philosophical lodestone, and the intellectual vigor and prominence of Athens was maintained by a constant and abundant influx of immigrant philosophers. The first of these was the greatest: Aristotle of Stagira (384–322 B.C.), who came to Athens at the age of 17 to study under Plato and returned in 335 B.C. to establish his own school at the Lyceum, that of the Peripatetics. Aristotle's successor as head of the school, Theophrastus (died ca. 287 B.C.), best-known in more modern times for his *Characters* (30 sketches of ridiculous character types), came from the island of Lesbos. Another such immigrant was Zeno (335–263 B.C.), who came from the island of Cyprus and was probably not even a Greek; he founded the Stoic school of philosophy and became the admired friend of Antigonus Gonatas.

The permanently altered circumstances of Athens' intellectual and political life, as well as the cosmopolitanism that characterized Hellenistic and Roman Greece, are symbolized by the composition of a political delegation the Athenians sent to Rome in 155 B.C.: its members were the heads of the Academy (Carneades of Cyrene), the Lyceum (Critolaus from Lycia), and the Stoa (Diogenes of Babylon). Foreigners continued to dominate the study of philosophy at Athens until the very end; for example, Proclus (5th century A.D.), a leading representative of the final flowering of Greek philosophy known as Neoplatonism (mid-3d to mid-6th century A.D.), was born in Lycia, even though he spent much of his life at Athens and served as head of the academy.

The study of rhetoric, that other pillar of Athens' intellectual life, was also sustained by immigrants after the 4th century B.C. But perhaps the most illustrious of this discipline's later Athenian masters was a native, the fabulously wealthy Herodes Atticus, consul at Rome in A.D. 143, one of Marcus Aurelius' teachers, and probably his city's most munificent private benefactor.

**C. Antiquities**

This survey of the material remains of classical Athens will take the perspective of St. Paul (who visited the city in A.D. 51), and will make reference chiefly to those monuments whose state of preservation (or modern restoration) renders them easily identifiable even today (see Fig. ATH.01). Construction dates will be given in parentheses.

If, as is virtually certain, Paul traveled by ship from Berea in Macedonia to Athens (Acts 17:10–15), the Doric-style temple of Poseidon (ca. 444 B.C.) would have come into view on the edge of the cliff as his vessel rounded Cape Sunium at the tip of Attica on its way to the port of Piraeus. After disembarking at Piraeus, Paul would have approached the city passing through the outer Ceramicus, the burial grounds (just outside the W walls) whose streets were lined with graves and cenotaphs surmounted with stone stelae, often adorned with relief sculpture (many still *in situ*). Paul would have entered the city from the NW, through either the Dipylon Gate or the adjacent Sacred Gate. The road from either would have taken him into the Athenian agora where he could have talked with passersby and engaged in discourse with Stoic and Epicurean philosophers (Acts 17:16–18). On a knoll at its W edge stood the Hephaesteum (449–444 B.C.), a Doric temple dedicated to Hephaestus and Athena with metope sculpture depicting the exploits of Heracles and Theseus. Directly across from the Hephaesteum and running along the E side of the agora was the two-tiered Stoa of Attalus (a gift of Attalus II, king of Pergamum in Asia Minor from 159 to 138 B.C.), fully restored in 1953–56 to serve as a museum for the artifacts from the agora excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Strolling eastward from the S end of the Stoa of Attalus, Paul would have soon reached the gate of Athena Archegetis (erected by Augustus ca. 10 B.C.), the Doric-style propylon that served as the W (and main) entrance to the Roman agora. Had he continued through the agora and exited by its E propylon, he would have observed before him and slightly to his left the Horologion or "Tower of the Winds" (built by the astronomer Andronicus of Cyrrhus shortly after 50 B.C.), a low, octagonal marble tower that functioned as a combination sundial, water clock, and weather vane.

When Paul stood on the Areopagus (Acts 17:19–22), he would have had an excellent view of the Acropolis, about 140 ft. higher and a short distance to the SE, and of the four buildings that were constructed there in the 5th century B.C. These four buildings (see Fig. ATH.02), all in Pentelic marble, sum up the achievement of democratic Athens in the fields of architecture and sculpture. An entrance ramp ascended the Acropolis by its narrow W slope and terminated at the Propylaea (437–432 B.C.), its monumental gateway incorporating an interior Ionic colonnade into a fundamentally Doric design. Atop the bastion that juts out W from the S wing of the Propylaea stood the temple of Athena Nike (427–424 B.C.), a small, graceful Ionic structure screened from the 3 edges of the bastion by a marble parapet with a frieze of Victories and seated Athenas sculpted around its outer face (ca. 410 B.C.). Surmounting the Acropolis as its largest building and rising above all other structures was the Parthenon (447–438 B.C.), a Doric-style temple dedicated to Athena Polias whose proportions and optical refinements bring to its natural Doric sturdiness the gracefulness one associates with the Ionic order; its Doric frieze of triglyphs and sculpted metopes and the statuary of its two pediments were complemented with a continuous Ionic frieze depicting the Panathenaic procession. Near the N rim on the Acropolis, at about its midpoint, Paul would have seen an Ionic temple of unique design, the Erechtheum (421–405 B.C.), where both Athena and Poseidon were worshiped; constructed on two levels, it has a lower N porch looking out toward the Roman agora; on its S (Parthenon) side at the higher level is the small, exquisite porch of the Caryatids, columns sculpted in the form of maidens.

Cut into the steeply rising SE slope of the Acropolis was the theater of Dionysus. Built mostly of wood during the golden era of Athenian drama, it was finally reconstructed with stone in the latter half of the 4th century B.C. and continued to receive modifications throughout antiquity. The space between the upmost level of seats and the Acropolis wall was lined with monuments erected by victorious *choregi*, the wealthy sponsors of the choral and dramatic competitions, to support the tripods they had been awarded as their emblem of victory. The Street of the Tripods, a short distance E of the Acropolis, was similarly lined. There the monument of Lysicrates (334 B.C.) is still *in situ*; it is a splendid structure of fine marble with 6 Corinthian columns describing its cylindrical form, and is the only choregic monument to have survived almost completely intact.

Had Paul journeyed SE as far as the city wall, one monument above all others would have impressed itself on his vision; the unfinished Temple of Olympian Zeus, 16 of whose grand columns remain *in situ* (all but one still standing). Begun in the 6th century by the tyrant Pisistratus as a Doric temple in poros, it was brought to half-completion in 174–165 B.C. as a Corinthianstyle marble temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria. Beyond the city gates in the SE and on the far bank of the Ilissus lay the stadium; built ca. 330 B.C. for the Panathenaic games and frequently modified and put to other uses in subsequent antiquity. It was fully reconstructed at the turn of the last century and in 1896 was the inaugural site of the modern Olympic Games.

The task of completing the Temple of Olympian Zeus fell to the emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117–38), who also adorned Athens with such additional monuments as the arch and the library which both bear his name. The former, located immediately N of the Temple, is a double-tiered edifice done in the Corinthian manner that functioned as a dividing gateway between old Athens and Hadrian's New Athens. The latter was built just across a major thoroughfare from the N side of the Roman agora; a variety of marbles were prominently displayed in its construction.

Finally, two other post-Pauline monuments require notice, each associated with an illustrious citizen and great private benefactor of Athens. The first is the monument of Philopappus (A.D. 114–16), the remains of which still rise 40 feet above the summit of the Hill of the Muses at what had been the SW

corner of the ancient city (before Hadrian's extension of the city walls in the W). Adorned with an elaborate arrangement of columns and statuary, it was erected by the Athenians as a burial vault for Antiochus Philopappus, an exiled prince of Commagene who settled in Athens and became a Roman consul. The second is the Roman-style theater located just off the SW corner of the Acropolis and donated by Herodes Atticus in honor of his wife (d. A.D. 160). It is the last of the grand monuments of Athens still represented by substantial remains, and in recent years it has been restored to regular usage for musical and dramatic performances.

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HUBERT M. MARTIN, JR.

**ATHLAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿatlāy* (עַתְלָי)]. A descendant of Bebai and one of the returned exiles who was required to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:28). Athlai is a shortened form of Athaliah—"Yahweh has revealed his loftiness" (*IPN*, 191). In the parallel text of 1 Esdr 9:29, the name Emathis appears in the position Athlai holds in Ezra 10:28. Athlai was a member of a family from which groups of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:11; Neh 7:16) and later with Ezra (Ezra 8:11). For further discussion, see BEDEIAH.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

**ATONEMENT IN THE NT.** In discussions about the NT, "the Atonement" is generally understood to refer to the work of Jesus in putting right the human situation in relation to God. Throughout the course of Christian history this has been associated above all with the death of Jesus. Such a view can claim considerable support from the NT (cf. 1 Cor 15:3; Col 1:22; 1 Pet 2:24). However, it should also be noted that the saving work of Christ is just as often associated with the resurrection (cf. 1 Cor 15:17; 1 Pet 1:3; see especially Hooker 1978 in relation to Paul). One should therefore be wary of restricting NT views about the atoning work of Christ to discussions of the meaning of Jesus' death alone.

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A. Introduction
B. Sacrifice
C. Redemption
D. Victory over Evil Powers
E. Reconciliation
F. Revelation
G. Conclusion


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**A. Introduction**

One notable feature of NT ideas about the atonement is their variety. Not only are differences found between NT writers but even the same writer can use what appears at times to be a bewildering variety of models and images to describe how the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus have changed the human situation. Sometimes too a writer can combine different images within a single sentence (cf. John 1:29 discussed below). Further, the NT is "more concerned with the nature of salvation than the precise way in which it has been achieved" (Marshall 1974: 169). Thus it would probably be wrong to press any one image too far and claim that this represents the central NT view.

The variety of different descriptions of the atonement is due in part to the variety of ways in which the human situation itself is described. Very different models and categories are used to describe the "lost" condition of the human race prior to Christ, and the corresponding change brought about by the Christ event. Different descriptions of the human situation inevitably lead to different explanations of how this has been altered by the work of Christ. Thus if the human condition is described in terms of (individual) sins, the atonement can be naturally conceived as a sacrifice which deals with sins. If the human situation is described in terms of being under hostile powers, the atonement can be described as a rescue from, or a victory over, those powers. If the human situation is seen as one of ignorance, the atonement can be seen as enlightenment or revelation. Subsequent Christian theology has often fastened on to some of these models of atonement and absolutized one (or more) of them. However, such a restricted view is never that of the NT writers.

We consider in turn some of the various categories used to describe the atoning work of Jesus in the NT.

**B. Sacrifice**

The claim that Jesus' death on the cross should be seen as a sacrifice has exerted enormous influence on subsequent Christian theology and piety. It is quite clear that such language has deep roots in the NT itself. It is probably reflected in references to Jesus' death as "blood" (e.g., Rom 5:9; cf. Dunn 1974: 133) and in many of the references to Jesus' death being "for many/our sins/us/others" (cf. Mark 14:24; 1 Cor 15:3). Further, it is clear that this kind of language can be traced to a very early period within primitive Christianity, being reflected in the synoptic tradition (Mark 14:24), in Hebrews (cf. 2:9; 7:27), in what are probably pre-Pauline formulations (Rom 3:25f.; 1 Cor 15:3), as well as in the Johannine tradition (cf. John 1:29; 11:50). Moreover, such language is frequently related to an analysis of the human situation in terms of sinfulness: Jesus' sacrificial death enables the sins of the world to be forgiven. Indeed for many contemporary Christians, such an idea is regarded as *the* model of the atonement.

The use of such ideas applied to Jesus' death is not surprising, given the widespread use of sacrifice in the ancient world. However, the precise background of the application of such ideas to the death of Jesus is much debated. Despite the existence of the sacrificial cult in Judaism, it is recognized that the use of sacrificial language to apply to the death of a *person* is rather harder to parallel in pre-Christian Jewish tradition. The idea of people "dying for *(hyper)*" others can be paralleled extensively in non-Jewish Greek thought (see Williams 1975; Hengel 1981: 1–32). Such an idea is less easy to find in Judaism. It appears to surface in the text of 4 Maccabees, which may be extensively influenced by Hellenistic thought (see Williams); it is also present in the famous Suffering Servant passage of Isa 52:13–53:12, and also in later rabbinic traditions about the atoning value of the death of the righteous (though it is not certain how far these ideas would have been current prior to 70 C.E.; see Williams 1975: 121–35).

One must however be wary of making sacrificial language too monochrome. The sacrificial cult within Judaism and elsewhere was very varied and included provision for many different kinds of sacrifice (see Young 1979: 35–70). Some (but *not* all) sacrifices were to do with sins. In the Jewish cult these were the "sin-offerings." But there were also thank-offerings, offered by the worshipper to God in grateful thanks, but with no explicit idea of atoning for sins. Judaism knew of other kinds of sacrifice as well: there was the Passover sacrifice, commemorating God's great act of liberation of Israel at the Exodus; there was also the sacrifice which accompanied the ritual of the making of the covenant. Neither of these had anything to do with sin directly. Thus one should not necessarily subsume every reference to Jesus' death as a sacrifice under the category of a sin-offering.

The rationale of the Jewish sacrificial system has been much discussed, though with no very conclusive results. Judaism provided no explicit rationale for sacrifice: it was simply the God-given way of dealing with sin, and as such was to be accepted gratefully and humbly. Much discussion has also taken place over whether Jewish sacrifice, and/or Christian interpretations of Jesus' death as a sacrifice, should be regarded as "propitiatory" (i.e., averting the anger of a personal deity) or "expiatory" (i.e., nullifying the effects of sin). The idea of appeasing an angry god by sacrifice is certainly present in some non-Jewish ideas of sacrifice. Much hinges on the translation of the word *hilaskesthai* (and cognates) in the NT, and the equivalent OT words (usually *kpr*). In non-Jewish Gk, the word clearly carries ideas of propitiation. However, in a classic essay Dodd (1935: 82–95) argued that Jewish and Christian usage differs from that decisively. Here, almost uniformly, the words are used in such a way that God (or His representative) is always the subject, not the object of the action in question; the object is always sin or its effects. This then demands an interpretation of expiation, not propitiation, since God can scarcely be said to propitiate himself in any very meaningful sense. Dodd's arguments have convinced many that the NT does not think of Jesus' death as appeasing God's anger; rather, God, through Jesus, deals with and nullifies sin and its effects. (Cf. Young 1975: 72 and many others; for the contrary view, see Morris 1955: 125–85; Hill 1967: 23–48.)

The precise way in which an expiatory sacrifice was thought to "work" is never clarified. It has been maintained by some that an element of substitution was always understood and that the sacrificial victim was thought of as enduring the (divine) punishment for the sin committed, thus enabling the sinner to go free. Such a model has of course exerted considerable influence on popular Christian piety as an interpretation of Jesus' atoning death.

This probably reads too much into the rationale of the sacrificial system. It is in fact very unlikely that the sacrificial victim was ever thought of as a substitute in this way. Such a rationale *might* lie behind the ceremony of the Day of Atonement, when the priest laid hands on one of the goats, thereby transferring the sins to the goat (Lev 16:21). However, this goat was not sacrificed: the goat on whom the sins were "laid" was the scapegoat which was driven away into the desert, and it was the other goat which was offered in sacrifice. In fact it was considered vitally important that the sacrificial victim should be *pure* (see Young 1979: 52). Thus it is unlikely that the sacrificial system was ever conceived of in such a substitutionary sense.

Substitutionary ideas have been thought to lie behind much of Paul's language, though many would argue that "representation" rather than "substitution" does far more justice to Paul's thought. (See Hooker [1971 and 1978]. Dunn [1974] argues that this is inherent in the rationale of sacrifice itself, though this probably reads too much into the texts.) Jesus' death is seen as the point at which Jesus joins humanity at its point of final annihilation and lostness; however, through the resurrection, Jesus overcomes death and becomes the source of new life for all who are "in" him. Such a model is well summed up by Irenaeus' summary statement "he became what we are so that we might become what he is." Jesus' life, death, and resurrection are thus "vicarious" in the sense of achieving something for others by taking their place; but it is not "substitutionary" in the sense that Jesus takes the place of human sinners whilst they go free (or elsewhere): human beings are summoned to *join* Jesus.

The importance of other sacrificial language in Paul is debated. Certainly Paul uses a variety of metaphors. Jesus' death can be seen variously as a new Passover sacrifice (1 Cor 5:7), a new covenant sacrifice (1 Cor 11:25), perhaps as a sin-offering (Rom 8:3, though the precise interpretation is disputed), perhaps as the sin-offering of the Day of Atonement (cf. *hilastērion* in Rom 3:25: again the precise reference is disputed, but see Stuhlmacher 1986: 94–109). Some have argued that all such language is pre-Pauline, and that Paul's "real" thought is to be located elsewhere (cf. *BTNT,* 295–306; Käsemann 1971: 39–46). Certainly the importance of the solidarity of Jesus and the Christian is of vital importance for Paul (so Bultmann, cf. also the previous paragraph, though whether such an idea is due to the adoption of Gnostic categories [so Bultmann also] is more debatable). Also the importance of the cross as showing the radical lostness of human beings who cannot save themselves (so Käsemann) is fundamental for Paul (cf. Romans 1–3). Nevertheless one should perhaps be wary of dismissing sacrificial categories as of no

concern to Paul simply because they are taken over from tradition. Paul's use of his tradition presumably implies a measure of agreement with it, and one should perhaps accept a rich variety in Paul's interpretation of the atonement.

Sacrificial language dominates in the exposition of the author of Hebrews. In particular, the writer sees Jesus' death in terms of the great sacrifice of the Jewish Day of Atonement. (See especially Hebrews 9–10.) Here, in a highly suggestive use of imagery, the author sees the Jewish rite fulfilled in Jesus' death whereby Jesus is both the priest and the sacrificial victim so that he offers himself. It is perhaps worth noting, however, that the author does not use this language simply to explain the atonement. Rather, he uses it primarily to show that the whole of the old Jewish sacrificial cult has now been superseded. This then forms a crucial part of the writer's exhortation to his readers not to lapse back into Judaism. The writer never gives any rationale of the sacrificial system: he simply assumes without question that "without the shedding of blood there is no forgiveness" (Heb 9:22; cf. Taylor 1945: 125). As far as the author is concerned, the only question is whether "blood" still needs to be sacrificed or not. Alongside this idea, the writer of Hebrews also develops the idea that Jesus' death inaugurates the new covenant, and hence Jesus' death is to be seen as a covenant sacrifice (cf. Heb 7:22; 8:6; 9:15; and see Young 1979: 149). Again, however, the main point of the discussion is to show that the old covenant has now become outmoded. Thus the whole argument of Hebrews, which is so clearly indebted to sacrificial categories, ends up by being almost anti-sacrificial in its insistence on the finality of Christ's saving work.

Sacrificial language is also to be found in John, though the highly allusive way in which John writes sometimes makes it difficult to determine his precise meaning. However, it is probable that the words of John the Baptist in John 1:29 ("Behold the Lamb of God") refer to Jesus as the Paschal lamb. This would tie in with the fact that Jesus' death in John coincides with the slaughtering of the Paschal lambs (cf. John 19:14); further, the fact that none of Jesus' bones is broken "fulfills" scripture, and the scripture in question is probably the instruction about the way in which the Passover lambs are to be killed (John 19:36 cf. Exod 12:46). However, the further words of John the Baptist ("… who takes away the sin of the world") may be introducing quite different sacrificial ideas, since the Passover sacrifice was generally not thought of as expiatory.

The extent to which sacrificial ideas can be traced back to Jesus himself is debated. Many have claimed that Jesus did foresee, and interpret, his own death in terms of a sacrifice for sin, with reference to the prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah about the Suffering Servant. Prime evidence for this would be the two synoptic sayings in Mark 10:45; 14:24. (See, with varying nuances, Taylor 1937; Jeremias 1966: 225–31; Hengel 1981: 65–75; Stuhlmacher 1986: 16–29.) However, the theory that Isaiah 53 was fundamental for Jesus is radically questioned today (see Hooker 1959). The language of Mark 14:24 is more closely connected with the idea of the (new) covenant than with that of expiatory sacrifice. The thought may be as much to do with the establishment of a new (covenant) community as with the forgiveness of sins by a sacrifice. The language of Mark 10:45 is also difficult to relate directly to Isaiah 53. The "ransom" (*lytron*) of Mark 10:45 is not really the equivalent of the Servant's death seen as an *ʾašam* (sin-offering) since the two ideas are quite different (see Barrett 1959; Hooker 1959: 74–79). In any case it is not certain how justified it is to trace these sayings back to the pre-Easter Jesus, and, for example, many would regard the ransom saying in Mark 10:45b as a post-Easter gloss on what may well have been a dominical saying about the importance of serving in Mark 10:45a (cf. Luke 22:27). (Cf. Lohse 1963: 117–22; Williams 1975: 211–12.) However, the category of "ransom" (*lytron*) in Mark 10:45 leads on to the next major category discussed here.

**C. Redemption**

The language of "redemption" (*apolytrōsis*) would have had a rich background for any 1st-century audience. Slaves could be "redeemed" by paying a suitable ransom price; so too could prisoners of war. The association of this language with freeing slaves made it natural for Jews to use the vocabulary of redemption to refer above all to the great act of liberation by God in rescuing the Israelites from slavery in Egypt (cf. Deut 7:8 and elsewhere). Although the redemption of slaves or prisoners in the secular realm always involved the payment of a ransom price (*lytron*), it is very doubtful if Jews ever thought in such

concrete terms in speaking of God's action at the Exodus as a redemption. Rather, God's "redeeming" of Israel simply referred to His rescue, with no idea of a price being paid. (See Hill 1967: 49–81 contra Morris 1955: 9–59.)

NT writers used this language freely, bringing out different aspects of the imagery evoked. Thus texts such as Luke 24:21 simply refer to God's hoped-for intervention in the future in bringing liberation. The same is probably true in Rom 8:23.

Whether NT writers ever conceived of Jesus' death as a "ransom price," a price that had to be paid to secure the release of humanity, is more uncertain. This idea became extremely popular in patristic thought with great discussions about whom the price was paid to (God? or the Devil?) and the nature of the transaction involved. It is however difficult to find such ideas in the NT itself (though see Marshall 1974 for a different view). Texts like Eph 1:7 ("redemption through his blood") and 1 Pet 1:18–19 ("you were redeemed … with the precious blood of Christ") can scarcely be made to support the theory of Jesus' death as a ransom price paid, since both texts do not use the Gk construction of a genitive of price. Both are using the language of redemption more generally to claim that the liberation which the Christian can now enjoy has been achieved by means of Jesus' death, without spelling out the means more precisely (see Hill 1967: 70–74).

The related language of Paul, "you were bought with a price" (1 Cor 6:20; 7:23), should also probably not be pressed too far. Paul is simply using the language of the slave market to stress the fact that Christians have now changed their allegiance: they are no longer under their old master (sin or whatever); they are now under a new master in God. The precise nature of the price is not discussed. Similarly Paul's language of Jesus "redeeming" those under the curse of the Law by becoming a curse for us (Gal 3:13; 4:5) can only with difficulty support the view that Jesus' death is being interpreted as a ransom price paid in a substitutionary sense. Far more important for Paul here seems to be the representative nature of Jesus' death (see Hooker 1971). Jesus' becoming a curse for humanity involves his joining humanity; his life of obedience to death, and his vindication by God in the resurrection, annuls the curse of the Law and enables the new life of freedom to be available to all who are "in" him (cf. Gal 3:14). Again, the language of "redeeming" is probably being used in general terms to indicate the liberation (here from the Law) achieved by Jesus, but without pressing the analogy of secular redemption any further to think in terms of specific ransom prices.

The nearest one gets to an idea of a price being paid is in Mark 10:45, where Jesus' death is said to be a *lytron anti pollon,* "a ransom for many." The use of *anti* ("in place of," "for"), if pressed, does suggest ideas of substitution and equivalence, and the ransom idea in *lytron* could be said to reinforce this. However, one should not read too much into this. There is for example no talk of "sin" here and one should not necessarily interpret the verse as implying a view of Jesus' death as an expiatory sacrifice for sin with a substitutionary idea of sacrifice implied. This probably confuses categories unnecessarily. There is a close parallel to the ideas concerned in *4 Macc* 17:22 (see Williams). However, it is as likely that the *lytron* vocabulary is intended to evoke the language of the great act of redemption in the OT whereby Yahweh redeemed the Israelites from Egypt and established them as the chosen nation. The communal, even covenantal, overtones of the language may be just as important as any ideas of precise equivalents in ransom prices paid (see Hooker 1959: 77–78).

**D. Victory over Evil Powers**

The language of redemption, when used against an OT background, can very easily slide into a rather different model to describe the atonement: that of victory. Yahweh's action on behalf of Israel constituted not only a setting free of the nation, but also a victory over the forces of Pharaoh. This idea of victory is certainly applied to the death of Jesus in the NT. The language assumes a somewhat dualistic view of the universe, with other spiritual powers holding sway over the human race. Jesus' death is then seen as a victory over these powers. Aulen (1931) has shown how influential this view of the atonement was in patristic thought and how it has dropped out of later theological reflection. The *locus classicus* for this view is Col 2:14–15 and it is implied in many other NT passages. Paul sometimes speaks of various other spiritual powers being now subject to Christ (1 Cor 15:24–25; Phil 2:10; Rom 8:35–38); indeed much of

Paul's language about the overthrow of the power of sin could be classified in this category, since frequently Paul appears to conceive of sin as a malignant power (cf. Rom 7:7–11) rather than a series of human wrongdoings (cf. also Käsemann 1971: 44).

Elsewhere in the NT, the powers opposed to God are conceived as concentrated in a single Devil figure and Jesus' death is interpreted as the final overthrow of Satan (Heb 2:14; John 12:31; 1 John 3:8; Rev 12:7–12). As with the other categories considered, the precise details of the image are never worked out. It is never stated just how the Devil and/or other powers are defeated by Jesus' life, death, and resurrection. Col 2:14–15 uses the striking imagery of a military victory parade with the disarmed powers actually nailed to the cross. The Johannine tradition appears to be based on a forensic model: Satan's overthrow is his final condemnation in, and eviction from, the divine law court (cf. John 16:11; Revelation 12). All the NT talk of the resurrection as the victory over the powers of death and enabling the Christian to share the consequences of that victory (cf. 1 Cor 15:57) may also be included in this category.

**E. Reconciliation**

All the categories discussed so far could be considered slightly "impersonal" (God dealing with sin, or achieving victory over other powers, almost *extra nos*, "apart from us"). It is worth recalling that the NT can refer to the work of Christ in a much more personal way, with the language of reconciliation. This language is not common in the NT, being confined to the Pauline tradition. Where sacrificial language conceives of the human situation in terms of sinfulness, reconciliation language thinks in terms of personal relationships, severed and restored. It is also striking that Paul is evidently not bound by any one language of atonement in that he can describe the effects of Jesus' death in heavily cultic and forensic language in Rom 5:8–9, only to follow with a parallel statement in Rom 5:10 using the quite different categories of personal relationships, an initial state of "enmity" being ended by God's act of "reconciliation." This language is developed further in the deutero-Pauline tradition where Col 1:20 speaks of the reconciliation of the whole universe through the cross, and Eph 2:14–16 speaks of the reconciliation of the Jewish and Gentile nations.

**F. Revelation**

Mention must finally be made of the view that Christ's work is primarily revelatory, both of God and of humanity. This is most characteristic of the 4th gospel. While other models of the atonement relate to human need described in terms of sin, guilt, slavery, or enmity, this model can be thought of in terms of humanity as ignorant or in (mental) darkness. Thus the dominant theme is of Jesus as the one who brings light and knowledge and who reveals the true nature of God. The thought of John is heavily influenced by this idea. The coming of Jesus reveals the glory of God (John 1:14) and Jesus as the only begotten Son is uniquely in a position to be able to "explain" or "make known" God (1:18). Jesus comes as the Light of the world, not to judge the world, for the light simply shows up human beings for what they are (cf. 3:16–21). Similarly the Johannine Jesus can speak of "knowing" as the all-important thing for the disciples (17:3). Much of Jesus' talk about the cross in John is in this vein. The crucifixion is the great "hour" which stands over the whole of the ministry of Jesus. It is the moment when the Son of Man will be lifted up, both physically on a cross, and in glory, so that the cross is the moment at which the full glory of God is revealed (17:1). The cross is thus supremely the moment of revelation.

Such a scheme is characteristically Johannine, but it has close affinities with Mark's presentation as well. In Mark the cross is the moment at which Jesus' true identity is finally and definitively revealed to human beings as that of God's Son (Mark 15:39).

Much of this language in John has affinities with Gnostic thought, although it must be said that John is no Gnostic. *Gnosis* ("knowledge") does not occur in John (perhaps deliberately); and the "knowing" which constitutes eternal life (cf. 17:3) is not the knowing about one's origins, etc., which is so characteristic of Gnostic thought. John's "knowing" is much closer to the biblical idea of "knowledge" as signifying close personal relationships (cf. Hos 6:3; 13:5). Still the idea of Jesus' work as above all revealing the full character of God is an important aspect of NT beliefs about what the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus have achieved.

**G. Conclusion**

NT views about the atoning work of Christ are many and varied. NT writers use a wide variety of models and images to express their beliefs. Perhaps the very variety itself is indicative of the fact that theories about the atonement were probably of second-order importance. What was primary was the experience of forgiveness and new life which the first Christians claimed to enjoy. NT writers were unanimous in believing that this was the work of God Himself acting in and through the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus. In attempting to describe precisely how this had been achieved, the NT used a variety of ideas based on contemporary models in the 1st century thought world. However, common to all these articulations was the claim that what had happened was of universal significance and was the work of God Himself, acting in love. Any contemporary view of the atonement must take this with all seriousness if it is to be true to the NT.

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C. M. TUCKETT

**ATONEMENT, DAY OF.** See DAY OF ATONEMENT.

**ATROTH-BETH-JOAB** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿaṭrôt bêt yôʾāb* (עַטְרוֹת בֵּית יוֹאָב)]. A town in Judah, near Bethlehem, listed in the geneology of Hur (a descendant of Judah) through his son Salma (1 Chr 2:54). Some scholars, rather than accepting Atroth-beth-joab as a place name, choose to translate it "Crowns of the house of Joab," from *ʿăṭārâ,* one of the Hebrew words for crown. They assume this phrase either modifies Bethlehem and Netophath (*ISBE* 1: 349) or refers to a separate town in Judah (Odelain and Séguineau 1981: 46). The LXX transliterates the phrase in question as a place name, *Atarōth oikou Iōab.* While not specifically identifying Atroth-beth-joab, other scholars assume it was located between the 2 towns that surround it in the list: Netophah (tentatively identified as modern Kh. Bedd Fā-lûḥ, M.R. 171119), which is SE of Bethlehem; and Manahath (modern el-Mâlḥah, M.R. 167128), which is NW of Bethlehem (*LBHG,* 245). If the town was in this area it would have been on the edge of the Judean wilderness. This placement allowed Kallai (*EncMiqr* 6: 168) to propose a connection between this town and Joab, the head of David's army, who was buried in his house in the wilderness (1 Kgs 1:34), a house earlier identified as his inheritance (2 Sam 15:30).

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**ATROTH-SHOPHAN** (PLACE) [Heb ʿ*aṭrōt šôpān* (עַטְרֹת שׁוֹפָן)]. One of several towns built by the descendants of Gad in the Transjordan from territory given them by Moses (Num 32:35). The exact location is unknown (Noth *Numbers* OTL), and scholarly attempts to locate the site are based primarily on textual or topographical evidence. The element ʿ*aṭrōt* is lacking from LXX, and the Vg adds *et* ("and") between ʿ*ăṭrōt* and *šôpān,* thus making 2 place names. In addition, *šôpān* has a variant in both the Samaritan Pentateuch (*špym*) and in the LXX (*sōphar*). This suggests some connection between ʿ*aṭrōt* and ʿ*ăṭārōt* of the previous verse (Num 32:34) since the latter site is specifically mentioned in the Moabite Stone (line 10) as a Gadite city in Moab reconquered by Mesha (see ATAROTH). However, many scholars seem to follow Tristram (1873: 290) who sees the same name repeated for sites barely 2 miles apart, identifying Atroth-Shophan with Jebel (Rujm) ʿAttarus, ca. 2 miles NE of Ataroth, and Ataroth with Khirbet ʿAttarus, ca. 8 miles NW of Dibon. Yet, there are those, like LaSor (*ISBE* 1: 363), who reject the identification of Atroth-Shophan with either Khirbet or Rujm ʿAttarus.

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C. GILBERT ROMERO

**ATTAI** (PERSON) [Heb ʿ*attay* (עַתַּי)]. The name of 3 individuals in the Hebrew Bible.

1. Mentioned in the genealogy of Jerahmeel in the Hezron clan of the tribe of Judah, he was the son of one of Sheshan's daughters and his Egyptian servant Jarha (1 Chr 2:35–36). Attai in turn fathered a son named Nathan. The Chronicler provides a linear genealogy for 12 further generations down to Elishama, possibly due to the anomaly of his Egyptian ancestry.

2. One of the brave and skillful warriors from the tribe of Gad who joined David prior to his becoming king (1 Chr 12:12—Eng12:11). By reporting a contingent from Gad, one of the more northern and Transjordan tribes, the Chronicler emphasizes the breadth of support for David.

3. The second son of King Rehoboam by his favored wife Maacah (2 Chr 11:20); the grandson of Solomon. Large families are often used as a measure of divine blessing in Chronicles (2 Chr 11:18–23). The Chronicler includes the note regarding Rehoboam's favoritism toward Maacah as a way of explaining why Rehoboam's eldest son did not attain the throne (cf. 2 Chr 21:3). (For further discussion, see Dillard *2 Chronicles* WBC, 98–99.)

RAYMOND B. DILLARD

**ATTALIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Attaleia* (Ἀτταλεια)]. 1. A city of N Lydia near Thyatira formerly called Agoira.

2. Modern Antalya (Adalia), a city on the coast of Pamphilia in S Asia Minor, modern Turkey, near the mouth of the Catarrhactes (Aksu) river (36°50′N; 30°46′E). Paul accompanied by Barnabas left from this port as he returned to Antioch at the completion of his first missionary journey (Acts 14:25), and he probably landed here when he traveled from Paphos to Perga (Acts 13:13) since the latter is landlocked.

Attalia was founded by Attalus II Philadelphus of Pergamum (159–138 B.C.), hence the name, and it became the chief port of Pamphilia. The city was built on a limestone plateau rising about 37 meters above the Catarrhactes River basin near where it empties into the Mediterranean Sea. The city served as the harbor for Perga, the capital of the province. Today the river has dissipated due to local irrigation procedures. The Romans gained control of the region in 79 B.C. when P. Servilius Isauricus fined the territories of the city as a penalty for their alliance with the pirate Zenicetes. The area was later employed by Augustus for the settling of veterans. It did not become a colony, however, until the 3d century A.D. During the Christian era the city was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Perga until it declined in power and Attalia was declared a metropolis in A.D. 1084.

Attalia has substantial archaeological remains. The ruins of the walls and towers of the outer harbor, originally closed by means of a chain, are still visible. The city was enclosed by a double wall encircled by a moat, and portions of the Hellenistic defensive wall can be seen in this wall of the medieval period. A triple arch built by Hadrian still remains as the most imposing structure of antiquity in the region. See Jones 1971: 130–47.

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JOHN D. WINELAND

**ATTALUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Attalos* (Ἄτταλος)]. Attalus II, king of Pergamum (159–138 B.C.), son of Attalus I and brother of Eumenes II (1 Macc 15:22). He appears in a list of recipients of the letter sent by the consul Lucius endorsing the leadership of Simon. The letter stresses the renewal of friendship and alliance between Rome and Judea, forbids war against Judea by Roman allies, and allows for the extradition of prisoners. Attalus II was the strongest ally of Rome in Asia Minor and would have supported such a decree issued by Rome. His position as 2d in the list following Demetrius II reflects the political situation of the day. In fear of the growing power of the Seleucid king Demetrius I, Attalus II had supported Alexander Epiphanes (Balas), a pretender to the Seleucid throne, against Demetrius I Soter. In so doing he indirectly supported Jonathan (1 Macc 10:46–47).

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RUSSELL D. NELSON

**ATTHARATES** (PERSON) [Gk *Attaratēs* (Ἀτταρατης)]. Official who participated in the assembly of the returned exiles when Ezra read the law of Moses to the people (1 Esdr 9:49–52). His prominence among the exiles is suggested by the text recording the blessing he gave to those who responded to Ezra's reading. Although the RSV follows the LXX by treating Attharates as a name, the consensus is that the term is a title the author of 1 Esdras misconstrued. Myers (*1–2 Esdras* AB, 91) and Coggins (*1–2 Esdras* CBC, 72–74) argue that it is a transliteration of the Persian title for governor (Heb *tršt*›). Almost certainly it is a variant of ATTHARIAS in 1 Esdr 5:40 (cf. Neh 8:9). Differences such as this raise questions about the sources of and literary relationship among 1 Esdras, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**ATTHARIAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Attharias* (Ἀτθαριας)]. In 1 Esdr 5:40 this term appears as the proper name of an individual who, with Nehemiah supervised the priests. However, comparison of this passage with the parallels in Ezra 2:63 and Neh 7:65 reveals that this may be a textual alteration in the transmission of the Heb *tiršātā*› (LXX *Athersatha*), the Persian title for a provincial governor. The title may belong to either Zerubbabel, Sheshbazzar, or Nehemiah, depending on when one dates the historical context of this list.

CRAIG D. BOWMAN

**AUGURY.** See MAGIC (OT).

**AUGUSTAN COHORT** [Gk *speira Sebastē* (σπειρα Σεβαστη)]. An auxiliary unit in the Roman army, one of whose centurions guarded Paul on his sea voyage from Caesarea to Rome (Acts 27:1). Acts 27:42 mentions that the centurion, named JULIUS, was accompanied by soldiers who shared responsibility for guarding the prisoners; it is reasonable to assume that these soldiers were also members of the Augustan cohort. Most auxiliary cohorts were infantry units nominally composed of 500 or 1,000 troops, roughly the size of a modern army battalion. Josephus, however, refers to auxiliary cohorts which joined Vespasian's army during the Jewish War and contained 1,000 cavalry, or 600 infantry combined with 120 cavalry (*JW* 3.4.2 §67). As an auxiliary unit, it was not composed of Roman citizens, but during and after the reign of Claudius its soldiers were promised citizenship upon completion of their 25 years service (Webster 1985: 142–43; Grant 1974: 56).

The Augustan cohort mentioned in Acts was probably the *Cohors Augusta I,* which was based in the Roman province of Syria during the 1st century C.E. (*ILS,* 2683). The same cohort was probably stationed in Batanea, E of the Sea of Galilee, during the reign of Agrippa II late in the 1st century (Broughton 1933: 443). The Greek term *Sebastē* translates the Latin *Augusta,* which leads some scholars to ask if Luke may have confused this unit with the Sebastenian cohort, a unit recruited in the city of Sebaste (= Samaria). Josephus mentions several Sebastenian cohorts, all of which were stationed in Syria (*Ant* 19.9.2 §365; *JW* 2.4.2 §58). However, the Sebastenian cohort would have been referred to as the *speira Sebastēnōn,* and there is no evidence that Luke did confuse the two cohorts. Many cohorts were granted the title "Augustan" for honorable service (Cheesman 1914: 46–47), and since there is proof the *Cohors Augusta I* did serve in the area near Caesarea during the first century C.E., it seems wisest to assume Luke's reference to the unit is correct. Gealy (*IDB* 1: 317) believes that Luke mentions the cohort by name because it enhances Paul's prestige to be placed in the custody of a unit carrying the Augustan name. This is possible, but Luke nowhere else emphasizes the unit's name, even when mentioning soldiers presumably from that cohort (Acts 27:31–32, 42).

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**AUGUSTUS** (EMPEROR). When he composed his brief history of Rome in A.D. 30, the Roman senator Velleius Paterculus portrayed Augustus as the last and most successful in a series of grand figures who dominated Rome in the course of the 1st century B.C. A little less than a century later, the great historian Cornelius Tacitus took a similar line when he wrote that "neither the domination of Cinna nor that of Sulla lasted long; the power of Pompey and the power of Crassus soon gave way to Caesar, the arms of Antony and Lepidus soon gave way to Augustus, who received the whole state, worn out by civil war, under his command with the title of *princeps*" (*Ann.* 1.1.1). Tacitus' contemporary, the biographer Suetonius, saw Augustus as the second in his series of Romans who gave form to the imperial system of government (the first was Julius Caesar); the anonymous author of some lines preserved in the *Sibylline Oracles* placed Julius first, but noted that Augustus passed on power to a successor (*Orac. Sib.* 5.11–20; 12.12–36). The view inherent in all of these authors was that it was difficult to place a firm date on the foundation of that system of government which modern scholars traditionally describe as the principate and associate with Augustus. Indeed, the Augustan principate arose out of the struggle for power among members of the Roman aristocracy in the course of the 1st century B.C. and was moulded by the political circumstances of Augustus' own rise to power after the assassination of his uncle and adoptive father, Julius Caesar on March 15, 44 B.C. He cannot truly be said to have become dominant until his victory over Mark Antony at Actium in 31 B.C., and it was not until 23 B.C. that he found a formula by which he could govern Rome with some security. For this reason, it is essential to understand the political crisis of the Roman state during his rise to power to understand the way that he modified the political system after his victory.

**A. The Early Years**

Augustus was born on September 19, 63 B.C., the son of Gaius Octavius, a successful politician who was the first member of his family to achieve prominence at Rome, and Atia, the niece of Julius Caesar. Rome was then in chaos because of the severe social disorder within Italy resulting from civil war and changes in the economic structure of the peninsula during the late 2d and early 1st centuries B.C. This disorder was enhanced by the tendency of ambitious aristocratic politicians to exploit social divisions in pursuit of what was then recognized as the proper ambition for any able aristocrat: personal domination over the Roman state.

By the end of 45 B.C. Julius Caesar emerged as the victor in a series of civil wars which began with his invasion of Italy in 49. It was during this time that the young Augustus (still known by his family name, Gaius Octavius) came to his attention. Impressed by his ability, Caesar intended to take him on the campaign against the Persians which he was planning in 44 and included him in his will as his primary heir and adoptive son. It was, in fact, this adoption in Caesar's will which launched the future emperor on his career. The veterans of Caesar's campaigns were devoted to the memory of their general and provided a powerful base of support for the young man when he returned to Rome to take up his inheritance as Gaius Julius Caesar Octavian (it was customary for Romans to take their adoptive father's name while retaining an adjectival form of their own family name as an additional name, or *cognomen*—hence Octavianus or Octavian, as he is commonly known in English). He found the situation extraordinarily complicated, however. There was a substantial group which supported the assassins, led by Brutus and Cassius, and a serious split among Caesar's remaining supporters as to whether Mark Antony should, as he intended to do, assume Caesar's position. There was an equally important group of generals in W Europe who had decided to wait and see which of the other factions prevailed. At first Octavian appeared to be a convenient figurehead for the group opposing Antony, and when the senate declared war on Antony in 43, as nominal third in command, he accompanied the army under the consuls Hirtius and Pansa that was sent against Antony at Mutina, in N Italy. Two battles were fought outside of Mutina in the spring of that year and, although Antony was defeated, both consuls were killed. Octavian was now in command of a powerful independent force.

At the end of the summer, Octavian made an agreement with Antony and the most important general in S France, Marcus Lepidus, to the effect that they would govern the state as *triumvirs* (essentially 3 dictators—before this a single dictator had occasionally been selected during a time of crisis with absolute power over the state) for a term of 5 years and avenge the murder of Caesar. In part to pay their troops and in part to terrify their political enemies, the *triumvirs* immediately issued an edict of proscription. Any man whose name appeared on the lists they published was thereby sentenced to death and his property was confiscated by the state. This action, for which all 3 partners must have borne an equal measure of responsibility, was long remembered as the bloodiest act of political terrorism in Roman history.

Victory over Brutus and Cassius was won in November of 42 at Philippi in N Greece. After the battle, Octavian returned to Italy and Antony took charge of Rome's E provinces. The next few years were difficult ones. In 41, Octavian had to crush a revolt at Perugia led by Antony's brother, and between 38 and 36 he engaged in difficult naval campaigns against Sextus Pompey, who controlled the seas around Italy. It was only with the victory over Sextus, won by Octavian's close friend Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, and the subsequent deposition of Lepidus from the triumvirate that Octavian emerged as the dominant figure in the Roman west. It was also at this time that his relations with Antony, who had married his sister Octavia in 40 to seal a treaty between the 2 men after the war around Perugia, began to break down completely.

Antony was estranged from Octavia in 36 and soon married Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. In 33 relations between him and Octavian reached a crisis point; at the beginning of 32 Octavian led a thinly veiled coup at Rome. He forced the senate to declare war on Antony and assumed overall control with the title of *dux*, a position that was essentially that of dictator. The powers which Octavian, Antony and Lepidus had assumed as *triumvirs* in 43 were renewed for a 5-year term in 37; it was the approaching expiration of the 2nd term of the triumvirate that marked the beginning of the crisis at the end of 33 (see Syme 1939: 202–312). On September 2, 31 B.C., the fleet of Octavian, under Agrippa's command, crushed that of Antony and Cleopatra at Actium off the W coast of modern Greece. In the next year Octavian completed his victory by annexing Egypt to the Roman empire. Antony and Cleopatra committed suicide. To honor the victor for his achievements the senate bestowed the name "Augustus" upon him in carefully managed ceremonies between January 13 and 16, 27 B.C. Henceforth Octavian was known as Imperator Caesar Augustus.

**B. The Government of Augustus**

After his victory, Augustus was faced with administering the empire so as to secure his position and that of his family and to prevent a new outbreak of the chaos of the previous decades. He accomplished this through clever manipulation of the constitution, adroit alliances with leading members of the aristocracy, and skillful selection of commanders for Rome's armies. He also attempted, with less success, to reform what he saw as the moral failings of the Roman state.

The constitutional forms with which Augustus cloaked his autocratic position were many and varied. He felt that these contortions were necessary for a simple reason: There was a long-standing distaste at Rome for the outward forms of monarchy. These smacked of the "degenerate" east or of the tyrant Tarquinius the Proud, the last of Rome's legendary 7 kings, whose expulsion led to the creation of the republican form of government. Moreover, the excessive display of preeminence by one aristocrat was mortally offensive to the sensibilities of others. Caesar's adoption of many of the symbols of monarchy and evident lack of respect for the traditional institutions of government had been the main reason for his assassination.

In the early years Augustus had assumed the powers of a dictator as *triumvir* and then, between 32 and 28, as *dux* or "leader," avoiding the title "dictator" itself because Caesar had adopted it in his later years. In 28 he laid aside these powers and contented himself with one of the two "ordinary" consulships. (These were distinguished from the increasingly common "suffect" consulships because "ordinary" consuls entered office on January 1 and gave their name to the year.) He also became governor of an extended province which included most of the areas in the empire with large garrisons. This state of affairs changed in 23, perhaps because he felt that his constant consulships were offensive to members of the aristocracy who desired the distinction for themselves, and perhaps because he felt that he was strong enough to adopt a new, more powerful position. In that year he laid down the consulship and received the powers of a tribune for life, the proconsulship for life, and the supreme power (*imperium maius*) over all other governors. These powers enabled him to control political life within the city of Rome (as tribune he had the power to bring public business to a halt) and to control Rome's military forces. After receiving these powers and suppressing a conspiracy to murder him, either at the end of 23 or at the beginning of 22, he left Italy to set Rome's eastern frontier in order (Badian 1982; cf. Syme 1986: 387–389). When he returned in 19 he was given the powers of a consul for life and "freedom from the laws." These powers—the consulship, the tribunate of the plebs, and certain other extraordinary powers—served to define the office of *princeps* or emperor for the rest of his reign and for those of his successors.

Augustus' relationship with the aristocracy was summarized by Tacitus as follows: "[T]he most violently opposed had fallen in battle or through proscription, the rest of the nobles, insofar as those who were most readily obedient were raised up with wealth and honor and enhanced with new dignities, preferred the safe present to the dangerous past" (*Ann.* 1.2). The civil wars had had a devastating impact on the governing class of the old Republic; it was indeed true that the majority of those who had not joined Augustus in the course of the wars had been killed. But, even after Actium, Augustus could not depend on the loyalty of the survivors. He carried out revisions of the list of senators, in 29, 18, and 11 B.C. to remove those who he thought were unworthy (or dangerous), and he had a fourth revision carried out by a board of senators in 4 A.D. He also increased the property qualification necessary for entry into the senate and introduced a number of important changes in the way that offices might be held (see Nicolet 1984).

In the course of his reformation of the senate, Augustus concentrated the power of patronage and promotion in his own hands. There were 2 principle features of this control. The first was his power over the provinces in which Rome's main armies were stationed. He therefore had the power to appoint the commanders of these forces; it was virtually impossible for a man of suspect loyalty to obtain one of the military commands that were still cherished by the bellicose members of the aristocracy. The second feature was his virtual control over the electoral process. Tacitus described this as one of the greatest "secrets of power" (*Ann.* 2.36.1). It was very difficult for any man to win office without his approval, and he enhanced this control through the practices of "nomination" and "commendation." For each election, Augustus would publish a list of men whom he supported, or "nominated." These lists would contain

fewer names than there were offices, but inclusion on the list meant that a man was virtually assured of election, thus saving him a great deal of stress and presumably a good deal of expense, since running for office often involved tremendous outlays on public spectacles to court public support. A man who was "commended" as a "candidate of Caesar" would receive the office for which he had been "commended" without having to run for it. This was a very special and coveted honor; by the end of Augustus' reign only 4 men would receive it each year. This put a very real premium on Augustus' goodwill; the senatorial ideology which began to emerge in this period stressed service to the state under the emperor's guidance rather than absolute personal dominance (see Mommsen 1887–88: 917–22; cf. Levick 1967; for general discussion see Millar 1977: 299–313; Talbert 1984: 16–27; Eck 1984: 129–67).

The importance of the emperor's guidance was also stressed through Augustus' constant consultations with the senate. It appears that he brought almost all public business before that body. Indeed, there does not seem to have been any important act of state for which Augustus did not seek senatorial approval. Where our sources tell us that Augustus "did" something, their language is masking the process which involved Augustus either making a personal appearance before the senate to make a proposal or writing to the senate asking it to adopt the course that he desired. He may have adopted this approach to cloak the autocratic nature of his regime, but the result was to promote the extreme subservience of the senate to the autocrat. Senators appear not to have been sure why they were consulted on issues ranging from the recognition of an imperial heir to the composition of provincial juries and thus strove all the more to please the emperor whenever he expressed a desire to hear their views—there was no point to risking one's career by crossing the emperor on such occasions. We hear of very few occasions when a debate in the senate in which the issues were not overshadowed by the desire of the speakers to please the monarch or even to anticipate his desires (see Brunt 1984).

The other great problem that Augustus inherited from the Republic was the poverty and unrest rampant among the Italian lower classes. One solution was simply to ensure peace, and this he was able to do after Actium. Another was to change the periodic redistribution of agrarian land to the rural and urban poor and the settlement of veterans on farms in Italy. He did this in the years after Actium by initiating an extensive program of overseas colonization. Such colonization had been attempted from time to time under the Republic and had been a major feature of Julius Caesar's program just before his death, but nothing had been attempted on anything like the scale which Augustus introduced. A great number of new colonies were founded abroad, and they had the effect not only of alleviating problems in Italy and serving as garrisons in newly pacified areas, but also of speeding the spread of Latin culture throughout W Europe as well as into the east. This was one of Augustus' most significant actions (Salmon 1969: 134–44; Brunt 1972: 589–601).

Within the city of Rome itself, Augustus introduced a more regular supply of subsidized grain for the poor and sought to keep better order through the institution of the *vigiles*, Rome's first professional police force and fire department. He engaged in a massive building program which served to beautify the city and celebrate the glory of his achievements. He issued regular distributions of food and money at festivals and to commemorate important moments in his reign. In doing so he not only alleviated the suffering of the poor, but he also bound the lower classes to his house. Preferential treatment of the population of Rome was thus established as one of the foundations of imperial government (Veyne 1976: 557–791; Rickman 1980: 61–66).

Augustus not only sought to refashion the political structure of the Roman state, but also to restore what he thought was Rome's "pristine moral virtue." In 18 B.C. he issued laws that encouraged the upper classes to have more children by giving preferential treatment to fathers of more than 3 offspring and imposing severe penalties upon the childless. He also issued a severe law aimed at curbing adultery. Later in his reign he took strong action to ensure the "racial purity" of the Roman people by limiting the number of slaves that an individual could free and restricting their access to Roman citizenship. He granted new privileges to senatorial and equestrian families, but he also imposed severe penalties upon members of those families who married slaves or engaged in what he regarded as disgraceful professions, such as acting or fighting as gladiators (Last *CAH* 10:425–64; Brunt 1972: 558–66; Levick 1983: 105–15).

The reign of Augustus was also notable as the golden age of Latin literature. Although Augustus himself can take little or no credit for the development of poets such as Vergil, Propertius, Tibullus, and Horace—all of them began writing well before Actium—he did have an active interest in the arts. Vergil's *Aeneid* and Livy's massive history of Rome created images of Rome's past which Augustus found congenial, even though neither, especially Vergil's, can be considered wholly favorable. With the passing of time, however, his attitude towards literature began to harden. His later years were notable for the exile of the one great talent his reign produced, the poet Ovid, whose work Augustus found offensive (Syme 1978: 169–229; Griffin 1984: 189–215).

There were also a number of developments in the overall governance of the empire and its relations with foreign peoples. One of these was the creation of a regular standing army in place of the republican armies which were raised for specific campaigns. This new army engaged in a number of important campaigns carried out by Augustus' lieutenants, often under the overall command of members of his family. The main areas of operation were Germany and the Balkans. Although there were some setbacks—the most important of which was the destruction of 3 legions by the Germans in 9 A.D.—the empire gained much new territory and began to develop fixed frontiers. There is still debate as to whether this was Augustus' intention in beginning these wars; some have argued that he hoped to conquer the world and was only deterred from this aim by problems at the end of his reign. But it is certainly the case that the frontiers developing along the Rhine and Danube at the time of Augustus' death were readily defensible and were to remain, with very few changes, the limits of Roman power down to the fall of the W empire in the 4th century. The administration of the provinces themselves became somewhat more efficient than it had been under the Republic (Syme *CAH* 10:340–81; Brunt 1963: 170–76; Wells 1972). Augustus was able to exercise some restraint over the rapacity of his officials. In addition, he began to create a new bureaucracy, staffed by freedmen and slaves from his own household as well as by members of the equestrian order, to oversee the administration of the grain supply, of certain minor provinces, of his own enormous estates throughout the empire, and of the significant contribution which he made to the finances of the state from his own funds.

**C. The Succession**

One of Augustus' primary aims was to ensure that the heir to his "station" in the state, as he called it, would be a member of his own family. As he had no sons and only one daughter, Julia, he had to rely upon nephews, stepchildren, and grandchildren to satisfy his ambition. The first heir-apparent was Augustus' nephew, Marcus Claudius Marcellus who married Julia in 25 B.C. He died in 23, and Augustus then turned to his old friend, Marcus Agrippa. Agrippa married Julia, by whom he had a number of children before his own death in 12 B.C. At the same time that Agrippa was marked out for succession, Augustus also promoted his two stepsons, Drusus and Tiberius, an insurance policy against the death of Agrippa. Tiberius, the elder of the two, was the favorite at this time, and after Agrippa's death he married Julia.

Drusus died in 9 B.C. and, as further insurance, Augustus began to promote the careers of two of his grandsons by Agrippa, Gaius and Lucius. This seems to have caused some friction with Tiberius and in 6 B.C. Tiberius retired from public life to live on the island of Rhodes, much against Augustus' will. His retirement soon became little better than an exile, and a dynastic crisis ensued. Gaius and Lucius were too young to succeed, and as Augustus passed the age of 60, it seemed that he might soon die. Julia, who appears to have detested Tiberius, began to conspire with Augustus' nephew Iullus Antonius (the son of Antony and Octavia). This conspiracy was uncovered in 2 B.C.; Iullus was executed and Julia was exiled on the charge of adultery with a number of members of the nobility (Syme 1974: 912–36).

Augustus' hopes for Gaius and Lucius soon foundered. Lucius died of disease at Marseilles in 2 A.D. and two years later Gaius died as the result of a wound he received while on campaign in the east. Tiberius was recalled and formally adopted by Augustus as his heir. At the same time Augustus also adopted his last surviving grandson, Agrippa Postumus—yet another insurance policy. Agrippa Postumus soon proved inadequate (there is some suggestion that he was insane) and was exiled to an estate outside Rome in 6 A.D.; in 7 he was sent into exile on an island. A year later, after yet another domestic scandal,

Augustus' granddaughter, the younger Julia, was also exiled. In 13 Tiberius was granted the same powers as Augustus, and when Augustus died on August 19, A.D. 14, Tiberius assumed the sole government of the Roman empire. This succession, without civil war, was Augustus' final political achievement.

Augustus was a brutal and difficult man, given at times to severe delusions, and feared or disliked by those who knew him best. Nonetheless, he proved to be a master politician and administrator and, as a result, his reign marks the great watershed in Roman history. He managed to create a system of government that maintained the unity and peace of the Mediterranean world for centuries to come.

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D. S. POTTER

**AURANUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Auranos* (Αὐρανος)]. Commander of a temple guard (2 Macc 4:40). After reports circulated that Lysimacchus had stolen gold vessels from the temple and that crowds were forming into a mob, Lysimacchus armed 3,000 men and placed them under the command of Auranus. The attack on the crowd failed, and Lysimacchus himself was killed near the temple treasury as divine retribution (2 Macc 4:39–42). The description of Auranus as "advanced in both age and folly" contrasts with that of the martyr Eleazar, who was "advanced both in age and noble presence/appearance" (2 Macc 6:18). Goldstein heightens the contrast by suggesting that *auranos* is a variant form of *auaran*, the nickname of Eleazar, son of Mattathias (1 Macc 2:5; 6:43). A pious Eleazar (2 Macc 6:18–31) would be contrasted with the impious Hasmonaean Eleazar (Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 242). However, the tentative nature of this identification and the closer contrasts between the martyr Eleazar and Mattathias (Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 282–86) speak against Auranus being associated with Eleazar, son of Mattathias. Further, the omission of the account of Eleazar's noble death (1 Macc 6:40–47) does not automatically suggest that the author of 2 Maccabees would seek a negative episode as a substitution (Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 79–80).

RUSSELL D. NELSON

**AURELIUS, MARCUS.** See MARCUS AURELIUS (EMPEROR).

**AUTHOR OF LIFE** [Gk *archēgos zōēs* (ἀρχηγος ζωης)]. In this expression (Acts 3:15), the word "author" is the rendering of *archēgos* in some English versions (RSV, ASV [margin], NAB, NIV). In 2

other contexts, the word is also rendered "author" in some versions: "author (of salvation)" in Heb 2:10 (ASV, NASB, NIV), and the "author (of our faith)" in Heb 12:2 (KJV, ASV, NASB, NIV). The basic sense here is that of originator or founder (Delling *TDNT* 1:487–88).

Other renderings in these 3 passages and in Acts 5:31, reveal another line of interpretation of the term *archēgos:* as "leader," "pioneer," "captain," and "prince" (Müller, *EWNT* 1: col. 393). For Acts 3:15, examples of this alternative interpretation are evident in such translations as "him who led the way (to life)" (NEB); "the one who leads (to life)" (GNB); and, with less clarity, "the prince (of life)" (KJV, ASV, NASB, JB).

These 4 passages (listed above) constitute all the NT occurrences of the word *archēgos,* and in all of them the reference is to Jesus Christ. By this title he is recognized as the eschatological leader who, by way of the cross and resurrection, leads his followers to faith, salvation, and life, as Moses led God's people in the Exodus (cf. Acts 7:36). This understanding of NT *archēgos* as "leader" is probably preferable to understanding it as "originator" on the basis of Greek and Hellenistic sources.

HERBERT G. GRETHER

**AUTHORITATIVE TEACHING** (NHC VI,*3*). The 3d tractate of codex VI (pp. 22–35) of the Nag Hammadi codices. The text, a Coptic translation from a Gk original, is well preserved except for lacunas at the top of the first 7 pages (MacRae 1979: 258). The Coptic dialect is Sahidic with some non-Sahidic variations (Krause and Labib 1971: 44–47).

*Auth. Teach.* offers a highly metaphorical account of the soul's existence from its origin in "the invisible, ineffable worlds," through its encapsulation in a physical body and struggle with the forces of the material realm, to its ultimate salvation and rest. Seams in the narrative structure of the text and changes in person suggest that the present version is dependent upon a collection of originally separate metaphorical accounts (MacRae 1979: 257). In its present form, *Auth. Teach.* is a didactic composition perhaps used as a homily (Ménard 1977: 2; 1978: 288). It belongs to the genre of literature on the soul first identified by Festugière in connection with the Hermetic corpus. Other Nag Hammadi tractates concerned with the soul include *The Exegesis on the Soul* (NHC II,*6*), *The Teachings of Sylvanus* (NHC VII,*4*) and *The Book of Thomas the Contender* (NHC II,*7*) (MacRae 1972: 478–79; Funk 1973: 254).

The anticosmic stance of the *Auth. Teach.* is clear throughout the text. The spiritual soul is described as cast into a body that came from lust, which in turn came from material substance. The material body is the creation of the "dealers-in-bodies," who seek to strike down the invisible soul. The soul is portrayed as a harlot who fell into bestiality, as wheat mixed with chaff. In the body, the soul contests against the wiles of the evil adversaries, who spread hidden nets in order to snare her and draw her down to "man-eaters." An extended metaphor portrays the adversary as a fisherman who baits a hook with various kinds of food (passions). The food is the ruse which draws the soul to the hook by which it is caught and pulled out of freedom into slavery. But the rational soul seeks God and gains salvation and rest through knowledge. She is aided in her quest by her bridegroom, who "applies the word (logos) to her eyes as a medicine to enable her to see with her mind" (22,26–28).

*Auth. Teach.* offers an important witness to the interest in and speculation on the nature, origin, and fate of the soul in the religious and philosophical cauldron from which Christianity emerged. The language of the text is non-philosophical (MacRae 1972: 477; Ménard 1977: 3), although its understanding of the soul is thoroughly Platonic (van den Broek 1979). The surviving text contains no clear evidence of a typical gnostic cosmogonic myth (MacRae 1979: 259; Funk 1973: 253), but the strong anticosmic dualism, the dichotomy between ignorance and knowledge, and the various metaphors of salvation (e.g., bridal-chamber and rest) would certainly be at home in a gnostic context (Funk 1973: 254; Ménard 1977: 5–6). While no passage in the tractate betrays certain dependence on Jewish or Christian texts, practices or beliefs (MacRae 1972: 476; 1979: 258–59), various passages do suggest that the author knew the NT and considered it authoritative (Funk 1973: 254; van den Broek 1979: 271–76). The use of the term *logos* in the title, *Authentikos logos,* has no relation to the Johannine use of the term as a title for Christ. It is more

closely related to the use of the term in Hermetic literature and/or the role of the *logos* as medicine found in the text itself (MacRae 1972: 476–78; 1979: 257; Ménard 1977: 3–4).

The document supplies no certain internal evidence of provenance or date. Its use of a logos concept, its strong anticosmic stance, and its Platonic doctrine of the soul would be at home in Alexandria by the end of the 2d century C.E. (van den Broek 1979: 281–82).

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JAMES E. GOEHRING

**AUTHORITIES, CITY.** See CITY AUTHORITIES.

**AUTHORITY OF SCRIPTURE.** See SCRIPTURAL AUTHORITY.

**AUTHORIZED VERSIONS.** See VERSIONS, ENGLISH (AUTHORIZED VERSIONS).

**AVARAN** (PERSON) [Gk *Auaran* (Αὐαραν)]. Nickname of Eleazar, the 4th son of Mattathias (1 Macc 2:5). His well-known heroic deed was the killing of an elephant at the battle of Beth-zechariah (1 Macc 6:46). There also his nickname is mentioned (1 Macc 6:43). Several suggestions have been proposed for the meaning of Avaran, but none are convincing. Two Hebrew roots are possible: (1) *ʿwr* = "Awake" (i.e., he was not a soundly sleeping baby?); and (2) *ḥwr* = "pale (face)." The suggestion of *ḥwr* as a root may be combined with the feat of killing the elephant which suggests the meaning of "hole" for *ḥor.* However, this assumes a different function of all the nicknames of Mattathias' sons, which does not fit their intention and assumed meanings. For the nicknames of Mattathias' sons see GADDI and MACCABEE. (See also ELEAZAR.)

URIEL RAPPAPORT

**AVEN** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾāwen* (אָוֶן)]. A Hebrew word meaning "idolatry," "iniquity," or "nothingness" used by the OT prophets as a derogatory substitute or wordplay in certain place names. Since the Hebrew words *ʾôn* ("power" or "riches") and *ʾāwen* have identical consonants, Aven may be a derisive pun.

**1.** A place mentioned in the phrase "the high places of Aven" (Hos 10:8). "Aven" has traditionally been understood as an abbreviation of Beth-aven ("House of Idolatry"), Hosea's pejorative name for Bethel ("House of God"). See BETH-AVEN. However, several modern scholars prefer to translate *ʾāwen* as a common noun, i.e., "the high places of transgression" (Mays *Hosea* OTL, 138; Wolff *Hosea* Hermeneia, 171).

**2.** A valley cited in Amos' denunciation of Syria (Amos 1:5). "The Valley of Aven" may be the plain between Lebanon and Anti-lebanon. Several scholars have attempted to identify Aven more precisely with "Baalbek" (Eissfeldt 1936; Mays *Hosea* OTL, 30–31).

**3.** A derisive wordplay or misvocalization of the name of the Egyptian city "On" (Heb *ʾôn*) found in the MT (Ezek 30:17). The LXX has *hēliou poleōs* (Heliopolis), the Gk name for On. KJV follows MT with "Aven," while the RSV and NEB render "On." See also ON.

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CAROLYN J. PRESSLER

**AVENGER OF BLOOD.** See BLOOD, AVENGER OF.

**AVESTAN LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (ANCIENT IRAN).

**AVITH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿăwît* (עֲוִית)]. The residence of the Edomite "king" Hadad son of Bedad (Gen 36:35; 1 Chr 1:46). See HADAD (PERSON). According to the rules of postexilic Heb and Aram orthography, *ʿwyt* may render Ar *Ghuwaith,* attested as a personal name in Safaitic, S Safaitic, Minaean, and Qatabanian (Harding 1971: 459). *Ghuwaith* is the diminutive of Ghauth, which occurs in Safaitic over 150 times (Harding 1971: 452; note that the vocalizations of the two Safaitic names here differ from those of Harding), and in the Aramaic (Idumaean) ostraca from Tell es-Sebaʿ, ca. 400 B.C. (Knauf 1985: 250, n. 28). Knauf (*ibid*) suggested that *Ghuwaith was the clan or tribe to which Hadad son of Bedad belonged, and that Avith was the more or less permanent encampment of this clan or tribe.

According to Burckhardt (1822: 375), the mountain range which terminates the Moabite plateau to the E was called el-Ghuwaithah. This information is not corroborated by later explorers (cf. A. Musil in Brünnow and Domaszewski 1905: 325). Burckhardt's reference is insufficient evidence to speculate about a Moabite origin for the Edomite "king" Hadad son of Bedad, or to suggest a localization for Avith.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**AVOT, KHIRBET** (M.R. 193276). A site which occupies a small rise on a large hill at the head of Naḥal Avivim, a winding ravine which drains into the Huleh Valley basin to the E. Two short emergency seasons of exploratory excavations were undertaken on one of a series of broad terraces on the W slope of the hillock.

The region is mountainous and well-watered, but with few perennial springs. Adjacent to the site is a seasonal water supply which collects in a natural basalt pool at the SE edge of the hill. It is difficult to establish the economic basis for the early settlements on the site, but it seems likely, despite the rugged nature of the terrain and the somewhat harsh winters, that it was primarily agricultural. A tedious but not impossible journey across the ravine leads to the large expanse of the Yiron plateau, still used for pasturing animals, and the lower slopes of the larger hill on which the site lies still bear traces of agricultural terracing.

The earliest evidence of occupation was found in several places above the basalt bedrock and included fragments of a curvilinear wall and related floor on which were found partial vessels belonging to the EB I or EB II horizon. In two other soundings evidence of human interments, including an infant jar-burial, were accompanied by MB pottery, although nothing of a settlement dating to this period was found.

Major architectural remains of the Iron Age I were uncovered which included a number of successive and distinct building phases. No complete plans of buildings were recovered but the buildings seem to have been large, rectangular, multiroomed dwellings, some with plastered floors and adjacent stone-lined storage pits. The buildings were solidly built of heavy stone foundations, and the sophistication of some of the construction techniques is attested by the discovery of one semisubterranean storage room, the lower floor of what must have been a two-story structure. The plan of these buildings, which seems to

follow the contours of the hill, suggests that they may have been built adjacent to each other to create a barrier to the outside.

The Iron I occupation at Kh. Avot could be evidence of the historical process of Naphtali's settlement in the Upper Galilee (cf. Josh 19:32–39). However, on the basis of the archaeological record, there are some real objections to the identification of this site as Israelite.

A distinctive type of pithos at one time identified as a hallmark of Israelite presence (Aharoni 1957) is found at Kh. Avot in quantity and is known from numerous other sites in the region as well as at Stratum XII at Hazor (Yadin et al. 1961: Pl. CLXVII, CLXVIII). Recent excavations of a Canaanite-Phoenician town in W Galilee, TELL KEISAN, have uncovered this same type of vessel (Briend and Humbert 1980: Pl. 68:1–3) making its ethnic identity less viable.

A 2d type of pithos found at Kh. Avot is even more problematic because of what is presently known of its distribution and also what appears to be its foreign pedigree. With its stump base, globular body, tubular neck, and raised wavy-line decoration (see Fig. AVO.01), it is totally alien to local ceramic traditional forms and is suggestive of Cypriot forms which can be traced back to at least the 3d millennium B.C.E. Examples of these vessels have been found at the Upper Galilean sites of Sasa, Mt. Adir, Tel Dan V, possibly at Hazor XII (Yadin et al. 1961: Pl. CCII:19), and at the Phoenician coastal city of Tyre (Bikai 1978: Pl. XL) in level XIII; they are dated to the Iron I Period. Despite its Tyrian provenance it does not seem to be a Phoenician type nor could the pottery of Kh. Avot be considered Phoenician.

To what extent these 2 types of pithoi may reflect the ethnic identity of the inhabitants of Kh. Avot is unclear. What seems certain is that there are N and other foreign elements in the material culture of this Iron I occupation which make its identification with an Israelite tribal settlement problematic.

A further obstacle to the "Israelite" identification is the well developed architectural styles at Kh. Avot which are in direct contrast to the squatter occupation of Hazor XII, identified with Israelite tribes (Yadin 1972: 129). While the ceramic repertoires of these two occupations are comparable, sharing many elements, the contrast in the life styles as implied by the architecture or lack of it can not be easily explained. To what, if any extent the Iron I occupation at Kh. Avot reflects the biblical account of the settlement of Naphtali must remain a matter of conjecture.

Directly above some of the walls of the Iron I stratum were found the very poorly preserved remains of a large, multi-roomed structure of the Persian period. Associated pottery suggests a date somewhere in the 4th century B.C.E.

A number of intrusive burials into this stratum and the earlier strata were encountered over large portions of the terrace that were excavated. The style of these burials, the lack of accompanying grave goods, the state of preservation of the bones, and the anthropological data all indicate a Bedouin population of at least several centuries. Excavations have not been conducted on other parts of the now-protected site, and it is unlikely that the entire occupational sequence of the settlement is known.

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ELIOT BRAUN

**AVVA** (PLACE) [Heb ‹*awwā*› (עַוָּא)]. AVVITES. A town whose residents were deported by the Assyrians and resettled in Samaria sometime after 721 B.C. (2 Kgs 17:24). A number of mss spell the name ‹*awwâ* (final *he*). Simons (*GTTOT,* 111) proposed identifying Avva with ‹Avvah/‹Ivvah in Syria (modern Tell Kafr‹aya, on the Orontes SW of Homs). However, because the biblical text notes that the people of Avva "made Nibhaz and Tartak" after their resettlement (1 Kgs 17:31), others have suggested that these people were Elamites deported from the city of Ama (Akk *m* is often rendered *w* in Heb) who

were successful in reestablishing in Samaria the cults of their native deities Ibnahaza and Dirtaq (Cogan and Tadmor, *2 Kings* AB, 212).
GARY A. HERION

**AVVIM** (PLACE) [Heb *hā‹awîm* (הָעַוִּים)]. **1.** A "place" listed in the 1st city list of the tribe of Benjamin (Josh 18:23) between Bethel and Parah (modern Kh. Abu Musarrah, M.R. 177137). There is general agreement among scholars that Avvim actually represents not a geographical name but a gentilic (*Joshua* AB, 430). Thus, the Avvim were probably the people of either Ai (*HGB,* 401) or Aiath (modern Kh. Haiyân, M.R. 175145; Press 1955: 687).

**2.** The early inhabitants of the S coastal region who were displaced from some of their holdings by the people of Caphtor (Deut 2:23), and who continued to live S of the Philistines in the time of the conquest (Josh 13:3). While some consider these people to be the autochthonous inhabitants of the S frontier region (*LBHG,* 237), the LXX rendering of these people (Gk *Euaioi*) is that also used for "Hivites." This may indicate that one must look to earlier Sea Peoples for their origins (*Joshua* AB, 338). The text in Deuteronomy indicates that the Avvim dwelt in villages (*baḥăṣērîm*) as far as Gaza. The LXX, however, translates this *en asērōth* (or *en Asērōth*). It is therefore possible that these people occupied the land from Hazoroth (Num 11:35; modern Ar ‹Ain Khaḍrā, M.R. 096814) deep in the Sinai to the S coast of Palestine near Gaza. It is more common, however, to translate the place where the Avvim dwelt as "villages" or "enclosures." Speiser (1932: 30–31, n. 67) connected these *ḥăṣērîm* with the terra pisée ramparts that were discovered at Tell el-Far‹ah and Tell el-›Ajjûl in the Negeb. Following Albright (1932: 8), he identified these ramparts with a Hyksos occupation and concluded that the Avvim were part of this Hyksos settlement that was succeeded by the Aegeans. Simons (*GTTOT,* 31) argued that because *ḥăṣērîm* were either small unwalled villages of secondary importance or encampments for nomadic or seminomadic people, they could not be connected with the major fortified cities that were situated on these tells. The Avvim reappear in Josh 13:3 as a S neighbor to the 5 cities of the Philistines (*LBHG,* 237). They probably occupied the land between the Philistines and the Egyptians (*GTTOT,* 111).

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**AVVITES.** See AVVA (PLACE).

‹**AYIN.** The 16th letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

**AYYAH** (PLACE) [Heb ‹*ayyâ* (עַיָּה)]. In 1 Chr 7:20–30, we find a description of the tribe of Ephraim. Their possessions (vv 28–29) included Bethel, Naaran, Gezer, Shechem, Ayyah, Beth-shean, Taanach, Megiddo, and Dor. The traditional tribal allotments include Shechem and the last 4 sites in Cis-Jordanian Manasseh.

For 1 Chr 7:28 several ms traditions (some LXX examplars, Vg, and Targum) support a reading ‹*zh* (Gaza) for MT ‹*yh* (‹Ayyah). If the former reading is correct it would not be the Philistine Gaza, but another site in the hill country (as the context of 1 Chr 7:20–30 demands). The variant name was most probably the result of a confusion between the letter *z* and *y* in the square Jewish script (see Cross 1961: 133–202; Freedman, Mathews, and Hanson 1985: 15–23).

In regard to the identification of Ayyah, Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 51) states that the site is unknown. Reed (*IDB* 1: 324), however, suggests equating Ayya with Ai or the nearby Khirbet Haiyan (M.R. 175145). Albright (1924: 144) rejects the equation of Ayyah with Ai, favoring the alternate reading Gaza.

Simons (*GTTOT,* 169; NWBD, 79) proposes Turmus ‹ajja (M.R. 177160) as probably Ayyah. It is located in a small fertile plain E of Sinjil between Sinjil and Seilun (Shiloh). Abel (*GP,* 257) notes it was called Turbasaim in the Middle Ages.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**AZAEL** (PERSON) [Gk *Azaēlos* (Ἀζαηλος)]. A descendant of Ezora who divorced his foreign wife during Ezra's reform (1 Esdr 9:34). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra, Azael does not appear among the list of names in Ezra 10. Omissions such as this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra. Furthermore, problems associated with dating events and identifying persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**AZALIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăṣalyāhû* (אֲצַלְיָהוּ)]. The son of Meshullam and the father of the secretary Shaphan (2 Kgs 22:3). Azaliah's son Shaphan was the state secretary who figured prominently in connection with the discovery and publication of the celebrated book of the law during the reign of King Josiah. "Azaliah" is a verbal sentence-name formed with the perfect conjugation followed by a noun—a type of construction occurring frequently throughout the monarchy. Noth (*IPN,* 193–94) is inclined to link *ʾṣlyh* (i.e., Azaliah) with the Ar *aṣula,* "to be firmly rooted; to be noble," as well as with the Heb *ʾṣyl* (= Ar *aṣîl*), "noble," of Exod 24:11 and to translate the name as "Yahweh has shown himself to be noble." An alternative etymology would produce "Yahweh has set aside." Located in *BMAP* line 44 of papyrus 7 (a Jewish document; pp. 206–7, 222), a possible short form of Azaliah appears in the personal name *ʾṣwl,* father of one of the Jewish witnesses.

EDWIN C. HOSTETTER

**AZANIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾăzanyâ* (אֲזַנְיָה)]. A Levite and the father of Jeshua, who was a signatory to the code of Nehemiah (Neh 10:10—Eng10:9). The name is most likely a shortened form of *ʾăzanyāhû* which means "Yahweh has heard" (Fowler 1988: 156, 335).

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**AZAREL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿăzarʾel* (עֲזַרְאֵל)]. Var. UZZIEL. A few Heb mss vocalize the name as "Azriel" [Heb *ʿazrîʾēl*]. mss exhibit a wide range of variations on the name [*azarael, azaria, ezerel, ezriel, eliel, esdriel, esriel, oz (e)iel, oziel, ozr (e)iel,* and *ozriel*]. The KJV renders the name as Azareel with one exception: Azarael (Neh 12:36). Interestingly, the NEB has both Azareel (1 Chr 12:6; 25:4; 27:22; Ezra 10:41) and Azarel (Neh 11:13; 12:36). The AB upholds the RSV in its consistent use of the name Azarel in the 6 relevant passages below.

1. One of the men supportive of David during his "outlaw" period (1 Chr 12:7—Eng12:6). His name occurs in a list of 23 bowmen, archers, and stone-slingers who joined David at Ziklag. If the men were all Benjaminites (1 Chr 12:2), the reference to "Korahites" [Heb *haqqorḥîm*] in 1 Chr 12:7—Eng12:6 is strange. This might suggest that these Korahite Levites were once resident in the territory of Benjamin, but the greater probability is that the Korahites here have nothing to do with the Levitical Korah, nor even with the Calebite Korah mentioned in 1 Chr 2:43 (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 96). Although there can be no certainty, the word may refer to an unattested place in Benjamin or even a place in Judah where these Benjaminites had been living (see Aharoni and Avi-Yonah *MBA,* maps 93–94 and 113). The Chronicler's point in the context (1 Chr 12:1–8—Eng12:1–7) was to emphasize the loyalty which came to David from outside Judah, from Benjamin, King Saul's own tribe.

2. A Levite, a son of Heman, one of the persons set apart for the service of music and song in the time of David (1 Chr 25:18). He is called Uzziel [Heb *ʿuzzîʾēl*] in 1 Chr 25:4. The Chronicler reports, somewhat artificially, how each of Heman's 14 sons was assigned by lot a priestly course of temple

musicianship; this Azarel is associated with the so-called 11th course out of a grand total of 24 courses, each with 12 members (1 Chr 25:4, 8–31).

3. A Danite, the son of Jeroham [Heb *yĕrōhām;* LXX *iōram*] (1 Chr 27:22). His name occurs in a list of military and civil administrators in the time of David. The list constitutes an attempt by the Chronicler to show the tribal inclusiveness of David's "Israel" (1 Chr 27:16–22; Coggins *1 and 2 Chronicles* CBC, 134).

4. A Levitical priest, the son of Ahzai and father of Amashsai, descended from Immer (Neh 11:13). Amashsai, his son, was representative of one of the Levitical families serving in the restored Jerusalem temple in the days of Nehemiah. His correspondent in the synoptic parallel, 1 Chr 9:12, seems to be Adiel [Heb *ʿadîʾel*], father of Maasai (= Amashsai?), likewise a descendant of Immer.

5. Son of a priest, a musician who participated in the procession for the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah (Neh 12:36).

6. One of the sons of Binnui (RSV), and a contemporary of Ezra (Ezra 10:10, 38, 41). He is included in a list of persons who married foreign women and were induced by Ezra to divorce them along with their children. On the text adopted by the RSV in Ezra 10:38, see the discussion under AMARIAH 10. The parallel, 1 Esdr 9:34, speaks of Azarel [ *ezril*] as a son of Ezora [ *ezōra*]. See further Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC.

ROGER W. UITTI

**AZARIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿăzaryâ* (עֲזַרְיָה), *ʿăzaryāhû* (עֲזַרְיָהוּ)]. Azariah is a personal name (meaning "Yahweh has helped") given to a number of individuals in the books of the Heb Bible and the LXX. Identification of some of the individuals remains tentative because of differences between parallel genealogical texts, differences between the MT and the versions, and questions about the intended function of the genealogical material in the various books.

1. Azariah (1 Kgs 4:2) is listed first in the register of King Solomon's officials. Since his title is given as *hakkōhēn* "the priest"—in contrast to the titles of Zadok and Abiathar (1 Kgs 4:4) who are identified as priests [Heb *kō-hănîm*] or Zabud (1 Kgs 4:5) who is called a "priest and king's friend" [Heb *kōhēn rēʿeh hammelek*]—it is likely that he was the high priest responsible to the king for the supervision of the priests and cult of the Jerusalem temple. Here Azariah is called "son of Zadok"; however, the references to "Azariah son of Johanan" in 1 Chr 5:36–37—Eng6:10–11 and to an ancestor of Ezra in Ezra 7:3 and 2 Esdr 1:2 ("Azariah son of Meraioth") may refer to the same person. The genealogies given for this family differ (see Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 84; Myers *1–2 Esdras* AB, 154), and are probably intended to be only partial (indicating membership in the family of the high priests) rather than complete for the family.

2. Azariah son of Nathan (1 Kgs 4:5) is identified as the official in King Solomon's administration who supervised the 12 officers responsible for securing provisions for the palace. Commentators generally emend the MT of 1 Kgs 4:7–19b; however, since 12 individuals are named in the MT, the "one officer" in 1 Kgs 4:19b could be understood to refer to Azariah and show that the officials listed in 1 Kgs 4:8b–19a were his subordinates.

3. Azariah son of Amaziah and Jecoliah was made king of Judah at the age of 16 following the assassination of Amaziah (2 Kgs 14:19–22; 15:1–2; 1 Chr 3:11; 2 Chr 26:1). 2 Chr 26:7a involves a play on the name Azariah, although the king is called Uzziah [Heb *ʿuzîyāh, ʿuzîyāhû* (sic codex Leningradensis); *ʿuzzîyāh, ʿuzzîyāhû*] in 2 Chronicles and elsewhere (see 2 Kgs 15:13, 30, 32, 34; 2 Chr 26:1–23; 27:2; Isa 1:1; 6:1; and others). Some scholars hold with Myers (*Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 149) that Azariah was the king's personal name and Uzziah was adopted as a throne name. Others (Williamson *1–2 Chronicles* NCBC, 333–34; Cogan and Tadmor *2 Kings* AB, 165–66) note that the roots *ʿzr* and *ʿzz* are semantically similar and treat Azariah and Uzziah as variants of one name. His achievements included the restoration of Elath to Judah (1 Kgs 14:22). He is credited with a reign of 52 years during which he did "what was right in the eyes of Yahweh" (2 Kgs 15:2–3; 2 Chr 26:3–4). Scholars usually assume that Azariah was put on the throne of Judah when his father was captured by Jehoash, king of Israel; however, chronological reconstructions vary. Both 2 Kings and 2 Chronicles report that Yahweh smote Azariah

with leprosy. In 2 Kings the report follows the statement that the high places were not destroyed and the people continued to sacrifice and burn incense at the high places (2 Kgs 15:4–5). 2 Chronicles reports that he entered the temple to burn incense and became angry when the chief priest [Heb *kōhēn hārōʾš*], also named Azariah, and a company of 90 priests challenged him. When he became angry with the priests, a skin disease ("leprosy") broke out on his forehead (2 Chr 26:16–21). His affliction forced him to turn over much of the administration of both the palace and the people of the land to his son Jotham.

4. Azariah son of Ethan (1 Chr 2:8) is identified as a grandson of Zerah and great grandson of Judah.

5. Azariah son of Jehu (1 Chr 2:38–39) is mentioned among the descendants of Judah in 1 Chr 2:3–4:24. He is identified as the father of Helez.

6. Azariah son of Ahimaaz (1 Chr 5:35—Eng6:9) was a Levite, a descendant of such important priestly figures as Kohath, Aaron, Phinehas, and Zadok; according to the Chronicler, he was the grandfather of the Azariah (see 1. above) who served as priest in the temple of Solomon.

7. Azariah son of Hilkiah (1 Chr 5:39—Eng6:13) is identified as a Levite and a descendant of the same family as Azariah son of Ahimaaz (6. above) and Azariah (1. above). He was the father of Seraiah and an ancestor of Ezra (Ezra 7:1; 1 Esdr 8:1; 2 Esdr 1:1).

8. Azariah son of Zephaniah (1 Chr 6:21—Eng6:36) is identified as a Levite, a descendant of Kohath through Izhar and an ancestor of Heman the singer. Heman and Asaph were appointed by David to be in charge of the service of song for "the tabernacle of the tent of meeting" and later for the temple of Solomon (1 Chr 6:16–17—Eng6:31–32).

9. Azariah son of Hilkiah (1 Chr 9:11) is identified as one of the priests who returned from the exile to live in Jerusalem. Azariah's name stands out from those of the priests listed in 1 Chr 9:10 because his pedigree is given. Some of the names of Azariah's forebearers are reminiscent of the names of the forebearers of Azariah son of Hilkiah (see 7. above). The title "chief officer of the house of God" [*nĕgîd bêt hāʾĕlōhîm*] properly belongs to Azariah and not to Ahitub, the last name in Azariah's pedigree. Thus Azariah should be understood to be another important figure from the family that included other priests named Azariah (1., 6., and 7. above).

10. Azariah son of Oded (2 Chr 15:1), with the spirit of God upon him, went out to meet King Asa as the king was returning to Jerusalem from a successful campaign against an army of Ethiopians commanded by Zerah and against the cities around Gerar. His message (2 Chr 15:2a–7), directed to the king and the people, stressed that God would be with them when they were with God, and that if they would seek God they would be allowed to find God. Azariah warned them, however, that should they forsake God, God would forsake them. He used an example drawn from the history of Israel to illustrate his point (2 Chr 15:3–6). He exhorted Asa to take courage and not let his hands be weak because there would be a reward for his deeds (2 Chr 15:7). In both the MT and the LXX, 2 Chr 15:8 reports that on hearing these words "and the prophecy of Oded the prophet," Asa continued to remove all the abominable idols from the land. Even the image of Asherah made and worshiped by Asa's mother was removed and destroyed, and she was removed from the office of queen mother. Asa led the people in swearing to enter into a covenant to seek the LORD God of Israel.

11. Azariah [Heb *ʿăzaryāh*] is identified as a son of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 21:2). King Jehoshaphat had given him and his brothers great gifts of silver, gold, precious stones, and fortified cities in Judah. Jehoram was designated to succeed his father as king, however, because he was the firstborn. When Jehoram gained the throne, he killed Azariah and his brothers as well as some of the officials of Israel.

12. Azariah [Heb *ʿăzaryāhû*] is listed as another son of King Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 21:2) who was killed by Jehoram after Jehoram had gained the throne of their father.

13. Azariah son of Jeroham (2 Chr 23:1) was one of the commanders of hundreds [*śārê hammēʾôt*] who acted with Jehoiada in the crowning of Joash as king, the execution of Athaliah, the making of a covenant declaring that all the people and the new king would be a people of Yahweh, and the destruction of Baal's temple, altars, and priest (2 Chr 23:1–21).

14. Azariah son of Obed (2 Chr 23:1) was another of the commanders of hundreds who cooperated with Jehoiada to depose Athaliah and make Joash king (see 13. above).

15. Azariah (2 Chr 26:17, 20) is identified by the Chronicler as the chief priest [Heb *kōhēn hārō›š*] who withstood King Azariah/Uzziah (see 3. above) when the king entered the temple to burn incense upon the incense altar. He declared that it was not for the king to offer incense but for the priests, the descendants of Aaron, who were consecrated, and he warned that what the king was doing would bring no honor to him. 1 Kgs 4 lists Azariah (see 1. above) as one of the top level officials of Solomon's administration. He was the chief priest [Heb *hakkōhēn*] but was subordinate to the king. The impression of the relationship between chief priest and king given by the report of the confrontation between Azariah and Uzziah is different, and raises questions about the role of the chief priest or high priest in the period of the monarchy. To what extent might the Chronicler's report reflect the power of the postexilic high priesthood? How might the power of the high priesthood have changed over time during the monarchy?

16. Azariah son of Johanan (2 Chr 28:12) is listed as one of the chiefs of the Ephraimites [Heb *rā›šê bĕnê-ĕprayim*] who spoke in support of the prophet Oded when the prophet called upon the army of Israel to release the prisoners they had taken when Pekah was at war with Ahaz. Azariah and the other chiefs gave provisions to the captives from the spoil that had been taken and returned the captives to Jericho.

17. Azariah (2 Chr 29:12) is identified as a descendant of Kohath and Zadok. He was the father of Joel, one of the leaders of the Levites who aided in the cleansing of the temple under King Hezekiah. The Chronicler may have held that he was the chief priest during the reign of Hezekiah (see 18. below) and belonged to the important Levitical family of Israel's high priests which included several men named Azariah (see 1., 6., 7., 9., and 15. above).

18. Azariah (2 Chr 31:10, 13) served as chief priest [Heb *kōhēn hārō›š*] and as chief officer of the house of God [Heb *nĕgîd bêt-hā›ĕlōhîm*] during the reign of Hezekiah. The Chronicler seems to have understood him to belong to the family of Israel's high priests (see 1., 6., 7., 9., 15., and 17. above).

19. Azariah son of Jehallelel (2 Chr 29:12), a descendant of Merari, was one of the Levitical leaders who participated in the cleansing of the temple under King Hezekiah. The emphasis on the role played by the Levites in the cleansing of the temple and in helping the priests to flay the burnt offerings, the inclusion of the names of the Levitical leaders, and the statement that the Levites "were more upright in heart than the priests in sanctifying themselves" (2 Chr 29:34) illustrate the Chronicler's interest in the Levites as an important priestly group in Israel's cult.

20. Azariah son of Maaseiah (Neh 3:23, 24) is identified as one of the people who worked to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem. He restored the section of the wall that was next to his house. The individuals named in Nehemiah 3 should be understood as the leaders of groups of workers presumably including their extended families. This is clear in the cases of Eliashib the high priest (Neh 3:1), Shallum (Neh 3:12), Hanun (Neh 3:13), and Pedaiah (Neh 3:25–26), instances in which individuals are named with groups. In other cases, groups are mentioned but no individuals are named as leaders: the sons of Hassenaah (Neh 3:3), the Tekoites (Neh 3:5, 27), the priests, the men of the Plain (Neh 3:22), and the goldsmiths and merchants (Neh 3:32).

21. Azariah (Neh 7:7) is identified as a leader of exiles returning to Judah from Babylonian exile. The list of leaders and returned exiles in Neh 7:4–72a differs from those found in Ezra 2:1–70 and 1 Esdr 5:7–42 (Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 10–22; *1–2 Esdras* AB, 58–71).

22. Azariah (Neh 8:7) was one of the Levites listed by name who helped the people to understand Ezra's reading of the Torah. Whether their help involved both translation and interpretation or interpretation only is a matter of scholarly debate (Fensham *Ezra and Nehemiah* NICOT, 217–18; Williamson *1–2 Chronicles* NCBC, 277–99).

23. Azariah (Neh 10:3—Eng10:2) was one of the priests who put his seal on the covenant made by those who had returned from exile. The covenant obligated the people to live by the commandments and ordinances of Yahweh (Neh 10: 29–30—Eng10:28–29), to avoid intermarriage with foreigners (Neh 10:31—Eng10:30), to refrain from buying from foreigners on the sabbath or holidays, to observe the sabbatical year and to refrain from charging interest (Neh 10:32—Eng10:31), to give one-third of a shekel each year for the service of the temple (Neh 10:33–34—Eng10:32–33), to provide wood for the altar (Neh 10:35—Eng10:34), and to bring the first fruits, firstborn, and tithes (Neh 10:36–40—Eng10:35–39).

24. Azariah (Neh 12:33) was one of those who participated in the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 12:27–43). He may perhaps be identified with Azariah son of Maaseiah (see 20. above).

25. Azariah son of Hoshaiah (MT Jer 43:2) is named as one of those who refused to heed Jeremiah's warning not to go to Egypt following the assassination of Gedaliah. The MT lists a Jezaniah son of Hoshaiah as a member of the party that had approached Jeremiah to request that he ask Yahweh what they should do (Jer 42:1). The RSV assumes that this was Azariah. In the LXX (Jer 49:1) the 2 named leaders of the party that approached Jeremiah are Johanan and Azariah, but here and in the report of the people's reaction to Jeremiah's warning (Jer 50:2) the LXX identifies this person as Azariah son of Maaseiah.

26. Azariah (Dan 1:6, 7, 11, 19; 2:17) was one of the young Judean men selected to be trained in the "letters and language of the Chaldeans" (Dan 1:4). He was given a new name, Abednego, and along with Daniel, Hananiah, and Mishael ate vegetables and drank water rather than defile himself by eating the food appointed by the king (Dan 1:8–16). At the end of the training period the king found these 4 young men superior to his own magicians and enchanters (Dan 1:17–21). When the king's magicians and enchanters were unable to tell him both the dream he had dreamed and its interpretation (Daniel 2), the king issued a decree that all the magicians and enchanters were to be killed. Daniel called upon Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah to seek God's mercy that they might not be destroyed with the rest of Babylon's sages, and the mystery was revealed to Daniel in a night vision. When the king made an image of gold and commanded that when everyone heard the sound of music they were to worship the image (Daniel 3), Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah (here called Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego) refused to worship the image, even when the king threatened to have them thrown into a fiery furnace. Their faith, courage, and deliverance made them examples for others who faced coercion by foreign rulers (1 Macc 2:59; 4 Macc 16:21; 18:12). The LXX includes a prayer attributed to Azariah and a hymn of praise attributed to the 3 young men (LXX Dan 3:24–90; Pr Azar).

27. Azariah is identified as a "leader of the people" who commanded forces under Judas Maccabeus. When Judas divided the forces, sending Simon and his forces to Galilee while he and Jonathan took their forces to Gilead, he left Azariah and Joseph son of Zechariah with part of the forces, ordering them to guard Judea but not to engage in battle with the Gentiles until the return of the rest of the forces (1 Macc 5:18–19). Azariah and Joseph, wishing to make a name for themselves, disobeyed their orders and led their forces in attacking Jamnia. Their forces were routed with 2,000 casualties reported (1 Macc 5:55–62).

28. Azariah, a descendant of Immer (1 Esdr 9:21), is listed as one of the priests who had married foreign wives and who were required to put away these wives and their children.

29. Azariah (1 Esdr 9:43) is listed as one of those standing at the right side of Ezra at the reading of the law—perhaps to be identified with Azariah the descendant of Immer (27 above).

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**AZARIAH, PRAYER OF.** See DANIEL, ADDITIONS TO.

**AZARIAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Azarias* (Ἀζαριας)]. The name assumed by the archangel RAPHAEL in the book of Tobit (5:13—Eng5:12). Tobit, blind and destitute except for money left for safekeeping with a man named Gabael in Rages, prayed for help. God sent Raphael to assist him. The archangel identified himself to Tobit and his son Tobias as Azarias (meaning "God helps"), the son of the great Ananias ("God favors"), one of Tobit's relatives (5:13—Eng5:12). Zimmermann (1958: 75) argues that the names were chosen to please the reader through word plays. The book appears to be one of a couple of dozen efforts to combine two well-known folk tales, familiar to moderns as "The Grateful Dead" and "The Unlucky Bride" (Dancy 1972: 2–3). As is typical in folklore, neither Tobit nor Tobias recognized that Azarias was an angel in disguise.

True to the meaning of his name, Azarias assisted at every hand. He accompanied Tobias to collect Tobit's money from Gabael and instructed Tobias to take the heart, liver, and gall of a huge fish he had

caught (6:5—Eng6:4). Next (7:10—Eng7:9), Azarias negotiated the marriage between Tobias and Sarah, a beautiful kinswoman widowed seven times by a jealous demon (Asmodeus) before her marriages could be consummated (3:8). Azarias instructed Tobias to burn the fish's heart and liver on the wedding night to drive away the demon (6:17–18—Eng6:16–17). During the fourteen-day wedding feast, Azarias took Tobit's receipt to Gabael to secure the money (9:5). Finally, Azarias instructed Tobias to anoint Tobit's eyelids with the fish's gall, thus healing Tobit (11:7–13).

In the intertestamental period, Jewish speculation about ARCHANGELS flourished. Their number varied (principally four or seven), as did their identities. One basic list, which agrees with the book of Tobit (12:15) concerning their number, appears in En. 20:1–7, where they include Uriel, Raphael, Raguel, Michael, Seraqael, Gabriel, and Remiel. Rabinnic commentary on Gen 18:1 *(Gen. Rab.)* attributes their names to Babylonian influence, but modern day scholars contend that the real source was Zoroastrianism (Russell 1964: 258–59).

The Hebrew form of the name, AZARIAH, appears as Abednego in the Hebrew Bible (Dan 1:7). In the addition to Daniel known as The Prayer of Azarias and the Song of the Three Young Men, Azariah offers the prayer on behalf of the three captives and is mentioned again in v 66. Azariah also appears as the name of a Levite who assisted Ezra by interpreting the law (Neh 8:7, 1 Esdr 9:48), and as a general of Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc 5:18, 56, 60).

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PAUL L. REDDITT

**AZARU** (PERSON) [Gk *Azarou* (Ἀζαρου)]. Forefather of an exiled family numbering 432 which returned to Judah with Zerubbabel according to the list in 1 Esdr 5:15. If AZZUR [Heb *ʿazzûr*] (Neh 10:18—Eng10:17) is accepted as an equivalent variant, then 1 Esdr 5:15 supplements Ezra 2:16b as *BHS* suggests (see Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 25).

CRAIG D. BOWMAN

**AZAZ** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿāzāz* (עָזָז)]. Name of a Reubenite (1 Chr 5:8), the father of Bela, a kinsman of Beerah (who went into exile under Tiglath-pileser III in the second half of the 8th century according to 1 Chr 5:6). The name Azaz is a hypocoristic form of the theophoric Azaziah, which means "Yahweh is strong." Interestingly enough, although the name is vocalized by the Masoretes as *ʿāzāz* (which would agree with Jerome's *Azaz,* as well as the Ar *ʿazāzun*), the LXX reads *ōzouz,* while the Syr Peshitta reads *ʿūzî.* The Syr is probably explained as being a "Syrianization" of a root which is geminate in Heb, but middle weak in Syr. The LXX may be evidence for a late *ā* > *ō* shift in some dialects of Heb at the time of the LXX, analogous to that which took place in Phoenician, or may simply be an example of the LXX translators not knowing what to do with this name.

H. ELDON CLEM

**AZAZEL** [Heb *ʿăzāʾzēl* (עֲזָאזֵל)]. The destination or goal to or for which the scapegoat is sent on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:8, 10, 26).

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A. The Term
B. The Character of Azazel
C. Azazel before Leviticus 16

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**A. The Term**

The meaning of the term *ʿăzāʾzēl* is not entirely clear. The main interpretations are: (a) It is the name of a demon (e.g., Delcor 1976: 35–37; Loretz 1985: 50–57; Tawil 1980). (b) It is a geographical designation meaning something like "precipitous place" or "rugged cliff" (*Sipra,* Aḥare Mot 2:8; *Tg. Ps.-J.* Lev 16:10,

22; Driver 1956: 97–98). (c) It is an abstract noun meaning "destruction" or "entire removal" (e.g., *BDB* 736). (d) It is made up of the terms *ʾēz ʾōzēl* "goat that goes (away)" and is a description of the dispatched goat (cf. the LXX, Vg; it is from this interpretation that we get our term "scapegoat").

Of the four views, understanding *ʿăzāzēl* as an epithet of a demonic personality is the most reasonable. The main evidences for this are: (a) Lev 16:8 prescribes that Aaron is to place a lot on each of the two goats provided by the Israelites. One lot designates one goat as being "for *Yhwh*" while the other lot designates the other goat as being "for *ʿăzāzēl."* As the first lot is for a supernatural being, *Yhwh,* so the second lot should be for a supernatural being of some sort. (b) The goat designated for *ʿăzāzēl* is sent out to *ʿăzāzēl* in the wilderness which is one of the usual abodes of demons (Isa 13:21–22; 34:11–15; perhaps also Lev 17:7; cf. Tob 8:3; Matt 12:43). (c) In pseudepigraphic literature Azazel appears as a full-fledged demonic being (*1 Enoch* 8:1; 9:6; 10:4–8; 13:1; cf. 54:5–6; 55:4; 69:2; *Apoc. Ab.* 13:6–14; 14:4–6; 20:5–7; 22:5; 23:11; 29:6–7; 31:5; on the problems of this tradition, see Hanson 1977: 220–33; Nickelsburg 1977: 397–404; Grabbe 1987: 153–55). (d) While the name could be interpreted as the epithet of a supernatural being while retaining the order of the consonants in the MT (*ʿzzl*), the etymology of the name has been explained as a metathesized form of *ʿzz-l* meaning something like "fierce god" or "angry god" which, if correct, would reveal decisively the demonic character of the being (cf. Tawil 1980; Loretz 1985: 50–57). The *Temple Scroll* and other literature at Qumran contain the form *ʿzzl* (11QTemple 26:13 and see Grabbe 1987: 156).

**B. The Character of Azazel**

Though Azazel is a demonic personality, caution must be observed in determining his exact character in the Day of Atonement ritual. Just because he is a demon does not automatically mean that he functions like demonic personalities in other religions of the ANE. In fact, there is reason to suppose that in the biblical rite he was to be considered a rather peripheral and impotent figure, hardly more than a place-holder representing the geographical goal of the scapegoat's dispatch (Wright 1987: 21–25). A main reason for believing that the formulators of Leviticus 16 thought of Azazel in this way is the tendency of Israel's monotheistic religion to reject or at least limit any power that would compete with Yahweh (Duhm 1904: 28, 32). Another reason is that the Priestly writings have very little to say about demons. The only other reference to demons besides that to Azazel is in Lev 17:7. But the use of *śĕʿîrîm* ("goat-demons") here seems to be more a pejorative belittling of such beings than an expression of belief in their reality and vitality (cf. similar use of demonic terminology in Deut 32:17; Ps 106:37).

The entirely different treatment of corresponding demonic figures in rites of elimination from the ANE seems to confirm this picture of Azazel (for examples from ancient Anatolia and Mesopotamia, see Wright 1987: 31–74). Many of these rituals speak of offended or angry deities or demons who must be propitiated so that a plague or other evil might be lifted from mankind or an individual. The attacking supernatural beings are addressed with incantations which reveal in some detail the personality of the demonic beings. The human sufferers send offerings of appeasement and substitution to assuage the demonic wrath. For example, in the Hittite ritual of Ashella which seeks to dispel a demoncaused plague among the Hittite army (see Wright 1987: 50–51), leaders of the army decorate rams with colored wools and other materials. They recite: "Whatever god is moving about, whatever god has caused this plague, for you, behold, these rams I have tied up. Be herewith appeased!" The next day the animals are driven into the open country with beer, bread, and perhaps milk as offerings. Before the rams are sent away, the leaders place their hands on the animals and say: "Whatever god has caused this plague—now, behold, the rams are standing; they are very fat in liver, heart, and genital member. Let the flesh of humans be hateful to him. Moreover, be appeased with these rams!" In other rituals, instead of being attacking demons, gods may be custodians of evil. They are called upon to take away and dispose of the evil caused by another source. For their help they receive offerings of thanksgiving. For example, in the Hittite ritual of Ambazzi (Wright 1987: 57), a woman cult officiator removes a bowstring with tin on it from a ritual patient, puts it on a mouse, and says: "I have taken away from you [i.e., the patient] evil and I have put it on the mouse. Let this mouse take it to the high mountains, the deep valleys (and) the distant ways." After this she lets the mouse go, saying: "O Alawaimi [a god], drive this (mouse) forth, and I will give to you a

goat to eat." In contrast, Leviticus 16 does not speak of Azazel in any of these terms: he causes no harm, he receives no offerings (the scapegoat is not a sacrifice), prayers are not made to him. Such a laconic treatment of Azazel in view of these other rituals suggests that Azazel is not an active being that is due any sort of veneration or attention.

**C. Azazel Before Leviticus 16**

Finally, that Azazel appears in repressed form in the Priestly ritual intimates that he is not an invention of that school of thought but comes from a pre-Priestly form of the rite in which he played a more active role, either as an angry deity as one proposed etymology of his name may suggest (*ʿzz-ʾl*) or as merely a beneficent custodian of evil. The reason that he was retained in the Priestly version of the rite may be due to popular belief which would not allow total expunging of the personality.

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DAVID P. WRIGHT

**AZAZIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿazazyāhû* (עַזַזְיָהוּ)]. The name means "Yahweh is strong." In certain instances, the versions (LXX and Vg) read *ʿuzzîyāhû* (Uzziah) for *ʿazazyāhû* (Azaziah). There are 3 people in the MT who bear this name.

**1.** A Levite who was appointed to play the lyre during the transfer of the ark of the covenant from the house of Aminadab to Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:21).

**2.** The father of Hoshea, the chief officer of Ephraim in the reign of David (1 Chr 27:20).

**3.** One of 12 temple overseers (presumably a Levite) who was in charge of tithes and dedicated contributions. He was appointed by Hezekiah and Azariah the chief temple officer during Hezekiah's reform.

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H. ELDON CLEM

**AZBUK** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿazbûq* (עַזְבּוּק)]. A Judahite of the time of Nehemiah (Neh 3:16). His son, also named Nehemiah, acted as supervisor of half of the Judean district of Beth-zur during the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem. The meaning and grammatical analysis of the name *ʿazbûq* is uncertain (perhaps "[the god] Buk is strong"; cf. *ʿazgad,* "[the god] Gad is strong," Neh 10:16).

NORA A. WILLIAMS

**AZEKAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾăzēkâ* (אֲזֵקָה)]. A town within the confines of the N Shephelah district of Judah (Josh 15:35).

**A. Historical References**

Azekah is first mentioned in the story of the 5 Amorite kings whom Joshua defeated at Gibeon and pursued as far as Azekah (Josh 10:10–11). During the encounter of David with Goliath, the Philistines camped in the valley of Elah between Socoh and Azekah (1 Sam 17:1). Rehoboam (922–915 B.C.) fortified Azekah and included it within the defensive system erected after the division of the United Monarchy (2 Chr 11:9).

An Assyrian inscription mentions Azekah in connection with Sargon II's campaign against Iamani, ruler of Ashdod, in 712 B.C. (Tadmor 1958). Still later, Azekah and Lachish are mentioned as the last remaining fortresses of Judah to withstand the Babylonian onslaught (Jer 34:7). Similar information appears in Lachish letter no. 4 (*ANET,* 322). The town was conquered by Nebuchadnezzar apparently in 588 B.C., a short while before the fall of Jerusalem. With the return from exile, several families of the tribe of Judah resettled in Azekah (Neh 11:30). Fragmentary information from the period following the destruction of the 2d Temple indicates that Azekah was still occupied. Eusebius located Azekah between Eleutheropolis (Beth Govrin) and Jerusalem (*Onomast.* 18:10), a possible reference to Khirbet al-'Almi, E of Tell Zakariya. The Madeba map, which dates from the 2d half of the 6th century A.D., calls the area "Bethzakar," the present-day Kefar Zechariah, which has given its name to Tell Zakariya (Avi Yonah 1954).

**B. Site and Identification**

Tell Zakariya (M.R. 143123) is located 5.5 miles NE of Beth Govrin. It stands about 117 m above the Elah Valley, which skirts the hill on the N and E. The mound is flat-topped, triangular in shape, and measures 330 by 170 m.

Over a century ago, J. Schwartz identified Tell Zakariya as the site of Azekah on the basis of written sources. F. J. Bliss, who excavated the site (Bliss and Macalister 1902), suggested the name had been transferred later from Azekah to Khirbet Shuweikeh, some 6 km further S in the Elah valley, and that biblical Socoh might conceivably be in the area of Tell Zakariya. However, after the discovery of a large Israelite site at Khirbet Abad (adjacent to Khirbet Socoh), Tell Zakariya has become generally accepted as the site of the town of Azekah.

**C. Exploration of the Site**

Tell Zakariya was excavated in 1898–99 under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and was directed by F. J. Bliss, assisted by R. A. S. Macalister (Bliss and Macalister 1902).

In the SW, building foundations were examined and were found to belong to 3 towers built of rough stones bonded with clay. There were no traces of a wall connecting the towers, which led the excavators to conclude that the towers constituted individual forts intended to protect this side of the mound, which was particularly vulnerable to attack. On the basis of the depth of the foundations and some ceramic finds, the towers were assigned to the Roman-Byzantine period.

A rectangular fortress with towers at each corner was uncovered on the elevated SE section of the mound. Towers also stood along the middle of the E wall. The fortress gate was not discovered, although several doorways were found inside the towers. The entrance levels varied in elevation, and it thus seems that the fortress interior was not of equal height throughout.

Bliss felt that the towers in section I were a later addition to the fortress in section II, while Macalister assumed that they were contemporaneous but constructed by different groups of masons. Both attribute the construction of the fortress to Rehoboam (2 Chr 11:9).

Half of the fortress area was excavated, and bedrock was reached at a depth of approximately 6 m. The excavators were unable to assign periods to the buildings and other remains, nor did they determine the exact number of periods, although they initially distinguished 4 main occupation periods.

Period A is clearly defined by pottery of the type they labeled "Early Pre-Israelite" (see below). Among the objects found was a vessel containing assorted Egyptian jewelry, including two scarabs, one with the name of Thutmose III and the other of Amenhotep II. Period B is a plastered floor slightly above bedrock, with stamped handles containing the word *lmlk* ("[belonging] to the king") and two-winged scarabs. In period C, which the excavators labeled "Jewish" and considered to be later than period B, another plastered floor was discovered, containing four-winged scarab stamped jar handles. Period D has several rock-hewn tombs assigned to the Roman period. Also found were Seleucid, Roman, and Byzantine shards, as well as several graves close to surface level and considered of Arab origin.

A trial pit approximately 30 by 20 m was dug in the center of the mound, where bedrock was reached at no more than 4 m. The pottery consisted mainly of sherds of the so-called Late Pre-Israelite and Jewish

periods. Since Seleucid pottery was extremely rare and no Roman-Byzantine shards were uncovered, the excavators concluded that the mound had been deserted by these periods.

All these finds led the excavators to conclude that the settlement had lasted, with short interruptions, from ca. 1500 B.C. until the Byzantine period. However, Albright (1960) subsequently examined the pottery tables published in the excavation reports and suggested the following amended dates:

| *Period* | *Bliss-Macalister* | *Albright* |
|---|---|---|
| A | Early Pre-Israelite ca.?–1500 B.C. | ca. 3000–1800 B.C. |
| B | Late Pre-Israelite ca. 1550–800 B.C. | 1800–1000 B.C. |
| C | Jewish ca. 800–300 B.C. | 1000–587 B.C. |
| D | Seleucid ca. 300– B.C. | 4th–1st cent. B.C. |

Today it is possible to introduce additional revisions in the chronology of the various structures on this site. The excavators attributed the fortress to Rehoboam (928–911 B.C.) and dated the 3 towers at the SW extremity of the mound to the Roman-Byzantine period. More recently, S. Yeivin (Avi-Yonah and Yeivin 1955: 289–90; cf. Horowitz 1980) assigned the construction of the fortress to the period of the Judges, and the towers (which in his opinion form part of the city wall) to Rehoboam, who also had the fortress repaired.

Other Israelite fortresses of similar construction have since been found in Judea (Mazar 1982). Also, since the various types of *lmlk* seal impressions can be assigned to the end of the 8th century, it may be assumed that the fortress was in existence at that time.

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EPHRAIM STERN

**AZEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾāṣel* (אָצֶל)]. Var. AZALIA (?). A descendant of Saul through the line of Jonathan. His name occurs 6 times in the Heb Bible and twice in the Talmud (*Pesaḥ.* 62b). In the former, the name is part of a list of persons (1 Chr 8:35–36) which cannot be traced to any extant earlier source. When Azel was thought to have lived cannot be determined exactly. The names in the genealogy have been viewed as extending down into late preexilic times or even into the Exile itself. On the whole, it seems reasonable to suppose that Azel lived in the late 7th to early 6th centuries B.C.E. The occurrences of Azel in 1 Chr 9:43, 44, 45 are due to a repetition of the Saulide genealogy in 1 Chronicles 8. This duplication serves to introduce 1 Chronicles 10 which tells the story of Saul's death on Mount Gilboa. Not having chapter and verse divisions by which to cite a biblical text, the writer of the Talmud cites the material from 1 Chr 8:37–9:44 by reference to the name Azel in these verses. The name appears to be a variant form of AZALIAH (2 Kgs 22:3) and may designate "noble" or "laid aside, reserved" in the sense of being protected.

JAMES M. KENNEDY

**AZETAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Azētas* (Ἀζητας)]. Ancestor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:15). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, this family does not appear among their lists of returning exiles (cf. Ezra 2:16; Neh 7:21). Omissions such as this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra or Nehemiah. Furthermore, problems associated with dating events and identifying persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**AZGAD** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿazgād* (עַזְגָּד)]. Head of a family of Babylonian exiles who are listed as returnees under the leadership of Zerubbabel and others (Ezra 2:12 = Neh 7:17 = 1 Esdr 5:13) and later under Ezra (Ezra 8:12 = 1 Esdr 8:38). The leader of the clan affixed the family name to the covenant of Nehemiah in Neh 10:16—Eng10:15. For further discussion of the exilic name lists and bibliography see AKKUB and ATER. The etymology of the name is uncertain. It has been identified as a theophoric name meaning: "Gad (deity) has proved himself strong" (Noth *IPN,* 190) or "Gad is strong" (Fowler, *TPNAH,* 64). Since these names occur only in the postexilic list, the name may have Persian derivation: *izgad* "messenger" (Fowler, *TPNAH,* 64).
CHANEY R. BERGDALL

**AZIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿăzîʾēl* (עֲזִיאֵל)]. See JAAZIEL (PERSON).

**AZIZA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿăzîzā* (עֲזִיזָא)]. A descendant of Zattu and one of the returned exiles who was required by Ezra to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:27). Aziza is derived from the verbal root *ʿzz* "to be strong" and probably means "the strong one" (*IPN,* 225). In the parallel text of 1 Esdr 9:28, the name Zerdaiah appears in the position Aziza holds in Ezra 10:27. Aziza was a member of a family from which a group of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:8; Neh 7:13). For further discussion, see BEDEIAH.
JEFFREY A. FAGER

**AZMAVETH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿazmāwet* (עַזְמָוֶת)]. The name of several men in the OT. The name Azmaveth itself means "strong (*ʿaz*) as Death (*māweth*)" or "strong is Death," where Death is the personification of the god of death (cf. Hos 13:14; Hab 2:5; Pss 18:5, 49:5, 116:3; Prov 13:14). The LXX reading, Azmoth, is a legitimate variation on Azmaveth, with the same meaning (see DEATH). See also AZMAVETH (PLACE).

**1.** One of DAVID'S CHAMPIONS (the *šālišîm;* RSV Mighty Men), called the Barhumite (Heb *habbarḥumî;* 2 Sam 23:31; LXX *ho Barsamites*). 1 Chr 11:33, conversely, lists Azmaveth as the Baharumite (Heb *habbaḥarûmî;* LXX *ho Beermi*), apparently identifying him as a native of Bahurim, a place on the road from Jerusalem into the Jordan valley, and N of the Mount of Olives (see BAHURIM; 2 Sam 3:16; 16:5; 17:18; 19:17, etc.). The disagreement of both parallel texts in the MT as well as the quite different variants in the LXX suggest that the problem here is a corrupt text. Of the available readings, the Baharumite makes the most sense, though the other possibilities are not thereby excluded.

**2.** The father of Jeziel and Pelet, two archers and slingers of the tribe of Benjamin who were outlaw companions with David at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:3). This Azmaveth may possibly be the same as Azmaveth (1. above).

**3.** The son of Jehoaddah, a descendant of Saul and Jonathan (1 Chr 8:36, 9:42).

**4.** The son of Adiel, the treasurer in Jerusalem under David. (1 Chr 27:25).

**5.** The founder of a house in Israel, father of 42 men who returned from the exile (Ezra 2:24). This verse may, however, refer to 42 men of the city of Beth-Azmaveth (cf. Neh 7:28; see AZMAVETH [PLACE]; *Ezra Nehemiah* WBC, 26).
D. G. SCHLEY

**AZMAVETH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿazmāwet* (עַזְמָוֶת)]. Var. BETH-AZMAVETH; BETHASMOTH. A village in the Judean hills N of Jerusalem probably established during the Israelite period (*LBHG,* 108), but remembered in the text from the time of the return from exile. The village is remembered as Azmaveth (Ezra 2:24, Neh 12:29), Beth-Azmaveth (Heb *bêt-ʿazmāwet,* Gk *Bēthasmōth;* Neh 7:28), and Bethasmoth (Gk *Baitasmōn;* 1 Esdr 5:18). Though these names vary, they each appear in parallel accounts of a census of the people who returned to Jerusalem and Judah from captivity in Babylon. The

same number of returnees (42) was recorded for each of them, and they appear in the same place in the list between Anathoth and Kiriatharim. The Azmaveth region is also remembered for providing singers for the dedication of the reconstructed wall of Jerusalem (Neh 12:29). The village has been identified as modern Hizmeh (M.R. 175138), a suggestion first made by Robinson and widely accepted by scholars (Albright 1922: 156). The site near Geba (modern Jeba‹, M.R. 175140) and Anathoth (modern Râs el-Kharrûbeh, M.R. 174135), whose patriarch was most likely the Asmaveth who was a descendant of Saul, has provided archaeological remains from the 2d Temple period (*EncMiqr* 2: 95). See also AZMAVETH (PERSON).

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SUSAN E. MCGARRY

**AZMON** (PLACE) [Heb ‹*aṣmôn* (עַצְמוֹן)]. A station named both in the description of the S frontier of Canaan (Num 34:45), and in the delineation of the extreme S border of the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:4). It is the last station W of the BROOK OF EGYPT. Alt (1953) has persuasively argued that the border list of Joshua 15 is derived from an ancient legal document delineating the territorial claims of the tribes during the period of the Judges. The parallel nature of the S border descriptions in Numbers 34 and Joshua 15 suggests that both depend on a single, presumably premonarchical, tradition. Azmon has often been identified with Ain Qoseimeh, a small spring in the vicinity of Ain el-Qudeirat (KADESH-BARNEA[?]), (*IDB* 1:327), but a more plausible possibility is Ain Muweilih (M.R. 085010), where archaeological survey (Rothenberg and Aharoni 1961: 36–37) has revealed a station on the ancient road to S Sinai dating to the Iron I period.

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WADE R. KOTTER

**AZNOTH-TABOR** (PLACE) [Heb ›*aznôt tābôr* (אַזְנוֹת תָּבוֹר)]. A town that serves as the starting point of the description of the W border of the territory of the tribe of Naphtali (Josh 19:34). Noth (1935: 199–200) has suggested that Josh 19:33 described the N border of the tribal territory; however, the opening phrase of v 34 clearly shows that v 33 actually describes the S border from W to E. Verse 34 opens with the formula "And the border turned back westwards." This formula appears several times in Joshua, indicating that the border description returns to the starting point and then continues in the opposite direction, in this case northwards. The border of the territory of Zebulun is described in opposite directions from one starting point—Sarid (Josh 19: 10, 12); the border of the territory of Asher is described similarly, the starting point being Helkath (Josh 19:25—in LXX "from Helkath"—and in v 27 "And the border turned back eastwards"). It would appear that in the case of Naphtali the starting point is Mt. Tabor; but in order to achieve greater accuracy, *two* starting points appear, HELEPH for the S border (to be sought to the E of Mt. Tabor) and Aznoth-Tabor for the W border (to be sought N of the mountain). Saarisalo (1927: 127) identified the latter at Kh. Umm-Jubeil (M.R. 186237), 4 km N of the mountain, situated on a small hill ideally suited as a starting point for a border description. Saaris-alo reported LB pottery from the site, but recent archaeological surveys report only pottery from Iron Age II and later (Zori 1977: 105; Gal 1982: 20).

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RAFAEL FRANKEL

**AZOR, TEL** (M.R. 131159). Tel Azor is situated about 6 km SE of Tel Aviv. The Arabic name Yazur preserves the ancient name of the site, which should probably be identified with "Azor" mentioned in the

Vatican edition of the LXX (Joshua 19:45) where it appears as one of the cities of Dan (instead of MT *yhd*). Azor (Azuru) is mentioned in the late 8th century B.C. as a place Sennacherib captured from Sidqa king of Ashkelon (*ANET*, 287).

The site, measuring some 15 dunams, has not yet been excavated. A survey has revealed shards of almost all periods from the Chalcolithic to the medieval. On the summit of the mound stand the ruins of a Crusader fortress (Chateau des Plains). In the Kurkar hills adjacent to the site, many tombs were discovered dating to the Chalcolithic, EB I, MB II, LB, and Iron I–II periods. The extent of this vast cemetery is not known; most of it is now covered by the houses of present-day Azor, as well as by the Holon industrial area. The large number of burials in a relatively small tell suggests that this was a regional cemetery, although this hypothesis still needs to be substantiated.

"Salvage excavations" have been carried out from time to time as necessitated by the current building activity. The following excavators should be mentioned: J. Perrot and M. Dothan (1950s); R. Gophna, A. Druks, and Y. Shapira (1960s); A. Ben-Tor and O. Negbi (1970s). So far only a small part of these excavations has been fully described in published writings.

Since J. Perrot's excavations, Azor has become the type-site for Chalcolithic burials in ossuaries. More than 120 such ossuaries made out of clay were unearthed in a burial cave, in which 9 phases have been observed, including one habitation phase. Most of the ossuaries are house-shaped and some have zoomorphic shapes; others are jars. The house-shaped ossuaries are of major importance since they give some idea of the type of dwelling common in this period. Pottery constitutes the great majority of the funerary offerings: the assemblage is typologically closer to the Beer-Sheba than to the Ghassulian culture.

A large number of burial caves date to this period. They are cut into the Kurkar and all have a similar plan: 3 or 4 steps descending into a kidney-shaped burial chamber of ca. 20 square m. The number of those interred in each tomb may reach 100; burials are usually secondary; an occasional cremation has been observed. Most of the interred are of the local Mediterranean stock, but in several cases African-types (most probably Egyptians) have been noted. This corresponds well to the burial offerings: While most of the ceramic finds are clearly paralleled in other EB I assemblages throughout the country (mainly of the Proto-Urban A family of Kenyon's topology), some of the finds (clay vessels, a slate cosmetic palette, a flint knife, and various beads) are imported from Egypt.

An MB II tomb in which humans were buried side by side with horses is noteworthy. This phenomenon has so far been observed in only one other site in Israel, Tell el-Ajjul. In LB tombs, imported pottery (mainly of Cypriot origin) constitutes an important part of the assemblage.

Several tombs are dated to the 12th or 11th century B.C. Burials in pits, in jars, in brick coffins, as well as some cremations, are among the burial practices observed. In all those tombs, rich assemblages of burial gifts were found: the large variety of Philistine ware is especially noteworthy.

Several communal burials belong to this period: bodies and offerings were placed in successive layers in tombs surrounded by a stone fence. Also noteworthy is a group of burials in typical Israelite jars, one of which bears an inscription of the Hebrew name *šlmy*.

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AMNON BEN-TOR

**AZOTUS** (PLACE) [Gk *Azotys* (Ἄζοτυς)]. The name for the Philistine city of ASHDOD in the Apocrypha and the NT. Located halfway between Gaza and Joppa, the ancient city stood less than 3 miles inland. Ashdod was excavated in 1962–72, and its history during the Maccabean and Roman periods is well-documented, particularly in 1 Maccabees and Josephus.

The city of Azotus appears (1 Macc 4:15) as a place of retreat (see Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 265) to which soldiers in the army of Gorgias (one of the officers of Lysias sent to defeat Israel) fled when routed by Judas. Also, Jonathan attacked the city in 147 B.C. (1 Macc 10:78) and burned it along with its villages and its temple to Dagan (10:83–84). Apollonius, the governor of Coele-Syria who was besieging Jamnia, had challenged Jonathan to fight (10:70–73), so Jonathan captured a garrison of Apollonius headquartered at Joppa (10:74–76). Then Apollonius took 3,000 cavalry S to Azotus (i.e. away from Joppa), as though retreating from Jonathan, and left a cavalry of 1,000 behind to catch Jonathan between the two units (10:79; Josephus says [*Ant* 13.4.4 §92] that Apollonius first marched N and then retreated). Apollonius probably chose to fight at Azotus because the level terrain there was better-suited for cavalry than the terrain at Joppa (so Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 422).

Azotus is mentioned again (1 Macc 16:10) in connection with the defeat of Cendebeus, "commander-in-chief of the coastal country" (15:38) under Antiochus VII (reigned 139/8–129/8). John Hyrcanus defeated Cendebeus on a plain outside Modein, sending Cendebeus fleeing to the stronghold at Kedron which he had built (16:9, cf. 15:41). Some of his soldiers fled to the "towers at Azotus." 1 Macc 16:10 reads: "John burned it with fire." The antecedent for "it" is unclear. One might suppose that Azotus was intended, and two Latin MSS read "them," i.e., the towers of Azotus. However, John had followed Cendebeus to Kedron, which is probably the city he torched.

Elsewhere, Azotus appears as the name of a district, rather than a city. In 164 B.C. Judas attacked Azotus (1 Macc 5:68), which was further defined by the appositional phrase "the land of the Philistines" (Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 305). Later (ca. 142 B.C.), Simon fortified Joppa and Gazara (a city on the border of [the territory] of Azotus; 1 Macc 14:34).

One other text mentioning Azotus (1 Macc 9:15) is often considered erroneous. In 160 B.C. Judas fought his last battle, against Bacchides, who had marched from Syria to Jerusalem and then to Berea (9:1–4). Judas was encamped at Elasa nearby (9:5). During the battle Judas attacked the strong flank of the enemy, putting Bacchides' soldiers to flight and pursuing them "as far as Mount Azotus" (9:15). Since Azotus lay approximately 35 miles away, and since the city sits near the coast, and not on a mountain, scholars have often suspected the reading. The *Oxford Annotated Apocrypha* suggests *el-asur*, which lay 6 miles NE of Berea (*el-Bireh*). Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 373), however, follows the conjecture of Johann David Michaelis (*Deutsche Übersetzung des ersten Buchs der Maccabäer mit Anmerkungen*, 1778) that a copyist misread *ʾšdwt* ("watersheds" or "slopes") as *ʾšdwd* ("Ashdod"). On the other hand, Van Henten (1983: 46) points out that in 3:24, 4:14 and 16:9 the retreating army is also pursued a great distance. In addition, he wants to read the Greek word *orous* not as the genitive singular form *to horos* (mountain) but as an accusative plural of *ho horos*, (boundary) (1983: 47). Thus, the enemy would have fled, not to Mount Azotus (since Azotus is located on the coastal plain), but to the boundary of the territory of Azotus. To the objection that the preposition *heos* takes nouns in the genitive as its object, Van Henten lists examples of its use with the accusative.

Josephus recounts the ensuing history of the city. Alexander Jannaeus held Azotus at the beginning of his reign (*Ant* 13.15.4 §395), and the ruins show evidence of an attack during the Maccabean period, so scholars often assume it was captured by John Hyrcanus. Archaeologists uncovered a coin of Antiochus VIII, dated to 114 B.C., which presumably sets the date after which the city fell into Judaean control. In 63 B.C. Pompey took Azotus away from Judah (*JW* 1.7.7 §156), but Gabinius (governor of Syria from 57–55 B.C.) restored it to Judah under Hyrcanus II (*JW* 1.8.4 §166). Herod's kingdom included the city, which he willed to his sister Salome (*JW* 2.6.3 §98). During the First Revolt the city was captured by the Romans under Vespasian, who stationed a garrison there (*JW* 4.3.2 §130).

In the NT, Azotus is mentioned (Acts 8:40) as the city where Philip the Evangelist was found after baptizing the Ethiopian Eunuch.

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PAUL L. REDDITT

**AZRAQ** (PLACE). Several oases located at the center of a 12,000-km-square internal drainage basin, 80 km E of Amman. The rainfall over the basin varies from just over 200 mm along the N and W fringes to less than 50 mm in the SE, hence pastoralism is the only viable subsistence activity over much of the area. The N portion of the basin is covered by late Tertiary and Quaternary basalts while the S area comprises early Tertiary limestones and marls, and is covered by a pavement of chert gravel. At Azraq there are a number of copious perennial springs which feed 2 areas of marshland (Biraket el-Ora and Biraket Qeissiyeh). There is also a substantial sabkha (Qa el-Azraq) from which salt is extracted by the villagers. (For further environmental details and modern history see Nelson 1973.)

The springs at Azraq have provided a focus for settlement since the Stone Age. In 1956, mechanical diggers uncovered two impressive late Acheulian/Levallois Mousterian sites at Ain el-Assad and C spring. These were briefly examined by Harding and Kirkbride but have only been recently excavated (Rollefson 1980; 1982; Garrard et al. 1987). Numerous sites of Epipalaeolithic and Neolithic date have been located around the marshes and several were sounded in 1985 (Garrard, Stanley Price, and Copeland 1977; Garrard et al. 1985; 1987). One of these, known as Azraq 31 and dating to ca. 6000 B.C., has produced the earliest evidence of ovicaprid pastoralism from the E desert of Jordan. Betts (1983; 1984; 1985) has found many stone corrals, wheel houses, and "desert kites" in the basalt desert N and E of Azraq. Desert kites are V-shaped structures with a corral at the junction end of the V. They usually open onto areas of good grazing and are thought from historic descriptions, rock drawings, and ethnographic accounts to have been used for capturing gazelle and other large herbivores. Some of these structures are associated with Neolithic artifacts, but from travelers accounts others were still in use in the last century (Mendelssohn 1974).

During the classical and medieval periods, Azraq seems to have been an important watering point on the trade route from the Levant through the Wadi es-Sirhan to central Arabia. Three forts guard the approaches to the oasis—Qasr el-Uweinid, Qasr Aseikhim, and Qasr el-Azraq (Kennedy 1982; Bowersock 1983). Qasr el-Uweinid sits on a basalt bluff overlooking the Wadi el-Uweinid, 13 km SW of modern Azraq ed-Duruz. It is a trapezoid structure with remnants of a tower inside. An inscription at the site refers to it as a *castellum novum Severianum,* suggesting a date of around 200 A.D. A second inscription documents the establishment of a *praesidium Severianum* with a vexillation of the legion Third Cyrenaica. Qasr Aseikhin is located about 13 km NE of Azraq ed-Duruz on the summit of a basalt peak. It is a square fortress with rooms arranged around a central courtyard, and it may also date to the reign of Septimius Severus. Qasr el-Azraq is adjacent to Biraket el-Ora in Azraq ed-Duruz, and seems to have been rebuilt on several occasions. Early aerial photographs show the outline of a large, square encampment which could be of Severan date. The present structure was built inside the encampment before the end of the 3d century A.D., as inferred from an inscription which dates to the period of the Tetrarchy. A later inscription inserted in the castle entrance suggests that the fortress was rebuilt during the governorship of Azz el Dyn Aybak between 1213 and 1238 A.D.

Approximately 5 km S of Azraq el-Duruz are the springs and marshes of Biraket Qeissyeh. Surrounding the springs and enclosing an area of about 10 dunums, is a well-built buttressed wall of either classical or early Islamic date. A second similarly well-constructed wall extends from the first wall around the S and E sides of the marshes. Kennedy (1982) suggests it may have been built to separate the fresh water of the marshes from the more saline water of the sabkha, but recent sondages by Garrard indicate that it was not deep enough to achieve this objective, but that it probably represented an estate boundary. Until the large-scale pumping of water of the last two decades, the Azraq marshes supported a very rich wildlife and was a focus for the spring and autumn bird migrations through the area (Nelson 1973).

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ANDREW N. GARRARD

**AZRIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿazrîʾēl* (עַזְרִיאֵל)]. A name, the precise meaning of which is uncertain (*TPNAH,* 133). It is borne by 3 persons mentioned in the Bible.

**1.** In the historical review of the tribes of Israel, the Chronicler mentions Azriel as one of the 7 eponymous leaders of the half-tribe of E Manasseh (1 Chr 5:23–24). Famous for their military prowess, political leadership, and enlightened leadership as the heads of their father's house, they are credited with enlarging their constituency and its territory, so that the territory from the land of Bashan to Mount Hermon became the land of East Manasseh in the early days of the Transjordanian conquest. The addendum in 1 Chr 5:25,26 must be read with the subject understood as the 21/2 tribes, not the 7 East Manasseh leaders and their constituency.

**2.** The father of Jerimoth (so MT) and the tribal head of the tribe of Naphtali in the Chronicler's reconstruction of the officialdom of David (1 Chr 27:16–19).

**3.** The father of Seraiah who functioned as a member of the court of Jehoiakim (Jer 36:26). In 605 B.C., when the relations between Judah and Babylon were deteriorating, Jeremiah collected his oracles and bid Baruch his secretary read them to the people who would attend a fast to be observed in the 9th month. The revolutionary words of the prophet so disturbed the princes in the audience that they brought word immediately to the king. No doubt in fierce anger, Jehoiakim commanded 3 high officers of the royal court to apprehend Baruch and Jeremiah. These 3 court officials were Jerahameel the king's son, Shelemiah the son of Abdeel, and Seraiah the son of Azriel. Since all other data are absent, one can but speculate about Azriel on the basis of his son's high court position and royal mission.
EDWARD R. DALGLISH

**AZRIKAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿazrîqām* (עַזְרִיקָם)]. **1.** The 3d son of Neriah, a descendant of Zerubbabel. His name appears in 1 Chr 3:23 in an extended genealogy of exilic and postexilic Davidic descendants. Scholars are in disagreement about whether the genealogy from v 21b on—from the phrase "the sons of Hananiah"—should be understood as listing the descendants of Zerubbabel or is composed merely of unconnected lists which have been attached at this point (see Williamson *1–2 Chronicles* NCBC, 58; Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, lxxxviii–lxxxix). If Azrikam is considered a descendant of Zerubbabel then he lived 5 generations later, if v 21b is understood as listing the sons of Hananiah; or if the reading of the LXX for v 21b is adopted (see RSV), he lived 9 generations later. The former is more likely (see Myers, AB, 18–21; Williamson, NCBC, 58).

**2.** A Levite, a descendant of Merari the 3d son of Levi. Azrikam occurs in Merari's line only in the genealogies given in Neh 11:15 and 1 Chr 9:14. In the partially overlapping lists in 1 Chr 6:19, 29–30 = 6:44–47, only Hashabiah appears from 1 Chr 9:14 = Neh 11:15. This may indicate preservation of different lines of the genealogy in different settings. Azrikam belonged to the house which was given responsibility for the outside work of the House of the Lord (Neh 11:15).

**3.** A descendant of Jonathan, the son of Saul. In both 1 Chr 8:38 and in the repetition of this genealogy in 1 Chr 9:44, Azrikam is listed as the son of Azel in the extended genealogy of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:1–40).

**4.** The steward or commander of the royal palace (Heb *năgîd habbāyit*) of Ahaz, king of Judah ca. 735–715. In 2 Chr 28:7 he is mentioned along with Maaseiah, the king's son, and Elkanah, second in command to the king. All were killed by Zikri the Ephraimite in an incident connected with the Syro-Ephraimite war. Some have suggested that this Azrikam is identical to 3. above, but this is uncertain (*IDB* 1, 327).

RUSSELL FULLER

**AZUBAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿăzûbâ* (עֲזוּבָה)]. **1.** Mother of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah (1 Kgs 22:42 = 2 Chr 20:31). Azubah's name appears in the regnal formula of her son, Jehoshaphat. She is the daughter of Shilhi, whose place of origin is unknown.

**2.** Wife of Caleb (1 Chr 2:18). Her name appears in the genealogy of Judah in 1 Chronicles 2, where she is listed as one of the mothers of Caleb's children. Three sons are mentioned specifically in v 18—Jesher, Shobab, and Ardon—but the identity of their mother is unclear (being either Azubah or Jerioth). Upon Azubah's death, Caleb took another wife, Ephrath (1 Chr 2:19).

LINDA S. SCHEARING

**AZZAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿazzān* (עַזָּן)]. The father of the leader of the tribe of Issachar, Paltiel (Num 34:26). The name is derived from the root *ʿwz*, meaning "strength" (*EncMiqr* 6: 132), and Johnson (*IDB* 1: 327) has translated Azzan as "the deity has shown strength." In LXX, this name appears as *oza*, and, in Syr, as *ʿazor*. The name occurs in both Ug (UT 455, no. 1837), possibly as an abbreviation of *ʿzmlk* (Benz 1972: 165), and in a Phoenician seal from Syria (*PTU*, 378).

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RAPHAEL I. PANITZ

**AZZUR** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿazzûr* (עַזּוּר)]. **1.** The father of Hananiah, the prophet from Gibeon (Jer 28:1). Whether a court prophet or not, Hananiah appears to have been well-known and a leader of a pro-royalist movement in the days of Zedekiah (Jer 28:1–17).

**2.** The father of Jaazaniah, one of the princes of the people in the days of Ezekiel (Ezek 11:1–25). In a vision experience, the exiled prophet Ezekiel discovers himself at the E gate of the house of Yahweh, where he beholds Jaazaniah and Pelatiah, both princes of the people, sharing in a council of 25 men in the formulation of an undisclosed plot. It appears to be either a plan to seek an alliance with Egypt or to usurp unwarranted power in Judah. Ezekiel is advised of the utter failure of the intrigue; a confirmatory sign followed in the death of Pelatiah. We know nothing about Azzur's relationship to his son's political ambition; since the Judean aristocracy would be disposed to assume the power vacated by the exiled royalty, it is most likely that Azzur would be in general sympathy with the movement. At least, he invested his son with the dignity of a prince.

**3.** One of the 84 signatories who, as one of the chiefs of the people, confirmed the covenant of Nehemiah (Neh 10:14). Among the several prescriptions of the compact were: (1) avoidance of interracial relationships; (2) strict observance of the sabbath; and (3) provision for the support of the temple establishment (Neh 10:1–39).

EDWARD R. DALGLISH

# B

**BAAL** (DEITY) [Heb *baʿal* (בַּעַל)]. Canaanite storm and fertility god. The name, which means "lord," is an epithet of the god Hadad (lit. "thunderer"). Well-known from the OT, he is now extremely well-attested in the Ugaritic texts, in addition to being mentioned in other ancient texts.

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A. Baal in Extrabiblical Texts
  1. The Ugaritic Texts
  2. Later Phoenician Sources
B. Baal in the OT
  1. Israelite Worship of Baal
  2. OT Use of Baal Motifs


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**A. Baal in Extrabiblical Texts**

**1. The Ugaritic Texts.** This deity is first attested in the Ebla texts from the second half of the 2d millennium B.C., where he appears as *ʾa-da,* and in the Egyptian Execration Texts of about 1800 B.C., but it is the Ug mythological texts from Ras Shamra on the Syrian coast which shed the most light on him. He is clearly the most active and prominent of all the Canaanite deities, even though El is technically the supreme god, to whose ultimate authority Baal is subordinate. The Ug texts depict him primarily as the great storm god:the fertility of the land depends on the rain this god supplies. His character is well-represented on a famous stele discovered at Ugarit, which shows him standing (on mountains or clouds?) brandishing a club in his right hand and a lance in his left, the upper part having the form of a tree or stylized lightning (cf. *ANEP* pl. 490). In one of the Baal myths, the god uses 2 clubs, clearly symbolizing thunder and lightning, to defeat Yam.

While Baal is regularly spoken of in the Ug texts as the son of Dagon, a god who otherwise is only rarely mentioned there (e.g., *KTU* 1.2.I.19; 1.5.VI.23–24 = *CTA* 2.I.19; 5.IV.23–24), he is also referred to as the son of the supreme god Il (cf. *KTU* 1.3.V.35; 1.4.1V.47 = *CTA* 3.VE.43; 4.IV.47). How these statements are to be reconciled is not completely certain. They could reflect divergent traditions, but it is more likely that Dagon is understood to be literally his father, and that Baal was also the "son" of El in the sense that he was a descendant of El (his grandson?), a member of the pantheon of gods which had its ultimate origin in El.

We come now to Baal's consorts. In the Ug texts it is the goddess Anath who appears as Baal's primary consort. It is she who goes searching for him after his descent into the underworld and participates in his conflict with Mot, for example. Astarte also appears as his consort, though she is not so prominent. As we shall see, the situation is reversed in the OT: Anath appears only as the name of Shamgar's father and vestigially in place names (Anathoth and Beth-Anath), whereas Astarte, her name distorted to Ashtoreth or often Ashtaroth (the plural form), appears frequently even though we are not told much about her. Moreover, Asherah is often paired with Baal in the OT, suggesting that she too is considered to be Baal's consort, a point discussed later in greater detail. Returning to Anath, it is curious to note that she is constantly referred to as "the virgin Anath." It is not to be understood from this that she never had sexual intercourse with Baal; rather, the title appears to be explained by an Egyptian reference to her as the goddess who conceives but never bears (Papyrus Harris).

According to the Ug texts, Baal's dwelling was on Mt. *ṣpn,* probably to be vocalized Ṣapān (some scholars call it Zaphon following the Heb vocalization). The mountain in Hittite is called Ḫazzi, whence its classical name Casius. It is located about 40 km N of Ugarit, at Jebel el-Aqraʿ, 1, 759 m above sea level—appropriately enough, the highest mountain in Syria. The mountain's location to the N of Canaan accounts for the apparent derivation of the Heb word for "north" (*ṣāpôn*) from its name. Echoes of its

mythological sense are found in Ps 48:3—Eng 48:2, where the term is applied to Zion, and also in Isa 14:13. There were also various places in Egypt called Baal-zephon, one of which is mentioned in connection with the Exodus deliverance in Exod 14:2.

The god Baal in the Ugaritic texts has a number of epithets. The most frequently occurring are *ʾaliyn bʿl* "the victor Baal," *rkb ʿrpt* "rider of the clouds," and *zbl bʿl ʾarṣ* "the prince lord (Baal) of the earth." Suggested echoes of the latter 2 expressions in the Bible are discussed below.

Although the god Baal is mentioned in many Ug texts, one work in particular is of central importance, the Baal cycle on 6 tablets in *KTU* 1.1–6 (= *CTA* 1–6). This is broadly divisible into 3 main sections: (i) the conflict between Baal and Yam ("Sea") in *KTU* 1.1–2 (= *CTA* 1–2); (ii) the building of Baal's house (palace/temple) in *KTU* 1.3–4 (= *CTA* 3–4); and (iii) the conflict between Baal and Mot ("Death") in *KTU* 1.5–6 (= *CTA* 5–6). The following is a summary of the main points made in these 6 tablets concerning Baal.

(i) The god Yam sends messengers to El and the assembly of the gods on Mt. *Ll,* demanding that Baal be given up to him. Baal refuses to be given up, and eventually a battle takes place between Baal and Yam. Yam at first appears victorious, but in the end Baal defeats Yam with the help of two clubs made by the craftsman god Kothar-and-Ḫasis, and Baal is proclaimed king.

(ii) A king must naturally have a palace, and so the 2d main division is to a considerable degree taken up with the building of Baal's palace. Anath first demands a palace for her consort from El, using threats, but is unsuccessful. Subsequently, following the urging of Baal and Anath, Athirat requests El to grant Baal a palace; unlike Anath she is successful. Kothar-and-Ḫasis builds the palace, and particular interest centers on the question of constructing a window for the palace, which Kothar-and-Ḫasis urges on Baal. Baal first declines this but eventually comes round to the idea.

(iii) The 3d section concerns the conflict between Baal and Mot. Mot uses threats to bring Baal, together with his accompanying meteorological phenomena, down into the underworld, which is Mot's realm. This duly takes place and a period of dryness comes over the earth. El and Anath each engage in ritual lamentation over Baal's disappearance. Athtar is nominated to be king in Baal's place by Athirat, but he is not tall enough to occupy Baal's throne, so he descends from it. There is a scene in which Anath destroys Mot, the various verbs employed suggesting that she is treating him as if he were corn. El then has a dream in which he sees the fertility of the earth restored, which gives him confidence that Baal is now alive again. Baal smites the sons of Athirat and ascends his throne. Then we read that in the 7th year Mot complains about his fate at the hands of Baal, and a scene follows in which Baal and Mot struggle with each other. After the intervention of Shapash (the sun goddess), Mot concedes defeat.

One problem concerns the relationship between Baal's conflict with Yam and the creation of the world. In the OT we find the conflict with the waters associated with the creation of the world on a number of occasions (cf. Pss 74:12–17; 89:10–15—Eng 89:9–14, etc.). Similarly in the Babylonian text *Enuma elish*, Marduk's defeat of the sea monster Tiamat is connected with the creation of the world. No such conflict occurs in the Baal-Yam text, but the OT and Babylonian parallels nevertheless cause some scholars to assume this connection. There does not seem to be room in our Ug Baal-Yam text for an account of the creation of the world, although it is possible that there was also a primeval conflict between Baal and Anath, on the one hand, and Yam, Leviathan, etc., on the other, which was a prelude to El's creation of the world. Various Ug texts may allude to this (*KTU* 1.3.III.39–46; 1.5.I.1–3; 1.82.1–3; 1.83.3–10 = *CTA* 3.IIID.36–43; 5.I.1–3; *UT* 1001.1–3; 1003.3–10; cf. *KTU* 1.6.VI.51–53 = *CTA* 6.VI.50–52).

There has been considerable discussion whether the Baal cycle and, in particular, the Baal-Mot cycle reflects the seasonal cycle of an ordinary agricultural year or a 7-year (sabbatical) cycle. The chief proponent of a cyclic seasonal interpretation of the whole of the Baal epic is J. C. de Moor (1971), who compares the allusions in the various sections with current climactic conditions known from Syria today. However, there are a number of objections to the details of de Moor's thesis, as for example his reordering of the tablets so that the first 3 are to be read in the sequence 3, 1, 2. Thus, tablet 3 is related to the autumn, tablets 1 and 2 to the winter, tablets 4 and 5 to the spring, and tablet 6 to the summer.

However, de Moor's reordering creates a problem in connection with the building of Baal's house, which de Moor has to suppose was begun, then abandoned, and only later completed. Another problem is that de Moor sometimes advocates novel and debatable translations, e.g. *ṣḥrr* "be dust colored" instead of "be hot."

It would be incorrect, however, to reject all seasonal elements in the work. The crucial passage concerns Anath's destruction of Mot, where she is clearly treating him like corn. Why would a whole series of agricultural images be used if, as some suppose, we simply have a picture of destruction and nothing more? We read that Anath "seized divine Mot, with a blade she split him, with a sieve she winnowed him, with fire she burnt him, with millstones she ground him, in a field she sowed him …" (*KTU* 1.6.II.30–35 = *CTA* 6.II.30–35). From this it would appear that Mot symbolizes the corn in some way, clearly indicating a seasonal rather than a sabbatical cycle. There would be no corn to be symbolized in a period of famine as presupposed by the sabbatical-cycle view, and in any case, nothing else in the text suggests a famine. How then are we to understand the reference to "the 7th year" (*KTU* 1.6.V.8–9 = *CTA* 6.V.8–9)? This is not entirely clear, but proponents of a sabbatical rather than a seasonal interpretation of the Baal-Mot cycle appear to overlook the fact that the destruction of Mot and the resurrection of Baal take place only after "months" have passed (cf. *KTU* 1.6.II.26–27 = *CTA* 6.II.26–27) and that the reference to the 7th year occurs *after* this. The text clearly is therefore *not* saying that Baal is in the underworld for 7 years. (Contrast the Hadad text, *KTU* 1.12.II.44–45 = *CTA* 12.II.45–46, and the Aqhat text, *KTU* 1.19.I.42–44 = *CTA* 19.I.42–44, where Baal does disappear for 7 or 8 years.)

One considerably disputed subject is the relation between Baal and El. Is Baal in conflict with El or are the two gods in harmony? The latter would appear to be nearer the truth, though there are signs of tension. The extreme claim, made, for example, by M. H. Pope (1955:27–32), the Baal deposed El, on the analogy of Zeus' dethroning of Kronos, and that there may be a reference to this in the fragmentary and obscure *KTU* 1.1.V (= *CTA* 1.V) is certainly false. El remains throughout the supreme deity (L'Heureux 1979:1–108) and there are allusions which make it almost certain that Baal was appointed king by El (cf. *KTU* 1.3.V.35–36 = *CTA* 3.VE.43–44; 4.IV.47–48) just as other deities were. Moreover, although Mot is called "the beloved of El," El does lament when he hears of Baal's death (*KTU* 1.5.VI.11–25 = *CTA* 5.VI.11–25) and rejoices when he has his vision of Baal's resurrection, following the destruction of Mot (*KTU* 1.6.III.4–21 = *CTA* 6.III.4–21). Moreover, Shapash says that El will take away Mot's throne if he goes on opposing Baal (*KTU* 1.6.VI.22–29 = *CTA* 6.VI.22–29). Again, although Yam is called "the beloved of El" and El appears prepared to give up Baal to Yam's messengers, the context suggests that this was due to fear on El's part (cf. *KTU* 1.2.I.21–24 = *CTA* 2.I.21–24). To be sure, there are signs of tension between El and Baal, and open hostility does seem to be present in *KTU* 1.12 (= *CTA* 12), the so-called Hadad text, where El is ultimately responsible for the devouring beasts which lure Baal to his death. This, however, belongs to a work separate from the main Baal cycle:in this latter there are references indicating hostility between Baal and the sons of Athirat (*KTU* 1.6.I.39–43; 1.6.V.1 = *CTA* 6.I.39–43; 6.V.1), though not with El himself.

**2. Later Phoenician Sources.** In the Phoenician inscriptions, various manifestations of the god Baal are attested, e.g., Baal-Shamem (*KAI* 4.3), Baal of Lebanon (*KAI* 31.1, 2), Baal of Sidon (*KAI* 14.18). In Punic inscriptions the leading deity is called Baal-ḥammon (e.g. *KAI* 102.1; 103.1), and it is widely believed that he is to be equated with El, largely because he was called Kronos by classical writers. However, it seems likely, as the name suggests, that this deity was actually a form of Baal:"Baal of the incense altar" (an incense altar features in a number of depictions of his cult). Sometimes he is simply called Baal in Punic texts (he is never called El), which suggests that Baal is the god's name and that it is not simply an epithet meaning "lord." Moreover, in Latin inscriptions he bears the epithets *frugifer* and *deus frugum* (e.g. *CIL* 8.4581), indicating a fertility god, and his consort Tinnit is equated with Astarte (Baal's wife) in a text from Sarepta in Phoenicia (Pritchard 1978:105). Finally, there is evidence that Kronos could, on occasion, denote Baal as well as El, and in Hannibal's oath in his treaty with Philip V of Macedon, recorded in Polybius 7.9.2–3, Baal-ḥammon actually appears to be called Zeus. It was probably

the fact that Kronos devoured his own children that encouraged his equation with Baal-ḥammon, the god of child sacrifice.

Philo of Byblos in his *Phoenician History* clearly has knowledge of the god Baal, but what he says is far removed from the authentic Baal of the Ug texts. In addition to Beelsamen (i.e. Baal-Shamem), who is equated with the sun, Baal appears in Philo both under the name of Zeus Belos, who is one of Kronos' (El's) children, and also under the name of Demarous (= Zeus = Adodos, i.e., Hadad). We read that "greatest Astarte and Zeus," called both Demarous and Adodos, king of gods, were ruling over the land with the consent of Kronos (Attridge and Oden 1981:55). We may compare the picture in the Ug texts, where Baal's kingship seems to be exercised under the authority of El. It is also stated that "Demarous advanced against Pontos, but Pontos routed him (Attridge and Oden 1981:53). This allusion is possibly a reflection of Baal's conflict with Yam (Sea), though it should be pointed out that whereas Baal defeated Yam, Pontos routed Demarous! Although Muth (= Mot) is mentioned, Philo of Byblos displays no knowledge of the Baal-Mot cycle with its account of Baal's death and resurrection.

**B. Baal in the OT**

**1. Israelite Worship of Baal.** Prior to the discovery of the Ug texts it was sometimes thought that there were various and quite-separate gods called Baal. This idea was encouraged by the presence in the OT of various compound place names involving Baal, e.g. Baal-peor, Baal-hermon, Baal-meon, Baal-hazor, Baal-gad, etc. However, with the discovery of the Ug texts it became clear that there was one great Canaanite storm-and-fertility deity Baal-Hadad of cosmic stature, so that we must assume that these OT allusions refer to particular local manifestations of this one god. We may compare the variety of local manifestations of the Virgin Mary within Roman Catholicism. The OT itself speaks a number of times of "the Baals" (Judg 2:11; 3:7; etc.). It is not clear whether this is a way of speaking of the different local manifestations of Baal or whether it is speaking of Canaanite deities more generally. We have the same problem over the references to "the Ashtaroth" (Judg 2:13; 1 Sam 7:4; etc.), which could mean local manifestations of Astarte (Ashtoreth) or Canaanite goddesses generally (cf. Akkadian *ilāni u ištarāti,* "gods and goddesses").

Reading the OT, it becomes clear that it was the Baal cult that provided the greatest and most enduring threat to the development of exclusive Yahweh worship within ancient Israel. The fact that the Israelites were settled among the Canaanites, for whom the worship of Baal was so important, and that Palestine is a land utterly dependent for its fertility upon the rain, which was held to be Baal's special realm of influence, accounts for the tempting nature of this cult as well as the strength of the OT polemic against it.

At the time of the entry into the promised land we hear of the temptation to participate in the cult of Baal-Peor at Mt. Peor in the land of Moab (Num 25:1–9; Deut 4:3; Ps 106:28; Hos 9:10). Subsequently, during the period of the Judges, Israel worshiped the Baals (Judg 2:11, 13; 3:7; 10:6, 10; 1 Sam 7:4; 12:10). The text recounts that Gideon pulled down an altar of Baal and cut down an Asherah (Judg 6:25–32). During the Divided Monarchy Ahab married Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Sidonians, and worshiped Baal. He erected an altar for Baal in the house of Baal, which he built in Samaria and made an Asherah (1 Kgs 16:31–33). Ahab's promulgation of the Baal cult provides the background for the famous confrontation between Elijah and the prophets of Baal on Mt. Carmel in 1 Kings 18. Unlike Elijah, Ahab clearly did not see his promulgation of Baal as being incompatible with Yahweh worship; in fact, Ahab's sons Ahaziah and Jehoram bear Yahwistic names. (On the identification of Ahab's Baal, see below.) Ahaziah is said to have worshipped Baal (1 Kgs 22:53)—indeed, we read that he consulted Baal-zebub, the god of Ekron, when he was ill (2 Kgs 1:2–16), a name (lit. "lord of the fly") which looks as though it is a distortion of Baal-zebul ("Baal the Prince," cf. Ug *zbl bʿl* and NT Beelzebul). Ahab's other son, Jehoram, is said to have put away the pillar of Baal which his father had made (2 Kgs 3:2), though he is still regarded by the Deuteronomist as an evil king (2 Kgs 3:2–3). It is clear, however, that Baal worship persisted, for Jehu was later ruthlessly to massacre the Baal priests, prophets, and worshipers in the temple of Baal as well as destroy the temple itself and the pillar of Baal within it (2 Kgs 10:18–27). This act was later to receive the condemnation of the prophet Hosea (cf. Hos 1:4). In addition to the N kingdom (2 Kgs 17:16), Manasseh is singled out as worshipping Baal (2 Kgs 21:3), but Josiah in his great

reformation put an end to his cult (2 Kgs 23:4–5). Among the canonical prophets it is Hosea and Jeremiah who seem most exercised by the Baal cult (e.g., Hos 2:10—Eng 2:8; 13:1; Jer 2:8; 23:13).

In the postexilic period we do not hear of Baal, apart from a reference in Zech 12:11 to the Aramean cult of Hadad-rimmon in the plain of Megiddo. Also we need to remember that Antiochus IV Epiphanes rededicated the temple in Jerusalem in 168 B.C. to Zeus Olympios, who was a Hellenistic form of Baal-Shamem. "The abomination of desolation" (*šiqqûṣ šōmēm* or *šiqqûṣ měšōmēm*) in Dan 9:27; 11:31; 12:11 is a play on the name of the god Baal-Shamem.

Some discussion of the identity of the Baal propagated by Ahab and Jezebel is necessary. It has often been thought that this is a different god from the one presupposed elsewhere in the OT, and is rather to be equated with the Tyrian deity Melqart. This view, however, is to be rejected (Mulder 1979). It is not until a 2d century B.C. inscription from Malta that we find Melqart referred to as Baal ("the Baal [or lord] of Tyre," *KAI* 47:1). There is every reason to believe that Jezebel's Baal was in fact Baal-Shamem, another Tyrian deity who is in fact identical with the Baal attested elsewhere in the OT. (i) The Baal of 1 Kings 18 is clearly a god who was believed to bring lightning and rain; classical sources, however, reveal that Melqart was thought of as being asleep during the winter months when these phenomena abounded. (ii) The treaty between Baal king of Tyre and Esarhaddon king of Assyria in the 7th century B.C. clearly distinguishes Baal-Shamem and 2 other Baal deities, who manifest themselves in the storm, from the god Melqart (*ANET*, 534). (iii) The god of Carmel, where the contest takes place in 1 Kings 18, was always equated with Zeus. Now it was Baal-Shamem who was regularly identified with Zeus, Melqart being rather equated with Herakles.

Because the god Baal was so detested by the biblical tradition, the word *bōšet* "shame" has sometimes been substituted for the god's name by a scribe. This is the case in Jer 3:24; 11:13; and Hos 9:10. This substitution also occurs in various personal names: cf. Ish-bosheth (2 Sam 2:10) for Eshbaal (1 Chr 8:33; 9:39), Mephibosheth (2 Sam 4:4; 9:6; etc.) for Meribaal (or Meribbaal) (1 Chr 8:34; 9:40), and Jerubbesheth (2 Sam 11:21) for Jerubbaal (Gideon, Judg 6:32). Similarly Astarte (Ashtart) is distorted to Ashtoreth, reflecting the vowels of the word *bōšet,* and Molech is probably a comparable distortion, the original form perhaps being Melek.

The worship of the Baals in the OT is sometimes associated with that of the Ashtaroth (Judg 2:13; 10:6; 1 Sam 7:4; 12:10), which must reflect the fact that Astarte was one of Baal's consorts in Canaanite religion. More curious is the repeated pairing of Baal and Asherah (cf. Judg 3:7; 6:25–32; 1 Kgs 16:32–33; 18:19; 2 Kgs 17:16; 21:3), since in the Ug texts Asherah (Athirat) was the consort of El, not of Baal. Did Baal take over Asherah as his consort? The Hittite-Canaanite Elkunirša myth (*ANET*, 519), with its evidence of Asherah's (Ašertu's) flirting with the storm god and alienation from El (Elkunirša), might possibly lend support to this. Alternatively, the pairing of Baal and Asherah may be a sign of confusion on the part of the OT; or again, perhaps this pairing is not intended to imply that one was the consort of the other. Certainty is not possible. As for Anath, who appears prominently as a consort of Baal in the Ug texts, she appears in the OT only vestigially in the place names Anathoth and Beth-Anath, and as the name of Shamgar's father.

There is evidence from the OT that Yahweh and Baal could be equated in syncretistic circles. One may compare the personal name Bealiah, lit. "Yahweh is Baal" (1 Chr 12:6—Eng 12:5), and Hosea's declaration, "And in that day, says the Lord, you will call me 'My husband,' and no longer will you call me 'My Baal' " (2:18—Eng 2:16). This syncretism made the Baal cult all the more insidious from the point of view of the Yahweh purists. The Baal cult or Baalized Yahweh cult is associated in the OT with the high places (*bāmôt*), whose characteristic appurtenances include pillars (*maṣṣēbôt*), i.e., symbols of the male deity, Asherim (wooden cult symbols of the goddess Asherah), and altars. These are sometimes spoken of as being situated "on every high hill and under every luxuriant tree" (cf. 1 Kgs 14:23).

Although there are no indications of this in the Ug texts, it seems likely from a number of OT allusions that sacred prostitution formed part of what was involved in the fertility cult of Baal. That sacred prostitutes existed in Israel is clear from a number of allusions, cf. Hos 4:14, where *hazzōnôt* "the prostitutes" are mentioned parallel with *haqqĕdēšôt* (lit. "the holy ones") in a cultic context, and Gen

38:21–22, where Tamar is described as a *qĕdēšâ,* whereas in v 15 she is called a *zōnâ.* This makes it clear that the word *qĕdēšâ* refers to a sacred prostitute. The masculine form *qādēš* "male cult prostitute" occurs in 1 Kgs 14:24; 15:12; 22:46; 2 Kgs 23:6–7; and Deut 23:17. The fact that "harlotry" and "adultery" constitute such a common metaphor for apostasy to Canaanite worship in the OT is perhaps accountable for in the light of sacred prostitution's role within the Baal cult—cf. Hos 5:3–5; 6:10; 7:4; Jer 2:20; 3:2–4, 9:1(—Eng 9:2); Ezekiel 16 and 23. In fact it is not always clear whether the terminology is literal or metaphorical.

**2. OT Use of Baal Motifs.** That Yahweh was seen as Baal in some circles is shown by Hos 2:18—Eng 2:16, which criticizes those who refer him as "my Baal," and by the personal name Bealiah (1 Chr 12:6—Eng 12:5), as noted above. However, the OT opposes the equation of Yahweh with Baal (Hos 2:18—Eng 2:16), in contrast with its attitude to El, whose identification with Yahweh is admitted (Exod 6:3). But it is clear that the OT does nevertheless ascribe certain Baalistic functions to Yahweh. For example, there are a number of references in the OT to Yahweh's conflict with the dragon and the sea (e.g., Ps 74:12–15; Isa 27:1; Job 7:12). As at Ugarit the sea conflict is associated with the deity's kingship (cf. Ps 74:12–15; Isa 27:1; Job 7:12). Following Baal's victory over the sea his palace/temple was built for him, and similarly in Exod 15:17 we read of the establishment of Yahweh's sanctuary, described in terms reminiscent of Baal's, following his victory at (rather than with) the sea. In Daniel 7 the imagery of the one like a son of man coming with the clouds of heaven, enthroned by the Ancient of Days and victorious over the beasts of the sea, ultimately derives from the figure of Baal, "rider of the clouds," whose kingship resulted from his victory over the sea, and was subordinate to the supreme god El, "father of years."

Yahweh's manifestation in the storm is sometimes depicted in terms reminiscent of Baal. Thus, in Psalm 29 we find not only the theme of Yahweh's kingship and his conflict with the waters (vv 3, 10), reminiscent of Baal, but also a glorious theophany in the thunderstorm, with seven thunders (vv 3a, 4a, 4b, 5, 7, 8, 9) which are doubtless related to Baal's "seven lightnings … eight storehouses of thunder" (*KTU* 1.101.3–4 = *Ugaritica* V.3.3–4) ("seven/eight" appears to mean "seven"). It is doubtful, however, whether the expression *rōkēb bā‹ărābōt* used of Yahweh in Ps 68:5—Eng 68:4 is to be rendered "rider on the clouds" on the analogy of Baal's Ugaritic epithet *rkb ‹rpt,* contrary to a widely held view. The expected translation of the Hebrew expression would be "rider through the deserts," since *‹ărābâ* regularly means "desert" in the OT, and it should be noted that this fits the context in the Psalm, dealing as it does with the wilderness wanderings. (Cf. too Isa 40:3, *bā‹ărābâ mĕsillâ* "a highway in the desert" with Ps 68:5—Eng 68:4, *sōllû lārōkēb bā‹ăbōt* "raise a highway for him who rides through the deserts.") Probably the Hebrew expression is to be understood as a deliberate distortion of Baal's epithet *rkb ‹rpt.*

Various other imagery ultimately related to Baal has also been taken up in the OT. Allusion has already been made to the use of the term *ṣāpôn* to denote Yahweh's dwelling place in Ps 48:3—Eng 48:2 and Isa 14:13, though the context of the latter passage possibly indicates mediation of the imagery through the Jebusite cult of El-Elyon (cf. Isa 14:14). The imagery of Baal's death and resurrection appears to have left its mark on the book of Hosea. It has long been noted that the imagery of the death and resurrection of Israel (a metaphor for its exile and restoration) in Hos 5:12–6:3 appears to reapply the imagery of a dying and rising fertility deity, in view of the reference to the coming of the rain in the context of resurrection in Hos 6:3. What appears not to have been noticed is the relevance of the parallel imagery of death and resurrection applied to Israel in Hosea 13–14, which is introduced with the words "but he (*sc.* Israel) incurred guilt through Baal and died" (Hos 13:1). This strongly suggests that the imagery of Israel's death and resurrection has been consciously appropriated from the Baal cult, against which the prophet is clearly polemicizing throughout his preaching. In these and other ways Baalistic imagery is appropriated by the OT. (For further discussion see Mulden and de Moor, *baÔal, TDOT* 2:181–200).

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**BAAL** (PERSON) [Heb *baʿal* ( בַּעַל)]. This name is shared by 2 people in the Hebrew Bible, both preexilic figures mentioned only in 1 Chronicles. The name's interpretation is debated: some understand it as a reference to the Syro-Canaanite deity Baal (*IPN* 120–22), while others claim that *baʿal* is "master," and is an appellation of YHWH (Gray 1896:141–46). Each of these interpretations is based on different understandings of preexilic Israelite religion, especially the extent to which it was monotheistic, polytheistic, or syncretistic. The evidence is inconclusive; according to 2 Sam 5:20 a place was named Baal-Perazim, "Baal has broken through" because "the LORD has broken through my enemies before me, like a bursting flood," and according to 1 Chr 12:6—Eng 12:5 one of David's heroes was named Bealiah *(bĕ ʿalyâ)* which may fit either "Baal is Yah (weh)" or "Yahweh is the master." The name of one of David's heroes alternates between Beeliada, *bʿlyd* "Baal knows" or "attends to" (1 Chr 14:7) and Eliada, *ʾlyd* "God knows" or "attends to" (2 Sam 5:16; 1 Chr 3:8). This interchange could either suggest that Baal is being used as an appellation of YHWH, who is "master," or that among certain groups, the deities Baal and YHWH were syncretistically identified, a process that is strongly suggested by Hosea, especially 2:18—Eng 2:16 ("And in that day, says the LORD, you will call me, 'my husband, 'and no longer will you call me, 'my Baal.' "). Whether or not the personal name Baal is a pagan theophoric name depends on the extent to which ancient Israel was polytheistic; Kaufmann (1972) and more recently Tigay (*AIR*, 157–94) claim that preexilic Israel was not polytheistic, while Smith (1971:13–56) and others (e.g., Freedman *AIR*, 315–35) claim that it was.

Other biblical names have the element Baal in them (*TPNAH*, 54–63). These names are from the period of Saul and David, and one of the editors of the book of Kings has changed the Baal element in them to *bōšet,* "shame." Names with the element Baal are also attested to 5 times for the later preexilic period in the extrabiblical epigraphic corpus, 4 times in the Samaria ostraca, and once in an inscription from Mesad Hashavyahu (Tigay 1986:65–66). None of these attestations clarify whether the element *baʿal* refers to the divinity or should be rendered "master," as an appellation for *YHWH.*

**1.** A Reubenite according to the genealogy of 1 Chr 5:5. This genealogy lists the descendents of Joel, whose exact relationship to Reuben is not known. According to v 6, Baal's son Beerah was exiled to Assyria by Tiglath-pileser III, in the 2d half of the 8th century B.C.E. However, "son" in these genealogies often indicates a linear descendent, rather than a "son" of the next generation, so it is difficult to date when this Baal lived. The presence of the potentially problematic name Baal within this genealogy probably attests to its antiquity (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 85). The genealogy in vv 4–5 shares the names Joel and Shimaiah/Shimei/Shema with the Reuben genealogy in v 8. Verse 8 also contains the name Bela *(belaʿ),* which is nearly identical with Baal *(baʿal).* Furthermore, the Peshitta to v 5 reads Bela *(blʿ)* for Baal *(bʿl),* and this reading is favored by some scholars (Richter 1932:130). Thus, the genealogies in vv 4–5 and in v 8 are variants of each other, and, as is typical of genealogical fluidity (Johnson 1969; Wilson 1977), one tradition records the name of the descendent of Joel as Baal, while another lists him as Bela.

**2.** According to 1 Chr 8:30 and 9:36, a Benjaminite who was not the firstborn son of Gibeah and whose descendents later moved to Jerusalem (8:32 and 9:38; Demsky 1971:17). The use of a Baal name with a Benjaminite is especially interesting because the relatively infrequent names compounded with Baal are found with three members of the family of Saul, a Benjaminite. On the repetition of the Benjaminite genealogy in 1 Chronicles 8 and 9, see AHAZ.

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MARC Z. BRETTLER

**BAAL** (PLACE) [Heb *baʿal* (בַּעַל)]. In 1 Chr 4:33, an alternative form of the toponym BAALATH-BEER.

**BAAL-BERITH** (DEITY) [Heb *baʿal bĕrît* (בַּעַל בְּרִית)]. The phrase Baal-berith, "lord of the covenant," which appears only in Judg 8:33 and 9:4 (a similar form "El Berith" occurs in Judg 9:46) has attracted many different interpretations. Albright, in his 1941 Ayer Lectures (*ARI* 110), thought that Baal-berith was an appellation of the god Haurôn, yet this proposal has found few adherents. While no other proposal has met with consensus among scholars due primarily to the scant evidence, there is a good deal of speculation centering around the identity of Baal-berith of Shechem and any connection between this deity and the development of covenant theology in ancient Israel.

Many scholars have speculated on the relation between Baal-berith and El Berith. Some favor 2 separate deities. Soggin (*Judges* OTL, 170–71, 186) sees 2 different deities corresponding to the 2 sanctuaries at Shechem (cf. *TDOT*, 2:194). Others (Good *HBD*, 84) have argued that Baal-berith and El Berith are one and the same. Clements (1968:26 n.3) believes that "the title El-Berith was simply an alternative for Baal-berith, with El used in a purely appellative sense." Cross (*CMHE*, 49) has argued that what we have here is an original epithet of the Canaanite deity El who was known at Shechem as both *ʾēlʾĕlōhê yiśrāʾēl,* "El, the god of (the patriarch Jacob) Israel" and *ʾēl baʿl bĕrît* "El, the lord of the covenant." Cross (*CMHE,* 39) also pointed out that *ʾil brt* (= El Berith) occurs in a Hurrian text (RS 24.278) published in Ugaritica V (so too Lipiński 1973:50–51).

Another topic of discussion is the relation of Baal-berith and El Berith to Yahweh. Most scholars (e.g. Cooke *Joshua* CBSC, 221) describe a process whereby as the Israelites took over the LB Canaanite sanctuary at Shechem (cf. Dever's remarks on Migdal Temple I [1987:232]), the Canaanite god Baal-berith/El Berith came to be regarded as a manifestation of Yahweh. Kaufmann (*KRI* 138–39, 260) argues that *baʿal* was an epithet for Yahweh in early times which fits with his theory that "during the age of the judges … there are no Baal priests or prophets, nor any other intimation of a vital effect of polytheism in Israel's life." Tigay, who has followed up on Kaufmann's work, holds out the possibility that we have polytheism in Judges 9:4, 46 (Tigay 1986:41 n.13). See also the discussion of the relation of Yahweh and El in Cross (*CMHE,* 44–75) who suggests that Yahweh was "recognized as originally a cultic name of ʾEl." It is further advocated by Cross that El may have borne the epithet *ḏū yahwī sabaʾôt,* "He who creates the heavenly armies" (*CMHE,* 71).

In later biblical tradition, as evidenced by the Deuteronomistic editing in Judg 8:33, *baʿal bĕrît* was seen to be a pagan deity. Mulder (*TDOT*, 2:194) has pointed out the association of this deity with wine festivals in Judges 9:27, which would support the notion that Baal-berith was "a god of vegetation and a local manifestation of the Baal par excellence."

Baal-berith has also attracted a good deal of attention by those who have speculated on the origin of the idea of covenant in ancient Israel. How did Baal-berith, "the lord of the covenant," function in the treaty itself? Two viable options have been proposed. Outside of the Bible, there are few parallels in the ancient Near East to deities entering into covenant relationships with peoples. Weinfeld (*TDOT*, 2:278) says that "the idea of a covenant between a deity and a people is unknown to us from other religions and cultures" yet compare the inscription from Arslan Tash (*KAI* 27; see Zevit 1977:110–18) and *ʾil brt* mentioned above. Baal-berith and El Berith could be seen as rare examples of a deity in the role of a divine partner or suzerain in the covenant. The Shechemites, who would be seen as the vassal party, are referred to as *bĕnê hămôr,* "sons of the ass," which seems to be a covenantal designation to judge from parallel Mari texts (*ARI* 110; Noth 1984:108–17). Some who follow this line of interpretation have gone so far as to suggest that the Israelites' development of covenant theology was influenced by the cult of Baal-berith which they encountered when they came to Shechem. Clements (1968:31–32), however, argues that though Baal-berith played the role of divine partner, this does not imply that there was any profound influence on the Israelite notion of covenant.

Alternatively, Baal-berith could refer not to a deity in the role of a divine partner (parallel to "unique" biblical usage) but rather to a deity in the role of witness or guardian to the treaty. Here there are abundant parallels in ANE treaties where this was the normal role of the gods. Following this line of interpretation, Baal-berith's function would be as the witness or guarantor of the covenant between two peoples. There is no reference to any battle or conquest of Shechem and most scholars agree that this is due to a covenant which was made between the Israelites and the Shechemites. In fact, every fragment of Shechemite tradition which has come down to us refers to some type of treaty. See SHECHEM (PLACE); COVENANT.

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THEODORE J. LEWIS

**BAAL-GAD** (PLACE) [Heb *baʿal gād* (בַּעַל גָּד)]. A Canaanite city in the valley of Lebanon below Mount Hermon (Josh 11:17). It was the N point of the territory conquered by Joshua, beyond which lay the land that remained unconquered (Josh 13:5). When describing this same region, Judges uses the name Mount Baal-Hermon in place of Baal-gad (Judg 3:3).

According to the descriptions in the Bible, Baal-gad must be located in the region of Laish, a beautiful, lush area which has been hallowed ground from time immemorial. In fact, it is possible that the present-day Banias could be the ancient Baal-gad. It would be no wonder that such a fertile region would be a major seat of Baalism. In later times, the Greeks worshiped Pan in a cavern there, and called the sanctuary-town Paneion and the district Paneas. Later, Philip the Tetrarch beautified the town and called it Caesarea Philippi, while Agrippa II renamed it Neronias.

Baal-gad may have had an important theological function in the biblical text. The Deuteronomistic theologian, by referring to it, shows that a significant part of Yahweh's promise to Israel (Josh 1:4; 11:23) was fulfilled. Moreover, just as the land from Mount Halak in the S to Baal-gad in the N was given by the Lord to Israel under the leadership of Joshua, who observed all the words of the commandment, the land from Baal-gad to Lebo-hamath was also subsequently given to Israel under the leadership of David (2 Sam 8:9–10), yet another obedient leader according to the Deuteronomist (1 Kings 11:38). For further discussion see *GB.*

PAUL BENJAMIN

**BAAL-HAMON** (PLACE) [Heb *baʿal hāmôn* (בַּעַל הָמוֹן)]. A city or district mentioned in the Song of Songs (8:11). It was the location of a plantation of Solomon's that he granted to planters who made it highly profitable. The name is not attested elsewhere in the MT; it may correspond to the place *Balamōn* mentioned (in Greek) in Jdt 8:3 (see BALAMON). Tell Belʿame (M.R. 177205) has been suggested as the site (Gordis 1974; Pope *Song of Songs* 686), but this is more likely Ibleam (so *LBHG* 148).

Paul Haupt (1902:223; 1903:6) suggested that the spelling of the second element with initial *he* was an intentional alteration of an original name **baʿal ḥammôn* (with initial *ḥet*), avoided because it was the name of a Phoenician god (on the name of this deity, see Schmitz 1990:255–57). The suggestion was furthered by Pope (*Song of Songs* AB, 686–87) with citations of a Phoenician inscription (*KAI* 19.3–4) mentioning the city *Ḥammôn* and allegedly showing the biblical passage to allude to an ancient ritual or myth associated with the goddess Astarte. This, and the interpretation of a Palmyrene text mentioning the divinity *bʿl ḥmn,* are highly speculative and of doubtful relevance. There is no cause to link the name Baal-hamon with the Phoenician divine name.

Interpreted literally, Heb *baʿal hāmôn* means "possessor of a crowd," reflected in the Vulgate's *quea habet populos* (Cant 8:11), or "possessor of wealth" ("Ownalot:" Goulder 1986:69), implicit in Syr *weʾinbê saggī* "and its fruit (was) plentiful" (on the word *hāmôn, TDOT* 3:414–18). The transparency of the name has led to speculation that it is an imaginary site in the imagistic world of the supreme song (suggested by Gordis 1974; assumed by Goulder 1986:69). Others (e.g., Robert 1948) understood the term as a particular application of the image of the vineyard used broadly in biblical language as a metonymy for all of Israel. It seems best, however, to interpret Baal-hamon as an actual site, even if its location cannot be established.

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**BAAL-HANAN** (PERSON) [Heb *baʿal ḥānān* (בַּעַל חָנָן)]. This name, meaning "Baal has shown mercy" (*IPN* 187), belongs to 2 persons in the OT (see below). Outside the OT, the name occurs for the ruler of Arwad at the time of Ashurbanipal (Phoenician **Baʿalḥanōn,* in Akkadian transcription *Ba-ʾ-al-ḫa-nu-nu,* Asb. Prism A II 84; 91).

**1.** In Gen 36:38–39 = 1 Chr 1:49–50, Baal-Hanan is the 7th ruler in the list of "the kings who ruled in the country of Edom before there was a king of the Israelites," Gen 36:31. Opinions vary about the date of the "Edomite King List," ranging from the 11th century B.C. (Weippert 1982:155), through the 8th to 6th centuries (Bennett 1983:16), to the 6th/5th centuries (Knauf 1985a). Scholars tend to agree, however, that the succession scheme of this list is artificial, and that in all likelihood the rulers listed in it were contemporaries (Bartlett 1972:27; Weippert 1982:155). The name Baal-Hanan is Canaanite, as is the name of the father of this Edomite "king," *ʿAkbōr* "Jerboa" (Knauf 1985a:248).

**2.** According to 1 Chr 27:28, a certain "Baal-Hanan of Geder" was King David's "commissioner for the olives and sycamores in the lowlands." The list of David's officials 1 Chr 27:25–31 can be regarded as fictitious (Knauf 1985b:13). In this case, this Baal-Hanan might refer to an Idumaean of the postexilic period.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**BAAL-HAZOR** (PLACE) [Heb *baʿal ḥāṣôr* (בַּעַל חָצוֹר)]. A location near the town of EPHRAIM (2 Sam 13:23) where ABSALOM held a sheepshearing celebration at which he had his brother AMNON murdered for having raped his half-sister TAMAR (2 Sam 13:24–29). The generally accepted location of the place is Jebel el-ʿAṣur (M.R. 177153), a remote place of rugged Cenomanian limestone slopes 3, 332 feet above sea level (*GB* 174; Simons *GTTOT* 30). It may be the same site as the Hazor mentioned in Neh 11:33 (*LBHG* 410), though Simons (*GTTOT* 390) identifies this Hazor differently.

Baal-hazor is not to be confused with the fortified city Hazor N of the Sea of Galilee. Absalom's mountain home was 15 miles N of Jerusalem and about 5 miles S of Shiloh. Simons (*GTTOT* 334) points out that there is no *tell* at Jebel el-ʿAṣur that would indicate the ruins of a formerly inhabited city. The Genesis Apocryphon calls the place where God appeared to Abraham after his separation from Lot (Gen 13:14) by the name Ramath-hazor. A late tradition identifies Ramath-hazor as another name for Baal-hazor (*IDB* 1:331).
HENRY O. THOMPSON

**BAAL-HERMON** (PLACE) [Heb *baʿal ḥermôn* (בַּעַל חֶרְמוֹן)]. A border point on the land inhabited by the Hivites (Judg 3:3) and intended for the half-tribe of Manasseh on the E side of the Jordan River (1 Chr 5:23). The Deuteronomistic historian concludes that the sons of Manasseh failed to conquer the Hivite lands, including Baal-Hermon, so that Yahweh could test Israel's rebellion in future generations. By this explanation the historian can rationalize Israel's inability to fulfill the potential of completely possessing the promised land.

Baal-Hermon belongs to the mountains of the Anti-lebanon (see Josh 11:17) range at the edge of ancient Hivite territory, and it is most likely a place on the top of Mt. Hermon, if not one of the 3 peaks comprising Mt. Hermon. The half-tribe of Manasseh is located by 1 Chr 5:23 in 3 places (Baal-Hermon, Senir, and Mt. Hermon). Senir is one of the peaks (see Cant 4:8 and the dual *hermônîm* in Ps 42:7—Eng 42:6) and Mt. Hermon is the name of another. Baal-Hermon is possibly the third peak, which means that the E-Jordan tribe of Manasseh is restricted by the Chronicler to the base of this mountain.

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PAUL NIMRAH FRANKLYN

**BAAL-MEON** (PLACE) [Heb *baʿal mĕʿôn* (בַּעַל מְעוֹן)]. Var. BETH-BAAL-MEON; BETH-MEON. A locality listed among the towns and villages of the tribe of Reuben (Num 32:28) which originally belonged to Moab. It is also known as Beth-baal-meon (Josh 13:17) and Beth-meon (Jer 48:23).

Mesha's reference on the Moabite Stone (ca. 830 B.C.) to having built a reservoir for Baal-meon implies that the city reverted to Moabite control (cf. *ANET* 320, line 9). It may have come back under Israelite control (ca. 770 B.C.) as inferred from a reference to "Baala the Baal-meonite" on Ostraca 27 from Samaria (assuming that this is the same city). The Jeremiah passage (48:23) clearly indicates Moabite possession of the town (ca. 600 B.C.).

Eusebius (*Onomast.* 44.21) identified Baal-meon with "the big village in the environs of (the hot springs of) Baaru … with the name of Beelmaus, distant nine miles from, Esbous, place of origin of the prophet

Elisha." In 1807, Seetzen identified it with the ruins of Khirbet Ma‹in (M.R. 219120), 9 km SW of Madaba. The ruins were carefully studied by Musil in 1902.

The investigations have revealed no Iron Age remains, but in 1934 the mosaic floor of a church on the acropolis was unearthed. Two other churches were excavated in 1973 and 1977.

The main feature of the mosaic floor in the church on the acropolis, dated A.D. 719/720, are 11 city plans of Palestine and Jordan: Nikopolis, (Eleuthero)polis, Ascalona, Maioumas, (Ga)za, Od (roa), (Charach M)ouba, Areopolis, Gadara, Esboun (ta), Belemoun (ta). North of the W church a *xenion* (a hostel for pilgrims) and a room of a pribaton (bath) were found—two buildings associated with the public assistance for pilgrims, particularly necessary in a village like Ma‹in, which was near the hot springs of Baaru. Among the ruins were stone inscriptions, fine Nabatean sculptures, together with several Byzantine capitals which were richly decorated with geometrical, floral, and figurative motifs. See also MAON; MEUNIM.

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MICHELE PICCIRILLO

**BAAL-PEOR** (PLACE) [Heb *ba‹al-pĕ‹ôr* (בַּעַל־פְּעוֹר)]. The place associated with the idol of Moab that tempted Israel while in the wilderness (Deut 4:3; Hos 9:10). According to the narrative account (Numbers 25), while Israel was encamped at Shittim, the men of Israel engaged in immorality with women of Moab. This activity was linked to the idolatrous worship of Baal of Peor. As a result God brought a plague on Israel in which 24, 000 died, and this was only stayed when Phinehas, the son of the high priest, killed Zimri, a Simeonite man, and Cozbi, a Midianite woman with whom Zimri violated the covenant (Num 25:18). According to Mendenhall (1973:105–21) it was an act of ritual intercourse that yoked this Israelite man to the pagan god; thus he broke covenant with the God of Israel.

Baal-peor or Baal of Peor was one of the leading gods of the Moabites, Midianites, and Ammonites, but akin to the Canaanite Baal and Moloch. The sensual rites of worship indicate a connection with the Phoenician Baal and the Moabite Chemosh. The Baal-peor incident carried this sensual aspect in the history of biblical interpretation as well. In particular, Marvin Pope (*Song of Songs* AB, 217–20) points out how sacral sexual intercourse in the Baal-peor festivals relates to interpretation of the biblical Song of Songs. From Jerome's time, writers have commonly associated Baal and Chemosh with the Roman Priapus. Rather than associating Peor, as the rabbis thought, with Heb *pā‹ar* "to fracture," and thus to deprive of virginity, it is best understood as a form of worship in this locality, Baal-peor or Beth-peor, in the mountains of Moab (Deut 3:29, 4:45). For further discussion, see Budd *Numbers* WBC, 274–83 (and bibliography there); Andersen and Freedman *Hosea* AB, 537–38, 540–41; Albright *ARI, YGC.*

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JOEL C. SLAYTON

**BAAL-PERAZIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ba‹al pĕrāṣîm* (בַּעַל פְּרָצִים)]. The place where David had his first victory over the Philistine army after moving his capital from Hebron to Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:18–20; 1 Chr 14:9–11). It is identified with "Mount Perazim" (Heb *ha Pĕrāṣîm*) in Isa 28:21. Thus Baal-perazim must be a mountain from where David's army could attack Philistines who "spread themselves out in the valley of Rephaim." The Greek name *Epnō Diakopōn* means "upper breaches," but the first element of the Heb name *Ba‹al* "lord" may be understood as the noun of relation. So the meaning of *Ba‹al Pĕrāṣîm* is literally "lord of breaches," but idiomatically "breach-maker," like the "dreamer" in Gen 37:19 ("the lord of dreams"), the "destroyer" in Prov 18:9 ("the lord of destruction"), and the "archer" in Gen 49:23 ("the lord of arrows"). The second element of the Heb name *Pĕrāṣîm* figuratively means the "outburst" of Yahweh's wrath in 2 Sam 6:8. So the Heb name *Ba‹al Pĕrāṣîm* here may mean " (divine) Outburster"

which is supported by the expression in 2 Sam 5:20:"Yahweh has broken through my enemies before me like the breakthrough of waters." The use of this place name in 2 Sam 5:20 ("So David came to Baal-perazim") is an example of a biblical practice to modernize geographical names. Here, the place name Baal-perazim was used in the context when this name had not yet been given to the place, like "Dan" in Gen 14:14, "Eben-ezer" in 1 Sam 4:1 and 5:1, and "Lehi" in Judg 15:9, 14.
YOSHITAKA KOBAYASHI

**BAAL-SHALISHAH** (PLACE) [Heb *baʿal šālīšâ* (בַּעַל שָׁלִשָׁה)]. A town (or region) from which a man came bringing "bread of the first fruits, twenty loaves of barley, and fresh ears of grain" to feed Elisha and the sons of the prophets during a famine (2 Kgs 4:42). The Talmud reinforces Baal-shalishah's reputation for agricultural productivity and fertility (*Sanh.* 12a).

The location of Baal-shalishah is tied in with the location of Gilgal, where Elisha and the sons of the prophets were staying. On the one hand, Gilgal here is often assumed to refer to the place near Jericho. Thus, Kallai (1972) identified Baal-shalishah with Kh. el-Marjameh (M.R. 181155) along the upper course of the wadi Samiya (its lower course enters the Jordan valley about 10 km N of Jericho). This identification is problematic, however, insofar as el-Marjameh lies in the wilderness of Ephraim, where the rain-shadow limits annual rainfall and where one would not expect to find a site noted for abundant harvests. On the other hand, because Elisha had been in Shunem and Mt. Carmel immediately before this, it is likely that this "Gilgal" lies somewhere in the N part of the central hill country, probably Jiljulieh (M.R. 171159), 12 km N of Bethel. See GILGAL (PLACE) #2. Eusebius had identified it with "Bethsarith/Bathsarisa" (Jerome rendered "Beth-salisa"), locating it 24 km N of Lydda/Lod. Thus, Baal-shalishah may be identified with Kh. Sirisya (M.R. 151168), overlooking the Sharon plain. The name of Kefr Thilth (M.R. 154174), a village 5.5 km N of Kh. Sirisya, contains the Arabic equivalent of Heb *šalîšâ.* The famine recorded in 2 Kings 4 therefore must have been localized, so that a man from Baal-shalishah about 25 km away could bring surplus food for Elisha and the sons of the prophets.

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**BAAL-TAMAR** (PLACE) [Heb *baʿal tāmār* (בַּעַל תָּמָר)]. The place on the highway between Gibeah (modern Tell el-Ful, M.R. 172136) and Bethel (modern Beitîn, M.R. 172148) where the soldiers of Israel mustered to fight against the Benjaminites who were pursuing them from their garrison at Gibeah (Judg 20:33). The 2 main armies fought here while a second portion of the army of Israel that had been encamped W of Geba (modern Ar Jebaʿ, M.R. 175140) attacked Gibeah and secured the victory over the Benjaminites. Baal-tamar was one among many locations in Israel bearing a divine name. It is possible that it was connected with a temple (*LBHG* 108). Its site has not been conclusively identified, though several possibilities have been mentioned. Press (1951:115) connected Baal-tamar with the palm *(tōmer)* of Deborah (Judg 4:5) on Mount Ephraim. He proposed that Baal-tamar was at the site, upon which the later Judean city of Ataroth was built (modern Kh. Atārāh, M.R. 170142), that was called Beth-tamar in the Byzantine period. Other possibilities are Ras et-Tavil (M.R. 174137) which is NE of Givat Šāʾul, and Ṣahre al Gibiyeh 500 m E of Tel el-Ful (*EncMiqr* 2:293).

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**BAAL-ZEBUB** (DEITY) [Heb *baʿal zĕbûb* (בַּעַל זְבוּב)]. A god of Ekron, whom King Ahaziah wished to consult to learn if he would recover from a sickness he was experiencing as a result of a fall (2 Kgs 1:2, 3, 6, 16). However, Elijah pronounced Yahweh's judgment of death on the king for failing to inquire of Yahweh and instead seeking a word from Baal-zebub of Ekron.

The word *baʿal,* "lord," can be understood as the name of Baal, the great Canaanite deity, or as a generic title which could be used for Baal or for any other male divinity. Most scholars are of the opinion that the cult of Ekron mentioned in 2 Kings 1 was a localized form of Baal worship. Nevertheless, the main debate concerning "Baal-zebub" involves understanding the 2d element in the name, with 2 major positions being taken: (a) *zĕbûb* is the original form, and (b) *zbb* is a deliberate distortion of an original *zbl* by Hebrew copyists. The majority of those holding to the 1st position translate *zĕbûb* as "fly" or "flies" (cf. Isa 7:18; Eccl 10:1), interpreting the full name as "lord of the fly/flies." This name, it has been proposed, signifies that the deity of Ekron had control over flies, having the power to send or repulse these noxious disease-bearing insects (and other pests). Comparisons are made with the Greek god Zeus Apomuios ("averter of flies") and the Roman god Myiagrus (on the weakness of these comparisons see Gaster *IDB* 1:332). By extension, Baal-zebub, "lord of the fly/flies," is viewed as a health god warding off pestilence. The question arises, though, as to why Ahaziah, whose "illness" (or injury) was due to a fall and not a disease, would want to consult specifically this divinity of Ekron, supposedly revered for averting disease-bearing flies and pestilence (Gaster *IDB* 1:332). A 2d suggestion, that "Baal-zebub" sent oracles by means of flies, lacks reliable supporting evidence. Gordon (*UT* 388) explains that "lord of the fly" should be compared with the fly ("= divine symbol?") on cylinder seals. Yet on the example cited the representation, if it is a fly, is of undeterminable significance, its relationship to the seal's other images being problematical. Fensham (1967:361–63), noting the fire motif in the Elijah narratives (including 2 Kings 1), thinks *zĕbûb* may be "flame" (thus "Baal the flame"), on the basis of *ḏbb* (Ug *ḏ* changed to *z* in Heb) in *CTA* 3.3.43. However, the meaning of *ḏbb* in the Ug passage remains uncertain.

The other major position, again, sees *bʿl zbl* as the original name of the god, which was intentionally distorted by scribes to show contempt for the deity and to mock his worshipers (*bʿl zbb* meaning "lord of the fly/flies"). Examples (inexact parallels) from the Heb Bible are mentioned where the theophoric element "Baal" in personal names is known to have been deliberately changed. As to the meaning of *zbl,* the Heb *zĕbūl,* "lofty abode," "exalted dwelling," has been cited (thus:"lord of the lofty abode"). A *zbl,* which can be translated "sick (one)," appears in the Ug literature, but it is doubtful that this word is involved in 2 Kings 1 (i.e., "lord of the sick one"), since it carries connotations of disease or plague. Another proposal interprets *zbl* as "prince." In the mythology of Ugarit Baal several times is referred to as *zbl b>l <ars\,* "the prince, the lord of the earth." Baal is also called simply *zbl b>l,* "Prince Baal," as are other deities (e.g., *zbl ym,* "Prince Yam"). Further, the word order of a divine name preceding *zbl* occurs in the Ug texts; e.g., *ršp zbl* and *yrḫ zbl,* which in context are translated "Prince Resheph" and "Prince Yarikh." Thus, *bʿl zbl* could be "Baal the prince," "Prince Baal," or "Baal is prince" (cf. the name Beelzebul in Matt 10:25 and 12:24, 27; Mark 3:22; Luke 11:15, 18, 19).

In summary, on the basis of the available evidence, one cannot reach a proper understanding of "Baal-zebub." Nevertheless, in light of the context of 2 Kings 1, the Ug evidence, and the tendency of Heb scribes at times to distort certain names, it seems best at present to regard "Baal-zebub" as a caconymic ("lord of the fly/flies") for an original "Baal-zebul," "Baal the prince." Why Ahaziah wanted to consult this Baal of Ekron remains unknown. See also BAAL; BEELZEBUL; and *RE* 2:514–16.

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WALTER A. MAIER III

**BAAL-ZEPHON** (PLACE) [Heb *baʿal ṣĕpōn* (בַּעַל צְפֹן)]. A site in the Egyptian E Delta that is mentioned together with Migdol to help locate Pi-hahiroth, near the place where the Israelites crossed the sea (Exod 14:2, 9; Num 33:7). The precise location of Baal-zephon (and of Migdol and Pi-hahiroth as well) is uncertain, but the question is important for the debate regarding the location of the sea crossing and the route of the Exodus. Baal-zephon, after whom the biblical site was named, was a Canaanite god who is well known from the Ugaritic texts. His dwelling place was on Jebel el-Aqraʿ, about 40 km north of Ugarit, which the Semites called *ṣapānu* (Heb *ṣāpôn*) and the non-Semites called *ḥazi,* later Kasios (*TDOT,* 2:186).

At least 3 sanctuaries of Baal-zephon in N Egypt are known: Memphis, Tahpanhes (Tell Defneh), and Mt. Casius at Ras Qasrun. Possibly one of the temples at Tell el-Dabʿa, located 2 km south of Qantir, was dedicated to Baal (Bietak 1981:253). A *migdol* that is probably called "of Baal-zephon" is mentioned in the Cairo papyrus 31169. Its location seems to have been near Wadi Tumilat (Davies 1979:81). There were probably additional Baal-zephon sites in N Egypt, since the Canaanite religion was popular there at various times (Helck 1962; Stadelmann 1967).

Four locations for biblical Baal-zephon have been proposed: two N, one central, and one S. (1) Some posit its location at the Egyptian Mt. Casios near Lake Sirbonis. Eissfeldt (1932) argued that Mt. Casios was located at Mahammidiye on the Mediterranean coast, about 13 km E of Pelusium, but Cazelles (1955) has demonstrated that it was located at Ras Qasrun on the N strip separating Lake Sirbonis from the Mediterranean. (2) The other suggested location in the N is Tahpanhes, modern Tell Defneh near the S tip of Lake Menzaleh (Albright 1950; Wright 1962:62). (3) Others propose a central location near the Bitter Lakes (Simons 1959:248–51; Davies 1979:82). (4) The traditional view located the site near the head of the Gulf of Suez (Servin 1948–49). To a great extent one's view regarding the location of biblical Baal-zephon is tied in with one's view regarding the route of the Exodus. The 2d and 3d options appear to be the most plausible. For persuasive arguments against the 1st and 4th options, see Davies (1979:81–82).

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PAUL R. RAABE

**BAALAH** (PLACE) [Heb *baʿălâ* (בַּעֲלָה)]. **1.** City on the N border of Judah (Josh 15:9, 10; 1 Chr 13:6). Owing to its biblical identification with Kiriath-Jearim (Josh 15:9; 1 Chr 13:6), it is to be located at Tell el-Azhar (Boling *Joshua* AB, 369), alongside one of the major routes leading through the Judean hill country E to Jerusalem (*LBHG* 59). Noth considers the identification of Baalah and Kiriath-Jearim to be a redactional error, although he concedes that Baalah, which in his opinion may have been no more than a cultic site, lay in the vicinity of Kiriath-Jearim (*Josua* HAT, 88–90, 110). He further views variant names for Baalah/Kiriath-Jearim, such as Kiriath-Baal (Josh 15:60, 18:14) and Baale-Judah (2 Sam 6:2), as artificial constructions. He bases his argument on the putative antiquity of the name Kiriath-Jearim and denies the possibility of multiple concurrent names. Boling (*Joshua* AB, 369), reflecting the view of most modern scholarship, views Baalah as an ancient Canaanite name (meaning "wife" or "lady"), reflecting the worship of one of the Canaanite goddesses (Asherah, Astarte, or Anath). He further speculates that the name Baalah was demythologized by the Israelites into Kiriath-Jearim "Woodsville."

**2.** One of the towns of Judah (Josh 15:29). It was located in the Negeb toward the Edomite border (Josh 15:21). Abel (*GP* 258) located it at Tulul el-Medbah, near Tel Masos (Khirbet el-Meshash). In the lists of the Simeonite tribal allocations within Judah's territory it is called Balah (Josh 19:3) and Bilhah (1 Chr 4:29). Although most scholars do not commit themselves on the question of the original form of the name, Noth (*Josua* HAT, 88) supported Balah, which Albright (1924:150 n. 4) viewed as secondary, choosing what in his view is the most difficult reading, namely Bilhah.

**3.** A point on the NW border of Judah, called Mount Baalah [Heb *har-habbaʿălâ*] (Josh 15:11). It is commonly identified with the ridge of Mughar, NW of Ekron (Kallai-Kleinmann 1958:145).

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**BAALATH** (PLACE) [Heb *ba‹ălāt* (בַּעֲלָת)]. A town in the W part of the territory of Dan (Josh 19:44), within the lowland regions which that tribe failed to inherit from the Canaanites (Judg 1:34). Baalath appears to have come under Israelite control only in the days of Solomon, when it was fortified (1 Kgs 9:17–18; 2 Chr 8:5–6), along with recently annexed Gezer and with Lower Beth-horon, in order to guard the roads leading to Jerusalem from the plain. Baalath is apparently to be equated with Mt. Baalah (Josh 15:9), on the W boundary of Judah. It has been identified with the site of el-Maghar (M.R. 129138), where sherds of the Bronze and Iron ages have been collected (Kaplan 1953:140–41).

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**BAALATH-BEER** (PLACE) [Heb *ba‹alat bĕ›ēr* (בַּעֲלַת בְּאֵר)]. A site mentioned in the list of towns purportedly assigned to the patrimony of the tribe of Simeon by Joshua after the conquest (Josh 19:8) and called Baal in a later version of this list (1 Chr 4:33). The list, widely believed to derive from administrative documents of the monarchy, locates Baalath-beer at an indeterminate distance and direction from the vicinity of 4 other towns: Ain, Rimmon, Ether, and Ashan. If Rimmon (En-rimmon?) is to be identified with Tel Halif, then Baalath-beer might be sought in the S Shephelah or N Negeb. Alternatively, the list's vague association or identification of Baalath-beer with Ramath-Negeb might place the site in the Negeb E of Beer-sheba (*HGB* 358–59), a location which might suggest the site's identification with the BEALOTH mentioned in Josh 15:24. In any case, any modern location of Baalath-beer is clearly a matter of conjecture. The meaning of the toponym "lady of the well" suggests that the patron deity of Baalath-beer may have been a local goddess related to the Canaanite fertility god Baal.
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**BAALBEK** (PLACE). A Canaanite, Phoenician, and Greco-Roman town and cult center in Lebanon, 53 miles (85 km) ENE of Beirut in the N part of the fertile Beqa valley, between the region's 2 major mountain ranges. The cultus was dedicated chiefly to the Semitic god Baal (Hadad/Adad) in his capacity as a deity of sky, storm, and fertility of the land. Although excavations have shown occupation of the site as early as the 3d millennium B.C. (Ragette 1980:16), little is known of the pre-Roman development of Baalbek. Attempts to identify the town with a biblical site, such as Baal-gad, have not been successful.

During the 3d or 2d century B.C. the shrine and town were renamed Heliopolis "City of the Sun" echoing the name of an Egyptian sacred city. From the time of this renaming (if indeed not earlier) until the Islamic conquest in the 7th century A.D., a triad of deities was venerated at the site: Zeus/Jupiter, who may have assumed solar characteristics along with the traditional attributes of Baal; the goddess Aphrodite/Venus (the Syrian Anath/Atargatis); and the youthful god Hermes/Mercury. The assumption that Dionysus/Bacchus was the 3d member of the triad has been shown to be erroneous.

In spite of earthquakes and human destruction, the site has extensive remains dating largely from the 1st through the 3d centuries A.D.; the most important are 6 immense standing columns and other remnants of a temple of Jupiter, a remarkably well-preserved temple popularly known as that of Bacchus, and a small circular temple that has been taken, perhaps mistakenly, to have been dedicated to Venus. Major archaeological excavations were conducted by a German expedition during 1898–1905 (Wiegand); since that time further excavation, along with considerable consolidation and restoration, has been carried out by the Department of Antiquities of Lebanon. Guidebooks to the site include Alouf and Harding; fuller analysis as well as numerous excellent photographs will be found in Jidejian (1975), while Ragette (1980) is helpful for its numerous line-drawings depicting the major temples of Baalbek as they are today and as they may have looked in the past.

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**BAALE-JUDAH** (PLACE) [Heb *baʿălê yĕhûdâ* (בַּעֲלֵי יְהוּדָה)]. See KIRIATH-JEARIM (PLACE).

**BAALIS** (PERSON) [Heb *baʿălîs* (בַּעֲלִיס)]. An early 6th-century B.C. Ammonite king mentioned only in Jer 40:14. The context indicates that Baalis was either: (1) anti-Babylonian in his foreign policy, seeking to restore the Davidic throne under Ammonite control, and collaborating with and harboring Judean royalty involved in the murder of Gedaliah, the Babylonian-appointed governor residing in Mizpah; or (2) at least disruptive of a stable Judean government in an effort to serve his own ends, perhaps being jealous of any neighbor who had the potential of rivaling his own power.

This king has been identified with the Baʿal-yishʿa mentioned on a seal impression found in 1984 at Tell el-ʿUmeiri, just S of Amman in Jordan (Geraty 1984; 1985). It was found in the sift from topsoil excavated near the W rim of the mound about 50 cm above the remains of a major public structure termed the Ammonite Citadel by the excavators. The seal impression itself (19 mm in diameter) was on the flat end of a fired ceramic cone (21 mm in length) which may have served as a stopper with identification for a juglet of unknown contents.

The finely conceived and executed seal impression is divided into 3 panels. The top and bottom panels contain the Ammonite inscription, dated paleographically to ca. 600 B.C. (Herr 1985b and fc.). The middle panel depicts typically Ammonite iconography (Younker 1985): a 4-winged scarab beetle pushing a solar ball flanked by standards, solar discs, and crescent moons in an assemblage reminiscent of Zeph 1:4–6. The inscription reads *lmlkm-ʾwr ʿbd bʿl-yšʿ,* "belonging to Milkom-ʾur, servant of Baʿal-yishʿa (or Baʿal-yashaʿ)." Both of the personal names, that of the owner of the seal and that of the king he served, constitute "firsts." Milkom-ʾor ("Milkom is light") or Milkom-ʾur ("Milkom's flame"), represents the first-known occurrence in which Milkom, the well-known Ammonite divine name, appears as one of the elements in an Ammonite proper name. According to his title, "servant," this individual would have been a prominent government official in the service of the Ammonite king, Baʿal-yishʿa ("Baal is salvation") or Baʿal-yashaʿ ("Baal saves"). The latter is identified with the Baalis of Jer 40:14, and this reference to him is his first extrabiblical confirmation—despite Wright's (1974:3) claim about "Baʿlay" being on the Tell Siran bottle (a misunderstanding of Cross 1973), misinformation perpetuated by Feinberg (1982:272).

The spellings for the name of the Ammonite king preserved in Jer 40:14 *(bʿlys)* and in the seal impression *(bʿlyšʿ)* are different enough that one may legitimately question the identification. The following points argue in its favor (Shea 1985:112):

1. Of the 9 Ammonite kings now known from the Bible, Assyrian texts, and Ammonite inscriptions (cf. Cross's listing in Herr 1985b:171), the Baalis of Jeremiah is the only one containing "Baal" as a theophoric element.
2. In the more than 100 names assembled thus far in our Ammonite onomasticon, Baalis is the only name containing "Baal" as its theophoric element. Thus the use of "Baal" in an Ammonite king's name is exclusive to the king of the ʿUmeiri sealing and the king mentioned in Jer 40:14. Even though the verbal element in the names differ, it is reasonable to conclude that the 2 references are to the same Ammonite king.

The spelling difference in the verbal element of the name thus requires an explanation. Before the discovery of the seal impression, both Cross (1973:15) and Landes (*IDB* 1:112), recognized that the name Baalis makes no sense as it stands in the MT, so suggested it could be hypocoristicon. Subsequent to the find, Shea (1985) has argued an intentional pious change in the Bible to avoid heathen theology, a view

disputed by Herr (1985a). It is also possible that it could be an unintentional change reflecting the way Judeans heard the name pronounced in Ammonite, partially preserved, perhaps, in Jer 47:14 LXX, as Belisa, where the final vowel would reflect the presence of a final *ʿayin* which would, of course, not have been written in Greek (Geraty 1985:100). That Transjordanian *šin* was pronounced *śin* in Cisjordan is well known from the Shibboleth story in Judg 12:6. Whatever the reason for the difference in spelling, it was accurately hypothetically reconstructed by Puech (1985:10) before the archaeological discovery.

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**BAALSAMUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Baalsamos* (Βααλσαμος)]. See MAASEIAH.

**BAANA** (PERSON) [Heb *baʿanaʾ* (בַּעֲנָא)]. Three persons in the OT. Baana and Baanah are apparently variant spellings of the same name, as are *uzzāʾ* (2 Sam 6:3) and *uzzâ* (6:7–8), *mîkāʾ* (2 Sam 9:12) and *mîkâ* (1 Chr 8:34–35). There are 2 main approaches to the meaning of Baana (h). The 1st sees it as deriving from *ben-* "son of" plus a 2d element. The loss of *nun* in *bn-* is known, for example, from 10th–9th century B.C. inscriptions from Byblos (*KAI* 6.1; 7.3; 8). The interpretation "son of distress," from *bn-ʿnh* (BDB, 128) founders mainly on the lack of a noun *ʿānâ* "distress." Somewhat more likely is the view that the 2d element is the name of a deity ʿAn (perhaps the masculine counterpart of ʿAnath), believed to be referred to in personal names from Ug (e.g. *bn. ʿn*), Amarna (DUMU *[Bin]-a-na*), and elsewhere (Hoffmon *APNM* 199; cf. 168–69).

The 2d approach understands Baana (h) to begin with the element *bʿl* "Baal/the Lord" (with *lamed* dropped; Noth (*IPN* 40; cf. *TPNAH* 56) adduces a Phoenician example of *bʿsmm* for *bʿlsmm*). Noth saw the name as *bʿ (l) + n* + hypocoristic *-ā,* the *nun* being the first radical of the name's 2d element; the apparently analogous names Baasha and Baara may also be analyzed in this fashion. Alternately, Baana (h) may derive from *baʿalʿānâ* "Baal has answered" (Montgomery *Kings* ICC, 125).

Possibly related names in extrabiblical sources include Palmyrene *bwnʾ* (*IPN* 40), Minean *bʿn* and Safaitic *bʿnh* (Ryckmans 1934:54, 257).

**1.** Son of Ahilud and a prefect over Solomon's 5th administrative district (1 Kgs 4:12). Baana was charged with supplying provisions for the palace during 1 month of each year (1 Kgs 4:7). His district corresponded roughly to the Jezreel and Beth-Shean valleys, areas dominated until David's time by major Canaanite cities such as Taanach and Megiddo. More precise boundaries cannot be delineated with confidence due to the uncertainty of site identifications (notably Zarethan and Jokmeam, which some read as Jokneam) and difficulties in the text of 1 Kgs 4:12, parts of which appear to have been transposed. See further Wright 1967:59*, 60*, 66*; *LBHG* 308, 313; Naʾaman 1986:187–90. Baana may have been the brother of Jehoshaphat son of Ahilud, a high official (*mzkyr* "Recorder") under David and Solomon: 2 Sam 8:16, 1 Kgs 4:3.

**2.** Son of Hushai and a prefect over Solomon's 9th district (1 Kgs 4:16; for his duties see Baana #1 above). Baana's district is described as *bʾsr wbʿlwt,* either "in Asher and in Aloth" or "in Asher and Bealoth." Both alternatives are problematic inasmuch as no town Aloth, or N town Bealoth, is known, and it seems unusual for the name of a well-known tribe to be paired with that of an obscure locale. Reading

Maaloth *(mʿlwt)* or the like (unconvincingly connected with the Ladder of Tyre, see Montgomery *Kings* ICC, 126) with some Gk witnesses merely exchanges one unknown for another. A conjectured reading "in Asher and Zebulon" is supported by Cross' demonstration (Wright 1967:59* fig. 1 and n. 8) that *zbwlwn* could have been misread as *wbʿlt* in some scripts. The conjectured reading remains viable in spite of objections which have been raised (Montgomery *Kings* ICC, 126; Ahlström 1979), notably on the grounds of *lectio difficilior,* although, the lack of versional support for the reading "Zebulun" is surprising in view of the lateness of Cross' examples. See further *LBHG* 308, 315; Naʾaman 1986:192–94.

It is quite possible that Baana's father was Hushai the Archite, David's loyal advisor (2 Sam 15:32–37).

**3.** The father or ancestor of Zadok, one of those who repaired a section of Jerusalem's walls in the days of Nehemiah (Neh 3:4). Possibly identical to BAANAH #3 or #4.

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FREDERICK W. KNOBLOCH

**BAANAH** (PERSON) [Heb *baʿănâ* (בַּעֲנָה)]. **1.** One of the murderers of King Saul's son Ishbosheth (2 Sam 4:2–12). Baanah and his brother Rechab were both company commanders under Ish-bosheth (2 Sam 4:2), who had succeeded Saul as king of Israel. Having slipped into Ish-bosheth's house as he rested at midday, the two killed the king in his bed and brought his head to David, then king of Judah and Ish-bosheth's rival, in anticipation of a reward. David, however, denounced the deed, had the two executed, and had their severed limbs hung beside the pool in his capital Hebron—no doubt powerful deterrents to further regicide and vivid reminders that David denied any involvement in the assassination.

There is no consensus as to whether Baanah was an Israelite, an important issue in understanding Ishbosheth's murder. According to one reading of 2 Sam 4:2–3, Baanah's father Rimmon was a Benjaminite *(mbny bnymn)* who lived in Beeroth *(hbʾrty).* The passage goes on to tell how Beeroth came to be populated by Benjaminites, *viz.* as a result of the flight of the (native) Beerothites to Gittaim, which presumably allowed Benjaminites to move in. This reading involves taking *bʾrty* "Beerothite" in a geographical sense in v 2 ("one who lives in Beeroth") but in an ethnic sense in v 3 ("Beerothite"). In this view Baanah and Rechab were motivated solely by the expectation of a reward from David (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 127–28).

Alternately, Baanah was the son of "Rimmon the Beerothite *(hbʾrty)* from (among) the Benjaminites *(mbny bnymn),*" and was therefore of Gibeonite extraction, Beeroth being one of the 4 Gibeonite cities (Josh 9:17). Verse 2 goes on to explain why a foreign Beerothite is associated with the Benjaminites: because Beeroth was located within Benjamin's borders. (Verse 3, loosely connected to the foregoing, adds an explanation of why there were Beerothites living in Gittaim.) If Baanah the Gibeonite killed Saul's son, one cannot fail to connect the episode to the well-known Gibeonite hatred of Saul, even though the biblical narrative does not stress the point. Saul, the Gibeonites said, attempted to exterminate them (perhaps the occasion of the Beerothite's flight to Gittaim); in retaliation the Gibeonites, after Saul's death, demanded and received permission from David to execute 7 of Saul's sons (2 Sam 21:1–9). In this view Baanah and Rechab were motivated by revenge as well as profit (Yeivin 1971:150–54; see references in McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 127).

**2.** Man from Netophah in Judah, the father of one of The Thirty, an honor roll of David's warriors (see DAVID). Baanah's son was named Heleb (2 Sam 23:29), Heled (1 Chr 11:30), or Heldai (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 492).

**3.** Leader of the exiles who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr 2:2; Neh 7:7; 1 Esdr 5:8). Possibly the same as BAANA #3.

**4.** One of the leaders who, in the days of Nehemiah, set his seal on a pledge to observe the law of Moses (Neh 10:28—Eng 10:27).

For the meaning of the name BAANAH see BAANA.

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FREDERICK W. KNOBLOCH

**BAARA** (PERSON) [Heb *baʿărāʾ* (בַּעֲרָא)]. One of the 4 women mentioned in a very detailed genealogy of Benjamin in 1 Chr 8:1–40 (v 8). Her name appears nowhere else in the MT (LXX *Baada*) and is not found in the Apocrypha or the deuterocanonical literature. Baara means "coarse" or "brutish one." Three of the 4 women mentioned in 1 Chr 8:8–9 are wives of the Benjaminite, Shaharaim—Baara, Hushim, and Hodesh. Baara, along with Hushim, was divorced by Shaharaim. No children are indicated for Shaharaim by Baara, whereas such is the case with the other two. Perhaps this contributes to the divorce. The genealogy in which Baara appears seems to conclude the major genealogical emphases of the Chroniclers (other emphases being Judah and Levi). Shaharaim appears for the 1st time in v 8, which supports scholars such as Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 82) in pointing out that there is no apparent structure to the extended Benjaminite genealogy. Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 77) emphasizes certain geographical breaks in the genealogy which seem to show parallel lists of Benjaminite families and their dwelling locations at a particular time, probably either during the reign of Josiah or the postexilic period. However, the fact that v 9 locates the family of Shaharaim, and thus of Baara, in Moab might point to a relationship that goes back to earlier times. Certainly Israelites resided in Moab as indicated in Ruth 1 and 1 Sam 22:3, 4. This would have been more likely prior to the time that Moab regained its independence from Israel. Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 60) states that while Moab was under Israel's control the Benjaminite association could clearly have been accurate.

G. EDWIN HARMON

**BAASEIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *baʿăśēyâ* (בַּעֲשֵׂיָה)]. A Levite, ancestor of Asaph the musician (1 Chr 6:25—Eng 6:40). The name Baaseiah is found only once in a genealogical list of levitical singers which attempts to trace ancestry back to the time of David. The list is secondary, perhaps based upon the preceding list (1 Chr 6:1–15—Eng 6:16–30). The name should probably be read Maaseiah with several mss, $LXX^{BL}$ and Syr.

TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**BAASHA** (PERSON) [Heb *baʿăšāʾ* (בַּעְשָׁא)]. King of the N kingdom of Israel ca. 900–877 B.C. (1 Kings 15–16). Baasha was the son of Ahijah of the tribe of Issachar and of common birth (1 Kgs 16:2). Baasha is first mentioned abruptly and without introduction in 1 Kgs 15:16 as the opponent in a border war against King Asa of Judah. This border dispute between the N and S kingdoms in 1 Kings 15 represents a literary crossing of the border from stories predominantly about kings of Judah in the Deuteronomistic History (1 Kings 1–14) to stories about kings of N Israel (1 Kings 16—2 Kings 17).

Baasha was the 3d in the series of kings of the N kingdom, following the reigns of Jeroboam and Jeroboam's son Nadab. Baasha gained his kingship by assassinating Nadab in the field in a battle against Israel's archenemy the Philistines after Nadab had ruled for only a few months. Baasha then killed the whole family of Jeroboam and Nadab in order to avoid any rival claims to the kingship. The Deuteronomistic History interprets Baasha's devastation of the house of Jeroboam as a fulfillment of a previous prophecy against Jeroboam (1 Kgs 15:25–30). On a sociopolitical level, the action illustrates the climate of competing rivalries in N Israel with its 10 tribes and their several competing tribal centers and groups. In contrast, the S kingdom was essentially one tribe with one center in Jerusalem, which made for a less tumultuous political atmosphere.

The border war between Baasha and the S king Asa was of long-standing (1 Kgs 15:16, cf. Jer 41:9). The conflict apparently had to do with the position of the boundary between the two kingdoms in the central hill country which was a strategic link in the main transportation route running from S to N. Initially, Baasha gained the upper hand with his control of the town of Ramah which was only 5 miles

from the S capital of Jerusalem (1 Kgs 15:17). However, the S king Asa shrewdly used expensive gifts to entice the Syrian king of Damascus Ben-hadad into breaking his covenant of peace with N Israel and invading Israel along its N border. Baasha was thus forced to abandon the border dispute on his S flank in order to deal with the threat from Damascus. Asa then immediately seized the border town of Ramah and pushed a few miles further N to Mizpah where he used building material left by Baasha for his own fortifications (1 Kgs 15:18–22).

Baasha was told by the prophet Jehu that because of his sinful reign the fate of his house would be like that of Jeroboam. Baasha reigned for nearly a quarter of a century and died a peaceful death, but Baasha's son Elah, who succeeded him as king, was promptly assassinated by a usurper to the throne named Zimri (1 Kgs 16:1–7; cf. 2 Chr 16:1; 1 Kgs 21:22; 2 Kgs 9:9). According to 1 Kgs 16:7, Baasha thus came under judgment not only for destroying the house of Jeroboam but also because Baasha was no better as a ruler than the evil Jeroboam. See Gray *Kings* OTL; Jones *Kings* NCBC.

DENNIS T. OLSON

**BAB EDH-DHRAʿ** (M.R. 202074). One of several EB settlements in the SE Dead Sea plain (Rast and Schaub 1974), situated on the E edge of the Lisan peninsula. Its importance, among other reasons, lies in being continuously occupied through most of the EB Age (ca. 3300–2100 B.C.), and thus it serves well as a type site for developments during the various phases of this period.

The name for the ruins, Bab edh-Dhraʿ ("gate of the arm"), is apparently not very old. Irby and Mangles (Schaub and Rast 1989) referred to this site by the same name in connection with their explorations in the area in 1818. Unlike es-Safi, however, whose ancient name is now commonly accepted to have been Seghor (Roman) and Zoora (Byzantine), that is, the biblical Zoar, the ancient name of Bab edh-Dhraʿ has passed completely from memory.

Although visited by a number of 19th century explorers, Bab edh-Dhraʿ was unrecognized as a significant archaeological site until a 1924 survey in the SE Dead Sea plain led by Albright and Kyle who identified it as an EB Age site (Albright 1924–25:56–62; Kyle 1928; Mallon 1924; Albright, Kelso, and Thorley 1944).

The 1st excavations at the site were conducted by P. W. Lapp between 1965 and 1967. Lapp's excavations determined that the cemetery contained a variety of tomb types of the different phases of the EB. Lapp also determined that during EB II and III a sizable walled city existed at the site. Since 1973, W. Rast and R. T. Schaub have followed up on Lapp's work, adding new interdisciplinary objectives to the expedition, which grew out of the survey of the entire SE plain (Rast and Schaub 1974). As a result of this work, the site is being studied within the regional framework of the SE Dead Sea plain as a whole.

The earliest EB phase, IA, is known almost exclusively from tomb evidence. These tombs exemplify the widely practiced tradition of shaft-tomb interment, best known from the EB IV phase a millennium later. Vertical shafts, which provided access to the tombs, average somewhat less than 2 m in both depth and diameter. At the base of the shafts a stone-blocked doorway opened into the tomb chamber (average diameter 2 m). A pile of human bones, always toward the center of the chamber, contained small bones in the lower levels surmounted by long bones (humeri and femora) stacked in parallel over the pile. Skulls were normally arranged in a line left of the bone pile. The number of those buried varied between 2 and 10, with both sexes represented, and occasionally adolescents, preadolescents, and even infants. Pottery was typically clustered around the edges of the bone pile on the left and right, and sometimes toward the rear of the chamber. Additional objects in some of the tombs were basalt bowls, mace-heads, basketry, shell bracelets, and clay figurines. In 1 or 2 chambers, remains of what must have been wooden staffs used for herding animals were found. The bone piles were normally placed on reed matting made from plants which still grow in the marshy areas of Wadi Kerak today.

Lapp's interpretation, followed by Rast and Schaub, is that the EB IA occupants were non-sedentary, and that their relation to the site was for the purpose of burial. The few cases of primary burial during the EB IA were probably accounted for by the deaths among members of a group temporarily at the site. Campsite remains are all that have been found in the way of settlement by the EB IA people.

The EB IA population seems not to have been large at any one time, despite early projections of extraordinarily high numbers of burials. Lasting perhaps for little more than a century, the EB IA society consisted of nuclear and extended family groups. Their larger social organization was more in the nature of a "band" than a large tribe. Endogamy was apparently practiced, but exogamy is also indicated by the coexistence of 2 EB IA burial plots, each with its own tradition (Cemeteries A and C).

Schaub and Rast (1984:34–35) have proposed that the dynamics leading to permanent settlement at Bab edh-Dhraʿ are to be sought in the EB IB. Since no substantial settlement remains have appeared in association with the EB IA yet are attested for the following phase, it was during EB IB that year-round settlement began. The EB IB phase is easily recognizable by its decorated pottery, with a line-group painting technique applied to various vessel types. The earliest mudbrick structures, found at the lowest levels of the town site, date to the EB IB.

Along with the beginning of a permanent settlement, a new type of burial tradition consisting of circular houses also occurs. The funerary buildings (or charnel houses) were made from plano-convex mudbricks. The doors of these buildings were flanked by stone slabs, and the entries were also sealed by large stones. The burials in these houses were primary interments, with as many as 20 to 30 interments in a single house. As new burials were deposited, earlier ones were moved against the walls following decarnation.

Urbanization thus did not occur at once at Bab edh-Dhraʿ, but was a gradual development from the EB IB village settlement to the walled city of EB III. The developing town of the EB II phase was an intervening stage between these two. EB II witnessed the establishment of large numbers of rectangular brick houses of the type found at Arad, Jericho, and elsewhere during the EB Age. During this phase as well, the 1st of two sanctuaries was constructed, succeeded in EB III by a later sanctuary of nearly identical proportions directly above it. In the cemetery the circular charnel houses became elongated and rectangular, making it possible to receive an even larger number of burials. The charnel houses of the EB II and EB III phases continued in use until they became overloaded, at which time they were permanently closed.

The EB civilization in the SE Dead Sea plain reached its zenith during EB III. Encompassing more than 10 acres during this phase, a 7 m wide defensive wall girdled Bab edh-Dhraʿ, and a gateway on the W provided access to the Mazra'a plain, where barley, emmer wheat, and other products were cultivated. As in EB II, the interior of the city was densely built up with brick structures, the most prestigious building being the sanctuary with its courtyard and altar. The EB III occupation was the most long-lasting of all the EB phases, as evidenced by cultural residue found to a depth of 4 m in some excavated areas. This phase lasted approximately 350–400 years. The EB III settlement expanded beyond the walled settlement, so that the population numbered perhaps 1, 000 people. The nearby site of Numeira was an offshoot of the flowering EB III city at Bab edh-Dhraʿ.

Several of the EB II charnel houses were reused during the EB III, and new buildings were constructed. Two of the largest tombs of this type (A 51 and A 52), however, were mainly used during the last phase.

Two important historical questions at Bab edh-Dhraʿ are how the EB III city came to an end and what the relation of the succeeding EB IV settlement was to that of the previous EB III city. At approximately 2350 B.C., the EB III city suffered some sort of trauma, leaving it in ruins. In fields XIII and IV the upper part of the defensive wall made of brick fell onto the natural slopes of the site. The mudbrick superstructure of the sanctuary also collapsed, apparently after burning. The charnel houses that were still in use were burned. Their brick walls either fell in, or as seems to be indicated by their position, were pushed in. Many of the charnel house bricks were also burned in the conflagration.

Although a natural disaster such as an earthquake may have been responsible for these events, an external attack against the city, as also at Numeira, cannot be ruled out. However the EB III city met its demise, the following EB IV occupants chose for the most part not to reoccupy the area of the earlier city. Their main areas of settlement were found NE and S of the previous city, in fields IX and X. The one exception was what appeared to be a cult area in field XVI on the N edge of the EB III site. EB IV tomb construction abandoned the use of charnel houses, making use rather of shaft tombs reminiscent of those

1, 000 years earlier. The EB IV tombs, however, contained mostly primary rather than secondary burials, which also suggested that the EB IV occupation at Bab edh-Dhraʿ was more permanent than transient.

Most recently, survey and excavation have discovered further evidence for EB IV near Khanazir in the SE Dead Sea plain. Consisting of numerous shaft tombs enclosed within rectangular structures, these tombs and the lack of evidence for settlement nearby suggest, in contrast to Bab edh-Dhraʿ, a pastoralist population. The EB IV phase in the SE Dead Sea plain lasted approximately 2 centuries until, at about 2150 B.C., the plain was abandoned altogether, perhaps for ecological reasons. Thereafter the region was largely unoccupied until the Iron Age, and more extensively during Roman and Byzantine times. Bab edh-Dhraʿ itself, however, was permanently abandoned following the EB IV.

In addition to its cultural and historical importance, Bab edh-Dhraʿ also figures into discussions regarding the location of biblical Sodom and Gomorrah. The question is whether Bab edh-Dhraʿ (specifically its EB III city) can be related in any way to the biblical city of Sodom, which biblical (Gen 13:10–13; 14; 19) and postbiblical (cf. Philo *Somn* 2.192; *Abr* 140–41) traditions place in the general region of the Dead Sea. Although certain scholars earlier in this century argued to locate Sodom and its related cities at the N end of the Dead Sea, recent scholarship has generally placed the cities at the S end of the Dead Sea valley. Both Albright and Lapp concluded that Bab edh-Dhraʿ was indirectly connected with ancient Sodom. Albright considered the site as a cultic center for the "cities of the plain" which he concluded were buried irrecoverably beneath the waters of the S basin. Lapp (1968:25) concluded that the Bab edh-Dhraʿ necropolis was the cemetery of the "cities of the plain," and he also assumed that Sodom and the related cities in the biblical accounts lay buried below the waters of the S end of the Dead Sea.

Good reasons now seem to exist to place Bab edh-Dhraʿ more directly into the discussions about the biblical traditions of these cities (Rast 1987). The accounts in Genesis, and references to them in prophetic threats and judgments, show that the location of Sodom was only generally perceived by the Israelites as lying somewhere in the Dead Sea region. Two possibilities exist for explaining the uncertainties in their perceptions of the location. One is that Sodom was a fictional place name to begin with, that a city by this name never existed, and that the name came into being as an element in a local story or tale stressing a destruction severe enough to account for the startling physiography of the Dead Sea region. Those who have taken this approach to the Sodom accounts have tended to see the account of Sodom's destruction as a story similar to that of the great flood.

A 2d and different approach to the problem, however, assumes that an ancient city did exist in the Dead Sea region during antiquity, and that its name was remembered but the location of its ruins was forgotten. The latter came about partly because the SE plain was so sparsely inhabited between the end of the EB and the Iron Age (1200–600 B.C.) that local memory scarcely managed to preserve the recollection. Associated with this were also traditions of destruction of the cities which took various forms, all based on something only dimly remembered. Perhaps the disturbances at the end of EB III are at the heart of these recollections.

If the 2d of these approaches is followed, the evidence from Bab edh-Dhraʿ and Numeira becomes important as the only ancient sites in the Dead Sea region with remains which can possibly be tallied with the biblical accounts. The theory of buried cities beneath the sea seems more tenuous, given our new understanding of ancient settlement patterns in the region. Biblical scholarship may therefore find that Bab edh-Dhraʿ is more immediately related to the formation of the traditions about Sodom than earlier recognized.

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**BABEL** (PLACE) [Heb *bābel* (בָּבֶל)]. The name given to a city in the plain of Shinar whose completion was thwarted by Yahweh's intervention (Gen 11:1–9). Conventionally known as the "Tower of Babel" story, Gen 11:1–9 is actually about a city that features a tower (Heb *migdāl*), which was perhaps a fortress or more likely a temple. The episode took place when humankind possessed one common language and had migrated to a single region: Shinar (vv 1–2). There the people decided to make bricks for the construction of a city. Such a city, it was hoped, would establish a reputation for its inhabitants and therefore prevent their dispersal (vv 3–4). On seeing what was taking place, Yahweh confused their language and scattered them over the face of the earth in the belief that inhabiting the same locale and possessing one language would allow human beings to do anything they desired (vv 7–8). This divine act explains the name *bābel,* which sounds like the Heb word for "confuse" *(bālal;* Gk *synecheen).*

Scholars have been divided over the question of the literary makeup of this story as well as over what inspired the account. There is general agreement that the narrative is part of the Yahwist (J) source, but that is the extent of the consensus. Some argue that the Yahwist inherited a single unified tradition, or at least one which had already been combined from multiple sources in the course of oral transmission. Others contend that the Yahwist himself fused the various traditions.

Those who hold that discrete traditions were at some stage combined point to the separate motifs of dispersion, erecting a tower to storm the realm of the gods, and the confusion of tongues found in extrabiblical sources (Kramer 1943; 1968; Westermann 1984:539–40). In their original form, such narrative motifs emphasized either: (1) an important etiology, e.g., why humankind speaks more than one language; or (2) a significant religious teaching, e.g., the danger of encroaching upon the habitat of the gods. Scholars who argue that the Yahwist reworked a fixed tradition or composed a story from separate strands of traditional materials suggest simple literary dependence, citing, for example, the building of the sacred precinct (the Esagila) in Babylon as recorded in the Enuma Elish (Tablet 6:60–62 in *ANET*:69; Speiser *Genesis* AB, 75–76).

Some believe that the inspiration for the Babel story was provided by actual temple ruins in Mesopotamia. According to this view, the tower refers to the famous ziggurat architectural form (a kind of pyramid structure in which each successively higher layer is smaller than the one below it) and possibly to the Entemenanki, the great ziggurat temple of Babylon (Borger 1956:24, 29; *AHW* 1531–32; *LAR* 1:58, 194, 252; *LAR* 2:111, 252–53, 309–10, 390, 405; Hammond 1972:38–40; Oppenheim 1944). Adherents of this interpretation (cited by Westermann 1984:540) posit a Mesopotamian provenance for the account. Given the highly polemical and obviously anti-Babylon slant of the story, however, a Mesopotamian origin seems unlikely, unless one posits that it was written by a citizen of a Mesopotamian city which saw itself as a rival of Babylon. If the story were indeed inspired by actual ruins, it appears more plausible to postulate the original composition of an anti-Babylon tale by an Israelite as opposed to the reworking of an already existent Mesopotamian story. The putative Israelite polemicist, playing on likeness between two words, may have wanted to say that although in the Babylonian language (Akkadian) "Babel" means the "gate of god" *(Bab-ilu),* in our language (Hebrew) it means "confused." Logic would locate such an Israelite composition sometime during the Babylonian exile (after 587 B.C.E.), but this raises the problem of the story's relationship to the Yahwist Source (J), which is usually dated much earlier (Ellis 1968:40–42).

Some scholars believe that this account is historical, arguing not only that it contains allusions to authentic architectural or cultural realities (a viewpoint with which many scholars would concur) but also that it narrates an actual event (DeWitt 1979; Livingston 1974:145–50; Aalders 1981:251–55; Harrison 1969:559–60). Such scholars range from those who suggest that the account is generally and broadly historical (Livingston; Harrison) to those who insist that historicity extends even to the details (Aalders).

While marshaling whatever evidence is available to support their contention, these scholars also reveal that their insistence on the Bible's historicity generally is based on a particular theological construal of divine inspiration and the nature of biblical truth.

Other interpreters direct attention to the theological role of the story. Von Rad (*Genesis* OTL, 148–50) views the account as part of the sin-judgment-grace theme which he believes characterizes the Primeval History (Genesis 2–11). Clines (1978:61–79), however, thinks that von Rad underestimates the fact that, unlike the previous episodes (e.g., Adam/Eve, Cain/Abel, Noah/Flood, etc.), there is no direct message of grace in the Babel story. Thus, the story poses a haunting question:"Is humankind doomed to the punishment of being scattered and confused?" If the Primeval History concluded with the Babel episode the answer to that question would have to be affirmative. Since, however, the subsequent genealogy (Gen 11:10–26) connects the Primeval History to the Ancestral History (Gen 11:27–50:26) by pointing out that Shem (Gen 6:10; 9:18–19; 10:21–31) was the ancestor of Abraham, a negative answer is possible. The punishment inflicted in the Babel story is mitigated by God's renewal of the grace extended to humankind through Abraham, Sarah, and the other ancestors (Clines 1978:76–79; de Pury 1978:80–82).

Others explain the narrative as an explicit 10th century criticism of Solomon, referring either to the hubris underlying the desire for a "name," or to the failure to see that one's "house" and "name" consist of a people and not a temple (Brueggemann 1968:173–74; Lundbom 1983:203–9).

The story may also be interpreted in terms of its final canonical shaping, i.e., one may focus on the effect of the present composite text rather than its constituent parts. Thus, the message of Gen 9:1, 7 that humankind after the Flood was to increase and fill the earth (J) accords with God's original purposes expressed in Gen 1:28 (P = Priestly Source). Genesis 10 (P; cf. 10:32) demonstrates that God's will was being achieved again when humankind once more obstructed the divine plan by regathering in the plain of Shinar. Because of their sin, God once again scattered them (cf. Gen 10:5, 18, 20, 32), this time an act not of blessing but of judgment (Brueggemann *Genesis* IBC, 99–102).

Similarly, the acts of naming provide a clue to canonical significance. Throughout the Primeval History, naming is positive, whether done by God or humankind (cf. Gen 2:19–20, 23; 3:20; 4:25–26; 5:29; 9:26). There are, however, two possible exceptions. One involves the sin committed by the "sons of God" (Gen 6:1–4), who as divine beings or corrupt human beings (Eslinger 1979:65–73) cohabited with the "daughters of men" to produce an extraordinary race. This prompted divine judgment (Gen 6:3). If, as seems likely, the offspring of this union are to be associated with the Nephilim mentioned in Gen 6:4, who are known also as "mighty men" and perhaps more significantly as "men of renown" (Heb "men of the name"), and if the extremely negative appraisal in Gen 6:5–7 is to be understood as Yahweh's further reaction to what has just transpired, then the final canonical shaping may actually be calling attention not only to the fame of these "men of the *name*" but to their infamy as well.

The other exception is in the Babel story itself, where the attempt to "make a name for ourselves" (v 4) is seen as resistance to God's will for populating the earth (Brueggemann *Genesis* IBC, 99), which prompts God's judgment. This is tied to what follows by the subsequent genealogy which proceeds from Shem (= "Name"!) to Abraham (Gen 11:10–26 [P Source]) and by the allusion to the "great name" in Gen 12:2 ([J Source]; cf. von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 148–50). Indeed, from the point of view of canon, all divine actions subsequent to the Babel incident constitute God's gracious attempts to reverse its effects, thus the theologically strategic placement of the story. In the context of the Hebrew canon, the consequences of Babel are initially reversed in God's involvement with the Hebrew ancestors (Genesis 12–50). Ultimate reversal occurs when God makes David's name great and blesses him (2 Sam 7:9, 29).

Finally, within the Christian canon, the account of Pentecost (Acts 2:5–13) may be understood as a NT version of God's gracious reversal of the "Babel condition" (Bruce *Acts* NICNT, 64; Davies 1952:228–29). In the LXX version of the story, God decided to confound (Gk *sygcheōmen*) the people's language (Gk *glōssan*) so that they could not understand one another's speech (Gk *phōnēn*). Conversely, in Acts the disciples "began to speak in other tongues" (2:4; Gk *glōssais*). This in turn produced a "sound" (2:6; Gk *phōnēs*) at which the multitude was "bewildered" or "confused" (2:6; Gk *synechythē*). At Babel, God transformed a single language into many, creating confusion; at Jerusalem the Holy Spirit made it

possible for many languages to be understood as one, creating unity. At Babel, language was used to promote a human agenda ("Let us make a name for ourselves."); at Jerusalem, the "new" language was used to announce the "mighty works of God" (Acts 2:11). At Babel, God scattered the people in judgment (Gen 11:9; Gk *diespeiren*); at Jerusalem, God scattered (Acts 8:1, 4; Gk *diesparésan; diasparentes*) the people to spread the news which would eventuate in worldwide unity (Davies 1952:229).

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FRANK ANTHONY SPINA

## **BABYLON** (PLACE) [Heb *bābel* (בָּבֶל); Gk *Babylōn* (Βαβυλων)]. A major city in central

Mesopotamia, located on the Euphrates (32°33´N; 44°24´E). It played an important role in the history of the ANE during the 2d and 1st millennia B.C. Its present name comes from the Hellenized form of the Akk *Bab-Ilu,* literally meaning "the gate of god" which appears in the Bible in the usual form as "Babel." Undoubtedly, it was the most famous E city of antiquity, and also the most fascinating one—for many people it symbolized the whole Mediterranean civilization.

Two different sources explain this exceptional fame. It was first through the writings of Herodotus, who visited the city in the 5th century B.C., that the West became aware of the metropolis. The other source is the biblical writings, both OT and NT. This source does not treat the city with admiration as the Greek writers did, but in a negative manner based on the memory of conflicts between the great Mesopotamian empires and the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Indeed, "Babylon" became symbolic of wickedness in many biblical writings.

### A. Babylon in the OT

In the 11th chapter of Genesis, Babylon first appears as the location of the mythical Tower of Babel. However, it is only in the books of Kings and Isaiah that historically useful material is to be found: The Babylonian king Marduk-apal-iddin II (722–711 B.C.) sent an envoy to Hezekiah (2 Kgs 20:12–13 and Isa 39:1), with the intention of fighting against Sargon of Assyria, who however defeated him. During the time of the Neo-Babylonian Dynasty (founded by Nabopolassar in 626 B.C. and continued by Nebuchadrezzar his son), Babylon first destroyed Nineveh (612 B.C.) and then built up an empire that was to overturn the kingdom of Judah. In 597 B.C. the Babylonians captured Jerusalem, exiled thousands of Israelites including the prophet Ezekiel, and installed Zedekiah on the throne (2 Kings 24; 2 Chronicles 36). Jerusalem was finally destroyed in 586 B.C., Zedekiah was blinded, and much of the population was deported to Babylonia. The fall of Babylon to Cyrus of Persia in 539 B.C. marked the end of the contentions between Babylon and the Hebrews; but it is clear that that century of difficult relationships

greatly influenced the people of Israel and their writings. Consequently, one can understand how the biblical and Greek traditions joined together to confer on Babylon a place of exceptional importance in western thought.

**B. The Present Ruins**

The ruins of Babylon lie within the suburbs of modern Baghdad. On entering the field of the present ruins one is struck by how widely scattered the tells are. To the N is Tell Babil, which is 22 meters high—an imposing presence in the countryside. It was not a part of the city proper, but constituted the summer palace of Nebuchadrezzar II. It is with the Qasr (fortress) that the ruins of the city really begin, and they extend for nearly 2 km N-S and 1.2 km E-W. However, because the topography is very rugged, the mass of tells does not give a clear idea of the limits of the ancient city. Yet the shape of certain features permits identification. Long, narrow hills which run in a straight line for hundreds of meters are clearly what is left of the 2 city walls; the 1st starts to the N at Tell Babil, runs for about 4 km toward the SE, and then turns toward the SW in the direction of the Euphrates which it meets 3 km further on. A gigantic triangular-shaped space is thus circumscribed by this outer city wall on the E bank of the river; within it, marked off by another chain of hills which formed the inner city wall, is a trapezoidal section whose side measures 1.5 km; it is located along the edge of the river and represents the heart of the city. Finally, a last chain of these distinctive hills encloses a quadrilateral area of 1 km by 1.5 km, which forms the inner city area on the right bank of the river. Thus the limits of the ancient city are still well marked on the ground and testify to the vastness of the city. It is inside the inner city wall that the most important ruins are found, but they do not portray any clear cut plan or design.

**C. The Stages of the Excavations**

Despite the prestige and infamy surrounding the name of Babylon, none of the 19th century excavators was interested in the city. Yet the reliefs in glazed, baked bricks which were still emerging from the superstructures of the Ishtar gate were the decisive element which finally convinced the Germans Sachau and R. Koldewey to choose Babylon as the inaugural excavation when the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft was founded in 1897. On March 26, 1899, the excavation began and continued nonstop until March 7, 1917, when the approach of the British troops led to the departure of the German team and the closing of the work site. Thus for 18 years R. Koldewey directed a team in which the greatest German names in the archaeology of Mesopotamia took their first steps in excavating—W. Andrae, J. Jordan, A. Nöldeke; they worked without ceasing in order to resurrect the best-known city in Mesopotamia.

Starting from Qasr, the 1st excavation involved the N and S Neo-Babylonian palaces, located on either side of the rampart. Following that the work site was expanded to embrace the temple of Ninmah. They then excavated along the processional way from the Ishtar gate to the temple of Marduk and to the ziggurat, pausing to investigate the temple of Ninurta as they progressed (1899–1904). From 1904, it was the discovery of the theater of the Hellenistic period connected to a pilaster and the systematic research on the ramparts which caught their attention; 1907 marked the beginning of the study of a residential area where domestic architecture was the object of a systematic analysis and also where the temple of Ishtar of Agade was uncovered. This was a gigantic task, unrealistic in many respects, and its results may not have been up to expectations. Koldewey himself recognized this when he said that he had not accomplished half of the tasks he had set for himself, for the study of a city of that magnitude was beyond the possibilities of any one team. Furthermore, the collection of materials has not been what one would expect in light of the renown of the capital. Finally it was only the neo-Babylonian city of Nebuchadrezzar which was revealed by all the excavating. With the exception of a deep sounding, practically nothing has been found of the city of Hammurabi, the founder of the 1st Babylon empire (1950–1892 B.C.). Unfortunately the rising of the level of the water table has blocked all the ancient periods of the site.

After that long period of intense archaeological activity, Babylon experienced a period of relative calm; occasionally, a mission accomplished a specific research task such as that conducted by the Warka team, which unsuccessfully attempted to find the house of festivals (Akk *bīt akīti*) to the N of the Ishtar gate. The Department of Antiquities had heavily stressed the conservation or even the restoration of ancient monuments such as the temple of Ninmah immediately to the E beyond the Ishtar gate or the processional

way itself, but for the past 15 years, the policy has been even more ambitious: besides new excavations, such as the temple of Nabu, which was immediately restored after its uncovering, the Department of Antiquities has envisaged a general rescue of the site with a network of systems designed to protect the monument. Although this is an undertaking which ought to be supported, one may wonder if it is entirely realistic. As of the moment, the amount of work which has been carried out helps one to grasp the organization of the city, to become acquainted with the large categories of monuments, and to define those aspects which have made the capital of the Neo-Babylonian empire so original.

**D. The City**

The city proper was enclosed by a double wall which ran along the edge of a canal bordering a quay made of baked bricks and bitumen and fed by the Euphrates. Nearly a quarter of the surface was occupied by royal or religious buildings located along the river: the great S palace or Nebuchadrezzar's palace, protected at the NW corner by a fortress, the ziggurat called Etemenanki and its immediate buildings—Esagila, the great temple of Marduk, as well as the temples of Nabu, Gula, and Ninurta. There, between the Euphrates and the axis formed by the processional way, was indeed the heart of the capital, even if it is exposed in a disjointed fashion by the excavations. The E part of the inner city, divided by main roads which split up the space into large separate sections, seems to have been occupied by big private dwellings. However, one also finds temples (those of Ishtar of Agade and Ninmah) near the processional way. Judging from the excavated areas, this part was occupied mostly by public buildings and the dwellings of the upper class.

The 2d section of the city extended along the right bank of the river opposite some large religious monuments. It was connected to the main section by a bridge spanning the Euphrates upon 7 piers of brick joined with bitumen and capped with paving stones. It seems that this section was occupied by the common people, no great monuments having as yet been found there. The 3d section of the city, triangular in shape, extended between the right bank of the river and the outer city wall built by Nebuchadrezzar, which was actually 2 parallel walls that encompassed the entire city. Although at present it is impossible to describe the exact nature of what was found to the E and the S, the N appears to have had official buildings. Against the inner city wall, between the river and the Ishtar gate was the N palace; further on there was undoubtedly a festival house which is known from the writings but which the excavations have not succeeded in identifying. To the extreme N, at the place where the outer city wall joined the Euphrates, stood Nebuchadrezzar's summer palace. Nothing is known about the gates of the outer city wall; there were 9 huge gates in the inner city and the right bank called Ishtar, Sin, Marduk, Zabada, Enlil, Urash, Shamash, Adad, and Lugalgirra. The Ishtar gate, the only one that has been excavated, is justly famous for the quality of reliefs in baked, glazed bricks, displaying lions and dragons in interminable lines continuing along the walls of the processional way. This gate has been moved and reconstructed in the Berlin Museum.

**E. The Palaces**

Of the 3 palaces found, the S palace and the summer palace have been excavated. While they have features in common, the S palace, which is of trapezoidal shape, is the most remarkable. It comprises blocks of buildings round a large courtyard juxtaposed with still other buildings doubtless devoted to economic or administrative functions; on the N side are officials' quarters, sometimes with apartments, and on the S side is a large reception room leading to a courtyard. Five blocks of buildings have been located. The 1st has usually been considered as the headquarters of the garrison. The 2d was used for the administration and its staff. The 3d was for official receptions; the throne room was found there, and the structure was superbly decorated with blue-glazed bricks on which small columns with capitals crowned with half rosettes hung together by garlands of palmettes. The 4th building was the king's apartments and the 5th housed the harem. On discovering a beautiful series of arched rooms at the NE corner, the German excavators thought they had come upon the substructures of the famous hanging gardens of Queen Semiramis; but they turned out to be only the rooms used for storage—thus the location of one of the Seven Wonders of the World is still unknown.

**F. The Houses and Temples**

The dwellings in the domestic quarter were complex edifices normally composed of a major block of buildings with a large courtyard. This was entered through a reception room. The whole structure was surrounded by rooms with annexes and other blocks of buildings were often built up around this foyer.

Religious architecture of Babylon is particularly well known and is seen as very typical of the city and of Babylonian civilization in general. The layout of temples is never stereotyped, but one always finds the same basic organization, namely a square or rectangular courtyard usually embellished with pilasters or redans. On one of the short sides is a lopsided room with a central entrance followed by a 2d room (and occasionally a 3d one) with exactly the same axis. It was in the last of the group of temples that the podium stood which served as the base of the divine statue. The entrance to the temple was often found opposite the cella and long rooms which at times seem to have given access to an upper level. Outlying buildings which undoubtedly accommodated the clergy were sometimes added to this initial block. The temple of Marduk, which has not been fully excavated, is the largest of these sanctuaries and may be considered as fully representative of this series of temples which includes the temples of Ninmah, Gula, Ninurta, Ishtar of Agade, and Nabu.

**G. The Ziggurat**

It is surely the ziggurat which has been the focal point of scholarly attention because of its ties with the Tower of Babel. Unfortunately, there is hardly anything left of the ancient monument due to the common practice of reusing mud bricks; excavators have found only the quadrilateral base on a few courses of bricks. The numerous restorations proposed have relied until recently on the scanty archaeological remains, the description by Herodotus, and on a scribe's tablet dating from the Seleucid era which gave a rather obscure description of the monument. These facts led to the restoration of a very tall and straight ziggurat which had little in common with the monuments of this kind discovered at other Mesopotamian sites. However, very recently, J. Vicari has studied the Seleucid tablet and has furnished the basis for a very reasonable restoration of that famous edifice.

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**H. Babylon in the NT**

Babylon is used in the NT in a variety of senses: literal, symbolic, or both. All of these categories have been subject to debate.

**1. Literal Sense.** Babylon used as the name of the ancient Mesopotamian capital and empire which took Judah captive into exile in the 6th century B.C.E. or as a pivotal epoch in Israel's history is found in the Matthean genealogy (1:11, 12, 17) and in Stephen's defense (Acts 7:43). In the latter, the MT and LXX of Amos 5:27 is changed in light of historical events from "beyond Damascus" to "beyond Babylon" as the specific place of Israel's captivity.

**2. Literal or Symbolic Sense.** In 1 Pet 5:13 greetings are sent from "she who is at Babylon." Babylon has been taken literally as the Mesopotamian Babylon or the Egyptian Babylon. Mesopotamian Babylon was still inhabited in the 1st century C.E. and Peter could have visited it (Erasmus and Calvin). However, it is difficult to believe that Mark and Silvanus, who accompanied Peter, would also go to Mesopotamian Babylon (5:12–13). There is no church tradition linking Peter, Mark, or Silvanus with Mesopotamian Babylon. Neither is there evidence of a church there in the 1st century (but cf. Acts 2:9). In fact the Jews were driven out of Babylon in the reign of Claudius (41–54 C.E.; *Ant* 18 §371–79), a situation which would have limited the possibilities of missions in the city. Dio Cassius (68.30) records that Trajan found Babylon mostly deserted when he visited in 115 C.E. The fact that the Eastern church claims Peter for itself is of little import because it is a recent tradition based upon 1 Pet 5:13.

Egyptian Babylon was a settlement in Egypt near Old Cairo, possibly founded by a portion of Nebuchadnezzar's army and still inhabited in the 1st century (*Ant* 2 §315; Strabo 17.1.30; Diod. Sic. 1.56.3). Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 7.17) states that the Alexandrine heretic Basilides claimed to hold Peter's apostolic tradition through Peter's interpreter Glaukias. A strong tradition links Mark with the Alexandrian church and Mark as the companion of Peter. However, Babylon was little more than a Roman military outpost, providing little reason for Peter to have gone there, and there is no evidence that he ever went to Egypt.

Babylon has also been interpreted as a symbol of the church using feminine imagery. It has been suggested that Babylon is a cryptogram used for reasons of security against the Romans, but the content which exhorts obedience to the state (2:13–17) and adherence to moral virtues makes such measures unnecessary. It has also been suggested that Babylon is a symbol of Christians' earthly exile as opposed to their heavenly home, and recalls the language of exile and dispersion in 1:1, 17; 2:11. However, since all Christians are exiles, there is no reason for Peter to refer to writing from exile. The very particular greetings which conclude 1 Peter (5:12–14) indicate that a particular church is in mind.

The general consensus of the church from earliest times is that Babylon in 1 Peter is a symbol for Rome. Two early cursives add *en Romē* as an explanatory addition to 5:13. Early church tradition claims that Babylon in 5:13 is a metaphor for Rome and 1 Peter was written from Rome (Clem. Al. *ap.* Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.15.2). Strong tradition links Peter to Rome, a tradition virtually unchallenged until the Reformation when efforts were made by Erasmus and Calvin to dissociate Peter from the Roman Papacy. Mark is also strongly linked to Rome (Col 4:10; 2 Tim 4:11; Phlm 24) and to Peter as his companion and interpreter in Rome (Papias *ap.* Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.5–7; Iren. *Haer.* 3.1; Clem. Al. *ap.* Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.15.2; 6.14.5–7). A comparison of the contents of 1 Peter and *1 Clement* strongly suggests a common background in Roman Christianity.

**3. Symbolic Sense.** In the book of Revelation, all references to Babylon are symbolic of either a place or a place and an idea (14:8; 16:19; 17:5; 18:2, 10, 21). This is indicated in 17:5 (cf. v 7) where the name Babylon is said to be a *mysterion,* a name to be understood figuratively (cf. names in 2:14, 20; 11:8). As a place, Babylon has been understood as a symbol for Jerusalem, an interpretation based on two questionable assumptions: (1) the prophecies of Jesus in the Gospels have Jerusalem as a central focus. Although this is true, these same prophecies have a worldwide impact and those of Revelation need not be restricted to Jerusalem; (2) Jerusalem persecuted the prophets and Christians as here in Revelation 17–18. However, Rome is better known in the late 1st century for this characteristic.

As a place and an idea, Babylon is symbolic of the power, influence, idolatry, and wickedness of Rome. This was the position of the early church (Tert. *Adv. Marc.* 3:13; *Adv. Jud.* 9; Jerome; Augustine) and has remained the majority opinion. Rome is identified with Babylon in early Judaism, for like Babylon it overthrew Jerusalem and destroyed the temple (*2 Bar.* 11:1–2; 67:7; 2 Esdr 3:1–2, 28; *Sib. Or.* 5.143, 155–61, 434, 440; Str-B 3.816). The similarities between Babylon and Rome as capitals of great empires led naturally to their pairing in symbolism. Like Babylon, Rome ruled the kings of the earth (14:8; 17:1–2, 15, 18), was a center of world trade (14:8; 18:2–3; 11–19, 23), reveled in luxury (18:7, 11–17, 22–23), was a persecutor of God's covenant people (17:6; 18:24; 19:2), and was destined to fall (14:8; 18:2, 10, 21). The portrayal of Babylon in Jer 51:6–10 as a cup in God's hand making all the nations drunk seems to have had considerable influence upon the symbolism of Rome as Babylon in Revelation. Rome is clearly indicated by particular details such as its location on the seven mountains (17:9; cf. vv 3, 7).

As a symbol, Babylon embraces more than the empire, city, and culture of Rome. It is the sphere of idolatry and worldliness under the temporary control of Satan, a worldliness in opposition to the people and work of God, a worldliness epitomized first by Babylon and then by Rome. Babylon as the mother of harlots and abominations in opposition to God (17:5) is the antithesis of the Church as the Bride of Christ, the New Jerusalem, and the Kingdom of God.

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**BABYLONIA** (HISTORY AND CULTURE). See MESOPOTAMIA, HISTORY OF.

**BABYLONIAN JUDAISM.** See JUDAISM (BABYLONIAN).

**BACA, VALLEY OF** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿemeq habbāḵā*ʾ (עֵמֶק הַבָּכָא)]. The "valley of Baca" (Ps 84:1—Eng 84:6) is either a historical place name or a symbolical expression for "deep sorrow." The first part of Ps 84:6 seems to mean that by "passing through the experience of deep sorrow, righteous ones can make it the source of life." The Septuagint translated the phrase into Gk as "the valley of weeping." The word *ʿemeq* "valley" has the root meaning of "deep," so the expression may mean "deep sorrow."

However, some have considered it as the "valley of the balsam tree" from the same word in plural form found in 2 Sam 5:24. This is based on the assumption that *bāḵā*ʾ may be a "gum-exuding [weeping] tree" (Morton *IDB* 1:338). Another possibility is that the word *bĕḵāʾîm* (pl. of *bāḵā*ʾ) may mean "weeping rock-walls" in the valley of Rephaim on whose tops David and his troops were waiting for the coming of the Philistine army passing through the valley below (2 Sam 5:24). It seems safe to seek the meaning of *bāḵā*ʾ in relation to the dripping water, since we often find this word in the names related to rivers and wadis, such as Wadi el-Baka in the Sinaitic district and Baca on a wadi in the central Galilee area, W of Meroth. It is also possible to understand *Bĕḵāʾîm* as the place of "weepings" of the Philistine army for their defeat by David. After all these considerations, the expression the "valley of *bāḵā*ʾ*" can best be taken as a symbolical expression "weeping" or "deep sorrow" which fits well in the context of Ps 84:6.*
YOSHITAKA KOBAYASHI

**BACCHIDES** (PERSON) [Gk *Bakchidē* (Βακχιδη)]. An important supporter of Demetrius I (162–50 B.C.E.). He was ranked as a "friend of the king" and may have held this position already under Antiochus IV (Joseph *Ant* 12. 393). In the first stages of Demetrius I's reign he was entrusted with the governorship of the Trans-Euphrates province (1 Macc 7:8).

The exact position of Bacchides and the extent of his province are debated among scholars. Some think that he was governor of Coele-Syria, called "beyond the river." Others suggest that all the Trans-Euphrates region was assigned to him temporarily at the time Demetrius was occupied with war on his E frontiers.

The name Bacchides is first mentioned in 2 Macc 8:30 as one of the officers outside Judea, with whom Judas fought. But it remains uncertain whether it is the same person with whom we are concerned here.

Our Bacchides is mentioned for sure first in 1 Macc 7:8 as the person who was sent by Demetrius I to help the reinstallment of Alcimus as high priest. Afterwards Bacchides was involved continuously in the events in Judea. As the highest officer in charge he took the field against Judas Maccabeus, after the latter's victory over Nicanor. Bacchides arrived in Judea with a considerable army, and after some movements he met with Judas at Elasa. After a long and fierce battle Judas fell and his army dispersed (1 Macc 9:1–18). It is difficult to ascertain the details of this engagement (see MACCABEAN REVOLT). Yet it is evident that Bacchides generalship was good and professional.

After his victory as Elasa (160 B.C.E.) Bacchides pursued his foes. Though it may be that some truce was achieved for a while, in which Judas' brothers took his body for burial, the conflict continued. Bacchides drove the rebels, now under Jonathan's leadership to the outskirts of Judea (1 Macc 9:32–49) and tried to stabilize the situation under Alcimus. For that aim he fortified various strategic places in Judea, and took hostages (1 Macc 9:50–53).

Yet, in spite of this considerable effort the internal conflict in Judea went on, and Bacchides was called again to interfere in favour of the "Hellenizers" (Alcimus died about May 159 B.C.E.). He got involved in indecisive battles with the rebels at the borders of the Judean desert and being unsuccessful he spent his

anger on the Hellenizers, who involved him in this war. Then in negotiations between him and Jonathan a peace treaty was agreed upon. From this moment the Hasmonean regime progressed continuously.

Summarizing Bacchides's activity and policy in Judea (and this is all we know about him), it may be said that he was an able and efficient officer both militarily and administratively. He did not involve himself with religious affairs, but mainly concerned himself with the political and military aspects of the situation. As with Lysias, when Bacchides became convinced that the material (military and political) investment of the Seleucid government in supporting the Hellenizers was not worthwhile, he changed his policy and came to terms with Jonathan.

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URIEL RAPPAPORT

**BACENOR** (PERSON) [Gk *Bakēnōr* (Βακηνωρ)]. A military commander of Dositheus (2 Macc 12:35). According to 2 Macc 12:32–35, Dositheus captured Gorgias during a battle. While attempting to bring Gorgias back alive, a Thacian horseman cut off Dositheus's arm, allowing Gorgias to escape to Marisa. The name Bacenor occurs nowhere else and is supported here only by texts AqLa$^{v}$. Bacenor may be used to distinguish this Dositheus from a captain of Judas Maccabeus of the same name (2 Macc 12:17–25). An alternative is to read with texts La$^{a'}$ and the Armenian *toubiakēnōn,* "one of the Toubiankenoi." In this case Dositheus would come from the region of the Tobiads mentioned in 2 Macc 12:17. (See Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB.)

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RUSSELL D. NELSON

**BAEAN** (PLACE) [Gk *Baian* (Βαιαν)]. According to 1 Macc 5:1–2, when the Gentiles in the cities surrounding Judah heard that the Jews had restored the temple (164 B.C.), they began to murder Jews. Judas Maccabeus, however, waged war against the Idumeans and (v 4) "He also remembered the wickedness of the sons of Baean," besieging them in their towers, which he burned (v 5). 2 Macc 10:15–23 sets these events in the context of Gentile oppression against Jews in Judah, but clearly describes the same campaign. The phrase "the sons of Baean" has presented scholars with at least two problems: (1) the derivation of the name and (2) its referent.

Num 32:3 lists a city named Beon among the cities of Gilead requested by Gad and Reuben, and scholars often suppose that Baean refers to Beon (cf. Tedesche and Zeitlin 1950:110). However, Simons (1959:405) suggests that the term derives from the Heb name *bhn* in "sons of Bohan" (cf. Josh 15:6, 18:17). Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 295) argues instead that Baean derived from the Heb *ṣbʿn* (Sabaanites), but so little detail is given in 1 and 2 Maccabees that one cannot choose the best among these options.

Also debated is whether Baean represents a tribal or a place name, or perhaps both. Simons (1959:405) thinks that the term probably refers to a clan and not—at least primarily—to a region. He cites similar phrases in the context:"sons of Esau" (5:3) and "sons of Ammon" (5:6). Dancy (1954:103) agrees with earlier scholars who understood Baean as the name of a tribal ancestor. Tedesche, however, understands the term as a place name (1950:110). On the whole, Simons' reading of Baean as a clan or tribal name seems best. This tribe lived in Transjordan near the river, and likely operated as highway robbers. It is possible that they lived near the stone of Bohan, though one might hold open the option that they moved around in a region.

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PAUL L. REDDITT

**BAGOAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Bagōas* (Βαγωας)]. The eunuch in charge of Holofernes' personal affairs (Jdt 12:11). Bagoas is a Persian name, and according to Pliny (*HN* 13.41), eunuchs were regularly called "Bagoas." Therefore, this may not be a personal name but a title. The name occurs frequently in extrabiblical sources. Josephus (*Ant* 11.7.1) describes a certain Bagoas as a general of Artaxerxes II Mnemon, who later became the governor of Jerusalem. A Bagoas appears in Diodorus Siculus (*Hist* 31.19.2–3; 16.47.4) as an adviser of Artaxerxes III Ochus in his campaign against Phoenicia and Egypt. In the Elephantine papyrus #30 (*CAP*), the name Bagoas appears in Aramaic as *baggōhî* (this is the Bagoas who was the governor of Jerusalem). Either of these figures may have been in the mind of the author of the book of Judith when he called the servant of Holofernes "Bagoas" (see JUDITH for a discussion of the genre of the book of Judith).

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SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**BAGPIPE.** See MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

**BAHURIM** (PLACE) [Heb *baḥûrîm* (בַּחוּרִים)]. Var. BAHARUM. A Benjaminite village on the road from Jerusalem into the Jordan valley, north of the Mount of Olives. Bahurim has been identified tentatively with the site of Ras eṭ-Ṭmim (M.R. 174133) or Khirbet Ibqeʿdan. It is mentioned as the place on the road from Mahanaim to Jerusalem where Abner compelled Paltiel to turn back from following his wife Michal, the daughter of Saul, when she was being taken back to David, her first husband (2 Sam 3:16). Bahurim is also given as the domicile of Shimei ben Gera, who came out cursing David and his men as they fled Jerusalem before the onslaught of Absalom (2 Sam 16:5; 19:17[—Eng 16]; 1 Kgs 2:8). Two of David's spies, Jonathan and Ahimaaz, hid from Absalom in the well of a man of Bahurim (2 Sam 17:18). One of David's champions, Azmaveth, was probably from Bahurim as well (1 Chr 11:33; cf. 2 Sam 23:31).

D. G. SCHLEY

**BAITERUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Baitērous* (Βαιτηρους)]. Ancestor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:17). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, this family does not appear among their lists of returning exiles (cf. Ezra 2; Nehemiah 7). Omissions such as this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra or Nehemiah. Furthermore, problems associated with dating events and identifying persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text. The Vg contains the textual variant *Gebbarus.*

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**BAKBAKKAR** (PERSON) [Heb *baqbaqqar* (בַּקְבַּקַּר)]. One of the Levites who lived in Jerusalem after the return from Babylonian exile (1 Chr 9:15). Bakbakkar was one of 4 Levites in Jerusalem at that time who could trace his ancestry back to Asaph, the head of one of three families of Levitical singers appointed by David (1 Chr 15:16–17, 25:1–8) and the author of several psalms (Pss 50, 73–83). It is likely that Bakbakkar continued in his ancestor's footsteps as a Levitical singer. The parallel passage in Nehemiah (Neh 11:15–18) does not mention Bakbakkar but does list a Bakbukiah (Neh 11:17). Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 172) suggested that these 2 names might refer to the same person. This is possible, but another plausible explanation is that the author of 1 Chronicles 9 simply employed different traditions than did the author of Neh 11 (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 136).

ROBERT C. DUNSTON

**BAKBUK** (PERSON) [Heb *baqbûq* (בַּקְבּוּק)]. The head of a family of Netînîm (temple servants) listed among those exiles returning from Babylon to Jerusalem and Judah (Ezra 2:51 = Neh 7:53; 1 Esdr 5:31). The name is a *qatqût* formation of the Heb root *bqq* which means "empty (out)" (Zadok 1980:113). The noun *baqbuq* denotes a "flask/bottle" (Jer 19:1, 10; 1 Kgs 14:3). The name could be a shortened form

of the name *baqbuqyāh* (Neh 11:17; 12:9, 25) where *yāh* is to be understood as an emphatic rather than a theophoric afformative (Noth *IPN* 105). In 1 Esdr 5:31 the name is rendered *Akouph, Akoum,* or *Akoub.*

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RODNEY H. SHEARER

**BAKBUKIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *baqbuqyâ* (בַּקְבֻקְיָה)]. A Levite known for singing who is found in the list of priests and Levites (Neh 11:17; 12:9; 12:25). Bakbukiah is likely to be the same person in all 3 places, but some problems exist.

First is the problem related to Nehemiah 12:25. In the Heb text, Bakbukiah is listed as the gatekeeper while Mattaniah, Bakbukiah, and Obadiah are grouped as singers in other related texts (Neh 11:15–18; 12:8–11; 1 Chr 9:14–16; 25:1–8). The last 3 names in Neh 12:25, Meshullam, Talmon, and Akkub, are noted in other lists of gatekeepers (1 Chr 9:17; Ezra 2:42; Neh 7:45; 9:19). Williamson (*Ezra-Nehemiah* WBC, 16) asserts Mattaniah, Bakbukiah, and Obadiah, listed in v 25, actually complete v 24. Myers (*Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 195) suggests that in v 25 the proper name Meshullam has been mistaken for the Heb word singer. Both agree that the 3 singers appropriately fit with the description of musicians and singers in v 24.

Second, Bakbukiah is not found in the Septuagint, suggesting that Bakbukiah may be a late addition to the Heb text. This agrees with problems that parallel chronologies found in 1 Chr 9:15 and 25:4. In each of these places, Mattaniah is listed with families of Levites who are singers. However, in 1 Chr 9:15, Bakbakkar is paired with Mattaniah, and in 1 Chr 25:4, Bukkiah is paired with Mattaniah. Ward (*IDB* 1:340) and Myers (*Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 187), suggest that these other 2 names may be variants or misspellings of Bakbukiah.

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GARY C. AUGUSTIN

**BAKER'S STREET** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥûṣ hā‹ōpîm* (חוּץ הָאֹפִים)]. Street in Jerusalem referred to in Jer 37:21. At the order of King Zedekiah, Jeremiah was placed in the courtyard of the guard and given bread from the area called the Baker's Street. It was customary in ancient times in Near East cities for trades and crafts to be grouped together in one street or area—compare the gold shops located in one area of modern Amman. In the OT, baking was highlighted in Gen 40:1–41:13 in the story of Joseph; in 1 Sam 8:13, bakers are listed along with perfumers and cooks as important for governmental service; and in Hos 7:4, the baker and his oven are a fitting metaphor for wayward Israel. In 1 Kgs 20:34, the markets in Damascus which Ben-Hadad offered King Ahab may have included bakeries along with other trades as well as offices for international trade. Later in NT times, besides the foreign trade in luxury garments, precious ointments and jewelry, etc., the baker's trade was important among the local industries of weaving, leather working, dealing in sheep and cattle, woodworking, pottery making, etc. (Jeremias 1967: chaps I and II). Josephus (*Ant* 15. 309) makes reference to the need of professional bakers in a time of famine. No doubt the individual baker's establishment included his living quarters, ovens, and selling area.

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W. HAROLD MARE

**BALAAM** (PERSON) [Heb *bil‹am* (בִּלְעָם)]. A seer summoned by Balak, king of Moab, to curse Israel prior to its entrance into Canaan.

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A. Appearances in the OT

B. Source Criticism, Numbers 22–24
C. History of the Traditions
    1. The Priestly Account of Balaam
    2. The Second Grouping
    3. Oracles 3 and 4
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**A. Appearances in the OT**

Our sources for the story of Balaam are varied and often conflicting. In the Heb Bible, we have first the famous and, in their present form, largely positive stories in Numbers 22–24, of Balaam son of Beor, the intermediary called by Balak son of Zippor, king of Moab, to curse Israel and therefore give Moab the advantage in any hostilities between the two peoples. Then there are the negative Priestly notices in Num 31:8, 16 that tie Balaam to the apostasy at Peor and maintain that he was killed by the Israelites in a battle against Midian (and the reflex of that tradition in Josh 13:22). Next, the implication in Deut 23:5b–6—Eng 23:4b–5 (cited in Neh 13:2) and the Hebrew of Josh 24:9–10 is that Balaam tried to curse Israel, but that Yahweh would not listen to him, and so Israel was blessed instead. Finally, the mention of Balaam in Mic 6:5 can be interpreted either positively or negatively, i.e., as reflecting the point of view of the Numbers 22–24 stories or the more negative tradition in Deuteronomy 23 and Joshua 24. Balak is mentioned in Judg 11:25, but no reference is made there to Balaam or to the connection between Balak and Balaam reported in Numbers 22–24. The incident at Peor also appears in Deut 4:3; Josh 22:17; Hos 9:10; and Ps 106:28–31, but Balaam is not mentioned in these passages.

The relationship between the character Balaam and the Edomite king Bela son of Beor from Gen 36:32–33 (and 1 Chr 1:43–44) is unclear, but the similarities in their names and even their patronymics suggests either that they both represent reflexes of the same character, or else that the tradition of one character has been conflated with that of another.

**B. Source Criticism, Numbers 22–24**

The doublets and inconsistencies in the Numbers 22–24 account of Balaam have long led scholars to posit evidence of the J and E sources in these chapters, even though use of the divine names does not correspond perfectly to the expected pattern. It is certainly possible to see that even these "positive" stories can be further divided between a "southern" picture of an intermediary and a "northern" or "Ephraimite" one (to use Robert Wilson's [1980] terms). The following represents something of a consensus: *southern/J*—at least Num 22:3b, 4, part of 5, part of 6, 7a, 11, 22–34, 37, 39, 40a; 23:7a, 18a; 24:1, 2b–3a, 10a, 11b, 15a; *northern/E*—at least Num 22:2–3a, part of 5, part of 6, 7b–10, 12–21, 35–36, 38, 40b–41; almost all the prose in chapter 23; 24:10b–11a, 12a–14a, 25. In the verses that many commentators assign to the J source, Balaam is a diviner, a form of intermediary apparently acceptable in court circles in preexilic Judah, as elsewhere in the ANE; the elders of Moab take "fees for divination" *(qĕsāmîm)* to Balaam (22:7); Balaam is one who as a rule looks for omens *(nĕḥāšîm)* before pronouncing (24:1). The introductions to the oracles, and particularly to the 3d and 4th oracles, could also be a reflex of a southern view of prophecy. We read (Num 23:7, 18; 24:3, 15, 20, 21, 23) that Balaam "took up his discourse" (*way-yiśśă᾽ mĕšālô*), and the pairing of the verb *nś᾽* with *māšāl* turns up (besides Job 27:1 and 29:1) also and only in Isa 14:4; Mic 2:4; and Hab 2:6. Furthermore, in Num 24:4 and 16 Balaam "sees the vision of *šadday,*" and the description of a prophet as one who sees visions (with derivatives of the root *ḥzh*) is one of the hallmarks of the southern view of prophecy. (The mention of the *rûaḥ ᾽ĕlōhîm* in 24:2 is perhaps another connection with southern prophecy:cf. the role of the "spirit" in Ezekiel.) Most would place the episode involving Balaam's she-ass within this southern strand, although many consider the ass pericope to be a completely independent story only secondarily connected to the rest of Numbers 22–24.

In those verses generally called E, however, we see in Balaam a typical Yahweh-prophet, one who can only speak the word that Yahweh puts in his mouth, a phrase reflecting the paradigmatic description of a prophet in Deut 18:18 (see Num 22:38; 23:5, 12, 16; similarly 22:8, 18, 19, 20, 35, 38; 23:3, 15, 17, 26; 24:13). Such a description marks this picture of Balaam as issuing from northern, i.e. Ephraimite circles. It is this strand of the Balaam material that includes the familiar picture of elaborate sacrifices provided by the king, and Balaam's conferences with Yahweh wherein Balaam is given the substance of the first two blessings that so disappoint Balak. Further connections with northern concerns are the names of the hills from which Balaam pronounces his oracles in chaps. 22–23; Bamoth-baal, Pisgah, and Peor describe the area of the same Transjordanian mountain range where Deuteronomic tradition records that Moses delivered his final discourses, died, and was buried (note Beth-Peor in Deut 3:29 and 34:6, and the addition of Pisgah to P's Nebo in 34:1). The mountain range where Balaam delivers his oracles is a sacred place, then, to the northern circles that produced Deuteronomy.

**C. History of the Traditions**

In terms of their tradition history, the biblical passages concerning Balaam son of Beor divide neatly into two groups: (1) those related to the P traditions that Balaam was responsible for the apostasy with the Midianites at Peor, for which he was killed in Israel's battle against the Midianites reported in Numbers 31; and (2) all the rest, which maintain in some form that Balaam son of Beor, a non-Israelite intermediary, was called by the Moabites (at least) to curse Israel but instead blessed them in the end.

**1. The Priestly Account of Balaam.** According to the P passages, Balaam was responsible for the apostasy of the Israelites at Peor and was killed by the Israelites in a battle against Midian (Num 31:8, 16); this source lumps Balaam together with Moses as the objects of an Aaronid polemic surrounding the incident at Peor and directed also at the Midianites (cf. 25:6 and 10 for suggestions of Moses' complicity with the apostasy and 25:7–8 and 11–13 for the elevation of Phinehas the Aaronid because of his opposite reaction). This seems to be a completely separate Balaam tradition, but one that did apparently influence the final form of the earlier stories with the insertion of the extraneous "elders of Midian" in 22:4, 7. This Aaronid tradition has also made its mark on Josh 13:22, where Balaam's demise along with the Midianite leaders is reiterated, this time not because of his association with the apostasy at Peor, but simply, it would seem, because he was a diviner, a *qōsēm.* Josh 13:22 shows evidence of familiarity: (1) with the anti-Balaam, anti-Midianite P-tradition in Numbers 31; (2) with the *southern/J* tradition in Num 22:7 to the effect that the elders of Moab (and the elders of Midian) took *qĕsāmîm*, divination fees, Balaam's acceptance of which would have made him a *qōsēm;* and finally (3) with the Deuteronomic description of diviners (along with several other types of intermediaries) as abominations (Deut 18:10–14), and therefore sentenced to die.

**2. The Second Grouping.** Those passages where a potential curse is turned into a blessing can be further divided into 3 subgroups, according to the reason supplied for this substitution of a blessing.

**a. The Northern Tradition.** In Numbers 22–24 the change from curse to blessing is attributed to Balaam's inability to do or say anything that Yahweh has not commanded him. The blessing comes about because of Yahweh's desire that Israel be blessed and because of Balaam's position as a true Yahweh-prophet.

**b. The Southern Tradition.** In Numbers 22–24 the hoped-for curse is again thwarted by Yahweh's desire to bless and power to sway Balaam, this time not because Balaam is a typical Yahweh-prophet, but because of the display of power Balaam encounters on the road (the ass episode, 22:22–34, generally attributed to J). In this version, Balaam had not consulted any deity before leaving on his journey to Balak, but is impressed with the deity who can send an invisible messenger *(mal*ʾ*āk)* with the power to reveal himself to a donkey, in order to convey his wish that Balaam not go to curse Israel. In response to that wish, Balaam abandons his usual procedure of looking for omens (24:1) and simply pronounces his oracles under the influence of the "spirit of God" (*rûaḥ* ʾ*ĕlōhîm*). The result is a blessing.

It has been suggested that the original ending of the ass story has been lost in the combining of the 2 sources, and that the story would have ended either with Yahweh's permission for Balaam to proceed (something like the present v 35, but without the Deuteronomic language), or else with Balaam simply

returning home. In the latter case, v 37 of the same chapter could be excised from its present position and interpreted as a continuation of the southern story. The verse could be read literally to mean that Balaam had not gone to Balak at that point but that Balak had, in fact, found it necessary to travel to Balaam. V 37 would be continued by v 39, which describes Balaam's going with Balak, finally, to Kiriath-huzoth.

**c. The Tradition in Deuteronomy 23, Joshua 24, and Nehemiah 13.** According to these texts, Balaam made an attempt to curse Israel, but Yahweh turned the curse into a blessing. This time there is no indication that Balaam was a Yahweh-prophet or that he was a diviner who knew a powerful deity when he saw one. The implication is rather that Balaam was inclined against Israel, up to and including the pronouncing of a curse, and that Yahweh simply closed his ears to Balaam's speech. Note that all 3 of these passages relate the Balaam episode in contexts where current fears of pollution from foreigners are clear-cut issues of the author's day: who can enter the sanctuary, whose worship is appropriate, who is an appropriate marriage partner. Therefore, the appearance of a foreigner as a Yahweh-prophet or even as a diviner who could recognize Yahweh's power and pronounce Yahweh's oracles would be unacceptable.

These 3 notices are either representative of a completely different strand of tradition, or else they are creative expansions of the traditions already outlined from Numbers 22–24, perhaps reflecting the tendency that we have noticed in the Priestly tradition to denigrate Balaam. This tendency may be present even in the narrative of Balaam's she-ass, who "sees" the messenger from Yahweh when Balaam the "seer" is blind to the appearance, surely not a good advertisement for Balaam's powers as an intermediary. If the ass episode was meant to poke fun at Balaam, then its use in the story as we have it would portray Yahweh's blessing in the following chapters as even more extraordinary—not only coming from a famous, non-Israelite intermediary, but even from one who is on his own somewhat inept.

**3. Oracles 3 and 4.** Even within Numbers 22–24, oracles 3 and 4 seem to represent a tradition separate from oracles 1 and 2, and from the prose that surrounds the oracles. (Most commentators would leave 24:21–23 out of consideration here as later additions to the 4th oracle, and some would excise v 20 also.) Whereas oracles 1 and 2 depend on the prose setting for any meaningful interpretation, oracles 3 and 4 can be read and appreciated without any reference to the prose story. Furthermore, Balaam is introduced at the beginning of each of these oracles (24:3–4 and 15–16); such an introduction would not have been necessary had the oracles been composed along with the prose and transmitted originally in anything like their present context. The 3d and 4th oracles, then, are generally thought to have originated separately from the prose story and from oracles 1 and 2, and to have been transmitted separately for some time before being combined with the narrative of the curser-turned-blesser summoned by the Moabite king. It has even been suggested that the rest of Numbers 22–24 was composed specifically to provide a context for the traditional Balaam oracles now in chapter 24, the theme of blessing and cursing suggested by 24:9. If one reads only oracles 3 and 4, one sees nothing of the call from Balak for Balaam to curse Israel, but only clear blessings, in the natural and military realms, so that if we give these poems priority over the rest of the Balaam traditions, we would have to assign them to yet a 3d category, besides C.1 and C.2 above, carrying the simple theme that a foreign seer was the bearer of blessings for Israel. The plausibility of such a tradition concerning Balaam son of Beor has increased recently since the discovery of a non-Israelite (or at least nonorthodox) Balaam tradition in the plaster text from Tell Deir ʿAllā in Jordan (see below).

The 3d and 4th oracles might date from the time of the early monarchy, since 24:17–18 can be interpreted to refer to David's defeat of Edom and Moab (with the *bĕnê-šēt,* children of Sheth, identified with the Palestinian tribal name Shutu known from 2d millennium documents). Moreover, 24:7, as well as v 20 and the LXX reference to Agag (?) in v 23, if these be admitted to the 4th oracle, could plausibly refer to Saul's defeat of Agag and the Amalekites. (Albright's attempt to date the oracles even earlier, based on orthographic typology, has not met with much approval; neither has von Gall's proposal [1900] that they were composed in the Maccabean era.)

**D. Literary Relationships**

The 3d and 4th oracles have literary connections with the well-known lists of tribal features that occur in early Israelite poetry: the leonine characteristics in Gen 49:9 referring to Judah and in Deut 33:20, 22

referring to Gad and Dan (cf. Num 24:9); the horns of an ox in Deut 33:17 (cf. Num 24:8); and the scepter and predominance of Judah in Gen 49:10 (cf. Num 24:17). The introductory phrase in 24:3, 15 describing each oracle as *nĕ›um hag-geber šĕtûm hā-‹āyin,* "oracle of the man whose eye is perfect," is remarkably similar to what is said about the "Last Words of David" in 2 Sam 23:1, *nĕ›um haggeber huqam ‹āl,* "oracle of the man who was raised on high" (if not "established by God," reading 4QSam[a]' s *hqym ›l*), and to the obscure *nĕ›um haggeber lĕ›îtî›ēl* in Prov 30:1. Once the separateness (and perhaps even priority) of oracles 3 and 4 is established, it is logical to propose that the similarities between the 2d and 3d oracles arise from deliberate imitation in composition, probably of the 2d in imitation of the 3d: so, 23:22 is a reference to 24:8 and 23:24 plays with 24:9.

**E. Balaam's Homeland**

The location of Balaam's homeland has occasioned much discussion in the scholarly literature. There are several choices offered in the biblical tradition. Pethor, Heb *pĕtôrâ,* "on the river," in Num 22:5, has been plausibly identified with Pitru on the upper Euphrates, known to us from Assyrian inscriptions. The ancient versions are divided as to whether to interpret this word as a geographic reference with locative *-â,* or to read it as a description of Balaam himself as a dream interpreter, from the Heb root *ptr.* A home for Balaam on the upper Euphrates would also bring together the references in Num 23:7 and Deut 23:5—Eng 23:4 that he had come from Aram (Naharaim) and the suggestion that he was operating with the knowledge and methods of a Mesopotamian *bārû-diviner* (Daiches 1909). The upper Euphrates is too far for the southern tradition, however, where Balaam sets off (Num 22:22) riding on a donkey, with just 2 servants to accompany him, hardly preparations for a journey from Pitru to the Arnon. Num 22:5 goes on to say that Balak sent to Balaam in the land of *bĕnê-‹ammô,* which phrase has been variously interpreted as the land of "his people," of "Amaw," or as a scribal error for "the Ammonites." The S tradition would fit more comfortably, certainly, with either the noncommittal "his people" or with "Ammon," to which several of the ancient versions also attest, categorizing "on the river (Euphrates)," at least, and even better "Pethor on the river (Euphrates)," as glosses. It must be pointed out that *›ereṣ bĕnê-‹ammô* never occurs elsewhere in the Bible as a phrase for "his homeland," but in favor of this translation is Balaam's statement in 24:14 that now that Balak has banished him, he will go to his "people," indicating that that is a reasonable description of his situation when Balak called him.

**F. The Balaam Text from Tell Deir ‹Allā**

Contemporary with these biblical Balaam traditions, but from a separate source, is the plaster inscription discovered at Tell Deir ‹Allā in the E Jordan Valley dating to the end of the 8th century B.C.E. Like the passages usually assigned to J in Numbers 22–24, the Deir ‹Allā inscription offers a picture of Balaam as a southern intermediary, referred to as *ḥzh ›lhn,* "seer of the gods," in the first line of the inscription, and sees a vision (*wyḥzh mḥzh*) like an oracle *(mś›)* from El (I, 1, 2). (The reference to the intermediary as *ḥōzēh* and the description of the oracle as *maśśā›* are 2 of the hallmarks of Wilson's southern intermediary.) The extant lines of this inscription have no connection with the content of the Balaam traditions in the Heb Bible, although their language is often reminiscent of the more familiar Balaam story: *wy›tw ›lwh ›lhn blylh* in I, 1, corresponds nicely to *wayyābō› ›ĕlōhîm ›el-bil‹ām laylâ›* "and God came to Balaam at night," in Num 22:20 (without *laylâ* in v 9); and *wyqm bl‹m mn mḥr* in I, 3, of the Deir ‹Allā text is close to *wayyāqom bil‹ām babbōqer›* "so Balaam rose in the morning," in Num 22:13, 21.

Yahweh is nowhere mentioned in the extant (very fragmentary) text, although several other deities are: at least El and the plural *›lhn, š adday*-gods, and a goddess whose name begins with *š-*. The existence of a (presumably non-Israelite) sanctuary in the E Jordan Valley in the 8th century, where Balaam is revered as prophet, must have influenced the redaction of the biblical Balaam stories: It might, for instance, have been offensive to the Aaronid priestly group as a rival to their Jerusalem sanctuary and traditions, and so have contributed to the negative attitude toward Balaam in Numbers 31 and Joshua 13. See also DEIR ‹ALLĀ.

**G. Later Literature**

Philo, Josephus, and Pseudo-Philo all mention Balaam in a more or less negative light. Philo, particularly in his *De vita Mosis* and *De migratione Abrahami,* deals with the thorny problem of a

foreigner and an evil man who was said to be a prophet. Philo concludes that he was indeed a soothsayer, but not a true prophet.

Josephus (*Ant* 4), in line with some of the biblical passages discussed above, sees in Balaam a diviner who wanted to curse Israel, but could not because it was not God's will that they be cursed. He found a way to harm Israel, however, in advising Balak to have Midianite women entice Israelite men away from their true worship.

Pseudo-Philo is more forgiving toward Balaam in the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (18). Here Balaam understands that Balak is wrong to want to curse Israel, but goes to him anyway. He gives Balak the counsel that led to the Baal-Peor incident after he realizes that in going to Moab he has forfeited divine favor.

Rabbinic commentators generally saw in Balaam a representative of all that was bad in "the nations." He was greedy and he was a sorcerer. He is acknowledged to have prophetic powers, but is seen as all the more dangerous because of his powers. It has been suggested that Balaam's portrayal became more and more derogatory as rabbinic sources used him as an example of a gentile seer in order to comment on the Christian exegetes of their own time.

Balaam is mentioned 3 times in the New Testament:2 Pet 2:15–16; Jude 11; Rev 2:14. In each case the tendency toward a negative appraisal of Balaam noticeable in the later Heb Bible traditions is carried on, although the authors are not always negative for the same reasons. In the first 2 passages, Balaam is used as an example of someone who took money for wrong purposes, and the obvious interpretation is that they refer to the tradition that Balaam indeed tried to curse Israel (and was presumably paid for it, despite Num 24:11). This interpretation may also proceed from a belief that Balaam was wrong to ask God a 2d time for permission to travel with Balak's messengers, but that he did so out of a desire for the money Balak might pay him. It is possible, however, given the references to lust and animal passions in the 2 Peter and Jude passages, that they, like Revelation 2:14, have combined several of the Hebrew Bible traditions about Balaam and are also referring to the Priestly version of the apostasy at Peor where there is the suggestion of sexual immorality (Num 25:6–8) instigated by Balaam (Num 31:15–16). The food sacrificed to idols of Rev 2:14 is clearly an interpretation of the J version of the Baal-Peor apostasy (cf. Num 25:2 and Ps 106:28), for which Balaam is here also blamed.

The statement in Balaam's 4th oracle that "a star shall come forth out of Jacob/and a scepter rise out of Israel" was widely interpreted in the early church as a messianic prediction, as it had been at Qumran and in the Bar Kokhba movement. A non-Israelite sorcerer or magician himself, Balaam was regarded as the founder of the order that produced the Magi of Matthew, the first Gentiles who recognized Jesus as messiah.

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**BALADAN** (PERSON) [Heb *balʾădān* (בַּלְאֲדָן)]. According to 2 Kgs 20:12 (= Isa 39:1), the father of Merodach-baladan, a ruler of Babylon who sent a diplomatic delegation to King Hezekiah of Judah.

However, it is very uncertain whether this name is actually that of Merodach-baladan's father. Merodach-baladan [Heb *mĕrōdak bal·ădān*] was a Chaldean ruler of the Bit-Yakin tribe who fomented rebellion against the Assyrians at the end of the 8th century B.C.E. He twice succeeded in wresting control of Babylon from the Assyrians, where he ruled from 721–710 B.C.E. and again for 9 months in 703 B.C.E. (*IDB* 3:355; Wildberger *Isaiah 1–12* BKAT, 1474–75). See MERODACH-BALADAN. The name Merodach-baladan (Akk *marduk-apal-iddina*) means "Marduk has given a son." While it has been suggested that Baladan might be an abbreviated form of the father's name without the name of the deity (X has given a son), it appears more likely that the phrase "son of Baladan" is simply an attempt at some stage of the Biblical text to fill out the name of this king by interpreting the 2d part of his name as a patronym. Merodach-baladan himself claims descent from Eriba-Marduk, a king of Babylon from 782–762 B.C.E. It is possible, but not certain, that this is the true name of his father (Kaiser *Isaiah 1–12* OTL, 409). In Babylonian sources Merodach-baladan is called son of Yakin, but this is surely a reference to membership in his tribe or dynasty and not the name of his father (Hobbs *2 Kings* WBC, 294).

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**BALAH** (PLACE) [Heb *bālâ* (בָּלָה)]. Town allotted to Simeon in the Negeb within the tribal territory of Judah (Josh 19:3). See BAALAH.

**BALAH, DEIR EL-** (PLACE). See DEIR EL-BALAH.

**BALAK** (PERSON) [Heb *bālāq* (בָּלָק)]. A king of Moab, the son of Zippor, whose encounter with Balaam is described in Numbers 22–24. After the Israelites had defeated the Amorites and were camped in the plains of Moab opposite Jericho, Balak and the elders of Moab and Midian decided to protect themselves from the Hebrews with supernatural power. Acting out of great fear and willing to pay a large fee, Balak sought the assistance of Balaam, a Mesopotamian diviner; Balak was convinced that Balaam's curse on Israel would guarantee a Moabite victory in some future conflict (22:1–7).

After meeting Balaam on the border of Moab (22:36), Balak made every effort to invoke the seer's efficacious pronouncement. Balaam was taken to 4 different locations, including several mountaintops where he could look down upon the people he was expected to curse (22:39, 41; 23:14, 28). Acting as priest, Balak assisted the diviner in sacrificial rituals (22:40; 23:1–4, 14–17, 29–30). As is well known, Balak was frustrated and greatly disappointed, since Balaam could pronounce only blessings on the Moabite king's enemies (23:23).

Balak is virtually unknown in the Bible outside of Numbers 22–24. Balak is mentioned in passing elsewhere in the OT as an example of a futile attempt to thwart God's plans (Josh 24:9–10; Judg 11:25; Mic 6:5). Rev 2:14 discusses Balak and Balaam because of their involvement in the incident at Shittim, the matter of Baal of Peor (Numbers 25; cf. Mic 6:5). While there is much debate concerning the date of the Balak-Balaam traditions, it is obvious that these figures were etched in the memories of later generations.

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

**BALAMON** (PLACE) [Gk *Balamōn* (Βαλαμων)]. One of two settlements marking the location of a field in which Manasseh, the husband of Judith, was buried (Jdt 8:3), the other location identified being Dothan (Gk *Dothaim*). Although its precise location remains unknown, the text of Judith makes it clear that Balamon, like Dothan, was to be found approximately 8 miles north of Samaria. This is the only reference to Balamon unless, as Stummer (1947:7), Enslin (1972:110), and Moore (*Judith* AB, 44, 180) have conjectured, the word is a corruption of other place names, such as Belmain (4:4) or Belbaim (7:3). Without explanation, but (presumably) on the same basis, Reed (*IDB* 1:378) and others suggest that Balamon might be identified with the villages of Bebai (15:4), Bileam (1 Chr 6:55—Eng 6:70), Ibleam (Josh 17:11–12), and Abel-beth Maacah (2 Sam 20:14–15). Located 20 miles north of Lake Hula, the last

of these would appear an unlikely location for Balamon, given the circumstances described in Jdt 8:3. The possibility of corruption, then, remains a real one, given the large number of place names in Judith which remain unidentified (Moore *Judith* AB, 39–44) and the difficulties inherent in any attempt to reconstruct the book's Heb original. Its clearly fictional character and the general unreliability of the book's geography may, however, preclude any identification (Pfeiffer 1949:296–97; Nickelsburg 1981:106–7). See also BAAL-HAMON.

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FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**BALAS, ALEXANDER** (PERSON). See ALEXANDER (PERSON).

**BALBAIM** (PLACE) [Gk *Belbaim* (Βελβαιμ)]. A site mentioned in the book of Judith, whose exact location is unknown (Jdt 7:3). It is often assumed to be identical with the BELMAIN in 4:4 and the BALAMON in 8:3. If this is the case, it may be identified with Abel-maim (M.R. 204296) some 13 miles south of Scythopolis (so Aharoni and Avi-Yonah *MBA*). Of course, given the genre of the book of Judith, it is entirely possible that the town is fictitious.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**BALDNESS.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**BALM.** A historically convenient English translation of the Heb word *ṣŏrî,* found in the OT just 6 times, all with reference to a plant or a derived plant product. The modern botanical identification cannot be established precisely. The LXX translated the Heb word as the Gk *rhētinē* "resin of pine." For the Hellenistic botanist Theophrastus (*Hist. Pl.* 9.2), *rhētinē* was the resins or saps extracted from Aleppo pine and silver fir, the terebinth of Syria, and Phoenician cedar. If the Gk *rhētinē* of Theophrastus and the LXX is an accurate translation of the Heb *ṣorî,* then "balm" was a resinous substance harvested from one or several of these few trees which grew in the regions of Palestine and Transjordan, not one of the resinous aromatic spices or incenses imported into Palestine from Arabia or Abyssinia.

In the past, scholars have often placed balm *(ṣŏrî)* within a somewhat larger group of aromatic plants and plant products which included other plant substances such as *bośem* (balsam) and *nāṭāp,* as some references to them occasionally overlap in meaning, description, or usage. This confusion has been retained even in modern translations of the OT; for instance, in the NEB, Ezek 27:17, *ṣŏrî* is translated "balsam" not "balm," and there are many other examples.

It seems necessary to regard balm *(ṣŏrî)* as a distinct substance in biblical study for several reasons. Balm *(ṣŏrî)* appears to have been native to Palestine or Transjordan and specifically produced in this area, whereas balsam *(bośem)* was imported into Palestine from Arabia or Abyssinia (Miller 1969:101–2; Groom 1981; cf. 1 Kgs 10:2; Ezek 27:22). Famous as a product of Gilead, balm is said to have been exported from there to places like Egypt and Tyre (cf. Gen 37:25, 43:11; Ezek 27:17), but the Hebrew *bośem* is never mentioned as having a special association with Gilead. Balm *(ṣŏrî)* is mentioned as a medicinal product, whereas other incenses or spices such as *bośem* and *nāṭāp* have no such specific distinction and use. In contrast, *bośem* was refined and compounded as a fragrant ingredient of the priestly anointing oil (Exod 25:6; 1 Chr 9:29), of which *ṣŏrî* is never mentioned as a component. Further, *bośem* is often mentioned as a spice with qualities which made it suitable for use by women as a fragrance (Cant 4:10, 4:16, 5:13; Esth 2:12; Isa 3:24), but *ṣŏrî* is never described as such (see also PERFUMES AND SPICES). *Bośem* also had other uses. It was among the fragrant garlands on funeral biers (2 Chr 16:14), but there is no evidence that *ṣŏrî* had such versatile applications. Indeed, it is difficult to see any clear synonymity between *ṣŏrî* and other substances such as *bośem* (balsam) or *nāṭāp. Nāṭāp* has been associated in the past with both of the above, but is too poorly attested to be considered here.

A number of proposals for the identification of *ṣŏrî* (balm) have been made previously, some of which, however, assumed the erroneous identification of *ṣŏrî* with other plant products such as *bośem* and *nāṭāp.* Previous botanical identifications have included *Commiphora opobalsamum, Pistacia lentiscus, Balanites aegyptiaca,* and others (see also FLORA). These must be rejected in favor of one or several of the aromatic tree resins mentioned in the Greek botanists. Indeed even today, remnants of the ancient forests of Gilead (the district of Ajlun in modern Jordan) still contain the ancient sources of *rhētinē* mentioned in the classical writers—Aleppo pine *(Pinus halepensis)* and Phoenician cedar *(Juniperus phoenicia)* (Rushbrooke 1943:427).

In the OT, at least half of the references to balm are to a healing medicinal ointment of some sort, probably made of resin which had been compounded with oil (compare the parallelism of Ugaritic *ẓrw* and *šmn,* and possibly a similar Heb parallelism in Job 29:6 as well if one allows a slight emendation of the text [see Fisher 1972:359]). In Jer 8:22 and 46:11, balm is some sort of salve or ointment which was applied to wounds where there was a loss of skin:"Why has not skin grown over their wound?" Further, Jer 51:8 suggests that balm was a medicine applied to wounds apparently as a soothing salve. It is important to note, however, that our knowledge of the medicinal use of balm is derived from Jeremiah alone, who speaks allegorically of societal and national healing. From passages in Jeremiah it can be inferred that *ṣŏrî,* the "Balm of Gilead," was regarded with high esteem as the healing salve specific to the region of Gilead ("for which our country is famous," see Gen 43:11), or was an ingredient of this product. There seems to be no reason as yet to reject the current English translation of *ṣŏrî* as "balm," as the English word balm implies both a soothing medicament as well as a pleasant odor.

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RICHARD N. JONES


**BALSAM.** See BALM.

**BAMOTH** (PLACE) [Heb *bāmôt* (בָּמוֹת)]. One of the Israelite encampments in N Moab E of the Shittim Valley near Mt. Nebo (Num 21:19–20). Many scholars (e.g., Gray *Numbers* ICC, 291) identify Bamoth with BAMOTH-BAAL (Num 22:41; Josh 13:17) and with the *bt bmt* ("Beth-bamoth") of the Moabite Stone (line 27 [*ANET* 320]). Noth (*Numbers* OTL, 182) rejected the interpretation of MT *bāmôt-baʿal* as a geographic name in spite of Josh 13:17, but his view is not typical. Boling (*Joshua* AB, 342) has reaffirmed the identification of Bamoth with Bamoth-baal, and proposes Khirbet el-Qeiqiyeh S of Mt. Nebo as the probable ancient site.

The Moabite itinerary of the Wilderness/Conquest narratives is problematic (see Meek 1960:41–48; Walsh 1977; Briend 1986), and the text of Num 21:10–20 is arguably conflated (see Miller 1989:585–87, citing earlier studies). Conclusions regarding the identity of sites must therefore remain open to revision.

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**BAMOTH-BAAL** (PLACE) [Heb *bāmôt baʿal* (בָּמוֹת בַּעַל)]. One of the stopping points in the Hebrew migration through Moab (Num 21:19–20, where the place is listed by its shorter name of Bamoth). It is most likely that Bamoth-baal and Bamoth are identical because the names are similar and the geographical information in the OT that relates to these place-names localizes both to the same region. This settlement was assigned to the tribe of Reuben and was counted among the towns in the tableland of

Heshbon (Josh 13:17). Although the identification is not certain, it is possible that Bamoth-baal/Bamoth is the same as Beth-bamoth, mentioned in the Mesha Inscription (line 27).

The Num 21:10–20 narrative on Israel's journey around S Moab and through N Moab names Bamoth in a series of 4 locations: Mattanah, Nahaliel, Bamoth, and "the valley lying in the region of Moab by the top of Pisgah" (Num 21:19–20). While the 1st 2 sites are unknown, the 4th place is clearly in the NW corner of Moab, near Mt. Pisgah and Mt. Nebo, in the mountains of Abarim. The 3d place, therefore, Bamoth, is in the same general direction as Pisgah and Nebo and is some distance to the N of the Arnon. The edge of the Transjordanian plateau in NW Moab is also the appropriate setting for the episode involving Balak and Balaam (Numbers 22–24).

More specifically, the RSV text of Num 22:41 says that a place called Bamoth-baal was one of several peaks to which Balak took Balaam. This elevated locale was chosen by the Moabite king so that Balaam could see the people whom he had been hired to curse, the Israelites who were encamped in the plains of Moab, opposite Jericho. While the RSV regards Bamoth-baal as a proper name, the KJV translates these Hebrew words in 22:41 as "the high places of Baal." This is, of course, a literal rendering of the Hebrew, but there are many biblical place-names with significant meanings that are not translated. Furthermore, the other 3 places to which Balak took Balaam had specific designations, proper names. It is likely that many of the hills on the Abarim ridge provided the setting where a number of deities were worshiped (e.g., Baal, Nebo/Nabu, Peor). Some of these hills were probably crowned with cultic installations of some sort, including high places. There is every reason to believe that a specific place named Bamoth-baal could have served such a function, as is indicated in the description of the sacrificial ritual performed by Balak and Balaam (cf. Num 23:1–6).

The exact location of Bamoth-baal is unknown, but it was undoubtedly on one of the heights of Abarim, in the vicinity of Pisgah and Nebo. One specific site is usually mentioned by those inclined to localize Bamoth-baal, a place called Khirbet el-Quweiqiyeh. Musil (1907–8) referred to this site as el-Quēzije (or Qweiziyeh), which is located ca. 3 miles northwest of Medeba and 11/2 miles S of Khirbet el-Mekhaiyet, which is often identified as the town of Nebo. Archaeological confirmation is lacking, but the location fulfills all of the geographical requirements of the Bible and the place is revered by the local population.

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**BAN (HEREM).** See DEUTERONOMY, BOOK OF.

**BANDITRY.** Robbery, outlawry, and related resistance movements were elements of the social world of early Judaism and formative Christianity.

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A. Studies of Banditry
B. Banditry in Lebanon
C. Banditry in Trachonitis
D. Banditry in Judea
1. Before A.D. 66
2. A.D. 70–132
3. After Bar Kokhba

———

**A. Studies of Banditry**

Banditry has attracted the attention of social historians (e.g., Hobsbawm 1985) in recent years for several reasons. First, from a distance banditry has a certain air of romance. Second, it is a phenomenon of great complexity which can assume various forms, some of which involve resistance against the existing social order. Third, the extent to which banditry occurs in a society is often considered a reflection of the degree of internal control and social stability achieved by the system.

Banditry was frequent at least in some periods and some areas of the Roman empire. For Judea and its vicinity there is a good deal of evidence from various periods. Here too it assumed various forms. In the mountains of the Lebanon and in Trachonitis in S Syria an impoverished population harassed the farmers in the plains and the traders traveling along the roads through the area. These forms of robbery were sometimes condoned by local dynasts who shared in the profits. In Judea banditry had often strong ideological roots and some of the bandits might be called guerilla fighters by those sympathetic to their cause, for the prime target was the Roman authorities whose rule some considered illegitimate.

Banditry did not come to an end with the suppression of the 1st Jewish Revolt (A.D. 66–70) or the Bar Kokhba war (A.D. 132–135). In fact there is a good deal of evidence from the Byzantine period which cannot be considered here (Isaac 1984; fc. chap. 2). What follows is a brief survey of the evidence in roughly chronological and geographical order.

**B. Banditry in Lebanon**

At the time of Pompey's E campaign in 63 B.C. several regions are known to have suffered from brigandage. One people well known for their bellicose nature were the Ituraeans who lived in the Lebanon mountains and the Beqaʿ Valley. In the reign of Augustus, the geographer Strabo writes in his description of the Lebanon:

> Now all the mountainous parts are held by Ituraeans and Arabians, all of whom are robbers, but the people in the plains are farmers; and when the latter are harassed by the robbers at different times they require different kinds of help. These robbers use strongholds as bases of operation; those, for example, who hold Libanus possess, high up on the mountain, Sinna and Borrama and other fortresses like them, and down below, Botrys and Gigartus and the caves by the sea and the castle that was erected on Theuprosopon. Pompey destroyed these places; and from them the robbers overran both Byblus and the city that comes next after Byblus, I mean the city Berytus, which lie between Sidon and Theuprosopon. (Strabo 16.2.18 §756; trans. H. L. Jones, Loeb.)

**C. Banditry in Trachonitis**

Further E there were similar problems. In the same work, Strabo claims that the Roman army had taken effective measures following the annexation of the area into the province of Syria. The lava plateau between Damascus and Bostra, modern El Leja (= "a refuge"; a place in which to hide), was known in antiquity as Trachonitis. Strabo has the following to say:

> And then, toward the parts inhabited promiscuously by Arabians and Ituraeans, are mountains hard to pass, in which there are deep-mouthed caves, one of which can admit as many as four thousand people in times of incursions, such as are made against the Damasceni from many places. For the most part, indeed, the barbarians have been robbing the merchants from Arabia Felix, but this is less the case now that the band of robbers under Zenodorus has been broken up through the good government established by the Romans and through the security established by the Roman soldiers that are kept in Syria. (Strabo xvi 2, 20 [756]; trans. H. L. Jones, Loeb)

In 23 B.C. Augustus gave Trachonitis, Batanaea (Bashan), and Auranitis (Hauran) to the allied king Herod of Judea. His task here was to suppress the robber bands in Trachonitis who had operated in Damascus with the support of a local ruler, Zenodorus the Tetrarch (Joseph. *Ant* 15. 10.1 §§343–48; *JW* 1.20.4 §§398–400; concerning Zenodorus see *HJP²* 1.565–66). Zenodorus received a share of the profit, according to Josephus.

> It was not easy to restrain people who had made brigandage a habit and had no other means of making a living, since they had neither city or field of their own but only underground shelters and caves, where they lived together with their cattle. They had also managed to collect supplies of water and of food beforehand, and so were able to hold out for a very long time in their hidden retreat. Moreover, the entrances (to their caves) were narrow, and only one person at a time could enter, while the interiors were incredibly large and constructed to provide plenty of room, and the ground above their dwellings was not high but almost level with the (surrounding) surface. The whole place consisted of rocks that were rugged and difficult of access unless one used a path with a guide leading the way, for nmt even these paths were straight, but had many turns and windings. (Joseph. *Ant* 15.10.1 §§346–47)

It is worthwhile to consider these passages in full because they are independent sources which agree and supplement each other. Strabo and Josephus both mention that the major problem was the fact that the territory of Damascus and the roads there suffered from bandits. Both say that the bandits hid in caves. These caves have been identified by archaeologists working in the region. In Israel numerous artificial caves have been found in recent years, clearly used as hiding places in the Roman period. Strabo adds that the banditry was of special concern to the Romans because both the rural population around Damascus, and traders were attacked. Josephus, on the other hand, insists on the economic cause of brigandage, and there can be no doubt that economic hardship lay at the root of the difficulties in the region. (It may be added that the lava fields of Trachonitis were a dangerous area as recently as the beginning of this century.)

Wetzstein, who knew the area in the 1850s, alleges that the Turkish authorities never dared to act against the inhabitants of the region, no matter how much the villagers around Damascus suffered from their depredations. He notes that they might be controlled only by a permanent garrison in their land. The caves described by Josephus were famous in Wetzstein's time as well. We may note the expression "a robbers' cave" used as a matter of course in the NT (Matt 21:13).

In the 19th century, as in antiquity, brigands used to hide in caves in Trachonitis, and, as in Josephus, there was the need for a guide to lead the way. According to Josephus, who presumably relied on his source Nicolaus of Damascus, Herod pacified the region. However, 14 years later the inhabitants rebelled. Herod (according to Josephus) prevented them from practising banditry and forced them to till the soil and live quietly. This they did not want to do, and even had they been willing the land was too poor, so they again attacked their neighbours. Here again the economic roots of the problem become apparent. Herod's army took action and some of the robbers fled to Arabia. There they were provided with a base of operations against Judea (i.e., Galilee) and Coele-Syria (i.e., the territory of Damascus). This is another instance of support and involvement on the part of local rulers. Herod first attacked the home base of the bandits in Trachonitis, but the foray was ineffective because the brigands had a base of operations in Nabatean territory. There "they numbered about a thousand" (*Ant* 16.9.1–2 §§271–85). Herod attacked them there and destroyed their base, which led to conflict between Herod and the Nabataeans. As a supplementary measure in his efforts to suppress banditry, Herod settled 3, 000 Idumaeans, his own countrymen, in Trachonitis. This got Herod into difficulties with the emperor Augustus, for allied rulers were not allowed to interfere independently in the affairs of other allies. He was reprimanded, following which the inhabitants of Trachonitis and the Nabateans returned to brigandage and attacked the Idumaean settlers in Trachonitis.

Herod obviously failed to gain control of Trachonitis, for afterward he planted Jewish settlers at Bathyra in Batanaea (perhaps to be identified with Baṣīr, E of aṣ-Ṣanamein [Aere]) (Joseph. *Ant* 17.2.1 §§23–30; for the identification see Dussaud 1927:331; *HJP²* 1.565). The settlement in itself was successful. The presence of Jewish settlers is attested by carvings found at Nava, which is a site on the route from Damascus to Scythopolis used by Jewish travelers to and from Babylonia. The Jewish settlements were intended to serve as a buffer between Trachonitis and Galilee (Joseph. *Ant* 17.2.1–2 §§23–31). This implies that Herod had given up attempts permanently to subdue the population of Trachonitis itself.

A well-known but fragmentary Gk inscription set up at Canatha on the slopes of Jebel Druze SE of Trachonitis in the reign of either Agrippa I or Agrippa II mentions people who hide in holes like animals (*OGIS* 424; *IGRR* iii 1223; Waddington and Le Bas 1870, no. 2329, with extensive comments).

The ancient sources make it clear that Trachonitis was a poor region which did not allow of profitable cultivation, and the very factors which contributed to its poverty made it suitable as a shelter for brigands. This had consequences not only for the region itself, but also for neighboring fertile lands which suffered depredations. Because important trade routes passed through and near by the region, international trade also suffered from such insecurity. At first Augustus gave his client Herod instructions to solve the problem, but this resulted in armed conflict with another client, a state of affairs that the Romans would not tolerate. The system failed to function. Local problems such as these, often not mentioned in literary sources, might colvince the Romans that it was preferable to annex a region. Eventually the Roman army

took the matter in hand. However, arms alone cannot solve such problems for good. The factors of geography which cause instability, poverty, and inaccessibility, do not change. Hence we learn that Samaritan rebels fled to Trachonitis in the 6th century (Theophanes *A.M.* 6048; *Historia Miscella* xvi, PL 16.991).

The information regarding banditry in Trachonitis is important, for the situation there had nothing to do with the specifically Jewish resistance to Roman rule in Judea. It was a state of insecurity with social and economic causes in which ideology played no major role. Yet we know of this only thanks to the diligence of 2 good sources, Strabo and Josephus. The possibility must be considered that there was banditry in Trachonitis in other periods of antiquity when there was no author interested in writing about it. Further it is quite possible that there were other areas with endemic unrest of which we know nothing. The complexities which the Romans faced in Syria-Palestine will have occurred in other areas and other times as well.

**D. Banditry in Judea**

Several sources accuse the Jews in Judaea of brigandage before the Roman conquest. Josephus represents the Hasmonean Hyrcanus as accusing Aristobulus before Pompey of instigating raids against neighboring peoples and acts of piracy at sea (*Ant* 24.3.2 §43). Strabo says that

> the tyrannies (scil. of the Hasmonaeans) were the cause of brigandage, for some rebelled and harassed the countryside, both their own and neighbouring lands, while others collaborated with the rulers and seized the possessions of others and subdued much of Syria and Phoenicia. (Strabo 16.2.37 §761)

Again, in his description of the coast of Sharon from Joppe (Jaffa) to Mt. Carmel, Strabo says that "the ports of robbers clearly are merely robbers' dens" (16.2.28 §758). Similar accusations are found in the *Historia Philippica* in Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus (Prologus, L. xxxix; 11.2.4). There it is stated that the Jews and the Arabs harassed Syria by brigandage. It is difficult to say whether this refers only to the Hasmonean conquests of territory outside Judea proper, or also to armed clashes or raids of which we possess no written record.

Statements like these must be distinguished from the information on banditry in Trachonitis. Accusations of Jewish state-sponsored brigandage, like those levelled by Strabo against Zenodorus and by Josephus against the Nabateans, may not be true. Their intention was to justify armed intervention by a third party. The alleged purpose of Pompey's E campaign was the suppression of piracy, and accusations of robbery and piracy clearly served as justification for the subjugation of various peoples. However, it is possible as well that there really was a good deal of banditry in the region in the period of Seleucid decline and before the Roman takeover.

In Judea and Arabia there is much evidence of internal problems. For some periods the sources regarding Judea-Palestine are relatively good as compared with other provinces. Banditry was a problem in periods other than those well known through Josephus' work. In the period which he covers, before and after the Roman conquest, various forms of banditry described by him were endemic.

**1. Before A.D. 66.** It has been shown that the Roman army was faced with problems of banditry in Lebanon and S Syria. According to ancient sources, banditry was frequent in mountainous and inaccessible areas where the population could not and would not maintain itself at subsistence level by means of agriculture. Judea, and particularly Galilee, were relatively rich countries, but there, as is seen in the next section, banditry of a different kind undermined security.

Josephus provides a good deal of information on unrest in Judea from Herod's death until the outbreak of the 1st Jewish Revolt. Josephus is extremely hostile toward those who physically resisted Roman rule. Moreover, for his account the early part of the 1st century, he relies on a source close to Herod which accordingly was hostile itself.

It was Herod's task as client king to suppress banditry. His first act as governor of Galilee in 47–46 B.C. was an attack on a bandit leader Ezekias who harassed Tyrian villages, a symptom perhaps of tension between ethnic groups in the region. Many of Ezekias' followers were killed, the Syrians were satisfied, and so was the governor of Syria, Sextus Julius Caesar (*Ant* 14.9.2 §159; *JW* 1.10.5 §204). Herod, however, was called to account before the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem because he had killed Jews. We have

no further information on Ezekias and his followers, but it is significant that his son Judas was one of the first Zealots, and many of his descendants were active in the resistance to Rome before and during the 1st Revolt, all of them called *leistai* (bandits) by Josephus. The last was Eleazar ben Yair, commander of the defendants of Masada. The manner in which Josephus describes these men and their followers leaves no doubt that the primary motive for their resistance to Rome was religious commitment. It is therefore possible that the banditry practised by Ezekias had other motives besides purely economic ones (see also ZEALOTS).

In 38 B.C. Herod led a campaign against (what Josephus calls) bandits in caves near Arbela in Galilee. There is no information on the nature of the bandits' activities (*Ant* 14.15.4 §415–16; 15.5 §420–30; *JW* 1.16.2 §304–5; 16.4 §309–13). However, an old man who killed his family and jumped down a cliff himself, "submitting to death rather than slavery," apparently was motivated in his struggle by religious ideology rather than economic misery. Martyrdom and suicide by those resisting the foreign tyrant go back at least to 2 Maccabees (see SUICIDE).

The militants are described by Josephus sometimes with admiration, more often with animosity. He recognizes the force of their convictions. They have "an invincible passion for liberty and take God for their only leader and lord" (*Ant* 18.1.6 §23). Their willingness to die for their way of life was an integral part of their ideology, connected with a belief in recompense in the world to come (*JW* 1.33.1 §650; cf. *Ant* 17.6.1 §152; *JW* 1.16.2 §311). Josephus does not hide the fact that he was expected by his comrades to commit suicide rather than surrender at Jotapata (*JW* 3.8.4 §355). The speech of Eleazar ben Yair, commander of the defendants of Masada, is Josephus' eloquent statement of their determination "neither to serve the Romans nor any other save God" (*JW* 7.8.6 §323). More often, however, Josephus describes the rebels as plain criminals. It is also impossible to distinguish resistance against Rome as the foreign power from resistance against the Jewish ruling class which represented the Roman authority in Judea.

The extant information is scanty and colored by the hostility of the sources. There is no basis in the evidence which would justify distinguishing between social and revolutionary banditry (if such a distinction should be made), but it is clear that Judea, from Herod's rise to power until the outbreak of the 1st Jewish Revolt, saw the emergence of groups which refused to accept the order which Rome generally imposed on clients and new provinces. Whenever the sources speak of bandits or murderers, the possibility exists that these are not merely economic or antisocial elements, but Jews motivated by ideology and religion.

It is therefore important to note that there are instances of popular support for, or collaboration with, brigands. The Barabbas released upon popular request at the time of Jesus' trial was, according to Mark, "among the rebels [Gk *stasiastōn*] who had committed murder in the insurrection" (Mark 15:7; cf. Luke 23:19), but John calls him a bandit (Gk *lęstēs;* John 18:40). Around the middle of the century there was serious trouble between Jews and Samaritans. "The masses … took up arms and invited the assistance of Eleazar ben Dinai—he was a brigand who for many years had had his home in the mountains" (*Ant* 20.6.1 §121; *JW* 2.12.4 §235). Eleazar is also known from Talmudic sources. He is said to have inspired so many murders that the regular sacrifice of atonement for an unknown murderer was discontinued. He began to be called Ben Harazḥan, son of the murderer (*m. Soṭa* 9:9). However, elsewhere in Talmudic literature he is described as "one who prematurely tried to free the Jews" (*Cant. Rab.* 2:18). Here we have one and the same man seen from the perspective of local, non-Roman sources, as either a murderer or a premature freedom fighter. Even at the stage when these sources were composed, there were differences of opinion about those who practiced armed resistance to Rome.

The Romans held the local population collectively responsible for guerilla attacks in the countryside. These were followed by massive retaliation. When a Roman company was attacked near Emmaus, the town was burned at the orders of Varus (*Ant* 17.10.9 §291; *JW* 2.5.1 §71). In 4 B.C. the arsenal of the royal palace at Sepphoris in Galilee was attacked and the arms stored there were seized. Varus burned the city and reduced the inhabitants to slavery (*JW* 2.5.1 §68; *Ant* 17.10.9 §289). On the road from Emmaus to Jerusalem a slave of the emperor was once attacked and robbed. The governor Cumanus then sent troops to the neighboring villages to bring the inhabitants to him and reprimanded them because they had

let the bandits escape (*Ant* 20.5.4 §113; *JW* 2.12.2 §228). These incidents also give an impression of the tactics followed by the rebels. They would attack small groups of soldiers or officials on the move and attack arsenals in order acquire arms, supplies, and money for themselves. From an incident told by Josephus it is clear that the villages were often searched in a manner which could easily lead to violence. This was in fact standing procedure established by law, as later formulated by Ulpian on the duties of the proconsul:"He must besides pursuing temple robbers, kidnappers and thieves, mete out to each of them the punishment he deserves and chastise people sheltering them; without them a robber cannot hide for very long" (*Digest* 1.18.13, Praef.). Such practices, however, could easily be accompanied by acts of provocation which would aggravate tension and hostility.

As a commander of the Jewish insurgents in Galilee, Josephus incorporated into his army 4, 500 so-called brigands, which he then proceeds to call mercenaries because he paid them (*Life* 14 §77; cf. *JW* 2.20.7 §581). These were the troops in whom he placed most confidence (*JW* 2.20.7 §583). It is clear also that these were ideologically motivated bandits. They might rob anyone, Jew or gentile, poor or rich, but they would never support the Romans.

It is typical of their attitude toward the empire that Talmudic sources, which all belong to the period after the major wars with Rome, often describe representatives of the Roman government as bandits (Heb/Aram *lîṣṭîm*). Many sources describe tax collectors and customs officials in such terms (e.g., *t. B. Meṣ* 9:25; *t. Šebu.* 2:14). The Roman occupation is depicted as a direct cause of instability and banditry. In the words of R. Aha:"Where the empire takes over government, there appear bands and bands of *lîṣṭîm*" (*Lev. Rab.* 9:8). It is not clear whether the implication is that Roman rule causes impoverishment and hence banditry among the population, or whether Roman officials and tax collectors are themselves bandits. Josephus recognized the connection between maladministration and the breakdown of security. During the crisis in A.D. 39/40, Jewish leaders asked the governor of Syria to point out to Caligula "that, since the land was unsown, there would be a harvest of banditry because the requirements of tribute could not be met." This is a clear expression of the realization that banditry could be the result of poverty and oppressive taxation. Yet, the occasion for this statement was a conflict about a purely religious affair which nearly led to revolt. Elsewhere Josephus says that famine strengthened the zealots (*Ant* 18.1.1 §8).

These pronouncements show again that social and economic factors could reinforce banditry and insecurity in Judea as elsewhere, but it does not justify a denial of the obvious conclusion: that resistance to Roman rule was particularly fierce in Judea, as a result of the single feature which distinguished the Jews from other peoples, namely their religious attitudes.

**2. A.D. 70–132.** Banditry with ideological overtones did not come to an end with the suppression of the 1st Jewish Revolt. This appears from Talmudic sources. For instance, a source relating to the 2d century tells of the arrest of a member of a band of *lîṣṭîm* (bandits) in Cappadocia (*t. Yebam.* 5:5; cf. *y. Yebam.* 2:4b; *b. Yebam.* 25b). The *Palestinian Talmud* says he was arrested in Caesarea in Cappadocia; the *Babylonian Talmud* mentions Magiza, i.e. Mazaca. Before he was executed he had a last request:"Go to the wife of Shimon ben Cahana and tell her that I killed him as he entered the town of Lydda." Shimon ben Cahana was a pupil of R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus (ca. 100–130), who taught at Lydda, and a teacher of Raban Simeon ben Gamaliel, ca. 130–160 (cf. *t. Para* 12:6.). This establishes a rough chronology: Shimon ben Cahana belongs to the period between the 1st Revolt and the revolt of Bar Kokhba. The sources discuss when a confession of murder may serve as evidence which would allow the widow of the victim to remarry. The murderer of Shimon ben Cahana, by his declaration, saw to it that his victim's wife was legally declared a widow and so could remarry. This is remarkable behavior for the murderer of a well-known scholar and can be accounted for by the hypothesis that this was a case of political murder.

Another case also refers to a well-known scholar in the same period, R. Ḥanania ben Teradion, one of the wealthiest men in Galilee and treasurer of a fund for the poor (*b. B. Bat.* 10b). His son first joined a band of *lîṣṭîm* and then proceeded to betray them (*Lam. Rab.* 3:6; cf. *Ṣem.* 12.13). This was discovered and he was killed by his former comrades. After 3 days they gave his body up for burial out of respect for the father. However, instead of mourning him in the usual manner, his father, mother, and sister vehemently cursed the son. The father, R. Ḥanania, was executed by the Romans after the revolt of Bar

Kokhba (cf. *b. ʿAbod. Zar.* 17b–18a). It is obvious that his son would not have joined a band of robbers for economic reasons, nor would one expect simple bandits to have particular respect for a wealthy scholar—as expressed by the return of the body. The behavior of the family can be explained by the assumption that (1) the term *lîsṭîm* here stands for "guerrilla fighters" and (2) the scholar and the fighters supported a common cause.

A 3d source describes *lîsṭîm* who met with pupils of R. Akiba making for the S on their way to Acco. They made their way together for a distance, and when they separated the bandits expressed their admiration for R. Akiba and his pupils (*b. ʿAbod. Zar.* 25b; cf. Alon 1984:570–72). This again is evidence of a relation of respect and even warmth between a distinguished scholar and people described as bandits. The scholar was one of the leaders of the revolt of Bar Kokhba, and the obvious explanation is that the "bandits" were guerilla fighters who maintained good relations with Jewish leaders.

To the same period belongs a story of some Galileans who had killed a man. They fled to Lydda and there appealed to R. Tarphon to hide them. R. Tarphon, influential in the years before the Bar Kokhba revolt, did not help them, but he did not betray them either (*b. Nid.* 61a; cf. Alon 1984:570–72). Two points are significant: first, the fact that the murderers thought an influential rabbi might be prepared to help them, and second, the circumstance that R. Tarphon did not hand over murderers to the authorities. It is likely that the murder again was a political execution.

In recent years remarkable material evidence has been found of the methods used by the guerilla fighters in Judea in the form of numerous subterranean hiding places. Most are found in ancient settlements, their entrances masked by cisterns or innocent-looking cavities in the rock (Gichon 1982:30–42; Kloner 1983:210–21). The evidence has now been published fully in a book with copious illustrations but questionable conclusions regarding the dating (Kloner and Tepper 1987).

**3. After Bar Kokhba.** Jewish sources give the impression that banditry remained endemic in the 2d century and afterward. Talmudic sources rarely provide explicit or unambiguous statements. It is not uncommon for each source to be analysed in isolation and interpreted in a different manner, but this ignores the historical reality which the sources, taken together, indicate in outline (see Schäfer 1981).

A source of the 2d century mentions a hypothetical case in which a Nazirite (who is not allowed to shave) is shaved by *lîsṭîm* (*m. Nazir* 6:3; cf. *Sipre Num.* 25). That probably would not be the work of ordinary robbers. To the same period belongs the rule concerning payment of ransom for a wife taken captive. If she was imprisoned by the authorities, the husband was not obliged to pay ransom; if she was taken by *lîsṭîm,* he was (*t. Ketub.* 4:5; cf. *b. Ketub.* 51b). The reason for this distinction was that a wife in the hands of the authorities might be expected to consent to having sexual relations with her captors. When she was the prisoner of *lîsṭîm* there was no such risk. It is an implicit assumption which says much about the sort of people *lîsṭîm* are taken to be.

It is generally assumed that Judea essentially became a quiet province in the later 2d century. The evidence on *lîsṭîm* in Talmudic sources, however, relates to the 3d century as well. In the 3d century R. Jose ben R. Bun predicted that *lîsṭîm* would occupy the throne of Israel "in the fourth generation." (*y. Hor.* 3:7c) The source ostensibly discusses the biblical period, but it is improbable that R. Jose here refers to a tradition from biblical times. The statement reflects the realities of his own time, the 3d-century period of crisis marked by anarchy and various forms of banditry.

Another source of the early 3d century reminds one of the episode, described above, concerning the murderers who appealed to R. Tarphon. Here it is a conspirator sought by the authorities who actually was hidden by R. Judah ben Levi. (*Gen Rab.* 94:9; *j. Ter.* 8:6b). It is significant that there is no indication in any of these cases of moral condemnation of the bandits as such.

There are many more references to *lîsṭîm* in Talmudic sources. They appear 12 times in the Mishnah, 17 times in the Tosephta, 20 times in the Jerusalem Talmud, and 40 times in the Babylonian Talmud. Often they cannot be dated accurately, and it is not always possible to determine whether the examples reflect historical reality of purely academic dispute. Where this is not in doubt it is not always clear whether the *lîsṭîm* mentioned in the sources were regular robbers and, when they were not, whether they were part of the imperial establishment or belonged to its enemies, as observed above. Since the Roman authorities

were not considered a legitimate government by the Jews, any representative of the occupying forces could be called a bandit by the Jews. The term "bandit" might be applied to anyone who used force to achieve his aims, whether on behalf of the Romans or in the struggle against them. The sources discussed above as well as the great number of other references to bandits in Talmudic sources leave no doubt that guerrilla fighting, terrorism, and ordinary brigandage were a chronic problem in Judea throughout the 2d and 3d centuries.

This impression is strengthened by a story in the *History* of Cassius Dio. In the reign of Severus, according to Dio, a remarkable event took place:"While Severus was very proud of his achievements [in the East], as if he had surpassed all people in insight and courage, … a certain bandit named Claudius was overrunning Judea and Syria and was therefore being chased with great ardour. And once he came to Severus with some cavalry, as if he were a tribune, and greeted him and embraced him, and he was not found out then nor caught afterwards" (Dio 75.2.4). There is no reason to believe that these bandits were Jews. The story resembles another recounted by Dio regarding the Italian bandit named Bulla (76.10). Dio tells the story of Claudius with relish, for his point is that Severus was engaged in futile foreign wars while he could not control banditry at home, right under his nose. We know of these events simply because a senator disliked imperial policy at the time, but that cannot lead to the conclusion that there was no banditry at other times. In fact, the Severan period is usually considered a time of relatively good relations between the Jews in Judea and the imperial authorities.

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BENJAMIN ISAAC

**BANGLES.** See JEWELRY.

**BANI** (PERSON) [Heb *bānî* (בָּנִי)]. The name of several persons found especially in the postexilic literature of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. *Bānî* is a short form of the more recognizable name BENAIAH [Heb *bĕnāyāh, bĕnāyāhû*], meaning "Yahweh has built" (from the root *bānâ,* "to build").

**1.** Bani the Gadite is listed as one of David's champions in 2 Sam 23:36. The corresponding reference in 1 Chr 11:38, however, reads Mibhar the son of Hagri (Heb *hagrî,* "Hagri"; instead of Heb *haggadî,* "the Gadite"), suggesting a corrupt text. The LXX references, which read "the son of Gaddi" (2 Sam 23:36)

and "the son of Agari" (1 Chr 11:38) confirm this conclusion. It is thus impossible to know whether the mention of Bani here is in fact accurate.

**2.** Bani, the father of Azmi, was the 5th ancestor removed from Levi in the clan of Merari (1 Chr 6:31—Eng v 46). His descendant, Asaph (to whom many psalms are attributed), served in the cultic services under David.

**3.** Bani, from the sons of Perez, the son of Judah, was an ancestor in the family line of Uthai, one of the exiles who returned to dwell in postexilic Jerusalem (1 Chr 9:4), according to the conjectural RSV reading based on the LXX. The MT, however, reads "the son of Benjamin (Heb *bnymn*), of the sons of Perez." The name Bani here is without substantial textual support, and the MT reading of Benjamin should be preferred.

**4.** According to Ezra 2:10, the ancestor of one of the large family groups returning from the Exile: the sons of Bani, numbering 642. The parallel text in 1 Esdr 5:12 records the sons of Bani as numbering 648, while the parallel reading in Neh 7:15 lists "the sons of Binnui," numbering 648. Inasmuch as Bani and Binnui are short forms of the same name (see BINNUI) and that the Heb *šĕmōnâ* (eight) is easily corrupted to *šĕnayim* (two)—or *vice versa*, it is likely that the text of the lists has been corrupted. The parallel list in 1 Esdr 5:8 names one Baanah as a clan leader returning from the Exile, while 1 Esdr 5:26 lists the line of Bannas returning with the Levites. Since the names Bani, Binnui, Baanah, and Bannas are all variations on the name Benaiah, the parallel references in Ezra 2:10 and Neh 7:15 probably refer to the same person. It is not clear, however, that 1 Esdr 5:8, 26 refer to the same person listed in Ezra 2:10 and Neh 7:15. A proposed deletion of Bani in Ezra 2:10 and its reinstatement in Ezra 2:40 and Neh 7:43 lacks textual support.

**5.** On the other hand, Bani may have been dropped from the list in Ezra 8:10, as is suggested by several variants, as well as 1 Esdr 8:36 ("and from the sons of Bani, Asalimoth, the son of Josaphias, and with him one hundred sixty men;" cf. MT [Ezra 8:10]:"and from the sons of Shelomith, the son of Josipiah, and with him one hundred sixty men"). The name Bani appears to have been dropped inadvertently from the MT at this point on account of its similarity to the preceding *mibbĕnê.* If this deduction is correct, Bani was another clan chief who accompanied Ezra back from Babylon.

**6.** According to the lists (Ezra 10:29, 34 = 1 Esdr 9:30 [Gk *mani*], 34) of those who had married foreign wives, several of the sons of Bani were among the accused. The MT reading of Ezra 10:38—"and Bani and Binnui: Shimei" —is probably a corruption of "and from the sons of (Heb *ûmibbĕnê*) Binnui: Shimei" (the difficulty the scribes had in distinguishing the Heb *bānî* from *mibbĕnê* has been noted above (#5).

**7.** Bani occurs twice in the list of those who set their seal to Nehemiah's covenant: once as a Levite (Neh 10:14—Eng v 13), and once as a chief of the people (Neh 10:15—Eng v 14).

**8.** Bani was one who helped Ezra the scribe instruct the people in the law (Neh 8:7).

**9.** Bani, the father of one Uzzi, an overseer of the Levites and a singer of the order of Asaph under Nehemiah (Neh 11:22).

**10.** Bani, the father of one Rehum, a Levite under Nehemiah charged with repairing a section of Jerusalem's wall adjoining that repaired by Nehemiah (Neh 3:17).

**11.** Bani is listed 3 times in Neh 9:4–5, twice in the series "Jeshua, Bani, Kadmiel," as one of the Levites calling out the liturgy at the Feast of Tabernacles under Ezra. The 3d instance, following the name Sherebiah in Neh 9:4, may be a dittography of the previous occurrence.

D. G. SCHLEY

**BANKING.** See INTEREST AND USURY; TRADE AND COMMERCE.

**BANNAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Bannos* (Βαννος)]. Possibly a variant of BANI or BINNUI, Bannas is found in 1 Esdr 5:26 as the levitical ancestor of some of the exiles who returned to Jerusalem.

D. G. SCHLEY

**BANQUET, MESSIANIC.** See MESSIANIC BANQUET.

**BANQUETING HALL/HOUSE** [Heb *bêt hayyāyin* (בֵּית הַיָּיִן)*; bêt mišteh* (בֵּית מִשְׁתֶּה)*; bêt marzēaḥ* (בֵּית מַרְזֵחַ)]. In the ANE, banqueting was common among humans and gods (cf. Judg 9:13). While a "house of banqueting" may certainly refer to any place where drinking takes place, the frequent occurrence of a "house" in ceremonial and ritual contexts (cf. especially *bêt marzēaḥ* below) suggests that specific meeting places were built which functioned specifically for these banqueting purposes. Even the gods could own such "houses" (cf. *KTU* 1.114).

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A. House of Wine
B. House of Drinking
C. The *Marzēaḥ*
1. At Ugarit
2. In the Hebrew Bible
3. Elsewhere
D. Conclusions

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**A. House of Wine**

The expression "house of wine," *(bêt hayyāyin)*, which occurs only in Cant 2:4, has occasioned a good deal of discussion. Some scholars have proposed meanings such as a wedding banquet hall, a ritual banquet house, a wine cellar, and a tavern, while others have stated that nothing more is intended than simply a house in which wine is drunk (cf. Pope *Song of Songs* AB, 374–75). The latter is more probable in the present context (cf. Cant 1:16b–17). Fox (1985:108, 283–84) has pointed out similar booths for lovers' trysts in the Egyptian love songs.

**B. House of Drinking**

A more common term for a banqueting house is *bêt mišteh* which literally means "house of drinking." Jeremiah was forbidden a normal life as a sign of the impending disaster about to befall the nation. He was commanded not to enter a *bêt mišteh* which may refer to a wedding celebration (Jer 16:8–9). Alternatively, some (e.g. Pope *Song of Songs* AB, 216) have argued that the *bêt mišteh* here is roughly synonymous with a banquet house by another name mentioned in Jer 16:5, the *bŏt marzēaḥ* (see below). Similarly, Qoh 7:2 contrasts the "house of feasting" with the "house of mourning."

A similar term *bŏt miš teh hayyāyin* is used in Esth 7:8 to refer to the place where Esther had prepared the "wine feast," *miš teh hayyāyin.* In Daniel 5, Belshazzar holds a feast in his banquet hall *(bŏt mištĕyāʾ)* and invites his lords, wives, and concubines to drink wine from the vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had stolen from the Jerusalem temple.

**C. The *Marzēaḥ***

The Semitic institution known as the *marzēaḥ* has generated a considerable number of studies (for up-to-date bibliography, see Lewis 1989:80 n.1). Although the word is spelled differently in the various languages (e.g. Akk *ma-ar-zi-ḫi, mar-ze-i, mar-zi-i, mar-za-i;* Ug *mrzḥ* and presumably *mrzʿ*), most scholars have, for the sake of discussion, adopted the convention of using the Hebrew term *marzēaḥ.* Suggestions for a possible etymology for the word *marzēaḥ* date back to Joseph Qimḥi, yet no proposal has found wide acceptance among scholars (Lewis 1989:93). References to the *marzēaḥ* are widespread in the literature of the ANE and span nearly 2 millennia, as evidenced by Ug and Akk texts from Ugarit; passages in the books of Amos and Jeremiah; an unpublished Transjordanian settlement text of the late 7th century; Phoenician texts from Carthage and Piraeus; Aram texts from Elephantine, Palmyra, and Nabatea; rabbinical references by both the Tannaim and the Amoraim; and the mosaic map at Madeba (6th century A.D.). For convenient collections and analyses of the relevant texts see Bryan (1973), Porten (1968:179–86), and Lewis (1989:80–94).

Pope (*Song of Songs* AB, 210–29; 1981:176–79) is the best example of scholars who have argued that the *marzēaḥ* was a feast for and with the departed ancestors. On the other hand, scholars such as Bryan

(1973) feel that such interpretations go beyond the evidence. The question of whether the *marzēaḥ* was associated with the dead has recently been reexamined (Lewis 1989:80–94).

**1. At Ugarit.** The *marzēaḥ* at Ugarit was a socioreligious organization whose leader was called a "chief," *(rb),* and whose members were called "the men of the *marzēaḥ,* " *(mt mrzḥ ).* The property of the *marzēaḥ* organization included vineyards, fields, storerooms, and most notably a "house." The *bḏt marzēaḥ* occurs in almost every text and seems to designate the meeting place for the organization. It was presumably owned by the organization and paid for out of membership dues. It seems that the "house" could be leased as well (*KTU* 3.9). The most conspicuous activity of the *marzēaḥ* is its association with drinking (cf. El's behavior in *KTU* 1.114 and the organization's ownership of vineyards). The *marzēaḥ* organizations could grow quite powerful as evidenced by their participation in large transactions requiring many witnesses (RS 14.16) and their property-owning status. Greenfield (1976:451–55) has noted that the organization "had state sanction since the king transferred and confirmed the ownership of *marzēaḥ* property." A notable religious feature is the association of the *marzēaḥ* organizations with a particular patron deity (cf. Šatrana in RS 15.70; Hurrian Ishtar in RS 18.01; and most likely Anat in *KTU* 4.642).

**2. In the Hebrew Bible.** The *marzēaḥ* occurs twice in the Heb Bible. In Amos 6:7 it is vocalized *mirzaḥ* (< **marzaḥ* < **marziḥ* ) and occurs in a context where the prophet is denouncing the complacent and self-sufficient in Zion. In an elaborate woe-oracle he cries out against those living a life of luxury, sprawled on their ivory beds and taking their fill of food, drink, and music. The *marzēaḥ* described here (usually translated as "revelry") is a luxurious banquet with no hint of funerary imagery.

Jeremiah 16:5 provides the strongest evidence for the *marzēaḥ* as a funerary banquet. The context is undeniably one of mourning and bereavement over the dead. Jeremiah is commanded not to enter the *bḏt marzēaḥ* (cf. the same architectural entity in the Ug texts) nor to go there to lament or grieve. In Jer 16:8 we have mention of a *bḏt miš teh,* "a drinking house," which seems to be roughly synonymous with *bḏt marzēaḥ.* Some scholars have argued that *bêt mišteh lō› tābô›* in v 8 forms an inclusio with *›al tābō› bêt marzēaḥ* in 16:5 (note also the chiasm).

The common denominator between the *marzēaḥ* of Amos and Jeremiah is not its funerary characteristics but its association with drinking. This is similar to the picture we get from the Ug texts. The *marzēaḥ* was an organization known for its drinking festivals which in some cases came to be associated with funerary feasts, perhaps due to the large quantity of beer which was consumed by mourners to console themselves.

**3. Elsewhere.** The *marzēaḥ* is mentioned in the following: (a) an unpublished Transjordanian "deed of removal" *(spr mrḥq*) from the late 7th century B.C.E.; (b) 3 Phoenician texts including the Marseilles Tariff (*KAI* 69.16), the Piraeus inscription (*KAI* 60.1) and a recently published 4th century dedicatory inscription inscribed on a bronze *philaē* (Avigad and Greenfield 1982:118–28); (c) an ostracon from Elephantine (Sayce 1909:154–55; Lidzbarski *Ephem* 3:119–21), (d) a Nabatean text referring to "the *marzēaḥ* of Obodas the god" (Dalman 1912:92–94) and a series of fragmentary Nabatean inscriptions (Negev 1961:127–38; 1963:113–17), (e) a large body of Palmyrene material (du Mesnil du Buisson 1962; Milik 1972; Bryan 1973:170–97, 213–25); (f) two rabbinic texts (*Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* and *Sifre Numbers*) referring to the Baal-peor incident in Numbers 25; and (g) the phrase *BĒTOMARSEA* [= *bêt marzēaḥ* ] *Ē K (AI) MAIOUMAS* on the Madeba Map.

**D. Conclusions**

Four features appear quite consistently throughout much of the *marzēaḥ* material: the reference to a banquet "house" belonging to the *marzēaḥ* organization or guild; the reference to a leader *(rb mrzḥ›* or *symposiarchēs*); devotion to a deity or deities; and a good deal of drinking. The LXX of Jer 16:5 translated *marzēaḥ* to *thiasos* which evokes images of Bacchic revelry. The strongest evidence for the association of the *marzēaḥ* with the deceased is the Nabatean text referring to "Obodas the god." Nabatean kings, starting with Obodas I were regularly deified. As a social institution, the *marzēaḥ* was an organization focused on the more affluent of the various societies (Greenfield 1976:455).

In conclusion, banqueting halls were commonplace in the ANE as evidenced by the textual and archaeological material (see Stager 1985:172–87; King 1988:137–61). One can only wonder whether

drinking was used as a means of entering into communion with the dead. Compare the 3 parts of the Anthesteria ("opening of jars" *[pithoegia],* "beakers" *[choes],* "kettles" *[chytri]*) which was the collective name for the 3-day feast of Dionysus during the Anthesterion, the month when people thought that the ghosts of the dead returned (Burkert 1985:238).

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THEODORE J. LEWIS


**BAPTISM.** A rite of incorporation employing water as a symbol of religious purification.

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A. Introductory
- 1. Greek Terminology
- 2. Phenomenology
- 3. General Orientative Remarks
- 4. History of Religions Background

B. Baptism of John
- 1. The Rite and Its Significance
- 2. Jesus' Baptism by John

C. Baptism of the Early Church
- 1. The Beginnings
- 2. Corpus Paulinum
- 3. Gospel of Matthew
- 4. Acts of the Apostles
- 5. First Peter
- 6. The Johannine Writings
- 7. Other NT Writings
- 8. One Baptism—Many Interpretations?


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## A. Introductory

**1. Greek Terminology.** The Gk verb for "baptize," *baptizein,* is formed from *baptein,* "dip," and means "dip frequently or intensively, plunge, immerse." By Plato's time and onwards it is often used in a figurative sense (e.g., in the passive, "soaked" in wine, Plato *Symp.* 176 B). It appears 4 times in the LXX: 4 Kgdms 5:14 (Naaman in the Jordan), Jdt 12:7 (purification), Sir 34:30—Eng 34:25 (purification after touching a corpse), Isa 21:4 (figuratively of lawlessness). The noun *baptisma* is only used in Christian

literature, where it refers to the baptism of John or to Christian baptism. The word *baptismos* is used in a wider sense for dipping, washing (of dishes Mark 7:4), of ritual washings (Heb 9:10; John's baptism, Joseph. *Ant.* 18.117; Christian baptism, Col 2:12 [variant]. A synonymous noun is *loutron* "bath" used of both ordinary and ceremonial baths, but in the NT only with reference to baptism. The corresponding verb *louein* "wash, bathe" is encountered in its everyday use in, e.g., 2 Pet 2:22 and John 13:10. It refers to ceremonial baths in Lev 15:11 and to Christian baptism (probably) in the compound form *apolouein* in 1 Cor 6:11.

**2. Phenomenology.** Rites of immersion were not uncommon in the world in which early Christianity developed. One type of symbolism with which they were frequently connected was that of purification: from sin, from destruction, from the profane sphere before entering an holy area, from something under a taboo, etc. See, e.g., Lev 16:4, 24 (the high priest before and after the rites of atonement); Leviticus 15 (on menstruating women); 1 QS 3:5–9 (cleansing from sins); *Sib. Or.* 4.165 (a baptism of repentance); Joseph. *Ant.* 18.117 (on John's baptism); Joseph. *Life.* 11 (on Bannus' ablutions for purity's sake); Apul., *Met.* 11.23 (purification at the initiation into the Isis mysteries); *b. Yebam.* 47 ab (on proselyte baptism).

Such cleansings can take place when one stands on the verge of a new state in life or is entering into a new community or upon a new phase of life, etc. Thus they can function as rites of initiation or as rites of passage. Depending on the way in which one regards the situation being left behind and the one being entered, such rites can be connected with ideas of a new birth, of a new life, or of salvation as contrasted to nothingness, chaos, death, or destruction.

**3. General Orientative Remarks.** In this article attention is concentrated on the ideas of baptism conveyed by the different existing NT texts from the perspective of their historical situation. This does not mean that questions of "history of tradition" are totally left aside or that problems of the prehistory of motifs, etc., are not touched upon, nor that issues of origin are not dealt with. Such problems, however, play a less important role in this presentation. Although one's way of assessing them often has consequences for one's work on the Pauline material, for example, the NT passages themselves will occupy the center of interest. While the results of such exegetical work are subject to the same lack of security as those of all historical research, attempts at reconstructing backgrounds, origins and hidden developments and changes in a history of tradition—legitimate and necessary as they are—take place on even shakier ground.

The reader should be prepared to allow for different understandings of our material. Insofar as texts are part of the communication process, it is normal to try to take into account the situation in which somebody said something to somebody in order to achieve something. But that does not necessarily mean that the author's basic ideas behind the text and their connotations were the same as those of the reader or audience even in the original situation. If, for example, Paul himself, when writing Romans 6, was not inspired by ideas concerning the initiates' dying and rising with a divinity celebrated in some mystery religion, the readers of his epistles in antiquity might very well have had their understanding colored by such associations or experiences (cf. Tert. *De Bapt.* 5, accusing the cults of Isis, of Mithras, and of Eleusis of imitating the Christian rite).

**4. History of Religions Background.** As already intimated, many religions in antiquity practised different washings and baths. This holds true for the mysteries of Eleusis, of Mithras, and of Isis; the OT prescribed several ablutions to be performed, rules which were observed by Jews also in NT times (John 2:6); the Qumran community laid a particular stress on them, and Bannus (Joseph. *Life.* 10) and John the Baptist were not alone in practising baptisms outside of mainstream Judaism; other baptismal movements also appeared in the Transjordanian/Syrian area. Sometime during the 1st century C.E. proselyte baptism was introduced in Judaism, and when baptism received a central place in Mandeism, the rite as such was certainly no novelty, regardless of whether it should be regarded as pre-Christian or not.

One should beware of assigning the same or even similar meanings to these rites. As rites they are open to several interpretations; in each case it is to be expected that the meaning of the rite is provided by the ritual context or otherwise through instruction or tradition.

**B. Baptism of John**

**1. The Rite and Its Significance.** The sources for our knowledge of John's baptism are the notices in the NT and a brief passage in Josephus (*Ant* 18.116–18). The baptism he performed was closely bound to his preaching, which looked forward to God's coming for judgment. He summoned his audience to repentance from this perspective, and in view of the coming judgment one underwent the baptism "unto the remission of sins" (Mark 1:4; cf. Joseph., *Ant* 18.116–18).

Although a scholarly consensus holds that John did not take over or adapt any particular baptism from his milieu, his appearance and preaching, as well as his baptism, can be regarded as one expression of expectations and ideas concerning the *eschaton* which are reflected in, among others, OT pseudepigrapha and Qumran texts. In addition, passages of such contents often contain echoes of OT passages such as Deuteronomy 30–31, Isaiah 40, Ezekiel 36, or Jeremiah 31. Thus, e.g., *Jub.* 1:22–25 and 1 QS 4:18–23 look forward to a time of repentance, when God will cleanse his people from evil through holy spirit, or give them a holy spirit and cleanse them so they do not turn away from him any more. Furthermore, when NT passages apropos of the Baptist (Mark 1:2; Matt 11:3, 10, 14; Luke 1:17, 78, etc.) indirectly refer to Malachi 3–4, this means adducing a text which illustrates the spiritual climate in which John appeared. There, in the perspective of the coming Day of Yahweh, we encounter the following motifs: a messenger sent before God (3:1), God's coming (3:1–2, 5), the coming of the Day (3:2; 4:1, 5), purification through fire (3:2–4), burning (4:1), returning to God (3:7) from sins against fellowmen (3:5) and against God (3:8–9, 13–15), the sending of Eliah before the Day comes (4:5).

John's baptism took place in view of the "coming one," who was to "baptize with the Holy Spirit and fire" (Matt 3:11–12 = Luke 3:16–17; to be preferred to Mark 1:8:"the Holy Spirit" only). The fire baptism is almost certainly an instance of judgment imagery (cf., e.g., Dan 7:10; Rev 20:10; *4 Esdr* 13:10; *Mek. Exod.* to 18.1; ed. Lauterbach vol. 2, p. 163); if we assume that "the spirit" is not a Christian interpretation, it may originally either have meant something like Isa 4:4 "a spirit of judgment and a spirit of burning"; or it may have referred to the positive outcome of the Day, which is more probable with regard to material like the passages from 1 QS and *Jub.* just mentioned.

The same background material also gives a reasonable context for distinguishing John's baptism from most other ritual baths and washings in that one most likely underwent it but once and did not perform the rite on oneself but received the baptism passively. These features, understood in the light of the Jewish material cited above, indicate that John's baptism meant that prior to the approaching divine judgment the repentants who had confessed their sins received the gift of remission. (This seems more probable than interpreting the baptism as meaning an assurance or a hope of being remitted in the coming judgment.) In contrast to the Qumran community, John directed his call for repentance and baptism to all the people, notwithstanding which the rite came in fact to function like a rite of initiation into a group of people who, being pardoned, expected "the stronger one" to come. They also probably followed an ethic which was inspired by John's preaching and its eschatological outlook (Mark 2:18; Luke 3:10–14; 11:1). John's appearance in the wilderness and baptizing in the Jordan point to some sort of Exodus typology, meaning that here a renewed Israel was being created. The group hardly formed anything like a community or a sect, but NT passages (Mark 2:18–19; 6:29; Matt 11:2; Luke 11:1; John 1:35–37; 3:22; 25; Acts 19:1–7; see also *Ps. Clem. recogn.* 1.54, 60; ed. Rehm), as well as certain traces in the Mandean material, point to the existence of groups that regarded themselves as "disciples of John," both in his lifetime and after.

In the NT gospels, John and his baptism are given a two-sided treatment. On the one hand, they are seen as the necessary preparation for Jesus, the Messiah; on the other, their importance is played down. For Mark, John and his baptism certainly belong to "the beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, God's son" (Mark 1:1), but his baptism is contrasted with that of him who follows after, "the stronger one," viz., Jesus, who will baptize "with the Spirit." (Consequently, Jesus does not begin his public preaching until "after" John has been arrested; Mark 1:14). Mark does not return to the topic of baptism, but presumably his readers have had the common early Christian conviction of being equipped with the Holy Spirit, and consequently have associated John's words with Christian baptism.

Matthew (3:5–6) does not say that John's baptism was for the remission of sins—perhaps the evangelist was of the opinion that remission was only given through Jesus (Matt 1:21; 26:28). That the coming one

was to baptize "in Holy Spirit and fire" (3:11) may possibly have been understood as saying 2 things: the "fire" probably refers to the judgment (3:10, 12; 7:19; 13:40, 42, 50; 18:9; 25:41), a judgment held by the Son of Man (13:40–43; 25:31–46). On the other hand, the Matthew context suggests that the baptism "in the Holy Spirit" is the baptism in the name of the Trinity (28:19), ordered by the risen Son of Man.

In Luke the baptism with the Spirit clearly is the one described in Acts, through which "the coming one" gathers his people (Luke 3:17); since the author repeats John's saying in Acts (1:5) without mentioning the fire (in spite of Acts 2:3!), it seems that by baptism "in fire" (Luke 3:16) he refers to the future burning of the chaff, i.e., the annihilation of the evil in judgment. John's water-baptism is contrasted to the Christian community's receiving of the Spirit (Acts 1:5; 19:1–7).

In the Gospel of John, finally, John's water-baptism is still seen as ordered by God (1:33), but John's role is only that of the precursor. He must "diminish" (3:30) at the arrival of him over whom the Spirit descends and who baptizes with the Holy Spirit (1:33). Thus, the importance of John's baptism is further played down and contrasted with Christ's Spirit-baptism. In the context of John, the latter means that through the completion of the work of the Son, leading to his "glorification" (cf., e.g., 7:39), the life-giving effects of this work are given to men (see further below, on John 3:5).

**2. Jesus' Baptism by John.** That Jesus was baptized by John is historically certain. It must have been embarrassing to the early Church that its Lord had taken on the ritual sign of repentance, and thus, in some way or another, regarded himself in the light of John's preaching of confession of sins and a return to God in view of the approaching final crisis, including the coming of the stronger one. The history of tradition of the story is problematic (Mark 1:9–11; the "Q" version, distinguishable in Matt 3:13–17 = Luke 3:21–22, is rather similar; see also John 1:32–34). As presented finally in all 3 of the Synoptic Gospels, the story has a Christological accent.

Thus, in Mark (1:9–11) the brief mention of Jesus' baptism (v 9b) is immediately followed by a report of a combined vision and audition by Jesus, which make evident to the reader who the main character of the Gospel is, viz., the divinely authorized messianic Son. In Matthew a dialogue between John and Jesus is added (3:14-15), which explains that Jesus is baptized, not because he—the stronger one—needs it, but because both of them must "fulfill (5:17) all righteousness," i.e., the baptism belongs to that which God wants. This motif of righteousness is related to the sonship (in 3:17 proclaimed to others than Jesus): in Matthew divine sonship means radical obedience to God's will (4:1–11; 26:39; 27:43). Thus, Matthew's baptism story presents Jesus as an example in humility and obedience (Matt 5:9, 45). For Matthew's reader, Jesus' baptism may also have been taken to indicate that he became a model: as he was baptized, so were the Christians of later times (28:19), and as he fulfilled all righteousness, so righteousness was demanded from them (5:20; 28:20).

In Luke's version (Luke 3:21–22), the baptism itself is pushed even further aside and separated from what follows through a reference to Jesus' praying; in this way the language of the story moves it rapidly towards the public presentation and proclamation of Jesus as God's son, working under God's Spirit (3:38; 4:1, 14, 18). Finally, in John knowledge of Jesus' baptism seems to be presupposed (1:32–34; 3:26), although it is not explicitly mentioned.

We have seen that in their redaction Mark and Luke have not connected Jesus' baptism with that of the Church, but given it a Christological function. So has Matthew, but in such a way that Jesus can be seen also as an example in baptism. On the other hand, Christian readers of Mark and Luke who believed that their baptism was combined with the receiving of the Spirit and who were wont to see themselves in some sense as God's sons or children (Rom 8:14; Gal 3:26)—or who at least knew to turn to God as "Abba" (Luke 11:2; cf. Mark 11:25; Rom 8:15; Gal 4:6)—might naturally have seen their own baptism prefigured in Jesus' baptism by John.

**C. Baptism of the Early Church**

**1. The Beginnings. a. Origin of Christian Baptism.** Several reasons favor the assumption that baptism was practised from the very beginning in the early Church as some sort of initiatory rite. Not only does Luke take it for granted in Acts, but so do authors who represent other strands of the early Church and as far as we can see they do so independently of each other (Paul, "John," "Matthew"). Indications that in

some place there was no baptizism from the beginning fail to convince most NT scholars. Thus, the lack in Matthew 10 of a commission to baptize is usually explained in other ways. The case is similar to that of the prohibition to go the Gentiles (10:5): In both instances Matthew has his reader wait until 28:17–20. Luke takes care of baptism as the initiatory rite in Acts 2. (It seems to have been an impossible thought to the synoptists to insert a commission to baptize into the story of Jesus' public ministry.) Acts 18:24–19:7 certainly raises some questions for anyone who assumes that baptism was generally practised in early Christianity from its beginning. But it seems that the difficulty is rather the result of Luke's redaction in combining the 2 passages than an indication that in the A.D. 50s there were Jesus-disciples who did not know of Christian baptism.

Thus, if the practice of baptism was general from the beginning of the early Church, all the more intriguing is the question of its origin. John 3:22 and 26 suggest that Jesus had been involved in baptizing, but this is corrected in 4:2 which says that it was his disciples who baptized. Should this be a case in which John provides us with more and better historical knowledge than the Synoptic Gospels, it would point only to such an activity occurring at the very beginning of Jesus' career. Jesus himself apparently did not baptize, and thereafter, in the main part of his public ministry, baptizing apparently had to give way to his preaching and disappeared. Thus, the Jesus who preached the gospel of the Kingdom and summoned people to conversion and belief, did not combine this proclamation with a demand for or invitation to baptism.

The historical riddle is not solved by Matt 28:19, since, according to a wide scholarly consensus, it is not an authentic saying of Jesus, not even an elaboration of a Jesus-saying on baptism. Jewish proselyte baptism has been proposed as the usage the early Church took over and christianized. The practice did exist in the 1st century C.E. and therefore early enough to be adopted by the Christians. Certainly it was more of an initiation rite than the purification baths and the sprinklings prescribed in the OT, and thus invites a comparison with Christian baptism. But it was not associated with any remission of sins or with any other eschatological meanings, nor was it a passive rite: one immersed oneself, although in the presence of 2 men learned in the Law (*b. Yebam.* 47a). Thus, proselyte baptism was hardly the occasioning factor behind Christian baptism, nor for that matter behind John's baptism.

Instead, according to a rather common scholarly opinion, John's baptism is the point of departure of Christian baptismal practice. We have already seen that John's baptism was connected with eschatological expectations, and so was the baptismal rite of the early Church (Acts 2:38–40; John 3:5; Rom 6:4–5; Tit 3:5–7). Both were associated with an act of conversion and were performed "unto the remission of sins" (Mark 1:4; Acts 2:38 etc.). Repentance opened the door to a community which in some respect or another formed a preparatory stage for the *eschaton*. Thus each of the two rites also became a kind of initiation rite, which was only performed once. (This is certain in the case of Christian baptism and probably in that of John). Last, but not least, as already mentioned, both rites were received passively, in that someone else immersed the person being baptized or poured water on him. That Jesus and (some of) his disciples had been baptized by John should have favored the adoption of a baptismal rite, but as we now have them, the versions of the baptism of Jesus show no traces of its having been an etiological story with the function of explaining the adoption of the rite.

If the early Church thus inherited its baptism from John, we would like to know the reason why but are only left with the impression that it was a natural practice—one did not have to defend or to explain it, at least not in such a way as to be visible in the documents left behind. But the conviction of Jesus' followers that his resurrection brought about a decisive shift in eschatological perspective (Acts 17:31; 1 Cor 15:20–21; 1 Thess 1:10) is most likely to have been an important factor that made it natural to take up John's baptism, loaded as it was with eschatological associations. But the role of Jesus Christ and the Christ-event necessitated its becoming a baptism "into the name of the Lord Jesus" or something similar.

**b. "Into the name of the Lord Jesus.**" It is relatively certain that in the early Church one commonly referred to baptism as being done "into the name of the Lord Jesus" or something similar. One strange thing with this phrase is that the construction in what seems to be its earliest form, viz. "into the name of

…" (Gk *eis to onoma*) was not otherwise used in normal Gk, except for the language of banking, in which it referred to the account/name "into" which a sum of money was placed. It does not occur in the LXX.

NT scholarship has generally assumed that the phrase meant that the baptized person was dedicated to the heavenly *kyrios.* One has either assumed (with W. Heitmüller) that the one baptized was compared with a sum of money added to somebody's bank account, or one has adduced a Mishnah passage quoted by P. Billerbeck, *m. Zebaḥ.* 4.6, which states that a sacrifice has to be offered "into the name of the Name." This expression is then understood as saying that the sacrifice must be offered to God. The difficulty with the first explanation is that it is hard to imagine how one came upon the idea of using such odd imagery. The second one certainly explains the Gk phrase: it is a literal translation of Heb-Aram *lšm/lšwm.* The suggested meaning of the phrase has not enough support, however, in the material adduced. The context of the cited *m. Zebaḥ.* 4.6 rules that the sacrifice also has to be offered "into the name of the offerer," i.e., that one should bear in mind who it is that presents the offering. This observation shows that the Heb-Aram phrase does not have anything to do with dedication. Nor does the Gk phrase insofar as it would be a literal translation of the Sem wording.

In this situation the present writer has suggested that the phrase was coined by the Palestinian Church in Heb (or Aram) and that it was then translated literally into Gk. One should look, however, for a different meaning of the phrase than the ones noted so far. Among other usages of the *lšm/lšwm* there was also one which is found in ritual contexts. Thus we hear of gatherings "into the name of Heaven" (*m. ʾAbot* 4.11), of sacrifices slaughtered "into the name of the Name" (*m. Zebaḥ.* 4.6), or "into the name of the mountains" (*m. Ḥul* 2.8), of circumcision "into the name of Mount Gerizim" (*t. ʿAbod. Zar.* 3.13), and of knowing "into whose name" one vows (*m. Nid.* 5.6). In these and similar examples the phrase indicates what the fundamental reference of the rite in question is. It is reasonable to assume that early Christianity characterized its baptism using this halfway technical language, and that the formula followed the rite also into Gk-speaking circles. Matthew is witness to the usage of the expression also in other contexts (10:41–42; 18:20), as well as applied to baptism (28:19). In Acts, Luke reveals that "into the name of the Lord Jesus" (Acts 8:16; 19:5) was the formula that he had learned. It is also known by Paul, perhaps as connected with another way of naming Christ (1 Cor 1:13, 15 say only "Christ," Gal 3:27 "into Christ," and Rom 6:3 "into Christ Jesus."

Applying baptism to the analogies mentioned in the preceding paragraph should indicate that baptizing "into the name of Jesus" (etc.) meant that one saw Jesus as the fundamental reference of the rite. This could involve a negative and a positive definition. Negatively it distinguished Christian baptism from other similar rites (not least the baptism of John, as in Acts 19:1–7). Positively it should suggest what baptism meant with Jesus as its fundamental reference, viz., there should be some sort of Christology behind it. But the more specific implications of the expression are likely to have been different in different times and places. If it meant one thing in its first context, this would not preclude its being understood or interpreted in a different manner in another situation or by other early Christian theologians.

In Acts 2:38 and 10:48 the phrase is "in the name …" (the Gk prepositions being *epi* and *en* respectively). It has been assumed that they represent variant traditions. In the opinion of the present writer they should rather be explained as examples of Luke's technique as an author of letting the characters in his book speak in a way that suited them. Thus Peter, the revered apostle, is made to express himself in a biblical style when talking of baptism in 2:38 and 10:48: The prepositional phrases in these cases are common in the LXX (which Luke also imitates elsewhere), whereas, as we have seen, the Gk "into the name …" *(eis to onoma)* is both unbiblical and a bit strange as compared to normal Gk.

It should also be mentioned, however, that both in Biblical Gk and in rabbinic traditions the "name" phrases could be rather loose and have relatively small weight. Thus, in a rabbinical discussion one could slip from "into the name of x" to "into x" without changing the sense of the phrase (e.g., *m. ʿAbod. Zar.* 3.7; cf. *b. ʿAbod. Zar.* 48a). In Luke 21:12, Luke can write "because of my name," where the parallels in Mark and Matthew say "because of me," and the same Luke in Acts 10:43 can write about forgiveness of sins "through his name" and in Acts 13:38 "through him." Similarly in the Psalms, one calls "on the Lord's name" as well as "on the Lord." This flexibility probably is true also of the baptismal formula and

would then be the explanation why Paul can switch between "into the name" (1 Cor 1:13) and "into" without "the name" (as in 1 Cor 10:2 etc.). Such a flexibility may have facilitated Paul's finding a particular meaning in the phrase "baptized into Christ," —viz. that of being put into and united with the body of Christ. Luke's usage of "*in* the name" (*en* or *epi;* Acts 2:38; 10:48), apparently without meaning anything else than do the "into" formulas, is another indication of how the name phraseology was not very fixed. In spite of the normal conservatism of ritual language, one was not totally bound; thus Paul is probably thinking of baptism in 1 Cor 6:11, but there the phrase is "*in* the name of the Lord" instead of "into …"

The repeated use of "into the name" etc., raises the question whether the name of Jesus (etc.) was actually mentioned at the ministration of baptism. In the NT, Jas 2:7 has been cited as support for the supposition that it was. *Herm. Sim.* 8:6, 4 alludes to the passage, but without clear reference to baptism, while Just. *1 Apol.* 61.10–13 refers to such a practice using similar language. The usage of the *lšm* phrase in the rabbinic regulations may possibly add some extra strength to the supposition. It seems that when somebody presented an offering in the temple, he declared what kind of offering he was giving: cf., e.g., *b. Pesaḥ.* 60a: "Behold, I slaughter the Pesah into its name," i.e., "this is a passover sacrifice." The parallel would then intimate that the purpose or the fundamental reference of baptism was mentioned at the rite and that this was done in such a way that Jesus was mentioned. Indirectly Paul's argument in 1 Cor 1:13, 15 also suggests such a practice.

**2. Corpus Paulinum. a. Paul.** Paul does not present any direct teaching on baptism as such, but several times he argues other matters by making use of ways of thinking of baptism. In order that his argument be accepted by his addressees, he often refers to or quotes opinions on or understandings of baptism which have also been held by other early Christian theologians, including his opponents or those addressees whom he did not know personally. In most of these cases we can feel certain that Paul has agreed with them; in others he may have modified the opinion he cites (Rom 6:3–4) or just quoted it as an argument without sharing it (1 Cor 15:29). Given this place of baptism in Paul's writings, we have to realize that his view on baptism is largely hidden behind his epistles, in which we mostly only perceive what he regards as implications or consequences of his theology of baptism. Consequently any attempt to make a historically based reconstruction of Paul's thinking in these matters runs the risk of stressing wrong aspects and leaving out others which may have been important to him, but did not happen to be needed for his arguments in the letters we have access to. To these cautions should be added the circumstance that one of the more important texts, Rom 6:1–14, places the interpreter before an exceptionally great number of difficulties in terms of language, content, and function with regard to the receivers.

In 1 Cor 1:12–17 Paul says that he is thankful that he baptized only a few of the Corinthians, "for Christ did not send me to baptize but to preach the gospel" (v 17). This remark is generally understood as showing no contempt on Paul's part for baptism. Rather he let his coworkers baptize, and it is probable that baptizing meant not only performing the rite but also taking an active part in preparation for it. This can explain how people came to rally around a teacher like Apollos (1 Cor 1:12).

As noted, Paul knows of the baptismal formula "into the name of …" But in his arguments he may instead write "into (Gk *eis*) Christ" (Rom 6:3; Gal 3:27; cf. 1 Cor 10:2:"into Moses," and 1 Cor 12:13:"into one body"), or "in (Gk *en*) the name of the Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Cor 6:11). In this way Paul connects certain concepts about Christ and his importance with baptism. Thus in 1 Cor 1:12 it seems that the "party" designations ("I belong to Apollos" etc.) make Paul think of one effect of baptism, viz., that one can say "I belong to Christ" (1 Cor 1:12; 3:23; Gal 3:29). Then he immediately ironically states that he himself was not crucified for the Corinthians, nor were they baptized "into Paul's name." This indicates that to Paul baptism somehow made Christ's crucifixion a crucifixion "for" (Gk *hyper*) the one baptized. In other words, one "belongs to Christ" through baptism, which applies Christ's vicarious death to the person being baptized. Thus the soteriological center of Paul's thinking was a central motif in his understanding of baptism.

The preaching which gathered around this center had to be received in faith, a faith that meant that the believer was put right with God (justified), according to the contents of the kerygma. Inasmuch as it also

is intimated that one enters this blessed state through baptism, the question arises regarding the relationship between faith and baptism. There is no tension or contradiction to be seen between the two. Thus, according to Gal 3:26–29 men are "God's sons through faith in Christ Jesus," but this statement is explained by the next one, which says "for all of you who were baptized into Christ, put on Christ." One may say that faith is the subjective side of the receiving of the gift of salvation, baptism the objective side. Furthermore, although 1 Cor 6:11 might be traditional, in its Pauline context it interprets the gifts of baptism as not only "you were washed," and "you were sanctified," but also "you were justified," namely "in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ." Here baptism is associated with all the wealth Paul otherwise connects with the salvific gospel which reveals the righteousness of God through faith (Rom 1:16–17; 5:1–2, etc.).

Already the short remark in 1 Cor 1:13 and its implications point to how Paul—and other early Christian theologians—have wrestled, in part unconsciously, with a task that occurs in many religions: how to relate a fundamental divine act in the past to later times, be that act creation, the Exodus, the death and refinding of Osiris, or Christ's death and resurrection. One needs a bridge between past and present, or, to use different language, an actualization of the past in the present or an understanding of the present in the light of the past. In our case, a kind of actualization of Jesus' salvific act was made in the preaching of the gospel and in its reception in faith *and* in baptism as well.

The topic of actualizing Christ's death and resurrection—the fundamental salvific act—reappears somewhat more specifically, in Rom 6:1–14, where it is part of Paul's argument in defense of the principle of justification by faith without following the Law. His real or imagined opponents accuse him of holding that the law-free gospel he preached meant that one had better "remain in sin, in order that grace may abound" (3:8; 6:1, 15). Over against this accusation Paul launches a tightly knit and rather complicated argument, which partly makes use of elements from tradition. His thesis is that "we who died to sin" cannot "live in it" (6:2).

The argument takes its departure in the statement that baptism "into Christ Jesus" means baptism "into his death" (v 3), indeed, being "buried with him" (v 4) (cf. the tradition in 1 Cor 15:3–7:"Christ died, … was buried, … was raised …") The statement in v 3 is something on which Paul and his opponents agree—otherwise the argument would not work. In other words, baptism "actualized" Christ's death for the one being baptized. The dying and burial with Christ also had an aim, namely that, as he was raised, "so also we should walk in newness of life" (v 4b), i.e., here it is Christ's resurrection which is actualized. In v 5 the consequences of baptism are expressed in a slightly different way. The sentence presents them in a protasis-apodosis construction. The protasis (v 5a) "if we are united with the counterpart of his death" is a variation of the statement concerning the sharing of Christ's death (v 3). Also the apodosis varies the preceding argument, viz., that baptism means that one should walk in newness of life:"we shall be (united with the counterpart) to his resurrection" (a literal rendering of a relatively common way of understanding the difficult construction.) It is now noteworthy that, according to Paul, baptism into Christ's death meant life with the raised Christ in an ethical duty to "newness of life" in the present time (v 4b), and also a hope of sharing his resurrectional life in the (personal or cosmic) *eschaton.* (Some, however, take the future in v 5b as hortative.) From v 6 onwards Paul explains, reconfirms and develops his argument:"we (who died in baptism)" is specified as "our old person," who was "crucified with (Christ)," i.e., the former ("adamitic") conditions under the reign of sin in hostility to God (cf. 5:10) or in estrangement from him, were abolished. Step by step, Paul then forces his way through to a conclusion in 6:12–14:"Thus sin must not reign in your mortal body, so that you obey its passions" (v 12). He arrives there via these stepping stones concerning Christ: "somebody who is dead is not accused of sin (lit.: is justified from sin)" (v 7); Christ died, and did so "to sin once for all" (v 10); Christ is alive (v 9); Christ "lives to God" (v 10). Here are the parallel steps concerning Christians:"we died with him" (v 8); "you must consider yourselves dead to sin (v 11a); "we shall live with him" (v 8); "we must consider ourselves alive to God" (v 11b).

This sketchy scrutiny of Rom 6:1–14 has pointed to some negative and some positive consequences of baptism as Paul sees it: It meant a liberation not from sinning, but from sin's reign, from living according

to the conditions of its power. Liberation is real but not automatic; it must be realized in a life lived to God, a life that looks forward to its fulfillment in resurrection (v 5, 8) and eternal life (v 22–23).

The baptismal liberation from sin's power is a positive, dynamic factor in the life of the Christian: In Rom 6:4 it is called "newness of life." This can be contrasted to "our old man" (v 6), and stands for new conditions in which one lives in and under Christ (cf. "new creation," 2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15). These conditions are described in another picture in Gal 3:27: in baptism one "puts on Christ." In Biblical language, clothes can be a metaphor for life conditions, essential equipment, etc. (2 Chr 6:41 and Isa 61:10: salvation; Ps 93:1: power; Bar 5:1: glory of God, etc.). Thus Christ, what he has achieved, what he is, and what he stands for, is the life-conditioning, decisive basis of a Christian existence.

The same new conditions are also touched upon in 1 Cor 6:11, "you were sanctified," i.e., brought into a realm which more than others belongs to God and where he is present in a particular sense. This "sanctification," together with a "washing" and a "justification" took place "in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ" and "in the Spirit of our God," i.e., the Christ-related blessings of baptism were given through the powerful working in the present by God himself, who stands behind the giving as well as the reception of these blessings. Lastly it must be pointed out that, precisely as in Romans 6, Paul is arguing a case of morality in 1 Cor 6: It is important to his argument that these God-given new life-conditions bring with them a duty to practice them in an ethically responsible life. Once again, the eschatological perspective is present: In the argument Paul says as a warning, "The unrighteous will not inherit the kingdom of God" (6:9).

That the Spirit is the power at work in baptism is also expressed in 1 Cor 12:13. Also here Paul takes a recognized opinion as a point of departure for an argument:"We were baptized in (or: through) one spirit into one body." We need not discuss whether the Spirit is thought of here as the mode or the means of baptism into the one body—it is both. But it is also a gift connected with baptism, as is seen from the next clause "and we were all made to drink of one Spirit" or, better, "we all had one Spirit poured over us" (v 13b). Possibly 2 Cor 1:22 also refers to baptism (as a seal) on which occasion God also gave the Spirit as a pledge—a pledge of the further eschatological gifts, the Spirit itself being one of them (Rom 8:23; cf. Acts 2:16–21).

1 Cor 12:13 also points to another aspect of Paul's thought on baptism: that it brings with it a unity of the ones baptized. This unity is constituted by the one life, which is given from and in community with the one Christ (in his body, the church in Corinth), as well as by the one Spirit. Whereas in 1 Cor this view is a point of departure for an argument concerning how to deal with the different pneumatic gifts, the same theme also appears in Galatians (3:26–29), and there is an argument for the view that Gentile Christians are God's sons through faith and therefore Abraham's seed (see also 1 Cor 1:10–13). In both passages we encounter what may be a traditional formula:"there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor freeman, there is no male and female" (the last clause only in Galatians; cf. also Col 3:11). This means seeing baptism as having rather radical consequences. The common life in Christ, into which one was baptized, implied a unity and a solidarity which questioned religious, cultural, and social conditions of the ordinary world order.

It has been suggested that this close Christ-relationship which, according to Paul, is a consequence of baptism, was also implied in his use of the formula " (baptize) into Christ." Namely, should this expression be understood locatively, so that baptism meant being put into Christ, the New Adam, a kind of corporate personality? As the expression is so vague and, therefore, so capable of several interpretations, such an understanding is not impossible. For the same reason 1 Cor 10:2 ("our fathers … were all baptized into Moses") cannot decisively speak against it, although the idea is certainly not that the Israelites were incorporated, so to speak, into Moses, but rather that "Moses" represented the salvation and revelation at the Exodus.

Finally, Paul can also speak of the Christ relationship established through faith and baptism using terms of ownership (1 Cor 1:12; Gal 3:27; cf. 1 Cor 3:23). That a man "belongs to" or is a slave to his god, who is his "master" or "lord," is a common idea in the world of religions (see, e.g., Isa 44:5). Man's god has him at his command and takes care of him. Given the widely spread confession of Jesus as the Lord

*(kyrios)*, the idea of belonging to him is near at hand (1 Cor 7:22). The metaphor of sealing in 2 Cor 1:22 has a similar meaning and may possibly refer to baptism. As a matter of fact, the idea of being sanctified at baptism (1 Cor 6:11) has similar connotations, for priests, offerings, buildings, etc., are "sanctified" (see, e.g., Exod 28:36; 29:44; Judg 17:3; 2 Chr 29:5) to God, and belong to him for that reason; they are there for his service and are under his protection. We should also remember that an essential aspect in the thinking concerning the covenant between God and his people was that he was their God and they his people (e.g., Deut 29:13; for the new covenant see, e.g., Jer 31:31).

**b. Extra-Pauline Understandings of Baptism in Paul's Letters.** We have touched upon interpretations of baptism which Paul presupposes are known and accepted by his addressees. Since these addressees in some cases are unknown to him (which is largely true of his Roman addressees) and are sometimes opposed to him (Romans; 1, 2 Corinthians), it is reasonable to assume that these interpretations are also held by non-Pauline theologians in the early Church.

Such "extra-Pauline" interpretations of baptism involve views of entering a relationship to Christ, receiving the remission of one's sins for Christ's sake (1 Cor 1:13; 6:11), dying and rising with him (Rom 6:3–8), becoming his possession or his slave (1 Cor 3:23; 2 Cor 1:22; Gal 3:29). The Spirit was somehow also connected with baptism in other minds than Paul's. Thus, some have been of the opinion that the Spirit was at work in baptism and that Christians then were endowed with it (1 Cor 6:11; 12:13). In Rom 6:3–8 there are good reasons to believe that Paul subjects the more widespread view to adaptation. This view may have been that baptism meant sharing Christ's resurrection (Col 2:12; 3:1), i.e., some sort of "realized eschatology," whereas Paul is anxious to stress that the resurrection belongs to the future. The adaptation may be caused by an enthusiastic understanding of baptism that Paul has met in Corinth, and which he seeks to restrain. It can be discerned behind the overestimation of glossolalia (the language of the angels, 1 Cor 13:1?) and behind the denial of the coming death and resurrection (1 Corinthians 15; 2 Tim 2:18). A belief that baptism ensured life in an almost magic way may also explain the practice of being baptized on behalf of dead people, mentioned in 1 Cor 15:29. A similar attitude of overestimating the effect of baptism (and of the eucharist) in Corinth seems to lie behind 1 Cor 10:1–13. Paul attacks a sense of security that can be built on such an attitude. That "the fathers" were baptized (in the sea), ate the spiritual food, and drank of Christ (the rock) as Paul points out, did not save them from God's wrath when they sinned.

**c. The Pauline School.** The author of Colossians stands close to Paul and is well versed in his letters. (Note, however, that some exegetes do not think that Colossians is deutero-Pauline.) In using baptismal motifs as a basis for arguing against a certain "philosophy," he differs somewhat from Paul's thinking as seen in Rom 6:4–5: According to Colossians baptism is not only a death and a burial with Christ (2:12, 20), but also a resurrection with him "through faith in the power of God who raised him from the dead" (2:12). The role of faith is natural also to this author, but it is emphasized that it is directed towards a victor: Baptism means, namely, sharing the destiny of Christ who, in his resurrection, triumphed over the cosmic powers (2:15) which were the authorities to which the "philosophy" referred (2:8, 16–23). As united with this sovereign, the baptized Christians are carried—indeed even "filled" —by his divine "fullness" (2:9–10). Entering the flock of this supreme ruler meant being pardoned all previous sins (1:14; 2:13) and being saved from the power of darkness (1:13), and being moved instead by God into the kingdom of his son and becoming an heir of the lot of the holy ones in light (1:12). The life the Christian has "with Christ" after the death "with him" is a "hidden" one, but one which looks forward to glory at Christ's "revelation" (3:4), which is to say that the present participation in Christ's triumph is coupled with an eschatological expectation.

Baptism is mentioned also under the imagery of circumcision (2:11). On the one hand, this is made to signify that in baptism the "body of the flesh" (2:11), or the "old person and his deeds" (3:9), was put away, i.e., the previous conditions were changed in which one's person was dominated by this-worldly, nondivine factors. On the other hand, it also indicated that the hindrance to belonging to God's people was eliminated (cf. 2:13).

The optimistic and empowering aspect of the consequences of baptism in Colossians is balanced by the parenesis in 3:1–4:6. As in Romans 6, it is a principal point that the life given in baptism has to be lived. The new—indeed radically new—conditions of a new humanity united with Christ and sustained by him as the true image of God (3:10–11; Gal. 3:27–28) imply an imperative to strive for their realization in life and may even have been a social challenge.

Ephesians contains many echoes from the author's thought on baptism, so many, in fact, that it has been suggested that the epistle is a baptism homily or represents a baptismal liturgy. This can hardly be regarded as more than conjecture. But given that the epistle stands in the same Pauline tradition as Colossians (although later), one cannot but recognize the indirect references to baptism and its impact. In Ephesians, however, as distinguished from earlier texts in the Pauline tradition, baptism is not brought in to serve an argument concerning something else, but seems to be almost the warp on which the whole letter is woven.

Baptism becomes a focus of God's immense salvific work: He is the one active behind it and in it (1:3–14; 2:4–10), from the election before the foundation of the world and via the work of Christ on to the eschatological goal, the "heritage," of which the Spirit is a pledge (1:14). The pre-Christian state of the addressees was like a death or a darkness or a sleep (2:1, 5; 5:8, 14). More specifically, they were sinful Gentiles, not belonging to God's people (2:1–3, 11–12). But faith in the gospel of salvation, along with receiving baptism (1:13), meant forgiveness (1:7; 2:7; 4:32) and life and light—already now—through Christ (2:5–6; 5:14). They were "sealed" through the Spirit of the promise (1:13), i.e., the Spirit signified that they belonged to God and had the promise of receiving the heritage (cf. Ezek 9:4; Isa 44:5). Given this picture of the pre-Christian situation, baptism is not described as a death or burial with Christ, but as a resurrection with him, indeed, being enthroned with him (Eph 2:6). The Christian is carried by the same divine power as Christ (1:20) and has "access to the Father" (2:18), or using another image, the Christian is joined to a Temple of God, built on Christ, the cornerstone (2:20–22). This ecclesiological perspective of "realized eschatology" is found also in 5:25–26: Christ gave himself up for the Church "in order that he sanctify her, cleansing her by the washing of water, in the word." In individual baptisms, Christ's self-sacrifice is applied, and the rite adds new members to the Church, which is presented as a bride, cleansed by the bridal bath. The phrase "in the word" is difficult: Either it refers to something said at baptism which in some way mentioned Christ and/or his work, or it has to do with Christ's sanctifying the Church through his word. That this Church is one is mentioned in the formula of 4:5–6: Baptism unites all believers in the same faith in the one Lord.

Also in Ephesians the new, real conditions given in baptism are the basis of a duty to live a moral life (4:22–24). The older conditions are certainly left behind (2:1, 5; 5:8, 14), but nevertheless they still make their claims; so "the old man" must be put off and "the new man" must be put on (4:20–24), i.e., the life in Christ has to be realized as exemplified in the parenesis in 4:25–5:14.

Also in Titus (3:5) baptism is the crucial point in the application of God's saving act through Christ to the individual. In imitation of Paul, the author contrasts God's grace behind this means of salvation to man's deeds of righteousness, which did not bring this salvation. The pre-Christian situation is painted in dark colors: foolishness, disobedience, lusts, etc. (3:3). In baptism, however, God saved the Christian from this condition for a life of "righteousness" (1 Tim 6:11; Titus 2:12; 3:7). The effect of baptism is described as "regeneration" (cf. John 3:5; 1 Pet 2:2) and renewal (cf. 2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15; Eph 2:15; 4:24). The former imagery can be compared with the Jewish statement that a proselyte is as a newborn child (*b. Yebam.* 48b). The renewal is effected by the Holy Spirit, the gift of which is connected with baptism, and it all gives the Christian the hope of inheriting eternal life (3:5–7). That the admonitions in 3:8–11 follow the utterances on baptism is a sign that also for this author baptismal renewal has to have a counterpart in real life.

**3. Gospel of Matthew.** It has been noted above that Matthew's version of the story of Jesus' baptism (3:13–17) not only has a Christological point; it also presents Jesus' baptism as a model of the audience's baptism. Matt 28:19 represents the evangelist's conviction that his Church practiced baptism in accordance with Jesus' will and reflects the baptismal formula in use there (cf. *Did.* 7:1, 3). The main verb

of the commission in 28:19 is "make disciples." Becoming a disciple in Matthew's view means to cling to Jesus, to whom the Father has given all authority (v 18), listen to his words, and do his will. Baptism is the step into discipleship—faith is not mentioned, but is presupposed (cf. 18:6). Matt 18:20 ("gather 'into' my name") demonstrates that Matthew retains what above was claimed to be the original meaning of performing a rite "into the name of …," viz., that the name indicated the fundamental reference of the rite. What is new in Matthew is the mention of the Trinity in the baptismal formula (the actual thought of the Father and the Spirit together with the Son is found also in Ephesians 1–2 and Titus 3, dealt with above). God the origin and goal, whom Jesus called his Father (7:21; 10:32; 26:42 etc.) and whose will he performed (26:42), was also the Father of the disciples (5:16, 45, 48; 6:9 etc.). He turned to man in the words and works of the Son, but also in the Spirit, the power of the present, active God (1:18; 12:28; cf. 10:20). Thus, the rite of baptism had as its basis the salvific work of a God who communicated with man in these ways. Probably the words of John the Baptist in 3:11 ("baptize in holy spirit") are seen as fulfilled in Christian baptism—because of the central position of Jesus Christ for discipleship it can be said that, in a sense, he is the one who baptizes.

**4. Acts of the Apostles.** It should be borne in mind that Acts is simply a narrative telling how the witnesses of Jesus advanced step by step from Jerusalem to the world with the gospel (1:8). What is said of baptism therefore belongs to the story of this process and should not be isolated from it. The attempts to reconstruct different baptismal rites and/or theologies using Acts as a source rest on rather unstable ground, and will be left aside here.

Luke takes baptism for granted. It is treated as the undisputed initiation rite of the Church, and when mission enters a new, decisive phase, baptism is mentioned as a natural step in connection with people's acceptance of the message about Christ, i.e., becoming believers (or sometimes "repenting," 2:38; 11:18 etc.). Thus, baptism is reported at the following milestones in the narrative:2:38–41 (Pentecost in Jerusalem); 8:12 (Samaria); 8:35–39 (the Ethiopian eunuch); 9:18 (Paul); 10:44–48 (Cornelius); 16:14–15, 30–34 (Lydia and the jailer in Philippi); 18:8 (Corinth).

Entering the Christian community through faith and baptism means to be "saved" (2:40; 11:14; 16:30–31), and in 2:40 what one is saved from is specified:"this crooked generation" (cf. Deut 32:5), i.e., from those who have turned away from God. In 8:10–13 the magic practices of Simon form a dark background to faith and baptism. One side of this salvation is the remission of sins, which explicitly is one of the gifts of baptism in 2:38; 10:43, 48; 22:16. However, both "salvation" and remission of sins are among the eschatological blessings which, according to Luke, are present already in the Christian community (2:17–21); the final kingdom is not yet there (1:6–8), but God is present in the community bestowing some of the eschatological gifts. To these also belongs the Holy Spirit (2:17–18), the gift of which is connected with baptism (2:38; 8:14–17; 9:17–18; 10:47–48; 19:1–6).

Four times Luke cites something like a baptism formula "in the name of Jesus Christ" (2:38; 10:48) or "into the name of the Lord Jesus" (8:16; 19:5). The differences are probably more a matter of Luke's style than anything else (see "Into the name of the Lord Jesus" above), but the question arises as to what the expression may mean in the context of Acts. A likely suggestion is that the "name" expression indicates that the rite in some way was based on and/or was an objective application of the message about Jesus Christ which lead to faith in him. Basic points in the preaching of the apostles are these, according to the program in Luke 24:44–49: In Christ's name one shall preach repentance and remission of sins to all nations (v 47), a presupposition of which is his (the Messiah's) death and resurrection, predicted by the Scriptures (v 44–46); and, in addition, his glorified status (v 50–51, 26) from which he sends the Spirit (v 49). Thus, the apostolic message, as presented also in the speeches of Acts, has some important items in common with what is said of baptism. The christological basis of baptism is the same: Jesus is the vindicated and glorified one, the promised Messiah, the mighty and generous Sovereign, the Lord. The one who repents and believes is received by him and graciously pardoned (the death of Jesus seems to play but a minor part in this connection; compare, however, Luke 22:20). From his exalted position on the right hand of the Divine Majesty, Jesus sends the Spirit, who is active in the preaching of the gospel and in giving spiritual gifts.

In 2 instances Acts seems to present "irregularities." The first is 8:14–17, where Peter and John are reported to have to come from Jerusalem to Samaria to lay their hands on the baptized converts in order that they should receive the Holy Spirit. The second is 10:47–48, according to which the Spirit falls on Cornelius and those in his house, so as to compel Peter to order their being baptized. When regarded within the framework of the story of Acts as a whole, these irregularities can be explained without serious problems. Precisely as irregularities they become signposts in the development of the Christian mission. In the 1st case the Samaritans' place within the fulfillment of the promises is confirmed, and in the 2d the move into the Gentile world and the reception of uncircumcised Gentiles into God's people are enforced by God's Spirit itself. This is acknowledged by the Jerusalem Christians in 11:1–18); the conclusion is that "God has given the (opportunity of) repentance unto life also to the Gentiles" (v 18).

Lastly, it should be mentioned that in Acts we can surmise some details in the ritual of baptism. A laying on of hands (with prayer for the Spirit) is mentioned in 8:15–17 and 19:6 (cf. 9:17); a question arises whether there is any hindrance that a particular candidate be baptized (8:36; 10:47); there is a mention or invocation of the name of the "Lord Jesus" (22:16) in such a way that the rite could rightly be called a baptism "into the name of the Lord Jesus" (or something similar). Finally, the designation "the believers" for the Christians may possibly indicate that the rite included a question as to whether one believed in Jesus the Lord (etc.), which received the answer "I believe" (cf. Hipp., *Apost.* 21.12–18, ed. Dix, and the variant reading in Acts 8:37).

**5. First Peter.** Although baptism is mentioned only once in 1 Peter (3:21), it plays an important role as a basic presupposition for the presentation in the epistle. In fact, it is so important that scholars have suggested that it represents (parts of) a baptismal liturgy or a baptismal homily. Even though such a supposition may go somewhat too far, there is a wide consensus that 1 Peter makes substantial use of ideas associated with baptism. Furthermore, such ideas, to a large extent, seem to be expressed in more or less established turns of phrase.

The writer does not really argue a case in a progressive chain of reasoning, and thus the logical relationships between the ideas are not always explicit. This is also true of the passages where baptism appears to be of some importance to the contents. He seems, however, to want to strengthen and comfort his addressees in leading a faithful and moral Christian life in the face of pressures from the surrounding world. He does so by affirming that suffering as Christ's disciple is part of the discipleship and, not least, that the Christians also have a hope of glory—"an inheritance imperishable and undefiled and unfading, kept for you in heaven" (1:4).

Baptism is obviously a decisive part of the Christian initiation, to which the author refers repeatedly, although not explicitly, as a foundation of his exhortations. It is called a rebirth (1:3, 23; cf. 2:2); it means a new human existence, one brought about by God himself (1:3, 23) through his living word, the gospel (1:23–25). This new existence is sustained and guarded by God (1:5) and looks forward in hope to the coming salvation when Christ is "revealed" (1:4–5, 7, 9, 13, 21; 3:15). The Christ-relationship of the Christian initiation means, not least, that it is his resurrection that is the reason for the hope (1:3, 21) and for the salvific effects of baptism (3:21). His vicarious and redemptive passion and death are mentioned (1:2, 18–19; 2:24; 3:18); they are apparently a presupposition for the possibility of being reborn, but are not brought into any explicit connection with baptism. In the present time, awaiting faithfully the coming glory, the Christians are tested (1:7) and may have to suffer as Christ had to (2:19–23; 3:14–18; 4:1–2, 12–14, 19). Being a minority (3:20), the addressees may feel tempted to conform to their old existence marked by Gentile vices (1:14; 4:2–4), but their new life means that they are holy, belonging to God (1:15–16, 22–25); so they are called instead to live this holiness in obedience in communion with Christ (1:13–14, 22; 2:1–10).

In 3:20–21, the only passage in 1 Peter which explicitly mentions baptism, there are a couple of linguistic difficulties which complicate its understanding. Much, however, is clear enough. Thus, the OT story of Noah and the Flood (Genesis 6–9) is made to prefigure what baptism means to the addressees. Like Noah's family they are few, living in a world which deserves judgment from a patient God. And as Noah and his family were saved in the ark, in a corresponding way the addressees are saved (present

tense) "through water" in baptism. One of the linguistic difficulties occurs here, but regardless of how one tries to solve it, the meaning should be something like the one just intimated. The author's explanatory comment does not make matters easier: Baptism is said to mean "not the removal of dirt of the flesh, but an appeal to God for a good conscience through the resurrection of Jesus Christ," or "… but a pledge to God of a good conscience through the resurrection …". There is a tendency in modern translations and commentaries to favor the latter understanding. Actually, it is in harmony with that which the author otherwise indicates as being one of the aspects of Christian initiation: namely, an upright entering into a covenant with God, a pledge to be holy and obedient (1:13–16; 22–23; 3:8–12), with divine salvation also implied. According to 3:21 this salvation is something taking place in baptism, and according to 1:5, 9 it is a goal, owned in hope. Its foundation, both in 1:5, 9 and 3:21, is Christ's resurrection, the Christ who is now enthroned in glory (3:22). Thus also in 3:19–22 baptism means being brought by God into a new existence, different from the former one, and, because of Christ's resurrection and glory, one can look forward to the glorious fulfillment. On the other hand, the new existence means engaging in a life that demands to be realized, even under pressure.

**6. The Johannine Writings.** In the 4th gospel as we now have it, 3:1–21 is the only passage which, with some certainty, deals with Christian baptism. (John 13:8–10 and 19:34 are debatable as witnesses and, for that matter, hardly give more information than we already have in 3:1–21).

It is important to take the whole of the dialogue of 3:1–21 into account when assessing 3:3, 5, where baptism is almost explicitly mentioned ("reborn" and "reborn of water and Spirit," respectively). The dialogue is constituted by 3 phases, each leading to a statement of Jesus, introduced by a repeated "amen" (3:3, 5, 11). The 1st phase states the precondition of seeing the kingdom of God: being born anew and/or from above (the Greek word *anōthen* having both meanings; 3:3). The 2d statement specifies the 1st: in order to enter the kingdom of God one must be born of water and Spirit (3:5). In the 3d and prolonged statement, the conditional clauses of the 1st and 2d phases are changed into a semantically equivalent construction: "Whoever believes in him (i.e., the Son), will … have eternal life" (3:15). Thus, the basic question is how to attain eternal life, which puts this term in its specifically Johannine context, i.e., it is owned already in this life (cf. 3:36; 5:24; 17:3, etc.). It is not this-worldly, limited and conditioned by "flesh" (3:6; cf. 6:63) or death (the implicit background of 3:14), but has its ultimate source in God (3:3, cf. 1:13) and depends on God's loving initiative (3:16–17). It has come to this world through the Son, whose life-giving activity in word and deed culminated in his "exaltation" on the cross (3:14) and his ascension (3:13). This "going to the Father" was the presupposition for the giving of the Spirit, which pursues the work of the Son. Thus, though in its own way, the 4th gospel works out the Christ-connection of baptism. Christ's death-exaltation makes its life-giving "possible" (3:9), viz., through the activity of the inscrutinable Spirit (3:8). On the other hand, faith on man's side is the necessary disposition for accepting this life (3:15–18; cf. 1:12; 3:36; 5:24; 11:25; 20:31, etc.).

There is no clear mention of baptism in 1 John, although 5:7–8 (the witnesses, Spirit, water, blood) may refer to it as one testimony to the life-giving death of Jesus. At the same time, ideas which occur in baptismal contexts in other NT books are so numerous that there have been suggestions that the epistle cites parts of a rite of initiation, including baptism; that it reflects a baptismal homily; or, less specifically, that it contains echoes from instruction in connection with entrance into the Christian community. In any case, a central concept is the one of being born of God (2:29; 3:9; 4:7; 5:1, 5, 18; cf. John 3:5) and this out of his love (3:1; 4:9, 10, 16). Thereby Jesus Christ is of central importance (3:5; 4:9–10, 14). Sinless, he took away sin (1:7; 2:2; 3:5; 4:10). When the Christian life of the addressees "began" (2:24; 3:11), they received the remission of their sins (2:12) and obtained life in the name of Jesus Christ (3:14; 4:9; 5:12); they were instructed not to love the world but to overcome it (2:15–17; 5:4–5) and to live under the Spirit (3:24; 4:13) in love for one another (2:7–11; 3:18, 23; 4:7–11, 17–21), confessing Jesus as Christ, God's Son (3:23; 4:2, 15; 5:1). This complex is the frame of reference for the warnings and the admonition of the epistle: Being pure and holy they should live accordingly (2:1, 5–6; 3:3). It is quite likely that it reflects essential features in the author's thought on baptism.

**7. Other NT Writings.** Heb 10:19–25 probably contains an allusion to baptism and baptismal practice: Using priestly imagery, the author summons his audience to "draw near," "with the hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience and with the body washed with pure water" (v 22). This should refer to the remission of sins as a gift of baptism. In 9:9–10, 13–14, etc., the remission is brought about by Christ's self-sacrifice, which, then, would be "applied" in baptism. There is a homology connected to baptism, a confession to Christ which gives hope (10:23; see further 3:1; 4:14). A 2d conversion for the one who willfully turns away, is declared to be impossible in 6:4–6 and 10:26–29. The idea is probably also associated with baptism, which meant "enlightenment," "tasting a heavenly gift," "partaking of the Holy Spirit," and of "the power of the coming age" (6:4–5). Given the short eschatological perspective of the author (10:37), he has no hope for the renegade. The same Hebrews 6 seems to start with a reference to the instruction given to the catecumens (v 1–2).

If 2 Pet 1:9 refers to baptism, it represents a widely spread early Christian conviction in its understanding of it, when it mentions cleansing from previous sins.

Mark 16:16 does not belong to the original gospel of Mark, but to a secondary, though canonical ending, dating from the 2d century (16:9–20). Verses 15–16 contain a commissioning of the disciples to preach the gospel to the whole world. This proclamation is received in belief or unbelief, and as usual belief is combined with baptism. As in Tit 3:5 and 1 Pet 3:21, it means salvation. Here it means the salvation at the *eschaton* and is contrasted to condemnation, the lot of those who have not accepted the proclamation.

**8. "One baptism" —Many Interpretations?** The presentation above has investigated the different ways in which some early Christians have thought about baptism. The differences are great enough to justify the conclusion that one can hardly add all the views together, call the result "The NT Doctrine of Baptism," and assume that one has done justice to the NT authors by doing so. This is so, even when taking into consideration that Paul is the author who beyond comparison delivers the most material on the topic and easily may dominate such an additive presentation. Given the differences, there are, however, more resemblances between the different witnesses than one might expect in view of the foregoing exposition. It may therefore be justified to conclude with a few words on this aspect.

At the very beginning of Christian baptismal practice there were some aspects and circumstances pertaining to it which seem, somehow, to have been determinative for the ways in which different theologians and traditions in early Christianity came to think of baptism. In all probability, the rite was taken over from John the Baptist, which has an important implication: that eschatological expectations similar to those of the Baptist were associated with Christian baptism. Another decisive element was the conviction that Jesus had risen from the dead and that his resurrection meant a new situation in man's relationship to God, notably as seen in the (short) eschatological perspective. Furthermore, baptism was connected with the Christian preaching to Jews and Gentiles; it had the Christ-event at its center and demanded conversion and/or faith. Lastly, the ones who believed were baptized "into the name of the Lord Jesus" (etc.), which presumably meant that Jesus the Lord—his person and his work—was the fundamental reference for the rite.

NT interpreters of later times easily overlook the constancy with which the eschatological outlook reappears in baptismal passages in the NT. It is realized in different ways: in demand for ethical responsibility in view of the approaching judgment; in references to the hope which looks forward to the final salvation or to the promised heritage; in the question how one enters the kingdom of God or receives eternal life.

But the eschatological perspective does not only mean looking forward. It also means an inaugurated eschatology, in that the salvific gifts of the *eschaton* are regarded as already present, although in varying degrees and in different ways by different authors. The Christ-event, especially the resurrection of Christ, is the beginning of this inaugurated *eschaton*; the preaching of the gospel continues this inauguration; and baptism is the door through which men enter it in connection with faith and/or conversion. It means leaving behind sin, alienation from God, etc., and entering a new, trusting, and sound relation to God. The remission of sins and the activity and presence of the Holy Spirit thus belong to the gifts of this

inaugurated *eschaton.* These radically new life-conditions are described in different ways, often in terms from Jewish eschatological expectations. They imply a duty to lead a Christian life which deserves this designation. The degrees in which one believes eschatology to be "realized" vary, and we encounter a relatively wide range of views. On the one hand, there is the eschatology behind 2 Tim 2:18 which is "over-realized" according to Pauline standards, and several scholars suggest that the case is the same with some enthusiasts in Corinth. On the other hand, there are the more tempered views of the authors of Acts or of the Epistle to Titus.

When baptism is performed "into the name of the Lord Jesus" (etc.), this indicates the key position held by Christ in relation to this inaugurated *eschaton.* It was inaugurated through his life, death, and resurrection. And though he was also the extramundane guarantee and point of orientation of the new life-conditions, he was nevertheless not distant.

It seems fair to suggest that the general ideas concerning early Christian baptism, intimated in the preceding few paragraphs, form what appears to be a common ground on which different theologians and traditions of the early Church have developed their understandings of baptism in keeping with their respective theological outlooks. This is not to say that this common ground should be something like an abstraction or generalization of NT statements on baptism which one could call the NT doctrine of baptism. But in so far as such a "doctrine" is to have a basis that is historically motivated, it should do justice to the general aspects of baptism found on this common ground. However, such a statement already means starting to ask hermeneutical questions which need to be dealt with when wrestling with such a "doctrinal" problem, but which cannot be taken up here.

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## BAPTIST, JOHN THE.

See JOHN THE BAPTIST.

## BAQ‘AH VALLEY (JORDAN).

A valley 15 km NW of Amman and 625 meters above sea level on the Transjordanian plateau which has been the focus of a University Museum (Univ. of Pennsylvania) expedition since 1977. The project is under the general directorship of P. E. McGovern and has been jointly funded by the Museum and its Applied Science Center for Archaeology (MASCA), the National Geographic Society, the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, and several private foundations. A major goal of the project, in addition to recovering stratigraphic sequences of poorly known periods, has been to demonstrate how scientific techniques can be integrated into archaeological investigations, especially salvage operations where constraints of time, manpower, and money exist.

### A. General Description

The Baq‘ah (derived from the ancient Semitic root for "valley") is a unique geomorphological feature on the plateau at the juncture of three flexures in the earth's crust. Its elliptical, self-contained area of × km stands in marked contrast to the surrounding terrain of hills and deep wadies cutting down to the Jordan Valley. The almost continuous human occupation of valley from the late Middle Paleolithic (ca. 50, 000 years ago) to the present is a consequence of several factors: its centralized position on the plateau (the ancient King's Highway probably ran through the middle of the valley); the rich soil *(terra rossa)* suitable for agriculture; one of the highest concentrations of perennial springs on the plateau; a moderate upland climate sustaining diverse plant and animal species; and other natural resources (e.g., large clay deposits).

### B. Archaeology of the Valley

Based on the data recovered in four seasons of survey and excavation (1977, 1978, 1980, and 1981), five periods in particular stand out: (1) the Early Bronze Age; (2) the Late Bronze Age; (3) the Early Iron Age; (4) the Late Iron Age, extending into the Persian period; and (5) the early Roman period.

Archaeological investigation has focused on the NW (Umm ad-Danānīr) region of the Baq‘ah, which has more springs and visible ancient remains than any other sector of the valley. See Fig. BAQ.01. A 52.5-hectare area was systematically traversed, and based on artifact clusters, architectural remains, and

specific research problems, several sites were chosen for geophysical prospecting. With the additional subsurface data from the latter surveys, certain areas were then targeted for test excavations. The archaeological results of such an approach attest to its value. Other areas of the valley, according to a preliminary assessment, would appear to have had much sparser occupation, apart from Tell Ṣafūṭ on the SW periphery of the valley; the stratigraphic sequence of this site is comparable to that of Khirbet Umm ad-Danānīr (below).

**1. Early Bronze Age.** Urban settlement began in the Baqʿah at least by EB II (ca. 2900 B.C.). The impressive site of al-Qeṣīr ("the fortress"; site 7 on Fig. BAQ.01) covers the 5-hectare summit of the hill of the same name at an elevation of about 800 m above sea level (200 m above the valley floor). An encircling stone fortification wall further enhanced the site's defensive position. Al-Qeṣīr is one of a number of large hilltop EB settlements in central Transjordan, none of which has as yet been excavated.

Aerial photography revealed the ground plans of many circular and rectangular stone buildings. Cisterns up to several hundred meters in diameter, hewn out of the bedrock, were located on four sides of the summit. Systematic sharding of the area within the walls showed that the site had been most intensively settled during EB II–III (ca. 2900–2300 B.C.). A marked decrease in occupation occurred in the subsequent transitional period of EB IV (ca. 2300–1950 B.C.), after which the site was abandoned.

**2. Late Bronze Age.** LB remains are exceptionally well represented in the Umm ad-Danānīr region, considering that no earlier survey had found evidence for the period and that the traditional hypothesis (see Glueck 1970, which is a later modification of his 1940 hypothesis) maintained that Transjordan S of the Wadi Zarqa had been occupied primarily by nomads or "semi-nomads," with urban centers confined to a few larger sites, throughout the MB and LB Ages. The archaeological findings from the Baqʿah over the past eight years conflict with this hypothesis (McGovern 1986a), and in conjunction with investigation elsewhere on the central plateau, it now appears more reasonable to posit a settlement pattern of variously sized LB communities, at least in the area from the Wadi Zarqa S to Madaba (cf. Harding 1967:32–34; Zayadine 1973:19–21).

A large LB cemetery of 20 burial caves on the lower slopes of Jebel al-Qeṣīr and Jebel al-Hawāyah (Fig. BAQ.01) were located and investigated. Many of these had been fully or partly robbed out, but it was possible to obtain details about the sizes and shapes of LB caves (circular, elliptical, and two-chambered, with maximum dimensions varying from 1 to 10 m) and their phases of use. The location of undisturbed caves and burial deposits was achieved using a highly sensitive magnetic detecting device, a cesium magnetometer. The burial features were generally silted-up features, and the greater accumulation of soil was more magnetic than the surrounding bedrock; consequently, they showed up as magnetic highs, even where there was no visible evidence of tombs on the surface.

The two most important LB burial deposits were recovered from Caves A2 and B3, belonging to LB I (ca. 1550–1400 B.C.) and LB II (ca. 1400–1200 B.C.), respectively. From a sounding confined to a 20-m area of Cave A2 (about a quarter of the tomb) came over fifty whole vessels, numerous small finds (including 4 scarabs, 4 cylinder seals, and 75 glass beads), which had been buried with 22 individuals of both sexes and various ages (infants, children, adolescents, and adults). The burial assemblage, which was similar to that of urban communities elsewhere in Palestine (e.g., Tomb 1145 at Megiddo [Guy 1938:94–99] and Tomb 1 at Pella [Smith 1973]), testified to a sedentary lifestyle and well-developed trade connections. This was also borne out by the local origin of the majority of the pottery; it derived from a clay deposit in the wadi near the spring of ʿain Umm ad-Danānīr as confirmed by neutron activation analysis.

The urban character of the LB Baqʿah community was further emphasized by the finds from Cave B3, including about 300 vessels (most of which were made from the local clay), 4 Mycenaean IIIB/IIIA (2) stirrup jars (from central mainland Greece, according to their chemical profiles), a Cypriot White Slip II "milk bowl" and Base Ring II juglet fragments, and a large collection of jewelry (including an iron anklet/bracelet fragment comparable to Iron IA examples, a cylinder seal, an Egyptian signet ring, and glass and faience beads). The burial goods were associated with a minimum of 64 individuals of all ages and both sexes. The principal paleopathologies (arthritis and dental caries), which were also observed in

the Cave A2 population, are characteristic of sedentary groups, and two cultivants (emmer wheat and bread or club wheat) from Cave B3, along with the remains of large herding animals (cattle) in both LB burial caves, supported this interpretation.

The LB settlement at Khirbet Umm ad-Danānīr (site 3), although thus far excavated only to a limited extent, provided the remaining piece of the puzzle posed by the burial cave evidence. The site was strategically situated on a cliff overlooking the pass into the Baqʿah through the S branch of the Wadi Umm ad-Danānīr, along which an ancient route to the Jordan Valley probably ran. It was located downhill from the EB settlement of al-Qeṣīr (above) on the same hill and closer to the strongest spring in the region, ʿain Umm ad-Danānīr.

Detailed mapping of visible surface remains showed that an area of approximately 2.5 hectares had been enclosed by a wall comprising two lines of boulders (1–1.5 m in length). The size and stratification of the site, as revealed by subsequent excavation, are considerable by Transjordanian standards.

A major discovery was made in the one excavation square where LB levels were reached. More than 3 m from the surface, beneath primarily Iron Age and Roman remains, an LB II refuse pit, about 1 m in diameter and 0.5 m deep, was exposed and half excavated. It was found to contain the charred remains of a variety of animals (sheep/goat, *Equus,* cattle, and some kind of carnivore, possibly a mountain lion), half of a hollow bull rhyton (almost identical to an example from Cave A2), and several large pottery vessels (kraters, jugs, bowls, a storage jar, and a cooking pot), which were all made from the local clay and, except for their larger sizes, were identical to pottery types from Cave B3. Further, the clay lining of the pit merged with a floor that was attached to a boulder wall similar to the proposed city wall. The pit can be compared to refuse pits in the vicinity of buildings at other LB sites (e.g., the Lachish Fosse temple). Its contents and association with a massive wall point to a well-established sedentary community during this period.

Rujm al-Ḥenū East (site 1), which is more than 500 m SW of Khirbet Umm ad-Danānīr, near the middle of the valley, was most probably constructed in the LB Age (McGovern 1983), as evidenced by the discovery of over 20 LB sherds from a surface survey and five test soundings. However, the deposition on the inside was less than 1.0 m thick and only several courses remained of the structure, most of whose large boulders (over 1 m in length) had most likely been used to construct the corners and towers of Rujm al-Ḥenū West (site 2) in the Iron IIC/Persian period. Moreover, the LB sherds all derived from mixed loci containing Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic material, and may represent only robbing and dumping activity sometime between the Roman period and the present.

The surface ground plan of Rujm al-Ḥenū East resembles that of the LB Amman Airport Building (Hennessy 1966: figs. 1 and 2, pl. 33A), 15 km to the SE. The latter is of the *Quadratbau* architectural type, which, as the name implies, has a square layout with a central unit ("courtyard") surrounded by outer rooms. Because of the rich deposits within the airport building and the minimal evidence of a permanent settlement in that vicinity (Hennessy 1966), it was proposed that the building might have been a tribal shrine, possibly a temple or mortuary cult structure of a nomadic group such as the Israelites (Campbell and Wright 1969). Rujm al-Ḥenū East provided the opportunity to test this hypothesis at another building of a similar type.

Rujm al-Ḥenū East differed from the airport structure in being rectangular (ca. × m) and in not having any surface remains of crosswalls that defined the central courtyard and rooms on the north. An electrical resistivity survey was first carried out to locate additional crosswalls and to determine the extent of buried structures in the vicinity, which might constitute a settlement. This geophysical technique takes advantage of the fact that dense materials (such as the stones of a wall) will block an applied electrical current and give higher resistivity readings than the surrounding soil.

The follow-up test excavations revealed that most of the high anomalies were due to irregularities in the near-surface bedrock. An undated wall, found extending several meters westward, along the same line as one of the interior walls, might belong to a pathway boundary, an addition to the building, or a separate structure. No additional interior crosswalls, however, were discovered; indeed, several crosswalls on the E and S sides of the building proved to be secondary. Thus, it is likely that the original layout completely

lacked crosswalls, which would represent a major departure from the classical *Quadratbau* type. On the other hand, there might well be variant architectural traditions of the same general type, especially in the Amman area, where boulder construction was common (e.g., the Iron IIC/Persian *qasr* type buildings could be rectangular or square and did not adhere to a fixed pattern). Possibly, Rujm al-Ḥenū East served as an agricultural villa (cf. *ArchPal* 36, 92–93 on the interpretation of the MB III–LB I *Quadratbau* structure on Mt. Gerizim). It was built on a bedrock outcrop in the midst of rich agricultural fields, like the Iron IIC/Persian structures which probably functioned as farmsteads (below); and as the nearby primary settlement at Khirbet Umm ad-Danānīr increased in population, it would have been an obvious area in which to expand.

**3. Iron IA.** An early Iron Age burial cave (A4), which was located by the magnetometer survey, turned out to be one of the largest tombs of this period ever discovered in Palestine. Into a circular cave only 4.5 m in diameter, 227 individuals of all ages and both sexes had been crammed. Most of the burials had been secondarily disturbed and commingled as a result of moving older skeletons to make space for new interments. The cave had two entrances: the main one, which was blocked by five boulders and which faced onto a 20 $m^2$ "forecourt," entered by a sloping ramp; and a back entrance, with a single boulder wedged into it and with a series of bedrock steps leading down from it into the cave.

The associated burial goods attested to a lower standard of living and fewer foreign contacts in Iron IA than in the LB Age. Thus, the pottery vessel–to-burial ratio (70:227) for Cave A4 was approximately the inverse of that for the LB burial groups. Imports were limited to marine mollusks, most of which were cowries from the Red Sea. Even more notably, marked changes were apparent in the three basic industries: pottery, metals, and silicate technology.

In the case of the pottery, some of these changes could be traced back to LB II. The amount of inclusions (quartz and especially calcite) gradually increased from LB I through Iron IA, even though the same clay source at ʿain Umm ad-Danānīr was exploited throughout this period. Perhaps to avoid calcite disintegration, lower firing temperatures became the rule in the early Iron Age.

A similar trend can be traced in fabrication techniques. Whereas most vessels were made on the wheel in LB I, coil building of medium-sized vessels was the preferred method in LB II. Coil building became the exclusive technique in Iron IA, often with a greater appreciation for the advantages and limitations of the materials and method. Rather than representing a low point in the Palestinian potter's craft, coiling, turning, surface wet-smoothing, trimming, and firing were now directed toward making pottery well suited to the admittedly poorer clay body. Well-contoured forms whose walls and bases were trimmed to a uniform narrow thickness were the result. Some of the changes in traditional pottery styles and the introduction of new forms in Iron IA may reflect this transformation in the pottery industry. Similarly, the relative lack of paints and slips in the early Iron Age may well be more a function of the reduced availability of fine clay fractions than of a deliberate change or the introduction of a new tradition from the outside.

One of the most important discoveries in the Iron IA burial cave was a group of 11 complete mild steel jewelry artifacts (anklets, bracelets, and rings), which more than tripled the number of published iron objects from early Iron Palestine. Some continuity between the Bronze and Iron Ages was evident from the discovery of a similar iron anklet or bracelet in LB II Cave B3. However, the number of Iron IA artifacts and their very uniform carbon composition demonstrated an especially well-developed metallurgical expertise in smelting and working iron (steel) in Iron IA. The 78 copper-base artifacts, again only jewelry and of essentially the same types as those in iron (steel), exhibited similarly high technological standards; they were exclusively tin-alloyed bronzes which had very consistent and high levels of tin, averaging 11 percent.

Glass/frit technology, which probably developed locally on the central Transjordanian plateau in the LB Age (McGovern 1985b), had virtually disappeared by Iron IA in the Baqʿah. Only one faience, two frit, and five beads of a dark red glass were found in Cave A4. The high amounts of iron oxide in the red glass (up to 50 percent by weight in contrast to the 5–10 percent content in LB red glass) suggested that they were reworked iron ore slag, which constituted a by-product from the contemporary iron (steel) industry.

By the early Iron Age, a very obvious shift was apparent in the three basic industries. The specific changes leading up to the transformed industries, however, had already begun to occur in the LB Age, and presumably some of the underlying causes of change were to be found in the earlier period as well. Moreover, the lack of traumatic injuries in the LB and early Iron populations, as well as the total lack of weapons in Cave A4, suggested that these changes had come about peacefully. Cultural continuity between the LB and early Iron periods was clear from the uninterrupted use of the same cemetery and the continuous occupation of Khirbet Umm ad-Danānīr into Iron IA (numerous surface sherds of the latter period were recovered, although excavated evidence is yet to be recovered, possibly because the Iron IA settlement was small in size).

The changes in the three basic industries (pottery, metals, and silicates) on the central Transjordanian plateau can best be understood within a framework of indigenous socioeconomic transformation (in contrast to the standard hypotheses for understanding the LB/early Iron transition: invasion, peaceful infiltration, or peasant revolt). The very isolation of the central Transjordanian plateau and the availability of certain raw materials there (e.g., copper, iron, and manganese ores) might account for some of the changes. Well-documented invasions elsewhere in Palestine, particularly along the coast toward the end of the LB Age, would also have had serious repercussions on the socioeconomic structure of city-states in the interior of the country. An even more general circumstance contributing to change would have been a gradual climatic deterioration with lower precipitation levels, beginning in LB II (Horowitz 1978; for Greece, see Betancourt 1976). With a contracting subsistence base, the symbiotic relation between transhumant and sendentary groups would have been seriously threatened.

If this reconstruction is correct, at least in its general outlines, then the LB city-state could not have survived. Many of those in the urban population, who would have been thrown out of work by economic dislocations, would have needed to seek out alternative means of support. The establishment of small outlying village communities, which have been documented in other parts of the hill country, and the contraction of larger settlements would be anticipated. The consolidation of technological advances in a frontier setting, even its accentuation as a manifestation of the "new culture," especially after the collapse of hierarchical control in the urban centers, would also be expected. For example, in the case of the highly innovative iron (steel) industry, one of the few known sources of iron ore in the Levant is located a short distance N of the Baqʿah in the Wadi Zarqa-Ajlun area, which appears to have been a hinterland in most periods. It may be hypothesized that native metalsmiths began to exploit some of the deposits in this area on a larger scale as a result of the disintegration of LB urban culture and the dispersal of the population (the large tracts of oak forest there could also have met the extensive fuel requirements of iron smelting).

**4. Iron IIC/Persian.** Numerous Iron IIC/Persian structures are scattered throughout the Baqʿah. Some of these are isolated buildings, primarily circular towers (*rujūm malfūf*); others form extensive complexes of large rectangular and square enclosures (*qasr* type) and *rujūm malfūf.*

Five Iron IIC/Persian sites were located by intensive surveying of the Umm ad-Danānīr region (sites 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 on Fig. BAQ.01). Apart from Khirbet Umm ad-Danānīr, all were constructed on bedrock outcrops in proximity to arable land. This accords with an interpretation of the buildings as primarily habitation quarters for the rural Ammonite population (Glueck 1939:163). The Iron IIC/Persian period appears to have been an especially prosperous one in Transjordan, and the spatial distribution of the sites implies a settlement pattern that maximally exploited available agricultural land and accommodated a growing population (McGovern 1985a).

The standard interpretation of the *qasr* and *rujūm malfūf* buildings as watchtowers or fortresses that protected approaches to Amman (Glueck 1970:183) does not rule out their use as farming communities or villas. Rujm al-Ḥenū West and Rujm al-Ḥāwī (sites 2 and 5) are virtually mirror images of one another, with circular towers facing the western pass and rectangular bastions opposite one another. They are equidistant from the main road, which probably follows the line of an ancient route, and as such are ideally situated to have served as border posts.

**5. Early Roman III.** Extensive building projects were carried out at Khirbet Umm ad-Danānīr during the Early Roman III period. In a 4 × 20 m area on a middle terrace of the site, a large structure of this

period emerged immediately below the surface. A central room of the building was characterized by a northern wall with seven orthostats, placed about 0.5 m apart and several still having the overlying stretchers in place. A representative collection of Early Roman III pottery and artifacts (including glass vessel and bracelet fragments, iron pins and rods, and limestone vessels of Herodian design) were recovered. Large Roman architectural elements were discovered further down the slope, and most of the visible remains on the lower terraces probably belong to this period (4 B.C.–A.D. 73).

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PATRICK E. MCGOVERN

**BAR KOKHBA.** The name given to Simon bar Kosiba, leader of the unsuccessful Jewish revolt against Rome ca. 132–135 C.E. Today the name is often used as an adjective to modify this "Second Jewish Revolt" or "Bar Kokhba Revolt" (the first being the Jewish War of 66–70 C.E.), as well as a cache of documents discovered in the Judean desert that were written at the time of this war, including some letters written by Simon himself (i.e., "Bar Kokhba Letters"). Rabbi Akiba, who considered Simon bar Kosiba to be the Messiah, called him "son of the star" (Aram *kôkbā*), perhaps suggesting a messianic interpretation of Num 24:17. In rabbinic writings the *s* in the name is usually changed to a *z* (bar Koziba), implying in derogatory fashion that Simon was regarded as "the son of a lie" (i.e., a liar).

## *BAR KOKHBA REVOLT*

Jewish armed resistance against Roman rule in Judea reached its culmination and exhausted itself in the Revolt of Bar Kokhba (132–35 C.E.). Great numbers of rebels participated in the insurrection, employing guerrilla tactics, and large reinforcements were needed to suppress it. The rebels were united under the leadership of one man:Simeon Bar Kokhba. The revolt resulted in the emergence of a short-lived independent state marked by the organization of local authorities, the issue of coinage, and the leasing of state land.

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A. Evidence
  1. Talmudic Sources
  2. Greek and Latin Sources
  3. Samaritan Chronicles
  4. Archaeological Exploration
B. Causes of the War
C. Prior Unrest
D. Course of the War
  1. The Geographical Scope of the Revolt
  2. Conquest of Jerusalem

3. The Roman Forces
E. Bar Kokhba, Leader of the Revolt
F. Aftermath

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**A. Evidence**

**1. Talmudic Sources.** The revolt of Bar Kokhba is mentioned rather extensively in Talmudic literature. Most references to the revolt are found in three groups: *j. Taʿan.* iv 68d–69b; *Lam. Rab.* ii 4; and *b. Giṭ.* 57a–58a. They focus on (1) Bar Kokhba's leadership; (2) the attitude of the sages toward the rebellion and Bar Kokhba himself; (3) the fall of Bethar; and (4) the aftermath of the revolt. Talmudic sources must be taken into account especially when considering the geographical scope of the war and the possible conquest of Jerusalem and the reconstruction of the temple by the rebels. For discussion see Alon 1980–84:430–60, 570–637; Schäfer 1981; Isaac and Oppenheimer 1985.

**2. Greek and Latin Sources.** The account of Cassius Dio forms the only consistent survey of the war, but the text is preserved only in the medieval epitome of Ioannes Xiphilinus, a monk of the 11th century (*D.C.* lxix 12.1–13, 111 15.1). It is to be noted also that this is a general description of the war, not a chronological account. It must also be noted that Xiphilinus produced not so much a *précis* of Dio's work as a selection usually but not always keeping to the original order and retaining much of Dio's wording. It is therefore quite likely that we have most of what Dio wrote on the subject. The *Historia Augusta* is the only source to mention a ban on circumcision preceding the revolt as the cause of the revolt (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae, vita Hadriani* 14.2). There are altogether four contemporary references to the war:Appianus, *Syriaca* 50.252; Fronto, *de bello Parthico* 2; Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio* 15.5; and Apollodorus of Damascus 8.10. The last does not even refer to the revolt specifically. Christian sources, remote in time and antagonistic toward the Jews, yet have features in common with the Talmudic sources:references (1) to Bar Kokhba as leader of the revolt, (2) to Tineius Rufus the legate of Judea, and (3) to the fall of Bethar (for the Greek and Latin sources see Stern 1980, nos. 332; 342; 353; 340).

**3. Samaritan Chronicles.** The Samaritan Chronicles have not been discussed systematically. They date to the Middle Ages and are very probably influenced by the relationship between Jews and Samaritans as it developed in the period after the revolt. See discussion by Alon 1980–84:603–7.

**4. Archaeological Exploration.** Archaeological evidence is immediately relevant for the study of the Bar Kokhba revolt, the more so given the paucity of literary sources. Particularly important is the coinage, now fully treated by L. Mildenberg (1984). Coin hoards help to determine the geographical scope of the revolt (Barag 1980:30–3). The great size of the Bar Kokhba coinage, and the quantities of coins issued, give an impression of the organization of the rebel government and of the population and the economy of Judea at the time of the revolt. The legends and symbols on the coins embody the only extant contemporary pronouncements of the values and objectives of the insurgents. Among the most spectacular discoveries are the hiding places in the Judean desert with personal belongings and documents of insurgents (see Bar Kokhba Letters below). Also of interest are the numerous subterranean hiding places, some of which were certainly used during the revolt of Bar Kokhba.

**B. Causes of the War**

The modern literature disagrees on the origins of the war. The following causes or combination of causes are found in recent publications:

(1) The revolt was caused by Hadrian's decision to transform Jerusalem into a pagan city, as stated by Cassius Dio.
(2) It was caused by a ban on circumcision as indicated in the *Historia Augusta.*
(3) These sources are combined. The revolt was then caused by the decision to found Aelia Capitolina and by a ban on circumcision.
(4) Hadrian declared, or was believed to have decided, that the temple in Jerusalem might be rebuilt. When it appeared that he would not permit this the Jews rebelled.

(5) Various scholars have suggested that the destruction of the temple created a psychological climate which led to renewed violence, irrespective of any decisions which may have formed the immediate cause of the revolt.
(6) It has been suggested that the economic situation contributed to the outbreak of the revolt (Alon 1980–84:572–77; Applebaum 1976:385–95).

Most scholars advocate the third alternative in one form or another. Several consider the foundation of Aelia Capitolina the sole cause of the revolt. The various opinions are listed in Isaac and Oppenheimer (1985:44–46). The alleged permission given by Hadrian to rebuild the temple, subsequently withdrawn, is not now ever considered a primary cause of the revolt, but some contemporary studies are not prepared to reject the theory absolutely and assume there may be some truth in it. In this connection the importance of the coinage must be emphasized. The coin legends "Jerusalem" and "For the Freedom of Jerusalem" and the design of the temple on the coinage are to be considered progammatic declarations (Mildenberg 1980:325; 1984:29–31). This evidence does not allow a determination as to whether Jerusalem was taken by the insurgents, but the coins are the only extant contemporary pronouncements regarding the values and objectives of the rebels. They provide clear evidence of the central importance of Jerusalem in the war.

Far more obscure is the testimony of the fifth Sibylline Oracle, composed by a Jew before the end of Hadrian's reign. Lines 46–50 contain praise of Hadrian which has been variously interpreted (1) as confirmation that Hadrian was popular among the Jews early in his reign (Alon 1980–84:453) or (2) as an indication of the attitude of the Jews toward Hadrian at the time of his visit in Judea in 130 C.E. (Bowersock 1980:134). Note also the different view of Schäfer 1981:48–50.

The date of the formal foundation of the Roman colony of Aelia Capitolina before the outbreak of the war can still be inferred only from the testimony of Cassius Dio. Archaeological excavations in Jerusalem have so far produced few remains of the Roman city and certainly do not allow any chronological conclusions as regards the foundation of the colony. Attempts to resolve the problem once and for all with the help of numismatic evidence are unconvincing (Mildenberg 1980:333). The lack of proof naturally does not justify conclusions to the contrary, for Cassius Dio still contains the only explicit pronouncement on the subject.

It may be added that the various opinions expressed in the modern literature on the causes of the revolt often reflected and still reflect varying attitudes toward the Roman empire, the Jewish people, and resistance to imperial authority. Another factor which often determines interpretations is the evaluation of Talmudic sources, considered by some unsuitable as historical source material, by others valuable if judiciously interpreted.

**C. Prior Unrest**

There is no historical source which offers a running account of the period between the first revolt in 70 C.E. and the Bar Kokhba war, and recourse must be had to Talmudic literature and isolated items such as inscriptions and archaeological material. It is likely that there existed a connection between the activities of the Jewish authorities at Jabneh and the outbreak of the revolt, notably their emphatic expectations of the speedy reconstruction of the temple and the unity of the Jewish people (Alon 1980–84:111–8; 253–65; 288–307). The fierce rebellion of the Jews in the Diaspora in 115–117 C.E. is well attested, but it is a matter of debate to what extent the Jews in Judea participated (Isaac and Oppenheimer 1985:50, n. 70). One Roman action is certain and may be relevant:the Roman garrison was strengthened well before the outbreak of the revolt, possibly in or after 117 C.E. (Isaac and Roll 1979:54–66). This definitely shows that the garrison left by Titus in 70 C.E. was insufficient after several decades and that there was serious unrest in Judea.

The only explicit statement in any historical source is again found in the work of Cassius Dio, who tells that preparations for the war were made during the period between Hadrian's visit to Judea (in 130 C.E.) and the outbreak of the revolt. The latter is dated 132 according to Eusebius' *Chronicle* (see Schürer *HJP²* 1:542, n. 126).

**D. Course of the War**

Given the paucity of literary sources, any attempt to describe the course of the war is speculative. We know nothing of the first stage of the revolt beyond the fact that it was successful enough for a provisional administration to function, as reflected in the documents discovered in the Judean desert. Another major project realized by the rebel government was the reissue of great quantities of local city coinage (Mildenberg 1984).

**1. The Geographical Scope of the Revolt.** The available evidence relates almost exclusively to Judea in the narrow and proper sense. A number of references in Talmudic sources may point to incidents in Galilee, but otherwise there is no clear proof that the war spread to that region. There is, however, no consensus on these matters (various opinions cited in Isaac and Oppenheimer 1985:53, n. 88). Nevertheless it is indisputable that all hoards containing Jewish coins of the revolt were discovered in Judea, notably in the Hebron mountains, west of Jerusalem, and in the Judean desert (Barag 1980). Further confirmation of the fact that the focus of rebellion was in Judea is found in Talmudic sources which contain enactments dealing with the acquisition by Jews of landed property, confiscated by the Romans *(siqārîqôn).* These were temporarily annulled in Judea, but not in Galilee. This is best explained by assuming that it was a response to large-scale land expropriations by the Romans. The intention was to preserve Jewish occupation of the land in Judea, while there was apparently no need for such measures in Galilee (*j. Giṭ.* v 47b).

After the revolt the focus of Jewish life was transferred to Galilee and the authorities established themselves at the village of Ushah (Alon 1980–84:663–80). The movement of refugees from Judea to Galilee is illustrated by the organization in settlements in Galilee of priestly courses which were in Judea in the period of the Second Temple (Klein 1967:62–68; Avi-Yonah 1962:137–9; Kahane 1978–79:9–29).

**2. Conquest of Jerusalem.** There is no decisive evidence to show whether Jerusalem was captured by the Jews in the revolt. The best source, Cassius Dio, is silent on the subject. Appianus and Christian authors lend support to the view that the city fell into Jewish hands and was reconquered by Roman troops (Appianus, *Syriaca* 50.252; Eusebius, *d.c.* vi 18.10; *h.e.* iv 5.2; v 12.1). The coin legend "For the Freedom of Jerusalem" has been explained as celebrating the capture of the city, and the legend "Jerusalem" has been interpreted as a mint indication. Both, however, may equally well be considered programmatic statements, expressing hopes or aims rather than achievements (Mildenberg 1984:29–31). Serious doubts are raised by the archaeological evidence, for in the excavations carried out in the Old City of Jerusalem since 1967 almost no coins of the Bar Kokhba revolt have been found (Applebaum 1976:27; more recent publications have not altered the validity of this observation).

**3. The Roman Forces.** Since there is no literary source which gives a full list, at least of the legions involved in the suppression in the revolt, we must have recourse to random information derived from epigraphic discoveries. As a result it is impossible to estimate the numbers of troops in Judea at any stage of the war (Schürer *HJP²* 1:547–9, n. 150; further references in Isaac and Oppenheimer 1985:56, n. 102). The governor of Judea at the outbreak of the war was Tineius Rufus (Eusebius, *h.e.* iv 6.1; *Chron. Hadr.* xvi; see also the Talmudic sources). He was a consular by that time (*HJP²* 1:518). Fronto, *de bello Parthico* 2, refers to great numbers of Roman soldiers killed under Hadrian in Britain (ca. 118 C.E.) and in the Jewish rebellion. Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio* 15.5, another contemporary author, mentions the Jewish war as the only event to disturb the peace in Hadrian's reign. Cassius Dio states that Hadrian sent his best officers to Judea under the supreme command of Julius Severus (lxix 13.2; cf. the career inscription *ILS* 1056) and also notes the great number of Roman casualties (14.3). Finally it may be considered certain that Hadrian himself traveled to Judea during the war. This may be inferred from Dio *(loc. cit.),* Hadrian writing to the Senate, and from a letter written by Appollodorus of Damascus to Hadrian about siege implements (Stern 1980:136, no. 322; also:Jerome, in *Joel* i 4; *Chronicon Paschale* i). It is proved by several inscriptions: *ILS* 1065, which mentions Q. Lollius Urbicus as legate of Hadrian; and *CIL* vi 974, which refers to Hadrian himself. Finally there is evidence of the participation of praetorian cohorts in the war which presumably indicates that these accompanied the emperor to Judea (*ILS* 2081).

**E. Bar Kokhba, Leader of the Revolt**

It is no coincidence that the revolt of Bar Kokhba was the only Jewish war fought against foreign rule in antiquity to have been named after one leader (for instance: *S. Olam Rab.*:"the war of Ben Koziba"). In Talmudic sources he is given the titles *nāśîʾ* ("ruler" or "prince") and "Messiah," and the years of his reign are described as "kingship" (for instance, *b. Sanh.* 97b). In his letters he assumes the title *nĕśîʾ yiśraʾēl,* and on coins he appears as "*šimʿôn nĕśîʾ yiśrāʾēl.*" The title *nāśîʾ* has been interpreted in various ways. It has been explained as denoting a limited form of authority, lower in status than that of king and comparable to that of ethnarch, the title of the first Hasmonaean rulers (Alon 1980–84:622). Others assume that it refers to the ideal king as in Ezekiel's vision of the end of Days (Oppenheimer 1982:51).

R. Akiba declared of Bar Kokhba, "This is the King Messiah" (*j. Taʿan.* iv 68d; cf. *Lam. Rab.* ii 4). The role of messiah, attributed to him, has also been variously interpreted as a divine and supernatural savior and redeemer, and as a general and leader of ordinary human stature whose title merely emphasizes his royal rank (see Oppenheimer 1983, with further references).

Bar Kokhba is not mentioned by Cassius Dio or in the *Historia Augusta.* In literary sources he appears only in Talmudic literature and in Christian sources. These describe him as a murderer and a bandit, but at the same time they attribute to him miracles and supernatural signs (Eusebius, *h.e.* iv 6, 2; Jerome, *Apol.* in *Libr. Rufini* iii 31; and Alon 1980–84:ii.34).

Talmudic sources refer to Bar Kokhba ambivalently. On the one hand they emphasize his legendary strength, R. Akiba's admiration for him, and even his obedience to the sages. On the other, they criticize his addresses to God, "Do not help and do not humiliate," and it is said that he was put to death by the sages when it appeared that he was a false messiah. The Talmud recalls him as Ben Koziba, "son of a lie," a pejorative play on his actual name, Bar/Ben Kosiba (as found in the Bar Kokhba letters). He apparently was designated Bar Kokhba, "son of a star," (a messianic designation) by his supporters.

Bar Kokhba's letters, discovered in the Judean desert, give a partial but genuine impression of his personality. He seems to have been a forceful general and ruler who dealt in person with details of discipline and daily life in his army units. His leadership extended beyond the sphere of military matters, for part of his letters are concerned with the leasing of lands on his behalf. It can be seen that he insisted on the observance of religious commandments such as those of the Sabbath, the four types of tree branches for *sūkkôt* (the Feast of Tabernacles), and precepts connected with the produce of the land.

**F. The Aftermath**

Talmudic literature gives vivid and extensive descriptions of the horrors of the Jewish defeat, and much is written about the bitter fate of the besieged at Bethar (*j. Taʿan.* iv 69a; *Lam. Rab.* ii 4; archaeological evidence from the "Cave of Horrors," Aharoni 1962:186–99). Cassius Dio emphasizes the extent of the destruction in Judea, the numbers of those fallen in battle and the destruction of forts and settlements. After the revolt the Romans issued a series of disciplinary decrees, the nature of which has been much debated (Herr 1972; Lieberman 1939–44; 1975; Schäfer 1981:194–235).

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## *BAR KOKHBA LETTERS*

The Bar Kokhba Letters are autograph letters and documents written in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, which were discovered in caves W of the Dead Sea between 1950 and 1965. Some were actually written by Simon bar Kosiba, leader of the Second Jewish Revolt (ca. 132–135 C.E.), and all constitute important sources for this historical event.

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A. Introduction and History of the Finds
B. Description and Contents
C. Historical Significance
1. Course of the War
2. Administration of Israel
3. Prosopography

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### A. Introduction and History of the Finds

It is a rare and transporting occurrence in the study of the ancient world when one comes face to face with new and unquestionably genuine material written by a known historical figure. Yet that is what has happened in the case of the legendary leader of the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome, Bar Kokhba—and not just once, but several times. Classical and rabbinic sources had provided some information on this man and the war, usually dated 132–135 C.E. But the Greek and Latin authors had no interest in the details of the conflict, about which they were silent. The rabbinic sources added little in the way of solid historical facts; they incarnated a minimal skeleton of fact with the flesh of fantasy and legend. Thus there was tremendous excitement when, beginning in the early 1950s and continuing for about a decade, documentary materials from the time of Bar Kokhba came to light. It is necessary to consider the letters in the context of all of these materials for reasons which will become clear.

Written materials from caves in the Wadi Murabba‘at began to turn up in Jerusalem late in 1951. An archaeological expedition was mounted to explore four caves between 21 January and 21 March 1952. Along with significant biblical manuscripts, documents written in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and Arabic were discovered. These documents spanned the period from the 1st century C.E. to about the 10th century, but by far the most important ones date to the time of the Second Revolt. In addition to a number of letters from Bar Kokhba to his lieutenants, contracts written during his regime or just prior to it shed significant light on the situation at the time of the war. Without them the already enigmatic letters would be even more difficult to interpret.

At this same time, Bedouin had discovered and now offered for sale additional materials related to the revolt. The find spot for these materials was for long a mystery, but it later was discovered that Bedouin had pilfered one or more caves in the Wadi Seiyal (Naḥal Ṣeelim). They apparently also had found materials in the nearby caves of Wadi Ḫabra (Naḥal Ḥever). Naḥal Ṣeelim was explored by Israeli archaeologists between 24 January and 2 February 1960, but the documentary finds were extremely fragmentary. Archaeologists also investigated Naḥal Ḥever during a two-week campaign in 1960 and

again in the spring of 1961. The discoveries here were spectacular. One of the caves, known as the "Cave of Letters," yielded three separate collections of documents. The first was a packet of fifteen letters, many from Bar Kokhba himself but some from subordinates, to military leaders in charge at En-Gedi. This was an important military site in the Second Revolt located four and one-half km N of the caves. A second group of materials, the "Archive of the En-Gedites," comprises a group of six contracts concerned with the leasing of state lands. These are written in Hebrew and Aramaic. The third group of documents from the Cave of Letters was the archive of Babatha daughter of Simeon. This group numbered 36 or 37 (the number is uncertain because of unplaceable fragments), and deals with property and litigation concerned with Babatha and her family. The dates span the years 93/94–132 C.E., and the documents are in Nabatean, Aramaic, and Greek. Although Babatha lived most of her life in Maoza, in the Roman province of Arabia, at the outbreak of the war she evidently fled to En-Gedi and, eventually, to the cave where her archive was unearthed.

Many of these materials are still not fully published. All the Murabba‹at texts were published in volume two of the series *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert.* Texts 42–48 are Bar Kokhba letters, and numbers 49–52 may be also, but are so fragmentary that a certain identification of their genre is not impossible. The fifteen letters from Naḥal Ḥever have not been published. One must rely on prepublication descriptions, which contain significant excerpts. The Greek materials of the Babatha archive are now available, while the Semitic materials from that group are expected to be published by 1992.

**B. Description and Contents**

The Bar Kokhba letters thus derive from two different find spots, the caves of Murabba‹at and Naḥal Ḥever. They number 22 (or perhaps as many as 26 depending on the identification of Mur 49–52) and are written in three languages, Hebrew eleven, Aramaic eight, and Greek two (Ḥev 13 is so fragmentary that it is uncertain whether it is in Hebrew or Aramaic). With one exception, where an addressee is identifiable, those from Murabba‹at involve a man named Yeshua b. Galgula, who is designated by Mur 42 as "camp commander." The only missive which does not concern him is Mur 46, addressed to one Yose b. x (patronym lost) from Yonatan b. MḤNYM (vocalization of patronym unknown). It may be that Yose was an underling of Galgula's, for it seems likely that the letters of the Murabba‹at cave were brought there by Galgula or his family. The letters from Naḥal Ḥever, again with one exception, also have an obvious common denominator in their addressee, Yehonatan b. Ba‹yan (also spelled Ba‹yah). Most of the letters also mention Masabala b. Shimon, but as Ḥev 4, 5, 6 and 9 omit his name, it seems likely that this collection is Yehonatan's rather than Masabala's. These two men were co-commanders of the military forces centered in En-Gedi; perhaps Yehonatan was the senior officer, thus explaining why some matters did not involve Masabala. In the case of both groups of letters, from Murabba‹at and from Naḥal Ḥever, the great majority were sent by Bar Kokhba or, as the letters reveal, Shimon b. Kosiba (his real name). Mur 42, 46, and 48 are exceptions to this generalization, as are Ḥev 6 and perhaps Ḥev 3. The latter was sent by a man called Soumaios, a Hellenized form of the Hebrew name *Shimon.* The doubt as to the sender's identity arises because in another Greek letter Bar Kokhba's name is simply rendered Simon (a second way in which Greek could handle the Heb *Shimon*). Since Ḥev 3 is addressed to Yehonatan and Masabala in the manner of superior to inferior, however, and since a position of superiority is one that a "Shimon" other than Bar Kokhba is unlikely to have occupied given the considerable authority of the addressees, it is probable that "Soumaios" was simply one scribe's way of rendering his leader's name. Ḥev 3 is therefore likely to be from Shimon b. Kosiba.

The letters for the most part concern relatively trivial matters; there is no clear mention of a specific battle, for example, in a way which would enable scholars to coordinate the letters with information from classical and rabbinic sources. Further, not a single letter bears a date. The relevance of the matters which are raised to the course of the war will be considered below. The following table schematizes the addressee, sender, concerns, and language of each letter.

Table 1. An Overview of the Bar Kokhba Letters

| *Designation* | *To* | *From* | *Language* | *Concerns* |
|---|---|---|---|---|

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mur 42 | Yeshua b. Galgula Camp commander | Yeshua b. Eleazar Eleazar b. Yehosef | Heb | Ownership of cow |
| Mur 43 | Yeshua b. Galgula | Shimon b. Kosiba | Heb | Treatment of “Galileans” |
| Mur 44 | Yeshua b. Galgula | Shimon | Heb | Shipment of wheat |
| Mur 45 | —— | —— | Heb | Food shortage; death in fighting |
| Mur 46 | Yose b. [ ] | Yonatan b. MḤNYM | Heb | Difficulties of [ ] bar Eliezer |
| Mur 47 | —— | —— | Heb | A matter in Tekoa (?) |
| Mur 48 | —— | [ ] b. Yohanne | Heb | Uncertain |
| Ḥev 1 | Yehonatan Masabala | Shimeon b. Kosiba | Aram | Confiscation of wheat; punishment of Tekoans for repairing homes; arrest of Yeshua b. Tadmoraya |
| Ḥev 2 | Yehonatan (?) Masabala (?) | Shimon b. Kosiba | Aram | Uncertain |
| Ḥev 3 | Yehonatan b. Baʿyan Masabala | Soumaios | Gk | Gathering of citrons by one Agrippa |
| Ḥev 4 | Yehonatan b. Baʿyan | Shimon b. Kosiba | Aram | Yehonatan is to assist one Elisha in all he does |
| Ḥev 5 | Yehonatan | —— | Heb | Mentions the “people of En Gedi” |
| Ḥev 6 | Yehonatan | Ananos (Hanan) | Gk | Sending of supplies to troops; Hanan transmits order from B. Kokhba |
| Ḥev 7 | (very badly preserved) | Shimon b. Kosiba | Heb | Uncertain |
| Ḥev 8 | Yehonatan b. Baʿyan Masabala b. Shimon | Shimon b. Kosiba | Aram | Sending of Eleazar b. Hitta to B. Kokhba immediately |
| Ḥev 9 | Yehonatan | Shimon b. Kosiba (?) | Heb | Uncertain |
| Ḥev 10 | Yonatan Masabala | Shimon | Aram | Sending supplies to camp(s) |
| Ḥev 11 | Yehonatan b. Baʿyan Masabala | Shimon b. Kosiba | Aram | Mentions Romans; requires the two to come to Shimon and bring Thyriss b. Tinianus; mentions a rabbi, Bitniya b. Mesa |
| Ḥev 12 | The men of En Gedi Masabala Yehonatan b. Baʿyan | Shimon b. Kosiba | Heb | Negligence of addressees; mentions a ship |
| Ḥev 13 | Masabala (?) + (?) very fragmentary | —— | ? | —— |
| Ḥev 14 | Yehonatan Masabala | Shimon b. Kosiba | Aram | Mobilization or punishment of Tekoans refusing to fight |
| Ḥev 15 | Yehudah b. Manasseh | Shimon | Aram | Gathering of the four “kinds” for Feast of Tabernacles |

**C. Historical Significance**

It is commonly remarked that the Second Revolt lacked a historian such as the First Revolt possessed in Josephus, author of *Bellum Judaicum.* This remark may be a little naive if it means to suggest that by virtue of Josephus the course of events in the First Revolt (66–74 C.E.) is entirely clear, but it contains a basic truth:we are almost entirely ignorant about the Bar Kokhba rebellion. Basic questions such as the causes of the outbreak, the geographical extent of the conflict, and even the dates of the war are impossible to answer definitively because of lack of evidence. The Bar Kokhba letters are teasers in regard to these questions:scholars may feel that by reading between the lines, it will be possible to deduce something more than the immediate exigencies which provoked their composition.

Thus the scholarly literature on the war is replete with speculations of varying plausibility. The fact remains that in spite of the discovery of the letters and the contracts which often help in their understanding, it is not possible to write a history of the Second Revolt. Still, the letters and accompanying documents do shed considerable light on certain limited aspects of the situation. Among other things they illumine the course of the war, the administration under Bar Kokhba, and the prosopography of those involved in the conflict—but even here scholars are often divided on how to understand the new evidence.

**1. The Course of the War.** According to the ancient historian Cassius Dio, the war between Rome and the Jews was the result of the Emperor Hadrian's attempt to build a shrine to the Roman god Jupiter Capitolinus on the site of the ruined Jewish temple to Yahweh. The effort was in connection with the emperor's rather aggressive policy of building Hellenistic cities throughout the eastern portions of the empire. The *Life of Hadrian,* on the other hand, attributes the outbreak of the conflict to Hadrian's prohibition of castration which, in Roman eyes, included "half-hearted" efforts such as circumcision. Many scholars think that these two suggested causes ought to be understood as complementary rather than mutually exclusive; indeed, this seems a reasonable interpretation. Typically, Greco-Roman sources do not mention another aspect of the Jewish situation which may well have been equally significant in provoking conflict:messianic speculation and eschatological calculations. It is said in rabbinic literature that Rabbi Akiba, one of Bar Kokhba's principal supporters, was among the *měḥaššěbê ʾittōt,* "calculators of the (end) times." In other words, he was taken up with messianic speculations and the attempt to calculate when the Messiah would appear based on hints in the Scriptures. The pseudepigraphic work *Apocalypse of Baruch,* now extant only in Syriac, is a writing from the period immediately after the destruction of the temple in 69 C.E., one with many connections to rabbinic Judaism in terms of concept and legal interpretations. It is therefore not unreasonable to suggest that it represents the type of thinking which was going on in some circles of nascent rabbinic Judaism in the period between the revolts. The dominant typology of *Baruch* involves the temple:it draws parallels between the destruction of the first temple at the time of Jeremiah and that of the second in 69 C.E. Just as there was a rebuilding of the first temple under Ezra and Nehemiah 70 years after its destruction, *Baruch* promises a future rebuilding, a third temple, to inaugurate messianic times. For a people saturated in scriptural knowledge such as these circles of ancient Jewry, who were convinced of such typologies, it was natural to think that another seventy-year period would be involved. And thus the date of the outbreak of the revolt is perhaps connected to an understanding of its causes:here the Bar Kokhba material may be helpful.

Scholars usually prefer the dates Cassius Dio supplies for the revolt, 132–135 C.E., to those of other ancient sources. Mur 24 appears to confirm the first date. This document belongs to the genre of lease contract known in Greek as *diastrōma;* examples have long been known from the Oxyrhynchus papyri of Egypt. Mur 24 specifies in lines 9 and 10 that the lease is to last "until the end of the eve of Remission, which is five full fiscal years." Since the document is dated "the twentieth of Shebat, the second year of (the era of) the redemption of Israel by Shimon b. Kosiba, Prince of Israel," it must have been composed in the second year of the seven-year sabbatical cycle. Earlier sabbath years are known, making it possible to affirm that 131/132 C.E. was the first year of the cycle and, therefore, this document was written in early February 134; concomittantly, the revolt must have begun in 132/133. It is not known whether the years of the revolt were dated from Nisan, the first month of the Jewish year for some functions, or from

Tishri, the seventh month but considered the first for other functions. Mur 24 is not the earliest dated document among those of Bar Kokhba's era—that honor belongs to Ḥev 42, which dates to April 132 C.E.

Given that the temple in Jerusalem had been destroyed in 69 C.E. and that, on the basis of a "seventy-year" typology, the next would be built in 139 C.E., it appears that the revolt broke out seven years prior to what some expected to be the dawn of the messianic era. Seven is, of course, a number pregnant with significance in eschatological speculation, and one might suspect that such passages as Dan 9:24–27 and the prophecy of "Seventy Weeks" helped guide those calculating the end. The Bar Kokhba materials thus support the suggestion that eschatological fervor fueled the outbreak of the war, confirming the possible relationship between the war's outbreak and the expected dawn, after a seven-year period of "tribulation," of messianic peace.

With regard to the end of the war, Greco-Roman evidence is not specific. The few known facts seem to require that it ended in late 135 C.E. The Bar Kokhba materials accord with such a date. The latest dated document is Mur 30, written in October 135. The place where it was written is not fully preserved, but what can be read fuels another debate about the Second Revolt for which the Bar Kokhba materials are relevant: whether the rebels ever succeeded in capturing Jerusalem.

Little doubt attaches to the question whether the rebellion aimed at the conquest of Jerusalem. Coins minted by the rebels amply demonstrate the significance of the city in contemporary ideology. They picture numerous images connected with the sacrificial cultus, which had apparently ceased with the defeat of the First Revolt. Some coins bear the inscriptions *yršlm,* "Jerusalem," or more fully *lḥrwt yrwšlm,* "of the freedom of Jerusalem." That they sought to capture the city, indeed, that its capture from the Roman occupiers was perhaps the preminent goal of the warriors under Bar Kokhba, is not at issue. But did they succeed? On this point scholarly opinion is divided.

Against the possibility of conquest is the silence of the best ancient authority, Cassius Dio. Also weighing on the side of the negative is the numismatic evidence. Almost no coins of the Bar Kokhba period have been discovered in Jerusalem, in face of the relatively numerous hoards known from elsewhere in Judea. But this negative evidence, significant as it is, may not be enough to decide the issue. Christian authors of the patristic period are unanimous in asserting that Jewish forces took the city and that the Romans eventually won it back. And two of the Bar Kokhba documents seem to confirm this assertion.

Mur 29, inscribed in August/September 133, says that it was transacted *b[ ] šlym*. Apparently only two letters are missing, probably spelling *byršlym,* "in Jerusalem" (similarly Mur 30, dating as noted to October 135). The reading is unfortunately broken, but it is not apparent what toponym could fit the letters which remain, other than "Jerusalem." (One must be cautious about being overly assertive on this point, however, for the documents under discussion have revealed quite a few previously unknown toponyms.) Also in favor of the view that the rebels held Jerusalem at some point in the war is the evidence of the dating formulas used in the Bar Kokhba contracts and, in modified form, on the coins.

The full form of the standard dating formula was seldom used. Usually contracts would abbreviate by dropping one or more elements. All the contracts would begin, however, with a notation of the day, month, and year of the Bar Kokhba era. A contract from Kefar Baru may provide the best example of the full form. After noting day, month, and year it reads "of the Freedom of Israel at the hands of Shimon ben Kosiba, Prince of Israel." Other contracts, and coins, read "of the Redemption of Israel." The coins and contracts use either "redemption" or "freedom" capriciously, so that, contrary to what was once believed, nothing can be inferred from these terms as to the ideology or progress of the war. One contract, Mur 25, reads "year three of the Freedom of Jerusalem." Taking all this evidence together, it appears that the Bar Kokhba era was dated alternately by "the Freedom of Jerusalem," the "Freedom of Israel," or "the Redemption of Israel." (The dated contracts so far known are, from earliest to latest, Ḥev 42, Mur 22, Mur 23, Mur 24, Mur 29, Kefar Baru, Mur 25, Ḥev 44, Ḥev 45–46, Ḥev 47, "Kefar Bebayu" [now known to come from Kefar Baru], and Mur 30.) The implication of this prosaic dating phraseology is therefore that there existed an equivalence between the freedom of Israel and that of Jerusalem. The formulas thus suggest that the war began with an uprising led by Bar Kokhba which liberated Jerusalem and began the

new era by occupying the city. If the readings in Mur 29 and 30 are indeed referring to Jerusalem, then it would seem that the city was in the hands of the rebels for a substantial portion of the war. It is possible, of course, that this period was punctuated by one or more Roman reconquests of the city. But it would seem that, toward the end of the war, the city was under rebel control for long enough to provide some feeling of security. This impression arises from two of the Bar Kokhba letters, Ḥev 3 and Ḥev 15, which apparently belong together.

Ḥev 3 is written in Greek and follows Greek epistolographic conventions. It reads in full:

> Soumaios to Jonathan son of Baianos and to Masabala, greetings: I already sent Agrippa to you. Make haste to send me … and citrons. And he [Agrippa] will transport these things back to the headquarters of the Jews. And be sure you do so! It was written in Greek because no one was found [was able?] to write it in "Hebrew." Dismiss him very speedily in view of the festival. And be sure you do so! Soumaios. Farewell. [author's translation]

Ḥev 15 is written in Aramaic and, accordingly, follows the conventions then governing Hebrew and Aramaic letters. It reads:

> Shimon to Yehudah bar Menasseh, at Qiryat Arabayah. I have sent to you two donkeys that you should send with them two men to Yehonatan bar Baʿyan and Masabala. They are to load them with branches and citrons and send them to the camp, to you. As for you, send other men to bring to you myrtles and willows. Prepare them (= tithe them?) and send them to the camp (i.e., to Shimon) because the men comprising the forces are numerous. Be well. [author's translation]

It is impossible to be certain of the relation of these letters to one another, if indeed they are referring to the same situation. One scenario which seems to make sense is to assume that Shimon wrote the Greek letter first. Yehonatan and Masabala carried out their orders and sent branches and citrons to the main camp of the Jews located, perhaps, at Jerusalem. There the forces were about to celebrate the Festival of Tabernacles—those who could be spared and could disengage the Romans for a week or so. Shimon had previously arranged to get myrtles and willows, the other two of the "four kinds" used in the celebration, elsewhere. As men (with their families?) continued to arrive, however, it became evident that not enough of the four kinds had been gathered, so Shimon sent a letter to Yehudah b. Menasseh to arrange for more to be sent. Other interpretations are equally cogent, but the important point is this: Shimon b. Kosiba, a man known from other letters as a Jew who adhered strictly to the legal requirements of Jewish observance, was about to celebrate the Festival of Tabernacles.

In addition to the procession bearing the four kinds, the Feast of Tabernacles was distinctive in two regards:like Passover and Pentecost, it was a pilgrimage festival; adult males were required to journey to Jerusalem. Second, it required the most burnt offerings of any occasion of the religious calendar. While by the time of Bar Kokhba it was perhaps not always legally necessary to journey to Jerusalem, it was always desirable. If offerings were to be made, they, of course, could be made nowhere else. Thus it is likely that at the time of these two letters Jewish forces controlled Jerusalem, although, as noted, it is not absolutely certain. We are ignorant of precisely how the feast was to be celebrated.

Assuming the reading of Mur 30 is indeed "Jerusalem," then it is clear that Bar Kokhba was in control of the city at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles (Tishri 15–22) in the year 135. Do the two letters date from that year, the only year in which there is direct evidence of Jewish control of the city at the time of the festival? Again, the data are of uncertain interpretation, but it appears that the answer is no.

Both letters come from Naḥal Ḥever and, presumably, the "papers" of Yehonatan b. Baʿyan. It appears that b. Menasseh had sent his letter on to Yehonatan and Masabala as an explanation of his requirements from them. Now, among the Ḥever materials no document thus far published postdates Ḥev 47, a contract of January 135, some eight months before Tabernacles of that year. During this year, the last of the revolt, Roman forces were presumably wiping out the last centers of Jewish resistance. Thus it seems likely that En Gedi, Yehonatan's village, had already been conquered before Tabernacles of 135—a date which is, after all, at most two months prior to the end of the revolt.

Thus, from this rather lengthy excursus, it would seem that the letters pertain to the year 134 or perhaps earlier. Since according to Mur 29, rebel forces apparently held Jerusalem in late August of 133—only a

short time before the Festival of that year—the letters may refer to that occasion. The problem with that hypothesis is that the other Bar Kokhba letters addressed to En Gedi seem to presuppose a deteriorating situation in which the men of Tekoa, for example, have lost heart and refuse to support the now clearly failing rebellion. If this intuition is correct, and if the En Gedi letters all date to the last months before it fell to the Romans, then once again we are back to the year 134. And if so, then we may perceive Jewish control of Jerusalem at the beginning of the revolt in 132, in August 133, in October 134, and in October 135. The implication is of a rather lengthy Jewish control of the capital city whose loss signaled the ultimate failure of the revolt.

The Bar Kokhba materials also indicate something of the geographical extent of the war. Taken together with the findings of archaeology and the numismatic evidence, it appears that the revolt was very largely, if not entirely, confined to Judea. Thus the mention of "Galileans" in Mur 43 should not be understood to imply any large-scale hostilities to the north. The reference is probably to Jews from Galilee who had joined the efforts in the south and who now required discipline.

**2. Administration of Israel.** Indirectly, and if one or two reasonable assumptions are admitted, the Bar Kokhba materials reveal a considerable amount about the political administration during the period 132–135 C.E. It is perhaps fortuitous that among the names which are prominent either in these materials or in the little evidence we possess from classical sources, there are several which served as the capitals of toparchies in the time of the First Revolt and, apparently, in the period which led up to the Second Revolt. Josephus, in *JW* 3.54–55, provides a list of the toparchies in his time, and there one finds, among others, Jerusalem, the central toparchy; Acraba; Herodium; Beth Gubrin (very near Betar, the site of the final battle of the war); and En Gedi. One of the two toparchies of Peraea, Livias, is mentioned prominently in Papyrus Yadin 37 (part of Babatha's archive). In addition, new discoveries in the caves at Ketef Jericho from the time of the revolt may suggest that Jericho, another toparchy mentioned by Josephus, was still functioning as such under b. Kosiba.

Of course, the mere mention of these localities in the Bar Kokhba materials does not alone indicate that he had taken over the administrative machinery he found operating under the Romans. But the evidence that he did so consists of more than mere names. He appears to have taken over imperial lands which had belonged to Hadrian and to have continued the system of leasing them which the Romans employed. For example, in Mur 24, several men lease lands from the administrator in Herodium, a man named Hillel b. Garis. These lands were in a village by the name of ʿIr Naḥaš of uncertain location. It is clear that the men had to travel to Herodium in order to transact the lease and, therefore, it would seem that it was the capital of a toparchy for at least a part of the war. Later it may have fallen, for while Mur 47, presumably addressed to Yeshua b. Galgula, appears to require him to act in Tekoa (as one would expect the commander of nearby Herodium to do), both Ḥev 1 and 14 direct the attention of the commanders of En Gedi to matters there. Presumably such would not have been necessary if Herodium still functioned. We know from Mur 24 that it was still in Jewish hands in February 134, but later in that year Tekoa was administered from En Gedi. In addition to larger capitals of toparchies, there were smaller centers of bureaucracy as well.

At each administrative center b. Kosiba appears to have appointed one or more "civilian" administrators to lease the state-held lands. These were designated in Hebrew by the term *parnās,* and in Aramaic, if our inference is correct, by *šāṭĕrâ.* The names of a number of such officials are known from the letter and contracts. The administrators of Beth Mashiko near Herodium (?) were Yeshua b. Eleazer and Eleazer b. Yehosef, the men who sent Mur 42 to b. Galgula. In the first year of the revolt the administrators of state lands in En Gedi were Yehonatan b. MḤNYM and Ḥorin b. Ishmael. By the third year only Yehonatan is mentioned in Ḥev 44–46. It appears that Ḥorin was removed or killed in battle. Ḥev 1 mentions a Ḥanun b. Ishmael who is in trouble with b. Kosiba because of some dealings involving wheat. If the two men were brothers—an uncertain point, since about two percent of Jewish men bore the name Ishmael—then perhaps Ḥorin was guilty, with his brother, of malfeasance. At Herodium Hillel b. Garis apparently functioned as *parnās,* although he is not so called. At Kefar Baru, located perhaps in Transjordan near Machaerus, Eleazer b. Eleazar is called a *šāṭĕrâ,* and sells a house (his own, not one belonging to the

state). Just north of Beth Gubrin, an archaeological survey has discovered a lead plaque which reads, "Bar Kosiba, Prince of Israel, and his administrator, Shimon DSWY, one half."

In addition to these civilian administrators who leased out the vast estates to which b. Kosiba had fallen heir, there were military commanders in charge of "camps." Yeshua b. Galgula was one such, apparently stationed at Herodium. Yehonatan and Masabala were the two in En Gedi. Yehudah b. Menasseh of Ḥev 15 was apparently another, as may have been Ananos of the Greek letter Ḥev 6 (= Ḥanun b. Ishmael of Ḥev 1?). These men were in charge of military operations; from the surviving letters they seem to have been greatly involved with problems of supplies, especially of wheat. En Gedi served as b. Kosiba's port, wheat coming thence across the Dead Sea. Yehonatan and Masabala saw to it that it was sent where it was needed. From Mur 42 one may deduce that civilian administrators were subordinate to the military commanders of camps.

**3. Prosopography.** Space permits only a brief indication of the application of the Bar Kokhba finds to this aspect of 2d century Palestine. Actually, prosopographical analysis of these texts is difficult and risky because of the fact that so many Jews of both sexes bore the same overwhelmingly common names. It is comparable to a situation in which seventy or eighty per cent of all male Americans would be named Tom, Dick, Harry, Mike, John, or Jim. How can one decide which Tom is the one in question in a given text? In spite of this obstacle, some insights are possible.

First, we now know, as indicated, the real name of the leader of the revolt. From Christian texts we had known him as Bar Kokhba, "the son of the star." Rabbinic texts call him Bar Koziba, "the son of the Liar." It is now clear that both these appellations are puns on Bar Kosiba's given name. "Bar Kokhba" refers to his messianic claims, which are evident, for example, in the star depicted on some of his coins. The reference is to Num 24:7, "a star shall arise from Jacob," a traditional messianic text. The rabbinic pun is, of course, reaction to the failure of the revolt.

His letters reveal b. Kosiba as a man involved in the small details of affairs in the various camps. They show him to be a man of piety in the sense of legal observance, and of harsh threats. The degree to which this messianic claimant had to resort to threats to get his own men to carry out his orders is both surprising and revealing. He seems to have commanded little awe from his peers, although ordinary soldiers may have been more impressed. And, of course, it must be remembered that most or all of the letters date from a period in the revolt when it was becoming clear to all but the most idealistic of the faithful that the war could not be won.

From the Babatha materials it seems that she was related to the military commander of En Gedi, Yehonatan b. Baʿyan. Babatha was married twice in her short life (she probably did not live to be older than 30), and the second of her husbands came from En Gedi. Upon his death she inherited property there, and the descriptions of those holdings give us some insight into the topography of the village. The legal materials belonging to her also reveal her to have been a woman of some wealth. Given her relation to Yehonatan b. Baʿyan, one may hazard that he, too, was a relatively wealthy individual and that their family was one of the leading families of En Gedi. Yehonatan could apparently read all three languages—Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic—which were in common use among the Jews of Palestine. If his appointment as camp commander is paradigmatic, then we may conclude that b. Kosiba drew his administrators and highest military officers from the village upper classes and families of elders. The ordinary soldiers of his army may have been more like Eleazar b. Hashiloni, Ḥalifa b. Yehosef, and Naqalah b. Yehonatan, three illiterates who leased land in Mur 24 but were unable to sign their own names.

In addition to the aspects of their study here discussed, the Bar Kokhba letters and related materials contain precious information on many other areas of ancient Palestinian life which space precludes discussing. These areas include sociolinguistics, legal and religious practice, Roman administration, and the economics of early 2d century Palestine. While they leave many questions unanswered and frustrate scholars who wish to pull the veil back a little further, they are a priceless legacy of the ancient world.

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**BAR KOSIBA.** See BAR KOKHBA.

**BAR-JESUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Bariēsoûs* (Βαριησοῦς)]. A magician, also called a "Jewish false prophet" (Acts 13:6), in the court of Sergius Paulus, proconsul of Cyprus at Paphos. When Sergius Paulus requested to hear Paul and Barnabas, Bar-Jesus opposed them, which resulted in his being struck blind at Paul's denouncement. He is called a false prophet because of his opposition to the message of Paul and Barnabas rather than his association with the practice of magic. In his denunciation, Paul called Bar-Jesus "son of the devil," a play on his name, "son of Jesus." The element *bar* is Aramaic for "son" (Acts 13:10). Bar-Jesus was also known as ELYMAS, a name sometimes interpreted to mean "magician," based on the statement in Acts 13:8. The awkward phrasing in 13:8, however, is likely meant to identify Bar-Jesus with Elymas rather than suggesting Elymas means "magician."

FRANK E. WHEELER

**BARABBAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Barabbas* (Βαραββας)]. The name "Barabbas" occurs in all four Gospels for the criminal chosen by the crowd—at the prompting of the priests, in preference to Jesus Christ—for Pilate to release on the feast of the Passover. His name does not occur elsewhere in the NT, and there is no extra-biblical account of his activities leading up to the biblical account, nor of his subsequent history.

"Barabbas" is evidently the Gk rendering of an Aram name, although the precise origin is debated. Most scholars suggest that it is a patronymic derived from Bar Abba, "son of Abba." Some suggest that Barabbas' father was named "Abba." Although no written evidence exists for the use of Abba as a personal name in Jesus' day, a contemporary of Johanan ben Zakkai (ca. A.D. 75) was so named (*m. Peʿa* ii. e), and thereafter the evidence for the use of Abba as a personal name is quite conclusive (Abrahams 1924:201–2). Others suggest that Barabbas was the son of a well-known rabbi, because "Abba" was used for esteemed scholars and rabbis. There are even some codices with a double "*r*" in the name, suggesting the possibility that Barabbas is derived from Bar Rabba (n), meaning "son of a teacher." A less likely suggestion is that Barabbas finds its origin as a disguised abbreviation for the venerated name Abraham ("son of Abraham").

An interesting variant occurs in Matt 27:16–7, where he is called "Jesus Barabbas." While extant manuscript evidence is weak, Origen implies that most manuscripts in his day (*ca.* A.D. 240) included the full name. Many scholars today accept the full name in Matthew as original and suggest that it was probably omitted by later scribes because of the repugnance of having Jesus Christ's name being shared by Barabbas (*TCGNT* 67–8). It is not improbable for Barabbas to have the very common name *Jesus.* Matthew's text reads more dramatically with two holders of the same name:"Which Jesus do you want; the son of Abba, or the self-styled Messiah" (cf. Albright and Mann *Matthew* AB, 343–4). There is some evidence that the full name "Jesus Barabbas" also originally appeared in Mark's gospel (Mann *Mark* AB, 637).

Barabbas is called "one of those among the rebels who had committed murder in the insurrection" (Mark 15:7; Luke 23:19; cf. Acts 3:14), a "notorious prisoner" (Matt 27:16), and a "robber" (John 18:40).

These terms closely resemble the characteristics of social banditry uncovered in recent studies of the social history of 1st century Palestine (e.g., Horsley and Hanson 1985:48–87). As a bandit (*lēstēs,* the same term used of the two criminals between whom Jesus was crucified [Mark 15:27]), Barabbas may have belonged to one of the rural brigands. These brigands were popular with the common people because they preyed upon the wealthy establishment of Israel and created havoc for the Roman government. Barabbas was being held prisoner by the Roman authorities at the time of Jesus' trial and was released by Pontius Pilate to carry out the customary paschal pardon (Mark 15:6–15). The reason given for the crowd choosing Barabbas over Jesus is said to be the instigation of the chief-priests and elders (Matt 27:20; Mark 15:11), but quite likely the Jerusalem crowds also preferred Barabbas's active methods of Roman resistance to Jesus' way of nonresistance.

The absence of extra-biblical historical verification for the paschal pardon custom remains a problem. Some scholars have attempted to resolve the difficulty by suggesting that the entire incident, including Barabbas himself, is an apologetic creation of the evangelists (e.g., Rigg 1945; Maccoby 1970; Davies 1980). But recent studies have produced evidence of widespread customs of prisoner releases at festivals in the ancient world (e.g., Merritt 1985:53–68). The gospel account of a custom of reprieve of a prisoner at the Passover echoes the practice of the ancient world.

The portrait of Barabbas in the gospel account remains hazy. In contrast, the portrait of the innocently charged Jesus is thrown into sharp focus. Such appears to be the purpose of the evangelists.

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**BARACHEL** (PERSON) [Heb *barak›ēl* (בַּרַכְאֵל)]. The father of Elihu from the land of Buz (Job 32:2). Barachel is not otherwise attested, whereas Berechiah is attested as a Jewish personal name both epigraphically and in the MT (see BERECHIAH). The name does, however, occur in Safaitic (Harding 1971:102). Although the speech of Elihu (Job 32–37) most probably is an early orthodox addition (and commentary) to the original book of Job, the Elihu-author obviously took pains to accommodate his hero to the Arabian locale of the book of Job by means of Elihu's patronym and country of origin. The Masoretic tradition, as represented by the Leningrad Codex, may acknowledge the Arabian context of Barachel by its peculiar vocalization, which does not accord to the rules of classical Hebrew word formation (one might expect **běrak›ēl* or *bārak›ēl*).

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**BARAITA** [Aram *bāraytā›* (בָּרַיְתָא) = Heb *ḥîṣônâ* (חִיצוֹנָה), "outside" ]. The Babylonian Talmud often (and the Jerusalem Talmud once) uses this term in reference to a text that is to be distinguished from the Mishnah of R. Judah Hanasi. Thus, a baraita is a "mishnah" that is "outside" the recognized Mishnaic canon. More correctly, a baraita is any text or tradition not included in the Mishnah for which tannaitic status is claimed (the Tannaim were religious leaders of the Mishnaic period).

Baraitot (pl. of baraita) are preserved in independent collections and in both Talmuds. Collections of baraitot include the Tosefta and the legal midrashim *(Mekilta, Sifra, and Sifre).* See also MIDRASH. The Talmuds preserve thousands of individual baraitot. The Babylonian Talmud generally introduces them

with technical terms, including *tĕnô rabbānān* ("our teachers taught"), *dĕtanyā*› ("from the teachers"), etc.; in the Jerusalem Talmud there is often no such introduction.

Baraitot originated in various ways. In addition to tannaitic traditions that were preserved independently of R. Judah Hanasi's Mishnah, there are others that, given their dependence on Judah's Mishnah, were clearly composed later (Albeck 1960:32–33). The Babylonian Talmud preserves Babylonian baraitot (Higger 1948:36–41), some of which may have been composed by tannaim who settled there in the 2d century (Neusner 1962) but others of which were authored by Amoraim (religious leaders of the Talmudic period). In addition, baraitot of all kinds were transformed by the Babylonian rabbis (Jacobs 1971; Hauptman 1988).

The form in which baraitot circulated in the talmudic period is subject to question. For example, Albeck (1969:58–72) claims that the Tosefta (a standard collection of baraitot) was not yet present before the authors of the Babylonian Talmud; Neusner widely assumes that it was. Hauptman (1988) shows that there were at least organized collections of baraitot at this time.

The authority of baraitot among rabbinic traditions is second only to the Mishnah. An Amora could (theoretically) dispute a Mishnah or baraita only with the support of another baraita. Thus, the presence of such a wide variety of baraitot in the talmudic tradition provided for immense flexibility in the developing system.

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**BARAK** (PERSON) [Heb *bārāq* (בָּרָק)]. The son of Abinoam and military commander from Kedesh, located in Naphtali, north of lake Huleh (Judg 4:6). His name (meaning "lightning") is widely attested among the Semitic peoples (*HALAT* 155). Barak was summoned from the north by DEBORAH in Ephraim to fight against a coalition of forces commanded by Sisera (note the plural *mĕlākîm* "kings" in Judg 5:19; *Judges* 94). Not all the tribes of Israel were enthusiastic about the mobilization (Judg 5:16–17), but contingents from Benjamin (probably brought by Deborah), Issachar, Zebulun, and Naphtali were led to battle near Meggido by Deborah and Barak. Sisera's army was routed all the way to his home town of Harosheth Haggoyim and was murdered by Jael as predicted by Deborah (Judg 4:15–21). The story contrasts the role of Barak with Deborah. The narrator named Deborah the judge, not Barak. It is possible that he occupied a similar position in the north by virtue of his military stature, but the texts do not say so. It is Deborah who manifests a greater faith in Yahweh than Barak. And Barak loses the opportunity to personally humiliate his foe. Yet ironically it is Barak and not Deborah who is cited by the New Testament writer of Hebrews for his faith (Heb 11:32). If we read with the and Peshitta *bārāq* instead of the MT *bĕdān* in 1 Sam 12:11, then Barak has once again usurped Deborah's place in the tale of heroes.

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**BARDAISAN OF EDESSA** (PERSON). A nobleman of Edessa (ca. A.D. 155–222) and associate of its ruler King Abgar VIII (d. A.D. 212; Drijvers *ANRW* 8:2.876; not Abgar IX as Duval 1891–92:212). Bardaisan was reputed to be of Parthian or Armenian origin, skilled in archery and schooled in Greek philosophy and rhetoric (Sextus Julius Africanus, *Kestoi,* cf. *PG* 10.45–46; Eusebius *h.e.* 4.30; *p.e.* 6.9; Hieronymus *vir. ill.* 33; Epiphanius *haer.* 56). The earliest known Syriac author, Bardaisan invented the *madrāšâ* (Syr), a hymn composed in isosyllabic verse which uses parallelism, rhyme, alliteration, and a variety of wordplay to achieve its effects. Later Greek tradition erroneously attributes this

accomplishment to his son Harmonius (Sozomenus *h.e.* 3.16; Brock 1980:6). According to Ephrem Syrus (d. A.D. 373), in imitation of David's Psalms, Bardaisan composed 150 such hymns, fragments of which are preserved by later Syriac authors (Beck 1957:203 = Ephrem *HCH* 53.6; cf. Drijvers 1966:165). Also extant is a dialogue, composed on the Platonic model by his disciple, Phillip, entitled in the Syriac manuscript *The Book of the Laws of the Countries* (Nau 1907 = *BLC;* cf. Drijvers 1965) but known by Eusebius as *On Fate.* Substantively and formally influenced by Carneades' *nomima barbarika,* it sets forth as Bardaisan's view a subtle reconciliation of natural law, astrological determinism, and free will (Eusebius *h.e.* 4.30; *p.e.* 6.10.6 and *Clem. recogn.* 9.19; Schaeder 1932:32–41; Drijvers 1966:60–95). Later sources attribute to him works on astronomy, astrology, chronology, and ethnography, particularly on Indian customs, and a history of Armenia.

A clear and unbiased view of Bardaisan's teaching is virtually impossible since all relevant information is mediated by later sources originating with either his followers or their opponents. The formulation of the content of his doctrine depends which of diverse and often conflicting sources are seen as most reliable. Having distinguished three distinct cosmogonic traditions preserved in the later Syriac sources, Drijvers (1966:96–152) harmonizes the earliest with *BLC* and Ephrem. By contrast, Jansma (1969; cf. Davids 1971) argues that "catholicising" and "manichaeicising" tendencies among the later Bardaisanites militate against this approach; in his view, *BLC* and Ephrem *HCH* 55 best represent the two later tendencies and should be distinguished both from one another and from Bardaisan's views. Essentially following the method of Drijvers produces the following cosmogony: There are four entities (Syr *ʾîtyê* = Gk *ousiai*), water, fire, light, and wind, arranged horizontally according to the cardinal points of the compass, as N, E, S, and W, respectively. Each entity has characteristics associated with each of the five senses, producing in the case of sight a correspondence between the entities and the colors:water with green, fire with red, light with white, and wind with blue (Mitchell, Bevan, and Burkitt 1921 = Ephrem *Pr. Ref.* 2.223–24). Above them is God and below them darkness (Syr *hešôkâ*). A chance movement causes the mixing of the pure entities with darkness, resulting in the creation of matter (Syr *hûlê* from Gk *hyle*). The entities call upon the Most High, Who Sends the Primal Word (Syr *mêmrâ* = Gk *logos*) to order the matter. The four entities and the darkness are repurified and returned to their places through the "mystery of the cross" (Mitchell 1912 = Ephrem *Pr. Ref.* 1.52–60, 138–40, 2.220.29–33; Nau 1932:191–92 = Barhadbesabba *Arb.* 1.5). Bardaisan's tripartite anthropology of body (Syr *pagrâ* = Gk *sōma*), soul (Syr *nafšâ* = Gk *psyche*), and mind (Syr *madʿâ* or *reʿyanâ* = Gk *nous*) corresponds to three realms in the cosmos, the natural world, the planetary, and the spiritual, which are ruled respectively by Nature (Syr *kyanâ*), Fate (Syr *ḥelqâ*), and Freedom (Syr *ḥerutâ*). The body, subject to the law of Nature, is determined by biological needs; economic and social status are determined by the rules of astrology; moral life and therefore eternal destiny are ruled by freedom of the will (Drijvers 1966:76–95, 152–61). Consequently resurrection of the body is rejected (Ephrem *Pr. Ref.* 2.143–69; cf. *Pr. Ref.* 1.146; Beck 1963 = Ephrem *Car. Nis.* 46:8, 51:2–3), and the Bardaisanites are said to hold a docetic Christology (Adamantius *dial.* 5.8–10). Mythological elements emerge more strongly in some doctrines attributed by Ephrem to the Bardaisanites if not to Bardaisan himself:Wisdom (Syr *hekmeta* = Gk *sophia*), appearing before the archons and governors, stirred them up to produce the human body (Ephrem *Pr. Ref.* 1.122.45–123:14). "Something flows and comes down from the living Father and the Mother conceives and gives birth to him in the mystery of the fish and he is called the living Son" (Ephrem *HCH* 55.1.3–5). The Holy Spirit has two daughters, one of whom is the reflected image of her sister (*HCH* 55:3–5).

As a whole Bardaisan's work consists of a blend of ideas and imagery with parallels in the NT, Odes of Solomon, Philo, the Hermetic literature, the literature of various Gnostic sects, Aramaean paganism, astrology, Stoicism, and later Platonism. Some scholars argue that his is an independent syncretism without special affinities to Gnosticism of any sort (Schaeder 1932; Drijvers 1966:166–228; de Halleux 1968; Brock 1970). Some, beginning with Hippolytus, have considered Bardaisan a Valentinian, Ophite, or Saturninian Gnostic (Hippolytus *haer.* 6.35; cf. Ephrem *HCH* 21:10; Ehlers 1970). Other early Greek and Latin writers thought him a Valentinian who converted to orthodoxy or vice versa (Eusebius *h.e.* 4.30.3; Hieronymus *vir. ill.* 33; Epiphanius *haer.* 56.2). Notably, although they consider him a heretic,

neither Ephrem nor any later Syriac writer alludes to ties with Valentinianism. Ephrem frequently associates him with Marcion and Mani from whose views, however, he carefully distinguishes those of "the Aramaean philosopher" (Ephrem *Pr. Ref.* 2.7.48–8:1, 225.25–26). There is substantial scholarly agreement with Ephrem's remark that "unwillingly, Mani entered by the door Bardaisan opened," i.e., that Mani's cosmological and anthropological notions were based on Bardaisan's views pushed in a strongly dualistic direction (Ephrem *Pr. Ref.* 1.122.25–31; cf. 123.15–22; Schaeder 1932:63–73; Aland 1975; Drijvers 1975; but cf. Jansma 1969). Bardaisan's followers survived in the Syriac speaking Christian environment at least until the episcopate of Rabbula of Edessa (d. A.D. 435), and perhaps as late as the 8th century.

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**BARIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *bārîaḥ* (בָּרִיחַ)]. The third son of SHEMAIAH in the list of postexilic Davidic descendants in 1 Chr 3:22. The text of MT is problematic, however:the phrase which appears earlier in v 22, "… and the sons of Shemiah …," is probably best deleted as a dittography (see Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 58). This makes Bariah not the third son of Shemiah, but rather the fourth son of Shecaniah, who then had a total of six sons, which agrees with the tally at the end of v 22. The name "Bariah" means "fugitive."

RUSSELL FULLER

**BARKOS** (PERSON) [Heb *barqôs* (בַּרְקוֹס)]. The head of a family of *nĕtînîm* (temple servants) (see NETHINIM) listed among those exiles returning from Babylon to Jerusalem and Judah (Ezra 2:53 = Neh

7:55; 1 Esdr 5:32). It is a theophoric Aramaic name meaning "son of *Qōs*" (Zadok 1980:114). Although *Qōs* appears in Edomite names, evidence from the Arab world suggests that the deity is Arab in origin and, with the westward tribal movements of the 8th and 7th centuries, entered Edom and gave his name to a deity long established there (Rose 1977:29–30).

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RODNEY H. SHEARER

**BARLEY.** See AGRICULTURE; FLORA.

**BARNABAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Barnabas* (Βαρναβας)]. An apostle, an associate of Paul, prominent in the church of Antioch-on-the-Orontes in Syria, and an early leader in the mission to gentiles. According to Acts, his name was Joseph, but he was called Barnabas by the apostles. Luke, the author of Acts, translates Barnabas to mean "son of encouragement," (from Aram *bar nĕbû᾽â*) but it may simply mean "son of (the god) Nebo," or something similar. Acts reports that Barnabas was a Levite whose family came from Cyprus; hence he was a Diaspora Jew. He is first mentioned as a man who sold some land and donated the proceeds to the apostles in Jerusalem (4:36–37). Thus in vivid contrast to Ananias and Sapphira, who withheld a portion of their property (5:1–11), Barnabas is shown to typify the spirit of communal sharing which Luke emphasizes in the earliest Jerusalem community.

**A. Association with Paul**

In Acts, Barnabas receives extensive mention in connection with Saul (later to be known as Paul) and with the emergence of a mission to gentiles. When the disciples in Jerusalem were afraid to meet with Saul after his call, Barnabas brought him to them and gave him a favorable introduction (9:27). Later, when the Jerusalem church received reports that believers from Cyprus and Cyrene were making converts of Greeks in Antioch (11:20–22), Barnabas was sent to investigate. He encouraged them in this missionary activity, then brought Saul with him from Tarsus to Antioch, where they taught together (11:25–26). As leaders in the Antioch community, Barnabas and Saul were sent to deliver a contribution for famine relief to the community in Jerusalem (11:27–30). Collecting contributions of gentile communities for "the poor" in Jerusalem was evidently an arrangement agreed upon between the missionaries to gentiles—Paul and Barnabas, and the leaders of the Jerusalem community (Gal 2:9–10). Such contributions continued to be of great concern in Paul's later work (Rom 15:25–28; 1 Cor 16:1–4; 2 Cor 8–9).

Next, Acts recounts that Barnabas and Saul were commissioned by the Antioch community for a missionary journey to Cyprus, bringing as an assistant John Mark, who had joined them in Jerusalem (12:25–13:3). That Barnabas was Paul's senior partner in the relationship is evident from the fact that Barnabas' name is mentioned before Paul's name in all Acts accounts thus far. But while recounting their stay in Paphos, Luke shifts to the name Paul for Saul just as he performs a miracle to effect the conversion of the Roman proconsul Sergius Paulus (13:8-12). At this point Luke begins to give Paul greater prominence than Barnabas in the mission narrative, calling their party "Paul and his company" (13:13) and mentioning Paul's name several times before that of Barnabas (13:43, 46, 50). Upon leaving Cyprus, Paul and Barnabas traveled without John Mark through the southern regions of central Asia Minor, visiting the cities of Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, Perga, and Attalia. Acts reports that they conducted their mission through preaching in synagogues and performance of miracles. In Lystra Paul's miraculous healing of a crippled man led the crowd to call Barnabas "Zeus" and Paul "Hermes" (14:8–18). Despite threats from Jews and gentiles (14:5) and physical violence against Paul at the hands of some Jews (14:19), Acts states that the mission of Paul and Barnabas met with success in several cities among Jews, recent converts to Judaism (13:43), gentiles (13:48), and Greeks (14:1). But the summary of their activity reported to the church at Antioch makes it clear that the success of Barnabas' and Paul's pioneering work among gentiles is what Luke wishes most to stress (14:27).

However in Antioch the question of how a gentile mission ought to be conducted came to be hotly debated. According to Acts "some" from Judea were teaching there that circumcision according to the custom of Moses was a prerequisite for salvation. Paul and Barnabas argued against requiring circumcision for gentiles and were appointed to a delegation which brought the question before apostles and elders in Jerusalem (15:1–3). During the debate at this Jerusalem Council, Barnabas and Paul reported on their success among gentiles (15:12), and the council eventually adopted a position which must have been largely favorable to them, since it did not require gentile circumcision. Paul and Barnabas returned to Antioch together with delegates appointed from Jerusalem who carried a letter detailing the decision of the Council (15:22–32).

**B. Separation from Paul**

After resolution of the question of required gentile circumcision, Paul and Barnabas made plans in Antioch to revisit the cities of their previous mission together, but there arose between them what Luke terms a "sharp disagreement." According to Acts, Barnabas wished to bring John Mark along, but Paul did not (15:37). Consequently Paul left without Barnabas, bringing Silas with him through Syria and Cilicia to the cities of Asia Minor; Barnabas took Mark with him to Cyprus (15:38–40). That there was a close association between Barnabas and Mark is corroborated in Col 4:10, where Mark is called Barnabas' "cousin."

But the parting of ways between Barnabas and Paul may well have been occasioned by more than the personal disagreement mentioned in Acts. Although Acts hints at no disagreement between Barnabas and Paul on the conduct of a mission to gentiles, Paul's letter to Galatia indicates that the two did not share identical views on the observance of Jewish dietary laws. Paul writes that at Antioch he was distressed when Peter refrained from eating with gentiles out of deference to representatives from James. Paul objected to Peter's abrupt withdrawal from his practice of table fellowship and writes that "even Barnabas" sided against Paul (Gal 2:11–13). On this occasion Barnabas, like Peter, took a moderate position between those associated with James, who advocated a strict separation of Jews from gentiles, and Paul, who strongly opposed such separation. Because Paul does not claim to have persuaded Barnabas and the others, it may be inferred that he lost this debate in Antioch and consequently left. Galatians suggests, then, that the split between Barnabas and Paul arose over different views of proper social practice in Christian communities, perhaps due to a theological disagreement about the continuing validity of Jewish laws. It is uncertain how bitter the rift remained because Paul's reference to Barnabas in 1 Cor 9:6 seems to reflect a sympathetic attitude toward his former mentor. Here Barnabas is mentioned as an apostle who, like Paul, practiced a trade and earned his own living while a missionary. It is possible that they had established this practice as a joint policy during their early mission work together.

**C. Mention of Barnabas in Extra-Canonical Sources**

Concerning Barnabas' career after separating from Paul and journeying to Cyprus, we have no early information. Later Christian writers make legendary claims about Barnabas: e.g., that he preached in Rome during Jesus' lifetime and introduced Clement of Rome to Christianity (*Ps.-Clem. Recogn.* 1.7–13), and that he was one of the seventy (Luke 10:1) sent out by Jesus (Clement of Alexandria *Str.* 2.20). The 5th- or 6th-century *Acts of Barnabas* purports to describe his later mission and martyrdom in Cyprus. Barnabas is also named as the author of some early Christian texts. Clement of Alexandria credits him as the author of the *Epistle of Barnabas*, a treatise which was included in some early biblical manuscripts, e.g., Sinaiticus. Some Western traditions regard Barnabas as the author of Hebrews, and he is also listed (in the *Decretum Gelasianum*) as the author of a gospel.

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**BARNABAS, EPISTLE OF.** An early Christian writing, the significance of which lies not so much in its later influence as in what it preserves of earlier traditions, both Jewish and Christian. The anonymous Christian teacher who wrote *Barnabas* passed on traditional instruction regarding "spiritual" understandings of the Jewish scriptures and God's requirements. Many issues concerning *Barnabas* are problematic and must remain unresolved.

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A. Form, Structure, Style
B. Text
C. The Author and His Circle
D. Use of Tradition
E. Thought
1. Gnosis
2. Ethics and Eschatology
3. Israel
4. Christology
5. Interpretation of Scripture
F. Recipients
G. Provenance
H. Date, Occasion, and Significance

———

**A. Form, Structure, Style**

Although *Barnabas* has several characteristics of an epistle, it is probably best understood as a tractate in epistolary dress. Its contents may be outlined as follows:

I. Introduction (framework), chap. 1
II. First major section:correct understanding of scripture, 2:1–16:10
A. What the Lord requires:not sacrifice and fasting, 2–3
B. Warnings in a lawless age facing judgment, 4
C. Why the Lord endured suffering in the flesh, 5–6
D. The Lord's suffering foreshadowed in scapegoat and red heifer, 7–8
E. Circumcised understanding, 9–10
F. Baptism and cross foreshadowed, 11–12
G. Correct understanding of the Covenant and its heirs, 13–14
H. Correct understanding of the Sabbath, 15
I. Correct understanding of the Temple, 16
III. Transition (framework), 17:1–18:1a
IV. Second major section:The "Two Ways" tradition, 18:1b–20:2
A. Introduction, 18:1b–2
B. The Way of Light, 19
C. The Way of Darkness, 20
V. Conclusion (framework), 21

*Barnabas* 17:1–18:1a explicitly divides the tractate into two major sections of teaching. The two sections are set into an epistolary framework (Wengst 1971:5–14; cf. Scorza Barcellona 1975:14–21).

The tractate's stylistic norms resemble those of Jewish literature. Its rough transitions and awkward arrangement have the benefit of making it easier to isolate its sources.

**B. Text**

The Gk text of *Barnabas* is relatively well preserved. The chief witnesses to the text are Codex Sinaiticus, Codex Hierosolymitanus, a family of late Gk manuscripts, and an OL translation in Codex Corbeiensis. There are also fragments of a Gk papyrus and of a Syr translation, and several quotations by Clement of Alexandria and later church writers. Although there may have been a "first edition" which

lacked the Two Ways tradition, the "final form" presumably consisted of chapters 1–21. The critical edition by Prigent and Kraft (1971) provides a carefully researched eclectic text.

**C. The Author and His Circle**

*Barnabas* is anonymous. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Jerome, Serapion of Thmuys, Codex Sinaiticus, and later manuscripts attribute the work to "Barnabas," but few contemporary scholars accept this attribution. Most scholars consider it unlikely that the Barnabas described by Paul as participating in a literal observance of Jewish cult (Gal 2:13) could write the anti-cultic polemics of *Barnabas.*

It appears that the work as a whole is produced by one person, a male, and that he primarily uses traditional materials to which he contributes little more than a framework within which he arranges them and makes simple transitions between them. He is a teacher who wants his readers to see him not as a teacher but as a friend and peer (1:4; 1:8; 4:6, 9; 9:9). He describes himself with conventional modesty (4:9; 6:5), but he participates as one "who is wise and understanding, and who loves his Lord," in a community which God has allowed to understand secrets (6:10). In the face of the impending final scandals (4:3, 9), he is concerned to pass on some of the traditional teachings of his circle (1:5; 4:9).

Because many of his traditions retain both the style and the substance of Judaism, a significant number of scholars see him as a Jewish Christian (Barnard 1978:54–58; Manns 1981:125–146). In view of *Barnabas* 16:7, it probably makes more sense to see him as a Gentile who had access to Jewish traditions in Gk (Kraft 1965:39; Prigent and Kraft 1971:28; Wengst 1984:119).

It is often quite difficult to distinguish the teacher from his sources, many of which are much older. He does not rise above his tradition as a clearly defined individual creator; he is primarily a spokesman for a living tradition, even if he has shaped it here and there. In the case of "evolved literature" such as this, it may be preferable to focus on the tradition rather than on the individual through whom the tradition speaks. The circle that preserved this tradition was a "school" in the sense that it had teachers who developed and transmitted teaching materials concerned with exegesis and moral instruction (Kraft 1965:19–22; Wengst 1971).

**D. Use of Tradition**

The teacher indicates in 1:5 that he is passing on traditional materials (see 4:9; 19:1; 21:1). Kraft (1961), Prigent (1961), and Wengst (1971) have examined the sources of these materials in detail.

The traditions in *Barnabas* 2–16 are concerned with understanding the (Jewish) scriptures. Analysis of the quotations show that the tradition represented by *Barnabas* did not use the Heb text (Kraft 1961:57; Wengst 1971:69). Apparently the teacher had access to OG translations in a variety of oral and written forms:complete OG scrolls of a few books of scripture (Isaiah; perhaps Psalms, Genesis, and Deuteronomy), individual sayings, independent collections of extracts, free renderings of narratives, and quotations already associated with midrashic commentary (Kraft 1961:69; Wengst 1984:129).

The Two Ways section (chapters 18–20) is the largest block of tradition in *Barnabas.* It presents ethical teachings under the rubrics of the way of light and the way of darkness. *Barnabas* 21:1 shows that the teacher considered the Two Ways teaching an authoritative written form of God's requirements. This tradition is found in similar forms in other church writings, notably in *Didache* 1–5. Most contemporary scholars agree that the Two Ways sections in *Barnabas* and *Didache* derive directly or indirectly from a common source. Two Ways concepts in the *Manual of Discipline* show that some form of the tradition existed in a Semitic-speaking Jewish environment. After being translated into Gk and passing through various recensions, it is used independently by *Barnabas* and *Didache.* The teacher incorporates the Two Ways tradition into his writing with relatively few changes (Prigent 1961:20; Wengst 1971:66–67).

The themes of the two ways of darkness and light also pervade the whole tractate. Parallels between *Barnabas* 4:9–10 and *Didache* 16:2 suggest that certain forms of the Two Ways tradition may have had an apocalyptic appendix (Kraft 1965:12–16).

**E. Thought**

The teacher and his circle are not systematic thinkers, and their traditions are occasionally in tension. Whether or not *Barnabas* has a central theological perspective, the following concepts characterize the tract (Kraft 1965:22–39; Wengst 1971:71–99).

**1. Gnosis.** One explicit purpose of *Barnabas* is to supplement its readers' faith with "perfect knowledge" (*Barnabas* 1:5). This knowledge *(gnōsis)* is a central concept for *Barnabas.* The circle seems to use the term in an exegetical sense and a related ethical sense. Exegetical gnosis is the insight God gave to Abraham, Moses, David, and the prophets, and now gives to believers. This gift enables its recipients to understand the secrets of scripture and of past, present, and future events. Ethical gnosis enables its recipients to understand the conduct required by God (5:4; 21:5).

**2. Ethics and Eschatology.** Ethical concerns pervade *Barnabas,* as do apocalyptic eschatological imagery, expectation, and motivation. Salvation is primarily a future reward for obeying God's requirements in this lawless age. The day of judgment is near (21:3). At that time, the obedient will be made holy and will receive the promised inheritance:the end of lawlessness and the renewal of the universe (6:13; 15:5–9). Believers should not live as if they were already justified (4:10; 15:7). Instead, they must make use of the evil days before the judgment to perform the will of God, because they will be judged according to their conduct and Satan can use his power to drive them from the Lord's kingdom (2:1, 10; 4:9–14; 19:10; 21:6, 8).

**3. Israel.** According to *Barnabas,* God promised the patriarchs that he would give a Covenant to "the people" but Israel proved unworthy to receive it (4:6–8; 14:1–4). Instead, Jesus gave it to a "new people" (5:7), made worthy to receive it by his suffering and death (14:4–6). In contrast, an evil angel (9:4) misled Israel into interpreting God's requirements in a literal, external fashion rather than in the intended spiritual manner. *Barnabas* criticizes major aspects of Jewish ritual observance (sacrifice, fasting, circumcision, food laws, the sabbath rest, and the temple) as resulting from this misunderstanding of scripture. Christians, the true heirs of the Covenant, understand the scriptures in their intended spiritual sense.

There is a tension in the circle's relation to Judaism. On the one hand, it defines itself in contrast to Israel, who never received the Covenant and who err in their understanding of what God wants. On the other hand, the circle has taken its ethical teachings, its citations of scripture, its hermeneutics, and even its criticisms of Jewish ritual observance *from Jewish sources.*

**4. Christology.** *Barnabas* refers to Jesus as Son of God, the Beloved One, the Beloved Heir, and most frequently, the Lord. Preexistent, he participated in creation (5:5, 10; 6:12). The circle denies that he is a son of David or a son of man (12:10–11), but he suffered in the flesh to purify a once-sinful people ("us") for the Covenant and to fill up the measure of "their" sins (5:1–14; 6:7; 7:2; 14:4–5). He will soon come to end this evil age, judge the living and the dead, and recreate the universe (5:7; 7:2; 15:5; 21:3).

*Barnabas* is concerned to interpret the suffering and death of Jesus by means of scripture. Apart from his suffering in the flesh, the circle shows little interest in the earthly Jesus' words and works as found in written gospel traditions. It looks to scripture rather than to Jesus' sayings for authority in teaching.

**5. Interpretation of Scripture.** The interpretive method is closely related to what is known of Christian and Jewish schools of Alexandria. The "spiritual" (rationalistic, allegorical) understanding of ritual law appears more radical than that of Philo when it excludes a literal understanding. For example, *Barnabas* 9–10, except for the gematria in 9:8–9, resembles the position of those Philo (*Migr.* 89.92–93) opposed for neglecting the literal meaning of circumcision.

**F. Recipients**

*Barnabas* is addressed to both men and women (1:1; see 10:8). The recipients are Christians, probably uncircumcised but not necessarily from the teacher's own sect.

*Barnabas* gives clues about their community—or at least about his own circle's ideals for a community of believers. The teacher admonishes his readers not to live as hermits but to assemble together (4:10) and to share their possessions (19:8). He mentions no church functionaries other than teachers, "those highly placed" (21:2), and those "who proclaim the Lord's word" (19:9). The community celebrates Sunday, "the eighth day" (15:8–9). They practice baptism (by immersion) as a means of receiving remission of sins and new life (11:1–11). They experience inspired speech (16:9–10).

**G. Provenance**

*Barnabas* does not give enough indications to permit confident identification of either the teacher's location or the location to which he writes. His thought, hermeneutical methods, and style have many

parallels throughout the known Jewish and Christian worlds. Most scholars have located the work's origin in the area of Alexandria, on the grounds that it has many affinities with Alexandrian Jewish and Christian thought and because its first witnesses are Alexandrian. Recently, Prigent (Prigent and Kraft 1971:20–24), Wengst (1971:114–18), and Scorza Barcellona (1975:62–65) have suggested other origins based on affinities in Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor. The place of origin must remain an open question, although the Gk -speaking E Mediterranean appears most probable.

**H. Date, Occasion, and Significance**

Since *Barnabas* 16:3 refers to the destruction of the temple, *Barnabas* must be written after 70 C.E. It must be written before its first indisputable use in Clement of Alexandria, ca. 190. Since 16:4 expects the temple to be rebuilt, it was most likely written before Hadrian built a Roman temple on the site ca. 135. Attempts to use 4:4–5 and 16:1–5 to specify the time of origin more exactly have not won wide agreement. It is important to remember that traditions of varying ages have been incorporated into this work.

*Barnabas* does not provide sufficient clues to identify an occasion for its writing. Neither the view that it is a polemic in response to Jewish rivals (Lowy 1960:32) nor the view that it is propaganda to persuade Christian opponents (Wengst 1971:100–105) accounts for its ethical orientation.

The work appears to have had little impact in the West, although it was translated into Latin in N Africa (or possibly Rome), probably during the 3d century. Clement of Alexandria quotes it as the epistle of the apostle Barnabas, and Origen refers to it as the catholic epistle of Barnabas. Its inclusion in Codex Sinaiticus suggests that it was sometimes considered canonical in 4th century Egypt. Other church writers who mention it (e.g., Eusebius, Jerome, Mkhitar) categorize it with disputed writings or apocrypha.

Although *Barnabas* 4:14 appears to quote Matt 22:14, it must remain an open question whether the *Barnabas* circle knew written gospels. Based on Koester's analysis (1957:125–27, 157), it appears more likely that *Barnabas* stood in the living oral tradition used by the written gospels. For example, the reference to gall and vinegar in *Barnabas* 7:3, 5 seems to preserve an early stage of tradition that influenced the formation of the passion narratives in the *Gospel of Peter* and the synoptic gospels.

*Barnabas* is also significant for preserving early stages of Jewish tradition. It preserves halakhic traditions about atonement and red heifer rituals from a century before the Mishnah was compiled. It contains midrashic material and the Two Ways tradition in forms not greatly removed from their Jewish antecedents. It also quotes fragments of Jewish religious literature otherwise unknown (Kraft 1965:182–84).

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JAY CURRY TREAT

**BARODIS** (PERSON) [Gk *Barōdis* (Βαρωδις)]. A servant of Solomon whose descendants returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:34). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, this family does not appear among their lists of returning exiles (cf Ezra 2:57; Neh 7:59). Omissions such as this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra or

Nehemiah. Furthermore, problems associated with dating events and identifying persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**BARSABBAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Barsabbas* (Βαρσαββας)]. Name of 2 persons in NT. The name *Barsabbas* most probably represents the Aram *Bar-Shabba,* "son of the sabbath."

**1.** A surname of Joseph, who also had the Lat surname Justus (Acts 1:23). He was considered, but not chosen, for the place among the twelve disciples left vacant by the treachery of Judas Iscariot. Evidently, he had been a disciple of Jesus, for the one to take Judas' place was to be a personal witness to the ministry, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus (Acts 1:21–22). Joseph Barsabbas reportedly was one of the seventy disciples (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 1:12; see Luke 10:1). He allegedly drank snake venom in the name of Jesus without suffering any ill effects (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3:39; see Mark 16:18).

**2.** A surname of Judas, one of two leading Christians in the church at Jerusalem who were sent to the churches of Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia to convey the church council's decision on the acceptance of gentile believers (Acts 15:22–33). Judas and Silas, his companion, preached at Antioch for some time until the church dismissed them (v 33). According to v 34, a spurious text, Judas returned to Jerusalem, but Silas remained in Antioch. This verse probably was originally a marginal note that explained how Silas was in Antioch for Paul to choose him as a companion (v 40).

VIRGIL R. L. FRY

**BARTACUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Bartakos* (Βαρτακος)]. Bartacus, who has the epithet "the Illustrious," was referred to once in 1 Esdr 4:29 as the father of Apame, the concubine of Darius. While nothing is known of Bartacus outside of this single reference, names similar to his own appear in other literature. For instance, the name "Artachaeas," a high-ranking official in Xerxes' army, was mentioned by Herodotus (7.22.117). The name of Bartacus' daughter, "Apame," is identical with the name of the Persian princess who married Seleucus I and became the mother of Antiochus I. Apamea, a city in Asia Minor, was established by Seleucus I in honor of his wife by the same name.

There are several ways to interpret the phrase "the Illustrious" *(Tou thaumostou)* appended to Bartacus' name. The name may have been an epithet, implying that Bartacus was a man of renown or even perhaps a wonder-worker. It is unlikely that the epithet was a second name for Bartacus because the Persians normally used only one name. There is also no evidence that "the Illustrious One" was an official title in the Persian state. The appendage may have been the proper name of his father. The similar Greek name "Thamasios" appears in Herodotus 7.194, and "Themasios" occurs in Josephus *Ant* 11.3.5.

SCOTT T. CARROLL

**BARTHOLOMEW** (PERSON) [Gk *Bartholomafos* (ΒαρθολομαΓος)]. Bartholomew appears in all four lists of the twelve disciples of Jesus (Matt 10:3; Mark 3:18; Luke 6:14; Acts 1:13), but he is otherwise unmentioned in the NT. Bartholomew is quite likely an Aram patronymic *[Bar-Talmai]* for "son of Tholami" (cf. LXX Josh 15:14) or "son of Tholomaeus" (cf. Jos. *Ant.* 20.1.1§5), a name found in several forms in the Gk OT and Josephus.

From the 9th century onward Bartholomew generally has been identified with NATHANAEL. This is based on the conjecture that Nathanael is a surname of Bartholomew, so that his full name would have been Nathaneal Bar-Tholami (cf. Simon Bar-Jonah). Several factors point in this direction. (1) Since the synoptic gospels never mention Nathanael, while John never mentions Bartholomew, the juxtaposition of the names Philip and Bartholomew in the synoptic lists of the Twelve (not in the list in Acts) suggests the close relationship between the two depicted in John 1:43–51. Study of the apostolic lists indicates pairing and grouping into fours; this suggests that Bartholomew and Philip were companions in the second group headed by Philip. (2) John's gospel treats Nathanael as an apostle. All of the companions of Nathanael are apostles (John 1:35–51) and Nathanael appears as a member of a group of apostles (John 21:1–2). Christ's promise to Nathanael, that he would be a witness to the central role of the Son of Man in God's revelation to men, suggests an apostolic function (John 1:50–1). (3) Since Bartholomew is quite likely a patronymic, its bearer would be expected to have another name as well.

Arguments have been raised against each of the above factors. (1) The juxtaposition of Philip and Bartholomew in the synoptic lists may be fortuitous, because in the Acts list they are not together. (2) Since there is no mention of Nathanael during Jesus' ministry, his interaction with Jesus in John 1:43–51 does not necessarily imply a formal call to apostleship. (3) The name "Bartholomew" may stand by itself in the apostolic lists as a proper name. It is not necessarily a patronymic. The patronymic is normally expressed in the lists by the Greek genitive, not by the Aramaic *bar*.

If the identification of Bartholomew with Nathanael is correct; Philip brought Bartholomew (Nathanael), a native of Cana of Galilee (John 21:2), to acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah (John 1:45–46). The description of his encounter with Jesus is found in John 1:47–51. A true Israelite, without guile, Nathanael gave a profound declaration of the messianic identity of Jesus. Jesus, in turn, stated that Nathanael would see even greater demonstrations of messianism. If the identification of Bartholomew with Nathanael is incorrect, then we have no NT information about Bartholomew other than the four lists.

Since the identification of Bartholomew with Nathanael is not conclusive, to assume it without question is to go beyond the evidence. Certainty is unattainable with the present evidence, but to reject categorically the identification is likewise unwarranted.

Traditional stories about Bartholomew abound, but few appear to be trustworthy. According to the "Genealogies of the Twelve Apostles," Bartholomew was of the house of Naphtali, and his name was formerly John, but Jesus changed it because of John the son of Zebedee, the beloved. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.10.3) reports that Bartholomew preached the gospel in India and left behind the Gospel of Matthew "in the actual Hebrew characters." Traditions also claim that Bartholomew ministered in Armenia, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Mesopotamia, and Persia. Several traditions are also associated with his death. One tradition states that Bartholomew brought the Gospel to India and to Greater Armenia, where he was flayed alive and beheaded. The *Martyrdom of Bartholomew* states that he was placed in a sack and cast into the sea.

A few apocryphal works are also traditionally associated with Bartholomew. Jerome, in the preface to his commentary on Matthew, mentions a *Gospel of Bartholomew.* Apart from its condemnation by the Decretum Gelasianum we know little about this work. A later work, "The Questions of Bartholomew," extant in five recensions, may be based in part on this earlier work. A Coptic "Book of the Resurrection of Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle" is extant in several fragments. Authentic association of these works with the apostle Bartholomew is highly doubtful.

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**BARTHOLOMEW, GOSPEL (QUESTIONS) OF.** A writing mentioned by Jerome in the prologue of his commentary on Matthew (which reference may derive from Origen), and by Epiphanius the Monk (*vita virg.* 24–25). A reference by the venerable Bede (*Luc. ev. expos.* 1) probably stems from Jerome, as does one in the *Decretum Gelasianum,* which lists "gospels in the name of Bartholomew" as ones to be avoided. A *Gospel of Bartholomew* may be quoted by pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita (*myst.* 3), who attributes two sentences to "the blessed Bartholomew." The Syr *Book of Hierotheos* also contains a one-sentence quotation written by "the divine Bartholomew."

There are no extant texts of a *Gospel of Bartholomew,* but two works associated with the name Bartholomew are preserved:*Questions of Bartholomew* is preserved in Greek, Latin, and Slavonic manuscripts; the *Book of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, by Bartholomew the Apostle* is preserved in one complete Coptic manuscript and in several other Coptic fragments. Both works stem from Greek originals, and they share affinities with one another, such as Jesus' descent into hell and deliverance of Adam, in addition to the prominence of Bartholomew as the guarantor of the traditions. It is possible that "both streams of tradition go back to a special Bartholomew tradition of the 3d or 4th centuries" (*NTApocr* 1.508), but it is unclear whether they derive from an underlying *Gospel of Bartholomew.*

*Questions of Bartholomew.* This work, perhaps a 5th-century composition of Egyptian provenance, is a collection of revelatory dialogues. Bartholomew is featured as the bold main questioner, seeking knowledge from the risen Jesus, from Mary, and from Beliar, particularly about heaven and the underworld. The contents of the book may be described according to the five chapters into which it has been divided. (1) At the request of Bartholomew, the risen Jesus recounts how he vanished from the cross in order to descend into the underworld. He reports a conversation there between a fearful Hades and Beliar (the devil) and briefly describes how he bound Hades and brought up the patriarchs and especially Adam. The dialogue ends with a brief exchange about the sacrifices and the souls that Jesus receives in paradise. (2) At the behest of the other apostles, Bartholomew asks Mary how she "conceived the incomprehensible," or how she "carried him who cannot be carried." After a prayer, she directs the apostles to restrain her while she reveals that she was visited in the temple by an angelic figure. She receives a baptism from heavenly dew and partakes in a Eucharist when the angelic figure miraculously produces a loaf and cup. She is then promised that after three years she will conceive his son. But her tale is interrupted:fire comes from her mouth and the world is about to be consumed when Jesus silences her. An account of the conception itself, about which Bartholomew had inquired, is therefore prevented. (3) Seven days before his ascension the risen Jesus grants the apostles a brief glimpse of the abyss. They are overwhelmed at the sight, but it is not described. (4) Peter entreats Mary to ask for a revelation of "all that is in the heavens." In a brief exchange Mary declines, but reveals that in her the Lord restored "the dignity of women." Jesus then grants Bartholomew's request to see and to question Beliar, whose dreadful appearance is described. Bartholomew, with his foot upon Beliar's neck, then learns about numerous angels and punishments for the wicked. The devil also recounts how he and his angels had refused Michael's command to worship Adam, the image of God, and how he made Eve susceptible to disobedience by defiling her drinking water with sweat from his body. The dialogue is interspersed with three reverent prayers by Bartholomew. In the end Jesus admonishes Bartholomew that the revelations should be kept secret, and Bartholomew concludes with a doxology. (5) When Bartholomew asks Jesus to name the worst of sins, he names hypocrisy, slander, "the sin against the holy spirit," i.e., speaking ill of any one who serves the Father, and swearing an oath by the head of God. Bartholomew then receives a commission to preach and raises a final question about the consequences of sins of lust. Jesus' reply praises celibacy and also allows for the validity of marriage. But he adds that "he who sins after the third marriage is unworthy of God."

In terms of genre the *Questions of Bartholomew* may be compared with other early Christian post-resurrection dialogues between Jesus and his followers, e.g., *Epistula Apostolorum, Dialogue of the Savior, Sophia Jesu Christi,* and *Pistis Sophia.* In terms of content, scholars have noted affinities to the *Acts of Pilate,* the *Gospel of Gamaliel,* and the *Gospel of Nicodemus,* especially in the descent into the underworld. The depictions of the underworld may draw upon motifs of Egyptian popular religion. The text also may reflect knowledge of the *Protevangelium of James* and the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas.* The recommendation on marriage is paralleled in the *Apostolic Constitutions.* Parallels to gnostic texts have been noted in an early study by Bonwetsch, but Beeston denies any gnostic proclivities in Mary's account of the Annunciation (2) and stresses the account's development of a Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist (Beeston 1974:127; see also *TRE* 3:316–62).

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JON B. DANIELS

**BARTIMAEUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Bartimaios* (Βαρτιμαιος)]. A blind beggar whom Jesus healed while on his last journey to Jerusalem (Mark 10:46–52). Throwing his outer garment aside, leaping to his feet, and rushing to Jesus when called demonstrated his faith in Jesus and his eagerness to be healed. Since Mark records the name of only one other person whom Jesus healed (5:22), the occurrence of the name

"Bartimaeus" here implies that he became a full-fledged disciple who was well known in the early church (Cranfield *Mark* CGNT, 346).

As the title "Son of David" suggests, Bartimaeus thought of Jesus in messianic terms. This title expressed Jewish nationalistic hopes for a Davidic king to come as the deliverer of the Jews from foreign domination (see *Pss. Sol.* 17:21; Ezek 34:23–24; Taylor 1966:448). This interpretation of the address fits well with the multitude's association of Jesus with the coming Davidic kingdom in his triumphal entry into Jerusalem (see Branscomb *Mark* MNTC, 192).

Accounts of restoration of sight occur also in Matt 20:29–34 and Luke 18:35–43 with some differences. Matthew and Mark agree that the miracle occurred as Jesus left Jericho, but Luke places it as Jesus approached the city. Matthew says Jesus healed two blind men. Mark and Luke mention only one. Yet more than one miracle is unlikely because the accounts are so similar and consistent in most details. The main event is so clear and the differences in detail are so insignificant that any attempt at harmonization seems unnecessary.

Mark usually introduces the Aramaic word first and then the Greek translation (3:17; 7:11, 34; 14:36). The reverse order in v 46 may be the result of a scribal insertion into the text of a comment in the margin of an early manuscript (Branscomb *Mark* MNTC, 192). Although the derivation of the name Bartimaeus is a matter of controversy, it is most likely from the Aramaic *bar*, "son," and *tim›ai,* "Timaeus" (see Taylor 1966:447–48).

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**BARUCH** (PERSON) [Heb *bārûk* (בָּרוּךְ)]. **1.** A scribe in Jerusalem during the years just prior to the Babylonian destruction of 587 B.C. and a close friend of the prophet Jeremiah. The book of Jeremiah recognizes his professional status as a "scribe" (Heb *sōpēr;* 36:26, 32). The earlier supposition that he was a royal scribe (Muilenburg 1970:231) is now all the more likely following the discovery of a seal impression in a royal archive which reads, "Belonging to Berechiah, son of Neriah, the scribe" (Avigad 1978 ["Berechiah" is the long form of "Baruch" ]). The mention here and in the book of Jeremiah of Baruch with his patronym (double patronym in 32:12) suggests that he comes from a prominent scribal family (Gevaryahu 1973:209). Baruch's brother, Seraiah, was "quartermaster" [Heb *śar mĕnûḥâ*] under Judah's last king, Zedekiah (Jer 51:59); he, too, was no doubt a professionally trained scribe. It was not only in Masoretic times, but much earlier, even as far back as the Old Babylonian period, that scribes were known to cluster in families (Lundbom 1986).

Baruch had an important role in preserving the Jeremiah legacy. In chapter 36 of the book of Jeremiah he is reported to have written the first Jeremiah scroll at the prophet's dictation (v 4). Then, on a fast day in the year following, 604 B.C. (or 601 B.C. if the LXX reading of 36:9 is accepted), Baruch read this scroll to a large temple gathering and again to a group of the king's ministers. The scroll was read a third time to King Jehoiakim, though not by Baruch, and the king responded by burning the scroll in the fireplace. Jehoiakim ordered the seizure of both Baruch and Jeremiah, but they were duly warned and managed to escape. Baruch was then instructed by Jeremiah to write a new scroll to replace the one which had been destroyed. To this scroll was added more material of like substance (Jer 36:32). At the time the first scroll was written, Baruch had received a personal word of prophecy concerning his disappointment about not having the opportunity to achieve distinction in his career (Jeremiah 45). In this prophecy Jeremiah informed him that the whole nation was doomed; nevertheless, Baruch would escape with his life.

During the final siege of Jerusalem, when Jeremiah was under house arrest, Baruch served as a witness to the purchase of a piece of family real estate which Jeremiah had made in order to symbolize the nation's future restoration (Jeremiah 32). Baruch was entrusted with the deed of purchase and told to place it in an earthenware jar for safekeeping. He was very likely a signatory to the deed and also the one who affixed the seal (Avigad 1978:55; Lundbom 1986). Baruch survived the fall of Jerusalem and, like

Jeremiah, was apparently released by the Babylonians and allowed to remain in the land. His close association with Jeremiah continued, as can be seen from a charge made against him that he had convinced Jeremiah to dissuade a group from going to Egypt after the assassination of Gedaliah, the Babylonian-appointed governor of Judah. In the end, however, both Jeremiah and Baruch went to Egypt and settled with this group at Tahpanhes (Jer 43:1–7).

Many scholars believe Baruch was responsible for the eyewitness accounts in the book of Jeremiah and was, in fact, Jeremiah's biographer. Some go even further and attribute to him the bulk of the book's prose (Muilenburg 1970:237; Gevaryahu 1973; Lundbom 1986). Baruch is known to be the person who wrote the first of the Jeremiah scrolls (Jeremiah 36); his close association with the prophet over a period of years would seem to preclude his being simply a one- or two-time amanuensis. Also, the colophonic nature of 36:1–8 and chapter 45 points to Baruch as the scribe who wrote large portions of the Jeremianic text. In the LXX, the latter colophon concludes the entire book (less chapter 52) at 51:31–35. This passage was at one time Baruch's colophon to the "first edition," i.e., chapters 1–20 (Lundbom 1986). The LXX contains the shorter and generally earlier text of Jeremiah, with its provenance in Egypt, where the biblical tradition also last locates Baruch (and Jeremiah).

The notoriety denied Baruch during his lifetime is more than compensated for in later Jewish literature and tradition, where he appears bigger than life (Muilenburg 1970:237–38). An apocryphal letter is attributed to him (2d century B.C. with later additions), as well as several apocalypses (Grintz *EncJud* 4:266–67; for texts see Charlesworth *OTP* 1:615–79). See also BARUCH, BOOK OF.

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JACK R. LUNDBOM

**2.** Son of Zabbai and a contemporary of Nehemiah (Neh 3:20). He shared with his fellow Levites in the reconstruction of the walls of Jerusalem laboring in the section described as "from the Angle to the door of the house of Eliashib," the high priest (Neh 3:17, 20).

**3.** One of the 22 signatories of the priestly contingent who ratified the covenant of Nehemiah (Neh 10:6). Besides these, 17 Levites, 44 chiefs of the people, and Nehemiah the governor entered into this compact, which provided for an abstinence from interracial relations and the more scrupulous observance of the Sabbath and other religious duties (Nehemiah 10).

**4.** Son of Colhozeh and the father of Maaseiah (Neh 11:5). In the three censuses of the returned exiles (Nehemiah 7; 11, and Ezra 2), this Baruch is mentioned but once. His son Maaseiah was among the chiefs of the province who lived in Jerusalem, a commendatory example in view of the incessant danger within the capital. Two Judahite leaders are singled out for particular notice in Nehemiah 11:Athaiah of the Judahite family of Perez, and Maaseiah the son of Baruch of the family of the Shelanite, that is, presumable from Shelah (Gen 38:5; Num 26:20). Since both have their ancestry traced for seven generations, it suggests their importance. Not only did they share the plaudits of the people for their courage (Neh 11:2), but they were accounted as "chiefs of the people" and "valiant men" (Neh 11:2, 6). Since Baruch is the father of Maaseiah, it seems reasonable to believe that he, too, was of statesmanlike character and a revered leader of the Judean repatriates. (See Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 181–86, 254; Gunneweg *Nehemia* KAT, 64–76, 180–94.)

EDWARD R. DALGLISH

**BARUCH, BOOK OF.** An apocryphal text containing five chapters (in the Vulgate and Authorized Version, the Epistle of Jeremiah is added as a sixth chapter) attributed to Baruch, the son of Neriah, Jeremiah's secretary and amanuensis (Jer 36:1–32; 43:1–7). This is one of three compositions among the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha attributed to him (cf. *2 Baruch, 3 Baruch*). There is virtual unanimity among scholars that the book was not composed by Baruch the son of Neriah (who, according to biblical

tradition, never reached Babylon). Some pseudepigraphic works may well have been attributed to him because in biblical tradition he occupied a position between prophet and scribe, and could therefore become a symbol for the transition from prophets to scribes. The earliest preserved text of Baruch is in Greek, in the Septuagint (cf. in $LXX^A$ and $LXX^B$, but not in Codex Sinaiticus), and in most Greek manuscripts it appears between Jeremiah and Lamentations. The later versions, i.e., Latin (in the oldest known mss. of the Vulgate, Amiatinus, both Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah are omitted), Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, and others are based on the Greek version, and already in Origen's time (A.D. 185?–254) there was no Hebrew text available. No text of Baruch has as yet been identified among the fragments from Qumran. The date and place of composition are uncertain; it may have been composed in the Diaspora, but Palestine cannot be entirely ruled out. See also JEREMIAH, ADDITIONS TO.

**A. Contents and Literary Genre**

The book is a collection of three compositions of different literary genres, linked by one common motif: Sin–Exile–Return.

**1. Historical Introduction.** In this section (1:1–14) the purpose of the book is stated, and its fictitious date is given. We are told that Baruch wrote a letter in Babylon in the fifth year, on the seventh day of the fifth month, the date on which the Chaldeans captured Jerusalem and set the temple and city on fire (i.e., 582/581 B.C.). Baruch read out the letter to Jeconiah son of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, and to a general assembly of the Diaspora, including nobles, princes, and elders, gathered in Babylon by the river Soud (perhaps Ahava). Money was collected to be sent to the (High) Priest Joakim son of Hilkiah in Jerusalem together with the silver vessels which Zedekiah had made in place of the temple vessels that had been taken away by Nebuchadnezzar. According to Baruch's letter, the message of the Diaspora to the Jews of Jerusalem consisted of four main points. First, they should sacrifice on the altar in Jerusalem, the sacrifices to be bought with the money sent by the Diaspora Jews. Second, they are asked to pray for Nebuchadnezzar and "his son" Belshazzar (an error also found in Dan 5:2, 13, 18, 22; Belshazzar was the son of Nabonidus) that "their days may be as long as the days of heaven are above the earth." Third, they should pray for the Diaspora, because the Jews living there have sinned against God, and God is still angry with them. Fourth, the Jerusalemites should read Baruch's letter sent to them and use it as a liturgy in the temple during the feasts and festivals. This first section of the book is in prose and sets its purpose as being a collection for liturgical purposes. The use of a letter to comment on liturgical matters is known elsewhere in the Apocrypha (2 Macc 1:1–2:18).

**2. Confession of Sins.** The prayer (1:15–3:8) is repetitive and at first sight seems unorganized. However, an inner logic can be traced and it can be divided into four parts.

**a. 1:15–2:5.** In these verses the Palestinian Jews are the ones who confess. They declare that the "men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem" have transgressed against the Torah and God's word ever since God led them out of Egypt and "until this day." They were therefore punished and subjected to all the disasters which Moses predicted when he promised them the Holy Land (Deuteronomy 28–32). Nevertheless they did not follow God's prophets and continued worshiping other gods, and even ate their own offspring, although God had already carried out his threats against the "judges, kings, nobles and the men of Israel and Judah." They were then dispersed among the nations.

**b. 2:6–2:30.** This section of the prayer is partially parallel to 1:15–2:5. This time, it is probably formulated from the standpoint of the Diaspora Jews (2:13–14, 30). Again we hear a confession about past sins and transgressions against Mosaic Law. The wish is expressed that God should save his people because "only a few of us are left among the nations" (2:13). A reminder is given of God's words through his prophets, and a summary of Jeremiah's words (25:8–11; 27:11–12; etc.) is condensed into three verses:God requested his people to serve the king of Babylonia; the people of Israel ignored his words; thus, they were punished in the Diaspora and their temple is desolate.

**c. 2:31–2:35.** A turning point will arrive, and the people of Israel will repent through remembering their fathers' sins. Then God will return them to the promised land, and will renew his covenant with them "and never again will I drive my people Israel out of the land."

**d. 3:1–3:8.** Another prayer for salvation. Although the Jews in exile have repented, they still suffer in the Diaspora.

The prayer shares much of its language and ideas with Dan 9:4–19, Jeremiah, and Deuteronomy 28–32, but Bar 1:15–3:8 is 47 percent longer than Dan 9:4–19 and differs from it in mood. Both prayers have the elements of confession and repentance in common and show a resemblance to liturgical texts from Qumran (4QDibHam.) See also WORDS OF THE LUMINARIES. Whereas in Daniel 9 the desolate temple and the deserted city are central, in Bar 1:15–3:8 this is not the case. Moreover, it seems that Daniel prays in Palestine, whereas Baruch prays in the Diaspora. There are two significant additions in Baruch's prayer:first, an emphasis on the transgression of God's command to serve the king of Babylonia; second, God's forgiveness and the Return motif (2:30–35). It is difficult to decide which prayer derives from the other. Possibly there may have existed two versions of a well-known prayer, one in the Diaspora (Bar 1:15–3:8), and the other in Palestine (Dan 9:4–19). The core of these prayers can already be discerned in Ezra 9:6–10 (and Nehemiah 9). Significantly, in both prayers (Daniel 9 and Baruch) there is little emphasis on data taken from Israel's past (unlike in Nehemiah 9 and in other prayers of this kind (e.g., *3 Macc* 6:1–15).

**3. Eulogy of Wisdom.** In these verses (3:9–4:4) the people of Israel were said to have been subjected to tribulations because they had deserted the origins of Wisdom, which is described here as the "way of God." It is often assumed that vv 3:9–13 are a later interpolation, but this assumption appears unfounded. In this poem the author echoes Proverbs (2:4 and elsewhere), Job (28:12–28), and Ben Sira (chap. 24), and asks where Wisdom dwells in the world:"Learn where Wisdom is, where strength, where understanding is, and so learn where longevity and life are, where there is light for the eyes, and peace. Who has found where she lives …" (3:14–15). Then comes a list of places where Wisdom can not be found:neither among the rulers of nations, the rich or the young, nor in Canaan or in Yemen. The giants, too, were not chosen by God to be the bearers of Wisdom, and so were destroyed (3:26–28). Only God the Creator possessed Wisdom, and He granted it to His people (3:32–37); only then did it become available to human beings in general (3:38). Wisdom is the Torah which gives life (cf. Deut 30:15–19); those who abandon the Torah will die. This section ends on a felicitous note:"Israel, we are happy because we know the things that please God" (4:4; cf. Deut 33:29). Unlike Ben Sira (chap. 24) who deals with the same theme, Baruch adopts the more general approach to the abode of wisdom (found in Job and Proverbs). He identifies Wisdom with the Torah (Deut 30:11-13), and emphasizes its place among the people of Israel, whereas Ben-Sira stresses the link between Wisdom, Jerusalem, and the land of Israel.

**4. A Psalm of Solace (Zion Poem).** The final part of the book (4:5–5:9) ends with the presentation of an antithesis between present and future against the background of the calamities of the past. True, the people of Israel are dispersed among the nations, Zion is deserted, and her enemies rejoice. However, this will change:the people of Israel will return to Jerusalem, which will regain its past grandeur; Jerusalem will once more become a city of "Peace through Righteousness and Glory through devotion" (5:4). The enemies will be destroyed. This part of the book is suffused with thoughts current in both Deutero-Isaiah (chaps. 40–55) and Deuteronomy. Lamentations, which in some of the mss. is the following book, has also influenced this section. Whereas in 4:9–29 Mother Zion recounts her sorrows, in 4:30–5:9 the tone of prayer is again used to express hope for salvation and return. Bar 5:1–9 resembles Psalms of Solomon 11, but is considerably shorter.

**B. Unity of the Book**

The unity of the book has been questioned by many. It has been attributed to two (1:1–3:8; 3:9–5:9), three (1:1–3:8; 3:9–4:4; 4:5–5:9; but also other divisions have been claimed), or even four authors (1:1–3 + 3:9–4:4; 1:4–14; 1:15–3:8; 4:5–5:9). Many scholars identify the author of Baruch with the final editor of this pseudepigraphic collection, who may also have been the author of one of its constituent parts. The possibility of a later editor is not ruled out and the entire question remains unresolved. However, it is clear that the book contains an unusual collection of compositions of different literary genres which draw on different source material. Whereas 1:1–3:8 draws heavily on Jeremiah and Deuteronomy, 3:9–4:4 show a strong dependence on wisdom literature, while 4:5–5:9 echoes Deutero-Isaiah, Deuteronomy, and to a

lesser extent, Lamentations. In this respect the three different sections of the book are almost independent of each other. Many thematic differences can also be detected. For instance, the attitude towards the Babylonians in 1:1–3:8 is positive, but is not so toward the enemies in 4:5–5:9, while the Wisdom Psalm is indifferent about the conqueror. The first section (1:1–3:8) emphasizes the four pillars on which the people of Israel's life rests:the Temple (2:26), the Torah (2:28), the land of Israel (2:34), and the People (2:35, and 2:23, where they are called "the People of Judah and Jerusalem"). The second section (3:9–4:4) emphasizes only the Torah and the people of Israel, and 4:5–5:9 is centered on Jerusalem and its people (and much less on the Torah, 4:12–13). Another difference is that in the first and third sections there is a strong awareness of the Sin–Exile–Return theme, while this is not the case in the second section. In addition, whereas the second section commonly uses *theos,* the two other sections prefer either *kurios* (1:1–3:8) or *ho aionios* (4:5–5:9).

**C. Language**

There is a virtual concensus since Kneucker (1879) that the original language of 1:1–3:8 was Hebrew. Concerning the second part (3:9–5:9) views are still divided between either a Hebrew or Greek original. Already Thackeray (1902–3) argued that the Semitic texts of Baruch had been translated into Greek by two different translators. The first translated Jeremiah 29–52 through Bar 3:8; the second was responsible for Bar 3:9–5:9. Whitehouse and others thought that Baruch used the Greek of Jeremiah, whereas Schürer (*RE*, 642) and Thackeray (1923) were of the opinion that the translator of Baruch merely imitated the style of Jeremiah. A good case has been made in recent years by E. Tov (1975; 1976) for the following solution:the version of Jeremiah 29–52 (Jer b) shows that a revision was made in an earlier Greek translation (called the Old Greek translation), which is still preserved in Jeremiah 1–28 (Jer a). This section of Jeremiah did not undergo such a revision. Bar 1:1–3:8, which draws heavily on Jeremiah 29–52, shows that the same hand which revised Jer b also revised Bar 1:1–3:8. This argument is supported by instances where Baruch draws on Jer a, but where the reviser changed the style in line with his style in Jer b. Because Bar 3:9–5:9 quotes neither Jeremiah nor Bar 1:1–3:8 it is impossible to establish in terms of vocabulary whether the reviser of Bar 1:1–3:8 also revised Bar 3:9–5:9.

**D. Date**

The date of composition of Baruch is unknown, and the issues become even more complicated if one accepts the disunity of the book. In fact, many suggestions have been put forward regarding the date of the book (or its constituent sections). These range from the 6th century B.C. to A.D. 70–135. There is no internal evidence which points decisively to some specific date. Even some of the potential clues are not very helpful. The sayings of Jeremiah were popular in Judaism at several junctures. The references to Nebuchadnezzar's "son" Belshazzar is a common error shared by both Baruch and Daniel. Originally it may have been made by Baruch, or else its author may have copied it centuries later from Daniel or some other source. Although in Baruch, Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar can be identified either with Antiochus IV and his son or with Vespasian and Titus, alternatively they can be accepted as authentic figures. The theme of the return of the sacred vessels is borrowed from Ezra 1:7–11, and the name of the high priest Joakim is only known from Neh 12:10, 26. The dependence of Baruch on these facts does not provide any clue to a later date. The resemblance of Baruch 1:15–3:8 to Dan 9:4–19 does not take us much further, since Daniel 9 could be an interpolation into Daniel 7–11 (composed circa 164 B.C.). Both prayers may derive from a common source, rather than being interdependent. Baruch could have used Daniel 9 (or vice versa) at a time much later than 164 B.C. The same holds true of the similarity between Bar 5:1–9 and Psalms of Solomon 11; the latter may have been composed after 67 B.C. The psalms may be based on one another, or derive from a common source. Scholars are inclined to the view that the related verses of Psalms of Solomon 11 are secondary to Baruch 5 (Pesch). Even if 3:9–5:9 (or any other part of the book except 1:1–3:8) are by a different author, the dating of the entire book still remains uncertain.) The absence of the theme of resurrection (even where one expects it, Bar 2:17), and the silence of the text regarding angelology, messianism, etc., does not necessarily point to a particular date of composition. The author of Baruch imitated biblical themes and style, and this could be done at any time from the Return until A.D. 135 or later. According to 1:10–14 (but perhaps not according to 2:26), the

temple appears to be in operation. Jer 41:5 and Lam 1:4 maintain that worship in the burnt temple (2 Kgs 25:9) continued even after the conquest of 587 B.C. The question whether Baruch borrowed from these data to allude to his own times remains open.

Four positive determinations can be made concerning the date of Baruch. First, if the LXX of Jeremiah can be approximately dated, then at least Bar 1:1–3:8 can be fixed to some point before the end of the 2d century B.C. (116 B.C.). Second, throughout the book the Jews seem to have religious freedom, but not political independence. Moreover, the mood of the entire book excludes the possibility of dating it to the Hasmonean independent state (140–67 B.C.). Third, despite the prevalent mood of desolation and despair, hope is expressed for redemption and complete return of the people of Israel to their land. Fourth, the insistent plea to serve the Babylonian king and his "son" may refer—taken together with the other points mentioned—either to the period of ca. 200 B.C., when much hope was placed in Antiochus III (who had conquered Palestine from the Ptolemies), or to the period after A.D. 70, when it was hoped that many would return to the land of Israel from all parts of the Roman Empire (4:37):"See, your sons whom you sent away are coming! They are coming, gathered from east and west at the Holy One's command, rejoicing in God's glory." At the present stage of research, the question of dating must remain open.

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DORON MENDELS

**BARUCH, BOOK OF 2 (SYRIAC).** Approximately 30 to 50 years after the destruction of the temple by the Roman soldiers in 70 C.E. a gifted Jew, using old traditions, many of which antedate 70, struggled to assert that Judaism is a religion based on Torah—Law—and that the loss of the temple was due to the failure of the chosen nation to be obedient to God and his Law. His central message is the continuing obligation to obey the Law (note 44:5–7; 51:3; so also Collins 1984, contra Murphy 1985). In many ways the concerns and expressions in *2 Baruch* indicate how Early Judaism was moving toward Rabbinic Judaism. Some scholars speculate that the author may have been Akiba (Rosenthal 1885) or belonged to Akiba's group at Jamnia (Violet 1924); Bogaert (1969) suggests that he may have been Rabbi Joshua ben Ḥananiah (ca. 40–125).

The document, which is a full-blown apocalypse (contrast *4 Ezra*), is extant in only the following corrupt or partial manuscripts:one 6th- or 7th-century Syriac manuscript (Milan, Ambrosian Library, MS B.21 Inf. fols. $257^{a}$–$265^{b}$), which is sometimes meaningless and is based on a lost Greek text; one 10th- or 11th-century Arabic manuscript (St. Catherine's Monastery, Arab. MS no. 589), which is defective and based on a late Syriac text; two 4th- or 5th-century fragments among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri (*P.Oxy.* 403); and three late excerpts in Jacobite lectionaries (BM Add. MS 14686 [13th cent.], BM Add. MS 14687 [13th cent.], Kerala, India, A. Konath Libr. MS 77 (4) [16th cent.]). Without a doubt the major witness to this document is the Syriac manuscript in the Ambrosian Library, but emendations are sometimes necessary.

Although not obvious, it is possible that the apocalypse was intended to have seven sections:the destruction of Jerusalem (1–12); the impending judgement (13–20); retribution and the messianic era (21–34); Baruch's lament and an allegory of the vine and the cedar (35–46); the endtime, the resurrected body, paradise (47–52); Baruch's vision of a cloud (53–76); and the epistle of Baruch (77–87). Some scholars think the epistle was later added to the apocalypse (Sayler 1984), others (Bogaert 1969; Klijn *OTP* 1:615–52) rightly see it as an original part of the document, as a kind of epilogue (Collins 1984).

While there is a consensus that the document was probably composed in Palestine, there is no agreement on whether it was composed in Greek (Bogaert 1969), Hebrew or Aramaic (Denis 1970a, b), or Hebrew (Charles 1896; Klijn *OTP* 1:615–52). Earlier in this century, scholars concluded that the work is a combination of sources (Charles isolated six), but today most scholars (Bogaert 1969; Sayler 1984; Murphy 1985) are rightly impressed with the unity of the work. Brockington thinks that *2 Baruch* is roughly contemporaneous with *4 Ezra* and *Pseudo-Philo,* but there is sufficient evidence to conclude, with many specialists, that the chronological order seems to be *Pseudo-Philo, 4 Ezra,* then *2 Baruch* (cf. Klijn *OTP* 1:615–52. No literary dependence, however, proves this sequence; but in view of the numerous and striking parallels between *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* (viz. cf. *4 Ezra* 7:118 with *2 Bar.* 48:42 and 54:19) it is possible that the author of *2 Baruch* attempted to correct the pessimism of *4 Ezra* (cf. Collins 1984).

The brilliant mind of the author is readily apparent. He claims apologetically that Israel's enemies were allowed to enter Jerusalem only after "all the sacred vessels" had been removed and the angels had destroyed the walls (7:1–8:5). He thereby removes the Romans' reason for boasting (7:1). Eschewing the explanation that evil derives from fallen (1 Enoch) or evil angels (cf. 1QS), the author of *2 Baruch* puts the blame on humankind, lamenting in poetic language that insinuates some free will:"Adam is, therefore, not the cause, except only for himself, but each of us has become our own Adam" (54:19; Klijn *OTP* 1). His explanation for the delay in the consummation of the ages is that the endtime will not come until the number of those to be born is fulfilled (23:4–7). One of the most beautiful eschatological passages in the history of the Jewish apocalypses is the following:"For the youth of this world has passed away, and the power of creation is already exhausted, and the coming of the times is very near and has passed by. And the pitcher is near the well, and the ship to the harbor, and the journey to the city, and life to its end" (85:10; Klijn *OTP* 1:615–52; this passage is truncated in the Arabic version).

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**BARUCH, BOOK OF 3 (GREEK).** Attributed to Baruch and extant in two Slavonic versions (both probably derived from Greek manuscripts) and in Greek, this work is an apocalypse in which

Baruch, Jeremiah's scribe, laments over the destruction of Jerusalem until an angel sent by the Lord leads him through five heavens and reveals to him the mysteries of this world and time.

It is possible that Greek is the original language (Gaylord *OTP* 1:655). The date of composition is uncertain; it obviously must postdate 70 C.E. since the author knows about the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, and probably antedates 231 C.E., if Origen alludes to it in *Princ.* 2.3.6 (James 1897). Since the pseudepigraphon is closely linked with the apocryphal Baruch literature, especially 2 and 4 Baruch, which were written in the early 2d century C.E., it is either subsequent to or contemporaneous with them (Argyle 1984:898). Diez Macho (1984:295) concluded that *3 Baruch* was composed near the end of the 1st century C.E. in Egypt. A non-Palestinian provenience seems probable (*APOT* 527–32; *JSHRZ* 5/1:15–44).

The document was drawn to the attention of modern scholars in 1896 (by E. Cuthbert Butler), and M. R. James concluded soon thereafter that the work was composed in the 2d century C.E. by a Christian. Most scholars now contend that the document is Jewish (Ginsberg, Hughes, Picard, Rost, Hage) and has been redacted by a Christian (but many of the Christian passages in the Greek version are absent in the Slavonic). Thus, while the work is originally Jewish the extant versions are the result of Christian redaction.

The author struggles with many questions, including the relation between the human and the divine since the sacrifices in the temple have been abolished. The author explains that the oil of mercy and glory of God will still be available, because there is a heavenly temple in which Michael offers to God the prayers and virtues of humans. In the fifth heaven Baruch sees "Michael take hold of a very large bowl, its depth being so great as from heaven to earth, and its width so great as from north to south. And I [Baruch] said, 'Lord, what is it that Michael the archangel is holding?'And he said to me, 'This is where the virtues of the righteous and the good works which they do are carried, which are brought by him before the heavenly God' " (11:8–9). See also *OTP* 1:653–79; *APOT* 2:527–41.

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**BARUCH, BOOK OF 4.** The pseudepigraphon generally designated as *4 Baruch* is actually entitled in Greek *Paraleipomena Ieremiou,* "Things omitted from the Prophet Jeremiah," and in the Ethiopic mss "The Rest of the Words of Baruch." The document represents itself as an account of the events surrounding the conquest of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple by the Babylonians in 587 B.C.E.

According to this narrative, the night before the catastrophe, the Lord revealed to Jeremiah that because of the sins of the people, the holy city was about to be attacked by his angels and then delivered into the hands of the Chaldeans, who could not otherwise have prevailed over Jerusalem. Jeremiah is instructed to entrust the vessels of the temple to the earth and the keys of the sanctuary to the sun. The Lord further instructs him to accompany the exiles to Babylon, but to leave Baruch the scribe behind in Jerusalem until the return of the people.

Jeremiah asks the Lord if his faithful servant Abimelech might not be spared, and the Lord agrees, instructing Jeremiah to send Abimelech out of the city early in the morning to gather figs at the farm of Agrippa. There Abimelech takes a nap under a tree and sleeps for 66 years.

When Abimelech finally awakens from his slumber, the figs in his basket are still fresh, but he is disoriented and unable to recognize the city or other landmarks. At last an old man deduces what has happened and tells Abimelech about the destruction and subsequent events. When Abimelech is reunited

with Baruch, the scribe takes his awakening as a sign that the return of the exiles is imminent and interprets Abimelech's still-fresh figs as tokens of personal and national resurrection. Baruch then sends a letter to Jeremiah along with some of the figs, instructing the prophet to prepare the exiles for their return.

Jeremiah returns to Judea with the exiles, but as they are crossing over the Jordan river, those who will not put away their Babylonian wives are turned back. Eventually these settle down in Samaria, the progenitors of the Samaritans. In Jerusalem, Jeremiah has another marvelous vision in which he sees many divine mysteries. Following this vision, Jeremiah preaches about the future coming of Jesus Christ the Son of God, and is finally stoned to death by the people.

The date of the final form of *4 Baruch* must certainly be after the middle of the 1st century C.E., as witnessed by the reference to the farm of Agrippa and the resurrection of Jesus. Because Herod Agrippa I didn't come into control of Judea until 41 C.E., the text must date after that time. Moreover, most scholars believe that the concern for the destruction of the city and temple and for the restoration of the nation reflects a period after the destruction of the Jerusalem temple by Titus in 70 C.E. and before the Bar Kokhba revolt. Indeed, if this line of reasoning is correct, the document ought to be dated to the first third of the 2d century since an upper limit of 136 C.E. is obtained by adding the 66 years of Abimelech's sleep, the maximum period envisioned by the author before restoration, to the date of the destruction in 70. The knowledge apparently displayed in the text about Jerusalem landmarks such as the farm of Agrippa or the marketplace of the gentiles suggests, but does not prove, that *4 Baruch* was written in Palestine, or perhaps even in Jerusalem itself.

*4 Baruch* contains three redactional levels, two Jewish and one Christian. In the oldest portion of the text, chaps. 1–4, the central figure is Jeremiah the prophet; Baruch the scribe is either a subordinate or not present at all. This agrees with traditions preserved in canonical Jeremiah, 2 Maccabees, and *Lives of the Prophets.* The later Jewish redactor, particularly in chaps. 7 and 8, elevated the figure of Baruch the scribe above that of Jeremiah the prophet, and otherwise gave the document a distinctly Pharisaic character. This fits well the historical developments in Judaism during the early 2d century B.C.E. Finally, a Christian redactor made a few interpolations in the body of the text and added the prophecy of Christ in chap. 9.

After the Bar Kokhba revolt, Judaism repudiated much of its apocalyptic tradition and the literature it produced, including *4 Baruch.* This left only the Christianized redaction preserved in Greek, Ethiopic, Armenian, Old Church Slavonic, and the Romanian versions. However, the linguistic evidence strongly supports a Semitic original, probably Hebrew, behind these later versions (see *OTP* 2:413–25).

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**BARZILLAI** (PERSON) [Heb *barzillay* (בַּרְזִלַּי)]. The name of three men in the OT.

1. A Gileadite who supported David during his difficulties with Absalom (2 Sam 17:27–29). When David, hounded from Jerusalem by Absalom, camped at Mahanaim, Barzillai supplied him with materials and food from his own considerable wealth. David's refreshed and strengthened troops then defeated Absalom's army. Barzillai's kindness made him the object of David's peculiar favor:David invited him to Jerusalem for permanent residence, proximate to the palace where he might enjoy the privileges of royal friendship. Barzillai declined, however, because of the debilities of his advanced age which would inhibit such enjoyment. Instead he sent his son, Chimham, whom David received as his surrogate. After a solemn and ceremonious benediction pronounced upon his benefactor, the king proceeded toward Jerusalem, accompanied by Chimham; Barzillai returned to his home in Gilead (2 Sam 19:31–40). David rewarded Barzillai's kindness, generosity, and loyalty by instructing Solomon to extend to Chimham and his sons a continuing royal friendship together with its accompanying privileges (1 Kgs 2:7).

2. A resident of Abel-Meholah in Gilead (2 Sam 21:8). His son Adriel married Merab, King Saul's daughter, though she had been promised to David. From Adriel he gained five grandsons, but he suffered the shameful loss of those grandsons to the hostilities between Saul and David. David surrendered them to

the Gibeonites, whom he knew to be hostile to Saul; the Gibeonites hanged the five, exposed on a mountain (2 Sam 21:8–9).

3. The father of a family of sons who lived in Jerusalem during the postexilic period (Ezra 2:61 = Neh 7:63). He derived his name from #1 above when he took a wife from his progeny and took the name with the wife. His name is given as "Jaddus" ("Jaddous" in one manuscript) in 1 Esdr 5:38, a passage in which his wife's name is given as "Augia." But these names are both doubtful for reasons which Bewer (1922:31) summarized already in 1922 and which subsequent students of the passage have found persuasive. "Jaddus" is the corrupted Gk transliteration of the Heb *zlly,* from which the preceding syllable *br* was lost. "Augia" is a corruption of the Gk *Agiliadi,* which was the transliteration of the Heb *hglydy,* "the Gileadite." If his sons' claims were legitimate, he was a priest. His sons claimed the privileges and duties of priests in postexilic Jerusalem, though they were unable to establish their claim when they sought, in vain, their registration in the priestly genealogies. This lack marked them as unclean and excluded them from the priesthood (Ezra 2:62–63 = Neh 7:64–65). Kidner (*Ezra Nehemiah* TOTC, 42) suggests that when Barzillai appropriated a name from a non-priestly family, he compromised his status as a priest; subsequently, his and his sons' names were deleted or excluded from the priestly registers.

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**BASEMATH** (PERSON) [Heb *bāśĕmat* (בָּשְׂמַת)]. Derived from *bośem/beśem* "balm (tree)," the name belongs to two women in the OT (see below). Outside the OT, the name *bs*$_2$*mt* occurs in Minaean for a women from Gaza married to a Minaean merchant (M 392 C 47; 3d century B.C.) and in Sabaic for a man (CIS IV 725); the Sabaic reference may be vocalized according to classical Arabic *Bašâmah,* which is a man's name as well (Caskel 1966:225; Knauf 1985:93, n. 509).

1. One of the wives of Esau, the legendary ancestor of Edom (Gen 26:34; 36:3, 4, 10, 13, 17). According to Gen 26:34, she was the daughter of "Elon the Hittite." In the 1st millennium B.C., "Hittite" could denote any native of Syria/Palestine (the name "Elon" is Canaanite). In the perception of the priestly source (or layer), to which this verse is generally attributed, it could denote any non-Jewish inhabitant of Syria/Palestine.

According to Gen 36:3, Basemath was the daughter of Ishmael and sister of Nebaioth. This contradicts Gen 28:9 (P), where the daughter of Ishmael married to Esau is called Mahalath. Most probably, Gen 36:1–5 is a redactional addition to Genesis 36 which is more recent than 36:6–9, 40–43 (P) and 36:10–14, 20–28 (from the geographical source of P?). For this geographical source and its date, see Knauf 1985:61–63, and for the stratigraphy of Genesis 36, Weippert 1971:437–46. The redactor may have realized that "Basemath" sounds more "Arabic" than "Hittite." The "sister of Nebaioth" probably refers to the immigration of the Qedarite clan or subtribe *Nabaṭ* (the later Nabataeans) into Edom, which may have occurred as early as at the end of the 6th century B.C. (Knauf 1985:108f.).

According to the old (7th century B.C.?) and probably Edomite tradition in Gen 36:10–14, Basemath is the mother of the major Edomite tribe Reuel. This information is copied from Gen 36:10, 13 into Gen 36:4 and 17 (Weippert 1971:437–46). Judging from the parallels to the name, it is conceivable that the legendary ancestor of the Reuelites could have been either male or female. Only with the incorporation of Reuel into the Edomite state, or even later with the compilation of the biblical lists concerning Edom, Basemath became a wife of Esau.

2. According to 1 Kgs 4:15, Basemath was a daughter of King Solomon and married to one of Solomon's twelve provincial governors. The authenticity of the list in 1 Kgs 4:7–19 is generally accepted.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**BASHAN** (PLACE) [Heb *bāšān* (בָּשָׁן)]. The fertile area of upper Transjordan east of the Sea of Galilee and mainly north of the Yarmuk river. The ancient boundaries of Bashan, although impossible to determine exactly, appear to be the area north of Gilead, west of Salecah and the Jebel Druze Mountains (though some biblical texts appear to include Jebel Druze; see *GB*, 222), south of Mount Hermon, and east of the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee. Its southern boundary was apparently not far from the present border of Syria and Jordan which coincides with the lower Yarmuk River. One of Bashan's early capitals, Edrei (Num 21:33, Deut 3:10), was situated on a tributary of the Yarmuk. Other cities located in Bashan included Karnaim, Ashtaroth (Deut 1:4, Josh 9:10), and Salecah (Deut 3:10) in the regions of Argob (Deut 3:4), Golan (Deut 4:43), and Hauran. The ancient capital of Bashan was Ashtaroth, replaced later by Karnaim.

Bashan always appears with the definite article as "the Bashan," meaning "smooth" or "stoneless plain," or "fertile, fruitful." It was a broad, fertile plateau surrounded by basaltic, volcanic mountains, and hills. The plateau, at an altitude of 2000 feet above sea level, was perfectly suited for agriculture and cattle. The area was well known for its cattle (Ps 22:12; Amos 4:1–3) and timber (Isa 2:13; Ezek 27:6). Because of its fertility and productivity, Bashan was the prize in wars between Syria and Israel.

Bashan was inhabited as early as the late 4th millennium B.C. by whom the Bible calls the Rephaim. By the time of Moses, a prosperous agricultural area had been built around sixty cities (Deut 3:4–6). All of Bashan's cities were defeated by Moses at Edrei (Num 21:33–35; Deut 3:1–9). After the area was subdued, Moses assigned it to the half-tribe of Manasseh and even set aside Golan to be one of the cities of refuge east of the Jordan. Some of the families of Gad settled in Bashan (1 Chr 5:11–12). Ultimately, Israel was removed from Bashan by Tilgath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.) of Assyria.

In the Greco-Roman period, the area was known as Batanea. Its cities included Seleucia, Hippos, Gamala, Decapolis, Abila, and Dion. The district of Hauran became well developed in the centuries following Christ, as evidenced by the construction of aqueducts, reservoirs, temples, theaters, and basilicas. From the period following Trajan (A.D. 117–38), inscriptions abound in the area.

JOEL C. SLAYTON

**BASILIDES.** Basilides, active in the first half of the 2d century, was a highly influential Christian gnostic philosopher who established his own philosophical school in Alexandria (see GNOSTICISM). Also influential were the early followers of Basilides, like his most popular disciple and "son" Isidore and possibly the great gnostic reformer VALENTINUS. The school of Basilides was apparently still active in the mid-4th century. The present writer is indebted to text anthologies and studies by W. Völker (1932), K. Rudolph (1977), R. Grant (1979), and B. Layton (1987).

**A. Patristic Sources**

As in the case of most original gnostic literature, the intense heresiological polemic against Basilides and his followers resulted in the effective censorship and eventual elimination of their writings from the medieval manuscript tradition. What we know of Basilides and his teaching comes down to us in the form of incomplete descriptions and quotations by the patristic heresiologists (Grant 1979:201–16). As yet, there have been no genuine Basilidean texts identified among the papyri including the Nag Hammadi codices (see NAG HAMMADI [CODICES]).

The most important patristic evidence is the description by Irenaeus (ca. 180; *Haer.* 1.24.3–7), possibly based on a now lost writing of Justin Martyr (ca. 160; Layton 1987:418), which was later reused in summary form by the 4th and 5th century heresiologists Epiphanius of Salamis (*Haer.* 24.1.1–24.10.8) and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (*Compendium* 4; Layton 1987:420–25; Rudolph 1977:309–12). Irenaeus transmits a descriptive summary of Basilides' mythological system which is in line with the contents of the fragments quoted by Clement and Origen (below) and other extant early evidences of the classic gnostic myth (see GNOSTICISM). The myth begins with the "unengendered parent" (first principle) who expands into a complex spiritual universe. This is followed by the creation of a material universe of 365

concentrically nested heavens, each of which is controlled by its own rulers (archons), and at the core center of which is the lowest point of creation: humankind's material world. The lowest heaven, that visible to humans, was created by the evil angels who populate it. According to the myth, their ruler was the minor but effectively evil creator-god of the Jews who rules over a material world and is at odds with the spiritual aspirations of humankind. Humans, whose true home is the spiritual universe, are thus spirits trapped in the material world and can only escape by bodiless spiritual ascent through the 365 levels of dominating authorities if they *know* (i.e., if they are gnostic) that the way has been opened by the descent and ascent of Christ the spiritual Savior. The Christ was not truly incarnate and did not suffer but instead escaped as Simon of Cyrene died on the cross. This Christ (the laughing Savior), having overcome the shackles of the evil god, thus ascends back to the unengendered father and so prepares the way through the heavens for human spirits to ascend. It is clear that the gnosticizing spirit-matter dualism, the inverted interpretation of Gen 1–3, and the denigration of biblical history with its good creator god, certainly put Basilides' teaching at odds with developing orthodox positions (Rudolph 1977:310–12; Layton 1987:420–25).

Clement of Alexandria (ca.200) quotes and comments on seven sections from unknown works of Basilides in Clement's famous *Stromata* 4–5 (cf. frags. A through E, G and H in Layton 1987:427–37, 440–44). Two of the fragments focus on cosmological issues (Layton 1987:428–31):the first is a quote (frag. A; *Strom.* 4.162.1) which refers to two of the constituent members of the octet in the godhead and is in agreement with Irenaeus' description (*Haer.* 1.24.3), while the other is a quote and discussion (frag. B; *Strom.* 5.74.3) refering to the Stoic concept of the uniqueness of the world. The five remaining fragments focus on ethical issues (in line with Stoic ethics; cf. Layton 1987:418, 432–44):the first (frag. C; *Strom.* 5.3.2–3) refers to Basilides' teaching on election in relation to faith and virtue; the second (frag. D; frag. 4 in Völker; *Strom.* 4.86.1) describes Basilides' teaching on the will of god (fate) to which the virtuous person aspires; the third (=frag. E; *Strom.* 4.165.3) describes Basilides' teaching that human souls retain their identity through their various incarnations and so transcend the world; the fourth (frag. G; frag. 2 in Völker; *Strom.* 4.81.2–4.83.2) is a series of lengthy quotes introduced by Clement with the statement that they are from Book 23 of Basilides' now lost *Commentaries* (the *Exegetica*), quotes which seem to be from a commentary on 1 Pet 4:12–19 in which he argues that the will of god (fate) is "all-powerful and all good" (Layton 1987:440–43); the fifth (frag. H; *Strom.* 4.153.3) is a single sentence referring to forgivable sins.

Origen, in his commentary on Romans (ca. 244), quotes a Basilidean text (frag. F; frag. 3 in Völker; Origenes, *Opera Omnia* 4) in which Basilides interprets Rom 7:7 to refer to incarnation (which Origen accepted) and a certain gnostic cosmology (which Origen rejected). This text may also come from Basilides' *Commentaries* like frag. G in Clement, suggesting that Basilides and the eastern Valentinian gnostic Heracleon (ca.150; Rudolph 1977:323–24) are the first known authors of commentaries on NT texts.

Other early and descriptive patristic refutations of Basilides' teachings are known. One is found in an extant heresiology by Hippolytus of Rome (first half of the 3d century; *Haer.* 7:20–27). But Hippolytus' report is not in tandem with the descriptions and quotations of Basilides' system which we find in the summaries and quotations in Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen (see discussion in Layton 1987:418 n. 2; Rudolph 1977:310). Another is the now lost *Refutation of Basilides* by the heresiologist Agrippa Castor (ca.135) mentioned by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 4.7.6–8) at the beginning of the 4th century (Rudolph 1977:309–10).

**B. Basilides' Gnostic System and its Development**

It is clear from the preceding survey of patristic quotes and discussions that Basilides' system was eclectically based on a variety of sources including classic gnostic teaching, Stoic ethics, and Platonic-Pythagorian soteriology. Yet through it all he employed traditional Christian scripture, language, and terminology (Rudolph 1977:310–12). This eclectic mix was quite common in Christian philosophies of 2d century Alexandria and is also found, on the more orthodox side, in Clement of Alexandria (Layton 1987:417–18).

Basilides was careful to base his teaching on broadly accepted apostolic authority like most innovative theologians of his day. While Valentinus was to base his authority on Paul (through a certain Theudas), Basilides based his authority on Peter (through a certain Glaucias), further strengthening the suggestion that the quote from Basilides' exegetical commentary (frag. G) was from a text in the Petrine tradition (1 Peter; Layton 1987:417, 440–43; Rudolph 1977:309–10).

After the death of Basilides, and in contrast to the popular reception of Valentinus' teachings, his school spread little beyond Egypt. His disciple and "son" Isidore was his most well-known disciple, developed Basilides' teachings independently, and produced at least three works *(On the Grown Soul, Ethics,* and *Expositions of the Prophet Parchor)* which are preserved only in fragmentary form in Clement of Alexandria (Rudolph 1977:309–13; cf. 258–59). At least two centuries after Basilides' death, the heresiologist Epiphanius (ca.375, *Panarion*) seems to know the movement as a relatively small gnostic group still confined to Egypt.

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PAUL ALLAN MIRECKI

**BASKAMA** (PLACE) [Gk *Baskama* (Βασκαμα)]. The town in Gilead where Jonathan Maccabeus was executed by Trypho, the commander of the Seleucid army ca.142 B.C. (1 Macc 13:23). Josephus (*Ant* 12.6.6 §210) refers to this location as Baska.

The Maccabees after leading an extended rebellion against Seleucid control of Palestine, had come to be recognized by the parties which struggled for control of the Seleucid empire. Jonathan had been affirmed as the religious and secular leader of Judea by the faction that Trypho supported (1 Macc 11:57) and as a result militarily opposed and defeated the advance of Demetrius' forces (1 Macc 12:25–30). Trypho however, realizing the increasing independence of Jonathan, sought to depose him. Unable to defeat Jonathan militarily Trypho resorted to subterfuge. Jonathan was taken hostage in Ptolemais where he had expected to receive additional territory as a reward for his allegiance (1 Macc 12:43–45). Trypho's subsequent efforts to regain control of Judea, however, were thwarted by Simon Maccabeus, and Trypho was forced to retreat in the face of inclement winter weather via the sheltered Rift Valley route to the N. When the Seleucid forces approached firmly held Seleucid territory and Jonathan's value as a hostage was reduced, he was executed.

Baskama was located within territory where the Hasmonean forces could be effective. This is demonstrated by the fact that Simon was able to retrieve his brother's body (1 Macc 13:25).

Baskama has not been identified through archaeological research. Possible locations include Tell Bazuk and Wadi Jummeimeh (M.R. 211256) which are both located NE of the Sea of Galilee.

ROBERT W. SMITH

**BASTION.** See FORTIFICATIONS.

**BAT.** See ZOOLOGY.

**BATASHI, TELL EL-** (M.R. 142132). A site located in the alluvial Sorek valley 7 km W of Beth-shemesh and 9 km S of Gezer. The site is often identified with TIMNAH, the city that figures predominantly in the Samson story (Judges 14). This identification is based on the identification of Ekron with Tel Miqne to the W and of Beth-shemesh with Kh. Rumeila to the E, since Timnah is listed between the two in Josh 15:10–11 and since Tell el-Batashi is the only important mound along this line.

Excavations around the tell in 1955 revealed Neolithic, Chalcolithic, EB, and MB remains (see BATASHI, TULEILAT EL-). Excavations on the mound itself, however, began in 1977 and have clarified the history of the mound from the MB Age until the Persian period. Located in the center of a fertile valley, near the brook of Sorek, where wells easily could be dug, Timnah controlled a main road linking the region of Jabneh and Ekron in the coastal plain to the inner Shephelah near Beth-shemesh.

Timnah thus was ideally situated for agriculture and as a cultural and commercial link between the coastal plain and the hill country.

The tell itself is a 200 m square mound. The construction of a massive earthen rampart inside a protective moat during the MB Age established its symmetrical shape. This rampart created a central crater-like depression which the site retained through its final occupation at the end of the Iron Age.

| *Stratum* | *Period* |
|---|---|
| I | Persian (6–5th cent. B.C.) |
| II | Iron IIC (7th cent. B.C.) |
| III | Iron IIB (8th cent. B.C.) |
| IV | Iron IC (10th cent. B.C.) |
| V | Iron IA–B (12–11th cent. B.C.) |
| VI | LB IIB (13th cent. B.C.) |
| VII | LB IIA (14th cent. B.C.) |
| VIII | LB IB (late 15th cent. B.C.) |
| IX | LB IA (early 15th cent. B.C.) |
| X | Transitional MB–LB (16th cent. B.C.) |
| XI | MB |

The MB fortifications have been exposed in 2 sections. The massive rampart was constructed of layers of alluvial earth and pebbles and support a huge mud brick city wall on its crest. During the LB Age (strata X–VI) an unwalled Canaanite town flourished at Tell el-Batashi. The outer walls of large buildings exposed in the NE corner of the mound appear to have created a defensive line. The town appears to have suffered from continuous attacks, since each of the 5 LB strata provided evidence of extensive burning. The destruction levels contained an abundance of finds, including seals, scarabs, metal objects, and various local and imported pottery vessels. Of particular importance is a large building of stratum VII (mid-14th cent. B.C.), with its ground floor divided by two rows of wood pillars supporting its ceiling and the 2d floor. This is a unique example of the use of pillars in Canaanite architecture and may be a forerunner of the later Iron Age pillared buildings.

Exposure of the Philistine town of Timnah (stratum V) has been limited. Brick and stone structures from this period as well as wide open areas containing baking ovens and silos have been excavated. Typical Philistine pottery together with other artifacts such as seals and seal impressions have been found in this level. The site was abandoned in the late 11th century. During the period of the United Monarchy (10th century B.C.) the town was partially rebuilt. Architectural remains covered limited sections of the excavated areas. A large public building partially excavated in the S part of the mound may have been a palace of that period. In the city gate area (Area C), two massive square towers may have been built during this phase. Red-slipped and hand-burnished pottery found in this level is of types characteristic of Israelite sites in the Shephelah.

The 10th-century town may have been destroyed during the Egyptian invasion by Shishak 5 years after the division of the kingdom. After an occupational gap, probably lasting most of the 9th century B.C., the town was rebuilt in the 8th century B.C. (stratum III), perhaps when the region was part of the Kingdom of Judah during the reign of Uzziah. The newly planned city was surrounded by a massive stone city wall and was entered through a double gate consisting of outer and inner gate structures. The exterior gate was composed of a massive outer tower and inner tower flanking a well-defended approach ramp. The interior gate was composed of two pairs of guard chambers. The city suffered violent destruction which safely may be attributed to the Assyrian conquest of 701 B.C. One of the most important discoveries in this city was a store building containing over 30 storage vessels of the *lmlk* type, characteristic Judean jars with handles stamped with the Judean royal seal. One of the handles was sealed with a private impression of Safan son of Abimaas, identical to seals found at Jerusalem and Azekah. The other seals are of either the

"four-winged" or the "two-winged" type. These jars are evidence of Judean activity in Timnah, probably during Hezekiah's preparations for the war against Sennacherib.

During the 7th century B.C. (stratum II) the city was rebuilt on a grander scale. The city wall and gate were reconstructed, and new buildings were erected in the town. The use of monolithic pillars to divide courtyards of buildings is characteristic of this phase, though it probably started already in the earlier period. The buildings, forming well-defined architectural units, reflect superb urban planning. A large fort or public building in the NE quadrant of the mound and a series of houses to its W were excavated. One of these units contained a complete oil-press installation, with a large stone trough or crushing basin, two adjoining pressing vats, and stone weights and stone rollers in various sizes used to crush the olives. Parts of another oil press found nearby suggest that, as in nearby Ekron, oil production was one of the main industries of the town during this period. The houses were destroyed by intense fire ca.600 B.C., most probably during Babylonian military campaigns in the region. Rich assemblages of pottery and other finds throw light on the material culture of Timnah during that period. This culture was characterized by the combination of coastal (late "Philistine") and Judean cultural traditions. The identity of a local pottery, similar to that of Ekron, is particularly interesting, and points to the existence of a local regional culture.

Pits and some poor structures are evidence for a limited settlement during the Persian period.

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AMIHAY MAZAR
GEORGE L. KELM

**BATASHI, TULEILAT EL-** (M.R. 142132). A site on the N bank of Wadi Sorek, about 7 km NW of ancient Beth-shemesh and about 750 m from Tell el-Batashi (biblical Timnah?), which lies on the opposite bank of the wadi and contains remains from the Israelite period onward (see BATASHI, TELL EL-). The Tuleilat el-Batashi site, however, is characterized by two barrows (or tumuli) around which have been found remains dating to the Neolithic, Chalcolithic, EB, and MB periods, reinforcing the assumption that occupation first started in this location and then later shifted S to the site of the mound.

Excavations were conducted in three areas around the barrows during March and July–August of 1955. Area A, to the S of the larger barrow (T-1), yielded two Neolithic shelter pits, each distinguished by the same two occupation levels (IVa and IVb). The pottery of the upper level (IVa) is identical with that of Jericho IX and Kenyon's Pre-Pottery Neolithic A. The pottery of level IVb differs from that of IVa mainly in its decoration; especially common are shards of the "dark-faced burnished ware" first noted in the Amuq plain and at Mersin (Hole 1959:154; Kaplan 1969). Level III, which is above level IVa and dates to the Chalcolithic period, can be correlated with the culture of Wadi Rabah stratum II (see RABAH, WADI). The artifacts of this level included several Neolithic Yarmukian shards, thus confirming that Jericho IX preceded the Yarmukian culture, as already established by Garstang and Kenyon. Level II, dated to the EB Age, was exposed only in the NW part of area A. Level I is represented by the remains of a MB pit which had penetrated into level II.

Three Chalcolithic occupation levels were exposed in area B, also near barrow T-1. The upper two levels (IIIa and IIIb) contained Ghassulian pottery, while the lowest (IIIc), resting on virgin soil, included pottery identical to that of Wadi Rabah stratum II. This is significant insofar as it provides evidence that the Wadi Rabah culture preceded the Ghassulian.

The excavations in area C cut across the T-1 barrow and exposed two chambers (each measuring 1.7 × 1.9 m), and behind them to the S was uncovered part of a third chamber. MB II–III pottery was found on the floor, as were other artifacts including round ovens of baked clay and a Hyksos scarab. To the E of the chambers were concentric walls which decreased in height toward the edge of the barrow, the space between the walls tightly packed with small stones. This type of barrow is otherwise unattested in Israel,

although it is common in W Europe, where it is known as the "long barrow" type. Thus, in addition to the various burial types already attested for this period in Palestine must be added this "long barrow" type. The barrow is not far from area A, whose level I remains (an MB pit) are linked with the MB remains from this T-1 barrow.

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J. KAPLAN

**BATH** [Heb *bat* (בַּת)]. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**BATH-RABBIM** (PLACE) [Heb *bat rabbîm* (בַּת רַבִּים)]. The name of a gate of Heshbon, located near the famous pools, mentioned in Cant 7:4. Although no evidence for this gate was found during the recent excavations of Hesban (biblical Heshbon), the excavators have wondered whether or not a large 2,000,000-liter reservoir built on the S shelf and associated with Stratum 17 (9th–8th centuries) could be one of the pools referred to in this text (Geraty and Willis 1986:31). If so, the gate would probably have been located nearby.

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RANDALL W. YOUNKER

**BATHING.** See UNCLEAN AND CLEAN.

**BATHSHEBA** (PERSON) [Heb *bat-šeba*ʿ (בַּת־שֶׁבַע)]. The daughter of Eliam and wife of Uriah the Hittite (2 Sam 11:3), who became one of David's wives (2 Sam 11:27) and mother of his son and heir, Solomon (2 Sam 12:24–25). The name may mean "daughter of abundance" (*IDB* 1:366). The story of David's adulterous affair with Bathsheba, resulting in her pregnancy, and David's stratagem to cause her husband's death and take her as wife (2 Sam 11:1–27) is one shrouded in ambiguity (Yee 1988:240–253). The character of Bathsheba and her motivations are particularly puzzling. The author gives no clues to the emotions of a woman who commits adultery, becomes pregnant, loses her husband, and marries her royal lover. From a literary perspective, according to Berlin (1983:25–27), Bathsheba is simply an agent, a person necessary for the plot, and not a full-fledged character. Since 2 Samuel 11 is a story about David's adultery, and since such a story requires a married woman, Bathsheba fulfills this function.

However, according to Bailey (1989), David and Bathsheba are co-conspirators in a political scheme to marry. Their nuptial union is similar to David's other political marriages, where he weds a woman from an influential family who will assist in either his rise to or his maintenance of power (Cf. also Levenson and Halpern 1980). In this view, Bathsheba is no longer an innocent victim, but a willing partner in the affair who wishes her own son to become David's royal successor. Her claim in 1 Kgs 1:17, that David had swore that Solomon would rule after him, suggests that David was able to convince Bathsheba to marry him by promising that her son would be his heir to the throne.

One finds a portrayal of Bathsheba in 1 Kings 1–2 which would support the view of her as a co-conspirator in the adultery. Here she a key figure in the ruthless political intrigue surrounding her son Solomon's rise to power. With the prophet Nathan, she holds David to his oath that Solomon would succeed him as king (1 Kgs 1:11–31). Moreover, she plays a vital role in Adonijah's death by personally bringing his request to Solomon to marry David's concubine, Abishag. Since such a request is equivalent to a claim to the throne, Solomon is provided with grounds to eliminate his rival (1 Kgs 2:13–24, Berlin 1983:27–30).

Bathsheba is called BATHSHUA 1 Chr 3:5.

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GALE A. YEE

**BATHSHUA** (PERSON) [Heb *bat-šûaʿ* (בַּת־שׁוּעַ)]. The name of two women in the OT.

**1.** The Canaanite wife of Jacob's fourth son, Judah, and the mother of his sons Er, Onan, and Shelah (1 Chr 2:3). In Hebrew, Bathshua literally means "daughter of Shua." Hence, Bathshua may not be a proper name, but rather the familial designation of an unnamed woman (Cf. Gen 38:2). It may, however, also mean "daughter of error" (*IDB*1:366).

**2.** Daughter of Ammiel, wife of David, and mother of his sons Shimea, Shobab, Nathan, and Solomon, according to 1 Chr 3:5. The LXX and Vg of this text read "Bathsheba." The change of name may be due to the phonetic similarity of the consonants *bet* and *waw* in *bt-šbʿ* and *bt-šwʿ*. According to 2 Sam 11:3, the father of Bathsheba is ELIAM, which may have become Ammiel in the transposition of the consonants *lamed* and *mem.* The name changes of Eliam to Ammiel and Bathsheba to Bathshua may be due to the Chronicler's systematic efforts to eliminate any references to the David-Bathsheba-Uriah affair which he found in his sources. If the "daughter of error" translation is accepted, however, the name change becomes a moral statement.

GALE A. YEE

**BAVVAI** (PERSON) [Heb *bawway* (בַּוַּי)]. A Levite, the son of Henadad, and ruler of half the territory of Keilah, who was charged by Nehemiah with repairing a section of Jerusalem's walls (Neh 3:18). The evidence from various manuscripts suggests that Bavvai may be a corruption of Binnui, and therefore the same individual recorded in Neh 3:24 (see BINNUI #4).

D. G. SCHLEY

**BAWDLERIZATION.** See BIBLE, EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE.

**BAZAAR.** See TRADE AND COMMERCE (ANE).

**BAZLITH** (PERSON) [Heb *baṣlît* (בַּצְלִית)]. Var. BAZLUTH. Head of a family of *nětînîm* (temple servants) (see NETHINIM) listed among those exiles returning from Babylon to Jerusalem and Judah (Neh 7:54 = Ezra 2:52; 1 Esdr 5:31). While the Greek in all three occurrences is *Basalōth,* Ezra employs the variant Heb form *baṣlût.* Noth (*IPN*, 231) believes the name derives from a plant designation, i.e., Heb *bṣl,* "onion." Zadok (1980:113) agrees by suggesting the name may be formed from the root *baṣl* (Biblical Heb plural *bĕṣālîm*—Num 11:5; late Heb *bāṣēl* or *beṣel;* Ar *baṣal;* Aram *buṣlāʾ*) and the hypocoristic suffix *ît* or *ût,* which Jastrow (1926:158a, 1384b, and perhaps 290a, 324a) shows is attached to other post-biblical names some of which may derive from vegetarian foods.

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RODNEY H. SHEARER

**BDELLIUM.** See PERFUMES AND SPICES.

**BEADS, BEADWORK.** See JEWELRY.

**BEALIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *bĕʿalyâ* (בְּעַלְיָה)]. One of the ambidextrous warriors from the tribe of Benjamin, a kinsman of Saul; he supported David before he became king (1 Chr 12:6—Eng 12:5). The inclusion of the element baal *(bʿl)* in his name suggests that this name and the list in which it occurs come

from an early date; compounds with baal are unlikely for later periods in the history of Benjamin. (For further discussion, see Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 85, 106.)
RAYMOND B. DILLARD

**BEALOTH** (PLACE) [Heb *bĕʿālôt* (בְּעָלוֹת)]. A town in the S reaches of the territory of Judah in the Negeb (Josh 15:24). This is the sole reference to the town of this name in this geographical area, so its exact location is in doubt. Identification of the place with the similar name Baalah found in the same literary context (Josh 15:9, 10, 11, 29) is not satisfying. The latter is identified with Kiriath-jearim (M.R. 159135) and is located on the N side of Judah's holdings rather than the S (*MBA*, 73).

Another suggestion which is more attractive geographically is the identification of Bealoth with Baalat-beer (Josh 19:8; Woudstra *Joshua* NICOT, 244; M.R. 138043). This town is within the allotment of Simeon, which itself is included within and lies to the S of Judah's holdings (*MBA*, 82).

Some translations suggest a town of Bealoth further N in Israel. In the list of Solominic district governors and their jurisdictions, the ninth, Baana, governs "in Asher and Bealoth" (1 Kgs 4:16; RSV; NASB; *HGB*, 66). The Heb grammatical structure would favor a reading of "in Asher and in Aloth" (KJV; NEB; NASB margin), or, translating the last term, "in the highlands" (JB). The reading of LXX$^{A}$, "Maaloth," could also be so translated. It is probable that this verse does not indicate a second location called Bealoth.
DAVID W. BAKER

**BEAM.** See PLANK.

**BEAN.** See FLORA.

**BEAR.** See ZOOLOGY.

**BEATITUDES.** Although "beatitudes" is frequently used as a proper noun to denote a collection of eight dominical logia at the beginning of the Matthean Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5:3–10; par. Luke 6:20b–21), the term "beatitude" properly designates a whole body of sayings with a similar literary form. Such sayings, found in Egyptian, Greek, and Jewish literature, are technically known as macarisms (from the Greek *makarios,* "blessed" or "happy"). Matthew's collection of sayings is nonetheless known as the Beatitudes, a term derived from the Latin *beati* (similarly, "blessed" or "happy"), the word with which each of the eight sayings begins in the Latin Bible.

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A. Literary Form
B. Jewish Beatitudes
C. New Testament Beatitudes
1. Jesus
2. Matthew
3. Luke
4. Johannine Literature

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**A. Literary Form**

In form, the macarisms begin with the adjective *makarios,* followed by a relative or personal pronoun introducing a clause which describes a particular conduct or quality which prompted the praise of the person who is pronounced blessed. Typically, macarisms are formulated in the third person, and more commonly in the singular than in the plural. The oldest known example of a macarism is found in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (480–83), "Happy is he among men upon earth who has seen these mysteries."

Macarisms or beatitudes are to be distinguished from blessings, an effective pronouncement in which God himself is deemed to be the real agent. In the LXX, blessings are frequently expressed in the formulation "blessed be …," but the pertinent term is the verbal adjective *eulogētos* or the participle *eulogēmenos,* not the adjective *makarios.* In the Jewish tradition the latter term is not used of God, even though, in the Greek world, the gods were deemed to be supremely happy (*makares;* Homer, *Od.* 5, 7).

Beatitudes are expressions of praise or congratulation. As such they belong to the literary subgenre known as ascription. Four types of macarism have been identified:the secular macarism (in which one is praised on account of wealth, beauty, etc.), the macarism of the wise man (in which one is praised on account of wisdom or virtue), the satirical macarism (*1 Enoch* 103:5–6, "Blessed are the sinners; they saw all their days. And now they have died in prosperity and wealth …"), and the religious macarism (Ps 1:1, "Blessed is the man who walks not in the counsel of the wicked."; [Betz 1985:25]).

**B. Jewish Beatitudes**

In the Hebrew Bible "the man who" (*ʾaśrê hāʾîš*), an expression reflected in the LXX *anēr hos* or *anthrōpos hos,* is commonly cited as the object of praise. The Hebrew Bible contains 45 beatitudes, most of which are found in the wisdom literature:Deut 33:29; 1 Kgs 10:8 (twice); Isa 30:18; 32:20; 56:2; Ps 1:2; 2:12; 32:1, 2; 33:12; 34:9; 40:5; 41:2; 65:5; 84:5, 6, 13; 89:16; 94:12; 106:3; 112:1; 119:1, 2; 127:5; 128:1, 2; 137:8, 9; 144:15 (twice); 146:5; Job 5:17; Prov 3:13; 8:32, 34; 14:21; 16:20; 20:7; 28:14; 29:18; Qoh 10:17; Dan 12:12; 2 Chr 9:7 (twice). To these the LXX adds an additional 15: Sir 14:1, 2, 20; 25:8, 9; 26:1; 28:19; 31:8; 34:15; 48:11; 50:28; Tob 13:14 (twice); Wis 3:13; and Isa 31:9. Of the 45 beatitudes in the Hebrew Bible, all but 4 (Deut 33:29; Ps 128:2; Qoh 10:17, in the 2d person singular; and Isa 32:20, in the 2d person plural) are in the 3d person.

Scholars have long been debating about the original form and life setting of the beatitudes in the Hebrew tradition. Some (Käser 1970) think that the original form of the beatitude was a simple propositional statement (e.g. Ps 2:12; 34:9; 41:2; 84:13; Job 5:17; Dan 12:12), while others (Kähler 1974) think that an expanded form of the beatitude, certainly more common in the extant literature, is more faithful to the original form.

E. Lipiński (1968) argued for a cultic setting for the beatitudes, noting that the oldest biblical beatitudes are in some of the early Psalms, that many have a national and collective character (Ps 33:12), that Prov 16:20; 28:14; 29:18 are dependent on the Psalms, and that parallel Egyptian beatitudes are found in religious contexts. The dominant opinion is, nonetheless, that the biblical beatitudes are essentially wisdom sayings. Scholars who advance this view note the preponderant appearance of beatitudes in the biblical wisdom literature and often cite Job 5:17 as a significant example. In any case, the biblical beatitudes frequently assume religious or paraenetic overtones. Although the beatitude is essentially a declarative statement, its content is such that it readily functions as an implicit exhortation.

The specifically religious beatitude is typically found in apocalyptic literature (*1 En.* 58:2; 81:4; 82:4; 99:10; 103:5; *2 En.* 41:1; 42:6–14; 44:4; 48:9; 52:1–14; 61:3; 62:1; 66:7; *Sib.Or.* 3:371–372; cf. *Pss.Sol.* 4:26; 5:18; 6:1; 10:1; 17:50; 18:7; *4 Macc.* 18:9). These religious beatitudes frequently assume eschatological overtones. Typically a seer pronounces a beatitude because of his visionary experience. Prophetic knowledge enables judgment to be brought to bear upon present conditions. Apocalyptic beatitudes can occasionally function as "anti-macarisms" (Betz:33), insofar as praise is extended to those who do not measure up to traditional values.

Beatitudes typically appear as isolated sentences. The use of the isolated beatitude passed over into rabbinic literature: e.g., "Blessed are thou Aqiba, because thou wast arrested for words of Torah" (*Ber.* 61b). The collection of beatitudes (9 in *2 En.* 42:6–14; and 7 in 52:1–14) is a distinctively literary phenomenon. Although collections as such are relatively rare, isolated beatitudes frequently appear at the beginning or end of a longer body of material (Psalm 1 or Sirach 25, where 9 types of persons are praised).

Beatitudes are sometimes to be found in a variety of antithetical formulations. The one who is praised for his qualities or conduct is contrasted with one who is not to be so praised (Ps 1:1, 4; Tob 13:12, 14). Qoh 10:16 contrasts a woe with the beatitude of v 17. Because the content of some conditional sentences in Jewish literature corresponds to the content of some beatitudes (Ps 32:10; Wis 28:25), it has been occasionally suggested (Kahler 1974) that the origin of the beatitude lies in the conditional sentence. A consequent distinction can be made among Jewish beatitudes, i.e., between the beatitude which pronounces someone blessed because of a given condition or situation (Ps 33:12) and the beatitude which is conditional and thereby serves as an implicit exhortation (Ps 32:2).

**C. New Testament Beatitudes**

The NT contains 37 beatitudes (Matt 5:3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11; 11:6; 13:16; 16:17; 24:46; Luke 1:45; 6:20, 21 (twice), 22; 7:23; 10:23; 11:27, 28; 12:37, 43; 14:15; 23:29; John 20:29; Rom 4:7, 8; 14:22; Jas 1:12; Rev 1:3; 14:13; 16:15; 19:9; 20:6; 22:7). Since seven of Matthew's beatitudes have parallels in Luke (Matt 5:3=Luke 6:20b; Matt 5:4=Luke 6:21b; Matt 5:6=Luke 6:21a; Matt 5:11=Luke 6:22; Matt 11:6=Luke 7:23; Matt 13:16= Luke 10:23; Matt 24:46=Luke 12:43) and two of the Pauline beatitudes are a biblical citation (Rom 4:7–8=Ps 32:1–2), the NT adds 28 new beatitudes to the biblical collection.

**1. Jesus.** Seventeen of the gospel beatitudes are sayings of Jesus. Among the evangelists, Luke alone attributes a beatitude to a spokesperson other than Jesus (Luke 1:45; 11:27; 14:15). The attribution of beatitudes to Jesus represents a venerable Christian tradition. The seven beatitudes found in both Matthew and Luke undoubtedly derive from the Q source (ca.50 A.D.). Luke 12:37 seems to have been adopted by the evangelist from his unique material. Six of the NT beatitudes, including that pronounced by the woman in the crowd, appear, in a modified form, in the 2d century *Gospel of Thomas,* dated by many into the 1st century (Matt 5:3 = *Gos.Thom.* 54; Matt 5:6 = *Gos.Thom.* 69b; Matt 5:11 = *Gos.Thom.* 68–69a; Luke 11:27–28 = *Gos.Thom.* 79a–b; Luke 23:29 = *Gos.Thom.* 79c), a text which cites an additional six beatitudes as sayings of Jesus (*Gos.Thom.* 7, 18, 19, 49, 58, 103).

Given the antiquity of the tradition and the widespread distribution of beatitudes throughout the gospel material (although none are found in Mark), scholars frequently ask whether the gospel beatitudes represent authentic sayings of Jesus. The question is raised most often with regard to the beatitudes which have received a classic formulation as the beatitudes of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5:3–12), with a parallel in Luke's Sermon on the Plain (Luke 6:20b–23).

Although both Matthew and Luke have modified the beatitudes taken over from the Q source, it is quite likely that the substance of the four common beatitudes (Matt 5:3=Luke 6:20b; Matt 5:4=Luke 6:21b; Matt 5:6=Luke 6:21a; Matt 5:11=Luke 6:22) goes back to the proclamation of the historical Jesus. Since the Q formulation can only be reconstituted on the basis of a comparative study of the two extant gospel texts, and the Matthean beatitudes are in the third person while the Lukan beatitudes are in the second person, scholars disagree among themselves as to whether Jesus' proclamation used the form of direct address (thus akin to the Lukan form) or the form of declarative sentence (thus akin to the Matthean form).

The Q collection of four beatitudes is the result of an earlier collection of three beatitudes, similar in form, to which the longer double beatitude of Matt 5:11=Luke 6:22 was added. These three beatitudes (Matt 5:3=Luke 6:20b; Matt 5:4=Luke 6:21b; Matt 5:6=Luke 6:21a) represent a terse formulation of the gospel proclamation. They proclaim salvation, in the form of an eschatological reversal of conditions *(peripeteia)* for the dispossessed. The poor, the hungry, and those who mourn represent the entire range of the needy. The concepts are not spiritualized, nor are poverty, hunger, and sadness extolled per se. If the poor, the hungry, and those who mourn are called happy, it is because the Kingdom of God will be offered to them in their helplessness.

As proclaimed by Jesus, the Kingdom of God is an eschatological concept. God's initiative and decisiveness are the primary elements. He is to reign as king. According to the oriental understanding, the righteousness or justice of a king is manifest in his action on behalf of the weak and oppressed; thus God as the king par excellence must necessarily act on behalf of the poor, the hungry, and those who mourn. Jesus' availability to them is a sign of the future kingdom of God. Accordingly, the three common beatitudes proclaim God's initiative on their behalf and the gratuity of his grace. They constitute "an unconditional promise of salvation" and thus epitomize Jesus' good news.

The fourth beatitude of the Q collection (Matt 5:11=Luke 6:22) derives from a time when the church was undergoing persecution and most likely received its Q formulation (a community formulation) as a result of that experience. Its appearance in Q as an appended saying supports the contention that the beatitudes spoken by Jesus were originally isolated statements.

**2. Matthew.** Differences between the Matthean and Lukan versions of the beatitude point to the editorial activity of the respective evangelists. Editorial activity is particularly apparent in the Matthean

collection of "The Beatitudes." His eight—Matthew seems not to have considered Matt 5:11 as an integral part of the series—are formed into a unified whole by means of ring construction, i.e. the opening and closing formula, "for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." "The kingdom of heaven" is a typical Matthean expression (Matt 3:2; 4:17) as is the "righteousness" of Matt 5:6, 10 (3:15; 6:33). Isa 61:1–2 seems to have influenced the Matthean formulation of the first two beatitudes and Ps 107:5, 8–9 to have influenced the fourth, all of which begin with the letter "p" in the Greek text. Since Matthew has a predilection for seven-part compositions and Matt 5:5 has no constant position in the manuscript tradition, many scholars think that the third beatitude, influenced by Ps 36:11, is a later addition to the Matthean text. The eighth beatitude, formulated in such a way as to bring the series to a close, appears to be a Matthean adaptation of the ninth, originally independent beatitude.

Matthew's spiritualization of the traditional first and fourth beatitudes and his formulation of the fifth, sixth, and seventh, more active beatitudes, imparts to the entire collection the character of an ecclesial exhortation. Those who are praised in the Matthean beatitudes are those whose lives reflect authentic Christian existence from the viewpoint of continuing church life.

**3. Luke.** Luke's Sermon on the Plain has only the four beatitudes of Q (Luke 6:20b–23). The people praised in the Lukan collection of three similarly formulated beatitudes (6:20b–21) are the physically and materially deprived. Luke accentuates the social referent by the juxtaposition of parallel woes (6:24–25). The fourth woe (6:26) highlights the blessedness proclaimed for the persecuted (6:22–23). In the Lukan collection, the evangelist's editorial work is apparent in his emphasis upon the present (the sapiential "now" of 6:21a, b and "in that day" of 6:22) which stands in contrast to the eschatological future.

Among the five beatitudes proper to Luke (1:45; 11:28; 12:37; 14:15; 23:29), two emphasize the importance of belief in God's word (1:45; 11:28), and are both within a context of reflection on the mother of Jesus.

**4. Johannine Literature.** Faith is also the basis for praise in the Johannine beatitude (John 20:29), the final proclamation of John's Easter Jesus. In context, the beatitude extols believers of the second and subsequent Christian generations. As such, it functioned as a proclamation of praise of those who belonged to the Johannine community.

Six beatitudes appear in the Book of Revelation, in the form of isolated sayings. Two of them form a distinct pair (Rev 1:3; 22:7), lauding those who keep the words of the book. The parallel sayings function as a sort of *inclusio* unifying Revelation's collection of disparate materials. The other four beatitudes bear a distinctively eschatological stamp. Those formulated in the plural praise those who die in the Lord (Rev 14:13, with pertinent commentary in v 13b) and those invited to the marriage feast of the Lamb (Rev 19:9), while those formulated in the singular laud the vigilant (Rev 16:15), and those who share in the first resurrection (Rev 20:6). Their literary form is clearly that of the religious beatitude.

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RAYMOND F. COLLINS


**BEATTY, CHESTER (PAPYRI).** See CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI.

**BEAUTIFUL GATE** (PLACE) [Gk *hē hōraía pýlē* (ἡ ὡραία πύλη)]. Gate of Herod's temple where John and Peter healed a lame man (Acts 3:2, 10). The gate is not mentioned by its NT name in any of the Jewish sources. Christian tradition, and some modern scholars, identify it with the Golden or Susa (Shusan) Gate. "Golden is derived from a mistranslation of Gk *horaia,* "beautiful", and the Latin *aurea,* "golden." The Susa Gate is on the eastern wall of Old Jerusalem facing the Mount of Olives. Today it is marked by the now-closed Byzantine gate. Excavations in 1971 and 1972 revealed an earlier gate 7 to 8 feet beneath the Byzantine Gate (Mare, 1987:158). The lower gate, equal in size to the latter, was in use during Christ's time, and it would have been the very gate mentioned in Acts 3. However, the Nicanor Gate, funded by a wealthy Alexandrian Jew of that name, is a more likely candidate for the Beautiful Gate. But even the location of the Nicanor Gate cannot be identified with certainty. If its location was the gate on the east side of the Court of Women leading from the Court of Gentiles, this would have been the ideal location for beggars. The other leading candidate for the Nicanor, and possibly the Beautiful Gate, is on the west side of the Court of Women at the entrance to the Court of Israel. The designated corner for lepers was nearby—in the NW corner of the Court of Women, and it was highly likely that beggars would have frequented the facility. Also, both of the suggested locations for the Nicanor Gate coincide with *to hieron,* the NT Gk usage of "the temple." Strong support for the Nicanor Gate being the Beautiful Gate, whether on the E or W side of the Court of Women, comes from Josephus (*JW* 5.201). He describes the inner gate (on the E side of the Court of Women) as being more valuable "than those overlaid with silver or even with gold," for it was made of Corinthian bronze. But the gate on the W side was much larger, and "the decoration was more magnificent, the gold and silver plates being extremely thick." The Mishna infers that the Nicanor Gate was the inner of the two gates, and the current majority of opinion places the Beautiful Gate on the outer W wall (Mid. i.4; ii.3–6).

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**BEBAI** (PERSON) [Heb *bēbāy* (בֵּבָי)]. The name of two individuals in the Hebrew Bible.

**1.** The eponymous ancestor of a group of returning exiles from Babylon (Ezra 2:11). Under Zerubbabel, the number of Bebai's descendants varies from 623 (Ezra 2:11) to 633 (1 Esdr 5:13, Codex Vaticanus) to 628 (Neh 7:16). In the reign of Artaxerxes, more of his descendants are said to have returned with Ezra (Ezra 8:11, 1 Esdr 8:37); these included ZECHARIAH, the chief of the family. Zechariah's father is also named Bebai; in 1 Esdr 9:37 his name reads Babi (*babi;* Var. Baier, Bemai, and Bokchei), but the underlying Hebrew name is clearly Bebai (see Ezra 8:11). Besides Zechariah, Bebai's descendants included twenty-eight other males (Ezra 8:11, 1 Esdr 8:37; of Ezra 8 reads 78). Some of his family intermarried with foreign women, e.g., JEHOHANAN, HANANIAH, ZABBAI, ATHLAI (Ezra 10:28), and Emathis (Ezra 10:28 [LXX], 1 Esdr 9:29).

**2.** One of the individuals who set his seal to the document of covenant renewal under Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh 10:16—Eng 10:15). He is listed as one of the "leading men" who pledged among other things to obey the Law and to keep their families from intermarriage (Neh 10:30). It is likely that the head of Bebai's descendants signed in the name of his ancestral clan; the names in Nehemiah 10 roughly coincide with the names of the clans originally returning from exile in Ezra 2:1–60 and Neh 7:6–62. There has been much discussion concerning the timing and nature of the agreement in Nehemiah 10 and the sources of the list of names (see Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 325–31).

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**BEBAI** (PLACE) [Gk *Bēbai* (Βηβαι)]. Town in the book of Judith which participates in the destruction of the "Assyrian" army after the death of Holofernes (Jdt 15:4). It has not yet been identified. According to the author of Judith, it is adjacent to Betomasthaim, a town which is placed in the north of Palestine, although its exact location is unknown. Although there is mention of a "Bebayou" in an Aramaic contract of the 2d century C.E., it throws no light on the location of Bebai, for, according to J. T. Milik, "Bebayou" was located in southern Palestine. It is probable that, like most geographical names in the book of Judith, Bebai is fictitious. See Moore *Judith* AB.

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SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**BECHER** (PERSON) [Heb *beker* (בֶּכֶר)]. BECHERITES. The second son of Benjamin, according to two Benjaminite genealogies (Gen 46:21; 1 Chr 7:6, 8). Efforts have been made to restore Becher to the two other Benjaminite genealogies of the OT (Num 26:38; 1 Chr 8:1). Johnson (*IDB* 1:248, 372) suggests that Becher was misplaced in Numbers 26 from the Benjaminite genealogy of v 38 to the Ephraimite genealogy of v 35. In the MT he is listed as the second son of Ephraim and head of the Becherites. The LXX omits this reference to Becher among the sons of Ephraim, and the inclusion of a "Bered" as Ephraim's second son in the Ephraimite genealogy of 1 Chr 7:20 has caused some to conclude that "Becher" is a mistake for "Bered." In 1 Chr 8:1, Johnson suggests that Becher (Heb *beker*) was mistakenly treated as "his firstborn" (Heb *bĕkōrô*). Williamson is critical of attempts to emend 1 Chr 8:1 to read "Becher" as Benjamin's second son, pointing out that the series of ordinals, "the second, the third, etc.," continue through all five of Benjamin's sons, making a harmonistic emendation unlikely in this text (*Chronicles* NCBC, 83). See ASHBEL.

SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

**BECORATH** (PERSON) [Heb *bĕkôrat* (בְּכוֹרַת)]. An ancestor of Saul son of Kish (1 Sam 9:1); likewise, the son of Aphiah and father of Zeror. The name, meaning "firstborn," is feminine in form, suggesting that the individual may have been the daughter of Aphiah, rather than his son, although the LXX reads "Bakir," a masculine name formed from the same Hebrew root. The variant reading "Machir" in $G^L$ has mistaken the initial *bet* as a *mem.*

The narrator has begun the story of Saul in 1 Sam 9:1 by employing a seven-generation genealogy as a literary device to indicate that Saul was destined to greatness from birth (Sasson 1978:185). Becorath represents the third generation in the genealogy. See also APHIAH. While meant to represent an individual in the Saulide genealogy, the name also was associated with a Benjaminite clan, and the two may ultimately be related (Luther 1901:55;-Caspari *Samuelbücher* KAT, 105; Malamat 1968:171). The gentilic form *Bichri* is used as a designation of the clan to which Shimei (2 Sam 20:1), the instigator of the northern revolt against David, belonged, while the masculine form *Becher*, displaying slightly different vocalization, appears as a clan name in the tribal genealogies for Benjamin in Gen 46:21 and 1 Chr 7:6, 8. Becorath may be the eponymous ancestress of the clan or lineage group of the same name. See also BICHRI; BECHER.

The name's absence from the Saulide genealogy in 1 Chr 8:33–40 and 1 Chr 9:39–44 can be explained in three ways. One possibility would be to argue that the name was dropped when competing factions for royal succession within the larger family no longer found it necessary to trace descent through this particular ancestor (Flanagan 1981:59). A second approach would be to posit that Bakir appears in the Chronicles' lists in 8:30 and 9:36 in the reference to the "firstborn" son of Jeiel, Abdon, and that Abdon somehow dropped out of the corresponding list in 1 Samuel (Dhorme *Samuel* EB, 74, n. 1). A third approach would be to suggest that the name was eliminated by the Chronicler along with Abiel, Zeror, and Aphiah so that he could artificially graft the Saulide family tree onto the postexilic genealogy of the inhabitants of Gibeon (see NER).

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

**BECTILETH** (PLACE) [Gk *Bektileth* (Βεκτιλεθ)]. Unidentified plain in or near northern Cilicia (Jdt 2:21). According to the author of the book of Judith, it is located a three-days' march W of Nineveh. It is sometimes identified with Bakataïlloi, located to the south of Syrian Antioch, or with Beq›ah, a valley between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. The problem with these identifications is that they place Bectileth some three hundred miles from Nineveh, a rather long distance for a three-day march. Given the genre of the book of Judith, it is entirely possible that the place is fictitious.
SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**BEDAD** (PERSON) [Heb *bĕdad* (בְּדַד)]. The father of the Edomite "king" Hadad (Gen 36:35; 1 Chr 1:46). The root *bdd* "to separate; to be separated, isolated" produced personal names in Ugaritic (*bddn;* Gröndahl 1967:380), Epigraphic Arabian (Safaitic and Thamudic *bd,* Safaitic *bd›l,* Thamudic *bddt;* Harding 1971:96–97; note, however, that the name *bddh,* frequent in Safaitic, does not belong to *bdd*—*pace* Harding; read **Bi-Dādih* "by his uncle"), and Arabic (*Budaid;* Caskel 1966:228).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**BEDAN** (PERSON) [Heb *bĕdān* (בְּדָן)]. The name of two men in the OT.

**1.** The son of Ulam of the tribe of Manasseh (1 Chr 7:17). He was a member of the fifth generation of that tribe through Machir, Manasseh's son. His heredity was mixed, for he was the product of Manasseh's union with an Aramean concubine (1 Chr 7:14). A corrupt text in 1 Chr 7:14–17 renders his genealogy uncertain between Machir and his father, Ulam; for v 16 traces him through either Peresh or Sheresh, both Machir's sons, while v 17b traces him through Machir's son, Gilead. Rudolph (*Chronicles* HAT, 69–71) has attempted a reconstruction of the corrupt text based on Num 26:29–34; his results have gained considerable, though not universal, approval. If his reconstruction is correct, it illumines an obscure portion of Bedan's genealogy.

**2.** A judge of Israel according to the MT of 1 Sam 12:11. But his identity is unclear; the Bible contains no other reference to him. In 1 Sam 12:11 his name occurs in a list of four judges of which the other three are prominent, significant persons, familiar from the Book of Judges. The presence of the name of an unknown judge among three well-known ones has attracted the attention of students of the text. The LXX, apparently questioning the correctness of "Bedan" and treating it as a textual error, replaced "Bedan" with the familiar "Barak." One ancient version replaced it with "Deborah." An ancient interpretation contended that "Bedan" derived from "Ben-Dan" (= son of Dan) and understood it as a reference to Samson, who was from the tribe of Dan. Another more modern correction replaced "Bedan" with "Abdon." The RSV has adopted the reading of the LXX. All these corrections presuppose that "Bedan" is a textual error. But recently Zakovitch (1972:123–25) has offered an explanation which does not presuppose a textual corruption in the word "Bedan." Recalling that Bedan in #1 above is, according to 1 Chr 7:14–17, of the tribe of Manasseh, and that Jephthah is also from Manasseh, Zakovitch suggests that, like "Jerubbaal" and "Gideon," "Jephthah" and "Bedan" are two names for the same person. Accordingly, 1 Sam 12:11 originally read:"the Lord sent Jerubbaal, Bedan, and Samuel." "Jephthah" was inserted as a gloss, and a later scribe, not recognizing it as a gloss, inserted the conjunction and the object marker, *wĕ›et.* In his

quotation of 1 Sam 12:11, Josephus (*Ant* 6§90) names only Gideon and Jephthah; this supports Zakovitch's suggestion that Jephthah and Bedan are the same person. Helpful discussions of the problem and the history of suggested solutions are found in McCarter (*1 Samuel* AB, 211), and Klein (*1 Samuel* WBC).

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**BEDEIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *bēděyâ* (בֵּדְיָה)]. A descendant of Bani and one of the returned exiles whom Ezra required to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:35 = 1 Esdr 9:34). *Bedeiah* might mean "Branch of Yahweh," or it might be an abbreviated form of *ʿăbēdyāh,* "Servant of Yahweh." Bedeiah was a member of a family from which a group of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:10). The three-month investigation of the men who had married foreign women (Ezra 10:16–17) produced a relatively short list of names, leading some scholars to believe that it includes only prominent members of the community (see discussion in Myers, *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 87–88). Bedeiah's position in the community, however, remains a mystery. While it seems probable that Bedeiah divorced his foreign wife (note the prior oath taken by the people [Ezra 10:2–5]), that is not certain. There is some debate whether v 19 may originally have been reported after each group. 1 Esdr 9:36 clearly states that everyone on the list did indeed divorce his foreign wife and put away his children; however, Ezra 10:44b is so corrupt that the final outcome of the investigation is left in doubt. For further discussion, see Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 157–59.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

**BEDOUIN AND BEDOUIN STATES.** The word "bedouin," as used in this article, comprises the notion of a stratified society of non-sedentary camel breeders. As such, bedouin are first attested in the Near East in the Iron Age. Although various features that contribute to the definition of "bedouin" —e.g., pastoral nomadism and "tribes" (versus "states")—can be traced back several millennia before the 1st millennium B.C., the emergence of the bedouin in the 1st millennium B.C. changed drastically the sociopolitical environment for pastoral tribes. Therefore, reconstructions of pastoral nomadism before 1000 B.C. should use with great care recent or contemporary ethnographic data on Near Eastern nomadism. "Being a bedouin" involves specific attitudes towards political power, which, from the very beginnings of bedouin history, lead to supra-tribal political formations, "bedouin states." The bedouin states did not, however, acquire all the attributes of real states; at best they were ephemeral, unstable, and short-lived organizations.

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A. Terminology
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a. "Nomads"
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**A. Terminology**

Traditionally, the social landscape of the Near East is characterized by a tripartite division into "city dwellers," "peasants," and "pastoralists" (Wagstaff 1985:48–81). Within this traditional tripartite model, "pastoralists" are generally assumed to form ethnically and politically separate social organizations, i.e.

"tribes" (as opposed to the states of the settled population). It is argued in this article that the emergence of such separate pastoralist tribes presupposes the formation of a class of *specialized* pastoralists, i.e., the camel-breeding bedouin. Therefore, this tripartite division—with its double exploitation of the peasants by both the urban settlements and a specific non-sedentary element, i.e., the bedouin—cannot be uncritically assumed to have applied to the pre-Islamic period (de Planhol 1975:24–68).

The Arab bedouin described by Near Eastern travelers of the 19th century provided most biblical scholars of that time with an attractive model in terms of which the life-style of the patriarchs in Genesis could be viewed. At the same time, the notion of waves of bedouin nomads migrating into the wealthy and fertile centers of civilization from their desert homeland served as an explanation for cultural and linguistic change in the ANE, a notion that biblical scholars adopted to explain the emergence of Israel in the land of Canaan. Even though this appeal to bedouin nomadism has now been almost completely rejected by scholars, the romantic notion that the earliest Israelites were bedouin nomads still lingers behind notions that the "semi-nomadic" or "semi-bedouin" Israelites entered Canaan from the outside at the end of the Late Bronze Age (a concept still upheld by some pupils of Albrecht Alt; Thiel 1985).

**1. Nonsedentary Ways of Life.** Because the terms "nomad," "bedouin," and "pastoralist" are frequently used as synonyms in discussions of ANE history and society, it may be helpful to outline briefly the basic categories of non-sedentary life.

**a. "Nomads."** If "nomad" is understood to cover every aspect of nonsedentary life, then hunter-gatherers, migrating laborers without a permanent home, vagrant craftsmen and artists, etc., would qualify as "nomads," whereas the city-based caravan merchants of the ANE and the soldiers of all times may properly be called "semi-nomads." Although these may have spent most of their life on the roads and in tents, they usually had a permanent address. Therefore, it is best to limit our scope to those nonsedentary phenomena of the ANE that apply only to people involved in pastoral and/or agricultural production. (The term "semi-nomad" is too imprecise to be employed at all).

**b. Nonsedentary Agriculturalists.** The basic livestock—sheep, goat, and cattle—were domesticated by settled agricultural communities in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic period (8th and 7th millennia B.C.). With the seemingly complete breakdown of settled life in Palestine ca. 6000 B.C., these sedentary agriculturalists became non-sedentary agriculturalists. As opposed to the large villages of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic, their camps were rather small. Though unsettled, they continued to grow cereals and to herd goat and sheep (Betts 1987). Unlike pastoralists, however, these non-sedentary agriculturalists are self-sufficient in meeting their basic needs. This, for example, was the way of life that recommended itself most readily in later periods, whenever a group of peasants wanted to withdraw from the restrictions of the state. This kind of "nomadism" is either attested or assumed for the "Amorites" of EB IV Palestine and the Shasu of the LB period, most of whom never dwelt in permanent structures. In contemporary reconstructions of their respective origins, both populations are believed to have derived from the villagers of Palestine in the preceding period who had given up their sedentary way of life in the course of a natural, economic, and/or political crisis (Richard 1987; Finkelstein 1988:338–45). Furthermore, both the "Amorites" and the Shasu were not pastoralists; according to the story of Sinuhe (20th century B.C.) and Ramesside inscriptions, they practiced *both* farming and herding (Weippert 1974). (It is purely for ideological reasons that non-sedentary agriculturalists in the modern Near East—such as the people studied by Banning and Köhler-Rollefson [1986]—claim to be "bedouin.")

**c. Transhumance.** Part-time nomadism, or transhumance, is a common Mediterranean cultural phenomenon. Transhumance is village-based pastoralism with summer camps set up away from the village (Braudel 1972:85–102). The pastoral segment of the settled community may be recruited from an age cohort (i.e., the youth from every family), whole families or clans from the community, or even hired laborers. In the 19th century A.D., a type of such village-based transhumance was practiced by the inhabitants of northern and central Transjordan (e.g., at Umm Qais and on the Kerak plateau; Mershen and Knauf 1988). Many travelers at that time (and most archaeologists subsequently), when observing their material culture and its remains, referred to these summer camps loosely as "bedouin" or "nomadic" encampments. But tax records, contemporary oral history, and more detailed descriptions by some

observers have helped to correct this misconception. The misinterpretation, however, serves to illustrate how difficult it is to identify nomads in the historical and/or archaeological record, which usually provides scant data.

**d. Pastoralists.** Agriculture led to the domestication of most familiar domestic animals (with the exception of the camel) already in the course of the Neolithic. Pastoralists are people specializing in stock raising. However, they are not necessarily nomads. Judean landlords in the Iron Age, like Nabal (1 Sam 25:2, 11) or Amos (Amos 1:1; 7:14), can well be called "pastoralists" because herds seemed to have formed the major part of their wealth. Although they spend part of the year with their four-legged capital, they considered their "homes" to be towns like Maon or Tekoa (cf. also Gen 13:12). As a specialized occupation, pastoralism presupposes surplus production from both the pastoralist and the agriculturalist, and therefore a market economy. Unlike the non-sedentary agriculturalists mentioned above, pastoralists are not self-sufficient. Exploiting agriculturally marginal areas of the Near East which provide only scant nourishment for their flocks, pastoralists are forced to move frequently and therefore lead a non-sedentary or part-time sedentary life. Specialized pastoralism can be traced back to the Chalcolithic (Levy 1983), but only in the form of transhumance. From the Chalcolithic through the Bronze Age, pastoralists formed a social stratum within a society of village farming communities, or non-sedentary agriculturalists. There is no evidence of pastoral nomadic *tribes*—i.e., of a sociopolitical and/or ethnic cleavage between peasants and pastoralists—before the emergence of the bedouin. A term for "pastoral nomad" occurs only once in the Hebrew Bible, in a literary context dating to the Persian or Early Hellenistic period: *ʾohŏlê miqneh* "people of herds" (2 Chr 14:14). In this expression, *ʾhl* must be translated as "people" rather than "tent" and, therefore, regarded as an Early Arabic loanword.

**e. Bedouin.** Bedouin are pastoralists specialized in camel breeding. From the beginnings of bedouin life in the 1st millennium B.C., the bedouin formed a stratified society of pastoral nomads. Camel breeding was operative for the emergence of bedouinism on the sociopolitical level insofar as it facilitated the formation of purely nomadic tribes not depending upon peasant villagers. Camel breeders themselves are nearly self-sufficient:the camel provides them with food (milk, and on festive occasions, meat), fuel (dung), clothing (hair), housing (leather for round huts, which were later replaced by the "black tents" woven from goat hair), and even hair-washing lotion (urine). Furthermore, the camel provides a marketable commodity which one can trade without giving up possession of the animal:transport. Because the camel allows control over desert areas that are impenetrable by other animals or humans, it even provided their owners with power once these remote areas became commercially and/or politically important. Whereas the camel's secondary products (milk, hair, dung) provided the bedouin with the opportunity to exist somewhat independent of the settled communities, the animal's "tertiary product," transportation, increasingly became a valued commodity for those in the urban centers, who therefore had a vested interest in the incorporation of the bedouin. The camel thus constituted the bedouin's link with the urban societies of the ANE in both peaceful and belligerent ways. The influx of capital from the urban trading communities into the desert led to the social stratification and political leadership that made the bedouin increasingly aggressive and predatory. But before there can emerge a predatory society on the periphery, there must be enough surplus in the core area to be preyed upon. The more powerful, effective, and extensive the state became in controlling this core area, the more powerful, effective, and extensive the competing political organizations outside the state had to become. In terms of political evolution, the bedouin are a consequence of and reaction to the emergence of the first empire that tried to encompass the whole ANE: the Assyrian empire in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.

As the camel herders rose to heights of power and prestige unprecedented among the nomads of earlier times, both nonsedentary agriculturalists and pastoralists who did not herd camels were affected by "bedouinization"; they either joined bedouin tribes, or organized themselves in tribes in imitation of the bedouin. From the Persian period through the Crusades, the population of Palestine appears to be ethnically and politically divided into Aramaic-speaking peasants and Arabic-speaking pastoral nomads. Even today, after modern development has reduced to nothing the significance of the camel, it still

remains a common feature among the non-sedentary and the transhumant tribes of Jordan to claim to be "bedouin" —a claim that usually is flatly rejected by the descendants of former camel breeders.

**2. "Tribes" and "Tribal Organization.**" The notion of tribal organization is part of the concept of "bedouin." It is understood—with Fried (1967:170–74) and Price (1978:179–82)—that tribalism is one of the possible responses by a nonstate society when confronting an expansionist state. It therefore has nothing to do with nomadism *per se,* since settled villagers can also organize themselves as "tribes" to counter the power of a neighboring state organization. This can be perfectly demonstrated by the emergence of the Mari tribes (Buccellati 1988), and probably applies equally well to the Israelite tribes of the early Iron Age:in order to be politically influential (which usually entails an ability to muster a sufficient number of warriors), a tribal society needs (1) a class of potential political leaders, competing against one another for success, and (2) a functioning system of alliances between the tribal segments (usually expressed by means of a genealogy).

However, among pastoral nomads, these two features are first encountered only with the bedouin of the 1st millennium B.C. In contrast, the Shasu of the LB Age occupy the lowest order within Dostal's scheme of political evolution within pre-urban societies (Dostal 1985):local lineages without any genealogical superstructure (Weippert 1974; Fischer-Elfert 1986:168). Thus, the Shasu lacked an essential component of "tribal societies," and as such, they were politically insignificant. "Shasu" is a generic term, not an ethnonym. In the Egyptian sources, Shasu are specified by the various areas of their abode, not by tribal names. Tribal/ethnic names do not occur before the emergence of peasant tribes in the highlands of Canaan, such as Israel.

The agricultural tribes of early Iron Age Palestine, and before them the herding and farming lineages of the Shasu, were to a high degree economically independent from the outside world. Maintaining such independence is one of the major political aims of tribalism (Dostal 1985:347–49), i.e., the ideological expression for the withdrawal of population groups from the exchange network and suppressive hierarchy of state societies. Although "tribalism" may have contributed to the Shasu's abandonment of their villages in the 16th century B.C. the withdrawal does not necessarily (or immediately) lead to the formation of tribes, i.e., stratified societies with an egalitarian ideology in their upper class. The Shasu remained on the level of "ranked society" or local lineages (for these categories, see Fried 1967 and Dostal 1985). After the emergence of the camel-herding tribes, the bedouin had two possible ways of access to those basic commodities which they did not produce:trade or violence (by plunder or extortion). Thus, while the emergence of the pastoral nomad presupposes the emergence of a market economy, the emergence of the bedouin tribe (in which the tribal elite may own 10,000 camels or more) presupposes the emergence of an empire which at one time or another could use (and pay for) a large camel corps.

To summarize this lengthy excursus on terminology:"nomads" are not necessarily "pastoralists," and they are not necessarily organized as "tribes." "Tribal societies" are not necessarily "nomadic." "Bedouin" are camel herding non-sedentary tribes, pastoral nomads whose basic livestock commodity is the camel.

**B. Emergence of the Bedouin**

**1. Early Iron Age Antecedents.** The camel had been domesticated and used by sedentary farming communities in East and South Arabia in the course of the 3d and 2d millennia B.C. (Bulliet 1975; Knauf 1988:9–15). At the end of the LB Age, camels had been used both for transport, as attested at Tell Jemmeh (Wapnish 1981) and at Tell Deir ʿAllah (Knauf 1987), and as a source of meat, attested at Timnaʿ/el-Meneʿîyeh (Knauf 1988:14–15, 113–14). There can be no doubt that the Midianites (i.e. the inhabitants of NW Arabia in the LB Age) herded camels for these two purposes; at the same time it is clear that they were not pastoralists, since pastoralists prefer the by-products of their animals (their only capital and basic means of subsistence) instead of their meat (Sherratt 1983). It is unlikely that there were camel-herding tribes among the Midianites; however, camel herders may have been integrated into the existing Midianite clans or tribes as were potters, metallurgists, and traders:as specialists in a certain occupation. Undoubtedly, most Midianite tribesmen were farmers.

Like the Kenites, the Midianites became increasingly important for the economy of Palestine in the early Iron Age, when the Cyprus copper supply was interrupted and Palestine became dependent on the copper mines in Wadi Arabah (which in all likelihood were controlled by local clans and tribes; Knauf and Lenzen 1987). With the reemergence of sea trade at the end of the 11th century B.C., both Kenites and Midianites disappeared from the historical record.

The first predatory camel herders mentioned in the literary sources are the Amalekites (1 Samuel 30). It seems that the camel-herding population of the Amalekites did not exceed 400 men (1 Sam 30:17)—still a significant number for military action in the late 2d millennium B.C. (as compared to the contingents of 10 to 200 which the Egyptians sent as support to individual kings in the Amarna period; cf. Gideon's 300 and David's 600). 1 Sam 30:17 indicates why the camel had such an impact on the history of nomadism:it carried its herders beyond the political and military reach of the states they encountered. Distance and the desert (impenetrable without the camel) protected them from the villagers as efficiently as (on the other side of the social spectrum) fortified walls protected the city dwellers. If the Amalekites could already be classified as proto-bedouin, their emergence coincides with the emergence of the territorial state in Israel and Judah, which incorporated those hill country areas previously beyond the control of the Canaanite city-states. The hill country was no longer an area of retreat for populations which did not want to submit to the (often costly) claims of the state; therefore, for tribalism to survive the encroachment of the state, the desert offered a new frontier in an otherwise shrinking world.

Archaeologically, the emergence of the Amalekites in the Negeb can be dated to the very end of the 11th century B.C. Their emergence is reflected by the disappearance of the unfortified settlements which had characterized the Negeb in the early Iron Age, some of which were hamlets and farmsteads used by semi-sedentary agriculturalist and pastoralist populations that moved between the Judean hills and the central Negeb mountains (Finkelstein 1984); e.g., the Jerahmeelites, Kenites, and Aalebites. With the emergence of the state on one side and of the bedouin on the other, this social structure, typical for the non-urban societies of the 3d and 2d millennia B.C., disappeared, giving way to towns and fortresses, the architectural appurtenances of the state.

**2. The Neo-Assyrian Evidence.** Large, powerful, and belligerent bedouin tribes are attested in the Assyrian royal inscriptions and reliefs of the 9th through the 7th centuries B.C. (see ISHMAELITES). It was not, however, before the Persian period that Arabs were wealthy and influential enough to acquire first-class weaponry (Knauf 1989:22–23). Except for some technical details in riding styles (i.e. the use of a cushion saddle instead of the later *šadâd* saddle), these bedouin exhibit the basic characteristics of the later (full) bedouin. Their tribes must have comprised up to 10,000 people (even if the Assyrian tribute lists exaggerate). A thousand Arab camel riders participated in the battle of Qarqar in 853 B.C. (as opposed to the 400 which fled David); in the following century, Tiglath-pileser III on one occasion received 10,000 camels as tribute. The management of herds this size required slaveholding. Bedouin society, therefore, unlike earlier forms of pastoral society, was a *class society* in which wealth (in herds and in slaves) was one of the basic qualifications for leadership. Although in theory all freeborn male members of the tribe were equal, only the tribal elite actually qualified for leadership functions. The other basic qualification is *muruwwa, virtus,* manlihood (Meeker 1979; Müller 1981). The ideology of "being a bedouin" with its knightly code of conduct was fully developed only in the last centuries before Islam, when the Arabian tribal elite borrowed the garments, weapons, and attitudes of prestige from Persian (Sassanian) feudalism (Dostal 1979). However, the class structure, i.e., the differentiation of tribal lords and tribal followers, existed earlier and facilitated this later borrowing (for tribal class societies with an egalitarian ideology upheld by the ruling class, see Dostal 1985).

According to Dostal (1959) and Bulliet (1975), the transition from "proto-bedouin" to "full bedouin" is marked by the replacement of the cushion saddle with the so-called *šadâd* saddle. The new saddle provided the rider with a firm seat and enabled him to use long swords and lances. Iconographically, the *šadâd* saddle is first attested at the end of the 5th century B.C. (Knauf 1988:13, fig. 2:3). However, M. Macdonald (fc.) cautions against the overestimation of this technical development. It did not affect the social and political structure of bedouinism that resulted from large-scale camel herding. The new saddle

may still have enhanced the bedouin's belligerence which, according to the Assyrian inscriptions and Gen 16:12, barely needed enhancement.

**C. Bedouin States**

Since bedouinism is a political program (resisting submission to outside power while simultaneously encouraging the bedouin on both the individual and the communal level to enhance their status by exercising power against the outside world; Meeker 1979) as much as a socioeconomic way of life, we should not be surprised that by the time bedouinism had fully emerged (i.e. by the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.), we also witness the first bedouin state. According to the Assyrian annals, the central North Arabian tribal confederacy led by the tribe of Qedar had its political, economic, and religious center in the oasis city of Dûmat al-Jandal (el-Jauf; 29° 50 ´N; 39° 52 ´E). See ISHMAELITES. (The final and most recent bedouin state was the dominion of the Ibn Rashîd and the Shammar tribe around Ḥâ›il, which succumbed to the Saudis shortly after World War I; Rosenfeld 1965.)

On an internal level, the bedouin state can be defined as being based *militarily* on a bedouin tribe (or a group of tribes, which may or may not be ranked) and *economically* on a city engaged in long-distance trade (for which the camel was a prerequisite). The two would be unified by a ruling family that managed effectively to control the city and to maintain the loyalty of the tribe. The main instrument for resolving the inherent tension between the anti-urban world of the bedouin and the cosmopolitan world of the urban trader seems to have been religion, the ruling family usually assuming a leading role in religious affairs (the first Arab queens attested in history were priestesses; the Ibn Rashîd conducted their campaigns into the territory of neighboring tribes and towns in the name of wahhabism). Religion and personal loyalty to their tribal chief allowed the bedouin to overcome their ideological opposition to the city (on which, economically, their wealth and power depended). The bedouin state thus occupies an intermediate position between complex chiefdom and early state (Rosenfeld 1965).

Bedouin states tended to be unstable, and they seldom lasted for more than three generations of the ruling family. Whenever their institutions approached the point of effectiveness that may have led to the formation of a true state, the bedouin element was either forced to abandon its tribal ideology (as happened in the formation of the Islamic state, although for a limited period only, and more effectively in the formation of the Sa‹ûdi state), or break loose from its symbiosis with the city. The Nabataeans, who made the transition to statehood ca.80 B.C., lasted unusually long (nearly 200 years). Political conflict was not, as one may expect, primarily expressed by rebellions of either the tribal or the urban element, but rather by revolt and murder within and among the members of the ruling family. This is attested in the history of the Arabs in the 7th century B.C. (see ISHMAELITES), the history of the Nabataeans (see ARETAS #4), and especially the history of the Ibn Rashîd.

On an external level, the bedouin state was an example of a peripheral polity which nevertheless managed to direct the flow of capital and supplies from the urban core of the fertile crescent to its desert periphery. The steady increase in the number of camel herders as well as their increasing political complexity and power from the time of David to the time of Tiglath-pileser III coincided with the establishment of a Mediterranean-based (and soon Assyrian-controlled) world economy in which there was a rising demand for specific luxury goods such as incense. The extensive trade routes associated with the transportation of these goods were controlled by the emerging bedouin (similarly, the principality of Ḥâ›il in the 19th century drew most of its revenues from the Iraqi pilgrims' caravan to Mecca). The emergence of the bedouin and the bedouin state is, in this view, a by-product and consequence of the emergence of the large imperialistic state which alone could afford the luxury of incense, gold, and myrrh (or, in Islamic times, the luxury of a pilgrimage to Mecca).

In the Persian period the Achaemenids seem to have carefully prevented the emergence of bedouin states, preferring to deal with isolated tribal leaders, like Geshem the Arab (see KEDAR), or similar tribal leaders in Mesopotamia. They strengthened the position of the city as opposed to its surrounding tribes (as was the case with Taymâ›; see TEMA).

The rise of the Nabataeans with their religious, political, and economic center at Petra and el-Jī› (see WADI MUSA) on the periphery of Roman Syria furnishes another classic example for the economic and

cultural dependence of a bedouin state on an empire. The bedouin domination of Nabataean politics and administration surfaces in the title of the Nabataean king's representative at Damascus, who is called an *ethnarches* in 2 Cor 11:32. The title means "tribal chief" and does not imply that the city of Damascus was under Nabataean rule by the time of St. Paul's visit; quite the contrary, it implies that the Nabataean envoy (we may call him a consul) came from a non-urban social background (Sartre 1982:123–26; Knauf 1983).

Nabataea, subject to increasing agricultural investment by the Nabataean tribal elite in the course of the second half of the 1st century A.D., and being situated on the border of Roman Syria, did not return to anarchy after the demise of its ruling family, but was annexed into the empire, much to the benefit of all her inhabitants. For the following 200 years, the area experienced the greatest level of prosperity it ever reached. Nothing demonstrates better than the fate of Nabataea, the most long-living, culturally advanced, and amiable bedouin state, that a society ultimately has to cease being "bedouin" in order for it to become fully a "state."

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**BEE.** See ZOOLOGY.

**BEELIADA** (PERSON) [Heb *bĕʿelyādāʿ* (בְּעֶלְיָדָע)]. One of thirteen sons of David listed as having been born in Jerusalem (1 Chr 3:5–9; 14:3–7; cf. 2 Sam 5:13–16). His mother was among the several wives and concubines whom David took in Jerusalem, but she is not named. His name—found in this form only in 1 Chr 14:7—is usually taken to mean "Baal knows." It was changed to "Eliada," meaning "God knows," in 2 Sam 5:16 and 1 Chr 3:8. Most scholars have taken this to reflect the common distaste in Israel for names incorporating that of the Canaanite deity, seen in such name pairs for the same person as Jerubbaal/Jerubbesheth, Eshbaal/Ishbosheth, or Meribbaal/Mephiboshet (e.g., Noth *IPN*, 119–22). However, the element *baʿal* may not always have been understood offensively (Fowler *TPNAH,* 54–63); rather, in some cases, it may have had the generic meaning of "lord" (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 85–87). It seems odd for David to have named a son after a foreign god; the name could simply mean "the Lord knows." In 1 Chr 14:7, his name is rendered in Gk as *Balliada* in Codex Alexandrinus and *Baaliada* in Codex Venetus, but as *Balegdae* in Codexes Vaticanus and Sinaiticus.
DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

**BEELZEBUL** [Gk *Beelzeboul* (Βεελζεβουλ)*;* Heb *baʿal zĕbûb* (בַּעַל זְבוּב)]. Var. BEELZEBUB; BAALZEBUB. According to the synoptic accounts, Jesus was accused of expelling demons by the power of Beelzebul, a name for the "prince of demons" (*ho archōn tōn daimoniōn*), that is, SATAN (Mark 3:22–26; Matt 12:24–27; Luke 11:15–19). Matt 10:25 is the only instance of Jesus using the name *Beelzebul.* Elsewhere the gospel writers record Jesus as using the name "Satan" rather than *Beelzebul.*

Scholars have been fascinated with trying to find an etymology for this preeminent satanic being. The etymology of Beelzebul has proceeded in several directions. The variant reading *Beelzebub* (Syriac translators and Jerome) reflects a long-standing tradition of equating Beelzebul with the Philistine deity of the city of Ekron mentioned in 2 Kgs 1:2, 3, 6, 16. Baalzebub (Heb *baʿal zĕbûb*) seems to mean "lord of flies" (*HALAT,* 250, but cf. LXX$^{B}$ *baal muian theon akkarōn,* "Baal-Fly, god of Akkaron"; *Ant* 9:2, 1 *theon muian*). Prior to the discoveries at Ras Shamra (Ugarit) the elucidation of this deity came through finding parallels in the Greek world which mentioned deities in the role of "the Averter of flies" (e.g. *Zeus Apomuios, theos muiagros;* Nilsson 1967:213). The decipherment of the Ugaritic texts brought to light the frequent epithet "Prince Baal" or "Exalted Baal" *(zbl bʿl)* or "The Prince, the Lord of the earth" (*zbl bʿl arṣ*) (Albright 1936:17–18). Armed with this new information from Ugarit, scholars almost unanimously saw in 2 Kings 1 another example of a pejorative rendering of an original *baʿal zĕbûl* with *baʿal zĕbûb,* "Lord of *flies*," similar to the well-known euphemistic substitution of *bōšet,* "shame," for an original *baʿal* in such personal names as Mephiboshet and Ishboshet (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 124–25, 128). Some scholars have also suggested that *zbl bʿl* may underlie the tribal name ZEBULUN (Ringgren 1966:21), the personal name ZEBUL in Judg 9:28, and JEZEBEL (cf. the Phoenician PN *bʿlʾzbl* in *CIS* I 158), the daughter of Ethbaal (1 Kgs 16:31).

An alternative suggested by many is to connect *zĕbûl* with a noun meaning " (exalted) abode." Prior to the discoveries at Ugarit and Qumran, Aitken argued that the four biblical occurrences of *zĕbûl* (1 Kgs 8:13; Isa 63:15; Hab 3:11; Ps 49:15) as well as the respective rabbinical and medieval commentaries proved that the meaning of *zĕbûl* was "dwelling" and often the exalted dwelling of *par excellence* of God, i.e., heaven. Aitken (1912:34–53) suggested that Beelzebul as "lord of the heaven" was in fact a sky god. Gaston (1962:247–55), who had the advantage of working with the new material from Ugarit as well as the four occurrences of *zĕbûl* in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QM 12:1–2; 1QS 10:3; 1QpHab 3:34), arrived at a similar conclusion stressing that *zĕbûl* can mean either "the temple" or "heaven." Gaston (1962:252) further noted that the chief rival of Yahweh in the Hellenistic period was the heavenly Baal (Gk *Zeus Olumpios,* Aram *bʿlšmyn*). The word *zĕbûl,* argued Gaston, was used in place of the more common

synonyms for heaven because Christians were most likely included in the group of those who "stretched out their hands against the temple *(zĕbûl)*" (*t. Sanh.* 13:5; Gaston 1962:253–54).

Matthew 10:25 refers to "the master of the house (*ton oikodespotēn*) Beelzebul." Aitken (1912:51) pointed out what seems to be a wordplay in which *ton oikodespotēn* could be a translation of the Semitic word *Beelzebul* which follows. This has been the favored view of the majority of NT scholars (cf. the various commentaries on the synoptics as well as MacLaurin 1978:156–60). This wordplay is also clearly reflected in the Hebrew Matthew extracted from Shem-Tob ben-Shaprut's *Even Bohan* which has *bʿl hbyt—bʿl zbwb* (Howard 1987:46, 195). On the other hand, a wordplay, like a folk etymology, may not reflect a historically accurate etymology.

A third alternative analysis has seen Beelzebul as "lord of the dung" based on conjectural cognates in postbiblical Hebrew, Aramaic/Syriac, and Arabic. While this view may have been popular in the past, it finds few adherents among modern scholars (see Gaston's critique 1962:251–52). Albright went so far as to say that "it has been given up by most competent scholars" (1932:191 n.20).

Some scholars have argued that *Beelzebul* should be connected with the Aram *bĕʿēl dĕbābāʾ* "enemy, adversary" (cf. Matt 13:39, where the *diabolos* is called the *ekthros*). This etymology has not found many adherents in the past (e.g. Schlatter:1957:343), yet it has recently been advocated by Day (1988:151–59), who argues that it provides a more plausible reason for the equation of Beelzebub/Beelzebul with Satan. Day (1988:157) would see another wordplay going on between Aram *bĕʿēl dîbābāʾ* "lord of flies," and Aram *bĕʿēl dĕbābāʾ* "enemy, adversary." On the connection of this expression with Akk *bēl dabābi* see Day (1988:158), who argues that the accuser role of this expression is primitive. In contrast, see Kaufman (1974:42–43) who argues that Akk *bēl dabābi* has to do with an adversarial role, which is to be kept distinct from the role of an accuser in court, which was expressed by *bʿl dynʾ*. Aram *dîbābāʾ* and Akk *dabābi* reflect Proto-Semitic **d* which would come into Heb as *d* and not *z*. Thus Heb *zĕbûb* cannot be cognate with these two words. A folk etymology is another question.

Fensham (1967:361–64) suggests that Baalzebub should be translated "Baal, the Flame." This suggestion would fit nicely with the fire motif in the Elijah narratives, as Fensham points out, yet it rests on the scanty evidence of only one text (*CTA* 3.3.43 = *KTU* 1.3.3.46) where *ḏbb* parallels *išt,* "fire." It may even be that we are dealing with a scribal error of *ḏbb* for *šbb* (cf. Heb. *šābîb* "spark") in the Ugaritic text.

Finally, de Moor (1987:179, 183) argues that *Baalzebub* "Fly Lord" recalls Baal's victory over monstrous flies (= demons) and compares the "flies of death" in Qoh 10:1. Both de Moor and Saracino (1982:338–43) interpret an extremely difficult text from Ras Ibn Hani (78/20) to be an apotropaic ritual where Baal drives out "harmful agents (demon-flies)" called *dbbm* which are causing a patient's illness (cf. also the connection of Ugaritic *zbl* with sickness as noted by Held 1968:93). These scholars suggest that *Baalzebub* need not have been a pejorative change from an original *Baalzebul.* In fact, de Moor argues that this description of Baal's exorcism of evil spirits is directly parallel to Matt 12:24 (=Mark 3:22; =Luke 11:15) which has the Pharisees stating that it is only through Beelzebul that Jesus casts out demons. Yet so far, the divine name *Baalzebub* is unattested in extrabiblical documents, including the Ugaritic texts (cf. the god named *ḏbb* mentioned above in *CTA* 3.3.43 = *KTU* 1.3.3.46).

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THEODORE J. LEWIS

**BEER** (PLACE) [Heb *bĕ›ēr* (בְּאֵר)]. **1.** An unidentified site in Moab N of the river Arnon (Num 21:13) at which the people of Israel encamped before traveling to Mattanah (Num 21:16). At Beer, which means "well," the princes and nobles dug a well. The ease with which the water was obtained may have inspired the couplet of Num 21:17–18. The prevailing opinion is that Beer should be located in NE Moab in the *Wâdī eth-Themed,* a tributary of the *Wâdī el-Wāle* where there is an adequate water supply for a large number of people close to the surface (e.g. *GP,* 461; Glueck 1933–1934:13; *GTTOT,* 262; van Zyl 1960:85–86). It is commonly assumed that Beer-elim mentioned in Isa 15:8 is identical with the Beer of Num 21:16 (see also BEER-ELIM).

**2.** The locality to which Jotham, youngest son of Jerubbaal (i.e. Gideon) fled from his brother Abimelech after reciting a parable from the top of Mount Gerizim to the citizens of Shechem (Judg 9:21). In antiquity Eusebius (Lagarde 1966:238, 73) identified Beer with a village in the S named *Bēra* (Gk) about 7.5 miles N of Eleutheropolis in the neighborhood of Beth-shemesh (cf. *RNAB,* 84). Though the position of Beer remains uncertain some modern scholars suggest a N location and tentatively identify it with *el-Bîreh* in the vicinity of Ophrah about 7 miles NW of Beth-shean (e.g., *GTTOT* 581; *RNAB,* 129).

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**BEER-ELIM** (PLACE) [Heb *bĕ›ēr-›êlîm* (בְּאֵר־אֵילִים)]. An unidentified site in Moab (Isa 15:8) which has been tentatively equated with Beer of Num 21:16 (e.g. Kaiser *Isaiah 13–39* OTL, 69). Beer-elim, meaning "well of chiefs" or "well of terebinths," may be an abbreviated form of Beer, which has been located north of the river Arnon in the *Wâdī eth-Themed* (see also BEER). The equation of these two locations is based on the notions that (1) *Themed* means "waterhole," as does Beer; (2) terebinths grow in this *Wâdī;* and (3) this is the only location north of the Arnon where water is close to the surface as described in Num 21:16–18.

Objections to the identification of Beer-elim with Beer include the facts that there are other sites prefixed by the name Beer and valleys in which terebinths grow (Wildberger *Isaiah BKAT,* 617). Wildberger suggests that Beer-elim may have been south of the Arnon in the vicinity of *el-Kerak.*
ARTHUR J. FERCH

**BEER-LAHAI-ROI** (PLACE) [Heb *bĕ›ēr laḥay ro›î* (בְּאֵר לַחַי רֹאִי)]. A location in S Palestine associated with the birth of Ishmael (Gen 16:14) and mentioned twice (Gen 24:62; 25:11) as a residence of the patriarch Isaac. The name is introduced in an etiological narrative of a vision experienced at the site by the pregnant HAGAR, who is promised the birth of a son whom she is told to name ISHMAEL (Gen 16:7–12). In response to the vision, Hagar names the deity who appeared to her "a God of seeing" (Heb *›el rŏ›î;* Gen 16:13), and utters another statement concerning seeing. The name of the site is referred to Hagar's utterance (16:14).

Both Hagar's statement and the name of the site Beer-lahai-roi are difficult to interpret, and have engendered speculative solutions of various kinds. The rendering of Gen 16:14, *phrear hou enopion eidon* "well of him whom I have plainly seen," is a midrashic interpretation rather than a translation. The Vulgate's Latin, *Puteum Viventis Videntis me* "Well of the Living One, the One who Sees me," has the semblance of a literal translation. Rabbinic interpretations are variations on the theme of seeing and living. Many modern interpreters separate the toponym from the etiology in which it is embedded. Thus

Wellhausen (*WPHI,* 326) interpreted the Hebrew consonants *l-ḥ-y* as the word "jawbone" and *r-ʾ-y* as a kind of antelope (not attested in Hebrew).

The location of Beer-lahai-roi is placed between KADESH and BERED (Gen 16:14), that is, in the Negeb (so Gen 24:62). The water source which gave rise to the name was located "on the way to Shur" (Gen 16:7; see SHUR, WILDERNESS OF).

HENRY O. THOMPSON

**BEER-RESISIM** (M.R. 109206). A small EB site of ca. 3 acres situated on the S bank of the Naḥal Resisim, a tributary of the Naḥal Niṣṣana, in the W Negeb highlands near Beerotayim on the Israel-Sinai border. Lying at an altitude of 1500 feet, the site receives less than 4 inches of annual rainfall and is in an area suitable only for pastoralism. Even marginal dry farming is possible only with some form of runoff irrigation.

Beʾer Resisim (Arabic *BĦr er-Resīsiyeh,* "Well of the Morning Dew") was discovered by kibbutzniks in the 1950s.

Excavations were carried out for three seasons in 1978, 1979, and 1980 by William G. Dever and Rudolph Cohen. The project was multidisciplinary and designed to carry out newer experimental techniques in order to study the site in its larger regional context and environmental setting. Specialists in the natural sciences therefore conducted geological and geomorphological surveys, palynological and paleozoological analyses, and climatic investigations, in addition to the more traditional stratigraphic and ceramic studies. At the time no site of the period had yet been excavated extensively or with modern multidisciplinary methods.

Beʾer Resisim is one of a group of several hundred known one-period villages and encampments in the Negeb largely belonging to the EB IV period (ca. 2400–2000 B.C.). These sites are related in turn to an even larger complex in the semiarid marginal zone extending from S Transjordan clear across the Negeb into the W Sinai. They represent the maximum extent of the non-nucleated, seminomadic culture that replaced the urban EB I–III culture of Palestine after its collapse ca. 2600–2400 B.C. Many of these sites, however, reveal a scattering of EB II shards (ca. 3200–2600 B.C.), indicating sporadic earlier use by pastoral nomads (Dever 1980).

Nearly all of the builtup area of Beʾer Resisim—the second largest EB IV site in the Negeb—was investigated or cleared. The excavation revealed about 80 small, circular stone sleeping huts, several open-air communal food preparation areas, and several animal enclosures. The nearly complete village plan thus recovered is the only such yet published from any EB IV site in Palestine or Transjordan. There was no trace of an enclosure wall, cult installations, or elite structures of any kind. Based on the usual methods of calculation, the population may have numbered about 100 or so. The form and layout of the structures strongly suggest a small clan or tribal unit, probably polygamous, and socially unstratified. The paleobotanical and paleozoological investigations showed that the subsistence system was based on a mixed economy, principally the herding of sheep and goats (over 90 percent of all bones), with some possible dry farming in good years. In addition, small-scale trade in copper and exotic raw materials from the Sinai seems to have played a minor role in the economy (Dever 1985).

The overall picture at Beʾer Resisim, as elsewhere in the EB IV settlements of the Negeb, is that of seasonal encampments of pastoral nomads. The pottery and copper implements are closely related to "Family S," typical of the Hebron hills (Dever 1980). Since there are numerous EB IV shaft-tomb cemeteries but very few settlements there, we may reconstruct a seasonal pattern of pastoral migrations between winter pasturages in the Negeb and summer pasturages and burying grounds in the higher and cooler altitudes in the hill country (see QAʿAQĪR, JEBEL). All these arid-zone Negeb encampments disappear with the beginning of the reurbanized MB Age, ca. 2000 B.C., and most are never again occupied.

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WILLIAM G. DEVER

**BEER-SHEBA** (PLACE) [Heb *bĕ›ēr šeba‹* (בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע)]. A town in the S Judean desert best known for its association with the biblical patriarchs, and as the S extreme of Israelite territory as delineated in the formula "from Dan to Beer-sheba" (Judg 20:1; 1 Sam 3:20; etc.). The Hebrew name means "well of seven" or "well of oath." Both Hebrew words, "to swear" and "oath," are derived from the word "seven."

The Bible offers two patriarchal traditions to explain the significance of the name. One describes a conflict between Abraham and Abimelech over water rights to a well, which is resolved when Abraham gives Abimelech seven ewe lambs as witness of Abraham's rights to the well (Gen 21:28–31). Another account similarly involves disputes over water rights, but between Isaac and Abimelech:after an agreement is struck between the disputants, Isaac's servants successfully dig a new well, which Isaac named, *šib‹â,* a form of the number seven. This account concludes by noting that the city was consequently named Beer-sheba (Gen 26:33).

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A. Identification
B. Chalcolithic Sites
C. Iron Age Sites
1. Bir es-Seba‹
2. Tell es-Seba‹
3. Post-Iron Age

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**A. Identification**

The ancient name is preserved in the Arabic Bîr es-Seba‹, which referred to the area near the bend of Wadi es-Seba‹ (located in the industrial center of modern Beer-sheba). G. L. Robinson (1901) reported seeing seven wells at the site. The *SWP* mentions Bī'âr es-Seba‹, "the wells of Seba‹, " and gives the name of the accompanying ruins as Kh. Bîr es-Seba‹; it also notes Tell es-Seba‹, a mound 4 km to the E at the junction of Wadi el-Khalil (Nahal Hebron) and Wadi es-Seba‹, although the surveyors did not identify it as biblical Beer-sheba. Apparently E. W. G. Masterman (*ISBE* [1929 ed.] 1:424–25) was the first to propose identifying Tell es-Seba‹ with the OT town.

Modern understanding of tell formation and site location led to the assumption that the mound of Tell es-Seba‹ (M.R. 134072) was the ancient Israelite town, and that Bîr es-Seba‹ to the W (M.R. 130072) was the site of the Roman-Byzantine city of Berosabe, although Glueck (1968:40–41), among others, disagreed. Excavations in the 1960s at Kh. Bîr es-Seba‹ revealed an Iron Age occupation in addition to the Roman-Byzantine ruins, but the topography is ill suited for a fortified center, and no significant fortifications were uncovered (Gophna and Yisraeli 1973).

Alternatively, the excavations at Tell es-Seba‹ from 1969–1974, and in 1976 (under the direction of Y. Aharoni and Z. Herzog, respectively) have uncovered a well-planned administrative center with several strata spanning the 10th through the 8th centuries B.C. A letter found at Arad (ca. 7th century) refers to Beer-sheba, but probably does not refer to the fortress, which then lay in ruins (if the chronological attribution of the Arad ostraca is accurate); the letter may instead refer to the settlement at Bîr es-Seba‹ 4 km W of the tell. Beer-sheba may have been a dual site consisting of the royal city (i.e., the tell) along with a civilian settlement further W on the banks of the wadi (where the modern city now stands). This could explain the doublet in the ledger of Simeon's towns:Beer-sheba and Sheba/Shema (Josh 19:3; cf. also Josh 15:26 and 1 Chr 4:28).

**B. Chalcolithic Sites**

A significant and flourishing Chalcolithic culture (*EAEHL* 1:153–58) has been discovered along the banks of the wadi—Abu Matar (Perrot 1955a), Bîr es-Ṣafadi (Perrot 1955b; 1956; 1959; 1960), and Kh. Beitar (Dothan 1959). These sites show 3 to 4 phases of occupation spanning the early- to mid-4th millennium B.C. Since the discovery of these sites in the 1950s, other sites with similar assemblages have been discovered further afield along the banks of the wadi (e.g., Shiqmim, Ze‘elim, Nevatim), indicating the existence of a regional Beer-sheba basin culture (Levy 1986). This cultural horizon, in turn, exhibits similarities with the remains of Tuleilat Ghassul. See GHASSUL, TULEILAT EL-. Some of the Beer-sheba settlements seem to have engaged in craft specialization, such as metalworking (e.g., Abu Matar) and ivory/bone carving (e.g., Bir es-Ṣafadi). These early sites, however, have no association with events recorded in the Bible.

**C. Iron Age Sites**

**1. Bîr es-Seba‘.** Alt's (*KlSchr* 3:409–35) and Glueck's (1968:40–41) suggestion that biblical Beer-sheba should be sought at Bîr es-Seba received some corroboration with the discovery of Iron Age remains directly beneath the floors of the Roman/Byzantine occupation (Gophna and Yisraeli 1973). Most of the evidence is from the Iron Age IIC, with some from the 10th century (Iron Age IC).

**2. Tell es-Seba‘.** In 1969, Aharoni initiated eight seasons of excavations which have identified nine Iron Age strata, with additional evidence for the Persian, Hellenistic, and Herodian periods. The presentation here generally follows the major summary of the expedition team, but strives to point out along the way some of the questions and issues that have been raised by others.

**Stratum IX.** The earliest strata were located only on the SE section of the tell (these occupational levels probably existed in other areas, but were apparently obliterated in the stratum V leveling and construction operations). The earliest settlement consisted of caves and pits dug into the hill. These pits were not of uniform shape, and some apparently were used for grain storage, while others were for occupation (as inferred from the presence of beaten earth occupational surfaces). Some of these pits and caves have subdividing walls, and terraces indicating specific activity areas. The ceramic collection associated with this level (including some shards of Philistine pottery, and red-slipped and hand-burnished wares) implies a date at the end of the 12th century or early 11th century B.C. (Herzog 1984:42–43).

**Stratum VIII.** While the ceramic collection of stratum VIII is small, the wares appear more closely related to those of stratum IX than to those of the later periods (Herzog 1984:46). The excavators therefore date this stratum to the mid-late 11th century B.C. The inhabitants began to build more substantial buildings on stone foundations (actually only one building and part of another have been found from this stratum), but most of the remains show a continued use of the pits and caves from the earlier period.

**Stratum VII.** A significantly larger area of stratum VII was uncovered and shows evidence of an organized site plan—the buildings (typically four-room house variations) were built encircling the perimeter of the mound with their rear walls connected and facing outward to form a basic security system. The houses opened inward toward an open area where the flocks and herds might be penned at night (Fig. BEE.01). Other buildings surrounded a well shaft outside the gate and perimeter wall. The direct-access gate consisted of two chambers attached to the corners of the houses on either side, and a drainage channel passed through the gate, but there is no evidence that it directed waters toward the well (cf. Herzog 1984:26). The pottery suggests a date in the late 11th or early 10th century B.C.

It is not possible to determine when the well was dug, although it appears from the building that surrounded the well in stratum VII, and the fact that the well stood almost exactly in the center of the courtyard of this building, that the well existed during stratum VII. Because the stratigraphy of the well area has been disrupted in antiquity (due to the collapse of the upper walls of the shaft), it is impossible to determine stratigraphically the date of the well. The only possibility available to determine its date is to excavate to the bottom of the well, but after excavating through 28 m of accumulation without reaching bottom, it was deemed necessary to abort the operation. On the basis of the orientation of nearby stratum IX architectural features, the excavators suggest that the well was dug in stratum IX (Herzog 1984:4–6). There is, however, no evidence to attribute any part of this well to the patriarchal period.

**Stratum VI.** This stratum differs significantly from the previous one. The four-room house plan is evident in only one building of the excavated area. Otherwise the buildings are poorly built, and look as if they were arranged randomly. Some of the buildings reused portions of the ruins from the earlier stratum. The fairly large ceramic collection of stratum VI indicates a date in the 10th century.

**Stratum V.** Major changes in stratum V consisted of a leveling operation on the tell and the construction of a solid, 4-m thick, offset-inset city wall. The wall stood on a stone foundation (preserved in places 1.5 m high) on top of which the mud-brick superstructure rested. The wall system was protected with a glacis constructed of layers of soil, small stones, and soil mixed with ash and shards, which was then stabilized with a 1.5–2.0-m thick layer of brick material mixed with ash. The slope of the glacis was ca. 20°. At the foot of the system, a fosse was dug at least 3–4 m deep (it was not fully excavated). The three-entry city gate (similar to the gate at Dan) was located on the SE side and measured ca. 21 by 21 m. On the basis of the ceramic collection, Aharoni parallels this stratum with Megiddo V–IV and therefore dates the stratum to the 10th century. This stratum was destroyed by fire, which Aharoni suggests occurred during Shishak's campaign into S Judah (1973:106).

The absence of reference to Beer-sheba in the Karnak inscription listing the cities that Shishak conquered may result from the fact that the inscription is damaged in the sections referring to the Negeb. However, the reconstruction by the excavators poses some intriguing questions. Two architectural features that Aharoni dates to the 10th century seem unusual for this period—namely, the solid fortification wall and the three-entry gate. The normal fortification system in the Solomonic period consisted of a casemate wall and a four-entry gate (cf. Hazor X, Megiddo VA-IVB, Gezer VIII). After the discovery of the three-entry gate at Beer-sheba, Aharoni (1974) redated the defensive system at Beer-sheba V (as well as the gate at Dan) to the time of David. While the normal pattern in the United Monarchy does not preclude the use of a different system at Beer-sheba, the features that Aharoni describes are typical of 9th-century defensive systems in Israel and Judah. Furthermore, Biran (*EAEHL* 1:320) dates the construction of the city gate at Dan (to which Aharoni appeals as a parallel) to the reign of Jeroboam I (for further discussion see Yadin 1976; and Herzog, Rainey, and Moshkovitz 1977).

**Stratum IV.** A new city was soon rebuilt on the ruins of stratum V, which reused the solid fortification walls. Aharoni suggests (1973:106) that because of the similarity of the ceramic collection of stratum IV with that of stratum V, stratum IV was destroyed soon after the end of V. This he dates to the beginning of the 9th century, and places it in the historical context of the middle of Asa's reign (ca. 910–865 B.C.).

**Strata III–II.** The last major city consisted of two phases—stratum III, with isolated areas of repair and rebuild in stratum II (see site plan in CITIES, Fig. CIT.08). No severe destruction separated them. The fortress of strata III–II consisted of a casemate wall on the ruins of the earlier solid wall. The wall thicknesses were ca. 1.6 m for the outer wall and ca. 1.4 m for the inner wall. The increased elevation of the city wall required also that the glacis be raised, however, a level area ca. 3.0–3.5 m wide extended from outside the wall to the top of the downward slope of the glacis.

A new three-entry city gate (ca. 17 m wide × 14 m deep) stood above the ruins of the earlier one. The access through the gate was 4.2 m wide. Benches (ca. 30 cm high) lined the inside of one of the chambers in the stratum III gate, but these were eliminated in stratum II. A new drain channel (associated with strata III–II) collected water from the interior of the city and directed it through the gate to the well which had existed in the earlier strata (Herzog 1984:4–5).

Since a well is usually a preferred water source because it is relatively free of surface contaminants, it is curious that the people of the city would channel contaminated waters from inside the city to the well. It is therefore possible that the shaft by this time functioned more as a cistern than as a well, especially if an alternative independent water system existed. Indeed, the expedition discovered in the NE corner of the city what appears to have been such a system (although it has not yet been completely excavated).

A plaza area (ca. 12 × 20 m) stood inside the gate from which a street concentric with the city wall circled through the town. This street was flanked on each side by buildings. At least two other streets passed directly from the plaza across the site to the other side where they again intersected the concentric street. The predominant building plan was of the four-room house variety. Immediately to the left after

entering the gate were apparently administrative buildings, while three storehouses stood just to the right. The plan and construction of these storehouses are similar to the stables found at Megiddo and Hazor, but the ones at Beer-sheba had huge collections of ceramics, including storage jars, pithoi, holemouth jars, and an array of domestic vessels—cooking pots, kraters, dipper juglets, jugs, lamps, flasks, etc.

Integrated into the walls of the storehouses of stratum II were stones clearly in secondary use. Some of these were of calcareous sandstone, in contrast to the typical limestone otherwise used. Three of the sandstone blocks preserved the shape of large horns typical of four-horned altars, while a fourth showed evidence that the horn had been broken off. The other sandstone blocks apparently had been originally associated with the altar which had been dismantled and its stones reused in the construction of the storehouses. Another of the stones bore the image of a deeply incised serpent. Additional stones, which also had apparently been part of the altar, were later found in a fill associated with the repair of the glacis of stratum II; some of these had evidence of fire on their surfaces (Herzog, Rainey, and Moshkovitz 1977:57, fig. 4). The postulated reconstruction of the altar (see Fig. BEE.02) measures ca. 63 inches high (from bottom to top of a horn; it is unclear what the length and width were, but Aharoni [1974a:4] suggests that it conformed to the 5 × 5 cubit dimensions of the Arad altar).

A significant element in Aharoni's plan to excavate Beer-sheba had been to find a temple similar to the one he had earlier discovered at Arad (Aharoni 1968:32; 1973:14), and the discovery of a dismantled altar naturally fueled his efforts to locate where the altar had originally stood. See ARAD. An area in the NW section of the town has been suggested as the location of the temple, even though it has yielded no architectural remains from stratum III (except a chalk pavement, which the excavators suggest was part of the temple courtyard; Herzog, Rainey, and Moshkovitz 1977:58). Several other factors have been offered to substantiate the claim that the NW corner was the site of a temple: (1) the area is easily accessible from the gate and plaza; (2) it is a prominent section in the town; (3) it is the only area (thus far excavated) where a large building could be built with a E–W orientation; (4) a subterranean passage extends from the area to the outside of the city; and (5) numerous cultic objects from later periods have been found in the area, perhaps continuing the reverence for the site (Herzog, Rainey, and Moshkovitz 1977:56–57; Aharoni 1974b:271). The failure to find architectural features is explained by postulating that the building had been totally dismantled (similar to the fate of the altar) and "razed to its foundations" (Herzog, Rainey, and Moshkovitz 1977:57; cf. Aharoni 1974b:271).

Recognizing that this proposal is largely an argument from silence supported by relatively circumstantial evidence, Yadin (1976) postulated an alternative location for the altar based largely on the statement in 2 Kgs 23:8 which describes the existence of an altar just inside and to the left of the city gate (which he suggests applied to Beer-sheba and not Jerusalem). He argued that the altar originally stood in the courtyard of the building just to the left of the gate and that the rooms associated with it were intended to house animals that were to be offered. The excavators have responded that the placement of an altar in this location would restrict access to the rest of the building, and that the building in which Yadin proposed to place the altar was built in stratum II, *after* the altar had been dismantled (Herzog, Rainey, and Moshkovitz 1977:56, 58).

Aharoni contends (1974a:6; 1974b:271) that the altar and temple were dismantled as part of the reforms of Hezekiah (i.e., 8th century; cf. 2 Kgs 18:22; Isa 36:7; 2 Chr 31:1; 32:12), and Amos 5:4–5 implies some sort of cultic significance connected with Beer-sheba in the decades prior to Hezekiah (see also Amos 8:14). The excavators point out parallels between stratum II pottery and the pottery from Lachish III and Arad VIII and argue that Beer-sheba II was destroyed by Sennacherib (ca. 701 B.C.). In the ruins of the stratum II gate was found a royal stamped store jar handle *(lmlk zyp).* One should not necessarily expect a reference in the annals of Sennacherib to the capture of Beer-sheba, since he summarizes his campaign by saying that he captured 46 fortified cities in Judah (*ANET,* 288), most of which remain unnamed.

Yadin, however, dates the end of stratum II a hundred years later. He points out some significant similarities between the Beer-sheba II ceramics and those of Lachish II (but see M. Aharoni 1977), which

is attributed to the campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C. (cf. also Holladay 1977). Kenyon (1976) suggests stratum II was destroyed sometime *between* the campaigns of Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar.

While it seems likely that Aharoni is correct in attributing the dismantling of the altar to the reforms of Hezekiah, a tension exists between the treatment of the temples at Beer-sheba and Arad. Aharoni describes an extensive dismantling operation in association with a temple at Beer-sheba, while for Arad, he (*ISBE* 1:229) and others (Herzog, Aharoni, Rainey, and Moshkovitz 1984) affirm that only the sacrificial altar was buried—not only did the temple building at Arad escape a systematic dismantling in stratum VIII, but the "main hall and the 'Holy of Holies' of the temple continued to exist" (Herzog, Aharoni, Rainey, and Moshkovitz 1984:19). One explanation might be that the "regional" site of Beer-sheba would deserve a more thorough reform than the site of Arad with its more localized shrine/temple. Another explanation might be that the Beer-sheba altar was not necessarily associated with a temple:it may simply have been an altar standing inside the city gate (similar to Yadin's suggestion) or elsewhere. It is of course possible that the temple with which the altar was associated was located elsewhere on the site and has simply not yet been discovered.

Regardless of the date and the agent, the Israelite city ended with a massive conflagration in which the buildings collapsed, burying hundreds of whole vessels and objects in the debris.

**Stratum I.** After its destruction, the site was refortified by repairing part of the casemate wall with a wall consisting of alternating layers of soil and small stones. Since no interior buildings have been found whose floors or walls join the wall system, questions are raised as to why the site was refortified. The excavators date this to the 7th century B.C. (Aharoni, ed. 1973:8). Perhaps the main elements of the settlement at this time had moved W to the site along the wadi (i.e., Bîr es-Seba‘), to which the Arad ostracon may refer (see above).

**3. Post–Iron Age.** The remains of Persian period Beer-sheba, as with most sites in Palestine, consisted of pits and silos, which have yielded some Aramaic ostraca dating from the mid-4th century. These refer to staple grains, while some also list Jewish, Edomite, and Arabic names.

Two centuries later, a small Hellenistic fort was constructed on the site. During the Herodian period, a large palace-like structure with accompanying service buildings (e.g., bathhouse) were built on the site. In the resurface of a courtyard of one of these Herodian buildings was found a coin of Caesar Augustus. During the 2d century A.D., a Roman fortress measuring ca. 30 by 30 m occupied the center of the tell. The site was essentially abandoned after the Roman period.

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DALE W. MANOR

**BEERA** (PERSON) [Heb *bĕʿērāʿ* (בְּאֵרָא)]. One of the descendants of Asher listed in the select genealogy which appears in 1 Chr 7:30–40. He is not included in the abbreviated genealogy of Asher found in Gen 46:17 and Num 26:44. Beera, whose name means "well" or "fountain," is mentioned nowhere else in Scripture. In fact, one-third of the names listed in Asher's genealogy in 1 Chronicles 7 are found only here, perhaps since Asher was a lesser tribe originating from the Jacob-Zilpah union. The Chronicler is content to give the names of Beera's brothers, father (Zopha), and grandfathers. Beyond this limited information little is known except that he is described as one of the "heads of fathers' houses, approved, mighty warriors, chief of the princes," in the line of Asher (7:40).
J. RANDALL O'BRIEN

**BEERAH** (PERSON) [Heb *bĕʿērâ* (בְּאֵרָה)]. A Reubenite leader who was exiled by the Assyrians under Tiglath-pileser III (1 Chr 5:6). His name is cognate with a Hebrew word for "well" or "pit" *(bĕʿēr).* The genealogy in 1 Chr 5:1–10 begins with the names of Reuben's four sons, just as they are listed elsewhere (Gen 46:9; Exod 6:14; Num 26:5), but then it extends the genealogy with the names of Reubenites who are not mentioned elsewhere in the Bible. The additional names are set in two groups, and both are traced to Joel, whose relation to Reuben is not specified. In the Syriac and Arabic versions, however, this problem is resolved by replacing "Joel" with "Carmi," the name of one of Reuben's four sons.

The first list of names ends with Beerah, who occupies the seventh place in the sequence of Joel's descendants. This position in biblical genealogies is an important one (Sasson 1978), and in the present list Beerah is distinguished from the others by the comment that he was a leader in the tribe and was carried into exile by the Assyrians. The contrast between Reuben and Judah is striking in this passage:a "ruler" *(nāgîd),* viz., David, came from Judah (5:2), the favored tribe in Chronicles, but a "prince" *(nāśîʾ)* went away (into exile) from Reuben (5:6).

The kinsmen ("brothers") of Beerah comprise the second list of Joel's descendants (1 Chr 5:7–8), and it may be that the last of them (Jeiel, if not Zechariah and Bela as well) was regarded as a contemporary of Beerah. If this is the case, however, it is unclear why Jeiel was called "the chief" *(hārōʾš),* but Beerah "the prince" *(nāśîʾ).* Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 44) resolves this difficulty by emending "his brothers" (*ʾeḥāyw*) to "later" *(ʾaḥar)* in v 7. It is also unclear, however, why the list of generations between Joel and Jeiel (5:7–8) is so much shorter (perhaps by as much as one-half) than that from Joel to Beerah (5:4–6).

Those who argue for the historical accuracy of the genealogy in 1 Chr 5:4–8 point to three considerations. First, the appearance of "Baal" as the name of Beerah's father (5:5) indicates an early date (8th century B.C.E.) and possibly an Israelite provenance for the genealogy. Second, the statement that Beerah was exiled by Tiglath-pileser III (5:6) is consistent with what is known about the history of the region during the Syro-Ephraimite War. Since Reubenite tribal lands were in Transjordan, probably extending north into Gilead, it is reasonable to believe that they were affected by the Assyrian capture of Galilee and Gilead ca. 733 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 15:29; 1 Chr 5:26). Third, the claim that Reubenites dwelt "in Aroer, as far as Nebo, and Baal-meon" reflects accurate knowledge of the period before Moab's conquest of the area, viz., before 850 B.C.E. (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 36–37).

Nevertheless, it should be remembered that Beerah's genealogy is fragmentary (it goes back only to Joel and is not attached to Reuben or his sons), has internal inconsistencies (Beerah's relationship to Jeiel), and may reflect more of the author's theology than accurate historical recollection (the reference to the

exile of Beerah and the Reubenites by the Assyrians may be an expression of the later idea that all ten northern tribes were exiled [Coggins *1 and 2 Chronicles* CBC, 36; Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 70–75]).

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M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**BEERI** (PERSON) [Heb *bĕʾērî* (בְּאֵרִי)]. The name of two men mentioned in the OT. "Beeri" is most often understood to mean "of a well" or (taking the ending as a pronominal suffix) "my well" (*IPN*, 224).

1. The Hittite father of Esau's wife Judith (Gen 26:34).
2. The father of the prophet Hosea (Hos 1:1). The Rabbis identified him with Beerah, a Reubenite chief whom Tiglath-Pileser sent into exile (1 Chr 5:6). However, there is no evidence to support the identification, nor do we have any other information about Hosea's father.

CAROLYN J. PRESSLER

**BEEROTH** (PLACE) [Heb *bĕʾērôt* (בְּאֵרוֹת)]. BEEROTHITE. A town in the territory of Benjamin (Josh 18:25). Beeroth was one of the four Hivite cities whose inhabitants deceived Israel, making peace with Joshua on the pretense that they were from a distant land (Josh 9:17). The inhabitants of Beeroth and the other three Hivite towns (Gibeon, Kiriath-jearim, and Chephirah) were thus spared annihilation and were allowed to live among the Israelites as woodcutters and water carriers (Josh 9:26–27). All four towns were incorporated into the tribal territory of Benjamin (Josh 18:25–28; 2 Sam 4:2). Later, Saul, a Benjaminite himself, attempted to eliminate the non-Israelite population living within the territory of Benjamin, specifically the Gibeonites, and presumably the inhabitants of Beeroth as well (2 Sam 21:2, 5). It was probably at this time that many of the people of Beeroth fled to Gittaim (2 Sam 4:3). This persecution may explain why it was two Beerothites, Recab and Baanah, who assassinated Saul's son Ish-bosheth (2 Sam 4:2–7; contra McCarter, *2 Sam* AB, 127–28). Another Beerothite, Naharai (perhaps one of those who were "in distress or in debt or discontented" under Saul's oppressive rule; 1 Sam 22:2), joined David and became a soldier in David's elite unit of fighting men, "The Thirty," serving as Joab's armor bearer (2 Sam 23:37; 1 Chr 11:39). The inhabitants of Beeroth and the other Hivite cities appear to have eventually assimilated into the population; they represent a significant percentage of the Jews who returned from exile (Ezra 2:25; Neh 7:29).

Whether biblical Beeroth is identical with the site known from 1 Macc 9:4 and from later Arabic and Crusader sources as Bereth, Berea, and el-Bireh is uncertain (see Goldstein *1 Macc* AB, 372–74; Avi-Yonah 1949:89 and map; 1977:123; ed-Dîn, 1897 ed. 394; Le Strange 1965:423).

The location of Beeroth is disputed. The confusion goes back at least as early as Eusebius, who in his *Onomasticon* (48.9–10) mentions a village of his day named Beeroth, which he identifies with the OT town that was "under [Gk *hypo*] Gibeon." He states that the village is reached from the 7th milestone on the road from Jerusalem to Nicopolis (Emmaus). This statement would seem to place Beeroth either in the general vicinity of Kiriath-jearim, W of Jerusalem, or near el-Jib, NW of Jerusalem. Jerome, however, in his Latin translation of the *Onomasticon* (49.8–9), records "Neapolis" instead of "Nicopolis," which would place Beeroth between Ramah and el-Bireh, N of Jerusalem. He also renders Eusebius' description *sub colle Gabaon* "under the hill of Gibeon," which seems to miss the political intention of Eusebius' expression (cf. the same phrase under *Chepheira, Chefira* [172.15; 173.22], which Jerome renders *vicus ad civitatem pertinens Gabaon;* see Abel *GP* 2, 262).

Edward Robinson (1867:452–53) was the first modern scholar to propose that Beeroth be identified with el-Bireh (M.R. 170146), the town E of Ramallah dominating the road from Jerusalem to Nablus at the point where the road reaches the N ridge of the Benjamin plateau. He argued that this site not only has toponymic support but fits Eusebius' description:"el-Bireh can be seen on the right at about 7 miles distance from Jerusalem as one travels to Emmaus via el-Jib." Albright (1923:114ff.; 1924:90–111) suggested that T. en-Nasbeh (M.R. 170143), S of el-Bireh, is a better candidate because it is closer to Jerome's mileage from Jerusalem. After Elihu Grant (1926:187ff.) found walls and pottery from the

Bronze Age at el-Bireh (at Ras et-Tahuneh, in the center of town), however, scholars returned to Robinson's identification despite the fact that el-Bireh is 9 Roman miles, not 7, from Jerusalem (Alt 1926; Beyer 1930; Elliger 1935:62; O'Callaghan 1951; cf. Avi-Yonah 1949:89 and map; *EncMiqr* 2:8–9; 1977:123). Subsequently, the 1967–68 survey (Kochavi 1972:178) confirmed the archaeological significance of el-Bireh, finding EB, MB, and much Iron Age I–II pottery there.

Aharoni (1962:183), still troubled by the discrepancy with Eusebius' mileage, suggested (and then abandoned) an identification with Nebi Samwil (M.R. 167137), NW of Jerusalem. Noth (1971:143–44), on the other hand, placed Beeroth at el-Jib (M.R. 167139), thus satisfying Eusebius' specifications, and then transferred Gibeon to el-Bireh.

Yeivin (1971:142–44) has suggested an identification at Kh. el-Burj (M.R. 167136), a small site just S of Nebi Samwil. His main argument is topographical and geometrical: with Beeroth here, the four Hivite cities would form an almost perfect rectangle situated on the border between Benjamin and Judah (the latter part of this assertion is not actually correct). Yeivin found Iron Age (but no Bronze Age) pottery at the site. He suggests that the name *Beeroth* is preserved at nearby Kh. el-Biyar (M.R. 169137), a later Roman and Byzantine site about a mile E of Kh. el-Burj (Arabic *biyar,* like Hebrew *bĕʿērôt,* can mean "wells"); instances of Arabic place names that are translations of earlier Hebrew toponyms, though rare, are attested elsewhere. Yeivin's identification has been accepted by a number of scholars (Aharoni *LBHG,* 431; McCarter, *2 Sam* AB, 123; et al.).

The most serious weakness of this latter identification is that it does not conform to Eusebius' description; Kh. el-Burj and Kh. el-Biyar are located about 4 Roman miles from Jerusalem, not 7. The 7th milestone would have been in the area between el-Jib and the top of the Beth-horon descent, far beyond any logical turnoff for Kh. el-Biyar (although this might be explained by the fact that Eusebius was working with a schematized and thus partially distorted road map). Moreover, Kh. el-Burj is a surprisingly small ruin (just over an acre) to represent a relatively important Iron Age town. Additionally, the nearby place name "Khirbet el-Biyar" is not necessarily significant; it is a very common designation for ruins throughout Palestine. *Yalqut Hapirsumim* (Biran 1964) lists at least six ancient sites so named within pre-1967 Israel alone; and in fact the British surveyors (Conder and Kitchener 1880) recorded a site by the same name E of el-Jib (and none in the vicinity of Khirbet el-Burj).

A number of other sites have been proposed but have not received a wide following (see the list in Press 1951, I:59–60, n. 2).

At present, therefore, the site of biblical Beeroth remains a matter of dispute. The most likely candidate would still seem to be the one originally proposed by Robinson, i.e., el-Bireh.

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**BEEROTH BENE-JAAKAN** (PLACE) [Heb *bĕʿērōt bĕnĕ yaʿăqān* (בְּאֵרֹת בְּנֵי יַעֲקָן)].

Translated as the "wells of the sons of Jaakan," this is a place where the people of Israel camped during the wilderness period (Deut 10:6). The claim to water rights for a particular clan is not unusual among tribesmen in the arid zone. This site is said to be near the border of Edom (Jaakan's appearance in the genealogical clan list of Seir the Horite in 1 Chr 1:42 strengthens this identification) and may possibly be associated with Birein, about 6 miles S of el-ʿAuja (or Nessana, M.R. 095031). Aaron is said to have died and been buried while they camped here. An orderly succession of the priesthood is also noted with Aaron's son Eleasar ministering "in his stead." The site is simply referred to as Bene-Jaakan in Num 33:31–32.
VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

**BEESHTERAH** (PLACE) [Heb *bĕʿĕštĕrâ* (בְּעֶסְתְּרָה)]. Var. ASHTAROTH. A town located in the tribal territory of Manasseh, listed as one of the Levitical cities (Josh 21:27). However, in the parallel passage in 1 Chr 6:56 (—Eng 6:71) there is a city named Ashtaroth (Heb *ʿaštārṯ*), which may perhaps have been the same place as Beeshterah. See ASHTAROTH (PLACE). The discrepancy between the Joshua list and the Chronicles list must be interpreted as variations on the same name. The *ʿštr* element is common to both, and there is little doubt that the Chronicler has correctly preserved the name of this Levitical city, which was named after the Canaanite fertility goddess, Ashtart.

Beeshterah/Ashtaroth has been identified with Tell ʿAshtarah (M.R. 243244), although there are some difficulties with this identification. About 6 km to the S of Tell ʿAshtarah is Tell el-Ashʿari. Albright (1925) argued that there was no connection between the names ʿAshtaroth and Ashʿari; however, there continue to be suggestions of possible identity.

Tell ʿAshtarah is located on the King's Highway, known in the N as "The Way of Bashan." Another great trade route, the Via Maris, joins the King's Highway at Tell ʿAshtarah. They have been no excavations at Tell ʿAshtarah, and only a surface survey was conducted by Albright in the 1920s. He identified there pottery from the EB, MB, LB periods, as well as from the first two phases of the Iron Age (1200–900 B.C.). In the 1930s A. Biran applied the principles of textual criticism to the problem of the identification of the site, and argued that even at the height of the Solomonic empire, the N boundary in Transjordan did not extend beyond the Yarmuk (Bergman 1936). While the 9th-century Israelite king, Ahab, did not rule any further N than Ramoth-gilead (1 Kings 22), Jeroboam did control the N Transjordan area (2 Kgs 14:23; Amos 6:13) during his reign in the 8th century.

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JOHN L. PETERSON

**BEIT MIRSIM, TELL** (M.R. 141096). An 8-acre mound in the S Hebron hills, just at the juncture of the hill country and the N Shephelah, 15 miles SW of Hebron. It lies at almost 500 m above sea level, rising steeply to dominate the small wadi.

Tell Beit Mirsim was identified by Albright with biblical Debir/Kiriath-sepher, largely on the basis of the reference in Josh 15:16–19 (= Judg 1:11–15), especially the mention of *gullôt mayîm.* Albright rendered this not as "springs," much less "wells," but as "water basins," i.e., underground reservoirs, which he thought characterized Tell Beit Mirsim, but no other site in the vicinity (cf. Albright 1967; *EAEHL* 1:171–78). When his own excavations in the years 1926–1932 revealed a late 13th century B.C.

destruction, he connected this with Joshua's conquest of Debir (Josh 10:38) and regarded this as confirmation of his identification. More recently, however, M. Kochavi, A. Rainey, Y. Aharoni, and others have revived Galling's proposal that Khirbet Rabûd (M.R. 151093), seven miles SW of Hebron, is a better candidate for Debir/Kiriath-sepher (Kochavi 1974). Not only does Khirbet Rabûd suit the biblical references to the Judaean hill country better, it also has *gullôt* (i.e., "cisterns," contra Albright) in abundance. Finally it was a major LB Canaanite site, with an Israelite reoccupation (although no destruction) in the Iron Age. If Tell Beit Mirsim is thus not Debir/Kiriath-sepher, its identification remains unknown.

Albright's excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim, although small-scale, were far in advance of most archaeological fieldwork in Palestine up to that time, due largely to his own unparalleled mastery of ceramic chronology and the breadth of his scholarship. The prompt publication of the final reports volumes (Albright 1932, 1933, 1938, 1943) made Tell Beit Mirsim the "type-site" for both Palestinian and "biblical" archaeology from the 1930s well into the 1980s. Although later advances in stratigraphic methods revealed that Albright's excavation techniques were more intuitive and more ceramically influenced than formerly supposed, the chronological scheme that he worked out at Tell Beit Mirsim was amazingly precise for that period. Indeed, it still provides our basic framework for Palestinian archaeology.

Since the Tell Beit Mirsim excavations were relatively well done, and the results have been summarized elsewhere many times (i.e., Albright 1967; *EAEHL* 1:111–78), we shall focus here only on the highlights and on more recent scholarship.

Albright had dated the site's founding in stratum J to his "Early Bronze IIIB" period, ca. 2300 B.C. (our current EB IVA). Thus he thought it a unique settlement site in an otherwise non-urban period when most Palestinian tells were abandoned. However, more recent analysis of the unpublished pottery (Dever and Richard 1977) has shown that the basal stratum J materials are mixed and that the earliest occupation must extend from our present EB II into EB III, ca. 3000–2400 B.C. However, the later phase of our EB IV period, phase C (Albright's old "Middle Bronze I"; cf. Dever 1980; now ca. 2200–2000 B.C.), is well represented in strata I–H. Two occupied caves in area H produced good quantities of EB IVC pottery (Dever's "Family S" repertoire; 1980). Albright's claim that a city wall must have existed, even though he had not found one, must be rejected in light of our current knowledge of the overwhelmingly non-urban EB IV period. He was undoubtedly influenced by the notion that his "Middle Bronze I" was the precursor of the Middle Bronze Age proper.

The true Middle Bronze Age (Albright's MB IIA–C, our current MB I–III) is well documented in three main phases at Tell Beit Mirsim, strata G–F, E, and D. Albright had originally placed the *terre pisé* embankment and subsequent (?) masonry "battered wall" in strata G–F, which he dated ca. 1900–1750 B.C. (see Albright 1967). This has been challenged by Yadin, who sought to place *all* the characteristic Middle Bronze defenses in the second phase, Albright's Middle Bronze IIB (i.e., stratum E at Tell Beit Mirsim; Yadin 1973). Most authorities of today nevertheless hold that city walls and gates begin at many sites early in the period, in our MB I, but the exact date of the Tell Beit Mirsim fortifications remains a problem. In his last treatment (EAEHL 1, published 1975, written before 1971), Albright seems to hesitate between a strata G–F and an early stratum E assignment.

In any case, the MB strata, especially stratum D (the latest), exhibit a strongly urban character, with a well laid-out town plan, successive phases of building and rebuilding, and several fine "patrician villas." The cemetery of this (and other periods) has not been located, but good quantities of domestic pottery and other objects testify to a significant degree of technological and aesthetic sophistication. A destruction marks the end of stratum D, as at most sites, no doubt connected with the Egyptian campaigns following the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt ca. 1540 B.C. Albright's date of ca. 1540 needs to be lowered only slightly. A gap in occupation follows throughout LB I.

Stratum $C_{1–2}$ belongs to the LB II, ca. 1400–1200 B.C. Albright's reconstruction of a town in decline, destroyed toward the end, needs no major revision. The city wall is poorly rebuilt. Mycenaean and Cypriot imports are attested in the pottery but cease at the end of the period, as elsewhere in Palestine.

Albright posited an Israelite destruction at the end of stratum C, dating it ca. 1220 B.C. on the basis of what he held was the contemporary fall of Lachish just after the "fourth year of Merneptah." But today the destruction of Lachish VI must be dated to the time of Rameses III or later (ca. 1150 B.C.); and if Tell Beit Mirsim is not Debir/Kiriath-sepher (above) the biblical tradition of destruction there is irrelevant. Information on the destruction is scant, in any case.

It is clear, however, that stratum B, with three successive phases ($B_1$, $B_2$, $B_3$), belongs to Iron I, ca. 1200–900 B.C. Albright always made much of this sequence and adopted it for nearly the whole of Palestine. He understood the Tell Beit Mirsim phasing as follows:

Str. $B_1$: Brief "squatter occupation," marked only by pits and silos, with degenerate local LB/Iron I pottery, ca. 1225–1175 B.C.; *early Israelite* occupation following the destruction.

Str. $B_2$: Quantities of Philistine Bichrome ware; *Philistine occupation,* ca. 1175–1020 B.C., during their rise to power.

Str. $B_3$: Casemate city wall, predominance of red-slipped and hand-burnished pottery; *Israelite reoccupation,* ca. 1020–920 B.C., specifically Davidic-Solomonic; possibly destroyed by Shishak ca. 918 B.C.

It seems obvious that this reconstruction is largely based on presuppositions regarding ceramic sequences and distributions, notions of biblical tradition and early Israelite history, and factors in cultural change, all of which might be (and have been) challenged more recently (Greenberg 1987). Few scholars would be so sanguine today, and Albright himself made some adjustments in his last résumé (i.e., 1975). All that is clear is that by the mid–late 10th century B.C., Tell Beit Mirsim was a rather typical Israelite site. Certainly the $B_1$–$B_3$ sequence is no longer adaptable to the majority of Iron I sites in Palestine.

Stratum $A_{1–2}$ dates to the period of the Divided Monarchy, ca. 918–587 B.C. Albright thought that stratum $A_1$, poorly attested because of the continuous occupational buildup into $A_2$, might have been destroyed in the raid of Sennacherib in 701 B.C. Str. $A_2$, the surface stratum, was cleared extensively in the W and SE quadrants, so that we have a substantial town plan, with many "four-room" houses, a casemate wall, and (apparently) an offset-entrance two-entryway gate. A "west gate and tower" structure has been compared to the Assyrian-style *bit ḫilani,* although this is uncertain. Also found were several buildings containing pierced stone drums that Albright interpreted as "dying vats" and took as evidence for a local textile industry, but they might as easily be connected with olive oil pressing.

Albright dated the destruction of stratum $A_2$ to the Babylonian conquest in 587 B.C., citing in particular a seal impression of "Eliakim, Steward of Yaukin" and assuming that this was the same person as Jehoiachin the penultimate king of Judah. He also compared the pottery to stratum III at Lachish, which he dated not to ca. 701 (with Tufnell and others) but to ca. 598 B.C. Today, however, the almost universal consensus is that Lachish III was indeed destroyed by Sennacherib (Ussishkin 1977). So presumably the date of Tell Beit Mirsim $A_2$—and therefore all other "late Judean" levels dated by comparisons with Tell Beit Mirsim $A_2$—must be raised by about a century, even though that leaves the 7th century B.C. largely unattested on present evidence. As though to corroborate the higher date, Cross has now shown that the proper context of the famous "Yaukin" impression is during the reign of Hezekiah in the 8th century B.C.

In conclusion, many of Albright's confident assertions about Tell Beit Mirsim's history and its implications for Palestinian archaeology and biblical history (thus 1967:218, 219; *EAEHL* 1:178) have had to be modified. That does not, however, lessen the importance of the site or minimize Albright's pioneering achievements there.

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**BEIT RAS** (M.R. 230222). One of the cities of the DECAPOLIS, known in Roman times as Capitolias.

A. Name and Identification
B. History of Research
C. History of Settlement

## A. Name and Identification

The modern village of Beit Ras, Roman Capitolias, is located five km N of Irbid in Jordan. The *ras* ("peak," "hilltop") is the highest point (ca. 600 m above sea level) N of the ʿAjlun mountain range. From the *ras*, the Wadi ʿArab, its tributaries, and fertile agricultural lands are clearly seen to the W. The Romans founded a city around the *ras* and named it after Jupiter Capitolinus. The Latin name is a Roman adaptation of the Semitic name which already existed and matched the geographical situation of the settlement: *Bayt Râs*, the "settlement on/of the hilltop." The Semitic name is not attested before the middle of the 6th century A.D. (Lenzen and Knauf 1987). It is inconceivable that the site had no name prior to the foundation of Capitolias—the two words *bayt* and *ras* are Aramaic as well as Arabic.

The identification of Beit Ras with the Decapolis city of Capitolias was established by F. Kruse and H. L. Fleischer (1859:185–87). U. J. Seetzen, one of the earliest 19th-century explorers in N Jordan, visited Beit Ras in 1806. While he was specifically looking for the ruins of Capitolias, he failed to identify Beit Ras with Capitolias.

## B. History of Research

After Seetzen (1854:371), Beit Ras was visited by Buckingham (in 1816), who described it as a permanently occupied settlement (1827:350). The first plan of the site and its ruins was drawn and published by Schumacher in 1878–79 (1890:154). S. Merrill, N. Glueck, and S. Mittmann each visited the site and recorded inscriptions and surface finds (Merrill 1881; Glueck 1951; Mittmann 1970). Archaeological excavations have been conducted at the site since the 1960s by the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, and are currently being conducted by a joint group (Lenzen fc.; Lenzen and Gordon fc.; Lenzen, Gordon, and McQuitty 1985; Lenzen and Knauf 1986; 1987; Shraideh and Lenzen 1985).

## C. History of Settlement

There is minimal archaeological evidence for occupation before the 1st century A.D. The 1984 survey produced only two shards which could be dated to the 2d–1st centuries B.C. Excavations have provided some body shards which may date to pre-300 B.C.; i.e., the end of the Iron Age. However, all these shards have been found in post-Iron Age contexts. It is unlikely that there was an earlier city, but it may have been used as a lookout.

According to coins issued from 165/6 through 218/19 A.D., it can be calculated that the city was founded in 97/98. It is unclear, however, whether Nerva or Trajan was responsible for its establishment. The main temple of the city, which is represented on coins, was dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus (Piccirillo and Spijkerman 1978:96–97). Claudius Ptolemaeus, a mid-2d century A.D. Alexandrian geographer, mentioned Capitolias as belonging to the Decapolis (Lenzen and Knauf 1987). With the establishment of Provincia Arabia in 106 A.D., Capitolias was included in Palaestina Secunda. This did not change until the end of the 6th century.

The Roman city was walled and, according to the numismatic and epigraphic evidence, reached the peak of its prosperity in the 2d–3d centuries. A Nabatean inscription attests to the presence of a non-Greek acculturated population group. Archaeological evidence of Roman occupation includes massive

foundation walls for large public buildings (at least one of them a temple), vaults, and a large cistern system surrounding the site.

From ca. 300 to 525, Beit Ras/Capitolias grew in importance within its own region as well as within the larger Byzantine world. The city was represented at the Council of Nicea (325) and at the Council of Chalcedon (451). The complex identified as a "church" by Schumacher was, based on the 1985 excavations, a market area *(suq).* Archaeological data points to an intensive buildup of the central part of the village from the 4th century through the present, with a possible hiatus in the mid-9th to mid-10th centuries.

According to Hierocles (535) and Georgius Cyprius (575) Beit Ras remained part of Palaestina Secunda. But according to the deacon or archdeacon Theodosius, who compiled a Latin pilgrim's guide to Palestine during the reign of Anastasius (491–518 A.D.) or shortly after that, it belonged to Arabia (Lenzen and Knauf 1987). Beit Ras/Capitolias was integrated into Arabia in the course of the 6th century. It is tempting to identify the *suq* mentioned by the poet an-Nabigha adh-Dhubyani (569) with the recently excavated vaulted area, used as a center of commerce from the 6th through the 9th centuries. The special quality of the Beit Ras wine was well known in Medinah in the days of Mohammad, as is attested by two lines from Mohammad's poet laureate, Hassan b. Thabit. The integration of the Jadar-Beit Ras region into Arabia at the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century meant that the Islamic conquest was not a major affair from the point of view of the inhabitants. According to tradition Beit Ras capitulated to Shurahbil b. Hasana at the beginning of the conquests (Hitti 1914). The flourishing economy of the city continued throughout the Umayyad period.

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C. J. LENZEN

**BEITIN, TELL** (M.R. 172148). Since Edward Robinson's proposal in 1938 (based both on linguistic grounds and biblical references [Gen 12:8; Judg 2:19; etc.]), biblical Bethel has been identified with Beitin, 8 miles N of Jerusalem.

The full extent of the ancient site, now largely covered by the modern village, is unknown, but some four acres were available for soundings when the site was first investigated by W. F. Albright in 1927. Following that, Albright directed excavations in 1934, followed by campaigns under James L. Kelso in 1954, 1957, and 1960.

The preliminary reports (Albright 1934a, 1934b, 1935, 1939; Kelso 1955, 1958, 1961) and final reports (Kelso 1968), the final volume in particular, offer some far ranging conclusions, but little of the evidence on which they are presumably based. There are, for example, few complete plans, no usable sections, no stratum numbers—in short, little real data. Therefore the following summary must be brief and very tentative.

Although there are scattered Late Chalcolithic-EB I–III sherds, the real occupational history of Bethel begins in the EB IV, ca. 2200–2000 B.C. (Albright's "Middle Bronze I"). The published pottery is rather late in the period, belonging to Dever's "Family S" (= southern/sedentary; 1980). Kelso (1968:20–23) claimed to have found a "temple" belonging to the EB IV, associated with "butchering flints" and "bloodstains"; he even ventured to connect this with the biblical traditions concerning the Patriarchs at Bethel. Yet a closer examination of the evidence as published shows that the EB IV "temple" is nothing other than the foundation courses of an MB structure described as a "city gate" (below), the "butchering flints" are simply typical degenerate Canaanean blades of the period. In fact, Bethel was no more than a typical pastoral nomadic encampment in EB IV (Dever 1971; 1980).

The MB (ca. 2000–1500 B.C.) is said to be represented by a city wall and gate, but the details of both are unclear. The published plan of the "gate" is incomprehensible, and the city walls are scarcely even described. A so-called "sanctuary" and "temple" are obviously well-constructed buildings, but their function is far from certain. The range of MB occupation seems to extend throughout MB I–III (Albright's MB IIA–C), but the published pottery is mostly from the last phase of the period, suggesting that most of the structures should be placed there. A destruction is claimed at the end of the MB, ca. 1550 B.C., but again little evidence is presented.

After a gap in occupation in LB I, Bethel was reoccupied in LB II (ca. 1400–1200 B.C.). The final reports and summaries describe "patrician houses," flagstone pavements, and elaborate drainage systems—"the finest architectural phase in the city's history" (Kelso *EAEHL* 1:192). A severe destruction at the end of the LB is attributed to the Israelites (based on the biblical tradition), but no justification for this conclusion is offered. Indeed, the published description (Kelso 1968:30, 31; 47–49) does not offer much direct, detailed evidence for such a destruction, beyond such unsupported statements as "a terrific conflagration completely wiped out the Canaanite city …"; or "points where the Israelites had breached the walls"; or "the thickest ash levels yet reported in Palestine." Much has been made of the "Israelite destruction" at Bethel, perhaps now one of only two possible candidates for evidence of an Israelite invasion (the other being Hazor; see ISRAEL, HISTORY OF [ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE ISRAELITE "CONQUEST" ]). But the historian or biblical scholar seeking to check the evidence will find the final report unuseable (indeed almost a parade example of the interpretative problems typical of the "Biblical archaeology" movement, especially Kelso 1968:47–49).

The four Iron I levels are said to represent a cultural decline compared to the LB period. The most characteristic feature is probably the typical "four-room" or pillar-courtyard house, but no complete structure is published, much less any indication of the village plan. The Iron I village appears to have been unfortified and possibly built over part of the abandoned Bronze Age city wall. The pottery as published suggests that phases 1–4 date to the 12th–late 10th centuries B.C. The earliest phases have few Philistine shards, the ceramic repertoire being more typical of what we would now regard as the initial "Israelite occupation" of the central hill country. Particularly diagnostic are collar-rim storejars, cooking pots with short triangular rims, carinated bowls, and everted-rim kraters.

The full range of the Iron II period (ca. 900–600 B.C.) is apparently represented, but the few published building remains of phases 1–3 are unexceptional. No defenses are reported. A 9th century B.C. "South Arabian" stamp impression is used as evidence for trade, but questions have been raised as to its authenticity (cf. Van Beek and Jamme 1970, and references there). Bethel seems to have escaped destruction in the early 6th century B.C. Babylonian campaigns. Indeed, its relatively large quantity of 6th century B.C. pottery constitutes a rare corpus for the "Iron III" or early Persian period in Palestine (see L. A. Sinclair in Kelso 1968:70–76; and cf. J. S. Holladay in Dever 1971).

The Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods are known from literary sources. Three phases of Hellenistic occupation were found in the excavations, said to range from the late 4th–2d centuries B.C. But P. W. Lapp's publication of the pottery (in Kelso 1968:77–80) narrows this to late 3d–2d centuries B.C. Ptolemaic and Seleucid coins confirm these dates in general.

For the Roman period, Herodian shards, but no coins, provide evidence, as do domestic remains and numerous cisterns. Byzantine and Islamic shards attest to still later occupation, but only the former is

characterized by substantial architecture, including a street, a city gate, a church, and a large reservoir. Bethel's occupation seems to end early in the Islamic period.

Bethel was probably one of the more prominent Bronze-Iron Age towns in central Palestine, and it is also significant in biblical history. Yet the excavations as carried out and published allow us to do no more than sketch the archaeological history of the site, and even that with little precision or confidence in any single detail. The exposure was inadequate, the results of the various seasons are poorly coordinated (there are no stratum numbers), and the description of the successive phases is minimal and sparsely illustrated. Still more serious is the lack of any research design, save the apparent notion of "illuminating the Bible" in some way or another. Albright's early work in 1934 may have been adequate for the time, but the later excavations (and the final publication) are marred by transparent biases, as well as by an embarrassing naïveté. Fact and interpretation are so entangled throughout the final report that few real data emerge for the archaeologist, historian, or biblical scholar (cf. Dever 1971).

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WILLIAM G. DEVER

**BEKA** [Heb *beka*› (בֶּכַא)]. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**BEL** (DEITY) [Heb *bēl* (בֵּל)]. Essentially a title:"lord" or "master". Akk *bēlu,* "lord," when applied to the gods, was fairly synonymous with the Hebrew. The Akkadian term might also be a theophoric element in divine names, or even a DN itself; it may have reference to the potencies and functions of deity (CAD B 191b–194a; *WbMyth* 1:46).

**A. The Title Bel**

The honorific title *Bēlu* is of ancient vintage and was used as an exalted appellation in regard to a number of Akkadian deities. However, it concentrated upon the Sumerian god Enlil until this patron deity of Nippur, who was recognized by the Akkadians as the king of the pantheon, became *de facto* the *bēlu,* eclipsing even the theoretical ultimacy of father Anu. Enlil assumed the role as the lord of heaven and earth, the determiner of the destinies of the land, so that all other gods paled before him (Kramer 1963:118; Streck 1916/3:740, 742).

**B. The Emergence of Bel Marduk**

The foregoing situation continued until the beginning of the 2d millennium B.C., when Marduk, the patron deity of Babylon, succeeded Enlil as the supreme deity of the pantheon. Two important texts will substantiate this rise to power. The first is the *enuma eliš,* a composition dated to the early 2d millennium (so *ANET,* 60; but see also Lambert 1964), wherein the investment of Marduk as the lord of the pantheon is graphically portrayed. When Tiamat threatened the assembly of the gods with chaos, and bestowed upon her deputy Kingu the control of the tablets of destiny, Marduk alone of all the gods challenged and utterly defeated the frightful opposition. For this he was unanimously acclaimed king of the gods by the appreciative assembly of the deities and duly invested in that regal office. The fifty gods of the assembly granted to him their authority (*lit.,* name), and Enlil, in a dramatically staged climax, acknowledged Marduk to be his legitimate successor by naming him *Bēl mātāti,* "Lord of the Lands" (7.136).

The second text to indicate the transfer of the title and power from Enlil to Marduk is the Prologue of the Code of Hammurabi (ca. 18th century B.C.; *FSAC,* 15), where a portion of the prelude reads:"… the lofty Anum … and Enlil, lord of heaven and earth, the determiner of the destinies of the land, determined for Marduk, the first-born of Enki (=Ea), the Enlil functions [the Enlilship] over all mankind …" (*ANET,* 164a). The rise of Marduk as the head of the pantheon was concomitant with the supremacy of the city of Babylon, where Marduk was titular deity, until many of the predicates of Enlil were absorbed by Bel Marduk or, simply, Bel.

**C. The Spread of the Cult of Bel**

The prestige of the universal implication of Marduk's acts as creator of the universe, maker and sustainer of mankind, controller of the destinies of the world, of history, of the individual, of fate locked tightly in his hands, quite transcended the contemporary religious scene and endured and survived with amazing attraction the fortunes of history from the OB regime through the Assyrian and NB eras and Hellenistic period until well into the Roman world. The tenacity of Belism to endure was equally manifest in its appeal to the whole of the Fertile Crescent.

Bel Marduk was well received by the Assyrian regime and accorded honor shared only with Asshur. Personal names in Assyria during this period, compounded with the element of Bel, were legion (Tallqvist 1914:53–63). As may be anticipated, Bel was supreme in the NB era with Nabu, his son, the city god of Borsippa, augmenting the supremacy of Belism (Stamm 1939:330–31; Unger 1931:207–11).

In the far distant Egyptian colony of Elephantine, in the 5th century B.C., it appears that Bel had accompanied the mercenary colonists from Syria. In the surviving texts Bel is included as a litigant with three other prominent Mesopotamian gods; in a letter of that period Bel is coupled with Nabu, Shamash, and Nergal in a prefatory invocation (*ArchEleph* 159; *ANET,* 491).

In Syria the cult of Bel flourished. The treaty between KTK and Arpad (ca. 750 B.C.) indicates that in the region of Harran Marduk was one of the deities used to witness treaty negotiations (*ANET,* 659). This is confirmed by the presence of Bel at Palmyra, an oasis trade outpost some 376 miles WNW of Babylon. Here it appears that the pre-Hellenistic god Bol was transformed to Bel sometime before the 3d century B.C. (Teixidor 1979:1–18 *et passim*). The considerable archaeological evidence including eikons and expansive ruins of a temple indicates how firm the Bel cult had been adopted by the Palmyrians (*ibid.,* 128). This religious devotion continued unto the early Christian centuries.

**D. Bel in the Biblical Data.**

There are three instances in the prophetic literature where the name Bel occurs. (1) In Isaiah 46:1 the Judean prophet of the Exile issued, no doubt to the underground exiles, his satire on the Bel processions in Babylon. The prophet predicts that these elaborate displays of religious icons, the procession of the kingly vested gods and priestly officials, will have their nemesis when the same servitors and religious divinities strive frantically to effect an escape with their chief gods, Bel (Marduk) and his son Nabu from the enemy storming at the Babylonian gates. The attempt to elude the foe is vain hope; the weary beasts stumble and are overloaded with the weight of the gods; the very gods sway back and forth on the trotting beasts. A superb satire, a daring prophecy, a questionable hope to the exiles. (2) In the tradition of Jeremiah a kindred prophet forecasts the fall of Babylon and the shame and dismay that will be the lot of the chief god of the pantheon, Bel and Marduk (Jer 50:2). The date of the composition (Jer 50:2–3) would appear to be in the late years of the Babylonian exile, when the internal strength of the empire was rapidly waning and when the external foes were rapidly gaining frightening victories surrounding Babylon. (3) The third occurrence of Bel is Jer 51:44 in the long multiform composition with prophecies of woe mingled with promises of hope with imprecatory passages and satire. In a section of this long composition a prophet forecasts in the language of the lament the capture of Babylon and the praise of the whole earth (Jer 51:41), and immediately indicates that it is Yahweh who is about to punish Bel in Babylon and release those whom he has devoured. The imminent fall of Babylon is the sign for the Judeans to make good their escape from the city under besiegement.

It is true that Bel-Marduk must have suffered the degradation of being defeated by the foe, but it is also true that the Persian conqueror dealt kindly with religious concerns so that Bel, though shamed by his

impotence in the Babylonian debacle, survived and passed his legacy on to the Hellenistic and Roman world. But the overthrow of Babylonian idolatry signified to perceptive Israel an unmistakable sign that anaconic Yahweh was truly lord of all.

In the Apocrypha of the OT, Bel appears once in the Letter of Jeremiah (v 41; in the Vulgate and KJV: Baruch 6:40). The Letter of Jeremiah has the literary form of a constructive satire in which idolatry is rationally examined as a worthless pursuit, yet the subject is not handled offensively so as to irritate the idolater. The satire has such parallels as Jer 10:25, 8–11, 13b–15; 11; Psalm 115:3–8, and 125:6, 7, 15–17. Such compositions are not tirades, they are didactic, written for a purpose, reasonable, and negatively persuasive. The same analysis will generally fit the apocryphal Story of Bel (vv 3–22) and the Story of the Snake (Beast?) (vv 23–42) in the additions to the Hebrew Book of Daniel. The Story of Bel relates the disclosure of the deceitful servants of Bel who represented the god Bel as the one who consumed the rich quantity of food set daily before him. The seer Daniel exposed this fraud to the shame of Bel, but to the glory of the God of Daniel. The Story of the "Dragon" is another fictional tale designed to expose the fallacious nature of the cult of the "dragon," and to exalt the worship of the god of Daniel. The story borrows some of its motifs from chapter 6 of the Book of Daniel and has the same general didactic purpose as its object. Both of these apocryphal stores are tracts for the times when idolatry had a fascination for many Jews, say, in the last centuries before the Christian era. These three booklets witness the temptation of idolatry among the scattered Jews of the exile, but equally strong is the testimony to a staid orthodoxy that totally rejected idolatry in its contemporary forms and had studied reasons for such a repudiation.

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EDWARD R. DALGLISH

## BEL AND THE DRAGON. See DANIEL, ADDITIONS TO.

## BELA (PERSON) [Heb *bela‹* (בֶּלַע)]. The name of three persons mentioned in the OT.

1. Bela the son of Beor (Gen 36:32 = 1 Chr 1:43) is the first ruler listed in the Edomite King List, Gen 36:31–39. Opinions vary as far as the date of the "Edomite King List" is concerned. Suggestions range from the 11th century B.C. (Weippert 1982:155) through the 8th to 6th centuries B.C. (Bennett 1983:16) to the 6th–5th centuries B.C. (Knauf 1985a). Scholars tend to agree, however, that the succession scheme of this list is artificial and that in all likelihood the rulers listed in it were contemporary with each other (Bartlett 1972:27; Weippert 1982:155). The name of this king and his father's name can be Canaanite or Arabic (Knauf 1985a:246). Since names from both *BL‹,* "to spoil, devour," and *BLĠ,* "to be eloquent," do exist in Arabic, the name Bela can be explained by both roots. Bela son of Beor has been equated with the prophet Balaam ben Beor in *Targum Yerushalmi II* and by some modern authors (Weippert 1971:595f., n. 812). This was never very likely (if one does not choose to regard Gen 36:31–39 as wholly fictitious) and is finally disproven by the Balaam texts from Tell Deir ‹Alla, which attest the seer as a local figure of N Transjordan prior to ca. 700 B.C. (Knauf 1985b). The capital of Bela, Dinhabah, has not yet been identified (Knauf 1985a:250, n. 27).

**2.** Bela son of Azaz is an ancestor of Beerah from the clan of Joel (1 Chr 5:8), living four generations before Beerah, who was exiled by Tiglathpileser (1 Chr 5:6), obviously when the Assyrian province of *Gal›adda/Gilead* was established in 734 B.C. It can be assumed, then, that the "clan of Joel" was one of the major landowning families in Israelite Transjordan in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. Its incorporation in Reuben in 1 Chr 5:4–8 is, of course, fictitious, since the tribe of Reuben does not figure in the historical

record after the 10th century B.C. and did not inhabitate those parts of Israelite Transjordan that remained Israelite after King Mesha‘ of Moab conquered "the land of Medaba" in the middle of the 9th century B.C. (Wüst 1975:244–46). This, however, does not discredit this peculiar piece of information about the clan of Joel in Transjordan.

**3.** According to Gen 46:21; Num 26:38, 40; 1 Chr 7:6f; 8:1, 3, Bela was one of the Sons (i.e., clans) of the tribe of Benjamin.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**BELA** (PLACE) [Heb *bela‘* (בֶּלַע)]. One of the "five cities of the plain," identified with Zoar (Gen 14:2, 8). This identification is clearly a later gloss. Zoar (Byzantine Zoara, Arabic aṣ-Ṣughar) is an historical city; however, it is doubtful whether any of the "five cities" (Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Bela) ever existed. The nature of the biblical texts dealing with those cities (Genesis 14, 18–19) does not speak in favor of their historicity (Weippert 1971:93–101). However, as a toponym, Bela has a parallel in Arabia: *Bula‘ (Yāqūt* n.d., I:485).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**BELIAL** [Heb *bĕliyya‘al* (בְּלִיַּעַל)]. *Bĕliyya‘al* in Hebrew means wickedness and is often found in compounds expressing evil people (e.g., "man of *bĕliyya‘al,* " "sons of *bĕliyya‘al*"). The use of *bĕliyya‘al* as a proper name for Satan is not found in the Hebrew Bible, but Belial as the leader of the forces of darkness is ubiquitous in the pseudepigraphic and Qumran material. The term (Gk *belial/beliar*) is also found once in the New Testament as a term for the devil (2 Cor 6:15).

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A. Etymological Considerations
B. In the Hebrew Bible
C. In the Pseudepigraphic Literature
D. At Qumran
E. In the New Testament


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**A. Etymological Considerations**

According to the rabbis, the corrupt individuals known as *bĕliyya‘al* had cast off the yoke *(‘ôl)* of God and, being yokeless *(bĕlî ‘ôl*), they were uncontrollably lawless (*Sanh.* 111b; cf. *paranomos, anomia, anomos* LXX Deut 13:14; 2 Sam 22:5 = Ps 18:5; Ps 41:9; 1 Sam 25:17; 30:22). Since then many wide-ranging etymologies have been proposed for Heb *bĕliyya‘al.* Discussions of the various proposals are provided by Otzen (*TDOT,* 2.131–33) and Thomas (1963:11–17). Of the numerous suggestions, two avenues of research have gained the most favor among modern scholars.

One approach favored by scholars is to analyze *bĕliyya‘al* as being made up of Heb *bĕlî* (a negative) plus one of two roots. The traditional folk etymology found in many lexica renders *bĕliyya‘al* as

"worthlessness" (*bĕlî* plus the root *ya‹al,* "to profit, to be of worth;" cf. *Hip‹il*). Pedersen (1926:539) found this etymology so agreeable that he asserted "there is no reason to look for other explanations." Yet folk etymologies may not accurately reflect historically correct etymologies. Compare Heb *ṣalmāwet,* "darkness," which was most likely vocalized differently (*ṣalmût › ẓlm*, "to be dark") in its original form before the folk etymology "shadow of death" *(ṣēl + māwet)* arose (Lewis 1989:11–12). The other proposal incorporating Heb *bĕlî* is to combine it with some form of the Heb root *‹ālâ,* "to go up." This proposal has long been suggested by earlier scholars with the implication that "that which does not come up" = "unsuccessful" (cf. Qimḥi *bal ya‹ăleh ʾbal yaṣlîaḥ*). The best formulation of this proposed analysis is that of Cross and Freedman (1953:22 n.6) who argue that Heb *bĕliyya‹al = *bal (i) ya‹l (ê),* " (place from which) none arises, a euphemism for Hades or Sheol." Compare Job 7:9 *yôrēd šĕ›ôl lō› ya‹ăleh,* "he who goes down to Sheol does not come up." A well-known Akkadian expression for the underworld is *māt la ṯri,* "the land of no return." Hence Cross and Freedman state that "*bny bly‹l* are simply 'hellions'." Compare Boling's (*Judges* AB, 276) translation of *bĕnê bĕliyya‹al* in Judg 19:22 as "the local hell raisers." However, Emerton (1987:214–17) correctly cautions against implying that Sheol is the abode of only the wicked.

The second approach to solving the etymology of *bĕliyya‹al* which has found favor with modern scholars associates it with the root *bl‹*. The word *bl‹* means "to swallow" in Heb and is well attested in the comparative Semitic languages (cf. Ar, Aram, Akk, Eth, etc.). Several scholars (e.g., Thomas 1963:18–19; Dahood *Psalms* AB, 105; Tromp 1969:125–28) have emphasized how the notion of Belial as "the swallower" or "the swallowing abyss" would fit nicely with what we know of the underworld and the descriptions of Sheol and Mot (cf. Ps 18:5—Eng 18:4).

Driver's (1934:52–53) argument that Heb *bl‹* can mean "to be confused" (< Arb *balaġa* = "slander"?) and hence *bêliyya‹al* with a suffixed *lamed* = "confusion" is very unlikely.

In the Gk *beliar* is the equivalent of *belial* being the result of a dissimilation of the two liquid consonants (2 Cor 6:15; see P. E. Hughes *2 Corinthians* NICNT, 248–50 n.12; W. Foerster *TDNT,* 1.607).

**B. In the Hebrew Bible**

The word *bĕliyya‹al* occurs 27 times in the Hebrew Bible (see Thomas 1963:14 for suggested additional occurrences resulting from conjectural emendations). Scholars have long recognized the mythological background underlying references to *bĕliyya‹al* often citing Ps 18:5–6—Eng 18:4–5 (= 2 Sam 22:5–6) where the "torrents of *bĕliyya‹al*" (cf. Ps 41:9—Eng 41:8) are used in parallelism to the "cords/snares/breakers of Death" (see MOT) and the "cords of Sheol" (see DEAD, ABODE OF THE). It is easy to understand how the association with Sheol and Death colored *bĕliyya‹al* as it was used to describe "hellions" in biblical narrative. Parallel terms include "man of iniquity" (*›îš›āwen* in Prov 6:12), "evil person" (*›îš rā‹* in 1 Sam 30:22), "man of blood" (*›îš haddāmîm* in 2 Sam 16:7, cf. 2 Sam 12:5), and "the wicked" (*rĕšā‹îm* in Prov 19:28). Yet, more specifically, Maag (1965:294–95) and Otzen (*TDOT,* 2.134–35) have pointed out how the chaotic nature of *bĕliyya‹al* was often used to denote those who played roles which were detrimental to the maintenance of social order. Graphic examples of this type of unrestrained behavior would include the wicked men responsible for the tragic crime at Gibeah (Judg 19:22; 20:13) and the two "scoundrels" who gave false witness against Naboth (1 Kgs 21:10–13; cf. the *‹ēd bĕliyya‹al yālîṣ mišpāṭ,* "the *bĕliyya‹al* witness who mocks justice" in Prov 19:28). *bĕliyya‹al* type individuals subverted the institution of the monarchy (cf. 1 Sam 10:27; 2 Sam 20:1; 2 Chr 13:7). According to royal ideology, the Davidic king stood as the very antithesis to such behavior (*TDNT,* 2.135; cf. 2 Sam 23:6; Ps 101:3). The expression "sons of *bĕliyya‹al*" is also attested, albeit briefly, with reference to the cult. The wicked who seduce Israel away to worship other gods are described as "sons of *bĕliyya‹al*" (Deut 13:14—Eng 13:13) as are the evil sons of Eli "who do not know Yahweh" (1 Sam 2:12).

**C. In the Pseudepigraphic Literature**

Belial (Beliar) is amply attested in the pseudepigraphic material. The many occurrences include *Jubilees* (1:20; 15:33), the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Reuben 4:7, 11; 6:3; Simeon 5:3; Levi 3:3; 18:12; 19:1; Judah 25:3; Issachar 6:1; 7:7; Zebulun 9:8; Dan 1:7; 4:7; 5:1, 10–11; Napthali 2:6; 3:1; Asher 1:8;

3:2; 6:4; Joseph 7:4; 20:2; Benjamin 3:3–4, 8; 6:1, 7; 7:1–2), the *Sibylline Oracles* (3:63–74); the *Martyrdom* and *Ascension of Isaiah* (1:8–9; 2:4; 3:11, 13; 4:2, 4, 16, 18; 5:1, [4], 15) and the *Lives of the Prophets* (Daniel 4:6, 20; Nathan 17:2). For translations and introductions to these texts, see *OTP*.

Belial is called the angel of wickedness, the ruler of this world (*Mart. Is.* 2:4; 4:2). He is the head of the demonic powers (*Mart. Is.* 1:8). In dualistic fashion, his law and will are described as being set over against the law and will of the Lord (*T. Naph.* 2:6, 3:1). His way is one of darkness as opposed to light (*T. Levi* 19:1; cf. *T. Jos.* 20:2). Belial's angels are set over against the angels of the Lord (*T. Ash.* 6:4). He is master of the spirits of error (*T. Jud.* 25:3; *T. Zeb.* 9:8; *T. Levi* 3:3; cf. the spirit of truth and the spirit of error in *T. Jud.* 20:1).

Belial accuses and ensnares people from the path of righteousness (*Jub.* 1:20) causing them to stumble (*T. Reu.* 4:7). Those who belong to him become "like an ox under the yoke" (*Liv. Pro.* 4:6). Chief among his works is sexual promiscuity, "the plague of Belial," which separates one from God (*T. Reu.* 6:3; *T. Sim.* 5:3). Belial is associated with the most wicked of humanity. Being angry at Isaiah due to his prophecy (*Mart. Is.* 3:13; 5:1), he is said to have dwelt in Manasseh's heart and was ultimately responsible, according to tradition, for Manasseh's sawing the prophet in half (*Mart. Is.* 1:8–9; 5:1–16). *Sibylline Oracles* 3:63–74 records a description of the advent of Belial, the signs he will perform (e.g., raising the dead, leading men astray), and his ultimate demise. Belial here seems to be a reference to Nero (cf. *Mart. Is.* 4:1–2; Collins in *OTP*, 1.360; Knibb in *OTP*, 2.161 n.4d). In addition, Belial is said to have tempted Dan to kill Joseph with a sword (*T. Dan* 1:7), hindered the prophet Nathan on his way to David (*Liv. Pro.* 17:2), troubled Potiphar's wife (*T. Jos.* 7:4), etc. In eschatological imagery, Belial's slaughter is described as taking place on the earth when blood pours forth from a mountain (*Liv. Pro.* 4:20).

Moses intercedes in *Jub.* 1:19ff. with a prayer that the spirit of Belial may not rule over God's people to accuse them and ensnare them from every path of righteousness. In *T. Benj.* 7:1, the faithful are instructed to flee from Belial because he offers a sword which turns out to be the mother of the seven deadly sins. Yet even though Belial may be the ruler of the world, the righteous can resist him in the present age (*T. Reu.* 4:11). *T. Dan* 5:1 exhorts, "Observe the Lord's commandments … that Belial may flee from you" (cf. *T. Iss.* 7:7; *T. Ash.* 3:1–2).

The length of Belial's reign has been predetermined (*Mart. Is.* 4:12; see comment on Nero above). He will be overcome in the last days by God's anointed agents (*T. Levi* 3:3; 18:12; *T. Dan* 5:10–11). His demise is described in various ways including being trampled down (*T. Zeb.* 9:8), bound (*T. Levi* 18:12), and cast into the fire (*T. Jud.* 25:3; cf. *Sib. Or.* 3:71–74). Those who have been captives of Belial will be liberated by God (*T. Zeb.* 9:8; *T. Dan* 5:10–11).

**D. At Qumran**

Belial is the most frequently used title for the leader of the forces of darkness in the Qumran material, occurring especially often in the *War Scroll* (1QM; Yadin 1962: 232–34) and the *Thanksgiving Hymns* (1QH). The references to Belial in the Qumran material parallel what we have seen in the pseudepigraphic literature. Similar to the titles used in the pseudepigraphic material, he is called the angel of enmity (CD 16:5; 1QM 13:11) who is the prince of the kingdom of wickedness (1QM 17:5–6). He heads the forces of darkness, often called "the army/troops or lot of Belial," against the Sons of Light or "the lot of God" (1QM 1:1, 13; 11:8; 15:3; 1QS 2:2, 5; Collins 1984:127–32). "All the spirits of his lot, the angels of destruction, walk according to the precepts of darkness, and towards them is their desire all together" (1QM 13:12). As in the pseudepigraphic sources mentioned above (e.g., *Jub.* 10:8), the word *maśṭemah*, "hatred, malevolence," is often associated with Belial and his purposes (1QM 13:4, 11; 14:9; CD 16:5; 1QS 3:23).

1QM 13:11 points out that it was God who appointed Belial for the task of corruption. It is because of the angel of darkness that all sons of righteousness go astray (1QS 3:21). It was Belial, according to CD 5:18, who raised up Jannes and Jambres, the names of the Egyptian magicians, in order to oppose Moses and Aaron (cf. Exod 7:11; 2 Tim 3:8). Several times we find references to the cursing of Belial and his lot for the wicked plans of hatred which they engender. This cursing is carried out by the levites in 1QS

2:4b–10 (cf. Deut 27:14) and by the priests, levites, and elders in 1QM 13:1–6 (cf. 4Q286–87; 4Q280–82; 4Q175:23).

The reign or dominion of Belial *(mmš lt blyʿl)* occurs frequently in the Qumran material (e.g., 1QM 14:9; 18:1; 1QS 1:18, 24; 2:19; 3:21–22; CD 12:2). It was believed that the present age was under his control (cf. 1QS 2:19 "year by year as long as the dominion of Belial endures"). This is also supported by CD 4:12–19 which describes the loosening of Belial against Israel. Mention is also made in this same passage of the three nets of Belial with which he ensnares humans (cf. Kosmala 1965:91–113; Knibb 1987:40–43).

The present age of wickedness brought about trials which would test the faithful members of the community (1QS 1:17–18a). Yet this age was not to continue for long. In the near future God would intervene and destroy the forces of Belial, as foretold by the seers (1QM 11:8). The great eschatological war will be fierce, with the tide of battle swaying back and forth between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness, the army of Belial. Yet in the end, at the appointed time, the great hand of God will subdue and totally annihilate Belial and all the angels of his dominion and all the men of his lot (1QM 1:4–5, 13–16; 18:1–3; cf. 4QFlor 1:7–9). The divine inauguration of the new age follows where injustice will be no more (1QS 4:18b–23a).

The *Thanksgiving Hymns* are known for their characteristic use of material from the Hebrew Bible, and this is true of the Belial imagery as well. This is most clearly seen in 1QH 3:28b–32 which uses the imagery of the fiery "torrents of Belial" from Ps 18:5–6—Eng 18:4–5 (= 2 Sam 22:5) to describe his personal sufferings which are likened to the eschatological battle at the final consummation ("the period of wrath for all Belial"). On the ambiguity of this eschatological language, see Collins (1984:137–38).

**E. In the New Testament**

In light of the extensive use of Belial above, it is surprising to find only one occurrence of Belial in the NT. "What accord has Christ with Belial?" occurs in 2 Cor 6:15. Interestingly, this phrase is preceded by the expression "what fellowship has light with darkness" which reminds us of the dualistic use of Belial and the forces of Darkness fighting God and the forces of light mentioned above in both the pseudepigraphic and Qumran material. The use of Belial here as well as other vocabulary and concepts has led some to conjecture that 2 Cor 6:14–7:1 was taken over by Paul from Qumran or some other form of Jewish Christianity (see Kümmel 1975:287f.).

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THEODORE J. LEWIS

**BELIEF, BELIEVERS** (NT). In Christian history "believer" is one of the most common terms used to designate individuals who have "believed" in Jesus Christ as their Savior and Lord. In response to the Philippian jailor's query "What must I do to be saved?" Paul and Silas replied, "Believe in the Lord Jesus, and you shall be saved" (Acts 16:30–31). NT Greek does not have a separate noun for the word "believers"; rather, "believers" is the rendering given by various translations for (1) substantival participial constructions formed from the verb "believe" (*hoi pisteuontes,* e.g. Acts 5:14; Rom 1:16; 1 Thess 1:7, 2:10; cf. *Herm. Sim.* 9:19, 1–2) or (2) substantives formed from the adjective "faithful, reliable" (*hoi pistoi,* Acts 10:45; 2 Cor 6:15; 1 Tim 6:2).

The use of "believer" is especially prominent in the post-resurrection community. During the earthly life of Jesus the primary term used to designate his followers was "disciple" (Gk *mathētes*). While there were many different forms of master/disciple relationships in Israel, Jesus' disciples were distinguished from others by their response to his call, by following him only, and by listening to and obeying his teaching (Hengel 1981:61). Once Jesus passed from the scene his disciples could no longer physically follow him. The term "disciple" began to recede in usage, so that in the epistolary literature, "disciple" does not occur at all. Other terms were used to describe the followers of the risen Christ (e.g., "Christians," "brothers/sisters" "saints," "imitators"). For the early church, one phrase which naturally expressed the new relationship with the risen Lord was "believer." Since they could no longer physically follow Jesus, the early church now focused on "belief" as one of the chief characteristics of their relationship with him in the new age.

This transition is recognized in the conclusion to the gospel of John. Thomas, who had followed Jesus as his disciple, gives a great confession upon seeing the risen Lord (Jesus is "Lord and God"), but Jesus pronounces blessing on those who will believe without seeing (John 20:24–30). Paul also recognizes "belief" to be the chief characteristic of the new age. In the oft-disputed phrase where Paul says that he no longer knows Christ "after the flesh" (2 Cor 5:16), Paul decries his former "worldly" attitude toward Jesus, which has now passed away by being "in Christ" (Martin 1981:59–60). The transition from "disciple" to "believer" may be one indication of the way in which the developing Christian tradition allowed room for both the tradition of the historical Jesus and Paul's proclamation of the risen Christ:the follower of Jesus has passed from being a "disciple" who follows Jesus in a physical sense to being a "believer" who is a new creation in Christ (2 Cor 5:17).

Paul also expands the focus from "belief in Jesus" to "belief of the truth" (2 Thess 2:13), which for him essentially means belief in all that comprises apostolic Christianity. Elsewhere the noun "faith" *(pistis)* has the additional objective nuance "belief" and means simply "Christianity" (1 Tim 4:1, 6; Tit 1:4; *BTNT* 1:90; Guthrie 1981:593–94). Hence the true believer is one who, although no longer able to follow Jesus physically, focuses belief on the reality of a risen Lord and Savior, exercises personal faith unto salvation, and is characterized by a lifestyle consistent with apostolic teaching concerning the Christian life.

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**BELLS** [Heb *paʿamōn* (פַּעֲמֹן)*; mesîllôt* (מְסִילוֹת)]. Hollow, cup-shaped or conical objects made of metal that produce a sound when struck by a metal clapper suspended within (mentioned in the tabernacle texts of Exodus [28:33–34; 39:25–26] and in Zech 14:20). The sound is produced by the movement of the object itself. Bells, like rattles, therefore belong to the class of musical instruments known as idiophones.

Most of the bells found in archaeological contexts are quite small, some under 2 cm in height and others 4 to 5 cm in height (see catalog in Bayer 1963:8–12). They are typically made with small metal rings or loops placed on the top and often connected to the inside attachment for the clapper. The small size of the bells and the fact that they nearly all have rings or loops indicates that they were not hand-held bells but

rather were meant to be fastened to an item of clothing or jewelry, or even to animal trappings. Most examples of bells are made of bronze, with iron clappers. Presumably they could also be made of iron or of precious metals.

"Bells" as used in Exodus (Exod 28:33–34; 39:25–26) refer to small objects made of "pure gold" and attached alternately with pomegranates made of dyed wool and linen around the skirts of the "robe of the ephod," which is one of four special overgarments worn only by the high priest. These items of high priestly apparel were not garments in the usual sense. Rather, they had ritual significance in their own right; they were part of a complex of ritual acts performed by the chief priest "before Yahweh," that is, within the tabernacle itself and not in its outer precincts (Haran 1978:214–18). Those ritual acts consisted of two sets:three acts the priest performed with incense, lamps, and "show bread," and three acts represented by three special items of high priestly apparel, with the bells attached to one of these.

The meaning of the bells' sound, to be heard when the priest entered and exited the sanctuary, cannot be determined exactly. In many cultures the ringing of bells has a prophylactic or apotropaic function, to ward away or drive away demonic spirits. Some scholars feel there is a primitive remnant of such a function in the priestly use, since the phrase "lest he die" follows the injunction in Exod 28:35 for Aaron to wear the robe with bells. However, that warning may also be considered a summation of the seriousness with which all the items in that section of Exodus should be regarded. It is more useful to note that the "bells" garment is sandwiched between two other items of apparel, the diadem and the ephod with breastplate, that have symbolic significance for the priest's role in connecting the people of Israel to their God. In this context, the bells perhaps help stimulate the attention of the deity, which is the object of the other two ritual garments.

The other biblical word for bells, *meṣîllôt,* found in Zech 14:20, refers to bells associated with horses, apparently attached to their trappings. While the appearance of bells on royal or priestly garb is virtually unattested in Near Eastern art, examples of horses wearing bells can be seen in Assyrian art. The bells on Zechariah's horses are special in that they carry the inscription "Holy to Yahweh," a standard formula denoting sanctity. The prophet's eschatological vision sees a time when even horses, animals of war, will become holy, thus symbolizing the utter holiness and peace of the new age.

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CAROL MEYERS

**BELMAIN** (PLACE) [Gk *Belmain* (Βελμαιν)]. A site mentioned in the book of Judith whose exact location is unknown (Jdt 4:4). The many variant spellings attested in the Greek manuscripts suggest that the name is corrupt. It is also possible that other variants of the name occur at 7:3 and 8:3 (BALBAIM, BALAMON), although this is unclear. Aharoni and Avi-Yonah (MBA) identify the site with Abel-maim (M.R. 204296), some thirteen miles south of Scythopolis. Of course, given the genre of the book of Judith, it is possible that the town is entirely fictitious. See also JUDITH.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**BELNUUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Balnouos* (Βαλνουος)]. See BINNUI (PERSON).

**BELOVED DISCIPLE.** A distinctive feature of the Gospel of John is the appearance in the later chapters of a character denoted simply as "the disciple whom Jesus loved."

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A. Introduction
B. Historical Personage Underlying the BD
C. BD as Literary/Theological Symbol
D. BD and Peter
E. BD and the Composition of the Fourth Gospel
F. BD and the History of the Johannine Community
G. Conclusion

## A. Introduction

At the Last Supper the beloved disciple (henceforth BD) has a position of intimacy and privilege close to the breast of Jesus. Through him Peter seeks information from Jesus concerning the identity of the betrayer (John 13:23–25). The disciple stands along with the mother of Jesus at the cross. Both are commended to each other by the Lord, and the disciple takes her to his own home (19:26–27). Following Mary Magdalene's report, the disciple outruns Peter in a race to the empty tomb. Prompted by the distinctive arrangement of the grave clothes, he "sees and believes" (20:2–10). The disciple, involved with Peter in the miraculous catch of fish, recognizes the stranger on the shore as the risen Lord (21:7). He later follows Jesus and hears his fate discussed by Peter and the Lord in a way that gives rise to a false rumor that he was not to die (21:20–23). Though not explicitly mentioned, this disciple is clearly meant in the subsequent reference to the one who "witnesses and has written these things" (21:24). Following the death of Jesus and piercing of his side, there is a similar indication of sure witness given by "one who has seen." This witness must be the BD, since he is the only male disciple indicated as present at the crucifixion. More controversial is a reference in 18:15–16 to "another disciple," who accompanies Peter to Jesus' trial and who, on the strength of being known to the high priest, is able to gain access to the proceedings for himself and Peter. The association with Peter and certain links with 20:2–10 (cf. 20:2:"the other disciple whom Jesus loved"; 20:3:"the other disciple") suggest that here too the BD is meant (Neirynck 1975). Some scholars have also seen a reference to the BD in the unnamed disciple who along with Andrew leaves John the Baptist to become a disciple of Jesus in 1:35–40. However, readers of the gospel could hardly be expected to pick up such an elusive hint of the BD's presence.

Following the indication of authorship apparently provided in 21:24, church tradition saw in the unnamed BD the author of the fourth gospel and identified him as one of the Twelve, John, son of Zebedee, not otherwise mentioned by name in the gospel (note, however, "sons of Zebedee" in 21:2). This apostolic identification, though not uncontested in the early centuries, appears towards the end of the 2d century and undoubtedly played a large role in securing for this controversial gospel a place within the canon.

Since the early 19th century, historical-critical scholarship has increasingly questioned both the traditional identification of the BD as John, son of Zebedee, and the concomitant recognition of this apostle as author of the fourth gospel. Some scholars have seen in the BD a literary fiction, lacking all historical identity and playing a purely symbolic role as representative of perfect discipleship (Loisy), of Gentile Christianity (Bultmann), of the more prophetic, spirit-directed church order of Johannine Christianity, in distinction to the more institutional order represented by Peter (Kragerud 1959), or as the embodiment of the ideal witness (Käseman). That the BD is an idealized figure and has a symbolic function within the gospel is beyond doubt. But a lack of any corresponding historical identity would severely undermine his leading role as witness and guarantor of the gospel. Detached from historical plausibility, the remarks of 19:35 and 21:4, whether written by the evangelist or redactor, lose all force. In fact, the dialogue in 21:20–23 concerning the fate of the BD seems to have been prompted precisely by his recent death. Moreover, the BD is constantly set over against historical figures such as Peter and the mother of Jesus, the latter remaining, like the BD, unidentified by name. These considerations incline contemporary scholarship to hold together both the historical and the symbolic aspects of the BD and to see in this figure a genuine historical personage who is presented in the fourth gospel in a symbolic and idealized way.

Within this basic consensus, discussion concerning the BD has chiefly focused upon the following issues:

1. Identifying the historical personage underlying the symbolic character.
2. Delineating the literary/theological/symbolic role he plays.
3. Clarifying his role and status with respect to Peter.
4. Assessing the stage and nature of his contribution to the composition of the gospel.

5. Determining his position and role within the developing and ultimately divisive history of the Johannine community.

**B. Historical Personage Underlying the BD**

The external evidence for identifying the BD with the apostle John, son of Zebedee, begins in the late 2d century and centers chiefly on the testimony of Irenaeus. However, critical scholarship has encountered grave difficulties in determining any foundation for this testimony of Irenaeus in an earlier period (Barrett 1978:100–105). Also, the gospel would hardly have had such a battle for acceptance had its authorship by a leading apostle been widely accepted. The chief internal grounds in favor of John, son of Zebedee, would be the nonappearance otherwise in the gospel of this significant disciple and subsequent Christian leader. Moreover, the constant pairing off of the BD with Peter corresponds closely to the picture of John in the Synoptic tradition.

Several factors, however, speak strongly against this identification: (1) the whole presentation of the gospel is not such as can easily be credited to a Galilean fisherman; (2) its symbolic nature and tendency to blend narrative and lengthy discourse does not suggest an eyewitness account; (3) it is inexplicable that an eyewitness disciple from Galilee would omit the bulk of Jesus' ministry in that region to concentrate so heavily upon Jerusalem; (4) the gospel omits important incidents of Jesus' life (e.g., the raising of the daughter of Jairus, the transfiguration, the agony in the garden) at which the Synoptic tradition records the presence of John; (5) incidents in which the BD does appear, such as the scene at the foot of the cross and the race to the tomb, are of dubious historical value. There are, then, no compelling grounds for identifying the BD with John, the son of Zebedee (though this does not exclude the possibility of a relationship between the two figures on the literary level of the gospel; see Conclusion below).

Other historical candidates proposed include: (1) *Lazarus* (F. V. Filson, J. N. Sanders), the only other person in the gospel of whom it is specifically stated that Jesus loved him (John 11:3, 11, 36). But it is hard to explain why a significant character mentioned by name in chaps. 11–12 becomes anonymous in the so-called "Book of Glory" (chaps. 13–20, 21); (2) *John Mark* (B. Weiss; L. Johnson) whose family, according to Acts 12:12, had a house in Jerusalem and who on this interpretation is supposed to have acted as host at the Last Supper; (3) *Matthias,* or (4) a *blood brother of Jesus* (J. J. Gunther). But all these identifications remain highly speculative. Most scholars abandon the quest for a name and see beneath the BD a well-educated disciple of Jesus, in all likelihood not one of the Twelve. Further specification, such as Jerusalem provenance (Schnackenburg 1982) or former disciple of John the Baptist (Brown 1979), rests on questionable harmonizations of the Synoptic and Johannine traditions.

From chap. 21 it seems indisputable that the BD was a historical person who had played a significant role in the life of the Johannine community and whose recent death had occasioned widespread dismay (v 23). We should probably see in him the founder and head of the Johannine "school" during the period of its consolidation (Culpepper 1975:264–66). In this role he comes very close to the similarly unidentified "Teacher of Righteousness" at Qumran (Roloff 1968). Though well recognizable under his epithet to the members of community, the BD may not in fact have been a well-known figure outside the Johannine circle (Thyen 1977). If he had been in fact an eyewitness disciple of Jesus, his testimony as recorded in the gospel has evidently gone through a long process of narrative expansion and development along symbolic lines. Clearly, however, the later community believed that its distinctive faith rested upon his sure witness to the Lord.

**C. BD as Literary/Theological Symbol**

The BD is present at all the key events of the "Book of Glory" —the supper, trial (?), crucifixion, empty tomb, and appearances of the risen Lord. As the comments in 19:35 and 21:24 make clear, he is there precisely as *witness.* As a sure witness present at all these key events the BD offers the community a guaranteed testimony. Beyond the role of witness, however, his position of intimacy "close to the bosom" of Jesus (13:23–25), which echoes Jesus' own being "in the bosom" of the Father (1:18), suggests a parallel between his role vis à vis Jesus and that of Jesus vis à vis the Father. That is, he is a *medium of revelation* between Jesus and the disciples—as shown by Peter's attempt to solicit through him information from Jesus concerning the betrayal. The presence of the BD in such scenes clearly has

proleptic significance with respect to his function in the Johannine community. His later role as witness, teacher, and reminder of what he has seen is thereby foreshadowed and guaranteed. In this respect, as many scholars have noted, there is a notable convergence between the role of the BD and that of the Paraclete as depicted in chaps. 13–17 (Culpepper 1975:267–70). Indeed, the otherwise curious reference to "another Paraclete" in 14:16 may be explained in the sense that after the departure of Jesus the BD would be "Paraclete" of the community, a role which, after his own death, would be carried on by the spirit (see also PARACLETE).

But, along with this role over and against the community, the BD is clearly also a *paradigmatic and representational* figure, and this too in a proleptic way. His faithful following of Jesus (at the trial, at the cross, in the risen life), a following that contrasts favorably with the flight of the other disciples, sets a pattern of perfect *discipleship* in response to Jesus' intimate love. Moreover, in his coming to faith in the resurrection simply on the basis of the signs of the grave clothes and the miraculous catch of fish, without having seen the risen Lord, the BD foreshadows the *faith* of subsequent believers in that they also believe without having seen and because of this come under the blessing pronounced by Jesus (20:29). In this way the disciple functions for later generations as a *point of insertion* into the pivotal events and experiences connected with the "glorification" of Jesus (Byrne 1985). Though separated in time, the later Johannine community has the same relationship to Jesus as the BD has in the gospel. The replacement of his personal name by the simple epithet functions as an invitation to each member to identify with his status of being specially loved by Jesus, his response in faith and his perfect discipleship (Wilckens 1980). Finally, the community is doubtless intended to understand Jesus' bequest from the cross (19:26–27) as an assurance that the faith of its representative (the BD) is now fused with the perfect faith of Jesus' mother, a faith which at Cana (2:5) prompted the first sign and revelation of Jesus' glory. Henceforth, every believer belongs to the family of Jesus, human and divine (20:17). Thus the figure of the BD sums up and embodies the promise held out by the gospel that believers should receive the power "to become children of God" (1:11–12).

**D. BD and Peter**

In all passages featuring the BD in the Gospel of John, the scene at the cross (19:26–27) alone excepted, Peter also appears. Moreover, wherever the two appear together there is a constant pattern whereby the BD upstages Peter in some key respect:at the supper (13:23–25) he has a position of closer intimacy with Jesus and it is through him that Peter must request information; he arranges for Peter to have access to the trial (18:15–16); he arrives first at the tomb (20:4) and only of him is it said that he "saw and believed" (20:8); after the catch of fish it is the BD who recognizes the stranger on the shore as the risen Lord and communicates this knowledge to Peter (21:7); the latter's threefold protestation of love (21:15–17) inevitably brings to mind the earlier denial that contrasts so unfavorably with the BD's unsullied loyalty. Finally, Peter receives something of a rebuke in response to his question to Jesus concerning the disciple's fate (21:20–22).

Does this pattern of competition with respect to Peter reflect a real anti-Petrine polemic in the Johannine community and an attempt to replace his preeminence with that of the BD? Or is it simply a vigorous attempt to win recognition and status for the BD and the kind of Christianity he represents within the more established movement that looked to Peter? In the passages occurring in chaps. 13–20 the upstaging of Peter seems deliberate and unrelieved (though the scene at the tomb, [20:2–10] implies some recognition of him as prime resurrection witness). Chap. 21, however, provides a more balanced perspective:the spiritual insight of the BD (v 7) is set in relationship to Peter's acknowledged pastoral role (vv 15–17); his "following" of Jesus has involved a "remaining" rather than a glorious martyr death (vv 18–19, 22). It may well be that chap. 21 represents an attempt on the part of the community to soften an earlier polemic in the interests of gaining wider acceptance following the death of the BD (Maynard 1984). The gospel as a whole leaves the impression of a "defensive rather than an offensive polemic against the Petrine claims" (Culpepper 1983:122). The dual picture of the BD and Peter in the Gospel of John serves notice that the necessary institutional structures of authority and office in the Christian

community must in the end be subservient to the supreme dignity shared by all:that of "belonging to the community of the beloved disciples of Jesus" (Brown 1979:164).

**E. BD and the Composition of the Fourth Gospel**

Despite the designation of him as "the one who has written these things" (21:24a), the BD is hardly the literal author of the Gospel of John. That an early Christian leader would write himself into the gospel under such a pretentious title as "beloved disciple" is scarcely to be imagined. It is far more likely that the community, which revered him as founder and guide, conferred the epithet upon him (perhaps posthumously) and that in due course their representative in the shape of the Evangelist wrote him into the gospel. It could be that the BD was responsible for a collection of traditions in distinctly Johannine form which served as the Evangelist's primary source. But the Greek phrase *ho grapsas tauta* need not imply any written activity on the part of the BD, since it can be taken in the causative sense and understood simply as designating the BD's witness as the ultimate source and authority for the written gospel.

Though most striking in the case of the "witness" statements of 19:35 and 21:4, all the passages featuring the BD present an aspect of some intrusiveness in their immediate contexts. It is highly likely that they represent insertions by the Evangelist into more traditional material. Some scholars would ascribe their composition entirely to a Redactor seen as responsible for the addition of chap. 21 and other material to the original gospel. The nature of chap. 21, however, does not so much suggest a separate author as fresh circumstances which might have prompted the original Evangelist to compose an appendix. Central among these circumstances would appear to be the death of the BD, clearly alluded to in 21:20–23. Apart from a more general sense of loss, this event would seem to have caused particular dismay in the community because of a pervasive understanding of a "word" of the Lord to the effect that the BD was not to die before the Parousia. The author of chap. 21 clarifies the matter by distinguishing between "not dying" and "remaining" until the Lord comes. The "remaining" of the BD is not incompatible with his death, since his distinctive witness "remains" in the community's life and in the gospel which he ultimately has caused to be written.

In this respect the Gospel of John represents a distinctive case of pseudonymous NT writing. Whereas other late NT authors wrote in the name of well-known early Christian identities (Paul, Peter, James, etc.), the fourth evangelist, for the representational and symbolic purposes discussed above, chose to rest his authority upon an unnamed yet authoritative disciple of Jesus.

The more recent, literary approach to the gospel steps aside from the historical questions to study the way in which the BD figure operates as a literary device. From this perspective, which pays attention to the role of narrator throughout, 21:24 is understood as designating the BD as "implied author" of the work (Culpepper 1983:44–48).

**F. BD and the History of the Johannine Community**

Many attempts have been made in recent decades to reconstruct the history of the community that gave rise to the Johannine literature (the gospel and the three letters). While the gospel reflects the tensions that accompanied the emergence of the community's distinctive self-identity and theology, the letters seem to evidence outright separation and schism. It is not easy to relate the somewhat shadowy figure of the BD to particular reconstructions with any degree of confidence, save that his central founding role must be preserved. In effect there may have been a struggle over the correct interpretation of the BD's inheritance. More precisely, some would see the insertion of the BD's witness into the community tradition, in particular the comment recorded in 19:35, as part of a campaign against the tendencies of a docetic nature which seem to have played a role in the later division (1 John 4:1–3). A recent suggestion wishes to identify the BD with the author of 2–3 John, who names himself "the presbyter" and struggles against the (more institutionalizing?) leadership claims of one Diotrephes (Thyen 1977:296–99). But an identification with such a late figure effectively excludes the possibility that the BD was both founder and original witness of the community.

**G. Conclusion**

In the figure of the BD we should see the head of the Johannine school in its formative period, the person chiefly responsible for the distinctive cast of its particular brand of Christianity. Whether he was in

fact a disciple of Jesus remains obscure. In any case the BD was not widely known or recognized outside his own movement. Towards the end of his life or shortly after his death the Evangelist sought to guarantee the community's gospel by depicting its founder as an eyewitness disciple of Jesus, in fact, as the disciple *par excellence.* Though this depiction may not have been literally accurate in a historical sense, within the framework of Johannine theology it retained a deeper validity because of the central tenet of the community that in its life and witness it gave immediate access to Jesus in a way completely comparable to the intimacy enjoyed by the historical disciples. Insertion of the BD into the gospel as a literary device served both as guarantee and vehicle of that access.

It may well be that the Evangelist found a place for the BD in the gospel tradition by "suppressing" the figure of John, son of Zebedee, and casting his own mentor, anonymously and with much embellishment, in the now vacant role. If this was in fact the case, then the traditional identification of the BD with that particular disciple of Jesus has, in a roundabout way, a certain justification. In the late 2d century John reentered the role from which he had been removed, thereby, with an irony worthy of the gospel itself, winning for it a place within the Christian canon.

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BRENDAN BYRNE

**BELSHAZZAR** (PERSON) [Aram *bēlša*ʿ*ṣar* (בֵּלְשַׁאְצַר); Akk *Bēl-šarra-uṣur*]. Son of Nabonidus (556–539 B.C.), the last king of Babylonia prior to the Persian conquest, Belshazzar ruled as co-regent for at least three years while his father was in Arabia. This arrangement in itself is important, since it has no parallel in any other period of Mesopotamian history. There is no direct evidence that he altered conditions in southern Mesopotamia in any way during his father's absence. Belshazzar's name occurs in a number of contract tablets and letters datable to the first fourteen years of Nabonidus' reign. These comment on his business dealings with certain prominent banking houses or "families," most notably those of Nur-Sin and Egibi. In addition, they document Belshazzar's rise to power prior to Nabonidus' 11th year and outline some of his official duties as co-regent after 545 B.C. He appears to have had ample authority to give orders to temple officials in Uruk and Sippar and could even lease out temple land. His name disappears from the contract tablets in Nabonidus' thirteenth year; it has been suggested that this coincides with Nabonidus' return to Babylonia from Tema.

Belshazzar turns up in a number of Greek and Latin sources, in the rabbinic commentaries, and (along with Nebuchadnezzar) in the Book of Daniel. The *Gen. Rab.* contains one of the earliest references in any source to Belshazzar as a "cosmocrator," possessed of a kingdom whose boundaries extend from one end

of the world to the other. It also characterizes him beside Nebuchadnezzar as one of "two wicked men, two destroyers." The story of Belshazzar's feast in Daniel 5 is generally regarded as an attempt by its author(s) to superimpose source material related to Nabonidus' reign on a hostile image of Nebuchadnezzar. The Jews of the postexilic period were acquainted with both favorable and unfavorable characterizations of Nabonidus and Belshazzar in their contemporary cuneiform sources. They nevertheless placed more emphasis on the negative aspects because they were tailor-made for the didactic materials incorporated into the Book of Daniel.

Belshazzar commanded Babylonian troops in the vicinity of Sippar when Cyrus of Persia conquered Anatolia (545 B.C.). Nothing is known of his activities after 543 B.C.

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RONALD H. SACK

**BELT.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**BELTESHAZZAR** (PERSON) [Heb, Aram *bēlṭĕša›ṣṣar* (בֶּלְטְשַׁאצַּר)]. Babylonian name given to Daniel by Nebuchadnezzar's chief eunuch Ashpenaz in the exilic period when a group of Jewish noblemen were similarly renamed (Dan 1:7). See SHADRACH, MESHACH, ABEDNEGO. Belteshazzar is the Akkadian name *balāṭsu-uṣur,* "guard his life," and is a shortened form of a name that originally consisted of an Ÿ invocation of a god, namely " (may Marduk) guard his life." The Hebrew and Aramaic spellings reflect a faulty vocalization of the original Babylonian and are designed to incorporate the title or name of Nebuchadnezzar's god (Dan 4:5; see BELSHAZZAR, which genuinely contains the name of the god Bel.) A few mss render the name *bēlṭĕšaṣar,* and one ms each gives the name *bēlṭ›ašṣar* and *bēlṭĕšaṣa›r.* The bestowal of a new name portended a new destiny *(nomen omen)* and finds a parallel in Pharaoh's renaming of Joseph (Gen 41:45) and Nebuchadnezzar's renaming the last crowned head of preexilic Jerusalem (2 Kgs 24:17). Daniel's new name is found predominantly in Dan 4 and always in close association with the spoken works of Nebuchadnezzar. The ironic overtones in the story of the King's dream of the great tree thus extends to the nomenclature. It is not Marduk who guards Belteshazzar's life as his name implies, but the Most High God (Dan 3:32) who alone has the power to protect those who put their trust in Him (Dan 3:17). For further discussion see *Daniel*.

PETER W. COXON

**BELTETHMUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Beeltethmos* (Βεελτεθμος)]. In 1 Esdras 2, Beltethmus occurs as the proper name of a Persian official living in Palestine at the time of Artaxerxes (1 Esdr 2:12—Eng v 16; 2:19—Eng v 25). However, evidence from the parallel text in Ezra 4 indicates that this is not a proper name, but a Greek transliteration of *bĕ‹ēl-ṭĕ‹ēm,* the Aramaic title of the Persian official REHUM (4:8, 9, 17; *baaltam*). The meaning of the title is debated, variously rendered "chancellor" (Schüpphaus *TDOT* 5:346), "commander," "commissioner" (Snell 1980:33), "postmaster," "lord of official intelligence," and "recorder of happenings" (cf. Josephus *Ant*. 11.26). Further indication that the meaning of this term was uncertain to the author of 1 Esdras 2 is indicated by the presence of both the title, *tō graphonti ta prospiptonta* ("the recorder" [RSV]), and the proper name, Beltethmus, together in the same verse (2:19—Eng v 25).

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CRAIG D. BOWMAN

**BEN-ABINADAB** (PERSON) [Heb *ben-›abînādāb* (בֶּן־אֲבִינָדָב)]. A Solomonic prefect responsible for supplying provisions for the court for one month per year from the area of Naphath-dor; also the husband of Solomon's daughter Taphath (1 Kgs 4:11). Ben-abinadab's territory included the area of the Sharon Plain surrounding the port city of Dor. It apparently extended the length of the plain to the Yarkon River; some scholars, however, draw its S boundary between Dor and Socoh. The debate hinges on

whether the third district (Ben-hesed's) was also in the plain (see *HGB* 57–61 for discussion). Explanations of the word "Naphath-" *(nāpâ),* found only in conjunction with Dor, as "region," "height," or "yoke" are all unsatisfactory. Possibly, since Dor was "a town of the Tjekker" according to the 11th-century Wen-Amun account, *nāpâ* is a "Sea People" term cognate with Homeric Greek *napē,* "wooded valley," a reference to the wooded Sharon (Ben-Dov 1976).

The name Ben-abinadab ("Son of Abinadab"), a patronym, may be a title indicating that its bearer held a hereditary office (Alt 1950:22). Alternately, the personal names of Ben-abinadab and four other Solomonic prefects may have been lost at an early stage of the text's history. Lucian appears to preserve the oldest form of the Greek corresponding to Ben-abinadab. Beginning with the last word of 1 Kgs 4:10, if the Greek is divided as *( ... phar) achinanadab*—Heb *([ḥ]pr) [bn] ʾḥyndb*—or *( ... phara) chinanadab,* both with dittography of Gk *na,* it suggests Heb *ʾḥyndb* as in v 14. One may also divide, however, as *( ... phara) chin anadab* (Heb *([ḥ]pr) kn ʾ[by]ndb*), reflecting *kap* for MT *bet* (Rahlfs 1911:228).

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**BEN-AMMI** (PERSON) [Heb *ben-ʿammî* (בֶּן־עַמִּי)]. The son of Lot's younger daughter and ancestor of the Ammonites (Gen 19:38). According to Hebrew tradition, the Genesis narrative (19:30–38) explains the origin of Ammon and Moab, but more accurately it underscores the intense contempt and disdain that Israel had for these two nations. H. Gunkel (1895:190) suggests that the narrative was originally a Moabite folktale, similar to many ancient deluge stories, that traced the common origin of Ammon and Moab to Lot. Rather than the less distinctive meaning "son of my people," a more distinctive "son of my near kinsman" (i.e., his father being his mother's near relation) is preferred. The meaning of the name in the narrative is not necessarily an attempt to explain the origin of Ammon, but to remind Israel of the Ammonites. According to Sayce (1895:22), "Ammi" or "Ammo" was the name of the god who gave his name to the nation. The name "ammi" is found in cuneiform inscriptions as part of the title of Ammonite kings and deities. While the common origin of the two nations is generally accepted (Judg 10:6; 11:15, 18, 25; Deut 2:19), the etymology of the name is questionable. For further discussion, see Speiser *Genesis* AB, 144–46; Westermann *Genesis 12–36* BK, 383).

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**BEN-DEKER** (PERSON) [Heb *ben-deqer* (בֶּן־דֶּקֶר)]. One of Solomon's twelve prefects, Ben-deker was responsible for providing supplies for the king from the second administrative district, which included the towns of Makaz, Shaalbim, Beth-Shemesh, and Elonbeth-hanan (1 Kgs 4:9).

Ben-deker's district consisted of land only recently taken from the Philistines. Its boundaries are thought to correspond in general to those of the original allotment of Dan (Josh 19:40–46), which included Shaalbim (Shaalabbin), Ir- (= Beth-) Shemesh, Aijalon, and Elon. One of the latter two sites is probably merged in the place name Elonbeth-hanan (1 Kgs 4:9), a location otherwise unknown and better read as "Elon/Aijalon [both spelled *ʾylwn*] *and* Beth-hanan" (with some Heb MSS) or "*as far as* Beth-hanan" (LXX). Makaz (Heb *māqaṣ* ) does not appear elsewhere in the Bible and may be a defective spelling of *mqṣh* "from the end of" or the like, a phrase used in border descriptions (Naʾaman 1986:114–15). The Greek reading corresponding to Makaz, *mach (e)mas,* is found elsewhere for Heb *mkmš/s* "Michmas (h)," otherwise known only as a town in Benjamin. Greek *mach (e)mas* here may derive from Heb *mqṣ*, with *chi* standing for Heb *qop* (Rahlfs 1911:226).

Ben-deker's name (meaning "Son of Deker") is patronymic in form and may be a title indicating that he held a hereditary office (Alt 1950:22). The name Bidkar (Heb *bdqr*) in 2 Kgs 9:25 has been seen as a shortened form of Ben-deker (see, however, *IPN*, 149–50 n. 1; and Montgomery *Kings* ICC, 406). The name "Deker" is paralleled by the Ugaritic personal name *dqry*, which appears in census and quota lists (*KTU* 4.63:II:33 and 4.108:4 [probably the same individual in both texts]; *KTU* 4.116:17). The name is apparently related to Heb *dqr* "to stab, pierce." Noth (*IPN*, 241) compares Talmudic Aramaic *dqrʾ* "pick, mattock" from the same root. Possible parallels from cuneiform sources include the names *Bi-in-di-qí-ri* and *Da-qí-ru-um* (Tallqvist 1914:64). However, since *qí* may be read also as *ki*, one or both of these names may be related to Heb *zkr* (Aramaic *dkr*) "remember" rather than to Heb *dqr* "stab."

The oldest extant Greek rendering corresponding to Ben-deker appears to be Lucianic *huios rēchab* (Rahlfs 1911:226), which in 2 Kgs 10:15, 23 and elsewhere reflects Heb *bn-rkb* "Ben-rechab," a well-known patronym. Of the two readings, Heb *deqer* and Gk *rēchab,* the Heb seems preferable since the Gk tradition may be explained as resulting from a confusion of Heb *dalet* and *reš,* with Gk *chi* representing Heb *qop* (as in *mach (e)mas* for Heb *mqṣ,* Rahlfs 1911:226), and with assimilation to the well-known patronym Ben-rechab.

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**BEN-DOSA, HANINA** (PERSON). See HANINA BEN-DOSA (PERSON).

**BEN-GEBER** (PERSON) [Heb *ben-geber* (בֶּן־גֶּבֶר)]. The officer in charge of the sixth administrative district in Solomon's kingdom (1 Kgs 4:13). This district encompassed central Transjordan with its headquarters at Ramoth-Gilead. Each district was required to supply food for the royal court one month out of the year (1 Kgs 4:6).

A major point of discussion has been the similarities between 1 Kings 4:13 and 4:19. The text in 1 Kgs 4:19 lists Geber, son of Uri, as being in charge of Gilead. Some scholars take v 13 as referring to N Transjordan while v 19 refers to south Transjordan. W. F. Albright and others believe that the two verses originally referred to the same person. According to Albright, a later editor has mistakenly changed a reference to one officer and one district into two people and two separate districts. A third possibility is suggested by a Septuagint reading and is supported by Roland de Vaux (*AncIsr* 134). In place of Gilead in 1 Kgs 4:19, the Septuagint reads Gad (a change which involves only one consonant in the Hebrew text). If the original reading was Gad, as de Vaux argues, then there is no overlapping of territory, and two distinct references to Ben-Geber and Geber are to be understood.

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**BEN-HADAD** (PERSON) [Heb *ben-hădad* (בֶּן־הֲדַד)]. The name of at least two kings of Aram-Damascus in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C.E. The name Ben-Hadad is a Hebraized version of the original Aramaic name, Bir-Hadad, meaning "son of (the god) Hadad." The two certain Ben-Hadads are Ben-Hadad, son of Tab-Rimmon (early 9th century B.C.E., see 1 Kgs 15:18–20), and Ben-Hadad son of Hazael (early 8th century, see 2 Kgs 3:3, 24–25). There are serious questions about whether the Ben-Hadad of 1 Kings 20, 22, and 2 Kings 6–8 is a distinct king. Current studies have argued that this Ben-Hadad should be identified with Ben-Hadad son of Hazael and that these stories have been misattributed to the times of King Ahab of Israel and his sons (ca. 875–842 B.C.E.), when they originally described the times of Kings

Joahaz and Joash (ca. 814–782). This article will discuss the known kings of this name first and then turn to the problem of 1 Kings 20–2 Kings 8.

1. Ben-Hadad I, son of Tab-Rimmon, son of Hezion, was king of Aram-Damascus early in the 9th century and is known only from 1 Kgs 15:16–22 = 2 Chr 16:1–6. He is mentioned here in the context of a boundary conflict between Baasha of Israel and Asa of Judah. When Baasha attempted to fortify Ramah, at the border between Israel and Judah, so as to control movement in and out of Jerusalem, Asa sent a substantial gift to Ben-Hadad of Aram-Damascus to urge him to attack Israel on its northern flank. Ben-Hadad did so, conquering several towns of N Israel: "Iyyon, Dan, Abel-Beth-Maacah, and all of Kinneroth, as far as all the land of Naphtali" (1 Kgs 15:20). By invading this area, Ben-Hadad gained control of an important part of the major trade routes to the coastal cities of Tyre, Sidon, Acco, and Achzib. Asa's plan worked, since Baasha was forced to withdraw immediately from Ramah and deal with the Aramaean threat. It is unknown what settlement Baasha and Ben-Hadad reached. However, it does not appear that Aram kept control of the northern region of Israel for long, since Dan and Hazor (the latter located in Naphtali) were certainly back in Israelite hands by the reign of Ahab (ca. 875–853 B.C.E.).

2. Ben-Hadad, son of Hazael, ruled in Damascus at the very end of the 9th and the early years of the 8th centuries B.C.E. The son of Aram's most powerful king (see HAZAEL), Ben-Hadad saw much of the empire of his father crumble in a series of misfortunes known from biblical and extrabiblical sources. Clear references to his reign occur in 2 Kgs 13:3–7 and 22–25, but, as discussed below, 1 Kings 20, 22, and 2 Kings 5–7 may also deal with this king. Two extrabiblical sources are also known: (1) the inscription of Zakkur, king of Hamath and Luash in the early 8th century, and (2) a number of inscriptions of King Adad-nirari III of Assyria (ca. 810–783 B.C.E.), in which Ben-Hadad appears under the name Mar›i ("my lord"). All of these sources concern defeats suffered by Ben-Hadad.

The order in which the known events of Ben-Hadad's reign occurred is not certain, but the general flow of events suggests the severe decline in the political power of Aram-Damascus during his years. The Zakkur inscription describes a coalition that he led against Zakkur, king of the combined lands of Hamath and Luash. The latter was besieged in the city of Hazrak by Ben-Hadad and the armies of several N Syrian states, but the siege was broken, according to Zakkur, by divine intervention (although many scholars [see Pitard 1987:174] suggest that this may be an oblique reference to intervention by the Assyrian army on Zakkur's behalf). Nothing is said in the stela concerning the cause of this attack, but most scholars suspect that Hamath's pro-Assyrian stance was at the root of the problem. Whatever the case, Ben-Hadad was unsuccessful in overthrowing Zakkur.

The inscriptions of Adad-nirari III describe an Assyrian assault on Damascus itself as a result of which Mar›i, its king, surrendered and Adad-nirari entered the city to receive a heavy tribute at the royal palace. Recent studies of these inscriptions have tended to argue for dating this attack on Damascus in 796 B.C.E., and if they are correct, the king called Mar›i in these texts is certainly Ben-Hadad.

The third source of information is the biblical account of Ben-Hadad's relations with Joash in 2 Kings 13. During the reign of Ben-Hadad's father, Israel had been reduced to the status of a vassal state under Aram (2 Kgs 10:32–33). But 2 Kings 13:25 briefly describes how Joash of Israel fought with Ben-Hadad, threw off Aramaean domination and regained the Israelite cities that Aram had annexed during the reigns of his predecessors, Jehu and Joahaz. This was done in three critical battles, and 2 Kgs 13:17 suggests that the key battle took place at Aphek (probably located E of the Sea of Galilee).

Thus it appears that during his reign, Ben-Hadad suffered a major defeat against Hamath to the N, lost his vassal territories in Israel to the S, and was plundered by the Assyrian army in his capital city. Aram appears to have continued to decline over the decades following Ben-Hadad's reign.

3. The identity of the Ben-Hadad of 1 Kings 20–2 Kings 8 is problematic. 1 Kings 20 and 22 describe a major conflict between Israel and Aram-Damascus during the reign of Ahab, and 2 Kings 5–8 ostensibly concern themselves with various dealings between Aram and Israel during the reigns of Ahab's sons, Ahaziah and Joram. In four of these chapters the name of the king of Aram is given as Ben-Hadad (1 Kings 20; 22; 2 Kgs 6:24–7:20; and 8:7–15), and during the past half-century controversy has raged concerning the identity of this king. W. F. Albright (1942) argued that he was Ben-Hadad son of Tab-

rimmon, to whom he attributed a reign of over forty years. Others (cf. Mazar 1962) identified him as a successor to the latter and designated him as Ben-Hadad II (thus making the son of Hazael Ben-Hadad III). Other scholars (cf. Jepsen 1948; Miller 1966; Lipiński 1969; Pitard 1987) have noted a large number of apparent discrepancies between the portrait of Ahab in 1 Kings 20 and what is said about him elsewhere in Kings and in the extrabiblical records of his reign. See also AHAB.

Assyrian and Moabite sources, as well as other biblical passages, suggest that both Omri and Ahab were powerful kings of Israel who were on a political par with Aram-Damascus (see the Monolith Inscription of Shalmaneser III [*ANET,* 278–79] and the Moabite Stone [*ANET,* 320–21]). This view is also supported by archaeological evidence which shows that the Omride period was one of significant wealth and architectural achievement in Israel (cf. Samaria, Hazor, Megiddo, Dan). This is quite at odds with the portrayal in 1 Kings 20, where the king of Israel and his father (1 Kgs 20:34) are depicted as weak and completely dominated by Aram. It has also been noted that while the king of Aram is regularly called Ben-Hadad, literary analysis of the passage shows that the king of Israel was not originally named at all in the text (Pitard 1987:117–18). In addition, Assyrian sources give the name of the king of Aram who was contemporary with Ahab as Adad-idri (= Aramaic, *Hadad-ʿiḏr*), never Ben-Hadad. It has become increasingly clear that the later identification of the king of Israel in these chapters with Ahab was a mistake. The position of Israel as a weak vassal to Aram, the account of successful battles against a Ben-Hadad which climax with a victory at Aphek (1 Kgs 20:26), and the return of Israelite cities which had previously been captured by Aram, fit exactly into the preserved information available concerning the reign of Joash of Israel (2 Kgs 13:14–25). If the stories of 1 Kings 20 (and a somewhat different version 22:1–38) are to be redated to the early 8th century, then the Ben-Hadad of these stories must be identified as the son of Hazael. In addition, there is nothing in the stories of 2 Kings 5–7 which would argue against identifying their period as that of the Jehu rather than the Omride dynasty.

The only story in this entire section with a Ben-Hadad that cannot be identified with the son of Hazael is 2 Kgs 8:7–15, the account of Hazael's murder of King Ben-Hadad and his usurpation of the throne. Assuming the correctness of the above proposal, two possible interpretations of this passage can be suggested: (1) the name Ben-Hadad here may be a secondary addition placed in this passage after all the other Ben-Hadad stories had been wrongly attributed to the Omride dynasty. In this case the name of the king assassinated by Hazael should be Hadad-ʿidr. See ARAM (PLACE). (2) It is slightly possible that Hadad-ʿiḏr was briefly succeeded by a son, Ben-Hadad, and that this is the person Hazael murdered. The former proposal seems more likely.

If this argument is sound, then there are only two attested Ben-Hadads who ruled over Aram-Damascus, and the Ben-Hadad of 1 Kings 20–2 Kings 7 should be identified as the son of Hazael, and not a distinct king.

4. Brief reference should be made to a stela with a relief of the god Melqart found near Aleppo in the 1930s. It possesses an inscription which identifies the donor of the stela as a Bir-Hadad (= Heb Ben-Hadad), apparently a king of Aram. This Bir-Hadad has usually been identified with the royal house of Damascus, and the stela has been used extensively in attempts to reconstruct the succession to the throne of Aram. Bir-Hadad has been identified with Ben-Hadad son of Tab-Rimmon (Albright 1942), Ben-Hadad "II," the supposed contemporary of Ahab and his sons (Mazar 1962), Ben-Hadad son of Hazael (Dearman and Miller 1983) as well as a son of Ben-Hadad "II" (Cross 1972), and an otherwise unknown brother of Hazael (Lipiński 1975:15–19). The major reason for the uncertainty in identifying Bir-Hadad has been the difficulty in reading the name of his father, which is badly worn on the stela. A recent reading of the inscription, however, suggests that the name of the stela's donor was Bir-Hadad son of ʿAttar-hamek, king of Aram. This reading now eliminates the possibility of identifying Bir-Hadad with either the son of Tab-Rimmon or the son of Hazael, while the evidence discussed above argues against the existence of Ben-Hadad "II". Because the name Aram was used to designate other Aramaean kingdoms in N Syria, and because the stela was found in the N, it now seems best not to relate this stela to Aram-Damascus at all (Pitard 1988). For further discussion see *CAH* 3/1:372–441.

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**BEN-HAIL** (PERSON) [Heb *ben-ḥayil* (בֶּן־חַיִל)]. (Literally "son of strength.") An officer under Jehoshophat who was sent with a team of four other secular leaders, eight Levites, and two priests to teach in the towns of Israel (2 Chr 17:7). The context implies that their mission was to instruct the people in both their religious duties as well as their civic ones as a part of the king's religious reforms (*2 Chronicles* AB, 99; *AncIsr* 2:344, 394). The LXX and Peshitta read the plural *běnê-ḥayil* ("men of strength or valor") and interpret the phrase adjectivally, rather than as a personal name. But while the name is not attested elsewhere, the pattern is found in 1 Kgs 4:9 (*ben-deqer,* "son of chisel [?], spear [?]") and 1 Kgs 4:10 4 (*ben-ḥesed,* "son of piety"). The Hebrew idiom "son of …" denotes the inheritance of characteristics from the father. This is abstracted in the case of Ben-hail to mean "the strong or valorous one."
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**BEN-HANAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ben-ḥānān* (בֶּן־חָנָן)]. Individual of the tribe of Judah, the son of Shimon (1 Chr 4:20). His name appears to mean "son of gracious, favored one."
DAVID C. SMITH

**BEN-HESED** (PERSON) [Heb *ben-ḥesed* (בֶּן־חֶסֶד)]. A prefect charged with supplying provisions for palace use one month per year from Solomon's third administrative district (1 Kgs 4:10).

Ben-hesed's district included Arubboth, Socoh, and the Hepher region. Scholars agree in locating Socoh at Eš-Šuweikeh at the E edge of the Sharon Plain, about 16 km NW of Samaria. Some, however, place Arubboth and Hepher in the Sharon Plain (map, Aharoni *LBHG* 308), while others place them in the hill country east of Socoh. Evidence from the Samaria Ostraca and recent archaeological work support the latter view (Zertal 1984), so Ben-hesed's area probably corresponded to the core area of Cisjordanian Manasseh.

Ben-hesed means "son of Hesed." Hesed was probably a hypocoristic form of Hesediah (meaning "Yahweh has been true to his own") or the like (*IPN,* 183). The patronymic form of the name Ben-hesed has been variously explained. Alt believed that Solomon's prefects whose names began with "Ben-" corresponded to districts of predominantly Canaanite population; based on parallels from Ugarit and elsewhere, he suggested that these prefects were of Canaanite extraction and filled hereditary posts named for the individual who first held them (1950:22). Alternately, an early mishap may have destroyed part of the text of 1 Kings 4, leaving only patronyms in five cases. In accordance with this theory, some modern translations render *ben-ḥesed* as "[…] son of Hesed."

The Septuagint translator appears to have had difficulty at 1 Kgs 4:10, since much of the verse, including common Hebrew prepositions, is transliterated, not translated. The possibility that the translator's Vorlage was corrupt casts doubt upon the text-critical value of the Greek at this point. Opposite Heb *ben-ḥesed* $LXX^B$ reads "son of *esōth,* " while Lucian has "*machei* son of *echō (bēr)*" (see further Rahlfs 1911:227–29).

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**BEN-HINNOM, VALLEY OF** (PLACE). See HINNOM VALLEY.

**BEN-HUR** (PERSON) [Heb *ben-ḥûr* (בֶּן־חוּר)]. The prefect of the first of Solomon's 12 administrative districts (1 Kgs 4:8), responsible for supplying, from the hill country of Ephraim, the provisions needed by the royal court for one month per year. Ben-hur means "son of Hur"; in view of parallels like the widely attested *bn ʿnt,* "Son of Anath," Hur (re-vocalized as *ḥr*) could refer to a deity, the Egyptian Horus. More likely, however, is the meaning "free; noble," related to the Heb root *ḥrr;* cf. personal names like Ugaritic *ḥry* and Arabic *ḥurr*, "free (born)."

The fact that Ben-hur and four others in the list of Solomon's prefects (1 Kgs 4:7–19) have names of patronymic form has been explained as resulting from a textual mishap by which the personal names of these individuals were lost. Alt, on the other hand, saw these prefects as filling hereditary posts named for the first officeholder (1950:22).

Alt (1913:14) viewed "the hill country of Ephraim" as a geographical term embracing the original core of the tribal territories of both Ephraim and Manasseh. It appears, however, that the third district (Ben-hesed's) corresponded to Manasseh's portion of the hill country, meaning that Ben-hur's district was restricted to the Ephraimite part of the mountains (Zertal 1984).

The earliest form of the Greek text corresponding to Ben-hur is apparently *bainōr* (= MT), although B and Lucian read *baiōr* (Rahlfs 1911:225–26).

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**BEN-ONI** (PERSON) [Heb *ben-ʾônî* (בֶּן־אוֹנִי)]. The name given by Rachel at the moment of her death to her newborn son (Gen 35:18). Jacob later changed the name to Benjamin, "son of the right hand," which can also mean "son of good fortune" (Westermann *Genesis 12–36* BK, 555). Though the meaning of Ben-oni is somewhat obscure, the context and tradition take "oni" to mean "my misfortune or suffering" rather than "my vigor." (See Speiser *Genesis* AB, 274). The meaning of *yamin,* "son of good fortune", has been complicated by the occurrence of the tribal term *DUMU,* (sons of) *-yamin,* in the Mari documents; there *yamin* as Yemen refers to geographical distribution, "south" or "southerner." However, this distinction, though applied to southern Amorites as opposed to northern dwellers, may be coincidental. The context almost demands that Ben-oni be understood as "son of my suffering or misfortune" from the Heb *ʾānâ,* "to be in sorrow." Therefore, Jacob, to avoid an evil harbinger, changed the name to correspond to the son who now had completed the twelve.

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**BEN-SIRA, WISDOM OF.** See WISDOM OF BEN-SIRA.

**BEN-ZOHETH** (PERSON) [Heb *ben-zôḥēt* (בֶּן־זוֹחֵת)]. Individual of the tribe of Judah, the son of Ishi (1 Chr 4:20). The LXX exhibits a variant reading of the text from "Ben-Zoheth" to "the sons of Zoheth" (Heb *bĕnê-zôḥēt*) with the names of those sons left wanting. See ZOHETH.
DAVID C. SMITH

**BENAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *bĕnāyâ* (בְּנָיָה)*; bĕnāyāhû* (בְּנָיָהוּ)]. The name Benaiah means "Yahweh has made (a child)," with *bānâ* meaning "make" as in Gen 2:22, where God makes Eve from Adam's rib (see also Gen 16:2; Ruth 4:11). Parallels in the Semitic onomasticon include Akk *Ibni-Marduk,* Ug *Ybn›il,* and Amorite *Ya-ab-ni [d]Da-gan:* "Marduk/El/Dagan has made (a child)"; cf. also Ashurbanipal (*Aššur-bāni-apli* "Ashur is the heir's Maker"). The name Bani is thought to be a shortened form of Benaiah (*IPN,* 172–73).

1. Son of Jehoiada and commander of Solomon's army. Benaiah's career was marked by unwavering loyalty to David and his successor Solomon. He first appears as commander of the Cherethites and Pelethites (2 Sam 8:18; 20:23), probably mercenaries of Cretan and Philistine background who acted independently of the regular army as David's personal bodyguard (cf. 2 Sam 23:23 = 1 Chr 11:25). By backing Solomon's coronation (1 Kgs 1:32–49), Benaiah and his men played a decisive role in the power struggle between Solomon and his older brother Adonijah. Later (1 Kgs 2:13–46), it was Benaiah who executed Adonijah, Joab (who as commander of the army had supported Adonijah's bid for power), and Shimei the son of Gera, who had accused David of illegitimately seizing the throne from the House of Saul (2 Sam 16:5–14). The result of these executions is summed up by 1 Kgs 2:46:"Thus the kingdom was firmly established in Solomon's hands." Following Joab's death, Benaiah replaced him as commander of the army.

Chronicles contains information concerning Benaiah's duties under David which is not found in Samuel. According to 1 Chr 27:5–6, Benaiah was head of a 24, 000-man division of the regular army which served the king in the third month of every year. The last part of v 6, where the text is unclear, perhaps indicates that a son of Benaiah, Ammizabad, also occupied this post.

Many elements in 1 Chronicles 27, however, appear to have had their origin in the Chronicler's own time, not in that of Benaiah. The figure of 288, 000 men, 12 groups of 24, 000, should be compared to the claim, also found in Chronicles, that David appointed 24, 000 Levites for work in the Temple (1 Chronicles 23) and that he organized the priests into 24 divisions (chap. 24) and the 288 musicians into 24 groups of 12 (chap. 25). The term *maḥălōqet* "division (of men)," prominent in chap. 27, is not clearly attested in this sense in preexilic literature. Furthermore, the names of Benaiah and the other 11 leaders could have been taken from the list of David's heroes (1 Chr 11:11–47 = 2 Sam 23:8–39).

Benaiah is credited with heroic deeds and is called *bn ›yš ḥyl* "a worthy/able man" (2 Sam 23:20, reading *ḥyl* for *ḥy* with the Qere and 1 Chr 11:22, and following Talmon 1960:165–66 in seeing here the conflation of *bn ḥyl* and *›yš ḥyl*). He smote the "two *›r›l*" (2 Sam 23:20; *›ry›l* in 1 Chr 11:22) of Moab, which is a difficult expression. A translation of "altar-hearth" (cf. Ezek 43:14–16) for *›r (y)›l* would leave Benaiah with a deed which seems less than heroic. Taking *›r (y)›l* as Ariel or Uriel, a personal name (cf. Ezra 8:16; 1 Chr 6:9, etc.), the expression could mean "two [sons] of A/Uriel," with *bny,* "sons", of an original *šny bny* lost via homoioteleuton (cf. LXX *dyo huious ariēl* "two sons of Ariel"). In this case "Moab" would not be a genitive (since it is preceded by a proper noun), but rather a locative accusative "in Moab" (cf. Joüon 1923:§ 126h; GKC § 118g); alternately *bmw›b* should be read. One may also explain the word as "mighty lion" (cf. *›rzy ›l* "mighty cedars," etc.), either literally, as the end of 2 Sam 23:20 suggests, or as a figurative term for "champion." The word *›r›l* appears in line 12 of the Mesha Stela (or Moabite Stone), but there too its interpretation is unsure.

Two other incidents relate to Benaiah's valor. On one snowy day he went down into a pit and killed a lion; on another occasion he fought a better-armed Egyptian warrior, snatched the latter's spear away from him, and killed him with it (2 Sam 23:21). The Egyptian is described as *›yš mr›h* (according to the Qere; Ketib:*›šr mr›h*), perhaps meaning "a handsome man." In 1 Chr 11:23, however, the Eg is *›yš mdh,* "a huge man," further described as five cubits tall and (in terms reminiscent of Goliath, 1 Sam 17:7, etc.) carrying a spear like a weaver's beam. Many commentators follow Wellhausen in regarding *›îš midḏ* of Chronicles as original, with *mdh* corrupted to *mrh* and "corrected" to *mr›h* (e.g., McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 491). Some scholars have seen parallels to Benaiah's exploits in Egyptian literature, but the similarities are of dubious import and are far outweighed by differences between the accounts.

Several passages treat Benaiah's relation to David's select rosters of warriors:the Three and the Thirty. Benaiah is not one of the Three named in 2 Sam 23:8–12. He did not attain to membership in the Three according to 2 Sam 23:22–23 = 1 Chr 11:24–25; these same two passages, however, say *wlw-šm bšl (w)šh,* "and he had a name among the Three," (not, as RSV, "beside the Three"). Most commentators have proposed emendations such as *šlšym* "Thirty" for *šlšh* "Three;" *kšlšh* "like the Three" for *bšlšh* "among the Three;" and *wl› šm lw* "he didn't have a name" or *wl› śm* "he was not placed" for *wlw-šm* "he had a name" (*NHT,* 369; BHS at 1 Chr 11:24).

The position of Benaiah vis-à-vis the Thirty is ambiguous in 2 Samuel 23 = 1 Chronicles 11. He is said to have been honored above (but possibly:"honored among") the Thirty. His name does not appear among the 30 names in 2 Sam 23:24–39, but the section dealing with him immediately precedes this list. It is likely that more than 30 men could claim to have been at some point members of the Thirty (through replacement of dead members, etc.), and it is not impossible that an exceptional member would receive separate treatment, especially if he were the group's leader. This was precisely the case, according to 1 Chr 27:6, which also states explicitly that Benaiah was one of the Thirty. We are given pause, however, by 2 Sam 23:18, which says (if, as it seems, *hšlšym* "The Thirty" should be read for MT Ketib, *hšlšy* or Qere *hšlšh*) that Joab's brother Abishai was the leader of the Thirty. Possibly the two led the group at different times, but it may well be that 1 Chr 27:6 is based only upon an interpretation of 2 Samuel 23, and that Benaiah's status was intermediate between the Three and the Thirty.

The unusual prominence accorded to Benaiah in the list of David's warriors (2 Sam 23:8–39), his placement between two brothers of Joab, and Joab's absence from the lists suggest redactional activity in the time of Solomon, after Joab was replaced by Benaiah (Zeron 1978).

Benaiah's hometown was Kabzeel (2 Sam 23:20; called Jekabzeel in Neh 11:25), a town in S Judah near the Edomite border (Josh 15:21). According to 1 Chronicles 27, Benaiah's father, Jehoiada, was the chief priest (v 5; cf. the Jehoiada mentioned in 1 Chr 12:28—Eng 12:27 as a descendant of Aaron). It mentions a son Ammizabad (v 6), and possibly another son Jehoiada (v 34, thus named for his grandfather), but perhaps this should be read "Benaiah son of Jehoiada," not the reverse.

2. One of the Thirty, an honor roll of David's warriors (2 Sam 23:30=1 Chr 11:31). Benaiah was an Ephraimite from Pirathon (1 Chr 27:14). For a discussion of his command of 24, 000 men in the 11th month of the year, see Benaiah 1.

3. According to 1 Chr 15:18, 20, and 16:5, one of the Levites commissioned to play the harp before the Ark of the Covenant in the time of David. He is probably to be seen as identical to Benaiah the grandfather of Jahaziel, a Levite and prophet of Jehoshaphat's day (2 Chr 20:14).

4. One of the priests of David's day appointed to blow the trumpet before the Ark of the Covenant (1 Chr 15:24; 16:6).

5. A Simeonite chief of Hezekiah's time said in 1 Chr 4:34–41 to have settled in Gedor (or Gerar; cf. LXX).

6. A Levite overseer who helped to manage contributions to the temple in Hezekiah's time (2 Chr 31:13).

7. The father of Pelatiah, a leader in early 6th-century B.C. Jerusalem (Ezek 11:1, 13).

8–11. Four Israelites who married foreign women in Ezra's day. They include a descendant of Parosh (Ezra 10:25; 1 Esdr 9:26 [Gk *Bannaias*]); of Pahath-moab (Ezra 10:30); of Bani (Ezra 10:35); and of Nebo (Ezra 10:43; 1 Esdr 9:35:[Gk *Banaias*]).

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**BENE-BERAK** (PLACE) [Heb *bĕnê-beraq* (בְּנֵי־בָרַק)]. One of the towns included in the inheritance of the tribe of Dan, before the tribe migrated N (Josh 19:45). The annals of Sennacherib

indicate that Bene-berak (Akk *banai-barqa*) was located near Joppa, Beth-dagon, and Azor (*ANET*, 287). The town was also known as the home of Rabbi Akiba.

Biblical Bene-berak is currently identified with el-Kheirîyah (M.R. 133160), an Arab village located ca. 4 km S of the modern Israeli town of Bene-baraq. In the center of el-Kheirîyah stood the tomb of the Muslim saint Ibn-Ibraq. Surface pottery finds dating from the Iron II and the Roman period tend to confirm the site's identification with the biblical town.

Five archaeological sites have been excavated further N in the area surrounding modern Bene-baraq (M.R. 134166). These are, from N to S, (1) Tell Abu-Zeitun, (2) Pardess Katz, (3) Givat ha-Radar, (4) the hill of the Weisnitz Yeshiva, and (5) Modi'in Street. The ancient names of these sites are not known.

*Tell Abu-Zeitun.* This small mound is located in the Yarkon valley on the main route from Joppa via Tell Jarisha to Aphek. Abel (*GP*, 53) suggested that Tell Abu-Zeitun should be identified with the levitical city of Gath-Rimmon, mentioned together with Jehud and Bene-berak in the territory of the tribe of Dan (Josh 19:45; 21:24), but against this Mazar (*IEJ* 1:63) identified it with Tell Jerisha (M.R. 132166; cf. also *LBHG*, 45). Tell Abu-Zeitun was excavated in 1957, and two occupation levels (Ia and Ib), dating from the Persian period, were uncovered. The finds from level Ia date to the 5th century B.C. and include shards of imported Attic ware and an ostracon with the name "Hasshub" inscribed. This name appears 5 times in the Bible, in contexts related to the postexilic period (1 Chr 9:14; Neh 11:15).

*Pardes Katz.* In 1961 excavations here uncovered the foundations of a hexagonal structure that could be dated to early in the 1st century B.C. on the basis of a coin of Alexander Jannaeus discovered among the ruins. This structure is similar in design to a larger hexagonal structure partially excavated over a decade earlier on Arlosoroff Street in downtown Tel Aviv (whose finds also dated to the Hellenistic period). The Arlosoroff structure appears to have been related to a rectangular structure (13.5 by 9 m) excavated further W on Hayarkon Street in front of the Hilton Hotel in downtown Tel Aviv (*EAEHL* 4:1167), which also yielded a coin of Alexander Jannaeus. It appears, then, that the Pardes Katz structure near Bene-Beraq was probably part of a fortification line that, in the W, terminated near the Mediterranean Sea with the two downtown Tel Aviv structures. Presumably the E terminus of this line was Ras el-ʿAin (biblical ANTIPATRIS), since Josephus (*Ant* 13.390) reports that Alexander Jannaeus built the fortification line "from the mountainside above Antipatris to the seacoast of Joppa" (see map, *EAEHL* 4:1163).

*Givat ha-Radar (Bab el-Hawwah).* Excavations on the NW side of this hill were first carried out in 1942, and some 12 caves and pits with Chalcolithic burials in baked clay ossuaries were discovered (Ory 1946). These ossuaries were similar to those found in Hederah and Tel Aviv (*EAEHL* 2:496; 4:1163). In 1952, the NE section of the hill was excavated, yielding two more Chalcolithic burial caves. One (2 m in diameter) was completely empty; apparently the inhabitants of the site had no time to make use of it. The ceiling of the other cave (7 m in diameter) had collapsed, crushing most of the pottery and ossuaries inside, although the entrance of the cave was undisturbed. The ossuaries, containing human remains, were placed in the corners of the cave on stone-slab benches, while the pottery and incense burners lay in the center. Most of the ossuaries were shaped like rectangular houses within the opening placed high on the short ends (see *EAEHL*, 185). The largest ossuary was 60 by 25 by 40 cm, while the smaller ones were only 15 cm in diameter.

*The Weisnitz Yeshiva.* Artifacts were uncovered while the foundations of a modern synagogue were being dug at the Weisnitz Yeshiva on a high hill E of Bene-Beraq. Excavations in 1953 uncovered the remains of four building levels, all dating to the 3d and 2d centuries B.C. and all using dressed kurkar stones, rough stones, and *pise de terre.* Other finds included several bronze coins, potshards, and fragments of lamps. Apparently this had been part of a Hellenistic fort which served as an observation point overlooking the road running E from the Yarkon basin to the Ono valley.

*Modi'in Street.* Modi'in Street serves as the municipal boundary between the modern towns of Bene-Baraq and Ramat-Gan, and ancient remains have been found scattered over the hills on both sides of the street. Excavations there—first by Ory, then by Kaplan—uncovered a number of burial caves, the remains of a mosaic floor, and the floor of a winepress, all dating between the 1st century B.C. and the 5th century A.D.

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**BENE QEDEM.** See EAST, PEOPLE OF THE.

**BENE-JAAKAN** (PLACE) [Heb *bĕnê ya꞉ăqān* (בְּנֵי יַעֲקָן)]. A campsite for the people of Israel during the wilderness period (Num 33:31–32). It is described as being near the border of Edom. The name Jaakan is also associated with this region as one of the Horite clans in the genealogy of Seir (1 Chr 1:42). The movements of the people in the Numbers passage suggest a regular migration route with their herds from one grazing area and water source to another. Elsewhere (Deut 10:6) this site is called BEEROTH BENE-JAAKAN.
VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

**BENEDICTUS.** The prophetic poem in praise of God ascribed to Zachariah in Luke 1:67–79. God's redemptive concern for the people of Israel is the dominant theme, which in turn invites consideration of the people's appropriate response.

Within the total structure of Luke 1, the poem serves as counterpoint to the angel Gabriel's announcement (vv 30–33) and the Magnificat (vv 46–55). The poem is carefully crafted. Although it contains numerous Hebraic features, Luke is conscious of his Greco-Roman public and shapes the poem in a pattern of preamble (vv 68–75), in which he features the goodness of God, and of resolution (vv 76–79), in which he sets forth John's assignment, with vv 74–75 serving as transition.

Linking the beginning and the end is the term *episkeptomai* (visit, vv 68, 78). The theme of rescue is expressed in a variety of ways and pervades the whole, with the specific term *soteria* (salvation) sounding the thematic beat with special force at intervals (vv 69, 71, 77). In a corresponding manner, there is dramatic interplay of people's expectations and apparent delay of divine action, a tension that is relieved by assurance of God's fidelity as exhibited in history's present hour (vv 70, 72–73). A further contributing factor to the dramatic impact of the poem are the two varieties of hostilities. On the one hand, the people are oppressed by their enemies (vv 71–73), and on the other, the people through sin are in opposition to God. Salvation in its deepest reality means that God rescues the people from their sins so that they may serve God "without fear in holiness and righteousness … all the days of" their lives (vv 74–75). The implication is that God will in turn resolve hostilities from other directions, and it is the function of John the Baptist to prepare the people for the entrance of Jesus (vv 76–77). The poem therefore appropriately ends on the note of "peace" (v 79), for God offers in Jesus the ultimate definition of peace. Within the total structure of Luke's gospel, echoes of the Benedictus are to be heard (especially at 7:16 and, in dramatic contrast to Jesus' reaction in the face of Jerusalem's negative response, at 19:41–44).

Zachariah's words amplify the promises of the Magnificat (Luke 1:46–55). Among its other functions in Luke's total work are introduction of the principal christological issues, especially in reference to Jesus' role as a Davidide (cf. 6:3; 18:38–39; Acts 2, 4, 13), relation to Abraham and moral responsibility (Luke 3:8; 13:16, 28; 16:19–37), and the mission of the Servant of the Lord, with emphasis on the gift of peace. Since Luke's auditors know how the story of Jesus ends, the optimistic tone of the poem evokes awareness of the bleak reality soon to be expressed in Simeon's warning addressed to Mary (2:34).

The poem appears to have originated in Jewish-Christian Palestinian circles, before the fall of Jerusalem. It is a blend of terms and phrases drawn for the most part from the Old Testament, with themes that are reminiscent of the Psalms of Solomon, and in a form that parallels poems in praise of God from Qumran (1 QM 14). Whether Luke edited a Semitic original or a Greek translation cannot be determined with certainty, but vv 73–75 include Hellenistic chancery phrasing, some of which parallels philosophical terminology ("oath which he swore" [cf. *SIG³* 1917: no. 736.135–37]) and "in holiness and righteousness" [*SIG* no. 800.21; Pl. *Prt.* 329c]). That he composed the entire poem is not generally considered probable, but vv 70 and 76–77 may well owe their origin to his editorial pen.

The Benedictus is used in the Office of Lauds in Eastern and Western liturgies. (See Fitzmyer *Luke* AB, 374–90; Pirot *DBSup* 4:956–62.)

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**BENEFACTOR.** A person or deity who is considered to be of singular merit (Gk *areté*) because of benefits conferred on others. The infrequency of the term "benefactor" and cognates in translations of the Bible does not adequately reflect the historical context in which especially the Greek NT and the LXX and related literature took shape. As indicated below, the word *euergetēs* (one who does good; Luke 22:25; also Esth 8:12c, n; Wis 19:14; 2 Macc 4:2), is but one of many terms used in reference to benefactors (cf. Pollux 5.140) whether deities or human beings, from heads of state to secretaries of small clubs (see Jessen and Oehler PW 6:978–81; Willrich PW 6:981–82).

Literature from the time of Homer attests the prestige enjoyed by those who were noted for their *aretē* and displays a democratizing procesq from recognition of military prowess (Achilles, Hector) to emphasis on moral virtue. Plato's dialogues are mainly discourses on *aretē* and the essence of beneficence (*Meno* 96e). The truly public-spirited citizen or benefactor is one who aspires to the highest virtues, including, especially, uprightness *(dikaiosynē).* Stoic philosophers encouraged the democratizing process, and some of the terminology they helped popularize became a formulaic element in bureaucratic and sacral documents, principally epigraphic, in praise of benefactors, divine and human. Some of Paul's diction (*dikaiosynē* and *charis* [beneficence]) would be especially meaningful to Greco-Roman addressees.

Recognition of *aretē* and beneficence cuts across boundaries of gender. Luke's recognition of a number of women (Luke 8:1–3), and of Lydia (Acts 16:14) shows accurate cultural awareness (see also ASSOCIATIONS). Women benefactors cited in inscriptions include, for example, Manto, daughter of Bion and wife of Chaireas, who was honored by youth associations for her contributions (*CIG* no. 3101); and at Atalaia a woman gymnasiarch named Kaikilia Tertylla headed elders, young men, and boys (*SEG* no. 696).

Among the terms used in the Greek Bible either to describe those who qualify for special recognition or to express their beneficent actions are:extraordinary merit (*aretē*Phil 4:8; 1 Pet 2:9; 2 Pet 1:3, 5); a good person (*anēr agathos,* Luke 23:50; Acts 11:24); one who exhibits nobility, "fine and good" (*kalos kai agathos* or *kalokagathos,* 2 Macc 15:12; Luke 8:15); one who serves with total devotion, gives oneself (*didous heauton* and related expressions, 1 Macc 2:50; 11:23; Gal 1:4; Titus 2:14; Acts 15:26; 20:24; 2 Cor 8:5; 12:15; 1 Thess 2:8); one engaged in public service (*leitourgos,* Rom 13:6; 15:16; Phil 2:25; verb, *leitourgeō,* Rom 15:27; *leitourgia,* 2 Cor 9:12; Phil 2:17, 30); one who is generously kind (*chrēstos,* frequently of God in the Psalms; 1 Macc 6:11; 2 Macc 1:24; Luke 6:35; Rom 2:4; Eph 4:32; 1 Pet 2:3; *chrēstotēs,* Rom 2:4; 11:22; 2 Cor 6:6; Eph 2:7; Tit 3:4); one who exhibits goodwill (*eunoeō,* Esth 8:12u; *eunoia,* Esth 2:23; 3:13c; 6:4; 1 Macc 11:33, 53; 2 Maccabees passim; Eph 6:7); one who functions as savior (*sōtēr,* passim); one distinguished "in word and deed" (*logō kai ergō,* Luke 24:19; Acts 7:22); one offering friendly help to people in need (*philanthrōpia,* Esth 8:121; 2 Macc 6:22; 14:9; Acts 28:2; Tit 3:4; adj., 1 Esdr 8:10; Wis 1:6; 7:23; 12:19; 2 Macc 4:11; verb, 2 Macc 13:23; adverb, 2 Macc 9:27; Acts 27:3); one who is noted for righteousness (*dikaiosynē,* passim) or piety (*eusebeia,* passim) or both; one eager to render service (*philotimeomai,* Rom 15:20; 2 Cor 5:9; 1 Thess 4:11; adv. *philotimōs,* 2 Macc 2:21); one who does good works (verbs, *euergeteō,* Ps 12[13]:6; 56[57]:3; 114[116]:7; Wis 3:5; 11:5; 16:2; 2 Macc 10:38; Acts 10:38; nouns, *euergetēs,* Esth 8:12c, n; Wis 19:14; 2 Macc 4:2; Lk 22:25; *euergesia,* Ps 77[78]:11; Wis 16:11, 24; 2 Macc 6:13; 9:26; Acts 4:9; 1 Tim 6:2; *euergetikos,* Wis 7:22; *euergetēma,* 2 Macc 5:20; and one who carries out obligations "freely"; *dórean,* Rom 3:24; 2 Cor 11:7). Of the 22 occurrences of the *euerg-* word family relating to beneficence in the Greek Bible, 14 have God as their referent, directly or indirectly:Ps 12(13):6; 56 (57):3; 77(78):11; 114(116):7; Wis 3:5; 7:23; 11:5; 16:2, 11; 2 Macc 5:20; 6:13; 10:38; Luke 22:25; Acts 4:9; 1 Tim 6:2. The balance span a variety of

benefactors:Esth 8:12c 2x (unspecified); 8:12n (Mordecai); Wis 16:24 (creation); 19:14 (Jews in Egypt); 2 Macc 4:2 (Onias); 9:26 Antiochos Epiphanes; Luke 22:25 (false claimants to the title).

Apart from conventional terminology, praise for a specific service that has been rendered may identify one as a benefactor. Such is the case in Luke 7:1–10. So also Titus and an unnamed "brother" receive commendation from Paul for their valued services (2 Cor 8:16–24), and Onesiphoros is singled out in 2 Tim 1:15–18.

Since the very notion of deity implies beneficent concern, recitals in praise of such deities as Isis and Sarapis have been called aretalogies, but when used in such a narrow sense the term lacks scientific precision and is therefore best applied to all recitals of exceptional merit, whether of deities or human beings. Much of the Book of Wisdom is an aretalogy of wisdom, and Sirach 24 parallels the autobiographical aretalogy of Isis found at Kyme. Various additions to the Hebrew text of Esther (LXX Rahlfs, 3:13a–g and 8:12a–x, 13) bear the impress of benefactor themes and diction. The version of Jesus' sermon in Luke 6:20–49 is a mosaic of benefactor motifs with emphasis on pandemic divine generosity (6:35). Luke 22:24–27 is not an attack on the term "benefactor," but on distortion of the concept by selfish egotists. Indeed, Acts 4:8–10, with its use of the term *euergesis* in v 9, shows that Luke approves of the diction when understood properly and shows that the disciples finally absorbed their lesson. Luke also makes effective use of the antonym *kakourgos* (malefactor, Luke 23:32, 33, 39) to highlight the contrasting role of Jesus as the Great Benefactor.

At Lystra, Barnabas and Paul describe God as the "benefactor who bestows rain and fruitful seasons, and in rich measure provides you with food and contentment" (Acts 14:17; cf. Xenophon *Mem.* 4.3). Paul repeats the words in slightly altered form at Athens (Acts 17:25–26). Jesus Christ is identified as "one who went about as a benefactor, healing all who were oppressed by the devil" (Acts 10:38). This description encapsulates Luke's portrayal of Jesus in the Gospel, where the evangelist's editorial treatment of tradition depicts Jesus as the Great Benefactor, with the climactic observation of Kleopas:"powerful in deed and word" (Luke 24:19). Like Greco-Roman heads of state who surmounted a variety of perils in behalf of their constituencies, Jesus is an endangered benefactor who endures even death in commitment to responsibility. Instead of pronouncing Jesus to be God's Son (Mark 15:39), the centurion at the cross in Luke's account declares him to be "upright" (Luke 23:47), an outstanding mark of the benefactor.

The ultimate reward for extraordinary beneficence is immortality. According to Greco-Roman legends, some of the most notable recipients of such honor include Herakles, Asklepios, Empedokles, Alexander the Great, Romulus, Julius Caesar, and Caesar Augustus. Through resurrection Jesus becomes the immortal of immortals, restored to Israel and the world as God's unique gift (Acts 10:39–43).

Invitations to imitate benefactors are common in honorary inscriptions, and Paul makes frequent use of the topic in his ethical appeals and in descriptions of his own lifestyle. Indeed, 2 Corinthians owes much of its dramatic coloration to Paul's projection of himself, occasionally with tongue in cheek, as a person of exceptional merit and benefactor of the Corinthian Christians. Hence he emphasizes his total commitment to the gospel of divine beneficence that he brought to Corinth. A dominant feature is the apostle's use of a formulation known as *peristasis* or recital of personal hardships (2 Cor 4:7–12; 6:3–10; 11:22–29). Greco-Romans prized endurance in their heads of state, and the theme frequently appears in documents honoring benefactors.

In Luke's writings the Isaianic Servant of the Lord is partly interpreted through use of the Greco-Roman benefactor model (see NUNC DIMITTIS). In the Book of Revelation both God and Jesus Christ are the recipients of numerous accolades that display a blend of Semitic and Greco-Roman formulation, with references to creation or salvation (Rev 4:11; 5:9–14; 7:10–17; 11:16–18; 12:10–12; 19:1–8).

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**BENINU** (PERSON) [Heb *bĕnînû* (בְּנִינוּ)]. A Levite and a signatory to the code of Nehemiah (Neh 10:13). The name may mean "our son," but some scholars have suggested that the names of other Levites, Chenani (9:4), Bani (Ezra 2:10), and Binnui (Ezra 8:33), may have originally stood here in the list, since Beninu receives only a single mention (Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 180).
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**BENJAMIN** (PERSON) [Heb *binyāmîn* (בִּנְיָמִין)*; binyāmin* (בִּנְיָמִן)]. BENJAMINITE. **1.** The youngest son of Jacob (Gen 35:18) and, as such, a designation for an Israelite tribe and its territory. Accordingly, the tribe's members or the inhabitants of the tribal region are called Benjaminites.

**A. Name**

Since all of Jacob's sons should be understood as *heroes eponymi* of the corresponding Israelite tribes, the use of the name Benjamin to refer to Jacob's youngest son should be seen as a secondary application dependent on the tribal name Benjamin. All other instances of Benjamin as a personal name should be understood similarly (1 Chr 7:10; Ezra 10:32; Neh 3:23). Thus the use of the name Benjamin as a tribal designation represents the primary witness to the Israelite name Benjamin.

The tribe of Benjamin and its territory, as well as the personal name based on them, are always designated in the OT by the Hebrew word *bnymyn.* Alongside of this, the construction *bn-ymyny (bny)* serves as a name for the members of the tribe of Benjamin. Appearing occasionally, the word *bnymyn* composed with *bn (bny)* or *ʾyš (ʾnšy)* (Judg 1:21; 1 Sam 4:12; Ezra 10:9) represents a subsequent stage of development, since the word *bnymyn* itself already contains the word *bn.* This composition was created by analogy with the verbal construction *bn-ymyny (bny)* or *ʾyš ymyn (ʾnšy).*

A comparison of the word forms *bnymyn* and *bn-ymyny* shows clearly that both have the same meaning and also that the word *ymyn* ("the right side," "the south side") provides the key word for explaining the name Benjamin. Therefore, this name signifies "son of the right-hand side" or "son of the south," that is, the one dwelling on the right or to the south. This designation for the tribe of Benjamin (or its members) can be understood only from the geographical perspective of this tribe in relationship to another geographical or ethnic entity. It is very probable that this name reflects the close connection between the tribe of Benjamin and the influential tribe of Ephraim settled to its immediate north. Since Ephraim, together with the tribe of Manasseh, was subsumed under the rubric "house of Joseph" during the monarchy, it is also clear why Benjamin usually appears alongside Joseph in the tribal lists (Gen 35:24; 46:19, 21; 1 Chr 2:2) and why the fictive tribal ancestor is Joseph's only full brother who receives special treatment; thus Benjamin plays a special role in the Joseph novella (Gen 42:4, 36; 43:14–16, 29, 34; 44:12; 45:12, 14, 22).

In the story of the birth of Benjamin (Gen 35:16–20), which refers back to the birth of Joseph (30:24) and therefore represents Benjamin as the second son of Rachel by Jacob, Rachel gives this son the name Ben-Oni (Heb *ben-ʾ̃nî*). After her death, Jacob changed this name (which means "son of my pain/sorrow") to Benjamin, understood as "child of happiness/fortune" (compare the same doubling of the Arabic "Yemen" ("land of the south" and "Arabia Felix"). The point of this unhistorical narrative (elucidating an itinerary reference; Westermann *Genesis* BKAT, 675) was to elaborate literarily on the death of Jacob's favorite wife at the time his youngest son was born.

**B. Tribal History**

**1. Premonarchic Period.** Often attempts have been made to derive the name Benjamin from the historical situation of nomadic groups in the first half of the 2d millennium B.C.E., which witness both *Banū-śimʿal,* "son of the north," and *Banū-yamīna,* "son of the south" (cuneiform texts of King Zimrilim of Mari). Primarily because of the great temporal and geographical discrepancies between the actual appearance of the tribe of Benjamin and the depiction of this emergence in Canaan, such a connection is quite uncertain. This does not exclude the possibility, however, that clans forming the tribe of Benjamin may have originated outside of the land of Canaan. According to the so-called Benjaminite conquest

tradition (Joshua 2–9), which was expanded to form a pan-Israelite presentation only at a second stage, these clans shortly before 1200 B.C.E. forged their way from the E across the Jordan at Jericho into the small land mass between Luz-Bethel and Jerusalem. At this time the old Canaanite city Gibeon (Joshua 9) formed the W boundary. Although the figure Rachel is associated especially with Benjamin in the OT traditions (Gen 35:19 emendation; 1 Sam 10:2; Jer 31:15), it remains an open question whether she was the leader of these clans. In any case, Joshua probably played a leading role in the establishment of the Benjaminite clans in Cisjordan. Since he was an Ephraimite (Josh 24:29–30), one can assume that there was a close connection between the Benjaminite and Ephraimite clans even before the conquest, perhaps in the form of a military coalition. This is impressively confirmed by the boundary line between the Benjaminite and Ephraimite settlements in the area around the sanctuary at Gilgal (Joshua 4–5). The territories of the Benjaminite and Ephraimite clans were divided up so that this initial sanctuary to Yahweh, built by Joshua where an older cultic place had once stood, lay almost exactly on the border between the Benjaminite and Ephraimite regions. The traditions of a Benjaminite-Ephraimite military coalition entering Canaan from the E may be confirmed by the archaeological evidence at Benjaminite sites. For example, the excavations at Gibeah, Mizpah, and Ai attest new, small settlements at the beginning of the Iron I period, and field surveys at Anathoth, Geba, and Ramah confirm this picture. Nevertheless some archaeologists suspect that the Iron Age inhabitants of Ai came there not from the E but from the lowlands to the W and N. See also AI (PLACE).

Because of the small size of the Benjaminite clans and their territory compared with those of the Ephraimite clans, Benjamin soon became increasingly dependent on Ephraim. This seems to be the case already in the Song of Deborah, which presents a leaderless Benjamin associated closely with Ephraim (Judg 5:14). The smallness of this tribe also explains how King Eglon of Moab could force it to render tribute for eighteen years, until Ehud the Benjaminite again was able to dissolve this dependence (Judg 3:12–30). When, on the other hand, Benjamin is compared in Jacob's blessing with a rapacious wolf that rips up and devours its prey (Gen 49:27), an allusion is being made to attacks on merchant caravanners traveling through the land. No doubt the Benjaminites were very skilled in the use of weapons and were feared for that reason, particularly because many of them were left-handed (Judg 3:21; 20:16) and practiced an unorthodox style of combat. It was this moment of unbridled warfare that led the Benjaminites to the brink of destruction, especially when they turned on members of their own people Israel. In a battle against other Israelite tribes, above all Ephraim (Judges 19–21), Benjamin was almost totally destroyed. Its continued existence was made possible only because the men who were not killed were permitted to acquire new wives from non-Benjaminite areas (Judges 21).

**2. The Early Monarchic Period.** The tribe of Benjamin achieved its historical zenith, exerting a great influence on the other tribes, in the establishment of the monarchy under King Saul, who was himself a Benjaminite (1 Sam 9:1–2, 21; 10:20–21; 2 Sam 21:14; Acts 13:21). Actions taken by him and his oldest son Jonathan against the Philistines (1 Sam 13:2–4, 15–23; 14:16) in the tribal area of Benjamin, signaled Israel's liberation from Philistine occupation. After consolidating his strong position, he expanded the Benjaminite tribal territory to the west. He did this by conquering the old Canaanite cities Gibeon and Beeroth, and perhaps even Chephirah. When he captured Gibeon, he was probably pursuing the concurrent goal of establishing for the young kingdom a capital that was independent of the other tribes. At the same time he was able to build a royal sanctuary on the "great height" located in the immediate vicinity of Gibeon, which took on a special significance even during the reign of King Solomon (1 Kgs 3:4–15).

After the death of King Saul and his three oldest sons in the Philistine defeat of the Israelites (1 Samuel 31), the tribe of Benjamin acknowledged Saul's youngest son, Ish-baal, as his successor (2 Sam 2:9). Soon afterward, encouraged by Abner, it transferred its allegiance to David (2 Sam 2:19). Since Abner's decision was kindled by entirely personal motives, the majority of Benjaminites continued to reject David. Accordingly, Absalom's revolt against David was probably welcomed, as the behavior of Shimei the Benjaminite in this affair indicates (2 Sam 16:11). The rebellion of the Benjaminite Sheba against David also reveals this as well (2 Samuel 20).

When King Solomon parceled out the tribes N of Judah into twelve districts, the tribal territory of Benjamin became an independent district with its own governor, Shimei (1 Kgs 4:18). The division of the kingdom after Solomon's death again neutralized this action, and Benjamin chose an alliance with Judah, forming a kingdom bearing the name Judah ruled by King Rehoboam (1 Kgs 12:20 [LXX], 21–24). The boundary list in Josh 16:1–3, which should be understood as a document supplementing the list in Josh 15:2–12a from the Davidic period, represents the border that had emerged between the fraternal kingdoms of Israel and Judah. By combining these two lists, a Deuteronomistic redactor probably in the exilic period created the Benjaminite boundary list in Josh 18:12–20.

**3. The Later Monarchic Period.** As a consequence of the battles that were soon to begin between Israel and Judah, in the subsequent decades the boundary between these two kingdoms was shifted repeatedly. This led at the same time to a division of the tribal territory of Benjamin. Initially, Judah was even able to annex the regions beyond Benjamin's N border, in particular, those of Bethel, Jeshanah, and Ephron (2 Chr 13:19). Then, probably still under Jeroboam I, Israel was able to take the offensive and during the reign of Baasha pushed forward as far as Ramah, where a defensive fortification was installed at the border (1 Kgs 15:17). Even if that might have meant the Israelite occupation of Benjamin's N territory, the Judean king Asa soon afterward effected a withdrawal of the N kingdom beyond Geba and Mizpah (1 Kgs 15:22), thereby regaining almost the entire central section of the tribal territory of Benjamin as a possession of the S kingdom. The NE part of Benjamin remained Israelite territory, however, as Jericho's resettlement by Ephraimites from Bethel shows (1 Kgs 16:34). Also Geba and Parah were probably annexed to the Benjaminite territory in the N kingdom during the reign of King Amaziah of Judah (cf. 2 Kgs 14:8–14). For a short time during the Syro-Ephraimite war, Israel eventually occupied the entire region of Benjamin as far as its S border (cf. Hos 5:8).

After the Assyrian destruction of the N kingdom, King Josiah was the first person able to reunite the N part of Benjamin and the districts of Bethel, Ophrah, and Zemaraim with the kingdom of Judah, as indicated by Josh 18:21–24 (which forms a supplement to the list of Benjaminite place names from this time). This additional listing supplements the list of place names for the Kingdom of Judah (probably compiled already during the reign of King Uzziah or even earlier), according to which the S kingdom was divided into twelve districts and the Benjaminite territory that belonged to Judah formed a separate district (Josh 18:25–28a).

In the years immediately before and after the demise of the Kingdom of Judah in 587 B.C.E., Benjamin took on a special significance once again. Apparently not touched by Nebuchadrezzar's reduction of the Kingdom of Judah in 597 B.C.E. (cf. Jer 32:8; 37:12), Benjamin probably served as a center of opposition to the policies of the last Judean king, Zedekiah. The prophet Jeremiah, who spoke vehemently against the anti-Babylonian policies of Zedekiah, came from Anathoth in Benjamin (Jer 1:1). Undoubtedly, Benjaminite territory remained unscathed in the destruction of 587 B.C.E. because of this disposition within Benjaminite circles. It was therefore only a matter of course that the Benjaminite city Mizpah became the administrative seat of the highest ranking, native official installed by the Babylonians over the annexed area (2 Kgs 25:22–23; Jer 40:6) after the dissolution of the kingdom of Judah. That also had the consequence that other officials, scribes, and priests settled here. The sanctuary at Mizpah acquired a special status (Jer 41:5), and the Deuteronomistic History (Dtr) probably even came into existence here soon afterward.

**4. The Postexilic Period.** In the postexilic period the tribal area of Benjamin remained in close association with Judah. Along with Judah, Benjamin was initially put under the command of the Persian governor in Samaria. Those returning from Babylonian exile considered their destination to be both Judah proper and Benjamin, and Benjaminites participated in various ways in the subsequent restoration. Perhaps already under the leadership of Zerubbabel, but certainly at the time of Nehemiah, Benjamin and Judah achieved the status of an independent subprovince in the Persian satrapy Beyond-the-River (Neh 5:14). The archaeological record attests to the destruction of numerous Benjaminite towns (Bethel, Gibeon, Gibeah) in the first quarter of the 5th century B.C.E. The precise significance of this is debated, although it seems to indicate some disturbances between the Judaean community in Jerusalem and

Samaria to its north, possibly related to the political tensions described in Ezra 4 (Widengren *IJH*, 502, 525–26).

Afterwards both Benjamin and Judah were incorporated as *Youdaia* into the kingdom of Alexander the Great and in the kingdoms of the Hellenistic Diadochi. The postexilic literature knows Benjamin as a completely independent tribe, almost always named along with Ephraim and Manasseh or Joseph. Chronicles provides a plethora of genealogical material (1 Chr 7:6–12; 8; 9:3, 7–9) as well as some special traditions (1 Chr 12:2–7, 16–18; 21:6) on this subject. Furthermore, the knowledge that Benjamin was an independent entity was not lost in the Roman period. Even the apostle Paul is acutely aware of his heritage as a Benjaminite (Rom 11:1; Phil 3:5).

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**2.** A son of Bilhan (1 Chr 7:10), which according to the genealogy of 1 Chr 7:6–12 (which was probably based on a postexilic list), was a great grandson of the patriarch Benjamin (#1 above). Some scholars have suggested that this genealogy probably belongs to the patriarch Zebulun, but Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 78) finds the proposed emendations unconvincing.

**3.** A son of Harim (Ezra 10:31–32), who is listed among those who had married a foreign woman, possibly the Benjamin of Neh 3:23. Since his name appears in the third list, following the lists of priests (Ezra 10:18–22) and Levites (Ezra 10:23–24), this Benjamin must have been a layman.

**4.** A man who, along with Hasshub (a man who shared a house with Benjamin), repaired part of Jerusalem's wall (Neh 3:23). Although many involved in the repairs were priests and Levites, it is not clear if the Benjamin named here was of levitical descent. Benjamin is not a priestly name. If he was the Benjamin of Ezra 10:31–32, then he was a layman. (A lay Hasshub is mentioned in Neh 3:11; but it is a levitical Hasshub in Neh 11:15.) Is he the Benjamin mentioned in Neh 12:34? His name is given as one of the "princes of Judah" (Neh 12:31) involved in the dedication of the wall (vv. 27–43). But there is some textual uncertainty. Clines (*Chronicles* NCBC, 231) suspects that Benjamin is a minor corruption of Miniamin (cf. vv 5, 17), but both the Vulgate and the LXX read "Beniamin." However since the LXX, but not the Vulgate, reads Beniamin in v 17 as well, Cline's suspicion may be correct.

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## BENJAMIN GATE (PLACE) (Heb *ša*ʿ*ar binyāmîn* (שַׁעַר בִּנְיָמִין)). Gate of pre-exilic Jerusalem.

In Jer 37:13, Jeremiah tried to leave the city for the territory of Benjamin by way of the Benjamin Gate; and in Jer 38:7, King Zedekiah was sitting in the Benjamin Gate. The fact that Jeremiah was heading N for Anathoth (Jer 1:1) by means of the Benjamin Gate argues that this gate was in the northeast part of the city, not far from the temple courts. This no doubt was the gate of the people described in Jer 17:19 where the kings of Judah went in and out. In postexilic times, this gate may have been called the Muster/Inspection Gate (Neh 3:31) located at the N end of the E wall, or, as others suggest, the Sheep

Gate (Neh 3:32), at the upper end of the E wall. Some argue that the Upper Benjamin Gate (Jer 20:2) leading into the temple, rebuilt by King Jotham (2 Kgs 15:35), is the same as the Benjamin Gate, while others argue that the Benjamin Gate located in the city wall is to be distinguished from the Upper Benjamin Gate, the "north gate of the inner [temple] court" (Ezek 8:3).
W. HAROLD MARE

**BENO** (PERSON) [Heb *bĕnô* (בְּנוֹ)]. One of the "remaining Levites" who, according to the Chronicler, casts lots before David, Zadok, and Ahimelek in order to receive his place among the levitical household leaders (1 Chr 24:27). The Chronicler grants Beno a levitical lineage as the son of Jaaziah, a descendant of Merari, along with his brothers, Shoham, Zaccur, and Ibri (1 Chr 24:27). However, complex textual problems abound in the two verses of 1 Chronicles where Beno appears. The LXX contains variations on MT's *benô,* yet its readings are also problematic. Two text-critical solutions seem most plausible. The first solution, based primarily on the MT, asserts that *benô* did not originally represent a personal name; instead, it was meant to convey its literal meaning—"his son" (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 163). The second solution, following the LXX, argues that *benô* in 1 Chr 24:27 most likely represents a corruption of BANI (Heb *bānî*), a popular name in postexilic Judah (Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 274). In either case, it seems unlikely that *benô* ultimately refers to an historical person. Instead, its presence in the MT highlights the vicissitudes of the textual transmission of names in the OT.
JOHN W. WRIGHT

**BEON** (PLACE) [Heb *bĕʿōn* (בְּעֹן)]. A site in N Moab allotted to the tribe of Reuben for pasture (Num 32:3). It is generally identified with BAAL-MEON. The critical apparatus of *BHS* conjectures that MT's *bʿn* is corrupt, and should be read **bt mʿn,* that is, Beth Meon (as in Jer 48:23).
C. GILBERT ROMERO

**BEOR** (PERSON) [Heb *bĕʿōr* (בְּעֹר)]. **1.** The father of the Edomite "king" Bela (Gen 36:32; 1 Chr 1:43). See BELA.

**2.** The father of the prophet Balaam (Num 22:5; 24:3, 15; 31:8; Deut 23:5; Josh 13:22; 24:9; Mic 6:5) also attested in the Balaam Text from Tell Deir 'Alla (Weippert and Weippert 1982; Hackett 1984).

As a personal name, *bʿr* is attested in Safaitic (Harding 1971:111); Ar *Baʿr* in Ibn Hisham supposedly is a clerical error (Caskel 1966:224). Safaitic *bʿr,* however, is most easily vocalized **Baʿīr* "camel"; this noun signified "cattle" in more ancient West Semitic languages (viz. Heb and Sabaic). The Heb personal name *bʿrʾ,* Baara (1 Chr 8:8), does not furnish a parallel either, since this can easily be explained as an hypocoristic formation of *bʿl + rm/rʾh/rʿh.* Albright's attempt (1944:232) to explain Beor as a similar formation does not agree with the vowel pattern, and the absence of any hypocoristic ending, in Beor. The Edomite and Transjordanian name Beor is, therefore, best regarded as unexplained (see Knauf 1985 for the language of the Tell Deir 'Allah text).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**BERA** (PERSON) [Heb *beraʿ* (בֶּרַע)]. King of Sodom, Gen 14:2. Elsewhere in the chap (vv 8, 10, 17, 21, 22), he appears simply as "the king of Sodom." Together with four other kings (of Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, and Bela, that is, Zoar), Bera served Chedorlaomer for twelve years. In their thirteenth year, these kings rebelled and were defeated in the following year by Chedorlaomer and his allies in the Valley

of SIDDIM. As the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fled, they fell into bitumen pits, which certainly means that they perished. Therefore the verses 17, 21–22, in which the king of Sodom reappears alive and well, must be considered an interpolation (see ANER). The name *Bera,* like those of his allies (BIRSHA, SHINAB, SHEMEBER, and originally Bela), is a "speaking name," as was already perceived by the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan; it means "in evil," alluding to the wickedness of Sodom.
MICHAEL C. ASTOUR

**BERACAH** (PERSON) [Heb *bĕrākâ* (בְּרָכָה)]. A kinsman of Saul; one of the ambidextrous warriors from the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr 12:3). In this list (1 Chr 12:1–8—Eng 12:1–7) the Chronicler is emphasizing the extensive support David enjoyed among Saul's kin before David became king.
RAYMOND B. DILLARD

**BERACAH, VALLEY OF** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿēmek bĕrākâ* (עֵמֶק בְּרָכָה)]. A valley near Tekoa where Jehoshaphat and his people gathered to bless Yahweh for their marvelous victory over a coalition of invading Moabites, Ammonites, and Meunites (2 Chr 20:26). As prophesied by Jahaziel, the enemy was destroyed when they began fighting among themselves in the wilderness of Jeruel (2 Chr 20:14–23). The sensational nature of this story, however, has raised questions about its historicity (*HAIJ,* 223). Edward Robinson (1941, 3:275) and other early 19th-century explorers suggested that the biblical name was preserved in the ruin of Kh. Bereikut (M.R. 164117), next to modern-day Migdal ʿOz and adjacent to the main highway between Bethlehem and Hebron. Just S of Kh. Bereikut lies Wadi el-Arrub (=N. Mevorach) with its many springs and fertile valley (M.R. 163114). During NT times, an acqueduct directed water from these springs to Solomon's Pools, and from there on to Jerusalem. The majority of scholars who have noticed the similarity between *bĕrākâ* ("blessing") and *bĕrēkâ* ("pool") have thus preferred to locate the biblical site here, rather than in the small valley where Kh. Bereikut itself sits. Biqʿat Horeqanya (= Buqeiʿah Valley), ca. 6–8 km/4–5 miles NW of the Dead Sea has also been proposed, but this seems too far N to be a likely candidate. A more plausible suggestion is the wide valley of el-Baqʿah (M.R. 170116) NW of Kh. et-Tuqu (Markus and Amit 1989:124–25). The likelihood of this valley being the biblical one is derived from its proximity to the wilderness of Tekoa (2 Chr 20:20), and from its strategic position adjacent to the ridge route between En-gedi and Bethlehem. The traditional identification with Wadi el-Arrub falls out of line with this more natural route of ascent into the Judean hills. It is possible that the apocalyptic Valley of Jehoshaphat mentioned in Joel 4:12—Eng 3:12 is an allusion to the same valley where Jehoshaphat was delivered.

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R. A. MULLINS

**BERAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *bĕrāʾyâ* (בְּרָאיָה)]. One of the sons of Shimei, according to the longer Benjaminite genealogy of the Chronicler (1 Chr 8:21). The name means "Yahweh created." Regarding the list of names of Benjaminites in this section (vv 13–27), Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 61) suggests that little historical importance can be derived from them, except that they are described in v 28 as "chief men" (Heb *rāʾšîm*) who dwelled in Jerusalem. This is taken as evidence of the tendency of Benjaminites and Judahites to mix during the period of the divided monarchy. Williamson disconnects v 28 from vv 13–27, understanding it instead as the beginning of the section vv 28–40 (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 85). Verse 28 is paralleled at 9:34.
SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

**BEREA** (PLACE) [Gk *Beréa* (Βερέα)]. Var. BEROEA. **1.** A Macedonian town on the Egnatian Way (40°31´N; 22°14´E) which Paul and Silas visited (Acts 17:10–15). Beroea, "a place of many waters," is located near natural springs, 24 miles inland from the Gulf of Thermai, just below Mt. Bermius. The

abundance of streams, the 600-ft. altitude, the scenic view of the Haliacmon plains, and its out-of-the-way location (Cic. *Pis.* 36) make Beroea one of the more desirable towns of the district of Emathia in southwestern Macedonia—modern Verria. Acts 17 identifies the Beroean Jews as nobler than the Thessalonicans. And Paul's language implies that his audience was of high social standing. Numerous extant inscriptions attest to the town's ancient prominence. Beroea's role in military engagements is noted by the classicists (Polybius 27. 8; 28. 8; Livy 44. 45; 45. 29). Pompey chose Beroea as his winter home (49–48 B.C.) before the battle of Pharsalus. The city fell for the last time to the Turks in 1374. Beroea's bishopric status also highlights its prominence. Andronicus II (1283–1328) made the town a metropolis after it had already realized bishopric status under the metropolitan of Thessalonica.

**2.** A town in the vicinity of Jerusalem, most likely on the Nablus-Jerusalem road. Bacchides took 20, 000 infantry and 2, 000 cavalry to Berea, which was near Elasa (M.R. 169144) 1 Macc 7.8ff.; 9.4–5; *Ant* 12. 10.2). Before being slain by Bacchides' forces, Judah the Maccabee encamped at Elasa (161 B.C.)—probably located on the Sharon-Jerusalem road between the two Beth-horons. Bireth, situated ten miles north of Jerusalem (M.R. 170149) on the road to Nablus, is the best possibility for Berea. Beeroth (Bireth) is a Hivite town in Benjamin (Beeroth in Josh 9:17; Beroth in 1 Esdr 5:19). Josephus lists a Beerzetho, thus making a candidate of Beerzeth, located four miles N-NW of Bireth (*Ant* 12. 11.1).

**3.** Northern Syrian city between the Euphrates and the Orontes rivers, lying about midway between Hierapolis and Antioch (36°10´N; 37°0´E). Originally Aleppo (Halab), later renamed after the Macedonian Beroea by Seleucus Nicator (312–280), and then returned to the Semitic name Aleppo during the Middle Ages, this city became a stop on the important trade route between Persia and Europe. Aleppo houses the Mosque Zakariyah, supposedly the tomb of Zechariah, John the Baptist's father, and it formerly hosted the Aleppo Codex of the OT. It was at Beroea where Antiochus Eupator executed Menelaus, the ex-high priest. A vivid account of Menelaus' death is recorded in 2 Macc 13:1–8:the Beroeans pushed Menelaus into a tower fifty cubits high, "full of ashes, with a rotating device descending steeply from every direction into the ashes … he did not even reach the ground."

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**BERECHIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *berekyâ* (בְּרֶכְיָה)*, berekyāhû* (בְּרֶכְיָהוּ)]. Var. BERACAH. **1.** A son of Zerubbabel (1 Chr 3:20) and descendant of David. The list of Zerubbabel's offspring consists of two sections. Berechiah is one of five names occurring after a listing of two other sons and a daughter. Why Berechiah and his four brothers are isolated in this way is not clear. Two possibilities are that they have the same mother or that they were born in Judah upon Zerubbabel's migration there. Berechiah means "Yahweh blesses" and in this case participates in a list of names expressing an optimism centered around the Jews' return to Judah; Meshullam meaning "recompensed," Hasadiah, "Yahweh is loyal," Jushabhesed, "loyalty returns," etc.

**2.** The father of Asaph, the latter being designated as a musician in the preexilic temple (1 Chr 6:39; 15:17) along with Heman and Ethan. All three are noted as descendants of Levi. In the noted passages the name Berechiah occurs in one of three lists anachronistically placing Heman, Asaph, and Ethan in the time of David. Historically the lists belong to the postexilic era; they presuppose a stage in the temple liturgy when Levites and singers were not distinguished as Ezra 2:41 and Neh 7:44 indicates they once were. Complicated questions concerning identity arise regarding references to Berechiah in 1 Chr 6:39; 9:16; and 15:17, 23. Questions of identity are treated below in numbers 3 and 4.

**3.** A gatekeeper for the ark (1 Chr 15:23). This Berechiah has been identified with the postexilic Berechiah of number 4 below. Because the cultic figures mentioned in 1 Chronicles 15 are anachronistically portrayed as living in the time of David and are historically more at home in the postexilic period, an identification is possible. The identification should probably be extended to include Berechiah in 1 Chr 6:39 and 15:17. In the light of the close narrative proximity of the references to Berechiah in 1 Chronicles 15, might one assume that if distinction were intended, a patronymic or filial reference would have indicated such a difference in 15:23? The fact that in 1 Chr 15:23 Berechiah is noted as a gatekeeper for the ark while in 1 Chr 6:39 and 9:16 the same is noted as a musician does not

militate against an identification. Indeed, 1 Chr 15:21, 24 cities Obededom as both musician and gatekeeper (1 Chr 15:21, 24).

**4.** A postexilic Levite who is listed as among the first Jews to return to Judah (1 Chr 9:16). Note the possible identifications discussed in number 3 above. If they are correct, then 1 Chr 6:39, 9:16, 15:17, 23 refer to the same Berechiah. Neh 11:15–18 contains a parallel list of Levites, but Berechiah's name does not occur there. Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 172) views the Chronicles text as corrupt. Neither list is a copy of the other since there are significant differences. Instead of one list being a corruption of the other, they both probably stem from a common archival source (Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 185) and were edited with regard to the specific intent of the redactor. Whether Berechiah's name was even part of the original archival source cannot be known.

**5.** A son of Iddo and father of Zechariah the prophet (Zech 1:1, 7; Matt 23:35). Ezra 5:1; 6:14; and Neh 12:16 list Iddo as Zechariah's father. The proposal that Berechiah was inserted in Zech 1:1, 7 due to the influence of Isa 8:2 lacks a basis. First, Isa 8:2 has the form Jeberechiah whereas Zech 1:1, 7 uses the form Berechiah. Assuming influence from Isa 8:2, the change in form begs an explanation. Second, does the Zechariah tradent identify the two Zechariahs, and if so, what would have led to an identification of two persons who obviously lived some two centuries apart? In short, the nature of the alleged influence is ambiguous and lacks explanation. A further consideration lies in the lack of textual evidence indicating that Berechiah is a later addition in the book of Zechariah. Available data do not admit a solution to the problem. That Berechiah was added to the Zechariah text is less likely than that the name simply was not part of the traditions used by the Ezra-Nehemiah writer or that the latter omitted Berechiah in order to enhance Zechariah's prestige by observing his immediate relationship to the venerable Iddo.

**6.** One of the chiefs of the Ephraimites (2 Chr 28:12) who supported and assisted in repatriating Judahite captives after the Israelite invasion of Judah during the reign of Ahaz. The Chronicler interpreted Israel's invasion of Judah as Yahweh's punishment on the latter. Berechiah's aid to the Judahite captives is a response to the prophet Oded's warning to Israel not to go beyond Yahweh's intent of chastisement. In this context the term "chief" *(rōʾš)* designates a military leader (Muller *THAT* 2:706).

**7.** The father of Meshullam and son of Mesheshabel (Neh 3:4, 30; 6:18). His son Meshullam worked on the refortification of Jerusalem under Nehemiah.

**8.** The name Berechiah occurs on a bulla from the City of David which reads *lbrkyhw // on nryhw // hspr*, "belonging to Berekyahu ben Neriah, the scribe," and is likely a reference to Jeremiah's scribe, Baruch, the latter form being a hypocoristicon for Berechiah.

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Avigad, N. 1987. Baruch the Scribe and Jerahmeel the King's Son. *IEJ* 28:52–56.

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**BERED** (PERSON) [Heb *bered* (בֶּרֶד)]. Grandson (1 Chr 7:20) or son (Num 26:35–36) of Ephraim, the younger son of Joseph. According to the Ephraimite genealogy in 1 Chronicles, Bered is the grandson of Ephraim as well as son of Shuthelah and father of Tahath. The significance of the 1 Chronicles passage is to point toward Joshua (v 27), an Ephraimite, the hero of the conquest. Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 114) speculates that the present list in 1 Chronicles 7 could be a combination of two earlier lists due to the repetition of various names (Shuthelah, Tahath), similarity of others (Bered, v 20 and Zabad, v 21; Eleadah, v 20 and Ladan, v 26; Tahath, v 20 twice and Tahan, v 25), and length of the genealogy.

Num 26:35–36 is the only other OT listing of the Ephraimite clan. However, the LXX has an Ephraimite genealogy in Genesis 46. Based on the Numbers passage, Bered should perhaps be read Becher because it lists three brothers as sons of Ephraim:Shuthelah, Becher (Bered), and Tahan. The Peshitta even has Becher in place of Bered in 1 Chr 7:20.

Hogg (1900–1:148–49) suggests that Bered should be deleted from 1 Chr 7:20. First, Bered is not found in $G^B$. Second, Becher (Bered) found its way into the Numbers passage through scribal error. Third, he notes that Greek manuscripts which include the Ephraimite genealogy in Genesis 46 know nothing of Bered-Becher.

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M. STEPHEN DAVIS

**BERED** (PLACE) [Heb *bered* (בֶּרֶד)]. A place in the Negeb mentioned in connection with the story of Hagar (Gen 16:14). The well of Beer-lahai-roi is said to be located between Kadesh and Bered, but it is unclear in which direction it is located with respect to Kadesh. On the one hand, Simons (*GTTOT* 217) identifies it with Jebel umm el-Bared, SE of Kadesh. On the other hand, *Targum Onqelos* here renders *Ḥagrā',* and the *Targum Yerušalmi* renders *Ḥaluṣâ,* each of which are also used respectively for Shur (Exod 15:22). Thus there seems to have been a tradition identifying Bered either with Shur (i.e., NW Sinai) or with the Way to Shur, therefore somewhere N of Kadesh. However, if *Ḥaluṣâ* refers specifically to Elusa—a town that has been identified with el-Khalasa (M.R. 117056) and that was occupied in Byzantine times (*EAEHL* 359)—then there appears to have been a tradition locating Bered ca. 55 km NE of Kadesh (and 20 km SW of Beersheba). See also BEER-LAHAI-ROI.

GARY A. HERION

**BERI** (PERSON) [Heb *bērî* (בֵּרִי)]. Fourth of the eleven named sons of Zophah of the tribe of Asher (1 Chr 7:36). The genealogical list of Chronicles appears to be extraordinarily full, since Beri's name is not mentioned in the parallel genealogies of Asher (Gen 46:17, 18; Num 26:44–47). In light of this, Rudolf (*Chronikbücher* HAT 1st ser., 74) emends the text from *ûbērî wĕyimrâ,* "and Beri and Imrah," a continuation of the sequence of Zophah's sons, to *ûbĕnê yimnāʿ* "and the sons of Imna," which begins a new list of sons (see 1 Chr 7:35). He has no connection with the Berites (Num 26:44). Moreover, the Berites of 2 Sam 20:14 can be understood to be Bichrites, by grammatical construction, allies of Sheba who is called "the son of Bichri" (2 Sam 20:1).

JOEL C. SLAYTON

**BERIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *bĕrîʿâ* (בְּרִיעָה)]. BERIITES. 1. The fourth son of Asher and the father of Heber and Malchiel (Gen 46:17; 1 Chr 7:30–31). He went down to Egypt with his father when Jacob and his family migrated from Canaan to Goshen. Beriah was the grandson of Jacob and Zilpah, the maid whom Laban gave to his daughter Leah. Beriah was the ancestral leader of the family of the Beriites (Num 26:44).

2. A man from the tribe of Benjamin. Beriah was the father of Zebadiah, Arad, Eder, Michael, Ishpah, and Joha (1 Chr 8:13, 16). According to Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 161), Beriah was the son of Shaharaim (1 Chr 8:8) and Hushim (1 Chr 8:11). Curtis believes that 1 Chr 8:12 is a parenthetical explanation of the genealogy of Elpaal and that 8:13 continues the genealogy of Shaharaim and Hushim. According to Hicks (*IDB* 1:386) he was the fourth son of Elpaal. Hicks believes that 8:13 continues the genealogy of Elpaal presented in 8:12 (so RSV). Other scholars (Keil 1950:147; Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 57), noting that Beriah is not listed as a son of Elpaal in 1 Chr 8:17–18, believe that 1 Chr 8:13 begins an independent list of Benjaminite leaders (so JB). Thus, Beriah would be neither the son of Shaharaim nor the son of Elpaal. The context, however, seems to favor Curtis and Madsen's view.

Beriah and his brother Shema were two clan leaders who fought against the inhabitants of Gath (1 Chr 8:13). The location of this Gath has been disputed by scholars. Keil (1950:146) believed that it was the Gath of the Philistines, but Mazar (1954:227–30) has shown that this Gath should be identified with Gittaim, a city in the Shephelah. Beriah and his brother Shema settled in the city of Aijalon. In 2 Chr 11:10, Aijalon is listed as belonging to both Judah and Benjamin.

3. A Levite from the family of the Gershonites and the fourth son of Shimei (1 Chr 23:10–11). When the Levites were organized for the service in the temple, they were grouped by families (1 Chr 23:2–32). The Gershonites were represented by Ladan and Shimei. Shimei had four sons but had only three representations. Because his sons Beriah and Jeush did not have many male sons, they were counted as one family (1 Chr 23:11).

4. A son of Ephraim (1 Chr 7:23). Ephraim named his son Beriah because of the misfortune that had befallen his family. The sons of Ephraim had raided the city of Gath to take the cattle from its inhabitants and in the struggle the sons of Ephraim were killed. Ephraim mourned the death of his sons for many days. Later, Ephraim and his wife had a son whom they called Beriah, because "evil had befallen his house."

The etymology of the name is doubtful. Some take the name Beriah as coming from a Hebrew word for evil (*BDB,* 140), others from a word for gift (Gesenius 1849:174), and others from a word meaning "prominent" (Noth *IPN,* 224). The explanation of the name should be considered an etiology (Lung 1968:38) or a midrashic commentary (Mulder 1975:141–66).

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CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

**BERLIN GNOSTIC CODEX.** See CODEX (BERLIN GNOSTIC).

**BERNICE** (PERSON) [Gk *bernikē* (βερνικη)*; berenikē* (βερενικη)]. Var. BERENICE. The daughter of Agrippa I and Cypros born in A.D. 28. Bernice was present when the apostle Paul presented his defense to her brother Agrippa II (Acts 25:13, 23; 26:30). Like the other Herods, Bernice had inherited Roman citizenship, as indicated by her full name—Julia Berenice. In A.D. 41 she married Marcus Julius Alexander, son of Alexander the alabarch. Ostraca from Egypt give some insight into Marcus' commercial activities (Fuks 1951). Upon Marcus' death shortly after the marriage, Bernice married her uncle, Herod of Chalcis before the end of A.D. 44; by him she had two sons, Berenicianus and Hyrcanus (Jos. *JW* 2.221; cf. *Ant* 19.276ff.; 20.104).

After the death of Herod of Chalcis in A.D. 48, Bernice lived as a widow for a long time with her brother Agrippa II, who received her husband's kingdom from the emperor Claudius (*Ant* 20.104). Rumors of incest with her brother are said to have led her to marry Polemo of Cilicia (cf., Braund 1984a:42), who seems to have undergone circumcision and at least superficial conversion to Judaism. Polemo's incentive seems to have been Bernice's wealth (or her dead husbands' perhaps), which later evoked a strong attraction in Vespasian also (*Ant* 20.146; cf. Tac. *Hist.* 2.81). However, Bernice soon left Polemo to return to Agrippa (*Ant* 20.146), and was present when he heard Paul's defense in A.D. 60 (Acts 25:13–26:32). Bernice was in Jerusalem to fulfill a vow when the Jewish revolt began in A.D. 66. She sought to intercede with the Roman procurator, Gessius Florus, on behalf of the Jews, but she was ignored; in fact, she herself barely escaped the ravages of Florus' rampaging troops (*JW* 2.310ff.). She wrote to Cestius, the Roman governor of Syria, complaining of Florus' maladministration. In response to her and to others' letters, Cestius sent an emissary who joined Agrippa, who was on his way to Jerusalem from Alexandria (*JW* 2.333ff.). Bernice and Agrippa made strenuous efforts to dissuade the revolutionaries, but their efforts met with only temporary success (*JW* 2.402ff.):their residence in Jerusalem was burnt down (*JW* 2.426).

She and her brother had little choice but to withdraw, and it may have been at this time that they refurbished a building in Berytus which Herod the Great, their great-grandfather, had built (*Année épigraphique* 1928, 82). Bernice subsequently contributed to the financing of Vespasian's bid for power in A.D. 68, while her beauty appealed to his son, Titus, who was some ten years her junior (Tac. *Hist.* 2.81). From the start her relationship with Titus seems to have been the subject of gossip, as was her relationship with her brother. It was even said that Titus' return to the East while en route to Rome was the result of his passion for Bernice, as Tacitus reports and denies (*Hist.*2.2).

Upon the success of Vespasian's cause, Titus finally joined his father in Rome in A.D. 71 after suppressing what remained of the Jewish revolt. But Bernice did not come with him to Rome, and not until A.D. 75 did she and Agrippa arrive in the capital. The delay may have been necessitated by power politics among Vespasian's followers, or Vespasian and Titus may simply have wished to avoid scandal

until they had established their control; Vespasian was, after all, the fourth emperor of A.D. 69 and did not want to go the way of his predecessors (Crook 1951; Braund 1984b). Certainly Titus' relationship with Bernice did damage to his reputation at Rome, where queens by nature were suspect (Suet. *Tit.* 7). Rumor held that she was to become Titus' wife, and she already had begun to act as such. Two Cynics denounced Titus in the theater, for which one was flogged and the other beheaded (Dio Cass. 66.15.4–5). It may well have been at this time that Quintilian presented a case before her in which she had some personal interest (Quint. *Inst.* 4.1.9). When Titus became emperor upon his father's death in A.D. 79, people feared that he would be a tyrant. Titus took steps to improve his reputation, including the immediate (if reluctant) dismissal of Bernice from Rome (Suet. *Tit.* 7), though later she seems to have returned before Titus' death in A.D. 81, at no cost to his reputation (Dio Cass. 66.18.1).

Bernice's biography is beset by rumors and gossip of a more or less scurrilous nature. She is even said to have had another lover among Vespasian's followers, who is said to have lost his life on that account (*Epit. de caes.* 10.4). The Romans expected such behavior from queens and would even have created it where it did not exist (Braund 1984b). Bernice is regularly given the title of queen.

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DAVID C. BRAUND

**BEROEA** (PLACE) [Gk *Berōia* (Βερωια)]. Var. BEREA. **1.** A city (modern Verria) located in the SW section of the Roman province of Macedonia (40°31´N; 22°14´E—in modern Greece) in the district of Emathia (Ptolemy 3.12). It is located near the base of Mount Bermius (Strabo 7.26) along a tributary of the Haliacmon river some 50 miles from Thessalonica. It is several miles south of the main road of the region, the Egnatian Way, which may account for Cicero's comment that it is a "town off the beaten track" (*In Pisonem* 36.89).

Paul and Silas traveled by night to Beroea (Acts 17:10–15) after they were driven out of Thessalonica by Jews who were angered by their teachings. Timothy seems to have rejoined Paul and Silas here after a short stay in Philippi. They were well received by the Beroeans, who are described as being "more noble than the Thessalonians." Paul taught them for several days and as a result many Jews and prominent Greeks were converted.

Soon the Jews of Thessalonica heard that Paul and his companions were in Beroea. They traveled to the city and upon arrival they incited the crowds to oppose Paul. Some of the local Christians guided Paul to the coast and on to Athens. Timothy and Silas remained in Beroea and later rejoined Paul in Corinth (Acts 18:5). It is not clear if Paul sailed to Athens from a nearby port (possibly Dium) or followed the road which traced the coastline to Athens. Paul is later accompanied by Sopater of Beroea (Acts 20:4) who may have been converted during Paul's brief stay in the city. It is likely that Sopater was sent as delegate of the local congregation to accompany the money they gave to help the needy of Judea.

It is unclear when the city of Beroea was founded, but it was certainly prosperous by the end of the 4th century B.C. as attested by an inscription (*IG,* 2/5). Polybius mentions Beroea twice (27.8; 28.8) and it was the first city to surrender to Rome after the Battle of Pindar in 168 B.C. It was assigned to the third of the four districts of Macedonia (Livy 44.45; 45.29). According to tradition Onesimus was the first bishop of the city. The bishopric of Beroea was under the metropolitan of Thessalonica and was later assigned its own metropolitan by Andronicus II (1283–1328). The Turks captured the city in 1373/74. Few remains of the ancient city remain except the walls and several inscriptions which have been found at the site. See Jackson and Lake 1965:206–8; Leake 1835:290–92.

**2.** Hellenistic name assigned to the city of Aleppo located (36°10´N; 37°0´E) in northern Syria (2 Macc 13:4). It was renamed in honor of the Macedonia city by Seleucus Nicator (312–280). The Seleucid king Antiochus Eupator, who was marching with a large contingent of soldiers to Judea, had former high priest

Menelaus put to death at Beroea (2 Macc 13:1–8). The death sentence was ordered after the king was informed by Lysias of the treason of Menelaus. The execution was carried out according to local customs, with the accused dropped into a lofty tower (about 88 ft high) filled with hot ashes. Josephus records the death of Menelaus but assigns it to the end of the war between Judas and Lysias (*Ant* 12.9.7).

The name of the city reverted to its Semitic origins (Haleb) when it came under Muslim control. The name Aleppo was derived from a distortion of the name Haleb by Venetian merchants. Aleppo grew in importance during the medieval period when it was an important link in the caravan trade route linking Europe with the East. Its prosperity waned when an alternate sea route was discovered. Aleppo, one of the largest cities in Syria today, is noted for its impressive ruins of a medieval castle which sits on top of a steep glacis 150 ft above the center of the city.

**3.** Berea was the camp of the soldiers led by Bacchides and Alcimus who moved after encamping against Jerusalem and just prior to the battle with Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc 9:4). The exact location of the city is debated with two possible options:al-Bireh, a city located 8 miles N of Jerusalem; and Bir ez-Zait, a town located 13 miles N of Jerusalem.

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**BEROLINENSIS, CODEX.** See CODEX (BERLIN GNOSTIC).

**BEROTHAH** (PLACE) [Heb *bērôtâ* (בֵּרוֹתָה)]. One of the places which mark part of the N boundary of Israel as envisioned by Ezek 47:15–16. The LXX places Berothah at the beginning of the verse and immediately after Zedad. Although it is difficult to determine whether the final *he* is a directional marker or an original part of the name, the place may be identical with the Berothai mentioned in 2 Sam 8:8. Accordingly, Berothah may be located on the site of modern Bereitan (33°55′N; 36°08′E) in the Beqaʿ Valley of Lebanon. As noted by Zimmerli (*Ezekiel* 2 HermeneiaA.Hermeneia, 517–543), the extent to which Berothah and other places in Ezek 47:15–16 marked actual boundaries of Israel at some point in its history has provoked much discussion by M. Noth, K. Elliger, and other scholars.

HECTOR AVALOS

**BEROTHAI** (PLACE) [Heb *bērōtay* (בֵּרֹתַי)]. City from which David took much bronze (2 Sam 8:8), and a principal city of the kingdom of Zobah at the time of its conquest by David. It may be located on the site of modern Bereitan (33°55′N; 36°08′E) in the Beqaʿ Valley of Lebanon. Instead of Berothai, the parallel passage in 1 Chr 18:8 mentions Cun, a place about seven miles to the N. Berothai may be identical with the Berothah mentioned in Ezek 47:16.

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HECTOR AVALOS

**BERRIES.** See FLORA.

**BESAI** (PERSON) [Heb *bēsay* (בֵּסַי)]. The head of a family of *nĕtînîm* (temple servants) (see NETHINIM) which is listed among those exiles returning from Babylon to Jerusalem and Judah (Neh 7:52 = Ezra 2:49; 1 Esdr 5:31). The Greek spelling of the name differs in all three occurrences:*Bēsi* (Nehemiah), *Basi* (Ezra), *Basthai* (1 Esdras). Although Zadok (1980:113) believes the name remains unexplained by using onomastic criteria, others, such as Myers (*Ezra-Nehemiah* 14) and Clines (*Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 57), believe it to be Babylonian. It has been suggested that the name is a possible contraction of the name *bĕsôdĕyāh* found in Neh 3:6 (Gehman *NWDB,* 105).

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**BESCASPASMYS** (PERSON) [Gk *Beskaspasmys* (Βεσκασπασμυς)]. In 1 Esdr 9:31, this name is possibly an alternate form of Mattaniah.

**BESODEIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *bĕsōdyâ* (בְּסֹדְיָה)]. The father of Meshullam, the latter having assisted in the refortification of Jerusalem under the leadership of Nehemiah (Neh 3:6). This name is made up of a preposition, a noun, and the theophoric element representing Yahweh. It presumably means "in Yahweh's council." Speculation is not out of place regarding the possibility that the name recalls the prophetic experience of being admitted to the divine council (1 Kgs 22:19–23; Isaiah 6; Jer 23:18, 22).
JAMES M. KENNEDY

**BESOR, THE BROOK** (PLACE) [Heb *naḥal bĕśôr* (נַחַל בְּשׂוֹר)]. A brook or wadi David and four hundred of his men crossed in pursuit of the Amalekites following the Amalekite raid on the town of Ziklag (1 Sam 30:9, 10, 21). The Brook Besor, Wadi Shalleh, or Ghazzeh, along with the Valley of Gerar, Wadi esh-Shari, has been described as one of the two major wadis of the western Negeb (*LBHG,* 26–27).

Because of the flooding waters during the rainy season and the large area for which the Besor provided drainage, the bed of the wadi was extremely wide, approximately 100–150 meters, a width which started near Beer-sheba and continued to the coast (Orni and Efrat 1973:45). The towns along the Besor from the coast eastward include Tell el-Ajjul, Tell Jemmeh, Tell el-Farah (south), Beer-sheba, and Arad (Oren 1982:155). Ziklag was located near the wadi (Borowski 1988:24). The numerous ancient mounds in the area provide evidence of the strategic and economic importance of the area in ancient times. In the Middle Bronze Age, the heavily fortified cities along the Wadi Besor and Wadi Gerar provided a defense system for the southern border of the land (Oren 1982:156–57). The fortifications in this region were responsible for the failure of the Israelites to penetrate the land of Canaan from the south, through the Negeb, at the time of the conquest (*LBHG,* 200–201). The Wadi Besor was the scene of many confrontations in ancient times as the nomads from the south sought grazing lands for their flocks to the north, a region comprised of settled communities (Oren 1982:157).

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LAMOINE F. DEVRIES

**BESTIALITY.** See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES; SEX AND SEXUALITY.

**BET.** The second letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

**BETA.** The second letter of the Greek alphabet.

**BETAH** (PLACE) [Heb *beṭaḥ* (בֶּטַח)]. A city belonging to Hadadezer, king of Zobah in Syria, from which David took a large amount of bronze (2 Sam 8:8). The name of this N Syrian town is problematic. The Syriac reads *ṭbḥ* and the Lucianic mss of the LXX read *(ma)tebak,* both apparently referring to the well-attested N Syrian town of TIBHATH (cf. the 1 Chr 18:8 parallel). The MT in 2 Sam 8:8 thus reflects an erroneous metathesis of the first two consonants. See also TEBAH (PERSON).

**BETEN** (PLACE) [Heb *beṭen* (בֶּטֶן)]. A town appearing only once in the Bible, in the opening verse of the description of the territory of Asher (Josh 19:25). Beten is therefore to be sought in the S part of the coastal plain N of the Carmel. Eusebius seems to include a reference to this town in his note that "Batnai [is] today called Bethbeten, at the eighth mile east of Ptolemais" (Kosterman 1904:52, lines 19–20). Abel (*GP,* 2:264) pointed out that the name had survived in the modern Kh. Ibtin (M.R. 160241), 18 km SE of Acco. Sherds from the relevant periods have not been found at that site, therefore Beten should be located at one of the sites in the vicinity (*EncMiq* 2:50), probably at Tell al-Far less than a km NW of Kh. Ibtin

(*HGB*, 430). The discrepancy with Eusebius' distances is to be explained in that the point where the road to Bethbeten turned off from the Ptolemais-Sepphoris road was at the eighth mile stone.

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RAFAEL FRANKEL

**BETH-ANATH** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt ʿanat* (בֵּית עֲנַת)]. A Canaanite designation for a city, comprised of Beth, "house of" (in modern Heb *bêt* and in Ar *beit*) and the name of the famous goddess Anath, known also as *btlt ʿnt,*"the virgin *ʿanat*" (*UT* 19.1889). The adoration of the goddess Anath was already popular in Canaan prior to the Israelite conquest and settlement, and her sanctuary is the town's focal point.

Beth-anath, according to the tribal allotments cited in the Bible, is located among the fortified towns under the control of Naphtali (Josh 19:32–39). The Naphtalites settled among the Canaanite inhabitants without driving them out, and the latter became tributaries to the former (Judg 1:33). The precise location of the city, however, has not been determined. Geographical identifications advanced by Guérin (1880:374), Albright (1923:18–20), and Alt (1926:55) are discredited by Aharoni (1957:70) as lacking suitable archaeological support. The locations do not seem to yield any evidence of a *tell*, nor are they identified with a location resembling a fortified Canaanite city resisting the Israelite incursions. Even Garstang (*Joshua, Judges*, 102; 244–45) who offers a mound as the site of Beth-anath is unable to substantiate it satisfactorily (Aharoni 1957:97).

Two places remain as possible candidates for the geographical location of Beth-anath,?Hîneh and?Safed el-Battikh (M.R. 190289). Klein (1933:5–7; 1939:16) stated that the talmudic *byt ʿnh* (*b. Kil.* 2.16) was a border city along N Transjordan, and identified it with the modern town of Hîneh, SW of Damascus. The same city is mentioned in the Talmud as *bʾynh* (j. *ʿOr.* 3.7). It is also assumed that *rwm byt ʿnt* (t. *Miqw.* 6.3) and *rmt bny ʿnt* (*ʾAbot R.Nat.* 27) refer to the same place. The Sages describe it as a city whose population is partly gentile, but which is within Israelite biblical borders (Rashi *mwblʾwt* b. *Giṭ* 4a). Grintz (1964:67), who accepted Klein's identification, proposed that this city is the biblical Beth-anath. He relied on the account of Josephus (*Ant* 5.86) which depicted the territory of the Naphtalites as extending E to Damascus and thus he placed the city along the E Israelite border of Naphtali.

There is, however, another claimant for the ancient city of Beth-anath, the modern place of Safed el-Battikh (Aharoni 1987:330; Boling, *Joshua* AB, 406). The city appears in Egyptian inscriptions, perhaps as early as LB I and explicitly in LB II. The topographical lists of Thutmose III cite N locations captured by the great Pharaoh (Simons 1937:113, 118) and the records of King Seti I enumerate *b-t ʿ-n-t or b- (y)-t ʿ-n-t* (Simons 1937:144–46) situated along the route connecting Hazor and Tyre, and passing next to Kedesh. The city is mentioned again during the campaigns of Rameses II:"*k-r-p* the town which his majesty obliterated on the mount of *b-t ʿ-n-t*" (Simons 1937:149, 152–53, 160–61). Beth-anath was apparently in a mountainous region and the area took its name from the city.

Zenon papyri (PSI 554; 594) mention the estate of a Greek officer in Baitanatois which Tcherikover (1933:234–36) equates with Beth-anath in the Galilee. Aharoni goes one step further and identifies it with the biblical Beth-anath (1957:71–72) and fixes the geographical location in the region NW of Kedesh (Aharoni, *MBA*, 113, map 177). While analyzing Zenon's itinerary, Aharoni dismisses Klein's identification of the talmudical *byt ʿnh= (ʿnt)* (1957:72).

The name of *rwm byt ʿnt* in rabbinic sources seems to support Aharoni's view. The terminology resembles the old Egyptian nomenclature, mount *b-y-t ʿ-n-t* identified in the upper Galilee, NW of Kedesh. Moreover, the Sages testify to the mixed population of the city and tell of a permanent pool in which more than two thousand *kor* of water was aggregated, a fact which is substantiated by Conder (SWP 1:95, 104) who surveyed the region and found a warm spring forming a pool next to Safed el-Battikh situated in the heights. Further, Eusebius (*Onomast.* 52) identifies Beth-anath in the tribe of Naphtali, as the village Batanaia, 15 miles from Caesarea where it is told that healing bathhouses were located. It is possible that the reference of Eusebius parallels the talmudic *rwm byt ʿnh= (ʿnt),* and

Caesarea, as Aharoni suggests, is Caesarea Philippi (1957:73). This would put Batanaia in the vicinity of Safed el-Battikh in the upper Galilee.

The site of Beth-anath cannot be established unequivocally until an archaeological survey of the region is taken. Many mounds in N Israel still await excavation, and among them, no doubt, will be found the precise location of Beth-anath.

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MEIR LUBETSKI

**BETH-ANOTH** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt ʿănôt* (בֵּית עֲנוֹת)]. One of the cities in the hill country of the tribe of Judah (Josh 15:59). Beth Anoth is listed fifth in a list of six cities after Halhul (modern Ar Ḥalḥûl, M.R. 160109), Beth Zur (Kh. eṭ-Ṭubeiqeh, M.R. 159110), Gedor (Kh. Jedûr, M.R. 158115), and Maarath, and before Eltekon. The cities in this list that have been identified all lie in a line N of Hebron. Eusebius (Klosterman ed., 24, 94) connected Gk *Bethanin* or *Bethenim* with a place 2 miles from the Terebinthos (Oaks of Mamre—modern Ramat el-Khalil, M.R. 160107) and 4 miles from Hebron. Kallai (*HGB,* 391) connects the $LXX^B$ (Codex Vaticanus) *Baithanam* and A (Codex Alexandrinus) *Baithanōm* renderings of Beth Anoth with Eusebius' site and with modern Kh. Beit ʿAnûn (M.R. 162107). As with most ancient names containing the word *bêt* (house), Beth Anoth may be related to the temple of a god which gave its name to the locale (*LBHG,* 108). Frank (1972:84) claimed that Beth Anoth, along with Beth Anath and Anathoth, was a place name that was derived from the name Anath, an active goddess of fertility.

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SUSAN E. MCGARRY

**BETH-ARABAH** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt hāʿărābâ* (בֵּית הָעֲרָבָה)]. ARABATHITE. A city on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin, near Jericho. It is mentioned four times in the OT, twice each in the boundary descriptions in Joshua 15 (vv 6, 61) and 18 (vv 18, 22). The name might mean "place of the depression" (BDB, 112) or "House of the Desert Rift" (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 366).

There is a similar discrepancy between each of the two pairs of occurrences of the name. According to Josh 15:6, the boundary of Judah passes N of Beth-arabah, while v 61 includes it as one of six cities of Judah in the wilderness. Likewise Josh 18:18 describes the border of Benjamin as "passing on to the north of the shoulder of Beth-arabah" (MT's *mĕl-hāʿărābâ* is regularly emended to *bêt-hāʿărābâ*), while v 22 includes Beth-arabah as one of 12 cities of Benjamin. The discrepancy suggests to some commentators that the city belonged to Benjamin at one time, but later changed hands (see *HGB,* 337, 343, 373). Beth-arabah has been identified with ʿAin el-Gharbeh (M.R. 197139) on the N bank of the Wadi Qelt, about 3 miles SE of Jericho and about the same distance W of the Jordan river. Simons (*GTTOT,* 173) observes, however, that the unemended MT of Josh 18:18 suggests a location further W in the hills (see also the reservations expressed by Kallai *HGB,* 396, 400). One would expect the border to be the bed of the wadi, but this is only one of several uncertainties of this border.

One of the thirty champions associated with King David was Abi-albon the Arabathite (2 Sam 23:31; in 1 Chr 11:32 the name is Abiel). The gentilic "Arabathite" is usually taken to refer to Beth-arabah.

HENRY O. THOMPSON

**BETH-ARBEL** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt ʾarbēʾl* (בֵּית אַרְבֵּאל)]. A town razed by Shalman (Hos 10:14).

Its defeat must have been particularly brutal (cf. Hos 10:14b) and well known. The prophet Hosea cites Beth-Arbel as an example of the massive destruction facing Israel.

Both Beth-Arbel and Shalman are mentioned only in Hos 10:14; neither can be identified with certainty. Beth-Arbel is most often identified with Arbela of the Transjordan (modern IRBID, M.R. 229218), located near Pella. Arbela, mentioned by Eusebius (*Onomast.* 14:18), was located at an economically and militarily important crossroad (Glueck 1951:153–54). Its destruction would have been a significant and well-remembered event. However, we do not have records of atrocities at modern Irbid in Jordan (Andersen and Freedman *Hosea* AB, 571). Josephus (*Ant* 12.11.1 §421) and 1 Macc 9:2 refer to a second town named Arbela, located just W of the Sea of Galilee. This Arbela has also been identified as Beth-Arbel. However, it is questionable whether the Galilean Arbela was important enough for its defeat to become a byword for violent and large-scale devastation.

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CAROLYN J. PRESSLER

**BETH-ASHBEA** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt ʾašbēaʿ* (בֵּית אַשְׁבֵּעַ)]. Location of a family or guild of linen

workers descended from Shelah, son of Judah (1 Chr 4:21). Although older translations (e.g. KJV) understood Ashbea as referring to the family of the linen workers it is now accepted that the name refers to their place of residence and should more properly be called Beth-ashbea (cf. RSV and NJV). It was located in the Shephelah district of Judah's settlement, probably in the region of Mareshah, mentioned in the same verse. Noth (1932:123) speculated that there may have been some connection between the linen factory (about which term see Demsky 1966:214) at Beth-ashbea and the weaving and dyeing works found by Albright at Tell Beit-Mirsim. The mention of the linen factory at Beth-ashbea adds greatly to our scanty knowledge of guilds and craftsmen in ancient Israel (see Mendelsohn 1940 and de Vaux *AncIsr* 1:76–78).

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CARL S. EHRLICH

**BETH-AVEN** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt ʾāwen* (בֵּית אָוֶן); *bêt ʾôn* (בֵּית אוֹן)]. **1.** A city of Benjamin

located near the Ephraimite border between Jericho and Bethel/Luz (Josh 18:12). 1 Sam 13:5 locates Michmash E of Beth-aven, while 14:23 narrates that Israelites under Jonathan pursued Philistine soldiers from Michmash past Beth-aven, presumably toward their home country to the W. In the late 8th century B.C., Hosea (5:8) seems to have warned Gibeah, Ramah, and Beth-aven of an imminent military invasion.

The modern identity of the site is disputed. M. Noth (1935) argued that the toponym was merely a derogatory term for Bethel (see below). J. Grintz (1961:212–15) identified Beth-aven with et-Tell, but this location does not match information from the above-mentioned texts. Rejecting Albright's proposal of Burqa, Z. Kallai-Kleinmann (1956) suggested that Tell Maryam (M.R. 175141), a mound in the Wadi es-Swenît 1 km W of Mukhmas, best suits the biblical information regarding Beth-aven for two reasons. First, its location in the valley, almost certainly part of the ancient Benjamin-Ephraim border, fits the requirements of Josh 18:12. Second, Tell Maryam's location to the W of Mukhmas (see MICHMASH) is consonant with the situation of Beth-aven reported in 1 Sam 13:5 and 14:23. A recent archaeological survey (Kochavi 1972) found Iron Age remains at Tell Maryam to support of Kallai-Kleinmann's proposal.

Beth-aven's close proximity to ancient Gibeah (Jaba‹?) and Ramah (er-Ram) also might suggest that Hosea's war-alarm did not refer to Judah's hypothesized counterattack against Israel along the watershed highway after the Syro-Ephraimite invasion (Alt 1959), but rather to the original Syro-Ephraimite attack itself, cf. 2 Kgs 16:5 and Isa 10:27–32 (Arnold 1987:241–49).

**2.** A derogatory term (Heb. *bêt ›āwen,* "house of wickedness") for the Israelite shrine at Bethel (Amos 5:5; Hos 4:15; 10:5). The Hebrew root *›wn* can be vocalized to mean either "wealth" or "wickedness" (Coote 1971:392–94); Amos and Hosea seem to have ridiculed Bethel by creating a pun on the name of the nearby Benjaminite city of Beth-on. This confusion may explain the gloss on the MT of Josh 7:2, which associates Beth-aven with Bethel/Ai, as well as the entire MT vocalization of *beth ›wn* to mean "house of wickedness."

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PATRICK M. ARNOLD

**BETH-AZMAVETH** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt-‹azmawet* (בֵּית־עַזְמָוֶת)]. An alternate form of Azmaveth.

**BETH-BAAL-MEON** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt ba‹al mă‹ôn* (בֵּית בַּעַל מָעוֹן)]. A northern Moabite town more commonly called Baal-meon, also known as Beth-meon and, probably, Beon. After the Hebrew victory over the Amorites, this settlement was assigned to the tribe of Reuben (Num 32:3, 38; Josh 13:17; 1 Chr 5:8). The alternative names Beth-baal-meon/Baal-meon appear in the Mesha Inscription (lines 9, 30), where the Moabite king says he rebuilt the town and made a reservoir in it. Jeremiah (48:23) and Ezekiel (25:9) mention this place name in their oracles against Moab. Samaria ostracon 27 contains a reference to "Baala the Baalmeonite." The village of Ma‹in (M.R. 219120), located ca. four miles southwest of Medeba, is the probable location of ancient Beth-baal-meon, though archaeological confirmation is lacking. See also BAAL-MEON; MAON; MEUNIM.

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

**BETH-BARAH** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt bārâ* (בֵּית בָּרָה)]. An undetermined location thought to be near the Jordan river (Judg 7:24). Here the Ephraimites, under the direction of Gideon, cut off the fleeing Midianites by seizing the area around the Jordan up to this point. The precise meaning of the place name is obscure, leading some to postulate a textual corruption from an original *bēt ‹ăbārâ* (meaning place of ford), which would associate the locale with a river crossing. One might place it among the streams in the Wadi Far‹ah, W of the river, but there is a general skepticism about identifying it with Bethabarah of the NT (John 1:28). See also BETHANY BEYOND THE JORDAN.

JEFFREY K. LOTT

**BETH-BIRI** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt-bir›î* (בֵּית־בִּרְאִי)]. A town in which the sons of Simeon dwelt prior to the reign of David (1 Chr 4:31). Apparently the same place is named BETH-LEBAOTH in Josh 19:6. The name may be preserved in Jebel el-Biri, 10 km SW of el-Khalasa (M.R. 117056).

GARY A. HERION

**BETH-CAR** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt-kār* (בֵּית־כָּר)]. A village in the territory of Benjamin near MIZPAH where the Israelites defeated the Philistines under the direction of Samuel (1 Sam 7:11). After being

thrown into confusion by Yahweh, the Philistines fled and were pursued by the Israelites as far as an area below Beth-Car. The location of the site is unknown, though ʿAin Karim and Beth-horon have been proposed (see McCarter *1 Samuel* 146). Several scholars have noted the similarities between the battle described here and the one recounted in 1 Sam 4 and have suggested that this narrative was written with the intention of wiping out the dishonor created by that earlier defeat (McCarter *1 Samuel* 149–50; Garsiel 1983:41–44). Beth-Car figures into the relationship between these two chapters in that the narrative apparently places the erection of the monument stone called Ebenezer here (cf. 1 Sam 7:12, translating *ʿad-hēnnāh* with McCarter (*1 Samuel* 146–47) as "to this point" rather than "hitherto" with RSV). Ebenezer, in turn, is where the Israelites were defeated and the ark taken by the Philistines in 1 Sam 4. A. Weiser (1959) is the most notable of those who see at least part of 1 Samuel 7 as containing a historical account which predates the composition of 1 Samuel. This means that the parallels with the battle described in chap. 4 are reflections of historical coincidence and not the design of the narrator.

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JEFFRIES M. HAMILTON

**BETH-DAGON** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt-dāqôn* (בֵּית־דָּגוֹן)]. 1. A town situated in the Shephelah, or lowlands, of Judah (Josh 15:41), within the same district as LIBNAH and MARESHAH. The only OT reference to this settlement, whose name apparently means "House/Temple of Dagon," occurs in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The theory that this list is derived from an administrative roster compiled under the Judean Monarchy (Alt 1925) has been widely accepted, although controversy continues over the precise makeup of the districts, the proper context of the town lists of Benjamin and Dan, and the period of the monarchy to which the original roster belongs (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 64–72; see also JOSHUA, BOOK OF). This Judean settlement has often been identified with a town of the same name in the vicinity of Jaffa which the Annals of Sennacherib claim was captured during the campaign of 701 B.C. (*ANET*, 257). If this suggestion is accepted, the ancient settlement is probably to be found in the vicinity of modern Beit Dajan (*LBHG*, 374; M.R. 134156), located approximately 9 km southeast of Jaffa. However, such an identification seems doubtful, considering the fact that the remainder of the identifiable towns in this lowland district are located approximately 40 km to the southeast. The location of the ancient town remains uncertain.

2. A town situated on the southern border of the tribal allotment of Asher (Josh 19:27). The historical and editorial context of the boundary lists of the northern tribes is a subject of continued controversy. One viewpoint suggests that the boundary lists of Joshua 19 are based on ancient documents describing either tribal claims from the period of the old tribal league (Alt 1953), or (excluding Simeon) the official internal boundaries of the Kingdom of Israel (*LBHG*, 233–34). An alternative perspective (Noth 1935) argues that these boundary lists, rather than being authentic border descriptions, are based on a partial list of border stations to which an editor added a series of connecting verbs. That many scholars (*LBHG*, 235–39; Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 442–67) have found it possible to trace the path indicated by these connecting verbs with a great deal of precision strongly suggests that they stem from actual boundary descriptions rather than mere editorial approximations. Although the exact location of the ancient town remains unclear, a recent proposal to identify it with Tell Regeb (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 454; M.R. 159240), about 8 km SE of Haifa is attractive in both geographical and archaeological terms.

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WADE R. KOTTER

**BETH-DIBLATHAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt diblātāyim* (בֵּית דִּבְלָתָיִם)]. A town mentioned in Jeremiah's oracle against Moab (48:22). According to this verse, "judgment has come upon the tableland," i.e., God's wrath was unleashed against a number of Moabite settlements, including Beth-diblathaim. The Mesha Inscription (line 30) reports that King Mesha of Moab rebuilt Medeba and Beth-diblathaim, among other towns. The same line of this Moabite text mentions Beth-diblathaim between Medeba and Beth-baal-meon, possibly indicating that this town was positioned on the Moabite plateau in the vicinity of the other two sites.

Beth-diblathaim is perhaps identical with Almon-diblathaim, one of the stops on the Israelites' route between Mt. Hor and the plains of Moab. According to Num 33:46–47, Almon-diblathaim was situated between Dibon and the mountains of Abarim, on the Moabite tableland. Assuming that Beth- and Almon-diblathaim are alternative biblical names, both the OT and the Mesha Inscription allow for identification with a site somewhere in the tableland north of the Wādī el-Mūjib. Many scholars associate the ancient place name in question with Khirbet Deleilât esh-Sherqîyeh (M.R. 228116), located ca. ten miles north-northeast of Dhiban. Recently, Khirbet Libb, which is located on the King's Highway ca. eight miles north of Dhiban, has been linked with ancient Beth- and Almon- diblathaim. Neither of these site identifications is certain.

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

**BETH-EDEN** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt ʿeden* (בֵּית עֶדֶן)]. Var. EDEN. Aramean kingdom in the upper bend of the Euphrates 200 miles NE of Israel, attested in 9th–8th century B.C. texts (Amos 1:5). It is first mentioned by this name in 884 B.C. in Assyrian inscriptions relating rebellion among other Aramean kingdoms (*GARI* II §547). Although subdued by Assurnasirpal II seven years later (*GARI* II §582–83), the first three years of Shalmaneser III's reign were again occupied with the subjugation of Beth-Eden (857–585 B.C.; *LAR* §559–61, 599–601), after which he renamed the kingdom's major cities (the capital Til-Barsip on the east bank of the Euphrates becoming Kar-Shalmaneser). Because the kingdom does not subsequently figure prominently as an independent political entity, some locate the Beth-Eden of Amos 1:5 elsewhere (written at least a century after the above events), noting that a mid-7th century Aramaic letter (*KAI* 233.14–15) points to a similarly named locale in southern Mesopotamia. But Tiglath–Pileser III in the latter half of the 8th century does refer to certain Syrian cities by the old designation Beth-Eden (*LAR* §821). In later texts the conquered "people of Eden" (2 Kgs 19:12 = Isa 37:12) and simple "Eden" (Ezek 27:23) are probably connected with this formerly independent kingdom, for it is named in conjunction with other Euphrates locales, while Ezekiel associates Eden with Lebanon (Ezekiel 31).

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SAMUEL A. MEIER

**BETH-EGLAIM** (PLACE) [Gk *Bēthaglaim* (Βηθαγλαιμ)]. A village eight Roman miles from Gaza, according to Eusebius (*Onomast.* 48.19). Beth-eglaim is not mentioned in the Scriptures. By analogy with EN-EGLAIM (Ezek 47:10) it has been Hebraicized as *bêt ʿeglayim.*

Conder (1896:235) was the first to suggest identifying Beth-eglaim with TELL EL-ʿAJJUL (M.R. 093097), about four miles SW of Gaza. Petrie (1931–34) excavated Tell el-ʿAjjul as ancient Gaza, choosing the name on the basis of the mention of *palaia Gaza* in Diodorus Siculus (19.80) as the site of a battle between Ptolemy and Demetrius in 312 B.C.E. (19.81–84). However after the appearance of Maisler's 1933 article it has been common to equate Beth-eglaim and Tell el-ʿAjjul (for modern dissenters see below). Major components of the argument for the identification of the two lie in Beth-eglaim's situation at the coast according to Eusebius and in the similarity of their names, Beth-eglaim meaning "house/temple of the two calves" in Hebrew ("cattle farm," according to Kempinski 1974:146),

and Tell el-ʿAjjul, meaning "mound of the little calf" in Arabic. The name may refer to a temple of Baal or Hadad with an iconography of twin bullocks (see Albright 1938:337 n. 1 and Stinespring *IDB* 1:389).

Tell el-ʿAjjul is a major site of 28–32 acres. It lies on the N bank of Nahal Besor (Wadi Ghazzeh, see BESOR, THE BROOK), near its estuary into the Mediterranean Sea and along the Via Maris, "way of the sea," one of the major routes leading from Egypt into Palestine.

Petrie personally excavated at ʿAjjul from 1931–1934, while a team under his direction excavated there one additional short season in 1938 (Petrie, MacKay, and Murray 1952). Petrie's interpretation of his finds proved suspect, and most studies follow the lines of interpretation and chronology first laid out by Albright in 1938 (see also Stewart 1974:9–14, 59–61 and Tufnell *EAEHL* 1:52–61.

Although earlier periods were represented on the S bank of the Nahal Besor, the earliest finds at ʿAjjul date to EB IV (Kenyon's Intermediate Early Bronze–Middle Bronze Age; see Kenyon 1956). These consist of two cemeteries, one to the NW (1500) and one to the E (100–200) of the tell.

The earliest remains found on the tell itself come from the Courtyard Cemetery on the N and have been dated to MB I. A number of scarabs bearing the names of Egyptian officials, as well as a small statue and a carnelian bead bearing names found at the S end of the tell, could indicate the presence of a contemporaneous settlement, although no structural remains have been found.

ʿAjjul became a city of major proportions in MB II–III. This great expansion took place during the so-called "Hyksos" period of Egyptian history (Dyn. 15–16), when Egyptian and Canaanite relations were particularly close. Tell el-ʿAjjul, situated at the junction of the major N–S route from Egypt into Canaan and of a major inland route along the Nahal Besor, as well as being a port city, was in a perfect position to take advantage of growing international commercial contacts. This finds graphic expression in the wealth of gold objects recovered from the tell. Evidence of Tell ʿAjjul's position as a center of international trade is also indicated by the early and rich appearance of Bichrome Ware at the site starting with the final phase of Palace I and increasing during the succeeding period (LB I; see Epstein 1966:174–185; and Artzy, Asaro, and Perlman 1973).

Construction of the MB city appears to have followed a well-thought-out plan. The fosse surrounding the tell on three sides was deepened (presumably the slope on the SW side facing Nahal Besor was sufficient for defensive purposes), and debris from it was used to heighten the slope on the top of the tell. Sandstone from this quarrying was also used to lay the foundations of the large Palace I on the N. Inside the walls, the city was laid out according to careful plan (see Yassine 1974). City III on the S was most probably contemporary with Palace I. Both were covered by a thick destruction layer which Albright dated to the period of the anti-Hyksos campaigns of the 18th Dynasty shortly after 1570 B.C.E.

After a brief interval, the palace was rebuilt. Palace II was a more modest structure constructed entirely of bricks. It was contemporary with the early phase of City II. Palace II was eventually succeeded by the fortress-like Palace III, whose appearance was followed in the construction of Palaces IV and V. It would appear that ʿAjjul progressively lost importance as a city and became an Egyptian military outpost (Palaces III–V). This was most likely related to the concurrent rise of the importance of nearby Gaza. Eventually Egypt lost control over the area to the Philistines, and the site was virtually abandoned.

Although Tell el-ʿAjjul has most often been identified with Beth-eglaim, and indeed that has become the name of the site in modern Hebrew, in recent years strong arguments have been raised against this identification.

Kempinski (1974) has argued that ʿAjjul should be identified with Sharuhen, the site of the Hyksos' last stand after their expulsion from Egypt. First, Tell el-ʿAjjul lies too close to Gaza to be the Beth-eglaim mentioned by Eusebius. Second, the finds from the tell do not indicate settlement there at the time of Eusebius. He would therefore seek Beth-eglaim in the vicinity of Deir el-Balah, roughly twice as far from Gaza. Third, he has redated the architectural remains from the tell, pushing their dates back in time from those proposed by Albright. Palace II/City II would then be the one destroyed shortly after 1570, pursuant to which the New Kingdom administrative center in SW Canaan shifted to Gaza. Finally the identification of Sharuhen at Tell el-ʿAjjul, rather than at Tell Farah (South), is based on ʿAjjul's being the largest city in the region in the Middle Bronze Age. In Kempinski's opinion also the situation directly on the coastal

road, rather than twenty additional kms farther inland along the Nahal Besor, would be more fitting for the great Hyksos stronghold which took three years to conquer. Stewart (1974:63) had previously arrived at the same conclusion regarding the identification of ʿAjjul. In this they have been followed by Naʾaman (1980:147–48) and Weinstein (1981:4, 6; who, however, sees no need to redate Palace II/Level II to the end of the Hyksos period rather than to the period afterward).

Aḥituv has argued against the attempt to sever Tell el-ʿAjjul from its identification as Beth-eglaim and to identify it instead with Sharuhen (1984:171–73). Although conceding that ʿAjjul would fit the history of Sharuhen in the Hyksos and New Kingdom periods, Aḥituv feels that it departs from what is known of Sharuhen in its lack of habitation at the time of Shishak's campaign in the late 10th century, if one follows Kempinski's dating of Palace V to the 12th century. As regards the location of the tell, Aḥituv feels that if ʿAjjul were to be identified as Sharuhen, it would lie too far to the SW to be included in the Simeonite geographical lists (Josh 19:6). Also in his opinion an inland location of Sharuhen at Tell el-Farah (South) would not be inconsistent with its location on the Via Maris. He concludes that ʿAjjul is to be identified with Beth-eglaim, and that its location at the time of Eusebius is to be sought at one of the small sites in the vicinity, perhaps at Tell es-Sanam, on the S side of Nahal Besor and hence slightly farther from Gaza and more in keeping with the geographical information contained in Eusebius.

Resolution of the identification of Beth-eglaim must await further archaeological investigation.

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CARL S. EHRLICH

**BETH-EKED** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt ʿēqed* (בֵּית עֵקֶד)]. A town on the road from Jezreel to Samaria (2 Kgs 10:12–14) where Jehu encountered forty-two kinsmen of Ahaziah, the late king of Judah. Jehu seized the men and had them all killed in a pit at Beth-Eked as a part of his campaign against the rulers of Israel and Judah.

The toponym, which can be translated as "house of binding," occurs once (2 Kgs 10:12) with the appellation "of the shepherds" (Heb *hāro ʿîm*). The LXX interprets Beth-eked as a proper noun, while the Targum translates the name as "meetinghouse."

Many scholars (*GP,* 271) have located the town at Beit Qad (M.R. 208192) in part due to the similarity between the ancient and modern names. However, as Simons (1959:363) has pointed out, Beit Qad, which is located about three miles east of Jenin (M.R. 178207), is well to the east of any reasonable route between Jezreel (M.R. 181218) and Samaria (M.R. 168187). Others (*GTTOT,* 363) have suggested the village of Kafr Ro' i (M.R. 165198) as the location of Beth-Eked, based upon both the location of the town on a hill above the disused rail tracks between Jenin and Samaria and the similarity of the name to the appellation *hāroʿîm,* used in reference to Beth-Eked. While this identification is more in keeping with the context of the story, neither identification is entirely convincing.

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MELVIN HUNT

**BETH-EMEK** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt hā‹ēmeq* (בֵּית הָעֵמֶק)]. A town that appears only once in the description of the territory of the tribe of Asher (Josh 19:27). Robinson (1857:134) pointed out the similarity of the name to that of ‹Amqa (M.R. 166264), eleven km NE of Acco, and Guerin (1880:23) identified Beth-emek with this site. This is almost certainly the "Kefar Amiko" of Talmudic literature (*t. B. Qam.* 8, 10 = p. 362; *b. Ta‹an.* 21A), but no antiquities of the Iron Age or earlier were found at the site. Saarisalo, who had initially also identified Beth-emek at ‹Amqa, later suggested Tel Mimas (M.R. 164263), two km SW of ‹Amqa (1929:36 n. 1; 1930:6). He found Iron Age pottery at the site, and since then LB pottery has also been found. Consequently, the neighboring kibbutz has been named Beth Ha'emek.

The territory of Asher is, in Joshua, clearly described from south to north, and Beth-emek is listed before Cabul (Josh 19:27). The latter can almost certainly be identified at the modern village of Kabul or in its immediate vicinity. See CABUL. Tel Mimas, however, is not south but north of Kabul. If it is presumed that the place names appear in exact geographical order, the identification with Tel Mimas is untenable; thus, Gal (1985) has recently suggested locating Beth-emek at Kh. Mudawer Tamra (M.R. 169250), five km S of Kabul.

Zadok (1985:157), however, has shown ‹Amqa to have the same denotation as Beth-emek. There is also every indication that many of the place names in the description of the territory of Asher are not in exact geographical order, and many scholars regard some of these as part of a town list inserted between sections of the border description (Alt 1927:68–71), thus allowing for the identification of Beth-emek with Tel Mimas (*LBHG,* 376).

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RAFAEL FRANKEL

**BETH-EZEL** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt hā›ēṣel* (בֵּית הָאֵצֶל)]. An unknown location in the Shephelah (Mic 1:11). The LXX Symmachus, the OL versions, and the Vg translated the phrase along the lines of "the house next door" (so van Hoonacker 1908:360; cf. Zech 14:5). But the substantive *›ēṣel,* "proximity, conjunction," is otherwise used in the Hebrew Bible only as a preposition, "beside, in proximity to;" and "the house next door" does not help with the sense of the passage. In the paronomastic poem of Mic 1:10–16, the pun stems from the verbal root *(›ṣl)* meaning "withdraw, withhold, take away," a conceptual wordplay on the "take away from" (Heb *yiqqaḥ min*) in the following colon. Thus, an appropriate translation might be, "mourning in 'Withholdon' (Beth-ezel) will keep its support (Heb *‹emdâ;* cf. van Hoonacker 1908:361–62; Allen *Joel, Obadiah* … NICOT, 276) from you."

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LAMONTTE M. LUKER

**BETH GADER** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt-gādēr* (בֵּית־גָּדֵר)]. One of the references to a geographical name within a genealogical framework (*LBHG,* 246), Beth Gader is listed as the son of Hareph, son of Hur, within the tribe of Judah (1 Chr 2:51). Though its exact location has not been identified, Beth Gader was probably an important border city in the vicinity of Bethlehem (M.R. 169123) and Kiriath-jearim (modern

Dier el-ʿÂzar, M.R. 159135), which appear with it in the genealogy (*EncMiqr* 2:70). Aharoni, who claims the name derives from the cities fortifications (from Heb *gādēr,* "wall" or "enclosure"), suggests that Beth Gader, along with the other towns in its genealogical list, lies in the NE section of the Shephelah near the Valley of Elah (*LBHG,* 109, 248) which begins M.R. 149121 and runs to the Mediterranean coastal region.

SUSAN E. MCGARRY

**BETH-GAMUL** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt gāmûl* (בֵּית גָּמוּל)]. A town located in Moab's tableland, named in Jer 48:23 along with a number of other settlements in this region that were the objects of God's wrath. Since the town is not mentioned anywhere else in the Bible, it has been suggested that Beth-gamul was founded relatively late in history. Such an explanation is not necessary, however, since it is likely that Jeremiah's list of place names included some that were unimportant. Beth-gamul has been equated with Khirbet el-Jemeil, a site with extensive Iron Age ruins that is located ca. eight miles east of Dhiban, but this identification is uncertain.

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

**BETH-GILGAL** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt gilgāl* (בֵּית גִּלְגָּל)]. A town in the general vicinity of Jerusalem, where levitical singers had been established and from which they were summoned to participate in the dedication of Jerusalem's rebuilt walls (Neh 12:29). It is often suggested that it be identified with the more famous Gilgal situated near Jericho, but since *gilgāl* was a common place name in Israel and the text presumes its proximity to Jerusalem for the Levites functioning in the temple, it is preferable to locate the town in the environs of Jerusalem. See also GILGAL.

JEFFREY K. LOTT

**BETH-HACCHEREM** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt hakkerem* (בֵּית הַכֶּרֶם)]. One of five districts, or district capitals, of the province of Judah during the Persian Period. Neh 3:14 indicates it was ruled by Malchijah, son of Rechab. According to Jer 6:1, a fire signal station was located there.

Both 3QInv (3Q15) and 1QapGen mention a Beth-haccherem in conjunction with the King's Valley where the tomb of Absalom was located (2 Sam 18:18). Some scholars believe that the *Karem* which the LXX adds to the list of places in Joshua 15:59 may be the same as Beth-haccherem.

Based on Jeremiah's association of Tekoa with Beth-haccherem (Jer 6:1), as well as Jerome's comment that it could be seen from Bethlehem, the proposal has been made that Beth-haccherem be identified with the Herodium (M.R. 173119), although this view has gained little support. Others have suggested that the village of ʿAin Karim, ca. 6.5 km W of Jerusalem (M.R. 165130), preserves the name of the ancient site. It has further been suggested that cairns located on top of Jebel Ali, which overlooks ʿAin Karim, could have served as the beacons for Beth-haccherem. The most recent proposal for Beth-haccherem is RAMAT RAHEL, ca. 4 km S of Jerusalem (M.R. 170127; Aharoni, *LBHG,* 432). This location can be harmonized with the ancient sources, and it also would have been ideal for a fire signal station. The recovery of ancient remains from the last years of the kingdom of Judah would also tend to support such an identification.

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RANDALL W. YOUNKER

**BETH-HAGGAN** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt haggān* (בֵּית הַגָּן)]. A place toward which Ahaziah king of Judah fled when attacked by Jehu king of Israel (2 Kgs 9:27). Ahaziah was fleeing S from Jezreel (v 15) toward Samaria and Jerusalem. Thus he should have taken the main road going SW from Jezreel to modern Jenin, where the natural pass from the Jezreel valley into the Samaria mountains is located. Knowing the road, Jehu ordered an ambush to kill the king of Judah in the narrow pass of GUR leading to

the Dothan valley. After being mortally wounded, Ahaziah abruptly changed direction and headed to Megiddo, where he died.

The identification of Beth-haggan must, therefore, be connected to modern Jenin (M.R. 178207), where the name—lit. "house of the enclosure" *(gan)*—was well-preserved in the Roman period as Ginaea, marking the border between Galilee and Samaria and described as "a village situated in the great plain" (*JW* 3.48). In 1968 Porath discovered in the center of modern Jenin a tell of 30 dunams in area, upon which the central bus station was later built. The pottery collected proved that the site existed in the EB I, MB I, LB I–II, Iron I–II, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, medieval, and Ottoman periods. This discovery enabled the identification, on the same place, of *Kn* (E7 of the later Execration Texts), as suggested by Mazar (1974:25). It seems as well that this is "kur-Gina" of EA 250, mentioned in connection to the events which took place after the death of Labayu, prince of Shechem. With the identification of Harabu (EA 250) with el-Hurab in the Dothan valley (Zertal 1984:59–65), it seems even more probable that "kur-Gina" and Beth-haggan were indeed located at Jenin.

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ADAM ZERTAL

**BETH-HARAM** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt hārām* (בֵּית הָרָם)]. Var. BETH-HARAN. A valley allotted by Moses to the tribe of Gad on the east side of the Jordan (Josh 13:27), which includes the city of Beth-nimrah, among others. However Num 32:36 reports that Beth-haran (modern Beit Harran?) and Beth-nimrah (M.R. 210146) are both specific towns controlled by Gad. The discrepancy between a comprehensive territory and a locality is explained by Loewenstamm (1972) and later Kallai (1983) who define various stages in the report of the conquest of the Transjordan. These places were apparently fortified holding pens for livestock and were useful as staging points for persons crossing the Jericho into Canaan.

After working from surveys made in the nineteenth century, Glueck (1951) concludes that both Beth-haram and Beth-haran refer to the same Tell Iktanu (Ikhtenu, M.R. 214136) on the southern side of wadi er-Rameh. Excavations (Prag 1974:97) have not determined which biblical town is found during the Middle Bronze Age at Tell Iktanu.

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PAUL NIMRAH FRANKLYN

**BETH-HOGLAH** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt-hoglâ* (בֵּית־הָגְלָה)]. A village that was on the border between the territories of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin (Josh 15:6; 18:19). It is also listed as one of the cities in the territory of Benjamin (Josh 18:21). The border descriptions place Beth-hoglah and its companion village Beth-arabah just N of the bay on the northern shore of the Dead Sea at the mouth of the Jordan River. Beth-hoglah, one of the villages that may be named after an animal (partridge—Heb *hoglâ; LBHG,* 255), was identified by Eusebius (Klosterman ed., 48) with what was in his time called Agla. Today it is identified as modern Dier Hajlah (M.R. 197136), a site near ʿAin Hajlah SE of Jericho. Its companion village of Beth-arabah (modern ʿAin el-Gharabeh, M.R. 197139) lies just to the N. Though the linguistic evidence for this identification is very strong, the artifacts recovered from this area do not preceed the Byzantine period. Beth-hoglah and its companion village Beth-arabah have played an important part in the study of the historical development of the biblical text. Beth-arabah appears in both the city lists of the tribe of Judah (Josh 15:61) and the lists of the tribe of Benjamin (Josh 18:22). While Beth-hoglah only appears in the list of Benjaminite cities (Josh 18:21), it clearly appears, along with

Beth-arabah, S of the border (in Judah) in the border description of the S border of Benjamin (Josh 18:19). Beth-arabah is also clearly S of the border in the description of Judah's N boundary (Josh 15:6). These discrepancies have led scholars to conclude that the borders between the tribes shifted over time and that cities may have belonged to different territories in different periods. Kallai (1960:48) wrote that the N border description of the tribe of Judah (Josh 15:5–11) represented the border after the conquests of David. He claimed the list of Judean cities (Josh 15:21–61) was part of Solomon's second district (*HGB*, 373) but also showed signs of later editing (Hezekiah's time). He concluded that the list of the cities in Benjamin (Joshua 21–17), dating after the division of the kingdoms, could only represent the historical situation during the period between Abijah's conquest and Judah's expulsion from Mt. Ephraim during Asa's war with Baasha (*HGB*, 404).

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SUSAN E. MCGARRY

**BETH-HORON** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt-horôn* (בֵּית־חוֹרֹן)]. A levitical city assigned to the tribe of Ephraim. The earliest records indicate that there were two cities known as Beth-horon, the one Lower Beth-horon and the other Upper Beth-horon, each situated on the "ascent of Beth-horon." The later writer of Chronicles reveals that the Beth-horons were built by Sheerah (1 Chr 7:24), the daughter of Beriah, who was one of the sons of Ephraim. According to Joshua Beth-horon came under the control of the Hebrews at the time of the Conquest. In this battle (Josh 10:10–11) many of the Amorites were slaughtered at Gibeon, and the remaining Amorites were chased to the ascent of Beth-horon. At the time of the allotment, Lower Beth-horon was given to the descendants of Joseph, that is to say, the Ephraimites (Josh 16:3), while Upper Beth-horon was on the border between Ephraim (16:5) and Benjamin (18:13–14).

During the Philistine wars when the Israelites had been scattered, one of three companies of Philistine "raiders" assaulted Beth-horon, while Saul and Jonathan stayed in Geba (1 Sam 13:18). Later, as a result of the Egyptian capture and burning of Lower Beth-horon (1 Kgs 9:15–17), this site was one of the rebuilding projects of Solomon along with Jerusalem, Hazor, Megiddo, Gezer, Baalath, and Tamar. In a parallel Chronicles text (2 Chr 8:5–6) both Upper and Lower Beth-horon are mentioned as having been fortified with walls, gates, and bars (cf. Myers *2 Chronicles* AB, 13, 48). The final reference to Beth-horon is in the account of a raid by disbanded Israelite troops who killed 3000 in Judah, from Samaria to Beth-horon (2 Chr 25:13).

Outside the OT the only references to the Beth-horons are in the intertestamental literature and in the Church Fathers. During the Maccabean Wars Beth-horon was the site of two revolts under the leadership of Judas (1 Macc 3:16, 24; 7:39). The cities were later fortified by Bacchides after the battle with Jonathan (1 Macc 9:50). In *Jubilees* 34:4 the king of Beth-horon during the time of Jacob is mentioned. Beth-horon was also one of the villages held by the Jews against Holofernes (Jdt 4:4).

Beth-horon is a twin city:Upper Beth-horon has been identified with Beit ʿUr el-Foqaʾ (M.R. 16143), while Lower Beth-horon has been associated with Beit ʿUr et-Tahta (M.R. 158144). These identifications are uncontested. The Beth-horons are located in the mountains of Judah in the valley of Aijalon, the most important of all the routes in the hill country from the coastal plain. Beit ʿUr et-Tahta sits on a hill, not dissimilar in height, size, vegetation, or form from its environs. High hills are visible to the N, E, and S, while the deep valley of Aijalon is preserved in two parallel faults, making an easy approach to the mountains from the W. Beit ʿUr et-Tahta has a commanding view of the coastal plain below; it thus occupies a central position of communication between the hill country and the plain. Beit ʿUr el-Foqaʾ, ca. 2.5 km SE, sits on a hilltop site similar in structure to many others in the area. The most important things about these two sites were their role in the security of Judah and their significant impact on commerce. Beth-horon was one of the major cities on the route from Joppa, Lydda, Bethel, and Jericho crossing over to Rammoth-ammon.

A question regards which Beth-horon is referred to in the Hebrew Bible. This is a debated, unresolved problem. Without presenting any evidence, Simons (*GTTOT,* 204) identifies the Beth-horon of Joshua 21 with Beit ʿUr el-Foqaʾ; but others like Albright (1929:6) have argued for Beit ʿUr et-Tahta. Central to the question is Ephraim's border. According to Josh 16:5 the border of Ephraim goes as far as Upper Beth-horon, while in Josh 16:3 the allotment to Joseph extends "as far as the territory of Lower Beth-horon." Traditionally geographers have wanted to separate these two cities, but that option is not as attractive as it appears on the surface. In the first place, there are references to the "ascent of Beth-horon" and to the "going down of Beth-horon." Garstang (*Joshua, Judges,* 179) first suggested that this distinction "may possibly trace its origins to the fact that two different routes led from the plains of Gibeon towards the coast, but Aharoni (*LBHG,* 59) has proposed that "ascent" and "descent" simply depend on one's direction. Both points have credibility. When one approaches Beth-horon from el-Jîb, one has the feeling of climbing to Lower Beth-horon and then on to Upper Beth-horon. However, when coming from the coastal plain, the same perception is had; but the approach is from the opposite direction. The biblical narrative often is not clear whether the approach is from el-Jîb (E) or from the coastal plain (W).

Garstang's "two route" theory has been supported by recent surveys at both Beth-horons (Peterson 1977:281). When Beit ʿUr et-Tahta was surveyed, the tell was sterile with the exception of its N face. The S face was only slightly terraced. However, the N side, facing the valley, was covered with shards. Just the opposite was found at ʿUr el-Foqaʾ. The only part of the tell not sterile at el-Foqaʾ was the S face toward the deep valley. This suggests that et-Tahta's population overlooked and protected the valley and trade routes along its N side, while the ancient occupation at el-Foqaʾ overlooked and protected the valley and trade routes along its S side. Some communication system could easily have been developed between the fortified cities. Pottery supports occupation at both sites as early as Iron II.

Robinson (1841:62) presents an examination of all the literature written on Beth-horon until his June 9, 1838 visit. He identified the site as Beth-horon, and all geographers since have accepted Robinson's identification.

Since 1926 there have been many surveys at both el-Foqaʾ and et-Tahta. The surveys have shown that the pottery chronologies at el-Foqaʾ begin with LB, while at et-Tahta the earliest is Iron II. However, what is most interesting is that from Iron II forward each period is represented at both sites, giving more credibility to the "twin cities" thesis. Earlier geographers had failed to recognize the antiquity of the pottery at el-Foqaʾ, perhaps because of the many references to Lower Beth-horon in the Bible. The conclusion that can be drawn from the archaeological evidence is a close occupational relationship between the two cities. It is only when one city is specifically mentioned that the other is excluded. Given the occupational history and settlements of both cities, the Beth-horon of Josh 21:22 and of 1 Chr 6:68 must be *both* Beit ʿUr el-Foqaʾ and Beit ʿUr et-Tahta.

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JOHN L. PETERSON

**BETH-JESHIMOTH** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt hayĕšimôt* (בֵּית הַיְשִׁמוֹת)]. A place in the Shittim valley N of the Dead Sea and E of the Jordan River mentioned in four biblical passages (Num 33:49; Josh 12:3; 13:20; Ezek 25:9). The first of these is part of a larger passage (Num 33:5–49) giving the itinerary of the Israelites in their journey from Egypt to the plains of Moab. Beth-jeshimoth is mentioned twice in Joshua, first (12:3) as a point of reference in a delineation of the boundaries of the Amorite kingdom of Sihon, and next (13:20) in Moses' allocation of that defeated kingdom to the Reubenites (on the implied linking of Exodus and Conquest traditions, see Soggin *Joshua* OTL, 154–55; Boling *Joshua* AB, 340–

41). In a brief oracle against Moab, Ezekiel (25:9) lists the city as one of the three principal sites of that region.

The second element of the same occurs in Hebrew with the definite article (noted by Aharoni *LBHG* 109), but the first element (Heb *bêt,* lit. "house") is variously interpreted or omitted by LXX translators (see *LBHG* 98). The ancient name can be detected in that of Khirbet es-Suweimeh, although the view of Glueck (1943:23–26) that nearby Tell ʿAzeimeh was the actual ancient site is generally followed (Ottosson 1969:124; *LBHG* 113; Miller 1989:582 n. 8).

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C. GILBERT ROMERO

**BETH-LE-APHRAH** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt lĕʿaprâ* (בֵּית לְעַפְרָה)]. A town, otherwise unknown, mentioned only in Mic 1:10 within a paronomastic dirge lamenting the fall of the Shephelah cities, which formed the military bulwark for Jerusalem. Through a pun on the following Hebrew word, *ʿapar,* 'dust, 'the poet obviously wishes to convey the sense of "house of dust." The grammatical problem is the preposition *l,* which normally does not occur after a construct. The exegete might omit the *l* with the support of the Targum, Syriac, and Theodocian, to find possible reference to one of two attested Ophrahs (Heb *ʿoprâ*), but one of these towns lies in Benjamin and the other in Manasseh, both inappropriate localities for the Micah text. An alternative is to understand the *l* as possessive (Williams 1976:30, 270; *GKC,* 130a), so that *bêt lĕ* (van Hoonacker 1908:359 reads *mibbêt lĕ,* but MT *bĕbêt* is better, given the parallelism with *bĕgat,* "in Gath" in 10a; cf. BDB, 110b; *GKC,* 130aN) carries the sense of "within" Ophrah/Aphrah (see Rudolph *Micah* KAT, 9, 12). But simplest, and in this case best, is to accept Beth-le-aphrah and the difficult Beth-ezel alongside Shaphir, Zaanan (v 11), and Maroth (v 12) as currently unknown localities named in the Micah 1 text. Given the ancient Hebrew custom of lamenting in dust and ashes, a plausible translation of v 10 would be, "In Gath, tell it not! Weep not at all! In 'Ashton' (Beth-le-aphrah) roll round in the dust!"

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LAMONTTE M. LUKER

**BETH-LEBAOTH** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt lĕbāʾôt* (בֵּית לְבָאוֹת)]. Var. LEBAOTH. Simeonite town located in the Judean NEGEB and listed between HAZAR-SUSAH and SHARUHEN (Josh 19:6). In the list of towns in the Negeb district of Judah, it appears in its abbreviated form as LEBAOTH between SANSANNAH and SHILHIM (Josh 15:32). However, in the Simeonite genealogy in 1 Chr 4:31 its place is taken by BETH-BIRI between HAZAR-SUSIM and SHAARAIM. The relationship between Beth-lebaoth and Beth-biri is unclear. It is possible that they were one and the same place, in which case Beth-lebaoth could have been the site's preexilic and Beth-biri its postexilic name (see "Beth-biri" in *IDB* 1:389). Or they may have been two separate sites located in the same general area (implicit in Abel *GP 2:* 269, 368). Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 38) has conjectured that Beth-biri (Heb consonantal *byt brʾy*) and Beth-lebaoth (Heb *byt lbʾwt*) may be biforms of the same name, drawing on different Heb word roots for lion *(ʾry* and *lbʾ)* respectively (in which case he would emend Beth-biri to Beth-ari *byt ʾry*). The site of Beth-lebaoth has not been identified, although it was probably located in the vicinity of Sharuhen.

CARL S. EHRLICH

**BETH-MAACAH** (PLACE). See ABEL-BETH-MAACAH (PLACE).

**BETH-MARCABOTH** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt hammarkābôt* (בֵּית הַמַּרְכָּבוֹת), *bêt markābôt* (בֵּית מַרְכָּבוֹת)]. Beth-marcaboth is listed in Josh 19:5 and in 1 Chr 4:31 as one of the settlements occupied by the tribe of Simeon in the aftermath of the Conquest. Since the tribe of Simeon was assimilated to that of Judah at an early date, and most of the Simeonite towns are listed again clearly in the record of the Judean settlements in Josh 15:21–32, an explanation for its absence there is necessary.

In Josh 19:5–6a the text reads:Ziklag, Beth-marcaboth, Hazar-susah, Beth-lebaoth; the parallel passage in Josh 15:31–32a has:Ziklag, Madmannah, Sansannah, Lebaoth. Since these short sections of the list begin and end with the same towns (Lebaoth being a variant for Beth-lebaoth), it is likely that the towns in between are also to be equated. An explanation for this difference is that Madmannah is the earlier name for the site. The name Beth-marcaboth, meaning "the house of the chariots," may have been given to it under Solomon, who is known to have trafficked in chariots and horses (1 Kgs 10:28–29). The older name of the site may be preserved at Khirbet Umm ed-Deimneh though no Iron Age remains have been found there (Abel *GP* 2:372). The nearby site of Khirbet Tatrit (M.R. 143084), 18.5 km NE of Beersheba, has yielded Iron Age pottery (Kochavi 1972:80–81; Aharoni, *LBHG* 431).

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JEFFREY R. ZORN

**BETH-MEON** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt măʿôn* (בֵּית מָעוֹן)]. A N Moabite town more commonly called Baal-meon, also known as Beth-baal-meon and, probably, Beon. After the Hebrew victory over the Amorites, this settlement was assigned to the tribe of Reuben (Num 32:3, 38; Josh 13:17; 1 Chr 5:8). The alternative names Beth-baal-meon/Baal-meon appear in the Mesha Inscription (lines 9, 30), where the Moabite king says he rebuilt the town and made a reservoir in it. Jer 48:23 and Ezek 25:9 mention this place name in their oracles against Moab. Samaria Ostracon 27 contains a reference to "Baala the Baalmeonite." The village of Maʿin (M.R. 219120), located ca. 4 miles SW of Medeba, is the probable location of ancient Beth-baal-meon, though archaeological confirmation is lacking.

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

**BETH-MILLO** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt millôʾ* (בֵּית מִלּוֹא)]. An otherwise unattested place mentioned together with the "citizens of Shechem" as part of an assembly responsible for the enthronement of Abimelech, king of Shechem (Judg 9:6, 20 [2 times]). The passage seems to be earlier than the surrounding narrative (Richter 1963:305) and may reflect a secondary interpretation of a traditional description of the environment of Shechem.

Several identifications of Beth-millo have been offered (Soggin 1973). The term has been taken to refer to the acropolis of Shechem, presumed to be identical with the *migdal* "tower" mentioned in Judg 9:46. Most who follow this line of interpretation identify the site as an important part of the urban defense system; others consider it to have been an area outside the city (either connected with or separate from the *migdal*).

If the second element of the name Beth-millo means "filling" (from Heb *mlʾ* 'to fill'), it may refer to the foundation of the upper city (so Boling *Judges* AB, 171). This has generally been presumed to be the meaning of the (identically spelled) word *millʾ* 'Millo'designating an area of fill on the E slope of the city of David (2 Sam 5:9; 1 Kgs 9:15, 24; 11:27; 1 Chr 11:8; 32:5). See MILLO (PLACE). A *bêt millôʾ* is referred to in this area also (2 Kgs 12:21), perhaps "a prominent building in the Millo" (Cogan and Tadmor *II Kings* AB, 139). Beth-millo would then be related to the later function of the urban acropolis as

a part of the defense system which included the priests, other temple personnel, and soldiers who inhabited the area (Soggin 1973).

The etymology of the word *millôʾ* remains rather doubtful. It is possible that the word is a borrowing from Eg *m3rw,* which designates a part of the king's court (Görg 1985:60). Beth-millo may thus be a term for the residential area of the king at Shechem (and Jerusalem, respectively) and may designate the administrative center of the city.

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M. GÖRG

**BETH-NIMRAH** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt nimrâ* (בֵּית נִמְרָה)]. One of the towns built by Gadites E of the Jordan valley in land wrested from the Amorite king Sihon and given to them by Moses (Num 32:36; Josh 13:27). The name is found at Num 32:3 without the initial element (Heb *bêt,* lit. "house"), and LXX omits it at Num 32:36 (Gk *Nambra*). The name of the site persists at Tell Nimrin (on the Wâdī Nimrin), although the ancient site was Tell Bleibil nearby (Aharoni *LBHG* 112–14). The "waters of Nimrim" (Isa 15:6; Jer 48:34) are perhaps to be associated with this location. See NIMRIM, THE WATERS OF (PLACE).

C. GILBERT ROMERO

**BETH-PAZZEZ** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt paṣṣēṣ* (בֵּית פַּצֵּץ)]. A town in the territory of the tribe of Issachar mentioned only in Josh 19:21. From the position of Beth-pazzez in the list of tribal towns, it should be located to the E of Mt. Tabor (M.R. 187232). Although Abel (*GP 2:* 62) suggested an identification with Kerm el-Haditeh (M.R. 196232), there is not sufficient evidence to establish an identification with any site.

MELVIN HUNT

**BETH-PELET** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt-peleṭ* (בֵּית־פֶּלֶט)]. A town in Judah located in the extreme S (Negeb) near Beersheba and toward the boundary of Edom (Josh 15:27). It was one of the towns reoccupied by Judeans when they returned from exile (Neh 11:26). Petrie (1930:15) identified it with the S Tell el-Fara (M.R. 100076), 18 miles S of Gaza, although now that site is identified with Sharuhen. The location of Beth-pelet thus remains unknown.

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GARY A. HERION

**BETH-PEOR** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt pĕʿôr* (בֵּית פְּעוֹר)]. Heb for "house" or "temple of Peor," a Transjordanian site the biblical importance of which is based on events that took place prior to the Hebrew conquest of Canaan. Its theophoric name probably indicates that the god Peor, or Baal of Peor, was worshiped in its environs. This place name, Beth-peor, is, in fact, related to a group of proper nouns that occur in the OT and are sometimes a cause of confusion: (1) Baal-peor, the name of a god, a local manifestation of Baal (i.e., Baal of Peor), who was worshiped in NW Moab; (2) Peor, the name of a mountain in NW Moab and a shortened name for the god of Mt. Peor, Baal-peor, whose name was derived from the mountain's designation; and (3) Beth-peor, the place name under discussion in this entry, a town which probably served as the cultic center of Baal-peor (perhaps known as Beth-baal-peor in antiquity).

According to Josh 13:20, Beth-peor was in the territory assigned to the tribe of Reuben, an area that included the Moabite tableland (i.e., Heb *mîšōr*) and the slopes down to the Jordan. Prior to their invasion of Canaan, the Hebrews camped among these hills above the Ghor, "in the valley opposite Beth-peor" (Deut 3:29); here Moses recounted the journey from Egypt and reminded Israel about their covenant obligations (Deut 4:44–45). Still in the vicinity of Beth-peor, Moses viewed the promised land from "the top of Pisgah," died "in the land of Moab," and was buried "in the valley in the land of Moab opposite Beth-peor" (Deut 34:1–6).

In agreement with the forenamed passages that mention Beth-peor, the biblical references to Peor, including those that narrate Balaam's experience in this area (Num 23:28) and the infamous episode at Shittim (Numbers 25), also point to NW Moab as the location of Beth-peor. Though Deut 34:6 says that the location of Moses' burial was unknown in ancient times, this text indicates that it was somewhere "opposite Beth-peor." The lack of information noted by the biblical writer has been compounded in modern times, because the locations of Peor and Beth-peor remain uncertain (these names could refer to the same locale, of course). Clearly, all of the available evidence points to a location somewhere below the massif on which Mt. Nebo and Mt. Pisgah (Ras Siyagha) are found, probably in Wâdī ʿAyun Musa, but identification with a particular site must remain tentative for the time being.

Two sites have emerged from the scholarly discussion as possible candidates for ancient Beth-peor. According to Eusebius Bethphogor (biblical Beth-peor) and Mt. Phogor were located 6 Roman miles E of Livias (OT Beth-haram), on the road to Esbus. Furthermore, Egeria said she could see the site of Fogor (Peor) when looking N from Siyagha. This position corresponds to Khirbet el-Meḥaṭṭa on the Mushaqqar ridge, as identified by a survey party from the Heshbon Expedition. While many scholars suggest that Beth-peor was located at the Roman fort of Khirbet esh-Sheikh Jayil, Henke concludes that what Musil identified with the latter actually corresponds to Khirbet el-Meḥaṭṭa. Other scholars identify Khirbet ʿAyun Musa, located ca. 1 mile N of Mt. Nebo, with Beth-peor.

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

**BETH-RAPHA** (PERSON) [Heb *bêt-rāpâ* (בֵּית־רָפָה)]. Name attributed to an individual from the tribe of Judah mentioned in 1 Chr 4:12. The form of the name is strange, since it is the only time a personal name collocated with *bēt* appears in the OT. This has led some to suggest that a place name was intended (Odelain and Séguineau 1981:72; Aharoni *LBHG* 108 [but see the list of persons on 248]). However, both the MT and the versions are unanimous in rendering this as a person, along with the other individuals mentioned. It is quite likely that he was either named after a city, or that the city was viewed as going back to one ancestor/founder. He is said to be one of the men of Recah (which Codex Vaticanus and the Lucianic Recension of the LXX render as Recab). Interestingly enough, in an almost midrashic fashion, the Targum to Chronicles identifies this person, as well as the other individuals mentioned in 1 Chr 4:12, as being "the men of the great synagogue" (my translation). There is some difficulty in identifying the connotation of the word *bêt-rāpâ.* It means either "house of the healer," "house of the ghost," "house of the giant" or "house of Rapha" (a Canaanite deity attested at Ugarit and perhaps in several Heb inscriptions. See REPHAIM.). The latter possibility is rejected by Tigay in his discussion of personal names (1986:79), but if polytheism was more widespread in Israelite society than many would allow, there may well be a reference to a Canaanite deity here. The represents this name as *bathrephan* (or *bathraian* in Codex Vaticanus), which would mean "daughter of Rephan" (or Raian according to Codex Vaticanus). The Vulgate sides with the MT in rendering *bethrapa,* as does the Aramaic *bayta rāpā* (as would be expected). The Peshitta omits the difficult *bêt* (presumably because it sounded like a place name), rendering the name as *řpā*ʾ.

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H. ELDON CLEM

**BETH-REHOB** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt rĕḥôb* (בֵּית רְחוֹב)]. Var. REHOB. A Syrian town along the S border of Hamath, from which mercenaries came to join the Ammonites in war against King David (2 Sam 10:6–8). Beth-rehob is mentioned in close connection with Zobah, and it is possible that Hadadezer, king of Zobah, was a native of (Beth-)Rehob (cf. 2 Sam 8:3, 12). See also REHOB (PLACE). This town perhaps marked the ideal N border of the promised land; in the days of Moses "Rehob near the entrance of Hamath" marked the N extent of the spies' journey (Num 13:21). In the book of Judges the Israelite city of Dan is said to have been located in the valley, which (at the time of the redactor) belonged to Beth-rehob (18:28). Thus, Beth-rehob should be located somewhere in the region where the Huleh valley connects with the Bekaa valley of Lebanon. Its exact location remains unknown, and Thomson's (1882:547) identification with Baniyas (M.R. 215294) must be rejected since no pre-Hellenistic remains have been found there. Thutmose III refers to a *rḥbw* in his topographic list (*ANET* 243, no. 87), but if it is to be identified with the (Beth-)Rehob near Dan and the entrance to Hamath, then it cannot be identified with Tell el-Balaṭ (M.R. 177280) or Tell er-Raḥb (M.R. 180275). See REHOB (PLACE).

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GARY A. HERION

**BETH-SAIDA** (PLACE) [Gk *Bēthsaida* (Βηθσαιδα)]. A city mentioned in the NT as the home town of several of Jesus' disciples—Philip, Andrew, and Peter (John 1:44; 12:21).

Beth-saida was already a village on the shores of the Sea of Galilee (M.R. 208255) when Herod Philip, son and heir of Herod the Great, advanced its status to that of a city. He enlarged its population, built it up grandly, and called it Julias to honor the daughter of Augustus Caesar (*Ant* 18.2.1 §28). Philip also built his capital of Paneas-Caesarea Philippi nearly 24 miles to the N, but he decreed that he was to be buried at Beth-saida. Upon his death, which took place at Beth-saida-Julias in 33 C.E., he apparently was buried in the city in his own funeral monument, which he had commissioned beforehand (*Ant* 18.4.6 §108).

Josephus records that Beth-saida-Julias was in the lower Gaulanitis, which would place it in the rich, alluvial plain W of the hills and cliffs of the Golan Heights (*JW* 2.9.1 §168; *Life* 73). He noted that the Jordan passed the city on the way to the Sea of Galilee (*JW* 3.10.7 §57). He implies elsewhere that the Jordan was about one furlong away from Beth-saida, or one-eighth of a mile (*Life* 72). Mark 6:45 adds the detail that Jesus and his disciples sailed from the site of the feeding of the 5000, which Luke 9:10 places in Beth-saida. Therefore Beth-saida had a port or anchorage on the lake (cf. *Life* 73). Josephus also explains that King Agrippa's region of Trachonitis extended to Julias at its S extent (*JW* 3.3.5 §57). Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis Historia* 5.21) and Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5.15.3) also knew its location on the E side of the lake. According to Mark 8:22 the territory of the city of Caesarea Philippi could be reached from Beth-saida-Julias on foot, suggesting the existence of a road between the two cities.

John 12:21 locates Beth-saida in Galilee, but probably that is to be understood as an informal designation for the geographical rather than for the political area; for Pliny says the same thing (*Naturalis Historia* 5.21). Later Eusebius and Jerome also repeated "of Galilee," even though politically Beth-saida belonged to Gaulanitis or Trachonitis (*Onomast.* 58.11; 59.12).

Nineteenth-century scholarship identified Beth-saida with the two sites of et-Tell and el-Araj. El-Araj lies on the shore of the lake, while et-Tell stands about 1.7 miles to the NNE. El-Araj should be Beth-saida, the original fishermen's village on the shore, which had an anchorage still usable early in this century. The ancient anchorage was located during a period of low water level. Julias, on the other hand, was identified with the site of et-Tell, at which have been found an aqueduct, a city wall, a mosaic, and a road connecting with el-Araj.

Recently new surveys in the region of the two proposed sites and the discovery of a third site have rounded out the picture without substantively altering the original proposal. See Fig. BET.01. Et-Tell (also known as el-Amiriyye from the nearby village) is now known to cover about 45,000 $m^2$ (Urman 1985:120–21). This is too small for an ancient city, but could be the acropolis of the city. El-Araj (el-

Hasel or Beith ha-Beq), SSW of et-Tell and on the shore of the lake, is now largely underwater, but has produced architectural fragments that closely resemble those of synagogues excavated in the region. Furthermore, el-Araj and el-Mis›adiyye, about one-half mile E of el-Araj, feature foundations of buildings and pottery from the Early Roman period to the time of the Arab conquest (Urman 1985:121; 1971:14). In 1982, 24 m of paved road or jetty extending into the lake were found at el-Araj. El-Araj and el-Mes›adiyye may together be regarded as the remnants of the large fishing village of Beth-saida, while et-Tell would form the acropolis of the city of Julias, founded by Herod Philip.

According to John 1:44 Philip, Andrew, and Peter came from Beth-saida. Their origin there helps explain Jesus' relationship to the village or city—he healed a blind man at Beth-saida (Mark 8:22–26) and fed 5000 in a deserted place nearby (Luke 9:25). Yet his ministry was evidently not well received, for Matthew 11:21 (cf. Luke 10:13) records his lament over the lack of repentence in Chorazin and Beth-saida.

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JAMES F. STRANGE

## BETH-SHAN (PLACE) [Heb *bêt šan* (בֵּית שַׁן), *bêt šĕ›ān* (בֵּית שְׁאָן)]. Var. BETH-SHEAN; SCYTHOPOLIS. An ancient city standing sentinel over the junction of the Jezreel and Jordan valleys (M.R. 197212). The town was given to Manasseh (Josh 17:11), but that tribe was unable to secure the site because of the iron chariotry that the Canaanites had in their arsenal (Josh 17:16; Judg 1:27). It remained in non-Israelite control until after the reign of Saul, and it was at Beth-shan where Saul's decapitated body was put on display in the temple of Ashtaroth (1 Sam 31:10–12). During the reign of Solomon, however, it was listed as part of the administrative district belonging to Megiddo/Ta‹anach (1 Kgs 4:12). The site is frequently mentioned in Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine times, when it became known as Scythopolis or Nysa Scythopolis. It was reported in the Maccabean conflicts as the scene of some confrontations (1 Macc 5:52; 12:40–42), and its inhabitants were spared massacre because of their hospitality to the local Jewish population (2 Macc 12:29–31). It then became the chief city of the DECAPOLIS, even though it was the only one on the W side of the Jordan river. During the Decapolis period the city expanded beyond the tell to its maximum area of almost 100 hectares, all of which was enclosed with a wall. The significance of Beth-shan is marked by the fact that the Islamic conquest of A.D. 636 was described by the victors as the "day of Beisan." The latter name, Beisan, derived from the ancient one ("house of Shan," Shan being possibly a deity worshiped at the site), continues to be used and now refers to a village SE of the tell.

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A. Environmental Setting
B. History of Excavations
C. Archaeological Sequence

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### A. Environmental Setting

Ancient Beth-shan (identified with Tell el-Husn) is strategically located in inland N Palestine where the Jezreel and Jordan valleys meet. The site is at the E terminus of the main route from the coast, the Via Maris, and roads branched out from there to Syria and Transjordan. Arable land, fish and other animal resources nearby, and a perennial water source (from the Wâdī Jalud, biblical Herod, on the S bank of

which the site was founded) also encouraged human occupation. Consequently, Beth-shan was almost continuously settled from at least the Chalcolithic period up to modern times.

**B. History of Excavations**

The tell of Beth-shan, including a large cemetery (the Northern Cemetery) on the N bank of the Wâdī Jalud, was excavated from 1921 to 1933, first under the direction of C. S. Fisher (1921–1923), then under A. Rowe (1925–1928) and G. M. FitzGerald (1930–1931, 1933). This undertaking was one of the large American archaeological expeditions after World War I, a period during which excavation techniques were still in their formative stages. Almost the whole of the top five levels of the highest point of the tell on the SE were cleared; and only by reworking the limited stratigraphic evidence and pottery data, based on current knowledge, can the archaeological sequence be reconstructed (see James 1966; Oren 1973). FitzGerald carried out a deep sounding on the citadel, penetrating to the basal levels, the areal extents of which were so limited that the results were very equivocal and as yet have not been reworked. More recent archaeological work on the tell and in its environs (e.g., Yadin and Geva 1984) has also helped to clarify the findings of the early expedition.

**C. Archaeological Sequence**

The earliest evidence for occupation on the tell at Beth-shan is represented only by pit deposits in the lowest level (XVIII; above virgin soil) of FitzGerald's deep sounding, which contained pottery dating to the Chalcolithic period (ca. 4500–3300 B.C.) or possibly to the terminal phase of the Neolithic period (Yarmukian). Many other Chalcolithic sites, however, were identified by N. Tzori in the immediate vicinity of the tell.

The Esdraelon culture, which has been identified as either a late Chalcolithic phase or an initial phase of the EB (ca. 3400–3100 B.C.), is attested by gray burnished and "grain wash ware" (i.e., pottery decorated with streaky red paint) from level XVI. Streets and multiroomed structures appeared in the immediately succeeding levels (XV–XI) of the deep sounding, encompassing the main period of urban expansion, down to ca. 2400 B.C. Khirbet Kerak pottery, a distinctive, highly burnished black and red ware with stylistic affinities to E Anatolian types, is very prevalent in level XI (although it was found in mixed contexts with MB material). This pottery is dated to a late phase of EB III and is possibly related to contemporaneous disruptions throughout the Near East that contributed to a weakening of the Palestinian city-state system.

The transitional EB IV period (ca. 2400–1950 B.C.), as elsewhere in Palestine, is primarily attested by shaft tombs in the Northern Cemetery; relatively little evidence for occupation was found on the tell. A reconsolidation of urban life, however, is evidenced by large houses with central courtyards in level X and by tombs with rich deposits (e.g., duckbill-shaped axheads and scarabs) both on the tell and in the Northern Cemetery. Although the stratigraphy of the deep sounding is problematic and has not been reworked, the artifactual material appears to cover most if not the entirety of MB I–III (ca. 1950–1550 B.C.).

Level IX, which also has not yet been reworked, dates primarily to the LB I period (ca. 1550–1400 B.C.); an admixture of earlier and later materials occurs in some contexts. Based on scarabs, Rowe assigned this stratum to Thutmose III, but scarabs of this pharaoh are poor chronological indicators since they continued to be made after his reign and were often retained as heirlooms. The architectural layout of the level on the acropolis is quite different from underlying level X, and included a large, open courtyard bordering a thick-walled rectangular building (possibly a *migdal*-type temple) and a complex of rooms with an altar to the E. A basalt relief showing a lion and dog in combat was a notable find; Palestinian artifacts predominated in the level, although some Egyptian-style artifacts were also recovered.

Egyptian presence was intensified in levels VII and VIII (dating to LB IIB, 13th century B.C. although previously assigned to the late 15th–14th centuries by Rowe on the basis of scarabs), in which the citadel was again laid out on along completely different architectural lines. The buildings (a so-called commandant's house with two large rooms along one side of the structure; a heavily bastioned *migdal;* a large silo; the SE sector with rooms and center hall buildings to either side of a N-S street; and, most significantly, a temple with a columned forecourt and a back altar room approached by a stairway) are

analogous to specific Egyptian New Kingdom architectural types. The levels produced more Egyptian-style artifacts than any other LB site in Palestine:scarabs of 19th-Dyn. pharaohs, duck-head bowls, cobra figurines, zoomorphic stands, "flower pots," jewelry, etc., as well as inscriptions (e.g., a stele of Amenemopet the architect, dedicated to "Mekal, the god, the lord of Beth-shan"). The combined evidence leaves little doubt that the Egyptians restructured the site to be a military garrison along the N frontier of Palestine, from which they could protect their interests in the area and participate in trade with major empires to the N. Palestinian artifacts still predominated at the site, and many of the basic industries (pottery, silicates, metals, alabaster, boneworking, goldworking, etc.) continued to function as they had in the past. Nevertheless, as shown by scientific analyses, Egyptian-style artifacts were generally produced locally (one exception being glass and faience vessels); and Egyptian craftsmen must have been present at the site to manufacture such items or to tutor Palestinian craftsmen. A syncretistic Palestinian-Egyptian cult is implied by the representation of Egyptian deities (Hathor and minor gods, such as Bes, Taurt, and Sekhmet) and Palestinian deities (a principal female and male god).

Even though serious disruptions in the Palestinian city-state system occurred at the end of the LB (ca. 1200 B.C.), Beth-shan continued to be occupied by the Egyptians in the early Iron Age. No destruction level was noted between levels VII and VI. With minor refurbishing the level VI temple is identical to that of level VII and located directly above it, and the general layout of the SE sector is the same in both levels; only the commandant's house and *migdal* were totally dismantled, to be replaced by probable storehouses. Egyptian-style artifacts, including scarabs of later Ramesside pharaohs (in particular, Rameses III of the 12th century B.C.), numerous limestone door fragments from central-hall buildings with hieroglyphic inscriptions referring to the "commander of the troops" (Ramessesweserkhephesh) during the reign of Rameses III, and pottery and small objects similar to those in level VII are still very prevalent. A group of tombs in the Northern Cemetery contained large anthropoid coffins, several of which had grotesque faces and were shown wearing high head/hairdresses. Because of the similarity of the latter with depictions of the SEA PEOPLES in Egyptian reliefs, it has been proposed that one or more groups of Sea Peoples (the Denyen, Tjekker, and/or Peleset [Philistines]) were resident at the site, perhaps as mercenaries. Although it is possible that some Sea Peoples lived there, their numbers must have been quite small, since very little characteristic artifactual material, such as is common at coastal sites, has been found at the site (only one Philistine shard was recovered from the site). Earlier and later phases of level VI (lower and upper, respectively) broadly date to ca. 1200–1000 B.C. The inscriptional evidence from lower level VI indicates that Rameses III was primarily responsible for consolidating Egyptian control at the site. The possibility of a destruction layer between lower and upper level VI, as well as the sparse remains from the latter phase, suggests that Egyptian power waned during the later Ramesside period.

Architecturally, level V, dated to Iron IC–IIA (ca. 1000–800 B.C.) according to the pottery evidence, represents a significant departure from the plan of the Egyptian garrison. Two long E-W buildings, one in the area of the level VIII–VI temple and another located farther N, have been identified as temples. This interpretation is well supported by the finds from the building's forecourt (a seated statue of Rameses III and monumental steles of Seti I and Rameses II dedicated to Ra-Hamarchis and Amun-Re) and by its interior (a stele dedicated to "Antit," probably the local equivalent of a principal Canaanite goddess). Indeed, the presence of the monumental steles and statue suggests that an imperial cult existed here that had its beginning in the LB (this area in levels VIII–VI was extensively disturbed, but wall lines are directly below those of the level V building). The steles describe in some detail the military defense of the Beth-shan area by the pharaohs against belligerent neighboring city-states and peoples (e.g., the *ʿapiru* [see HABIRU, HAPIRU]; possibly connected with the Hebrews). Since the historical data of the steles accord with other texts of the pharaohs, they most likely originated in their reigns and were moved up from one level to the next as buildings were successively renovated or rebuilt by the Egyptians. Like storehouses of the period, a double row of columns ran the length of the S building. Based on the biblical tradition (1 Chr 10:10), Rowe denoted the building the "Temple of Dagon," the primary male deity of the Philistines; no inscriptions, however, were recovered from the building, and it is doubtful that the site was ever controlled by the Philistines. Both N and S temples yielded numerous cylindrical and houselike

stands, which were decorated with snakes and birds and which were probably used in the cult. See Fig. BET.02. In the later phase of level V, a gate existed on the NW side of the tell, which was approached by a gentle earthen slope from the valley (earlier gates may have been located here as well). Unfortunately, the gate's overall plan is unclear, but its architectural and masonry style (interior buttresses, header-and-stretcher arrangement of ashlar blocks, and an attached double wall) is similar to that of other gates in N Israel (e.g., Megiddo and Hazor) fortified by Solomon (cf. 1 Kgs 9:15). It is uncertain how the site was taken by the Israelites.

After a possible hiatus in occupation, level IV was rebuilt along different architectural lines from level V. The very poorly preserved stratum is dated according to the pottery to ca. 800–600 B.C.

Another gap in settlement followed level IV, although late Iron Age and Persian period tombs were found by Tzori east of the tell. The site was reoccupied in the Hellenistic (363–332 B.C.) and Roman (63 B.C.–A.D. 324) periods—levels III and II. The Hellenistic structures were extensively disturbed by later Roman buildings, in particular by a large temple on the NW side of the tell (initially assigned to the Hellenistic period, but now dated to the 1st century A.D.). The Roman city spread into the valley below the tell, where a colonnaded street, a hippodrome, a villa with mosaic floors, a theater, and an extensive wall circuit (spanning the Wâdī Jalud) were uncovered. Roman tombs in the Northern Cemetery produced glass vessels, pottery figurines, and portrait busts of the dead; a stone sarcophagus in one tomb was inscribed with the name of Antiochus, son of Phallion, possibly a cousin of Herod the Great.

The uppermost level on the tell (level I) was dominated by a circular Byzantine church, with an ambulatory around an open court. FitzGerald dated the building to the early 5th century because of the similarity between its column capitals and those of the Church of St. Stephen in Jerusalem, which was constructed by the empress Eudocia between 431 and 438. A mosaic in the building was also comparable to one of approximately the same period in the Church of Eleona on the Mount of Olives. Domestic residences surrounded the church, and a paved road led from the latter to the NW gate. A monastery, dedicated to or sponsored by a certain Lady Mary, was constructed N of the cemetery on the opposite bank of the Wâdī Jalud, just outside the Byzantine city wall; inscriptions and a hoard of coins minted under Heraclius I indicate that it was constructed in the early 6th century A.D. and probably stood until the Islamic conquest. Extensive mosaic floors included circular representations of the Labors of the Months grouped around the personified sun and moon. In addition, four synagogues in the vicinity of the tell have been investigated. Near the Monastery of Lady Mary and dating from the 5th through the early 7th century, one synagogue contained mosaics with representations of the ark of the covenant covered by a curtain, ritual vessels, and a seven-branched candelabra, together with four inscriptions (three Greek and one Samaritan). Nearby, the mosaics in a second synagogue of the 6th century also showed ritual vessels and a candelabra, and included Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic inscriptions. At Farwana (probably ancient Rehob), S of Beth-shan and dating from the 5th–7th centuries, was discovered the longest Hebrew mosaic inscription, detailing halakic laws of the Sabbatical Year and tithing. Byzantine houses, another monastery, and a potter's workshop were also located in the vicinity of the tell. Numerous tombs from the Byzantine period were excavated in the Northern Cemetery.

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**BETH-SHEAN.** An alternate spelling for BETH-SHAN.

**BETH-SHEARIM** (PLACE). See BURIALS (ANCIENT JEWISH).

**BETH-SHEMESH** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt šemeš* (בֵּית שֶׁמֶשׁ), *ʿîr šemeš* (עִיר שֶׁמֶשׁ)]. The RSV has three towns with this name and the Heb MT has another.

**1.** A town located in the NE Shephelah (M.R. 147128) in the Valley of Sorek and which played a small but significant role in Israel's history. It was occupied throughout the biblical period and, as a border town, experienced the varying fortunes of the tribe and kingdom of Judah.

**a. Biblical References.** Beth-shemesh is mentioned in two geographical lists of Joshua:first as Ir-shemesh (Josh 19:41) within the territory of Dan, and then (Josh 21:16) as Beth-shemesh, a town given by the tribe of Judah to the Kohathite sons of Aaron. However, Beth-shemesh is not mentioned as a town of Judah in the geographical list of Joshua 15. The question of whether Beth-shemesh belonged to the tribe of Judah or Dan may be answered by reference to Dan's 11th-century migration to its N territory, which would have left Beth-shemesh on the NW border of Judah. An equally plausible, though more technical, explanation concerns the second Solomonic administrative district (1 Kgs 4:9), which appears to parallel the territory mentioned in Josh 19:41. The Joshua passage may be a description of 10th-century rather than of 11th- or of 12th-century geography, irrespective of tribal designations.

Beth-shemesh plays a prominent role in the story of the Philistine capture of the ark of the covenant (1 Sam 6:9–15). The ark is carried from Philistine territory to Beth-shemesh, which was a border town just inside Israelite territory.

With the division of the kingdom, Beth-shemesh fell within the borders of Judah. Jehoash of Israel and Amaziah of Judah engaged in a battle at Beth-shemesh in which Jehoash proved the victor (2 Kgs 14:11; 2 Chr 25:21). Not only does this battle emphasize the location of Beth-shemesh as a border town, but the subsequent sacking of Jerusalem by Jehoash also indicates that Beth-shemesh had guarded the Sorek pass from the Philistine plain to Jerusalem. Beth-shemesh later passed from Israelite control when the Philistines captured it during the reign of Ahaz (2 Chr 28:18).

The only other ancient sources to mention Beth-shemesh are the Palestinian Talmud in a geographical context (*Meg.* 1.70a and parallel passages) and Eusebius (*Onomast.* 54.11–13), who identifies it as Bethsamis. The final settlement appears to have been a Byzantine monastery. Between the fall of the Israelite kingdoms and the Byzantine period, only the scantiest remains (Hellenistic coins and Roman ceramics) were deposited at the site. The Beth-shemesh in Judah should not be confused with that associated with Naphtali (Josh 19:38) or that associated with Issachar (Josh 19:22).

**b. Archaeological Excavations.** The Arab village of ʿAin Shems preserved a reference to the ancient name; and E. Robinson in 1841 identified Tell er-Rumeilah, just W of ʿAin Shems, with biblical Beth-

shemesh. The Palestine Exploration Fund began excavations at the site in 1911 under the direction of D. Mackenzie, who identified four strata at the site. The earliest was a Bronze Age stratum containing imported Aegean and Cypriot pottery. The succeeding stratum was characterized by Philistine pottery, which had much in common with Mycenaean IIIC wares. The third stratum was designated "Israelite" and was thought to have been destroyed by Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. The final stratum was the Byzantine occupation, represented by the monastery on the SE side of the hill. During 1911–1912 Mackenzie excavated the entire monastery and an area on the S side of the mound. He also excavated a Bronze Age fortification system, including a typical MB gate, and a curtain wall with adjoining towers. The wall was followed for its full course around the city. These fortifications may have been reused in the LB, but they clearly went out of use by the beginning of the Iron Age.

A second series of excavations on the W and S sides of the tell were conducted from 1928–31 by E. Grant, assisted by C. S. Fisher and A. Rowe. Although Grant published three reports (1929; 1931–32; 1934), the authoritative volumes on these latter excavations were published by Grant together with G. E. Wright (1939). The following description of the stratigraphy and finds from Beth-shemesh is based largely on that report.

**c. Stratigraphy.** Six major occupational levels were discovered at Beth-shemesh, some of which were further subdivided (e.g., IVa and IVb). With the improved stratigraphic techniques and ceramic analysis of the last half century, it is apparent that further subdivisions should have been made. However, the published evidence makes it difficult to argue specifically for a more complex stratigraphy.

**(1) Stratum VI.** The earliest level produced no building remains. Only a collection of flints, ceramics, and some stone objects give evidence of the EB IV–MB I period. It is not known whether this evidence indicates a sedentary occupation, or whether these are simply campsite remains.

**(2) Tombs.** A series of tombs (9, 17, 13) stratigraphically appear to predate the city wall. Their contents are MB II–III and testify to a preurban phase of the MB occupation at Beth-shemesh.

**(3) Stratum V.** This stratum represents the first fortification of the site in the MB III period. The fortification consisted of a city wall encircling the tell, three rectangular towers, and a three-chambered city gate. Evidence for a glacis and lower retaining wall, which usually accompany such fortifications, was not found nor was there effort to locate it. The single major house discovered in stratum V was built against the city wall. Called the Herrenhaus by the excavators, this structure consisted of a single courtyard flanked by smaller rooms on three sides. The full extent of this house may not have been excavated. A tower on the SW of the city wall is a later addition to the wall. Although it is possible that this tower was added in the LB, it may indicate a second phase to the MB city. If such is the case, then Beth-shemesh V would have three phases: (1) a preurban phase indicated by tombs; (2) the first urban phase indicated by the city wall, gate, and Herrenhaus; and (3) a later urban phase indicated by additions to the city wall. It seems likely on the basis of the pottery that stratum V spans the period from the middle of the MB II to the end of the MB. An ash layer on the floor of the Herrenhaus and the breaching of the city wall indicate a destruction of stratum V. Wright dates this destruction to the mid-16th century B.C.E.

**(4) Stratum IV.** During the LB the city's defenses seem to have been repaired on the W side of the mound. However, on the S side of the city, the Herrenhaus was rebuilt above the city wall, indicating the fortifications were not reused. This apparent contradiction may indicate stratigraphic phasing within stratum IV or different uses of the fortifications within the city at the same time. Our present knowledge of Beth-shemesh does not allow a resolution of this issue.

Wright and Grant subdivided stratum IV into two phases: IVA, the earlier spanning the 15th and early 14th centuries; and IVB, which was destroyed in the 13th or early 12th century B.C.E. Stratigraphic differentiation between IVA and IVB was noticeable from a change in building orientation in some areas and from evidence of destruction on the W edge of the tell. Stratum IVB was also burned. A number of large buildings were excavated in stratum IV along with three industrial furnaces and a number of silos and plastered water cisterns.

Wright and Grant have isolated the bichrome pottery from Beth-shemesh into stratum IVA, the Mycenaean imports into stratum IVB, and the Philistine pottery into the subsequent stratum III. Pottery

which paralleled that of Tell Beit Mirsim Bl and which is considered characteristic of the early Israelites was found in two silos (551 and 530; stratum IVB). This pottery was buried under destruction debris and the buildings of stratum III.

**(5) Stratum III.** The Iron Age I (stratum III) probably came to an end in the mid-11th century B.C.E. through another violent destruction. The city may or may not have been fortified at this time. The city wall appears to have been repaired again, but there is no stratigraphic evidence that these repairs did not occur in the previous stratum. The finest building of stratum III, the Hofhaus, consisted of a partially paved courtyard flanked on the W by three smaller rooms.

A significant amount of Philistine pottery was found throughout stratum III as would be expected given the location of Beth-shemesh near the Philistine plain. The occupation of stratum III appears to coincide chronologically with the appearance and disappearance of this distinctive ceramic style.

**(6) Stratum II.** Stratum II was subdivided into three phases IIA, IIB, and IIC. On the W side of the tell, stratum IIA was characterized by a casemate wall and administrative buildings—one considered a governor's house and another a storage complex. The former building was not fully excavated; the latter consisted of three long rooms. Stratum IIA's occupation was burned in the early 10th century B.C.E. Strata IIB and IIC cover the rest of the Iron Age to the Babylonian destruction of Judah in 587 B.C.E. Mackenzie and Y. and M. Aharoni would date the final destruction of Beth-shemesh to the Assyrian invasion of 701 B.C.E. However, the appearance of some (although not all) 7th-century ceramic forms in the Beth-shemesh collection would seem to contradict that conclusion. The later Iron Age occupation was unfortified. The houses excavated on the W edge of the tell were arranged along the old line of fortifications and were divided by a series of streets. The distinction between strata IIB and IIC is based on ceramic evidence although stratigraphic changes were noted within the unfortified village.

That strata IIB–C at Beth-shemesh were unfortified is reflected in the biblical record. Rehoboam neglected to fortify Beth-shemesh while building defenses at a number of Judean towns including nearby Zorah (2 Chr 11:5–10). Similarly Beth-shemesh is not mentioned in the city list of Judah (Josh 15:33–36), which includes neighboring towns like Zorah and Azekah. It is possible that the site was unoccupied for some time in the 9th century B.C.E.

**(7) Stratum I.** The Roman-Byzantine period was represented by a Byzantine monastery on the SE side of the tell. Hellenistic, Roman, and medieval pottery were also found in small quantities at Beth-shemesh.

**d. Inscriptions.** Although Beth-shemesh is not noted for its inscriptional finds, a few significant documents were discovered there. In stratum IV scarabs of Amenhotep III and Rameses I and II were found, along with scarabs of Thutmose II, Seti I, and Rameses III in tomb 11. In room 526 of stratum IVA a cuneiform tablet with an inscription in Ugaritic script was discovered. The signs were written backwards as if to be read with a mirror. A similar mirror-written inscription has been found at Ugarit itself. An ostracon found in area Y31, attributable to either stratum V or IV, bears a proto-Canaanite inscription.

Ten stamped jar handles bearing individualized Hebrew inscriptions typical of the end of the Judean Monarchy were found in stratum II. One reading "To Eliakim, Steward of Yawkin" is identical to two sealings found at Tell Beit Mirsim. Royal stamp seals with either winged scarab or winged scroll decoration typical of the 8th century B.C.E. were also found in stratum II. In most cases these bear the place name "Hebron." A carnelian seal from tomb 14 was also inscribed in Hebrew.

**e. Tombs.** There were a number of tombs cut in the rock in the area closely surrounding the tell and beneath the earliest dwellings. In the MB these tombs were located within the walled city. Some of the tombs predated urbanization, and some were used while the houses above were occupied. Only two tombs of the LB were discovered—a small tomb within the city walls and a larger one which was extramural. While two skeletons contemporary with stratum III were found with modest grave goods, a considerable series of tombs attributed to stratum II were located outside the city walls. These tombs date primarily to the end of the Iron Age, although some were slightly earlier.

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**2.** A town belonging to Issachar (Josh 19:22). Its location is uncertain, but Aharoni has suggested *(LBHG* 432) that it might be identified with Khirbet Sheikh esh-Shamsāwî (M.R. 199232), just SW of the Sea of Galilee. The name preserves some elements of the ancient name (Boling and Wright, *Joshua* AB, 450), and the site is within the described borders of Issachar (Josh 19:17–23).

**3.** A town given to Naphtali (Josh 19:38) and which from the context of the passage (v 35) appears to have been fortified. This conclusion is strengthened by the statement in Judg 1:33 that Naphtali did not expel the Canaanites from either Beth-shemesh or Beth-anath. The locations of both of these towns are unknown, but Aharoni suggests (*LBHG* 162, 432) that Beth-shemesh might be identified with Khirbet Tell er-Ruweisi (M.R. 181271) in the far N of upper Galilee. Attempts to locate Beth-shemesh have encompassed both lower and upper Galilee, but it was in the N part of upper Galilee that the Canaanites maintained strong and well-developed towns into the early Israelite period (*LBHG* 235–36).

The N Galilee Beth-shemesh is likely that mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts (Posener 1940:E60) and perhaps is mentioned (No. 89) on the list of Canaanite cities by Thutmose III (*LBHG* 162).

**4.** The MT in Jer 43:13 refers to another Beth-shemesh, which was located in Egypt. The RSV renders this site HELIOPOLIS, following the which reads *Hēliou poleōs* (LXX Jer 50:13).

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**BETH-SHITTAH** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt haššiṭṭâ* (בֵּית הַשִּׁטָּה)]. A site mentioned in Judg 7:22 as one of the locations to which Midianite troops fled to escape the attack of Gideon's band. Beth-shittah appears to be distinct from SHITTIM; it has been identified with Shatta, 2.5 miles E of Harod and 5.5 miles NW of Beisan, although this identification has been doubted (*IDB* 1:403; *ISBE* 1:479). Another possible location is Tell Sleihat, E of the Jordan river. The name Beth-shittah means "house of acacia (trees/wood)" (on this important plant and its wood, see FLORA, BIBLICAL).
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**BETH-TAPPUAH** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt-tappûaḥ* (בֵּית־תַּפּוּחַ)]. A town situated in the central hill country of Judah (Josh 15:53) within the same district as Hebron. This settlement, the name of which perhaps means "house of the apple tree" (from *tappŭaḥ* 'apple'), is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62; see also BETH DAGON (PLACE). Beth-tappuah is also mentioned in Shishak's inscription on the wall of the Amon Temple at Karnak (Aharoni *LBHG* 285). The name is preserved in the modern village of Taffuh (M.R. 154105), approximately 5 km W and slightly N of Hebron (*LBHG* 300). The ancient settlement is no doubt to be found in the immediate vicinity.

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**BETH-YERAH** (M.R. 204235). A city generally associated with Khirbet Kerak (Arabic meaning "ruins of the fortress"), a 50 acre site along the SW shore of the Sea of Galilee. The site is not mentioned in the Bible; primary evidence linking this area with Beth-yerah 'the house of the Moon'comes from the Talmud, which states that the Jordan begins S of Beth-yerah (*b. Talm. Bik.* 55a; *Gen. Rab.* 98.18; cf. Neubauer 1868:31, 215; Sukenik 1922:102–3; Maisler, Stekelis, and Avi-Yonah 1952:165). Sukenik associates the site with Philoteria following Polybius, who depicts Antiochus the Great in 216 B.C.E. marching to Philoteria (Sukenik 1922:103–4). Polybius states that the city "lies off the shore of the lake into which the river Jordan falls, and from which it issues again to traverse the plains round Scythopolis"

(Polyb. 5.70.4). The city had substantial territory so that it, along with Scythopolis, could easily supply Antiochus' entire army (5.70.5).

The name Philoteria suggests a Ptolemaic foundation, possibly by Ptolemy II Philadephus who had a sister by that name (Sukenik 1922:104–5). The Byzantine chronicler Syncellus places Philoteria E of the Jordan river and lists it as one of the cities captured by Alexander Jannaeus (Syncellus 1984:355). Avi-Yonah argues that in antiquity Beth-yerah/Philoteria was E of the Jordan because the Jordan's ancient river bed flowed N and W of the site; therefore Philoteria was never part of Galilee (Avi-Yonah 1966:37, 70, 138). The city may have had a sister city, Sennabris (*j. Talm. Bik.* I.81a; *j. Talm. Meg.* 2a; cf. Sukenik 1922:106–7; Hestrin 1975:253), where, Josephus states, Vespasian stationed his troops during the Jewish revolt (ca. 66–67 C.E.) before marching on Tiberias (*JW* 3.447; 4.455).

Excavations at the site indicate a long period of occupation that extended from the Chalcolithic into the Arab period with an apparent occupation break between the MB II and Persian periods. Chalcolithic finds show that inhabitants lived in huts sunk in pits and that they practiced child burial (Maisler, Stekelis, and Avi-Yonah 1952:167, 229; Hestrin 1975:255). Major building activity, however, did not occur until EB I, when Beth-yerah became one of the first fortified towns in Palestine. A massive mudbrick wall measuring 8 m in width found at Beth-yerah (Hestrin 1975:254–55) may reflect increasing rivalry among local townships as well as similar town planning in Mesopotamia and Egypt (Aharoni 1982:56–58; Anati 1963:337–41). The discovery of EB I rectangular homes with mudbrick walls, a large courtyard with basalt paving, a tournette for making pottery, and an apsidal house (Hestrin 1975:255–56) along with the town wall reflects a move toward a walled-town culture with its fixed-plot agriculture and nuclear, closed societies (Hanbury-Tenison 1986:63, 106; Esse 1982) rather than toward urbanization.

The walled-town culture continues into the EB II period as brick walls, a paved street, and parts of a drainage system have been found. Jars found on the floor of an EB II house are similar to those found in a tomb at Kinneret, 1.25 km W of Beth-yerah and considered a possible burial site for the EB II city (Mazar 1975:717). Excavation of three levels of EB II burials produced numerous household goods such as jugs, jars, bowls, and platters along with the cremated remains of those buried. The tomb provides a glimpse at the wealth available to some in this period. Numerous beads and jewelry were found including part of a necklace that had two gold and two ruby beads. The city participated in a wider trade network as evident in the composition of the beads, which included copper, faience, ruby, crystal, jasper, quartz, pottery, and mother-of-pearl. In addition, bone plaques with ornamentation and a round plaque of beaten gold were found (Mazar 1975:717–18; Mazar, Amiran, and Haas 1973:176–93). Although influenced by its contacts with the Mesopotamian area, Beth-yerah reflects distinctive regional characteristics as evidenced by a locally produced EB II cylinder seal stamp, which was used to make impressions on vessels themselves rather than to seal documents or jars as in Mesopotamia (Ben-Tor 1978:108–9).

The site flourished in EB III; a paved road with houses on each side (Ussishkin 1968:267) and a large public building, possibly a granary, indicate increasing centralization and cooperation (Maisler, Stekelis, and Avi-Yonah 1952:223–28; Hestrin 1975:257–58; Aharoni 1982:67). The period is distinguished by the sudden appearance of KHIRBET KERAK WARE, first found at Beth-yerah. This hand-turned and highly burnished ware is found in a number of EB III sites (e.g., Megiddo, Ai, Jericho), although it seems concentrated in N Palestine and Syria. The pottery was apparently brought by peoples moving into the area from Anatolia (Amiran 1952:101–3; Anati 1963:359–61). The destruction layers directly below this ware at the EB III layer at Ai and the lack of such a destruction layer at Beth-yerah suggest that the population movement associated with the ware could be violent or peaceable (Kenyon 1979:99–101).

Evidence of the cultural horizon of the EB III site comes from small figurines of animals, two model mills or houses made of clay, a pottery piece in the shape of a roaring lion (Maisler, Stekelis, and Avi-Yonah 1952:171), and a rare ivory bull's head found in a large colonnaded structure, possibly a temple (Ben-Tor 1972:26–27; Tadmor 1986:98). As yet no clear function can be determined for the ivory bull's head, although two of four EB bull heads found in Palestine appear to have a temple as their provenance, suggesting some cultic purpose (Ben-Tor 1972:26; Callaway 1974:60–61). Since no clear parallels can be found in the ANE, the general view is that the head was made locally. The use of ivory, a luxury item at

this time, provides further evidence of the larger trade network in which Beth-yerah flourished (Tadmor 1986:98–99).

The Khirbet Kerak period came to an abrupt end around 2200 B.C.E. when Beth-yerah experienced mass destruction as did other cities such as Jericho, Ai, Megiddo, and Beth-shan (Aharoni 1982:73). Nevertheless, the city apparently continued through the MB II period as indicated by an MB I potter's workshop and by MB II buildings divided by narrow passages and by a broad street leading from the S gate to industrial kilns (Hestrin 1975:256; Bar-Adon 1953:132; Bar-Adon 1954:128).

Occupation of the site occurs again in the Persian period as evidenced by Perisan pottery in the foundation of a Hellenistic city wall, which extends over 1600 m. In the floors of the wall's towers were found iron arrowheads, Hellenistic pottery, and coins and cooking stoves (Bar-Adon 1955:273). During the Ptolemaic period certain members of the city apparently flourished as indicated by a large private residence with courtyard. In addition, several excavated houses of the Hellenistic period overlook the Sea of Galilee. One of these houses has colored plaster that imitates black, red, and green marble veneering (Hestrin 1975:256). Hellenistic culture is evident from a bust of Tyche found at Beth-yerah but in an undatable context; Sukenik dates it to the 1st centuries C.E. (Sukenik 1922:104–5, 108).

The Roman period is represented by a large Roman fort (60 × 60 m) built in the 2d or 3d century C.E. During the Byzantine period, after the fort went out of use, a synagogue (22 × 37 m) was built within the interior of the Roman fort. A colored mosaic that depicted plants, birds and lions was found as was the base of a column that had a menorah, lulab, ethrog and incense shovel carved in it. Additional finds include a large bath complex of possible 4th–5th century date and a Byzantine church, which dates to 528 C.E. based on a Greek inscription in the mosaic floor (Maisler, Stekelis, and Avi-Yonah 1952:218–23; Hestrin 1975:258, 262).

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**BETH-ZAITH** (PLACE) [Gk *Bēthzaith* (Βηθζαιθ)]. 1 Macc 7:19 identifies Beth-zaith (the "house/place of the olive" from the Heb *bêt zayit*) as the camping place of the Seleucid general Bacchides after his treacherous murder of 60 Hasideans near Jerusalem. Although Beth-zaith was once thought to be Bezeth (or Bethesda) (Meyer 1921:244 n. 1), the N quarter of Jerusalem, Abel (*GP 2:* 284, 286) identified Beth-zaith with modern Beit Zita (M.R. 161114), 6 km N of Beth-zur. 1 Maccabees indicates that

Bacchides had left Jerusalem. That would not have been the case if Beth-zaith were to be identified with Bezeth/Bethesda. Josephus (*Ant* 12.10.2) refers to this place as Berzetho (Gk *bērzēthō*). Schlatter (1896:225) points out the unreliability of the Josephan text on this point of spelling.

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**BETH-ZATHA** (PLACE) [Gk *Bēthzatha* (Βηθζαθα)]. This pool of Jerusalem is mentioned only in John 5:2 as "a pool, in Hebrew called Bethzatha, which has five porticoes." The name is "Bethsaida" (Gk *bēthsaïda,* house of the fisherman) in the KJV. This reading appears in Papyrus Bodmer ($p^{66}$ and $p^{75}$), Codex Vaticanus, the supplement to Codex Washingtonus, Codex Psi, two texts of the Old Latin, the Vulgate, the Harclean Syriac, the Coptic, the Ethiopic, the Stuttgart Diatessaron, Tertullian, and Jerome. The name is "Bethzatha" (Aram *bet zatha*ʿ, house of olive [oil]) in the RSV, following Codex Sinaiticus, Codex Bezae, Codex Regius, minuscule 33, Eusebius, and many texts of the Old Latin. A third reading is "Bethesda" (Aram *bet ḥesda*ʿ or house of mercy), attested in Codex Alexandrinus, Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus, Codex K, the commentary section of Codex X, at least five other late majuscules, also many minuscules, Byzantine Lectionaries, the Armenian, the Georgian, the Diatessaron, Didymus, Chrysostom, and Cyril. The Editorial Committee of the United Bible Societies Greek New Testament prefers "Bethzatha", because "Bethsaida" may be a scribal assimilation to John 1:44, and "Bethesda" may simply be an edifying etymology. The Copper Scroll of Qumran refers to *"Beteshdathayim*" in Jerusalem, perhaps Aramaic for "place of poured-out water" (3Q15.xi.12), which some of the committee felt tended to support the reading "Bethesda" (Metzger 1975:208). Josephus speaks of the "fourth hill" of Jerusalem N of the Temple Mount and calls it "the Bezetha" in Greek (*JW* 5.4.2). The scribal confusion in the textual tradition may be due to the similarity of the name for the NE quarter of the city called "the Bezetha" or "the Beth Zetha" [alt. "Beth Zatha" ], where the pool lay and the putative name of the pool (*Bet Ḥesda*ʿ or "house of mercy"). The latter name would derive from the local healing cult that the man in John 5 and his associates at the pool seemed to believe in.

The pool was itself a double pool, as the dual ending on *Betheshdathayim (Bet ʿEshdathayim)* indicates. If the Copper Scroll is to be understood as anything other than a fantasy, then near the pool stood a triclinium with a porch and entry on the W side. The pool underwent excavation from 1863–76 and from 1888–1900 (Yadin 1976:133), then again after 1956 (Yadin 1976:24). A bedrock causeway and dam running E-W separated two pools partially cut from the bedrock and partially built of stone and mortar. The five porches mentioned in John 5:2 stood upon this causeway and upon the four sides of the double pool. After 231 C.E. Origen of Caesarea would explain that the porches stood "four around the edges and one across the middle" (*C. Ioan.* 5.2–4.532).

The two pools are of two different sizes and were trapezoids in plan. They extended across at least one city block in the Beth Zatha quarter. The W edge of the two pools was aligned with the N-S street system of the quarter; whereas the E side ran roughly NNW to SSE. Overall length N to S measured about 97 m. The small pool to the N was about 60 m broad on its N side, while the large pool to the S was about 76 m broad on its S side. This comes to about 300 Greek feet N to S by 225 Greek feet E to W on its largest dimension.

Confirmation that a local healing cult continued into the 2d century comes from archaeological excavations at the site (Duprez 1970). Votive offerings characteristic of grateful devotees of Serapis or of Asclepius were unearthed in the debris in the double pool. Thus the local cult assumed Roman dress when Roman cults appeared in the new city of Aelia Capitolina. Aelia replaced Jerusalem under the emperor Hadrian in 135 C.E. after the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome. The site would therefore have become part of the Roman cult, namely, a Serapeum or an Asclepium, which may account for the underground chambers at the site.

Further evidence for the continued importance of the site is the erection of a Christian church in the 5th century just E of the pool. Its courtyard school on arched pillars and buttresses directly over the E end of

the double pool. The presence of the church would overthrow and obliterate the local cult, much as the construction of the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem supplanted a cult of Thammuz or Adonis, or the construction of the Anastasis (Holy Sepulchre) in Jerusalem supplanted a temple to Venus (Wilkinson 1978).

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**BETH-ZECHARIAH** (PLACE) [Gk *Baithzacharia* (Βαιθζαχαρια)]. 1 Macc 6:32–33 records that Judas the Maccabee and his army met and were defeated by a Syrian force at Beth-zechariah ("the house/place of Zechariah" from the Heb *bêt zĕkaryāhû*). Josephus described Beth-zechariah as a mountain defile (*Ant* 12.9.4; *JW* 1.1.5). Eleazar (or Avaran), brother of Judas, was killed there attacking a Syrian elephant (1 Macc 6:43–46) Abel (*GP* 2, 284) identified Beth-zechariah as the modern *Beit Zekaria* (M.R. 161118) 18 km S of Jerusalem and 10 km N of Beth-zur.

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**BETH-ZUR** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt ṣûr* (בֵּית צוּר)]. A fortress city in Judah located on the road between Jerusalem and Hebron, about 20 miles S of Jerusalem (2 Macc 11:5); in the Hellenistic period, a S Judean border fortress facing Idumea (1 Macc 4:61). Beth-zur offered a defensible position which could serve to guard the approach to Jerusalem from the S. With an altitude of 3304 feet above sea level it is one of the highest ancient sites in Palestine.

The ancient city has been identified with Khirbet eṭ-Ṭubeiqah (M.R. 159110), although the name of the city survives in the adjacent and newer site Khirbet eṣ-Ṣur (500 yards to the SE), where material remains attest Arab and Byzantine occupation. Two archaeological campaigns have been conducted at Beth-zur under the direction of O. R. Sellers, the first in 1931 and the second in 1957.

Ceramic evidence indicates sporadic occupation of Beth-zur during the EB and MB I ages, but the city first became a fortified stronghold during the MB II period. Excavations at Beth-zur have revealed massive fortifications of a type often attributed to the Hyksos. Beth-zur's fortifications were similar to those of the same period found at Bethel, Tell Beit Mirsim, and Shechem. At the end of the MB age the city was destroyed (it is speculated by the Egyptians), but a less prosperous community continued there during the 1st century of the LB age. The site was abandoned from the 14th to 12th centuries.

The archaeological record attests a reoccupation of Beth-zur during the early Israelite period. Though this settlement apparently used the MB II fortifications, there is also some material evidence to suggest that the new occupants may have reduced the size of the city on the N by building a new wall. By the close of the 11th century the city was again destroyed.

Two biblical texts appear to give information pertaining to the period of Israelite settlement at Beth-zur. In 1 Chr 2:42–50 Beth-zur appears alongside several other cities of Judah including Mareshah, Ziph, Hebron, Tappuah, and Maon in the genealogy of Caleb, signifying that at some time in the history of Judah, Beth-zur was occupied by Calebites (cf. Josh 14:13–15; 15:13–19 in reference to Hebron). Beth-zur also appears in the list of cities allotted to Judah (in Josh 15:20–63 at v 58) at the time when Joshua apportioned the land to the tribes. However, it is probable that this list of cities, with its organization according to districts, reflects the administrative subdivisions of a much later time in the kingdom of Judah. The time to which it pertains is a matter of dispute. According to A. Alt (1925) the list dates from the time of Josiah, according to F. M. Cross and G. E. Wright (1956) it reflects Jehoshaphat's administrative districts, and according to Z. Kallai (*HGB* 334–48, 377) it belongs to the time of Hezekiah.

Material remains from the 10th to 9th centuries amount to only a few potsherds indicating only slight occupation during this time. Nothing attributable to Rehoboam has been found. Consequently, a question arises concerning the Chronicler's claim that Rehoboam built up Beth-zur as one of his fortified cities (2

Chr 11:7). Some scholars argue that the Chronicler has incorrectly attributed this defensive measure to Rehoboam and that the cities were actually fortified either by Hezekiah (Na'aman 1986) or by Josiah (Fritz 1981). However, since excavations at Beth-zur offer no evidence of the refortification of the site between the 10th century and the exile, they are unable to offer confirmation for either the hypothesis of Na'aman or that of Fritz.

A significant unfortified occupation of Beth-zur occurred again in Iron Age II. The excavators dated the beginning of this settlement to a time no earlier than 640 B.C.E. on the basis of the pottery (Lapp in Sellers et al. 1968:28; Funk in Sellers et al. 1968:8), but Na'aman (1986:6), using the same evidence, argues that the beginning of the Iron Age II settlement must be moved back to the second half of the 8th century. Especially pertinent for his argument are the 11 *lmlk* jar handles exhibiting the two-winged symbol found in the Iron Age II strata at Beth-zur, because Na'aman (1979) previously contended that the *lmlk* jars belonged to Hezekiah's defensive preparations prior Sennacherib's invasion in 701 B.C.E.

The postexilic city of Beth-zur, according to archaeological evidence, had a sparse population during the 5th and 4th centuries. Yet, according to Neh 3:16 Nehemiah ben Azbuk, governor of half the district of Beth-zur, presumably working with a contingent from Beth-zur, assisted in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem.

During the Hellenistic period Beth-zur became a thriving community, especially during the 2d century, when it expanded outside the city walls. Significant quantities of coins have been found, and their distribution—9 for the 5th to 4th centuries, 56 for the Ptolemaic period (312–181 B.C.E.), 180 for the Seleucid period (225–96 B.C.E.), and 20 for the Maccabean period (125–78 B.C.E.)—attests to the growth of the community, particularly in the 2d century. Of particular interest is one small silver coin with an inscription the reading of which has occasioned some dispute. Sellers reads, "Hezekiah of Judah" (1968:2), and takes it as a reference to the high priest Hezekiah, the friend of Ptolemy I (Joseph. *AgAp* 1:186–87). Funk, on the other hand, reads, "the governor Hezekiah" (*EAEHL* 1:263–67).

Beth-zur assumed new significance as a stronghold during the conflicts of the Hellenistic period, especially during the Maccabean wars. Three phases of building at the citadel have been distinguished. According to Funk the first phase belongs to the 3d century in the context of the conflict between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids; the second phase was built either by the Seleucids or by Judas Maccabeus; and the third phase was built by Bacchides ca. 161 B.C.E. in the context of the Maccabean wars (Funk in Sellers et al. 1968:17).

The literary evidence in 1 and 2 Maccabees also gives Beth-zur a prominent place during the Maccabean revolt. Following upon the initial defeat of several Seleucid forces (1 Macc 3:10–4:25), Lysias approached Judah from the S through Idumea and fought Judas at or near Beth-zur in 165 B.C.E. (1 Macc 4:29; cf. 2 Macc 11:5). After his victory over Lysias in this battle, Judas rededicated the temple at Jerusalem, refortified Jerusalem, and also fortified Beth-zur (phase 2 of the citadel? 1 Macc 4:61; cf. 6:7, 26). In 162 B.C.E. Lysias led a second campaign through Idumea. He laid siege to the stronghold at Beth-zur (1 Macc 6:31; cf. 2 Macc 13:19), which was unable to withstand it because of its inadequate food provisions (1 Macc 6:49; cf. 2 Macc 13:22). So Lysias took Beth-zur and stationed troops there. Subsequently Beth-zur remained in Seleucid control for some time, having its fortifications rebuilt by Bacchides in 160 B.C.E. (the third phase of the citadel, 1 Macc 9:52). Finally, in 145 B.C.E. Simon laid siege to Beth-zur and recaptured it for Judea (1 Macc 11:65–66). It remained in Judean control thereafter, but the community slowly declined until the settlement ended about 100 B.C.E.

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**BETHANY** (PLACE) [Gk *Bēthania* (Βηθανια)]. **1.** Name of a town mentioned in Jdt 1:9, located "beyond the Jordan" but in the vicinity of Jerusalem. The name (Gk *baitanē*) is rendered in the RSV as Bethany, but in the RV as Betane. The expression "beyond the Jordan" in biblical texts may denote areas either E or W of the Jordan river. In this case, however, because the perspective is that of Nebuchadnezzar in "Assyria" and because the list of names (which includes Jerusalem) follows in order moving from Galilee in the N to Egypt in the S, it seems to indicate the region W of the Jordan.

Moore (*Judith* AB) identifies this town with Beth-anoth (M.R. 162107) (modern Beit-ʿAinum), which is located S of Jerusalem, about 7 miles N of Hebron (Josh 15:59) in the highlands of Judea. It is probably not to be identified with the Bethany of Mark 14:3f.

In the legendary story of Judith this city is included in a list of cities and regions which Nebuchadnezzar conquered and from which he demanded assistance to engage his enemy, Arphaxad. Because they rejected his demands, he mounted a campaign against them which set the scene for the actions of the heroine, Judith. The town did not figure in any of the action of this story.

**2.** Place where John the Baptist conducted his ministry, situated on the E bank of the Jordan river (John 1:28). See also BETHANY BEYOND THE JORDAN. Because of its location it is doubtful whether it can be identified with the hometown of Lazarus (John 11:18), although Parker (1955) argues for the identity of the two Bethanys.

During his sojourn in Palestine, Origen reports (Comm. G 40) that he visited the area but failed to find any trace of a town with this name on the E side of the Jordan. He concluded that the text should read "Bethabara," a place pointed out to him on the W bank of the Jordan. Etymological factors probably influenced him as well, because it means the "place of crossing over".

The Madaba map mosaic (6th century A.D.), as Schnackenburg (1980) reports, locates a town named Bethabara on the W bank of the Jordan close to the point where the Jordan flows into the Dead Sea. Brown (*John*) notes that some modern commentators have accepted this variant, suggesting that the gospel writer is stressing the parallels between Jesus and Joshua. Jesus, like Joshua, crosses over the Jordan after his baptism, leading his people into the promised land.

The discovery of $p^{75}$ (3d century A.D.), which supports the reading "Bethany," leads most scholars to accept this as the original reading. Traditions dating to the 3d century state that John baptized Jesus near the Wâdī el-Ḥarrar, located near the Prodromos Monastery, about 5 miles N of the Jordan's entrance into the Dead Sea. Whether Bethany should be located in this vicinity remains uncertain.

**3.** Most frequently mentioned town of this name located on the E slopes of the Mount of Olives, 3 km E of Jerusalem (John 11:1). In the Synoptic Gospels Jesus made Bethany his headquarters during his final week of ministry in Jerusalem (Mark 11:11, 12 = Matt 21:17; cf. Luke 19:29). Bethany marked the last station for the pilgrim traveling from Jordan to Jerusalem. Prior to his "triumphal entry" into Jerusalem, Jesus sends some of his disciples to Bethany in order to secure the donkey upon which he will ride into the city (Mark 11:1).

The gospels of Mark and Matthew also note that the anointing of Jesus at Simon the Leper's house took place in Bethany (Mark 14:3 = Matt 26:6). This story may have some relationship with a similar anointing recorded in John 12:1–8 which occurred in Bethany, the village of Lazarus, and in which Mary, Lazarus' sister, is identified as the woman anointing Jesus.

The story of the raising of Lazarus from the dead (John 11:1–44) also occurs in the context of Bethany. The modern town at this site is called El-ʿAziriyeh (M.R. 174131) by its Muslim inhabitants, reflecting the traditional linkage with Lazarus. The gospel writer stresses the proximity of this town to Jerusalem, just under 2 miles distant (v 18). Eusebius (*Onomast.* 58) places it at the second milestone from Jerusalem on the way to Jericho. Similarly the Bordeaux Pilgrim (CCSL, 125.18), A.D. 333, locates it 1500 paces E of the Mount of Olives.

Luke 24:50 records Bethany as being in the vicinity of the Ascension of Jesus Christ. This Bethany is not mentioned in the OT, although Ananiah (Neh 11:32), associated with Anathoth and Nob, may be the same place. See ANANIAH (PLACE).

Archaeological investigations have taken place at Bethany under the direction of the Franciscans (1949–53). A series of churches dating back to the 4th century A.D. were uncovered. The tomb of Lazarus was also located.

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**BETHANY BEYOND THE JORDAN.** Place where John baptized and was questioned by the envoys from Jerusalem concerning his self-claims (John 1:19–28). It was at Bethany that Jesus gained his first disciples from the circle of the Baptist (1:35–51). Following the gospel of John, Bethany is frequently held to be the locus of Jesus' Baptism; however, this view is not cogent, since John 1:32–34 contains only an indirect allusion to the Baptism (Schnackenburg, *John* HTKNT, 1:283). After Jesus escaped an attempt to lynch him at the feast of Hanukkah in Jerusalem (John 10:22–39) and preceding the Passion, he stayed at Bethany and once more gained a large number of followers there from the circle of the Baptist (10:40–42).

Because Origen could not find a location named Bethany on the E bank of the Jordan, he opted for the reading of *Bēthabara* in John 1:28, though almost all of the mss of his time read Bethany (*Comm. on John* 6. 204). Currently this reading is almost uniformly considered to be original because Bethany is not only extant in codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus (4th century) but also in a large number of mss with considerable geographical distribution and because it is now possible to trace it back to the 3d century via $p^{75}$, and as far back as to the 2d century via $p^{66}$. Further, the transition from John 10:40–42 to 11:1ff. shows that the Evangelist intended the concordance with the name of the location Bethany near Jerusalem (11:1, 18). However, the agreement between Origen and the Syriac version of the Gospels ($syr^{c}$, $syr^{s}$) demonstrates that with Bēthabara he followed a genuine local tradition (Burkitt 1904:308–9, contra Clapp 1907:75–83). The name, likely derived from the Heb *bêt ʿabārâ,* "house of crossing," points to one of the fords of the Jordan.

On account of the early ms attestation, all attempts to understand Bethany as a corruption of the text or as an interpolation have failed. This outcome also applies to the assumption that Bethany and Bēthabara are miswritten forms of Baithanabra in Josh 13:27 LXX (B) (*EncBib* 1:548). Against the hypothesis of a merely fictitious place, (Krieger 1954) is the fact that Johannine references to places have generally proven to be accurate, if they can be verified (Schwank 1981). To parallel Bethany in John 1:28 with the homonymous location on the Mount of Olives (Parker 1955) is grammatically impossible to begin with (Fortna 1974:67). Furthermore, the Evangelist has deliberately distinguished the two locations (see above).

A modern suggestion lacking the support of tradition or of archaeology (Buzy 1931) is the localization of Bethany at the Tel el-Medesch at the end of the Wâdī Nimrīn on the elevation of the Jordan ford el-Ghōranije (Féderlin 1908; *DBSup* 1:968–70). The same applies to the search in the Wâdī Gharbe, near Livias, the residence of Herod Antipas (Wiefel 1967:81). Betonim (Josh 13:26), today's Khirbet Batneh SW of Es-Salt, which was suggested by F. Delitzsch (1876:602), K. Furrer (1902:257–58), and T. Zahn (1907:290–94), is eliminated because of the absence of running water, which is necessary for baptismal practice. C. R. Conder's (1875) assumption that Bēthabara was to be located near a ford by the name of Makhādet ʿAbārah, 5 km NE of Beth-shean was widely accepted in earlier years (Erbes 1928:82). But the existence of the name could not be verified by later researchers (Lagrange 1895:510; Rix 1903:161); the Byzantine tradition locates Bēthabara over against Jericho (see below). Long before Conder, in 1658, J. Lightfoot (reprint 1979:327–33) equated Bēthabara with the Beth-barah in Judg 7:24 and considered it to

be a ford near Beth-shean. Today, however, the search for Beth-barah has moved farther to the S to the vicinity where the Jabbok flows into the Jordan.

Unless one foregoes an attempt at localization altogether (Brown *John* AB, 44–45), the current search for Bethany concentrates mostly on the Wâdī el-Charrār (Mommert 1903; Dalman 1924:96–102; Kopp 1964:153–66; Schnackenburg *John* HTKNT 1, 283–84; Keel and Küchler 1982:527–32), which flows into the Jordan vis-à-vis Jericho. In the Byzantine era a Johannine church which recalled the Baptism of Jesus (Kopp 1964:158–59; Wiefel 1967:76–77) was located there at the E bank of the Jordan (Baldi 1982:172). But this localization dates back to the early 4th century. Since the anonymous Pilgrim of Bordeaux in A.D. 333 (Baldi 1982:171) also discovered an apparently older Jewish tradition of Elijah's ascension (2 Kgs 2:5–14) at this location, it could indeed be possible that the Baptist himself chose this site in order to point to himself symbolically as the eschatological Elijah (cf. Matt 11:14; 17:11–13 = Mark 9:12–13; Luke 1:17; Schnackenburg, *John* HTKNT 1, 283–84). The map of the Madaba mosaic of the second half of the 6th century marks a Bēth-abara over against Jericho, though on the W bank of the Jordan. This name was likely already associated with this region during the time of Eusebius (*Onomast.* 58:19–20) and of Origen. There is no indication in local onomastica, however, of a location Bethany which derived from *bêt ʿaniyyâ*, "house of the boat" = ford.

While the tradition in favor of the place of Jesus' Baptism at the lower course of the Jordan (Matt 3:1; cf. Matt 11:7–9 = Luke 7:24–26) is ancient and reliable (Baldi and Bagatti 1980:38–46), there are, nevertheless, reasons against an identification of this location with the Bethany of John 1:28. Contemporary researchers have likewise pointed out that the relationship of the distances in John 1–2 and 10–11 require the search for Bethany to take place closer to Galilee than to Judea (Elliger, *BHH* 1:231; Brownlee 1972:167–68; Dockx 1984:14). John 1:35–51 represents a parallel of the Synoptic accounts of the call of the disciples in the vicinity of the Lake of Genezareth (Matt 4:18–22 = Mark 1:16–20; cf. Luke 5:1–11). "Beyond the Jordan" *(peran tou Iordanou)* does not have to carry the political sense of the Perea of Herod Antipas by any means, but simply denotes the land E of the Jordan, and sometimes the more northerly Transjordan (especially so in Matt 4:15). If a parallel is drawn from John 10:40–42 to Matt 19:1 = Mark 10:1 (Brown, *John* AB, 414), the expression "Judea beyond the Jordan" (Matt 19:1) points, against the backdrop of Josh 19:34 (MT), to the N territory E of the Jordan (Riesner fc.).

Hence it is necessary to consider the suggestion of those scholars who claim to see, in Bethany of John 1:28, the name of the region of Batanea (Gk *Batanaia*), the OT Bashan. In the LXX (Num 32:32–33; Deut 3:8; 4:47) and in Josephus (*Ant* 8.37), Bashan is described as "beyond the Jordan" (*peran tou Iordanou*). An initial reference to this solution appears already in J. Lightfoot (1979:328). Its first recent defendant was C. R. Conder (1877). Today this theory is espoused especially by K. A. Eckhardt (1961:168–71) and W. H. Brownlee (1972:167–73). The change in the forms of the names is feasible philologically, especially if they are compared with the forms in the Targums and in the Jerusalem Talmud (Brownlee 1972:169). The name of a region would also explain why Origen did not find a location of Bethany. In John 10:40 Bethany is not described as a village or town, but as an undetermined place *(topos)*, in obvious contrast to Bethany near Jerusalem (11:30). Further, this reduces the difficulty presented by the fact that the article one would expect with the name of a region is missing in John 1:28. If Bethany signifies the Batanea, it becomes clearer historically why Jesus withdrew to that place at the end of his ministry (John 10:40). For the time being, Jesus would be secure in the territory of Philip, the tolerant tetrarch, according to Josephus (*Ant* 18.106–7).

The SW part of the Batanea, to which John 1:28 points, later on was not only particularly densely populated by Nazorite and Ebionite Jewish Christians (Epiph. *Haer.* 29.7; 30.2). Under Herod the Great, according to Josephus, this region attracted pious Jews of the most diverse background (*Ant* 17.23–27). Among these seem to have been especially the adherents of Jewish sects, such as the Essenes (Wieder 1962:1–5; Pixner 1983:350–58), or the forerunners of the Mandaeans (Rudolph 1960:248–52). In the area of Mt. Hermon, apparently, those circles resembling the Essenes were settled who considered this mountain, following *1 Enoch* 13 and *T. Levi* 2–5 (cf. Matt 16:13–19), to be a place of special revelation

(Nickelsburg 1981). John 1:51 (cf. Gen 28:12–13) is associated with such expectations, and John 10:16, as well as 11:52, may allude to missionary work among Jewish sects.

Jerome (*Comm. on Isa.* 9:1 [130]) knew of a Jewish Christian interpretation of Isa 8:23–9:1 according to which the Messiah would appear in the N because Israel's calamity began there (cf. 2 Kgs 15:29). This expectation is also in the back of Matt 4:13–16 and had Jewish rudiments (Wieder 1962:3–51). Against this backdrop it may also become clear why John, according to John 10:40, "first" *(to prōton)* began to baptize in the Batanea, that is in the northernmost area of the Holy Land. Together with the baptismal activity in the central Jordan valley (Baldi and Bagatti 1980:50–52) at Aenon, near Salim (John 3:24), as well as in the lower Jordan valley (see above), we thus obtain a very plausible historical picture of an itinerant preacher (Flusser 1969:30–31; Riesner 1988:353–57).

Like other place names in the gospel of John, therefore, Bethany is first of all a concrete geographical designation. But this does not rule out that it also has a deeper theological significance (Mollat 1959:323; Voigt 1977:72–75, 93–100). The special prominence of Bethany may indicate the existence of Johannine communities in this area (Scobie 1982:82). To the degree that Bethany also attributes significance to Transjordan, next to Galilee, Samaria, and Judea, the Fourth Gospel emphasizes the mission of Jesus to all of Israel (Meeks 1966:163–64). When the evangelist approximates the name of the region (Batanea), which was especially associated with the beginning of the messianic era, with the name of the location Bethany, where Jesus' passion began (cf. John 11:47ff.; 12:1), he merges redemption's beginning and completion into an indivisible unity.

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**BETHASMOTH** (PLACE) [Gk *Baitasmōn* (Βαιτασμων)]. An alternate form of Azmaveth.

**BETHBASI** (PLACE) [Gk *Baithbasi* (Βαιθβασι)]. A city in the wilderness of Judah to which Jonathan, Simon, and their followers retreated (1 Macc 9:62) from Bacchides, a friend of the Seleucid king Demetrius I Soter, who appointed him governor (7:8) of the province named Beyond the River (i.e. west of the Euphrates). The city is identified with Khirbet Beit Baṣṣi, located SE of Bethlehem about 5 km NE of Tekoa on the Wâdī Umm l-Qal‹ah (Simons *GTTOT* 414).

In 159 B.C. the high priest Alcimus (appointed by Demetrius at the same time as Bacchides, but from outside the legitimate high priestly family) had given orders to tear down the inner wall separating the Court of the Gentiles from direct access to the temple. Alcimus was unable to carry out this plan, however, since he was stricken by paralysis and died. Bacchides returned to Demetrius for two years, then ordered his sympathizers to seize Jonathan and hold him until he returned (1 Macc 9:54–60). When the plan became known, Jonathan killed 50 collaborators and retreated to Bethbasi, refortified it, and waited for Bacchides to besiege the city. Jonathan took a small contingent of his army out of the city and attacked Bacchides. With the rest of the army, Simon attacked Bacchides' siege weapons and joined the attack on the enemy troops. Bacchides was forced to withdraw, and eventually agreed to peace terms with Jonathan (1 Macc 9:65–73), leaving the Maccabean brothers in charge of all of Judah except for Jerusalem and Beth-zur (*MBA* map 198).

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**BETHEL** (DEITY) [Heb *bêt‹ēl* (בֵּיתְאֵל)]. A NW Semitic deity whose presence in the Near East may be traced for more than a millennium, with its greatest attestation in the military colony of Syene-Elephantine in Egypt during the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. See ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI. The divine Bethel may be found in one personal name in the Hebrew Bible (Zech 7:2); other alleged biblical references to the divinity are dubious.

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A. The Historical Data
1. Pre-Elephantine History
2. The Elephantine-Syene Papyri
B. Analysis of the Name "Bethel"
C. The Role of Bethel at Syene-Elephantine
D. The Deity Bethel and the Old Testament

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**A. The Historical Data**

**1. Pre-Elephantine History.** PHILO OF BYBLOS (116–64 B.C.) in his *Phoenician History,* which purports to be a translation of a work by an early Phoenician historian named Sanchuniathon, has bequeathed a theogony of the Phoenician pantheon. It relates that Uranus and Ge produced four sons: Elus (Kronos), Baitylus (Bethel), Dagon, and Atlas. This exalted status of Bethel indicates the erstwhile importance of the god, being descended from the supreme deities and fraternally related to Elus (El), Dagon, and Atlas (Baumgarten 1981:15, lines 21–24; cf. pp. 202–3). There is a ring of antiquity in the birth of Bethel in this passage and an implied geographical diffusion of his veneration. It is important to

distinguish carefully between the god Baitylos (Bethel) and the *baitylia,* which Uranus devised, contriving to put life into stones (ibid. 202–3), hence "holy stone" (*baitylion,* neuter sing.). Some scholars have attempted to discover the god Bethel in ancient Ugaritic culture (Hyatt 1939:87f.), but their proposals have been effectively challenged by Marvin H. Pope, who denies any reference to Bethel in the Ugaritic pantheon—at least within our present resources (Pope 1955:59f.).

The first indubitable reference to the god Bethel appears in an Akkadian tablet embodying the text of a treaty consummated between Esarhaddon of Assyria and Baal, king of Tyre, ca. 675 B.C. (*ANET,* 534a). To preserve inviolate this compact, the great gods of heaven and earth, the gods of Assyria, the gods of Akkad, and the gods of Eber-nari (= Syria) are enjoined. One of the great gods of Eber-nari so implicated was the god Bethel (Akkad). $^{d}$*Ba-a-a-ti-DINGER.MEŠ = Bayt-ʾil* = Bethel (Hyatt 1939:81–84; on the reading, Coogan 1976:45–47). The relevant imprecation reads:"May Bethel and ʿAnath-Bethel deliver you to a man-eating lion."

**2. The Elephantine-Syene Papyri.** Although a difficult Aramaic religious text in demotic script of the Persian period has been known for some years to contain the name of the god Bethel (Bowman 1944:226, lines 8, 9; 11, 18), the translational difficulties have hindered a satisfactory understanding of the text. The situation is quite the reverse regarding the 108 papyri and some significant ostraca and other inscriptional materials which surfaced largely from the Syene-Elephantine sector (see ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI).

A brief *Sitz im Leben* of the political, ethnological, and religious factors of the Syene-Elephantine community will form a foundation to adjudicate the role of the god Bethel in the military outpost.

**a. The Political Situation.** Elephantine, known in ancient Egypt as Yeb (Eg *3bw;* Aram *yb;* for the later Greek toponym see *LÄ* 1:1217–24), is one of the larger islands of the Nile. It is elliptical with N-S dimensions of 1 mile with its greatest width one-third of a mile. It embraces an area of some 200 acres (see *ArchEleph* 35–42). At this strategic location the Egyptian government installed a military garrison composed largely of Jewish mercenaries. On the E bank of the Nile, opposite Yeb, was the counterpart of Yeb; it was the port city and fortress of Syene, populated largely by Syrian Arameans as a complement to the Yeb forces.

**b. The Ethnicity of Yeb-Syene.** The two fortresses were staffed by foreign mercenaries under the high command of Egyptian officers. With the Persian conquest, the leadership passed to Persian officials. Both Yeb and Syene had populations of Semitic origin, a demographic similarity which at times occasions some difficulty in identifying individuals. Thus in *CAP* 5.2 Koniya b. Zadok and Mahseiah b. Yedoniah are both identified as Arameans of Syene, but in *CAP* 6.3 and 8 they are termed Jews. Both groups seem to have been located in their Egyptian setting as early as the 7th century B.C. When Cambyses invaded Egypt (ca. 525 B.C.), he is reported to have devastated many religious shrines; but he manifested an entirely different attitude toward the Jews and spared their temple at Yeb (*CAP* 30.13; Oppenheim *CHI* 2:554–59). However, with such plurality of ethnic groups, Egyptians, Babylonians, Persians, Syrians, and Judeans, one can easily forecast that friction would arise. The destruction of the Jewish temple by the instigation of the Egyptians is a case in point (*CAP* 30:14; 31:12, 13).

**c. The Religious State of Affairs.** Ethnic diversity among the mercenary immigrants, combined with that of the indigenous population, explains the variety of religions in the Yeb-Syene sector. The Egyptians venerated the isle of Yeb as the illustrious site of the temple of the ram headed god Khnum, the giver of rebirth to Hapy, the god of the Nile and the lord of the inundation (*WbMyth* 1:346–47).

One may forecast that the Aramean garrison at Syene would become a residence of Syrian deities. In four letters destined for Syene, greetings are accorded to "the Temple of Nabu" (BK 1.1), "the Temple of Banit in Syene" (BK 2.1; 3.1), and "the Temple of Bethel and the Temple of the Queen of Heaven" (BK 4.1). In addition, one of the ostraca, dispatched by a certain Yarḥo, invokes Bel, Nabu, Šamaš, and Nergal for the welfare of Yarḥo's brother Haggai (*ANET* 491). Aramean personal names composed with a theophoric element such as Nus (h)ku (*CAP* 2.19), Atar (*CAP* 8.27), and Sin (*CAP* 6.19) appear in the documents. The gods are both West Semitic and Babylonian.

The Judean mercenaries may have enjoyed a privileged status in that their temple to Ya'u appears to be the sole foreign religious establishment that shared the island of Yeb with the illustrious Egyptian deity

Khnum and the goddess Satet. Their sizable temple to Ya'u had an invested priestly staff and services which, as far as we know, paralleled the operations of the Judean ritual of the temple at Jerusalem, with its sacrifices, sacred calendar, and supportive offerings. Whether it was the offense of the Jewish bloody sacrifices (cf. *CAP* 33; *CHJ* 1:227–32) or the animosity that developed between the Yahwists and the devotees of Khnum (*CAP* 31.4–11), it was the Jewish opinion that the priests of Khnum instigated an attack upon the temple of Ya'u in 411 B.C. and destroyed it. In 408 B.C. the officials of the temple appealed to Baghoi (Bigvai), the governor of Judea, for permission to rebuild the temple (*CAP* 30; 31). In response the governor, together with Delaiah, one of the sons of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria (Neh 2:10, 19; 13:28), directed that the temple should be rebuilt (*ANET* 491–92). The Jewish colony seems to have survived until Pharaoh Nepherites I (399–393 B.C.); he is the last king included in the papyri of Yeb (*BMAP* 13).

In retrospect it may be affirmed that the worship of the Judeans at Yeb favored a Yahwistic conformity, which, though it might not observe the dogma of the Jerusalem cult in regard to exclusive worship at one temple (cf. Deut 12:5–7, 11, 13, 14, 18, 26) and its exclusive sacrificial office, nevertheless comported with the spirit of 5th-century Judaism (*CHJ* 1:227–31; *ArchEleph* 105–50).

Despite this affirmation there are some unresolved problems that largely concern the place of the foreign deities mentioned in the papyri. In addition to the temples of foreign deities mentioned above, there is a list of donors and their financial contributions for the support of the temple at Yeb, where the beneficiaries included not only Ya'u but the god Eshembethel and the goddess ʿAnathbethel (*CAP* 22.1, 123–25). Again, in an oath of a certain Menahem it is stated that he swore by "[…], by the temple and by ʿAnatya'u" (*CAP* 44.22). It is to be noted that the goddess ʿAnat is a component both of ʿAnabethel and of ʿAnatya'u.

In the Aramean documents of the period the god Bethel formed the initial component of 16 different personal names, names severally attached to 31 individuals (*ArchEleph* Appendix V). In the same literary deposit the god Eshem is a component of four diverse names borne by six different individuals, while the god Ḥerem is found in nine instances, including a hypocorisn. Eight of these instances have the divine nominal component in four different personal names.

**B. Analysis of the Name "Bethel"**

The term *Bethel* (Heb *bêt* "house, temple" + *ʿēl* "God"), meaning "house of God," developed, it is maintained by some scholars, into a pious surrogate for the name of God. This argument has been illustrated by the concept of Pharaoh. This name derives from the Egyptian *pr.ʿ3* "great house." In the New Kingdom it became the custom to address the king of Egypt as "the great house," metonymically to be understood as the dweller within the royal palace. One might roughly compare the name "sublime porte," an English translation of the Turkish *babi aliy,* signifying the chief office of the erstwhile Ottoman government, or the name of the Japanese emperor *mikado* (*mi,* exalted + *kado,* gate), literally, "exalted gate." Similar circumlocutions for a deity are discoverable in Ugaritic, Phoenician, Punic, Egyptian, and Hebrew usage.

**C. The Role of Bethel at Syene-Elephantine**

The Elephantine-Syene sector was saturated with diverse polytheisms, Egyptian, Babylonian, Aramaic being the dominant types; Judean religious beliefs and practices were in the minority in such a crowded international area. Proselytism, intermarriage, and syncretistic attraction played a significant role within such a society united by a common Aramean tongue. It has been noted that there was such an affinity between the Jews of Elephantine and the Arameans of Syene that it is difficult to differentiate them (*CHJ* 1:223 n. 6). Accordingly, identifying the various documents as Elephantine Judean or as Syene Aramean is a difficult task. Most of the papyri represent informal correspondence, legal involvements, or a few ecclesiastical exchanges. Much of the material is limited to the concerns of several families. To generalize from these fragments of a centurial culture as though they constituted the total experience of the community is a seduction that must be denied.

The ambiguity of the data fairly prejudices the possibility of a unanimous interpretation of the religion of the Elephantine Judeans and of our particular concern, the role of the god Bethel. Three diverse proposals may now be presented as embodying the most satisfactory approaches to the subject.

The first approach argues that the Judeans were syncretistic or monolatrous:they gave Ya›u, their ancestral God, preeminence, but accepted in varying degrees the gods and practices of their neighbors. That Israel and Judah repeatedly succumbed to foreign religious practices, the book of Kings, a 6th-century B.C. manifesto of Judean conformity, is frank to admit (2 Kgs 17:29–34; 21:1–7; 23:4–15; Jer 2:28; 7:18; 44:15–21; Ezek 8). By their anomalous priesthood and sacrificial rites the Judeans at Yeb contravened some of the precedents thought normative by the temple officials at Jerusalem. This defection may have occasioned the ecclesiastical officials in Jerusalem to ignore the letter from Yeb petitioning for help to rebuild the temple (*CAP* 30.18, 19). Proponents to this view have a tendency to aggregate the religious evidence given in the papyri. Some have postulated that the religion of 5th-century Judaism was like that of the devotees of the Queen of Heaven (Jer 44:17) or of the diverse foreign cults in Judah from Manasseh to the exile. "It was not a case of falling away from a monotheistic ideal, but a continuation of pre-exilic popular beliefs" (*CAP* xix).

The second proposal carefully separates Syene (and Hermopolis) letters from those thought strictly related to Elephantine. From the ample data regarding the religion of the Judeans at Yeb there has been reconstructed a pattern of worship that indicates a similarity to the temple worship at Jerusalem. An analysis by Porten (*ArchEleph* 133–50) of the Jewish names from Elephantine concludes that they resemble to a large degree the Yahwistic names of the preexilic period. From these, he argues, a solid religious affirmation can be derived. Porten regards the non-Yahwist components found in some names in the Elephantine-Syene sector, theophores containing the names of the deities Bethel, Eshem, Ḥerem, and Anath, as non-Jewish. They are to be attributed to the Syene community.

Some scholars have challenged this view by adducing nomenclature that seems quite opposed:Malkiah, a person possessing a definite Yahwistic name, swears an oath before "Bethel the god" (*CAP* 7:7; on the interpretation, see van der Toorn 1986) even though he is an Aramean (*CAP* 7:2); a number of Arameans, described as such, have Yahwistic names. A rejoinder to these objections may point out that religious inferences from onomastics are a social judgment, not a personal one; the Judeans adapted themselves to the customs of their conquerors while still maintaining their essential religious integrity. If there is any syncretism among the Judeans, it is more apparent than real. In defense of this position a few scholars have interpreted the dual names of the deities as a single unit, considering the first part to be a hypostasis of the second name. To illustrate, Albright proposes to interpret the three names Eshembethel, Ḥerembethel, and Anathbethel to mean respectively "Name of the House of God," (= God), "Sacredness of the House of God," and "Sign (?) of the House of God," names in which the initial deity of the name becomes a "pure hypostatization of the second deity" (Albright 1940:286). This speculation, which attempts to avoid polytheism in the Judeans' religion at Yeb, has remained generally unconvincing. To identify the Syro-Mesopotamian syncretism described by Ezekiel and observed in the days immediately preceding the Babylonian Exile of 587 B.C. as coincident with the postexilic community at Jerusalem or with the Judeans at Yeb is an impossible religious equation. On the whole the second view assigns the pagan deities mentioned in the Syene-Elephantine papyri to the non-Jewish elements in Syene.

The third view attempts to support a mediating position, to acknowledge the general conformity of the Elephantine Judeans with the postexilic Jerusalem cult, but remains convinced that there are some instances in what appear to be genuine Elephantine correspondence elements which are admittedly tinged with a pagan syncretism. In the document relating the names of the contributors to the support of the temple of Ya›u at Elephantine, there is the unexpected statement that the total collection was dispersed not only to Ya›u but to the deities Eshembethel and Anatbethel (*CAP* 22:1, 123–25). Moreover, in the papyri there are in this same list two patronymics whose theophoric element is a pagan deity:[Beth]elnuri and Hadadnuri (lines 4 and 23). In the contemporary period some 32 names have Bethel as the theophoric element:7 theophores with the name Eshem (cf. 2 Kgs 17:30 and Amos 8:14), and 9 with Ḥerem (*ArchEleph* Appendix V). Other deities mentioned in the Elephantine correspondence are ‹Anatyahu

(*CAP* 44:3), Bel, Nabu, Šamaš, Nergal (*ANET* 491), and the Queen of Heaven (BK 4:1); in the personal names the following gods appear: Nus (h)ku (*CAP* 2:19) Atar (*CAP* 8.27), and Sin (*CAP* 6.19). To relegate all the pagan gods to the Arameans at Syene and to postulate an uncompromised Yahwistic cult at Elephantine seems to suppress evidence to the contrary, however minimal it may be. These discordant data appear to coincide with the cultism practiced by the devotees of the Queen of Heaven (Jer 44:15–25), who brashly justified their cultic adherence by tracing it back to the preexilic practices of their kings, princes, and the Judean people themselves. The view suggested here is that while the greater part of the Elephantine Judeans may have conformed to the contemporary cult in Jerusalem, there were areas where allowances were made and adaptations to the foreign religious cults were tolerated. One may compare the heterodox minority living in an orthodox majority and maintaining their minority convictions with the situation in the days of Ezra (Ezra 10:15) and often elsewhere in the OT.

**D. The Diety Bethel and the Old Testament**

As the name of a geographical site, some 10.5 miles N of Jerusalem, Bethel appears 71 times in the OT. With the recovery of the Elephantine data, in which Bethel appears as a significant deity, scholars undertook a minute examination of the biblical term *Bethel* to determine whether any of the occurrences involved the name of the god rather than the name of the place. The more significant results of this investigation focused generally on the following passages:the Jacob-Bethel pericope (Gen 28:17, 22; 31:13; 33:20; 35:7, 14–15); 1 Sam 10:3; Amos 3:14; 4:4; Hosea 10:8, 15; Jer 48:13; and Zech 7:12. Some scholars added other passages to these in which the term *Bethel* was conceived to be the NW Semitic deity.

The name Bethel may be applied to three diverse entities: (1) the town some 10 miles N of Jerusalem, prominent in all biblical periods, and the seat of one of the most important religious centers of the N kingdom of Israel (1 Kgs 12:26–33; Amos 7:13); (2) the name of a NW Semitic deity who is identified as one of the sons of Uranus in the Phoenician history of Sanchuniathon (Baumgarten 1981:15) and became prominent in the Egyptian-Syene papyri of the 6th–5th centuries B.C.; and (3) the name of a stone erroneously conceived as endowed with the vital force by Kronos (Baumgarten 1981:15, where the text of Philo Byblos is presented). Such was termed *baitýlion* (neuter sing.). It should be remarked that some of the biblical passages indicated above have been considerably emended to arrive at the conclusion that they refer to the deity Bethel. Accordingly, the discussion will be confined to those passages which are more likely to be references to the deity Bethel.

The Jacob-Bethel pericope has occasioned considerable diversity in the interpretation of the naming of Bethel and of the stone which Jacob used as a pillar (Gen 28:11–22; 31:13; 35:1, 6–16). The narrative may be conveniently divided into three parts:the dream of Jacob (Gen 28:10–15; 35:1, 7b); the response of Jacob (Gen 28:16–20; 31:13); and the vow of Jacob (Gen 28:21–22; 35:3, 7, 14, 15). The stone which Jacob used as a headrest was just "one of the stones of the place"; its size would be commensurate with its purpose; it is of secondary importance in the story, a detail that adds realism, since such accommodation was not dissimilar to the Egyptian headrest which relaxes the dorsal neck muscles and promotes slumber (see Sauneron 1962). When Jacob awakened from his awesome dream, his first response was to commemorate the experience by consecrating the headrest stone with oil, then setting it up as a votive stele (Heb *maṣṣēbâ*), no doubt supported by a foundation of other stones (Gen 28:16–20; 35:14; cf. 1 Sam 7:12). In the three instances where Bethel occurs, the focus is the place, not the commemorative stone. There is no suggestion that the stone served as a house for a god; it was to become a *maṣṣēbâ.* This in turn would initiate a *bêt ʾelōhîm* (Hyatt 1939:97–98). The tense of Gen 28:22 is the Heb imperfect, corresponding to the English future:"shall become the house of God." The vow of Jacob has five components in the protasis specifying the conditions of the apodosis. The apodosis has three responses thereto:Yahweh will be his god; the stone will be the earnest of a house of God, and proper cultic support is epitomized by the tithe (vv 21b, 22). The fulfillment of the vow is noted in Gen 35:1, 3, 7.

The exact nature of the stone of Jacob has caused considerable discussion. No one can deny the widespread worship of holy stones and the identification of the stone as "the seat of a numen" (Moore 1903:198). Nor would one deny their ubiquity, but general semblance cannot determine particular

uniqueness. It may be admitted that "holy stones" appear to be referred to in the OT as deplorable paganism (Jer 2:27; 3:9; Ezek 30:32; Lev 26:1; Isa 57:6), but such are not called *baitylia,* a word that does not appear in the OT.

It has been noted previously that Philo of Byblos clearly distinguishes between *Baitylos* (= Bethel, a NW Semitic deity) and the *baitylia* (animated stones). The statements in Sanchuniathon regarding the god *Baitylus* and the animated stones called *baitylia* assume a new importance. The Semitic data of Sanchuniathon regarding the "Syrian Semitic" deity Baitylus appear to maintain their identity even in a Syrian Greek inscription, dating from A.D. 223, at Kafr Nebo (near Aleppo), where in a dedicatory inscription for an oil press the god Sumbétylos appears with two other gods, jointly named "paternal gods" (Hyatt 1939:86). The name appears to be the equivalent of Eshembethel, who appears in the papyri of Elephantine.

It may be noted here that in the treaty between Barga›yah, king of *KTK,* with Mati›el, king of Arpad, dated ca. 760 B.C. the place name Bethel occurs (i A 34) and the phrase *batay›laḥayya›* (lit. "houses of the gods") appears three times (ii C 3, 7, 10) and refers not to the temple buildings, but to the stele or steles upon which were engraved the contents of the agreement (*KAI* 262; *TSSI* 2:44–45). One may postulate that the stone of Jacob, chosen at random and common (profane), was transmuted by the anointing into sacramental object, worthy to be set up publicly as a record of the divine encounter (Gen 28:22).

Two other problems in the Jacob-Bethel pericope, both textual in character, merit some brief comments. The first concerns the initial words of Gen 31:13: *›nky h›l byt-›l.* Most scholars translate the compressed words to read:"I am the God of Bethel" (RSV, RV, BJ, NJPS), justifying their rendering from other Hebrew instances, such as 2 Kgs 23:17; Num 21:14 [cf. *GK* §127, Rem. 4]. Others admit the clause found in LXX and $T^{JP}$:"I am the God *who appeared to you at Bethel* …" (so NEB, Westermann, Speiser, etc.). These renderings are much to be preferred to that which interprets *God* and *Bethel* to be in apposition. That Bethel is a place name and not a divine name is evident from the adverb *where* (Heb *›ăšer*), twice used modifying Bethel. Of greater weight, however, is the unlikelihood that a foreign Semitic deity would be introduced into a key kerygmatic passage of Israelite tradition.

The second problematic passage is Gen 35:7, where Jacob "built an altar, and called the name El-Bethel." This may be compared with *›ēl ›ĕlōhê-yiśra›ēl,* the name given by Jacob to another altar he built (Gen 33:20); with *ha›ēl ›ĕlōhê-›ābîkā* (Gen 46:3) and with *ilu-bâyti-īli* (Speiser *Genesis* AB, 244). One notices repeatedly in the 71 or 72 occurrences of *Bethel* in the OT that the term is uniformly geographical. To import by a homonymic accident the Syrian god Bethel into passages in the Hebrew Bible which make excellent sense with a topographical meaning appears to be an invalid approach.

The proponents of the view that the Aramean god Bethel played a significant role in preexilic Israel have had recourse to a wooden apposition in rendering such a passage as 1 Sam 10:3, where Saul is informed of men whom he will encounter as "… three men going up to the God Bethel." On the contrary, it appears that the name Bethel is locative, and may admit the omission of the preposition *b-* before a homorganic stop (Andersen and Freedman *Hosea* AB, 406). Hence the more likely translation is "… three men going up to God at Bethel" (Heb *šlšh ›nšym ‹lym ›l-h›lhym byt-›l*).

It has been further suggested that the god of Bethel appears in the text of Amos and Hosea. The name Bethel occurs seven times in the book of Amos (3:14; 4:4; 5:5 *(bis)*; 5:6; 7:10, 13). Five of these are undisputed references to the city (4:4; 5:5 [both references]; 7:10, 13). The two remaining occurrences (3:14 and 5:6) are likewise allusions to the city Bethel and not to a god. The geographic reference of Bethel in 5:6 is established by its parallelism with the expression "house of Joseph."The threat of destruction of the altars of Bethel (3:13) is best understood as specifying the location of the altars, not the deity to whom sacrifices are offered upon them. While Amos does denounce syncretistic practices elsewhere (8:14), there is no suggestion that a cult of the deity Bethel is the prophet's concern.

In the book of Hosea there are two occurrences of the word Bethel. The first occurrence follows a description of the ravages of war:fortresses destroyed, mothers and children perishing, whereupon the prophet directs its poignant reference to his audience:"Thus it shall be done to you, O Bethel, because of your great wickedness" (Hos 10:15). The MT is perfectly understandable and needs no emendation.

The other use of Bethel refers to the nocturnal wrestling of Jacob with the angel at Bethel (Hos 12:5—Eng 12:4). Here also the prophet uses Bethel as a geographical term, not as a name for the deity Bethel.

The name Beth-aven is sometimes associated with Bethel. Beth-aven was located east of Bethel (Josh 7:2) and figures in the Conquest narrative (Josh 7:2; 18:12) and in the story of Saul (1 Sam 13:5; 14:23). The name Beth-aven was the source of a play on words employed by Amos and Hosea. The element *aven* (Heb *ʾāwen*) of the name appears to be derived from the root *ʾwn* and means "trouble, idolatry" or "wickedness, iniquity." The warning by Amos that "Bethel shall become *Awen*" (5:5; RSV:"Bethel shall come to nought") may be a pun on the name with reference to the Heb word for iniquity. Hosea's three references to Beth-aven (4:15; 5:8; 10:5) may be using the term as a demeaning surrogate for Bethel (so Andersen and Freedman *Hosea* AB, 372). A related pun is also probably the meaning of Hos 10:8.

A strong argument for the appearance of the god Bethel in the OT proceeds from Jer 48:13. The passage is a forecast of woe about to devolve upon the people of Moab and to destroy their confidence in the saving ability of their national god Chemosh. This military disaster, so forcefully portrayed in the preceding verse (Jer 48:12), will shatter the nation's repose in their god and in his ability to save his people. Such fragmentation of their hope in the divine power parallels the unspeakable disaster that the house of Israel suffered when Bethel, the site of the royal sanctuary, proved impotent against the might of Assyria in 722 B.C. It would be strange if the term Bethel in this instance should refer to a god housed in the "temple of the kingdom" (Amos 7:13), when elsewhere, particularly in the contemporary assessment of Bethel by Amaziah its high priest, the term Bethel is topographical.

The final and most likely passage in which Bethel is not used topographically is Zech 7:2, in which a deputation is sent to the priests at Jerusalem in the postexilic period (December 518 B.C.) to inquire whether the fasting practiced during the Exile should still be continued (cf. Zech 7 and 8). Two major interpretations have been proposed regarding the term Bethel in Zech 7:2. The first regards Bethel as a place name and translates the pertinent words thus:"Now *they of* Bethel" (RV, ASV); "now *the people of* Bethel" (RSV, NIV); "Bethel sent" (JB, Dhorme). A variation of this view translates Bethel as "the house of God" and proposes that the deputation went to "the house of God" (LXX, Vulg., KJV). This interpretation needlessly repeats the subject of v 3. In view of the extirpation of Bethel by Josiah (2 Kgs 23:15–20) and the very few Babylonian exiles that returned (Ezra 2:28; Neh 7:32), it may be questioned whether Bethel is a place name in this text.

The second interpretation regards Bethel as the divine element in the name Bethel-sharezer (Heb *byt*ʾ*l śr ʾṣr*, "May Bethel protect the king") (NEB/REB, NAB, NJPS). The following considerations favor the identification of the Heb *byt*ʾ*l śr ʾṣr* as a single name. The DN *byt*ʾ*l* is the theophoric element of a PN of Mesopotamian origin (cf. *ArchEleph* 328). The theophoric element is in initial position, which is normative. The name in Zech 7:2 is attested in the year 518 B.C. and, accordingly, is situated in a period during which PNs with the theophoric element *byt*ʾ*l* are attested epigraphically. The name appears in a Neo-Babylonian text from Uruk datable ca. 541–540 B.C. (Hyatt 1937). The proposed biblical name thus synchronizes with the frequent appearance of theophores compounded with Bethel in the Elephantine papyri. The person bearing the name Bethel-sharezer in Zech 7:2 may have been a Jewish official in Babylon.

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**BETHEL** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt›ēl* (בֵּיתְאֵל)]. The name of two places mentioned in the Hebrew Bible. The name means "house of God."

**1.** An important town in the central hill country of Palestine, located N of Jerusalem and very close to Ai. Next to Jerusalem, this Bethel is the most frequently occurring place name in the OT, referring both to a city and to a religious sanctuary which was either in or near the city. Two factors, somewhat interrelated, are responsible for the importance of Bethel: (1) it was associated with a religious sanctuary; and (2) it lay along a crossroads and near a physical and political frontier that divided the central hill country of Palestine into two parts.

Bethel became established in the Bible as a sanctuary by association with events in the lives of Abraham and Jacob. When Abram wandered S from Shechem, he pitched his tent and built an altar between Bethel and Ai (Gen 12:8), and on his return from Egypt he revisited this sacred place (Gen 13:3, 4). Jacob in his flight from Beersheba to Haran stayed there and had the famous nocturnal vision of angels ascending and descending. In the morning when he awoke, Jacob erected a pillar to mark this sacred place. Jacob called the place Bethel although the city was called Luz (Gen 28:10–22). Many years later Jacob returned to this place on his way home from Haran; he set up another altar and called the place El-Bethel (Gen 35:7). He also set up a pillar and again named the place Bethel (Gen 35:15).

These biblical descriptions of events concerning Bethel are puzzling. Should a distinction be made between Bethel, a name for a sacred place, and Bethel, a name of a settlement? When did the name of the settlement Luz become Bethel?

Some scholars have suggested that, "most of the cultic places in Israel during premonarchic and early monarchic periods were built outside of their respective towns and were called by different names" (Na›aman 1985). This practice by the Israelites of building sacred places outside the city apparently differed from a Canaanite custom of building sacred places within the settlement and might be indicative of a distinction in religious practice. However, other scholars interpret this matter differently. According to *HGB* 131 the sanctuary was inside the city, and references to its being outside the city in the Bible are not historical, "… but related to the mode of life of the patriarchs." On the other hand, there are indications that Bethel, in certain biblical contexts, could refer to a sanctuary, rather than to a city name. Boling (*Judges* AB) translates Bethel in Judg 20:18 as "sanctuary" —but a sanctuary located in the village of Mizpah. When the Israelites inquired of God at the sanctuary in Mizpah they failed. But when they shifted their battle headquarters and inquired of God in a sanctuary in the city of Bethel, they succeeded. The ark of God's covenant was, at that time, in the city of Bethel, overseen by Phineahas ben Eleazer ben Aaron (Judg 20:26–28). Apparently then, not all "Bethels" are the same—some can be trusted to provide counsel, while others can not.

Bethel is also associated with Deborah, the nurse of Rebekah who died and was buried beneath Bethel under an oak (Gen 35:8), and with Deborah, the Prophetess, who lived near the city (Judg 4:5). Samuel visited this city periodically to judge the people (1 Sam 7:16). However, with the establishment of the United Kingdom by David and the placement of the temple in Jerusalem the importance of Bethel as a sanctuary declined. The fortunes of Bethel improved, however, when the United Kingdom split and Jeroaboam I placed a golden calf in Bethel to serve as a cult center for his people in place of the temple in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 12:29–33). This religious schism aroused opposition among the prophets Hosea (10:15) and Amos, who declared, "Bethel shall come to nought" (3:14). The Judean king Josiah captured Bethel and broke down its altar and defiled the site (2 Kgs 23:15). After that time Bethel lost its importance as a cultic center.

Bethel's historic importance as a sacred place also coincides with its importance as a frontier town. Bethel lies between two separable physiographic provinces:the hills of Ephraim to the N, and the plateau of Judea to the S. Taken together, these provinces constitute the centrally elevated backbone of the land of Canaan between the valley of the Jordan river on the E and the Mediterranean Sea to the W. Throughout much of biblical history this central range was divided politically into N and S tribes, followed by kingdoms of N Israel and Judah, to the S. Later during Roman times these provinces were called Samaria and Judea.

Along the crest of the central range (or more accurately along the water parting) a N-S road ran from Hebron to Shechem, passing through Jerusalem and Bethel. This road provided one of the most important lines of transportation throughout biblical history. Just S of Bethel lay an E-W road leading up from the coast along a ridge overlooking the valley of Aijalon and then down again to Jericho and the Jordan valley along another slope overlooking the Wâdī Suweinit. One would have had to travel beyond Shechem, some 25 miles farther N, to the Wâdī Fari to find a route from the coast to the Jordan river that would have been equally attractive.

Physiographically, the Judean plateau is shielded by a longitudinal valley and an abrupt scarp from easy access from the coastal plain, but routes from the coastal plain to the hills of Ephraim do occur at many places. Climatically, rainfall and agriculture differ between the southerly plateau of Judah and the more verdant Ephraim hills. The dividing line between these provinces can be defined on the basis of physical features; but since more than one criterion can be used, and they do not exactly coincide, one can say that the physical frontier actually lies within a zone—a zone which includes the city of Bethel. The dividing line can be taken at the E-W route a few km S of Bethel, in which case Bethel belongs to the N province. The dividing line can also be taken a few km N of Bethel where the fairly straight N-S road enters a series of switchbacks reflecting the hilly nature of the N province. In this case, Bethel properly belongs to the S province.

This ambiguous geographic relationship is the key to understanding why Bethel is allotted to the tribe of Benjamin (Josh 18:22) but is taken over by the more N tribe of Ephraim (Judg 1:22). Also, although Jeroboam I made Bethel into a N city, Abijah, king of Judah, captured it (2 Chr 13:19). Baasha, king of Israel, however, retook the city, but when Israel fell to the Assyrians, Bethel reverted to Judah (Ezra 2:28; Neh 7:32). Thus Bethel, a frontier town between two provinces, shifted back and forth in political ownership.

The strategic position of Bethel (along the route to Jerusalem coming from the N) figures in later history. During the Hasmonean revolt it was fortified by the Syrian general Bacchides (1 Macc 9:50), and was captured by Vespasian in 69 C.E. (*JW* 4.551). During the Byzantine period Bethel was a village in the territory of "Aelia Capitolina" (Jerusalem) (Eusebius *Onomast.* 192 etc.). It continues to be mentioned in the literature by the Pilgrim of Bordeaux (353 C.E.) and Theodosius (ca. 503 C.E.) and is shown on the Madaba Map (ca. 565 C.E.). Apparently the city was destroyed during the Arab conquest in the 7th century C.E. and remained abandoned until it was repopulated as an Islamic village in the mid-19th century.

Most scholars since the time of Edward Robinson identify Bethel with Tell Beitin (M.R. 172148). See BEITIN, TELL (M.R. 172148). However, Livingston (1989) has suggested that Bethel may actually be el-Bireh, a few km SW of Tell Beitin.

**2.** A village in Judah to which David sent spoils to his friends and to the elders (1 Sam 30:27). Almost certainly, then, it was a city in Judah and not the more important Bethel N of Jerusalem, and possibly it is the same as Bethul in Josh 19:4 and BETHUEL in 1 Chr 4:30 (and Chesil in Josh 15:30, although this is less likely). Its location is unknown, although the context suggests somewhere generally in the area around Ziklag and Hormah.pg 712}

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**BETHEL-SHAREZER** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt›ēl śar›eṣer* (בֵּיתְאֵל שַׂרְאֶצֶר)]. See SHAREZER (PERSON).

**BETHER** (PLACE) [Gk *Baithēr* (Βαιθηρ)*, Thethēr* (Θεθηρ)]. A village in one of the districts into which the allotment of land for the tribe of Judah was divided (Josh 15:59a LXX). The list of 11 cities of which Bether is the 10th is found in LXX but not in MT; presumably it was omitted from the Hebrew text by the copyist's error called homoioteleuton (on the textual character of Josh 15:59a LXX, see *HGB* 392–93). The district lists are variously enumerated; (cf. Bright *IB* 2:630–33; Soggin *Joshua* OTL, 178; and Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 378, 391). Bether is identified with Khirbet el-Yahudi (M.R. 162126) near the modern Bittir, about 7 miles SW of Jerusalem. An archaeological survey showed almost continuous occupation of the site from Iron I through the early Roman period (Carroll 1923–24:89).

During the Second Jewish Revolt (132–135 C.E.), Bittar (as it was known [Aram *bîttēr;* on the name, see Neubauer 1868:130]) became Bar Kokhba's capital. See BAR KOKHBA (REVOLT). Some scholars have detected this place name in the name Baiterus found in the list at 1 Esdr 5:17. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 4.6) refers to the site as *Baithther.* The name is of uncertain derivation. The element *btr* in the name of the location *hārê bāter* (Cant 2:17:"rugged mountains" RSV, but note margin) has been traditionally treated as a contraction of *byt tr* (*Cant. Rab.* to 2:17), but there is no certainty that this name, whatever its derivation, elucidates the meaning of Bether.

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**BETHLEHEM** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt-leḥem* (בֵּית־לֶחֶם)]. The name of two places mentioned in the Bible.

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A. Bethlehem of Judah
1. Site
2. Name
3. Demography
4. Bethlehem in Israelite History
5. Bethlehem in Postbiblical Times
B. Bethlehem of Zebulun

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**A. Bethlehem of Judah**

**1. Site.** Bethlehem of Judah is located 9 km S of Jerusalem and stands at an elevation of 790 m on the E ridge of the watershed. The site lies on the border of the well-watered and fertile region of Beit-Jalah (Giloh) and of the dry district of Boaz—and Shepherds—fields ending in the Judean Desert. The village does not possess any spring, but only cisterns (2 Sam 23:15), some of which are caves on the ridge walled and plastered in the manner common at the end of the Bronze Age.

The site seems to have been inhabited during the lower Pleistocene (*EAEHL* 1:198–99; Stockton 1967:129–48, with a survey of the neighboring sites). During the 3d millennium B.C.E. pottery was left in Beth-Sahur, not far from Bethlehem, (Hennessy 1966:19–40; Saller 1963:325). Excavations have shown that the Iron Age settlement was not at the top of the spur as was thought before, but on the slope around the church of the Nativity (Saller 1964:287; 1968:153–80; Bagatti 1968:181–237). This observation has been confirmed by the survey of S. Gutman and A. Berman in 1969 (Benoit 1975, with drawings and photos).

**2. Name.** Place names with *bît* "house, place" are numerous in the cuneiform lists (Groneberg 1980; Nashef *RG* 5; Parpola 1970; *RLA* II:33–54); in Egyptian sources (Simons 1937:204); and in the Ugaritic

archives (*PRU* 2:227–28; 3:265–68; 4:253–56; 5:165–67; 6:146; cf. Astour 1975:139), but Bît-Lahmu does not appear. Bethlehem may be mentioned in a 14th-century B.C.E. letter of Abdi-Hepa, king of Jerusalem (EA 290:16; Schroeder 1915:294–95). In this letter the place is called Bīt-NIN.URTA, and one wonders if the ideogram NIN.URTA should be read as Antum (i.e., Lahama; cf. CT 24:14–15; see also Honigmann 1938). Other readings have been proposed:Bit-Anat (= i.e., Anatot; Dhorme 1908); Bit-(t)ašmiš = Beth-Shemesh (Lipiński 1973; but see the note by Priestbatsch 1975); or, lastly, Beth-Horon (Kallai and Tadmor 1969), though this latter suggestion has been made more for geographic than for linguistic reasons. The name Lahamu is unknown in the W and is poorly documented in Mesopotamia; the name is related to the subterranean ocean. It is not impossible (though admittedly hypothetical) that before the place name was interpreted as the "house of bread" (Heb *leḥem*), it was the "house of Lahai", the god of a well in the Negeb (Gen 16:14; 24:62, with contraction and mimesis as in Ugaritic).

**3. Demography.** Bethlehem of Judah (Judg 17:7–9; 19:1, 2, 18; Ruth 1:1–2; 1 Sam 17:12) is called Ephrathah (Mic 5:1—Eng 5:2). This Ephrathah cannot be the Ephrathah of 1 Sam 10:2 (on the border of Ephraim and Benjamin) near Ramah (Jer 31:15, N of Jerusalem), which in a poetic text is set in parallel with Kiriath-Jearim (Ps 132:6; cf. Melamed 1961; Tsevat 1962; Vogt 1975, with reference to Eusebius; Briend 1983). In Gen 35:19 and 48:7 (both P), Bethlehem is related, not to Ephrathah, but to the "way to Ephrathah" or "coming to Ephrathah" (see also *T. Reu.* 3:13).

Such identifications are late (like the identification of Mamre with Hebron) and reveal that the postexilic author felt there was a problem with Mic 5:1. The meaning of Ephrathah is to be determined from 1 Sam 17:12. The father of David is said to be an *ʾeprātî*, i.e., a man of Ephraim (Judg 12:5; 1 Kgs 11:26), just as the two sons of Elimelech and Naomi born in Bethlehem (Ruth 1:2), before Boaz and Jesse. This evidence strongly suggests that at the end of the 2d millennium B.C.E., a clan of Ephraim (Mic 5:1 speaks of an *ʾelep;* Judg 6:15; 1 Sam 10:19; cf. Neu 1986) was settled in Bethlehem. The Chronicler's genealogies, which are artificial but always have some foundation, treat Ephrathah both as a spouse of Caleb (1 Chr 2:19) and as a woman who became Caleb's wife after the death of Hezron his father; she was "grandmother" of Tekoa (1 Chr 2:24), a village located in the Judean Desert (cf. Myers *Chronicles* AB). The Chronicler admits an extension of the clan as far as Debir near Hebron, where Caleb lived (Judg 1:11–12; Josh 15:13).

The name of the father of David, Jesse (*yišay; ʾiyšay* in 1 Chr 2:13) is not common among Israelites. It may be Aramaic (cf. *ʾšy* in the Daskyleion Inscription; Dupont-Sommer 1966:47) or simply W Semitic (cf. *yu-šaī* in an Egyptian list of slaves; Hayes 1962), and probably is an abbreviation of Abishai, another member of the clan (1 Sam 26:6).

That the clan of Ephraim moved from the N to the S of Jerusalem is indicated (1) by the travels of Samuel, son of the *ʾepratî* Elkanah (1 Sam 16:1–12; cf. 1:1–2), (2) by the story of the Levite and his patron Micah (Judg 17:7–9), and (3) by the narrative of the Levite's concubine from Bethlehem (Judges 19). Finally, the elders of Israel recognized David as their kinsman:"We are your bone and flesh" (2 Sam 5:1).

The genealogy of David, inserted at the end of the book of Ruth (4:18–22; Campbell *Ruth* AB), suggests other marital relations which prove that the Ephramite clan of Jesse did not include all the inhabitants of Bethlehem. Amminadab and Nahshon, ancestors of Boaz, are said to be "father and brother of the wife of the Levite Aaron" (Exod 6:23). Through Ram (Amram or Abiram?) they have Hezron as an ancestor. There is a problem with Hezron; he is related either to Reuben (Gen 46:8–9; Exod 6:14; Num 26:6; 1 Chr 5:3), or to Judah through Perez (Gen 46:12; Num 26:21; Ruth 4:18–19; 1 Chr 2:5). Such a double connection can be explained historically by transfer from E (Bohan on the W side of the Jordan is spoken of as the "son of Reuben"; cf. Josh 15:6; 18:17; de Vaux 1953:541) to W (Perez-uzzah and Baal-Perazim are toponyms between Kiriath-Jearim and Jerusalem). Similarly, the clan of Karmi was transferred from Reuben (Num 26:6) to Judah (Josh 7:1; 1 Chr 2:7). These historical transfers also have a sociological connotation, because Hezron is related to *ḥaṣer*, a Hebrew term that denotes a village with a typical enclosure for herds; one of the Kerioth-hezron (Josh 15:25; cf. 15:3) is the *ḥăṣar-ʾaddār* of Num 34:4. Numerous *ḥăṣērôt* are to be found in the S of Judah, but also beyond the Jordan (1 Chr 2:21–24,

with Machir in Gilead and Ephrathah). As suggested by Eissfeldt, the *bên hamišpĕtayim* of Reuben (Judg 5:16) are also related to enclosures for herds (Eissfeldt 1949; 1954).

There were also Arabs in Bethlehem, descendants of Ishmael. David had two sisters, Zeruiah, the mother of Joab (father unknown) and Abigal, the mother of Amasa (2 Sam 17:25; 1 Chr 2:7), whose father was Ithra (Heb *yitrāʾ*) the Ishmaelite; the latter bears a true Arabic name *(watar).* However, the most important connections are with Reuben.

When the tribe disappeared, having been conquered by Moab, David, who was banished from Saul's court, entrusted his father and mother to the king of Moab (1 Sam 22:3–4).

**4. Bethlehem in Israelite History.** Fighting against the Philistines and the Amalekites, Saul found in Bethlehem-Ephrathah support for his campaigns. He enrolled the sons of Jesse (1 Sam 17:13), along with Elhanan, the son of Dodo (2 Sam 23:24; son of Jaareoregim in 2 Sam 21:19). Afterwards Bethlehem was taken by the Philistines (2 Sam 23:14), remaining in their hands until the victories of David, when it became a dependency of Jerusalem, the new capital city. According to 2 Chr 11:6 Bethlehem was fortified by Rehoboam, but no city walls have been discovered in the excavations of the site. Nevertheless, walls that belong to the same period (Iron I–II) were unearthed in Beit-Jalah (Giloh; Mazar 1981). As Giloh is not mentioned as a fortified city in Chronicles, it may be that the two sites were identified. In the list of Judean towns found in Joshua 15 (established probably under the reign of Josiah), mention is made of Bethlehem only in the LXX and not in the MT. It seems that Bethlehem was very small at the time (Mic 5:1—Eng 5:2, "you … who are little to be among the clans of Judah"), and noted only as the origin of the dynasty.

In the 5th century B.C.E. Bethlehem was reoccupied by the returning exiles. The exact figure of returnees varies:188 men of Bethlehem and Netophah according to Neh 7:26, and 123 "sons of Bethlehem" (and 56 "men of Netophah") according to Ezra 2:21. Bethlehem of Judah was never a priestly town as was Bethlehem of Zebulun (on which see below). It is never mentioned in the Qumran literature, even among the places of the treasures listed in the Copper Scrolls. In the *Martyrdom of Isaiah* (2:7, 8, 12) Bethlehem functions as a stage for the prophet in his flight from Jerusalem to the wilderness, a story line that is possibly built on the pattern of the narrative of Jeremiah and his companions who stopped in Kimham "near Bethlehem" (Jer 41:16–17) during their flight to Egypt. In the martyrdom of Isaiah it is a false prophet who lives in Bethlehem. Elsewhere in the pseudepigraphical literature, Bethlehem was connected with the burial of Rachel (*Jubilees* 32:34), and Ephrathah is located in Bethlehem (*T. Reu.* 3:13).

In the Fourth gospel (John 7:42) Bethlehem was considered by some of those listening to Jesus to be the birthplace of the son of David, but these same people display no knowledge of Bethlehem as the birthplace of Jesus of Nazareth. Elsewhere in the NT Bethlehem is mentioned only in the two Infancy Narratives. Although they are quite different in their traditions and structures, both Matthew and Luke converge on this point. In Luke, Bethlehem is the place where Joseph goes for the census and where the shepherds go "to see the thing that happened" (Luke 2:4, 15). In Matthew 2, Bethlehem is mentioned five times. There Jesus is born (2:1), the Magi are sent there (2:5–7) in accordance with the oracle of Mic 5:1, and it is there that Herod has all the male children who are two years in age or less killed ("in Bethlehem and its boundaries" [*horiois*]) (2:15). Then Bethlehem disappears from the NT (Brown 1985:177–85, 412–23; Perrot 1983).

**5. Bethlehem in Postbiblical Times.** After 135 C.E. Bethlehem was occupied by a Roman garrison which exterminated the remnant of the Bar Kokhba army as indicated by Roman inscriptions near Rachel's tomb (*RB* 1901:107; 1962:82–83; Vetrali 1967), and perhaps in *Lam. Rab.* 1:15 if we read Bethlehem (instead of Bethel) of Judah (cf. 1:16). It is possible that such a military presence would have led to the establishment of an Adonis cult in the same way as the Roman military presence in Aelia led to an Asclepius/Serapis cult in the caves adjacent to the pool of Bethesda (Duprez 1970:64–85). The Asclepius cult is attested by Jerome (*Ep.* 56.3; cf. Paulinus of Nole to Sulpicius Severus 3, CSEL 29). Nevertheless, we must be cautious because such a notice is unique in the works of Jerome and the identification of Adonis with Asclepius is not frequent (*mediante* Eshmun). A more direct attestation of a

military cult to the Syrian Goddess is known (Birley 1978:1516). Since Jerome's notice is more concerned with the lamentations over Adonis than with Adonis himself, Welten (1983) thinks there could have been a popular confusion between the tears of the Syrian Goddess (Lucian *Syr.D.*, 6), the *Venus lugens*, and Rachel's mourning for her sons. In the postexilic period Rachel's tomb was venerated in Bethlehem-Ephrathah. If the god Lahmu was really a vegetation deity like Adonis, it is possible that worship of this kind was practiced in a Bethlehem cave; a revival which neither Jews nor Christians wished to remember may have occurred during the Roman occupation.

The Gospels do not speak of a Nativity in a cave; the oldest references are to be found in Justin (*dial.*, 78) and in the *Protoevangelium* of James (18), texts which speak of a Nativity "quite near to Bethlehem," "midway," but not in Bethlehem itself.

Above a cave in Bethlehem, Constantine built an octogon with a basilica and a court enclosed by four porticoes in the front. During the Samaritan revolt of 529 C.E. the building was destroyed. Justinian rebuilt it in its actual shape, which was preserved by the Persian invaders (612). In the crypts the traditional Nativity cave is connected with other caves where the monastic sojourn of Jerome and his community is commemorated (Vincent and Abel 1914; Avi-Yonah *EAEHL* 1:202–6; Heitz 1983:6–18; Murphy-O'Connor 1983:12–13).

**B. Bethlehem of Zebulun**

A village, located in the N, in the tribe of Zebulun (Josh 19:15), was also known as Bethlehem. It is obviously the place where Ibzan, a minor Judge, was buried (Judg 12:8–10, related to Zebulun in the following verses; cf. Boling *Judges* AB, 215). The village is known to have been the residence of a priestly family (Cesaraea Inscription, 5–6th century C.E.; cf. Avi-Yonah 1962); an Arab village on the Asher-Zebulun border retained the name *(Beit-Laḥm).*

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**BETHPHAGE** (PLACE) [Gk *Bēthphagē* (Βηθφαγη)]. Bethphage was the name of a village on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho meaning literally in Aramaic, "house of the early figs." The village was the place where Christ sent his disciples to find the foal of an ass for his "triumphal entry" and was mentioned together with Bethany in this context in Matt 21:1; Mark 11:1; and Luke 19:29. Both the Mishnah and the Talmud suggest that the town was a suburb of Jerusalem, laying outside the city wall and apparently surrounded by its own wall.

Bethphage was located either beyond Bethany (M.R. 174131) according to Jerome (*Ep.*, 108), or, more likely, W of Bethany toward Jerusalem (M.R. 172131), approximately 1 km E of the summit of the Mount of Olives. The latter site was the location of Bethphage accepted by the medieval Crusaders. A stone with frescoes and inscriptions was found at the latter site, showing two disciples untying a donkey and a colt. The frescoes are preserved in the Franciscan chapel at this location. Archaeological evidence indicates that the site was occupied from the 2d century B.C.E. to the 8th century C.E. Of the many archaeological artifacts found at the occupation site, of particular interest is tomb 21 with its rolling stone, Greek and archaic Semitic inscriptions, and graffiti which include a sign depicting a cross.
SCOTT T. CARROLL

**BETHUEL** (PERSON) [Heb *bĕtû᾽ēl* (בְּתוּאֵל)]. Var. BETHUL. A son of Nahor by Milcah (Gen 22:20–22) and the father of Rebekah (24:15) and Laban (28:5). Bethuel played no significant role even in his daughter's betrothal, where her brother was prominent. Rebekah ran to her mother's house (Gen 24:28); Laban prepared the welcome (vv 29–32); then Laban granted consent to the servant to explain his mission (v 33); and gifts were presented to Rebekah, Laban, and her mother (v 53). In the actions of vv 55–60 her brother and mother were the players. Furthermore one notes that peculiar order of names in v 50, where the father's comes after his son's. Perhaps Bethuel had already died. Josephus (*Ant* 1.16.2 §248) does claim that Bethuel was dead and that Laban, with the mother, directed the whole household and was guardian of Rebekah's maidenhood. Such an explanation would require that "and Bethuel" was added by someone who did not realize the narrative assumed Bethuel had died. But it is doubtful that anyone would have inserted the name in the wrong order. Another possible solution is that Bethuel was incapacitated by senility or invalidism or the like. This could account for the reversed order of names in v 50. The most probable interpretation may be that the story assumes a matrilineal family. Jay (1988:62) points out how in a matrilineal system Laban, as Rebekah's brother, would have authority concerning her marriage; and quite likely only he, his sister, and her mother would receive gifts or be in a position to

decide the date of Rebekah's departure. Somewhat more concretely, there are Nuzi texts in which the marriage contract was arranged by a brother for his sister (Pfeiffer and Speiser 1936:38–39, 104–6).

The meaning of the name Bethuel is uncertain. It might mean "dweller in God" —unless it equals *mětû‹ēl* (cf. Akk *Muti-ilu*), "man of God." It is similar to Batti-ilu in the Tell el-Amarna letters (EA 650).

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**BETHUEL** (PLACE) [Heb *bětû‹ēl* (בְּתוּאֵל)]. Var. BETHUL; BETHEL. A town in which the sons of Simeon dwelt prior to the reign of David (1 Chr 4:30). It is mentioned in a list along with Hormah and Ziklag. In the Josh 19 list of Simeonite towns, the name is spelled Bethul (v 4; Heb *bětûl*), and in an apparent parallel in Josh 15:30 it is replaced with Chesil. In the story of David's exploits in the area around Ziklag and Hormah, a place named BETHEL is mentioned. Given all these variants, Albright (1924:150) has suggested that Bethuel is the preferred form. The precise location of this town is unknown.

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**BETHULIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Baityloua* (Βαιτυλουα)]. City where the events of the book of Judith are located (Jdt 4:6). The author of Judith gives many indications of the location of Bethulia: it is N of Jerusalem (11:19), near Betomasthaim (4:6), over against Esdraelon (4:6), near Dothan (4:6), in the hill country of Samaria (6:11). It is described as having a spring below the city (7:12–13), and it is positioned to hold the narrow mountain pass giving access to Jerusalem from the N hill country (10:10–11). However, the name Bethulia is unknown to modern readers, and its exact location, despite all the descriptive material, is uncertain. Enslin (1972) points out that we do not even know whether the city was actually known to the author. There are 9 Greek variant spellings for the name out of 21 mss collated by the Larger Cambridge Septuagint, indicating confusion in the textual tradition. Many identifications have been proposed for the site:Sānūr, 5 miles south of Dothan; Meseliah, midway between Geba and Jenin; or Kubatje (so Dussaud 1926 and Steuernagel 1943). The name itself has given rise to speculation over the town's location. Is it meant to be a thinly disguised pseudonym for Bethel (Heb *byt‹l/wh,* "house of God")? Priestbatsch (1974) points out in this regard that in the LXX Ezras 2:28 the names Bethel and Ai are corrupted into one word, *baitoliō.* Or is the name itself meaningful, as *byt‹lh,* "house of ascents"? Torrey (1899) follows this hypothesis, saying that according to the book of Judith, Bethulia lay at the head of the most important pass in Samaria and was a large and important city; those facts and his understanding of the name lead him to identify Bethulia with Shechem. None of these locations is definitive. It is possible that the author of Judith modeled his city on one of the major cities in the N hill country (Shechem being the most likely candidate), but that does not lead to an absolute identification. It seems most helpful to follow Craven (1983) when she says, "It seems best to leave the details of the Book of Judith alone as the products of a fertile, creative imagination."

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**BETOMASTHAIM** (PLACE) [Gk *Baitomasthaim* (Βαιτομασθαιμ)]. Var. BETOMESTHAIM. Site mentioned in the book of Judith, the exact location of which is unknown (Jdt 4:6; 15:4). The first occurrence of the name in 4:6 gives the variant spelling *baitomesthaim;* however, there seems to be no

reason to suppose the author was referring to two different cities. Betomasthaim is set near Dothan, north of Samaria. C. C. Torrey argued that Betomasthaim was a contemptuous pseudonym for Samaria: *byt mśṭmh*, 'house of shame, 'or *byt mśṭm,* 'house of the devil.' This is not at all certain. It is entirely possible that the city is totally fictitious; this would be in keeping with the genre of the book of Judith.

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**BETONIM** (PLACE) [Heb *bĕṭōnîm* (בְּטֹנִים)]. A border point E of the Jordan river for the land of Jazer, which Moses gave to the families of Gad (Josh 13:26). The location is noted by Eusebius as *Botnia* but has never been verified as *Khirbet Batneh,* 6 miles SW of es-Salt. The location is described briefly by de Vaux (1938:404) and affirmed by Noth (1938:26).

Noth suggests that the three place names of Heshbon to Ramath-Mizpeh to Betonim constitute a N-S boundary line between Reuben and Gad. However, Mittmann (1970) dismisses Noth's view as very speculative. In a complex literary study Wüst (1975) concludes that Josh 13:26 is part of a two-step addition to the report, which is intended to support the larger territorial claims of Gad.

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**BEYOND THE JORDAN** (PLACE). From the E this would be W of the Jordan, i.e., Cisjordan; from the W, it would be E of the river, i.e., Transjordan. The Talmud refers to Transjordan.

The "Jordan" is usually understood to be the Jordan river but it may be an old word for "river" with the context suggesting which river is involved and thus which area (Aharoni *LBHG* 111; Smick 1973:26–27). Among the nine references to Cisjordan, Deut 3:20, 25; 11:30 are Moses speaking about the W.

Gen 50:10–11, the burial of Jacob at Atad or Abel-mizraim ("meadow of Egypt"), has been interpreted both ways. For some unknown reason, Joseph carried the body from Egypt through Transjordan and came from the E, so "beyond the Jordan" would designate Cisjordan, with the burial at Hebron (as the usual understanding has it). Perhaps the route was a typology for the Exodus (Ottosson 1969:37 n. 2). But the reference to burial "beyond the Jordan" has been interpreted as a burial place in Transjordan with Joseph's funeral group making the more obvious and logical trip straight from Egypt to the Jordan. However, the latter could also be a straight, logical trip from Egypt to Hebron if "Jordan" here is the old word for "river," so Joseph's funeral party went "beyond the river," which from Egypt could be the River of Egypt, Wâdī el-ʿArîsh.

Smick (1973:30–31, 105 n. 72, 111) has pointed out that where Heb *ʿēber* "beyond" or "opposite" refers to the Jordan, the writer specifies the direction. Josh 5:1 refers to the W, while Num 34:15 refers to the E. The word itself also means "a side," hence at the side of, beside, adjacent. Exod 32:15 refers to two sides *(ʿebrêhem)* of the tablets of the law. Smick takes NT *peran* as in John 1:28 as carrying the same range of meaning. Matt 4:15 quotes Isa 8:23—Eng 9:1–2, which seems to put Galilee in Transjordan, if Heb *ʿēber* (and Gk *peran*) are translated "across." But there is no problem if the translation is "beside" or "adjacent to"; Galilee is beside the Jordan, not across (E of) it. Similarly, Matt 19:1 refers to Judea beyond the Jordan. Judea did not extend across the Jordan into Transjordan though rulers like Herod the Great controlled the territory. The reference is usually thought to be Perea, across the Jordan. But "Judea beside the Jordan" makes good sense in this context.

There has been some debate over John 1:28 and the location of Bethany (location unknown) beyond the Jordan. Some manuscripts read Bethabara, SE of Jericho. Finegan (1969:8–11) suggests that if Jerusalem and Judea went out to John, the place would have been on a main road, at one of the fords of the Jordan

river. He notes the Roranije ford, today's Allenby bridge, on the road from Jericho to Amman, 5 miles from Jericho and 9 from the Dead Sea. There is another ford, 4.5 miles S at the end of the Wâdī el-Charrar and near Mt. St. Elijah (Jebel Mar Elyas) on the E bank and near today's Monastery of St. John (Deir Mar Juhanna) on the W bank. Another mile S is the traditional site of the el-Hajlah ford at the end of the Wâdī Qelt. A half-mile further S is the el-Henu ford. While Finegan notes abundant springs by Mount St. Elijah was a possible site for John's baptisms, the text does not require a location in Transjordan. It could simply mean "beside the Jordan" or "on the banks of the Jordan." See also BETHANY (PLACE).

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**BEYOND THE RIVER** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿēber hannāhār* (עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר)]. "Beyond the river" (Aramaic *ʿăbar nahărâ;* Gk *peran tou potamou*) can refer to (1) lands E of the Euphrates, (2) the Persian provinces W of the Euphrates including Coele-Syria, and (3) possibly Transjordan. 2 Sam 10:16; 1 Kgs 14:15; and 1 Chr 19:16 use "beyond the River" (RSV, "beyond the Euphrates") from the perspective of those W of the Euphrates to refer to lands on the E side of that river. McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB, 273) surveyed minority opinions to the contrary. The Persians, from their perspective, saw the lands to the W of the Euphrates as "beyond the river" and so named the province which encompassed all the lands from the Euphrates W to the Mediterranean and as far N as the Taurus mountains in Turkey (Shalit 1954:64–73). Ezra 4:10–20; 5:3, 6; 6:6, 8, 13; 7:21, 25; 8:36; and Neh 2:7, 9; 3:7 follow the Persian use of the term. Josh 24:14–15 refers to "beyond the river" where the patriarchs served Yahweh. This is an obvious reference to Haran in N Mesopotamia (Gen 11:31). Shalit has shown this area to have been included in the province "beyond the river" or Coele-Syria. 1 Macc 7:8 notes that Bacchides was governor of the province "Beyond the River." Shalit (1954:73–77) demonstrated that under the Seleucids Coele-Syria (or "beyond the river") was limited to the area S of the Orontes to Egypt and from the Mediterranean to the border of the Syrian-Arabian desert. Josephus (*Ant* 12.10.2) misunderstood this and defined "beyond the river" as Mesopotamia. In 1 Macc 11:60, Jonathan traverses "beyond the river." Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 440) noted that the Greek verb "traverse" *(diaporeuesthai)* takes a direct object ("the province beyond the river") and not a prepositional phrase (implying that the Jordan was crossed). Goldstein further observed that although the absence of the definite article before "beyond the river" appears to argue against this rendering, it should be noted that the LXX of 1 Kgs and of Ezra also lacks the definite article where the meaning is clearly the province W of the Euphrates. Josephus (*Ant* 13.5.5) correctly understands "beyond the river" of 1 Macc 11:60, for he renders it "Phoenicia" (part of Coele-Syria or "beyond the river").

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MICHAEL E. HARDWICK

**BEZAE.** See CODEX (BEZAE).

**BEZAI** (PERSON) [Heb *bēṣāy* (בֵּצָי)]. Head of a family of Babylonian exiles who are listed as returnees under the leadership of Zerubbabel and others (Ezra 2:17 = Neh 7:23 = 1 Esdr 5:16). The leader of the clan affixed the family name to the covenant document of Nehemiah in Neh 10:19—Eng 10:18. For further discussion of exilic name lists and bibliography see AKKUB (PERSON) and ATER (PERSON). The name is likely a shortened form of *bĕṣal-ʾēl,* "In the shadow of El" (Noth *IPN* 152; *TPNAH* 157).

CHANEY R. BERGDALL

**BEZALEL** (PERSON) [Heb *bĕṣal‹ēl* (בְּצַלְאֵל)]. The name of two individuals in the Hebrew Bible. It has been suggested that the name Bezalel may mean "in the shadow (protection) of El (God)," consisting of the preposition *b* prefixed to the construct *ṣl* and *›l* (*IPN* 152).

1. The craftsperson responsible for constructing the tent of meeting, the ark of testimony, and the accompanying furnishings (Exod 31:1–11). According to the Chronicler, Bezalel was a descendant of Caleb and a member of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr 2:20). The priestly tradition claims that Bezalel was granted a divine spirit *(rûaḥ ›ĕlōhîm)* which further endowed him with skill *(ḥokmâ),* a faculty of understanding *(tĕbûnâ),* knowledge *(da‹at),* and workmanship *(mĕlā›kâ)* by which he was able to execute the task (Exod 31:2–3; 35:30–31). Assisting him were Oholiab and "every skilled individual" (Exod 31:6, 36:1–2). The Chronicler states that Solomon brought his bronze altar to the newly constructed temple (2 Chr 1:5), indicating Bezalel's firm position in the tradition. However, Noth suggests that the priests may have added his name to the tradition in order to provide the ancestor of a postexilic family with a prominent place in Israel's sacred history (*HPT* 187–88).

2. A descendant of Pahathmoab and one of the returned exiles who were required to divorce their foreign wives (Ezra 10:30). He might appear in the parallel list in 1 Esdr 9:31 as Sesthel. Bezalel was a member of a family from which groups of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:6; Neh 7:11) and later with Ezra (Ezra 8:4). For further discussion see BEDEIAH (PERSON).

JEFFREY A. FAGER

**BEZEK** (PLACE) [Heb *bezeq* (בֶּזֶק)]. The site where the tribes of Judah and Simeon defeated Adoni-bezek (Judg 1:4–5). Bezek is also mentioned in 1 Sam 11:8–11 as the site where Saul took a census of the people during his campaign to save the residents of Jabesh-gilead from Nahash the Ammonite.

To identify the location of Bezek, one must examine the geographical characteristics given in these sources. While no such specifications appear in Judges 1, the second source indicates that one night's march was sufficient for Saul and his army to reach Jabesh from Bezek:Saul promised the residents of Jabesh:"Tomorrow, in the heat of the day, you will have deliverance" (1 Sam 11:9). We may infer from this that the distance between Bezek and Jabesh did not exceed 20–30 km. The site of the census also had to be on one of the convenient roadways which led from the central mountains to the Jordan Valley, since Saul's starting point was Gibeah (11:4). The name of Bezek, according to these criteria, has undoubtedly been preserved at Khirbet Ibzik (M.R. 187197), a large site lying upon the ancient road leading from Shechem and the E valleys of the Manasseh hill country to the Jordan Valley. The prefix "I" in the name "Ibzik" does not deter the identification of the name, since it is typical of later Arabic prefixes (e.g., Chesulloth=Iksal; Bene-barak=Ibn Ibrak). The antiquity of the name is known at least as far back as the Byzantine period:the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius testifies on two villages named Bezek lying on the Neapolis–Scythopolis road, 17 miles from the former.

Khirbet Ibzik is located on the SW slope of Ras es-Salmeh, a high range which encloses the Zebabdeh Valley at the E, and is part of the Far‹ah Anticline. This natural passageway, leading from the center of the Manasseh hill country to the Jordan Valley, lies upon the saddle of Ras es-Salmeh, making it the most convenient route for crossing the Jordan and arriving at Jabesh-gilead. (Jabesh-gilead his been identified with the large tell of El Maklub [M.R. 214201] E of the Jordan and approximately 30 km from Khirbet Ibzik, and also with Tel Abu Kh‹araz [M.R. 206200] only 16 km from Khirbet Ibziq. Neither site is more than one night's march from the suggested identification of Bezek.)

At least two Roman roads, leading from Neapolis (Shechem) to Scythopolis (Beth Shean), were identified at the passageway of Khirbet Ibzik. The two large sites found on the route were settled mainly during the Roman-Byzantine period. Apparently, Eusebius was referring to these sites, and not to Khirbet Jabrish, located 4 km to the E and not related to the Bezek passageway. In a careful archaeological survey, Zertal found that settlement at Khirbet Ibzik began during the late Iron Age (7th–6th centuries B.C.), and not earlier. Therefore, the double site of Khirbet Ibzik cannot be associated with the place where Saul gathered the people of Israel, nor can it be connected with the ancient tradition of the

campaign of Judah and Simeon. According to the principle of names which wandered from site to site in the vicinity, apparently the original site of Bezek should be located somewhere nearby.

During the course of Zertal's survey of the Manasseh hill country, the small tell of Khirbet Salhab (M.R. 185195) was inspected and found to be suitable as the location of ancient Bezek. It lies in the wide Zebabdeh Valley, approx. 2 km W of the narrow Bezek passageway, and near the route of the Roman road. This place is suitable for gathering the people and taking a military census, unlike Kh. Ibzik, which lies in a narrow pass. During the survey of Kh. Salhab, sherds were found from as early as the beginnings of the Iron I period (13th century B.C.), and the site was settled continuously throughout the entire Iron Age. The later site of Kh. Ibzik was founded during the late Iron Age, and the original name was transferred over to it. Possible reference to Salhab is preserved in the Rehob inscription (5th–6th century A.D.), where the name "Palga deShalaf" appears, together with a series of names in the hill country of Manasseh. This source confirms that "Bezek" at that time was in Kh. Ibzik, while the name "Salhab" was already given to this (early Iron Age) site. The reason for this change is unknown; however, it is clear that the name Bezek had already passed to its present location during the Iron Age and was preserved there ever since.

The site of Salhab also seems to suit the ancient traditions preserved in the book of Judges. This tradition apparently preserves a period during which the nuclei of the tribes of Judah and Simeon wandered within the territory of Manasseh. Judah is mentioned as connected to Manasseh by genealogical ties (2 Chr 2:21–22), while the existence of Simeonites in Manasseh is well attested until the end of the existence of the kingdom of Israel and afterward (2 Chr 15:9; 34:5–6). Further evidence of this phenomenon is found in the book of Judith, dating to the Persian period (8:1).

The historical background of the Bezek battle against the Canaanites is not clear. It is possible that clans of Judah and Simeon moved up from the Jordan Valley to be met at Bezek by the Canaanites, and from there they continued S as a part of an overall movement of Israelite clans from the N mountains to Jerusalem and the Judahite territory.

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ADAM ZERTAL

**BEZER** (PERSON) [Heb *beṣer* (בֶּצֶר)]. A son of Zophah, from the tribe of Asher (1 Chr 7:37). The name may refer to "gold" (*IPN*, 223). Although it occurs as a personal name, it likely refers to BEZER (PLACE).

**BEZER** (PLACE) [Heb *beṣer* (בֶּצֶר)]. A city of refuge in Transjordan, located "in the wilderness on the tableland for the Reubenites" (Deut 4:43; cf. Josh 20:8). Bezer was one of three cities of refuge established by Moses to the east of the Jordan; the other two places of asylum were Ramoth in Gilead and Golan in Bashan. Bezer was later set apart as a levitical city and assigned to the Merarites (Josh 21:36; 1 Chr 6:63, 78).

Although it pays a relatively minor role in the OT, the Mesha Inscription lists Bezer among the Israelite towns that were taken in Mesha's successful effort to reclaim the Moabite tableland. In fact, line 27 of this text seems to emphasize the severity of the destruction Mesha brought upon Bezer and another town: "I rebuilt Beth-bamoth, for it had been destroyed; and I rebuilt Bezer, for it was in ruins …" (*TSSI* 1:77). It is possible that these two sites were the scenes of heavy fighting because, like Nebo (line 14), they were in northern Moab. At any rate, Mesha rebuilt Bezer in order to consolidate his victory over Israel.

Although its exact location is unknown, Bezer is often identified with Umm el-ʿAmad (M.R. 235132), which is located ca. eight miles northeast of Medeba. Bezer is perhaps the same town as Bosor (1 Macc 5:36; cf. LXX, *Bosor*), and Moabite Bozrah (Jer 48:24), but it should not be confused with the important Edomite city named Bozrah (modern Buseirah) or still another Bezer, a town in Bashan that is named in Egyptian texts.

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

**BIBLE, BISHOPS'.** Early in Elizabeth's reign the preparation of the Bishops' Bible was suggested to William Cecil, secretary of state to Elizabeth, in letters of Richard Cox, bishop of Ely, January 19, 1561, and May 3, 1566, in which Cox proposed that one uniform translation be used through the realm. Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, then casually stated in a letter to Cecil (March 9, 1565) that a translation was to be done.

Parker seems to have assigned various portions for revision over a period of time, with so many of the revisers either being or later becoming bishops that the effort is known as the Bishops' Bible. Letters collected in the *Parker Correspondence* reveal the progress, and on November 26, 1566, Parker informed Cecil that the work was under way and invited him to review an epistle. It is assumed that Cecil courteously declined.

Parker distributed portions of the Great Bible upon which notes were to be made to the participants, most of whom had been exiles in Mary's reign. It is not likely that the revisers met together. They were instructed to vary from the English translation commonly used in the churches only when Hebrew and Greek demanded it. They were to follow Pagninus and Münster in sections and divisions. No bitter or polemical notes were to be included. Genealogies and unedifying matter were to be marked so that the reader would skip them in public reading. Offensive words in the old translation were to be replaced, and the printer was to use his heaviest paper for the NT since it would have more use.

The initials of the revisers are printed with the books for which they are responsible; unfortunately, there are two lists of names which do not completely agree. Edmund Guest is remembered for having suggested to Parker one of the most asinine procedures for rendering the Psalms ever suggested. He rendered a psalm in the OT as if it was in the NT to avoid offense of "divers translations." It is thought, however, that finally either Thomas Bacon or Thomas Bickley did the psalms. More sensible is the wish expressed by Cox that the revision should use words with which the English were acquainted and should avoid "inkhorn terms." Parker, in addition to some of the revision, did the editorial work, and he explained in the preface to the OT that old copies of Bibles were wearing out and that many churches were lacking Bibles. In his letter to the queen he remarked, without specifically naming it, that the notes of the Geneva Bible were objectionable.

By September 22, 1568, Parker could inform Cecil that the work was completed and that he hoped to be able to make a presentation to Queen Elizabeth; his health did not permit him to realize his wish, however, and on October 5 he again wrote Cecil explaining procedures followed, requesting that Cecil get protection from infringers for Richard Jugge, the printer, and get a license from the queen for use of the Bible in the churches. It seems the license was never granted.

Artistically, the first edition of the Bishops' Bible was the most ornate English Bible yet to appear. Portraits of Queen Elizabeth, William Cecil, and Cecil Burleigh (later Lord Burleigh) were placed in flattering locations. Elaborate woodcuts made up page borders for the five sections of the Bible. Parker's coat of arms was included with his preface, and that of Cranmer for his prologue. The Gospel of Matthew begins with a large T decorated with a scene of Neptune taming the sea horses. At the beginning of the other gospels, Mark is accompanied by the lion, Luke by the ox, and John by the eagle. Illustrations within the text are enclosed in woodcut borders, and the pictures are frequently signed, with the whole making up 143 pictures. The art was not constant through the successive editions. The initial letter G at the Epistle to the Hebrews was decorated with the scene of Leda and the swan, which gave to the 1572 edition the name "The Leda Bible."

The Bishops' substituted "charity" where Tyndale had used "love," had a peculiar rendering not unique to it in Eccl 11:1:"Lay thy bread on wet faces …," and had the misprint at Ps 37:29:"The righteous [for unrighteous] shall be punished." The most famous marginal note is to Ps 45:9:"Orphir is thought to be the Ilande in the west coast, of late founde by Christopher Columbo, from whence at this day is brought most fine golde."

While using verses as the Geneva did, the Bishops', until 1579, continued to use the older section system of A, B, and C down the margin. The second edition, 1569, is quarto and revealed a number of

changes in the OT and some in the NT. A further revision of the NT was done in 1572, and this text appears in all later printings. This third edition in 1572 had both the Bishops' and the Great Bible Psalms in parallel columns and after 1573 all editions but one carry only the Great Bible Psalms.

On April 3, 1571, the Convocation of Canterbury ordered that the Bible of the largest volume as lately published in London be put in the halls of great houses and, as far as possible, in churches. The Great Bible appeared in its last edition in 1569. The 1574 folio edition of the Bishops' carried the words "set foorth by authorities," and by 1589 Whitgift circulated articles stating that the Bible now authorized by the bishops was to be used in the churches. Royal authorization seems never to have come; but parish accounts record purchases of Bibles as well as fines paid for lacking a proper Bible.

Shakespeare in his earlier plays used the Bishops' Bible. There is probability that some early explorers who were loyal churchmen used it in America. There were quarto editions as well as portable New Testaments printed. Alexander Whitaker of Jamestown, who regularly used the Geneva Bible, used a Bishops' phrase in a letter of June 18, 1614. Captain Samuel Argall in 1610 showed the Indians of Patawomek River a picture of creation from a Bible which likely was a Bishops'. However, the days of the Bishops' Bible had passed before the period of colonization, and it was not printed in America until 1962.

There were many critics of the Bishops' Bible. The ninth edition (1577) is quarto, was the last printed by Richard Jugge, and was criticized by Gregory Martin in the Rheims (1582) marginal notes and in the exchange with Richard Fulke in 1589. The most vocal critic was Hugh Broughton, who hoped in vain to be appointed to do a revision. He faulted many renderings, and of the table preceding the NT said, "The cockles of the sea-shore and the leaves of the forest, and the granes of the Popy may well be numbered as the grosse errours of this Table, disgracing the ground of our one hope."

The Bishops' Bible went through twenty editions in its forty-two years, the last edition being in 1602. The NT was again printed in 1617 and 1633. The instructions to the King James revisers were that they were to follow the Bishops' Bible where it was true to the original. Charles Butterworth (1941:231) estimated that the King James Bible owes four percent of its wording to the Bishops'.

The text of the Bishops' NT was included in Bagster's *English Hexapla* in 1841 (Herbert 1968, no. 1840) and in Luther A. Weigle's *The New Testament Octapla* in 1962. The text of the Psalms was printed in the *Hexaplar Psalter* of 1911 (no. 2173) and the text of Genesis in Weigle's *Genesis Octapla* of 1965.

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JACK P. LEWIS

**BIBLE, EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE.** Reticence with regard to certain subjects—chiefly sexual and excretory functions, death, and matters considered dangerous, numinous, or holy—is notable in varying degrees in many cultures, languages, and literatures; it is also evident in the Bible.

———A. Introduction
B. Treatment of Sexual Subject Matter
    1. Genitalia
    2. Sexual Intercourse, Nudity, and Sexual Innuendo
    3. Homosexuality
C. Treatment of Excretory Subject Matter
D. Evasive References to Death
E. Treatment of Sacred Subject Matter
    1. Avoiding Affront to God
    2. Disparaging the Foreign
F. More Recent Expurgations of the Bible

## A. Introduction

Measures to reduce offensive language in the Hebrew Bible were applied long before modern movements to sanitize or expurgate literature, both secular and sacred. Rabbinic sages were concerned about "clean language" as well as other kinds of purity, and this had its impact on academic discourse and also on the sacred text and its subsequent translation into other languages. "One should not open his mouth to Satan" or "let an ugly word escape his lips" (*Berakot* 19a; *Pesahim* 3a). Jesus Ben Sira (Sir 23:12) opined that some words merit death and should never be heard among Jacob's heirs, possibly a reference to blasphemy. Ben Sira also considered lewd talk sinful (Sir 23:13):cursing one's birth (as Job and Jeremiah did) dishonored one's father and mother (Sir 23:14), while abusive language was a bad habit and a sign of immaturity (Sir 23:15). Yet Ben Sira seems to have forgotten his own counsel when paying his respects to the wayward woman on whom he lays such epithets as "scorpion" and "dog" (Sir 26:7, 25).

There are various ways of rectifying language deemed improper, apart from simply expunging the offending element. *Euphemism,* the use of mild, delicate, indirect, or negative terms (as "not clean" for "dirty") to hint at an unpleasant matter rather than name it plainly, has been a factor in debasing language by excess refinement. The rabbis early noted and listed some biblical euphemisms and aptly characterized the phenomenon with the locution *kinnāh ha-katûb,* "Scripture has substituted/nicknamed," i.e., euphemized. The opposite tactic, *cacophemism* or *dysphemism,* the use of grossly disparaging terms rather than normal or neutral designations (esp. with reference to enemies or despised activities), is also common in the Bible and elsewhere. Related to euphemism and dysphemism is *antiphrasis,* saying the opposite of what is meant, as when in Akkadian the netherworld was called "clean place" *(ašru ellu),* or when Job's wife urged him to "bless" (i.e., curse) God and die. Another devious rhetorical device is *periphrasis* or *circumlocution,* deliberate evasiveness in speech or writing, i.e., talking around the topic rather than addressing it directly.

Jewish tradition concedes that there are instances where the text of the Hebrew Bible has been altered (see SCRIBAL EMENDATIONS). Such a drastic measure was applied as a last resort to eliminate blasphemy. More common is indirect alteration of the text by vocalizing what is written *(kethib)* as if it were something different and giving the alternative reading *(qere)* in the margin. (The holy name YaHWeH was ineffable and the vowels supplied with the consonants were those of the surrogate *ʾăDoNaY,* "my Lord[s]." Christians unwittingly combined the vowels of the surrogate with the sacrosanct consonants to produce the sonorous sacrilege "JeHoVaH.") Obscene words were also not to be pronounced, and the consonants of the unmentionable term were provided with the vowels of the polite euphemism or circumlocution and the surrogate consonants were supplied in the margin. For example, in Isa 36:12=2 Kgs 18:27 the consonants of the plain words for solid and liquid excreta are written but vocalized with the vowels of the polite substitute terms. Since the plain Hebrew word for "piss" is a terse triliteral monosyllable and the polite substitute meaning "water of (the) feet" is somewhat longer, the obscene consonants had to be spaced to make room for the extra vowels of the euphemism, while the consonants of the polite term were supplied in the margin.

## B. Treatment of Sexual Subject Matter

**1. Genitalia.** Sexual terms are the most common objects of evasive language. The use of "hand" *(yād)* for "penis" is attested already in pre-Israelite Northwest Semitic in a mythological poem from Ugarit called "The Birth of the Beautiful Gods" in which the "hand" of the amative sire of the godlings is said to be as long as the sea. In Isa 57:8 it is apparent from the context that "hand watching" refers to phalloscopy (despite RSV's abashed assertion that "the meaning of the Hebrew is uncertain"). The lover's "hand" in Song of Songs 5:4 thrust into or out of the "hole" (some prepositions in Hebrew and Ugaritic may mean both "to" and "from") is suggestive of penile intromission, despite the context evoking the classical motif of the locked-out lover (Pope *Song of Songs* AB, 514–19). Among the sectarian community at Khirbet Qumran, a member was mulcted/fined for exposing his "hand" (1QS 7:13; see Delcor 1967).

"Feet" *(raglayim)* is also used for genitals of either sex, as in the aforementioned circumlocution "feet water" for urine. In Isa 7:20, "hair of feet" refers to pubic hair. Deut 28:57 speaks of the (formerly) pampered woman in famine eating the afterbirth that comes out from between her "feet." Jerusalem, personified as a wanton nymphomaniac (Ezek 16:25), is charged with spreading her "feet" to every passerby. In Isa 6:2 the six wings of the seraphim come in three pairs, one to cover the face (for reverence), one to cover the "feet" (for modesty), and the third pair for flying. Uriah the Hittite, called home on furlough by King David and urged to go home and "wash his feet," protested that while his comrades were still in battle he would not go home to eat and drink and "lie with his wife" (2 Sam 11:8). One who is quick with his "feet" sins (Prov 19:2). The term "soul" *(nepeš)* in this same verse also has sexual meaning, as it has in at least one clear instance in Ugaritic when the impotent hero Danel sought divine help and had his "soul" *(npš)* restored and then went home and sired a son. In Sufi philosophy "soul" *(nafs)* is used of carnal concupiscence which, like a black watchdog, is ever alert to assail a man and make him sin. The proverb (19:2) thus means:"Without knowledge 'soul'*(libido)* is not good. One fast with his 'feet'sins." King Asa, at the end of his long reign, got sick in his "feet" (1 Chr 16:12); whether the ailment was in the pedal extremities or in the urogenital tract is unclear. When the Lord accosted Moses and sought to kill him (Exod 4:25), Zipporah circumcised her son and touched Moses'"feet" with the foreskin. Just where the "blood (y) husband" was dabbed with the son's prepuce we can only surmise, but the best guess seems the area where foreskins are located.

In postbiblical Hebrew, "heels" sometimes referred to the posterior extremities, or arse, as is patently the case in Jer 13:22 where Jerusalem is taunted:"For your great iniquity, your skirts were lifted up and your 'heels'violated." RSV effectively obscured the sense by not mentioning the "heels."

The word for "testicles" *(ʿešek)* is used only once in the Bible (Lev 21:20) where damage to them is listed among the defects which disqualify a man for priesthood. The Ugaritic cognate *(ʿušk)* is used in a torrid love scene in which Baal and his sister Virgin Anat wax warm and begin by grasping each other's genitals. (The action continues and Anat becomes pregnant and gives birth, but still retains her title "Virgin.") In Deut 23:2—Eng 23:1, among conditions that render one unfit to "enter the congregation of the Lord," two words *(pĕṣûaʿ-dakāʾ)* are used for injury to the (paired) organ(s) which are unmentioned but understood. Loss of the adjacent appendage called "spout" *(šopkâ)* also disqualifies a man for entry into the Lord's congregation. Both testicles and "spout" are doubtless included in the term *mĕbûšîm* (pudenda, or private parts) in Deut 25:11, which stipulates that a woman who intervenes in a fight (to save her husband from injury) and grabs his assailant's privates will have her hand severed.

Both male and female genitalia are called "flesh" or "meat" *(baśār).* The oozing from a man's "meat" (Lev 15:2) may refer to *gonorrhea benigna.* Bloody discharge from a woman's "meat" is normally periodic (Lev 15:19ff.). Israel's Egyptian paramours are characterized as "large of meat" (Ezek 16:26; which RSV renders as "lustful"). The Egyptians' "meat" is compared to that of asses, and their *zirmâ* (ejaculate?) with that of horses (Ezek 23:20). The term *zirmâ* (which RSV renders "issue") may be a deliberate garbling of the word *zĕmôrāh,* "shoot, twig, or branch," which in Ezek 8:17 figures in an obscene act in the temple (the text has already been emended by the scribes; cf. Greenberg *Ezekiel 1–20* AB, 172). It is probable that in Ezek 23:20 the prominent genitalia of Israel's lovers ("meat" and "branch") were originally compared to those of both asses and horses.

An egregious expression for a human male, *maštîn bĕ-qîr,* "pisser on a wall" (1 Sam 25:22, 34; 1 Kings 14:10; 16:11; 2 Kings 9:8), was left unaltered by the scribes and was translated quite precisely by Martin Luther and King James' scholars, but is usually explained rather than translated in contemporary versions.

Tools or weapons naturally become sexual metaphors, especially such implements as rod, staff, bow, arrow, and quiver (see *IDBSup* 725–26). The "staff" of Judah between his "feet" (Gen 49:10) suggests more than political power. Joseph's perennially taut "bow" (Gen 49:24) may have sexual as well as martial reference. In 1 Sam 21:6 the "tools" of the young men that are holy by reason of abstinence from women are hardly "vessels." In the midst of his miseries, Job recalls better days when his "root" was open to the water, the dew spent the night on his "branch," his "glory" fresh with him, the "bow" in his "hand"

ever ready (29:19ff.). Ben Sira (Sir 26:12) castigates the wanton woman who will squat before any "tent-peg" and open her "quiver" to the "arrow."

The Bible is not bashful with reference to female breasts, but more intimate parts are indicated by indirection. An ancient metaphor for woman was a "well" or "cistern," as seen in the Egyptian hieroglyphic logogram for woman. The youth is advised to avoid the exotic temptress and drink from his own "cistern" or "well" (Prov 5:15). The foreign woman or whore is called a "deep pit" and a narrow "well" (Prov 23:27). In Eccles 12:1, "your Creator" (Heb *bôr*›*ekā*) may be an alteration of "your pit" *(bôrkā),* which would refer either to one's grave or to one's wife, or to both. The subsequent description of advancing senility (Eccles 12:1–8) bewails the last stage of human existence when all vitality ceases and one goes to his long home. Youth is the time to be mindful of both pits, wife and grave, as well as of the Creator. (For defense of the reading "your grave" in Eccles 12:1, see Scott *Proverbs Ecclesiastes* AB, 254–55; the suggestion of "pit" as "wife" comes from a private communication of B. Zuckerman.)

Poetic allusions to the most intimate of female charms are sometimes overlooked or studiously ignored by translators. In the Song of Songs 2:17 the lady invites her lover to be like a gazelle on the "cleft mount(s)" and in 8:14 the invitation is to "spice mound(s)." Exegetes of the naturalist school, not surprisingly, have taken the "mound" to refer to the lady's *mons pubis/veneris,* much to the distress of more spiritual interpreters. The lady of the Song speaks of her unguarded vineyard (1:6), and there is frequent reference (2:16; 4:5; 5:1; 6:2) to the garden(s) where the lover grazes, not among "lilies" (as traditionally understood), but on the lotus, an ancient and famous sexual symbol. (On lotus eating, see Pope *Song of Songs* AB 406–7, 455.) The body part (Heb *šrr*) praised as a rounded crater (mixing bowl) never to lack mix (7:3—Eng 7:2) is hardly the navel but a receptacle not far below (Pope *Song of Songs* AB, 617ff.). The all-spice part(s) of the lady (4:13) are not "shoots" but a "groove" or "conduit" (Pope *Song of Songs* AB, 490–91 on *šalḫ* as a channel and a term for "vagina").

**2. Sexual Intercourse, Nudity, and Sexual Innuendo.** Various evasive devices are used with reference to sexual intercourse. In four instances the consonants of the transitive verb *šgl* are allowed to remain *(kethib),* but those of the intransitive substitute *škb,* "recline," are to be read *(qere)* despite the logical and syntactic incongruity (Deut 28:30; Isa 13:16; Jer 3:2; Zech 14:2). In 2 Sam 13:14 and Ezek 23:8 *škb* is used as a transitive verb with direct object, as if it were *šgl.* Elsewhere the preposition ‹*im* or ›*ēt,* "with," is added in the common locution "lie with" which is used for both heterosexual and homosexual copulation as well as for human coupling with animals (despite the unlikelihood that humans and animals would recline in the process).

The verb *b (w)*›, "enter," with the preposition ‹*el,* "unto," is a common biblical term for coition, and the verbal noun *bî*‹*â,* "entry," though not used in the Bible, became the legal term for consummation of a marriage. (On "know" [Heb *yāda*‹] for carnal experience, see Speiser *Genesis* AB, 31–32).

Nudity is generally regarded as shameful in the Bible, as elsewhere. Captives in war were humiliated by being stripped naked (Isa 20:4; 47:1–3). Isaiah himself went naked for three years to dramatize the fate of those who opposed Assyria (Isa 20:2–3). David's emissaries to the Ammonite king were humiliated by having half their beards removed and their clothing lopped off to the buttocks (2 Sam 10:4). "Nakedness" *(*‹*erwâ)* is used to refer to the pudenda of both sexes, and as such is the object of the verbs "see," "cover," and "uncover." Saul rebuked Jonathan's relation with David (1 Sam 20:30) as "shame of your mother's nakedness," perhaps intending to suggest that more was involved than mere filial disloyalty. To uncover a father's "skirt" (Heb *kānāp*) means to have sexual intercourse with one's father's wife, as is clear in Deut 23:1—Eng 22:30 and 27:20. For a man to spread his "skirt" over a woman meant more than merely preventing chill, as is apparent in Ezek 16:8 and Ruth 3:9.

The rabbis were alert to the possibility that nonsexual terms may be used with sexual entente. In Job 31:10 "grind" (Heb *ṭḥn*) refers to pelvic gyrations as confirmed by the poetic parallelism, and was duly noted by the rabbis (*Soṭah* 10b). Samson's "grinding" in prison (Judg 16:21) and captive youths compelled to "grind" (Lam 5:13) was understood by St. Jerome, as well as by the rabbis, in this sexual sense (Pope *Job* AB, 202).

The sexual suggestiveness of "couch" *(mēsēb)* in Song of Songs 1:12a is illuminated by Rab Judah's remark that Jerusalem men were lewd *(ʿănšê šaḥaṣ).* "One would say to his colleague, 'On what did you dine today? On well-kneaded bread or on bread not kneaded; on white wine or dark wine; on a broad couch or a narrow couch; with a good companion or a poor companion?' " "All these (queries)," Hisda explained, (refer) "to fornication *(zĕnût)*" *b. Šabb.* 62b, 63a). The rabbis also perceived sexual entente in the references to eating bread in Gen 39:6 (*Genesis Rabbah* 86:6) and in Exod 2:20 (*Tanhuma* 1:11). In Prov 30:20, "the adulteress eats and wipes her mouth and says 'I've done no wrong.' " References to eating and drinking in the Song of Songs 4:16 and 5:1 have been similarly understood (Pope, *Song of Songs* AB).

The noun *zimmâ,* derived from the verb *zāmam,* "ponder, cogitate, devise, plot," used of human scheming (Deut 19:19) as well as divine planning (Jer 51:12; Zech 1:6; Lam 2:17), in some contexts refers to premeditated sexual misconduct, as in Job 31:11, which relates to seduction of a neighbor's wife characterized as *zimmâ* (RSV "heinous crime") and criminal iniquity. The Ugaritic cognate *tdmmt* is used of indecorum (presumably sexual) by serving wenches at a divine banquet. Just what the girls did is not known because of a break in the text, but it was so repulsive that Baal stood and spat in the assembly of gods and declared that there were three kinds of banquets (sacrifices) he hated and all three were characterized by lewdness *(tdmmt)* on the part of the servant girls.

**3. Homosexuality.** Homosexual activity is treated fairly frankly, though hardly sympathetically, in the Bible. It was common enough so that strangers were at risk in some towns, as illustrated in the episodes related in Genesis 19 and Judges 19. It was a host's obligation to protect his guests from such abuse and there is a garbled reference to this duty in Job's negative confession (Job 31:31ff.) (Pope *Job* AB, 207–8). Among misconduct condemned in the Wisdom of Solomon 14:24ff. is "change of kind" which RSV renders "sex perversion." The locution "another matter" *(dābār ʿaḥēr)* in postbiblical Hebrew was applied to homosexuality as well as to other unmentionable activities. Paul in 1 Cor 6:8 uses two different terms presumably to distinguish two types of homosexuals, *malakoi,* i.e., "softies" or effeminates, and *arsenokoitai,* "those who lie (with) males." Moffatt rendered "catamites" (from the name Ganymede) and "sodomites," but RSV took the terms as hendiadys and rendered the two in one as "homosexuals," later revised to "sexual perverts."

It is surprising that nothing was done to the Hebrew text to dysphemize the use of the epithet "holy" for persons elsewhere called "dog" and "whore." Functionaries of the Astarte temple in Cyprus were called "dogs" in a Phoenician inscription (*KAI* 37b, 1. 10); but what relation, if any, these "dogs" had to the male and female hierodules of the Bible is uncertain (*cf. BASOR* 216:56a). "Dogs" in Rev 22:15 are excluded from the celestial city along with sorcerers, fornicators, murderers, idolaters, and everyone who loves and does falsity. These "dogs" were clearly degenerate human types, whatever their sin. In Rev 21:8 persons "befouled" *(ebdelugmenoi)* are consigned to the lake of fire along with murderers, fornicators, sorcerers, idolaters, and liars. It is a fair guess that the "dogs" and the "befouled" excluded from the celestial city and consigned to fire may have been the same sort of "dogs" and "whores" whose wages were not acceptable in the earthly temple (Deut 23:18–19f.—Eng 23:17–18).

In Deut 23:18–19, the male hierodule of Canaanitish fertility worship, ordinarily called "holy (man)," *qādēš,* is more apparently called a "dog" *(keleb),* while his female counterpart is also called "whore" *(zônâ)* rather than *qĕdēšâ,* "holy (woman)." The wages of both are pronounced unacceptable for payment of a vow or offering in the temple of the Lord. "Dog" and "whore" are presumably dysphemisms for these "holy" functionaries whose activities were officially banned but not eliminated (Gen 38:21f.; Deut 23:18; 1 Kgs 14:24; 15:12; 22:47; 2 Kgs 23:7; Hos 4:14; Job 36:14). The KJV usually rendered *qādēš* as "sodomite" and *qĕdēšâ* as "harlot" or "whore," while RSV made the "sodomite" a "male cult prostitute" and the female a "harlot" or "cult prostitute." In Job 36:14, LXX took the "holy" ones (Heb *qĕdēšim*) for "angels," the Vulgate as "effeminates," the KJV as "unclean," while the RSV dysphemized "in shame" and relegated to a footnote the explanation "among the cult prostitutes." The term *qdšm* occurs several times in Ugaritic lists of professional personnel, but no hint is given as to the sort of services rendered. See also PROSTITUTION.

**C. Treatment of Excretory Subject Matter**

Terms related to excreta and excretory functions, as noted briefly above, are regularly euphemized. Urine *(šyn)* becomes "water of the feet" *(mêmê raglayim)* and the plain word for excrement *(ḥrʾ)* is changed to "outcome" *(ṣōʾâ).* Earlier, at Ugarit, literary usage was not so polite. The plain words *tnt* and *ḥrʾ* were written and presumably spoken with reference to cattle and horses; even the chief god El, head of the pantheon and father of gods and humans, is described as inebriated to the point of delirium and locomotor ataxia, floundering (?) in his own *tnt* and *ḥrʾ*. The scene recalls the Ephraimite orgy depicted in Isaiah 28 wherein priest and prophet reel and stagger in vomit and excrement. It seems likely that the word *hrʾ* may have been used in 28:7 and was later deliberately garbled into *brʾh* (Pope *Song of Songs* 217). Ezekiel's aversion to barley cakes (baked) over rolls of human excrement (4:12) moved the Lord to permit substitution of bovine dung (4:15) as fuel for the baking.

The divine title Beelzebub in 1 Kgs 1:12 is a corruption of Beelzebul, i.e., "Baal (the) Prince," which is correctly preserved in the gospels (Matt 10:25; 12:24, 27; Mark 3:22; Luke 11:15, 18–19). This is confirmed by the title of the dying-rising rain god of the Ugaritic myths, *zbl bʿl ʾrṣ,* "Prince, Lord of Earth." The element *zĕbub,* apparently onomatopoeic imitation of the buzzing of flies or bees (Isa 7:18), has been compared with the fly-repellent god Zeus Apomuios (mentioned by Pausanias). In postbiblical Hebrew, however, the root *zbl* also relates to excrement, and thus there would be no need to change the spelling to *zĕbub* in order to derogate a deity whose ancient title could also be taken to mean "Lord (of) Excrement." The rabbis ridiculed the cult of Baal Peor by connecting *pʿr* with ritual defecation (Pope *Song of Songs* 217).

The biblical circumlocution for defecation is "cover one's feet" (Judg 3:24; 1 Sam 24:3), from the act of squatting with spacious robe spread to cloak the action. The KJV translated the circumlocution literally, but RSV's "relieve himself" offers a dynamic equivalent of the ancient periphrasis.

Piles or hemorrhoids are always uncomfortable and embarrassing, and the biblical term supposed to designate this condition has troubled translators. In Deut 28:27 the word (*ʿŏpōlîm,* cognate with Akkadian *uplu*) occurs along with other chronic ailments which the Lord threatens to lay on his elect if they are disobedient. Among these maladies, variously diagnosed, only the term *ʿplym* is euphemized with the vowels of the word *tĕhōrîm* ("clean/pure [things]") and the consonants of the substitute word are given in the margin. LXX interprets *bʿplym* as localizing the preceding pox of Egypt "in the seat." KJV rendered "emerods," i.e., "hemorrhoids," which RSV changed to "ulcers." However, in 1 Sam 5:6, 9, 12; 6:4, RSV rendered the same term "tumors" (but misgivings have been registered that this suggests cancer (a tumor [swelling] could, of course, be benign). The connection of these swellings with rodents suggests bubonic plague. The LXX of 1 Sam 5:6 mentions an outbreak of plague on ships and increase of mice in the country. The protuberances thus were probably "buboes" (swollen and sore lymph nodes of the groin and armpits) and not anal hemorrhoids (which are caused commonly by constipation). Buboes can be much worse than hemorrhoids, but separation of the tumors from the anal aperture would obviate the need to euphemize.

**D. Evasive References to Death**

Dying and death are directly mentioned numerous times in the Bible, but there are also devious ways of referring to the same end:"Enoch *walked with* God and *was not,* for God *took* him" (Gen 5:24). Similarly it was announced that the Lord would "take" Elijah (2 Kgs 2:23). When David was about to die, he said to Solomon, "I am about to go the way of all the earth" (1 Kgs 2:2), and Job spoke of going the "way of no return" (7:9–10; 10:21; 16:22). Equation of death with long or eternal sleep is common in many cultures. The psalmist appeals to God, "Give my eyes light, lest I sleep (the sleep of) death" (13:4). The prophet Jeremiah speaks of drunken Babylon that "will sleep eternal sleep and not wake" (51:39). Dan 12:2 announces the awakening of "many who sleep in earth's dust" (some to eternal life and some to eternal shame and contempt). The lover of Song of Songs compares his beloved's kisses to fine wine that goes down straight, flooding (or moving) sleepers' lips (7:10). The Greek, Vulgate, and Syriac read "lips and teeth" rather than "lips of sleepers," but the ancient practice (still extant in Talmudic times, cf. *Ṣem.* 8:4) of piping libations to the dead (to moisten dust-dry lips and throats and enable them to speak) explains the

supposedly difficult reading "sleepers," which refers to the dead as guests of the funereal *agapē* or love feast (Pope *Song of Songs* AB, 640–43).

**E. Treatment of Sacred Subject Matter**

To nullify threats, oaths or self-imprecations, and blasphemy various alterations and substitutions were made in wording. For example, in Num 16:14 Dathan and Abiram defy Moses' order, "Should you gouge out the eyes of these men (to avoid saying "our eyes"), we will not go up." David's self-curses in 1 Sam 20:15f. and 25:22 are redirected to David's enemies. Similarly, in Nathan's rebuke of David for scorning the Lord (2 Sam 12:14) the text was altered to read "enemies of the Lord" to avoid directly accusing David of blasphemy. Naboth was charged with "blessing" (i.e., cursing) God and king (1 Kgs 21:10, 13), and the antiphrasis "bless" for "curse" is similarly used in Job 1:5, 11 and 2:5, 9. This usage survives in contemporary speech:in "Bible Belt" parlance, "he blessed me out" means "he cursed me," while "bad" means "good" in colloquial Afro-American English. A common device to eliminate blasphemy was to turn the derogation back on the speaker. Eli's sons' vilification of God (1 Sam 3:13) was turned back on them by omitting the first letter of the word for God, *ʾlhm,* to make it mean "to them" (see SCRIBAL EMENDATIONS).

**1. Avoiding Affront to God.** In Jer 2:11, the Lord's original charge, "My people has changed my glory for no profit," was made to read "My people changed his glory." (The letters *y* and *w* representing the first- and third-person suffixes, respectively, are virtually indistinguishable in the oldest Heb mss, 1.e., those from Qumran.) In Hab 1:12, the assurance to God "You will not die" was changed to the patently absurd "We will not die," to avoid even the thought that God could die. In Zech 2:12—Eng 2:8, the Lord promises Israel total security:"who touches you touches the pupil of my eye," meaning that any assailant of Israel will get an immediate reaction from the deity as if his (i.e., God's) eye had been poked (cf. Deut 32:10 and Ps 17:8 for the figure of God's guarding of Israel as one would protect his own eyeball). "My eye" was changed to "his eye" (i.e., the assailant's) to avoid blatant anthropomorphism and anthropopathism.

Job's protests about maltreatment by God are sometimes turned back on the complainer by the simple device of changing "his/him" to "my/me," easily done in Hebrew (cf. Pope *Job* 62, 155). The medieval commentator Rashi, averse to Job's accusation against God in Job 9:23b, suggested that the reference must be to Satan. In Job 32:3 the scribes changed "God" to "Job" to eliminate the blasphemous charge.

Concern to preserve divine dignity sometimes resulted in logical absurdity, as in Genesis 18 where the three "men" standing before Abraham included Yahweh. When two of the three departed to go to Sodom and Gomorrah, Abraham went with them a way to start them on their journey (18:16) and then returned to resume conversation with his waiting guest, the Lord. The statement (18:22) that "Abraham was still standing before the Lord" is a circumstantial contradiction. The Lord had been standing alone talking to himself while Abraham was accompanying the departing guests, and the Lord was still standing when Abraham came back. The awkward switch from YHWH to Abraham for the sake of divine dignity shows the urgency of the concern.

To see and converse directly with the deity, as did Abraham in Genesis 18, is rarely done by mortals who are normally seen by or appear before the Lord. Thus the active expression "see the face of the Lord" (Exod 23:15; 34:20, 23; Deut 16:16) was altered by vocalizing the verb as passive, despite the fact that the Lord's face remains the object of the seeing as indicated by the object marker *ʾet* (which was not deleted in Exod 34:23 and Deut 16:16). To see the Lord's face directly was a reward reserved for the righteous in the world to come, called in Catholic theology "Beatific Vision."

**2. Disparaging the Foreign.** Pious deference to Israel's God of course did not extend to the false gods of enemies or to their foolish and dissolute worshippers. Cacophemisms or slurs were applied especially to items and aspects of foreign worship. The term *ʾĕlîl,* applied disdainfully to foreign gods (Lev 19:4; 26:1; Isa 2:8, 18, 20; 10:10; 19:1, 3; 31:7; Ezek 30:13; Mic 7:1; Hab 2:18; Zech 11:17; Ps 96:5; 97:7; Job 10:15; 1 Chr 16:26) may be related to the common Semitic generic term for deity, *ʾil (u)* > *ʾēl,* as suggested by the reduplicated forms of Old South Arabic *ʾlʾht* and North Arabic *ʾalāʾila-t* applied to deity. Job (13:4) applies the form to his false friends as "quack healers," and Jer 14:4 uses it with

reference to worthless divination. Sir 11:3 uses the term of the honey bee as small and insignificant among flying creatures even though it reaps the choicest of all harvests. Whatever its origin, the term is dysphemistic.

The terms *piggûl, tôʿēbâ,* and *šeqeṣ* or *šiqṷṣ*, usually rendered "abomination," are applied to a variety of items regarded as repugnant. The term *piggûl* was used of meat unfit for consumption (Lev 7:18; 19:7; Ezek 4:14). In Isa 65:4 the funerary context mentioning swine flesh in parallelism with *piggûl* broth does not equate the word with pork. The Arabic cognate is used of any kind of decaying meat. The *piggûl* stew meat may have been that of dead relatives eaten in what anthropologists have called "morbid affection."

The term *tôʿēbâ* is applied more than a hundred times in the Bible to a great variety of abhorrent and abominable activities. Eating with a Hebrew was *tôʿēbâ* to Egyptians (Gen 43:32) as was also association with shepherds (Gen 46:34). Among the things deemed "abominable" were forbidden sexual acts (Gen 18:16–23, 30; 20:13), foreign idols (Deut 7:26), eating flesh of "unclean" animals (Deut 14:3), sacrificing defective animals (Deut 17:1), marrying a divorced woman (Deut 24:4), transvestism (Deut 22:5), tainted gifts to the temple (Deut 23:19), cheating with weights and measures (Deut 25:13–16), graven or molten images (Deut 27:15), foreign gods and cults (Lev 18:27; Deut 13:15; 17:4; 18:9; 32:16; Isa 44:19; 1 Kgs 14:24; 2 Kgs 16:3; 21:2; 23:13; Ezra 9:14; 2 Chr 28:3), and other reprehensible acts by Israelites (Jer 6:15; 8:12; Ezek 6:11; 7:20; 16:36; 22:11; 43:8). The scoffer is also proverbially abominable (Prov 24:9).

Various disgusting creatures not to be eaten are termed *šeqeṣ* (Lev 7:21; 11:10–42; Isa 66:17; Ezek 8:10). The so-called "intensive" (actually "factitive") stem *šaqqēṣ* is used in Deut 7:26 with reference to despised or forbidden things. In Ps 22:25—Eng 22:24 the verb *šaqqēṣ* occurs in synonymous poetic parallelism with *bzh*, "despise," and the expression "avert the face." The form *šiqṷṣ* is used of heathen idols (Deut 29:16; 2 Kgs 23:13; 24; Isa 66:3; Jer 4:1; 7:30; 20:7, 30; 37:23; Hos 9:10; 2 Chr 15:8). In Nahum 3:6 it appears that *šiqṷṣîm* can be thrown, and in Zech 9:7 they can be held (as food) between the teeth. Dan 9:27 speaks of a conqueror who will come on the wing(s) of abominations *(šiqṷṣîm),* and this is echoed in Mark 13:14; Matt 24:15 (cf. Luke 21:20) as the "abomination of desolation" (KJV) or "desolating sacrilege" (RSV). It is interesting to note that the term *šeqeṣ* lives on in Yiddish as *sheyqetz* (plural *shĕqatzim*) as an uncomplimentary term for gentile males, while the feminine form *shiqse* has passed into English with an ironic connotation of affection.

The dysphemism *gillûlîm* applied to heathen idols (Lev 26:30; Deut 29:16; 1 Kgs 15:12; 21:26; 2 Kgs 17:12; 21:11, 21, 23, 24; Jer 50:2; Ezek 6:4–13; 14:3–5, 7) is apparently derived from the root *gll*, "roll." The noun *gālāl* in 1 Kgs 14:10 and Zeph 1:17 means "dung," and thus the form *gillûl* presumably also refers to excrement. The precise English translation of *gillûlîm* would thus be "turds," a word that came into English a thousand years ago (from Latin *tord (ere),* "roll") and ought not to be eschewed when apposite.

The word *bōšet,* "shame," is a common biblical dysphemism pronounced in place of proper names of pagan deities, as in the names Ishbaal, Meribaal, Jerubbaal, featuring the theophoron *Baʿl,* meaning "Lord, Husband, Owner," but pronounced *bōšet,* "shame," when the vowels of that word were superimposed on the consonants of the name *Baʿal* and similarly on the names of other pagan deities. The name Ashtart, when provided with the vowels of *bōšet,* may be pronounced "Ashtoreth" or suppressed altogether and pronounced *bōšet,* "shame." The name of the dread god Molech (or Moloch, as in LXX 2 Kgs 23:10) may have been given the *bōšet* vowels, but we do not know for sure the original vocalization of the name; it may be that the traditional vocalization preserves ancient vowels and therefore has nothing to do with the word for "shame."

**F. More Recent Expurgations of the Bible**

Early scribal efforts to sanitize the biblical text were dilatory because the task was too great. Modern verbal vigilantes from time to time have sought to carry on the battle against crudity and vulgar language. The "authorized" English version of 1611 is replete with earthy language of Elizabethan times which disturbed genteel folk of the Victorian era. Since the text was not copyrighted, it was possible to alter it with impunity. One Dr. Edward Harwood in 1768 produced a Liberal Translation of the NT to "replace the bald and barbarous language of the old version." Harwood thought to allure the "young and gay" by

the innocent stratagem of "modern" style, but what he offered was inflated pomposity carried to ludicrous extremes. In America, shortly after the Revolution, Mrs. Sarah Kirby Tremmer, anxious to protect her children and others' from bad language, deleted or obscured indecent expressions in the Sacred History to reduce the text by nearly half. Her commentary and notes made up for the loss by expanding the presentation to six volumes. Beilby Porteus, bishop of London, in 1796 supplied an index to lead the Bible reader to the good parts and away from the unedifying stuff by starring the best passages (sayings of Jesus, parts of Psalms and of Isaiah) and by marking with numerals 1 and 2 other parts fit to read. Unmarked parts, nearly half of the OT and some of the NT, were to be avoided. The Porteusian Index thus, without deleting or changing a word or line, was censorious of half the Bible. There was, of course, the danger that a curious or perverse reader could invert the system and concentrate on the unrecommended parts.

Noah Webster, after achieving fame for his dictionary of decent words, decided that some of the indelicate language of the KJV, especially words like "stink," "stones" (for testicles), and "whoring," required refinement. Webster's sanitized edition was endorsed by the president and faculty of Yale and used for a time by some of the New England clergy, but was gradually abandoned for the old vulgar version.

Recent years have seen a spate of new English translations, some with notable bent toward euphemism and others with more contemporary concern for plain language. There is always the danger that overweening efforts to be frank may conjure up crudities that are imaginary. The most bizarre example of this is NEB's blunder in Josh 15:18 and Judg 1:14, "she broke wind." After the death of the proponent of this impropriety, the deodorized revision "she made a noise" does little to enhance confidence in the judgment of revisers.

The Bible is replete with puns based on assonance and multiple entente and many of them, even when (perhaps only partially) understood, are difficult or impossible to convey in terse translation. Appreciation of this problem increases as more is learned about Semitic languages and literatures. Puns and serious humor, often very earthy, are a vital feature of the Bible and a challenge to coming generations of translators and interpreters. See HUMOR AND WIT.

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**BIBLE, STATISTICAL RESEARCH ON THE.** See STATISTICAL RESEARCH ON THE BIBLE.

**BIBLICAL AUTHORITY.** See SCRIPTURAL AUTHORITY.

**BIBLICAL CRITICISM.** The word "criticism" comes from the Gk verb *krinein,* which means to distinguish, decide, or judge. Biblical criticism therefore is the practice of analyzing and making discriminating judgments about the literature of the Bible—its origin, transmission, and interpretation. In this context, "criticism" has no negative connotation but, as in other fields, is designed to promote discriminating analysis and understanding. This entry contains two articles:one outlining the history of biblical criticism, and the other surveying specifically recent modern critical approaches to the NT. See also SCRIPTURAL AUTHORITY and THEOLOGY (BIBLICAL).

### *HISTORY OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM*

As soon as oracles, teachings, and sacred narratives are written down in a religious community their authority is fixed and they inevitably become the object of criticism. The members of the community are bound to ask the meaning of obscure passages; they and their leaders are bound to discuss and decide on what the sacred texts entail for belief and practice; and they are bound to show how one sacred text is to

be reconciled with another. As such, biblical criticism began even before the Bible was assembled in its current canonical form.

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A. Ancient Criticism
B. Renaissance Criticism
C. Criticism in the Modern Era

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**A. Ancient Criticism**

The various canons of the OT and the NT are the result of criticism, as are the texts of those canons as they came to be standardized. The "Masoretic" Text of the OT was already fixed by the time the Qumran scrolls were collected (ca. 100 B.C.–A.D. 67), but there existed other texts, fragments of which were also found at Qumran, and the existence of which can be deduced from the LXX. The LXX canon is both longer and (at points) different in content from the Masoretic canon.

The NT canon was fixed as the result of criticism which rejected some gospels and provided reasons for accepting four gospels as sufficiently consistent to be regarded as harmonious. Clement of Alexandria's story that John's gospel provided a "spiritual" complement to the "bodily" Synoptic Gospels (Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 6.14.7) gives us a glimpse of the process of criticism that led to the acceptance of a fourfold gospel canon in opposition to attempts to argue for any one single gospel or a gospel harmony.

The story that Mark wrote down all that he remembered of Peter's discourses about things said and done by the Lord, but not in order, seems to embody a critical hypothesis to explain why Mark's gospel gave events in an order contradicting another authoritative order (probably that of John) (Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.14, 15). Gaius the Presbyter challenged John's gospel on grounds of its order (Commentary of Dionysius Bar-Salibi).

The authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles must have been discussed, since Marcion does not recognize them as part of his "Apostle" canon, and we know that the authenticity of Hebrews, the Catholic Epistles, and Revelation was disputed, being impugned and defended on the basis of critical arguments about style and content. Eusebius divided the books which claimed to be canonical into Recognized (four gospels, Acts, fourteen epistles of Paul, 1 John, 1 Peter, Revelation[?]), Disputed (James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2–3 John), Spurious (*Acts Paul, Shep. Herm., Apoc. Pet., Ep. Barn., Did., Gos. Heb.,* Revelation[?]), and heretical forgeries (*Hist. eccl.* 3.25.1–7). Both before and after the canonical limits were fixed, critical decisions were taken about a standard text as a result of comparing differing manuscripts or recensions; the "Alexandrian" and "Byzantine" texts of the NT are arguably the result of criticism.

The critical activity that settled standard canons and texts is largely hidden from us, only to be deduced from the results. The critical activity by which the authority of the agreed texts was maintained under questioning from the faithful for enlightenment or in the face of challenges from heretics or opponents is much more visible.

Philo of Alexandria preserved critical theories developed in Alexandria that defended the authority of the Pentateuch against charges that God was presented as though he were a human being with limbs and passions and against charges that he acted immorally and taught immoral actions. These theories conceded the charges and defended the Scriptures on the ground that they were speaking figuratively and allegorically. Christian theologians in Alexandria took over this device and extended it to the NT. The Antiochene school, itself heir to a more literal Jewish school of critics, insisted on the straightforward historical sense of the writings (Theodore of Mopsuestia).

The question of the authority in the Church of the OT and the law of Moses produced critical theories from the beginning. Jesus and Paul must have had theories about the question, and the NT contains both pronouncements on the problem and interpretative comments (Mark 7:19c:"Thus he declared all foods clean"). Paul's position is unclear, and Marcion put forward the critical theory that Paul's genuine writings had been tampered with by the addition of Jewish interpolations.

The Church had to defend the authority of the OT Scriptures against critical theories that argued they contained not only God's laws but laws solely due to Moses and the elders (the Valentinian Ptolemaus,

*Letter to Flora*, Epip. *Pan.* 33.3–7; Holl 1.450–53; already labeled a sin in Judaism, *Ps.-Philo* 25.13). It is arguable though unlikely that Jesus had himself introduced this critical principle (Matt 19:8; Mark 10:5–6).

Ancient critics, like their modern counterparts, questioned received opinions about the authorship and integrity of canonical writings and tried to write a history of how they came to be composed and about the relationships in which they stood to each other.

For example, Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria (A.D. 247–65) and a pupil of Origen, argued that John the author of the Apocalypse could not be the apostolic author of the gospel of John and the First Epistle, adducing differences of form, style, syntax, ideas, as well as arguments based on historical probability in support of his case (Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 7.25).

Augustine in his *Harmony of the Gospels* argued that the gospels were written in the chronological order Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; that only Matthew and John were by actual followers of Jesus; that Matthew was first written in Hebrew, the others in Greek; and that Mark's words are almost the same as Matthew's because he was an epitomizer of Matthew.

**B. Renaissance Criticism**

The foundations of modern biblical criticism were laid in the Renaissance with the recovery of knowledge of Greek and the editing and printing of ancient sources. Historians could show that present practices were developments from more primitive customs, and the question was raised as to whether or not the present Church was truly faithful to the beliefs of the primitive Church. The Reformation, both a popular and a nationalist movement, took these humanist questions and turned them into a principle, that the Church should return to the sole authority of the primitive charters as contained in the Hebrew OT and the Greek NT. It rejected the authority of the LXX and the Latin Bible.

Luther used the doctrine of justification by faith alone as an instrument to deny apostolicity to the epistles of James, Jude, and Hebrews as well as to the apocalypse. Zwingli used philological arguments to question the Church's interpretation of the words of institution of the Lord's Supper.

Once the Bible was seen as the sole authoritative basis of the Church's life, biblical criticism designed to maintain and strengthen the position of the various churches that claimed this basis against other churches of the Reformation and against the Roman Catholic Church and heretics became a central and crucial activity. Ten new German universities were founded between 1527 and 1665 to provide for this need. Critics of the Reformed and Lutheran churches from without and within resorted for justification of their position to criticism of received scholarly opinions about the Bible. Unitarians questioned whether the orthodox doctrine of the trinity could be found in the NT, let alone in the OT.

The French Oratorian priest Richard Simon (1638–1712) turned the tables on the Reformation churches by arguing that Scripture alone was far too uncertain a basis for Christianity, unless there should also exist an authoritative teaching office in the Church. He published critical histories of the OT (1678, 1680, 1685), the NT (1689), the versions (1690), and the principal commentaries (1693), together with further observations on the texts and versions of the NT (1695) and a new French translation (1704). He questioned the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. He was expelled from his order for his pains, but continued to press the Roman Catholic case against Protestantism.

Biblical criticism began to move emotionally outside the limits of church controversy after the disaster and devastation of the Thirty Years War in Europe and the Civil War in England. Scholars became disgusted at the seeming hairsplitting disputes about the meaning of Scripture which had, they thought, led to such bloody conflicts. Philosophers like Benedict Spinoza (1632–77) and John Locke (1632–1704) argued that a detached reading of the Bible as a book like any other book, which paid due attention to the original language and historical circumstances, would produce a tolerant and peaceful agreement about the essentials of a moral and spiritual religion.

Heterodoxy and dissent were tolerated in 18th-century Britain, or at least only mildly punished by loss of preferment and university teaching posts (but the universities were not very important, there being only two in England, four in Scotland, and one in Ireland). The ideas worked out and published in Britain were translated into German, where they were developed and refined in the score of Protestant faculties of

theology which were to a large extent left free from state censorship so long as the teachers subscribed to the confessions and supported in public the established churches of the kingdoms and principalities the universities were founded to serve. The scholars justified their acquiescence in this restriction on the grounds that Jesus himself had accommodated his teaching about demon possession and the earthly kingdom of God to the false beliefs of his contemporaries. This is the theory of "accommodation" as it was propounded in England by Hugh Farmer (1714–87) and others.

These university scholars were left free to work out in great detail an all-embracing critical hypothesis which also came to them from England. According to this theory, the OT was the religious collection of the Jewish people and had no authority for Christians. Impartial study of the OT would show that an original spontaneous free national religion was cramped and restricted by priests who imposed detailed ceremonial laws on the people in order to get power over them, and who claimed special revelation from God. Similarly the NT, critically examined, showed that Christ preached the old original natural religion, which ecclesiastical authorities had overlaid with dogmas and religious practices. *Christianity* was *as old as the creation; the gospel* was *a republication of the religion of nature,* as the title of Matthew Tindal's famous anonymous treatise had it (1730).

Within this framework Thomas Morgan (d. 1743) put forward an elaborate theory of the history of the NT, which was to exert immense influence on biblical criticism. He argued that Jesus had died renouncing Jewish messianic ideas of the restoration of an earthly kingdom to Israel. Jesus' Jewish followers still adhered to the false conceptions Jesus had renounced. Paul, independently of them, preached Jesus as the savior of the world without distinction between Jew and gentile, and came into head-on conflict with Peter, James, and John. Peter made a pact with Paul, which he could not maintain. The Christian Jews prevailed, introduced angelic mediators, invocation of the saints, and prayers for the dead, and preached the coming violent overthrow of the Roman Empire and the establishment of their own eventual rule in all the earth. Under persecution, the two opposing wings of the Church were gradually reconciled when the gentile Christians found they too were persecuted as Jews. Together they set up a hierarchy in the Church to bind consciences, rule the universal Church, and give supernatural virtue to the two sacraments. Those who remained true to Paul's scheme were branded as gnostics. The NT was corrupted by the addition of passages suggesting Christ, the prophet of the only true natural religion, was the same being with the supreme God, and by the attribution of miracles to him (*The Moral Philosopher, In a Dialogue between Philalethes a Christian Deist, and Theophanes a Christian Jew,* 1737).

Morgan's theory was adopted by Johann Salomo Semler (1725–91), professor at Halle, and the teacher and provider of ideas for generations of biblical critics. The theory was fully worked out and applied to every book of the NT by Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792–1860).

There was endless room for speculation and for discovery once the principle was accepted that the foundation documents of the Jewish and Christian religions were produced in response to the needs of various parts and factions of the nation or Church, the history of which was reflected in the history of the books. The main hypotheses and discoveries can be set out briefly, in roughly chronological order.

The NT was extent in thousands of Greek and Latin manuscripts as well as in manuscripts written in other languages, and it was cited by Church Fathers from the 2d century onward. Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687–1752) suggested that these manuscripts could be sorted into regional recensions, one from Asia Minor and the other from Africa. Semler elaborated the division and laid down the basis of modern study of the text by positing three recensions:the Eastern, the Alexandrian, and the Western.

The Pentateuch of the OT contained palpable parallels, contradictions, and inconsistencies. The French professor of medicine and court physician Jean Astruc (1684–1766), while maintaining Mosaic authorship, argued that Moses had originally composed Genesis and the first part of Exodus in four columns, two of which were the long distinct documents distinguished by the names they used for God, Elohim and Jehovah. Later scribes jumbled the four columns together to make our canonical books (1753). Astruc's book was translated into German at Semler's prompting and provided with new notes (1783).

Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1752–1827) picked up Astruc's suggestion and proposed that the Pentateuch was compiled from literary sources long after Moses' death. In 1805 Wilhelm Martin Leberecht de Wette (1780–1849) connected the book of Deuteronomy with Josiah's reform, and in 1835 Wilhelm Vatke (1806–82) argued that the Priestly strand (P) in the Pentateuch was later than Deuteronomy and belonged to the Exile. These clues were developed by Eduard Reuss (1804–91) and his pupil K. H. Graf (1815–69), and finally elaborated and canonized by Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918) in the form that two original sources, J and E, had been combined to make JE, to which D (Deuteronomy) was then attached; at the same time a four-covenant source was enlarged to make P (Priestly Codex), which was finally united with JE+D to make up our Hexateuch.

The view that Matthew was chronologically the first of the Synoptic Gospels was first challenged by Johannes Benjamin Koppe (1750–91) in a direct denial of Augustine, *Marcus non epitomator Matthaei* (1782). Eichhorn built on this to establish the two-source hypothesis:there existed one Aramaic source used in various forms by Matthew, Luke, and Mark, and another Aramaic source used by Matthew and Luke. Christian Gottlob Wilke (1786–1854) simplified this theory and argued that our Greek Mark was the source of Matthew and Luke (1838).

The fourth gospel was assumed to have been written by the apostle John until questioned by Edward Evanson (1731–1805) in 1792, and this position was generally accepted after Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider's careful examination of the arguments for and against (1820), despite the author's own later retraction. D. F. Strauss (1808–74) based his *Life of Jesus* (1835) on the assumption that he could disregard the gospel of John.

When the fourth gospel was set aside as a source of information about the historical Jesus, the way was open to exploit the relative silence of Jesus about his own status in the Synoptic Gospels to suggest he did not hold himself to be Messiah. His messiahship was at best implicit (F. C. Baur; Rudolf Bultmann [1884–1976]). The quest of the historical Jesus, brilliantly depicted by Albert Schweitzer (1875–1965), prompted a further quest for the history of the development from what Jesus taught to what was taught about Jesus. Julius Wellhausen in 1894 proposed a theory adopted by Johannes Weiss (1863–1914), William Wrede (1859–1906), and others that Jesus first became and was first confessed as Messiah after the resurrection, citing Acts 10:36; Rom 1:3–4. It was debated whether the titles Lord and Son of God were applied in their highest senses to Jesus by Jewish Christianity, by Hellenistic Jewish Christianity (Ferdinand Hahn; Martin Hengel), or by gentile Christianity (Wilhelm Bousset [1865–1920]). The silence of Jesus, however, may well have been part of his own belief that he was the Messiah.

Edward Evanson, who questioned the authority of John's gospel, also divided the epistles into two groups, the genuine 1st-century epistles (1–2 Corinthians; 1–2 Thessalonians; Galatians; 1–2 Timothy) and the spurious 2d-century ones (Romans; Ephesians; Colossians; Hebrews; James; 1–2 Peter; 1–2–3 John; Jude; the Letters to the Seven Churches in Revelation). University scholars moved more cautiously. Eichhorn observed that the Pastoral Epistles were not Pauline in form and eventually denied that Pauline authorship. By the 1840s the following epistles had been denied to Paul:Ephesians (Usteri and De Wette); Philippians (F. C. Baur); Colossians (Mayerhoff); 1 Thessalonians (Schrader); 2 Thessalonians (J. E. C. Schmidt, De Wette, F. H. Kern); Philemon (F. C. Baur), leaving Romans, 1–2 Corinthians, and Galatians as genuine. Bruno Bauer (1809–82) denied that Paul wrote these either. Christian Hermann Weisse (1801–70), a philospher rather than a professional biblical scholar, held that 1 Corinthians, 1 Thessalonians, and Philemon were genuine, and the rest had been interpolated to a greater or lesser extent.

**C. Criticism in the Modern Era**

By the end of the 19th century the archaeological discoveries and the recovery and decipherment of religious documents from Egypt and Mesopotamia revived interest in the religion of the Bible and its antecedents in the other religions of the Near East. Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932) showed that a universal religion of cosmic conflict between the forces of light and the forces of chaos and evil had pervasively influenced the religion of the Bible from Genesis to Revelation. He mocked many of the attempts to relate particular features of the books of the Bible to particular historical events. He distinguished various forms of writing, each of which was related to a cultic moment of importance, or to the religious needs of the

people. His own work gave the decisive impetus to Sigmund Mowinckel (1884–1965), who in his study of the psalms (1921–24) argued that the psalms were cultic hymns and laments for religious use, a number belonging specifically to the annual New Year festival of the enthronement of Yahweh as king. Gunkel deeply influenced the form criticism of the NT through Martin Dibelius (1883–1947), Karl Ludwig Schmidt (1891–1956), and Rudolf Bultmann. The form critics regarded the gospels as collections of traditions, each of which was shaped according to a limited number of popular forms (parable, conflict story, apothegm, etc.), each form springing from a need in the religious life of the community. Bultmann advanced the study of the fourth gospel by drawing attention to the striking parallels to be found in the Mandaean liturgies translated by Mark Lidzbarski (1868–1928) and in the Syriac *Odes of Solomon*, discovered and published by James Rendel Harris (1852–1941).

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947 led to renewed interest in Jewish writings of the period. The various theories about the direct influence of the Hellenistic mystery religions on the development of Christianity (Richard Reitzenstein [1861–1931], *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen:Ihre Grundgedanken und Wirkungen* [1910]; Martin Dibelius, *Colossians* [1912]; Hans Lietzmann [1875–1942], *Messe und Herrenmahl* [1926]) and of the Hellenistic cults on christology (Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos* [1913]) have always been open to the suggestion, raised by these very scholars, that the undoubted influence was mediated through Judaism. The point had already been made by Gunkel, *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments* (1903). Hans Dieter Betz (1931– ) has argued for the strong direct influence of contemporary Hellenistic rhetorical forms upon the epistles of Paul (*Galatians* Hermeneia) and upon the epitome-like Sermon on the Mount, but it is open to ask whether here, too, any influence has been mediated through Judaism. The old 16th-century theories that the Essenes provided the soil in which the Christian Church grew up has received a new impulse, despite the sharp contradiction that seems to exist between the Qumran community and the Church on the strict keeping of the law and the rejection of the diseased and handicapped from the community.

Two further important effects of the discovery of ancient documents and inscriptions should be mentioned. Systematic exploration for papyri letters and documents, begun by Flinders Petrie (1853–1942) in 1889–90, made available Greek texts offering contemporary parallels to the Greek of the NT. The results were exploited above all by Adolf Diessmann (1866–1937), and are conveniently gathered up by J. H. Moulton and George Milligan into *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-literary Sources* (1930). Papyri are still being found and published. The warm dry sands of Egypt that preserved the secular papyri also preserved papyri copies of books of the NT. The oldest papyrus is P52, a fragment of John 18, from the early 2d century. The existence of long sections of the NT from the 3d century has substantiated the 19th-century view that the Alexandrian text-type was in general more reliable than the other text-types and has led to a revival of the theory of B. F. Westcott (1825–1901) and F. J. A. Hort (1828–92) that this text-type was not so much an "edition" as a good transcript of the original canonical books (Gordon D. Fee [1934– ]). However, the confirmation that the editing of the Alexandrian text was good editing does not prove it was not editing. The debate between critics who tend to decide readings on the basis of the text-type to which the reading belongs and "eclectic" critics who believe good and bad readings can be found in all text-types still continues.

The observation that the style of individual authors is stable and can be measured (G. Udny Yule [1871–1951]; W. C. Wake 1947) and the use of computers to make comprehensive and accurate counts of stylistic features like proportions of sentence lengths, variations of sentence length, and position of key words has led to new interest in the authorship of the Pauline epistles. G. H. C. Macgregor (1892–1963) and A. Q. Morton (1919– ) defended F. C. Baur's judgment. A. J. P. (Anthony) Kenny (1931– ) surveyed all the published tests and concluded no group of the twelve epistles of Paul stands out as containing epistles uniquely comfortable with one another or uniquely diverse from the surrounding context.

The sheer weight of critical scholarship and the seemingly endless theories about all aspects of the biblical texts has led to a sharp reaction, reminiscent of John Locke's reaction against biblical scholarship of the 17th century. The modern reaction has taken the form of "structuralism," based on the work of Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) and Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908– ). Structuralism endorses any

disciplined and attentive reading of the text that displays the structure of the argument as it appears on the page, without reference to the history of the formation of the text or the history of the community responsible for its production. Structuralism is one facet of a larger movement in literary criticism (I. A. Richards [1893–1979]) to exclude historical considerations from literary appreciation. There is an element of self-deception involved in the enterprise, since we can scarcely exclude knowledge of detailed and specific historical theories from the apparatus we bring to the text. The structuralist answer to this charge is that the structuralist approach (being "synchronic," by which the "significations" of the text are imposed on the reader) can be practiced quite separately from the traditional critical approach (being "diachronic," by which human beings create the "significations") and that the two approaches may be kept in dialectical tension. Yet the structure of the text to which the reader thinks to submit is really the text already interpreted and read according to a critical theory inherited along with the text itself. The structuralist believes that certain basic human patterns form themselves into structures and express themselves in texts—a secularized version of the theory that the text is dictated by God.

There is no doubt that each of the books of the Bible has a history, and it is unlikely that the history of any but the shortest of them is as simple as that they were written by one man at one time to one recipient or set of recipients. Even in the simplest cases, knowledge of the history of the author could be illuminating. But if most books of the Bible are composite, which is widely agreed to be true except for the epistles of Paul (and why are they so different?), a knowledge of their history is all but essential.

Biblical criticism is unavoidable. The story of biblical criticism shows that even those expounders of the Bible who claim to be indifferent to theories about the history of the sacred texts, from the gnostic preachers of the 2d century to the structuralists of the 20th, have their own hidden historical explanations of how their texts came into existence and of how they are to be read. We do well to be conscious of the historical theories we in fact hold, to know something of their history, and to work to make them more adequate to the evidence.

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## *NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM*

Biblical criticism as it is practiced with regard to the NT can be presented according to the following outline:

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A. Beginnings in the 18th Century
B. Text Criticism
C. Historical Criticism
D. Literary Criticism
E. Concluding Implications

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### A. Beginnings in the 18th Century

Modern biblical criticism began in the period of the Enlightenment. At that time the new methods of empirical science were applied to the study of all disciplines, including the Bible.

**1. British Deists.** Devoted to rationalism and natural theology, the Deists were opposed to supernatural religion. All religious truth, in their view, could be discerned in the order of nature and in accord with human reason. The earlier rationalists, especially John Locke (1632–1704), had believed supernatural revelation to be rational. Indeed, truths disclosed in the Bible could be proved by reason and supported by the evidence of fulfilled prophecy and miracles. The Deists set out to destroy these two foundations of revealed religion.

Anthony Collins (1676–1729) demonstrated that the prophecies of the OT could not be taken literally. Yet, if they were merely allegorical, how could these ancient predictions become solid ground for truth? Thomas Woolston (1669–1733) lampooned the NT miracles, when taken literally, as representing gross absurdity. Even the supreme miracle, the resurrection of Jesus, was a fraud which had been fabricated by the disciples of Jesus.

**2. Continental Pietists.** On the European continent, the study of the Bible had been dominated by the orthodoxy of the Protestant scholastics. The Bible, according to the orthodox, was a compendium of inerrant truths, taken down as divine dictation by God's inspired "pen men." In the face of this arid orthodoxy, the Pietists called for a vital reading of the Bible, attuned to its spiritual and practical message.

August Hermann Francke, who became the leader of the entire educational system at Halle, published *A Guide to the Reading and Study of the Holy Scripture* (1693). The purpose of this manual was to distinguish between the shell and the kernel of the biblical message—to go beyond the external to the inner meaning of the text. In the first part of the *Guide,* Francke stressed the literal, historical meaning of the Bible, insisting that the study of Scripture required careful attention to linguistic and grammatical detail. In the second part, he presented methods for detecting the deeper meaning. This required the reading of the Bible with a sense of spiritual feeling. The Pietists concluded that only those who possessed the spirit could understand the truth of the text.

Viewed side by side, the Deists and the Pietists represent two ways of interpreting the Bible which have influenced NT criticism ever since:an objective, rational reading; and a subjective, experiential reading. The former focuses on the text and its content; the latter is concerned with the interpreter.

**3. Rise of Grammatico-Historical Criticism.** In the middle of the century, new methods of linguistic and historical research were applied to the study of the NT. Johann August Ernesti, a noted classicist, published *Institutio interpretis Novi Testamenti* (1761). Like Francke's work, this was a manual of procedures for interpreting the NT. Ernesti, adhering to strict grammatical principles, insisted on the literal meaning of the text in its historical setting. He argued that the same methods used for the interpretation of any other ancient book should be employed in the study of the Bible.

Ten years later, Johann Salomo Semler raised the question of the authority and canonicity of the biblical books. In his *Treatise on the Free Investigation of the Canon* (1771), Semler asserted that the canon was a historical problem. The selection of the canonical books was a gradual historical process, and throughout the history of the Church different views of the content of the canon had prevailed. In Semler's opinion, some parts of the canon, e.g., the book of Ruth, were not relevant for Christians. Using historical research, Semler concluded that Revelation was not written by an apostle, that it did not witness to Christ, and that it should not be recognized as canonical. Semler's work broke the back of the biblicism of the old orthodoxy and opened up the NT for historical investigation.

The investigation of the authenticity of the NT books was pursued by Johann David Michaelis. In his massive *Introduction to the Scriptures of the New Covenant* (4th ed., 1788), Michaelis considered the historical setting of the individual NT documents. Attention was given to such questions as authorship, date and place of writing, recipients, and purpose—the concerns of historical or higher criticism. Using historical method, Michaelis concluded that most of the NT books were written by those to whom they have been traditionally ascribed. He drew a distinction, however, between reliable, nonapostolic writings (like Luke and Acts), and the inspired writings of the apostles. Michaelis concluded that Jude and Revelation were not apostolic and, by implication, neither inspired nor canonical.

**4. Bible as Literature.** In reaction to the growing historicism of the grammatico-historical method, some scholars approached the writings of the NT primarily as literature, G. E. Lessing (1729–81), the

noted poet and dramatist, believed divine revelation to be progressive and continuing. Although revelation came through history, religious truth could not be established by historical argument. Between faith and history there was an unbridgeable chasm; the validity of faith could not be proved by historical fact.

J. G. von Herder (1744–1803), the eloquent court preacher at Weimar, wrote the sweeping *Outlines of a Philosophy of Man,* which traced the evolution of humanity from primitive beginnings. Revelation he saw as the evolutionary process of the education of developing humanity. All revelation was historical, and the Bible was the record of this progressive revelation which reached its zenith in the teaching of Jesus. Although the Bible was a thoroughly human book, it was not to be read the way the historical critics read it. Instead, one should see it as a poetic, aesthetic, literary expression.

**5. Emergence of NT Theology.** At the end of the century the results of grammatico-historical criticism were incorporated in a theological synthesis. J. P. Gabler, in his inaugural address at the University of Jena (1787), drew a sharp distinction between systematic and biblical theology. The latter he understood to be historical, constant, and normative. The task of systematic theology, on the other hand, was to take the results of biblical theology and translate them into doctrine and ethics. Although the NT spoke in language accommodated to the mythological views of an ancient people, it bore witness to eternal and changeless truths.

G. L. Bauer carried out Gabler's program in the form of his 4-vol. *Biblical Theology of the New Testament* (1800–2). Like his predecessors, Bauer believed the truth of the NT was of an order higher than that of the OT—that it presented the true biblical theology. He interpreted the NT according to empirical and rationalistic methods. The stories of the birth of Jesus he considered to be mythological legends, and the idea of inspiration, since it implied supernatural intervention, was itself a myth. Nevertheless, the NT used mythological expressions to convey universal ethical truths.

The history of NT criticism from the end of the 18th century through the first two thirds of the 20th is largely a recital of the Enlightenment themes with variations. Much of the 19th century, for example, was dominated by the work of F. C. Baur and the Tübingen School. Combining the results of the grammatico-historical method with a philosophy of history which had been articulated by Hegel, Baur proposed a theory of the historical development of early Christian history which could account for the origin and meaning of NT literature. Similarly, in the 20th century, Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976) could develop a synthesis of historical criticism (including form and history of religions criticism), existentialist philosophy, and dialectical (Barthian) theology so as to provide a hermeneutical key for understanding early Christian literature.

**B. Text Criticism**

The purpose of text criticism (lower criticism) is to restore the original text. This purpose is problematic, since no autographs are available—no original manuscripts written by the NT authors. Instead, the critic is confronted with a vast collection of handwritten copies, well over 5000 manuscripts and fragments, no two of which are exactly alike.

The materials used in text criticism represent a variety of types. The oldest extant manuscript is a fragment of the gospel of John which can be dated in the early 2d century. Most of the earliest manuscripts are classified as papyri, because of the material (papyrus) on which they were written. These include such important examples as the CHESTER BEATTY and the BODMER PAPYRI. The major NT manuscripts are called uncial manuscripts because they are written in capital letters; these are usually copied on parchment and circulated in book or codex form. Among the most famous are Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus, which can be dated in the 4th century. The large body of later Greek manuscripts are called minuscule manuscripts because they are copied in cursive handwriting.

Along with Greek manuscripts, text critics examine other sources. Translations (versions) of the Greek NT into Latin were made as early as the 2d century. The NT was available in other ancient versions, for example, Syriac and Coptic. The Fathers of the Church frequently quoted the NT in their writings; these patristic quotations provide text critics with another source of data. Early Christian lectionaries or liturgical texts include biblical citations which are also useful in the effort to restore the original text.

Although the novice is baffled by the mass of textual variants, the textual expert is able to use them in the classification and evaluation of manuscripts. The presence of common variants may indicate a common source. Variants have occurred through a variety of causes. Unintentional variants are caused by typical visual mistakes—repeating the same word (dittography), skipping to the next occurrence of the word (haplography). Sometimes variants are intentional:a copyist may attempt to "correct" a text or "improve" its theology, grammar, or style.

Modern text critical research was begun in the Renaissance. In 1515, Erasmus produced a Greek text on the basis of a very few manuscripts. Later editions of his text by Robert Etienne (called Stephanus) and Theodore Beza led to an edition produced by the publisher Elzevir in 1624, which became the standard text, the Textus Receptus. In the 18th century extensive collection and collation of manuscripts resulted in texts published by John Mill, J. A. Bengel, and J. J. Wettstein. Although these critics merely reproduced the Textus Receptus, each of them provided a new feature, a critical apparatus, which noted many textual variants. J. J. Griesbach actually published a revised text (1774–75), and carried further the work of Bengel in the classification of manuscripts according to their geographical origin.

In the 19th century text critical work produced significant results. C. Tischendorf was tireless in his search for textual materials. The 8th edition of his Greek NT (1869–72) contains the largest collection of variants available to the modern scholar. The British text critics B. F. Westcott and J. A. Hort published a Greek text (1881) which made use of their classification of manuscripts into geographical families:Western, Alexandrian, and Byzantine. Westcott and Hort also attempted to identify a Neutral Text (represented by Sinaiticus and Vaticanus) which they thought to be very close to the original. Today's student of the Greek NT usually sees a Nestle Text (the result of a series of editions begun by Eberhard Nestle in 1898 and recently carried on by Kurt Aland) or a text published by the United Bible Societies (edited by an international committee of text critics).

**C. Historical Criticism**

Recent NT criticism can be classified according to analysis which views the NT *either* as a document of history *or* as a body of literature. These two categories can never be completely separated, and some types of criticism make use of *both* historical *and* literary procedures. The difference is largely a matter of point of departure or emphasis.

The original purpose of historical criticism (higher criticism) was to achieve a historical understanding of the NT. To accomplish this, the NT documents had to be viewed in their historical and cultural context. The critics were concerned with historical events, and the literature of the NT was used in historical reconstruction. Actually, the reconstruction had two foci:the historical situation which the text described, and the historical situation of the author and recipients of the NT books. In regard to the former, attention was given to parallels in contemporary literature and the religious environment. Already in the 17th century John Lightfoot had traced the Jewish backgrounds of the NT. In regard to the historical situation of writing, attention was given to the traditional introductory questions:authorship, date, piece of writing, recipients—work already refined in the 18th century by Michaelis and his student, J. G. Eichhorn.

**1. Religionsgeschichte.** Usually translated "history of religions," this method was developed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by the members of the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule.* The leading adherents of the "history of religions school" included Johannes Weiss, Wilhelm Bousset, Hermann Gunkel, and William Wrede. These scholars carried on the earlier concern to study the religion of the NT in its historical context; their approach was sometimes called the method of "comparative religion." In the view of these critics, the world of the Bible was a strange and distant world—a world wholly different from the modern world in language, world view, imagery, and symbols. The Lord's Supper, from this perspective, should be understood in the context of the mysterious Hellenistic cult meals, and the Christ of the early Christians should be perceived as the one confessed as the exalted lord of the cult.

Weiss developed the theory of "consistent eschatology." In his view, Jesus was at home in the setting of "late" Jewish apocalyptic religion. Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom of God, therefore, was an apocalyptic message which expected God's imminent, catastrophic intervention in history. Bousset, on the other hand, believed the essential teachings of Jesus to be in sharp contrast to the Jewish apocalyptic

thought. The ultimate source of apocalypticism was to be traced to Babylonian mythology. According to Gunkel, early Christianity had been influenced by eastern religion (especially Babylonian) which had been transported through contemporary Judaism. Wrede argued that the historian should not interpret the NT as a document of systematic theology, but as a witness to the religious life and experience of the early Christians.

In later developments, the history of religions school gave increasing attention to Greek religion and the Hellenistic cults. Richard Reitzenstein, for example, thought the Greco-Roman world universally recognized a myth of a heavenly redeemer who descended to earth and returned to heaven, disclosing to humans the way of salvation. This "gnostic myth" was believed to serve as a pattern for expressions of early Christian christology like that found in Phil 2:6–11—a hypothesis important for Rudolf Bultmann's method of "demythologizing." Bultmann believed the message of the NT, the *kerygma,* was communicated through the mythological form of Hellenistic thought. The task of demythologizing was to distinguish the *kerygma* from the myth—to separate the true Christian proclamation from its mythological framework.

**2. Form Criticism.** Originally termed *Formgeschichte,* this type of criticism attempts to go behind literary criticism to the study of the oral tradition. Literary criticism, which had been investigating the *written* sources of the gospels, had concluded that Mark was the earliest. Wrede had shown, however, that Mark was not a historical record of the life of Jesus but an expression of the theological confession of the author. The quest for the historical Jesus, therefore, would have to go beyond the written material to earlier oral sources which could be identified and isolated in the existing written sources.

Influenced by Gunkel's form critical investigation of oral traditions and oral features of Genesis and the Psalms, three NT critics working independently at the end of World War I arrived at similar results. K. L. Schmidt concluded that the gospels were frameworks upon which smaller, independent units of oral tradition were hung. Martin Dibelius believed the individual units of oral tradition were shaped in accord with the practical needs of early Christian preaching. Rudolf Bultmann saw the origin and development of the units of traditions as related to more specific church concerns—worship, catechesis, paranesis.

All agreed that the earliest memories of Jesus (his sayings and stories about him) were circulated by word of mouth. The earliest identifiable witnesses of the words and deeds of Jesus had already come to confess him as Lord and Christ. As the stories about Jesus were circulated, they were shaped into forms according to principles of oral communication—miracle stories, parables, etc. As these stories were told and retold they took on additional details and emphases, and new stories were created to meet the ongoing needs of the believing community. The intent of the form critic was to find the *Sitz im Leben,* the "situation in life" where such oral forms originated and developed. Although some of the earliest oral units were thought to go back to Jesus himself, many of the traditional forms were created and shaped by the community itself. The evangelists were viewed by the form critics primarily as collectors or editors of these traditional units. The gospels were like a string of beads—a loose collection and arrangement of traditional data which bore little relation to the actual history of Jesus.

In more recent times, form criticism has been applied to other sections of the NT. Here, however, research has been directed toward literary forms, so that form criticism becomes an aspect of literary criticism. In analyzing the Pauline letters, Robert Funk, Nils Dahl, and their students attended to the form and structure of the epistle as a literary genre. Study of the common papyrus letters of the Hellenistic period exhibited a variety of types of epistles (e.g., the letter of introduction)—epistles composed according to patterns prescribed by literary handbooks.

Like these letters, the epistles of Paul largely conform to the Greco-Roman conventions of letter writing. In structure, they follow the order:salutation, opening thanksgiving, paranetic sections, and closing. Within the letters conventional formulae, for example, expressions of exhortation, can be detected. Some scholars have analyzed the NT epistles according to the rubrics of classical rhetoric. H. D. Betz, for instance, identifies Galatians as an "apologetic letter" (letter of defense) which displays the rhetorical patterns of a courtroom defense (Betz *Galations* HermeneiaA.Hermeneia).

**3. Tradition Criticism.** Form criticism has been supplemented by tradition criticism or, as it is sometimes called, the history of the transmission of traditions. This type of criticism also considers literary expressions of tradition. Its intent is to analyze the origin and development of units of tradition which are cited within the literature of the NT. For example, Paul presents hymns (Phil 2:6–11), confessions (1 Cor 8:6), and liturgical formulae (1 Cor 11:23–25) which were recited in the pre-Pauline churches. Attention is given to the way NT authors, Paul, for example, use and adapt the traditional material to their own purposes. Some scholars (e.g., J. M. Robinson, H. Koester) trace the course of a unit of tradition as a trajectory moving from its origin through various stages of writing to its final redaction.

**4. Concern with Orality.** Oral tradition has recently been studied in the light of research applied to oral culture and folklore. From this perspective, the transition from oral to written tradition is seen as a movement not of continuity (as the form critics supposed) but of discontinuity. Oral communication, it is observed, is different from written, since speaking involves presence and immediacy. Written communication, on the other hand, is external, abstract, objective. In applying their method to the study of the gospels, advocates of this theory of orality (e.g., Werner Kelber) note that Jesus taught orally and was heard by a rural, nonliterary people. When oral tradition is put into writing, a fundamental distortion results. As Paul says, "The letter kills."

**5. Sociological Interpretation.** This modern approach picks up the form critical concern with the *Sitz im Leben* and subjects it to sociological analysis. Sociological interpretation makes use of various methods of the social sciences, especially sociology and cultural anthropology. The method was anticipated in the early 20th century by members of the "Chicago school," particularly S. J. Case and S. Matthews, and in Germany by A. Deissmann.

Critical of a narrow theological reading of the NT, the sociological interpreters note that the early Christians were not university-trained theologians, but ordinary people who lived in families and religious communities. The Hellenistic society in which they participated was largely urban (Meeks) and marked by social and economic stratification. G. Theissen argues that the schisms at the Lord's Supper in Corinth represent economic and social classes in the Church, not factions debating the nature of the eucharist.

Sociological interpretation has two main approaches:the descriptive and the theoretical. According to the descriptive approach, scholars study the customs and institutions of Hellenistic society and detect parallels in the NT. For example, they investigate the status and function of the slave in the Greco-Roman world, and ask how this information illuminates Paul's metaphorical use of the term "slave." According to the theoretical approach, scholars make use of models which sociological thinkers have devised. For example, they ask what Weber's analysis of the "charismatic leader" reveals about Paul's style of leadership.

Especially popular with biblical interpreters is the perspective of the sociology of knowledge. This approach asks how the people of the NT period perceived the social reality in which they lived, that is, their "social world." Moreover, the modern interpreters also share a social world—a perception of reality which determines their own understanding of the NT and its social context. Interpretation of the NT requires modern interpreters to move from their own social world into that of the ancient people whom they are trying to understand.

**D. Literary Criticism**

In contrast to methods which ape primarily concerned with history, literary criticism focuses on the written text. Historical methods are sometimes involved, however, since the NT is an example of ancient literature, and the interpretation of the NT has a history. Early works in literary criticism dealt with vocabulary, grammar, style, and rhetorical figures.

**1. Source Criticism.** In the 18th century literary criticism was essentially source criticism. Attention was directed primarily to the problem of the sources of the Synoptic Gospels. Two main theories prevailed:the gospels depended ultimately on lost, primitive sources; or the gospels were somehow interdependent. According to the first hypothesis, the lost source(s) consisted of oral tradition, a variety of written fragments (Schleiermacher), or a primitive (usually Aramaic) *Urgospel* (Eichhorn).

According to the second hypothesis, one of the Synoptics made use of at least one of the others. Various possibilities were suggested, but the two most popular solutions advocated either the priority of Matthew or the priority of Mark. According to Owen and Griesbach, the earliest gospel was Matthew, and Mark used both Matthew and Luke in the writing of his "shortened" gospel. The countertheory of the priority of Mark was defended by Wilke and Weisse. Lachmann, who supported this view, also believed Matthew and Luke used a lost written source (Q) as well as Mark.

The resulting "two-document" hypothesis was advocated by noted scholars like Holtzmann and became dominant by the beginning of the 20th century. More detailed analysis resulted in a four-document hypothesis:besides Mark and Q, Matthew and M and Luke used L (Streeter). Recently, the Griesbach hypothesis has been revived and vigorously defended (Farmer), although the majority of scholars continue to support Markan priority.

Source criticism has also been applied to other sections of the NT. In regard to Acts, scholars have given attention to the "we-sections" —sections where the author shifts to the use of first person plural. These are sometimes seen to represent a diary source or perhaps a travel itinerary. Other scholars detect evidence of sources related to important early Christian centers, for instance, an Antioch source. Source criticism in regard to the epistles frequently deals with the problem of integrity. 2 Corinthians, for example, is thought to be a composite of two, or perhaps as many as six, fragments of epistles. The literary dependence of 2 Peter on the epistle of Jude is widely recognized.

**2. Redaction Criticism.** Assuming the results of form, tradition, and source criticism, redaction criticism is concerned with the final composition; it is sometimes called "composition criticism." Thus, redaction criticism is a type of literary criticism which employs the findings of historical criticism. Assuming form critical results, it asks how Mark used the oral tradition he had received. Assuming the results of source criticism, it asks how later gospels employed earlier gospels. The method was anticipated by F. C. Baur, who noted the *Tendenz*, the theological tendency, which was revealed in the work of a particular NT author. Similarly, Wrede noted that Mark did not simply use his sources to produce a historical record, but employed them in service of a theological expression.

Three scholars working independently developed the method. Willi Marxsen coined the name *Redaktionsgeschichte* (1954). He believed Mark adapted his sources to the situation of the Church in 66 C.E., and used them in support of the expectation of the imminent parousia of Christ. G. Bornkamm investigated Matthew's use of Mark and concluded that Matthew shaped the tradition to present his own christology and ecclesiology. H. Conzelmann believed Luke presented and arranged the traditional material so as to depict a history of salvation consisting of three periods: the era of Israel, the time of Jesus, and the period of the Church.

Redaction criticism directed attention from the small units of tradition to the finished literary product. As a result, the role of the Church in the formulation of the tradition was reduced, and the work of the gospel writers as literary authors and theologians was enhanced.

**3. Genre Criticism.** Closely related to form and redaction criticism, genre criticism is the study of literary genre, that is, the identification and analysis of the literary type or classification to which a particular text belongs. Sometimes called *Gattungsforschung* (genre research) or *Gattungsgeschichte* (genre history), this method studies the form, style, and content of particular types of literature. In general, the method involves the classification of biblical material in relation to types of literature represented in Hellenistic writings. The method assumes that the classification of a document provides a key to its interpretation. For instance, the recognition that Paul wrote specific letters to particular situations, rather than general epistles, is crucial to interpreting his writings.

In NT research, genre criticism has been most active in the study of the gospels. The fundamental question is:to what genre do the gospels belong? Although some scholars believe the gospel was a new genre created by the early Christians (see GOSPEL GENRE), others find a parallel in the Hellenistic ARETALOGY—the account of the mighty deeds of a heroic miracle worker or divine man. A document like Q, which consists almost wholly of teachings, is often classified as belonging to a genre of literature called the "Sayings of the Sages" (J. M. Robinson and H. Koester).

Acts is widely recognized as an example of Hellenistic historical writing, evidenced, for example, by the author's conventional use of a preface and speeches. However, Acts also displays parallels with the Hellenistic romance, with its fondness for travel narratives involving narrow escapes, like the account of Paul's shipwreck.

In studying Revelation, critics give attention to the genre of the apocalypse. This type of literature, popular in the period of the NT, is marked by typical features:the disclosure of future events by a mediator to a seer (usually the pseudonymous author) who is often taken on a heavenly journey and shown cosmic visions—all presented in symbolic form (cf. Mark 13). According to some recent scholarship, Revelation should be classified as belonging to the genre of the letter or epistle.

**4. The New Literary Criticism.** This sort of criticism attempts to view the NT exclusively as literature. It represents a revolt against the traditional historical critical method. For the old method, the concern was to reconstruct the history in which the text was written and to discern the meaning the text had in that historical situation. For the new criticism, the text is not to be used as a device for historical or theological reconstruction; the text itself is the sole object of investigation. Once a text has been written, it has a life of its own, independent of its original setting. Thus the text is autonomous; it has its own meaning; it must be interpreted exclusively on its own terms. The original intention of the author, so dear to the historical critics, is for the new criticism unimportant. A Pauline epistle, for instance, may convey meaning which Paul did not intend.

The critic, therefore, is concerned with what is called the "world" of the text. By this term, the new criticism means the perception of reality which the text assumes. A fable, for example, may assume a world in which animals talk. Whether or not the world of the text corresponds to the actual world in which the author lived, or the world in which the interpreter works, is of no moment. According to a favorite metaphor, the text should not be seen as a window which reveals something outside. That is, the text should not be viewed as a means for describing something else, for instance, history or doctrine. Instead, the text must be seen as a mirror which has its meaning locked in. That is, the interpreter must be concerned exclusively with the meaning which is held within the text itself.

Like the older historical critics, the new literary critics believe the Bible is to be understood by the same methods which are used for other literature. They study the text as a whole, and thus are concerned with genre. Consequently, the new criticism has certain affinities with genre criticism, though its concerns are broader. The new critics also analyze style and literary forms within the text—sentence structure, metaphor, etc. Attention is especially given to the function that the various literary techniques perform within the pattern of the whole literary document. From the perspective of the new criticism, a book like Revelation can be viewed as a work of art—a dramatic presentation, using liturgical and symbolic forms of expression.

**5. Rhetorical Criticism.** This method is closely related to the new literary criticism. Its origin can be traced to a lecture by James Muilenberg (1968) calling for an approach which would go beyond form criticism. Rather than restricting research to the small units of tradition, rhetorical criticism looks at the work as a whole, the final literary product. In distinction from the new criticism, rhetorical criticism is concerned (as is redaction criticism) with the personal aspects of the author's thought. Moreover, rhetorical criticism is concerned with the context, including those concepts which writer and reader share. Thus, it is interested in the social and cultural relationship between author and reader. The rhetorical techniques and arrangements are analyzed in terms of their function in the author's argument. For example, when H. D. Betz (*Galations* Hermeneia), following classical rhetoric, classifies Galatians as an "apologetic letter," he interprets Paul's account of his call, the Jerusalem conference, and the events of Antioch (1:12–2:14) as "narratio" —the statement of facts upon which the whole defense is to be built.

**6. Narrative Criticism.** Like the new criticism and rhetorical criticism, narrative criticism is opposed to the historicizing and theologizing of the text. In particular, it intends to restore the narrative features of the Bible. The narrative elements of the gospels and Acts are obvious, yet historical critics have been inclined to sacrifice narrative in the quest for the historical Jesus or in the effort to reconstruct the history of the early Church. Instead, these narratives must be seen as story, with plot, characters, and outcome.

Narrative criticism, however, involves a broader meaning. For some scholars, narrative is a fundamental category of human existence; it has ontological significance. People live in a narrative world, that is, they have a perception of their participation in reality which is story-like. The overarching vision of reality can be described as a symbolic universe—a concept which gives meaning to the smaller stories in which all persons participate.

This larger meaning indicates that narrative criticism is important for nonnarrative or discursive texts. The letters of Paul, for example, assume a narrative substructure, that is, Paul's religious perception is informed by a sacred story—the story of God's action with people which reaches its climax in the story of Jesus (R. Hays). When Paul writes to address the particular problems of churches, he gives expression to this basic narrative. Paul has a story himself, and the relation of this story to the larger story provides his personal meaning. Each of his letters has a story—a plot which involves Paul's previous relation to the recipients of the letter, the expected reception of the letter, and the readers' response.

Narrative criticism does not ignore the importance of historical events. The narrative substructure presupposes the life of Jesus, and Paul's story is related to his own historical experience. The story of each letter is related to a chronological sequence of events, though the poetic sequence by which Paul tells the story within the epistle may be different. Indeed, history is story-like. The writing of history is not the exact reiteration of the past but a process which involves selection, plotting, and interpretation. History is story.

**7. Reader Response Criticism.** Closely allied to narrative criticism is reader response criticism. See also READER RESPONSE THEORY. This kind of criticism focuses on the role of the reader. The reader, from this perspective, must be differentiated from the critic. The critic reads a text out of the tradition of criticism and views the text as an object for critical analysis. The reader, like a child listening to a story or a person captivated by a novel, is the servant of the text.

Reader response criticism moves beyond these observations to more sophisticated methodology. For instance, it draws a distinction between the real reader and the implied reader. The real reader is the flesh-and-blood person who actually reads a text; the implied reader is the reader the author images when writing the text. Similarly, there is a real author (the actual writer) and the implied author (the writer the reader images when reading the text). In the process of reading, the real reader is manipulated by the implied author to react as, and become, the implied (or ideal) reader. Other participants are envisaged, such as the omniscient narrator, that is, the teller of the story who, in the imagination of the reader, knows everything.

Reader response criticism notes that reading is temporal and linear. Reading is not static but moves through the text in a sequence of time. This temporal, sequential process involves anticipation, reflection, and dialogue. The writer of the text uses devices like repetition for the education of the reader. Thus doublets in a text (for example, the two accounts of miraculous feeding in Matthew) create anticipation and encourage assent. At the same time, minor changes in the second account alert the reader to additional meanings. This temporal and linear quality of reading displays a similarity to oral communication. Just as a participant in a conversation follows a line of discussion through a sequence of time, so a reader follows the words and sentences of a text though an ongoing temporal process.

**8. Structuralism.** Like the new criticism, structuralism is not primarily interested in history or theology communicated through the text. The object of research is the deep structures which are encoded within the text itself. The concern is with the linguistic structure of the text, not with message the language conveys. According to structuralists, there is no salvation outside the text.

Structuralism is a method of understanding which involves a combination of linguistic theory and anthropological research (Claude Lévi-Strauss). According to the structuralists, human reality is marked by deep structures, that is, unconscious mythic patterns of meaning which have ontological significance. Structuralism believes the human brain operates according to certain structures and these structures correspond to reality. These deep structures are encoded in texts, and the task of structural exegesis is the decoding of texts, the disclosing of the structures. In the main, the structures are binary or dichotomous—contrasting opposites, like life and death.

In the study of literature, structuralism gives attention to the synchronic as well as the diachronic dimensions of the text. The diachronic can be seen as a linear, temporal sequence, while the synchronic structures are vertical, the structures beneath the surface which are present at any moment in the sequence. Like a musical score, texts have both melody (diachronic progression) and harmony (synchronic pattern). These synchronic patterns constitute paradigms of meaning—universal forms of expression which provoke understanding at the deepest level. The structuralists are much concerned with the significance of language (not mere speech) which involves a system of signs (semiotics), that is, patterns of words and sentences which constitute a whole linguistic expression. Applied to narratives, structural exegesis is concerned with narrative structures. The parable of the Good Samaritan, for example, assumes a structure which has such features as an actor or sender (the Samaritan), a recipient (the wounded man), opponents (the robbers), helpers (the innkeeper).

**9. Canonical Criticism.** Assuming the results of form and redaction criticism, canonical criticism is concerned primarily with the text in its final form. Emphasis is placed on the function of the canon as Scripture in the ongoing community of faith. Like literary criticism, canonical criticism is critical of traditional historical criticism's historicizing of the Bible.

The title "canonical criticism" was coined by J. A. Sanders. According to Sanders, canonical criticism has two main interests:the canonical process, and canonical hermeneutics. The canonical process is the history of the writing and selection of canonical books. The entire process, from oral tradition through writing, editing, and collecting, takes place in the context of the believing community. Study of this process displays both stability (setting boundaries to canonicity) and flexibility (plurality within the canonical boundaries). Throughout the process, the community of faith functions at every stage. What earlier tradition thought to be canonical may be found to be canonical by later tradition for different reasons.

Canonical hermeneutic involves the investigation of how canonical texts are interpreted in the ongoing development of the tradition. This hermeneutic observes the way older traditions are adapted to new situations. According to Sanders, canonical hermeneutic is theocentric. The Bible is a monotheizing literature which witnesses to God's action as creator and redeemer working through human sinfulness.

Brevard Childs dislikes the phrase "canonical criticism," since it appears to present a method alongside other types of criticism. For him, recognition of the centrality of the canon is the essential approach to understanding Scripture. The development of the canon is not a postapostolic achievement; canonicity (the concern with the norm of the gospel) is implicit in the production of the NT from its earliest (oral) beginning. However, the meaning of the NT at the time of its historical origin does not have theological priority, for the canon functions theologically as witness to Christ as Lord, as revelation, throughout the history of the Church. By implication, the Bible can only be fully understood within the community of faith.

## E. Concluding Implications

Looking back over this methodological variety, one may wonder what methods are most appropriate. Many contemporary interpreters adopt an eclectic method. Norman Petersen, for example, employs a creative synthesis of social, literary, and narrative criticism in a way which informs the historical aspects of the text. The choice of method(s) can best be made in response to the questions which the interpreters bring. If they are primarily concerned with the history which the text describes, they will use methods effective for reconstructing history. If they are primarily concerned with the literary significance of the text, they will use methods effective for literary analysis. This survey suggests that the Enlightenment model of historical criticism has become increasingly problematic. The variety of critical proposals indicates a current quest for a new paradigm which has yet to be realized.

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WILLIAM BAIRD

**BIBLICAL SCHOLARSHIP, JAPANESE.** This entry consists of two articles surveying scholarship on the OT and NT in Japan.

## *OT SCHOLARSHIP*

### A. The Dawn

The period from the late 19th century to 1910 was a time of pioneering work as well as of frustration for Japanese biblical scholars. At least two pioneers earned Ph.D. degrees, but the circumstances did not allow them to continue study in Japan. The only exception was Y. Sacon (1865–1944). Having studied the biblical languages in 1890–1906, he developed a translation of the Bible from the original languages and published his works from 1905 through 1942. Other works in this period included introductions to the OT, OT theology, and a translation of the Apocrypha. With a gifted, strong personality, K. Uchimura (1861–1930) made clear the essential meaning of the Bible through his expositions at his own Non-Church Bible Study group and through a journal. Uchimura not only influenced intellectuals, but he also produced quite a few biblical scholars who in time emerged as leaders.

### B. The Formative Period (1920–45)

As early as 1899, the new impact of the Tübingen school of academic OT study was felt in Japan, and the German style of OT analysis gradually prevailed over the Anglo-Saxon type. Having studied the "science of religion" and OT studies in Berlin and Leipzig, T. Ishibashi (1886–1947) published an introduction to the OT (1922) and a history of Israelite religion and culture (1923). Against the background of dialectical theology, Z. Watanabe (1885–1978), who had been an advocate of the critical study of the OT history and literature based on the theories of Wellhausen, after studying at the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California, in the early twenties, began seriously to reconsider the relationship between historical-critical study of the Bible as literature and the canonical claim of the Bible as the word of God in the Church. He had a unique methodology of biblical interpretation which eventually culminated in his trilogy entitled *The Doctrine of the Scriptures* (1949–63). Watanabe first maintained that a sharp distinction should be made between a historical-critical or genetic study of the Bible—how the text developed—and a canonical or holistic study of the Bible—what the text is. He also insisted that an appropriate methodology should be established in accordance with the nature of the Bible as canon, as long as one reads the Bible as the rule of faith and life and not as historical books.

Furthermore, he held that the concept of *Gestalt* or configuration can be adapted from phenomenology to canonical interpretation only at the place where the canonicity of the Bible is acknowledged and where one participates in the faith of the historical Church that created the Bible as canon. For him, canonical interpretation should pay due regard to the very location of the books of the Bible within the canon.

In this period, K. Baba (1892–1985) edited the first dictionary of the Bible (1934) and later assumed the editorship of a concordance (1959) and a new dictionary of the Bible (1971). More specific studies were done by several scholars. Y. H. Sacon (1906– ) was the first to engage in Palestinian field archaeology under W. F. Albright in 1935–36. Having studied in Scotland and Germany, J. Asano (1899–1981) had a keen interest in OT thought and its relevance to Japanese culture and society. The Society for OT Study in Japan was formed in this period (1933).

**C. The Period of Establishment and Development**

After returning to Japan in 1945 from his study in Germany (1935–45), M. Sekine (1912– ) broke fresh ground in OT study by introducing the German Alt-Noth-Von Rad school of OT analysis to Japan. With his acute interest in M. Weber's sociology of religion, his gifted intellect, his competent knowledge of jurisprudence and philosophy, and his broad and keen interest in new scholarly developments in the world, M. Sekine is now building his own unique outlook on the OT. His approach can be designated either as "intellectual history" or as the "sociology of literature." Sekine seeks to develop a synthesis of synchronic-literary and diachronic-sociohistorical levels with the aid of such scientific tools as philology, literary studies, sociology, and philosophical-ideological studies.

Along with several other colleagues, Sekine founded the Japan Biblical Institute in 1950 and has been its foremost representative. He is an editor of *AJBI,* which publishes in European languages. K. Nakazawa (1915– ) has published solid and detailed studies on the Suffering Servant (1954) and Second Isaiah (1962).

The internationalization of Japanese scholarship may be seen in the papers read at the International Society meetings, in increasing number of contributions to international journals, *Festschriften,* and dictionaries, as well as in the books published by A. Tsukimoto. F. Kohata, and S. Sekine. Participation in the international meeting of the Society led to a collection of articles (Ishida, ed. 1982).

On Akkadian and Mesopotamian studies, J. Kikuchi, I. Nakada, A. Tsukimoto, and K. Watanabe are active in international circles. For Ugaritic and Hebrew linguistics, D. T. Tsumura is the most noted and productive. In the historical field, both Y. Ikeda and T. Ishida are noted in the scholarly world. In literary studies, K. K. Sacon and Y. Suzuki are to be noted. The former is developing his own method of literary structural analysis. In the intellectual-historical fields, K. Namiki is producing results comparable with those of M. Sekine. In the historical-theological field, K. Kida is to be mentioned. In 1987, the New Common Bible, a cooperative of Catholics and Protestants, appeared; K. Kida, Sacon, M. Ohta, K. K. Dacon, M. Takahashi, and M. Wada were heavily involved in this project.

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A representative sampling of Japanese scholars and their (European-language) works may be found in *AJBI* ed. M. Sekine and A. Satake. This publication has appeared annually since 1975 and will be sent upon request to those who write to the Japan Bible Society, 5–1, 1-chome, Ginza, Tokyo, 104 JAPAN.

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KIYOSHI K. SACON

## *NT SCHOLARSHIP*

### A. Prewar Developments

In 1873 the Meiji government removed the public notices proscribing Christianity. A little more than a decade later, the Japan Bible Society published the first complete Japanese translation of the Bible (1887). This was called the *motoyaku* ("original translation"), and an amended translation of the NT, issued in 1917, was called the *kaiyaku* ("revised translation"). (The second complete translation appeared in 1954 as the *kōgoyaku* ["colloquial translation" ], and a third, the *Shin Kyōdōyaku Seisho* [New Interconfessional Translation of the Bible], was published in 1987.) A full-scale Bible dictionary, the *Seisho Daijiten,* was published in 1934 (a revised version appeared in 1971). In 1941, K. Kurosaki produced a NT concordance listing Gk terms with references to the revised NT translation of 1917 (a complete concordance to the Bible appeared in 1959, keyed to the colloquial translation of 1954).

Although they were not NT specialists, several people played important roles in shaping NT biblical scholarship in Japan. Among these were E. Kashiwai, author of *Kirisutokyō Shi* (*History of Christianity* [1914]; K. Ishiwara, whose 1934 *Kirisutokyō Shi* was revised and reissued in 1972 in two separate volumes; K. Sano, author of *Shito Pauro no Shinpishugi* (*The Mysticism of the Apostle Paul* [1935]); and S. Hatano, author of *Genshi Kirisutokyō* (*Primitive Christianity* [1965]).

Following them came trained NT scholars like T. Matsumoto, K. Tominomori. S. Murata, and others who introduced historical and theological studies from the West to seminaries and theological colleges in Japan. Not least among these early scholars was S. Yamaya, the first person whose works ranged over almost the whole field of NT studies. Among his works are an introduction to the NT, a two-volume study of the origin of Christianity, a book on NT theology, and five volumes of translations and commentaries on the Pauline epistles. Also, the influence of Y. Kumano on the Japanese church and its theology has been enormous. Though his primary interest lay in systematic theology, he was an outstanding theological exegete of biblical texts, playing a role in Japan comparable to that of Karl Barth in Europe.

### B. Postwar Developments

World War II prevented Japanese NT scholars from keeping up with developments in NT studies in the West, but afterward a number of specialists worked diligently to make up for this lost interaction. Individuals who helped bring Japanese NT studies up to date include I. Takayanagi, author of *Fukuinsho Gairon* (*Introduction to the Gospels* [1951]) and *Iesuden Kenkyū* (*A Life-of-Jesus Study* [1951]), M. Takemori, author of *Shinyaku Seisho Tsūron* (*Introduction to the NT* [1958]) and editor of *Iesuden Kenkyū wo Megutte* (*Life-of-Jesus Research* [1970]), J. Matsuki, author of *Rōmabito e no Tegami, Honyaku to Shakugi* (*The Letter to the Romans:Translation and Exegesis* [1966]) and *Shinyaku Shingaku I* (*NT Theology* I [1972], and G. Maeda, author of *Shinyaku Seisho Gaisetsu* (*Introduction to the NT* [1956]).

In the 1950s and ’60s, NT scholars translated the works of many Western scholars into Japanese, especially in the area of life-of-Jesus research (e.g., the works of Bultmann, Dibelius, Stauffer, Jeremias, Cullman, Dodd, Hunter, both Mansons, Taylor, and others). The scholarly distinction between the historical Jesus and Christ of the kerygma became an issue of great importance to the churches, for unless they clung to the historical revelation they would lose not only their Christian identity but also the necessity for mission—an easy temptation in a land where Shinto, Buddhism, and Confucianism have helped to shape a cultured and moral society. In the 1960s, Japanese NT scholars took special interest in redaction criticism, sociological approaches, and neo-literary criticism, methods which led to a number of original approaches to the study of the gospels and their traditions. In the 1970s and ’80s, the works of Käsemann, Bornkamm, Conzelmann, Marxsen, Brown, Strecker, Stuhlmacher, Betz, Trocmé, Theissen, Hengel, Martyn, and others also appeared in Japanese.

The same period saw the beginning of a number of original studies by Japanese NT scholars. Among such studies are T. Hirano’s *Iesu to Kami no Kuni* (*Jesus and the Kingdom of God* [1971]) and Y. Magaki’s *Yokane Fukuinsho no Kirisutoron* (*The Christology of the Fourth Gospel* [1984]. These works, though published after the 1950s and ’60s, reflect the scholarly concerns and methods of those years.

A Japanese synopsis of the first three gospels, the *Fukuinsho Idō Ichiran* (1951), was prepared by T. Tsukamoto, based on his own translation of the Gk texts. A revised edition, a colloquial version of Tsukamoto’s translation, was published by his student Y. Hirasawa in 1983.

In connection with NT Greek, T. Kanda wrote an excellent grammar, the *Shinyaku Seisho Girishiago Nyūmon,* published in 1956. This has become the new standard, taking the place of the handy but elementary NT Greek grammars produced at an earlier stage. A full-scale NT Greek dictionary has yet to appear, though there are several concise ones.

T. Hirunuma has been a leader in the field of textual criticism, publishing a monthly journal, *Studia Textus Novi Testamenti,* since September 1966. His recent book, *Shinyaku Honmon Gakushi* (*History of NT Textual Criticism* [1987]), gives a good introduction to the field, and an earlier book, *Shinyaku Seiten no Purosesu* (*The Process of Formation of the NT Canon* [1972]), provides a brief history of how the NT writings were collected and raises some problems with regard to canonization. In the recently published *Shinyaku Seisho Seiten no Seiritsu* (*The Shaping of the NT Canon* [1988]), seven scholars from the fields of NT studies and church history teamed up to describe the process of NT canonization from the days of the earliest church to the period of the church councils. S. Kawashima wrote on the NT; T. Aono on the Apostolic Fathers; S. Arai on the gnostic interpretation of biblical writings; Y. Itani on Marcion and Paulinism; T. Ōnuki on Justin Martyr, Tatian, Irenaeus, and Tertullian; N. Miyatani on canonization in the Western church; and T. Mikoda on canonization in the Eastern church and the decisions of the church councils.

During the last two decades, some excellent commentaries have appeared, striving to match the standard set by publications like HNT and NIGTC. A. Satake published a commentary on Philippians in 1969, another on Galatians in 1974, and his two-volume commentary on Revelation in 1978–89. K. Tagawa issued the first volume of a controversial commentary on Mark in 1972, and S. Arai the first volume of his commentary on Acts in 1977. M. Yamauchi’s commentary on Philippians (1987) has also been well received.

**C. The Current Situation**

Recent work in the field of gospel studies has focused particularly on redaction criticism. For example, A. Ogawa’s *Matai,* (a study of Matthew’s theology (1984), is a superb example of the application of redaction criticism to Matthew. An earlier popular edition of this work, entitled *Kyūyaku no Kanseisha Iesu* (*Jesus the Fulfiller of the Old Covenant* [1983]), was published as the first volume of a redaction criticism series on the four gospels. The others include S. Kawashima’s redaction critical study of Mark, entitled *Jūjika e no Michi Iesu* (*Jesus on the Way to the Cross* [1984]); M. Miyoshi’s study of Luke, *Tabizora ni Ayuma Iesu* (*Jesus’ Lonely Journey* [1984]); and T. Ōnuki’s study of John, *Yo no Hikari Iesu* (*Jesus the Light of the World* [1984]). To this series a fifth volume was added, S. Arai’s study of the gospel of Thomas, *Kakusareta Iesu* (*The Hidden Jesus* [1984]). Miyoshi, mentioned above, has produced

a number of excellent studies of the Synoptic Gospels, several of which are contained in his *Chiisaki Mono no Tomo Iesu* (*Jesus the Friend of the Least of These* [1987]).

With regard to Johannine studies, there are on the one hand scholars like Y. Ibuki, who is interested in a philosophical and hermeneutical interpretation of the Fourth Gospel. On the other, there are those like K. Matsunaga and K. Tsuchido, who are interested in applying redaction criticism methods to this gospel. Matsunaga made use of redaction criticism methods in his recently published *Hitorigo naru Kami Iesu* (*Jesus the Monogenēs Theós* [1987]) and is currently writing a commentary on John's gospel. H. Kayama has recently published a redaction criticism study of Acts, entitled *Shito Gyōden no Rekishi to Bungaku* (*History and Literature of the Acts of the Apostles* [1986]).

Unfortunately, in comparison with gospel studies, there has not been much published recently in the area of Pauline studies. A. Satake, who made his debut in NT studies with a book on Revelation, has published a substantial work called *Shito Pauro, Dendō ni Kaketa Shōgai* (*The Apostle Paul:A Life Committed to Evangelism* [1981]). Some of his articles on Paul and Paul's writings may be found in his *Shinyaku Seisho no Shomondai* (*NT Issues* [1977]). S. Matsunaga published *Karada to Rinri* (*Body and Ethics* [1976]), a study of the "body concept in the Pauline letters, and T. Aono has written a number of recent articles dealing with Paul's theology.

With regard to other fields of research, A. Kawamura is noteworthy for his ongoing contributions to the study of the letter to the Hebrews, and M. Yamauchi's monograph *Fukkatsu, sono Denshō to Kaishaku no Kanōsei* (*The Resurrection: Its Traditions and the Possibility of Interpreting the Event* [1979]) is a work of considerable importance. In the field of NT history, G. Hata, taking over where H. Niimi left off, has finished translating the complete works of Josephus. These have been published in 20 volumes under the general title *Yosefusu Zenshū* (1975–84). Hata is now working on Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* and has published three volumes to date (1986, 1987, 1988). Together with L. H. Feldman, Hata is coeditor of a four-volume bilingual Josephus-research series:*Josephus and the Jewish War, Josephus and Christianity,* and *Josephus-Hellenism-Hebraism,* vols. 1 and 2. All four volumes appeared in English, and the first two were published in Japanese in 1985. With Feldman, Hata is also coeditor of *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity* (1987), the Japanese version of which is now in preparation.

Two academic associations should be mentioned. The Japan Biblical Institute was founded immediately after World War II. Its *Annual* has been published regularly in Japanese since 1962 and in a separate English-German version since 1975. Members of the Japan Biblical Institute translated the Dead Sea Scrolls into Japanese under the title *Shikai Bunshō* (1963), and the OT and NT noncanonical writings into Japanese in a 9-volume series called *Seisho Gaiten Giten* (*Biblical Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha* [1975–82]). The Japan Society of New Testament Studies has published its own annual journal, the *Shinyakugaku Kenkyū,* since 1973.

Perhaps the most significant issue confronting NT scholars in Japan today is the christological question. In the main, four views compete for attention. K. Tagawa, in his book *Genshi Kirisutokyōshi no Ichi Danmen:Fukuinsho no Seiritsu* (*One Aspect of the History of Early Christianity:The Rise of "Gospel" Literature* [1967]), applied redaction criticism to the gospel of Mark and demonstrated a radical approach to the reconstruction of the historical Jesus. In his view, the Jesus of Mark 1–13 (following Trocmé, he sees these chapters as the original Mark) is a mere man, but a man who befriended the oppressed and sought to liberate them from every kind of demonic oppression, whether social, political, or religious. Angrily opposed to every human authority and establishment, Jesus was basically an anarchist, deliberately seeking the destruction of Judaism as a religious system. The disciples, however, misunderstood his intentions. At the time Mark wrote, they were forming a new religious establishment, this time with Jesus at the center. Mark wrote his gospel to protest against this "rereligionization" of Jesus. The task of the follower of Jesus today, Tagawa maintains, is to "dereligionize" the life and death of Jesus, to live out Jesus' anger, to destroy Christianity.

S. Arai, known for his research on the Nag Hammadi literature, has written two books that relate to the gospels: *Iesu to sono Jidai* (*Jesus and His Times* [1974] and *Iesu Kirisuto* (*Jesus Christ* [1979]. The former focuses on the historical Jesus, the latter on the Christ of faith. In both books he applies a

sociological/existential analysis to the gospel traditions. Like Tagawa, Arai holds that the core of the healing miracle traditions is the behavior of Jesus that liberated socially marginal people from social, political, and religious oppression. But what he sees in the miracle stories and in the kerygma of the "death and resurrection of Jesus Christ" is a mythological expression of the response that Jesus' followers made to his existential challenge. Jesus himself was a man who loved the oppressed as his neighbors and treated them without discrimination. He is "savior" in the sense that he challenged his disciples, and challenges his followers across the centuries, to experience the self-understanding that comes from living with love and fairness in all human relationships. In essence, Jesus calls his followers to existential authenticity through social and political commitment. If Christianity offers this same experience today, there is no reason to call for its destruction.

S. Yagi published his *Shinyaku Seisho no Seiritsu (The Formation of the NT*) in 1963, which divides NT thought into three types: (1) Hebraic, a *heilsgeschichtlich* and eschatological interpretation of the life and death of Jesus; (2) Hellenistic-gnostic, a dualistic interpretation; and (3) agape, representing the experience of oneness with God. According to Yagi, the agape type, though found in relatively late NT strata, is actually closest to the orientation of the historical Jesus since this is preserved in his fragmentary sayings or logia. All his activities can be explained by this agape. All NT thought represents, accordingly, some degree of modification of the agape experience that formed the substance of Jesus' relationships with his neighbors and disciples. This agape experience became explicit for them only through the experience of the resurrection. Consequently, the "religiosity" that led to this experience and interpretation is not peripheral but central. It is noteworthy that Yagi indicates in this book the phenomenon of similar interpretations in other religions, particularly Buddhism. Yagi's Jesus appears, therefore, as the bearer of agape to his contemporaries and to those who meet him in the NT. But one must distinguish between agape and its bearer. For Yagi, Jesus is neither agape nor its sole bearer. He is one bearer of agape among others.

K. Matsunaga's *Rekishi no Naka no Iesuzō* (*Jesus in History*) appeared in 1987 (fully revised and enlarged in 1989). He argues that the uniqueness of "gospel" literature, as revealed by redaction criticism, rests on the fact that each evangelist, while relying on received traditions about the Jesus of the past, presents at the same time the Jesus Christ of the present and the Jesus Christ of the future (i.e., in his second coming). The portrayals of Jesus in each gospel are composed, therefore, of these "three-dimensional" pictures. This three-dimensional portrayal, he maintains, belongs to the essential nature of "gospel" literature and derives from the nature of worship in the earliest churches. Through preaching and sacrament, the earliest churches not only recalled *(anamnesis)* the Jesus of the past but also worshipped Jesus Christ as the Lord of the present and as the One who is to come. This raison d' être of the Christian Church was and is repeated orally in worship and verbally in the gospels. The Jesus traditions took shape primarily in relation to this *anamnesis* and therefore retain a certain amount of historical information. Moreover, the overall picture of Jesus attributed to a given evangelist and his milieu by redaction criticism could not have been a free invention either of the evangelist or of his faith-community, for it was controlled by this *anamnesis.* So even after the sayings of Jesus and the so-called Jesus traditions have been examined critically, Jesus remains unique. He was one who not only proclaimed the coming of the kingdom (community) of God but also embodied what it meant for him in his time and place to live the kingdom life. The resurrection of Jesus entailed for his followers a religious experience in and through which it was revealed to them that the Jesus who had spoken so frequently of the kingdom of God was now to be recognized as the one through whose life and death the kingdom had become available. This is the Christ the Church is responsible to proclaim. If its language is partly mythological, this is not necessarily unfortunate, for myth is the symbolic language humans use when they speak of religious reality. Absolute demythologization means absolute dereligionization.

A concise (but dated) list of bibliographic references can be found in Tomonobu Yanagita's *Japan Christian Literature Review* (1958).

KIKUO MATSUNAGA

**BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.** See THEOLOGY (BIBLICAL), HISTORY OF.

**BICHRI** (PERSON) [Heb *bikrî* (בִּכְרִי)]. BICHRITES. A Benjaminite of the period of the united monarchy, designated eight times as the father of Sheba, a dissident from the hill country of Ephraim who inspired a rebellion against David (2 Sam 20:1–22). This constant reference to Sheba as "the son of Bichri" may serve to connect the Sheba uprising with the line of Saul, also a Benjaminite. While Bichri seems to be understood as a personal name, it is a gentilic formation, making it likely that the phrase "son of Bichri" refers, not to an individual, but to a clan. Dalglish (*IDB* 1:437) suggests that this clan should be identified with Benjamin's second son, BECHER (Gen 46:21; 1 Chr 7:6, 8). In v 14 the MT speaks of "the Berites" (*habbērîm;* note the use of the definite article identifying a clan rather than an individual) as a group which followed Sheba in revolt against David. This is probably a mistake for "the Bichrites" and is so translated in the RSV. McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB, 428) suggests that "the Bichrites" *(habbikrîm)* is the correct reading, following $LXX^B$. If this is the same group which is everywhere in the chapter related to Sheba, then "Bichri" clearly refers to a clan rather than to a person. This would also serve to indicate the small scale of Sheba's influence, as he is only able to gather support from his own clan.
SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

**BIDKAR** (PERSON) [Heb *bidqar* (בִּדְקַר)]. Officer *(šālîš)* who accompanies Jehu when he slays Joram, king of Israel (2 Kgs 9:25). It is unlikely that a *šālîš* was the third man in a chariot, as has been conjectured in the past. Where the term is used, it seems to suggest an officer of high rank (2 Kgs 7:2, 17, 19; 10:25; 15:25). The term may stem from the root *šlš* (three) to indicate that the officer was "of the third rank." Bidkar is a personal name in spite of the Syr, which translates it "son of stabbing." (See Gray *Kings* OTL; Hobbs *2 Kings* WBC.)

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PAULINE A. VIVIANO

**BIGTHA** (PERSON) [Heb *bigtā* (בִּגְתָא)]. See MEHUMAN; BIGTHAN.

**BIGTHAN** (PERSON) [Heb *bigtān* (בִּגְתָן), *bigtānā* (בִּגְתָנָא)]. Guardian of the entrance to King Ahasuerus' private chambers (Esth 2:21, 6:2) (cf. Herodotus 3.77, 118, 120; Loretz 1967; Rüger 1969). With his associate TERESH, he plotted to assassinate Ahasuerus but was exposed by Mordecai (Esth 2:22–23). Such conspiracies by officials close to the king are well attested, Xerxes I (= Ahasuerus?) supposedly having been killed as the result of one (D. S. 11.69.1–2; Ctes. *Persika* 29).

Bigthan (*gabatha*) perhaps renders the Old Iranian name **Bagadāna* "gift of god," a name attested in Aramaic papyri from Egypt in the 5th century B.C.E. (*CAP* no. 17, 1—*bgdn;* reading uncertain) and in the Persepolis Elamite texts (Hallock 1969: no. 1793, 4). For discussion of this name and other proposed etymologies, see Grelot (1972:467 sv bgdn); Mayrhofer (1973:§8.192; 8.218); Hinz (1975:54–55); Kornfeld (1978:101 sv BGDN). Alternatively, Bigthan may be a form of *bigtā* (Esth 1:10), which is perhaps a short form of the Old Iranian name **Baga-dāta* (Hinz 1975:59). This name is attested in long form in the Aramaic papyri from Egypt (*CAP* Nos. 3, 24; 5, 18; 66, 6) and the Persepolis Elamite texts (Hallock 1969:672 sv Bakadada), as well as in Akkadian, Demotic, and Greek. The supposed short form is attested in the Persepolis Elamite texts (Hallock 1969:nos. 1990, 16; 767, 2). On the name **Baga-dāta,* "god given," see Mayrhofer (1973:§8.191; 8.192), Hinz (1975:54–55, 59), Kornfeld (1978:101 sv BGDT).

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PETER BEDFORD

**BIGVAI** (PERSON) [Heb *bigway* (בִּגְוַי)]. Etymology uncertain. Noth maintains Persian derivation (*IPN* 64). From Elephantine (Papyri 30.1; 32.1), a governor of Judah (410–407 B.C.E.) is named Bagohi (Aram *bgwhy*).

**1.** One of the leaders of the group of returnees from Babyonian exile who is listed along with Zerubbabel in Ezra 2:2=Neh 7:7=1 Esdr 5:18. One name has apparently been dropped from the Ezra list, for those in Nehemiah and 1 Esdras include twelve leaders in what is probably a symbolic representation of all Israel throughout the entire postexilic period (Ackroyd *Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah* TBC, 219; Coggins *Ezra and Nehemiah* CBC, 18). For further discussion, see AKKUB.

**2.** Head of a family of Babylonian exiles who are listed as returnees under the leadership of Zerubbabel and others (Ezra 2:14=Neh 7:19=1 Esdr 5:14) and later under Ezra (8:14=1 Esdr 8:40). The leader of the clan affixed the family name to the covenant document of Nehemiah in Neh 10:17—Eng 10:16. For further discussion, see ATER.
CHANEY R. BERGDALL

**BILDAD** (PERSON) [Heb *bildad* (בִּלְדַּד)]. One of Job's three "friends" who had traveled to condole with and comfort him (Job 2:11). On his place of origin, see SHUAH. In the literary cycle of debates that forms the core of the book of Job, Bildad is consistently the second friend to speak in each round:in chap. 8 (round no. 1) he addresses the subject of God's justice, concluding that God will not reject a "blameless man" (v 20; cf. 1:1); and in chap. 18 (round no. 2) he reiterates the conventional platitude that "the light of the wicked is extinguished" (vv 5–6; cf. Job's response in 21:17). In chap. 25 Bildad's speech is surprisingly brief (only 5 verses), leading virtually all scholars to conclude that the present text of Job suffers from some dislocations in round no. 3 of the debate. For example, some scholars suggest that Job's words in 26:5–14 (which echo much of the same imagery in chap. 25) are actually parts of Bildad's now fragmented third speech. See JOB, BOOK OF.

Given the Arabian locale and the Neo-Babylonian setting of the book of Job (see UZ), it seems unlikely that the name is derived from Amorite **yabil-dāda* (Albright 1928) or Nuzi-Akkadian *bil-adad* < *apil-adad* (Speiser 1929). The name Bildad is most probably a *qtll*-formation. Since no names from the root *bld* are known, either in Aramaic, Canaanite, or epigraphic ancient Arabian, it is possibly a corruption or a phonetic variant (due to the frequent *r/l* interchange) of the name **birdād,* attested for Sabaic and among the Qedarites in the 7th century B.C. (Knauf 1985:6, n.28).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF
GARY A. HERION

**BILEAM** (PLACE) [Heb *bilʿām* (בִּלְעָם)]. A levitical town located in the territory of Manasseh (1 Chr 6:70). It is probably a variant form of IBLEAM, and therefore to be associated with Tell Belʿameh (M.R. 177205).

**BILGAH** (PERSON) [Heb *bilgâ* (בִּלְגָה)] Var. BILGAI. Bilgah appears as a name for an individual only in 1 Chronicles and Nehemiah. 1 Chronicles identifies a priest Bilgah as a contemporary of David. Three priestly Bilgahs appear in Nehemiah. Yet the presence of Bilgah in the reign of David represents an anachronism on the part of the Chronicler. Two of the three references in Nehemiah occur in artificial lists

constructed by the editor of the book (see nos. 2 and 4). Historically, the name seems to represent a priestly clan from Judah during the Persian period (see no. 3). Literarily, the name functions to legitimate the Chronicler's portrayal of the history of Judah.

**1.** A priest who received the fifteenth position in the priestly order of the temple during the reign of David (1 Chr 24:14). Rather than a historical person from the time of David, Bilgah seems to represent a priestly family within the Second Temple period that the Chronicler has projected back into the time of David as an individual (see no. 3 below). The exact date of the priestly list of 1 Chr 24:1–19, where Bilgah appears, remains debated. See GAMUL (PERSON). The stylistic evidence of the list, however, seems to link the list to the time of the composition of Chronicles (ca. 385 B.C.E.).

**2.** A priest who purportedly returned from exile in Babylon with Zerubbabel (Neh 12:5). The absence of Bilgah from the list of Ezra 2 = Neh 7 and the artificial nature of the list of Neh 12:1–7 (Williamson *Ezra-Nehemiah* WBC, 359–62) suggest that Bilgah arises in Neh 12:5 as a result of the editorial reworking of the Nehemiah Memoir, rather than reflecting a historical person involved in the return. The Chronicler further legitimates the priestly structure of his day by including Bilgah in the return with Zerubbabel, and thereby involved this priestly family in the *golâh* community from the resumption of the cult.

**3.** The family name of the priest Shammua from the time of Jehoiakim the high priest (ca. 500–450 B.C.E.; Neh 12:18). The presence of Bilgah as a family name for a priestly group most likely originated in an authentic historical source (Williamson *Ezra–Nehemia* WBC, 358–61). The exact provenance of Bilgah remains unknown and conjectural, although he must have lived before 475 B.C.E. His absence from authentic lists of returnees in Ezra–Nehemiah suggests that his inclusion in the *golâh* community occurred after the return of the exiles from Babylon. His presence early in this period may indicate that Bilgah represents either a priestly clan that remained in Judah throughout the 6th century B.C.E. or a clan that began their priestly function after the return. If so, the Chronicler's anachronistic inclusion of Bilgah in other important events of the history of the temple represents the attempt to legitimate the priestly structure of the Chronicler's era.

**4.** A priest who signed a document that forbade intermarriage between Judeans and other ethnic groups, ensured the observation of Sabbath, and provided for the maintenance of the temple and its staff (Neh 10:9—Eng 10:8). While some commentators have thought the signees reflect authentic historical persons from the time of Nehemiah (Rudolph *Esra und Nehemia* HAT, 173–75), the names of Neh 10:2–27—Eng 10:1–26 seem to represent "an artificial literary compilation, based on other material in Ezra and Neh" (Williamson *Ezra–Nehemiah* WBC, 329). "Bilgah" functions anachronistically in Nehemiah 10 in order to emphasize the involvement of all Judah in reforms initiated by Nehemiah, and thereby legitimates Nehemiah's policy.

JOHN W. WRIGHT

**BILGAI** (PERSON) [Heb *bilgay* (בִּלְגַי)]. A postexilic priest and a signatory to the code of Nehemiah (Neh 10:8). He is identified by some scholars with Bilgah (Heb *blgh*), who is listed as one of the chief priests who returned to Jerusalem with Nehemiah (Neh 12:5, 18; see M. Newman *IDB* 1:438; Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 179). If this is so, then Bilgai (meaning "cheerfulness") may be a hypocoristic shortening of Bilgah (Brockington NCBC, 179).

FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**BILHAH** (PERSON) [Heb *bilhâ* (בִּלְהָה)]. Handmaid of Rachel and mother of Dan and Naphtali (Gen 30:3–8; 1 Chr 7:13). Bilhah was given to Rachel by Laban (Gen 29:29) as a wedding gift. Like Sara some years earlier (Gen 16:2), when Rachel discovered her barrenness, she bestowed Bilhah upon her husband Jacob that she might bear children in Rachel's place. This practice was common and has been verified by the Nuzi documents. There a childless wife gave to her husband a secondary wife who might bear a son, who would become the heir and would be regarded as the son of the true wife (Gordon 1940). Since the Nuzi texts date from the patriarchal period and represent Hurrian customs, it can be assumed it was not an unusual practice for Sara, though quite strange in view of Mosaic law and later practices. For Rachel,

Bilhah bore Dan and Naphtali (Gen 30:3–8; 35:25; 46:23–25). Later, Reuben, Jacob's firstborn by Leah, lay with his stepmother Bilhah (Gen 35:22) and consequently lost his father's blessing (Gen 49:3–4). For further discussion, see Speiser *Genesis* AB, 226–27.

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JOEL C. SLAYTON

**BILHAH** (PLACE) [Heb *bilhâ* (בִּלְהָה)]. Simeonite town within the Judean Negeb (1 Chr 4:29). See BAALAH #2.

**BILHAN** (PERSON) [Heb *bilhān* (בִּלְהָן)]. The name of two men in the OT.

**1.** A clan name in the genealogical clan list of Seir the Horite. This person is referred to in Gen 36:27 (where some mss of the Sam. Pent. have *bil*ʿ*ān*) and in the matching genealogy in 1 Chr 1:42 as the first son of the clan chief EZER, and is thus a grandson of Seir. The ending -an on the name Bilhan and that of his brothers ZAAVAN and JAAKAN may reflect a tribal or clan designation or a dialectical identifier.

**2.** A son of JEDIAEL, and grandson of Benjamin in the genealogical clan list in 1 Chr 7:10. He is the father of JEUSH, BENJAMIN, EHUD, CHENAANAH, ZETHAN, TARSHISH, and AHISHAHAR. The suggestion has been made, however, that 1 Chr 7:6–11 more properly belongs to the genealogical list of Zebulun. In any case, several sources (genealogies and census lists) may have been used to produce this passage. For further discussion, see ICC and AB commentaries on Chronicles.

VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

**BILSHAN** (PERSON) [Heb *bilšān* (בִּלְשָׁן)]. One of the leaders of the group of returnees from Babylonian exile who is listed along with Zerubbabel in Ezra 2:2=Neh 7:7=1 Esdr 5:8. The name, etymologically, is possibly an equivalent of Akkadian *Belšunu* (Noth *IPN* 63). For further discussion, see AKKUB and BIGVAI.

CHANEY R. BERGDALL

**BIMHAL** (PERSON) [Heb *bimhāl* (בִּמְהָל)]. Found in the genealogy of Asher (1 Chr 7:30–40), which preserves the "heads of fathers' houses, approved, mighty warriors, chief of the princes." Listed as a great-great-grandson of Asher, Bimhal, whose name means "son of circumcision," is highlighted as a leader among the sons of Asher, which, "enrolled by genealogies, for service in war," numbered 26,000 men. Since the Chronicler devotes limited attention to the genealogy of Asher, perhaps because the tribe was a lesser one, having originated from the Jacob-Zilpah union (cf. Gen 46:17–18), little is known of Bimhal. That his father was Japhlet and his brothers were Ashvath and Pasach is clear enough. Information regarding Bimhal's family, however, is no more plentiful than that available concerning Bimhal. That Bimhal was a warrior of significant military importance may be safely assumed.

J. RANDALL O'BRIEN

**BINDING AND LOOSING.** In the gospel of Matthew reference is twice made to a power of binding and loosing: Matt 16:19, where the power is given to "Peter," and Matt 18:18, where it is entrusted to the "disciples," a group identical with the twelve in Matthew. A parallel saying can be found in John where, on the day of the resurrection, the risen Jesus confers the Holy Spirit upon the disciples and says, "If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained" (John 20:23). This Johannine logion does not, however, contain the verbs *deo* and *luo,* which appear to have a technical meaning in Matthew.

**A. Analogies**

Virtually all commentators note that the verbs are the Greek equivalents of the Aramaic *ʾasar* (Heb *ʾasar*) and *šerî* (Heb *hiṭṭîr*), terms commonly found in rabbinic writings. Hence, there has been a tendency among interpreters to find an analogy for the Matthean expression in rabbinic usage. Support for this mode of interpretation can be found in the exceptionally strong Semitic coloration of Matt 16:16–19 (the expressions "flesh and blood," "Bar Jona," "church" [*ekklesia*] with an apparent allusion to the *qahal,* etc.)

Apart from confessional disputes apropos the use made of Matt 16:16–19 in Roman Catholicism, where the passage is typically cited as *the* scriptural warrant for the authority of the papacy, the power of binding and loosing is a crux for NT interpretation. In an effort to understand Matthew's terminology, most commentators exploit later rabbinic usage, including that found in the targumic material, where the expressions "to bind" and "to loose" are often found (e.g., *Ig. Ps.-J.* Gen 4:7; *Tg. Neof.* Gen 4:7). Accordingly, binding and loosing are often interpreted (Mantey 1981; Bornkamm 1970; Manns 1983) as declarative authority in doctrinal and disciplinary matters. Christian leadership has the power to interpret and enforce what God has already decreed. By conferring the power to bind and loose upon church leadership, Jesus authorizes it to interpret the Scriptures and establish norms for Christian behavior, the Christian *halakah.* Some authors (e.g., Bornkamm and E. Schweizer) would make a distinction between the meaning of the expression in Matt 16:19 and its meaning in 18:18, interpreting the former as a *teaching* authority and the latter as a *disciplinary* authority.

On the other hand, binding and loosing are often interpreted as the power to ban members from the community and to readmit them. Sometimes this notion is combined with the disciples' authority to establish a Christian *halakah.* Thus church leadership has both the authority to determine forbidden and permitted conduct and to exclude members from the congregation.

Alternatively, binding and loosing are interpreted as the authority to release a person from some sort of vow (Falk 1974) or, especially on the basis of the analogy with John 20:23, as a power either to forgive sins (Emerton 1962) or to affect the consequences of sin (H. W. Basser). R. H. Hiers (1985), drawing attention to NT (e.g., Mark 3:27) and Hellenistic Jewish (e.g., Tob 3:17; 8:3) usage of *delein* ("bind") and *luein* ("loose") in regard to demonic possession, interprets Matthew's expressions of the apostolic commission to exorcise demons (Mark 3:14–16, etc.).

J. D. M. Derrett (1983) has attempted to clarify the NT expression by appealing to a modern Arabic phrase and practice whereby groups of people, capable of being determined *ad hoc* and somewhat independent of the authoritative opinions of the muftis, resolve the doubts troubling a community and exercise a quasi-judicial function by determining what is allowed or forbidden. They are those "who are competent to loose and bind [*mi-man bi yadihim al-ḥall waʿl-rabṭ* ]." Such groups would be formed to make decisions with regard to contracts, vows, and banishment, but their competence would not be limited to these matters alone.

**B. Matthew**

Matthew introduces "binding" and "loosing" in his gospel without further explanation, thereby suggesting that the practice to which these expressions refer was known to his community. Since Josephus writes of the Pharisees' power to loose and bind (*luein kai desmein; JW* 1 §111), it is likely that the primary interpretive analogue is to be sought within contemporary rabbinic practice. Within Matthew's community the Scriptures were midrashically interpreted (e.g., Matt 1:22) and an appropriate *halakah* was established (e.g., Matt 5:21–48). Thus it is probable that the practice to which the Matthean "binding and loosing" refers is the interpretation of the Scriptures and the determination of an appropriate Christian way of life.

Both of Matthew's references to bind and loose are in passages proper to his gospel. There are significant differences between them insofar as the first (Matt 16:19) is formulated in the singular *(ho)* and forms part of a Jesuanic logion addressed to Peter, while the second (Matt 18:18) is formulated in the plural *(hosa)* and is directed to the disciples (cf. Matt 18:1). In its present context, the latter is clearly the work of Matthew, the redactor. Bultmann viewed it as a later variant of the saying in 16:19. The logion of Matt 18:18, appended to a short pericope on church discipline (18:15–17), expresses a significant element

of Matthew's ecclesiology, namely, that what is done within the Church, on Jesus' authority, is sanctioned by God (heaven).

The ecclesiastical saying of Matt 16:19 has a postresurrectional provenance. In origin, it belongs to a body of NT sayings in which the risen Jesus commissions his disciples not only to proclaim his message but also to exercise some authority over the faithful. The NT tradition preserves the memory of Peter's role as the first witness to Jesus (1 Cor 15:5; Luke 24:34; cf. John 21:15–17; Mark 16:7). Matthew does not explicitly cite the tradition of an appearance of the risen Jesus to Peter. He does, however, have a tendency to retroject into his sketch of Jesus' ministry elements which are postresurrectional. It is therefore likely that the binding and loosing saying in Matt 16:19—in context, an explanation of the power of the keys—is an element of Matthew's version of the postresurrectional commission of Peter, but scholars dispute among themselves as to the extent to which Matt 16:16–19 represents Matthew's own formulation and the extent to which it represents pre-Matthean tradition.

In the final redaction of the gospel, both uses of the binding and loosing saying are explicitly linked to the Church (cf. Matt 16:18 and 18:17, where the only explicit uses of *ekklēsia-church* in the canonical gospels are to be found). Matthew's Peter somehow represents the Church, but so, too, do the disciples. Hence, the power to bind and loose is attributed both to Peter and to the disciples. The binding and loosing logion ultimately speaks of the authoritative interpretation of the Scriptures within Matthew's community, the Church.

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**BINEA** (PERSON) [Heb *bin‹ā›* (בִּנְעָא)]. Son of Moza, a descendant of King Saul from the family of Benjamin, according to 1 Chr 8:37 and 9:43. The etymology of the name is very unclear. The final *›alep* [›] is relatively rare in biblical preexilic names (cf. Amasa [*‹amasa›*]), although its frequent attestations in the Samaria Ostraca (Lemaire 1977:47–55) and in the El-Jib jar handles (Demsky 1971:21) indicate that it was in use in the preexilic period. This *-ā›* ending is used in abbreviated forms of theophoric names (*IPN* 38; *TPNAH* 159–67). However, if this is the case with Binea, there is no clear etymology from the remaining letters *bn‹*. Alternatively, the element Bin-[*bin*] may be seen as a prefix for "son of," as in the name Benjamin. This type of name is very rare in the Bible, but is attested to outside the Hebrew Bible (Milik 1956). However, it is difficult to understand the name as "son of *‹a›,* since the meaning of the

element ‹*a*› is not known. Perhaps the name should be emended with most manuscripts of the LXX to Baana (h) [*ba‹ănâ* or *ba‹ănā*›] (*Chronicles* HAT, 80), which is well attested to and has a clear etymology. A few mss (Syr, Ar) have *kin‹ā*›.

In the genealogies, Binea appears after Alemath and Moza, both of which are city names used as personal names (Demsky 1971; see ALEMETH and MOZA), but no city by the name of Binea is known. Perhaps an original Beth Anatot [*byt ‹ntt*] became abbreviated and corrupted to Binea [*bn‹*›]. Binea appears in the genealogy at a juncture of two types of genealogical formulae; those preceding are introduced by *hôlîd*, "begot," while those that follow use *bĕnô,* "his son," though the exact significance of this difference is elusive. On the doubling of the Benjamin genealogy in 1 Chr 8 and 9, see AHAZ.

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**BINNUI** (PERSON) [Heb *binnûy* (בִּנּוּי)]. Var. BELNUUS. A short form of the name BENAIAH ("Yahweh has built"), often confused with (or substituted for) BANI, another name popular in levitical circles during the postexilic period.

**1.** Binnui, the father of one Noadiah, a Levite under Ezra charged with weighing in the gold and silver temple vessels as they arrived in Jerusalem (Ezra 8:33). In the RSV, Binnui appears in the parallel text of 1 Esdr 8:62—Eng v 63 as a harmonization of the Greek, which reads Sabannus. Also, in this parallel Greek text, Binnui (i.e., Sabannus) is recorded as the father of Moeth rather than Noadiah (as in Ezra 8:33). For a discussion of this issue, see NOADIAH #1.

**2.** One of the sons of Pahath-Moab, who had taken a foreign wife (Ezra 10:30). In the 1 Esdras 9 parallel list, the name Belnuus appears instead of Binnui (v 31).

**3.** The ancestor of a group of men listed in the inquiry concerning those who had married foreign wives (Ezra 10:38; 1 Esdr 9:34). The RSV reading represents a modification of the Hebrew "and Bani and Binnui" on the basis of the LXX reading:"the sons of Banoui."

**4.** A member of the levitical family group descended from Henadad. To be "son" to someone in Hebrew can mean either (a) the immediate son or male offspring, (b) a descendant, or (c) a member in a larger social group, such as a family, clan, or tribe. Because Binnui is described as "of the sons of Henadad" in Neh 10:10—Eng v 9, it may be better to see him as a member of a larger family group descended from Henadad, rather than as the immediate offspring of Henadad. This Binnui was charged with repairing a section of Jerusalem's wall under Nehemiah (Neh 3:24). This same name has probably been corrupted to BAVVAI, the son of Henadad, in Neh 3:18, as other mss attest. The same Binnui, the son of Henadad, is found in Neh 10:10—Eng v 9 as one of those setting his seal to Nehemiah's covenant.

**5.** Neh 7:15 reads Binnui in the list of returning exiles where the parallel passage in Ezra 2:10 reads Bani. Either the one is a corruption of the other, or the two names have been used interchangeably for the same person.

**6.** One of the Levites under Zerubbabel (Neh 12:8). This Binnui may be identical with the Bani of Neh 9:4–5, since both names occur in the series—Jeshua, Bani/Binnui, Kadmiel. The presence of Bunni (another variation on Benaiah) in Neh 9:4, however, confirms the popularity of these shortened variations on the name Benaiah in levitical circles in the postexilic period. The conjectured presence of Binnui in the series Jeshua … Kadmiel in Neh 12:24 (Heb:*yēšûa‹ ben-qadmî›ēl*) could as well be Bani:there is no textual reason to prefer the one over the other, and the possibility remains that they were the same person.

D. G. SCHLEY

**BIOGRAPHIES, EGYPTIAN.** See EGYPTIAN LITERATURE (BIOGRAPHIES).

**BIOGRAPHY, ANCIENT.** The question of the genre of the gospels has made this topic a matter of interest to modern scholars. A discussion of ancient biography must begin with those writings that call themselves "lives" (Gk *bioi;* Lat *vitae*) and seek to discern what it is that holds them together as a literary group. Modern study of ancient biography may take its cue from what the ancients said about the distinction between history and biography (Polybius 10.21.8; 16.14.6; Cornelius Nepos *Pel.* 16.1.1; Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 1.2–3; *Pomp.* 8) but its conclusions cannot be based upon that alone. Genre is a descriptive, not a prescriptive, category (Perry 1967:20). Furthermore, ancient theorists are notoriously unreliable from our modern perspective. They did not discuss entire genres, like romance, and when they did theorize, they often violated their theory in practice (Horace is an example). At the same time, therefore, that one is sensitized by the ancients, one must test their descriptive efforts against one's own inductive approach from the extant texts (Vivas 1968:97–105).

References in ancient literature to biographies not now extant, as well as fragments of numerous "lives" found among the Oxyrhynchus and Herculaneum papyri, show the paucity of the extant remains of the Mediterranean biographical tradition. Nevertheless, a sizable body of such material is available, including Greco-Roman, Jewish, and Christian "lives." Some of these biographies circulated singly, others in collections.

Greco-Roman "lives" circulating alone that are extant in significant portions include:Satyrus, *Life of Euripides* (3d century B.C.E.); Andronicus, *Life of Aristotle* (ca. 70 B.C.E.), the substance of which is probably to be found in the *Vitae Aristotelis Marciana* (Momigliano 1971:86–87); Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus* (1st century B.C.E.); Tacitus, *Life of Agricola* (98 C.E.); the anonymous *Life of Aesop* (2d century B.C.); the anonymous *Life of Secundus* (2d century C.E.); Lucian, *Life of Demonax, Life of Alexander,* and *Passing of Peregrinus* (ca. 180 C.E.); Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (216 C.E.); Porphyry, *Life of Pythagoras* and *Life of Plotinus* (3d century C.E.); Ps-Callisthenes, *Life of Alexander* (ca. 300 C.E.).

Certain Jewish and Christian "lives" also circulated alone. Philo, *Life of Moses, On Abraham,* and *On Joseph* (ca. 25 B.C.E.) are Jewish biographies circulating outside a collection of "lives." Examples from the numerous Christian "lives" circulating individually include:Pontius, *Life of Cyprian* (259 C.E.); Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* (early 4th century C.E.); the anonymous *Life of Pachomius* (4th century C.E.); Athanasius, *Life of Anthony* (357 C.E.); Jerome, *Life of Paul, the Hermit* (376 C.E.) and *Life of Malchus* (386 C.E.); *Life of Hilarion* (391 C.E.); Sulpicius Severus, *Life of Martin of Tours* (397 C.E.); Paulinus of Milan, *Life of Ambrose* (400 C.E.); Palladius, *Life of Chrysostom* (408 C.E.); Hilary, *Life of Honoratus* (431 C.E.); Ennodius, *Life of Epiphanius* (503 C.E.).

Greco-Roman collections of "lives" include:Cornelius Nepos, *Lives of Great Generals* (1st century B.C.E.); Plutarch, *Parallel Lives* (100 C.E.); Suetonius, *Lives of the Twelve Caesars* (120 C.E.) and *Lives of Illustrious Men* (110 C.E.); Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* (3d century C.E.); *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (3d–4th centuries C.E.). The anonymous *The Lives of the Prophets* (1st century C.E.) is a Jewish collection of brief sketches of the "lives" of the prophets. Jerome's *Lives of Illustrious Men* (4th century C.E.) offers an example of a Christian collection.

Although there is no great uniformity in these writings that designate themselves "lives," it is still possible to discern what is essential and what is accidental to ancient biography. It is constitutive of ancient biography that the subject be a distinguished or notorious figure (kings, generals, philosophers, literary figures, lawgivers, prophets, or saints) and that the aim be to expose the essence of the person. Lucian, *Demonax* (67) puts it succinctly:"These are a very few things out of the many which I might have mentioned, but they will suffice to give my readers a notion of the sort of man he was." This constitutive feature becomes clear when biography is compared with history in antiquity. Whereas history focuses on the distinguished and significant acts of great men in the political and social spheres, biography is concerned with the essence of the individual. This difference may be seen at two points where history most nearly approaches biography. The first is the historical monograph which concentrates primarily on one individual. In Sallust's *Catiline* and *Jugurtha* the aim is not to set forth the individuals' essence but to

narrate political events with which these two individuals were associated. The second is the incorporation of biographical material into a historical record. In Dio Cassius' *Roman History* (45–56) biographical material about Augustus is incorporated into a history of Rome. The very inclusion of this material in a historical context changes its aim from concern with Augustus' individual essence to his place in a social and political process. The same thing happens when Eusebius incorporates material from his earlier *Apology for the Life of Origen* into his *Ecclesiastical History* (6). Biography is interested in what sort of person the individual is, the subject's involvement in the historical process being important only insofar as it reveals his essence. Whereas history attempts to give a detailed account in terms of causes and effects of events, biography presents a highly selective, often anecdotal, account of an individual's life with everything chosen to illuminate his essential being. Ancient biography consists of information about a significant person, selected so as to reveal what sort of person the subject really was.

Having stated what is essential to ancient biography, it remains to describe what is accidental to it. First, it is incorrect to describe ancient biography as an account of the life of an individual from birth to death. Some biographies begin with the hero's mature life (e.g., Nepos, *Milt., Ar.,* Paus.); others may begin with the subject's birth and stop before his death (e.g., Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus,* which ends with Augustus' entrance into the Civil War). How much of a subject's life is described varies. All that is necessary is that enough be given to satisfy the author that the essence of the person is revealed.

Second, the distinctiveness of the hero as an individual was assumed to appear not only in his deeds but also in insignificant gestures or passing utterance (Plut. *Alex.* 1; *Dem.* 11.7). Given this fact, it is difficult to exclude Plutarch's collections of sayings, such as "Sayings of Kings and Commanders," from the *bios/vita* genre. Indeed, in section D, Plutarch says:"their pronouncements and unpremeditated utterance … afford an opportunity to observe … the working of the mind of each man." In this and his other three collections of sayings one finds a series of materials that look like pronouncement stories, a brief narrative framework within which is set a saying. There is just enough of an event to allow the saying to reveal the individuality of the speaker.

Third, there is virtually no interest in tracing personality or character development. The essence of the person was not examined in its chronological development but only as a fixed constituent in a "life" (Stuart 1928:178). Consequently, many ancient "lives" are only loosely chronological, being more often than not largely topical or logical in their arrangement (Russell 1973:115).

Fourth, some biographies have as their aim to affect the behavior or opinions of their readers either positively (Plutarch) or negatively (Lucian, *Alex.*); others seem to have no overtly propagandistic agenda (Laertius). When such "lives" seek to affect the readers' behavior positively, this is often described in terms of imitation (Plut. *Per.* 21.4; Tacitus *Agr.* 46). The imitation of noble examples as understood in ancient biography is not to be regarded as a blind and unthinking repetition of acts performed by some great man in the past. It meant learning from a great exemplar the way to order one's life and then, without necessarily performing the same actions, to emulate what sort of person he was (Plut. *Aem.* 1; *Cim.* 2.3–5) (Gossage 1967:49).

Fifth, the "life" of a subject may be described in mythical terms (Plut. *Rom.*; Seut. *Aug.;* Philostr. *VA;* Ps-Callisthenes, *Alexander*) or may be devoid of myth. Most biographies that employ myth in the description of their hero treat founders of cities, empires, religions, and schools.

Sixth, the literary form in which "lives" are presented varies. The dominant form is a prose narrative similar to history except that it is anecdotal and unconcerned about cause and effect. Most Greco-Roman, Jewish, and Christian biographies fit into this category. Its roots seem to be in Xenophon's *Memorabilia,* or memoirs of Socrates. This, however, cannot be considered the only form of ancient biography. Satyrus' *Life of Euripides* is in the form of a dialogue with at least three speakers, of whom Diodorus and Eucleia are named. The roots of this form of biography seem to be in the Platonic dialogues that deal with Socrates (e.g., *Phaedo*). Christian adaptations of the same form may be found in Palladius' *Dialogue on the Life of Chrysostom* and in Sulpicius Severus' *Dialogues on the Life of St. Martin* in which a two-day conversation among three friends centers on Martin's life. Yet another form in which biography appears in antiquity is the encomium, a speech praising its subject (Eusebius, *Life of Constantine;* Gregory

Thaumaturgos, *Panegyric to Origen;* Hilary, *Sermon on the Life of Honoratus*). The roots of this form may be found in Isocrates, *Evagoras,* and Xenophon, *Agesilaus.* If the collections of sayings like Plutarch's "Sayings of Kings and Commanders" are also granted a place in the ancient biographical tradition, then one finds at least four literary forms in which biography may appear in the Mediterranean world.

Seventh, ancient biographies perform a multiplicity of social functions. Some apparently had only a literary aim (e.g., Laertius). Others seemed to serve a propagandistic purpose of some sort. Within this overall didactic orientation a number of more specific functions can be identified. (1) Certain "lives" portray the subject as an ideal figure so the readers will accept his authority (Nicolaus of Damascus, *Life of Augustus*) or imitate his way of life (Nepos, *Ep., Ag.;* Lucian, *Demon.;* Pontius, *Life of Cyprian;* Athanasius, *Life of Anthony;* Paulinus of Milan, *Life of Ambrose*). Lucian states his aim in an exemplary fashion:"It is not fitting to tell of Demonax … that young men of good instincts who aspire to philosophy may not have to shape themselves by ancient precedents alone, but may be able to set themselves a pattern from our modern world and to copy that man, the best of all the philosophers whom I know about" (*Demon.* 2). Although the form is that of a history-like narrative, the spirit of the encomium is felt in these "lives."

(2) Other "lives" aim to defend the subject against misunderstanding either by his followers or by outsiders, so that his true self may be seen and his influence exerted (Tacitus, *Agricola;* Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius;* Palladius, *Life of Chrysostom;* Jerome, *Life of Malchus*). Here three of the examples employ the history-like narrative form while the fourth, Palladius, uses the form of a dialogue. The spirit in all four examples is akin to that in Xenophon's *Memorabilia,* where Socrates is defended, and in Isocrates' *Busiris,* where the king is defended against calumny.

(3) Still other ancient biographies intend to discredit the subject by means of exposé (Lucian's *Alexander the False Prophet* and *Peregrinus;* also in Suetonius' *Lives of the Twelve Caesars* one finds profound censure of men who, far from measuring up to the ideal, exemplify its opposite).

(4) Another social function of didactic biographies in antiquity seems to be to indicate where the true tradition is in the present (Bickerman 1952:49). This is found first of all in "lives" of founders of philosophical schools that contained within themselves not only a life of the founder but also a list or a brief narrative of his successors and selected other disciples (an "a + b" form). In Diogenes Laertius certain "lives" of philosophers reflect this pattern. There is "a" the life of the founder, followed by "b" a brief list or narrative of his successors and selected other disciples, followed by "c" an extensive statement of the teaching of the philosopher (Aristippus—Life: 2.65–84; Pupils: 2.85–86; Teaching: 2.86–104; Plato—Life: 3.1–45; Pupils: 3.46–47; Teachings: 3.47–109; Zeno—Life: 7.1–35; Successors and other disciples: 7.36–38; Teachings: 7.38–160; Pythagoras—Life: 8.1–44; Successors: 8.45–46; Teachings: 8.48–50; Epicurus—Life: 10.1–21; Successors and other disciples: 10.22–28; Teachings: 10.29–154). Examination of Laertius' references to the sources for these "lives" shows that the material in "c" comes from a different origin than that in "a + b." This permits the inference that Laertius took over individual biographies that were written in terms of the "a + b" pattern and added the "c" component himself.

Such an inference is supported by three strands of early evidence. First, one of the four different works of Aristoxenos, all of which dealt with Pythagoreanism, was "The Life of Pythagoras and His Associates" which contained a biography of Pythagoras and a history of the Pythagoreans in chronological order (Fritz 1940:22, n. 35). Second, Herculaneum papyrus 1018 treats the Stoic succession. At four points the life of a teacher is followed by a discussion of his disciples. This is sometimes just a list of names; at other points it consists of anecdotes about them (Traversa 1952:xiii–xiv). Third, a pre-Christian biography of Aristotle included within itself both a claim that Aristotle was the successor of Plato and an anecdote about Aristotle's selection of a successor to himself (Düring 1957:465–66; 345–46). Taken together, this evidence establishes the existence of individual "lives" of founders of philosophical schools that contained within themselves not only the biography of the founder but also a narrative, however brief, about his successors and selected other disciples.

Just as Christian biography went to the classical period for its models in other cases, so here as well. In the *Life of Pachomius* one finds a Christian appropriation of this type of ancient biography. It is fitting because this "life" deals with the founder of cenobitic monasticism and with his successors in the community. The early part of the biography deals with the career of Pachomius. In chap. 117 he appoints Orsisius to succeed him, using language that may be regarded as the technical terminology of succession. In the sections that follow the narrative tells what Orsisius did and said (118–129), zealously emulating the life of Pachomius (119). Then Orsisius appoints Theodore (130). In the sections that follow one learns what Theodore did and said.

A second Christian example of this type of biography is Hilary of Arles's *Sermon on the Life of St. Honoratus.* Here is an encomium praising the founder of the monastery that fits into the "a + b" type of "life." In chap. 8, Hilary says he is Honoratus' successor and that his task is to do what the founder had done. In all of these examples, the purpose is to say where the true tradition is in the period after the founder.

(5) Yet another social function performed by some ancient didactic biographies is to serve as a hermeneutical tool, either to legitimate the teaching of the subject by showing that his life corresponded with his profession *(Life of Secundus the Silent Philosopher)* or to furnish an interpretative clue for the reading of his works (Andronicus' *Life of Aristotle,* which served to introduce his edition of Aristotle; Philo's *Life of Moses,* which served as an introduction to Philo's *Exposition of the Law* [Goodenough 1933:109–25]; Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus,* which served to introduce the *Enneads*).

If our description of what is essential and what is accidental in ancient biography holds true, then it is possible to say that we are dealing with the biographical tradition in antiquity wherever we meet the concern to depict the essence of a significant person, that is, to expose what sort of person it really is. The great variety of the ancient "lives" results from the multiple combinations of what is accidental to the genre: (1) the extent of coverage—whether from birth to death, from birth to mature life, from mature life to death; (2) the types of material used to expose the soul of the subject—whether preponderantly deeds or words or some balanced combination of them; (3) the kind of organizing principle utilized—whether chronology or logic or some combination of both; (4) the degree of detachment or involvement of the author with his readers—whether detached and descriptive or involved and evaluative; (5) the use or disuse of myth—whether the subject is described in divine terms or is depicted without recourse to language about the gods; (6) the literary form employed—whether a prose narrative akin to history or a dialogue or a speech of praise or a collection of sayings; (7) the social function of the "life" —whether didactic or nondidactic and, if the former, whether to hold the hero up as an authority or an example, to defend him against misunderstanding, to ridicule him by means of exposé, to show where the true tradition is to be found in the present, or to furnish a hermeneutical key for proper interpretation. It is crucial that what is essential and what is accidental be clearly understood. When this is done, it is possible to sense what is shared and what is distinctive in each case. For example, it is possible to say about Hilary's *Life of Honoratus* that it is biographical in its aim to set forth what sort of person this noteworthy Christian was, but that it does by using the form of an encomium, or speech of praise, shaped in such a way that it serves the social function of saying where the true tradition is in the speaker's present.

One of the most vexed areas of discussion in the study of ancient biography is the relation of the early Christian gospels, canonical and apocryphal, to this genre. To date, reluctance to view the gospels as a part of the biographical tradition of antiquity has been largely due to misunderstanding either the gospels or ancient biography. If, for example, the gospels are viewed as *Kleinliterature,* (popular writing without authorial pretensions) and not productions of individual authors, as Schmidt (1923:76) and Bultmann (*RGG³* 2:418–22) proposed, then obviously they are different from biographies produced by self-conscious authors. This view of the gospels, however, has been discarded ever since the emergence of redaction criticism, by which the evangelists as self-conscious authors is assumed. Or if ancient biography is taken as identical with modern biography, then obviously the gospels are different. The gospels, like ancient "lives," however, do not set their hero against the wider historical background of the time as do modern biographies; like many ancient "lives," the gospels do not adhere to a strict chronological order;

like ancient "lives," the gospels are not concerned to trace the personality development of the hero; like many ancient "lives," the gospels do not describe the personal appearance of their subject. The gospels, like some ancient biographies, do tell their story in terms of myth. This tendency to impose upon ancient biographies the qualities of modern ones has been disavowed by all who have worked extensively with ancient "lives." If such misunderstandings are cleared away, then it is possible to view at least some of the early Christian gospels as part of the larger literary scene of antiquity.

Since all of the Christian gospels have as their subject a significant individual and since some have as their aim to indicate what sort of person Jesus is, it is difficult to believe that on first acquaintance the canonical gospels, at least, would not have been considered biographical by Mediterranean readers and hearers (Stanton 1974:135). What is revealed in the narratives about Apollonius, Pythagoras, Moses, or Jesus is the same—the distinctive nature of each (Smith 1975:35). Some of the gospels share with the ancient biographies that which is constitutive for them—to set forth the essence of the subject, that is, what sort of person it is. Some gospels, canonical and apocryphal, manifest a biographical interest in depicting what sort of person Jesus was:the canonical four and the apocryphal gospels like the *Gospel of Peter* and the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas.* The *Protevangelium of James* has a biographical concern but it is for Mary, not Jesus. Parts of the *Epistle of the Apostles* also manifest a biographical interest. Other gospels' concern is not biographical: e.g., the gnostic dialogues like the *Sophia of Jesus Christ,* the *Dialogue of the Savior,* the first part of the *Gospel of Mary,* the *Apocryphon of James,* the *Book of Thomas the Contender,* and the sayings collection, the *Gospel of Thomas.*

The variety among the gospels with a biographical interest matches that of the ancient "lives" and for the same reason. It is due to the multiple ways those things that are accidental to biography are combined. For example, as to form, all of the gospels that possess a biographical character are history-like narratives, not dialogues, encomiums, or collections of pronouncement stories. As to the extent of coverage, the biographical gospels vary greatly. Some, like Matthew and Luke, cover Jesus' life from birth to death; others, like Mark, treat Jesus' life from mature manhood to death; still others, like the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* and the *Gospel of Peter,* deal with more limited periods of Jesus' life. As to social function, all four canonical gospels and the *Gospel of Peter* find it necessary to correct misunderstanding about Jesus at the same time that they set him forth as the expression and the norm of a community's values. In addition, Luke-Acts shares with certain biographies a concern to say where the true tradition is in the present, even if his sense of the radical difference between apostolic and postapostolic times caused him to eschew use of the typical succession vocabulary. Matthew, moreover, has in common with some "lives" the interest in the hermeneutical relationship of the hero's life and teaching. Only the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* seems straightforward in its praise of the lad in order to reinforce his authority. Regarding the employment of myth, all tell the story of Jesus in mythical terms, although the specific myth may vary:the Synoptics and the *Gospel of Peter* utilize the myth of immortals, John employs the myth of a descending-ascending redeemer, and the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* expands the traditional theme of the precocious youth so that Jesus becomes a playful divine boy. Like most of the other ancient biographies that utilize myth, the Christian hero of the gospels is a founder. As with them, sacred time is focused around those events which first brought the community or cult into being. Myth becomes the means of designating this sacred time. In this regard, the Christian biographies of Jesus manifest a distinctive difference from all other "lives," Greco-Roman, Jewish, or Christian, that are not constructed in terms of myth and a remarkable kinship with those other biographies, Greco-Roman and Jewish, that do employ myth in their depiction of their hero's life (Moses, Romulus, Augustus, Apollonius, Pythagoras, Alexander). Given these rather obvious links between certain early Christian gospels and the ancient biographical genre, a growing consensus regards certain ancient "lives" as the closest analogy to the canonical four and perhaps a few other early Christian gospels as well (Cartlidge and Dungan 1980; Farmer 1967; Pleissis 1982; Robbins 1984; Schneider 1977; Shuler 1982; Talbert 1977; Toews 1981; *IDBSup* 370–72).

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CHARLES H. TALBERT

**BIR‹AM, KEFAR.** See KEFAR BIR‹AM (M.R. 189272).

**BIRDS.** See ZOOLOGY.

**BIRSHA** (PERSON) [Heb *birša‹* (בִּרְשַׁע)]. King of GOMORRAH, (Gen 14:2). Elsewhere in the chap. (vv 8, 10), he appears simply as "the king of Gomorrah." (For the story, see BERA.) The name Birsha, like those of his allies, is a "speaking name" meaning "in wickedness," as befits a king of a sinful city like Gomorrah.

MICHAEL C. ASTOUR

**BIRZAITH** (PERSON) [Heb K *birzāwit* (בִּרְזָוִת); Q *birzāyit* (בִּרְזָיִת)]. Found in the genealogy of Asher (1 Chr 7:30–40), which lists the "heads of fathers' houses, approved, mighty warriors, chief of the princes." The name is the first addition to the genealogy of Asher found in Genesis 46 and Numbers 26. However, it is unclear whether the name, which means "well of olives" and appears nowhere else in Scripture, represents a person or a place.

If Birzaith is the name of a person, then he is listed as a son of Malkiel, a grandson of Beriah, and a great-grandson of Asher. However, the construction, "the father of Birzaith," could be used here as it is in 1 Chr 2:51, where Salma is listed as "the father of Bethlehem." If Birzaith is taken to be a place name, modern Birzeit north of Tyre offers a possible location of the ancient site.

J. RANDALL O'BRIEN

**BISHLAM** (PERSON) [Heb *bišlām* (בִּשְׁלָם)]. One of several men who were party to a letter written to King Artaxerxes of Persia (Ezra 4:7=1 Esdr 2:16). The Heb word is thus understood to be a proper name by 1 Esdras (LXX 2:14)—*Bēlemos*—a transliteration Torrey (1908) suggests resulted from the

accidental dropping of the medial *s* by a copyist, and by the Vulgate—*Beselam.* For this proper name various etymologies have been proposed:an abbreviated form of *ben-šĕlām,* "son of peace" (BDB, 122, 143); the Babylonian name *Bel-šallim* or an Aramaic name *Bēl-šalām,* "Bel is peace" (Torrey 1908:244; Gehman NWDB, 119); a corrupted form of *Belshunu,* a governor of the Persian satrapy of Palestine-Syria whose name appears in a cuneiform tablet dated to Artaxerxes' third year (Rainey 1969:58). The LXX translation of this word in Ezra 4:7—*en eirēnē,* "in peace" —rather than understanding *bišlām* as a proper name, perceives it as the Aramaic word *šĕlām* with a *b* prefix. This has given rise to a number of reconstructions and interpretations. Since *šĕlām,* or a form of it, is used elsewhere as a greeting (Ezra 4:17; 5:7; Dan 3:31; 6:26—Eng 6:25) Bowman (*IDB* 3:599), with reservation, and Newman (*IDB* 1:441) conjecture that the word constitutes a salutation of the letter which the men wrote. Rudolph (*Esra und Nehemiah* HAT, 34) views it as a truncated form of *bîrŝalēm* which he renders "against Jerusalem" and which Myers (*Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 31) construes as "concerning Jerusalem." Garbini (1985:162) reconstructs the word to read *b-śml,* "on the mantel," referring to the covering of a roll (*mtrdd:* Hitqaṭṭel ptcp. from the root *rdd* which he also reconstructs from *mtrdt*) on which the message to the king was written.

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RODNEY H. SHEARER

**BISHOPS' BIBLE.** See BIBLE, BISHOPS'.

**BIT.** See ZOOLOGY.

**BITHIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *bityâ* (בִּתְיָה)]. A daughter of Pharaoh, married to Mered, a descendant of Caleb son of Jephunneh (1 Chr 4:18—Eng 4:17). It is not sure whether "Pharaoh" should be equated with the Egyptian royal title. The theophoric form of the name, which is made up of *bat* and *yah,* seems to indicate that the person is a worshipper of Yahweh. If so, she could well be a Jewess. See further, *TPNAH* 115.

H. C. LO

**BITHYNIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Bithynia* (Βιθυνια)]. A district of NW Asia Minor, which formed a kingdom in the Hellenistic period and subsequently a Roman province. It corresponds approximately to the modern Turkish prefectures of Kocaeli (Izmit), Adapazarı, Bolu, Bilecik, and Bursa, and is mentioned in Acts 16:7 and 1 Pet 1:1.

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A. Topography
B. Archaeological Exploration
C. History
1. The Hellenistic Kingdom
2. The Roman Province
3. The Origins of Christianity in Bithynia

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**A. Topography**

Bithynia is a distinctive geographical and climatic region of Asia Minor. East of the river Sakarya (ancient Sangarios) rise the densely forested mountains of the Black Sea coastal region, broken at intervals by well-watered plains such as those of Düzce and Bolu. The rivers Sakarya and Filyos and their tributaries cut deep gorges through the mountains; their courses are characterized by long, trenchlike valleys running parallel to the coast for considerable distances. West of the lower valley of the Sakarya, wooded hills alternate with fertile plains, which support the cultivation of vines, olives, and grain. The whole region lies at the meeting point between the rainy, mountainous Black Sea coastal region, which formed the heartland of the ancient kingdom of Pontus, and the Marmara region, which experiences less

heavy rainfall and hotter summers on the plains. The Marmara region itself forms a transitional zone between the climates of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

The most important feature of the historical geography of Bithynia is the route linking Istanbul with the interior of Asia Minor, by way of Izmit (ancient Nicomedia), Düzce, Bolu (ancient Bithynium/Claudiopolis), and Gerede. This route was important from the Hellenistic period onward through Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman times; it is still followed by the main road from Istanbul to Ankara.

**B. Archaeological Exploration**

The history of the modern archaeological and topographical exploration of Bithynia begins with the journey of the Abbé Boré through the region in 1831, en route for the Lazarist missions in Persia. Subsequent work in the 19th century was carried out by a colorful succession of scientists, antiquarians, consular officials, and "topographers," some of the latter with close links to what would now be regarded as military intelligence. These travelers surveyed and described the resources and topography of the region, recorded antiquities, copied inscriptions, and attempted to identify ancient sites. Their work is surveyed in detail by Louis Robert (1980:27–60).

Important work was done by Ainsworth, the geologist of the joint Royal Geographical Society—Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge expedition to Mesopotamia in 1839, the German travelers, including H. von Moltke, who provided data for Kiepert's map of the area (1844), the French travelers Xavier Hommaire de Hell (1846), Perrot (1861), and Guillaume, the Germans Körte (1895–99) and Von Diest (1886), and by Gustave Mendel, who catalogued the museum at Bursa (ancient Prusa). Major contributions to the collection and study of the Greek inscriptions of the region have been made in our own generation by F. K. Dörner and Sencer Şahın.

Outside Istanbul itself (ancient Byzantium), excavation has mainly been limited to rescue work in towns such as Izmit. The most noticeable traces of the Greco-Roman period are to be found at Uskübü (ancient Prusias on Hypius) and Iznik (ancient Nicaea)

**C. History**

**1. The Hellenistic Kingdom.** Bithynia emerged as a separately identifiable political unit in the period of political confusion after the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C. In 297 B.C. Zipoetes proclaimed himself king of the Bithynians (Vitucci 1953:11). Zipoetes was a descendant of a line of local princes who had controlled most of the Izmit Peninsula and lower Sakarya Valley since the late 5th century B.C. and who had never been fully subjugated by the Persians. The Bithynians were a people of Thracian origin with a savage reputation among the Greeks who had planted colonies on the Marmara and Black Sea coasts (Xen. *An.* 6.4.2).

The kingdom of Bithynia lasted until 74 B.C. when Nicomedes IV bequeathed his kingdom to Rome. Detailed narratives are provided by Brandis, Meyer, and Ruge (*PW* 3/1:507–39) and Vitucci (1953). Bithynia's strategic position astride one of the main roads from Europe into Asia and adjacent to the sea route from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea heavily influenced its history in the Hellenistic period. Certain recurring themes stand out in the kingdom's tortuous political history. Persistent territorial conflict with the Greek cities of the region, notably Chalcedon and Heraclea Pontica (modern Ereğli), was matched by the evident desire of most of the kings to be accepted as part of the progressive Greek world. Nicomedes I (ca. 279–260 B.C.) struck the first Bithynian coinage (on the Attic Greek standard) and founded the city of Nicomedia to be his capital. Nicomedia was a fully fledged Hellenistic city of considerable commercial importance; it succeeded the ancient Greek colony of Askakos, destroyed ca. 301 in a war between Zipoetes and Lysimachus, the Macedonian ruler of Thrace. Nicomedes also returned the Greek cities of Kieros (modern Uskübü) and Tieion (modern Filyos), which had been captured by Zipoetes, to the control of Heraclea. Prusias I (ca. 235–183 B.C.), grandson of Nicomedes I, reannexed the two cities to his kingdom, renaming Kieros as Prusias. He also refounded the two cities of Kios (also later renamed Prusias, modern Gemlik) and Myrlea (later renamed Apamea, modern Mudanya), which had been destroyed by his brother-in-law and ally Philip V of Macedon and handed over to him; at the same time he gained control of Chalcedon, on the strategically vital E shore of the

Bosporus. Both Nicomedes I's son, Ziaelas, and Nicomedes III (127–94 B.C.) maintained well-publicized relations with centers of Greek cult, civilization, and commerce, such as Cos and Delos (Magie 1950:312, 318).

Much of the kings' foreign policy was devoted to warding off threats from the more powerful neighboring kings who controlled central and W Asia Minor, notably the Attalids of Pergamum (modern Bergama). It was Nicomedes I of Bithynia who brought savage Celtic tribesmen into Asia Minor to aid him as mercenaries against his brother (277 B.C.) and probably also in his struggle against the Seleucid monarch Antiochus I (Magie 1950:311). These Celts, referred to as Galatians by NT (Gal 3:1; [Galatia] 1 Cor 16:1; 2 Tim 4:10, 1 Pet 1:1; [Galatian region] Acts 16:6, 18:23) and other Greek writers, eventually settled in central Anatolia (Galatia).

Prusias I brought Bithynia into the center of the world of Hellenistic power politics. After an unsuccessful attack (in alliance with Rhodes) on the Greek city of Byzantium, he allied with Philip V of Macedon as a counterweight to Attalus of Pergamum, who maintained close relations with the emerging power of Rome. Later, as Philip's fortunes waned, Prusias backed the Romans against the Seleucids in Asia Minor, but was unable to avoid surrendering disputed territory to Pergamum in the settlement of 184 B.C. By then he had acquired the assistance of the exiled Hannibal, but was unable to resist Roman hostility to the latter's presence in Bithynia.

Prusias II (183–149 B.C.) became involved with Eumenes II of Pergamum in a war with the rival kingdom of Pontus to the E. Relations with Pontus and Rome dominated the last century of Bithynian independence. Nicomedes III (127–94 B.C.) attempted to partition Paphlagonia with the king of Pontus, but then incurred the latter's enmity by invading Cappadocia, Pontus' southern neighbor and a Pontic sphere of influence. The last king of Bithynia, Nicomedes IV (94–74 B.C.), was driven from his throne twice by Mithridates of Pontus, being restored on both occasions by the Romans. After Nicomedes died, leaving his kingdom to Rome, Mithridates again invaded the country:the Romans were unable to achieve control over Bithynia until 72 B.C.

In spite of their vicissitudes in the wars of the age, the cities of Bithynia remained centers of Greek language and culture. Nicaea, in particular, was the home of the mathematician and astronomer Hipparchus and the littérateurs Asclepiades and Parthenius; the latter composed poetry as well as a learned handbook on mythology which influenced the Latin poets of the 1st century B.C. The kings were the object of cult in the Hellenistic manner in the cities (Vitucci 1953:128–29). But native names and cults persisted in the country districts down into the Roman period alongside the gradual spread of more or less Hellenized cults and institutions (Jones 1971:154). The orator Dio of Prusa (ca. A.D. 40–110) argued that Greek education was essential to "making your city truly Hellenic, free from turmoil and stable" (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 44:10, LCL).

**2. The Roman Province.** Direct Roman influence was more marked in Bithynia than in other parts of W Asia Minor. The constitutions of the cities display some common features, such as the enrollment of the Council by "Censors" *(timetai),* of Roman origin. The city of Apamea received a settlement of Julius Caesar's discharged veterans and, with them, the status of Roman colony. Yet a century later Dio addressed a speech on a sensitive political matter to the citizens in Greek (*Or.* 41).

After the Civil War, when Pompey and Mark Antony had levied troops and contributions (Appian, *BCiv.* 2.71; 4.58), Bithynia enjoyed a long period of peace and prosperity. The timber of the mountains and the fertile farmland of the plains were important sources of wealth. Nicomedia was a center of the trade in "prefabricated" marble work and there was also an important trading link with the N coast of the Black Sea (Rostovtzev 1918:9; Robert 1980:78–85).

Under the Roman Empire, Bithynia formed the major part of the province of *Bithynia et Pontus.* The province was organized in the usual way, with the principal seat of government and headquarters of the imperial cult in Nicomedia and a number of assize towns, regularly visited by the governor. Assize towns included Nicaea and Prusa. The imperial cult was maintained, as in other provinces, by the "Commonwealth [*Koinon*] of the Greeks of Bithynia," composed of representatives of the various cities. Bithynia was one of the earliest of the E provinces to seek and receive permission for the organization of

such a cult in 29 B.C. (Cass. Dio 51.20.6–7). The *Koinon,* with its prestigious priesthoods and opportunities for conspicuous displays of wealth in the organization of ceremonies and games, offered goals for many of the aspirations of the wealthy provincials. It provided something of an institutional focus for expressions of loyalty to the emperors and to pagan, "Hellenic" traditions. As well as organizing the imperial cult, the *Koinon* occasionally provided a focus for political representation of the province in the prosecution of corrupt governors before the State in Rome. Known prosecutions of governors of Bithynia took place in A.D. 103 and 106/107.

Bithynia was governed by proconsuls as a "senatorial" province until early in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–80), when it was transferred to the control of an imperial legate of consular rank, directly responsible to the emperor. This change probably reflects the growing importance of the strategic military road between the increasingly troubled Danube frontier and the E provinces; this route passed through Bithynia. The proconsul was assisted by a quaestor (senatorial financial official) and legate (assistant governor). The interests of the emperors' treasury were represented by one or more procurators, who managed imperial property, collected the revenues and also certain special taxes from them. The province was never fully garrisoned; in the time of Trajan (98–115), the governor had a small force of about two auxiliary *cohortes* (not more than 2000 men) and there was also a coastal patrol on the Black Sea coast.

The *pax Romana* was rudely interrupted in Bithynia by civil war between Septimius Severus and Pescennius Niger in 193/4, during which Byzantium was besieged and Niger finally defeated in a battle near Nicaea, which had publicly supported his bid for imperial power (Robert 1977). Campaigns by the emperors in the E involved marches by Roman armies through the province in 197, 215, and 219, which placed considerable burdens on the cities lying on or close to the main road, such as Nicomedia and Prusias-on-Hypius. A number of inscriptions from the latter city commemorate the contributions made to easing the passage of the armies by prominent local citizens.

Gothic tribesmen raided Bithynia in 256, sacking Chalcedon, Nicomedia, Nicaea, Kios, Apamea, and Prusa. A few years later, Chalcedon was again destroyed by another Gothic raid and Herculea also attacked. Renewed warfare on the E frontier necessitated the passage of Roman armies through Bithynia several times during the period 242–75. Respite came only with the accession in 284 of Diocletian, who established his capital at Nicomedia. Bithynia now lay in the center of power of the E empire and was a natural setting for the great Council of the Church summoned to Nicaea by Constantine in 325. In 330, Constantine moved the imperial capital to Byzantium, now renamed Constantinople. From then on Bithynia lay at the center of the E empire.

**3. The Origins of Christianity in Bithynia.** Against this background of a prosperous Greek-speaking Roman province, the first firmly datable evidence for Christianity in the province appears in the correspondence of Pliny with the emperor Trajan in 110 (Pliny, *Ep.* 10.95–96). The legal, political, and religious reasons for the persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire have been exhaustively discussed, with much minute analysis of Pliny's letter and Trajan's reply (Sherwin-White 1966:691–712, 772–87; Price 1984:220–22). (It is noteworthy that Price draws an important distinction between sacrifice to the gods and veneration of the emperor's image.) Only a few brief observations on the judicial situation revealed by Pliny's letter are possible here.

The case is a good illustration of the empirical approach of Roman law and administration when confronted with a new situation. Trajan explicitly declines to lay down a general principle. He refuses to allow Christians to be deliberately sought out, but says they must be punished if successfully denounced; at the same time he introduces a novel principle into Roman law by allowing the cessation of a culpable activity as grounds for pardon and what in English legal procedure is called an "unconditional discharge" *(venia ex paenitentia).* Pliny clearly regards the situation created by the spread of Christianity as a public danger *(periculum).* Roman provincial governors had wide powers of discretion, extending to imposition of the death penalty, in dealing with possible threats to public order or local institutions, especially where those responsible were not Roman citizens. Those who appeared before Pliny and refused a direct order,

for example to invoke the gods, were in any case liable to punishment for "contempt of court" and insubordination *(contumacia).*

From the point of view of the history of Christianity in Bithynia, the evidence of Pliny for the widespread growth of the new religion in the province is significant. His informants claimed that *until the recent past* attendance at temple ceremonies had fallen markedly and that the trade in the meat of sacrificial victims had been disrupted; he himself reported that Christians were widespread in all age groups and social classes, in the cities as well as the countryside. His letter suggests that the onset of persecution had considerably reduced the growth of the new religion. Sherwin-White argues that Pliny's letter was written in either Amastris (modern Amasra) or Amisus (modern Samsun) in Pontus (1966:693–94). In the later 2d century it appears that Amastris was the principal diocese of Pontus (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.33.6).

The other notable piece of literary evidence for the origins of Christianity in Bithynia is the address of 1 Peter. The author identifies his readers as belonging to the "Dispersion," a term with unmistakable Jewish overtones (and so taken by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.4.2). While the contents of the letter are not especially relevant to Christians of Jewish origin, it seems likely that many of the first Christian converts in Bithynia-Pontus were drawn from the Jewish communities of the area. The synagogue of Nicomedia is attested by a series of Greek inscriptions dated to the 2d/3d century A.D. (*TAM* 4.1.375–77). Also from Nicomedia is a probably 3d-century epitaph of a Reader (*TAM* 4.1.374) and another possibly 3d-century epigraph with an incised cross; interestingly, this latter inscription commemorates a man from Aradus in Syria (Robert 1978:413).

A similar conjunction of Jewish and early Christian material occurs at Nicaea and around Bithynium-Claudiopolis. A group of probably pre-Constantinian Christian epitaphs from Nicaea threaten violators of the tomb with divine vengeance:"He will give an account to God on the Day of Judgment" (e.g., IGSK 9.555–56). The language significantly recalls the Jewish epitaphs of Nicomedia and it is not surprising to find evidence for Jews living in Nicaea (IGSK 9.615). From the countryside near Bolu come the epitaph of a Jew and a lead curse tablet containing a number of garbled Hebraisms and an appeal to the "Lords, Divine Angels," suggesting some magical interest in Jewish religious language (IGSK 31. 9, 180).

The area around Amisus has produced a similar "sub-Jewish" amulet and also a monotheistic epitaph of early imperial date that could be either Jewish or Christian (*CIJud* 802, Anderson; Cumont; and Grégoire 1910:26). A possibly 3d-century Christian epitaph has also been recorded in Bithynium (IGSK 31. 144). This case is especially interesting as the principal member of the family commemorated had been chief magistrate of the city. While the influence of Hellenized Jewish communities both on contemporary paganism and on the development of a type of Christianity that was relatively well integrated in pagan society is better documented in Phrygia, the indications are that the Jewish communities of Bithynia may have exercised a similar role.

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ANTHONY SHEPPARD

## BIZIOTHIAH (PLACE) [Heb *bizyôtyâ* (בִּזְיוֹתְיָה)]. A town in Judah located in the extreme S

(Negeb) near Beersheba:the MT reads "and Hazar-shual and Beersheba and Biziothiah" (Josh 15:28). However, this reading is almost certainly incorrect. First, the parallel list of Neh 11:27 reads "and in

Hazar-shual and in Beersheba and its villages" (Heb *bĕnōteyhā,* lit. "daughters"). Second, the LXX of Josh 15:28 reads *kōmai autōn,* "its villages," also presupposing a Heb vorläge reading of *bĕnōteyhā.* Thus, contra the MT (and RSV), there probably was not a village in Judah named Biziothiah.
GARY A. HERION

**BIZTHA** (PERSON) [Heb *bizzĕtā᾽* (בִּזְתָא)]. See MEHUMAN.

**BLASPHEMY.** See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES.

**BLASTING/BLIGHT.** See AGRICULTURE.

**BLASTUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Blastos* (Βλαστος)]. Chamberlain of Herod Agrippa I (Acts 12:20). As chamberlain *(koitōn),* he was in charge of Herod's bedchambers or private quarters. Herod had come to Caesarea in 44 C.E. to see the games. At that time he may have been waging economic war against the cities of Sidon and Tyre, perhaps as an outgrowth of the competition between the ports of Caesarea and Phoenicia. He may have banned grain exports to Tyre and Sidon and effectively cut off their traditional supply of food from Judea (1 Kgs 5:7–12; Ezek 27:17). Probably through a bribe, a Phoenician delegation persuaded Blastus to intervene on their behalf. Through his intervention the people of Tyre and Sidon gained an audience before Herod at Caesarea. There is no reference to Blastus or to this incident in Josephus' account of Agrippa I at the games in Caesarea (*Ant* 19.343–50).
JOANN FORD WATSON

**BLESS/BLESSING** [Heb *brk* (ברך)]. The Hebrew root *brk* has diverse but unrelated etymological meanings, just as in other Semitic languages. There are the verbal and nominal forms related to "bless/blessing." A verb "to kneel" and a noun "knee" (Gen 24:11; Ps 95:6; Isa 45:23) also derive from the same root. In addition, there is a noun that Hebrew dictionaries translate as "pool, water reservoir, basin" (Isa 7:3). It is almost unanimously agreed that apart from popular etymologies, which connect these meanings (especially the seeming religious connection between kneeling and praying, praising, blessing), there is in fact no basis in any Semitic language for the etymological tie (Mitchell 1987:16; *TDNT* 2:284).

Bless/blessing has been most frequently understood in terms of benefits conveyed—prosperity, power, and especially fertility. This focus on the content of the benefit is now being viewed as secondary. The primary factor of blessing is the statement of relationship between parties. God blesses with a benefit on the basis of the relationship. The blessing makes known the positive relationship between the parties, whether a single individual (Gen 12:1–3) or a group (Deut 7:14–16). The recipient and others become aware of the value of the relationship and hence its desirability (Job 42:12). Human blessings portray the goodwill between parties and find their basis in the human-divine relationship. Just as with God's blessing, they may either convey benediction (Num 6:24–26) or benefaction (Gen 33:11).

The focus on relationship rather than content permits a wide range of lexical meaning, so that *brk* is not always translated in the same fashion. What is conveyed, regardless of translation, is always based on the favorable relationship between parties. The term *brk* is used in the sense of thanking another individual (1 Sam 23:21; 2 Sam 14:22; Job 29:11–13). The thanks are based upon the act done, the relationship established. Of course, there is a vast array of terms for thanks, praise, and even worship that parallel *brk,* and hence *brk* may be translated with one of these terms in English. Most frequently these have God as the object of the praise (Pss 34:2—Eng 34:1; 115:17–18, 145:1–2). The contexts of *brk* found within the Hebrew Bible demand these different translations both because of the diverse relationships out of which blessing occurs and because of the fact that benediction or benefaction may be articulated. Finally, there are seven occurrences where *brk* is used euphemistically to mean "blaspheme" or "curse" (1 Kgs 21:13; Job 2:9; etc.).

The verbal and nominal occurrences of blessing appear approximately 400 times in the Hebrew Bible (88 times in Genesis and 83 times in Psalms with the remaining occurrences fairly evenly divided in the canon). Over half of all occurrences are in the *Pi᾽el* verbal form. The passive participle, with the so-called

*bārûk* formula ("Blessed are you," or "Blessed be …" is the only form of the Qal to be used. The subject and object of *brk*, "bless," is evenly divided between God blessing humans, humans blessing other humans, and humans blessing, i.e., "praising" God. While occurrences in other NW Semitic languages employ similar subjects and objects, there is some agreement that the Hebrew usage is both unique (*EncRel* 2:251) and more wide-ranging (Mitchell 1987:10). Caution is advised in drawing too many conclusions regarding the peculiarity of the Hebrew occurrences, in part because of the paucity of other NW Semitic texts as opposed to the relative richness of occurrences in Hebrew.

Blessing is a central part of diverse Hebrew Bible traditions, and therefore it has received rather extensive treatment in commentaries, histories of Israelite religion, theologies, and individual studies of selected texts where *brk* occurs. Since *homo religiosus* in all traditions seeks and articulates relationships with the divine or sacred, it is not surprising that blessing is significant in many ancient and modern religious traditions beyond the Hebrew Bible (*EncRel* 2:247–53). There is promise for an enriched understanding of blessing when it is placed among the analogues outside the Hebrew Bible, although much work needs to be undertaken in these comparative studies.

Specialized *brk* research among Hebrew Bible scholars has been bountiful during the 20th century. The studies focus upon three factors: (1) the history of the concept; (2) the identification of the giver and receiver of blessing; (3) the nature of the transfer that takes place in blessing.

First, much has been written on the history of blessing. The earliest NW Semitic usage is clearly of gods blessing humans with possessions and children. There is considerable difference of opinion regarding whether or not the pre-Islamic concept of blessing, which entailed an animistic understanding of power, influenced the earliest stages of NW Semitic and Hebrew understandings. Assumptions, including what is primitive and the extent of polytheism's influence on monotheism, determine in part the positions taken.

A rather extensive tradition history has been articulated by Wehmeier (1970). Within pentateuchal sources, for example, he is of the opinion that E is void of any blessing theme, that in D God primarily blesses Israel with prosperity in the land, and P utilizes earlier traditions but also spiritualizes the content of blessing. As opposed to Westermann (1978), he does not see much utilization of any blessing tradition among the prophets. Most debated of all the tradition history research is Westermann's contention that blessing and deliverance are quite distinct divine activities. He contends that deliverance concentrates on specific, often miraculous acts of God, whereas blessing deals with the natural processes of God's nurturing creation. Extensive research on the treaty-covenantal understandings of curses and blessings in the ANE and the Hebrew Bible have enriched this dimension of comparative work.

Second, almost every lexical discussion of blessing is divided along the lines of the identification of the giver and receiver of the blessing. The question of what it means for God to be blessed has generated the major disagreements. If one argues that the nature of the referent (God or a human) changes the force of a term, then the translation must change. It would not make much sense for humans to give the same benefits of blessing given by the deity. Therefore translating *brk* in a range from bless to praise preserves the basic factor of relationship in the understanding of blessing. The human response of praise to God's blessing is an entirely understandable development. Human praise is the one benefit which may be given in return for the benefits conveyed by the deity. When referents shift, these kinds of translational shifts are common.

Finally, two interrelated issues, power and magic, continue at the center of understanding what is transferred in a blessing. Here the question surrounds the acquisition of blessing. Can God be coerced into giving a blessing? Can a blessing be obtained unrelated to God's beneficence? Is there any self-fulfilling power residing in words? The earlier studies of Pedersen (*PI*) Mowinckel (1961; originally published in 1924), and Hempel's work of 1925 (1961) understood the ancient world of these texts in a dynamistic perspective and could answer these questions in a positive manner. Wehmeier (1970), Scharbert (*TDNT* 2:279–308), and Westermann (1978) understand the biblical traditions to have limited the dynamistic perspective at least partially, but not to have obliterated it entirely. Mitchell (1987) strongly opposes any magical understandings in the Hebrew Bible related to blessing.

This last issue needs further work on the individual texts portraying blessing, as well as better perspectives on Israelite religion within its own surroundings. Since there is no comprehensive study of the complex variety of synonyms ("happy," "peace," etc.) and antonyms ("curse") for blessing, we can assume that new perspectives on this important religious term will be forthcoming.

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KENT HAROLD RICHARDS

**BLESSINGS AND CURSES.** Scriptures testify to a traditional world in which divine powers (principally the God of Israel, but also "the sons of God," "Satan," "the queen of heaven," and others) are believed to influence, directly and indirectly, the life and destiny of nations and individuals. The course of human events is experienced as neither accidental nor self-directed but as dependent, wholly or in part, on the will of these divine powers. In this setting, blessing and curse, deriving ultimately from the disposition and ability of the gods to further or thwart the "good life," are of crucial importance to human welfare.

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## A. The Scope of the Discussion

In the Bible, blessing may be understood as a performative utterance (see Austin 1962; 1979), the effective activity of pronouncing and bringing about good for someone. It may be the resultant favor (benefaction) or enablement itself. Blessing may also be an act of greeting or prayer that invokes good for someone or seeks to avert or neutralize evil. Finally, it may be an act of praise by which a benefactor, human or divine, is acknowledged and thanked for benefits received or expected. The meaning of cursing is just the opposite. It may refer to the pronouncement of evil which brings about punishment or harm to someone, the actual harm or punishment effected, or an invocation of the same. It is unthinkable, however, that one would curse the deity (Lev 24:10–16), even for some harm one might attribute to God's neglect or disfavor (Job 2:9–10).

Earlier studies of blessings and curses in the Bible (e.g., Pedersen 1914; PI, 162–212:Mowinckel 1924; Hempel 1961) often dealt with perceived distinctions between "magical" and "religious" conceptions of

their efficacy. The "magical" conception would attribute inherent power, for example, to a certain form of pronouncement, so that the benediction or malediction once spoken must automatically bring about its result, barring pronouncement of an equally or more effective counter-curse or -blessing. The "religious" conception, by contrast, would attribute the power and efficacy of a blessing or curse to the cooperative will and action of God or the gods. It was felt that both conceptions could be illustrated from the Bible. Westermann argues that the magical features, still recognizable in some of the Yahwist (J) narratives, are historical leftovers no longer operative in the theological conception of the Yahwist (1978:57–58). Also, Scharbert (*TDOT*, 2:303) finds little trace of the magical left in the biblical conceptions of blessing and curse.

Closely related to this discussion was a scholarly consensus that the ancient Israelites, along with other contemporary cultures, attributed unusual power to the spoken word (Heb *dābār*); once uttered, the word would practically take on a life of its own and continue in effect whether or not circumstances changed or the original speaker had a change of mind. Thiselton (1974) strongly questions the supposed independent power of words in the Bible. The power of words in general, and of blessings and curses in particular, presumably depends upon the disposition (favorable or unfavorable), power, and status of the person who utters them, the circumstances under which they are spoken, and the expectations and receptivity of the audience for or about whom the words are spoken. The Bible presents blessings and curses as neither automatic nor irrevocable. They are effective only when spoken by authoritative or authorized persons (e.g., God, king, prophets, priests, elders) at what is considered an appropriate time and place, accompanied by the expected gestures or rituals, if any. God willing, they may also be revoked. Recent hermeneutical reflections on the Balaam story by Coats (1982) and Ford (1982) from a "process" perspective interpret blessing and curse in terms of the power of divine persuasion.

**B. The Terminology of Blessings and Curses**

**1. In the Hebrew Bible.** The Bible frequently expresses blessings by forms of the verbal root *brk,* "to bless," including *bārûk,* "blessed," and by the related noun *bĕrākâ,* "blessing." Other Hebrew terms belonging to the same semantic field include *ḥnn,* "to act favorably or graciously," *rṣh* and *rāṣôn,* "be favorably pleased," "favor," *ṣlḥ,* "to advance or prosper," *ḥesed,* "loyalty/magnanimity/kindness," and various expressions of the gracious presence or accessibility of God (i.e., God's being "with" *ʿim* or *ʾet* someone). One who has been favored or has experienced blessing may be called Heb *ʾašrê,* "happy," a term found most frequently in the Psalms and Proverbs, while the general state of well-being or security that results from blessing may be termed Heb *šālôm.* In conversation with earlier studies, Mitchell (1983) provides insightful analyses of the semantic relationships between *brk* and many of the other terms cited here.

The terminology of cursing in the Hebrew Bible includes the three principal Heb roots *ʾlh, ʾrr, qll,* and their derivatives. The first carries the basic sense of a vocal or written imprecation, a curse pronounced. The second, frequently encountered in the participial form *ʾārûr* and as an antonym to *bārûk,* seems to have the basic sense of "spell," connoting a sort of banning or barring from benefits. The third has a wide range of meanings, often dealing less with imprecation than with disrespect and verbal or physical abuse (see Brichto 1963:70–71; 114–15; 176–77). Scharbert (*TDOT*, 1:261–64) adds that Heb *ʾālâ* was commonly used in legal situations as a conditional curse or oath used to prove guilt, protect property, or ratify a treaty. He further notes that the *ʾārûr* formula was the most powerful "decree" expressed by someone in authority to deliver over a transgressor to misfortune (*TDOT*, 1:411). In the Balaam story (Numbers 22–24), the uncommon Heb root *qbb* alternates several times with *ʾrr,* while Heb *zʿm* also occurs once. Also within the semantic field of cursing are the "ban" (Heb *ḥerem*) which singled out persons or groups for extermination (e.g., Joshua 7), the interjections Heb *ʾôy* ("Woe!" e.g., Isa 6:5) and *hôy* ("Ha!" e.g., Jer 22:18), and expressions of divine withdrawal or displeasure such as God's "hiding" or "turning away the face."

**2. In the New Testament.** The equivalent to *brk* in the LXX, the intertestamental literature, and the NT is Gk *eulogein,* "to bless," and its derivatives, including the divine epithet *eulogētos,* "blessed." The condition of happiness resulting from being favored is expressed by Gk *makarios* (see Matthew 5 and

Luke 6). The roots may also be used interchangeably, as in Luke 1:42 and 45, where Elizabeth hails Mary as both *eulogēmenē* and *makaria.*

Cursing in the NT may be expressed by forms of *kataraesthai,* "to curse," *(kat)anathematizein,* "to make anathema," and the related terms; and by Gk *kakalogein,* "to slander or speak evil of." The woeful expression Gk *ouai* appears especially in Matthew, Luke, and Revelation.

There are, of course, many portions of the Scriptures in which blessing and curse are closely discernible in context, even though the expected terminology is not employed.

**C. The Efficacy of Blessings and Curses**

**1. The Power and Authority behind Blessings and Curses.** As noted above, blessings and curses derive their efficacy from the power and authority of the one who utters them or serves as guarantor for carrying out their intent. In the Bible, the ultimate source of power is Yahweh, the God of Israel, who is said to finally control all good and evil (Isa 45:6), and who can thwart all other counsel and intentions (Job 12:13–25). In the biblical view, therefore, no blessing or curse can become operative without the assent of this God.

Blessings and curses, once uttered, need not come to pass inexorably, because countermeasures could be taken. For example, when Micah of Ephraim revealed to his mother that he himself had stolen some silver protected by her curse, she immediately responded by pronouncing a blessing in Yahweh's name on her son and consecrating the silver to this God (Judg 17:1–3). When Jonathan brought his father Saul's curse upon himself unwittingly, the people intervened to save him from ritual execution and "ransomed" him (1 Sam 14:24–30, 36–45). Steps could also be taken ahead of time to insure blessing and avert curses. Abram was assured that God would bless those who blessed him but would curse anyone who cursed him (Gen 12:3); Isaac pronounced a similar blessing on his son Jacob (Gen 27:29). Although the specific vocabulary of blessing and curse is not used, the word that came to Jeremiah at the potter's shop indicated that Yahweh is free to reverse blessing-bearing promises ("building," "planting," "good") or curse-bearing threats ("pluck up," "break down," "destroy" if people change their ways (Jer 18:7–10).

**2. Accompanying Symbolic and Ritual Acts.** Various gestures or rituals may have been expected to accompany the pronouncement of blessings and curses. The laying on of hands (Gen 48:14; Mark 10:16) or the ritual sharing of food and drink (Gen 14:18–20) might accompany a blessing. When Shimei cursed David, he threw stones and dust (2 Sam 16:5–14). A person suspected of adultery was to drink curse-contaminated water which would cause injury if the person were guilty (Num 5:19–28). Jeremiah smashed a pot in the presence of elders and senior priests while delivering a divine message that Jerusalem and its inhabitants were about to be broken by their enemies (Jer 19:1–13) and would become (cursed) objects of hissing (v 8; cf. Jer 29:18). Several variations on another ritual commonly associated with curses, namely, the dismemberment of a person or animals, occur in Gen 15:9–10 (cf. Jer 34:18–20), 1 Sam 11:6–7 and, evidently, Judg 19:29–30. In his discussion of the curse ritual in Deuteronomy 27, Harrelson (1980:26–33) suggests that the division of the Israelites into two groups facing each other is another variation on this ritual of dismemberment.

**D. The Settings of Blessings and Curses**

In a wider sense, blessing may be understood as the continuous favorable working of God to bring about good in the world of nature and the life of individuals and families (Westermann 1979:33, 44–45). The Bible, however, depicts many typical situations in which the mediation of God's favor or disfavor, expressed as a deliberate pronouncement or invocation of curse or blessing, was expected or considered appropriate. These situations often involve a crisis, the onset of a struggle, a time of decision, or the crossing of a threshold into the future.

**1. Times of Universal or Cosmic Significance.** The crisis or transition may be of universal significance. Thus, in the first story of the creation, God twice directly pronounces blessings on the newly created creatures (Gen 1:22, 28) and also hallows the seventh day, which marks the completion of the "generations of the heaven and the earth" (Gen 2:3–4). By contrast, after the man and the woman have eaten of the fruit and are about to be driven from the garden, Yahweh curses the serpent and the ground

(Gen 3:14, 17) and promises pain to the humans in their future production of food and children (Gen 3:16–19).

In the NT, the arrival of the Christ (the Anointed One) and his announcement of the breaking in of the kingdom of God is accompanied by a series of blessings and woes. In Luke, Jesus balances his pronouncement of four "blesseds" with four contrasting "woes" (Luke 6:20–26). As Van Den Doel (1963:216–20, 224–25) notes, there are several other instances in the gospels where those who are receiving and acting on Jesus' message of the kingdom and the reversal of conditions it represents are called "blessed." He also notes (1963:151) that, while the many healings and exorcisms performed by Jesus are not designated "blessings" in the text, they carry that meaning for the human beneficiaries.

**2. Times of Individual or Family Crisis.** Crisis and transition times in individual and family life call for blessings and the averting of curses. The priest Eli blessed Hannah and Elkanah with an invocation for additional children after they had dedicated Samuel to the service of the sanctuary. The text immediately reports Yahweh's fulfillment of this blessing (1 Sam 2:20–21). Indeed, Eli had pronounced a similar benediction over the barren Hannah after her agonized prayers for a first child. That priestly blessing was also quickly answered by Yahweh (1 Sam 1:17–20). When Ruth and Boaz prepared to be married, the elders and people similarly invoked blessings of children and prosperity; and, upon the birth of a son whom they presented to Naomi, the women lauded Yahweh as blessed (Heb *bārûk;* Ruth 4:11–12, 14). Similarly, Raguel blessed his daughter Sarah and her husband Tobias upon their marriage (Tob 7:13).

Blessing may be invoked for someone undertaking an important journey, especially when the future of the family is at stake (Gen 24:7; cf. Tob 5:16). When Rebekah consented to become Isaac's wife, they sent her on her journey with a blessing that she bear innumerable descendants (Gen 24:60). Jacob went to Paddan-aram to find a wife with his father's blessing (Gen 28:1–5). Later, when Laban finally agreed to allow his daughters and grandchildren to go with Jacob, he blessed them (Gen 32:1—Eng 31:55). Finally, the climactic episode wherein Jacob struggles with "a man" at the Jabbok River and subsequently obtains a divine blessing and the new name Israel (Gen 32:22–32) takes place during his sojourn away from Paddan-aram, just before he meets again with the estranged brother he fears, Esau.

Blessings are also appropriate when one generation is about to die and wishes to pass on favor to another. Best known are the blessings bestowed by Isaac and Jacob upon their sons (Genesis 27; 48–49).

Westermann argues (1978:83–91) that NT accounts of Jesus blessing children (Mark 10:16=Matt 19:15=Luke 18:17), speaking the blessing at meals (Luke 9:16; 24:30), and blessing his disciples when he took leave of them (Luke 24:50–51), indicate that he was continuing traditional Jewish practices. Nevertheless, the latter episode also marks a significant moment of transition in the relationship between Jesus and his followers.

In contrast to the usual practice of seeking a blessing during times of crisis, Jeremiah and Job are two individuals who experienced personal crises and such intense suffering that they cursed the day of their birth and wished for death (Jer 20:14–18; Job 3). Also, Jeremiah cursed the person who made the birth announcement (vv 15–17), while Job added a curse upon the night during which he was conceived (v 3; see Alter 1985:76–83, 96–110). Jonah, in very different circumstances and without actually invoking a curse, also expressed a death wish (Jonah 4:3, 8). It is possible, however, to interpret the actions of all three as desperate attempts actually to motivate God to reverse their fortunes.

The guarantee of one's word was to swear an oath that included a potential curse upon oneself. Saul uttered such an oath which threatened Jonathan's life (1 Sam 14:44), as did Solomon when he doomed Adonijah (1 Kgs 2:23), and the king of Israel who swore to destroy Elisha (2 Kgs 6:31). When Jonathan and David swore loyalty to each other, Jonathan included a self-imprecation to guarantee his fidelity (1 Sam 20:13). Abner, too, uttered this sort of self-imprecation when he publicly switched allegiance from the family of Saul to David (2 Sam 3:9). There are many similar examples in the Hebrew Bible. A striking instance in the NT is Peter's invocation of a curse (once in Mark 14:71; twice in Matt 26:72, 74) when he denied being one of Jesus' followers. In the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus counseled against swearing by anything, but simply to state "Yes" or "No" (Matt 5:33–37).

**3. Times of Community or National Decision.** Blessings and curses figure prominently in the covenants that Yahweh initiated with the people of Israel. Covenants were believed to be central in determining the nation's fortunes. The rituals renewing or reaffirming covenant included reciting blessings and curses. This is especially clear in the case of the Mosaic covenant as presented in Deuteronomy. At the conclusion of his lengthy exposition of the statutes and ordinances Israel was to keep (Deuteronomy 5–26), Moses instructed the people to observe a ceremony, at Shechem on Mounts Ebal and Gerizim, in which they would declare the curses or blessings that would come upon them for obedience or disobedience to the statutes and commandments just rehearsed (Deuteronomy 27–28). In chap. 30 he reiterates Israel's obligation to choose "life," "good," and "blessing" over "death," "evil," and the "curse" (vv 15, 19) by remaining loyal to their God. The book closes with the song of Moses (chap. 32), which echoes elements of a covenant lawsuit (Heb *rîb*) and the curse-induced evils that would come upon disobedient Israel, balanced and overshadowed by the concluding blessing of Moses on all the tribes of Israel (chap. 33). The latter, set just before Moses' passing in chap. 34, serves as a last will and testament, in some ways similar to the blessing of Jacob in Genesis 49.

The so-called Holiness Code (Leviticus 17–26) also concludes with contrasted blessings (26:3–13) and curses (26:14–39) for observance or nonobservance of Yahweh's statutes. Moreover, the closing words assure the people that, even after the most dire consequences, including exile to enemy lands, genuine repentance and a return to Yahweh would cause him to remember the Abrahamic covenant and the Sinai covenant. For, after all, Yahweh would not abandon them, even in foreign lands, so as to destroy the people completely and break the covenant with them (26:40–45).

Scharbert believes that the blessing formulas in Deuteronomy 28 and Leviticus 26 are briefer and vaguer than the curse formulas (*TDOT*, 2:304–5). He notes that in Deuteronomy there is no formal list of blessings to counterbalance the curses enumerated in chap. 27. Further, blessing plays little role in the preexilic prophets, although curses are present. This may indicate that the blessings were a later insertion into the legal sanctions, which originally were only the curses that would result from covenant-breaking.

Several important studies on covenant (including Mendenhall 1955; Baltzer 1971; and McCarthy 1978) have treated the blessings and curses in Yahweh's covenant with Israel in comparison with curses and blessings found in political treaties now familiar from other nations, notably the Hittites, in the ANE. Hillers (1964:43–79) usefully correlates some 20 specific curses (e.g., ravaging animals, removal of joyful sounds, breaking of the scepter, dry breasts, contaminated water, etc.) found in various ANE treaties and paralleled in Deuteronomy 28, Leviticus 26, the Prophets, or elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. Levenson (1985:35) remarks that it is hardly surprising that the curses in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, so horrific in their detail, are still read in undertones in synagogue worship.

**4. In the Cult.** Two climactic cultic occasions include David ritually conducting the covenant box into Jerusalem and Solomon's dedication of the temple. On each occasion, the king takes the leading role in the ceremonies, blessing various other participants. David dared to move the covenant box based upon the report that Yahweh had blessed Obed-edom the Gittite, with whom the box had been residing for three months (2 Sam 6:11–12). Upon safely bringing the box to its new residence, David made sacrificial offerings, distributed foodstuffs to the people, and blessed them in the name of the Lord of hosts (vv 18–19). He also intended to bless his own household (v 20), but was met with disdain by his wife Michal the daughter of Saul. Given the context, the laconic report that Michal thereafter became barren for the rest of her life (v 23) strongly implies that, by her actions, Michal exchanged the intended blessing for a curse instead.

Subsequently, when Solomon moved the covenant box to the newly erected temple, the ceremonies of dedication as reported in 1 Kings 8 included prayers, offerings, and shared feasting. In addition, Solomon pronounced blessings on the assembled people (vv 14, 55) and acknowledged Yahweh as blessed (vv 15, 56), while the people, in turn, blessed the king at the conclusion of the week-long festivities (v 66).

The so-called Aaronic benediction or blessing in Num 6:22–27 was probably used in the temple services and has remained in use among Jews and Christians to the present. Yahweh promises Moses that when the priests use this formulaic blessing Yahweh himself will bless the people. The brief formula is

dense with the terminology of blessing, including assurance of God's protection (Heb *šmr*), favor (Heb *ḥnn*), and peace (Heb *šālôm*). Noteworthy is the threefold repetition of the Heb root *brk,* once in the formula itself and twice in the accompanying rubrics, as well as the emphatic threefold repetition of the divine name, which, along with the *šālôm* it brings, is being placed (*śym;* vv 26–27) upon the recipients of the blessing. This blessing reaffirms positively the powerful words of Exod 15:26, in which God promised in the negative:"No plague which I placed *(śym)* upon Egypt will I place *(śym)* upon you, for I am Yahweh your Healer."

The book of Psalms contains indications of the use of blessings and curses in the temple liturgy. For example, Psalm 72 speaks of continual prayers and blessings offered on behalf of the monarch (vv 15, 17) and invites people to bless themselves by his name (v 17). Psalms 21 and 22—prayers before and after battle—indicate that victory over enemies was formally requested and acknowledged as a blessing (Pss 21:4, 7—Eng 21:3, 6; cf. Pss 18:47–49—Eng 18:46–48). Many of the psalms were sung as blessings of Yahweh, as is indicated by the formulaic language at the beginning and conclusion of Psalms 103 and 104, the invitation in Pss 134:1–2, and the final verses of Psalm 135. Temple singers or priests are depicted in Psalm 118 as pronouncing "blessed in the name of Yahweh" the one (perhaps the king?) who enters the sacred precincts. Cazelles (*TDOT*, 1:445–48) believes that the frequently encountered expression Heb *ʾašrê,* "happy!" in the Psalms is best understood as a sort of liturgical cry or interjection which found its way into services of the Second Temple, perhaps via Egyptian practice. The solemn pronouncement of curses, evidently, also took place in the temple, as indicated by the lists of imprecations on enemies contained in many of the laments (e.g., Pss 17:13–14; 35:4–6, 26; 58:7–10—Eng 58:6–9). Particularly striking is Psalm 137, which twice calls happy (Heb *ʾašrê*) whoever takes vengeance on Babylon (vv 8–9). Lapide (1982:166) offers the striking interpretation that these ritualized curses and imprecations helped worshippers to vent emotions of anger and frustration, and thus defused the need for carrying out actual acts of bloodshed.

In the NT Jesus blessed children (Mark 10:13–16) as a sign of their inclusion in the kingdom of God. Many Christian churches have interpreted this story as a sanction of infant baptism and have included its solemn reading or intonation at baptismal ceremonies. In the gospels, Jesus also blesses food (Mark 6:41=Matt 14:19=Luke 9:16; Luke 24:30), a practice already well attested at the Qumran community and still widely followed among Jews and Christians. In the new "family" of Christian disciples (Mark 3:31–35; 10:29–31), a central sign and affirmation of the blessing-mediating presence of the risen Christ as the "breaking of bread" together (Acts 2:42, 46–47)—a practice no doubt linked to the tradition of the Last Supper he shared with his disciples at the time of Passover just before his crucifixion (note Mark 14:22–25=Matt 26:26–29=Luke 22:15–20; 1 Cor 10:16). Paul, moreover, warns that unworthy eating and drinking of the "Lord's supper" would actually endanger the health of the assembly (1 Cor 11:20–34); the expected blessing, in effect, could be turned into a curse.

The traditional liturgy of St. John Chrysostom celebrated in the Eastern Orthodox churches powerfully presents the continuing mediation of blessing through the risen Christ. Blessing from God to the faithful is both pronounced and effected through the proclamation of the gospel and communing in the eucharistic meal. Surrounding these two climactic activities of blessing, continuous prayers and psalms invoking divine blessing for all people in every imaginable walk of life alternate with repeated ascriptions of glory to the trinity "now and ever and to ages of ages." These ascriptions bear close resemblance to the benedictions honoring God and the divine kingdom in Jewish synagogue worship. The overall mood of the liturgy is reminiscent of the psalmist's exhortation to "bless Yahweh at all times" (Ps 34:2—Eng 34:1) in acknowledgment of the saving strength of the All-Powerful One. This ancient Christian liturgy also draws together in a single cultic celebration the three lines of blessing present in the Scriptures: from God to humanity, from humans to other humans, and from humans to God. These lines of blessing were identified by Schenk (1967), whose analysis was criticized and expanded upon by Westermann (1978:68–101; see also Mitchell 1983). Westermann has also written on the place and function of blessing in worship and in the rituals of the Church and on possible continuities and discontinuities with practices attested in the Scriptures (1978:103–20).

**E. Blessings, Curses, and the Literary Shape of the Bible**

Recent studies have turned attention to the artistic use of blessings and curses as organizing devices by those who composed or shaped longer and shorter sections of the Bible. Some examples follow.

**1. Judges 5**. The so-called Song of Deborah, widely regarded as among the oldest literary compositions in the Hebrew Bible, is shaped by a series of blessings and curses (see Urbrock 1987:426–27, 432). The naming of Deborah and Jael, both subjects of praise in the song, is carefully framed by words of blessing (v 2—blessing, vv 6–7—naming, v 9—blessing; "Most blessed … Jael … most blessed," v 24). Further, the name of the Israelite commander, Barak (Heb *bārāq*), sounds like Heb *brk*, "to bless," and its repetition in vv 12 and 15 nicely balances the double invitation to "Bless Yahweh" in vv 2 and 9. By contrast, mention of the village of Meroz is framed by a double curse in v 23. Similarly, the Canaanite commander Sisera and his mother literally stand outside the blessing-frames in the text and are named only in an ironic context where food (v 25), a sign of blessing, is exchanged for violent death (vv 26–27), sign of a curse, and where those who expected to take spoil actually have been despoiled themselves (vv 28–30). The song ends with the invocation of a curse on the enemies and a blessing on the allies of Yahweh (v 31). This closing invocation, along with the invitation to "Bless Yahweh" in v 2, serves as a clear inclusion or envelope for the entire composition.

Juxtaposition of blessing and curse, used so effectively as a literary device in Judges 5, occurs frequently elsewhere in the Bible, also. The balancing of blessings and woes in Luke and the covenant blessings and curses in Deuteronomy 27–28 and Leviticus 26 have been mentioned above (secs. D.1. and D. 3.) In Jer 17:5–8, one whose heart is turned away from Yahweh is described as cursed, like a shrub in a desert; but blessed like a tree by water is the one who trusts Yahweh (see also Psalm 1). The book of Proverbs contains many maxims that contrast the cursed existence, influence, and fate of the wicked/selfish/fools with the blessed status of the righteous/liberal/wise (e.g., Prov 10:6–7; 11:11, 26; 22:9; 28:14).

**2. The Book of Ruth.** Blessing and curse are also juxtaposed in Ruth. Trible (1978:166–99) has shown how the surface design of the book, which moves from an initial scene heavy with death to an "All's well that ends well" conclusion, is generated by a deep structure in which the human actors move between life and death while their God works between blessing and curse behind the scenes. The story line develops around the gradual removal or reversal of the signs of curse (famine, exile, death) and the appearance, ever more openly, of the kindness (Heb *ḥesed*) of Yahweh (2:20), reflected and mediated in the *ḥesed* of Ruth (3:10) and the favor (Heb *ḥēn*) of Boaz (2:2, 10). The action is punctuated at key points by invocations of divine blessing (1:8–9; 2:4, 12, 19; 3:10; and 4:11–12) and is enclosed at beginning and end by proclamations of divine favor (1:6 and 4:13–14). Ruth's conditional self-imprecation (1:17) and Naomi's complaint (1:20–21), with their intimations of death and affliction and emptiness, are swallowed up by life and fullness and blessing for the two women and their families, even including generations past (4:10) and future (4:18–22).

**3. The Book of Psalms.** Although many or most of the psalms were originally composed for use in the temple liturgies, their current arrangement into five books suggests that they are intended for study and meditation like the five books of the Mosaic Torah. This intention is underscored in the blessing that opens the book in Ps 1:1–2. The editors of the arrangement have also reminded pious readers to accompany their meditation on the collected psalms with prayer and ascriptions of blessing and praise to Yahweh. Thus, each of the first four books now concludes with such a blessing (41:14—Eng 41:13; 72:18–19; 89:53—Eng 89:52; 106:48), while the fifth book concludes with a crescendo of blessing and praise in Pss 144–50. Cazelles (TDOT 1:446) draws attention to the placement of psalms identifying "happy" (Heb *ʾašrê*) readers and worshippers precisely at the beginning or close of the various divisions (see Pss 1:1; 41:2—Eng 41:1, 89:16—Eng 89:15; 106:3). One may add that Psalm 72, while lacking an *ʾašrê* identification, contains prayers of blessing for the king accompanying a description of the ideal, blessed kingdom. Overall, then, despite the many laments contained in the Psalter and the frequent cursing of enemies, the mood fostered by the blessings which frame the whole and its major subdivisions is one of confidence, praise, and thanksgiving.

**4. The Tetrateuch, Pentateuch, and Deuteronomistic History.** Wolff (1975) identifies Gen 12:1–4a, with its fivefold play on the central idea of blessing *(brk),* as the key passage for understanding the message of the Yahwist (J) in the Tetrateuch (Genesis through Numbers). This idea has influenced the shape of the narrative. Before the appearance of Abra (ha)m, J does not use *brk* in reference to humanity; rather, *ʾrr* appears five times (Gen 3:14, 17; 4:11; 5:29; 9:25) and *qll* once (8:21), the latter in a positive passage that points ahead to Gen 12:1–3. As Wolff sees it, the rest of J's contributions to episodes in the Tetrateuch may be understood in terms of the thematic question:how does the blessing reach the peoples through Abraham? For example, the plague narrative in Exodus is shaped by J to emphasize the pharaoh's request that Moses entreat Yahweh to remove the curse, as it were, and effect a blessing even for Egypt (Exod 12:32). The last large J complex in the Tetrateuch is the Balaam narrative in Numbers, with its dramatic portrayal of God's use of a foreigner to bless Israel several times over, although he was paid to curse them. A climactic concluding couplet in Balaam's third oracle is reminiscent of the promise to Abra (ha)m (Num 24:9; cf. Gen 12:3). Nevertheless, J's work ends with a sense that the blessing that is to come to the world through Israel still remains a task and promise to be fulfilled. Moab does not yet share the blessing, and Israel is still prone to apostasy (Num 25:1–5). Wolff sees a schematic arrangement here:a sober episode of warning follows upon pronouncements of blessing, just as the episode of affliction for the pharaoh follows the blessing on Abra (ha)m in Genesis 12.

In a companion article to Wolff's, Brueggemann (1975) suggests that the focus for understanding the message of the Priestly circle (P) in the Tetrateuch is the fivefold blessing declaration of Gen 1:28, "Be fruitful … multiply … fill the earth … subdue it … have dominion." Variations on this formula recur often in Genesis (9:7; cf. 17:2, 20; 28:1–4; 35:11; 47:27; and 48:3–4) and in the important story transition at Exod 1:7.

Overall, the Pentateuch (Genesis through Deuteronomy), now long hallowed by tradition as belonging together as the Mosaic Torah, also exhibits an envelope structure that emphasizes blessing and curse at beginning and end. The stories of the primeval times and of the Abrahamic family in Genesis, arranged to reflect the J and P schemata of blessing, are balanced by the repeated Deuteronomistic invitations to choose life and blessing rather than curse and death in Deuteronomy 27–33. Scharbert (TDOT 2:306–7) comments that the Pentateuch as finally redacted has passed on to Judaism and Christianity an enduring belief that blessing and curse, powers that emanate from God and that become effective through human behavior in relationship to divine law, "finally determine the destiny of all mankind, the nations, and the individual."

In modern scholarship, Deuteronomy is widely regarded as actually having originated not as the conclusion to the Pentateuch but as the introduction to the so-called Deuteronomistic History, which includes the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings. The blessings and curses that figure so prominently in the closing chapters of Deuteronomy are picked up at key points in the ensuing history. Ceremonies of covenant renewal culminating in warnings of possible good and evil for covenant observance and neglect are described as taking place at the time of Joshua's death, after the tribes of Israel had been allotted their lands (Joshua 24), and at the time of transition from tribal league to kingship under Saul (1 Samuel 12). In both instances, leaders of the people—Joshua and Samuel—are about to leave the scene, just as Moses departs at the close of Deuteronomy. When Solomon dedicates the new temple in Jerusalem, he blesses the assembled people, and blesses Yahweh at the beginning and conclusion of his great dedicatory prayer (1 Kgs 8:14, 55). The prayer itself is couched in Deuteronomistic language, acknowledging that such disasters as defeat in war (v 33), drought (v 35), famine and pestilence (v 37), and even exile (v 46) are caused by disloyalty. In a final hortatory prayer, not dissimilar to the addresses of Moses in Deuteronomy, Solomon exhorts the people to keep the commandments, statutes, and ordinances with a heart completely true to Yahweh (1 Kgs 8:58, 61; cf. Deut 6:2, 5; 30:1–2, 15–17). Centuries later, the discovery of the lost "book of Torah," perhaps an early version of Deuteronomy, caused King Josiah to tear his clothes in consternation, evidently at the possibility of the covenant curses taking effect (2 Kgs 22:11–13), and to institute a major reform of cultic practices in Judah and Jerusalem (2 Kgs 23:1–25). Not only does the theology of blessing and curse clearly pervade the Deuteronomistic

History, but a pattern of ceremonial recitation of the blessings and curses at crucial points in the nation's history also helps give literary shape to this major work in the Hebrew Bible.

**5. The Christian Bible.** In his helpful analysis of the differing shapes of the Hebrew and Christian Bibles, Josipovici (1988: 29–49) notes how the books in the Christian OT and NT have been arranged so as to achieve both a correspondence between the major parts of each Testament and "a continuous forward drive from Creation to the end of time" (1988:42). The design conveys an overall sense of wholeness and completion. It hardly seems surprising, then, that Revelation, the last book in the Christian arrangement, contains seven beatitudes (see Aune 1983:283–84), two of which appear in the closing verses of the book (Rev 22:7, 14) alongside a conditional curse and a reference to the tree of life (Rev 22:18–19). Along with those uttered by Jesus in Matthew, the beatitudes in Revelation serve as an excellent inclusion scheme for the NT books. But in a more inclusive sense, the blessings and curse in chap. 22 complete a ring around the entire Christian Bible by reversing the prohibition of Genesis (Gen 3:22) and alluding to the solemn warning and invitation of Deuteronomy (Deut 4:2; 30:19).

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WILLIAM J. URBROCK


**BLIGHT.** See AGRICULTURE.

**BLINDNESS.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**BLOOD** [Heb *dām* (דָּם)]. Biblical authors identified the liquid, blood, and the solid, fat (Heb *ḥēleb*), as the body substances essential for all animal life. When David eulogized Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam 1:22) for bringing death to the foe, he sang:"From blood of slain, from fat of heroes—the bow of Jonathan never turned back. The sword of Saul never withdrew empty." The deduction that blood and fat were vital substances was arrived at by observing violent death by the sword or by beasts, accompanied by bloodshed and disembowelment. Blood was considered more significant to life than fat. Indeed "blood" and "life" are attested as lexical pairs in Hebrew, Ugaritic, and Akkadian poetry (Avishur 1984:559, 577). The alternation of phrases in Gen 37:21–22 demonstrates that, in biblical Hebrew, "shed blood" (Heb *šāpak dām*) was synonymous with "struck the life" (Heb *hikkâ nepeš*). Explicit identification of blood with life is made in Deuteronomy (12:23):"For the blood is the life *(nepeš)* and you must not consume the life along with the flesh *(bāśār).*" Similarly, the Priestly writer (P) locates animal life in the blood and equates the value of blood with that of life:"For the life *(nepeš)* of the flesh *(bāśār)* is in the blood. I have consigned it to the altar in your behalf to atone for your lives, because the blood, in its value as life, makes atonement" (Lev 17:11; Levine 1974:68). According to P, the atoning value of the blood accounts for the efficacy of the sacrificial system. By placing (Heb *sāmak*) a hand on the animal (Lev 1:4; 3:2, 8, 13; 4:4, 15, 24, 29), sinners passed their essence on to it (cf. Num 27:18–23). Once the blood of the victim had been dashed on the sides of the altar, or in some cases applied to its horns, and the fat of the victim turned into smoke, substitution was effected for the two vital substances of the human sinner. The animal's death had brought life to the sinner.

As the primary vital substance, blood was occasionally believed to be present in life-giving objects considered inanimate by moderns. Wine was "blood of the grape" (Deut 32:14; for Ugaritic, see Gordon *UT* 385) and the Nile together with all of Egypt's sources of water bled when struck (Exod 7:17–24). The vital significance of blood is reflected in the word's special treatment in the Hebrew language. Blood consumption was most often described by the verb "eat" (Heb *ʾākal*), normally said of solids, although "drinking" (Heb *šātâ*) of blood is attested (Num 23:10; Ezek 39:17, 19), as is "get drunk" (Heb *šākar;* Isa 49:26; cf. Rev 18:6).

Because they embodied life, both blood and fat were allotted by biblical legislation to God (Lev 3:2–4, 8–10, 13–15), who was popularly believed to require them as food (Isa 1:11; Ezek 44:7; Ps 50:13). As such, they were forbidden to Israelites (Lev 3:17; 7:22–26). The primacy of blood over fat was reflected in biblical legislation. It was permissible (Lev 7:24) to put to any nonfood use the fat from animals which had died or been torn by beasts. In contrast, blood of a slaughtered animal which had not been sacrificed had to be discarded (Deut 12:24). In addition, only Israelites were prohibited from eating fat, just as they were forbidden other comestibles permitted gentiles, whereas even gentiles were restricted in their consumption of blood. According to Gen 1:29–30 (P), antediluvian humans had been permitted to eat seed-bearing plants and trees with seed-bearing fruit. All other animals were permitted green plants. After the Flood, God (Elohim) expanded the category of permitted comestibles so that all humans might lawfully eat the flesh of the other animals (Gen 9:1–7 [P]), with the provision that they not consume the blood of living animals. "But as regards living flesh *(bāśār bĕnapšô),* its blood *(dāmô)* you shall not consume" (Gen 9:4). Although the entire pericope is theoretical in that it legislates for gentiles and holds beasts accountable for shedding human blood (Gen 9:5), the prohibition against consuming the blood of a living animal is realistic. Experience had demonstrated to the ancients the nutritional value of blood, which is high in protein and low in fat. Blood's accompanying symbolic potency made it even more desirable. Keeping the animal alive after eating of its blood is economical and in modern times has been documented among the Masai (Brichto 1976:21). For the legislator, however, practical considerations were overridden by the biblical conception that jurisdiction over the most vital substance must be divine.

For Israelites the Bible adds two additional restrictions to the consumption of blood. They may not eat the blood of a slaughtered animal (Lev 17:10, 14; Deut 12:23–25), nor may they eat "with the blood" (Heb *ʿal haddām;* Lev 19:26; 1 Sam 14:32–35), that is, eat the flesh of a slaughtered animal with blood still in it. Doubtless the putative Israelite audience shared with the biblical authors the belief that the life

of the flesh was in the blood. For that very reason consumption of blood might be especially attractive when the need for invigoration was felt (Gaster 1975:65–66). It may be observed that Saul's soldiers consumed meat with the blood in it when they were weary (1 Sam 14:31–32) and that Ashurbanipal's weary enemies slit open the stomachs of their camels (*ANET*, 299) and drank the blood. Possibly the charge "only be strong (Heb *ḥazaq*) not to eat the blood" (Deut 12:23) is a pun based on the belief that eating blood would bring strength. If animal blood was potent, human blood would be more so. Herodotus' well-known account (4.65) that the Scythian warriors drank the blood of their first victims finds a parallel in Balaam's description of Israel drinking the blood of the slain (Num 23:24).

The biblical sources agree that consumption of animal blood by Israelites and the strangers in their midst, even when incidental to eating meat, is a heinous crime equivalent to homicide (Lev 17:4), and constitutes "treachery" (1 Sam 14:33) against God. Biblical legislators differed, however, as to how one might eat meat without unlawfully consuming the blood. The solution of Leviticus 17 (P; cf. 1 Sam 14:34–35) was to make all slaughter of domestic animals sacrificial, thus giving the blood to God (given the nature of the ancient Israelite economy whereby the average individual would not have eaten meat other than fish or fowl more than ten times a year, the requirement was not excessive). Animals from flock and herd were to be brought to the tent of meeting and sacrificed as "tribute-offerings" (Heb *šĕlāmîm;* Levine 1974:15–52). Only after the blood had been dashed against the altar, the fat turned to smoke, and the altar and the priests had taken their share, was the sacrificer permitted to eat the meat. Profane slaughter (Milgrom 1976:1–17) was allowed only for clean wild animals such as deer and clean wild birds. Their blood was to be covered with earth (Lev 17:13), in keeping with the notion that what offends God should be hidden from his sight (Gen 37:26; Deut 23:14; 1 Sam 26:20; Isa 26:21; Ezek 24:7–8; Job 16:18). Deuteronomy 12, in contrast, permits profane slaughter of clean animals, both domestic and wild, so long as one is careful not to eat the blood, but instead pours it "out on the ground like water." Obviously, neither of the procedures described above actually removed all of the blood from the flesh, but each avoided its unrestricted human consumption.

Because of its vital power, blood could be employed in rites designed to protect the living against the forces of death. In Exodus 12 the Israelites are instructed to slaughter the Passover offering, collect its blood, and smear some of it on the lintel and the doorposts of their homes. When Yahweh sees the blood he will protect (Heb *pāsaḥ* ) the door and and not permit the destroyer to enter and smite the home. The apotropaic function of blood is likewise evident in the rites by which the high priest was enabled to enter and exit the inner sanctum "without dying" (Lev 16:2). Among the prescriptions is the threefold sprinkling of blood seven times (Lev 16:14, 15, 19).

The vital power of blood serves to explain its related ritual uses in purification and consecration. Blood is employed to cleanse the altar (Ezek 43:20), the incense altar (Exod 30:10), the sanctuary, and the temple (Lev 16:15–16; Ezek 45:18–20). Blood is especially important in purification of persons who have recovered from the skin disease traditionally translated "leprosy" (Heb *ṣāraʿat*). In the first stage of the ceremony, the blood of a slaughtered bird is mixed with water and sprinkled on them. Eight days later the lepers' extremities are smeared with blood from two sacrificial offerings and with oil (Leviticus 14). The ritual installation of Aaron and his sons in the priestly office contains elements similar to the purification of lepers. The new priests are smeared with sacrificial blood on their ears, thumbs, and big toes. In the climax of the rite, blood from the altar together with anointing oil is sprinkled on the consecrants and their vestments in order to render both priests and vestments holy (Exod 29:9–21; Lev 8:24). The similarities in the two rites stem from their common purpose, which is to change the status of the affected persons and thus confer on them new life. The principle articulated in rabbinic literature that the leper is reckoned dead is already found in Num 12:10–13 and 2 Kgs 15:5 (Cassuto 1972:36, 238). Accordingly, the fresh water, literally "living water," together with the blood, serves to return the leper to life. The oil in both ceremonies is part of the same complex. Note that elsewhere in the Bible oil confers royal status on commoners (1 Sam 10:1, 16:13) and sacred status on vessels (Exod 40:9–11).

Blood that had been employed in purification rituals would, like any other "used detergent," become unclean; similarly, blood dashed on the altar (Wright 1987:146–59). In only two categories is blood in

itself a source of contamination rather than of purification. Unjustified homicide, termed "innocent blood" (Deut 19:10; 2 Kgs 4:24; Jer 7:6; Heb *dām nāqî*) or, alternatively, "blood of the innocent(s)" (Deut 19:13; Heb *dam hannāqî;* cf. Heb *dam neqîyyîm* in Jer 19:4) brings about BLOODGUILT, which pollutes (Lev 35:33; Heb *yaḥanîp*) and contaminates (Lev 35:34; Heb *ṭimmê*) the land. The second category is menstruation. Indeed, menstrual blood could serve as the epitome of impurity (Ezek 36:17; Ezra 9:11). A menstruating woman was considered to be ill (Heb *dāwâ;* Lev 12:2; 20:18). The flow of blood accompanying the birth of a male child rendered the mother menstrually unclean for a week. Following the boy's circumcision on the eighth day, the woman spent thirty-three additional days in a state of "blood purification" (Heb *dĕmê ṭoharâ* ). The birth of a girl, presumably because it brought into existence a potential source of menstrual and parturient blood, initiated a two-week period of menstrual uncleanliness, followed by sixty-six days in a state of "blood purification" (see Lev 12:1–8).

Although biblical covenants often describe the slaughter of animals, they generally do not make specific mention of blood. Of special interest therefore is the pericope of Exod 24:4–9 in which Moses concludes a covenant between Yahweh and Israel. He sacrifices twelve bulls and dashes part of their blood on the altar and part of it on the people. The blood is termed "blood of the covenant" (cf. Zech 9:11; Matt 26:28; 1 Cor 11:25). As is evident elsewhere in the Bible, covenants were concluded in order to create quasi-familial relations. Parties bound by covenant regularly employed family terminology. The role of blood was to create an artificial tie of consanguinity (Gaster 1975:151). It will be recalled that in Hebrew one refers to a biological relative or a spouse as one's "bone and flesh" (Gen 2:23; 29:14; 2 Sam 19:13, 14) or simply as "flesh" (Lev 21:2). But it was not feasible physically to mingle the bone and flesh of persons who wished to effect ceremonially a social or political kinship.

The role of blood in ceremonial kinship explains the tale in which Zipporah the wife of Moses (Exod 4:25–28) saves his life after Yahweh's attack by circumcising her son and touching the bloody foreskin to Moses' genitals (Heb *raglayim;* cf. Judg 3:24; 1 Sam 24:4). By this procedure Zipporah transformed Yahweh from an adversary into a "blood kinsman" (Heb *ḥatan dāmîm*), who was required by the newly established kinship to let Moses alone (Gaster 1975:234).

Murder was particularly heinous when accompanied by bloodshed. Synonymous with the term "murderer" (Heb *roṣeaḥ* ) is "man/men of blood" (2 Sam 16:8; Pss 5:7, 26:9; Prov 29:10). A city of murderers (Isa 1:21) might equally be termed "city of blood" (Ezek 22:2; 24:6, 9). Blood shed by a murderer cried to God out of the earth (Gen 4:10). Therefore, persons who felt compelled to commit murder might prefer to mitigate their deed by not physically spilling the blood of the victim. Accordingly, Reuben (Gen 37:21–22) was able to persuade his brothers that casting Joseph into a cistern would accomplish their purpose without shedding his blood. At the very least it was expected that an effort be made to conceal the blood of the victim (Gen 37:26; Ezek 24:7–8) and to hide it from the sight of God (1 Sam 26:20). According to the Chronicler (1 Chr 22:8), even the just warfare waged by David disqualified him from building a temple to Yahweh because he had shed much blood on the earth in Yahweh's sight.

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**BLOOD, AVENGER OF** (Heb *gôʾēl haddām* (גּוֹאֵל הַדָּם)). An individual responsible for avenging the death of a relative. Biblical legislation refers to the blood avenger in connection with the cities of asylum (Num 35:11–28; Deut 4:41–43, 19:1–13; cf. Josh 20:1–9). From these texts as well as

from biblical narrative (2 Sam 14:5–11) and extrabiblical parallels it is clear that the legislators were attempting to accommodate an existing institution to the biblical notion that only God had absolute disposition over human and animal life and over BLOOD, in which life was embodied.

In biblical law, one who slew another through "an act of God" (Exod 21:13; Heb *hā›elohîm ›innâ leyādô*), by accident (Num 35:11; Heb *bišĕgagâ*), without intention (Deut 19:4; Heb *biblî da‹at;* cf. Josh 20:3), or without malice (Num 35:22; Heb *›êbâ*), was not guilty or a capital crime (Deut 19:6; Heb *mišpaṭ māwet*), and his was "innocent blood" (Deut 19:10; Heb *dām nāqî*). Nonetheless, that manslayer could be killed with impunity by an avenger of blood unless he found asylum at an altar (Exod 21:13) or at a city of asylum. If, however, malice could be demonstrated, then it was permissible to remove the manslayer from the altar (Exod 21:14). If the killer had fled to a city of asylum, the elders of his native city were to demand his extradition from the city of asylum and to turn him over to the avenger of blood for execution (Deut 19:12). The Priestly legislation (Num 35:24–25) restricts the blood avenger somewhat by empowering the assembly *(‹ēdāh)* to decide whether a manslayer qualified for asylum and to provide him safe conduct there. The death of the high priest, which atoned for the original homicide, permitted the manslayer to leave asylum without fear of reprisal by the avenger.

The key to understanding the biblical notion "avenger of blood" is the noun translated "avenger" but perhaps more accurately rendered "restorer." Heb *gô›ēl* is derived from the verb *ga›al,* "restored," a synonym of *pādâ,* "redeemed," "ransomed" (Lev 27:27; Jer 31:11; Hos 13:14); *hošî‹a,* "saved," (Isa 61:16); and *râb,* "interceded legally in one's behalf" (Isa 49:25; Jer 50:34; Ps 119:154). Indeed, as awkward as it sounds in English, the redundancy "returns its restoration" (Heb *yāšîb gĕ›ullātô;* Lev 25:51, 52) succinctly demonstrates that *gā›al* primarily means "restored to an original state." A *gô›ēl* therefore was one who effected restoration to an original, sometimes ideal, state. Such a restorer, usually a close relative (Ruth 3:12), was expected to regain land sold by a family member (Lev 25:25; Jer 32:7–8; Ruth 4:3–4) and to redeem a relative from slavery (Lev 25:47–49). The "blood avenger" was literally "taker back of the blood," that is, a redeemer with a specialized function. The killing of one clan member was construed by the remaining members not only as a shedding of the group's blood (de Vaux 1965:11) but as misappropriation of blood which properly belonged to the entire group. The responsibility of the blood avenger was to win back that misappropriated blood by killing the original blood shedder (Daube 1969:123–24). Although blood vengeance for a relative slain in battle was not justified (2 Sam 3:27–30), return of other blood was required by the clan (Heb *mišpāḥâ*), or by an agent acting on its behalf even when both slayer and victim were clan members (2 Sam 14:6–7). It appears that the rise of the monarchy limited blood vengeance in that the king could, in effect, pardon the slayer by restraining the avenger of blood (2 Sam 14:5–11).

The notion that a killer was guilty of misappropriating his victim's blood, which was to be returned, if not to the victim personally, then to his kin through the killer's death, was known in the ANE outside of Israel. The 8th-century Aramaic royal treaty from Sefîre (III:1–19; Fitzmyer 1967:97–99; Lemaire and Durand 1984:119) requires that blood be rescued from the hand of the enemies responsible for the king's assassination (Aram *tqm dmy mn yd šn›y;* cf. 2 Kgs 9:7 and EA Akk *naqāmu*) by putting them to the sword. Similarly, in a 14th-century B.C. letter from King Burlaburiash of Babylon to Pharoah Amenophis IV, the Babylonian demands that bandits who have killed Babylonian merchants in Egyptian territory must be apprehended and executed so that the blood of the slain may be returned (EA 8:26–29; Akk *damīšunu tēr*). The same notion of misappropriation explains why in Mesopotamia "master of the blood" (Akk *bēl damē*) in the Neo-Assyrian period referred both to the killer and to the kinsman of his victim (Roth 1987:363–65). The manslayer who had taken the blood had unlawfully become its master. It was the deceased's relative who was bound to reclaim that same blood.

It is of interest that, although God "avenges/rescues blood" (Deut 32:43; 2 Kgs 9:7; Heb *nāqam*) and requires it of those who shed it wrongly (Gen 9:5; 42:22; Ps 9:13; Heb *dāraš*), he is never referred to as *gô›el haddām.*

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S. DAVID SPERLING

**BLOOD, FIELD OF** (PLACE). See AKELDAMA (PLACE).

**BLOOD, FLOW OF.** See UNCLEAN AND CLEAN.

**BLOODGUILT.** The pollution or guilt incurred when life is taken outside of the legal prescriptions defined in the Hebrew Bible. "Bloudgyltynesse" entered the English language through Coverdale's 1535 translation of Ps 51:16, but the notion that blood wrongly shed makes for guilt as indelible as blood itself is known from antiquity through modern times (Gaster 1975:56–73). The earliest example from the ANE is in an 18th-century B.C. text from Mari (ARM III:18) referring to a criminal who is "like a mad dog" and is "polluted with that blood (shed in murder)."

Although biblical Hebrew possesses words for "guilt" and "culpability," there is no Hebrew term corresponding exactly to English "bloodguilt." Because BLOOD has a life of its own (Ezek 35:6) and, in biblical thinking, embodies the life force, the biblical writers found it sufficient simply to employ the word *dām,* "blood" (Num 35:27; Deut 17:8; Josh 2:19; Judg 9:24; 2 Sam 3:27; 1 Kgs 2:37; Hos 6:8), or its plural *dāmîm* (Exod 22:1, 2; Lev 20:9; Deut 19:10, 22:8; 2 Sam 3:28; Ezek 18:13; 1 Kgs 2:23), both for the substance itself and for the consequences of its improper disposition. Justified homicide, such as the tunneling thief killed by a homeowner in darkness, does not incur bloodguilt (Exod 22:1). Unjustified killing, ranging from premeditated murder (1 Kgs 2:32) through killing a tunneling thief in daylight (Exod 22:2), to slaughtering a domestic animal without proper sacrificial rites (Lev 17:4), entails bloodguilt. Bloodguilt may also be incurred through negligence, such as that of a watchman whose failure to sound a horn results in another's death (Ezek 33:6) and that of a prophet who fails to warn his people (Ezek 33:7–9). Persons are sometimes said to bear bloodguilt for their own deaths, even when they have not committed homicide or contributed to the death of another. In this category are the mandated death penalties for the prohibited sexual acts of intercourse with one's father's wife or one's daughter-in-law, male homosexuality, and bestiality (Lev 20:11, 12, 13, 16). Regarding the executed offenders, including the beast, the biblical passages declare:"their bloodguilt is in them" (Heb *dĕmēhem bām;* cf. Ezek 33:5), that is, they and not their executioners bear the responsibility for the blood shed in carrying out the death sentences. The same is said (Lev 20:27) of persons who divine by means of ghosts (Heb *ʾôb*) or familiar spirits (Heb *yidʿônî*). Alternatively, responsibility for bloodshed is expressed by blood "on" one's "head" (2 Sam 1:16; Heb *ʿal rôšĕkâ*) or "at" one's "head" (1 Kgs 2:37; Heb *bĕrôšekâ*). Rahab was told that the Israelite spies would bear on their heads the bloodguilt for any of her family killed by the invading Israelites, so long as they stayed indoors. In contrast, if they ventured outside during the Israelite attack on Jericho their bloodguilt would be on their own heads (Josh 2:19). Note that the phrase "blood at his head" alternates synonymously with the phrase "his bloodguilt is upon himself" (Ezek 33:4–5).

In some ways similar to the Greek notion of *miasma* (Pedersen 1926:420–25; Gaster 1975:69–73), the stain or defilement brought about by a crime, illicit bloodshed pollutes the earth. Such contamination can be expunged only by shedding the blood of the killer (Num 35:33–34).

Bloodguilt incurred by a king could cling to his country even when the royal successor came from a new dynasty, so long as the members of the original royal family were themselves not avenged by the offended parties (1 Sam 21:1–11). See BLOOD, AVENGER OF. Likewise, unwarranted bloodguilt (1 Kgs 2:31; Heb *dĕmê ḥinnâm*) that had clung to a royal associate could be removed from the royal family and "returned to the head" (Reventlow 1960:311–27) of the perpetrator by executing him.

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**BOAR.** See ZOOLOGY.

**BOARD.** See PLANK.

**BOAZ** (PERSON) [Heb *bō‹az* (בֹּעַז)]. A descendant of Judah who married Ruth the Moabitess and fathered Obed, the grandfather of David (Ruth 4:13, 18–22). Many have suggested that the etymology of Boaz is *be‹ōz,* "in the strength of," or *bō‹ōz,* "in him (is) strength," from the root *‹zz,* "to be strong." Noth, however, prefers "of sharp mind" (*IPN* 228; also the Ar *baṛzun,* "mental keenness").

Boaz was an influential landowner in Bethlehem and relative of Elimelech, whose family had migrated to Moab (Ruth 2:1; 3:2; 4:3). When Elimelech and his sons died, his wife Naomi and his daughter-in-law Ruth returned to Bethlehem, where they learned of Boaz and his relationship to the Elimelech family. See ELIMELECH; MAHLON; CHILION; ORPAH. Boaz agreed at Ruth's request to act as the family's *gō›ēl* (i.e., kinsman-redeemer) by purchasing the land offered for sale by Naomi (4:3) and by marrying Ruth to "perpetuate the name" of her deceased husband Mahlon (4:10). See FAMILY; LEVIRATE LAW. However, there are several legal problems associated with Boaz' transaction that remain unresolved. See RUTH.

Boaz functions in the story as an example of covenant fidelity and God's reward for faithfulness. A relative closer to Elimelech, who refuses to marry Ruth, serves as a foil for Boaz, but Boaz' supreme act of virtue is not his marriage to Ruth, but rather his willingness to inform the nearer kinsman of his rights. By this gesture Boaz was setting aside his personal desires for the requirements of the covenant law (Berlin 1983; 86). Boaz was a man advancing in years (3:10) who probably had no progeny (cf. the response of the nearer kinsman, 4:6); the story shows that he was rewarded with wife and son for his commitment.

Boaz' name appears in the honored seventh place in the ten-name royal line of David (Ruth 4:18–22). He is also listed in the royal lineage of David by the Chronicler (1 Chron 2:11–15). Because of his relationship to the Davidic house, he is in the ancestral line of Jesus (Matt 1:5 [*Boes*]; Luke 3:32 [cf. LXX *Boos, Booz*]). There is no OT support for Matthew's comment "Salmon begat Boaz by Rahab." Because Matthew presents a schematic, incomplete genealogy he probably means that Boaz is a descendant of Rahab.

The historicity of Boaz and his connection with David have been widely challenged. It is believed that the Ruth genealogy is borrowed from Chronicles and therefore is secondary; furthermore, discrepancies are pointed out between the narrative and the genealogy. However, a growing number of scholars have argued that the genealogy is part of the original composition by showing (1) that the story is not *novelle* (folk story) but an early example of Solomonic historiography and (2) that there are features of the narrative which assume a knowledge of the genealogy.

"Boaz" is also the name of one of the two bronze pillars erected at the N (or "left" facing E) of the entrance to Solomon's temple (1 Kgs 7:21–22; 2 Chron 3:15–17). The LXX of 2 Chron 3:17 translates Boaz *ischus* ("strength") and Jachin *katorthosis* ("a setting right"), which further supports a "strength"-related etymology of the Heb. The meaning and the function of the pillars are disputed. See JACHIN AND BOAZ.

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**BOCHERU** (PERSON) [Heb *bōkĕrû* (בְּכֹרוּ)]. A Benjaminite descendant of Saul and Jonathan, listed as the second of Azel's six sons (1 Chr 8:38; 9:44). The LXX and Syr read the word as if it were vocalized *bĕkōrô,* meaning "his firstborn" (e.g., LXX *prōtotokos autou*). This reading would render the word as an adjective describing Azrikam, Azel's firstborn son. This is a strong possibility, in that the two words have identical Hebrew consonants and that the position of the word in both lists of Azel's sons is immediately following Azrikam. A similar situation exists with another Benjaminite, BECHER (Heb *beker*), the second son of Benjamin (Gen 46:21; 1 Chr 7:6, 8).

SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

**BOCHIM** (PLACE) [Heb *bōkîm* (בֹּכִים)]. A place W of the Jordan River near Gilgal and Bethel, where the Israelites wept for their disobedience at the time of Joshua (Judg 2:1–5). The Hebrew and Greek names both mean "Weepers." After entering the land of Canaan the people of Israel disobeyed God's command of *ḥerem,* "total destruction," so that "the angel of Yahweh came up from Gilgal to Bochim" to point out their disobedience. "When the angel of Yahweh spoke these words to all the sons of Israel, the people lifted up their voices and wept" (Judg 2:4). The naming of the place Bochim became a memorial for this repentance, where "they offered sacrifice to Yahweh." The location of Bochim has not been identified.

YOSHITAKA KOBAYASHI

**BODMER PAPYRI.** Ancient manuscripts named after Martin Bodmer (1899–1971), Swiss humanist and collector of rare books, who founded his "library of world literature," the Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, in Cologny near Geneva. Just prior to his death, Bodmer established the Foundation Martin Bodmer, in order to ensure that his library would remain intact and open to the public.

**1. The Bodmer Papyri**

In its widest application the term includes not only ancient Greek and Coptic mss in the possession of the Bibliotheca Bodmeriana but also documents of shared provenience at other locations. More commonly, as here, Bodmer papyri refers to mss acquired by Martin Bodmer and in the process of being published in the series *Papyrus Bodmer,* launched in 1954. Not all of the Bodmer papyri are actual papyri, however (XVI, XIX, and XXII are parchment), nor do all derive from the discovery in 1952 (XVII).

**2. The Discovery**

Though Panopolis (Achmim) was once thought to have been the place of discovery, it is now believed to have been somewhat farther S in the Panopolite nome, namely at Pabau (near Dishna), the ancient headquarters of the Panchomian order of monks. The bulk of the find was bought by Bodmer, but a variety of items came into the possession of Sir Chester Beatty (see CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI), the Universities of Mississippi and Cologne, and the Fundacio "Sant Lluc Evangelista" in Barcelona. Bodmer's share numbered in excess of the sixteen codices and three rolls which have thus far been published (excluding P. Bodmer XVII). Pap. VIII (1–2 Peter), belonging to a codex of heterogeneous materials, was presented to Pope Paul VI during his visit to Geneva in 1969. Consequently it is now housed in the Vatican Library.

**3. The Library at Pabau**

The evident composition of the ancient monastic library has received some attention. Of interest is the inclusion of three kinds of texts:Classical Greek, Greek biblical and Christian, and Coptic biblical and Christian. Though it has been disputed that all of the Classical texts are from Pabau, one codex makes a mixture of texts indisputable: XLV (Susanna) + XLVI (Daniel) + XXVII (Thucydides) + moral maxims. That the library can be seen as a monument to the gradual triumph of Coptic over Greek in the Christianity of Upper Egypt is perhaps not confirmed by the fact that it is the majority of OT (not NT)

texts that is in Coptic. The bulk of NT mss is in Greek. Not least among the library's points of interest is the virtual absence of biblical (OT) historical books. The lone exception is P. Bodmer XXI, a Coptic papyrus codex of Joshua, minus chaps. 12–21, which never formed part of the ms.

**4. The Manuscripts**

Dates for the entire ancient library range from the 2d century A.D. (P. Bodmer XXVIII) to the 4th/5th century (VI, XIX, XXII, XXIX–XXXVIII), with the majority of texts falling in the 4th century. P. Bodmer XVII (7th century) does not derive from Pabau. For Coptic studies in particular, the Dishna find must rank as one of the most outstanding discoveries to date. The mss are all of early date and represent Coptic in a considerable variety of forms.

**a. Biblical and Related Texts. 1. Greek.** All of the published mss are on papyrus and in codex form.

P. Bodmer II=P66: containing John 1:1–21:9 (= fragment at Chester Beatty:John 19:25–28; 30–32). Date II/III century.

P. Bodmer V: Nativity of Mary, also called in the ms Apocalypse of James. Date IV. Same codex as X, XI, VII, XIII, XII, XX, IX, VIII.

P. Bodmer VII=P72: Jude 1–25. Date IV. See P. Bod. V. above.

P. Bodmer VIII=P72: 1–2 Peter. Date IV. See P. Bod. V above.

P. Bodmer IX=2113: Psalms 33–34. Date IV. See P. Bod. V. above.

P. Bodmer X: Corinthian Correspondence (contains response of the Corinthians to Paul's second letter, and Paul's third letter). Date IV. See P. Bod. V above.

P. Bodmer XI: Ode of Solomon 11. Date IV. See P. Bod. V above.

P. Bodmer XIV=P75: Luke 3:18–18:18; 22:4–24:53. Date III. Same codex as XV.

P. Bodmer XV=P75: John 1:1–15:8. Date III. See P. Bod. XIV above.

P. Bodmer XVII=P74: Acts 1:2–28:31; Jas 1:1–5:20; 1 Pet 1:1–3:5; 2 Pet 2:21–3:16; 1 John 1:1–5:17; 2 John 1–13; 3 John 6, 12; Jude 3–25. Date VII.

P. Bodmer XXIV=2110: Pss 17:46–117:44. Date III/IV.

P. Bodmer XLV: Sus (Theodotionic text). Date IV. Some codex as XLVI, XXVII, XLVII.

P. Bodmer XLVI: Dan 1:1–20 (Theodotionic text). Date IV. See P. Bod. XLV above.

P. Bodmer?=P73: Matt 25:43; 26:2–3 [ined.]. Date VII. Fragment found in P. Bod. XVII and probably in same hand.

**2. Coptic.** Of the published mss all but P. Bodmer VI, XVI, XIX, XXII are on papyrus. All are, however, in codex form. Unless otherwise indicated the dialect is Sahidic.

P. Bodmer III: John 1:1–21:25; Gen 1:1–4:2. Date IV. Bohairic.

P. Bodmer VI: Prov 1:1–21:4. Date IV/V. Paleo-Theban ("Dialect P").

P. Bodmer XVI: Exod 1:1–15:21. Date IV.

P. Bodmer XVIII: Deut 1:1–10:7. Date IV.

P. Bodmer XIX: Matt 14:28–28:20; Rom 1:1–2:3. Date IV/V.

P. Bodmer XXI: Josh 6:16–25; 7:6–11:23; 22:1–2; 22:19–23:7; 23:15–24:2 (=P. Chester Beatty 2019). Date IV.

P. Bodmer XXII: Jer 40:3–52:34; Lamentations, Epistle of Jeremiah, Bar 1:1–5:5 (=Mississippi Coptic Codex II). Date IV/V.

P. Bodmer XXIII: Isaiah 47:1–66:24. Date IV.

P. Bodmer XL: Song of Songs [ined.].

P. Bodmer XLI: Acta Pauli. Date IV. Sub-Achmimic.

P. Bodmer XLII: 2 Corinthians [ined.].

P. Bodmer XLIII: An Apocryphon [ined.].

P. Bodmer XLIV: Daniel [ined.]. Bohairic.

**b. Christian miscellanea. 1. Greek.**

P. Bodmer XII: a liturgical fragment (Melito?). Date IV. See P. Bod. V above.

P. Bodmer XIII: Melito of Sardis, *Peri Pascha.* Date IV. See P. Bod. V above.

P. Bodmer XX: Apology of Phileas (=fragment at Chester Beatty: 135, 13–16 and 136, 14–17). Date IV. See P. Bod. V above.
P. Bodmer XXIX–XXXVIII: Codex Visionum. Date IV/V. [XXX–XXXVIII ined.].
P. Bodmer XLVII: Moral Maxims. Date IV. See P. Bod. XXVII above.

**2. Coptic.**

P. Bodmer XXXIX: Pachomius' Letter $11^{b}$ [ined.].

**c. Classical texts.**

P. Bodmer I: *Iliad* 5 and 6. Date III/IV. 2 papyrus rolls.
P. Bodmer IV: Menander, *Dyskolos.* Date III. Same codex as XXV and XXVI.
P. Bodmer XXV: Menander, *Samia* (= P. Barc. 45). Date III. See P. Bod. IV above.
P. Bodmer XXVI: Menander, *Aspis* (= P. Robinson inv. 38+P. Köln 3 [inv. 904]). Date III. See P. Bod. IV above.
P. Bodmer XXVII: Thucydides Bk 6. Date IV. See P. Bod. XLV above.
P. Bodmer XXVIII: Satyr play. Date II. Papyrus roll.
P. Bodmer XLVIII: *Iliad* [ined.].
P. Bodmer XLIX: *Odyssey* [ined.].

The number of Bodmer papyri has to date reached L (= business documents of Panopolis on recto of P. Bodmer I).

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**BODY.** The word for body (Gk *sōma* (σωμα)) appears in a number of theologically significant contexts in the NT. Consequently, it is important to note this usage and to seek its antecedents in the Jewish and Hellenistic world of the time.

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A. OT and Judaism
B. Greek/Hellenistic World
C. The NT
1. Body and Soul
2. The Physical Body of Man
3. The Lord's Supper
4. The Body of Christ
5. Colossians and Ephesians
D. Summary

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**A. OT and Judaism**

The OT speaks of the human being in terms of "flesh" and "soul." It uses *gĕwiyyâ* ("body") a few times referring to the body of an angel where "flesh" would be inadequate (Ezek 1:11, 23; Dan 10:6); to a slave in the sense of persons as "manpower" (Gen 47:18; Neh 9:37), and to a corpse or carcass (Judg 14:8, 9; 1 Sam 31:10, 12; Nah 3:3; Ps 110:6; also *gûpâ* 1 Chr 10:12). The OT shows little interest in distinguishing the "body" as one part of a man from the rest of his personality, his "soul." To speak of man's "body" (as distinguished from man as a whole) makes sense only when describing him in his capacity as a worker at the disposal of his master, or as a mere dead substance to be buried. What man is can only be understood in a wholistic way. Man does not possess a soul and a body, rather he is both soul and flesh, full of life and potential activity, while at the same time threatened by illness, transitoriness, and death. Soul without flesh is like a ghost without real existence, while flesh without soul is but a corpse (or, at most, the manpower of a slave). Nor is the OT interested in a conception of the human being as an individual person, either as distinguished from other persons or as a small universe complete in himself/herself. Wherever a person is prominent in the OT, he/she is elected by God to serve God's whole people. The idea of an individual developing to a more and more perfect specimen of human being is foreign to the OT.

Death, therefore, is not understood as a separation of the divine soul from the mortal body, or as the ultimate perfection of a person in his/her "dying beautifully," or as the natural biological goal of life. Death remains a person's enemy, and only God himself is more poweful:"My flesh and my heart may fail, but God is the rock of my heart and my portion forever" (Ps 73:26).

In Aramaic, the language of Jesus, the above view is slightly altered as a result of Hellenistic influence. Aramaic *gĕšēm* appears in Daniel in the sense of corpse (4:30; 7:11), and in the sense of a man exposed to fire or water (3:27–28; 5:21), while in rabbinic literature *ǧpā*› signifies a "person" (*Qidd.* 37a; *t. Sanh.* 13:4 (434); *j. Ta*‹*an.* 1:64d.6) as opposed to the members or the head (*m. Pesaḥ.* 10:3; *t. Ta*‹*an.* 2:5) or even the soul (*Lev. Rab.* 34). This usage illustrates the extent of Greek influence in the first centuries of the Christian era.

**B. Greek/Hellenistic World**

The situation is quite different in the Greek-speaking world. With Homer, *sōma,* "body," is primarily a "corpse," that is, something different from the ego of the speaker, an object that he observes as lying

outside himself. Later, the word denotes a living human or animal body, and a physical (e.g., a celestial) body (so also in English, which lacks the distinction of German *Leib* and *Körper*). During the NT period, *sōma* was also used of a "slave" (Polyb. 2.6.6; 18.35.6, etc.). It could also designate a unity, e.g., the *ekklēsia* ("assembly," the same term designating the "Church" in the NT), as a body of citizens (Chrysipp. *Fr.* 367). Two countries that became united after a war are now "one body" (Plut. *Phil.* 8[I 360c]). All the parts of the universe form such a unity; it is, therefore, possible to speak of the cosmos as a (divine) body (see C.5 below).

The original usage of *sōma* in the sense of "corpse" illustrates one line of development in which the body is seen merely as matter, either dead (as a corpse or a star), as a kind of machine, or as an object at the disposal of its owner (e.g., a slave). This leads to Plato's view, especially in his middle period, of the body as a mere "tomb" (*sōma-sēma,* Grg. 493a, originally a Pythagorean pun; cf. Orph. *Fr.* 228d), a "prison" (*Cra.* 400bc), or an "oyster shell" (*Phdr.* 250c; *Phd.* 66b). Death is, therefore, liberation of the soul. During a later period, Plato also spoke of a beautiful body as a kind of (imperfect) image of the beauty of the heavenly ideas (*Ti.* 29a; *Resp.* 8.591d; *Symp.* 211c).

Plato's student, Aristotle, still valued the soul, though he did not share his teacher's conviction of its heavenly origin as the principle of life higher than the body. For him it was the soul that molds the matter of the body into a piece of art, a living man. The Stoics combined this view with another line of development in which "body" became a designation of unity. The old idea of the human body as a small world *(mikrokosmos),* parallel and related to the great body *(makrokosmos),* the universe, was revived. The soul belongs to the body and is part of it as the power of life within it. Within the great body of the universe, it permeates everything; initially faintly present in the rocks, with gradually increasing concentration in the plants, animals, and men. Thus, man is part of the universe; the same life-spirit that permeates the whole world is, in its most concentrated form, to be found in the human mind. Conversely, the universe is a body governed by Zeus, the highest god, or heaven, or the divine mind or *logos* (Cornutus, *Theol. Graec.* 20; Orph. *Fr.* 21a; Philo *Fuga* 108–13; *Somn* 1.144; *Quaes Ex* 2.117). A heroic or otherwise impressive death would be the last touch of the artist perfecting his piece of art. Epicurus shares with the Stoics the conviction of the bodily quality of the soul. He, therefore, prefers to speak of "flesh" instead of "body," since "the desire of the belly is the first impact and root of every good" (*Fr.* 409), though the pleasures of the soul are higher than those of the flesh (D.L. 10.137). For him, death is the natural biological end of life.

**C. The NT**

**1. Body and Soul.** In the NT, the OT wholistic view of man continues to dominate, though the Greek word *sōma* is now used. "Body" designates in the same way the whole man who can be raised after death (Matt 27:52; Acts 9:40; John 2:21; Rom 8:11; 1 Cor 6:14). The "soul" is its life-power, continually renewed by eating and drinking (Matt 6:25). Matthew 10:28 speaks, in a unique way, of those who are able to kill the body but not the soul (the latter phrase is lacking in Luke 12:4), though man remains soul and body after his death. This is understandable when we consider Paul's concept of a "spiritual body" over against a "psychic" (earthly) one. It is the body that will be raised, though it will be changed and not remain "flesh and blood" (1 Cor 15:50–51; Phil 3:21). Once (2 Cor 5:8), Paul speaks of the believers' wish to "emigrate from the body," and of the destruction of "the earthly tent" (5:1). V 3 may be interpreted "so that by putting it on, we may not be found naked"; however, a more probable reading is "provided that, stripped [of earthly body] we shall not be found naked." Be this as it may, it is clear that Paul does not expect any "nakedness" of a pure soul, not even for the interim between death and parousia, but a new "clothing" that will be "life swallowing up what is mortal" (v 4). Most surprising is 2 Cor 12:3, where Paul relates, in a sarcastically boastful manner, a most extraordinary experience of being taken up to paradise and seeing unspeakable things. Moreover, he is not even interested in the miracle as such; whether he ascended to heaven "in the body" or not is of little concern to him. Only the fact that he had been there has meaning for him; whether or not this might be something like a soul that is able to leave the body (as Platonists would think) is insignificant. Rather, Paul states that after the resurrection God's spirit takes the place of the former soul (1 Cor 15:44). Strictly speaking, the soul is the life of the earthly

body and, hence, is limited by the body's existence (as with the Stoics or Epicureans). As such the soul can, in one respect, be negatively contrasted to the spirit, since it is open to the influence of demons or any kind of desires (Jas 3:15; Jude 18–19). As such the soul is, according to Philo (*Leg All* 3.246–47), equivalent to the earth cursed by God (Gen 3:17). In another respect, it is also the place of listening to and trusting in God. Thus, God's spirit is already living in earthly men, if and when they do not remain merely "psychic" (literally "soulish") men (1 Cor 2:14). That means that God's spirit, and with it the life that is no longer perishable, is, up to some degree, already found within the earthly body. This is the view of John 11:25–26. In Jesus, the resurrection and the life are already present. Certainly the body will die, but the new life that the spirit of God has begun to build in each person individually will live on.

**2. The Physical Body of Man.** Since there is no word for "body" in the OT (except when designating a corpse or a slave), it is not surprising that the term rarely occurs in Jesus' teachings. Nonetheless, there is some emphasis on life in its bodily form; e.g., Jesus' healing restores the "body" of a sick person (Mark 5:29), and the disciples' obedience concerns their bodies, i.e., that they should not commit adultery (Matt 5:29) or become the cause of anxiety (6:25) or fear (10:28). This becomes central in Paul's letters:to present one's body as a living sacrifice (but not in martyrdom as in 1 Cor 13:3) is one's spiritual worship (Rom 12:1). Even Paul himself must "pommel and subdue" his body in the service of his Lord (1 Cor 9:27). It is the body, not the soul, that is the temple of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor 6:19–20). In the apostle's body, i.e., in his "mortal flesh," the death and the life of Jesus are manifest, as, for instance, in the marks of many whippings (2 Cor 4:10–11; 11:24–25; Gal 6:17). In the last judgment, one is to be responsible for what he/she has done "in the body" (2 Cor 5:10). Thus, "body" is much more than a mere physical instrument (like, e.g., the stomach); it always belongs either to Christ or to other powers (e.g., to sin and death, or to a prostitute; Rom 6:6; 7:24; 1 Cor 6:13, 15). In this body the grace of God transforms the new life of man. Because the believers were "bought with a price" by God's grace, it is in their bodies that God will be glorified (1 Cor 6:20). Hence, all who have been baptized into Christ Jesus' death can no longer allow sin to reign in their mortal bodies (Rom 6:3, 12).

**3. The Lord's Supper.** The words of institution during the Last Supper of Jesus are handed down in mainly two different versions. Paul writes to the Corinthians (ca. A.D. 50), "I received from the Lord what I also delivered to you, that … he … took bread … and said, 'This is my body which is for you …'In the same way also the cup, after supper, saying, 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood …' " (1 Cor 11:23–25). In Mark 14:22–24 these words of institution are rendered differently:"Take, this my body," and "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many" (written around A.D. 70). Paul's version seems to be, on the whole, the more ancient one. It shows that the first word was separated from the second by a whole meal ("after the supper"). It is, therefore, not surprising that the two sayings are, originally, not perfectly parallel. It is to be expected that gradually they would have been harmonized during the tradition in the NT and especially in modern liturgies. If Mark's version, in which the first statement, "This is my body," runs parallel to the second, "This is my blood," was the original, then we should expect the constantly recurring combination "flesh" and "blood," because "body" and "blood" are never combined in Hebrew or Greek (except, perhaps, in Job 6:14), and "body" does not designate an offering except in Gen 15:11 (referred to in *Apoc. Ab.* 13:3). Differently, the cup in 1 Chr 11:25 (the wine is never mentioned!) is identified with the new covenant, not with the blood, which excludes the idea of drinking blood, horrifying for a Jew. Some scholars argue that this proposed original Markan formula (according to which the disciples drank before Jesus spoke his word of institution, identifying the cup with his blood) was changed to the less offensive form found in Paul's tradition. But would Jesus ever have identified the cup with his blood without pointing in some way to the scandalous character of drinking it (as in the passage of John 6:52–56, probably part of a later church liturgy)? The phrase "which is for you" (1 Cor 11:24) may have been originally lacking (as in Mark 14:24). However, the idea of a vicarious death is implied in 1 Cor 11:25 ("in my blood," cf. Exod 25:8–11), since in the time of Jesus the sacrifice of the covenant was also regarded as being expiatory. Since the Aramaic word for "body" *(gûpā)* can designate the "I" of a person, Jesus may have meant that he himself would be present with his disciples whenever they ate the bread. The implication of the second formula would then have led to

greater emphasis on Jesus' readiness to give up his life ("in my blood"). In the Pauline tradition, the latter was made explicit by combining the words "which is for you" with "body" (cf. Luke 22:19; Heb 10:5, 10; 1 Pet 2:24), and in the Markan tradition by the combination of the "blood" with "poured out for many." Thus, the Lord's Supper reenacts the new covenant in the present communion of the participants with God and their fellow disciples (especially in Paul). This communion is based on the past sacrifice of Jesus (especially in Mark) and is the pledge for the future eschatological fulfillment of the meal in the kingdom of God and the parousia of Christ (1 Cor 11:26; Mark 14:25; Matt 26:29; with special emphasis in Luke 22:15–18). All reports contain this threefold orientation toward the past, the present, and the future.

**4. The Body of Christ.** When, according to the eucharist tradition, Jesus spoke of "my body," he spoke of his future presence with his disciples as a presence "for you" (added in the Pauline tradition and implied from the beginning in the word about the cup). Hence, "body" is not so much used as a designation of an individual person in and of himself/herself, but rather points to someone's being, living, and acting in relationship with others. Any body is in one sense limited by its form and contour (e.g., a human body by its skin); in another sense it is a means of contact and communication (e.g., seeing through the eyes, hearing with the ears, touching with the hands, walking with the legs). It is in this latter sense that Jesus uses the term in the Last Supper, and that Paul uses it generally. Thus, the "body of Christ" is, primarily, Christ himself crucified for the sake of his disciples (Rom 7:4; Col 1:22). In the Lord's Supper, "participation in" (or "communion with") the body of Christ takes place in such a way that it transforms the "many" into "one body," since all partake of the same bread. In order to emphasize this interpretation of the oneness of the Church, the apostle speaks in 1 Cor 10:16–17 first of the cup, and then of the bread, reversing the usual order. "In Christ" they all become "one body" (Rom 12:5).

As far as this expression goes, Paul's wording is not unusual linguistically. A Greek would have easily understood the phrase "a body of believers" or "all believers becoming one body." However, Paul intends to say more than that. The Christians do not simply become unified by a common belief (e.g., in Jesus giving his body for them). Rather, they become "the body of Christ" (1 Cor 12:27) because they are "baptized into one body" (v 13). This "one body" is Christ's body, as the preceding verse illustrates:"As the body is one and has many members … so is Christ." In baptism, the believers are actually brought into Christ himself. Therefore, they did not call themselves "Christians" (as those outside of the Church would do; Acts 11:26; 26:28; 1 Pet 4:16), as if the newness were their own attribute; rather, they call themselves "those in Christ," because what distinguishes them from others is Christ himself, whom they had "put on" in baptism like a garment and in whom they are now living (Gal 3:27–29). This is why Paul, when using the term of the body of Christ (or in Christ) always speaks collectively of the communion with God or Christ as opposed to that of an individual believer. In 1 Cor 6:15–17 he states that an individual man "becomes one body with a prostitute," but when speaking of "becoming one with the Lord," he replaces "body" by "spirit." As members of the Church, "the body of Christ" is of primary importance, whereas its "individual members" are secondary. This is also typical of Jewish thinking which (according to M. Buber) sees a forest not as a sum of many trees (the typical occidental perspective) but the individual trees always as part of the whole forest (see also H. W. Robinson [1936]).

Nonetheless, there is no doubt that Christ also remains the lord of his Church (Rom 10:9; 1 Cor 12:3; etc.). Unity with Christ becomes effective in an event which creates a new relationship, not in a unity of substance shared by Christ and his Church. Thus, it is a dynamic unity of life, not a static one of unchangeable quality. This is what the Corinthians, who attached an almost magical effectiveness to the sacraments (1 Cor 15:29; 10:1–13), could not understand. The difficult saying of 1 Cor 11:27, "Whoever eats the bread or drinks the cup in an unworthy manner will be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord" means basically the same as 8:11–12:whoever becomes "a stumbling block to the weak" (v 9), i.e., "the brother for whom Christ died … sins against Christ." According to 8:11–12 this happens when "knowledge puffs up in the congregation" (8:1); according to 11:27, it happens when the congregation does not wait for the latecomers (11:22, 33). In the context of the Lord's Supper, Paul uses the term "body and blood of the Lord" instead of "Christ who died for him/them." In the same way "my body which is for you" (1 Cor 11:24) means "I myself dying for you." Thus 11:27 declares that sinning against the

brothers/sisters is sinning against Christ himself. Hence, the unity of the body of Christ ceases to exist for those who, by their actions, place themselves outside the realm of the living Christ. Therefore, Paul uses the term "body of Christ" only within the context of parenesis (see the works of Daines; Guénel; Gundry; Jewett 1971:201–304; and Wedderburn). This is not the case in Colossians and Ephesians (see below); however, the identification of Christ with the head of the body (Col 1:18; Eph 1:22–23; 4:15–16; 5:23) implies his authority over all the actions of his congregation.

The origin of the phrase "body of Christ" is difficult to determine. Four sources have been suggested: (1) a gnostic myth of a primeval man; (2) the Hellenistic idea of the universe as a divine body; (3) a Stoic parable; and (4) the Jewish view of a patriarch representing the whole present and future tribe. Gnosticism (1) is out of the question since the idea of a savior's "body" including the saved ones as its members is totally lacking up to the 3d century A.D. except in some occasional reminiscences of a Pauline phrase in Christian Gnosticism (Fischer 1973:62–68). The view of the universe as a (divine) "body" (2) and the corresponding designation of powers (in Christian writings:of believers) as "members" is, however, present in Hellenistic text (Plato, *Ti.* 30b, 31b, 32a, c, 39e; Philetaer. 30a; Diod. Sic. 1, 2, 6; Orph. *Fr.* 21a; Orph. *H.* 11.3; 66. 6–9; etc.). In Stoic texts (3), one also encounters the parable of a body whose members are dependent upon one another. This parable was first used to illustrate how working labor needs the idle nobility in the same manner as the working members of the body need the stomach to digest food (Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita* 2.32; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 33.16). In 1 Cor 12:14–26 the term "body [of Christ]" is also used parabolically to show that neither inferiority nor superiority complexes are able to endanger the unity of the congregation. This is certainly parallel to and influenced by the Stoic usage. However, Paul says more than that (see above).

Two possible roots of a nonparabolic usage (or parallels to it, which make it linguistically possible) should be noted. First, the contemporary Hellenistic view of the universe (2) was that of a body permeated and governed by God (or heaven, or Logos). Since Plato, this body was regarded as a divine one, though probably not explicitly as a "body of God." This is the understanding of the body of Christ in Colossians and Ephesians, and it is possible that Paul "decosmologized" the Greek conception, reducing it to a description of the Church (not of the world) and coining the unusual phrase "body of Christ." Colossians and Ephesians would, in this case, have reverted to the original view.

Secondly, the Jewish background (4) may be important. John 15:1 identifies Christ with the true vine, the constant symbol of Israel, which even in Jesus' time was seen as a vine of cosmic dimensions reaching from the abyss to heaven, where the vine becomes the "house of God" *(L.A.B.).* In John 15:1 the Son of Man (identified in Ps 79:12 LXX with the "vine" of God) is the new Jacob, and Jacob, according to Gen 35:10, is Israel. The patriarch qualifies his people; it is through Abraham that Israel is the holy people of God, through Jacob that Israel is blessed (*Jub* 2:20; 19:27–29), and through Adam that all humankind has become sinful (2 Esdr 7:118; cf. Wis 10:1, 4); also to his (Adam's) glory part of Israel will be restored (1QS 4:23; 1QH 17:15; CD 3:20; 4QpPs 37, 3:1). Thus, in many texts, the patriarch is identical to his tribe or nation:"Adam" (in Hebrew) means "humankind," and Jacob is called "Israel" by God himself. In the same way, Jesus is the new Israel in John 15:1. The vine, apart from which they can do nothing (v 5), includes all its branches, just as the body, apart from which they can do nothing, includes all its members. However, while John 15 sees Jesus as the true vine or Israel, Paul views him as the one "offspring" of Abraham in whom all become one (Gal 3:16, 28), or even the Adam of latter times, "in whom" all are made alive (1 Cor 15:22, 45; cf. Rom 5:12–19). The idea of a patriarch determining the future tribe is originally temporal. It is still alive in the reference to Jacob's experience which is fulfilled in the Son of Man (i.e., Jesus), and in the Church being the offspring of Abraham. However, it is converted by John and Paul to a rather spatial imagery of the vine with its branches or the body and its members. The same can be seen in Gal 4:25–26, where the temporal term "the present Jerusalem" is replaced by a spatial one, "the Jerusalem above." Perhaps it is not possible to decide definitively for either a Hellenistic or a Jewish background, since there was so much cultural interaction between the Jewish idea of a patriarch determining the destiny of humankind and the Hellenistic idea of God's spirit or Logos ruling and permeating the world.

**5. Colossians and Ephesians.** The hymn in Col 1:15–20 praises Christ's lordship over the whole creation and adds, "He is the head of the body." Compared with earlier Pauline passages, two anomalies are obvious. First, we find "the body," not "the body of Christ" or "his body." Secondly, the hymn speaks of "the body" three times in terms of "all [created] things," and suggests that Christ is the head of the principalities and authorities (1:16; cf. 2:10). Both of the above points are typical of the Hellenistic conception of the universe as "the body" whose "head" is Zeus or Logos. This is indeed what "body" must have originally meant in the context of the hymn, since the Church enters the chain of thought only from v 18b on. The author of the letter, a disciple of Paul (or possibly Paul in a later stage of his life), adapted the phrase to a theological context with the explanatory addition "the Church" (cf. 1:24; 3:15). This transfer of the Greek view of the world to ecclesiology guards the Pauline understanding of the Church as the body of Christ from an abusive identification of the Church with Christ himself (the Church as a "prolonged Christ") by emphasizing Christ's role as the head (2:19). Thus, Christ is head over all creation (2:10, 15) for the Church, which is his body and derives all its strength and growth from him (2:19). In Eph 1:22–23 both statements are combined (cf. 4:15–16), while in Eph 2:16 it is difficult to decide whether the "one body," through which Jews and gentiles are reconciled, means the crucified body of Christ, as suggested by the parallel phrase "in [or by] the blood of Christ" in v 13 (cf. Col 1:22), or, more probably, the Church as Christ's body, as suggested by the images of "one new man" (v 15) and "the whole structure" of "the holy temple" (v 21), into which Jews and gentiles have been brought.

The headship of Christ is certainly no authoritarian power; he rules by filling his body with his own spirit (1:23; 4:10; cf. Col 2:19). Thus, as the head he is the savior of his body (Eph 5:23). In the same way, the husband is the head of his wife, who in turn is his body (Eph 5:23, 28). Even a modern interpreter, critical of this phrase, would note that the Greek text of v 22 says merely "the wives to their husbands," because their behavior is only one example of what is expected from all members; i.e., "Be subject to one another out of reverence for Christ …" (v 21). Furthermore, the unity of husband and wife is taken so seriously that "loving his wife as he would his own body" involves "loving himself," because both are "one flesh" (vv 28, 31). The traditional formula of the wife being her husband's "own flesh" (see Sir 25:26; *L. A. E.* 3) emphasizes her status as his property. In Ephesians 5, though still within the context of the patriarchalism of that time, it has been transformed into an image of the oneness of a most intimate love, which is demonstrated through the readiness of the one partner to live for the sake of the other.

**D. Summary**

Through the Greek language Judaism acquired the word *sōma,* "body." The middle Platonism of the NT period would have strongly suggested a view of man as principally soul, and an understanding of life as a gradual separation of the ego (the soul) from the body and its physical impediment, where death becomes the final liberation. It was, however, the OT background and especially the life and teaching of Jesus that provided the NT with an understanding of the body as a means of communication and mutual help and love among members of the body of Christ (and even beyond to nonbelievers). The climax of this view is manifest in Jesus' body, always open to God's spirit and willing to become the final sacrifice on the cross for the sake of all people.

The Stoicism of the 1st century A.D. would have suggested with equal strength a view of man as part of a harmonious universe where God's spirit could be found everywhere. Again it was the OT and Jesus that made it impossible to equate God and the world. God's spirit is not merely a life power in creation; it is the spirit manifested in Jesus' service and given to his disciples at Pentecost. Therefore, the "divine body" is not simply the totality of nature with its beautiful and beneficial forces (but also with its cruel and destructive forces), but rather "the body of Christ," i.e., the unity of all individuals who allow themselves to be helped, loved, and permeated by Jesus, who gave his earthly body "for many." Every Lord's Supper reminds his Church that it is only in this body that his believers will find real life forever. Through his promise at the Last Supper, the body and blood of Jesus, offered as a sacrifice, become present and real again for the participants in every Lord's Supper, granting them the quality of the one people of God and, at the same time, obliging them to live this oneness of Jew and Greek, lord and slave, man and woman realistically time and again, to be and to become the "body of Christ," until he comes.

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**BOHAN, STONE OF** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾeben bōhan* (אֶבֶן בֹּהַן)]. A site located on the N border of the territory of Judah (Josh 15:6) and consequently the S boundary of Benjamin (Josh 18:17). It is apparently near the top of the descent from the highlands down to the Jordan River, just a few miles N and W of the Dead Sea.

By its name, it is a topographical feature which was known in the period, and not necessarily a settlement. The exact location of the stone is debated, and the lack of any further reference to a son of Reuben named Bohan does not aid the process of identification. The tribe of Reuben was allocated land in Transjordan (Josh 13:8), so a site in this area has been proposed (*GTTOT* 405). Since the OT description of the boundary between the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin starts at one end of the confluence of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, and runs W from there based on the identifiable sites (Josh 15:5), a location to the W rather than the E of the Jordan is indicated. The association with Reuben could simply be the memory of an undetermined influence of the tribe on the W bank as well as in Transjordan (Woudstra *Joshua* NICOT, 236).

Bohan could be a Heb noun, "thumb," and not a proper name at all (Noth 1966:69). It would then most probably describe a rocky outcrop or pillar of the period that in some way resembled a thumb. This does not treat the present Heb text with integrity, however, since the biblical description "son of Reuben" indicates that, for the author at least, Bohan was a proper name.

Some currently existing topographical features have been proposed as the location of the stone (Boling *Joshua* AB, 366; *HGB* 119), but none of the proposals are compelling.

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**BOIL.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**BOND.** A biblical word often referring to something that restricts one's freedom.

**A. Old Testament**

In the OT the word "bond" is used to refer to a state of servitude, or "bondage." Thus "bondmaid" (Exod 23:12) and "bondwoman" (Deut 15:17) are used for the Heb *ʾāmāh,* generally "maidservant" as in their parallel texts (Exod 23:12=Exod 20:8; Deut 15:17=Exod 21:6). Similarly, "bondman" is used for Heb *ʿebed* (Deut 15:17; Ezra 9:9), usually "slave" or "servant."

A like interpretation is warranted for the phrase "bond or free" (Heb *ʿāṣûr wĕʿāzûb;* Deut 32:36; 1 Kgs 14:10; 21:10; 2 Kgs 9:8; 14:26). The pairing of *ʿzb* with *ʿbd* in Ezra 9:9 would seem to support the implications of servitude. The repeated threats to destroy "every male" of the royal houses of Jeroboam I and Ahab of Israel, "both bond and free," however, imply a broader sense of the phrase, because members of the ruling family did not likely continue in slavery. In these cases, "bond and free" designates those still under the bond of parental authority and especially sustenance, along with those who had been freed

from the protection and authority of their parents. The phrase is a merism denoting opposing extremes in the designated group and encompassing all members of it.

In both the singular and the plural, the noun *môsēr* serves as a general term for "chains," "fetters," or the like, as both the symbol and reality of servitude. Isa 52:2 and Jer 30:8, for instance, refer to the bonds or chains of the neck. Expressions of liberation include "to loose the bonds" (Job 12:18; 39:5; Ps 116:16) and "to burst/break bonds asunder" (Pss 2:3; 107:14). Conversely, *môsēr,* "bond," also functions as a positive metaphor for the law (Jer 2:20; 5:5; 30:8) as that which binds the people to Yahweh. As punishment for breaking these "bonds," Yahweh will subject both people and leaders to foreign servitude. Later, however, he will "break the bonds" of their foreign masters, and Israel will return to "serve" Yahweh and the Davidic king.

The noun *ʾāsûr* is used literally of the restraints with which Samson was bound by his Philistine captors (Judg 15:14), and the cognate adjective *ʾāsîr* as a figure of captives not forgotten by their God (Ps 69:33). To "loose the bonds [*rĕṣubbôt*] of wickedness" is the "fast" which God desires of Israel (Isa 58:6).

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**B. New Testament**

Two words in the NT can have the meaning "bond": *sundesmos* and *desmos* (BAGD 1957:175, 793). Col 2:19 uses *sundesmos* to refer to the sinews of the body (for comparative Hellenistic usage, cf. LSJM, 1701; Fitzer *TDNT* 7:857). In accordance with other Hellenistic usage (Plut. *Num.* 6.3 where Numa is the Sabines' "bond of good will and friendship" with Rome; Simplicius *in Epict.* 30/89.15, "the Pythagoreans … called friendship the bond of all the virtues"), Col 3:14 uses the word metaphorically to speak of love as the bond *(sundesmos)* of perfection. This could be understood as the bond of all the virtues or as the bond that leads to perfection or perfect harmony (Lohse *Colossians and Philippians* Hermeneia, 148–49). To keep the unity of the spirit the Ephesians are called to the bond *(sundesmos)* of unrighteousness (unrighteousness is the bond) in Acts 8:23 (cf. Isa 58:6).

Jesus releases the bond *(desmos)* from a deaf mute's tongue (Mark 7:35). A. Deissmann understands it to be a demonic bond (1978:304–7) by using ancient magic texts and by referring to Luke 13:16, where Satan's bond kept a woman bent over for eighteen years. But nature could place a bond on the tongue in Hellenistic thought (Nonnus *Dion.* 26.261; Bacchus heals it in 26.287). Wettstein (*NovTG*[26] on Mark 7:35) gives uses of *desmos* as a term for mute tongues. "Bond" can refer to physical objects used to bind persons as in Acts 16:26 (stocks for feet:for a description of one kind with five holes, cf. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.27). The word refers to head and foot chains in Luke 8:29 and to eternal chains in Jude 6. An ambiguity occurs because the word can be used to refer to prison (and not physical bonds) as in LXX Isa 42:7; 49:9. Bonds were the rule in Roman imprisonment (Hitzig 1899:1581) but not in every case (see two laws in Ulp. *Digest* 50.16.216 and Sever. *Codex Iust* 2.11.1). Whether texts such as Phil 1:7, 13 should be translated as "imprisonment" or "bonds" [in a physical sense]" is an unsolved question since the context does not clearly indicate which meaning is present. (See the varying interpretations in BAGD [175] and Gnilka *Philippians* HTKNT, 47, 56).

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**BOOTHS, FEAST OF.** One of ancient Israel's three giant annual feasts, celebrated in autumn. See CALENDARS, ANCIENT ISRAELITE AND EARLY JEWISH.

**BOR-ASHAN** (PLACE) [Heb *bôr ʿāšān* (בּוֹר עָשָׁן)]. See ASHAN.

**BORITH** (PERSON) [Lat *Borith*]. See BUKKI.

**BOSOR** (PLACE) [Gk *Bosor* (Βοσορ)]. One of five sites in Gilead in which Jews were taken captive by gentile inhabitants (1 Macc 5:25, 36). The city is usually identified with Buṣr el-Ḥarīri, approximately 70 km E of the Sea of Galilee, perhaps the same site as "Bezer in the wilderness" mentioned in Deut 4:43 (Tedesche and Zeitlin 1950:115). Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 301) argues cogently that ALEMA is the district within which Bosor lies, rather than being a separate city.

Judas Maccabeus' early successes, including retaking the temple in 164 B.C. led to gentile reprisals. Many Jews in Gilead fled to a stronghold at the city of Dathema, from which they sent word to Judas for help. En route to rescue the refugees, Judas encountered Nabateans, who told him that Jews were under attack in the cities of Bozrah, Bosor-in-Alema, Chaspho, Maked, and Carnaim, as well as other cities (1 Macc 5:24–27). Judas detoured from Dathema to rescue Jews in Bozrah first, then in Dathema, and finally in the other cities.

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**BOUGAEAN** (PLACE) [Gk *Bougaios* (Βουγαιος)]. An epithet used to describe Haman in Add Esth 12:6, by the LXX in Esth 3:1 (for the Heb *hā›agāgi*), and as an addition in 9:10. The precise significance of the designation is disputed. Because the meaning of the term is obscure, some scholars have argued that the term is simply a corruption of the Gk *agagaios* or "agagite" (Gregg *APOT* 673–74; Newman *IDB* 1:458). Noting that the term is replaced by the word "Macedonian" in Esth 9:24, some scholars have argued that it is simply a Homeric term of reproach (*Iliad* 13.824; *Odyssey* 18.79), meaning "bully" or "braggart" (Haupt 1908:141). A third view has been advanced by Hoschander (1923:23–27) and Lewy (1939:134–35), who argue that the term *bougaios* is derived from the word *baga.* A West Iranian religious term, meaning "god," these scholars have argued that it refers specifically to Mithra and that, therefore, the designation *bougaios* means "worshipper of Mithra" (Lewy 1939:135). If this is so, then the use of the word may be one small piece of evidence favoring the argument that the book of Esther, as well as the festival of Purim, is of non-Jewish origin (Moore *Esther* AB, xlviii–xlix). Owing to the limited amount of evidence available, however, it may be impossible to choose between the options (Moore *Esther* AB, 36; *Daniel, Esther, Jeremiah:The Additions* AB, 178).

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**BOWL.** See POTTERY (CHRONOLOGY).

**BOX TREE.** See FLORA.

**BOZEZ** (PLACE) [Heb *bôṣēṣ* (בּוֹצֵץ)]. An outcropping of rock in the pass between GEBA and MICHMASH (1 Sam 14:4). This outcropping figures in the story in which Jonathan, the son of Saul, initiates the defeat of the Philistines at Michmash. Bozez apparently occupied the N side of the pass, while an outcropping named SENEH stood on the S side. The names of the two outcroppings reflect their formidable appearance. Seneh means "The Thorny One" while Bozez means either "The Gleaming One" or "The Miry One" (see McCarter *1 Samuel* 239). The exact location of these two outcroppings has not been mapped with precision, though it is generally agreed that they must lie upon the Wadi eṣ-Ṣuweinit, which runs between Geba and Michmash, in the middle of the triangle defined by Jerusalem, Bethel, and Jericho (see *NHT* 106; *MBA* 60).

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**BOZKATH** (PLACE) [Heb *boṣqat* (בָּצְקַת)]. A town situated in the Shephelah, or low country, of Judah (Josh 15:39), within the same district as Lachish and Eglon. This settlement is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62; see also BETH-DAGON). Jedidah, mother of Josiah, was the daughter of Adaiah of Bozkath (2 Kgs 22:1). The location of the ancient settlement is unknown.

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**BOZRAH** (PLACE) [Heb *boṣrâ* (בָּצְרָה)]. Three sites of antiquity possessed this name. Two are mentioned in the Hebrew Bible and the third is mentioned in the apocryphal writings and secular sources.

**1. Bozrah in Edom.** According to Gen 36:33 and 1 Chr 1:44, Bozrah was associated with Jobab the son of Zerah, one of the Edomite kings (whether his place of origin or his residence is unclear), and periodically it was the capital and administrative center of the Edomite state. Apart from these, the only other references to Bozrah in the OT are all in the woe-oracles against the nations (Isa 34:6; 63:1; Jer 49:13, 22; Amos 1:12; and perhaps Mic 2:12 [read **baṣṣirâ*]). These defy concrete historical evaluation and their authenticity and dating are uncertain. Because of their apocalyptic character (Isa 34:6, 63:1) they can probably be dated to the postexilic period.

Bozrah, the ancient capital of Edom, is without a doubt to be identified with the modern village of Buseirah, which is located in N Edom (M.R. 208018). It guards both the Kings' Highway (the major N–S route through Transjordan) and a major route W to the Wadi Arabah and thence to the Negeb and S Judah. It is also within striking distance of the Edomite copper mines in the Wadi Dana and Wadi Feinan some 10–15 km SSW.

It is situated W of the Kings' Highway on a projecting spur, steep on the N, W, and E sides, with easy access only from the S. In addition to this natural defensive position, strong walls enclose a site of some 3200 $m^2$. No water source has been found within the site, the main supply probably being the spring at ʿAin Jenin, about one km E, which until recently was also the source for the modern village.

Excavations at the site have been undertaken by C.-M. Bennett (1971–74) and the British Institute at Amman for Archaeology and History (1980). These have revealed a large, fortified site with monumental public buildings, far larger than any other site in the region. Two major phases of occupation have been found in all the excavated areas, with numerous rebuildings and subphases. Exact dating has not yet been determined, but both phases would appear to fall within the confines of the 7th–6th centuries B.C. There is no evidence for occupation earlier than the 8th century B.C.

Four main areas have been excavated. See Fig. BOZ.01. Area A, the highest point on the site and the so-called "acropolis," contains large public buildings. Areas B and D, to the SW and NE of Area A respectively, contain private dwellings. Area B also contains a postern gate. Area C, to the S of Area A, contains more monumental buildings, probably residential but of higher quality than those in B or D. Thick plaster floors are in use in all areas.

Two successive large buildings occupy the acropolis (Area A). Building A, the later, measures 48 m N–S and 36 m E–W and is "winged," i.e., the corners curve outward. It is similar to the Assyrian courtyard building and hence has usually been assigned to the Neo-Assyrian period (734–610 B.C.), but Bennett notes (1977:3) that "the discovery of stratified Persian pottery in a late phase in a similar building in Area C has given rise to doubt." Building A overlies the S part of Building B.

The plan of the N part of Building B is clear, consisting of a large courtyard (ca. 10 × 15 m), a central cistern, rooms on the N, E, and W sides, and external access in the NW corner. A monumental entrance, consisting of shallow steps flanked by a column plinth on each side, leads to the S part of the building, the plan of which is mostly obscured. It would seem, however, that this is the more important part of the building for which the courtyard was an entrance or antechamber. Bennett (1977:6) suggests that this

might be a temple, the outer area being for purification. A palace or governor's residence would also be a plausible interpretation with the outer area being for general admission.

Area B is a section of the outer defensive wall with a postern gate. The defensive wall is approximately 3.5 m thick at the base and still stands to a height of 3.8 m. At some points the wall was strengthened by the addition of casemates. Domestic houses of rough stone were built against the casemates. A narrow gateway provided access during the main phases of the site. It was blocked in the final phase and the whole area used as a pottery dump.

Area C lies S of the acropolis and covers an area of approximately 67 × 105 m. It contains a large residential complex, not dissimilar in plan to Building A in Area A. Persian pottery was found in the latest phase of Area C. A bath complex suggests the residence of a very important official.

Area D is a small area of domestic houses built on rough stone construction. Several phases of occupation have been identified, some utilizing mudbrick.

All the excavations at Buseirah have taken place in the upper town, which is isolated from the lower town by a battered enclosure wall (see Fig. BOZ.01). It is unclear whether the lower town was residential or mainly open.

Dating for the two main phases at Buseirah has so far not been determined. The earlier phase is probably Assyrian, the later Babylonian/Persian, but there is no evidence to attribute the transition to the Babylonian campaign of 587/586 B.C. which had such a devastating effect on Jerusalem and the cities W of the Jordan. Edomite relations with Babylon at this point appear to have been cordial. The transition is likely to have occurred (supported by the late pottery from Area C) ca. 550 B.C. when the Babylonian king, Nabonidus, passed through Edom on his way to the N Arabian oasis of Teima.

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**2. Bozrah in Moab.** The Moabite town, situated on the Mishor *(mîšōr),* is mentioned in a list of geographical places, which are the objects of the woe-oracles against Moab (Jer 48:21–24). This list can hardly be accredited to Jeremiah and is probably a secondary addition. Bozrah may be identical with Bezer *(beṣer),* with which it is etymologically related (Deut 4:43; Josh 20:8; 21:36; and 1 Chr 6:63—Eng 6:78; one of the cities of refuge belonging to Reuben), and *bṣr* of the Mesha Inscription (*ANET* 320–21; line 27; cf. Euseb., *Onomast.* 46.8.11, Bosor; Josephus, *Ant* 4.173). Although Barāzēn and Umm el-ʿAmed E of Heshbon have been suggested, the exact location of Bozrah is unknown.

**3. Bozrah in Ḥaurān.** Bozrah lies on one of the fruitful and water-rich plains of S Ḥaurān at the important intersection of the N–S route, which leads from Damascus through the Transjordan to the Hejaz, with the E–W route, on which one could travel from the Mediterranean to Mesopotamia. The ancient site is identical with the modern village Buṣra ash-Shām (32°31′N; 36°29′E), which lies E of Adraa (Derʿā) (cf. Euseb., *Onomast.* 12.14; 13.14; 84.9; 85.8–9). The earliest attestations of Bozrah are in an Egyptian Execration Text as *bw $d^3$nw* (Posener 1940: E 27) and in the list of conquered Palestinian cities, compiled under Thutmose III, found at Karnak, as *$b^3d^3$rwwn$^3$ (bdrwn).* The literary evidence of the place name ceases after two attestations in the Amarna Letters (197:13 and 199:13; *Buṣruna*). (The Ugaritic site *bṣry* cannot be identified with any of the Bozrahs discussed here. It ought, rather, to be located in the environs of Ugarit. The site of *URU Ba-as-re-e* mentioned in the Assyrian sources is unknown.)

Little is known about pre-Nabatean Bozrah since archaeological excavations (apart from the reconstruction of visibly preserved architectural remains) have only begun. The only settlements

(excluding those from prehistory) which can be archaeologically verified are from the LB and from the 2d century B.C.

Bozrah's history is again attested in written sources beginning in the Hellenistic age when Judas Maccabeus conquered Bozrah (1 Macc 5:26, 28; probably Bosorra instead of Bosor, cf. Jos., *Ant* 12.336). It is not known if the town was ruled by the Seleucids, was independent, or was perhaps autonomous. It is likely that Bozrah gradually came under Nabatean control, was slowly incorporated into the state, and soon became its most important city (Bostra Dousaria) except for Petra. This development paralleled the decline of the Seleucid empire. Bozrah's importance remained unchanged from approximately 25 B.C. to A.D. 93. During this time Herod the Great (*JW* 1.398; 2.215), Philip (*JW* 2.95; *Ant* 17.319), and Agrippa I and II (*JW* 2.215) reigned over Aurantis, which was briefly incorporated into the Roman province of Syria (A.D. 34–37).

Following Trajan's annexation of the Nabatean empire, Bozrah became the capital of the newly created Roman province of Arabia in A.D. 106 and remained such throughout all of the expansions and divisions of this province. The status of a *polis*, with its own era (22 March 106) along with the right to mint its own coins, was bestowed upon Bozrah. It also became the garrison of the Legio III Cyrenaica. The city prospered from the construction and enlargement of the Via Nova Traiana. Two Safaitic inscriptions divulge that the city *(bṣry)*, which was promoted to the status of a colony by the Severans (Nea Traiana Alexandriana Colonia Bostra) and to a metropolis *(Mētropolis tēs Arabias)* by Philippus Arabs, had to subject itself to an invasion by the Sassanians (A.D. 253 or 256).

The city's prosperity was due to its important commercial and political position, which enabled it to export grain, wine, and other commodities and to profit from commission and caravan trade with the rest of Syria, Mesopotamia, the Mediterranean coast, and especially N Arabia. Monumental buildings such as the theater, the thermal bath, the avenues flanked by colonnades, the gateways, and the tetrapylons testify to the prosperity of the city in Roman times. The colorful, multiracial population included not only Arabs (Nabateans and Sassanids), Romans, Greeks, Jews, and Christians but also merchants from Palmyra, a Safaitic colony, and, among the soldiers, foreigners of mixed extraction (Carthaginians, Thracians, Persians, Britons, and perhaps even Goths).

Nothing is known about the inception of Christianity in Bozrah, yet Christianity cannot have appeared much later in Bozrah than in Damascus. At any rate, Bozrah was already the seat of a bishop in the 3d century A.D. and shortly thereafter became the metropolitan seat subject to the patriarch of Antioch. Origen sojourned in Bozrah twice. During his first stay he was employed as a teacher by the governor of the province and during his second visit he attended a synod at which he rebuked the residing bishop Beryll, who had uttered heretical views (Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.* 6.19.15; 33.1–3).

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**BRACELETS.** See JEWELRY.

**BRAMBLE.** See FLORA.

**BRANCH** [Heb *ṣemaḥ* (צֶמַח)]. Branch (Jer 23:5; 33:15; Zech 3:8; 6:12) refers to the legitimate Davidic scion who is associated with Yahweh's postexilic restoration of Israel and Judah.

Debate about the exact meaning of branch has focused upon possible messianic connotations of the word. In Jer 23:5 and 33:15 branch refers to an unspecified future Davidic scion whose reign Yahweh would establish in the postexilic restoration of Israel and Judah. In Zech 3:8 and 6:12 branch refers specifically to Zerubbabel as the Davidic scion (Patterson *Haggai Zechariah 1–8* OTL, 273–78), though the difference between the Zechariah and Jeremiah texts is only the degree of specificity. On the basis of these texts, it has been proposed that branch was a technical term for the Messiah in later Judaism (Baldwin 1964:93–97; cf. Mowinckel 1956:119–22, 160–65). Yet, while the expectation of a Davidic branch in both Zechariah and Jeremiah may have contributed to the development of a messianic expectation in Judaism, uses of the term in other Northwest Semitic languages make it unlikely that the term was originally a messianic designation.

The phrase *ṣmk ṣdk* has been found in a 3d-century B.C.E. Phoenician inscription where it refers to the legitimate king of the Ptolemaic dynasty (Beyerlin 1978:232–34). Holladay (*Jeremiah 1–25* Hermeneia, 617–8) concludes that branch is the usual Northwest Semitic word to designate the legitimate king. At the same time, there seem to be several other Hebrew synonyms which convey the same idea:for instance, shoot *(ḥōṭer)* and sprout *(nēṣer),* both in Isa 11:1 (cf. IDB 1:460–61).

The sense of branch as the legitimate scion is reinforced by studies of *ṣedek* (McKane *Jeremiah 1–25* ICC, 568), which modifies branch in Jeremiah and Semitic occurrences (though in Jer 23:5, cf. Holladay *Jeremiah 1–25* Hermeneia, 616). While *ṣedek* is usually translated "righteous," these studies have suggested numerous Northwest Semitic occurrences where *ṣedek* implies rightful or lawful as a particular nuance of righteous.

Thus, branch, or more specifically righteous branch, should be understood as the legitimate or rightful Davidic scion to the throne of Israel. Especially in Jer 23:5, the legitimacy of this future king contrasts with Zedekiah, whose name suggests legitimacy but who is in fact a Babylonian vassel (Swetnam 1965:29–40).

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**BRAND, CAMEL.** See WASM (CAMEL BRAND).

**BREAD.** Bread includes various kinds of food such as unleavened and leavened bread, porridge, and gruel prepared from cereal grains such as wheat and barley. The term "bread" was also used for solid food in general. In the Bible, bread is a polyvalent symbol, being used both in everyday life and for metaphoric and symbolic purposes.

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A. General Introduction
B. Bread in the Ancient Near East
    1. General Background
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    1. Introduction
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**A. General Introduction**

Many civilizations have developed around the successful cultivation of one main cereal crop such as wheat, rice, or maize. The particular crop raised greatly shaped political, economic, and religious institutions. A large portion of everyday life revolved around the production, distribution, preparation, and consumption of this crop.

Various technologies and tools were necessary for producing different kinds of food from cereals. After the grain was harvested, the husk or bran was removed from the seed. Various means of milling or pounding were used to atomize the endosperm. Different cooking methods, skills, recipes, and utensils were used to produce different kinds of bread.

Humans generally eat only the seeds of cereals, since the outer husk or bran is indigestible. Most of the nutrition of a seed is located in the endosperm. Since the starch in seeds is not easy to digest, humans generally prepare them for consumption. They can be simply parched, toasted, or soaked in water, though more often they are first milled or ground, mixed with liquid, and heated. If the grain is only roughly crushed and the bran is not separated from the rest of the kernel, the product is "meal." If only the kernel, separated from the bran, is very finely ground, "flour" is the result. Heating a mixture of liquid and meal produces porridge (see Moritz 1958:xix). To bake bread, a mixture of liquid and flour is usually heated at least to 450° F. Leaven added to dough produces a light and aerated loaf. Because of the gluten content of cereals, wheat makes the best leavened bread, rye is second best, and barley can only be used for unleavened bread.

**B. Bread in the Ancient Near East**

**1. General Background.** Early hunting and gathering societies in the ANE gathered the seeds of wild cereals for food. These native plants were later domesticated. The cereals that were raised and the food products made from them varied regionally and historically. Both climate and soil type shaped people's diets.

Since wheat and barley have different growing requirements, they are often found in different regions. Oppenheim states:"Since barley can be grown in poor and alkaline soils, it was preferred to wheat in Mesopotamia; Egypt became the wheat land, and the regions in between used the cereal which best responded to local conditions" (1977:314).

In the lands around the Mediterranean, bread was the staple food which provided most of the proteins and carbohydrates for humans for centuries and even millennia. The high costs of transportation kept both imports and exports to a minimum. Therefore, the amount of grain an area produced was a key factor for how large a population could be supported (Broshi 1979:7). Similarly, within any given community, social and economic differences were reflected in cuisine—bread of the poor and bread of the rich.

Bread played a major role in the civilizations of Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Greece, and Italy. Here only a few brief comments concerning bread in Mesopotamia and Egypt will be made. (For more details, see Hoffner 1974; Darby 1976; Währen 1964; Dalman 1935.)

**2. Mesopotamia.** Some 300 kinds of bread are mentioned in Mesopotamian vocabulary lists. These breads were made from a variety of ingredients such as flours, spices, and fruit fillings and came in a variety of shapes and sizes. After grain was crushed on a grindstone to make meal and flour it could be used for porridge, mush, leavened and unleavened bread, and beer. Unleavened bread was made by a method called *tinûru.* "A fire was built inside an upright clay cylinder, resulting in very hot exterior walls, upon which loaves of unleavened bread were placed and baked" (Bottéro 1985:39). Dome ovens, which were available by the 3d millennium B.C.E., were necessary for making leavened bread.

**3. Egypt.** On the walls of Egyptian tombs one finds depictions of various activities related to the production of bread and beer. Three-dimensional sculpture and wooden models depict people grinding grain, making dough, and baking bread (Filce Leek 1972:pls. 29–32; Darby 1976:501–28). Breads were made in numerous shapes:conical, circular with slashes, triangular, semicircular, flat and curved, rolled into spirals, and even shaped into animal and human figures.

Archaeologists have found loaves and pieces of bread at grave sites. While the origin of leavened bread is unknown, samples of bread found at Neolithic El-Badari appear to have been leavened (Darby 1976:515–16). Most specimens of bread examined were made from emmer but this may have been because offering breads had to be made from the best cereal. Most of the samples of the abdominal contents of prehistoric Egyptian mummies that were examined by Netolitzky contained husks of barley (Filce Leek 1973:200–1).

**C. Bread in the Bible**

**1. Introduction.** Biblical texts do not present an extensive treatment about bread. Aspects related to the production and eating of bread were so commonplace that writers did not go into much detail about them. Here only bread in the OT and NT will be examined. Data from other literary works such as the Mishnah, intertestamental literature, and secular sources, as well as material evidence from archaeology, still needs to be collected, sorted, and assimilated.

**2. Bread in the OT. a. Etymology.** The term *leḥem,* "bread," occurs nearly 300 times in the OT. In Semitic languages *leḥem* was used for "solid food." Ullendorff (1956:192) contends that the "root *lḥm* expressed in Semitic simply the staple-diet and would, therefore, vary in the different regions." In Arabic one has *laḥm,* "meat," in Ethiopic *laḥm,* "cow," and in the South Arabic language of Soqoṭra *leḥem,* "fish." In Ugaritic, Phoenician, Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, and Mandaic *lḥm* referred to bread specifically and food generally (*TWAT* 4:538).

**b. Basic Components.** Grains such as wheat and barley are used to make porridge, mush, leavened bread, and unleavened bread. Bread is generally made from barley (2 Kgs 4:42) or wheat (Exod 29:2). Ezekiel is told to make bread from wheat, barley, beans, lentils, millet, and spelt, and eat it like a barley cake (Ezek 4:9). The mixture was not typical but reflected the scarcity of food during the siege of Jerusalem.

While wheat bread was probably tastier than barley cakes and therefore more desirable, not all bread was made from wheat. Wheat was more expensive than barley (2 Kgs 7:1–twice as much; Rev 6:6–thrice as much) and may have been too expensive for the average Israelite. Furthermore, it was not advisable or even possible for the farmer to plant only wheat and not barley. Planting both crops allowed for diversification, enabled the farmer to utilize the different types of soil available, and spread out the harvest time (Hopkins 1985:242). In premonarchic times most people ate barley bread; however, by the 8th and 7th centuries, Silver argues, more of the population ate wheat bread (1983:93–98).

**c. Preparation of Bread.** Borowski mentions three stages of cereal ripening during which grain could be picked, processed, and eaten (1987:88). Grain could be eaten raw, parched (Ruth 2:14), crushed (Lev 2:14), or it could be ground to flour and used in various kinds of leavened and unleavened bread.

While the term *leḥem* can refer to grain in general (Isa 28:28), most often it refers to food processed from grain. It is distinguished from raw grain in 2 Kgs 4:42 and from roasted and new grain in Lev 23:14. The general term for flour or meal from wheat or barley is *qemaḥ,* whereas *sōlet* refers to very fine flour of wheat. Borowski reports that a jar of semolina which is a "by-product of grinding and sifting flour" was found "in Beth-shemesh in an early Iron Age context" (1987:90). Either a mortar and pestle or grinding stones were used to grind the grain into flour (Num 11:8). Grinding stones and saddle querns are richly represented in archaeological reports (Borowski 1987:89–90).

Flour and/or meal could be stored in jars (1 Kgs 17:12). Flour which had water added to it was kneaded into dough. Then the dough was shaped (2 Sam 13:8; Gen 18:6) into a form which could be baked. Leaven was sometimes added before baking took place (Exod 12:39). One finds frequent mention of the baking of bread (Lev 23:17; 2 Sam 13:8; Ezek 4:12).

Particular types of bread include *ṣappîḥit,* "flat cake, wafer" (BDB, 860; Exod 16:31); *niqqūdîm,* "hard bisquit or cake" (BDB, 666; 1 Kgs 14:3); *kikkār,* " (disk-shaped, round, thin) loaf of bread" (*CHAL* 156; 1 Sam 2:36); *ḥallâ* " (ring-shaped) bread" (*CHAL* 104–5; 2 Sam 6:19); *rāqîq,* "thin cake, wafer" (BDB, 956; Exod 29:23); *lĕbibâ,* "heart-shaped cake" (*CHAL* 172; 2 Sam 13:6); *ʿugâ* " (circular, flat) bread cake" (*CHAL* 264; Gen 18:6); *maʾăpeh* "thing baked" (BDB, 66); Lev 2:4); *maṣṣâ* "unleavened bread, or

cake" (BDB, 595; Lev 2:5); *ḥāmēṣ*, "that which is leavened" (BDB, 329; Exod 12:15). A loaf of bread which had been preserved by a fire was found at Gezer dating from 1800–1400 B.C.E. (Silver 1983:92).

While men and women reportedly baked bread (Gen 19:3; 1 Sam 28:24), baking was probably largely the work of women (Lev 26:26). Bread for cultic usage was made by priests (Lev 24:5). While the king could afford to have professional bakers who were women (1 Sam 8:13) or men (Gen 40:1), most families baked their own bread. References to the bakers' street (Jer 37:21) and the tower of the ovens (Neh 3:11) might indicate a quarter of bakers in Jerusalem.

Three methods are mentioned for cooking grain offerings:baked in an oven, made in a pan, or made on a griddle (Lev 7:9). Similar means of making bread were probably used outside the temple:in an oven (Lev. 26:26) or on hot coals (Isa 44:19; 1 Kgs 19:6).

**d. Bread as Food or Nourishment.** The term "bread" can refer to food in general. The importance of bread is indicated by the expression "staff of bread" (Ps 105:16). Holladay (*CHAL* 192) suggests that this phrase refers to "a bread-pole, stick on which ring-shaped bread is stacked (to keep it away from mice, etc.)." Other scholars think the expression refers to the support that food provides for humans. When Yahweh breaks this staff of life, he brings famine upon people (Ezek 5:16).

While bread usually is food for humans, it can also be food for all living beings (Pss 136:25; 147:9). Bread offerings are sometimes designated as food for God (Lev 21:6). While some texts indicate that God does not need food for sustenance (50:12–13), sacrificial rites are partly modeled around activities associated with a meal.

Along with water (Neh 13:2) or wine (Gen 14:18), *leḥem* refers to solid food. Bread occurs in lists of food items in such contexts as agricultural products of Israel (Ps 104:15), travel provisions (2 Sam 16:1), food supplies (1 Sam 25:18), gifts to the king (1 Sam 16:20), and sacrificial offerings (1 Sam 10:3).

Bread is a basic part of a meal. The expression "to eat bread" meant to share a meal (Gen 31:54; 37:25). Even the prisoner must have rations of bread and water (1 Kgs 22:27). The author of Proverbs wisely prays not for poverty or riches but rather for the proper portion of bread necessary for daily existence (Prov 30:8–9). The virtuous person shares bread with the hungry (Isa 58:7).

**e. Special Usages and Expressions.** To show his displeasure, God could send "bread of adversity" (Isa 30:20) or "bread of tears" (Ps 80:5). Tears (Ps 42:4) or ashes (Ps 102:10—Eng. 102:9) are the figurative bread of those who mourn. At some point during mourning rites, others encouraged the mourners to break their fast and eat (1 Sam 28:22; 2 Sam 3:35). This food was called the "bread of mourners" (Hos 9:4).

The idioms "bread of idleness" (Prov 31:27), "bread of deception" (Prov 20:17), and "bread of wickedness" (Prov 4:17) refer to improper means by which people gain bread. They all deal with a characteristic lifestyle which should be avoided.

The idiom "to eat people like bread" (Ps 14:4) or that people are "bread" for others (Num 14:9) refers to oppression. The figurative usage of cannibalistic imagery portrays the horror of oppression.

Manna can be called *leḥem* (Exod 16:8) because it was the daily food of the Israelites in the wilderness. It was prepared for eating like bread from grain (Num 11:8) and was perishable and spoiled much like regular bread (Exod 16:20; cf. Josh 9:12).

**f. Theology of Bread.** Bread is seen as a gift of God. Westermann (1982:38) makes a distinction between bread of blessing and bread of deliverance:"Israel learned to differentiate between 'bread of blessing'growing during the yearly cycles, bread in which man's own work participated, and the 'saving bread'received as the preserving gift of the saving God during the distress of hunger."

The Israelites knew that land, fertility, rain, and productive labor were all essential for the production of grain (Genesis 3; Isa 30:23). They also knew that they themselves could not control all of these factors, and therefore depended upon God's blessing (Ps 127:1–2). The bounty of the basket and kneading trough was a result of his blessing or his curse upon their actions (Deut 28:5, 17).

**g. Cultic Usages of Bread.** This close connection between Yahweh and bread meant that the people needed to maintain a proper relationship with Yahweh. Gerstenberger points out that "The purpose, then, of most ritual activity is to secure and maintain the means of survival: food, shelter, medicine, rain, etc."

(*Psalms-Part 1* FOTL, 5–6). Gifts of food were offered to God with the expectation that God would continue to provide food for them.

Bread is frequently part of offerings and sacrifices. Both leavened (Lev 7:13) and unleavened bread (Exod 29:2) could be used. As part of the first fruits of the harvest, bread was offered to God during the Feast of Weeks (Lev 23:15–20). During the Feast of Unleavened Bread, only unleavened bread was eaten (Lev 23:4–6).

Bread was widely used in the ANE and around the Mediterranean for religious purposes (Haran 1985:221–23), and was probably originally understood to be nourishment for gods. Such an anthropomorphic depiction of a deity was considered crude by some in ancient times and was countered by various polemics (Ps 50:12–13; Bel and the Dragon; editing of the Gilgamesh Epic [Tigay 1982:224–28]). Even if the deity could not physically consume the food, it was assumed that in some sense the deity was pleased with it. Bread also served as a means for the provision of the daily needs of the priests, and when eaten as part of a religious meal it provided fellowship among community members and the deity.

**3. Bread in the NT. a. Bread in Everyday Life.** In Classical Greek *artos* is used for a "cake or loaf of wheat-bread" and for bread in general, and is distinguished from *maza*, "porridge" or "barley-cake" (*LSJM*, 250, 1072). In Koine Greek *artos* is used as the general word for bread (*TDNT* 1:477). In other Koine texts one frequently finds the term with *katharos* referring to "pure" or "white bread" (MM, 1930:80).

The term *artos*, "bread," occurs nearly 100 times in the NT. Louw and Nida (1988:50) describe this bread:"a relatively small and generally round loaf of bread (considerably smaller than present-day typical loaves of bread and thus more like 'rolls" or 'buns')."

Barley bread is only mentioned twice (John 6:9, 13). The poor may have eaten unleavened barley bread because wheat was expensive. While there is a special term for unleavened bread *(azumos), artos* by itself can be used for both leavened and unleavened bread. The bread eaten at the Last Supper (Mark 14:22) and on the road to Emmaus (Luke 24:30) probably was unleavened since these meals took place during the Passover week (Jeremias 1966:66).

There is a rich vocabulary related to the production of bread. Mention is made of mills, millstones, and grinding grain (Matt 24:41; Luke 17:2; Mark 9:42). The sound of the grinding of grain was a sound of normal everyday existence in a city (Rev 18:22). References are made to the sifting of flour (Luke 22:31), a batch of dough (1 Cor 5:6–7), yeast and the process of fermentation, regular flour (Matt 13:33), and fine wheat flour (Rev 18:13).

The opening of a meal by giving thanks often focused upon bread (Matt 14:19; 15:36; Luke 24:30). "The father of the household opened a meal by taking a loaf of bread, giving thanks, breaking it, and distributing it" (BAGD, 110). Abbreviated expressions such as "to take bread" (John 21:13) or "to break bread" (Luke 24:35) often referred to the onset of a meal. A common practice of Jesus before meals, including the Last Supper (Matt 26:26=Mark 14:22; Luke 22:19=1 Cor 11:24), this was continued by the early Christians in their daily fellowship (Acts 2:46).

**b. Bread as Food in General.** The term *artos* can be used for food in general (Matt 4:4). The idiom "to eat bread" meant to have a meal (Mark 3:20). To eat no bread or drink no wine meant to fast (Luke 7:33). "To eat one's own bread" meant to make one's own living (2 Thess 3:12).

The petition for bread stands at the heart of the Lord's Prayer and is the first of a series of requests for human needs (Matt 6:11). The expression with *artos* and *epiousios* has been variously rendered as "bread for subsistence," "bread for today," and "bread for the future" (*Luke 10–24* AB, 900–6; cf. BAGD, 296–97). While there is no consensus, the expression "daily bread" is still useful. Yamauchi (1964–65:148) states:"In antiquity much of the food, such as bread, was prepared daily, and would be apportioned daily. This daily bread was the very symbol for subsistence, representing the minimal need for existence."

**c. Symbolic Usages of Bread.** Bread was used in Jewish religious ceremonies including the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Exod 12:17) and the bread of the Presence in the temple (Exod 25:30; Lev 24:5–9). In the Christian eucharist, bread and wine were the elements (1 Cor 11:23–26). In these cases bread had symbolic and religious functions, but it was also eaten and served as food.

By the 1st century a rich midrashic treatment of manna had developed (Borgen 1981). Vermes (1969:262) summarizes:"in rabbinic tradition Moses is associated with manna and Torah, and manna is accepted as an allegorical Torah. In Philo, manna is connected with Logos, wisdom and Torah, and Moses is presented as Logos and Torah incarnate." Gärtner (1959:20–25) refers to the Jewish view of the three ages and the bread which is associated with each of them. In the Passover Haggadah a distinction is made between bread of the Mosaic age, bread of the present meal, and bread of the world to come.

Jesus is called the "bread of life" (John 6:35) and the "bread which comes down from heaven" (John 6:41). In John a distinction is made between manna in the desert for the Mosaic age, Jesus' feeding of the people in the wilderness, and the eucharistic bread for the feast in God's kingdom. Borgen suggests that John contrasts the external bread of the past given through Moses with the spiritual bread of the present that is available in Jesus (1981:172–79). In Luke 14:15 a blessing is pronounced upon those who will eat bread in the kingdom of God. This refers to an eschatological banquet. The idea of such a banquet can already be found in Isa 25:6–8 and continues to develop in the following centuries.

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**BREAD OF THE PRESENCE.** The bread of the Presence consists of twelve loaves of unleavened bread that are displayed in the temple sanctuary. Since the sanctuary is next to the holy of holies, the bread is separated only by a curtain from Yahweh's immediate presence. In this important location, the loaves symbolize the covenant between God and his people Israel (Lev 24:5–9).

Although the purpose of the bread of the Presence is to be on display before Yahweh, the Priestly source (P) directs its attention to the stages of preparation and disposal. (This is not surprising, for, unlike preparation and disposal, the week-long display requires no human intervention.) Preparation begins prior to the Sabbath's onset with the baking of the loaves, each of which contains two tenths of an ephah of flour. Then, on Sabbath morning, the high priest enters the sanctuary with the bread, removes the old loaves, and sets out the new ones. He arranges them—with accompanying pieces of frankincense—into two rows of six on a golden table on the N side of the sanctuary (Lev 24:5–9; Exod 26:35).

Once the bread of the Presence enters the sanctuary, its nearness to Yahweh renders it holy. After the high priest removes the loaves from the sanctuary, therefore, he must properly dispose of the holy bread. To accomplish this, he gives the bread to other priests who in turn must eat it in a holy place—namely,

within the temple complex. The frankincense cannot be reused, so it is burned on the sacrificial altar in the priestly court.

The sanctuary constitutes the location for two further rites beside the bread of the Presence:burning lamps every night, and burning pure frankincense at morning and evening. The three observances have the same status, for they all take place on a golden piece of furniture. The bread rests on a golden table (Exod 25:23–30), the lamps are on a golden seven-branched lampstand (Exod 25:31–39), and the frankincense is burned on a golden altar (Exod 30:1–10). Furthermore, each observance is tended by the high priest, who, according to P, is the only priest allowed to do so. Of the three rites, though, only the bread of the Presence is continual, for the lamp burns only at night and the incense burns only a few hours after it has been lit.

The significance of the bread of the Presence within the temple cult is revealed by its location, the sanctuary. Indeed, only one act of worship occurs in a more important area of the temple, namely, the high priest entering the holy of holies on the Day of Atonement. Most temple observances—those involving, e.g., animal sacrifices and grain offerings—take place in a less important area, that is, the priestly court and the sacrificial altar in it. This hierarchy can be seen in several ways. To begin with, the sanctuary is more holy than the court, because the closer an area is to Yahweh, the more holy it is. Since the sanctuary is separated from Yahweh in the holy of holies by only a curtain, it is more holy than the priestly court outside. This difference in status is reinforced by the furnishings and the personnel of the two locations. The sanctuary's furniture is gold, while the court's is primarily of bronze. Similarly, the sanctuary rites must be performed by the high priest, while the sacrifices are usually done by regular priests. Most importantly, however, the purposes of the rites carried out in the two locations differ. Those in the sanctuary maintain the continual relationship between God and his people Israel. Indeed, Leviticus (25:5–9) specifically states that the bread of the Presence symbolizes the covenant. The rites at the altar, by contrast, primarily concern the relationship between individuals and Yahweh. The animals and other offerings brought by private individuals are sacrificed on the altar or distributed in the priestly court around it. P's emphasis on the different locations within the temple complex thus reveals the importance of the bread of the Presence in the worship of Yahweh.

Outside of P, the bread of the Presence is frequently associated with Israelite temples to Yahweh. Most references assume P's description, while occasionally adding a new detail (1 Kgs 7:48; 1 Chr 9:32; 23:29; 28:16; 2 Chr 2:4; 13:11; 29:18; Neh 10:33). Others merely mention the existence of the bread or its table. For example, in 1 Sam 21:5–7, the Deuteronomic historian mentions that the temple at Nob has this bread as part of its rites. Similarly, 1 Maccabees (1:22 and 4:49) states that Antiochus Epiphanes carried off the table in 170 B.C.E. but that Simon the Maccabee later replaced it. Josephus mentions the bread of the Presence (*Ant* 3.6.6; 3.10.7), as do the Temple Scroll (cols. 3, 8), the gospels (Matt 12:4=Mark 2:26=Luke 6:4), and Hebrews (9:2). Finally, the Arch of Titus in Rome depicts the golden table being carried in Titus' triumph after he conquered Jerusalem in 70 C.E.

The name bread of the Presence (sometimes mistranslated as "showbread") is based on the Hebrew *leḥem pānîm* (LXX: *artos enōpion*), which literally means "the bread which is in the presence of …" (e.g., Exod 25:30). It is also referred to as *leḥem hamma*ʿ*ăreket* (LXX: *artos tēs protheseōs*), "the arranged bread," presumably because it is arranged *(*ʿ*rk)* in two rows (e.g., 1 Chr 9:32). Num 4:7 calls it *leḥem hatāmîd* (LXX: *prokemai*), the "regular bread" or the "continual bread."

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PAUL V. M. FLESHER

**BREASTPIECE** [Heb *ḥōšen* (חֹשֶׁן)]. An item made of fabric that constituted part of the high priest's apparel. A different term, "breastplate" [Heb *širyôn*], refers to a type of metal armor worn by soldiers.

The breastpiece of Aaron's priestly wardrobe is described in great detail in the tabernacle texts of Exodus (see esp. 28:5–30 and 39:8–21) and is also mentioned in one passage in Leviticus (8:8) dealing with the tabernacle. The breastpiece was made of the same kind of material as the ephod: gold, blue, purple, and scarlet woolen threads interwoven with fine linen. The workmanship was of a certain skillful type *(ḥôšēb)* also used for the ephod. The woven fabric formed a double piece of material, a span 9 or 10 inches square when folded over. The reason for the doubled fabric was that the breastpiece, in addition to its symbolic ritual value, also served as a container for the Urim and Thummim.

Once fashioned, the breastpiece was set with 12 precious stones, in four rows of three stones, with each stone set in gold filigree. These stones were set into the fabric and evidently did not protrude. Each stone represented one of the twelve "sons of Israel." A series of golden fittings (rings, chains, or cords) and also a blue ribbon were then used to attach the breastpiece to other items of the high priest's garb:at the top to the shoulder of the ephod, and at the bottom to the woven band or girdle of the ephod.

As one of four special overgarments fashioned for the high priest and worn by no other priest, the breastpiece was part of a carefully designed complex of ritual acts associated with the priest's role within the tabernacle, as opposed to the outer courts. Several of the inner rituals involved sacral acts; others were carried out by the wearing of the Aaronic ritual garb, each item having symbolic significance so that the wearing of the item was tantamount to the performing of a ritual (see Haran 1978:212). Known as the "breastpiece of judgment," the stone-studded breastpiece signified the sons of Israel to God and also contained mantic devices by which God's decisions were rendered. Along with the bells of the ephod coat and the diadem, it aroused the attention of God toward the people of Israel.

The priestly "breastpiece" shares with the "breastplate" the fact that it was worn across the chest. However, the word rendered as breastplate is sometimes translated by the more inclusive term "coat of mail" (as in 1 Sam 17:5, 38). The breastplate as a piece of military garb is used literally in reference to soldiers' clothing (1 Kgs 22:34=2 Ch 18:33) and also figuratively to represent righteousness (Isa 39:17; cf. Eph 6:14; 1 Thess 5:8).

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CAROL MEYERS

**BREASTPLATE.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

**BREECHES.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**BRIDAL JEWELRY.** See JEWELRY.

**BRIDE.** See MARRIAGE.

**BRIDE OF CHRIST.** Although the specific phrase "bride of Christ" does not appear in the NT, the concept is found in several NT works as a description of the Church. Paul describes the Corinthian believers as having been betrothed to Christ and presented as a bride to her husband (2 Cor 11:2; cf. Rom 7:1–6). In Eph 5:21–33 the relationship between husband and wife is explained in terms of the relationship that exists between Christ and the Church. The author of Revelation applies the metaphor of the bride of the Lamb (Christ), not only to the Church (19:7), but also to the new Jerusalem, the heavenly city, which is the eschatological manifestation of the people of God (21:2, 9). The source for this imagery is found in the OT where the relationship between Israel and God is often spoken of in marital terms (Isa 54:1–6; Jer 31:32; Ezek 16:8; Hos 2). The transference of this imagery to Christ and his Church was natural for the NT writers who viewed the Church as the new Israel.

MITCHELL G. REDDISH

**BRIDLE.** See ZOOLOGY.

**BROAD PLACE.** The RSV translation of *raḥab* in Job 36:16 and *merḥab* in 2 Sam 22:20=Ps 18:20 (—Eng v 19); Ps 31:9 (—Eng v 8). Both words come from a root *(rḥb)* that means to be wide, spacious,

roomy. Because it is geographically descriptive, the root was often used in place names such as Beth-rehob, Rehob, and Rehoboth. However, the root seems to be used metaphorically for salvation in the passages cited above:someone located in the middle of a "broad place" is relatively secure and safe from a surprise attack.

**BROAD WALL** (PLACE) [Heb *haḥômâ hārĕḥābâ* (הַחוֹמָה הָרְחָבָה)). Wall of postexilic Jerusalem mentioned in Nehemiah. After repair of the Jeshanah Gate (RSV:"Old Gate," Neh 3:6), evidently in the NW corner of Jerusalem, repairs were made as far as the Broad Wall (Neh 3:8), which was reached by going past the Tower of the Ovens (Neh 12:38), which seems to have been on the W wall. This description would suggest that the Broad Wall was somewhere on the western hill, the Upper City. In 1969–71 N. Avigad (1970; 1972) uncovered a section of a massive Broad Wall in the modern Jewish Quarter of the Upper City, a wall of large unhewn, unmortared stone, 23 feet (7 m) broad and ca. 140 feet long, preserved in part to the height of ca. 11 feet; the foundation section of this massive city wall running NE–SW and ending ca. 917 feet W of the temple platform may have been part of the city wall built by Hezekiah (2 Chr 32:5) to enclose the Mishneh (Second) Quarter and, according to Avigad, iq continued around to the walls of the City of David and enclosed the Siloam Pool. See Mazar 1975:176–78; CORNER GATE.

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**BROOCH.** See JEWELRY.

**BROOM TREE.** See FLORA.

**BROTHER, BROTHERHOOD** (NT) [Gk *adelphos* (ἀδελφος)*, adelphotēs* (ἀδελφοτης)]. *Adelphos* is a compound term formed from the copulative prefix *a* and from *delphus*, "the womb," which gives the meaning "one born from the same womb." *Adelphos* and the feminine form, *adelphē,* are used first to speak of physical relationships, but approximately half of the occurrences in the NT use the figuratively/spiritually, primarily to speak of relationships between the people of Israel or between Christians. All of the derivatives and compounds *(adelphotēs, philadelphos, philadelphia, pseudadelphos)* bring out the figurative significance of the basic term.

*Adelphos* was used for the male and *adelphē* for the female members of the same physical family. The masculine plural could cover all the children of a family. *Adelphos* was also used to signify near relatives, whether joined together by bloodline (e.g., nephew) or marriage (e.g., brother-in-law). Plato uses it for compatriots (*Menex.,* 239a), Xenophon for friends (*An.,* 7.2.25; 38), and Plotinus calls all the things in the world *adelphoi* (*Enn.,* 2.9.18). It is often used for members of a religious society, both in the papyri and inscriptions and also in literature (Moulton and Milligan 1930:8–9).

In the LXX *adelphos* is the usual term to render Heb *ʾāḥ,* and only occasionally for *rēaʿ* (Gen 43:33; Jer 31[38]:34). *Adelphos* was used originally for a physical brother and *adelphē* for a physical sister, but *adelphos* could also be used for other relatives as well (e.g., Gen 29:12ff.). The figurative use of the term naturally arose within the nation of Israel because the twelve tribes were descended from the twelve sons of Jacob. This is clearly seen in Ps 22:22[23] where "brothers" are in parallelism with the "congregation" and are synonymous with the descendants of Jacob/Israel in the following verse. A related feature is found in the use of the terms "son" and "brother" in the picture of God's relationship to his people (e.g., Hos 2:1–3 [—Eng 1:10–2:1]).

Judaism also uses "brother" with both a physical and a figurative sense. The term designates physical relationships (4 Macc 9:23; 10:3, 15; 13:19, 27) and also the brotherhood established by covenant fellowship (1 Macc 12:10, 17). The compound term "love of the brethren" *(philadelphia)* also occurs (cf. 4 Macc 13:23, 26; 14:1). Josephus uses *adelphos* figuratively to speak of relationships between members of the Essenes (*JW* 2.122), and in the Qumran texts "brother" is a common term to designate the

relationship between members of the community. Indeed, brotherhood was significant for the community because they saw themselves as the true remnant of Israel, the true people of God (Urbach 1979:584–85; Schilling 1967:211–12). The Heb term *ḥābēr* ("companion, brother"), although used to designate scholars, was also used to describe the associates of the Pharasaic sect during the Second Temple period up to the time of Jesus (Wilkins 1988:123; *HJP²* 2:583–89; Aberbach 1967:19–20).

NT use of *adelphos/adelphē* is consistent with usage in the surrounding milieu, but it has unique characteristics as well. *Adelphos* occurs at least 343 times in the NT, 13 of which are in Acts in conjunction with *anēr* ("man") as an address (e.g., Acts 1:16–*andres adelphoi*). *Adelphē* is used 25 times. As was true with the history of the terms, so also is true of their use in the NT: *adelphos/adelphē* designate both biological and figurative brothers/sisters.

*Adelphos/adelphē* are used to describe several different literal family relationships, the most famous among them being Peter and his brother Andrew (Mark 1:16 par.), John and his brother James (Mark 1:19 par.), Lazarus the brother of the sisters Mary and Martha (John 11:1–2), and the brothers and sisters of Jesus (cf. Mark 3:31–35; 6:3).

The OT figurative use is carried over to the NT when the apostles addressed Jews as *adelphoi* in Acts (2:29; 3:17; 7:2; 13:15, 26, 38; 22:1; 23:1ff.; 28:17), and are themselves addressed in the same way (2:37).

But the terms come to have a distinctive emphasis in the NT. In Matt 12:46–50 Jesus gives a definition of those who would be his spiritual *adelphoi/adelphai.* While his physical mother and brothers wait outside to see him, Jesus stretches out his hand toward his disciples and says, "Behold my mother and my brothers. For whoever does the will of my Father in heaven, this one is my brother and sister and mother." With this definition Jesus declares that spiritual union in the family of God takes precedence over national or blood-family lines (cf. also Luke 14:26). Here Jesus unites discipleship with a familial emphasis. See also JESUS, BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF.

The early Church understood the family nature of the new community. *Adelphos* was one of the first terms for their self-designation (cf. Acts 1:15, 16; 6:3). The decision of the apostolic council explicitly applied the term to gentile Christians, giving them assurance that they were also part of the family of God (Acts 15:23). In 1 Cor 5:11 Paul calls the immoral person who postures as a believer a "so-called brother," and calls the Judaizers who attempt to bring believers into bondage to law "false brothers" (*pseudadelphoi;* 2 Cor 11:26; Gal 2:4).

But the family relationship is not merely figurative. It is based on a spiritual birth. Jesus is the only begotten, firstborn, beloved Son of God, and through faith in him believers are born into a new life (2 Cor 5:17; 1 Pet 1:3–5) where they are called Jesus' brothers (Rom 8:29; Heb 2:11ff.). To believe in Jesus as the Christ causes one to be born of God, and to love marks the relationship of the members of the family (1 John 5:1–2). The derivative term *adelphotēs* (found only in 1 Pet 2:17; 5:9) conceives of a "brotherhood" of believers throughout the world. Members of the brotherhood are urged to exercise "brotherly love" toward one another (*philadelphos* only in 1 Pet 3:8; *philadelphia* in Rom 12:10; 1 Thess 4:9; Heb 13:1; 1 Pet 1:22; 2 Pet 1:7). Indeed, love is to be so characteristic of the believer's relationships that to hate one's brother is to give evidence that one does not love God (1 John 5:19–21), which means that one is not truly a member of the family of God.

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MICHAEL J. WILKINS

**BRUCIANUS.** See CODEX (BRUCIANUS).

**BUCK.** See ZOOLOGY.

**BUCKLER.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

**BUDDE HYPOTHESIS.** In 1882 Karl Budde first described in detail his hypothesis on the structure of ancient Hebrew poetry. Qina meter, or falling rhythm, is a succession of lines of two colons, unequally divided in terms of syllables or accents, so that the first exceeds the second, as in Lam 1:5, Line 1:"Her foes have become the head, her enemies prosper," where in the Heb the syllable pattern is 7:6 and the stress pattern is 3:2. Normally in the Heb the longer colon consists of three words and the shorter is two words, with some recognized variations. Budde held that the line is never equally divided. He described the falling meter as a rhythm that always dies away and he attempted to establish rules for its structure. He associated the rhythm with the lament or funeral song. Like many other scholars of his time and since, Budde accepted the possibility that exceptions to the qina pattern might be due to a faulty text. It is, however, to be noted that Budde accepted the possibility of some overarching principle that would allow for the exceptions found in the text.

The concept of Budde's falling rhythm has attracted scholarly attention up to the present time. The paradox is that, while one can find classic examples of the falling rhythm in Lamentations and elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, there has been no agreement on a rationale for the numerous exceptions found in the same poems. There are clearly many examples of the qina meter in Hebrew poetry that have nothing to do with lament, and some laments are not written in that pattern. Perhaps the only consensus is that great caution is in order when characterizing falling rhythm.

Conventional statistical tests have the ability to distinguish patterns, differences, or relationships that may not reasonably be attributed to chance. Thus it is possible to analyze Budde's hypothesis by means of statistics in order to determine which patterns of syllable or stress structure may be attributed to the freedom of the poet to express each thought without regard to structure, and which patterns may fairly be laid to nonchance factors, technically called significant differences. A nonchance pattern would imply the presence of design crafted into the structure of the poem under study in terms of line length, colon length, and stress pattern. If all fluctuations and exceptions are nothing more than chance factors, the argument for design could not be sustained. The advantage of such analysis is that it examines only the overall design, rather than the usual practice of stanza-by-stanza analysis.

The acrostic poems of Lamentations 1 through 4 are especially valuable for analysis because a clear structure is built into the text. Because of the alphabetic pattern, we can be certain about where the line or the verse begins, which at least removes one aspect of the uncertainty in approaching the analysis of Hebrew poetry (see Hillers *Lamentations* AB).

The following is a summary of research of David Noel Freedman and Erich A. von Fange to explore aspects of Budde's hypothesis. Stress counts and two methods of syllable counts (A and B) were provided by Freedman.

*Analyses of colons according to syllable counts.* The first line of each of the 22 stanzas of Lamentations 1, taken as a group, was analyzed according to the extent to which the sum of syllables of all the first colons (163) exceeded that of the second (136). Similar analyses were conducted for second (154 and 120) and third lines (154 and 128) of Lamentations 1, and the same procedure was followed for the other chapters of Lamentations. For this analysis Lamentations 3 was treated as though it consisted of 22 stanzas of 3 lines each. Lamentations 5 (also 22 stanzas) was included in the analysis despite the fact that it is not an alphabetic acrostic. Of 12 analyses each for the A and B syllable counts, nonchance differences occurred for every comparison made in Lamentations 1 through 4, a total of 22 tests for differences. In every case, the first of the two colons under comparison for a given line significantly exceeded the second in length, thus strongly supporting Budde's hypothesis. No significant differences were found for the 2

analyses of Lamentations 5, which clearly does not have a falling rhythm, but one in which parallel colons are equal in length.

*Analyses of stress patterns.* Stress counts for colons were analyzed following the same pattern as above, e.g., the sum of stresses for the first and second colons of the first lines of Lamentations 1 was 66 and 49 respectively. Similar analyses were made for second and third lines of Lamentations 1, and the same procedure was also followed for the other chapters of Lamentations. In all colon comparisons of total stress counts, a total of 12 tests, the first exceeded the second to a significant degree. The surprising finding was that in Lamentations 5, where the syllable counts of first colons do not differ significantly from the second, the stress counts do differ in the expected manner to support what Budde perhaps felt intuitively when he stated that when the first unit equals the second the first is "heavier."

In sum, statistical analysis provides substantial support for the structural aspect of Budde's hypothesis when the colons and stresses of the poems are taken as a whole. One possible interpretation of this evidence is that the poems were sung in ancient times in such a way as to emphasize the qina pattern, and that the chanter had ways analogous to modern liturgical chanting of accommodating to those lines which did not conform to that pattern.

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**BUKKI** (PERSON) [Heb *bukkî* (בֻּכִּי)]. Var. BORITH. The name of two people mentioned in the Hebrew Bible, Bukki seems to be a shortened version of the name BUKKIAH (1 Chr 25:4, 13). This is supported by the translation *bōkai* (1 Chr 5:31—Eng 6:4; 6:36—Eng 6:51). However, contrary evidence is supplied by the of 1 Esdr 8:2 (Gk *bokka*) and 2 Esdr 1:2 (Rahlfs ed., 7:4; Gk *bokki,* or *borith,* see Myers *1–2 Esdras* 154), and the of Num 34:22 (Gk *bakchir*). The name may be related to the root *bqq,* "luxuriant," as in Hos 10:1, "the luxuriant vine" (Heb *gepen bôqēq*). Guthrie (*IDB* 1:473) suggests "proved of God," which relates the root *bqh* to Aram *bqʿ,* "to test, prove" (see *IPN* 226).

1. The son of Jogli, a leader (Heb *nāsîʾ*) of the tribe of Dan (Num 34:22), when the land of Canaan was allotted to the Israelites.

2. The son of Abishua, and a priest in the line of Eleazar, the high priest (Ezra 7:4; 1 Chr 5:31—Eng 6:4; 6:36—Eng 6:51). His name appears also in a genealogy linking the postexilic leader Ezra with this same original Israelite priestly family (Ezra 7:4=1 Esdr 8:2; see Myers *1–2 Esdras* AB, 154 for a comparison of these lists). In noncanonical uses of this same genealogy, Josephus (*Ant* 5.10.5; 8.1.3) employs the priestly lineage, which includes Bukki (Gk *bokki, bokkias*), to establish the period during which Eli, the priest who raised Samuel, lived.

RAPHAEL I. PANITZ

**BUKKIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *buqqîyāhû* (בֻּקִּיָּהוּ)]. One of the fourteen sons of Heman who were appointed to prophesy with musical instruments under the direction of their father and the king (1 Chr 25:4). Bukkiah received the sixth lot which was cast to determine duties (1 Chr 25:13). Scholars continue to debate the relationship between the two lists (1 Chr 25:2–6, 9–31) which contain the name Bukkiah. For a summary of the discussion and bibliography, see ASHARELAH. The etymology of the name is uncertain. Suggested meanings include "proved of Yahweh" (from a hypothetical Heb root *bqh,* perhaps related to Aram *bqʿ*) and "flask of Yahweh" (from Heb *bqq;* see the noun *baqbuq* in Jer 19:1, 10; 1 Kgs 14:3).

J. CLINTON MCCANN, JR.

**BUL** [Heb *bûl* (בּוּל)]. The eighth month of the Canaanite calendar, roughly corresponding to October–November. See CALENDARS.

**BULL/BULLOCK.** See ZOOLOGY.

**BUNAH** (PERSON) [Heb *bûnâ* (בּוּנָה)]. Individual of the tribe of Judah, the son of Jerahmeel (1 Chr 2:25).

**BUNNI** (PERSON) [Heb *bunnî* (בֻּנִּי)]. Like Bani and Binnui, Bunni is another short form of the name Benaiah (see BANI; BINNUI), found among the Levites at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah.

1. A Levite in attendance at Ezra's reading of the Law (Neh 9:4).
2. The levitical ancestor of Shemaiah, the son of Hasshub, one of those who volunteered to live in Jerusalem at the time of Nehemiah (Neh 11:15). This ancestor was five generations removed from Shemaiah, the contemporary to Nehemiah, and is therefore not to be confused with the Bunni in Neh 9:4.
3. One of the chiefs of the people who set his seal to Nehemiah's covenant (Neh 10:15).

D. G. SCHLEY

**BURIALS.** Biblical references to burial are descriptive rather than prescriptive. Descriptions often include the formulas, "he lay with his fathers" (mainly in Kings and Chronicles, cf. 1 Kgs 14:31; 2 Chr 12:16), indicating a natural death, or "he was gathered to his people" (used by P, cf. Gen 25:8; Deut 32:50), denoting appropriate burial, apparently thought to ensure reunion with the ancestors. Proper burial required interment in a *geber*, *geburâ*, or *bayit*, words meaning "burial" and "dwelling." Interment was accorded all who served Yahweh; sinners were cursed with lack of burial or exhumation (Deut 28:25–26; 1 Kgs 14:10–11; Jer 16:4).

## *ISRAELITE*


A. Patriarchs and Matriarchs
B. Exodus and Conquest Generations
C. Period of the Judges
D. Monarchic Period
    1. Textual Witnesses
    2. Archaeological Witnesses


### A. Patriarchs and Matriarchs

From the patriarchal period, with the exception of Rachel, the patriarchs and matriarchs were interred in the Cave of Machpelah purchased by Abraham (Gen 49:29–31). In accordance with their wishes to be buried with family, the embalmed remains of Jacob and Joseph were transported from Egypt to Canaan (Gen 47:29–30; 50:13; Exod 13:19; but cf. Gen 50:5).

Interment at the location of death and in proximity to a tree were also attested in this period and later. Rebekah's nurse, Deborah, was interred where she died near Bethel under an oak tree (Gen 35:8) and the people of Jabesh-gilead cremated the bodies of Saul and his sons and then buried their bones under a tamarisk tree (1 Sam 31:12–13). The tree signified divine presence as demonstrated by Abraham planting a tamarisk tree and calling on the name of God at a treaty site (Gen 21:32–33). Burial under a tree also expressed the desire to propagate and to perpetuate the memory of the individual. The tree was long associated with immortality as illustrated by the "tree of life" in the Garden of Eden (Gen 2:9; cf. Isa 56:3, the eunuch as a "withered tree"). Rachel was also buried where she died. Variant traditions locate her burial on the way to Ephrath where a *maṣṣēbâ* was erected (Gen 35:19–20) and in Zelzah in Benjaminite territory near the Ephraim border (1 Sam 10:2). The tradition locating her burial in the Bethlehem vicinity has been explained as a later attempt to associate her burial with Ephrathah in Judah, the ancestral home of David and the site of the present-day "Tomb of Rachel" (McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 181).

In the patriarchal period, usually dated to the MB II from ca. 1750 to 1600 B.C.E. (*IJH* 142–48), it is impossible to distinguish Israelite from Canaanite burials. The prevalent practice in the highlands was multiple burial in caves, as described for Abraham and his descendants. Typical tombs were cut at the highland site of Gibeon, located 9 km N of Jerusalem. At the bottom of a vertical, cylindrical shaft, a

doorway blocked with stones provided access into a circular chamber with lamp niches cut into the walls. Tomb 15 exhibited three phases of use probably representing two generations. The skulls and bones of fourteen individuals were found along the sides of the chamber. Toggle pins used to secure wraps and jewelry demonstrate that the individuals were clothed and adorned at burial. The most common burial provisions were bowls and platters for foodstuffs, jugs for liquids, and juglets for oil and perfume. Additional gifts included a knife, a dagger blade, two limestone pommels for daggers, fragments of bone inlay probably from a box, and four sheep skulls (Pritchard 1963:22–33). These provisions demonstrate that the deceased were thought to need nourishment and the protection afforded both by weapons and symbolically by colored and metal jewelry.

**B. Exodus and Conquest Generations**

Like Rachel and Deborah, members of the Exodus generation were interred at the location of their death:Miriam in Kadesh (Num 20:1), Aaron on Mt. Hor (Num 33:39, but see Deut 10:6), and Moses in Moab (Deut 34:6). Burial at the death locale deviates from the patriarchal practice, for just as the bones of Jacob and Joseph were carried from Egypt for burial on family land (Josh 24:32) so could the remains of Miriam, Aaron, and Moses have been transported.

Beginning with the Conquest generation, family burials established a visible, perpetual claim to the patrimony *(naḥălâ),* which sometimes functioned as a territorial boundary marker as in the cases of Rachel (1 Sam 10:2) and Joshua (Josh 24:30). Joshua was buried on the border of his inheritance in the hill country of Ephraim (Josh 24:30), Joseph on family land in Shechem (Josh 24:32), and Eleazar the son of Aaron at Gibeah in the hill country of Ephraim (Josh 24:33). The only other burial from this period was that of the five Amorite kings killed by Joshua. After being hanged from trees, their bodies were thrown into a cave the mouth of which was sealed with stones (Josh 10:26).

The Exodus and Conquest are usually dated to the LB and beginning of the Iron Age, from the 16th through the early 11th century B.C.E. As in the preceding MB, through the LB, the most common mode of burial in the highlands was multiple (family) burial in caves (Gonen 1979). In the highlands of Israel and especially Judah, the conception of the burial dwelling, the treatment of the corporeal remains, and the categories of provisions for the deceased continued unchanged from the MB through the Iron Age. Gibeon tomb 10A–B contained the remains of eleven individuals provided with ceramic lamps, bowls, jugs, dipper juglets, and seven scarabs (an Egyptian amulet signifying birth and renewal which was a standard Egyptian funerary provision) (Pritchard 1963:11–17). Lachish Tomb 216, dated from ca. 1450 to 1300 B.C.E., consisted of a shaft leading into a circular pit with plastered walls and floors. Buried in the pit were numerous individuals supplied with more than 200 vessels. As at Gibeon, bowls predominated with lamps, jugs, and dipper juglets. There was also a sizable collection of Cypriot and Mycenaean imported pottery. Metal knives, arrowheads, and a dagger, scarabs, beads, toggle pins, and playing pieces provided protection, adornment, and amusement (Tufnell 1958:232–35, pls. 52–54).

**C. Period of the Judges**

By the period of the Judges, family tombs of inherited lands were well established and so individuals were interred "in their father's tomb" or "in their hometown." For Gideon, Samson, and Asahel the record specifies that they were buried in their father's tomb on family land (Judg 8:32; 16:31; 2 Sam 2:32). Only the fact of burial locale is given for the remaining judges:Tola in the Shamir hill country of Ephraim (Judg 10:2), Jair in Kamon, Gilead (Judg 10:5), Jephthah in the cities of Gilead (Judg 12:7), Ibzan in Bethlehem, Zebulun (Judg 12:10), Elon in Aijalon, Zebulun (Judg 12:12), Abdon in Pirathon, Ephraim (Judg 12:15), and Samuel in Ramah (1 Sam 25:1; 28:3). Ramah may refer to this city Ramathaim-Zophim as well as to an elevated place, for important individuals were buried in prominent places where their tombs would be visible and accessible. For some of these individuals little is known except for their burial location. Men who enjoyed a special relationship with Yahweh during their lifetimes were thought to continue that relationship after death and so it was important to know where they were buried.

**D. Monarchic Period**

**1. Textual Witnesses.** Beginning with David's reign, kings and religious and administrative high functionaries (2 Chr 24:15–16; Isa 22:15–16) were buried in their capital cities. David initiated burial in

the City of David (1 Kgs 2:10) and was joined by his son Solomon (1 Kgs 11:43; 2 Chr 9:31). Other recorded family burials from the period of the united monarchy include Abner and the head of Ishbaal (Ishboshet) in Hebron (2 Sam 3:32; 4:12), Ahitophel (2 Sam 17:23), Barzillai in Gilead (2 Sam 19:38), and Joab in the wilderness (1 Kgs 2:34).

Following the death of Solomon and the division of the country into Israel in the N and Judah in the S, monarchs were buried in their capital cities of Tirzah or Samaria and Jerusalem respectively. Of kings and prophets it is recorded that they were sometimes interred in proximity to holy sites:prophets of Judah and Bethel near the Bethel altar (2 Kgs 23:17–18) and later Judahite kings adjacent to the Jerusalem temple (Ezek 43:7–8). The deaths and burials of the kings of Israel were recounted solely in Kings. The books of Kings present royal interment in a formulaic, consistent manner, perhaps in an attempt to fabricate a positive record for the Judahite kings in homage to the house of David. Varying accounts of the burials of Judahite kings are preserved in Kings and Chronicles (for a discussion of the reliability of the Chronicler's account, see Japhet 1985). The Chronicler's supplemental information has been discounted as glorifying favored kings and discrediting others. However, the Chronicler may have expressed judgment not through manufacturing new material but in choosing which references to include and which to delete.

Relatively little was written about the burial of the kings of Israel. Of several kings, including Nadab, Elah, Zimri, Ahaziah, Zechariah, and all subsequent kings, no details of burial are given (1 Kgs 15:28; 16:10; 18; 2 Kgs 1:17; 15:10). For most of the remaining kings only the fact of burial in the royal city was mentioned:Baasha in Tirzah (1 Kgs 16:6), and Omri, Ahab, Jehu, Jehoahaz, Joash, and probably Jeroboam II in Samaria (1 Kings 16:28; 22:37; 2 Kgs 10:35; 13:9, 13; 14:16, 29).

In Judah, David and his descendants were buried in the Jerusalem City of David, a small ridge bounded by the Kidron, Hinnom, and Tyropoeon valleys. According to the account in Kings, all kings from Rehoboam through Ahaz were buried "with their fathers in the City of David" (1 Kgs 14:31; 15:8, 24; 22:51; 2 Kgs 8:24; 9:28; 12:22; 14:20, 22; 15:7, 38; 16:20; Neh 3:16). Subsequent kings were buried elsewhere, Manasseh and Amon in the household garden of Uzzah (2 Kgs 21:18, 26) and Josiah in his own tomb (2 Kgs 23:30). There is no reference to burial for Hezekiah or for Josiah's successors.

The Chronicler noted no such harmony in burial arrangements. While commendable kings were buried with their predecessors in the City of David, sinful and ailing kings were denied interment with their fathers. A *kabôd* (honor) was prepared for the righteous king Hezekiah. The honor certainly entailed lamenting (1 Kgs 13:30; Jer 22:18) and offering sacrifices (Isa 57:7; 2 Chr 16:14). Jehoiadah the priest was also accorded burial with the kings in the City of David (2 Chr 24:16). Among the discredited kings, Asa was buried in his own tomb. Mortuary practices included laying the body "… in the resting-place [*miškāb*] which was filled with spices of all kinds; expertly blended; a very great fire was made in his honor" (2 Chr 16:14). The "very great fire" probably resembled in appearance and intent the burnt-offering sacrifices of sweet savor presented to Yahweh (Gen 8:20–21; Lev 1:9, 18). Others denied burial in the royal tombs included Jehoram, Ahaziah, Jehoash, Amaziah, Uzziah, Ahaz, and Amon (2 Chr 21:19–20; 22:9; 24:25; 25:28; 26:23; 28:27).

Isaiah described rock-cut tombs and mortuary practices in a condemnation of the cult of the dead. Isaiah 57, so-called "Third" Isaiah, is usually dated to the last quarter of the 6th century B.C.E. but the text describes Jerusalem bench tombs which had attained their postexilic form by the 7th century B.C.E. According to Isa 57:7–9, tombs were hewn high in the mountainsides. A door and door post opened into the chamber with a resting-place *(miškāb)* for the deceased and a mortuary stele perhaps in the shape of a phallus *(zikrôn, yād)* near the door. At the tomb sacrifices were offered (cf. also Deut 26:14 and Ps 16:3–4) and the dead consulted (cf. also 1 Sam 28 and Isa 8:19–20). To conclude the diatribe, Isaiah refuted the role of the ancestors in insuring control of the patrimony—true inheritance passes not through the ancestral dead (and the family tomb) but through Yahweh (Isa 57:13).

A variety of mortuary practices existed within Israelite society, not all of which were widely practiced or acceptable to 8th century B.C.E. and later prophets and the Deuteronomistic editor(s). The majority buried their dead in family cave and bench tombs located in proximity to the patrimony. Biblical

references and inscriptions on a tomb at Khirbet Beit Lei testify to family burial, but there is currently no osteological evidence. Isaiah rebuked Shebna, an official of King Hezekiah, for having hewn an ostentatious individual tomb in Jerusalem, rather than being buried with his family (Isa 22:15–16). The common burial ground in Jerusalem's Kidron Valley was considered by some an illegitimate form and place of burial as suggested by Josiah's scattering asherah ashes over the ground and Jehoiakim's casting in the body of the assassinated prophet Uriah (Jer 26:23; 2 Kgs 23:6). Both royalty and commoners sacrificed children in the tophet in Jerusalem's Hinnom Valley (and presumably buried them as at Carthage; see Stager and Wolff 1984), demonstrating official sanction during certain reigns of a practice considered abhorrent and unacceptable at other times (2 Kgs 16:3; 2 Chr 28:3; Jer 7:31).

Burial markers preserved the memory of the righteous, the sinner, and men without offspring. A *maṣṣēbâ* and *ṣîyûn* ("pillar" and "monument") marked the graves of the righteous Rachel (Gen 35:20) and the unnamed prophet (2 Kgs 23:17) respectively. A circle of stones served to censure Israel's enemies and those who challenged Yahweh's anointed:Achan, the king of Ai, the five kings of the S coalition, and Absalom (Josh 7:26; 8:29; 10:26; 2 Sam 18:17–18). Monuments serving to perpetuate the memory of men without descendants, literally to "memorialize the name," have been associated with death cult activities (Pitard 1979). During his lifetime Absalom erected a pillar, literally, "hand/phallus [Heb *yād*] of Absalom" (2 Sam 18:18; cf. also Isa 57:8) and Yahweh promised the faithful eunuch through his temple and holy city "a monument and memorial [*yād wāšēm*] better than sons and daughters," a perpetual testimonial which cannot be severed (Isa 56:5; cf. 2 Sam 14:7).

**2. Archaeological Witnesses.** Multiple (family) burials in caves continued from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age at the sites of Gibeon, nearby Tell en-Nasbeh (biblical Mizpah or Ataroth-Addar), and Dothan. In the Gibeon tomb, ceramic vessels, objects of personal adornment, weapons, household articles, and amulets were present as in the earlier assemblages (Dajani 1951:48; 1953:66). Dothan Tomb 1 was in use from approximately 1400 to 1200/1100 B.C.E. It contained the remains of at least 288 individuals and 3146 artifacts in an irregularly shaped chamber with a domed roof, six niches, two crypts, and a window (Cooley 1983; Free 1960:12).

All the salient features of 8th century B.C.E. and later Judahite tombs appeared by the 12th century in tombs at Tell el-Farah (S), in Shephelah tombs at Gezer, Lachish, and Tel ʿAitun, and at Sarafend on the coast and Pella in Transjordan. Tel ʿAitun C1 consisted of steps leading into two chambers equipped with waist-high benches extending along the sides of the tomb on which to repose the dead, lamp niches, and a repository. The repository was a pit hewn in the rear of the chamber or under a bench to accommodate skeletal remains and accompanying objects moved to make room on the benches for additional burials. Fifteen individuals were distinguished in the tomb and the repository was completely filled with bones. One inhabitant lay extended on its back with a copper bracelet on its arm, surrounded by lamps, a flask, a Philistine krater and jar, beads, and two bronze-socketed arrowheads. Other goods in the tomb included large quantities of local and Philistine pottery, many objects of personal adornment, household items, weapons, scarabs, and scaraboid seals (Edelstein et al. 1971:86–87).

Through the 10th to 8th century B.C.E. both cave and bench tombs were utilized in Israel and Judah. Following the fall of the N kingdom of Israel, "bathtub" coffins and jar burials were introduced by the Assyrians and other foreigners who settled there. Assyrian bathtub coffins are named for their characteristic shape, a deep bathtub-shaped ceramic vessel approximately 1 m long, with one rounded and one straight end, and handles around the sides. In a jar burial, the vessel neck was broken off and the body inserted either in a single jar or two facing jars. In both jar and bathtub coffin burials the deceased were supplied with the same types of goods provided in earlier and contemporary cave and bench tombs. In Judah the bench tomb overwhelmingly prevailed. See Fig. BUR.01. Two of the largest and finest examples of bench tombs were preserved in the N cemetery of Jerusalem, the St. Étienne tombs. One example consisted of a central court around which were symmetrically arranged six burial chambers. Each chamber was equipped on three sides with parapeted benches with horseshoe (or Hathor wig)-shaped headrests and a repository under one of the benches. Stone-carved recessed door frames, right-angled cornices, and imitation sunken wooden panels enhanced the tomb (Barkai et al. 1975).

Exceptionally fine tombs were also cut in the cliffs of what is today Silwan Village facing the City of David. These tombs incorporated distinctive Phoenician and Egyptian features such as gabled ceilings, stone coffins, funerary inscriptions carved into tomb facades, and a crowning pyramid atop a monolithic aboveground structure (Ussishkin 1970). These magnificent structures surely housed the wealthy and eminent members of Jerusalem society, such as Shebna (Isa 22:15–16).

Beginning in the 10th century B.C.E. with the settlement of the S highlands of Judah, new objects were added to the standard funerary assemblage. These included additional vessels for the preparation, serving, and storing of foodstuffs and wine:cooking pots, plates/platters, store jars, and wine decanters. Juglets and dipper juglets were more frequently supplied for use as dippers in store jars and as containers of scented oils and perfumes in a period when tombs were repeatedly entered and bodies anointed. Ceramic models of chairs, beds, quadrupeds, and horse and rider figurines were found in Shephelah tombs, and female pillar figurines were recorded from tombs initially in the Shephelah and later from throughout Judah. This figurine has a hollow or solid conical body, pronounced breasts emphasized by arms encircling them, and a hand-fashioned or molded head. The form is evocative of a tree, long depicted in ANE art as a source of nourishment, but identified with different deities at different times. Their presence in Judahite tombs, in conjunction with figurines of the Egyptian god Bes, one of whose roles was to safeguard mothers and their newborn infants and children, indicates widespread concern for adequate lactation to nourish newborns and infants, and an acceptance of the use of figurines for sympathetic magic.

Following the Babylonian conquest, within the region of the former kingdom of Judah, Iron Age burial customs persisted into the 6th century B.C.E. at Khirbet Beit Lei, Gezer, Beth Shemesh, Abu-Ghosh, and Jerusalem (see Fig. BUR.02). By the end of the 6th century B.C.E. settlement was concentrated along the coast and through the Shephelah where cist tombs with Achaemenid-style metal objects and weapons were succeeded by shaft tombs with Greek and Phoenician pottery and coins (Stern 1982:68–92). A cist tomb consisted of a rectangular grave which was lined and occasionally floored with fieldstones or stone slabs. In a shaft tomb, a vertical shaft led into a rock-cut chamber of no particular shape.

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ELIZABETH BLOCH-SMITH


## *ANCIENT JEWISH*

This article will focus mainly on Jewish burial customs and funerary art from the Second Temple period.

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A. Burial Customs

1. Tomb Types

2. Burial Types
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**A. Burial Customs**

Our principal data for funerary customs and art in the Second Temple period come from two cemeteries, one in Jerusalem (Avigad 1950–51; Rahmani 1981, 1982; Kloner 1980) and the other in Jericho (Hachlili 1978, 1979, 1980; Hachlili and Killebrew 1983). They were both located outside their respective town limits, in accordance with Jewish law (*m. B. Bat.* 2:9). The Jerusalem cemetery consisted of tombs surrounding the walls of the city, in three major areas of concentration to the N, S, and E (Kloner 1980:259–68) and the Jericho cemetery was located outside the town, on the hills flanking the Jordan Valley.

The Jerusalem necropolis developed as the result of tombs being randomly scattered wherever the rock was soft and could be easily carved. Roads and paths led to the tombs, and plants and trees landscaped the surroundings. Families purchased burial plots presumably according to their means. Several of the loculi tombs have richly ornamented facades, while a group of monumental rock-hewn tombs (the Kidron Valley tombs), probably belonging to prominent Jerusalem families, have a memorial or *nefesh* in the shape of a pyramid or tholus standing above the ground (Hachlili 1981). Despite the lavish ornamentation, burial was probably similar to that of the simpler, undecorated loculi tombs. Apart from two tombs where sarcophagi were discovered, all were found in a disturbed, robbed state. Several crowded burial quarters exist in the present-day areas of Mt. Scopus, Dominus Flevit, and French Hill (Kloner 1980:268).

A large necropolis at Jericho containing either primary burials in wooden coffins or secondary collected bone burials in ossuaries was excavated and surveyed (Hachlili 1979; 1980).

**1. Tomb Types.** The tombs found in these two cemeteries may be divided into two types:the first consists of rock-hewn loculi tombs and the second type is a monumental tomb which is rock-hewn and has a memorial or *nefesh* standing next to or above it. Two basic tomb plans exist:one is called the loculi type *(kokhim)* and the other is the arcosolia. Some tombs are equipped solely with a burial room. Both types of plans are found in the Jerusalem necropolis, but the Jericho cemetery consists only of loculi tombs which are hewn into the hillsides. Both serve as family tombs but with provision for separate burial of each individual.

The form of the loculi tomb (see Fig. BUR.03) consists of a square burial chamber, often with a pit dug into its floor to enable a man to stand upright. From one to three arched loculi 1 m high and 2 m long *(kokhim)* are hewn into three walls, the entrance wall excepted. The entrance to the tomb is square; in Jerusalem it sometimes has a forecourt and a molded facade (Avigad 1950–51:98, fig. 3) or an ornamental facade. It is closed either by a rectangular blocking stone, sometimes in the shape of a large “stopper,” or by mudbricks and small stones. Occasionally, single-loculus tombs were constructed.

The evidence from Jericho proves conclusively that loculi tombs were first designed and used for primary—that is, permanent—burial in coffins. This is also indicated by the length of the *kokh* (ca. 2 m), which is the length of a coffin. The same tomb plan continued to be used in the case of ossuary burials. In previous research scholars have claimed that the *kokh* was “intimately” connected with secondary burial.

If this was the case and the loculi tomb had been designed for 70cm-long ossuaries there would have been no need to dig a 2m-long *kokh.*

The origin of the plan for the rock-cut loculi tomb of the Second Temple period in Judea is to be sought in Egypt, particularly in Leontopolis, from as early as Hasmonean times (*Ant.* 13. 63, 67; 14. 99, 131–33; Hachlili and Killebrew 1983:110–12).

In some Jerusalem tombs the arcosolium type of burial is found. The arcosolium is a benchlike aperture with an arched ceiling hewn into the length of the wall. The arcosolium is a later type of burial, in use at the end of the Second Temple period. In the Beth-shearim catacombs the arcosolia were usually reserved for more expensive burials. In several cases the deceased was interred in a trough grave hewn in the arcosolium. From the 3d century on, the trough grave became the prevalent type of burial (Avigad 1976:259).

**2. Burial Types.** Two distinctly different types of loculi tomb burials, primary and secondary, were discovered during the excavations in the Jericho cemetery. They can be classified typologically, chronologically, and stratigraphically into primary burials in wooden coffins (type 1) and secondary burials of collected bones which were either placed in individual ossuaries or piled in heaps (type 2).

**a. Primary Burial in Wooden Coffins.** This is the earliest type of burial known from the Jericho cemetery. The coffins were placed in the rock-cut loculi tombs, each loculus holding one wooden coffin; only when all loculi were filled would further coffins be placed on the benches or in the pit.

Coffins took the form of a completely wooden chest, sometimes with a post at each corner, and were constructed by means of mortising and dovetailing. Several types of wood were used in the construction:the most common types were sycamore, Christ-thorn, and cypress. The lid of the chest was usually gabled and consisted of one plank on each side and a pediment at each end. See Fig. BUR.04. One well-preserved example, however, has a hinged lid. Iron nails and knobs found with the coffins were probably used only for decoration or structural support. The coffins were decorated with painted red and black geometric patterns and designs.

Contemporaneous coffins, different in their construction and decoration, were found in tombs at En-gedi, Jericho, and in the Qumran cemetery (de Vaux 1973:46–47; Hachlili and Killebrew 1983:115). Earlier examples of similar wooden coffins dating to the 4th century B.C.E. have survived in Egypt and S Russia (Watzinger 1905).

All the bodies were extended, face upward, in the coffin, usually with the head to one side and hands close to the side of the body. Most coffins contain one individual, but sometimes a mother and a small child (infant or fetus) are found together in a coffin. There are several occurrences where one or two bodies have been added to a coffin that already contained an individual, but no more than three bodies have ever been found in any one coffin.

In most of the coffin tombs, grave goods consisting of both personal possessions and objects of daily use were found in with the deceased, usually placed near the head or feet. Found only with women and children, they include wooden objects such as bowls, spatulas, beads, and a glass amphoriskos. Leather sandals were also commonly found, placed at the head of the deceased inside the coffin. Objects of daily use were found in the floor or in the pit of the tomb, while storage jars were placed outside the entrance to the tomb.

**b. Secondary Burial in Ossuaries.** This type was at first practiced only in Jerusalem but later became more widespread (Rahmani 1982:109). From the finds and stratigraphy of the ossuary burials in Jericho it is clear tht they postdate coffin burials. Ossuaries were hewn from one large block of limestone usually in the shape of a small, rectangular box resting on four low legs and measuring ca. 60 × 35 × 30 cm for adults (less for children). A stone lid—flat, slightly curved, or gabled—was placed on top. The ossuaries were often decorated. Only a few pottery ossuaries, but none of wood, have been discovered thus far.

The ossuaries were placed in the loculi or on the benches. Often two ossuaries would be stacked one above the other or placed next to each other. The occupants of ossuaries placed in the same loculus were usually related to each other, as can be concluded from the inscriptions found on the ossuaries. The bodies were prepared for secondary burial by being temporarily buried first to allow the flesh to decay

completely, leaving only the bones. It has been suggested that the body was placed in the loculus of the family tomb and that after a year the relatives of the deceased would come to gather the bones and put them in the ossuary (Rahmani 1961:117–18; Kloner 1980:226–27; 248–52). The bones were then placed inside the ossuary in a customary order. There are several occurrences of more than one individual being interred in one ossuary.

Grave goods discovered with ossuary burial tombs include unguentaria, bowls, Herodian lamps and cooking pots, and glass vessels, all identical to those used in daily life. No personal objects were found inside the ossuaries themselves, but were usually placed close the ossuaries or in the pit. It is noteworthy that some of the objects in the tombs were defective at the time of their placement; for example, cooking pots were cracked, and pottery was left Ÿ in fragments. This raises the question whether it was economically preferable to place a defective item in the tomb or whether this had symbolic significance. The practice of placing burial gifts with the dead was widespread throughout the Hellenistic and pagan worlds, but the Jews, although following the custom, gave it their own interpretation by ignoring the connotation of an offering to the dead for their use in the afterlife. Possibly Jews placed personal belongings in the tomb of the deceased because the scene aroused the grief of the onlookers.

Inscriptions were incised, scratched, or written on ossuaries. No particular place was reserved for the inscriptions and they are found on the front, back, sides, and lid. Some were bilingual, written in Jewish and Greek script. The inscription usually included the name of the interred and his position in the family (e.g., father), but in several cases additional information is also given, such as place of origin and age or status, for example, "freedman" (Hachlili 1979:46).

A unique inscribed funerary bowl, found in an ossuary tomb in Jericho (Hachlili 1978) mentions a three-generation family which originated in Jerusalem but probably lived, died, and was buried in Jericho. In Jerusalem most of the inscriptions consist of names and family relations. Sometimes a profession, such as "Simon the master builder," appears, or an Aramaic inscription appears in archaic Hebrew script (such as the Abba cave inscription). An intriguing aspect of the inscriptions is the identity of their authors:they were probably professional scribes or family members. The latter seems more likely because of the great variety of hands that are evident in the execution of these inscriptions. A consideration of the inscriptions leads us to conclude (1) that ossuary tombs contained at most three generations of a particular family; (2) that the recurrence of names is common in successive generations of a family (Hachlili 1979:53); and (3) that Jewish families were literate and bilingual in Aramaic or Hebrew and in Greek.

Relatives and friends of the deceased probably performed the more personal duties associated with the burial of the deceased, such as carrying the coffin, placing it properly in the tomb, collecting bones and laying them in the ossuaries, mourning, and writing inscriptions (see *AgAp* 2.205). Contemporary and later sources mention charitable societies, the *heber ʿir,* who probably dealt with other duties involved in the preparation of the body for burial.

**3. Dating.** Dates for these burial customs are still the subject of some debate. Rahmani dates the practice of secondary burials in ossuaries in Jerusalem to 30/20 B.C.E.–70 C.E., continuing sporadically either until ca. 135 C.E. or the 3d century. Nevertheless, the Jericho cemetery can provide some chronology for the two different types of burials. Primary burials in coffins can be dated to ca. mid-1st century B.C.E.–10 C.E., while secondary burials in ossuaries followed immediately, dating to ca. 10–68 C.E.

**B. Funerary Art**

Funerary art of the Second Temple period is a rich and varied art. It consists of ornamentation of tomb facades, ossuaries, and sarcophagi, as well as wall paintings and graffiti.

**1. Tomb Decoration.** The composite style, an amalgamation of stylistic features influenced by Hellenistic-Roman architecture and by oriental elements, is characteristic of ornamented tombs in Jerusalem, and its execution is typical generally of local Jewish art of the Second Temple period. This composite style is found both on (a) facade-ornamented tombs with either a Doric frieze together with Ionic columns, or an ornate gable (such as the Jerusalem tomb of Zechariah), and on (b) monumental

tombs exhibiting a mixture of classical features and Egyptian pyramids and cornices (such as the Jerusalem monument of Absalom, which has a Doric frieze, Ionic capitals, and an Egyptian cornice).

**2. Ossuary Ornamentation.** Most of the ossuaries found in Jerusalem are undecorated, whereas most of those in Jericho are decorated. The repertoire of motifs decorating ossuaries is quite varied and consists of plant, geometric, and architectural motifs. These motifs are similar to those appearing in other artistic works of the Second Temple period. However, the variation on each motif is greater, probably due to the large quantity of ossuaries found. Stone ossuary workshops and artists probably had a repertoire, presumably in the form of a pattern book, to which reference could be repeatedly made. See Fig. BUR.05.

The ornamentation was carved into the soft stone of the ossuaries with the aid of tools such as a ruler and compass. Few ossuaries were painted. The most common type of ossuary ornamentation is a scheme consisting of a frame of zigzag lines, incised or chip-carved, within two straight lines. This frame is usually divided into two, and sometimes more, metopes which are filled generally with six-petaled rosettes.

The motifs decorating the ossuaries represent actual contemporary funerary art and architecture in Jerusalem. In fact, no symbols are depicted on the ossuaries, neither are there displayed any motifs connected with everyday life or with the temple. Rahmani's contention (1982) seems to be the most acceptable:the repertoire of motifs used to decorate the ossuaries is part of a general ensemble of decorative patterns used in Second Temple period art, several of which are found solely in funerary art.

**3. Sarcophagus Ornamentation.** A few sarcophagi have been found in tombs in Jerusalem. Made of hard stone, their ornamentation differs from that of ossuaries in both design and execution, although the motifs are similar, consisting of plants, rosettes, vine branches and bunches of grapes, and acanthus leaves. However, differences are noticeable between sarcophagi and ossuary decoration and ornamentation. The sarcophagi are usually depicted in high relief, are skillfully executed, and their design is richer and more elaborate. The richer and beautifully reliefed sarcophagi were probably much more expensive, suggesting that only wealthy families would have been able to afford them.

**4. Wall Paintings.** Jewish rock-cut tombs of the Second Temple period are not known to have been decorated. However, one wall painting was discovered in the monumental "Goliath" tomb in the Jericho necropolis (Hachlili 1985). Traces of a wall painting enclosed by a painted red Ÿ frame appear on three walls of the tomb. The vine motif is the subject of paintings on both N and S walls. Several birds perch on the vines. The Jericho tomb painting was most likely executed at the same time as the tomb itself was hewn, evidently for the benefit of the tomb's visitors and to indicate the family's prominent position.

**5. Drawings.** Several drawings in charcoal of three ships and a recumbent stag appear on the N and S walls of the porch of Jason's tomb in Jerusalem. They probably were executed by one artist at the same time. On the E wall of the porch graffiti of five menorahs are scratched, probably later than the drawing of the ships, about 30 C.E. A charcoal drawing of a *nefesh*, a column pyramid, was discovered on a tomb wall in the Jericho cemetery. The drawing depicts three columns and part of a fourth.

**C. Other Burial Customs**

Two completely contrasting Jewish tomb forms and burial customs are encountered in the cemeteries of Qumran and En-el Guweir, (both belonging to the Jewish sect of the Essenes in the Dead Sea area) and in the 2d–4th-century burials in the Jewish necropolis at Beth-shearim.

**1. Essene Burial Customs.** One sect of Jews during the 1st century C.E. the Essenes, practiced a completely different primary burial in individual graves as evidenced by their cemeteries at Qumran and En el-Guweir. The main cemetery of Qumran is located E of the settlement and contains some 1100 graves (de Vaux 1973). Its organized plan consists of rows of single graves, usually oriented N–S. The graves are marked by oval-shaped heaps of stones placed on the surface. Several graves contained signs of wooden coffins. Most of the excavated tombs contained individual burials; male interments only were found in the main cemetery (de Vaux 1973:46, pls. XXV–XXVI; Bar-Adon 1977:12, 16, figs. 19–20). On the outskirts of this cemetery and in the smaller cemeteries of Qumran, a few females and children were interred. The large number of males found in these graves compared to the small number of women and children might point to the importance placed on celibacy in this community.

The Essene burial practices have a few elements in common with those of the Jerusalem and Jericho cemeteries. The coffin burials at Qumran, though later in date, are comparable to those found at Jericho. Grave goods were discovered with women and children at Qumran and En el-Guweir, as well as remains of mattresses and cloth (indicating that the dead had been wrapped in shrouds). Broken storage jars were discovered on top of the graves at En el-Guweir and Qumran, probably a custom parallel to that of placing storage jars outside the tombs at Jericho.

The contrasts in these burial practices indicate differences in religious philosophy toward the dead among the Jews of this time and reflects the separation of the Essenes from more mainstream Judaism. Single-person burials at Qumran and En el-Guweir cemeteries stress the importance of the individual rather than the family.

**2. The Beth-shearim Necropolis.** The Jewish necropolis at Beth-shearim (M.R. 162234) was the central burial ground for Jews from the land of Israel and neighboring areas. The majority of the catacombs date to the 3d–4th centuries. Beth-shearim was expanded after the death of Rabbi Judah in the latter part of the 3d century. The *terminus ante quem* for the catacombs is the date of their destruction in the year 352 C.E. (Avigad 1976:260).

The Beth-shearim burial place consists of catacombs, with a frontal courtyard and portals constructed of stone doors imitating wooden doors with nails (Mazar 1973:Plan 1–5; pl. VI; Avigad 1976: figs. 3–5; pls. 25:1; 27:2; 28:1). Several burial halls spaced out along a corridor were hewn in the rock (see Avigad 1976: fig. 31). The graves were mainly loculi or arcosolia types and it is clear that burial customs—that is, primary inhumation in arcosolia, coffins, and sarcophagi—have little in common with those of the Second Temple period. On the walls were carved, painted, or incised decoration, in a popular art style. Decorated marble or clay sarcophagi contained the primary burials of local Jews or the reinterred remains of those returned from the Diaspora (Mazar 1973; Avigad 1976). By this time burial had become a commercialized, public enterprise and was directed apparently by the burial society *(Hebrah Kadisha)*, who sold burial places to any purchaser (Avigad 1976:253, 265).

The Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek inscriptions found in these tombs mainly record the names of the tomb owners; sometimes a personal note is added. Longer inscriptions are written on the walls. Their purpose was to identify the graves of the deceased for visitors (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974:219). The inscriptions found at Beth-shearim indicate that the interred were people of importance, such as rabbis, public officers, merchants, craftsmen, and scribes.

The Beth-shearim tomb walls, sarcophagi, and coffins are adorned with carvings, reliefs, incisions, and drawings. The patterns used are a blend of Hellenistic and oriental elements, with the occasional creation of a new motif. The style in which they are worked is similar to that used in contemporaneous Jewish synagogal art. See ART AND ARCHITECTURE (EARLY JEWISH).

A distinction must be made between the custom of secondary burial in ossuaries and the custom of Diaspora Jews to be reinterred in the land of Israel. Scholars have claimed that ossuaries contained the bones of Diaspora Jews, citing as proof inscriptions mentioning a person's place of origin outside the land of Israel. What the inscriptions actually indicate is that the deceased had belonged to a community of Jews residing in Jerusalem who were of Diaspora origin (Rahmani 1977:28, and nn. 123–24). Jews did not begin to practice the custom of reinterment in the land of Israel until the 3d century C.E. (Gafni 1981), and especially abundant evidence for this practice can be found in the Beth-shearim cemetery (Schwabe and Lifshitz 1974:219).

**D. Conclusions**

The excavations in the extended Jerusalem necropolis and the Jericho cemetery reveal that two completely different burial customs, one chronologically following the other, were practiced by Jews of the Second Temple period. The earlier custom (1st century B.C.E.) is a primary individual burial in a wooden coffin. In Jerusalem indications of such primary burial have been found in many tombs. Jewish burial practices of the late Second Temple period reveal a corresponding importance placed on both the individual and the family. This is reflected in the plan of the loculi tomb, which provided for individual burial of coffins or ossuaries in separate loculi while at the same time allowing a family to be buried

together in the same tomb. The entire population and not just the upper classes (as in the Israelite period) were given individual burials. This practice is probably related to the increasing importance played on the individual in contemporary Hellenistic society, and to the Jewish belief in individual resurrection of the body. This belief is reflected in sources dating as early as the 2d century B.C.E. (Rahmani 1961:117–18, n.6). Similarly, burial in wooden coffins was practiced in En-gedi and in the cemetery of the Qumran sect.

The second type of burial found in Jerusalem and in the Jericho cemetery—chronologically following the coffin burials—is deliberate secondary burial of the bones, placed either in individual ossuaries or in communal burials in loculi or pits, which was also common in burials of the First Temple and Hellenistic periods. This complete change in burial customs occurs during the beginning of the 1st century C.E. simultaneously with a change in the political status of Judea, which now became a Roman province. Up to now no theory has been able to account for this drastic change in burial customs; unfortunately, all sources dealing with ossilegium describe only the custom itself without mentioning the reasons for its sudden appearance.

In summary, what is most extraordinary in the Jewish burial customs of the Second Temple period is the astonishing fact that within a comparatively short span of time burial practices, which are typically among the most conservative customs in a society, underwent rapid changes. Loculi tombs appear with primary coffin burials, and within a century secondary burials in ossuaries in similar loculi tombs becomes the prevalent custom, a practice lacking parallels in any other contemporary neighboring culture. At the same time, these customs were short-lived and show little affinity with either the earlier Israelite customs or the later Jewish rituals of late antiquity which contain only traces of these Second Temple customs. Furthermore, archaeological investigation has been unable to uncover the causes for these ossuary burial innovations. It may be conjectured that the Jews blamed their loss of independence and their state, in 6 C.E., on their sinful behavior; the custom of secondary burial of the bones in ossuaries, after decay of the flesh, may have become a way to expiate sins. The later Beth-shearim necropolis (3d–4th century C.E.) shows the practice of individual burial in various kinds of sarcophagi and was a central cemetery for Jews both in the land of Israel and in the Diaspora.

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**BUSEIRAH.** See BOZRAH.

**BUSHEL.** See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.
**BUSTARD.** See ZOOLOGY.
**BUTCHERING ANIMALS.** See ZOOLOGY.

**BUZ** (PERSON) [Heb *bûz* (בּוּז)]. **1.** The second son of Nahor (Gen 22:21). See BUZ (PLACE).

**2.** A "son," i.e., descendant, of Abihail in Israelite Transjordan (1 Chr 5:14). The persons (or rather families?) in 1 Chr 5:12–15 may actually have been "registered" in the reign of Jeroboam II (787–747 B.C.), as 1 Chr 5:17 indicates. In this case, these names may represent the free, landowning, and taxpaying Israelite families in Gilead before it became an Assyrian province in 734 B.C. (cf. 1 Chr 5:6). These Israelites cannot, however, have belonged to the tribe of Gad, as 1 Chr 5:11 claims. Gad did not inhabit Gilead but the region immediately N of the Moabite border and S of Gilead. The attribution of the Gadite territory to Reuben and of Gilead to Gad originated in Israelite historiographic theory after these tribes had disappeared from the scene of history (Wüst 1975:245f.).

As a personal name, Buz is difficult to explain. Heb *bz,* "despise," is unlikely to have generated personal names. Perhaps one may compare Arabic *Baus,* "Kissing," already attested in Thamudic and Safaitic (Knauf 1982:173 and n.16). Buz can be derived from *Baus* by partial assimilation of the voiceless sibilant to the voiced labial.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**BUZ** (PLACE) [Heb *bûz* (בּוּז)]. A country in E Arabia (Jer 25:23; Job 32:2, 6). In 605/604 B.C. (Jer 25:1), the prophet Jeremiah named four polities from the Arabian Peninsula (25:23):the city-states of Dedan and Taima in NW Arabia; "those with cropped hair" (i.e., the Qedarites according to Jer 49:28–33; see KEDAR); and Buz. In Job 32:2, 6, Buz is Elihu's country or tribe of origin. See ELIHU. Buz (*Bauz* in the i.e., originally **Bôz*) occurs in Assyrian records under the name of **Bâzu* (Knauf 1985:55, n.267 *pace* Eph‘al 1982:133). In 677 B.C. Esarhaddon conducted a campaign into *Bâzu* (Eph‘al 1982:130–37). Two of the conquered cities can be located in E Arabia (Knauf 1985:55 n.267).

It is highly likely that the "sons of Nahor" (Gen 22:21f.) actually form a list of Syrian and Arabian countries and people from the 1st millennium B.C. The "brothers" of Buz, son of Nahor, are:Uz, a country or tribe in W Arabia (see UZ); Kemuel, the father of Aram (i.e., Syria and/or the Arameans); Kesed, the Chaldeans; and Hazo. The last recalls *Ḥazû,* a mountainous area next to *Bâzu* in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon (Knauf 1985:55, n. 267). In the Sefire-Inscriptions (KAI 222) B 9, *y‘dy* (Zinjirli; but cf. Lipiński 1986:85) *bz* denote the extension of the world known to its N Syrian author(s) in the first half of the 8th century B.C.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**BUZI** (PERSON) [Heb *bûzî* (בּוּזִי)]. The father of the prophet Ezekiel (Ezek 1:3). The name means "The man from the land (or tribe) of Buz." See BUZ. Because Ezekiel was of priestly descent, and from Jerusalem, it is highly unlikely that his family originated from this country in E Arabia. The name may, however, betray links of Ezekiel's family to E Arabia (by way of trade or diplomacy) at the time when his father was given this name.

ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**BUZZARD.** See ZOOLOGY.
**BYBLOS** (PLACE). See GEBAL (PLACE).
**BYBLOS SYLLABIC.** See LANGUAGES (BYBLOS SYLLABIC INSCRIPTIONS).

# C

**CABBON** (PLACE) [Heb *kabbôn* (כַּבּוֹן)]. A town situated in the Shephelah, or low country, of Judah (Josh 15:40), within the same district as Lachish and Eglon. The only reference to this settlement occurs in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62; see also BETH-DAGON). It has been suggested (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB 386) that Cabbon may be related to MACHBENAH, listed in 1 Chr 2:49 as one of the descendants of CALEB. The location of the ancient settlement is unknown.

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**CABUL** (PLACE) [Heb *kābûl* (כָּבוּל)]. A town in the tribe of Asher (Josh 19:27; 1 Kgs 9:13). Cabul is of great importance for the understanding of the topography of the territory of the tribe of Asher because it is the only place, the name of which has been retained in a modern place name, that is undoubtedly part of the description of the E border of the tribal territory. Other places mentioned in Josh 19:27–28, connected by the conjunctive *waw* ("and"), are generally considered not to belong to the border description but to have been part of a town list later added to it. Literally the phrase in Josh 19:27 reads "and [Asher's territory] went out to Cabul from the left." It has been suggested, however, that "left" should here be understood as "north" (Cooke, *Joshua* CBSC, 180).

The name Cabul has survived in the name of the village Kabul (M.R. 170252) 14 km SE of Acco, situated on a low W spur of the hills of Galilee. This is with little doubt the ancient Chaboulon/Chabolo mentioned by Josephus as having been burnt by Cestius Gallus (*JW* 2.1.9), as his own headquarters (*Life* 43–45), and as the W border of Lower Galilee (*JW* 3.3.1; there "Zaboulon" should be corrected to "Chaboulon"). It is also the "Kabul" mentioned frequently in Talmudic literature (*t. Šabb.* 7:17; *t. Moʿed Qaṭ.* 2:5; *y. Meg.* 4:78b; etc.).

No evidence of Iron Age occupation has been reported from Kabul, however, and Gal (1985) suggests that biblical Cabul be identified at Kh. Ras ez-Zeitun, 1.5 km NE of Kabul. Excavations there have revealed a town 5 acres in extent from the early Iron Age replaced by a fort from the 9th century B.C.E. Cabul's position between the hills of Galilee and the coastal plain determined its being chosen to demarcate the borders of Asher in Joshua and of Lower Galilee in *JW*. The border of Asher was apparently to the E of Cabul, thus including the foothills in the tribe's territory, while the border of Lower Galilee was probably to the W of Cabul at the foot of the hills.

The "land of Cabul" (Heb *ʾereṣ kābûl*) is mentioned in connection with the episode in which Hiram king of Tyre received "twenty towns in Galilee" from Solomon (1 Kgs 9:10–14; but cf. 2 Chr 8:2). Various attempts have been made to explain the derogatory meaning implied by the text. Josephus explained that it means "unpleasant" in Phoenician (*Ant* 8.5.3), and in the Talmud (*b. Šabb.* 54b) it is explained as "unfruitful." There is, however, little doubt that the Cabul of 1 Kgs 9:13 is to be identified with that of Josh 19:27, and that the explanation in 1 Kgs 9:13 is etiological in character, either unconnected to the Hiram episode (*NHI*, 212, n.1), or intended to counteract (or at least soften) the negative political implications of the loss of Israelite territory to Hiram.

The biblical text implies that the "land of Cabul" is identical with the "twenty towns in Galilee." These are usually presumed to be the towns of the coastal plain that in Joshua 19 are included in the territory of Asher but that are later Sidonian (*ANET*, 287). However, it is unlikely that this region of important cities would be named after Cabul, a comparatively unimportant town on the periphery. The LXX of 1 Kgs 9:13 renders the MT *kābûl* ("Cabul") as Gk *Opion* ("border"), implying that the original Hebrew was *gĕbûl* ("border") or that the translator interpreted it as such. The "land of Cabul" in 1 Kings 9 has therefore been

explained as a smaller region in the vicinity of Cabul/Kabul, and the discrepancy of this explanation with the biblical text has been explained either by presuming that part of the original narrative is missing (Alt 1929: 43–44; *LBHG*, 277) or by separating completely the episode of the land of Cabul from that of the cities in Galilee (*NHI*, 212, n.1).

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**CAESAR.** Originally "Caesar" was a cognomen used by some of the members of the Julian family, e.g., by the dictator Gaius Julius Caesar. On his death, his heir and adopted son Octavian (later Augustus) added Caesar's names to his own; for it was the custom, according to the historian Dio Cassius, "for a person, when he was adopted, to take most of his name from his adopter" (46.47.6). Subsequently, "Caesar" was transmitted, legally, to those whom Augustus adopted and to their direct descendants, namely, the emperor Tiberius (along with his son Drusus and his two sons), Germanicus (and his five sons, including the emperor Gaius), and the three sons of Marcus Agrippa. But Claudius and Nero (and later emperors as well) used it too, though they were not entitled to do so, or at least had no legal claim to it as a cognomen: neither they nor their fathers had been adopted by Augustus. Presumably, they regarded it as another imperial title. But by the 2d century at the latest it had acquired a new meaning: it was used to indicate the heir to the throne. "Caesar" is first attested in this sense in Hadrian's reign, when he adopted Aelius Verus. Each subsequent heir presumptive was automatically called "Caesar."

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**CAESAR'S HOUSEHOLD.** The extended family of the Roman emperor, including all slaves (*servi*) and freedmen (*liberti*) in his service, constituted the household of Caesar.

The *familia Caesaris* was no different than the *familia* possessed by members of any great Roman clan (*gens*). From the earliest times the Roman *familia* "consisted of the conjugal family plus dependents," and "could in its widest sense, refer to all persons (and property) under the control (*patria potestas*) of the head of the family (*paterfamilias*)" (Rawson 1986: 7–8). Accordingly, the households of wealthy nobles could become very large indeed. Under the empire, by far the wealthiest of Romans was the emperor, and his household was correspondingly greater than any other.

The *familia Caesaris* consisted of thousands of slaves and freedmen of the emperor. Their function was not necessarily servile, though many worked the emperor's estates and properties, while others filled traditional servant roles in caring for the persons of the emperor and his relatives. Quite the contrary, many of the emperor's slaves and especially freedmen functioned as managers of estates, enterprises, or other properties throughout the empire. Others took part in the administration of the government itself, which in the early empire remained attached to the emperor's household in the same way as did his personal property. The first Roman civil service developed out of the secretariats manned by the freedmen of Caesar and headed by a few elite freedmen who thus came to possess power far greater than that of the Roman nobility itself, and ultimately formed in imperial society a new influential class. For their role in the administration and governance of the empire, as well as in the personal service of the emperor, see Weaver 1972.

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**CAESAR, APPEAL TO.** See APPEAL TO CAESAR.

**CAESAREA** (PLACE) [Gk *kaisareia* (καισαρεια)]. A seaport located ca. 50 km N of Tel Aviv and ca. 45 km S of Haifa on the Mediterranean coast (M.R. 140212); also known as Caesarea Maritima or Caesarea Palestinae.

**A. Caesarea's History**

For millennia before any permanent occuption occurred, the future site of Caesarea Maritima had been used as a roadstead for maritime trade between Egypt and the Levant. The founder of the first known settlement at the site was a Sidonian king named Strato, who lived during the 4th century B.C.E. His trading station came to be known as Strato's Tower.

The original village may have been located ca. 300 m N of the subsequent Crusader fortifications. It probably included a small harbor, private houses, some official buildings, magazines for storage, and perhaps a lighthouse or watchtower that may have given the settlement its name. Adjacent to the fertile Plain of Sharon, the site provided an excellent maritime outlet for the agricultural abundance of the region.

In 259 B.C.E., when the region had passed under Ptolemaic control, an Egyptian official named Zeno arrived at the site to inspect the estates and manage the financial interests of his employer, Apollonius, and his king, Ptolemy Philadelphus. His visit, recorded in the so-called Zeno papyrus, provides the first mention of Strato's Tower or of the site of Caesarea itself.

Near the end of the 2d century B.C.E., a petty ruler named Zoilus seized Strato's Tower and the nearby city of Dor 12 km to the north. He transformed the coastal trading settlement into a fortified port city—a political imperative considering his tenuous hold on these coastal enclaves and the rise of the Hasmonean dynasty. In addition, he expanded his port's harbor capacity by creating an artificial, protected anchorage in the lee (N) of the site's highest promontory. This facility, which was literally carved from the coast and then flooded, augmented a harbor to the north that had served the original settlement. Both basins were now enclosed within the city walls, consistent with the tradition of harbor construction of the Hellenistic age.

Zoilus held Strato's Tower until it was taken by Alexander Jannaeus in 103 B.C.E. Its fate after this date is not clear, although its fortunes clearly declined. It had fallen into a ruinous state by the time of Herod the Great (40–4 B.C.E.).

Having survived the tumultuous last years of the Roman civil wars, Herod continued as Rome's client king of Judea. A successful meeting with Octavian (later Augustus Caesar) led to reconfirmation of his status and to a grant of additional territory which included the coastal region embracing the ruins of Strato's Tower.

Herod decided to build a major international port in his newly acquired land to foster several policy goals. A grand city built in the style of a Roman provincial capital and named for his imperial patron would be a tangible demonstration of his loyalty and would manifest his commitment to the traditions of Rome. In addition, Herod, who was a Jew and who would eventually rebuild the Second Temple in Jerusalem, could show his sympathy and support for his non-Jewish subjects through the construction of a great Greco-Roman urban center complete with pagan temples and other structures (a theater, hippodrome, and amphitheater) that were inimical to his Jewish constituency. This ambitious building program was a gentile counterpoint to his rebuiding of the Jewish temple.

Herod's dream for Caesarea had an economic dimension as well. He hoped that this port, with its great harbor complex called Sebastos, would challenge and perhaps supplant Alexandria as the great emporium of the eastern Mediterranean. Finally, the erection of such an elegant city from the ruins of Strato's Tower would confirm Herod's place in history as a great statesman and master builder. With so much at stake, work on the new city proceeded rapidly. In little more than a decade (ca. 22–10/9 B.C.E.), the city was completed and dedicated with spectacular games, with the Sebastos harbor complex finished perhaps a few years earlier. See Fig. CAE.01.

The primary source for Herodian Caesarea is the ancient historian Flavius Josephus (*JW* 1.408–14; *Ant.* 15.331–41). Although not a contemporary of the king, he knew Caesarea and its history well. We are

fortunate to have not only his description of Herod's city at its inception but also an account of the actual building of the Outer Basin of Sebastos as well—a literary description that is unique in ancient texts.

From its inception, Caesarea contained all the principal architectural elements that distinguished contemporary pagan cities—a theater, temples, elaborate sewer and water systems, paved streets installed on the typical orthogonal urban design, etc.—plus some unique features as well. Josephus mentions that Herod erected a grand temple to Augustus and Roma that dominated the harbor and provided a monumental landmark for incoming ships. From archaeological data uncovered, we now know that it was constructed on an artificial podium adjacent to the earlier Inner Basin that itself had been refurbished, perhaps to serve as a limited-use royal harbor or a protected anchorage for Herod's fleet.

Josephus' description of the construction of the Outer Basin, long judged by many scholars as an exercise in inflated prose or even a conscious exaggeration, has been proven largely correct by recent underwater excavations. When completed, this facility was an engineering marvel of the age, incorporating such sophisticated and modern features as a siltation control system that used flushing channels, the extensive use of hydraulic concrete (a building substance that was poured liquid into the sea to harden *in situ*), and certain design elements to mitigate damage from wave energy.

This facility was but one element of the city's elaborate harbor complex known as Sebastos, or *Portus Augusti* (as it is identified on coins from the Roman occupation of Caesarea). Sebastos consisted of four harbors: the Inner Basin and Outer Basin that were connected by a channel, the South Bay anchorage, and the North Harbor (the original Hellenistic facility restored by Herod). Each may have had a distinct purpose. Their total working area was far greater than the immediate economic needs of the city or the Plain of Sharon required. Herod clearly planned for his seaport to assume a premier role in the maritime affairs of the Roman world. Caesarea was intended to be a major transshipment point on the busy maritime trade routes leading to Rome from the east. Although his city never surpassed Alexandria, it did achieve an international prominence and importance commensurate with Herod's dream.

Upon his death in 4 B.C.E., one of Herod's surviving sons, Archelaus, received his throne. Archelaus was judged incompetent by Augustus and was removed from power in A.D. 6. His kingdom, including Caesarea, was then absorbed by the Romans into their empire, and the new province was henceforth known as Judea. Herod's seaport became the new provincial capital. When Judea entered the empire, the Romans took a census in the country, directed from Caesarea, to determine tax liabilities. This was the same census recorded in Luke 2:2 (contrast Matt 2:1).

The city figured prominently in the history of the early Church as recorded in the book of Acts. Philip, a deacon in the Jerusalem church, first brought Christianity to Caesarea (Acts 8:4–40). Pontius Pilate, who presided at Jesus' trial, governed Judea as prefect from this provincial capital. An important step toward fulfilling Christianity's destiny as a world religion occurred at Caesarea when Peter there converted the first gentile, Cornelius the centurion (10:3–48). Paul, who earlier had been safely spirited away to Tarsus from Caesarea (9:29–30), was imprisoned for two years (A.D. 57–59) in Caesarea before being sent to Rome for trial (Acts 23–26). Although incarcerated, he was not isolated from the rest of the Christian community. Caesarea's central position on the major maritime routes of the Roman Empire provided him with ample opportunity to continue his epistolary activities. Following these events, however, our knowledge of Caesarea's Christian history dims until the 3d century.

Caesarea also played an important role in the First Jewish War (A.D. 66–70). Events in the city triggered the onset of hostilities. Nearly 20,000 Jews were slaughtered at Caesarea in one hour. Vespasian, then his son Titus (after Vespasian had been declared emperor of Rome at Caesarea by his legions), conducted the war from there. Over 10,000 soldiers were quartered in the city at one point in the war. When the war was over, Titus held victory games in the amphitheater. There 2500 Jewish prisoners of war were forced to fight to their deaths as gladiators. Vespasian honored Caesarea's loyalty by refounding the city as a Roman colony, *Colonia Prima Flavia Augusta Caesarea*.

The emperor Hadrian, who visited the city at least once during his extensive imperial travels, patronized the city on a grand scale. Among the public works attributed to him are a new temple, a second aqueduct, and possibly the construction of a permanent stone hippodrome. Later emperors favored the city as well.

New titles and honors accrued as time passed until the city achieved its most glorious (and ponderous!) recognition under Trebonianus Gallus (A.D. 251–53): *Colonia Prima Flavia Augusta Felix Concordia Caesarea Metropolis Provinciae Syriae Palaestinae*.

Throughout the centuries of Rome's rule, the city prospered on many levels, enjoying the benefits of its role as provincial capital and busy international seaport. Its geopolitical importance, its local prosperity, and its cosmopolitan character as a leading Mediterranean seaport attracted numerous intellectuals and religious leaders. It evolved into one of the leading centers for religious study in the Roman world.

By the beginning of the 3d century, the Jewish population had recovered from the disasters of two wars with Rome (the second in A.D. 132–35) and had grown once again to a considerable size. Prominent rabbis, including Rabbi Hoshaya, Rabbi Abbahu, and Rabbi Isaac Hapaha, taught and issued legal decisions at Caesarea. Their contributions to both the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds loom large. The scholar Origen came to Caesarea in A.D. 231 and almost single-handedly turned the city into a center of Christian learning. During the next two decades he amassed a huge library that attracted serious scholars and students. His efforts were continued by Pamphilus, who educated another generation of Christians at Caesarea.

During the great persecution of Christians (A.D. 303–13), numerous individuals died as martyrs for their faith at Caesarea. Eusebius of Caesarea wrote *On the Martyrs of Palestine* in 311 to describe their sufferings. Slightly earlier, he had written the *Ecclesiastical History*, the first history of the Christian Church. Both works were subsequently revised.

As the Byzantine era dawned with the personal conversion of Constantine and the subsequent Christianizing of the Roman world, Caesarea became an even more important Christian center. As a provincial capital (a role it continued to play during the Byzantine era as well), its bishop, bearing the additional title of *metropolitan*, exercised a leadership role in the Christian Holy Land. This prestige and influence enjoyed by Caesarea's metropolitan bishops engendered a great rivalry with the bishops of Jerusalem until the issue was resolved in Jerusalem's favor in A.D. 451.

The city became a regular stop on Christian pilgrimages to the Holy Land. Numerous imperial visitors, including St. Helena, mother of Constantine, and famous churchmen like St. Jerome, visited Caesarea during its Byzantine era. Jerome's stay was prolonged because he took advantage of the city's famous library.

The prosperity of the city ebbed and flowed during the 4th–7th centuries, reflecting both international and local conditions. Sometime in the late 4th century the city walls were extended to incorporate an expanded population and another aqueduct was constructed. Although its prosperity extended into the 5th century, Caesarea eventually declined, a victim of the general forces at work in that tumultuous century as well as of local drought and religious tensions.

Procopius of Gaza (not to be confused with Procopius of Caesarea, the famous historian of the era of Justinian [A.D. 527–65]), wrote of the restoration of the harbor under Anastasius (probably after A.D. 502) and the subsequent return of prosperity to the city and the region it served. In the reign of Justinian an ambitious rebuilding program was undertaken throughout Caesarea. It is quite likely that the city reached its greatest population during the last years of his reign. Perhaps as many as 150,000 people lived there, making this city one of the largest in the Mediterranean world.

With the dawn of the 7th century, Caesarea's fortunes changed again. The city surrendered without major resistance to the Persians in 614 and was held by them until 627–28 when the emperor Heraclius destroyed the Persian Empire and recovered the occupied territories. Only six years later, the first Muslim army invaded Palestine. Caesarea was first attacked in 634. With its defenses revitalized by Heraclius and its ability to be resupplied by the sea, it withstood Arab attacks until 640 or 641. It only fell then because a Jew named Joseph led the Muslim besiegers into the city through a water "conduit," either the Byzantine aqueduct (described by archaeologists as the low-level aqueduct) or a sewer.

Many inhabitants fled, contributing to Caesarea's decline as a city. In addition, the geopolitical realities of the Mediterranean world changed with the Arab conquest. Caesarea no longer was on the major sea

lanes of E–W trade. Its harbors, now allowed to decline because they were no longer required, served only local coastal trade. The economic ramifications were significant.

Caesarea survived, but as a less grand settlement. It lost its international and cosmopolitan urbanity and became an agricultural center on the fringes of a desert empire and a *ribat*, or coast guard station. It gained renown for its produce, its impregnable walls, its fountains, and its Great Mosque, constructed on the same podium where Herod's temple to Augustus and Roma had stood centuries before.

The advent of the Crusades saw another shift of fortunes. Although not taken in the first military actions in the Holy Land, Caesarea soon thereafter came under Western control. In May 1101, Frankish knights under Baldwin I supported by a Genoese fleet assaulted and took the Arab city. One of the prizes of war was a green cut-glass chalice, found in the Great Mosque and thought to be the Holy Grail. It was taken by the Genoese to their city where it still forms part of the treasury of the Cathedral of San Lorenzo.

During the next two centuries the city retrenched again and became a fortified settlement of slightly more than 12 hectares. See Fig. CAE.02. Its history was tumultuous, as it changed hands several times during this period. The fortifications that distinguish the site today were completed in 1252. King Louis IX himself worked on these walls after his failed efforts to take Egypt in the Sixth Crusade. Ultimately, these Crusader fortifications proved insufficient: the Mamluk sultan Baybars, ruler of Egypt, took the city in 1265 after a siege of six days, and the defenders were allowed to evacuate the city. In 1291, as the Crusaders were finally expelled from the Holy Land, Caesarea, along with other coastal fortresses, was destroyed to prevent any Christians from ever again gaining a foothold in the Holy Land.

From that point to the late 19th century, the site was abandoned. Nature reclaimed much of it, but ancient Caesarea was never forgotten. In 1882 a small village of Bosnian Muslims was settled within its ruins by the Ottoman Empire. A small settlement developed within the precinct of the old Crusader city and survived until the creation of the state of Israel in 1948. Kibbutz Sdot Yam was founded on the site in 1940. Since 1954 the Caesarea Development Corporation has built more than 400 homes on a tract of land NE of the Crusader fortifications. The Department of Antiquities and the National Parks Authority have actively encouraged tourism at this site by promoting excavations by various national and international expeditions and by restoring numerous archaeological monuments. Caesarea annually attracts large numbers of visitors from throughout the world.

**B. Archaeology at Caesarea**

Various travelers visited Caesarea before the 20th century and left impressionistic records of their observations. The first scientific account of the site, however, was not produced until 1873 by C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchner, who spent six days exploring the ruins. Actual excavations did not commence until 1951 after agricultural workers from Kibbutz Sdot Yam uncovered an imperial porphyry statue on what is now called the Byzantine esplanade. S. Yeivin, then director of the Israeli Department of Antiquities, conducted that first exploration.

In the next two decades, various excavations were carried out. Beginning in 1959, the Missione Archeologica Italiana, under the direction of A. Calderini, succeeded by L. Crema and A. Frova, carried out six seasons of field work. Several of the site's most important monuments—the aqueduct, the N wall of the Herodian or Hellenistic city, and the theater—were excavated by this team. Their final report was the first significant treatment of the archaeological evidence of Caesarea (Frova 1965).

In 1960, A. Negev and G. Foerster of Hebrew University, assisted by A. Wegman of Kibbutz Sdot Yam, began field work on behalf of the Israeli National Parks Authority. They excavated and restored the Crusader fortifications and many buildings within them. In 1960, one of the first underwater explorations of a submerged terrestrial site, in this case the ruins of the Outer Basin of Sebastos, was conducted by an American-Israeli team headed by E. A. Link. In 1962, M. Avi-Yonah, also of Hebrew University, excavated a synagogue located N of the Crusader fortifications and some adjacent structures.

In 1971, a consortium of universities and colleges known as the Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima (JECM), headed by R. J. Bull of Drew University, began field work at various sites in the ancient city. This group has worked at the site intermittently since then (Bull 1982; Bull et al. 1986). Another team from Hebrew University, directed by D. Bahat, E. Netzer, and L. Levine, excavated an important

Byzantine building within the N sector of the Crusader fortifications and explored the promontory where Professor Netzer thinks Herod the Great's palace was located (see Levine 1975a; 1975b; Levine and Netzer 1986).

In 1980, another international consortium was formed to carry out maritime excavations at Caesarea. This group, known as the Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project (CAHEP), is headed by A. Raban of the University of Haifa and codirected by R. L. Hohlfelder of the University of Colorado, R. L. Vann of the University of Maryland, and R. Stieglitz of Rutgers University, Newark. (J. P. Oleson of Victoria University was a codirector until 1985.) CAHEP resumed Link's underwater explorations and began investigating various coastal structures relating to the ancient harbors of Caesarea (see bibliography).

Despite the considerable archaeological effort since 1951, only a small part of Caesarea has been explored. At this writing, JECM has completed its last season of field work and will continue to work on final publication of its explorations. CAHEP is continuing its marine archaeological investigations. In 1989 a new land archaeological team, the Caesarea Land Excavation Project (CLEP), began field work on the temple podium and on the Byzantine fortifications. This consortium, headed by Professor K. G. Holum, plans to conduct field work in these and other areas of the city. In June 1989 the Israel Antiquities Authority announced that it would accelerate its efforts to excavate and restore Herod's city.

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**CAESAREA PHILIPPI** (PLACE) [Gk *Kaisareia hē Philippou* (Καισαρεια ἡ Φιλιππου)]. A town (also called Caesarea Paneas, M.R. 215294) and district 40 km N of the Sea of Galilee along the Nahal Hermon (Wadi Banias), at the SW foot of Mt. Hermon, strategically located between Syria and Palestine. It was in this region that Jesus posed the question to his disciples, "Who do you say that I am?" and Peter answered "You are the Christ" (Matt 16:13–20; Mark 8:27–30; cf. Luke 9:18–22).

Prior to the Hellenistic period, the name of the site is unknown. At the time of Antiochus the Great (ca. 200 B.C.E.), it was called Panion (Polybius 16.18.2). Both the town and the district received this name (later Paneas, Pliny *HN* 5.74) from a cave and spring dedicated to the nature god Pan (widely attested by inscriptional and numismatic evidence; see *HJP²* 2: 40 n.66; also Josephus *Ant* 15.10.3 §364; *JW* 1.21.3 §405–6). Earlier cultic use of this site may be evident in the theophoric element of the toponyms Baal-gad (Josh 11:17; 12:7; 13:5) and Baal-hermon (Judg 3:3; 1 Chr 5:23) which are located in this area. Some have suggested that the transfiguration, which follows Peter's confession in each gospel account (Matt 17:1–8; Mark 9:2–9; Luke 9:28–36), took place in this area of ancient cultic significance (note also the proximity of a mountain near the cave in the Josephus references above). Places identified as "holy" often enjoyed a long history of use in practice and legend. (Miracle stories associated with this spring are recorded in the 4th century C.E. by Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 7.17; on the nature of sacred space, see Brereton in *EncRel* 12: 526–28.)

After Zenodorus' death in 20 B.C.E., Augustus gave the district of Paneas to Herod the Great, who subsequently built a magnificent marble temple near the cave in honor of the emperor (called both Paneas and Panium by Josephus, *Ant* 15.10.3 §360–61, 363–64; *JW* 1.21.3 §404–5). The district then passed from Herod to his son Philip, the tetrarch of Trachonitis (*Ant* 17.8.1 §189), who enlarged the city and named it *Kaisereia* to complete the honor to Caesar Augustus (*Ant* 18.2.1 §28; *JW* 2.9.1 §168). The name Caesarea Philippi came to be used in the 1st century C.E. to distinguish it from the other cities named Caesarea.

Agrippa II (ca. 53 C.E.) enlarged the city again and gave it the name Neronias (Gk *Nerōnias*) in honor of Nero (*Ant* 20.9.4 §211; *JW* 3.10.7 §514); however, this use is rare according to numismatic evidence (Benzinger in *PW* 3: 1291). During the First Jewish War, Vespasian and his troops rested at Caesarea Philippi (*JW* 3.9.7 §443–44). After the fall of Jerusalem (ca. 70 C.E.), Titus went to the city, where it is reported by Josephus that some of the Jewish captives were thrown to wild beasts (*JW* 7.2.1 §23–24).

In later Roman and Byzantine times, the name Caesarea Philippi was superseded by the old name Paneas (e.g., Eusebius *Onomast.* 215.82; 217.40; 275.36; see *HJP²* 2: 171 n.465 for its use in rabbinic literature). This ancient frontier city is survived today by the village of Banias (the Arabic form of the name).

For additional bibliography, see *HJP²* 2: 169 n.453; for the most extensive treatment, see Hölscher in *PW* 18/3: 594–600.

JOHN KUTSKO

**CAIAPHAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Kaiaphas* (Καιαφας)]. There is not unanimity but rather a consensus among the Gospels that the high priest at the time of Jesus' death was named Caiaphas, and that he played an active role in the proceedings. Each of the presentations amounts to a nuanced portrayal of the events leading up to Jesus' death, and each should be appreciated in its own right before any general statement in respect of Caiaphas may be made. In Matthew, the notice of a conspiratorial meeting of high priests and elders is located in the courtyard of Caiaphas' house (26:3) at the commencement of the passion narrative. In Mark and Luke, there is no such reference to location, and less detail in the description of the conspiracy. The second (and final) reference to Caiaphas in Matthew has scribes and elders gathered with Caiaphas, to whom Jesus, having been arrested, is brought (26:57). The reference marks the success of the conspiracy. The conspirators had "taken counsel, that they might arrest Jesus by stealth, and kill him" (26:4); in 26:57 the "crowd" from the high priests, scribes, and elders (26:47) have succeeded in the arrest, and it is Caiaphas' question and Jesus' response (26:63b–64) which will bring the verdict of

blasphemy, and a condemnation to death (26:65, 66). The grounds on which Jesus is found guilty of blasphemy is a vexed question, since no profanation of the divine name appears to be involved (Lev 24:15, 16; *Sanh.* 7:5). But Caiaphas' tearing of his garments in 26:65 (again, cf. *Sanh.* 7:5) supports the reading that a judicial finding is involved.

Matthew's Caiaphas is not explicitly provided with any motivation. Indeed, he is not even named as an active agent of the conspiracy in 26:3. The mention of the courtyard may be more important cartographically than for its owner: in the same place, Peter denies Jesus at the close of the chapter (26:69–75; cf. 57, 58). At the crucial moment of his question, Caiaphas is simply identified as "the high priest" (26:59, 62, 63), the chief representative of "the high priests" generally (26:3, 14, 47, 59), who are primary instigators of Jesus' judgment, and also of his death (27:1, 3, 6, 12, 20, 41, 62). The reference to a plurality of high priests is technically incorrect, although common enough in the Gospels, and presumably is used in respect of the leading families from which the high priest was chosen. The picture of an elite, familial group, intimately associated with hierarchical authority, is supported by Acts 4:6, where Annas is named as high priest, and Caiaphas, John, and Alexander are referred to, along with all who were of high priestly lineage. Matthew's picture, then, is of deadly opposition from those most intimately involved with the temple. Caiaphas is emblematic of the opposition without being an instigator of it. Mark achieves much the same effect with a comparable pattern of diction (particularly "high priest(s)"), but without naming Caiaphas.

Luke does name Caiaphas, but in a peculiar manner (3:2). The ministry of John the Baptist is introduced with what at first sight seems chronological exactitude (3:1), but there is then reference to the time of the high priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas (v 2; Acts 4:6). Because the office was not jointly held, the statement constitutes a puzzle, and one which is complicated by the close relationship between Annas and Caiaphas, as documented by Josephus. *Ant* 18.2.2; 18.4.3 has it that Joseph Caiaphas was appointed high priest around the year 18 by Valerius Gratus and removed from office around the year 36 by Vitellius. Annas was appointed by Quirinius around A.D. 6 and deposed by Valerius Gratus in A.D. 15 (*Ant* 18.2.1, 2). Luke 3:2, and especially Acts 4:6, therefore appear to confuse two quite distinct high priesthoods. S. Sandmel has in fact argued that Luke-Acts mistakenly recognizes only Annas as high priest, and that a careless use of sources caused the name of Caiaphas to intrude (Sandmel, *IDB* 1: 482). But the close relationship between Annas and Caiaphas has simply not been taken into account by Sandmel: Annas' influence survived far beyond his high priesthood, in that five of his sons were to serve in the office (*Ant* 20.9.1), and Caiaphas was perhaps his son-in-law (John 18:13). The fact remains, however, that to single out Annas as high priest after A.D. 15 appears to be an error (Catchpole 1971: 170).

D. R. Catchpole is sufficiently convinced by the tenacity of the Lukan confusion that he understands the reference to the house and courtyard of the high priest in Luke 22:54, 55 in respect of Annas, rather than of Caiaphas (Catchpole 1971: 171). Such an exegesis construes Luke in such a way as to accord strikingly with John, and disrupts any exact parallel with Matt 26:57, 58. Substantially, however, the analogy with Matthew is difficult to explain away, and the latter identifies the house specifically as that of Caiaphas. There are, however, rather clear indications that the Lukan approach to Jesus' condemnation is to focus on "the high priests" as a group. Except for 3:2; 22:50, 54, the noun always appears in the plural in Luke, in order to speak of a judicial proceeding against Jesus (9:22; 19:47; 22:2, 4, 52, 66; 23:4, 10, 13; 24:20). The effect of that pattern is to emphasize the nature and source of opposition to Jesus; the usage of 22:66–71 even puts the fateful question of Jesus' identity in the mouth of the "high priests" generally. Likewise, Luke alone of all the Gospels refers to the *stratêgoi* in 22:4, 52 in connection with Jesus' arrest. The evident reference is to the police of the temple (Jeremias 1969: 180), but Luke uses a word in the plural which appears both in Josephus and Acts as a singular, referring to the "captain" of the temple (*Ant* 20.6.2; Acts 4:1; 5:24, 26). It may be that Lukan usage is somewhat loose at this point; Acts 16:20, 22, 35, 36, 38 employs the plural noun, in respect of magistrates in Philippi. The inference may be drawn that the description of Jesus' arrest and prosecution has been shaped to accommodate a Lukan scheme. Within that scheme, Caiaphas as a personality, or even as an active agent of conspiracy, is not in view. Annas

also is little more than a cipher of priestly opposition. What is emphasized is the organization of the prosecuting authorities and their link with the temple.

Caiaphas emerges most clearly as a personality in John, in close association with Jesus' passion, but he does not emerge as an active or willing agent of Jesus' execution. John 11:47–53 presents a gathering of "high priests" and Pharisees, in which Jesus' "many signs," most notably the raising of Lazarus (vv 1–46), provokes the fear that "the Romans will come, and destroy both our place and our nation" (v 48). But Caiaphas is said to have prophesied Jesus' death, being high priest of that year, by pronouncing the dictum that it was expedient for one man to perish for the people, that the whole nation might not be destroyed (vv 49–51). The result is, as in the Synoptics (but not in the context of Lazarus' raising), that counsel is taken to kill Jesus (v 53). Notably, no malice is ascribed to Caiaphas; his prophecy is said to derive from his high priestly office. The reference to "that year" has been taken to mean that, within the Johannine scheme, Caiaphas alternated years in service with Annas. Such a reading is an exegetically desperate maneuver, designed to explain the prominent role of Annas in chap. 18: a less strained understanding would take "that year" as the year in which Jesus died (E. Jacquier *DB* 2/1: 45). Be that as it may, the fact remains that the Johannine portrait of Caiaphas is, so far, respectful of the man and his office.

The 18th chap. of John presents an account of Jesus' arrest and trial which differs substantially from that of the Synoptics. Although Caiaphas is again called high priest of that year (v 13c), the combined forces of "the cohort and the officer and the servants of the Jews" (v 12) take Jesus to Annas first (v 13a). Caiaphas' marital relationship to Annas is also mentioned (v 13b), but that scarcely motivates the session at Annas' house, which is the scene that follows (vv 15–24). Caiaphas until this point is a bystander to the action, and the Johannine presentation heightens the contrast with Annas' activism, by recalling Caiaphas' prophecy in 11:49–52; cf. 18:14. He is more moved by events than he influences them. Consistently, the account of the session at Annas' is punctuated with references to him as the high priest; at one point, his status as such causes Jesus to be struck by a servant for his insolence (v 22; cf. vv 15, 16, 19). Caiaphas, by contrast, is a cipher within the text: Jesus is brought to him in v 24, a final scene of Petrine denial unfolds in vv 25–27, and Jesus is immediately led away from Caiaphas to the praetorium in v 28; cf. 35. Concomitant with this truncation of Caiaphas' role, which denies him any dramatic place in the action, we are left in John with no equivalent to the Synoptic dispute, which involves the temple and Jesus' messianic status. Annas interrogates him regarding his disciples and his teaching (v 19); how the issue comes to be Jesus' royal pretensions, in his confrontation with Pilate (vv 33–38), is not explained. Although Sandmel's theory, that reference to Caiaphas was made in an attempt to clean up Johannine chronology, may be invoked here, it does not actually explain why so very little involvement is attributed to Caiaphas. A possibly more satisfactory explanation is that John's gospel is written on the supposition that the Synoptic catechesis has already been appropriated.

The most striking feature of consensus among the Gospels and Josephus in respect to Caiaphas is his close relationship with the Roman administration. Cordial relations are implicit in his long tenure (some eighteen years) as high priest. Between Herod's appointment of Ananel and the destruction of the temple, Josephus counts twenty-eight high priests (Eppstein 1964: 52; *Ant* 20.10; and Jacquier *DB* 2/1: 44), so that the duration of Caiaphas' high priesthood was exceptional. Removed by Vitellus ca. 36, Caiaphas' exercise of office included the period of Pilate's tenure. The latter was infamous for his insults to the national and religious identity of Judaism, and Caiaphas is notable for his absence from the pages of Josephus which describe objections and rebellions against Pilate's activity (Jacquier *DB* 2/1: 44; *Ant* 18.3.1, 2; *JW* 2.9.24). The same Vitellus who dismissed Pilate also released the high priestly vestments from custody in the Antonia (Jeremias 1969: 149, n.4 and *Ant* 18.4.3), a custody with which Caiaphas had apparently complied. The close cooperation between Caiaphas and the Roman authorities is implicit within the passion narratives of all four gospels. For all the differences between the Synoptics and John, there is a consensus that, following a hearing and high priestly interrogation, it was resolved to dispatch Jesus to Pilate (Matt 27:1–2; Mark 15:1; Luke 23:1; John 18:28). The Johannine version of events may even hint at Roman complicity as early as Jesus' arrest: it speaks of a cohort and an officer in addition to a

force associated with the high priesthood (18:1, 12). Catchpole (1971: 149; also Jeremias 1969: 210) rightly points out that "cohort" (*speira*) and "officer" (*chiliarchos*) might refer to a band sent from the Jewish authorities, but probability is against that reading. Both the passages in John speak of the cohort and "servants" of the Jewish authorities; the identity of the two groups does not seem to be implied. Within the NT itself, both "cohort" and "officer" refer straightforwardly to Roman military arrangements. If that usage is also to be understood in the case of John, then the fourth gospel does intensify the portrait of high priestly connivance with the Romans, which is independently attested in the Synoptics and (implicitly) in Josephus.

A single, symbolic, and physical center provided the focus of Roman and high priestly cooperation—the temple. The establishment of a police force to guard the purity of the temple is widely attested, in Mishnah, Philo, and Josephus (Jeremias 1969: 209–10 and *HJP²* 1: 366). From the point of view of successive Roman administrations, the sacrificial cult of the temple was valuable, not merely tolerable, because sacrifices in the emperor's behalf were offered there (*JW* 2.10.4; *HJP²* 1: 379–80; 2/1: 311–12). Custody of high priestly garments, the maintenance of a credibly deterrent force in the Antonia (*JW* 5.6.8), and acceptance of a death penalty against desecrating the temple (*HJP²* 1: 378; 2: 80, 222 n.85, 284–85), together make sense as a coherent policy on the part of the Romans. Provided the cult of the temple proceeded under Roman permission and protection, the Jewish refusal to sacrifice to the emperor's image could be overlooked, and Judaism could be seen as a licit society. The formal outbreak of war with Rome in A.D. 66 is, precisely for that reason, signaled by a refusal to offer sacrifice on the emperor's behalf (*JW* 2.17.2).

Caiaphas would have occupied an important position within this delicate settlement. His interrogation of Jesus, following a series of questions concerning the latter's statement in respect of the temple (Matt 26:57–66; Mark 14:53–64; cf. Luke 22:54–71, which is entirely christological in focus) is quite plausible. Likewise, the suggestion of O. Betz, that Caiaphas' counsel in John 11:49–50 suits a Sadducean theology reflected in Josephus (Betz *ANRW* 2/25/1: 596–98), is speculative but defensible. Josephus calls Caiaphas "Joseph Caiaphas"; attempts to explain the surname have abounded from antiquity until the recent past. The results have been inconclusive, although they eloquently attest the attitudes of the scholars who propose them (cf. *HJP²* 2: 230; Jacquier *DB*, 44; and Jerome's verdict, *"investigator vel sagax, sed melius vomens ore,"* discussed in Kraus *JEnc* 1: 493). No judgment of Caiaphas' character or motivation can make any serious claim on our attention, except as an imaginative exercise. Historically speaking, the available evidence will not permit conclusions of that sort. Nonetheless, Caiaphas' obvious, necessary, and essential link with the temple remains.

A Talmudic tradition has it that, forty years prior to the destruction of the temple, the Sanhedrin was exiled from the chamber of hewn stone in the Jerusalem temple to Hanuth (*ʿAbod. Zar.* 8b; *Šabb.* 15a; *Sanh.* 41a; Jeremias 1969: 210; Eppstein 1964: 48). That momentous reform is naturally placed during the pontificate of Caiaphas, and Eppstein suggests that another innovation should also be attributed to him: the permission for vendors of offerings to set up shop within the precincts of the temple (Eppstein 1964: 55). Eppstein's elaborate reconstruction of a struggle for power between Caiaphas and the "Sanhedrin" (itself a problematic designation) is a tissue of speculation, but he has pointed to what may have been a crucial issue between Caiaphas and Jesus. Within the Gospels, Jesus' expulsion of such vendors and money-changers from the temple is a pivotal event (Matt 21:12–13; Mark 11:15–17; Luke 19:45–46; John 2:13–17). The money-changers are easily presented as villains, but the fact is they served a useful purpose, in that Roman coin, the currency of oppression, was scarcely apposite to achieve atonement. The ancient Tyrean shekel was used instead, and the rate of exchange appears to have been controlled (Eppstein 1964: 43, n.10; *Šeqal.* 1.6, 7). Eppstein suggests that the tables of exchange were knocked over by Jesus in the melee concerning the vendors (Eppstein 1964: 57). That anything accidental or inadvertent can have taken place with furniture as massive as was used in the temple is quite implausible (*Šeqal.* 2.1; 6.5). More probably, the quotation from Jer 7:11 led to the reference to money-changers, whose existence Jesus (or any other Jew of the period) would have taken for granted (*Šeqal.* 1.3). What does stand out as an oddity, however, is that the vendors of animals are placed at the site of the temple instead of at Hanuth.

Naturally, the possibility must be faced, that the reference to both the money-changers and the vendors is the result of a misreading of sacrificial arrangements by Christians who had lost touch with their Judaic heritage. On such an understanding, reflection upon Jer 7:11 alone produced the story as we can read it today in the Synoptics. The fatal flaw in that reconstruction is that Jer 7:11 alone is not what is ascribed to Jesus: rather, a mixed citation of Isa 56:7 and Jer 7:11 is attributed to him. A mixing of scriptural elements in that manner is characteristic of Jesus, not of those who shaped the tradition after him (Chilton 1984). It is theoretically possible that a mixed citation, correctly attributed to Jesus, was then attached arbitrarily to the narrative of the vendors, as it was to that of the money-changers. But the fact is that the vendors appear in the best witnesses of Luke 19:45, without a mention of the money-changers, so that the former appear a more stable element in the narrative than the latter. Moreover, the scriptural citation in John 2:17 (Ps 69:9) is quite unlike the Synoptic allusion (and is not attributed to Jesus), so that the story of Jesus' occupation of the temple does not appear to be a simple expansion of a favorite text into the form of a narrative. As a matter of fact, Jesus would by no means be unique among rabbis in objecting to commercial arrangements related to the cult; Simeon ben Gamaliel is said to have intervened in the matter of pricing doves (*Ker.* 1.7). More generally, complaints of high priestly rapacity are found in *Pesaḥ.* 57a. Even Vitellius, at the time he restored custody of vestments to the temple, also remitted certain taxes; a criticism of financial arrangements during the period of Pilate and Caiaphas may have been implicit in his action (*Ant* 18.4.3). On balance, it would appear that Caiaphas did engineer the installation of vendors in the temple, that Jesus reacted with force, and that the collision of the two was finally adjudicated by Pilate, Caiaphas' protector (Chilton 1984: 18).

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BRUCE CHILTON

**CAIN** (PERSON) [Heb *qayin* (קַיִן)]. Son of Adam and Eve and father of Enoch (Gen 4:1, 17). Cain appears in Genesis 4 as the murderer of his brother Abel and as the progenitor of a line credited with the initiation of various aspects of culture. The name recurs in the oracle of Balaam at Num 24:22 in a difficult text which associates Cain (*qyn*) with the Kenites (*qyny*). Later references to Cain focus upon him as the murderer of Abel (4 Macc 18:11; 1 John 3:12) or as the one whose sacrifice was not as good as his brother's (Heb 11:4). Jude 11 pronounces judgment upon those who follow the way of Cain. In conjunction with Balaam and Korah, the way of Cain appears to represent an attitude of rebellion against God and the chosen ones of God. In line with other examples of Cain in postbiblical accounts, it may suggest the teaching of others to sin (Bauckham *Jude, 2 Peter* WBC, 79–81; Watson 1988: 59).

The derivation for the name of Cain in Gen 4:1 is the statement by Eve, "I have acquired (*qānîtî*) a man with/from (*ʾet*) Yahweh." A difficulty lies in how to understand the *ʾet,* which regularly serves as a sign of the direct object. On the basis of similar usage of the preposition *itti* in Akk personal names, Borger (1959) argues for a meaning of "from." Claims for divine paternity for Cain (Gordon 1988: 154–55) are not explicit in the present text. Nor do comparative studies prove a divine maternity (Kikawada 1971: 35–37). The association of the name Cain with the root *qnh,* "to create" and "to acquire," leaves open two interpretations for the phrase; either Eve is acknowledging God at work through her in creation (or proudly claiming her own creative act [Cassuto 1961: 201; Westermann *Genesis 1–11* BKAT, 395]) or she is recognizing God as the ultimate source of Cain (Wenham *Genesis* WBC, 102). The verbal root *qnh* associates 4:1 with the genealogy of Cain in 4:17–24. In v 20 Jabal is described as the father of *miqneh* (RSV "[those who have] cattle"), which has a root similar to that of Cain. Cain reappears in the last-named figure of his line, Tubal-Cain. Thematically there is also a connection. Cain and his line create (cities, music, tools, and weapons) and acquire (property, wives, and the fruits of vengeance).

The name of Cain has its etymology in a root, *qyn,* which does not appear other than in proper names and gentilics in biblical Hebrew. A similarly spelled root occurs in South Arabian personal, clan, and tribal names (Beeston et al. 1982: 112; *DOSA*, 454) as early as the 5th century B.C.E. (Eph‘al 1982: 194, 211, 212, 226, 227). A *qyn* root occurs in later Aramaic and Arabic with the meaning of "smith." Furthermore, a similar root appears in the gentilic with which the Balaam oracle associates the name Cain, i.e., the Kenites (Num 24:21–22). These people appear in the biblical text as smiths associated with the desert area of Israel's wanderings. See KENITES. A second etymology for the name may be found in the Hebrew *qînâ,* "song." This has the advantage of appearing in biblical Hebrew but lacks examples of a *qatil* noun formation such as the name Cain possesses. Both interpretations relate 4:1 to the genealogy of 4:17–24. If the former is followed, compare Tubal-Cain, the last-mentioned figure in the line of Cain. He not only possesses Cain's name but also is described as a smith. For the "song" derivation, compare the figure of Naamah in Cain's genealogy. In Ugaritic her name may mean "song." Recent examinations of the line of Cain have led to other connections with the region of the Kenites (Sawyer 1986).

The narrative of Cain and Abel is sandwiched between the naming of Cain and the genealogy of this figure. It also has literary connections with the preceding narratives of chaps 2 and 3 (Hauser 1980). For example, v 16 speaks of the Garden of Eden, mentioned in chap 3. Though brief and clear in its overall plot, the narrative of Cain and Abel bristles with problems. Why was Abel's offering preferred? How did God make known the preference? What is the meaning of the counsel God gave to Cain? What did Cain and Abel say to one another? What is the mark given to Cain? What is the reason behind the story?

As to the preference of Abel's offering before Cain's, see ABEL. The text is silent as to how God made known this preference for Abel's offering. The same is true concerning the conversation of the two brothers, though this has not prevented the ancient versions from filling in this and other "gaps" (*EncMiqr* 7: 119–24). The meaning of the counsel which God gave to Cain hinges on the text of v 7. Westermann's negative assessment of a corrupt text follows other modern commentators, but it is not the only solution (*Genesis 1–11* BKAT, 406–10). The word *śʾt* has been interpreted as "forgiveness," "happiness," and "erect in posture" (Wenham, *Genesis* WBC, 105). The first two seem more likely, given the context. They would then contrast with Cain's fallen countenance in v 6 (Castellino 1960: 443). The word *rōbēṣ* seems to suggest the posture of sin "crouching at the door." However, the Akkadian demon *rābiṣu* may also be intended; and a noun would solve the gender incongruence with the preceding feminine *ḥṭʾt,*"sin." Alternatively, Driver (1946: 158) suggests reading *ḥṭʾt trbṣ,* "sin will crouch," with two *taw*s expressed by a single one in an originally continuous Hebrew text without word divisions. Driver goes on to repoint the final phrase as a passive: "And so you shall be ruled by it," (*wĕʾattâ timmešel-bāh*), rather than accepting it as it is and understanding an adversative *waw,* "*but yet* you may/should rule over it." Perhaps, as Huffmon (1985) has suggested, the problem lies in the failure of Cain to investigate the reason for God's rejection of his sacrifice. The sign (*ʾôt*) given to Cain after the murder is not specified, but the narrator intends some means to make public the punishment due to anyone who kills the murderer.

The purpose of the story in its present context remains a matter of dispute. The traditional interpretations have found here a moral tale with lessons to be learned about the consequences of jealousy and anger. Historical approaches have identified a sociological struggle between nomadic shepherds (Abel) and settled farmers (Cain), or they have found an etiology for smiths who travel with nomads, such as the Kenites. Within the present context, the narrative serves to explain the rejection of Cain the firstborn from continuing the line of promise. His own line ends with v 24. It thus prepares the background for the birth of Seth and the continuation of his line. Finally, it introduces the crime of murder, a subject taken up by Lamech and others, but not explicitly forbidden until Gen 9:6.

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RICHARD S. HESS

**CAINAN** (PERSON) [Gk *Kainam* (Καιναμ)]. Name of two persons in the NT. The form "Cainan" is a Gk transliteration of the Heb *qênān.* See KENAN.

**1.** Appears in Luke's genealogy of Jesus as the son of Enos and the great-grandson of Adam (3:37–38). The name occurs in the MT of Gen 5:9–14 and 1 Chr 1:2.

**2.** Occurs in Luke's genealogy of Jesus as the son of Arphaxad and the father of Shelah (3:35–36). This Cainan is often called the second Cainan. The name appears in the genealogy of Shem in the LXX of Gen 10:24 and 11:12 and in Codex Alexandrinus of 1 Chr 1:18, but not in the MT or in $P^{75}$ and Codex Bezae. The presence of the second Cainan in Luke's genealogy of Jesus suggests that the evangelist used the LXX for this section instead of the MT.

VIRGIL R. L. FRY

**CAIRO GENIZAH.** See DAMASCUS RULE (CD).

**CALAH** (PLACE) [Heb *kālaḥ* (כָּלַח)]. In Gen 10:11–12 it is narrated that Nimrod, who was "a mighty hunter," began his kingdom at Babel (Babylonia) and then went into Assyria where he built cities, among them Nineveh and Calah. This is the only specific reference in the Bible to one of the four great cities of ancient Assyria. Nevertheless, because of this greatness and because Assyrian armies marched from Calah against the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, a brief description and history of Calah are essential. For a fuller description, see MESOPOTAMIA, HISTORY OF (HISTORY AND CULTURE OF ASSYRIA).

The ancient site of Calah was strategically located from an economic and military point of view. It was on the E bank of the Tigris just N of the point where the Upper Zab River flows into the Tigris. From a military point of view this meant that Calah was protected on all but the N flank. From an economic point of view, the site was in the very center of the Assyrian heartland, a region where a rich agricultural economy flourished.

The biblical association of Nimrod with the city Calah has been preserved until modern times in the sense that the medieval and modern name of the site is Nimrud. While native tradition preserved in Arabic literature never forgot the correct identification of the ancient site Calah, it was only in the 19th century that Europeans recognized where the city had been. In fact there was some confusion among Europeans, and Sir Austen Henry Layard, the first excavator of Nimrud, actually thought the site was the location of Nineveh. This error was eventually corrected and his startling discoveries were then viewed in their proper historical context. Since Layard's time, various archaeological expeditions, both Iraqi and foreign, have excavated at this site. Among these was the British expedition led by Sir Max Mallowan during the 1950s and 1960s. Many of the artifacts discovered were removed to the British Museum in London and the museum in Mosul (Nineveh) but there are still numerous Assyrian stone reliefs to be seen in a museum at the site itself. Of the four great cities of Assyria, the others were ASSHUR, NINEVEH, and ARBELA. In contrast to the other three, Calah was of no significance in the 3d and 2d millennium B.C. It was singled out for importance only in the 9th century B.C. when Assurnasirpal II chose it as his capital. Assurnasirpal totally transformed the insignificant village into a metropolis which was suitable to be the center of the empire he created. The chief god of Calah was Ninurta, the god of war, and Assurnasirpal had an enormous temple and ziggurrat (a temple tower) erected in this god's honor. He also built a splendid palace, the so-called Northwest Palace, for his residence. Many other temples were erected and a

huge wall surrounded the city for defense. The waters of the Upper Zab River were partially diverted by an intricate aqueduct in order to provide irrigation inside the walls.

The extensive building program of Assurnasirpal II was continued by his immediate successors and Calah remained the administrative center of Assyria until about 700 B.C. At that time other cities were chosen as capitals, and eventually Nineveh became the chief city. When the Assyrian Empire fell at the end of the 7th century B.C., the site of Calah was abandoned and there has been no major settlement there ever since. See *RLA* 5: 303–23.

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A. KIRK GRAYSON

**CALAMOLALUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Kalamōlalos* (Καλαμωλαλος)]. The name of the ancestor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel; included in the RSV as a marginal reading for "of the other Elam" (*kalamō allou*; 1 Esdr 5:22). The identification of Calamolalus is further complicated by the variant Gk text (B) *kalamōkalos,* and is commonly considered a textual corruption. Myers (*1 and 2 Esdras* AB, 65), with the RSV, renders it as "the other Elam" and considers it parallel to Ezra 2:31 and Neh 7:34. However, Turner (*IDB* 1: 482) describes it as a corrupt combination of "Lod and Hadid" (Ezra 2:33=Neh 7:37).

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**CALAMUS.** See PERFUMES AND SPICES.

**CALCOL** (PERSON) [Heb *kalkōl* (כַּלְכֹּל)]. A man from Judah, he was the son of Zerah, whom Tamar conceived by her father-in-law Judah (1 Chr 2:4, 6). In 1 Kgs 5:11—Eng 4:31, Calcol is identified as one of the sons of Mahol. Mahol should not be understood as a proper name but, as Albright (*ARI*, 123) and de Vaux (*AncIsr*, 382) have suggested, the title of a guild of musicians, "sons of the choir." See DARA.

Calcol was one of the four wise men whom Solomon excelled in wisdom. According to Albright (*ARI*, 123) the name Calcol appears as *Kulkul* in several inscribed ivories found at Megiddo. According to these inscriptions, written in Egyptian hieroglyphs, which have been dated in the 13th century B.C., *Kulkul* was the name of a female singer of the god Ptah in the Canaanite city of Aijalon (Loud 1939: 11–13). According to Albright, Calcol was the name of a flower or plant. In the ANE that name was applied to musicians.

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CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

**CALEB** (PERSON) [Heb *kālēb* (כָּלֵב)]. Var. CHELUBAI. CALEBITES. It is possible to distinguish three people with this name, plus one variant form in the name Chelubai (Heb *kelûbāy*). Any discussion of the name Caleb and its variant form must of necessity also entail an investigation of the Calebites, or descendants of Caleb. This gentilic usage is quite important in sorting out the geographical location and genealogical identification of individuals and groups so named; however, these issues are one step removed from an examination of the name itself.

Caleb has most commonly been treated as a form of the root *klb*, "dog," which occurs in virtually every ANE language (*TWAT* 4: 158; Beltz 1974: 116–34). Traditionally, complimentary and uncomplimentary connotations are associated with the literal meaning of Heb *keleb*, "dog." On the one hand meanings like "raving dog" (*IPN*, 230), "dog-faced baboon" (Thomas 1960: 419–23), "dead dog," and the like, all of which are attested in extrabiblical sources (*TWAT* 4: 157–62; Thomas 1960: 410–14), express self-abasement or invective. In one biblical example, Hazael, doubting his own abilities, says to Elisha, "What is your servant, who is but a dog …" (2 Kgs 8:13). On the other hand, most scholars agree that Heb *keleb* is used in certain letters, hymns, etc., to express a servant's faithfulness, like that of a faithful watchdog

(Thomas 1960: 424–27; *EncMiqr* 4: 106–10; Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 356–57). Margalith (1983) contends that these are not two different connotations of meaning for one term, but rather the distinctive meanings of two homonymous terms. Brunet (1985) challenges the traditional view that there are two connotations for the term and concludes that in biblical and nonbiblical occurrences "dog" and its synonyms are almost exclusively terms of self-abasement. Various theophoric names use the root *klb*, i.e., Phoen *klb*ʿ*lm*, "dog of the gods" (*PNPI*, 131, 331), and Akk *kalbi-*$^{il}$*sin* and *kalbi-*$^{il}$ *marduk* (Thomas 1960: 425; see also *TWAT* 4: 158–62). Therefore, the biblical name Caleb appears to be "an abbreviation of a name beginning with the element *kalb*-" (Albright 1941: 47, n.26) meaning lit. "dog," with the primary connotation of self-abasement, and probably also a secondary connotation of "faithful servant."

1. The son of Jephunneh and the representative of the tribe of Judah among the twelve spies sent out by Moses to reconnoiter the land of Canaan (Num 13:6). Caleb (alone in the so-called J source; Num 13:30), together with Joshua the son of Nun (in the so-called P source; Num 14:6), brought back a favorable report of the land and urged the people to go up and take it. In contrast to God prohibiting the people from entering the land because they rejected this recommendation, God singled out "my servant Caleb" and promised to bring him into the land where he had gone, and to give it to his descendants as a possession (Num 14:24; see also Num 26:65; 32:12; Deut 1:36). This promise set Caleb apart from all his peers, even Joshua, and it raises the issues of geographical location and genealogical identification of Caleb and the Calebites.

The land that came to be owned by Caleb, through apportionment (Josh 14:6–15; 15:13), force (Josh 15:14–19=Judg 1:11–15), or a combination of the two means was associated with Hebron and Debir in S Palestine. 1 Sam 30:14 identifies part of this area as "the Negeb of Caleb." If we identify the cities and boundaries of the tribe of Judah it DRMbecomes obvious that the land owned by or associated with Caleb is located within Judah's borders (Josh 15:1–12, etc.; see *KHC*, 115–24, 372–97). Hebron is a key element in this association, in part because of its proximity to other Judahite cities, but in light of the centrality of the Davidic dynasty in the biblical tradition, it was as the first capital city of David that Hebron played an unquestionable and important role. (Note that Nabal, the first husband of David's wife Abigail, was a Calebite who lived in this region; 1 Sam 25:3.) When later tradition identified Hebron as one of Judah's levitical cities, it resolved the problem of Calebite ownership by specifying that the environs, and not the city itself, belonged to Caleb (Josh 21:12; 1 Chr 6:56).

The relationship between the Kenizzite clan of Calebites and its Judahite neighbors was mutually beneficial on political and economic grounds (see Beltz 1974: 64–70), and although the Calebites became part of the tribe of Judah within the Israelite tradition they retained their distinctiveness. Of course, geographical location is not the only basis upon which the Calebites were incorporated into this tradition; there was also a genealogical connection.

In 1 Chronicles several genealogies contain the name Caleb, and these reflect inconsistencies of lineage and raise questions in light of other biblical information about individuals named Caleb. First, Caleb the son of Jephunneh is only explicitly mentioned in a genealogy of sons of Kenaz, or the Kenizzites (1 Chr 4:13–15), which is set within a section concerning descendants of Perez. The daughter of this Caleb is named elsewhere as Achsah (Josh 15:16–17 = Judg 1:12–13), while an Achsah is listed as the daughter of Caleb the son of Hezron, and a grandson of Perez (1 Chr 2:49). Second, the MT never identifies the wife of Caleb the son of Jephunneh. However, Caleb the son of Hezron has several wives and concubines, and his descendants are not easily placed in his genealogy (1 Chr 2:18–24, 42–55). One identifiable descendant, Bezalel (1 Chr 2:20), a great-grandson of Caleb the son of Hezron, was a contemporary of Moses (Exod 31:2; 35:30) and therefore cannot be the great-grandson of Caleb the son of Jephunneh. Third, a Caleb the son of Hur can be identified according to the MT of 1 Chr 2:50, but according to his genealogy (1 Chr 2:42–55), this Caleb appears to be his own grandfather. Fourth, the names of some of Caleb's descendants are place names (i.e., Tekoa, Ziph, Madmannah, and Hebron), which complicates an attempt to understand the purpose of the genealogies (see Noth 1932). Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 48–55) resolves these problems by assuming that the Chronicler pulled together most of the genealogies but was not concerned with the details of genealogical consistency. Rudolf (*Chronikbücher*

HAT, 10–25), on the other hand, attributes the inconsistencies to later additions which disrupted the consistency of the Chronicler's composition. It is generally agreed that one section (1 Chr 2:42–50) derives from a tradition which predates the Chronicler, probably from the united monarchy or shortly thereafter (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 55).

The key to resolving the tensions in these genealogies is the fact that Caleb is part of Judah's genealogy. Caleb the son of Jephunneh is a Kenixzite who gained special status through his deeds in the wilderness wandering and conquest stories. On the other hand, Caleb the son of Hezron plays a role only in the genealogies of Judah, and Bezalel the tabernacle builder seems to be the central character in his genealogy. The Chronicler does not attempt to relate Caleb the son of Jephunneh to Caleb the son of Hezron because neither of them is central to his purpose of establishing a royal and cultic origin in the tribe of Judah (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 52). Caleb the Kenizzite is important, rather, because of things he did (Numbers 13–14; Josh 14:6–15) and associations he had (Josh 15:13–19 = Judg 1:11–15; Judg 3:9; see Boling *Judges* AB, 82) outside the Chronicler's framework, although these were not unknown to the Chronicler. Therefore, in addressing the questions raised above, Caleb the Kenizzite who appears in 1 Chr 4:15 within the lineage of Perez is to be identified with the individual so well known from the tradition of Calebites in S Palestine (Numbers 13–14; Joshua 14–15; Judges 1). To ask whether his daughter Achsah is the same as the daughter of Caleb the son of Hezron in 1 Chr 2:49 misses the point of the genealogy there. Furthermore, the complex genealogies of Caleb in 1 Chr 2:18–24, 42–55 serve to highlight the mix of parallel (i.e., a sequence of siblings) and hierarchical (i.e., parent followed by child) genealogies in this chapter. The chiastic structure of the sections of genealogies in 1 Chronicles 2, as discussed by Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 49), focuses the reader's attention on the significance that the Hezron clan had within the tribe of Judah; moreover, this follows the pattern of treating the sons in reverse order as established in 1 Chr 1:5–23, 28–34. Finally, by listing descendants of Caleb who have names associated with geographical locations, the Chronicler reveals both the antiquity of his source material and the close association of persons with places (Noth 1932; see also *EJ* 3: 41–42).

This introduces the final issue of the function of genealogies. According to Wilson (1977: 183), genealogies can be used to delineate social and political ties between two groups, and, in particular, to incorporate marginally affiliated clans into a central group. The genealogy of Caleb is related in this way to the tribe of Judah (Yeivin 1971: 13–14) and was assimilated into the Israelite tribal system thereby (Johnson 1969: 6). Not only the individuals and groups of people but the places associated with them became part of the tribe. Thus, the genealogy provided a means for legitimizing social relations and for defining the geographical domain of the individuals or groups concerned.

It would appear that Caleb the son of Jephunneh is the name of a Kenizzite whose personal exploits became the tradition of the clan which took his name as patronym. This clan existed independently in S Palestine, but through political, economic, and religious ties it eventually became part of the tribe of Judah. Even within the larger Israelite tradition, the distinctive stories of the Calebites were retained into the postexilic period.

2. The son of Hezron and great-grandfather of Bezalel (1 Chr 2:18–20). A variant form of the name occurs in 1 Chr 2:9 as Chelubai (Heb *kelʾbāy*), and the LXX interprets the form as *chaleb* and identifies this third son of Hezron with the Caleb who appears in the following verses. The identification is correct because the difference in spelling is a matter of an afformative (Heb *-ay*) which is common (*IPN*, 41), and both persons hold the same position in the genealogy of Hezron (1 Chr 2:9, 18, 42; see Beltz 1974: 38). According to Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 51), the variance may support the view that the Chronicler constructed 1 Chr 2:9 to connect two originally independent sources (1 Chr 2:10–17, and 25–33, 42–50a). As noted above, Caleb is one of three sons of Hezron along with Jerahmeel and Ram, he appears only in this genealogy, and he serves to introduce Bezalel the tabernacle builder into the line of Judah (1 Chr 2:20). Interplay between this Caleb and the tradition surrounding Caleb No. 1 influenced the genealogies. Thus, the names of the region and towns in which the Calebite tribe originally lived came to be so closely identified with the name Caleb (i.e., the Negeb of Caleb) that the town names were included as descendants in the genealogy of this son of Hezron.

3. The son of Hur, according to the MT of 1 Chr 2:50. The textual ambiguity of this verse is correctly resolved in the RSV by reading the accentual pause as a period. Rather than reading with the MT, "These were the sons of Caleb, the son of Hur the firstborn of Ephrathah …" the first phrase is taken to summarize the preceding section (vv 42–49) and what follows introduces a new genealogy, "… These are the sons of Caleb. The son(s) of Hur the firstborn of Ephrathah …" Consequently, this individual should not be differentiated from the Caleb in 1 Chr 2:42 (see Caleb No. 2 above).

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**CALENDARS.** A calendar is a system for arranging and calculating the standard divisions of time (days, months, years, etc.). The term is also used to refer to schedules of events such as festivals. This entry consists of two articles, one surveying the use of calendars in the ANE and the other surveying ancient Israelite and early Jewish calendars.

## *ANCIENT NEAR EAST*


A. Introduction
  1. The Lunisolar Calendar
  2. Intercalation and the Babylonian 19-Year Cycle
B. The Babylonian Calendar
  1. The Year (Akk *šattu*)
  2. The Month (Akk *arhu*)
  3. The Day (Akk *ūmu*)
C. The Assyrian Calendar
D. The Egyptian Calendar


### A. Introduction

**1. The Lunisolar Calendar.** In most of the ancient Mediterranean, a civil calendar was developed to regulate the sacred and secular life of the state. The times for religious festivals, agricultural, fiscal, and legal activities were determined with reference to the natural intervals produced by the motion of the sun and the moon. This "lunisolar" calendar reckoned a year as the interval between successive returns of the seasons, usually beginning with spring. The month was defined as the interval between successive first appearances of the moon in its cyclical phases. The beginning of the lunar cycle is defined as the moment when, following the period of invisibility due to nearness to the sun, the lunar crescent appears again briefly on the western horizon just after sunset. The interval which constitutes the lunar month, also termed a lunation, varies in length from 29.26 to 29.80 days, and consequently is experienced as a period never less than 29 days or more than 30 days. The day, in accordance with the use of lunations, was reckoned as the interval between successive sunsets.

The lunar month was taken uniformly throughout the ANE and Mediterranean (by Sumerians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Hebrews, Arabs, and Greeks) to begin with the sighting of the first visible lunar crescent. Only the Egyptians (and later the Romans) did not conform, but instead disregarded the irregular

natural time indications in favor of regular arbitrary measures, such as the fixed 30-day month or the 365-day year (see D).

**2. Intercalation and the Babylonian 19-Year Cycle.** Because the motions of sun and moon are not uniform with respect to one another, a lunisolar calendar, which by definition reckons months by the moon and years by the seasons, faces the problem of maintaining synchrony between the 12 lunar months and the solar year. The effect is that 12 lunations do not divide up the solar year evenly, nor do solar days divide the lunar month into equal parts. Twelve lunar months of an average 291/2-day length is 354 days, which is about 11 days less than the average length of the solar year (= 365.2492, or 3651/4 days). If no adjustment is made to compensate for the asynchrony, the months will fall 11 days behind each year, and after 3 years the sequence of months will be fully one month out of step with the season or with the activity designated to occur in a particular month, such as the barley or date harvest, or sheep shearing (discussion of seasonal activities reflected in month names may be found in Landsberger 1949: 260–65). The problem would be eminently perceptible, since after only 321/2 years a given month would pass through the entire cycle of seasons (as it did in the Middle Assyrian calendar until the time of Tiglath-pileser I; see Weidner 1935–36: 28–29).

To ensure stability in the correspondence between specific months and times of the year, whether defined agriculturally, religiously, or fiscally, an extra "intercalary" thirteenth month was added to the year, not regularly, but whenever necessary to maintain the proper "place" of a month within the solar year. In Mesopotamia, an extra sixth month (ITI.KIN.DIRI=*Ulūlu arkû*) or twelfth month (ITI.ŠE.DIRI=*Addaru arkû*) was intercalated, one or the other being preferred in various periods. Parker and Dubberstein (1942: 3) note that preference for a given intercalary month shifted from *Ulūlu* to *Addaru*, and suggest an early tradition placing the New Year in *Tašrītu* as an underlying reason. Intercalary *Nisannu* (ITI.BARA$_2$.MIN.KAM) is occasionally attested, albeit rarely in economic texts (MUL.APIN 2.18; see also Landsberger 1915: 101; Langdon 1935: 10 and 46–47).

Intercalations were effected by royal decree. Documents from the reigns of Hammurapi, Nabonidus, Cyrus, and Cambyses attest to the procedure (Bickerman 1980: 22; *RLA* 5: 289; YOS: 3: 15 and 115, and 196, and further references for intercalary years in the reigns of Samsuiluna and Ammiṣaduqa). The ad hoc intercalation of months represented by the royal letters was the standard procedure for controlling the calendar throughout the ANE from approximately the 3d millennium B.C. until about the middle of the 1st (certainly until 525 B.C.).

Evidence from the 7th century B.C. shows that various procedures were developed for determining in advance whether a given year would be normal (*ešret* or *kīnat*, containing 12 lunar months) or intercalary (*ezbet* or *atrat*, containing 13 lunar months). One such procedure was based on the observation of the relation between the longitudes of the moon and the Pleiades throughout the year. The conjunction of moon and Pleiades (when they occupy the same position in the sky) on particular dates through the year indicated a normal year, while their "separation" (*napalsuhu*) indicated a leap year. Leap years attested in actual documents, however, indicate that the Pleiades intercalation rules were probably not implemented (Hunger and Reiner 1975). In the astronomical series MUL.APIN (Tablet 2.ii.1–6), other rules for predicting leap years using select fixed stars (Sirius, Arcturus, Pleiades) are given. Since the month in which certain fixed stars or constellations had their heliacal rising was known (e.g., Pleiades became visible on the first day of the second month, Aiaru—MUL.APIN 1.ii.38), the delayed appearance of the Pleiades in the third month instead of the second (MUL.APIN 2.Gap A.10–11) signaled the need to intercalate the year in question.

A mathematical scheme producing a regular intercalary cycle was finally introduced into the Babylonian calendar during the Achaemenid period, sometime after 500 B.C. This cycle was based on the good correspondence between the number of days in 19 solar years and 235 lunar months. When and how the nineteen-year cycle was recognized is not precisely known, although on the basis of dated documents from the reign of Artaxerxes II it clearly became the official rule from 380 B.C. Indeed, the exceptions to the rule during the preceding century, going back to 497 B.C. in the reign of Darius I, are rare (a mere two exceptions; see Neugebauer 1975: 354–55). On this basis it is argued that the establishment of the 19-year

cycle is to be dated to the 5th century (see Parker and Dubberstein 1942: 1 for the possibility that it was a discovery of the reign of Nabonassar 747 B.C., and Kugler 1924: 362–71; 422–30 contra this date; Neugebauer 1975: 354–57). From 380 B.C. on, the 19-year cycle determined the intercalation of seven months every 19 years ($19^{yr} \times 12^{m} + 7^{m} = 235^{m}$) spaced at conveniently fixed intervals, namely in years 1, 4, 7, 9, 12, 15, and 18. All intercalary years except year 18 had an extra twelfth month (*Addaru arkû*). The eighteenth year in the cycle had an extra sixth month (*Ulūlu arkû*). The 19-year cycle of intercalation, begun under the Achaemenids, remained standard for the succeeding Seleucid and Arsacid periods to the end of the cuneiform tradition.

**B. The Babylonian Calendar**

The Babylonian calendar was based on the three natural time intervals, the solar year (ultimately defined as the period of the return of the sun to the same fixed star, hence the sidereal year), the lunar month (from one new moon to another, defined above, A.1.), and the solar day (from one sunset to another). Further discussion of each calendaric unit follows.

**1. The Year (Akk *šattu*).** The Babylonian year began in the spring, with the month *Nisannu* (=March/April in the Julian calendar), and the first of the year fell approximately around the vernal equinox, but actually varied widely. During the Neo-Babylonian period (between years 626–536 B.C.), the first of Nisannu could fall between the 11th of March and 26th of April, according to the tables of Parker and Dubberstein (1942). Even after the institution of the 19-year cycle, the New Year could still vary within a 27-day range, but averaged about 14 days following vernal equinox (Kugler 1924: 333–34; *RLA* 5: 298–99).

Evidence is lacking from Babylonian administrative or economic documents for a civil year beginning in *Tašrītu,* whose name means "beginning" (see C.). *Tašrītu,* month 7 in the Babylonian calendar, is generally the month of the autumnal equinox. The possibility of a cultic New Year in *Tašrītu,* based on the performance of an *akītu* festival during that month (Thureau-Dangin 1921: 87; AO.6459 and 6465 contain the New Year's ritual for *Tašrītu,* performed in Uruk), has found further support in letters from the Neo-Assyrian period (Parpola 1970, no. 190 r.2–10; 287 r.2–6; *ABL* 951 r.2; Thompson 1900, no. 16:5). The early preference for intercalary *Ulūlu*'s in the Babylonian calendar (noted by Parker and Dubberstein 1942: 3) is more plausibly explained by such a cultic autumn New Year, although this remains to be finally confirmed or refuted.

Before the articulation of a solar theory in the mathematical astronomy of the late Babylonian period, no value for the length of a year in days can be cited. As a consequence of the lunisolar character of the calendar, the length of the Babylonian civil year varied from year to year, depending on whether an extra lunar month was intercalated. The unit "year" was so defined for all periods of Mesopotamian history. With the development of mathematical astronomy and the derivation of number periods for cyclical phenomena (such as the return of the sun to a particular fixed star), diverse values for the length of the year are seen to underlie various computations (Neugebauer 1975: 528–29). For example, Seleucid astronomical texts from Uruk listing computed solar longitudes on consecutive dates (Neugebauer 1955, nos. 185, 186, 187) use as the value for the mean solar progress $0;59,9^{o/day}$. This produces a year of about $6,5;10,23^{d}$ (Neugebauer 1975: 529). Such a year length ($6,5;10^{d}$) has been identified in a procedure text from Babylon (Sachs and Neugebauer 1956: 132:3′ and 4′). Neugebauer 1955, no. 210 sec. 3:11–12 defines the year in terms of an 18-year solar cycle: [1,4]9,34,25,27,18 UD.MEŠ *šá* 18 MU *šá* $^{d}$*Šamaš* [*ana* KI-*š*]*ú* GUR *ina* 18 BAL.MEŠ "[1,4]9,34;25,27,18 days of 18 years of the sun, returning [to] its [longitude] in 18 rotations," meaning returns of the sun to the same fixed star (text quoted according to Neugebauer 1955: 272). This value produces a year length of 6,5;14,44,51 days. These and other year lengths (e.g., 6,5;15,36) are found as the periods of functions in Babylonian astronomy. Neugebauer has emphasized (1975: 528–29) that all the "years" underlying Babylonian astronomical computations refer to the so-called sidereal year, as no distinction was yet made between sidereal, tropical, and anomalistic years. Such distinctions presuppose recognition of precession, which has been conclusively shown to lie outside the knowledge of Babylonian astronomy.

**2. The Month (Akk *arhu*).** Although the Sum logogram ITI, "month," is found in archaic texts from Šuruppak and from Ur, month names do not appear until the ED texts of Lagaš, Adab, and Nippur (*RLA* 5: 299–300; Langdon 1935: 157–58). The month names of the Ur III calendar at Nippur were eventually adopted as standard for all of Babylonia by the early OB (Isin-Larsa) and OB periods. Before this standardization, however, many Sumerian city-states had their own month name systems (Schneider 1936: 80–107). The following are the names that became standard: (1) $BARA_2$.\LANG513 ZAG.GAR, (2) $GU_4$.SI.SÁ, (3) $SIG_4$.GA, (4) ŠU.NUMUN, (5) NE.NE.GAR.RA, (6) KIN.$^{d}$INNIN, (7) $DU_6$.KÙ, (8) APIN.$DU_8$.A, (9) GAN.GAN.E, (10) AB.È, (11) ZÍZ.A, (12) ŠE.KIN.KUD. These Nippur months became the logographic writings for the following Babylonian month names: (1) *Nisannu,* (2) *Aiaru,* (3) *Simanu,* (4) *Du*ˀ*ūzu,* (5) *Abu,* (6) *Ulūlu,* (7) *Tašrītu,* (8) *Arahsamna,* (9) *Kislīmu,* (10) *Ṭebētu,* (11) *Šabaṭu,* (12) *Addaru.* In other areas of Mesopotamia (e.g., Diyala region, Chagar Bazar, Mari, and Assyria) different names were used, for which, see *RLA* 5: 301–2.

The Babylonian month seems to have been divided, for both fiscal and cultic purposes, into halves (designated as *š apattu* [written UD.15.KAM] *mahrītu* "first 15th day" and *šapattu arkītu* "second 15th day"), and into 7-day units, attested primarily in menologies and celestial omen texts, which make use of a schematic 30-day month (Langdon 1935: 83–84; 90–91).

The length of the true lunar month varied between 29 and 30 days, depending on the (variable) length of the period of the moon's invisibility due to its nearness to the sun. The determination, in advance, of when a month will have 29 or 30 days is a complicated problem solved only in the Seleucid-period Babylonian mathematical astronomy. To predict when the new crescent moon would again appear depended not only on an ability to take into account the motion of the sun and the moon, but also on the recognition of factors affecting visibility, such as the seasonal variation in inclination of the ecliptic to the horizon.

**3. The Day (Akk *ūmu*).** Several ways of dividing the day may be identified in ancient Mesopotamia, each designed in response to a particular need. For astronomical computation with respect to the period from one sunset to the next, 12 equal intervals of 30° duration (or 120 minutes of time) termed *bēru,* "double-hour," were used. For nonmathematical time reckoning, the periods of daylight and night were divided into 12 intervals termed *simanu.* These were not of equal duration throughout the year but varied seasonally, and so are the equivalent of the "seasonal hours" representing 1/12 of the actual period of daylight (or night) attested elsewhere in the ancient world (Rochberg-Halton fc.). Late Babylonian nonmathematical astronomical texts established another system which expressed time as the number of time degrees (UŠ, sometime *běru* and UŠ) with respect to four divisions of the day that made use of sunset and sunrise as fixed points of reference. Thus the number of UŠ were counted within the four periods (1) from sunset to midnight ($GE_6$ GIN), (2) from midnight to sunrise ($GE_6$ *ana* ZALÁG), (3) from sunrise to noon (ME NIM-*a*), and (4) from noon to sunset (*ana* ŠÚ ŠAMAŠ) (Neugebauer and Sachs 1967: 212–14; for the strictly astronomical midnight epoch, see Neugebauer 1955: 79–80).

The determination of the length of daylight through the year was a prominent part of the development both of the calendar and of astronomy. In the early period, before the 5th century B.C., the variation in the length of daylight was interpreted schematically and as a calendaric problem. The ratio of longest to shortest day was determined to be 2:1 (MUL.APIN 2.107, 111, 117, 121). The equinoxes and solstices were placed in schematic fashion in the middle of months 1, 4, 7, and 10, assuming perfect symmetry between the length of the seasons as well as the lengths of days. In fact, however, no symmetry exists in the lengths of the seasons or in the lengths of day and night. The inequality of the seasons due to the irregularity in the sun's motion through the year was not taken into account until the Hellenistic period, at which point the length of daylight was perceived as a function of the sun's longitude and connected with the rising times of the zodiac. The values for daylight length found in the mathematical ephemerides ("Column C"; see Neugebauer 1955: 47) and in the procedure texts (Neugebauer 1955: 187) show the ratio 3:2 for longest to shortest day, which is a useful approximation for the geographical latitude of Babylon (about $32\frac{1}{2}^{o}$).

**C. The Assyrian Calendar**

The 2d-millennium Assyrian calendar has been reconstructed on the basis of texts from the reign of Šamši-Adad I (Larsen 1974: 16–17) as well as from the somewhat later archives from Kültepe (Larsen 1976: 192–93). In both periods, the New Year began in the autumn, in Šamši-Adad's time earlier in autumn than in the OA texts from Kültepe level II (=1920–1840 B.C.; see *RLA* 5:299). Fall New Year was also established in the Ebla calendar (Pettinato 1974–77: 33–35). Although no intercalary month is attested in the Old Assyrian calendar, the naming of the year-eponym, by which "solar" years were identified, occurred always at the same time of year. In other words, the solar eponym-year was coordinated with the lunar months (for the exception to this in texts from Kültepe Ib, see Larsen 1976: 53, n. 18). The lack of intercalation and the consequent slipping of the seasons backward through the months in the Middle Assyrian lunar calendar has already been mentioned (above, A; Weidner 1935–36: 27–29). This changed with the Assyrian adoption of the Babylonian calendar in the 1st millennium.

An additional calendaric device was employed in the Old Assyrian calendar. This was the "week"-eponymy, in which the *hamuš tum* period of 5 days was also designated by the names of officials. The *hamuš tum* system is widely attested in OA commercial documents and is distinctive for the Assyrian calendar. Documents were dated by means of f4*hamuštum,* month, and year (=eponymy; see Larsen 1976: 354–65 with many references).

**D. The Egyptian Calendar**

Two developments of major importance in the history of the calendar are contributions from Egypt. These are the Egyptian civil year of 365 days (Parker 1950: 51–56) and the 24-hour division of the day (Neugebauer and Parker 1960: 116–21). The Egyptian civil year consisted of twelve 30-day months with 5 extra "epagomenal" days added at the end of each year. Because the 30-day month was divided into three 10-day "decades," the year contained 36 such decades, plus the 5 epagomenal days. The three seasons of the Egyptian year, each four months long, were defined agriculturally, as is clear from their names: *ꜣḫt,* "inundation (of the Nile)"; *prt,* "emergence," which was the season for farming; and *š mw,* "dryness." As such, the Egyptian calendar was practical and constant, needing no intercalation of months (various lunar and cultic calendars were also used, for which, see Parker 1950: 13–50; Parker 1970; also Bickerman 1980: 41 with references).

The Egyptian civil calendar is unique in the ANE for its independence from the complicated astronomical problems endemic to the lunisolar calendars. In establishing a fixed unit for measuring time, the constant 365-day Egyptian civil year had a great advantage over the other ancient calendar years in application to astronomy. Its potential for use in astronomy, however, was not realized until the Hellenistic Greek astronomers adopted this calendar as the standard basis for computing astronomical tables. In this astronomical capacity, the Egyptian calendar remained in use during both the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

The 24-hour division of the day derives ultimately from the Egyptian practice of counting "hours" at night on the basis of the rising of certain stars called by the Greek term "decan(s)." Around 2400 B.C., Egyptians began to tell time at night by the rising of decanal stars. Originally the decans were defined by their relationship to the 36 decades of the Egyptian civil year, as each successive decade would bring the heliacal rising (first rising of a star just before sunrise after its period of invisibility) of a new decan. The decans indicated the time of night by their risings or, later, by their transits (crossing of the meridian) at 12 intervals during the night. Evidence for the use of rising stars to indicate night hours comes from 12 extant star clocks, which are diagonal diagrams of stars on the inside of coffin lids from the 9th to the 12th Dynasties (Neugebauer and Parker 1960). Although no traces remain of decans in modern astronomy, they continued to play a role in later Hellenistic and medieval astrology, defined as thirds of zodiacal signs (=10° segments of the ecliptic). The 12 intervals between the consecutive rising of one decan and the next, counted from sunset to sunrise, were a direct consequence of the 10-day spacing of the decans. Daylight hours were reckoned on a different basis, one which determined 10 "hours" for the time between sunrise and sunset, plus 2 additional hours for twilight. The resulting division of the day was 12 hours of daylight and 12 of night, or 24 hours whose length varied with the season of the year. Eventually the Hellenistic astronomers replaced these unequal seasonal hours with 24 hours of constant

length (equinoctial hours) which were further subdivided, according to the Babylonian sexagesimal system, into 60 minutes. Our present system, in which one day contains 24 60-minute hours, is the historical survival of this development in Hellenistic astronomy.

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## *ANCIENT ISRAELITE AND EARLY JEWISH*

One may assume that the ancestors of Israel and the early Israelites themselves followed some sort of calendar (or calendars), but the extant sources do not permit one to determine what its (their) nature may have been. No part of the Bible or even the Bible as a whole presents a full calendar; information about these matters must be gleaned from occasional, often incidental references to dates, days, months, seasons, and years. The largest amount of biblical calendrical data appears in documents that were written during the exilic or postexilic periods, while an explicit, complete calendar is not found in a Jewish text until approximately the 3d century B.C.E. when the *Astronomical Book of Enoch* (*1 Enoch* 72–82) was composed. The 362-day solar calendar which is described in it may, however, have been nonnormative. The NT has even less to offer in this regard than the Hebrew Bible: it mentions only a few dates and festivals and provides some details about when the day began. In this article the calendrical information in the Bible and in contemporary or nearly contemporary Jewish sources will be surveyed.

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**A. The Biblical Evidence**

Even though more facts about ancient Jewish calendary practices are known from extrabiblical than from biblical texts, it will be useful first to summarize the available scriptural data.

**1. The Day.** The word *ỹm* may be employed to express the general sense of "time," but it was regularly used to refer to "day" in the stricter senses of a period of light and darkness or the time of light alone. In the Hebrew Bible one meets various terms for different parts of the day: *šaḥar* (dawn); *bōqer* (morning); *ṣohŏrayim* (noon); *neš ep* (twilight); *ʿereb* (evening); *layl̦* (night); and *ḥăṣî laylâ* (midnight). There are also references to the various watches of the night (e.g., Exod 14:24; Judg 7:19; 1 Sam 11:11; Lam 2:19; Matt 14:25; Mark 13:35), and Matt 20:1–16 and John 11:9 indicate that the daytime was divided into 12 hours.

Scholars have debated but not definitively settled the issue of when the day was thought to begin at various times in biblical history. Before examining the evidence, one should be aware that casual references to "day and night" and "night and day" should not be equated with official calendrical statements. R. de Vaux, for one, has maintained (*AncIsr*) that before the Exile the day was regarded as beginning in the morning while later the evening was considered the point when it began. He was able to adduce various earlier passages in which the order day-night occurs (e.g., Deut 28:67 [but see v 66]; 1 Sam 30:12; Isa 28:19; Jer 33:20) and later ones in which night is mentioned before day (Esth 4:16; Dan 8:14; Jdt 11:17). But texts of this nature are largely irrelevant to the question of when, technically speaking, the day began. Moreover, the order day-night also surfaces in postexilic texts (Neh 1:6). An interesting example is 2 Chr 6:20, which speaks of day and night, while its source (1 Kgs 8:29) displays the reversed order of the two.

A sounder approach is to examine passages which treat the issue more officially. All of them, as it happens, deal with cultic affairs. If there ever was an official, secular position regarding the inception of the day, the sources do not divulge it. (1) Exod 12:6, 8, 10, 18 indicate that the rituals of passover and unleavened bread are to begin the evening of 1/14 (that is, month 1, day 14) and conclude the evening of 1/21. (2) Lev 23:32 mandates that the day of atonement is to be observed "on the ninth day of the month beginning at evening, from evening to evening shall you keep your sabbath." It is evident that the command envisages an evening–evening day, but the underlying calendar (the day of atonement is supposed to be 7/10 [23:27; cf. 16:29]) may have followed a morning–morning sequence. (3) The rules of purity (e.g., Lev 11:24–28; 15:1–12, 16–24; 22:1–9) state that the periods during which one is impure end in the evening. (4) Neh 13:19 relates that the sabbath was beginning as darkness fell. In later sources as well, this is clearly the understanding of when the day commenced (cf. CD 10:14–16; Josephus, *JW* 4 §9, 12; Mark 15:42; Luke 23:54–56; John 19:31–42).

For these texts, then, an evening–evening day is secure, and others are consistent with it (e.g., Gen 1:5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31; Esth 4:16; Acts 4:3). There are, however, some passages which may, if they are meant to convey exact calendrical information, entail a morning–morning pattern (e.g., Judg 19:4–9; 1 Sam 19:11; 28:19; Lev 7:15–16 [a cultic text]). Perhaps the most that can be said is that in the Second Temple period virtually all cultic texts imply that the day began in the evening. There is insufficient evidence for establishing what preexilic practices may have been. J. Baumgarten has argued that even the author of the book of *Jubilees* (ca. 150 B.C.), who was a staunch adherent of a solar calendar, used an evening–evening day (see 21:10; 32:16; 49:1).

The Hebrew Bible makes it clear that from early times in Israel seven days constituted a week. This week was divided into six days during which work could be performed, and it concluded with a seventh day on which labor was illegal (Exod 34:21; 23:12; 20:8–11; 35:1–3; Lev 23:3; Deut 5:12–15). The familiar creation story in Gen 1:3–2:4a lists the seven days of the first week and refers to them with ordinal numbers. In the Hebrew Bible, only the seventh day receives a special name—the sabbath—but in the New Testament the day before the sabbath is called the day of preparation (Matt 27:62; Mark 15:42; Luke 23:54; John 19:31, 42). Use of this term may, however, be related to the fact that the following

sabbath was, on this occasion, also the day of Passover (see John 19:14). Units of seven days are mentioned in the legislation about the festival of weeks which was to be celebrated 50 days after the waving of the barley omer. This 50-day period is divided into seven weeks and one day (cf. Deut 16:9–10; Lev 23:15–16). It should be added that in some texts the word "week" refers to a period of seven years (e.g., Lev 25:8; Dan 9:24–27; and throughout the pseudepigraphic book of *Jubilees*).

**2. The Month.** The Hebrew Bible mentions months rather frequently but does not name them in a single manner throughout. In fact, it has been argued that there are three distinct systems of month names in the text.

**a. The Canaanite Month Names.** It is often claimed that the early Israelites used lunar months and called them by names which they borrowed from their Canaanite neighbors. There are indeed some Canaanite month names in the Bible, and the word for month that is found with them is regularly *yeraḥ*. It does not follow, however, that these months were lunar simply because this Hebrew word is etymologically related to the noun for moon (*yārēăḥ*) any more than it does that English-speaking people use lunar months because the term "month" is etymologically related to "moon." It has been maintained that there are four Canaanite month names in the Hebrew Bible: Abib (Exod 13:4; 23:15; 34:18; Deut 16:1 [=the first month]), Ziv (1 Kgs 6:1, 37 [=the second month]), Ethanim (1 Kgs 8:2 [=the seventh month]), and Bul (1 Kgs 6:38 [=the eighth month]). The words "Abib" and "Ziv" have not been identified in Canaanite or Phoenician sources, but the other two have. It is of some interest that the word *ḥōdeš* is used with Abib (always) and with Ziv in one of its two occurrences (1 Kgs 6:1), but it is not found with the remaining two names, which always appear with *yeraḥ*. It is not clear, though, that the presence of two certain Canaanite month names in the Hebrew Bible indicates that the Israelites resorted to a full system of such names in an official calendar. The two undoubted Canaanite names and the name Ziv figure only in the account of Solomon's building and dedication of the temple (which had noteworthy Canaanite connections), and even there the writer always tells the reader the corresponding number of the month. Consequently, one may be dealing with a special source at this point, and these month names may not have been in widespread or official use in Israel. In the parallel passages in 2 Chronicles the names are not given (for 1 Kgs 6:1 [Ziv], see 2 Chr 3:2; for 1 Kgs 8:2 [Ethanim], cf. 5:3). If the ordinals which are added to these months correspond with the time when they occurred in the year, these months would belong to a year which began in the spring.

**b. The Numbered Months.** Biblical literature which was written just before, during, and after the Exile provides many dates and calendrical hints but again offers no systematic statement about the nature of the calendar(s) employed in Judah. The most noteworthy feature of the calendrical notices in these sources is their use of ordinal numbers to designate the twelve months. References to numbered months are infrequent in 1–2 Kings but are present in the temple-building section discussed above and in the last chapter of 2 Kings which describes the Babylonian capture of Jerusalem (25:1, 3, 8, 25, 27). Some scholars have concluded from their presence in this chapter and in Jeremiah that this system came into use in Judah at approximately the time of the Babylonian Exile. The following works, many of which have undoubted priestly ties, use this nomenclature: the Priestly source; 1–2 Kings (with the exception of the Canaanite month names noted above); 1–2 Chronicles (where the Canaanite month names are eliminated from the temple section); Ezra (with one exception [6:15] in an Aramaic document in which the month when the Second Temple was completed is called Adar); Jeremiah; Ezekiel; Daniel (one example [10:4]); Haggai, and Zechariah (see 7:3–4; 8:19 for the fasts of the fourth, fifth, seventh, and tenth months).

The schedules of holidays in these books are much more precise than in the earlier sources, which give only rather vague indications of dates for festivals. Ezekiel, in his blueprint for the restored temple and community (chaps. 40–48), elaborates a cultic calendar (45:18–25; cf. 46:1) which includes 1/1 (the sanctuary is cleansed through sacrifice of a young bull); 1/7 (the same procedure as for 1/1, but the sacrifice is for "anyone who has sinned through error or ignorance; so you shall make atonement for the temple" [45:20]); 1/14 (Passover, "and for seven days unleavened bread shall be eaten" [v 21]); 7/15 (a seven-day festival begins; it has the same sacrificial prescriptions as the days of unleavened bread [v 25]). Ezekiel also treats the sabbath (46:1–5) and mentions the day of the new moon (46:6; for the new moon

celebration, see also 1 Sam 20:5, 18–19, 24–29; Hos 2:11; Amos 8:5). His remarkable calendar of holidays, which fails to mention the festival of weeks and proceeds from spring to autumn, draws no agricultural connections for any of the feasts.

The most detailed schedule of festivals surfaces in the priestly parts of the Pentateuch. In these sections the dates are expressed by numbered months and numbered days within the months, and the first month is in the spring. If one combines the data from the relevant priestly pericopes, one finds a full and precise list of festivals and observances:

1/1–12: a special offering is to be presented on the first of each month (Num 28:11–15);

1/14: Passover. Exod 12:2 specifies that the month of Passover is to be the first one of the year for the Israelites. The Passover lamb was to be selected on 1/10 and sacrificed on 1/14 (Exodus 12; Lev 23:5; Num 9:1–5; Num 28:16; cf. Josh 5:10).

1/15–21: Festival of Unleavened Bread (Exod 12:18–19; Lev 23:6–8; Num 28:17–25). One noteworthy ceremony which is mentioned just after the laws about this festival in Leviticus 23 is the waving of the omer by the priest (23:9–14). Lev 23:11 dates this ceremony to the "morrow of the sabbath"—a phrase whose ambiguity gave rise to disputes at a later time. The timing of the omer ceremony was especially significant because it determined the date of the festival of weeks.

2/14: The Second Passover. It was meant for those who had become impure through contact with a dead body or who were away on a journey at the time of the first Passover (Num 9:6–14; cf. 2 Chr 30:1–22).

3/?: The Festival of Weeks. Like Deut 16:9–12, Lev 23:15–16 provides for a 50-day count ("fifty days to the morrow after the seventh sabbath" [v 16]) in calculating the date for the festival of weeks; but it names as the starting point for the count "the morrow after the sabbath, from the day that you brought the sheaf of the wave offering [=the omer] …" (v 15). It is striking, however, that no date for either the omer ceremony or the festival of weeks is given. In fact, even the month in which this second pilgrim feast occurs must be inferred from other data (cf. also Num 28:26–31; Acts 2).

7/1: According to Lev 23:23–25, a "day of solemn rest" was to be observed on this date; it was to be "a memorial proclaimed with blast of trumpets" (v 24; see also Num 29:1–6). This observance was apparently in addition to what Num 28:11–15 requires for the first of each month. It is never called "New Year" (*rōʾš haššānāh*) in the Bible.

7/10: The Day of Atonement. Leviticus 16 provides the fullest description of the rites for this day; Lev 16:29; 23:27 and Num 29:7 furnish the date.

7/15–21: The Festival of Tabernacles. The date is given in Lev 23:34, 39; and Num 29:12–34. Both of these chapters also mention an eighth day (Lev 23:39; Num 29:35), though they indicate that the festival itself lasts just seven days (Lev 23:34, 36, 39, 42; Num 29:12–34). It was during this festival that Solomon dedicated the temple (1 Kgs 8:2, 65–66 [the eighth day is noted again]; 2 Chr 5:3; 7:8–10 [a "solemn assembly" was held on the eighth day]), and it was this celebration that Jeroboam redated to 8/15 (1 Kgs 12:32–33).

From these books which refer to months by ordinal numbers rather than names one can infer some additional information about them. First, that there were twelve months follows from lists such as those in 1 Kgs 4:7–19 and 1 Chr 27:1–15 and from the fact that no source ever mentions a higher number (2 Kgs 25:27 and Jer 52:31 mention the twenty-seventh or twenty-fifth day of the twelfth month as the date for King Jehoiachin's release; cf. Ezek 32:1; the dates in the book of Esther are discussed below). That is, these texts never mention an intercalary month as nearly as one can tell. Second, the priestly chronological notes which dot the flood story suggest how long these months lasted. On 2/17 the waters begin to come (7:11); they then rise for 150 days (7:24; cf. 8:3). On 7/17 the ark comes to rest on a mountain (8:4), and on 10/1 the summits of the mountains become visible (8:5). By 1/1 the following year the water had disappeared, and on 2/27 the earth was completely dry (8:13–14). It appears that the 150 days of 7:24 and the five months from 2/17 to 7/17 refer to the same span of time. This would imply months of 30 days. It has also been argued that the length of the flood (one year and ten days) may be related to the fact that a solar year is approximately ten days longer than a lunar one, although in a lunar calendar five months would not total 150 days.

The practice of numbering months continued for a long time and is attested in some Jewish writings which postdate the Hebrew Bible. Some examples are Judith (2:1; cf. 4:13); 1–2 Maccabees; *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs;* the *Assumption of Moses;* 1 Esdras (14:22, 48); *2 Baruch* (77:18); *Jubilees; 1 Enoch* (72–82); *2 Enoch* (1:1); *Pseudo-Philo* (23:1–3, 14); and the Dead Sea Scrolls (on which see below).

**c. The Babylonian Month Names.** Yet another practice which appears in the latest OT literature is to employ the Hebrew equivalents of the Babylonian month names. One finds this custom in Ezra (once), Nehemiah, Esther, and Zechariah—all of which are postexilic books. It is well known from later sources that the names which Jewish people gave to the months were borrowed from the Babylonian language: As *j. Roš Haš.* 1.56d says, "They carried the names of the months back with them from Babylonia." These names are used alone at times but they also figure in combination with numbered months. The practice of using the Babylonian month names was a product of the Judeans' exilic and perhaps postexilic contact with the Babylonians and Persians (who borrowed the names from the Babylonians). The Babylonian months were lunar, and the year began in the spring. It is obvious that the Jewish use of the month names entailed that the same features were transferred to the Jewish calendar. The following Babylonian names appear in the biblical sources:

| *Babylonian Names* | *Hebrew Equivalents* |
|---|---|
| 1. Nisanu | 1. Nisan (Neh 2:1; Esth 3:7 [=first]) |
| 2. Aiaru | 2. |
| 3. Simanu | 3. Sivan (Esth 8:9 [=third]) |
| 4. Duzu | 4. |
| 5. Abu | 5. |
| 6. Ululu | 6. Elul (Neh 6:15) |
| 7. Tashritu | 7. |
| 8. Arahsamnu | 8. |
| 9. Kislimu | 9. Chislev (Neh 1:1; Zech 7:1 [=ninth]) |
| 10. Tebutu | 10. Tebet (Esth 2:16 [=tenth]) |
| 11. Shabatu | 11. Shebat (Zech 1:7 [=eleventh]) |
| 12. Addaru | 12. Adar (Ezra 6:15; Esth 3:7, 13; 8:12; 9:1, 15, 17, 19, 21 [=twelfth]) |

The twelfth month occurs so frequently in the book of Esther because it was during that month that the events which gave rise to the annual festival of Purim took place. According to Esth 9:21, Mordecai gave orders that all the Jews in the Persian Empire were to "keep the fourteenth day of the month Adar and also the fifteenth day of the same, year by year …"

The Hebrew Bible, then, exhibits at least traces of three methods for naming months: with names, some of which are attested in Canaanite sources; by ordinal numbers; and by Babylonian month names. But in no case does one learn the lengths of all the months, nor is intercalary procedure ever described. It has been held that 1 Kgs 12:32 (Jeroboam dated a festival to 8/15, not 7/15 as in Jerusalem), 2 Chr 30:1–4 (Hezekiah's Passover was celebrated on 2/14 rather than 1/14), and Ezek 4:5 (the prophet lies on his left side for 390 days) point toward intercalation of one month in some years; but these passages are far from making the case even plausible, much less compelling. One also learns nothing about the methods used for determining the beginning of a month.

**3. The Year.** There is no statement in the Bible about how long a year lasted, and the data about its beginning are confusing. Scholars have argued from different sets of facts that the year was thought to begin in either spring or autumn. A widely held position has been that an autumnal New Year was observed in preexilic times, while a vernal New Year came into vogue in the postexilic age. Some have also maintained (e.g., Thiele) that the kingdom of Judah began the year in autumn but the realm of Israel placed it in the spring. In treating a question of this sort, for which the evidence is sparse and difficult, it

is important to remember that simultaneously there could be different inceptions for different sorts of New Years. This point is made abundantly clear by the famous passage in *m. Roš Haš.* 1:1: "There are four 'New Year' days: on the 1st of Nisan is the New Year for kings and feasts; on the 1st of Elul is the New Year for the Tithe of Cattle (R. Eleazar and R. Simeon say: The 1st of Tishri); on the 1st of Tishri is the New Year for [the reckoning of] the years [of foreign kings], of the Years of Release and Jubilee years, for the planting [of trees] and for vegetables; and the 1st of Shebat is the New Year for [fruit] trees (so the School of Shammai; and the School of Hillel say: On the 15th thereof)" (trans. Danby).

**a. The Earlier Evidence.** As one might expect, there is inconclusive evidence from the earlier biblical literature. The festival calendars of the sources J and E are often cited in this context as indications that the year began in the autumn in preexilic times. The J material is found in Exod 34:18–24. There the first holiday (unleavened bread) is dated to the month of Abib (i.e., the first spring month); the festival of weeks is not dated other than by its association with the wheat harvest; but the "feast of ingathering" is to be observed at the "year's end" (*tĕqûpat haššānāh* [v 22]). The phrase here more literally means the "turn of the year" and clearly expresses the fact that at this point (this must be in autumn) the year has reached a significant juncture. In E (Exod 23:10–17) similar information appears, but the "feast of ingathering" is located "at the end of the year" (*bĕṣē᾽t haššānāh* [v 16]). Hence, in the two "epic" sources, the list begins with a vernal and concludes with an autumnal holiday (cf. also Deut 16:1–17). From the two Hebrew expressions just quoted, a number of scholars have inferred that the year ended in the autumn. Here, however, it should be observed that one is dealing with an agricultural cycle which is not necessarily the same as a calendar year. It is obvious that the agricultural year concludes with the fall harvest, but whether one may deduce from that fact that a calendrical year did as well is quite another question. It seems safer to say with D. J. A. Clines: "… references to the 'end' (*ṣē᾽t*) or the 'turn' (*tĕqûpāh*) of the year in the autumn invariably have to do with the cycle of the agricultural year or of the festival calendar insofar as it is based on the agricultural seasons, and therefore they are irrelevant to the question of the beginning of the calendar year of months" (1974: 29).

In this connection it is interesting to compare the so-called Gezer calendar which undoubtedly dates from preexilic times (ca. 925 B.C. according to Albright). It reads as follows (*ANET* 320 [trans. Albright]):

His two months are (olive) harvest [᾽*sp*],
His two months are planting (grain),
His two months are late planting;
His month is hoeing up of flax.
His month is harvest of barley,
His month is harvest and *feasting*;
His two months are vine-tending,
His month is summer fruit.

As in J and E, the times of the year are identified by agricultural phenomena. The order of the twelve months is from autumn to summer, and the list begins with the process (᾽*sp*) that marks the end of the cycle in J and E. Unfortunately, one does not know what the status of this "calendar" was and what purpose it served.

**b. The Later Evidence.** The dating systems in which the months are numbered or given Babylonian names place the first month (=Nisan) in the spring as the Babylonians did. It is difficult to determine when the numbered system was first introduced, but there is no clear evidence that it preceded the time immediately before the Babylonian Exile. Jer 36:9, 22 indicate that the ninth month occurred during the winter; this would be true only in a system which began in the spring. But there is other evidence of a conflicting nature. For example, if one pairs the dates in Neh 1:1 (Chislev [=the ninth month] in the twentieth year, apparently of King Artaxerxes) and 2:1 (Nisan [=the first month] in the king's twentieth year) it is apparent that the monarch's regnal years were calculated from some time other than a Nisan inception of the year. If the year began with Nisan 1, this Chislev and Nisan would be in different years. These dates are consistent with a fall inception of the year. But as one is here dealing with the regnal years of a Persian king, it is not clear that these dates indicate anything about a Jewish calendar. It is well

known, of course, that in later Judaism 7/1 became the day of New Year, although Nisan continued to be regarded as the first month. To add to the puzzle, Lev 25:8–9 prescribes that the jubilee years were to begin on 7/10. Thus, the practice or practices before the Exile remain unclear, while there is evidence later for both a vernal and an autumnal inception of the year. Depending upon the topic under consideration, the autumnal New Year may have been calculated from different dates.

**B. Sources Outside the Hebrew Bible**

One encounters fuller calendrical details in Jewish documents which were not included in the Hebrew Bible.

**1. The Elephantine Papyri.** The earliest of these extrabiblical sources are the Aramaic papyri of the Jewish military colony in Elephantine on the Nile River. There are some 38 papyri that bear dates, and 22 of these have double or synchronized dates (Egyptian and Persian/Jewish). In the papyri one finds all twelve of the Babylonian/Persian month names:

| | |
|---|---|
| Nisan | (A. E. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri 21) |
| Iyyar | (Kraeling, The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri 14) |
| Sivan | (Kraeling 1; 5) |
| Tammuz | (Arammic Papyri 30; Kraeling 6) |
| Ab | (Arammic Papyri 14) |
| Elul | (Arammic Papyri 5; 20; Kraeling 3) |
| Tishri | (Arammic Papyri 15; Kraeling 4; 7; 8) |
| Marcheshvan | (Arammic Papyri 17; 30; 31; Kraeling 9) |
| Chislev | (Arammic Papyri 6; 8; 10; 13; 25) |
| Tebeth | (Arammic Papyri 26) |
| Shebat | (Arammic Papyri 28) |
| Adar | (Arammic Papyre 61; 67; Kraeling 10) |

Horn and Wood (1954) were able to draw no certain conclusions about whether the Jews of Elephantine had fashioned a precalculated, fixed calendar but noted strong similarities with the Babylonian system. There is no evidence among the Elephantine documents for intercalation. Horn and Wood argued that Kraeling's text (*BMAP* 6) implied a civil year that ran from fall to fall, but this has been disputed.

**2. The Wâdī ed-Dâliyeh Papyri.** Though these mid-4th-century B.C.E. Samaritan papyri have not yet been published in full, the available evidence indicates that the authors used the Babylonian month names. Papyrus 1 reads: "on the twentieth day of Adar, year 2 (the same being) the accession year of Darius the king, in the province of Samaria" (Cross 1974: 19).

**3. *1 Enoch* 72–82.** The next book in chronological order is the *Astronomical Book of Enoch* (*1 Enoch* 72–82), a work which appears to date from no later than the 3d century B.C.E. It is preserved in Ethiopic, but fragments of the work in the original Aramaic have been found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. These indicate that the original text was probably much longer than the Ethiopic version of it. Here for the first time an extant Jewish document describes a full calendar; or, more precisely, the angel Uriel reveals its details to Enoch. In fact, it sketches two systems: a solar calendar of 364 days (72:32; 74:10, 12; 75:2; 82:4–6) and a lunar one of 354 days (73:1–17; 78:6–17). The solar year of 364 days takes a schematic form (the months are again numbered, not named): months 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, and 11 have 30 days, while months 3, 6, 9, and 12 have 31 (72:6–32). From statements in the book about the relative lengths of day and night at different times in the year, it is obvious that the author thought the year began just after the vernal equinox (which is in the twelfth month). The summer solstice then falls in the third month, the autumnal equinox in the sixth, and the winter solstice in the ninth. Nothing is said about intercalary months, but this calendar, in which each date falls on the same day of the week every year (since 364 is exactly divisible by 7), is compared with a 354-day lunar arrangement (74:12–16; in 74:10–11 a 360-day solar calendar is compared to a 354-day lunar one—that is, the epagomenal days are not considered in

these calculations). It is not clear why the author extends the comparison to eight years since in each year the lunar is ten days shorter than the solar year. But for neither the solar nor the lunar year does the writer mention intercalation; every year has the same number of days (cf. also 78:15–17; 79:3–5 where the lunar year is divided into twelve months: 1–3, 7–9 have 30 days; 4–6, 10–12 have 29 [but 78:9 mentions a month with 28 days]).

**4. The Book of *Jubilees.*** The intriguing solar calendar of *1 Enoch* 72–82 was later advocated by other writers. The most vigorous of these would be the author of the book of *Jubilees* (ca. 150 B.C.) who strongly defended this solar arrangement against any sort of lunar calendar. In it an angel of the divine presence (thus here too it comes by revelation) tells Moses: "Now you command the Israelites to keep the years in this number—364 days. Then the year will be complete and it will not disturb its time from its days or from its festivals because everything will happen in harmony with their testimony. They will neither omit a day nor disturb a festival" (6:32). In the sequel the same angel predicts: "There will be people who carefully observe the moon with lunar observations because it is corrupt (with respect to) the seasons and is early from year to year by ten days" (6:36 [both passages are from Charles' translation]). In other words, the author does not simply compare calendars as in *1 Enoch*; he is decidedly for the solar one and implacably against the lunar arrangement which entails that sacred days are profaned and profane ones are sanctified (6:34, 37). It would be interesting to know the historical background against which the author wrote (see Dan 7:25 for a hint about a change of calendars), but it was apparently a time of calendrical dispute—at least for this writer, who was convinced that the 364-day solar calendar was the divine and anciently revealed system. It seems that *Jubilees,* too, does not deal with the problem of intercalation, although it has been claimed that 6:31, 33, which prohibit "transgressing" the proper year, originally read "intercalate" (the two words would be identical in a Hebrew consonantal text). In whichever way these verses are read, the result is the same: there is no intercalation, so that festivals, which had agricultural ties, would soon be celebrated at the wrong time relative to the agricultural cycle.

*Jubilees,* with its special calendar (months are again numbered), is able to provide a precise date for the festival of weeks—something not found in any earlier source. The author dates it to 3/15 (15:1 ["in the third month, in the middle of the month"]; 44:4–5) and associates this date with the covenants made with Noah (6:17–22), Abram (14:20), and Moses (cf. 1:1). Though *Jubilees* does not mention the ceremony of waving the omer, its calendar implies that it occurred on 1/26 (that is, the day after the sabbath [= the morrow of the sabbath] which follows the festival of unleavened bread). The book also mentions that the first days of months 1, 4, 7, and 10 were special memorial days (each recalls an incident during the flood [6:23–29]); and it speaks rather vaguely about times for the second tithe of "seed," wine, and oil (32:10–14). Finally, *Jubilees* claims that the day of atonement was instituted to mark the time when Jacob learned of Joseph's "death" (34:17–19); and it, like several biblical works, notes an additional eighth day for the festival of tabernacles (32:4–29).

**5. The *Temple Scroll.*** The *Temple Scroll* found at Qumran (11QTemple) offers more extrabiblical information about the same calendar of twelve numbered months, the total of whose days was 364. The date of the document is uncertain. The editor Y. Yadin (1983) thought it came from the time of John Hyrcanus (135–104 B.C.E.) or slightly earlier, while others argue that it was written closer to 200 B.C.E. As Yadin has unraveled the cultic calendar (especially in columns 12–29) found in this long but still fragmentary scroll, it can be sketched as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1/1–8 | Days of Ordination for Priests |
| 1/14 | Passover |
| 1/26 | Waving of the Omer (=The Festival of Firstfruits of Barley) |
| [2/14 | The second Passover (perhaps in a lost part of a column)] |
| 3/15 | The Festival of Weeks (=The Festival of Firstfruits of Wheat) |
| 5/3 | Festival of New Wine |
| 6/22 | Festival of Oil |

6/23–29? Festival of the Offering of Wood (cf. Neh 10:34

7/1 Day of Rememberance

7/10 Day of Atonement

7/15 Festival of Booths

A matter of special interest is the series of firstfruits festivals which the author describes and dates. In this system, as understood by Yadin, the day of the waving of the omer (1/26) and the festival of weeks (3/15) are separated, as the Bible prescribes, by seven full weeks. The count begins and ends on a Sunday. The same temporal span separates the festival of weeks (3/15) from the festival of new wine (5/3), and the latter occurs seven full weeks before the festival of oil (6/22). That is, the biblical prescriptions for calculating the date of the festival of weeks from the day the omer was waved have been extended to these other three firstfruits festivals. Indeed, very similar language is used in each case (see 18:10–13; 19:11–13; 21:12–14; compare *Jubilees* 32:10–14). In calculating these exact dates, Yadin was dependent on several bits of data, an important one of which is a fragmentary statement from an unpublished Qumran ms which gives the date 6/22 for a festival of oil (the Hebrew word used for oil—*hš mn*—is not the same as the one in the *Temple Scroll* for this festival—*yṣhr*). If one accepts this date as relevant for the festival of oil in the *Temple Scroll*, and if the last day of one count (i.e., the holiday itself) is also regarded as the first of the next count, every date mentioned fits the *Enoch/Jubilees* 364-day solar calendar.

**6. Sectarian Texts.** *1 Enoch, Jubilees*, and the *Temple Scroll* may have been written before the Qumran community settled on the shores of the Dead Sea, but the presence of copies of each testifies to the fact that they were used and studied at the Essene settlement. Hence it is not surprising to discover that the 364-day calendar is also attested among the sectarian documents. Indeed, it has been surmised that a calendrical dispute with the priestly establishment in Jerusalem was a precipitating factor in the exodus of the Essenes from Jerusalem to the Dead Sea. Evidence that the group followed a calendar that differed from the mainline one appears in 1QpHab 11:4–9 which indicates that the Wicked Priest—the archvillain for the covenanters and apparently the reigning high priest—appeared (at Qumran?) on the day of atonement. Since the ritual for this solemn day required that the high priest be at the temple, it is highly unlikely that he would have chosen this day for settling accounts with the Teacher of Righteousness. A reasonable inference is that the day of atonement fell on different days for the two protagonists because they lived by different cultic calendars.

It was clear when scholars began studying the scrolls that observance of the festivals at the proper time was a point that the authors considered worthy of emphasis (1QS 1:13–15), but the precise nature of the Qumran calendar was not demonstrated until several other texts were published. The only text which simply states that the year contains 364 days is "David's Compositions"—part of the Cave 11 *Psalms Scroll* which the editor has dated paleographically to the 1st century A.D. It asserts, as it enumerates David's literary output: "And he wrote 3,600 psalms; and songs to sing before the altar over the whole-burnt *tamid* offering every day, for all the days of the year, 364; and for the *qorban* [offering] of the Sabbaths, 52 songs; and for the *qorban* of the New Moons [the phrase should be translated "firsts of the months"] and for all the Solemn Assemblies and for the Day of Atonement, 30 songs" (11QPs$^{a}$ 27.4–8; Sanders' translation). The last line (1.11) adds that David spoke all these "through prophecy which was given him from before the Most High."

There are several other indications in the scrolls that the same calendar was known and used. A text named *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices* (11QShirShabb) appears to employ it, and the *War Scroll* refers to 26 priestly "heads of courses" (1QM 2.1), whereas 1 Chr 24:7–18 lists just 24 such courses or shifts of temple duty. If there were 26 priestly groups who rotated temple service (and it is known from other sources that each served for two weeks during a year—one week in the first part, one in the second), then the number fits a 52-week year (note the 52 "fathers of the congregation" in 1.1) exactly, unlike the number 24. Further information about the priestly courses comes from an unpublished document, parts of which J. T. Milik quoted in 1957. This text (4QMišmārôt [the term for the priestly shifts]) gives the name of the priestly family which was serving in the temple on the various holidays and also the number of the

day within its week on which the festival fell. By using the list of priestly courses in 1 Chr 24:7–18, one can calculate exactly when the feasts were celebrated and every feast fits the dates known from *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll.* The available part of the text reads:

The first year, its festivals

| | |
|---|---|
| On the third (day)in Maoziah—Passover | [= 1/14] |
| [On the first (day) in Jeda[iah]—the waving of the [omer] | [= 1/26] |
| On the fifth (day) in Seorim—the [Second] Passover | [= 2/14] |
| On the first (day) in Jeshua—the Festival of Weeks | [= 3/15] |
| [On] the fourth (day) in Maoziah—the Day of Rememberance | [= 7/1] |
| [On] the sixth (day) in Joiarib—the Day of Atonement | [= 7/10] |
| [On the fourth (day) in Jeda]iah—the Festival of Booths | [= 7/15] |

One interesting feature of this list is that only names found in 1 Chr 24:7–18 are used. That is, though the year is divided into 26 periods of service, they are filled by 24 groups. Consequently, the time of service for each group would vary from year to year. This appears to be the meaning of the reference to the "first year" in the initial line of the *mišmārôt* text.

Milik has also discussed some texts which evidence a concern to synchronize this 364-day system with a lunisolar calendar which had 354 days in a year, with one 30-day month added every third year. He has mentioned a line from the *mišmārôt* text which reads: "in the sixth (day) in Jehezkel, on the 29th in the 22nd of the eleventh (month)." He has interpreted the extra date (the 29th) as a reference to the same date in a lunisolar calendar, while 11/22 would be its equivalent in the 364-day system. He has also alluded to a six-year priestly roster which he thinks reflects the sect's interest in synchronizing its calendar with this schematic lunisolar one. The two would synchronize every three years, but it would take six years for the time of duty of one's course to return to its original period in the year.

**7. Solar and Lunar Calendars.** The 364-day calendar was known and perhaps practiced from at least the 3d century B.C.E. to the 1st century A.D. If it was used over such a span of time, the issue of intercalation would have become acute as each year the calendar would deviate another 1/41 days from the true solar year. The earlier sources (*1 Enoch, Jubilees* [though see the comment on 6:31, 33 above], and the *Temple Scroll*) fail to deal with the problem, while some of the scrolls appear to show interest in synchronizing this arrangement with a schematic lunisolar calendar. It should be noted that this dearth of information about intercalation within the 364-day calendar is more than balanced by the complete lack of information in the sources about what may have been the calendar of the "mainline" Jewish community during these centuries. About this no contemporary or near contemporary source supplies any details. It may be that the 364-day calendar was followed only by fringe groups; even so, much more is known about it than about what might have been the calendar of the Jerusalem authorities in different parts of the Second Temple period. The present-day Jewish calendar evolved over several centuries in a process that can be traced in postbiblical texts. A complete list of month names can be found in *Megillat Ta‹anit* (perhaps written in the 1st century A.D.), and the Mishnah (edited in approximately A.D. 200) reflects the rabbis' knowledge about the intercalary "second Adar" (*m. Meg.* 1:4; *m. Ned.* 8:5). The 19-year cycle in which an extra month is added to seven lunar years is attributed to Hillel II (ca. 358–59) but may be post-Talmudic.

**8. The 364-Day Calendar and the Date of the Last Supper.** One additional note should be added about the 364-day calendar. A. Jaubert (1957) has argued that the presence of two calendars in Judaism at approximately the time of Jesus can be used to solve the old problem of when Jesus and his disciples celebrated the Last Supper. The difficulty is as follows: in the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus and his disciples celebrate the Supper as a Passover meal which was eaten near sundown on Friday as Nisan 15 began (Matt 26:17–19; Mark 14:12; Luke 22–7–13); but John implies that the meal was eaten on Thursday as Nisan 14 began (18:28; 19:14, 31, 42) and that Jesus was crucified at the time when the Passover lambs were being slaughtered. Jaubert maintained that the difference reflected use of two calendars—one by the

Synoptic writers (the 364-day system), another by John (a lunisolar calendar). Her solution, while it has proved attractive to some, founders on the complete lack of evidence elsewhere that Jesus or his disciples used the 364-day calendar. There is reason to think that the different timing for the meal in the gospel of John may be motivated more by theological than by historical concerns. That is, he wished to present Jesus as the Passover lamb of God whose death symbolized redemption. For further discussions, see *HJP²* 1: 587–601.

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**CALF.** See ZOOLOGY.

**CALF, GOLDEN.** See GOLDEN CALF.

**CALIGULA** (EMPEROR). Gaius (Caligula) was born in 12 C.E. and was the third son of the Roman military leader Germanicus and Agrippina the elder (Suet. *Claud.* 8). As a young boy he accompanied his parents on the German frontier and the soldiers nicknamed him "Caligula" for the miniature military boots (*caligulae*) that he wore (Tac. *Ann.* 1.41.69; Suet. *Calig.* 9; and Dio Cass. 47.5).

By his 19th year, his father, mother, and two elder brothers had been murdered. After the fall of Sejanus in 32 C.E., Caligula was adopted by the Emperor Tiberius, with whom he lived on the island of Capreae. Caligula was elected pontifex in 31 C.E. and *quaestor* in 33 C.E. When Tiberius died in 37 C.E., Caligula (who had been appointed joint heir in Tiberius' will) was supported by the praetorian prefect Macro and was immediately hailed as *princeps* by the senate. Soldiers who loved the house of Germanicus enthusiastically supported the new emperor and were particularly pleased by the honor he showed to the memory of his relatives who had died treacherously by the hand of Tiberius.

Caligula ruled equitably for his first six months, after which time there was a rapid degeneration in the emperor's character (Josephus *Ant* 18.256). The emperor's insanity, manifesting itself through his inordinate lusts, megalomania, and sadism, appeared to have been precipitated by a grave illness, which was purportedly caused by a reaction in his brain to an aphrodisiac. Caligula's behavioral change was also concomitant with the death of his grandmother Antonia, who may have been a restraining influence in the young emperor's life. Unlike his predecessors, Caligula took his own claims to divinity seriously and rigorously enforced emperor worship.

At the beginning of his principate, Caligula released from prison his friend Herod Agrippa, who had been incarcerated by Tiberius. In addition to his freedom, Caligula gave Agrippa a gold chain supposedly equal in weight to the iron chain that had bound him in prison. Agrippa was appointed by the emperor to rule the territory that his uncle Philip the tetrarch had once governed until his death three years prior,

along with Abilene, which had been governed by the tetrarch Lysanias. Caligula also granted the title of "king" to Agrippa (Josephus *JW* 2.181; *Ant* 18.236ff.).

Herodias was Agrippa's sister, and wife of Antipas. Herodias, motivated by envy for her brother's elevation to the station of a client king, urged her husband to petition the emperor for a similar title. Against his will, Antipas complied with his wife's request. Agrippa used the opportunity to accuse his brother-in-law, by letter to Caligula, of treason. Caligula exiled Antipas and Herodias chose to accompany him. Galilee and Peraea, formerly under the rule of Antipas, were added at this time (39 C.E.) to the dominions of Agrippa.

While there is no direct evidence to suggest that Caligula was responsible for any formal persecution of Christians, his short reign was plagued by problems with the Jews. In 38 C.E. a severe anti-Jewish riot occurred in Alexandria which was the result of a combination of factors, including the Greek majority's rejection of the Jews' claim to full citizenship, the Jews' refusal to sacrifice to the emperor, and finally the duplicity of Flaccus, the Roman governor of Alexandria. The two parties sent delegations to Caligula in 40 C.E. Philo, who represented the Jews of Alexandria, has left a vivid account of what transpired.

Eusebius, the early Church historian, states that Philo wrote five books on the troubles of the Jews under the reign of Gaius (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.5; see also 2.6 and 2.18). Emil Schürer, the eminent historian of the Jews in the age of Jesus, suggested that Philo's *Contra Flaccum* and the *Legatio* were the third and fourth books, the rest having perished. Other scholars have suggested, on the contrary, that the extant *Legatio* is a mutilated form of the work to which Eusebius referred, originally existing in five books (see PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA).

Another severe incident took place in 40 C.E. when the Jews of the Judaean town of Jamnia destroyed an altar that the Greeks had set up in honor of Caligula. Caligula responded by issuing a decree that the places of worship should be converted into shrines for the imperial cult. Orders were sent to Publius Petronius, the governor of Syria, to erect a statue of the emperor in the guise of Zeus in the Jerusalem Temple. Agrippa realized the potentially devastating consequences of the decree and persuaded Caligula to rescind his order. Not long afterward, Caligula and his family were murdered.

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**CALL STORIES** (GOSPELS). Stories of individuals being called to a life of discipleship are a common feature of religious and philosophical biography in antiquity (e.g., Philostr. *VA* 1.19; 4.1, 24; 8.21; Porph. *Plot.* 19–20; and, in general, Bieler 1935–36: 1.122–29). The Gospels contain similar accounts of the miraculous effect of Jesus' call to discipleship. What distinguishes these narratives, however, is the importance placed on the initiative of Jesus and the demand for an immediate and unconditional response on the part of the prospective disciples (Mark 1:16–20; 2:14; 5:18–19; 10:17–22; 10:46–52; Luke 5:1–11; 9:57–62; John 1:35–51). On this the tradition is unambiguous: one can become a disciple of Jesus only on the basis of a call (*TDNT* 4:444; Schweizer 1978: 394). Indeed, there is not a single instance in all the synoptic tradition of an individual *successfully* volunteering to become a disciple. Nor do the Johannine call stories differ fundamentally in this regard (John 1:35–51; cf. 6:65; 10:3–5, 14, 26–28; 15:16; 21:20–22).

Bultmann classified the call stories of the synoptic tradition under the rubric of "biographical apothegms" and compared them to Elijah's call of Elisha in 1 Kings 19 (1963: 28–29). However, if analyzed strictly on the basis of literary form, these stories are closer to the ancient rhetorical category of the *chreia*, or anecdote, a brief narrative relating a striking saying or deed of some individual. The *chreia* was a popular literary form and became one of the major vehicles of biographical characterization in antiquity (Momigliano 1971: 23, 76). This is shown by the anecdotal nature of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, Plutarch's *Lives*, Lucian's *Demonax*, and Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Philosophers*, to cite only the most well known examples. It should not be surprising therefore if examples of *chreiai* are also to be found in the Gospels (Dibelius 1934: 160).

Bultmann's comparison with Elijah's call of Elisha also stands in need of correction. Although the language and structure of Elijah's call of Elisha appear to be a precedent for the synoptic call stories (3 Kgdms [LXX] 19:19–21 is similar to Mark), a careful reading reveals at least one important difference. Elisha consents to follow Elijah only on the *condition* that he be allowed to return home and bid farewell to his family. It is just this kind of precondition that is explicitly rejected by Jesus in Luke 9:61–62. Jesus instead warns his hearers that the leniency demonstrated by Elijah shall not be extended to his prospective disciples. Unless the response to Jesus' call is immediate and unconditional it is invalid (cf. Luke 9:59–60).

One looks in vain for anything similar to this in the OT or subsequent Jewish literature. Nor are there any rabbinic stories of "calling" and "following after" analogous to those in Mark and Q. Whereas in the Gospels the decisive call comes from Jesus himself, entry into a rabbinic school is based generally on the initiative of the prospective pupil (*TDNT* 4:444, 447). In contrast, Jesus is portrayed in the gospel call stories much like the wandering philosopher-teacher in Greek tradition who gathers disciples of his own choosing (Robbins 1982: 221–22, 233). A number of analogies can be found in the biographies of various philosophers, as Socrates' call of Xenophon and Crates' call of Zeno illustrate (Diog. Laert. 2.48; 7.2–3). The similarities between these accounts and the gospel call stories are striking. Cast in the form of anecdotes, they describe the sudden call of individuals engaged in the ordinary affairs of life, and their immediate response is characterized by a willingness to follow. These and other examples demonstrate that the gospel call stories exhibit many of the features of the Greek philosophical call story. They show the same typical situations and actions, and often employ the same vocabulary. They also serve the same function, namely, to draw attention to Jesus as the ideal teacher and to give expression to a particular understanding of the nature of discipleship. In other words, a Hellenistic form portraying how the ideal sage gathers disciples was adapted by certain early Christian writers to describe the relationship of Jesus to his disciples.

Not all NT call stories appear in a condensed form. Some, for example, have been expanded so that in place of a terse saying one may find a longer one or even a dialogue. The description of the setting, moreover, may require several sentences and the original saying or deed may be explained or its effects described (Dibelius 1934: 155–56). This is illustrated by the Johannine form of the call of the first disciples (John 1:35–51). Here the author has reworked the call stories of Mark 1:16–20 by elaborating the description of the setting, introducing dialogue, and focusing attention on the divine character of Jesus. In a different way, the author of Luke 5:1–11 has taken over the call stories of Mark 1:16–20 and transformed them into a story about a miraculous catch of fish. The miracle, however, assumes secondary importance, while the essential point of the call story has been retained: the disciples respond to Jesus by leaving everything and following him. The logion about "fishers of men" may have suggested this elaboration. Another example of a call story transposed into a miracle story occurs in the account of the healing of Bartimaeus in Mark 10:46–52 (Achtemeier 1978: 115–45; Steinhauser 1983: 204–6).

In order for a call to succeed, the initiative must come from Jesus himself and the prospective disciple must respond immediately and unconditionally. When either of these components is missing the story inevitably ends in failure. This is illustrated by the collection of three "unsuccessful" call stories in Luke 9:57–62 which are intended to describe inappropriate attitudes about the nature of discipleship (cf. Mark 5:18–19; 10:17–22). Indeed, they function as caricatures of the successful call story insofar as they represent basic misunderstandings of what it means to follow Jesus. The first claimant approaches Jesus with the boast, "I will follow you wherever you go"; the other two also appear willing to follow, but only if certain conditions are met: "Let me first go and bury my father" and "Let me first say farewell to those at my home." All three, however, are rejected by Jesus with an extreme, even bizarre, pronouncement. Jesus counters the heroic gesture of the first claimant by pointing dramatically to the dangers a life of discipleship would entail. In following Jesus, the homeless wanderer, one is even more exposed and vulnerable than the animals themselves (Luke 9:58; cf. Matt. 8:19–20). Similarly, Jesus' call supersedes all ties to an individual's home and family (as well as to occupation and possessions, cf. Mark 1:16–20; 2:14; 10:17–22). Not even the requirement of burying one's father can come between Jesus and his

disciple. Examples of "unsuccessful" call stories can also be found in Greek biography (e.g., Diog. Laert. 6:36: Diogenes the Cynic).

Although the gospel call stories do not contain an explicit theory of discipleship, due in large part to their anecdotal nature, they do imply one. First, they presuppose an anthropological dualism. That is, a humanity divided into two camps: in religious terms, the saved and the lost; and in philosophical terms, the wise and the foolish. This dualism, however, is concealed from the eyes of the world. The call story shows us ordinary, indeed disreputable, individuals (e.g., fishermen and tax collectors) who do not appear to enjoy the necessary qualifications for the religious life. The call by a divinely appointed agent functions in such a way as to disclose the true nature of the one called. It is an event which lies beyond human volition. One cannot decide to become a disciple of Jesus; the initiative rests solely with him. This idea is expressed clearly by Jesus in the fourth gospel: "You did not choose me, but I chose you" (John 15:16). And the transformation or conversion occurs instantaneously; there is no notion of preliminary training. In this respect, the synoptic call stories are not far from the Johannine understanding of discipleship.

A second way in which the theory of discipleship implicit in the gospel call stories may be discerned is through the sayings or pronouncements which often form the climax of these accounts, for example: "I will make you fishers of men" (Mark 1:17); "Sell what you have and give it to the poor" (Mark 10:21); "Foxes have holes, birds of the air have nests, but the son of man has nowhere to lay his head" (Luke 9:60); and "No one who puts his hand to the plow and looks back is fit for the kingdom of God" (Luke 9:62). Taken together, these sayings present a picture of discipleship characterized by lack of family, homelessness, poverty, and vulnerability. It is interesting to compare this understanding of discipleship with those collections of sayings which deal explicitly with the theme of discipleship (e.g., Mark 8:34–38; 10:28–31; Luke 14:25–33). Although these collections have some points in common with the call stories, they betray later developments, particularly by (1) stressing the necessity of martyrdom in light of the death of Jesus, (2) introducing the idea of "rewards," and (3) presenting views contrary to those found in the call stories (e.g., the idea of "counting the cost beforehand," Luke 14:28–32).

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**CALLISTHENES** (PERSON) [Gk *Kallisthenēs* (Καλλισθενης)]. A Syrian who helped set fire to the Temple gates in Jerusalem in the time of Judas Maccabeus (2 Macc 8:33). After Judas' victory over the Syrian general Nicanor, Callisthenes and others of the Syrian army who had taken refuge in a small house were burned alive by the Jews for their part in setting fire to the gates of the Temple. This episode may be referred to in 2 Macc 1:7–8, in which case Callisthenes would have been a follower of Jason the Oniad. Goldstein (*2 Maccabees* AB, 338–41) notes that v 33 must continue the description of the victory over Nicanor and Gorgias which has been interrupted by vv 30–33, an account of the victory over Timotheus and Bacchides. The death of Callisthenes and his followers was considered divine recompense, a favorite theme of Jason of Cyrene. Goldstein (*2 Maccabees* AB, 256, 341) cites other examples in 2 Macc 5:9–10; 9:5–6, 28; 13:6–8; 14:32–33. In Psalm 74:3–6 —(Eng 74:4–7) the setting on fire of the sanctuary has been associated with this event. However, most commentators stress that the description of this event in the psalm is too ambiguous to date historically (Anderson *Psalms* NCBC, 537–45; Kraus *Psalmen* BKAT, 514–15; Weiser *Psalms* OTL, 518–20).
RUSSELL D. NELSON

**CALNEH** (PLACE) [Heb *kalnēh* (כַּלְנֵה)]. Var. CALNO. A city in Syria in the vicinity of Arpad and Aleppo (Isa 10:9; here Calno, Heb *kalnô*). The conquest of Calneh by Tiglath-pileser III in his 8th year of reign (738 B.C.) was of such significance that it served as the Assyrian eponym designation for that year. This was the same year in which Menahem of Israel gave tribute to Tiglath-pileser III, and it is therefore not remarkable that this crucial conquest is commemorated in the words of both Amos and Isaiah, who perceived Calneh's defeat in recent history as an event which both foreboded the destruction in 722 B.C. of a less significant Israel (Amos 6:2) and prompted Assyria to self-delusions of invincibility (Isa 10:9). Located 300 miles N of Israel in Syria and thus closer to Assyria, it was inevitable that Calneh would experience the Assyrian threat earlier than Israel. The subsequent incorporation of Calneh into the Assyrian empire, with the accompanying payments and supplies which she was required to provide to Assyria, parallels the similar experience of Israel.

The exact location of Calneh remains unconfirmed, possible sites including Kullan Köy and Tell Ta῾yinat. In late 8th-century Assyrian texts the name appears as Kulni (a)/Kullani (a) and is probably to be identified with the Ki/unali/ua of earlier Assyrian texts, the capital and most important city of the state of Unqi (see J. D. Hawkins *RLA* 5: 597–8; 6: 305–6). If this identification is correct, then the site of Calneh is to be located somewhere in the Antioch plain on the basis of a 9th-century B.C. itinerary recording an Assyrian march through Syria (*GARI* 2, §584–85). This identification provides further parallels to Israel's experience, for deportees from other Assyrian campaigns were relocated and settled in this the former capital of Unqi. The vocalic fluctuation evident in Assyrian sources (even the reduction of the second vowel) accounts for the different spellings in Amos (*kalnēh*) and Isaiah (*kalnô*), even though the initial *patah* ("a" vowel) in both remains unaccounted for. As elsewhere, the name of the new Assyrian province was derived from the name of the most important city in the province. The Canneh of Ezek 27:23 which some scholars identify with Calneh is probably a different locale.

Although a Calneh appears in the Hebrew text of Gen 10:10 (identical in form to Amos 6:2), the S Mesopotamian context suggests that this city attributed to Nimrod should be located near the renowned cities of Babylon, Uruk, and Agade and not the Syrian location of Amos 6:2. This awareness no doubt generated traditions that the Calneh of Gen 10:10 is to be identified with sites such as Nippur (*b.Yoma* 10a), but there is no Calneh attested in well-documented S Mesopotamia, let alone of significant reputation to match the other three cities. Since a textual corruption is likely, possibly one should revocalize the text to read "and all of them" *wĕkullānâ* (RSV).
SAMUEL A. MEIER

**CALVARY** (PLACE). See GOLGOTHA (PLACE).

**CAMEL.** From the order *Artiodactyla* and the family *Camelidae* (even-toed ungulates). In the family there are six living species with two in the Old World: the dromedary (or one-humped camel: *C. dromedarius*) and the bactrian (or two-humped camel: *C. bactrianus*). (For distinctive zoological characteristics, see Clutton-Brock 1981: 121–23.) The family is generally considered to have originated in North America but migrated to Asia by the end of the Pliocene, ca. 2 million B.P., since the earliest recovered fossils from the Siwalik Deposits in India belong to this period (for recent summaries, see Howell et al. 1969; Grigson 1983). It is difficult to determine which modern species inhabited SW Asia or what the early Holocene range and distribution might have been, but for the sake of practicality, most authors have suggested that the dromedary was the species characteristic of SW Asia (Arabian peninsula) as opposed to the Inner Asian range of the bactrian (see Compagnoni and Tosi 1978 for suggested early Holocene ranges). Human association with camel remains in the Levant goes back to the Lower Paleolithic based on sparse finds at Ubeidiya in the Dead Sea area (1 million B.P.) and the Acheulean at Latamne, Syria (ca. 250,000 B.P.). Camel remains are more numerous at selected Middle Paleolithic sites such as Doura Cave in Syria (Takai 1974: 170) and Azraq in E Jordan (Clutton-Brock 1970). (For a summary of Paleolithic finds in general, see Grigson 1983: 312.) Later remains have been reported from a Pre-Pottery Neolithic B context at Ain al Assad in Azraq (Kohler 1984: 201), and from the Pottery Neolithic at Shar-ha-Golan (Stekelis 1951: 16). At no site, however, are the remains particularly numerous or widespread enough to suggest that camels were ever a dietary staple in early human context in the Near East (for overall treatments, see Ripinsky 1975; Zarins 1982). (For rock art depictions from the 7th–5th millennia B.C., showing speared camels from SW Arabia, see Anati 1968: 110 and fig. 74; Anati 1974: 234 and fig. 243; Zarins, Murad, and al-Yish 1981: pls. 36B, 34E, 35F, 11A.) By the advent of the Bronze Age, ca. 3000 B.C., wild camels seem to have disappeared or to have been driven out of their natural habitat into the more inhospitable reaches of the Arabian peninsula and our understanding of their behavior patterns and ecological preference remains unclear (Grigson 1983: 313).

Biblical references to camels are still considered controversial, especially in the Genesis passages. Table 1 lists the occurrences in Old Testament usage:

Table 1

| *Text* | *Person/Period* | *Context* | *Sugg. Date* |
|---|---|---|---|
| NEH 7:69 | Iron III | return from exile with camels | c. 530 B.C. |
| Ezra 2:67 | Iron III | return from exile with camels | c. 530 B.C. |
| Isa 21:7 | Iron II/III | camel riders from desert | c. 600 B.C. |
| 30:6 | | camels among “beasts of the Negev” | |
| 60:6 | | Midianite camels | |
| Ezek 25:5 | IronII/III | “People of the East” and Ammonites with camels | c. 600 B.C. |
| Jer 49:29 | Iron II/III | camels of Qedar | c. 600 B.C. |
| 49:32 | | camels of the inhabitants of Hazor | |
| 2 Kgs 8:9 | Hazael/Ben Hadad | camel loads of goods | c. 850 B.C. |
| 1 Kgs 10:2 | Solomon | camels of Sheba bearing spices | c. 950 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | B.C. |
| 1 Chr 27:30 | David | camels of Obil the Ishmaelite | c. 1000 B.C. |
| 12:40 | | camels used as pack animals | |
| 5:21 | | camels as booty from Hagrites | |
| 1 Sam 30:17 | David | the camels of Amalekites | |
| 27:9 | | camels as booty from Shur | |
| [Job 1:3, 1:17] | | "Chaldeans" raiding Job's camels | |
| 1 Sam 15:3 | Saul | camels of Amalekites | c. 1050 B.C. |
| Judg 6:5 | Gideon | camel attacks of Midianites | c. 1150 B.C. |
| 7:12 | | camel attack of Midianites | |
| 8:21, 26 | | camels of Zebah and Zalmunna | |
| [Lev 11:4 = Deut 14:7] | Mosaic Law | prohibition against eating camel meat | |
| Exod 9:3 | Moses | Pharaoh's camels are plagued along with other herds in Egypt | c. 1250 B.C. |
| Gen 37:25 | Joseph | Midianites/Ismaelites going to Egypt with camel caravans | c. 1300 B.C. |
| Gen 32:15; 31:34; 30:43 | Jacob | Jacob's flocks with Laban include camels as well as herd animals for Esau in the Seir area | |
| Gen 24:10–67; 12:16 | Abraham | camels used for trip to Syria, included as bride price; Abraham in Egypt owns camels as part of larger herds | c.? |

From this brief look, we can see that references to camels in the OT fall into three groups. The third period, the latest, corresponds to the Iron Age II–III periods. The occurrence of camels in the greater Near East during this period, 900–400 B.C., is well documented (Eph'al 1981). The second period, covering the use of camels from Joseph to Solomon, should fall within the archaeological periods labelled LB III and Iron I (1300–950 B.C.). In the OT, camels are consistently associated with people called Ishmaelites, Midianites, and Amalekites, located to the S and E of Israel and Judah proper. Therefore, it may be the case that domesticated camels were in use in the northwestern portion of the Arabian peninsula sometime in the mid-2d millennium B.C. among pastoral people with whom the Israelites had some acquaintance.

This idea (already noted by Albright *FSAC*, 257, 287; *ArchPal* 206–7), can be affirmed from both independent inscriptional and archaeological data. The earliest mention of the camel as a domesticated animal occurs in the inscriptions of Aššur-bel-kala (1074–1057 B.C.) from Assyria. In an account dated to 1069 B.C., herds of camels are mentioned as if they are curiosities to the people of Assyria (*GARI*, 55). It would appear then that the Assyrians were not familiar with domesticated camels much earlier than the late 2d millennium B.C. This is supported by other lines of evidence. For N Arabia and the S Levant, the occurrence of osteological camel remains follows the development of cultures involved in the S Arabian overland spice trade. This largely supports the pattern derivable from the Biblical references in Table 1. With direct Midianite association, however, we have only a sherd depicting a camel from Qurayya (Ingraham et al. 1981: pl. 79/14); but this sparse attestation is due to the lack of excavation. In the Wadi Arabah at Site 2, at a copper smelting camp dated to the Ramesside period (c. 1350–1150 B.C.), "several camel bones" were found with other faunal remains (Rothenberg 1972: 105; Hakker-Orion 1984: 209). In a later report, the excavators mention that a "large quantity of camel bones" was uncovered at the 13th–

12th-century-B.C. sites of Timna (Rothenberg and Glass 1983: 122, n. 50). From Tell Jemmeh on the Gaza Strip, Wapnish identifies only seven camel bones from levels attributable to the 14th–10th centuries B.C. (Wapnish 1982: 2; 1984: 171). Similarly at Heshbon in Jordan, camel remains are very infrequent from the earliest levels, 1230–1150 B.C. (Weiler 1981: table 4). Two early Iron I "fortress" sites (Har Saad, Kadesh Barnea) found in the Negev and northern Sinai dating to ca. 1000 B.C. have been interpreted to represent a fundamental shift among pastoral nomads in the region, perhaps brought on by the advent of domesticated camels (Finkelstein 1984: 200 n. 4). This may be confirmed by Hakker-Orion, who states that camel bones in some quantity were found at Har Saad and Kadesh Barnea (1984: 210).

However, for our first phase, represented by the early Genesis accounts, the evidence for camel domestication remains frustratingly elusive. Part of our problem lies in the attempts to delineate domestic from wild camels on the basis of morphological change in the skeleton alone. This is not yet possible (Hoch 1979: 607; Clutton-Brock 1981: 126; Hakker-Orion 1984: 209). Secondly, the region where this transition may have occurred first is far removed from the S Levant and N Arabia. Our best evidence to date comes from E Iran. From the site of Shahr-i-Sokhta, the excavators recovered not only osteological remains but also hair and dung. Found in a context datable to 2700 B.C., the remains led the excavators to argue that camel domestication began in Turkmenia and spread south (Compagnoni and Tosi 1978: 95–99). The domestic camel was apparently known to the inhabitants of the Indus Valley Civilization by 2300 B.C., although the species utilized remains open to question (Meadow 1984: 134 and references).

From the Arabian peninsula proper, at the site of Umm-an-Nar, analysis of the osteological camel remains suggests tentative steps toward domestication. This idea is based on the unusual number of camel bones found, the age distribution of recovered material, and the cultural context (Hoch 1979: 613). This stimulus toward domestication may well have come from the Indus Valley (Zarins 1978). Camel remains from S Arabia, supporting the thesis that the center of domestication lay in the south, are not common, but again survey and excavation have been limited (Bulliet 1975: 28–56). From Sihi, a shell midden on the S Red Sea coast, camel remains have been recovered in a late 3d–early 2d–millennium B.C. context or earlier (Zarins and Badr 1988; Grigson et al. fc.). The likelihood that camel remains will turn up at other sites of the 3d or 2d millennium B.C. is great with the recent archaeological activity along both the Red Sea coast (Tosi fc.) and highland Yemen (De Maigret 1981, 1984). Several bedouin sites from S Arabia dating to the mid–2d millennium B.C. have also yielded camel remains (Zarins et al. 1981: pls. 43A–B; Zarins et al. 1980: 23 n. 6).

Based on this observed pattern it appears that domesticated camels arrived en masse in N Arabia and the S Levant only by the latter part of the 2d millennium B.C. Essentially, this confirms the biblical evidence outlined above in Table 1. However, the problem of the earlier Genesis accounts is unresolved. Third-millennium B.C. camel remains from the S Levant are very rare. From Arad in an EB I context (ca. 2900 B.C.), a few bones have been found (Lernau 1978: 87); and from Bir Resisim in the N Negev in an EB IV context (ca. 1900 B.C.), several fragments have been reported (Hakker-Orion 1984: 209). It is unlikely that in both of these cases the remains represent domestic camels. Nonetheless, if we hold that the patriarchal stories are essentially historical in outlook, we would not be totally amiss in suggesting that domestic camels may have been known to the inhabitants of Syria-Palestine as early as the turn of the 3d millennium B.C. Conclusions concerning the utilization of the camel within the Arabian peninsula are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2
Suggested Domestication and Developmental Model for Camel Nomads of the Arabian Peninsula (After Zarins 1988)

| *Phase* | *Camel Utilization* | *Date* | *Cultural Evolution* |
|---|---|---|---|
| V | North Arabian saddle (Shadad) Thamudic | 500 B.C. | rectangular goat hair tent; minimal use of stone |
| IV | South Arabic cushion saddle | 1000 | rectangular, stone-outlined structures, |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | B.C. | tapered structures |
| III | South Arabic saddle (Hawlani/Hadaja) pack animals; overland incence trade; change in camel status | 1500 B.C. | troughs, horseshoe-shaped structures |
| II | nonriding; herds for milk; little group movement | 2200–1200 B.C. | Umm-an-Nar, Subr, Sihi; Phase II rock art in southwest Arabia. Arad and Bir Resisim remains from the Levant? |
| I | wild cammel hunted | 6000–2000 B.C. | Phase I rock art in southwest Arabia; osteological remains; Chalcolithic sites in Levant |

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JURIS ZARINS

**CAMEL BRANDS.** See WASM (CAMEL BRAND).

**CAMEL'S HAIR.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**CANA OF GALILEE** (PLACE) [Gk *Kana* (Κανα)]. A village mentioned in the gospel of John. It was called "of Galilee" probably to distinguish it from the Kanah of Asher in the territory of Tyre (Josh 19:28).

**1. Cana in the NT.** Cana appears only in the fourth gospel. In John 2:1–11 Jesus performed his first "sign" there, turning the water to wine at a wedding feast. From the text we cannot infer any topographical features of Cana, only that the home belonged to an anonymous Jewish family (v 6). However, from the incident of the healing of the son of the "royal man" or "king's man" (*basilikos*) at Cana in John 4:46–54 we can infer that Cana may have been administered by a royal representative (Avi-Yonah 1977: 94). This man petitioned Jesus to come to Capernaum to heal his son, which suggests that Capernaum must have been more or less directly accessible from Cana. Thus, Cana lay on a major road to Capernaum. Yet the father could not get to Capernaum from Cana between 1:00 P.M. (the seventh hour, v 52) and sundown, which suggests that the way to Capernaum was rugged. Nathaniel, one of the Twelve, was from Cana (John 21:2).

**2. Identification.** Three sites have been suggested as the probable location of Cana of Galilee: *Ain Qana,* 1.5 km N of Nazareth next to the village of Reina (Thomsen 1907: 77); *Kafr Kanna,* also known as Kefr Kenna, a major village about 5 km NE of Nazareth (Bagatti 1971: 42–47); and *Khirbet Qana,* a small ruin on a prominent mountain spur about 14 km N of Nazareth (Robinson 1841: 204; Dalman 1924). Of the three, only *Khirbet Qana* (M.R. 170070) has the consensus of scholarship since Dalman. All the facts of paragraph 1 would fit any of the proposed sites. Yet the name "Cana" means "reed" in Hebrew. *Kafr Kanna* appears to mean "the village of the roof," and has no linguistic connection with the name *qana.* "Reed" fits best the Cana in the Plain of Asochis (today's Beth Netofa valley) mentioned by Josephus: "I spent some time there in a village of Galilee which is called Cana" (*Life* 86, 206). The plain of Asochis favored the growth of reeds during and after the winter rains, as it does to this day, particularly in its eastern lower half. When the Romans destroyed Jerusalem in 70 A.D., the priestly course of Eliashib settled at *"Qana"* (Klein 1909, *Mishmaroth* 11), not *"Ain Qana."*

**3. Cana in Later Tradition.** That the priestly course of Eliashib settled in Cana suggests that Cana was a Jewish village, not a gentile or mixed village. By 200 A.D. there was a question of ritual cleanliness about a certain *"Qini."* "… but Rabbi (Judah the Prince) and his law court voted to decide about *'Qini'* [Cana?] and declared it clean" (*m. Ohol.* 18.9; Neubauer 1868: 276). Cana is mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud (*j. Ter.* 46b) as the village of origin of a famous 3d-century robber, Eli of Cana (Klein 1928: 49). There is no doubt from the citations in the Christian pilgrim literature, which flourished from the 4th century onward, that Cana came to be identified with *Kafr Kanna,* perhaps because it was close to Nazareth. Eusebius in the 4th century A.D. confused Cana of "Sidon the Great of the lot of Asher" with Cana of Galilee (*Onomast.* 116.37r). In the 5th century, Jerome, although he followed Eusebius in this confusion (*Onomast.* 117.3f), seemed to believe that Cana was near Nazareth (Wilkinson 1977: 153). The Pilgrim of Piacenza (570 A.D.) found Cana only 3 miles from Sepphoris-Diocaesarea on the road to Nazareth (Wilkinson 1977: 79), which fits *Kafr Kanna.* This is the town that pilgrims visit to this day.

**4. Archaeological Remains at Cana.** Visitors to *Khirbet Qana* in the 19th century found the remains of a large village on a low spur of "Mt. Cana" (*Jebel Qana,* apparently modern Mt. Shekhanya) on the N side of the Beth Netofa valley. The records of many visits, including scientific survey in 1982, indicate

that Cana was laid out on the points of the compass. An enormous building on the NW side of the village dominated the site. Rock-cut tombs are to be found S and SE of the village on the lower slopes of the hill. The top of the spur is virtually honeycombed with caves and cisterns. The cisterns guaranteed a good supply of water for the village, as there are no remains of an aqueduct. A long wall runs the length of the site on the W side (Bagatti and Loffreda 1969). The entire site is in a very advantageous geographical position to house a "king's man" or "royal man" to administer the royal estates of the Valley of Asochis, as it is situated about 100 m above the valley floor. A major E-W road ran from Ptolemais-Acco in the W through the Valley of Asochis E through the Wadi Hammam to the W shores of the Sea of Galilee. From there it was easy access N and E to Capernaum or S to Tiberius. Pottery and coins from the surface of *Khirbet Qana* suggest occupation from the early Roman to the Byzantine period. A second ruin halfway down the slope on the S side appears to be a more recent ruin built from stones of the Roman-Byzantine village. This latter village was occupied as late as 1838 (Conder and Kitchener *SWP* 2: 313).

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**CANAAN** (PERSON) [Heb *kĕna‹an* (כְּנַעַן)]. The fourth son of Ham and the father of Sidon and ten other families of the Canaanites (Gen 10:6). When Noah learned what Ham, his youngest son, had done (seeing his father uncovered and telling his brothers of it); Noah cursed Canaan, the son of Ham (Gen 9:18–27). According to the curse, Canaan would be a slave to Ham's brothers, Shem and Japheth. For a discussion of the meaning of the name Canaan, and the peoples and lands encompassed by that term, see CANAAN (PLACE). Two problems emerge from the mention of Canaan in Genesis 9: why is Canaan cursed rather than the apparent perpetrator Ham; and what is the implication of the curse for Canaan and his descendants?

A composite text, in which the narrative and the curse were originally distinct (the "youngest son" of 9:24 would then refer to Canaan, rather than Ham, and would be connected with the curse which follows) and preserved in two separate traditions, might explain origins (Neiman 1966: 133; Westermann *Genesis 1–11* BKAT, 650–51), but does not explain the present text. Some have attempted to solve the problem of why Canaan was cursed by eliminating two Hebrew words in vv 18 and 22 ("Ham, the father of"), so that Canaan, rather than Ham, becomes the principal actor in the narrative (Gunkel *Genesis* HKAT 3: 69–70; Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 182; Schottroff WMANT 30: 148 n. 3; von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 135). But this lacks textual support. The same is true of attempts to portray Ham as involved in incestuous relationships with his mother (Bassett 1971: 235) or with his father (Phillips 1980: 41). Commentators have noted how these (and other similar explanations of sexual misconduct) were intended to symbolize the sinful practices of the Canaanites (Cassuto 1964: 154–55; Wenham *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 201). The emphasis upon the identification of Ham as the father of Canaan has led to the suggestion that Ham learned how to do the evil deed from Canaan (Jacob 1934: 262–65).

Older explanations which observe Noah's blessing upon his sons (Gen 9:1) as irreversible have been used to explain Noah's inability to curse Ham. It has further been suggested that since Ham was the youngest of Noah's sons, the curse would be transferred to the youngest of Ham's sons, Canaan (cf. Cassuto 1964: 153).

Much speculation has centered around the particular circumstances represented in the figures of Japheth, Shem, and Canaan; and reflected in the curse (Schottroff WMANT 30: 149–50). Attempts have been made to date the events (or a desire for their realization) in the pre-Israelite period; e.g., that of Gunkel (*Genesis* HKAT 3: 73), where "Canaan" represents the Amorites and Hittites, who oppose the Hebrews and the Aramaeans, represented by "Shem." Skinner (*Genesis* ICC, 187) also argues for an early period. For him "Canaan" is the Amarna Canaanites, who oppose the Apiru and their allies, represented by Japheth and Shem. Note also Cassuto (1964: 168), who finds the fulfillment of this curse in the account of Genesis 14. Many scholars choose the time period of Joshua/Judges. In this case, "Canaan" (i.e., the Canaanites) oppose the Israelites (= "Shem") and the Philistines/"Sea-Peoples" (= "Japheth" [Speiser *Gen* AB, 62–63; von Rad *ROTT* 137–39; Neiman 1966: 121–33; Bassett 1971: 232; Bastomsky 1977]). The period of the Israelite Monarchy is the one chosen by Hoftijzer (1958). In his view the Israelites, represented by "Canaan," stand against "Japheth," i.e., the Philistines/Assyrians/Babylonians. The underlying assumption in all such theories is that each of the figures mentioned in the curse are intended to represent peoples or groups of peoples, rather than the individuals Canaan, Shem, and Japheth (cf. however Westermann *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 657–60).

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RICHARD S. HESS

**CANAAN** (PLACE) [Heb *kĕna‹an* (כְּנַעַן)]. CANAANITES. A term designating the land along the E shore of the Mediterranean encompassing modern Lebanon, part of S Syria, and most of Palestine W of the Jordan. The ethnicon derived from the geographic term designates the indigenous and assimilated inhabitants of the area in antiquity, and, secondarily, the group of related Semitic languages characteristically spoken there. The substantial identity of Canaan with the land occupied by the Israelites is a central theme of the OT. (For a discussion of the prehistory and material culture of this region, see PALESTINE, ARCHAEOLOGY OF.)

The geographic name "Canaan" is spelled *kn‹n* in Northwest Semitic alphabetic texts (Ug, Heb, Phoen-Pun). The Masoretic vocalization is *kĕna‹an,* accented on the second syllable; transliterates *Chanaan,* the Vulgate *Chanaan.* The name is found syllabically written in Akkadian *Ki-na-aḫ-num* (gentilic), with the pharyngeal consonant represented by *ḫ,* and *Ki-in-a-nim,* with the pharyngeal unrepresented. The Egyptian spellings *K-i-n-‹-nw* and *K-ʒ-n-‹-n-ʒ* consistently represent the pharyngeal consonant. Western peripheral Akkadian texts of the 2d millennium most frequently attest the name with a reduced base *Kinaḫḫ-,* indicating that the final *-n* of the alphabetically written examples is probably an affixational morpheme.

The etymology of the word "Canaan" remains obscure. If it is of W Semitic origin, it probably derives from the root *kn‹* "to bend, to bow" with the afformative *-n;* the meaning "Occident" has been proposed on the basis of such a derivation (Astour 1965: 348). E. A. Speiser (1936) constructed an etymology from a putative word *kinaḫḫu,* designating blue-dyed cloth in cuneiform texts from Nuzi, and probably representing a Hurrian adoption of a Mediterranean term related to Akk *uqnû* and Gk *kyanos*. But the Hurrian word (properly spelled *qinaḫḫu*) has been shown to have an entirely different history than Speiser proposed (Landsberger 1967: 166–67). Improved attestation of 3d-millennium geographic names from

Syria-Palestine has lessened the likelihood of a Hurrian etymology for "Canaan"; its meaning should probably be sought in the Semitic lexicon (see Astour 1988).

"Canaan" is first attested as a geographic name in cuneiform texts. The ethnicon "Canaanite" is found in a text from Mari (Dossin 1973; Sasson 1984; *$^{lù}$ki-na-aḫ-num*). The 15th-century autobiographical text of Idrimi (from Alalaḫ) mentions "Ammia in the land of Canaan," (*ANET*, 557; Akk *ki-na-nim*). Ammia is to be identified with modern Ammiun near Tripoli. Later cuneiform texts from Alalaḫ mention Canaan as well. An economic text from Ugarit written in the wedge alphabet (*UT* 311.7; *KTU* 4.96.7) includes a Canaanite (*knʿny*) in a list of foreign merchants. This indicates that Ugarit did not include itself in the Canaanite sphere (so Rainey 1965). The Amarna correspondence refers to Canaan as an Egyptian province (*pīḫatu*, EA 36.15) that includes Tyre (EA 148.46), Byblos (EA 109.46; 131.61; 137.76), other coastal cities, and Ḫinnatūni (HANNATHON [PLACE], Josh 19:14) in the Galilee. (The name of the divinity *$^{d}$Be (BAD) ga-na-na* found in 3d.3d-millennium cuneiform texts from Ebla [ARET 3: 31 r. II 13; 42 III 6; VII 6; 769 II 1; ARET 4: 23 v. VIII 4] was alleged by Pettinato [1979: 103] to include the geographic name Canaan, but subsequent study of the texts has not supported this interpretation [*contra* Stolz, *TRE* 17: 540].)

The earliest mention of Canaanites in an Egyptian text is found in a list of booty from the Asian campaign of Amenhotep (Gk Amenophis) II (*ANET*, 246) late in the 15th century. The 13th-century "Israel stela" of Merneptah lists Canaan among the vanquished (*ANET*, 378; *AEL*, 77).

It is generally agreed (following Helck 1971: 246–55) that Egypt administered Syria-Palestine as three provinces: Amurru, Upi, and Canaan (Weinstein 1981; on the history of Upi, see Pitard 1987: 49–80, esp. pp. 59–60; for details see EGYPTIAN RELATIONS WITH CANAAN; Wright 1988; Dever 1987; Leonard 1989). Amurru, the northernmost province, passed to Hittite rule after the Egyptian defeat at Kadesh. Egyptian texts after this period sometimes refer to the area encompassed by Canaan and Upi by the general designation Ḫurru. After the invasion of the Sea People, "Canaan" comes to be used in a more restricted sense to designate S Palestine, and the expression "the city of Canaan" can refer specifically to Gaza (Alt 1944: 4–6; *RLA* 5: 353). The latest Egyptian reference to Canaan, the 22d-Dynasty inscription of an "envoy to the Canaan from Philistia" (so Weippert 1974: 429), has occasioned various interpretations (*RLA* 5: 354 with bibliography).

The word "Canaan" was sometimes transliterated *Chanaan* in Greek sources (PW 3: 2109), and frequently in LXX (e.g., Gen 9:22, 25; Jdt 5:9–10; 1 Macc 9:37). "Canaan" is transliterated twice in the NT (Acts 7:11; 13:9). More frequently, however, Canaan is indicated in Greek by the designation "Phoenicia" and the related ethnicon "Phoenician." The equivalence of the two terms is established by the legends of 3d-century coins from the Beirut mint: the Phoenician text *lʾdkʾ ʾš bknʿn* "Laodicea which is in Canaan" corresponds to Greek *Laodikeia he en Phoinikē* "Laodicea which is in Phoenicia" (*RLA* 5: 354 with bibliography). The equivalence is reflected in the NT, which employs the ethnicon *Chananaia* once (Matt 15:22); the rare word *Syrophoinikissa* is used in the parallel account (Mark 7:26).

A difficult passage in the *Phoenician History* of PHILO OF BYBLOS identifies a certain *Chnâ* as the first to carry the name "Phoenician" (Attridge and Oden 1981: 60–61 and n. 144). Herodianus Grammaticus (2d century C.E.; Lentz 1868: 913) and Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. *Chnâ*) indicate that the Phoenicians were formerly called *Chnâ*. The reduced form of the name Canaan, written *Kinaḫḫ-* in Akkadian texts of the 2d millennium, may be represented in Gk *Chnâ*.

The distribution of the geographical name "Canaan" in the OT provides some measure of the significance of this word in biblical texts. The word "Canaan" occurs 80 times in the MT. Most frequently (64x, or 80 percent of its occurrences) it is found in the construction *ʾereṣ kĕnaʿan,* "land of Canaan." This construction is most frequent in Genesis, but also occurs in Exodus (6:4; 16:35), Leviticus (14:34; 18:3; 25:38), Numbers (12x), and once in Deuteronomy (32:49). In the Deuteronomistic History, the word "Canaan" is restricted to Joshua and Judges, most often in the construction "land of Canaan." Thus the Primary History accounts for 88 percent of the word's use.

The word "Canaan" is found in passages assigned by literary-critical analysis to the J, E, and P sources. See TORAH (PENTATEUCH). Its concentration in the sections of the Pentateuch which introduce and

develop the theme of promise of land to the Patriarchs (i.e., Genesis 12–50; largely in passages attributed to P), and in narratives of the conquest and settlement (Joshua-Judges), which are viewed in the Bible as a fulfillment of the promise to the Patriarchs, shows how closely bound the word "Canaan" is with the theme of promise and fulfillment (Clements 1967; Lohfink 1967). Thus, for example, the divine promise to Abraham that he and his descendants would be given "all the land of Canaan" has been called (by Brueggemann 1977: 21) the "focal verse" of the patriarchal promise theme within the Pentateuch (see also Clines 1978: 36). With the cessation of the settlement theme in Judges, the term disappears from the Primary History.

Reference to Canaan is infrequent outside the Primary History. The name is found in two prophetic books (Isa 19:18; 23:11; Zeph 2:5) and in the Psalms (105:11 [= 1 Chr 16:18]; 106:38; 135:11). In select passages, constructions using the word have been taken (see Maisler 1946) to have the meaning "merchant" (Job 41:6), "trade" (Ezek 16:29; 17:4), or "trader" (Hos 12:7; Zeph 1:11). In the Apocrypha, "Canaan" is a simple geographical name (Jdt 5:9, 10; Bar 3:22; 1 Macc 9:37), but also carries an implicit moral contrast with "Judah" (Sus 1:56). The two references to Canaan in the NT are in recitations of the Joseph story (Acts 7:11) and the conquest theme (Acts 13:19).

The boundaries of the region called "Canaan" undoubtedly changed over time. Num 34:3–12 gives the boundaries of the land that would fall to the Israelites as an inheritance, with the implication (the syntax of v 2 is vague) that it comprehends all of the "land of Canaan." The boundary list must be viewed together with similar lists elsewhere in the OT (*IDBSup*, 922). The S boundary of Canaan listed in Num 34:3–5 (attributed to P) precisely matches the S boundary of Judah given in Josh 15:2–4 (moving E to W): from the S end of the Salt Sea (= Dead Sea) to the ascent of Akrabbim, to the wilderness of Zin, S of Kadesh-barnea, Hazar-addar, to Azmon, along the Brook of Egypt (probably the Wâdī el-ʿArīsh [see EGYPT, BROOK OF (PLACE)]) to the sea (= Mediterranean). This border is essentially the same as that prescribed in the book of Ezekiel (47:19) as the S boundary of the restored Israel. The N boundary in Num 34:7–9 corresponds to Ezek 47:15–17, and seems to correspond to the boundary implicit in the Idrimi inscription, if the "entrance of Hamath" is identified as modern Lebweh (see HAMATH, ENTRANCE OF (PLACE)), an inland site not far S of Tripoli.

The literary-critical questions raised by the similarity of these lists are difficult to resolve. Josh 15:2–4 was formerly attributed to P (e.g., Eissfeldt 1965: 251); it is part of a section (Joshua 13–22) considered a later addition to the Deuteronomistic history (*NDH*, 40). The essential identity of lists in Numbers 34, Joshua 15, and Ezekiel 47 suggests that the Pentateuchal lists may be retrojected from a later period (for detailed discussion, see Keel, Küchler, and Uehlinger 1984: 1.245–50; Kallai [*HGB*, 279–83] dates them to the period of David and Solomon). A later date is in keeping with the distributional evidence that the word "Canaan" is a theologoumenon in the Primary History.

Some of its uses are, however, early and nontheological. In the archaic poem known as the Song of Deborah occurs the phrase *malkê kĕnaʿan,* "kings of Canaan" (Judg 5:19), recalling the Akkadian expression *šarrāni ša kinaḫḫi,* "kings of Canaan," from the Amarna letters (EA 30.1; 109.46). This is approximated in the later Hebrew phrase *malkê hakkĕnaʿănî* "kings of the Canaanites" (Josh 5:1) using the gentilic form of the name. Reflected in this phrase is the movement from a political-geographical reference for "Canaan" to a social and ideological reference for "Canaanite." In Josh 17:16, 18 "Canaanites" are owners of iron chariots and thus a military elite. This is reminiscent of the collocation of Canaanites and *maryanna* (chariot-owning nobility; see Leonard 1989: 8) in a list of booty taken in Palestine by the Pharaoh Amenhotep II (mid-15th century B.C.E.; *ANET*, 246).

In the Pentateuch, the word "Canaanite" is found principally in texts attributed to J (e.g., Gen 10:18, 19; 12:6; 13:7; 15:21; 24:3, 37, etc.; Exod 3:8, 17; Num 13:29; 14:25, 43, 45; 21:1, 3). The word "Canaan" never occurs in D (Deut 32:49 is attributed to P), but "Canaanite" occurs four times in D (Deut 1:7; 7:1; 11:30; 20:17). It serves as a general designation of the pre-Israelite inhabitants of the land (Gen 50:11; cf. Neh 9:24), often in a list of "nations" previously occupying Israelite territory (e.g., Gen 15:21; 34:30; Exod 3:8; 23:23, 28; 33:2; 34:11, etc.). The "Canaanites" are viewed as doomed to expulsion (Exod 33:2) or, from the Deuteronomic perspective, extermination (Deut 20:17). The persistence of Canaanites within

Israelite territory was a theological problem variously addressed by biblical writers. The Canaanite elements of the Yahwistic cultus were largely unperceived (see SACRIFICE AND SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS [OLD TESTAMENT]), and prophetic castigations of the cult arise from ethical rather than ethnic concerns (Amos 5:21–25). Elements of the cult involving Canaanite deities other than Yahweh and practices exceptional to the Judean cult were more openly criticized by biblical writers and actively suppressed by some rulers. See CANAAN, RELIGION OF; PHOENICIAN RELIGION; HEZEKIAH KING OF JUDAH; JOSIAH (PERSON). The essential unity of the Canaanite languages was recognized by their speakers (Isa 19:18), even if regional differences could be the occasion of conflict (Judg 12:6; see also LANGUAGES [INTRODUCTORY SURVEY]).

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**CANAAN, CONQUEST OF.** See ISRAEL, HISTORY OF (PREMONARCHIC PERIOD)

**CANAAN, EGYPTIAN RELATIONS WITH.** See EGYPTIAN RELATIONS WITH CANAAN.

**CANAAN, RELIGION OF.** The general geographical limitations of the ancient term "Canaan" are the territories of the modern states of Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, and a portion of S Syria. For a more specific discussion of the geographical range of Canaan, see CANAAN (PLACE).

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A. Sources
B. The Canaanite Pantheon
    1. Second-Millennium Ugarit
    2. First-Millennium Phoenicia
C. Religious Practices and Beliefs
    1. Festivals, Sacrifice, Prayer
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4. Israelite Calendar and Kingship

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**A. Sources**

Prior to the rise of Near Eastern archaeological work, our sources for Canaanite religion were confined to allusions in the OT and various classical authors, especially Philo of Byblos (preserved in excerpts in Eusebius) and Lucian of Samosata. Since then, numerous texts as well as objects have been found which shed direct light on the religion of the Canaanites. Pride of place goes to the mythological texts from Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra), a site on the Syrian coast, which though outside Canaan proper nevertheless shared in the Canaanite culture. More recent discoveries have revealed the nearby site of Ras Ibn Hani, and antecedents of some of the Ugaritic deities have been found in the 3d-millennium texts from Ebla (modern Tell Mardikh). Phoenician and Punic inscriptions reveal deviations from (as well as similarities to) the Canaanite religion attested at Ugarit. Texts from Egypt as well as other countries also shed light on Canaanite religion. In addition to texts, the discovery of temples, images, and other cultic paraphernalia have increased our knowledge of Canaanite religion.

**B. The Canaanite Pantheon**

**1. Second-Millennium Ugarit.** Canaanite religion in all its manifestations was always polytheistic. Many of the Ugaritic deities are in the Ugaritic pantheon list, which is attested in both Ugaritic (*Ugaritica* V.18B = *CTA* 29 = *KTU* 1.47) and Akkadian (*Ugaritica* V.18A) versions. The supreme Canaanite deity was the god El. He was the creator of the earth and of man, and was the begetter of the gods (the "sons of El") who are said to be seventy in number. Presumably El was also the creator of the whole universe, though we lack a creation account. He was an aged deity, called "father of years" (*ʾab šnm*), and appropriately had gray hair, and in keeping with this he was noted for his wisdom. Kindness and benignity are also mentioned among his attributes. There is no reason to suppose that the more violent El depicted in the late Philo of Byblos represents an earlier stage of Canaanite religion than the milder El of the 2d-millennium Ugaritic texts. El's dwelling place was "at the source of the rivers, amid the springs of the two oceans." Where this actually was is disputed, though it should be noted that in the Hittite-Canaanite Elkunirša myth, El (or Elkunirša as he is called, a name deriving from *ʾl qn ʾrṣ*, "El creator of the earth") dwells at the source of the river Euphrates (Mala). One may compare the location of the Garden of Eden at the source of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris in Gen 2:10–14.

El's consort was the goddess Athirat. Her full title was "Lady Athirat of the sea" (*rbt ʾatrt ym*). The popular view that this epithet should be rendered rather "She who treads on the sea" is invalid, since this presupposes the originality of the longer form, whereas the occurrence of the short form (Ašratum) occurs in Akkadian already as early as the 1st Dyn. of Babylon. Athirat was the mother of the gods. She is sometimes called *Qdš* ("holy" or "sanctuary") in the Ugaritic texts, a name which also occurs in connection with Egyptian depictions of a nude goddess wearing a Hathor headdress; Canaanite plaques with similar representations likely represent Athirat. Baal used her as an intermediary in order to get El to grant him a palace/temple, and along with *Rḥmy* she is described as having sexual intercourse with El, thereby giving birth to the gods Shaḥar (Dawn) and Shalem (Dusk). Her cult symbol, a wooden pole of some kind, perhaps a stylized tree, is alluded to a number of times in the OT ("the Asherah"), and this seems to be the point of the reference to the Asherah in the inscriptions from Kuntillet ʿAjrud in N Sinai ("Yahweh and his Asherah"). See ASHERAH (DEITY).

Although El is the chief god in the Canaanite pantheon, as attested at Ugarit, Baal is clearly the most active. He is the bringer of the rain, on which the fertility of the soil depends. He is called "the rider of the clouds" (*rkb ʾrpt*) in Ugaritic, and is responsible for the thunder and lightning, which herald the coming of the rain. Baal ("lord") was originally an epithet of the god Hadad ("thunderer"). Hadad appears already at Ebla under the name ʾAda. In the Ugaritic texts, the Baal cycle (*KTU* 1.1–6 = *CTA* 1–6) consists of three main parts: (1) his conflict with the god of the sea, Yam (*KTU* 1.1–2 = *CTA* 1–2), (2) the subsequent building of Baal's palace/temple (*KTU* 1.3–4 = *CTA* 3–4), and (3) Baal's conflict with Mot ("Death"), in

the course of which Baal dies and rises again. There is debate how far the Baal myth should be interpreted in seasonal terms. Although attempts to interpret the Baal myth as a panorama representing a complete year seem too sweeping, it is difficult to deny the presence of seasonal elements in the Baal-Mot cycle. See BAAL (DEITY).

Another question concerns the relation between Baal and El. The extreme view that Baal and El are in conflict is to be rejected, since there is evidence that Baal was appointed king by El, and El clearly regrets Baal's death at the hands of Mot and rejoices at his subsequent resurrection; however, occasions of tensions do exist. More explicit signs of hostility occur between Baal and the sons of Athirat. Baal's dwelling place was on Mt. *Ṣpn* (probably vocalized Ṣapān), the mountain known in classical times as Mt. Casius, and today as Jebel el-Aqraʿ, a mountain near Ugarit and appropriately the highest mountain in Syria. Ṣapān was itself regarded as a god.

Baal's chief consort is the goddess Anat. She is constantly by Baal's side and is devoted to him. She cuts up Mot like corn, is said to have defeated the dragon (i.e., Leviathan), and in one particularly gruesome scene is depicted wading through blood. See ANATH (DEITY). Also appearing as a consort of Baal in the Ugaritic texts is the goddess Astarte, though she is less prominent in that role than Anat. However, in Phoenician inscriptions and the OT Astarte rather than Anat appears to be Baal's consort, her name having been distorted to Ashtoreth (with the vowels of *bōšet,* "shame") in the OT by later scribes. See ASHTORETH (DEITY).

Baal's father is usually represented as Dagon, but occasionally El is designated as such. Perhaps Dagon was Baal's literal father since Dagon is listed between El and Baal in the Ugaritic pantheon; it is conceivable that Baal was actually the grandson of El. Although Dagon is frequently mentioned as the father of Baal and he appears in a number of sacrificial lists, he does not figure in any mythological texts from Ugarit. However, his dwelling place, Tuttul (in NE Syria), is mentioned in a Ugaritic snake charm text. His name suggests that he was a corn god. This deity is already attested at Ebla and was prominent among the Amorites at Mari and the OT indicates that he was worshiped by the Philistines, who must have appropriated him from the Canaanites. See DAGON (DEITY).

The craftsman of the gods, comparable to the Greek Hephaetus, was Kothan-and-Ḫasis ("skilful and clever"). Among other things he made the magic clubs with which Baal defeated Yam and built Baal's palace/temple. His dwelling place was both Crete and what is probably Egypt. He appeared at Ebla under the name of Kašalu.

At Ugarit the sun was worshiped as a goddess, Shapash. For the unusual spelling of the name at Ugarit we may postulate the development *šamšu* → *šampšu* → *šapšu* (employing the form of the name with the nominative ending). Her epithet is *nrt ʾilm,* "luminary of the gods." Among other things, she scorches the earth during Baal's stay in the underworld (as befits the summer months) but tells Mot to stop struggling with Baal when the time is up. Her nocturnal trip in the underworld is reflected at the end of the Baal myth, where she is found amid the *rpʾum* (the underworld shades). The moon does not appear to have played a particularly prominent role in Canaanite mythology, though its name is preserved in such place names in Palestine as Beth-yeraḥ and Jericho. From Ugarit we possess a text (*KTU* 1.24 = *CTA* 24) which celebrates the marriage of the moon god, Yarikh, and the goddess Nikkal. Two other deities associated with the sky in some way are Shaḥar and Shalem, whose names mean respectively "Dawn" and "Dusk." *KTU* 1.23 (= *CTA* 23) attributes their birth as a result of El's sexual intercourse with Athirat and *Rḥmy*. Sometimes it has been supposed that Shaḥar and Shalem represent respectively Venus as the morning and the evening star. However, the equivalence of Astarte with Ishtar as well as later with Aphrodite makes it virtually certain that she herself was equated with Venus. Maybe Athtar (the equivalent masculine form) was the morning star and Astarte the evening star, though explicit evidence for this in Canaanite sources is lacking. In the Baal myth Athtar is represented as being appointed to rule in Baal's stead when Baal is in the underworld, but he is said to be too small to fill the throne and so has to step down, though he still becomes king over the earth. It has often been supposed that at this point Athtar represents the waters of artificial irrigation (e.g., Gaster 1961: 127). This may be so, but the Arabic evidence to which appeal is made is ambiguous.

Although Mot is the primary deity associated with the underworld at Ugarit, he is not the only one. Another is the god Resheph, appearing already as Rasap at Ebla. At Ugarit his underworld character is indicated by his equation with Nergal, the Mesopotamian underworld god, and this is fully borne out by other Ugaritic evidence. Thus, he is referred to as the sun goddess' porter at the time of her setting (suggesting a location at the entrance of the underworld). His dwelling place is stated in a serpent charm text to be at *Bbt.*

Various other deities were also worshiped as part of the Ugaritic and wider Canaanite pantheon. A number of the Canaanite deities were worshiped in Egypt, especially during the New Kingdom, including Baal (equated with Seth), Anath, Astarte, *Qdš* (= Asherah), Resheph, and Ḥoron. (The precise function of Ḥoron, also attested at Ugarit and elsewhere, is unclear.)

**2. First-Millennium Phoenicia.** The name Phoenicia is given to that area N of Palestine where the Canaanites were not dispossessed by the Israelites but maintained their separate identity. The religion is partly known from inscriptions from the 1st millennium B.C. and partly from later classical sources. It shows some continuity with Canaanite religion elsewhere, but also has some distinctive features of its own.

An important god at Tyre and, because of Tyre's supremacy, a leading god of the Phoenicians generally (including Carthage) was Melqart. It has sometimes been supposed that Melqart was a form of the god Baal; however, we have no evidence to equate Melqart with Baal prior to a 2d-century-B.C. inscription from Malta, where he is called "the Baal [or lord] of Tyre" (*KAI* 47:1). The 7th-century-B.C. treaty between Baal king of Tyre and Esarhaddon king of Assyria clearly distinguishes Melqart on the one hand, and Baal-shamem and two other Baal deities on the other, the latter (unlike Melqart) manifesting themselves in the storm. It is possible that Melqart was originally a chthonic deity—he is identified with the underworld deity Resheph in a Punic inscription from Spain and with the Mesopotamian underworld god, Nergal, at Palmyra. In classical times he seems to have taken some attributes of the sun god (he sleeps during winter) and also has connections with the sea. He was commonly equated with Heracles in the classical era (e.g., *CIS* I 122; Eusebius, *Praep. Evang* 1.10.27).

Baal-shamem (lit. "Baal of the heavens") was another important god at Tyre, as well as elsewhere. The evidence implies that he is simply the well-known Canaanite storm god, Baal, attested in the OT and the Ugaritic texts. Thus, in the 7th-century-B.C. treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal king of Tyre he is associated with the storm and in the 8th-century-B.C. hieroglyphic Hittite version of the Karatepe inscription he is represented by a sign for the Hittite storm and thunder god Tarḫunt.

The chief god of Sidon was Eshmun, but he is also attested elsewhere (e.g., at Carthage). He is first mentioned in the treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal king of Tyre, and was identified by the Greeks with Asclepius, the god of healing. However, not much is known about the character of the god and the meaning of his name remains uncertain.

Adonis was the Greek name of a Phoenician deity, and must be based on the Semitic word *ʾaḏ̃n*, "lord," though strangely it has not appeared as the name of a god in Phoenician inscriptions. Classical sources indicate that he was a fertility god and his death (from a boar) and resurrection signified the annual death and rebirth of vegetation. He had to spend half the year in Hades with Persephone and was allowed to spend the other half of the year with Aphrodite. One important center of his worship was at Byblos, and Lucian of Samosata (2d century A.D.) reveals that some believed the reddish color of the river Adonis (Nahr Ibrahim) was due to the blood of Adonis. The "Gardens of Adonis" were a feature of his cult—seed boxes with plants that grew quickly and speedily withered (cf. Isa 17:10–11).

Other deities that the Phoenicians worshiped include other forms of Baal, and El, Baalat, Astarte, and Resheph.

The leading Punic deities (i.e., the deities of the Phoenician colonies in the W Mediterranean such as Carthage) were clearly the god Baal-ḥammon and his consort, the goddess Tinnit. It has been thought that Baal-ḥammon is a form of the god El, but it seems more likely that he is, as his name suggests, a manifestation of Baal. Sometimes in Punic dedicatory texts he is simply called Baal, which suggests that this is his name and not merely an epithet, "lord." Moreover, in Latin inscriptions he is called *frugifer* and

*deus frugum*, which suit Baal better than El, and his consort Tinnit is equated with Astarte (Baal's wife) in a text from Sarepta in Phoenicia. But whereas Punic sources refer to the recipient of human sacrifice as Baal-ḥammon, classical texts regularly refer to the recipient as Kronos, the common classical equivalent of El. However, Kronos is occasionally referred to as Baal as well as El, and Baal-ḥammon seems to be called Zeus (the more usual equivalent of Baal) in Polybius (7.9.2–3), which records Hannibal's oath in connection with his treaty with Philip V of Macedon. (On this treaty see Barré 1983.) It seems probable that Kronos' devouring of his own children led to his equation with Baal-ḥammon, the god of child sacrifice. There are two main views as to the meaning of the name Baal-ḥammon: one interpretation understands it to mean "Baal [lord] of the incense altar" (Day 1989: 37–40) while the other takes it as "lord of Amanus" (Cross *CMHE* 24–28, 35–36). The former view is more likely, since a number of depictions of Baal-ḥammon's cult feature an incense altar, whereas Mt. Amanus in N Syria was remote even from the original Phoenician homeland.

Baal-ḥammon's consort, Tinnit, the most prominent Punic goddess, who is sometimes referred to as "the face of Baal," has not been fully explicated. Some have thought that she was of N African origin, but several early attestations in Phoenicia (e.g., at Sarepta) have clarified her E origin. There is, however, uncertainty about her precise relationship to the other Canaanite goddesses and what her name means. On the supposition that Baal-ḥammon was El, it has sometimes been presumed that she was Athirat (Asherah). However, this view of Baal-ḥammon is unlikely, as we have seen. Moreover, Tinnit is known to have been equated with Astarte. We cannot be certain, but possibly she was a variant of Anath or she could have been a completely independent goddess.

Other deities worshiped in the Punic world include Melqart, Eshmun, and Resheph (see above).

One traditional source for ancient Phoenician religion is Philo of Byblos' *Phoenician History* (ca. A.D. 100) which declares itself to be dependent on a much earlier Phoenician author, Sanchuniathon. Excerpts from Philo's work have been preserved by Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Praeparatio Evangelica.* Scholarly evaluation of Philo's work as an account of ancient Phoenician and Canaanite theology has passed through different stages during the course of the last century. See PHILO OF BYBLOS. In the 19th century his work was often denigrated, but with the discovery of the Ugaritic texts, revealing the names of a number of deities mentioned by Philo, he underwent a considerable rehabilitation. In more recent years, as witnessed by the work of such scholars as J. Barr (1974) and A. I. Baumgarten (1981), there has been an increasing awareness that though Philo's work shows acquaintance with Phoenician traditions, these date from a late stage when they were subject to considerable Hellenistic influence. This Hellenistic influence is especially prominent in Philo's cosmogony. It is true that he has knowledge of a fair number of genuine Canaanite/Phoenician deities' names, e.g., Elos (El), Beelsamen (Baal-shamem), Zeus Belos (Baal), Adodos (Hadad) Dagon, Astarte, Chousor (Kothar-and-Ḫasis), and Elioun father of Ouranos (Heaven) and Ge (Earth) (cf. Gen 14:19, 22, where "El-Elyon" is creator of heaven and earth). However, the overall picture which he gives does not correspond closely with genuinely ancient sources—he lacks the important motif of Baal as a dying and rising god who was engaged in conflict with Mot, and his depiction of El as a violent god is quite different from that of the benevolent figure of the Ugaritic texts.

**C. Religious Practices and Beliefs**

**1. Festivals, Sacrifice, Prayer.** In spite of the considerable information available about the members of the Canaanite pantheon the details of the various Canaanite festivals and their accompanying rituals and liturgies remain scarce. It appears that the OT feasts of Tabernacles, Unleavened Bread, and Weeks had Canaanite prototypes (cf. Judg 9:27) and that these were essentially agricultural festivals. It is plausible to suppose that Baal's enthronement as king was celebrated at the Canaanite feast of Tabernacles, but detailed reconstructions (e.g., de Moor 1972) must remain speculative.

An important part of Canaanite religious practice consisted of sacrifice to the gods. The beginning of the Aqhat text, which describes Daniel as feeding the gods, indicates that sacrifice could be thought of as food for the gods. A number of Canaanite sacrificial terms are known, many of which are paralleled by similar expressions in the OT, though we cannot be certain that the meaning in every case is identical or that the Israelites appropriated the terms from the Canaanites, although this may be the case. Among the

parallel terms are Ugaritic *dbḥ* (Heb *zebaḥ* "sacrifice"), *š rp* (Heb *ʿlâ,* "burnt offering"), *š lm* (Heb *š elem,* "peace offering"), *š npt* (Heb *tĕnûpâ,* "wave [or "elevation"] offering") and *ndr* (Heb *neder* and *nēder,* "vow"). Other terms found in Punic may also be compared—cf. Punic *kll* (Heb *kālîl,* "whole burnt offering") and *mtnt* (Heb *mattānâ,* "gift").

There is evidence that human sacrifice was practiced within the Canaanite world, although we have no indications of it at Ugarit. There are a number of references to child sacrifice in the OT, especially in connection with the Canaanite god Molech in the valley of Hinnom outside Jerusalem (see Heider 1985; Day 1989), and classical sources attest child sacrifice among the Phoenicians. The most abundant evidence, however, is in the Punic world: not only do various classical authors attest its practice among the Carthaginians, but archaeological discoveries have revealed cemeteries of sacrificed children (commonly referred to by scholars under the biblical name of "topheth") at Motya (Mozia) in Sicily, Monte Sirai, Nora, Tharros, and Sulcis in Sardinia, and at Carthage, Sousse (Hadrumetum), and Cirta (near Constantine) in N Africa.

Another practice for which we have evidence among the Canaanites but is not certainly attested at Ugarit is sacred prostitution (see below). However, Ugarit has revealed some traces of the practice of divination, where models of livers and lungs probably linked to hepatoscopy have been found (models of livers are known from Hazor and Megiddo). A text written in Ugaritic containing omens based on unnatural births of animals has also been discovered, analogous to the Mesopotamian *šumma izbu* texts. (*KTU* 1.103 + 1.145 = *Ugaritica* VII, RS 24.247 + 24.265 + 24.268 + 24.287 + 24.328A + 24.328B.)

Not surprisingly, prayer was employed as a means of communication with the gods. An interesting example is known from Ugarit requesting deliverance should the city be under attack (*KTU* 1.119.26–36): "If a strong one attacks your gate, a warrior your walls, raise your eyes to Baal [praying]: 'O Baal, please drive away the strong one from our gate, the warrior from our walls! The bull, O Baal, we will consecrate; the vow, O Baal, we will fulfill. The male [animal], O Baal we will consecrate; the sacrifice, O Baal, we will fulfill; the libations, O Baal, we will pour out. Let us go up to the sanctuary of Baal, let us walk to and fro on the paths to the house of Baal!' Then Baal will hear your prayer—he will drive away the strong one from your gate, the warrior from your walls." Clearly this prayer, disregarding Baal's importance as a nature god, sees him as an agent in history.

**2. Afterlife and Cult of the Dead.** Although we lack precise details, it is clear that the Canaanites envisaged a *post mortem* existence. In the OT the shades of the dead are often referred to as the *rĕpāʾîm,* and they are similarly termed in Phoenician (*rpʾm*) and Punic (*ʾrpʾm*). It is now clear that the *rpʾum* in Ugaritic also denote the shades of the dead, and that these are deified. The most explicit text is *KTU* 1.161, where the *rpʾum* are invoked, and these include a number of deceased Ugaritic kings. Again, at the end of the Ugaritic Baal myth, we find the expressions *rpʾim/ʾilnym* in close parallelism with *ʾilm/mtm,* 'gods/dead' (*KTU* 1.6.VI.46–48 = *CTA* 6.VI.45–47), thus supporting the view that they are the deified dead. It now seems that this is the meaning of *rpʾum* in all its occurrences in Ugaritic (Caquot and Sznycer 1980: 19–20) and that it is wrong to seek a temporal reference in certain instances (e.g., the so-called Rephaim text, *KTU* 1.20–22 = *CTA* 20–22, *contra* Gray 1965: 126–30). In one Ugaritic text (*KTU* 1.108.1–3 = *Ugaritica* V.2.1–3) it seems that we have an allusion to *rpʾu* (a shade of the dead) drinking with Hadad the shepherd and Astarte; if this is the correct understanding (see ASHTAROTH [PLACE]), it bears comparison with the 8th-century B.C. Aramaic Panammua text, where the hope is expressed, "May the soul of Panammua eat with Hadad, and may the soul of Panammua drink with Hadad" (*KAI* 214: 21–22).

One institution which has attracted increased attention in recent years (cf. Greenfield 1974) is the *marzēaḥ,* which is attested in the Canaanite world at Ugarit (both in Akkadian and Ugaritic texts), the OT (Jer 16:5; Amos 6:7), at Elephantine, and Piraeus, and in Nabatean, Palmyrene, Punic, and rabbinic texts. It took the form of an association involving banquets and there is evidence from Ugarit (the Rephaim text), Jer 16:5, a Nabatean text, and rabbinic tradition that these could be associated with the cult of the dead. However, other purposes may have been involved. (See DEAD, CULT OF THE; ANCESTOR WORSHIP.)

There is evidence that the Ugaritic kings were thought of as divine after their death, and probably they were also considered divine during their earthly reign. The list of Ugaritic kings (*KTU* 1.113) precedes each name with the word *ʾil* "god," but this could simply allude to their posthumous deification. However, in the Keret text, words are expressed which suggest that king Keret (admittedly not king of Ugarit) was considered divine during his lifetime. A son of his declares, "How can it be said [that] Keret is a son of El, the progeny of Laṭipan and *Qdš*? Or shall gods die? Shall the progeny of Laṭipan not live?" (*KTU* 1.16.I.20–23 = *CTA* 16.I.20–23). Keret's daughter Thitmanat expresses similar sentiments in *KTU* 1.16.II.43–44, 48–49 (= *CTA* 16.II.105–6, 110–11). Furthermore, El says that Keret's (presumably eldest) son Yaṣṣib … will suck the milk of Athirat … drain the breast of the virgin [Anath], the suckling nurses of [the gods]" (*KTU* 1.15.II.25–28 = *CTA* 15.II.25–28).

The king's role in the cult included a ritual purification bath (e.g., *Ugaritica* V.12.6; *CTA* 36.10; *KTU* 1.119.5). In addition, Tabnit and Eshmunazar, two kings of Sidon, also served as priests of Astarte (*KAI* 13.1, 2). It is clear that as in ancient Israel, a high ethical ideal was expected of the king, since it was his duty to protect the poor, the widow, and the fatherless (cf. *KTU* 1.16.VI.45–50 = *CTA* 16.VI.45–50).

**D. Canaanite Religion and the OT**

The relation of the religion of Israel to the religion of Canaan consists of two parts. On the one hand, the OT stands steadfastly opposed to the polytheism and fertility cult practices of the religion of Canaan and firmly in favor of the exclusive worship of Yahweh, the God of Israel. On the other hand, the OT has appropriated elements from the religion of Canaan, baptizing them in a form compatible with Israel's own distinctive faith.

**1. El and Yahweh.** The chief god of the Canaanites, El, is equated in the OT with Yahweh. Thus, the patriarchal narratives depict them as worshiping various manifestations of El—El-Shaddai in particular, but also El-Bethel, El-Olam, El Elohei Israel, El-Roi, and El-Elyon—and these are understood as revelations of Yahweh (e.g., Exod 6:2–3). It has even been suggested by F. M. Cross (*CMHE*, 68–71) that the name Yahweh derived from part of a cult name of El, *ʾil dū yahwī ṣabaʾōt*, "El who creates hosts." However, against this hypothesis it may be argued: (1) the formula in question is nowhere attested and is highly speculative; (2) the character of El is uniformly benevolent in the Ugaritic texts, whereas Yahweh has a fierce side as well as a kind one; and (3) this view presupposes that the name Yahweh means "he creates" (understood as a *Hipʿil*), whereas it more likely means "he is" (the verb *hyh*, "to be," is nowhere attested in the *Hipʿil* in Hebrew). Perhaps in the time of Moses, as certain biblical references suggest, El was equated with Yahweh, who probably was originally the Midianite god of Mt. Sinai. Whereas the OT abominated Baal, it was happy to equate Yahweh with El, who was the supreme creator god noted for his wisdom, and was not associated with the fertility cult in the way that Baal was.

In his identification with El, Yahweh also appropriated "the sons of El," so that "the sons of God" formed his heavenly court (cf. Job 1:6; 2:1). The notion that they were seventy in number lived on, since Deut 32:8 states that "the Most High … fixed the bounds of the peoples according to the number of the sons of God" (so LXX; 4QDeut), from which evolved in Jewish apocalyptic literature the notion of seventy guardian angels of the nations. Thus, as absolute monotheism took over from monolatry in Israel, those who had originally been in the pantheon of the gods were demoted to the status of angels.

In being equated with El, it is not surprising that in syncretistic circles Yahweh also appropriated El's consort Athirat, or Asherah as she is known in the OT. Her cult symbol, known as the Asherah, was a wooden pole, perhaps in the form of a stylized tree. It is mentioned in the OT a number of times and appears to be the point of the inscriptions, "Yahweh and his Asherah" from Kuntillet ʿAjrud in N Sinai.

**2. OT Use of Baal Motifs.** Although the OT condemns the Baal cult, it nevertheless adopts some of its motifs. Hosea, who is at pains to emphasize that Yahweh, not Baal, brings fertility to the land (Hos 2:10—Eng 2:8), applies the imagery of death and resurrection to Israel's coming exile and restoration (Hos 5:14–6:3; 13:1–14:7). That this imagery is actually derived from the fertility cult of Baal is supported by the allusion to the coming of the rain in connection with the resurrection imagery in Hos 6:3 and the evident irony of the fact that Hosea declares that Israel "incurred guilt through Baal and died" (Hos 13:1).

The OT also appropriates the motif of Baal's conflict with Leviathan (also called "dragon," "twisting serpent") and Yam and applies it to Yahweh. Sometimes the imagery is associated with the creation of the world (e.g., Ps 74:12–17), and this can also be demythologized so that it is simply a case of God's controlling (rather than fighting with) the waters, as in Genesis 1. Sometimes the imagery is historicized, so that the sea becomes a term for the hostile nations (cf. Ps 144:7) and the dragon can symbolize a particular nation, such as Egypt or Babylon (e.g., Isa 30:7; Jer 51:34). Again, the imagery can be projected into the future and eschatologized (cf. Isa 27:1; Daniel 7). A related theme to that of the divine victory over the waters is divine kingship. Just as Baal became king following his victory over Yam, so the OT associates Yahweh's kingship with his defeat of the chaos waters (cf. Ps 74:12; 93:1–2). The name of Baal's sacred mountain, Mt. Ṣapān, is applied to Mt. Zion, the seat of Yahweh's dwelling in Ps 48:3—Eng 48:2, "the heights of Zaphon" (cf. Isa 14:13). Moreover, the description of Yahweh's manifestation in the thunderstorm tends to echo that of the storm god, Baal, and this is particularly striking in Psalm 29.

**3. The High Places, Sacred Prostitution, and the Molech Cult.** The Asherim formed part of the cultic paraphernalia of the "high places" (*bāmôt*) (see also HIGH PLACE), the local sanctuaries where a Baalized Yahweh cult was practiced in ancient Israel until their abolition by Josiah in 621 B.C. They were frequently located on hills and the cult practices associated with them are described as taking place "on every high hill and under every green tree" (e.g., 2 Kgs 17:10). In addition to the Asherim, stone pillars (*maṣṣēbôt*) symbolizing the male deity, altars, and incense altars were among the characteristic features of these sites. The OT also suggests that rites of sacred prostitution were characteristic of the Baalized Yahweh worship, presumably a form of imitative magic in order to encourage the fertility of the land. That sacred prostitution was a feature of the religion is indicated by the parallelism of the word *z̃n̂,* "prostitute," with *qĕdēšâ,* lit. "holy one," in Deut 23:18–19 and Gen 38–15, 22–23 and of *zōñt,* "prostitutes," with *qedēš̃t*, lit. "holy ones," in Hos 4:14. The masculine form *qādēš* (Deut 23:18—Eng 23:17; 1 Kgs 14:24; 22:47—Eng 22:46), plural *qĕdēšîm* (1 Kgs 15:12; 2 Kgs 23:7) must therefore allude to male cult prostitution. It is not certain whether the *qdš m* mentioned in the Ugaritic texts were similarly cult prostitutes. Outside the OT, classical allusions confirm the practice of sacred prostitution among the Phoenicians. See PROSTITUTION (CULTIC).

The OT sometimes makes reference to a god called Molech, to whom gruesome rites of child sacrifice are made. Some scholars have denied that Molech is the name of a god, claiming it to be a sacrificial term cognate with Punic *molk* (Eissfeldt 1935), while others maintain that no human sacrifice was involved but simply a dedication in fire (Weinfeld 1972). However, both these views are forced. There is evidence that *mlk* was the name of a Canaanite god (e.g., at Ugarit), and it is most likely that OT Molech is a reference to him, the vowels having been distorted with those of the word *bōšet,* "shame" (cf. how the OT form of Ashtart is likewise distorted to read Ashtoreth; so Day [1989]). Probably he was an underworld god (Heider 1985; Day 1989). Another Canaanite underworld god who has left traces in the OT is Resheph (e.g., Ps 78:48–49; Hab 3:5), who seems to have become a destructive angel in Yahweh's entourage.

**4. Israelite Calendar and Kingship.** The important dividing line in the agricultural year in Canaan comes with the autumn when the rainy season commences following the months of dryness and summer sun. This must have been the time of the Canaanite new year, just as it was in preexilic Israel (cf. Exod 23:16; 34:22), prior to the adoption of the Babylonian spring new year calendar at the time of the Exile or just before. The festival in the autumn was the feast of Tabernacles, when the corn, wine, and oil were gathered. The Canaanite equivalent of this feast is recorded in Judg 9:27. The other major feasts, those of Weeks and Unleavened Bread, being in origin agricultural festivals, must also have been appropriated from the Canaanites. Some sacrificial practices may well have been adopted (see above).

It was not until about 1000 B.C. that the Israelites adopted the institution of kingship. Since kingship was a new institution for them, it is to be expected that features should be borrowed from the surrounding nations (cf. 1 Sam 8:20). Influence from the Canaanite kingship ideology cannot be denied. The most explicit evidence for this comes from Ps 110:4, where the Davidic king is hailed as "a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek." Since Melchizedek is represented as a pre-Israelite, Jebusite priest-king in Jerusalem in Gen 14:18–20, it appears that Ps 110 involves a fusion of Israelite with the Jebusite royal

ideology. This is most naturally understood as having come about soon after David's conquest of Jerusalem. The Jebusite deity, (El-)Elyon (Gen 14:18, 19, 22), became fused with Yahweh, though it should probably not be supposed that David's priest, Zadok, was originally a Jebusite priest. If he had been, then neither of David's two chief priests (Zadok, Abiathar) would have been a native southern Israelite, which would be surprising. 1 Chr 12:28 may support F. M. Cross' view (*CMHE* 207–15) that Zadok had already been David's priest at Hebron.

In various ways, therefore, it is apparent that Canaanite religion has exerted an influence on the OT, in spite of the condemnation of that religion which the OT often expresses. For further discussion see Albright *ARI, YGC;* Donner and Röllig *KAI;* Eissfeldt *KlSchr;* Gibson *TSSI;* and Gordon *UT.*

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**CANAANITE LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

**CANDACE** (PERSON) [Gk *Kandakē* (Κανδακη)]. Title of the person who employed the Ethiopian eunuch converted by Philip (Acts 8:27–39). Candace is not a proper name but a title (like the word "Pharaoh"); in fact, it was one of the first Ethiopic words clearly identified by scholars. It means Queen, though it also seems to have referred to the Queen Mother. Bion of Soli, who wrote a work on Africa probably in the 2d century B.C., says that the Queen Mother, called the Candace, was the real head of the government of the so-called kingdom of Meroe, not in modern Ethiopia proper, but rather along the Nile in modern Sudan. The title Candace may have been a hereditary one, since it is attested in various periods before and after the NT era in the relevant classical literature (cf. Strab. 17.1.54; Dio Cass. 54.5.4–5; Pliny *HN* 6.35.186; Ps.-Callisth. 3.18). Thus, the Candace mentioned only once in the NT (Acts 8:27) cannot be clearly identified because we are not given a proper name (Cadbury 1955: 15–18). Eunuchs were frequently used in ancient Near Eastern courts as guards of the harem or sometimes of the treasury (see ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH).

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**CANNEH** (PLACE) [Heb *kannēh* (כַּנֵּה)]. A N Mesopotamian city with whom Tyre traded in textiles (Ezek 27:23). Assyrian texts of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. contain numerous references to individuals involved in economic transactions who are from Kannu›, a city whose precise geographical location is unknown (see Postgate *RLA* 5: 390). Since this city provides the most likely counterpart to the Canneh of the MT in Ezek 27:23 (once improperly identified with Calneh), one learns from Assyrian sources that it was strategically located on a royal Assyrian highway which facilitated the city's development as a center of trade. Citizens of Canneh are attested long before the time of Ezekiel transporting hundreds of horses for the Assyrian empire (Waterman 1930–36: 529) and engaging in slave sales. Because the city is listed in Ezek 27:23 between the two other well-known locales Haran and Eden (i.e., Beth-eden), Canneh also must have achieved some international stature as a comparable commercial center. The Assyrian evidence indicates that the city was a center for the cult of the god Apladad. The etymology of Kannu›/Canneh remains unclear, for a proposed Aramaic etymology from *ganno›* "the enclosure" would appear in Hebrew with an initial voiced consonant. The Targum equates Canneh with Nisibis.

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**CANON.** The word "canon" comes from the Gk *kanōn,* "measuring stick." By extension it came to mean "rule" or "standard," a tool used for determining proper measurement. Consequently, the word has come to be used with reference to the corpus of scriptural writings that is considered authoritative and standard for defining and determining "orthodox" religious beliefs and practices. Books not considered

authoritative and standard are often called "noncanonical" or "extracanonical." Generally speaking, the corpus of authoritative books is called the "Bible," although obviously the Christian Bible (or canon) differs from that of Judaism. This entry consists of two entries: one covering the canon of the Hebrew Bible (i.e., the Christian "Old Testament"), and another covering the specifically Christian writings comprising the "New Testament." See also APOCRYPHA (OT and NT) articles.

## *HEBREW BIBLE*


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### A. Introduction

**1. Canon in Judaism and Christianity.** Some of the religions of the world are "scriptured" such as Judaism, the Samaritans, Christianity, Islam, Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Zoroastrianism; others are not (W. C. Smith 1977). Judaism and Christianity claim to have Holy Scriptures inspired by God; the Christian includes the Jewish, but the Jewish does not include any of the peculiarly Christian "Second [or New] Testament." That which is common to the two, though in a different order of contents, in most Protestant Bibles is traditionally called the "Old Testament" by Christians but simply the "Bible" by Jews. The Bible of the Samaritans is limited to the Pentateuch. The Bible of the early church before there was a NT canon, that which was most often cited in NT and most Christian literature, was a Greek version of the OT containing many more books than the current Protestant OT or Jewish Bible. The Protestant/Jewish "First Testament" is often inexactly called the Hebrew Bible. In more accurate terms the OT (whether referring to the LXX or the current Protestant OT) may also be called the First Testament. Until recent times the Christian OT, whether Orthodox, Catholic, or Protestant, included more books than the Jewish Bible included; it was not until the late 19th century

that Protestants began to exclude the Jewish so-called apocrypha, or deuterocanonical books, which surviving Pharisaic-rabbinic Judaism had excluded from its Bible at least by the end of the 1st century of the common era. Samaritans, also heirs of ancient Judaism, accept only the Pentateuch (Torah) as canon. Muhammad, apparently the single author of the Koran, adapted traditions from both Bibles or testaments into the 7th-century-C.E. Bible of Islam; by contrast, both Judaism and Christianity have accepted the fact of multiple authorship of their canons as well as pseudonymity of some of the books in each. Whereas the Koran is viewed in Islam as a direct revelation from God, the Jewish and Christian canons are viewed as human testimonies to God's revelations (Pokorny 1984: 486–96). When one uses the word "canon" one must specify to which denomination or community of faith it refers even within Judaism and Christianity; within both there is now and was in antiquity more than one canon in the sense of limited lists of sacred books considered canonical. The Church of Latter-Day Saints is perhaps the latest to claim the Christian canon to be open-ended (Davies 1986). And in recent times the word "canon" is used to refer to the rabbinic corpus in addition to the Bible or even instead of the Bible (Neusner 1987: 43–51).

**2. Etymology of the Word "Canon."** The word "canon" comes from the Greek *kanōn* which was derived from a Semitic root (Hebrew *qāneh,* Assyrian *qaň,* [Sumerian-]Akkadian *qin,* Ugaritic *qn*). It passed into Greek as *kanna* or *kanē,* into Latin as *canna,* and English as *cane.* It originally meant "reed" (English "cannon") and came to mean something firm and straight. In Greek the word was used to indicate a stave, a weaver's rod, a curtain rod, a bedpost, and a stick kept for drawing a straight line or as a constant reference for measuring such as level, plumb line, or ruler. It then took on metaphoric meanings such as model, standard, paradigm, boundary, chronological list, and tax or tariff schedule. In the NT "canon" means rule, standard (Phil 3:16 in some mss; Gal 6:16), or limit (2 Cor 10:13, 15–16). In early church literature it came to be used to refer to biblical law, an ideal person, an article of faith, doctrine, catalog, table of contents, a list of persons ordained or sainted (Metzger 1987: 289–93). Origen (d. 254) may have used the word in the sense of a list of inspired books, but Athanasius (d. 373) was the first known to have done so and the first in his Easter letter of 367 to include the 27 books of the NT.

**3. Other Terms Used.** The Bible (OT) of the early churches was referred to as "Scripture" (John 2:22; Acts 8:32; 2 Tim 3:16; etc.) or "the scriptures" (Mark 12:24; 1 Cor 15:3–4, etc.). Other terms used were "holy scriptures," "the writings," "the sacred scriptures," "the book," "the sacred books." Use of such terms does not, however, indicate exactly which books were meant beyond the Law and the Prophets in the Jewish tripartite canon (Law, Prophets, and Writings). And doubt has been expressed as to whether the term "Scripture" was synonymous with "canon" (Sundberg *IDBSup,* 137; cf. Metzger 1987: 30).

The same is true of terms used in Judaism where the word "books" (*sĕpārîm*) meant sacred writings but without precise definition (Dan 9:2; Mishnah, etc.). The term "holy books" (*siprê haqqōdeš*), used in medieval commentaries, was also indefinite in reference in that it was used to refer to all Jewish religious literature. In the Greek prologue to Ecclesiasticus (Ben Sira), which was translated (traditionally 132 B.C.E.) by the grandson of the author, the phrases "the other books of our fathers" and "the rest of the books" are also indefinite in reference. In Tannaitic times the term "outside books" (*sĕpārîm hîtzōnîm*) was coined to refer to books not in the Jewish canon (*Sanh.* 10:1), but even then it was used mainly to refer to non-Jewish or nonrabbinic literature, not specifically to refer to Jewish writing outside the Jewish Bible.

More precise in designation, though not content, is the word *miqrāʾ* ("reading"; see Arabic *qurʾan*) referring to Scripture and based on the custom of reading aloud for the assembled faithful in a dominantly oral culture, continued today as oral lectionary readings in most worship services Jewish and Christian; it was and is frequently used to indicate Scripture, as against Mishnah, Midrash, or other Jewish literature.

Another term, "holy writings" (*kitbê haqqōdeš*), is used to refer to holy or inspired writings but not exclusively to the Bible (*Šabb.* 16:1; *B. Bat.* 1: end; *t. Beṣa* 4 [Blau *JEnc,* 141]), another indication of the necessity to distinguish between "inspired" and "canonical" (Leiman 1976: 127; Metzger 1987: 254–57); the term is reflected in Greek in Rom 1:2; John 5:47; 2 Tim 3:15–16; *Ant* 1.13; 10.63; etc.

The word "Torah," like many others in early Jewish literature, has both a narrow (*sensus strictus*) and a broad meaning (*sensus latus*). While it can refer strictly to the Pentateuch it may also refer to the whole

Bible; but it may quite broadly refer to all Jewish religious literature, or indeed be used as a virtual synonym of Judaism itself (Sanders 1987: 111–14). Similarly the word *nomos* in the NT and elsewhere may mean "law," or it may mean custom, instruction, or doctrine (Pasinya 1973). The Pentateuch itself is basically a blend of narrative and law (Sanders 1987: 43–60, 115–23); indeed one great Jewish philosopher (Heschel 1972) believed that Judaism itself is made up of *halākāh* and *haggādāh* (law and narrative).

Another term used of Scripture is *hakkātûb,* "that which is written," but the term is usually accompanied by the name of a book of the Bible; "all that which is written" or perhaps "all Scripture" is early and may be reflected in 2 Tim 3:16 (*pasa graphē*). The term "covenant" or "testament" seems to have been principally a Christian term of reference for the OT (2 Cor 3:14), though Sirach apparently used "book of the covenant" (24:23) to refer to the Pentateuch (cf. Exod 24:7; 2 Kgs 23:2, 21 where the same Greek term translates the Hebrew *sēper habberît*).

Other terms used include the expression "those [books] that soil the hands" (*Yad.* 3:5; 4:5, 6), which is as close perhaps as may be found to what is commonly meant by the term "canon"; and yet it is not really clear how the term arose (*JEnc* 1: 141) or even if it was used to mean "canonical" *in sensu stricto* (Leiman 1976: 102–20).

Finally, one of the most common terms used to refer to the Bible in Talmud and Midrash, and perhaps the most common in Jewish speech in any modern language, is *Tanak,* an acrostic made up of the first letters of the three divisions of the Hebrew or Jewish Bible: *Tōrāh* (Pentateuch), *Nebî'îm* (Prophets), and *Ketûbîm* (Writings or Hagiographa).

**4. Basic Uses of the Word "Canon."** There are two basic uses of the word "canon": the one refers to the shape of a limited body of sacred literature; the other refers to its function. Traditionally it is viewed as both an authoritative collection of books (*norma normata*—shape) and a collection of authoritative books (*norma normans*—function; Metzger 1987: 282–88). The word "shape" refers, however, to more than the number and order of books contained in a community's canon; and the word "function" refers to more than how a community used its canon. Both terms include consideration of pre- and proto-canonical literary and historical factors as well as factors resulting from eventual stabilization of text and canon.

**B. External Shape of Canon**

**1. Extrabiblical References.** The designation "Tanak" accurately suggests the basic tripartite shape of the Jewish Bible: Torah, Prophets, and Writings. Beginning in the 2d century B.C.E. the third division was vaguely indicated in the prologue to Ecclesiasticus (Ben Sira) written by the author's grandson in 132 B.C.E. (or 116 [Kahle 1959: 216]; or 110 [Bickermann 1944: 344]). He apparently knew only paraphrastic expressions such as "… and the others that followed them," or "… the other books of our fathers," or "… and the rest of the books." Much has been made by some of the vague expression in Philo's *Vita Cont* 25 which mentions "laws and oracles delivered through the mouth of prophets, and psalms …"; or the phrase "They read the holy writings and seek wisdom from their ancestral philosophy by taking it as an allegory …" (*Vita Cont* 28). Such expressions can be taken to indicate a closed canon of the third division, the Writings, in pre-Christian times only by inference; the evidence is not clear (cf. Leiman 1976: 131–32; Beckwith 1985: 110–11).

The first two divisions, the Law and the Prophets, are attested to in the Second or New Testament (Matt 5:17; 7:12; 22:40; Luke 16:16; John 13:15; 24:14; Rom 3:21 [see "Moses and the Prophets" in Luke 16:29, 31]), but the third division remained amorphous (without clear shape) in all such designations until the end of the 1st century C.E.; in fact it is not clear when the term "Tanak" itself first appeared (Aicher 1906: 1–53). Recent in-depth study of the function of Scripture in the Mishnah affords no evidence of the tripartite canon in the ways in which Scripture is cited or alluded to beyond the Torah (Pettit 1988). The tripartite division, with the third section clearly not yet having a stable title such as Writings (or Hagiographa), is also indicated in Sirach 39:1; 2 Macc 2:13–14; and Luke 24:44. In Luke 24:44 the phrase "… Law of Moses, Prophets and Psalms …" is reported said by the resurrected Jesus to the disciples in one of his last meetings with them. The inarticulate *psalmois* in the Lukan phrase could indicate any collection of Jewish religious hymns, but it probably designated a collection of psalms such

as we know in the biblical book of Psalms, but not in all probability the stabilized Psalter witnessed in 4th–5th-century-C.E. and later LXX mss or in 10th-century-C.E. and later Masoretic mss, as the various scrolls and fragments of psalms among the Dead Sea Scrolls would suggest. If one took Philo or others as witness to the canon there might be doubt as to how far it extended at the turn of the era beyond the Pentateuch (Barthélemy 1984: 10–14); but if one took the Qumran library or the NT as witness in the same time frame one might wonder if indeed the number of books considered functionally canonical were not still indefinite (Barthélemy 1984: 15–19).

The long encomium to famous men in Ben Sirach 44–49 indicates that the author of Ecclesiasticus knew the Law and the Prophets as we have them, even the title "The Twelve Prophets"; and he seems to cite Mal 3:23. He also apparently knew a good portion of the Writings. He reflects the very old tradition (Amos 6:5) that David was a musician: "In all his works he praised the Holy One Most High with words of glory; with his whole heart he sang (*húmnēse*) and loved Him that made him. He also set singers before the altar …" (Sir 47:8–9). He also knew the old tradition that foreigners wondered at David's songs, proverbs, parables, and interpretations (47:17). But he does not thereby indicate, except by the broadest stretch of will (as some have claimed: Leiman 1976: 29; Beckwith 1985: 73), that Ben Sira knew the Psalter as we have it in medieval Masoretic mss.

2 Maccabees explicitly mentions the covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (1:2), as well as traditions about Moses and Solomon (2:4–12), and then deals considerably with the work (1:20–2:15), writings, and commentaries of Nehemiah (2:13); it also reflects on the prior prophecies of Jeremiah (2:1–7). The crucial passage states that Nehemiah founded a library collecting literature dealing with official acts or matters "concerning kings and prophets, as well as concerning David, and correspondence of kings concerning sacred gifts"; that Judas Maccabeus recovered the collection scattered because of the war (168–165 B.C.E.); and that it was still extant in the writer's time (2:13–14). To deny double-duty to the earlier preposition *peri* functioning in the expression *ta tou David* in 2:13, and therefore to understand the neuter plural phrase as "the psalms of David," is unwarranted; 2 Macc 2:13 refers to royal records, probably Samuel and Kings, and quite possibly a Davidic collection of psalms (cf. Beckwith 1985: 150–52). But broad claims about the Psalter and the whole Hagiographa as we know them being already in the shape we have them or already canonical when Judas engaged in his literary restoration (Beckwith 1985: 434–37) cannot be founded on 2 Maccabees.

The stabilized Jewish canon attested to by the end of the 1st century C.E. included 24 books (*4 Esdras* 14:44–46). The textus receptus or early printed editions of Jacob ben Hayyim based on European Hebrew Bible mss of the time (Blau 1902: 141, 144, col. viii) had the following order: the 5 of the Pentateuch; the 8 of the Prophets (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets); and the 11 of the Writings (Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Chronicles).

There is a different order in the third section in earlier Tiberian Masoretic mss on which current printed editions (cf. Yeivin 1980: 38, §71) of the Hebrew-Aramaic Bible are based, as we shall see; but the count of 24 remains the same. Josephus (*AgAp* 1.39), Origen (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.25), and Jerome (but only in his preface to Samuel and Kings) counted 22 books, the number of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet; and such a tradition may have been fairly widespread at one time. Such a count would be possible if Ruth were included on the same (Greek translation or even Hebrew) scroll with Judges (or with Psalms), and Lamentations with Jeremiah (*JEnc* 1: 142; Leiman 1976: 133–34). On the other hand, in the case of Josephus there may simply have been only 22 books to count as canonical by the beginning of the fourth quarter of the 1st century C.E. (Talmon 1987: 68). It is clear that too much certainty about Josephus' canon has been drawn from *AgAp* 1.37–43 (Leiman 1976: 31–34; but see n. 155!). The tradition in most Jewish communities after the 1st century C.E. was consistently a count of 24 books except in a very few Midrashim (e.g., *Num. Rab.* 18:21) where the Minor Prophets were separately counted to render 35. Ezekiel, Proverbs, the Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and Esther were disputed as late as the early 2d century but eventually won full acceptance in the canon. In the opinion of some (Leiman 1976: 119–20; Beckwith 1985: 318–23; and Talmon 1987: 75–79) the five books were already considered canonical and

the passages in rabbinic literature which record the debate assume that they were; the same passages have been read by most others to indicate a genuine debate about their canonical status.

**2. Masoretic Text.** The order of books beyond 2 Kings has varied to some extent even down to the 20th century as may be noted in the fact that the current student editions of the Hebrew Bible (*BHK* and *BHS*) still place Chronicles at the end of the third division, or Writings, even though the editors claim to use exclusively the Leningradensis ms, the oldest full codex of the Tanak in existence dating to the late 10th/early 11th century, which like its older (though incomplete) mate, Aleppensis (925 B.C.E.), and numerous other mss dating before the 12th century and after, has Chronicles as the first book in that division (see *BHS* xi), as well as a generally different internal order. The third section aside from Chronicles always begins with Psalms and ends with Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah, no matter whether Chronicles was placed first before Psalms or last after Ezra-Nehemiah.

It is probable that the sequence Genesis through 2 Kings was stabilized in content and order probably by the middle of the 6th century B.C.E. (Freedman *IDBSup*, 131–32), certainly by the middle of the 5th when the Pentateuch or first five books in that sequence was recognized by "all the people as one person," that is, by the whole community, as the "Book of the Torah of Moses" (Neh 8:1) or "The Torah" (Neh 8:2) in what was undoubtedly quite an elaborate ceremony in the Water Gate Square in Jerusalem in the middle (458? B.C.E.) of the 5th century. The Pentateuch (and not the Hexateuch or even Octateuch—that is, Genesis to Deuteronomy and not Genesis to Joshua or even Kings) became the Torah for Judaism for all time because of the triumph of the book of Deuteronomy and the school of thinkers, writers, and editors which its triumph spawned in the exilic 6th-century period (the Deuteronomists and others; Sanders 1972: 9–20). The Torah which was read that day in Jerusalem had been brought there by Ezra from the large exilic community in Persian-occupied Babylonia. But the sequel Genesis to Kings, no matter that Ezra's Judaism needed to break it into two liturgical divisions (called Torah and Early Prophets), was undoubtedly a stabilized written (hi)story fairly much as we now have it in the Tanak by the middle of the 6th century B.C.E. Since that sequence of books, in contrast to all that follows in the Jewish canon, is clearly a story line beginning with creation and ending with the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem and the exile, the order of the books Genesis to Kings was secured early on even when the text was written on scrolls, well before the invention of the codex in the 1st centuries C.E. Beginning with the Latter Prophets or the Books of the Three, there has been considerable variation. "The order of the Books in the Torah and the Former Prophets has been established from earliest times; however the order of the books in the Latter Prophets and the Writings is not fixed" (Yeivin 1980: 38).

The two great Tiberian mss, Leningradensis and Aleppensis (A), dating to the early 10th and 11th centuries, where A is extant agree on the following order after Kings: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets (the order indicated already in Sirach 48:22 and 49:6–8); Chronicles, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther, Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah. By contrast, a Baraita in the Talmud (*B. Bat.* 14b), which at the earliest dates to the 2d century C.E., and a number of mss later than the Tiberian (Blau 1902: 143–44) agree on the order: Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the Twelve; Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles.

Even the practice of grouping the Five Scrolls together (Megilloth—Ruth, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther) was sometimes abandoned in favor of placing Ruth at the beginning of the Writings. The order of the Five Scrolls varies considerably in the various manuscripts with no apparent pattern evident. With the advent of printing, early editions of the Jewish Bible placed the five in the calendar order of the four feasts and one fast at which each was read: The Song of Songs (Passover), Ruth (Weeks), Lamentations (9th of Ab), Ecclesiastes (Tabernacles), and Esther (Purim) (see *JEnc*, 144 and *IDB* 1: 509); but apparently no medieval mss so ordered them.

Clearly one has to be cautious in constructing theories about "the shape" of the Jewish canon beyond the very secure (hi)story line beginning with the Torah and ending in 2 Kings, and the fact that the books of the three Major Prophets and the Twelve Minor Prophets always followed the record of that (hi)story; but even the order of these within the two categories may have been due as much to lengths of the books as to

chronological order or any other factor (*JEnc*, 143; Metzger 1987: 295–300; see the convenient lists in Beckwith 1985: 450–64.)

**3. Jabneh.** In the past century, since the work of Graetz (1886: 281–98) but especially Buhl (1892: 24), it has been commonplace to refer to the gathering of rabbis at the Palestinian coastal town of Jabneh (Jamnia in Greek) as an authoritative council at which the canonization of the Tanak was completed. For some six decades in the first part of the current century a sort of formula was passed from one student generation to another: the Pentateuch was canonized by 400 B.C.E., the Prophets by 200 B.C.E., and the Writings at Jamnia by about 90 C.E. (Pfeiffer 1948: 64; *IDB* 1: 501–14; Jepsen 1959: 114). The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, both the Qumran literature and other scrolls and fragments from other caves in the area, changed all that.

A pivotal study published in 1964 by J. P. Lewis exposed the misunderstandings and misreadings by Graetz and others of the rabbinic evidence concerning Jabneh. Lewis investigated each passage and came to the conclusion that while there was a gathering at Jabneh it did not function as an authoritative council, in the later sense of the great church councils, which somehow for all time closed the canon. Lewis' work has gained wide acceptance even though it has been used to argue otherwise opposing points of view (Sanders 1987: 9–39; Freedman *IDBSup*, 135; Leiman 1976: 120–24; Barthélemy 1984: 9–45; Beckwith 1985: 276–77; Talmon 1987: 71). For some (Sanders, Barthélemy, Talmon) it means that factors other than conciliar or official decisions must be sought in the sociopolitical realm; for others (Leiman, Beckwith) it has meant that the canon was officially closed up to two centuries earlier and that discussions reported concerning what "soiled the hands" by the end of the 1st century C.E. were about books already canonized.

**4. Septuagint.** The so-called Septuagint (LXX) presents quite a different picture of the shape of the OT canon. Greek translations of the Jewish Bible seem to have begun in the 3d century B.C.E., first apparently the Torah and then the other books, and some of the others seem to have been in existence by the time of the translation of Ben Sira into Greek (see above). Most Greek First (or Old) Testament mss and most available early lists (see Swete 1902: 201–10) indicate that the (hi)story sequence Genesis through Chronicles was fairly constant. There is little to suggest in the LXX mss or early church lists that the Pentateuch (Torah) was thought of as a separate entity; it was primarily (hi)story in the same sense as the books that followed. Ruth often followed Judges and preceded the four books of Kingdoms (i.e., 1–2 Samuel plus 1–2 Kings), which were immediately then followed by the revisionist (hi)story of all that had been recounted up to that point, supplied by Chronicles (*Paraleipomena*).

In fact, there is no tripartite division in the Greek First Testament, as in the later Hebrew-Aramaic mss and lists noted above, suggesting that such a division after the Pentateuch was either not yet known, or more likely, not of full canonical status by the time of the Roman destruction of Jerusalem and the break of Christianity from Judaism. The further fact that after Chronicles the order of books in the LXX varied widely and without a clear pattern would also indicate that by the time of that break the full canonical process was not yet complete—unless some convincing polemical reasons could be advanced for the varying orders, or for the fact that libertarian variance took place at all; and none has been advanced. All the Greek OT mss were preserved by the churches (Kraft 1978: 225) and might possibly reflect an undetected polemic of order of books. All the principal Greek OT mss were in codex form and hence relatively (though not absolutely) stable in terms of order of books within the mss (Beckwith 1985: 194).

The Twelve Minor Prophets in Hebrew mss were always copied on one scroll; the order of them was fairly stable, usually beginning with Hosea and ending with Malachi in the order found in modern translations. But Greek OT translations and lists show variance within the Twelve; Codices B (Vaticanus) and A (Alexandrinus), e.g., both put Amos and Micah after Hosea before Joel; and the order Hosea, Amos, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, etc. is also found (Swete 1902: 202); beginning with Nahum the order seems quite stable through to Malachi.

The three Major Prophets with Daniel may appear after the Twelve (B and A) or before them (Sinaiticus); or they may be separated by the Twelve with Daniel and Ezekiel following the Minor Prophets (Melito's list). The (hi)storical books beginning with Genesis may go through *4 Maccabees*

(Sinaiticus) before the Prophets, or Maccabees may be put last (Origen). Other such observations could be made, but all would support the view that there was no Alexandrian canon in the sense that the term normally conveys with regard to shape or structure (Sundberg 1964; Freedman *IDBSup*, 135).

**5. Dead Sea Scrolls.** The so-called Dead Sea Scrolls, discovered between 1947 and 1961 (with perhaps others yet to come in), include the scrolls and tens of thousands of fragments of scrolls found in the eleven caves just N of the Wadi Qumran at the NW end of the Dead Sea, as well as others found in Judean desert caves (Murraba‹at, Ḥever, Ṣe›elim, Mishmar) containing literature dating between the two Jewish Revolts (70 to 135 C.E.), in the Palace/Fortress at Masada (68–73), and in caves in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh SE of Nablus (4th century B.C.E.; see Sanders 1973b and Wise 1986a; 1986b). Their discovery has caused a review of nearly every aspect of biblical study including that of questions relating to the canons of Judaism and Christianity and denominations and groups within them. All of the literature emanating from the Qumran caves (except for the few found in caves 3 and 7, and maybe 6) seems to have originally been part of a denominational, theological library belonging to a single Jewish group which treasured them in the period between its founding in the middle of the 2d century B.C.E. until its disintegration and dispersion at the hands of Roman troops in the spring of 68 C.E.

All of the discoveries from all of the areas noted date from before the development of codices; all of it, with the very few exceptions of writing on ostraca and wood, was found or was originally in scroll form whether written on leather or papyrus, and in one case on copper (Cave 3). This makes the question of the shape of the canon at Qumran, even indeed in Judaism during the time of the writing, copying, and reading of the scrolls, difficult to discern; this is the reason, as noted above, that opinions about the shape of the Jewish canon precisely during the period of the scrolls still vary considerably.

Every book of the Jewish Bible with the single exception of Esther has been identified among the scrolls and fragments from the eleven Qumran caves. Some 30 copies of a Psalter or Psalters have been identified, about 25 copies of Deuteronomy, 20 of Isaiah, 15 of Genesis, 15 of Exodus, 8 of Leviticus, 6 of Numbers, 8 of the Minor Prophets, 8 of Daniel, 8 of Numbers, 6 of Ezekiel, 5 of Job, 4 of Samuels, 4 of Jeremiah, 4 of Ruth, 4 of Song of Songs, 4 of Lamentations, 3 of Judges, 3 of Kings, 2 of Joshua, 2 of Proverbs, 2 of Qohelet, and a single fragment each surviving of Ezra-Nehemiah and of Chronicles (cf. Barthélemy 1984: 15).

Caution is in order. One might be tempted to suggest that even the Pentateuch was out of shape at Qumran because of the great popularity, apparently, of Genesis, Exodus, and Deuteronomy, but fewer examples of Leviticus and Numbers. We simply do not know if we have everything they had in their library, probably indeed not. The great interest in laws of holiness and purity evident in their own denominational literature would indicate considerable interest in Leviticus. The complete lack of a representative fragment of Esther may or may not be significant with regard to whether that book was included in the Qumran biblical canon, or yet at the time in the general Jewish canon; even the fact that it was one of the five books disputed after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 may or may not be emphasized now by the lack of Esther at Qumran. Failure to find evidence of the presence of Psalm 110 in any of the many Psalter copies represented is mitigated by the fact that the figure of Melchizedech, important in Psalm 110, was prominent in the angelology of Qumran thinking; yet, Psalm 110 is not needed to deem Melchizedech a canonical figure since he is prominent also in Genesis 14 (cf. Hebrews 6–7). Psalm 111 is also lacking representation.

More interesting is the shape, or perhaps lack of it, of the Psalter at Qumran. Even though there were apparently more copies (30) of the Psalter at Qumran than of any other book, 35 of the 150 psalms in the Masoretic canon are lacking even on fragments (Sanders 1967: 143–49); and there seems to be no pattern to the lack. There is no block of Masoretic psalms missing (Sanders 1967: 146–48). Even more striking is the fact that the longest, most continuous scroll of Psalms, 11QPs$^{a}$, contains not only 41 psalms known from the Masoretic (familiar) Psalter, but also contains 8 compositions heretofore either unknown (4) or known in Greek and/or Syriac translations (4). The scroll is about 4.75 m (almost 15.5 ft) long, containing 33 columns, with the order of at least 46 of the 48 compositions contained in the extant leather beyond doubt. This makes the Cave 11 Psalms Scroll one of the longest and best preserved of all the Qumran

Scrolls; even though the bottom third of each column is lacking (due to decomposition over the 1900 years in the cave), careful measurement of the lacunae indicates the order and sequence of psalms on the scroll is certain except for the precise placement of one of the fragments of the scroll (fragment E), and even that is virtually certain.

11QPs$^{b}$, though surviving in only six fragments, appears to be a copy of the same Psalter; it includes one of the non-Masoretic psalms also in 11QPs$^{a}$ and has the same non-Masoretic order as the latter of the traditional psalms preserved in it. 4QPs$^{f}$ includes another of the non-Masoretic psalms also in 11QPs$^{a}$, though not the same, and has Masoretic psalms as well. 4QPs$^{b}$, 11QPs$^{g}$, and 11QPsAp$^{a}$ also exhibit evidence that the Psalter as we know it was not yet stabilized or that the folk at Qumran had not endorsed it for themselves (Talmon 1987: 73). It is clear that the folk at Qumran knew and used many non-Masoretic psalms of the biblical type (4Q380 and 381 in Schuller 1986: 61–265) as well as others familiar to us now only from Qumran such as the Hodayot (4QH) and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400–407 and 11QShirShabb in Newsom 1985: 85–387). It is difficult to know how "canonical" these latter were considered by the folk at Qumran, but they figure in discussions of canon only in a broad sense of what was available to a Jewish denomination in the time before the stabilization of the Masoretic is certain. Those collections, however, like 11QPs$^{a}$ and the others noted above, do indeed enter into consideration of stabilization of the proto-MT Psalter. Either they are viewed as evidence of the last stages before stabilization (Sanders 1967: 9–21; 1968: 284–98 [esp. n. 10]; 1973a: 134–48; 1974: 79–99; Meyer 1968: 213–19; Wilson 1985; Wise 1986a: 143–48; Barton 1986: 86), or they are viewed as liturgical collections drawn from an already canonized Psalter with noncanonical compositions mixed in for specific liturgical purposes (Goshen-Gottstein 1966: 22–23; Talmon 1966; Skehan 1973) which are as yet unclear. "The Psalter provides us a sort of revealing microcosm of the fluidity existing on the frontiers of what books were sacred at certain times and for certain members of the community at Qumran" (Barthélemy 1984: 19). Psalters of up to 200 psalms are reported as late as the middle ages (Sanders 1967: 157–58; 1968: 294).

Just as the Psalter at Qumran seems not yet to have been stabilized in terms of content and order, so also the third section of the canon, the Writings, would appear to have been still open, parallel to the witness of the LXX. The Qumran library contained much in the original languages of what are called apocrypha and pseudepigrapha (Sanders 1973a; fc.; Fitzmyer 1977) as well as literary works heretofore unknown. It is simply not possible to be sure how many of these were considered canonical in function in the thinking of the Qumran faithful. Superficial criteria such as care in copying, mode of format in terms of column width and length, practice of using paleo-Hebrew script, whether or not a pesher-type commentary was written only on what was there considered canonical, or any other such, are not determinative. In eastern Christian churches the lengths of canons vary still, up to 81 books in the Ethiopian Orthodox canon (Cowley 1974: 318–23; Kealy 1979: 13–26; Sanders 1984a: 12; cf. Beckwith 1985: 478–505).

**6. Sociopolitical Factors and Community Needs.** One point on which there is clarity and general agreement is that the gathering of rabbis at the Palestinian coastal town of Jabneh (Jamnia) after the fall of Jerusalem up to about 90 C.E. cannot be considered a canonizing council (Lewis 1964: 125–32; Sanders 1987: 13; Leiman 1976: 120–24; Beckwith 1985: 4–7). The significance of that general conviction, however, varies. For the most part it is taken to mean that such conciliar bodies simply did not exist in early Judaism and that to understand Jamnia as such is a reading back of the hierarchical authority of later church councils. The canonical process was more realistically one of bodies of literature passing the tests of time and space in terms of their value for many scattered believing communities. Canonicity was recognized by communities of faith with common identity as having in effect already taken place because of sociopolitical factors and community needs (Sandmel 1966: 207; Sanders 1987: 125–51; 1984a: 1–20; Barthélemy 1984: 30–37; Talmon 1987: 67–72) and not because of deliberate or conciliar decisions; councils for the most part only ratify what has already happened among the people. But it has also been taken more radically to mean that canonization of the Writings had already taken place either *de facto* (Leiman) or *de jure* (Beckwith) by the 2d century B.C.E., and that variance from that canon, whether in the Dead Sea Scrolls or the LXX, should be taken as benign aberration. It is more likely that surviving

Pharisaic-rabbinic Judaism after 70 C.E. trimmed the lush growth of apocalyptic and other literature (Freedman *IDBSup*, 135; Kaestli 1984: 71–102), which had become erratically diverse and in danger of abandoning Judaism's basic monotheizing faith. A part of that lush growth, from the standpoint of Pharisaic-rabbinic Judaism, may have been early Christian literature and practice. Clear evidence for a date earlier than the end of the 1st century C.E. is at best weak and unconvincing (cf. Talmon 1987: 74–79).

**7. Stabilization of Text and Canon.** Parallel to stabilization of canon was stabilization of the text of books after the Pentateuch. The Torah, whether in text or versions, exhibits remarkable stability in all the witnesses available. Even the some six thousand variants in the Samaritan Pentateuch are, except for a few, largely minor and fall within a range of relative stability. While the actual books of the prophetic corpus may well have been set in an early form about the same time the Torah was being edited, or even perhaps earlier (Freedman 1962: 250–65), the stabilization of the text of the prophetic corpus has been convincingly described as having taken place during the 1st centuries B.C.E. and C.E. (Greenberg 1956: 157–67; *QHBT*, 1–41, 321–400; Barthélemy *IDBSup*, 878–84; Albrektson 1978: 49–65). The variance of texts in the prophets has been understood both as exhibiting distinct families of text types (*QHBT*, 177–95, 306–20; Ulrich 1978) and as simply indicating textual fluidity and variety (Goshen-Gottstein 1965: 17; Sanders 1987: 125–51; Talmon 1987: 45–79; Tov 1988: 28–37) up to what apparently was full stabilization of the text by the middle of the fourth quarter of the 1st century C.E., as witnessed by the proto-Masoretic texts from the Judean desert sites other than Qumran and by the more literal translations into Greek at the end of the 1st century C.E. Stabilization of the Writings in the proto-Masoretic tradition seems to have been complete by the end of the 1st century C.E. (Barthélemy *IDBSup*, 878–84; Tov 1982: 19–27; 1986: 181–85).

**C. Internal Shape of Canon**

**1. Canon as Context.** Recent discussions about the shape of the canon have moved beyond issues of fluidity and stability of text and canon to observations about how the shape of a canon provides a context in which to read the individual contributions contained in it. The juxtaposition in the order, where stable, of those contributions, whether sources within a book or the books interrelating among themselves, can influence how each is read. Context influences understanding of text. Canon in this sense is the primary and most authoritative context in which to read the various parts of it (Childs 1978; *IOTS*). There are other contexts in which it is read and these are important as well: these include the community of faith and cultic setting in which a text was and is read, as well as the historical and sociopolitical situation or setting in which a text is composed and in which it is later read and reread; equally important is the hermeneutical context in which a text is heard or read. Whenever a text is read three factors must be kept in mind: the text itself; the sociopolitical situation in which it arose and in which it is read; and the hermeneutics by which it is caused to function when repeated/recited (Sanders 1984a: 77–78). The internal shape of canon focuses on the literary and intertextual chemistry, as it were, of texts in their relation to other texts which had arisen out of different original contexts but are now, in canon, compressed into a canonical-literary whole.

One might contrast the Koran to the Bible. The Koran is the record, supposedly, of a direct revelation of God to a human and to humans; the Bible is the record of human responses to God's revelations. The Bible comes from many different human hands over a 1500-year period of formation from the Bronze Age to the Roman Period. Most of recent biblical criticism has attempted to discern the provenance and source of each literary unit in it as well as the messages of each unit as originally intended. This is in effect a deconstructionist exercise; the original parts are unraveled and examined each in its own right, and only subsequently in the immediate context of the larger literary unit or book to which it belongs. But the Bible is a text in itself. It all hangs together in a larger literary context so that each of the discernible units small and large, including books, may take on new hues and connotations within the whole. Sometimes this resignification of texts may be attributed to an editor, or redactor, who may or may not have altered the sources used to integrate them into a new discernible literary unit; but sometimes it is due to the intertextuality of canonical context (*IOTS*, 46–83).

**2. Canon and One God.** The (hi)story which begins in Genesis and ends in 2 Kings is made up of a number of ancient sources which are woven together to recount a rather remarkable story focused on the purposes, will, and acts of One God, Creator of heaven and earth and all that in them is. The views in the smaller units of who and what God was or is vary considerably, but they are all woven together in such a way as to present a monotheizing view of the One God who is made up quite clearly of various communities' views of numerous local, tutelary, high, earthly, and heavenly deities, gods, and goddesses, exhibiting their various characteristics and activities (e.g., Gen 6:1–4; Deut 32:8; Hos 2:10—Eng 2:8; etc.). The result is that the God who emerges in the resultant (hi)story is both a high god and a local deity, both a moving and a stationary god, both male and female (e.g., Gen 1:26–28; Jer 31:32), both national and international: creator, sustainer-nurturer, judge, and redeemer. The various surviving names of God in the text become epithets or occasional names; there is a tradition that God has seventy names.

**3. Canon and (Hi)story.** Beginning with Genesis 12 the story begins to focus on one family, the progenitors of which were Abraham and Sarah. Modern critical study has shown that the stories of the patriarchs and matriarchs in Genesis stem from various ancient sources, but in the Genesis text they are presented as succeeding generations of the Abraham-Sarah family promised in Genesis 12 and 15. Exodus tells of a slave rebellion organized and led by a person named Moses, heir of the same family; in fact the slaves though diverse in background are presented as descendants in the same family. The story as woven incorporates a long stop at the foot of Mt. Sinai and a trek of 40 years in the Sinai desert with efforts to enter the Promised Land of Canaan thwarted until the escaped slaves find themselves on the E bank of the Jordan in the plains of Moab listening to a very long speech by Moses just before his death (most of the Book of Deuteronomy). The (hi)story continues on into the book of Joshua with the settlement in the land, the book of Judges and the Philistine threats to the whole venture, the establishment of a monarchy in Samuel under Saul and David, and then the greatest rise and fall in the Bible of earthly success followed by the split of Solomon's kingdom and the total demise of the Hebrew monarchy at the end of the Book of Kings. The Abraham-Sarah family finds itself at the end of the (hi)story in destitution. That which had started with great promises which indeed were fulfilled in the glorious climax of the reigns of David and Solomon (2 Samuel 5 to 1 Kings 10) ends ignominiously. How so?

The only answer to that question lies in the full canonical text, and that fact was recognized in every shape of the canon noted above. It is still recognizable today but only if all the sources woven together are read as the text is inherited. Scholarship has discerned and tried to name some of the sources which are woven together to make the story: a Jahwist source (J) which was basically southern or Judean; an Elohist source (E) which was northern or Ephraimitic; the book of Deuteronomy (D) and a school of editors and writers which the book spawned, called Deuteronomist (Dtr); perhaps a source or perhaps only editors who seem to have a priestly perspective (P); records from the courts of both N and S; and various other minor sources. Efforts have been made to extricate some of the sources by unraveling the woven canonical text to discern earlier views of the (hi)story (such as Coote and Ord 1988); and they are viable efforts insofar as reconstruction of the sources, or even perhaps the actual history, is concerned. But none of them alone can answer the above question, only the full text as finally shaped.

The answer to the question of the apparent failure lies first in the affirmations found several times but especially in some of the great hymns, such as the Songs of the Sea (Exod 15:1–7), of Moses (Deut 32:39), and of Hannah (1 Sam 2:6–7): that God is the God of the risings and the fallings of the powerful as well as the God of death and of life, of victory and defeat (the same theme is at the heart of the Song of Mary [Luke 1:46–55] in which Luke situates the failure of Jesus as a political messiah). The fulfillment of the promises as well as the demise of the two kingdoms is set in the larger theocentric and monotheizing perspective which no one source alone can provide, not even the most monotheizing book of the Bible, Deuteronomy. The God who emerges from the whole can no longer be identified with any one deity of any of the sources but is the God of all life's experiences, what humans would call good as well as what they would call bad—such as defeats and failings. In the same manner the story that emerges cannot be found in any one of the sources alone. Just as the genre called gospel arose at a later time to explain the apparent failure of the ministry of a wisdom/prophetic teacher from the Galilee in a theocentric

monotheizing mode, so the (hi)story which begins in Genesis and moves on through Kings had no exact parallel. And it is difficult to identify one grand, final redactor who did it all because some of the most primitive materials in the story adumbrate the message of the story as a whole. The answer lies in the whole and not in the parts, not even in the intentionality of one final genius, some supposed final redactor.

The answer may be put in the following way: (a) it is not God who let us down in the defeats; (b) it is we by our sins who had let God down in disobedience and polytheistic rebellion; (c) God had in fact sent prophets early and betimes to tell us that is the way it is in the divine economy; (d) but if in destitution we take it to heart that God meant what Moses and the prophets had been saying, then God will be more than pleased to restore Israel, even though in a transformed state if need be.

**4. Torah and Prophets.** These four points are not stated as such in any one passage in the story (Brueggeman and Wolff 1982: 101–41); they emerge from the whole. The tripartite Jewish canon is shaped in such a way that these four points are celebrated over and over again. After the story is told and the defeat is underscored by the ignominy of the one surviving king of the Davidic dynasty living under house arrest in Babylon (2 Kgs 25: 27–30), then 15 case histories are presented in the Latter Prophets to illustrate the points made: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, etc. (i.e., the Books of the Three Prophets plus the Book of the Twelve), which follow the Genesis-to-Kings (hi)story. Israel had indeed been warned often and betimes, and well before it all happened. But even these 15 prophetic messages had been well anticipated by the messages of the prophets who showed up from time to time in the (hi)story itself: Samuel, Nathan, Ahijah, Elijah, Elisha, Micaiah ben Imlah, and others in the Former Prophets (Judges to Kings) anticipated by Samuel's mother's hymn (1 Sam 2:1–10).

Most of the 15 speak both of God's being God of risings and God of fallings, fallings and risings. Most of them end with the fourth point of the answer stressed: God can and will effect restoration if Israel accepts divine discipline, the purging and the cleansing (Sanders 1955: 101–4, 117–19), even the open-heart surgery to be effected by God in the adversity (Hos 5:15–6:1; Jer 30:17; 31:31–34; Ezek 36:26–27). This had been anticipated already in Torah: whereas Jeremiah early in his ministry, and indeed an early level of Deuteronomy, exhorted the people to circumcise their hearts (Jer 4:4; Deut 10:16), Deuteronomy finally says that if the people do indeed in destitution take the whole lesson to heart, God himself will do the circumcising (Deut 30:6) even though the people had failed to do so. Suffering was understood both as God's punishment for sins and as God's restorative and re-creating activity (Sanders 1972: 73–90).

The prophets also make the point time and again that God is the God of the risings and fallings of other peoples as well as of Israel. This is explicitly stated in Amos 9:7, but it is underscored in the so-called oracles against the nations contained in most of the prophetic books. Nahum and Obadiah cannot finally be read in isolation from the rest of the corpus, but should be read on the contrary as oracles against foreign nations in the same sense as the collections of such in the other prophetic books. No one book, especially of the Twelve Minor Prophets, tells the whole story; each must be read in the light of the whole. Amos' great sermon at Bethel (Amos 1:3–3:2) as received in the Amos text starts with oracles against Israel's neighbors and ends with similar indictments and sentences against Judah and Israel, as well as a theological defense of God's being Israel's judge (Amos 2:9–3:2) as well as judge of all God's creation (Amos 9:2–6). None of the points Amos makes, when the book is read in its canonical order (even given the slight variations in order in the Minor Prophets), are a surprise since they have already been made in numerous ways in the basic Torah story. Nahum and Jonah speak in solid canonical cadences of God as both judge and redeemer of Nineveh, the capital of one of Israel's worst enemies. Each can and should be read for itself in terms of the needs of the community doing the reading; but theologically they are complementary.

**5. One God and (Hi)story.** The Bible comes from differing sources over a 1500-year period ranging from the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic-Roman. This is surely the case with the Christian Bible as a whole, but it is also the case with the LXX and arguably the case with the Jewish Hebrew/Aramaic Bible. It is written in the mores and idioms of the five culture eras of those 1500 years. While it is not strictly speaking a monotheistic literature, the Bible is a monotheizing literature in the sense of exhibiting in all the periods of its formation a struggle against the various forms and expressions, mores and idioms, of the

polytheisms of those times. One of the reasons the canonical shapes of the canons, Jewish and Christian, which eventuate from the canonical process are important is that it is only from the whole that we learn how to read the parts. It is important never to absolutize the primary religious language of any of the texts it contains, especially those which exhibit pretty clearly early tribalistic views of the deities (Exod 4:24–26; 1 Sam 15:2–3) in the divine compression called God.

That which the great hymns call the risings and fallings of empires and mighty people, over which God is Lord of history, may also be called "powerflows." For most of Israel's early history Egypt had hegemony over the Palestinian area and the peoples that inhabited it, especially Israel and Judah. Then, about the middle of the 8th century B.C.E., Egypt's power waned while Assyria's waxed in the area. Toward the end of the 7th century, while Egypt tried to reassert hegemony, it was Babylonia which gained the day and remained so until the middle of the 6th century when Persia dominated the whole area, even some of the Greek cities. Persia then had hegemony over the whole area until Alexander the Great came out of Macedonia and conquered the known world. The Greek conquest of the Semitic and non-Semitic worlds of the East created a phenomenon called Hellenism which came to influence Judaism as profoundly as any culture in all its history. Rome then began to assert itself and became the dominant power in Jerusalem from 63 B.C.E. for centuries to come.

The biblical assertion that the one true God is the Lord of history takes on poignant significance when seen in the light of such an overview. All of those cultures contributed to an understanding of the one God (Mendenhall 1973: 198–214) and contributed to attempts to verbalize that understanding through the mores and idioms of those cultures. Such pluralism within a canon provides a self-corrective apparatus within its bounds; no one group of idioms should be absolutized over another. Recognition of this canonical given, or gift, would deter the pervasive tendency to locate a canon within the canon and then to abuse the rest by insisting that it all agrees with the parts chosen. This is one reason it is very important not to decanonize the NT by focusing only on a synchronic understanding of its literature within the Hellenistic culture only. Such a canonical overview of the Bible's shape is also important in understanding its assertions that God is the God of death and life, the risings and the fallings of empires. No government lasts so long, not even the eventual Roman empire, as to escape the observation that the God of the canon is not stumped by the failings nor particularly impressed by the successes.

Judaism as we know it arose (Ezekiel 37) out of the failure of the two kingdoms, and it still exists 2600 years later. And it does so in great measure because of the theological history that is related in Genesis to Kings. The great prophets whose ministries are described in the 15 books of the corpus called Latter Prophets lived, beginning with Amos, when the "powerflows" in the ANE had their greatest effect on the Abraham-Sarah folk. When Persia then became dominant over two centuries later, prophecy reached its zenith with the Isaiah of the exile (Isaiah 40–55) and was believed to have ceased completely with the introduction of the Torah to Jerusalem which Ezra brought back with him from Babylonia (Nehemiah 8) where it had been edited into the short version of the story we call the Pentateuch. It was because of the now-firm belief that God is God in fallings as well as risings, and can wrest life out of death (Deut 32:39), that the story of the settlement in the land of Canaan could be left out of the Pentateuch. One could be an observant, believing Jew without having to live in Palestine, as much a hope as that would always remain (Sanders 1972: 1–53). The function of canon, as we shall see, is to provide ever-new generations with identity (faith) and direction for life (obedience). Hence the practice arose very early in Judaism of reading the Torah in annual (rarely triennial) cycles so that the people could identify with the Abraham-Sarah call and venture. One could indeed continue to live in Babylonia (the largest Jewish community in the world until the Middle Ages, and the community which gave Judaism its official Talmud) and still be a faithful Jew.

**6. One God and Hagiographa.** The Jewish canon does not end, as does the Christian First Testament, with the prophetic corpus. On the contrary, there is still the third section, the Hagiographa. In the majority of the best Tiberian and Spanish mss, this section begins with Chronicles, a revisionist history of the whole story focusing on the Temple and Temple worship of God, with emphasis on David and Solomon, and with a retelling of many episodes giving hope that one can indeed be obedient. The Genesis to Kings

(hi)story had as its major burden its explanation of the failures and defeats and hence gives a fairly pessimistic picture of human efforts at monotheizing obedience and loyalty to God. Chronicles has a quite different perspective on human capacity to obey. Some of the realism of Samuel and Kings is retuned to give hope that Jews, wherever they might be, hopefully in and around Jerusalem, could please God. A Jew is called to the service of God and Judaism is the expression of that service (Neusner 1984: 90–98). The center and heart of Judaism is *ʿabôdāh,* "service" in both senses: worship and obedience. Many Jews, precisely the remnant that did not assimilate to a dominant non-Jewish culture in which they lived, must have asked many times how they could live so as to serve and please God. One needs to have hope, first and foremost, that it is possible to live a meaningful, that is, an obedient life.

While Judaism, like that of old Israel and Judah, is community- and covenant-oriented, it also is largely family-oriented and considerably more focused on the individual. Jeremiah and Ezekiel had both prepared the remnant for understanding individual responsibility (Jer 31:29–34; Ezekiel 18) and for the hope it could bring; individuals would not have to bear responsibility any longer for all the old sins of the earlier generations (Isa 40:1–3) despite the realism in the old view (Exod 34:7). Chronicles not only offers hope and some examples of obedience, in its review of the old history, it ends on a note of real hope, the edict of Cyrus, King of Persia, that Jews could return to Jerusalem and rebuild the temple (2 Chr 36:22–23). In many of the best mss the Psalter begins immediately after Chronicles with Psalm 1 on the same column as the happy account of Cyrus' edict: "Happy is the person who walks not in the counsel of the wicked … but whose delight is in the Torah of God on which he meditates day and night" (Ps 1:1–2). Many of the old royal and community psalms in the Masoretic Psalter are resignified in their canonical context into psalms the individual or the family can identify with no matter their original intent or use.

In those same mss the Psalter is followed by Job and Proverbs, then the five scrolls, and finally (hi)story is resumed with Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah closing the Jewish canon. In such a shaping there is a return to recounting (hi)story and a closing of the ranks to avoid extinction of Judaism by assimilation, but the emphasis is on hope and the opportunity for individuals and families to live obedient lives. It has been suggested that the Writings in their canonical shape, no matter in what order the individual books are found, provided for Judaism a way to live and exist *in stasis* (Morgan 1990), in community, in whatever locale Judaism was practiced. But its steady assumption is belief in One God. Job takes monotheism more seriously perhaps than any other book dealing with undeserved suffering. The 31 chapters of the Book of Proverbs provide all kinds of suggestions for living obedient lives under One God in all the areas which the laws in the Pentateuch perhaps do not touch.

The five scrolls are read during annual feasts and a fast and deal with ways to understand living under One God (even if God is not mentioned, as in the Book of Esther) on the heights as well as in the dark passages of life. Qohelet says it is normal to question how anyone can believe in One God, and it is important to do so. Doubt is an essential part of faith, otherwise it may be only superstition. The Song of Songs celebrates God's gift of *nepeš* or *eros* and resonates both with the first commandment in the Bible, to be fruitful and multiply (Gen 1:22 and 28), and with the *Shemaʿ,* in which is the command to love God with all the *nepeš* or self (Deut 6:5). Daniel looks at the larger picture of fortunes rising and falling and how a Jew who truly believes in One God can tolerate living under oppression and even persecution.

**7. Septuagint.** The LXX provides a quite different context for everything after the Pentateuch. The theological history expressed in the Jewish canon is considerably resignified by the different number and order of books in LXX manuscripts, but there is a strong sense of (hi)story nonetheless. While it is undoubtedly true that there was no Alexandrian canon as such (Sundberg 1964; *IDBSup,* 136–140), codices of the LXX provide interesting contexts for reading the different books in them. Whereas the tripartite Masoretic canon openly stresses a prophetic understanding and perspective on nations' risings and fallings, especially Israel's, under the aegis of the one true God, and then how surviving Jews can live lives of service and obedience, the LXX mss tend to put the historical books together in the order of 1–4 Kingdoms (Samuel-Kings), Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther (Sinaiticus; cf. Vaticanus and Alexandrinus). Ruth is placed right after Judges, or in some just before it. Tobit, Judith, and 1–4 Maccabees are in nearly all LXX mss and extend the sense of history into the Hellenistic-Roman period.

It, too, is a theological history in a monotheizing mode but the accents are different and history tends to a speculative perspective with accommodation to the messianic and apocalyptic view of the goals of history. Daniel is grouped with the prophets, often after Ezekiel.

The LXX, while originating in Jewish communities where Greek was the principal language and Hebrew and Aramaic were less well known, was ultimately preserved by Christianity (Kraft 1978). The so-called LXX was the Bible of the early church (Sundberg 1964; McDonald fc.) until the formation of the strictly Christian canon which was by the 4th century C.E. made up of the Greek First (or "Old") Testament (of varying content and order after the Pentateuch) and the peculiarly Christian Second (or "New") Testament (of varying content and order—Metzger 1987: 191–250, 295–300). It was not until Jerome devoted 35 years of his life (d. 420 C.E.) to learning and translating Hebrew/Aramaic mss of the First Testament with a rabbi in Bethlehem that the kind of stability represented by mss of the Vulgate entered the picture, and even then not until well after his death. While Jerome did not adopt the content and order of the Jewish canon but kept those of the LXX as he knew it, by translating a clearly proto-Masoretic copy of the text of the Jewish Bible he in large measure brought the Vulgate into closer textual (though not canonical) relation to what we know as the MT, undoubtedly because of the proto-MT biblical mss of his Bethlehem mentor. From the end of the 1st century of our era up to that point the Greek First Testament was a peculiarly Christian tradition and may well reflect Christian interests if not in the actual texts then in the inclusion and order of books after the Pentateuch (Kraft 1978: 207–26). Jerome not only succeeded in regard to the Roman Catholic Church (though not the Eastern churches), his attitude of pursuing the *Hebraica Veritas* of the text was adopted by the 16th-century Reformers in Europe; in fact Protestantism, while keeping a generally LXX sense of the order of books after the Pentateuch, limited the content to that of the Jewish canon, even bracketing the so-called deuterocanonicals or apocrypha in a kind of appendix. As noted above, it was not until the 19th century that any editions of the Protestant Bible were published with only the content, though still not the order, of the Jewish canon in the First Testament.

**D. Canon as Function**

**1. Canon as Process.** The other meaning of "canon," *norma normans,* or "collection of authoritative books," with focus on how the canon functions in the believing communities that find their identity in a canon and base programs of obedience on it, has also received attention in recent study (Sanders 1975; 1984a; 1984b; 1987; Knight 1975; Fishbane 1985). This aspect of study of canon does not totally ignore questions of inclusion/exclusion and the juxtaposition of the contents of a canon, but its focus is on early traditioning processes and the role they played in development of the concept of canon and its function in believing communities, and hence may cut across and challenge readings done in canonical context (see C.1.–C.4. above). Canon understood as process valorizes biblical pluralism and intracanonical dialogue.

It has often been observed that the event of discovery of the scroll of Deuteronomy in 621 B.C.E. and its adoption by King Josiah as the authority for his reformation (2 Kings 22–23) was the beginning of the actual canon (Pfeiffer 1948: 50–70; *IDB* 1: 502–7). There is recorded in the Bible itself royal and official activity by Josiah that suggests a recognition of the authority of the scroll by the community in Jerusalem under Josiah's sponsorship (2 Kgs 22:8–16; 23:1–3); the scroll functioned as legitimizing authority for Josiah's reformation and seems to have been adopted as authoritative at least throughout Josiah's reign, but apparently not thereafter as long as the monarchy lasted, which was almost another quarter century (2 Kgs 23:25). After the kingdom of Judah was destroyed (587 B.C.E.) when those in exile (especially in Babylon) began to reflect on what had happened (Sanders 1987: 18–30), Deuteronomy became the cornerstone of the eventual canon (Sanders 1987: 175–91). Its position as the climax of the eventual Torah with its massive emphasis on belief in One God (Lohfink 1963) gave it pride of place in the whole eventual canon with influence backward to Genesis and forward through the rest of the whole canon, whether MT or LXX (Sanders fc.). But the prehistory of canon as function antedates Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy could function as it did for Josiah and the whole community of Judah because there had been authoritative traditions functioning in a similar manner well before it. When the Pentateuch as Torah came into being on the demise of prophecy in the time of Ezra, with Deuteronomy as its capstone, it

functioned as canon (*norma normans*) for Judaism well before canon as an authoritative collection of books came into being (Aicher 1906: 10; Sanders 1972: 1–9).

Canon *as function* antedates canon *as shape.* The function of a written canon has antecedents in the very process by which the concept arose, that is, in the function of authoritative traditions when there was as yet no written literature deemed canonical in the sense of *norma normata,* or shape. One of the results of form-critical study of the First ("Old") Testament has been recognition of the function of early recitals of Israel's early and formative history under God (von Rad *PHOE* 1–78; Wright 1952; Sanders 1972: 1–30; 1975: 75–106; Groves 1987: 7–62). It has long been recognized that most all texts build on earlier texts and traditions. This, too, is properly called intertextuality. We used the term above to refer to how reading a text within an intertextual context such as canon may be different from reading that same text as a totally independent literary unit, as is done in historical, form, and even redaction criticism. But recognition of how a later text "rings in the changes," as it were, on earlier traditions and texts by citing, paraphrasing, alluding to them, or imitating their form, is also intertextuality. In a sense all texts are to some degree intertextual since all new texts in order to be read with understanding presuppose what has gone before in the community's traditions, oral or written. This is recognized as well by others than form critics in the case of the Jewish Bible (Sandmel 1961: 105–22; Fishbane 1985: 91–524).

**2. Textual Fluidity.** All such observations point to the early function of traditions and texts in nearly all parts and forms of literature within the Bible. One of the most interesting aspects of intrabiblical intertextuality is the fluidity of citation and allusion. Exact quotation is rare such as the verbatim citation of Micah 3:12 in Jer 26:18; attribution is also rare within the Jewish canon (outside the historical books where even so it is not common until Chronicles) such as the mention of Jeremiah's prophecy in Ezra 1:1. But fluid references to earlier traditions abound, and these include reference to the authoritative traditions known from the biblical stories relating the great episodes in the Hexateuch as well as in the Davidic traditions (Sanders 1972: 1–30). When they were alluded to or cited for the most part it was done for the authoritative value in them recognizable by the believing community for which the new speech or text was being composed. They were brought to mind to argue a point. And because a great deal of the Bible in its early forms was oral, fluidity presented a great advantage; the tradition referred to could be shaped to fit the new argument. It did not have to be an exact citation. This situation continues to be the case right on through the literature of Early Judaism, Apocrypha, Pseuepigrapha, Dead Sea Scrolls, even Philo and Josephus, including the Christian Second Testament. It should be clearly understood that the fluidity of citation one sees in all that massive amount of literature is not primarily to be attributed to poor memory, which was not a truly pertinent factor (Balch 1988). Relative fluidity and adaptability were major characteristics of the whole history of formation of the Bible from earliest times through to the stabilization of texts discussed above complete by the end of the 1st century of our era, including citations (Sanders 1987: 9–40; 125–51). Being a written text *and* officially adopted by King Josiah as the foundation of national policy, Deuteronomy began a process of shift from relative fluidity to relative stability that still was not finally complete by the end of the 1st century C.E. (Sanders 1987: 175–91).

**3. Adaptability and Stability.** Adaptability is a major characteristic of the very concept of canon. Throughout the period of canonical process in antiquity up to stabilization of text and canon, and even to a limited extent beyond it down to today, a canon is marked by its malleability; citations and allusions throughout the literature of Early Judaism including the Second Testament exhibit the relative adaptability of authoritative texts and traditions. Free choice among numerous modern translations of the Bible is an exponent of fluidity of text today. Rewriting of earlier authoritative texts was common, and so was reshaping them a bit to fit the new argument or affirmation of faith. To call a tradition or text "canonical" is to say it will be available for later communities to apply to their new situations. Even when stabilization of text became a major factor, ways were found to get canonical texts to fit later problems, and the need to render the stable adaptable induced hermeneutical regulations to control the exercise (Sanders 1987: 142–51).

But a community's need to adapt what had been accepted as authoritative meant that those texts exhibiting multivalency were appealed to time and again, and thus acquired a special, and eventually a

canonical, status (Talmon 1987: 67–69). Another characteristic of canon, at least in the case of both the Jewish and the Christian, in contrast perhaps to the Koran, is the compression, noted above, of various genres and kinds of literature by many different authors over almost 1500 years. Of necessity that very fact of compression of such diverse literature renders the canon pluralistic to a limited extent. The adaptability of canonical literature may therefore be found in its internal contradictions. When the community later needed the challenge of one portion it was there; when it needed the comfort of another, that too was there. When the community needed to settle and build, when it faced the challenges of peace and political stability, there were portions to call on to validate the activity; when the community faced upheaval and disruption and had once more to be uprooted, there were portions to call on to validate the activity. Multivalency of a single passage, and the pluralism of the whole, meant that accuracy of citation, when that became a necessity in itself after full stabilization, did not curtail the ability of a community to adapt the canonical to new phases of life. Even so, if need be, mixing and matching of passages from different portions of Scripture could yield the adaptability needed. The limited pluralism that is in a canon also provides it with a built-in self-corrective, a sort of prophetic, apparatus. For example, a policy or program might be constructed on certain portions of Scripture; then, when it would need modifying, corrections could also be rooted in Scripture (Sanders 1984b: 341–62).

One of the most interesting observations of community use of canon is the pervasive tendency to deny its pluralism. It is supposedly thought that to be honest about a canon's pluralism would be to deny its authority. God cannot be self-contradictory, it is argued (as though limited human experience and intelligence is capable of judging the fullness of the Integrity of Reality, that is the Oneness of God). Canons, precisely because they are human responses to divine revelation, of necessity reflect the ambiguity of reality. Denial of this point, supposedly out of fear of loss of canonical authority, has sometimes led to the danger of idolatry of the Bible, precisely worshiping what is believed to be a gift of God instead of worshiping God the Giver of all gifts; that tendency in some communities of faith has been called bibliolatry. To deny the Bible's pluralism is to deny its prophetic voice when a challenge to what has been constructed on it might later be needed, its built-in self-corrective apparatus.

**4. Canonical Hermeneutics.** The mid-term between the fluidity or adaptability of traditions and texts and their stability is hermeneutics (Sanders 1987: 61–73). It is always important to ask *how* the text or tradition was being read in the new situation. Jesus is reported to have asked a contemporary, "What is written in Torah and how do you read it [Luke 10:26]?" What is the pertinent text and by what hermeneutic do you read it? What is the conceptuality lying back of the (newer) text being studied and what is the view of reality at play when the older tradition is being called upon? These are crucial questions, and they need to be asked whenever intertextuality is identified in study of a text (Neusner 1983: 43–51). The prophets often surprised, even shocked their contemporaries by the ways in which they caused a tradition to function (Sanders 1987: 87–105) in their arguments and challenges to their people. Study of controversy passages including the disputations between so-called true and false prophets is very revealing in terms of how hermeneutics can cause a text or tradition to be applied to a new situation in two opposing ways.

**a. Challenge.** Amos' fluid citation of the basic Torah story in 2:9–11 points to a contrast between the people's current activity and what God had done for them in the Exodus-to-Entrance story; in fact, the contrast is highlighted by the Amos text having God refer first to the divine gift of land (v 9), precisely because Amos' indictment of his contemporaries focused on their maltreatment of the poor and the needy in the land which God had given them (2:6–8). The force of God's "remembering" that (as well as God's lifting their heads out of the dust of the earth [cf. 2:7] of Egypt when they were the poor and needy) is poignant indeed. But when then a hearer apparently intervened contradicting Amos' use of those authoritative traditions, Amos agreed with the main point made, namely that they were the only family on earth God knew in the way he knew Israel, but went on to claim that authoritative tradition as the very base of his argument that God would therefore punish them for their iniquities (3:2). The opponent had assumed that the tradition meant that God was their God and would take care of them no matter what. The difference in hermeneutics is that Amos understands God also to be the Creator God of all peoples (9:2–7)

and hence free to judge Israel as well as others. The same distinction in hermeneutics, or how the so-called true prophets read Israel's common authoritative traditions, can be traced throughout the prophetic corpus: God is both Redeemer of Israel and Creator of all peoples, hence free to express grace to Israel and to others, and free to judge Israel as well as others (Sanders 1987: 87–105).

Hermeneutics make a difference no matter what tradition is being called on, as Isaiah showed in adducing the Davidic royal traditions in a challenging way in his time (Isa 1:21–27; 28:9–22; et passim). What must be kept in mind is that there are three factors always at play in adapting authoritative traditions, hence canon: (1) the text or tradition called on; (2) the sociopolitical and historical situation to which the text is being adapted; and (3) the implicit hermeneutics used to apply the tradition or text. If one denies the importance of any one of the three the very canonical dimension of the exercise may be missed. This is especially the case when the historical provenance of a text, such as the ones just noted in Amos and Isaiah, is bracketed or reduced in importance (*IOTS*, 56–57); to reduce canonical context to its literary aspect only, as important as that is (see C.1. above), is to reduce the very canonical dimension of the text (Sanders 1987: 153–74), and may indeed reduce its relevance or adaptability to later settings by focusing only on the hermeneutic moves on the literary level. The application of the tradition about the call of Abraham and Sarah and God's promise of land, which the people cited to Ezekiel to offer themselves hope upon receipt of the news of the fall of Jerusalem, is refuted by Ezekiel (33:23–29) but affirmed by the prophet of the exile (Isa 51:1–3). Sociopolitical and historical context has to be carefully discerned as to what the needs of the community are in order to choose a text or tradition to apply and then choose the hermeneutics by which to apply it. The ancient and the new sociopolitical contexts have to be exegeted as carefully as does the text (Gottwald 1985: 301–21).

**b. Comfort.** The pluralism characteristic of the Bible means that we should be cautious in using the terms "true" or "false" with regard to the prophets in the controversy passages or to their theology, for that which is "false" in one historical setting may well be true in another. There is an ancient, anonymous saying to the effect that the same text may afflict the comfortable and also comfort the afflicted. The prophetic corpus as well as the Gospels are full of passages which indicate that the older text or tradition read or cited or alluded to could be understood by the people as comforting but is applied by the prophet or Jesus so as to challenge (Luke 4:16–30; Sanders 1975: 75–106).

The hermeneutic that emerges from study of the implicit hermeneutics in most passages which exhibit such intertextuality is a theocentric monotheizing hermeneutic, that is, the focus is on what the One God of All has done in given human situations and then what God would yet do in another. There are passages, however, in which God's dominion over all creation is not the view of reality underlying the individual text. There are texts in both testaments which seem to present a tribal view of God; these are often the ones called on by communities of faith when out of fear they feel they need to battle an enemy of some sort or need to feel they are right and others wrong. Judaism and Christianity have often called on such texts in time of conflict; and they are there.

The question then arises as to whether it is canonically legitimate to read such passages with a hermeneutic different from the one implicit in the text. Is it canonically fair to superimpose a hermeneutic that seems to emerge from most biblical passages upon those that do not? Is it canonically legitimate to read the parts in the light of the whole? The answer is Yes (see C.1.–C.7. above). Most of the prophets did so; Jesus did so. The hermeneutical move is first to theologize in reading all passages, using a theocentric monotheizing view of reality, and then only thereafter to moralize, or ask what it means for the new situation in which it is being read. To do so would, in a prophetic manner, turn the passage inside-out, as it were, and expose modern tendencies to tribalize God just as the old text seems to do. The next move would then be to ask if the One God of All was instead commanding the enemy to challenge us. Very important in reading any passage is to be conscious of the particular party in it with which we readers are identifying. Nathan in effect told David that he should identify with the rich man in the mirror of the parable he had told, enabling David to judge himself (2 Sam 12:1–14). Jeremiah castigated the slaveholders in his time for reenslaving their slaves after they had freed them, and he did so by preaching on the tradition we know in Genesis about Abraham and the covenant between the pieces of the carcasses

of the sacrificial animals (Gen 15:17–21). Normally the people would, without thinking, use the hermeneutic of God as the covenant God of Israel and hence their God; that is, normally they would identify with Abraham in reading or hearing the tradition. But Jeremiah, on the contrary, said they should identify that time, in that situation (not at all times), with the carcasses cut in two, for that is what would happen to them (Jer 34:17–22). Isaiah agreed with his contemporaries that God had indeed risen as Holy Warrior to assist David in his battles with the Philistines on Mt. Perazim and in the Valley of Gibeon (2 Sam 5:17–25; 1 Chr 14:8–16) and also agreed that God was still Holy Warrior, but in their time (probably 701 B.C.E.) God would instead be at the head of the enemy troops entering Israel (Isa 28:21–22). Jesus agreed that God was sending the messiah to announce good news to the poor and release to captives; but in contrast to the way Isa 61:1–2 was typically understood by his contemporaries (as comfort for their national suffering under Roman oppression), Jesus believed God was free instead to extend grace and comfort to whomever (Luke 4:16–30).

The triumph of the Deuteronomic emphasis on God's being the One God of All, when linked up in the canonical compression of all the Bible with such implicit hermeneutics as seen in the above examples, is also canonical warrant for reading the parts in the light of the whole. This means that the original "intentionality" of individual authors may canonically be overridden in the adaptation of a passage to a new situation. This is in part what is meant by understanding the Bible as canon. It would mean reading the NT not only synchronically in its Hellenistic context, though that is important to do, but also reading it diachronically or canonically in the light of the monotheizing hermeneutic of the canon as a whole.

It does not mean, however, that authorial intentionality is denied altogether. On the contrary, careful exegesis of individual passages is a part of the ongoing canonical process of intrabiblical dialogue; and the one applying a passage may decide that the need of the community for comfort is greater than its need for challenge. Prophetic imagination (Brueggeman 1978) requires that the preacher or teacher doing the adapting ask who, in an increasingly smaller world today, is being threatened when comfort for one's own community is being affirmed. It may indeed be decided that comfort is important, as the Isaiah of the exile knew. One cannot deny the hermeneutics of the so-called false prophets in the preexilic period without denying the very same hermeneutics used by the Babylonian Isaiah (chaps 40–55) when Israel was on the verge of extinction. There is richness in the dialogue between disagreeing colleagues in the same situation, just as there is richness in the pluralism of the canon as a whole.

**5. God and "Powerflows."** The canon as a whole indicates clearly that God is the God of both the risings and the fallings of life, the victories and the defeats, life and death, the great reversals of which life is made—all the human "powerflows" and all the pluralism of the ambiguity of reality. But in and through it all the Bible as a whole, as canon, celebrates the Oneness of God, that is, the Integrity of Reality. That Integrity is not measurable by any human means (Isa 40:12–26; Job 28). It may not be possible even to comprehend it just as perhaps no one contributor to the whole could understand the full canonical Reality. It may be that only a faith based on these compressed texts as canon can even apprehend it.

God's Oneness or Reality's Integrity is both ontological and ethical. It is a Oneness both in being and in character, and just as there may be no human means of measuring the being so there may be no human means (as the Book of Job seems to say) to affirm, in any one generation, the ethical integrity of God as Reality. A thorough reading of the Bible as canon induces the belief that there is moral fiber to the universe despite all the obvious and evident injustice. God did not just create the world and leave it be. God did not just liberate some slaves from Egyptian bondage and leave them be. God became involved and addressed an assembled community on a mountain, more than once perhaps (Matthew 5–7), with clear suggestions as to how to integrate their own lives with respect to the divine will. God is not only Creator and hence free; God is also Redeemer and hence involved with creation. God made justice the line and righteousness the plummet (Isa 28:17) every bit as much as God made the world in the first place. The Bible as text compressed into canon gives, in multiple and widely varying situations, hermeneutic clues on how to apply those suggestions in ever-new situations as they arise. To call a Bible

a community's canon is to say that it continues to be relevant and adaptable to the needs of that community, and of the world.

**E. Canon and Inspiration**

The traditional view of the inspiration of Scripture holds that God or God's Holy Spirit inspired the individual writers and contributors to the scriptural canon. This seems to receive support in the believed authorship of Moses, first of the scroll found in the Temple in 621 B.C.E. (even though the account in Kings is not clear on the point [2 Kgs 23:25]), and then of the fully compiled Torah Ezra brought with him from Babylonia to Jerusalem (Neh 8:1). Josephus lends credence to the view in his defense of the source he principally used in writing his first work, *The Jewish War*. In the defense he notes that the authors of his source, the 22 books of Jewish Scripture, were prophets inspired by God (*AgAp* 1.37). In this line of thinking tradition developed the view that all the authors of Scripture lived before the demise of prophecy and hence of such inspiration (Leiman 1976: 128; Talmon 1987: 58–59).

It has been recognized, however, that "inspired" and "canonical" are not synonymous terms (Leiman 1976: 127). On the contrary, many in Judaism and Christianity are said to have been "inspired by God," yet their writings are not in any community's canon (Metzger 1987: 254–57); whether or not these can be called Scripture is disputed (Sundberg, *IDBSup*, 139; cf. Metzger 1987: 30). In any case, the concept of inspiration is a broader one than that of canon. Jewish views of the broad concept of Torah, Roman Catholic doctrine, and even such a traditionist as John Calvin insist on a far broader activity of divine inspiration than only on a canon. Even the most traditional statement in the NT on the matter (2 Tim 3:16; cf. John 11:51) is not exclusivist; in fact, it is ambiguous.

Nonetheless, the view persists in many circles, openly in some conservative Protestant groups but also covertly in some scholarship, that inspiration of Scripture means divine inspiration of the individual contributors in antiquity. The image has been that of God or the divine spirit impacting each individual whose words were then more or less accurately heard, understood, transmitted orally, and/or recorded for posterity. This focus on the ancient individuals is even evident in deconstructionist scholarship that unravels the several contributors to various literary units and books, labeling certain portions of the Bible "primary" (or genuine) and "secondary" (or even spurious). This has unfortunately caused otherwise honest, serious (but conservative) students of Scripture to overlook any number of important data in order to continue to sponsor single-person authorship of certain canonical books.

There is nothing, however, in Jewish or Christian Scripture or even tradition to hinder a different, more realistic view of the inspiration of Scripture, particularly of a canon of a given community of faith. That view (Sanders 1984a: xv–xviii; see Knight 1975: 5–54) has its roots in Scripture and tradition, both Jewish and Christian. Taking up the very traditional view of the work of God or God's Spirit (*Shekinah* in Hebrew) being far broader than on a canon only or only on certain individuals, one can just as faithfully affirm the work of the Spirit all along the path of formation of the Bible, or a canon, as on those individuals whose names happen to be recorded (Simon 1685: "Preface de l'auteur").

The broader pneumatic activity would include the so-called secondary passages as well as the so-called primary ones. It would include the work of editors and redactors and scribes. It would include the pseudepigraphic writings now recognized to pervade both biblical testaments (Pokorny 1984: 496; Metzger 1987: 284–85). It would include recognition of how much ancient Israel and the early church learned from others through international wisdom and of the hermeneutics by which such wisdom was adapted into Israel's and Judaism's monotheizing struggles throughout the history of the formation of the canon. It would include recognition of how the traditioning process through that history included dialogue with the wisdom and thinking of others, and celebration of how the same process continues to the present. It would include the canonical process of repeating, reciting, and recommending to the next generation and to neighboring communities certain texts (Sanders 1987: 160–66), the broad acceptance of which favored these for final incorporation in the community's canon (Talmon 1987: 67–68). It would exclude the untenable effort on the part of a believing community to limit the work of God or of God's Spirit, and would challenge the tendency in some so-called fundamentalist circles toward bibliolatry, which is an abuse of the concept of canon, and is itself a form of idolatry.

Understanding canon as having been guided by the Spirit through all its stages of formation permits it to continue functioning for a believing community as paradigm of how that Reality called "God" impacted the vision and thinking of ancestors in the faith—and how it may continue to do so in the present.

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JAMES A. SANDERS

## *NEW TESTAMENT*

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A. Introduction
B. History of the NT Canon
    1. General
    2. The History of Component Collections
    3. Developments in the 4th and 5th Centuries
    4. Influences in the Formation of the NT Canon

5. Criteria of Canonicity

C. Theological and Hermeneutical Significance of the NT Canon

1. The Scope of the Canon
2. Scripture and Tradition
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4. The Hermeneutical Value of the Canon

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**A. Introduction**

In reference to the NT, the term "canon" calls special attention both to its form, that is, a fixed collection of precisely 27 early Christian documents, and to its function, that is, literature that is normative for the faith and life of the Christian community. Both of these connotations belonged to the Greek word *kanōn:* from its fundamental sense, "a tool for measurement," there arose the extended meanings "list," "catalog" (probably derived from the series of calibrations on a measuring tool), and also "norm," "standard." When the term began in the 4th century to be applied to Christian writings it was with the sense of "list": a document was said to be "in the canon" or "canonical" if it was "on the list" of those writings which were read, or were permitted to be read, in Christian assemblies of worship. The word "canon" had previously been used in Christian as in secular circles also in the sense of "norm" or "standard," and though this was not its initial meaning in reference to Christian writings, it followed close behind, since those writings which were used for liturgical reading were certainly regarded as authoritative.

It is customary in modern discussion and necessary for clarity to observe a distinction between the concepts "scripture" and "canon." "Scripture" signifies writings that are considered religiously authoritative, without regard to their precise number or a fixed collection; "canon," however, is a matter of a definitive, closed list of such writings. Thus the availability of scripture does not imply a canon, but a canon presupposes scripture and delimits its scope. At its inception Christianity inherited from Judaism a rich trove of scripture, including the Law of Moses, the prophetic books, and a great variety of other writings that were authoritative for various groups of Jews, but it did not inherit a canon, for Judaism had not in the 1st century made a list or collection setting limits to its scripture. Christianity, in turn, produced a large body of its own literature (letters, gospels, narratives of apostolic acts, apocalypses, church orders, etc.), much of which became authoritative for various Christian groups, and so came to be regarded as scripture alongside Jewish scripture. But Christianity did not for a long time attempt to create a canon. Not until the end of the 2d century did Christians begin to take an interest in defining the scope of authoritative Jewish writings (Melito, in Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 4.26.13–14) and thus begin to think in terms of an "Old Testament" canon, an issue that continued to be debated into the 5th century. And not until the 4th century did Christians begin to draw up lists of authoritative Christian writings and thus attempt to form a "New Testament" canon, the extent of which was not fully agreed even in the 5th century. Hence during most of its first four centuries, the church had scripture, but no set canon.

The designations "Old Testament" and "New Testament" by which the Christian collections of Jewish and Christian scripture came to be known are obviously correlative, implying each other. But originally these phrases had nothing to do with such writings; they referred instead to the covenant (Gk *diathēkē;* Lat *testamentum*) of God, first with Israel, then with the Christian community. Although the "old covenant," by virtue of having a law, could be said to be "written" and "read," the "new covenant" did not have a literary dimension (2 Cor 3:4–18). When in the late 2d century covenant terminology began to be applied to Jewish and Christian scripture (Melito, Clement), the sense was that these were books pertaining to or belonging to the old or the new covenant, not that these books were themselves the covenants.

**B. History of the NT Canon**

**1. General.** Although Christianity had recourse from the beginning to Jewish scripture, Christianity was not originally a scriptural religion in the same sense as Judaism. The faith of the earliest Christian community was evoked by and centered on a person, Jesus of Nazareth, and he was apprehended by them

not first of all in texts but in preaching, in oral traditions of his words and deeds, and in charismatic experience. Only secondarily were the scriptures of Judaism called into service for the exposition and defense of the Christian faith; they did not constitute its basis. The primary authorities for earliest Christianity were rather "the Lord" (Jesus' teaching and acts, preserved mainly in oral traditions) and "the apostles" (the teachings of the witnesses to Jesus). The appeal to Jewish scripture was made only in the light of these, and consequently the early Christian use of Jewish scripture was selective in both content and method of interpretation, stressing its prophetic and messianic elements.

Christian writings began to be composed by the middle of the 1st century, and gradually increased in number and variety, but none of them was composed as scripture. Though some religious authority might be claimed by their authors (when they were not anonymous) or might lie in their content (when it was traditional), this did not constitute them as scripture for their authors or their readers. Throughout the 1st century and far into the 2d, whenever scripture (*graphe*) was mentioned or cited, it was the Jewish scriptures that were in view. Only very gradually, through their use in worship and teaching alongside the Jewish scripture, did Christian writings acquire the status of scripture in the church. And only after a large number of writings had come to be valued in this way was it necessary to define their number and to fix a canon. The history of the NT canon, then, was a process extending from the composition of Christian literature in the 1st and early 2d centuries, through the spread, use, and progressive esteem of these writings in the 2d and 3d centuries, to the determination of a fixed list of authoritative Christian scripture in the 4th and 5th centuries. This process was not only lengthy but also uneven, moving at a different pace and even in somewhat different directions among the religional constituencies of the ancient church. Further, the process was not always deliberate or self-conscious, but was often influenced simply by historical circumstance. Indeed it is remarkable how little explicit evidence remains about the development of the NT canon. To reconstruct its history it is necessary to rely on (1) the actual use of early Christian documents by Christian writers of the 2d through the 5th centuries, noting the frequency and manner of their citations and inferring the value they attached to them; (2) explicit discussions and judgments by individual writers or ecclesiastical councils about the authority of various documents; and (3) the contents and arrangements of ancient manuscripts, together with the various aids (concordances, prologues, etc.) they include. All of these must be evaluated in the light of what is otherwise known about the history of the ancient church, of which the history of the canon is a part, and to which it is deeply indebted.

**2. The History of Component Collections.** The NT canon is not so much a collection of individual documents as it is a collection of collections: its major components are a collection of gospels, a collection of letters of Paul, a collection of "catholic epistles." Outside these stand only two documents, Acts and Revelation. Each of these smaller collections had its own distinctive history, and must be treated individually.

**a. The Letters of Paul.** Paul's letters, the earliest surviving Christian writings, were also the earliest to be collected. They were unlikely candidates for scriptural regard because they are actual letters closely tailored to the particular circumstances of the individual congregations to which they were sent, and their general relevance and value were not clear to all (Dahl 1962). On the other hand, Paul was reputed over a wide area, and his letters did claim the authority of an apostle of Christ. By the early 2d century Paul's letters had been gathered up and were known as a group by Ignatius, Polycarp, and the author of 2 Peter (3:15–16). It is not clear how much this development owed to an informal exchange of the letters among Paul's churches (cf. Col 4:16; Mowry 1944), and how much it was due to the careful efforts of an individual (Goodspeed 1933; Schmithals 1972) or a group of Paul's associates and admirers who after the apostle's death sought to promote Paul's teaching by preserving, collecting, and disseminating his letters (Schenke 1975), but the last possibility gains plausibility from the presence in the collection of pseudonymous writings and evidence of editorial reworking.

The earliest known form of the collection of Paul's letters contained 10 letters, omitting the Pastorals. These 10 letters were presented as "letters to seven churches," letters to the same community being taken together (1–2 Corinthians, 1–2 Thessalonians, Colossians, Philemon). This collection seems to have been

available in two different editions, one with the letters arranged by decreasing length, giving the order Corinthians, Romans, Ephesians, Thessalonians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians (+ Philemon) (Finegan 1956; Frede 1969; Dahl 1978), and the other, apparently attempting to order the letters chronologically, giving the order Galatians, Corinthians, Romans, Thessalonians, Ephesians (=Laodiceans), Colossians [+Philemon], Philippians (Frede 1964; Dahl 1978). The latter order is attested for Marcion (ca. 140) but also for Syrian sources and is presupposed by the prologues to the Pauline epistles that occur in many Latin manuscripts. This order was once thought to be a creation of Marcion, but it is now clear that Marcion simply took over a preexisting edition of the letters of Paul, retaining its sequence (Dahl 1978) as well as many of its peculiar textual features (Clabeaux 1989). The collection of 10 letters was eventually, but already in the 2d century, superseded by a collection of 13 letters, the Pastorals being added. In this edition the "seven churches" rubric was abandoned, and the letters were ordered individually longest to shortest, with the personal letters being placed after the community letters. This resulted in the sequence familiar to modern readers of the New Testament.

In spite of the availability of Paul's collected letters by the early 2d century, most Christian writers of the 2d century show little knowledge or use of them. Only Marcion and the gnostics seem to have relied heavily on them. This circumstance has sometimes been thought to show that Paul became discredited by heterodox appeals to his letters and so was ignored by more traditional writers. But this is not likely. No Christian writers of this period show an animus toward Paul and his letters; the issues and genres of 2d-century Christian literature did not encourage strong dependence on Paul; and there is a progressive tendency in the period to an ever greater use of the letters (Rensberger 1981; Lindemann 1979). By the end of the 2d century Paul's letters were heavily invoked by Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian in North Africa, and Irenaeus in Gaul, and had attained fully scriptural status over a very wide area, a fact which implies their long and broad usage through most of the 2d century.

The Epistle to the Hebrews, which even the ancient church doubted was written by Paul, nevertheless came ultimately to be attached to the collection of Pauline letters, ordinarily at the end, after the personal letters. This document had been respected and used in the Egyptian church from an early time, and it appears within the Pauline collection (standing second after Romans) in the earliest extant manuscript of the Pauline collection, $P^{46}$ (which has an Egyptian provenance). In the Western church, however, Hebrews had little popularity, and its authority did not become established there until the 4th century. Hebrews did not belong to the earliest editions of Paul's letters (cf. Anderson 1966; Aland 1979).

**b. The Gospels.** From the beginning Christianity attributed the highest authority to "the Lord," preserving in memory and transmitting by word of mouth accounts of his teachings and acts. The earliest gospels are partial deposits of this oral tradition, but the oral tradition was so rich in content and established by custom that it persisted well beyond the first written gospels and was respected, and often preferred to written accounts, until about the middle of the 2d century (Koester 1957; Kürzinger 1983). Drawing on it, gospels continued to be written during the 2d century (Koester 1980; Cameron 1982). The composition of written gospels was an effort, on the one hand, to collect and codify Jesus-traditions, but, on the other, also to interpret them for particular situations. No less than the letters of Paul, the gospels are occasional documents, composed in and directed to specific local Christian groups, and so each has a distinctive character. Accordingly, it was at first customary for a given Christian community to know and use only one such document.

It was somewhat contrary to their character as interpretations of Jesus-traditions that the gospels were valued first as historical records, not as scripture. This view became problematic as Christian communities became acquainted with multiple gospels and noticed discrepancies among them that were not easily reconciled. This, together with the custom of using only one gospel and the idea that the Christian message (itself traditionally known as "the gospel") was unitary and coherent, worked against any easy acknowledgment of numerous gospels. Thus the history of gospel literature in the 2d century was governed by two opposing tendencies: the desire for a comprehensive and theologically adequate gospel led to a proliferation of such writings, but the desire for a single, self-consistent gospel worked to reduce the number, either by advocating one gospel against others or by conflating several such documents into

one (Cullman 1956; Merkel 1971; 1978). The prime example of this last tendency is the *Diatessaron* of Tatian (ca. 170), which ingeniously weaves together in one narrative most of the contents of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and adds some elements from oral tradition. This effort (and its broad popularity) symptomizes the problem posed by multiple gospels, and shows also that although the gospels were much valued for their contents, they had not acquired sacrosanct status as individual texts. Their texts were not beyond alteration in the earlier 2d century either, as significant additions were clearly made to Mark (the various longer endings after 16:8) and John (chap. 21, and 7:53–8:11).

Justin Martyr (ca. 150) is the first Christian writer to show a knowledge and appreciation of several gospels, which he called "memoirs" (*apomneumonēmata*) of the apostles, thus revealing his historical estimate of them. But he seems not too have known John, and draws often on oral tradition or on other gospels not known to us, and so did not invest exclusive authority in the gospels that ultimately became canonical. John was little known or used by 2d century Christian writers, except among gnostics, who valued it highly (J. N. Sanders 1943; Hillmer 1966). This may explain its unpopularity, but perhaps the strongest reservations about John arose from recognition of its extensive differences in outline, substance, and style from other, more popular gospels. Rather than try to reconcile these, it was easier to neglect John altogether.

The collection of four gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke, John) which came to be incorporated in the canon arose only near the end of the 2d century, and first in the Western church. Irenaeus (ca. 180) had to argue inventively for it (*Haer.* 3.11.8–9), while in the Eastern church much use was still being made of other gospels (e.g., Clement [Ruwet 1948], Serapion [Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 6.12.2]). This collection was a compromise among the competing tendencies, resources, and needs of earlier usage, and struck a balance between an indefinite plurality of gospels and exclusive use of one gospel. The collection as such was thought of and entitled as *the* gospel, and each member of the collection was known as the gospel *according to* its putative author. In this "fourfold gospel" the tension between plurality and unity was not resolved, but was perpetuated in manageable form. It is notable that the Gospels acquired their scriptural standing as a group and not individually, and that religious authority was vested in their collective witness.

The collection of four gospels rapidly gained acceptance, and seems to have been broadly established by the middle of the 3d century, but its arrangement varied for some time. The Western church preferred the order Matthew, John, Luke, Mark, thus giving precedence to the two gospels supposedly composed by apostles over those supposedly composed by disciples of apostles. The Eastern church sponsored the order Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, possibly intending a chronological arrangement. The adoption of the Eastern order by Jerome for the Vulgate led to its subsequent dominance also in the West.

**c. The Catholic Epistles.** The third collection component of the canon was the latest to coalesce. Of the various documents in this collection only 1 Peter and 1 John had much currency in the 2d and 3d centuries. The rest (James, 2 Peter, 2–3 John, Jude) had only local and regional use, and in spite of the claims of some of them, there was no early or strong acknowledgment of their apostolic authorship, and so they remained obscure and questionable well into the 4th century. It is from Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.25) that we first hear of "Catholic Epistles" as a group of 7 letters, and such a collection probably arose only in the 3d century. It may have been formed in an effort to document a common witness of primitive apostles, perhaps especially of the "pillar apostles" (cf. Gal 2:9; Lührmann 1981), and to balance the imposing collection of Paul's letters.

**d. Acts and Revelation.** Although the gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles were composed as two volumes of a unitary work, they were early separated and had distinctive subsequent histories. Acts came into general usage later than Luke. Justin Martyr is the first writer to show any knowledge of it, but it was only near the end of the 2d century that real importance began to accrue to Acts, possibly as a result of conflicts with Marcionite and gnostic groups. Acts served to underline the view of mainstream Christianity in the late 2d century that the apostles acted and taught with authoritative consensus, and that Paul was at one with the collective apostolic witness. Thus Acts became useful in documenting the concept of apostolic tradition. The position of Acts among other documents in early canon lists and

manuscripts varies considerably. It is often placed with the Catholic Epistles (before or after), often with the Pauline letters (before or after), and sometimes with the four gospels (always after).

The Revelation to John had a controversial career in the ancient church. In the Western church it was well received and by the end of the 2d century was widely cited as scripture. It was also current and respected in the East in the 2d century, but was generally interpreted allegorically. In the 3d century, however, a dispute arose in Egypt as to whether the book should be read literally or allegorically. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, defended the allegorists' view, and was led by many acute observations to deny the apostolic origin of the book (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 7.25). Subsequently, Eastern Christians tended to reject Revelation. Even in the West the authority of Revelation came into dispute because of its use by Montanists, and both the authenticity and authority of Revelation (as well as the gospel of John) were strongly questioned by the Roman churchman, Gaius, in the early 3d century, but without much effect on Western usage. The full recognition of Revelation in the East did not come about until the late 4th century, and even then with the understanding that it was to be interpreted in nonmillennial terms.

**e. Other Writings.** Even though the NT canon came to be constituted mainly by bringing together smaller collections that had evolved in the first three centuries, it must be emphasized that the history of the canon was selective as well as collective, and that the canon which finally emerged contained only a fraction of the Christian literature that had been produced in the early period. Many other writings (gospels, acts, letters, and apocalypses) achieved wide currency and attained the status of scripture in some areas without in the end becoming canonical. So, for example, the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Shepherd of Hermas* were scarcely less popular than the Revelation to John in the 2d century; the *Gospel of Thomas* and the *Gospel of Peter* were reckoned by some no less authoritative than any other gospel; the letters known as *1 Clement* and *Barnabas* were esteemed and quoted as scripture by many; the *Acts of Paul* also was held in high regard in some areas, as was the manual of church order known as the *Didache*. But any or all of these, and perhaps some others, might have been included in the canon but for various reasons were not.

**3. Developments in the 4th and 5th Centuries.** By the end of the 2d century a considerable amount of early Christian literature was in broad circulation. The collected letters of Paul were well established, widely used, and considered to have scriptural standing. The collection of four gospels had more recently been formed and was gaining recognition. 1 Peter and 1 John were highly respected as scripture, but belonged to no collection, and many other writings had broad currency and scriptural or quasi-scriptural status. But there was as yet no canon of Christian scripture, for no effort had been made to define the scope of authoritative literature. This situation prevailed throughout the 3d century and into the 4th. Only in the 4th century did attempts begin to evaluate the legacy of early Christian literature as a whole and to determine precisely what documents commanded the authority to be used in the church, and what did not. The 4th and 5th centuries therefore are the period of canon formation proper, when actual lists of authoritative books were drawn up. The most important of these are the following:

**a. The Muratorian Canon.** The date and provenance of this list are in debate. For a long time the Muratorian Canon was taken to be a Roman (or at least Italian) product of the late 2d or early 3d century, but it would be unique at such an early time, and there are good reasons to consider it an Eastern list of the 4th century (Sundberg 1973; cf. Ferguson 1982). The document is fragmentary and badly translated into Latin, but lists the following books: four gospels, Acts, 13 letters of Paul (omitting Hebrews), Jude, 1–2 John, the Wisdom of Solomon (?), Revelation, *Apocalypse of Peter.* The omission of most of the "Catholic Epistles" is notable, and so is the inclusion of the Wisdom of Solomon in a list of Christian books. Specifically rejected, on the other hand, are the *Shepherd of Hermas,* a pseudo-Pauline letter to the Laodiceans and another to the Alexandrians (both attributed to Marcionites), and some unnamed books of heterodox groups. We have here, then, a list of 24 documents accepted for reading in the church, including two that did not finally become canonical, but excluding five that did.

**b. Eusebius.** In his *Church History,* written in the first decades of the 4th century, Eusebius variously comments on the uses made of early Christian writings by previous Christian figures, but in *Hist. Eccl.* 3.25 he provides a summary list of these writings in three categories: (1) acknowledged books

(*homologoumenoi*), i.e., those accepted without qualification; (2) disputed books (*antilegomenoi*), i.e., those whose genuineness or authority is questioned; and (3) heretical works, i.e., those that are firmly rejected. The acknowledged writings include four gospels, Acts, the (14) letters of Paul, 1 John, and 1 Peter. He also allows that Revelation *may* be placed in this group "if it seem desirable." The disputed books are James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2–3 John, the *Acts of Paul,* the *Shepherd of Hermas,* the *Apocalypse of Peter,* the *Epistle of Barnabas,* and the *Didache.* He also allows that Revelation *may* be classed among these books "if this view prevail," and notes that some would place the gospel of the Hebrews also in this category. Rejected books are the gospels of Peter, Thomas, and Matthias, among others, and the Acts of Andrew, John, and others. The acknowledged books, then, are 21 (22 with Revelation), and the disputed books are 10 (11 with Revelation). This list must reflect what Eusebius took to be the situation obtaining in his time and among the churches of his acquaintance. The ambiguity about Revelation was felt widely in the East, and surely also by Eusebius himself.

**c. Other Canonical Lists.** Another list is found in codex Claromontanus, a 6th-century Greek-Latin manuscript of the Pauline letters. The list it contains is much earlier than the manuscript itself, and probably derives from the 4th century and an Eastern setting. It contains, in order, the following items: four gospels, 10 letters of Paul (omitting Philippians and 1–2 Thessalonians, certainly accidentally), the seven "Catholic Epistles," *Barnabas,* Revelation, Acts, the *Shepherd of Hermas,* the *Acts of Paul,* and the *Apocalypse of Peter.* Here are 30 documents (if we include the 3 neglected Pauline letters). (Hebrews may also have been unintentionally left out.) Of these 30, four were not ultimately to become canonical.

The so-called Cheltenham Canon, a further list of authoritative Christian books, probably was drawn up in North Africa near the mid-4th century. It offers 24 books, with the claim that "our fathers approved that these books are canonical and that the men of old have said this": four gospels, 13 letters of Paul, Acts, Revelation, 1–3 John, and 1–2 Peter. Thus James, Jude, and Hebrews lack.

Of special note is the list of canonical books given by Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, in his 39th Festal Letter issued on Easter of 367, for this list is the first to name as exclusively authoritative precisely the 27 documents that finally came to constitute the New Testament as we know it. He was the first Christian writer after Origen to affirm the full authority of Revelation, and must have been influenced in this by his many contacts with the Western churches, especially in Rome.

Athanasius' views were not decisive for the East as a whole, however. Tatian's *Diatessaron* continued to have considerable popularity in the East, especially in the Syrian churches, which tended still in the 4th and 5th centuries to admit in addition only Acts and the Pauline letters, though late in the 4th (Chrysostom) and early in the 5th (the Peshitta, Theodoret) recognition was extended to James, 1 Peter, and 1 John. Even so, the Syrian church typically admitted only 22 books as canonical.

Among the 4th-century lists there was still notable variation, especially in the regard for Hebrews, Revelation, 2–3 John, 2 Peter, and Jude, and other writings occasionally claim attention. It is interesting, for example, that one of the oldest and most important manuscripts of the entire NT, codex Sinaiticus (4th century), contains, along with the 27 books of Athanasius, the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Shepherd of Hermas.* So although the four gospels, Acts, the letters of Paul, 1 Peter, and 1 John were almost universally accepted, everything else was to some degree questionable. The resolution of such uncertainties fell largely to ecclesiastical councils of the late 4th and early 5th centuries. The Council of Laodicea (363) held that "the canonical books" were 26 in number (omitting Revelation in the Eastern manner), while the North African councils of Hippo (393) and Carthage (397) named the 27 books of our New Testament, but in accepting Hebrews distinguished it from the letters of Paul. It is worth stating, however, that no *ecumenical* council of the ancient church ever undertook to define the scope of the canon.

**4. Influences in the Formation of the NT Canon.** A process that extended through four centuries will obviously have been subject to many influential factors. So long as it was (wrongly) supposed that the canon had virtually come to full form by the end of the 2d century, the tendency was to see its chief causes in the conflicts with heterodox movements of the 2d century. It has been held, for example, that Marcion, who based his teaching on an edition of the Pauline letters plus a form of the gospel of Luke,

forced the church to form its own canon in response. It has also been claimed that the gnostics, who produced many writings of their own and appealed to secret apostolic traditions, were opposed by the shaping of a canon that excluded their documents and presented instead a set of broadly recognized and accessible writings containing apostolic and catholic teaching. And it has been maintained that the Montanists, by their claim of charismatic authority and new revelations, provided the motivation for the church to close its canon and restrict revelation to traditional authoritative documents. But none of these arguments is valid: Marcion was not a "first cause" of canon formation, but a case of arrested development, since Paul's letters had previously been collected and were widely valued before him; the gnostic groups tended to value most of the same literature as other Christians, and differed rather in the philosophical assumptions and interpretive methods with which they approached this literature; and in response to the Montanists the church did not deny the continuing activity of the spirit or limit revelation to a limited number of books. Although the heterodox movements of the 2d century threw into relief the question of the resources, authorities, and boundaries of the Christian faith, they do not appear to have had any direct impact on the history of the canon.

The chief determinants of the history of the canon were, rather, the historical origins of the church's faith and the traditional usages of the church's worship and teaching. Since Christianity vested revelatory and redemptive significance in a particular historical person and a specific historical period, the church had always to hark back to Jesus and the events of his life, death, and resurrection. This resource was at first available in the direct testimony of apostles and in a lively and authoritative oral tradition. But with the lapse of time, the demise of the apostolic generation, and the dissipation of oral tradition, it was increasingly necessary to value written materials. This led to the preservation of some early literature (e.g., Paul's letters) and to the composition of additional literature deeply indebted to early tradition, and elevated the importance of these documents as means by which the church sustained its access to the events and to the witness which constituted its *raison d'etre.* The question, however, as to which documents provided this access, and therefore were authoritative, was answered by reference to the actual experience of the church with this literature. Those writings that proved, over time, to be most useful in sustaining, informing, and guiding the church in its worship, preaching, and teaching came to be the most highly valued, and gained a special authority in virtue of their usefulness.

Given this basic impulse and the context in which it played out, there were many specific factors that conditioned the history of the canon. The judgments of respected theologians, for example, Origen and Athanasius in the East, and Jerome and Augustine in the West, were influential, especially for the fates of particular books. Athanasius' sponsorship of Revelation in the East finally overcame the reservations fostered by Dionysius' criticisms, and the acceptance of Hebrews in the West was largely the result of its use by Hilary, Ambrose, Rufinus, and Jerome. Also visible are the effects of the great ecclesiastical centers, Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome. The conservatism of Antiochene Christianity and its tendency to literal-historical interpretation are reflected in the rather narrow collection of scriptures that persisted so long in that region. The open, speculative bent of Alexandrian Christianity and its penchant for allegorical exegesis are mirrored in the expansive body of literature valued as scripture in Egypt. In the history of the canon, as in doctrinal matters, Rome tended to take a middle way between these extremes. Further, particular doctrinal or disciplinary issues sometimes affected the status of certain books. Hebrews, because of its teaching against a second repentance after baptism, was disadvantaged by developing penetential practices in the West; Revelation was called into question in the East and West because of its use by millennialists (*Hist. Eccl.* 7.25; 3.28.1–5); John was once disputed in the West as a result of Montanist appeals to its teaching about the paraclete, and the *Gospel of Peter* was rejected in Syria because of alleged docetic elements (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.12.2). The experience of persecution, which sometimes involved the confiscation and destruction of Christian scriptures, perhaps provided occasion to discriminate between those books held to be sacred and preserved from the authorities, and those that might be surrendered under duress. Even so mundane a matter as the technology of book manufacture may have played a role, for almost from the beginning Christianity made use of the codex (leaf book) rather than the roll in transcribing its scripture (Roberts and Skeat 1983). But it was not until the 4th

century that codices were produced that were large enough to encompass most or all of Christian scripture, and it may not be mere coincidence that the canon acquired a relatively fixed content only when it was possible to transcribe the various writings in a single book. And, so far as canonization is understood as a matter of devising a fixed and closed list of scriptures, the decisions of ecclesiastical councils had their effects. No such decisions are known before the 4th century, by which time many documents had secured such established use that councils could only ratify their standing. But ecclesiastical mandates were important in bringing some disputed writings (e.g., Hebrews, Revelation, 2 Peter, Jude) to full canonical regard, and in discounting others. But perhaps the preeminent factor was the actual historic practice of leading churches. The determination of a list of writings which might be read in liturgical assembly was largely a matter of making regulative what had long been merely customary. Only in cases where custom differed were specific decisions required.

All of this indicates that the history of the canon was not an isolated process, but belonged fully to the ongoing life of the ancient church and was in its own ways responsive to the forces broadly operative in the early history of the church.

**5. Criteria of Canonicity.** Though it was indebted to historical forces, the formation of the canon was not haphazard. The church also reflected critically on its literature and, in setting certain documents apart as peculiarly authoritative, it invoked various principles (Flessemann-van Leer 1954; Ohlig 1972). Prominent considerations were that canonical documents should be apostolic, catholic, orthodox, and in traditional use.

The apostolic character of a writing was often articulated in terms of authorship by an apostle, but it was actually a broader concept than this, and could signify, besides actual authorship, derivation from the time of the apostles, or even simply agreement with what the church took to be apostolic teaching. Even the ancient church did not claim that every authoritative document was written by an apostle, but it did consider that canonical writings should come from the earliest times of the church. For a writing to be catholic, it had to be relevant to the church at large. This criterion embodies the church's preference for broadly accessible and pertinent documents as opposed to esoteric ones. But this preference did not, obviously, exclude documents originally addressed to strictly local churches or even to individuals. It was rather a matter of their availability and their utility to the whole church. The criterion of orthodoxy signified that no document could be acknowledged as authoritative unless it conformed to, or at least did not contradict, what the church took to be its proper teaching. This presumes that the true faith of the church could be known independently of Scripture, specifically in what was known as "the rule of faith" (*regula fidei*), a traditional summary statement of the basic Christian confession. Hence there was no idea that Scripture was the sole repository of authoritative teaching. Rather, the authority of Scripture could be gauged against authoritative but unwritten tradition. No less important was the criterion of traditional usage, that is, whether a writing had been employed from an early time and in most churches. This principle came strongly into play only in the 3d and 4th centuries when the church had a retrospect on its past. But in fact customary usage had been the major force in promoting the authority of various documents before it was articulated as a principle of canonicity.

None of these criteria, however, was absolutely definitive. Thus while Paul's letters were undoubtedly apostolic in the strictest sense, because of their particularity they did not satisfy very well the ideal of catholicity. Or, although there was a persistent uncertainty about the apostolic authorship of Hebrews, it was acknowledged as canonical nevertheless. Or again, although Jude and 2 Peter, for example, had not enjoyed a longstanding tradition of use, this did not finally count decisively against them. Clearly, then, the criteria of canonicity were not applied with great rigor or consistency, and were not narrowly understood. While their use indicates a measure of deliberation and judgment in the history of the canon, it is difficult to regard apostolicity, catholicity, or orthodoxy as the effective reasons why any document gained canonical status. The criterion that was most fully operative was traditional use, and this has reference not to the intrinsic character of a writing but to the church's actual practice.

It remains to be noted that inspiration was not a criterion of canonicity in the ancient church. It was not claimed that the canonical documents were uniquely or exclusively inspired. The reason for this was the

conviction that inspiration characterized the church as a whole. Since the concept of inspiration was much broader than the concept of scripture, it provided no basis for distinguishing among writings produced within the church (Kalin 1967; Sundberg 1975).

**C. The Theological and Hermeneutical Significance of the NT Canon**

The theological and hermeneutical significance of the canon has come under reassessment as a result both of the history of the canon and of modern exegesis of the canonical documents. Of the various issues that have arisen in modern discussion the following are the most prominent.

**1. The Scope of the Canon.** The traditional contents of the canon are difficult to justify in the light of modern knowledge. The canon as we know it resulted from a complex interplay of contingent factors, and from a historical point of view its limits seem fortuitous. It is easily conceivable that the canon might have been larger or smaller, and that it might have contained other documents instead of or in addition to those that stand in it. Further, the contents of the canon cannot be fully defended on the criteria adduced by the ancient church, for not all of them are apostolic or catholic in any strict sense, and some of them had not enjoyed broad and longstanding use. Finally, the limits of the canon were never officially defined by the ancient church, and have never constituted an article of doctrine. In this situation, two different claims have been made on behalf of the traditional scope of the canon. Protestant scholars have often maintained that the canonical documents possess an intrinsic and self-authenticating authority, and that the canon evolved more or less spontaneously through the religious intuition and experience of the early Christian communities. Catholic scholars, on the other hand, have claimed that the authority of the canonical documents derives from their recognition by the church in accordance with its own tradition and teaching. At issue is the relationship between the authority of the canon and the authority of the church. In fact, this relationship is historically ambiguous. The judgments about the limits of the canon by bishops and councils in the 4th and 5th centuries did not merely ratify a status which the documents had already acquired for themselves, for some of the writings then designated canonical had not previously been widely taken as authoritative. Yet the very high regard in which the gospels or the letters of Paul were held from an early time owed nothing to ecclesiastical decisions, and the church could only acknowledge their authority, not decide it. So, as a closed collection and with a view to its outer limits, the canon is very much a product of the church, but much of the contents of the canon rose to authority by virtue of their self-evident value.

In the interest of maintaining the critical independence of the canon of Scripture over against the church, some Protestant scholars have argued that in principle the canon remains open to revision, even if no change in its scope is actually envisioned. Catholic scholars, however, fully affirm the traditional boundaries of the canon as the authoritative work of the ancient church, and thus conceive the canon of Scripture and the teaching authority of the church to be indivisible. Here it is clear that the theological authority of the canon is differently conceived in different confessional traditions of Christianity.

**2. Scripture and Tradition.** The same question emerges in a different guise when the relation of Scripture and tradition is explored. The history of the canon shows that the contents of the canon were largely determined by ecclesiastical tradition (traditional usage, traditional ideas of authorship, and the appeal to traditional teaching), such that to acknowledge the authority of the canon is to acknowledge the authority of the tradition which gave rise to it. This point is now freely conceded by Protestant scholars (Cullmann 1956b; Ebeling 1968b). For its part, exegesis has shown further how deeply individual documents of the canon are themselves indebted to earlier kerygmatic, liturgical, parenetic, and exegetical traditions, and indeed exhibit the development of tradition among themselves (e.g., the elaboration of Pauline teaching in the pseudonymous Pauline letters). Thus it can be said that tradition precedes Scripture, is presumed by Scripture, and persists in Scripture. It is appropriate enough, then, to see Scripture itself as “a specific form of tradition” or as “a transcription of tradition at a particular stage” (Ebeling 1968b; Best 1979; Hahn 1980). For these reasons it has become impossible any longer to juxtapose Scripture and tradition as alternatives. Rather, they stand in an organic relationship which precludes the exaltation of either against the other as a theological authority.

**3. The Function of the Canon as a Norm.** The use of the canon of scripture as a theological norm has required rethinking as a result of exegesis. The historical-critical exegesis of canonical documents has revealed among them a great diversity of theological orientations which are not easily reconciled with each other: Jewish Christianity, various types of Hellenistic Christianity, apocalyptic Christianity, and early Catholic Christianity, to name the most obvious. In this respect the canon seems accurately to reflect theological variegations characteristic of the early church (Dunn 1977). But because it presents no thorough theological consistency, the canon as such, and taken as a whole, cannot serve as a sharply effective theological norm (Käsemann 1964). Once a wholistic, formal conception of the canon is given up in view of its inner diversity, its authority must be conceived in a different way. This is often done, especially by Protestant thinkers, by appealing to a "canon in the canon," that is, a principle or center which is taken as the essential and controlling element within the larger canon, and which may serve as an interpretive criterion of the whole. Efforts to formulate such a principle have been various (Schrage 1976), including, among others, the original preaching of Jesus, the oldest recoverable form of the kerygma, and the Pauline theme of the justification of the ungodly. Other, mostly Catholic, scholars have criticized this approach as reductive, selective, and arbitrary, and have insisted on affirming the unity and coherence of the canon as a whole (Küng 1963). In their view the meaning of Scripture is sufficiently mediated by the tradition and teaching office of the church. But each view is in its own way an assertion that the formal canon cannot of itself function as a theological norm.

What needs special recognition in this debate is that the canon is pluralistic in principle. The effort to discover in it a uniform and coherent norm would seem to be contrary even to the intentions of the ancient church, which canonized no single theological position but a range of theological viewpoints. This is indicated well enough by the repudiation of Marcion's exclusively Pauline canon in favor of a broader but less consistent collection, and the rejection of Tatian's *Diatessaron* in favor of the multiple witness of four gospels. It remains true that every interpreter of the NT and every confessional standpoint within Christianity proceeds, tacitly or explicitly, with an interpretive principle or perspective which elicits from the canon a particular pattern of meaning. This is inescapable if the canon is to inform theological reflection and not remain diffusely meaningless. But just here the importance of the canon as a whole, in all its diversity, can be seen: although it requires a limitation and specification of its meaning to exercise a normative function, it nevertheless resists the absolutizing of any particular appropriation, and thus maintains the potentialities of interpretation against narrow, ideological foreclosures.

**4. The Hermeneutical Value of the Canon.** The historical-critical study of the canonical documents has customarily approached them in disregard of the canon. Its interest is in individual writings interpreted in terms of the diverse, particular circumstances in which they arose. Their literary context in the canon is not relevant to that aim. But in recent years there has been a growing interest in the relevance of the canon for theological exegesis, and this approach has gained the name "canonical criticism." This enterprise has taken two main forms. One has urged that the theological interpretation of Scripture is properly attentive to the canon when it takes as its basis the "final [canonical] form" of a given text, as distinct from sources that can be identified behind the text or as distinct from an original form of the text, and interprets that text in terms of its "full canonical context," as distinct from its original historical context. Thus the literary and theological context furnished by the canon itself is made the touchstone of interpretation. No document, on this view, should be read in isolation; rather each should be read with a view to the interrelationships established by the canon between it and other canonical documents. What arises from such a reading is the "canonical sense" of the text, which is taken to be the theologically normative meaning of the text (Childs 1979; 1984). Another form of canonical criticism attends not to the final form of a text or its intracanonical relationships, but to the canonical process exhibited within the texts, that is, the hermeneutical dynamics by which authoritative (preliterary) traditions were not only stabilized in writing, but were subsequently and repeatedly revised and adapted, reformulated and rewritten, so as to make them freshly relevant to the changing circumstances and needs of the religious community. The interpretive paradigms that can be observed in this process as it is enshrined in and even

continued by the canonical literature may then become useful means for the modern appropriation of the canonical documents themselves (J. A. Sanders 1976; 1984).

It is assuredly true that the formation of the New Testament canon held hermeneutical consequences for the documents that were included in it: new meanings accrued to the texts by their placement in that new context. While this "canonical sense" deserves recognition, it is not usually easy to identify, and is often merely impressionistic. Furthermore, it is not at all clear that the alleged "canonical sense" of a document has or ought to have a better claim to theological authority than the meaning that attaches to an individual document taken by itself or in connection with a smaller group of related documents. For it was these latter meanings that commended the documents to the church and resulted in their incorporation into the canon. An adequate hermeneutic of the canon cannot therefore be indifferent to detailed historical criticism or to the history of the canon. At the same time, the canon is something both more and different than the sum of its parts, and historical criticism cannot fully illumine the NT without reflecting on the hermeneutical significance of the canon.

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**CANON, MURATORIAN.** See MURATORIAN FRAGMENT.

**CANONICAL CRITICISM.** The term "canonical criticism" does not adequately convey the range of approaches or the variety of methodologies employed by scholars who are often associated with it. Even scholars who have come to reject the term, e.g., Brevard Childs, may still be regarded by other scholars as its leading practitioners. What is clear is that canonical criticism is less a formal "criticism" than an approach or series of approaches that seeks to raise neglected questions about the form and function of scripture, both Jewish and Christian.

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A. Introduction
B. "Canon" and Canonical Approaches
    1. Canonical Dimension and Biblical Interpretation
    2. "Shape" of Biblical Books
    3. Examples of a Canonical Approach

C. Conclusion

## A. Introduction

Approaches currently associated with "canonical criticism," regardless of how it is specifically defined, presuppose the triumph of historical criticism over premodern historical notions about the authorship and formation of biblical books. While many of the proposals associated with a canonical approach rejuvenate traditional questions about the nature and authority of scripture, they do so only through significant innovation and with the hope of a greater degree of historical precision than one could have expected of similar premodern treatments. In this way, biblical fundamentalists find that some subjects neglected by older historical critics are taken up once again, though expressed in the light of critical historical conclusions alien to fundamentalist views regarding the history of the Bible. Canonical criticism, regardless of the theological spectrum that may find it appealing, is a response from within a more liberal, rather than a conservative, assessment of the biblical prehistory.

Canonical approaches in general strive to articulate a perspective on the relationship between biblical studies and the study of religion and theology. In premodern Christian studies of the Bible, both Roman Catholics and Protestants agreed that the "literal sense" of scripture provided the principal authority for Christian doctrine and that this sense, as distinguished from "spiritual senses," could be identified, at least in part, with the "author's intent." Since the 15th century, Nicholas of Lyra and many other Christian exegetes resorted to the idea of a double "literal sense," especially for the OT: one aimed at a grammatical, historical, and religious dimension common to both Jews and Christians; the other based on the role of the OT within Christian scripture as a norm of distinctly Christian doctrines. In the early modern period, biblical scholars frequently sought through a "historical" approach to secure neutral, scientific consensus regarding what a biblical text "meant" distinct from ecclesiastical or sectarian assessments of what it "means." This allegedly neutral meaning of the Bible often became identified with the traditional religious goal of describing the "literal sense" of scripture as a prior step to theological interpretation.

In the past few decades, the confidence that the literal sense of scripture can be equated with the results of historical criticism has been seriously reexamined. At the outset, biblical criticism has convincingly shown that the Bible is a multilayered, editorial composite of diverse texts and traditions. Any effort to describe the "original" historical traditions, as against the "secondary" one now preserved with them in the Bible, is highly speculative and, more significantly, must isolate older traditions away from their context within scripture. Such historical analysis leads properly to an effort to recover the "original" form and function of ancient Israelite traditions and to conjecture about the original prebiblical social settings in which they were once heard or read. If the "literal sense" is identified rigorously with the intent of the first "authors" of such traditions, then the intent will, in most instances, be prebiblical in so far as these authors rarely, if ever, "intended" to write "biblical" traditions. Many of these traditions only became identified as "biblical" at a later time and were publically established as such when they were assigned a place within a scripture by editors. Consequently, the "meaning of the biblical text" cannot be equated uncritically with the historical intent of a modern conception of the "original" authors, without losing precisely what the traditional formulation sought to preserve.

A modern understanding of the form and function of a scripture implies a shift in the semantic import of its antecedent traditions. The canonical context of the Bible exhibits moments of both formal preservation and contextual modification, both historical retention and ahistorical, or topical, reorientation. Just as the semantic force of words is not secured solely by appeal to their etymologies but gains specific import within the context of a particular sentence, so the context of scripture inevitably influences how earlier traditions come to make sense as a part of scripture. This transformation in the meaning of texts and traditions occurs through a complex, sociopolitical process of literary production leading to the public recognition of both a particular religion and the canonization of its scripture. This process is historically serendipitous, but reflects in general terms a dialectical relationship between canon and community, between the formation of a scripture and the identification of the community of faith that treasures it. In

sociological terms, a scripture may be considered a social contract between differing groups that assume a common purpose and status before God. While the context of a scripture establishes a restrictive framework in which religious interpretation takes place, the context itself is composed of the favored traditions of different groups, ordered in, at times, a remarkably unharmonized fashion.

In sum, the semantic function of a scripture often exceeds or contravenes the original intent of various historical authors/redactors who can be reconstructed within the prehistory of the canon. In the place of a modern reconstruction of historical authors, Jewish and Christian scripture presents key figures—Moses, David, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Luke, John, Paul—as "biblical" persons whose "intents" can only be found in the canonical context. The very realism of these biographical presentations, together with some degree of modern historical support for their historicity, may tempt interpreters to replace the biblical portrayal with more historically "accurate" biographies. However, such a substitution usually sacrifices the context of scripture and misses the possibility of a biblical anthropology. Only the biblical context warrants such a wedding of word and *persona* that presumes to render the nature of ultimate reality through the reception of scripture as a human witness to divine revelation.

**B. "Canon" and Canonical Approaches**

As early as the 2d century, Christians could speak of the Bible as "canonical," as well as divinely "inspired." Only later did Athanasius (ca. 350 C.E.) identify *ta biblia* ("the books" of scripture) with the noun *kanon* (a list of normative books). The same usage in Judaism belongs only to the modern period, though, as in Christianity, Jewish scriptures possesses a special normative quality—it is "spoken by God" and "defiles the hands." In both Christianity and Judaism, the identification of books belonging to scripture preceded by several centuries the determination of a *textus receptus,* or fixed textual tradition. Prebiblical uses of the word "canon" reflect well the ambiguities attendant to the formation of a "normative" scripture.

As a Semitic loan word transliterated into Greek and Latin, "canon" can denote (1) an ideal, standard, central criterion, or essential summation and/or (2) a list, catalog, or measure. Something "canonical" may not yet be situated in a fixed list or collection of similar canonical things. So, biblical traditions and even whole books may be viewed as "canonical" long before they belong to a fixed "canon" or list of such books. A scripture is, of course, only one special type of canonical text or tradition. Other canons may include oral Torah, *magisteria,* special exegetical traditions, the inspired interpretation of a rabbi, or a contemporary word of Christian prophecy. These extrabiblical canons may seem more immediately influential for practical religious life than the scripture. The practice of religion is, of course, further subject to still other secular authorities or canons. Nonetheless, scripture is, at least in theory, assigned a superior place as a norm of faith within Judaism and Christianity.

Premodern handbooks or introductions usually began by considering the subjects of text and canon. As the more rigorous historical orientation of the modern period came to dominate, canonical issues seemed to belong only to the last steps in a long process, at great distance from the original historical events upon which the revelatory claims of a religion depends. Therefore, modern scholars, whether conservative or liberal on questions of biblical history, tended to shift the treatment of these subjects to the back of introductions, following the lead of such major orthodox interpreters as J. G. Carpzov (1721). This same priority of biblical history to biblical text informed much of the recent "Biblical Theology Movement" which often focused the theological worth of the Bible to the "acts of God in history" or defined the biblical witness in terms of an "actualized" report about a historical event. The canon could be viewed, according to this model, as merely a late and flawed premodern effort to preserve efficacious "confessions" about history. A canonical approach challenges the assumption that the earliest historical events play such a determinative role in the capacity of scripture to have authority or to render reality. Without denying the value of information gained by means of any critical investigation, a canonical approach seeks to understand a different issue: how a biblical text is normative within religious interpretation, that is to say, how the context of ancient traditions within scripture functions as an arena in which certain religious questions are asked and answered. In this approach, one seeks to recognize the textual warrants and rules whereby a scripture makes specific religious claims, perpetuates paradoxical

and ambiguous expressions of faith, engenders the need for repeated interpretation, and imposes upon the reader a vision of the world that God has made.

Though various canonical approaches explore the same neglected perspective on the nature of a biblical text, their chief interpreters do not always agree on terminology, on methods of analysis, or on the practical implications for the future of biblical interpretation and commentary. James Sanders first coined the term "canon criticism" and popularized it through his *Torah and Canon* (1972). Through the study of interpretations within the Bible, which he calls "comparative midrash," Sanders sought to find a "canonical hermeneutic" that would explain why the same normative traditions could properly be interpreted with contradictory implications at different times and places. Later, in *Canon and Community* (1984) he changed the terminology from "canon criticism" to "canonical criticism," stressing its alignment with other critical methods. Brevard Childs, for one, initially used the term "canon criticism" in the 1970s (e.g., *Exodus* OTL) but dropped it as a misleading label for his own approach. It does not occur in either his *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (*IOTS*) or *The New Testament as Canon* (*NTC*). For Childs, "canon criticism" wrongly suggested a "criticism" parallel to other standard biblical methodologies (e.g., source, form, and redaction criticism).

Childs prefers to speak of a "canonical approach," highlighting how "the canonical shape" of a biblical book established possibilities and limits to its interpretation as a part of Jewish and Christian scripture. He starts with "the final text" of scripture, without uncritically accepting the *textus receptus,* and makes observations about how diverse, even contradictory, traditions share a canonical context together. Rather than allowing the reader to pick and choose what elements of traditions seem the most appealing, this canonical context deepened the demand for interpretation in specific ways and in certain significant theological directions. Leaning more in the direction of Childs than Sanders, Rolf Rendtorff's *The Old Testament: An Introduction* (1983, ET 1986) finds evidence of additional unifying "literary" features in a *Kompositionsgeschichte* ("composition criticism" or "history of composition") for each biblical book. Rendtorff stresses the inability of form criticism to account for how the "literary" dimension of the biblical text extended the audience and often detached traditions from their historical moorings for the purpose of establishing another theological way of receiving these traditions within Judaism and Christianity.

Related studies include I. L. Seeligmann's seminal study of "canon conscious" exegesis within the Bible. Nahum Sarna and Michael Fishbane have elaborated cases of "inner-biblical" interpretation that similarly presume plays upon fixed normative traditions, anticipating in some instances later types of Jewish midrashic interpretation of scripture. More radically, the French school of "anthological midrash" (e.g., A. A. Robert, R. Bloch *DBSup* 5: 1263–81) sought to describe a particular type of inner-biblical interpretation that reemploys words and phrases from canonical traditions in order to compose whole portions (e.g., parts of Proverbs 1–9) of some late biblical books. A number of redaction-critical studies, such as those of Ackroyd, Blenkinsopp, Clements, and Sheppard, have called attention to the special nature of canonical traditions from the perspective of later editors. Certain "canon conscious" redactions tell readers how some biblical books should be read in the context of others (Sheppard *EncRel* 3: 62–69). An editor's use of certain esoteric techniques in the alteration and placement of a tradition suggest self-conscious terms of restriction and freedom in how biblical authors/editors handled the preceding normative traditions. These traditions can be seen to function within the formation of the Bible with a special "semantic depth" (Clements), "vitality" (Ackroyd), "adaptability" (Sanders), or within an implicit "scriptural vision" (Fishbane), or with a special potential for "actualization" (Childs). This highly tendentious sketch of scholarly activities that are often associated with "canon criticism" illustrates some of the diversity in the present debate. In order to convey what is at stake in these newer approaches, a more general discussion of the canonical dimension will be followed by some examples of implications for assessing biblical literature.

**1. Canonical Dimension and Biblical Interpretation.** The present diversity in canonical approaches has led to a variety of proposals regarding the future of biblical interpretation. Sanders' and Fishbane's concern with "inner-biblical" interpretation suggests a continuity between the prebiblical interpretation of

normative traditions and the later postbiblical interpretations of scripture in Judaism and Christianity. As Fishbane finds anticipations of later Jewish midrash, so Sanders detects a midrashic "canonical hermeneutic," already forged among Israel's ancient prophets and continuing into the postbiblical period. Sanders argues that contemporary theological exegesis should employ the same hermeneutic he has found here and there in ancient Israel and throughout the process of canonization. In religious terms he identifies this hermeneutic with "the ancient struggles of our ancestors in the faith to monotheize, to pursue the oneness of God, over against all kinds of polytheisms and fragmentations of truth" (1984: 17). The canonization of scripture represents the freezing of only one imperfect moment within that same process of interpretation. In Sanders' view, this hermeneutical criterion allows one to distinguish true from false prophecy in ancient Israel and can be applied similarly today to discern true and false biblical preaching in Christian churches.

Conversely, Childs, Rendtorff, and Sheppard have emphasized elements of discontinuity between the prescriptural functions of ancient traditions and the new roles they play within "the canonical context" of Jewish and Christian Bibles. While acknowledging different levels of authority and canonicity in the prehistory of the Bible, these scholars start with the canonical context as a way to assess how earlier traditions have been put together to form a new literary entity. Because the historical forces behind the formation of biblical books are so heterogeneous, Childs concludes: "The history of the canonical process does not seem to be an avenue through which one can greatly illuminate the present canonical text" (*IOTS* 67). Only the present "shape" (Childs) or "composition" (Rendtorff) of a biblical book survives as evidence of how the community of faith ordered past traditions as a normative witness to divine revelation. Besides indicating a specific inner-textuality and a unity of subject matter, the canonical context, also, gives permanence to unresolved differences between traditions, delimits functional ambiguities, and perpetuates undecoded symbolism integral to a religion's understanding of divine mysteries yet to be fully revealed. Clearly, many ancient historical features are retained within this later context, though the formation of scripture tends to insure that "texts are less bound up with particular events and situations" (Rendtorff 1986: 125).

The hermeneutical significance of the canonical context of scripture depends partly on how a religion construes the relation between the biblical witness and its revealed subject matter. Rabbinic Judaism sought to interpret the written Torah of scripture chiefly through midrashic methods, honoring the parallel testimony of oral Torah (Mishnah and the Talmud[s]). Christianity moved in another hermeneutical direction. With the addition of a "New Testament" and the transformation of Hebrew scripture into "Old Testament," a new literary horizon emerged. At least by the middle of the 2d century, Christian leaders asserted that priority in dogmatic disputes should be given to a nonmidrashic, "plain" or "literal sense." Similarly, Christians sought to understand the relation of the Torah to the Gospel. A prophetic interpretation often predominated and certain texts lent themselves more readily than others to Christian messianic explication. Though Christianity did not share the oral Torah of Judaism, it did not lack its own extrabiblical authorities in the form of creeds, binding church decisions, local ecclesial laws, and so forth. Though the practice of biblical interpretation differs between Judaism and Christianity, both frequently show a similar concern for warrants implicit within the canonical "shape" of books. In this respect, crucial religious features of the Hebrew Bible are fully retained in Christian scripture in spite of the semantic transformation that takes place when Christians appropriate the Hebrew Bible as the "Old Testament" within the context of the "New." At a minimum, the canonical context is a highly significant factor, but not the only one that may influence the nature of biblical interpretation.

**2. "Shape" of Biblical Books.** Childs has chosen the term "shape" to describe the distinctive features of biblical books when they are read as scripture. This trope may connote too readily a trait of harmony or full coherence of traditions in books, comparable to geometric symmetry. Nevertheless, Childs uses "shape" carefully to describe the boundaries and orchestration of semantic possibilities of traditions within a biblical book from the perspective of its form and function as scripture. From the 1st centuries of Christianity up to the modern period, Christians have often sought to preserve the same scriptural dimension by an appeal to the "scope" of a biblical book. At times, the "scope" (*skopos*) has pertained to

an element in the church's "rule of faith," as in Athanasius' refutation of the Arians' use of Proverbs; at other times, it denoted a more literary appeal to the beginnings and endings of biblical books, to titles, and other transitional markers within a biblical text. The latter usage can be readily seen in the rules of Flacius in the middle of the 16th century and commonly among English Protestants in the late 16th century until the end of the 19th. The indices of the scope of a text were supposed to provide clues regarding the normative "purpose" of the text, coinciding with the "intent" of the inspired author.

In the premodern period, Christian interpreters commonly assumed that the literal sense of scripture was identical with the biblical author's "intent." What becomes obvious is that in these formulations the "biblical author," the central figure associated with a particular book, is not identical with a "historical author" reconstructed by modern historical criticism. A canonical approach can try to express what the older formulation sought to describe in another way, informed by a modern understanding of history and religion. This alternative expression of how the biblical text relates to its subject matter must take into account a different perception of diachronic dimensions and involves a critical awareness of the semantic import of traditions shifted from their origins, through transmission and editing, to their later places among biblical texts. The shape of a biblical book and its canonical context within scripture provide an essential guide as to how the intents of various historical authors and editors pertain to the presentation of a biblical author and a biblical book. Moreover, the canonical context indicates how the presentations of key biblical figures have been linked to the "canonical intention" of the biblical text. In these two ways, the aim of the older identification of literal sense with the author's intent is maintained but expressed in new ways that respond to the impact of historical criticism and the contemporary perception of differences in a biblical text.

**3. Examples of a Canonical Approach.** The form of the Pentateuch ("the book of Moses," Josh 1:7) corresponds to its function as scriptural "Torah" in various ways. First, as Sanders has eloquently shown, it situates the law of God prior to the actual conquest of the land. The Torah could be received by future readers of the Jewish Diaspora as an address to people who themselves yearn to enter into a promised land. The laws, regardless of what we may say about their original historical settings, refer in this context to a revealed Torah rather than to law codes that reflect merely compromises to the experiences of life at various times in the land.

Second, while "the Torah" denotes a single, coherent instruction from God, it is represented in the narrative form through different Mosaic mediations: as shown in the legal collections of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and, then, those of Deuteronomy. While each of these collections now shares substantially the same Decalog (Exod 20:2–14 and Deut 5:6–18), the other laws contain many disagreements, even within laws governing the same offense. While historical criticism can provide one account for these differences, the canonical context now relates them according to another religious implication. In the context of the Mosaic Torah, the laws found in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers belong to the legislation as given to Moses in the region of Sinai, while the laws presented in Deuteronomy belong to Moses' subsequent "interpretation" of them on the plains of Moab to the next generation (Deut 1:5). Based on the role of these laws in scripture, the historical etymology of these traditions is less important than the canonical context which depicts Moses as "interpreting" the earlier laws to the changing circumstances of a later generation. This contextual precedent was recognized by rabbinic Judaism and perpetuated by the acceptance of the oral Torah (the Mishnah and Talmud[s]), that accompanies the interpretation of the written Torah. It was also allegedly perpetuated by Moses through the Elders.

Third, Moses appears in these books as a vivid flesh-and-blood figure with strengths and weaknesses like our own. Genesis elaborates the genealogical record leading to his birth in Exodus, and the five-book Torah concludes in the last chapters of Deuteronomy with an account of his death. This presentation of his life provides a key unifying feature corresponding to the unity of the revealed Torah which this five-book collection mediates. Moses' unique status as the prophet par excellence (Deut 34:10–12) indicates the special role these books play within the scripture as a whole. Though modern critics suspect correctly that a historical Moses could not have written all of these traditions, the biblical portrayal of Moses and the

events of his life belong to the very syntax of these books in their form and function as scripture. Modern critics have often sought to improve on the historical elements in this presentation by searching for the "historical" Moses. If such a search claims to pursue "biblical" faith, then it has confused uncritically the mode of understanding congruent to the realism of a scripture with the mode of understanding congruent to a realism pertaining to conceptions of a modern "history."

As Judaism now finds in scripture and in oral Torah different literary manifestations of law as inspired human witnesses to the one Torah that God has given to a chosen people, so Christianity possesses in the NT four different Gospels, as well as Romans and James, despite the confession that there is actually only one Gospel of Jesus Christ. From this perspective the biblical canons do not end interpretation by harmonizing as much as they ground and perpetuate the need for fresh interpretation of the Bible by each generation of believers. Though both Judaism and Christianity resist the expansion of scripture by new revelation, each generation seeks to express the Torah or the Gospel, with the aid of scripture, more precisely and in pragmatically more pertinent ways than preceding generations. Therefore, the scripture harbors in its own contextual ambiguities the potential for a criticism of each believer's current ruling metaphors while, at the same time, it delimits a specific arena in which a grand quest for the revelation of reality can take place.

In both the OT and NT, collections of tradition outside of the Mosaic Torah and the Gospels have been assigned a special context and function together as parts of scripture. What might be regarded as historical anachronisms frequently contribute to the canonical context and religious import of ancient traditions. Though the activity of many of the OT prophets precedes historically the period when the present Mosaic Torah was formed, the traditions of the prophets have been edited together as scripture in a manner that allows the prophetic books now to be read as commentary on the Torah of Moses. So, too, the Pauline Epistles, many of which precede the time when the Gospels were composed, now are found after the written Gospels as a part of a collection of "Pauline Letters" and provide a commentary upon the same essential message found in the four Gospels.

The Solomonic books offer a vivid example of how the canonical context alters our vision and reception of ancient traditions when read as scripture. Modern criticism properly questions a direct connection between the historical Solomon and the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs. Nevertheless, the context of scripture identifies these books in a highly significant manner as Solomonic "wisdom" within Hebrew scripture. Because of its association with Solomon, biblical wisdom cannot be equated uncritically with a strictly historical conception of ancient Israelite "wisdom" in the Near East. The canon-contextual presentation of Solomon delimits some crucial distinctions between the biblical wisdom traditions and those of the Mosaic Torah. For instance, Solomon epitomizes the wisest person who ever lived (1 Kgs 4:29–31), but he must, also, obey the Torah of Moses as did his father (1 Kgs 3:14). Furthermore, by assigning this "wisdom" literature to Solomon, the canonical context provides its own account for why wisdom literature appears to bracket out self-consciously the idiosyncratic language of faith about the Exodus, the giving of the law of God at Sinai, the covenant, and other historical details regarding Israel's faith in Yahweh. Part of the religious genius of biblical wisdom lies in its affirmation of an international collection of sayings that borrows from and rivals that of other nations, without resolving issues of conflict between different religions. It is the sort of knowledge that inspires the Queen of Sheba to travel to test Solomon with riddles. Biblical wisdom lends itself to an international cooperation in understanding territories not explicitly addressed by the Torah but shared by the wisdom of other religions. This demarcation of wisdom in association with Solomon, distinct from other parts of scripture, naturally invited a debate over how the parts of scripture relate to each other as a guide to the obedient life. Prior to Christianity, Judaism overtly affirmed that the Torah and Wisdom complemented one another and that the one could be read as a resource for refinements in the understanding of the other (cf. Sirach 24 and Bar 3:9–4:4). The manner in which wisdom relates to the Torah and to the Prophets, and how wisdom relates to all of these and to the Gospel, becomes part of the vocabulary that continues to inform the response of both Judaism and Christianity to issues of practical knowledge, scientific inquiry, psychology, and many other areas of common life.

## C. Conclusion

Canonical criticism has become a popular, though debated, label for a variety of approaches that inquire into the form and function of the Bible as scripture. A canonical approach assumes a particular perspective by which biblical studies can understand the nature of scripture and its relation to the history of religious interpretation and theology. As shown by Childs' commentary on Exodus, this perspective encourages a critical examination of the history of interpretation, both ancient and modern. In my view, attention to the canonical context of scripture is essential for an appreciation of how religions construe reality and how competence in biblical interpretation is recognized in earlier periods. In the larger task of contemporary Christian theological interpretation, canonical approaches offer foundational descriptions of the context of scripture and detect warrants for a reading of the diverse traditions as multiple human witnesses to the same subject matter of faith and revelation.

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GERALD T. SHEPPARD

**CANOPY.** Four different Hebrew words are rendered "canopy" in English versions. The first, *šḵḵ,* derives from the root *skk,* which means "to weave together," thus forming a thick material that can be a shelter, as in the "booths" made of boughs that served as temporary dwellings during harvest time. This noun is used in 1 Sam 22:12 and Ps 18:12 [—Eng 18:11] to refer to Yahweh's heavenly shelter and to enrich the dramatic language of divine theophany in these two passages. Another term, *ʿōb,* is found twice: once in an obscure reference to some part of the pillared forecourt (*ʾûlām*) to Solomon's "Hall of Pillars" (1 Kgs 7:6); and once in a description of a shelter in front of the forecourt (*ʾûlām*) of the Temple (Ezek 41:25). The latter reference uses "wood" with *ʿōb,* thus indicating a more solid architectural element than a woven canopy.

A third Hebrew word for canopy, *ḥûppâ,* is from *ḥpp,* meaning "to cover." The act of covering rather than the material itself is basic to this term, which appears in Isa 4:5 to refer to the way smoke and fire by day and night will provide a cover ("canopy") over the restored Mount Zion and its assemblies in the glorious future. Finally, the word *š apřr* (or *š aprĦr,* Qere) which appears only once in the Hebrew Bible (Jer 43:10), apparently denotes a royal pavilion or canopy being spread out by Nebuchadnezzar over his throne. Related to Akkadian *š uparruri,* it might also indicate a carpet being stretched out. In either case, this too appears to be a textile rather than a solid structure.

All the words rendered "canopy," along with "pavilion" and other terms, are part of the rich Hebrew vocabulary dealing with shelters, both temporary and permanent. Such terms designate both actual shelters and are also used symbolically to indicate God's sheltering, protective presence.

CAROL MEYERS

**CANTICLES, BOOK OF.** See SONG OF SONGS, BOOK OF.

**CAPE.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**CAPERNAUM** (PLACE) [Gk *Kapharnaoum* (Καφαρναουμ)]. A place on the NW bank of Lake Tiberias (M.R. 204254). Josephus renders the Heb *kĕpar naḥum* as *kapharnaoum* (*JW* 3.10.8), as does the NT. The Arabs of the region call the spot Talhum or Tell Hum.

After Jesus began his ministry, he moved to Capernaum (Matt 4:13; Mark 2:1). Capernaum had a synagogue which had been built with the sponsorship of the local centurion (Luke 7:2–5). While in Capernaum, Jesus healed several people (Matt 8:5; Mark 1:21–28; 2:1–12; Luke 7:1–10; John 4:46–54) and taught in the synagogue (Luke 4:31–38; cf. John 6:22–59). The city, however, eventually received a scathing denunciation when Jesus condemned its stubbornness as worse than Sodom's (Matt 11:23–24). Later, during the First Jewish Revolt, Josephus was taken to Capernaum for his initial medical treatment after he was injured in battle (*Life* 72).

After having been abandoned and completely forgotten for centuries, Capernaum reemerged in 1894, when the ruins of the site were acquired by the Franciscan custody of the Holy Land from the As-Samakiyeh Arabs. The first exploratory excavations were conducted in 1905 under the direction of H. Kohl and C. Watzinger. Their probes were in the central and eastern naves of the synagogue, with a number of additional trenches in the western nave; these allowed a reconstruction of the plan of the building. In the same year, other excavations were conducted under the direction of F. V. Hinterkeuser, which continued until the outbreak of World War I. After the war, excavations resumed until 1921 by P. G. Orfali, who not only published a monograph, *Capharnaum et ses ruines,* but also began a restoration of the synagogue; this work, however, was not completed because of his tragic death.

In April of 1968, V. Corbo and S. Loffreda reopened the excavations of Capernaum and conducted 18 campaigns up to 1985; these excavations led to the discovery of many of the insulae of the city and to the rediscovery of the house of Simon Peter. They also led to the discovery of the synagogue of the Roman centurion beneath the foundations of the synagogue of the 4th–5th century.

**A. The City**

Until 1968, no remains of the city of the time of Jesus were visible; since then many insulae have been excavated. The city was laid out according to the orthogonal, or Hippodamian, urban plan, which consisted of a *cardo maximus* or *via principalis* (e.g., main N–S thoroughfare) and numerous *decumani* (e.g., E–W intersecting streets). Within the grid pattern of the streets, the dwellings were grouped in insulae. The use of this plan, along with the archaeological finds have allowed the excavators to date the origins of this city to the Hellenistic period. The city continued developing along this same plan until its abandonment in the 7th century C.E., when the Islamic invasion occurred. However, under the pavement of the synagogue, there are remains of an LB dwelling which appears to date to the 13th century B.C.E. During the campaigns of 1984–1985 in the lowest levels of the excavation, the archaeologists began to encounter dwellings with ceramics both of the Persian (538–332 B.C.E.) and of the MB Ages (1900–1550 B.C.E.). These dwellings were enveloped in the Hellenistic urban plan.

**B. The Dwellings**

In the insulae of the Hellenistic city, the archaeologists found dwellings of two types: "clan" dwellings and individual dwellings. The "clan" dwellings were arranged around internal courts, which numbered at times as many as three; around these courts were rooms which faced inward. There was a single entrance to the house, which faced the street and had a threshold and jambs with pins for the wooden door. The windows of the rooms opened onto the internal courts and never on the streets. Family life took place in the courts, where there were hearths, millstones for the grain, and handpresses. Also situated in the courts

were stairs which allowed access to the roofs, which were made with wooden beams and covered with a layer of packed mud.

Household furnishings included vases in white stone for holding water; basalt mortars; various basalt containers and vessels of a whole range of forms and sizes, and much ceramic pottery. The ceramics included lamps, plates, bowls, pans, amphorae, pots, and cups.

The houses were constructed with walls made of blocks of basalt dry-set; the interior faces of the walls were finished with ornamental patterns of pebbles. Seldom were there masonry walls, and then they were almost always of late date. The floors were made of basalt pebblework, sometimes covered with a layer of yellowish earth. The windows of the rooms were set in series on stylobate walls, and were formed of jambs supporting architraves which were crudely carved.

**C. The House of Simon Peter**

The house of Simon Peter at Capernaum is mentioned many times in the Gospels, so much so that in referring to his house, the Evangelists do so with or without the article (Matt 17:25; Mark 2:1; 3:20; 9:33); alternatively they refer to it with the name of Peter (Matt 8:14) or of Simon and Andrew (Mark 1:29).

The house of Simon Peter was found in 1968 in the first campaign of the excavations. It is situated in the SE corner of a vast insula which extends from the shore of the lake to the Hellenistic *decumanus.* Its N side lies under the balcony of the synagogue; its E side faces an open area which adjoins the *cardo maximus* and to which reference is made in Mark 1:33 and 2:2. The archaeological finds show that this house had already been built in the Hellenistic period, and that therefore, Simon Peter must have acquired it when he settled with his clan at Capernaum. The entry to the vast dwelling was from the open space to the E. See Fig. CAP.01. The plan of the house had three courts, around which were arranged the numerous living rooms. Among these rooms were two situated on the S side of the N court, which was the court into which one entered from the street. These two rooms were transformed in the apostolic period into a "house church"; here the excavators found part of the paving of the floor, which was surfaced with lime plaster—the same type of paving, in fact, which was found some years later in the triclinia of the palace of Herod at Macheron. The walls of the house–church were likewise covered with plaster and had painted decorations consisting of Judeo–Christian emblems. Christian pilgrims of the first centuries scratched on these plastered walls sacred and devotional graffiti in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Aramaic (cf. Testa 1972).

The house of Simon Peter underwent a radical restructuring in the 4th century C.E. when, at the initiative of Count Joseph of Tiberias, a friend of Constantine the Great, the house–church was restructured on the interior with the addition of an arch supporting a new roof. The floor was also resurfaced; a new sacristy was added on the N side, while on the E flank a portico was built. The original entrance of the house, which had opened onto the *cardo maximus,* was closed, while there were opened two new entrances in the sacred wall—one on the S toward the shore of the lake and one on the N on the new *decumanus* which had been cut through the insula. This 4th century arrangement was seen by the pilgrim Egeria.

**D. The Octagonal Church**

In the second half of the 5th century, under the influence of the Gentile church, which, with its clergy of Greek culture, was progressively consolidating its influence in the Holy Land, the house of Simon Peter, including the house–church of the 1st to the 4th centuries, was razed. On the same spot, about 2 m above the earlier house–church, there was erected an octagonal church to mark in perpetuity the spot of the house of Simon. See Fig. CAP.02. The church consisted in fact of two concentric octagons, with porticos on five sides. The central octagon had eight pilasters which supported a roof covered with tiles. The paving of both octagons was wholly in mosaic: that of the central octagon showed a peacock fanning its tail, while in the large octagon were found the remains of a nilotic mosaic. The portico had mosaics with a woven-reed design laid in circles. This is the church seen by the "Anonymous Placentinus" in 570 C.E.

With the Islamic invasion of Palestine in 638, Capernaum was abandoned, and the two sacred buildings of the city, the church of the house of St. Peter and the synagogue, began to fall into ruin. The later Arab inhabitants who settled within the bounds of the city which had been abandoned in the time of the Omayyads (661–750) had no interest in the Christian and Jewish edifices, and began to despoil them.

**E. The Synagogues of Capernaum**

The excavations have brought to light two synagogue buildings. In 1905, Kohl and Watzinger partially excavated the later building, which had been seen in ruins by the first explorers in the 19th century. The excavation begun by the two German archaeologists was taken up by the Franciscan custody of the Holy Land. In 1921, Orfali completed the excavation and also tried a partial reconstruction. This synagogue in white stone, the most beautiful and grand of those which have been excavated in the Holy Land, has been variously dated. The two German archaeologists dated it to the 2d and 3d centuries C.E.; Orfali, on the other hand, put it in the time of Jesus. With the reopening of the excavations in 1968, the problem of the dating of this building was addressed once more, and based on remains found under the paving, it was attributed to the 4th–5th century C.E.

**1. The Late Synagogue.** This building is composed of two edifices—the prayer room, and a vast court. The prayer room is in basilican form without an apse (24.34 × 17.25 m), and has a central nave surrounded by three lateral naves in the form of a horseshoe (on the E, N, and W sides) with Corinthian columns on plinths. On the W and E walls were benches, while on the S side were the ark and the chair of Moses. It probably never had a women's balcony. On the E side, the synagogue adjoined a vast court with a portico on three sides (the S portico was the shortest—11.26 m). On the outside it measures 24.34 × 13.34 m. The portico area faced the *cardo maximus* with three large windows, while on the N and S sides were two or three portals. The court was constructed after the synagogue had already been completed. The synagogue was visited toward the end of the 4th century by the pilgrim Egeria (cf. Petrus Diaconus, Geyer, 112) who referred to it as having "many steps" and walls of "square-hewn stones."

**2. The Synagogue of the Roman Centurion.** In 13 years of patient research (1969–81), the area under the late synagogue was explored. On the basis of this research, it was possible to ascertain the chronology of the late synagogue; the researchers also discovered the remains of the synagogue constructed by the Roman centurion (cf. Luke 7:5) atop a very ancient dwelling. Under the paving of this earlier synagogue and the adjacent houses were found ceramics of the MB, LB, Persian, Hellenistic, and first Roman periods.

The synagogue of the centurion has a rectangular plan with a slight displacement of the axis with respect to the synagogue of the 4th–5th century. The external perimeter of the first synagogue is the same as that of the later synagogue. The internal area of the synagogue of the centurion, however, is a little smaller, because of the considerable thickness of the wall, which are made of blocks of basalt (120–30 cm). On the inside, on the E wall, there was a sort of atrium, while the wall-bench must have occupied the whole length of the W wall. The paving was of basalt pebblework.

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VIRGILIO C. CORBO


**CAPHAR-SALAMA** (PLACE) [Gk *Chapharsalama* (Χαφαρσαλαμα)]. The location of an ambush of the Seleucid army conducted by Jewish rebels ca. 163 B.C. (1 Macc 7:31). This encounter may be the

same as that recorded in 2 Macc 14:16 as occurring at Dessau. The Seleucid army led by Nicanor was sent to Judea upon the request of Eliakim, the Seleucid candidate for high priest. This priest had ordered the execution of 60 pious Jews and as a result of his action, the Maccabees rallied opposition to Eliakim's religious and administrative activities.

Nicanor was an experienced general who had previously confronted the Judean rebels. He safely brought his army to Jerusalem but reportedly lost 5,000 men when he was ambushed at Caphar-salama. Subsequently he was forced to retreat to Jerusalem and to call for additional troops from Antioch to suppress the rebels.

The location of the ambush is not positively identified; however, it clearly took place near Jerusalem which was Nicanor's base of operations. Alternate locations of the battle site have been proposed, but Khirbet Selma (M.R. 167140), located halfway between Jerusalem and the Beth-horon pass, is frequently identified as the site (Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 339–340). This argument is based upon the etymological similarity of the name and the geographic situation. The site is located near Jerusalem and would have provided the context for an ambush.

ROBERT W. SMITH

**CAPHTOR** (PERSON) [Heb *kaptor* (כַּפְתֹּר)]. CAPHTORIM. The seventh "offspring" of Egypt (Gen 10:13). The Caphtorim are described as originating in Caphtor and as displacing the Avvim along the coast as far as Gaza (Deut 2:23). They are explicitly associated with the Philistines in Jer 47:4 and Amos 9:7. Thus there is conjectured, without textual basis, the association of the phrase in Gen 10:14, "whence came the Philistines," with the Caphtorim rather than its grammatically closer subject, the Casluhim (so *BHS; IDB* 1: 534; Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 213; Speiser *Genesis* AB, 68; Strange 1980: 35 n. 132; Westermann *Genesis* BK, 519). Others accept the text as it now stands and apply the phrase to the Casluhim (cf. Cassuto 1964: 206–208; Kitchen 1973: 53; Rendsburg 1987; Wenham *Genesis* WBC, 225). In Jeremiah 47, the prophecy promises the destruction of Tyre, Sidon, and the Philistines from Caphtor. This passage also identifies Caphtor as an island or coastland. The possibility of the relation of the Caphtorim to the Cherethites is strengthened by the latter's association with the Philistines.

A problem associated with Caphtor is its identity. Its traditional identification with Crete (Vercoutter 1956) has been challenged with the proposal of Cyprus (Strange 1980; Merrillees 1982). The issue has been addressed in three areas: archaeology, philology, and geography. As to the archaeology, the absence of Cretan ceramic wares after the mid-15th century B.C. in Egypt and Ugarit, despite the presence of textual citations for Caphtor/Keftiu until the mid-14th century in Egypt and the mid-13th century at Ugarit, has been used to argue against Crete as an identification (Merrillees 1982: 247–48). However, a similar argument could be made for the Cypriote ware in Egypt (exclusive of Amarna) at the same time (Knapp 1983: 285–86; 1985). Further, the textual and pictorial evidence in the chapel of Rekhmire is closely tied together (Vercoutter 1956: 185–88) so that attempts to separate the Keftiu from "the isles in the midst of the sea" and from the Minoan dress worn by the figures (Strange 1980: 44–70) seem strained (Görg 1982; Kitchen 1983).

As to philology, the identifiable "offspring" of Egypt in Genesis 10 appears to reflect place names or people who lived in or near Egypt. The order of the names seems to be according to the number of consonants in the root, beginning with two (LUD) and proceeding to four (NAPHTUHIM and all the names of v 14). Thus the order of the names is probably not intended to follow a geographical sequence (Wenham *Genesis* WBC, 224). Caphtor is also mentioned in Egyptian (*kftiw, kftyw*), Akkadian (*kap-ta-ra*), Ugaritic (*kptr*), and Greek (*kabdēros*) texts (Vercoutter 1956; Strange 1980: 16–112). The 18th dynasty list of names from Egypt, with the title "to make names of Keftiu" has been used to argue a non-Greek, ancient Near Eastern environment more like Cyprus than Crete (Strange 1980: 94–96, 166). However, there can be no certainty as to what the list was intended to reflect (Astour 1982: 395) nor as to the accuracy of the analysis of the names (Vercoutter 1956: 46–47; Kitchen 1983).

A Theban topographical list of Amenophis III (Kitchen 1965: 5–6; Edel 1966: 33–60; Faure 1968) is best identified as a list of cities in the regions of *kftyw* and of *tny*, the latter to be identified with the

Danaoi, i.e., Greeks of the Argolid (Faure 1968: 145–47; Helck 1971: 306–7; Kitchen 1973: 54; 1983: 159) rather than Rhodes (Edel 1966: 54–55; Vercoutter 1956: 56) or Adana in Cilicia (Strange 1980: 22). This identification is preferred due to the agreement of the remaining names with places in Crete (e.g., Amnisos, Knossos, and Lyktos) and the Danaoi region (Astour 1966; Edel 1966: 33–60; Kitchen 1966). Thus the text suggests an equation of *kftyw* with Crete.

The remaining issue is geographical. To place Caphtor in Cyprus it is necessary to relocate Alashiya, which has traditionally been associated with that island. Either it becomes a part of the island or it is located near Alalakh (Strange 1980: 172, 183). This latter possibility has been denied by Astour (1982: 395) and Muhly (1972: 202), who find no room for such an important kingdom on the Syrian coast. Thus the identification of Caphtor with Crete remains a probability.

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RICHARD S. HESS

**CAPITAL** [Heb *kaptôr* (כַּפְתּוֹר)*; koteret* (כָּתֶרֶת)]. Of the two Hebrew terms translated "capital," one always denotes a part of the Tabernacle menorah, except for two uses in prophecy; and the other signifies an architectural element of Solomon's Temple.

The term *kaptr̃* is used repeatedly in the tabernacle texts of Exodus in juxtaposition with "flower" (*peraḥ*). The former word may have an architectural meaning, in that it is used twice elsewhere (Amos 9:1; Zeph 2:14) in contexts that suggest a major building element. The ancient versions all indicate a spherical or rounded object, like a kind of fruit (as in the Peshitta and Targums). These renderings may be derived from the rounded shape of a simple capital. However, taken together with "flower," it forms a hendiadys. The two words together denote a floral, or more specifically, a lily capital, since *peraḥ* most likely means "lily" (Meyers 1976: 24–26). This decorative, architectonic element is repeated three times on each of the six branches of the Tabernacle menorah; and the central stand of the menorah features four such arrangements (see Exod 25:33, 35 = 37:19, 21; 25:31, 34 = 37:17, 20; 25:36 = 37:22).

The other word for capital, *koteret*, signifies the elaborate architectural feature surrounding the columns Jachin and Boaz, which were set at the entrance to the forecourt (*ʾûlām*) of the Solomonic Temple (1 Kgs 7:16ff. = 2 Chr 4:12, 13; 2 Kgs 25:17 = Jer 52:22). These capitals, or double capitals, were made of bronze and were exceptionally ornate and large (at least five cubits high). Because they were decorated with floral forms ("lily-work" and "pomegranates"), they can be considered part of the floral capitals that were characteristic features of monumental architecture in the ancient world. The size, material, and

decoration of the capitals contributes to the role of Jachin and Boaz as gateposts to the entrance of Yahweh's earthly dwelling (see Meyers 1983).

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**CAPITOLIAS** (PLACE). See BEIT RAS (M.R. 230222).

**CAPPADOCIA** (PLACE). The great plateau which dominated central Asia Minor contrasted markedly with its surroundings. Flat, treeless, ringed by forested mountains, broiling in summer and gelid in winter, it constituted a land apart, difficult to reach but then easy to traverse. Its climatic extremes limited most agriculture to cereals and some fruits; most of its surface lay in pasture.

One long river, the Halys, traversed Cappadocia; another, the Euphrates, formed its eastern boundary; beyond lay Sophene, Atropatene, and the Parthian Empire. The Euphrates came to be regarded as the boundary between Parthia and the Roman Empire, beginning with a dramatic meeting at the Euphrates between Sulla and a Parthian representative of Mithridates II, with the Cappadocian king in attendance.

The Taurus and Antitaurus ranges on the south limited access to and from the Levant; just beyond these ranges lay Cilicia and Commagene. Boundaries to the west and north provided easier passage, leading to struggles with adjacent dynasties, especially in the 1st century B.C.

Cappadocia was notorious for possessing few cities, only two at the time of Christ. In Christian times this resulted in an unusual type of organization, based not on cities but on large districts containing numerous towns or villages.

Persian occupation of Asia Minor for centuries created an Iranian aristocracy ruling the native population. Local kings claimed descent from Darius the Great. After Alexander, the Ariarathid dynasty continued this claim and added Seleucid Greek lineage.

As the Seleucid Empire began to weaken in the mid-2d century B.C., Rome was drawn toward Cappadocia among others. Quarrels with the neighboring Galatians led to Roman mediation in 164 B.C. King Ariarathes IV was described at this time as "one of the true friends to the Romans" (Polyb. 31.7–8). About 160, envoys to Rome from Cappadocia spoke of "the friendly attitude" of King Ariarathes V (Diod. 31.28). The alliance between Rome and Cappadocia bore one unusual feature; instead of being with the king alone, it was "jointly with the Cappadocian king and with the tribe [*ethnos*]" (Strabo 12.2.11.540). That distinction probably arose from the unusual organization of the country into 10 administrative districts termed *strategiai,* one of them controlled by the powerful priest of Comana (Strabo 12.1.2.533). The nobles dwelt in "fortresses" and usually resisted centralized control.

To the north, the kingdom of Pontus arose from territory previously claimed by Cappadocia. By the late 2d century B.C., the expansionist monarch Mithridates VI Eupator of Pontus constituted a clear threat to Cappadocia, which he tried to control through a sister who became queen of Cappadocia, and then through a son who became king.

The Ariarathid line of kings ended early in the 1st century B.C. and Cappadocians elected a new royal house, that of Ariobarzanes I (Strabo 12.2.11.540; Justin 38.2.6–8).

Mithridates continued his interventions and drew Romans into Asia Minor to reinforce Cappadocian resistance. Two Roman allies already bordered Cappadocia, the kingdom of Bithynia and the country of the Galatians. A long struggle began about 95 B.C., which was aimed at adding Cappadocia to the roster of reliable Roman allies.

The Mithridatic Wars between Rome and Mithridates Eupator lasted some 25 years (89/88–63 B.C.) and led to fundamental alterations in the political map of Asia Minor. At the outset of the wars, Mithridates could order massacres of Romans along the Aegean coast and conduct operations as far west as Athens. He could rely on the assistance of his son-in-law, Tigranes the Great of Armenia, and of allies as far north as the Crimea. By the close of the wars, Mithridates was dead, Tigranes defeated, and part of Pontus a Roman province, with an allied king ruling the remainder.

Ariobarzanes I survived some five exiles at the hands of Mithridates or Tigranes, and handed over his kingdom to his apprehensive son about 63 B.C. In the next years, internal disruptions and a new external threat—Parthia—kept Cappadocia unsettled. Ariobarzanes II fell by assassination. His successor required the assistance of Cicero against enemies from within, and his kingdom appeared "stripped bare" by Roman creditors. Invasions were threatened from the directions of Pontus (Pharnaces II), Armenia (Artavasdes II), and Parthia (Orodes II; Pacorus I).

Perhaps against the odds, Cappadocia weathered these political storms and those of the Roman civil wars, too. In 47 B.C., Caesar came through Cappadocia, saw Pharnaces II, and conquered him at Zela. In the aftermath of Caesar's murder in 44 B.C., Cassius killed King Ariobarzanes III (Dio 47.33).

During the reign of his successor, Ariarathes X, a Parthian invasion of Asia Minor in 40 B.C. reminded Cappadocians of their vulnerability. A complicated internal struggle and intervention by Antony replaced this last member of the house of Ariobarzanes with a new king, familiar from Judean history: Archelaus I (Dio 49.32; Sullivan *ANRW* 2/7/2: 1149–61).

Archelaus enjoyed a long reign, over half a century from about 36 B.C. to A.D. 17. His father had held the powerful priesthood at Comana, and his grandfather had served as general in the Pontic army. Antony much admired Archelaus' mother, Glaphyra.

Augustus reconfirmed Archelaus despite his taking Antony's side at Actium (Dio 51.2). Some internal trouble is recorded (Jos. *JW* 1.507; Dio 57.17). However, Archelaus became an important king in the East, receiving additional territory to rule in Cilicia Tracheia and Armenia Minor (Dio 54.9; Strabo 12.2.11.540). Honors given him, his mother, or his son and daughter were recorded on stone in Athens, Olympia, Magnesia, Comana, and elsewhere (*OGIS* 357–63).

To judge from claims exercised by his descendants, Archelaus married a princess from the Armenian royal house. He passed on claims to the throne of Armenia to his grandson, Tigranes V (*ex regio genere Armeniorum* in the words of Augustus, *Res Gestae* 27). His daughter, Glaphyra, boasted of descent on her mother's side from Darius the Great (Jos. *JW* 1.476).

By marrying Queen Pythodoris, widow of Polemo II of Pontus, Archelaus linked two of the East's largest kingdoms (Strabo 12.3.29.556). Under the rule of this pair now fell a large territory in eastern Asia Minor, running from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean off Syria.

Archelaus also became an advisor to the Judean royal house, or a mediator in time of crisis (Jos. *JW* 1.507; 1.538; *Ant* 16.357). Herod came to view Archelaus "as one of his dearest friends" and in fact helped reconcile him with the Roman governor of Syria, Marcus Titius, after an unspecified argument (Jos. *Ant* 16.270).

Ultimately a marriage cemented these good relations. His daughter Glaphyra wedded Herod's son Alexander. Glaphyra's freely stated conviction that she outranked the other women at the Judean court through superior genealogy caused predictable friction. So did the habit Archelaus developed of intervening in Judean politics, as when he assisted two sons of Herod against their father. By 7/6 B.C., after Archelaus executed Glaphyra's husband, Herod returned her and her dowry (Sullivan *ANRW* 2/7/2: 1161–65).

The children of Glaphyra remained in Judea, and both her son Tigranes V and her grandson Tigranes VI attempted to rule Armenia. Her great-grandson, King Alexander (*PIR²* J 136), became the last royal ruler of Cilicia under Vespasian.

Glaphyra herself went next in marriage to King Juba of Mauretania (Jos. *Ant* 17.349). She returned once more to her father. Next, Herodes Archelaus, another son of Herod, married her, violating Jewish law. She died soon afterward.

Archelaus fell into disfavor with the emperor Tiberius on a charge of plotting revolution (Dio 57.17). He was summoned to Rome, tried before the senate, and probably condemned; at any rate, he died soon after that, most likely in A.D. 17. (Tac. *Ann.* 2.42). His son, Archelaus II, ruled a portion of Cilicia, at least until A.D. 36 (Tac. *Ann.* 6.41).

Cappadocia itself became a Roman province under Tiberius and remained that way. Vespasian grouped Cappadocia with several other regions in A.D 72, and Trajan later divided that grouping, joining

Cappadocia to Armenia Minor and Pontus. Diocletian divided the group again, leaving Cappadocia in two parts, only the western still called by that name. Late in the 4th century it was subdivided again, and the ecclesiastical boundaries—disputed between the bishops of Caesarea and of Tyana—ceased to coincide with the civil (Jones 1971: 183ff.). The ancient Cappadocian problems of central administration continued at least until Justinian, who complained that public lands there had frequently been alienated by private lessees.

The main lines of royal administration continued to be followed during the first centuries of the province, and the core of the previous kingdom remained permanently bereft of cities, which grew up on the Euphrates and along the trade routes from Cilicia but did not penetrate the interior.

Cappadocia retained a distinctive character for these thousand years (400 B.C.–A.D. 600). Its great size and important location made it a factor in Hellenistic and Roman history, as well as in the early spread of Christianity.

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**CARABASION** (PERSON) [Gk *Karabasiōn* (Καραβασιων)]. A descendant of Bani who divorced his foreign wife during Ezra's reform (1 Esdr 9:34). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra, Carabasion does not appear among the list of names in Ezra 10. Omissions such as this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra. Furthermore, problems associated with dating events and identifying persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text. Heltzer (1977: 68) argues that Carabasion is a Gk rendering of the Heb *qrbʿšh.*

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**CARAVAN.** See TRAVEL AND COMMUNICATION.

**CARIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Karia* (Καρια)]. Rugged, mountainous region of southwest Asia Minor, bordered on the west by the Aegean Sea, the southwest by the Mediterranean Sea, along the Meander River by Lydia, and to the east by Phrygia and Lycia (1 Macc 15:23). Caria's early political history was dominated by independent cities of which Halicarnassus (the birthplace of Herodotus), Miletus (Acts 20:15–17; 2 Tim 4:20), and Onidus (Acts 27:7) were chief. Caria was ruled successively by Persia and later Rhodes (cf., Ptolemy 5.2), until Rome restored its freedom in 167 B.C.E. (Polyb. 30.5.12–16, 21.3–5, 31; Livy 45.25). In 139 B.C.E., the Carians were granted Roman citizenship (Livy 49.15) and in 129 B.C.E., Caria became part of the Roman province of Asia.

The coastal cities of Caria were populated primarily by Greeks, but the rest of the region had a mixed population which included a high density of Jews, evidenced by a number of Jewish inscriptions, epitaphs and synagogues from the region. According to 1 Macc 15:23, the Roman senate sent a letter in 139–138 B.C.E. favoring the Jews of Caria and the cities of Myndus, Halicarnassus, and Knidos, which, at the time, were independent enclaves within Caria. According to Josephus (*Ant* 14.244–46), the Romans intervened on behalf of the Jews of Melitus, guaranteeing their right to observe the Sabbath and to live according to their customs. The cities of Caria were only mentioned in the NT in connection with Paul's missionary travels at which time they were certainly evangelized. Ignatius of Antioch addressed a letter to a church in the Carian city of Tralles.

SCOTT T. CARROLL

**CARITES** [Heb *kārî* (כָּרִי)]. A group of mercenaries loyal to the Davidic house (2 Kgs 11:4, 19). In the account of the revolt against Queen ATHALIAH (2 Kings 11), they were one of the groups called on by JEHOIADA the priest to protect the Davidic scion JOASH, to seize and execute the usurper Athaliah,

and to rid the land of the foreign cult of Baal. The Carites are not mentioned in the parallel account in 2 Chr 22:10–23:21. They appear to be mentioned in the Heb consonantal text of 2 Sam 20:23. However the MT marginal Qere "CHERETHITES" (a change from *kry* to *krty*) is followed by the majority of scholars (e.g., McCarter *II Sam* AB, 433; but see Delcor 1978: 415 n. 21) on the basis of its standing in parallel with PELETHITES and of the LXX (B: *chelethi;* A: *chereththi*).

Attempts have been made to identify the biblical Carites with the Carians, a people of the 1st millennium B.C.E. whose homeland CARIA lay in SW Anatolia. Carians are known to have served as mercenaries in Egypt and Nubia under pharaohs Psammetichus I and II. However, the attempt to link them with the biblical Carites has been called into question on linguistic grounds (see Cogan and Tadmor *II Kings* AB, 126 and Schmitt *RLA* 5: 424). Although the suggestion has been made that the Carites as a royal guard were descended from the Cherethites (e.g., Greenfield *IDB* 1: 557), the evidence for this remains inconclusive at best.

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**CARKAS** (PERSON) [Heb *karkas* (כַּרְכַּס)]. See MEHUMAN (PERSON).

**CARMEL** (PLACE) [Heb *karmel* (כַּרְמֶל)]. A town in the Judean wilderness (Josh 15:55) located approximately eight miles southeast of Hebron (M.R. 162092). Carmel was the site of a monument built by Saul (1 Sam 15:12); the location of the sheepshearing business of Nabal (1 Samuel 25); and the home of Abigail the wife of David, formerly married to Nabal (1 Sam 27:3; 30:5; 2 Sam 23:35; 1 Chr 11:37).

The monument Saul erected in Carmel following the defeat of the Amalekites was probably a victory stela signifying that he claimed authority over the region around Carmel (*HAIJ*, 138). Nabal's response to David's request for supplies (1 Sam 25:9–11) implies that the local inhabitants in the area of Carmel recognized Saul's authority as opposed to David's (*HAIJ*, 166). Aharoni suggested that David made incursions into the area, to Carmel and other sites (1 Sam 23:15, 24b; 25:2), from a base of operation, a fortress, perhaps Masada, a likely candidate because Iron Age sherds have been found at the site (*LBHG* 289–90, n. 9). While the reference to Carmel in the context of Josh 15:21–62 appears to provide information concerning the tribal period, many scholars suggest it reflects the administrative districts and towns during the time of the Judean Monarchy (*LBHG* 347), a period when Carmel was a part of the district of Ziph (*LBHG* 354–55). During the biblical period, Carmel was a fortification and an important part of the defense system of the Judean desert. Though the region appears to be a useless wasteland, on the contrary, in ancient times it was a politically strategic area with an economy based on animal breeding. For these reasons, the Judean desert had two lines of fortifications protecting the highways of the area, one located along the Dead Sea, the other several miles west. Carmel was a part of the western line of fortresses (Har-El, 1981: 13–14). The modern name el-Kirmil, the biblical Carmel, illustrates how the ancient name has been preserved, though the modern Arabic name includes the definite article (*LBHG* 121).

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LAMOINE F. DEVRIES

**CARMEL CAVES** (M.R. 146230). Prehistoric caves in Mount Carmel. The term "Mount Carmel Caves" unmistakably refers to the three which were excavated under the direction of D. Garrod between 1929–34: Tabun, Skhul, and El-Wad. The three are located in a rock cliff on the S bank of Nahal Mearot, or "the River of the Caves," with a fourth one, the cave of Gamal which yielded no ancient remains. The cliff is some 20 km S of Haifa, at the border between Mt. Carmel and the coastal plain. The Tabun excavations were renewed by A. Jellinek between 1967–71, then by A. Ronen (1973–84). A test excavation at El-Wad was carried out by O. Bar-Yosef in 1981.

**A. Tabun**

The cultural deposits in Tabun were about 25 m thick, a long record with few parallels in the world. Two major units were present: Lower and Middle Paleolithic, each occupying approximately half of the deposits.

The Lower Paleolithic consisted of an Acheuleo-Yabrudian sequence (layers G[?], F, and E) and an Amudian episode located near the top of layer E. The material from layer G was too poor to be indicative. The Acheuleo-Yabrudian had hand axes and sidescrapers as its main tool types, with ratios varying from almost exclusively hand axes to almost exclusively sidescrapers. The dominant technology was flake production, non-Levallois. The Amudian episode was very different: typical tool types were burins and knives—typically *Upper* Paleolithic tools; the technology used in the Amudian was a highly sophisticated blade production, also typical of the Upper Paleolithic. There also appears an original and exclusive phenomenon of reusing older tools for shaping new ones.

The Middle Paleolithic consists of the Mousterian culture (layers D, C, and B), with two main phases. The lower (D) has typically long flakes and long points, the younger (layers C, B) has mainly large flakes and large points. The Levallois technique is widely used throughout the Middle Paleolithic sequence of Tabun.

During layer C, a shaft (or chimney) started to open in the ceiling of Tabun (hence its name, which means "the Oven"); it eventually widened to such a point that it rendered the cave uninhabitable. Afterward (layer B), the cave became a trap into which deer were driven and butchered. The accumulation of layer B may have ended some 40,000 years ago. After that only scattered remains were deposited ranging from the last 10,000 years (layer A), which marks the end of the Paleolithic occupation of the cave.

The Lower Paleolithic levels in Tabun are made of quartz and sand; the Middle Paleolithic levels are silt and clay, with a transitional zone between the two sediments (in layers E and D). The changing sediment probably indicates fluctuations in the sea level, which was probably high during the accumulation of sand, and low during the accumulation of silt and clay. See Fig. CAR.01. These fluctuations are attributed to Isotope Stages 5 and 4 respectively, or the last episode of high sea stand (130,000–80,000 years ago, possibly 20 m above present level), followed by the last glacial period with its very low sea stand (100 or more m below its present level). Some palynological evidence indicates a dry period, with few trees, when the sand accumulated, followed by a wetter climate, and hence a forested landscape, during the silt and clay layers. This theory still needs confirmation.

A Neanderthal burial was found in the Middle Paleolithic of Tabun, a female of 30–40 years of age who was placed in a contracted position. The precise Mousterian layer to which the burial belongs is unclear. Additional fragments of human bones were also found in the Mousterian of Tabun.

**B. Skhul**

This is the easternmost in the group of Carmel Caves, and had two cultural phases. The lower (layer C2) was a sandy deposit with Acheuleo-Yabrudian (?) remains and was preserved only in small, thin patches with very scanty remains (including hand axes) which do not permit a definite analysis. Above it were some 2.5 m of Middle Paleolithic remains in a reddish silty clay (layers C1 and B). The tools were like those of the younger Mousterian in Tabun, with abundant Levallois technique. The most important find in Skhul was its cemetery (layer B) with 10 fairly well preserved individuals. There were isolated remains of other individuals. These burials contain the remains of anatomically Modern Man, or *Homo sapiens,* as distinguished from the Neanderthal found in the nearby cave of Tabun. The precise chronological relations between these two neighbor populations remains unclear. In Skhul, like in Tabun, the Paleolithic occupation ended with the Mousterian. The upper layer (A) contained the mixed remains of the last 10,000 years.

**C. El-Wad**

El-Wad is the longest cave in Mount Carmel, penetrating some 50 m into the rock. At its base it contained the remains of Mousterian culture (layer G), overlain by Upper Paleolithic (layers F, E, D, and C) and Natufian (layer B; 12,000–11,000 years ago). El-Wad was then unoccupied except for occasional visitors and shepherds of the last 10,000 years (layer A). The entire sequence is 2–3 m thick.

The Mousterian at the base of El-Wad resembles that of Skhul and the upper part of Tabun, but the precise temporal relations between the three Mousterian occupations is unknown. El-Wad is the only cave among the Mount Carmel classics to have Upper Paleolithic and Natufian cultures.

The Upper Paleolithic starts with an Ahmarian phase, rich in retouched and pointed blades, and poor in grattoirs (end scrapers) and burins (layers F, E). This phase is followed by the Levantine Aurignacian culture, with its typical steep scrapers and abundant burins (layers D, C). In layer B, in a reddish silty clay, the Natufian cultural remains were found. The dominant tools (80–90 percent of the total) are tiny implements called microliths, mainly in the shape of lunates. Besides these there are some burins and scrapers, together with a new invention, the sickle blade, with its typical luster due to grass cutting. The Natufian of El-Wad yielded stone structures, mortars and pestles (in basalt or limestone), and a cemetery containing about 80 burials of anatomically Proto-Mediterranean man. A few individuals had decorations made of bone and seashell. Some had art objects associated with them (i.e., a human head covered in stone and a deer made of bone). The Natufian culture represents the earliest sedentary society in the Near East, and possibly in the world.

As with the other Carmel Caves, the upper layer (A) had mixed remains from the Neolithic period till the present.

AVRAHAM RONEN

**CARMEL, MOUNT** (PLACE) [Heb *har hakkarmel* (הַר הַכַּרְמֶל)]. A range of hills and mountains running SE from modern Haifa on whose promontory occurred the cataclysmic encounter between Elijah and the prophets of Baal (1 Kgs 18). Carmel, a common noun, means "garden," "vineyard," or "orchard" (Isa 10:18; 16:10; etc.). The name may reflect the fertility of Mt. Carmel's slopes which catch the Mediterranean moisture in the westerly sea breezes. Baly gives the annual rainfall as 28 inches (*GB*, 58). The abundance of these mountain slopes is reflected in modern times by the remnants of forests (mentioned by Baly *GB*, 81, see also Isa 33:9; Jer 46:18), by the presence of olives and grain, and by vineyards which produce the famous Mt. Carmel wine. Even today something of the slopes' beauty may be seen in the Bahai garden shrine. Mt. Carmel's beauty is certainly celebrated in the Bible. Cant 7:5 says the loved one's "head crowns you like Carmel, and your flowing locks are like purple." Mt. Carmel is compared to the Plain of Sharon, Lebanon, Tabor, Bashan, and Gilead (Isa 35:2; Jer 50:19). In reversal, a drought makes Mt. Carmel an area of desolation (Isa 33:9; Amos 1:2; Nahum 1:4).

What is usually called Mt. Carmel, Jebel Kurmul or Jebel Mar Elyas, is a headland that juts out into the Mediterranean Sea and helps to form to the N the Bay of Acre together with the modern harbor of Haifa. It appears on maps as a sharply pointed cape on an otherwise mostly smooth coast all the way to Egypt. The headland is the NW end of a 13-mile long, 5- to 8-mile-wide range of hills of hard Cenomanian limestone (formed ca. 55 million years ago). This limestone weathers into a rich red *terra rossa* soil, adding to the areas' fertility. The headland itself rises to ca. 556 feet and the range reaches ca. 1800 feet near its southeastern end. On the N, overlooking the Esdraelon Valley and the Kishon (Mugatta) River (Judg 4:7), the slope tends to be steeper than the S which slopes more gradually toward the Plain of Sharon. The range actually splits Palestine S–N with Sharon and Philistia to the S and Esdraelon and the coastal plain of Acco to the N. Though a narrow beach goes along the sea, traffic of antiquity normally turned inward and went through passes like the ones near Jokneam (Josh 12:22) and Megiddo.

Mountain caves such as those in Wadi el Mugharah (Valley of the Caves) overlooking Sharon, were inhabited from the Lower Old Stone Age through the Middle Stone Age (150,000–10,000 B.C.). Towards the end of this time, the Natufian period included the earliest art found in Palestine—carved animal heads of tool handles, a human head carved in limestone, pendants and beads of dentalium shells, etc. Palestinian Man, *Palaeanthropus Palestinus,* viewed by some as a hybrid of Neanderthal man and modern *Homo sapiens,* inhabited the caves. Others claim there are 10,000 years between the two types. These caves and mountains appear to hold prehistoric significance as the cradle of human development in Palestine (*EAEHL* 1: 290–98; see CARMEL CAVES).

Historically, Mt. Carmel has been mentioned in the writings of both Egypt and Mesopotamia. An indirect reference may be found in the records of the Egyptian pharaoh Pepi, ca. 2350 B.C. They mention a mountain running down to the sea, called "the Nose of the Gazelle's Head," behind which troops landed. Mt. Carmel appears as *Roš Qadeš,* "Holy Head," in the Egyptian records of Thutmose III (1490–1436 B.C.; as No. 48 in his topographical list), Ramses II (1301–1234 B.C.) and Ramses III (1195–1164 B.C.). This suggests that at least in the 2d millennium Mt. Carmel may have been a holy place or sanctuary. Aharoni (*LBHG*, 99, 171) identifies the Egyptian Mount User (e.g., *wsr* "strong, mighty") with Mt. Carmel in Papyrus Anastasi I from the time of Ramses II. In the annals of the Neo-Assyrian King, Shalmaneser III (841 B.C.), Mt. Carmel appears as Ba'li-ra'si (Safar 1951: 19). It is here that Tyre and Jehu, King of Israel, paid tribute to Shalmaneser.

This payment of tribute raises the issue of boundaries. The Mt. Carmel area seems to have formed a natural barrier that placed it in a border region. In the tribal boundaries of Joshua, the forest hills of Mt. Carmel form the southern boundary of the Tribe of Asher (19:26). Some say Mt. Carmel itself was part of Asher while others maintain that it was included in the northern border of western Manasseh (Kallai *HGB*, 176–77; *GTTOT*, 189 n. 173—the borders of Asher "touched" Mt. Carmel). Josephus included it in the tribal territory of Issachar (*GTTOT*, 352). Mt. Carmel may have also marked the border between Tyre and Israel during the period of the divided monarchy. Based on the Neo-Assyrian evidence for the location of the payment of tribute by Jehu and Tyre noted above, Astour (*IDBSup*, 141) maintains (1) that this confirms Mt. Carmel as the border between Tyre and Israel (Sidon and Israel says Simons [*GTTOT*, 87]); (2) that an Assyrian Army crossed Israel as early as 841 B.C. and provides that background for Jehu's seizure of power that year; and that Carmel was a sacred mountain, dedicated to the "Baal of the Promontory" (*IDBSup*, 141).

This evidence together with the Egyptian evidence cited above indicates the religious significance of the mountain and also a possible explanation for the choice of this site by the biblical writers as a background for the Elijah-Elisha cycle. In 1 Kings 18, Mt. Carmel is selected for the famous duel between Elijah and the 450 prophets of Baal and the 400 prophets of Asherah. There Elijah rebuilds an old altar and lifts a challenge to see whose deity would prevail. In this story, as the extrabiblical evidence would suggest, Baal is defeated by Yahweh on Baal's own ground (de Vaux *AncIsr*, 280–81). However, one must note that Baal worship, though dealt a significant defeat in the biblical story, was not eliminated in Israel. The exact location of the subsequent slaughter of the prophets of Baal is not known. One tradition locates it at el-Muragen (Karten Karmel), "the place of burned sacrifices" in the SE, while another refers to Tell el-Qassis, "the mound of Priest" NE of Mt. Carmel. This has become the traditional site. Subsequent to these momentous events, the Elijah cycle narrates the flight of Elijah to Mt. Horeb because of the wrath of Jezebel (1 Kgs 19:1–18). There he discovers a cave (v 9) where he encounters the Lord, the God of Hosts in a "still small voice" (v 12). Some attempts have been made to add to the religious significance of Mt. Carmel by identifying this cave with a grotto on the SW corner of the Mt. Carmel cape. This grotto is part of the antiquities site of Tel Shiqmona (LB–Byzantine period; includes a Byzantine monastery plus later Arab occupation; *EAEHL* 4: 1101–9). The religious significance of Mt. Carmel is perpetuated also with Elisha, Elijah's disciple. In 2 Kgs 2:25 and 4:25, the area seems to serve as a spiritual retreat for Elisha.

Mt. Carmel continues as a religious site into the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Pseudo-Skylax (4th century B.C.) records a temple to Zeus on Mt. Carmel (Aharoni *LBHG*, 361). Pythagoras meditated there. Vespasian and Trajan sacrificed there to the deity, Carmel. Tacitus notes that the priests of the Carmel oracle assured Vespasian that he would become master of the world. The sacredness of the area is indicated by a stone foot, discovered by Avi-Yonah in 1952 while visiting the museum of the Monastery of Elijah. The inscription of the foot reads, "To Heliopoleitan Zeus Carmel from Gaius Julius Eutychas, citizen of Caesarea." The foot was not part of a statue but a votive offering to the deity, Carmel, who is identified with Zeus.

Within the Christian period, Mt. Carmel has been equated with the monastic tradition. Monasteries were located on the summit for centuries and the mountain gives its name to the Carmelite monastic movement

originating from a group of hermits who came under the supervision of St. Berthold ca. 1150. A 19th-century monastery of St. Elias continues this ancient tradition.

In modern times, the sacred character of the mountain also continues in the Bahai garden shrine with the tombs of the Bahai leaders Bab-ed-din (d. 1850) and Abdul Baha (Abbas Effendi, 1844–1921). Baly further notes that in the 1930s people still spoke with awe of the "Forty Oaks," a sacred grove still standing on the heights of Mt. Carmel. Subsequently this sacred aura has been lost for "in January, 1970, it was a sorry mess," according to Baly (*GB*, 173 n. 11).

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**CARMI** (PERSON) [Heb *karmî* (כַּרְמִי)]. CARMITES. **1.** The fourth son of Reuben. He went down to Egypt with his father when the family of Jacob migrated from Canaan to Goshen (Gen 46:9; Exod 6:14; 1 Chr 5:3). He was the ancestor of the family of the Carmites (Num 26:6).

**2.** A man from Judah, he was the son of Zabdi (Josh 7:1, 18). Carmi was the father of Achan, the man who violated the religious ban imposed by Joshua upon the city of Jericho (Josh 6:17–19). Noth (*NHI* 64) has identified Carmi, the father of Achan, with the Reubenite family of Carmi (Num 26:6). In 1 Chr 2:7 the son of Carmi is listed as Achar, "the troubler of Israel." This variation in name was probably a deliberate effort to bring out a play on the Hebrew word for trouble: *ʿākār ʿkēr yišrāēl,* "Achar, the troubler of Israel."

In 1 Chr 4:1 Carmi, Perez, Hezron, Hur, and Shobal are listed as the sons of Judah. Of these, however, only Perez was Judah's son (1 Chr 2:4). Hezron was the son of Perez (1 Chr 2:5); Hur was the son of Caleb (1 Chr 2:19), who was the son of Hezron (1 Chr 2:18). Shobal was the son of Hur (1 Chr 2:50). Carmi should be reckoned as a descendant of Judah through Zerah and his son Zimri (1 Chr 2:5). The LXX identifies Zabdi, the father of Carmi, with Zimri (see Josh 7:1 where the LXX reads Zambri). For this reason, *BHS* proposes to read Caleb (1 Chr 2:18) or Chelubai (2 Chr 2:9) in place of Carmi in 1 Chr 4:1, thus presenting six generations of Judahites, from Judah to Shobal.

CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

**CARMONIANS** [Lat *Carmonii*]. A people referred to in the apocalyptic visions of war and calamity that constitute chaps. 15–16 of 2 Esdras (15:30). The Carmonians appear in the E, devastate the land of Assyria, and then engage in battle with the "dragons of Arabia." The Carmonians were a people culturally related to the Medes and Persians, who resided in the province of Carmania N of the Strait of Hormuz on the Persian Gulf (cf. Kerman in SE Iran). The vision in 2 Esdras 15:28–33 in all likelihood contains veiled allusions to the A.D. 259–60 campaign of the Sassanian king Shapur I (i.e., "the Carmonians"), who devastated Syria and Cappadocia (i.e., "the land of the Assyrians") and captured the Roman emperor Valerian. The Palmyrene prince Odenathus, husband of the famous Zenobia, then attacked Shapur, apparently in a vain attempt to liberate Valerian. For a detailed discussion of these events, see Myers, *1–2 Esdras* AB, 349–51.

GARY A. HERION

**CARNAIM** (PLACE) [Gk *Karnaim* (Καρναιμ)]. One of five cities in Gilead in which Jews were taken captive by the Gentile citizens (1 Macc 5:26). The city is widely identified with modern Sheih Sa'ad "because of its ancient city walls and also on account of its especially suitable situation as a place of refuge at the confluence of nahr el-aḥreir (ḥarīr) and wadi ezrāʿ" (*GTTOT,* 425). Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 303) thinks the site is the same as Ashtoreth-karnaim mentioned in Gen 14:5; Josh 9:10, 12:4; and Amos 6:13, and that the name implies that the goddess Ashtoreth (Ashtaroth) was worshipped in the city's temple in the form of a goddess with horns.

The Maccabean Revolt met with early success, leading to the Jews' retaking the Temple in 164 B.C. Gentiles retaliated in Gilead under a military leader named Timothy. Many Jews in Gilead fled to a

stronghold at the city of Dathema, from which they sent to Judas for aid. En route to rescue the refugees, Judas learned from a group of Nabateans that Jews were also under attack in the cities of Bozrah, Bosor-in-Alema, Chaspho, Maked, and Carnaim, as well as other cities (1 Macc 5:24–27). The last of these Jews to be liberated were those living in Carnaim. Judas attacked Timothy and his Arab mercenaries on the bank of a tributary of the Yarmuk River, causing the enemy to retreat to nearby Carnaim (5:43–44; cf. 2 Macc 12:21, 26). There they took refuge in the Temple of Ashtaroth, perhaps thinking the Jews would not attack a temple, even though dedicated to a pagan goddess, or hoping the goddess would save them (Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 303). If so, they were fatally mistaken, for Judas captured the city and burned the temple and Timothy's army.

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PAUL L. REDDITT

**CARPUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Karpos* (Καρπος)]. A resident of Troas and presumably a Christian, with whom Paul left some of his belongings (2 Tim 4:13). It may have been at the house of Carpus that the Christians of Troas held their gatherings, and perhaps Carpus was Paul's host on the occasion of his visit and preaching when Eutychus fell asleep and tumbled out of the window (Acts 20:7–12). For some reason, before one of his departures from Troas (apparently referred to in Acts 20:13), Paul had left a cloak, books, and parchments with Carpus, items Timothy was later asked to retrieve and bring to Paul in his imprisonment.

In anticipation of winter (cf. 2 Tim 4:21), Paul needed the cloak (called in Greek a *phailonēs*, usually understood as the equivalent of the Lat *paenula*—i.e., a seamless overcoat with a hole for the head and woven to resist rain—Johnson 1950: 8). Such overcoats (and other types) are known to have been made from black glossy wool. This wool, world-famous at the time, came from the region near Laodicea where it was woven, although it is uncertain whether the color's source was a special breed of black sheep or dyes. *Paenulae* later became popular in Rome and eventually developed into the ecclesiastical chasuble.

Paul was also concerned to have "the books, and above all the parchments" (4:13). "Books" (*biblia*) is normally interpreted as the more general term which includes the "parchments" (*membranai*). But Skeat translates: "the books—I mean the parchment notebooks" (1979: 174). The parchments, most likely in scroll form, were made from sheepskin and goatskin and naturally were more expensive than the papyrus rolls which would have made up other types of books. Papyrus was still the usual writing material at the time. Many suggestions have been advanced concerning the contents of Paul's books (e.g., letters to him, copies of his own correspondence, sacred books) and parchments (e.g., OT writings, official copies of the Lord's words, Paul's certificate of citizenship), but there is no way of knowing what they contained. It has been pointed out, however, that while *membranai* means "parchments," it is actually a transliteration into Greek of the Latin term *membrana* by which the Romans meant specifically a parchment notebook (in page form) used for notes, memoranda, or rough drafts (Skeat 1979: 173). Thus, if Paul were using the term in that sense he could have been referring to notebooks he especially valued, perhaps containing lists of Christians in various communities. Whatever their contents, Carpus was trusted by Paul to keep them until he sent for them.

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FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

**CARSHENA** (PERSON) [Heb *karšĕnāʾ* (כַּרְשְׁנָא)]. One of the seven princes of Persia and Media who were the advisers of King Ahasuerus (Esth 1:14). These men were the most prominent at the court (lit. "sat first in the kingdom") and had the privilege of personal audience with the king (lit. "saw the king's face"). That such a council of seven prominent nobles customarily advised the Persian monarch is

well known from extrabiblical sources (for references see Paton *Esther* ICC, 153 and especially *ISBE* 3: 971). Based on the MT form, the name is very likely Persian (see the arguments of Millard 1977: 481–88, who counters the excessive caution of Moore [*Esther* AB, 41–44] regarding the Hebrew spelling) and probably identical with the name *kur-iš-na* (Zadok 1976: 246) occurring in the Persepolis Fortification Tablets (see Mayrhofer 1973: 8.785). The etymology is uncertain. Millard (1977: 485) notes Mayrhofer's analysis into Avestan *Karša* "furrows" plus the patronymic suffix-*ina.* Zadok (1976: 246) offers the alternative explanation that it is from Sogdian *kršn* " (beautiful) form." It would appear that the form of the name in the LXX, *arkesaios,* omits the patronymic (Millard 1977: 485).

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FREDERIC W. BUSH

**CARVING.** See ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

**CASEMATE.** See FORTIFICATIONS.

**CASIPHIA** (PLACE) [Heb *kāsipyā*› (כָּסִפְיָא)]. A place in the vicinity of the Ahava River (N Babylonia), where some Jerusalem "temple servants" apparently had been living in exile; Ezra sent a delegation to Iddo, "the leading man at the place of Casiphia" (Heb *hārō*›*š bĕkāsipyā*› *hammāq̃m*) to solicit volunteers to return with him to Jerusalem where they could presumably resume services as "ministers for the temple of God" (Ezra 8:15–20). Early versions reflect uncertainty about whether Casiphia (mentioned twice in v 17) was a proper (place) name or a common noun related to Heb *kesep,* "silver, money." LXX-A assumes that Iddo was a leading man at "the place of the treasury" (*en tō topō tou gazophylakiou,* 1 Esdr 8:44–45 [—Eng 45–46]), while LXX-B assumes that Ezra sent the delegation to the leaders "with money of the place" (*en argyriō tou topou,* i.e., with money presumably of Ahava, 8:17). The place of Casiphia is unknown, although Winckler (1901: 509–30) suggests that it might be identified with Ctesiphon on the Tigris River ca. 20 miles SSE of Baghdad. See also MERARI (PERSON) and SHEMAIAH (PERSON).

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GARY A. HERION

**CASLUHIM** [Heb *kaslūḥîm* (כַּסְלֻחִים)]. Sixth "offspring" of Egypt, concerning whom it is said, "whence came A Commentary on the Book of Genesis" (Gen 10:13–14). On the basis of the plural suffix marker, *-îm,* this figure seems to be the name of an ethnic group. The order of the names appears to be according to the number of consonants in the root, beginning with two (LUD) and proceeding to four (NAPHTUHIM and all the names of v 14). Thus the order of the names is probably not intended to follow a geographical sequence (Wenham *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 224).

There are two problems surrounding the Casluhim: who are they, and is the gloss concerning the origin of the Philistines meant to apply to them? As to the first, *Pseudo-Jonathan* identifies the origin as *penṭapôlîṭî,* i.e., of Cyrene (cf. *pnṭsk (y)n*›*y* of two of the fragmentary targums). However, the two problems are related since those who compare Amos 9:7 (as well as Jer 47:4 and Deut 2:23) and transfer the gloss to the following name, Caphtorim, tend to associate the Casluhim with some part of Egypt (cf. Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 213, whose review of the options includes the nomadic Libyans of Herodotus, *nasamōnes* near the oasis of Amon) or provide no identification (Speiser *Genesis* AB, 68–69; Westermann 1984: 519).

On the other hand, those who retain the natural Hebrew grammar and associate the Casluhim with the home of the Philistines, attempt to reconcile the text by: (1) separating the Philistines of Caphtor from an earlier wave of Philistines from Casluhim (Cassuto 1964: 208; Kitchen 1973: 56; Wenham *Genesis* 1–15, 225); or (2) assuming that, by identifying the Pathrusim as Upper Egyptians and the Naphtuhim as Middle

Egyptians (or, more likely, "they of the Delta" or "they of the oasis land" as in Kitchen 1980: 1054, since Middle Egypt did not exist as a separate unit in ancient Egypt), the Casluhim must be Lower Egyptians who migrated to Crete before coming to the Levantine coast as Philistines (Rendsburg 1987); or (3) assuming a metathesis from *sklḥ (m),* which is related to the Tjekker of the Egyptian sources, with the addition of a non-Semitic suffix -ḥ (Kitchen 1973: 70 n. 3).

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RICHARD S. HESS

**CASPIN** (PLACE) [Gk *Kaspin* (Κασπιν)]. A fortified town in the Hauran Plain captured ca. 161 B.C. by Judas Maccabeus (2 Macc 12:13). Judas' 8,000-man contingent of the Hasmonean army advanced into the region E of Galilee in order to rescue the Jewish populace from the hostilities of the Hellenistic Gileadite forces led by Timotheus. Caspin is equated with CHASPHO in a second account of Judas' Gilead campaign recorded in 1 Macc 5:9–54. The account in 2 Macc 12:10–31 contains fuller detail but is chronologically disjointed and suffers textual difficulties. The account in Josephus (*Ant* 12.8.3 §340) and that in Maccabees vary greatly, probably the result of the name being transliterated from a Semitic dialect into Greek (Goldstein *1 Maccabees* 301).

Caspin was identified by a band of Nabateans as one of the five fortified towns in Gilead where Jews were being held captive (1 Macc 5:24–27). These towns included Bozrah, Bosor in Alema, Chaspho, Maked, and Carnaim. Caspin was the site of one of the earlier confrontations of the Gilead campaign. It was attacked after Judas' army forced Timotheus and his forces to break their siege on a Jewish stronghold at Dathema (1 Macc 5:30–34).

The residents of Caspin were from a variety of ethnic groups and were well-disposed towards Hellenism. They were confident in the ability of their fortifications and provisions to withstand Judas' attack. However, their tauntings and curses were repaid with the slaughter of the residents of the city which was captured when Timotheus' forces were regrouping. A nearby lake reportedly turned red with the blood from the carnage. At the time of Judas' siege there were apparently no surviving Jewish residents in the city.

The location of Caspin has not been substantiated archaeologically. Proposed sites include Khisfin (M.R. 226250), 14 km E of the Sea of Galilee, and El Muzerib in the Wadi Yarmuk.

ROBERT W. SMITH

**CASSIA.** See PERFUMES AND SPICES; FLORA.

**CASTANETS.** See MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

**CAT.** See ZOOLOGY.

**CATHOLIC EPISTLES.** See EPISTLES, CATHOLIC.

**CATHOLIC VERSIONS.** See VERSIONS, CATHOLIC.

**CATHUA** (PERSON) [Gk *Kathoua* (Καθουα)]. A temple servant whose descendants returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:30). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, this family does not appear among their lists of returning exiles (cf. Ezra 2:47; Neh 7:49). Omissions such as this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra or Nehemiah. Furthermore, problems associated with dating events and identifying persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**CATTLE.** See ZOOLOGY.

**CAUDA** (PLACE) [Gk *Kauda* (Καυδα)]. A small island (modern Gozzo or Gaudos) located approximately 23 miles S of Crete (34°50′N; 24°05′E) mentioned in Acts 27:16. Julius the centurion, Paul, and other prisoners boarded a large Alexandrian grain ship bound for Rome at Myra. Strong winds forced the ship to sail to the lee side (E) of Crete, and they set sail for the port of Phoenix where they intended to spend the winter. The ship, however, was forced off of its course by a wind of hurricane force called Euroquiloa or *"northeaster."* The ship could not head into the wind so it was forced to be driven along by the wind. The ship soon came to the lee of the island of Cauda, which provided enough protection for the crew to make some preparations for the storm. The crew stowed a lifeboat which was in tow and hindering steering, undergirded the ship with ropes, and lowered the anchor.

The exact spelling of the name of this island is problematic. Several manuscripts rendered it *Klauda.* The form Cauda is found in many of the most ancient manuscripts, and the Latin Vulgate rendering as *Gaudus* (see also Pliny *HA* 4:12), as well as the modern names, both the Greek Gaudos and the Italian Gozzo, give credence to this spelling.

The small island could only have supported a limited population. Cauda, however, did merit a bishopric during the Byzantine period, but this was undoubtedly due to its association with the apostle Paul. See Smith 1979: 95–96, 110–13; Jackson and Lake 1965: 332.

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JOHN D. WINELAND

**CAVALRY.** See MILITARY ORGANIZATION IN MESOPOTAMIA.

**CEDAR.** See FLORA.

**CEILING.** RSV rendering of the Heb verbal *wayyīspōn,* "to cover/panel over" (1 Kgs 6:9).

**CELIBACY.** Votive abstention from marriage and sexual relations—unknown unless alluded to in Matt 19:12.

**CELSUS** (PERSON). Celsus was a late 2d-century Middle Platonist and vigorous opponent of Christianity. Nothing is known about him except what can be inferred from excerpts from his otherwise lost *True Doctrine (TD)* which are embedded in Origen's mid-3d-century work in eight books, entitled *Against Celsus (c. Cel.).* Origen's attempts to identify him with a known historical figure are contradictory and fail under close scrutiny.

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A. The True Doctrine
  1. The Trustworthiness of Origen's Quotations
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B. Celsus the Person
  1. Identity
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D. Celsus' Picture of Christianity

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**A. The True Doctrine**

**1. The Trustworthiness of Origen's Quotations.** Although earlier scholarship was mixed on the reliability of Origen's preservation of the original *TD,* more recent studies have concluded in favor of Origen's care and general objectivity in his quotations from the *TD.* He preserved the larger part of the *TD* in some form, most of it in direct quotations. These citations were presented with a remarkable degree of exactness and absence of alteration for apologetic purposes. Further, in almost every instance, the original order of the *TD* is reflected in Origen's quotations.

**2. Date.** More than a century ago Keim (1873) argued so convincingly that the *TD* was written in the year 178 C.E. that his dating became the scholarly consensus. Certain recent studies, however, have exposed major flaws in Keim's interpretation of key passages and have, in effect, reopened the date question. If, as they should be, Keim's arguments are rejected, the *TD* can be dated no more precisely than the last third of the 2d century.

**B. Celsus the Person**

**1. Identity.** A substantial number of men of letters and position in the first two Christian centuries bore the *cognomen* (family name) "Celsus." Unfortunately, Origen, who did not know the identity of his opponent, supplied no information on either Celsus' *praenomen* (first name) or his *nomen* (clan name), so nothing about his nationality or country of residence can be inferred from his name. Celsus' book reflects a broad acquaintance with the Mediterranean world but none of his ideas betray a narrow ethnic or national bias. Efforts to connect him specifically with Rome have failed and little else is known except that he at least traveled in the East. Celsus, thus, cannot at present be identified with any other known 2d-century figure.

**2. Philosophical Views.** The belief that Celsus was an Epicurean who lived during the reign of Hadrian was first championed (*c. Cel.* 1.8) then abandoned by Origen. In modern times a number of scholars have identified Celsus with the Epicurean to whom Lucian of Samosata dedicated his *Alexander the False Prophet.* This conjecture has rightly been criticized on the basis of the overt Platonism of the author of the *TD,* coupled with the incompatibility of Middle Platonism and Epicureanism during this period. Clearly, Celsus was in the mainstream of 2d-century Middle Platonism. This made him all the more powerful an antagonist of Christianity because he moved in the same intellectual milieu as his Christian apologist adversaries.

**3. Scope of His Polemic.** Celsus' arsenal contained an impressive array of weapons, from an imaginary Jew (the first two books) to Greek philosophy and mythology. He even pitted competing Christian groups against each other. Almost nothing about Christianity escaped his assault. Celsus attacked the person and teachings of Jesus and his original followers. Subsequent doctrines and practices were no less culpable to him. Christianity was hopelessly divisive, and its underhanded evangelistic methods attracted only the simpleminded. Christians were worthless as citizens and could not be counted on to defend the empire.

Encyclopedic in his knowledge of Christianity, Celsus left no type of Christian group untouched. Jewish Christians, various gnostic sects, and Marcionites were all targets of his scorn. The majority of his polemic, however, including virtually every attack preserved in the first five books of *c. Cel.,* was directed against "orthodox" Christianity or what Celsus characterized as the mainstream ("those of the multitude," *c. Cel.* 5.61). Only in 5.61–64 and 6.24–52 did Celsus focus on the sects, some of which have left no other trace of their existence. Elsewhere their theology surfaces only in scattered fragments in passages that deal predominantly with rather standard orthodox matters.

**C. Celsus and Christian Literature**

Celsus read widely in Christian writings and, in some cases, especially in biblical books, the literary source of his information can be established with a reasonable degree of certainty. In other passages his comments accurately represent the content of various types of Christian books but definite literary dependence cannot be demonstrated.

**1. Old Testament.** Although Celsus drew some of his information on the Judeo–Christian cosmogony from Marcionite (6.52–53) and Ophite (6.27–28) sources, in 4.20–53 he exhibited an in-depth acquaintance with the content of the book of Genesis which can only be explained adequately by his having read the book directly. In 4.20–21 he cited examples of divine intervention in the order in which

they occur in Genesis and connected one of them with Moses as the source. Celsus' critique in 4.36–47 covers the entire scope of Genesis, beginning and ending where Genesis does and presenting the material in the proper sequence. Celsus' allusions to material found in the rest of the Pentateuch and the prophets, on the other hand, are too brief and commonplace to determine their direct source.

**2. New Testament.** Celsus never quoted a NT book or author by name, but at several points ample evidence exists to conclude that he was directly dependent on certain NT documents.

Possible allusions to the Gospels present a methodological difficulty, because two thirds of them occur in 1.28–2.79, where Celsus put his anti-Christian argument into the mouth of a Jew. Because of the probable Jewish sources of this section, evidence for direct dependence on the Gospels must be limited to the rest of the *TD*.

While many references to the *TD* are easily explicable on the basis of direct knowledge of all of the four canonical Gospels, rarely can direct dependence be proven. Only in 5.52 was Celsus clearly dependent on Matthew (1:20, 2:13, 28:1–5), but the fact that material was drawn from widely separated passages to support a single line of reasoning suggests more than a casual acquaintance with the book. Similarly, in 7.18 Celsus betrayed familiarity with widely dispersed passages in Luke, thus suggesting that he was conversant with major portions of the work. No demonstrable allusions to Mark or John occur. Numerous additional statements can be explained on the basis of Celsus' having read other NT books but only in the case of the middle portion of 1 Corinthians is the evidence strong enough to suggest direct dependence (8.21–37).

**3. Apologists.** Celsus was well acquainted with the type of Christianity reflected in the 2d-century apologists. In fact, extensive arguments have been formulated to establish his dependence on Justin (Andresen 1955) and to a lesser extent Aristides (Harris 1893; 1921), the *Kerygma Petrou* (Robinson 1893), and certain other apologists. While all of these efforts fall short of proving a direct literary dependence on any extant 2d-century apologist (Burke 1985), Celsus' knowledge of the religion of the apologists was so extensive and accurate that such a dependence cannot be ruled out and remains a distinct possibility. Ironically, the sole apologetic writing Celsus actually named, the "Dispute Between a Certain Papiscus and Jason" (4.52), has only survived in three late fragments, the largest of which contains a mere seven words.

**4. Sects.** In 5.61–62, Celsus mentioned by name several sects which he was able to distinguish from what he called "those of the multitude."

**a. Marcionites.** Elsewhere he alluded to specific Marcionite teachings (5.54 and 6.74) without identifying them as such and in other passages he made possible allusions (6.29, 52–53, 73, 7.2, 18). In no case, however, did Celsus indicate whether or not his sources were Marcionite documents. Two passages, however, are of special interest. In 7.18 the formulation of Celsus' argument so resembles the approach in Marcion's *Antitheses* that he seems to have been familiar at least with Marcion's practice of formulating antitheses, if not with the *Antitheses* themselves. The fact that the quotation from the *Heavenly Dialogue* in 8.15 is consistent with Marcionite thought has led some (Aubé 1878: 374; Patrick 1892: 76) to conclude that it was a Marcionite document, but his citation is too short to make a positive identification. Hence, while Celsus knew Marcionites by name and theology, his direct acquaintance with their literature remains to be established.

**b. Gnostics.** Celsus treated the gnostic sects primarily in 5.61–64 and 6.24–52. Nowhere did he make any clear references to specific gnostic documents which are now known to exist or to have existed, but there are numerous parallels with statements in the anti-heretical writings of the Church Fathers and in extant Coptic gnostic writings. In 5.61–64 Celsus specifically mentioned by name Gnostics, Sibyllists, Simonians, Helenians, Marcellians, Harpocratians, and followers of Mariamme and of Martha. He seems to have alluded also to Valentinians, Ebionites, and possibly to Carpocratians, assuming that his mention of Harpocratians was not already a reference to that sect. All of this was treated superficially, so no source determination can be made. In 6.24–38 Celsus described a nonextant Ophite diagram which he had seen along with a written explanation of it. Some of his information about the diagram even came from conversations with sect members.

### D. Celsus' Picture of Christianity

Celsus is himself a valuable source on certain aspects of late-2d-century Christian life and piety because his knowledge of Christianity was not limited to written sources. He drew much of the standard anti-Christian caricature but also exhibited a sophistication that is best explained by his extensive contact with and observation of Christians. Celsus discussed sectarian documents and theology with Ophites (6.25, 40). He observed Christian evangelistic and group teaching activities (3.72–78; cf. 3.44) and was on occasion even the object of efforts to convert Ophites (1.9, 12).

The following picture emerges from his vast reading of Christian literature and experience with Christians. Christians were, with few exceptions, illiterate members of the lower classes. Their teachers, even the relatively better educated ones (3.44), sought to attract the gullible, uneducated masses by discouraging any kind of rational thought or questions (1.9, 12; 3.49–50, 55; 6.10–14). The fact that such professions as woolworker, cobbler, and laundry worker (3.55) were common was further evidence of Christians' low social status. Because of his philosophical rejection of the notion that people can undergo radical moral change (3.65), Celsus was appalled by the fact that Christians consciously attempted to attract sinners (3.59, 62). Significantly, however, he did not repeat the oft-heard charges of immoral acts and, in fact, treated Christian ethical teaching as commonplace (1.4).

In sum, Celsus portrayed Christianity as a movement with no innate value or status in society. The great masses of Christians were of no consequence whatever and did not deserve to be taken seriously. Yet, Celsus did take them seriously and wrote no small book to discredit the movement. The danger rested precisely in Christianity's appeal to the masses. To the extent Christians could win the great bulk of society, pagan culture as it had been known for more than a millennium was in danger of being eroded. To his credit, Celsus perceived ever so clearly what eventually happened. His is one of the few and most articulate surviving voices from the side of the struggle which ultimately lost.

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**CENCHREAE** (PLACE) [Gk *Kenchreais* (Κενχρεαις)]. The E seaport of Corinth, located on the Saronic Gulf ca. 11 km E of the city and ca. 4 km S of Isthmia. Two NT references (Acts 18:18 and Rom 16:1) confirm the existence of an early Christian community at the site and the name of one Phoebe, a deaconess of the church. Much later in its history, ca. 4th century C.E., a large Christian complex arose at

the S end of the harbor, eventually absorbing and incorporating earlier structures including the Isis sanctuary. It was apparently in use until the port's destruction in the 580s and possibly even beyond. The modern name of the village in the proximity of the ancient site is Kechriais.

**A. History**

The ancient site of Cenchreae is mentioned infrequently in surviving texts. Its *raison d'être* was to serve as Corinth's E portal to the Mediterranean. Its fate was inexorably linked to the history of the city it served, suffering and enjoying Corinth's changes of fortune.

Little is known of Greek Cenchreae from either extant literary texts or archaeological data, although it was certainly in existence by the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 4.42). The site may have been in continuous use until its destruction or abandonment following Mummius' devastation of Corinth in 146 B.C.E. When Corinth was revived by Julius Caesar in 44 B.C.E., Cenchreae's situation improved. New harbor facilities were built to accommodate Corinth's rising importance as an emporium of the E Roman empire (Hohlfelder 1976). Two artificial rubble breakwaters were constructed to provide a deep-water anchorage that was available for use during the normal sailing season (approximately April to early October), and that was both larger and more suitable for Roman Corinth's expanded economic role (Hohlfelder 1985).

Its international prominence and prosperity probably peaked in the 2d century C.E. Although damaged by earthquakes and seismic sea waves in 365 and 375 C.E., the port revived and continued to play a significant role until Cenchreae was finally destroyed by marauding Avars and Slavs in the 580s. In the face of these attacks and subsequent vicissitudes, its population apparently fled to safer regions, ending urban life at the site (Hohlfelder 1973; 1975). Thereafter, it may have been occasionally occupied and the ancient harbor area even used intermittently as a fair-weather roadstead, but Cenchreae never again rivaled its earlier glory.

In addition to the artificial breakwaters, which are now submerged because of subsidence and/or a relative sea level rise of ca. 2 m since their construction, the Roman harbor was distinguished by various warehouses and support buildings, monumental statues, and several temples, the most notable being a sanctuary of Isis mentioned in Apuleius' *Metamorphosis.* An apsidal basin of this structure located on the S breakwater was excavated to reveal more than 100 glass *opus sectile* panels, dating from approximately the reign of Julian (361–363 C.E.). They were intended for a renovation that was planned, perhaps started, but never completed (Scranton 1967; Hohlfelder 1976).

**B. Archaeology**

Excavations were conducted at the site in 1963–1964 under the direction of R. L. Scranton and E. S. Ramage, and in 1965 under Scranton alone. J. W. Shaw led the underwater excavations, one of the earliest ancient harbor explorations and one that pioneered many survey and excavation techniques still in use (Shaw 1967). Fieldwork was conducted from 1963 through 1968 (excepting 1966), but was limited primarily to the Roman site. An adjacent alluvial plain, which has not been excavated, is believed to conceal the earlier Greek harbor. Five volumes of final reports have appeared to date (cf. Scranton, Shaw, and Ibrahim 1978; Ibrahim, Scranton, and Brill 1976; Hohlfelder 1978; Adamsheck 1979; and Williams 1981) with several more in preparation.

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**CENDEBEUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Kendebaios* (Κενδεβαιος)]. Governor of the coastal plain, who attacked Judea, under the orders of the Seleucid king, Antiochus VII Sidetes (1 Macc 15:37–16:10). Cendebeus' name seems to be of Thracian origin. He was a supporter of Antiochus Sidetes. Josephus (*Ant* 13.225) assumed, maybe rightly, that he belonged to the *philoi* (the "Friends" in the court hierarchy). He is one of a line of governors of the coastal plain, the *Paralia,* which existed as a separate province since Antiochos V up to at least Antiochos VII. Cendebeus fortified Kedron, in the S coastal plain and harassed Judea (Bengston 1964: 176–81). Simon, with two of his sons, Judas and John, attacked him and won a battle at the SW corner of Judea, and drove away Cendebeus' forces as far as Kedron. See Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB) for new suggestions.

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**CENSERS.** Hand-held devices in which incense was placed along with burning coals; the burning spices would provide a pleasing odor. These devices could be either cup-shaped vessels at the end of a long handle, or bowls set onto an upright pedestal. The former is probably indicated by *maḥtāh* (Lev 10:1, etc.); the latter is called a *miqṭeret* (Ezek 8:11). The term *maḥtāh* can also be used here specifically for various temple vessels that could carry coals and thus be used to burn incense (e.g., RSV "firepans," Exod 27:3, and "snuffers," Exod 25:38). A word in Ezra 1:9 rendered "censer" in RSV probably means something else, but its meaning is uncertain. See also FIREPAN; SNUFFERS.

The cultic use of incense offered in censers may be Egyptian in origin. Its use in Egypt apparently served apotropaic purposes. Worshippers would carry censers in processions to keep away the evil forces associated with impurity (Haran 1978: 239–40). The use of incense in ancient Israel seems to have had similar apotropaic functions, as when Aaron is said to have halted an outbreak of disease by standing, with a censer of burning incense, "between the dead and the living" (Num 17:11–13 [—Eng 16:46–48]).

Most references to censers in the Hebrew Bible are in cultic contexts, and they indicate problems in the proper use of censer incense. Nadab and Abihu (Lev 10:1–3) met difficulties when they used "strange fire," apparently coals from outside the altar area and hence lacking requisite sanctity. Korah's company of 250 (Numbers 16) also apparently used improper incense; but their attempt to take over priestly functions, by using the censers, was an even worse misdeed, for which they were punished by being swallowed up by the earth. Similarly, Uzziah (2 Chr 26:19) contracted leprosy when he tried to take from the priests the right to burn incense in a censer. Finally, the 70 elders holding censers in Ezekiel's vision are called an abomination (Ezek 8:11–13). Clearly, the cultic use of censers was a prerogative of priests—or of angels (Rev 8:3, 5).

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**CENSUS.** This entry consists of two articles, one surveying the census in the ancient Near East, and the other exploring the census in Roman times, particularly with reference to the census reported in the gospel of Luke.

### *ANCIENT NEAR EAST*

Census, as we understand it in our day ("an official enumeration of inhabitants, with details as to age, sex, pursuits, etc."or the like) does not find a concrete application in the societies and cultures of the ANE. As is well known, a variety of administrative and economic clay tablets in cuneiform script from

Mesopotamia and outlying regions, from the 3d to the 1st millennium B.C., provide partial population listings and counts from various cities and territorial entities. What is lacking, on the other hand, are recordings of the overall size of the population in these places: recordings planned by the central administrations of the ANE in terms of fixed geographical limits and regular spans of time.

In most types of state-formation of the ANE during the Bronze Age, a certain number of contingent and practical needs—from the distribution of rations to fiscal revenues to military levies—constituted the main occasions for drawing up inventories of specific sectors of the population. Thus, e.g., the texts from Ebla (Syria, 24th century B.C.) leave us a list of food provisions for 260,000 people—but it is quite unlikely that this was a "head count" of the local population. On the other hand, the archives of Alalakh (level 4) and Ugarit in Syria (15th–14th century B.C.) present numerous registers of male individuals according to their village of origin and to their social grouping, essentially for the supply of military contingents. And finally, the many interconnecting legal documents from Sippar in lower Mesopotamia allow us to reconstruct the inner organization of this city in full for the period ca. 1900–1600 B.C., from settlement patterns to social mobility, including the career stories of men and women alike—but few, if any, numerical and statistical data and frameworks may be called upon for this picture.

The perspective changes somewhat for the period 1000–500 B.C., when the Mesopotamian states (first Assyria, then Babylonia) engage in the construction of universal empires. Figures on vanquished and deported populations begin to be quoted by the Assyrian kings in order to emphasize imperial might: a statistical study of these data has yielded a sum total of about 4.5 million deportees during the period ca. 930–630 B.C. Great care must be taken, however, in evaluating these materials, as the possibility for fictitious numbers (i.e., numbers inflated for ideological reasons) cannot be ruled out in various cases. On the other hand, partial calculations on these deportees, when proved to be likely, usually refer to an overall count of population—men, women, and children—similar to an actual census appraisal. Thus, e.g., it is of general statistical interest to note that Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.) reckoned at 110,610 the total of deportees during 20 years, and that Tiglathpileser III (745–727 B.C.) gives the sum total of 13,520 captives from N Palestine alone.

A group of tablets from the same general period, discovered in the archives of the Assyrian capital Nineveh, comes admittedly closest to a definition of "census" for the ANE, as was stated—with great enthusiasm—by the first editor, C. H. W. Johns: "… as a Census, this will bear comparison with the Census in Egypt, or the Roman Census, or the Doomsday Book, which latter it most resembles" (1901). The 21 tablets of the so-called Assyrian Doomsday Book, which are in a fair state of preservation, present divisions in columns and sections. Each section is opened by a list of people in family groups, enumerated in a rigid sequence by age and sex. First come the adult males (whose personal names and professional designations are given), then the "sons" (names but no profession given), followed by the adult women and the "daughters" (no names, no individual listings, just the total for each subgroup given). The sons and daughters are further described by their height in "half-cubits" or "spans," as a marker of their relative age before adulthood. Totals of the type "in all, *n* (people)" end the human enumeration.

The list continues with measurements of land parcels with specified destinations (barley cultivation, vineyard, orchards), and at times with mentions of further commodities forming part of the farm or tied to it (from animals to threshing floors to living quarters). A geographical setting for the plots concludes each section: and all such localizations point to the province of Harran or bordering regions in the NW corner of Mesopotamia. It is also clear, despite the fragmentary character of most texts, that general totals of some type were provided at the end of each document. These totals refer to persons outside of the register itself, at times provided with professional names identifying them as medium-to-high-ranking palace officials.

These clues are sufficient to conclude that not even the well-structured tablets of the Assyrian Doomsday Book may be considered to pertain to a veritable census of population in the modern sense of the word. Rather, it would seem that the interest for listing people and land around the old and famous city of Harran stemmed from a specific policy undertaken by Assyrian kingship: the overall tax-exemption decreed for a few choice sites of the Assyrian empire by Sargon II (721–705 B.C.). The list of

villages or other units of settlement, comprising the (servile and forcedly resident) population employed in agriculture, and the land itself with various commodities or fixtures, was drawn up in order to establish the amount of landed property belonging to this or that courtier or official, who was to be exempted from revenues and services otherwise owed to the state. The fact that the archives of Nineveh also yield larger digests, registering all the plots owned by particular officials, validates this theory, and implicitly shows the limits of censual interests in the ANE as consistently tied to here-and-now, practical and ephemeral, perspectives.

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## *ROMAN CENSUS*

The violent transition of Roman government from the late republic to the principate (inaugurated in 27 B.C.E. with Octavian's acceptance of the title Augustus and its attendant imperial prerogatives) was marked by innovations in fiscal policy. Significant among these was the institution of the provincial census. Caesar Augustus began the practice of a regular and periodic count (Lat *census,* Gk *apographē*) of the population of all the provinces of the Roman Empire, and a valuation of individually and corporately held property (Gk *apotimēsis*), for the assessment of tax liabilities. Revenues which the imperial government extracted from the provinces included taxes on land and usufruct (Lat *tributum soli*), variable-rate taxes on chattel and a fixed tax on each liable individual (Lat *tributum capitis*), rents on imperial and public property, percentage taxes on Roman citizens, and extraordinary levies (Neesen 1980). Taxes were variously payable in kind or in cash. In addition to individual liabilities were a variety of communal liabilities incumbent on cities. Public corporations formed for the collection and transmission of taxes became powerful and (at least in reputation) corrupt; but by the time of the principate, tax collection in the province of Judea was administered directly by Rome (see TAX COLLECTOR).

Two NT passages, both of them Lukan, refer to the Roman census. Both are synchronisms linking events in the narrative of Jesus' life, and its perduring effects, to the larger span of secular history. Both raise difficult questions about the accuracy of the chronological details in the gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles.

The first reference to the census marks a transition from the narrative of the wonders surrounding John the Baptist's conception, gestation, and birth (Luke 1:5–80) to the etiology of Jesus' nativity in Bethlehem (2:1–8). The infancy narrative concerning John (which may derive from a pre-Lukan source, possibly in Hebrew or Aramaic) is set *en tais hemerais Herodou* "in the days of Herod" (Luke 1:5), the latest date for which would be the year of Herod's death, 4 B.C.E. The Bethlehem story is set in motion by a decree of Caesar Augustus *apographesthai pasan tēn oikoumenēn* "that all the world should be enrolled" (Luke 2:1). It is further specified that this census took place while Quirinius was governor of Syria (2:2; on the syntax and related matters see Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB, 399–400).

The distinguished career of P. Sulpicius Quirinius is reasonably well documented from contemporary inscriptions as well as Latin and Greek historical writers (the sources are collected in *HJP²,* 259), chief among them Josephus. In all of the five Josephan passages in which Quirinius plays a part, he is associated with a valuation (Gk *apotimēsis*) of the Judeans and its political consequences (see ZEALOTS); the event is called an *apographē* (*Ant* 18.3; *JW* 7.253). In one passage (*Ant* 18.26), Quirinius' administration of the census is set in the 37th year after the defeat of Antony at Actium, and thus in the year 6/7 C.E. The decade separating the death of Herod from the census decreed by Augustus and carried out by Quirinius is the source of the difficulties critical readers have in relating the Baptizer's

infancy narrative to that of Jesus, since the pregnant mother of Jesus figures as a character in both. In addition, there are several potential difficulties involved in relating the journey of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem to reconstructions of how Roman censuses were conducted.

The chronological uncertainties are compounded by the complex synchronism of Luke 3:1 and the reference to Jesus' age in 3:23. These passages imply that Jesus was "about 30 years of age" (3:23) in the 15th year of Tiberius Caesar (26/27 C.E.). This age accords with a date of birth ca. 4 B.C.E., but not with a birth in 6 or 7 C.E.

The apparently incompatible chronologies of these narratives in Luke's "orderly account" (1:3) of the Jesus story have provoked an enormous literature of controversy. Some of the most significant contributions to this literature were made late in the 19th and early in the 20th centuries, at a time when the relevant primary sources were acutely studied (the discussion in *HJP²*, 399–427 is fully documented from 1840 to 1972; more recent opinions are voiced by Stern 1974: 372–74; Brown 1977: 547–56; and Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB [1981], 399–405).

Classical scholars are convinced that there is no evidence for a simultaneous census of every province of the empire (Neesen 1980: 39–42; Brunt 1981: 163), and it would be wooden to insist that Luke's use of the phrase "all the world" (2:1) is any less hyperbolic than its use in imperial decrees (*TDNT* 5:157). The rhetorical concern of the passage is to introduce the census in Judea; Luke did not necessarily understand the Augustan decree to have been carried into effect at once throughout the empire.

Proposed solutions to the chronological problem have attempted to separate Quirinius from the census by means of historical and linguistic arguments. The historical argument posits a census previous to that of 6/7 C.E., at some point late in the reign of Herod. Judea under Herod was a client kingdom (see CLIENT KINGS) not incorporated in the provincial system of the Roman Empire. It is thus unlikely, though not impossible, that a Roman census would have been conducted during Herod's lifetime. Relations between Augustus and Herod deteriorated over time, and Augustus threatened at one point to treat Herod as no friend but a vassal (*Ant* 16.9.3). The ensuing political tensions, it has been argued (e.g., by Stauffer 1960: 31–33), would have provided an opportunity for Roman punitive interference by means of a census and associated taxation; but nothing indicates that Augustus ever carried out his threat (Bammel 1968).

The grammatical argument necessitated by any separation of Quirinius from the census interprets the Lukan clause *hautē apographē protē egeneto* (2:2) adverbially as "this census was the first" (of two made by Quirinius) or "this census was before" (another made by Quirinius) (Turner 1963: 32). It fails to account for the following genitive absolute, and is therefore unsatisfactory.

Yet another approach has been to speculate that Quirinius held an earlier term of office as legate to Syria during which he conducted a census previous to the one with which Josephus concerns himself. Various inscriptions have been appealed to in support of such a reconstruction of Quirinius' career, but classical scholarship remains unconvinced (see CHRONOLOGY (NT); QUIRINIUS).

The census is mentioned again in Acts 5:37 in the course of a speech by Gamaliel to the Sanhedrin. Here it is associated with the uprising instigated by Judas of Galilee, an association made repeatedly by Josephus (see JUDAS (PERSON) #10; ZEALOTS). A revolt by THEUDAS mentioned in the previous verse (Acts 5:36) with the apparent implication that the two were contemporaries has been the source of further questions about Luke's chronological precision.

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**CENTURION** [Gk *Kentyriōn* (Κεντυριων)]. See ROMAN ARMY.

**CEREMONIAL LAW.** See LAW, (BIBLICAL AND ANE).

**CERINTHUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Kerinthos* (Κερινθος)]. A gnostic teacher who lived in Asia Minor about 100 A.D. Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.26.1) says that Cerinthus believed the world was created by a Power separated from and ignorant of the true God. He also taught that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary. At baptism the Christ descended on Jesus from the true God. He then proclaimed the unknown Father and performed miracles. Since Christ was a spiritual being incapable of suffering, he left Jesus before the crucifixion. Jesus suffered and rose again.

Hippolytus (*Haer.* 7.33.1–2, 10.21.1–3) differs little from Irenaeus. He claims that Cerinthus was trained in the teaching of the Egyptians (see discussion in Wright, 1984) and that he called the Power that created the world an angel. Pseudo-Tertullian (*Haer.* 3) adds that Cerinthus believed the Law was given by angels. According to Eusebius' sources (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.28. 1–6; 7.25. 1–3) Cerinthus taught that the kingdom of Christ would be set up on earth with its center in Jerusalem. Several sources associate Cerinthus with SIMON MAGUS or Carpocrates.

Irenaeus also reports that John wrote his gospel against the teaching of Cerinthus (*Haer.* 3.11.1). He quotes Polycarp as saying that one day when John was going to the bathhouse at Ephesus he heard that Cerinthus was there. John rushed out saying he was afraid the bath-house would fall because the enemy of truth was inside (*Haer.* 3:3.4). Eusebius knew some who claimed that Cerinthus wrote the Apocalypse of John (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.28.3–4). Epiphanius refuted those who held that Cerinthus wrote the Apocalypse and the Gospel of John (*Adv. Haeres.* 51.3.6).

Later writers tended to associate Cerinthus with the EBIONITES and describe him in Jewish–Christian terms. Epiphanius (*Adv. Haeres* 28.1–8) says that Cerinthus believed the Law and the Prophets were both given by angels, one of whom was the creator of the world, and that Cerinthus partially adhered to Judaism. He describes Cerinthus as one of the false apostles who promoted circumcision and opposed Paul in the early church. Cerinthus' followers are supposed to have had an edited version of Matthew's gospel which they used to argue that Christians should keep the Law. The reliability of Epiphanius' information is questionable.

Primary sources for Cerinthus with English translation are included in the selections from the Church Fathers in Klijn and Reinink (1973: 101–273). Klijn and Reinink also have a good discussion of these sources (3–19).

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**CHABRIS** (PERSON) [Gk *Chabris* (Χαβρις)]. One of the elders of Bethulia (Jdt 6:15; 8:10; 10:16). He is also identified as the son of Gothoniel. The name Chabris is confined to the book of Judith, where at least 13 spelling variants are attested in the various Gk manuscripts. Given the number of variants, Moore (*Judith* AB), among others, has suggested that the name has been translated into Greek from a Hebrew name (possibly *ḥbry?*). This is possible but unproven. Chabris always appears with his fellow elder Charmis. He cannot be identified with any historical personage; the author's purpose in using the name appears to have been to add interest and detail to the narrative. This is in keeping with the genre of the book of Judith.
SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**CHADIASANS** [Gk *Chadiasai* (Χαδιασαι)]. A family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:20). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, this family does not appear among their lists of returning exiles (cf. Ezra 2; Neh 7). Omissions such as this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra or Nehemiah. Furthermore, problems associated with dating events and identifying persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text. Turner (*IDB* 1: 549) and LaSor (*IDB* 1: 629) suggest that the family's place of origin may have been KEDESH (Josh 15:23).

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**CHAEREAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Chaireas* (Χαιρεας)]. Commander of the city of Gazara, brother of Timotheus (2 Macc 10:32, 37). It is reported that Chaereas was killed with Timotheus and Apollophanes when Judas Maccabeus burned Gazara (2 Macc 10:32–38). This would suggest that Timotheus attacked Judea and then fled W to Gazara (biblical Gezer). However, the parallel account in 1 Macc 5:1–8 describes Judas as attacking Timotheus in his own territory of Ammon. The last city mentioned in this attack is Jazer in Ammon. Goldstein (*2 Maccabees* AB, 393–94) presents a convincing argument that the correct reading behind the text of 2 Macc 10:32 is Jazer and not Gazara. Chaereas would then be the commander of Jazer, a city under Ammonite control. Josephus (*Ant* 12.8.1 §129) also follows 1 Maccabees 5 and supports this conclusion.

RUSSELL D. NELSON

**CHALDEA** (PLACE) [Heb *kaśdîm* (כַּשְׂדִּים)]. CHALDEANS. Biblical name for S Mesopotamia, the area associated with Babylon.

**A. The Form of the Name and Its Appearance in Genesis**

The distinction between the Heb *kaśdîm* (cf. also Aram) and the Gk *chaldaioi* (cf. also Akk *kaldu*) may be explained linguistically either as the "sibilant + *d*" being assimilated to *ld* in Akkadian (Millard 1977: 70–71), or as an original Arabic (?) consonant "*ḏ*" lying behind both forms (Edzard *RLA* 5: 296). The LXX follows the Akkadian rather than the Hebrew/Aramaic spelling. The Chaldeans are associated with Ur, where Haran, brother of Abram, died, and whence Terah, Abram, and their family set forth for Harran and Canaan (Gen 11:28, 31; 15:7; Acts 7:4). To Nahor, Abram's other brother, was born Kemuel, father of Aram, and Chesed (Gen 22:22; cf. however Saggs 1960: 208–09). The Hebrew consonants of Chesed and *kaśdîm* are identical. The association of Aram and the Chaldeans is also to be found in Jer 35:11, where Nebuchadnezzar's army includes the army of the Chaldeans and the army of Aram.

**B. Other Biblical References**

The Chaldeans were a people with whom Judah sought an alliance which the prophets condemned using images of lust and harlotry (Ezek 16:29; 23:14–16). The Chaldeans were understood to have been brought against the people of God as a judgment (Job 1:17; Ezek 23:23; Hab 1:6). The term is applied to the Neo-Babylonian army which brought to an end the kingdom of Judah (2 Kgs 24:2; 25: 4, 5, 10, 13; 2 Chr 36:17; Jer 21:4; 22:25; 32:4–5, 24–25, 28–29; 33:5, 43; 37:5, 8–11, 13–14; 38:18–19, 23; 39:8; 43:3; 52:7, 17) and who supervised the land afterward (2 Kgs 25:24–26; Jer 40:9–10; 41:3, 18). On the other hand, in Jer 21:9 and 38:2, the Chaldeans are viewed as a source of life for the besieged inhabitants of Jerusalem who are willing to surrender. Associated with Babylon in the prophetic oracles against that city, the Chaldeans regard Babylon with pride (Isa 13:19).

The land of Chaldea is used in parallelism with Babylon (Isa 47:1, 5; 48:14; Jer 25:12; 50:1; 51:35). It is the land to which the Judeans are sent (Ezek 12:13), where as exiles they reside (Ezek 1:3; 11:24), whose language and culture they are taught (Dan 1:4), and from whence they will return (Isa 48:20; Jer 24:5; 50:8) after God punishes it (Isa 43:14; Jer 50:10, 25, 35, 45; 51:4, 24, 54). In the MT, Isa 23:13 refers to the destruction of Chaldea by Assyria who used it for ships. The Chaldeans appear in Daniel where Darius is made king over Chaldea (Dan 9:1). The Chaldeans are among the royal counsellors of the Babylonian court (Dan 2:2, 4, 5, 10). In the Deuterocanonical narrative of Judith, the Chaldeans are a polytheistic people from whom Israel is descended (Jdt 5:6–7).

## C. Chaldean History

As a distinct people, the Chaldeans appear in the 9th century B.C. in the land lying to the S of Babylonia and reaching to the borders of Elam (Oppenheim *IDB* 1:549–550). Although they are already well established when they appear (Brinkman *CAH³*: 287), their earlier origins are uncertain. Neither the possible relationship of Chaldean with a Kassite name for Babylon, Karduniash, nor the presence of West Semitic personal names alongside the Akkadian ones, from the earliest 9th and 8th century sources, have proven conclusive (Brinkman 1968: 265–266). In Assyrian and later cuneiform sources the name appears as *kal-da-a-a; kal-di; kal-du; ka-al-du;* and *kal-da-ni* (Parpola 1970: 188–190; Zadok 1985: 191–192). Like their neighbors, the Arameans of S Babylonia (Dietrich 1970; Brinkman 1977), the Chaldeans possessed a tribal form of social organization, and in the Neo-Babylonian period no clear distinction can be made between the personal names of many of the Chaldeans and those of the Arameans; both may be identified as West Semitic (Zadok 1977: 10). However, the Chaldeans, with only five tribes (each of which was ruled by an individual tribal leader), were distinct from the Arameans (Brinkman 1977: 306–307); the Chaldeans were wealthier, involved in trade and politics, and more urbanized (Brinkman *CAH³*: 288–90; cf. Edzard *RLA* 5: 291–92 for a survey of the opinions on the relationship of these two groups).

During the Neo-Assyrian period, when Babylon was politically and militarily dominated by Assyria, the Chaldeans often found their interests in opposition to the Assyrians. Because of the presence of marshlands, Chaldea, known as the Sealand, made an ideal center from which to wage a guerilla war against the rulers of the Neo-Assyrian empire (Brinkman 1979: 244–25, 235–36). Often allied with Elam, Chaldean leaders were able to rise to positions of leadership in Babylon during periods of Assyrian weakness. One of the greatest of these figures was Merodach-Baladan II, who united the tribes of the Chaldeans and twice occupied the throne of Babylon during the latter 8th century B.C. He was able to lead delegations to other states such as Judah (2 Kgs 20:12–19), probably in order to organize a more widespread revolt against Sennacherib and the Assyrian empire of their day (Brinkman 1964: 33). By this time, the words Chaldean and Babylonian were becoming synonymous in biblical and other texts; indeed, in terms of language and writing, the Chaldeans were not distinct from the Babylonians. The 8th century rise of the Chaldeans, their association with Babylon, and their international policy coincide with their earliest mention in the Hebrew prophets (cf. Saggs 1960: 205–7).

Assyrian dominance in the later 8th century is attested by deportations of nearly 250,000 Chaldeans during the reigns of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II; deportations which continued with Sennacherib (Brinkman 1979: 227). Although Assyria retained the upper hand, the domination was not to outlast the 7th century. With the weakening of the empire following the death of Ashurbanipal, the Chaldeans under Nabopolassar gained the upper hand in Babylonia, allied with the Medes, and drove the Assyrians W to Harran and Carchemish where they were defeated in 605 B.C. Under his rulership, a Chaldean dynasty in Babylon ushered in the Neo-Babylonian empire (Wiseman 1956; 1985). It was this empire that brought about the downfall of the Judean state in 587/586 B.C.

The Chaldeans remained an influence in the administration of affairs in the empire and seemed to have gained a reputation for wisdom and counsel throughout the Persian and even into the Hellenistic periods. We may observe the later tradition of Merodach-Baladan, who was said to have maintained a garden of exotic plants (supported by a contemporary list of 67 plants belonging to his garden) and to have had an observatory in Babylonia for purposes of astronomy (Brinkman 1964: 37, 40). Further, the beginning of careful historical, economic, and astronomical record keeping in Babylon in 747 B.C., roughly coincides with the rise of Chaldean influence, two events which later traditions were to relate to one another (Oates 1979: 112–113).

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RICHARD S. HESS

**CHALKSTONES.** See GEOGRAPHY AND THE BIBLE (PALESTINE).

**CHALPHI** (PERSON) [Gk *Chalphi* (Χαλφι)]. Father of Judas, a commander of elite troops under the Hasmonaean Jonathan (1 Macc 11:70). Nothing is known about the ancestry or descent of this family. Even the rendering of this name in Greek and its derivation is uncertain. Josephus (*Ant* 13.5.7.161) renders the name Chapsaios. Scholars have taken the Greek to be derived from the Hebrew root *ḥlp,* meaning a child given in birth as a substitute for another (Swaim *IDB* 1: 551). Another possibility would be a native of the town Heleph in Naphtali (Josh 19:33). It is further debated if the NT name Alphaeus (Gk *alphaios*), applied to the father of either Levi (Mark 2:14) or of James (Matt 10:3; Mark 3:18; Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13), is derived from the same Hebrew root as Chalphi (Swaim *IDB* 1: 551), or a Hebrew root *hlp* (BAGD, 41), or is a purely Greek name (Norris *IDB* 1: 96).

RUSSELL D. NELSON

**CHAMPION.** See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

**CHAPHENATHA** (PLACE) [Gk *Chaphenatha* (Χαφεναθα)]. A name given to part of the wall of the city of Jerusalem on the valley to the E which is the Kidron (1 Macc 12:37). The actual location of the place is uncertain, and the exact derivation of the name is unknown. This opens the topic to speculation and scholars offer various solutions. Torrey (1934: 32–33) reads *caph henatha* as "the bend of the fountains" and identifies the spot with the curved portion of the wall which ran from the Virgin's Fountain to the Pool of Siloam which was commonly referred to as a fountain (Neh 2:14; 3:15). Odelain and Seguineau (1981: 82, 283) think it possibly means a new quarter NW of the temple to which the city expanded (2 Kgs 22:14; Zeph 1:10). In the time of the Maccabean War, Jonathan (160 B.C.E.) sought to fortify Jerusalem and to build a rampart between the city and the citadel to prevent the garrison from having commercial transaction with the city (1 Macc 12:35–37). The suggestion of Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 465) that Chaphenatha derives from an Aramaic root meaning "hunger," may suggest an attempt to starve out the citadel, but this is purely speculation. Josephus does not speak of this wall by name, though he refers to Siloam as a fountain of sweet and abundant water (*JW* 5.4.1 §140).

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BETTY JANE LILLIE

**CHARAX** (PLACE) [Gk *Charax* (Χαραξ)]. Ostensibly a town or city located in Gilead. The name appears only in 2 Macc 12:17 as a place where Jews known as Toubiani lived or had sought refuge, whom Judas Maccabeus subsequently transported to Judah for their safety during the early years of the Maccabean revolt (2 Macc 12:13–28; cf. the corresponding account in 1 Macc 5:24–51). The Gk common noun *charax* has the basic meaning of "stake" and, by extension, "palisade;" it was used to designate either a fort or a siege-enclosure (the latter in Luke 19:43, the only occurrence of the word in the NT); and

in the LXX *charax* translates any of several Heb words relating to fortifications or siegeworks. In the Greco–Roman world military camps and marketplaces occasionally bore this name (see L. Bürchner et al., PW 3:2121–2124). If the place name had a strictly Greek origin, it may have been a Seleucid fortification that later developed into a regional market town. By coincidence there was, however, a semitic noun *karak (a)* (from the root *krk,* "to encircle, fortify"), meaning "fortification," "city," "capital," or "mercantile center," which occasionally appears as a place name in the Levant, e.g., the Moabite capital of Karak Moab, transliterated in Greek texts as *Charachmōba* (or *Charakmōba*). The similarity of the two terms in both sound and meaning may have given rise to some confusion in antiquity. Abel (1949: 98, 436) identifies the site referred to in 2 Maccabees as the present village of el-Kerak (M.R. 217066). Goldstein (*2 Maccabees* AB, 440) argues that 2 Maccabees does not refer to a place named Charax at all, but erroneously alludes to the "palisaded camp," i.e., fortress palace, at Araq el-Emir, the seat of the Tobiad dynasty in Ammonitis.

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ROBERT HOUSTON SMITH

**CHAREA** (PERSON) [Gk *Charea* (Χαρεα)]. See HARSHA (PERSON).

**CHARIOTS.** Two-wheeled vehicles used throughout the ANE in warfare, hunting, and travel.

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A. Egyptian Chariots
B. Levantine Chariots
C. The Origin and History of the Chariot

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**A. Egyptian Chariots**

The basic design of the first chariots mentioned in the Bible, the Egyptian chariots of Gen 41:46; 46:29; and Exodus 14, must have been very similar to that of the chariots of the immediately preceding 18th Dyn.—the only chariots that have been preserved. These are the six from the tomb of Tutankhamen, the chariot box of Thutmosis IV, and the chariot of Yuia and Tuiu, which, although smaller and apparently hand-drawn, is constructed on the same principal. All of them are in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. To this list should be added a chariot from an unknown tomb at Thebes, now in the Museo Archeologico in Florence, and a wheel hub with fragmentary spokes from the chariot of Amenophis III, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Further information is furnished by temple and tomb reliefs and wall paintings, showing such vehicles primarily in military or hunting scenes (Littauer and Crouwel 1985: 1–2, 67–69, 69: n. 4). Although there are no actual remains of chariots from the Ramesside period, reliefs of the era depict vehicles identical with the 18th-Dyn. ones, varying only slightly in the armament they carry (Yadin 1963: 232).

These chariots were light, open vehicles, with two spoked wheels; they were drawn by a pair of horses placed under a yoke at the end of the draft pole. There was just enough room for two men—the driver and the archer—to stand abreast. The floor plan was in the form of a capital D approximately 1 m wide by 0.5 m deep (from front to back). The floor was framed by one or two curved, heat-bent members and a straight, rear floor bar. The chariots were entirely open at the rear for ready access and egress. The light breastwork was framed by a rail of heat-bent wood that usually reached hip height.

The wooden axle ran under the rear of the vehicle (although in some representations it was convenient to show it somewhat farther forward). The wheels, which revolved freely on the axle, were of unique construction. The spokes were formed by the two equal sides of an isosceles triangle (with an apex of 60° for a six-spoked wheel or 90° for a four-spoked one). The legs of the angle (the half spokes) were joined back-to-back with those of the adjacent angles to form whole spokes, elliptical in section. The apices of the triangles either formed an integral part of the nave, as in the Ashmolean fragment (Western 1973), or they nestled in the bays of a casing surrounding the nave, as in the chariots in Cairo. The naves were further extended on either side of the wheel by flanges. The spoke ends were morticed into the rim, or

felloe, which was composed of two unequal lengths of heat-bent wood, beveled and overlapping at the ends. The nave and spokehead area was consolidated by glue and rawhide; the latter, when applied wet, has a compressing effect as it dries. The felloe ends were bound at their overlaps with rawhide. A rawhide tire, also undoubtedly shrunk on, helped to consolidate the whole, as well as to protect the tread of the wheels. In some cases the latter were also protected by a wooden "tire" in sections, flush with the rim and with a rawhide tire outside it (Littauer and Crouwel 1985: 76–79).

Rawhide again was the material used to lash the parts of the floor frame and the rear floor bar together, and the interwoven thongs formed a light, resilient flooring in an otherwise springless vehicle. This webbing also maintained tension on the bent wood of the floor frame and helped it to keep its shape.

It is noteworthy that such a construction method would have been practical only in a dry climate, since rawhide is susceptible to dampness. Protection against moisture is indeed implied by the birchbark covering of the rawhide bindings on certain chariots, birchbark having waterproofing properties. Since this material is not native to Egypt, the nearest source being E Anatolia, it seems likely that this design of wheel originated farther E and N as did, indeed, the chariot itself.

The wheels were secured on the axle arms by linch pins of wood, boiled leather, or bronze. The latter, the bronze nave hoops on some wheels and the bronze wire sometimes used to bind the ends of felloes with wooden tires, constitute the only metal parts of the chariot itself that were not purely decorative. Thus the vehicle was held together by a tough, resilient bonding material—rawhide—that could not be jolted loose in rough going, as could metal parts.

To compensate for the instability resulting from the lightness of the vehicle, the track was very wide (1.51–1.8 m). This also permitted long naves (0.32–0.44 m). These helped to reduce the tendency of a wooden wheel to wobble on a wooden axle, where it would not fit as snuggly as modern wheels with metal-lined naves can fit on metal axle arms. To help reduce friction and squeaking, the naves were lined with leather and appear to have been greased.

The chariot body had a siding around the front and the two sides; this was fenestrated in a manner that made it resemble a butcher's apron. In the majority of chariots this siding was probably of leather, of which traces remain; in the parade chariots it was of thin wood, which was coated with gesso molded in a design and gilded (two chariots of Tutankhamen) or silvered (chariot of Thutmosis IV) (Littauer and Crouwel 1985: pls 9, 17, 47).

The draft pole ran back all the way under the chariot floor, its flattened end fitting in an open, horizontal, U-shaped socket beneath the rear floor bar. This prevented horizontal movement and the consequent stress on the only area of attachment, which was to the floor frame at center front. Here it was secured by rawhide bindings and, after describing a flattened S curve, ran forward and upward to the yoke. Slender wooden rods joining the front rail to the pole a short distance before the body provided support for the front breastwork and reinforced the attachment of pole to chariot, which was susceptible to stress—particularly in rough going or on turns. Sometimes, however, if we are to judge from representations, the connection was of leather and could have served only the latter purpose.

The pole ran forward diagonally to a yoke, which was secured on top by a peg and lashings. A pair of straps ran out from an area on the pole, one to either arm of the yoke, and kept it from swiveling on the pole. The yoke, originally devised for bovid draft, lay on the neck directly in front of the withers, and was adapted to horses' conformation by yoke saddles (Littauer 1968: 27–31). These were lashed by their "handles" to the yoke arms, and their "legs" lay along the horses' shoulders and took much of the pull. Their ends were joined by a crescentic strap that crossed the front of the neck and kept the saddles in place. A slack strap ran from each outer yoke-saddle end and under the horse's belly to a point near the end of the pole. This served as a backing element, since there was no breaching strap (Spruytte 1983: 28).

The 18th-Dyn. Egyptian chariots carried as armament two bow cases; to these were added under the Ramessides a pair of short spears or javelins—never shown in use. They may have been for close fighting should the chariot be brought to a standstill. The warrior wore a long, protective tunic of lamellar armor; his head was bare. The driver carried a small rectangular shield. In battle, the reins were tied around the warrior's hips, while the driver with one hand held up a small shield to protect his companion's face and,

with the other hand, exercised directional control over the reins in front of the warrior. Both, in a sense, "hung on by the horses' mouths." (Metal horse bits—either of plain bar or jointed-shaffle type—begin to be documented in this period.)

**B. Levantine Chariots**

Levantine chariots, shown in battle or brought as booty or tribute to Egypt, usually appear almost identical to the Egyptian ones. Those of the Hittites or their Levantine allies at the battle of Kedesh (1286/1285 B.C.) are, however, shown as carrying three men: driver, shield bearer, and javelin thrower. They must have been deeper front-to-back than the Egyptian ones and their sidings are not fenestrated but solid.

The close relationship of chariots in the Egyptian/Near Eastern area may be materially supported by a recent find of the remains of a wheel of the unique "Egyptian" construction, in a 13th-century B.C. context at Lidar in SE Anatolia (H. Hauptmann, personal communication). From about the same period we also have evidence of a simpler and more familiar wheel construction. Wheels found in water-logged burials on the shores of Lake Sevan in Armenia had 28 spokes merely morticed into a barrel nave, although their felloes still consisted of two lengths of heat-bent wood. They belonged to light carts in which the occupants apparently sat, and which could not properly be called chariots (Piggott 1983: 95–96).

**C. The Origin and History of the Chariot**

These superbly designed Late Bronze Age chariots could not have come into existence without a long line of development behind them that stretched back at least to the Uruk period in S Mesopotamia in the later 4th millennium B.C. Here we find our first evidence of wheeled vehicles, in the form of pictographs on clay tablets. The latter show both sledges and what appear to be sledges mounted on four disk wheels (Littauer and Crouwel 1979: 12). More detailed information comes from the ED period (first half of the 3d millennium B.C.) in the form of bas-reliefs, painted pottery, shell mosaics, or models in the round. From this period also come the first remains of buried vehicles (chiefly in the form of impressions in the soil) in tombs at Kish and Ur. The wheel area has furnished the most definite—and certainly the most important—information. It reveals technical advances that suggest an earlier, intensive, trial-and-error period. The wheels already revolve differentially on a fixed axle, instead of being fixed on a revolving axle—the more primitive system. This not only facilitates turning, but helps to cope with uneven terrain. The disk wheels, moreover, were no longer made of single pieces, whether of slices cut across the grain or with it. A disk cut across the trunk would probably have been the first thing to suggest itself. Owing to the nature of tree growth, however, with its spongy heart wood, annual rings, and exterior sapwood and cambium, this method would soon have proven impractical. It would, moreover have limited wheel diameters to the size of trunks that could be worked with the means available. A solid cut lengthwise of the trunk (i.e. with the grain), while quite viable, would have been limited in size for the same reason. Hence a technique was worked out by which the wheel was made from three pieces of wood vertically cut: a wide central plank, through the center of which the axle arm passed, and two quarter moons flanking it on either side, the whole held together by external battens or thongs.

There were four-wheeled vehicles and two-wheeled ones, none of which could yet properly be called "chariots." The four-wheelers are indeed often depicted in battle scenes, but more than one factor must have discouraged this use, and after the middle of the 3d millennium B.C., they are no longer shown in military contexts. Without a horizontally swiveling front axle, the rear wheels of a four-wheeler cannot follow in the tracks of the front ones and are forced to skid, unless the turning is in a very wide arc. To keep the skidding to a minimum, the vehicles were made very short and narrow. There was just room for the driver and warrior to stand one behind the other, the driver necessarily in front. This would hardly make for an efficient instrument of war. Moreover, although the psychological impact of the first use of wheeled vehicles in battle may originally have had a daunting effect on the enemy, this would have worn off with familiarity. The frequently drawn parallel between these four-wheelers and modern tanks is quite invalid. In the tank the personnel and the motive power are both protected, whereas here both men and animals were highly exposed. While the tank can negotiate a variety of rough terrain, these vehicles were limited to smooth and level ground (Littauer and Crouwel 1979: 32–33).

The two-wheelers, of which there were two body types, are never shown in unquestionably military contexts, and since they could carry only one person, this is not surprising (Littauer and Crouwel 1979: 21).

Draft power in the 3d millennium B.C. consisted—apart from bovids—of teams of (usually) four equids under yoke, attached to a central draft pole. These were either domesticated donkeys (of which there is already evidence at this time) or hybrids. The latter are most likely to have been donkey crosses—either with a small local equid, *Equus hemionus* (similar to an onager), or with true horses. The latter animal was beginning to make its way S from the Pontic steppe, where it had been domesticated in the previous millennium (Littauer and Crouwel 1979: 23–28, 41–43).

It was just before and around 2000 B.C. that new types of wheels and vehicles began to appear and to develop rapidly. The first evidence of an attempt to lighten the clumsy disk wheel was found on a cylinder seal from Tepe Hissar in north-central Iran (Littauer and Crouwel 1979: fig. 21). This "cross-bar" wheel was not yet a spoked one, nor did it prove suitable for speed, but it is still in use today with slow-moving, ox–drawn vehicles in several parts of the world (Littauer and Crouwel 1977: 95–105). By about the turn of the millennium, this type of wheel was also used in central Anatolia, along with the first, truly spoked wheel. At the same time, a two-wheeler, with a light, railed body of different design from the previous ones, appeared. It was drawn by a team of only two equids that seemed to be horses rather than donkeys or hybrids. By the 18th–17th centuries B.C. Syrian cylinder seals began to show a variety of such light, horse-drawn vehicles with two-spoked wheels, demonstrating a period of lively experiment and advance—all tending toward the Late Bronze Age chariots we have described. For the first time, a chariot carried a man with a bow—that chariot weapon *par excellence.* And a chariot in which two could stand *abreast*—a requisite for efficient military performance—appeared. These developments took place in the Near East itself; there is no need for the popular theory of an invasion of horse-drawn chariots from the N steppe (Littauer and Crouwel 1979: 68–71).

The light, fast chariots of the period of the Exodus in the Near East and Egypt were used for warfare, hunting, parade, and travel. In warfare, when manned by archers, as they very often were, they constituted a mobile platform from which to fire volleys of arrows—particularly effective in softening up enemy infantry. Javelins or short, light spears could also be used as distance weapons and could serve for thrusting if the chariot were brought to a standstill. In both cases the chariots served as flanking and pursuing arms. It should be emphasized that frontal attacks by squadrons of chariots would have been self-defeating, with easily injured animals and wheels locking with enemy wheels (the long naves here would be a liability). Fairly smooth and level terrain was essential for the deployment of chariots. This limitation also applied to hunting use. Game would be driven by beaters across the path of the chariot over chosen ground. In Egypt, the Pharaoh and royal family were conveyed in chariots in a procession to the temple on a feast day. While travel is implied by various texts (many of them nonbiblical), its practicality, and certainly its comfort, may be questioned for periods before the introduction of the front-to-back division (see below). But to travel on animal back was considered beneath the dignity of members of a privileged class, and man will suffer much to preserve his status and prestige.

Later actual chariot remains in the Near East are scanty or, at best, only fragmentary, and pictorial evidence is largely wanting for something over 200 years after Ramesses III in the early 12th century B.C.

During the tribal period, the Israelites had neither use for nor the means of producing and maintaining chariotry. The rugged interior terrain they occupied would have been as unsuitable for their own chariots as for those of the enemy. Only the important states of the time, with their resources, organization, and technical skills, could have produced and sustained a chariot corps, with its specially trained wheelwrights, drivers, warriors, and draught teams. Hence the first chariots mentioned after the Egyptian ones of Exodus are not Israelite, but the "iron" chariots of Sisera and the Canaanites and their allies (Joshua 11, 17, 24; Judges 1, 4, 5). We would assume that the chariots of this period would still be very like those illustrated under Ramesses III, although there was a development toward what we see in 9th century B.C. Assyria, and perhaps rather rapidly. The repeated stress on "iron" is puzzling, but must reflect some actual iron component of the chariot—no matter how small. This may have seemed

remarkable to the Israelites, who had no iron themselves at the time (*CAH* 2/2: 516), and to whom even a small amount might have been sufficient to categorize the whole vehicle.

As we have seen, metal (even bronze) was rarely and sparingly used in Egyptian chariots, and iron was in general use in Egypt only very late. We should look in the opposite direction for this innovation—to the Neo-Hittite states of N Syria and to Assyria, in close proximity to Anatolia, where iron was already mined and used. Unfortunately, our earliest satisfactory chariot representations from these regions do not appear before the early 9th century B.C. The most suitable areas in the chariot for reinforcement by iron were the wheels and the pole-and-chariot-front connection. These were precisely the parts where iron may have been used on chariots under the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.). Three wide wooden tires or felloes appear to have been set around a grooved rim so narrow it was more likely to have been of metal than of wood. Its outer face would have been channeled to receive the felloes, just as the surviving wheels of some cult vehicles from W Europe had channeled bronze rims for this purpose. The short, rodlike connection between the chariot front and the pole could also be of iron, adding greatly to its strength in this area of stress. It is doubtful that much more iron than this was employed. Iron was not yet a cheap commodity and its added weight in the chariot might not have been welcome. May we then assume that the chariots of Sisera resembled the 9th-century B.C. Neo-Hittite and Assyrian ones in general? It is impossible to say.

If the Israelites themselves had chariots, it was no earlier than the reign of David; their mention in 1 Samuel may not indicate anything more than the personal chariots appropriate to the status of oriental royalty (Yadin 1963: 284–85). It is clear that Solomon made efforts to build up an important chariotry. However, the discrepancies between the 40,000 "stalls for horses and chariots" of 1 Kgs 4:26, the 4000 of 2 Chr 9:25, and the 1400 chariots of 1 Kgs 10:26 are confusing and certainly point to the hyperbola typical of the scribes of the period. Yadin (1963: 286) suggests a force of 500 chariots, although Schulman (1979: 142) accepts the 1400 in a study that in general tends to deflate the numbers of Egyptian and Near Eastern chariotry. A yet thornier question is that of Solomon's "chariot cities" (i.e. his stables and carriage houses). The building at Megiddo originally identified as "Solomon's stable" is now known to belong to the period of Ahab (Yadin 1963: 286). The same function has been attributed to several smaller buildings of similar construction at other sites, but this hypothesis has been challenged (Pritchard 1970: 268–76, Herzog 1973: 23–30).

The largest body of documentation for 9th to 7th centuries B.C. comes from Assyria. Aside from texts, this consists of extensive bas-reliefs, a few painted murals, several ivory plaques and cylinder seals, all of which are in strict profile view. Thus some of the proportions have to be extrapolated from models in the round or from fragmentary remains of similar vehicles found in Cyprus and elsewhere dating from the 8th century B.C. and later.

The chariots of the reigns of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) and Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.) appear in Assyrian reliefs as identical. They preserved the features of the Egyptian chariot listed above, but varied from these in having a solid siding and smaller wheels with wider felloes. Since axles were placed directly beneath the floor, the reduced wheel diameter would have lowered the chariot. The body, to judge from models found in Cyprus, the Levant, and Transcaucasia, was strengthened by a support down the center. This bar ran from the front breastwork back to a vertical post or loop rising from the rear floor bar (Littauer 1976: 221–22), which provided a handhold for mounting and helped to prevent the crew from jostling each other. The loop or post at the rear seems often to have carried an extra shield, which may have provided partial rear closure.

The two-horse team of earlier times had disappeared. These chariots had teams of three or four, with only two horses under yoke, and the extra horse(s) attached loosely as outriggers. The chariots, however, still appear to function as fast, mobile platforms in warfare. Crossed quivers contained bows, arrows, and sometimes axes, and a short spear was carried at the rear of the vehicle; the latter two (close-range) weapons were for use dismounted or from a standing chariot, as was probably the shield carried at the rear. Both crew and horses might have worn protective armor.

By the time of Tiglath-Pileser III (744–727 B.C.), chariot bodies became rectangular and may have been covered with metal. Wheels were larger and usually had eight spokes. The quivers were hung vertically at each front corner of the body, and although the spear was still carried at the rear, there was no sign of the shield. There may have been a door at the rear and the shield may have been carried inside. The chariots had a complement of three—a driver and two warriors.

Chariots of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.), Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.), and Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.) were almost identical. They did not differ greatly from those of Tiglath-Pileser III except in having a larger body and an undoubted door closure at the rear. The wheels were larger and their treads were often studded. War and hunting chariots may have carried a complement of four, in the former case consisting of a driver, an archer, and two shield bearers. Although only one horse is shown in some depictions, these were four-horse chariots with a single draft pole and a fitted yoke, as we know from the depictions of unharnessed vehicles.

The Assyrian chariots of the later 8th and 7th centuries B.C. still appeared to be primarily firing platforms for archers in warfare, although less mobile than before as a result of increased size, heavier construction, and the limitations imposed by four horses under yoke. Better armed and protected, they were sometimes depicted as stationary firing platforms. Mounted troops were by now taking over the traditional role of the light, fast chariotry.

Royal chariot hunts were still taking place, with the aid of beaters and even special game parks. Chariots were also used for ceremonial purposes, sometimes carrying a parasol—the prerogative of royalty.

Unfortunately, despite all the references to chariots in the OT, there are not even fragmentary remains from Palestine. And the only representation of a Palestinian chariot is on an Assyrian relief of the conquest of Lachish by Sennacherib. Here, a chariot being carried off as booty by Assyrian soldiers is shown as indistinguishable from the Assyrian chariots. It is impossible to tell how accurately the Assyrian artist rendered a foreign chariot. In periods of active warfare, however, enemies were apt to copy each other's developments in military material. Moreover, there is recent textual evidence that horses from Kush (Nubia) were being imported by Assyria in the late 8th and 7th centuries B.C. via Samaria, where they were being trained specifically for chariot use (Dalley 1985: 43–48).

From the Persian period, the Levant offers only meager documentation in the form of representations of chariots on coins struck at Sidon under the Achaemenid domination. These resemble the Persian chariots on the reliefs at Persepolis and on some Persian cylinder seals. The floor plan is rectangular, the body spacious, the siding solid. The axle is fixed close to the rear and the large wheels are twelve-spoked. From models in the round we know that the front-to-back division down the center still obtained and was indeed broad enough at this time to furnish a seat on which one could sit sideways. The adaptation of this feature to sitting may possibly go much farther back. There is mention in 2 Kings 5 (among other places) of what seems to be simply traveling in a chariot. This could be very fatiguing if one had to balance standing for hours in a jolting vehicle without the stimulus of battle to keep one alert.

Of the Persian and Seleucid chariots with scythed wheels, mentioned in texts, which have fascinated posterity, there are no representations. Indeed, their role at the time must have been more psychological than practically effective, to judge from accounts of such battles as Cunaxa (401 B.C.) and Gaugamela (331 B.C.). In the former, they faced Greek mercenaries under Cyrus the Younger, and in the latter, Alexander's troops, but being heavy and clumsy, they were easily outmaneuvered and destroyed. These scythed and armored chariots represented an unsuccessful attempt to cope with the greatly increased number and importance of mounted troops. The military chariot was on its way out.

Under the Seleucids, the heirs of Alexander, who occupied Palestine from 199–165 B.C., Greek games were held, and these must have included chariot racing. These games were continued by at least some of the Roman governors, for Herod held them quinquennially. The Roman circus, with its permanent and monumental structure, only came to the Levant in the early 2d century A.D. (Humphrey 1986: 477, 529–33).

Travel by chariot was perhaps more convenient, with a seat when needed, and there were probably better routes. On the other hand, covered two-wheeled carts and four-wheeled wagons are attested in the

Near East, dating as far back as the 3d millennium B.C. and seem to have offered an alternative—if slower—travel conveyance (Littauer and Crouwel 1979; Crouwel 1985).

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**CHARISMATA.** See HOLY SPIRIT; GIFTS, SPIRITUAL.

**CHARITY.** See LOVE (NT AND EARLY JEWISH LITERATURE).

**CHARMER.** See MAGIC (OT).

**CHARMIS** (PERSON) [Gk *Charmis* (Χαρμις)]. One of the elders of Bethuliah (Jdt 6:15, 8:10, 10:6). He is also identified as the son of Melchiel. His name is a translation into Greek of the Hebrew name "Carmi" (Heb *karmî*), which appears in, e.g., Gen 46:9, Josh 7:1, Exod 6:14. He always appears with his fellow elder Chabris. Charmis cannot be identified with any historical personage; the author's purpose in using the name appears to have been to add detail and interest to the narrative. This is in keeping with the genre of the book of Judith.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**CHASING.** See JEWELRY.

**CHASPHO** (PLACE) [Gk *Chaspho* (Χασφο)]. One of five cities in Gilead in which Jews were taken captive by the Gentile citizens (1 Macc 5:26). The location of Chaspho is not definitely known, but two sites are often suggested: el-Mezerib on the Yarmuk (cf. Simons, *GTTOT*, 423–24; and Abel 1923: 519) or Khisfin, E of the Sea of Galilee (*MBA*, map 189; and Grollenberg 1956: map 31). The city is probably the same as Caspin, whose destruction is detailed in 2 Macc 12:13–16. Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 301) suggests that the uncertainty over the first letter of the city's name (*kappa* or *chi*) derives from Greek transliterations of the original name *kspw*. Heb and Aram *kap* is usually transliterated by Gk *chi*, but the local inhabitants may not have aspirated the consonant when pronouncing the name of their town, giving rise to an alternate spelling with a *kappa*. The same lack of aspiration may have given rise to differences in transliterating the *pe* as well. The final "-in" of Kaspin may be an Arabic form of the final *waw*.

The Maccabean Revolt met with early success, including retaking the temple in 164 B.C., which led to Gentile reprisals. Many Jews in Gilead fled to a stronghold at the city of Dathema, from which they sent word to Judas for help. En route to rescue the refugees, Judas learned from a group of Nabateans that other Jews were under attack in the cities of Bozrah, Bosor-in-Alema, Chaspho, Maked, Carnaim, as well as other cities (1 Macc 5:24–27). Judas defeated the Gentiles in Bozrah and Dathema before turning his attention to Chaspho. Assuming Kaspin in 2 Macc 12:13–16 to be Chaspho, one finds elaborations upon the defenses of the town and the extent of bloodshed in the battle. That account, however, makes no mention of Gentile persecution in Gilead and moves awkwardly from an account of victories at Joppa and Jamnia to a battle with Arabs and the attack upon Kaspin. The differences in the accounts in 1 and 2

Maccabees may be due to special pleading on the parts of the authors (i.e., 1 Maccabees was written by a Hasmonean propagandist, while 2 Maccabees was more open to contacts with Greeks) or defective accounts received by the author of 2 Maccabees (Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 432–35).

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**CHEBAR** (PLACE) [Heb *kĕbār* (כְּבָר)]. A Mesopotamian watercourse mentioned eight times in the book of Ezekiel (1:1, 3; 3:15, 23; 10:15, 20, 22; 43:3). The Hebrew phrase in which it always occurs, *nĕhar kĕbār,* is translated "river Chebar" in RSV, but the Chebar was actually a canal. Its ancient course left the Euphrates River N of Babylon and flowed 60 miles SE through the vicinity of ancient Nippur, rejoining the Euphrates S of Warka (biblical Erech).

It was beside the Chebar canal, as a member of a settlement of Judean exiles there (Ezek 1:1), that Ezekiel had the vision inaugurating the book of his prophecies (1:4–16). This or another settlement of exiles near the Chebar was called TEL-ABIB (3:15). The Chebar was undoubtedly one among the *nahărōt bābel* "waters of Babylon" by which Judean exiles wept (Ps 137:1).

The canal is referred to in cuneiform documents of the 5th century B.C.E. from the Nippur region (see MURASHÛ, ARCHIVE OF), spelled *ka-ba-ru* (Hilprecht and Clay 1898 [= BE] text no. 9.84; on the texts, see Zadok 1978: 287). Large manors and date palm groves were located along its course, and the names of several settlements near the Chebar are attested. The Chebar is probably the modern Shatt el-Nil, a silted-up watercourse that once ran E from Babylon and merged with a canal coming down from the Sippar region near Baghdad, continuing S to Nippur and Warka (Vogt 1958: 212). It was probably navigable at one time.

The Chebar is not the same as the Ḫabur River (sometimes spelled Khabur), a tributary of the Euphrates in N Mesopotamia (see HABOR).

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**CHECKER WORK.** An English term that translates three Hebrew words. Two of these are apparently derived from the root *šbṣ*, which in Late Hebrew means to decorate something with a pattern. In Exod 28:4 (*tašbēṣ*) and 28:39 (*Pi*ʿ*el* perfect verb) "checker work" designates an ornamental aspect of the tunic worn by the high priest. It may indicate some texture-giving process, such as embroidery. In any case, this ornamentation is used only for Aaron's garment and so contributes to the presentation of special priestly garb, of the best quality, reserved only for the high priest, the holiest of the servants of Yahweh in the tabernacle. The third word rendered "checker work" (Heb *śĕbākâ;* 1 Kgs 7:17) also represents an artistic decoration, the exact nature of which cannot be determined. The temple texts in 1 Kings describe the elaborate capitals surmounting Jachin and Boaz at the entry to the temple's forecourt. These large and symbolic architectural features are heavily adorned, including with "checker work with wreaths of chain work."

CAROL MEYERS

**CHEDORLAOMER** (PERSON) [Heb *kedorlāʿōmer* (כְּדָרְלָעֹמֶר)]. King of Elam (Gen 14:1, 4, 5, 9, 17) and the leader of a coalition of four kings (the other three were Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch

king of Ellasar, and Tidal king of Goiim). The kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Bela (Zoar) had served him twelve years before rebelling in the thirteenth year. In the fourteenth year, Chedorlaomer and his three allies came and defeated the Rephaim, Zuzim, Emim, Horites, Amalekites, Amorites, and finally the aforementioned five kings in a battle in the Valley of Siddim. They plundered Sodom and Gomorrah and took away Abram's nephew Lot, but on their way back were defeated by Abram and lost all of their booty.

**A. The Name**

The very peculiar Genesis 14 has long attracted the attention of biblical scholars and historians of the ANE who have tried to identify the four eastern kings and to clarify the historical background of the narrative. The name "Chedorlaomer" (which, as shown by the form in LXX, *chodollogomor,* was pronounced with a *ġayin*) was found to be genuinely Elamite; both of its elements, *kudur* (Akk rendering of Elamite *kutir*) and the DN *Lagamar*, occur in Elamite royal names. But no king of Elam named **Kutir/Kudur-Lagamar* is attested, nor is there the slightest evidence of Elamite political or military engagement in Palestine at any time in history. The key to understanding this name (as well as the names of his three confederates) is provided by the so-called "Chedorlaomer texts" (or "Spartoli tablets").

**B. The "Chedorlaomer Texts"**

**1. General Description.** Th. G. Pinches (1897) published, from a collection of late Babylonian tablets in the British Museum purchased from a dealer named Spartoli, three tablets (Sp. III:2; Sp. 158+II, 962; Sp. II, 987) containing personal names, three of which were in some way reminiscent of three of the four eastern kings in Genesis 14. The tablets date from the Parthian period (after 142 B.C.) but were no doubt copied from earlier (7th or 6th century B.C.) originals. One of the tablets is a prose summary, while the other two are fragmentary poetic presentations of the same events. They are written in a metaphorical, allusive style not unlike that of QL or the Sibylline Oracles.

These texts deal with four kings who, in consecutive turns and according to divine will, sacked, destroyed, flooded, or at least oppressed Babylon and its holiest shrine, Esagila, and carried away the statues of its gods. Afterward, three of them were murdered by their own sons, while the fourth was chased into the sea and died there. The names of these kings were intentionally disguised under pseudonyms or cryptic spellings based on the use of rare ideograms and on the play of polyphones. These names are: (1) $^{m}$KU.KU.KU.MAL (in one tablet) or $^{m}$KU.KU.KU.KU.MAL (in the other two) king of Elam, the only one whose country is plainly spelled out; (2) $^{m}$BÀD.MAḪ-$^{d}$MAŠ (var. $^{m}$DUR.MAḪ-$^{d}$MAŠ, incorrectly read by Pinches [1897] and Jeremias [1917] as *Dūr-maḫ-ilāni*) son of $^{m}$ÌR-$^{d}$É-*a-ku*, var. $^{m}$ÌR-É-*ku-a* (in which ÌR could be read *èri*); (3) $^{m}$*Tu-ud-ḫul-a* son of $^{m}$GAZ.ZA. […]; and (4) $^{m}$*I-bil-*$^{d}$*Tu-tu.* Pinches tried to read the first name $^{m}$*Ku-dúr-laḫ-mal* or $^{m}$*Ku-dúr-laḫ-ga-mal* and equated it with the Chedorlaomer of Genesis 14. He saw in the patronymic of the second king, $^{m}$*Èri-*$^{d}$É-*a-ku,* the prototype of Arioch; and in the name of the third king, $^{m}$*Tu-ud-ḫul-a,* the prototype of Tidal (Heb *tidʿal,* originally, with LXX, **tadġal*), both of which are also mentioned in Genesis 14. This triple onomastic resemblance, as well as the general tenor of the Chedorlaomer texts (which is somewhat similar to the Deuteronomist historiography [see below]), make it highly probable that the author of Genesis 14 was acquainted with some earlier versions of these Chedorlaomer texts. This raises two questions: (1) what historical characters are hidden behind the cryptic names of the Chedorlaomer texts? and (2) what relationship, if any, exists between the events alluded to in these texts and the story of Genesis 14?

**2. The Cryptic Names.** Jeremias (1917), proceeding from the ample description of the destructions and atrocities perpetrated by $^{m}$KU.KU.KU.(KU.)MAL in Babylon and other cities of Babylonia, identified him with the Elamite Kutir-Naḫḫunte (Akk Kudur-Naḫḫundu) II, who took part in the conquest of Babylonia by his father, King Shutruk-Naḫḫunte (1185–1155 B.C.), and was left behind as its viceroy (1160–1155). He also defeated and captured the last Kassite king of Babylonia, and deported him to Elam. In the words of a Babylonian historical inscription, he "swept away all the people of Akkad like a deluge, turned Babylon and the other famous shrines into piles of rubble," and carried away to Elam the statue of Marduk along with masses of Babylonians. Kutir-Naḫḫunte succeeded his father in 1155 but died after only four years on the throne. Jeremias read $^{m}$KU.KU.KU.KU.MAL as $^{m}$*Ku-dúr-náḫ-ḫun-***te*, in which only

the value of the last sign is hypothetical. This identification was accepted by Cameron (1936: 111), Albright (1942: 34), and Hinz (1972: 127). Earlier, Albright (1921: 71 n. 4 and 1926: 233 n. 8) showed that by a different decoding of the cryptic writing of the name it could be read $^{m}$*Ku-dúr-laḫam-mal,* a decoding from which the biblical form of the name derived.

After Böhl's widely accepted, but wrong, identification of $^{m}$*Tu-ud-ḫul-a* with one of the Hittite kings named Tudḫaliyaš, Tadmor found the correct solution by equating him with the Assyrian king Sennacherib (see TIDAL). Astour (1966) identified the remaining two kings of the Chedorlaomer texts with Tukulti-Ninurta I of Assyria (see ARIOCH) and with the Chaldean Merodach-baladan (see AMRAPHEL). The common denominator between these four rulers is that each of them, independently, occupied Babylon, oppressed it to a greater or lesser degree, and took away its sacred divine images, including the statue of its chief god Marduk; furthermore, all of them came to a tragic end.

**3. Relationship to Genesis 14.** All attempts to reconstruct the link between the Chedorlaomer texts and Genesis 14 remain speculative. However, the available evidence seems consistent with the following hypothesis: A Jew in Babylon, versed in Akkadian language and cuneiform script, found in an early version of the Chedorlaomer texts certain things consistent with his anti-Babylonian feelings. Among these were the following: (1) the depiction of history as a recurring cycle of sinfulness, divine wrath, and punishment by invasion and destruction, followed by repentance, divine forgiveness, and restoration; (2) stark images of violence and devastations visited upon Babylon, which must have been read with a gloating anticipation of their imminent repetition (compare Isaiah 47; Jeremiah 50–51); and (3) the recurring motif of deluge, flood, and the submergence of Babylon by water. This latter feature of the Chedorlaomer texts evoked the popular legend of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, which was already being associated with the imminent destruction of Babylon in various prophecies of the exilic period (Isa 13:19; 14:22–23; Jer 50:39–40; 51:41–42). The writer of Genesis 14 replaced Babylon with Sodom and Gomorrah, and had them sacked by the same four kings simultaneously (rather than consecutively as in the Chedorlaomer texts). In addition, he depicted the four kings victoriously traversing the territory between Dan and Elath (El Paran), eventually to be defeated by Abram, who received a blessing from Melchizedek, king of Salem. This implies that the land legally belonged to Abram and his descendants, and that Salem (i.e., Jerusalem), in the person of its priest-king Melchizedek, exercised a religious supremacy over the country from the earliest time.

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MICHAEL C. ASTOUR


**CHEETAH.** See ZOOLOGY.

**CHELAL** (PERSON) [Heb *kĕlāl* (כְּלָל)]. A descendant of Pahathmoab and one of the returned exiles who was required by Ezra to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:30). His name does not appear in the parallel list in 1 Esdr 9:31. While the etymology of the name "Chelal" is not certain, it is probably derived from the root *kll,* meaning "to be perfect." Chelal was a member of a family from which groups of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:6; Neh 7:11) and later with Ezra (Ezra 8:4). For further discussion, see BEDEIAH.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

**CHELLEANS** [Gk *Cheleōn* (Χελεων)]. An otherwise unknown people mentioned in the book of Judith (Jdt 2:23). It should be noted that the Greek manuscripts show a wide variation in spelling (*chaldiaōn, chellaiōn, chaldaiou,* etc.). The reading "Chaldeans" should be understood as a scribal error. The definite article occurs as both a singular or a plural (*tēs* or *tōn*). Enslin suggests that the singular *tēs* understands an omitted *gēs* ("earth"), while Moore (*Judith* AB) translated the phrase as a place name ("south of Cheleon"), and identifies it with ancient Cholle (modern el-Khalle), located between Palmyra and the Euphrates. If the phrase is translated to refer to a people, they are located to the N of the children of Ishmael, above the desert. This location would still allow them to be connected with ancient Cholle. It is not clear whether or not the author intended them to be related to the site CHELOUS in 1:9.

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SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**CHELOUS** (PLACE) [Gk *Chelous* (Χελους)]. A site in the book of Judith, located in the vicinity of Jerusalem (Jdt 1:9). Two possible identifications have been proposed for this site. The first identification is with HALHUL (M.R. 159110) located 4 mi to the N of Hebron. This town is mentioned in Josh 15:58 as one of the towns of the tribe of Judah. The second identification is with Chalutṣa (M.R. 117056), modern Khalasa, which is located to the SE of Beersheba. It should be noted that, given the genre of the book of Judith, the name may be fictitious. It is not clear whether or not the author of Judith intended to relate the site Chelous with the CHELLEANS mentioned in 2:23.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**CHELUB** (PERSON) [Heb *kĕlûb* (כְּלוּב)]. 1. Brother of Shuhah, father of Mehir, and grandfather of Eshton (1 Chr 4:11). None of these persons are mentioned elsewhere and Chelub's own parents are not identified. In 1 Chr 4:12, the entire group is termed "the men of Recah" (LXX "Rechab," i.e., Rechabites). The LXX, Vg, and Syriac versions read "Caleb" instead of "Chelub" (see Williamson *1 & 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 60; Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 55–58). In addition, the LXX reads "the father of Ascha" in place of "the brother of Shuhah," a variation which reinforces the identification with Caleb who in Josh 15:16–17 (= Judg 1:12–13) gives his daughter Achsah to Othniel after he defeated Kiriath-sepher (= Debir). 1 Chr 2:9 mentions a person named Chelubai whose extended family does overlap partially with the extended family of Caleb (2:18, 42). In 1 Chr 4:11, however, the compiler seems to distinguish Chelub from Caleb, for the latter is included subsequently among the references to Kenaz (4:13–15).

2. The father of Ezri, who was a steward of royal property appointed by David (1 Chr 27:26). His name appears in a list of stewards of crown property (1 Chr 27:25–31).

RICHARD W. NYSSE

**CHELUBAI** (PERSON) [Heb *kĕlûbāy* (כְּלוּבָי)]. See CALEB.

**CHELUHI** (PERSON). A descendant of Bani and one of the returned exiles who was required by Ezra to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:35). His name does not appear in the parallel list in 1 Esdr 9:34. The Hebrew text is uncertain (K *klhy,* Q *kĕlûhû*). The LXX (*chelia*) may indicate a corruption of an original *kĕlāyāh,* meaning "Yahweh is perfect" (Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 144). Cheluhi was a member of a family from which a group of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:10). For further discussion, see BEDEIAH.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

**CHEMOSH** (DEITY) [Heb *kĕmôš* (כְּמוֹשׁ)]. The national deity of the Moabites. Like several other small kingdoms, the Moabites lost their independence during the Neo-Babylonian expansion in the early 6th century B.C. The Moabite state never reappeared, and the subsequent mixture of peoples and religions (e.g., Nabatean, Greek, Roman, Christian) led to the extinction of Moabite religion. Some of its features

persisted after the kingdom of Moab collapsed, even as some religious elements from the Bronze Age had undoubtedly survived in the beliefs and practices of the Moabites in the Iron Age. The position of the god Chemosh (hereafter Kemosh) remained significant throughout Moab's history; this deity is the fundamental datum in the study of Moabite religion.

Unfortunately, the extant sources that enable us to reconstruct Moabite religion are relatively meager. As in the study of other ANE religions, relevant data come from two kinds of sources, textual and archaeological. Naturally, many of the archaeological data are subject to a broad range of interpretation, and conclusions based on such evidence remain tentative. There is occasional uncertainty in the scholarly interpretations of written sources pertaining to Moabite religion. Few texts relate directly to the religious beliefs of the Moabites, and some of our knowledge about this people's religion is derived from non-Moabite texts.

The most important sources of information on Moabite religion are the OT and the Mesha Inscription. Although the Hebrew scriptures are critical of the religion of Moab, these incidental references should not be dismissed in a cavalier manner. Undoubtedly, the most important source for the study of Moabite religion is the Mesha Inscription, a 34-line text which was written ca. 830 B.C. This inscription is a memorial stele that commemorates Mesha's triumph over Israel, a victory that was attributed to the favor of Kemosh, Moab's principal deity. According to the stele (lines 3–4), Mesha commissioned the inscription to coincide with his dedication of a high place (*bamah*) in honor of Kemosh.

Many scholars have come to assume that Yahweh, Milcom, Kemosh, and Qaus were the leading deities, the national gods, of Israel, Ammon, Moab, and Edom, respectively. Clearly, these peoples held many religious beliefs and practices in common, so much so that the theologies and functions of these various deities were somewhat interchangeable. Even though the Hebrew Bible and the Mesha Inscription indicate that Yahweh and Kemosh and their peoples were in conflict with each other, the similarities in the theology and cult of these two deities are remarkable. Simply put, everything we know about the Moabites' perception of Kemosh finds its parallel in Hebrew religion. Indeed, one scholar has suggested that the Mesha Inscription's treatment of Kemosh reads like a chapter from the Bible.

The logical place to begin any detailed discussion of Moabite religion is with the nature and function of Kemosh. There seems to be little doubt that Kemosh was perceived as the national god of the Moabites, although it is likely that the people of ancient Moab practiced henotheism throughout their history (i.e., they worshiped Kemosh as their leading deity but recognized other deities as well). It is probable that the Moabites were polytheistic in some periods, which could reflect the Canaanite background of this region and the polytheism of Moab's neighbors during the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age.

Kemosh was, of course, very important to the Moabites, but their deity was also worshiped by other ancient peoples before the establishment of the Moabite kingdom and outside of Moab. A god named Kamish ($^{d}$*ka-mi-iš*) appears in deity lists on tablets from Tell Mardikh (ancient Ebla), the Syrian city-state whose royal archives date to ca. 2600–2250 B.C. There seems to be little doubt that this name "Kamish" is an archaic form of Kemosh. Not only is Kamish listed among the 500 deities acknowledged at Ebla, but he was regarded as one of the principal gods of the city, with his name appearing in the name of a month, in personal names, and in the place name "Carchemish" (*kar-kamiš*). There was a temple for Kamish at Ebla; Kamish was also the recipient of offerings. Of great importance is the way in which the Eblaite spelling $^{d}$*ka-mi-iš,* or $^{d}$*ka-me-iš,* may explain the variant spelling *k$^{e}$miš* in Jer. 48:7, since the other seven appearances of this god's name in the OT are read *k$^{e}$moš.* Textual critics have eagerly amended the consonantal *kmyš* of Jer. 48:7 to *kmwš,* but this is no longer necessary, since the former spelling may reflect the more ancient tradition. The Mesha Inscription spells this god's name *kms,* which is usually vocalized Kemosh.

Even before the recovery of the name "Kamish" at Tell Mardikh, a god with the compound name "mud" or "clay" + *kam (m)ut* (*ṭṭ* or *ṭ* + *kmt*) was known from the Ugaritic tablets. A little circular reasoning, based on this reference, allows us to infer that Kemosh was a god of infernal nature. This perception of Kemosh's character is reinforced by the equation between the Mesopotamian deity, Nergal, and $^{d}$*ka-am-muš* in an Assyrian god list. Clearly, these ancient and extra-Moabite references to names similar to

Kemosh indicate that Kemosh, the leading Moabite deity, was part of an older Semitic pantheon with which a number of Near Eastern peoples were acquainted.

While the etymology of the name "Kemosh" remains uncertain, knowledge about the Moabite understanding of Kemosh's nature and function comes from a variety of sources. The OT mentions this god by name eight times (Num 21:29; Judg 11:24; 1 Kgs 11:7; 11:33; 2 Kgs 23:13; Jer 48:7, 13, 46), always recognizing that Kemosh was the national deity of Moab and that his cult, though similar to Yahweh's, was a rival to the faith of Israel. The one possible exception to the Bible's acknowledgment that Kemosh was the god of Moab exclusively is the puzzling and intriguing reference to this deity in Judg 11:24, a verse that has been interpreted in a variety of ways. In this text, Jephthah makes reference to Kemosh giving land to his (i.e., Kemosh's) people, the *Ammonites.* The problem has been variously solved by assuming that the verse contains a Kemosh-Milcom equation, a Moabite-Ammonite equation, an *ad hominem* argument, an interpolation, a scribal blunder, or an example of diplomatic protocol. Whatever the correct interpretation may be, the important thing to notice is that the text suggests that it was the prerogative of Kemosh to give land to his people.

Another source of information about Kemosh's nature and function is, of course, the Mesha Inscription itself. This Moabite text refers to Kemosh a dozen times, if one includes the theophoric name of Mesha's father, usually restored as Kemosh-yat (line 1), and the compound name of Ashtar-Kemosh (line 17). The precise meaning of the latter remains elusive, though many explanations have been proposed. A number of scholars have suggested that Ashtar-Kemosh is the name of Kemosh's consort, the goddess who was considered the female counterpart of Kemosh; Ashtar-Kemosh has been connected with Ishtar or Astarte. Among other evidence that supports this interpretation is an Aramaic inscription from Kerak that dates to the Hellenistic period; this late text identifies Kemosh's as Sarra. Reference should also be made to the presence of a god and a goddess on the famous Balu‘ Stele, which probably dates to the 12th–11th centuries B.C.

Another group of scholars suggest that Ashtar-Kemosh was simply a compound name for the leading deity of Moab. The element "Ashtar" is associated with the Canaanite god Athtar or ‘Attar, the Venus star; the compound name may have been an epithet or hypostasis of ᶜAttar. Therefore, according to this argument, the Mesha Inscription indicates that the two deities were either identified or assimilated. Since the text refers to Kemosh eleven other times, however, it is likely that Ashtar-Kemosh was simply another name of Moab's national god. In the final analysis, it must be admitted that the unique appearance of this compound name makes it impossible for us to be certain about the meaning of Ashtar-Kemosh.

In addition to the 34-line Mesha Inscription, another reference to Kemosh comes from another inscription from Dhiban, a fragmentary text whose last line can be restored as *bt kmš,* "temple of Kemosh." This text is contemporaneous with the Mesha Inscription and clearly refers to a Kemosh sanctuary in ancient Dibon. A fragmentary text from Kerak, dating to the same period, mentions Kemosh twice. One use of Kemosh appears in the theophoric name of Mesha's father, Kemosh-yat; Kemosh is also mentioned in this text in association with a cultic installation, perhaps a temple.

In addition to the preceding biblical and nonbiblical texts, there are several artistic representations that may (or may not) relate to Kemosh. Because of the description of Kemosh on the Mesha Inscription, it is perhaps natural to view this deity as a god of war. Indeed, this warlike character and the presence of a town named Areopolis (modern Rabba) in the center of Moab have led some scholars to link Kemosh with Ares, the Greek god of war, and to identify the figures on a Greek coin from Areopolis and on the Shihan Warrior Stele as Kemosh. It is possible that some of the small human figurines found in Moab and a recently published seal depict Kemosh, but it must be admitted that there is no representation that can be identified as Kemosh with certainty. It is likely that such artistic representations of Moab's national god were made, however, as may be implied in Jer 48:7.

While the Mesha Inscription was intended to celebrate the achievements of Mesha, there is no doubt that the text also reflects an attitude of loyalty and thanksgiving to the Moabite national god. The OT writers regarded the Moabites as the "people of Kemosh" (Num 21:29; Jer 48:46), a designation that was probably used by the people of Moab themselves. The frequent references to Kemosh in the Mesha

Inscription indicate that he was thought to display a wide range of emotions in his control over and involvement with Moab. While it is likely that the Moabites sought Kemosh's favor in many aspects of life, the Mesha Inscription is most emphatic on his intervention and specific guidance in times of war, as is clear in the Moabites' practice of *ḥerem.*
GERALD L. MATTINGLY

**CHENAANAH** (PERSON) [Heb *kĕna‹ănâ* (כְּנַעֲנָה)]. A great-grandson of Benjamin according to one Benjaminite genealogy (1 Chr 7:10). He is one of those Benjaminites described as "mighty warriors … ready for service in war," a designation particularly given to the descendants of Benjamin through Jediael. The genealogy in which Chenaanah is found belonging to Benjamin (1 Chr 7:6–12) has been considered by some scholars as mistakenly attributed to Benjamin. Guthrie (*IDB* 1: 556) suggests that the list more likely belongs to Zebulun. This suggestion is made on the basis that 1 Chronicles 8 gives a longer and very different genealogy of Benjamin, while Zebulun is lacking in the genealogies given by the Chronicler. Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 77) calls attention to this and other features of the smaller list which have caused some scholars to view it as a corrupt genealogy of Zebulun, but he concludes that the names are probable in a Benjaminite context, and that the textual emendations proposed by those who wish to attach the list to Zebulun are "too violent to inspire confidence." Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 53, 59) likewise sees no reason to attribute the shorter genealogy to Zebulun, stating that it is found in its "proper place" in the Chronicler's arrangement of tribal genealogies.
SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

**CHENANI** (PERSON) [Heb *kĕnānî* (כְּנָנִי)]. A Levite present at the public reading of the Law by Ezra (Neh 9:4). A shortened form of a name (Heb *kēnanyāhû*) meaning "Yahweh has made firm" (Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 171).
FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**CHENANIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *kĕnanyāhû* (כְּנַנְיָהוּ), *kĕnanyâ* (כְּנַנְיָה)]. Two individuals in the OT bear this name. It is a theophoric name composed of two elements: *knn* = "be firm/substantial" and *yh* = divine name "*yah*"/"*yahu*" for Yahweh. The name has been translated either "Y. is firm" (Fowler *TPNAH*, 76) or "Y. strengthens" (Noth *IPN*, 179).

1. Leader (*śar*)of the Levites in 1 Chr 15:22, 27. In v 27 Chenaniah is clearly understood as the leader of the singers in the entourage which brought the ark to Jerusalem. Chenaniah's role in v 22, however, is not as clear (for divergent opinions on the relation of vv 22 and 27 and thus the role of Chenaniah, see Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 125 and Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 122). The issue turns on the interpretation of *bammaśśā›,* lit., "in the lifting up," in v 22. If its object is understood to be "songs," as in v 27, Chenaniah was an expert in and leader of the music. If, however, its object is the ark, as is clearly the case at 2 Chr 35:3, then his expertise was in the proper manner of carrying the ark (see 1 Chr 15:2, 13–15). If, on the other hand, *maśśā›* is to be understood as "oracle," as in 2 Chr 24:27, then Chenaniah was a leader who was learned in the art of giving oracles (Mowinckel 1923: 18).

2. An administrative official in 1 Chr 26:29. His Levitical roots are traced through Izhar, the son of Kohath. He and his "family" were appointed to secular tasks as judges and administrative subordinates to higher officials (van der Ploeg 1954).

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J. S. ROGERS

**CHEPHAR-AMMONI** (PLACE) [Heb *kĕpar hā‹amōnāy* (כְּפַר הָעַמֹּנִי)]. A village that was listed among the cities of the tribe of Benjamin (Josh 18:24). The Hebrew text reading tradition (Qere) presented the name of this village as *kĕpar hā‹amōnâ* while the writing tradition (Kethib) presented it as

*kĕpar hā-amōnāy* or *kĕpar hā-amōnî.* This final presentation supports the conclusion that the village (Heb *kĕpar*) was one inhabited by Ammonites. Press (1952: 482) suggested its founder may have been Zelek the Ammonite, one of David's mighty men (2 Sam 23:37). Although the root *kpr* appears in 1 Sam 6:18 to indicate unwalled villages, Albright (1924: 154) noted that the term was not used in place names in the preexilic period, making it, therefore, unlikely that the name meant "village of the Ammonites." He posited that two cities were indicated by Chephar-Ammoni, Chephirah (a mistaken repetition from Josh 18:26), and Ammoni. Three major Greek versions (Vaticanus, Alexandrinus, and Luciani) do not translate *kpr* as "village," but instead transliterate *kfr* with the place name. Codex Vaticanus separates *kfr* from Moni as if they were separate villages (Gk *Kephira kai Moni*). The Vulgate, however, renders it, *villa Elmona.* Though it has been suggested that the present Khirbet Kafr ʿAna (M.R. 173153) is the site of Cephar-Ammoni (*GP*, 92; Press 1952: 482), this identification is not generally accepted by scholars. Kallai (1960: 33–34) noted that several of the names that are in this part of the list of Benjaminite cities actually lie outside the boundaries of Benjamin as described in the boundary descriptions (Josh 18:12–21). Both Beth-Hoglah and Beth-Arabah lay in the district of Judah. Zamarim, Bethel, Ophrah, and Geba (Geba of Ephraim) lay in the district of Ephraim. Chephar-Ammoni, like its neighbors in the list, probably lay in Ephraim (as does Khirbet Kafr ʿAna). The presence of all of these cities in a Benjamin city list is best explained as reflecting the territorial situation following Abijah's conquests in Mount Ephraim (2 Chr 13:19; *HGB*, 398).

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SUSAN E. MCGARRY

## CHEPHIRAH (PLACE) [Heb *kĕpîrâ* (כְּפִירָה)]. A town in the territory of Benjamin (Josh 18:26).

Chephirah was one of the four Hivite cities whose inhabitants deceived Israel, making peace with Joshua on the pretense that they were from a distant land (Josh 9:17). The inhabitants of Chephirah and the other three Hivite towns (Gibeon, Kiriath-jearim, and Beeroth) were thus spared annihilation and were allowed to live among the Israelites as woodcutters and water carriers (Josh 9:26–27). The town was incorporated into the tribal territory of Benjamin (Josh 18:26), and later its inhabitants were among those who returned from Babylonian Exile (Ezra 2:25; Neh 7:29).

Edward Robinson (1867: 146) was the first modern scholar to identify Chephirah with Khirbet el-Kefireh (M.R. 160137), a 4–6-acre tell located about 1.5 mi N of Kiriath-jearim and 5 mi WSW of Gibeon (el-Jib). Virtually all scholars agree with this identification (*GP* 2:92, 120, 298; Kallai *EncMiqr* 4:228–29; Yeivin 1971: 141, *LBHG*, 433; etc.). Kh. el-Kefireh has not been systematically examined. Garstang (1931: 166, 369) visited the site and found LB pottery there. The site is located on a steep, high spur, bounded on the N and S by two wadies that join just W of the ruin to form Wadi Qotneh, which descends to the Aijalon Valley. During biblical times Chephirah guarded the midpoint of a secondary road that connected the cities of Gibeon and Aijalon, the main connecting road being the famous Beth-horon Ascent, located about 3–4 miles farther N.

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DAVID A. DORSEY

## CHERAN (PERSON) [Heb *kĕrān* (כְּרָן)]. A clan name in the genealogical clan list of Seir the Horite.

This person appears in Gen 36:26 as well as in the matching genealogy in 1 Chr 1:41. He is said to be the fourth son of the clan chief DISHON and is thus the grandson of Seir. These relationships may reflect tribal affiliation or alliance rather than blood kinship. For discussion of the Horite clans, see JAAKAN.

VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

**CHERETHITES** [Heb *kĕrētî* (כְּרֵתִי)*; kĕrētîm* (כְּרֵתִים)]. A people of presumably Aegean origin who settled along the SW coast of Palestine and from whose ranks David drew the core of his personal guard (1 Sam 30:14; 2 Sam 8:18; 15:18; etc.). The term "Cherethite" is first encountered in reference to a region of the Negeb in the account of the sick Egyptian slave abandoned by his Amalekite master and found by David (1 Sam 30:14). The Cherethites are most frequently mentioned in conjunction with the PELETHITES. Together they formed a mercenary unit under the command of Benaiah which was distinct from the regular army (2 Sam 8:18; 20:23 [Qere; about the Kethib *kry* see CARITES] 2 Kgs 11:4, 19; 1 Chr 18:17; see also de Vaux *AncIsr*, 123, 219–22). They owed their allegiance to David and showed him great loyalty in times of crisis.

The Cherethites and the Pelethites accompanied David on his flight from Absalom (2 Sam 15:18); they went out in pursuit of Sheba during his revolt against David (2 Sam 20:7); and they were instrumental in Zadok, Nathan, and Benaiah's efforts to crown Solomon king (1 Kgs 1:38, 44). After the death of David, the Cherethites and the Pelethites disappeared from the biblical record. Albeit there are two references to the Cherethites as a people in poetic parallel with the Philistines in prophetic oracles (Ezek 25:16; Zeph 2:5).

Research on the Cherethites has tended to focus on the questions of their geographical origin and ethnic affiliation. Although the island of Crete is named Caphtor in the Hebrew Bible (Deut 2:23; Jer 47:4; etc.; Akk Kaptara, Eg Keftiu; see CAPHTOR), most scholars view the Heb *kĕrētî* as meaning Cretan and seek the Cherethites' roots on the island of Crete (Gk *Krētē;* Albright 1920–1921; Delcor 1978; but see Virolleaud [1936: 8–10] who views the Ugaritic hero Keret as the eponymous ancestor of the *kĕrētîm;* arguments against this latter view can be found in Delcor 1978: 414–15).

The exact relationship between the Cherethites and the Philistines is unclear. Since the Hebrew Bible ascribes the Philistines' origin to the island of Caphtor (Amos 9:7), it would appear that the Cherethites and the Philistines came from the same region of the Aegean. In spite of poetic passages such as Ezek 25:16 and Zeph 2:5 in which the Cherethites and the Philistines are juxtaposed, it cannot be determined whether the Cherethites were identical with the Philistines, a subgroup of the Philistines, or a separate ethnic entity. Owing to the absence of their name among the Sea Peoples in the Medinet Habu inscription of Ramses III (*ANET*, 262–63), Albright (1920–21) surmised that the Cherethites were foreign mercenaries already in Egyptian employ before the mass movements of Sea Peoples at the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age which brought the Philistines to Canaan. Hence they were unrelated to the Philistines and able to enter David's service, in which they presumably fought against the Philistines. Using the same evidence, Delcor (1978: 421) concluded that the Cherethites must have arrived on the scene at about the time of David, or shortly before. In his opinion they either merged with or formed a subgroup of the Philistines. The area of Cherethite settlement was in the Negeb to the S and SE of Gaza (Aharoni 1958: 28–30). It may have been during the time of David's service to Achish, king of Gath, at Ziklag (1 Samuel 27; 29) that he hired the loyalty of the Cherethites and formed them into his personal bodyguard (McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 435).

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CARL S. EHRLICH

**CHERITH, BROOK OF** (PLACE) [Heb *naḥal kĕrît* (נַחַל כְּרִית)]. A stream on the E side of the Jordan River where Elijah hid from Ahab and Jezebel during the drought in Israel; he remained there until the spring dried up (1 Kgs 17:2–7).

Ever since the Middle Ages, scholars have been divided as to which side of the Jordan River this stream should be located. Those who have preferred a location on the W side have argued that the Hebrew word *ʿal-pĕnê* should be translated "before" or "toward" the Jordan (e.g., Gen 25:18; 18:16). Scholars preferring this translation include Marinus Sanutus (1321), who suggested ʿAin Fusail (*Phasaelis* of NT times) just N of Jericho, and E. Robinson who preferred the Wadi Qelt near Herodian Jericho. Robinson's argument was based on the idea that the Arabic *Qelt* could have been derived from the Heb *kĕrît.* A major difficulty with this location is that it is hardly an isolated stream, being one of the main routes connecting the two heavily populated centers of Jerusalem and Jericho.

Most scholars have preferred to locate the stream on the E bank, arguing that the most obvious reading of *ʿal-pĕnê* is "east of" the Jordan (e.g., Eusebius in the *Onomast.* p. 174). Although Thenius argued for the *Wadi Rajib or Ajlun,* a number of scholars, beginning with Benjamin of Tudela and including F. Abel (*GP* 1: 484–85) and N. Glueck (AASOR 25–28), have preferred the *Wadi el-Yubis* in the highlands of N Gilead. This suggestion may make the most sense in view of the fact that Elijah was a Gileadite (1 Kgs 17:1). This wadi empties into the Jordan about 8 km S of Pella.

RANDALL W. YOUNKER

**CHERUB** (PERSON) [Gk *Charaath* (Χαραα θ)]. The leader of a group of exiles returning from two Babylonian locations, Telmelah and Telharsha, who were unable to prove their genealogies (1 Esdr 5:36). While Cherub represents a personal name in 1 Esdras, in the parallel texts (Ezra 2:59 = Neh 7:61 [LXX *charoub*] it is a geographic location. See CHERUB (PLACE). Moreover, in 1 Esdras, Cherub and Addan have been combined in many manuscripts, among them Codex Vaticanus (Gk *charaathalan*) and the Vg (Lat *carmellan*). Variations such as these raise questions about the sources of and literary relationship among 1 Esdras, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**CHERUB** (PLACE) [Heb *kĕrûb* (כְּרוּב)]. An unknown Babylonian site from which exiles returned to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:59 = Neh 7:61 [LXX *charoub*]). According to Ezra and Nehemiah, those returning from Cherub, as well as from Telmelah, Telharsha, Addon, and Immer, were unable to establish their genealogies, or prove that they belonged to the people of Israel. In the parallel text of 1 Esdr 5:36, however, Cherub (Gk *charaath*), Addan, and Immer appear as the names of the leaders of the people who returned from Telmelah and Telharsha.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**CHERUBIM** [Heb *kĕrûbîm* (כְּרוּבִים)]. The terms "cherub" (sing.) and "cherubim" (pl.) occur over 90 times in the Hebrew Bible (and only once in the NT, in Heb 9:5) in reference to fanciful composite beings. Although all of these references are in sacral contexts, there is no uniformity as to the nature of the strange creatures involved except for the fact that they are all winged beings. From a graphic perspective, the biblical description of cherubim can be divided into two major groups: those that were two-dimensional, as they appeared woven into textiles, or in low relief; and those that were free-standing either as modeled, three-dimensional forms or as living, moving creatures.

The two-dimensional or low-relief images of cherubim were those found in the sacred structure of ancient Israel. In the tabernacle, the inner curtains and the veil that closed off the inner sanctum or holy of holies were adorned with cherubim (Exod 26:1, 31; 36:8, 35). These decorated fabrics, made of a woolen-linen mixture and crafted in special (*ḥšēb*) workmanship, were part of the innermost and holiest part of the tabernacle complex. The Jerusalem temple, which was constructed of walls and not hangings, featured carved cherubim, covered with gold, on the corresponding elements: the sanctuary walls (1 Kgs 6:29; cf. 2 Chr 3:7 and Ezek 41:18–20) and on the doors separating the internal chambers (1 Kgs 7:32, 35; cf. Ezek 41:25). In addition, the temple had cherubim carved into panels that formed the base and part of the top of the stands for the lavers (1 Kgs 7:28, 36).

Three-dimensional cherubim were also part of the holiest elements of both tabernacle and temple. Two golden cherubim with wings extended were part of the covering of the ark, within the holy of holies of the tabernacle (Exod 25:18–22; 37:7–9). In the Jerusalem temple, two enormous olivewood cherubim, overlaid with gold, virtually filled the innermost chamber (1 Kgs 6:23–28) as a covering for the ark (1 Kgs 8:6–7). In both these instances, the cherubim apparently constituted a resting place, or throne, for God's invisible presence or glory (e.g., 2 Kgs 19:15 = Isa 32:16; 1 Sam 4:4; 2 Sam 6:2). As part of the cultic furniture for God in the divine dwelling place on earth (see Haran 1978: 254–59), these cherubim are to be related to figures attested in several biblical texts which envisage God riding upon living composite beasts (e.g., Ps 18:10 = 2 Sam 22:11) or in which God's glory rests upon the creatures (Ezekiel 10). Finally, the close connection between God and cherubim is present in their appearance as guardians of the garden of Eden (Gen 3:24).

The many variations of cherubim represented in the Bible—examples with one or more faces; with human, leonine, bovine, or aquiline faces; with two or four legs—correspond to various forms of composite beasts depicted in ANE art, particularly the art of Assyria (*TWAT* 4: 330–34). In ancient Israel and its contemporary world, cherubim were characterized by mobility, since they all had wings. By virtue of their combining features of different creatures or having more of such features than real animals or persons, they were unnatural. These characteristics made them apt symbols for divine presence, since deities moved where humans could not and were something other than either animals or humans. The cherubim of the Bible are hardly the round-faced infant cherubim known in Western art.

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CAROL MEYERS

**CHESALON** (PLACE) [Heb *kĕsālôn* (כְּסָלוֹן)]. One of the towns along the N boundary of Judah, bordering on Dan (Josh 15:10). Eusebius, like LXX A, has *chasalōn,* while LXX B reads *chaslōn.* The imprecision in describing Judah's territory at this point probably stemmed from difficulties encountered by the biblical writer when attempting to define an evidently unsettled region. Eusebius (*Onomast.* 172.16) describes Chesalon in the 4th century C.E. as a large village in the territory of Aelia (Jerusalem), whereas Jerome says it lay in Judah. But neither writer defines its true position. Following the identification of Edward Robinson (1856: 2.30; 3.154), the biblical name is now generally agreed to be preserved in the ruin of *Kesla,* ca. 20 km/12 mi W of Jerusalem (M.R. 154132), and situated at 641 m/1920 ft above sea level. Chesalon was never a fortified town and consequently does not possess a tell. Its bare rock summit, though, is easily detectable in a region inhabited then, as today, by oak forests. A surface survey conducted there revealed pottery from the Iron Age II period and later (Gafni 1984: 26). The Bible locates Chesalon between Mt. Seir and Beth-shemesh, where it is mentioned as an alternative name for the shoulder of Mt. Jearim, meaning a "wooded mountain." When referring to a site in the hills, "shoulder" means the edge of a ridge or a range (*HGB,* 128). According to the biblical description, the border ran seaward from Kiriath-jearim to Mt. Seir. There it turned S, skirting along the edge of the Mt. Jearim range toward Beth-shemesh, including both Mt. Seir and Chesalon within the territory of Judah (*HGB,* 122). A corrupted form of Chesalon may appear in an LXX supplement to Josh 15:59 in the name of *koulon* (*HGB,* 392).

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R. A. MULLINS

**CHESED** (PERSON) [Heb *kešed* (כֶּשֶׂד)]. The fourth son of Nahor and Milcah (Gen 22:22). Although it occurs only once in the Bible, this name has been associated with the people known in the Bible as the

Chaldeans. Chesed is orthographically and phonologically related to the Kasdim (Heb *kaśdîm*), and this group is identified throughout the Bible with the Chaldeans (e.g. Gen 11:28; Job 1:17; and elsewhere). The Old Babylonian term *kasdu,* which became *kaldû* in Assyrian documents, is the equivalent of this term, which the LXX translates *chaldiōn.* A connection could be drawn between the clan of Chesed and these Mesopotamian "Chaldeans," but to do so based on the similarity of terms only is unadvisable.
JOEL C. SLAYTON

**CHESIL** (PLACE) [Heb *kĕsîl* (כְּסִיל)]. A town in Judah located in the extreme S (Negeb) near Hormah and Ziklag and toward the boundary of Edom (Josh 15:30). In other lists of S Judean towns, it is replaced with Bethul (Josh 19:4) and BETHUEL (1 Chr 4:30). Also, 1 Sam 30:27 refers to a BETHEL in S Judah, in connection with David's exploits in the area around Ziklag and Hormah. Thus, it is impossible to be certain not only about the location but also about the precise name of this town.
GARY A. HERION

**CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI.** The papyri named after Sir Alfred Chester Beatty (1875–1968), an American collector who in 1950 settled in Dublin, Ireland. The library which he founded, now called the Chester Beatty Library and Gallery of Oriental Art, was bequeathed to the Irish people at the time of Beatty's death.

**A. The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri**

The appellation refers in the first instance to the famous Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, the largest and most sensational discovery to date of Greek biblical mss written on papyrus, acquired by Beatty in 1930–31.

**1. The Discovery.** Announcement of Chester Beatty's acquisition was made by Sir Frederic Kenyon, the *Times* (London), November 19, 1931. Though the original announcement mentioned twelve codices, the figure was lowered to eleven when it was found that Pap. IX (Ezekiel, Esther) and Pap. X (Daniel) form part of the same codex. Though the exact place of discovery is unknown, some Christian church or monastery near Aphroditopolis (Carl Schmidt) or perhaps less likely in the Fayum (Kenyon) has gained general acceptance. Although Chester Beatty managed to make a second acquisition from the discovery, in 1935, by no means all parts of the eleven codices found their way to his collection. Substantial segments were acquired by John H. Scheide (Princeton), the Universities of Michigan and Cologne, and the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas of Madrid. Fragments are in Barcelona and Vienna. (For all present locations of "Chester Beatty Papyri," consult the Bibliography. In what follows all will be counted as Chester Beatty Papyri).

**2. Popular Designation.** In spite of the official designation, "Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri," individual Papyri are normally cited as P. Chester Beatty … in conformity with standard papyrological practice.

**3. The Manuscripts.** Since the Papyri must be dated on the basis of paleography, no absolute unanimity among experts has been achieved. Nevertheless, at least the century to which each document was assigned by its chief editor still meets with general approval. Hence the dates range from the 2d (Pap. VI) to the 4th (XI, XII) centuries, with the majority falling in the 3d.

**a. Papyrological Importance.** At the time of their discovery, prevailing opinion was that the papyrus codex did not gain general acceptance among Christians until the 4th century. The evident date of most of the Papyri altered that opinion. Along with the earlier date for the general use of the codex form, they also supplied an abundance of information on how the papyrus book was constructed. Formats are as numerous as the Papyri. Page size ranges from about 18 by 33 cm (Pap. VI) to 14 by 24.2 cm (III). Similarly, the makeup of individual codices shows much diversity, some being constructed of a single gathering (quire) of papyrus sheets (Pap. II, VII, IX + X), while in others the gathering varies from a single sheet (I) to five (V) or seven (VII). The largest codex among them (Pap. IX + X) must have counted at least 236 pages.

One of the most interesting aspects of scribal practice concerns the *nomina sacra.* In the Papyri we find diversity not only on which names are contracted and how, but also early evidence of sacral treatment of nonsacral names. So, for example, already in the 2d century (Pap. VI) "Joshua=Jesus" was treated as a *nomen sacrum,* suggesting that the sacral treatment of "Jesus" had become routine.

**b. Textual Importance.** No less than their papyrological significance is the textual importance of the Papyri. Since all but two (Pap. XI, XII) of the eleven codices are dated earlier than the 4th century, they present important evidence for the text of the Greek Bible as it existed in Egypt prior to the *traditio codicum* (the "turning in" of Christian books during the Diocletianic persecutions) and a century or more earlier than the great vellum codices of the 4th century, namely Vaticanus (B) and Sinaiticus (S). Although the Papyri supply a wealth of new information on textual detail, they also demonstrate remarkable stability in the transmission history of the biblical text. In terms of textual affiliation, they can only be described as mixed or unaligned. Only if great latitude is allowed can they be counted as members of textual groups or representatives of particular text types. For the Greek OT, their great significance lies in the fact that their text is pre/nonrecensional, that is to say, their text is untouched by the systematic revisionary activity of Lucian (III–IV) and of Origen (III) as well as other more shadowy or entirely unknown revisers.

**(1) OT Papyri.** Even though two of the Papyri (VIII [containing Jer 4:30–5:24]; XI [Sir 36:28–37:22; 46:6–47:2]) give relatively little text, so as to make textual analysis precarious, they nonetheless are the most extensive early (3d/4th cent. A.D. and before) witnesses for their respective books.

Pap. IV (Gen 9:1–44:22) and V (Gen 8:13–9:2; 24:13–46:33) between them preserve four fifths of the book of Genesis, a book almost absent from both B and S. Together with the only other substantial papyrus, 911, they are our chief early witnesses to LXX Genesis. Only sporadic corrections to the Hebrew text are in evidence.

Pap. VI (Num 5:12–36:13; Deut 1:20–34:12), though the earliest among the Papyri, postdates P. Fouad 266 (847, 848) and P. Rylands 458 (957) by several centuries. Its text, however, is much more extensive and it exhibits few readings which need have arisen under Hebrew influence.

Pap. VII (Isa 8:18–19:13; 38:14–45:5; 54:1–60:22) has a very low number of unique readings and is an exceptionally good witness to the original text of LXX Isaiah. Its chief claim to fame, however, lies perhaps in its annotations in Old Fayumic. Most interesting among the OT Papyri is Pap. IX–X. Its 3d-century date makes it the earliest substantial witness for all three books it contains: Ezekiel, Daniel-Bel-Susanna, Esther.

Ezekiel (11:25–fin.). Though clearly nonhexapharic, the text of IX–X gives evidence of having undergone correction toward the Hebrew, but whether the equation *kyrios ho theos = adonai-yahweh* is to be counted as such is controversial.

Daniel (1:1–12:13)-Bel (c. 4–39)-Susanna (5-subscriptio). Since the popular text in antiquity was not LXX Daniel but the so-called Theodotionic version, the former is extant in but few witnesses, two of which are hexaplaric (88-Syh), while several others are very fragmentary. Pap. (IX–)X is the earliest by at least two centuries and, because of its age and extent, is the most important witness to LXX Daniel. Though not hexapharic, the Papyrus contains sporadic pre/nonhexaplaric corrections to the Hebrew. Uniquely, Daniel 7–8 precede 5–6, and 4:3–6, 5:18–22, 24–25 are lacking as in 88-Syh but against MT. Of considerable interest is the order of the "books" and, according to the subscriptio, that Bel and Susanna were regarded as belonging to Daniel.

Esther (1:1a–8:6). Not unexpectedly, the Papyrus contains the LXX rather than the so-called *L* version which is attested in only a small minority of witnesses. Additions A–D are attested in their usual locations in Greek mss.

The chief importance of Pap. XII lies in the newness of its contents.

*Enoch* (93:12–13; 94:7–8; 97:6–104:13; 106:1–107:3). The chief text is in Ethiopic translation. For Book V (91–105) and the concluding fragment from the book of Noah (106–107), the Papyrus supplies our only Greek text. Chapters 105 and 108 were never part of the text, and have been regarded as

secondary. The former chapter, however, is represented among the Aramaic fragments from Qumran (4QEn$^{c}$). The subscriptio reads "Epistle of Enoch."

Melito of Sardis, *Peri Pascha.* Though at the time of its discovery, Pap. XII constituted the only (original) Greek text of this treatise, it has since been supplemented by P. Bodmer XIII and P. Oxy. XIII 1600.

*Apocryphon of Ezekiel.* Though cited by Clement of Alexandria (*Paedagogus* I. ix. 84.2–4) Pap. XII supplies the only ms evidence of this work.

**(2) NT Papyri.** Pap. I (Matt 20:24–Acts 17:7) challenged the prevailing view at the time of the discovery of the Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri that, prior to the 4th century, each Gospel had circulated separately. The order of the individual books in the codex was apparently the so-called Western order: Matthew, John, Luke, Mark, Acts.

Pap. II (Rom 5:17–16:23, Heb, Cor, Eph, Gal, Phil, Col, 1 Thess). The placement of Hebrews among the Pauline epistles at a time when it was widely regarded as uncanonical is remarkable, and its location after Romans is virtually unique. Equally uncommon is that Ephesians precedes rather than follows Galatians. Perhaps the object of greatest textual interest is the doxology of Rom 16:25–27, which in our Papyrus closes chap. 15. That the Pastoral Epistles were not included seems certain but does not necessarily reflect doubts about their Pauline authorship, as some have suggested.

Pap. III (Rev 9:10–17:2). As is the case for most of Genesis (cf. Pap. IV and V), ms B is not extant for Revelation. Moreover, Pap. III is at least a century older than S and, of our early (3d/4th cent. and before) witnesses, is the most extensive.

**B. Other Chester Beatty Papyri.** Although the Biblical Papyri are the centerpiece of the Library's holdings in early biblical mss, they were neither Beatty's only nor his earliest acquisitions in this field.

**1. Coptic Vellums.** In 1924–25 Chester Beatty acquired three Coptic (Sahidic) volumes evidently produced in the monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqara. (Two more of the same find were bought by the University of Michigan.) All three volumes were in their original bindings, and written, not on papyrus, but on vellum. P. Chester Beatty 2003 (=813) contains the Pauline Epistles (Rom, Cor, Heb, Gal, Eph, Phil, Col, Thess, Tim, Phlm) and the Gospel of John; P. Chester Beatty 2004 (=814) has Acts and the Gospel of John, and P. Chester Beatty 2005 (=815) the first fifty psalms plus Matt 1:1–2:1 (ined.).

**2. Manichea.** Roughly contemporaneous with the Biblical Papyri was Beatty's acquisition of Manichean mss in Coptic (Sub-Achmimic) translation (ca. 400+ A.D.). Though part of the find of papyrus codices, reputedly from Medinet Madi in the S Fayum, ended up in Berlin (and Vienna), Chester Beatty gained possession of the Homilies and the Psalm Book. Part I of the latter remains to be edited, as well as the Synaxeis Codex now in Berlin.

**3. Later Acquisitions.** Acquisitions of papyri (and some parchments) continued, notably around the middle 1950s. Not only were some of these materials bought through the same dealer Martin Bodmer engaged, but like the bulk of the BODMER PAPYRI, they were from the discovery near Dishna in 1952. In two instances, a fragment each from Bodmer Papyri was bought by Beatty, namely from P. Bodmer II (John 19:25–28, 30–32) and from P. Bodmer XX (*Apology of Phileas* 135, 13–16 and 136, 14–17). In a third case, a substantial portion was acquired by Beatty: P. Bodmer XXI = P. Chester Beatty 2019. It is not clear which and how many mss in the possession of the Chester Beatty Library also derive from the Dishna discovery.

**a. Greek Biblical Papyri.** The series of Biblical (but cf. Pap. XII) Papyri launched by Kenyon has been continued for Greek "biblical" papyri acquired at later dates: P. Chester Beatty XIII (Ps 72:6–75:13; 77:1–88:2), XIV (Ps 31:8–11; 26:1–6, 8–14; 2:1–8), XV (*Acts of Phileas* plus Ps 1:1–4:2), XVI (*Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres* [ined.]), XVII (Luke 14:7–14, XVIII (Job 9:2–3, 12–13. Chester Beatty accession no. (hereafter acc.) 1499 is a Greek grammar, and a Graeco-Latin lexicon on Romans, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, and Ephesians and is being edited.

**b. Coptic Texts. (1) Biblical and related.** P. Chester Beatty 2018 (*Apocalypse of Elijah*), 2019 (Josh 1:1–6:16; 6:25–7:6; 22:2–19; 23:7–15; 24:23–33 plus Tob 14:13–15), 2021 (John 10:8–13:38 in Sub-Achmimic plus mathematical exercises in Greek), 2023 (Gen 7:13–23, 27:23–25, 27–32), 2024 (Luke

1:63–9:31, 11:1–12:48, 18:8–15, 2 Cor 1:1–12:12 [ined.]), 2025 (lectionary containing at least Ps 31:1–4, 96:3–4, Mark 8:34, Acts 13:28–29, 31–33, 1 John 4:14–16 [ined.]).

**(2) Hagiographica:** P. Chester Beatty 2022 (Cephalon), 2028 (Herai), 2029 (Phoebammon), 2030 (Hermauo).

**(3) Pachomiana:** Chester Beatty acc. 1486 (Letter 2 of Theodore [on parchment]), acc. 1494 (Letter 3 of Horsiesius [ined.]), W.145 (Greek trans. of Pachomius' Letters 1, 2, 3, 7, 10, $11^{a}$ [on parchment]), acc. 1495 (Letter 4 of Horsiesius [ined.]), no. 54 (Pachomius' Letters $11^{b}$, 10, $11^{a}$, $9^{a}$, $9^{b}$).

**(4) Miscellanea:** P. Chester Beatty 2026 (nonbiblical fragment about Moses and Pharaoh [ined.]), 2027 (nonbiblical fragment about Pilate [Bohairic; ined.]), 2031 (tale featuring Pshoi s. of Jeremiah [ined.]). Various other bits and pieces still await identification.

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ALBERT PIETERSMA

**CHESULLOTH** (PLACE) [Heb *kĕsûlōt* (כְּסוּלֹת)]. A town in the territory of Issachar (Josh 19:18).

The name is apparently a variant of CHISLOTH-TABOR.

**CHEZIB** (PERSON) [Gk *Chaseba* (Χασεβα)]. A temple servant who was the progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:31). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, this family does not appear among their lists of returning exiles (see Ezra 2:48; Neh 7:51). Omissions such as this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra or Nehemiah. Furthermore, problems associated with dating events and identifying persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text.
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**CHEZIB** (PLACE) [Heb *kĕzîb* (כְּזִיב)]. A city in S Canaan where Shelah, one of Judah's sons, was born of a Canaanite woman (Gen 38:5). The context of the biblical reference implies that the town was near Adullam (cf. Gen 38:1). The consensus is that the site is the same as ACHZIB [Heb *ʾakzîb*] in Judah (Josh 15:44; Mic 1:14), which results from the addition of a prosthetic *ʾalep* to *kĕzîb* (GKC ¶19m). Eusebius' (*Onomast.* 172) identification of Achzib with the town of *Chasbi* further preserves the consonantal tradition. Chasbi is now known as Tell el-Beida (M.R. 145116), which is near Adullam. Saarisalo (1931) visited the site, and although he identified Tell el-Beida as Moresheth-gath, he described a typical tell configuration with early Iron I and II potsherds on its surface; otherwise no archaeological work has been done at the site.

The MT states that "he was" (i.e., Judah) in Chezib when the woman bore Shelah; however the RSV follows the Gk which states "she was" (i.e., the Canaanite woman) in Chezib when she gave birth. Speiser's translation (*Genesis* AB, 295) essentially conflates the two traditions and renders the phrase: "they were at Chezib …" The Hebrew text, furthermore, implies that only Shelah was born in Chezib, while the Gk implies ("when she bore them") that there she bore all of the sons—Er, Onan, and Shelah. While the Gk may preserve the more accurate information, the first two sons, Er and Onan, became irrelevant as far as inheritance purposes were concerned, since they both died childless. The descendants of Shelah, however, would need this information (cf. Num 26:19–20). Perhaps the Hebrew text accommodates only the essential information (cf. Keil and Delitzsch n.d.: 339–340).

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**CHI.** The twenty-second letter of the Greek alphabet.

**CHIASM, CHIASMUS.** See PSALMS, BOOK OF.

**CHICKEN.** See ZOOLOGY.

**CHIDON** (PERSON) [Heb *kîdōn* (כִּידֹן)]. An alternate form of NACON.

**CHIDON** (PLACE) [Heb *kîdōn* (כִּידֹן)]. The name of the threshing floor where Uzzah was struck dead for touching the ark of the covenant while it was being transported to Jerusalem by oxcart (1 Chr 13:9). David then renamed the spot PEREZ-UZZAH, preserving it in national memory as the place where God's wrath "broke out" against Uzzah for his irreverant act (1 Chr 13:11 = 2 Sam 6:8). 2 Sam 6:6 calls the place "the threshing floor of Nacon." Josephus, like the LXX A, writes *cheidōn* (*Ant* 7.4.2). LXX B omits "of Chidon." It is not clear from the text whether Chidon was the name of the place or its owner. Some have tried to identify the spot with the threshing floor of Araunah or Ornan the Jebusite (cf. 1 Chr 21:15). In Ugarit, threshing floors were often associated with cultic activity. Thus, Coggins (*1 and 2 Chronicles* CBC, 79) has suggested that the location may have been significant in the earlier form of the story, although it is likely that here the Chronicler was simply following his source. While no name resembling Chidon or Nacon has been preserved, there are two plausible routes for the transport of the ark to Jerusalem. The most direct, but more difficult access would have been to go somewhere along the line of the present Jerusalem–Tel Aviv highway, a distance of about 13 km/8 mi. The easiest, but longer way would have been to go from Kiriath-jearim to Gibeon (el-Jib); and then on to Jerusalem via Gibeah of Benjamin (Tell el-Ful). Thus the ark would have been brought through Benjamin in full view of the local population. Given the political tensions between the Benjaminite house of Saul and the Judean house of David, this would have served as a bold statement by David that he is now the one in charge. This latter route also has the benefit of high ground exposed to westerly winds needed for threshing grain. Several threshing floors still exist in the region today.

R. A. MULLINS

**CHIEF.** See PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF JUDEAN OFFICIALS (POSTEXILIC).

**CHILD, CHILDREN.** In the OT, children are a gift from God, instruments of God's activity, and symbolically a guarantee of the covenant between God and the people of Israel. In the NT, children are principally a model or image for the believer to emulate.

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A. Children in the OT
B. Children in Mark
C. Children in Matthew
D. Children in Luke
E. Children in John

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### A. Children in the OT

God's greatest gift and guarantee of the covenant with Israel was that of children. Despite every other gift, Abraham felt at a complete loss without children (Gen 15:1–3). God's promise of a numerous posterity to Abraham and Sarah was at the root of the biblical covenant (Gen 12:1–3). In the creation account, the first woman was called Eve, because she was "mother of all living" (Gen 3:20) and thus source of hope for the fallen first parents. In view of the primacy of children, a favorite image was that of father, mother, and numerous children around a table (Ps 128:3–4). While every birth was considered a divine miracle, those with extreme difficulty or seemingly impossible due to old age were attributed to extraordinary divine intervention (Gen 17:17; 21:6). In the early biblical period, immortality was linked to living on through children who carried on the *name* of their parents (Gen 48:16). When there were no offspring, the Levirate law provided for carrying on this name and for continuity through the nearest relative (Deut 25:5–10). Children were important in worship, prayer, and ritual (Exod 13:8, 14; Deut 4:9; 6:7). The Bible attaches special significance to the blessing of children, especially before the death of

parents (Genesis 27, 48, 49). The ancient Jewish custom of blessing children follows the ritual of these texts. The priestly blessing is also used for them (Num 6:24–26).

Despite this special esteem for children, they were the powerless ones on the bottom rung of Hebrew and other ancient societies. Tradition and custom allotted the most important place to older people (Prov 16:31; Job 12:12; Sir 25:4–6). Parents had almost absolute authority over children, who were educated through strict obedience often enforced by severe physical punishment (Prov 13:24; 19:18; 22:15; 23:13; Sir 30:1, 12). The law reinforced parental authority with its own strong sanctions (Exod 21:17; Lev 20:9).

Yet in contrast to human ways, the Bible presents God as acting in a surprising way through children and young people. Wisdom is a special gift from God (Prov 2:6–7) granted even to little ones. God gives the young Joseph the gift of interpreting dreams and ruling the land of Egypt (Gen 41:38). The young Solomon asks God for wisdom through the gift of a listening heart (1 Kgs 3:5–9). The book of Wisdom expands on this story and describes Solomon as asking for wisdom as a child and pursuing it throughout his youth as if searching for a bride (Wis 6:3–7; chaps. 7, 8). In regard to creation, the Psalmist declares that even little children are able to perceive and praise the wonders of God's universe (Ps 8:2).

As if to turn the tables on ordinary human expectations, the Bible focuses on examples where God works through the young and little ones. He favors not Cain the firstborn son of the human race but the younger Abel (Gen 4:4–5). When Rebekah, Jacob's mother, consults the Lord, she receives an answer that the elder shall serve the younger (Gen 25:23). Before death, Jacob blesses his eleven sons, but gives a double blessing to the youngest, Joseph (Gen 48:1–22; 49:22–26). Joseph in turn desires Jacob's special blessing for his older son Manasseh; instead it is granted to the younger, Ephraim (Gen 49:13–20). When the prophet Samuel searches for a new king to replace Saul, he meets Jesse and his seven sons at their home. However, God tells him that despite their impressive strength and appearance none will be the anointed one. Instead, it will be David, a "little one" and shepherd out in the fields doing the work often allotted to children (1 Sam 16:1–13). God enables David, too young even for battle, to overcome the Philistine champion Goliath (1 Sam 17).

The image of a child plays an important part in messianic expectations. The prophet Isaiah announces a future *child* of David's line will be the hope of his people despite much suffering (7:14, 16; 9:16). The same prophet also describes this future in terms of an idyllic return to the childlike innocence of the garden of Eden (11:8–9). The prophet Zechariah has a vision of the messianic era as a time of peace and joy when "the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in them" (8:5).

**B. Children in Mark**

Mark writes for an audience oppressed and persecuted by abusive Roman authority. In response, some Christian leaders and prophets proclaimed an imminent powerful return of Jesus and substantiated their message through miracles and signs (13:6, 21–22). To counter these views, Mark presents children as models of discipleship. Two stories about Jesus and children form an important literary frame for illustrating true discipleship in a central teaching section formed around Jesus' three predictions of his passion and death (8:31; 9:31; 10:32–34). As Derrett has shown (1983), these children's stories should not be understood merely as examples of Jesus' compassion for little ones or as a support for the existence of infant baptism in the early church. Instead, they should be studied in light of their context and the importance of Jesus' blessing, which follows OT biblical models (Genesis 48–49).

The first story (9:33–37) follows Jesus' second prediction of death in 9:31 and the connected pericope about the disciples arguing over who would be the greatest among them. (Here Mark's audience would probably think of succession to Jesus in view of the statement about his departure.) There is a direct confrontation with the twelve, who are thinking in terms of power and authority. Jesus illustrates his own response by actions as well as words. He "takes the child in his arms" as again in the literary frame closure in 10:16. Derrett (1983: 5–10) has argued from OT parallels that this is part of an adoption ritual. Jesus then confirms this action by words, and announces that those who receive children receive him, thus introducing a succession motif with words similar to Matt 10:40 and John 13:20. Without a break in the scene, Jesus again confronts John, who wants to forbid someone outside the twelve from working in

Jesus' name (9:38). Then Jesus once more gives priority to the child in their midst by stressing the danger of leading little ones into sin (9:42).

The end of the children's literary frame (10:13–16) occurs at a significant point after Jesus has confronted the Pharisees in regard to divorce. Jesus' own disciples also find this difficult and question him in the house. Here there is an even stronger confrontation between Jesus and his disciples, who had rebuked those bringing children to him. Jesus is visibly *indignant* and publicly contradicts the disciples by saying, "Let the children come to me, do not hinder them; for to such belongs the kingdom of God" (10:14). Then Jesus states the necessity of receiving the kingdom as children (10:15). In this second text, children are not only "owners" of the kingdom but models of total childlike reception of Jesus' teaching. The two pericopes end with Jesus' blessing. This is especially significant given the OT parallels Derrett has pointed out and the power of Jesus' concluding blessing as seen in Luke 24:50.

Children and youngsters also play a distinct role in Mark's dramatic sequence. Jesus' greatest miracle is the raising of the twelve-year-old daughter of Jairus (5:35–43). The longest gospel miracle account is that of the young boy afflicted with a life-threatening illness resembling epilepsy (9:14–29). In the passion account, only Mark relates that a young man or youngster "closely followed" (Gk *synēkolouthei*) Jesus after all the other disciples had fled (14:50–51). Yet even this person fled away naked after the soldiers seized him, grabbing hold of the linen cloth around him.

Scholars have not agreed about the relationship of this disciple to the young man at the empty tomb who proclaims Jesus' resurrection (16:6). However, the following textual details suggest an identification as well as a key role in Mark's gospel conclusion. When Mary Magdalene and the other women came to Jesus' tomb, they said to one another, "Who will roll away the stone for us from the door of the tomb?" (16:3). Then the text notes that the women entered the tomb, found the young man sitting there, and were amazed. The sequence suggests that their amazement was due to their perception that the young man was the only one who could have performed the prodigious feat of moving the huge stone.

The following arguments support this view and point to the young man as part of a surprising climax of Mark's gospel: (1) The central importance of the resurrection proclamation needs support by a special sign, as customary in Mark and in prophetic OT proclamations (Mark 11:1–5; 14:12–16; Isa 7:10); (2) The Markan audience would look for an important biblical parallel to such a sign. This is found in the story of Jacob's arrival at the well in Paddan-aram (Genesis 29). Jacob proves God is with him and identifies himself to his future wife Rachel by miraculously rolling a huge stone from the well to water her flocks. The verb "roll away" (in regard to a stone) is found only in the LXX of Gen 29:3, 8, 10. In addition, the same description of a "large stone" occurs in both Gen 29:2 and Mark 16:4. Jacob's feat was really a formative miracle of Israel, for after this we hear about Jacob's marriage and the birth of his children. It would thus parallel a similar formative miracle in Mark announcing a new beginning.

The above considerations would prepare the audience for a final dramatic surprise: the previously weak youngster who had fled away naked (14:51–52) has become the miraculously strong proclaimer of Jesus' resurrection. Thus he summarizes Mark's theme that God reverses human expectations by working through the powerless, children and little ones.

**C. Children in Matthew**

In the stories of Jesus' birth and childhood, Matthew introduces some of his central gospel themes. Jesus' birth and the following events identify him with the *child* promised through Isaiah the prophet (Isa 7:14, 16). The child Jesus is called Emmanuel to fulfill these prophecies (Matt 1:23). This child will be the hope of the gentile world, as illustrated by the Magi's journey guided by God through a star and by dreams. The child is also one with his suffering people in history, especially in their exile in Egypt. The Jewish king Herod tries to kill the "newly born king," afraid that he himself may be supplanted by another. The experiences of the child Jesus are also remarkably similar to those of Moses, who was saved from death from Pharaoh by God's intervention. Just as Moses liberated his people at the risk of his life, so the child Jesus identifies with his people by suffering, exile, and danger.

Like Mark, Matthew also constructs a literary frame around two stories about children in his discipleship section (18:1–5; 19:13–15). However, unlike Mark, there is no sharp contrast to the twelve,

but a simple question addressed to Jesus about who is the greatest in the kingdom (18:1). Yet Matthew enhances the place of children by making this story an introduction to a whole discourse on church discipline (18:1 to 19:1). Thus children will stand as a model for a much larger group in the church. The first image is that of conversion: "Unless you turn and become like little children, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven" (18:3). The second is that of humility: "Whoever humbles himself as this little child is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven" (18:36). The third is that of identification with Jesus: receiving a child in his name (18:5) and the very opposite, causing a little one to sin. Here Matthew emphasizes the identification-with-Jesus theme that is central to his gospel. Jesus then highlights the importance of little ones by declaring that each has a special guardian angel assigned to them by God (18:10).

In this discourse, Matthew expands the image of children or little ones to include first of all lost community members. The audience should search for them like a shepherd looking for a single lost sheep, since it is not the Father's will that a single little one perish (18:14). The evangelist then gives two other examples of the search for little ones: first, the case of a serious transgression within the community where every possible effort should be made to have the transgressor realize what he has done. An initial step is a secret one-to-one talk, then two or three witnesses, and finally the whole community should try to win over the lost person (18:15–20). In regard to the weak backslider, forgiveness must be extended without limit, up to "seventy times seven" (18:22). The children's literary frame ends in 19:13–15. Matthew does not have Mark's significant blessing. However, he has Jesus twice lay his hands on the children. This could have special significance given the importance of the laying on of hands in the early church.

The theme of children/little ones is also important elsewhere in this gospel. Following the OT wisdom motif, Jesus praises God who has hidden things from the "wise and understanding and revealed them to babes" (11:25). When Jesus enters the temple for the last time, Matthew contrasts the indignant attitude of the chief priests and scribes to that of children who saw Jesus' wonderful deeds and cried out to him, "Hosanna to the Son of David" (20:15). When the Jewish leaders objected to the children's words, Jesus replied to them by quoting Psalm 8:2, which describes children as open to the wonders of God's universe. The Last Judgment scene in 25:31 sums up Matthew's theme of Jesus' identification with the little ones and least of the kingdom, who now include the poor, sick, hungry, and homeless in the world. Jesus declares, "Truly I say to you, as you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me" (25:40). In contrast, what was not done to "one of the least of these" is not done to Jesus (25:45).

**D. Children in Luke**

Luke could well be called the "gospel of little children." The stories of Jesus' birth and childhood introduce central motifs found later in that gospel. As in Matthew, the child Jesus is the promised descendant of David. The nativity stories resemble Scripture meditations on the OT. There God directed the prophet Samuel to choose a "little one" as the future king, the youngster David who was out shepherding the flocks (1 Sam 16:1–13). In a similar manner, the promised child is discovered by shepherds in a rustic setting near David's own city of Bethlehem. The shepherds recognize the child through Isaiah's sign of the manger (1:1–2; Luke 2:7, 12, 16). The child's place in a feeding crib symbolizes he will be a shepherd and source of nourishment for his people. This prepares the way for a gospel climax in which Jesus will be recognized in the breaking of bread (24:30–31). The lack of hospitality at Jesus' birth contrasts with the hospitality shown to the mysterious stranger at the end of the gospel who proves to be the risen Jesus (24:28–32). The two childhood wisdom summaries (2:39, 52) are significant in presenting Jesus as a wisdom child in view of the OT wisdom scriptures. Later, Luke will take up the theme of God's gift of wisdom bestowed on little ones, even *infants* (10:21–22). At the Last Supper, Jesus teaches that the greatest of the disciples should be like the youngest (22:26).

Luke's gospel is unique in having a special journey section, beginning in 9:51, where most of his special material is found. He introduces it by focusing on children as the model for the new teachings on discipleship that he will present. J. Kodell (1987) has studied the literary children's framework in the journey section and shown how Luke teaches through opposing pairs based on the model of children and little ones. Jesus teaches that the disciples must receive children as himself and that the least among them

is the greatest (9:47–48). The first opposing group is the disciples who argue about first places in the kingdom (9:46–48). The second is the attitude of John forbidding someone outside the twelve from casting out devils in Jesus' name. Connected to this episode is Jesus' opposition to both John and James in their response to Samaritans (9:49–56). The closing children's story is near the end of Luke's journey section (18:15–17). Here the emphasis lies on receiving the kingdom as a child (18:17). Luke expands this to include the least and lowliest in the kingdom. The opposing pairs are the Pharisee and tax collector as well as the rich ruler and Pharisees (18:9–30).

**E. Children in John**

The gospel prologue announces the Word came down from heaven so that those who believe in Jesus might become children (Gk *tekna*) of God. In the Nicodemus episode, Jesus states the necessity of being born again (or from above) to enter the kingdom of God. While the Synoptic Gospels present children as models for this new birth, John appears to present this model through an actual person (Brown 1979: 31), the beloved disciple, although some scholars consider him to be an idealized disciple or model for the audience.

This beloved disciple (BD) seems to be a youngster, for there was a reported saying of Jesus that he would still be alive when Jesus returned (21:22–23). Also his position at Jesus' bosom at the last supper suggests a young age. His relationship to Jesus seems modeled on that of Jesus to the Father. Jesus reveals his Father's secrets because he is in his Father's bosom (1:18). Correspondingly, the BD at Jesus' bosom learns from him the secret of Judas' betrayal and tells it to Peter. The BD's special place at Jesus' side suggests that he will be his special successor, since chaps. 13–17 treat of Jesus' departure and his continued presence. The gospel presents the BD as the authority behind its views of Jesus' and his teaching. Hence the BD is presented as Jesus' successor either as a favorite disciple or as an adopted son, perhaps modeled on Joseph, the favorite son of Jacob, who receives a double blessing (Gn 49:22–26), and whose children Ephraim and Mannaseh are adopted as Jacob's own (48:1–22).

The following are ways that the BD appears as models for the gospel audience: (1) He is a model for the gospel's emphasis on the Paraclete or Holy Spirit as the inner successor of Jesus (Culpepper 1983: 123–24). As the Paraclete is the Spirit of truth (14:15) so the BD also proclaims the truth (19:35). As the Spirit bears witness, so does the BD (15:26; 19:35). They both teach and bring into remembrance what Jesus has said (14:25; 2:20–22). (2) The "one [or disciple] whom Jesus loved" is the principal designation of the BD in this gospel (13:23; 19:26; 20:2; 21:7, 20). Thus he is a model for every disciple who is likewise loved by Jesus. This love is parallel to and modeled on the love of the Father for Jesus. This is shown in statements like, "the Father loves the Son, and has given all things into his hand" (5:20; also 10:17; 15:9). A prominent example of this love is the "family relationship" of Jesus with Lazarus, Martha, and Mary. The gospel describes each of them as loved by Jesus (11:3, 5, 36). The quality of this love receives special notice, for Jesus risks his life to save Lazarus by being willing to go into Judea (11:8). In response, the family gives a reception for Jesus at Bethany, where Lazarus is seated at table, Martha fulfills her role in serving, and Mary affectionately anoints his feet with oil and dries them with her hair as an extraordinary sign of hospitality (12:1–3). (3) The BD is a model of faith for the audience. On hearing from Mary Magdalene that the tomb was open, the BD ran with Peter, noticed that the tomb was empty, and believed without any accompanying sign or confirmation.

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**CHILEAB** (PERSON) [Heb *kil·āb* (כִּלְאָב)]. The second son of David, born at Hebron (2 Sam 3:3).

He was the firstborn of David and Abigail, the Carmelite, whom David had taken as a wife upon the death

of her foolish husband Nabal (1 Samuel 25). Presumably he had died, along with David's first- and third-born sons, Amnon and Absalom, when David's fourth son Adonijah attempted to seize the throne in the last days of his father's life (1 Kings 1–2). He is called "DANIEL" in 1 Chr 3:1, and this—or some form such as "Daluiah" (see McCarter *2 Samuel* 101)—was most likely his correct name. In 2 Sam 3:3, 4QSam[a] has *dl[ ],* the OG has *Dalouia,* and an OL fragment has *da[ ];* a textual corruption is easily postulated here, since the last three letters of the Hebrew—*l*ʾ*b*—are identical to the first three of the next word and since the letters *k* and *d* could have been easily confused.

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**CHILIASM.** The materialistic and sensual aspect of millenarianism, the belief in an earthly paradise lasting about one thousand years. Illustrative of this belief is *2 Baruch* 29–30, a Jewish work of the early 2d century C.E. It says that the earth will yield "ten thousand fold," the vine will have a thousand branches, one grape will produce a cor (= 55 gallons) of wine, and manna will fall from heaven. This concept is employed and developed by a number of early Christians. Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 260–ca. 340) states that the gnostic Cerinthus (ca. 100) taught a crude chiliasm which included belief in an earthly kingdom replete with sumptuous banquets, marital bliss, feasts, "sacrifices and slaughter of victims" (*thysiais kai hiereion sphagais*): presumably he means animal sacrifices (*Hist. Eccl.* 3:28; 7:25). Here Eusebius is quoting Dionysius of Alexandria (died ca. 264), who opposed the teaching of Cerinthus. Teaching similar to Cerinthus is attributed to Nepos of Arsinoe (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 7:24). He thought that the "divine Scriptures should be interpreted" "after a more Jewish fashion" (*Joudaïkoteron*), that is, according to the model of certain Jewish interpretations which anticipated an earthly paradise. Another exponent of chiliasm was Apollinarius (ca. 310–390). Epiphanius (*anac.* 77:36–38) states that Apollinarius expected persons to rise with resuscitated physical bodies and to observe both male circumcision and the Jewish dietary laws. Chiliasm is found in one of its most crass forms in Lactantius (ca. 224–ca. 320). He states that the righteous will have multiple offspring; celestial bodies will shine seven times more brightly than in this world; mountains will drip with honey; there will be streams of wine and milk and animals will cease to be carnivorous; there will be no need for commerce or agriculture. Dyeing of wool will not be necessary because the sheep will be of different colors (Lactant. *Div. Inst.* 7:24; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 4:21–45). Commodianus (3d century or later) takes an approach similar to Lactantius and adds that there will be no rain or cold and that Jerusalem will be 12,000 furlongs square and reach as high as the heavens. The righteous shall beget children for one thousand years. Methodius of Olympius (died ca. 311) in *Banquet* 9 views the millennium as the fulfillment of the Jewish feast of Tabernacles. However, he states that there will be no begetting of children. The author of the *Apocalypse of John the Theologian* (von Tischendorf 1966: 70–94) takes a materialistic view of the renewed earth and also argues that there will be neither yellow nor red nor black races, neither Negro nor "different face," and all will be about the age of thirty. However, although his statements refer to a paradise on a renewed earth, he does not mention a thousand years per se.

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**CHILION** (PERSON) [Heb *kilyôn* (כִּלְיוֹן)]. Son of Elimelech and Naomi, husband of Orpah (Ruth 1:2, 5; 4:9). Chilion and his family migrated to Moab, where he married Orpah (4:9–10) and later died with his brother Mahlon and their father (1:4–5). Chilion is always paired with his brother in the story. The initial order of Mahlon followed by Chilion (1:2, 5) is inverted at the gate scene by Boaz (4:9) but not for the reason of chiasmus since 1:5 would interrupt this sequence. The inverted order presented by Boaz has been explained on the basis that the older brother's seniority would require him to be named first in such a commercial transaction and therefore it is assumed that Mahlon is the elder. The reason for the first pairing is unclear. Gordis (1986) attributes it to the symbolic meaning of the names "sickness" (Mahlon)

and "death" (Chilion), which together sum up the destitute condition of the family in Moab. See MAHLON.

The etymology of "Chilion" is uncertain, but many relate it to the noun *killāỹn* (masc.) from *kālâ;* thus the name is interpreted "destruction," "annihilation," or "failing" (cf. spellings *kelaion, chelaion,* and *chellaion*). Noth, however, prefers "consumption, a wasting disease" (*IPN*, 11). Those who take the characters as historical point out that the names in the story are plausible, some being attested in ANE onomastica. This is evidenced for "Chilion" in Ug (*klyn*), Phoen (*kly*), and Palmyrene *kylywn, kyly*).

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KENNETH A. MATHEWS

**CHILMAD** (PLACE) [Heb *kilmad* (כִּלְמַד)]. A trading partner with Tyre mentioned only in the MT of Ezekiel's lament over that city (Ezek 27:23). The name is last in a list of five places, three of which are well attested: HARAN, EDEN (= Bīt Adini), and ASSHUR; CANNEH is otherwise unattested, but may be the same as CALNEH. Chilmad is obscure, and has given rise to speculative interpretations. LXXreads *Charman,* a puzzling name, and the Vulgate simply transliterates MT to give *Chelmad.* The Targums reanalyzed the consonantal text as *kl md[y]* "all Media," followed by some modern commentators (e.g., Eichrodt *Ezekiel* OTL, 381; Zimmerli *Ezekiel* Hermeneia, 50) and translators (NEB).

The trade with Tyre engaged in by Haran, Canneh, Eden, Asshur, and Chilmad (?) seems to have involved the export of textiles and other woven goods (Ezek 27:24). The three known places are located in Syria and N Mesopotamia, and this has induced suggestions of Mesopotamian and Syrian identifications for Chilmad. Among these are Charmon (Charmande) on the Euphrates near Babylon (Xen. *An.* 1.5.10), Kalwada near Baghdad (Smith 1872: 61; now generally rejected), and Kulmadara in N Syria (Astour *IDBSup*, 145, supposing omission of an *r* by haplography). Simons (*GTTOT* 457) observes that LXX *Charman* may reproduce the name of the Persian province Kirman; if so, the Greek translator may have already made implicitly the analysis of MT as a reference to Media followed by the later Targums. He further notes (Simons *GTTOT*, 488) that the "sons of *Cheleoud*" in Jdt 1:6 (RSV: "Chaldeans") have also been associated with Chilmad.

The revocalization *kĕlimmād* "like an apprentice" is at least as old as David Kimḥi (ca. 1160–ca. 1235) and was followed by some critics in the 19th century.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**CHIMHAM** (PERSON) [Heb *kimhām* (כִּמְהָם)]. Son of Barzillai the Gileadite who resided with King David after the unsuccessful revolt of Absalom (2 Sam 19:38–39, 41—Eng 19:37–38, 40). On David's return to Jerusalem after quelling Absalom's rebellion, he wished to reward faithful Barzillai with a place at the royal residence in Jerusalem. Since he was eighty years old, Barzillai politely declined and, instead, asked the favor for "your servant" Chimham. David complied and Chimham returned to Jerusalem with him.

Although it is not stated that Chimham was the son of Barzillai, this can be reasonably inferred. Some Greek versions and the Syriac add "my son" to Chimham's name in 2 Samuel 19, and Josephus (*Ant* 7.11.4) believed that Chimham was the son of Barzillai. As one of his last requests, the dying David asked Solomon to continue to show favor to Barzillai's "sons" who lived at the royal residence (1 Kgs 2:7). It can be assumed that others had joined their kinsman (lit. brother) Chimham there.

The name also occurs in the place name, GERUTH-CHIMHAM (Jer 41:17). Since the name probably means "lodging place or fief of Chimham," and is located near Bethlehem, some commentators believe

that David awarded Chimham a grant of land from his patrimony. For further discussion see Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC.
STEPHEN G. DEMPSTER

**CHINNERETH** (PLACE) [Heb *kinnāret* (כִּנָּרֶת)]. Var. CHINNEROTH. Chinnereth was identified by W. F. Albright and G. Dalman with Tell el-ʿOreimeh (Tel Kinrot M.R. 200252) on the W shore of Lake Chinneroth, N of the el-Ghuwayer Plain. It comprises a small tell on top of a natural hill clearly visible from the S and the W, and of a lower city covering great parts of the slope extending to the shore of the lake. The primary water source is ʿĒn et-Tine, a spring located at the S foot of the hill underneath a steep cliff.

The identification agrees with the literary sources. Chinnereth is first mentioned in the list of Thutmose III as number 34, the last of four cities in the upper valley of the Jordan, after Laish, Hazor, and Peḥel. The importance of the town during the 18th Dyn. is further documented by the fact that Chinnereth is listed in Papyrus Petersburg 1116 A, together with ten other Canaanite cities, among which are Megiddo, Taanach, Ashkelon, and Hazor. During the later part of the 18th Dyn. no further reference to the town is made. In the Bible, Chinnereth appears one time in Josh 19:35 as one of the cities of Naphtali. However, it must have been an important city in the time of the monarchy, since the lake was named after the town (cf. Num 34:11; Deut 3:17; Jos 12:31; 13:27). In Josh 11:2 and 1 Kgs 15:20, Chinneroth probably designates the region S of Chinnereth, i.e., the el-Ghuwayer Plain. After the Assyrian conquest of the N Kingdom, the city was abandoned, and in Roman and Byzantine times it was replaced by the new settlement called Gennesaret (cf. Matt 14:34), which appears as Ginnosar in the Jewish tradition and can most probably be located in the vicinity of Kh. el-Minya, just.5 km S of Tell el-ʿOreimeh.

At the W edge of the tell, a city wall and part of a house were excavated that can clearly be dated to the EB II. But the pottery from various fills is a mixture of different wares from EB I and II. Common are sherds decorated in the band-slip or grain-washed technique, as well as sherds of red-burnished ware, both typical of EB I, suggesting that a settlement already existed during this period. Not a single sherd of KHIRBET KERAK WARE has been found, suggesting that the site remained unsettled from EB III until MB II.

From the MB and LB ages only scattered remains have been found, so that nothing conclusive may be said about the fortification and extension of the town during the 2d millennium. Habitation during the MB II and LB is indicated by sherds from different loci, including fragments of imported vessels such as Mycenaean bowls and Cypriot milk bowls.

The site was probably not settled during the Iron Age I. A new settlement was founded during the 10th century B.C., replaced by a city covering approximately 6 acres. The earliest city was defended by a massive wall system up to 11 m wide.

At the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 8th century B.C., the city was reduced in size. The city wall encircled only the upper part of the mound, protecting an area of about 2 acres. An entirely new city wall, 3–4 m wide, was built, partly founded on the earlier wall. At the S side, a citadel was separated from the rest of the city, which could be entered from the city in the N. The small two-chambered city gate stood at the E side, and beside it was a pillared building. The whole gate was filled with burnt mudbrick material and ashes to a depth of ca. 2 m, indicating a heavy and sudden destruction. According to the pottery from the rooms adjoining the gate, the destruction can be dated into the second half of the 8th century B.C., and may be attributed to the conquest of Tiglath-pileser III in 733 B.C.

During the Hellenistic period, most of the tell remained uninhabited. Only in the central depression were a few houses erected, and they are badly preserved. They were probably built by local farmers who used the slopes for agriculture. The rooms were entirely empty, with only some scattered fragments of Hellenistic pottery (such as bowls, cooking pots, lamps, and *uguenteriae*) found in the debris. Two bronze coins of the Ptolemaic period indicate that this farming activity started during the 3d century B.C. It probably did not last longer than early Roman times, and most likely came to an end during the war from 66–70 A.D.

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V. F.

**CHINNERETH, SEA OF** (PLACE) [Heb *kinneret* (כִּנֶּרֶת)]. See GALILEE, SEA OF.

**CHIOS** (PLACE) [Gk *Chios* (Χιος)]. A large mountainous island of volcanic origin in the Aegean Sea 8 mi W of Asia Minor (Strabo 14.1.35; Acts 20:15). The island's name was either derived from the Greek word for snow, because its mountains are perennially snow-covered, or from a Syrian word for mastic, because its forests abound with mastic. Chios is situated between the islands of Lesbos and Samos and is a principal island in the Ionian Archipelago.

The island's principal ancient city was named Chios also and had the advantage of a good harbor which could contain 80 ships (Strabo 14.1.35; Herodotus 6.8; Thucydides 8.15). Evidence of Chios exports have been found in large quantity in Naucratis, the Black Sea area, and Massilia, but rarely in the Greek peninsula. The men of Chios made slave trade a chief pursuit. Underwater archaeologists have found a number of amphoras testifying to the significance of the Chios wine trade (Strabo 14.1.15; 14.1.35; 14.2.19).

Emporio was the earliest fortification on the island (C-14 date 2075 B.C.E.) and the site was later settled by the Mycenaean. The site was destroyed by fire about 1100 B.C.E. and was left abandoned until about 750 B.C.E. at which time the population of the island gradually began to grow. The inhabitants of Chios were subject to the Ionians and in 546 B.C.E. fell with Asia Minor to the Persians. The Chians and the Miletians rebelled against the Persians and fought gallantly off the island of Lade with 100 ships only to fall again to the Persians. After the battle of Mycale in 479, the Chians joined the Athenian confederacy and in 412, they sided with the Spartans in the Peloponnesian war against their former allies, the Athenians. The Athenians retaliated by devastating the island of Chios. After the battle of Naxos in 376, the Chians revolted against the Spartans allying themselves again with Athens. In 363, the Chians joined forces with Thebes and successfully defeated the Athenian general Chares in battle. Athens recognized the island's independence in 355. The island later befriended Rome and subsequently had to surrender their ships and 2000 talents to the Pontic king Mithidates. The Romans recognized Chios' independence and probably never made the island part of the province of Asia (Pliny 5.38; 16.6).

Chios was renowned for its red wine (Pliny 14.9; 17.34.22; Horace *Od* 3.19.5; Virgil *Ecloques* 5.7; Athenagoras 4.167; 1.32), mastic (Pliny 12.36; 24.74; Dioscor. 1.90), and marble. The island was also one of the reputed birthplaces of Homer. According to legend, Homer gathered his pupils to himself at the foot of Mt. Epos on the coast of Chios, which was probably the same location of an ancient sanctuary of Cybele.

In Josephus' account of Herod's voyage to the Black Sea to meet Marcus Agrippa (*Ant* 16.2.2), he recorded that Herod was detained for some time by north winds at Chios. During his delay, Herod gave a generous sum of money for the restoration of public works on the island, which had been destroyed during the Mithridatic war.

Paul anchored off the island for a night while returning to Jerusalem after his third missionary journey (Acts 20:15), but never went to shore. Isidorus, an Alexandrian Christian and soldier in the Roman army, went with his fleet to Chios, where he was accused for his beliefs and martyred in 251 C.E. There is evidence of Christianity on the island by the 4th century, with a Bishop of Chios (who was not present at

the Nicaean Council) and post-Constantinian basilicas at Chios and Phana (on the southern end of the island).
SCOTT T. CARROLL

**CHISLEV** [Heb *kīslēw* (כִּסְלֵו)]. The ninth month of the Hebrew calendar, roughly corresponding to November and December. See CALENDARS (ANCIENT ISRAELITE AND EARLY JEWISH).

**CHISLON** (PERSON) [Heb *kislôn* (כִּסְלוֹן)]. A Benjaminite, and the father of Elidad (Num 34:21). The latter was selected from the tribe of Benjamin to help oversee the distribution of the land of Canaan W of the Jordan among the ten tribes who would occupy that territory.

Several meanings have been suggested for the name "Chislon." Johnson (*IDB* 1: 562), following Noth (*IPN* 227), suggested "slow" or "heavy of movement," relating the name to an Arabic cognate. Others have proposed "hope" or "aspiration" and have suggested a derivation from occurrences of the root *ksl* in Ugaritic sources (*EncMiqr* 4:222). There are also several cities mentioned in Scripture whose names recall that of Chislon: Chesalon (Josh 15:10), Chisloth-Tabor (Josh 19:12), and Chesulloth (Josh 19:18).
RAPHAEL I. PANITZ

**CHISLOTH-TABOR** (PLACE) [Heb *kislōt tābōr* (כִּסְלֹת תָּבֹר)]. Var. CHESULLOTH. A town on the S border of the territory of Zebulun (Josh 19:12). It is apparent that Chesulloth (Heb *kĕsûlōt*) in the territory of Issachar (Josh 19:18) is a variant name of this town. Eusebius states that it is "called Chsalous, a village in the valley by Tabor 8 miles from Diocesarea eastwards" (Klosterman 1904: 28, lines 23–25). Josephus mentions it twice, once as "Xaloth" (*JW* 3.3.1) as the S border of Lower Galilee, and again as "Exaloth" (*Life* 44). In a homiletical interpretation of Gen 49:14, *Gen. Rab.* (98:12) describes Issachar as a mountain between two valleys, that of "Iksalo" and that of "Jezreel."

As already recognized by Eshthori ha-Parhi (Edelman 1852: 47) and again by Guerin (1880: 108–9) and the Survey (Conder and Kitchener 1881: 365), the village of Iksal (M.R. 180232) 5 km W of Mt. Tabor retains this ancient name. However, no Iron Age sherds have been reported from Iksal, but neither has an alternative site been found in the immediate vicinity. The position of the four places mentioned in conjunction with Chesulloth in Joshua 19—Sarid, Daberath, Jezreel, and Shunem (the names of which having all survived in modern place names)—confirms the identification of Chesulloth/Chisloth-Tabor with Iksal.

Iksal's position shows the border between Issachar and Zebulun to have been at the foot of the hills, and also that in *JW* 3.3 Josephus excluded the Jezreel valley from Galilee.

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RAFAEL FRANKEL

**CHITLISH** (PLACE) [Heb *kitlîš* (כִּתְלִישׁ)]. A town situated in the Shephelah, or low country, of Judah (Josh 15:40), within the same district as Lachish and Eglon. The only reference to this settlement occurs in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62; see also BETH-DAGON). The location of the ancient settlement is unknown. It has been suggested (Boling and Wright *Joshua* 386) that Chitlish may be the same place as Kentisha of the list of Thutmose III, and *k-n-ti-sa,* mentioned on a hieratic ostracon discovered at Lachish.

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WADE R. KOTTER

**CHLOE** (PERSON) [Gk *Chloē* (Χλοη)]. A woman singled out for mention by Paul in 1 Cor 1:11 because her "people," literally "those of Chloe," had reported to Paul about quarreling among the Corinthians. Chloe's "people" were presumably either family members, or slave or freed member employees of her household. The information they conveyed to Paul, who was in Ephesus, could have been delivered either by a letter from the Corinthians or by word of mouth. It is unclear whether Chloe's people resided in Corinth or in Ephesus at the time. An Ephesian rather than a Corinthian base for the household of Chloe seems more probable since Paul probably would not have been so tactless as to identify his informants in remarks to their local Corinthian brothers and sisters. On the other hand, since Chloe herself is apparently known to the Corinthians, she and her people may well have lived in Corinth. But in view of the conjecture above, it is more likely that they resided in Ephesus where, probably as a person of means, Chloe ran a business which required sending emissaries to Corinth and resulted in her being acquainted with residents there.

Chloe's people were obviously Christian. But the same cannot be said with certainty about Chloe. It has been noted, however, that the Greek phrase describing her people as *hoi tōn chloēs* lit. "those of Chloe" contrasts with references to Christian members of other households, e.g., *hoi ek tōn ›Aristoboulou, hoi ek tōn Narkissou* lit. "those from (of) Aristobulus, those from (of) Narcissus" (Rom 16:10–11). The absence of the Gk preposition *›ek* (from) in the phrase mentioning Chloe may imply that the whole of her household including Chloe was Christian (Meeks 1983: 217, n. 54). One can also surmise that Paul's identification of his informants by using Chloe's name could reflect some familiarity with her, perhaps acquired through business, but just as likely through membership in the Christian community. Chloe may well have been known to Paul as a believer along with her whole household. In that sense she would be reminiscent of Lydia of Philippi and, together with Lydia, might be cited as one type of woman who belonged to the Pauline communities: female heads of households and businesses, women thus accustomed to social leadership and decision-making roles.

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**CHOBA** (PLACE) [Gk *Chōba* (Χωβα)]. Var. CHOBAI. A site in the book of Judith, located in Israelite territory (Jdt 4:4, 15:4, 15:5). The location of the site is uncertain, and given the genre of the book of Judith, the name may be fictitious. It is even unclear whether 4:5 and 15:5 are referring to the same place (15:4 gives the probable variant spelling *chōbai*). The Choba in 4:4 is located to the N of Jerusalem, but seemingly S of the area of Samaria, while in 15:5 it seems to be a border town. In 15:5 the mention of Damascus has led some to draw a connection with the Hobah in Gen 15:14, the place to which Abraham pursues the captors of Lot. However, that Hobah is located N of Damascus, so the connection does not seem fruitful. Aharoni and Avi-Yonah *(MBA*) have identified Choba with el-Marmaleh (M.R. 196163), which is located 30 mi S of Scythopolis and 3 mi W of the Jordan. Moore (*Judith* AB) suggests an identification with el-Mekhubbi, which is located between Tubas (biblical Thebez M.R. 185192) and Besan. See Abel *GP*.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**CHORAZIN** (PLACE) [Gk *Korazin* (Κοραζιν)]. Chorazin was a Galilean town rebuked by Jesus for its rejection of his message, although it had witnessed his miracles (Matt 11:21; Luke 10:13). Ancient Jewish sources describe it as a medium-sized town (*t. Mak.* 3:8) noted for its remarkable wheat production (*b. Menah.* 85a).

Eusebius (*Onomast.* 174.23) and Jerome (*De Situ et Nom. Loc. Hebr.* 194) located the ruins of the town 2 mi N of Capernaum. C. W. M. Van de Velde's identification of Khirbet Karazeh (M.R. 203257) as ancient Chorazin in the 1850s has been generally accepted (Yeivin 1987: 24).

Located in the hills overlooking Capernaum and the N shore of the Sea of Galilee, this town thrived in the 2d century A.D. when the population of the region expanded as a result of the Bar Kokhba rebellion. The imposing basalt ruins have been subjected to some architectural clearance by the Department of

Antiquities of Palestine in 1926, and more recently Ze›ev Yeivin has conducted excavations for the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums 1962–65, 1982–86. Domestic complexes, a public building, and a synagogue have been exposed. The well-preserved architectural fragments of the 4th-century synagogue, which include friezes adorned with geometrical, floral, and even anthropoid imagery, make it an important site for the study of post-temple Judaism and synagogue architecture. The discovery of numerous coins on the floor of the synagogue has been interpreted as indicating that the town was a stop on the journey of Christian pilgrims who came to witness the fulfillment of Jesus' reproach and who tossed coins into the ruins.

Archaeological excavations as of yet have not unearthed evidence of occupation prior to the 2d century A.D. at Kh. Karazeh, although Chorazin's earlier existence is attested in the literary evidence. Only a small percentage of the site, which covers over 80 acres, has been excavated. The remains of 1st-century Chorazin remain to be discovered. See also *EAEHL* 1: 299–303.

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ROBERT W. SMITH

**CHORBE** (PERSON) [Gk *Chorbe* (Χορβε)]. The head of a family in a list of returnees from exile in Babylon (1 Esdr 5:12 = Ezra 5:9; Neh 7:14). This section of the list (5:9–15) identifies laymen by family relationship rather than by town of origin. 1 Esdr 5:7–46 is based on the parallel in Ezra 2:1–70 rather than on Neh 7:6–73. However, both parallel verses in Ezra and Neh give the name "Zaccai," which either means "pure" or is a contraction of Zechariah ("Yahweh remembers"). Since the Gk text of 1 Esdras contains many corruptions of the Hebrew *Vorlage,* W. Rudolph (*Esra und Nehemiah* HAT) considers *Chorbe* to be a corruption of *zobbei,* a Gk transliteration of the Hebrew word *zabbai.* Some manuscripts interchange Zaccai and Zabbai in Neh 3:20, so it is possible for Zaccai to have been corrupted to Zobbei and then to Chorbe. One Gk manuscript of 1 Esdras has Zakchai instead of Chorbe. Nothing is known about this person, though a stamp discovered by Moscati contains the name "Zaccai." (See Myers *Esdras* AB.)

MITCHELL C. PACWA

**CHOSAMAEUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Chosamaios* (Χοσαμαιος)]. A name associated with Simon, a son of Annan, who divorced his foreign wife during Ezra's reform (1 Esdr 9:32). Although the RSV follows the LXX by listing Simon Chosamaeus as the last of the five sons of Annan, the apparently parallel account in Ezra 10:31–32 mentions eight sons of Harim, of which the fifth, Shimeon, is often assumed to be a Heb variant for Simon in 1 Esdras. Chosamaeus is lacking in the Ezra parallel. However, Fritsch (*IDB* 1: 563) argues that "the name Chosamaeus probably arose as the result of a scribal error in copying the three Greek proper names following Shimeon" in Ezra 10 (i.e., Benjamin, Malluch, and Shemariah). Differences such as this raise questions about the sources of and literary relationships among 1 Esdras, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**CHREIA** [Gk *Chreia* (Χρεια)]. Isocrates used to say that the root of education is bitter, but its fruits sweet (Aphthonius in Hock and O'Neil 1986: 224). Diogenes, on being asked why people give to beggars but not to philosophers, said, "Because they think that they might become lame or blind, but they never think that they will take up philosophy" (D.L. 6.56). The forms of these two anecdotes—So-and-so said …, and So-and-so, on being asked …, said … —represent two of the most popular varieties of a literary form known in antiquity as the chreia, itself a very popular form in Greco-Roman literature. Indeed, one estimate of the number of chreiai attributed to Diogenes alone is perhaps a thousand (Fischel 1968: 374), and thousands more, attributed to other philosophers as well as to kings, generals, sophists, even courtesans, are scattered across the pages of Athenaeus, Diogenes Laertius, Plutarch, and Stobaeus, to name only a few writers who made extensive use of this form. In short, preserving the wisdom and wit of an Isocrates or a Diogenes by casting it as a chreia was a widespread habit among ancient writers, one that was learned early on, for the chreia was used in grammatical and compositional exercises in school.

The educational use of the chreia, however, assured more than its popularity; it also assured it of receiving a sustained and sophisticated analysis, as the chreia was taken up, along with a baker's dozen of other literary forms, into those teachers' manuals on elementary composition and argumentation known as *Progymnasmata.* The earliest surviving example of these manuals is that by Aelius Theon of Alexandria in the late 1st century C.E. (Stegemann *PW* 5A: 2037–54; Butts 1986), who was followed in the late 2d century by Hermogenes of Tarsus (Radermacher *PW* 8: 865–77; Rabe 1913), in the late 4th century by Aphthonius of Antioch (Brzoska *PW* 1: 2797–2800; Rabe 1926), and in the 5th by Nicolaus of Myra (Stegemann *PW* 17: 424–57; Felten 1913; see also Hock and O'Neil 1986). These manuals subject each form—fable, narrative, chreia, maxim, encomium, comparison, and so on—to a relatively standard analysis which emphasizes matters of definition and classification, and to various compositional exercises which would allow students who had just finished with their literary studies to learn the compositional skills and techniques necessary for writing speeches and declamations (Bonner 1977: 250–76; Hunger 1978: 92–120; Russell 1983). The terms of this analysis and the techniques of composition in these manuals thus provide a complex as well as a contemporary perspective from which to view these forms and the chreia in particular—a perspective that will organize and inform the following discussion of the chreia.

All the manuals define the chreia—and without substantial disagreement. Aphthonius's definition is: "A chreia is a concise reminiscence aptly attributed to some character" (Hock and O'Neil 1986: 225). The key term is "reminiscence," which Theon says is "an action or saying that is useful for living" (Hock and O'Neil 1986: 83). But since a reminiscence might be quite long according to Theon (Hock and O'Neil 1986: 83), the word "concise" is necessary to distinguish the chreia from its longer relative. In any case, the saying or action must also be attributed to some Gk *prosōpon*, whether to an individual person (e.g., Diogenes) or to an identifiable character (e.g., a defiant Laconian). In either case, however, the attribution must be "aptly" made, be "in character," as it were. For example: A Laconian woman, on being sold into slavery and asked what she knew how to do, said, "Be free" (Stobaeus 3.13.58).

Classifying the chreia according to species and subspecies serves to refine the definition further. All the manuals identify and illustrate the simple classification of three species: sayings-chreia, action-chreia, and mixed chreia (Hock and O'Neil 1986: 85, 175, 225, 255). The point of the chreia, accordingly, is made by a saying, an action, or both. The chreiai quoted at the outset thus become sayings-chreiai. An example of an action-chreia is: In response to the person who said there is no motion, Diogenes got up and walked around (D.L. 6.39). A mixed chreia: When Plato defined man as a two-footed, featherless creature and was highly esteemed for it, Diogenes plucked a rooster, carried it into the school, and said, "This is Plato's man!" (D.L. 6.40).

Only Theon provides a detailed discussion of the subspecies of chreiai and indeed provides two such classifications, though both are largely of sayings chreiai only. In one, he (Hock and O'Neil 1986: 85–87) distinguishes between chreiai whose saying is simply a statement *(apophantikai)* and those whose saying is a response to some remark, usually a question *(apokritikai).* The Isocrates chreia quoted at the outset thus becomes an example of a statement sayings-chreia; he simply said that the root of education is bitter and so on. The Diogenes chreia quoted at the outset is therefore a responsive sayings-chreia, as his saying about giving to beggars but not to philosophers is the response to a question. In the other way of identifying subspecies, Theon (Hock and O'Neil 1986: 89–93) restricts himself to classifying the formal features of the saying: maxim, demonstration, joke, syllogism, enthymeme, example, wish, symbol, figure, double entendre, change of subject, and a combination of two or more of these. Thus a saying with a syllogistic style, i.e., having clauses introduced by *ei men* … *ei de* … ("Now if …, but if …"), is: To the one who asked at what hour lunch should be eaten Diogenes said, "Now if you are rich, whenever you want, but if you are poor, whenever you can" (D.L. 6.40).

John Doxapatres, an 11th-century commentator on Aphthonius, illustrates how a chreia is classified according to species and subspecies. "Plato used to say that the off-shoots of virtue grow by sweat and toil. This is a sayings-chreia, with its statement made voluntarily, and it is figurative. It is a sayings-chreia because it discloses its benefit by means of a saying. It is a voluntary statement because Plato was not

prompted by some circumstance to utter this saying. And it is figurative because it has metaphorical language" (Doxapatres in Walz 1835: 230). Such then is a brief treatment of the classification of the chreia; more detailed treatments are available in Hock and O'Neil (1986: 27–35) and Robbins (1988).

The placement of the chreia in the series of *progymnasmata* varies. In Theon it holds first position, but by the time of Hermogenes it has moved up to third (Hock and O'Neil 1986: 65–66), and while either position is quite early in the sequence and thus called for rather simple exercises to be performed on it, the move from first to third changed the difficulty of the exercise perceptibly. In Theon the chreia still has grammatical purposes in the exercise known as "declension" *(klisis),* since students were asked to write the chreia by declining the character in it through the various cases and numbers. Thus in the nominative: Diogenes on being asked …, in the genitive: The saying of Diogenes on being asked …, in the dative: It occurred to Diogenes on being asked …, in the accusative: They say that Diogenes on being asked …, and the vocative: You Diogenes, on being asked … (Theon in Hock and O'Neil 1986: 95–99).

Other exercises with the chreia in Theon are more compositional. Included here are: recitation, or writing an assigned chreia in different words but without changing the meaning; commenting, or adding a single sentence to the effect that the recited chreia is true, noble, advantageous, or in keeping with the opinions of other distinguished persons; and expanding a concise chreia into a paragraph or condensing it back to its concise form (Theon in Hock and O'Neil 1986: 99–103). To illustrate only the last two: In the Gospel of Mark the so-called "Cleansing of the Temple" incident is cast in the form of an expanded chreia. "Jesus, on entering the Temple began to evict those who bought and those who sold in the Temple, and he overturned the tables of the money-changers and the seats of those who sold pigeons. And he taught and said to them, 'Is it not written, "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations"? But you have made it a cave for brigands' " (Mark 11:11–15). Luke, however, has condensed this expanded chreia back to a concise one: "Jesus, on entering the Temple began to evict the sellers and said to them, 'It is written, "My house shall be called a house of prayer," but you have made it a cave for brigands' " (Luke 19:45–46).

Once the chreia is in third position, however, as it is in Hermogenes, Aphthonius, and Nicolaus, the compositional skills taught become more advanced. Now the chreia itself is no longer declined, recited, commented upon, or expanded and condensed; instead, it becomes the basis for a short essay explaining the meaning and truth of the saying or action in the chreia. Aphthonius is fullest at this point. He identifies eight "headings" (*kephalaia*) under which the student was to organize the essay: (1) an encomium of the one who spoke or acted in the chreia, (2) a paraphrase of the chreia itself, (3) the rationale for the point made in the chreia, (4) an argument that the opposite or converse point is also true, (5) an analogy from other spheres of life, (6) historical examples which illustrate the truth of the saying or action, (7) a citation from an ancient authority which agrees with the point of the chreia, and (8) a brief epilogue (Aphthonius in Hock and O'Neil 1986: 225). Aphthonius provides a sample essay on the Isocrates chreia quoted at the outset (Hock and O'Neil 1986: 225–29), and many other such essays are extant, especially in Byzantine rhetorical texts (Hunger 1978: 98–100). These all show the decisive influence of Aphthonius's model essay, down to phraseology and figures of speech, but the outline is much older, perceptible already in the 1st century B.C.E. *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (4.44.56–57). Consequently, it is not surprising that the Gospel writers not only expanded and condensed chreiai but also organized longer blocks of teaching material according to this outline (Mack 1988: 161–65; Robbins 1988: 19–21).

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**CHRIST.** The word entered English from Lat *Christus,* which transliterates Gk *christos.* Outside the LXX, NT, and early Jewish and Christian writings, *christos* is an adjective meaning "rubbed on" or "used as an ointment or salve." It modifies the word indicating the substance so applied, as in the expression *to elaion to christon* "the anointing oil" (Lev 21:10, 12 [LXX]).

Elsewhere in the LXX, the term is only used in connection with persons in the meaning "anointed," translating Heb *māšîaḥ.* This is also the case in early Jewish writings. In the books of the NT, *christos* is used generally of the coming "anointed one" ("Messiah") of Jewish expectation or specifically of Jesus, believed to be this "Messiah." In the Greek text of John 1:41—"We have found the Messiah (which means Christ)"—the Greek *messias* and *christos* are used (cf. John 4:25).

The word *christos* occurs about 350 times in the NT (exact figures are difficult because of the many variants in the manuscript tradition, particularly in the case of Jesus). It is often found in the combinations "Jesus Christ" and "Christ Jesus," and sometimes functions as a second name. In a considerable number of cases it cannot be demonstrated that *christos* carries the meaning "Messiah" or has messianic overtones.

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### A. *Christos* in the LXX and in Early Jewish Sources

In the LXX *christos* is the regular term to translate the Hebrew word *māšîaḥ* in the OT. Anointing was part of the investiture of kings and priests in Israel, and holders of these offices were regularly referred to as "anointed" with reference to this symbolic act. See MESSIAH. The expression is used once of the patriarchs in Ps 105:15 (= 1 Chr 16:22), where Heb *mĕšîḥāy* "my anointed ones," used oddly in parallel with "my prophets," is translated into Greek *ton christon mou* (Ps 104:15 [LXX]).

The expression "the anointed priest" is found in Lev 4:5, 16; 6:15 (RSV 6:22); the Greek term found here is *christos.* In Lev 4:3, the LXX uses the participle *kechrismenos,* with the same meaning. Elsewhere in biblical Hebrew usage, the term "the Lord's anointed" and the corresponding expressions "my/your/his anointed" are used only of kings; compare also the expression "the anointed of the God of Jacob" in 2 Sam 23:1. In the two cases where the Hebrew Bible uses *māšîaḥ* absolutely but without article (Dan 9:25, 26), the two Greek versions give different translations. In v 25 only Theodotion has the phrase "until an anointed one, a leader"; in v 26 both Theodotion and LXX speak of "ointment" instead of "an anointed one," while LXX adds that a gentile kingdom will destroy the city and the whole place *meta tou christou*—either "with the anointed one" (Theod. "with the coming leader") or "with that which was anointed."

In the apocryphal books of the OT *christos* occurs in Sir 46:19 where the expression "the Lord and his anointed" is found in a reference to 1 Sam 12:5. In 2 Macc 1:10 Aristobulus is said to be "of the family of the anointed priests." In the Greek pseudepigrapha we note the expression "an anointed lord" (used of the expected ideal Davidic king) in *Pss. Sol.* 17:32. In view of *Pss. Sol.* 18:5 (and 18:7 with the superscription of this psalm), this passage is probably to be amended to "the anointed of the Lord." In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs we find the word *christos* in *T. Reub.* 6:8 that speaks of " (the times of) the anointed highpriest, of whom the Lord spoke"; the passage in its present form is undoubtedly Christian.

Not only in Greek sources, but also in those preserved in other languages, the term "the anointed one" seldom occurs (see MESSIAH). References to a future royal figure predominate but differ in many details. Only in the Qumran Scrolls do we find the expectation of an anointed high priest in the future, and one reference to a prophetic "anointed one of the Spirit" in 11QMelch 18. The late apocalypses of Baruch (*2 Bar.* 29:3; 30:1; 72:2) and Ezra (*4 Ezra* 12:32) are the only ones that use the term "the anointed" in an absolute sense to denote the expected future king. This use of the term is common in the writings of the NT, also to characterize the central figure in Jewish expectation (Mark 12:35; 15:32; 7:27, 42; 12:34). Discussions between Jews and Christians mentioned in Acts (9:22; 18:5, 28) center around the nature of the expected messiah and whether Jesus is the awaited one. In these instances the designation *ho christos* is used without any further addition.

Josephus uses the expression *ho christos* twice, in two much-disputed passages about Jesus as the Messiah (*Ant.* 18.63–64 and 20.200).

**B. The Use of *Christos* in the NT**

**1. Central Questions.** The discrepancy between the frequent Christian use of the term *christos* as a central designation for Jesus and the very restricted use of the term in Jewish contemporary writings is striking. Why was the category "anointed one"/"Christ" considered appropriate to characterize Jesus? Who were the first to use this designation in connection with Jesus? Was Jesus called "Christ" by his followers only after his death and resurrection, or did his disciples apply the title to him during his lifetime? Did Jesus himself accept this title or did he avoid it? Scholars have given many different answers to these central questions, which can only be addressed after a careful and detailed analysis of the occurrences of the term "Christ" in early Christian writings.

**2. The Letters of Paul.** An analysis of the early Christian use of the word *christos* will have to start with the earliest written evidence, the letters of Paul. In Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, and Philemon, commonly regarded as genuine, the term occurs 270 times. Thus over half of the instances are found in about one sixth of the NT. Paul uses *christos* alone, with or without the article, but nowhere with a clear difference in meaning. He also uses it in combination with other words: "Jesus Christ," "Christ Jesus," "Jesus Christ the/our Lord" or "the/our Lord Jesus Christ." There does not appear to be a difference in meaning between "Jesus Christ" and "Christ Jesus"; the latter expression is sometimes preferred for grammatical reasons. We may compare here the case of Jesus' disciple Simon, who received the name Cephas/Peter ("man of the rock") and is referred to as Simon, Cephas/Peter and Simon Peter alike. The combination of *christos* with *kyrios* "Lord" is avoided by Paul (though it is found in Luke 2:11). In Rom 16:18 the expression "our Lord Christ" is probably used to contrast between serving the Lord and serving other lords (cf. Col 3:24). When *kyrios* is used by Paul together with "Christ Jesus," it follows that expression (Rom 6:23; 8:39; 1 Cor 15:31; Phil 3:8).

The fact that a direct combination of Christ with Lord is avoided in the Pauline letters shows that Christ is not a proper name. Nor does Paul use *christos* as a general term; it is always and exclusively a designation for one person, Jesus. The word is nowhere used as a predicate. Paul never finds it necessary to state "Jesus is the Christ." Expressions of the type "Jesus the Christ" are not found, nor does the OT expression "the anointed of the Lord" occur. The designation "Christ" receives its semantic content not through a previously fixed concept of messiahship but rather from the person and work of Jesus.

Yet Paul (and his readers) knew very well what the term meant to Jews. In a list of God's privileges for Israel, Paul states: "of their race, according to the flesh, is *ho christos*" (Rom 9:5); the titular use of the term is evident. Use of Christ as a title may also be intended in a number of other passages (Rom 15:7; 1

Cor 1:23; 10:4; 15:22; 2 Cor 5:10; 11:2–3; Gal 3:16; Phil 1:15, 17 and 3:7). We may note in passing that in Rom 1:3–4 Paul quotes a formula that states that Jesus was descended from David. But in all these cases it is not necessary to know that *christos* has "messianic" connotations. Invariably Paul speaks about the one Christ, Jesus, and even in Rom 9:4 his point is equally valid for those readers who do not realize that he is using a "technical" term. In 2 Cor 1:21 the Greek suggests a play of words between "Christ" and "anointing" ("It is God who establishes us with you in Christ, and has anointed us")—but significantly the verb *chriō* is applied to those united with Christ in baptism, not to Jesus himself. Paul also emphasizes that the crucified Christ of whom he preaches is a stumbling block to the Jews (1 Cor 1:23; Gal 5:11). Here and in Gal 3:13 we may detect biographical overtones; a crucified messiah was unacceptable for Paul before he found himself called to be an apostle of the one whom he persecuted. Yet in his letters he regards it as unnecessary to argue explicitly that Jesus is the *christos* whom Israel expected or why this is the case; Paul and his readers were convinced he was. When early Christians spoke about (the) "Christ," they meant Jesus in whom they believed; they did not necessarily intend to convey the "messianic" connotations of the term.

It can be shown that Paul refers to earlier formulas familiar to his readers in which *christos* is used of Jesus. The expression "Christ died for us/you" is such a fundamental statement; it is found (with variations) in Rom 5:6, 8; 14:15; 1 Cor 8:11; 2 Cor 5:14–15; 1 Thess 5:9, 10, and is clearly presupposed in 1 Cor 1:13; Gal 2:21; 3:13. "Christ" is not regularly used in formulas referring to the resurrection, but it occurs in a number of formulas speaking about Jesus' death and resurrection jointly: 1 Cor 15:3–5; 2 Cor 5:15; Rom 8:34; 14:9; "Christ" used absolutely in Paul's disquisition on baptism in Rom 6:3–11.

Introducing the statement in 1 Cor 15:3–5, Paul makes clear to his readers that its message constitutes the heart of the gospel which he preaches and which he himself received. Here and in 15:12–19 it is evident that the word "Christ" (denoting Jesus, who died "for us and for our sins" and was raised again, according to the Scriptures) indicates the core of what is believed and proclaimed as the gospel of salvation. It can be shown that in Paul's letters it is used repeatedly in combination with believing/faith (Gal 2:16; Phil 1:29), preaching (1 Cor 15:11–14; Rom 10:14–16), and gospel (see for the expression "the gospel of Christ" Gal 1:7; 1 Thess 3:2). This, too, may reflect pre-Pauline usage. As to Paul himself, he regularly introduces himself as the apostle or servant of Christ (Jesus), particularly in the prescripts of the letters, and emphasizes that Jesus Christ died on the cross (1 Cor 1:13, 17–18; 2:2, 8; 2 Cor 13:4; Gal 3:1; 6:12, 14; Phil 2:8; 3:18).

For Paul and the tradition before him, the designation "Christ" was thus linked with Jesus' death and resurrection and their salvific effects. It is relatively seldom found in texts speaking about the *parousia*, which seems to be traditionally linked with the designation "Lord." Only in Philippians does Paul use the expression "the day of Christ" (1:10; 2:16; cf. "the day of Jesus Christ" in Phil 1:6).

Among other instances where Paul clearly prefers the term "Christ" to other designations and titles of Jesus, we may note a number of cases where the term is used in connection with Christ's followers regarded as a close community united with him. In 1 Cor 1:10–16 Paul argues that there is only one Christ crucified for those who believe and in whose name all were baptized (this is implied in vv 13, 15). They now belong to Christ, are "of Christ" (v 12; 3:23; 15:23; 2 Cor 10:7; Gal 3:29; 5:24; Mark 9:41); they therefore form a unity and should live in harmony. Gal 3:26–28, using corporate language, emphasizes the unity of believers in Christ: "for in Christ Jesus you are all sons of God through faith. For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither free nor slave, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus." Believers are "in Christ Jesus"; they are therefore one. In 1 Cor 12:12–31, Paul, in a plea for unity and diversity within the Christian Community, calls it "the body of Christ." In Rom 6:3–11, "baptism into Christ Jesus" implies being "baptized into his death" and sharing in his new life. "So you also must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus" (v 11). Similar corporate language is found in Rom 8:9–11; 2 Cor 5:14–15; Phil 3:7–11 (the figure of death and life is also central to Col 2:12–13; 2 Tim 2:11–12). Corporate notions occupy a very important place in Paul's thinking about the present and future effects of Jesus' death and resurrection on those who are united with him. It is not quite clear to what extent he

makes explicit here what was experienced by early Christians who underwent the ritual of baptism; it is likely, however, that the term "Christ" was connected with baptism from early times onward.

Baptismal language, with its imagery of death and rebirth, is brought into proximity with the Christian hope of future redemption in the expressions "in Christ Jesus" and "in Christ," both of which occur with some frequency in the Pauline corpus. In many cases the expressions serve to connect the salvation offered by God and experienced by Christians explicitly with the central event of Christ's death and resurrection (as in Rom 3:24 "the redemption which is in Christ Jesus"; Phil 3:14 "the upward call of God in Christ Jesus"; Gal 2:16 "to be justified in Christ"; 1 Cor 15:22 "in Christ shall all be made alive"). In many other cases the terms are connected with the Christian community (Rom 8:1 "there is no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus"; Rom 12:5: "So we, though many, are one body in Christ"; Gal 3:26–28; Rom 6:11). It is often difficult to determine the exact nuance of the Greek preposition *en* that is used in these contexts, and generally impossible to choose between an instrumental meaning and a locative one (implying corporate imagery). Essential is the fact that Christians live in close communion with Christ, the effects of whose death and new life determine their existence. With the "we … in Christ" corresponds the "Christ in us" (Gal 2:20; Rom 8:10; 2 Cor 13:5; Col 1:27—where "in you" may also mean "among you"; Gal 4:19; 2 Cor 13:3; Gal 2:8).

The other instances where "in Christ (Jesus)" occurs cannot be subsumed under a single heading. The expression is used there to characterize individual persons, specific activities, or situations. In all cases there is again a connection with the central message about Christ, though the term may sometimes be used rather loosely. There is not always a clear distinction between "in Christ" and "in the Lord," an expression used by Paul predominantly in exhortations and commands.

Finally, *christos* is found in parenetical statements which stress that Christ's conduct forms the foundation of the believers' conduct toward others and determines it (1 Cor 8:12; Rom 14:15). Related admonitions use the "conformity pattern" (Rom 15:2–3 and Rom 15:7), the much discussed "have this mind among yourselves which you have in Christ Jesus" (Phil 2:5), as well as the expressions "in accord with Christ Jesus" (Rom 15:5) and "Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ" (1 Cor 11:1). Paul can speak of fulfilling "the law of Christ" (Gal 6:2) and describe himself as one "under the law of Christ" (1 Cor 9:21).

**3. The Deutero-Pauline Writings.** Of those letters that are commonly regarded as written not by Paul himself but by authors standing in the Pauline tradition, Colossians and Ephesians use *christos* in much the same way as Paul. There are no "messianic" overtones.

In Colossians we find the expressions "apostle/servant of Christ (Jesus)" (1:1, 7; 4:12; cf. 3:24 comparable to Rom 16:18), "peace of Christ" and "word of Christ" (3:15 and 16). Interesting is the expression "to declare the mystery of Christ" (4:2), to be connected with "the knowledge of God's mystery, Christ in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge" (2:2–3). Elsewhere the author speaks of "this mystery, which is Christ in you, the hope of glory" (1:27). This mystery, hidden for generations, had been made manifest to "his saints" to whom in particular Gentiles belong. The mystery of Christ forms the content of the proclamation of the community of believers (1:24–29). They are "in Christ" (1:2); their faith is "in Christ" (1:4; 2:5). They "received Christ Jesus the Lord" (2:6) and live therefore "according to Christ" (2:8) and not according to the rules of the elemental spirits of the universe. The church constitutes the "body of Christ" (1:24, also 1:18 and 2:19 [Christ is the head of the body]). Much attention is paid to the idea of incorporation in Christ, with an emphasis on the present salvation enjoyed in communion with Christ (2:20; 3:1–4, 11; cf. 1:24).

In Ephesians the word "mystery" recurs, again centered around what has been effected by and granted in Christ (1:9; 3:3–13; 5:32; 6:19). Particular emphasis is laid on the unity of Gentiles and Jews in Christ (2:11–22; 3:3–13). Again we find the notion of being raised with Christ (after being dead in sin) and being exalted with him (2:1–6; cf. Col 3:1). In 5:14 the phrase "Awake, O sleeper and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give you light" seems to have been taken from a baptismal hymn. Often the author uses "in Christ" and "in Christ Jesus," and much attention is paid to the life of the community as that of a body of which Christ is the head (1:23; 2:16; 4:4, 12–16). The relation between Christ and the church is an example for relations between husband and wife (5:21–33).

In 2 Thessalonians "Christ" occurs only in the fixed expression "the/our Lord Jesus Christ" with the sole exception of the phrase "the steadfastness of Christ" (3:5). In the Pastoral Epistles (1–2 Timothy, Titus), we find stereotyped language, both in sentences using earlier christological formulas and in free composition. "Christ Jesus" is used twenty-six times, four times together with "the (our) Lord," and three times with "our savior"); five times we find "Jesus Christ" once with "our Lord," and once with "our savior"), and only once "Christ" (1 Tim 5:11). The frequent use of Christ Jesus (in all grammatical constructions) is striking. It may show awareness of the fact that Christ is more than just a name. The author may have been influenced by the earlier formulas he uses; their exact date cannot be determined and may differ from case to case. But 2 Tim 2:8 (which resembles the ancient formula found in Rom 1:3–4) mentions Jesus Christ's descent from David and it is possible that 1 Tim 1:15, 2:5–6, and 6:13 betray earlier formulaic usage of the term "Christ."

**4. The Gospel of Mark.** In this gospel, commonly regarded as the oldest of the three Synoptics, the word *christos* is used seven times. In 1:1 the evangelist characterizes the story he is going to tell as "the gospel of Jesus Christ." Important manuscripts add "the Son of God," bringing out an essential feature of Markan christology: Jesus, who is called the Christ, and who often refers to himself as "the Son of Man," is God's Son. Demons recognize him as such (3:1; 5:7), as does the Roman officer present at the crucifixion (15:39). Jesus accepts this designation during his trial before the Sanhedrin (14:61, cf. 8:38; 12:6–8; 13:32), and most significantly God himself is introduced in the story twice with a solemn declaration: "you are/this is my beloved son" (1:11; 9:7).

In the expression "gospel of Jesus Christ," Mark uses traditional terminology (cf. the use of "gospel of Christ" and of "Jesus Christ" in the letters of Paul). Also in 9:41, where disciples are characterized as "being of Christ," is conventional language. In the five remaining instances, however, the original titular meaning of the term is evident.

In 8:29 the disciples, through Peter, confess, "You are the Christ." For Mark and his readers, this is a well-known confession and it does not come as a surprise. Peter utters it after having witnessed Jesus' activity in Galilee as preacher, teacher, healer, and exorcist. It is understandable that outsiders regard Jesus, the herald of God's kingdom (1:14), as a revived John the Baptist, or Elijah, or one of the prophets (8:28); his disciples call him "the Christ." At the moment they say this, they do not yet know the whole story. Immediately after, Jesus enjoins his disciples to keep silent about him (8:30). He announces his suffering, death, and resurrection, referring to himself as Son of Man (8:31, repeated in 9:31; 10:32–34). He declares that those who follow him must be ready to lose their lives "for me and the gospel" (8:35); that they will be vindicated when the Son of Man returns "in the glory of his father" to introduce the kingdom of God with power (8:38–9:1). The story of Jesus' transfiguration follows (9:2–8) with God's solemn pronouncement "this is my beloved Son" (9:7) and another command for secrecy (9:9).

In 12:35–37 Jesus introduces the thesis "the Christ is the Son of David" as a typical opinion of the scribes. Similarly, in the crucifixion story the chief priests and the scribes speak about "the Christ, the king of Israel" (15:32). Earlier in the gospel, Jesus is twice addressed as "Son of David" by Bartimaeus (10:46–52), and he is associated with "the coming kingdom of our father David" by those who hail him at his entrance into Jerusalem (11:1–11). In 12:35–37 Jesus quotes Ps 110:1 and remarks that David addresses the one who is said to be his son as "lord." The true son of David—Christ—is different from what the scribes expect.

This becomes very clear in 14:61–62, where Jesus, standing before the Sanhedrin, acknowledges that he is "the Christ, the Son of the Blessed," but adds "you will see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven (an allusion to Ps 110:1 and Dan 7:13). Jesus the Son of Man will reign as the Son of David/Christ/Son of God when God's kingly rule will be established on earth (8:38–9:1; 13:26). In the story about the trial before Pilate and the crucifixion, the designation "king of the Jews" stands central (15:2, 9, 12, 18, 26, cf. v 32). Its thematic importance is that Jesus is not a king in the political sense; even less is he a bandit like the ones crucified with him, or an insurgent like Barabbas. His royal rule will only be revealed at the *parousia* when the crucified Christ will be shown to be triumphant.

Mark 15 reflects the political tensions before, during, and after the war between the Jews and the Romans, culminating in the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple in A.D. 70. This is also clear in chap. 13, where Jesus' followers are warned against people who say "Look, here is the Christ" or "There he is." False messiahs and false prophets will arise to lead astray the elect (vv 21–22). They need not waver, however, for they know whom they may expect: "the Son of Man coming in clouds with power and glory" (v 26).

**5. The Gospel of Matthew.** The two other Synoptic Gospels bring out more clearly what Mark wanted to convey. In doing so they could only rely on Mark and on general early Christian usage, but not on Q, the sayings-source commonly thought to have been used by Matthew and Luke. Mark uses *christos* very sparingly, but in the sayings attributed to Q it is not used at all.

Matthew knows Jesus Christ as a double name (1:1, 18 and 1:16; 27:17–22). Straightaway he explains to his readers that Christ denotes the Messiah, Son of David, king of Jews (2:1–6). It is clear, however, that Herod's interpretation of the term is wrong. While Gentiles worship the newborn "king of the Jews" (2:9–12; they are the first to do so), Herod tries in vain to destroy a potentially dangerous political opponent (2:13–18). Chap. 2 prepares the reader for the misunderstandings apparent in chap. 27 (= Mark 15). Matthew also stresses that Jesus is the Son of David (1:1–17; 1:20; 21:9; 22:41–46). He uses this term in particular in stories about healing (9:27–31; 12:22–23; 15:21–28; 21:14–17 plus the Bartimaeus story in 20:29–34).

The title "Christ/Messiah" receives more emphasis in the story of Peter's confession (16:16, "you are the Christ, the Son of the living God"; and 16:20, "… he strictly charged the disciples to tell no one that he was the Christ"). "The Christ" (with the definite article) is significant in 11:2 where "the works of the Christ" refers to Jesus' healings and his preaching of the gospel, as also in 23:10 ("you have one master, the Christ"). In 24:5 and 26:68 Matthew adds the designation in contexts where it was already used by Mark.

**6. Luke-Acts.** In Luke-Acts we find the phrase "the Lord's Anointed" (Luke 2:26, Acts 4:26) and "the Anointed of God" (Luke 9:20; 23:35); the genitive refers to the One who anoints, as in the Old Testament. Luke specifies that God anointed Jesus with the Spirit (see the quotation from Isa 61:1–2a in Luke 4:18; Acts 10:38; also 4:27). At the same time "Christ" and "Lord" are found as parallels in Luke 2:12 ("a Savior who is Christ and Lord") and Acts 2:36 ("God made him both Lord and Christ"). As Christ/Messiah Jesus is Son of David (Luke 1:32; 2:4, 11; 3:31; cf. 1:69). He is "King of Israel/the Jews," but does not exercise political power (brought out very clearly in Luke 23:3, 39; cf. Acts 17:7). There will be no end to the reign of this Son of David, who is at the same time Son of the Most High (Luke 1:32–33; cf. 1:69). The emphasis is on his reign after his exaltation in heaven (Luke 22:67–69; 23:42–43; Acts 2:36; but see also Acts 3:19–21, which connects the designation Christ specifically with the *parousia*).

Another feature of the Lukan use of *christos* has to be singled out. The word is used in a typical variant of the double formula speaking about Jesus' death and resurrection/exaltation. The first part speaks about "the suffering of Christ" (Luke 24:26, 46; 26:23; Acts 17:3; 26:23; cf. 3:18; 25:19, see also below on 1 Pet 2:21; 3:18). In Acts 17:1–3 it is made clear that this central element in the Christian message forms a special point of debate in discussions with the Jews. In the synagogue of Thessalonica, Paul explains "that it was necessary for the Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead" before testifying that Jesus is the Christ. In the narrative of Acts, the core of Paul's message (and that of Apollos) may be reduced to "Jesus is the Christ" (9:22) or "the Christ is Jesus" (18:5; 18:28). It may also be summed up as "Jesus is the Son of God" (9:20); also elsewhere the designations "Christ" and "Son of God" are closely connected (Luke 1:32–33; 4:41; 8:28; 22:67–69).

Finally it should be pointed out that according to Acts 11:26 (cf. 26:28 and 1 Pet 4:16), the designation "Christians" was first used for the followers of Jesus in Antioch. This implies that they formed a separate group, the identity of which was determined by their allegiance to one who was commonly called *christos* (see CHRISTIAN).

**7. The Johannine Corpus.** Apart from 1:17 and 17:5, where we find the expression "Jesus Christ," all instances of the use of *christos* in the Gospel of John presuppose the titular use of the term. The Gospel

wants to demonstrate what it means to believe "that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God" (20:31). The confession "Jesus is the Christ" formed the breaking point with the synagogue (9:22), and followers of Jesus should therefore consider very carefully what constituted the core of their faith and what should be kept in mind in ongoing discussions with "the Jews."

John the Baptist, introduced as prime witness for Jesus, denies that he himself is the Christ (1:20, 25; 3:28). Two of his disciples follow Jesus and one of them, Andrew, tells his brother Simon: " 'We have found the Messiah' (which means Christ)" (1:41). Here and in 4:25 the Greek transliteration of the Hebrew term is introduced to illustrate the meaning of the designation "Christ." In 4:4–42 a Samaritan woman, after listening to Jesus, identifies him with the Messiah of Samaritan expectation, who "will show us all things" (4:25; cf. v 29; see also MESSIAH). Jesus answers "I who speak to you am he" (v 26). In a discussion with his disciples, he makes clear that his task is to accomplish the work of God who sent him, in complete agreement with the divine will (vv 31–38). After further contacts with the Samaritans of the woman's city, they declare, "we know that this is indeed the Saviour of the world" (vv 39–42).

In the debates between Jesus and the Jews and the discussions among the people in Jerusalem narrated in John 7, Jesus is called "the Christ" (vv 26, 27, 31) and "the prophet" (v 40, and an important variant reading in v 52). This chapter is important because here, as in 12:34, several aspects of the Jewish expectations concerning the Messiah are mentioned (see MESSIAH). But the Johannine Jesus puts all emphasis on his unique unity in will and work with the Father who sent him. In this light the Davidic descent of the messiah and his birth in Bethlehem are irrelevant (7:40–44). When in 10:24 the Jews ask Jesus, "If you are the Christ, tell us plainly," Jesus answers with a short discourse on the intimate union of the Father and himself, ending with the statement "I and the Father are one" (vv 25–30). Martha therefore confesses Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God (11:27); this is the message the Gospel is intended to bring to its readers (20:31).

The First and Second Letter of John address a different situation. Christians believe in "Jesus Christ, the Son of God" (1 John 1:3; 3:23; 5:20; 2 John 3). Confessing that "Jesus is the Christ" (1 John 5:1) stands parallel with confessing that "Jesus is the Son of God" (1 John 4:15; 5:5, 10, 13). Denying that Jesus is the Christ means denying Father and Son, according to 1 John 2:22 (2 John 9). This implies that the designations "Christ" and "Son of God" have become virtually interchangeable. The false teachers combated in the two Johannine letters believe in the Christ as the Son of God but fail to take seriously that this Christ is a human being of flesh and blood. Hence the emphasis on the part of the authors of the Letters on the confession that "Jesus Christ has come in the flesh" (1 John 4:2,3; 2 John 7).

Jesus Christ, he adds, "came by water and blood" (1 John 5:6). This is the sound "doctrine of Christ" (2 John 9) in which true believers have to abide. The dogmatic emphasis on Jesus' corporeal substance appears to address the beliefs of some groups of "Johannine" Christians who, perhaps by induction from their faith in the Son of God who exists and acts in complete unity with the Father, arrived at a conception of Christ that completely neglected Jesus' human life, work, suffering, and death. The authors of 1 and 2 John want to redress this neglect; in their contribution to the ongoing debate they do not try to explain the background of the term "Christ," but rather stress a more specific confessional statement: "Jesus Christ has come in the flesh."

Interestingly, the authors refer to the expectation that "Antichrist is coming" (1 John 2:18) to characterize opponents as "antichrists" (1 John 2:18, 22; 2 John 7) or false prophets inspired by the spirit of the Antichrist (1 John 4:3). Specific to 1 John is also the use of the term "anointing" as source of true knowledge of the (true) believers (1 John 2:20, 27; cf. 2 Cor 1:21–22).

**8. Other NT Writings.** Of the other writings in the NT, the Letter to the Hebrews, the First Letter of Peter, and the Revelation to John require our attention. In the first two writings we find no "messianic" overtones. In Revelation we find a few instances where *christos* is used as a title. Central in the argument of Hebrews is the notion that Jesus Christ, "the same yesterday and today and forever" (13:8), is the eternal Son of God and (high) priest after the order of Melchizedek forever (chap. 7). The eternal kingdom of the Son is emphasized by a citation (Heb 1:8–9) of Ps 45:6–7 (LXX Ps 44:7–8), including the sentence "therefore God, thy God, has anointed thee with the oil of gladness beyond thy comrades." A

subsequent concatenation of Psalm quotations (Ps 2:7 and 110:4, cited at 5:5–6) establishes that Christ did not arrogate high priesthood, but was divinely appointed to that office. The designation "Christ" is still used to indicate the central content of the Christian message. In 6:1 the author speaks about "the elementary doctrines of Christ"; he describes the believers as the house of Christ (3:6) and as sharing in Christ (3:14). The special connection between the designation "Christ" and Jesus' death for others comes out clearly in 9:11–28 (see v 11; v 14 "the blood of Christ"; v 24 and v 28 "Christ, having been offered once to bear the sins of many"; cf. 10:10). But to bring out the essential meaning of Christ's death the author, here and elsewhere, sets forth the implications of the fact that he is high priest after the order of Melchizedek.

The use of the word *christos* in 1 Peter shows many similarities with its use in the letters of Paul. The designation occurs in connection with Jesus' suffering and death or with his suffering/death and the following resurrection with an outlook on his present and future glory. At the same time the communion between Christ and the Christians (the term is used in 4:16) is emphasized. By way of example, we may mention 1:18–19 "you were ransomed … with the precious blood of Christ, like that of a lamb without blemish or spot" (cf. 1:2); 2:21 "Christ suffered for you, leaving you an example, that you should follow in his steps" (cf. 3:15). The "Spirit of Christ" speaking to the prophet of the old dispensation revealed to them that their message "predicting the sufferings of Christ and the subsequent glory" was intended not for their own, but for the present generation (1:10–12). In 3:18–22 we find a complete confession of faith, consisting of many old elements: "Christ suffered [or: died; because the Greek words are very similar the manuscripts differ here and at 2:21] for sins once for all, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh but made alive in the Spirit … preached to the Spirits in prison …, has gone into heaven and is at the right hand of God, with angels, authorities and powers subject to him." Christians, therefore, may live in hope through Jesus Christ' resurrection (1:3), looking out for his final revelation (1:7,13). They share in his sufferings (4:13–16; 5:10; cf. 5:1), but may be confident that they will share in his glory (4:13; 5:1, 10). In the meantime, knowing that Christ "bore our sins in his body on the tree, that we might die to sin and live to righteousness" (2:24, cf. Isa 53:4, 12), maintaining good conduct as aliens and exiles among the Gentiles (4:1–6; 2:11–12; cf. 1:1, 17). Christians are "in Christ" (5:14).

In the Revelation to John the designation "Jesus Christ" is found three times in the introductory verses. The word *christos* alone is found four times, in 11:15 and 12:10 speaking about "his (the Lord's, God's) anointed" and in 20:4, 6 where "his" is not found, but the titular meaning of *christos* is certainly present. In all four cases, Jesus is referred to.

The book contains the revelation of Jesus Christ to John (1:1) "who bore witness to the word of God and to the testimony of Jesus Christ" (1:2). In v 5a Jesus Christ is called "the faithful witness, the firstborn of the dead, and the ruler of the kings of the earth." Verses 5b–6 (perhaps using ancient baptismal terms) praise "him who loves us and has freed us from our sins by his blood and made us a kingdom, priests to his God and Father."

In chap. 5 the seer, after having heard the announcement that "the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David has conquered" (v. 5, cf. 3:7; 22:16) sees a Lamb standing near God's throne "as though it had been slain" (v. 6; cf. 7:9, 17; 12:5). This Lamb clearly is the victorious Lion of Judah; in hymns, God who sits on the throne and the Lamb are glorified together (5:13; 7:10). In 17:14 the victorious Lamb (accompanied by those who "are called and chosen and faithful" (cf. 3:21) is called "the Lord of lords and King of kings"; the same name is inscribed on the robe and the thigh of the rider on the white horse in (19:11–16), whose victory introduces the last series of eschatological events described in this book. In the first hymn to the Lamb in 5:9–10 we find a clear reference to 1:5b–6: "thou wast slain and by thy blood didst ransom men for God from every tribe and tongue and people and nation, and hast made them a kingdom and priests to our God, and they shall reign on earth."

In 11:15 voices in heaven announce: "The kingdom of the world has become the kingdom of the Lord and his Anointed [RSV: his Christ], and he shall reign for ever." The terminology is influenced by that of Ps 2:2 (cf. v 18, reminiscent of Ps 2:1–2, 5, 12 and Ps 99:1). The emphasis is on God's sovereignty, as vv

17–18, which speak only about God, show. In 12:10 another loud voice in heaven declares, "Now the salvation and power and the kingdom of our God and the authority of his Anointed [RSV: his Christ] have come." Satan no longer has power to accuse "our brethren" (cf. v 9) of whom it is said, "They have conquered him [i.e., Satan] by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony" for "they were willing to give their lives and die" (TEV). The connection with 5:9–10 (cf. 7:14) is obvious.

The final reign of the faithful who give their lives for their testimony to Jesus and for the word of God is described in 20:4–6. They will come to life ahead of others, and will reign with the Anointed/Christ for a thousand years as "priests of God and of Christ" (cf. 5:9–10). The pericope 20:4–6 describes one of the many episodes of the End; those who have resisted actively in the fierce struggle against Satan and his servants on earth will take part in the first resurrection, and reign with Christ on earth. The final judgment and another resurrection follow (20:11–15). In the new Jerusalem, descending on the new earth, there will be no temple (21:22) and therefore no priests. But "the throne of God and the Lamb will be in it, and his servants shall worship him" (22:3); "they shall reign for ever and ever" (22:5).

The use of *christos* in Revelation is interesting, because it shows that its original messianic meaning was still known. In the time of distress caused by discrimination and persecution in the nineties, Christians in Asia Minor associated this designation with the final triumph of God and the reign of Jesus as "the Lord's Anointed," as Davidic king on earth after the destruction of all hostile powers. At the same time it is made very clear that this future king is Jesus Christ, who redeemed the faithful by his death and rose from the dead; also the close relationship between Jesus Christ and the faithful receives emphasis: They share in suffering in order to share in the final victory.

**C. The Use of *Cristos* for Jesus**

From the Pauline Letters and the ancient formulas contained in them, it is clear that from a very early period the word *christos* was used in "Christian" circles as the central term to denote Jesus. It is used very often, and it received its content not through a previously fixed concept of messiahship but rather from the person and work of Jesus. The term is especially used in connection with his death and resurrection, the salvation effected by him, and the intimate bond between him and the believers. Although awareness of the original titular meaning "Messiah" persists, there is no longer any need to state explicitly "Jesus is the Christ."

In later writings (the Deutero-Pauline letters, 1 Peter, Hebrews) the same usage prevails. Speaking about Jesus, one uses the word "Christ," especially in specific contexts. Jesus Christ functions virtually as a double name. Yet in Revelation the OT designation of the king as "the Lord's Anointed" returns in connection with the final triumph of God and the reign of Jesus as Davidic King.

At the time the Gospel of Mark was written, it was clearly necessary to remind the readers how their confession "Jesus is the Christ" should be understood. The emphasis is on his impending suffering and death, and on the nonpolitical nature of his kingship. Matthew essentially underlines what is found in Mark. In Luke-Acts, Jesus' messiahship is the central issue in the debate between the early Christians and the Jews, bringing with it a discussion about the true meaning of predictions concerning the Messiah in the Scriptures. Two other features in Luke-Acts are of interest: a certain emphasis on Jesus' reign after his exaltation in heaven, and the explicit statement that God anointed Jesus with the Spirit. The latter is found in Jesus' first public speech, related in the gospel as having taken place in his home town Nazareth (Luke 4:18).

The Gospel of John, a late NT book, presents an interesting picture. On the one hand, it stresses that Jesus the Christ is the Son of God living in a unique unity with the Father; it does so to such an extent that later Johannine Christians have to be reminded that the Son of God in whom they believe really led a human life once. On the other hand, it pictures Jesus in an ongoing debate with Jewish opponents, a debate from which features of Jewish messianic expectation emerge.

Can we explain how the term *christos*, rarely found in contemporary Jewish literature, became so important to early Christians that it could receive a specific Jesus-centered Christian content and meaning very soon? In Jewish sources, the term is mostly used for a royal figure as agent of divine deliverance. The same notion seems to be present or presupposed where the Christian use of the term in connection

with Jesus is made explicit. Only in Luke-Acts do we find the notion of "anointing with the Spirit" (also found in 11QMelch 18). The idea of an anointed high priest, very important in the Qumran Scrolls, is not found in the writings of the New Testament. In Hebrews there is no emphasis on the anointing of Jesus as high priest; at the same time it is made very clear that the new high priest is of a completely different order than the Levitical (high) priests before him.

Why, then, was this term with its royal connotations used of Jesus? How did it become a very central designation?

In the oldest pre-Pauline tradition, the designation was especially used in connection with Jesus' death, and according to Luke-Acts it remained necessary to explain, to insiders and outsiders, that his death, followed by his resurrection, was "in accordance with the scriptures" (1 Cor 15:3, 4). In the pre-Pauline formula Rom 1:3, 4 Jesus' Davidic descent receives emphasis, and the motif of Jesus' royal lineage recurs in the latest books of the NT (e.g., 2 Tim 2:8; Revelation). In Mark (12:35–37; 14:61–62), it is made clear that the royal dominion of this Son of David/Son of God/Son of Man only becomes evident after his exaltation to God and will be fully realized with the coming of the kingdom of God in power—that is, God's definitive intervention in human affairs. Yet the Synoptics and John seem to prefer the term "Son of Man" in passages speaking about this future, and in the Letters of Paul the term *kyrios* predominates in such passages. "Christ" is used only seldom in connection with the eschatological rule (Phil 1:6, 10; 2:16; 1 Cor 15:23–28; cf. Acts 2:36; 3:20–21; and Revelation).

It is clear that Mark's story of the trial before Pilate and the crucifixion (chap. 15) combats the misunderstanding that Jesus, the Christ, the king of Israel, wanted to exercise political power. As chap. 13 shows, this misunderstanding will have been particularly acute in the troubles of the sixties when tension mounted in Palestine, finally resulting in the explosive Jewish war.

It is often argued that Mark 15 reflects the historical circumstances preceding Jesus' death on the cross. That Jesus was crucified is beyond doubt, but that he was crucified on the charge that he claimed to be "the king of the Jews" (Mark 15:26) is much more difficult to substantiate. Scholars have pointed out, however, that the story of Jesus' activities in Galilee and Jerusalem shows hardly any royal-messianic features. If we dismiss the unlikely hypothesis that they were there originally but were removed later, it must be assumed that in the events leading up to his crucifixion, accusations by his opponents that Jesus did in fact have royal-messianic claims, and was therefore a dangerous person, played a significant role. Because he was crucified as King of the Jews, his first followers took up the royal designation "Christ," particularly in connection with his death and resurrection.

According to this view, the opponents accused Jesus of royal-messianic pretensions because of the messianic hopes of his followers, his teaching with authority resulting in a sovereign attitude toward the Law and Jewish rules, and perhaps also his behavior in the temple (reflected in Mark 11:15–19). Jesus himself could not deny this charge without putting in question the final eschatological validity of his whole message. Whether he himself would have chosen this designation to express the essence of his mission and did, in fact, use it, remains uncertain.

It is difficult to verify the various constituent parts of this historical reconstruction; an unsatisfactory aspect of it is that it assigns a decisive role to Jesus' opponents in the choice of the term characterizing Jesus' public image. Another approach to the solution of this problem is called for.

It is difficult to believe that the term "Messiah/Christ" came to the fore only at the very last stage of Jesus' ministry because of the accusations of his opponents, and that it was only because of its prominence at the trial and the crucifixion that later Christians used it as the central designation for Jesus. Should we not assume that Jesus' disciples came to regard him as (a special) Messiah already during his lifetime, that this designation was misconstrued in a political sense by his opponents, but that it was taken up again in a nonpolitical manner (with emphasis on his suffering and his death) by his disciples after Golgotha? There is much to be said for this theory.

The Gospel of Mark not only uses the designation "Christ" (with Son of God, Son of Man) in connection with Jesus' future kingship, but it also has Peter confess Jesus as the Messiah in 8:29 on the strength of Jesus' activity as (unique) preacher, teacher, healer, and exorcist. For Mark, Jesus is the

Christ: on earth, a charismatic Spirit-inspired figure; at the final realization of his kingdom, king on God's behalf. Looking at Mark 10:46–52; 12:35–37; and 14:61, 62, we may say that his actions are those of a true Son of David.

It has been argued that the Gospel of Luke, which corroborates Mark's picture by explaining that Jesus could be called "the Anointed One" because the Lord anointed him with the Spirit (Luke 4:16–30), reflects Jesus' own opinion. Unfortunately, this hypothesis cannot be substantiated. The related Q-passage (Luke 7:18–23 [= Matt 11:2–6]) does not use *christos,* so that we cannot be sure that the early Christian use of *christos* was connected with the notion of anointing with the Spirit before Luke.

Interestingly, contemporary sources portray David not only as king but also as a prophet. On the strength of 1 Sam 16:13 and the directly following passage 16:14–32, Josephus emphasizes that immediately after the divine Spirit had moved to David, the latter began to prophesy and to exorcize the demons which troubled Saul (*Ant* 6.166–68). We may compare the statement "David was a prophet" in Acts 2:30 (cf. 1:16; 4:25) and 2 Sam 23:1–2, as well as Ps-Philo, *L.A.B.* 59–60 describing David's psalm-singing for Saul after his anointing by Samuel. A Qumran fragment, 11QPs[a] *David's compositions,* attributes 3600 psalms to David and no less than 450 songs, 4 of which were songs for making music over the stricken; it emphasizes that David spoke all these things through prophecy. It should be added that also in texts like *Pss. Sol.* 17 that picture the future Son of David as a king, that king is not simply a military or political figure, but a wise and discerning ruler; Isa 11:1–5 exercised a great influence on Jewish expectations concerning the coming Son of David.

In view of this, it is quite plausible that in the eyes of his earliest followers, if not in his own, Jesus was a true Son of David who could properly be called the Lord's Anointed, not only in view of his future role when God's kingdom would reveal itself in power, but already in the present while God's saving and liberating power manifested itself in Jesus' words and actions. Considering Mark's very restricted use of the designation "Christ," it is probable that the historical Jesus did not widely advertise any christological self-designations. If he used them, he used them creatively, in his own way, and he must have tried to avoid misunderstandings.

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**CHRIST, BODY OF.** The NT usage of the phrase "body of Christ" and its parallel expressions divides naturally into three categories: (1) the physical body of Jesus Christ, (2) the references to the bread in the Last Supper and Lord's Supper, and (3) as a description of the relationship between the resurrected Lord Jesus and His *ekklēsia.*

**A. Physical Body of Jesus**

This concrete meaning is foundational, serving as the basis of comparison for the other categories (Gundry 1976; Hoehner 1984; Robinson 1952). A study of the Gospels yields a vast and varied amount of data pointing to the true humanity of Jesus (John 1:14; Luke 2:52). There is nothing to indicate that his physical being was other than a normal human body, with its needs and limitations (e.g. John 4:6–7; 19:28). The specific usage of the concept of the "body of Jesus [Christ]," however, is focused on his death and burial (Matt 27:58–59, and par; Col 1:22; Heb 10:10) (Robinson 1952:34–48). Relatedly, passages dealing with Jesus' resurrected body (e.g. John 20:19–29), ascension (Acts 1:9–11), and later appearances (e.g. Acts 9:3–6 = 22:6–8 = 26:12–15) imply both significant continuity and discontinuity with his pre-cross physical state.

**B. Bread in the Communion Meal**

The Synoptic Gospels record that, at the Last Supper, Jesus made the intriguing assertion "This is my body" after the breaking of the bread (Matt 26:26 = Mark 14:22 = Luke 22:19). This statement has been a notable *crux interpretum,* along with (perhaps) its earliest canonical echo in 1 Cor 11:24. Varied understandings of the relation between Jesus' actual person and the bread of the Eucharist (which He was instituting) have proliferated over the centuries, although such views can be generally categorized as "literal"/physical, metaphorical/spiritual, or some *via media* or combination approach (Küng 1967: 211–24; Ridderbos 1966: 373–76).

Of these historic options, careful exegesis of the 1 Corinthians 11 pericope indicates that the metaphorical, and thus spiritual, understanding of "body of Christ" in relation to the bread of communion is best. The continued Pauline references to "the bread" at the point of the individual's reception of the element (1 Cor 11:26–28) would be strange if there were any physical transformation involved. Certainly there is a close identification here with the physical "body of Christ," as the Corinthian church was urged to properly consider the meaning and significance of Jesus' death (1 Cor 11:27–29). However, such identification clearly stops short of full identity, as a physical understanding requires.

Similarly, in John 6, Jesus refers strikingly to himself as "the bread of life" (6:34, 48, NIV), "the bread that came down from heaven" (6:41), and "the living bread" (6:51). Even though the last usage is said by Jesus to be in reference to "my flesh" (6:51, NIV), there is no clear reference to the Lord's Supper here. It is no more intended for a literal understanding than "I am the light of the world" (John 8:12; 9:5) or "I am the door [of the sheep]" (John 10:7, 9). That is especially seen to be the case in John 6 when it is noted that the receiving of "the bread of life" there takes place by believing in Jesus (John 6:35, 40, 47).

**C. Relationship between Christ and His Church**

Within the Pauline corpus interpreters encounter a number of powerful expressions that picture the intimate connection between the resurrected Savior and His *ekklēsia.* Notable among these are references to the Church as the bride of Christ (Eph 5:23–32), the temple of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor 3:16; Eph 2:21), and the household of God (Gal 6:10; 1 Tim 3:15).

The most common and well developed of such expressions views the Church as "the body of Christ." The idea is utilized in different ways in different contexts, however. For example, in 1 Cor 12:12–27 and Rom 12:4–8 the emphasis is on the unity of the Church amid the rich diversity of its members. A related, but distinct, usage is seen in passages like Eph 4:4, 12–16 and Col 1:18–22; 3:15. There the focus is on Christ as the "head" of his body, the Church (Ridderbos 1966: 369–87).

Again, there is significant difference of interpretive opinion in regard to whether the idea of the Church as the "body of Christ" should be taken as speaking of virtual identity (the counterpart of the "physical" view of the Supper) or strong identification (Radmacher 1978: 223–37; Küng 1967: 224–41). To view the Church as an extension of the Incarnation might seem the implication of 1 Cor 12:12: "The body is a unit, though it is made up of many parts … So it is with Christ" (NIV; Robinson 1952: 58–59). However, the entire context, including the recapitulatory words "Now you are the body of Christ, and each one of you part of it" (1 Cor 12:27, NIV) argues for a close bond or link that is less than the fullest identification (Best 1955: 95–105; Ridderbos 1966: 369–71).

Thus, since the other passages assume (with minor variations) the same central sense for the imagery of the "body of Christ," it is preferable to understand it in a metaphorical way. The Church is not Christ in

the sense of embodying his authority and infallibility. Rather, it draws its direction and empowering from him as its head, as does a human body (Eph 4:15–16).

A final important consideration has to do with the origin of the Pauline phrase "the body of Christ." Various plausible backdrops for the idea have been postulated, arising out of Hebrew, Greek, Gnostic, and Eucharistic contexts (Best 1955: 83–93). However, the likeliest point of origin is the words of the risen Christ on the Damascus Road. "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?" (Acts 9:4 = 22:7 = 26:14; Kim 1981). Indelibly etched in Paul's thought patterns, these words best explain the close identification and communion between the Lord Jesus and His church as "the body of Christ" in 1 Cor 12:12, 27.

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A. BOYD LUTER, JR.

**CHRIST, DAY OF.** See DAY OF CHRIST.

**CHRIST, DEATH OF.** The death of Jesus of Nazareth by crucifixion is generally accepted as historical fact. The circumstances of his execution admit a variety of questions of a historical character, and the centrality of the event in early Christian belief and practice necessitates theological reflection.

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A. The Condemnation of Jesus
  1. By Roman Authorities
  2. By Jewish Authorities
B. Jesus' Understanding of His Death
  1. During His Ministry
  2. In the Face of Death
C. Interpretations of Jesus' Death
  1. The Gospels
  2. Pauline Writings
  3. Other NT Writings


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**A. The Condemnation of Jesus**

**1. By Roman Authorities.** Although many of the circumstances surrounding the trial and death of Jesus are disputed, there is little doubt that Jesus of Nazareth was crucified under Pontius Pilate, the Roman procurator of Judea from 26–36 A.D. Crucifixion was a Roman penalty practiced upon violent criminals, political rebels, and slaves (Hengel 1977:46–63). Tacitus said it was "the punishment usually inflicted on slaves" (*His.* 4.11), and Cicero referred to it as "the most cruel and disgusting penalty" (*Verr.* 2.5.165). The charge on the cross, "the King of the Jews" (Mark 15:26), and the crucifixion of Jesus between two rebels (Gk *lēstas,* Mark 15:27) suggest that Jesus was put to death by the Romans as a political insurgent.

Precisely why Pilate condemned Jesus as a political rebel is more difficult to determine, especially since the Romans do not seem to have arrested and persecuted Jesus' followers after his death. The clearest expression of the charges against Jesus is in Luke 23:2. From the point of view of the Evangelist, these charges are false, but they may provide a clue to how the Romans viewed Jesus. At the heart of Jesus'

message was his proclamation that the Kingdom of God was at hand (Mark 1:15), and in the final days of his life Jesus made a triumphal entry into Jerusalem and cleansed its temple (Mark 11:1–19). This action, as well as the proclamation of a kingdom, might well have led the Romans to accept Jewish reports about Jesus, given the volatile atmosphere of 1st-century Palestine.

The Gospels portray Pilate as weak and vacillating during Jesus' trial, seeking a way to release him. But this characterization of the governor does not correspond with what we know of him from other sources (*JW* 2.9.4 §175–77). It is probable that the Gospel portrayal of Pilate is part of a Christian apologetic to place the burden of guilt for Jesus' death upon the Jews, especially their leaders. In all likelihood, Pilate assumed a decisive role in the trial, condemning Jesus as a political insurgent. Consequently, the early Church had to deal with the scandal of the cross (1 Cor 1:23): Jesus was a crucified Messiah, condemned to death as a political rebel.

**2. By Jewish Authorities.** It is even more difficult to identify the precise reason why the Jewish authorities condemned Jesus and handed him over to Pilate. The events surrounding the Jewish trial of Jesus—if indeed there was a formal trial before the whole Sanhedrin—present one of the most complicated problems of NT scholarship (Blinzler 1969: 15–38). Matthew and Mark report a night trial during which false witnesses testified that Jesus threatened to destroy the temple (Matt 26:61; Mark 14:58), but then the Sanhedrin condemns Jesus on the grounds of blasphemy (Matt 26:65–66; Mark 14:64). In Luke the trial takes place in the morning, the temple charge is not mentioned, and the issue is Jesus' messiahship, but there is no formal condemnation (Luke 22:71). John reports only an informal hearing before Annas during which the former high priest questions Jesus about his disciples and his teaching (John 18:19), passing over the trial reported by the Synoptics and focusing upon the trial before Pilate instead. Given the conflicting nature of the Gospel trial accounts, the reason for the Jewish condemnation of Jesus should be sought in the broader context of Jesus' ministry.

Since Jesus was not a scribe by profession and did not belong to the party of the Pharisees or Sadducees, he stood outside the professional religious establishment. Nonetheless the Gospels portray him as one who taught and acted with supreme authority (Gk *exousia*, Mark 1:22, 27; 2:10; 11:28). In the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus pits his interpretation of the Law against the traditional interpretation (Matt 5:21–48), making himself the mouthpiece of God. On several occasions he apparently violated the Sabbath (Matt 12:1–14) and challenged the traditions of the elders (Mark 7:1–23). He assumed the divine prerogative of forgiving sins (Mark 2:1–11), and on a regular basis he shared table fellowship with tax collectors and sinners (Luke 15:1–2; 19:1–10). It is doubtful that Jesus offered the wicked forgiveness without requiring repentance [as E. P. Sanders has argued (1985: 174–211)], but he may well have given the appearance of doing so. Most importantly, Jesus confidently proclaimed that God's Kingdom was at hand, thereby establishing himself as God's eschatological messenger.

Such activity on the part of Jesus would have inevitably raised the question of his authority. Was Jesus an authentic prophet, or was he a false prophet (Deut 18:20–22; Jer 23:9–40), a rebellious son (Deut 21:18–21), a beguiler who led the people astray (Deut 17:1–13)? On several occasions, it appears that the religious leaders viewed Jesus as a false prophet who led the people astray (Schillebeeckx 1981: 312–18). He is accused of being in league with Beelzebul (Mark 3:22) and of being possessed by an unclean spirit (Mark 3:30). In Matt 11:19 Jesus laments that he is viewed as a rebellious son (cf. Deut 21:18–21). And both in Matthew (27:63) and John (7:12, 47), he is described as one who deceives the people. Some of the religious leaders, therefore, must have viewed Jesus as a false prophet and beguiler who assumed authority to himself.

The proximate occasion for the religious leaders to condemn Jesus, however, is related to his temple ministry. The Synoptic Gospels report that, during the final week of his life, Jesus provoked the religious leaders by cleansing the temple. John transposes this incident to the beginning of Jesus' ministry, but notes its intimate connection with Jesus' death (John 2:17). For Jesus, the cleansing may have been a prophetic action pointing to the coming kingdom and a temple not made by human hands (cf. Mark 14:58) which God would establish. But for the religious leaders his action would have been perceived as

an assault upon their authority by one whom some of them already viewed as a false prophet and deceiver. The temple cleansing, then, provided the most important motivation to do away with Jesus.

If this scenario is correct, the religious leaders saw Jesus as a threat to the nation (John 11:45–53) on two counts: deceiving the people and threatening the temple. Since, according to John 18:31, the Jewish leadership did not have the power to inflict the death penalty, they brought him to Pilate as a messianic pretender, who claimed to be the King of the Jews, a political insurgent. It was on the basis of this charge that Pilate condemned Jesus. The Jewish responsibility probably lies with an inner circle of chief priests who viewed Jesus as a false prophet and deceiver rather than with the whole Sanhedrin or people of Israel.

**B. Jesus' Understanding of His Death**

**1. During His Ministry.** The writings of the NT provide a comprehensive interpretation of Jesus' death, but the process of interpretation was initiated by Jesus himself. Although he proclaimed the imminent arrival of God's Kingdom, he seems to have reckoned at an early stage with the probability of his own violent death (Léon-Dufour 1986: 49–77). The death of the Baptist must have alerted Jesus that he faced a similar fate. Matthew reports that Jesus withdrew to the wilderness when he heard of John's death (14:13), and Mark narrates a conversation in which Jesus speaks of his death in connection with John's (9:9–13).

The Gospel of John notes that after the feeding of the 5000 in Galilee, Jesus withdrew from the crowd because he knew that they wanted to make him king (6:15). If this remark is correct, it may explain the text of Luke 13:31–33 in which the Pharisees warn Jesus to flee because Herod Antipas, the ruler of Galilee and the murderer of John, sought to kill Jesus as well (Bammel 1984: 211–40). Like John, Jesus attracted large crowds who viewed him as a messianic figure; he was a political threat not only to the Romans but to petty rulers such as Herod. Faced with the growing prospect of a violent death, Jesus seems to have viewed his fate as an inescapable part of his prophetic vocation (Luke 13:32–33; Matt 23:29–36).

Jesus' predictions of his passion, death, and resurrection (Mark 8:31; 9:31; 10:32–34) also witness to a realization on his part that he faced a violent death. Although the predictions, in their present form, were composed in the light of Easter, several authors have convincingly argued that they are grounded in Jesus' own conviction that his death was part of God's plan and that God would vindicate him (Bayer 1986: 149–218; Jeremias 1971: 276–99).

**2. In the Face of Death.** Jesus' most complete interpretation of his death is given at the Last Supper. The eschatological prospect of Mark 14:25 proclaims Jesus' faith that he will share table fellowship with the disciples in the kingdom of God despite his imminent death. The Eucharistic words, handed down in two different traditions (Matthew and Mark, Luke and Paul) indicate that Jesus attached redemptive value to his death. According to the first tradition (Matt 26:26–29; Mark 14:22–25), the shedding of his blood will establish a covenant on behalf of many (Gk *hyper pollōn*) as was done on Sinai (Exod 24:8). According to the second, the cup is the *new* covenant in Jesus' blood (Luke 22:20; 1 Cor 11:25) promised in Jer 31:31–34. Although scholars dispute Jesus' precise wording, many agree that he understood his death as having redemptive value.

**C. Interpretations of Jesus' Death**

**1. The Gospels.** The Gospel passion narratives are the most sustained presentations of Jesus' death. Mark's account appears to be the oldest and Matthew and Luke are dependent upon it. The account of John is remarkably similar to the Synoptics, but not all scholars are convinced that John is dependent upon them.

It is likely that an account of Jesus' passion was composed at an early stage for liturgical usage. Such a composition probably presented Jesus as the righteous sufferer as found in the psalms of lament (e.g., Pss 22, 38, 69) and the book of Wisdom 2:12–20; 5:1–7. By the NT period it was an accepted fact in some Jewish circles that the righteous person is bound to suffer but that God will vindicate him (Ruppert 1972: 23–28). In addition, the servant text of Isa 52:13–53:12 played a role although not as great a role as did the psalms.

In their present form, the passion narratives clearly portray Jesus as more than a righteous sufferer. In Matthew and Mark, Jesus dies as the abandoned Son of God, the crucified Messiah. In Luke, the focus is upon his innocence; he dies as God's righteous Son, and his death leads people to repentance (23:39–43, 48). In John, Jesus' death becomes his exaltation (3:14; 8:28; 12:34), his return to the Father (13:1), and his glorification (17:1–5).

In terms of soteriology, Matthew and Mark view Jesus' death as a ransom (Gk *lytron,* Matt 20:28; Mark 10:45). His death leads to the forgiveness of sins (Matt 26:28). The tearing of the temple veil (Matt 27:51; Mark 15:38) suggests that the Messiah's death replaces the temple cult; there is no need for further sacrifice (Hengel 1981: 47–55). In Luke, Jesus' promise of salvation to the repentant thief (23:43) indicates the salvific aspect of his death. John focuses upon Jesus the Good Shepherd who freely lays down his life on behalf of *(hyper)* the sheep (10:1–18).

**2. Pauline Writings.** The Pauline corpus focuses more upon the benefits of Christ's death than upon the historical circumstances surrounding it. Employing a number of phrases with the preposition *hyper* ("for," "on behalf of"), the Apostle stresses that Christ died for or was put to death on behalf of us. In two of these texts (1 Cor 15:3; Gal 1:4), he explicitly notes that Christ died or gave himself *for* our sins. In Romans he says that Christ died *for* the ungodly (5:6); he died *for* us while we were still sinners. In Gal 3:13 he notes that Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, becoming a curse *for* us by being crucified (see Deut 21:23). And in 1 Thess 5:10 he writes that Christ died *for* us that we might live with him.

At other times Paul speaks of God sending or giving up his Son (Rom 8:3). God did not spare his own Son but handed him over *for* us all (Rom 8:32). God sent his Son, born of a woman "to redeem those who were under the law" (Gal 4:4–5). In other places, Paul speaks of Christ giving himself *for* us (Gal 1:4; 2:20).

In addition to these formulas, Paul describes God as setting forth Christ as an expiatory sacrifice, making him the new mercy seat (Rom 3:21–26). The effect of Christ's death is universal in scope (Rom 5:12–21); it overcomes the power of sin which enslaves the whole of humanity.

In the Deutero-Pauline writings of Colossians, Ephesians, and the Pastorals, there is a subtle shift of emphasis, as A. Hultgren (1987: 91–112) has shown. Whereas Paul concentrates upon the redemption accomplished in Christ, making God the active agent, these writings point to the redemption won by Christ, making him a more active agent of salvation. So the authors of Ephesians says that *Christ* broke down the dividing wall separating Gentile and Jew and reconciled them through the cross (2:14–18). He gave himself *for* the Church (5:25). In Colossians we learn that *Christ* canceled the bond against us by nailing it to the cross, thereby disarming the powers and principalities (2:13–15). And the author of the Pastorals says that *Christ* came into the world to save sinners (1 Tim 1:15), giving himself as a ransom *for* all (1 Tim 2:6), giving himself *for* us to redeem us from all iniquity (Tit 2:14).

**3. Other NT Writings.** Of the remaining NT writings, the most important for understanding Christ's death are Hebrews, 1 Peter, 1 John, and Revelation. Hebrews offers a profound theological reflection on the death of Christ. Jesus is presented as the great high priest who has entered the heavenly sanctuary (6:19–20). The mediator of a better covenant, he has no need to offer daily sacrifice, since he offered himself as a sacrifice once for all (7:27), obtaining redemption through his blood (9:12). This sacrifice has accomplished purification from sins (1:3), the forgiveness of sins (10:12), and is expiatory in nature (2:17). Most importantly, this sacrifice, universal in scope (2:9), need never again be repeated (7:27; 9:12, 26, 28; 10:10).

The author of 1 Peter also states that Christ's suffering need not be repeated (3:18). Comparing Christ to an unblemished lamb (1:19), he reminds his readers that Christ's death has ransomed them from their past conduct (1:18). The most important statement, however, comes in a hymnlike passage (2:21–25) which compares Christ to the servant of Isaiah 53. Christ suffered on behalf of *(hyper)* us (2:21), bearing our sins in his body on the tree of the cross, so that we are healed by his wounds (2:24).

In 1 John the author makes explicit statements about the atoning nature of Christ's death. The blood of Jesus cleanses us from all sin (1:7); he was revealed to take away sins (3:5) and destroy the devil's work (3:8). Most importantly, Christ died as an expiation *(hilasmos)* for *(peri)* our sins (2:2; 4:10).

Like the three writings mentioned above, the book of Revelation focuses upon the redemptive value of Christ's blood shed on the cross (1:5). Comparing Christ to a lamb *(arnion),* the author states that he ransomed "men for God from every tribe and tongue and people and nation" (5:9), making them "a kingdom of priests to our God" (5:10). As the people of the old covenant washed their garments in preparation for the theophany at Sinai (Exod 19:10, 14), so the people of the new covenant "have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the lamb" (7:14). The scandal of the cross has become the center of NT theology.

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FRANK J. MATERA

**CHRISTIAN** [Gk *Christianos* (Χριστιανος)]. Although "Christian" is the most common name used today to designate followers of Jesus Christ, it occurs only three times in the NT: Acts 11:26; 26:28; 1 Pet 4:16. Most scholars agree that the formation of this term is Latin in origin. *Christianus* (pl. *Christiani*) is a second declension masculine Latin noun found in Tacitus, Suetonius, and Pliny the Younger. A common practice of the 1st century for identifying adherents was to attach the termination *-ianus* (pl. *-iani*) to the name of the leader or master (e.g., *Pompeiani, Augustiani, Ceasariani*). Early Hellenistic practice paralleled this by attaching *-ianos* (pl. *-ianoi*) to the name of a leader or master (e.g., *Herodianoi,* Matt 22:16; Mark 3:6; 12:13; Joseph. *Ant* 14.15, 10). Hence, whether in Lat *(Christianus)* or in Gk *(Christianos)* the term is formed from Christ and indicates Christ's adherents, those who belong to, or are devoted to, Christ.

The origin of the term, according to Acts 11:26, was in Antioch, dating in the Lukan chronology somewhere between A.D. 40–44: "… in Antioch the disciples were for the first time called Christians" (RSV). The infinitive *chrēmastisai* has been interpreted to mean that the disciples first "bore the title" Christians in Antioch (e.g., Bickermann 1949: 355), suggesting that the term was coined by the church to give expression to their own self-consciousness in the new age of the Messiah. But Haenchen has demonstrated that, while possible, usage in Philo and Josephus shows that the infinitive should be rendered "were called," indicating that the name was coined by those outside of the church (1971: 367–68 n. 3). Of those outside, the Jews were not likely to have referred to the disciples as Christians, *followers of Christos,* the Messiah, since this would have validated Jesus' claim to that title (see the disputed passage in Josephus where *Christos* and *Christianoi* are used in this manner [*Ant* 18.63–64). The Jews instead referred to the disciples of Jesus as "the sect of the Nazarenes" (Acts 24:5). Hence, the name "Christian" must have originated within the Gentile population of Antioch. In the large metropolis of Antioch, with its many competing cults and mystery religions, those who spoke so much about *Christos* were soon called *Christianoi,* Christ's people. The term would have then distinguished the disciples from uncoverted Gentiles as well as from Judaism.

The reason for the origin is problematic. The term *Christianoi* may have been coined by the Antiochian governor's staff to indicate official Roman registry. Or the use of the term may have been intended satirically by the Antiochian people to mock those who believed in Jesus as Messiah, paralleling the mockery directed toward the *Augustiani*, the official enthusiasts of Nero (Mattingly 1958). Or more likely, the term may have arisen generally among the populace as a slang term to indicate those who were followers of their God *Christos,* and who were regarded as a sort of mystery fellowship (Grundmann *TDNT* 10:537). The name *Christos,* Messiah, meant nothing special to the Gentiles, sounding more like a second personal name for Jesus than a religious title.

In all three NT passages the variant *Chrēstianoi* occurs in the uncorrected Codex Sinaiticus; remarkably persistent textual testimony that Gentiles often confused the term *Christos* with the homophone, *chrēstos,* "kind, useful." *Chrēstos* was a common proper name, especially for slaves, and apparently Gentiles tended to think that the disciples were followers of one called *Chrēstos.* This is the likely reason why the Latin historian Suetonius says that Jews were expelled from Rome because of disturbances made at the instigation of one called *Chrēstus* (*Claud.* 25.4). Tacitus, in one of the earliest extrabiblical testimonies to the term (ca. A.D. 115), appears to correct for his readers the common mistake among the Roman populace of A.D. 64 of confusing *Chrēstianoi* with *Christianoi* (*Ann.* 15.44).

While the occurrence of the term in Acts 11:26 indicates, at the very least, the recognition by Gentiles that believers in Christ were an entity separate from both pagan Gentiles and Judaism, the other two occurrences in the NT possibly indicate that elements of contempt (Acts 26:28) and hostility (1 Pet 4:16) were attached to the term by the early use of those outside of the church. There is no NT evidence that the term was commonly used as a self-designation by the early church. Luke's anachronistic reflection in Acts 11:26 implies that the common term for believers at the time of the origin of Christian was "disciples" *(mathētai),* and other terms soon came to be used by the early church, such as "believers" *(hoi pisteuontes; hoi pistoi)* (Acts 5:14; Rom 1:16; Acts 10:45; 1 Tim 6:2), "brothers" *(adelphos)* (Acts 6:3; Jas 2:15), and "saints" *(hoi hagioi)* (Acts 9:13; 1 Cor 1:2).

*Christianos* appears for the first time as a self-designation in *Did.* 12:4, and is commonly used by Ignatius for a member of the believing community (late 1st/early 2d century), but the name does not occur in abundance elsewhere in the writings of the early church fathers. In the middle of the 2d century, Polycarp calls himself a *Christianos* (*Ep.* 10:1; 12:1), and in the Apologists the term was used as a self-characterization of one who followed Christ into the death of martyrdom. The reason for the scarcity of the term in the early church fathers may be found in a letter by the Roman governor Pliny the Younger to Emperor Trajan (ca. A.D. 112). Those accused of believing in Jesus Christ were asked whether or not they were "Christians." If they admitted to the name, they were put to death, or else, if they were Roman citizens, sent to Rome for trial (*Letters* 10.96). In the days of persecution of the early church, the use of the term was dangerous, because it clearly marked them out in the minds of the Romans as believing in a god who was in opposition to the emperor. But nonetheless, in the church, as early as 1 Pet 4:16, honor was associated with those who suffered because they bore the name of their Messiah, since suffering as a "Christian" glorifies God.

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MICHAEL J. WILKINS

**CHRISTIAN ART, EARLY.** See ART AND ARCHITECTURE (EARLY CHRISTIAN).

**CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD ROME.** See ROME, EARLY CHRISTIAN ATTITUDES TO.

**CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, EARLY.** See LITERATURE, EARLY CHRISTIAN.

**CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.** See MINISTRY IN THE EARLY CHURCH.

**CHRISTIAN PAPYRI.** See PAPYRI, EARLY CHRISTIAN.

**CHRISTIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS.** See JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS (70–170).

**CHRISTIANITY.** This entry consists of eight separate articles covering various aspects of the emergence of Christianity in the various regions of the Mediterranean world. The first entry explores the early social life and organization of Christianity, and the second deals with early Jewish Christianity. The subsequent articles generally explore the origin and development of Christianity in Asia Minor, Egypt, Greece, North Africa, Rome, and Syria.

## *EARLY SOCIAL LIFE AND ORGANIZATION*

The movement that emerged around the figure and memory of Jesus of Nazareth did not burst onto the Roman world as a fully developed religious institution, the Church. It began rather as one or more small sects in an out-of-the-way province. Yet within a few centuries the movement would find its way into the very center of Roman society, a process already being recognized, albeit grudgingly, by the Roman historian Tacitus in the early 2d century (*Ann.* 15.44). The course of this growth, viewed by some of the old Roman nobility as a "plague," was seen by Christian apologists and historians as the divinely ordained "triumph of the Gospel" (Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.*) Nonetheless the process was conditioned by the social environment of the Roman world in and through which diffusion and organizational development took place.

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### A. Early Diffusion of the Christian Movement

**1. Sectarian Origins of the Jesus Movement.** Jesus did not begin as a founder of a new religion, but rather as a reforming preacher within the apocalyptic environment of 1st-century Palestine, while Rome perceived that Jesus was promoting sedition (Matt 10:34–35 = Luke 12:51–53). The group that originated around Jesus, likewise, appears as one among many reforming sects, or splinter religious groups, within the diverse spectrum of Palestinian Jewish society.

The earliest forms of the Jesus movement must have looked much like other Jewish groups known from the time. Much like the picture of disciples at table with Jesus, there were Pharisaic *haburoth* ("fellowships") which met to study and eat together in piety, often in the upper rooms of houses (*m.Shabb.* 1.4; *b.Menah.* 41b; cf. Luke 22:12, Acts 1:13). At the same time, as a reforming sect, the movement would have offered alternative forms of organization and participation to individuals and groups, including dissidents, women, and marginal groups, that would have felt left out of the traditional power structure. Some references suggest that one early form of the Jesus movement was vested in wandering preachers or prophets of the coming apocalyptic kingdom (Matt 10:9–14 = Mark 6:8–11; Luke 9:2–5; 10:4–11). In these passages an ideal of homelessness and poverty is stressed as a reaction against the normal constraints of society (cf. Theissen 1978: 8–16). While the role of men alone has been preserved in the later form of the mission tradition, it reflects a more fundamental renunciation of family and normal social structures as the center for a new self-understanding (Schüssler Fiorenza 1983: 72–76; 144–49). Reflections of this early form of the movement were still visible in the 2d century, probably still

in the Syrian region, in the instructions of the *Didache* on the proper respect as well as caution to be afforded traveling teachers and prophets (*Did.* 11–13). It suggests, therefore, that a fundamental tension persisted from the earliest days of the movement between a traditional familial model of religion and claims to new modes of social relationship based on nonfamilial or antifamilial structures. This tension goes back to early dominical sayings predicated on apocalyptic midrash of Mic 7:6, the shattering of the household (cf. Luke 12:51–53 [Q]).

Initially, at least, the missionary impulse of the Jesus movement was directed toward proclaiming the imminent apocalyptic kingdom exclusively to other Jews (Matt 10:5–6; 22). There was no need for a more firmly established institution apart from the framework of Judaism, it would seem, since the kingdom was expected soon (Mark 9:1 = Matt 16:28). Thus, it was possible for the earliest Christian groups to remain within the bounds of Jewish piety and practice, though they, like the ESSENES and others, might have decried and opposed perceived impiety among other Jews. In the earliest stages there were several different arenas of interaction with the larger Jewish society and its diverse religious spectrum. In addition to the nonlocalized efforts of wandering charismatics, some followers of the Jesus movement maintained traditional temple worship in Jerusalem while at the same time meeting for devotion and study in private homes (Acts 2:46, 5:42, 12:12). Thus, it is likely that there was some tension between the ideals of piety reflected in the homelessness of itinerant prophets and in the localized tradition preserved around the images of women disciples, but tended to be subsumed under household structures (Schüssler Fiorenza 1983: 144–51). In this way they corresponded to the ranges of apocalyptic sectarianism seen elsewhere in Judean society prior to the debacle of the First Revolt (cf. Meeks 1986: 97–107; Cohen 1987: 124–36, 164–68).

In defining the earliest Jesus movement as a sectarian phenomenon, or what some would call a revitalization movement, several cautions must be kept in mind. While Jewish religion and society in the last century of the Second Temple Period were extremely diverse, not all of its groups or currents were sects in the strict sociological definition of the term. A sect, in this sense, refers to a group which separates itself to some degree from the rest of a particular society in order to reform or purify the society from within. Despite passionate denunciation of the ills of society, the sectarian group shares the same basic belief system and values as the parent culture (White 1988: 12–15). This tension over the religious definition of the society produces a conflict of standards, a sense of "two ways" (good and evil, light and dark). They are assumed to determine the fate of the society. From the perspective of the sectarian group, faith, piety, and proper observance are invariable markers of the true "way of God" over against the "way of the world." Within 1st-century Judea, therefore, some groups (like the Essenes) more clearly represent sectarian organization and attitudes, while others (such as the SADDUCEES) do not. Indeed, despite the extreme diversity of religious sympathy and the escalating social and religious protest (cf. Horsley and Hanson 1985: 244–47), the vast majority of Jews would not have been attached to any particular sect. It is also likely that in the earliest period new religious groups, such as the Pharisees or the Jesus movement, might have exhibited greater or lesser sectarian tendencies from cell to cell or time to time. The peculiar features of sectarianism in 1st-century Judea were a result of the dominant apocalyptic milieu, which included, among other things, diverse expectations of an imminent transformation of the present social order and the establishment of a new messianic age on earth (Meeks 1986: 100).

So long as the emergent Jesus sect remained clearly within the realm of Palestinian Judaism, then its message and appeal were determined within this realm as well. Thus, the earliest mission was not to convert the gentiles, but to go instead "only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel … saying, 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand' " (Matt 10:5–7). These were messianic Jews preaching Jesus to other Jews. Consequently, conversion and boundary definition must be thought of differently than for Jews proselytizing non-Jews. The rituals by which one was admitted into membership as well as strict standards of behavior were initially ways of marking off the sect from the "world," meaning the larger Jewish society. Yet the basic criterion of membership in the congregation of the faithful, the eschatological community or new Israel, was held by all Jews by right of birth. Conversion, therefore,

largely meant coming to a reformed vision or understanding of what it meant, at least within the sect's definition of things, to be a true Jew and conforming oneself to this vision.

A sect's religious vision of the new order arises out of its experiences of tension and protest over the perceived ills of its society. Often, it seems, such groups tend to emerge from conditions of social or economic deprivation or from some experience of political oppression. The particular form of disenfranchisement or deprivation, such as in the marginalized position of certain individuals or classes in society, may then be conceived as the embodiment of evil and the symbol of the abuse that needs reform. The group looks for a remedy to these social ills in terms of religious redefinition of the social order. Far from calling for a radical destruction of the society, however, such sectarian rhetoric tends to preserve some of the basic social structures, but with new means of access or empowerment for the previously downtrodden and powerless. The new image embodies some of the resonant sense of tension with the old order as fundamental to the idealization of the new. Thus the language of radical status reversal (Matt 20:26–27, 23:12; Mark 10:43–44; Luke 22:26, 14:11) may reflect some early expectations of the Jesus sect for new social order in a coming earthly kingdom (cf. Luke 4:14–16). At the same time, the tensions with a "worldly" society would not have prevented substantial areas of interaction with the society, depending upon how far any particular sectarian group went in distancing itself from the world. A total renunciation of the world, such as that at Qumran, was rare. Even so, at Qumran the apocalyptic ideal of the pure community retained very traditional priestly categories (see also ESSENES). It would have been more common to seek new ways of working out a life in the world, while maintaining some sense of tension with it. Stricter social ethics (such as those reflected in Matt 5:17–20 and in the following sections for internalizing and strengthening the commands of the Law) are patently Jewish boundary markers for a particular Jesus sect over against the normal patterns of religiously defined Jewish social behavior. Even the ultimate disciplinary sanctions within the Jesus sects could be framed in terms of Jewish identity, since to be "cast out" of the sect was tantamount to becoming no longer a Jew at all, but rather a "Gentile and tax-collector" (Matt 18:17).

**2. Early Diffusion: The Jewish Mission.** The original social location of the Jesus movement was as diverse sectarian groups within Palestinian Jewish society. They sought to draw adherents exclusively from among fellow Jews, and they expected an imminent apocalyptic consummation of history and the establishment of a new, messianic social order. Even so, there was considerable diversity of expectation possible within different streams of the Jesus movement. Both the timing and the nature of the coming messianic kingdom were open to varying interpretations. Within a relatively short time, however, one finds that the Jesus movement had begun to spread beyond these original bounds. In part, the initial impulse toward diffusion may have come from the activities of the wandering charismatic prophets, who commissioned localized cells as well (Matt 10:11–13). At the same time, it must be recognized that the traditional picture of a unified, concentric mission based exclusively on the Twelve at Jerusalem is an idealization of Acts (cf. Hengel 1979: 65, 75–77). Other references clearly indicate early centers of the movement, such as the Galilee, that were not derivative from Jerusalem (Mark 16:7 = Matt 28:7–10, 16). The early diffusion of the movement was a product of new impulses operating within the diverse social circumstances of individual groups.

One such impulse toward diffusion might have come from an early sense that the imminent expectations for a new social order had failed. On this suggestion, some early Christian groups would have closely resembled adventist millenarian movements, that is, groups which make predictions of the end of the world (Gager 1975: 20–27). A crisis occurs for such groups when their predictions do not come to pass, and this radical disconfirmation tends to produce heightened activity and new directions of outreach (Gager 1975: 37–41). Increasing agitation over the delay of the eschatological consummation began to produce cognitive anxiety among early Christians, especially in the wake of the failure of the First Revolt (cf. Mark 13) and increasingly so in ensuing decades (2 Pet 3:3). Rethinking their eschatological expectations was perhaps a contributing factor in further diffusion of the movement.

Another impulse toward diffusion might have come from the establishment of cells among Jewish communities in urban settings where contact with gentiles would become more of an issue. A number of

cities in the Galilee and the Decapolis were highly hellenized urban centers. In Acts, too, it was among the Jewish communities of Antioch that the disciples first came to be known as "Christians." The name itself seems to reflect a slur on this odd Jewish messianic sect, now promoting a new piety in the syncretistic urban environment of Roman Syria (cf. Meeks and Wilken 1978: 13–15). Paul, too, it would appear, encountered the new directions of the Jesus movement among Jewish communities in Roman Syria, first in Damascus and later in Antioch.

**3. Phases of Growth and Paths of Diffusion in the Roman World.** By the time Paul began to work out the initial lines of a gentile mission in Antioch, a new phase of diffusion was on the horizon. It would probably be a mistake to try to fix the dates for this change too narrowly, but the circumstances surrounding the so-called Jerusalem Council reflect something of this phase. The greatest danger in using such a dating mechanism lies in the false assumption that all early Christian groups were equally influenced by the circumstances and decisions reflected in the stories of the Council. The accounts of Paul (Gal 2:1–10) and Acts 15 vary sharply regarding the nature of the dispute and its resolution. Clearly, there was great diversity. Yet the accounts of the Jerusalem Council probably do signal a significant parting of the ways in the paths of diffusion for the Christian movement at Antioch. The main question which was being addressed was whether and how gentiles might be brought into the Jesus sect, given its strictures on Jewishness. Some Christians seem to have advocated full proselyte conversion before a gentile could be considered legitimately a Christian, while others began to argue for a less stringent position.

Though he was not likely the first, Paul became one of the chief advocates of the latter position. After a significant falling out with the conservative Jewish faction among the Christians at Antioch, led by Peter (Gal 2:11–16), Paul apparently left Antioch for good to embark on a mission to gentile converts in Asia Minor and Greece. The Council and the beginning of Paul's mission may be dated between 44/45 and 49 C.E., or roughly twenty years after the inception of the sect at the death of Jesus. In his mission preaching to gentile converts in Asia Minor and Greece, Paul did not finally consider the Christian movement as a separate organism from the Jewish religion, even though his synthesis might have helped to induce the rift (cf. Sanders 1983: 207–10). His elaborate use of commonplaces and models from Greek culture and popular philosophy did not force him to abrogate an apocalyptic worldview. Nonetheless, the social location of Christian groups would vary markedly in the urban environment of the Greek east. Paul and others had to begin to work out a synthesis for Jewish and gentile Christians to live within that society. Given this difference, it is better to think of this phase of the Christian movement as a kind of syncretistic Jewish *cult* relative to the larger Greco-Roman culture, while at the same time it maintained its sectarian tensions in relation to traditional Jewish culture (White 1988:16).

The institutional separation of the Christian movement away from Judaism did not really commence until after the failure of the First Revolt against Rome (66–74 C.E.). Simultaneously, then, sectarian tensions with the larger Jewish cultural heritage had continued while Christians (and other Jewish groups) were also forging a cultural synthesis and social self-definition with Greco-Roman culture. The first clear recognition on the part of Roman authorities that Christians marked something of a separate religious group from Jews comes in the letters of Pliny (*Ep.* 10.96) and the histories of Tacitus (*Ann.* 15.44). Both were written after the year 110 C.E. and after recognition of Christian activities in Asia Minor and Rome. Other reflections of this growing tension with its Jewish heritage are found in Christian literature of the post-70 period (including Matthew and Luke-Acts). The tension is also reflected in Jewish traditions concerning the Rabbis of Jabneh (Cohen 1984) and in the introduction of the *Birkhat ha-minim* (or curse against the heretics) into the *Shemonah esre.* Both traditions probably come from the period between 100–150 C.E. in their final form (cf. Schiffman 1981: 115–23; Kimelman 1981: 226–44). In some cases, however, Jewish-Christian groups maintained their place within the Jewish cultural framework much longer, and groups such as the Ebionites were known down to the end of the 4th century. At the very least, it would probably be best to say that the full-scale recognition of a separation of Greek-speaking Christianity from Judaism did not occur until after the failure of the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–135 C.E.), which is in all probability where the Pella tradition (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.5.3; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 29.7.7, 30.2.7) ought to be dated as well (cf. Lüdemann 1980: 169–73).

This schematic overview of the phases of growth and diffusion suggests that one must keep in mind the diverse nature of Christian groups in the environment of the Roman Levant. In addition to theological areas of self-definition away from Judaism and of synthesis toward Greco-Roman culture, there are several social factors that need to be considered. The first is the diversity itself. The Christian movement was not a unitary religious phenomenon from the moment of inception, and it varied sharply according to the diverse geographical diffusion it enjoyed. Jewish communities, especially in the Greek-speaking Diaspora, were equally diverse both in social location and in social makeup, and relations between Jewish and Christian cells in any given locality would have been determined by a range of local conditions. Second, it must be kept in mind that both Jewish and Christian groups outside the homeland tended to circulate around and settle in major urban centers in the Roman empire. Hence patterns of social life and organization for both groups were largely determined by conditions in the local urban environment.

**B. Social Life of Christian Groups**

**1. Social Location of Christian Groups.** While in late Medieval and Renaissance art, the mendicant orders notwithstanding, it was common to portray the 1st-century Christians in Venetian high fashion, since the Enlightenment the vogue has gone in the opposite direction. The Christian movement has typically been portrayed as a movement of the dispossessed, a proletarian revolt, or a social reform. In consequence, the models of institutionalization in the area of church order insinuated the change of social location from a persecuted sect to a state religion and from peasant revolt to aristocratic oligarchy. Most of these have started with the portrayal of Jesus and his disciples as common folk out of the Galilean hills and with the statements of Acts 2–5 that the members of the earliest Jerusalem church sold all their possessions, gave their means entirely to the apostles, and "held all things in common" (Acts 4:32). In addition to such utopian portrayals, older sect typologies tended to portray all such reform movements as located among the dispossessed of society (White 1988: 7–9). Both types of romanticized portrayals have been used to advance theological interpretations (cf. Malherbe 1983: 4–13). The picture in Acts, however, is highly idealized, likely for various apologetic purposes, and cannot be used to create a historical generalization of the social location of the early Christians. The story in Acts itself (5:42; 12:12) presupposes that at least some of those early Christians retained their possessions and used them for hosting Christian assembly in their homes.

As has been suggested, at least some forms of the earliest Jesus movement adopted an ethos of rejecting home, possessions, and society (Gager 1975: 23–37; Theissen 1978: 8–15). On the other hand, it is likely that these do not represent the whole of the early movement, but only some of its nascent forms. Nonetheless, these various forms persisted and grew up alongside one another in the early generations of the movement.

In recent work, focus has shifted to the diffusion of the movement outside of the original Jewish moorings, and here one gets a slightly different perception of its social location (Malherbe 1983: 31–37). In a key statement, Paul alludes to the social status of members of the Christian community at Corinth in such a way that it is clear that at least some were wealthy, educated, and highborn (1 Cor 1:26–28). It is also likely that such status distinctions are correlated with the leadership by house church patrons, both men and women. Rather than a proletarian movement, the urban Christian communities of the Aegean more likely represented a cross section of the highly stratified society in which they lived (Meeks 1983: 51–63).

This recognition has been used to reconsider a number of the issues in the Pauline letters. Travel, letter writing, and hospitality were functions occasioned out of the geographical and social mobility of Roman society in the 1st century (Malherbe 1983: 35–49, 67–70). The divisive circumstances of the several house churches at Corinth (1 Cor 1:11) may be directly attributable to conflicts over wealth and status among its members (Theissen 1982; Malherbe 1983: 71–83). Areas where such status distinctions likely produced dissension and quarreling were in Christian communal dining (1 Cor 11:17–34), in social interaction (dining) with pagans (1 Corinthians 8–10), and in relations to the gifts of house church patrons to other apostles (2 Cor 11:7–11). It has been suggested that the social pretensions of the wealthier members of the Christian communities were in fact heightened by Paul's own preaching of "freedom" in

Christ. Yet in several instances the exercise of individual liberty was at odds with Paul's own sense of solidarity or "fellowship" *(koinonia)* in "the body," that is, the Church (cf. Meeks 1983: 68–73; 157–63).

How far can one go in projecting from the description of Paul's churches onto the general social level of the early Christian movement is problematic. One should guess that local communities faced different socioeconomic circumstances, depending upon the establishment, relations to local Jewish groups, the ability to rely upon or attract wealthy patrons, and competition with other indigenous groups. It is likely that the networks of social interaction by which diffusion occurred had a lot to do with establishing the social placement in the early years for any given locality. For each locality, whether Edessa, Alexandria, Carthage, or Rome, one must attempt to evaluate the social placement and the interaction of Christians on the basis of available evidence for the local conditions. Even the degree of wealth and social pretension at Corinth in Paul's day suggest that the upper reaches were yet below the old Roman aristocracy, the pinnacle of the social pyramid. Christian membership came instead from artisan classes, local entrepreneurs, and at best, the local decurionate, but also contained many from the other end of the social spectrum. Thus, the forms of social organization likely reflect some of this stratified social mix. Ultimately, one does find Christians among the elite segments of Roman society by the end of the 2d century (in provincial cities) and in the 3d century (in Rome itself). The gradual social acceptance of Christians among the population probably did not come from the sheer number of conversions alone, but through a gradual diffusion of Christian affiliations through the networks of power and wealth and a gradual acculturation of Christian practice and social life. At least one area in which such socioeconomic impulses can be seen is in the gradual development of Christian architecture out of the original house church meetings. In such cases patronage continued to play a major role in the process and furthered the public growth and awareness of the Christian movement through the first centuries.

**2. Relations to Society.** As an apocalyptic sect, the earliest Jesus movement stood in direct tension with its parent culture, since it was viewed as inherently flawed, under the evil forces of Satan and the oppression of outsiders. Being in the "Kingdom of Light" meant preparing to fight (militarily, if necessary) the enemy and removing oneself in some measure from the pollutions of the world, the "Kingdom of Darkness." This sectarian self-consciousness, clearly visible at Qumran, is yet discernible in some of the boundary maintenance language of the early Jesus movement. It may be preserved, for example, in the fragment of apocalyptic exhortation in 2 Cor 6:14–7:1. On the other hand, such sects look toward the moral reformation of society and so seek to enact presently, at least in some provisional way, a future ideal. In the case of the Pharisees, then (though not a sect in all cases in the pre-70 period), democratizing temple purity by making the law livable may be viewed as a sectarian ideal of hasidic reform (see PHARISEES). Likewise, there are vestiges of such an ideal social order in the portrayal of Jesus at table with "sinners and tax collectors" (Matt 9:10 = Mark 2:15 = Luke 5:27) and especially in connection with the wisdom tradition sayings (Matt 11:16–19 = Luke 7:31–35 [Q]). The sense of tension arises in maintaining the proper balance with society, especially as such sects tend, if they survive, to move toward some accommodation to the parent culture (cf. Meeks 1986: 102–4; White 1988: 19).

In the development of the Jesus movement, one sees different attempts to work out such balance depending upon the particular circumstances of each Christian group. For example, the community reflected in the gospel of Matthew, which was probably situated somewhere in the highly acculturated areas of the Galilee or nearer Syria, shows signs of sectarian self-definition over against its pharisaic neighbors (Matt 23:1–36). Part of this debate centers on similarly pharisaic ways of erecting boundaries against the world through patterns of Torah observance, fasting, alms, and prayer (5:17–21; 6:1–8, 16–18). At the same time the Matthean community was attempting to work out the strictures of both an internal church order (18:15–20) and an external gateway for non-Jewish converts (28:18–20) in the period after the First Revolt. Ultimately, the Matthean church retained its essentially Jewish markers of identity and social customs (18:17; 22:1–14).

By way of contrast, Pauline churches situated in the cosmopolitan urban environment of the Aegean effected a different balance with its cultural host. Indeed, the social makeup of Paul's churches moved them more toward a cult-culture self-definition. Thus, at Corinth one finds Paul himself redefining

traditional sectarian boundary markers against society to allow some, though not all, interaction (1 Cor 5:9–11; 6:1–6). Of course, a chief factor in this redefinition came in regard to matters of Torah observance for non-Jews; now they were accorded full status within the community without enforcing circumcision. While still retaining a strict sense of community ethics and moral discipline in terms of apocalyptic ideas (5:1–5; 6:9), Paul nonetheless permitted marriage to nonbelievers (7:13–15) and dining in pagan social contexts (8:10; 10:27) as part of the new social order. It is clear, too, that within the house church context new social relations were being explored, as in the status and leadership of women charismatics and patrons (11:3; 16:19; cf. Rom 16:1–2). Nor is it likely that either Jewish or gentile Christians would have recoiled uniformly from these new freedoms. It would appear, however, that Paul at other times backed down from some of the more radical social implications of earlier preaching (7:1, 21), especially in regard to the sense of new order reflected in the so-called *baptismal reunification formula* (12:12; cf. Gal 3:28; Col 3:11).

In many ways Pauline churches were encouraged to enact a moral paradigm that was very close to that of the surrounding culture. So Christians (perhaps like other Diaspora Jewish communities, but in sharp contrast to traditional apocalyptic rhetoric) were to respect the Roman government and pay proper taxes (Rom 13:1–7) and to practice almsgiving and hospitality (12:13). Indeed, many of the typically Pauline exhortations for the ethical life "in Christ" are built around standard catalogs of virtues and vices (Phil 4:8–9; Col 3:5–17) derived from commonplaces in the Hellenistic moral philosophers (cf. Malherbe 1987: 61–95).

In sum, Pauline tradition began to move the center of Christian social identity much closer to a Hellenistic-Roman cultural ideal, even though Paul himself never seems to have conceived of this shift as a move to a non-Jewish self-definition. Later Pauline tradition, however, appropriated even more of the standard social mores from the larger Roman culture. A good example is the introduction of the *Haustafel* (or "household code"), which derives from Greek philosophy (Col 3:19–4:1; Eph 5:22–6:9; 1 Tim 2:8–15, 6:1–2; Tit 2:1–10; 1 Pet 2:13–3:7). In Aristotle (*Pol.* 1,1253b; *Eth. Nic.* 8,1162a), for example, the order of the family is likened to that of the *polis* or state. Already in Philo one finds it appropriated for Jewish ethics in the Greco-Roman world (*Jos.* 38; *Dec.* 165). The overtly hierarchical and patriarchal order of this paradigm may have been intended (as in Joseph. *AgAp* 1) as an apologetic against pagan claims that Christians disrupted households, as seen in older apocalyptic slogans (so Balch 1981: 65–80). As such it probably facilitated the acculturation of the Christian cult to pagan culture. At the same time, it created new hierarchical orders within the church community and a consequent tightening of leadership roles, especially for women (Schüssler Fiorenza 1983: 251–70). It is noteworthy, too, that this move in the area of social ethics corresponds, both in time and in social impact, to the hierarchical ordering of offices under the bishopric in the area of organization.

By the end of the 2d century, one finds that Christians in most urban areas of the Roman empire were moving more and more into the mainstream of social life. The pace of such acculturation would, of course, be different, owing to local conditions and circumstances relative to each Christian community. Even though there were sporadic persecutions and one hears of pagan charges against antisocial behavior, on the whole these were tensions created as the Christian movement became more acculturated to its host culture. Thus, in Origen's refutation of Celsus, one still finds claims that Christians proselytize only those individuals on the margins of society: women, children, slaves, and illiterate yokels (*Cel.* 3.55; cf. Wilken 1984: 95–100). But in Tertullian (*Apol.* 39) and, to an even greater degree, in Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* 3), one sees the efflorescence of an active Christian social life that would eventually become a prevalent and fully accepted part of the Roman world.

**C. Organization and Development of the Christian Movement**

**1. Models from the Environment.** In order to understand the organization of Christian groups, one may consider their appearance within the context of the urban environment of Greco-Roman cities. It has been suggested that local Christian congregations followed or emulated models of other small cells or associations (Meeks 1983: 75–81; 1986: 108–14). Hence, the household or private house associations

served as one model for organizing Christian groups alongside Diaspora synagogues, voluntary clubs (or *collegia*), and philosophical schools.

Given the sectarian origins of the movement, the synagogue provided a natural avenue of Christian diffusion, once it had moved to urban Jewish centers of the Diaspora. Thus, too, the organization and social experience of synagogue communities paved the way for Christian groups to establish their own identity in the alien environment of the Diaspora. Diaspora Jewish communities are known from literary, epigraphic, and archaeological remains throughout the Mediterranean, especially in the major cities of Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece, as well as Italy (including Rome and Ostia) and North Africa. Nonetheless, some caution must be exercised in two regards. First, one should not assume as universal fact the presentation in Acts, that the earliest Christian mission commenced in synagogues only to open out to gentiles after being expelled. Second, one should not assume that all synagogues followed the same organization and plan, especially in the Diaspora, or that there was a normative synagogue structure for the first several centuries of the Common Era (Kraabel 1981: 81–91).

The development of the early synagogue owes in large measure to the experience of Jews in the alien environment of the Diaspora. The need to preserve their heritage, the sense of belonging to the heritage of Israel, might result in the formation of a closed cultic community against the alien world outside. At the same time, dealings with their pagan neighbors in business and daily life resulted in social interaction and acculturation. The synagogue served as a way of mediating these tensions with the Greco-Roman culture, especially while the temple still stood at Jerusalem. It is significant, therefore, that most of the earliest synagogue buildings were renovated from private homes which had been owned by leading members of the Jewish congregation, while others also reflect considerable social acceptance and support by non-Jewish sympathizers (Kraabel 1981: 87–90). The social structures as well as the worship and architecture of these early Diaspora synagogues was still very much determined by local conditions and cultural relations. So, too, one finds that women and non-Jews often held substantial positions within the life of these Jewish communities (Brooten 1982: 139–48; White 1987: 153–55). Also, there might have been several synagogue cells or congregations in any of the larger cities differentiated by language, socioeconomic status, relations with locals, or theology.

In many cases local synagogue groups were also organized after the fashion of *collegia.* This common form of social club or voluntary association in Greco-Roman city life would have offered a ready legal model for establishing community organization. The clubs themselves, even the smallest ones, often aped the titles and structures of official municipal organizations. Trade guilds and professional organizations up and down the social ladder followed these lines. In the larger cities one could expect that associates would agglomerate on ethnic lines as well as by trade or craft, all reflecting some need for a community tie, a sense of rootedness, within the pluralistic hubbub of the city. Still, it is worth noting that both house cults and foreign religious groups were often organized after collegial models.

Finally, it has been suggested that early Christian groups also followed the model of a philosophical school. While it is a clearer comparison to make by the middle of the 2d century (as in Justin Martyr, cf. Wilken 1984: 72–83) a similar organization has been suggested for the Pauline mission, at least as regards Paul and his immediate circle of "fellow-workers" (Meeks 1983: 81–83). The comparison is more apt when one looks at the tradition of teaching and pastoral care among the moralist philosophers or at the social organization of Epicurean communities (Malherbe 1987: 7–13, 95–105) (see APOSTLE, CONCEPT OF).

Despite the high degree of acceptance of each of these models, there was great diversity and fluidity in the actual form of communal associations. Synagogues and other cults could be organized as *collegia* and most of the voluntary associations had religious affiliations or patron deities. Yet one of the most significant areas of social intersection lies in the fact that all these groups could use the private home setting or the household model either as the locus of its activities or as the core of its communal organization.

**2. The House Church Setting.** The picture in Acts (2:42) pushes the communal dining and study of Christians at home back to the very beginning of the movement. Acts then pushes forward in its model of

the mission by following conversions especially through household lines. Both of these features seem to be Lukan idealizations for apologetic interests, which may color over a more diverse social picture. Nevertheless, by the time of Paul's mission in the Aegean region, a standard form of address was to the "church in the house" *(he kat' oikon ekklesia)* of someone (Col 4:15; Rom 16:5; 1 Cor 16:19). It is likely that household networks and organization were already operative in the initial diffusion through Jewish communities of the Diaspora, since synagogues likewise employed the household setting. Thus, despite a high degree of idealization of the picture in Acts, the basic reflection of the setting in Corinth (18:7–8) may be indicative, since it assumes a synagogue in residential areas and under patronage leadership, contiguous to a house where the Christians began to meet. Within the Pauline letters themselves the assumed setting of Christian assembly is even more firmly rooted in private homes and attendant social conventions (Malherbe 1983: 60–91; Meeks 1983: 75–77; 1986: 110–13; Schüssler Fiorenza 1983: 175–84).

The house church setting provided avenues both for diffusion and social organization of Christian communities. Conventions of hospitality were very important in Greco-Roman society. They could be applied to travelers and to the hosting of guests for dinners and other social functions. Thus, the technical language of hospitality is to be found in Pauline usage, especially in writing letters of recommendation for his traveling co-workers, such as Phoebe (Rom 16:1–2; cf. Malherbe 1983: 94–97). Here, Paul was asking that she be received hospitably within the various house church cells at Rome, just as she, as house church patron, had hosted others (including Paul himself) at Cenchreai. Letter writing, hospitality, and patronage were bound up together in the organization of these house church communities.

In Paul's churches, at least, hosting the assembled congregation seems to have fallen to a few leading individuals who would have owned houses large enough for such a gathering. House church patronage and social mobility were exhibited by the artisan couple Prisca and Aquila as they moved about within the Aegean region and eventually to Rome. Paul was heavily dependent upon the financial support of these house church patrons, who not only hosted the congregation but afforded lodging and assistance for Paul and his co-workers (Rom 16:2, 23; Phlm 2, 22; Phil 4:14–19). The house church setting also meant that there were likely several meetings or cell groups in any of the larger urban centers, such as Corinth, Ephesus, or Rome (even though Paul had not organized the community at Rome). Hence diversity or friction could easily develop within a given locale, partly as a result of these house church relations (1 Cor 1:11–16; 2 Cor 11:7–11). Moreover, the household in Greco-Roman urban life comprised a wider circle than the nuclear family. Members of the household also included other relatives, friends in residence, domestic slaves, and clients or business associates. In the structure of the society at large all were attached and obligated to the head of the household, usually meaning the *pater familias.* In growing numbers during the Roman period women, too, held the property and the status of head of the household. Cultic associations, such as that under the household of Agripinilla at Tusculum, reflect the merging of religious organization also under the patronage of women. Likewise, in Jewish groups one hears of women who served as "mother of the synagogue," meaning its patron both in honorific terms and in functional leadership. In the Pauline churches there were not as yet any leadership offices (such as bishops or elders); therefore, one of the natural lines of organization and authority fell to the house church patrons, both women and men. Paul himself as itinerant apostle was dependent upon the patronal beneficence and authority of individuals such as Prisca, Phoebe, Gaius, or Philemon (Schüssler Fiorenza 1983: 181–82; Meeks 1983: 68–69, 134–36).

Numerous features of church life must be understood in the light of this social setting. Paul himself communicated with his congregations by means of letters and emissaries moving within the house church network. Christian assembly meant gathering in the home of a leading member, usually around the dinner table as the center both for a communal meal (1 Cor 11:17–34) and for mutual exhortation (1 Cor 14:26). It is not likely, however, that all Christians in a large city like Corinth gathered in one place on a regular basis, not even for the eucharist. Women and men, drawn from the wider circles of household networks and other social relations, participated equally in these gatherings, depending upon their sense of spiritual gifts (1 Cor 11:5; 14:23–26). Paul himself resisted the tendency to allow such fellowship to replicate the

class structure of the society at large, even though it was based in that structure. This tension could not always be escaped, as Paul had to allow for Christians to continue to associate fully in normal social activities (1 Cor 5:9; 10:24–28), and he did not always go as far as some might have hoped in moving toward radical social change (Gal 3:28; 1 Cor 7:22; 11:27–33; Phlm 17).

**3. The Beginnings of Institutionalization: Offices, Orthodoxy, and Heresy.** As a sect within the framework and worldview of Judaism, the Jesus movement implicitly held ideas of religious institution from the dominant cultural models, but felt tensions enough to question and in some cases reject them. As a cult phenomenon in the Greco-Roman culture, however, there may have been different impulses at work, since foreign cults tend rather to emulate the organizational models of the host culture and to rationalize assimilation. The Christian movement, in particular cases, likely felt certain internal tensions in this regard, since it maintained much of its basic sectarian attitude toward its Jewish heritage while simultaneously pursuing cultic assimilation toward Greco-Roman culture. Once again, a keynote is the recognition of diversity. In Paul's case there arose several debates over apostolic authority. In the earlier situation at Antioch (Gal 2:11–14), Paul claims to have faced Peter down over issues of communal fellowship with gentiles. Later, the case of the so-called superapostles (2 Cor 11:5–6, 13) further called into question Paul's own apostolic authority in the light of their claims to superlative charismatic gifts and apostolic authority, even though neither party was among the core of original disciples of Jesus (Meeks 1983: 131–34) (see APOSTLE, CONCEPT OF).

While authority questions came out in Paul's day, it is significant that the main sources of debate arose from the power to preach and the governance of Christian ethical behavior. In cases of disciplinary sanctions the extreme action seems to have been focused largely on matters of unsuitable behavior (Matt 18:15–17; Heb 6:4–6, 10:26). As in the case of sexual immorality in 1 Cor 5:1–11, the normal response was to exclude the offender from the communal fellowship. While in later development of penitential discipline this was viewed as a temporary excommunication from the eucharist, in 1 Corinthians it more clearly denotes sanctioning out of the dining context of the house church assembly. There is little or no concern over what could be called orthodoxy in doctrine or liturgy. The need to guard the "deposit of faith" through disciplinary excommunication begins to appear only in the later writings of the New Testament and more consistently in the literature of the 2d century (1 Tim 1:20, 6:3–4; 2 Pet 2:1; 2 John 7–11). Governance over the authority to teach and the power to exercise discipline was viewed in terms of emerging institutional authority structures or "offices" in the communities. Hence apostles, prophets, teachers, *and* patrons in the earliest days gave way to bishops, elders, and deacons by the 2d and 3d centuries (1 Cor 12:28; cf. Eph 4:11; 1 Tim 3:1–13; *Ign. Eph.* 4:1–2; *Ign. Mag.* 6:1).

By focusing on "offices," the traditional pictures of development in early Christian organization have tended to follow one of several straight-line models of development toward hierarchical institutional order. The Great Church model, largely derived from the picture of Jesus commissioning Peter with the "keys of kingdom" (Matt 16:17–19) and preserved in much of Western iconography, asserts the tradition of the twelve disciples as the basic authority structure of the church from the moment of inception. An alternative sociological model, usually associated with Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch, tries to account for the noninstitutional sectarian origins. It assumes that there was a necessary process of development from the fluid charismatic leadership of the earliest sect toward a routinized leadership in ecclesiastical offices of bishop, elder, and deacon (so von Campenhausen 1969; cf. White 1987b: 209–13). Inherent in both models is an essentially hierarchical and patriarchal notion of authority vested in later notions of ordination and priesthood.

It is possible to suggest that there were really four intersecting lines of authority structures which came into play in diverse combinations depending upon the local circumstances of Christian communities. The first derived from the gradual separation from Judaism in the generations after the First Revolt. Here two factors can be seen. The loss of the temple itself as a central institution created a vacuum in authority structure which had traditionally been lodged in a priestly ideal. The sense of loss called for rationalization, and of course, Judaism itself had to face this same dilemma. Separation from Jewish identity, however, demanded an authority which stood outside of the emerging reconstruction under the

Rabbinic academy (cf. Stendahl 1968). The second derives from the lines of patronal authority seen both in the Diaspora synagogue and in the house church setting, especially in the Greco-Roman urban setting. Here it is worth noting that authority was invested after the cultural model of obligation of a client toward a benefactor as regularly applied both in interpersonal bonds and in the organization of clubs and other cults (White 1987b: 218–21). While it derived much of its symbolism from the paterfamilias, nonetheless women increasingly exercised such patronal roles in cults or associations and even in official civic functions or the imperial cult (Schüssler Fiorenza 1983: 180–83). The third is related but distinct in social application and derives from the metaphorical use of the patriarchal family as a model for understanding the order of the state or society, seen most clearly in the later ethical model of the HAUSTAFELN (or "household duty codes," cf. Eph 5:21–6:9; Col 3:18–4:1; 1 Pet 2:18–3:7). The fourth is charismatic leadership and derives from the apocalyptic sectarian consciousness of challenging worldly authority through the idealized image of inspired prophets, who interpreted the divine will against the prevailing social order.

Gradually, over time and in different combinations one sees the Christian movement adopting an amalgam of these four into the various notions of ordained offices and church order. Gradually, too, there was a sharp diminution in the leadership roles available to women and others who had found expression in the earlier generations, just as Jewish heritage itself was restricted. In particular the role of charismatic power was sharply curtailed since it was increasingly difficult to keep under control, and it was replaced instead with the authority of the episcopal offices as a combination of several lines of power. The continued lines are seen in the so-called "New Prophecy" or Montanist movement in 2d-century Phrygia, since it perpetuated an ideal of female charismatic gifts. What would eventually emerge as the dominant form was a hierarchical church order of offices ranging from the bishop (or priest) to the elder (or presbyter) and to the deacon (1 Tim 3:1–13). In earlier usage bishops and elders were interchangeable, but by the early 2d century (especially in the writings of Ignatius of Antioch) there were indications of a further move toward a single bishop at the top of a pyramidal order. Women (in particular the widows) were placed in a special category which removed them from this dominant hierarchical structure.

The sense of order implied in this organizational development also carried over into two other areas of church life. The first was the ordering of worship and, hence, the development of liturgy. By the early 2d century the free-flowing love feasts of the early period seem to have been more formalized and restricted. Eventually it would lead to a complete segregation of the eucharist (or Mass) from the dinner setting by the beginning of the 3d century. The *Didache*, one of the earliest pieces of church order literature dating from the first half of 2d century, makes special provision for the proper conduct of the eucharistic meal and for who could preside. Second, as time went along, the diversity of traditions became increasingly a problem, at least to some. The result was to delimit more narrowly the range of acceptable teaching and belief, or the beginnings of doctrinal formulation (as seen both in the Pastoral epistles and in Ignatius). It is important to note, however, that regional variations in Christian development (depending in large measure on local social circumstances) tended to be treated as heresy. The result was that an imperialist tradition, under the aegis of Roman authority, actively superimposed a notion of orthodoxy and heresy on these local variations (cf. Bauer 1971; Koester 1972). Notions of apostolic succession were used from as early as the 2d century (Hegesippus, preserved in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.22.1) to claim the authority of bishops in a specific line to govern in such matters of orthodoxy and liturgy.

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## *EARLY JEWISH CHRISTIANITY*

When the qualifying phrase "early Jewish" is applied to Christianity, the temptation arises to contrast it with "early gentile" Christianity. This contrast between Jewish and non-Jewish forms of Christianity seems to have arisen later, and was then retrojected into the earlier periods, resulting in an anachronistic distortion of early Christianity. It is only when we understand the earliest Jesus movement and the first post-Easter Christianity as a phenomenon within Judaism that the historical development of Christianity can be clarified.

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A. Definition
B. Sources and Methods
C. Origins and History
D. Traditions and Theology
E. Summary

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### A. Definition

There is little doubt that Jesus himself was firmly rooted within the Jewish faith, and that with him arose a movement that was first and foremost an inner-Jewish phenomenon. But Jesus' idiosyncratic attitudes with respect to fundamental Jewish theologumena like law, sabbath, the traditions of the elders, etc., meant that early Jewish Christianity was, after Easter, a broad movement comprised of (about 500? 1 Cor 15:6) people with very different opinions and likely no generally recognized organization. The idea of a homogeneous primitive church ("*Urgemeinde*") from which Christianity arose (as depicted in Acts) is a simplifying Lukan construct. Thus the term "Jewish Christianity" must be used cautiously when discussing the earliest periods. Groups that gradually contracted toward Jewish thought and emerged in later times as an "Ebionitism" (see EBIONITES) are defined here as "Judaistic Jewish Christianity." Groups which practiced baptism are here defined as "Primitive Baptist." The label "Missionary Jewish Christianity" refers to groups with a program of mission. Most of the traditions that became canonized in

the NT can be assigned to this early "Missionary Jewish Christianity." But even here there is a great difference between groups which addressed gentiles (Paul, most NT writings) and groups which felt particularly obliged to address mainly fellow Jews (Peter, see also Gal 2:8ff. and Matt 10:5–23 and 15:24).

**B. Sources and Methods**

The NT is our basic source for the origins of Jewish Christianity, but we must keep in mind that most NT traditions have been handed to us from the "missionary" groups. Strictly speaking, "Judaistic" traditions are often preserved only in fragments, or we have to reconstruct them from sources that sought to refute their claims (e.g., Galatians). Our sources for the groups which eventually emerge as Ebionitism are not very reliable. Previous attempts to ascertain the roots of Jewish Christianity have been hampered because scholars tended either to import subsequent distinctions between Jewish- and gentile-Christianity into the earlier period or to rely largely on the book of Acts for a straightforward account of the evolution of the primitive Church. One could support one's conclusions by appealing to the pseudo-Clementines (Schoeps 1949; 1956) or to specific traditions of the Church concerning the alleged Jewish-Christian sources (Danielou 1964). However, the notion of a vast body of ancient Jewish-Christian writings cannot be verified (Torrey 1952–53: 205ff.).

The isolation of the "Q"source as a product of early Jewish Christianity (see Q [GOSPEL SOURCE]) promises to help correct the deficiencies in our earliest sources, but it must not be forgotten that Q is a "hypothesis," not a real source (and may itself contain various layers). But this appeal to Q constitutes a step in the right direction: if we want to identify the beginnings of Jewish Christianity, we must consider the history of the traditions ("*Traditionsgeschichte*") underlying the NT.

*Traditionsgeschichte* is a complicated method, often leading at best to conclusions that must be properly qualified as to their level of "probability." Redaction-critical research has demonstrated that in this endeavor the topographical references must be considered carefully (Lohmeyer 1936). Topographical statements sometimes have for an evangelist a highly theological importance (e.g., Galilee in Mark). But not all geographical references are charged in this way. A great many of them are deeply rooted in specific traditions; therefore they must be explained in terms of the history of that tradition. When this is done (Schille 1957), we discover that primitive materials oriented more to the north (Galilee and environs) often have "missionary" tendencies, whereas traditions closer to Judea represent a more static Christianity (distinguished by an emphasis on the Jewish cultic calendar).

This is reinforced by an examination of primitive christology. It is noteworthy that christological titles are used differently in the earlier traditions than in subsequent NT traditions. For example, the christological titles "King of the Jews" (Passion tradition) and "Son of Man" (also in Passion tradition, in Mark 13, and in the sayings of Jesus) are connected to "Judaistic" traditions; "Son of God" (traditions about the baptism and temptation of Jesus) are connected to "Baptismal" traditions; and "Lord" (Gk *kyrios;* in Paul and in the miracles traditions) are connected to "Missionary" traditions.

**C. Origins and History**

Jesus carried out his preaching and his work within the Judaism of his day. On the other hand, he reserved for himself the freedom to eliminate all possible restrictions to religious community. We can see this, for example, in his selection of companions: tax collectors (Mark 2:14ff.), outcasts (5:2ff.), women, and political radicals (e.g., Simon the Canaanean). Similarly, he had little regard for national or ethnic boundaries (Matt 8:5ff.; Mark 7:24ff.). Also, he invoked as a model the child (Mark 10:15), who was not yet granted permission to participate in the orthodox Jewish liturgical ceremonies. Jesus' followers seem to have accepted the main features of his teachings and example. Therefore, we have to consider the Jesus movement as an inner-Jewish phenomenon, taking into consideration the probability that it extended beyond earlier Jewish regions into the Hellenistic Decapolis, Samaria, and beyond the Jordan (where a pre-Easter preaching activity had begun).

Jesus' crucifixion certainly failed to destroy this movement (1 Cor 15:6 attests a mass meeting of Jesus' followers at the time of his resurrection). Visions of the risen Lord likely had the effect of reinvigorating the disciples to their task of proclamation, and of converting the uncommitted and even the occasional

opponent such as Paul. However, what arose was not a uniform "Christianity" but rather a charismatic movement with diverse preachers and different organizations. Individual charismatics or groups would be proclaiming Jesus as Savior in their respective homelands (cf. Mark 5:20). Thus the movement from the very beginning was very diverse, as is evident in the christological titles. Only gradually did certain titles (e.g., "Lord," "Son of God," "Son of Man") rise to predominate over earlier ones ("King of the Jews," *christos* ["anointed one"]). The very earliest christological terms (e.g., "the holy one of God," "prophet") are often mentioned only obliquely in Scripture. That the earliest Christianity was a self-conscious inner-Jewish phenomenon is evident in the fact that initially the mark of a Christian was not membership in an organized body (the church; against this, see Mark 9:38ff.) but rather being a disciple of Jesus the Messiah. This did not preclude "Baptismal" groups (such as those descended from John the Baptist) from continuing to stress baptism (indeed, John's eschatological dipping did not lead him or anyone else away from Judaism). Similarly, it did not preclude "Missionary" groups from crossing over into regions that were not principally Jewish (e.g., Paul was baptized in Damascus; consequently this boundary had already been crossed earlier). Thus, neither baptizing nor preaching outside "proper" Jewish geographical boundaries distinguished early Christianity from Judaism, as long as the focus of these activities was understood as a concentrated appeal to Israel, the people of God.

The christology which is often invoked as the reason for the separation of Jews and Christians did not initially separate anyone from Judaism, since the earliest christological titles describe the person of Jesus within the accepted framework of Jewish messianism. Thus, anyone who believed himself to live in the "messianic age" could (and was in fact allowed to) believe that the Jewish law had been fulfilled in a way consistent with Jewish notions. Similarly, Paul's belief in freedom from the law would not necessarily be inconsistent with basic Jewish thought of his day.

However, it must be conceded that "Baptismal" and "Missionary" groups initially would be more likely to accept the freedom inaugurated through Jesus than those groups advocating a stricter adherence to traditional Jewish norms. It is possible, however, to suggest a "Christian" theological motive behind this more conservative adherence to Jewish norms. While the "Baptismal" tradition might emphasize the Christian as someone saved in the time of fulfillment ("time of the bridegroom" in Mark 2:18–20) and the "Missionary" tradition might stress the miracles and the proclamations of Jesus as a fulfillment of prophecy (of Isa 35:5, for example; see Matt 11:4–5 and par.), for others the turn of the era would be associated rather with the return of the Son of Man. Thus, one interpreting his own time as a period of apocalyptic world travail could certainly see himself approaching the turn of the era without considering the present moment to be that time of fulfillment. Therefore, such a person could legitimately insist on continued obedience to Jewish norms until that time of fulfillment had actually arrived. Thus, in the beginning, the dispute over adherence to Jewish norms was not between Jewish and non-Jewish Christians, but existed entirely within Jewish Christianity itself (see Galatians), although it was this dispute that eventually led to the separation of Christianity from Judaism. But at this early stage we see here only the primary distinction between "Judaizing Jewish Christianity" and "Missionary Jewish Christianity" (which later was identified with gentile Christianity).

This issue soon embroiled the various parties concerned; in the Jerusalem council (Acts 15) the apostles were forced to deal with it (see Bornkamm 1971). The "Missionary" groups (and only these were represented!) united in order to distinguish their respective tasks (Gal 2:7–10): Peter would himself return to preaching among the Jews (the "circumcised"), and the Antiochenes to preaching among the gentiles (the "uncircumcised"). Not long afterward a dispute broke out among the formerly united missionaries (Gal 2:11–14) centering around the question of the kosher table (a ritual norm that had always been a focal point for theological reflection; see Mark 7; Acts 10). Paul claimed freedom from circumcision and from the Jewish law (Galatians). The letter quoted in Acts 15:23–29 proposed a compromise, recommending the Noachic orders (cf. Gen 9:3–4) of the Diaspora (rather than the Mosaic orders of Judea) to facilitate fellowship between Jews and non-Jews.

Radical Hellenistic groups within the Jesus movement apparently contributed to the growing alienation between "Missionary" and "Judaistic" Jewish Christians. Actually, we know too little about the "Stephen

circle" and the "Hellenists" of Acts 6ff. to appreciate fully their historical impact. We cannot be sure whether these groups drew upon religious themes similar to those expressed at Qumran (Cullmann 1955) or upon the traditions of Diaspora Judaism that tended to be more critical of the temple (Simon 1958), if either. The traditions within Acts, however, suggest that these groups tended to proliferate outside the region of Jerusalem (e.g., in Samaria in the south and in Caesarea on the coast; see Acts 8:40 and 21:8ff); only the martyrdom of Stephen is located in Jerusalem.

A Christian enclave was gradually forming within Jerusalem, despite initial difficulties (e.g., the martyrdom at least of James, see Acts 12:1ff.). Owing to the idealized representation of Luke, the size of this Jerusalem enclave has often been overestimated (Paul found in Jerusalem practically nobody except Peter and James, the brother of Jesus, see Gal 2:19). The traditions about Jerusalem contained in Acts are mostly subsequent materials from a later time (although several traditions go back to the time of Peter's leadership; Acts 12:17 describes etiologically the transfer of this leadership from him to James, the brother of Jesus). Here the parish approaches a size (120 people, Acts 1:15) which had allowed the organization its own jurisdiction under Jewish premises. But James, the brother of Jesus, was initially a "Missionary" (see 1 Cor 9:5 for all the brothers of Jesus), and Josephus informs us about his martyrdom in A.D. 62 (*Ant* 20.200). Later, kinsmen of Jesus apparently played a leading role within "Judaizing Jewish Christianity" (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.20.6), but this should not be accepted uncritically (Brandon 1957; Elliot-Binns 1956). After the failure of the Bar Kokhba revolt (A.D. 135) there probably no longer existed a Jewish-Christian parish in Jerusalem. Afterward our already deficient data on "Judaizing Jewish Christianity" disappears altogether, and we are left only with marginal notes from the 2d century describing Jewish Christianity, now considered a full-blown heretical movement (see Koester 1982, 2: 86–89, 198–201).

We must regard the earliest theological discussion at the time of Paul as a debate within Christianity. But soon (for the earlier period, see 1 Thess 2:14)—especially shortly before and after the Jewish War (A.D. 66–70)—Judaism itself was influencing developments. A more orthodox Jewish defense was gradually developing against some general Christian theologumena leading finally to the exclusion of Christians from the synagogues (see John 16:1–4). Luke, who retrojected these explanations anachronistically to the earliest days, refers to an original and uncompromising rejection of Christian preaching throughout Judaism. Similarly, the stereotypical opposition of the Pharisees to Jesus depicted in the Gospels probably distorts the facts, reflecting an opposition that existed not so much in the time of Jesus but actually a generation or more later. This finally culminated in the addition of the Christians to the Jewish curse of heretics in the *Shemonah-esre* of the Diaspora.

"Judaizing Jewish Christianity" was devastated by this strong reaction from their non-Christian Jewish brethren, since now one of its essential premises was being denied; i.e., that it was possible to incorporate one's own faith in Jesus within the traditional framework of Judaism (Matt 5:23 presupposes participation in the sacrificial rites of the temple; and Matt 24:20 implies a strong respect for the sabbath ordinances). "Judaizing Jewish Christianity" could only survive by developing its own form of particular norms.

**D. Traditions and Theology**

In trying to ascertain the traditions and the theology of such a diverse phenomenon as "Jewish Christianity," we must attempt to identify which specific elements derive from which original groups of the Jesus movement. Lohmeyer (1936) tried to distribute the traditions between Jerusalem and Galilee, but now we know that this distribution is overly dependent upon the Lukan view of history. When we move beyond Luke's idealized reconstruction, we can actually distinguish the contributions of the three major groups (see above).

One of these was a "Baptismal" group of Jewish Christians probably located in the Jordan Rift Valley and associated with followers of John the Baptist (John 3:22–30). This group promoted especially the faith in the risen Lord (reflected in the earliest hymns), Christian freedom (rooted in the view that the present age is a time of fulfillment; Mark 2:18), as well as baptism and a few other statements reminiscent of the Qumran beliefs that were being articulated at the same time in the same general area (see, above all, Eph 2:5ff: rising with Christ). The two Jericho narratives (Mark 10:46–52; Luke 19:1–10) possibly belong

to this group. There also seems to be some connection with some of the traditions in the Lukan special material (e.g., the prodigal son parable, Luke 15:11–32).

Another of these was a "Missionary" group of Jewish Christians whose traditions are reflected above all in the call narratives (Mark 1:16–20; 2:14; Luke 5:1–11) and in the miracle and exorcism narratives. Traditions such as these deal with the ever-relevant question concerning the right to cross the boundaries delimiting the people of God (Mark 7:24–30; Matt 8:5–13; and many narratives in Acts). It is possible that the meal narratives (Mark 6:35–44; 8:1–8) also circulated primarily among this group.

The other was a "Judaizing" group of Jewish Christians. To this group belonged above all the tradition of Jesus' Passion, a multitude of Jesus sayings, and the apocalyptic consolation sayings (Mark 13). Here Jesus was called "King of the Jews" and the "Son of Man" (i.e., the coming judge of the world, according to Daniel 7). Mark 14 depicts Jesus in his last night as a prophet making several predictions that were fulfilled immediately, and we might wonder whether the christological title "prophet" (already repudiated in Mark 6:15) is ultimately traceable to this group. This "Judaizing" group was probably most successful in establishing an early Christian regiment of cultic observances (see the criticism in Gal 4:10 and Col 2:16). In addition to participation in the traditional Jewish liturgical order, they gradually established their own festivals, mostly rooted in existing Jewish rites (e.g., the Lord's Supper was one of their earliest creations). Prayer was also formulated by this group with respect to existing Jewish customs (cf. later *Didache* 8). The narratives of the empty tomb and of the Ascension (Acts 1:9–11) as well as the narrative about Pentecost (Acts 2:1–4) also came from this group. The development of such etiological tales to explain liturgical celebrations are characteristic of static groups, since ceremonies and celebrations tend to be stabilizing elements in the life of communities.

In summary, this "Judaizing" group not only "Christianized" the Jewish liturgical calendar but also collected and secured important memories about Jesus (especially the logia as derived from elements of Jesus' teachings). It thus becomes clear that this relatively modest group in the immediate area of Judea, soon to be overshadowed by the "Missionary" groups operating abroad, played an integral role in the development of Christian traditions and theology, an insight that often gets underestimated when our research focuses mainly on Paul.

**E. Summary**

It should be obvious that these early Jewish Christian groups were instrumental in establishing the Christian Church and in arranging important Christian traditions. But if they were asked to evaluate the overall significance of their special contributions (vis-à-vis those of gentile Christians), the answer would be rather complicated. It is certain that the program of mission to the gentiles led to the formation of fellowship groups and, through that, to the question of what constitutes the unity of the movement.

There is little doubt that the NT canon is essentially a Deutero-Pauline work; its supplementation with the Johannine traditions (with its subsequent baptismal tradition) and several "apostolic" writings took place relatively late. There was practically no "Judean" tradition in the NT canon. If we had to reconstruct the developments of early Christianity by means of this canonical end product, we would be forced to conclude that "Judaizing Jewish Christianity" played, at best, an insignificant role in the history of Christianity and Christian tradition.

But on the contrary, this "Judaizing Jewish Christianity" actually mediated the central theological ideas, without loading on to them more novel ideas about mission and baptism. Being an essentially static group, these "Judaizers" created the worship and liturgical orders (Lord's Supper, prayers) and had initiated theological reflection into the death of Jesus (Passion narrative). Furthermore, this group played an important literary role insofar as it nurtured the sayings tradition that became the primary basis for understanding the teachings of Jesus. Strictly speaking, it was a small and sociologically unimportant group (the "poor" in Gal 2:10) within the rapidly expanding Christian movement; nevertheless it played a critical and decisive role.

Gradually, Christians who were not Jewish had to make a decisive break with the stricter norms of those who were Jewish, eventually relegating Jewish Christianity to the (heretical) fringe. There were logical reasons for this. Evidently restricting the Christian proclamation only to God's elect people Israel came to

be seen as fundamentally incompatible with the freedom inaugurated through Jesus, indeed a freedom that could be found in the very teachings of Jesus that Jewish Christianity had valued and preserved. Thus, limiting the Christian program to the Jews in the name of Jesus had the effect of diluting or annulling the full force of the gospel message and Christian identity. In the long run, the self-imposed limitations of Jewish Christianity had much more influence on the eventual development of Islam than it did Christianity.

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GOTTFRIED SCHILLE

## *CHRISTIANITY IN ASIA MINOR*

Asia Minor, the peninsula of the Asian continent bounded by the Mediterranean Sea, the Aegean Sea, and the Black Sea (and today known as Turkey), was an early center of Christianity. The particular character and history of the churches of Asia Minor is considered in this article.

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### A. Introduction

Even though the eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean was the birthplace of Christianity, it was in the region of Asia Minor that this fledging religion of the East experienced growth and maturation. For more than a century (50s–200) this region played host to some of the most significant individuals in the history of nascent Christianity. In addition, Asia Minor served as the land bridge over which the Christian movement passed in its westward expansion as its focus shifted from Syria-Palestine to the imperial capital of Rome. During this period of Asia Minor's apogee in early Christian history, certain unique and irreversible historical events were happening which shook the roots of this new religion. Historical events which ripped the roots of early Christianity from the soil of Judaism include the martyrdom of Peter, James, and Paul; the destruction of Jerusalem and the subsequent diminution of the hegemony of Judaistic Christianity and the Jerusalem church (*pace* Jervell 1984); and the suppression of the Jewish Revolt during Hadrian's reign. This same period also saw the emergence of diverse Christian literary corpora and, as a consequence, a multiplication of theologies and canons. Finally, it was during this time frame that the church became a visible entity to the populace and to Roman administrators and this visibility, in turn, forever changed the State's attitude and behavior toward Christianity.

**B. Methods and Sources**

**1. Methodology.** Even though Christian authors provide the greatest number of texts for the study of early Christianity in Asia Minor, these texts are as diverse in occasion, genre, and content as the geography of Asia Minor is in its terrain. Only in recent years have scholars begun to realize the full significance of the fact that all of the documents of the early Christianity are occasional in nature. The necessary consequence of this is that these sources fundamentally defy scholarly attempts to arrange them into homogeneous and well-ordered categories. Complex and often irresolvable issues regarding the dates and authorship of these documents frustrate efforts at exact postulations. In addition, the randomness of the extant corpus of Anatolian texts is so high that this corpus cannot bear the weight of many of the interpretations often foisted upon it by scholars of numerous theological and methodological schools of thought. Methodologies, therefore, which either rely upon anachronistic formulations of later orthodoxy or which project trajectories of evolutionary development in the formation of Christian communities, even by geographical areas, are susceptible to the accusation of subjectivity. Obviously studies of discrete documents or individuals can be quite productive for the reconstruction of various individual facets of Anatolian Christianity. It has been, however, the attempts at a grand scheme or comprehensive synthesis that usually belie the historical evidence and have been, more times than not, guilty of "reconstructing the lion from a single claw."

**2. Sources. a. Christian Sources.** The majority of the extant primary sources shedding light upon Anatolian Christianity are associated with the names of Paul, John, Peter, Ignatius, and Polycarp. While no scholarly consensus exists regarding the dating, authorship, or occasion of all of the documents associated with these names, most would agree that these documents do shed important light upon Anatolian Christianity, regardless of author. The following table gives, by traditional arrangement, the most prominent texts addressed to individual Christians or Christian communities in Asia Minor.

Paul: Galatians, Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians, 1 and 2 Timothy
Peter: 1 and 2 Peter
John: Gospel of John; 1, 2, and 3 John, Revelation
Ignatius: Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Philadelphians, Smyrnaeans, Polycarp
Polycarp: Martyrdom of Polycarp, Letter to Philippians
Melito of Sardis: Paschal Homily

A corpus of secondary sources related to Asia Minor includes sections of Acts (chaps. 13–14; 16; 19–20) and numerous *fragmenta* of 2d century leaders (conveniently collected in Grant 1946) preserved in Eusebius' *Church History*.

**b. Pagan Sources.** Unfortunately, there is a dearth of pagan sources for Anatolian Christianity in the early period. The extant sources include the Imperial Rescripts of Trajan, Hadrian, and Aurelius (Coleman-Norton 1966: 1–13). Lucian's accounts of Peregrinus *(Death of Peregrinus)* and Alexander of Abonuteichos explicitly relate to Anatolia (*Alex.* 25; 38), while the comments of Galen (Walzer 1949: 56–

74) and Aelius Aristides (*Orat.* 3.671) probably reflect their respective experiences of Christianity in Asia Minor.

**C. Contexts**

**1. Geography.** The term "Asia Minor" *(Mikra Asia)* occurs as early as the 2d century A.D. (Ptolemy *Tetrabiblos* 2.3.17). On occasion the word "Asia" was used as a synonym for Asia Minor in both Greek authors (e.g., Strabo Geog. 2.5.24) and in the New Testament (e.g., Acts 27:2). This region was described in some detail by the ancient authors Aristotle, Strabo and Ptolemy. Modern usage of the term "Asia Minor" usually refers to that peninsula of land bounded on the north by the Black Sea, on the south by the Mediterranean Sea, on the west by the Aegean Sea, and on the east by the upper part of the Euphrates River. This region contained an area of approximately 275,000 square miles, most of which was a central plateau with mountain peaks at its extremities attaining 9000 ft. on the north, 5000 ft. on the east, 10,000 ft. on the south, and 2500 ft. on the west. The diversity between the coastal regions and the extensive interior in regard to topography, geology, climate, and natural resources fostered a long-standing condition of cultural and political heterogeneity of the peninsula. Even the inexorable imperialism of Alexander the Great and the later Roman Caesars could not totally overcome the physical realities of nature and geography. As was the case with all the continents surrounding the Mediterranean Sea, the greatest extent of Roman influence upon Asia Minor was on the edges which touched the Mediterranean itself. Even more than the great highways of antiquity, the sea enhanced the possibility of intercourse between Rome and its various provinces and allies, and thereby promoted cultural homogeneity, understood in a broad sense, in seaboard areas. If the survival of indigenous languages is any indication (*ANRW* 2/29/2: 565–70 see also LANGUAGES [INTRODUCTORY SURVEY]), the farther eastward and toward the interior one traveled in Asia Minor, the less the penetration of Greco-Roman influence would be found (Tarn 1952: 160). David Magie's observation that "the veneer of Hellenism tended to grow thinner in proportion to the distance from the Aegean seaboard or from the great routes which led into the interior" (Magie 1950: 120) holds true likewise for Roman influence in Asia Minor at the period of nascent Christianity, though Roman influence was more pervasive than earlier Greek influence had been.

The following is a listing of the names of the Roman provinces, geographical regions and prominent cities located in this peninsula.

*Provinces:* Asia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Galatia, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Bithynia-Pontus

*Regions:* Caria, Commagene, Ionia, Lycaonia, Lydia, Mysia, Paphlagonia, Phrygia, and Pisidia

*Important cities:* Alexandria Troas, Amastris, Amisus, Ancyra, Apamea, Attaleia, Byzantium, Caesarea, Comama, Cyzicus, Ephesus, Heraclea, Iconium, Melitene, Miletus, Nicea, Nicomedia, Pergamum, Prusa, Rhodes, Samosata, Selinus, Smyrna, Tarsus, and Tyana

Many of these names are well known to the student of early Christianity. It must be kept in mind that the letter to the Galatians, the Revelation of John, and 1 Peter were explicitly designated as circular letters, thereby increasing the number of Christian sites that can be inferred from early Christian literature. In addition to the primary evidence of these documents, there is also the invaluable geographical material preserved in the accounts and sources incorporated into both the Acts of the Apostles and the *Church History* of Eusebius. The tabulation of Anatolian cities available from combining the evidence of both the histories of Luke and Eusebius on the one hand and the letters of Ignatius and the Revelation on the other hand produces an impressive list of cities. In addition, there were scores of cities whose names were never mentioned in the ancient sources even though one could find Christian communities there (e.g., those referred to in Paul's Letter to the churches of Galatia and Pliny's comment to Trajan that Christians had infected the cities, villages, and farms of Bithynia-Pontus [*Ep.* 10.96]). The following is a list of Anatolian cities of the 1st and 2d centuries where Christian communities were established (Meer and Mohrmann 1958, map no. 5).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Amastris | Iconium | Perge |
| Ancyra | Ionopolis | Philadelphia |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Antioch of Pisidia | Laodicea | Philomelium |
| Apamea | Lystra | Sardis |
| Byzantium | Magnesia | Scepsis |
| Caesarea (Cappadocia) | Miletus | Sinope |
| Chalcedon | Myra | Smyrna |
| Colossae | Nicomedia | Tarsus |
| Derbe | Otrus | Thyatira |
| Ephesus | Parium | Tralles |
| Eumenea | Pepuza | Troas |
| Hierapolis | Pergamum | Tymian |
| Hieropolis | | |

**2. History.** In viewing the history of ancient Anatolia, one must not overlook the clear fact that in the 1st millennium B.C., the indigenous alphabets, languages, and cultures of Asia Minor (e.g., Lydian, Lycian, Carian, Neo-Hittite) were as diverse as in any Mediterranean region. In addition to this fact, one must also reckon with the imposition of various immigrant as well as occupation cultures, the most important of which included the Greek, Celtic, Persian, and Roman. Since each of these left its own indelible mark on the character of the area where it dwelt, no one of these cultures can be ignored in tracing the historical and cultural patterns which formed the backdrop of early Christianity in Asia Minor.

Significant Greek influence in Anatolia began with the colonization of the western seaboard in about 1000 B.C. By the 7th century B.C., the most important Greek cities of western Asia Minor (e.g., Miletus) were already sending Greek colonists to other regions to spread Greek culture (Boardman 1980). The Ionian seaboard nurtured outstanding Greek philosophers and littérateurs in the classical period, presaging a similar zenith of rhetoric and erudition in the Sophistic movement of the 1st and 2d centuries A.D. The city of Troy, immortalized in Greek literature by Homer, brought fame to Anatolia by its location on the northwestern coast. The political and military impact of Greece on Anatolia was no less profound than its cultural influence. Not only were the Greeks responsible for the "liberation" of Asia Minor from a Persian occupation, but the later victories of Alexander the Great were to set in place the political structures which were to foster rapid urbanization and to stabilize the new régime of Hellenism until the arrival of the Romans approximately two centuries later in 133 B.C. Although several indigenous tongues were still in use in both the early (Acts 14) and late Empire, Hellenism provided the area with a lingua franca which served all participants of Anatolian civilization, pagan, Jew, and Christian alike. In addition, the veneration expressed toward the political successors of Alexander the Great was to have a strong influence centuries later upon the Roman ideas of emperor worship. The eventual Roman assimilation of these notions of ruler veneration was to set in motion great forces of conflict between Christianity and devotees of the imperial cult.

The true impact of the imposition of Persian rule from 546 B.C., the capture of Sardis, to the advent of Alexander the Great in the early months of 334 B.C. is debated by scholars (*CAH*$^2$ 4:211–33). Some opine that Persian hegemony consisted of "no more than military and administrative control" (H. Metzger 1969), while others have assembled a rather impressive group of archaeological and literary data that suggests Persian influence was neither superficial nor ephemeral (*CHI* 2:292–391; *CHI* 3/1:100–15). The fact that the residual influence of Persian cult and mythology centuries after Alexander's victory over the Persians in Asia Minor should not be discounted is evident in the remains, from extreme east to extreme west respectively, at Nemrud Dagh (Dörner 1975) and in the early imperial Sardian epigraphy regulating worship in the Persian cult of Ahura Mazda (Robert 1975; *NDIEC* 1:21–23).

The Celtic invasion of Asia Minor in the early 3d century B.C. was a major event in the political history of the region. The Celts' domination of the area was severely curtailed, however, when Attalus I of Pergamum (230 B.C.) defeated them. Thereafter their influence was limited primarily to the central

Anatolian region of Galatia. In all probability, this Greek victory over the barbaric Celts provided inspiration decades later for the construction of the magnificent Altar of Zeus at Pergamum in the early 2d century B.C. (Havelock 1981: 192). The eastward expansion of Rome and its ability to consolidate its influence in the east was greatly accelerated by the acquisition of the Pergamene empire in 133 B.C., fully 150 years prior to the advent of Christianity there. The inestimable possession was acquired with little effort at the death of the last king of the Pergamum empire, Attalus III, when he bequeathed his entire nation to the Romans in his will. While this was not by any means Rome's first involvement in Asia Minor, this gift gave the Romans an unquestioned hegemony in the peninsula and a base for further implementation of its manifest imperialism in the East. As is often noted, Rome's unique contribution in the East was its military, legal, and administrative genius, but the spirit and soul of the culture was that of Hellenism. Accordingly, the most important impact of Rome upon Asia Minor was its attempt to administer this culturally and geographically diverse region which was both rich in natural resources and, equally important, served as a strategic buffer between Rome and the ever threatening Parthian Empire to the east. Building upon the efforts of previous Hellenistic urbanization, the emperors established strategically located colonies, e.g., Pisidian Antioch, which were established "primarily for security reasons" (Levick 1967: 187). Consequently, the early generations of Anatolian Christianity transpired in the context of Pax Romana and, historically viewed, relative cultural euphoria (e.g., for Aelius Aristides' praise of Rome see Oliver 1953).

**3. Religions.** The religious situation of Anatolia was a true microcosm of the entire eastern Mediterranean, with a rich mixture of Greek, Roman, Anatolian, Jewish, Persian, and other Eastern cults represented. Notwithstanding the potential dangers of "parallelomania" (Sandmel 1962; B. Metzger 1955), one may not ignore the analogies and parallels between numerous institutions, values, and formal beliefs of early Christianity and contemporary Anatolian piety. The number of similarities abounds, in part, because nascent Christianity in this region was itself so diverse and, when taken as a whole, possessed a plethora of religious institutions, values, and beliefs. From this multifaceted background to Anatolian Christianity, three components of Anatolian religious life are especially important to highlight, i.e., folk religion, pagan religious associations, and Jewish religion and institutions.

**a. Folk Religion.** In many ways this term defies precise definition. It connotes an ethos of religious values and beliefs rather than one particular mythology or cult. Moreover, folk religion was not idiosyncratic to any region or to any established social, economic, political, or religious stratum of antiquity. Nevertheless, this folk religion worldview germinated and thrived with special vigor in Asia Minor (*GGR* 2: 578–81). This worldview was frequently designated by ancient writers as *deisidaimonia* (Koets 1929; Theophr. *Char.;* Plut. *De Superst.;* Meijer 1981: 259–62; *GGR* 2: 102–120; Hadas 1972: 182–211). *Deisidaimonia* was a superstitious, even magical, approach to the gods which influenced every religion and cult in the Greco-Roman world, and had had its detractors since Plato's criticism of Orphic evangelists of his own day (*Resp.* 364B–365A). The hallmarks of this religious outlook, particularly in Eastern cults, were its emphases upon the "fear of God" and upon achieving superior religiosity through supererogative rituals and ascetic practices (*Superst.* 166A–B; 168D; 171B; *RAC* 1: 753–58), sometimes in conjunction with long-established shrines, and sometimes not. Spiritual tranquility was predicated upon such things as public confession of sins *(hamartia)* committed against the deity (*Superst.* 168D, 171B; Pettazzoni 1937; Steinleitner 1913; Hermann 1986). Terms such as "ransom" and "sinner" were not unknown in this context (*NDIEC* 1:32–33; 2:90, 100f; 3:20–31) and immersion rites in water abounded (*Superst.* 166A, *baptismous*). Sins often consisted of violating taboos regarding what one ate and drank (*Superst.* 168D; 170D), in lying to the deity (Malay 1988: 150; MacMullen 1981: 58), in sexual immorality (Petzl 1988), or in the failure to worship properly on a holy day (*Superst.* 169D–E). Inordinate, some would say pathological, interest in the performance of punctilious acts of asceticism to prepare one for a mystical experience of the deity were typical (Behr 1968; e.g., glossolalia *Superst.* 166B). The superstitious devotee was especially desirous of prophetic oracles and their correct interpretation. *Deisidaimonia* was also characterized by a concern about the spirit world and attacks from spirit beings and the heavenly hosts (*Superst.* 168C). Divine retribution, threats of eternal punishment

(*Superst.* 167A), and punitive miracles from particular gods and goddesses were of the gravest concern to this religious type of personality. Individuals, and their number was legion, caught in the web of *deisidaimonia* tended to be ecumenical in outlook. They were driven by a pragmatist's approach to religion and consequently imbibed the strangest concoctions of syncretism.

**b. Religious Associations** (Poland 1909: 173–270; 499–513). Anatolia during the Roman era was replete with formal and informal guilds and associations *(synodos, thiasos, collegium).* Typical were the labor guilds which provided comradeship in the midst of the harsh realities of everyday life and offered some social services for its members (Dill 1964: 251–86; Wilken 1971: 279–88; Meeks 1983: 77–80). Beyond the labor unions, there were the religious associations which focused their attention more narrowly on religious ceremonies. They often existed under the tutelage of a particular god or goddess, perhaps related to a common trade (e.g., the Dionysiac guild of performers and entertainers), would use their particular deity as one avenue to the world of Greco-Roman religious life, experiences, and benefits (e.g., safety, morality, answered prayers, protection from Fate). Of special interest in this regard is a religious association that existed in the city of Philadelphia in the Roman province of Asia. The epigraphic testimony of this association is especially didactic in demonstrating the existence of pagan associations which placed an emphasis upon morality. This association was created and regulated by the divinely revealed statutes of Zeus. It met in a patron's house, was open in its membership to both male and female, free and slave, and its members committed themselves by oath to eschew acts of sexual immorality, murder, abortion, etc. (Horsley and Barton 1981). On occasion, these private associations might be viewed as competitors to the longer established public temples where, in some cases, the same deity was worshiped (cf. Serapis on Delos, *SIG* no. 664; cf. Pl. *Leg.* 909e). Like the large temples, these private pagan associations would often have officers such as prophet (ess), deacon (ess), herald, and preacher of the divine story. These *collegia* often maintained a common treasury and held regular gatherings for worship and communal meals. It is not to be overlooked that in many instances a private religious association would assemble in the house *(oikos)* of one of its members. Consequently, matters such as the Greco-Roman concept(s) of household religion, personal relationships in the family, social functions of homes, etc. (Malherbe 1983) become relevant for the background to the ubiquitous institution of religious "house assemblies" (Klauck 1981).

**c. Jewish Religion and Institutions.** Recent years have witnessed new and vigorous discussion regarding Judaism and its relationship to Christianity in the Roman era. The points under consideration include the nature and activity of Jewish Christianity, the attraction to synagogues of gentiles who remained uncircumcised, and the existence and extent of pagan anti-Semitism. All of these bear directly upon one's view of Anatolian Christianity since these areas relate directly to issues such as continuing gentile attraction to Jewish Christianity, Jewish-Christian heterodoxy (Klijn and Reinink 1973 for patristic references; Daniélou 1964), Christian evangelism among synagogues, gentile churches drifting from their Jewish roots because of anti-Semitism, and Jewish collaboration with pagans in the harassment of Christians (Frend 1965).

A storm center of current debate centers on the meanings and use of the Greek words *theosebes* and *sebomenoi* (and *phoboumenoi*) and what, if anything, these phrases depict about gentile sympathizers toward Judaism. A. T. Kraabel is a proponent of a new view that is characterized by questioning the very existence of the ancient gentile group known as "God-fearers" (Kraabel 1981). The traditional view maintained that "God-fearers" were gentiles who were not yet proselytes, i.e., circumcised, to Judaism, but who were very sympathetic to many of the beliefs of ancient Judaism. This group, it was said, provided the pool from which early Christianity drew many of its synagogue converts. It is Kraabel's conclusion that such a group was a fiction created by the author of the Acts of the Apostles (MacLennan and Kraabel 1986). This effort to discount both the Lukan view as well as the view traditionally supported by many ancient historians experienced a setback with the recent discovery of an inscription at the Carian site of Aphrodisias (Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987, esp. p. 47 and text B *l.* 34 *theosebeīs*) that seems to substantiate the more traditional reading of the Greco-Roman literature and archaeological data regarding the existence and vitality of the "God-fearers." Even though this new perspective of Kraabel's is not

likely to win the day in completely changing the mind of the majority of those in the scholarly community, it has correctly demonstrated that the traditional view has been naïve at times in both its philological analysis of the terms *theosebes* and *sebomenoi* (and *phoboumenoi*) as well as its monolithic reconstruction of ancient Judaism and its "missiology" (cf. Cohen 1987: 419). Regardless of the precise labels used to refer to these adherents, most scholars will probably continue to agree that the "evidence shows beyond reasonable doubt that Judaism in the Roman Diaspora did win adherents who stopped short of circumcision" (Collins 1985: 183–84; Cohen 1987: 419).

Another important topic that has emerged in recent scholarship relates to the topic of anti-Semitism in antiquity. John Gager (1983), according to whom anti-Semitism was not primarily a pre-Christian phenomenon as has been thought by most scholars, argues that the literary evidence shows that virtually all the pogroms against ancient Jews were isolated and should not be used as a foundation upon which to formulate a widespread anti-Semitism. His conclusion is that it was Christianity, and not paganism, that initiated thoroughgoing anti-Semitism in antiquity. Once again, this attempt to recast the numerous historical sources in a totally new light has not appeared cogent to many scholars (Goldenberg 1985: 335–36). Gager's work has correctly highlighted some of the popular misconceptions regarding the nature and extent of anti-Semitism in the Greco-Roman world, but it has not been able to explain away the fact that the Jewish apologists of antiquity themselves, prior to the advent and dissemination of Christianity, surely thought that they were the object of widespread, though not continual or universal, discrimination (e.g., Josephus *Ant* 14.213–44ff).

The salient facts of Anatolian Judaism (Appelbaum 1974; Tcherikover 1970; Kraabel 1968 must be used carefully since it encompasses evidence two and three centuries later than the period under consideration in this article) for the period of the early empire include the following: (1) what was true of Anatolian Judaism may not have been true of Judaism in its environment at Rome or at Alexandria; (2) the cultural origins of Anatolian Judaism were largely Babylonian and not Palestinian; therefore, one must not read it necessarily in light of ostensibly conservative Palestinian Judaism; for example, certain Anatolian Jewish women served as head of the synagogue (Smyrna *CIJ* 741 = Brooten 1982: 5); (3) its commitment to send the temple tax to Jerusalem evidences a recognition of the hegemony of the Jerusalem cultus; (4) its legal status as an ethnic and religious *collegium* was recognized and protected by the Romans; (5) some Anatolian Jews were participants in urban civic and political institutions, thereby providing evidence of partial assimilation to Greco-Roman culture (Kraabel 1968; Ramsay 1895–97: 621–76); and (6) though certain gentiles were sympathizers and adherents (for a variety of reasons) to Anatolian Judaism, there were, nevertheless, underlying currents of anti-Semitic prejudices in some quarters.

**D. General Characteristics of Anatolian Christianity**

**1. Heterogeneity.** Although Paul has often been viewed as the founder of the Christian mission outside Palestine, that could hardly be the case. Neither Acts nor the Pauline Corpus even suggests such. On the contrary, the Pentecost discourse (Acts 2:9–10) states that Jewish pilgrims from Asia Minor were among the first to accept Jesus as the Christ. Moreover, the Acts of the Apostles makes it abundantly clear that Paul was not the first to bring the Gospel to sites such as Ephesus, Corinth, or Rome. The realization that Paul was neither the first nor necessarily the premiere missionary in Asia Minor also affords optional explanations for the existence of "non-Pauline" churches in Asia Minor (e.g., those of Revelation and 1 Peter) without resorting to "early Catholic" theories, which are essentially anachronistic and Protestant (Murray 1982: 197). From the outset the Christian communities of Asia Minor were filled with converts whose beliefs and practices bore the almost indelible imprint of their pre-Christian worldview. One cannot truly understand the genesis of the heterogeneity of early Anatolian Christianity without first recognizing the steadfast influence of the cultural heritage of each convert. This influx of religious variety led the Christian movement, in a quantum step, into a world of new challenges. To be sure, this step was not synchronized throughout Asia Minor, nor was it always a step in the same direction. Some congregations and regions took this step later than others. It was, nevertheless, because of both the

frequency and the magnitude of the new challenges that Anatolian Christianity encountered that in the decades of the 50s to 200 this region was without peer in its historic significance.

**2. Households.** The household was a basic social context for the early Christian communities. This is seen in references to the Anatolian assemblies occurring in the homes of Aquila and Prisca (1 Cor 16:19), Nympha (Col 4:15), and Philemon (Philemon 2). By extension, the entire Christian community was embraced in a metaphorical sense in the phrases "household of faith" (Gal 6:10) and "members of the household of God" (Eph 2:19; 1 Pet 4:17). The *Haustafeln* ethical paradigm (in general Balch 1981; Col 3:18–4:1; Eph 5:21–6:9; 1 Pet 2:18–3:7) points to the same domestic social realities. As a place of Christian instruction the home had to be protected from serving as a channel for the propagation of heterodox teaching (2 John 10; 2 Tim 3:6; Malherbe 1977). In the same line of thought, the properly ruled "household of God" imagery of 1 Timothy is clearly employed as a defensive strategy against unsound doctrine (1 Tim 3:14–15) and is constructed as a metaphor on the basis of the Greco-Roman household (cf. 1 Tim 3:4–5, 12; 5:14; 2 Tim 2:20). The significance of the household stands out in the references to them in the later Ignatian corpus. Among the Smyrnaeans, Ignatius "greets the households of my brethren with their wives and children" (13:1) as well as the "household of Tavia [a woman]" (13:2). In his letter to the bishop of Smyrna (*Polyc.* 8:2), Ignatius greets "the wife of Epitropus with her whole household and her children." Interestingly, the phrase "corrupters of houses" is a designation for false teachers (*Eph.* 16:1), thereby highlighting the household as an important locus for Christian teaching.

**3. Heresy.** One's knowledge of Anatolian Christianity is primarily dependent on contemporary sources that were written by leaders engaged in battles to correct aberrant views and/or practices. While these early contemporaneous sources are not without difficulties, they are far superior to later heresiological summaries by writers such as Eusebius (Lawlor and Oulton 1954, vol. 2; Grant 1980; Barnes 1981). When one focuses upon the occasion of these documents themselves, it becomes immediately clear that any history of Anatolian Christianity must be conducted in light of the endemic controversies there. The standard works of A. Hilgenfeld (1884), W. Bauer (1934; ET 1971), and H. E. W. Turner (1954) represent significant investigation into ancient issues of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, including those issues as they were manifest in Anatolia. In this century Bauer in particular has set the tone for discussion of heresy and heresiology in Asia Minor. His goals, methods, and general characterizations of the evidence are still attractive to many scholars (e.g., Koester 1971; in general, Strecker and Kraft 1971: 286–316), but clearly not to all (Turner 1954; Hawkin 1976). Unfortunately, the infrastructure of much of Bauer's work belongs to a scholarship of an earlier day, particularly reflecting the presuppositions and schematizations of German Protestant theology of the late 19th and early 20th century. A chief concern of Bauer was to overthrow the naive view of the evolution of the Christian mission and history which affirmed that the "development takes place in the following sequence: unbelief; right belief, wrong belief" (Bauer 1971: xxiii). Most New Testament scholars today would agree that Bauer's conviction at this point could be supported easily by even an elementary reading of the New Testament. A misfortune of Bauer's work was that in order to reach his goal he forced many texts into Procrusteans beds, a procedure which resulted at times in a distorted and truncated reconstruction of Anatolian Christianity (Norris 1982: 365–77 and 1976: 23–44; Robinson 1988). One of the legacies of Bauer's work is the current sympathy, at times apologetic zeal, toward early Christian heterodoxy. Some scholars appear to be "enamored of ancient heresies" (Henry 1982), and others believe that generally the orthodox characterizations of the opponents were, in fact, often only caricatures (Wisse 1971; Karris 1973; Grant 1981).

When examining the matter of orthodoxy and heterodoxy in Anatolian Christianity, it is extremely important to include in one's taxonomy of the "orthodoxy-heresy" phenomenon the matter of whether attacks against heterodoxy by soon-to-be "canonical" writers were primarily defensive or offensive. The epistle to the Galatians is instructive in this point. It was patently Paul's opponents who were the first to invoke the concept of "orthodoxy" against fellow believers. The only plausible explanation for the circumcision of Paul's converts after his departure was that they were convinced by "those from James" that their standing with God and their reception of Abraham's blessings were in doubt because they were failing to carry out the scriptural requirements of circumcision, feast days, Sabbaths, etc. (4:10). It was

Paul's opponents who introduced the concept of the imprecation (3:10–14) upon those who disagreed with their own Jerusalem standard of orthodoxy. Like his opponents, Paul held to orthodox convictions, the truth of the Gospel (2:14), as he called it, but thought that orthodoxy excluded, rather than included, the requirements of circumcision, feast days, Sabbaths, etc., for gentile believers. Another example of a defensive concern for orthodoxy is found in Colossians. The internal evidence for this polemical milieu includes the following:

1. The conditionality of salvation: "*If* you continue in the faith … *not shifting* from the hope of the gospel which you heard" (1:23).
2. The cluster of pejorative terms used to depict the slogans and views of the heterodox teachers:
   a. Beguiling speech (2:4).
   b. Philosophy and empty deceit (2:8).
   c. Human tradition not according to Christ (2:8).
   d. Elemental spirits of the universe (2:8, 20).
3. Statements of concern.
   a. Warning and teaching every man (1:28).
   b. I say this so that no one may delude you (2:4).
   c. "See to it that no one makes a prey of you" (2:8).
   d. Why do you live as if you still belonged to the world (2:20)?

It is clear that the false teachers were demanding submission to ascetic dietary rules (2:20), viewed by the author as a worldly and carnal demand (2:20, 23). Furthermore, they were making religious judgments against the nonconformists who did not submit to "holy days" religiosity (2:16) and they were denigrating, if not negating, the spiritual status of their nonconformist fellow Christians (2:18). Based upon the historical reconstruction made possible through the details of 2:1–23, it appears that the author's point of departure for attacking the Colossian opponents was a defensive one in response to the opponents' prior offensive initiative when they declared that their own spiritual understanding and devotional practices were the standards for orthodoxy.

A similar pattern of the use of orthodoxy in self-defense is apparent in sections of the Pastorals which either combat asceticism or emphasize confidence in one's salvation in the light of detractors (2 Tim 2:18–19). Similarly in the Johannine epistles (Bogart 1977; Brown 1979), the attacks upon those who both voiced perfectionistic slogans and advanced aberrant Christology were constructed out of a sense of self-defense. It would be a distortion to suppose that the gnostics of the 2d century were only a group of unassuming intellectuals attacked preemptively by orthodox "witch hunters." One ought not forget that even in the 2d century and later, the soon-to-be "orthodox church" was accused by various sectarian and gnostic Christians as being itself heretical (Koschorke 1978). In fact, it may well have been the case that the orthodox canon (Campenhausen 1972; B. Metzger 1987), the ultimate weapon of the Great Church, was in part compiled, particularly in Asia Minor, out of self-defense against Marcion, Montanus, and Gnostic leaders. A frequent topic for research into Anatolian heresiology is the issue of church government, especially the bishopric, and its duties to oppose heresy. While the household supplied the social and liturgical framework for Christian congregations and some of the church's vocabulary for its self-identity, the titles for the congregations' rulers seemed to have originated in other spheres. The information, admittedly sparse, points to the existence of various religious offices in the Christian communities of Asia Minor, some of which may have been modeled, at least in name, on synagogue practice, or on existing urban models of government (Hatch 1882), or upon organizational structures present in Greco-Roman *collegia* (Meeks 1983: 80). Moving beyond the issue of nomenclature to the issue of the matrix of the increasing authority and regimentation in the bishopric, there is renewed effort to locate this development in the social structures of the household (Schöllgen 1988). Since Philippians (1:1) testifies to the early presence of bishops *(episkopos)* and deacons within Pauline communities, there are no grounds for an *a priori* rejection of the Lukan reference to the appointment of elders *(presbuteros)* in the churches of central Asia Minor (Acts 14:23). At Acts 20:17 "The same persons who are here called *presbuteroi* are described in vs. 28 as *episkopoi*" (Lake and Cadbury 1932: 259) and later (20:28) are

associated with the ministry of shepherding *(poimaino).* The charismatic nature of this ruling ministry is attested in the Lukan account (Acts 20:28) as well as in Eph 4:11. In other Anatolian literature a synonymous use of the terms "elder" and "shepherd" is seen in 1 Pet 5:1–5, while *presbuteroi* and *episkopoi* are tightly knit in 1 Timothy's description of the rulers of the community (1 Tim 3:1–7; 5:17–22). J. B. Lightfoot's argument that the terms "elder" and "bishop" were used "in the language of the New Testament" to refer to "the same officer in the Church" is still cogent (Lightfoot 1913: 95). The Apocalypse of John is not particularly informative in this matter. Since the term "elder" in Revelation is used regularly in the idiom "twenty-four elders" (e.g., 4:4; 5:8; 11:16; 19:4), it is not likely that this use mirrors any particular practice within Anatolian Christian communities. With the Ignatian correspondence the use of the terms *presbuteroi* and *episkopoi* undergoes transformation. By the time of the journey of Ignatius from Antioch via Asia Minor to Rome in 110, each church of Asia Minor, at least those addressed by Ignatius, was governed by a single bishop (e.g., *Magn.* 6:1). In the Ignatian hierarchy a council of presbyters served under the single bishop, and below the presbyters served the deacons. In more than one letter Ignatius sets forth a church polity wherein "The bishops are regularly compared with God or Christ" and "The presbyters or elders are regularly compared with the apostles" (Schoedel *Ignatius* Hermeneia, 112).

Scholars have not agreed on how the office of the bishop evolved in relationship to the control of heterodoxy. That is, was the development of the monarchical episcopacy an inexorable process (Hatch 1882: 83–111) or was it a regional ad hoc response to acute heresy? The texts of Acts are extremely difficult to interpret since that work is notoriously silent in general regarding even the existence of heresy in the early communities of faith. There are only two texts in Acts that mention elders in Asia Minor, namely, 14:23 and 20:17–35. The first text is totally silent on the anticipated function of the eldership, but the second text reveals clearly that the bishops are to oppose lupine heretics who will attack the flock. Even the eldership itself will engender errorists who will teach perverse doctrines. Ephesians also portrays the pastor in a role which promotes doctrinal stability in the congregation (Eph 4:11–14). A somewhat different picture is seen in the treatment of the bishops in 1 Timothy. While that text gives numerous qualities for those in the bishopric, there is no mention of their role as preservers of the faith and promoters of sound doctrine (cf. Tit 1:9), though some have suggested that heresy in the Ephesian eldership was the occasion for the writing of 1 Timothy (Fee 1984). In any case, it is Timothy who is given the duty of constraining false teachings (1 Tim 1:3–7). If the rather unique use of the term "elder" in 2 John 1 and 3 John 1 is viewed in light of its milieu of opposing antichrists, then the author may have chosen the word "elder" intentionally because of its authoritative connotations (Smalley *1, 2, 3 John* WBC, 316–18). When turning to Ignatius, his voice is clarion in the matter of the bishop's unique role in achieving unity and attacking heterodoxy (e.g., *Eph* 3:2–6:2; *Mag* 3:1–2, 6:1–2, 7:1–2, 13:1–2; *Trall.* 2:1–3; *Phil* 3:1–3; *Poly* 6:1–2). The implication and impact of Ignatius' belief regarding the singular role of the bishop is preserved in the following thoughts: "All of you are to follow the bishop as Jesus Christ follows the Father … Apart from the bishop no one is to do anything pertaining to the church. A valid Eucharist is to be defined as one celebrated by the bishop. … It is not right either to baptize or to celebrate the agape apart from the bishop; but whatever he approves is also pleasing to God, so that everything you do may be secure and valid … It is good to know God and the bishop. He who honors the bishop has been honored by God; he who does anything without the bishop's knowledge worships the devil" (*Smyr.* 8:1–9:1, trans. by Grant 1966, *ad loc.*). These pronouncements mirror Ignatius' strategy of maintaining the churches' orthodoxy by comprehensively controlling its liturgy and activities through an orthodox episcopacy (Wiles 1982). Though not a shepherding office, the ministry of deacons is also documented in various Christian communities in Asia Minor. Deacons (1 Tim 3:8–10, 12–13) as well as deaconesses (1 Tim 3:11; Pliny *Ep.* 10.96) are mentioned.

**E. Major Issues Facing Anatolian Christianity**

The collection of Anatolian Christian sources reveal at least four salient and recurring issues of conflict. These are: (1) folk religion and superstition, (2) Jewish issues, (3) Christian Gnosticism, and (4) persecution and harassment.

**1. Folk Religion and Superstition.** The general theme of the epistle to Colossae has been generally summarized as the "all sufficiency of Christ." Although most would fundamentally agree with this summary, the historical background to the occasion of Colossians remains hotly disputed. One scholar has championed the view that there were no false teachers (Hooker 1973), but others, the vast majority, have argued that the opponents were influenced either by the religious outlook of Essenes, or gnostics, or devotees of mystery religions, or Jewish Christian mysticism (O'Brien *Colossians, Philemon* WBC, xxx–xxxviii).

Although the language of Colossians is not as vituperative as Galatians, the letter is clearly concerned to correct heterodoxy and heteropraxy at Colossae, which the author had probably heard about from Epaphras (2:8). The Colossian opponents surely included Christians. It is doubtful that they would have understood and granted Paul's working assumption that their approach to spiritual growth and attainment to the fullness of God encroached upon an orthodox christology. Although the Colossian heresy manifested itself partially in OT acts of piety (2:16), it was clearly not the same cluster of issues which Paul attacked in Romans or Galatians or which Luke depicted in Acts 15. Colossians lacks all of the lexicographic and rhetorical resources necessary to carry out attacks against Judaizers. It lacks, for example, both the usual diatribe and numerous terms such as Law, commandment, covenant, Abraham, Moses, righteousness, to justify, and Israel. Moreover, certain aspects of the opponents' practices and theology were not rooted in Jewish Scripture or in distinctive Jewish practices (2:18). Even the veneration of angels need not be Jewish since it was a part of pagan Anatolian piety in the Roman era (Sokolowski 1960; Sheppard 1980–81). The foundational worldview that animated the ritual and ascetic approach of the Christian heresy at Colossae was neither classic Gnosticism nor the stereotypical Jerusalem Judaizers, but rather *deisidaimonia.* The outline of the opponents in Colossians fits perfectly Plutarch's description of superstition, with its attentiveness to ways to achieve piety and superior religiosity through channels of prescribed rituals, ascetic practices, and divine revelations. It was this punctilious ceremonial approach to spiritual attainment, to purification from sins, to divine wisdom, to revealed knowledge, and to the experience of the fullness of deity which had attacked the Pauline view of the gospel. *Deisidaimonia* could not tolerate the *all sufficiency* of God's work through Christ as affirmed by Paul.

The fight against superstitious asceticism was not limited in Asia Minor to the evidence of Colossians. The Pastoral letters indicate the presence of related issues in the churches where Timothy worked (1 Tim 1:3). In particular, 1 Tim 4:1–10 highlight three areas of asceticism about which Timothy should be concerned. These are: (1) prohibition of marriage and sexual relations in it, (2) dietary asceticism, and (3) ascetic mistreatment of the body under the guise of "training" (cf. Epictetus, *Diss.* 3.12). The first two issues are condemned outright as being demonic in origin, and caution is expressed concerning the third. All three of these approaches to spirituality were evident in the superstition of Greco-Roman Anatolia. An Anatolian Christian leader of the 2d century, noted for his mercurial piety, was Peregrinus Proteus (Lucian *Peregr.*) In light of his abiding interest in piety (some would say notoriety) through asceticism, punishment of the body by flagellation, and Cynic self-denial, it is significant that Proteus, at one time in his life, felt at home among and was a hero to the Christians of Asia Minor. The attitudes and demeanor that served as the common denominator throughout his public life, irrespective of his religious affiliation, were his total commitment to departure from the status quo,his desire for imprisonment, and his demonstration of his indifference to his own physical comforts. His life ended with a suicidal leap onto a pyre shortly following the Olympic Games. Peregrinus' attraction for suicide was not without parallel. Anatolian Christianity of the 2d century was itself involved in the debate over the virtue of a form of suicide, namely, voluntary martyrdom. That a Christian theology of martyrdom could have been influenced by pagan *deisidaimonia* is not beyond probability. Since the veneration of the relics of Christian martyrs began quite early in Asia Minor (*Martyr. Pol.* 18.3) and was very widespread there, this aspect of Christian martyrdom may reflect pre-Christian concepts of superstition and hero veneration (modern discussion given by Baumeister, *RAC* 14:102–35). The martyrdom of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, has been investigated in regard to the question of whether his death was voluntary or not (Tabbernee 1985). In the account of Polycarp's death (*Martyr. Pol.* 4), there is an interesting reference to

the fact that some Christians, though later changing their minds, pursued martyrdom "of their own free will." The particular group mentioned was from Phrygia. For the author of the *Martyr. Pol.* to mention that "we do not praise those who surrender themselves [for martyrdom], since the Gospel does not teach us this," this question was surely already a matter of theological reflection at the time. Perhaps the physician Galen of Pergamum (ca. 125–200) had ascetic Christians from Asia Minor in mind when he made his remarks about Christians having contempt for death and exercising great self-control in matters of food and drink. The late 2d century (ca. 170, Barnes 1970) Anatolian schismatics known as Montanists (after their founder Montanus) or Cataphrygians (after their Phrygian provenance) have been a constant enigma to modern historians (Klawiter 1975). Consequently, many attempts have been made to locate the religiohistorical matrix of this Anatolian Christian movement. Scholars have sought to discover whether its origins and theology were rooted in Anatolian, specifically Phrygian, pagan cults. Although some scholars continue to look for partial Phrygian influence (Freeman 1950; Daunton-Fear 1982), most have abandoned this perspective based upon the earlier conclusions of Schepelern (1929). Some have seen Montanism as an antagonist to Gnosticism, while others (Froehlich 1973) have viewed it as quite similar to Gnosticism. A Jewish or Jewish-Christian matrix for this movement has also been advocated (Schwegler 1841; Ford 1966). Even though this schism endured several centuries (the most complete collection is that of de Labriolle [1913]; the best critically evaluated and arranged edition is Heine [1989]), it is its first generation that pertains distinctively to an Anatolian situation (Aland 1955). When dealing with Anatolia, it is crucial not to confuse the mutation of Montanism in Rome (Heine 1987–88: 11–16) or its appearance in Tertullian (Powell 1975) with the first generation of 2d century Montanists (Grant 1946: 94–108) who were Anatolian and whose history and beliefs are best reconstructed from quotations and *testimonia* preserved in Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.16.1–5.19.4) and Epiphanius (*Haer.* 48.1–13). The so-called "Christians for Christians" inscriptions (Gibson 1978) from Anatolia are both later than the scope of this study and very probably "there is no argument in favour of a Montanist interpretation" (Pleket 1980: 198) of these epigraphical documents. Even though any conclusion about the origins, practices, and beliefs of Montanism ought to be stated with caution, it is necessary to point out that many of the traits and theological convictions that separated later Montanism from the Great Church (e.g., penchant for martyrdom, eschatology, emphasis upon the Paraclete) cannot be reliably documented from the sparse records of 2d-century Phrygian Montanism. What does seem to characterize the early Anatolian Montanists (Heine 1987–88) was their predilection for uncontrolled and ecstatic prophecies and oracles ("abnormal ecstasy, insomuch that he became frenzied and began to babble and utter strange sounds," anonymous in Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.16.7). The orthodox writers of the time had no problem with prophecy itself, just its misuse characterized by techniques of pagan oracles and prophecy. Another manifestation of the falseness of the prophecies of Montanus was his practice of engaging in this spiritual gift in exchange for remuneration. Finally, the orthodox church attacked the Montanists because they *mandated* spiritual ascetic disciplines ("Montanus taught dissolutions of marriages" … and "laid down laws on fasting," Apollonius in *Hist. Eccl.* 5.18.2) rather than allowing or suggesting them. In light of these traits of Anatolian Montanism, it seems that *deisidaimonia* (whether mediated through Jewish, Christian, or pagan media) offers a plausible matrix for the emphases of Montanus and his followers. If the emphases of Montanus (i.e., frenzied oracles, rigid asceticism, and paid thaumaturgy) had been recounted by the pagan authors Juvenal, Lucian, or Plutarch rather than Eusebius, they would have been clearly labeled as superstition and *deisidaimonia* rather than false doctrine or heterodoxy. Modern authors have also noted the similarities (Klawiter 1975: 130–55).

Various documents of Anatolian Christianity reveal a seemingly widespread problem among Christian communities with another component of superstition, namely, magic and the occult. The condemnation of this quintessential dimension of folk religion is evident in the list of the works of the flesh given to the numerous (Gal 1:2) Christian communities in central Asia Minor (Gal 5:20) when Paul mentions *pharmakeia.* Turning to other regions of Asia Minor, the oracles of judgment found with the Revelation of John contain several references to the divine wrath awaiting those who work magic (*pharmakeia* and cognates, e.g., 9:21, 18:23, 21:8, 22:15). The city of Ephesus provides a clear example of a society (Acts

19) where pagan magic had penetrated into Christian faith and practice. It is significant that the generic name for the collection of magical spells and incantations in the Roman period was Ephesian Letters *(Ephesia grammata).* The Pastoral epistles reflect a similar interest in condemning the practice of magic by Christians. Since the names "James" and "Jambres" were associated in Jewish tradition with the magicians who opposed Moses (Exod 7:11), it is highly probable that they were used in 2 Tim 3:8 as a prototypical opponents in order to combat magical practices associated with heterodox teachers. This interpretation is supported by the occurrence of the Greek term *goes* (lit. magician) in the same context (2 Tim 3:13). Acts 19:11–20, esp. 19:18, depicts the strong grip that folk religion had on many believers there, even influencing the interpretation of the Pauline miracles (19:11–12). Moreover, it is noteworthy that the Ignatian collection of letters uses the term *mageia* (magic) only once, and that in his letter to the Ephesians (19:3, Christ destroyed all magic). An indication of the continuing struggle against the influence of *deisidaimonia* among the Christian communities of Anatolia is reflected in the content of the two mid-4th century Anatolian Councils of Gangra and of Laodicea (Hefele 1876). Both of these attest the ongoing belief among Anatolian Christians in ascetic spirituality achieved through dietary and sexual deprivation.

**2. Jewish Issues.** There is an increasing awareness of the social and theological diversity that existed among Greco-Roman Jews in general and Anatolian Jews in particular (cf. Kraabel 1968; *HJP²* 3/1). Judaism did not, even in Palestine, possess only one self-definition (Sanders et al. 1981; Hengel 1974). In all probability the first Christians in Asia Minor lived, worshiped, and studied Torah in the context of Anatolian synagogue congregations. In the case of Paul's efforts as an *apostolos,* his foremost energy was spent in fulfilling an Isaianic missiology that led him to gentiles through restored Israelites (= "converted" Jews). This is the only plausible explanation for the habitual Pauline modus operandi best captured in the phrase "to the Jew first" (Rom 1:16, 2:9–10; 1 Cor 9:20; Acts 17:2). In line with this outlook, there was the conviction that the Israel of God consisted of those who were, by faith, heirs of Abraham, irrespective of their race (Gal 6:16). Regarding the synagogue attitude toward circumcision, which was the essence of the problem among churches in central Anatolia in the mid-1st century, there was no standard practice. The fact that as a Jewish boy Timothy had not been circumcised (Acts 16:1) provides an Anatolian example of a fact already known from Hellenistic Jewish authors, namely, that the issue of the requirement of circumcision for membership in Israel, both for Jews and proselytes, was unsettled among 1st-century Jews. Evidence of diversity in other matters is seen in the coexistence of a Samaritan/Gerizim synagogue and a Jewish/Jerusalem synagogue on the nearby island of Delos in the Hellenistic period (White 1987). It is quite natural to assume that this ubiquitous Jewish theological diversity had an appreciable impact on Christian believers both before and after the major rift between the church and synagogue. For example, this type of Jewish diversity regarding the necessity of circumcision provides a significant context for early Christian struggles with the same issue (e.g., Galatians). It is quite evident that the theology of Anatolian Judaism contributed to the theology of Anatolian Christianity, its offspring. Even after the Jewish faith had reluctantly given birth to the church, the church's umbilical cord to Judaism was never entirely severed, with the possible exception of the Marcionite churches. The most obvious example of this would be in the heavy dependence upon the Jewish Scriptures (e.g., Acts' depiction of the Pauline sermons in Asia Minor, Galatians, Ephesians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Revelation, 1 Peter, Ignatius of Antioch, Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*). It is equally important to observe the reverse side of this relationship, namely, that many of the schisms, aberrations, and heresies occurring within Anatolian Christianity can be traced to the abiding influence of Jewish faith and practice, especially among gentile converts. The list of Christian authors who deal with this issue of Jewish influence and competition is impressive and reflects the strength of the attraction that Jewish ceremonies and faith had for many gentile converts. The internal debate with stereotypical Judaising Christians in Asia Minor is well known and well documented in the texts of Galatians and Acts 15. The epistle to the Colossians explicitly labels as aberrant the requirement of Sabbath observance by the Christian community there.

1 and 2 Timothy, however, are not as significant in this regard as is often assumed. It is routine for scholars to point out that the epistles of 1 and 2 Timothy contain censure against Jewish intrusions into

the Christian community in Ephesus by its reference to those who "want to be teachers of the law, but do not know what they are talking about" (1 Tim 1:7). However, this is not *necessarily* the case. When all the characteristics of the opposition to Paul's gospel are taken from all three Pastoral Letters and are put into one lump, "the effect is to rob each letter of its distinctiveness. Specific and difficult texts are replaced by an easy generalization" (Johnson 1987: 8). Unless one subscribes to a theory of synoptic harmonization among the Pastorals, and thereby harmonizes 1 and 2 Timothy with Titus, even though they are addressed to different geographical regions (Ephesus and the island of Crete), then it is not a foregone conclusion that "teachers of the law" (1 Tim 1:7) should be equated with "those of the circumcision" (Tit 1:10). In fact, 1 Tim 1:8–11 makes it clear that the author's use of the term "law" points to an almost generic moral meaning of the term. Furthermore, even though the genealogies of 1 Tim 1:4 *could* be Jewish, they need not be since the use of genealogies was widespread in antiquity (*RAC* 9: 1145–1268).

Turning to the Johannine materials, it is usually acknowledged that there is cogent evidence for locating the origin of the gospel of John in Asia Minor, at least in its final form (*RGG*$^3$ 3:849; Martin 1975: 282; Robert and Feuillet 1965: 648). It is likewise clear that the fourth gospel reflects, in part, the church-synagogue debate of the late 1st century (Pancaro 1975). This debate is reflected in the gospel's redaction of Jesus' frequent statements regarding the Jews (in the third person, passim) and in the use of the phrase "your Law" and "their Law" (8:17; 10:34; 15:25). The Revelation of John also mirrors the fierce competition between the churches and synagogues of western Asia Minor. When John denounces the Jewish synagogues at Smyrna and Sardis (Noakes 1975) with references to "those who claim to be Jews and are not" and to the "synagogue of Satan" (2:9, 3:9), it is obvious that at least in these two cities the churches' self-identification and survival depended in part on its ideological victory over the local synagogue. Particularly revealing in this regard are the comments of Ignatius that reveal, a decade or so later than the Apocalypse, the abiding influence of Jewish ceremonial practices upon certain Christians in western Asia Minor. In his communication with the Magnesians, one discovers the continuing threat of Jewish ways in remarks such as "It is stupid to speak of Jesus Christ and to practice Judaism. For Christianity did not rely upon Judaism, but Judaism upon Christianity" (10:3; cf. 8:1; 9:1). In another text Ignatius portrays a peculiar situation wherein the presence of both orthodox Jewish Christians and uncircumcised advocates of non-Christian Judaism are mentioned (*Phil.* 6:1). This somewhat enigmatic and provocative text (Barrett 1976) reads, "It is better to hear Christianity from a man who is circumcised (= Jewish Christian) than Judaism from one who is uncircumcised." An equally intriguing text is found later in this Philadelphian correspondence. It is not known whether Ignatius' opponents mentioned in *Phil.* 8:2 are Christians or non-Christians. What is noteworthy is that he admits the hermeneutical problems he encounters when attempting to argue with these individuals from the OT. These people apparently do not accept the presuppositions which allow Ignatius to discover Christ's cross, death, and resurrection in the Jewish Scriptures (cf. *Phil.* 9:1–2).

Melito of Sardis (annotated bibliography, Drobner 1982) castigates with trenchant invective (*Pass.* 72–99) the unbelieving Jews who crucified the Lord. Little is known of the church in Sardis before the writings of Melito, though unquestionably it was significantly smaller than the synagogue community there (Josephus *Ant* 12.147–53). Since, however, Melito is consistent in his pejorative use of the term "Israel" and his belief that Israel had "been replaced by the church, as the Law has been replaced by the Gospel" (Noakes 1975: 249), some argue that the affluence and superior social influence of Sardian Judaism precipitated Christian reaction (and perhaps anti-Christian persecution) which in turn ignited vitriolic Christian fulminations like that of Melito's (Kraabel 1971; Manis 1987). Some, however, have not yet been convinced by what appears to be a "sociopolitical" interpretation that is remiss about Melito's theological concerns (Norris 1986).

The Quartodeciman controversy, which continued for over two centuries in Asia Minor (Canon no. 7 of the Synod of Laodicea, ca. 350), testifies with clarion voice to the perennial desire of many Anatolian Christians to maintain the Jewish heritage of the Christian observance of Easter/Passover. Easter was celebrated in the earliest church at each and every Sunday assembly (*RGG*$^3$ 4: 1960). While the Sunday liturgical ceremonies from Asia Minor recorded in Acts 20:7 and Pliny's description of Christian worship

(*Ep.* 10.96) both point to nocturnal celebrations (Staats 1975), this need not have been the normal procedure on each Sunday. It is in the 2d century that the annual celebration of Easter began. At that time some Christians, primarily from Asia Minor and Syria, believed that they should keep the annual Easter/Passover celebration in accordance with the Jewish reckoning of the Passover, while Christians in Italy and Egypt preferred to celebrate this annual rite on the following Sunday. Moreover, those who preferred the Jewish calculation of the 14th (= *quartusdecimus* = Quartodecimans) of Nisan for Easter also accompanied it with a fast, which caused conflict with those wishing to observe Easter on the following Sunday (von Campenhausen 1974). In this context it is not germane to delve into the intricate arguments concerning the origin, date, literary references, and distinctiveness of the Quartodeciman celebration of Easter in the 2d century (Huber 1969) or whether it was in part "an anti-Marcionite and anti-gnostic institution" (Hall 1984) or if in fact there were distinct groups within the Quartodeciman camp (Richardson 1973). What is noteworthy is the number of significant church leaders and bishops in Asia Minor (e.g., Melito of Sardis; Irenaeus; Apollinarius of Hierapolis; Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna; and Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus) who were Quartodecimans and thereby advocated a liturgical calendar which had not yet given in to gentile Christian pressure to jettison older Jewish dimensions of the annual Easter/Passover rite.

In a similar fashion, the widespread advocacy of chiliasm (*RAC* 2:1073–78) in Anatolian Christianity is most likely a reflection of the impact of Jewish apocalypticism upon Christianity there (Daniélou 1964). Although the idea is still undeveloped, the terminology of the 1000-year reign first occurs in Anatolian literature in the Revelation of John (20). Though it later fell into disrepute (e.g., Eusebius's disdain for it), the millennial age concept had among its proponents in Asia Minor the following Christian luminaries: Papias of Hierapolis (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39); Irenaeus (*Haer.* 5.35); Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 80); Cerinthus (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.28); John's followers (Iren. *Haer.* 5.33.3); and Montanus (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.18.2; Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* 3.4.5). Still in the 3d century traces of this doctrine's influence are seen in Anatolian authors such as Methodius (*The Banquet* 9.5).

Though one cannot be certain, the tone heard in Justin Martyr's extended exegetical arguments and counterarguments, even over textual variants (Skarsaune 1987), with the Jewish Rabbi Trypho *(Dial.)* may reflect the situation in mid-2d century Anatolia. With the passage of time and a shift in the missiological outlook of later Christian leaders, the church's interaction with Judaism had become less and less intramural. Conversions, which were occurring in both directions, took place in an increasingly trenchant context. The active involvement of Jews in the harassment and occasionally in the public clamor against Christians in Asia Minor is incontestably attested in the Christian sources of the 2d century (Wilde 1949: 141–47; Frend 1965). A significant testimony to the enduring influence of Judaism upon the churches of Anatolia is easily seen in the regulations from the 4th-century Council of Laodicea. At this council the Christian leaders of Anatolia believed it necessary, still in ca. 350, to prohibit Christians from keeping the Passover/Easter feast according to Quartodeciman ordinances (Canon 7), honoring the Sabbath rather than Sunday (Canon 29), attending a Jewish festival with a Jew (Canon 37), and accepting unleavened bread from Jews or heretics (Canon 38).

**3. Christian Gnosticism.** Since the study of Christian Gnosticism is beset with numerous methodological problems regarding definition, sources, and chronology (*TRE* 13: 535–50), it is no wonder that at times speculation (e.g., Bultmann 1956) has outrun the evidence. Even the discovery of the Nag Hammadi texts has not always clarified the issues. In fact, it is not completely clear to all scholars that these texts are even gnostic. As one writer observed, these "individual tractates can no longer be assumed to be Gnostic … Thus a significant number of Nag Hammadi texts can no longer serve as primary evidence of Gnosticism" (Wisse 1983: 138). A more sober estimation of the possible significance of Gnosticism upon the theology of Paul, John, and the documents of the New Testament in general and its supposedly early date (Yamauchi 1983) is now forming among scholars. Since occurrences in the New Testament of the word *gnosis,* or other later gnostic technical vocabulary, are alone no longer regarded as adequate evidence for the presence of Gnosticism understood in its 2d-century sense, scholars are not so ready to posit automatically this phenomenon as the background of the opponents of the Prison Epistles or

even the Pastorals. For example, the unsound doctrine of a Hymenaeus and Philetus (2 Tim 2:17–18) which emphasized the present reality of the resurrection can be explained in terms of the similar eschatological error in 2 Thess 2:2 or in terms of a misunderstanding of the resurrection accomplished in baptism (e.g., Eph 2:6) rather than by relying facilely upon later gnostic views of the resurrection (Fee 1984, *ad* 2 Tim 2:17–18). The fact that a later Christian writer such as Irenaeus quotes the Pastorals and assumes that their author was fighting heretics identical to those he was fighting hardly proves the case for 1st-century Gnosticism, unless one wishes to assume that later Christian authors were never guilty of employing anachronisms. With justification, scholars no longer allow later Christian writers, whether it be Marcion, Irenaeus or Heracleon, to pronounce themselves, without cogent demonstration, as the spiritual successors of NT authors.

The evidence for signs of embryonic Gnosticism is stronger, however, when the materials in the Johannine Gospel and epistles are investigated (cf. Yamauchi 1981 with MacRae 1986). The term "docetism" is the most frequently used label to identify the heretical group against which the Johannine author writes, though scholars still debate whether its origins are Jewish or not (Davies 1962). Although docetism is neither a synonym for Gnosticism nor a necessary criterion to establish its presence, this christological heresy is normally regarded as evidence for the presence of certain strains of Gnosticism. In brief, docetic Christology advocated a rather "high" christology, based upon a stark contrast between the Redeemer from heaven and the earthly man Jesus (*TRE* 16: 726–28), while stressing the glorification and divinity of Christ at the expense of his humanity and his full participation in the flesh. Once it has been established that the community which John addressed in the gospel was also among the recipients of the epistles, it is fairly easy to detect polemic against a heretical christology throughout much of the Johannine corpus (Brown 1979; *Epistles of John* AB). This docetic background of the Johannine material makes the best sense out of the unique *logos* christology in the fourth gospel's prologue (1:1–18) and explicitly fits into the doctrinal denunciations of 1 John 4:1–3 and 2 John 7–11 where the bearers of this doctrine, denying that Jesus came in the flesh, are attacked as *antichristoi.* Regardless of whether the vignette regarding the encounter between the "gnostic-docetist" Cerinthus (Iren. *Haer.* 1.26.1) and the Apostle John (Iren. *Haer.* 3.3.4) is factual, the letters of Ignatius, written within approximately a decade of the Johannine letters, document the growing problem the churches of western Anatolia were having with docetic christology. Ignatius' antidocetic polemic is implicit in affirmations such as God's manifestation in humanness (*Eph.* 19:3) and in references to Christ's being *truly* crucified and *truly* partaking of food (*Trall.* 9:1–2; *Smyrn.* 1:2). Explicit indications of the presence of docetism are contained in his allusions to heterodox slogans that Christ only seemed *(dokein)* to suffer (*Trall.* 10:1; *Smyrn.* 2:1; 3:1–3; 4:2). At one point Ignatius argues, "For how is one assisting me, if he praises me but blasphemes my Lord by denying that he is a bearer of the flesh *(sarkophoros)?* And the one who does not make this confession has completely denied him [Christ], and made himself a bearer of a corpse *(nekrophoros).*" Years later the Asian bishop and martyr Polycarp also identified the antichrists as those who did not confess that the Christ came in the flesh (*Phil.* 7:1).

Even though Italy and Egypt provided the context for most of the major Gnostic teachers and schools of the 2d century, the early role of Asia Minor should not be overlooked. Later orthodox authors such as Irenaeus saw Asia Minor as a battleground where the true tradition and gospel of the church were vigorously maintained through the efforts of the apostles and their pupils (Zahn 1900). Irenaeus, whose theological roots were planted deeply in the soil of his native Anatolia (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.20.5), is exemplary in his many arguments against the Gnostics (Vallée 1981) that "all the Asiatic churches testify" (*in Asiae Ecclesiae omnes* 3.3.4) to orthodox doctrine and apostolic parentage. Later comments by Eusebius provide little substantive information previously unknown on this matter since he basically knows only what is available in the sources he quotes (e.g., Irenaeus) and was himself "no student of heresy" (Grant 1980: 86–87).

**4. Persecution and Social Harassment.** Several of the leading personalities associated with Anatolian Christianity were criminals. A list of these offenders would include Paul, the author of the Apocalypse, Ignatius, and Polycarp. Behind these few names stood scores of unnamed Christian convicts whose

crimes and capital punishment are mentioned in works such as the Apocalypse of John and the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan. Furthermore, the majority of the literature pertaining to early Christianity in Asia Minor was penned by authors after their arrests (e.g., Prison Epistles, Pastoral Epistles, and Ignatian Epistles). In a less extreme form, Anatolian Christians knew of sporadic outbursts of social and legal harassment which might or might not have eventuated in imprisonment. The Lukan account of Paul's work in Asia Minor (Acts 13–14; 19–20) reflects the presence of opposition and pogroms against the Christian mission through use of phrases such as "through many tribulations we must enter the kingdom of God" (Acts 14:22) and "… with tears and with trials which befell me through the plots of the Jews" (Acts 20:19) and through vignettes such as the urban protest against Christianity engendered by a discontented labor union (Acts 19).

The epistle of 1 Peter is directed to Christian communities in Asia Minor (1:1) and gives significant attention to the matter of Christian suffering (2:11–4:19). Scholars are not of one mind regarding this epistle's historical matrix. Contemporary scholarship is less sympathetic with the earlier view of, among others, F. W. Beare (1947), who postulated that the situation depicted by the Pliny-Trajan letters (A.D. 110–15) was one of imperial persecution and that this was the appropriate context in which to interpret the epistle of 1 Peter. It is no longer evident to many scholars (Talbert 1986: 13–14) that the situation depicted in the Pliny-Trajan letters is one of official persecution or that this Christian epistle, whenever penned, should be read against the background of any supposed official persecution, whether instigated at either the imperial or provincial level. Scholars also differ on whether or not 1 Peter was exhorting the Christian communities to maintain themselves in times of harassment through means of sectarian principles such as internal group identity, cohesion, and boundary maintenance (Elliot 1981), or whether 1 Peter represents, at least in its Household Codes, a more open and assimilated posture (Balch 1981). In terms of the development of anti-Christian harassment, several points stand out in 1 Peter, particularly in regard to its place in the history of Anatolian Christianity. Of particular interest is the awareness that the "name of Christ" is a source of animosity and also that individuals are suffering *as Christians* (4:14–16), a situation already present in Rome under Nero. Possible arrests and incarcerations are implied by statements in 1 Peter (2:12, 16; 4:15). The rhetoric of the epistle is cast in dualistic e.g., Babylon, 5:13) and eschatological tones (4:17), but there is no general designation of the State or emperor cult as Satanic (*ANRW*2/23/1: 205), nor are there any allusions to the imperial cult. In fact, both the emperor and his minions are granted the status of authority and honor (2:13–17), and the author indicates that the fiery ordeal and sufferings that the Christians are experiencing are part of the normal Christian life throughout the empire (4:12; 5:9b). The immediate source of the Christians' suffering seems to come from pagan outrage (4:4) at the sectarian lifestyle and ideology that is typified in the Christian demeanor (Goppelt 1978).

Several important developments both in the relationship between "Church" and "State" and in the suffering of early Christians appear for the first time in the Apocalypse of John (*ANRW* 2/23/1: 215–26). Among the new developments is the presence of a large number of martyrs. No longer is it just a matter of tribulations and suffering, but now John refers to those "who had been slain for the word of God" (6:9) and to "the blood of the prophets and of saints" (18:24) and to "the souls of those who had been beheaded for their testimony to Jesus and for the word of God" (20:4). A second development is the explicit evidence that a Christian's impious attitude toward the cult of the emperor (bibliography on imperial cult in *ANRW* 2/16/2: 833–910) was grounds for martyrdom (13:15). This is not at all surprising in light of the long-standing presence in Asia Minor of cults to the goddess Roma (Mellor 1975), in light of the rapid reception of Augustus as a deity in Asia Minor (Bowersock 1965), and in light of the ubiquitous and beneficent presence of the imperial cult in Roman Asia Minor (Price 1984). The architecture, the rituals, the festivals and games, the swearing by the divinity of the emperor (Hermann 1968), and the pledges of allegiance to the imperial family (Weinstock 1962) all make it very clear that in Asia Minor "the imperial cult was not simply a game to be played in public" (Price 1984: 120). Rather, it "was a major part of the web of power that formed the fabric of society … [and] along with politics and diplomacy, constructed the reality of the Roman empire" (Price 1984: 248). Accordingly, the persecution of the Christians was a

response not only to their antipathy toward concerns of Roman jurisprudence but also to their violation of matters of Roman religion and piety (*RAC* 2: 1159–1208; Vogt 1962). A third development was the dualistic framework in which the author of the Apocalypse perceived the Roman State and provincial government. Even though contemporary pagan authors could use animal epithets (Pliny *Pan.* 48.3 *immanissima belua,* fearful monster) to describe Domitian or to state that Domitian "was in reality an evil demon" (*daimona poneron,* Dio Chrysostom *Orat.* 45.1), these do not approach the dualism employed in the Apocalypse (chap. 13). Clearly John views the government and imperial cult as a manifestation of Satanic oppression and influence. Of course, the State's estimation of John would not be much higher. In light of the early imperial policy to destroy prophetic books which contained damning and foreboding oracles (e.g., Suet. *Aug.* 31), one can anticipate how the government would look upon the sedition reflected in the prophecies of the fall of Babylon (Revelation 18), especially penned by an exiled dissident (in general MacMullen 1966; cf. Juvenal *Satires* 6.553–564). In order to contextualize more accurately the church's treatment by the Roman State at that period, it must be observed that Christians were not the only group regarded as a counterculture which was to be harassed by Domitian and his policies (Cuss 1974). For example, Domitian's pogroms against individuals, even family members, guilty of adopting "Jewish ways" is well attested in ancient literature (Smallwood 1976: 376–85). Domitian also banished philosophers and moral preachers from Italy, at least those whom he perceived to be seditious, and "put many Senators to death" (Suet. *Dom.* 10). Disdain for Domitian was so intense that after his assassination his name was erased from many Anatolian monuments (Suet. *Dom.* 23; Magie 1950: 1440–41 n. 30). Given the general cruelty and paranoia which characterized Domitian's reign of terror, one should regard the State's active persecution against Anatolian Christianity in the light of numerous barbaric idiosyncrasies of Domitian rather than as a manifestation of constant imperial policy.

In less than two decades after Domitian's pogrom against the churches of western Asia Minor, the Pliny-Trajan *Letters* (10.96–97) detail occurrences of the sufferings and criminal punishment of Christians in the Roman area of Bithynia-Pontus. This official exchange enhances the picture of the State's comportment toward Christianity under Trajan, but reveals little of the attitudes held by the diverse Christian population of north-central Anatolia (Keresztes *ANRW* 2/23/1: 273–87 surveys various schools of interpretation of the Pliny-Trajan *Letters* and their reflection of current Roman law). Pliny reports that the Christians were accused by public detractors, probably on two counts. The first point of accusation was that of crimes associated, at the very least by rumor, with the name of Christian *(flagitia cohaerentia nomini).* These crimes were in all probability the disgusting and bizarre accusations discussed by the 2d-century apologists (*ANRW* 2/23/1: 579–604; Henrichs 1970) rather than the more mundane crimes of theft and murder mentioned in 1 Peter. The second point of accusation, and one that seemed quite enigmatic to a legal mind like Pliny's (10.96.1), was that the "name of Christian" was illegal. Whether Roman jurisprudence could *legally* approbate such evidence in a court of law was the question which motivated the governor Pliny to inquire of the emperor. No clear answer was given, in part because other legal issues surfaced between the time of the original accusations and the end of Pliny's legal examination of the accused. In particular, criminal contumacy, as Pliny defines the attitude of numerous believers he questioned (10.96.3), was a serious crime (Sherwin-White 1966: 699, 784). The point that Pliny makes to Trajan is that he had these Christians executed, in part, because of their "stubbornness and unshakeable obstinacy" (10.96.4). As in the case of the martyred Christians of the Apocalypse, these Christians were summarily executed by decapitation. Pliny employs the use of oaths to the gods, sacrifices to the cult statue of the emperor (Scott 1932; Kruse 1934), and denunciation of Christ to distinguish between those who were real Christians *(vera Christiani)* and those who were only nominal, or in some cases former, believers (10.96.5). In his response, Trajan supports the governor's previous actions (10.97.1) and also through his counsel reveals his convictions about the potential danger of this depraved religion. The emperor's prime directive to Pliny is that Christians must *not* be sought out by the government *(conquirendi non sunt).* Moreover, when they are accused, their trials must be conducted within the guidelines of enlightened Roman jurisprudence, a policy not followed by his predecessor Domitian. Moreover, if they repent of their Christian past, all must be forgiven.

Contemporary with Pliny's treatment of Christians in northern Anatolia is the famous journey of Ignatius. Since he was arrested in the province of Syria and not the region of Asia Minor, the details of his arrest are not germane. It is instructive, however, to observe that the Roman guards who were accompanying him had ample opportunity to arrest or accuse numerous Christians en route with whom Ignatius shared fellowship and social intercourse. Even though Ignatius was soon to be martyred, it is patently evident that neither he nor his guards believed that the dozens of Christians whom he calls by name in the numerous Christian communities he addresses are in any danger legally. Clearly, there is no evidence in the Ignatian correspondence to support the idea that it was a crime to be a Christian or that there existed legislation, either in the provinces or in Rome, that outlawed Christianity (Millar 1973: 145–75). A decade following the official exchange between Trajan and Pliny, the emperor Hadrian sent official correspondence about the same matter. Silvanus Granianus, governor of Asia, wrote Hadrian about the "Christian problem" (A.D. 121–22), and the emperor's reply was sent to the governor's successor Minicius Fundanus (A.D. 122–23) and later preserved in Justin's *1 Apology* (68). Hadrian's reply "denounced informers, eager to blackmail their victims, and insisted that charges had to be proved in court, not simply initiated by petitions or popular clamor," while at the same time, it "did not revoke the penalties against convicted Christians but did require orderly procedure" (Grant 1988b: 34).

Fragments of Anatolian Christian writers of the late 2d century depict a new development in the Church's effort to carve out a workable peace with the Roman State. Two prominent apologists who articulated a theology of a synergistic relationship between the Roman State and the Christian Church are Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis, and Melito, bishop of Sardis. In approximately 176 both men wrote to the emperor Marcus Aurelius, writings now partially preserved in Eusebius' *Church History* (Apollinaris, 5.5.4; Melito, 4.26.5–11). It was during the Marcomannic Wars that the troops of the emperor engaged the Quadi, a Germanic tribe. The Quadi's siege machine was destroyed by lightning. Later a miraculous rain storm invigorated a fatigued Roman army and helped them become victorious. Virtually every one, except the Germans, regarded these miraculous occurrences as the providential intervention of deity. For example, the pagan miracle worker Alexander of Abonuteichos, an Egyptian priest named Arnuphis, Roman priests, Christian soldiers, and others all claimed some type of credit for these miracles. The Christian bishop of Hierapolis, though partially misrepresented by Eusebius, apparently used this miraculous event a part of an apology. Specifically, he argued that the victory was given to the Roman troops because a legion of Christian soldiers had been prayerful on behalf of the empire. Needless to say, this was also a way to demonstrate to the emperor and his provincial leaders that the church was not seditious. The thrust of the apology of Melito was that the proof of the divine origin of Christianity is demonstrated by the fact that it appeared simultaneously with the advent of Augustus. Christianity, according to Melito, was nursed in the cradle of the Roman Empire. Moreover, the general prosperity and longevity of the Roman Empire can only be attributed to the peaceful coexistence (with a few exceptions) of Rome and the church, both created and protected by the Christians' God. The historical realities of the late 2d and 3d centuries indicate that the apologetic efforts of these two Anatolian bishops was not particularly effective. According to R. M. Grant, the greatest effectiveness of these apologetic pleas was within the Christian community itself as a means to undergird the Christian's theology of culture, morality, and politics (Grant 1988a: 14).

**F. Conclusion**

Since the content of the historical sources themselves are controlled by specific occasions, one should not expect to arrive at more than a partially distorted reconstruction. Working within the boundaries of this fact, one can, nevertheless, conclude that the first two centuries of Anatolian Christianity demonstrated several important features. An obvious feature is that Christianity in Asia Minor, at least in the eyes of its leaders, was characterized by conflict. The sources of the conflict were at times internal and at times external; there were few times, however, when there was not an open conflict. A second feature was that the conflicts were often accurate reflections of the points of collision between the Christian gospel and various facets of Anatolian culture. Another characteristic of the early history of Christianity in Asia Minor is its dynamic development. Whether it be orthodox or heretical developments, the

Christian churches were, though not always consciously, adapting and modifying its message and teaching. The final feature is the dominant role that Anatolia played in providing the regional context for the growth and training of prominent Christian individuals and in setting the stage for the occasions, developments and articulation of most of the important issues and doctrines of early Christianity throughout the Roman world.

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## *CHRISTIANITY IN EGYPT*

This article is limited to a discussion of the development of Christianity in Egypt to the end of the 2d century, focusing upon the period before the middle of the 2d century.

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A. Eusebius on Christian Origins in Egypt
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### A. Eusebius on Christian Origins in Egypt

The earliest historical treatment of Christianity in Egypt of any consequence is that of Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Ecclesiastical History* (first edition ca. 311 C.E.). To be sure, Eusebius does not concentrate in any way on Egypt; instead he intersperses his discussion of the developments in Egypt with his discussion of events, persons, etc., elsewhere. Even so, one can string together Eusebius' isolated reports so as to get a running account of his version of the origins and development of Christianity in Egypt. That account, tendentious as it is, can be condensed and paraphrased as follows (ending at the beginning of the 3d century):

**1. Eusebius' Account.** Mark, after recording in his gospel Peter's teaching in Rome (2.15), was sent to Egypt to proclaim this gospel and was "the first to establish churches in Alexandria itself" (2.16; trans. Lake 1926: 145). The ascetic and philosophical lifestyle of Mark's converts is described at length by the Jewish philosopher Philo, who is also reported to have visited Peter in Rome in the days of Claudius (2.16.1–17.1). Philo refers to the Alexandrian Christians as "Therapeutae" (2.17.3–24; cf. Philo *Vit. Cont.*). It is clear from his description that Philo "welcomed, reverenced, and recognized the divine mission of the apostolic men of his day, who were, it appears, of Hebrew origin, and thus still preserved most of the ancient customs in a strictly Jewish manner" (2.17.2).

"In the eighth year of the reign of Nero (62 C.E.) Annianus was the first after Mark the Evangelist to receive charge of the diocese of Alexandria" (2.24). The bishops who succeeded Annianus were Abilius (85–97/98), Cerdo (98–109), Primus (109–20), Justus (120–31), Eumenes (131–44), Mark (144–54), Celadion (154–68), Agrippinus (168–80), Julian (180–89), Demetrius (189–232; Eusebius 3.14, 21; 4.1, 4, 5, 11, 19; 5.9, 22; 5.26). (There are some minor discrepancies in the datings of some of these bishops between Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* and his earlier *Chronicle.* The dates are established with reference to regnal years of the emperors.)

During the eighteenth year of Emperor Trajan (115 C.E.), "the tragedy of the Jews was reaching the climax of successive woes." A rebellion broke out in Alexandria and in the rest of Egypt and Cyrene, bringing great devastation to the Jews there (4.2).

"Like brilliant lamps churches were now [in the time of Hadrian, 117–38 C.E.] shining throughout the world," but the devil was also "turn[ing] his devices against the church" by fomenting heresies. From the teachings of Menander (cf. 3.26) there developed in Antioch the sect of Saturninus, and in Alexandria that of Basilides. Basilides' mythology was met with rational refutations on the orthodox side in Alexandria, of which a most powerful example was that of Agrippa Castor (4.7.1–8).

Carpocrates, a contemporary of Basilides, was father of the so-called "Gnostic" heresy. The Carpocratians engaged in shocking obscenities, and it is on their account that calumnies have been spread about Christians among the unbelievers (4.7.9–11).

Valentinus, the founder of a special heresy, came to Rome in the time of Bishop Hyginus (138–41). (Eusebius does not say where Valentinus came from, but he was presumably not unaware of his prior activity in Alexandria.)

In the days of Emperor Commodus (180–92) and Bishop Julian (180–89), the famous Pantaenus was a leader among the Alexandrian faithful in the school of sacred doctrine that had existed there from ancient times. Pantaenus, formerly trained in Stoic philosophy, had gone on a missionary journey as far as India. There he found a copy of the gospel of Matthew in Hebrew, left among the Indians by Bartholomew. Pantaenus was head of the school in Alexandria until his death (5.10).

The famous Clement was a student of Pantaenus (5.11), and succeeded him as head of the school, serving in that capacity into the reign of Emperor Severus (193–211; 6.6). Another student of Pantaenus' was Alexander, who later became Bishop of Jerusalem and was involved in the ordination of Origen to the priesthood (6.8.4, 7; 11.1–2; 14.9). Among Clement's pupils were Origen (6.6) and the aforementioned Alexander, also a student of Origen's (6.14.9). Origen became head of the catechetical school at the age of eighteen (in 204), during a time of persecution (6.3.3).

During the Easter controversy many conferences of bishops were held in various places, including one in Palestine over which Bishop Theophilus of Caesarea and Bishop Narcissus of Jerusalem presided. A letter was formulated in the conference defending the view that Easter should be celebrated only on a Sunday (5.23). In that letter, meant to be read in all the churches, it was reported that the Alexandrian church also celebrated on the same day as the Palestinians, and that letters had been exchanged between Alexandria and the Palestinian churches on the question (5.25).

The persecution of the Church under Severus (203 C.E.) was especially severe in Alexandria, where many martyrdoms took place. "God's champions" were brought there from Egypt and the whole Thebaid for torture and death. Among the martyrs of that persecution was Leonides, father of Origen (6.1).

**2. Eusebius' Sources.** Where did Eusebius get his information, and how reliable is it? We shall for now skip over the Mark legend (see below). Eusebius' equation of the Jewish Therapeutae with the earliest Alexandrian Christians, and the story of Philo's visit with Peter in Rome, could have been based on his own reading of Philo and/or on a local Alexandrian tradition. In either case there is no real substance to this account.

Eusebius' information on the early bishops of Alexandria is based on a list of Alexandrian bishops probably taken from the lost *Chronographies* of Julius Africanus (Harnack 1897: 123–40). Those named between Mark and Demetrius are mere ciphers; no information is related about them, for none was available to Eusebius. Demetrius (189–232) is therefore the first Alexandrian bishop of whom anything concrete is known. Julius Africanus had visited Alexandria (6.31.2) and presumably got his list of Alexandrian bishops during that visit, either from Demetrius or his successor Heraclas (232–247/48). The original source of the list is unknown, and nothing can be ascertained as to its historicity.

While Eusebius has a good deal of information about Bishop Demetrius, particularly on his stormy relationship with Origen, Eusebius says nothing of the pivotal role apparently played by Demetrius in the development of the Egyptian hierarchy. An interesting detail is provided in a much later source. Eutychius, a Melchite patriarch of Alexandria who wrote in Arabic in the 10th century, reports in his *Annals* that until the time of Demetrius there was no other bishop in Egypt than the one in Alexandria. Demetrius appointed three bishops, and his successor Heraclas (232–247/48) appointed twenty more (*P.G.* 111: 982; cf. Kemp 1955: 138).

Eusebius' account of the Jewish revolt under Trajan (115–17) seems to be based on solid sources. The "Greek authors" he mentions (4.2.5) are now unknown (but cf. Cassius Dio 68.32 and the commentary in Stern 1980: 385–89). The virtual annihilation of the Jewish communities in Alexandria and elsewhere in Egypt must have had a profound effect on the development of Christianity there, but we have no knowledge of what role, if any, was played in the events by Christians, Jewish or gentile.

Eusebius names his sources for his discussion of the heretics: Agrippa Castor for Basilides (4.7.6), Irenaeus for Carpocrates (4.7.8; cf. *haer.* 1.25) and Valentinus (4.10.1; cf. *haer.* 3.4.3). We know nothing more of Agrippa Castor's refutation of Basilides than what is reported by Eusebius, nor do we know when it was written.

It should be noted that Eusebius had at his disposal little reliable information on the Alexandrian church for the period before ca. 180, when Pantaenus was flourishing as head of the Christian school (5.10; cf. 5.9). Of the persons named in the earlier period, it is only the aforementioned heretics concerning which we have any solid information. For the time from Pantaenus on, Eusebius had at his disposal the writings of Clement, Origen, and other Alexandrian churchmen; other sources may have come from the libraries of Caesarea and Jerusalem, such as the letters of the former Alexandrian, Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem, and the letter from the Palestinian churches on the question of Easter.

It is also to be noted that, in his discussion of people and events in Egypt, Eusebius deals exclusively with Alexandria until he comes to the persecution under Severus (203), when suddenly Christian martyrs are named whose home territory includes "Egypt and the whole Thebaid" (4.1.1). That Christianity had expanded as far as Upper Egypt by the end of the 2d century is likely. Unfortunately Eusebius is not able to tell us the story of that expansion. (On the expansion of Christianity in Egypt up to 325 C.E., see Harnack 1924a: 705–29).

**B. The Mark Legend**

Until the publication of the fragmentary letter to Theodore by Clement of Alexandria (Smith 1973), Eusebius was our earliest extant source for the tradition that connects Mark with the early history of the Alexandrian church. According to Clement's letter, whose authenticity is widely but not unanimously accepted, Mark came to Alexandria after the martyrdom of Peter. There he expanded the gospel that he had written earlier, during his sojourn with Peter in Rome, producing a "more spiritual gospel" for use in the Alexandrian church (the *Secret Gospel of Mark*). Unfortunately the Carpocratian heretics eventually acquired this gospel and falsified it for their own purposes (text and translation in Smith 1973: 446–52).

Clement's letter says nothing of Mark's role as founder of the Alexandrian church. Indeed, it implies that the church there was already in existence when Mark arrived from Rome after Peter's death. Nothing is said of any earlier sojourn of Mark in Alexandria, though the wording of the fragment does not exclude that possibility. Eusebius, in his *Chronicle*, dated Mark's arrival in Alexandria to the third year of Claudius, i.e. 43 C.E. (Jerome's Latin version, Helm 1956: 179). Did Mark make more than one visit to Alexandria? (cf. Pearson 1986a: 139). In any case, the Mark legend as reflected in Eusebius, who probably got it from Julius Africanus, goes back at least to the 2d century, to the time of Demetrius or earlier.

The Mark legend is filled out in the *Acts of Mark* (*Passio,* April 25). In the *Acts,* which is preserved in two Greek recensions (see *P.G.* 115, 164–69; *Acta Sanctorum* 12: April, 3:xxxviii–xl) and several versions (for an English translation of the Ethiopic version see Haile 1981: 117–34), Mark's first convert was a cobbler named Ananias (Annianus), whom he eventually ordained as bishop. Three presbyters were also ordained by Mark: Milius, Sabinus, and Cerdo (cf. the episcopal succession list: Annianus, Abilius, Cerdo, Primus). According to the *Acts,* the first church in Alexandria was located in a place called Boukolou (later associated with Arius), where Mark was buried following his martyrdom. The *Acts,* which goes back to the 4th century, preserves some local Alexandrian traditions, but the material is essentially legendary (for discussion see Pearson 1986a: 140–44). Whether or not Mark's association with the Alexandrian church is a historical fact remains an open question (cf. Smith 1973: 279–81). The exact nature of that association, if it is a fact, is impossible to ascertain.

**C. Miscellaneous Traditions and Allusions**

The New Testament provides few hints of a Christian mission to Egypt. One does find references in the book of Acts to persons from "Egypt and the parts of Libya belonging to Cyrene" in the Pentecost narrative (Acts 2:10), and a Jerusalem synagogue of Alexandrians whose members disputed with Stephen (Acts 6:9). There is also, more importantly, the description of Apollos: "A Jew … a native of Alexandria … an eloquent man, powerfully trained in the scriptures" (Acts 18:24). According to the Western text, Apollos "had been instructed in the word in his home country." Something of the nature of Apollos' teaching can probably be extrapolated from the apostle Paul's comments in the early chapters of 1 Corinthians (Pearson 1983: 81–83; 1986b: 215).

Mark's cousin Barnabas (Col 4:10) is associated with the earliest history of the Alexandrian church in the Pseudo-Clementine literature. In the first *Homily* the young Clement, newly arrived from Rome, is instructed in the Christian faith in Alexandria by a Hebrew from Judea named Barnabas (*Hom.* 1.8.3–15.9). It is possible that this story of Barnabas' preaching in Alexandria is somehow related to the diffusion of the *Epistle of Barnabas,* which is probably of Alexandrian origin (Pearson 1986a: 136–37; cf. Trevijano 1975).

A well-known document bearing upon Judaism in 1st-century Alexandria, Emperor Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians (*PLond.* 1912, dated 10 Nov. 41 C.E.), has sometimes been thought to allude to the coming of Jewish Christian missionaries to Alexandria. In his letter, Claudius prohibits the Alexandrian Jews from inviting into Alexandria "Jews coming from Syria or Egypt." If such Jews included Jewish Christians from Palestine, Claudius' letter would constitute "the first allusion to Christianity in history" (Reinach 1924). However, most scholars reject such an interpretation of the letter (Tcherikover, Fuks, and Stern 1960: 36–55; cf. Pearson 1986a: 134–35).

**D. Early Alexandrian Christian Literature**

The best possibility for understanding the nature of early Egyptian Christianity in its various manifestations is to examine the literature produced by Christians there. Unfortunately the evidence is ambiguous, for it is not easy to determine the provenience of early Christian writings, and scholarly opinion is in many cases divided. (For more detailed treatments, see the articles on these early Christian writings.)

**1. Noncanonical Gospels.** The early Christian writings for which an Egyptian (Alexandrian) provenience can be established with relative certainty are noncanonical gospels: the *Gospel of the Hebrews,* the *Gospel of the Egyptians,* and the *Secret Gospel of Mark.* None of these gospels is fully

extant; they are known only through quotations by Clement of Alexandria and other writers within the Egyptian church. Another gospel, represented by Papyrus Egerton 2 (see Koester 1982: 181–83; 222), could have been brought into Egypt from somewhere else, as is the case with numerous other canonical and noncanonical writings (e.g. the *Gospel of Thomas*).

The three Alexandrian gospels mentioned represent various traditions and could be taken to reflect the existence, already at the end of the 1st century, of different Christian groups. The *Gospel of the Hebrews* has a strong Semitic flavor and, as its name suggests, circulated among the Jewish Christians (Christian Jews) for whom the symbolic authority of James, brother of Jesus, was an important feature. It contained both narrative and sayings material, the latter representing sayings found also in the *Gospel of Thomas* (cf. Hennecke and Schneemelcher 1963: 158–65; Koester 1982: 223–24).

The *Gospel of the Egyptians* (not the writing with the same title in the Nag Hammadi corpus; cf. Hennecke and Schneemelcher 1963: 166–78), of which only sayings material is preserved, shows a strong encratic flavor and, like the *Gospel of the Hebrews,* contains tradition that overlaps with the *Gospel of Thomas* (cf. Koester 1982: 230). Its name indicates that it circulated among (Greek-speaking) native Egyptians, and it was probably first compiled for Christians living in the Rhakotis district of Alexandria (Pearson 1986a: 150).

Of the *Secret Gospel of Mark,* one complete pericope is preserved, a story about a young man raised from the dead by Jesus. According to Clement's letter, *Secret Mark* was intended to be read "only to those who are being initiated into the great mysteries" (Smith 1973: 446). This "more spiritual gospel" was therefore intended to be understood as a cultic allegory, symbolically associated with the sacramental life of the Christian community (cf. Smith 1973: 167–85). Presupposed in Clement's letter is the public use in Alexandria of canonical Mark, as well as a later heretical expansion of *Secret Mark* by the Carpocratians. Whether or not Clement's understanding of the development of these various "Markan" gospels is historically accurate is still under debate (see e.g. Schenke 1984).

**2. Miscellaneous Nongnostic Writings.** It should be stressed that, at the same time as the aforementioned gospels were being used in Alexandria, other literature, including literature later canonized in the Catholic church, was being introduced to the Christians in Alexandria. By the time that the heretics mentioned by Eusebius were flourishing in Alexandria during the time of Hadrian (see above), a substantial number of Christian writings were already in use there. The heretics themselves freely used Christian writings later accepted in the Catholic church as canonical. For example, the extant fragments of Valentinus, which presumably stem from his Alexandrian period, reflect not only the use of gnostic mythological writings but also of the epistles of Paul and the gospel of Matthew (cf. Layton 1987: 229–49). Basilides knew and used the epistles of Paul and, perhaps, 1 Peter (fragments in Layton 1987: 427–44).

Returning now to other early Christian writings composed in Egypt, at least two would seem to qualify as coming from the time before (or at least during) the *floruit* of the aforementioned heretics: the *Kerygma of Peter* and the *Epistle of Barnabas.* The former is an apologetic work, pseudonymously attributed to the apostle Peter, which characterizes the people of the "New Covenant" (Christians) as a "third race" (cf. Hennecke and Schneemelcher 1964: 94–102). The latter is charged with apocalyptic fervor and devoted to a specifically Christian reinterpretation of older Jewish exegetical and ethical traditions (Kraft 1965: cf. Pearson 1986b: 211–14).

Other (nongnostic) Christian writings probably composed in Egypt during the first half of the 2d century are *2 Clement* (Koester 1982: 233–36), the *Apocalypse of Peter* (not the writing with the same title in the Nag Hammadi corpus), and the *Protevangel of James.* It is also possible that the canonical epistles of Jude and 2 Peter were written in Egypt (Gunther 1984). It is quite probable, too, that Christian redactions of Jewish pseudepigrapha were already being made in Egypt during this period, e.g. the *Ascension of Isaiah,* the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,* the *Sibylline Oracles,* the *Apocalypse of Elijah,* and the (lost) book of *Jannes and Jambres.* Of the Christian literature now lost to us, I would mention here especially the *Traditions* (or *Gospel*) *of Matthias* (Hennecke and Schneemelcher 1963: 308–13) and the letter of Paul to the Alexandrians named in the Muratorian canon list (Hennecke and

Schneemelcher 1963: 44; cf. 1964: 91). The latter is said to have been forged by the Marcionites, and may have been used in the early states of a Marcionite mission to Alexandria (Harnack 1960: 134*). *Pace* Koester (1982: 236–38) and others, I would regard the *Epistula Apostolorum* as a product of Asia Minor rather than Egypt (cf. Pearson 1986a: 149).

Two writings probably composed in Egypt shortly after the middle of the 2d century should also be mentioned here: the *Sentences of Sextus* and the *Teachings of Silvanus,* two of the nongnostic tractates included among the Coptic papyri discovered near Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt in 1945. The *Sentences of Sextus* (NHC XII,*1*), a collection of gnomic sayings, is strongly influenced by Greek ethical philosophy and is marked by a mild asceticism (cf. Edwards and Wild 1981). The *Teachings of Silvanus* (NHC VII,*4*) is a book of Christian wisdom akin to the Wisdom of Solomon both in form and content. Explicitly antignostic, it is an important link in the chain of tradition that runs from Philo, and probably Apollos, to the great Alexandrian teachers Clement and Origen (cf. Pearson 1986b: 211–15).

**3. Gnostic Writings.** Turning now to the writings of the Gnostics, we now have a whole "library" of gnostic works discovered in Egypt, the NAG HAMMADI CODICES. The problem we confront in this case, however, is how to determine which of the tractates, all of them composed originally in Greek, are of Egyptian provenience, and when they were written. Can any of the Nag Hammadi writings be dated to the time of Basilides and Valentinus or before? Were they produced in Egypt, or brought there from somewhere else?

The *Gospel of Truth* (NHC I,*3*; IXX,*2*) is the only Nag Hammadi tractate which can safely be attributed to one of the great heresiarchs, viz. Valentinus (Layton 1987: 250–64). This marvelous work of Christian mysticism could either have been written in Alexandria, or in Rome after Valentinus' departure from Egypt.

Valentinus, as a Christian "reformer" of the gnostic religion, certainly based his mythology on a previously existing gnostic myth (cf. Layton 1987: 5, 217–27). There can hardly be any doubt that the myth found in the *Apocryphon of John* comes closest of any of the Nag Hammadi writings to the one used and modified by Valentinus and his disciples. The same myth is also partially represented in Irenaeus, *haer.* 1.29. However, that is not to say that Valentinus, or even Irenaeus, knew and used the *Apocryphon of John,* which in its extant form is a composite document probably later than Valentinus (cf. Pearson 1986c: 19–25). The myth in question, therefore, is a common source used by the author of the *Apocryphon of John* and by Valentinus.

Where did that myth originate, Egypt or Syria? Syria is often regarded as the birthplace of Gnosticism, and some scholars even locate some of the most important Nag Hammadi texts there, including the *Apocryphon of John* itself (e.g. Koester 1982: 209–14; the others named by him are *Apocalypse of Adam* [V,*5*], *Hypostasis of the Archons* [II,*4*], *First Apocalypse of James* [V,*3*], and *Second Apocalypse of James* [V,*4*]). It should be noted that the system of Saturninus summarized by the heresiologists (Iren. *haer.* 1.24.1–2) evidently presupposes the same myth as that of the *Apocryphon of John* (Layton 1987: 159–62). Saturninus was active in Syrian Antioch. It is therefore likely that the myth used by Valentinus was brought to Egypt from Syria early in the 2d century, if not before.

However, there is also good reason to posit an Alexandrian origin for some of the early Nag Hammadi texts, both Christian and non-Christian. The most important one in the latter category is *Eugnostos* the Blessed (III,*3*; V,*1*), a theological treatise of Jewish gnostic origin. Its version of the Anthropos-Sophia myth probably contributed to Valentinus' doctrine of the Pleroma (van den Broek 1986: 195–201). The Christianized expansion of *Eugnostos*, the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* (III,*4*; BG,*3*), was also, no doubt, produced in Egypt. Another Christian text, the *Apocryphon of James* (I, *2*), preserving valuable gospel tradition, reflects the kind of Jewish Christianity that is also found in the *Gospel of the Hebrews* (Koester 1982: 224–25). Its relationship to Gnosticism is difficult to ascertain, though it is sometimes thought to reflect some Valentinian influence (cf. Williams 1985).

The origins of Egyptian Gnosticism are just as obscure as the origins of Egyptian Christianity, and this is not the place to discuss Gnosticism and the Nag Hammadi texts. (See GNOSTICISM; NAG HAMMADI [Codices].) Suffice it to say here that the Nag Hammadi corpus does not provide us with

much information on the origins either of Egyptian Christianity in general or of Egyptian Gnosticism. It does serve as evidence of the proliferation of Gnosticism in Egypt in the 2d century and its persistence into the 4th century in upper Egypt. It is clear from such evidence that definite borderlines between "orthodoxy" and "heresy" were established in Egypt rather late (cf. Koester 1982: 239).

The last observation implies, of course, that no clear borderlines between "orthodoxy" and "heresy" existed in the early period either. The basic question at issue here is the relative strength and antiquity in Egyptian Christianity of those varieties of the Christian religion that later came to be identified as "heretical" or "orthodox." Very different answers have been put forward by scholars in attempting to answer this question.

**E. Christian Origins in Egypt: Two Theories**

**1. Originally "Heretical": Walter Bauer.** In his pioneering work, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (1934, ET 1971), Walter Bauer subjected to vigorous critical scrutiny the ancient and still common view that "orthodoxy" always preceded "heresy" in the history of the church, and was inevitably invincible in theological struggles over belief and practice as they broke out in the church. The method Bauer used was to examine the available evidence for the development of Christianity in various geographical areas. What he found was that "heresies," as later defined in ecclesiastical circles, were often the original and only forms of Christianity in many areas. The "orthodoxy" that eventually came to prevail in such areas did so under the later influence of the Roman ecclesiastical establishment.

While Bauer's views have often been criticized, particularly with regard to certain geographical areas, it is fair to say that they have gained most acceptance in the case of Egypt. Bauer starts with the assumption that the very absence of solid evidence for the earliest history of Egyptian Christianity in ecclesiastical sources is itself suggestive. Evidence there must surely have been. The question is: "What reason could [churchmen] have had for being silent about the origins of Christianity in such an important center as Alexandria if there had been something favorable to report?" (Bauer 1971: 45). Answer: The earliest form of Christianity in Egypt was not "orthodox" but "heretical," specifically "gnostic." The only representatives of early Alexandrian Christianity of which we have any solid knowledge are all gnostic heretics: Basilides and his son Isidore, Carpocrates, and Valentinus (48).

According to Bauer, the ten bishops enumerated by Eusebius after Mark "are and remain for us a mere echo and a puff of smoke" (1971: 45). As for Mark, it was probably the Roman church that lent to orthodox Alexandria the figure of Peter's "interpreter" as a church founder and an apostolic initiator of a succession of bishops (60, 117). The earliest real glimpse that we get of "ecclesiastical" Christianity in Alexandria is with Demetrius, under whose episcopal rule (189–232) an "orthodox" form of Christianity first developed (53–54), and to whom the succession list of Alexandrian bishops must be attributed (55).

In order for him to maintain his theory of the heretical ("gnostic") origins of Egyptian Christianity, Bauer must assess the earliest Egyptian Christian literature consistently with that theory. Thus, the *Gospel of the Hebrews* and the *Gospel of the Egyptians* both become products of "movements resting on syncretistic-gnostic foundations" (1971: 50–53). The *Epistle of Barnabas*, given to "a thoroughly grotesque allegorization," is essentially "gnostic" (47), with a Christology that "seems docetic" (48). These characterizations, when compared with the evidence (the texts themselves!), are enough to cast a large shadow of doubt over Bauer's entire reconstruction of early Egyptian Christianity. (Cf. discussion of these and other texts above.)

**2. Originally Jewish: C. H. Roberts.** A different approach is taken by C. H. Roberts in his important study, *Manuscript, Society, and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (1979). Roberts, an eminent papyrologist, bases his study on evidence not taken into account by Bauer, viz. early Christian papyri. Since documentary papyri provide no useful evidence before the 3d century (on the 3d and 4th century documents see Judge and Pickering 1977), Roberts concentrates his attention on the earliest Christian literary papyri.

Roberts' survey of the extant Christian manuscripts discovered in Egypt that date to the 2d century (there are none earlier) yields very significant results. Ten "biblical" manuscripts are listed: seven Old Testament (Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Psalms) and three New Testament (Matthew,

Luke, John, Titus). Four "nonbiblical" manuscripts are listed: the Egerton gospel, *The Shepherd of Hermas,* P. Oxy. 1 = *Gospel of Thomas* (possibly early 3d century), and Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses* (Roberts 1979: 12–14; all are codices, except *Hermas* and Irenaeus). Manuscript finds are, of course, haphazard, but it is worth noting that this evidence provides no support whatsoever for Bauer's view that Gnosticism was the earliest and, for a long time, most dominant form of Christianity in Egypt.

Roberts' most important contribution is his discussion of *nomina sacra* in early Christian manuscripts, i.e abbreviations, with superlineation, of "sacred" words such as *Iesous, Christos, kyrios, theos,* and others (fifteen in all, 1979: 26–27). The starting point for the development of *nomina sacra,* a Christian scribal invention, is the name *Iesous.* Early forms of the *nomen sacrum* are *IE* (a suspended form), and *IES* and *IS* (contracted forms, the latter becoming standard). The form IE occurs in the Egerton gospel and is presupposed in the *Ep. Barn.* 9.8 (35–37). Roberts argues persuasively that the use of *nomina sacra* in Christian manuscripts originated in the Jerusalem church (41–46). The choice of "sacred" words to be specially treated in manuscripts as *nomina sacra* reflects a primitive Jewish Christian theology such as is found in early Alexandrian Christian literature. The conclusions to be drawn from this are that Jerusalem is the source of the earliest Egyptian Christianity, a Christianity which was essentially Jewish. The earliest Christians in Egypt would have been an integral part of the Jewish community of Alexandria (49–73).

Roberts points to the Jewish war of 115–17 C.E. as a watershed in the history of Egyptian Christianity. After 117, "there is good reason to think that the Egyptian Church was assisted from without and looked less to Jerusalem and Syria, as it probably had earlier, and more and more to Rome" (1979: 59). Aside from the regular contacts existing in all areas of life between Rome and Alexandria, Roman Christianity itself, which then was "strongly Jewish," can be expected to have exerted its influence. This observation is reinforced by the 2d-century Fayum fragment of the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the 2d-century fragment of Irenaeus' *Adversus Haereses* found at Oxyrhynchus (59,53).

Roberts has abandoned his earlier view that the adoption of the papyrus codex for Christian literature in place of the scroll was associated with the production and propagation of the gospel of Mark, a view which also took into account the tradition of the founding of the Alexandrian church by Mark (Roberts 1954: 187–89; cf. 1979: 59 n.5; Roberts and Skeat 1983: 54–57). He now looks to Jerusalem or Antioch as the place where the codex was adopted for Christian literature. This development undoubtedly occurred already in the 1st century, and would have spread early to Egypt, where our evidence begins with the 2nd century examples cited. Indeed, the Christian codex and the *nomina sacra* should probably be considered as related developments (Roberts and Skeat 1983: 57–67).

**F. Summary and Conclusions**

How, then, do we finally assess the evidence for the origins and development of Christianity in Egypt? As we have seen, it is scanty and ambiguous, and has been subjected to diametrically opposed interpretations.

Roberts is undoubtedly correct in stressing the Palestinian and Jewish origins of Christianity in Egypt, something that was intuitively affirmed by Eusebius (2.17.2, above). The earliest Christianity in Egypt was certainly not "gnostic," as Bauer argues. Nor is it useful to apply to earliest Christianity, whether in Egypt or elsewhere, the categories "heresy" and "orthodoxy." Something of the flavor of Jewish Christianity in Alexandria can be extrapolated from *Barnabas* and the *Gospel of the Hebrews.* The writings of Philo were probably utilized early by philosophically oriented Christians, and resulted in the kind of Christianity that is later exemplified by the *Teachings of Silvanus* and Clement of Alexandria. Probably already in the 1st century early Jewish forms of Gnosticism were being adapted to the Christian message by some Alexandrian Christians.

The war of 115–17 resulted in the final break of Christianity from the larger Jewish matrix. From that time on, Gnosticism became a powerful influence in Alexandrian Christianity, as is illustrated especially by the activities of Valentinus and Basilides, who were quite willing to appropriate to their own purposes the Christian books used by nongnostic Christians. It is to be stressed that the very structure of Valentinian and Basilidian ecclesiology presumes the numerical superiority of ordinary, nongnostic

Christians. Even so, Gnosticism gained a very strong foothold in Alexandrian Christianity during the 2d century, and certainly dominated its intellectual life until the time of Pantaenus.

Bauer is correct in stressing the pivotal role played by Demetrius in the development of an orthodox ecclesiastical establishment. Properly called "the Second Founder of the church of Alexandria" (Telfer 1952: 2), he was clearly the first "monarchical" bishop of Alexandria. However, it is doubtful that the impetus for this development came from Rome, for the monarchical episcopacy was as late in coming to Rome (with Victor, bishop 189–99) as it was in coming to Egypt (cf. La Piana 1925). The writings of the Gallican bishop Irenaeus (himself a native of Asia Minor) would certainly have served Demetrius well in the promotion of orthodoxy (the Oxyrhynchus fragment of Irenaeus already cited dates to the time of Demetrius), and were probably transmitted to Alexandria via Rome. But there must presumably have been sufficient "orthodoxy" in Alexandria before Demetrius for Irenaeus, writing about 180, to include the church in Egypt among the churches scattered throughout the world that preserve the catholic faith with "one heart and one soul" (*haer.* 1.10.2).

It is probable that the catechetical school of Alexandria played a large role in the development of a theological orthodoxy, at least from the time of Pantaenus. Roberts suggests that it was Pantaenus who purged the school of the influence of the Gnostics (1979: 54). It was, of course, under Demetrius that the school came under the control of the bishop.

Finally, the expansion of Christianity in Egypt outside of Alexandria, implicit in Eusebius' report of the Severan persecution (6.1.1, above), is documented by the 2d-century manuscript evidence already cited. The places where the manuscripts have turned up include, in addition to Oxyrhynchus and the Fayum, Qarara (Hipponon), Antinoopolis, and Coptos in Upper Egypt (in several cases the provenance is unknown; cf. van Haelst 1976: nos. 462, 33, 12, 52, 179, 224, 151, 336 + 403, 534, 372, 586, 657, 594, 671; and Roberts 1979: 13–14). The expansion thus documented applies only to Greek-speaking Christianity. The expansion of Christianity among Egyptian-speaking natives is documented from the 3d century on, though it can be presumed to have begun earlier. The development of a native Egyptian Christianity is coterminous with the development of the Coptic language, the latest form of the tongue of the ancient Pharaohs.

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## *CHRISTIANITY IN GREECE*

This article will trace the origins, growth, and development of Christianity in Greece, beginning with the missionary efforts of Paul, recorded in the NT, through the empire-wide decrees of Constantine.

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A. Sources
B. The First Century
C. The Second Century
    1. Polycarp
    2. The Greek Apologists
    3. Dionysius of Corinth
    4. Bacchyllus
    5. Melito of Sardis
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D. The Third Century
E. The Fourth Century
    1. The Diocletian Persecution
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    3. The Conversion of Constantine and the Edict of Milan
    4. The Council of Nicea (325)
    5. The Churches in Greece
    6. Constantinople as the "New Rome"

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### A. Sources

The primary sources which deal with the development of Christianity in Greece are quite limited, especially before the time of Constantine. The scriptural sources which focus almost exclusively on the ministry of Paul in Greece include Acts 16–20, the epistles of Paul to the churches at Corinth, Philippi, and Thessalonica as well as a few brief references in other NT epistles (Rom 15:26; 16:1; Titus 1:5; 3:12). Scholars do not agree on the historical reliability of those sources, especially in the case of Acts and the epistle to Titus, but the chronological sequence of the journeys of Paul in Greece in Acts is not in doubt, nor that he was the first to found churches in the places mentioned in Acts. The epistle to Titus, which in its present form did not come from Paul, nevertheless gives a reliable tradition that Paul had some influence on the starting of the churches in Crete (1:5) and that he spent a winter in Nicopolis in Epirus (3:12). This information is not such that would be fabricated in the ancient sources.

Besides these scriptural references, there are a few brief comments, mostly incidental, from the Church Fathers indicating the presence of churches in Greece before Constantine, but they are not sufficiently detailed to provide a clear picture of the size or impact of those churches. These references, however, do permit us to see that Christianity not only was still growing in Greece in the first four centuries, but also had become fairly widespread among the local people without much opposition from them. It is also clear that the churches had organized themselves into a strong episcopal body which included parts of Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, Thrace, most of the southern province of Achaia, and many of the Greek islands. The primary sources for reconstructing the history of Christianity in Greece before the time of Constantine include Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica* (ca. 330–40) and also his *De Vita Constantini*, Hippolytus' *Philosophoumena* (ca. 220–30), the ecclesiastical histories of both Socrates (ca. 439–50) and Sozomen (ca. 435), the various collections of the accounts of martyrdoms in the ancient churches (especially the *Acta Sanctorum*), and Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus* (ca. 392–95). References to the growth and development of the church in Greece are also found in incidental comments from *1 Clement* (ca. 95), the so-called *2 Clement* (ca. 120–70), *The Apostolic Constitutions* (ca. 350), Polycarp's letter to the church at Philippi (117–20), the writings of Origen, especially *Contra Celsum* (ca. 230), and Porphyry, *Philosophy from Oracles* and *Against Christians* (ca. 260–63).

**B. The First Century**

The Christian proclamation first came to Greece through the missionary activities of the Apostle Paul (Acts 16:9–40; 2 Cor 2:12–13) ca. 50. After landing at Neapolis (Acts 16:11), Paul began his first church in Greece at Philippi (Acts 16:12–40), a Roman colony where Latin was the official language of the courts and the common people. Paul's reception at Philippi was mixed, but an important church was started there which later contributed to his needs while he was ministering elsewhere in Macedonia, especially in Thessalonica (Phil 4:15–16). After a brief imprisonment in Philippi, Paul departed for Thessalonica, passing through Amphipolis and Apollonia (Acts 17:1–9), but again he encountered strong opposition. This time, however, it was the Jews who opposed his ministry and for safety's sake he had to leave the city (Acts 17:5–7, cf. 1 Thess 2:14–16), but not before he started an important church. In a matter of months the Thessalonian Christians were evangelizing the Macedonian province and had even become an example to the churches in Achaia in the south (1 Thess 1:7–8). From Thessalonica he went southwest some forty-five miles to Beroea and enjoyed considerable success before a Jewish contingent of opponents from Thessalonica came and again forced him to leave (Acts 17:10–13). According to the *Apos. Con.* 7:46, the first bishop of Beroea was Onesimus, the runaway slave of Philemon (cf. Phlm 10). After leaving Beroea, Paul went to Athens, but had little success in his mission there (Acts 17:16–34). One of his Athenian converts was Dionysius the Areopagite (Acts 17:34), who later was called the first bishop of Athens by bishop Dionysius of Corinth (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.23.3). Departing from Athens, Paul went to Corinth (ca. 51–52, depending on the dating of the famous inscription from Delphi which locates Gallio in Corinth for a brief stay, cf. Acts 18:12–17) and founded his most significant and influential church in Greece (Acts 18:1–17). Almost from the beginning this church had problems and even serious divisions (see 1 Cor 1:11–15; 3:1–3), but there was an important response to the Christian proclamation at Corinth. After some eighteen months of ministry in Corinth (Acts 18:11), Paul departed through the seaport village at Cenchreae, where he completed a Jewish vow (Acts 18:18). Acts does not say whether Paul founded a church there, but in the appendix of his letter to the Romans, he commends Phoebe, a deacon in the church of Cenchreae, and encourages the Romans to help her along her way (Rom 16:1–2). According to the *Apos. Con.* 7.46, Lucius was appointed by Paul as the first bishop of Cenchreae.

In Titus 1:5 we read that Paul founded churches on the island of Crete and left Titus behind to give leadership and direction to the churches. Those churches included at least the ones at Knossos and Gortyna. Also in that epistle there is a brief reference to Paul's plans to spend the winter in Nicopolis. It may be that Paul started a ministry there, but it cannot be confirmed. It is also possible that he stayed the winter at Nicopolis in preparation for his ministry in Illyricum (Rom 15:19). If one were to include the impact of Christianity on the whole of the Hellenistic peninsula, then Illyricum on the northwestern part of the Grecian peninsula must also be added to the missionary activities of Paul. The departure of Titus

from Paul to the province of Dalmatia in Illyricum (2 Tim 4:10) also implies the presence of a church there, though nothing more is known of either his or Paul's labors in that region.

Besides the Apostle Paul, the most influential companions who were involved with him in his mission in Greece were Timothy, Silas, Luke (probably), Priscilla and Aquila, and Apollos. Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, claimed that the Apostle Peter joined with Paul in founding the church at Corinth and labored side by side with him (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.25.8), but this has no other ancient support. The problem of the division of loyalties in Corinth (1 Cor 1:12) has suggested to some commentators that Peter actually ministered in Corinth; however, this could mean simply that Peter, as a founding pillar of the church, was appealed to for justification for some form of Jewish Christianity present in Corinth. Finally, there is a strong multiple tradition from the 2d to the 6th centuries which points to the ministry of the Apostle Andrew in Scythia, Thrace, Epirus, Macedonia, and Achaia. That tradition also reports that Andrew was crucified in the Achaian city of Patras at the direction of the proconsul Aegeas (see *Acts of Andrew, Passio, AcApos* 56:586; Philasterius *De Haeresibus* 88; Jerome *Ad Marcellum, Breviarium Apostolorum, Martyrologium Romanum;* and Epiphanius *Haer.* 61.1, 63.2). According to Jerome, Andrew's bones were transferred from Patras to Constantinople by Constantius II, Roman emperor 337–61 (*De Vir. Ill.* 7).

At the end of the 1st century, Corinth is mentioned again because there was quarreling going on in the church which led to the expulsion from office of several of its presbyters. Clement of Rome wrote to them encouraging them toward peace, humility, and obedience to their leaders (*1 Clem.* 4–20, 44–46).

It is likely that there were other churches in Greece in the 1st century at Larissa, Patras, and Aegina (according to *Apos. Con.* 4.46, Crispus, presumably of 1 Cor 1:14, was the first bishop of Aegina), and probably elsewhere owing to the evangelistic spirit of the churches in Macedonia (1 Thess 1:7–8).

**C. The Second Century**

Because the sources for understanding the development of Christianity in Greece in the 2d century are more limited than those for the 1st, even a broad outline of the church's activity in Greece for that era is difficult to produce. The following references, though limited, are essential for any description of the ecclesiastical climate in 2d-century Greece.

**1. Polycarp.** Around 117–20 Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, wrote a letter to the Christians at Philippi partly to prepare them for an impending visit of Ignatius of Antioch, who was on his way to Rome for martyrdom, but mostly to warn them against disorders and apostasy *(Ep. Pol.).* He rejoiced with them that their faith had deep roots and that it was still bearing fruit (1:2).

**2. The Greek Apologists.** At nearly the same time Quadratus of Athens, the first Christian apologist, wrote a defense of the Christian faith to the Emperor Hadrian (ca. 124–25), answering the objections of both Jews and pagans (*Hist. Eccl.* 4.3.1–2). Aristides, also from Athens, sent another apology to Hadrian (ca. 125), defending both the existence and eternity of God as well as the superiority of the Christian understanding of God (*Hist. Eccl.* 4.3.3). Some scholars locate both of these apologists' writing careers ca. 160 during the reign of Antonius Pius (138–61), but that view is difficult to establish. The most distinguished 2d-century apologist from Athens was Athenagoras (ca. 170–80), who set forth the earliest defense of the Christian doctrine of God as three in one. Whether there was a Christian philosophical school in Athens during the 2d century which trained these apologists is not known, but the fact that they all came from Athens in the 2d century is suggestive.

**3. Dionysius of Corinth.** The most influential bishop in Greece in the 2d century was Dionysius (ca. 170), who wrote letters to several churches and individuals encouraging them in the Christian faith. Among the eight letters referred to by Eusebius, he wrote to the churches at Athens, Lacedaemon, and to Gortyna and Knossos in Crete (*Hist. Eccl.* 4:23). He rebuked the Christians at Athens for their tendency toward apostasy following the death of their bishop (Publius), but rejoiced that their new bishop (Quadratus—not the apologist) had brought them back to the faith. The church in Lacedaemon shows that the Christian message had reached the southernmost part of the Peloponnese by 170. The significance of this city is not known during the 2d century—it may have been a small country community and may also have been an alternative name for Sparta, as some have suggested—but by the 4th century its importance both socially and politically is seen by its inclusion, along with Corinth and Athens, in the request from

the emperor Julian to help him in his political reforms. Dionysius' exhortation to Pinytus, the bishop of the church at Knossos in Crete, to cease imposing his strict views of continence on the church there shows an early tendency toward asceticism in the churches of Greece (*Hist. Eccl.* 4.23.7). After mentioning his letter to Soter of Rome, Eusebius calls attention to Dionysius' complaint about the altering of some of his letters by his opponents, possibly the Marcionites, whom he condemned in his letter to the church at Nicomedia (*Hist. Eccl.* 4.24.4).

**4. Bacchyllus.** Following Dionysius, Bacchyllus became bishop of Corinth (ca. 185–90) and was an active participant in the Easter (Quartodecimian) Controversy, writing an influential letter on the matter (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.22.1; 5.23.4; see also Jerome *De Vir. Ill.* 44).

**5. Melito of Sardis.** Eusebius tells of a letter from Melito of Sardis (ca. 180) to the emperor Marcus Aurelius, or Antonius Verus, (emperor, 161–80) and his son Commodus, imploring them to send a letter to the magistrates of Asia not to take further actions against the Christians. He reminds the emperor that his father, the emperor Antonius Pius (138–61), had written similar letters to the cities of Larissa, Thessalonica, and Athens directing them to do no further harm to the Christians (*Hist. Eccl.* 4.26.7–11).

**6. Theodotus.** Among the defectors from the Christian faith during the 2d-century persecutions (probably those of Marcus Aurelius, 161–80), Theodotus of Byzantium was condemned by Hippolytus of Rome (ca. 190) for his denial of the faith (*Philosophoumena* 7:7). He was later excommunicated by Victor of Rome (192–202) for his Arian doctrines about Christ (Epiph. *Haer.* 54.1).

**7. The Letters of Serapion.** A final witness to the growth and development of the church in Greece in the late 2d and perhaps early 3d centuries comes from Eusebius. While describing the letters of Serapion of Antioch against heresy, he mentions the names of various bishops who signed Serapion's letters, signifying approval of the contents. Among these bishops was Aelius Publius Julius, bishop of Debeltum, a colony of Thrace (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.19.3). This story also provides evidence that a Thracian provincial synod was held toward the end of the 2d century in order to discuss the Montanist controversy, showing the kind of cooperation existing among the various churches both in and outside Greece.

**D. The Third Century**

The few ancient sources that do exist for the reconstruction of the growth and development of Christianity in Greece in the 3d century are mostly concerned with the persecutions initiated by Decian. About all that is otherwise known is the visit of Origen to Nicopolis near Actium in Epirus (ca. 230), where he found a copy of the Scriptures (presumably the OT). Both his stay there and his finding a copy of the Scriptures obviously suggests that a Christian community was situated in Nicopolis (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.13.2). About the same time, Origen also spent some time in Athens in order to finish his commentary on Ezekiel (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.32.2). He described the church in Athens as a "peaceful and orderly body, as it desires to please Almighty God" (Origen *c. Cels.* 3.30). He also spoke along similar lines about the church at Corinth.

The life of the churches in Greece in the middle of the 3d century was dominated primarily by the Decian persecution. The Roman emperor Decius saw the Christians as a threat to the unity of the empire. They were emerging as an empire within the empire, and they were even referred to as a "nation" (Gk *ethnei*) by Jovius Maximinus Augustus in a letter to Sabinus (see *Hist. Eccl.* 9.9a.1, 4). The text (written ca. 312–13) clearly shows the perceived threat Christianity posed to the Roman Empire. The growing number of Christians and the consequent abandonment of the state religion by many was taken with utmost seriousness. With his edict in January of 250, Decius began the first empire-wide persecution of the Christians, starting with the execution of Fabian, bishop of Rome. The persecution lasted about eighteen months until Decius was killed. Valerian, his successor, resumed the persecutions in August of 257 and they continued until his capture by the Persians in June of 260. His son, Gallienus, reversed the edict of Valerian in July of 260 and for the next forty years the Christians throughout the empire lived in relative peace and freedom to practice their religion (*Hist. Eccl.* 7.11–13). Our information about the persecutions from 250–60 is more complete for cities like Rome, Carthage, and Alexandria, where the full force of the persecutions and executions was felt, but there were many other Christian martyrs throughout the empire during this period of which only a few names have survived. The fragmentary literature that

has survived this era is indicative of the severe nature of the persecutions which the Christians endured in Greece and especially in Achaia. Among the Greeks known to have been martyred are Leonides, bishop of Athens, and his eight companions from Corinth (*ActSS* April 2; *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca [BHG]* 2:54–55); Quadratus and his Corinthian companions (*BHG* 1: 119); and Irene and Adrian from an unnamed city in Achaia whose feast day was kept on March 10 (*ActSS* March 2). Unfortunately, there is no surviving evidence that the churches in Greece produced any great leaders, scholars, writers, or spokespersons during this time comparable to those found elsewhere in the Roman Empire in the 3d century (e.g., Origen, Ambrose, Fabian, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Cyprian). Eusebius is usually quite detailed in his descriptions of the most prominent persons in the church, but is silent about church leaders from Greece during this period. See *Hist. Eccl.* 6–7, where he focuses on this period of the church's life, but says almost nothing about the church in Greece or its leaders.

Throughout the 3d century, apart from the period of intense persecution, there was essentially complete freedom to preach the Christian message. It is clear from the catalog of bishops from Greece representing their churches at the Council of Nicea (see the lists below) that significant evangelization had taken place throughout Greece, especially in Achaia. (See Sozomen *Hist. Eccl.* 7.7 for further evidence of numerous well-organized Greek churches in the 4th century.) Eusebius also makes it clear that the period of relative ease for the church also produced a time of moral laxity which, he believes, led to the Diocletian persecution in the early 4th century (*Hist. Eccl.* 8.1.7–8.2.3).

**E. The Fourth Century**

By the 4th century, much of Greece was already Christianized and evidently without significant opposition from the local residents. The Greeks in the Peloponnese, by and large, had embraced Christianity, and as can be seen from the number of bishoprics there, their churches were well organized. Churches elsewhere in Greece were also apparently numerous and well organized as the large number of bishops at the Council of Nicea in 325 from both prominent and insignificant Greek communities suggests. Sozomen gives evidence of the strong organization of the Greek churches when he describes the Macedonian christological controversy in the 4th century. He relates how the Macedonian bishops rejected the notion that the substance of the Son was the same as that of the Father and they exhorted their churches not to conform to the doctrines of Nicea (*Hist. Eccl.* 7.7).

Probably as a result of the rapid growth of the church both in Greece and elsewhere, the church was set on a collision course with Rome.

**1. The Diocletian Persecution.** On February 23, 303, after some forty years of peace and prosperity for the church, Diocletian, the Roman emperor, launched the last great empire-wide persecution of the Christians. In a series of four edicts between 303 and 304 Christianity, in effect, became an outlawed religion in the empire. Its Scriptures were destroyed, its properties destroyed or confiscated, and its ministers were imprisoned and forced under penalty of death to offer sacrifices to the pagan gods. The causes for the persecution are not given in the edicts, but the social context of the day gives a major clue.

First, the Christian community had increased considerably in the pagan world in the last quarter of the 3d century. Porphyry wrote fifteen volumes against the Christians because he saw them as a major threat to the empire. He feared that none of the Christian converts could be reconverted to the state-recognized religion (*Philosophy from Oracles,* ca. 263), and he was especially concerned about the influx of educated women into the church. He spoke with alarm and disappointment that the Christians were building up their "great houses" to assemble for prayer (*Against Christians* 2.63–64). Eusebius agrees with such claims and speaks with pride of the growth of the church and its rising prestige in the last decades before the Diocletian persecution. He gives several examples of the many Christians who held high offices in the imperial service (see *Hist. Eccl.* 8.11.2; 8.6.1; and 8.9.7–8).

Second, at the same time that the Christians were improving their image and gaining converts almost everywhere, Rome, its government, and its religion, were clearly on the decline in public sentiment. Disloyalty and disrespect for the government was on the rise. This was due in part to the many foreign invasions in both Britain, Germany, and elsewhere, as well as the consequent need for heavier taxation to support an even larger military necessary to suppress the unrest in the empire. Both the Decian and

Diocletian persecutions as well as their reforms had little effect on bringing the necessary changes in the empire. The immorality of the higher classes continued to undermine the people's confidence in Rome. Lack of loyalty for the empire can be seen in the fact that the majority of the Roman army was made up of mercenaries, and neglect of paying one's taxes was praised among the common people. Further, unequal distribution of justice, i.e., the rich were getting richer and the poor poorer, along with a moral laxity especially among the highest leaders of the empire, led to a growing lack of respect for leadership. The opulence of the emperors and their favored lieutenants came at the expense of the already increasingly poor population. (See Finlay 1877: 1.99–114 for a detailed discussion of the social climate of the Roman empire in the late 3d and early 4th centuries.)

The empire was deteriorating and Diocletian was painfully aware of it. Before him, Aurelian (270–75) and Probus (276–82) had tried to reform the empire, but without success. Diocletian, in the same spirit, tried to set the clock backward, and again it did not work. His solution was to return to the stability of the former generations through loyalty to the gods of the state and unity within the empire brought about by a stronger military. Eusebius indicates the Roman concern that the Christians were not loyal citizens (*De Vita Constantini* 2:50), and also that the Christians were excluded from military service at the beginning of the Diocletian persecutions (*Hist. Eccl.* 8.1.7).

The Christians, on the other hand, assumed that the empire would not and could not last because it had stood for evil, unequal justice, promiscuity, and immoral behavior in the upper classes. The Greeks, long imbued with a sense of equality and the feeling of a moral code which applied to both superiors and inferiors, generally embraced Christianity because it enforced the observance of the moral duties on every rank of society without distinction. The general demoralization of women in the empire compared to the morality taught by the Christians with respect for women led many women to convert to Christianity. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Roman emperors should have seen Christianity as a threat. The church stood for the morality that the populace was coming to appreciate. The loyalty and fervency of faith common among the Christians were sorely lacking in the Roman hierarchy and in their religious practice. The church was well established and highly organized in the early 4th century and their political clout was doubtless a key factor in their being persecuted. The fear of the continued growth of the Christians is noted in the letter of Jovius Maximinus Augustus to Sabinus in which he justified the persecution of Christians because "almost all men had abandoned the worship of the gods and associated themselves with the *nation* of the Christians" (*Hist. Eccl.* 9.9a.1). The term "nation" (Gk *ethnei*) suggests the solidarity with which the emperor viewed the Christians and not without reason. The authority of the bishops over the people in their congregations was powerful and effective not only in the church's ministries, but also in daily social discourse.

The exact reason for the Diocletian persecution is not clear, but the hatred for the Christians by one of his closest lieutenants, Galerius, is well known and both were together in Nicomedia at the time of the outbreak of hostility toward the church. At any rate, the Diocletian persecution was quite severe and lasted for some ten years. In Greece especially, where Galerius had a home in Thessalonica and exercised great influence, the persecution was carried out with extreme cruelty as the various accounts of the martyrdoms there show.

**2. The Martyrs.** Evidence for a strong church in Greece in the early 4th century can be found in its lists of martyrs. One of the most dramatic examples shows that young and even pregnant women were not immune from torture and death by the Roman authorities (*ActSS* April 2: *Agape, Irene, and Chione at Thessalonica* sec. 4). The notices of martyrs in Adrianopolis, Drizipara, Epibata in Thessaly, Buthrotum in Epirus, and Pydna testify to the vibrant faith of the Christians in Greece. These persecutions also included the burning of sacred Christian literature and the destruction of their properties and places of worship (see *ActSS* March 2 and April 2, and *Hist. Eccl.* 8.2.1–5). The destruction of Christian literature no doubt had a severe effect upon the Christians' ability to keep accurate records of the growth of their mission (see the solicitation of Christian books in *Gesta apud Zenophilum* 26), especially in Greece, where Galerius resided and was actively involved in the persecution of Christians until shortly before his death in 311 (*Hist. Eccl.* 8.17.1).

**3. The Conversion of Constantine and the Edict of Milan.** Without question the most important event for Christians throughout the Roman Empire in the early 4th century was the conversion of Constantine to the Christian religion and his subsequent Edict of Milan in 313, which gave complete religious freedom to the Christians. Even before the edict was issued, Constantine had given Christians freedom to worship in safety in Macedonia and Illyria (Sozomen *Hist. Eccl.* 1:2). After the Edict of Milan, there were only a few months of persecution by Licinius in the East and again just briefly during the reign of Julian (361–63).

**4. The Council of Nicea (325).** The listing of the names and home cities of the bishops who attended the Council of Nicea offers evidence for the considerable number of churches in Greece by the early decades of the 4th century. According to Sozomen there were three hundred and twenty bishops attending the council (*Hist. Eccl.* 1:17). Those from Greek cities of which we are aware include Bishop Pistus of Athens, Bishop Strategius of Hephaistia on the island of Lemnos in the Aegean Sea, Bishop Claudian of Larissa in Thessaly, Bishop Eustathius of Beroea, who was voted by the other bishops to fill the apostolic throne at Nicea (Sozomen *Hist. Eccl.* 1:2), Bishop Paederus of Heraclea of Thrace, Bishop Budius of Stobi in Macedonia, Bishop Cleonicus of Thebes in Thessaly, Bishop Ballachus of Pele and also of Thessaly, Bishop Dakos of Scupi in Dardania, whose bishopric included Macedonia, and Bishop Marcus from Chalcis on the island of Euboea. Eusebius, commenting on the wide representation at the council, claims that "those in the remotest districts of Thrace and Macedonia, of Achaia and Epirus … were in attendance" (*De Vita Constantini* 3:7). There was no mention of representative churches in Crete at Nicea, which was probably an oversight since churches were known to have been established there in the 1st century at Knossos and Gortyna. There were also other representatives from the Christian communities on several Greek islands such as Corcyra, Cos, Lemnos, Rhodes, and presumably Patmos. It is clear that by the 4th century, Christianity had reached the Greek settlements on the northern coasts of the Black Sea and in the Crimean settlements since two bishops from that region (Theophilus of Gothia and Cadmus of Bosphorus) were also in attendance at the council.

**5. The Churches in Greece.** Both before and following the Diocletian persecutions, the churches in Greece were stable and well organized. That continued to be the case up to the time when the emperor Theodosius I (The Great, 379–75) established Christianity as the religion of the empire. There was solidarity not only within Greece, but also with other churches throughout the empire. The episcopal form of church government also seems to have taken hold throughout Greece, and as is clear from the correspondence of Dionysius to Soter, bishop of Rome, there was a growing appreciation of the value of ancient correspondence in the churches. This was especially so after the edicts to burn this material. The reading of Clement of Rome's letter to the Corinthians in worship as a means of drawing admonition from it, even some seventy years after it was written, was the very practice which led ultimately to the recognition of Christian writings themselves as Scripture (*Hist. Eccl.* 4.23.11).

In the 4th and 5th centuries, Athens continued to be the stronghold of the non-Christian philosophies long after Constantine had declared that the city corrupted the people who continued to flock from all over the empire to its teachers of philosophy. Later, during the reign of the emperor Julian (361–63), pagan sacrifices at Athens were still tolerated, but by the middle of the 6th century, Justinian closed the philosophical schools in Athens and discontinued the pagan sacrifices. The Athenian philosophical schools nonetheless continued to have an important influence on the people centuries later, not only in pagan communities, but also in the Christian church. It is important to note that the Christian doctrine of the Trinity was framed within Platonic philosophical categories. Both Plato and Aristotle had a significant impact on the theologies of the Church Fathers, especially Boethius (480–524) and Thomas Aquinas (1225–74). Although Athens never had a prominent Christian church, it continued to be revered by the Romans and the entire Hellenistic world for its focus on education and philosophy. However, whatever the strength or character of the church in Athens, it had little impact upon the moral and social climate of its day.

Corinth, on the other hand, was the ecclesiastical metropolis of Achaia, having preeminence over the church in Athens well into the 4th century. While Corinth was one of the most flourishing commercial

centers of antiquity, the church there was composed primarily of lower-class individuals (1 Cor 1:26–29), at least at first. It was also concerned with the evangelization of the Peloponnese (*Hist. Eccl.* 4.23.1–8).

**6. Constantinople as the "New Rome."** In the early part of the 4th century, Heraclea, which had been the metropolis of Thrace, was surpassed by Byzantium, which became the capital of the Eastern empire and was renamed Constantinople in 326. The removal of the capital from Rome was an astute move on the part of Constantine. Since Greece was already predominately Christian and Rome was not, the Hellenistic peninsula was a much more favorable climate to relocate the capital of the empire, especially when the emperor wanted to wed the empire with the church. Finlay has rightly observed that "when the emperor, by becoming a Christian, was placed in personal opposition to the Roman Senate, there could be no longer any doubt that Rome became a very unsuitable residence for the Christian court. Constantine was compelled to choose a new capital" (Finlay 1877: 1.139). The power the church had acquired in Greece no doubt influenced Constantine's choice of relocation, but the strategic location of Byzantium must also have influenced his thinking. From there he was able to solidify the Eastern empire and organize the whole of it into four major sectors with the leadership of each reporting to Constantine in Constantinople. The problems of the empire were not fully solved by this move, but to Constantine's credit, there was once again widespread unity in the empire. When he became the recognized head of the church, he also involved himself in its affairs to the point of calling church councils and settling disputes of doctrine. His overriding passion for the empire was unity and conformity and this affected his dealings with the church (see examples of this in Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini* 2.61, 3.6–18, 37; 4.41–43). When Constantinople became the "New Rome," Latin was the official language of the city, but Greek was still the dominant language of the people. Only later when the problem of communication persisted between the two great centers in Rome and Constantinople was the separation between the Eastern and Western empires completed. After Constantinople became the capital of the Eastern empire, it also became the focal point of church hierarchy in the East, which has lasted unto this day.

Elsewhere in Greece, pagan temples were converted by Christians for use in worship and ministry. Many monks also took possession of pagan shrines after Constantine had declared that full restitution be paid to the Christians for their suffering and loss during the persecutions. Nowhere else in the ancient world is there so much evidence of Christians building their churches on the sites of pagan temples and shrines than in Greece. An ancient mausoleum in Thessalonica, for example, which was originally built for the emperor Galerius (d. 311) to entomb his body and to be a pantheon, was converted into a church no later than the last quarter of the 4th century. It is still standing and is now called the "Rotunda" or "Agios Georgios Church."

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LEE MARTIN MCDONALD


## *NORTH AFRICAN CHRISTIANITY*

It is one of the ironies of history that although Christianity in the Roman West is defined by such African luminaries as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine, its introduction to and earliest development on that continent remain hidden. The first indications of contact are found in

the book of Acts. According to Acts 2:10, the witnesses to Pentecost include "Jews and proselytes" from "Egypt and the parts of Libya belonging to Cyrene." The historicity is questionable for, in addition to the doubtfulness of the event, the list of nationalities presented anticipates the later church universal. Alexandrines and Cyrenians are also mentioned at Acts 6:9, as opponents of Stephen. Acts 18:24 speaks of a certain Apollos, who is called a native of Alexandria; 5th-century Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (D) adds an interesting gloss, stating that he was "taught the word of the Lord in his native country." If Bezae's report is correct, then it would mean that Christianity was already winning converts in Egypt by the middle of the 1st century. Philip's baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts 8:26–40) represents another link (probably symbolic; cf. v. 39b) with Africa. Our survey concentrates on Egypt (centering on Alexandria) and North Africa (centering on Carthage).

No single person is linked with the founding of Egyptian Christianity until the 4th century, when Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.16) states that Mark the evangelist was "the first man to set out for Egypt," and was "the first to establish churches in Alexandria itself." In his *Chronicle,* Eusebius says Mark arrived in Alexandria in 43 C.E. The report of Marcan foundation must, however, be read in light of the well-known propensity for important sees to claim foundation by an apostle or evangelist. Mark's connection with Alexandria may be nothing more than another example of this mythmaking. While not linking him with the introduction of Christianity in Alexandria—its existence prior to his arrival is implied—a recently discovered letter (Smith 1973) attributed to Clement of Alexandria (and thus dating from ca. 200 C.E., if genuine) states that after Peter's martyrdom, Mark went to Alexandria. Opinion on the question of Marcan foundation is divided: W. Bauer (1977: 53–58; 60) felt that Eusebius' story was a fabrication, introduced in the late-2d century to support the founding of an "orthodox" monarchic episcopate; recently, B. Pearson (1986: 137–45), while not giving credence to the story, has been reluctant to dismiss it out of hand: *in dubito pro traditio.*

If one probes behind piety and examines the literary remains and theology, one fact emerges from recent studies of earliest Egyptian Christianity: it was dominantly Jewish, essentially another sect within Judaism. Therefore, it seems only natural to assume that the channels through which Christianity first spread beyond Palestine were Jewish. Trade, professional, and family connections would have carried this new Jewish sect of Christianity to the various Diaspora communities. These included, of course, the old, well-established Jewish communities in Africa. Eusebius also supports this analysis, for elsewhere he ascribes the origins of Egyptian Christianity to "the Jews" and states that, "for the greater part," it followed "ancient Jewish customs" (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.17.2–3; cf. Klijn 1986: 164).

Part of the difficulty in discerning traces of early Christianity in Egypt stems to the fact that the earliest Christians still regarded themselves as Jews. The writings of Philo (10 B.C.E.–50 C.E.) evidence the diversity of Jewish thought present in Egypt in the 1st century. As elsewhere, the estrangement between Christian and Jew developed incrementally, and only became final and decisive—manifesting itself in recoverable evidence—after the end of the 1st century. Second-century Egypt yields a rich trove of canonical as well as noncanonical Christian literature: papyrus fragments of Matthew and John (but not Mark!), as well as the "unknown gospel" of the Egerton Papyri (Bell and Skeat 1935), the *Shepherd of Hermas* and portions of the *Gospel of Thomas* (in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri). These findings confirm the pluriformity of early Egyptian Christianity, its eclectic tastes, and its close relationship with Alexandrian Judaism, especially as reflected in Philo. Gnostic currents are evident, probably related to or parallel with similar tendencies within Philonic Judaism. Traditional Jewish motifs, such as the "two ways" teaching, are also evident. Another sign of the link with Judaism is the fact that the two earliest Alexandrian Fathers of note, Clement (*Str.* 2.9.45) and Origen (*Io.* 2.12; *Hom. Ier.* 15.4; cf. Jerome, *de vir. inl.* 2), both know and cite without prejudice the Judaic-Christian *Gospel according to the Hebrews.*

The role of Alexandrian Christianity in the development of Christian literature, thought, and doctrine cannot be overemphasized. Because of its library (founded by Ptolemy Soter I), the literary arts of editing and interpretation reached heights unequaled in the ancient world (Reynolds and Wilson 1974: 5–15). The most polished recension of the NT gospels, the so-called "Alexandrian" text, exemplified in Codex Vaticanus (B) and $P^{75}$, is the work of Christian scribes of the generation of Clement of Alexandria.

Hellenism was the dominant cultural influence in Egyptian life during this period; Greek was the dominant language. Clement himself is a sophisticated, urbane writer, who attempted to meld Greek philosophy and Christianity. His successor in the catechetical school in Alexandria, Origen, became one of the most famous scholars in antiquity. Pagan scholars in Alexandria had developed the art of allegorical exegesis for interpreting portions of Homer and Hesiod deemed "offensive" to current tastes; later, the Jew Philo borrowed the technique and applied it to embarrassing or awkward portions of the OT. Clement and Origen borrowed the technique and applied it to the Gospels (see ORIGEN).

In addition to the likes of Clement and Origen, 2d-century Alexandria also produced Valentinus, Basilides, and Carpocrates, all later deemed heresiarchs. In the 3d and 4th centuries, Alexandria was home to Arius, leader of the Arians, as well as his opponent, Athanasius. This unparalleled crop of theologians represents leaders on both sides of the two major heresies of the early church: Gnosticism and Arianism; it is proof of the diversity and fluidity of early Christianity in Egypt.

Egyptian Christianity is characterized by its intellectual activity, relative openness, and syncretistic speculation. Whether gnostics working with Greek or Jewish ideas, or Clement and Origen adapting Greek philosophy and exegetical methods, it was an intellectual enterprise. Clement reflects that view when he defends philosophy ("it is impossible for a man without learning to comprehend the things which are declared in the faith," (*Str.* 1.6) and disparages those who "demand bare faith alone, as if (it were possible) without bestowing any care on the vine, straightway to gather clusters from the first" (*Str.* 1.9).

Klijn (1986: 170–75) has pointed to certain theological themes which emerge in early Egyptian Christianity: a logos christology, in which Jesus is the intermediary between God and man; the immutability of the *logos;* an interest in the wonders worked by the incarnate *logos,* which demonstrate that his powers are not mitigated by his having taken on flesh. This "high" christology, emphasizing the divinity of the incarnate one of his immutability, distinguished the so-called "Alexandrian School," as opposed to the "Antoichene School," which sought to preserve the humanity of Jesus (Sellers 1954). These differences set the stage for the christological and trinitarian controversies which were to follow, in which Alexandria and its theologians played such key roles.

Moving west from Egypt along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, one encounters the Roman provinces of Cyrenaica (roughly corresponding to present-day eastern Libya), Tripolitana (western Libya), Africa (Tunisia), Numidia (eastern Algeria), Mauretania Caesariensis (western Algeria), and Mauretania Tingitana (Morocco). Research into the introduction of Christianity in these regions centers on Carthage, the capital of the Roman province of Africa. Here, too, the imprint of Judaic Christianity is found. It seems reasonable to assume that Jewish lines of communication first brought word to Jews that their Messiah had come in the person of Jesus; the large Judaic-Christian community in Rome may well have been the source of this datum.

Documentary evidence begins in the 2d century, with the *Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs.* These twelve martyrs, from the obscure village of Scillium, near Carthage (or, perhaps, Scilli, in Numidia), were executed in Carthage on July 17, 180 C.E. Their Punic and Latin names are taken as indicators of their backgrounds: they are rustics, from the small villages, Latin-speaking, with ethnic ties to the land. Perhaps the most striking detail is that when they are questioned by the Proconsul Saturninus about the contents of a satchel, one of the martyrs, Speratus, states that it contains, "Books and letters of Paul, a just man." Hence, we know that portions of the Pauline corpus had reached North Africa by 180; furthermore, it is presumed that the documents were in Latin, for it is doubtful if the education of a commoner would have included Greek. (It is often argued that one of the first Latin translations of the Gospels was done in North Africa; the "afra" family of mss in the Vetus Latina are representatives of this effort.) Implicit in this first notice of Christianity in North Africa is a period of development: time for converts to be made in rural areas and among the indigenous population, for literature to be translated and disseminated, and for friction to arise with the authorities, necessitating persecution. We have no sources, however, to take us behind these events of July 180.

Already at this date, the Scillitan Martyrs display a Latin practicality and stubbornness which will become a hallmark of North African Christianity. They are absolutely unwavering in their devotion to the

faith, and seem almost eager to die a martyr's death. There is no second-guessing, no philosophical hairsplitting or reflection. About twenty years later, Tertullian will echo this stolid piety by asking: "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem? What concord is there between the Academy and the church? … Away with all attempts to produce a mottled Christianity of Stoic, Platonic and dialectic composition. We want no serious disputation after possessing Christ Jesus" (*De praescr. haeret.* 7.9–11). Despite such sentiments, the view that North African Christianity was wholly anti-intellectual is confounded by the carefully styled, philosophically slanted writings of scholar-churchmen such as MINUCIUS FELIX (if an African), Augustine, and Tyconius.

If heresy was the plague of the Egyptian church, then schism was the bane of the North African church. The same rigorist tone noted in the *Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs* and Tertullian later manifests itself in the Donatist schism, which split the church in 312. The Donatist party consisted of those who had survived the Diocletian persecution (303–305 C.E.) without recanting the faith. They objected to the readmission of *traditores* into the church, especially the installation of Majorinus, who had allegedly surrendered Scriptures during the persecution, as bishop of Carthage.

Christian inroads in North Africa during Roman times seem to have been limited to the coastal regions—in other words, to the territory within Roman frontiers. Converts seem to have come largely from the two uppermost layers of society, the Greco-Roman population and the Punic "middle class." The lowest stratum, the Berbers, remained largely untouched (Groves 1948: 64–65). The death of Augustine (430) and the establishment of a Vandal kingdom in Africa (442) mark a watershed in the history of North African Christianity. After that point, the transition from the early period to the middle ages has begun. The Vandals were Arian Christians; consequently, the stage was set for new conflicts between the "old" church of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine, and the "new" Arian church brought by the conquering Vandals. After a period of decline under the Vandals, Christianity experienced a renaissance when Byzantium gained control over North Africa in the 530s. This relative calm was shattered by the appearance of Islam, which once again put the church into a period of decline, commencing with the conquest of Egypt in the 640s; Carthage fell in 698. Although the Coptic church survived in Egypt, the North African church appears to have virtually vanished with the arrival of Islam.

The introduction of Christianity into the sub-Saharan regions of the African continent did not commence until the Portuguese voyages south, along the West coast of Africa, on their way to India and the Spice Islands in the 15th century.

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## *CHRISTIANITY IN ROME*

The presence of Christianity in Rome goes all the way back to the 1st century. Rome eventually became the most significant city for the growth of Western Christianity.

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A. Origins
1. Paul at Rome
2. Peter at Rome
B. Rome in Early Christian Literature
C. Key Issues in the Church at Rome
D. Onomastic Data
E. Organization
F. Theology

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### A. Origins

The presence of a sizable Jewish community in Rome made it inevitable that Christianity would appear there quite early. Possibly as many as thirteen synagogues existed in primarily the Trastevere (west across the Tiber River) area of Rome. Presumably the first Christian house churches began in these Jewish sectors. It is not known when this occurred. According to Acts, Jewish visitors from Rome were present at Pentecost, but the narrative does not imply that the new faith was carried back to the Roman Jewish community (Acts 2:10).

Whatever the means by which Christianity was introduced to Rome, it is widely assumed that it was already known there by the middle of the 5th decade. Suetonius (*Claud.* 25) tells us that the emperor Claudius "expelled the Jews from Rome because they were continually rioting *impulsore chresto.*" If *Chrestus* actually refers to Christ, the agitation may have been caused by the incipient Christian community or, perhaps, preaching about Christ. The date of the expulsion of the Jews has minimal attestation, but the relationship of Acts 18:2 with the fairly firm date for the arrival of Gallio in Corinth (Acts 18:12) indicates some time during or prior to the year 49 C.E.

Paul's letter to the Romans reflects the condition of the Roman church about 56 C.E. The church at Rome met primarily in its house churches. Priscilla and Aquila utilized their house for that purpose (Rom 16:3–5). Verse 16:15 may refer to yet another location. It is not clear when, if ever, the local house churches met as a metropolitan unit (note Col 4:16). The house churches involved both Jewish Christians (Rom 4:16) and gentile Christians (Rom 11:13). An onomastic analysis of Romans 16 indicates the presence of all levels of Roman society: slave and/or freed (e.g., Ampliatus [in Roman nomenclature a virtue name, like "ample," usually referred to a slave], Urbanus); Jews, Romans, and Greeks (e.g., Andronicus, Junia, Mary); and male and female.

**1. Paul at Rome.** The church at Rome claims as its apostolic foundation the two apostles, Paul and Peter. The presence of these two apostles at Rome has become a highly complex problem in which traditional, historical, and archaeological data are intertwined. Paul first came to Rome as a result of the decision of Festus (Acts 25:11–12). Paul must have arrived in Rome about the year 61. Some traditions would have Paul write the so-called Captivity Epistles while imprisoned at Rome and, after a missionary journey to Spain, the Pastoral Epistles during yet another imprisonment. Other sites (Ephesus, Caesarea Philippi) have been suggested for the provenance of the Captivity Epistles. The Pastoral Epistles are not generally considered original letters of Paul. Paul was likely martyred under Nero about the year 63. The first veneration of Paul occurred at the *memoria apostolorum,* "the memorial of the apostles," on the Via Appia (present-day S. Sebastiano). There on the graffiti (east) wall of the *triclinium,* or eating room, can

be found numerous prayers to Paul and Peter (ca. 250 C.E.). Whatever happened between 250 and ca. 330, the veneration of Peter shifted to the Vatican site and the veneration of Paul shifted to Via Ostia (S. Paolo fuori le Mura).

**2. Peter at Rome.** According to tradition, Peter also spent the last days of his life in Rome. Tradition places his martyrdom to the northwest of the city at the circus of Nero, but the apostle Peter also was venerated at the *triclinium* on the Via Appia. Only after the accession of Constantine did the veneration of Peter at the *memoria apostolorum* cease. Yet even prior to the construction of the *triclinium* Peter was honored (with no sign of cultic veneration) at the Vatican site near the Neronian circus. A monument had appeared at the Vatican cemetery (a niche in the red wall of Campo P) about the year 160. Shortly thereafter an *aedicula* or small monument was built into the niche. Its exact date cannot be determined but about 200 a presbyter Gaius wrote, "I can show you the monuments *[tropaia]* of the apostles, for if you will go to the Vatican or to the Ostian Way, you will find the monuments of those who founded this church" (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 2.25.6,7). Though no signs of Christian cultic activity appear at the Vatican, eventually the emperor Constantine built the edifice S. Pietro over the *aedicula.* In one wall (the graffiti wall) of the *aedicula* was placed a marble box which presumably held the remains of the apostle.

According to tradition, the letters of Peter were written by him from Rome (1 Pet 5:13). More likely 1 Peter comes from a Petrine group in Rome, perhaps the first attempt of certain persons in the Roman church to advise the church catholic. 2 Peter was written much later in the 1st century.

**B. Rome in Early Christian Literature**

Tradition placed the NT book of Hebrews from Rome (13:24) near the end of the 1st century, though its similarity to Hellenistic Jewish thought makes Egypt attractive as the provenance, or an Alexandrian as the author. About 98 C.E. Clement of Rome wrote to the church at Corinth on behalf of the church at Rome (*1 Clem.*, Salutation). Clement does not claim authority to intervene at Corinth, nor does he evoke the power of the two apostles. See CLEMENT, FIRST EPISTLE OF. But Ignatius, writing to the church at Rome about 117, speaks of the church there as presiding over the Christians of Italy (*Ign. Rom.*, Inscription). Eventually the authority of the capital of the empire shifted to Rome as the central city of the universal church. And apostolic authority fell on the leader, Peter, rather than the theologian, Paul.

Much of the literature emanating from Rome does not actually reflect, it would appear, the condition of the church at Rome. A Gnostic school was formed in Rome before the middle of the 2d century. Its most famous scholar was Valentinus (in Rome ca. 136–60), quoted frequently by Clement of Alexandria and Irenaeus. His (or his followers') *Gospel of Truth* was a key find in the Nag Hammadi Library. Another school was formed by JUSTIN MARTYR. His two Apologies were written in Rome and addressed to the emperor Antoninus Pius (136–61). His description of the sacraments and Christian life in the first Apology (64–67) probably reflect the situation at Rome during the middle of the 2d century. The *anamnesis* or remembrance-style eucharist reflects the urban tradition of Rome in contrast to the more suburban, popular "agape" of Hippolytus *(The Apostolic Tradition).*

Literature from Rome during the first three centuries was written primarily in Greek, but the shift toward Latin can be seen in the writing of Minucius Felix. His remarkable apology, *Octavius,* written in Latin about 240, defends the Christian faith just prior to the Decian persecution (249–59). *Octavius* was used by another Roman, a pupil of Hippolytus, Novatian, in his *de trinitate* (ca. 250). Hippolytus himself, however, the most prolific of Roman writers prior to Constantine, wrote in Greek.

**C. Key Issues in the Church at Rome**

During the 2d and 3d centuries serious issues of the Christian life were addressed at Rome. In about 140, MARCION of Sinope came to Rome and proposed a radical ethic of love based on an attenuated "New Testament" canon. The church responded with a canon which included the Old Testament, with judgment as well as love. Incorrectly labeled a gnostic, Marcion was expelled from Rome in July 144. By the end of the 2d century the Roman church itself responded with a fuller canon which probably formed the basis for the Muratorian Canon. About the same time the author of the *Shepherd of Hermas* proposed a system of penance and at least a modicum of leniency in the readmittance of repentant apostates to the faith community. The issue of apostasy continued to plague the Roman community. At the end of the 2d

century a powerful deacon named Callistus also favored a more lax attitude toward those who sinned or left the faith under pressure (the origin of John 7:53–8:11?). Callistus was opposed by the more demanding Hippolytus (*Philosophumena* 9). The issue was postponed by the failure of the Hippolytan group to elect a dissident bishop once the persecution of Decius had started, though the followers of Novatian continued to oppose leniency for those who apostasized during the persecution. Bishop Fabian (martyred under Decius on January 20, 250) took the opportunity to initiate veneration of the bishops of Rome instead of the martyrs. This shift in power toward the urban, pastoral types vis-à-vis the more unbending, populist type resulted finally, under Damasus, in a hierarchical Roman Christianity centralized under an episcopal authority based on the dual apostolic authority, especially that of St. Peter (*Hic habitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes; nomina quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris,* "You who seek the names of both Peter and Paul, you should know that these saints once dwelled here" [inscription of Damasus at S. Sebastiano]).

**D. Onomastic Data**

The later Roman church understood itself to be the heir of some early well-placed patrons. At the end of Domitian's reign a number of noble families were banished or put to death (ca. 95). A consul, Flavius Clemens, cousin of Domitian, was executed. His wife, Domitilla, was sent into exile. The catacomb of Domitilla is reputedly named for this noblewoman. A former consul, M. Acilius Glabrio, was also executed, and the catacomb of Priscilla reputedly derived from his wife.

It is not known how many house churches were formed in Rome. Eventually the later church claimed twenty-five titular churches which reputedly came from the earlier centuries. For example, the title church S. Clemente presumably evolved from the domicile of the so-called successor of Peter, Clement. These connections have not been proved. Nevertheless onomastic studies of early Christians in Rome do indicate that a broad spectrum of society adhered to nascent Christianity. One sample survey of inscriptions (*StadtrChr*) shows that before Constantine 10.5 percent of Christian men were designated by a tria nomina system; 32 percent of the men and 50 percent of the women were designated by a duo nomina system; and the rest were known only by a cognomen. Persons with two or three names must have been from Roman families, while the single-named persons (ca. 50 percent) must have been slaves or freed. After the "peace," Roman family names nearly disappeared. The Roman church participated in, or perhaps facilitated, an increasing democratization of Roman society. A similar phenomenon is observable with respect to slave names. While 3 percent of Roman inscriptions mentioned the status of slavehood, practically no such inscriptions can be found among Christian collections, even though 50 percent or more of the Christian population either were slaves or had been slaves. Christian or biblical names (e.g., Agape or Paulus) appear late (middle 3d century). Until that time Christians were primarily converts. There was little use of Christian birth names prior to Constantine.

**E. Organization**

The earliest organization of the church at Rome can only be ascertained obliquely. There are remarkably few references to offices in the inscriptional data. *Shepherd of Hermas* (8.3) refers to presbyters, apostles, bishops, teachers, and deacons (some still living) who formed the foundation of the church. Near the end of the 2d century a system of organization becomes evident. Bishop Victor (189–99) emerged as a very strong monarchical bishop. In the controversy over the date of Easter (Rome and others held to the first Friday through Sunday after the 14th of Nisan; the church of Asia kept the 14th of Nisan regardless of the day of the week), Victor even attempted to excommunicate the Asian churches. The next bishops of Rome, Zephyrinus (199–217) and Callistus (217–22), followed the same pattern.

About the turn of the century the deacon Callistus was given supervision of the catacombs. Underground Christian burials were legally registered by this time, so the Roman organization took on an institutional character. At the same time (ca. 200) the *fossores,* catacomb diggers, formed a legal society. Their insignia can be seen on a number of marble slabs from the catacombs. It was the bishop Zephyrinus, an opponent of Hippolytus (*Philosophumena* 9), who appointed Callistus as bishop of Rome. During that time a few people, likely connected with the suburban cemetery group, elected Hippolytus bishop. The schism continued through Urban (222–30), Pontianus (230–35), and Anteros (235–36). In August 236 or

237 the opponents Pontianus and Hippolytus were buried as martyrs in Rome, apparently reconciled. In any case, a process of replacing sporadic martyrs with church leaders had begun. In addition to presbyters and *fossores* there may have been a women's organization. The *Shepherd of Hermas* (78–110) mentions women Christians as if they performed certain pastoral functions; one Roman inscription (*SICV* no. 166; Snyder no. 3) hints at a nurturing function of women (*nonnae dulcissima* "most sweet nurse").

The church at Rome was much occupied with persecution from the beginning of the Decian attacks in 249 through that of Diocletian (starting February 23, 303). Pressured by a fatal illness, the emperor Galerius issued an edict of toleration in April 311. The churches moved from toleration to acceptance when Constantine received his famous vision at the Milvian bridge on October 26, 312. In June 313 the Edict of Milan, granting full benevolence to Christians, was published under the names of both Constantine and Licinius.

**F. Theology**

Unlike other urban Christian centers, no distinctive theology appeared in Rome before Constantine. The *Shepherd of Hermas* reflects a popular two-way or, more specifically, a two-spirit theology. In either case, like the authors of *Didache* and *Barnabas*, Hermas calls (*Shep. Herm.* 35–39) for the local Christian to choose between the way of righteousness and the way of evil. Marcion presented a radical ethic opposing grace and love to judgment, while Valentinus held to a sharp gnosticism with its dualistic view of the world. Both Justin Martyr and Minucius Felix defended Christianity in terms of Greek philosophy. At the time of Victor, a theology of Modalism (the trinity represents God the Father in three different historical modes) appeared in Rome, but the great writer Hippolytus described the trinity with an emphasis on function.

The intellectual energy of the church at Rome involved order. Its literature reflects primarily issues of rigidity and laxity in regard to church order. On the other hand, the popular material (such as art) reflects a theme of deliverance from threatening circumstances (Hebrew Scripture scenes such as Noah, Daniel, Jonah, and the three young men in the fiery furnace). The deliverer is portrayed as a young Jesus who functions as wonder worker (New Testament scenes such as healing miracles and the resurrection of Lazarus). There are very few allusions to a kerygmatic theology (death and resurrection of Jesus) or a creation theology (the ordering function of God).

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## *CHRISTIANITY IN SYRIA*

This branch of the Christian tradition is identified through the predominance of the Syriac language (a form of Aramaic developed primarily at Edessa) in theological and liturgical expression. The geographical boundaries of Syriac-speaking Christianity have varied with the vicissitudes of Middle Eastern history. Centering in what is now northern Iraq and eastern Turkey, Christians with this linguistic and cultural identity were active in areas now denominated by Syria, Lebanon, Iran, India (especially South India), China, parts of Georgia and Armenia, and the Gulf States. This article indicates the early development of Syriac-speaking Christianity with special attention to the history of exegesis.

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B. The Earliest Evidence for Christianity in Syria
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2. Tatian
3. Bardaisan
4. The *Chronicle of Edessa*

5. The *Chronicle of Arbela*
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4. Aphraates, Persian Theologian
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6. Ephrem's Disciples
F. Subsequent Development of Syriac Exegetical Traditions
G. Texts

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**A. The Mythology of Origins**

Theories about the origins of Christianity in Syriac-speaking regions have focused on Edessa. Most scholars suspect that some Christian evangelistic activities were carried out there during the 1st century of the Christian era. Edessa was at that time capital of Osrhoene, a buffer state between the Parthian and the Roman empires. The theory recurring in early Syriac literature is that Edessa and territories to the east (as far as India) were evangelized by the Apostle Thomas. This datum is found in various 4th-century writers including Ephrem of Syria (*Hymn on Nisibis* 42), Cyrillonas (*Hymn of the Huns*, written ca. 396 C.E.), Gregory of Nazianzus (*Oration* 33.11), and Ambrose (*Narration on the Psalms* 45.21). The tradition, which apparently originated at Edessa during the early 4th century when major cities of the Roman Empire were attempting to achieve legitimation and stature by claiming apostolic origins for their Christian communities, is developed most extensively in the anonymous *Acts of Thomas.*

The second theory, not necessarily at odds with the Thomas tradition, is that of Addai, the Thaddaeus of the gospel narratives. In a tradition canonized by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 1.13), an exchange of letters took place between King Abgar V of Edessa and Jesus. Abgar begged Jesus to visit Edessa and offered him refuge there from his Jewish persecutors. Jesus gave Abgar a portrait and eventually sent Addai to become court evangelist and healer. This correspondence is extant in Syriac, Greek, and Armenian and has been noted by various early historians. This tradition has provoked much scholarly debate. Drijvers (1984) suggested it is a late 4th-century forgery used to fight the Manicheans (see below). Others, especially Chaumont (1988), have suggested there may be some historical basis to the story. The problematic *Doctrina Addai* is at the center of the controversy as are the *Acts of St. Mari the Apostle*, the reputed successor of Addai. At present, there is little contextual material by which to evaluate the claims of the documents or their interpreters. Most probably, both traditions, in the form now extant, are of late 4th-century provenance, written on the basis of oral traditions, and tell us little about the actual origins of Christianity in Syria.

Another theory (Vööbus 1958; Neusner 1971, and others) suggests that Christianity in Northern Mesopotamia first developed within the Jewish community. This theory would appear to find support in the *Chronicle of Arbela* which describes a Christian presence in the city of Arbela from ca. 100 C.E.

However the *Chronicle of Arbela* (see below) is of disputed authenticity and one must hesitate to use its contents for information about the early 2d century.

Once again there is little data from earlier than the 4th century with which to test this theory. Probably the position of Edessa and Nisibis as important points on the "Silk Road," the main artery of commerce between the Roman Empire and the East (China, India, Parthia) and the involvement of Arameans in that commerce meant that Christianity traveled with the traders from Antioch toward the East. The demographics of Christianity within the Roman Empire would make it very plausible that the earliest converts were from Judaism. It is also probable that Christianity traversed the "Silk Road" at an early date. It is unclear whether Christianity in the Syriac-speaking areas was first structured in Aramaic (Syriac) or in Greek. Certainly at Dura Europas, the Christian community of this Roman military center appears to have been Greek-speaking; the 3d-century fragment of the *Diatessaron* found there is written in Greek.

**B. The Earliest Evidence for Christianity in Syria**

There is a paucity of documentation for Christianity in Syria before the 4th century. The most important documents are the Aberkios Inscription, the works of Tatian, the Socratic dialogue attributed to Bardaisan, the *Chronicle of Edessa*, and the problematic *Chronicle of Arbela.* There is some evidence regarding the Marcionites in Northern Mesopotamia.

**1. The Aberkios Inscription and the *Life of Aberkios.*** The earliest evidence for the development of Christian communities in Northern Mesopotamia is the Aberkios inscription from Asia Minor. This burial inscription, datable from before 216 C.E., recounts the visit of Aberkios to Nisibis where he encountered Christian co-religionists. The text recounts, "My name is Aberkios, the disciple of the chaste pastor who pastures his flock on the mountains and in the plains … I saw the plain of Syria and all the villages, Nisibis across the Euphrates. Everywhere I found people with whom to speak … the faith preceded me everywhere" (Abel 1926). This inscription, without doubt authentic, provides no information as to the identity of the Christian groups in Syria, no indication of theological persuasion, and no names of persons met during the journey. On the basis of this inscription, a late 4th- or 5th-century writer composed a *Life of Aberkios* (edited by Nissen 1912) which provides a detailed account of the travels, miracles, exorcisms, struggles, and victories of the peripatetic sage as well as a purported verbatim of a discussion between Bardaisan (see below) and Aberkios. In this dialogue, Bardaisan's words as recorded in *The Book of the Laws of the Countries* are placed in the mouth of Aberkios. Drijvers (1966; 1984) has argued that the account of the meeting between Aberkios and Bardaisan is historically accurate but such an optimistic assessment of the *Life of Aberkios* is clearly unwarranted (Bundy 1990).

**2. Tatian.** Tatian, author of *Oration to the Greeks* (Whittaker 1982) and compiler/translator of the *Diatessaron,* was born in Assyria (*Oration* 43.10–11). He studied in Rome (*Oration* 37.1) and was active in the church there before returning to Mesopotamia, perhaps to Palmyra or Adiabene, ca. 172 C.E. probably because of a dispute with that church over its disregard for rigorous asceticism (Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 4.9). It is unclear when the *Oration* was written, but its perspective is remarkably congruent with later Syriac thought and with the tendencies of interpretation in the *Diatessaron.* He presents a vision for an intellectual tradition "unmarred by party divisions" (*Or.* 27.3–5). He describes the church: "we reject all that is based on human opinion [and] taboo" (*Or.* 33.4–11). Within the church, the individual must strive to "obey God's word and not dissipate ourselves" (*Or.* 30.20–21), "lest the constitution of wickedness … grow strong" (*Or.* 30.18–19). It is the world which "drags us down, and it is weakness which makes me turn to matter" (*Or.* 22.10–11). Mankind is to "advance beyond his humanity towards God himself" (*Or.* 16.14–16). The divine spark in humans, aided by God, disciplined by the free will, arrives at a knowledge of God (*Or.* 14.12–16) as well as of "the precepts and doctrine of a single ruler of the Universe" (*Or.* 30.10–11). The theological analysis is aimed against both Greek pagan and Marcionite theology.

The life which will nurture the spirit is characterized by sexual rectitude (his main critique of Greco-Roman society), by trust in God for all needs, including healing, and by study of the Scriptures. There is to be a rejection of Greco-Roman values and culture in favor of Scriptural values. This rigorous

asceticism probably forms the ideological base for "Sons and Daughters of the Covenant," a group of perfectionistic Christians who by their spirituality, celibacy, and asceticism attempted to live the "ideal" Christian life. The celibacy and other encratic practices of self-denial for spiritual development, as expressed in known *Diatessaron* fragments, have been discussed by Vööbus (1951a), Messina (1943), and Leloir (1956).

The *Diatessaron* was Tatian's most influential work. This effort to harmonize the divergent and contradictory accounts of the life of Jesus as recounted in the four canonical Gospels circulated in both Greek and Syriac. Because of later Manichean use of the text, it was first corrected on the basis of the Greek gospels and then abandoned and systematically destroyed. It was translated into Arabic, Persian, as well as Western European languages (Metzger 1977). It provided the early Syriac church with a unique Scripture and certainly aided the process of development of the Syriac-speaking Christian subculture. The only extant remains in Syriac are in Ephrem's *Commentary on the Diatessaron* (Leloir 1963) and occasional citations in early Syriac language writings.

**3. Bardaisan.** Bardaisan is known from a dialogue recorded by his disciple Philippus, *The Book of the Laws of the Countries* (*BLC*) (Nau 1907), a reference to his skills as an archer by Sextus Julius Africanus (Thee 1984: 147–48), the approbation conferred by Eusebius for his erudite anti-Marcionite texts (*Hist. Eccl.* 4.30.1–2), and the angry diatribes of Ephrem of Syria about Bardaisan's syncretism and expensive clothes and jewels *(Prose Refutations; Hymns against Heresy).*

He was born at Edessa, ca. 155 C.E., into the royal family of Osrhoene. Educated under a pagan priest at Mabbug (Hierapolis), he became the first author of whom it is certain that he composed his writings in Syriac. According to legend, he and his son Harmonius wrote hymns which Ephrem and others felt obliged to counter with hymns of their own. Although writers centuries later would cast aspersion on Bardaisan's orthodoxy, he was presented by Phillipus as an apologist for an understanding of Christianity which stood over against Marcion, regional astrological systems, and Greek theologies.

In *BLC,* Bardaisan argues against determinism and for freedom of the will. This freedom and the dominion of creation constitute the image of God (*BLC* 11). After recounting the divergent customs and laws of various countries to prove their diversity, he characterizes Christians as "the new people … that the Messiah has caused to arise in every place and in all climates by his coming" (*BLC* 58–60). They are called Christians after the Messiah, on the first day, "we gather together," on appointed days they fast (*BLC* 60). He provides a list of examples where Christian ethics differ from un-Christian ethics (seven of nine deal with sexuality). "But in whatever place they are … the local laws do not force them to give up the law of their Messiah, nor does the fate of guiding signs force them to do things which are unclean for them" (*BLC* 60.12–15). Bardaisan insisted, as did all Syriac writers, that sexual rectitude was essential to the Christian life. However, Bardaisan did not see sex within marriage as illegitimate or indicative of an inferior level of spirituality as did others such as Tatian (*BLC* 34.15–25, see Bundy 1985a).

References to the changes of laws in Edessa after the conversion of King Abgar (*BLC* 58.21–22) suggest that Bardaisan's church was sanctioned by the government. The relatively upper-class nature of the church is evident from Ephrem's attacks on the "worldliness" of the Bardaisanites (*Hymns against Heresy* 1.12) of the late 4th century. After the conquest of Osrhoene by Rome, Bardaisan and others appear to have taken refuge in Armenia.

The interpretation of Bardaisan in Christian history has been prejudiced by his inclusion in early Western lists of heretics and by Ephrem's scathing analyses. Modern discussion has focused on his adaptation of indigenous philosophical structures to articulate Christian doctrine. His syncretistic tendencies have been viewed positively (Drijvers 1966) and negatively (Jansma 1969). However, the question of Bardaisan's intellectual structures has not been definitively resolved.

**4. The *Chronicle of Edessa.*** This text is a chronological listing, composed sometime during the 6th century from earlier sources, of the most significant events of Edessa and surrounding towns, especially Nisibis. It notes that a "Church of the Christians" was destroyed in 201 C.E. by flood waters. The next reference is to the "foundation of the church in Edessa" by Bishop Kune in 313 C.E. which was completed

by his successor, Bishop Scha'ad. Bishop Aithallah who represented Edessa at Nicea is said to have built the cemetery and expanded the east side of the church in 324–25 C.E.

The validity of this data was rejected by Bauer (1934; ET 1971) and accepted at face value by Turner (1954) and Segal (1970). It would appear that Bauer's devaluing of the *Chronicle of Edessa* is too severe. It is probable that, with royal patronage or at least tolerance during the last decades of the Kingdom of Osrhoene, a church building did exist at Edessa before 201 C.E.

**5. The *Chronicle of Arbela.*** This chronicle is devoted to the city of Arbela in the buffer state of Adiabene, which was ruled by a Jewish monarchy until the invasion of Trajan, 115/16 C.E. It recounts the lives, in later hagiographical form, of the early bishops of Arbela, beginning in about 100 C.E. The second bishop, Bishop Samson, was martyred by the Parthian king Xosroes, during a period of Parthian occupation. The first publication of the text (Mingana 1907) produced a flurry of scholarly activity. Assfalg (1966) and Fiey (1967) argued against its authenticity and suspected it to be a forgery of the editor. Brock (1967) was less certain that it was not a medieval composition. The most recent editors, Kawerau (1985) and Chaumont (1988), believe it to have historical value, as did Neusner (1966) and Sachau (1915).

If the *Chronicle of Arbela* gives an accurate rendition of earlier sources, it may mean that Christianity in Syriac-speaking areas first developed in Arbela and that Syriac (or a related form of Aramaic) began to be used as a liturgical and biblical language there. Even if the dates and names are accurate, the interpretive framework of the *Chronicle* is of a later century, certainly no earlier than the 6th or 7th.

**6. Marcionite Christianity.** The importance of the Marcionite tradition in the evangelization of Syria is well known. Much of the literature of other Christian groups, from Bardaisan to Ephrem, was written to counter Marcionite influence (Bundy 1988). In many areas of northern Mesopotamia, Christian meant Marcionite. The emperor Julian mentions (*Letter* 41) pogroms by his predecessors against Marcionite villages after the advent of imperial Christianity. Unfortunately, there is no data about the beginnings and development of this tradition.

**7. Other Early Documents of Syriac-speaking Christianity.** There are a variety of undated (and perhaps undatable) documents which circulated early in Syriac-speaking areas. These include the *Odes of Solomon,* the *Gospel of Thomas* (here the evidence is less than clear), the Pseudo-Clementine corpus, the *Didascalia Apostolorum* (and perhaps the *Didache*), the *Acts of Judas Thomas,* and the intriguing but relatively unexamined *Apology* of Pseudo-Melito. The use of these texts to illumine the early period of Syriac-speaking Christianity is problematic. For example, Murray (1975) suggested the *Odes of Solomon* are the earliest extant Syriac sources. Drijvers (1981; 1984), on the other hand, argues that the present form of these hymns dates from the 3d or 4th century and reflects the struggle with Manichaeism. Lattke (1986) rejects Drijver's theory, arguing for an earlier date. The issues of date and provenance of this collection of hymns (and of the other texts mentioned) are far from settled.

**8. The Early Syriac-speaking Church before the 3d Century.** The chronological and prosopographical data about the origins of Christianity in Syriac-speaking areas of northern Mesopotamia are uncertain. The religious vision is not uniform, vacillating between the poles of Tatian's rejection of Greco-Roman culture and Bardaisan's acceptance of contemporary science and cosmology. Each text is fraught with interpretive and/or authenticity problems. It is not possible to construct a traditional historical narrative of the early development of Christianity in this region.

**C. Early Biblical Texts**

The Syriac versions of the Bible have posed many scholarly problems. These concern the relationships between the various translations, their places of origin, and their exegesis. The primary efforts at biblical translations include the Peshitta of the Old Testament, the *Diatessaron,* the Old Syriac *(Vetus Syra),* the Peshitta translation of the NT, the Philoxenian and/or Harklean version, and the Palestinian version. A discussion of the NT versions can be found in Metzger (1977).

**1. The Peshitta of the OT.** The origin of this translation is unknown. Its connections to Jewish targumic literature suggest that it evolved in a Jewish milieu. Kahle (1959) argued that it was made in Adiabene as an effort to adapt the Palestinian targum for new converts. This theory has been accepted by

Murray (1975: 10), *inter alia.* The problem is that there are also readings shared with the *Targum Onkelos* of Babylon. The Adiabene theory is plausible, but with no philological or historical evidence. In addition to the problem of provenance, there is no possibility of dating the translation with any precision. The earliest citations are from 4th-century texts.

The text is remarkably consistent throughout its transmission history as has been demonstrated by Koster (1977) and Dirksen (1972). A definitive critical edition, *Vetus Testamentum Syriace* (1972–), is being published by the Peshitta Institute of Leiden. Later commentators would indicate variant readings with the LXX traditions and occasionally the Hebrew text, but it appears that little emmendation was attempted.

**2. The *Diatessaron.*** This harmony of the gospel composed by Tatian has been mentioned above. The original language (Greek, Syriac, or Latin), theological tendencies, and function in the churches has been extensively discussed. For a summary of the various points of view, see Metzger (1977). There are witnesses to the text in Old Dutch, Old Italian, medieval German, Persian, and Arabic. In Greek there is only the fragment found at Dura Europas (see above). In Syriac and Armenian, the most extensive witness is the *Commentary on the Diatessaron* attributed to Ephrem of Syria (306–73). Lyonnet (1950) has demonstrated that the earliest translations of the Gospels into Armenian owed much to the Syriac *Diatessaron.* Extensive quotations are found in such writers as Aphraates, Ephrem, Eznik, Marutha Maipherkatensis, Agathangelos, Rabbula, and the author of the *Liber Graduum.* See also DIATESSARON.

**3. The Old Syriac *(Vetus Syra).*** This version is known primarily from two manuscripts. Both contain only the four canonical Gospels. No Old Syriac of the Pauline or general epistles has been found, although citations of those texts in Armenian translations of Syriac literature suggest these may have existed. The first is in the British Library (B.L. 14451). Discovered by William Cureton, it was definitively edited by F. C. Burkitt (1904) with additional pages of the same manuscript found in the Royal Library of Berlin. The second manuscript was discovered by Agnes Smith Lewis and Margaret Dunlop Gibson at St. Catharine Monastery on Mt. Sinai. The manuscript had been reused, as a manuscript for lives of women saints, by imperfectly cleaning off the biblical text. After two less than adequate efforts by scholars to decipher the manuscript, A. S. Lewis made several trips to Sinai and was able to publish what remains the best edition (1910).

The text of the Curetonian and Sinaitic manuscripts do not agree at all points, although they clearly stand alone and close together in the larger world of Syriac NT translations. Scholars have generally assumed either that the two are revisions of a common source or that they are independent translations made during the same period. Linguistic peculiarities shared by the two manuscripts suggest that they may be the effort of individuals to gain access to the Greek tradition which lay behind the Syriac *Diatessaron.* Matthew Black (1972) argues for dating these efforts to the 4th century. For a detailed survey of the discussion of scholarly work on the Old Syriac, see Black (1972) and Metzger (1977). The effort of Vööbus (1951b; 1951c) to marshal evidence from the *Letter of Aithallah* in support of his theory of early 4th-century prominence of the *Vetus Syra* at Edessa has been demonstrated to be incorrect (Bundy 1987).

**4. The Syriac Peshitta.** The word "peshitta" has generally been understood as "simple" or "clear," not unlike the term "vulgate" applied to the received Latin translation. This version of the New Testament is used by both East Syrians (Nestorians) and West Syrians (Jacobites) and therefore certainly predates the division of the Syriac church along political, geographical, and theological lines during the mid-5th century. More precise dating of the translation has provoked controversy. Some have dated it as early as the late 1st or early 2d century. Burkitt (1901) argued that it was from the early 5th century and later suggested that it was translated by Rabbula of Edessa (Burkitt 1904). This conclusion has been contested by Vööbus (1951b), who argued that it was much older although slow to achieve dominance in the Syriac-speaking church.

The manuscript tradition is quite uniform. There are remarkably few variants in the Peshitta as compared to the Old Syriac or Greek versions. Its textual tradition is well documented by the hundreds of

manuscripts preserved, the earliest manuscript (ca. 460–464) probably being *Paris Syriac 296.1* in the Bibliotheque Nationale which contains *Luke* 6:49–21:37. No adequate critical edition of the entire NT in the Peshitta version has been published despite the fact that the first printed edition was done at Venice as early as 1555. The best text available, based on earlier editions which were themselves only partial collations of the manuscript evidence, is published by the Bible Society as *The New Testament in Syriac.* This printing has no critical apparatus. It also contains the Apocalypse and General Epistles, which were not part of the Peshitta translation, but based on the Philoxenian version.

**5. Later Syriac Translations.** The Philoxenian version was prepared at the direction of Philoxenos of Mabbug (Hierapolis) by a certain Polycarp in 507–8 C.E. An effort to bring the Syriac more in line with the Greek, it also provided, probably for the first time in Syriac, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and the Apocalypse. A century later (616 C.E.) the version of Thomas of Harkel, assistant to the famous translator of the OT Paul of Tella, was produced. The Harklean version has been variously considered either a revision of the Philoxenian or a new translation. For a history of this debate, see Metzger (1977).

The Palestinian Syriac version is actually a different version of Aramaic. It is closer to Jewish Palestinian Aramaic than to the Syriac of Edessa and northern Mesopotamia.

**6. The Early Versions.** Apart from the *Diatessaron,* the early Syriac biblical texts are difficult to date. There is no concrete evidence of their existence before the 4th century, although it is probable that at least the OT was available in Syriac early in the Christian period. The *Diatessaron* exerted a strong influence on the development of early Syriac theology and praxis. The Peshitta displaced the *Diatessaron* slowly at first because of pressure from the Greek church and the problems posed by Manicheans finding readings that lent support to their understanding. The major blow came in the late 4th century when Theodoret of Cyrus, because of Tatian's reputation as a heretic in the Western church, gathered and destroyed over 200 copies after replacing them with copies of the individual Gospels.

**D. The Third Century**

There was significant sociopolitical upheaval in northern Mesopotamia during the 3d century. Rome continued to push its interests eastward. Trajan had conquered Adiabene in 115/16 C.E. as well as Osrhoene. The local dynasty has been allowed to remain in Osrhoene (Abgar et al.) but as tributary clients of the Roman state. Lucus Verus (165–66) had extended Roman control at least as far east as Nisibis. Dura Europos came into Roman hands and was made a frontier fortress city. Septimius Severus (d. 211), mentor of the Christian scholar Sextus Julius Africanus, married Julia Domna, daughter of the high priest of Emesa.

After 226 C.E., the Sassanid Empire, which replaced the Parthian, began to look westward. Shapur I (240–72) set out to reduce Roman influence in the eastern provinces. A series of campaigns allowed him to incorporate Roman fortifications on the Euphrates (including Dura Europos, 256), Emesa, and parts of Cilicia as well as Antioch, which appears to have been occupied in 256 C.E. Many Greek and Aramean/Syriac-speaking Christians were among the many thousands of civilians deported to weaken the economic and military base of Roman Syria and strengthen that of the Persian Empire. The Christians among the exiles brought with them their ecclesiastical structures, and in several villages, both Syriac and Greek languages churches were organized (Chaumont 1988). From this series of deportations comes one of the traditions of the ecclesiastical identity of Mesopotamian leaders, namely that early on they were ordained by and in submission to the Bishop of Antioch.

Palmyra, a city-province to the south of Edessa, took advantage of the power vacuum in Syria to assert its independence and to expand its influence toward Palestine and Egypt. This brought Palmyra into direct confrontation with Rome and the emperor Aurelian conquered Palmyra in 271 and sacked the city, after a revolt, in 272. Among the advisors *(Procurator Ducenarius)* of Queen Zenobia of Palmyra was Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch from 260 until his removal in 268 by a synod of Antioch for supposed heretical teachings which were later, anachronistically, credited with being foundational to Nestorianism. His civil power was probably the main root of the theological controversy (Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 7.27–30). None of his writings have been preserved.

Probably because of the social and theological turmoil, no Syriac language documents have survived between the writing of Bardaisan (ca. 212 C.E.) and the early decades of the 4th century.

Religious life in northern Mesopotamia was complicated by the arrival of Manichaeism with the Persian armies. See also MANICHEANS. Manichaeism was a result of the "mission" of Mani, who understood himself as the Paraclete promised in the Gospel of John and as an "apostle of Jesus Christ." Mani was apparently part of the entourage of Shapur I and used his travels to spread his religious perspective. He left behind a vigorous movement. From ca. 240 C.E. Manichaeism became a powerful contender for the minds of the inhabitants of northern Mesopotamia. It appealed to people because of its rigorous asceticism with respect both to food and sexuality (not unlike Tatian), a clearly defined cosmology and divinization program (which drew on Bardaisan and popular philosophy), and its carefully crafted hymnody and liturgy which were not unlike the established Christian patterns.

Several of the texts mentioned above including elements in the *Odes of Solomon*, the Abgar correspondence, and the *Doctrina Addai* may be efforts of established Christian groups to use the language, imagery, and history of Manichaeism against it (Drijvers 1984).

Manichaeism was not the only competitor for what would be recognized as imperial Christianity in the 4th century. The Marcionite communities continued to wield influence and attract the attention of apologists (Bundy 1988). Roman, Greek, and regional pagan cults continued to flourish. There was also influence from astrological myths and science.

**E. The Fourth Century**

At the turn of the 4th century, there is once again evidence of Christian activity in Edessa, Nisibis, and the Persian Empire. The earliest data is of Nisibis. Ephrem (306–73 C.E.), writing at Nisibis, describes the life and work of James of Nisibis, who served as Bishop from 308–38. He attended the Council of Nicea as did Bishop Aithallah of Edessa.

**1. Nicea.** The Council of Nicea changed the balance of power within Syriac Christianity. Imperial Christianity, that is, one version of Christian doctrine and praxis as the unifying ideology of empire, determined and enforced from the center of political power, authenticated the tradition of Palut (the earliest "orthodox" bishop) rather than that of Bardaisan. The Marcionites were now prescribed. Christian emperors would actually eradicate Marcionite villages in northern Mesopotamia. It is no accident that the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius was almost immediately translated into Syriac.

**2. *De Recta Fide* of Adamantius.** The earliest text is, probably, the dialogue of Adamantius, *De recta fide* (for centuries mistakenly thought to be by Origen) against two disciples of Marcion, Megethius and Marcus (parts 1–2) and against Marinus, a contrived follower of Bardaisan (parts 3–4). The essay cites Methodios of Olympus (d. ca. 311) and was translated into Latin by Rufinius. It is uncertain that it existed in Syriac but definitely seems to be from northern Mesopotamia. It is possible that parts of Bardaisan's dialogues against Marcion are preserved in this text.

**3. The Anti-Marcionite Commentary on the Lukan Parables.** Also from the first 3d of the 4th century is the anti-Marcionite apology which is a commentary on the Lukan parables, known as *Pseudo-Ephrem A.* It has been attributed to Ephrem but was definitely not written by him (Bundy 1988). The chosen ground of discussion is the parables found in the Gospel of Luke discussed (with the exception of one reversal) in the order they appear in the *Diatessaron.* The author cites, on occasion, Matthew and John but is aware that they are not in the Marcionite canon. Only Pauline texts accepted by Marcion are cited. The piety, ecclesiology, and spirituality are not attacked. The issue is one of scriptural interpretation (with more than Luke's gospel, one can know more) and belonging to the author's ("true" Christian) community. The tone is respectful and moderate.

**4. Aphraates, Persian Theologian.** The same can be said of the works *(Demonstrations)* of Aphraates, a Persian writer who wrote in Syriac. An unverifiable tradition recorded in the title of *Demonstration* 23 says he was known as Jacob and that he was from the Mar Mattai Monastery east of Mossul. Nothing is known of his life but he did write a letter on behalf of a Synod (*Dem.* 14). The dates of several of the essays are known: *Dem.* 1–10 (336–37 C.E.); *Dem.* 11–22 (344 C.E.); and 23 (344–45 C.E.) during the persecution of Shapur I. Aphraates is aware of the Marcionite church but is more concerned with

Valentinianism, Manichaeism, and Judaism. The latter is viewed as potentially most seductive to his co-religionists. Discussions of Judaism and the Jewish understanding of the OT dominates *Dem.* 11–13, 15–19, 21, and 23. Neusner (1971) has argued that Aphraates' debate with the Jews is remarkably free from anti-Semitism and that the argument is conducted around the focus of arguments about the interpretation of biblical-historical data rather than about theological concerns.

The other *Demonstrations* offer explanations of Christian life and theology. It is a perspective distinct from that found within the church inside the Roman Empire of the period. Christological debates provoked by the Arian controversies are absent. Instead the effort is to argue that the concepts of God and Son are not incompatible with monotheism. The Creed of Aphraates (*Dem.* 1.19) is unique among early Christian creeds: "The faith is, when one believes: in God, the Lord of all, who made the heavens, the earth, the sea and all that they encompass; He made Adam in his image; He gave the Law to Moses; He sent his Spirit upon the prophets; He sent moreover his Christ into the world. Furthermore, that one should believe in the resurrection of the dead; and should furthermore believe in the sacrament of baptism. This is the faith of the Church of God." In addition to this positive statement, there is a series of negative statements which insist the believer avoid astrology, numerology, "Chaldean arts and magic," adultery, fornication, and lying.

Aphraates provides the earliest references to an institutional feature of early Syriac Christianity, the "Sons of the Covenant" *(benai qyama)* and "Daughters of the Covenant" *(benat qyama).* The exact nature of these groups of believers within the Church has perplexed scholars. Some (e.g., Vööbus 1958) have wanted to see it, anachronistically, as a precursor to monasticism because of the solitary living, abstinence from sexual relations even within marriage, and ascetic food practices. Others (e.g., Brock 1973) have more plausibly argued that they functioned as diaconal clergy or as ascetics within everyday society. Without doubt, this structure for Christian spirituality antedated Aphraate, but its origins are unknown. It would appear that Ephrem of Syria, our next subject of discussion, was a member of the "Sons of the Covenant."

**5. Ephrem of Syria, Theologian at Nisibis and Edessa. a. Nisibis.** Nisibis during the 4th century had the dubious advantage of being situated on the frontier between the Roman and Persian empires as the most significant trading center between those two usually hostile states. Situated on the so-called "Silk Road" over which goods and people traveled between the Roman Empire and China and India, there were economic benefits as the anonymous northern Mesopotamian writer of *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* (written ca. 359 C.E.) explains: "They [Nisibeans] are rich and supplied with all goods. They receive from the Persians that which they sell in all of the lands of the Romans and that which they purchase, they in turn sell to them, except bronze and iron, because it is forbidden to give bronze and iron to the enemies."

Ephrem provided an interpretive analysis of life and morality in Nisibis. His *Hymns on Nicomedia,* ostensibly written as reflections on the earthquake of Nicomedia (358 C.E.), are actually a detailed portrait of Nisibis. They provide insights into the nature of the cultural and social pressures which Ephrem and his co-religionists were facing. Ephrem describes the fields, vineyards, gardens and farms, as well as the artisans, weavers, metal workers, and tailors and notes the governmental infrastructure. The prosperity described reflects the observation of the author of *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* that "… they lead a good life." Ephrem is less sanguine about the nature of religious life in Nisibis. He condemns the avarice of businessmen and government officials. He discounts the results of pagan science and culture, scorning those Christians who consult magicians and astrologers for help in healing illnesses and sterility. He criticizes the husbands of "pious women" who refuse to accept their wives' vows of celibacy and turn to Arab women as concubines and prostitutes. Socially, Nisibis is portrayed as a quintessential frontier commercial center.

The major drawback to the location is seen in the siege of Nisibis by the Persians in 338. The city resisted the siege. Ephrem attributed this to the prayers and leadership of Bishop Jacob of Nisibis. Jacob became a legend in Syriac, Armenian, and Greek Christianity and paradigmatic of the ascetic, devout, politically active Christian bishop. Little is known of his career except for the fact of his participation at Nicea and the narratives of his pastoral activities and prayers for the deliverance of Nisibis recorded in

Ephrem's *Hymns on Nisibis.* The data in Armenian sources and in Theodoret of Cyr are unreliable. Even less is known of the other three 4th-century bishops mentioned by Ephrem: Babou (d. 346), Vologese (346–61), and Abraham (361–?).

**b. Who Was Ephrem (306–73)?** Ephrem's influence in the Syriac-speaking churches was perhaps the most important factor in their intellectual and spiritual development. His work largely determined the relationships between theological investigation, spirituality, and liturgy. His poetry, written exclusively in Syriac, was translated into Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, Ethiopic, Paleo-Slavic, Latin, and Chinese. No other writer is as extensively represented in the Greek manuscript tradition. Despite his fame and influence, little is known about him. Supposedly a student, a certain Symeon of Samosata, wrote a biography, but if so, it is lost. All we have are the accounts of Palladius and Sozomenos, which have served generations of hagiographers. From the Syriac world, the earliest is a eulogy by Jacob of Serug, delivered more than a century after Ephrem's death and devoid of detail. The only authentic sources are the occasional autobiographical allusions in his own work. The fact that these contradict the traditional stories of Ephrem's life adds credibility to the statements.

From comments in Ephrem's works, it appears that he was born into a Christian family, became a Christian believer at an early age, and was baptized, probably in his early teenage years. He was a participant in the "orthodox" church of Nisibis. He was not ordained, but was a member of the lay order, the *benai qyama* (Sons of the Covenant), which required vows of asceticism, poverty, and contemplative lifestyle. The oft-cited date of his birth, 306 C.E., cannot be verified.

After the surrender of Nisibis to the Persians by the emperor Jovian in 363 C.E., Ephrem became a war refuge. He apparently made his way to Edessa, where he entered the service of Bishop Barses. There he wrote extensively, taught choirs of women to sing his hymns against heresies, and involved himself in relief work. He died in the famine of 373 C.E. on June 9. On Ephrem's life, see Brock (1975) and Bundy (1986).

**c. Ephrem as a Writer and Theologian.** Ephrem was a prolific author. He used several genre: prose (commentaries on the Bible, sermons, letters refuting heresies); *memre* (verse homilies), and *madrase* (hymns).

**(1) Commentaries.** Of the prose works, the commentaries are important for our discussion. The *Commentary on the Diatessaron* (Leloir 1963) quotes extensively from the *Diatessaron* and preserves more of the text of the Syriac *Diatessaron* than any other source. Ephrem's commentary was translated into Armenian, probably during the 5th century.

The exegesis of the commentary reflects several of Ephrem's concerns. First, there is both a level of linear historicity and the level of symbolism. In many passages there is the recognition that the basic data of the life of Jesus and others as encountered in the text are phenomena to be examined, systematized, and clarified. However, the focus is on the significance of the Gospel text in what Brock (1985) has described as "sacred time." Second, there is an effort to balance the OT and NT images and symbols to demonstrate the convergence of the OT toward the NT. Third, it reflects Ephrem's conviction that nature is revelatory of God and of God's intention for the world.

The same pattern is seen in the *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles.* This corpus is preserved only in an Armenian translation. The structure of the commentaries is scholiastic. That is, a Pauline phrase is quoted and then followed immediately by an explanation. Because of the provisional nature of the edition and the linguistic difficulties, this text has been rarely studied.

The *Commentary on Genesis and Exodus* preserved in a single Syriac manuscript from the Vatican Library *(Vat. Syr.* 110) is an important witness to early Christian exegesis. As with Ephrem's other commentaries, it reflects a tradition of exegesis with significant divergences from the Western tradition. It reflects an awareness (probably indirect) of the results of Rabbinic exegesis of *Genesis* and *Exodus*. Hidal (1974) and Kronholm (1978) have demonstrated the congruence of this commentary with the rest of the Ephrem corpus.

Other commentary material attributed to Ephrem preserved in Syriac, Armenian, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Georgian has not been definitively examined, but is probably not directly from Ephrem although it may

depend on his work or be part of the production of the so-called "School of Ephrem." This corpus of *dubia* includes commentary on the entire OT and the separate Gospels.

**(2) Prose Sermons, the Letter to Publius and Refutations of Heresies.** The magnificent, magisterial *Homily on Our Lord* is the only prose homily attributed to Ephrem which is certainly authentic. Other sermons preserved under the name of Ephrem are highly dubious or spurious. Brock (1976), who provided an edition and translation of the *Letter to Publius*, argued that it is probably authentic. It discusses eschatology and judgment and offers surprising divergences with Western views on these subjects.

The prose *Refutations of Heresies*, written in the form of letters, provide insights into the debates in which Ephrem engaged. He argued against four primary competitors: the Marcionites, Bardaisanites, Manicheans, and Arians. Against the Marcionites he contended that their dualism and determinism (Ephrem was a firm believer in freedom of the will) led to an understanding of matter and humanity as inherently evil. This led Marcionites to a docetic christology and denial of the resurrection of the human body, soul, and spirit. The critique of Bardaisan was at two levels. He found their lack of asceticism and confidence in northern Mesopotamian science unfortunate. More serious was the conception of monotheism with attendant ideas of emanations which he felt verged on polytheism.

The Manicheans were radically dualistic and deterministic. Both of these concepts were alien to Ephrem as was the Manichean ascription of a revelatory role to Mani. Ephrem accused Mani of having taken over the Greek understanding of matter and Indian dualism. Arians were criticized for having accepted a Greek philosophical framework for articulating the gospel message and for abandoning faith in scriptural testimony. This resulted, according to Ephrem, in excessive speculation about God, Christ, and the world. The most dire consequence of their "deviation" was understood to be its effect on the mission of the church, the dissension which makes the church appear ridiculous to the "pagans" outside.

**(3) Hymns (Madrase) and Metrical Homilies (memre).** From Ephrem's pen about 450 *madrase* have been preserved. These were gathered into loosely defined cycles: *On the Nativity* (28 hymns), *On Faith* (87 hymns), *On Virginity* (52 hymns), *On the Church* (52 hymns), *On Nisibis* (77 hymns), *Against Heresies* (56 hymns), *On Unleavened Bread* (21 hymns), *On Paradise* (15 hymns), *On the Fast* (10 hymns), *Against Julian* (4 hymns), and 51 hymns preserved only in Armenian. In many cases the hymn tune name has been preserved, but there is no evidence about the music. Other hymn cycles existed at an earlier date but have been lost through the vicissitudes of northern Mesopotamian history.

The *memre* include at least 27 items which are of reasonable authenticity: *On Nicomedia* (16 *memre*), *On Faith* (6 *memre*), *On Reprehension* (4 *memre*), and *On Nineveh and Jonah* (1 *memra*). Other *memre* attributed to Ephrem are probably inauthentic. The authentic *madrase* and *memre* reflect an exegetical method congruent with the authentic commentary material discussed above. On the theology of Ephrem, see Beck (1949), (1980), (1981), and (1984).

**6. Ephrem's Disciples.** Works by several disciples of Ephrem are found in the literary fragments of late 4th- and early 5th-century Syriac Christianity. From the pen of Zenobius there are three sermons preserved in Armenian: two on the traditions of the Jews and one in praise of Melitius, the martyr. Fragments of a verse homily or homilies by Aba is preserved in a Sinaitic Syriac manuscript. Six hymns attributed to Cyrillonas have survived. These deal with a variety of topics including the invasion of the Huns (396 C.E.), the conversion of Zacchaeus, the anointing of the feet of Jesus, the passion of Christ (2 hymns), and the "Wise Ones." An anonymous vita of Eusebius of Samosata (d. 380) is dated by Ortiz de Urbina (1965) to this period. The exegetical traditions of Ephrem continued to be used and preserved and expanded as can be seen from the Severian catena. The rest of the writings from what appears to have been a rich literary period have been lost.

**F. Subsequent Development of Syriac Exegetical Traditions**

After the division of Syriac Christianity into two competing traditions ca. 428 C.E., owing to sociopolitical and theological considerations, the exegetical traditions of East (Nestorian) and West (Jacobite) Syrians developed with different influences. In the West, the main sources were Cyril of Alexandria and Chrysostom translated from Greek with Ephrem of Syria and scholia attributed to him.

These have been preserved most extensively in the *Exegetical Catena* of Severus of Edessa, compiled in 861 C.E. The influence of this material would extend into Cilician Armenia. Most notably this catena served as a source for the huge commentary of Gēorg Skewṛaçi on *Isaiah* (Bundy 1983a). After Ephrem, the most influential West Syrian exegetes included Jacob of Edessa, Moses bar Kepha, Dionysius bar Ṣalibi, and Barhebraeus.

In East Syrian exegesis, the commentaries of Theodore of Mopsuestia, translated from Greek ca. 428, served as models and sources. The East developed a rich exegetical tradition, some of which (e.g., Mar Aba, Seharbokt, Henanišo, Gabriel Qatraya, Daniel bar Tubanita, Sabrišo´ bar Paulos) is known only from fragments preserved in the large *Gannat Bussame (Garden of Delights),* a collection of biblical exegetical material organized around the liturgy (Reinink 1979). Significant amounts of material of Theodore bar Koni, Išo´ bar Nūn, and Išo´dad of Merv have been preserved. For trends in the development of Syriac exegesis, see Bundy (1983b).

**G. Texts**

Editions of Syriac texts may be found, usually with translation, in the *Patrologia Orientalis, Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium,* and the *Patrologia Syriaca.* Here one can find texts of Aphraates, Bardaisan, and Ephrem mentioned above. Ephrem's *Prose Refutations* are available, with English translation in C. W. Mitchell (1921). Bibliography and articles about personages and events in early Syriac Christianity can be found in Baumstark (1922), Ortiz de Urbina (1965), *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques,* and Assfalg and Kruger (1975). For extensive, more recent bibliography see Bundy (1985b), Brock (1981–82), and Brock (1987).

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**CHRISTIANITY, SOCIOLOGY OF EARLY.** See SOCIOLOGY (EARLY CHRISTIANITY).

**CHRISTIANS, PERSECUTION OF.** See PERSECUTION OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

**CHRISTOLOGY (NT).** The main object of NT christology is to trace the emergence of Christianity's distinctive claims regarding Christ as documented in the writings of the NT.

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A. Introduction
   1. Aim
   2. Method
   3. Chief Impulses
B. Christological Claims Attributed to Jesus
   1. Jesus and Jewish Expectation
   2. Jesus' View of His Own Role
   3. Jesus' View of His Death
C. The Beginnings of Christology Proper
   1. The Resurrection of Christ
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   3. Other Features of Early Christology
D. The Christology of Paul
   1. Adam Christology—Christ as Man
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E. Varied Emphases in Second-Generation Writings
   1. Deutero-Pauline Letters
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F. The Christology of John
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   3. 1 and 2 John—Crisis over Christology
G. Conclusions
   1. Continuity with Judaism
   2. Continuity with Jesus' Own Self-Understanding
   3. Unity and Diversity in NT Christology
   4. The Foundation for Subsequent Christology

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**A. Introduction**

**1. Aim.** Prior to Jesus' ministry, we can speak only of a diverse Jewish hope of a new age often involving one or more intermediary or redeemer figures—messiah, prophet, exalted hero, archangel, even God himself. A century later all these categories and more were either superseded or focused in one man, Jesus Christ. Ignatius spoke of Jesus in straightforward terms as "our God, Jesus (the) Christ" (*Eph.* 18:2; *Rom.* 3:3), and showed how Christology was well on the way toward the classical credal statements of the ecumenical councils. "There is one physician, who is both flesh and spirit, born and yet not born, who is God in man, true life in death, both of Mary and of God, first passible and then impassible, Jesus Christ our Lord" (*Eph.* 7:2). In the course of that hundred years, the claims of Christianity appeared and began to take definitive shape. The NT contains that first flowering and enables us to appreciate a good deal of how and why it came about and took the forms it did.

**2. Method.** Since a transition is involved, at the very least, from Jewish expectations to Christian faith, a developmental approach has been chosen. This assumes that a tradition-history analysis is able to uncover the main outlines of Jesus' own convictions and teaching, and similarly that sufficiently reliable information can be had about the beliefs of the earliest Christian congregations. Thereafter we can trace the teaching and emphasis of the individual NT writers themselves, following consensus dating and location where necessary. This approach, of course, will not reveal all that Christians said about Christ during that period, but the NT writings were obviously regarded as of more than passing significance

from the first and therefore can be said to have preserved the most influential material from the foundational epoch.

NT christology could properly confine itself to a description of the christology of each individual document, seeking to demonstrate such correlation and coherence as seems appropriate. Several standard treatments have focused on titles; and though titles cannot tell the whole story, the emergence and use of certain titles can tell us a good deal. Dissatisfaction with an excessive emphasis on titles has more recently resulted in calls for different approaches—motif-centered, transformation of categories, conceptual trajectories, and the like. The following analysis will use all these methods, as seems appropriate.

Most attempts to write a NT christology also use the benefit of hindsight and global perspective to trace the larger patterns and developments of which individuals were a part. They describe the process by which the earliest christological formulations came to expression, as it were, from "outside." The danger of such an approach is that it reads back later developments into the earlier material; it fails to respect the inevitably more limited horizons of the writers themselves. We will attempt the more difficult task of describing the process from "inside." That should not prevent us from recognizing any new or previously unexpressed formulation. On the contrary, we should be better able to distinguish the genuinely new from mere variation or transfer categories.

**3. Chief Impulses.** The principal stimulus in the formulating of NT christology was threefold: (1) the impact of Jesus, including the impact of his ministry in style and content as well as of his teaching in particular; (2) the impact of his death and resurrection; (3) the experience of (many of) the first Christians in which they recognized further evidence of Jesus' power and status.

The material with which NT christology worked was again primarily the first Christians' memories of Jesus and their own experience. But a principal tributary was the various main features of Jewish hope seen to cohere in Jesus. Also of increasing importance over the hundred-year period under review were various categories of wider currency in the Greco-Roman world.

**B. Christological Claims Attributed to Jesus**

Did Jesus have a christology? That is, did he make significant claims regarding himself? The Synoptics and John's gospel are most markedly different at this point. Whereas in the latter Jesus' claims for himself are a prominent feature chapter after chapter, in the former he seems on the contrary to want to avoid drawing attention to himself. Since John's christology is so distinctive in comparison with the others, it is best to confine attention here to the Synoptics and treat John separately below.

**1. Jesus and Jewish Expectation.** At the time of Jesus, Jewish hope embraced a variety of messianic and/or prophetic categories.

**a. Royal Messiah.** Son of David (as in Isa 11:1–5; *Pss. Sol.* 17:23; 4QFlor 1:10–13). This was probably the figure of the popular hope—a new king to restore Israel's independence and greatness. It is likely that anyone who roused the sort of popular interest and excitement which John the Baptist and Jesus provoked would have been regarded as a candidate for such a messianic role (cf. John 1:20, 6:15). And a basic fact is that Jesus was executed as a messianic pretender—King of the Jews (Mark 15:26 pars.). In the hearing before Caiaphas the question was also probably raised, "Are you the Messiah, son of the Blessed?"—on the basis of the accusation about destroying and rebuilding the temple seen in the light of 2 Sam 7:13–14, interpreted messianically (as in 4QFlor). The distinctive features of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem and of his symbolic action in the temple ("the cleansing of the temple") would almost certainly have raised the same issue in broad (eschatological) or specific (royal messiah) terms. It would hardly be surprising then if his closest followers had themselves raised the question at an earlier stage of his ministry, particularly in the light of the success and popularity it clearly enjoyed (so Mark 8:27–30. pars.).

The key question, however, is how Jesus reacted when this option was put to him. And the answer of the earliest traditions seems to be, not very positively. He never once laid claim to the title on his own behalf or unequivocally welcomed its application to him by others. Mark 6:45 strongly suggests that he rejected the messianic role of popular anticipation (cf. John 6:15), and Mark 8:30–33 and the entry into Jerusalem portray a rather different model. So far as we can tell, he did not reject the title "Messiah" outright when put to him (Mark 8:30, 14:62, 15:2), but as currently understood it was evidently unsuited

to describe the role he saw for himself. It needed the events of the cross and resurrection to reshape and fill the title with new content for the first Christians.

**b. Priestly Messiah.** In one or more strands of pre-Christian Judaism a priestly messiah was accorded greater significance than the royal messiah (e.g., *T. 12 P.;* 1QSa 2:11–22). But apparently this was never seen as an option for Jesus, presumably because he was known to be of a tribe other than the tribe of Levi.

**c. The Prophet.** Jewish expectation took various forms here—the return of Elijah (Mal 4:5; Sir 48:9–10), the prophet like Moses (Deut 18:15, 18), and an unnamed or eschatological prophet (Isa 61:1–2; 1QS 9:11; 11QMelch). Whether these were different expectations or variants of a single expectation is not clear, and probably was not clear then either. What is clear, however, is that there was a readiness to recognize Jesus as a prophet or the prophet (Mark 6:15 par.; 8:28 pars.; John 6:14; 7:40, 52), though it should not be forgotten that others were accorded the same title in this period (Mark 11:32; John 1:21; Joseph., *Ant* 18:85–87; 20:97f., 167, 169–72, 188).

Jesus himself seems to have accepted the designation in some degree (Mark 6:4 pars.; Luke 13:33) and in particular to have used Isa 61:1–2 as a program for his mission (Matt 5:3–4 = Luke 6:20–21; Matt 11:5 = Luke 7:22; Luke 4:18–19). He also seems deliberately to have engaged in prophetic or symbolic actions (particularly the action in the temple and the Last Supper). But at times there are hints that he saw his role as transcending that of the normal prophetic figure—Mark 12:1–9, the claim, "I came," rather than, "I was sent" (as in Mark 2:17 pars.); and the use of the formula, "But I say," rather than the more typically prophetic, "Thus says the Lord."

**d. Healer.** Although miraculous restoration of physical faculties was expected to be a mark of the new age (Isa 17–19, 35:5–7), it was not particularly associated with any of the above figures. Healings and exorcisms were widely practiced in the ancient world, by pagans and Jews (Mark 9:38–39, Acts 19:13–19; Josephus, *Ant* 8:45–49). So although it is beyond dispute that Jesus was known as a successful healer and exorcist, it is not clear whether much significance would have been read into this activity by his contemporaries.

Jesus himself, however, seems to have seen in his own ministry clear evidence that God's final rule was already beginning to operate through his exorcisms (Mark 3:23, 27; Matt 12:28 = Luke 11:20; Luke 10:18) and healing (Matt 11:5–6 = Luke 7:22–23). This self-estimate included a claim to a plenary anointing by God's spirit, which marked out his ministry as distinctive and which should have been sufficiently clear to his critical onlookers (hence also Mark 3:28–29 pars.). Also distinctive was his exorcistic technique, since he seems neither to have used physical aids nor to have invoked some higher authority in a formula of adjuration. We may properly infer a consciousness on his part of his own authority or of an immediacy and directness of empowering from God (Mark 11:28–33 pars.).

**e. Teacher.** Jesus is regularly called teacher in the tradition (Mark 5:35; 9:17, 38; 10:17, 20, 35; etc.), and his characteristic style as a "parabolist," one who spoke in parables and pithy sayings, is clearly enshrined in the Synoptics. This would be relatively unremarkable in itself, except that the authority with which Jesus taught seems to have provoked surprise and question (Mark 1:27 par., 6:2 par., 11:28 pars.). In a large part this must have been because of the same immediacy and directness which his teaching style embodied—the lack of appeal to previous authorities, the typical "Amen" with which he often began a saying, and not least his readiness to dispute established rulings even if given by Moses himself (as in Matt 5:31–42).

As Jesus evidently saw himself as God's ambassador and spokesman (Mark 9:37 pars.) and as the climax of the prophetic tradition, so he may have seen himself not simply as a teacher of wisdom but as the eschatological emissary of divine Wisdom (Luke 7:31–35 par.; 10:21–22 par.; 11:49–51 par.). Such self-understanding must lie behind his pronouncement of sins forgiven without reference to the sacrificial cult (as in Mark 2:10) and the exclusiveness of the claim he made for his teaching and call (Matt 7:24–27, 10:32 pars., 10:37 par.).

In short, none of these various categories available or applied to Jesus seem to have proved entirely suitable to describe the role Jesus saw for himself. Four of the five caught aspects of his work, but only aspects.

**2. Jesus' View of His Own Role.** The evidence reviewed above indicates that Jesus saw his ministry as having a final significance for his hearers. He saw himself as the eschatological agent of God. This self-understanding seems to have been encapsulated in two modes of self-reference.

**a. Son of God.** This title, which eventually became *the* title for Christ in the classic creeds (God the Son), at the time of Jesus had a much broader reference and simply denoted someone highly favored by God. Hence it could be used of Israel (as in Exod 4:22), of angels (as in Job 1:6–12), of the king (as in 2 Sam 7:14), of the righteous man (as in Wis 2:13–18), or of (other) charismatic rabbis (*m. Ta*ʿ*an.* 3:8). The process by which the first Christians commandeered this title and gave it exclusive reference to Jesus is reflected in its increasing significance in the Gospel traditions during the second half of the first century—as indicated by the number of times Jesus speaks of God as his father (Mark 3 times, Q 4, Luke's special material 4, Matthew's special material 31, John over 100).

There is sufficient indication that the process that permitted Christians to call Jesus Son of God had already begun with Jesus himself. The basic data is Jesus' habit, as it appears to have been, of addressing God as "Father" in his prayers (as in Matt 11:25–26 = Luke 10:1–22; the only exception being Mark 15:34). The word used was almost certainly the Aramaic ʾ*abbā* (so Mark 14:36), since it was evidently remembered and treasured in the Greek-speaking churches as characterizing the sonship of Jesus (Rom 8:15–16; Gal 4:6). The point is that "abba" is a family word, expressive of intimate family relationship. So the deduction lies close to hand that Jesus used it because he understood (we may even say experienced) his relationship to God in prayer in such intimate terms. And though he evidently taught his disciples so to pray (Luke 11:2), the same Pauline passages clearly indicate that this mode of prayer was seen as something distinctive of the Christians in their dependence on the Spirit of the Son. To that extent at least we can say that the process of narrowing the concept of divine sonship by reference to Jesus did indeed begin with Jesus. Whether Jesus made this a subject of explicit teaching, however, may be doubted, since Matt 11:27 and Mark 13:32 in particular may already evidence some of the christological intensification which comes to full expression in the fourth gospel. But at least we can say that the directness and immediacy of his relationship with God noted above seems to have cohered for Jesus in his "abba" prayer.

**b. Son of Man.** As our records stand, this seems to be the most obvious example of a self-chosen self-designation (e.g., Mark 2:10, 8:31, 14:62). But the significance of the phrase has been disputed in NT scholarship throughout this century.

Certainly the phrase must go back to Jesus in some form. It belongs almost exclusively to the Gospels (82 out of 86 times), and in the Gospels it appears in effect *only* on the lips of Jesus. Apart from Acts 7:56 we cannot speak of a "Son of Man christology" outside the Jesus tradition. The most consistent explanation is that the usage originated in the Jesus tradition, and that means, in this case, with Jesus himself. That is not to exclude the likelihood that a number of particular examples within the Jesus tradition reflect some editorial reworking of the tradition (as in Matt 16:28). But even that reworking follows what was probably the established and therefore original pattern of a speech usage confined to Jesus' own words. It must have been a firm and clear characteristic of Jesus' speech.

In some instances at least he seems to have used the phrase in the normal Aramaic idiom—"son of man" = man (cf. Ps 8:4), though with something of a self-reference (the polite English style of referring to oneself by the general "one" is a useful parallel). This usage is probably reflected in such passages as Mark 2:10 (the use of the phrase occasions no surprise or offense in the story) and 2:28, and the variant traditions of Mark 3:28–29 pars. are best explained by an ambiguous son of man/man formulation in the original Aramaic. It would also explain why "I" appears in place of "the Son of Man" in other parallel traditions (as in Luke 6:22 = Matt 5:11; Luke 12:8 = Matt 10:32). In such cases, of course, the phrase would not have had a titular significance to start with.

The alternative suggestion that the phrase was already firmly established in Jewish thought as a title for a heavenly redeemer figure is not securely grounded. In Dan 7:13 it is not title: the manlike figure represents Israel over against the beastlike figures which represent Israel's enemies in a creative reuse of the familiar creation mythology—the saints of the most high fulfilling Adam's role of dominion over the

rest of creation. Jewish apocalyptic writers certainly interpret the Dan 7:13 vision with reference to a heavenly redeemer, but in each case (Similitudes of Enoch and *4 Ezra*) the implication is that this is a fresh interpretation of the Daniel passage. The date of the Similitudes is disputed but a date prior to Jesus cannot be assumed, and *4 Ezra* is certainly later than A.D. 70 (see ENOCH, FIRST BOOK OF; EZRA, GREEK APOCALYPSE OF). Nor is there any indication whatsoever that Jesus was thought to have identified himself with an already known redeemer figure of Jewish expectation or that such an identification needed to be confessed or defended. The likelihood that it was Jesus himself who first drew upon Dan 7:13 to interpret his own role is part of the larger question which follows.

**3. Jesus' View of His Death.** It is highly probable that Jesus foresaw the likelihood of a violent or ignominious death. This was the typical fate of prophet and righteous man in Jewish tradition (Wis 5:1–5, Matt 23:29–37 par.), as his immediate predecessor (John the Baptist) showed all too well. The hostility which resulted in his eventual crucifixion must have been evident some time before that (cf. Mark 3:22 pars., 14:8 pars., Matt 23:37 = Luke 13:34), and the prophetic action in the temple certainly invited the retaliation which soon followed. The sayings tradition which can be traced back to Jesus with some confidence suggests that Jesus saw a fuller significance in his death. The "cup" sayings (Mark 10:38 par., 14:36 pars.) evoke the OT image of the cup of God's wrath (as in Isa 51:17–23), and the "baptism" and "fire" sayings (Mark 10:38, Luke 12:49–50) probably take up the Baptist's metaphor of a fiery baptism to represent the final tribulations which would introduce the end. In applying such images to himself, Jesus presumably implied that his death was to have some sort of representative or vicarious meaning.

If, in addition, the Son of Man passion predictions (Mark 8:31, 9:31, 10:34) already contained, in their original form, an allusion to the manlike figure of Daniel's vision, an even more explicit representative significance would be hard to exclude (= "the saints of the most high"). Similar implications are involved in Mark 10:45 and 14:24, though a more direct allusion to the suffering servant of Isa 53 is harder to sustain at the earliest level of the tradition.

It is also highly likely that Jesus expected to be vindicated after his death. The pattern was already well established in Jewish reflection on the suffering of the righteous (Isa 53:10–11; Dan 7; Wis 5:1–5; 2 Macc 7:23), and hope of vindication after enduring the eschatological tribulation would be an obvious way to correlate his expected suffering with his confidence in God's coming reign (as Mark 14:25 confirms). If he did express this hope in terms of resurrection (Mark 8:31; 9:31; 10:34), it would presumably be the final resurrection he had in mind, since the concept of the eschatological resurrection of an individual seems to have emerged as a Christian perception of what had happened to Jesus.

In short, while we cannot say that Jesus placed himself at the center of his own message or called for faith in himself as such, neither can we say that Jesus simply saw himself as the eschatological proclaimer of the kingdom of God. The claim to be the medium of God's rule, the sense of an immediacy and directness in his relation with God, and the expectation of representative death and vindication is well enough rooted in the Jesus tradition. It is also the sort of base we both need and anyway expect if we are to explain the subsequent development of christology.

**C. The Beginnings of Christology Proper**

Despite what has just been said, it is highly doubtful whether the movement begun by Jesus during his lifetime would have amounted to anything without the resurrection and the experience of the Spirit.

**1. The Resurrection of Christ.** The belief that God had raised Jesus from the dead was clearly foundational in shaping christology. It is the most prominent feature in the sermons in Acts, reflecting the emphasis both of Luke and of the material he uses (Acts 2:24–32; 4:1–2, 33; 10:40–41; 13:30–37; 17:18, 30–31). The pre-Pauline formula, "God raised him from the dead," may justly be described as the earliest Christian creed (Rom 10:9, 1 Thess 1:10, Rom 8:11 (twice), Gal 1:1, Col 2:12, Eph 1:20, 2 Tim 2:8). The centrality of Christ's resurrection for Paul himself is underlined in 1 Cor 15:12–20, particularly 15:17, and Phil 2:9–11. In all the Gospels the resurrection forms the climax to the whole presentation of Jesus. Its watershed character in determining christology is indicated variously: in Mark it resolves "the messianic secret" (Mark 9:9); similarly it is the hermeneutic key in John (John 2:22); Luke carefully monitors his use of the title "Lord" in reference to Jesus in acknowledgment of the fact that the title only became his by

reason of the resurrection; and in Matthew it is only with the resurrection that the commission of Jesus becomes universal (Matt 28:18–20; cf. 10:5–6).

Even where the concept "resurrection" is not prominent, the significance of what happened to Jesus after his death is central in assessments of Christ and his significance, as in Hebrews (e.g., 9:11–12) and Revelation (e.g., 5:5). And elsewhere there seems to be no attempt to distinguish resurrection from exaltation (e.g., Acts 2:32–33; Phil 2:9; 1 Pet 3:21–22; John 12:32). Nevertheless, it remains a striking fact that the concept of "resurrection" became established from the first, rather than what might otherwise have been the more obvious and recognized category of vindication in heaven of the dead hero (see 2:2b above). Indeed the earliest formulations seem to have assumed that Jesus' resurrection was the beginning of "the resurrection from the dead" in general (1 Cor 15:20; cf. Matt 27:51–53).

**2. The Experience of the Spirit.** That the outpouring of the Spirit expected for the last days was already a factor of their experience seems likewise to have been a basic and unifying claim of the earliest Christians. What is most relevant here is that the perceived influence of the Spirit seems also to have been a determinative factor in shaping christology. The Baptist's prediction that the coming one's ministry would be characterized by baptizing in Spirit is retained by all forms of the Gospel tradition (Mark 1:8 pars.). The Pentecost outpouring is attributed explicitly to the exalted Jesus (Acts 2:33). The identification of the Spirit as "the Spirit of Christ" evidently became soon established (Acts 16:7, 1 Pet 1:11, on Paul see below). So, too, the understanding of the Spirit as witness to Christ (Acts 5:32, Heb 2:4, 1 Pet 1:12, 1 John 5:7, Rev 19:11; on John see below). In Revelation the seven spirits of God (= the Holy Spirit) are depicted as the eyes of the Lamb (Rev 5:6).

**3. Other Features of Early Christology.** The search for scriptural explanations of what had happened must inevitably have been a primary objective for the first Christians. To show that Jesus was Messiah despite his shameful death would have been an urgent necessity, reflected in such passages as Luke 24:26, 46 and Acts 3:18, in the early formula "Christ died" (Rom 8:34, 14:9; 1 Thess 4:14), and in the established Pauline emphasis on "Christ crucified" (1 Cor 1:23, 2:2, Gal 3:1). Isaiah 53 undoubtedly came early into play (as in Rom 4:25, 1 Cor 15:3, 1 Pet 2:24–25), though allusions in Acts 3–4 highlight the suffering-vindication theme rather than that of vicarious suffering.

On the theme of Jesus' exaltation, Ps 110:1 quickly became a basic proof text (as, e.g., in Acts 2:34; Rom 8:34; 1 Cor 15:25; Heb 1:3, 13; 1 Pet 3:22). Also, to lesser extent, Ps 2:7 (as in Acts 13:33, Heb 5:5). The consequence of such usage was to give what could be later regarded as an "adoptionist" ring to some early formulations (Acts 2:36, 13:33, Rom 1:4). More important, however, was the fact that these texts gave added impulse to the two titles for Jesus which were most capable of providing a bridge of communication for the Gospel from Judaism to the wider Hellenistic world—Jesus as Lord (1 Cor 16:22, Jas 5:7–8, and Acts 11:20, Rom 10:9 = pre-Pauline baptismal confession; Phil 2:9–11), and Jesus as Son of God (Acts 9:20, 1 Thess 1:9–10, Heb 4:14).

The early Christian use of these same texts left its mark on the Jesus tradition itself (as in Mark 1:11, 12:35–37, 14:24, 62, Luke 22:37), obscuring the issue of whether Jesus himself referred to them. The transformation of various "son of man" sayings within the Jesus tradition into full titular self-references with consistent if often implicit reference to Dan 7:13 must also have happened early on.

At the same time the use and reuse of the Jesus tradition throughout this whole period is sufficient indication of a lively desire to recall the words and character of Jesus' ministry because of their continuing relevance. This remains a compelling deduction despite the relative lack of interest shown in the content of the Jesus tradition outside the Gospels. The Q collection, for example, reflects a strong concern to present Jesus as (eschatological) teacher of wisdom (particularly Luke 7:35; 10:21–22, 11:31, 49; 13:34). Besides this, it is inconceivable that substantial elements of the Jesus tradition were not passed on to newly established congregations (cf. Acts 2:42; 1 Cor 11:2; Col 2:6; 2 Thess 2:15). Such traditions must have provided a common ground between writer and readers to which allusion need only be made (e.g. Rom 13:8–10, 2 Cor 10:1, 1 Thess 5:2, Jas 5:12).

A strong feature of the earliest period was also the expectation of the imminent return of Christ. It was the corollary of the belief that Christ's resurrection was the beginning of the final resurrection (see

above), and is reflected in such early formulations as Acts 3:19–21, 1 Cor 16:22, and 1 Thess 1:9–10. The Son of Man material used by Q also reflects a keen interest in his coming in glory and judgment (Matt 19:28 par.; 24:27, 37, 44 par.). Such imminent expectation was slow to disappear, as the early letters of Paul demonstrate (1 Thess 4:13–18, 1 Cor 7:29–31), and retained a particular vitality in Jewish-Christian circles (Jas 5:7–8, Rev 22:20).

The short time lag anticipated between Jesus' exaltation and return may be sufficient to explain why no interim function in heaven seems to be attributed to Jesus in the Acts material. On the other hand, the understanding of Jesus as heavenly intercessor must have emerged early, prior to its development in Hebrews (Rom 8:34), since the idea of heavenly intercession was already well established in Judaism (e.g. Tob 12:15; *T. Levi* 3:5, 5:6–7).

While it is impossible then to gain a detailed picture of this earliest stage of christology, a sufficiently clear and coherent outline can be reconstructed.

**D. The Christology of Paul**

The background of Paul's christology has already in effect been given above. The impact of the Damascus road experience should not be underestimated (in view of 2 Cor 4:6 and Gal 1:16), though it can as easily be exaggerated. Likewise his continuing experience of being "engraced" or "enChristed" was fundamental (see section D.3. below). The most important other influences came through Hellenistic Judaism (see section D.2.). The 20th-century entrancement with the hypothesis that Paul adopted an already widely spread Gnostic redeemer myth is neither justified by the pre-Pauline sources nor necessitated by the Pauline material itself.

The distinctive Pauline contribution can be summarized under three heads.

**1. Adam Christology—Christ as Man.** It is a fundamental conviction of Paul that in his life and death Jesus was one with humanity in his fallenness and that his resurrection inaugurated a new humanity. The latter is explicit in the passages in which he sums up the whole sweep of human history in the two epochs of Adam and Christ (Rom 5:12–21; 1 Cor 15:20–22, 45–49). The former is implicit in his use of Ps 8:4–6 (1 Cor 15:27, Eph 1:22, Phil 3:21), as its fuller exposition in Heb 2:6–9 indicates. But it also comes to expression in Rom 8:3 ("the actual likeness of sinful flesh"), Gal 4:4 ("born of woman, born under the law"), 2 Cor 8:9 ("his poverty"), and Phil 2:7 ("form of a slave … as man"), though the majority of scholars would question whether these last verses are properly to be seen as expressions of Adam christology.

As many of the above references also indicate, this representative function of Christ's life achieves its point particularly in his death; if this one man dies, then all die (2 Cor 5:14). This dovetails with Paul's readiness to interpret Christ's death under the category of "sacrifice" or "sin-offering" (Rom 3:25, 1 Cor 5:7). As several passages clearly imply, Paul saw the "mechanism" of sacrifice in terms of representative "interchange" (2 Cor 5:21; Rom 8:3; Gal 3:13, 4:4–5). That is, the sinless one suffers the full effects of human sin (death) in order, not that death might be escaped (= substitution), but that the finality of death might be broken through a sharing in his death leading to resurrection (Rom 6:5–8, 8:17, Phil 3:10–11).

Since the obedience of his death was primarily an undoing of Adam's disobedience (Rom 5:19, Phil 2:8), a voluntary embracing of the human lot which was the consequence of Adam's folly, it is more accurate to speak of Christ's role as inaugurator of a new humanity as stemming from the resurrection (1 Cor 15:21–22, Rom 8:29, Col 1:18). It is as resurrected, as "spiritual body," that Christ is "last Adam" and pattern of the humanity which at last fulfills the divine purpose in creating humankind (1 Cor 15:45–49).

Somewhat surprisingly, some of Paul's other distinctive emphases can be included under this head. In particular, his intensive use of "Christ" (already established as a proper name) in corporate imagery—the characteristic "in Christ" (about 80 times), "into Christ" (as in Gal 3:27), "with Christ" (as in Gal 2:20), and "through Christ" (more than 20 times), not to mention the "body of Christ" (as in Romans 12 and 1 Corinthians 12). The language refers to the identification with Christ made possible by Christ's identification with fallen humanity—the process of salvation understood as a growing participation in Christ's death with a view to a complete participation in his resurrection as the final goal (Rom 6:3–6;

hence also the creation motif of "old nature/new nature" in Col 3:9–11, Eph 4:22–24). The Adam christology corresponds with the understanding of the process of salvation as corporate, more than individual (cf. Eph 2:15, 4:13).

Other facets of Paul's christology also cohere effectively under Adam christology. For obvious reasons this applies to the relatively less important theme of Jesus as God's Son, as the prominence of this title in some of the material reviewed above makes clear (Rom 8:3, 15–17, 29; Gal 4:4–7; Col 1:13)—the risen Christ as the eldest brother in the eschatological family of God. But it applies even more to an important aspect of Paul's most prominent designation for Jesus, that is "Lord," since it is only as risen Lord that Christ fulfills God's original intention in creating the first human—"to put all things under his feet" (1 Cor 15:25–27 referring to Ps 8:6). This may include the "Christus victor" theme of Col 2:15.

**2. Wisdom Christology—Christ as Divine.** Perhaps the most enduring development was the application of Wisdom categories to Jesus. Divine wisdom had long served as one of the most important bridge concepts for a Judaism seeking to present itself intelligibly and appealingly within the context of the wider religiophilosophic thought of the time. Within Judaism itself, Wisdom (along with Spirit and Word) was one important way of speaking of God in his creative, revelatory, and redemptive imminence (Proverbs, Sirach, Wisdom, Philo). Judaism's distinctive claim was that this wisdom was now embodied in the Torah (Sir 24:23; Bar 4:1).

Already with Paul the equivalent association is being made between Wisdom and Christ (1 Cor 1:30)—that is, Christ as the embodiment of divine Wisdom and thus as the definitive self-expression of God (Col 1:19; 2:9). He uses Wisdom terminology boldly of Christ, particularly in speaking of his role in creation (1 Cor 8:6; Col 1:15–17). Whether he means by this that Christ himself was preexistent, as most conclude, or, more precisely, that Christ has assumed the role of preexistent Wisdom without remainder, is less clear. At all events, he has no doubt that it is Christ crucified who is the definition of divine Wisdom (1 Cor 1:24), the determinative revelation and redemptive act of God (2 Cor 5:19).

The element of ambiguity here is not resolved by other references. The concept of Jesus' divine sonship provides an important bridge between Adam and Wisdom christologies, but the usage in Rom 8:3 and Gal 4:4 seems as close to the imagery of Mark 12:6 as to that of the Fourth Evangelist. Potentially more revealing is the title "Lord," since it was such an important indicator of Christ's status for Paul (note particularly Rom 10:9 and 1 Cor 12:3; well over 200 times in reference to Christ). Its use in Hellenistic religion for the cult god made it an important evangelistic and apologetic tool. Over against Hellenistic tolerant syncretism Paul claimed exclusivity for Christ's Lordship (1 Cor 8:5–6, Phil 2:9–11, 1 Cor 15:25). In so doing he did not hesitate to apply OT texts referring to Yahweh to the Lord Christ (Rom 10:13; 1 Cor 2:16; Phil 2:10–11—using the strongly monotheistic Isa 45:22–23). Yet, at the same time, Paul evidently did not see such usage as an infringement on traditional Jewish monotheism (1 Cor 8:6; also 3:23; 11:3; 15:24, 28). To call Jesus Lord was as much a way of distinguishing Christ from the one God as of attributing him to God's agency. Hence the frequent reference to "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Rom 15:6; 2 Cor 1:3, 11:31; Eph 1:3, 17; Col 1:3).

The question whether Paul called Jesus "God" does not provide much help on this point. For one thing, "God," like "son of God," did not have such an exclusive reference at this stage, even in Jewish circles (cf. Ps 45:6; 82:6; Philo, *Sacr* 9; *Quaes Gen* II. 62). And for another, the only clear occurrence comes in the late or Deutero-Pauline literature (Tit 2:13). In the strongly Jewish context of the earlier Rom 9:5 it is unlikely that any Jew would have read the benediction as describing "the messiah" as "God over all." The fact that Paul evidently offered his prayers to God "through Christ" (Rom 1:8, 7:25; 2 Cor 1:20; Col 3:17) confirms that for Paul Christ's role is characteristically as mediator. In other words, neither Adam christology nor Wisdom christology should be emphasized at the expense of the other.

**3. Spirit Christology—Christ as Spirit.** Although "Spirit" was virtually synonymous with "Wisdom" in pre-Christian Judaism (as in Wis 9:17), Paul did not take what might have appeared to be the logical step of identifying Christ with the divine spirit in the same way as he had identified Christ and Wisdom. The identification with Wisdom took in Wisdom's role in creation; but the identification with Spirit is dated only from Christ's resurrection (Rom 1:4, 1 Cor 15:45; but not 2 Cor 3:17, where "the Lord" is the

Lord of Exod 34:34). Hence the strong degree of synonymity between Christ and Spirit in passages dealing with Christian experience (particularly Rom 8:9–11 and 1 Cor 12:4–6): it is in Christian experience of the divine that Christ and Spirit are one; Christ experienced not independently of the Spirit but through and as the Spirit.

This also means that for Paul christology becomes a controlling factor in pneumatology. Paul takes it for granted that the Spirit of God is known now only by reference to Christ—"the Spirit of sonship" voicing Jesus' prayer, "Abba, Father" (Rom 8:15), the Spirit known by the confession "Jesus is Lord" (1 Cor 12:3), the Spirit who transforms us into the image of Christ (2 Cor 3:18). The Spirit can now be defined as "the Spirit of Christ" (Rom 8:9, Gal 4:6, Phil 1:19), and spirituality must be measured against the pattern of Christ crucified (2 Cor 4:7–5:5, 13:4; Phil 3:10–11). The Spirit is thus redefined as the medium of Christ's relationship with his people (1 Cor 6:17). Beyond that it is much less clear that we can properly speak of an identification between Christ and Spirit. The Spirit is still preeminently the Spirit of God (Rom 8:9, 11, 14; 1 Cor 1:11, 14; etc.) and given by God (1 Cor 2:12; 2 Cor 1:21–22, 5:5; etc.). To speak of Christ as Spirit was evidently not the same as speaking of him as Wisdom and Lord. Judging by the convoluted syntax of Rom 8:11, Paul did not perceive the relation between Christ and Spirit in such clear-cut terms as that between Christ and Wisdom. In other words, even at this early stage, the redefinition of God in his immanent self-revelation, which developing christology was already occasioning, was throwing up factors which were not going to find easy resolution either in simple polytheism or in some more sophisticated "binitarianism" (the worship of two of the persons of the trinity).

**E. Varied Emphases in Second-Generation Writings**

**1. Deutero-Pauline Letters.** In Ephesians a distinctive note is struck immediately in the long opening benediction focusing on the theme of Christ as the predetermined redeemer and focus of cosmic unity in "the fullness of time" (Eph 1:3–14). The idea of Christ as the revelation of God's hitherto mysterious purpose, already developed in Colossians (1:26–27, 2:2), is taken further and spelled out in still more emphatic terms (Eph 2:11–3:13). All this is a variation of Paul's Wisdom christology (Col 2:3, Eph 3:10), integrating it more fully with Paul's central concern as apostle to the Gentiles. Note also the fuller confessional material in Eph 4:4–6 and the more elaborate images of the body of Christ (4:15–16) and of Christ as husband of the church (5:23–27).

The Pastorals do not mark much further development in ways of speaking about Christ. The talk is still of Christ's predetermined appearing to fulfill God's purpose of salvation (2 Tim 1:9-10, Tit 1:2–3), and in Tit 2:13 the reference is not to Jesus as a second God but rather to "the appearance of the glory of our great God and Savior"—Jesus' coming as the manifestation of the glory of the one God. The title "Savior" is much more prominent than in the earlier Paulines and is used equally of Christ as of God (especially Tit 1:3–4; 2:10, 13; 3:4, 6). But otherwise the christology is characteristically contained in what are already well-established credal and hymnic formulae (1 Tim 1:15, 2:5–6, 3:16, 6:13; 2 Tim 2:8; Tit 3:5–7), "the teaching which accords with godliness" (1 Tim 6:3). So, too, the talk of the second appearing has already assumed the more measured tones of a hope which no longer expects imminent fulfillment (1 Tim 6:14; 2 Tim 4:1, 8; Tit 2:13).

**2. The Wider Circle of Pauline Influence.** In 1 Peter we find the same conviction that Christ had been "predestined before the foundation of the world" and "manifested at the end of the times" (1:20)—clearly a widespread christological emphasis at this period. But distinctive of 1 Peter is the continual focus on suffering, and this determines the main christological concern. The Spirit is designated "the Spirit of Christ" as having predicted the prophecies of Christ's sufferings (1:11). Christ was the spotless sacrificial lamb (1:19). In the fullest use of Isaiah 53 in the NT, Christ's patience in suffering is held up as an example (2:21–25; similarly 3:17–18). In echo of the characteristic Pauline emphasis, experience of "the Spirit of glory" is linked with sharing in Christ's sufferings (4:13–14). The vicarious effect of Christ's suffering and death, however, was evidently linked in the author's mind with Christ's resurrection, which he also regards as a medium of salvation (1:3, 3:18–21). At the same time he gives evidence of the earliest speculation about Christ's ministry between death and resurrection—preaching to "the spirits in prison"

(3:18–20, 4:6). 1 Peter also contains one of the best examples of a collection of OT texts used for evangelistic or apologetic purposes—the "stone testimonia" (1:6–8).

Next to the Fourth Gospel, Hebrews has the most carefully worked out and sustained christology in the NT. It includes two of the most developed expressions of Wisdom and Adam christologies (1:2–3; 2:6–17). But its main objective is to present Christ as superior to all other potential mediator figures—superior as Son to the prophets (1:1–2), to the angels (1:4–16), and to Moses (3:1–6). The principal thrust, however, comes in the presentation of Christ as High Priest—not of Aaron's line, though sharing the very human characteristics required of a good high priest (5:1–10), but of the order of Melchizedek (Ps 110:4) "by the power of an indestructible life" (7:16). As such he is superior to the Levitical priesthood as a whole.

This central thesis is worked out in 8–10 by means of a magnificent blend of Platonic idealism and Hebraic eschatology. As also in Philo, the earthly world of everyday perception is only a shadow and imperfect copy of the real heavenly world. So the tabernacle with its priesthood and sacrifice is only a shadow of the real heavenly sanctuary, and Christ is the real High Priest and his sacrifice (of himself) *the* sacrifice which alone suffices to purify the conscience and make the worshiper perfect. In the blend with Hebraic eschatology, the shadowy "here below" is identified with the preparatory "then" of the old covenant, and the heavenly real with the eschatological "now" of the new covenant. Thus priesthood and cult are shown to belong to the outmoded age of imperfect and preparatory shadow. Christ has opened the way once for all into the real inner sanctum of God's presence. By such sophisticated means the writer clearly hopes to discourage his readers from harking back to the tangibility of the Jewish cult and to persuade them of the virtues of a Christianity whose only priest and atoning sacrifice is Christ, even if it means social ostracism (13:8–16).

Of the Gospels, Mark most closely shares Pauline concerns. His aim is to present Jesus as Christ, Son of God (1:1, 11). But if this claim is understood in terms simply of mighty works (as in 3:11 and 5:7), it is misunderstood (so also 13:22). Hence the secrecy motif (as in 3:12 and 5:43) and the theme of the disciples' dullness (as in 4:13 and 8:14–21). Hence, too, at what is obviously the center and turning point of the gospel, Jesus responds to Peter's confession, "You are the Christ," by repeating the call for secrecy, and immediately goes on to teach that the Son of Man must suffer and be killed (8:30–31). The second half begins with the heavenly voice once again hailing Jesus as God's Son (9:7), giving the stamp of divine approval to the christology and its consequences for discipleship just expressed (8:31–9:1). Thereafter the movement of the narrative is all toward Jerusalem, with repeated predictions of the imminent passion (9:12, 31; 10:33–34, 38–39, 45; 12:8; etc.). In the climax to the whole, the high priest poses the question of Jesus' messiahship and divine sonship only to reject him (14:61–64), whereas, with supreme dramatic effect, it is the Roman centurion who at last makes the right confession, "Truly this man was God's Son"—speaking of the crucified Jesus who has just died (15:39). In the light of this, several have concluded that Mark wrote his gospel with an object similar to that of Paul in 2 Corinthians 10–13—to correct a christology of glory (a so-called "divine man" christology), which emphasized too much the mighty works of Jesus, by means of a christology of the cross.

**3. Luke-Acts.** Any study of the theology of Luke must take account of the fact that he wrote two volumes. The significance of this fact is not reducible to the tracing of structural parallels (e.g. the two prologues and inaugural Spirit anointings—Luke 1–2 = Acts 1 and Luke 3:21–22 = Acts 2:1–4; the journey framework for narrative). Rather it implies that there is a continuity and interconnectedness between the two parts of Luke's twofold composition which should prohibit us from drawing conclusions regarding Luke's christology from only one part, or from one part independently of the other. So, e.g., Luke evidently did not think it necessary to include much reference to the ministry of Jesus in the sermons in Acts (only 2:22 and 10:36–39), since he could presume that his readers already knew the gospel.

In particular, the two-volume scope of Luke's theology enables us to recognize the governing claim of his christology: that Jesus Christ is both the climax of God's purpose through Israel and the center of history. Hence the counterpoint themes of continuity and discontinuity by which Jesus both links and

separates the epochs which precede and succeed him. On the one hand, the climactic note of fulfillment which marks not least the periods of transition from one epoch to the other (from Israel to Jesus—Luke 1:67–79, 3:4–6, 4:16–22; from Jesus to church—24:26–27, 44–48; Acts 1:16–20; 2:16–21, 25–36). Likewise the subtle evocation of the Exodus theme in Luke 9:31 and 11:20, and the maintenance of a Moses/prophet christology across the divide of his two volumes (Luke 24:19; Acts 3:22, 7:37). With similar effect, and even more marked, his emphasis on the spirit, as both heralding the coming of the Christ (Luke 1:15, 41, 67; 2:25), as distinguishing his ministry in special measure (3:22; 4:1, 14, 18; 10:21; Acts 1:2, 10:38), and as poured out in eschatological fullness on the first believers (Acts 1:5, 8; 2:4, 17–18, 33; etc.).

On the other hand, the period of Israel becomes increasingly superseded. The Jerusalem temple, which provides an important focus of continuity (Luke 1:8–23; 2:22–51; 24:52–53; Acts 2:46; 3:1–10; 5:20–21, 42), is attacked by Stephen as "made with hands" (7:48; cf. v 41) and becomes the occasion for Paul's final rejection and arrest (21:7–36; 26:21), a development complemented by Paul's own increasing turning away from "the Jews" and to the gentiles (9:15, 13:45–50, 22:21–22, 28:25–28). The discontinuity between epochs is also marked christologically, in the depiction of the successive modes of relationship between Jesus and the Spirit—first, as the one whose human life is created by the Spirit (Luke 1:35), second, as the one who is uniquely anointed by the Spirit (3:22, 4:18; Acts 10:38), and third, as the exalted one who in his exaltation has received divine power to bestow the spirit (Acts 2:33), so that, as with Paul, the Spirit can be designated "the Spirit of Jesus" (Acts 16:7). The attempt to mark off the epoch of Jesus from the epoch of the Spirit by limiting the resurrection appearances to forty days so that there is a ten-day gap between ascension and Pentecost (Acts 1) is particularly noticeable.

An important factor in this reshaping of the christological focus of salvation history is the delay of the parousia. The extent of the delay envisaged by Luke should not be exaggerated: he still uses the language of imminent expectation in Luke 10:9, 11, 18:7–8, and 21:32. Nevertheless he does inject clear warnings of delay into the earlier tradition at Luke 19:11, 20:9, and 21:8, and in Acts a longer time scale does seem to be envisaged for the mission (Acts 1:6–8), with the talk of Christ's parousia reading more like a doctrine of the last things than a threat pressingly close (Acts 10:42, 17:31, 24:25). This stretching out of the period between exaltation and parousia reinforces the impression that Acts has an "absentee christology," with no further activity predicated of him other than through his name (Acts 3:6, 16; 4:10–12, 30; 10:43) or in visions (Acts 9:10, 18:9, 22:17–21, 26:13–19), in some contrast to the more intimate "in Christ" and mutual indwelling emphases of Paul and John.

Other distinctive features of Luke's christology include his focus on "salvation." Of the Synoptic Evangelists, only Luke calls Jesus "Savior" (Luke 2:11; in John only at 4:42) and attributes "salvation" to him (Luke 1:69, 2:30, 3:6, 19:9). The same emphasis is continued in Acts, in the use of both nouns (Acts 4:12; 5:31; 13:23, 26; 28:28) and of the verb (particularly 2:21, 4:12, 15:11, 16:31). Equally striking is the surprising lack of any clear atonement theology in Luke-Acts. As already noted, the references to the death of Christ in the Acts speeches, including the allusions to Jesus as "Servant," emphasize the suffering-vindication theme rather than the motif of vicarious suffering (Acts 3:13, 26; 4:27, 30; 5:30; 10:39–40; 13:29–30). The impression that this feature may be indicative of Luke's own theology of the cross is strengthened by the absence of the clearest Markan expression of atonement theology (Luke 22:27; cf. Mark 10:45) and by the textual confusion at the other two most sensitive points in the narrative (Luke 22:19b–20, Acts 20:28). Finally we may note that Luke's depiction of the substantial and objective nature of Christ's resurrection appearances (Luke 24:39–43; Acts 1:3), which in part at least may be simply the result of his own perception of the tangible character of spiritual phenomena (e.g., Luke 3:22; Acts 4:31, 8:18–19, 12:9), enables him to emphasize still further the contrast between the epoch of Christ and that of the Spirit and marks off the ascension from the resurrection in a way that is unparalleled elsewhere in the NT.

**4. Outside the Circle of Pauline Influence.** James almost seems to lack any christology worth speaking of, Christ being explicitly referred to only twice (1:1; 2:1), though the ambiguous "Lord" of 5:7–8 probably also refers to Jesus. But he does draw directly on the Jesus tradition (e.g., 1:5, 22–23; 4:12;

5:12) and may refer to Jesus as "the righteous one" (5:6) in a fine blend of Jewish wisdom teaching and prophetic fervor against social injustice. This can quite properly be called an implicit christology, since it shows how these emphases of Jesus' ministry were maintained, without necessarily having to be held all the time within a Markan passion framework (as in all the Gospels).

The two-fold emphasis of the birth narratives also provides Matthew with his principal christological themes—Jesus as Son of David and messiah (1:1, 17, 20; 2:4), but also Son of God (1:18, 20; 2:15). Evidently within a more Jewish context the assertion of Jesus' messiahship was still a matter of apologetic importance (hence the redactional insertions at 11:2, 16:20, 23:10, 24:5). Matthew also makes more use of the "Son of David" title than any other NT writer (9:27; 12:23; 15:22; 20:30–31 pars.; 21:9, 15). But "Son of God" is clearly the more important designation. For Matthew not only retains the high points of Mark's presentation (3:17, 8:29, 17:5, 26:63, 27:54) but takes pains to extend the motif (14:33; 16:16; 27:40, 43; 28:19).

On the one hand, this means that Christ recapitulates Israel's history to complete God's purpose for Israel (2:15; 4:3–6 = midrash on Deuteronomy 6–8)—an Israel christology rather like Paul's Adam christology. Hence also the implicit Moses typology (Jesus gives the first of five blocks of teaching on a mountain) and the sustained fulfillment of prophecy theme (1:22–23; 2:15, 17–18, 23; 4:14–16; 8:17; 12:17–21; 21:4; 27:9–10). But even more, this means that Jesus, Son of God, is the divine presence among his people (1:23; 18:20; 28:20). The process whereby "Son of God" gains in christological significance is already well advanced—as reflected also in the marked increase in Jesus' reference to God as "Father" (as in 7:21; 10:32–33; 12:50; 16:17; 18:10, 19). Hence, too, the evidently deliberate Matthean redaction whereby Jesus is presented not merely as the eschatological emissary of Wisdom but as Wisdom herself (11:19, 25–30; 23:34–36, 37–39).

The most striking feature of the christology of the Revelation of John is the relation envisaged between God and the exalted Christ—although the full force of the christology involved remains unclear since the apocalyptic imagery is open to diverse interpretations. The description of the initial vision of Christ is a fascinating mixture of elements drawn from previous apocalyptic visions (particularly Ezek 1:24, 8:2; Dan 7:13, 10:5–6), and is of a piece with the tradition of Jewish apocalyptic (or merkabah mysticism) in which a glorious angel seems to have the appearance of God (as in *Apoc. Abr.* 10). The difference is that elsewhere in the tradition the angel forbids the offer of worship, whereas in Revelation, Christ is as much the object of worship as God (5:13, 7:10).

Christ, initially introduced as the Lion of Judah and Root of David, conqueror of death and lord of history (5:5), is referred to thereafter as the Lamb once slain (5:6, 8, 12–13; 6:1; etc.), whose blood enables his followers to conquer and who is the executor of divine wrath (6:16, 7:14, 12:11). More significant is the fact that the Lamb is also said to be "in the middle of the throne" (5:6; 7:17), whereas elsewhere it is God who is described as "he who is seated on the throne" (4:9–10; 5:1, 7, 13; 6:16; 7:10, 15; 19:4; 21:5). The one throne is evidently shared by both God and the Lamb (22:1). So, too, each can equally be called "the Alpha and the Omega" (1:8, 21:6, 22:13). In other words, Christ has not simply been exalted alongside God as a second divine power in heaven, but in the visionary imagery of the seer is somehow merged with God. This makes the promise of salvation as a being given to sit on the same throne and as a being given in marriage to the Lamb all the more profound (3:21; 19:7–8; 21:2, 9–14).

**F. The Christology of John**

The Fourth Gospel has the most fully developed christology in the NT. The contrast with the Synoptics is at once apparent in the public roll call of titles which climaxes chap. 1 ("Lamb of God," "Messiah," "Son of God," "King of Israel," "Son of Man"). The style and content of Jesus' teaching is strikingly different: in the Synoptics, Jesus speaks in epigrams and parables, principally about the kingdom of God/heaven and very little about himself; in John, Jesus speaks in long, often involved discourses, principally about himself and very little about the kingdom. Jesus' consciousness of having preexisted, as Son with the Father, as Son of Man descended from heaven, as the eternal "I am," confronts the reader throughout. There is sufficient evidence that John's presentation is rooted in good tradition (cf., e.g., John 6:20 with Mark 6:50; John 6:51–58 with Mark 14:22–24 = Luke 22:19–20; John 10 with Luke 15:4–6),

but the above emphases are so consistent in John and so lacking in the earlier Jesus tradition that they have to be attributed to a developed reflection on that earlier tradition.

The chief objectives of the Fourth Evangelist are clearly marked in the Prologue, which must have a programmatic function since it matches the subsequent emphases so closely, and in 20:31.

**1. The Word Incarnate.** In the Prologue the line of the earlier Wisdom christology is extended. The concept "Word" is given preference over "Wisdom," perhaps simply because the masculine concept seemed more appropriate, but probably mainly because "Word" was the more serviceable concept to provide a bridge of communication between Jewish monotheism and Greek religious philosophy (as with Philo). In the line of Jewish Wisdom theology, the Word is not thought of as being other than God, but as God in his self-revelation, God insofar as he may be known by man. The Word was not a redemptive "afterthought" but was "in the beginning" (1:1–2), God's own power put forth in creation and revelation (1:3–5, 9–10). Jesus Christ is this Word become man, embodying the divine glory (1:14). He alone reveals God (1:18).

Although the concept "Word" disappears after the Prologue, what follows is in effect a massive elaboration of Word/Wisdom christology. In varied ways the message is constantly repeated—Jesus is the one who has finally and definitively revealed God. Nathanael is a "true Israelite" (= "one who sees God") because he will see the Son of Man as the ladder between heaven and earth (1:47–51). No one has ascended to heaven; only the Son of Man who descended from heaven can bear witness to heavenly things (3:11–13). He who comes from above is above all whose witness is from God (3:31–33). Only he who is from the Father has seen the Father (6:46). The "I am" statements unique to John pick up Wisdom language (shepherd, light, etc.) and in echoing the "I am" of Yahweh (Exod 3:14; Isa 43:10; etc.) make the claim even more emphatically—Jesus is the self-revelation of the covenant God (John 6:35; 8:12, 24, 28, 58; etc.), the definitive manifestation of that divine reality (1:14, 17; 14:6). Isaiah saw Christ because he saw God in his glory, God as manifested to man (Isaiah 6; John 12:41). Hence the charge leveled against the Johannine Jesus by "the Jews": he made himself equal with God, made himself God (5:18; 10:33). John does not dispute the charge; rather he makes it an article of faith on his own account (1:18; 20:28); only, Jesus as God must not be understood as another, a second God, but as God himself incarnate, God making himself present and known to man so far as that was possible within the confines of human experience.

This also is the function of the dominant category of John's christology—Son of God. Although the designation "Messiah" is still important (note 1:41 and 4:25), it is clear that he wants the Christ title to be understood in the light of the Son of God title (11:27; 20:31). The reason is also clear from the characteristic Johannine elaboration of the Son language: "Son" expresses well the intimate relation between Jesus and God and the authority of Jesus' revelation of God. As "Son of God," Jesus is unique: he is the *monogenēs,* "one of a kind" (like no other son), (1:14, 18; 3:16, 18); his sonship cannot be shared (he alone is "son"; believers are "children"; contrast Paul). As "the Son," he is not a different divine being from the Father, but God making himself visible to men: he and the Father are one (10:30); to have seen him is to have seen the Father (14:9). Hence also the repeated note usually taken subsequently as emphasizing the Son's subordination to the Father, but better understood as highlighting the continuity between Father and Son and the authority of the Son's witness on the Father's behalf (e.g., 5:19–23, 26–27; 6:35–40, 57; 10:25, 37–38; 14:25–31; 15:26).

With this as the chief emphasis of John's christology, the Christian redefinition of Jewish monotheism can be said to be already well under way. Clearly evident, too, are the strains which caused rabbinic Judaism to reject such redefinition as in effect an abandoning of the unity of God. The danger of an overemphasis on Jesus as God on earth is also evident, but John was aware of it and took steps to guard against it.

**2. The Son Glorified.** Although the Fourth Evangelist has nothing like the Adam christology with which Paul balanced his Wisdom christology, a somewhat different balance is nevertheless provided by important other strands of the gospel. In particular, John takes pains to exclude the impression that Jesus was simply God in human appearance, not really part of the human species. The Word became "flesh"

(1:14), that which constitutes the human born (1:13; 3:6). To have eternal life one must believe in Jesus, that is, must accept his fleshliness in all its earthliness (6:53–56). He really died on the cross, as eyewitness testimony confirms (19:34–35). The emphasis is not prominent, but it does come at critical points in the gospel, and John presumably thought the line was clearly enough drawn.

The subject of Jesus' rejection and death is, in fact, more intensively elaborated, in its own way, than in any other gospel. The theme of the light opposed by the darkness, of the Word rejected by his own, first announced in the Prologue (1:5, 11), becomes a leitmotif of the whole gospel. The light inevitably has a critical or divisive role, since some accept it but many hate it (3:19–21). "Judgment" as a sifting process separating into "for" and "against" is the thread which holds together the central section of the gospel (6–12), with only the inner circle left before Judas, too, goes off into the night (13:30). The mention of "the hour" sounds a steady drumbeat throughout the heralding of the coming passion (2:4; 7:30; 8:20; 12:23, 27; 13:1; 17:1). The soteriological significance of Jesus' death is still prominent (1:29, 6:51, 12:32, 13:10, 19:34), but more prominent is the christological point that his death forms a theological unity with his resurrection and ascension—a single act of being "lifted up" (3:14, 8:28, 12:32), of ascension (3:13, 6:62, 20:17), and particularly of glorification (7:39; 12:16, 23; 13:31; 17:1). As with Paul, the glory of Christ does not come into focus apart from the cross.

As with Paul, the concept of the Spirit is drawn into close correlation with christology. Despite the powerful Word/Wisdom christology, the Spirit is still depicted as given to Jesus at Jordan, but given to "remain on him" and "without measure" (1:32; 4:34). More to the point, the Spirit is now clearly a gift to be given by Christ (1:33; 4:10, 14; 4:34(?); 7:39; 15:26; 16:7; 19:34); and here, too, the unity of the salvation climax of Jesus' ministry is underlined, since Jesus "hands over" the Spirit on the cross (19:30) and the (Pentecostal) bestowal of the Spirit for mission is effected on the day of resurrection (20:21–23). Most distinctive of all, the Spirit is described as the "Paraclete" or Counselor, or more precisely, as "the other Paraclete" (14:16). That is to say, the Spirit is Jesus' successor and takes Jesus' place, so that the promise of Jesus' return to dwell in his disciples can be immediately linked to the coming and indwelling of the Paraclete (14:15–26)—one of the most striking features of John's "realized eschatology." Significantly, the Paraclete's primary role is to maintain and complete the revelation of Christ (14:26; 15:26; 16:7, 10), to glorify Christ by taking what is Christ's and reproclaiming it to his disciples (16:12–15). Yet once again, as with Paul, all this does not mean that John's christology has absorbed the concept of Spirit without remainder, as it has the concepts of Wisdom and Word (see PARACLETE). For distinct functions are still attributed to both—to the Spirit in worship and to Christ apart from the Spirit: despite his realized eschatology, John retains the promise of a still future parousia (14:3); and despite having already given the Spirit and ascended Christ reappears to Thomas a week later (20:26–29).

**3. 1 and 2 John—Crisis over Christology.** 1 John was probably written after the gospel and reflects a situation of some crisis in the Johannine congregations which the gospel and its presentation of Christ may have helped bring about. A number of erstwhile members had evidently left (1 John 2:19), and the breaking point seems to have been a matter of christology, since they are described as "antichrists" and accused of failing to confess or acknowledge Christ (2:18, 22; 4:3; 2 John 7). In particular, they claimed that Jesus Christ had not come in the flesh (1 John 4:2–3; 2 John 7), a form of docetism which, conceivably, they may have derived from or defended by means of a lopsided reading of the gospel (cf. 6:1 above). Consequently this second member of the Johannine school draws back somewhat from the bolder synthesis attempted in the gospel. The opening verses clearly recall the prologue to the gospel, but they also recall the older idea of Christ as the content of the word of preaching (cf. 1 John 1:1–3 particularly with Luke 1:2 and Acts 10:36). And 1 John 5:20 probably refers to Jesus as "the true God" (cf. particularly John 1:18). But the balancing emphasis is more clearly and sharply drawn: the word of life had a tangible historicity (1 John 1:1); the confession that "Jesus Christ has come in the flesh" is the key criterion for testing the spirits (4:1–2); any suggestion that the Christ did not really die is emphatically ruled out (5:6–8).

In short, 1 and 2 John provide vivid indications of the hazardous frontiers of reproclamation which christology at the end of the first century was beginning to explore.

**G. Conclusions**

**1. Continuity with Judaism.** Throughout the various NT writings there is never any slackening of a central claim: Jesus was a Jew and must be understood within the terms provided by Judaism and its sacred scriptures. Most striking is the way in which a range of diverse categories is focused on Jesus—Messiah and son of man, Lord and son of God, Wisdom and Word, atoning sacrifice and priest, Adam and Spirit, Servant and Lamb, Savior and God. Of course, most of the categories are redefined in one degree or other—son of man becomes Son of Man, son of God becomes only-begotten Son of God, Spirit becomes Spirit of Christ, and so on. But the categories remain essentially Jewish, even when they had wider currency in the Greco-Roman world, and it was evidently understood to be important, even if not stated explicitly, that Jesus should continue to be comprehended in Jewish terms—important that Jesus should be seen in continuity with the purposes of God from creation and in the calling of Israel. Clearly then the first Christians felt that Jesus was so much the decisive and definitive fulfillment of Israel's hopes that his significance could not be adequately expressed without pulling in all available categories provided by Jesus' own Jewish faith.

**2. Continuity with Jesus' Own Self-Understanding.** This second aspect is not so easy to recognize. The important reason is that so much of NT christology turns on the event of the cross and resurrection. That event so decisively reshaped the categories applicable to Jesus that their occurrence on either side of that event is not strictly comparable. For example, it is only as Christ crucified that the Messiah claim can be incorporated into christology. It is only as priest "in the order of Melchizedek," "by the power of an indestructible life," that the category of priest can be taken over. It is only as the man whose obedience in death reverses the disobedience of the first man that the title "Adam" can be given to the exalted Christ. Nevertheless, there are sufficiently clear antecedents within the historical Jesus tradition itself that a continuity can properly be claimed—particularly in Jesus' consciousness of intimate sonship, his premonition of suffering in a representative capacity, and his hope of vindication following death. Consequently the claim can justly be made that the cross and resurrection was not a distortion of Jesus' own claims for himself but an appropriate outworking of them. So also the subsequent claims of NT christology can fairly be seen not as a wholly new departure without foundation in Christ's own ministry, but a fuller insight into the reality of that mission in the light of the cross and resurrection.

**3. Unity and Diversity in NT Christology.** At the heart of NT christology is the claim that the man Jesus was raised from the dead to a status of supreme exaltation. This is the most constant element throughout all the NT documents. In its more expanded form, it takes on a double aspect—Christ as the culmination of God's purpose for man (and Israel) in creation and salvation, and Christ as the definitive revelation of God to humankind. The latter comes to increasing prominence in the later writings, explicitly as a doctrine of incarnation in John's gospel, but not at the cost of removing the earlier emphasis on Jesus' death and resurrection as a decisive moment not only for Christ's work but also for his person. Neither aspect can be neglected and neither emphasized at the expense of the other in any christology which claims to be rooted in the NT, but consistently in the NT writings it is the fact and character of Christ's death and resurrection which provided the criterion and control for christology.

Particular emphases of the individual writers by no means reflect a uniform expression and weighting of this central core. Even the core itself is something of an abstraction, since no two writers express it in precisely the same terms. The differences of the writers themselves and the differences of the situations they addressed inevitably made for a rich diversity of expression of what nevertheless can be called a common faith in Christ. But beyond that core the range of presentations includes a wide-ranging diversity of motif, form, and image—wide enough to include the differences of Mark and Matthew, the absence of significant christological features in James and Acts, and the idiosyncratic elements in Hebrews and Revelation. Evidently the individual writers felt free to reexpress ("reproclaim" is John's word) the gospel that is Jesus in different ways and with different emphases to speak more pertinently to their own diverse situations. In all cases that included a concern to be true to the insights which had already become established. In some cases that concern dominated largely to the exclusion of all else (particularly the Pastorals). For the most part, however, christology was seen as no mere transfer of set traditions from one

church to another, but as a creative response to the exalted Christ and his Spirit, which could sometimes have unpredictable results. But that, too, is part of NT christology.

**4. The Foundation for Subsequent Christology.** The context-specific and at the same time developing character of so much of NT christology made it inevitable that not all elements within NT christology would be carried forward—particularly the "adoptionist"—like notes in some of the earliest formulations, and idea of Wisdom as created which came in as part of the pre-Christian Jewish Wisdom tradition. Some elements were caught up spasmodically—Paul's Adam christology is taken up in Irenaeus' doctrine of "recapitulation," Luke's schematization of the epoch of Christ followed by the epoch of the Spirit reappears in corrupt form in Montanism and modern dispensationalism, and the visionary magnificence of the Revelation of John retains its impact in the Byzantine Pantocrator. But the main highway into the future was provided by the Wisdom/Word christologies of Paul and John. That way was by no means smooth. The concept of Christ as God's self-revelation not only had to skirt around docetism (already in 1–2 John), but also resulted in an outright breach with Judaism over the question mark it seemed to pose to the unity of God (already foreshadowed in John), and it also gave scope to a modalist interpretation later in the second century. In the event, as it happened, the NT writing contained sufficient safeguards to prevent Christianity from abandoning monotheism (Christ as God incarnate), but also sufficient dynamic in the relationships implied between God, the exalted Christ, and the Spirit of Christ to require redefinition of that monotheism in a trinitarian direction. Whether subsequent formulations managed to take sufficient account of all the balancing elements in NT christology, however, remains an open question.

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JAMES D. G. DUNN

## CHRONICLES OF THE KINGS (ISRAEL/JUDAH), BOOK OF THE

[Heb *sēper dibrê hayyamîm lĕmalkê* (סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי)]. A book or books not extant but cited by the author of 1–2 Kings. The term literally means "the daily affairs for [or belonging to] the kings of [Israel/Judah]," but it is most often translated as either the Chronicles of or the Annals of the Kings of Israel/Judah. The Chronicles of the Kings of Judah is mentioned fifteen times (1 Kgs 14:29; 15:7, 23; 22:46—Eng 22:45; 2 Kgs 8:23; 12:20—Eng 12:19; 14:18; 15:6, 36; 16:19; 20:20; 21:17, 25; 23:28; 24:5) in reference to every post-Solomonic ruler except Ahaziah, Athaliah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah. The Chronicles of the Kings of Israel is mentioned eighteen times (1 Kgs 14:19; 15:31; 16:5, 14, 20, 27; 22:39; 2 Kgs 1:18; 10:34; 13:8, 12; 14:15, 28; 15:11, 15, 21, 26, 31) in reference to every king of Israel except for Jehoram and Hoshea. These citations include a standard formula: "… the rest of the acts of ___ how he [or "and all that he did"] ___, behold, they are [or "are they not"] written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel [or Judah]."

The author of Kings also refers to a book of the Affairs of Solomon (Heb *sēper dibrð šĕlōmōh*), which is normally translated as the book of the Acts of Solomon (1 Kgs 11:41). Among the numerous sources mentioned in the OT book of Chronicles are "the book of the kings of Israel and Judah" (2 Chr 27:7), "the book of the kings of Judah and Israel" (2 Chr 16:11), "the book of the kings of Israel" (2 Chr 20:34), and "the chronicles of the kings of Israel" (2 Chr 33:18). Most scholars agree that these probably are descriptive terms rather than titles and most likely all refer to the same work. Disagreement exists as to whether these are the same books mentioned in 1–2 Kings. In addition, a book of chronicles (Heb *sēper dibrð hayyamĦm*) is mentioned incidentally in Neh 12:23 as being a book in which the heads of Levite families are registered, but few scholars have connected this to the books mentioned in 1–2 Kings. The only other use of a similar term in the OT occurs in Esth 10:2 which, using the same formula used in 1–2 Kings, refers to the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Media and Persia.

Though the author of Kings specifically refers to the books of the Chronicles of the Kings only as sources for further information, it is widely assumed that he used these books as sources for his own writing (*NDH*, 57). Scholars who do not make this assumption generally conclude, on the basis of the titles, that they were the official court annals of the two kingdoms. For four of the kings of Judah and seven of the kings of Israel, the formula includes amplifying information ("how he ___") which would then be the only basis for judging what might have been their content. Indeed, ten of these eleven cases refer specifically to military campaigns, "conspiracies," or building projects. This corresponds well to known Mesopotamian court annals which typically include brief, highly stylized reports of military campaigns, building projects, and hunting exploits.

The majority of scholars who assume that the author of Kings utilized these chronicles as a primary source for his own writing note that although certain idiomatic phrases suggest derivation from official annals (Montgomery 1934), much of the material in Kings is clearly not of the sort included in official annals. Thus they conclude that the Chronicles of the Kings must have been unofficial histories based on official annals but with substantial amplification.

Prominent hypotheses regarding the Chronicles of the Kings include the following: (1) They were unofficial histories composed by prophets based upon official annals and prophetic writings (Keil 1876: 12–14). (2) The chronicles for both Israel and Judah and the Acts of Solomon were probably a single annalistic work written by a priest of Jerusalem in the time of Manasseh (Jepsen 1956: 54–60). (3) They were unofficial histories based on official annals: the author drew upon the Judean chronicles for information about the temple, royal succession, and political events, but took little from the chronicles of Israel apart from its chronological framework (*NDH*, 63–74). (4) They were the official annals of the court of Jerusalem—a single work in two columns, one for Israel and one for Judah (Mettinger 1971: 36–42). (5) If official annals of the court of Israel ever existed, the author of Kings did not use them. The Chronicles of the Kings of Judah included the core of the material attributed to the Acts of Solomon. These three titles should not be viewed as actual works, but as a literary device representative of the author's historical perspective (Garbini 1981).

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DUANE L. CHRISTENSEN

**CHRONICLES, BOOK OF 1–2.** Final books in the third major division (Hagiographa, Sacred Writings) of the Hebrew Bible. Its position in English Versions derives from the LXX, where it is placed between Kingdoms and Ezra-Nehemiah.

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A. Name
B. Canonicity
C. Extent of the Book
    1. Relationship to Ezra-Nehemiah
    2. Secondary Elements within Chronicles
D. Date and Place of Authorship
    1. Internal Clues
    2. Historical or Theological Situation
E. Text
    1. Text of Chronicles
    2. Text of Samuel-Kings Used by the Chronicler
F. Sources
    1. Canonical Sources
    2. Noncanonical Sources
G. Historical Value of Chronicles
H. Some Characteristic Features of Chronicles
    1. Royal Speeches and Prayers
    2. Prophets
    3. Levites
I. Theology
    1. Monarchy, Cult, and Temple
    2. Retribution

3. Attitude toward the North

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**A. Name**

In the Hebrew Bible this work carries the title *dibrê hayyāmîm*, "the events of the days." The title "Chronicles" can be traced back to Jerome, who, in his *Prologus Galeatus* (a preface to the Books of Samuel and Kings), provided a more appropriate title, *Chronicon Totius Divinae Historiae,* or Chronicle of the Entire Divine History. In his German translation of the Bible, Luther called the book *Die Chronik,* which led to the familiar "Chronicles" in English Bibles. In the LXX, Chronicles is called *Paraleipomena* (hereafter *Par.*), that is, "the things omitted" or "passed over." The church father Theodoret interpreted this to mean that Chronicles assembled whatever the author of 1–2 Kings omitted, though this view does not indicate that Chronicles has also omitted much of what is contained in the biblical books of Kings. The division into two books appears first in the LXX and has been standard in Hebrew Bibles since the 15th century.

**B. Canonicity**

It is frequently asserted (e.g., Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 3), apparently incorrectly, that the position of Chronicles at the end of the Hebrew Bible indicates its late acceptance into the canon. Actually, there does not seem to have been much discussion about canonicity, perhaps because Chronicles included so much material found elsewhere in the canon (Willi 1972: 179); the book may have been granted canonical status at the same time as Ezra-Nehemiah. In some Hebrew manuscripts from Spain it appears as the first book among the Writings, where its worship emphases provide a fitting introduction to the following book of Psalms. Its now standard position at the end of the canon follows the practice of the Jewish community in Babylon. In the Septuagint and associated translations (e.g., Vulgate, Ethiopic), the order is Kings, Chronicles, 1 Esdras, 2 Esdras (= Ezra-Nehemiah).

**C. Extent of the Book**

**1. Relationship to Ezra-Nehemiah.** Since the time of Leopold Zunz (1832), Chronicles has been considered by the majority of scholars to be part of the Chronicler's History, consisting of (all or most of) Chronicles and (all or parts of) Ezra-Nehemiah. Because this hypothesis has important implications for the date and meaning of Chronicles, and because it has been sharply called into question in recent years, the arguments for and against it must be reviewed and assessed. Arguments for the unity of Chronicles-Nehemiah include (Japhet 1968: 331–32): (a) The presence of the first verses of Ezra (1:1–3a) at the end of Chronicles (2 Chr 36:22–23). (b) The book of 1 Esdras, which duplicates 2 Chronicles 35–36, Ezra 1–10, and Nehemiah 8. (c) The linguistic resemblance of the three books, e.g., their common vocabulary, syntactic phenomena, and stylistic peculiarities. (d) The common point of view from which the history is treated, the method followed in the choice of materials, and the preference demonstrated for certain topics.

While in argument (a) the overlap may indicate where the story is continued, it does not in itself demand unity of authorship. The overlap can be understood equally well as support for diversity of authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah (Welch 1935: 186).

1 Esdras, as noted in argument (b), is a fragment that breaks off in mid-sentence (= Neh 8:13); it probably once began at a point other than 2 Chr 35:1 as well. Those who argue that it is a translation of an earlier version of the Chronicler's History, to which the Nehemiah Memoirs had not yet been added, posit a beginning at 1 Chronicles 1 (Pohlmann 1970) or at 1 Chronicles 10 (Cross 1975). Williamson (1977b: 12–36; criticized by McKenzie 1985: 20–23) holds that 1 Esdras is both a fragment and a secondary compilation, and he argues that the text of 1 Esdr 9:37 shows knowledge of Neh 7:72—Eng 7:73. Hence the compiler, in his judgment, was following a *Vorlage* in which Nehemiah 8 followed Nehemiah 1–7, not Ezra 10. He also maintains that it is unlikely that *Par.* and 1 Esdras, which derive from the same time (2d century) and place (Alexandria), would both include the entire text of Chronicles. One can, of course, still argue from 1 Esdras that at least a part of Jewish tradition in the 2d century associated Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah 8 with one another and interpreted them along the lines of a Chronicler's History.

Japhet (1968) focused her attention on the linguistic differences between Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah while acknowledging general linguistic similarities. She found differences that could be classified as linguistic opposition, variation in technical terms (with Chronicles showing a stage in the use of these terms later even than the latest stratum of Ezra-Nehemiah), and stylistic traits peculiar to Chronicles and to Ezra-Nehemiah respectively. Cross (1975: 14, n. 58) and Polzin (1976: 55), however, hold that much of the linguistic opposition can be accounted for by arguing that the scribal tradition lying behind Chronicles was more consistent than that lying behind Ezra-Nehemiah (Throntveit 1982a: 203–4). Mosis (1973: 215, n. 23) believed that Japhet did not distinguish adequately between the linguistic usage of the *Vorlagen* taken over by the Chronicler, the pieces composed by the Chronicler himself, and secondary additions to his work.

Williamson (1977b: 37–59) investigated a list of 140 items (first drawn up by S. R. Driver [1913: 535–40] and later expanded by E. L. Curtis and A. A. Madsen [*Chronicles* ICC, 27–36]) that show similarities in style between Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah (the third argument for the unity of these books) and was able to eliminate all but six of these stylistic features as either irrelevant to the question of unity of authorship or as actually favoring *diversity* of authorship. In a recent study, Throntveit has shown that Polzin was only able to add two additional grammatical or syntactic features to the evidence for similarity of authorship. He concluded, "While Japhet and Williamson have provided strong arguments against the ability of linguistic analysis to prove common authorship, they have not shown separate authorship on these grounds" (1982a: 215).

While the priestly point of view, a focus on the temple and the cult, and a favoritism toward the Levites are among the themes shared by Chronicles with Ezra-Nehemiah, recent discussion has also identified possible theological differences between the two works, among which the following seem most convincing: (1) The concept of retribution and the terms related to it in Chronicles are almost entirely lacking in Ezra-Nehemiah (Braun 1979: 53–56; Williamson 1977b: 67–68). (2) The two works differ in their attitude toward the northern tribes, and in particular the Samaritans (Braun 1979: 56–59; Williamson 1977b: 60–61). (3) Chronicles places a greater emphasis upon the Davidic monarchy (Braun 1979: 63). (4) In Ezra-Nehemiah there is mention of the election of Abraham and the Exodus, while in Chronicles there is a concentration on the patriarch Jacob (who is always called Israel) and a deemphasis on the Exodus (Williamson 1977b: 61–66). (5) The frequent references to prophets in Chronicles make it a prophetic history; in Ezra-Nehemiah, by contrast, the prophetic influence has virtually ceased (Williamson 1977b: 68). (6) The *nĕtînîm* ("temple servants") and the sons of Solomon's servants appear throughout Ezra-Nehemiah, but are absent from Chronicles, with the exception of 1 Chr 9:2 (Japhet 1968: 351–54; Williamson 1977b: 69). (7) In Chronicles, Israel comprises all twelve tribes, whereas in Ezra-Nehemiah Israel is Judah and Benjamin (Williamson 1977b: 69).

Three main positions are held today on the existence of the Chronicler's History: (a) Some affirm it, including all or parts of Ezra-Nehemiah within the history (e.g., Ackroyd *CHJ* 1: 130–61; Clines *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCB; Cross 1975; Freedman; Mosis); (b) others (most notably Japhet and Williamson) believe that Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah are separate works by separate authors; and (c) still others (e.g., Welten, Willi) believe that the books are separate works by the *same* author. The ideological or theological differences between the books are perhaps the most convincing argument for diversity of authorship. While the question is by no means closed, the discussion that follows will assume the diverse authorship of these books.

**2. Secondary Elements within Chronicles.** Since M. Noth's seminal work in 1943 (*ÜgS*) the dominant opinion has been that one author was responsible for the book of Chronicles with some subsequent glossing of the text (Noth *NCH* 29–42; Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 1–3). Much secondary Levitical material has also been detected in 2 Chronicles by Willi (1972: 196–204). Major passages still in dispute include the following:

**a. The Genealogies in 1 Chronicles 1–9.** Welch (1939: 185–86) and Cross (1975: 4–18; cf. McKenzie 1985: 30, n. 32) have proposed that the entire genealogical preface is secondary. Noth and Rudolph argued for the originality of a basic genealogical scheme later enriched with various secondary additions.

In Rudolph's case the secondary materials amounted to more than 75 percent of the text. Williamson, however, defends the substantial unity of 1 Chronicles 1–9 as part of the original book of Chronicles, though he does detect a few additions (e.g., 6:35–38—Eng 50–53). These genealogies, like the rest of the book, show a concern for all Israel, for David and his dynasty, for the centrality of Judah and Jerusalem, and for immediate retribution. They call the patriarch Jacob "Israel" and show little interest in Moses and the Exodus.

**b. Portions of 1 Chronicles 15–16.** Rudolph considers 15:4–10, 16–21, 22–24; and 16:5b–38, 42 secondary (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 2; cf. Noth *NCH*, 35). Williamson (*Chronicles* NCB, 122–32) finds a priestly, secondary redaction in parts of 15:4, 11, 14, 18, 24 and 16:6, 38, 42.

**c. 1 Chr 23:3–27:34.** Noth (*NCH*, 31–33) and Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 3) dismiss all of this material dealing with David's organization of the Levites. Williamson (*Chronicles* NCB, 158) detects a primary stratum in 23:3–6a, 6b–13a, 15–24; 25:1–6; 26:1–3, 9–11, 19, 20–32, assigning the rest of chaps. 23–27 to a pro-priestly reviser who flourished about a generation after the original author.

**d. 2 Chr 36:22–23.** Japhet retains this doublet of Ezra 1:1–3a, but Williamson declares it secondary (NCB, 419) and so argues that the original book ends with 2 Chr 36:21.

**D. Date and Place of Authorship**

Jerusalem is clearly the place of authorship. If there was a Chronicler's History, including all or parts of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, then the Chronicler must be subsequent to the work of Ezra (458 or 398 B.C.E. [7th year of Artaxerxes I or Artaxerxes II]) and Nehemiah (445–432 B.C.E.). Internal clues in Ezra-Nehemiah, such as the list of high priests in Nehemiah 12, also figure in this argument, unless this list or the Nehemiah Memoirs in general are held to be supplementary to the original Chronicler's History. Those who find the genealogical preface of 1 Chronicles 1–9 secondary (e.g., Welch, Cross), or who find at least chap. 3 secondary, are not bound by the chronological implications of 3:17–24, which includes the exilic and postexilic line of David.

The evidence for dating the books of Chronicles apart from Ezra-Nehemiah rests on the following types of evidence. (1) The mention of the rise of the Persian kingdom (2 Chr 36:20) makes 539 the earliest possible date. (2) *Par.* is cited in Eupolemus, ca. 150 B.C., and the translation of 1 Esdras, containing 2 Chronicles 35–36, also dates to the 2d century. Since some time would elapse between the composition of a book and the need for a Greek translation, a date of composition after 200 would seem to be impossible. Note also that Sir. 47:8–10 (ca. 190 B.C.E.) presupposes Chronicles' description of David. Decisions on the following evidence can narrow this three-century range:

**1. Internal Clues. a. 1 Chr 3:17–24.** This genealogy of the sons of Jeconiah (= Jehoiachin, exiled in 597 B.C.E.) extends for six generations following MT or eleven following *Par.* (see the commentaries). Depending on how many years one allows per generation, MT suggests a date between 400–350, and the LXX a date about 250. The assumption is that the author recorded the genealogy down to his own day.

**b. 1 Chr 29:7.** The mention of *darics*, a Persian coin not minted before 515 B.C.E., in the reign of Darius I, is here used anachronistically of contributions for the temple in the time of David. Presumably enough time would have to pass after 515 for an author to employ this anachronism. Mosis (1973: 105–6) and Throntveit (1982b: 128), however, believe this verse is secondary.

**c. 2 Chr 16:9.** The clause "The eyes of the Lord run to and fro throughout the whole earth" appears to be a citation of Zech 4:10. Since the prophet flourished in 520–518, a date for Chronicles must be somewhat later, though it is a matter of judgment as to how much time would have to elapse before the prophet could be referred to in such an authoritative manner.

**d. The Language of the Book.** Polzin (1976: 27–75) classifies the language of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah (exclusive of the Nehemiah Memoirs) as Late Biblical Hebrew, subsequent to P. However, it is doubtful whether the language by itself can be dated precisely within the postexilic period since he has only shown similarity of language, rather than similarity of authorship, in the three documents (Throntveit 1982a: 215). The absence of Greek words and Hellenistic influence might favor an earlier date within this period.

**2. Historical or Theological Situation. a. The Schismatic Samaritan Community.** Noth believed that the rival Samaritan cult was set up about the time of the fall of the Persian Empire and that the Chronicler's work was a response to this in the 3d century. Recent studies, however, have changed the understanding of the Jewish and Samaritan schism. First, it is now widely held that the decisive break between the Jerusalemite and Samaritan communities did not take place before the time of John Hyrcanus at the end of the 2d century (Cross 1966; Purvis 1968; cf. Coggins 1975). Hence, to call the Chronicler anti-Samaritan is anachronistic. Secondly, the questioning of the unity of Chronicles-Nehemiah has led to the observation that the more exclusivistic claims are contained in Ezra-Nehemiah and not in Chronicles. Coggins has proposed that even in Ezra-Nehemiah we can detect only an anti-Samarian, rather than an anti-Samaritan attitude. Thirdly, the attitude toward the North in Chronicles is positive.

**b. The Era of Zerubbabel.** Freedman proposed that the Chronicler structured his history around the figure of David and his dynasty and defended the claims of the house of David in its authoritative relationship to temple and cult. The occasion for the book was the return from exile and the rebuilding of the temple under the leadership of Zerubbabel and Joshua (parallel to David and Zadok respectively). Though the exact ending of the Chronicler's History is unknown, according to Freedman, it included at least Ezra 1–3 and possibly Ezra 6:19–22 (1975: 183). The narrative of Zerubbabel and the temple has been supplanted by an Aramaic record (4:6–6:18) in the present work, which brings the picture down to 515 (1961: 441).

Cross (1975) proposed a modified version of this reconstruction, which postulates three editions of the Chronicler's History. The first edition (1 Chronicles 10 through 2 Chronicles 34 plus the *Vorlage* of 1 Esdr 1:1–5:65 [= 2 Chr 35:1–Ezra 3:13]) was composed in support of the restoration of Davidic rule, the building of the temple, and the establishment of the cult shortly after the founding of the temple in 520 and before its dedication in 515. The second (1 Chronicles 10–2 Chronicles 34 plus the *Vorlage* of 1 Esdras [2 Chr 35:1–36:23; Ezra 1–10; Nehemiah 8; and the story of Zerubbabel's wisdom and piety in 1 Esdr 3:1–5:6]), was written after Ezra's mission, in 450. The final edition (1–2 Chronicles; Ezra-Nehemiah), dated to 400 or a little later, incorporated the genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–9 and the Nehemiah Memoirs, but suppressed the title "servant of the Lord" for Zerubbabel in Ezra 6:7 and the story of Zerubbabel's wisdom and piety (= 1 Esdr 3:1–5:6). The 400 date is established by the Davidic genealogy in 1 Chr 3:17–24, the reference to Darius II (423–404) in Neh 12:22, and the references to the high priests Yohanan II and Yaddua II (late 5th century) in Nehemiah 12–13. McKenzie (1985: 189–206) suggests that the earliest edition (= Chronicles 1) was based on Dtr 1, the preexilic version of the Deuteronomistic History (hereafter DH).

**c. Conditions of the 4th Century.** Japhet (*EncJud* 5: 533–34) points to the absence of Greek influence in the books of Chronicles, but also holds that they were composed *after* Ezra-Nehemiah. Williamson relates the emphasis on faith in Chronicles to the aftermath of the Persian suppression of the revolt led by the Sidonian Tennes (351–348 B.C.E.), though he admits the dating is only probable. Since he dates the pro-priestly reviser of Chronicles to very late in the Persian period (1979: 268), the original Chronicler may be placed a generation earlier.

**d. Conditions of the 3d Century.** Welten (1973) and Willi (1972), who believe that Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah were written by the same person but not as one work, are forced to a date after Ezra. Welten points to the growing tensions between Jerusalem and Samaria in postexilic times and claims that the time of Ezra and Nehemiah was far in the past when Chronicles was written (1973: 200). The war reports, in his judgment, reflect the conflicts between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids in the first half of the 3d century. His appeal to the use of catapults in 2 Chr 26:14–15 as a war machine first in general use in the 3d century is mistaken since the passage in question refers to a platform on city walls from which stones and arrows could be fired (Williamson *Chronicles* NCB, 338).

The suggested correlations with historical periods either seem tenuous or presuppose highly debatable literary-critical judgments (such as the original connection of part of Ezra with 1–2 Chronicles). The three internal clues from 1 Chr 3:17–24; 29:7; and 2 Chr 16:9 are more specific, suggesting the late 5th or 4th century. This fits well with Chronicles' relationship to the Dtr, which underwent its final redaction in the

mid 6th century and must have passed through several manuscript generations before it was used by the Chronicler. Hanson (1975: 270) has argued for a date around 400 to account for the book's evenhanded approach toward the Levites following a period of great hostility in the 6th and 5th centuries.

Though a 4th-century date seems likely, the uncertain nature of the evidence suggests caution when tying one's interpretation to anything more historically specific than the general situation of postexilic times.

**E. Text**

**1. Text of Chronicles.** Since only four complete words from Chronicles are preserved in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the primary witnesses to the text, apart from MT, are two Greek translations and their respective daughter versions (e.g., Ethiopic, Bohairic, Old Latin, Armenian, Syro Hexapla, etc.). 1 Esdras contains only chaps. 35–36 from the book of 2 Chronicles and was written in 2d-century Egypt. Though its elegant Greek style is paraphrastic, making reconstruction of the Hebrew *Vorlage* more difficult than elsewhere in the LXX, it bears witness to an older and often shorter form of the text, differing both from the MT and the other Greek translation (Klein 1966).

This second translation *(Par.)* is also now dated to 2d-century-B.C.E. Egypt, primarily because the translation seems to have been known by Eupolemus (ca. 150) and shows Ptolemaic Egyptian coloring (Allen 1974a: 12). This translation is best preserved in the G family of texts (Vaticanus [=B]; cf. Sinaiticus and miniscule $c^2$), of which the L, R, and O families are revisions (Allen 1974a: 65–108). G itself has been extensively revised (Allen 1974a: 142–74), so that its fairly close approximation to MT may result to a large extent from the recensional process. 1 Esdras may provide more direct access to the state of the Hebrew text in the 2d century. *Par.* does not seem to be a full part of the *kaige* recension since it does not share fully 10 of 19 translation characteristics, and its use of the other characteristics is sporadic and inconsistent (Allen 1974a: 137–41). C. C. Torrey's opinion that *Par.* was written by Theodotion depended almost exclusively on the use of transliterations and is now generally rejected.

In synoptic passages, *Par.* often agrees with Samuel-Kings (Hebrew and/or Greek) against the MT of Chronicles. Allen argues extensively (1974a: 175–218) that *Par.*'s *Vorlage* and, occasionally, *Par.* itself have been assimilated to the Samuel-Kings text, thus removing changes introduced by the Chronicler. He concedes that in some of these cases Chronicles' MT itself may be corrupt, and the proportion of such cases may be higher than he suggests. Allen considers *Par.*'s *Vorlage* to be a popular (vulgar) text (1974b: 167–68).

**2. Text of Samuel-Kings Used by the Chronicler.** Great text-critical interest has focused on the character of the text of Samuel and Kings that lay before the Chronicler himself (Cross 1961: 188–92; Lemke 1964; 1965; summary in Klein 1974: 42–50). Earlier scholars had assumed that the Chronicler used a text much like the MT of Samuel-Kings, though now it is clear that what he had was the Palestinian text of Samuel-Kings attested by Qumran mss (especially $4QSam^a$), the Old Greek and the proto-Lucianic recensions of LXX, and Josephus. In a number of cases, historical or theological changes ascribed to the Chronicler have been shown to be part of the textual history of Samuel-Kings (examples in Klein 1974: 42–46; Lemke 1965). McKenzie (1985: 119–58) distinguishes between Samuel and Kings, and claims that the Chronicler's *Vorlage* in Kings was a proto-rabbinic text type.

This is not to deny the extensive rewriting of the Deuteronomistic History which the Chronicler undertook. But it does mean that before a change can be credited to the Chronicler, one must be sure of the textual shape of his *Vorlage.* Micheel (1983: 25), for example, detected the theological hand of the Chronicler in the notice in 2 Chr 18:31 that Jehoshaphat's cry was answered by the Lord's saving him since the reference to salvation is not mentioned in 1 Kgs 22:32. This reference, however, is contained in the (proto-) Lucianic text and therefore in the text of Kings that lay before the Chronicler. Many other variations between Chronicles and Samuel-Kings, to which no historical or theological significance has been ascribed, are also now explainable in this fashion (Klein 1974: 47–50).

**F. Sources**

**1. Canonical Sources.** The author of 1 Chronicles 1 drew his genealogies from the book of Genesis. Other genealogical notices in 1 Chronicles 2–8 show strong ties to Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Joshua,

Samuel, and Ruth. Psalms 96, 105, and 106 are cited in 1 Chronicles 16. There are also allusions to or evident knowledge of the books of Isaiah (2 Chr 28:16–21), Jeremiah (2 Chr 36:21), and Zechariah (2 Chr 36:9). But clearly the most frequently used canonical source is the Samuel-Kings corpus from the Deuteronomistic History. (For a convenient list of parallels see Myers [*2 Chronicles* AB, 227–31].) A recent attempt by Halpern (1981: 52) and Macy (1975) to show that both Kings and Chronicles were dependent on a common, Deuteronomistic source has not been successful in my judgment. McKenzie's proposal (1985: 189–206) that the Chronicler knew the Deuteronomistic History only in its preexilic redaction (Dtr 1) is also not persuasive. When Chronicles contains parallels to passages commonly assigned to the exilic edition of DH (Dtr 2), McKenzie either denies the exilic date of these pericopes from Kings or alleges that the passages in Chronicles (2 Chr 7:19–22 and 34:22–27) are themselves secondary. His argument, thus, appears to be circular.

The Chronicler's use of Samuel-Kings is, of course, selective. For his depiction of David he utilized those materials from the DH that would enhance David's qualifications as builder of the temple or highlight his position as a victorious and powerful king. Thus he omitted most of the narrative commonly known as the History of David's Rise (1 Samuel 16–2 Samuel 5), in which David gradually gained ascendancy over Saul and kingship over all Israel, and almost all of the Succession Narrative (2 Samuel 9–20; 1 Kings 1–2). The reader of Chronicles is not told about David's adultery with Bathsheba, his murder of Uriah, or the revolt of Absalom. These omissions are probably not the cover-up they are sometimes portrayed to be, since the Chronicler could have presupposed that his readers already knew these stories. Rather, the Chronicler selected only those passages for his account of David that fit his positive agenda. Similarly, passages about the northern kingdom were omitted unless interaction with the south required their inclusion (e.g., 2 Chr 18:2–34, the joint campaign of Ahab and Jehoshaphat).

At times his selective citations ignored the original context. For example, 1 Chr 14:3–7 begins, "And David took yet more wives at Jerusalem" (= 2 Sam 15:13–16), although 2 Sam 3:2–5, to which the "yet more" refers, is omitted by the Chronicler. He also picked up the story of the people of Jabesh-gilead caring for the body of Saul (1 Chr 10:11–12 = 1 Sam 31:11–13), but omitted 2 Sam 2:4b–7, the real goal of this narrative, where David congratulates the people of Jabesh-gilead on their actions and invites them to recognize his kingship (Noth *NCH*, 90, for other examples).

The Chronicler also sometimes rearranged the order of items from Dtr to serve his own interests. For example, the list of David's mighty men was taken from 2 Sam 23:8–39, where it forms part of an appendix to 2 Samuel identifying acts of heroism. In 1 Chr 11:10–47, however, this list is placed within a series of lists of those from all Israel who gave David unanimous support in the early days of his kingdom.

Finally, the Chronicler combined items from his sources in order to avoid the unfavorable implications of the tradition. According to 1 Kgs 3:4–15, God appeared to Solomon at the high place of Gibeon, but the Chronicler added in 1 Chr 16:39 and 2 Chr 1:3 that the Tent of Meeting from the wilderness period stood at that site until the completion of the temple. Hence the possible impression that God had appeared at an illegitimate sanctuary was avoided (Noth *NCH*, 94–95).

**2. Noncanonical Sources. a. Explicit Source References.** The Chronicler refers the reader to sources at the end of virtually every king's history. Typical references include: (1) 2 Chr 9:29 "The rest of the acts of Solomon, the first and the last, are they not written in the acts of Nathan the prophet, in the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, [and] in the vision of Iddo the seer concerning Jeroboam the son of Nebat?" (cf. 1 Kgs 11:41). (2) 2 Chr 24:27 "Accounts of his sons, and of the many oracles against him, and of the rebuilding of the house of God are written in the Commentary [Heb *midraš*] on the Book of the Kings" (cf. 2 Kgs 12:20). (3) 2 Chr 27:7 "The rest of the acts of Jotham, and all his wars, and his ways, behold they are written in the Book of the kings of Israel and Judah" (cf. 2 Kgs 15:36).

While the names of the recorded sources may vary in Kings and Chronicles in these and other cases, we should probably not suppose that the Chronicler here referred to extant records which were available to him or his readers. Rather, these source references are paraphrases or interpretations of source references from DH. The following four observations may be made:

All of the references are found at the same place in Kings and Chronicles, even when the source reference does not come at the exact end of a king's reign (e.g., 2 Chr 16:11; 20:34; 25:26). This makes unlikely the proposal that these source notices themselves come from sources other than the book of Kings (McKenzie 1985: 174). The unique addition of a source reference for David at 1 Chr 29:29 attributes the materials drawn from the Dtr account of David to the three prophets associated with David (Samuel, Nathan, and Gad), even though Samuel died before David took office.

Other references to such sources as the acts, prophecies, or visions of a variety of prophets are merely new titles for the source references already contained in DH, indicating that in the Chronicler's judgment the earlier history (DH) was a prophetic history (Nathan, Ahijah, Iddo, 2 Chr 9:29; Shemaiah and Iddo, 2 Chr 12:15; Iddo, 2 Chr 13:22; Jehu ben Hanani, 2 Chr 20:34; Isaiah, 2 Chr 26:22; 32:32). The mention of prophets in the source references occurs only for those kings who play an important role within the dynasty or in fostering the cult, that is, for those kings who are evaluated positively, in whole or in part, by the Chronicler. The source reference at the end of Solomon's reign (2 Chr 9:29) refers to three "prophetic" records instead of "the book of the acts of Solomon" of 1 Kgs 11:41, even though all the materials in 2 Chronicles 1–9 are drawn from 1 Kings 1–11, with no evidence for information from additional sources.

The reference to "the book of the kings of Judah and Israel" (2 Chr 16:11; cf. 20:34; 25:26; 27:7; 28:26; 32:32; 33:18; 35:26; 36:8 with minor variations in the name of the source), instead of "the book of the chronicles of Judah" (1 Kgs 15:23, etc.), shows the Chronicler's interest in pointing out that Judah was part of that inclusive Israel which he maintained before his readers as an ideal (Williamson 1977b: 106–7, 128).

There is no need to think of "the *midraš* of the book of the kings" (2 Chr 24:27) as anything other than a rephrasing of the source reference in 2 Kgs 12:20—Eng 12:19.

**b. Implicit Source References.** The question of the availability of additional sources is related to, though not identical with, the question of the historical value of the Chronicler's additional information.

Most scholars agree that the genealogies in 1 Chronicles 1–9 came to the Chronicler from a variety of sources. Note the varieties of genealogical genres in these chapters (horizontal and vertical genealogies; some genealogies feature the word "begat," while others link the generations with "his son" or "the sons of," etc.), the varying amount of material for the various tribes, the mention of events (4:41; 5:10) not recorded elsewhere in the Bible, and the general obscurity of many of the names. (The same line of argumentation is probably applicable to many of the other lists of names in the book [e.g., 1 Chronicles 12, apart from redactional elements; chaps. 23–27].) 1 Chr 4:24–5:22 seems to have been drawn from a genealogy that included intertribal history and geography, while chap. 7 was once a military census list.

The reference to Hezekiah's tunnel in 2 Chr 32:30 and to Neco's goal in his battle against Josiah (2 Chr 35:20), though not attested in the parallel passages in Kings, are regarded as historically reliable additional information that could not arise from exegesis of Dtr (Noth *NCH*, 57–58). Again, the reference to the fortifications of Rehoboam in 2 Chr 11:5–10, which fits awkwardly in the context, must have been available in some kind of source. Williamson believes that the descriptions of armies in 2 Chr 14:8; 17:14–19, 25:5, and 26:11–15 are from a source (*Chronicles* NCB, 261–62; contra Welten 1973: 79–114). The interpreter of Chronicles in each case must decide whether the additional material in Chronicles comes from a source, and, if so, what the historical value of that additional information may be. The speeches and prayers of the kings and prophets are best understood as the Chronicler's own compositions (see I. 1 and 2 below).

**G. Historical Value of Chronicles**

Opinions on this question vary widely in the scholarly literature. Wellhausen remarked: "See what Chronicles has made out of David! The founder of the kingdom has become the founder of the temple and the public worship, the king and hero at the head of his companions in arms has become the singer and master of ceremonies at the head of a swarm of priests and Levites … It is only the tradition of the older source [Samuel-Kings] that possesses historical value" (*WPHI*, 182). Among critical scholars, a quite opposite position was held by W. F. Albright (1950: 66–69). He believed the Chronicler was correct in:

(1) attributing a 10th-century origin to the guilds of temple singers; (2) in listing towns fortified by Rehoboam in 2 Chr 11:5–10; (3) in the regnal years assigned to Asa; and (4) in his report of a judicial reform under Jehoshaphat. Albright admitted, of course, that the evidence was not one-sided and that it was "more difficult than ever to accept the stories of the wars of Abijah (II Chron. 13), Asa (II Chron. 14), and Jehoshaphat (II Chron. 15) *'au pied de la lettre'* since we know that the numbers are exaggerated out of all relation to the possible facts" (1950: 68–69). (For examples where the historical value of Chronicles is supported by archaeology and related studies, see Hasel *ISBE* 2: 668–69.)

In recent years, emphasis has focused more on the Chronicler's use of additional material, rather than upon that material's historical value. Although Welten's largely negative historical judgments about the building activities of various kings have not been unanimously accepted, he has found a wide following in his observation that the seven paragraphs dealing with building activities of a king in 2 Chronicles 10–36 are always included for kings whom the Chronicler judges positively (2 Chr 11:5–12 [Rehoboam]; 14:5–6 [Asa]; 17:12–13 [Jehoshaphat]; 27:3–4 [Jotham]; and 32:5–6a [Hezekiah]) or, if a king has both positive and negative periods, within the positive part of his reign (2 Chr 26:9–10 [Uzziah]; 33:14 [Manasseh]).

Welten also evaluated the five reports of successful wars in Chronicles that have no parallel in Kings (2 Chr 13:3–20 [Abijah]; 2 Chr 14:8–14—Eng 9–15 [Asa]; 2 Chr 20:1–30 [Jehoshaphat]; 2 Chr 26:6–8 [Uzziah]; and 27:5–6 [Jotham]). He pointed out that all the kings involved were positively evaluated by the Chronicler, at least for the portion of their reign when the alleged war took place. Welten's own historical judgment is negative, believing that the Chronicler is merely giving a graphic description of the animosities that beset his 3d-century community. The only historical source he allows in these accounts is in 2 Chr 26:6a.

In his recent commentary Williamson also deals with these five war accounts. He notes how these reports of successful wars and/or tribute illustrate a king's faithfulness and complete reliance on God, his self-humbling repentance, or the fact that a king was under God's blessing. He also concedes that the Chronicler has in almost every case expressed the account in his own language, complete with the ideology of Holy War. When it comes to historical judgments, Williamson opts more often than Welten for some kind of historical kernel. On Abijah he cites the authentic-sounding place names in 2 Chr 13:19 (though see now Klein 1983) and wonders whether the Chronicler would have arrived at a favorable evaluation of Abijah had he not had some previous account of his victory over the North. He sees Asa's reported battle against a million Ethiopians as an exaggeration of a local bedouin raid. Jehoshaphat's war is interpreted, following Noth and Rudolph, as the magnifying (for didactic purposes) of an incident that originally was fairly insignificant. He finds the account of Uzziah's war concise, specific, and historical, without the Chronicler's usual lengthy expansions, though he dismisses 2 Chr 26:6b for textual reasons. Finally, on Jotham's war he withholds historical judgment for lack of data.

This comparison of Welten and Williamson indicates that there is a tendency in current scholarship to recognize the extensive theological contribution of the Chronicler, whether the event is historical or not; that archaeological and form-critical judgments are reaching new levels of sophistication (documented more in the works of the two scholars than in the above summary); that in many cases a positive or negative historical judgment reflects in part a given scholar's overall evaluation of the historical value of Chronicles; and that in some cases there is no hard data that justifies a historical judgment one way or the other. Thus, Wellhausen's views on David in Chronicles seem misdirected by today's standards.

The Chronicler's magnification of an account for theological reasons can be seen in his use of large numbers. Abijah, accompanied by an army of 400,000, attacked the army of Jeroboam, which was 800,000 strong and inflicted some 500,000 casualties (2 Chronicles 13). Abijah's successor, Asa, supported by an army of 580,000, was able to stave off an invading horde of one million Ethiopians. These and similar numbers are totally out of line with what we know about ancient military forces, and they are in excess of what could have been mustered from the population of Israel or Judah. There has been a recent attempt to rationalize these numbers by understanding the word *ʾelep* as meaning not 1,000 but a tribal subsection and the military unit that went to war from this subsection (Mendenhall 1958; Myers *Chronicles* AB). In the usual reading of chap. 12 of 1 Chronicles, 340,822 men made their way to

Hebron to make David king, but Mendenhall reduced the number through his understanding of *ʾelep* to 15,290. However, this attempt to lend plausibility to the numbers in Chronicles has not been successful, however valid it may be for early Israel. When Chronicles and DH both have large numbers, slight differences between the texts allow us to conclude that the Chronicler understood these figures as true thousands and not as military units (e.g., 1 Chr 19:7 = 2 Sam 10:6; 1 Chr 21:15 = 2 Sam 24:9; 2 Chr 2:1, 16, 17—Eng 2:2, 17, 18 = 1 Kgs 5:29, 30—Eng 5:15, 16). The proposed new understanding of *ʾelep* does not seem appropriate in a monarchical setting, nor does it offer an adequate interpretation of the tribal numbers within Chronicles (e.g., the sons of Bela in 1 Chr 7:7 number 22,034, but it is meaningless to speak of 22 military units with an average number per unit of 1.5 men). Note also the impossibly large numbers for other objects in Chronicles where the tribal/military interpretation of *ʾelep* is irrelevant (1 Chr 22:14—100,000 talents of silver and 1,000,000 talents of gold).

**H. Some Characteristic Features of Chronicles**

**1. Royal Speeches and Prayers.** The speeches and prayers of kings and prophets in Chronicles are frequently referred to as Levitical sermons (von Rad *ROTT*). Recent studies, however, have raised doubts about whether the Levites were specialists in preaching and whether these speeches should be classified as sermons (Mathias 1984). Von Rad believed that the Chronicler was using a well-established genre and, apparently, actual sermons that were available. But the theological themes in these speeches are those of the Chronicler elsewhere, and von Rad disparaged unnecessarily the literary ability of the Chronicler (*ROTT*, 277). Perhaps the most significant part of von Rad's work was his observation of the way in which these speeches base their appeal on an authoritative scriptural text (for 2 Chr 15:2–7, cf. Jer 19:14; 31:15; for 2 Chr 16:7–9, cf. Zech 4:10; for 2 Chr 19:6–7, cf. Deut 10:17; Zeph 3:5, etc.).

Throntveit (1982b: 25–63), building on Braun, has distinguished the following genres in the royal speeches: (a) *Edicts.* A specific audience is addressed with an imperative that is to be immediately carried out (1 Chr 15:12–13; 22:5; 29:20; 2 Chr 29:31; 35:3–6). (b) *Rationales.* There is no specific audience, imperative, or reported action, but the speech provides some rationale for a cultic action (1 Chr 15:2; 22:1; 2 Chr 8:11; 23:25–32; 28:23). (c) *Orations.* Similar to edicts, but these speeches make frequent use of historical retrospects (1 Chr 13:2–3; 29:1–5; 2 Chr 2:2–9; 13:4–12; 14:6; 29:3–11; 30:4–9).

The royal speeches and prayers play a significant role in the structuring of Chronicles. The three speeches (22:7–16, 18–19; 28:2–8, 9–10, 20–21; 29:1–5) and the prayer of David (29:10–19) serve to link him with Solomon closely and place great emphasis on the temple as the joint project of the two kings and a united Israel. David's participation in the building of the temple is bracketed at the beginning (1 Chr 17:16–27) and at the end (1 Chr 29:10–19) by prayers. Similarly, the period of the Divided Kingdom is enclosed within speeches calling for repentance by Abijah (2 Chr 13:4–12) and by Hezekiah (2 Chr 30:6–9). Both speeches indicate the Chronicler's openness to Northern participation in the Jerusalem cult.

**2. Prophets.** The references to prophets, seers, and men of God in Chronicles can be divided into three groups (much of the following is drawn from Micheel 1983). The first group are those taken from parallel accounts in Samuel-Kings (Nathan [1 Chronicles 17]; Gad [1 Chronicles 21]; Shemaiah [2 Chronicles 11]; Micaiah [2 Chr 18:4–27]; and Huldah [2 Chr 34:22–28]).

A second group is part of Chronicles' additional material (Shemaiah in a second appearance [2 Chr 12:5–8]; Azariah [2 Chr 15:1–7]; Hanani [2 Chr 16:7–10]; Jehu ben Hanani [2 Chr 19:2]; Jehaziel [2 Chr 20:14]; Eliezer [2 Chr 20:37]; Elijah active in Judah [2 Chr 21:12–15]; Zechariah [2 Chr 24:20–22]; Oded [2 Chr 28:9–11]; an anonymous man of God and prophet [2 Chronicles 25]; Jeremiah [2 Chr 35:25; 36:22]). With the exception of Shemaiah, Hanani, Jehu ben Hanani, Elijah, and Jeremiah, these individuals are unknown from other contexts. According to the Chronicler, the attitude shown toward the prophets also reveals one's attitude toward Yahweh: "Believe in Yahweh your God, and you will be established; believe his prophets, and you will succeed" (2 Chr 20:20). These prophets often link the results in a king's domestic or foreign activities with his relationship to Yahweh, although in a few cases success or failure is linked to the whole people's behavior (e.g., Zechariah, Oded).

While some believe that all the words of these prophets were created by the Chronicler (e.g., Micheel), others hold that at least some of them were present in the traditions available to him (e.g., Westermann 1967: 163–68).

A third context is the source references which mention prophets or seers in connection with certain kings (see F.2.a above).

**3. Levites.** The Levitical genealogies can be described as follows:

**a. 1 Chr 5:27–41—Eng 6:1–15.** Two sets of Aaronic high priests, from Aaron to Ahimaaz, and from Azariah I (the priest in Solomon's temple) to Jehozadak (who was exiled).

**b. 1 Chr 6:1–15—Eng 6:16–30**. Each of the three sons of Levi (Gershom, Kohath, and Merari) is provided with a vertical genealogy of seven generations of ordinary Levites that connects to them through their oldest son. A seven-generation genealogy of Samuel and his sons has been inserted into the Kohath genealogy.

**c. 1 Chr 6:16–32—Eng 6:31–47.** Kohath, Gershom, and Merari are each provided with a vertical genealogy of 14 generations of Levitical singers, ending with Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, the chief singers at the time of David.

**d. 1 Chr 6:39–66—Eng 6:54–81.** No completely satisfying understanding of this list of Levitical cities or of its date is yet established. Mazar (1960) dated it to the time of the United Monarchy when there was an attempt to strengthen government control by stationing Levites in strategically significant administrative areas. Peterson (1977) proposed an 8th-century date and believed that the Levites in these cities taught the people the Mosaic covenant. According to Spencer (1980), this list is a fictitious composition designed to explain the appearance of the Levites and their secondary role in the postexilic period.

**e. 1 Chronicles 23–26.** *1 Chr 23:3–6a:* Four types of Levites, whose organization is credited to David; *23:6b–13a, 15–24:* a genealogically based list of those in charge of the work of the house of the Lord; *25:1–6:* a list of singers installed by David; *26:1–3, 9–11, 19:* a list of gatekeepers; *26:20–32:* a list of judges and officers. The Chronicler wanted to give Davidic authority to the role of the Levites in the temple of his day.

In five places (1 Chronicles 25; 2 Chr 20, 29, 34:30, and 35:15) the Chronicler identifies the singers as prophets or as performing prophetic activities. Petersen (1977) argues that the Chronicler hoped through these accounts to substantiate the Levitical singers' claim to cultic authority as prophets in postexilic society. This role is not (contra Mowinckel) a remnant of preexilic cult prophecy.

The standard terminology for cultic personnel in the Chronicler is "the priests and the Levites." The priests are sons of Aaron and descendants of Zadok. The term "sons of Aaron" seems to be used in place of "priests," especially when their rights over against the Levites are being stressed (2 Chr 26:18; 29:21).

The Levites consist of a wide variety of minor clergy, and any group that wanted to be a part of this minor clergy claimed to be a Levite, usually through the Kohathite Korah. Groups like the singers (1 Chr 6:16–24), the gatekeepers (1 Chr 9:17–26; 23:3–5; and 26:1, 19), and even the bakers (1 Chr 9:31–32), which in the sources used by the Chronicler were not identified as Levites, became Levites in the Chronicler's interpretation.

Among the many tasks of the Levites was teaching. The blessing of Moses (Deut 33:8–11) describes them as teaching legal ordinances to Israel. The Chronicler reports their teaching mission in Judah at the time of Jehoshaphat when they took with them the book of the law of Yahweh (2 Chr 17:7–9; cf. also 2 Chr 35:3; Neh 8:7). They also were in charge of various holy objects and prepared things such as the shewbread (1 Chr 9:28–32; 23:29–31; 2 Chr 29:34). Jehoshaphat appointed them to be judges in Jerusalem (2 Chr 19:8–11), and they also served as scribes (1 Chr 24:6; 2 Chr 34:13). In addition, they led in singing and praise (1 Chr 15:16–24; 16:4–42; 2 Chr 5:12–13; 8:14; 20:19–22; 23:13, 18; 29:25–30; 35:15).

## I. Theology

**1. Monarchy, Cult, and Temple.** The Chronicler devotes an extraordinary amount of attention to David and Solomon, and in fact treats the two of them in equal or parallel fashion. David is approved by

all Israel right after the death of Saul, with no reference to his conflicts with Saul (cf. 1 Samuel 16–30) or the divided character of Israel early in his reign (2 Sam 1:1–5:3). His first act as king was to capture Jerusalem, the future site of the temple (1 Chr 11:4–9), to which he brought the ark (1 Chr 15:25–16:3). David arranged for the ordering of the priests and Levites, and assigned the latter a role as singers after their requirement to carry the ark had become obsolete (1 Chr 16:4–7, 37–42; 2 Chr 7:6; cf. 1 Chronicles 23–27). He designated the site for the temple (1 Chr 22:1) after Yahweh had indicated his own approval for it by sending fire from heaven (1 Chr 21:26–30). He also made massive preparations for the building of the temple before his death (1 Chr 22:2–5; 29:2–5; cf. 28:12–18, which may be secondary).

Solomon, too, receives unanimous approval, even from the other sons of David (1 Chr 29:23–25). He makes his own preparations for building (2 Chr 2:2–16) and erects the temple on David's site. He puts the ark in the temple (2 Chr 5:2–14) and installs the priests and Levites in their offices (2 Chr 8:14–15). While David had been prevented from building the temple because he had shed blood and waged wars, Solomon was a man of peace and rest (1 Chr 22:8–10). Designated by David, he was also the one chosen by Yahweh specifically for the building of the temple (1 Chr 28:10; 29:1). The Chronicler is the only writer in the OT to designate any king after David as chosen. Solomon's idolatry as reported in 1 Kings 11 is omitted in Chronicles. Braun (1971b; 1976) has made clear that the speeches in 1 Chronicles 22, 28, and 29 tie together the two most significant parts of the history, the reigns of David and Solomon.

The work of David and Solomon centered on the building of the temple, with its completion appropriately noted in 2 Chr 8:16. These two kings alone were recognized by all Israel just as they alone ruled all Israel. The two of them were concerned both with the ark and the temple. Their words and efforts gave legitimacy to the Jerusalem temple as the only appropriate worship site. The North's apostasy, according to the speech of Abijah, consisted primarily in its rejection of the temple (2 Chr 13:4–12). When Hezekiah appealed to Israel and Judah to repent, he called for a return to the sanctuary which God had sanctified forever (2 Chr 30:6–8). Hezekiah, in fact, is a kind of second Solomon. His passover is the first of its kind since Solomon (2 Chr 30:26), and its fourteen-day duration (2 Chr 30:23) echoes the duration of the temple dedication under Solomon (2 Chr 7:8–9). Apparently, the Chronicler was calling on all Israel of his day, including especially the North (see below), to join in recognizing the legitimacy of the Second Temple in Jerusalem, the heir of the temple erected by David and Solomon. The rebuilt temple could be seen as the major fulfillment of God's promise to David through Nathan (2 Chr 6:10–11; cf. 1 Chronicles 17).

Is the significance of the monarchy only to be found in its legitimation of the postexilic theocracy and/or the postexilic temple? Or does the Chronicler hope for a restoration of the monarchy? Note that kingship in Israel is equated with the kingdom of God (1 Chr 28:5; 29:23; 2 Chr 13:8) and that it is inalienably linked to the Davidic dynasty (1 Chr 17:13).

Otto Plöger believes that David and Solomon created for the temple those ordinances on which the acceptable worship of the present community depended, and that the work itself is antieschatological. Freedman, Cross, and Newsome, on the other hand, detect in the Chronicler hope for a restoration of the monarchy under Zerubbabel. For Freedman and Cross, this also entails including parts of Ezra in the original book of Chronicles, an interpretation we have decided not to follow.

Mosis (1973) proposes an alternate eschatological scenario, viewing Saul, David, and Solomon as symbolic representations of the exile, the restoration, and the ideal eschatological future respectively. His case falls, among other reasons, because of the unity between David and Solomon noted above, and also because it presupposes the unity of Chronicles-Nehemiah.

Williamson (1977a) detects a subtle, "royalist" eschatology in 2 Chr 6:41–42 (a modification of the *Vorlage* we know as Psalm 132:8–10). Verse 42 reads: "Remember thy steadfast love for David thy servant." This verse is a reapplication of Isa 55:3, which had broadened the promise to David to include all of Israel. Now this promise is again understood dynastically, suggesting that the prophecy of Nathan was only partially exhausted with the completion of the temple. In the Chronicler's view, the dynastic promise had become unconditional thanks to the promise of God and the carrying out of the conditions of this promise by Solomon, particularly in the building of the temple (cf. 1 Chr 28:7, 9; 2 Chr 6:16; 7:17–

18). The Chronicler believed that a brighter future lay in store for an obedient people, and a restoration of the monarchy may well have been part of his future hope. Immediately after Solomon's prayer for God to remember his promise to David, fire came down from heaven and consumed the sacrifices in the temple (2 Chr 7:1). This would seem to be an implicit yes to Solomon's prayer (cf. also 2 Chr 7:21–22; 13:5–8; 21:7).

**2. Retribution.** The Chronicler often interprets divine punishments or blessings as a retributive response to a king's behavior (Wellhausen *WPHI*, 203–8; cf. von Rad *ROTT*, 348–49). Rehoboam, for example, was attacked by Shishak I in his 5th year (1 Kgs 14:25–26) because he had forsaken the law of Yahweh the previous year (2 Chr 12:1). Asa became seriously ill in his old age (1 Kgs 15:23) because he had not relied on Yahweh in a war with Baasha and had imprisoned a prophet who rebuked him (2 Chr 16:7–10). Afflicted with leprosy, Azariah/Uzziah had to abdicate (2 Kgs 15:5), but it is only in Chronicles that we learn that his illness resulted from his pride and his assumption of the right to burn incense (2 Chr 26:16–21). In each of the above cases, the Chronicler has provided a theological rationale for an event reported in the books of Kings. Retribution is immediate, with the consequences befalling the evil or righteous king during his own lifetime. This threatens to break down the unity of history achieved by Dtr into a large number of single actions of Yahweh (von Rad *ROTT*, 350).

In his descriptions of positive behavior, the writer delights in words like "seek" (Heb *dāraš*) or "rely on" (*šāʿan;* Braun 1979: 53–54). David says to Solomon, "If you seek him, he will be found by you" (1 Chr 28:9). For negative behavior, the Chronicler charges that the person in question forsakes Yahweh, his law, or the temple; acts unfaithfully; engages in foreign alliances; and fails to give heed to Yahweh's prophets (Braun 1979: 54). Faithful royal behavior is accompanied by many children, building projects, a well-equipped army, victory in war, cultic reforms, or tribute from the nations (Welten 1973). A wicked king experienced God's wrath, war, defeat in battle, disease, or conspiracy. Note the Chronicler's summation of Saul's reign: "So Saul died for his unfaithfulness; he was unfaithful to the Lord in that he did not keep the command of the Lord … and did not seek guidance from the Lord. Therefore the Lord slew him" (1 Chr 10:13–14). The concept of retribution and the specific terms associated with it are almost entirely absent from Ezra-Nehemiah, an argument noted by those who favor separate authorship.

This retribution, however, is not mechanistic or inescapable. A king like Rehoboam who repents (2 Chr 12:13; cf. 2 Chr 7:14 and its references to humbling oneself, praying, seeking God's face, and turning) experiences some deliverance (2 Chr 12:7) and is not completely destroyed (2 Chr 12:12). Prophets are often sent to warn the king before a judgment falls, sometimes with success (cf. Rehoboam above) but often without (e.g., 2 Chr 16:10–12). Throntveit notes that the ten prophetic speeches between Abijah's sermon in 2 Chronicles 13 and Hezekiah's appeal to the North in 2 Chronicles 30 all enunciate the doctrine of retributive justice (1982b: 163–65). Retribution is more than a grid spread out over Israel's history; it is also a call for faith addressed to the Chronicler's audience. Just as repentance in the past led to divine favor, so faithfulness in the writer's present would have similar positive results. This aspect of his theology seems well summed up in 2 Chr 20:20: "Believe in the Lord your God, and you will be established; believe in his prophets and you will succeed."

**3. Attitude toward the North.** Earlier scholars (e.g., Torrey, Noth, and Rudolph) found one of the principal themes of the book to be its anti-Samaritan attitude. This has now been called into question because of the late date currently assigned to the Samaritan schism and the distinction between Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. There is also a far more open attitude to the North in Chronicles than was previously recognized (Mosis 1973: 169–72, 200–1, 224, 232). Those willing to return to the Lord and come to his sanctuary are to be welcomed (2 Chr 30:7–8).

Shortly after the division of the kingdom, priests and Levites from the North, together with representatives from all the tribes of Israel, came to Jerusalem for sacrifice (2 Chr 11:13–17). From the very start, therefore, there were people who were willing to repent and acknowledge the Jerusalem sanctuary. While Abijah accuses the North of rebellion against the Davidic dynasty, idolatry, and a generally improper cult (2 Chr 13:4–12)—surely one of the most "anti-Northern" passages in the book—he also admonishes them as if repentance was possible (vv 4, 8, 12). In the reign of Asa, great numbers

from Ephraim, Manasseh, and Simeon deserted to the Southern king (2 Chr 15:9) and were part of those who entered into a covenant to seek Yahweh (2 Chr 15:9–15). Prophets were active in the North, including Oded, who persuaded Northerners during the reign of Ahaz to release their Southern prisoners (2 Chr 28:8–15). A number of Northern leaders openly confessed their sin on this occasion (v 13).

Hezekiah, according to the Chronicler, was the first king after the fall of the N kingdom and so was the first since Solomon to rule a united Israel. The king's invitation to the Passover was, to be sure, rejected in parts of the North, but individuals from Asher, Manasseh, and Zebulun did humble themselves and come to Jerusalem (2 Chr 30:11). Hezekiah's description of a merciful God—"For the Lord your God is gracious and merciful, and will not turn away his face from you, if you return to him" (2 Chr 30:9)—is nowhere withdrawn in Chronicles. His united Passover celebration was unique in its inclusion of the North for the first time since Solomon (2 Chr 30:26; cf. the similar celebration under Josiah in 2 Chr 35:17–18). His reform activities broke down cultic institutions not only in Judah and Benjamin but also in Ephraim and Manasseh (2 Chr 31:1). Josiah carried on reforming activities in Manasseh, Ephraim, and as far as Naphtali (2 Chr 34:6), making all Israel serve the Lord (2 Chr 34:33).

The Northerners, therefore, were not a people to be shunned, though they and all others who rejected the sole legitimacy of the Jerusalem temple are criticized by the Chronicler. Even at the division of the kingdom Shemaiah refers to the Northerners as brothers and to the division itself as God's will (2 Chr 11:1–4). From the Chronicler's point of view there were good reasons for Israel's refusal to endure the rule of the Judean king. The Chronicler seems to be inviting Northerners and, perhaps, other unidentifiable groups in Israel to acknowledge the claims of the temple in Jerusalem and participate in its cult.

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**CHRONOGRAPHER, DEMETRIUS THE.** See DEMETRIUS THE CHRONOGRAPHER.

**CHRONOLOGY.** Numerous problems often arise when one attempts to assign approximate (much less exact) dates to persons and events mentioned in the biblical corpus. This entry attempts to survey those problems. It consists of two articles, one focusing on the chronology of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament, and the other focusing on the New Testament. For discussions of Mesopotamian and Egyptian chronology, see the articles EGYPT, HISTORY OF (CHRONOLOGY) and MESOPOTAMIA, HISTORY OF (CHRONOLOGY).

## *HEBREW BIBLE*

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### A. Introduction: Premodern Views

The generally chronological arrangement of the historical books of the Bible (Pentateuch-Kings) and the calendric superscriptions of most of the prophetic books show that the final redactors of the Hebrew Bible had a sense of chronology; yet, no all-encompassing chronological system is in use throughout the Bible. In some traditions, the Exodus from Egypt served as a pivotal point of reckoning (cf. Num 33:38; Judg 11:26; 1 Kgs 6:2). But it was not until the Hellenistic period, when the method of counting years by "eras" (Lat *265 aera,* "number")was introduced (Bickerman 1968: 70–77; *CHJ* 1: 60–69; Hallo 1984–85; 1988: 185–90) and the biblical canon was more or less set, that the first steps were taken to integrate the heterogenic chronological data.

In order to show the Bible to be reliable as history and so worthy of respect within Greek circles, its chronological picture was often found to need amplification or clarification. The earliest example is the extant fragments of Demetrius (early 3d cent. B.C.E., Alexandria) who dated events by reference to Adam and the Flood. Several centuries later, Josephus is found complementing the biblical record with information and nonbiblical dates gleaned from the works of other historians (mostly Menander and Berosus) and summarizing historical periods, e.g., the Temple of Jerusalem lay waste for 50 years (*AgAp* 1.154); in some of these matters, Josephus showed an acquaintance with chronological topics which are discussed in later rabbinic sources.

Chronological discussions in the Talmud often associate Rabbi Yose ben Halafta with the work *Seder Olam* ("Order of the World") (e.g., *b. Šabb.* 88a; *b. Nid.* 46b), and it seems that the tanna R. Yose both compiled and authored sections of this major midrashic chronography which treats events from Adam to the Bar Kokhba rebellion. Though often credited with being the first to use the "Era of Creation" (Heb *minyan layyĕṣîrâ;* Lat *anno mundi*), *Seder Olam* in actuality set dates by sabbatical and jubilee cycles (e.g., 11:50; 15:14; 23:83; 24:24; 25:54) and in so doing, adopted a practice already found in Josephus

and occasionally in the Talmud. The main concern of *Seder Olam* was "the establishment of a chronological continuum from the beginning of the biblical story until its end" (Milikowsky 1981: 4), achieved by calculating the intervals between events and harmonizing conflicting traditions; its eclectic methodology embodies the essence of rabbinic rationalization of the biblical data (cf. Heinemann 1978). (The "Era of Creation," together with the regulated 19-year cycle of intercalation, the basis for the current Jewish festival calendar, is traceable to the 9th century.)

The reworking of biblical chronology in the book of *Jubilees* is exceptional in the freedom displayed by assigning days, months, and years to recorded events. This sectarian work of the so-called "Enoch circle" (ca. 1st century B.C.E.), known to have influenced the Qumran order, was based upon an essentially solar calendar of 52 weeks with an even number of 364 days in each year (cf. Jaubert 1953); epochs were counted by sabbatical and jubilee cycles; thus, e.g., Jacob arrived in Egypt in the 45th jubilee cycle (since creation), in its 3d sabbatical cycle, in the 2d year of that cycle, on the 1st day of the 4th month (*Jub.* 45:1).

Early Christian writers were the first to synchronize biblical dates with secular calendars, e.g., Julius Africanus used the era of the Olympiads as a frequent reference point, later taken over by Eusebius in his *Chronicle.* Eusebius' opus, best preserved in Jerome's Latin translation, worked through the data from Adam to the rebuilding of the Temple in the second year of Darius, and then through the life of Jesus until the destruction of Jerusalem.

While viewing the biblical text as sacred scripture, some medieval Jewish exegetes took an approach independent of *Seder Olam* and reinvestigated critically several of the numerical calculations which by then had become traditional, cf., e.g., Abarbanel to 1 Sam 13:1 with reference to the length of Saul's reign. In the 12th-century history *Sefer Ha-Qabbalah* ("The Book of Tradition") by Abraham Ibn-Daud, chronology was made to conform to a preconceived notion of the symmetry of history, perceivable in recurring cycles set in time by divine providence. Now and then, the figures given in the biblical text were abandoned in order to save the pattern, e.g.: "Behold how trustworthy are the consolations of our God, blessed be His name, for the chronology of their exile corresponded to that of their redemption. Twenty-one years passed from the beginning of their exile until the destruction of the Temple and the cessation of the monarchy [—contrast the biblical calculation of 11 years—2 Kgs 24:12 and 25:8]. Similarly, twenty-one years passed from the time its rebuilding began until it was completed [—the exact figure is uncalculable from the biblical data]" (Cohen 1967: 10).

In the English-speaking world, the chronological calculations of Bishop James Ussher (published 1650–54) were for centuries the best known biblical dates, due to their publication in the margin of some editions of the KJV of the Bible. Ussher arrived at 4004 B.C.E. as the date of creation by following the Hebrew text and principles not unlike those which guided the author of *Seder Olam.*

A survey of the chronological issues regarding the major periods of biblical history as understood in critical circles follows.

**B. Primeval History**

Two ages of ten generations each, separated by the great Flood, open the biblical account of primeval history. The first age, the Age of Creation, is presented in two parallel traditions (Gen 4:17–26—"J" tradition; Gen 5:1–32—"P" tradition); the second one contains chronological data embedded within a genealogical table composed in a distinct literary form ("*a* lived *x* years and he begot *b; a* lived *y* years after begetting *b;* the total years of *a* were $x + y$"). The total number of years for this age is 1656, with most of the antediluvians living extraordinarily long lives, e.g., Jared, 962 years (Gen 5:50); Methuselah, 969 years (Gen 5:27). The second age, the Age of the Dispersion (Gen 9:28–29; 11:10–26—both "P"), numbers 290 years, with the lifespans of the postdiluvians gradually diminishing to near "normal" lengths as the age ends (Terah, 205 years; cf. Gen 11:32).

Table 1.
The Age of Creation (Gen 5:1–32)

*Age at Birth of son Total Years Lived*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Adam | 130 | 930 |
| Seth | 105 | 912 |
| Enosh | 90 | 905 |
| Kenan | 70 | 910 |
| Mehalalel | 65 | 895 |
| Jared | 162 | 962 |
| Enoch | 65 | 365 |
| Methuselah | 187 | 969 |
| Lamech | 182 | 777 |
| Noah | 500 | 950 |
| (age at Flood) | (600) | |
| Total | 1656 | |

Table 2.
The Age of the Dispersion (Gen 11:10–26)

| | *Age at Birth of Son* | *Total Years Lived* |
|---|---|---|
| Shem | 100 | 600 |
| Arpachshad | 35 | 438 |
| Shelah | 30 | 433 |
| Eber | 34 | 464 |
| Peleg | 30 | 239 |
| Reu | 32 | 239 |
| Serug | 30 | 230 |
| Nahor | 29 | 148 |
| Terah | 70 | 205 |
| Total | 290 | |

The numerical variants found in the LXX and the Sam. Pent. cannot be taken as more reliable than those given by the MT, because they may be rational corrections of items in the received text considered illogical and/or sectarian doctrinal manipulations made during the postbiblical period (Larsson 1983). E.g., in the Sam. Pent., Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech all die in the year of the Flood; in LXX, the ages of most postdiluvians at the birth of their firstborn is higher by 100 years so that none of them outlive Abraham (as in MT).

Moreover, no systematic pattern has been discovered in these figures. A suggestion to derive the total 1657 years (1656 years + 1 year of the Flood—Gen 8:13) by means of calculations based on the sexagesimal system augmented by the number "seven". (600,000 days = 1643 years of 365 days each + 2 × 7 years = 1657 years), though tempting, remains speculative (Cassuto 1972: 253–62). At the same time, individual lifespans may signal special personages, e.g., the seventh worthy in the list of Genesis 5, Enoch, who "walked with God," lived 365 years (equivalent to the days in a solar year).

The biblical periodization of primeval times seems to derive ultimately from ANE tradition. For example, Sumerian sources record that the world's first rulers lived tens of thousands of years before the Flood destroyed all, e.g., "8 kings [variant: 10] reigned there 241,200 years. The Flood swept thereover." (Jacobsen 1939: 77). In the period following, the rulers still attained long lives, but not those of their ancestors. See also PRIMEVAL HISTORY. As to the dynastic and regnal years in the Sumerian king list, all of which are of extraordinary duration, some seem to be artificial constructions demonstrating the

expertise of the ancient mathematicians (Young 1988a); and ultimately may have influenced the figures in the biblical scheme (Young 1988b).

**C. From the Patriarchs to the Exodus**

The chronological data of this period consists, for the most part, of general statements and schematic numbers—multiples of 5 and 60, plus 7—and thus is of questionable value for historical purposes.

Table 3.
The Patriarchs

| | *Age at birth of son* | *Total Years Lived* | *Sources* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Abraham | 100 | 175 | Gen 17:17; 25:7 |
| Sarah | 90 | 127 (2 × 60 + 7) | Gen 17:17; 23:1 |
| Isaac | 60 | 180 (3 × 60) | Gen 25:26; 35:28 |
| Jacob | | 147 (2 × 70 +7) | Gen 47:28 |
| Joseph | | 110 | Gen 50:22 |

A total of 215 years elapsed from the migration of Abraham (aged 75) to Canaan until the move of Jacob and his family to Egypt (Gen 12:4; 21:5; 25:26; 47:9). The Israelite sojourn in Egypt lasted 430 years (Exod 12:40), a statement that does not accord with the promise to Abraham in Gen 15:13 that his progeny would be enslaved in a foreign land for 400 years, the fourth generation returning to the Promised Land (15:16). The tradition that the "fourth generation" was liberated from Egypt is supported by most of the genealogical lists in the Pentateuch, in which Moses appears as the great-great-grandson of Jacob (Exod 6:16–20; Num 26:57–59). In order to harmonize this with a 400- (or 430-) year enslavement, the entire period from the Covenant with Abraham in Genesis 15 until the Exodus has to be included in the tally. (Thus, and Sam. Pent. read in Exod 12:40: "The time that the Israelites *and their fathers stayed in the land of Canaan* and in Egypt," cf. too, the rabbinic sources, *Gen. Rab.* 63. 3; *Mek.* 1.14.7; *y. Meg.* 1.11.) Note, however, that the genealogies may not be trustworthy as they apparently telescope many generations in a three-member scheme, naming only a person's immediate family, clan, and tribe, so the true number of intervening generations in each stage is incalculable (cf. the ten-member line of Joshua in 1 Chr 7:20–27 for this same period).

No absolute dates for the patriarchal age are available since the events related in Genesis and Exodus cannot be synchronized with extrabiblical fixed chronology. Despite all that is known of the ANE, the E kings who joined battle in the Valley of Siddim/Dead Sea (Genesis 14) cannot be identified with certainty. See CHEDORLAOMER (PERSON). Nor does the tradition concerning the founding of Hebron "seven years before Tanis in Egypt" (Num 13:22), often associated with the 400th anniversary of the cult of the god Seth at Tanis (cf. Haremhab Stele, *ANET*, 252–53), provide a fixed reference point to any biblical event.

Many scholars would place the Patriarchs in the MB I period (2000–1800 B.C.E.), a conjecture based on the putative similarities between their seminomadic lifestyle as described in Genesis and the Amorite movements known from archaeology and the Mari documents. A few place them in the LB Age (1550–1200 B.C.E.), considering the affinities between the social customs in the patriarchal stories and the Nuzi texts (cf. Dever *IJH*, 92–102).

There is also no agreement as to the identity of the Pharaoh of the enslavement. The reference to the garrison cities Pithom and Raamses, built by the enslaved Israelites (Exod 1:11), indicates Rameses II, the resplendent ruler of the 19th Dynasty (1290–1224 B.C.E.). But this oft-proffered identification conflicts with the date in 1 Kgs 6:1: Solomon began to build the Temple "480 years after the Israelites left Egypt, in the fourth year" of his reign. Since Solomon's fourth regnal year is dated ca. 964 B.C.E. (see E.7 below), this would place the Exodus in the year 1444 B.C.E., almost two centuries earlier than the most plausible dating of the Exodus (i.e., the end of the 13th century B.C.E., the age of Rameses II–Merneptah. (On the literary nature of the "480 years," see further below.)

**D. From the Conquest to the Monarchy**

According to the biblical data, after a 40-year period of wandering (Num 32:13), the Israelites entered the land under the leadership of Joshua, who led them in battle for 5 years (Josh 14:10). This initial stage was followed by the dispersal of the tribes to their territorial allotments throughout Canaan, after which they suffered alternating periods of oppression and deliverance lasting, according to Judges, some 470 years.

Table 4.
The Judges

| | *Years of Oppression* | *Years of Deliverance* | *Source* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cushan-rishathaim | 8 | | Judg 3:8 |
| Othniel | | 40 | Judg 3:11 |
| Eglon | 18 | | Judg 3:14 |
| Ehud | | 80 | Judg 3:30 |
| Jabin | 20 | | Judg 4:3 |
| Deborah | | 40 | Judg 5:31 |
| Midianites | 7 | | Judg 6:1 |
| Gideon | | 40 | Judg 8:28 |
| Abimelech | | 3 | Judg 9:22 |
| Tolah | | 23 | Judg 10:2 |
| Jair | | 22 | Judg 10:3 |
| Ammonites | 18 | | Judg 10:8 |
| Jepthah | | 6 | Judg 12:7 |
| Ibzan | | 7 | Judg 12:9 |
| Elon | | 10 | Judg 12:11 |
| Abdon | | 8 | Judg 12:14 |
| Philistines | 40 | | Judg 13:1 |
| Samson | | 20 | Judg 15:20 |
| Eli | | 40 | 1 Sam 4:18 |
| Samuel | | 20+ | 1 Sam 7:2 |

Innumerable attempts have been made at reconciling the total years recorded in Judges with other data concerning the premonarchic settlement period gleaned from Joshua and Samuel. The years of deliverance, during which the Israelite tribes were ruled by what scholars term the "major" judges, are expressed in typological numbers "20," "40," "80" and are likely to be from the hand of the Deuteronomistic editor of Judges; the uneven years of judgeship of the remaining "minor" tribal chieftains appear to have been drawn from a traditional listing of unknown origin. But while the final edition of Judges may be the work of Deuteronomistic historiographers, there is no explicit indication that the book's chronology was coordinated with any of the other calculations in the overall Deuteronomistic history Joshua through Kings. The round figure of Israel's 300-year settlement in Transjordan (Judg 11:26) is not helpful in this regard. And the 480 years of 1 Kgs 6:1 is too large to cover the years recorded for the period of the Exodus until the founding of the Temple; only by assuming overlapping figures for the Philistine oppression and certain late interpolations can one approach the total given in 1 Kgs 6:1 (so, e.g., *NDH*, 18–25). The figure 480 most likely comprises 12 generations of 40 years each, based on twelve leaders of Israel between the Exodus and the building of the Temple; e.g., Moses, Joshua, Othniel (Judg 3:11), Ehud (Judg 3:30), Deborah (Judg 5:31), Gideon (Judg 8:28), Samson (Judg 16:31), Eli (1 Sam 4:18; cf. LXX: "twenty"), Samuel (1 Sam 7:2, 15), Saul (1 Sam 13:1; cf. Acts 13:21; *Ant* 6.378),

David (2 Sam 5:4; 1 Kgs 2:11), Solomon (1 Kgs 11:42) (cf. Rowley 1950: 77–96). Priestly traditions preserved in the book of Chronicles similarly counted 12 generations from Aaron, brother of Moses and Israel's first High Priest, to Azariah, the priest who served in Solomon's Temple (1 Chr 5:29–36).

Because most of the events described for the period down to Samuel's judgeship were local, absolute dating has to reckon with the possibility that a number of judges were contemporaries, though the Deuteronomistic editors portrayed them as ruling "all Israel" in succession. David began his rule in Hebron ca. 1005 (see E.7 below); hence the events depicted in Joshua–Samuel fall during the approximately two centuries which separate the Exodus from David's rise to power.

**E. The Monarchic Period**

The chronological presentation in the book of Kings is the most systematic of any in the Bible. The editorial framework gives the following data for each king of Judah and Israel: his age at accession, the length of his reign, and a synchronic note concerning the regnal year of his royal contemporary in the neighboring kingdom.

It has often been pointed out that 430 regnal years are recorded for the Davidic kings from the beginning of the construction of the Temple under Solomon until its destruction during the reign of Zedekiah, and that this figure, together with a supposed 50-year exile, constitutes a second 480-year period (cf. 1 Kgs 6:1; and see D above) which marked the epoch from the First to the Second Temple (so, e.g., Koch 1978). But if such indeed was the intention of the ancient chronographer, it is nowhere stated nor is the sum of years ever given (cf. Begrich 1929: 14–16). (Note, though, that Ezekiel counted 430 sinful years for which Israel and Judah would have to do penance; Ezek 4:5–6.)

**1. History of Research.** Scholars of the late 19th century were skeptical regarding both the historical value of the synchronisms and the fidelity of the textual tradition of the regnal year totals (cf. Wellhausen 1875). A more just appreciation of the biblical data is now possible as ancient Israel's chronological reckoning is illuminated by the practices of its neighbors. Mesopotamian examples of synchronic chronologies have lent credibility to biblical synchronisms (Lewy 1927). Studies by Kugler (1922) and Begrich (1929) treat the Assyrian-Israelite synchronisms as pivotal points in their reconstructions. Though he leaned heavily upon extrabiblical data, Albright was less sanguine about the possibility that the numbers were "handed down through so many editors and copyists without often becoming corrupt," and so "corrected" items in several key reigns (Albright 1945: 17; cf. Mowinckel 1932: 163–64).

Contrariwise, the major work of E. R. Thiele (1983) proceeds from the assumption of the basic soundness of the Hebrew text. This entails an elaborate system of calendrical and regnal patterns which were operative at different times in the two kingdoms. H. Tadmor (*EncMiqr* 4: 245–310) bases his chronology upon considerations similar to those of Begrich and Thiele, but assumes far fewer systemic fluctuations; items which are inexplicable are regarded as late editorial calculations or errors.

Thiele's work has become a cornerstone of much recent chronological discussion (cf. De Vries *IDB* 1: 580–99; *IDBSup:* 161–66); but his harmonizing approach has not gone unchallenged, especially because of the many shifts in the basis of reckoning dates that it requires (e.g., Jepsen 1968: 34–35)—shifts which were unlikely in actual practice. The numerous extrabiblical synchronisms he invokes do not always reflect the latest refinements in Assyriological research (cf. E.2.f below). In many cases, he posits an undocumented event in order to save a biblical datum (e.g., the circumstances surrounding the appointment of Jeroboam II as coregent; Thiele 1983: 109). While also somewhat conservative in his approach to the figures in MT, Tadmor's pragmatic reconstruction delves into the process by which the redactor(s) of Kings compiled their chronological framework from heterogeneous materials, sometimes leaving traces in textual inconsistencies (Tadmor *EncMiqr* 4: 45).

**2. Terminology.** The key terms in the discussion of monarchic chronology are: (a) regnal year, (b) accession year, (c) accession year (or postdating) system, (d) nonaccession year (or antedating) system, (e) coregency, and (f) absolute dates.

**a. Regnal Year.** The official "royal year" was reckoned from the start of the New Year. The month of Nisan (March–April) is the first month of the *cultic* year (cf. Exod 12:2; Num 28:16); the month of Tishri (September–October) marks the start of the *agricultural* year with the onset of the rainy season (Exod

23:16; 34:22. Note that the terms used in these verses, *ṣē›t haššānâ,* "the end of the year" and *tĕqûpat haššānâ,* "the turn of the year," refer to the seasons of the year and are not calendrical terms, as is the synonymous expression *tĕšûbat haššānâ*, "the turn of the year," 2 Sam 11:1; 1 Kgs 20:22, 26; 2 Chr 36:10; cf. Clines 1974). The Mishnah records that the New Year "for kings and pilgrimage festivals" was counted from Nisan (*m. Roš. Haš.* 1:1), as was the practice in Mesopotamia, but this statement has often been taken to reflect postbiblical practice. Some scholars hold that the regnal year ran from Tishri to Tishri (Mowinckel; Thiele); others from Nisan to Nisan (Kugler; Lewy; Tadmor); while still others argue for different calendars in Judah and Israel, with shifts made at certain junctures (Begrich; Morgenstern).

Though the evidence is inconclusive, it appears that a Nisan calendar was in use in S Judah, while in N Israel, a Tishri calendar was used. The posited half-year difference between the two kingdoms can be seen in the notice of the 6-month reign of Zechariah of Israel (2 Kgs 15:8) which is synchronized with the 38th year of Azariah of Judah; while the 1-month reign of his successor Shallum is in the 39th year of Azariah (2 Kgs 15:13). In Judah, the regnal New Year had passed, while in Israel, the regnal year had not yet ended; if it had, Zechariah would have been credited with 2 years (by nonaccession reckoning, see d below).

The counting of N Israel's regnal years from Tishri rather than Nisan may have been prompted by a desire to be independent of Judah's practice. On the other hand, the shift of one month in the celebration of the autumn festival, from the 7th to the 8th month, proclaimed by Jeroboam I (1 Kgs 12:32), looks like an accommodation to local tradition (according to Talmon 1958, based upon climatic considerations), Deuteronomistic editorial criticism notwithstanding.

**b. Accession Year.** The "accession year" is the period from the king's taking the throne until the start of the New Year (Akk *rēš šarrūti*; Heb *šĕnat molk̃*; cf. 2 Kgs 25:27; not equivalent to the nonchronological Hebrew term *rē›šit mamleket*, "the beginning of the reign," Jer 28:1; cf. Tadmor *EncMiqr* 4: 49).

**c. Accession-year (or Postdating) System.** This system counts the years of a king's reign only from the first full "regnal year" after his accession year. Assyrian and Babylonian texts employ this system of postdating throughout.

**d. Nonaccession-year (or Antedating) System.** This system does not recognize an accession year, and so counts the first year of a king's reign from his actual taking the throne; thus, in the antedating system the last year of the deceased king and the first one of his successor, which are the same year, are counted twice. Antedating was employed in Egypt for most of its history.

In Judah and Israel, the chronological data can, for the most part, be understood on the assumption that the nonaccession system in counting regnal years was in use. However, toward the middle or end of the 7th century, under the strong assimilatory pressures of the Mesopotamian empires, Judah apparently adopted the accession-year system.

**e. Coregency.** This term refers to the designation of a royal heir during the lifetime of the reigning monarch. Coregency seems not to have been the regular practice in either Israel or Judah; generally, unusual historical circumstances led to such an appointment which sought to insure the continuity of the ruling family on the throne (contrast Na›aman 1986: 83–91). The number of cases of coregency explicitly recorded in Kings is not great; sometimes the synchronisms lead one to suspect a period of coregency—an overlap counted in the total regnal years of both kings. Thus, e.g., Jotham judged the "people of the land" as coregent following Azariah's leprosy (2 Kgs 15:5). Azariah himself was coregent with his father Amaziah (2 Kgs 14:21).

**f. Absolute Dates.** Absolute chronology can be achieved through correlation of biblical dates with extrabiblical ones that are fixed astronomically. Most reliable are the Assyro-Babylonian dates, preserved in eponym (Akk *līmu*—a high official after whom the year was named) and king lists, and chronicles. Thus, e.g., the three-month reign of Jehoiachin at the end of which Jerusalem was captured by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kgs 24:8, 12) can be set in December 598–March 597 B.C.E. by reference to the precise dates recorded in the Babylonian Chronicle (see Table 5). (Several of Nebuchadnezzar's regnal years are noted in the concluding sections of Kings, no doubt under the bureaucratic influence of his hegemony over Judah's affairs [2 Kgs 24:12; 25:8, 27; cf. Jer 52:30].)

Egyptian dates, on the other hand, are still in question at certain crucial historical junctures. E.g., the invasion of Shishak in the fifth year of Rehoboam (1 Kgs 14:25), the only recorded Egyptian-Israelite synchronism, is primarily dated by reference to biblical coordinates (Kitchen 1973: 72–76).

A list of absolute dates, indicating their sources follows:

Table 5.
Absolute Dates for Events during the Monarchy

| *Event* | *Date* | *Source* | *Biblical Citation* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ahab participates in Battle of Qarqar against Shalmaneser III | 853 | | |
| Jehu renders tribute to Shalmaneser III | 841 | | |
| Joash renders tribute to Adad-nirari III | 796 | Monolith Inscription 6th year of Shlmaneser III (*ANET*, 278–9) | |
| Menahem renders tribute to Tiglath-pileser III | 740 | Annals: 18th year of Shalmaneser III (*ANET*, 280) | |
| | 738 | Annals: 8th year of Tiglath-pileser III (*ANET*, 283) | 2 Kgs 15:19 |
| Ahaz renders tribute to Tiglath-pileser III | 734 | Summary inscription Tiglath-pileser III (*ANET*, 282) | |
| Pekah removed; Hoshea ascends throne is Isreal | 732 | Summary inscription Tiglath-pileser III (*ANET*, 284) | 2 Kgs 15:30; 17:1 |
| Fall of Samaria | 722 | Babylonian Chronicle: 5th year of Shalmaneser V (Grayson 1975: 73: 27–31) | 2 Kgs 17:6aα |
| Recapture of Samaria and exile of inhabitants | 720 | Annals: 2nd year of Sargon II (*ANET*, 285) | 2 Kgs 17:6aβ-b |
| Assyrian Campaign to Judah | 701 | Annals: Sennacherib (*ANET*, 287–88) | 2 Kgs 18:13–19:36 |
| Mannasseh renders tribute and service to Assyria | ca. 674 | Prism B: Esarhaddon (*ANET*, 291) | |
| | ca. 668 | Annals Priam C: Ashurbanipal (*ANET*, 294) | |
| Battle of Carchemish | 605 | Babylonian Chronicle: 21st year of Nabopolassar (Grayson 1975: 99: 1–5) | Jer 46:2 |
| Capture of Jerusalem | 597 | Babylonian Chronicle: 7th year of Nebuchadnezzar (*ANET*, 564) | 2 Kgs 24:12 |
| Release of Jehoiachin | 561 | Accession year of Amel-Marduk (Parker-Dubberstein 1956:12) | 2 Kgs 25:27 |

Besides pinpointing individual events, these absolute dates determine the limits of scholarly conjecture. Menahem's reign could not have ended in 742, as Thiele supposes (1983: 139–62), if Menahem is listed among the kings who rendered tribute to Tiglath-pileser III four years later in 738. Similarly, a widely accepted interpretation of Assyrian inscriptional data from the days of Tiglath-pileser III which led to the identification of Azariah of Judah with a certain Azriyau has been refuted (cf. Na›aman 1974); as a result, an absolute date for Azariah's reign is no longer available.

**3. The Sources and Their Editing.** The précis of monarchic chronology which follows is based upon these premises:

(a) The lengths of reigns and the synchronisms recorded in Kings ultimately derive from king lists and a synchronic chronicle. We cannot say whether the Deuteronomistic editor had access to the original materials or whether the data was already incorporated in "the Annals of the Kings of Judah" and "the Annals of the Kings of Israel" —those composite works he so often refers to (Lewy 1927: 7; Begrich 1929: 173–74). Nothing is known about these "annals," their relation to archival data, or their comprehensiveness. The material concerning the N kingdom likely reached Jerusalem in compiled form soon after the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C.E. The Judean royal archives were accessible at the time the first edition of Kings was prepared, presumably during the reign of Josiah. The editorial attempt to integrate such diverse sources, and at the same time remain faithful to their differences, explains some of the conflicting chronological figures now in Kings.

(b) Some of the Judean synchronisms appear to be late calculations of the Deuteronomist who had no firsthand knowledge of the history of the N kingdom (cf. Aharoni 1950). This explains the synchronization of the reigns of the Judahite kings Jotham (2 Kgs 15:32) and Ahaz (2 Kgs 16:1) and the bloated figure of a 20-year reign for the Israelite Pekah (2 Kgs 15:27), who actually reigned just 2 years (see E.5 below). Similarly, the synchronization of Hezekiah's 6th year, the year that Samaria fell, with Hoshea's 9th year (2 Kgs 18:10) proves to be an erroneous assumption (as shown by the absolute dates for Israel's last decade).

**4. From the Fall of Samaria to the Fall of Jerusalem.** The number of years between these two landmark events is reckoned in the Bible with respect to the reigns of the kings of Judah (see Table 6).

Table 6.
From the Fall of Samaria to the Fall of Jerusalem

| | *Total reign* | *Sources* |
|---|---|---|
| Hezekiah | 29 | 2 Kgs 18:2 |
| Manasseh | 55 | 2 Kgs 21:1 |
| Amon | 2 | 2 Kgs 21:19 |
| Josiah | 31 | 2 Kgs 22:1 |
| Jehoahaz | 3 mths | 2 Kgs 23:31 |
| Jehoiakim | 11 | 2 Kgs 23:36 |
| Jehoiachin | 3 mths | 2 Kgs 24:8 |
| Zedekiah | 11 | 2 Kgs 24:18 |

Working from the absolute dates provided above, it appears that the accession-year system was in use during the final decades of Judah. Jehoiachin surrendered to Nebuchadnezzar in March 597 B.C.E. His father Jehoiakim had come to the throne in 609/8 (according to the Babylonian Chronicle and the date in Jer 46:2 for the battle of Carchemish in the king's 4th year = 605/4). In that same year, 609 B.C.E., Josiah met his death at Megiddo and Jehoahaz was deported to Egypt after a short 3-month reign. Accordingly, Josiah reigned from 639–609. Thus, keeping in mind that Samaria was captured in the 6th year of Hezekiah, 83 years had elapsed from the fall of Samaria to the accession of Josiah (722–639). The total for the three kings who reigned during this period, however, adds up to 81 years. The missing two years may be accounted for by assuming that the chronographer disregarded the partial years of these kings, though if the nonaccession-year system were then still in use, he should have included them in his counting.

The datum given in 2 Kgs 18:13 that Sennacherib attacked Judah in Hezekiah's 14th year has generated much controversy. Assyrian inscriptions indicate an attack in 701, thus Hezekiah's reign would have begun in nonaccession year 714 or accession year 715 (Mowinckel; Albright; Thiele). This calculation not only contradicts the synchronism in 18:10 in which the year of Samaria's fall (722) was Hezekiah's 6th year, but the 715/14 date requires extending the reign of Ahaz his father and shortening that of his son Manasseh (Albright 1945: 22) or positing a coregency for Manasseh (Thiele 1983: 174). Preferable is the

alternate solution which takes the "14th year" date as belonging to the prophetic story of Hezekiah's illness (2 Kings 20) which tells of the promise to the king of an additional 15 years of life (20:5), thus giving Hezekiah a 29-year reign (cf. 18:2). The present position of the date in 18:13, rather than its original one at the head of 2 Kings 20, is likely due to late editing of all the traditions concerning Hezekiah (cf. Cogan and Tadmor *2 Kings* AB). The mention of the Egyptian Taharqa in 2 Kgs 19:9 as having fought against Sennacherib was once thought to be decisive in restoring a second Assyrian campaign in the second decade of the 7th century (Albright; Thiele); for if Taharqa became king in 690 at age 20, he could not have fought the Assyrians in 701. But this interpretation of the Egyptian evidence is unwarranted (Kitchen 1973: 161–72) and leaves modern historians with a single campaign to Judah in 701 B.C.E.

The date of Jerusalem's fall and the destruction of the Solomonic Temple is also in dispute. According to the Babylonian Chronicle, Zedekiah was appointed king in March 597, Nebuchadnezzar's 7th year; thus Zedekiah's 11th year, the year Jerusalem was taken (2 Kgs 25:2), was the summer of 587 (cf. Freedman). But if Jehoiachin was deported only in Nebuchadnezzar's 8th year (as 24:12), then Zedekiah's accession year would have been 597/96. Whether Zedekiah's 1st regnal year is counted from Tishri 597 (Thiele, Malamat) or Nisan 596 (Tadmor), in both cases Jerusalem fell in 586.

**5. From Jehu until the Fall of Samaria.** The assassination of Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah by the usurper Jehu (2 Kgs 9:21–28) provides a convenient point for calculating the chronology of both kingdoms since new rulers took their respective thrones simultaneously.

Table 7.
From Jehu until the Fall of Samaria

| | *Total Reign* | *Source* |
|---|---|---|
| ISRAEL | | |
| Jehu | 28 | 2 Kgs 10:36 |
| Jehoahaz | 17 | 2 Kgs 13:1 |
| Joash | 16 | 2 Kgs 13:10 |
| Jeroboam | 41 | 2 Kgs 14:23 |
| Zechariah | 6 mths | 2 Kgs 15:8 |
| Shallum | 1 mth | 2 Kgs 15:13 |
| Menahem | 10 | 2 Kgs 15:17 |
| Pekahiah | 2 | 2 Kgs 15:23 |
| Pekah | 20 | 2 Kgs 15:27 |
| Hoshea | 9 | 2 Kgs 17:1 |
| *Total* | 143 yrs 7 mths | |
| JUDAH | | |
| Athaliah | 7 | 2 Kgs 11:4 |
| Jehoash | 40 | 2 Kgs 12:2 |
| Amaziah | 29 | 2 Kgs 14:2 |
| Azariah | 52 | 2 Kgs 15:2 |
| Jotham | 16 | 2 Kgs 15:33 |
| Ahaz | 16 | 2 Kgs 16:2 |
| Hezekiah | [6] | 2 Kgs 18:10 |
| *Total* | 166 yrs | |

Jehu paid tribute to Shalmaneser III in 841 (see Table 5), which may have been a year or so after he seized the throne (cf. 2 Kings 9–10). Between 842 and 722, a period of 120 years had lapsed. But the total regnal years listed for both N Israel and S Judah are too high (for Israel: 143 yrs, 7 mths; for Judah: 166 yrs). By assuming a number of coregencies and overlapping reigns, as is explicitly stated of Jotham (cf. 2 Kgs 15:5), most of the figures can be accommodated.

**a. Israel.** The synchronisms in 2 Kgs 13:1 and 13:10 show that the 17-year reign of Jehoahaz includes a 3-year coregency with his father Jehu. Similarly, Jeroboam had a 4-year coregency with his father Jehoash which is included in the total 41 years of Jeroboam's reign (cf. 2 Kgs 14:17, 23; 15:8). The Judean synchronism in 2 Kgs 15:1 would give Jeroboam a reign longer than listed, 53 years instead of 41 and seems to be an error (cf. Josephus, *Ant* 9 §216, for a different synchronism). Pekah's 20 years (2 Kgs 15:27) are more difficult to explain. He was removed from the throne in a coup led by Hoshea in 732 (see Table 5), and if he took the throne in Azariah's 52d year (2 Kgs 15:27) (= 734/33), then Pekah actually ruled in Samaria for a little more than 2 years. The figure "20" has been thought to include the years he ruled "in Gilead as pretender to the crown of Israel" as well as those of his "official" rule in Samaria (Vogelstein; Thiele; Tadmor). Hoshea, who came to the throne in 732/31 with the approval of his overlord Tiglath-pileser III, ruled for 9 years until the winter of 724, after which Samaria continued without a monarch during the 3-year siege by Shalmaneser III.

**b. Judah.** Azariah served as coregent for 15 years with his father Amaziah (2 Kgs 14:17), after Amaziah had been defeated and taken captive by Jehoash of Israel (14:13). When Azariah was stricken with leprosy, his son Jotham "judged the people of the land" (15:5) in his stead. All of Jotham's rule (preserved in two conflicting traditions: a 20-year reign in 15:30; a 16-year reign in 15:33), as well as part of the years of his son Ahaz, overlapped with the 52 years credited to Azariah. In one instance, synchronisms show that Jehoash of Judah ruled just 39 years which were rounded off to the typological number "40" (2 Kgs 14:2, 23).

**6. From the Division of the Monarchy to Jehu.** Upon the death of Solomon, the kingdom split into two (1 Kings 12), and assuming that this event occurred close to the accession of Rehoboam son of Solomon, the period from the secession of N Israel down to the revolt of Jehu is of equal length in both Israel and Judah (since Jehu assassinated both Joram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah; 2 Kgs 9:24, 27). Yet the total regnal years for the two kingdoms do not bear this out. While some synchronisms show that the totals can be reduced, other synchronisms are contradictory. Furthermore, an excessive number of years emerge from the biblical data for the 13-year period delimited by the absolute dates 853–841 B.C.E. (see E.2.f above).

Table 8.
From the Division of the Monarchy to Jehu

| | *Total Reign* | *Source* |
|---|---|---|
| ISRAEL | | |
| Jeroboam | 22 | 1 Kgs 14:20 |
| Nadab | 2 | 1 Kgs 15:25 |
| Baasha | 24 | 1 Kgs 15:33 |
| Elah | 2 | 1 Kgs 16:8 |
| Zimri | 7days | 1 Kgs 16:15 |
| Omri | 12 | 1 Kgs 16:23 |
| Tibni | | 1 Kgs 16:23 |
| Ahab | 22 | 1 Kgs 16:29 |
| Ahaziah | 2 | 1 Kgs 22:52 |
| Jahoram | 12 | 2 Kgs 3:1 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Total* | 98 yrs and 7 days | |
| JUDAH | | |
| Rehoboam | 17 | 1 Kgs 14:21 |
| Abijam | 3 | 1 Kgs 15:2 |
| Asa | 41 | 1 Kgs 15:10 |
| Jehoshaphat | 25 | 1 Kgs 22:42 |
| Jehoram | 8 | 2 Kgs 8:17 |
| Ahaziah | 1 | 2 Kgs 8:26 |
| *Total* | 95 years | |

**a. Israel.** From the synchronisms (1 Kgs 16:15, 23), it can be determined that Omri's 12 years include the 4-year struggle with Tibni over the throne of Israel; the notice of his 6-year residence in the capital Tirzah (16:23) points in the same direction. Ahab's 22 years include a 2-year coregency.

The synchronism in 2 Kgs 1:17 of Jehoram son of Ahab with Jehoram son of Jehoshaphat of Judah belongs to the chronological system (see E.8 below); it contradicts 3:1 which fits the other data in the MT and so would seem to be a posteditorial addition.

The surplus of regnal years for 853–41 (from Qarqar to the death of Ahab at Ramoth-gilead = approx. one year; 2-year reign of Ahaziah; 12-year reign of Jehoram; Jehu's coup = approx. one year) necessitates shortening the reign of Jehoram to about 10 years (cf. Tadmor *EncMiqr* 4: 59; contrast Thiele 1983: 76–77).

**b. Judah.** The synchronisms for Jehoshaphat show that he served as coregent for 3 years (1 Kgs 22:52) and that Jehoram his son was likewise coregent for 4 years (2 Kgs 8:17).

**7. The United Monarchy.** The chronological traditions concerning Israel's first three monarchs are all problematic, so that only approximations of the length of their reigns can be offered.

The data on Saul's reign in the MT is corrupt: "Saul was […] years old when he took the throne and he reigned […+] two years" (1 Sam 13:1); the LXX versions are either defective or missing, while Josephus (*Ant* 6 §378; cf. 10 §143) and Acts 13:21 give the paradigmatic "40 years." For David, his 71/2 years in Hebron and 33 years in Jerusalem are rounded off to the paradigmatic "40 years" (2 Sam 5:4). Saul's son Ishbaal is said to have ruled for two years in Transjordan over the survivors of the Gilboa debacle (2 Sam 2:10), but this period ostensibly parallels David's early years in Hebron. The 40 years assigned to Solomon (1 Kgs 11:42) looks to be of similar typological origin and there is no way of knowing just how long the overlap between Solomon and his failing father lasted (cf. 1 Kings 1).

Moreover, there are no absolute dates for this period, save perhaps the date for start of the Temple construction in Solomon's 4th year (1 Kgs 6:1) which might be correlated with the 12th year of Hiram I of Tyre, who took the throne 155 years before the founding of Carthage (Josephus, *AgAp* 1.126). But discrepancy among the classical authors prevents exact dating of the founding of Carthage; most scholars date the event to 814 B.C.E.; others, who follow a minor tradition, set it in 825 B.C.E. (Liver 1953). Furthermore, doubts have even been raised about Josephus' reliability altogether (Katzenstein 1973: 80–83). Therefore, the dates offered in Table 9 have a margin of error wider than usual.

**8. The Chronology of the Monarchy in the LXX.** A major divergence from the chronology of the Divided Monarchy as presented by MT appears in Lucianic manuscripts of the LXX, especially for the period from Omri to Jehu. According to the MT synchronisms of Omri, his 12-year reign includes 4 years during which he contended with Tibni over the throne of Israel (cf. 1 Kgs 16:15, 23). An alternate construing of the text preserved in the Old Greek translation gives Omri all 12 years as sole ruler, and it not only reworks all the succeeding synchronisms with the kings of Judah but it also reorders the sequence of their reigns. It also identifies the king of Judah in 2 Kings 3 as Ahaziah (as opposed to MT's Jehoshaphat). It has been argued that the Old Greek chronology is original and that the MT is a secondary development adjusted to accommodate the prophetic narratives concerning Elijah and Elisha (Shenkel

1968; cf. Miller 1967: 281–84); but several of the Greek calculations (e.g., Zimri is assigned 7 years) and its repositioned textual units (e.g., 1 Kgs 16:28[a–h] [= 1 Kgs 22:41–51]) do not recommend themselves as original (cf. Gooding 1970). The Greek may represent the earliest preserved attempt at revising imagined difficulties in MT's chronology (Thiele 1983: 88–94).

**9. The Chronology of the Monarchy in the Book of Chronicles.** Chronicles adopts for the most part the regnal data of Kings concerning Judah's monarchs, while shunting that of the N kingdom of Israel. In but a single instance is there any serious discrepancy between the two works: in Asa's 36th year, he was attacked by Baasha of Israel (2 Chr 15:19), who according to Kings was long since dead (in 1 Kgs 15:33 Baasha began his 24-year reign in Asa's 3d year). Crediting the higher figure for Baasha's reign requires assuming that it was calculated on a system which reckoned dates from the rule of Jeroboam I, as well as altering the numbers assigned other monarchs (Albright 1945: 20; cf. Thiele 1983: 84–86).

A number of dates in Chronicles are used in a literary fashion and have no chronological significance. The notice that Hezekiah undertook a cult reform "in the first month of the first year of his reign" (2 Chr 29:1) means only that the king's very first act of state concerned the Temple (cf. Cogan 1985). Similarly, the dates assigned to the Great Reform of Josiah (2 Chronicles 34–35), spread over 10 years, depict the king attending to cultic matters immediately upon reaching his majority (contrast 2 Kings 22–23). Other nonchronological items in Chronicles include the formulaic date "in the third year" (2 Chr 11:7; 17:7).

All of the data pertaining to the monarchic period can thus be synthesized to yield a plausible chronology for the kings of S Judah and N Israel (see Table 9):

Table 9.
Kings of Judah and Israel

| *Judah* | | *Israel* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Saul | ca. 1025–1005 | |
| | David | ca. 1005–965 | |
| | Solomon | ca. 968–928 | |
| Rehoboam | 929–911 | Jeroboam I | 928–907 |
| Abijam | 911–908 | Nadab | 907–906 |
| Asa | 908–867 | Baasha | 906–883 |
| Jehoshaphat | 870–846* | Elah | 883–882 |
| Jehoram | 851–843* | Zimri | 882 |
| Ahaziah | 843–822 | Tibni | 882–878** |
| Athaliah | 842–836 | Omri | 882–871 |
| Joash | 836–798 | Ahab | 837–852 |
| Amaziah | 798–769 | Ahaziah | 852–851 |
| Azariah | 785–733* | Joram | 851–842 |
| Jotham | 759–743* | Jehu | 842–814 |
| Ahaz | 743–727* | Jehoahaz | 817–800* |
| Hezekiah | 727–698 | Jehoash | 800–784 |
| Manasseh | 698–642 | JeroboamII | 788–747* |
| Amon | 641–640 | Zechariah | 747 |
| Josiah | 639–609 | Shallum | 747 |
| Jehoahaz | 609 | Menahem | 747–737 |
| Jehoiakim | 608–598 | Pekahiah | 737–735 |
| Jehoiachin | 597 | Pekah | 735–732 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Zedekiah | 596–586 | Hoshea | 732–724 |

*Includes years as corregent **Rival rule

### F. The Exile and the Restoration

The Judean expatriates in Babylon counted the years of their exile from the deportation of Jehoiachin by Nebuchadnezzar in the spring of 597 (Ezek 1:1, 2; 3:16; 8:1; 20:1; 24:1; 26:1; 29:1, 17; 30:20; 31:1; 32:1, 17; 33:21; 40:1; cf. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20* 8–11). The appended note on the release of King Jehoiachin from prison in 2 Kgs 25:27–30 counts by the same era. According to the Chronicler, when the Persian king Cyrus, in his first year, permitted the rebuilding of the Jerusalem Temple (2 Chr 36:23), it was in fulfillment of Jeremiah's prophecy of a 70-year exile (Jer 25:11–12). But Achaemenid sources count the years of Cyrus' reign from his conquest of Babylon in 539, less than 50 years after the destruction of Jerusalem. Perhaps the end point of the Chronicler's 70-year epoch is the year of dedication of the rebuilt Temple, 515 (Ezra 6:15; cf. Zech 1:12).

In postexilic historic and prophetic literature events are dated by reference to the regnal years of the Persian kings, as was common throughout the empire. The assertion that the native Israelite sabbatical year cycle, known from late Second Temple texts, was in actual calendrical use in the 5th century (Demsky 1985: 43–44), cannot be supported by solid evidence.

Because a distinction is not made in the biblical record between Persian kings bearing the same name, and because the Greek translations and Josephus present a different order of events (especially Neh 7:73–8:12 relating to the activities of Ezra the scribe, which appears in Greek and in Josephus after Ezra 10 [cf. 1 Esdr 9:37–55; *Ant* 11 §154–58]), it is often suggested that, contrary to MT, Nehemiah preceded Ezra. Recent papyrus finds at Wadi Daliyeh, though not providing absolute dates, establish the succession of the contemporary Samaritan governors and confirm the MT sequence (Cross 1975). Perhaps the principle of composition of certain disordered units, e.g., Ezra 4:6–24, was thematic association, rather than chronology.

The identification of the Persian kings in Table 10 assumes that the biblical text is intact (contrast Albright 1963: 93); Ezra preceded Nehemiah (as in MT).

Table 10.
Persian Kings in Postexilic Literature

| | |
|---|---|
| Cyrus (539–530): | Ezra 1:1; 4:3; 5:13; 6:3, 14 |
| Darius I (521–486): | Ezra 4:5, 24; 5:6; 6:1, 13; Hag 1:1, 15; 2:10; Zech 1:1, 7; 7:1 |
| Xerxes I (485–465): | Ezra 4:6 |
| Artaxerxes I (464–424): | Ezra 4:7, 8, 11, 23; 6:14; 7:1; 8:1; Neh 2:1; 5:14; 13:6 |
| Darius II (423–404): | Neh 12:22 |

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## *NEW TESTAMENT*

Any attempt to reconstruct the chronology of the NT must be tentative at best. The primary intention of the Gospels and other NT writings is not historical or biographical—they are documents of faith intended to proclaim, teach, and encourage the various early Christian communities. Thus, chronological information which may be found in these documents is incidental to their fundamental purpose. In addition to this, secular references to NT happenings are minimal and not without their own ambiguities and the patristic references to these events are often contradictory and based on data which is frequently

nonverifiable by the contemporary historian. As a result, what follows is more an introduction to the problematic of NT chronology than a solution to the manifold and complex issues raised.

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A. Chronology of the Life of Jesus
1. The Birth of Jesus
2. The Beginning of the Ministry
3. The Duration of the Ministry
4. The Conclusion of the Ministry
5. Summary
B. The Apostolic and Pauline Period
1. Introductory Comments
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4. The Acts of the Apostles
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6. Summary

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**A. Chronology of the Life of Jesus**

**1. The Birth of Jesus. a. The Death of Herod.** Both Matt 2:1 and Luke 1:5 assert that the birth of Jesus took place during the reign of Herod the Great, king of Judea; according to Matt 2:15, 19–20, Herod died not long after Jesus' birth. Herod died in the 34th year after his assumption of power (Josephus *Ant* 17.8–9), which would be Nisan, 4 B.C. Further, Josephus states that an eclipse of the moon took place in the year of Herod's death, 12–13 March 750 (= 4 B.C.). Herod's death in 4 B.C. provides a relatively certain *terminus ante quem;* accordingly, most scholars place the birth of Jesus in the period 6–4 B.C. As a result of a mistake made by Dionysius Exiguus in the 6th century A.D., the calculation of the Christian era is in error by several years. One should also note that the common assumption that Jesus was born on December 25 stems from the interaction of 3d- and 4th-century Christianity with Roman paganism.

**b. The Lukan Census.** According to Luke Jesus was born during the time of a census when Quirinius was governor of Syria: "In those days a decree went out from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be enrolled. This was the first enrollment, when Quirinius was governor of Syria. And all went to be enrolled, each to his own city" (Luke 2:1–3). According to Josephus (*Ant* 17.13.5 and 18.1.1), Quirinius only became governor of Syria after A.D. 6. As a result, many scholars argue that Luke is guilty of an egregious error: he was perhaps correct about the census but wrong about the name of the governor, who was, in fact, not Quirinius but Sentius Saturninus (9–7/6 B.C.; Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* 4.19); his successor was P. Quinctilius Varus (7/6–4 B.C.). Further, it has been pointed out that Luke is involved in another significant chronological error when in Acts 5:36–37 he states that "Judas the Galilean arose in the days of the census" and places this event after the revolt of Theudas. According to Josephus (*Ant* 20.5.1) the Theudas revolt is dated to the procuratorship of Fadus (A.D. 44–46).

Some who would wish to defend the accuracy of the information about Quirinius presented in Luke 2:1–3 point to the existence of a damaged inscription from Tivoli, the *lapis* or *titulus tiburtinus,* now in the Vatican Museum, which refers to a nameless Roman who was twice governor of Syria. Mommsen, W. R. Ramsay, and others argue that the person in question is Quirinius and that his first reign was in the late years of Herod's reign. Ramsay has also pointed out that there are recorded occasions when two men with the rank of *legatus Caesaris* were appointed to one province and that it is possible that Quirinius was given some type of extraordinary command alongside the regular governor of Syria. Yet there are problems with this defense of Lukan accuracy: (1) there is no evidence that the *titulus tiburtinus* refers to Quirinius; (2) the Latin of the text is wrongly translated. As Fitzmyer and others have shown, *iterum* does not modify *optinuit* but the preceding phrase. Thus, the text reads: as "propraetorial legate of Divus Augustus for the second time, he received Syria and Phoenicia." Further, there is no evidence that a proconsul would become a legate of the emperor twice in the *same* province (Fitzmyer, *Luke* AB, 403).

Some of the factors frequently employed in the debate over these verses include the following: (1) In Acts 5:37, as referred to above, Luke states that "Judas the Galilean arose in the days of the census"; from Josephus (*Ant* 17.13.5, 18.1.1; *JW* 2.8.1) it is likely that the resistence of Judas was during the census of A.D. 6–7. This would suggest not only that Luke was aware of the census of A.D. 6–7, but also that he was attempting to distinguish the nativity census from this and others about which he may have known. The use of *prote* (first) in Luke 2:2 is cited in support of this view. However, the chronological problem between Theudas (Acts 5:36) and Judas has already been pointed out and it is perhaps the vagueness of this recollection that leads to Luke's false synchronization of the Quirinius census and "the days of Herod." (2) Some have attempted to translate *prote* in the comparative sense of "former, prior," which would govern the following genitive and render Luke 2:2 as "This registration was before Quirinius was governor of Syria." Since the genitive which follows *prote* is a genitive absolute, this interpretation cannot be maintained. (3) Those advocating Luke's chronological accuracy would argue that the sole censorship of Augustus in 8 B.C. coincides with the Egyptian 14-year census pattern as well as with Luke's testimony and that such a reconstruction would provide the years 8–7 B.C. as a *terminus a quo* for the birth of Jesus. This interpretation, however, has fused what must be kept separate. Augustus conducted two types of enrollments in the empire: one for Roman citizens (in Italy and in the provinces) and one for provincial inhabitants. The first type of census, the *census populi*, was conducted in 28 B.C., 8 B.C., and A.D. 14 (Suetonius *Aug.* 27.5). The second type of census, called by the same term Luke uses in 2:2, *apographē*, was administered in individual provinces and therefore could not involve "all the world" as Luke claims. It is known that in Roman Egypt such a census was carried out every 14 years from A.D. 34 to A.D. 258 (*POxy* 2.254, 255, and 256). Similarly, in Gaul such a census was administered in 27 B.C., 12 B.C., and A.D. 14–16; there are also extant references to such enrollments in Lusitania, Spain, and Judea. However, Syria was an imperial province and the emperor appointed the legates, prefects, or procurators to carry out the census of the *provincial* inhabitants, as opposed to the *census populi* in which Augustus was directly involved. The census of the *legatus* Quirinius was administered in A.D. 6–7, following the incorporation of Judea into the province of Syria. (4) It has been suggested that the discrepancies can be resolved by the concept of an *imperium maius* ("greater command"), the argument being that Quirinius would have been given a special imperial commission to carry out a census in Syria while someone else was actually legate there, especially S. Sentius Saturninus (9–6 B.C.). The plausibility of this solution founders on the very ambiguity and confusion found in the source it cites: Tertullian (compare *Adv. Marc.* 4.19,10, with *Adv. Iud.* 8 concerning the birth of Jesus).

A review of this material would suggest that all that can be said with confidence is that Jesus' birth took place in the days of Herod, a fact also mentioned in Matt 2:1. Further, following Matt 2:15–19, one can state that in all likelihood the birth took place shortly before the death of Herod in 4 B.C.

**c. The Magi.** According to Matt 2:1–12, certain Magi (astrologers) from the East came to Jerusalem searching for Jesus "for we have seen his star in the East, and have come to worship him" (v 2). Several ways of understanding this reference to the "star" have been proposed. (1) In 1606 the astronomer Johannes Kepler fixed the date of Jesus' birth in the year 7/6 B.C. on the basis of the triple conjunction of the planets Saturn and Jupiter in May/June, Sept/Oct and Dec of 7 B.C., with Mars passing shortly after the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn. Kepler argued that such proximity of Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars occurs only every 805 years. What is intriguing about Kepler's hypothesis is that such a constellation was predicted by Babylonian astronomers and, further, that Jupiter was understood to be the star of kings and Saturn both as the star of the sabbath and sometimes even as the star of the Jews. (2) J. Finegan (1964) and others date the birth in the year 5/4 B.C., identifying Matthew's star with that of an unusual nova or supernova (a faint star which, as the result of an explosion, gives out much light for weeks or months). Although about a dozen novae are noted yearly, there is no record of such a nova or supernova before the birth of Jesus. (3) The comet named after E. Halley (d. 1742) occurs every 76 years and has been dated back to 240 B.C. in Europe, China, and Japan. Astronomical calculation has indicated that Halley's comet made an appearance in 12/11 B.C. Because this hypothesis requires an unusually early dating for the birth of Jesus it has not found many advocates.

Most biblical scholars today recognize the impossibility of reaching firm chronological conclusions on such hypothetical reconstructions, especially if Matthew's references to the star are primarily literary and theological. Even so, there is no compelling reason why one ought not to allow for the influence of such unusual astronomical occurrences in the development of the Matthean account of the visit of the Magi. Such occurrences, together with the popularity of astrology (the Aramaic fragments from Cave IV at Qumran contain fragments of an astrological treatise) and of magi as a professional class in the period (according to the Greek form of Daniel, *magoi* are active in every possible place in the Babylonian kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar) and the fact that many expected a star to attend the birth of a notable person, must be taken into account in understanding the setting of Matthew's assertions. Given the circulation of such prophetic oracles as that of Balaam (Num 24:17) with its promise of a "star coming from Jacob," many, as in the Qumran community, anticipated that a messiah's advent must be accompanied by such a stellar harbinger as Matthew describes.

**2. The Beginning of the Ministry. a. John the Baptist and the Baptism of Jesus.** Luke makes an extensive chronological statement about the beginning of John the Baptist's preaching activity: "In the 15th year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judea, and Herod being tetrarch of Galilee, and his brother Philip tetrarch of the region of Ituraea and Trachonitis, and Lysanias tetrarch of Abilene, in the high-priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas, the word of God came to John the son of Zechariah in the wilderness" (Luke 3:1–2). Except for the first reference, the strokes are indeed broad: Pilate was governor of Judea from A.D. 26–36, Herod served as tetrarch of Galilee from 4 B.C. to A.D. 39, Philip was tetrarch of Ituraea and Trachonitis from 4 B.C. to A.D. 34, and Caiaphas was deposed from office at a Passover festival not later than A.D. 34. The 15th year of the reign of Tiberius, based on the year of Augustus' death (19 August A.D. 14) and the use of the Julian calendar, would be August A.D. 28 to August A.D. 29.

For those scholars who believe that this date (A.D. 28–29) is too late, one of the most common alternatives is to argue that Luke had in mind the date when Augustus allowed Tiberius to serve as coemperor. If on the basis of Velleius Paterculus (2.121) this date is assigned to A.D. 11 or on the basis of Suetonius (*Tib.* 21) to A.D. 12, the Baptist's activity would then be placed in the period A.D. 25–26. Other variables which affect dating include how Luke was reckoning Tiberius' regnal years (did he distinguish the accession year from the regnal years, or did he consider the partial accession year as the first regnal year?) and the calendar he was using (Julian, Jewish, Syrian–Macedonian or Egyptian).

All these and other factors suggest that since we are uncertain as to Luke's frame of reference one needs to be most cautious in using these materials for an exact dating of the appearance of John or for the beginning of Jesus' ministry. This caution is further underscored by those scholars who hold that many of Luke's chronological references serve more the historical perspective of Lukan theology than exact chronological reckoning. Thus, while Luke 3:21–22 suggests that some time elapsed between the beginning of John the Baptist's preaching activity and the baptism of Jesus, the exact length of that interval cannot be determined. What is clear, however, is that the baptism and ministry of Jesus could not have preceded that of the Baptist.

**b. The Age of Jesus.** How old was Jesus when he began his ministry? Once again it is Luke who supplies information: "Jesus, when he began his ministry, was about thirty years of age …" (Luke 3:23). What is the force of *osei* (about)? Given its use in 1:56; 9:14, 28; 22:41, 59; 23:44 it is evident that Luke is not intending to be precise in his determination of the age of Jesus (adding thirty to the tentative date established for Jesus' birth in Luke one would arrive at the years of A.D. 23–25, which, as will be discussed below, is impossible) and that he is consciously presenting the reader with a round number.

Some have suggested that Luke may be using the number thirty for theological reasons. In 2 Sam 5:3–4 it is stated that David was thirty at the beginning of his kingship; also Joseph (Gen 41:46) and Ezekiel (Ezk 4:1) were thirty when they were called by God. It is possible that Luke is using this number to refer to the age of maturity. There is evidence from the Qumran community (CD 17.5.6) that one had to be thirty in order to serve in a position of leadership.

On the basis of John 8:57, "You are not yet fifty years old …?" some (Irenaeus *Haer.* 2.22.5) have concluded that Jesus was in his forties during the ministry. Yet this, too, is intended as a round number and the phrase simply wishes to underscore the great time interval between Jesus and Abraham.

**c. The Building of the Temple.** In John 2:18 Jesus is in discussion with the Jews and they ask him, "What sign have you to show us for doing this?" Jesus replies: " 'Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.' The Jews then said, 'It has taken 46 years to build this temple, and will you raise it up in three days?' But he spoke of the temple of his body" (vv 19–20). Josephus (*Ant* 15.11.1) indicates that the reconstruction of the Temple began in the 18th year of Herod the Great (20–19 B.C.). This date is normally believed to be more reliable than the 15th year of Herod which Josephus records in *JW* 1.21.1. Perhaps this later reference refers to the initial planning for the Temple. Following the reference in *Ant*, 46 years would bring us to the Passover (John 2:13) of A.D. 28, a date which coheres with the date reached above on the basis of the information provided in Luke 3:1.

Some wish to find an exact reference to the age of Jesus in the number 46. However, the evidence for this is slim and even given the approximate references to Jesus' age in Luke 3:23, such a view would allow for a substantial contradiction between Luke and John.

**3. The Duration of the Ministry.** One looks in vain for a definitive answer to this question. The gospel of John is filled with chronological ambiguity and the synoptic gospels give no precise indication as to the length of Jesus' ministry. In the latter, there is only reference to one Passover (Matt 26:17; Mark 14:1; Luke 22:1). At the minimum one can speak of a one-year ministry or, at most, one that approached two years.

Strong advocacy for a one-year ministry was present during the ante-Nicene period, particularly among Valentinian gnostics (Irenaeus *Haer.* 2.22.1), Clement of Alexandria (*Str.* 1.21), and Origen (*Princ.* 4.5). Key to this interpretation was the chronological interpretation of Luke 4:19 ("the acceptable year of the Lord") as specifying a duration of one year. Most scholars today would doubt that Luke, in citing Lev 25:10 (LXX), has a literal interest in chronology in mind. The same would hold true of the parable of the barren fig tree, found only in Luke 13:6–9: the reference to "three years" is not a subtle indication of the length of Jesus' ministry. Many supporters of the one-year ministry also claim Mark in their support. Mark 2:23–28, the incident of plucking grain on the Sabbath, is said to take place in the early summer, the feeding of the five thousand in the spring (Mark 6:39, "the green grass"), and the death of Jesus during the Passover season. Such a view, however, involves another assumption which runs contrary to most contemporary understandings of Mark, viz., that Mark does not intend to present the reader with a consecutive ordering of the ministry of Jesus. Thus, all the texts cited from the synoptic gospels in support of a one-year ministry do not necessarily exclude other views of the length of Jesus' ministry.

Origen (*Jo.* 4.35) was of the opinion that even the gospel of John could be understood as describing a one-year ministry for Jesus, a ministry that begins (John 2:13) and ends (John 11:55) with a Passover. Presumably Origen had a text of the Fourth Gospel which lacked the reference to *to Pascha* in 6:4 (argued as the original text by Hort), thus allowing Origen to identify this feast with the Feast of Tabernacles referred to in the next chapter of the gospel. For many, however, the gospel of John points in the direction of a minimum length of at least three years. Such a position involves two assumptions: (1) that *to pascha* in 6:4 is the original reading, a reading which is today virtually unanimous; (2) that the Fourth Gospel is chronologically reliable and following a consecutive order, a position maintained by fewer and fewer interpreters today.

The earliest known supporters of a three-year ministry include Melito of Sardis (*ca.* A.D. 165) and Eusebius, who allows the ministry to last "not quite four full years" (*Hist. Eccl.* 1.10). Most who move in this direction place their emphasis on John's gospel. Yet the critical question is whether this gospel is able to carry such a burden of proof. Key to an adequate answer is the evaluation of the historical reliability and intention of John's gospel. Since it is impossible to review in detail all the historical and theological issues related to such an evaluation, one dominant, but not universal, perspective will be described: while the Fourth Gospel has access to reliable traditions, these are recast substantially to fit its theological portrayal of Jesus. One example of this procedure can be found in John's account of the cleansing of the

temple (2:13–22). It shares with the synoptic gospels the same account of the cleansing of the temple, but while the synoptics (Mark 11:15–18; Matt 21:12–17; Luke 19:45–46) place this incident at the end of Jesus' ministry in connection with the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, John places it at the outset of the ministry, expands the account, and makes the identification between temple and the body of Jesus (v 20). His reason for doing so is theological: already at the outset of this gospel Jesus is portrayed as the glorified and risen Christ (note, for example, the explicit confession of Andrew in John 1:41, unique to this gospel, "We have found the Messiah").

The supporters of a minimum three-year ministry use primarily those texts in John which make references to feasts. Yet many scholars view the frequent mention of at least some of these feasts as due not to genuine historical reminiscence but rather to literary device: the author of the Fourth Gospel often uses the occasion of a "feast" to bring Jesus to Jerusalem, as for example, in 5:1. In light of this it becomes impossible simply to strip away the theological interpretation of the tradition so that one can arrive at reliable chronological facts; to do so will lead to distortion. The genius of John lies not with the accurate, consecutive presentation of historical detail but rather in the ability to grasp the central meaning of the tradition and, from his perspective, to bring to expression its true meaning.

Other than the references related to the final Passover season of Jesus, the essential Johannine references used in chronological reconstruction of a three-year minimum ministry are found between John 2:13 and 6:4. Mention will also be made of John 7:2 and 10:22, but these are linked with the final Passover to form one liturgical year.

a. John 2:13. It has already been indicated that the Fourth Gospel has transposed a scene found elsewhere in the synoptic gospels. There is also a reference to the Passover in 2:23; however, most interpreters understand this reference as being identical to that referred to in 2:13 in the literary structure of John.

b. John 4:35; "Do you not say, 'There are yet four months, then comes the harvest'?" Sowing took place in Nov/Dec, following the autumn rains. According to the 10th-century-B.C. Gezer calendar, the harvest follows the sowing by four months. If this verse is part of an authentic tradition, it is possible that Jesus related this proverb at a time of sowing; the barley harvest would then follow in April and the wheat harvest in May.

c. John 5:1. Jesus had returned to Galilee in John 4:43; now he comes to Jerusalem again: "After this there was a feast [the majority of manuscripts omit the article] of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem." The only specific identification of this feast is as a Sabbath (v 9); anything beyond that is a pure speculation since there is no substantial evidence that a chronological sequence has been preserved. Thus, the possible identification of this feast as Pentecost, since it follows the Passover referred to in 2:13, is without verifiable basis. It is best to take the reference to "*a* feast" as a literary device which enables John to account for Jesus in Jerusalem.

d. John 6:4, "Now the Passover, the feast of the Jews, was at hand." There is no manuscript evidence for the omission of the name of the festival; therefore this conjecture should be eliminated. Given the previous mention of a common Johannine literary technique, it is questionable to read this text as referring to the next Passover following that of 2:13. Once again, the Passover is mentioned not for chronological but for the theological reasons developed in chapter 6: the Eucharist, the Last Supper, can only be understood in a Passover context. That the feeding of the five thousand in John 6 takes place in the spring (near Passover) agrees with the evidence of the synoptics ("grass," "green grass"; Mark 6:39; Matt 14:19).

e. John 7:2, "Now the feast of Tabernacles was at hand." It has already been pointed out that this text and the next (10:22), form, from John's perspective, a common liturgical year with the final Passover mentioned in the Fourth Gospel. In this text the double ceremony of the water pouring and the illumination of the Court of the Women involved in this autumn feast undoubtedly serve as the background for the theological saying of Jesus in 7:37–38 and 8:12.

f. John 10:22. Here one finds another time reference: "It was the feast of the Dedication at Jerusalem." Already in the tradition this scene is bound to the feast of the Dedication for it is hard to believe that this

was invented. Yet this fact alone does not necessarily allow us to conclude that the chronological sequence of this feast—or any in the gospel of John—are accurate as presented.

g. John 11:55; 12:1; 13:1; 18:28; 18:39; 19:14. All these texts refer to the final Passover of Jesus, viz., the time of his death, a topic to be analyzed more fully below.

Based on this discussion, there is no unambiguous evidence in the gospel of John allowing the construction of a minimum three-year ministry of Jesus based on the reference to three sequential Passovers in that gospel. In all likelihood these festival references are of a theological rather than of a chronological nature. In light of this review of John and the synoptics and the tentative nature of any conclusion based on documents intended primarily for proclamation of the faith and not of biography or history, the evidence points in the direction of a ministry which may have lasted a minimum of one, or a maximum of two, years.

**4. The Conclusion of the Ministry.—The Crucifixion.** The basic problem in trying to determine the date of the crucifixion is that the synoptic gospels and the gospel of John disagree. According to John 18:28 and 19:14 the Passover meal was eaten on the Friday evening after the crucifixion. The Jewish day began at 6 P.M. and the Passover was eaten in the early evening of Nisan 15. Therefore, according to the gospel of John, and it is emphatic about this (19:14 and 16: "Now it was the day of Preparation of the Passover … Then he handed him over to them to be crucified"), Jesus was crucified on the day before Passover, i.e. Nisan 14. Mark 14:12 (see also Luke 22:11 and Matt 26:18–19), on the contrary, asserts that the Last Supper was the Passover meal. This means that the arrest, trial, death, and burial of Jesus all took place on Passover, Nisan 15.

The Passover account in Mark 14:12–16 is characterized by imprecision. The day of Unleavened Bread belongs to the Passover, viz., Nisan 15, yet Mark apparently understands it as having occurred on the previous day (Nisan 14), the day the Passover lambs are slaughtered. Such ambiguity is an indication that Mark was not well versed in Jewish law and the events of Passover. Further, because the difference in the calculation between Jewish and Greek days is not taken into account, Mark misinterprets Exod 12:18 ("In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month at evening, you shall eat unleavened bread, and so until the twenty-first day of the month at evening"). Generally speaking, one not familiar with Jewish customs would not be able to reconstruct the flow of events characteristic of the Jewish Passover. Mark, not having an exact knowledge of these customs, confuses a meal Jesus had with his disciples during the Passover season with the Passover meal itself. Aside from these ambiguities in Mark's narrative, there is the further question whether all these events would have taken place on such a high holy day as Passover. In this case, the Johannine chronology of these final events in the ministry of Jesus is to be preferred.

Calendaric explanations have been offered to explain the contradiction between the Johannine and synoptic contradiction concerning the Last Supper. Some suggest that the Jewish priests were following the Sadducean calendar and Jesus the Pharisaic; others urge that the priests followed a Judean calendar and Jesus a Galilean. The most elaborate calendaric proposal is that of A. Jaubert (1965). According to this Jesus prepared for and ate the Passover meal following an Essene solar calendar; however, his death on the eve of Passover, as in the Johannine account, was according to the "official" calendar which was lunar or lunisolar. Her detailed proposal is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1.
Proposal of Jaupert

| *Time of Day* | *Solar Calendar* | *Lunisolar (Official) Calendar* |
|---|---|---|
| Tues—before sundown | 13 Nisan: preparation for the Passover (Mark 14:12–16) | |
| About sundown | 15 Nisan: Last Supper (Passover meal, Mark 14:17–25) | 12 Nisan |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Night | Arrest Interrogation before Annas (Mark 14:53a; John 18:13); Peter's denials; led to Caiaphas (John 18:24) | |
| Wed—before sundown | 15 Nisan: first appearance before the Sanhedrin (Mark 14:55) | 12 Nisan |
| At sundown | 16 Nisan | 13 Nisan |
| Thurs—before sundown | 16 Nisan: second appearance before the Sanhedrin (Mark 15:1a); Jesus is led to Pilate (Mark 15:1b); Jesus is sent to Herod (Luke 23:6–12); people are stirred up to demand Barabbas' release (Mark 15:11) | |
| At sundown | 17 Nisan: dream of Pilate's wife (Matt 27:19) | 14 Nisan |
| Fri—before sundown | 17 Nisan: Jesus is led to Pilate again (Luke 23:13); Barabbas released (Mark 15:15); Jesus delivered to be crucified; death on the cross (Mark 15:15–37) | 14 Nisan: Preparation for the Passover (John 18:28) |
| At sundown | 18 Nisan: Sabbath; Jesus in the tomb (Mark 15:42–46) | 15 Nisan: Sabbath and Passover (John 19:31) |
| Sat—before sundown | 18 Nisan: Sabbath; Jesus in the tomb | 15 Nisan: Sabbath |

This resolution of the problem has met with limited enthusiasm. It is pointed out that there is no NT evidence that Jesus followed a solar calendar in opposition to the lunisolar calendar, and, further, that Jaubert often resorts to a pre-form critical harmonization of the synoptic with the Johannine texts.

Working on the hypothesis that in this case the Johannine account is the more accurate and following the Jewish table of true moons, one is presented with two alternatives for the crucifixion of Jesus: 14 Nisan = 7 April A.D. 30 or 3 April A.D. 33 (Fotheringham 1934). Given the previously discussed probable dates and parameters, the first of these is to be preferred.

**5. Summary.** It is likely that Jesus was born between 8–6 B.C. and began his public ministry about A.D. 28 at the approximate age of 35, a ministry which lasted probably, at the most, not more than two years. Death would have come in the year A.D. 30.

**B. The Apostolic and Pauline Period**

**1. Introductory Comments.** The apostolic and Pauline period in early Christian history is presently being reviewed with renewed scrutiny and much vigor. As a result, the chronological options are several, although it is possible to reduce the major options for this period to two: (1) the traditional approach, heavily dependent on the accuracy of the information and chronological framework found in the Acts of the Apostles, which understands Paul's primary apostolic work to have begun in A.D. 47–48, and; (2) the approach pioneered by John Knox and now argued in greater detail by others (Lüdemann 1984), which is skeptical of the uncritical dependence on the chronological material provided by Acts, and suggests that Paul's apostolic work began as early as 37 or at the latest in A.D. 40. It is thus clear that the decisive issue between these two major approaches is the evaluation of the chronological reliability of Acts. But before these methodological considerations are discussed, it may be useful to provide a general overview of the traditional dating of the Pauline period, recognizing, of course, that individual scholars sharing this overall perspective may vary from this outline at some points.

Table 2.

| *Events* | *Dates (A.D.)* |
|---|---|
| Conversion of Paul | 33 |
| First visit to Jerusalem | 36 |
| Famine visit | 46 |

| | |
|---|---|
| First missionary journey | 47–48 |
| Apostolic conference | 49 |
| Paul's arrival in Corinth | 50 |
| Paul leaves Corinth | autumn 51 or spring 52 |
| Paul's arrival in Ephesus | autumn 53 |
| Paul leaves Ephesus | summer 56 |
| Paul's arrival in Corinth | late 56 |
| Paul in Philippi | Passover 57 |
| Paul's arrival in Jerusalem | Pentecost 57 |
| Paul before Festus | summer 59 |
| Paul's arrival in Rome | spring 60 |

**2. Methodological Considerations.** Given the remarks just made and the lack of consensus in evaluating the chronology of the apostolic and Pauline period, careful attention needs to be given to the issue of methodology in attempting to reconstruct the chronology of this period. To begin, it must be recognized that there are essentially only two sources for our knowledge of the Pauline period: the letters of the apostle himself and the events recorded by Luke in the Acts of the Apostles. Most NT scholars today give clear priority to the Pauline letters since Paul himself stands closest to the events he records. It is increasingly recognized that Luke in writing his second volume reshapes many traditions, just as he does in the Gospel, to cohere with his overall theological purpose. Thus, for those scholars who maintain such a view of Luke's purpose, Acts becomes a less useful source for exact chronological information since much of this information has been subjected to a larger theological program. While Acts can still be a valuable source of detailed and accurate information when separated from its programmatic framework, it should never be given priority over the documents stemming from Paul and should only be used when it does not contradict assertions made by the apostle.

Although implementing this critical methodology is, according to its adherents, a requisite of rigorous historical research, its adoption does not make the task of establishing a chronology of the Pauline period easier. If anything, it reveals how tentative and speculative previous attempts have been and how tenuous all reconstructions must be. For when all is said and done, Paul gives us not one specific date. Inevitably, if one is to establish a possible chronology of this period, there will have to be some dependence on Acts. Recognizing this, one should be cautious to use Acts in a way which is both critical and plausible. Yet it must be acknowledged that no matter from what perspective one views the data, *there can be no absolutely definite chronology of this period;* all attempts must be tentative and subject to correction and revision.

All scholars, no matter which chronological option they follow in their reconstruction of Paul's career, find it useful to distinguish carefully between the information found in the Pauline letters and that in the Acts of the Apostles. The first step will be to isolate certain information found in the Pauline correspondence which may have chronological implications.

**3. The Pauline Correspondence.** The information found in these letters might best be summarized in the following way: (a) the revelation of the Risen Jesus to Paul in Damascus (Gal 1:12–16); (b) the visit to Arabia and the return to Damascus (Gal 1:17); (c) "then [*epeita*] after three years" the first visit to Jerusalem for 15 days (Gal 1:18)—the so-called "acquaintance visit"; (d) then (*epeita*) activity in the regions of Syria and Cilicia (Gal 1:21); (e) then (*epeita*) after 14 years a second visit to Jerusalem (Gal 2:1)—the so-called "conference" visit; (f) activity in the churches of Galatia, Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia with special emphasis on the collection of the offering for Jerusalem (Gal 2:10; 1 Cor 16:1–4; 2 Cor 8–9; Rom 15:25–32); and (g) the final visit to Jerusalem (1 Cor 16:3; Rom 15:25–32)—the so-called "offering" visit. Let us examine these individual pieces of information provided by the Pauline letters more closely.

**(a) The revelation of the Risen Jesus to Paul in Damascus (Gal 1:12–16).** This is often referred to as Paul's "conversion," yet one should be most hesitant in using this term since it is not found anywhere in the text. In language reminiscent of prophetic imagery, the apostle declares that the God who had set him apart before he was born "revealed his Son to me, in order that I might preach him among the Gentiles." Most accurately we have here a "commissioning" event—the commissioning of Paul as one who is to preach Jesus Christ to the Gentiles.

In order to understand the context in which these remarks about commissioning, travel, and chronology are made, one must remember that Paul is attempting to document the thesis that "I did not receive it [the gospel] from man, nor was I taught it, but it came through a revelation of Jesus Christ" (Gal 1:12). One aspect of the argument that this Pauline gospel is not dependent on any human authority is for the apostle to insist on his independence from Jerusalem. That is exactly the point which follows upon this "commissioning" scene: "I did not confer with flesh and blood, nor did I go to Jerusalem to those who were apostles before me" (Gal 1:16–17). Not unimportant is to observe the word *eutheos* ("immediately, at once") in the text—"I did not confer *immediately* with flesh and blood." To understand very carefully this context is critical for an accurate perspective in interpreting the information which is to follow in the succeeding verses, viz., that Paul is primarily attempting to show his independence from Jerusalem and not to give detailed chronological information.

**(b) The visit to Arabia and the return to Damascus (Gal 1:17).** To underscore the independence of his gospel and to insist that it came to him through a revelation of Jesus Christ, Paul asserts that following this revelation, he did not go immediately to Jerusalem but rather to Arabia and "again I returned to Damascus" (Gal 1:17). This Pauline description allows one to conclude that the location of the original commissioning was in Damascus, a fact which coheres with the embellished description of this event in the book of Acts (9:3ff.; 22:5ff.; 26:12ff.). How long Paul was in Arabia or why he went there is unknown; how long he spent in Damascus is dependent on how one interprets the "then" of Gal 1:18. From the text before us it is likely to conclude that Paul spent his time in Damascus in the midst of a Christian community, a view that also coheres with the information provided in Acts 9:19–22.

**(c) "Then *[epeita]* after three years" the first visit to Jerusalem for 15 days (Gal 1:18)—the so-called "acquaintance visit."** To what does the "then" refer—to Paul's commissioning or to his return to Damascus? (Of course, if his stay in Arabia was a brief one, as it probably was, the commissioning event and his return to Damascus might be relatively close in time.) However, since this is not the only occurrence of the adverb "then" in the sequence of events to be described in Galatians, the interpretation of this word assumes great importance. Many interpreters see it consistently as referring back to the commissioning event; many others see it as consistently referring back to the immediately preceding event. The latter interpretation is strengthened by the parallel use in 1 Cor 15:6 and 7. Interpreted in this way, Paul remained with other Christians in Damascus for about three years (either two or three as a result of the ancient method of calculation) before making his first visit in Jerusalem since his call to preach Jesus Christ to the Gentiles. In keeping with his main thesis in this section, the apostle describes that he was only in Jerusalem with Cephas (Peter) for 15 days and saw no one else except James the Lord's brother.

**(d) Then *(epeita)* activity in the regions of Syria and Cilicia (Gal 1:21).** In light of what has just been discussed, *epeita* ("then") is likely to refer to the immediately preceding event: "I went to Jerusalem, then I went into the regions of Syria and Cilicia." That the *epeita* refers back to the commissioning event is hardly possible.

The critical question with regard to this verse in Galatians is not, then, the referent of *epeita* but rather what is meant by the reference to the activity in Syria and Cilicia. Syria includes Christian centers in Damascus, the place of Paul's commissioning, and Antioch, an area where, by Paul's own description, he had worked (Gal 2:11) and a city extensively referred to in Acts (11:19; 13:1, 14; 15:22; 18:22). In addition, Cilicia includes Tarsus, which according to Acts 22:3 is Paul's native city. Is the intention of this reference to suggest that Paul spent some 11 to 14 years (see (e) below) only in Syria and Cilicia? Or, given the overall context of Paul's desire to distance himself from Jerusalem, does he merely wish to say

that "then, after leaving from my 15-day stay in Jerusalem, I did not stay around that area but I began moving as far away as Syria and Cilicia" without in any way wishing to suggest that he worked only in this area? How one interprets this reference to Syria and Cilicia will be crucial for the reconstruction of a chronology of the Pauline period. For those scholars who understand the reference to Syria and Cilicia as not limiting Paul's activity to these regions, the apostle was involved in missionary work as far away as Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens, and Corinth very early in his career. They would urge that the reference in Phil 4:15 to "the beginning of the gospel" literally refers to the beginning of Paul's independent missionary work in Philippi and that 1 Thess 3:1 refers to Paul's continuing work during this period in Thessalonica, Athens, and Corinth. This interpretation, to date not the majority one, allows for an "uncrowding" of Paul's missionary work, for the maturing of his apostolic ministry and the development of his theology. Rather than an extended period of some 11 to 14 years in Syria and Cilicia, this perspective allows for the beginnings of the European mission at a much earlier point in his apostolic career and does not reduce the remainder of his activity to such a severely limited time frame. If one accepts this reading of the evidence then it is probable that 1 Thessalonians stems from this period prior to the conference visit in Jerusalem.

**(e) Then *(epeita)*after 14 years a second visit to Jerusalem (Gal 2:1)—the so-called "conference" visit.** In Gal 2:1 Paul indicates that he made this second visit to Jerusalem "by revelation" as opposed to being summoned by any human authorities. At the end of this meeting with James, Cephas, and John, Paul relates how they "gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we should go to the Gentiles and they to the circumcised; only they would have us remember the poor, which very thing I was eager to do" (Gal 2:9–10).

Paul uses *epeita* here for the third time. To what does it refer—back to his commissioning or back to the initiation of his activities in Syria and Cilicia? In view of the remarks made above, the more likely is the latter. Since his work in Syria and Cilicia began so very soon after his brief visit in Jerusalem, the 14-year period can accurately be said to describe the time between the first ("acquaintance") and the second ("conference") visit to Jerusalem.

**(f) Activity in the churches of Galatia, Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia with special emphasis on the collection of the offering for Jerusalem (Gal 2:10; 1 Cor 16:1–4; 2 Cor 8–9; Rom 15:25–32).** A general review of the Pauline letters suggests that his activities in this postconference period were concentrated in Galatia, Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia and that one important focus of the apostle's work was in collecting the offering for the poor in Jerusalem, which was a request made at the end of the Jerusalem meeting with James, Cephas, and John.

The major center for Paul's activities during this period was Ephesus (1 Cor 16:10–11) and it is from here that Galatians, Philippians, Philemon, and 1 Corinthians were written. From here he traveled to Macedonia with Timothy, making a first stop in Philippi (1 Cor 16:5; 2 Cor 2:13) where they met Titus (2 Cor 7:5). If one sees 2 Corinthians as a composite document then it is possible that much, if not all of it, was written from Philippi. From Macedonia, which may have included a stop in Thessalonica, Paul heads on toward Corinth (2 Cor 9:3ff.; 12:4; 13:1). Finally, from Corinth, where the apostle writes Romans, he makes his final trip to Jerusalem.

**(g) The final visit to Jerusalem (1 Cor 16:3; Rom 15:25–32)—the so-called "offering" visit.** The last part of Paul's missionary activities that can be documented from his letters is this final trip to Jerusalem, although Acts continues on beyond Jerusalem until the apostle is placed in Rome. Paul's intention in making this last trip to Jerusalem is to "make some contribution for the poor among the saints at Jerusalem" (Rom 15:26). That Paul is anxious about this trip is evident from his request for the prayers of the Romans "that I may be delivered from the unbelievers in Judea, and that my service for Jerusalem may be acceptable to the saints …" (Rom 15:31). There is no precise indication from the letters concerning the length of the period between the "conference" visit and the "offering" visit to Jerusalem.

The result of this rapid survey of chronological information provided us by the Pauline letters is that only two (other than the reference to 15 days) references are given: three years between the return to Damascus and the first, acquaintance visit in Jerusalem, and 14 years between the first and second visits

to Jerusalem. This is where firsthand information from Paul ceases. From the letters there is no information whatsoever as to the year in which any of these visits or activities take place. The next task is to turn to Acts cautiously and critically to see whether reliable information can be found there which coheres with and does not contradict the primary evidence which has been derived from the Pauline letters.

**4. The Acts of the Apostles.** The relevant information in Acts having a possible bearing on Pauline chronology may be summarized as follows: (a) the revelation of the Lord to Saul and his subsequent commissioning in Damascus (Acts 9:1ff.—but notice the repetition of this event in 22:5 and 26:12); (b) first visit to Jerusalem to meet with the apostles (9:26); (c) preaching in Jerusalem followed by departure for Tarsus (Cilicia) and return to Antioch (9:28–30; 11:25–26); (d) second visit to Jerusalem to bring relief in time of famine (11:29–30; 12:25); (e) activity in Syria, Cyprus, and Galatia (Acts 13–14; the so-called "first missionary journey"); (f) third visit to Jerusalem for the apostolic council (15:1–29); (g) activity in Galatia, Macedonia, Greece, and Asia (15:36–18:21); the so-called "second missionary journey"); (h) fourth visit to Caesarea to greet the church, Jerusalem (?), Galatia, and Phrygia (18:22); (i) activity in Syria, Galatia, Asia, Macedonia, and Greece (18:23–21:14; the so-called "third missionary journey"); and (j) fifth (final) visit to Jerusalem (21:11ff.).

In order to compare this information with that found in the Pauline letters and to resolve the apparent contradiction concerning the number of visits to Jerusalem, it will be useful to examine this outline of Acts more closely.

**(a) The revelation of the Lord to Saul and his subsequent commissioning in Damascus (Acts 9:1ff.; 22:5ff.; and 26:12ff.).** Although Luke greatly embellishes the material found in Galatians 1, this event corresponds to item 3. (a) in the Pauline correspondence (see above).

**(b) First visit to Jerusalem to meet with the apostles (9:26).** This information coheres well with item 3. (c) above.

**(c) Preaching in Jerusalem followed by departure for Tarsus (Cilicia) and return to Antioch (9:28–30; 11:25–26).** This agrees only partially with item 3. (d) above in terms of the departure, and then differs substantially with the letters in terms of a return to Antioch followed by item (b), the second visit to Jerusalem.

**(d) Second visit to Jerusalem to bring relief in time of famine (11:29–30; 12:25).** There is no parallel for such a visit in the Pauline letters. This reference to a visit to Jerusalem is one of the two additional visits to Jerusalem which is described by Acts. When we discuss item (j) (below), we will observe that Luke gives no reason for this final visit to Jerusalem, a visit which in the letters is clearly described as the offering visit. One solution to the extra visits in Acts would be to suggest that the final offering visit is moved to this much earlier and likely incorrect position of Acts. Some (Knox, Lüdemann) would argue that although the tension between Jewish and Gentile Christians continued and perhaps intensified even into the last stages of Paul's apostolic ministry, Luke wished to suggest that these differences were essentially overcome at an early date. This is the real motivation for Luke's rearrangement and modification of Paul's visits to Jerusalem.

**(e) Activity in Syria, Cyprus, and Galatia (Acts 13–14; the so-called "first missionary journey").** It is difficult to coordinate Acts (c), (d), and (g) with Paul's (d) above. Given our previous discussion that for Paul the reference to Syria and Cilicia was possibly only the starting point for activities that took him as far as Macedonia and Achaia, then it appears that Luke is fragmenting one longer visit into some smaller ones so that the Jerusalem visits can be rearranged according to his schema.

**(f) Third visit to Jerusalem for the apostolic council (15:1–29).** The majority of NT scholars today would hold that this visit to Jerusalem corresponds with item 3. (e) above, the so-called "conference" visit, although holding that Galatians describes a private meeting between Paul and the Jerusalem authorities, while Acts intends to describe a more public form of this meeting. If this correspondence is abandoned, then one is faced with a "jungle of problems" (Haenchen) as well as a jungle of solutions. These include: (1) Gal 2:1–10 does not describe the same Pauline visit to Jerusalem as Acts 15. Rather, the meeting referred to in Galatians is to be identified with the visit in Acts 11:27–30 (the famine visit) or

with 18:22 or with a visit not mentioned in Acts. (2) Gal 2:1–5 and 6–11 represent separate Pauline visits to Jerusalem, which are then identified with any of the three to five visits to Jerusalem by Paul described in Acts.

If one holds to the majority identification of Acts 15 with Galatians 2, then for Luke this is a third visit to Jerusalem while for Paul only a second. In view of the fact that in Acts 18:22 [ (h)] that visit to Jerusalem is totally unmotivated and fits into its context very awkwardly, it has been suggested that the original location for this visit was at 18:22 and that Luke retrojected it back to chapter 15 [ (f)] for theological reasons: for the sake of the unity of the church this controversy had to be settled early, before he went to Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Achaia. If this suggestion is correct, then after the elimination of (d) and (f), the activities described by Luke in (c), (e), and (g) all fall into place as part of one "missionary journey."

**(g) Activity in Galatia, Macedonia, Greece, and Asia (15:36–18:21; the so-called "second missionary journey").** As we have noted, it is possible that (c), (e), and (g) are part of what took place during the 14-year activity described by Paul in item 3. (d) above.

**(h) Fourth visit to Caesarea to greet the church, Jerusalem (?), Galatia, and Phrygia.** Aside from the fact that no reason whatsoever is given why Paul "went up and greeted the church" (Acts 18:22) it is striking that in Acts 18:21 Paul is in Ephesus and then in v 24, after having traveled to Caesarea, probably Jerusalem (many commentators argue that it is unlikely that the original, pre-Lukan itinerary did not mention a visit to Jerusalem if Paul had already traveled as far as Caesarea), Antioch, and through the region of Galatia and Phrygia (all in three verses!), he is back in Ephesus. It is indeed possible that 18:22 was the original location for the conference visit which is now described in Acts 15:1–29 [ (f.)]

**(i) Activity in Syria, Galatia, Asia, Macedonia, and Greece (18:23–21:14; the so-called "third missionary journey").** This material coheres well with item (f) in the Pauline section (above), although it is noteworthy that Luke eliminates what was so prominent for Paul in this period of his apostolic ministry: the collection. At this point one notes the consistency of Luke: not only does he eliminate the real reason for the final visit to Jerusalem in 21:11ff., viz., to present the collection in Jerusalem, but he also omits the collection as a primary objective during Paul's final activity in the areas described here in (i).

**(j) Fifth (final) visit to Jerusalem (21:11ff.)** As we have already observed, this final visit is in agreement with Paul's final visit described in item 3. (g), although Luke omits the association with the offering and, as we suggested previously, retrojects this motivation to (d) (Acts 11:29–30; 12:25)—the "famine" visit.

However one resolves the differences between the Acts account of Paul's activities and Paul's own account—and we have suggested only one general possibility here—all scholars will have to acknowledge that these apparent contradictions require explanation. Although a comparison of those events in the Pauline literature and Acts which have possible chronological implications have allowed an overview of their similarities and dissimilarities, one is still not in possession of concrete and precise chronological data. Therefore, it will be necessary to examine Acts to see what other specific data it may provide and whether such evidence may be useful for determining the more exact limits of Pauline chronology, remembering the cautionary remarks already made concerning the transference of such information.

**5. Chronological Information Provided by Luke. a. The Gallio Inscription and the Edict of Claudius.** Reference is made in Acts 18:12 to Paul's visit to Corinth: "But when Gallio was proconsul of Achaia, the Jews made a united attack upon Paul and brought him before the tribunal …" Although the precise details, implications, and context of the events described are disputed, there is little doubt that Paul made one of his visits to Corinth at the time that Gallio was proconsul of the province of Achaia; most scholars place Gallio's term of office in the years A.D. 51–52 in light of the epigraphical evidence now in hand. While at first glance Acts 18:12 appears straightforward, caution must be exercised: was Paul's visit to Corinth in the vicinity of A.D. 51–52 his first visit or does it refer to a subsequent one? Acts 18 may well conflate two or more Pauline visits to that city into one. Among the several factors pointing in this direction is the fact that in Acts 18:8 Crispus is the ruler of the synagogue and in 18:17 the

reference is to Sosthenes as the ruler of the synagogue. It is fully possible that if Acts 18 is conflating at least two visits of Paul to Corinth that he may well have been in the city at a much earlier date.

Another piece of information relating to secular history mentioned in Acts and which may be useful in reconstructing Pauline chronology is the reference to the edict of Claudius in Acts 18:2. There it is stated: "After this he left Athens and went to Corinth. And he found a Jew named Aquila, a native of Pontus, lately come from Italy with his wife Priscilla, because Claudius had commanded all the Jews to leave Rome. And he went to see them …" It is likely that Suetonius (*Claud* 25) is referring to this edict: "*Iudaios impulsore Chresto adsidue tumultuantes Roma expulit.*" Since Suetonius does not date this edict, one cannot be certain whether it is referring to one issued by Claudius in A.D. 41 or whether it is referring to disturbances later in his reign. Those who would argue against the early dating cite Dio Cassius' reference (60.6.6) that the large number of Jews effectively ruled out their expulsion and point to Orosius' reference (7.6.15) that the edict occurred in Claudius' 9th year (= A.D. 49). Yet these references in themselves do not settle the issue. In the first place, there need not be any contradiction between Dio Cassius' assertions and Luke's characteristically exaggerated use of *pas* (the Lukan "all") in Acts 18:2 and elsewhere. Further, there is the critical issue about the reliability of the information provided by Orosius, a 5th-century church historian.

If the Claudius edict is dated in A.D. 41 then one would have strong evidence for the dating of Paul's first visit to the city at some point after the arrival of Aquila and Priscilla from Italy. If the more usual dating of this edict in the year A.D. 49 is to be accepted, this in and of itself would not speak against an earlier visit of Paul to Corinth, for it is difficult to know how thoroughgoing is the conflation in Acts 18. For example, a case could be made that Acts 18:1 had its original continuation in v 5 and that vv 2–4 are a retrojection made from a later period.

To place Paul's first arrival in Corinth as early as A.D. 41 is possible; yet some flexibility is in order since one does not know how long it took Aquila and Priscilla to travel to Corinth, nor if they went there directly. On this reckoning Paul's original visit to Corinth may have taken place sometime between the approximate period of A.D. 41–44. Additionally, it is most probable that he was also in Corinth during the years that Gallio was proconsul in A.D. 51–52. Some would place a visit by Paul to Corinth, usually his first, just before the Jerusalem Conference (Jewett 1979) and some just after (Lüdemann 1984—an intermediate visit). Thus, the Jerusalem Conference would be dated either in *ca.* A.D. 50–51 or A.D. 52. If his first visit to Jerusalem was 14 years before this conference visit, the date of that first visit would be between *ca.* A.D. 36–38, and his commissioning three years prior to the first visit would then be placed between *ca.* A.D. 33–35. Since in the view of this writer it is more likely that Paul was in Galatia, rather than Corinth, prior to the Jerusalem Conference, the first sequence of dates is preferred: *ca.* A.D. 33, commissioning of Paul; *ca.* A.D. 36, Paul's first visit to Jerusalem; *ca.* A.D. 50, the Jerusalem Conference; *ca.* A.D. 50–52, intermediate visit to Corinth.

**b. Aretas.** In 2 Cor 11:32–33 Paul states that at "Damascus, the governor [Greek: the ethnarch of] under King Aretas guarded the city of Damascus in order to seize me, but I was let down in a basket through a window in the wall, and escaped his hands." The king referred to is Aretas (Arabic *ḥarita*) IV, who reigned at Petra over the Nabataean Arabs from 9 B.C. to A.D. 40. Although his kingdom extended to the vicinity of Damascus and although this city had been subject to his predecessors until the Romans took control of the city in B.C. 64, there is no definitive way of knowing when Damascus became subject to Aretas. One recent proposal (Jewett) suggests that such control over Damascus was only given to Aretas in A.D. 37. If this is the case, then the *terminus a quo* for the references in 2 Cor 11:32–33 would be A.D. 37 and the *terminus ad quem* would be A.D. 40, the year of Aretas' death. Yet, the text in no way suggests that Aretas controlled Damascus nor is this in any way necessary. 2 Corinthians 11 asserts only that this leader was the representative (*513 ethnarches*—ethnarch) of King Aretas. In this case no *terminus a quo* can be reached. All that can be asserted is that this event took place before A.D. 40.

The "governor" (ethnarch) to whom Paul refers was, in all likelihood, the leader of the semiautonomous Nabataean community in Damascus, a community which had been organized as an *ethnos* within the city, much as the Jews of Damascus would have been organized following the pattern of the Jews in

Alexandria, viz., functioning as an *ethnos* within the city and under the leadership of an ethnarch (Strab. 17.798; Jos. *Ant* 14.117). In Gal 1:17 it is asserted that immediately following his call to proclaim the gospel to the Gentiles, Paul "went away into Arabia" (presumably to evangelize the Nabataeans) and thereafter "returned to Damascus." Presumably the Nabataean community in Damascus and their leader took this opportunity to express their displeasure at the apostle's activity in the territory of the Nabataean Arabs.

A similar account is found in Acts 9:23–25. There is, however, one substantial difference: in Acts it is the Jews, while in 2 Corinthians it is the ethnarch of the Nabataeans, who plots against Paul. Given the well-documented emphasis of Luke to portray the Jews as those hostile to the early Christian mission, the account of Paul is to be preferred.

**c. The Great Famine under Claudius.** In Acts 11:28 Luke writes that "one of them named Agabus stood up and foretold by the Spirit that there would be a great famine over all the world; and this took place in the days of Claudius." This event is cited as the background of the first collection for the relief of the Jerusalem church. Although both Suetonius (*Claud* 19) and Tacitus (*Ann* 12.43) refer to widespread scarcity under Claudius, there was no famine over "all the world" under Claudius; this phrase is undoubtedly an exaggeration. Either Acts is referring to a more local crisis or it has intentionally retrojected an event which took place after A.D. 51 to this early point in the narrative.

**d. The Death of Herod Agrippa I.** The death of Herod Agrippa I, which occurred in A.D. 44, is mentioned in Acts 12:23. The narrative continues in v 25 with the reference that "Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem when they had fulfilled their mission …" This is certainly redactional and provides no firm chronological information.

**e. Sergius Paulus.** During the time that Paul and Barnabas were in Paphos on the island of Cyprus, they encountered a certain Bar-Jesus who "was with the proconsul, Sergius Paulus" (Acts 13:7). Unfortunately the extant sources are ambiguous and do not provide a precise date for this proconsul's term of office. It has been shown that the famous inscription from Soli (D. G. Hogarth, *Devia Cypria,* 114) on the north coast of Cyprus, which refers to a certain Proconsul Paulus, should probably be identified with Paullus Fabius Maximus, who was a consul in 11 B.C. Among the various inscriptions which may refer to a Sergius Paulus there is one from Pisidian Antioch with the name L. Sergius Paullus; however it is dated between A.D. 60–100. Another inscription (*CIL* VI 31 545) placed in Rome between A.D. 41–47 also refers to a certain L. Sergius Paullus who was the Curator of the Tiber; however, this reference does not specifically relate him to Cyprus. If he went to Cyprus after serving as one of the Curators of the Tiber, perhaps in the late thirties, this time frame would coincide with what we know elsewhere about Paul's travels.

**f. The Trials under Felix and Festus.** Acts 23:23–24:27 relate Paul's trial and imprisonment under M. Antonius Felix, procurator of Palestine. According to 24:27 the minimum period of time which elapsed was two years. The continuation of this situation is recounted in Acts 25:1–26:32. Here Porcius Festus has succeeded Felix; in addition, Paul has an opportunity to present his case to King Herod Agrippa II. If the testimony of Josephus (*JW* 2.12.8; *Ant* 20.7.1) is accepted, Felix arrived in Palestine during the summer of A.D. 53 and continued in office until the summer of A.D. 55 when he was succeeded by Festus. This would place the trial of Paul in the year A.D. 55. But once again the evidence is contradictory (cf. Tacitus *Ann.* 12.54) and it is possible that Festus succeeded Felix at a later date and a *terminus ad quem* of A.D. 60–61 has been argued (Jewett 1979). This later dating is supported by Plooij's reading of Eusebius' *Chronicle* where the transfer of the procuratorship is placed in the 10th year of Agrippa II (A.D. 59). If this later dating is accepted, it would cohere nicely with the view that Ananias, the high priest who censured Paul during his appearance before the Sanhedrin (Acts 23:1–5; 24:1), was probably replaced as high priest by Agrippa II in A.D. 59 (Josephus *Ant* 20§179).

**6. Summary.** Given the range of dates just discussed in Acts and the approach championed by J. Knox and most recently especially by G. Lüdemann, an alternative chronology to that given in Table 2 would be as follows, once again remembering that advocates of a similar approach may vary from another in some

details. Since this approach insists on the radical priority of the Pauline correspondence, it is important to follow the sequence of events found in the Pauline letters.

Table 3

| *Event* | *Date (A.D.)* |
|---|---|
| 1. The revelation of the Risen Jesus to Paul in Damascus (Gal 1:12–16) | *ca.* 33 |
| 2. The visit to Arabia and the return to Damascus (Gal 1:17) | *ca.* 33 |
| 3. "Then *[epeita]* after three years" the first visit to Jerusalem for 15 days (Gal 1:18)—the so-called "acquaintence visit" | *ca.* 36 |
| 4. Then *(epeita)* activity in the regions of Syria and Cilicia (and beyond) (Gal 1:21) | *ca.* 36–50 |
| 5. Then *(epeita)* after 14 years a second visit to Jerusalem (Gal 2:1)—the so-called "conference visit" | *ca.* 50 |
| 6. Activity in the churches of Galatia, Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia with special emphasis on the collection of the offering for Jerusalem (Gal 2:10; 1 Cor 16:1–4; 2 Cor 8–9; Rom 15:25–32) | *ca.* 50–56 |
| 7. The final visit to Jerusalem (1 Cor 16:3; Rom 15:25–32)—the so-called "offering visit" | *ca.* 56–57 |

If one were to assume that the general sequence of the subsequent events outlined in Acts is accurate—two-year Caesarean imprisonment, hearing before Festus, and arrival in Rome—then the dates *ca.* A.D. 57–59 for the first of these and a date of *ca.* A.D. 60 for Paul's arrival in Rome would agree with the parameters of possible dates reviewed above.

While the traditional dating exhibited in Table 2 is still held by many, the chronology itemized in Table 3 is a viable alternative. It has these advantages: it incorporates the recent redaction-critical studies of Luke-Acts in its analysis; it eliminates the long and problematic "silent period" early in Paul's career and intelligently explains the shape of Paul's apostolic activity in that period; it "uncrowds" the entire career of the apostle and provides the context for a ministry that actively spanned a much longer period, thus allowing for the possibility of growth and development both in the apostolic ministry and theology of Paul. Such an approach would allow one to more readily speak of an "early Paul" and a "late Paul," and it would permit placing the concrete, contingent letters of Paul against a broader and wider spectrum of time and activity resulting in a more coherent understanding of the theology of this often complex and paradoxical apostle.

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KARL P. DONFRIED

**CHURCHES, SEVEN.** See SEVEN CHURCHES.

**CHUSI** (PLACE) [Gk *Chous* (Χους)]. A site mentioned in the book of Judith, whose exact location is unknown (Jdt 7:18). The name "Chusi" appears only here in the biblical literature. It may possibly be identified with the modern village of Quzeh (M.R. 174171), six miles south of Nablus, which, as Torrey points out, is on the direct road to Jerusalem. However, that location ignores the verse's specific reference to the Wadi Makhmur ("near Chusi beside the brook Mochmur"). Taking that into consideration, Aharoni and Avi-Yonah (*MBA*) identify Chusi with modern Kuzi on the Wadi Makhmur, one of the tributaries of the Jarkon river. See MOCHMUR (PLACE). Of course, given the genre of the book of JUDITH, it is entirely possible that the name is fictitious.

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SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**CHUZA** (PERSON) [Gk *Chouzas* (Χουζας)]. A steward (*epitropos*) of Herod Antipas whose wife, Joanna, followed Jesus and supported him with her means (Luke 8:3). Most likely, Chuza was Herod's business manager, but he may have been some kind of political appointee since the Gk term for "steward" may refer to a political office. The fact that the name "Chuza" occurs in Nabatean and Syrian inscriptions (see Fitzmyer *Luke 1–11* AB, 698) may mean that Chuza was a Nabatean married to a Jewish woman. Chuza may have been the royal officer who, along with his entire household, believed after Jesus healed his son from a distance (John 4:46–53). If this were the case, it might help explain why Chuza permitted his wife to travel with Jesus and minister to his needs. The special knowledge of Herod and his court reflected in Luke may have come through Chuza. Luke's mention of Chuza and his wife offers evidence of Christianity within the aristocracy from the very beginning (Marshall *Luke* NIGTC, 317).

VIRGIL R. L. FRY

**CILICIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Kilikia* (Κιλικια)]. A province mentioned in Judith 1:12; 2:21–25 as an object of the ire of Nebuchadnezzar, who dispatched his general Holofernes with the army to punish the inhabitants for their insubordination. It is later mentioned in 1 Macc 11:14 as the location where Alexander Balas had gone to put down a rebellion and in his absence, Ptolemy usurped his throne. In the NT, the province is most noted as the homeland of the apostle Paul (Acts 21:39; 22:3; 23:34), and which was included in some of his evangelistic efforts (Gal 1:21–23; cf. Acts 15:23, 41).

Cilicia is on the SE coast of Anatolia and consists of two major divisions: Cilicia Tracheia (or Aspera) in the mountainous region W of the Lamus River as far as Syedra in Pamphylia, and Cilicia Campestris (or Pedias), the fertile plain S of the Taurus and W of the Amanus mountains. A limestone ridge, Cebilinur, running S from the Taurus to the coast at Karatas, divides the plain into an E section, where are located Misis and Anazarbus, and a larger W section, accommodating Adana, Tarsus, and Mersin.

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A. Geography
B. Prehistory and Bronze Age
C. Iron Age
D. Persian Empire and Hellenistic Period
E. Roman Period

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**A. Geography**

Cilicia Campestris is a well watered alluvial plain formed by the deposits of the Ceyhan River (ancient Pyramus) in the E and the Seyhan and Tarsus Cay (Sarus and Cydnus Rivers) in the W. The Göksu (Calycadnus) flows through Cilicia Aspera reaching the Mediterranean at Selifke (ancient Seleucia on Calycadnus). These rivers made Cilicia a fertile region for producing grapes, cereals, grain, and flax in ancient times. In ancient times Cilicia had additional economic importance because of its access to rich metal producing areas in the Taurus and Anti-Taurus mountains. The plain also provides a comparatively

easy link between Syria-Mesopotamia to the E and Cappadocia-Phrygia on the Anatolian plateau to the N and W. The Bahce and Beilan Passes, the former being more frequently used in ancient times, provided access to Syria through the Amanus mountains. The Anatolian interior is usually reached from Cilicia through the Taurus mountains at the Cilicia Gates, but also from Selifke up the Göksu River, and passes in the watershed of the Seyhan River N into E Cappadocia in the Anti-Taurus mountains. These passes, the fertile plain, and the proximity of metal ores in the surrounding mountains gave Cilicia strategic importance in ancient times. The excavations at Mersin and Tarsus testify to the long and continuous habitation of the Cilician plain. Numerous ancient mounds extending along a trunk line from the Bahce pass westward to the Lamus River with northern branches from Misis along the Seyhan River and from Tarsus toward the Cilicia Gates indicate extensive village occupation as well as the use of Cilicia as a link between Cappadocia and Syria throughout the ancient period (Seton-Williams 1954).

**B. Prehistory and Bronze Age**

In the Neolithic period, cultural influences from the Konya plain in the N and from Syria in the E are both apparent in the archaeological strata at Mersin and Tarsus. Cilicia appears to have been a cultural and political crossroad for the Bronze Age as well. Sargon of Akkad, the founder of the first Mesopotamian empire (ca. 2370 B.C.) claimed to control the NW regions as far as Cedar Forest and Silver Mountain. The latter could be any one of several rich silver deposits in the mountain perimeter N of the Cilician plain, while Cedar Forest is likely the Amanus mountains. In the 17th century B.C., the Hittite king, Ḫattušilis I (ca. 1650–1620), marched through Cilicia, and may have been responsible for the artificial rock cut which resulted in the present passage through the Taurus mountains at the Cilician Gates. Hittite domination in this region declined following the reign of Muršili I (ca. 1620–1595), and Hurrians pushed into Cilicia.

In the LB Age Cilicia briefly was ruled by independent kings, at least three of whom were allied by parity treaties with Hittite kings who referred to the region of E Cilicia as Kizzuwatna. Finally in the reign of Šunaššrua of Kizzuwatna, Cilicia became a vassal kingdom in the Hittite empire then ruled by Šuppiluliuma (ca. 1375–1335). The Amarna letters from Egypt, as well as the letters from Ugarit, reflect an interest in Cilician. Analysis of ceramic evidence from Tarsus and elsewhere in Cilicia for this period suggests a Mycenaean presence with close contact with the Mycenaean mainland especially in the Late Helladic III C period (Mee 1978).

**C. Iron Age**

In the early Iron Age, Cilicia appears to have had a cultural and social pattern similar to other small, contemporary Neo-Hittite states which emerged throughout SE Anatolia, Syria, and N Mesopotamia, whose development was triggered by the collapse of the LB Age empires, population migrations, and invasions. The E plain of Cilicia appears to have been inhabited by a mixed population including Hurrian, Luwian, and Phoenician elements.

This condition is illustrated by the bilingual inscription found at Karatepe in the hills NE of the Cilician plain where the Taurus mountains meet the Amanus. The inscription is on stone steles and sculptures which line two gateways to a fortress citadel, and is written in hieroglyphic Hittite (a script used to write the Luwian language) and in Phoenician. Its Phoenician text is the longest Phoenician inscription found to date. The inscription and associated sculptures have been variously dated from the 9th to the 7th centuries B.C. While some of the material found at Karatepe may date to the 9th century, it is most likely that the inscription and its author, Azatiwatas, date to the late 8th or early 7th century B.C. (Winter 1979; Hawkins and Davies 1978).

The independent Neo-Hittite states of Cilicia, like other similar small states in the surrounding regions were eventually annexed into the Assyrian Empire in the 7th century B.C. The Assyrians called the Cilician plain *Que,* and part of the mountain perimeter to the N and W *Ḫilakku*. Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.) was the first Assyrian king to subjugate Cilicia after several annual campaigns against its border defenses. Cilicia continued to be a difficult region to control because of local resistance and the interest taken in the area by Phrygia, Urartu, Phoenician, and Greek traders and colonists who wanted to limit Assyria's power. Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) used Cilicia as the base for extensive military campaigns into the Anatolian interior which resulted in the submission of the Phrygian king to Assyria (Postgate 1973).

With the collapse of the Assyrian Empire, a period of political balance ensued between Lydia, Egypt, Neo-Babylonia, and Media. The treaty on the Halys River in 585 B.C. between Lydia and Media which was arbitrated by Labynetus, a Babylonian, and Syennesis of Cilicia illustrates the political balance of this period (Hdt. 1.74). Possibly at this time Cilicia or parts of it became politically independent. But Neo-Babylonian sources indicate that the Cilician plain (*Ḫume* in Neo-Babylonian) was under Babylonian control. From this territory Babylonia obtained high quality iron. Nebuchadnezzar conquered the Cilician plain ca. 592 B.C., and Neriglissar reasserted Babylonian control over the region in 557/556 B.C., not long before Cyrus the Great brought Cilicia into the Persian Empire.

**D. Persian Empire and Hellenistic Period**

In the 5th century B.C., the Persians controlled Cilicia through a series of semi-independent vassal kings called Syennesis, and this region served as a mobilization area for military expeditions against the Danube region, Ionia, and Greece. The seizure of Cilicia was an important phase of the expedition of Cyrus the Younger in his revolt against his brother, Artaxerxes, in 401. As a result of Syennessis's cooperation with Cyrus, Cilicia was annexed as a province (satrapy) to the Persian Empire. During the 4th century B.C., a series of satrap generals issued coins in Cilicia which were used to pay mercenary soldiers and other military expenses. The legends of these coins are written either in Greek or Aramaic.

The occupation of Cilicia was also a crucial phase of Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire. In addition to the good fortune of taking the undefended Cilician Gates, Alexander also fought his first battle against Darius III at Issus on the E edge of the Cilician plain in 333 B.C. The Macedonian king established his first imperial mint outside of Macedonia at Tarsus, the site of Persian satrapal mints as well as the capital of this Persian province. During the struggles of the successors of Alexander (Diodochi), Cilicia often played a military or financial role because of its strategic location between Asia Minor and Syria, its coastal position, and proximity to silver deposits in the surrounding mountains.

In the Hellenistic period, the Seleucids acquired control of the Cilician plain but were challenged by the Ptolemies for possession of Cilicia Tracheia during the 3d century. Antiochus III's naval expedition in 197 eclipsed Ptolemic influence on the W coast of Cilicia. With the Treaty of Apamea, Antiochus retained control of both districts of Cilicia, but had restricted access to Cilicia Tracheia because his naval activity was limited to the coast E of the Calycadnus River. The Cilician plain remained under Seleucid control for the next hundred years. The Seleucid kings pursued a continuous policy of urbanization and hellenization in Cilicia, with many of its towns receiving names in honor of their Seleucid patrons. Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164) was especially active in this regard, adding to the already hellenized Tarsus (Antiocheia-on-Cydnus), Mopsuestia (Seleucia-on-Pyramus), and Silifke (Seleucia-on-Calycadnus) the towns of Adana (Antiocheia-on-Sarus), Mallus/Magarsus (Antiocheia-on-Pyramus), Oeniandus (Epiphaneia), and Castabala (Heiropolis). Seleucid control over Cilicia weakened after Antiochus IV, and Cilicia Tracheia came increasingly under the influence of local lords engaged in brigandage who were secure in their mountain fortresses. This region was geographically conducive to outlaws on land as well as by sea (Strabo 14.671). Pirates exploited the timber in the mountains and the numerous small protected coves along the coast with fertile valleys nearby. The region became so infested with pirates that "Cilician" became practically synonymous with "pirate" (Appian, *Mith.* 92).

**E. Roman Period**

Pompey annexed Cilicia Tracheia into the Roman empire during his campaign against the Mediterranean pirates in 67 B.C. He colonized defeated pirates in Cilicia Campestris at Soloi (refounded as Polpeiopolis), Mallus, Epiphaneia, and Adana, and annexed the Cilician plain at the conclusion of the war against Mithridates VI, king of Pontus. The two regions of Cilicia were joined to the already existing province of Cilicia which consisted of Pamphylia and Isauria. The region E of the Pyramus River remained under control of Rome's friend and ally, the local dynast Tarcondimotus, whose capital was at Castabala (Hieropolis-on-Pyramus).

Roman republican administration of Cilicia was generally corrupt despite the best efforts of the provincial governor, Marcus T. Cicero (51 B.C.), to rectify the maladministration of his predecessor. Conditions in the province worsened during the Roman civil wars which were largely fought in the E.

Cassius imposed severe economic penalties on Tarsus in 43 B.C., and political instability, severe requisitions, and taxes followed Mark Antony's gift of Cilicia Aspera to Cleopatra. By the early principate, Cilicia Aspera was joined to the province of Lycaonia while the Cilician plain was linked to Syria. Two client kings ruled portions of Cilicia: the temple state of Olba in the W, while the region E of the Pyramus came under the control of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, following the death of Tarcondimotus.

The emperor Vespasian joined Cilicia Tracheia and Campestris to form the province of Cilicia. This emperor as well as Trajan improved roads in Cilicia connecting this region to its neighboring provinces. The Flavians and Antonines promoted urbanization and hellenization within the province, and Hadrian and Antoninus Pius enlarged Cilicia with the addition of Lycaonia and Isauria. These policies were probably designed to strengthen Cilicia's military functions within the empire's defensive system. Road improvements in the reign of Alexander Severus (ca. A.D. 230) further strengthened Cilicia as a conduit for troop movements and a source of military provisions. Many of the governors of the province are known from the Flavian through the Severan dynasties, and a study has been made of their previous and subsequent positions in the imperial administration (Pflaum 1966).

Following the capture of Valerian by the Persians, about A.D. 260, this new aggressive enemy of Rome overran the provinces of Syria and Cilicia. These provinces were recovered for Rome as a result of the counterattacks of Callistus (or Ballista) who was in charge of Roman military supply at Samosata. Due to his efforts, the Roman frontier was restored on the upper Euphrates—part of a broader policy of restoration accomplished by the barracks emperors of the late 3d century culminating in the imperial reunification and reforms of Constantine (A.D. 306–37). As part of these reforms, the administration of Cilicia was divided with Cilicia Tracheia becoming part of the province of Isauria, while the Cilician plain constituted the province of Cilicia. Both Isauria and Cilicia belonged to the diocese of Oriens which also included Arabia, Palestine, Syria, and NW Mesopotamia.

References in the NT to Cilicia consistently link it to Syria reflecting the administrative unity of these two areas during the early principate (Acts 15:23, 41; Gal 1:21; also Acts 27:5). The apostle Paul came from Tarsus, and probably belonged to a prominent Jewish family of that city, holding both local and Roman citizenship (Woloch 1973). The fact that he was a tent maker fits with other evidence which indicated that textile manufacturing was an important industry in Tarsus during the Roman period.

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**CIMMERIANS** [Gk *Kimmerioi* (Κιμμεριοι)]. The Greek name of a group of Indo-European nomadic people possibly to be identified with the descendants of the biblical Gomer in the "Table of Nations" (Gen 10:2–3) and mentioned as providing part of the forces of Gog (Ezek 38:6). The Cimmerians, as they are called in Classical literature, lived on the steppes of Russia. Josephus wrongly equates the Gomerians with the Celtic Galatians (*Ant* 1.123). Homer indicates that the Cimmerians were from a foggy land possibly located along the northern shore of the Black Sea on the Crimean peninsula (*Od.* 11.13–19; cf. Strabo 7.4.3).

There is much debate over the history of the Cimmerians prior to the 8th century B.C. It is thought that they occupied the steppes north of the Caucasus Mountains from the 18th to the 13th century B.C. Then it is likely that they moved south to the area of the Caucasus mountain range and resided there from the 13th

to the 8th century B.C. The Cimmerians were pushed south from the Ukraine region of Russia by the Scythians who, in turn, were being pressed westward by other peoples from farther east.

Several cuneiform texts from the late 8th to the early 7th centuries B.C. record Cimmerian conflicts with Urartu and the Assyrians. The Cimmerians attacked the Urartians twice, once during the reign of Rusa I, king of Urartu (734–714 B.C.) and a second time in 707 B.C. These attacks weakened the Urartians and allowed the Cimmerians to move farther west into eastern Turkey. The threat of the Cimmerians worried the Assyrians and an elderly Sargon II (722–705 B.C.) led an attack against them during his campaign in Tabal. In 679 B.C. Esarhaddon managed to defeat them near Tabal.

The conflict with the Assyrians caused most of the Cimmerians to move further west to central Anatolia. There they attacked Sinope, a Greek colony located along the shore of the Black Sea. In ca. 676 B.C. they destroyed Gordion, the capital of the Phrygian kingdom and home of the legendary King Midas. Strabo records that Midas, distraught over the defeat, committed suicide by drinking bull's blood (Strabo 1.61).

The Cimmerians led three attacks against Gyges, king of the Lydians, the first being between 668 and 665 B.C. It was after this first attack that Gyges pleaded for military aid from the Assyrians. The second Cimmerian attack against Lydia came in 657 B.C. The death of Gyges and the fall of Sardis, the Lydian capital city, came as a result of the third and final Cimmerian attack. The Cimmerians pushed on into Ionia and attacked Smyrna, Magnesia, and Ephesus.

The Cimmerians, under the leadership of Lygdamis (Strabo 1.61; known as Tugdamme in cuneiform sources), then attacked Cilicia in southeastern Turkey. The Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (668–631 B.C.), reportedly killed Tugdamme in battle. Shandakshatru, the son of Tugdamme, then submitted to Assyrian authority and the Cimmerians were no longer an independent entity. The name *Gimmiraia*, however, survives in the Akkadian portion of the Behistun inscription. Cappadocia, later called Gomir by the Armenians, may have been the home of some Cimmerians after their submission to the Assyrians.

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JOHN D. WINELAND

**CINNAMON.** See PERFUMES AND SPICES; FLORA.

**CIRCUMCISION.** In the ancient Near East circumcision was widely practiced in two distinct forms: certain classes of Egyptian men, especially priests, slit the foreskin to let it hang free; many men from western Semitic groups in Syria and Palestine removed the foreskin altogether. The origins of the practice are irretrievable. Herodotus (5th century B.C.E.) speculated that circumcision had originated in Egypt and then moved E and N around the Mediterranean to Phoenicia. Although his view prevailed among modern scholars until recently, archaeological discoveries have required a reassessment of the evidence. Depictions of Syrian warriors circumcised in the W Semitic manner unearthed in Syria and Egypt date from early in the 3d millennium B.C.E. (Sasson 1966: 473–76). The Egyptian practice of circumcision first surfaces in the 23d century: a stele describes a group rite in which 120 men were circumcised (*ANET,* 326). On the basis of this evidence, Sasson argued that the practice began among NW Semites and moved S where Egyptians adapted it. His assessment accounts for the data currently available.

Hebrews adopted the W Semitic practice of circumcision as they moved into Palestine (Genesis 17; Josh 5:2–9). Because circumcision occupied a central place in the Hebrew sense of cultural and religious identity, each generation had to appropriate and interpret it. As a result, the Hebrew understanding of the rite's significance became extraordinarily rich. The subject divides neatly into three divisions: Hebrew writings, Jewish writings authored between Alexander's conquest (333 B.C.E.) and the Bar Kokhba Revolt (132–35 C.E.), and early Christian writings.

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A. Hebrew Writings

1. Circumcision behind the Stories

2. The Bloody Bridegroom (Exod 4:24–26)
3. Circumcision of Abraham
4. Circumcisions at Gilgal (Josh 5:2–9)

B. Greek and Roman Periods to the Bar Kokhba Revolt
1. Consolidating Circumcision
2. Explaining Circumcision to the Greeks
3. Neglecting Circumcision

C. Early Christians and Circumcision
1. Circumcision Is Necessary
2. Circumcision Is Irrelevant
3. Jews Should Circumcise; Gentiles Should Not
4. Literal Circumcision Is Abolished
5. Circumcision Used Positively

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**A. Hebrew Writings**

The stories concerning circumcision as told in the Hebrew scriptures already show the richness which results from long reflection. Differing conceptions intertwine below the surface of these stories. Although disentangling these conceptions will not suffice to interpret the stories from which they come, it can isolate ideas significant for the Hebrew understanding of circumcision.

**1. Circumcision behind the Stories.** Circumcision was a marriage or fertility rite. Israelites cannot marry Shechemites until Shechem circumcises himself and all his men (Genesis 34). Zipporah announces that circumcision has made someone a "bloody bridegroom" to her (Exod 4:25). Whatever her enigmatic phrase means, it implies connection between marriage and circumcision even if it loses that significance in the Exodus account. The story of Abraham presupposes a rationale for uniting a marriage with circumcision: Only after Abraham's circumcision can Sarah bear a child or can Abraham have the right child who will be blessed by God. Circumcision is a fertility rite to ensure a goodly number of offspring blessed by God.

Circumcision was also an apotropaic rite, that is, a ritual to ward off evil. In a Phoenician myth El escapes grave danger by sacrificing his only son, then circumcising himself and his confederates (Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* 1.10.33, 44; cf. Flusser and Safrai 1980: 46). Although this passage is late (from Philo of Byblos, ca. 100 C.E.) it probably preserves an ancient Phoenician belief that circumcision turns evil away. In Exod 4:24–26 an act of circumcision turns aside a threat of death. Conversely, uncircumcision delivers kings and armies to the fullest possible experience of death, relegating them to the deepest corner of Sheol (Ezek 28:10; 31:18; 32:19–32; Lods 1943: 271–83). When later Jews, by analogy with Passover blood, attribute to circumcision sacrificial value to thwart the destroying angel (Flusser and Safrai 1980; Vermes 1958), they elaborate ideas long implict in the Hebrew conception of circumcision.

E. Isaac (1965) argues that circumcision served as a knife rite to ratify a covenant. Parties to a covenant, after killing an animal, swore by imprecation: if I fail to keep this covenant may the knife turn on me. The Abraham story associates circumcision with a covenant (Genesis 17). Similarly circumcision is associated with an agreement between Israel and the Shechemites (Gen 34:14–17). Perhaps the circumcisions at Gilgal (Josh 5:2–9) occurred at a covenant renewal ceremony. Yet this motif lies below the surface and was not developed in later Hebrew literature.

Although many of the surrounding nations practiced it (Jer 9:25–26), circumcision gave Hebrews a sense of national identity. This usage peaked when the Hebrews confronted "uncircumcised" nations, the Philistines (Judg 14:3; 15:18; 1 Sam 14:6; 17:26, 36; 31:4 [cf. 1 Chr 10:4]; 2 Sam 1:20), the Babylonians and the Greeks.

The heart (Deut 10:16; 30:6; Lev 26:41; Jer 4:4; 9:25–26), the lips (Exod 6:12, 30), the ears (Jer 6:10, and even fruit trees (Lev 19:23–25) are called circumcised or uncircumcised. What are the connotations on which these metaphors rely?

Passages which use the metaphor of the circumcised heart cluster in the Exile and in the years immediately preceding it. The heart is the thinking, willing part of a human being; hence the passages hold up the ideal of a circumcised mind, one which delights in the obedient love of God (Deut 10:16; 30:6). An Israelite with an uncircumcised heart differs not at all from a Gentile whose nation practices circumcision (Jer 9:25–26). Only those with a circumcised heart can experience the blessings of the covenant of Abraham (Jer 4:4; cf. 4:2) or return from exile (Lev 26:41; Deut 30:6) or enter the rebuilt temple (Ezek 44:7, 9). A circumcised heart is a mind of the right kind, one able to participate in a covenant with God. Human beings ordinarily circumcise their own hearts, but God promises to do so after the exile (Deut 30:6).

Moses complains that he has uncircumcised lips: he delivered God's message to the people and they did not respond (Exod 6:12, 30). Again the metaphor concerns ability for participation in what God is doing; since the problem cannot be with God's word, it must be with Moses' lips. In the subsequent narrative God responds by giving Moses heightened ability for the task: God will make Moses like God to Pharaoh (7:1).

Jeremiah speaks of uncircumcised ears which cannot hear the warning God issues through him (Jer 6:10). These are ears unable to participate in what God is doing; they cannot hear God's message.

Israelites must not eat from newly planted trees for their fruit is uncircumcised (Lev 19:23–25). This injunction is a specific instance of the command, "You shall be holy for I the Lord your God am holy" (19:2). Uncircumcised fruit is unsuitable for a people participating in God's holiness.

In the Hebrew Scriptures the metaphorical use is consistent. Circumcision connotes suitability for participation in what God is doing. It follows that physical, literal circumcision also carried this meaning. Circumcision made Israel fit to participate in God's activity as God's people. This meaning for literal circumcision lies behind the requirement that only the circumcised may eat Passover (Exod 12:43–49).

Hence Hebrews could draw from a plethora of significances when interpreting stories about circumcision. They could emphasize connotations of marriage and fertility, of covenant making, of deliverance from evil, of suitability for participation within God's activity, and of national identity. Of course, few stories make use of all of these ideas. We now turn to several of the more important stories to see how these ideas intertwine.

**2. The Bloody Bridegroom (Exod 4:24–26).** The most vexing of all stories about circumcision is that of Zipporah, her son, and the "bloody bridegroom" (Exod 4:24–26). The many puzzles of this passage reduce to two: What does the phrase "bloody bridegroom" mean? Does God seek to kill Moses or Moses' son?

The first puzzle stems from the ordinary meaning of the Hebrew word translated "bridegroom" (*ḥātān*). Since Moses and Zipporah have at least one child, "bridegroom" describes Moses poorly. Applying "bloody bridegroom" to Zipporah's son fares even worse. In Arabic *ḥatan* can also denote one who is circumcised. Perhaps Zipporah declares, "You are a blood-circumcised one for me" (Kosmala 1962: 27). Whether or not the story presupposes the meaning "circumcised one," the last verse of the story shows how the final editor wants the reader to understand the phrase: "She said '*ḥătan dāmîm*' concerning circumcision" (Exod 4:26) as if to say "Don't worry about this puzzling phrase; Zipporah was talking about circumcision, nothing more."

The second puzzle concerns antecedents of the pronouns in the passage. Do the masculine pronouns refer to Moses or Zipporah's son? Although the story does not mention Moses by name (the RSV clarifies the text by introducing Moses' name in 4:25), ambiguous masculine pronouns most naturally refer to him. But God has just charged Moses with a message and sent him to deliver it to Pharaoh. Why would God immediately waylay his messenger? If God attacks Moses, the story hardly fits its context.

What if God seeks to kill Moses' son? This requires mental agility from the reader, but, once the reader makes the required leap the story not only fits the context but makes a positive contribution to the argument. The message with which Moses has been entrusted threatens Pharaoh's first born son with death (Exod 4:23). If uncircumcised, Moses' own son is a son of Egypt, unable to live once the prophetic word has gone forth against Egypt's first born. Zipporah wards off the threat of death by circumcising her

son and daubing him with the blood. The story not only foreshadows the later events of Passover but also confirms the commission God has just given Moses. The narrow escape of his son is a sign that Moses' message is true: not even Moses' own son is safe apart from the covenant of circumcision; how much less Pharaoh's!

Since the story fits its context better if the pronouns refer to Moses' son than if they refer to Moses, probably this is the intention of the final author. Perhaps the author has made some attempt to narrow the gap the reader must leap. After all the author has most recently been writing not about Moses but about firstborn sons. Perhaps he gave another clue that is now obscured. Changing one letter in the Hebrew phrase "in the way" *(bdrk)* yields "your first-born son" *(bkrk).* The text may originally have read "When his first-born son was at the lodging, God met him and sought to kill him" (Exod 4:23). Other interpretations of this difficult story have been well defended. See Childs (*Exodus* OTL, 90–107), Kosmala (1962), Kaplan (1981), and the literature they cite.

The Zipporah story draws upon a number of the themes discussed above. Circumcision incorporates Moses' son into Israel, God's first born. It wards off death from him as an apotropaic, sacrificial rite. It fits him to partake in what God is doing.

**3. Circumcision of Abraham.** The authors of Genesis 17 lived in a culture, probably during the Exile, which did not practice circumcision. They had to explain why Israelites should circumcise their children. They drew gladly upon traditions which claimed that circumcision ensured many offspring who would be blessed by God and who would experience what God was doing for his people. Before Abraham's circumcision Sarah is not fertile; afterward she is. Before his circumcision Abraham can only beget Ishmael; afterward he can beget Isaac, the child blessed by God. The chapter generalizes the principle: to experience the promise of many children blessed by God in the land, Abraham's children through Isaac must be circumcised on the eighth day (Gen 17:8, 14). But, since they were uncomfortable with the magical associations these claims had, the authors invented a new mode of operation: circumcision does not bring about these blessings; God has promised them. Circumcision is a mnemonic sign of the covenant with God. It reminds both God and Israelites that they are God's and he is theirs; that he has chosen them and that they are in the sphere of his working (Fox 1974). With circumcision Israelites commit themselves to living in this sphere; hence, to neglect it is to read oneself out of God's people. Since circumcision denotes the beginning of this new sphere of existence, both Abraham and Sarah change names. Although Abraham, like Phoenician El, both circumcises himself and seeks to offer his son as a sacrifice, Genesis no longer assumes that circumcision completes the sacrifice of an only son. However, the stories may be connected at another level (Flusser and Safrai 1980; Alexander 1983).

**4. Circumcisions at Gilgal (Josh 5:2–9).** Editors of the Joshua story wondered why the Israelites were not circumcised already and gave three answers: (1) Israelites were already circumcised but are circumcised a second time. Sasson (1966) suggests a plausible background for this explanation: They had been circumcised in the Egyptian manner; now they made the incision all the way around, "rolling off" (from the same root as Gilgal) the reproach of Egypt (Josh 5:2, 9). (2) The children of those who had disobeyed God and hence wandered in the wilderness had not been circumcised but were circumcised at Gilgal so they could eat Passover (cf. Exod 12:44–48). (3) The LXX preserves a different explanation: some of them had not been circumcised in Egypt.

The authors may have included the story because it connects circumcision with entering the land. Probably the backdrop is exilic. Why should we circumcise? Because only the circumcised can participate in what God is doing, only they can enter the land and take it. Their parents, who had neglected circumcision, could not.

**B. Greek and Roman Periods to the Bar Kokhba Revolt**

With the arrival of the Greeks came strong cultural pressure against circumcision. Greek sensibility accepted public nudity but strongly recoiled against removing the foreskin. Greeks considered a bare glans so repugnant, perhaps indecent, that those born with a defectively short foreskin frequently submitted to epispasm, surgery designed to restore the foreskin to its natural shape (Celsus *Med.* 7.25.1; Soranus *Gynecology* 2.34; Dioscorides 4.153; Hall 1988). Even those adequately endowed frequently

secured the foreskin in place with a string or a pin (fibula), a practice called *kunodesme* in Greek, *infibulation* in Latin (Kreuls 1985; Celsus *Med.* 7.25.2), lest the glans inadvertently be revealed. Since the Romans shared the Greek repugnance toward circumcision, circumcision became the target of horror, contempt, scorn, and ridicule (Martial *Epigrams* 7.35, 82) throughout the period.

Cultural pressure against circumcision manifested itself in several ways. Since Jews were widely known to be circumcised, they were frequently ridiculed and ostracized. The Greek gymnasium or the Roman bath, both favorite institutions of those who could afford them, presupposed public nudity. The severe social stigma against circumcision discouraged Jews from participating. Greek athletics offered lower class boys of ability one of the readiest avenues for social and economic advancement, but since athletes competed naked, those who were circumcised could not compete. In Alexandria and probably other cities organized on the Greek pattern, citizenship hinged on Greek descent and successful completion of training as an ephebe. Since ephebes regularly exercised in gymnasia, circumcised Jews had to dispense with the privileges of citizenship. After the Jewish War (66–72 C.E.), Rome levied a tax on all circumcised Jews to support the worship of Jupiter Capitolinus. The tax not only imposed a financial burden; it also made it impossible for Jewish men to avoid the stigma of being Jewish by ceasing to practice Judaism. Suetonius tells with sympathy how an elderly man, who for years had not lived as a practicing Jew, was stripped in court, found to be circumcised, and forced to pay (*Dom.* 12.2). Two rulers outlawed circumcision on pain of death: Antiochus IV Epiphanes, a Greek Seleucid ruler (ca. 160 B.C.E.), hurled mothers and their circumcised babies from the walls of Jerusalem (1 Macc 1:48, 60–61; 2 Macc 6:10; *4 Macc. 4:25*); Hadrian, a Roman emperor, considered circumcision the moral equivalent of castration and outlawed both, precipitating or responding to the Bar Kokhba revolt (Smallwood 1959).

This stiff resistance to circumcision produced several responses among Jews. Some consolidated the traditional emphasis on circumcision so that circumcision became even more important than before. Some, educated in the Greek mode, retained circumcision and sought to explain it in ways acceptable to Greek sensibility. Some Jews, abandoning circumcision but not Judaism, allegorized circumcision and practiced a Judaism consonant with the best ideals of Greek culture. Some abandoned Judaism with circumcision and faded entirely into their cultural surroundings. We will examine these groups in turn.

**1. Consolidating Circumcision.** As *Jubilees,* written shortly after the Hellenizing reforms of Jason the High Priest (175–172 B.C.E.), takes a rigid stance against Greek culture, so it staunchly supports the necessity of circumcision. Those who are circumcised live in the godly sphere of existence; the uncircumcised live in a sphere dominated by evil. After narrating the ancient institution of circumcision by divine command to Abraham, an angel reveals to Moses the necessity of circumcision. Evil spirits rule the nations to deceive and annihilate them, but God rules Israel. Circumcision removes Israelites from the dominion of evil, places them under God's reign, and sanctifies them to experience God's presence with the holy angels who were created circumcised (*Jub.* 15:25–34). Circumcision determines the sphere in which one lives: the uncircumcised are dominated by evil, the circumcised, being ruled by God, experience his blessing. A paraphrase of the Shechem story demands that Israelite daughters not be given to the uncircumcised (*Jubilees* 30). To do so would place them outside the sphere of God's activity. Since not everyone physically circumcised fits in God's sphere, circumcision of the heart is necessary as well. When people repent God will circumcise their hearts and include them in his sphere as his children (*Jub.* 1:23–25).

The community at Qumran, which owned several copies of *Jubilees,* elaborated the doctrine of circumcision found in *Jubilees* and added a thrust of its own. Circumcision removes one from the wicked sphere and places one in the sphere of God: entering the community resembles Abraham's circumcision in that it frees one from the Angel of Enmity (CD 16:4–6). Those ruled by the spirit of truth in the community circumcise the foreskin of inclination (1QS 5:5). From the Qumran writings, metaphorical circumcision signifies the ability to receive or impart revelation. Circumcised ears can hear God speak the truth (1QH 18:20); uncircumcised lips cannot speak God's message truly (1QH 2:7, 18). Because those at Qumran viewed the rest of Israel as apostate, they used circumcision metaphorically rather than literally to define the sphere where God works. Yet in doing so they follow a path blazed by *Jubilees.*

Flusser and Safrai argue that the traditional Jewish blessing for the rite of circumcision praises God for instituting circumcision to save Abraham and his kin from destruction. If so, this blessing draws upon the same circle of ideas: circumcision removes one from the sphere of evil. Levi presupposes the same conception of circumcision when he argues against circumcising the Shechemites since God's wrath burned against them (*T. Levi* 6:3).

The LXX and the Targums interpret Zipporah's circumcision of her son as a sacrifice. The blood of circumcision atones for the guilt of Moses, thus warding off the angel of destruction who seeks to kill him (Exod 4:24–26 in LXX, *Tg. Onq.; Frg. Tg., Tg. Neof., Tg. Ps.-J.;* Vermes 1958). Somewhat later than the period of interest here, the Mishnah and Talmud elaborate the sacrificial significance of circumcision and speak of the blood which ratifies the covenant (for references to circumcision in the later works see Betz's remarks: *TRE* 5: 717–19).

Other books emphasize the necessity of circumcision without offering a rationale. Judith and Esther pointedly mention circumcision of proselytes (Jdt 14:10; Esth 8:17 [LXX]). The Hasmoneans regularly permitted residents of conquered territory to remain only if they submitted to circumcision (1 Macc 2:46; Joseph. *Ant* 13.257, 318–19, 397). As in *Jubilees* Hebrew daughters should only marry circumcised men (Joseph. *Ant* 20.139, 145). In the LXX recension of the book of Esther, the heroine abhors the bed of the uncircumcised (Esth 14:15). Moses is blessed by what the Greeks abhorred; like the angels in *Jubilees,* Moses was born circumcised (*L. A. B.* 9:13).

All of these works counter the Greek threat against circumcision by reasserting its necessity or explaining its significance. Circumcision atones for guilt as a sacrifice, transfers one from the realm of the deceiving, destroying angels to the realm of blessing, and sanctifies one for participation in heavenly worship in God's presence. It is folly to neglect it, folly inspired by the demonic rulers of the uncircumcised.

**2. Explaining Circumcision to the Greeks.** Jews who wanted to participate in Greek culture as fully as possible had to deal with the Greek prejudice against circumcision. Josephus and Philo, from the 1st century, and Artapanos, who wrote somewhat earlier, probably fit in this category.

Although Josephus projected but did not complete a book on the customs of the Jews, his existing works offer some clues. God gave circumcision to keep Abraham's posterity from mixing with others (*Ant* 1.192). As Jews circumcise on the eighth day to follow Isaac's example, so Arabs follow Ishmael in circumcising in the thirteenth year (*Ant* 1.214). Apion, an Egyptian, abuses the Hebrews for practicing circumcision and teaching the practice to others. Josephus, by pointing out that Egyptians circumcised priests and, according to Herodotus (2.104), taught others to follow their example, turns the tables on him (*AgAp* 2.141–44).

Artapanos claims that Moses originated Egyptian and Ethiopian as well as Israelite customs. Moses established (pagan!) deities for the various nomes within Egypt. When he heads an army against the Ethiopians, his enemies emulate his circumcision (Eus. *Praep. Ev.* 27.10). Artapanos hopes to defend and honor the customs Moses established, especially circumcision. If Egyptians and Ethiopians still obey the customs Moses gave them, why should not the Hebrews obey him as well?

When specifically replying to ridicule against circumcision (*Spec Leg* 1–11), Philo divides his defense of circumcision into two parts. In the first of these, attributed to divinely gifted men of old, Philo lists four reasons justifying circumcision: (1) it renders one less susceptible to disease, (2) it promotes that cleanliness of the whole body is necessary for priestly sanctification, (3) it likens the circumcised member to the heart (since the heart begets thought, the highest excellence to issue from human beings, it is fitting for the member which alone begets sensible things to resemble the heart as much as possible), (4) circumcision, by clearing the way for the seed, enhances fertility (*Spec Leg* 2–7). To these Philo adds two allegorical reasons: since the mating of man and woman is the most imperious of pleasures, circumcision tokens the excision of those pleasures which bewitch the mind. Since human beings readily arrogate to themselves the power to produce children, circumcision shows in the begetting member that the prerogative belongs to God alone (*Spec Leg* 8–11; cf. 304–5; *Migr* 92). Philo further elaborates his ideas in his commentary on Genesis 17 (*Ques Gen* 3.46–62).

**3. Neglecting Circumcision.** Every religious or cultural tradition has its dropouts. In the face of the severe social pressure against circumcision in the Greco-Roman period, many Jews quietly bowed out and joined the dominant culture, ceasing to practice circumcision. So much cannot be disputed, but dispute does arise over whether some Jews created a Jewish theology capable of offering a rationale for neglecting the practice of circumcision. This dispute, when reduced to the least common denominator, concerns whether a Jew who does not practice circumcision is apostate. Recognizing that "apostate" applies differently within differing confessional groups, we will sidestep this question by applying the term "Jewish" to any theology held by those claiming to live as Jews.

Evidence for compromise with Greek sensibility is strong. Martial twice mentions Jews who have hidden their circumcision by infibulation (*Epigrams* 7.35, 82). Celsus describes an operation (epispasm) to restore the foreskin of those who were circumcised (*Med.* 7.25.1). References to Jews who had submitted to epispasm begin about 150 B.C.E. and last throughout the period of interest here (1 Macc 1:15; cf. Joseph. *Ant* 12.241; *T. Mos* 8.3; 1 Cor 7:18; *m.* ›*Abot* 3.16; Epiphanius *Mens.* 16; frequent in Babylonian Talmud; Hall 1988). *Jub* 15:33, written in the middle of the 2d century B.C.E., mentions two ways Israel transgresses circumcision: by cutting off too little of the foreskin, by leaving their sons just as they were born. Removing too little of the foreskin clearly concedes to Greek sensibility; not only would it facilitate infibulation and epispasm, but a sufficiently small cut would hardly show even without these expedients. Both forms of neglect were problems throughout the period. Mattathius forcibly circumcised uncircumcised Jewish boys (1 Macc 2:46) as, perhaps, did Bar Kokhba (*t. Šabb.* 15:9; *b. Yebam.* 72a). *2 Baruch* 66:5, in attributing a similar action to good King Josiah, presupposes that the problem of uncircumcised Jews was ever present. The Mishnah must stipulate removal of the entire foreskin for circumcision to be valid (*b. Šabb.* 137a–b).

Some references to neglect of circumcision presuppose a rationale. Those Jewish parents who cut off a minute portion of their son's foreskins show as much concern for Jewish tradition as they do for Greek sensibility. After all, their quarrel with other Jews concerns not whether circumcision should be done but what constitutes circumcision, a matter of interpreting traditions which were vague when the question first arose.

Some Jews required proselytes to be baptized but not circumcised. *Sibylline Oracle* 4.163–170 pleas for all mortals everywhere to repent and be baptized but does not mention circumcision. Ananius, a Jewish merchant (ca. 50 C.E.), after working hard to convert Izates, Prince of Adiabene, tried to dissuade him from offending his subjects by being circumcised. Ananius argued that, in his case, keeping the ordinances of God in a general way sufficed (Joseph. *Ant* 20.38–48). Although the rabbis staunchly supported circumcision of proselytes, a debate between Eleazer, who maintained that circumcision alone could make a proselyte, and Joshua, who maintained that baptism alone sufficed, may reflect issues raised first by those who thought circumcision of proselytes unnecessary. Philo, although he probably wished proselytes to submit to circumcision (*Migr* 92), says that the real proselyte circumcises not his uncircumcision but his passions (*Quaes Ex* 2.2). Such thinking, in other minds than Philo's, probably justified allowing proselytes to remain uncircumcised.

Philo criticizes Jews who so allegorized the law that they robbed it of its literal meaning. They repudiated sabbaths, feasts, the temple, and circumcision, among many other things (*Migr* 89–93). ›*Abot* denies a portion in the world to come to those with a similarly defective practice (›*Abot)* 3.16; cf. a similar list in *b. Yoma* 85b). Ignatius warns the Philadelphians against listening to Judaism taught by those who were uncircumcised (Ign. *Philad.*6.1). Such passages imply that some Jews dispensed with practices offensive to Greeks by interpreting them allegorically. Since they still valued the law and other Jewish traditions, they represent a Jewish theology which found circumcision unnecessary. (For further consideration of this topic see Collins 1985.)

**C. Early Christians and Circumcision**

Like Jews of the same period, early Christians differed in their stances toward circumcision. The issue certainly threatened and probably fractured the unity of the early church. One question dominated the dispute: how could Christians inherit the blessings regularly associated with circumcision? This question

broke down into several others: Was circumcision necessary for Christians? What does circumcision mean? How does what God is doing in Christ fit with what God did in the past through Abraham's covenant of circumcision? Answers to these questions took several forms: (1) what God has done in Christ is part of the wonderful thing God did in Abraham, hence circumcision is necessary for all (Paul's opponents); (2) what God is doing in Christ surpasses anything he did in the past, hence circumcision, valuable in itself, now is irrelevant (Paul); (3) in Christ the plan of God has widened to include the gentiles; Jews should circumcise, Gentiles should not (Luke-Acts); (4) a proper reading of Scripture shows that literal circumcision is abolished (Ephesians, *Barnabas, Diognetus, 4 Ezra* 1–2); (5) others sidestep the central questions to use the imagery of circumcision to illustrate a point (John, *Odes of Solomon, Gospel of Philip*).

**1. Circumcision Is Necessary.** Although no early Christian writing advocating circumcision for all Christians has survived, Luke describes a group of Judean Christian Pharisees who find circumcision and observance of the Law of Moses necessary for salvation (Acts 15:1, 5). Paul faces similar opponents in Galatians. Since Paul argues that the decisive move from the sphere of evil to God's sphere occurs in Christ, his opponents probably made a similar claim for circumcision. In analogy with the claims in *Jubilees* and other works, Paul's opponents probably claimed that without circumcision the Galatians belonged in the present evil age (Gal 1:4) enslaved to "elemental spirits" or "beings not gods" (Gal 4:1–11) and that they could not partake of the heavenly blessings belonging to the descendants of Abraham (Gal 4:21–5:1). The opponents in Colossians, whether they have elaborated the spirit world in Essene or Pythagorean directions, adapt similar ideas. In Phil 3:1–21 Paul does not counter a heavenly mythological thrust: those who advocate circumcision are concerned only with earthly things (3:19). Hence some early Christians saw what God was doing in Christ as part of what God had done in Abraham; therefore, they required circumcision. A subset of this group adapted older and current Jewish arguments to explain the necessity of circumcision. Since circumcision removed human beings from the dominion of evil and included them in the rule of God where Christ was, and since circumcision fit them for the heavenly Jerusalem where Christ was at God's right hand, circumcision was necessary for salvation.

**2. Circumcision Is Irrelevant.** Paul and his followers argue that advocates of universal circumcision have failed to grasp what God is doing. Contrary to the kind of thinking preserved in *Jubilees*, not circumcision but faith in Christ assures acceptance before God. Since the heavenly court reckoned Abraham righteous by faith before he received circumcision, and since God's promise made Abraham father of many nations, not of Jews alone, circumcision does not produce acceptance with God but only signifies it (Rom 4:9–12; cf. 15:8–9). Reliance upon circumcision obligates one to keep the rest of the law; failing that, circumcision becomes uncircumcision (Gal 5:3; Rom 2:25–29; cf. Jer 9:25–26). But the law, only a temporary restraining injunction handed down by the heavenly court, sentences everyone to death (Rom 3:9–19). Justification and acceptance before the heavenly court comes in Christ and is awarded to faith as with Abraham (Rom 3:21–5:5). Hence circumcision, far from assuring acceptance before God, actually condemns anyone who trusts it. Those who exalt circumcision seek salvation from a part of God's plan designed to give condemnation. Not circumcision but Christ makes one fit to stand before the heavenly court.

As Christ, not circumcision, assures acceptance with God, so Christ, not circumcision, assures deliverance from the reign of evil powers. Not those in the covenant of circumcision but those in Christ are children of Isaac through Sarah, born for freedom not slavery (Gal 4:21–5:1). Not those circumcised and keeping the law are free from the "elemental spirits" and "beings not gods" but those in Christ (Gal 4:1–11). It is Christ who delivers from the present evil age (Gal 1:3–4) and makes a new creation (Gal 6:15).

Concern for literal circumcision shows a mind set on the flesh, on the earth, on the old age, not on the Spirit or on heaven (Gal 6:1–13; Phil 3:2–21; Col 3:11). Real circumcision is of the heart; it is spiritual not literal and belongs, in Christ, to Christians (Rom 2:25–27; Phil 3:2–5; Col 2:11–13) who worship God in Spirit, who glory in Christ, and who put no confidence in the flesh (Phil 3:3).

Paul sums up his thinking in a series of allied statements: circumcision is irrelevant: "neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is anything, but a new creation" (Gal 6:15; cf. Gal 5:6; 1 Cor 7:19). A circumcised man should not seek epispasm; an uncircumcised man should not seek circumcision; each should remain as God called him (1 Cor 7:18–19). Circumcision has its place, even its value (Rom 3:1–2), but it neither removes one from the realm of evil nor fits one for God's presence. Only Christ delivers human beings from this present evil age and reconciles them to God.

**3. Jews Should Circumcise; Gentiles Should Not.** Luke-Acts chronicles the transition in God's plan. Jesus reveals the plan at the climax of the work: Christ must be rejected, suffer, and rise; repentance and forgiveness must be preached to all nations; you are witnesses of this plan (Acts 2:14–42; Luke 24:46–48). The transition in the plan begins squarely within the promise to Abraham: both John the Baptist and Jesus are circumcised, and, like Abraham, receive significant names at their circumcision (the giving of names at circumcision does not appear to be the usual Jewish custom). Stephen's speech makes a crucial transition: Abraham receives the promise along with circumcision (Acts 7:8) and recognizes God's fulfillment of it by circumcising Isaac. But the rest of the speech proves that Israel never recognizes the fulfillment of God's promises. Stephen concludes: despite its circumcision, Israel is uncircumcised in heart and ears; Israelites always resist the Holy Spirit. If resisting the Spirit implies that circumcision has become uncircumcision, receiving the Spirit implies that the uncircumcised have entered the plan of God (Acts 10:45, 11:2–3). This raises a question: Must Gentiles be circumcised to be saved (Acts 15:1, 5)? The council under the Holy Spirit (Acts 15:28) discerns that the plan of God includes Gentiles as the are and Jews as they are. Hence Jews must circumcise and keep the law of Moses; Gentiles must keep only the Noachic commands binding on all human beings (Acts 15:19–29). The principle is illustrated when Paul circumcises Timothy, who has Jewish blood, and when Jerusalem Jews are suspicious of Paul not because he teaches Gentiles not to circumcise but because they erroneously suppose he teaches Jews not to circumcise their sons (Acts 21:21). Luke thus endorses a mediating position: the newly revealed plan of God includes Jews as Jews and Gentiles as Gentiles. Brown (1983) probably does not have quite enough evidence to label this new view "Hellenist"; I would call it Lukan.

**4. Literal Circumcision Is Abolished.** Ephesians asserts the view of circumcision current among Jews of the 1st century but rigorously limits it to the past. Circumcision once effectively separated Jew from Gentile, uniting the former to Israel, to the covenants, and to God, but denying all hope to the latter (Eph 2:11–12). By abolishing circumcision among other such commands, Christ has included Gentiles and Jews in one new body with access to the Father (Eph 2:13–22). In part because circumcision is nullified, Ephesians readily announces that Gentiles are no longer sojourners (proselytes?) but full-fledged citizens (Eph 2:19).

The *Epistle of Barnabas* indulges in full-blown allegorical interpretation to assert a much less sympathetic view of circumcision. Circumcision of the flesh has been abolished. Not those who are uncircumcised but those who require circumcision are deceived by an evil angel (*Ep. Barn.* 9:4). Christians, however, have received true circumcision of heart and ears which reveals to them what scripture really says (*Ep. Barn.* 9:1–3, 9; 10:12). *Ep. Barn.* presents a mirror image of Qumran: although it equates circumcision of heart and ear with revelation as do the Qumran writings, it assumes that the angel of error inspires the literal practice of circumcision, instead of apostasy from the law.

In the *Gospel of Thomas,* Jesus denies the value of literal circumcision but upholds an unspecified spiritual value of true circumcision (*Gos. Thom.* 53). Later Christian writers view circumcision as silly (*Diognetus* 4.1, 4) or as ineffectual with God (*4 Ezra* 1:31).

**5. Circumcision Used Positively.** As it is right to circumcise on the Sabbath, so it is right to heal on the Sabbath (John 7:21–24). Though this argument is similar to a rabbinic one (*m. Ned.* 3.11), John invests it with special nuances. The argument presupposes that circumcision retains the connotations of blessing it commonly has in Jewish works and on this basis sets up a typical Johannine contrast between Moses and Jesus. You do not delay the blessings of circumcision, how much less the far greater blessings of what Jesus does. Circumcision from Moses cures in part; healing from Jesus cures completely.

In *Odes of Solomon* 11 circumcision is a metaphor for salvation which opens the odist to God and enables him or her to receive revelation and to experience a heavenly trip. Here common Hebrew notions of circumcision form a complex metaphor with many connotations. As at Qumran or in *Jubilees* circumcision fits the odist for the experience of God and enables the reception of revelation, but the odist speaks of something more than physical circumcision. He speaks of an act of the Holy Spirit which uncovers himself toward God.

A positive use of circumcision persists as late as the Gnostic Christian *Gospel of Philip* (*Gos. Phil.* 82.26–29). As Abraham circumcised himself when he received revelation it is proper for others likewise to destroy the flesh (Jewett 1971: 199, 212).

The use and significance of circumcision in ancient Hebrew and Christian writings is rich with diversity. As common with other religious practices, the meaning of circumcision resists reduction to a least common denominator. The foregoing review illustrates both the consistency and complexity of circumcision as a religious concept in the Judeo-Christian tradition.

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**CIRCUMLOCUTION.** A rhetorical device (often employed in the Bible) involving deliberate evasiveness in speech or writing, talking around a delicate subject rather than using straightforward references. For example, defecation is sometimes referred to as "covering one's feet" (Judg 3:24; 1 Sam 24:3). See BIBLE, EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE.

**CISTERN OF SIRAH** (PLACE). See SIRAH, CISTERN OF (PLACE).

**CISTERNS.** See AGRICULTURE.

**CITIES.** There is no single definition of a city. As a cultural phenomenon, the nature of a city depends on the social and historical context within which it evolved (Eisenstadt and Shachar 1987). Generally speaking, however, a city is a permanent settlement which serves as a center for a large region and whose population is engaged in activities additional to agriculture. This entry consists of two articles that treat this subject. The first surveys cities in the Levant, particularly focusing on the emergence of the Israelite city in the Iron Age. The second surveys cities in the Greco-Roman world, focusing especially on the model of the Greek *polis.*

### *CITIES IN THE LEVANT*

Urbanism in the Levant, as in other regions, is a cyclical process that reappeared roughly every millennium: in the Early Bronze Age (ca. 3000 B.C.E.), in the Middle Bronze (ca. 2000 B.C.E.), and in the Iron Age II (ca. 1000 B.C.E.). Each of these urban phases was preceded by a period of village life and pastoral nomadism. Emergence of cities is therefore an adaptive process rather than a result of diffusion of ideas or population.

A. Steps Toward Urban Life: The Chalcolithic Period
B. The First Cities: The Early Bronze Age
C. Gap in Urban Life: The Early Bronze Age IV
D. Second Urban Period: The Middle Bronze Age
E. The Decline of the Canaanite City: The Late Bronze Age
F. Emergence of the Israelite City: The Iron Age
1. Variety of Settlement Forms in Iron Age I
2. Iron Age II: Criteria of Planning
3. Hierarchical Order of Cities
4. Assyrian Provincial Capitals

## A. Steps Toward Urban Life: The Chalcolithic Period

Before the Chalcolithic Period, evidence for urbanization is minimal and ambiguous. Pre-Pottery Neolithic Jericho is usually given the status of a city on account of its defensive wall. However, that position needs to be modified in light of Bar-Yosef's convincing demonstration (1986) that the wall was in fact a retaining wall against floods, built only at one side of the village. Therefore the first solid evidence for urbanization is found in the Chalcolithic Period, at which time large communities demonstrated the characteristics of a stratified society, such as the production of prestige goods and the establishment of ceremonial centers. The need for a centralized institution arose, possibly, from the unpredictability of agricultural yields and the deterioration of economic conditions at the end of the Chalcolithic period (Horowitz 1978). The cultic elite, which established itself around ceremonial centers, was the only entity that could control the storage and redistribution of cereals and cope with the difficult economic situation. One city in this period, Tuleilat-Ghassul, appears to be one continuous settlement of about 20 hectares with a temple surrounded by a ceremonial temenos. Other such centers arose, such as Gilat, a settlement of about 10 hectares in the northern Negeb, and En-Gedi in the Wilderness of Judah. A complete picture of the development of a ceremonial center into an urban one is offered so far only at Megiddo; this took place in the next stage, the Early Bronze Age I. A temenos with twin temples was erected above a village in Stratum XIX, followed by a fortified settlement in Stratum XVIII.

## B. The First Cities: The Early Bronze Age

**1. Early Bronze Age I.** The first clear representation of a city in the Levant is Hububa Kabira on the Upper Euphrates dated to the late 4th millennium. See Fig. CIT.01. The city has a preplanned rectangular layout, a developed system of fortifications, a network of streets and, on a raised elevation, separated buildings constructed for the city's elite. The earliest urban center in Israel, roughly contemporary with Habuba Kabira, is found in the Early Bronze Age I at Tel 'Erani, in the Southern Coastal Plain (Kempinski and Gilead 1988). However, very little is known of this city so far. It covered about 15 hectares and contained public structures, a city wall and square towers. The complex process of urbanization seems to have gained momentum during the later part of the EB I, as indicated by the presence of fortifications at sites like Aphek, Tell Shalem, and Tell el-Far‘ah (north) and ‘Ai.

**2. Early Bronze Age II.** The general nature of an urban center in Israel may be studied from the detailed information on cities of the EB II, such as Arad and Megiddo.

The city of Arad, located at the southern edge of the Judean Hills and bordering the valley of Beer-sheba, is the best preserved and most widely exposed city in Early Bronze Age II. Like previous Chalcolithic and EB I villages at the site, the city occupied several elongated hills in a horseshoe shape around a central depression, in which runoff water was collected and stored. On the crest of the surrounding hills a modest city wall, 2.25 m wide, was constructed, from which semicircular towers projected; the wall was segmented by a main gate and several secondary gates. The excavator's interpretation of "a grid of streets, which includes streets running parallel to the wall and radial streets leading into the city centre" (Amiran 1980: 6) cannot be observed on the plan. The inner urban matrix of Arad is rather determined by the shape of its dwelling units. These are compounds created by the

arrangement of the dwellings, storage units and fences encircling a central open space (such compounds are called "Huerdenhaus" by Heinrich (*RLA* 4: 173–220). Each compound covers about 150–200 $m^2$ and includes at least one broadroom dwelling (the "Arad House") and several working and storage installations. Part of the central courtyard was probably used to pen the flocks. The "streets" are simply the open spaces between the compounds. See Fig. CIT.02. Besides the city wall, the only other public structure is a rectangular "fort" which dominates the central water reservoir. Two of the larger but otherwise unremarkable compounds are interpreted by the excavator as palace and temple units. If this identification is correct, it indicates that the concentration of power at Arad was not extensive.

The limited evidence on the early phase of the city (Stratum III) shows many open spaces and numerous clustered circular stone platforms, which served as bases for silos. It seems, therefore, that the city was erected not as a result of population growth and prosperity, but rather as an adaptation to the economic stress of a sparse population, with the aid of a system of redistribution organized by a central authority.

Cities built in the Early Bronze Age II were uncovered at several sites but, due to later overlying occupation layers, they could be exposed only in limited areas. Fortified cities were excavated at Beth-Yerah, Tell el-Far‘ah (north), Khirbet Makhruk, Megiddo, ‘Ai, Jericho, Tell Yarmut, and Bab edh-Dhra‘, to mention the main ones. They are characterized by very thick city walls (4.00–5.00 m), which, when attached to existing walls from the previous phase, could reach a total width of about 10 m or more. Semicircular or rectangular towers offered the defender the possibility of aiming flanking fire over the "dead area" at the foot of the wall. In some instances like at Tell Yarmut a large bastion and a stone covered glacis were added.

Two types of gates were used in an Early Bronze Age city: a main gate more than 2 m wide, which allowed the passage of fully laden beasts of burden, and several secondary narrow gates (0.80 to 1.00 m). An example of a main gate is the entrance to Tell el-Far‘ah (north) protected by two impressive towers. Secondary (or postern) gates are known from Arad, ‘Ai, Jericho and Tell el-Far‘ah (north). It is suggested that the multiple passages met the requirements of the farmers who inhabited the large cities of the period, allowing them direct access to their fields.

In addition to fortifications, an important communal concern was the water supply. The cities at Arad and ‘Ai took into consideration the topography in such a way that rainwater within the city was directed into large reservoirs. The water inside the walls was vital in both times of siege and periods of drought. The internal organization of the city shows little attempt at planning. Household units arranged in compounds were typical at Arad, Tell el-Far‘ah and Jericho, but no street networks can be observed.

The only remarkable structures inside EB II cities are ceremonial buildings usually called temples. The importance of temples in the period is clearly attested by the large scale construction, the thick walls, the orthogonal layout and the superb building materials used for these edifices. The temple at ‘Ai, located on the summit of the mound, was shaped as a broadroom with outer measurements of 22.00 by 9.50 m. In the center of the hall were four stone bases for wooden columns which supported the roof. An auxiliary room surrounded it on three sides, probably serving as the storeroom of the temple.

The first clear evidence of a process in which the temple establishment developed into a military-political power base is in the fortified citadel built in Stratum XVIIIB at Megiddo. The citadel was protected by a 4.00-m-wide wall and had a gate guarded by towers. The area inside the citadel, which was only partly exposed and poorly preserved, contained part of a broadroom temple. A broadroom temple was erected also at Bab edh-Dra‘ in EB II, while its later phase and the city's fortifications date to EB III. A large compound at Arad is interpreted by some scholars as a temenos with twin temples and by others as the dwelling of an affluent family.

**3. Early Bronze Age III.** During the EB III the process of urbanism reached its peak: fortifications were expanded, the internal layout of the city became more complex and many new cities such as Hazor and Lachish were erected for the first time, although several urban centers, such as Arad and Tell el-Far‘ah (north), were abandoned at the end of EB II. These developments are evident from architectural elements related to religious, economic, military and political institutions. The relative importance of

these elements in the city reflects the crystalisation of the role of the social elite in the urban centers and their struggle for power.

Megiddo is the best example for illustrating the important role of the temple. In Stratum XVI a new temenos was constructed, to the west of and higher up the mound than the previous one. The new temple is an impressive structure with an innovative plan: a combination of a local traditional broadroom and the northern megaron (Ben-Tor 1973); it consisted of a cult room (13.75 by 8.90 m) with two central bases and a porch with two pillars before it. Behind the back wall of the temple stood a circular stone platform 8.00 m in diameter and 1.40 m high, generally interpreted as an altar. Alternatively, it may be considered the base of a central granary (Herzog 1986a): it is not located, as other altars are, in front of the temple, its size is much larger than that of any known altar, and the fence around it prevented worshippers from participating in the ceremony. On a lower terrace than the temple stood a large building which served as a palace. Although it was not completely exposed, the palace is a neatly planned unit separated into two wings by a narrow corridor and by a street on the three exposed sides. Its inferior topographical position and thinner walls show the lower status of the palace in comparison to the temple, or in social terms, the superiority of the cultic role of the elite—apparently due to control of the central granary—over its political role. In the same phase, the city wall was doubled in thickness and extended over additional lower sections of the city, providing an early example of a separately fortified acropolis.

In Stratum XV at Megiddo, in the latest phase of the EB III period, the city saw an even more dramatic increase in the role of the religious establishment, when in addition to the previous temple, another two identical megaron-like temples were erected. The temenos with three large temples dominated the whole mound and the use of the palace was discontinued. The grandiose appearance of the center was further enhanced by a monumental gateway, built over the dismantled remains of the previous palace. The gateway contained two straight approaches with stairs, set between three rectangular structures. The 15-m-long parallel flights of stairs and the relatively thin walls of the flanking rooms point to a ceremonial rather than a military function.

Important information regarding economic organization on the community level comes from Beth-Yerah, on the southern shore of the Sea of Galilee. A well planned structure covering 1200 $m^2$ included nine circles, each 8 m in diameter, sunk into a wide stone base. The circles were arranged around a square area divided into a courtyard and a room measuring 11.00 by 4.50 m, the roof of which was supported by two columns. A corridor 3 m wide led into the courtyard. The building is generally interpreted as a public granary and its total capacity was about 2500 $m^2$, or 1750 tons of grain. Such a large quantity surely had to be gathered from a populous community of farmers, which indicates a complex redistributional economy. The broadroom plan of the central room and the column bases very much resemble the typical temples of the period. The ceremonial function of the central unit is further supported by the presence of several large ovens in the courtyard, in front of the suggested cult room. If this interpretation is correct, then Beth-Yerah is another example of the correlation between the religious and economic social institutions in the EB III city.

Another aspect of urban life, emphasized in some cities, are large bastions incorporated into the fortifications. Their location, size (about 10 by 20 m) and the thickness of their walls show us that the role of the city guard had developed into a powerful and independent institution. The bastions, like those at Jericho and Tell Hesi, were undoubtedly several stories high, and their rooms could accommodate soldiers, weapons, and food.

**C. Gap in Urban Life: The Early Bronze Age IV**

The decline of urban life was a long and complex process that started already at the end of the Early Bronze Age II with the abandonment of important cities such as Arad, Tell Erani and Tell el-Far‘ah (north). However, by the end of the Early Bronze Age III, most cities in Palestine had ceased to exist. It is as yet unclear what the forces were that caused such a drastic social upheaval, forcing large communities to abandon their homes in cities and move into small villages or to convert their way of life to pastoral nomadism. In cases such as Megiddo or Lachish, where some objects date to the Early Bronze Age IV, the poor architectural remains of a rural or nomadic nature demonstrate this great break. The only

exception known so far is Khirbet Iskander in trans-Jordan, where a 7.5 acre site surrounded by a 2.50 m wall is dated to this period. Rich urban centers, such as Hama and Ebla, flourished at this same time in northern Syria, indicating that the social change did not influence the entire Levant.

**D. Second Urban Period: The Middle Bronze Age**

Restoration of urban life in ancient Israel was not a revolutionary event. In most sites the first phase of occupation was represented by an unfortified settlement. This shows that urbanism was reestablished by groups of local farmers and pastoralists who found it worthwhile to live together in towns. Early in the Middle Bronze Age I, fully advanced urban centers emerged, first in the coastal and inner plains and then in the rest of the country.

Megiddo serves again as the key site to illustrate the developmental process. The only element in Stratum XIIIB is the old temple of Early Bronze Age III, reused in Early Bronze Age IV, now used again as a cult chamber with a few poor dwellings around it. In Stratum XIIIA the city is fortified with a buttressed wall, a projecting tower and a city gate with stairs leading into a bent-axis gate entrance. The houses near the cult area are slightly larger and better arranged, but the dramatic development in the acropolis happens in the next phase. In Stratum XII the old temple is finally abandoned and replaced by another small cult chamber with a thin fence, but to the west an impressive palace is now constructed, built with 2.00-m-thick walls over an area of about 1000 $m^2$. Blocks of houses fill the space between the palace and the city wall. The houses, which are of medium size, uniformly oriented with straight streets, were probably used as dwellings by the city's well-to-do families. The order in which the architectural elements appeared at Megiddo teaches us how the social institutions were consolidated: at first, when the military aspect was of prime importance, the city was fortified, later the political elite expressed its ascendancy with a monumental palace, but in both phases the religious aspect is hardly noticeable.

A similar picture, although less detailed, unfolds in other cities. The dominant structure in MB I fortified sites such as Tell Aphek is a courtyard palace, which in this case covers an area of 750 $m^2$. Not a single temple is known in the excavated urban centers of the period. This fact, which contrasts so strongly with the importance of the temple in the previous Early Bronze Age II–III, reflects the change of social organization in the cities of the Levant. Clearly the power in this period was no longer in the hands of the theocratic elite but had been taken over by the ascendant political-military class. Like other characteristics of this urban phase, the palaces, arranged around large courtyards, are obviously inspired by the formidable palace complexes in northern Syria, such as those at Mari and Tell Mardikh (Ebla). Large courtyard palaces were constructed also in many of the MB IIB cities such as Hazor, Shechem, Lachish, Aphek and Tel Sera‘.

City walls in the Middle Bronze Age were of modest width (about 2.00 m), but various improvements indicate that protection of cities was based more on the availability and mobility of professional soldiers than on the passive dependence on solid walls. First, towers or bastions were erected along the city walls, at intervals of 20.00 to 30.00 m. These could serve both as accommodations for the garrisons and as firing platforms. Such installations were excavated at Tell Beit Mirsim, Tel Zeror, Megiddo, Gezer, and Tel Poleg. A huge bastion at Tell Mardikh points again to the origin of this defensive feature. A second improvement of the MB I fortifications was the systematical maintenance and repair of the glacis covering the slopes outside the walls. Smooth, steep slopes made any attempt to climb up to the walls very difficult.

But the most important innovation regarding city planning was the erection of very large cities not on previous mounds (which were evidently too small), but on entirely new and flat areas, such as the lower cities found at Qatna (100 hectares) and Tell Mardikh (56 hectares) in Syria and Hazor (60 hectares) in Israel. These new settlements were surrounded by enormous earthen ramparts, which could reach a width of 60.00 m at their base and a height of 15.00 m, as in the western rampart of the lower city at Hazor. In front of this rampart was a moat, 15.00 m deep, from which most of the soil for the construction of the rampart was taken. Since no city walls were found incorporated into the ramparts, they apparently did not serve as fortifications against military attack. Instead, their erection seems to indicate peaceful times, when the large communities that settled the new urban centers were satisfied simply with the demarcation

of the city's limits. Unlike city walls which required professional masons and expensive construction materials, earthen ramparts could be piled up by the thousands of unskilled inhabitants within a short period. As such, the ramparts provided fast and cheap means for delimitation of the city's borders, and their steep slopes could prohibit access by thieves or other undesirable elements.

This interpretation of the earthen ramparts is supported also by the unique design of the city gates commonly associated with them. The gates are shaped like strong forts consisting of two large towers and a passageway between them, narrowed down by three pairs of piers. Absence of a city wall is seen here again: no wall was found attached to the gates but instead they were joined into the ramparts by short "anchor walls." Two sets of doors, one on the outer and one on the city side, converted this building from a simple fortified entry into an independent stronghold (Herzog 1986b). The absence of city walls clearly encouraged the introduction of this type of gate. The guards could control the daily traffic through the gate and could repel enemies on either side in times of emergency. Gates of this type, associated with earthen ramparts, were found at Tell Mardikh, Qatna, Carchemish and Alalakh in Syria, where both elements probably originated in the MB I—and at Yavneh-Yam and Hazor in Israel. This gate was eventually adopted in cities fortified by conventional walls in Israel, such as Megiddo, Shechem, Gezer, Beth-Shemesh and Tell el-Far‘ah (south). It had the advantage of providing the ruling class protection not only from foreign enemies but also against internal attempts at revolt.

A glimpse at the internal organization of a MB I city is provided at Tell el-‘Ajjul. See Fig. CIT.03. The city covers an area of 12 hectares and is demarcated by a 3 m high earthen rampart and a 6 m deep glacis, without a city wall. On a raised elevation of the city, close to the main approach way, stood the Courtyard Palace I covering about 1500 $m^2$, built contemporaneously with the first erected City III. The excavations of the residential quarter cleared mostly the later City II, which, however, followed the same plan as Stratum III. The area was filled with large blocks of houses, erected along straight streets 3–4 m wide, bisected by narrower lanes. The buildings in the city were not equal in size: it seems that each block included one house occupied by a more affluent family (200–400 $m^2$) and the rest were smaller dwellings. Towards the end of the Middle Bronze Age II dramatic developments in city planning are apparent, best illustrated by Stratum X at Megiddo. Here a new temple was erected above the remains of the previous cult place, starting a new tradition of shrines with a long room and thick walls. The temple, which stood inside a large temenos, was joined at its west by a large palace, with an entrance from the temple courtyard. At the same time, a second palatial center was established on the northern side of the mound, an area which gradually developed into the sole location of the city's palaces. Here a 6-pier city gate was built adjoining the new palaces on either side. These changes may be explained as the result of a final split in the structure of the ruling class; at first large palaces were erected near the traditional religious center and later they became completely independent. Another important change first observed at Stratum X at Megiddo is the absence of a city wall; the city was simply encompassed by a belt of houses, a feature that became common in the subsequent Late Bronze Age. Residential areas in all excavated parts of the city were well organized and had a common orientation. In the area east of the temple, a grid of perpendicular streets is observed.

**E. The Decline of the Canaanite City: The Late Bronze Age**

Cities in the Late Bronze Age show continuation and even elaboration of some aspects of the late Middle Bronze Age, but at the same time there is some deterioration in many other elements of the urban structure. New palaces, designed apparently as enclosed citadels, are constructed next to the city gate and are entirely separated from the temples. Fortification systems, on the other hand, are mostly neglected: often the old city wall or earthen ramparts are reused without any repair, but in other instances, such as Megiddo and Lachish, the city is surrounded solely by a belt of houses with no city wall at all. The religious institution seems to maintain some power, and temples continue the tradition from the MB II period; the reduction of their status within the social structure of the city is indicated by their removal from the area of the royal palace.

These developments are especially clear in Strata IX to VII at Megiddo. In area AA the former temple of Stratum X was rebuilt and reused throughout the whole period, but the large building on its western

side was diminished in size and gradually disappeared. Concurrently, the palaces near the gate constantly grew in size, in width of walls and in the complexity of their design. The excavated part of the palace in Area AA, west of the city gate, covers about 1500 $m^2$ and the one in Area DD 1200 $m^2$. In view of the lack of a city wall, it may be suggested that the gate and the two palaces were actually parts of an enclosed royal citadel occupying about 7000 $m^2$ and separated from the other cultic and residential quarters. This theory is supported by the large palatial citadels found immediately inside the main gates in major urban centers like Alalakh and Ugarit. The desire to erect such enclosed palaces stimulated their transfer into the gate area. In an unwalled city it was essential to provide the palace complex with a defensible entrance. The buttressed outer walls of the palace in Area AA at Megiddo in Stratum VIIB were shaped in the Egyptian style and were intended to serve as a symbolic expression of power and to camouflage the lack of real military strength.

If this interpretation is correct, a separate entry to the "civilian" part of the city might have been necessary; in fact, such a passage may be observed in the plans of Strata IX–VII, immediately west of the palace, where there is a clear gap between the palace and the outer walls of the adjacent structures. In area CC at the southern side of the city a residential quarter was extensively exposed in Stratum VII. The thin walls and small size of units in this area stand out in bold contrast to the luxurious palaces in the N citadel and demonstrate an extreme lack of socioeconomic equality in the social structure of the inhabitants. See Fig. CIT.04.

No site other than Megiddo is so far available for a comprehensive view of a Late Bronze Age city, but similar elements may be recognized even in partly excavated sites. Cities protected by a belt of houses instead of a city wall are known, in addition to Megiddo and Lachish, at Tel Batash, Tell Beit Mirsim and Jericho. Such conditions probably existed in many other sites of the Late Bronze Age where no city wall was found. Large buildings of the Late Bronze Age called forts, fortified palaces or public buildings by their excavators were exposed in otherwise unfortified sites, such as Tell el-ʿAjjul, Tell el-Farʿah (south), Tel Seraʿ, Ashdod, Taʿanach, and Beth-shean. It is very likely that these structures were also enclosed palaces, separated from the rest of the city occupied by the common people.

The archaeological data on the nature of cities in the Late Bronze Age exposes the degree of exaggeration of the Egyptian records which describe the conquered Canaanite fortified cities; obviously it was merely the enclosed palaces that they had to overcome. One of the exceptional cases of a fortification wall erected originally in the Late Bronze Age is at Tell Abu-Huwam, where a 2-m-wide city wall is attributed to Stratum V. In the 13th century a new type of building, called the "governor's residency," is found in several sites with clear Egyptian influence. These were compact forts of about 200–500 $m^2$ with a small center courtyard surrounded with rooms on three or four sides. Column bases in some of the courts probably indicate that half of the space was shaded. Governors' residencies were found at Beth-shean, Tel Hesi, Tel Seraʿ, Tell Jemmeh, Tell el-Farʿah (south) and Tel Masos and served the Egyptian administration that controlled the country. Stronger Egyptian fortresses were built along the main coastal road: at Haruvit, Deir el-Balah and Tel Mor (Oren 1984). Many of these centers functioned until the termination of Egyptian rule in Canaan, in the middle of the 12th century B.C.E. The intensified activity of the Egyptians was generated not by a sudden flourishing of Canaanite culture but by an attempt to maintain the economic viability of the land despite the collapse of the local system.

**F. Emergence of the Israelite City: The Iron Age**

**1. Variety of Settlement Forms in Iron Age I.** In spite of the general decline, urban culture did not totally disappear in the Iron Age I, but survived in several cities such as Megiddo Strata VIIA and VIA and Lachish Level VI, alongside the above-described Egyptian administrative and military centers. The character of the Philistine cities in their initial occupational phases in the late 12th and early 11th centuries is not yet clarified due to the limited extent of the excavations of sites such as Ashdod, Tel Miqne and Ashkelon. It is only from the late 11th century that the site of Tel Qasila is able to provide an indication of the nature of a Philistine town. See Fig. CIT.05. Although relatively small, it has an orthogonal layout with a network of perpendicular streets, parallels of which are known from Cyprus

(Negbi 1986). Functional division inside the town of Tel Qasila includes quarters for craftsmen and temple priests. No palace or fortifications were uncovered there.

New settlements founded in the hinterland in Iron Age I, generally attributed to the Israelites, demonstrate different phases of the sedentarization process of pastoral nomads. The sites range from a simple camp of huts with storage granaries (Beer-sheba Stratum IX), through groups of enclosures (Giloh), to densely occupied villages (Beth-shemesh). All these are unfortified sites without any attempt at planning. This concept is first seen in the "enclosed settlements," such as those at Beer-sheba Stratum VII (see Fig. BEE.01) and Izbet Sartah. These settlements are designed with an eliptical belt of dwellings arranged around an open courtyard, which apparently served to pen the flocks (Herzog 1983). The large site of Tel Masos, identified variously as Israelite, Amalekite, or Canaanite, also seems to incorporate one or more enclosed settlements in addition to administrative and commercial buildings.

**2. Iron Age II: Criteria of Planning.** In Iron Age II, cities developed into full urban systems, organized for the first time under a United Monarchy, which, however, was soon divided into the kingdoms of Judah and Israel. Cities were established in both of these states according to an overall administrative-hierarchical scheme. Several criteria may be applied for the analysis and interpretation of the degree of planning of the city and its role in the system (Herzog 1987; Shiloh 1987).

**a. Size of City.** Iron Age cities were of medium size, about 3 to 7 hectares, but the capitals at Jerusalem and Samaria grew to be 30 to 50 hectares, attracting a considerable population.

**b. Administrative Buildings.** The higher the rank of a city in the hierarchical order, the larger were its administrative buildings. They were also more closely grouped together on higher elevations, and had a more organized layout. Under this heading are included the palace of the king or the city's governor, the temple, storehouses, and open spaces for markets and army encampments.

**c. Fortifications and Water Systems.** Solid city walls were the most costly. Casemate walls were less effective but much more economic in regard to materials and space. The simplest defense was the outer belt of houses usually found in cities located at some distance from the border. Cities of higher rank were equipped with systems of water supply which enabled them to withstand long periods of siege.

**d. Street Networks.** In the better planned cities, streets were of constant width and ran in continuous lines, parallel or radial to the city wall. Channels under the streets allowed fast drainage of rainwater and reduced the danger of dampness undermining the foundations of the buildings.

**e. Construction Materials.** The strongest, most impressive and most expensive construction materials were the ashlar stones widely applied in the monumental architecture of this period (Shiloh 1979). More ordinary materials were the unhewn stones used for foundations and the mudbricks used extensively in the superstructures.

**f. Domestic Architecture.** In high-ranking cities, dwellings tended to share a common plan in strictly allocated plots of land. In unplanned cities, houses varied in shape and size, resulting in a high percentage of unbuilt and wasted space.

**3. Hierarchical Order of Cities. a. Royal Capitals.** Of the two capitals of the Iron Age, only the acropolis of Samaria, capital of the N kingdom of Israel, is widely exposed, but it provides a remarkable illustration of the royal quarter of the city. See Fig. CIT.06. The acropolis was a large rectangular area, which extended in its final stage over 2.6 hectares, and necessitated quarrying, leveling, and infilling operations on the summit of the hill. It was surrounded by wide casemate storerooms on most of its circumference and by a solid wall on the rest. On the S side stood the royal palace with an open courtyard in front of it. The N part had a well-planned street grid, occupied by dwellings of the noble families of the court (in one of which the Samaria ivories were found). West of the palace was an administrative office which contained an archive of ostraca. Although not completely preserved, enough remains of the acropolis at Samaria to show its monumental scale, strict planning, and superb ashlar masonry, all befitting the superior social status of its occupants.

Similar features were surely incorporated into the architecture of the acropolis at Jerusalem, which has not been archaeologically explored. In addition to the king's palace it also housed the royal cult center: Solomon's Temple. Part of a huge stepped retaining wall exposed in Area G of the recent excavations

probably served to support the wall of the acropolis. Around the raised acropolis, the civic parts of the capital were located. Royal acropolises of the same pattern are known from N Syrian capitals such as Zenjirli, Carchemish and Tell Taʿainat.

**b. Major Administrative Centers.** Cities of the second level in the state hierarchy, which apparently served to supervise a single district of the kingdom, were only about 5–7 hectares in size. The administrative functions were performed in different sectors of the city and occupied a considerable part of it.

At Megiddo the increasing entrenchment of the bureaucracy is evident when comparing Strata VA and IVB. In the first phase of the early 10th century B.C.E., it was still an unwalled city, protected by a belt of buildings and entered through a simple gate. Two large structures were dedicated to administrative functions. These were Palace 1723 with a large square courtyard and an adjacent building in the S and Palace 6000 near the gate on the N. The rest of the area (about 75 percent) was filled with common dwellings. In the second phase, in the late 10th century, the city was fortified by a solid wall of the offsets and insets type and a large six-room gatehouse. More than 80 percent of the city's area was allocated for administrative buildings. They included: the city wall and gate, Palace 338, 17 royal storehouses (assumed by some scholars to be stables), large open courtyards apparently used as camping grounds for merchant caravans or army units, and an elaborate water system. See Fig. CIT.07. The concentration of administrative functions is even greater at Lachish Level III of the 8th century B.C.E. Here at an elevated palace, two types of storehouses and an immense rectangular courtyard were exposed. The common population was crowded into a few small, miserable dwellings at the foot of the raised palace. As the result of the large section allocated for administrative functions in these Iron Age cities, only limited space was available for dwellings. For example, apparently only 500–700 people lived at Lachish at this time (about 100 per hectare).

These characteristics indicate that, unlike in the Bronze Age, the Israelite city did not have a large population of agriculturalists but rather a limited number of families belonging to the political, military, economic and religious elite of the monarchy.

**c. Secondary Administrative Centers.** For smaller, economically less important districts another type of city plan was followed. The best example is seen in Stratum II at Beer-sheba, a small fortified city (ca. 1.1 hectare) of the late 8th century B.C.E. See Fig. CIT.08. The administrative units, such as storehouses, water system and governor's residence, were not confined to a separate quarter but were organically integrated with the dwellings. This is evident most clearly in the association of the houses and the casemate city wall; the casemates served as the rear rooms of the adjoining dwellings. The complete city is neatly planned with two circular streets running parallel to the city wall. Apparently, the entire city was a royal administrative center.

**d. Fortified Provincial Towns.** In this category are fortified sites in which the city wall is the only clear public element. Dwellings inside the settlement are scattered haphazardly in an agglutinative pattern. Stratum A at Tell Beit Mirsim is typical of such towns, demonstrating a total lack of planning. Instead of streets of equal width as at Beer-sheba, here the spaces between the houses are of uneven size. In the initial phase of the stratum no administrative structures were exposed, not even a proper city gate. Evidence of light industry such as olive presses, looms, dying installations and pottery kilns, apparently related to royal estates, may provide partial explanation of the function of these towns. In addition, the fortifications of the town could have served as part of the regional defense framework of the monarchy.

**e. Fortresses.** Although these were not cities, they provide an interesting view of a "condensed" city. Fortresses such as that at Arad illustrate all the administrative functions: fortifications for military needs, stores and industrial quarters for economic functions, a royal temple serving the religious needs, and dwellings for the commander and his staff.

**4. Assyrian Provincial Capitals.** Stratum III at Megiddo offers a view of the layout of such a city. See Fig. CIT.09. It is characterized by an orderly street network, which was, however, more regular for the north-south streets than for the east-west ones. Each block was 65–75 feet deep, and the width of the street was about 8–10 feet. A full one-third of the city was occupied by several large courtyard palaces.

Lack of separation between the palaces and the other dwellings may indicate that the whole city was occupied by high functionairies of the Assyrian administration, however, no similarly planned Assyrian center has yet been found in the Levant.

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ZEʿEV HERZOG


## *GRECO-ROMAN CITIES*

Greco-Roman cities throughout the ancient world were based on the model of the Greek *polis.* The Greek *polis* was a politically and economically independent community centered around one town, usually walled but also including the surrounding countryside (see Fig. CIT.10).

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A. The Classical Greek Polis
B. The Hellenistic Greek City
C. The Roman City

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### A. The Classical Greek Polis

The tradition of the *polis,* the Greek city-state, goes back at least to the 7th century B.C., when local tensions between landed aristocrats, poor peasants, and upwardly mobile merchants produced a system of independent political units. On the mainland of Greece, on the west coast of Asia Minor, and in colonies sent out to the Black Sea and the western shores of the Mediterranean (especially Sicily and southern Italy), the geographical boundaries of these *poleis* varied from narrow mountain valleys of uncertain fertility to broad expanses of rich ground.

The citizen body of a *polis* was smaller or larger depending on whether the city had an oligarchic or democratic constitution, and membership in it was tightly controlled. The citizens met in an assembly to hear reports and to register their reactions to proposals which normally originated in a *boule,* a council usually composed of members of the old aristocratic families. A small group of magistrates administered the political system and the civic religious rites. They were normally elected or appointed for terms of a year.

Besides the aristocratic elite and the larger group of citizens, the population of most cities included a variable number of free resident foreigners and of slaves. In comparison with a modern city, the *polis* was small—the little island of Keos in the 5th and 4th centuries had four separate *poleis,* the smallest with

about 700–800 inhabitants, and represents the lower range of population; Athens, with perhaps 40,000 adult male citizens and a total population of about 200,000 in the 5th and 4th centuries, was the largest *polis* in Greece.

The financial affairs of the *polis* show common collaboration of the population in public work. Large projects were assigned to the wealthy, in the form of "liturgies" [*leitourgiai,* literally "people-work" ]. These might include the requirement to outfit a warship, pay for a religious procession, or sponsor a dramatic performance. Public construction was sometimes undertaken by corvee labor. Other expenses of building and maintaining temples and other public structures were paid by income from *polis*-owned farms and mines, and from taxes and tolls (usually levied on foreigners and resident aliens).

The *polis* was the whole community of citizens, and the whole land area they possessed. When the Athenians for example referred to a political or military action of their city they called it, not "Athens," but "the *polis* of the Athenians." The surrounding hinterland was an indispensable part of the *polis.* Citizens regularly owned farms in the country, even if they lived in the town where they practiced their citizen rights, and the economy of the *polis* was inextricably tied up with the agricultural produce of its fields. The army and citizen assembly were both made up, in the classical era, of farmers. Both (*Plato Rep.* 2.369B–372A) and Aristotle (*Pol.* 1.1252a26–1253a3) mention self-sufficiency as a characteristic of the *polis*, though even they recognized that imports enrich city life. Grain was often imported from near or far during a shortage, and luxury items were traded in small quantities by traveling merchants.

The Greeks regularly regarded the *polis* as the natural form of human society. When Aristotle (*Pol.* 7.1328b2–23) in the 4th century B.C. names the essential characteristics of the *polis*, he lists: a supply of food, necessary skills and crafts, military supplies, commerce, religion, and a system of justice. Five hundred years later, in the second century A.D., Pausanias considers similar needs when he writes (10.4.1) that a *polis* is defined by a municipal office, gymnasium, theater, *agora,* and public water supply.

The normal Greek word for the urban sector within the city walls was *asty*. Certain types of buildings, invented to fit the particular needs of *polis* life, became characteristic of the classical Greek city. The *agora,* a market and gathering place, was the center of public life. It was either located physically at the center of town or demarcated by streets and monuments to claim a dominant position. In or near the *agora* stood the essential political buildings: steps or bleachers for the citizen assembly; a *bouleuterion,* an enclosed stepped building to house meetings of the council; and a *prytaneion,* a houselike structure with a symbolic civic hearth, and meeting and eating facilities for the magistrates. Roofed colonnades called "stoas" provided shelter, and allowed the talk, commerce, and legal proceedings of the *agora* to go on no matter how hot the sun or insistent the rain. In the *agora*, and in many other parts of the *polis*, both inside and outside the walls of the *asty*, were sanctuaries. Sanctuaries were usually defined precincts which might be furnished with springs, stoas, statues, commemorative inscriptions, cooking facilities, and temples. Normally the most architecturally elaborate of the city's buildings, temples provided shelter for dedications and cult statues. Another prominent architectural complex was the *gymnasion,* where young men were educated intellectually and physically, and where adults continued their education, exercising, listening to lectures and readings, and visiting with acquaintances. The gymnasium (of which the Academy, Lyceum and Cynosarges at Athens were examples) was frequently located outside the walls where there was more space for its sand-covered open-air exercise court (*palaistra*), its school rooms and changing rooms, its colonnades, its shrines, and sometimes its gardens. A *stadion* also provided place for exercise, and for the athletic contests which were an important part of civic festivals. A theater, arranged on a hillside to face a circular *orchestra* ("dancing floor") where at festivals chorus and actors performed at the bottom of the slope, also provided continuing education in the tradition and myths of the *polis.*

In the *asty*, richly appointed public spaces and two or three main streets often contrasted strongly with crooked, modest, even squalid alleys leading to houses which were, at least in the face they presented to the street, small and unpretentious. In older cities, which had grown organically during the early stages of *polis* development, streets tended to wind casually along the lines of early roads, sheep tracks, and property boundaries. In others, new foundations where surveyors were able to begin with a clear plot of ground, a grid imposed some regularity on the town plan and the surrounding farm land. Colonies in the

Greek west (Paestum in Italy, Agrigentum in Sicily, for instance) show a characteristic Greek grid plan: in one direction run three or four parallel, widely spaced avenues, intersected by many smaller, perpendicular, streets. The grid produced was composed of blocks, their narrow ends facing the main streets, their long sides facing the side streets. This rational grid plan was codified in the 5th century B.C. It leaves traces in literature at Thurii in Italy (Diod. 12.10.7), and on the ground at Olynthus in Greece and Miletus in Asia Minor. Later, during the 4th and 3d centuries, it became standard, as at Hellenistic Thessalonica, where the blocks measured 100 × 50 m. At places like Priene in Asia Minor we find it imposed on a steeply sloping, not particularly hospitable hillside site.

This grid plan became identified with the urban theories of Hippodamus of Miletus (Arist. *Pol.* 2.1267b–1268a), who in the 5th century B.C. wrote of a utopian *polis* of 10,000 citizens, composed of craftsmen, farmers, and soldiers. He also provided for a rational legal system, and for democratically elected magistrates, who were to take care of public property, resident aliens, and orphans.

The *asty* was normally bounded by some sort of defensive wall, although Sparta, relying on its soldiers, claimed to need no wall. (Plato *Leg.* 778, recommended Sparta's model, though Arist. *Pol.* 1330–1331, vigorously disagreed, maintaining that a wall was essential for a city's well-being.) From the 8th to the 5th centuries, city walls were usually irregular in ground plan, conforming to the local topography, even when the town inside was oriented to a strict Hippodamian grid. They were also rather casual in construction, since warfare tended toward pitched battles rather than extensive sieges. A change to more highly developed types of warcraft at the end of the 5th century B.C. and through the 4th century brought with it the necessity for more sophisticated city walls, and a writer on 4th-century strategy (Aeneas Tacticus 1–2) discusses arrangements for siege defense which will both protect the walls from direct attack and be alert to the constant danger posed by citizens who sympathize with the enemy.

**B. The Hellenistic Greek City**

The campaigns of Alexander the Great, who presented himself as a champion of Hellenic culture, marked a turning point in the history of the *polis*. His empire, and the large-scale kingdoms of his successors, helped limit the power of the old individual *polis* to act independently. On the other hand, the traditional *polis* provided the standard setting for Hellenic culture. As Alexander led his armies through Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia and Bactria he founded many new cities (Plut. *Alex.* 1.5 gives a probably exaggerated total of seventy), and his successors used the *polis* as the model for new cities throughout the conquered East in the 3d and 2d centuries B.C. These cities attracted Greek settlers, veterans, and traders, as well as natives of the lands in which they were located. They were beacons of Greek civilization with their theaters, gymnasia, statues, and inscriptions. They were also a focus at which Greeks met their oriental neighbors and absorbed features from their cultures. Some served as royal capitals for the kings, others as market centers for an extensive hinterland, still others as military outposts.

Royal capitals, like Alexandria and Antioch, were governed by servants of the king, and from the Attalid capital of Pergamum in the 2d century B.C. we have a detailed inscription (*OGIS* 483—cf. Plato *Leg.* 759–66; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 50.2) describing the duties of the *astynomoi*, officials in charge of day-to-day urban administration under the supervision of a board of "generals" (*strategoi*). They were in charge of buildings on public land, highways, common walls between properties, and had to keep streets open and accessible, enforce clean water regulations at public fountains and private cisterns, and maintain the public latrines. Older Greek cities tended to keep their traditional constitutions during the Hellenistic period, like the board of *politarchai* typical of Macedonian magistrates mentioned (Acts 17:6–8) as the "city authorities" at Thessalonica. Oligarchical governments flourished, a phenomenon which increased under the Roman empire, since the Romans were used to an aristocracy at home and found it easier to deal with aristocrats in provincial cities. Even at Athens, where the democratic assembly continued to meet and pass decrees throughout antiquity, the real government of the city was in the hands of the aristocratic council of the Areopagus. The text of the NT hints at the Roman presence hovering over the local administration: at Jerusalem for example the presence of Pilate and his soldiers pervades the Passion Narratives, and at Ephesus it is a local magistrate (*grammateus*, "town clerk") who deals with the riot in

the theater (Acts 19:38–40), but he reminds the unruly crowd that the Roman authorities feel free to intervene if things get out of hand, and that the courts of the proconsul administer Roman justice. The letters that Pliny the Younger, when governor of the province of Bithynia between A.D. 109 and 111, wrote to the emperor Trajan (*Ep.* 10) also show independent cities like Nicomedia submitting requests for permission to undertake public building and for financial help to the Roman authority represented by Pliny.

The population of Hellenistic cities represented a rich ethnic mix. At Alexandria, distinct quarters were occupied by the ruling Greeks, the Egyptian natives, and the large Jewish population (which was permitted a certain degree of self-government as an autonomous (*politeuma*, always of course subject to the central authority). In other cities too, both in the east and in the west, Greek cities were inhabited by descendants of Greek settlers, by highly mobile merchants and craftsmen (exemplified by Priscilla, Aquila, and Paul—Acts 18:1–3, 18–28; Rom 16:3–5; 1 Cor 16:19), and by members of the original population, attracted to the cities by proximity, business, or the varied opportunities available in an urban setting.

Royal cities were financed from the purse of the kings, who were concerned that their capitals reflect the glory of the king in a way that was evident and easy for all to understand. Auxiliary building projects might well be undertaken by friendly monarchs eager to make an impression: an example is the project which Herod the Great undertook for Antioch in honor of Augustus, paving with marble two Roman miles of one of the city's main streets. Smaller cities relied on traditional means of financing their building and maintenance projects: liturgies, taxes, and tolls. During the age of the Hellenistic kings and into the period of Roman dominance, many cities vied eagerly for the favor and patronage of kings and the Roman senate.

Prosperity came to some cities because of their location or local industries. A good harbor, as at Thessalonica, was important in bringing goods from the roads of the interior to the sea. Dura-Europus, at a junction of a major desert road and the Euphrates River, grew into an important caravan city, as did Gerasa at the junction of several desert routes. Thyatira, in the western part of Asia Minor, and Tarsus, on the south coast, were both known especially for their textile industries.

In physical appearance, Hellenistic cities resembled those of the classical age, except that buildings were often larger, more elaborately decorated, and deliberately sited for dramatic effect. New cities were laid out, usually according to a Hippodamian grid, in plains and on hillsides. The *agora* was often surrounded and enclosed by a formal arrangement of stoas, producing a more regular, symmetrical space. The traditional buildings—*bouleuterion, prytaneion*, theater, gymnasium, stadium—were still built, bearing witness to the continuity of political and cultural ideas. In royal capitals, palaces were placed in dominant positions (on the mountain top at Pergamum, for example, or the riverfront at Antioch, or the main harbor at Alexandria). New large theaters, as at Ephesus, where 24,000 could be accommodated, and temples proclaimed the prestige of important cities, and were imitated on a smaller scale at more modest towns.

The Hellenized cities of Palestine and the Decapolis were in many ways typical. Some were new foundations of the kings, but at most of them the structures and institutions of a Hellenistic *polis* were imposed on earlier non-Hellenic towns and villages. For example, at Samaria, the old capital of the northern kingdom of Israel, Herod the Great rebuilt the city on a grand scale (27 B.C.) and renamed it Sebaste in honor of Herod's patron, the emperor Caesar Augustus [Gk *Sebastos*]. Among its Hellenized features were a new city wall, a temple to Augustus and Rome, a gymnasium, a theater, and a mixed population of Jews and Greeks. Caesarea Maritima, built by Herod the Great between 22 and 9 B.C., was provided with a big harbor from the start, which made it a center of trade. It was also an administrative center, and was eventually a congenial residence for the Roman governors of Judaea (Acts 23:23, 25:6). The city's constitution was along Greek lines, and apparently the Jews who settled there did not enjoy the rights of citizenship (Joseph. *JW* 2.266; *Ant* 20.173). Herod's son Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, continued the policy of building and rebuilding cities. Sepphoris (an easy walk from Nazareth) with its walls, may have been founded as a *polis* under Antipas, even though its population seems to have been

predominantly Jewish; later it minted its own coins, a special sign of the status of a *polis*. Its wall, theater, and water supply may well have been built by Antipas. In A.D. 18, he also built a new city, Tiberias (named for the reigning emperor), on the shores of the Sea of Galilee. Its population included both Jews and Greeks, and its administration had such typical Greek features as an *archon* as chief magistrate, a board of ten magistrates (*dekaprotoi*), and a *boule* of 600 (Joseph. *Life* 278, 296; *JW* 2.641). It apparently lacked city walls, as well as authority over its hinterland, which was ruled by the king's ministers. Antipas' brother Philip, tetrarch of Auranitis, Trachonitis, and Batanaea, rebuilt the Hellenistic city Paneas, site of an important shrine to Pan and the Nymphs, as his capital; he renamed it Caesarea Philippi, organized it as a *polis*, and established a mint there.

In the Decapolis, some cities may have enjoyed some form of self-government even under the Roman domination. At Gerasa, for example, inscriptions record activities of local political units ("tribes") which show that an active civic life continued at least into the 2d century A.D. Most, however, like Damascus (2 Cor 11:32–33) were under the control of one or another of the kings and princes. In most of them, Jews lived together with the Hellenized gentiles, and were themselves highly Hellenized (Acts 9:20–22, 11:19–26). The physical remains of most of them show the typical features of a Hellenistic city: walls, fortresses, palaces, temples, theaters, and aqueducts. Jerusalem itself took on these features: the Hellenizing which preceded the Maccabean revolt was recognizable by the building of that most typical Greek structure, a gymnasium (1 Macc 1:14; 2 Macc 4:9–10), and in the time of Herod the Great, Jerusalem boasted such standard Hellenistic features as a grid plan, a careful arrangement of aqueducts, and aristocratic houses of Hellenistic type.

**C. The Roman City**

The Romans, as they spread their political and military influence throughout the Hellenistic East during the 2d and 1st centuries B.C., planted colonies of their own, which served as bastions of Roman power and civilization, just as the Greek colonies had proclaimed the political and cultural dominance of the Hellenistic kings.

The special characteristics of Roman cities developed during the 4th and 3d centuries B.C., when colonies were sent out to guard the expanding borders of Roman territory. These were of two main types. "Citizen" colonies were settled by Roman citizens, and they were considered extensions of Rome itself. Even political life was dictated by Rome, and citizens had to return there to vote. "Latin" colonies on the other hand were joint ventures of several of the Latin peoples; as Rome's prominence and dominance increased in Italy during the 4th and 3d centuries B.C., it exercised increasing control over such colonies, and dealt with them as it did with other Latin cities. They were politically autonomous, were entitled to the rights of trade and intermarriage with Roman citizens, and their citizens could under some circumstances come to Rome to vote.

The physical layout of newly established Roman or Latin colonies reflected the orthogonal planning learned from the Greeks, including a regular survey of the surrounding farm land into long rectangular plots, delimited by north-south *kardines* ("hinges") and east-west *decumani* ("tenths"). When a flat, unimpeded site permitted it, the junction of the main survey lines (*cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus*) also served as the center of the walled town. Two main streets followed the line of the survey, and crossed at the central junction. Here, ideally, was the *forum*, which like the Greek *agora* offered space for political and commercial functions. A wall normally surrounded the built-up town site, where only a small portion of the settlers had their houses or shops. The majority of the population lived in farmhouses on their lots in the countryside. By the 1st century B.C., the planting of colonies spread overseas, as Roman generals used them to reward their soldiers with land—normally confiscated from defeated enemies—in a context of Roman civic institutions that would have been familiar to them. Such colonies inevitably displaced native populations, carving up their land into regular plots whose surveyed traces are still visible through aerial photography at, for example, Aurasio (Orange) in S Gaul. Towns which the Romans had destroyed were sometimes refounded as colonies, as was the case with Julius Caesar's new colonies at Carthage and at Corinth. As a special honor, older municipalities sometimes received the

status of a Roman colony: examples are Caesarea Maritima under Vespasian, and Antioch under Caracalla.

Colonies expressed their ties to Rome by imitating its civic institutions. A Roman colony was governed, like Rome itself, by a senate-like council of former magistrates (the *curia*, or *ordo decurionum*), and administered by committees of magistrates elected for single-year terms. Most commonly these magistrates were called *duumviri, aediles*, and *quaestores*. The whole citizen body voted for these magistrates, although as at Rome voting power was often weighted heavily in the favor of those with higher social status. The *duumviri* at the head of the colony's government were referred to in Greek as *strategoi,* "generals," as at Philippi (Acts 16:19–39), where they were assisted by the *lictores* (in Greek *rhabdouchoi,* "rod-bearers," Acts 16:35, 38) who normally attended Roman magistrates. In Corinth, the capital of the Roman province of Achaea, Paul is brought before the Roman governor, Gallio, who conducts hearings in the forum of the Roman colony (Acts 18:12–17).

Along with its political structure, a Roman colony took Rome as its model in topographical details. A prominently situated Capitolium housed images of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, and recalled the focal temple on the Capitoline hill in Rome. The forum of a colony with certain "Latin" rights was regularly adorned with a statue of the satyr Marsyas, in imitation of a similar statue in the Forum at Rome. Images of the emperor and his family appeared ubiquitously in public places, and certain specific buildings, like basilicas and arches, alluded to similar structures in the capital.

The financial arrangements of Roman colonies were similar to those of other ancient towns. The immediate agricultural hinterland produced food and revenues to finance ordinary expenditures, and rich patrons both inside and outside the colony were expected to pay for festivals, shows, and new construction. When feasible, the local council appealed to the governor of the province, or directly to the emperor. Corinth for example had several monuments dedicated by various members of the imperial family.

As the towns grew, they tended to expand in a fairly haphazard way outside the carefully planned grid of the original colony, as shops, houses, and cemeteries grew up along roads leading to the next town.

The physical features of a typical Roman town are similar to those of the Greek *polis,* but we can make a few generalizations about peculiarly Roman characteristics. Where topography permitted, the city wall tended to be more regularly rectangular than the walls of Greek towns. Inside, the space was divided by streets into residential blocks which generally were more square than their counterparts in Greek towns. Plazas and temple precincts also tended to show a sterner symmetry than Greek counterparts. Where a Greek town might feature two or three parallel main streets, a Roman town usually focused around one main street, and perhaps a single important cross street, the effect of which was to give a stronger axial focus to the whole design. The most important street tended to form a thoroughfare, what MacDonald (1986) calls an "armature," and along its sides the most important monuments were arranged, not necessarily concentrated in one spot but distributed throughout its length across the town. Such monuments as temples, theaters, porticoes, monumental staircases, and fountains were also typical of Greek cities, but during the Roman period they tended to become even more imaginative and elaborate. The decorative Corinthian order dominated, colonnades were added to main streets on one or both sides, and fountains were transformed into elaborate *nymphaea* through several stories of attached and projecting columns.

Among peculiarly Roman types of structures we may mention the commemorative arch, marking a passage with a large structure decorated with statues, inscriptions and reliefs; the *basilica*, a roomy columned hall adjacent to the forum which housed legal and other business; the amphitheater, a major structure near the edge of important towns, to which gladiatorial shows attracted huge crowds; and the public or private bath, to which most free urban residents paid regular visits to exercise, wash, visit, see and be seen, and hear lectures and readings.

Such amenities were particularly characteristic of Roman colonies, but during the Empire, as a more homogeneous Greco-Roman fabric was woven out of the many cultural strands within the empire, even proud, old Greek cities adopted the special features of Roman urbanism. Thus, during the 1st century A.D.,

the main thoroughfares in Antioch (which had been paved with marble by Herod the Great) received colonnades, and soon cities like Alexandria, Damascus, and Philadelphia also used rows of columns to emphasize their main streets. Technological improvements like aqueducts, roads, masonry drains, and building techniques using concrete were quickly adopted. The correspondence of the governor Pliny (*Ep.* 10) indicates that the cities of Bithynia must have been vying with each other to add Roman-style aqueducts, drainage ditches, theaters, and baths to their urban fabric.

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JOHN E. STAMBAUGH

**CITIES OF REFUGE.** See REFUGE, CITIES OF.

**CITIES, LEVITICAL.** See LEVITICAL CITIES.

**CITIZENSHIP.** Before the Hellenistic period citizenship did not have the rather technical political significance in the biblical world that it thereafter acquired. In the ANE citizenship amounted to little more than birth or residence in a particular place; such privileges as it conferred were confined to freeborn males. Special prestige attached to citizenship of an outstanding city: thus in Psalm 87 to have been born in Jerusalem is something to be proud of. From the LXX of this psalm (especially v 5, Gk *mētēr Siōn,* "mother Zion") is derived in part from the NT concept of citizenship in the heavenly city, "Jerusalem above" (Gal 4:26; cf. Phil 3:20; Heb 12:22; Rev 3:12; 21:2, 9–27; 22:1–5).

The city (*polis*) was a political entity among the Greeks, and citizenship involved jealously guarded privileges. Thus in Athens in the 5th century B.C. only the children of two freeborn Athenians ranked as citizens: the child of an Athenian father and a non-Athenian mother was excluded from the register of Athenian citizens (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 26).

Paul was obviously proud of his status as a citizen of Tarsus, "no mean city" (Acts 21:39). He was evidently born into a family which possessed the citizenship. For inclusion on the Tarsian citizen roll a property qualification of 500 drachmae had been fixed, perhaps ca. 30 B.C. by Athenodorus (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 34.23).

Paul's Tarsian citizenship, however, was not nearly so important in the world of his day as his Roman citizenship by birth, i.e., by inheritance from his father (Acts 22:28).

Roman citizenship, originally restricted to the city of Rome, was prudently extended to selected non-Romans as an honor for services rendered to Roman interests. The possession of Roman citizenship was a high social distinction in the Near East. Once conferred, it remained in the family. Paul's Roman citizenship, amply attested in Acts, has been questioned (cf. Stegemann 1987), but on no sufficient grounds.

Luke reports Paul as claiming the privileges of a Roman citizen on three occasions. In Philippi (a Roman colony) he does so in protest against having been beaten without receiving a fair trial (Acts 16:37). In Jerusalem he appeals successfully against being flogged by the Roman authorities in an attempt to discover the true reason for his being riotously assaulted in the temple precincts (Acts 22:25): a non-

Roman might be examined under torture but citizens were exempt (by a series of Valerian and Porcian laws). In Caesarea he exercises the right of a Roman citizen to appeal to Caesar—to have his case transferred from the inferior jurisdiction of the governor of Judaea to the supreme tribunal in Rome (Acts 25:11).

The question arises of the means by which the claim to be a Roman citizen was validated. The Lex Aelia Sentia of A.D. 4 and the Lex Papia Poppaea of A.D. 9 provided for the registration of Roman citizens at birth. The father or his agent would receive a certified copy of the entry in the register; if the child on coming of age gained personal possession of this copy (a diptych) it may have been carried around and produced when necessary (Schulz 1943: 63–64), but some hold that it was more probably kept in the family archives (Sherwin-White 1963: 149).

The picture of Roman citizenship given in Acts is true to the conditions of the mid-1st century A.D. By the beginning of the 2d century Roman citizens in the provinces, charged with offenses not covered by standard procedure, were sent to Rome almost automatically without formally appealing to Caesar. Thus in A.D. 112 Pliny the Younger, reporting to Trajan on his treatment of Christians in Bithynia and Pontus, mentions some "whom, because they were Roman citizens, I marked down to be sent to the capital" (*Ep.* 10.96.4).

There seems to have been a steady erosion of the citizen's privileges as the 2d century advanced. The Roman citizens arrested with other Christians of the Rhone Valley in A.D. 177 were kept in custody until a ruling could be obtained from the emperor; even after he had ruled that they should be beheaded and not put to death by torture, like the non-citizens, one of them, Attalus, was exposed to the beasts to please the mob (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.44, 50). The special privileges of citizenship lapsed in 212 when Caracalla extended it to all freeborn provincials throughout the Roman Empire.

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**CITY AUTHORITIES.** Where Near Eastern cities formed part of a larger political grouping, their internal affairs were normally administered by the "elders" who "sat in the gate" (cf. Deut 21:2, 19; 25:7; Ruth 4:1–2; Amos 5:10, 15). This holds true into NT times, as with the "elders" (Gk *presbyteroi*) of Capernaum who acted as the centurion's messengers to Jesus (Luke 7:3). In a fortified city final authority would lie with the commander of the garrison.

The rulers of independent city-states (like the kings of cities in the Euphrates-Tigris valley) had greater authority. When one such city-state gained power over its neighbor its ruler became a "great king" or "king of kings" (cf. 2 Kgs 18:19; Dan 2:37).

The city as a distinct political institution (Gk *polis*) was a Greek development. Athens, for example, was governed by ten *archons,* democratically elected, and Sparta by two kings and five *ephors.* After the conquests of Alexander the Great (d. 323 B.C.) the *polis,* with its civic administration, became a familiar feature of the whole Near East.

Antiochus IV (168 B.C.) failed in his attempt to reconstitute Jerusalem as a Hellenistic *polis.* Since the return from exile, Jerusalem had enjoyed the status of a holy city, centered upon the temple; the temple staff, from the high priest downward, exercised authority over the city in general, although the judgment of the most influential citizens could not be ignored.

The titles of city authorities in Hellenistic and Roman times varied from place to place. The NT knows of the POLITARCHS (RSV "city authorities") of Thessalonica (Acts 17:6); this title is attested in inscriptions for the chief magistrates of several Macedonian cities. The chief magistrates of cities in Thessaly received the similar designation *poliarchs.* The chief magistrates, even in a free city, were

responsible to the Roman administration of the province, and ultimately to the emperor, for the maintenance of public order and the suppression of sedition.

Elsewhere the city authorities are referred to by more general terms, such as "the leading men (Gk *prōtoi*, "first") of the city" in Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:50), or "the prominent men of the city" (*hoi kat› exochēn*) at Caesarea (Acts 25:23). At Ephesus Luke mentions the town clerk *(grammateus),* the chief executive of the citizen body (*dēmos*). He, in consultation with the chief magistrates (*stratēgoi*), drafted the decrees to be set before the civic assembly and was also principal liaison officer with the Roman government of proconsular Asia.

Roman colonies like Philippi and Corinth were settlements of Roman citizens, and their administrations were modeled on that of Rome. The chief magistrates of Rome from early Republican days were the two collegiate consuls; each Roman colony therefore was administered by two chief magistrates. These were usually called *duumvirs* ("two men"), but in some colonies, such as Philippi, they preferred the more grandiloquent title of *praetors* (Gk *stratēgoi*, RSV "magistrates," Acts 16:20–38). Like the Roman consuls, they were attended by *lictors* (Gk *rhabdouchoi*, "rod-bearers"; RSV "police," Acts 16:35, 38), with their bundles *(fasces)* of rods and axes as badges of office. The ethos of a Roman colony is well illustrated by Acts 16:20–21, where the Philippian citizens are so proud of being Romans, much superior to the neighboring Greeks, not to mention Jews. For further discussion see PWSup 13: 483–500.

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**CITY NAMES.** One major division of city names in the Bible (and other areas of the ancient world as well) is the class of cities which have two or more alternate names. Of this group, there is an important distinction between those whose alternate names mean the same thing and those that have no more functional/semantic connection with each other than *New Amsterdam* which became *New York,* due to a change of rulers. The first of these two classes is further divided into names where the homosemic alternates are in one and the same language and names whose etymons are from different languages.

**A. Names Involving the Roots *dbr/šwh***

In the modern period some of the earliest proposals were those of A. Wieder and of G. Mendenhall. Wieder (1965: 161–62) saw such an equation in the "gloss" in Gen 14:17 *(ʿēmeq šāwēh ȟ› ʿēmeq hammelek),* " 'The Valley of the Ruler' which is 'The Valley of the King,' " with *šāwēh* as the older and residual NW Semitic word for "ruler" (cognate with Ug *twy* "to rule, to govern," used in parallelism with *dbr* "to lead" in Ug (see UT 3: 641, 2662). Though Wieder's is a valid conceptualization, matters are further complicated by the fact that *šāwēh* itself is a Heb lexeme for " (level) plain" and is a component in the place name *Šāwēh Qiryātāyim,* probably "The Plain of the Two-Cities." De Moor (1973: 89–93) launched a severe attack on Wieder's procedures and, while some of his points are very well taken, it is always possible that Heb preserves in place names two different nouns *šāwēh*$^{1}$ "ruler" and *šāwēh*$^{2}$ "level plain," with the initial letter *šin* corresponding etymologically to Sem **t* and **š* respectively.

Mendenhall (1973: 76, 163, n. 60), with reference to the "gloss" in Josh 15:15 (= Judg 1:11), *(wĕšēm dĕbīr lĕpānîm qiryat sēpēr)* "And the name of Debir was formerly 'City-of-the-Scribe,' " read *sōpēr* "scribe" rather than MT *sēpēr* "book," and ascribed the meaning "marshall, ruler" to *sōpēr,* saying that *dĕbir* represented Hit *dabara* "lord, governor," and that the former was a translation of the latter (see Arbeitman 1988: 10–11, 43). Where Mendenhall appealed to NW Semitic for his analysis, some 1500 years earlier the Rabbis of the Bab. Talm. looked to the east for their interpretation. They explained

(‹*Abod. Zar* 2.4b.d) the biblical passage as being based on the semantic equivalency of Aram *spr*› ("scribe," traditionally vocalized as "book") with Pers *dbyr* "scribe." Arbeitman (1988) devotes the entirety of his study to an examination of these two proposals, which employ identical methodology, and of a third proposal: that the equation of the two cited names may involve NW Semitic *spr* and NW Semitic *dbr,* both meaning "to lead".

**B. Names Involving the Root *ṣph***

Gen 31:44–53 describes the naming of the site where Laban and Jacob made their covenant. Three names were given to this place, names which all have the covenant as their referent: *Gal‹ēd, Yĕgar Sõāhădûtā*› and *Miṣpâ.* Arbeitman (1981: 999) suggests that the first two names are mutual translations in Heb and Aram respectively ("Cairn-of-Witness [of the covenant by the respective deities]") with the third name being Heb for "Look-Out[-Point]" /"Observation[-Place]" /"view" /"scope." This passage is the only explicit statement of (a) meaning identity and (b) such identity being in the respective languages of the parties, made in the Bible.

Astour (1975: 319–21), basing his position on (a) Eissfeldt's identification of Mt. *Ṣpn,* Baal *Ṣapun,* etc., with the Classical Mt. *Kasion* (present-day Jebel Aqra‹) and (b) Eissfeldt's etymological derivation of Mt. *Ṣpn* from the NW Semitic verb *ṣph* (Heb *ṣāpāh* "to look out"), concludes (p. 321): "Moreover, the same meaning is quite conceivable for its other name," i.e., Mt. *Ha-zi/Ha-az-zi* in cuneiform, *ḫz* in Ug alphabetic spelling. This alternate name is the source of what is represented in classical Mt. *Kasion.* Astour asserts that *Ḫaz (z)i* is from the Semitic root **ḫzy* (Heb *ḥāzāh* "to see").

Grave (1980: 221–26) provides an exhaustive survey of a number of proposals, each of which derives Mt. *Ṣpn* from a different Semitic root. At the same time she discusses other etymological proposals for the name *Ḫaz (z)i.* She then takes up Astour's proposal and suggests that *Ḫazzi* might have been taken as either a passive or a stative formation of *ḫzy* and understood as " (a mountain that is) seen/being sighted" and then this "oronym could have been 'glossed' by means of *Ṣpn* … because it was a beacon that was seen/sighted from the sea." In this theory, the "glossing" is based on a folk understanding of the old name *Ḫazzi* (probably of non-Semitic origin). She concludes, however, that the oronym *Ṣpn (Ṣapānu)* does derive from the root *ṣph,* but with a meaning "clearing/visibility" or, preferably, "the Clearer (of the sky and air)," and that the Modern Ar name *Jebel al-Aqra‹,* "the Bald Mountain," may refer to the same phenomenon, the mountain "as having been shorn/cleared together with the sky by the northwind …" (see also ZAPHON, MOUNT).

Josephus (*Ant* 11.329) remarks concerning Mt. Scopus: "At a certain place called *Saphein.* And this name, rendered into the Greek tongue, signifies *Skopos.*" As noted in the translation and notes by Marcus (Loeb ed.), Josephus' *Saphein* represents Aram *ṣāpîn,* which corresponds to Heb *ṣōpîm. Skopos* (Scopus) is the Gk word for "lookout," while the Heb/Aram words mean " (Mount-of) the Lookouts" or "Those Who Observe." Likewise, Philo of Byblos renders the Phoenician name *Zōphasēmin* by Gk *ouranoû katoptai* (see GesB for suggested meanings). Both the Phoen and Gk mean "those who contemplate the heavens" (as *LSJM,* 929 renders). Josephus wrote the Hebrew words, and Philo of Byblos Phoenician terms, in Greek letters. The current Hebrew form *(Har) haṣṣōfîm* first occurs in the Mishna (*EncJud* 16: 1191–92).

Returning to Gen 31:44–53, throughout this pericope both the pair of "witness" names given in Heb and Aram and the single Heb "lookout" name are repeatedly supplied with etiological explications in the text-intrinsic glosses. In the renderings in the LXX the explications of the "Witness" names work because both the names and the "cause" are rendered with a single Gk root. The "lookout" name fails to work because Gk has several suppletive roots for "see/observe"; and while the site is rendered *horasis* ("Seeing/sight"), the explanatory verbal phrase "May (God) look at us" is rendered in Gk with the root *id-* (in the compound *epidoi*). As opposed to the glosses embedded in the texts, which can be called "intrinsic glosses," the translations of place-names are best considered as "extrinsic glosses."

The rest of the occurrences of a set of nouns, *miṣpeh*[1]*, miṣpeh*[2]*,* and *miṣpâ* (all three spelled in Heb *mṣph*) are to be analyzed as follows. The noun *miṣpeh*[1] occurs as a common noun only twice in the Heb Bible, (2 Chr 20:24; Isa 21:8), translated "watchtower" (RSV). In both loci the LXX renders *skopia*

"lookout place" as it does in Isa 41:9 (no equivalent in the Heb) and in Sir 37:14. Of the occurrences of *miṣpeh*[2], the proper noun MIZPEH, a place name, the LXX renders one of them, Judg 11:29, as a common noun: Heb *miṣpeh gilʿād* is translated by *skopian Galaad,* "watchtower of Gilead." Among the numerous places called *Miṣpâ,* the LXX renders 1 Kgs (LXX 3 Kgdms) 15:22 *gebaʿ binyāmīn wĕʾet hammiṣpâ* (RSV: "Geba of Benjamin and Mizpah") by *bounon Beniamin kai tēn skopian* "mound of Benjamin and the watchtower." Similarly LXX renders Hos 5:1 *kî paḥ hĕyîtem lĕmiṣpâ* (RSV: "for you have been a snare at Mizpah") by *hoti pagis egenēthēte tę skopia* "because you were a snare to the watchtower."

The *Qal* masc. pl. act. part. of the verbal root *(ṣph)* of the three nouns of this subsection, *ṣōpîm,* occurs as part of a place name in Num 23:14: *śĕdê ṣōpîm (ʾel rōʾš happisgâ)* (RSV: "the field of Zophim, to the top of Pisgah") and is rendered by the LXX as *eis agru skopian epi koryphēn lelaxeumenu* ("to the watchtower of the field, hewn upon the peak"). Here the note given in the NJPSV displays how the choice of retaining the Heb name in transliteration offers the benefit of recognition of the place name but also the deficit of losing any etiological intention. In contrast to the RSV rendition of the place name Zophim in Num 23:14, the much more effective NJPSV offers in the text: "Sedeh-Zophim, on the summit of Pisgah." NJPSV's alternate rendering, "to the Field of (the) Lookout Point," approximates LXX (with reversal of "field" and "watchtower/Lookout Point").

Similarly, in Gen 31:47–48 the NJPSV gives the text (with marginal notes, here provided immediately following in parentheses) "Laban named it Yegar-Sahadutha (Aramaic for *'the mound [or, stone-heap] of witness'* ), but Jacob named it Gal-ed (Heb for *'the mound [or, stone-heap] of witness,'* reflecting the name Gilead, v 23)." The translation continues (Gen 31:49): "Also Mizpah, because he said, "May the LORD watch (Heb *yiṣeph,* associated with Mizpah) between you and me." The comparable translation (and notes) in the RSV goes: "Laban called it Jegar Sahadutha (in Aramaic *The heap of witness*), but Jacob called it Galeed (in Heb *The heap of witness*)"; RSV continues, "And … Mizpah (that is, *Watchpost*), for he said, 'The LORD watch between you and me.' " The total translation is also, as we saw in the rendition of Num 23:14, a justified path for comprehension.

As noted above, the renders the word *miṣpeh* in this locus by *horasis;* it renders the two other names similarly: *kai ekalesen auton Laban Bounos tēs martyrias, Iakōb de ekalesen auton Bunos martys* ("And Laban called it 'Mound-of-Testimony/Witnessing' but Jacob called it 'Mound-Witness' "; cf. Speiser *Genesis* 243, 248–49). The use of *Bounos* in the for rendering both Heb *gal* and Aram *yĕgar* here is like the use of the same word to translate Heb *gebaʿ* in 3 Kgdms 15:22.

Another school considers the name-giving pericope in Genesis 31 to be entirely etiological, arising from the creation of stories to explain by folk etymology already existing names, ultimately from different and not always comprehensible sources. In this scenario, certainly the *mṣph* names are common enough. Speiser (*Genesis* 248–49) deems the name *Galʿēd* as such an etiological "event" explicating the toponym *Gilʿād,* the theater of the conflict and covenant with the mound or cairn *(gal)* of the Witness *(ʿēd)* and thus supplying the basis for the regional name Gilead. This part of the etiology is from the "J source," while the alternate Mizpah (Heb *miṣpâ*), a similar connection to the stele (Heb *maṣṣēbâ*) set up, derives from the "*E* source."

A modern lexicon (KB) states that *Galʿēd* is actually only such an etymologically etiological product, created for the tale by revocalization of *Gilʿād* to *Galʿēd* (same Heb consonantal text: *glʿd*) and that the "true" derivation of *Gilʿād* is a root **gʿd,* known from Arab *jaʿuda* "to be wrinkled/lined" (said of cheeks), with a phonetic development **giʿʿad* > *gilʿad* (an -*lʿ*- medial cluster replacing the original geminate *-ʿʿ-). (Similarly, they explain the toponym *Gilbōaʿ* as deriving from **gibbōaʿ* and thus being a "comparative form" to *Gebaʿ,* with a meaning something like "the Hillier Hill." W. Borée had already noted (1930: 34n. 1) the absence of any analogy for this presumed "dissimilation" of geminate -*b*- to -*lb*-.)

**C. Names Involving the Root *ḥbr***

Arbeitman (1981), basing himself on (a) Mendenhall's methodology, (b) the covenantal relationship of the three name-giving events in Genesis 31, and (c) Borée's analysis, proposed interpreting the ancient triad of names, *Ḥebr̃n, (Qiryat) ʾarbaʿ,* and *Mamrēʾ* in a manner analogous to the interpretation of the

three names just noted. Each member of this triad of place names has reference to a covenant or treaty occurrence at that site. This treaty is noted in the Bible, though not in any way so explicitly as the treaty detailed in Genesis 31. It is rather with reference to the implicitly understood treaty between Abraham and Ephron in which the former obtains a burial cave from the Hittites. The name *Ḥebr̃-n* is to be explained as "the One-of [=Place-of-] the [Treaty-]-Ally" in Heb, and *›arba‹* as an exact Hittite translation (Hit *ara-* "friend, ally"); the third toponym, *mamrē›,* fits in as representing Hit *miu-mar* "friendship." The entire triad of names as applied to one and the same place is displayed ineluctably in Gen 35:27: "And Jacob came to Isaac, his father, at *Mamrē›, Qiryat ha-›arba‹,* which [is] *Ḥebr̃n* where Abraham sojourned and Isaac [too]." Yet some other scholars (e.g., Mazar [Maisler] 1949) have long believed *Mamrē›* to be a section of the *Ḥebr̃n* complex, nearby, but separate. This perspective seems to be inescapably tied in with their implicit acceptance of the midrashic (but nonbiblical) explication of *qiryat ›arba‹* as "City-of-the-Four-Quarters/Sections" (Arbeitman 1981: 895–900).

Finally, on the basis of Borée (1930: 58 n. 6), Arbeitman perceived the Arabic name of the city, *el-Khalîl* (traditionally considered as a reference to Abraham as "the Friend of the Merciful" [*ḫalîl* ar-raḥmān]) to fit with the Hit name triad when allowance is made for its original application to Abraham as the Friend (Heb *ḥābēr,* Hit *ara-* [and *miu-*]) of Ephron (Arbeitman 1981: 955–98).

**D. Names Involving the Elements *tad-/pal-***

M. O'Connor (1988: 235–54) examines the alternate names of *Tadmōr,* the earlier attested name and the one used in Semitic language sources, together with the later attested name, used in Classical sources, *Palmyra.*

O'Connor notes that the traditional folk etymology, wherein "*Tadmōr* " is deemed to be a derivative from the Semitic word for "date," *tāmār,* while the later attested name, *Palmyra,* is simply a translation/calque on this in Latin, where *palma* "the stretched out 'palm' of the hand" has the secondary meaning "palm tree," runs up against several vitiating factors, both phonological and chronological (1988: 235). He then suggests that both *Tadmōr* and *Palmyra,* far from being respectively Semitic and "classical" (i.e., Latin) names, are both names left by the important Hurrian element of the population in Syria. Following the methodological framework established by Arbeitman (O'Connor 1988: 251 n. 25) and adding a wide survey of various other cities with multiple names, he concludes that the alternate Hurrian names offer a semantically unimpeachable sense when the second syllable of *Tadmōr* and *Palmyr (-a)* is separated as representing the well-documented Hurrian suffix *-mVr* (probably /mar/), the meaning of which is unknown, but not likely to be a suffix forming abstract nouns (O'Connor 1988: 249 n. 18). The bases that then remain, *tad-* and *pal-,* are of the semantic sphere of covenant terminology, "to love" and "to know" (O'Connor 1988: 238).

In this last regard they resemble the names in Genesis 31 as well as the triad of ancient names involving *ḥbr.*

**E. Dān and Others: Arabic Translations**

Rainey (1978: 9) notes: "Examples of pure translation from Heb to Arab are rare. One certain case is that of *Tell el-Qâḍī*: 'the mound of the judge,' representing Dān: 'He (who) judges.' Another may possibly be *Khirbet el-waṭn*: 'Ruin of the homeland,' if its identification with *Môlādāh* should be substantiated." Arabic *qâḍî* translates NW Semitic *dān* in either its "real" meaning or its folk etymological understanding by the Hebrews as "judge." Its actual origin lies with one of the Sea Peoples, the people of (A)daniya in Anatolia, as maintained by Arbeitman and Rendsburg (1981: 147–57). (With reference to the root *ṣph/ṣfw,* examined in Section B above, Rainey [1983: 10] provides a necessary word of caution against using vague semantic similarities for the purpose of site identification: "Many suggestions have been made for the identification of Libnah. One of the most frequent was Tell eṣ-Ṣâfī; but the name of that tell means 'bright, shining' and not 'white.' " For further discussion of place names, see also TOPONYMS AND TOPONYMY.

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YÖEL L. ARBEITMAN

**CITY OF DAVID.** See DAVID, CITY OF (PLACE).

**CITY OF DAVID, STAIRS OF.** See STAIRS OF THE CITY OF DAVID.

**CITY OF PALM TREES** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿîr hattĕmārîm* (עִיר הַתְּמָרִים)]. An epithet for the city of JERICHO. From the top of Pisgah of Mount Nebo, Moses was shown the land to be possessed, "from the valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees, as far as Zoar" (Deut 34:3). From this text we can assume that Jericho was already called "the city of palm trees" before its destruction by Joshua. The name "City of Palm Trees" was probably given to this city because of the abundance of date-palm trees *(Phoenix dactylifera)* watered by the perennial spring *ʿain es-Sulṭan* located just east of the OT Jericho mound (Tell es-Sulṭan).

The name "City of Palm Trees" can be paraphrased as: "the city near which date-palm trees abound." S. Cohen (*IDB* 1: 638) thought that this term was used for a place which was a part of Jericho, and that after the destruction of the city by Joshua the term probably referred to the "groves of palm trees that flourished nearby." It is inconceivable, however, that the palm grove itself was called by this name because we do not have any reason to call a grove a "city." Rather, the destroyed city must have retained its names Jericho and "City of Palm Trees" which also included the surrounding area.

The Hebrew word for the date-palm is *tāmār* "erect," like a column or post *(tōmer).* This tree has no branches but its top is a large circle of palmate leaves. (RSV's use of the English word "branches" with respect to the palm tree [e.g., Lev 23:40; John 12:13] is imprecise.) So the Heb *tāmār* "palm tree" meant "erect tree" and symbolically represented a righteous man (Ps 92:12). The shape of the palm tree at a distance resembles a woman standing; therefore, in Cant 7:17, a nobleman's daughter is likened to the palm tree: "Your stature is [RSV marg.] like a palm tree, and your breasts are like its clusters."

Since this tree bears abundant sweet dates, the date-palm was a desirable fruit tree. The date-palm can reach a height of about 20 meters; its root is strong and fibrous so that the leaves are always full of sap and very green (Ps 92:14). The shape of the palm tree is graceful. Representations of date-palms ornamented Solomon's temple (1 Kgs 6:29). These excellent qualities may be the reasons why Tamar, "date-palm," was used as the name of some women in the Bible.

Many sorts of palm trees, different from each other in taste and name, were watered by the spring at Jericho. The better types yielded an excellent kind of honey when they were pressed, not much inferior in sweetness to the honey of bees. The Heb *nĕḥal,* generally translated "valley," may also have been the name of one of the excellent date-palms (Num 24:6; Cant 6:11). Also *ʾêl* "which you have desired" (Isa 1:29) may be a fruit tree like the date-palm. A place south of Judah near the Dead Sea had the name Tamar,

"Date-palm" (Ezek 47:19; 48:28) which may be another name for En-gedi, where many date-palm trees now grow, though it must be differentiated from the "City of Date-palms."

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**CITY OF SALT** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿîr hammelaḥ* (עִיר הַמֶּלַח)]. A Judean city near the Dead Sea mentioned once in the OT (Josh 15:62). Identification of the site is problematic, and the problems are reflected in the variant readings of LXX mss. $LXX^A$ agrees with MT in reading *poleis halōn* "City of Salt," whereas $LXX^B$ reads *poleis Sadōm* "city of Sodom." Sodom has commonly been thought to lie E of the Dead Sea. Conder identified the City of Salt with Tell el-Milḥ (M.R. 152069). The situation of the tell at the upper end of the Valley of Salt (Wâdī el-Milḥ; 2 Sam 8:13; 2 Kgs 14:7) E-SE of Beer-sheba makes this identification attractive, but Tell el-Milḥ has more recently been identified as Moladah (Gk *Malatha*).

There are six cities listed in Josh 15:61–62 as lying "in the wilderness" later known as the wilderness of Judah: (v 61) Beth-arabah, Middin, Secacah, (v 62) Nibshan, the City of Salt, and En-gedi. Of these, the only firmly identified site is En-gedi (the Hazazon-tamar of 2 Chr 20:2) on the W side of the Dead Sea 28 miles S of Jericho. The sites of Middin (Khirbet Abu Tabaq), Secacah (Khirbet es-Samrah) and Nibshan (Khirbet el-Maqari) have suggested locations in the Valley of Achor (although Bar-Adon [1977: 22–23] is among those who disagree with these identifications).

The City of Salt is now commonly identified with Khirbet Qumran (M.R. 193127; Noth *Joshua* $HAT^2$, 100), although Kallai (*HGB,* 396 n. 143) prefers to identify Qumran with Secacah. Others suggest Ain el-Ghuweir further S as the City of Salt. Qumran is just E of the Valley of Achor, about 14 miles from Jerusalem (on the site, see QUMRAN, KHIRBET).

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**CITY OF THE SUN** (PLACE). See SUN, CITY OF THE (PLACE).

**CLAMS.** See ZOOLOGY.

**CLAN.** See FAMILY.

**CLAROMONTANUS.** See CODEX CLAROMONTANUS.

**CLAUDIA** (PERSON) [Gk *Klaudia* (Κλαυδια)]. A Christian woman who was in contact with Paul during the imprisonment referred to in the Pastorals, probably in Rome, although Caesarea has also been defended (2 Tim 4:21). Claudia, along with Pudens and Linus after whom she is mentioned, sent greetings to Timothy. Her name suggests that she belonged to the imperial household, perhaps as a slave, or possibly as a member of the *gens Claudia.* The *Apos. Con.* 7.46 note that a certain Linus, the son or husband of Claudia (Gk *Linos ho Klaudias*), was the first bishop of Rome after the death of the apostles. Whether this Claudia and Linus are to be identified with those mentioned in 2 Timothy is not certain, although not impossible.

The supposition that the Claudia and Linus of 2 Timothy were mother and son has led some to assume that she was therefore the wife of Pudens. But this leads to the problem of explaining why in the text of 2 Tim 4:21 Linus is named between them. Redlich (1913: 222) has argued that if Claudia was the wife (or sister) of Pudens, she would have been mentioned before Linus and along with Pudens. He concludes that "if the order of names suggests anything, it points to a closer relationship between Linus and Claudia than between Pudens and Claudia." Nevertheless, those who suppose Claudia to have been married to Pudens draw the further inference that the two were identical to a couple with the same names mentioned by the Roman poet Martial (*Epigrams* 4.13) and to Roman couples named in British (*CIL* VII.17) and Roman (*CIL* VI.15.066) inscriptions. But since these names were common, there is no persuasive support for the linking. See a fuller discussion under PUDENS (PERSON).

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FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

**CLAUDIUS** (EMPEROR). Claudius (Tiberius Claudius Nero Germanicus), younger son of the elder Drusus and Antonia was born at Lyons on 1 August 10 B.C. and became emperor after the assassination of his nephew, Gaius, on 24 January A.D. 41. Although not a member of the Julian family by birth or by adoption (unlike his three predecessors), he was, on his father's side, the grandson of Livia (who married Augustus after the divorce of her first husband, Claudius' grandfather) and, on his mother's side, grandson of Mark Antony and also of Augustus' sister. He suffered throughout his life from some physical disability (possibly a form of paralysis) and was an object of scorn to many members of his family. "His grandmother Augusta [i.e. Livia] always treated him with the utmost contempt" (Suetonius *Divus Claudius* 3.2); to his mother, he was a "monster" (ibid.). Under the emperors Augustus and Tiberius, he held no public office, even though he was in his mid-forties at the time of Tiberius' death. Augustus had been wary of the public's reaction to his seemingly eccentric behavior—"they might ridicule both him and us" (Suet. *Claud.* 4.2). His first significant office was the "suffect" consulship of July 37: even this was a lesser award since members of the imperial family always received the "ordinary" consulship, i.e., they were the first consuls of the year, serving in January and replaced some months later by "suffect" consuls.

His accession was far from normal. Found hiding in the palace behind a curtain, he was dragged off by the praetorians and proclaimed emperor, while the senators debated whether the imperial "system" should be abolished and the Republic restored. He soon established his ascendancy, however, though his relationship with the senate was never good. Conspiracies against him were many, starting in 42 with that of L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus. The full extent of the opposition that existed (or that he believed existed) against him may be assessed by Suetonius' claim (*Claud.* 29.2) that in his reign thirty-five senators and more than 300 knights were executed.

Despite the hostile literary tradition belittling him and accusing him of succumbing to the power and influence of his wives and freedmen, at least some of the substantial administrative achievements of his reign were due to his personal intervention. His speech urging the admission to senatorial status of a number of Gallic leaders has survived: the irrelevancies and awkward expressions must be his. His intentions, though, were sound and consistent with his general belief in the importance of Romanizing the empire—note the new cities he created and the colonies established from Britain to Syria. Of some importance, too, were his efforts to improve Rome's grain supply by building a new harbor (*Dio Cass.* 60.11.1–5) and by establishing greater control over the process of distribution. As well, he was responsible for substantial improvements in roads and aqueducts in both Italy and the provinces. He was extremely interested in legal matters, from the introduction of measures aimed at greater humanity towards slaves to attempts at speeding up the judicial process. However, his preference for trials before the emperor and his advisors (*intra cubiculum*), rather than before the senate, did nothing to lessen his unpopularity with that body. His most powerful ministers included the former slaves Narcissus (responsible for the official correspondence), Pallas (financial minister), and Callistus (in charge of petitions). But the extent of their influence is impossible to assess, especially in view of the sources' hostility not only to Claudius himself but also to former slaves in general. There is no reason to doubt their efficiency; on the other hand, the argument that, through them, Claudius extended and centralized the bureaucracy ought to be regarded with extreme caution, because the evidence for it is slight.

Claudius was a scholar. In his youth, he was encouraged by the historian Livy: later he composed an autobiography, a defense of Cicero, accounts of the Carthaginians and the Etruscans, a history of Augustus' principate from the end of the Civil wars and, as well, tried to have three letters added to the alphabet. His foreign policy was markedly more aggressive than that of his predecessors. A revolt in Mauretania was settled and two new provinces were created there. Thrace became a province in 46. Most expansion, however, occurred in Britain, where Roman influence had been confined to the south-eastern

quarter. Claudius' massive invasion force of four legions moved rapidly and before long, the Fosse Way from Exeter to Lincoln marked the limit of their progress. Britain was now a province.

His attitude to the Jews was more enlightened than Gaius'. He posted an edict guaranteeing Jews throughout the empire the right to practice their religion "without let or hindrance" (Josephus, *Ant* 19.290). In Alexandria, where Gaius' policy had led to serious unrest, an edict of A.D. 41 (*British Museum Papyrus* 1912) reprimanded both the Greek and Jewish rioters, urging the former to "act kindly towards the Jews." The reaction of the Greeks in that city is presumably represented in a collection of papyrus documents now known as "The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs" which purport to give, *inter alia,* details of the trials in Rome of Greek nationalist leaders: In tone, they are violently anti-Roman and, at the same time, hostile to the Jews. Later, though, he expelled the Jews from Rome "for constant rioting at the instigation of Chrestus" (Suet. *Claud.* 25.4), where at least the reference to Christianity is unambiguous; the emperor's action is confirmed by an incident recorded in Acts 18:2, where two Jews, Aquila and Priscilla, expelled from Rome, came to Corinth and later met Paul. Finally an inscription said to come from Nazareth records a decree (possibly of Claudius) on the violation of tombs: scholars since 1930 have debated the possibility of an allusion to the burial and resurrection of Christ.

Of his four wives, the last two are the best known. At the time of his accession, he was married to Valeria Messalina: their children were Octavia (whom Nero later married) and Britannicus (whom Nero later poisoned). After Messalina was put to death in 48 following her public "marriage" to Silius, Claudius married his niece Agrippina who already had a son, Domitius Ahenobarbus, some four years older than Britannicus: shortly after the marriage, Domitius was adopted by Claudius and named Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus Caesar, though his young step-brother persisted, much to Nero's annoyance, in calling him "Ahenobarbus" (Suet. *Nero* 7). Greater honors came to Nero and greater power to Agrippina, but, fearing that Claudius might regret his promotion of Nero, Agrippina had him poisoned on 13 October 54, thereby ensuring her son's accession. Scholars have attempted to rehabilitate Claudius or at least to moderate the uniformly hostile picture painted by the ancient sources. Yet he remains a paternalistic autocrat and a pedantic administrator. The influence exerted over him by his wives and former slaves has been exaggerated: only in his last years did Agrippina's power become excessive.

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**CLAUDIUS LYSIAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Klaudios Lysias* (Κλαυδιος Λυσιας)]. A chiliarch and tribune of a cohort of Roman troops in Jerusalem. He was not a Latin, as his Greek cognomen Lysias indicates. Perhaps he took on the nomen Claudius when he purchased his emancipation from slavery and became a Roman citizen while Claudius was Emperor (Acts 22:28). Claudius and his cohort were quartered in the tower of Antonia, northwest of the Temple and connected to the Court of the Gentiles.

Claudius arrested Paul during his struggle with the Jews in Jerusalem (Acts 21:30–23:35). When Paul's life was threatened by the Jews in the Temple, Claudius had Paul bound and carried to the tower of Antonia, thinking initially that Paul was the Egyptian sicarii who had led a recent rebellion against Jerusalem (21:38; cf. Jos. *JW* 2.261–63). See EGYPTIAN, THE (PERSON). When he commanded that Paul be examined by scourging to find out why the Jews made such an outcry against him, he was deterred by Paul's claim to Roman citizenship (22:24–29). Claudius later had Paul examined before the Sanhedrin (22:30–23:10). Informed by Paul's nephew of a conspiracy against Paul's life (23:12–22), Claudius dispatched a full military escort at night to take Paul from Jerusalem to Caesarea, where Felix, the procurator of Judea, was stationed (23:23–35). He sent along a letter to Felix outlining his dealings with Paul (23:26–30). The only reference to his name occurs in the heading of this letter (23:26).

JoAnn Ford Watson

**CLAY.** See POTTERY (TECHNOLOGY).

**CLEAN.** See UNCLEAN AND CLEAN.

**CLEMENT** (PERSON) [Gk *Klementos* (Κλεμεντος)]. A Philippian Christian and one of Paul's fellow workers whose names are recorded in the "book of life" (Phil 4:3). The Latin name, Clement, may indicate that his family was among the original, prospering colonists in the Roman colony of Philippi. Clement is named by Paul, along with Euodia, Syntyche and "true yokefellow," as having struggled side by side with him to preach the gospel. "To struggle side by side" (Gk *sunathleō*) is an image taken from the games and suggests that Clement was a "fellow athlete" striving together with Paul in the united effort of preaching the gospel and sharing the suffering involved in that endeavor. Clement is also described as being among those whose names are in the book of life. Just as in the OT reference is made to a "book of life," as a kind of registry of God's chosen people (Exod 32:32–33; Ps 69:28; 139:16; cf. this expression in apocalyptic literature: Dan 12:1; Rev 3:5,20; *1 En* 47:3; and in Qumran: 1QM 12:2), and just as in cities like Philippi there must have been a civic registry that included all the names of citizens, so also, as Paul sees it, the heavenly commonwealth (cf. Phil 3:20) has inscribed in God's book of life the names of believers. Although the phrase "names in the book of life" can indicate in apocalyptic literature that those people so designated have already died, such an assumption regarding Clement is improbable.

Tradition from the ancient church, specifically Origen (*Jo.* 6.36), has identified this Clement from Philippi with Clement of Rome, the author of *1 Clem.* (ca. 96), a view then transmitted by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.4.9) and taken up by later writers. Irenaeus, writing before Origen, had said that Clement of Rome, whom he lists as the third in the list of Peter's successors, was a disciple of the Apostles (*Haer.* 3.3.3), but he did not link him explicitly with the Philippian Clement. Nor did Tertullian, who wrote that Clement of Rome was consecrated by Peter (*De praescr. haeret.* 32), mention any connection between Clement and Paul. It is generally judged, in spite of Origen's statement, that an identification of the Philippian Clement with the Clement of Rome is unlikely because of the geographical and chronological distance that separates these two (Lightfoot 1888: 168–71). Also, Clement was a common name in the 1st century.

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JOHN GILLMAN

**CLEMENT, FIRST EPISTLE OF.** An epistle sent in the name of the Apostolic Father Clement from the church in Rome to Corinth late in the 1st century C.E.

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A. Tradition and Influence
B. Principal Sources
C. Greco-Roman Context
D. Literary Form
E. Occasion and Purpose
F. Authorship
G. Date

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**A. Tradition and Influence**

The so-called *First Epistle of Clement* was an authority in the early church. For a time, it was part of the canon of the churches of Egypt and Syria. Three of the manuscripts in which it is found contain portions of the Christian Scriptures: Codex Alexandrinus (5th century), a Coptic papyrus codex (5th century), and a Syriac NT (12th century). It appears alongside the Didache in Codex Hierosolymitanus. The Latin translation is to be assigned, on linguistic grounds, to the 2d century (Mohrmann 1949). In ca. 150 A.D., Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, wrote to his Roman counterpart, Soter, that the epistle sent by Clement was still being read from time to time in the Christian assembly (Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 4.23). Eusebius attests that the letter was read in the worship services of many churches, in the days of old and in his own time

(*Hist. Eccl.* 3.16). Indeed, the letter seems to have been one of the best known writings in the early church. Polycarp makes full, if tacit, use of the work (Lightfoot 1890:1.149–52). Irenaeus praises the letter and summarizes its first chapters (*Haer.* 3.3.3). The epistle is frequently utilized by Clement of Alexandria, who knew the work when he wrote his *Paedagogus* (1.91.2), and filled the *Stromata* with explicit quotations (Grant 1965:5–6). The high esteem in which the letter was held contributed, no doubt, to the legend of its reputed author, to whom anonymous works were subsequently attributed (*2 Clement*, two epistles *De virginitate*, the *Apostolic Constitutions*), making it possible for him to become the hero of a 3d-century romance, the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, and glorifying him with a posthumous martyrdom (*Martyrium Clementis*, 4th century). The reading of the work in the worship assembly, the frequent citations in the writings of the fathers, the early translation of the work into three languages, the canonical status which the work sometimes enjoyed—these are so many testimonies to the authority of *1 Clement* in the early church. It is a surprising authority, given the fact that the work made no claim to apostolic authorship. How, then, is one to account for the remarkable authority of this text?

An answer to this question might be sought in the usefulness of the work to the orthodox leaders of the church. *1 Clement* was a weapon in the struggle against the gnostics; it was understood and utilized as an antiheretical writing by Hegesippus and Irenaeus (Bauer 1970: 103–4). Moreover, its teaching on the divine origin of church order and the apostolic succession of ecclesial office (40:1–44:6) seemed to lay the foundation for the concept of the monarchical episcopate and the claim of the Roman church to primacy (Ziegler 1958:102–22). But the usefulness of the work was limited in both respects. For, in fact, Clement's orthodoxy left something to be desired, as Photius quickly pointed out (*PG* 103.408A). It is interesting to note, in this connection, that Clement of Alexandria already omits reference to the mythical phoenix of chap. 25 and the virtuous pagans of 54:1–55:2. Those who wished to assert Roman primacy came, in time, to prefer to cite the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, or the *Apostolic Constitutions*, since, in fact, *1 Clement* says nothing about the primacy of Rome or the monarchical episcopate (Peterson 1950: 129–30). The Latin version had to alter the wording of 60:4–61:1 to make it clear that it is to the Roman church that God has given authority. As a result, by the late Byzantine era, *1 Clement* had virtually disappeared from sight, until the first edition was published by Patrick Young in 1633.

If one seeks to comprehend the authority of the text, one must go beyond its function in the struggle for orthodoxy, beyond its influence upon the fathers of the church. In fact, one cannot stop short of the text itself. For the letter makes its own claim to authority, which is altogether surprising at this early period. One is immediately struck by the naturalness with which the Roman church intervenes, all unbidden, in the affairs of another congregation, and not in order to urge both parties to seek peace and reconciliation, but to take sides with the deposed presbyters. The author insists upon strong disciplinary measures: the exile of the younger persons who had raised the rebellion (54:1–4; 1:1; 3:3), and the restoration of the old presbyters to office, apparently against the will of the majority (44:1–6). Astonishing instructions, when one remembers that at this time the Roman church possessed neither the means nor the position to effect such an intervention. That the author did not possess the authority he claims is evident from the rhetorical character of the letter: He must persuade by argument and induce by example; that is, it is not yet his to command.

**B. Principal Sources**

What is the source of the authority which the letter asserts? Where is the presumption of its author grounded? It is clear that the OT is a warrant for Clement (Wrede 1891: 58–107); it is the book of revelations through which God speaks (22:1). It provides instructions for conduct and examples of nurture (1:3; 3:4; 40:4–5; 50:5; 58:2). More importantly, it prophesies, typologically, the order of the church, the offices of bishop and deacon (42:5, citing Isa 60:17). Like Moses before them (43:1–6), the apostles knew that there would be strife over the title of bishop; thus they decreed that, at the death of the bishops, other approved men should succeed to their ministry, with the consent of the whole church (44:1–3). The presbyters are viewed as cultic officers, on the analogy of the OT priests, and thus are fundamentally

distinguished from the laity (40–41). Their task consists, in accordance with the priestly example, in the offering of sacrifices and in service to the community (44:3–4).

Christian tradition is a second source of authority. The lives of Peter and Paul are paradigmatic (5). 1 Corinthians is cited repeatedly (24:1; 35:5–6; 37:5–38:2; 47; 49:5–6). The author calls upon the liturgy to give force to his counsel: doxologies (20:12; 43:6; 45:7–8; 58:2; 61:3; 64), trinitarian formulae (46:6; 58:2), and, above all, the solemn liturgical prayer, with which the work concludes (59:1–61:3), situate the advice in the worshipping community and invite its sanction. Moreover, the letter has a homiletical character; the first long section (4–39), especially, makes the impression of a sermon. It has even been suggested that *1 Clement* is composed of old homiletical pieces. One has no difficulty locating the accustomed elements of Christian paraenesis: household codes (1:3; 21:6; 21:8), catalogues of virtues (62:2; 64), and of vices (30:1; 35:5–6). In keeping with its homiletical character, the epistle makes use of rhetoric to a far greater degree than other early Christian writings. The author is more familiar with the figures of ancient prose, more sure in his use of diatribal style, than Paul, or than the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. One repeatedly encounters rhetorical questions and imperatives, antitheses, anaphora, alliteration, etc. The panegyric on love in chap. 49 draws upon rhetorical models in its attempt to rival 1 Corinthians 13. Like the synagogue preacher and the political orator, Clement makes frequent use of examples to illustrate his admonitions on jealousy and envy (4–8), faith and hospitality (9–12), humility (16–18), repentance (51–53), and voluntary exile (55). The agon motif (in chaps. 5–7) is taken over from the diatribe (Dibelius 1942: 192–99; Ziegler 1958: 24–37). All in all, the work makes the impression of a sermon, permeated with scripture citations and concluded by a solemn liturgical prayer. There can be little doubt that the work was intended, from the very beginning, for reading in the assembly, and perhaps in churches beyond Corinth (Stuiber *RAC* 19: 192).

These are strong warrants—the OT and Christian tradition. But it is not here that the claim of the text is grounded. For it is not the content of the tradition which is normative for Clement, but a value which he imports from without. For example, the author of the epistle asserts that God saved through Noah the living creatures which entered in concord *(homonoia)* into the ark (9:4). What is peculiar about this formulation is that the emphasis falls not on the salvation of Noah and his family, as in 1 Pet 3:20, but on that of the animals who entered the ark in concord. There is no tradition, Jewish or Christian, in which the animals are said to have entered "in concord." The notion was doubtlessly suggested to Clement by the "two by two" of Gen 6:10. Behind the curious statement lies the desire to tell the Corinthians, as Knopf rightly observed, "the animals were peaceable, the humans were not" (1920: 59). But precisely this purpose is foreign to the text. The same motive is apparent in chap. 11, where the sin of Lot's wife is said to consist in a difference of opinion with her husband, in her failure to remain in concord *(homonoia)* with him (11:2); thus she was changed into a pillar of salt to make it clear to all that "those who are double-minded fall under condemnation" (11:2). But nowhere is it said in the biblical text that Lot's wife held different opinions from her husband, that she was not in concord with him. Precisely what Clement views as essential has been imported into the text from without. So it is everywhere that the OT is cited: the specific regulations are not considered normative, but the principle of order as such. And whence this principle?

Nor is Christian tradition the basis for the obedience which Clement demands; it furnishes the occasion, or, at most, the content for instructions which are grounded elsewhere. Clement's account of the trials of Peter and Paul (chap. 5) reflects no knowledge of the actual events of their lives, no acquaintance with the autobiographical portions of Paul's letters; rather, the description is shaped by the image of the philosophic athlete, who enters the moral arena to fight for virtue, whose mythological prototype is Hercules, the Cynic-Stoic hero (Sanders 1943: 30–31).

Similarly, Clement adds to Paul's hymn on love, from which he quotes in 49:5, precisely what he wishes to say: "Love creates no strife, love does all things in concord *(homonoia).*" When Clement takes up Paul's image of the body (from 1 Cor 12:12–27), he gives it a very different significance: Paul meant to illustrate the relationship between members, despite their differences; but by stressing the contrast of hand and foot, and the collaboration of great and small (37:1–5), Clement preaches subordination, in

contrast to Paul. Nor does the tradition of Christian worship provide sufficient warrant for the text. Contrast the solution which Clement recommends to the crisis in the Corinthian church, voluntary exile (chap. 54), with the procedure which Paul directs against the sinner of 1 Corinthians 5. Paul insists upon the removal of the man from the community; judgement is to be pronounced in the name of the Lord, and the sinner is to be delivered to Satan. Paul's advice is modelled upon the process for excommunication from the synagogue. Neither the vocabulary nor the process has anything in common with what Clement suggests. Clement's measures are not based upon Jewish or Christian precedents; the norm must be sought elsewhere.

**C. Greco-Roman Context**

These observations lead one to search for an external warrant for the text. The influence of popular philosophical conceptions, like the moral athlete, with their Cynic-Stoic character, has long been noted (Sanders 1943: 13). One finds, for example, in Clement's discussion of the resurrection, alongside much that is dependent upon Paul (24:1–5, citing 1 Cor 15:20, 36–37), an argument drawn from natural history, the story of the phoenix (chap. 25), in a version which is closely akin to that of Pliny (*HN* 10.2) and Pomponius Mela (*Chorogr.* 3.8). Military obedience as an example of social order (37:1–3) was a favorite topos of the Stoics, as well (Sanders 1943: 82–83). The collaboration of great and small was admired by Plato and Euripides, among others (Sanders 1943: 84). Clement's use of the metaphor of the body (chap. 37) has more in common with Menennius Agrippa (in Livy) than with the purposes of the apostle Paul (Sanders 1943: 85–91). In recommending voluntary exile (chap. 54), Clement follows the precedent of Roman politics, in keeping with Stoic teaching (Sanders 1943: 41–50). Clement's conceptions, illustrations, and figures of speech reflect his dependence upon Greco-Roman models.

But it is not merely a matter of diffuse cultural influence. For the order which Clement seeks to create within the church is that recommended by Roman political philosophy; it is the ideal of "peace and concord," visibly established in the Imperium Romanum and vigorously defended by contemporary orators. At the close of the epistle (63:2), Clement describes his work as "an appeal for peace and concord" (Gk *enteuksis peri eirēnēs kai homonoias*), and expresses the desire that the ambassadors who have accompanied the work will be sent back to Rome quickly, in order that they may report the sooner "the peace and concord which we pray for and desire" (65:1). One notices what a large role is played by "peace and concord" in Clement's account of cosmic order in chap. 20: The heavens are subject to God "in peace" (20:1); sun, moon, and stars roll on in their appointed courses, "in concord, without swerving at all" (20:3); seasons change, giving place to one another "in peace" (20:9); the smallest animals conjoin "in concord and peace" (20:10). So Clement concludes: "All these things did the great creator and master of the universe ordain to be in peace and concord" (20:11). If human beings wish to find their place in the cosmos, as citizens worthy of God, they must accomplish "virtuous deeds before him in concord" (21:1). The great liturgical prayer culminates in an appeal for the peace and concord of the earthly rulers (61:1).

By the end of the 1st century of the Roman empire, "peace and concord" had become a formulaic description of the well-being of the state. One encounters the slogan everywhere, in speeches, in histories, in government documents, on inscriptions and coins. So, for example, in Dio Chrysostom's thirty-ninth oration, *On Concord in Nicaea, Upon the Cessation of Civil Strife:* "But it is fitting that those whose city was founded by the gods should maintain peace and concord toward one another" (39.2; cf. *Or.* 40.26). Plutarch concludes that the plan of Alexander's campaigns demonstrated that he was a true philosopher, because he did not seek to obtain luxury for himself, but to bring "peace and concord to all men" (*De Alex. Fort.* 1.9; cf. Plutarch *De Garr.* 17; Lucian *Hermot.* 22; Dio Cassius *Hist. Rom.* 44.23; 44.25; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. Rom.* 7.60.2). Diodorus Siculus relates how the inhabitants of Euboea fell into strife, and how their island was devastated; but "at long last the parties came into concord and made peace with one another, having been admonished by their misfortunes" (*Hist.* 16.7.2). The terms "peace and concord" are found together from the 1st century B.C. on, mutually defining a conception of the well-being of the state, in reaction to the bloody civil war (P. Jal 210–31). It is not possible to say whether the combination is typically Roman, and has been taken over into Greek literature (P. Jal 221), or whether *concordia* has been influenced by the Greek concept *homonoia* (Skard 1932). But the origin of the slogan

does not lie in Stoic circles exclusively (contra Sanders 1943: 129). For the ideal is found on inscriptions which record the arbitration of disputes (e.g., *SIG* 816) and on coinage celebrating the end of strife between cities. In urging peace and concord, Clement may be seen to follow the advice which Plutarch gave to a young friend who had inquired about the mode of political life appropriate to a citizen of the empire, in which "the affairs of the cities no longer include leadership in wars, or the overthrow of tyrannies, or the conclusion of alliances … There remains, then, for the statesman, of those activities which fall within his province, only this—and it is the equal of the other blessings—always to instill concord and friendship in those who dwell together with him and to remove strifes, discords, and all enmity" (*Praec. ger. rep.* 805A,824C–D).

**D. Literary Form**

The importance of political context is confirmed by consideration of literary form. The most explicit description of the work is found in 58:2, in the appeal to the readers to "receive our counsel" *(symboulē).* The letter is conceived, therefore, as a *(symboulē),* or deliberative discourse, regularly discussed by writers on rhetoric after Aristotle (Arist. *Rh.* 1.3–4.8; *Rh. ad Her.* 1.2.2; Quintilian 3.4.15; 3.8.6; [Aristides] *Ars rh.* in Spengel 1894: 2.503–504; see the studies of the literary category *symboulē* by Klek 1919 and Beck 1970). Epistolary theorists provide definitions of the symbouleutic letter (Ps.-Demetrius *Typoi Epistolikoi* 11 and Ps.-Libanius *Epistolimaioi Xaraktēres* 5 in Weichert 1910). The purpose of such a work is to exhort or dissuade, with reference to some future act; thus, it advocates what is beneficial, as opposed to what is harmful (on the goals of deliberative rhetoric, see Aristotle *Rh.* 1.3.5–4.7; Quint. 3.8.1–3; 3.8.22; 3.8.33; Alexander in Spengel 1894, 3: 1–2 and the more detailed analysis by [Aristides] *Ars rh.* in Spengel 1894, 2: 503–504). Narrative is kept to a minimum, since the deliberative work is concerned with the future and seeks to advise about things to come (Arist. *Rh.* 1.3.4; Quint. 3.8.6). The deliberative orator assigns blame where it is due (Arist. *Rh.* 1.9.28–37; Quint. 3.7.28) and makes use of examples (*Rh.* 1.4.8–9.39; Quint. 3.8.36). A sub-category of the deliberative discourse is the appeal for concord (Isocrates *Paneg.* 3; *Ad Phil.* 16; *Ep.* 3.2; Cicero *De Or.* 1.56; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 38.1–2; Dio Cass. 44.23.3; Aelius Aristides *Or.* 24.825D,826D,827D; Philostr. *VS* 1.9.4; Iamb. *VP* 9.45). A number of examples of this genre have fortunately survived, several in the form of epistles (e.g. Thrasymachus *Peri Politeias* Antiphon *Peri Homonoias;* Isocr. *Or.* 4; *Ep.* 3,8,9; Ps.-Plato *Ep.* 7; Ps.-Demosthenes *Ep.* 1; Socratic Epp. 30–32; Ps.-Sallust *Ep.* 2; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 38–41; Aelius Aristides *Or.* 23–24; [Herodes Atticus] *Peri Politeias;* Ps.-Julian *Or.* 35). Their authors, generally philosophers or rhetoricians, seek to calm the outbreak of faction, within cities or between cities, by dissuading from strife *(stasis)* and exhorting to concord *(homonoia).*

The *First Epistle of Clement* fully conforms to the definition of a deliberative work (van Unnik 1970: 33–46). The author successfully combines exhortation *(protropē)* with warning *(apotropē),* e.g., in 30:3; 35:5; 58:1. He uses the recommended topics and arguments, appealing to what is beneficial (19:2–21:2; 35:1–2; 38:6), to what is right and holy, and warning against what causes harm and danger (14:1–2), where the terminology of the *(symboulē)* is especially prominent; on danger as an argument, see also 41:4; 47:7, and the parallel in Dio Chrys. *Or.* 48.14). As Quintilian suggests (3.8.36; 3.8.66), Clement argues for what is right and lawful (63:1–2). Like other works in this genre, *1 Clement* is filled with examples (5; 6; 46; 55; 63:1). The relative absence of narrative, confined to chaps. 1 and 44, is also explained by reference to the genre (Dion. Hal. *Rhet.* 10.14). Even the theme of cosmic harmony in chap. 20 belongs to the topoi of a discourse on concord (cf. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 48.14–16).

In existing speeches and letters on concord, one meets with the same complex of ideas and motifs, adapted by each author to a particular situation. Is it nevertheless possible to discern a structure? When one compares several works from Clement's time, e.g. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 38, [Herodes Atticus] *Peri Politeias,* Ps.-Julian *Or.* 35, Aelius Aristides *Or.* 24.28–37, a schema begins to emerge, in which introduction is followed by proposition, a general appeal for concord, arguments against strife, specific advice, an answer to possible objections, and an epilogue.

**E. Occasion and Purpose**

*1 Clement* finds its warrant in the ideology of the empire, and utilizes the popular counsel of concord, ubiquitous in the 2d century (Bowersock 1969: 68). This discovery allows for several conclusions on the occasion and purpose of the work as a whole. First, the fact that Clement draws upon rhetoric and ideology does not mean that the situation is fictitious, or that the letter is a crypto-apology for the faith (Eggenberger 1951). There is no reason to doubt that, as Clement says, "a few rash and self-willed persons have caused strife to blaze up" (1:1), and that several presbyters have been removed from office (44:3–6; 46:9; 47:6), replaced, it seems, by younger men (3:3). That the letter deals sparingly with affairs in Corinth is dictated by the rules of the genre. In the orations of Dio Chrysostom and Aelius Aristides "on concord," the causes of strife are seldom reported. In no case is this a reflection of ignorance; it is simply in keeping with the aims of the genre (Dion. Hal. *Rhet.* 10.14; Quint. 3.8.6–10). In light of these formal and social constraints, one might even say that Clement has told us too much in chap. 44. Thus it is hardly surprising that the background of the conflict is never described, and that the author mentions, as the sources of strife, nothing more concrete than jealousy and envy (4–5). One may conclude that it is impossible to reconstruct the conflict, or the views of those whom Clement combats. It may well be that Lütgert is right in seeing here a conflict between "Spirit and Office" (1911: 50–111), or that W. Bauer was correct in describing the conflict as a special case of the struggle between orthodoxy and heresy (1970: 99–109). But the rules of the genre make it difficult to advance beyond hypotheses.

Whatever the causes of the conflict in Corinth, money seems to have been involved. Contrasting the former humility of the Corinthians with the ambition which has now given rise to strife, the author states that the Corinthians had once been "satisfied with the provision *(ephodios)* of Christ" (2:1). Dionysius of Corinth, in his letter to Soter, observed that it had been the custom of the Roman church from the beginning "to send contributions *(ephodia)* to many churches in every city" (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.23.10). From the Roman point of view of Clement, the younger generation of leaders at Corinth are dissatisfied with the provision for their church. What role did this play in the revolt against the presbyters? Were the established presbyters accused of embezzlement? Did the new leaders seek another contribution, to replace the funds their predecessors stole? Polycarp reports that the presbyter Valens was deposed from office for "avarice" (*Ad Phil.* 11). The unrest of the 1st and 2d centuries almost always had economic causes; and the agreements which brought strife to an end usually included concrete provisions which served the interests of all parties.

If one knows less about the situation in Corinth as a result of these insights, one learns more about the purposes of the Roman church. The intervention of Rome into the affairs of Corinth is modelled on the relations of the capital to the provinces. It is thus an expression of the will to power, and not a fraternal correction (Stuiber *RAC* 19: 192) or a kindly (Lietzmann 1832: 202). There is nothing to suggest that Rome's intervention was invited by the Corinthian church, or initiated by the deposed presbyters. The inexact reference to a "report" *(akoē)* in 47:7 seems rather to exclude the possibility of an official communication from Corinth. The Roman church has acted on its own initiative; the division in Corinth only furnished the occasion.

The intervention of the Roman church is modelled on the actions of the Roman senate and the emperor. First, the church decided to dispatch a *symboulē,* in much the same manner that philosophers and orators, with the approval, or on the instruction, of the Roman emperor were sent to troubled cities to counsel concord. Along with its appeal, the church sent three "witnesses" (63:3–4; 65:1) to observe and report on the restoration of peace. The Roman state proceeded in similar fashion in its efforts to quiet faction in the cities. When a class struggle erupted at Rhodes, Aelius Aristides sent a speech on concord in which he described himself as a "witness" (*Or.* 24.833D). In a symbouleutic discourse ascribed to Julian, but dated by Keil (1913) to the 1st century A.D., the author states that a legation *(presbeia)* will be sent to Corinth consisting of two philosopher orators (Ps.-Julian *Or.* 35; Keil 1913: 39). The senate frequently adjudicated disputes between provincial cities, often employing local agents as arbiters (texts and commentary in Sherk [1969]; cf. Tod [1913]; Piccirilli [1973]). Finally, the Roman church recommended exile. *Exsilium* was a Roman practice for escaping trial (frequently mentioned in Cicero, e.g., *Pro Caec.* 100; cf. Suetonius 5.25.4). Clement's solution brings to mind the voluntary exile of Dio under Domitian.

Thus the Roman church sought a relation with its sister congregation in Corinth like that which Rome had with the cities of the empire (Cauwelaert 1935), a relationship like that between mother-city and colony (Seibert 1963). In this sense, *1 Clement* belongs in the history of the primacy of Rome (Ziegler 1958: 122).

In adopting the ideology and strategy of the government, Clement endorsed the Roman imperium. The epistle is characterized throughout by a positive attitude toward the Roman state (Wengst 1987). In 37:2–4 the author praises the Roman military, "the soldiers in service of our leader," as a model of obedience, in language which recalls Aelius Aristides' *Eulogy of Rome* (88). In the solemn liturgical prayer with which the work concludes, the author asks that Christians "may be obedient … to our rulers and governors on earth," to whom God has given the sovereignty (60:4–61:1). This prayer for princes is more than a show of loyalty; it expresses the conviction that the empire and its rulers have been established by God as the earthly counterpart of the heavenly kingdom.

**F. Authorship**

*1 Clement* represents itself as a writing of the Roman church, and gives no hint of the name or person of the author. Yet, it must have been written by a single individual, as the unity of style and content suggest. That his name was Clement, as the manuscripts indicate, was the unanimous opinion of the ancient church. The earliest witnesses are in the letter of Dionysius to Soter (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.23.11) and in Hegesippus (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.22.1). Irenaeus knows that the Roman community, "during his time in office," sent a letter to Corinth (*Haer.* 3.3.3). Without referring to the epistle, Hermas mentions a Clement who had responsibility for correspondence with the churches without (*Vis.* 2.4.3). One may see in this person the author of *1 Clement.* He must have been a leading personality in the church at Rome, the official correspondent with other churches. More than this, one cannot know.

**G. Date**

The epistle is customarily dated to the end of the reign of Domitian (95 or 96 C.E.). In the first sentence of the letter, the author explains that the Roman church has been delayed in turning its attention to the dispute at Corinth by "sudden and repeated misfortunes and hindrances which have befallen us" (1:1). This statement is usually interpreted as an allusion to a persecution through which the church at Rome has just been passing. Since chap. 5 speaks of the Neronian persecution as something long past, the sporadic assaults of Domitian must be meant. But the language of 1:1 is so vague that one may doubt whether it refers to persecution at all (Merrill 1924: 160); and the evidence for a persecution under Domitian is tenuous (Merrill 1924: 148–73). In letters and speeches on concord, one often finds an apologetic formula like that which introduces *1 Clement*; it was customary for one who gave advice on concord to excuse his delay by reference to personal or domestic hindrances (e.g. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 40.2; Aelius Aristides *Or.* 24.1; Socratic Ep. 31). The language which Clement uses to describe the causes of the delay, *symphorai* and *periptōseis,* with the adjectives *aiphnidioi* and *epallēloi,* is frequently found in discussions of the circumstances which give rise to discord in literary and epigraphic texts (Diodorus Siculus 16.7.2; *4 Macc.* 3:21; Josephus *JW* 5.32; Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.2.1; *OGIS* 335.15; 339.17; *SIG* 685.137; 708.7; 730.20; 731.6). The appearance of terms so closely associated with strife in the preface to *1 Clement* suggests that the author has cast the conventional apology in the form of a *captatio benevolentiae*; he wished to include himself and the Roman church in the *nouthetēsis* (admonition), so that they should not appear to be lording it over their brethren. The "misfortunes and hindrances" of which the epistle makes mention may have been internal dissensions like those which troubled the community in Corinth. But it is not necessary to believe that these quarrels had any real existence at all, only that the author found allusion to them, by means of conventional expressions, a convenient way of establishing a sympathetic relationship between himself and his readers. He wished to say: We are faced with the same problems and have need of the same admonition.

Thus one must rely upon more general statements in the epistle and in tradition. The account of the deaths of Peter and Paul in chap. 5 is not that of an eye-witness. The presbyters installed by the apostles have died (44:2), and a second ecclesiastical generation has passed (44:3). The church at Rome is called "ancient" (47:6); and the emissaries from Rome are said to have lived "blamelessly" as Christians "from

youth to old age" (63:3). Thus the epistle cannot have been written before the last decades of the 1st century. There are references to the letter by the middle of the next century in the works of Hegesippus and Dionysius of Corinth (*apud* Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.16; 4.22; 4.23). Thus one may place the composition of *1 Clement* between A.D. 80 and 140.

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**CLEMENT, SECOND EPISTLE OF.** An early Christian epistle transmitted along with *1 Clement* in the biblical Codex Alexandrinus (late 4th century) and the later Jerusalem Codex (1056) which includes the *Didache,* as well as in the Syriac version. It was not written by the author(s) of *1 Clement* and, indeed, is not a letter but a sermon on self-control, repentance, and judgment. The sermon begins abruptly: "Brothers, we must think about Jesus Christ as about God, as about the judge of living and dead; and we must not think little of our salvation." The preacher tells his "brothers and sisters" that he is reading them a "petition" or "plea" (Gk *enteuxis*) to "pay attention to what is written," i.e. to the scriptures which he frequently cites (along with quotations from "the prophetic word," otherwise unknown, and something like the apocryphal Gospel of the Egyptians). He himself refers to "the books (i.e., the OT) and the apostles" as authorities (14.2).

Scholars have noted the "synoptic-type" Jewish piety of the sermon, perhaps surprising around A.D. 140–160 (the epistle's approximate date). The work appears to rely on the Gospel of John as well, however, notably in 9:5–6: "If Christ the Lord who saved us was spirit at first but became flesh [John 1:14] and so called us, so we shall receive the reward in the flesh. Let us then love one another [John 13:34] so that we may all come to the kingdom of God." The kingdom will come when truth and good works are accompanied by ascetic practise (chap. 12). Until then, Christians must preserve the "seal of baptism" (7:6, 8:6) and belong to "the first, spiritual Church, created [like Israel, according to some rabbis] before sun and moon," for Gen 1:27 refers to the male Christ and the female Church, both spiritual; Christ is also the Spirit (chap. 14). The theology is not altogether clear, and the author soon turns to state that he has "given no trivial counsel about self-control," leading into his practical appeal for repentance and going so far as to say that "fasting is better than prayer, but almsgiving is better than both" (16:4).

He urges his hearers "not just to seem to believe and pay attention while being exhorted by the elders" but to remember at home and meet more frequently (17:3). Sinners will be punished in unending fire (17:7, cf. 5:4, 7:6).

Why was it supposed to be from Clement? Three places of origin have been assigned to it because of its connection with *1 Clement:* Corinth, Rome, and (later) Alexandria; but none is fully convincing. It is simply one example of a "garden-variety" 2d century sermon, rhetorically inferior to the work of Melito of Sardis and Hippolytus.

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**CLEMENTINES, PSEUDO-.** "Pseudo-Clementines" is not primarily a generic designation used in all inauthentic writings attached to the name of Clement of Rome. It refers rather to a specific group of pseudonymous compositions that relate a fictitious tale of Clement's conversion to Christianity, of his travels with Peter, and of his recovery of the long-lost and dispersed members of his family. The genre of these writings is the ancient romance of recognitions; the *Pseudo-Clementines* are the first known example of Christian adoption *en bloc* of this literary *Gattung.* The author has thereby used established literary conventions to illustrate his belief that Christian faith leads to the resolution of intellectual difficulties as well as hardships in life.

The main constituents of the *Pseudo-Clementines* are the *Homilies* and the *Recognitions.* The original Greek of the *Hom. Clem.* has survived in two manuscripts from the 11th or 12th and 14th centuries. The Greek of the *Clem. recogn.,* in contrast, has been lost except for small fragments preserved in the church fathers (listed in Rehm 1965: c–cii). Two ancient versions of this work must be employed in lieu of the Greek. A Latin rendering was undertaken by Rufinus of Aquileia in ca. 406 C.E. A Syriac version, containing at least books 1 to 4.1.4, was made somewhat earlier. The surviving Greek and Armenian fragments reveal that these two translations are of approximately equal text-critical value, though the Syriac deserves slight preference. The *Hom. Clem.* and the *Clem. recogn.* originated probably in 4th century Syria, as traces of the Arian debate indicate.

These two main recensions of the *Pseudo-Clementines* have so much material in common that some sort of literary relationship must exist between them. Though simple dependency of the one upon the other was advocated in the 19th century, the view that both are based on an earlier third writing (the basic writing) has gained predominance. It is controversial whether this basic writing was employed independently (Waitz, Strecker) or under the influence of the other recension (Rehm).

There are no undisputed fragments of the basic writing. The most likely candidates are the citations in the *Chron. Pasch.,* Origen *comm. ser. 1–145 in Mt.* at Matt 26:6–13 (series 77, p. 185.18–24), the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum* cols. 770–71, and Origen *philoc.,* though Strecker (1981: 260–64, 269) denies that any of these derive from the basic writing. Of decisive importance in this regard is whether Origen

himself knew the basic writing. Beyond the passages already mentioned, one should compare also Origen *Cels.* 1.57, 6.11 with *Hom. Clem.* 2.23–24 par. The debate on the genuineness of the citation in Origen *philoc.* (see now Stuiber 1973) has been continued by Junod (1976: 25–33), on the one side, and Rius-Camps (1976: 153–54), on the other; while it is not true that one of the compilers, Basil the Great, did not know the *Pseudo-Clementines* (see Riedinger 1969: 258–59), this citation probably derives from Origen. In contrast, the suggestion by Tetz (1968) regarding a new fragment of the basic writing must be flatly rejected. Other authors who are likely to have used the basic writing are Epiphanius, the *Const. App.* (contra Wehnert 1983: 289–90), and possibly Lactantius. In sum, these witnesses would indicate that the basic writing was composed ca. 220 C.E., and Syria is its probable home.

Great effort has been exerted in attempts to recover the sources of the basic writing. The most important and controversial of these are the so-called *Kerygmata Petrou (Preachings of Peter).* This hypothetical writing, postulated by modern investigators to explain the genesis of the *Pseudo-Clementines,* quite possibly never existed and thus is perhaps only a fiction that has riddled recent scholarship. In any event, the emendations of the text in *Hom. Clem.* 1.20.2 that are used as a main buttress for the theory of this source are not legitimate. Another common source-critical theory assumes that much of the material in *Clem. recogn.* 1 derives from (a recension of) the *Anabathmoi Jakobou (Ascents of James),* a Jewish Christian writing described by Epiphanius *haer.* 30.16.7–9 as containing a vicious lampoon against Paul. While a source does seem to be reflected in this section of the *Pseudo-Clementines,* the similarities with the *Ascents of James* do not extend beyond widespread Jewish Christian notions, while the differences (e.g., no elements of the lampoon against Paul as reported by Epiphanius) preclude the identification of the *Ascents of James* as the source.

The *Pseudo-Clementines* are significant for biblical studies in a number of ways, but mainly because the author of the basic writing was affected by Syrian Jewish Christianity. He has preserved traditions that evidently extend back to apostolic times and that have survived elsewhere only fragmentarily. Elements of anti-Paulinism in the *Pseudo-Clementines* led F. C. Baur to employ these writings as a cardinal witness to the Jewish Christian wing of earliest Christianity. Early tradition is also reflected in some of the unusual sayings of Jesus that find parallels in a variety of sources, especially Justin Martyr. The thesis that the *Pseudo-Clementines* are directly dependent on a harmony of the Gospels (in particular, one supposedly used by Justin, as assumed by Kline 1975), however, finds insufficient support in the parallels. The history of each saying must be examined independently.

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**CLEODEMUS MALCHUS.** A Jewish historian who lived prior to the mid-1st century B.C.E. A brief excerpt of his work is first quoted by the pagan author Alexander Polyhistor, possibly in his now lost book *On Libya.* The fragment is preserved in Josephus *Ant* 1.15.1 §§ 239–41, from which it is later quoted in slightly altered form in Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* 9.20.2–4.

The exact title of his work is not known. Josephus only says that Cleodemus "reported concerning (perhaps, narrated the history of) the Jews." The one surviving fragment expands on Gen 25:1–4, which lists Abraham's descendants through his second wife Keturah. Conflating the biblical account, Cleodemus lists 3 sons of Abraham by Keturah: Iapheras, Sures, and Iaphras (or, as reported by Eusebius, Apher, Assouri, and Aphran), after whom he says the city of Ephra (Afra; otherwise unknown), Assyria, and Africa were named.

Cleodemus displays special interest in traditions relating to Libya (the continent Africa) and Africa (the region around Carthage), in particular the exploits of the Greek hero Heracles in Libya, which were variously reported by ancient authors (cf. *Diod. Sic.* 1.17.3; 21.4; 24.1–8; 4.17.4–5; Plutarch *Sert.* 9.3–5). Especially remarkable is Cleodemus' claim that Abraham's sons joined Heracles in fighting the Libyan giant Antaeus, and that subsequently Heracles married Abraham's granddaughter and fathered a son from whom descended the "barbarian Sophakes" (perhaps a reference to Numidian tribes in N Africa). This willingness to link the biblical account of Abraham's descendants with popular legends current in the Hellenistic-Roman world, thereby providing a distinctly Judaized version of the settling and civilizing of Libya and Africa, is a specific instance of syncretism that typifies certain Gk-speaking Jewish authors of the Hellenistic period, e.g. Artapanus and Pseudo-Eupolemus.

As to the identity of Cleodemus, virtually nothing is known except that Polyhistor gives his surname as Malchus and calls him "the prophet." Depending on how one interprets each of these biographical data, as well as how one assesses his syncretistic tendencies, scholars have variously identified him as Samaritan (Freudenthal 1875: 131–36), Jewish (Walter 1976: 116), and pagan (Wacholder 1974: 54, 55), either Syrian or Phoenician. The likely Semitic origin of the name Malchus and his demonstrable interest in Abraham argue for his Jewish identity. Generally a Palestinian or Samaritan provenance has been suggested, although the prominence he gives to N African traditions suggests that he was perhaps a member of the Jewish community at Carthage (Walter 1976: 116).

The only firm indicator of his date is that he is quoted by Alexander Polyhistor (ca. 105–30 B.C.E.). How much earlier he flourished is difficult to say. He may have used a Gk translation of Genesis, which would suggest that he lived after the mid-3d century B.C.E. Scholars generally date him between 200–50 B.C.E.

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**CLEOPAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Kleopas* (Κλεοπας)]. One of the 2 disciples whom Jesus joins on their way to Emmaus (Luke 24:18). The name Cleopas has been found on a Gk ostracon from Egypt: it is a shortened form of *Kleopatros* ("illustrious father"), the masculine form of Cleopatra. It is sometimes identified with Clopas (John 19:25), but the latter is of Semitic origin. The evidence for identifying the 2 names is not strong. Probably, Luke is working with a tradition (cf. Mark 16:12–13); otherwise, he would have also named Cleopas' companion (Fitzmyer *Luke x–xxiv* AB, 1554–55, 1563–64). Cleopas was very likely known to Luke's readers. Naturally, there has been some speculation about his unnamed companion; Cleopas' wife or son have been suggested. The former is more reasonable, since if the son was later bishop of Jerusalem, he would have been named (Marshall *Luke* NIGTC, 894). Other suggestions for the identity of Cleopas' companion include: Peter (unlikely in view of vv 33–34), Nathaniel, the deacon Philip, Nicodemus, Simon, Amaon and even Emmaous (Metzger 1980:40–1).

More important is how Cleopas and his companion function in the narrative. They stand for any Christian who was (or is) confused about what happened to Jesus and about where they might now find him (Wanke 1973: 67,122,126). Of course, Jesus' appearance to Cleopas and his companion and the majestic passives express divine initiative and grace (Betz 1969: 34–39,44–46). Cleopas and his companion walk on "the way" (vv 32,35), a name for Christianity (cf. Acts 8:26,36,39;9:2;16:17;19:9,23;22:4;24:14,22). Their failure to see represents weakness of faith; thus, Jesus describes them as "foolish … and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken!" (Luke 24:25). To be sure, they knew that Jesus of Nazareth was a prophet mighty in work and word and that he had been delivered up, condemned and crucified by the chief priests and rulers. But they failed to realize how well founded was their hope that Jesus was the one to redeem Israel. Now, 3 days had passed, and everything was gloomy, except for the confirmed report of the women that the tomb was empty and their amazing news that they had seen a vision of angels who said that Jesus was alive. Then, before their blind eyes, Jesus opens all the Scriptures. Beginning with Moses and the prophets, he explains everything about himself—that the Christ had to suffer all these things and so enter his glory (cf. Luke 16:31). Some authors (Betz 1969: 37–41; Perry 1986: 59–68) derive from the story a message about the presence of the risen Jesus in every Christian interpretation of scriptures. Koet (1985: 59–73) contends that "discuss" *(synētēo),* "open" *(dianoigō)* and "explain" *(diermēneuō)* are certainly technical terms for scriptural interpretation, and to a lesser extent, "converse" *(homileō).* "Heart" can be associated with such interpretation.

Cleopas and his companion also exemplify hospitality and the recognition of the risen Jesus in the Eucharist. When they reached Emmaus, Jesus appeared to be going further. However, Cleopas and his companion constrained him to remain with them because it was late. At table, Jesus took the bread and blessed it, broke it, and gave it to them. Only then were their eyes opened, and they recognized him (v 31; cf. vv 16, 35; Plevnik 1987:94–98), but he vanished. A theme of hospitality (Karris 1987: 58–59; Robinson 1984: 485–94) does not explain the similarity of Jesus' words to those of the Last Supper (Luke 22:19; cf. 9:11–17) nor the parallel with "Philip and the Ethiopian Eunuch" (Acts 8:25–40; Dupont 1953: 361–64). Furthermore, the information that their eyes are opened and their journey ended only at the breaking of bread emphasizes that event even more than the correct understanding of scripture. On the other hand, Luke does associate the breaking of bread with instruction about himself and the mission (Dillon 1978: 105–8).

Cleopas and his companion recalled how on the way their hearts had burned within them when Jesus opened the scriptures. Immediately, they returned to Jerusalem and told the eleven and those with them what happened on the way and how they recognized Jesus in the breaking of bread. Yet their news is subordinated to Jesus' appearance to Peter (Wanke 1974: 186–88), and the return to Jerusalem and the eleven marks the formation of the community (Dillon 1978: 93–103).

Like all Christians, Cleopas and his companion are on the Way. Their inability to see, their lack of faith and hope, calls for a correct understanding of scriptures—that Jesus is the redeemer and, as Christ, had to suffer and thus enter his glory—and of his presence in the Eucharist. Such an understanding brings

amazement and joy. Cleopas and his companion also demonstrate the need for grace, hospitality, enthusiasm to share the good news and joining one's proclamation to that of the Church (Borse 1987: 62–66; Wanke 1973:49–53,114–16).

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**CLEOPATRA** (PERSON). Although borne by several minor mythological figures, the name Cleopatra ("born of a famous father") came into prominence during the Hellenistic period mainly as a result of its close association with the royal house of Macedon. The first Cleopatra of historical note was the wife of Perdiccas II of Macedon (ca. 452/35–413 B.C.) and Cleopatra was also the name of the daughter of Philip II at whose wedding celebrations Philip was assassinated in 336 B.C.

It was presumably because of these royal associations that the name later became popular with the Seleucid and Ptolemaic dynasts. Several Ptolemies had wives and daughters called Cleopatra and the best-known bearer of the name—the mistress of Julius Caesar and Mark Antony and last ruler of an independent Egypt before her suicide by asp bite in 30 B.C. and the country's annexation as a Roman province—was actually Cleopatra VII of that line. There are three previous Cleopatras of this dynasty who are of particular biblical interest.

**1.** *Cleopatra I,* born ca. 215 B.C., was the daughter of Antiochus the Great and Laodice. Married to Ptolemy V in 194/3 B.C. as part of the peace settlement between the two kings in 195 B.C., she brought as her dowry the revenues of Coele-Syria and Palestine (Josephus *Ant* 12.4.1 § 154). Nicknamed Syra ("the Syrian"), she ruled as regent for her young son Ptolemy VI after her husband's death in 180 B.C. She died in 176 B.C., leaving 2 sons, Ptolemy VI and VIII, and a daughter Cleopatra II.

**2.** *Cleopatra II,* daughter of the foregoing, was married in 175/4 B.C. to her brother Ptolemy VI. Add Esth 11:1 is thought to refer to them. It was to them that Onias IV fled after the installation of the hellenizer Alcimus as high priest (Joseph. *Ant* 12.9.7 §§387–88). In response to his petition citing the prophecy in Isa 29:19, they permitted him to construct at Leontopolis a temple similar to the Temple at Jerusalem (*Ant* 13.3.1–3 §§62–73), as well as favouring the Jews in other ways. In 170–164/3 B.C. Cleopatra was co-regent with Ptolemy VI and her younger brother Ptolemy VIII, with whom she joined in a dynastic marriage with the latter after her husband's death in 145 B.C. Matters deteriorated in 142 B.C. when Ptolemy VIII also married her younger daughter Cleopatra III, adding her to the co-regency. A confused power struggle resulted, with both Cleopatra II and Ptolemy VIII fleeing into exile on occasion. Reconciled in 124 B.C., the three again ruled together until Ptolemy's death in 116 B.C. Cleopatra II herself died soon afterwards, probably in 115 B.C.

**3.** *Cleopatra Thea,* oldest daughter of the foregoing and Ptolemy VI, was joined in a diplomatic marriage in 150 B.C. to Alexander Balas, who had gained the Seleucid throne with the support of Ptolemy and of Jonathan Maccabaeus (1 Macc 10:57–58; Josephus *Ant* 13.4.1–2 §§80–85). He proved unsatisfactory as king and in 146 B.C. Ptolemy switched his support and Cleopatra's hand to a rival claimant, Demetrius II Nicator (1 Macc 11:9–12; Josephus *Ant* 13.4.7 §§109–110). Demetrius was captured while invading Parthia (139/8 B.C.) but Cleopatra continued as queen by marrying his brother

Antiochus VII Sidetas (138–129 B.C.). Later she ruled in her own right for a short period (126 B.C.) and then as regent with her son Antiochus VIII Grypus (125–121 B.C.). Exposed in an attempt to poison him, she was forced to commit suicide by drinking the poison herself (Justin 39.2.7–8).

**4.** Unrelated is the Cleopatra from Jerusalem, a wife of Herod the Great (Josephus *Ant* 17.1.3 §21) and mother of the tetrarchs Herod and Philip (Luke 3:1). See further in PW 11/1: 738–44, 785–87.

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**CLERGY.** See MINISTRY IN THE EARLY CHURCH.

**CLIENT KINGS.** Rome's ability to establish friendly contacts and alliances with the powers around her was fundamental to the success of Roman imperial expansion and administration. "Client kings" is a convenient general term employed by modern scholars to denote monarchical rulers who enjoyed such relations with Rome, whether those relations were based upon a formal treaty or not.

**A. Terminology and History**

The Roman state termed these rulers its *amici* ("friends") and/or *socii* ("allies", a term also applied to provincials). Their kingship was often recognized formally by Roman proclamation *(appellatio),* sometimes, especially under the Republic, with grand ceremony at Rome, as was the case with Herod in 40 B.C. At the same time, individual Romans developed special personal and family relationships with these rulers and might actually describe them as their "clients" *(clientes),* though here, too, the terminology of friendship was the norm. Therefore, the term 'client king' is not a formal title or a common designation so much as a metaphor used to express the *de facto* patronage exercised by Rome and Romans over these rulers. Of course, in practice, the actual nature of that patronage varied greatly from case to case, especially according to the relative strengths of the contracting parties. Thus, for example, the powerful king of Parthia often had a relationship with Rome which, in purely formal terms, was indistinguishable from that of a petty client king (such as Herod), but the vastly greater power of the Parthian king made the realities of his relationship with Rome entirely distinct.

The first client kings were insignificant tribal chieftains of Italy whose names have mostly been lost to history. As Rome expanded into the Hellenistic world, it gained grander "friends and allies." For that reason Hiero II, king of Syracuse (ca. 263 B.C.), is often though erroneously regarded as the first client king of Rome. Client kings remained vital to the Roman empire until the fall of the empire in the West in A.D. 476 (when a client king of sorts, the Germanic Odoacer, seized power). In the East they continued to be vital to the Byzantine state, which could even count kings of Italy among its clients. Yet it is often supposed that Rome conceived of client kingdoms as temporary entities eventually to be replaced by provinces administered directly by Roman governors. The fact is, however, that although kingdoms tended to be annexed over the centuries, there is no evidence that Romans ever thought of such kingdoms as temporary; indeed, such long-term thinking was simply not characteristic of Roman government.

**B. Relations with Rome**

The frontier of the Roman empire was in practice a broad, ill-defined area, even where fortified lines existed. Within that undefined area, client kings played a crucial role, since most were therefore situated on the margins of the territories directly administered by Rome. Due to their marginality, the Romans themselves disagreed as to whether, strictly speaking, client kings were "inside" or "outside" the *imperium Romanum.* On the frontier, client kings joined Roman military campaigns of attack and defense, providing large forces, necessary resources, information, and strategic positions. Rome seems to have preferred not to tax such kingdoms directly, but rather to leave them as reservoirs upon which she could

draw whenever required. Moreover, client kings could use their marginal positions to act as intermediaries for Rome, though they risked accusations of treachery by so doing (see HEROD ANTIPAS).

It must be stressed that client kings enjoyed a great measure of independence and real power by virtue of their powerful friends in Rome and, more generally, because Rome was simply not interested in matters of day-to-day local administration. Rome became genuinely interested in the kings' activities primarily when those activities threatened Roman interests directly or indirectly (e.g., when a king consorted with an enemy of Rome, or if he created or failed to quell unrest within his kingdom). In particular, Rome expected client kings to suppress banditry and piracy within their territories. Should a king fail to satisfy Roman expectations he might be deposed, detained, or even executed. On the other hand, client kings could call upon Roman support and protection against internal and external threats to their kingdoms. Though Rome might refuse to help, usually it was in the interests of its prestige and of future deterrence to be seen rallying to the aid of her friends. In the same way, when a king died he sometimes left a will that called upon Rome to ensure the succession of his chosen heir. Where no such heir existed, kings might bequeath their entire kingdoms to Roman protection and administration.

The relationships between Rome and client kings were structured (and on occasion undermined) by personal and family relationships between kings and leading Romans. These relationships brought great military forces into the hands of the most influential Romans, such as Pompey. In the civil wars which marked the passage from republic to principate at Rome, client kings played important roles. Juba of Numidia and Cleopatra VII of Egypt are the two best-known examples.

After the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C. and the establishment of the principate under Augustus, the patronage exercised over client kings by the Roman state and by individual Romans tended to coalesce, becoming simply the patronage of the emperor and the imperial family. Although other Romans (especially governors in adjoining provinces) continued to form relationships with kings, the emperor took some care to ensure that these did not undermine or contradict his political wishes. Augustus, following precedents set by Caesar and Antony in particular, made client kings a more integral part of the Roman empire than they had been. Most client kings were now granted Roman citizenship and regularly sent their sons to stay with the imperial family at Rome. In their kingdoms, kings founded or refounded cities which they named Caesarea, cities which often contained edifices named after members of the imperial family. These cities also became centers of the imperial cult, and a few kings, notably in the Crimean Bosporus, actually appointed themselves priests of the imperial cult. Coins were minted depicting the image of the ruling emperor.

Emperors used kings to boost their prestige not only in the empire at large but also within Rome itself, where great ceremonies could be held to celebrate the conclusion of treaties and formal arrangements. The Romans were ambivalent toward these kings, but they nevertheless recognized the exalted status of royalty. It was easy therefore for the emperor to claim honor not only as the "conqueror" of kings but also as their great patron and protector.

In the course of the principate, client kings and leading Romans became increasingly indistinguishable. In the Roman Senate, provincial elites more and more replaced the members of the old aristocracy, which had largely died out. Scions of royal dynasties were very much in the vanguard of this movement into the Senate.

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**CLOISONNE.** See JEWELRY.

**CLOPAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Klōpas* (Κλωπας)]. Husband (or son or father) of a woman who stood near the cross of Jesus during his execution according to John 19:25. The exact relationship cannot be

determined from the Gk text, because she is identified only as "the Mary of Clopas." He sometimes has been identified with Cleopas [Gk *Kleopas*], one of the 2 travelers to Emmaus with whom Jesus conversed after the resurrection according to Luke 24:18. While it is possible that the Semitic name Clopas has been transformed into the Gk name Cleopas (abbreviated for *Kleopatros*), or vice versa, there is no reason to assume the identity of the 2 men. No evidence in the Gk texts of Luke and John suggests that the 2 names were interchanged during the course of their transmission. But a tradition found in Origen (*Cels.* 2.62, 68 and elsewhere) suggests that Cleopas and Clopas may have been equated by Christians as early as the 3d century.

Efforts to identify Clopas as a relative of Jesus based on biblical texts are not convincing. John 19:25 appears to depict 4 women near the cross: Jesus' mother "and the sister of his mother, the Mary of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene." Although the phrases "the sister of his mother" and "the Mary of Clopas," seem to refer to separate individuals, the ambiguity of the Gk makes it quite possible that only 3 women are present. Thus if one takes "Mary of Clopas" to stand in apposition to "the sister of his mother," then Clopas could be Jesus' cousin or grandfather or uncle on his mother's side. The last possibility is intriguing because Eusebius knows a tradition from Hegesippus that Clopas was Joseph's brother, hence Jesus' uncle on his father's side (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.11). According to Hegesippus, Clopas was the father of Symeon (Simon) who succeeded Jesus' brother James as bishop of the Jerusalem church (3.32; cf. 3.11; 4.22).

Reading John 19:25 to refer only to 3 women witnesses (as in Mark 15:40 = Matt 27:56; diff. Luke 23:49) has led to further speculation that Mary the wife of Clopas was also Mary the mother of James and Joses named in Mark 15:40. Based on this identification and the conjecture that the James of Mark 15:40 was the son of Alphaeus (Mark 3:18 = Matt 10:3 = Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13), Alphaeus and Clopas would be one and the same person. But the identification of Alphaeus and Clopas depends upon 3 weak presuppositions: (1) the assumption that Mary is Clopas' wife; (2) the inference that Mary of Clopas was the sister of Jesus' mother, which leads to the unlikely result that both sisters had the same name; (3) the arbitrary identification of the James in Mark 15:40 with the James of Mark 3:18. Moreover, there is reason to think that 'Mary the mother of James and Joses' in Mark 15:40 refers not to Clopas' wife but to Jesus' mother, as does a similar description in Mark 6:3. If this is the case, then both Mark and John would agree in portraying the mother of Jesus as present at the crucifixion, but the Mary of Clopas does not readily correspond to any woman in Mark 15:40. (See Platz *IDB* 1:650; *NTApocr* 1: 418–32.)

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**CLOTHING.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**CLOUD, PILLAR OF.** See PILLAR OF FIRE AND CLOUD.

**CLUB, WAR.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

**CLUBS.** See ASSOCIATIONS, CLUBS, THIASOI.

**CNIDUS** (PLACE) [Gk *Knidos* (Κνιδος)]. A Greek port on the SW coast of Asia Minor which Paul sailed past on his voyage to Rome (Acts 27:7). Cnidus (pronounced with a silent "c") was situated at the very W tip of a 40-mile peninsula which juts out into the Mediterranean between the islands of Cos and Rhodes, near the modern town of Tekir. This region was called Caria, and in Paul's time was part of the Roman province of Asia. Acts relates that Paul's ship sailed slowly W from Myra to Cnidus, and then was forced by unfavorable autumn winds to turn S and sail to Crete (reference to "the fast" in 27:9 indicates the autumn season). Haenchen detects an error here, claiming that the course was not changed by unfavorable winds but rather was the normal route to Rome (1971: 699). Actually, the text does not say where the normal course for fall sailing was, but simply that "the wind did not allow us to go on." This is not inconsistent with Haenchen's claim that autumn winds typically forced westbound ships to detour S from Cnidus to Crete.

Writing less than a century before Paul's journey, Strabo described Cnidus as a city:

> with two harbours, one of which can be closed, can receive triremes (warships), and is a naval station for twenty ships. Off it lies an island which is approximately seven stadia in circuit, rises high, is

> theatre-like, is connected by moles with the mainland, and in a way makes Cnidus a double city, for a large part of its people live on the island, which shelters both harbours. (14.2.15)

The military harbor faces NW while the larger, commercial harbor which Paul's ship approached faces SE. The mountainous island rises W of the city and is connected by a narrow man-made isthmus to the mainland E of the city. Modern excavations have revealed that the city itself may have originally been built on the island and then spread across the isthmus to the mainland. It boasted 2 theaters, the smaller of which seated approximately 4,500 and faced the S commercial harbor. The city also featured numerous temples and a necropolis that is one of the largest ever discovered. A circular temple with 18 Doric columns crowned the westernmost terrace above the city, overlooking both harbors. This almost certainly displayed the famous marble statue of Aphrodite Euploia (the Aphrodite of Fair Sailing) created in the 3d century B.C.E. by Praxiteles. Writing during the 1st century C.E., Pliny the Elder described it as the finest sculpture in the world, a work of art which had made Cnidus a famous city (*HN* 36.20–22).

It was previously hypothesized that ancient Cnidus was founded near modern Burgaz-Datça, about 26 miles E, and was only moved to the present site during the 4th century B.C.E. (*IDB* 1:655). Excavations have disproved this theory by unearthing pottery fragments at the present site dating from the 6th century B.C.E. (Mellink 1978: 324). Anti-Hasmonean Jewish refugees may have fled to Cnidus ca. 142 B.C.E. In that year, at Hasmonean request, the Roman consul Lucius wrote to Cnidus requesting that the city extradite any Jewish refugees to the high priest Simon (1 Macc 15:21–23). Roughly a century later the Romans exempted the city from tribute (Love 1972b: 401). Although Paul sailed past Cnidus, Christian missionaries later came to the area, several churches were constructed, and eventually the city became the seat of a bishop. During the 5th century C.E., a basilica was constructed on the site of the temple of Dionysus (*IDB Sup,* 169).

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**COAT OF MAIL.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

**CODE.** See LAW, BIBLICAL AND ANE.

**CODEX.** The codex (pl. codices), or leaf book, of which the modern book with pages is a direct descendant, came into use as a medium of literature only in the early centuries of the Christian era. Although it was not a Christian invention, the codex was early favored in the Christian circles for the transcription of Christian literature, and its wide use by Christians popularized it and eventually led to its use for the transcription of Greek and Roman literature as well. The replacement of the traditional scroll or roll book (Lat *uolumen,* whence our "volume") by the codex was a development of major importance in the history of book production in general. Within Christianity the codex played an important role in the transmission and collection of Christian writings and contributed to the formation of the Christian Bible.

This entry consists of 10 articles. The first provides a discussion of what exactly a codex is, followed by separate articles on the major codices: Alexandrinus, the Berlin Gnostic codex, Bezae, Brucianus, Claramontanus, Ephraemi Rescriptus, Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, Washingtonianus. A discussion of Codex Askewianus can be found under PISTIS SOPHIA. See also CANON (NT); CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI; NAG HAMMADI; PAPYRI, EARLY CHRISTIAN.

### *THE CODEX*

The codex made of papyrus or parchment apparently evolved from sets of thin wooden boards, either whitened to receive writing with ink or slightly hollowed and filled with wax to receive writing with a stylus, and then hinged along one edge. Such sets of writing tablets *(tabellae, pugillares)* had long been used as notebooks for jotting memoranda, keeping accounts, doing school exercises, or making rough drafts. The term codex derives from them: *caudex* or *codex* meant originally "a piece of wood." When sheets of papyrus or parchment were substituted for wooden tablets the codex became lighter, easier to

handle, and far more capacious. Yet it retained its purely functional status as a notebook and was not immediately regarded as a proper book, that is, a medium of literature.

The papyrus codex was constructed either on a single-quire or a multiple-quire method. A single-quire codex was produced by cutting sheets from a manufactured papyrus roll, stacking them, folding them across at the center, and then fastening them along the crease. Such a codex might contain as many as 50 sheets (yielding 100 leaves or 200 pages). A multiple-quire codex was formed by folding single sheets or small groups of sheets, thus creating a series of gatherings (or quires) which were then stacked and stitched together at their folded edges. On either method, the sheets were usually so arranged that facing pages always exhibited the same side of the papyrus, whether horizontal or vertical fibers. Most early papyrus codices were made as single quires, but the multiple-quire method later prevailed because it permitted the construction of larger codices which did not bulge at the outer edge and tend to spring open. Extant papyrus codices vary in size, but normally are 6–8“ wide and 10–12“ high. Papyrus codices were almost always higher than wide, and thus typically differ from parchment codices, which closely approximate a square shape. Parchment codices could be constructed on the single-quire or the multiple-quire method, but multiple quires are characteristic. Here too the sheets were arranged so that the facing pages showed the same side of the material, in this case either “flesh” or “hair of the skin.” Although parchment codices were much outnumbered in the early evidence by papyrus examples, the evidence does not allow a clear determination of what material was originally used for making codices. In the first 3 centuries papyrus seems to have been preferred, for it was plentiful and inexpensive, but by the 4th century parchment predominated, less because of any intrinsic advantage over papyrus than, as some have suggested, because of economic decline in Egypt. Once constructed, the codex was often furnished with a cover of wood or leather which could be fastened with thongs. Few early covers have survived, but the Nag Hammadi codices preserve some fine examples.

The inscribing of a codex posed problems not encountered in a roll. Whereas in a roll all writing was done on the side where the papyrus fibers ran horizontally, in a codex the scribe had to write on both sides of each sheet, and thus also where the papyrus fibers ran vertically. A comparable task was posed by the parchment codex, where the scribe had to write on the hair side as well as on the flesh side. Also, when inscribing a codex it was necessary to calculate carefully in advance how much space would be needed, for the codex, if it was constructed before being inscribed, could not be so easily enlarged as a roll. If, however, the pages were inscribed before the codex was gathered and bound, the sheets had to be carefully maintained in the proper order. Further, whereas rolls were normally inscribed in narrow columns, the relatively narrow pages of codices encouraged the inscription of a rather broader single column per page, and this is the general rule for extant codices. Some, however, have 2 or more columns, but this is more typical of parchment codices with their relatively wider pages.

The first mention of the codex as a medium of literature, and thus as a book proper rather than a notebook, is found in epigrams of the Roman poet Martial in the late 1st century C.E. He refers to the availability of his own poems in a form “which the parchment confines in small pages” (1.2: *quos artat brevibus membrana tabellis*), and mentions the bookseller from whom these could be obtained, so that these were commercial products. He refers also to works of other writers (Homer, Virgil, Cicero) which are *in membranis* or *in pugillaribus membraneis* (14.184–92); at least the latter, but probably all these, were parchment codices. Such inexpensive pocket-editions, which are represented as novelty gifts, must have been produced by a publishing entrepreneur. But the innovation apparently made no headway against the time-honored roll, which continued as the medium of Greek and Latin literature for centuries to come.

It was first of all in Christian circles that the codex gained popularity as a format for literature. The remains of Christian manuscripts from the 2d and 3d centuries are predominately in codex form, and items of Christian “scriptural” literature are almost exclusively in codex form, while the remains of non-Christian manuscripts from this period are by large majority in traditional roll form. The marked departure of Christianity from the established standard in book production cannot be plausibly explained simply by reference to the practical advantages of the codex over the roll, for though there were advantages

(economy, portability, ease of reference, comprehensiveness), they would not have been recognized exclusively by Christians. Consequently it has been supposed that the codex was promoted into general Christian usage by the authority of some particular document originally published in a codex, such that the authoritative content of the work carried over to the type of book in which it was known. It has been argued that this document was the gospel of Mark (Roberts 1954), or some early gospel-type document, such as a collection of sayings of Jesus (Roberts and Skeat 1983). A good case might also be made that it was an early collection of Pauline letters. Although such a nonutilitarian stimulus to the Christian adoption of the codex is plausible and probable, the practical advantages of the codex for travelling missionaries (portability, ease of reference, comprehensiveness) ought not be left wholly out of account (McCormick 1985). In any event, the codex early became the standard form of the Christian book, and it was undoubtedly under Christian influence that by the late 3d and early 4th centuries the codex gained parity with the roll as the medium of non-Christian literature, and thereafter almost entirely replaced the roll.

The use of the codex within early Christianity, and most especially for its "scriptural" literature, may be said to imply a functional approach to scripture: this format did not depict its content as cultured literature, but as documentary material for regular uses, such as preaching, teaching, and liturgical reading. Correspondingly, these codices were inscribed in workaday hands rather than calligraphic scripts. And in some ways the codex probably assisted in the conception and formation of a canon of Christian scripture. This type of book provided the technical possibility of compassing a series of documents far more extensive than any single roll could contain, and by the end of the 2d century certain documents were being collectively transcribed on a single codex. Certainly the four Gospels were made available in this way, and so also were the epistles of Paul (cf. the CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI $P^{45}$ [ca. 250], a codex containing the four Gospels and Acts, and $P^{46}$ [ca. 200], a codex comprising the epistles of Paul). The idea of the exclusive authority of four Gospels, or indeed of a "fourfold Gospel," could find tangible expression only in a codex that contained these and no others, just as the idea that Paul had written to seven churches and no others (and so addressed the church at large) gained concretion by transcribing the letters together in one codex. The form in turn probably helped to promote and to standardize such collections as well as the rationales behind them. Ultimately, when, in the 4th century, all the writings that the Church had come to value as scripture could be transcribed in a single large codex like Codex Sinaiticus or Codex Vaticanus, the codex gave forceful physical representation to the concept of a canon of scripture, connoting its unity, completeness and exclusivity.

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## *CODEX ALEXANDRINUS*

Codex Alexandrinus is a 5th century Gk codex containing both testaments. Because of the early arrival of Alexandrinus to England (only 16 years after the release of the Authorized [King James] Version), this codex was the first early ms of the Gk Bible to be well-known and consulted by scholars. The interest that

resulted prompted a search for mss of the Bible, especially of the NT, which has lasted for over 3 centuries.

Codex Alexandrinus was sent as a gift to James I of England by the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Lucar, although the ms did not actually arrive until after the succession of Charles I in 1627. The British Museum became the repository of the codex in 1757 and designated it Royal I.D. V–VIII (Gregory-Aland A). Cyril Lucar had been Patriarch of Alexandria before coming to Constantinople, and it is believed that he brought the ms with him from Egypt (Finegan 1974: 150). A 13th or 14th century note (in Arabic) on the first page of Genesis maintains that the ms belonged to the Patriarchal library in Cairo.

The plain, large, square uncial script on vellum suggests an early date. No original accent or breathing marks occur, but punctuation is provided by the first hand. Ornamentation at the beginning of the books and punctuation or end colophons suggest a date later than Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus. Material from Eusebius and Athanasius included before the Psalms requires a later date. It is generally agreed, therefore, that an early 5th century date is correct (see Milne and Skeat 1938:31).

The present codex is bound in 4 volumes with a few missing pages and lucunae defects. Three volumes (629 pages) contain the entire OT with few exceptions. The final volume (144 leaves) contains the NT with the Letters of Clement. Each page measures about 12.6 by 10.4 inches and contains 2 columns with 49–51 lines/column. The codex is composed of quires, usually 8 leaves, with each page numbered with Gk letters in the top center margin.

The OT includes all the books commonly associated with the LXX; in addition are Psalm 151, *3* and *4 Maccabees*, and (after the Psalms) the 14 Odes or liturgical canticles. Therefore, the ms is an important witness to the text of the LXX.

Appended to the entire text of the NT are the two *Epistles of Clement.* According to the table of contents, the *Psalms of Solomon* were originally a part of the codex, but they have been lost.

The type of text of Alexandrinus varies as to section in both testaments. Though opinions vary in the OT, primary text types are pre-Hexaplaric Alexandrian, Hexaplaric, and Lucian (Jellicoe 1968:186 ff.). The NT gospels contain a Byzantine text; Acts and the epistles are Alexandrian with some Western readings. Its greatest textual contributions are in Revelation and some OT books.

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## *BERLIN GNOSTIC CODEX*

The Berlin Gnostic Codex (abbreviation: BG) is also known by the title given it at the Berlin Museum, where it is conserved: Papyrus Berolinensis 8502. It is written in Coptic (Sahidic dialect) and originally contained 142 pages of text, all but the last of which were numbered. Numbered pages 1–6, 11–14 and 133–34 are now missing. It is appropriately called "Gnostic" because 3 of the 4 tractates included in the codex are gnostic: *The Gospel of Mary* ([1.1]–19.5), *The Apocryphon of John* (19.6–77.7), and *The Sophia of Jesus Christ* (77.8–127.12). The 4th tractate, *The Act of Peter* (128.1–141.7), probably comes from Encratite sources (Parrott 1979: 475). The codex is dated, on the basis of paleography, early in the 5th century A.D., which places it in the century after the sequestering of the Nag Hammadi Codices (Till and Schenke 1972: 7). It was discovered in Egypt sometime in the latter part of the 19th century (the date is unknown), and purchased in or near the city of Achmim in 1896 for the Berlin Museum (Schmidt 1896: 839–47). Carl Schmidt proposed to edit it and, in fact, published *Acts Pet.* (Schmidt 1903: 1–25). But the remainder of the codex was unpublished at his death. Walter Till published the 1st edition of the remaining text (1955). Subsequently Hans-Martin Schenke produced a 2d edition of the whole codex (1972).

The cover of BG (presumably leather) is no longer extant. Codicological analysis indicates that the sheets used in the production of the volume were about 13.5 cm. high and 21.6 cm. broad (open position). Three roles of papyrus were used in its manufacture, which resulted in a volume of 146 pages (J. M. Robinson, in Parrott 1979: 36–44). The BG script is bold and square, and is marked by the inconsistent use of superlinear strokes—important elements in Coptic writing that, among other things, help the reader to correctly identify word grouping and the presence of subvocables.

It has recently been proposed that the reason the tractates in BG were collected together is that they all in some way deal with the question of fate or providence. Further, it has been suggested that their arrangement in the codex is determined by that theme, with *Ap. John* serving as the linchpin (Tardieu 1984: 19). This view seems doubtful because (1) the theme of fate or providence is found so generally in gnostic tractates, (2) it is not clear from the extant remains that *Gos. Mary* focused on that theme, and (3) similar codices (i.e., the Nag Hammadi Codices) appear to lack such a theme organization. Therefore, it is likely that the reason for the BG collection could only be discovered if we were to know the special needs and interests of the person or persons for whom the codex was copied.

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## *CODEX BEZAE CANTABRIGIENSIS*

Codex Bezae, allocated the letter $D^{ea}$ and the number 05, originally contained the 4 Gospels (in the order Matthew-John-Luke-Mark), the Catholic Epistles, and Acts. There are a considerable number of lacunae, including all but a leaf of the Epistles, and Acts 22:20 onwards. Out of an original total of 534 leaves, 406 survive. The manuscript has 1 column of 33 lines on each page. The left-hand side of each opening is the Greek text; the right-hand side is an Old Latin version. The lines are of irregular length, with the same content in each column.

The manuscript was written shortly before A.D. 400. The place of writing has long been debated. All the evidence points to an E origin—the style of script has important links with the Roman law school at Berytus (Beirut), the most important Latin center in the E, and an early corrector of the manuscript (B) shows affiliation with a text located in Caesarea. This evidence leads the present writer to favor Berytus as the place where it was written. The character of the manuscript makes it plain that it was written for a church where the Bible was read in Greek and Latin.

The relationship between the 2 columns is complex. It seems that the Latin is derived from a Greek text closely related to D, but not identical with it. It was later revised to bring it into agreement with the Greek column, but with diminishing thoroughness.

A succession of 9 or more hands made corrections, mainly to the Greek, down to about A.D. 700. The manuscript reached Lyons by the 9th century. It stayed there until it passed into the hands of the reformer Theodore Beza, who in 1581 presented it to the University of Cambridge, in whose possession it remains.

In thousands of places the reading of D is unique. A number of factors contribute to its peculiarities.

Firstly, the basic form of the text is much older than the manuscript. It dates from the 2d century, when there was a considerable variety of NT texts.

In the Gospels, there are over 1,500 examples of harmonization (for instance, of the Lord's Prayer in Luke to that of Matthew).

The manuscript is also remarkable for its expansions. One of the more noteworthy is the pericope of the man working on the Sabbath (after Luke 6:4), which is found nowhere else. In particular, the text of Acts contains many significant additions. It has been suggested that theological motives were instrumental in their formation, but there is disagreement as to how distinctive these alleged motives are.

There are readings in the manuscripts that appear to be Semitisms, as well as some Atticisms, and a number of readings that appear actually to introduce Koine idioms into the NT.

The characteristics of the scribe himself are also significant. Many of his errors are due to the influence of the context, where a combination of letters has caught his eye and led him into error. The Gk contains many nonsense readings, and frequently interchanges vowels. But in many ways he carefully reproduced the spellings and practices of his exemplar.

While the distinctive readings of this manuscript have only occasionally laid claim to originality, an understanding of the character of its text is essential to our knowledge of the way in which the early Church handed down the text of the Gospels and Acts.

The editions of Codex Bezae are Scrivener, F. H. 1864. *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis, Being an Exact Copy, in Ordinary Type … edited with a Critical Introduction, Annotations and Facsimilies.* Cambridge. Repr. 1978. A facsimile edition was produced by Cambridge University Press in 1899: *Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis. Qvatvor Evangelia et Actus Apostolorum Complectens Graece et Latine.* 2 vols. Cambridge.

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## *CODEX BRUCIANUS*

Codex Brucianus is the designation for Coptic papyri included among manuscripts purchased in about 1769 in Upper Egypt (perhaps in Medinet Habu) by the Scottish traveler, James Bruce, and eventually acquired by the Bodleian Library in Oxford. The papyri contain the only known manuscripts of 2 ancient Gnostic works: the so-called *First and Second Books of Jeu* and an *Untitled Text.*

The original total of 78 leaves were unbound when acquired, and already in poor physical condition when an early transcription was made, and there has been significant further deterioration. Seven entire leaves and large portions of many others have been lost and are accessible now only in the early copy. Due to the circumstances of their acquisition, the papyri came to be termed collectively the "Bruce Codex," but in reality they seem to be the remains of at least 2 independent codices: 31 leaves containing the *Untitled Text,* inscribed in what is probably a single uncial hand; and the remaining 47 leaves containing the *Books of Jeu.* In this latter group, several scribal hands have been identified, and a more cursive style predominates. The latter fact could indicate that the *Untitled Text* is an older manuscript than the rest of the Bruce Codex, although the dating of these manuscripts is still very uncertain and in need of fresh analysis. Dates ranging from the 3d to the 10th century C.E. have been suggested (Schmidt 1954: xxviii). The Coptic text is probably a translation of works that were composed originally in Gk; the dialect is Sahidic. In the beginning pages of the *Books of Jeu* there are slight dialectical divergences from standard Sahidic. Walter Till (apud Schmidt 1954: xxix) once ascribed these to Subachmimic influence,

but they may simply reflect variations deriving from a period before the greater standardization of Sahidic.

Determining the genre of the *Untitled Text* is complicated by the fact that both the beginning and ending have been lost, and there are 5 leaves whose relation to the rest is disputed. The work seems to be a Christian gnostic treatise that describes in systematic fashion the unfolding of the transcendent world and the ordering of material creation. Here and there the author introduces quotations from, or allusions to, both NT and OT writings. The treatise's mythological patterns (e.g., a divine Father-Mother-Son triad), names (e.g., the luminaries Eleleth, Daveide, Oroiael, and [Harmozel]), and terminology are closely related at many points to such texts as the *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,1; III,1; IV,1; Pap. Berol. 8502,1), *Trimorphic Protennoia* (NHC XIII,1), *Zostrianus* (NHC VIII,1), *Three Steles of Seth* (NHC VII,5), *Allogenes* (NHC XI,3), *Marsanes* (NHC X,1), and a few other "Sethian" gnostic works, as these are often labeled due to the divine Seth who figures prominently in many of them. In the *Untitled Text* a divine entity called "Setheus" does play a central demiurgic role. The precise nature of the relationship among "Sethian" gnostic writings, their respective positions within the history of "Sethian" gnostic doctrines and practices, and the question of how coherent "Sethianism" ever was as a sectarian movement, are issues still in dispute (Layton 1981). The *Untitled Text* is one of several writings important to this discussion.

At one point, the *Untitled Text* appears to allude to works by two Gnostic visionaries, Nicotheus and Marsanes (chap. 7; Schmidt and MacDermot 1978: 235). Epiphanius asserts that a gnostic group whom he labels Archontics spoke of two prophets, Martiades and Marsianos, who were raptured into heaven and returned after 3 days (*Pan.* 40.7.6). This Marsianos could be the same gnostic prophet mentioned by the *Untitled Text* (Schmidt 1892: 602; Puech 1960: 90), and the author of the latter could be alluding to the tractate *Marsanes,* a Platonizing gnostic work of which we now have a fragmentary copy in the Nag Hammadi Library (Pearson 1978: 377; 1981: 229–50). The Neoplatonist Porphyry (*Plot.* 16) mentions an Apocalypse of Nicotheus and an Apocalypse of Zostrianus among other writings already used in Rome in the mid-3d century C.E., by gnostic acquaintances of Plotinus. The Zostrianus apocalypse may be the same as the Nag Hammadi tractate *Zost.,* which in turn shares with the *Untitled Text* certain technical terminology that Plotinus himself mentions as used by his gnostic opponents.

The *Untitled Text* is therefore related to the texts known to this circle of 3d century C.E. Platonist Gnostics in Rome. Schmidt (1892: 664) believed that the treatise dated from around 170–200 C.E., but comparison of its contents with the related writings available since the Nag Hammadi discovery has suggested to some scholars that the *Untitled Text* may represent a later stage of development, in the 3d or 4th century (Sevrin 1986: 208; Turner 1986: 85).

The manuscript containing the *Books of Jeu* consists of 2 principal parts, at the end of the first of which is found the title, "The Book of the Great Mystery-Message" (cf. the reference a few lines earlier in the text to "this great mystery-message of Jeu" [chap. 41]). Though a divine "Jeu" figures prominently in the text, the title *1st and 2d Books of Jeu* does not actually appear in the manuscript. This title was applied to the text by Schmidt, who argued that the contents are to be identified with "the two books of Jeu" mentioned in the closely related *Pistis Sophia* (chaps. 99 and 134) in Codex Askewianus. There Jesus refers his disciples to mysteries that can be found in the 2 books of Jeu that Enoch wrote, when, in an earlier epiphany, Jesus had spoken to Enoch from the trees of Paradise. Early critics of Schmidt's hypothesis noted the absence of any reference to Enoch in Codex Brucianus, and questioned how closely the contents of the manuscript match the description of the teaching that Jesus in *Pistis Sophia* ascribes to the books written by Enoch (Preuschen 1894; Liechtenhan 1901). Most scholars have nevertheless inclined toward Schmidt's identification.

The manuscript of the *Books of Jeu* has the look of a compilation, the history of which is by no means certain. The surviving leaves seem to preserve only portions of what were originally 2 somewhat longer works, and there are a few extra leaves of uncertain placement, containing fragments of related material in different scribal hands and with some dialectical variations.

The *Books of Jeu* are significant for the history of gnostic ritual. The first book is framed as a revelation dialogue between Jesus and his disciples after his resurrection. Jesus tells them how his Pather brought

forth "Jeu, the true God," and then moved Jeu to produce further emanations, themselves called "Jeus" or "fathers of the treasuries." Jesus describes each Jeu in detail, revealing the secret names, numbers, and diagrams corresponding to each one (chaps. 5–32), and then gives instructions about secret numbers, seals, and passwords which will allow the disciples access to each of 60 treasuries of the transcendent world (chaps. 33–40). He takes the disciples into the treasuries and leads them in ritual prayers (chap. 41). In the second book Jesus initiates the disciples into the mysteries of water baptism, baptism of fire, and baptism of the Spirit, each accompanied by elaborate description of the requisite ritual materials and procedures (chaps. 45–48). He then describes the future ascent of their souls through the levels of the transcendent realm, and for each level there is again instruction about cryptic seals, numbers, and passwords to be used in the ascent (chaps. 49–52). Among the most striking features of this manuscript are the numerous cryptograms and seals actually sketched in the text and margins, virtually the only examples of such pictorial elements in a gnostic manuscript (Phinney 1980: 436–37). This fact renders the absence of any facsimile edition of this part of the Bruce Codex all the more regrettable.

Schmidt (1892: 552–98) argued that the *Books of Jeu* and at least the last two books of the *Pistis Sophia* were composed in the 3d century C.E. by members of the same ascetic Severian sect (Epiphanius, *Pan.* 45), and that this sect had come into conflict with libertine Phibionite gnostics who were near relatives as far as sectarian ancestry. Both writings include passages which condemn the ritual consumption of semen and menstrual blood (*Jeu* chap. 43; *Pistis Sophia* chap. 147), and Epiphanius (*Pan.* 26) accuses certain "Phibionites" of a similar practice. A literary connection between *Pistis Sophia* and the *Books of Jeu* remains likely, but a specific link with the Severian gnostics mentioned by Epiphanius is far more tenuous. The shared characteristics upon which Schmidt based his identification (e.g., use of the demiurgic names Ialdabaoth or Sabaoth; ascetic tendencies, etc.) are now found in several texts from Nag Hammadi, and may be too general to allow any narrow identification of the *Books of Jeu* with a gnostic sect that is otherwise so sparsely documented as is the Severian sect.

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MICHAEL A. WILLIAMS


## *CODEX CLAROMONTANUS*

Codex Claromontanus is a 5th- or more likely 6th-century codex containing only the Pauline letters (including Hebrews). It is a bi-lingual Gk and Lat manuscript, consisting of 533 vellum leaves ($9^{5/8}$" by $7^{5/8}$"), with the Gk text of the letters on the left-hand page, the Lat on the right. Each page bears 1 column of text with 21 lines of irregular length (corresponding to the pauses in the sense).

It is impossible to determine the codex's place of origin. The work of at least 9 different correctors has been identified (the 4th of these added accent and breathing marks in the 9th century). Theodore Beza, the celebrated French scholar who became the successor of Calvin as leader of the Genevan Church, acquired the manuscript between 1565 and 1582. He claimed that it was discovered in a convent at Clermont-en-Beauvais. An edition of the manuscript was published by Tischendorf in 1852.

Codex Claromontanus is an important early witness in the history of the NT text. Like Codex Bezae, which is roughly contemporaneous with this manuscript and contains most of the text of the four Gospels and Acts (with a small fragment of 3 John), the type of text in Codex Claromontanus is distinctly Western. As Metzger (1968) has noted, however, Western readings in the Epistles are not so striking as those in the Gospels and Acts.

Codex Claromontanus is also important for the history of the Christian canon of scripture. After the text of Philemon in this manuscript, and just before the text of Hebrews, there is a stichometric list, in Latin only, of OT and NT books. Whereas the OT books are listed without division, the NT books are subdivided into 2 categories: "The Four Gospels" and "The Epistles of Paul." What is striking is that Paul's letters are not distinguished from the Catholic Epistles and other writings which are also indexed. There is an obvious omission after the listing of Ephesians: Philippians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians are missing. Hebrews is also lacking. The scribe obelizes 4 works at the end of the list: *Barnabas,* the *Shepherd of Hermas,* the *Acts of Paul,* and the *Apocalypse of Peter.* Souter (1954) suggested that these horizontal lines indicate that they are not to be regarded as on the same plane as the others. If that is the case, the canon list included in Codex Claromontanus, granted its careless omissions, would apparently intend to set forth a NT canon of 27 texts.

The presence of such a list in this codex is curious. Jülicher (1931) thought this catalogue belonged to the 4th century and was of W origin. Zahn (1890), however, put forth a compelling argument for a 4th-century date and an E provenance, perhaps Syria-Palestine. As with the MURATORIAN FRAGMENT, how such a list could have come to occupy a place in this codex remains a mystery. Nevertheless, with the exception of Hennecke (*NTApocr* 1) most have followed Zahn in assigning a 4th-century date and an E provenance to the canon list, although the codex in which it appears is W and later.

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GREGORY ALLEN ROBBINS

## *CODEX EPHRAIMI RESCRIPTUS*

This manuscript (Paris, Bibliothéque Nationale Gr. 9; designated C throughout, and given the number 04 for the NT in the Gregory-Aland catalogue) originally contained the entire Bible. It is a palimpsest, having been broken up and used by a 12th century monk to copy a Gk translation of discourses by Ephraim Syrus. There are 63 OT leaves extant (containing parts of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Job, Wisdom, and Sirach) and 145 of the NT (in which every canonical book is represented). It may have been written in the 5th century, though Cavallo dates it almost certainly to the 6th. The leaves are 25.6–26.4 × 31.4–32.5 cm; there is a single column, of between 40 and 46 lines on each page. The NT originally contained about 232 (Lyon) or 238 leaves (Kenyon). The OT and NT portions are by separate hands. Arguments that allot the NT to several scribes (Traube, Lyon) are based on differences in forms of the *nomina sacra* and orthography between different books, and have no foundation in the character of the handwriting. The differences are more likely to be due to the use of several separate exemplars in the

compilation of the manuscript. This is the appropriate point to note that Oliver has demonstrated that a dislocation of a portion of the text in Revelation is due to the leaves of the exemplar having been bound out of order.

Tischendorf suggested that the manuscript was written in Egypt. This is confirmed by Cavallo, who argues for the Nitrian Desert, associating the script (he is thinking, it appears, of the NT particularly) with those of the Freer manuscript of Deuteronomy and Joshua, the NT uncials 016 (its closest associate) and 027, and two Homer codices (Papyrus Berolinensis 6794 and the Cureton Homer). It belongs to the period of decadence of the biblical uncial script, and was written "without particular care to be calligraphic." The copying, it is alleged, was also careless. These 2 points have led to speculation that the manuscript may have been written for private use.

The text has been reworked by 2 correctors who, it is suggested, are to be placed in 6th-century Caesarea and 9th-century Constantinople. In the early 16th century the codex was brought to Italy, and passed into the possession of Catherine de Medici, with whom it went to Paris, where it has remained ever since.

The great difficulty of deciphering the manuscript has led to its neglect, so that it has been the subject of only a very few studies, and only one edition. The text of the NT is placed by K. and B. Aland in their Category II (of special quality, but contaminated by alien influences). Their analysis of test passages shows that the text of Paul is particularly good. The figures given below show, in order, (a) agreements with the Byzantine text, (b) agreements with the same where it has what the Alands consider to be the original text, (c) agreements with their original text, (d) and readings where it is unique.

| | *(a)* | *(b)* | *(c)* | *(d)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Gospels | 87, | 66, | 66, | 50 |
| Acts | 12, | 12, | 37, | 11 |
| Paul | 31, | 23, | 104, | 15 |
| Catholic Epistles | 15, | 3, | 41, | 12 |

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## *CODEX SINAITICUS*

This codex comes from the Sinai, where it was preserved until the last century in St. Catherine's monastery, which is situated at the foot of Jebel Musa (Mount of Moses) on which, according to ancient traditions, the Ten Commandments were given by God to Israel. This Gk copy of the Bible is now housed in 4 very different places. Most of it, 347 leaves, are proudly displayed on the 1st floor of the British Library (the British Museum). Forty-three leaves are in the University Library at Leipzig. Fragments of 3 leaves are in Leningrad. These collections were removed from St. Catherine's by Constantine Tischendorf: the smaller collection in 1844, the fragments and the major part of the codex in 1859. A fire in St. Catherine's monastery in 1975 revealed around 4,000 manuscripts, including more than a dozen leaves of this precious codex; some of the leaves look as though they came off the table of the copying scribe. These are being prepared for publication by his emminence Archbishop Damianos.

This 4th-century Gk ms, one of the most precious and ancient manuscripts of the Bible, contains most of the OT, the NT, the *Epistle of Barnabas,* and the *Shepherd of Hermas* (up to *Man.* 4.3.6). Scholars estimate that the original manuscript contained at least 730 leaves and would have required approximately 360 goats or sheep to provide the skins. The work was copied by 3 different scribes whose calligraphy is so similar that it is probable that they were trained in the same scriptorium. The manuscript could have been produced in Rome, Caesarea, or Alexandria.

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JAMES H. CHARLESWORTH


## *CODEX VATICANUS*

Codex Vaticanus (Vatican Library, Cod. Gr. 1209, given the letter B and, for the NT, the numeral 03) is one of a small number of extant ancient Greek Bibles containing both the OT and NT (though it never contained any of the books of Maccabees). It has been in the Vatican Library since at least 1475, when it was listed in a catalogue (Ropes 1926: xxxi; cf. Kenyon 1912: 77n.). During the 15th century, it had certain lacunae filled: Gen 1:1–46:26 (copied from the Vatican Codex Chisianus R VI 38, which is numbered 19 in the catalogue of LXX manuscripts); Ps 105:27–137:6; Heb 9:14 to the end, the Pastoral Epistles, and Revelation (this addition is listed separately amongst NT manuscripts as minuscule 1957). Certain embellishments were added at the same period. In addition to these gaps in the ancient manuscript, part of a leaf (containing 2 Kgdms 2:5–7, 10–13) has been torn away. It has been suggested by Skeat (1984: 463) that B was brought to Rome from Constantinople as a gift by the Greek delegation to the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438–39, after a hasty restoration. Attempts to link the manuscript with Cardinal Bessarion and with S Italy are rightly rejected by Skeat (1984: 454–55), following Šagi.

In the 10th or 11th century, the original text was overwritten letter by letter, accents and breathings were newly supplied, and some corrections were made. This activity, apart from destroying the great beauty of the codex, has greatly impeded precise paleographical analysis, so that dating and placing the manuscript's origin is very difficult.

Cavallo suggests the date ca. 350 (after 328 but before 360). It is most likely to have been written in Egypt (Martini 1966: 6; Cavallo 1967: 56). Hatch (1953: xix) suggests Upper Egypt. The attribution to Egypt rests on textual grounds and the order of the books, rather than on a paleographical decision. The theory that the so-called Coptic form of the letter *Mu* indicates an Egyptian origin is not tenable.

It was once a fashionable suggestion that B (with Codex Sinaiticus) was one of 50 copies prepared by Eusebius of Caesarea for the Emperor Constantine in the early 330s. This idea must be abandoned, as must the idea that it was commissioned from Athanasius in Rome by the Emperor Constantine 10 years later.

The ms was written by 2 scribes, "A" and "B," of whom B wrote the NT. The codex is of fine appearance, square (27 × 27 cm), composed of 5-sheet quires (quinions), with 3 columns to a page, and 40–44 lines to a column. The text was corrected by a hand contemporary with the scribes, generally identified with the *diorthotes* (official corrector of the scriptorium).

This manuscript is, given its extent, textually the best of any. In the OT it forms the basis of the smaller and larger Cambridge editions. In the NT it was the foundation of Westcott and Hort's text. For the most part, the OT shows a form of LXX text similar to that used by Origen in the 5th column of his Hexapla. It was therefore affected far less than most other manuscripts by the deleterious influence of the Hexapla on the LXX. It is least valuable in Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Minor Prophets, and Job. Its text of Judges is very distinctive, and generally associated with the Hesychian recension.

In the NT, its text is of a high quality throughout (the view that in Paul it shows the influence of the so-called Western text should be treated cautiously). C. M. Martini has demonstrated that the text of B in Luke is substantially that found in the beginning of the 3d century in P. Bodmer XIV–XV. Porter has shown the same to be true for John. In Paul, according to Zuntz, it represents, along with P. Chester Beatty, P. Ann Arbor, and miniscule 1739, the Proto-Alexandrian text of ca. A.D. 200, and preserves the ancient tradition stemming from the creation of the Pauline corpus in ca. 100.

For the story of the early collations, and the first, notoriously inaccurate, full transcription by Mai, see Kenyon (1912: 77–79). A photographic reprint of the whole manuscript was made in 1889–90. A reprint of the NT alone was made in 1968, for presentation to the more distinguished of those attending the Second Vatican Council.

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## *CODEX WASHINGTONIANUS*

Sometimes referred to as the Freer Manuscript of the Gospels, this ms is designated "W" in the Gregory-Aland list of ms sigla. Housed in the Freer Gallery of Art (Smithsonian, Washington, D.C.), it is an Egyptian-provenance parchment ms of the 4th/5th centuries containing the four Gospels in the "Western" order (Matt, John, Luke, Mark), with 2 lacunae (Mark 15:13–38; John 14:25–16:7, owing to missing pages). Except for the 1st quire of John (1:1–5:11), it is the work of one scribe. There are various indications of formal formatting of the ms for public reading and for study (e.g., punctuation, blank spaces between phrases, paragraph divisions, diacritical marks), and several correctors' hands are evidenced. The pages (averaging $8^{1/8} \times 5^{5/8}$") contain a single column of 30 lines in a clear, sloping hand (ruled lines between 27–35 letters (approx. $3^{7/8}$" long). A major feature of codex W is the mixed nature of its text. Matt and Luke 8:13–24:53 reflect the Byzantine text-type. Luke 1:1–8:12 and John 5:12–21:25 are Alexandrian. Mark 1:1–5:30 (or slightly earlier) is "Western," resembling especially the Old Latin. Mark 5:31–16:20 was long thought a witness to an early stage of the Caesarean text, but has been shown to be insufficiently related to any main text-type, agreeing with P45 most often and showing numerous harmonizations with the other Synoptics as well as deliberate scribal changes, mainly in Markan style. It has been suggested that the varying textual complexion of W derives from an ancestor patchwork manuscript made up after Diocletian's attempt in 303 C.E. to destroy all Christian sacred books.

Probably the most noteworthy reading in W follows Mark 16:14, a reading witnessed to also by Jerome. The undoubtedly apocryphal reading is as follows:

> And they excused themselves, saying, "This age of lawlessness and unbelief is under Satan, who does not allow the truth and power of God to prevail over the unclean things of the spirits. Therefore reveal your righteousness now" —so they spoke to Christ. And Christ replied to them, "The term of years for Satan's authority has been fulfilled, but other terrible things draw near. And for those who have sinned I was delivered over to death, that they may return to the truth and sin no more; that they may inherit the spiritual and incorruptible glory of righteousness which is in heaven."

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**COELE-SYRIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Koilē Syria* (Κοιλη Συρια)]. Coele-Syria is a geographical term variously used to describe portions of Syro-Palestine, depending on the historical time period and the author. The term which has been widely interpreted as "hollow Syria" is first attested in its Hellenistic form in the 4th century B.C. While often used by modern writers to describe the N extent of the Great Rift Valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon Mountains, the name was used by the Hellenistic writers to include a large portion of the E Mediterranean seaboard extending E toward to the Euphrates. Phoenicia however was held to be separate from Coele-Syria. Under Alexander the Great, Coele-Syria was a large administrative unit that included Samaria, which revolted against Andromachus the governor of Coele-Syria whom Alexander had appointed (Curtius Rufus 4.8.9). Under the Ptolemies and Seleucids, the term continued to be used for an administrative region. Under Antiochus III, the Levant was divided into strategia of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. Coele-Syria in turn was divided into 4 eparchies: Samaria, Idumea, Paralia, and Galaaditis (Diodorus 19.95.2). The names of 6 Seleucid governors of Coele-Syria have been preserved. One of them, Apollonius of Tarsus, the "governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia" (2 Macc 3:5–8), fought the Maccabees and was defeated at Jamnia ca. 147 B.C. (1 Macc 10:69ff.). "Coele-Syria" is used to describe S Syria with the exclusion of Phoenicia throughout the Apochrypha (1 Esdr 2:17, 24, 27; 4:48; 1 Macc 10:69; 2 Macc 4:4; etc.). Diodorus of Sicily in describing the Levant prior to the Romans, defined Coele-Syria as being adjacent to Upper Syria, enclosing Phoenicia, and extending as far as Egypt (18.6.3).

The toponym "Coele-Syria" continued to be used after Rome expanded her power into the Levant under Pompey. After Herod gained the enmity of the Jews for his harsh rule over Galilee in 47 B.C., he was made a general over Coele-Syria (Josephus *Ant* 14.9.5 §180). In that position Herod apparently had authority in Damascus, Samaria, and the Transjordan (Josephus *JW* 1.10.8 §213); Josephus, however, uses the term in a variety of ways. At times it is defined as extending from the Euphrates to Egypt (*Ant* 14.4.5 §79).

Among other classical authors, Strabo in his geographical study included all of the arable land E of the Rift Valley in Coele-Syria, with Damascus as its chief city (*Geog* 16.2.2–22), and Ptolemy included the cities of Coele-Syria with those of the Decapolis (*Geog* 5.14).

In the 2d century A.D. the cities of the Decapolis such as Abila, Gadara, Philadelphia, and Scythopolis retained their ancient territorial description by having an abbreviation for Coele-Syria on their coins. The recognition of this region as Coele-Syria was later affirmed by the Roman Emperor Septimius Severus.

The etymology of the word "Coele" is debated. The widely accepted interpretation "hollow Syria" is challenged by E. Schwarz who has postulated that Coele is the hellenized form of the Heb word *kol.* His position is affirmed by A. Shalit, who maintains that Coele-Syria is identical to the usual expression in Gk for "all Syria." B. Mazar buttresses this position by arguing that the Greeks developed the toponym

Coele-Syria on the basis of the ancient term "all Aram," which was used by the Aramaic-speaking population, and the word Syria was substituted for Aram (see Mazar 1962: 120 for this discussion).

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**COHORT, AUGUSTAN.** See AUGUSTAN COHORT.

**COHORT, ITALIAN.** See ITALIAN COHORT.

**COINAGE.** Money is a medium of exchange used to acquire goods or services, and therefore serves as a measure of wealth or value. It may also be symbolic of sovereignty or a unit of accounting. Coins are minted metal authorized to function as money; they are culturally accepted media for exchange and designations of value.

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**A. Money in the Hebrew Bible**

When money is mentioned throughout the Hebrew Bible, the text does not refer to coins. The references designate measures of value in goods or in precious metals. The metals are not coined, however, in specific weights. Nor are they generally verified by an official stamp of governmental or religious authorities to meet certain weight standards. The NT, however, has as its background the coined money of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Coins expressed monetary value more specifically and more easily than bullion, but were still used in tandem with "in kind" transactions, where "money" still existed in the form of sheep, goats, birds, grain, oil, or wine. Indeed, some form of money has existed from earlier times when people bartered with one another or traded commodities. By the time of Jesus and the Apostles of the early Church, coinage was widely accepted and used throughout all lands associated with the Bible. Coinage facilitated exchange of objects, measured value, stored wealth, and provided support and taxation for governments.

In the history of the people of the covenant, the first reference to the use of money is the restitution paid to Abraham by Abimelech for the wrong done to Sarah, Abraham's wife, in Gen 20:14–16. Abimelech pays Abraham "sheep and oxen, and male and female slaves" together with "a thousand pieces of silver" serving as "vindication" for what he had done. In Genesis 23, Abraham purchases a burial place from Ephron the Hittite for 400 shekels of silver. A shekel, on the Babylonian standard, was the equivalent of approx. 8.5 grams of metal. "Abraham weighed out for Ephron the silver which he had named in the hearing of the Hittites, four hundred shekels of silver, according to the weights current among the merchants" (Gen 23:16). The merchants used the Babylonian standard of weights and measures. To "weigh out" this amount was to hand over to Ephron the weight in silver of approx. 8 minas, the equivalent of 261/2 gold shekels. The silver would have been in the form of small ingots, pieces of silver

foil, rings or silver wire. This was a substantial amount to be sure, although we cannot accurately estimate its value in modern currencies. Ancient measures in grams can be converted to equivalents on the current market value of silver or gold, given market fluctuations. If we can assume that precious metals have always remained fairly stable in their relative value to other goods and services, then we can estimate in late 20th century equivalents what these amounts of money would equal. Clearly, however, this is a haphazard procedure and is best avoided.

The Joseph cycle contains several references to "money," translating the Heb *kesep,* which is also the word for "silver." This "money" included "bundles" which were placed in the traveling bags of Joseph's brothers when they were about to leave Egypt and return to Canaan; the text also mentions the money collected to pay for grain from the Egyptian royal granaries. In Genesis 43, Joseph received money which must have included gold, silver, bronze, and iron, in rings, bars, ingots, or dust (gold only). These were recognized forms of "money," which were weighed in specific amounts and functioned as bullion on the open market. The metals were weighed in specific ratios to one another for terms of standard commerce or taxation. So it is also in Genesis 47, when "Joseph gathered up all the money that was found in the land of Egypt and in the land of Canaan, for the grain which they bought; and Joseph brought the money into Pharaoh's house." When this metallic money was depleted, it was freely interchanged with cattle. "So they brought their cattle to Joseph; and Joseph gave them food in exchange for the horses, the flocks, the herds, and the asses; and he supplied them with food in exchange for all their cattle that year" (Gen 47:17). Specific numbers of animals were considered equally as valuable as their equivalents in metal. Obviously they were harder to handle, but were just as usable in making payments. In Genesis 47, seed and its produce function as money when the Pharoah decreed that harvests will go 80% to him and 20% to the tenant on the land. So it was according to the tradition, while Israel lived in the land of Goshen.

Abraham and the other patriarchs counted their wealth in numbers of sheep, goats, and cattle. The same was true for Job (1:3). Throughout the period of the patriarchs and into the time of the kings of Israel and Judah, the primary means of commerce and trade was barter. Money could be metallic and weighed according to accepted local or international standards, or it could be in kind. When Hiram of Tyre completed construction of Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem, he paid with grain and olive oil, according to 1 Kgs 5:11. Some taxes or forms of tribute were paid in like manner, with grains, oils, wine, sheep/goats, or cattle. On Israelite taxes, see specifically 1 Sam 8:15 and Ezek 45:13–16.

Clearly, transporting herds to administrative or tribal centers to pay tribute or taxes was difficult and most inconvenient for the taxpayer and the taxgatherer. This is probably why equivalent values in metals came to be weighed out and standardized for such transactions. Values could be more easily computed using weights in precious metals as well. For example, if a tax was 10 shekels, or its equivalent of 2 sheep, and the tax was raised by 20% to 12 shekels, the taxation would then equal 22/5 sheep. Metals became the preferred method of payment when available.

The earliest standards of weights and measures remain unknown. The Bible is mute on the subject, simply referring to numbers of "pieces" or "shekels" of silver (Heb *kesep*). We are not certain what standard this metal was weighed on. The Hebrew renders these expressions only as "silver," implying that an accepted standard or measure was used. The lack of exchange of gold within the Hebrew Bible is strong evidence to suggest that this metal was available in insufficient quantity for use in commerce. For many years, as well, copper was needed for tools, jewelry, or weapons. The copper was mixed with tin and made into bronze. With the coming of the Philistines in the period following 1200 B.C.E., iron began to replace bronze as the metal most used in implements and other hardware. Iron had been smelted in Egypt for many years but had been retained in Egypt; by 1200, its use began to spread.

An early use for precious metals was jewelry, which provided a safe, mobile means for their movement around the country. It is still common for Bedouin women in Palestine to carry all their wealth on their persons in the form of gold, silver, and bronze jewelry. They wear metals in bracelets, anklets, rings, chains, pins, beads, earrings, or settings for precious or semiprecious stones (see Ezekiel 28). Today one is more likely to find strings of coins, pierced and geometrically arranged on necklaces, or coins as earrings or pendants. Some of these forms into which metals were made were probably standardized and

accepted on the open market. Even so, as nearly pure forms of the metals, they could be weighed on scales and their value quickly established in commerce if needed, so that they could function as bullion. The Hebrew Bible mentions payment using bars of silver or gold, as well as bracelets, which could have had specific values assigned to them. Abraham's servant gave Rebekah a ring of gold which weighed 1/2 shekel and 2 bracelets weighing 10 gold shekels (Gen 24:22). In Joshua 7:21, Achan returns from Jericho with 200 shekels of silver and a gold bar (lit. "tongue") weighing 51 shekels. Certainly by the Iron I period, Babylonian weight standards were accepted and current through the lands of the Bible. At Ugarit, in the "Tale of Aqhat," the hero is said to have shed tears like quarter-shekels and fifth-shekels. This is Ugaritic hyperbole to affirm that Aqhat wept bitterly; the glittering metal likened to tears implies a recognizable size and shape, much like money.

Examples of references to weights of silver or money are numerous. In Judges 16:4, Philistine leaders entice Delilah to find the source of Samson's strength by offering her 1,100 pieces of silver (lit. "1000 and 100 *kesep*"). In 1 Sam 9:4, 1/4 shekel of silver is the payment to a seer for a prediction on the future success of a journey. When the king of Aramaean Damascus sent a messenger to Israel to seek assistance in healing Naaman of leprosy, the price was considerably higher: 10 talents (lit. "circles" from Heb *kikkār*) of silver and 6,000 shekels of gold. A talent was the equivalent of 60 minas, each of which equalled 50 shekels of silver. One gold shekel was the equivalent of 15 silver shekels. Later during the reign of Azariah in Judah, Menahem reigned for a short time in Samaria doing "what was evil in the sight of the Lord." To confirm his succession as king, he offered the sovereign of Assyria 1,000 talents of silver, exacting it in Israel from wealthy men, asking 50 shekels from each (2 Kgs 15:19–20).

**B. Money in the Ancient Near East**

**1. The shekel.** One silver shekel equalled approximately 8.26 g. Fractional shekels were also regularly employed in Palestine and throughout the ANE. A cuneiform text written in Akkadian from the Smith College collection, for example, details an exchange of goods from 2 brothers to their creditors from the time of Samsuiluna of Babylon (18th cent. B.C.E.), in which 1/6 shekel of silver equalled 240 *qa* of barley. Texts show that oxen were normally valued at 1 gold shekel (equal to 15 silver shekels or approx. 2 tons of grain). A ram was worth about 2 shekels according to Lev 5:15. A measure of grain, equal to about 11/2 pecks, was valued at a shekel if it was "fine" grain; "common" grain yielded silver double that amount for a shekel. Hoards of precious metals (silver, gold, and electrum) from Shechem, Megiddo, Beth Zur, and Gaza dating from the Late Bronze II through the Iron II periods (*ca.* 1400 B.C.E. to 600 B.C.E.) include pieces of many different weights, including fractions of the standard shekel weight.

**2. Egypt.** With its military interests encompassing far-off lands, Egypt amassed huge quantities of precious metals during her foreign conquests. Goods were bought and paid for with weights of gold, silver, and copper. Undoubtedly, the treasures of the Pharaoh took up much of the metal in the treasury at any given time in the form of vessels, decorated furniture, jewelry, and other tomb goods. The scenes depicted at Medinet Habu show gold stored in ingots, rings, vases, and dust. The gold was not native to Egypt. Gold usually came into Egyptian hands as booty from wars or as tribute from conquered or vassal countries in Asia and Africa. The Egyptian treasuries processed the gold and cast it into ingots and rings for ease in transportation. Gold dust, however, was apparently left as it was. The Nile Valley, like Mesopotamia and the lower Indus River Valley, was not well endowed in precious metals. In the 18th Dynasty, gold was obtained from Punt at the S end of the Red Sea (probably modern Somalia). The mines of the Sinai were worked from the 12th Dynasty onwards, as were the Red Sea mines. Under Queen Hatshepsut and Seti I, and again under Rameses II, the Sinai mines failed. Mining operations were dependent upon adequate supplies of water, and since there is no evidence that rainfall fluctuated so greatly in these periods, storage systems and cistern networks must have broken down.

The Egyptians, however, appear to have seen the Asiatic provinces under their influence as unlimited sources of gold. Dushratti of Mitanni wrote to his son-in-law, Pharoah Amenhotep IV (Akhenaton) "for was not gold as the dust of the country?" This bit of correspondence from Tell el-Amarna provides some insight into the Egyptian attitude toward gold and its availability. This was a time (the LB Age) when gold was in short supply in Babylon, where metal work prized in Egypt originated. A Babylonian official

named Burnaburias wrote to a pharaoh, who hinted that gold would be welcomed in his court. The Babylonian indicated he would be glad to comply if ingots were shipped to Babylon to be worked and returned to Egypt as finished products. The Egyptian demand for gold periodically caused shortages which must have increased the value of silver. Egyptian money was usually gold. Silver was rare, even in tomb treasures, until the 1st millennium when it was more plentiful and popular; but gold in ingots, rings, bags of dust, or lumps remained the most common form of currency. We know from tomb wall reliefs that taxes could be paid in metals or in commodities. Reliefs at Saqqarah also show farmers bringing their payments in kind, with animals, grain, oil, and wine.

**3. Mesopotamia.** In Babylonia and Assyria weight standards, both "heavy" and "light," were in use by the end of the 3d millennium B.C.E. These systems standardized commercial transactions until the Hellenistic period and the new administrative system initiated by Alexander the Great. Silver was plentiful in Asia Minor and Persia, and earliest smelting of the metal probably occurred in these regions. Mediterranean silver mines were still active when Ezekiel sang the glories of Tyre and Tarshish, "who was her merchant" (Ezekiel 28). Economic texts and receipts for daily commerce are among the most-common clay tablets found at sites in Mesopotamia and Syria. Silver standards were commonly used in local and international trade in the 2d and 1st millennia B.C.E. The Tell el-Amarna letters show evidence for this standard in Syria and Palestine in the 15th century B.C.E. By the 6th century B.C.E., silver was still the metal of account in everyday life; and Babylon was dependent upon Phoenician merchants for its importation. By 550 B.C.E., copper was imported in large quantities from Cyprus and sold at a rate of 33/4 minas to the shekel of silver (by bulk weight). Dealing in bits and pieces of silver or copper in daily commerce became the accepted norm. Bar silver was simply "cut" to furnish fractional amounts.

**4. Biblical and Archaeological Evidence.** Very little metal money is found at Palestinian sites from *ca.* 1300 to 587 B.C.E. A few hoards from major sites such as Gaza, Shechem, Megiddo, and Beth Shan are the exceptions. Many examples of other types of metal objects are known, including jewelry and weapons. Some of the jewelry undoubtedly functioned as money, since its forms were convenient for transport and commerce.

In the Bible, references to "money" generally fall into 3 categories: (1) prices paid for land; (2) prophetic injunctions against corruption in the market place; and (3) obligations to the temple. Some examples of the first category have already been cited. Temple taxes were usually paid in kind or with money (in metallic form). For example, when a purification rite was required following the birth of a child, an offering was made of a "lamb a year old … and a young pigeon or turtledove … and the priest [made] atonement for [the woman]" (Lev 12:6–8). Such rites involved charges to worshipers by religious authorities and were common throughout the Near East. The requisite animals could be purchased with grain, oil, wine, or the equivalent in silver. Tariff inscriptions from a number of Canaanite and Punic sources outline elaborate systems of payment for services rendered by cultic officiants (i.e. the Marseille Tariff inscription, Donner and Röllig 1968: 83–87). Analogous Hebrew customs provided monies for maintenance of the priests and the upkeep of the Temple.

Jehoash, king of Israel in the late 9th century B.C.E., formalized support for the Temple using monies assessed to individuals which were brought to the Temple of the people's own free will for "the house of the Lord." The priests then used his money to repair the Temple (2 Kgs 12:4–5). The uncoined metals were collected in a box, weighed, and then melted down and cast into bars or ingots according to royal standards. The pure metal bars functioned as currency to pay the workmen.

Prophetic injunctions resulted when metals were weighed or examined for purity, because occasional cheating occurred. For example, weights used by merchants were lumps of bronze or iron, or simply stones, supposedly conforming to accepted royal standards. In Deuteronomy 23:13–15, the Israelites were cautioned not to have different sets of stones, i.e., different weights, in their possession. Amos (8:5) preaches against this cheating in the marketplace. Eventually kings verified weight standards with royal seals of legitimacy. Royal identification also occurred on officially sanctioned crops of wine and olive oil. A series of jar handles stamped in paleo-Hebrew script with the phrase *lmlk*, "belonging to the king," dates first from the late 8th century B.C.E. Whether these jar handles simply identified "royal" wine or

certified the quality of a crop for international commerce is unclear. See STAMPS, ROYAL JAR HANDLE.

In 1967, excavations at Nush-i Jan, Iran, unearthed a hoard of silver objects in a bronze bowl buried below the floor of a building identified as a "fort." A. D. H. Bivar described these objects as "ingot currency," dating from ca. 600 B.C.E. Hoards like this one are common throughout the Near East in the Persian period, often also containing silver coins from mints in Greece, Anatolia, and Phoenicia. This hoard, for example, included coins, entire or subdivided with chisel cuts; fragments of ancient jewelry; lengths of silver wire; chunks of "cut silver" taken off larger slabs or ingots (usually called by German writers *Hacksilber*); rectangular ingots; and flat, circular ingots of different sizes formed by molten metals solidifying in the bottoms of jars. This particular hoard is important, because it lacks Greek coins and is pre-Achaemenid in date. Any person possessing wealth might have kept a hoard such as this.

Evidence from Nush-i Jan includes ingots in 2 forms, the flat, circular ingot which appears most often in hoards in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, and the bar ingot, the rectangular form which is more common in Mesopotamia and Persia. The contents of this extensive hoard suggest that standards may have been variable from locality to locality and from time to time. Although there are many pieces in the hoard which closely approximate either the Babylonian standard or the heavier Persic (Achaemenid) standard, there are other bits which fall between the two.

At the same time, there is evidence that Greeks on the Peloponnese were using a currency of iron spits. It is unknown if the spits of iron—which must have originated no earlier than the late 8th or early 7th century B.C.E.—were a new or reformed currency. They may have provided an official standard if made in identical molds. Herodotus (1.68) suggests that iron was not readily available until Greece's colonial expansion in the 8th century B.C.E. (see Koester 1982: 76–77). The iron spits were used into the 6th century, when some Greek and E Greek city states were already striking coins in precious metals. The spits, though still in use, were soon to be obsolete. Coinage may have spread more rapidly among the Greeks since a form of iron-spit currency was already in use and was accepted throughout much of the region. Indeed a "drachma" was literally a "handful" of spits (coming from a root meaning "to grasp"; Grierson 1975: 9–10). The Nush-i Jan hoard, like similar hoards from sites in Palestine, is evidence of a medial development between the use of bullion and coined metals. Small chunks of metal show that pieces of standard weights were in use by the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.E., previewing the denominational systems of true coinage.

**C. The Origins of Coinage**

Literary evidence contemporaneous with the kings of Judah suggests that coinage began in Anatolia. Passages from cuneiform tablets imply that payments in Mesopotamia were made with coins or coin-like objects called "heads of Ishtar," "heads of Shamash," or "heads of Ashur," all titles suggesting the existence of early stamped currency. Of course, these may be funds belonging to the temples of those deities. Barley, gold, and lead are mentioned in texts as media of exchange; but by far, silver was the most common. Some silver ingots are known from Zingirli inscribed with the name of Bir-Rekeb, son of Panamua, dating to *ca.* 714–710 B.C.E. and weighing one mina.

The places where coinage developed are more certain than the dates of the circumstances, however. In all probability, the first coins were struck in western Asia Minor as small globular pieces of electrum, a natural alloy of silver and gold. The pieces bore a design on one face and a punch mark on the other. These coins, produced either in the late-7th or early-6th centuries B.C.E. were correlated to a weight standard, recognizing the stamp impressed upon the chunks of metal as official recognition that they were legal tender. These early coins bore no inscriptions and did not circulate widely. Their use, however, quickly spread to the Persian empire and the East because of the Persian domination of Asia Minor beginning in the mid-6th century B.C.E. Croesus, according to Greek tradition (Herodotus 1.94), later struck silver and gold coins in the mid-6th century, which probably supplemented and/or expanded the earlier use of electrum.

Some scholars have suggested that the earliest coins were struck by merchants, because the types are diverse and one early inscribed coin reads, "I am the mark of Phanes," presumably a businessman

(Grierson 1975: 10; Kraay 1976: 23). However, coinage not only facilitated commerce, it greatly simplified payment and receipt of taxes, temple maintenance, payment of mercenaries and soldiers, and government expenditures on public works. C. M. Kraay has convincingly argued that conversion from bullion to coinage was, therefore, a conscious effort by local communities to simplify monetary transactions. In Kraay's view, coined metals at first remained near the place of origin and were used for governmental purposes. Later, they were traded like any other valuable objects. Neighbors of the Greeks were slow to accept coinage until the Persian government decided that a unified monetary system might weld the empire together. *Sigloi* were the standard silver coins struck by Darius the Great and subsequent Persian kings. They copied coins of E Greek manufacture and were used throughout the E Mediterranean. Persian gold *darics* (probably named after Darius I) were struck by the central government and were the standard gold coinage of the realm. The silver *sigloi* were struck by local authorities in the satrapies. By weight, one gold *daric* was equal to 20 silver *sigloi.* Coins with the Great King's likeness were also powerful political tools.

Most classical numismatists argue that coinage was introduced sometime after 650 B.C.E. At first the use of coins spread westward from Lydia. Persian satraps and rulers struck silver and gold coins depicting the Persian king of kings in the guise of a running archer or an archer in the hunt. See Fig. COI.01 (a). The scenes are reminiscent of numerous examples of Babylonian, Assyrian, and Persian glyptic art from the 1st millennium B.C.E. Old systems of barter and the use of older forms of money persisted in the E for at least another century; but the use of coinage spread quickly to Greek communities in the Aegean, on mainland Greece, and in the Greek colonial west (Sicily and Italy). Coinage was used in Italy before the end of the 6th century B.C.E. and probably reached Marseilles (a Punic colony) by *ca.* 450 B.C.E. By the second half of the 5th century, coinage was in use and being struck in N Africa and at mints throughout the E Mediterranean, including the important trading centers of the Phoenician league of city states.

The coinage of Sidon, Tyre, Aradus, and Byblos began in the 5th century and became normative for trade in the Near East in the 4th century, supplemented by coins from Greek and E Greek cities (notably Athens whose standard and coinage gained great commercial prominence). Egypt was slow to adopt the use of coinage, using globs of weighed gold with the hieroglyphs *nefer nub,* "fine gold," incised upon them as payment to Greek mercenaries (Grierson 1975: 11). The Greeks probably insisted on being paid in coin, a new concept for the Egyptians.

Sidon was the leading Phoenician city during the Persian period (*ca.* 540–332 B.C.E.). Tyre had been destroyed by Babylonian armies and Sidon, its N neighbor, picked up the commercial slack. Phoenicia provided the navy for the Persian kings and was the critical link in the Persian trading network which connected the spice and silk routes of the E with the Greek and Punic west. By the 5th century, more and more foreign coins appeared in Gaza, the Phoenician cities, and in Jerusalem, so that local authorities sought permission to strike their own coins to make trade simpler and governmental activity more efficient. Merchants no longer weighed out a "shekel" of silver when officially stamped coins were available. The Phoenicians struck coins depicting important symbols of each city-state beginning in *ca.* 450 B.C.E. Sidon, for example, depicted a galley on the obverse types, symbolic of the city's leadership in maritime trade. See Fig. COI.01 (b). The reverse types showed the Persian king riding in a chariot followed by the Sidonian king dressed as high priest in the Great King's cult at Sidon. Inscriptions first appeared near the end of the 5th century in the form of abbreviations of the names of the Sidonian kings. Similar inscriptions were tried in Tyre, Aradus, and Byblos. Indeed from Byblos, much fuller inscriptions are known, listing the ruler's name and title—*milk gubl,* "king of Byblos." At Sidon it was common practice to use the 1st initial of the king's name as an abbreviation: i.e. ʿ*b* for ʿAbdʿaštart, or *bš* for Baʿlšallim. From an inscription published in the 1960's, the Sidonian king list was greatly expanded so that an accurate, more precise chronology for the Sidonian coinage of the Persian period was made possible. See Fig. COI.01 (c–e).

These coins were struck on the Phoenician standard, which was directly convertible into the Persic standard of the imperial gold darics. It also exchanged easily with coinage of the Attic standard on which the Athenian and Greek economies were built. By the early 4th century B.C.E., however, Sidon, Tyre,

Cyprus, and Egypt revolted against Persia. New coin types developed which depicted the local ruler's likeness, rather than the traditional scenes with the Persian King of Kings. These coins were short-lived because Persia reasserted its control and transferred minting privileges to the Cilician satrap, Mazday, whose name appears on the Sidonian coins in Aram script. One result of this revolt, however, is the adoption of the Attic standard in the Sidonian and Tyrian mints, probably to facilitate trade with Greece.

At the same time, coins were also being struck further S along the Levantine coast in either Gaza or Ashkelon. Most scholars presume that Gaza was the principal regional mint in this period, imitating Attic coins of the 5th century (which depicted Athena on the obverse and the Athenian owl and the Gk letters *alpha-theta-epsilon* ["Athenai" for Athens] on the reverse; see Fig. COI.01 (f)). The Athenian tetradrachmas, copied in the mint at Gaza, are among the most beautiful coins of this early period. Athenian coins were imitated because they were considered the international monetary standard of their time (late 6th through the early 4th centuries B.C.E.); the owl and head of Athena were symbolic of Athens and conveyed a confidence built up throughout the E Mediterranean in Athenian commerce and statecraft. The Athenians, after all, had been able to withstand the Persian juggernaut at Marathon and Salamis, and they maintained a strong navy. The so-called "Philisto-Arabian" or "Egypto-Arabian" copies are not so well done. See Fig. COI.01 (g). They were struck in silver, as were most of the Phoenician coins. Only a few bronze issues are known from Sidon; they supplemented the silver issues which were subdivisions of the more valuable gold darics—the mainstay of the Persian central mint.

The mint at Gaza or Ashkelon struck many different kinds of coins. Besides the Attic imitations, there was a large group which depicted a janiform head—that is, a head of the god Janus which gazes both ways. None of these coins exhibits the quality of craftsmanship known from Greece or Phoenicia. The owls do not measure up to Tyre's owl or that of Athens, and none has the quality of engraving common to the Byblian scenes of a lion attacking a bull.

Suffice it to say, that during the period 450–430 B.C.E., coins were struck along the Levantine coast for the first time. These issues were produced with the permission of the Persian government and under the authority of local rulers loyal to the Great King. Major silver denominations and their fractions facilitated trade and the payment of tribute and taxes to Persepolis and Susa. Each of the coin series depicted local scenes and bore ethnics which had some political or religious significance—a common practice at the time. All of the Phoenician mints used identifiable types peculiar to their own city mints. For the first time, abbreviations of cities' or rulers' names appear on coin flans. The letters, *mʾ,* for example, were an abbreviation for *mamlakt ʾArvad,* "the government of Aradus." These coins and numerous examples from Greek and East Greek mints circulated throughout the lands of the Bible as early as the end of the 6th century and beginning of the 5th century B.C.E. This was the period of the great reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah in Jerusalem, when the Temple was rebuilt and the city wall of Jerusalem was restored. Most coins of this time which are known from archaeological contexts, have come from hoards found at sites along major trade routes in the Levant and Mesopotamia. Such hoards have come from excavations or tombs at sites like Abu Shusheh (near Gezer), Acco, Khirbet el-Kerak, Tel Sippor (near modern Qiryat Gat), and Shechem. It was also during this time that coins were first struck under Jewish authority in or near Jerusalem.

**D. The Yehud Coins**

Investigation and analysis by L. Mildenberg and the author have produced a new chronological picture for the "Yehud" coins. These coins come from the late Persian period, which remains relatively unknown to biblical scholars (the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.E.). Coins bearing the inscription *yhd* have surfaced for many years on antiquities markets and in collections around the world. At first it was thought that they were part of the so-called Philisto-Arabian series already mentioned. The Yehud coins have now been recognized to be a separate series, emanating from a mint in or near Jerusalem. None of the coins bears a mint mark except for the name of the province in paleo-Aramaic or paleo-Hebrew script. When these coins are studied within the context of the larger series from Phoenicia, a clearer picture of the 5th and 4th centuries in Judah emerges.

In the markets of Jerusalem, coined money was first used in the 5th century B.C.E. Evidence of coins in this early period indicates that they were often cut to test the purity of the metal. Indeed at one time in the 4th century in Tyre, inflation was so rapidly devaluing the Tyrian stater, that one enterprising ruler introduced "sandwich" coins, which was a copper core encased in silver. The coins were obviously lighter in weight than pure silver; and following the subsequent public outcry they were withdrawn from circulation (Betlyon 1980: 44–46). Many of the so-called Philisto-Arabian and Egypto-Arabian coins in the collections of the British Museum and the Bibliothèque nationale display punch marks or cuts verifying their purity or weight. Use of officially coined metals, however, made it possible for merchants to transact business without weighing a "shekel" of silver to be certain that the weight in metal matched the accepted weight in stone. While no coins predating the late 6th century have thus far been found in Palestine, the use of metal rings and bars persisted even though the use of coins became more popular. Spreading first from coastal cities along established trade routes, coins were quickly utilized for collection of taxes, both governmental and religious. According to Ezra 2:68–69, the Israelites not only rebuilt Jerusalem, but families made freewill offerings for the rebuilding of the Temple, donating to the treasury "61,000 gold darics *(darkĕmnîm),* 5,000 minas of silver, and other priestly accoutrements."

From comparative analysis, the first coins bearing the ethnic "Yehud," were probably struck soon after 400 B.C.E. They depicted the head of Pallas Athena in typically Attic manner, facing to the right on the obverse. On the reverse was an owl with an olive branch and the legend, in paleo-Aramaic, *Yehud (yhd),* i.e., Judah. The craftsmanship is poor. The die engravers copied Athenian types similar to those presumably copied in Gaza. The legend appears both as it should and on some examples, in retrograde. All of the coins are fractional silver denominations which functioned as small change to complement the larger silver coins of Gaza, Tyre, and Sidon.

By 370 B.C.E., Judah introduced new types including the lily and the falcon with spread wings, again with the legend *Yehud.* Within this group is a coin with the likeness of a local leader, perhaps the high priest, to whom minting authority had devolved. The coin, featuring his bust "in kidaris" (the Persian costume) is very similar to issues from Sidon struck during the first revolt of the 4th century against Persian hegemony. These Sidonian coins from ca. 365/364–362 B.C.E. featured the local king wearing a crown like that of his Persian overlord, identical in style to this example from Judah. The coin stems from the revolt, reflecting Judean participation in the rebellion instigated by the Egyptian leader, Tachos. The Sidonian ʿAbdʿaštart I led the insurrection in the Levant, along with a number of kings from Cyprus. The Judeans, always envious of their own freedom from foreign rulers, participated as well, striking coinage with their own ruler's likeness. It is unusual for a Jew to have agreed to have his face shown on a coin; the use of this type, however, was short-lived, probably due to the public's lack of acceptance. E. Stern has summarized the archaeological evidence for disturbances in the first half of the 4th century at a number of sites in the Shephelah and the Negeb. These destructions were probably due to armed intervention by armies of Artaxerxes II Mnemon, who was doubly anxious when Yohanan, a high priest, killed Yeshua within the Temple. As a result of this act, according to Josephus (*Ant* 11§297–301), a Persian general, Bagoses, entered the Temple, defiled it, and imposed a fee upon each Jewish sacrifice, causing the Jews to suffer for 7 years. This fee may well have been collected in this silver minutiae.

A coin from the British Museum, the so-called Yehud drachma, is probably from this period (ca. 360 B.C.E.) as well. See Fig. COI.01 (h). This unique coin depicts a bearded head in Corinthian helmet on the obverse and a bearded figure seated on a winged wheel on the reverse, with a head of the Egyptian god Bes (in incuse) to the side. The legend "Yehud" appears on the reverse. First published by G. F. Hill and E. L. Sukenik many years ago, the coin was thought by some scholars to illustrate a scene from the prophecies of Ezekiel, showing God on the spinning, winged wheel, interpreting Ezekiel 1 and Ezekiel 10 in which God's throne room has whirling wheels, one for each of the cherubim, wheels within wheels. Although the reverse may indeed depict this scene, it is doubtful that it would have been struck by Jewish authorities, given their aversion to depicting God or anything so holy as the cherubim in this early period. This would have been a significant affront to religious authorities in this time of neoorthodoxy following Ezra's reforms. The coin was more likely struck by a satrap like Mazday, on behalf of the Persian

government, to maintain commercial activity in Judaea following the Tachos revolt. The coin is not Jewish in character, and represents a foreign, intrusive element. Since only one example is known, this issue must have been intended for limited use.

The next coins struck by Jewish authorities were issued by Yeḥizqiyyah the governor, with a facing head on the obverse and a poorly executed Athenian owl on the reverse. Instead of *Yehud,* the reverse inscription reads *yḥzqh hpḥh, Yeḥizqiyyah happeḥah* ("governor"). The title indicates the rank of the official granted minting privileges by the Persian government. By 346 B.C.E. parts of Judah once again joined in revolt with the Phoenicians and Egyptians against Persia. Yeḥizqiyyah apparently followed the Sidonian lead and put his own head on the coins during this revolt. This time Artaxerxes III Ochus put down the revolt quickly and harshly. Evidence of destruction is found at Hazor, Megiddo, Athlit, Lachish, and Jericho. Diodorus Siculus wrote about this rebellion led by Tennes of Sidon (16.40–46). Scholars have argued that Judah also participated in this revolt. There is some archaeological evidence to indicate that parts of the province revolted, causing more suffering and a deportation of some Jews to the area of the Caspian Sea.

Following the Tennes rebellion there was probably a period when no coinage was struck in Jerusalem; Persian retribution for an indiscretion such as rebellion was swift and sure. Archaeological evidence from the period is scanty, and two destructions cannot be easily reckoned anywhere, especially two destructions only 10 years apart. It is clear, however, that Judah participated at least half-heartedly in these two revolts, so that much of the province had been destroyed at least once by the time that Alexander the Great marched his armies into the E Mediterranean in 332/331 B.C.E.

Following the second revolt (ca. 340 B.C.E.) coins were struck on the same types, but without the inscription Yehud or the name of the fallen Yeḥizqiyyah. A small group of poorly made coins from this period has been recognized by D. Barag to bear the ethnic inscription *yḥnn hkhn, Yoḥanan hakkōhēn,* "Yoḥanan the priest." The listing of high priests in the Chronicler's history does not include the name of a Yoḥanan in the late 4th century. F. M. Cross has argued that the listing in 1–2 Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah lacks the names of at least 4 high priests, presumably having been dropped off the list because of scribal errors when the scroll was recopied (specifically by reason of supposed haplography). It may be, however, that the Chronicler's final history of this period was edited by Persian authorities deleting the names of rebellious priests, such as Yoḥanan who took authority on himself to strike coins without an official Persian imprimatur. Nehemiah and Ezra were both highly praised for their loyalty to Persia, and are given special laud for their magnanimity toward the Jews, as Persian officials. The Ezra lists may have been used for propaganda purposes, and only after the histories had passed censorship were they acceptable within the loyalist Jewish community. After all, the Persian period was a time when talk of freedom and revolt was regarded as open rebellion. Zerubbabel, mentioned as a leader in Zechariah 1–8, mysteriously disappeared, probably because he advocated a free, strong Jerusalem once too often.

If this reconstruction of late Persian period history is correct, the high priests apparently had assumed great authority, including the minting of coinage. Some measure, therefore, of civil authority was vested in the high priest as well as his religious function. This scenario corresponds to a time of Persian weakness, ca. 335–332 B.C.E.

These small coins were followed by a series in which old dies were initially reused under Ptolemaic sponsorship following Alexander the Great, with the Aramaic inscription *Yehud* replaced by the Hebrew *Yehudah.* Likenesses of Ptolemy I and his queen eventually appeared upon the types, indicating that secular governmental authorities had taken control of the mint from the high priest. This probably occurred immediately after Alexander's conquest of Judah in 331 B.C.E. Regional mints in Tyre and Alexandria struck the major denominations of silver coinage in this period portraying Alexander's own likeness. Small local mints continued to strike fractional issues such as the Yehud coins found near Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Hebron.

The Yehud coins are important because they are the first coins struck within the land of Israel and Judah by local authorities. The coins have been found as far S as Beth Zur and Tell Jemmeh, nearly to the border

of Egypt. Judah was a province within the Persian satrapy of Abernahara, i.e., the satrapy "across the river," which included Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and Cyprus.

**E. Coinage in the Apocrypha**

After 332/331 B.C.E. no coins were struck in Palestine except in officially sanctioned mints such as the one at Jerusalem where only small minutiae were produced. The major coinage of the period came from Acco and Tyre, where Alexander established large Hellenistic mints. No major monetary changes occurred; the Athenian standard and coins on Greek types predominated until 168 B.C.E. Coinage and the right to produce it were the perquisites of political and military supremacy. As the Ptolemaic and Seleucid Hellenistic kingdoms weakened in the century following Alexander's death, rulers had more and more difficulty dealing with outlying provinces of the kingdoms. Judaea found itself between spheres of Hellenistic influence, which resulted in repressive policies from Syrian Greek rulers early in the 2d century B.C.E. The immediate result was rebellion led by Judas Maccabaeus. The end result was that Jewish authorities were again in control of Jerusalem by 168 B.C.E. Alexander Jannai (ruling from 103–76 B.C.E.) was the first of the Hasmoneans to strike coins in Jerusalem late in the 2d century B.C.E. with a flower (lily?) on the obverse and the ethnic inscription *yḥntn hmlk*, "Jonathan the king," referring to himself. These coins were struck mostly in bronze and functioned as supplemental currency with the larger coins circulating from the major mints. Silver and gold were in short supply, so Jonathan later overstruck his own coins altering the title "king" to "high priest and friend of the Jews." The Maccabees were slowly equated not with orthodoxy and revolt against Hellenism, but with Hellenism itself. Their use of an ethnic inference in Greek may have angered more militant Jews in the 2d century, but it was probably a necessary element to insure acceptance of the coins in the marketplaces of the land at the time.

The first Maccabaean coins struck by Alexander Jannai were in bronze. They were fractions of a shekel in weight, including half-, quarter-, and third-shekels. All were minted with similar types and ethnics. These coins probably served as Temple taxes as well as for commerce. The sanguinary family quarreling which marked the early years of Maccabaean/Hasmonean rule, meant that coins were not minted with someone securely in power. In 1 Maccabees 15, Antiochus VII granted to Simon the high priest a letter of privileges. It said among other things, "I give you leave also to coin money for your country with your own stamp." On this basis most scholars have argued that Simon (*Šimʿon,* d. 134 B.C.E.) struck the first Hasmonean coins. However on a closer reading of 1 Maccabees, it is clear that Antiochus VII went back on his word and revoked Simon's privileges. So who did strike the Hasmonean coins?

The series bears 4 names: Yehoḥanan, Yehudah, Yonatan, and Mittityah. Since the high priestly families commonly practiced papponomy, naming the son after the grandfather, each name could represent more than one person or generation, when the same names recur again and again within a family. The Hasmoneans further complicated this situation, however, because in the 4th generation they stopped using their Hebrew names in favor of Greek ones. The work of B. Kanael, A. Kindler, and Y. Meshorer leads us to the aforementioned conclusion that Alexander Jannai struck the first Hasmonean coins. Seleucid and Ptolemaic coins were circulating at this time throughout Judaea, but by *ca.* 110 B.C.E., the Seleucids had become so weak that subject states and cities often were able to demonstrate autonomy by striking their own types. Tyre was minting autonomous shekels by the mid-2d century B.C.E.; but it was a large, commercial city-state. Smaller states and cities only later began their mints, including renewed coinage from Gaza and Ashkelon, and new coins from Judaea and the Nabataean kingdom. Nabataean coins were struck from *ca.* 80 B.C.E. until about 80 C.E., and regularly circulated in Palestine.

Approximately 20 lead "coins" are known from Alexander Jannai (ruled from 103–76 B.C.E.). The lead flans are usually struck on only one side and appear to be experimental efforts at coin production using soft metal, according to Meshorer (1967: 56–57). Struck between 103 and 76 B.C.E., Alexander Jannai's coins usually depicted a flower on the obverse and an anchor on the reverse. The anchor symbolized his conquest of several maritime cities on the Mediterranean coast. However, it is very similar to other anchors used on the coins of Antiochus VII Sidetes. Some believe that his restriking of coins to delete the royal title "king" and replace it with "high priest and friend of the Jews," was a concession to the

Pharisees because the Hasmoneans were not of the house of David and had no legitimate right to the throne.

Alexander Jannai struck other types as well, including reverses depicting double cornucopiae and stars with 8 rays. John Hyrcanus II (high priest from 63–40 B.C.E.) followed Alexander Jannai striking coins on similar types, and repeating the lengthy ethnic—"high priest and friend of the Jews." A crested helmet was used on some smaller bronze issues as a reverse type. Judas Aristobulus II (ruled from 66–63 B.C.E.) and Mattathias Antigonus (ruled from 40–37 B.C.E.) completed the Hasmonean coin series with strikings in 37 B.C.E. No Hasmonean silver is known. Scholars in the last century confused silver from the First Jewish Revolt, *ca.* 67–70 C.E., with Hasmonean coins because of the similar types.

Hasmonean issues weighed a maximum of 14 g. and a minimum of 0.2 g. They were struck on flans which had been cast in open molds. This open mold production method resulted in heavier coins, which were the equivalent of 2 coins pressed together. The only coin struck on the closed mold technique was that of Antigonus depicting a 7-branched menorah. Meshorer argues that this coin was a special issue struck at half the weight of the other issues in 37 B.C.E. when the armies of Herod were laying siege to Jerusalem. Mattathias Antigonus saw his little kingdom slipping into the hands of "strangers" —Rome and Herod. He used this coin with the menorah to proclaim that it was forbidden for the Temple menorah to fall into enemy hands. Meshorer believes that the coin had no economic use, but was intended for "propaganda value only" (1967: 61–62). Mattathias placed his name in Hebrew on the obverse and his Gk name in the genitive, *basileos antigonou*, "belonging to king Antigonus," on the reverse.

**F. Coinage of Herod and His Dynasty**

In the 1st century B.C.E., coins of Republican Rome began to circulate in the E, especially after the conquests of Pompeii the Great, which established the Roman presence in Egypt and Palestine. With the overthrow of the Hasmoneans, Herod brought some changes to minting operations in Jerusalem: inscriptions (ethnics) would only be in Greek, no Jewish symbols would appear on coins, and a dating system would be attempted for the first time. All of his coins have either a full or abbreviated form of the ethnic, "Herod the King."

Herod's first coins are dated; thereafter they go undated. The symbolism is predominantly pagan, including a tripod, palm branches, crested helmets, shields, winged caduceus, pomegranate, aphlaston (a royal signet), a cross enclosed in a diadem, an anchor, an eagle, and a double cornucopiae. All the coins are in bronze and are meant to support silver from regional mints. See Fig. COI.01 (j).

Herod's lands were divided among his 3 sons, Archaelaus, Antipas, and Phillip, after his death in 4 B.C.E. Archaelaus's coins were struck from 4 B.C.E. until 6 C.E. and are maritime in type, perhaps because the principal ports were in his jurisdiction, including Joppa and Caesarea. These coins were struck at Herod's old mint of Jerusalem and continued the same craftsmanship. Herod Antipas, ruling in the Galilee and Peraea (Transjordan) until 39 C.E., began to strike coins in his 24th year, 19/20 C.E. His coins were distinctly Jewish in character, since all the lands he ruled were inhabited primarily by Jews. The designs include the palm tree, palm branches, bunches of dates, and reeds. His coins were struck in a new mint at Tiberias (founded on the W shore of the Sea of Galilee between 17 and 22 C.E.), and were limited to small bronzes which have been found only in N Israel.

Herod Phillip II ruled areas which were predominantly inhabited by pagans, and his coins show foreign influence, including the Roman emperor's bust on the obverse and a Roman temple on the reverse. These coins are extremely rare and were probably struck at Caesarea Philippi (modern Baniyas in the Golan Heights). He even included the name of the Roman emperor, in Greek, on his coins. These examples had a limited, local circulation; only one has surfaced in excavations as far away as Curium, Cyprus.

Agrippa I ruled in the N from 37–44 C.E., and struck coins beginning in his 2d year at Caesarea Philippi. He was a close friend of Claudius who became emperor in 41 C.E. Through his patronage, Agrippa I ruled over almost all the lands which once had been ruled by Herod, uniting the land of the Jews and the first Christians under a single ruler who was the grandson of Herod the Great and his Hasmonean wife Mariamne. Like his contemporaries and his predecessors, his most common issues were *peruṭ*—small bronze coins—which he struck in Jerusalem or Caesarea. Some of his coins bear types which were

intended to circulate in Jewish areas (with types like the canopy); other types, depicting the emperor, Agrippa, a quadriga, and a temple, were intended for areas untouched by Judaism. Agrippa I was the first Jewish ruler since the Persian period to put his own likeness on a coin flan.

The final Herodian ruler was Agrippa II, who sat on the throne until 95 C.E., strongly supporting Roman rule at all times. His coins have been problematic because they were sometimes dated twice, on differing systems; or they bear the names of 2 different emperors. Moreover, the date given by Josephus for his accession is incompatible with the dates on the coins. Josephus argued that Agrippa II came to the throne *ca.* 49/50 C.E.; from inscriptions and his coins, H. Seyrig has more correctly argued that he came to the throne in 56 C.E. (1964: 55–65). Agrippa struck coins on several new types, depicting 4 emperors, including Nero (54–68 C.E.), Vespasian (69–79 C.E.), Titus (79–81 C.E.), and Domitian (81–96 C.E.). He also used divine types such as Pan, Nike, and Tyche with cornucopiae.

During this same period, Roman procurators in Judaea issued coins sporadically between 6 C.E. and 66 C.E. Of the 13 procurators assigned to Judaea, only 5 struck any coins. Under Caesar Augustus (27 B.C.E.–14 C.E.), Coponius struck bronzes in 6 C.E. depicting barley and a palm tree. Ambibulus issued coins on the same types between 9 and 11 C.E. Under Tiberius Caesar (14–37 C.E.), Valerius Gratus issued a series of bronze coins with inscriptions inside a wreath on the obverse and double cornucopiae or lilies on the reverse. He struck them between 15 and 19 C.E. and again in 25 C.E. Pontius Pilate, who replaced him in 26 C.E., struck coins for 3 years, beginning in Caesarea and Jerusalem in 29/30 C.E. New obverse types included the simpulum and the lituus, Roman cult objects which were a source of irritation within the Jewish community of Judaea. Other symbols used by the procurators were not necessarily Jewish, but were less offensive than those chosen by Pilate. The palm tree and a palm branch were most compatible with the Jewish community; but coins depicting spears and shields, symbols of Roman military superiority, appear on some coins of Antonius Felix, issued in 54 and 58 C.E., in the last years of procuratorial minting in Judaea. See Fig. COI.01 (k). Felix presided on the Apostle Paul's arrest (Acts 23:26–35). The procuratorial coinage was secondary to imperial and Herodian issues, and was used to fill out the denominational system. Dating mechanisms were used on these coins indicating the year of the procurator's term. Some early scholarly studies described some silver issued of the procurators; these have proven to be forgeries of the modern era.

**G. Coins of the New Testament**

The coins of the Herodians circulated throughout Palestine during the time when Jesus and the apostles travelled those ancient highways. These coins, with those of the procurators, were the pocket change supplementing silver coins from imperial mints in Rome, Alexandria, and Antiochia. Among these larger silver coins was the *denarius* which was the accepted salary for a day's work by a common laborer. The *denarius* was also the annual Temple tax when Jesus was an adult and is probably the coin mentioned in Matt 22:21. Jesus was questioned concerning the payment of taxes; his response was "render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's," because like so many of the other coins, the emperor's likeness appeared on the obverse. After the revolt of 66–70 C.E., the Temple tax doubled to a half-shekel (two *denarii*).

The coins paid to Judas Iscariot (Matt 26:15) were probably silver shekels of Tyre or Antiochia. Thirty pieces would equal approximately 120 *denarii,* a laborer's salary for up to 4 months. According to Exodus 21:32, however, this sum was considered appropriate "blood money," paid in compensation when someone was killed accidentally. In Mark 12:42 the widow's mite was probably a Greek *lepton,* the smallest coin then in circulation. It was half a Roman *quadrans* or Jewish *peruṭa,* and in diameter would have been smaller than any modern U.S. coin. In 30 C.E., any of these coins may have been seen on the streets of Jerusalem, which was a cosmopolitan city. The coins varied greatly in weight and size from 8 mm or 40 mm in diameter. Because of the variations, simple commercial exchanges often required the services of a moneychanger.

The moneychanger functioned as both a banker and a financier. He sat in the gate of the city or the gate of the Temple and made his services available for a fee. For example, when Antiochian tetradrachmas were exchanged for local shekels, a premium of 4%–8% was exacted. Since coins of different origins were used, the moneychanger's services were often required. The Temple tax of a half-shekel to be paid

by adult males was specified in rabbinic instruction to be paid in silver didrachmas (= 1/2 shekel) of Tyre. According to the Mishna (*Šeqal.* 1:3), the tax was collected in the month preceding Passover and for 20 days immediately before the feast within the Temple precincts. When Jesus "cleansed the Temple" (Matt 21:12–3, Mark 11:15, Luke 19:45–6), moneychangers may have been collecting this tax for the public welfare. Sometimes they cheated when assisting in transactions, especially when converting money or selling animals for Temple sacrifices. Rabbi Simeon reduced the number of obligatory sacrifices (*m. Ker.* 1:7) to eliminate this fraud in the mid-1st century C.E. These same moneychangers also fulfilled the banker's function, paying interest on money held by them, even though there were laws against usury (*m. Šeqal.* 1:6).

**H. Coins of the First Jewish Revolt**

Mints in Palestine and Phoenicia struck coins for Augustus and his successors, Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius, and Nero. Mints in Judah, Samaria, and neighboring areas included Jerusalem, Caesarea Maritima, Caesarea Samariae (Samaria), Tiberias, Sepphoris, Scythopolis, and Ashkelon. All these mints struck bronze coins which supplemented the silver struck at Tyre.

The monetary situation in the early 1st century C.E. was typical for the Greco-Roman East. Large transactions were conducted in terms of talents; that is, in large masses of coined and uncoined silver by weight, or by barter in commodities, or by gold (Matt 2:11). C. H. V. Sutherland has argued that although there were many mints striking only bronzes, silver remained the principal medium for day-to-day transactions (1974: 129–37). Silver was the metal which fed the Temple treasury, settled moderate debts, furnished the medium for wage-payment, bought lodging and care at an inn for a wounded and exhausted man, covered a mass-purchase of bread for thousands of people, and tempted the traitor. Money was, in short, an essential part of life in Palestine in the 1st century. For a person to hold a purse with coins inside it was not a mark of wealth, but normal behavior for the day.

So there was an established monetary system in place when the Jews revolted against Rome in 66 C.E. Tyrian shekels had been used as payment for the Temple taxes; and for some reason the Romans shut down the Tyrian mint, depriving Jerusalem of this important source of funding for a significant part of its Jewish religious life. When Jewish rebels struck coins in Jerusalem, it was natural for them to be linked to Tyrian coins by weight and other elements—a symbiosis which C. Roth has called "a religious as well as a patriotic necessity." This relationship is clearly seen in a hoard found in Silwan, the modern village of Siloam near Jerusalem, dated from 67–68 C.E. It contained Jewish pieces of "year 2" mixed with Tyrian shekels of the period 13/12 B.C.E. through 64/65 C.E. Another hoard found on Mt. Carmel contained over 4,500 coins, including 3,400 Tyrian shekels, 1,000 Tyrian half-shekels, and 160 Augustan *denarii*—some have suggested that this hoard was Temple tax which had been intercepted by the Romans *en route* to Jerusalem.

The coins struck during the First Jewish Revolt against Rome are among the most studied examples in the world. Struck in silver and bronze, and dated to years 1–5 of the revolt, they emanated from Jerusalem and bore Jewish types. They depicted a chalice, a stem with three fruit (pomegranates?), an amphora with 2 handles, a vine leaf with tendril, the etrog and lulav, two lulavim, a palm tree, and ethnic inscriptions which included "shekel Israel" and denominational designations. See Fig. COI.01 (l). Coins were struck in the shekel, half-shekel, and quarter-shekel denominations. Besides the label *šql* and *yšr'l,* "shekel Israel" or a fraction thereof, several also bear the inscription, "Jerusalem the holy" *(yrwšlym hqdwšh)*.

Coins of the revolt have been found all over Judaea, even on Masada. They replaced the Roman coinage of the Herodians which had adapted non-Jewish types. Some Roman coins of the half-peruṭah and peruṭah denominations were struck in Caesarea during the revolt under one of the procurators. These coins were not part of the mass of Jewish coinage coming from Jerusalem. They were an attempt to supply coins to the monetary system of Palestine in this time when more currency was needed since 3 extra legions of soldiers were in the country. The monetary supply must have reached an apex in 67 or 68 C.E. This was especially true in Caesarea, the political capital.

After the revolt was put down in 70 C.E., silver continued to be struck in Antiochia and Tyre, although the old shekel was discontinued in favor of tetradrachmas like those already minted in Antiochia. Bronzes

appeared under Vespasian (69–79 C.E.) in Ashkelon, and also under Titus (79–81 C.E.) and Domitian (81–96 C.E.), some coming from Neapolis and Sebaste (Samaria) as well. In the period 71–79 C.E., Vespasian and Titus struck several coins commemorating their victory over the Jews. Probably struck first in Caesarea by Vespasian in 71, these coins depicted the conqueror on the obverse with Nike (Victory) on the reverse with an inscription in Greek, *ioudias ealokuias,* the equivalent of *Judaea capta* in Latin. See Fig. COI.01 (n). This latter ethnic was used to continue this massive coin series under Domitian in 92–93 C.E. Titus also struck these coins, which sometimes have on the reverse a trophy with Judaea seated and mourning, her hands tied behind her at its foot.

The coins struck with Gk ethnic inscriptions were intended for the Jewish population of Palestine. The Romans of the Flavian dynasty were very proud of their victory, as the continuing issuance of these coins has shown. Most of the coins, however, are from Titus and Vespasian. The few coins known from the reign of Domitian apparently celebrated the 20th anniversary of the fall of Masada, and probably should not be confused with or grouped together with the issues which immediately followed the war. The Domitian issues came from Rome. Note also that this was an economically and commercially active time: L. Ginzberg has shown that trade from Egypt and Judaea and from Judaea to Rome was extensive, because Palestinian wheat was half the price of wheat in Rome, but double the price of Egyptian wheat (Sperber 1974: 126–7). Ashkelon, Joppa, and Caesarea were points of transshipment (Smallwood 1981: 344–351). Some rabbis, to protect the Palestinian markets, went so far as to declare non-Palestinian goods ritually impure. Rabbi Simeon ben Shetaḥ (in the 1st century B.C.E.) declared imported metalware impure to protect local products (*b. Šabb.* 14b; *j. Pesaḥ* 1,6).

By the end of the revolt, Caesarea had officially become a Roman colony (in 69 C.E.). Roman coins for the province of Arabia were struck at mints in Ashkelon, Caesarea, Gadar, Gaza, Neapolis, and Philadelphia (Amman). Vespasian introduced a new bronze denomination, the *semis* which augmented the *dupondius* already widely in circulation. The *dupondius* was 24–25 mm in diameter and weighed 12.5–16 grams. The *semis* was smaller, ca. 20.5–21 mm, weighing about half as much as the *dupondius.*

**I. Coins of the Second Jewish Revolt**

By 130 C.E. Jerusalem had also become an official Roman colony: Hadrian (117–138 C.E.) built a new temple to Jupiter and issued coins on the city's new name, Aelia Capitolina. Hadrian officially visited Israel as emperor in 130 C.E., whereupon Simon Bar Kokhba and his followers began their revolt against Rome. This revolt was in reaction to Hadrian's decision to change Jerusalem's character. The Jewish Temple, after all, had been destroyed in 70 C.E. Meshorer argues that the Romanizing of Jerusalem preceded outright rebellion, since a hoard was found on the N edge of the Judaean desert containing 35 *denarii* of Bar Kokhba and a bronze issue of Aelia Capitolina. They were probably salted away together during the war for safekeeping. The contents of the hoard indicate that Jerusalem had been Romanized before Bar Kokhba made his move, not afterward as some have claimed.

The coins of the Second Jewish Revolt were struck under the aegis of Bar Kokhba in an effort to restore the Temple and reinstitute Temple services. See Fig. COI.01 (m). Coins dated to year 1 of the revolt (132/133 C.E.) depict the facade of the Temple, with a feature (probably the ark of the covenant) in the center and the inscription, "Jerusalem." The reverse depicts the lulav and etrog and the inscription "year one of the redemption of Israel." The coin is a silver tetradrachma weighing over 14 g. and is 27 mm in diameter. A silver *denarius,* 18 mm in diameter and weighing 3.2 g., was also struck, with a jug and palm branch on the obverse and the ethnic, *ʾl ʿzr hkḥn,* "El ʿazar the priest." The reverse depicts a bunch of grapes with the same inscription as the tetradrachma's reverse. Other issues in bronze altered the reverse ethnic to Shim ʿon,[w] "Jerusalem," or "Shim ʿon, prince of Israel" *(šm ʿn ns yšr l).* Palm trees, vines, leaves, and lyres were also shown on the types. Some coins were struck in the 2d year, reusing year 1 dies. New types emerged, including trumpets, and a new ethnic inscription, "year 2 for the freedom of Israel." In year 3, the ethnic was simply "for the freedom of Israel." Bar Kokhba's troops probably occupied Jerusalem in 133–135 C.E. When they finally had to withdraw, their slogan became "for the freedom of Jerusalem," hoping to reverse their fortunes and reestablish the Temple. While most of these coins were

undoubtedly struck in Jerusalem, late in the war some coins may have been struck elsewhere (Kindler 1986–87: 46–8).

Some scholars have argued that the "Shimon" mentioned on the coins is not to be connected with any real person. However, the papyri from the Naḥal Ḥever prove that this was really Bar Kokhba himself and no other. For a short-lived revolt, many different coin types were struck. This was in part possible because Bar Kokhba reused coins already circulating throughout Palestine. All of his issues are overstrikes, the silver on Roman *denarii* and Syrian provincial tetradrachmas, and the bronzes on flans from Gaza. At least one bronze was found with the countermark of the Roman 10th Legion on the reverse (from the M. Rosenberger collection in Jerusalem). So Rome freely reused the rebel coins. Bar Kokhba's types include musical instruments used in the Temple (trumpet and lyre) because the Temple was very important to him. It was depicted on the coins, along with many articles of cultic importance, i.e., lulav, etrog, amphora, etc.

With these coins, issues of the Jews from the biblical period came to an end. As M. Avi-Yonah has written, the Roman government in 135 C.E. attempted a radical solution to the "Jewish Question," expelling those Jews who still survived in and around Jerusalem. Religious practices such as circumcision, teaching of the Law, and ordination of rabbis were punishable by death (Avi-Yonah 1976: 13). These historical developments are well documented in the demise of Jewish coinage.

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**COL-HOZEH** (PERSON) [Heb *kol-ḥōzeh* (כָּל־חֹזֶה)]. A name mentioned in 2 genealogy lists (Neh 3:15 and 11:5). The name means "all seeing" or "everyone's a seer." It is likely that this name was used in the list of names to designate the family profession. There is no apparent relationship between the 2 lists. GARY C. AUGUSTIN

**COLONIES, ROMAN.** See ROMAN COLONIES.

**COLOSSAE** (PLACE) [Gk *Kolossai* (Κολοσσαι)]. Best known as the destination of the epistle to the Colossians, this place name occurs in the NT only in the superscription of the letter and in the epistolary greeting (Col 1:2). Colossae was located in the territory of Phrygia in the Roman province of Asia Minor about 120 miles E of Ephesus. Situated near the Lycus river at the foot of Mt. Cadmus (Honaz Dagi; elevation, 8,435 feet), Colossae was only 11 miles SE of Laodicea and 15 miles SSE of Hierapolis. The ancient site was discovered in 1835 by explorer W. J. Hamilton. Surveys of the unexcavated site give evidence of an acropolis and a theater on the S bank of the Lycus river and a necropolis and the remains of other ancient buildings on the N bank.

The city apparently thrived in the 5 centuries before the Christian era as the principal city of the Lycus valley. Herodotus (7.30) refers to Colossae as "a great city of Phrygia" in 480 B.C., and Xenophon (*An.* 1.2.6) describes it as large and prosperous in 400 B.C. (see also Diod. Sic. 14.80.8). In a historical retrospect, Pliny (*HN* 5.145) includes Colossae in a list of famous cities *(oppida celeberrima).*

Colossae was still an important city during the Roman imperial period, as evidenced by inscriptional data and some extant coins showing the usual public officials (Magie 1950: 2.985–86). Based on Strabo's inclusion of Colossae in a list of small towns (*polismata; Geog.* 12.8.13), some scholars have contended that by the 1st-century A.D. Colossae had greatly diminished in size and importance. D. Magie has correctly observed, however, that there is a gap (lacuna) in Strabo's text after *polismata* and it should therefore not be inferred that this description applies to Colossae. Nevertheless, Colossae was increasingly overshadowed by its neighbors, particularly LAODICEA, which became the most prominent city of this valley by the Roman imperial period.

The economic success of the cities of this valley was derived primarily from their textile industries. Colossae was famous for the distinctive purple color of its wool, which was commonly called *colossinus* (Pliny *HN* 21.51; Strab., 12.18.16). The prosperity of these cities was also enhanced by their position on the major trade route leading from the Aegean coast to the hinterland of Asia and on to the E. There was probably a fairly large Jewish population in the cities of the Lycus. Some have estimated that as many as 7,500 Jewish freemen were in the district based upon the amount of Temple tax confiscated by the proconsul Flacus in Laodicea in 62 B.C. (see Cic. *Flac.* 28.68).

The paucity of inscriptions from the unexcavated site make it difficult to reconstruct any detailed history of the city. A number of Colossian coins, however, help to create some impressions about the city, especially concerning the gods worshipped at Colossae. Numismatic evidence points most frequently to the worship of the Ephesian Artemis and the Laodicean Zeus, but also to Artemis (the huntress), Men, Selene, Demeter, Hygieia, Helios, Athena, Tyche, Boule, as well as the Egyptian deities Isis and Sarapis (Head 1906: 154–57).

The fledgling Christian community at Colossae was perceived by Paul (perhaps through the report of Epaphras) as facing the threat of dangerous false teaching resembling aspects both of pagan religion as well as Judaism (see esp. Col 2:6–23). Making an eloquent case for the sole-sufficiency of Christ in his letter, Paul admonishes these believers not to give credence to the claims of the false teachers but to hold firmly to the Lord Jesus Christ alone (see COLOSSIANS).

It is unlikely that Paul had visited the city before he wrote (Col 2:1), although it is not impossible that he did stop off there either on his way to Ephesus (Acts 18:23) or during his lengthy stay at Ephesus. The Colossian church was probably the fruit of the labor of Epaphras, who also ministered in Laodicea and Hierapolis (Col 4:12–13). Paul's expressed desire to visit the city may have been met after his release

from prison (Phlm 22; 2 Tim 3:20). Both Philemon and his runaway slave Onesimus were inhabitants of Colossae (Col 4:9; Phlm 10) as were also Archippus and Apphia.

A severe earthquake rocked this region either in A.D. 60 (Tac. *Ann.* 14.27) or in A.D. 64 (Eusebius; see Magie 1950: 2.1421). Laodicea suffered extensive damage and it is probable that Colossae experienced the same devastation. Likely due to the city's susceptibility to damage from recurring earthquakes, the population eventually relocated to the neighboring town of Chonae (Honaz). The comments of Buckler and Calder from a generation ago concerning the unexcavated site of Colossae still apply: "To archaeological research Kolossai offers attractions similar to those of Sardis: historical renown plus an accessible site completely unoccupied" (Buckler and Calder 1939: xi).

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**COLOSSIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.** Colossians traditionally has been classified as one of the Pauline "imprisonment epistles" since, like Ephesians, Philippians, and Philemon, it appears to have been written while the apostle was in jail (Col 4:3, 10, 18; cf. 1:24). The city of Colossae, in SW Asia Minor, was evidently destroyed by the same earthquake that devastated the neighboring cities of Hierapolis and Laodicea in the 7th year of Nero's reign (60–61 C.E.; see COLOSSAE (PLACE)). It is mentioned nowhere else in the NT, and Paul seems never to have visited the congregation there (see 2:1).

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A. Structure, Character, and Contents
B. Principle Affirmations and Appeals
    1. Affirmations
    2. Appeals
C. The Errant Teaching
    1. Ascetic Practices
    2. Worship of Angels
    3. Cosmic Elements
    4. Full Knowledge of God
D. Authorship
    1. Presuming Pauline Authorship
    2. Questioning Pauline Authorship
    3. Conclusion
E. Date and Place of Writing
F. Occasion and Purpose


———

**A. Structure, Character, and Contents**

The overall structure of Colossians conforms to that of the typical Pauline letter: After the address there is a thanksgiving paragraph; in the body of the letter, affirmations and exhortations are closely related; and the letter is concluded with various personal data, greetings, and a benediction.

Colossians is often described as a polemical writing, since in 2:8–23 false teachings and practices are vigorously opposed. However, this letter does not exhibit the kind of argumentation that one finds in

Galatians where Paul seems to be in constant dialogue with his opponents. Colossians is much more admonitory than argumentative, and it is most accurately characterized as a letter of exhortation and encouragement (Bujard 1973: 129, 229). The representation in 1:28 of what Paul does could also be a description of what the letter itself does; it preaches, it admonishes, and it instructs. In the process, various materials from the hymnic (1:15–20), liturgical (2:13–15), and ethical (3:18–4:1) traditions of the church are drawn in. It is striking, however, that no scriptural texts are quoted or discussed, and that even allusions to Scripture are infrequent.

The contents of the letter may be outlined as follows:

I. Letter opening, 1:1–8
  A. Address, 1:1–2
  B. Thanksgiving, 1:3–8
II. Letter body, 1:9–4:6
  A. Affirmations of the apostolic gospel, 1:9–2:7
    1. Introductory prayer for the knowledge of God, 1:9–12
    2. Affirmation of Christ's role in salvation, 1:13–23
      a. Introductory affirmation, 1:13–14
      b. Hymn in praise of Christ, 1:15–20
      c. Appeal to remain faithful to Paul's gospel, 1:21–23
    3. Affirmation of Paul's role, 1:24–2:5
    4. Summary exhortation, 2:6–7
  B. Warnings about false teachers, 2:8–23
    1. General warning about "human tradition," 2:8
    2. Affirmations in support of the warning, 2:9–15
    3. Specific warnings about worthless regulations, 2:16–23
  C. Exhortations to lead a Christian life, 3:1–4:6
    1. Fundamental appeals, 3:1–17
      a. Seek the things that are above, 3:1–4
      b. Put off the old nature, 3:5–11
      c. Put on the new nature, 3:12–17
    2. Counsels about everyday life, 3:18–4:6
      a. The household, 3:18–4:1
      b. Prayer, 4:2–4
      c. Outsiders, 4:5–6
III. Letter closing, 4:7–18
  A. News and greetings of Paul's associates, 4:7–14
  B. Concerning the church in Laodicea, 4:15–16
  C. Concerning Archippus, 4:17
  D. Autograph conclusion and benediction, 4:18

**B. Principal Affirmations and Appeals**

Although warnings about certain false teachers and their teachings occupy a prominent place in Colossians (2:8–23) the bulk of the letter consists of other kinds of appeals and of the affirmations on which they are based.

**1. Affirmations.** The principal affirmations of the letter, which are closely related to one another, concerning the truth of the gospel, the supremacy of Christ, and the present reality of the believer's new life.

(a) The gospel is variously described as "the word" (4:3), "the word of the truth" (1:5), "the word of God" (1:25), and "the word of Christ" (3:16). It is said to disclose "the hope laid up for you in heaven" (1:5, 23), and therefore "the grace of God" (1:6). It is identified with "the mystery hidden for ages and generations but now made manifest to his saints," and the content of the mystery is said to be "Christ" (2:2; 4:3), or more specifically, the presence of Christ among the Gentiles (1:27). The awesome scope and

generative power of the gospel receive particular emphasis: "In the whole world it is growing and bearing fruit" (1:6) for "it has been preached to every creature under heaven" (1:23). This universal spread of the gospel is to be attributed to Paul himself whose office is to proclaim Christ—"warning every man and teaching every man in all wisdom" (1:28)—and who has been strengthened with a divine power for this purpose (1:29).

(b) The supremacy of Christ is affirmed throughout Colossians, most prominently in a hymn (1:15–20) which portrays Christ as preexistent with God. Echoing descriptions of Wisdom in the literature of Hellenistic Judaism, the hymn praises Christ as "the image of the invisible God" (v 15; 3:10) and "the first-born," both of creation and of those who shall rise from the dead (vv 15, 18b). He is, moreover, the one through whom "all things were created" (vv 15–16), in whom the whole of creation holds together (v 17), in whom "all the fulness [*plērōma*] of God was pleased to dwell" (v 19), and by whom the primal unity of creation is reconstituted (v 20)—"that in everything he might be preeminent" (v 18). He is thus the "head" of the whole cosmic "body" which an interpretive addition to the hymn identifies as "the church" (v 18a; 1:24). The cosmic dimensions of Christ's sovereignty are particularly clear from v 16, where it is declared that "all things," not only earthly but heavenly, including all of the supermundane powers ("thrones," "dominions," "principalities," "authorities"), have been created through him.

This cosmic christology is not confined to the hymn, however. In 2:9 Christ is again identified as the one in whom God's "fulness" dwells and the affirmation in 3:11 that "Christ is all, and in all" harks back to the praise of his role in the creation of all things. The portrayal of him as "head" recurs in 2:10 where he is described as "the head of all rule and authority," and "Head" is actually employed as a christological title in 2:19. The use of a creedal statement in 1:13 further enhances this emphasis on Christ's cosmic supremacy, for it sets the "kingdom" of God's beloved Son over against "the dominion of darkness" from which believers, since their baptism, have been delivered. Thus, in contrast to 1 Cor 15:23–28 where Christ's rule is described as still future and of limited duration, the conception here is of a reign which is already established and enduring. This idea is continued in the reference to Christ's enthronement at God's right hand (3:1) which echoes a creedal formulation based on Ps 110:1 (cf. Heb 1:3–4). In 3:15 Christ's reign is characterized very concretely as the rule of "peace" in the church ("the one body").

(c) Affirmations about the present reality of the believer's new life are also prominent in Colossians. Like those about Christ, these affirmations make frequent use of traditional concepts and terms and tend to be formulated in more or less traditional ways. Believers have not only been "delivered" from the power of darkness, but "transferred" even now into Christ's kingdom (1:13–14); they have not only "died" to the cosmic powers by which they were formerly tyrannized (2:20; 3:3), but "have come to fulness of life" in Christ (2:10); they have not only been "buried" with Christ, but have also been "raised with him" (2:12, 13; 3:1); they have not only "put off the old nature," but have already "put on the new nature" (3:9–10). Their entrance into this new life has been by way of baptism, which is described as "a circumcision made without hands" (2:11–13).

It is through the agency of Christ that believers are able to come into this new life, and his work is designated both as "redemption" (1:14) and as "reconciliation" (1:20, 22). "Redemption" is specifically identified as "the forgiveness of sins" (1:14; 2:13–14; 3:13). "Reconciliation" is also closely associated with forgiveness; through Christ's death believers have been freed from doing the "evil deeds" which had once alienated them from God and are now presented "holy and blameless and irreproachable before him" (1:21–22; 1:28). Although this new life is already fully present, it will not be fully disclosed until Christ's return when believers "will appear with him in glory" (3:3–4; 1:12, 27).

**2. Appeals.** There are 3 types of appeals in Colossians. Some are of a very fundamental sort, others are best described as instructional, and still others are situational.

(a) Most of the fundamental appeals are quite general: the readers are urged to be "rooted and built up in [Christ] and established in the faith …, abounding in thanksgiving (2:6–7), to "seek the things that are above, where Christ is …" (3:1–2), and to "do everything in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God the Father through him" (3:17). The appeals to let "the peace of Christ" and "the word of Christ" rule their lives, to "admonish one another in all wisdom," and to sing to God with thankfulness in their hearts

(3:15–16) are only a little more specific. At several points in the letter there are implicit appeals, some of which are also of this fundamental sort: the readers should "lead a life worthy of the Lord …" (1:9–12), "continue in the faith, stable and steadfast …" (1:23, 2:5), and be "knit together in love" (2:2). Such appeals have their origin in the view which is implicit in the affirmation of 1:6, that the gospel's worldwide spread is abetted when it bears fruit in the lives of believers (Gnilka *Kolosserbrief* HTKNT, 35).

(b) The appeals in 3:18–4:1 all convey specific instructions about conduct. Ever since Martin Luther's German translation of the Bible (first completed ed., 1534), in which this section and its parallel in Eph 5:22–6:9 appeared under the caption, "Die christliche Haustafel," these and similar passages (1 Pet 2:18–3:7) have been identified as Christian household codes. Whether or not they are only christianized versions of pre-Christian codes, a point on which interpreters are not agreed, it is clear that they belong to the church's fund of catechetical materials. Other appeals involve the listing of practices or attitudes to be avoided (3:5, 8–9) or embraced (3:12–14) and thus provide believers with more general instructions about an appropriate way of life. The admonitions to devote oneself to regular prayer (4:2–4) and to "conduct oneself wisely toward outsiders" (4:5–6) may also be classified as instructional.

(c) The specific requests made of the readers in 4:15–17 (to extend Paul's greetings to the Laodiceans, to exchange letters with the Laodiceans, and to urge Archippus to fulfil his ministry) may be described as situational appeals. The only other such appeals are several warnings about the dangerous beliefs and foolish practices of certain false teachers (2:8, 16, 18).

**C. The Errant Teaching**

The appeals and warnings in chap. 2 are issued in response to the threat of errant teachings which seem to be getting a hearing in the Christian community to which this letter is addressed. Whether the propagandists are members of that congregation, and how widely their "philosophy" (2:8) may already have been adopted there, are questions that cannot be answered with certainty. However, even though a detailed reconstruction of the philosophy as a whole is not possible, at least a general idea of its principles and practices may be gained from the warnings in 2:8–23 and from certain other passages (1:9–10, 26–28; 2:2–4).

**1. Ascetic Practices.** The aspect of this philosophy which seems to be of most concern in Colossians is its teaching about the value of rigorous self-denial. It would appear that the technical term for this has been picked up in Col 2:18, 23 where the readers are warned about being led into "self-abasement" (*RSV*; the Greek word is *tapeinophrosynē,* which elsewhere in the NT is used of "humility" in a good sense). Various restrictive rules concerning food and drink (probably including fasting) and perhaps some form(s) of sexual abstinence were intended to check the desires of the flesh (2:16, 20b–23), and one was obligated to the ritual observance of special festivals and days including the sabbath (2:16). Like the asceticism condemned in 1 Tim 4:3–4, this teaching may have involved a rejection of the created order as such, but there is no specific evidence in Colossians that this was the case.

**2. Worship of Angels.** It is not clear exactly how the reference to "worship of angels" (2:18) should be interpreted since the phrase itself is ambiguous. Are the angels to be understood as the worshippers (Greek: subjective genitive) or as the objects of worship (Greek: objective genitive)? If the latter, as most interpreters believe (Lohse *Colossians* Heremeneia, 117–18; Gnilka, 148–50; Schweizer 1982: 159–60), then one may suppose that a cultic veneration of angels was one further act of self-abnegation required by the errant teachers. This would suggest, in turn, that the difficult word, *ethelothrēskia* in 2:23 (*RSV*: "rigor of devotion") should be interpreted as a reference to that kind of worship (perhaps "self-chosen worship"; Lohse, 126). The alternative interpretation developed by Francis (1973b: 176–81; adopted by O'Brien *Colossians* WBC, xxxvi–xxxviii, 142) regards the angels themselves as the worshippers. According to this reading, the much-debated phrase (*ha heoraken embateuōn*) should be translated, "which he has seen upon entering," and should be understood as a reference to the sort of heavenly journey and participation in the heavenly worship often described in Jewish apocalyptic literature (Francis 1973a, 1973b: 171–76; Rowland, 1983).

**3. Cosmic Elements.** The ascetic rules, the special calendar, and the veneration of (or worship along with) angels may all be related to teaching about the significance of the "cosmic elements." These are mentioned in 2:8, 20 (*RSV*: "the elemental spirits of the universe") and are probably to be identified with "the principalities and the powers" referred to in 2:15. To judge from what is said here in Colossians, the readers are being encouraged to believe that deliverance from the control of these cosmic forces is not complete without devotion to the specified ascetic, ritual, and cultic practices (2:20–23).

**4. Full Knowledge of God.** It may be that these practices were also regarded as necessary for gaining access to the full knowledge of God and of God's will. This seems a reasonable inference from the rather polemical way in which Colossians insists on the sufficiency of the knowledge (*epignōsis,* gnōsis), understanding (*synesis*), and wisdom (*sophia*) that are present and disclosed in Christ and the gospel (1:9–10, 26–28; 2:2–3; 3:10). It is possible, but by no means certain, that the false philosophy required some kind of rite akin to that of the Hellenistic mystery cults (Lohse, 117–20; Gnilka, 151; Schweizer, 161–62). At issue is whether the participle *embateuōn* in 2:18 is a technical term for entering into a mystery (Dibelius, 1973) or whether it must be taken here in a more general sense. If the former, the reference would be to having "visions … during the mystery rites" (Lohse, 114, 117). If the latter, it could be to the mystical ascent into heaven of an apocalyptic visionary (Francis 1973a, 1973b: 171–76; Rowland 1983).

There are a number of similarities between these beliefs and practices and those of the Jewish sectarians at Qumran, known from the Dead Sea Scrolls; e.g., the strict observance of the sabbath and other special days on the religious calendar (CD iii.13–16; x.14–xi.18; 1QS i.14; x.1–9), the emphasis on distinguishing between clean and unclean foods (CD vi.18), the use of the phrase, "body of flesh" (1QpHab ix.2; Col 1:22), the interest in angels (1QM x.10–11; Col 2:18), and the concern for special religious knowledge (CD ii.3; 1QpHab xi.1; 1QS xi.15–16). Some of these features are also present in gnostic teachings as those are known from the NAG HAMMADI CODICES. The notion of a divine "fullness" (*plērōma*) found in Col 1:9, 19; 2:9, 10 is prominent in gnostic teaching (*Ap. Jas.* 2, 28–3, 11; 3, 34–4, 22; 12, 27–31; Schenke and Fischer 1978: 162).

A few scholars would identify the errant teaching with some form of Judaism (Bruce *Colossians* NICNT, 17–26) or Gnosticism (Schenke and Fischer 1978: 162). With the majority, however, it seems best to regard it as a thoroughly syncretistic philosophy (Bornkamm 1973; Francis 1973a, 1973b; *RGG* 3: 1727; Lohse, 128) which includes elements drawn from several religious movements (including, perhaps, the mystery religions as well as Judaism and Gnosticism), but which may be, in this particular form, unique to the community being addressed (Lindemann *Kolosserbrief* ZBK, 84–85).

## D. Authorship

**1. Presuming Pauline Authorship.** Paul's name occurs as the author of Colossians not only at the beginning and at the end of the letter (1:1; 4:18) but also in 1:23. Various other passages, especially those in which the apostle's friends or associates are named, seem to imply his authorship (1:7, 25; 4:3, 7–17). This is supported as well by the fact that Timothy is named as cosender (1:1; cf. 2 Cor 1:1; Phil 1:1; 1 Thess 1:1; Phlm 1) and by the similarity in overall structure between Colossians and other letters of the Pauline Corpus.

The earliest external attestation to the Pauline authorship of Colossians is provided by the mere existence of Ephesians—written in Paul's name by someone who, because he drew so heavily upon it, must have accepted Colossians as apostolic (see EPHESIANS). This attestation is of course only implicit and indirect. The earliest explicit reference to Colossians as Paul's is by Irenaeus (ca. 180; *Haer.* 3.14.1, quoting Col 4:14); but Marcion, too, must have accepted it as the apostle's, since he seems to have made significant use of it (Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 5.19). There is perhaps an allusion to Col 2:14 in the gnostic *Gos. Truth* (NHC I, 20.25–27), but alleged allusions to Colossians in the Apostolic Fathers (*1 Clem.* 49:2 and Col 3:14; *Ign. Trall.* 5:2 and Col 1:16; Polyc. *Phil.*: 12:2 and Col 1:12, 23) and in Justin's *Dial.* (85.2; 138.2) are by no means certain. Because the Church Fathers seem to have preferred Ephesians to Colossians, specific citations of the latter are relatively infrequent in the patristic literature (Frede 1969: 274).

**2. Questioning Pauline Authorship.** The case against the Pauline authorship of Colossians was first developed by Mayerhoff (1838), who claimed that significant lexical, grammatical, stylistic, and theological differences set it apart from the 6 letters that he regarded as most characteristically Pauline (Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians). He also argued that the author has used Ephesians, which Mayerhoff took to be authentic, and that the kind of teaching which is opposed in this letter did not arise until after Paul's death. The two latter points no longer carry any weight, for there is now general agreement that Colossians must be earlier than Ephesians and that the teaching opposed in Colossians could well have antedated the apostle's death. However, the vocabulary, style, and theological viewpoint of this letter still pose problems. A further difficulty, to which Mayerhoff himself gave no specific attention, is the understanding of Paul's apostolic office that finds expression here. Finally, some interpreters believe that there is good evidence of the literary dependence of Colossians on one or more of the letters which can be safely attributed to Paul.

**a. Vocabulary.** Most of the lexical differences between Colossians and the letters that are certainly Paul's do not weigh very heavily against Pauline authorship. It is true that Colossians uses a total of 87 words that do not appear in the recognized letters and that 34 of these occur nowhere else in the entire NT (Lohse, 85–86). However, the figures for Philippians, a genuinely Pauline letter of comparable length, are not much different: 76 words are used in no other Pauline letter and 36 of these are present nowhere else in the NT (Percy 1946: 17). Moreover, one must allow for the possibility that the "non-Pauline" words in Colossians were used by the apostle himself to meet a special situation. Nor is it in itself decisive that some important Pauline theological terms are missing from Colossians ("righteousness" and related words: "law," "freedom," "promise," "to save," "salvation" [Lohse, 86–87]). It must also be shown that these are terms Paul would ordinarily use in addressing the topic at hand. It is more important that a number of connective words and inferential articles favored by Paul are missing from Colossians (Lohse, 87); but this verges on the matter of style.

**b. Style.** Mayerhoff's conclusion that Colossians is written in a style so unlike Paul's that one must assume a different author is not only supported but greatly strengthened in an important study by Bujard (1973). Bujard has shown, for example, that the sentences in Colossians are significantly longer and more complex than Paul's, because conjunctions are used less than half as often while participial constructions and relative clauses are employed much more frequently (1:3–8; 2:6–15; Bujard 1973: 74–75); that the sentences in Colossians are more loosely constructed, with less attention to the logical development of an argument (Bujard 1973: 72–73, 129); and that the use of many synonyms and appositional phrases makes the style of Colossians wordy and tautologous (Bujard 1973: 216–17). These kinds of detailed stylistic differences cannot be explained as merely modifications required by a different subject matter (against Percy 1946: 18–66; see Bujard 1973: 229–30), and they are present throughout the letter, not just where one may suspect the use of traditional materials (against Cannon 1983: 175; see Bujard 1973: 224–29).

**c. Theological Viewpoint.** Certain ideas that are present in the recognized Pauline letters make an appearance in Colossians as well. For example, Jesus' death (on the cross, 1:20, 2:14) brings reconciliation (1:22); believers have been "buried" with Christ in baptism (2:12); faith involves discarding one's "old" self and becoming a "new" person (3:9–10); the church is "the body" of Christ (1:18; 3:15); in Christ various kinds of worldly barriers that separate people from one another have been broken down (3:11); and all is to be done in love (3:14), with thanksgiving to God (3:17). Although a number of these ideas were already present in the church's traditions on which Paul himself was dependent, it is clear that Colossians stands within the specifically Pauline tradition, even if the apostle himself is not its author.

There are, nevertheless, striking differences between the theological outlook of Colossians and Paul's views as they are known from the undisputed letters. (1) The redemptive work of Christ is identified above all with "the forgiveness of sins" (1:13–14; 2:13; 3:13), whereas the apostle thinks of it mainly as an act of justification (Rom 3:24; 5:6–9, 15–21). (2) In Colossians, Christ is praised as the "head" of the body (1:18; 2:19) which includes the whole cosmos (2:10), but in 1 Cor 12:12–26, 27 and Rom 12:4–5 (where the body in its entirety is identified with Christ), no special status is accorded to the head (v 21), and the body has no special cosmic dimension. (3) While traditional eschatological language and motifs

are not entirely missing from Colossians (1:22; 3:4, 6, 24–25), the emphasis falls heavily upon the deliverance that believers have already experienced. Because "hope" is identified as the content of the gospel message, it is understood to be fulfilled in the preaching of Christ (1:5, 23, 27). Hope is not, as in Rom 5:2–5 and elsewhere in Paul's letters, primarily the act of hoping itself. Where Paul speaks of the believer's future resurrection with Christ (Rom 6:5, 8; Phil 3:11, 12), Colossians stresses the present reality of this (2:12–13; 3:1). The apostle's idea of salvation as "already" established but "not yet" fulfilled is missing, and there is no hint of his notion that the Holy Spirit is the down payment on that to which the believer is heir (2 Cor 1:22; 5:5; cf. Rom 5:5; 8:23). (4) It is often observed that one finds nothing in Colossians about such major Pauline topics as God's gift of righteousness, the meaning of justification, faith versus works of the law, the function of the law, or the meaning of freedom in Christ. The example of Galatians, where Paul is opposing teachings similar to those opposed in Colossians, suggests that these are precisely the themes that the apostle himself would have developed in Col 2:8–23. That they are not developed there, or anywhere else in Colossians, adds to the difficulty of accepting this letter as Paul's own.

**d. Paul's Apostolic Office.** The portrait of Paul that emerges from the pages of Colossians is not easy to reconcile with what the indisputably authentic letters disclose about Paul's own understanding of his apostolic status and role. Two points in particular cause difficulty.

First, Paul is presented here as an apostle without peer in the church. To him alone the preaching of the gospel has been entrusted and the universal spread of the gospel is to be credited (1:23, 24; cf. the emphasis on "every person" in 1:28). Thus, he is not just an apostle to those who have heard and received his gospel, but also to those who, like the Colossians and Laodiceans, have never even seen him (2:1–2; cf. "for you" in 1:25). His apostleship transcends the particularities of time and place and encompasses the world. In the genuinely Pauline letters, however, one meets no such universalist conception of Paul's mission; he regularly refers to other apostles (1 Cor 9:5; 12:28–29; 15:7–9; Gal 1:17, 19), he acknowledges that he is an apostle especially for the churches of his founding (e.g., 1 Cor 9:2), and he does not propose to enter fields into which others have already carried the gospel, or to claim jurisdiction over them (2 Cor 10:13–16; Rom 15:20; Gal 2:9).

A second difficulty is the way Paul's sufferings are interpreted in Colossians. The letter's closing admonition, "Remember my chains" (4:18), leaves no doubt that the readers are to pay special attention to these (Lindemann, 78). The reason for this is apparent in 1:24 where the sufferings that Paul endures as an apostle are interpreted as having a vicarious function. They "complete what is lacking in Christ's afflictions for the sake of his body, that is, the church" which means that they satisfy the quota of sufferings that God's people must endure before the Lord's return (Lohse 69–72). In the acknowledged letters, however, Paul interprets his sufferings as manifesting the sufferings and death of Jesus (2 Cor 4:8–13). He therefore gives them a kerygmatic and not a vicarious interpretation. Moreover, he does not understand them as having universal significance; the beneficiaries are, quite specifically, those to whom he has brought his preaching of the cross (2 Cor 4:15; Phil 2:17).

**e. Literary Dependence on Other Letters.** Colossians has several things in common with the one to Philemon. In both, Paul writes as a prisoner and Timothy is named as a co-sender; one of the 2 men being sent to the Colossians is Onesimus, on behalf of whom the letter to Philemon is written; 5 of the 6 people to whom greetings are sent in Colossians are also greeted in Philemon; and in Colossians a special appeal is directed to Archippus, one of the 3 individuals addressed in Philemon. Since there is little question about the authenticity of Philemon, it is often argued that these similarities establish the Pauline authorship of Colossians as well (Knox 1938; Cope 1985). However, one can also hold that these connections have been contrived by a later author who, writing in Paul's name, wishes to give an apostolic aura to Colossians (Lohse, 175–77; Schenke and Fischer 1978: 167–68). In this case there would be a literary relationship between the 2 letters but not necessarily a situational one. Evidence has also been adduced for the literary dependence of Colossians on 5 other letters that are certainly Paul's: Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, and 1 Thessalonians. Using carefully formulated criteria for identifying verbal agreements, E. P. Sanders (1966) has concluded tht materials drawn from 3 or more of

these letters have been conflated in Col 1:15–16; 1:20–22a; 1:26–27; 2:12–13; 3:5–11—and in such a way that one can think only of the work of "a secondary imitator" (Sanders 1966: 40).

**3. Conclusion.** Those who defend the Pauline authorship of Colossians tend to discount the stylistic differences from the authentically Pauline letters, and generally argue that the theological differences amount to no more than changes in emphasis due to the peculiarities of the situation in Colossae (O'Brien *Colossians, Philemon* WBC, 43–44, 49). However, the stylistic differences run very deep, extending even to the manner of argumentation (Bujard); the altered theological outlook that one finds here is no mere change of emphasis; and in addition Paul is accorded a status that he himself had neither claimed nor achieved.

Various scholars have attempted to associate Colossians with Paul despite these non-Pauline features, but none can be judged to have succeeded. (A) The hypothesis that the author of Ephesians is responsible for Colossians in its present form, having greatly expanded an authentically Pauline letter in order to conform it to his own work (Holtzmann 1872; Masson *Colossiens* CNT, 10) overlooks the structural and material integrity of Colossians and reduces it to little more than a patchwork of interpolations. Moreover, on this view one is required to think of Colossians as secondary to Ephesians, whereas a careful comparison of the two letters demonstrates that Ephesians is dependent on Colossians. (B) It is equally speculative to hold that all or most of Colossians was composed at Paul's direction by one of his associates (Klöpper 1882; Schweizer, 21, 23–24; Ollrog 1979: 219–33, 236–42), perhaps because the apostle's circumstances in prison required that. Had someone like Epaphras (Klöpper) or Timothy (Schweizer) written the letter on Paul's behalf, would the first person singular be employed in the biographical notices at 1:23, 24–25, 29; 2:1–5; 4:7–8 (correctly, Lindemann 1981: 116)? And even if one could demonstrate that this was the case, Colossians would still be a "pseudonymous" letter, as Schweizer acknowledges (24).

In sum, the evidence strongly supports the conclusion that Colossians is not only pseudonymous but also post-Pauline (Bornkamm 1971; Lohse, 177–83; Gnilka, 19–26). The style is not Paul's, the theological outlook is in certain respects significantly different from his, and Paul's apostolic status and role are presented in a way that would not have been possible during his own lifetime.

**E. The Date and Place of Writing**

If this letter was either written or endorsed by Paul himself, it would have to be dated to some period of imprisonment. Since there is circumstantial evidence of an Ephesian imprisonment, one coud date Colossians that early (ca. 55?), as do Suhl (1975: 168), Schweizer (25–26), and Ollrog (1979: 241). On this view, however, it is almost impossible to explain why the theological outlook of Colossians is at points so different from that of Philippians (presumably written about the same time) and Romans (written later). The "theological development" hypothesis has no real force unless Colossians is dated as close to the end of Paul's life as possible, which means either to Caesarea (Acts 23:23–26:32) or to Rome (Acts 28:11–31). One thus arrives at a date somewhere between 57 and 60–61 (when Colossae was destroyed by an earthquake).

If Colossians is post-Pauline, one must allow for the passage of a few years after the apostle's death, which would put the earliest likely date of writing at about 65. A date much later than 90 is ruled out since Ephesians, by whose author Colossians has been used, was probably known to Ignatius, ca. 100. Any closer dating of Colossians seems impossible if the letter is taken as post-Pauline. Moreover, in this case nothing in it suggests a specific place of composition, not even the portrayal of Paul as a prisoner. However, since Colossae and the 2 other cities mentioned, Laodicea (2:1; 4:13, 15, 16) and Hierapolis (4:13), are situated in the Lycus River valley, a location in SW Asia Minor is probable.

**F. Occasion and Purpose**

This letter has been prompted by the author's concern about a false philosophy which threatens to undermine the readers' faith, luring them into practices which are not in accord with Paul's gospel (2:8–23). The purpose of the letter is stated indirectly in 1:23: The author wants his readers to "continue in the faith, stable and steadfast, not shifting from the hope of the gospel which [they] heard …" The danger posed by the false philosophy is certainly in mind here, just as it is in the summary exhortation of 2:6–7,

to be "rooted and built up in [Christ] and established in the faith, just as you were taught …" The errant teaching is more specifically in view in 2:4–5, which may be taken as yet another indirect expression of the purpose of the letter: "I say this in order that no one may delude you with beguiling speech. For though I am absent in body, yet I am with you in spirit, rejoicing to see your good order and the firmness of your faith in Christ." Many of the principal affirmations and appeals in Col 1:9–3:17, and most of the more specific counsels in 3:18–4:6, hark back to the missionary preaching and baptismal instruction with which the readers would have been familiar, because the author wants to remind them of their original commitment "to lead a life worthy of the Lord" (1:10; Meeks 1977: 209–10).

If one regards Colossians as Pauline, then the data that are available concerning its composition and dispatch can be readily summarized. Paul, in prison, has heard about the dangerous situation in Colossae from Epaphras (1:7b–8), who is himself a Colossian and the founder of the congregation (1:5b–7; 4:12–13). This letter is Paul's response and it is probably to be carried to Colossae by Tychicus and Onesimus who are going to tell the Colossians all about Paul's present circumstances and bring them words of encouragement (4:7–9).

If Colossians is actually pseudonymous and post-Pauline, one must doubt whether it was even intended for a congregation in Colossae, since there seems to have been no significant repopulating of the city following the earthquake in 60–61 until the second century (Schweizer, 13–14). Lindemann (1981; *Kolosserbrief* ZB, 12–13) argues that the letter was actually intended for the Laodiceans, whose city (some 10 miles distant) had been devastated by the same earthquake but quickly rebuilt; and the references to Laodicea in 2:1 and 4:15–16 give weight to this hypothesis. Addressing the letter to the Laodiceans themselves, Lindemann suggests, would have required the pseudepigrapher to formulate Paul's words as somewhat oblique prophetic warnings and counsels, provided some years in advance of the situation that the congregation now faces. But composing it as if it had been addressed to the congregation in Colossae allows him to represent the apostle in direct confrontation with doctrines like those now proving attractive to the Laodiceans. The pseudepigrapher must hope that the Laodiceans will recognize this and will hear in "Paul's" warnings to a neighboring congregation an authoritative word for their own (1981: 133; *Kolosserbrief*, 12–13).

The names and personal notices in Colossians (1:7–8; 2:1; 4:7–18) cannot be used as evidence of Pauline authorship, since they can be well enough explained as a pseudepigrapher's attempt to give his letter a believable setting within Paul's ministry. It is noteworthy, however, that Epaphras is singled out for special commendation both at the beginning and at the end of the letter (1:7–8; 4:12–13), perhaps an indication that his standing in the congregation needs bolstering. One could imagine that Epaphras himself is the author of this letter (Suhl 1975: 168, n. 93) but this is unprovable. The important thing is that the author, whoever he is, regards Paul as the church's one great apostle and that he does not hesitate to invoke Paul's authority as he summons the readers to stand firm in their faith, rejecting the teachings and practices of the false philosophy.

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VICTOR PAUL FURNISH

**COLUMBARIA.** Shelters or coops for pigeons or doves. See ZOOLOGY.

**COMMAGENE** (PLACE). Ancient Commagene lay just N of the centers of biblical activity, with which it remained involved. The kingdom arose from ancient roots, successfully uniting a Hellenic, Iranian, and Semitic populace, and presenting one of antiquity's most vivid examples of religious syncretism.

It lay W of the Euphrates, between Cappadocia and Syria. Further W ran the formidable barrier of the Taurus Mountains and Cilicia Pedias, which included cities such as Mopsuhestia and Tarsus. Across the Euphrates in Mesopotamia, Commagene fronted Osrhoene and behind it the Parthian Empire.

So placed, it benefited from trade routes running both E–W and N–S; it also controlled one of the most important crossings of the Euphrates. The consequent prosperity made Commagene, by late in the 1st century A.D., richest of the kingdoms allied to Rome, laden with "old wealth" (Tac. *Hist* 2.81.1). This background gave it an international influence disproportionate to its size.

Commagene lay open to influences from its diverse neighbors. At one time, it had been ruled by the Orontids of Armenia, and through a marriage it traced its descent back to Darius the Great of Persia (*OGIS* 388; 391). It had formed part of the Seleucid Empire, but rebelled under Ptolemaios, a local governor, about 163 B.C. as realignments occurred in much of the East (Diodorus 31.19a). Judas Maccabaeus probably made his initial contact with Rome in the preceding year, and events in Bithynia, Cappadocia, Media, and Egypt also reflected the growing tendency to involve Rome. The revolt of Ptolemaios succeeded, signalled by his adoption of the title of king.

A son of Ptolemaios, King Samos, succeeded him about 130 B.C. He probably founded Samosata, and after a reign of indeterminate length passed on the throne to his son, Mithradates I Kallinikos (*OGIS* 402). A state marriage allowed Mithradates to bring into his court a daughter of the Seleucid monarch, Antiochus VIII Grypus. This put Commagene in the top rank of dynastic houses of the East and led to further intermarriage, especially in Judaea and Emesa. A marriage into the Parthian dynasty completed Commagenian credentials in this regard (Dio 49.23.4; now confirmed by Wagner 1983: 208–224).

Perhaps as early as 87 B.C., Commagene fell to the fearsome Tigranes the Great of Armenia, by then "King of Kings" as successor to Mithradates II of Parthia, who was in the process of establishing an empire that stretched from Mesopotamia to Syria. During the 14 or more years that Tigranes ruled Syria, Commagene carried on its native dynasty and national traditions. Mithradates continued the religious cults begun by his 2 predecessors and destined for completion by his son.

Our first glimpse of Antiochus I, son of Mithradates, occurs in a context of 69 B.C., the year in which Tigranes had to leave Syria to defend his homeland against Lucullus.

The restored freedom of Commagene, now allied to Rome, allowed Antiochus leisure for his great religious expression still visible atop Nemrud Dagh. His remarkable fusions of Greek and Iranian gods

satisfied the composite population, which could now worship Zeus-Oromasdes (Ahuramazda), Heracles-Artagnes, and the grandly titled Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes!

Antiochus trod a narrow path between Parthia and Rome. He came to blows with Pompey and capitulated; his inscriptions duly bear the title "Friend of Rome" (*Philoromaios: OGIS* 383 ff.). On the other hand, his coinage shows him in an Armenian tiara, which he assumed as a local "successor" to Tigranes. On at least one occasion, he was accused of partiality to the Parthians. Another coin uses Seleucid devices to remind subjects of his lineage on that side.

Both the disaster which befell Crassus in 53 B.C. and the Parthian invasion of Asia Minor in 51 B.C. threatened the stability of Commagene, but it emerged intact. The Roman civil war proved more difficult, and by 38 B.C. Antiochus had incurred the displeasure of Antony, who laid siege to Samosata, assisted by Herod of Judaea. A bribe sent them on their way.

Among the successors of Antiochus, Mithradates II supported Antony down to the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. (Plut. *Ant* 61). Internal problems suddenly beset the dynasty with a murder and 2 executions. Mithradates III, recognized by Augustus, acceded in 20 B.C. This king married the same Atropatenian princess—Iotape I—whom Antony had sought for marriage to his son Alexander Helios. The progeny of this pair spread into the dynasties of Emesa and Judaea through marriages of the successive Iotapes (Sullivan *ANRW* 2/8: 198–219, 296–354, 732–98). See also IOTAPE (PERSON).

Antiochus III had the melancholy distinction of losing the kingdom in A.D. 18, when Tiberius made it a province (Tac. *Ann* 2.56; Strabo 16.2.3.749). It remained that way for a decade, but in 38 Caligula restored it to the son of Antiochus. The new king, Antiochus IV, had been raised in Rome; with his sister-wife, Iotape VI Philadelphus, he was to enjoy a long and lively reign, from 38 until 72.

A mature man, with at least one child nearly of marriageable age, Antiochus assumed his kingdom by right of inheritance, as son of Antiochus III (Dio 59.8). He celebrated this connection in his inscriptions and sought to strengthen the ties of Commagene to other dynasties. A betrothal of his son, Epiphanes, to a Judaean princess collapsed over the issue of circumcision (*Ant* 19.355; 20.139). His daughter, Iotape VII, did marry into that dynasty; her husband, the later King Alexander of Cilicia, boasted descent from Archelaus of Cappadocia and from Herod the Great of Judaea.

Antiochus began well, thanks to his personal acquaintance with Caligula, who was "raised with" several Eastern princes (Dio 59.24; *IGRR* IV 145). Besides the paternal kingdom in Commagene, he also assumed responsibility for "the coastal portion of Cilicia" in Tracheia (Dio 59.8). Part of this became known as the "Regnum Antiochi," and coins attest his wide rule in Tracheia. Several towns founded by him there (e.g., Iotape; Antioch-on-the-Crag) remain largely unexcavated today.

Antiochus joined a complicated Roman effort to control difficult parts of Asia Minor through native kings. (Strabo 14.5.6.671.) Besides Antiochus, this "circle" involved Archelaus I of Cappadocia and then his son; Polemo II of Pontus and his uncle, Zeno-Artaxias, who ruled in Armenia; Sohaemus of Emesa and Sophene; the Judaeans Aristobulus, Agrippa, and King Alexander.

Antiochus ruled his divided kingdom efficiently despite the Roman vicissitudes which kept Eastern rulers watchful. For some reason, the warmth Caligula once displayed for him turned to anger, and Antiochus found himself deposed. Claudius reversed this, both for Commagene and for some part of Cilicia (Joseph. *Ant* 19.276; Dio 60.8).

Antiochus joined a meeting of dynasts in 44 hosted by the Judaean Agrippa I at Tiberias (Joseph. *Ant* 19.338 ff.). This provoked suspicion by the Roman governor of Syria, for they constituted a powerful group: Besides Agrippa, there attended Polemo II of Pontus, Cotys IX of Armenia Minor, Sampsigeramus II of Emesa, Herod of Chalcis, and Antiochus of Commagene.

Random glimpses reveal Commagene active militarily. In A.D. 52, Antiochus fought the wild Cietae in Cilicia. In 54, he joined Nero's mobilization against the Parthians. In 60, he participated in a defensive partition of Armenia (Tac. *Ann* 12.55; 13.7; 13.37; 14.26). He helped install the Judaean Tigranes VI briefly in Armenia.

The Jewish War drew Commagenian contingents, led by sons of Antiochus, to assist Vespasian and Titus. The tumultuous "Year of the Four Emperors" (A.D. 68–69) saw a Commagenian prince wounded while fighting for Otho (Joseph. *JW* 5.460 ff.; Tac. *Hist* 5.1; 2.25).

Despite assistance to Vespasian on his way to the imperial throne, Antiochus could still not relax. Vespasian had been concerned about a Parthian attack "from the rear" while Titus fought in Judaea (Tac. *Hist* 2.82). He therefore worried about "the proximity of the kings" of Commagene and Parthia, realizing that Commagenian control of the Euphrates crossings might afford Parthians "ready passage" should they wish access to Asia Minor; this might "involve the entire Roman Empire in war" out there (Joseph. *JW* 7.222 f.). Euphrates access could also be of importance should Rome wish to try again for control of Armenia, where an Arsacid dynast now ruled, having been recognized in A.D. 66 by Nero.

Accordingly in 72, Antiochus found Romans preparing for war on the charge of intrigue with Parthia. Some fighting did occur, and participants referred to it as the *Bellum Commagenicum* (*ILS* 9198; 9200; *JW* 7.220 ff.). The 2 sons of Antiochus escaped into Parthia, but Antiochus was taken to Rome. There where he had begun his career under the first Julio-Claudians, he ended it in honorable detention under the Flavians. He might have lived in the reigns of all 11 Roman emperors from Augustus to Domitian. He presided over the final decades of a kingdom by now 235 years old.

The 2 sons of Antiochus returned, and with the title of "king" they assumed an honorable place in society. Their sister became the queen of Cilicia for a time, married to King Alexander. Their children, especially Julia Balbilla and C. Iulius Antiochus Philopappus, took notable places in the new absorption of former kings into the Roman aristocracy. Balbilla accompanied Hadrian to Egypt and left extant poetry there. Philopappus became a Roman consul and left a monument on the Mouseion Hill in Athens, where it still faces the Parthenon. Continuation of the intermarriage led eventually to the families of the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Elagabalus.

The kingdom of Commagene had taken an important role in the long transition from Seleucid to Roman rule, and had stabilized a crucial region between the Hellenic and Iranian societies. The innovations of Antiochus I long influenced religious thought in the vicinity. The old cult-sites remained in use for centuries, as attested by archaeological finds and by literary references. The new cities founded by the dynasty formed the basis for later ecclesiastical organization there.

Commagene greatly influenced the larger society around it even after it was gone.

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**COMMANDMENT.** The common translation of the Hebrew Bible's *miṣwâ* and the NT *entolē.* All but 8 occurrences of the Bible's *miṣwâ* are translated *entolē* in the LXX. In the Psalms (esp. Psalm 119, LXX), *entolē* is sometimes found as a translation of the Heb *piqqūdîm*. Modern English versions of the Bible sometimes also use "commandment" or "command" to render Heb *mišpaṭ* (Zeph 2:3), *ḥōq* (Amos 2:4), and *piqqūdîm* (Ps 103:18), and Gk *epitagē* (1 Cor 7:25).

Of itself "commandment" denotes that which is commanded by an authority, hence, an authoritative prescription, order, decree, or by extension a directive or instruction. "Commandment" occasionally occurs in the Bible with a secular meaning (2 Chr 35:10, 16; John 11:57; Acts 17:15; etc.), but its biblical usage is predominantly religious: The commandment is a divine ordinance. "Commandment" sometimes appears, somewhat indiscriminately, as one of a series of legal terms (e.g., Gen 26:5), but more often it is used in isolation from other legal terms.

In the Bible, *miṣwâ-entolē* emphasizes the authority of the God who commands rather than the content of the commandment as such. The commandment is the expression of God's will for his people. Rather than suggesting arbitrary demand or constraint, the terminology evokes God's moral authority. Jewish expressions of the significance of the commandments (i.e., their importance and the reasons for them) began to appear during the Hellenistic period (e.g., *Let. Aris.* 142–144; *4 Macc* 5:23–24). From the 2d century onward, largely in response to Christian attacks on the Law, many Jewish replies addressed the issue of the reasons for the commandments. In medieval times, Maimonides held that all commandments had a cause, i.e., a useful purpose.

Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic literature (including Psalm 119) are the best sources for understanding the biblical notion of commandment. Indeed, the terminology appears but rarely in the prophetic literature (e.g., Isa 48:18; Exod 18:21; Dan 3:29). Commandment, *miṣwâ-entolē,* suggests a "double personal reference" (O'Connell 1960: 361), i.e., the loving God who commands and the one to whom the commandment is addressed. The proper response to a commandment is not merely external compliance, but a total personal response ("from the heart," *leb*). The virtual interchangeability between *miṣwâ-entolē* and *dābār-logos/rhēma,* i.e. "word," (e.g., Deut 5:22; 30:14; Esth 9:32) highlights the personal quality of the commandment. The ultimate significance of the commandments is to relate people to God. Accordingly the commandments are best understood within the covenant context.

The Pentateuch uses *miṣwâ-entolē* in reference to particular laws, and sometimes in the plural (e.g., Deut 15:5). However, in the Deuteronomic paraenesis of Deut 8:1–20, *miṣwâ-entolē* is used comprehensively for the whole law (Deut 8:1; cf. 5:31; 11:22; 19:9; 30:11–14). This is in keeping with the Deuteronomist's holistic view of the relationship between Yahweh and Israel. The commandment, which also has a revelatory function, is intended to make of Israel a holy people. Israel's prosperity is dependent upon its obedience to the commandment. Keeping the commandments indicates a pattern of life, i.e., one of human fidelity to the covenant.

From this perspective, some authors are inclined to identify the Decalog (the covenant prescriptions of Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5) as the preeminent referent of "commandment." Jewish tradition, however, going back to tannaitic times and shaped somewhat definitively in the school of R. Akiba, identifies 613 commandments (*taryaq miṣwōt*) in the Bible. Of these, 365 are proscriptions and 248 are prescriptions, as R. Simlai states: "613 commandments were revealed to Moses at Sinai, 365 being prohibitions equal in number to the solar days, and 248 being mandates corresponding in number to the limbs of the human body" (*b. Mak.* 23b). In Jewish writings (e.g., Philo, *Dec.* 29.154; *Num.Rab.* 13:15–16), the biblical commandments are often classified or summarized under the ten headings of the Decalog.

Reference to the developing tradition of the 613 commandments may be part of the background of several pericopes in the synoptic gospels, particularly in their Matthean version (Matt 5:17–20; Matt 19:16–22 = Mark 10:17–22; Luke 18:18–23; Matt 22:34–40 = Mark 12:28–34; Luke 10:25–28). According to Matthew's commandment theory, the entire law and the prophets depend on the two love commandments (Matt 22:37–40 = Mark 12:29–31; Luke 10:27; cf. Matt 19:19b). Matthew affirms that a similarity exists between these two, most probably because of the presence of *agapan* ("to love") in application of the *gezerah shavah* principle of rabbinic hermeneutics. This principle holds that if the same word occurs in two different scriptural passages, one passage may be used to interpret the other. Thus, Matthew stresses the organic unity of the commandments and attributes a summarizing priority to the two-fold love commandment.

Matthew's own catechetical tradition seems also to have underscored the importance of the Decalog among the biblical commandments (Matt 5:21, 27, 33; 15:19 = Mark 7:21–22). As in Deuteronomy, Matthew is aware that the commandments are addressed to the free will of human beings (Matt 19:17; cf. v 21). Matt 15:1–20 has taken over and somewhat modified the Markan controversy story (Mark 7:1–23), in which a precept of the Decalog, "honor your father and your mother," is identified as a commandment of God (Matt 15:3b–4; cf. v 6, "word of God"), distinguished from human precepts (Matt 15:9; cf. v 9 "your tradition"). Matthew's gospel also gives some evidence of intra-Christian debates about the significance of the commandments (Matt 5:17–20).

The Fourth Gospel likewise has a particular understanding of the commandments. In John, the term *entolē,* commandment, is used to characterize the task associated with the mission of the Son (John 10:18; 12:49–50; 15:8). The notion not only implies the Son's obedience to the Father (John 14:31); it also points to the authority with which Jesus fulfills his mission. A specifically Johannine understanding of the commandments is to be found in the idea of Jesus' own commandments ("my commandments," John 14:15, 21; cf. v 24, "my words"). To keep Jesus' commandments is to love him. These commandments are summed up in the love commandment, which is both Jesus' command (John 15:12, 17; cf. 1 John 4:21) and his gift (John 13:34). The love command is called a "new commandment" because of its christological basis (John 13:34; cf. 15:12). Caught up in an inter-Christian contoversy, the author of 1 John reaffirms the christological basis of the new commandment while maintaining that the love commandment is part of the traditional catechesis. As such it is both old and new (1 John 2:7–8).

A unitary understanding of the biblical commandments is also to be found in Paul, where the love commandment (Lev 19:18) summarizes several precepts of the Decalog (Rom 13:8–10). Keeping this commandment fulfills the law. A particularly significant Pauline notion is that the commandment (*entolē,* in the singular, apparently with reference to the 10th precept of the Decalog), although holy, just, and good, can be exploited by the quasi-demoniac power of sin (*hamartia*). The commandment reveals sin to be sin, leading to death (Rom 7:7–13).

In Pauline usage, with but one exception, *entolē* always refers to the biblical commandments (see Heb 7:5, 16, 18; 9:19). That exception is to be found in 1 Cor 14:37, where the expression "commandment of the Lord" (*Kuriou entole*) is similar to the phrase "commandment of the Lord" (*Kuriou epitage*) found in 1 Cor 7:25. In the NT, the use of commandment-*epitage* is found only in Paul and the Deutero-Pauline literature (Rom 16:26; 1 Cor 7:6, 25; 2 Cor 8:8; 1 Tim 1:1; Tit 1:3; 2:15). Although the term admits of a variety of usages, it appears to enjoy a comprehensive, salvific connotation in Rom 16:26; 1 Tim 1:1, and Tit 1:3. See *TWAT* 4: 1085–95; *EWNT* 1: 1121–25; *TDNT* 2:545–56; and *EncJud* 5: 760–92.

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**COMMANDMENTS, TEN.** See TEN COMMANDMENTS.

**COMMISSION, GREAT.** See GREAT COMMISSION.

**COMMUNICATION.** See TRAVEL AND COMMUNICATION.

**COMMUNION.** See LORD'S SUPPER; AGAPE MEAL.

**COMMUNITY.** This entry consists of two articles, one covering the OT notion of community, the other covering the NT notion.

## *OLD TESTAMENT*

Community in the Bible is a complex subject, amenable to no simple definition. The notion of community not only went through an evolution under the influence of both internal factors and foreign pressures, but frequently competing notions of community coexisted, vying for the allegiance of the people. Another factor complicates the subject. Israel began as a sacral community, that is, as a people organized tribally under the God Yahweh; with the introduction of kingship, however, tribal-theocratic structures gave way to the more secular structures of empire. The Yahwistic community therefore was obliged to assume the more modest status of a voluntary association within the larger society.

As in all other areas of biblical study, the subject of community has been enriched by new discoveries and new methods of analysis. Whereas an earlier age could study community on the basis of divine legislation conferred upon the people at Sinai, scholars today are attentive both to the evidence of social ideals and communal structures attested within the broader ancient Near Eastern environment and to scholarly reconstructions seeking to correlate such evidence with a critical reading of biblical texts.

Earlier in the century, Albrecht Alt (1925, 1930) and Martin Noth (1930) rejected as unhistorical the biblical view of a military conquest of Canaan and appealed instead to Nabatean inscriptions of the Roman period and to the structure of the Greek amphictyony. They argued that Israel's origins could be explained as resulting from the infiltration of nomadic elements into the agrarian-urban culture of Canaan. Today social-anthropological studies favor a dimorphic model for understanding the sociology of early Israel; that is to say, the tribes of Israel emerged not through the transplantation of desert nomads onto the soil of sedentary farmers, but within the perennial flux between urban centers and outlying regions. Detribalized elements banded together with disenfranchised city dwellers forming new coalitions and at times merging with older tribal units (Rowton 1976).

As we now examine the shape of Israelite community in its major phases of development, this brief reference to an ever-changing scholarly debate will serve as a reminder of the complexity of the task. Any critical reading of the biblical evidence must factor in archaeological evidence and take seriously methodological insights arising within ancillary disciplines.

**A. Tribal Period**

Bits and pieces gleaned from extrabiblical epigraphic sources can be combined with central themes found in Israel's epic as preserved in the Pentateuch to produce the following reconstruction of the origins of tribal Israel.

**1. El and Kinship.** The patriarchal legends reflect in general terms the migration of the Amorites into Mesopotamia and Syro-Palestine during the 2d millennium B.C.E. that is well documented in cuneiform sources. The Amorite personal names first studied by Theo Bauer and more recently by Herbert Huffmon reflect kinship patterns at home in tribal societies. Moreover, they reflect the centrality of the divine kinsman in the life of the tribal groups reflected in the ancestral legends of Genesis that later came to constitute the heart of Israel's concept of covenant. Further light is shed on the background of the divine kinsman of the ancestral stories by the deity El of the Ugaritic texts. El, the tent-dwelling, kindly creator-god and judge, has been plausibly argued to figure prominently in the origins of Israel's god Yahweh on the basis of shared epithets, attributes, and functions (Cross *CMHE*, 44–60). The conclusion to be drawn is this: At the time when Amorite peoples were establishing themselves as heirs to the earlier civilizations of Mesopotamia, related clans were sojourning in Canaan. The latter encountered a well-established feudal society, living under the hegemony of the royal house of Egypt with local rule exercised by Canaanite lords. Unable to supplant the feudal lords of the land, the Amorites (and whatever other elements merged with them within the dimorphic social structures of Canaan) were obliged to have their patterns of movement and settlement governed by opportunity. What identity they preserved over against the local population was likely derived from their kinship patterns; this included identification with the divine kinsman El (under one of various epithets).

**2. ʿApiru.** Also germane to the discussion of Israel's origins as a community are references to the *ʿapiru/habiru* found in various MB documents, with the Amarna Letters prominent among them. See also HABIRU/HAPIRU. Though etymologically and sociologically related to the entity referred to in the Bible with the gentilic *ʿibrim*, the groups designated as *ʿapiru* were not ethnically bounded. Instead they were socially defined by their lack of integration into the feudal system of Canaan and, insofar as the local rulers were concerned, by their lawlessness and insubordination. The *ʿapiru* likely included people from different backgrounds, including Amorites, since all that was required to receive this dubious distinction was detribalization or marginalization from village or city. The *ʿapiru* were not confined to Canaan, but wandered freely between countries driven by opportunity and hardship (such as famine). Many of them no doubt eyed the Hyksos interregnum in Egypt as an opportunity (a situation likely reflected by the Joseph legend). With the reestablishment of indigenous rule by the pharaohs of the New Kingdom (cf., Exod 1:8), the *ʿapiru* would have suffered the fate of vast numbers of foreigners, though as inscriptions from the worker-village of Deir el-Medina indicates, the memory of NW Semitic deities was preserved among them. It is a fair assumption, therefore, that the Hebrew slaves of Moses' generation still maintained a sense of separate identity grounded in their ancestral legends and in the sacred stories of their kinsman God.

**3. Theocratic Unity.** The first mention of Israel outside of the Bible is on the Merneptah Stele of ca. 1210 B.C.E., and it is noteworthy that the preformative designates Israel as a people, not as a nation. This Egyptian encounter with a people identifiable as Israel in 1210 elicits a question: What were the events leading from the rather amorphous tribal backgrounds described above to this more focused community identity?

Earliest Israel appears out of the earliest traditions of the Bible as a loosely confederated group of tribes whose unity centered around a common story featuring the God Yahweh as the central actor. The most likely source of Israel's community structure of tribal organization around the kinsman deity is its ancestral prehistory in Canaan. But the earliest hymnic/epic compositions of the people Israel indicate that the model was infused with a new narrative content and tied to a new divine epithet by subsequent events, namely the story of deliverance from the Egyptian pharaoh effected by the God Yahweh. The reappearance of this story with such regularity in Israel's earliest hymnody offers the following as the most plausible answer to the question of what happened between the shadowy Amorite prehistory and Merneptah's explicit reference to a "people Israel": A group of slaves belonging to the social category of *ʿapiru* managed to escape from their bondage in Egypt under the leadership of Moses, an escape they attributed to the gracious action of their kinsman God, whom they now called Yahweh. The Moses-Jethro story may offer a clue regarding the source from which early Israel derived the divine epithet Yahweh.

Reciting the story of deliverance became the central cult-act of the People Israel. The substitution of an epic in the place of the cult-myth common to most other ANE cultures had a dramatic effect on the community ideals that emerged among the new tribal confederacy. The rules governing the life of the community, though in part drawn from the common traditions of the pervading culture, increasingly included guidelines inferred from the epic of Yahweh's gracious deliverance. An open-ended, historical consciousness challenged the more static values of mythopoeic cultures. Ideals and institutions began to take shape that drew their motivation from "Yahweh who brought you out from the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." These ideals and institutions were mixed, to be sure, with those of the environment, as illustrated by the earliest collection of laws in the Bible, the book of the Covenant (Exod 20:21–23:19).

**4. Characteristics of the Community.** The chief characteristics of Israelite community during the tribal period (i.e., the period of the Judges) can be summarized thus:

First, the basic unit of community was the extended family under the pater familias, with each family in turn fitting into the larger clan and tribe.

Second, within this patriarchal structure, the status of women was defined by male property rights.

Third, ancient kinship patterns made the tribes resistant to urban-based monarchies and their tendency to aggrandize at the expense of small farmers and pastoralists.

Fourth, the autonomy preserved by the individual tribes was qualified by acknowledgement of the sovereignty of the God Yahweh. Therefore, on the level of cult the Israelite tribes were forged into a theocratic unity within 2 contexts: in annual pilgrimage festivals celebrating the common epic of divine deliverance, and in war construed in sacral terms.

Fifth, innovations inspired by the epic tradition coexisted with practices and values drawn from the Canaanite environment, just as the worship of Yahweh was practiced alongside of the rituals of the Baal cult (cf. the Baal names recurring in the book of Judges and the cult background reflected by the Gideon story in Judges 8).

Sixth, the survival and growth of the Yahwistic community in the period of the tribal league seems to be attributable to the religious power inherent in the confession of the God who delivered Hebrew slaves and to the ability of those committed to that confession to extrapolate from this context institutions, practices, and laws that reaffirmed some and challenged other antecedent religious and social structures and values. Among these antecedent structures and values were the ideal of the *naḥălâ,* i.e., the divinely guaranteed right of each family to use of a designated plot of land in perpetuity; protection of vulnerable classes like the alien, the creditor, the widow, and the orphan; the ongoing reform of common law on the basis of the

epic, as seen for example in the extension of manumission to women (cf. Exod 21:1–11 with Deut 15:12–18) and the proscription of slavery in Leviticus 25.

Seventh, the most serious structural weakness of the league appeared in the form of centrifugal tendencies, fed by the autonomism of the tribes, that threatened to overwhelm the sense of unity essential for defense against hostile neighbors. Judges 5 mentions simultaneously both the tribes responding to the call to militia duty and those failing to respond to the muster, bearing witness to that weakness. Likewise the ambiguous last verse of the book of Judges: "In those days there was no king in Israel; everyone did what was right in their own eyes." Israel's destiny-ridden response to the structural weakness of tribal-based community was monarchy.

**B. Monarchy**

The most dramatic example of the impact of foreign influence on community in Israel revolves around the introduction of kingship. The motive given in the elders' request for a king in the narrative of 1 Samuel 8 states this poignantly, "that we may also be like all the nations."

Though variations appear in the different cultures of the ANE, monarchy generally entailed the following common characteristics: (1) ascription of special (and usually to some degree, divine) status to the king, who was regarded as the earthly representative of the chief deity; (2) a hierarchical organization of the society; (3) legitimization of the social system through the cult myth (i.e., the structure of human society reflects the cosmic structure established "in the beginning" by the gods, thereby tying social order inseparably to the natural order); (4) a static ontology, according to which change, and especially revolutionary change, is interpreted as a threat to essential reality; and (5) location of the official cult within the central temple of the capital city with the king as patron.

The open-ended, experimental community ideal that developed over the course of the league period came to be viewed as a source of instability when falling under the intense pressure of rising Philistine power. The response was recourse to the form of governance most closely associated with military and economic might in antiquity: monarchy.

Embedded in the narrative structure of 1 Samuel 8–11 is a conflict between 2 attitudes toward kingship, and although a long and complex history of transmission separates the reader from the events described, the divisions raised within the community from the very onset of kingship seem to be accurately reflected by the text even in its received form. Chapter 8 is particularly interesting in this connection. Written from a critical perspective preserved within prophetic circles, it enumerates the *mišpaṭ hammelek*, that is, the royal ordinance that the king could be expected to impose upon the people. This entailed: (1) Conscription of the youth into military and court service; (2) confiscation of agricultural land belonging to the clans for use as royal grants awarded to servants of the king (e.g., retiring military officers); and (3) taxation to finance an elaborate military and court system.

That final entry in the list, about the military and court, drives home the main point: "and you shall be his slaves." That is, the freedom won by the exodus generation and fiercely defended by the tribes of Yahweh would vanish. As if the point were not yet sufficiently clear, a final phrase—an ironic echo of Exod 3:7–8—is added to indicate that the new generation abdicating its freedom for the security of kingship could not expect a second exodus as the response of the deity: "And in that day you will cry out because of your king, whom you have chosen for yourselves; but the Lord will not answer you in that day." The contrast is clear. Whereas the Hebrews in Egypt had not chosen their royal oppressor, the present generation had. And in so doing they had introduced a deep division into their community, for at important points the ideals developed by the league and royal ideology were incompatible.

Underlying all specific differences was a fundamental dispute over authority stemming from the struggles of the league period. The tribes had acknowledged only one qualification of their autonomy, namely, the claims of the divine suzerain Yahweh that governed Holy War, religious festivals, and the growing tradition of common law defining the moral structure of the community. The delicate balance between unity and freedom upon which the league system was based was safeguarded by the insistence that there could be no king but Yahweh; that is, there could be no human person claiming a privileged position of power and authorized to determine the laws and institutions of the land (Judg 8:23). Because it

introduced a human claimant to permanent divine authority, kingship was regarded by many as a direct threat to the central ideals of the community.

In the narratives describing the conflicts that plagued the monarchy, the key issues revolve conspicuously around the question of final authority, as for example: Is the king lord over the fate of his subjects (2 Samuel 11–12)? Is the king authorized to build a temple (2 Samuel 7)? Can the king reorganize the tribes into rational tax districts (2 Samuel 24)?

The result of the introduction of kingship was epoch-making. The community ideal deriving from the epic of divine deliverance and land conferral was removed from the central position that it had enjoyed in the tribal theocracy and became one religious option competing with others. But that ideal did not enter its new phase quiescently. As indicated by a prophetic rumination on the relation between kingship and true Yahwistic faith in 1 Samuel 12, the historical fact of monarchy was not denied in prophetic circles, but it was deprived of all of its mythologically grounded sanctity and ultimacy. Kingship was viewed as a product of human sinfulness, and therefore it possessed no final authority. For the prophets, the viability of the nation continued to be dependent on the archaic Yahwistic principle stemming from the league, obedience to God: "Only fear the Lord, and serve him faithfully with all your heart …" (1 Sam 12:25a).

This principle represented a fundamental qualification of royal ideology that few kings were willing to accept. One detects in David an honest attempt to strike a balance, but divisions within the nation were only deepened by the Bathsheba affair, by strife over the census, and above all, by the struggle over the issue of dynastic succession. Solomon emerged from court intrigue as a close replica of the ANE absolute monarch, and it is not accidental that his reign shaded into civil war. In the conflict between Rehoboam and Ahijah, the lines were drawn between a community ideal predicated on the authority of Yahweh and an imperial ideal resting on royal pretension.

**C. Prophecy**

**1. Concept of Community.** Prophecy emerged out of this struggle as a movement committed to preserving the essential values of the older Yahwistic ideal of community within the setting of kingship. Prophecy itself is a complex phenomenon, and the method of carrying out this mission varied from prophet to prophet. In cases like those of Elijah, Hosea, Amos, and Jeremiah, the primary modus operandi was opposition to the king. In the case of Isaiah, we find the attempt to redefine kingship along strictly Yahwistic lines. The underlying principle of divine authority led, nevertheless, to a remarkable consistency within the teachings of the prophets regarding the ideals of community and the relation of the king to them: (1) The king did not stand above the moral standards of the community, but was bound to its laws. (2) All members of the community were equal, and it was the responsibility of the nation's leaders to prevent the exploitation of the weak and the poor by the powerful and the wealthy and to protect the rights especially of vulnerable members of the community. (3) Social order was not identifiable with the natural order established by conflict among the gods, but was to be inferred from the historical example of God's delivery of slaves from their bondage. (4) The cult did not belong to a heavenly order transcending time, but was subservient to the traditional divine mandates of compassion and justice.

**2. Reform Movement.** The development of the notion of community as the gathering of those responding to God's call to obedience and service thus continued into the monarchial period as a reform movement within the larger society. The degree to which the prophets regarded the dominant society to have strayed from the Yahwistic ideal of community is indicated by the preponderance of indictments and judgments in their recorded words. This negative assessment of society was accompanied by a sober anthropology, epitomized by Jeremiah's words: "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately corrupt; who can understand it?" (Jer 17:9). Against this bleak assessment of society, the faithful community came to be viewed increasingly in terms of a remnant, preserved by God as a witness to divine purpose and as agent in the final redemption intended by God.

The reform efforts of the prophets and their followers were not entirely in vain. Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah paid attention to the traditional Yahwistic ideals, and placed the crown behind efforts to bring the nation into closer conformity with divine law. The tradition of pessimism that seemed

to accompany the prophetic movement apparently was vindicated by events, however, for even so godly a king as Josiah failed to secure the land. Jeremiah's bleak outlook (Jer 4:23–26) was supported by that of Ezekiel, who announced that disobedience leading to destruction was written ineluctably on the soul of the nation (Ezekiel 23). The Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem and its temple secured the pessimistic prophetic view against the more self-confident views of kings and prophets like Hananiah, and forced the exilic community that survived the national calamity into a period of reassessment.

**D. Exile**

Displaced from the familiar setting of temple and land and the traditions associated with them, exilic groups made various efforts to salvage materials for rebuilding their community: (1) Monumental achievements were accomplished by a "priestly" group in collecting traditional laws and placing them in an epic-narrative framework. (2) A prophetic circle associating itself with the name of Isaiah embraced a vision of restoration that broke out of the discredited royal nationalism in the direction of a more universal Yahwism; according to this, the remnant community would act as the servant of divine purpose in a coming age of salvation (Isaiah 40–55). (3) Deuteronomistic tradents adapted their David/Zion centered historiography to the harsh new realities of exile, as indicated by the editorial additions found in 1 and 2 Kings and Jeremiah. (4) Ezekiel and his disciples promulgated a program of restoration based on Zadokite temple theology and conceding a modest role to the royal house (Ezekiel 40–48).

**E. Second Temple Period**

After the return of a significant number of exiles following Cyrus' Edict of 538 B.C.E., the initiative in rebuilding a sense of Jewish community was taken by a group subscribing to Ezekiel's program. Benefiting from the support of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, this group emphasized the centrality of a Zadokite-led temple cult as the key to communal vitality. Zechariah sounded a prophetic theme reminiscent of Isaiah that bound cult to faithful observance of the moral commandments. Chapters 56–66 of Isaiah preserve traces of a dissident group highly critical of the Zadokite temple theology and announcing imminent divine judgment on alleged unrighteousness of the majority of the community. The Second Temple Period thus began with competing perspectives on what constituted true community.

Conditions within the Jewish community did not soon improve, judging from the grim pronouncements found in the book of Malachi. Low professional standards within the Zadokite priesthood conspired with even lower standards of morality among the people to undermine community vitality. This bleak picture is confirmed by the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. There we find that the internal weakness of the Jewish community even elicited the attention of the Persian government, concerned as it was with maintaining reasonably stable buffer states between it and its major adversaries. Proponents of strict measures of reform based on the traditional laws collected in the exile by the "priestly" group thus found an unexpected ally in the Persian government. Ezra's being sent by that foreign power as "the scribe of the law of the God of heaven" marked an important turning point in the history of the Jewish community. As a result of his activities, that community received a clear charter that was to become the foundation of its survival through the next 500 years. Torah together with an interpretive process guided by the hermeneutic developed by Ezra and his successors (cf. Nehemiah 10) enabled the community to emerge in a vital new form that adumbrated many of the essential marks of classical Judaism.

This new formulation of community did not give equal emphasis, of course, to all earlier traditions. Conspicuously absent were certain themes favored by earlier visionary circles, such as messianic expectations and announcements of impending divine intervention in judgment and salvation. An orientation favoring careful application of Torah to all aspects of everyday life eclipsed more eschatological themes.

The powerful resurgence of apocalyptic themes in the 2d century B.C.E. indicates that visionary streams were not supplanted, but were merely suppressed by the scribal community. The oppressive measures of the Seleucids forced back to the surface concepts of community emphasizing the fallenness of the majority of the world (including the preponderance of the Jewish population) and the impending intervention of God to cleanse the earth and reestablish the community of the faithful (e.g., Daniel and *1 Enoch*).

In the 2d century B.C.E., therefore, a century well documented by writings from the Bible, the Apocrypha, the Pseudepigrapha, and the Dead Sea Scrolls, we are able to recognize the interplay of several competing notions of community, ranging from the apocalyptic other-worldliness of Qumran to the conservative this-worldliness of the Sadducees, with an increasingly popular proto-Pharisee party in between. It is from this wide range of alternative notions that emergent Judaism and Christianity would begin to forge their own definitions of community during the Roman period.

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PAUL D. HANSON

## *NEW TESTAMENT KOINŌNIA*

Biblical faith forms a community of those who worship God, who share with one another a common experience of God's salvation and a common call to bear witness to God's salvation-creating power in the world. The diverse descriptions of community found in Scripture reflect the changing religious, social, and political environment in light of which faith and life are constantly being adapted in new and meaningful ways. However, the biblical idea of community is always situated on a theological axis balanced by two convictions: first, that a good God finds forsaken persons who are alienated from all that makes for hope and well-being, and calls them into a covenant people reconciled to all that makes for peace and freedom; and, second, that this redeemed people then responds to God by embodying their experience of God's salvation in their relations with each other.

The development of the idea of community within the biblical tradition is further understood as dynamic and "self-correcting"; indeed, the maintenance of a proper balance between an appreciation of divine grace (orthodoxology) and human responsibility (orthopraxis) is at best tenuous. Throughout the histories of Israel and the Church, specific notions of community were developed to correct certain imbalances in the faith or life of God's people. These different notions of community, enshrined within Scripture, form a whole, greater than the sum of its parts, which provides the current people of God with a normative context for understanding what it means to "be" community and to do as this particular community ought.

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A. The OT Idea of Community
B. The NT Gospel and Jesus' Idea of Community
C. The Acts of the Apostles and the NT Idea of Community
D. The Pauline Idea of the "Body of Christ"
E. Community as *koinōnia* and the Post-Pauline Situation
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G. The NT Community and the Church Today


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### A. The OT Idea of Community

The essential features of the NT idea of community are found in the OT. While influenced to some degree by pagan notions, primitive Christianity sought to understand its founding and formative events in light of biblical teaching, and believers assumed a fundamental continuity between their *ekklēsia* and the OT idea of a covenant people, Israel.

From its beginning as a tribal confederacy, Israel understood itself as a community covenanted to God and to each other by virtue of the Exodus event. See COVENANT. Israel experienced God's liberating grace as a people, and as a people who were called together to give adequate response to the God who

delivered them from slavery and set them on a course to freedom and *šalôm.* Community was first formed, then, to worship God "as the one who acted in a specific event of history to deliver the oppressed from their oppressor, thereby revealing self as the incomparable God, majestic in holiness" (Hanson 1986: 28).

As Israel sought to live for God in its world of competing deities and nations, its self-understanding as a community rightly related to its redeeming God developed to include an ethical dimension. The compassion of God exacted a demand upon God's people to resist in its own life the very oppression and exploitation from which God had liberated them. In this sense, the worshipping community was also a witnessing community, called forth to reflect in its common life the very character of its transcendent God. Eventually, Torah became the instrument by which the community's life of worship and witness was informed and so formed into a particular people, whose obedience to the Torah of a particular God made clear and concrete God's love and holiness in a pluralistic world.

As the social and political structures of Israel came to be defined by its monarchy, so too was its idea of community. Even as charismatic selection of the confederacy's leadership had given way to dynastic rule, so also were the old convictions about God attached to new, "royalistic" forms. David's covenant with God, and not the Sinaic covenant, became central to how Israel understood itself: God's rule was mediated through Israel's king. The former confederacy, tied together only by its worship of one God and by its muster for holy war on behalf of God, became a *nation* whose future was determined by political alliance and societal syncretism, often at God's expense. The worship of God was institutionalized during the reign of Solomon, who built a temple for God in order to compete with other national religions in the ANE. Under the pressures of international relations, then, the community's witness to God was domesticated. The worshipping community became an established cult, and its official priesthood helped the king as representatives of God on earth. Israel's religion was institutionalized as a critical part of the social order, so that now God's covenant blessing was construed in terms of national peace and prosperity. Accordingly, God, brought from heaven and placed within Solomon's temple, was worshipped as earth's Creator and as the king's God, more than as transcendent Redeemer of a people. God was now worshipped as a God of order, whose creation, like the king's realm, assumed a certain hierarchy into which all persons must fit without fuss.

Besides the deuteronomist's history of the monarchy, the priestly theology of the official cultus, and the advice offered by the prophets tied to the king's court, this community *qua* the king's nation is envisaged by OT Wisdom. According to Israel's sages, the community made wise by its "fear" of God is characterized by those same attributes called for in Torah. However, the deeper logic of Israel's sapiental tradition, especially clear in its preexilic stage (e.g., Proverbs 10–28), moves less from the God whose compassion for a special people is revealed in the events of salvation's history, remembered and interpreted by Israel's sacral institutions, than from human experience and insight into the nature of human relations (von Rad). Attention is now directed toward basic human living—how to cope and how to succeed. The community is informed by the sage's observations of those conventions which maintain the social order and thus enhance the prospects for political *šalôm* and economic prosperity—the very interests of the king.

Further, because David's covenant with God focused upon an individual's (i.e., the king's) relationship with God, so also did the sage's (Brueggemann 1972). Corporate concerns were replaced by individualistic ones, so that the wise individual assumes the primary responsibility to bear witness to God by those virtuous actions which secure his position within the nation. The logic of such "enlightened self-interest," of course, is that the whole Israel *is* the sum of its individual constituents, especially those from its more affluent and influential classes (Gordis 1944). Such an idea of community is more static and secular precisely because it is more hierarchal and institutional; like the monarchy, the concern of Israel's wisdom is for "law and order" and against those evils which promote social chaos, economic exploitation, and political uncertainty.

The prophetic idea of community, also envisaged by the OT, emerged on the fringe of the social order to challenge what Israel's prophets perceived as Israel's "royal consciousness" which was generated by

sapiental and sacral impulses alike. According to Brueggemann (1978), Israel, under the aegis of its kings, moved in 3 dangerous directions: (1) a concern for the well-being of the affluent led to the economic exploitation of the rank-and-file; (2) an enforced social hierarchy led to the political oppression of some, especially the social deviant, for the benefit of the state; and (3) the establishment of an official and syncretistic cultus, adopted to serve the king and his political alliances, led to the domestication of God.

The prophetic movement, and the idea of a counter-community it shaped, had two tasks: diagnostic and prognostic. The foundation of both tasks was the covenantal tradition of Moses which forged a community whose life and faith was in marked contrast to the established social order. In order to criticize Israel's social order, the prophet of God appealed to the Torah of Moses for an alternative vision of community whose life and faith are rooted in an economics of equality, a politics of justice, and a religion of divine transcendence. The prophetic call to repent enshrines, then, a reactionary agenda: It recognizes that what bourgeois Israel had become under its kings and their counselors is fundamentally opposed to God's intentions revealed in the Exodus event and the ministry of Moses. As such, the worshipping community bears witness in its particularity, on the margins of the mainstream, to a God who cannot be manipulated by those who manage the social order.

This tensive dialogue between prophet and sage which emerges within the OT can be profitably viewed as self-correcting (Wall 1987b). It is not, however, a conversation between equals. Unlike the shape of Israel's history, the final form of the OT canon is more prophetic than royal, even containing a "prophetic" reformation of the Wisdom tradition (Spina 1983). The OT idea of community is therefore centered through its prophetic voice: In reading its history as narrated by its Bible, Israel is shaped into a prophetic community.

Why then are the canonical voices of the "establishment" retained? Perhaps to prevent prophetic (i.e., normative) Israel from moving in dangerous directions as well. Indeed, the tradition of Israel's wisdom, along with its own canonical correctives, reminds Israel that its worship of an immanent God demands its witness to (and in) specific cultural settings, characterized by particular sociologies and economies. While Israel might continue to live on the margins of the mainstream, its Torah is heard and seen by the outsiders as relevant for their time and space. Further, wisdom reminds Israel that a transcendent God is also present with the necessary resources of human insight and institutions, which, when responsibly used, make it possible for each Israelite to work out one's own salvation with God. The dialectic thus makes clear that the covenant community is formed by a dynamic partnership between a God who freely redeems a people, the prophet's emphasis, and a redeemed people composed of those who each in turn freely respond by working out one's salvation "in the fear of the Lord," which the sage taught was the beginning of wisdom about life's possibilities and limitations.

**B. The NT Gospel and Jesus' Idea of Community**

The earliest Christians were not only a biblical people, who sought to live in continuity with their Scriptures; they were also disciples of a person, Jesus from Nazareth. Their worship of and witness to the God of Israel were decisively influenced by their conviction that Jesus was God's Messiah, and that through him God had begun a new Exodus for the restored, eschatological Israel. Because of this, the NT notion of community, which was developed and given ecclesial form after Jesus' death and resurrection, should be viewed as a discrete interpretation of Jewish religious history in the light of Jesus' life and teaching. While Jesus' own notion of community was often at odds with other Jewish communities (i.e., Pharisees, Essenes, Zealots, Sadducees) of his own day, there was no disagreement over those constitutive elements of a covenant people. He was a teacher, perhaps even a revivalist, in and of the Jewish tradition; indeed, many of the themes, especially eschatological, which characterize his ministry place him among the apocalypticists of the Second Temple period.

Although Jesus did not start a new organization, his messianic mission called forth a community of disciples who believed in his teaching as God's word and who followed the pattern of his life as God's will. According to the synoptic evangelists, at the very core of Jesus' proclamation of God's Gospel was the claim that God's kingdom, and the promised salvation with it, had drawn near through him (Mark 1:14–15). In forsaking old, "official" interpretations of God's reign, and in believing that Jesus'

interpretation of it was true, the messianic movement formed a people who were called away from worldly concerns (Luke 9:57–62) to a singular worship of God (Matt 6:24; cf. 4:9–10). Jesus "thus began with the heart of classical Yahwism, as it earlier had come to expression in the first commandment, the *šĕmaʿ,* and Isaiah's call to trust in God" (Hanson 1986: 399).

Luke's portrait of Jesus intensifies two aspects of Jesus' eschatological message which transformed traditional apocalyptical themes. First, Jesus taught that the messianic community could experience God's salvation "today" (4:21; 19:9; 23:43): The day of God's Jubilee, envisioned by the OT prophets and at the center of apocalyptical faith, had already dawned. Rather than awaiting God's future salvation and viewing the surrounding world in a detached way, the disciples were called to a life of engagement in which even enemies were ushered into God's salvation (Luke 10:25–42; cf. 6:36). Second, Jesus taught that anyone could belong to the messianic community. "Official" notions of membership, long tied to a theology of divine election in various Jewish communities, placed social, religious, or ethnic restrictions on those admitted to the covenant community. Jesus extended the membership list to the outsider—the least, last, lame, and lost of Israel (Luke 4:16–30; 7:36–8:21; 14:12–24; 19:1–10; 23:39–43).

According to Matthew's gospel, Jesus calls his disciples to a righteous life in obedience to his interpretation of Torah (Matt 5:17–48; 7:21–24); the Christian *ekklēsia* is a people of a new Torah which gives expression to God's will for the new age of God's salvation. Jesus' teaching about God's Torah, remembered by the ongoing community of his disciples, provides order for its life (18:15–20). The deeper logic of the ethical instruction of Matthew's Jesus follows directly from the Book of the Covenant: The righteousness and mercy of God, disclosed in the (old and new) Exodus events, should now be performed by the covenant people; thus, to love God (18:1–14) is to forgive and restore the neighbor (18:21–35).

This is also true according to the teaching of John's Jesus, although he restricts the scope of the disciple's love to other disciples (13:34; 15:12–17) thus forming a more sectarian idea of community whose essential mission is to nurture itself (21:15–17). Sharply put, then, Jesus taught that the yield of authentic worship is to bear witness in the worshipping community to God's salvation-creating love. In that Jesus' calculus emphasizes the community's love as a *response* to their experience of God's reign rather than as a requirement to enter into it, his teaching holds a tacit challenge to the legalistic (and perhaps antinomistic!) tendencies of other apocalyptic communities in Judaism.

Jesus not only taught by word but by deed. G. Theissen (1978) has called attention to the more charismatic expressions of community in the earliest Christianity as stemming from the radical nature of Jesus' own lifestyle. The pattern, narrated by the canonical gospels—of Jesus wandering on the margins of the social order, forsaking protection and possessions, lacking home and family—make vivid the eschatological claims envisaged by his teaching: The nearness of God's reign made concerns about "this evil age" irrelevant. This pattern of Jesus' itinerancy, and the eschatological hope it envisaged, was embodied in the earliest Christian communities which were profoundly influenced by their memories of him.

However important Theissen's sociological analysis is, it often neglects the relationship between Jesus' own perceptions of God's kingdom and his personal character and ministry as "Son of man." In fact, his understanding of a merciful God is disclosed in his forgiveness of and fellowship with sinners and in his healing of outcasts; his faithfulness to a righteous God is disclosed in his obedient life as God's servant-Son; his economics and politics reflect his commitment to God's vocation, for him more than a self-conscious response to the conditions of his Palestinian world; and in his execution as an innocent man, he makes clear the costs of following God in a world more ordered by ethical casuistry and religious customs than by the norms and values of God's kingdom.

This radical theocentricity, evident in his teaching and life, is at the very core of Jesus' own notion of community. The messianic community is centered by its singular worship of and obedience to the merciful and righteous God, whose reign has been brought near in Messiah's mission. Its life is contretemps, an idealized witness to alternative convictions about the God of the established order. It forgives those whom the society forgets; it welcomes those turned away by the "official" religion; it loves even the nation's enemy; it shares equally in the experience of God's promised *šalôm*; and it obeys the

Torah as interpreted and incarnated by Messiah. While accommodating itself to changing social realities and to developing theological understanding, the post-Easter Church retains these same elements at the center of its life: The *ekklēsia* of God is called forth in worship to bear witness to God's liberating grace which is disclosed in the new Exodus of Jesus Christ.

**C. The Acts of the Apostles and the NT Idea of Community**

The NT book of Acts bridges the canonical gospels to the letters, underscoring the continuity of ministry from Jesus to the apostles and the Church they founded (Wall 1988). In telling the story of the church's formation, Acts not only introduces the more didactic discussion of the Christian *ekklēsia* contained in the letters which follow, but also qualifies it in 3 ways. First, the Church is a missionary community; its essential role is to bear witness, by the Spirit's power, to God's resurrection of faithful Jesus, declaring him both Lord and Christ. Second, the Church is an apostolic community; God has authorized the 12 apostles to rule over the tribes of a new, eschatological Israel. The Church's worship of God and witness to what God has done through Christ and in Christ's Spirit is now guided by apostolic life and teaching. Finally, the Church extends Jesus' messianic mission beyond Jews to include Samaritans, proselyte Jews, and Gentiles: Eschatological Israel is characterized by a diversity of people, called together by God through a diversity of apostolic missions and kerygmata.

Yet, the marks of the messianic community have not changed. Disciples are still called together to worship God and bear witness to the Jubilee of God's salvation which has come through Christ. In Christ's absence, however, his earthly rule is effectively continued by the Spirit through the teaching and life of the apostles; their witness to Christ is now normative. Thus, their writings, which follows Acts in the NT, which re-present their witness, become the Word of God for the ongoing worshipping and witnessing community.

**D. The Pauline Idea of the "Body of Christ"**

Paul uses his important catchphrase "body of Christ" to relate Christ's death and resurrection to his understanding of the Church as a community of believers. According to Paul, Jesus' physical death is the messianic event in that it testifies to his devotion to God and God's plan of salvation. For him, God's resurrection of Jesus vindicates his scandalous death as truly messianic. The believing community actually participates in the Christ-event by which it enters into the promised New Age of God's salvation (Rom 6:4). This is the great indicative of the Church's redemption: Those who depend upon Christ's dependable work are reconciled with God and each other; it can "now" experience a Christ-like life, characterized by freedom from sin, from death, from legalism, and from all that alienates humanity from God's love (Romans 5–8). Thus, the community's faith in Jesus' faith simply restores a sense of community between God and humanity, and within humanity (2 Cor 5:11–21; cf. Eph 2:11–22). Second, even as the historical Jesus is a single "body," so also the church is "one body" in him. The merging of the two bodies, believer with Christ, underscores the mutuality of the community of believers found "in Christ." Human distinctions are dismantled; an egalitarian community is formed, fulfilling the prophetic vision (Gal 3:14–29). Third, the history of Christ's bodily existence is paradigmatic of the church's own history. Because Jesus is faithful to God, expressed most vividly on the Cross, God's salvation-creating righteousness is disclosed in history (Rom 3:21–26), especially by God's resurrection of Jesus (Phil 2:9–11). The same is promised for the eschatological community whose hope is that through its faith in Christ, God will recognize and exalt the community at the end of time; and whose commitment during the present time is to offer its own body, like the crucified Christ, publicly and concretely in service to God rather than in conformity to the current social order (Rom 12:1–2). Finally, "it is through the church that Christ continues to accomplish the final purpose for which He assumed human nature" (Whiteley 1974: 198). The Church is, in this sense, the ongoing arena for the activity of God on earth. The use of the catchphrase "the body of Christ" intends to underscore the continuity between Jesus' messianic mission and the Church's mission within the history of God's salvation. Is not this the meaning of the "eucharistic body" for Paul (1 Cor 10:14–22; 11:23–26)? Partaking in "communion" as a common act of worship recalls the ongoing foundation of the covenant community: All believers gather around the eucharistic

bread and cup to bear witness to God's salvation they continue to experience together since the death of Christ's body.

Paul's use of "body" to characterize the community of believers includes two different tensions. According to 1 Corinthians, tension is felt when individuals seek to understand the relationship of charismatic self to the charismatic community to which self and all the charismata belong. There is no swallowing up of human personality for Paul, but rather those individual believers who are equally baptized into one Lord (1 Cor 12:12–13) by one Spirit are given different gifts of grace (1 Cor 12:4–11; Rom 12:3) in order to effect different ministries for the common goal of edification. The eschatological fitness of the whole body is dependent upon the spiritual fitness of each believer, who uses one's different gifts to prepare the church for the future triumph of God and for its partial realization in the present age.

The second tension arises within the community which seeks to set limits around its newly found freedom in Christ. For example, among the households which comprised the Roman *ekklēsia,* some believers apparently thought that "staying in" the covenant community obligated them to observe a vegetarian diet in strict observance to the holiness code. The Paulinists, on the other hand, thought themselves free from such legalisms since the inauguration of the New Age (Rom 7:6–8:2). Again, in Corinth, where some believers purchased food once offered to pagan idols, other believers, perhaps converts from those very pagan religions, thought this to be a capitulation to an enemy of Christ (1 Cor 8:1–11:1). In Today's Church is a social institution; it no longer views itself as an eschatological community. Like every institution, its *ethos* and *mythoi* are largely shaped by the society's mores and cultural myths; its vision has become secular. Thus, the internal tensions between freedom and responsibility, between unity and diversity are inevitably resolved for the "good of the institution" rather than doxologically. Personal freedom is limited by the institution as well, so that individual charisms and contributions are swallowed up by the institutional demand for conformity.

The intent of this harsh criticism of today's church is to underscore a dangerous appropriation of the Pauline idea of community. Paul's commitment to the Gentile mission and his conviction that the full and final inbreaking of God's reign was imminent leads him to handle Christianity's relationship with the surrounding culture in ambiguous ways: He is more concerned about the changes within the community, which demonstrate the beginning of the age of God's righteousness, than he is about its relationship with the external world.

The NT collection of non-Pauline writings is clearer in this regard and checks those interpretations of Paul which move believers "into *and* of the world" (Wall 1987a). The pilgrim motif, which stresses the themes of separation and suffering, sustains a firmer, clearer distinction between Church and society. This sectarian impulse allows the whole NT canon to forward a view of the Church as witness to a transcendent God: The people of God live and believe in ways which conflict with the idols to Mammon. A pilgrim is an alien and finds reconciliation only from those resources found within the community of faith.

The pilgrim motif, which also stresses the themes of pilgrimage and destination, would have the Gospel and not the world set the Church's agenda. The inner logic of Paul's accommodation principle might lead one to accept the "adversary's" agenda as a tool of evangelism or even as a means of social acceptance. The pilgrim community knows its destination, and sets itself on a course which endures to that particular, "heavenly" end. This transcendent perspective challenges the social order whenever it interferes with the community's forward movement.

Thus, the pilgrim motif is the built-in corrective of Paul's accommodation principle. Yet, the reverse might also be true (Gager 1975). When a community maintains its witness to God's Gospel on society's margins, it tends to drift toward sectarian chaos, toward religious uniformity, toward legalism, and toward a form of witness which is viewed as irrelevant and meaningless by the surrounding society. It becomes a community which worships God without witness. Paul's notion of community, for all its potential dangers, is better able to handle the cultural and personal diversity of the Church catholic. Further, Paul's idea makes clearer the vocation of a missionary church, called to go to all nations and preach the gospel to all persons.

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**COMMUNITY, RULE OF THE (1QS)**. 1QS was among the first scrolls discovered by the bedouin at the beginning of 1947 in what came to be known as Qumran cave 1. Since the trustworthiness of the intermediaries who spread reports about it around Jerusalem could not be assumed, and their credibility was further compromised by contradictory statements, there was some initial hesitation regarding its authenticity (Trever 1965: 25, 75, 180), but this was quickly overcome. Plates and a transcription of 1QS were published with exemplary speed by Burrows, Trever, and Brownlee in 1951, and in the same year Brownlee furnished an annotated translation.

The script of 1QS dates it to the period 100–75 B.C. (Avigad 1958: 71; Cross 1965: 258 n. 116), making it one of the 3 oldest copies of the *Rule* (Cross 1961: 119). None is an autograph, and so the composition of the *Rule* must be pushed back into the 2d century B.C. (Cross 1961: 120). Ten fragmentary copies of the *Rule* were found in Cave 4. They remain unpublished, but Milik (1960: 411–16) has provided a list of variants (all minor), noting in particular that 3 mss offer a shorter and more intelligible version of col. 5 and that 1QS 8:16–9:11 is missing in one ms. 5Q11 contains part of 1QS 2:4–7, 11–14, and 5Q13 iv 2–3 cites 1QS 3:4–5 (Milik 1962), but since these come from texts that were originally independent of the *Rule*, it is not sure that they represent copies of the *Rule.*

The syntax of 1QS has been studied by Leahy, and the most convenient Heb text is that of Lohse (1964: 4–43), which has a facing German translation. Other important annotated translations are: French (Guilbert), English (Leaney 1966; Wernberg-Møller 1957; Vermes 1983; Knibb 1987: 72–144), Italian (Moraldi 1971: 113–72), and German (Maier 1960, 1:21–45). Reports on the state of research have been published by Bardtke (1973), and in somewhat less detail by Delcor (*DBSup,* 851–57).

Bardtke (1973: 263) perceptively highlighted different literary analyses of 1QS as the most important contributions; they necessarily exercise a decisive influence on all interpretations. The earliest commentators (Dupont-Sommer 1953: 90; Kuhn 1960: 652; Maier 1960, 1:21; Wernberg-Møller 1957: 56, n. 49) recognized the composite character of 1QS, but went no further. An effort by Guilbert (1959) to head off this approach by arguing that 1QS was entirely consistent in style and logical in development won no support. In fact, its effect was just the opposite. Close attention began to be paid to the limits and definition of the various literary units, and this led to a number of important insights and partial hypotheses.

The pioneer in this respect was J. Becker (1963: 39–42), who highlighted significant shifts in style and content, but did not get beyond the level of possibility in explaining their origin. The same is true of Leaney's commentary, and it is regrettable that the new edition of Schürer (*HJP²* 3/1: 383) has regressed to this level. Real progress was made by Denis (1964: 40–44) in his analysis of the crucial cols. 8–9, where he discerned 2 interpolations (8:10b–12 and 8:16–9:2). A more detailed examination of the same cols. by Klinzing (1971: 50–66) produced much less satisfactory results (Murphy-O'Connor 1972: 436–

38). Although it needed some refinement (Duhaime), von der Osten-Sacken's (1969: 17–27) discovery of 3 levels in the Instruction on the Two Spirits (1QS 3:13–4:26) was a major breakthrough.

The first attempt to find a comprehensive explanation for the composition of the *Rule* was made by Murphy-O'Connor (1969). Rejecting the view that it was a heterogenous compilation, an evolutionary hypothesis involving 4 chronological stages was proposed. The earliest stage was represented by 1QS 8:1–16 plus 9:3–10:8, followed in order by (2) 8:16–9:2; (3) 5:1–7:25; and (4) 1:1–4:26 and 10:9–11:22. This hypothesis was subjected to a book-length critical analysis by J. Pouilly. He found the 4-stage evolution to be correct, but convincingly argued that details needed modification. In consequence he assigned 8:10–12 to stage 2 and 5:13–6:8 to stage 4. His conclusions, which take into account all other contributions to the literary analysis and which have given rise to no serious objections (Davies 1987: 60), must be accorded a very high degree of probability, and can be set forth as follows:

Stage 1: 8:1–10a, 12b–16a; 9:3–10:8.
Stage 2: 8:10b–12a; 8:16b–9:2.
Stage 3: 5:1–13a; 6:8b–7:25.
Stage 4: 1:1–4:26; 5:13b–6:8a; 10:9–11:22.

*Stage 1.* This is the manifesto that led to the foundation of the Essene community at Qumran. When there have been found 12 men (= the 12 tribes) and 3 priests (= the levitical clans) who live the Law perfectly, "they will be separated from the midst of the habitation of ungodly men in order to go into the desert" (8:13; 9:20). There they will constitute a spiritual temple (8:5) and offer spiritual sacrifices (9:4–5) to expiate the sins of the land (8:6, 10). The hint of a breach with the Jerusalem temple is confirmed by the insistence on the importance of the authentic calendar (10:1–8). In this program the *maskil* has an essential role; he will be responsible for the choice and preparation of candidates (9:12–26). Ultimate authority in the future community will belong to the priestly members (9:7).

*Stage 2.* The community envisaged in stage 1 has been in existence for some time, and the problems of conventual life have manifested the need for basic penal legislation. The integration of such legislation into the foundation document indicates that the latter retained its value as a definition of the community. The severity of the sanctions is but the other face of the vitality of its idealism.

*Stage 3.* The life-situation demanded by the material of this stage is that of a large community at some distance from its origins. The redefinition of the community (5:1–6), underscored by the fact that the material of this stage was inserted *before* stages 1–2 in the arrangement of 1QS, clearly manifests the institutionalization and democratization characteristic of a late stage of development. The precise rules for the conduct of a general assembly (6:8–13) and the admission of new members (6:13–23), when taken in conjunction with the casuistry of the penal code (6:24–7:25), confirm this assessment. A significant increase in the numbers at Qumran about 100 B.C. is attested by the extensive building program of period Ib (de Vaux 1973: 5). See also QUMRAN and ESSENES.

*Stage 4.* This stage is the most complex because a number of elements had an independent existence before being incorporated into the *Rule.* Nonetheless, they are ascribed to the same stage because they all serve a single purpose, viz. revitalization of the fervor of the community. The intention to infuse a new "spirit" into the "letter" of the *Rule* is particularly evident in the way the redactor brackets stages 1–3 with material derived from the liturgy of the renewal of the covenant (1:1–3:12 and 10:9–11:22), whose message is that external observance is meaningless without genuine conversion of the heart. The Instruction on the Two Spirits (3:13–4:23a) had its own literary history (Duhaime 1977) before being adapted to its place in the *Rule* by the addition of 4:23b–26, which emphasizes the responsibility of the individual to choose good rather than evil. The function of the long interpolation 5:13b–6:8a is twofold, to insist on the stringent examination of new members and to highlight the importance of community life with particular stress on the need for continual study of the Law.

Besides attesting to the internal evolution of the Qumran community, the *Rule* is our best witness to its institutions, which are a key element in the identificaiton of its members as Essenes.

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**COMPASSION.** See LOVE.

**COMPUTERS AND BIBLICAL STUDIES.** To achieve a useful level of detail in reasonable scope, this article is focused in two ways. First, it deals with "biblical studies" in the narrow sense of the study of the text, excluding ANE history, archaeology, and geography. Computer science has much to offer these ancillary disciplines, and some impressive applications have been developed, but the common focus of attention of all biblical scholars is the text, and it is there that we direct our attention. Second, this article is methodological, not historical. A history of the application of computers to the Bible would benefit those who study biblical studies (in contrast to the Bible itself), but the field is progressing so rapidly that such a history would immediately be out of date. Furthermore, because of advances in computer science, some of the most important projects historically offer little practical guidance to those planning new research efforts today. Instead, we identify the main stages in the exegetical process and show how computers have been and may be applied to them.

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A. Introduction
B. Formulate Hypotheses
    1. Case Grammar
    2. Semantic Nets

3. Discourse Analysis
4. Modular Structure
5. Transformational Grammar

C. Gather Data
1. Text Base
2. Search Program

D. Analyze Data
1. Qualitative Analysis
2. Quantitative Analysis

E. Present Results
1. Printed Media
2. The Computer as Medium

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**A. Introduction**

As does any other science, exegesis involves formulating hypotheses, gathering data, analyzing these data in the light of the hypotheses, and presenting results. This ordering of events is only suggestive, as later stages frequently require repetition of earlier ones. Thus, as one gathers data, an informal analysis often takes place concurrently, leading to a reformulation of the underlying hypotheses and a revision of the plan for gathering data. Still, the division is useful for our purposes. Data collection always presumes some hypothesis about what is interesting or useful to observe and what is not; analysis requires data on which to operate; and effective dissemination of results requires an additional step after analysis is complete.

As we consider each of these steps, we will look both to what has been done and to what can be done. There is not space to describe each of the hundreds of past and present projects, and mention of one or omission of another does not constitute a recommendation or criticism. Surveys of particular projects in computer-assisted biblical (Parunak 1989b; Hughes 1987) and other literary studies (Patton and Holoien 1981), and discussion of technical issues in computer research design for the humanities in general (Hockey 1980), are available elsewhere. These references should be consulted for detailed information about projects and scholars named but not otherwise documented in this article.

**B. Formulate Hypotheses**

Science never proceeds from a tabula rasa. The scholar always brings to the text some set of ideas to be vindicated or disproven. The better articulated these hypotheses are, the more effective the research process will be, and the less danger there is of implicit hypotheses prejudicing the results.

Computer science, and in particular the specialties of cognitive science and artificial intelligence, have developed rich theoretical frameworks for describing language and thought. By drawing on these models, we can formulate hypotheses about the biblical text with greater precision than was previously possible. In each example in the following (nonexhaustive) list, we discuss how an insight from computer science has been or can be applied to biblical studies.

**1. Case Grammar.** Case grammar (Fillmore 1968; Cook 1979) is a linguistic model that emerged from the early machine translation work of the 1950s and 1960s. Case grammar focuses attention on the relation between verbs and nouns in sentences. Each verb has associated with it a case frame, which is a set of case slots. These case slots, while suggested by the classical cases marked in the surface structure of languages like German or classical Greek and Latin, differ in important ways from the classical cases. The central difference between the cases in case grammar and classical cases is that between the surface structure of a text and the deep structure of meaning that it represents. The surface level of language contains elements such as verbs, nouns, and (classical) cases. The world of meaning deals with actions, entities, and (case grammar) cases. The relation between these layers is skewed, so that, for example, a noun at the surface level (such as “death”) actually represents an action at the deep level. Case grammar cases describe the roles that entities fill with respect to actions at the deep level. For example, commonly used case slots include agent (the one who does the action), experiencer (the one who undergoes the

action), and beneficiary (the one who benefits from the action). Case slots are thus characterized semantically, in contrast with surface level (classical) cases (such as nominative, dative, genitive, accusative, vocative), which are syntactic.

Because surface level verbs correspond roughly to deep structure actions, one can associate deep structure case slots with the verbs corresponding to the associated actions. Verbs differ in the case slots they have. For example, "to ache" has an experiencer but no agent; "to hit" has both. At the surface level, a single classical case may correspond on different occasions to different deep structure cases. Thus the experiencer of "to ache" and the agent of "to hit" are both represented by a surface structure nominative, while the experiencer of "to hit" takes a surface structure accusative.

Unlike surface structure cases, case slots are invariant under voice changes or shifts such as those generated through inflection. For example, in both the active sentence "The boy hit the ball" and the passive "The ball was hit by the boy," "boy" is agent and "ball" is experiencer.

Case grammar offers biblical studies a rigorous theoretical framework for lexicography. Once we recognize that case frames do not vary with verbal inflection but do vary with the semantics of the verb, we can use them to classify the vocabulary of a language. It becomes both natural and provocative to classify verbs on the basis of their case frames and the semantic classes of words that can fill them, or to classify nouns on the basis of the case slots that they can fill. Because case slots are a deep structure phenomenon, they offer a theoretical basis for combining the semantic evidence furnished by verbs with that of associated verbal nouns, where the case slots typically appear as surface genitives.

**2. Semantic Nets.** The term *semantic nets* (Brachman and Levesque 1985) refers to a variety of models of meaning, all characterized by a collection of nodes (representing concepts) and relationships among them. Research in artificial intelligence (AI) has shown that computers need to be able to model large fragments of knowledge about the world in order to perform intelligently. An effective way to store this knowledge is as a network of concepts connected by relations. Two kinds of concepts (*class* and *instance*) and two kinds of relations (*AKO* and *ISA*) are common to the many individual schemes that have been proposed.

An *instance* concept corresponds to a single entity in some world, real or imagined, while a *class* concept is a test that can be applied to any entity and will say "yes" if the entity is a member of the concept, or "no" otherwise. From another perspective, one names instances but describes classes. For example, David, Saul, and Solomon would be instances in a semantic net representing the conceptual world of the Hebrew Bible, while "king of Israel" would be a class. A class may have only one member and still be a class rather than an instance if its function is to describe rather than to name. Thus "creator" is a class whose sole member in orthodox biblical thought is the instance YHWH. One may even have a class with no members (for example, again in orthodox biblical thought, the class "gods other than YHWH").

*AKO* ("a kind of") relations join related classes, while *ISA* ("is a") relations assign instances to classes. For example, the concept "Prophet" is joined to the concept "Person" with a chain of AKO links, since "Prophet" is a subclass of "Person." (That is, whatever one can describe as "Prophet" can also be described as "Person.") "Person" in turn is AKO "living being." To identify a specific individual (such as Isaiah or Jeremiah) as a prophet, an ISA link connects the instance corresponding to that person with the "Prophet" class.

Semantic nets tend to consist of networks of classes showing the relationships among concepts with a fringe of instances dangling from the bottom. For example, Exhibit 1 (Fig. COM.01) shows a fragment of a semantic net rooted at the concept "Living Being." The nodes printed in light font are all classes, related to one another by AKO links (indicated by bold arrows). At the bottom, in bold font, are specific instances, linked to their most specific classes by ISA links (dashed arrows). In addition to the links actually shown on the diagram, the logic of semantic networks permits us to deduce that "Righteous Person" is AKO "Person" (since any chain of AKO links is equivalent to a single AKO link), and "David" ISA "Living Being" (since an instance of a class is also an instance of any other class of which the first is a subclass).

The AKO and ISA relations are the most common but are not enough for complete semantic modeling. Additional relations among classes (such as *part-of* and *color-of*) are often invented ad hoc to satisfy a particular need but can be derived in a theoretically more satisfying way from the case frames of case grammar.

Semantic nets offer a methodology and framework for describing a semantic space and studying the place of various concepts within it. Together with case grammar, they are an important tool for formalizing lexicography. They also offer a powerful model for studying phenomena such as semantic parallelism in biblical poetry.

One popular theory of parallelism ascribes the repeated pairing of certain lexical items to the existence of a conventional tradition of pairs from which poets drew acceptable matches. If we collect the matched pairs from Ugaritic poetry or the book of Proverbs and arrange the words on a sheet of paper in such a way that the distance between two words is proportional to the frequency with which those words appear in parallel, the overall pattern falls into clearly delineated regions, each with its own semantic integrity, and the association of individual pairs is seen to be only a detail of the larger picture of regions of associated terms. Such a pattern is easily explained on the hypothesis that humans store their inventory of concepts as a network and tend to associate terms (whether as poetic parallels or in other ways) based on their proximity in the overall network. This overall network is the broader context within which theories about traditional pairs need to be discussed.

For example, Exhibit 2 (Fig. COM.02) distributes 66 nouns in two dimensions in such a way that the closer two words are on the page the more frequently they occur as poetic parallels to one another in Proverbs. Several clear semantic regions are visible. The upper left quadrant, spilling over into the lower left, is dominated by names for body parts. Those toward the right of the cluster are the organs of wisdom and morality, such as "soul," "heart," and "spirit," while those to the left are purely physical, like "foot," "eye," and "hand." Across the top, words like "Sheol," "death," length," "day," "riches," and "honor" reflect the consequences of various styles of life. A vertical region near the center contains nouns descriptive of rational beings (including "Lord," two words for "man," "son," "sinner," and "scorner"). It also contains adjectives that are commonly used as nouns identifying people, such as "wise" and "righteous." Terms at the bottom of the column describe people with regard to their moral condition, while those at the top reflect wisdom and folly. This column bridges two other clusters, one of wisdom terms and the other of morality terms. The rest of the words in the upper right quadrant are the names for wisdom and understanding, as well as their opposite, "folly." "Fear" is here because of its frequent occurrence in the phrase, "fear of the Lord," which is (as Proverbs often reminds us) the beginning of wisdom. Terms toward the lower right end of this cluster, such as "counsel," "discipline," and "reproof," deal with the communication of wisdom. Across the bottom, merging with the moral words for rational beings, are descriptions of morality and its manifestations, including "pride," "perversity," "rightness," and several metaphors ("road," "track," and "path") that describe the course of a person's life. The existence of such regions is persuasive evidence that parallel pairs are not a stylistic end in themselves but the hem of a whole fabric of semantic interrelations, as suggested by a semantic net model.

The observation that the second member of a poetic pair often intensifies, strengthens, or makes more specific the idea of the first member (Alter 1985) reflects the importance in general of AKO relations in the structure of conceptual spaces.

**3. Discourse Analysis.** Every exegete has diagrammed sentences to analyze the relations among words within clauses. Recently, interest has mounted in *discourse analysis,* which studies the relations among clauses and larger linguistic units. Much of the impetus for this study has emerged from workers in artificial intelligence, seeking to build formal models for the computational processes underlying human language. One particularly useful methodology, called "rhetorical structure theory," was developed specifically to enable computers to produce text that sounds natural to humans (Mann and Thompson 1987). Important contributions have also been made by the Bible translation community (Beekman and Callow 1974; Longacre 1976; Grimes 1975), but the underlying motivation for this work, as for so much

research in modern linguistic theory, is the move toward formal models of human behavior inspired by computer science.

The contribution of discourse analysis highlighted here is the formal definition of a set of relationships that clauses have with one another. Informally, some of these relations (such as Reason or Means) are familiar exegetical categories. The newer contributions offer much more complete sets of these relations than exegetes have been accustomed to using (over fifty in some systems). They provide an underlying theory for these relations (in one case, drawing on propositional calculus to define them precisely). They also show how these relations between clauses can be extended to relations between even larger textual units, thus providing a consistent theory of discourse structure at all levels from the clause to the complete text.

**4. Modular Structure.** The study of literary architecture, tracing patterns of repetition within texts and studying phenomena such as chiasm, alternation, and formal transitions (Parunak 1979, 1981b, 1983), goes well back before the computer, originating in Lowth's studies of Hebrew verse parallelism. Computer science offers insights that can strengthen and clarify architectural analyses of texts.

As computer programs have grown longer and more complex, new computer languages have provided sophisticated structuring aids to allow the program to be constructed as a series of segments, each with its own identity and function. Without such modularization, people cannot understand long programs, and errors become hard to find and correct. Program structures are an accommodation to human cognitive limitations. Both a structured and an unstructured program may produce the same result, but the structured one is easier for people to understand and manipulate. The development of structure in computer languages is thus a window into human cognitive structure in general and provides a model for analyzing other products of human cognition, such as extended literary texts.

For example, a basic rule in structured programming is the principle of locality of access. Variables used within one module of a program should not be susceptible to change by another module unless the module that owns them explicitly makes them available. This rule reflects the mind's need to package thought into relatively self-contained units and to control the interactions among these units to reduce complexity. Studies of literary architecture have identified a number of techniques for defining textual units, but the resulting analyses are often criticized by observations that a feature (such as a vocabulary item or a grammatical form) appears in several units, outside of the overall pattern of repetition. The principle of locality suggests that such repetition need not invalidate the overall modular structure, since features that are local to individual modules do not interact with one another. Clearly, this approach requires refinement to indicate under what conditions a feature may be considered local and what techniques a module uses to make a feature publicly available to establish relations with other modules. Just as clearly, the whole framework within which the hypothesis is posed, and the directions along which it may be tested and refined, are the results of cognitive tendencies that have been made clear in our attempts to program computers.

**5. Transformational Grammar.** We have already noted the indirect contribution of early machine translation efforts to linguistic theory in the form of case grammar. Another important contribution of these efforts is *transformational grammar,* developed by Noam Chomsky as a result of studies of the formal structures of mathematical languages. Transformational grammar models how a single semantic representation of an idea inside the mind can emerge as different streams of text. For example, it explains how passive and active forms of a sentence are related to a single underlying meaning.

This particular grammatical theory has been useful in several recent studies of Hebrew poetic parallelism (Collins 1978; O'Connor 1980; Geller 1979), where it has provided a framework for classifying and analyzing parallel poetic structures with much more discrimination than has previously been available. It allows the analyst to identify parallelism not only between words in the surface form of the text but also between elements in the underlying or deep structure, and thus provides a theoretical foundation for extending the application of parallelism to many poetic lines that at the surface level do not exhibit formal parallelism.

**C. Gather Data**

With a hypothesis in hand, we want to gather data from the text in order to test it. In the days before computers, biblical scholars collected their data by keeping ad hoc notes on various subjects encountered during general reading of the text; by reading the text while looking for a specific phenomenon; or through concordances. The computer was early recognized as a way to accelerate this process. Dozens of programs are available to support the data-gathering phase of exegesis, far too many for us to attempt to review in detail here. Hughes (1987) gives a good survey. We will mention a few that illustrate some of the capabilities we describe.

The two basic components of any computer system for gathering data from the biblical text are the *text base* itself and a *search program* that manipulates this text base. (These correspond respectively to the Bible and the scholar in the pre-computer scenario.) The text base contains at least the text to be studied, which may be in the original languages, translations, or both. (Some programs, like Akiyama's Bible Word program, permit users to consult multiple versions of the same text simultaneously.) It often includes annotations to the text and sometimes provides indices that speed up the search process. The search program is responsible for collecting the user's specifications for a search, applying them to the text base, and returning the results to the user in a useful form.

Data gathering systems differ widely in what is included in the text base, how it is stored, and how the search program manipulates it. Some objectives can be achieved either in the text base or in the search program. For example, if one needs to retrieve verbs according to their parsing, one might code each verb in the text base with its parsing or, alternatively, provide the search program with the capability of parsing verbs as it acquires them. In general (but with many specific exceptions), it is faster to store a linguistic analysis in the text base than to compute it during search, but a stored analysis strategy requires more space for the text base (for instance, a larger hard disk drive) than does one that parses on the run. As computers become faster and high-density storage technologies (such as CD-ROM) become less expensive, both constraints become less important.

**1. Text Base.** Text bases differ from one another in the detail with which they represent the basic text, the representation of annotations, and the storage strategy.

**a. Detail of Representation.** The degree of detail that needs to be represented in a coded text varies depending on the purpose for which the text is intended. In many early projects, texts were coded with a specific purpose in mind. For example, scholars interested in lexical and syntactical studies of the OT frequently ignore the cantillation of the text and often do not code it in their text base. Some Hebrew text bases even exclude the vocalization. The GRAMCORD search language (Miller 1984) does not rely on the accentuation of the Greek text, so the text base does not record this accentuation. Some popular computer editions of the KJV do not distinguish the italicized words (those inserted by the translators to smooth the English syntax) from the rest of the text.

Within the context of an individual research project with restricted goals, partial texts can reduce the cost of recording the data and control storage requirements. Also, it is often easier to design search programs if the text base is not cluttered with information (such as cantillation or accentuation) that the search program does not use. All too often, though, a researcher who has coded only some features of a text finds new questions arising in the course of research that require access to the omitted features. As the capacity of storage increases and computers grow faster, and as texts are assembled for general use in repositories such as the Center for Computer Analysis of Texts at the University of Pennsylvania and the Oxford University Computing Service (to name only two) instead of being custom coded for specific projects, text bases will tend to include all of the textual information found in a standard critical edition.

**b. Annotations.** Many exegetical questions involve the parsed form of words, rather than the form in which they appear in a text. For example, if one is searching a text for "mouse," one often wishes to retrieve at the same time occurrences of the plural form "mice." Though the text contains the string of characters "mice," the analyst may wish to manipulate it as though it had the notation "mouse + plural." This analysis records the "dictionary form" of the word (the entry in a dictionary that one would consult to find information about the word), and its parsing or grammatical code. The dictionary form is also

sometimes called the "lemma" (plural "lemmata") and a text that indicates the dictionary form of each word explicitly is thus called a "lemmatized text."

There is less need for lemmatization in English than in Greek and Hebrew. English words change comparatively little in different contexts. Internal plurals (such as "mice") are much rarer than those formed by adding a simple suffix ("houses"), and nouns do not have different forms in subject, object, and indirect object position. Verbs usually retain their basic form, with tense, person, and aspect marked through simple endings and helper verbs. Thus a search program for English can retrieve various inflections of a desired word just by specifying the beginning portion that is common to the various forms of the word.

This strategy is less successful in Greek and Hebrew. The heavy use of prefixes and suffixes in the verbal paradigms, and Hebrew's agglutinative use of prefixed prepositions and articles and postfixed pronouns, together with the less regular spelling characteristic of texts circulated in the centuries before printing, make it difficult to retrieve with a single search pattern all words that the dictionary classes together.

In principle, parsing can be done by the search program. After all, that is how people read texts. The mechanisms that people use, though, are not yet perfectly understood, and what we do know about them shows that they depend on context and even on general background knowledge about the world to resolve parsing ambiguities. Thus, most systems that permit retrieval by lemma or grammatical analysis code the parsing in the text base. Some systems (Morris and James 1975) record only lemmata and grammatical codes and omit the textual form of words entirely. Others record the textual form of each word together with a code indicating its grammatical analysis (Friberg and Friberg 1981), and still others include also lemmata for some (Miller 1984) or all (Radday 1973) words.

Currently available parsed text bases record surface level information. A rudimentary deep structure case scheme has been coded for some OT books and is useful for framing questions of the form, "List all verbs that take God as a patient." If one augments a text base with a semantic network modeling the conceptual world of the community within which the text originally circulated, one can then pose questions of the form, "What does this text have to say about morality?" Even if the word "morality" never appears in the text itself, the semantic network permits identification of subclasses of the concept "morality," and the retrieval can then search for the names of these more specific concepts. For example, a text base augmented with the semantic network of Exhibit 1 could be asked to list all verbs of which righteous people were the agent, and as a result would retrieve passages where "David" and "Jeremiah" occur.

One drawback to extensively parsed text bases is the need for large amounts of storage to record the analysis. Not every researcher requires the same kinds of analysis, and a text base detailed enough to satisfy the needs of all researchers may require so much storage that no researcher can afford to access it. "Adaptive parsing" is a strategy to address this problem. In this strategy, the search engine is able to recover a parsing either from a stored annotation to the text base or (more slowly) by computation from the textual form alone. Specialized parses are obtained by computation but, once found, are added to the text base as annotations. Thus, as one uses the system, it becomes more efficient in retrieving the kinds of information that the user has requested in the past and develops into a highly personalized research assistant.

**c. Storage Strategy.** In a well-designed retrieval system, the details of how the text is stored in the computer are hidden from the user. To understand how search programs work, though, and to trace the differences among various programs, it is useful to understand three issues concerning textual representation and storage: transcription schemes, indexing, and compression.

The first feature of Greek and Hebrew that strikes the English-speaking novice is that they use alphabets different from that of English. They place characters not only in line with one another but over and under each other, and Hebrew even writes "backward," from right to left instead of from left to right. How are such features represented inside the computer?

Though the average person thinks of interaction with computers as carried out in the Roman alphabet, this alphabet is no more natural to the computer than is any other. Internally, modern computers represent each character as a memory cell (called a "byte") that holds a number from 0 to 255. To store the letter *A* in a byte, the computer places the number 65 there. To store the character *3* (not to be confused with the number 3), the computer uses the number 51. Even the blank space has a number assigned to it (32). This association between numbers and characters is completely arbitrary. To represent Hebrew or Greek, the numbers are assigned to Hebrew or Greek characters instead of Roman ones. Since early programs could only display Roman characters, the assignment schemes for Hebrew and Greek usually assign characters to numbers that also represent Roman letters reminiscent of the Hebrew or Greek letter. For example, Heb *beth* and Gk *beta* are usually represented by the same number that stands for the Roman character *b*. In some cases (such as the Hebrew accents), two bytes together represent a single character. Internally, the computer does not distinguish between "right" and "left," and a suitably programmed terminal can print out Hebrew from right to left just as readily as a conventional one prints English from left to right. Some software, such as the Bible Word, LBase, and GRAMCORD's GRAMGREEK utility, can display and print text in Hebrew and Greek fonts as well as in transliteration.

The Bible is a fairly large text. The KJV, for example, contains about 4,500,000 characters, or nearly 800,000 words, in unlemmatized form. The addition of lemmata or grammatical codes can more than double this figure. Searching such a text by having the computer read it sequentially can be a time-consuming activity, especially if one is seeking a complex pattern.

To speed up a search, some programs follow the example of human readers, who typically search for a passage containing a particular word by looking up the word in a concordance. A concordance is an example of an index. Given the item of interest, it guides one directly to the places in the text that mention that item. In the same way, some biblical retrieval systems use indices to the text to speed up processing. Some systems allow users to build their own indices from sequential searches and use these to speed up future searches. This tactic is a simple version of the adaptive parsing strategy outlined above.

The size of the Bible requires significant external storage resources. Furthermore, one of the slowest operations in a computer is reading information from external storage into memory, so the size of the text slows down processing. To avoid these problems, many systems compress the text. One popular scheme is to replace common sequences of letters in the text with special byte codes that are not used for ordinary characters. For example, if each of the 930 occurrences of "Jesus" in the NT were stored as a single character, 3720 characters could be saved. Compression schemes such as this are one reason that the data files used by many popular retrieval systems must be accessed with their associated search programs and cannot be manipulated with a standard word processor.

**2. Search Program.** The text base is of relatively little use without a search program to retrieve information from it. Search programs range from general-purpose text manipulation languages (like SNOBOL, Icon, awk, or grep) that can process any ASCII file to programs tailored to the needs of biblical scholars. Their objective is to produce lists, counts, and indices of passages that meet criteria set by the user. Their most important differences are in the flexibility the user has to describe the passages that are to be retrieved, counted, or indexed. These differences concern both the entities out of which a search pattern is constructed and the kinds of constraints among these entities that the user can specify.

**a. Search Entities.** Every text base contains characters, and general file manipulation languages deal with characters as their basic entity. Character patterns are general and flexible, but most exegetical questions are not posed at the level of characters but in terms of higher-level entities, such as morphemes, phrases, clauses, or literary forms. A search program that manipulates text at the level of characters requires the user to translate search requests from the higher-level objects of exegetical interest into low-level character patterns. A program that explicitly manipulates higher-level groupings is easier to use. If a text base is lemmatized, a search program that understands the differences among text, lemma, and parsing annotations is needed to take full advantage of it. A particularly flexible implementation of such a scheme is Silver Mountain's LBase, which permits the user to define an arbitrary number of nested levels of analysis.

**b. Pattern Constraints.** A search program provides the user with a language to define relations among the entities that it recognizes. A description phrased in this language is called a *pattern*, and the entities that the pattern matches in the text are its *targets.* Some forms of patterns require that the text be divided into *segments* (typically, lines, sentences, or verses) within which a pattern must be satisfied.

The simplest form of pattern is a fixed list. Thus the character pattern "die" would match all strings of characters that include these characters in this order, including "die" and "died" (which the user probably wants), and also "audience" (which is probably not desired). A fixed list offers no way to retrieve both "of God" and "of our God" with a single pattern. Every character in the pattern must match a character in the target, and in the same order.

A common enhancement to fixed patterns is boolean combinations. This scheme permits the user to build a pattern from two or more simpler patterns (such as fixed lists), and to specify that both of two patterns must appear, or that one or another of two must appear, in an acceptable target. For instance, the pattern "love" and "God" would match every segment containing both the string "love" and the string "God." It would thus retrieve "the love of God" and "thou shalt love the Lord thy God," and also "they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God."

The next level of complexity after boolean combinations allows the user to restrict the order in which the subtargets occur and the material that may occur between them. The most common device for this purpose is some sort of "wild card." For instance, the pattern "." is commonly used to match any character, and * matches any sequence of zero or more occurrences of the preceding character. So the pattern "of.* God" matches all segments containing the string "of," followed by any series of letters, then a space, and finally "God." It thus matches both "of God" and "of our God." A variety of such devices are available in packages like the Bible Word that support the full class of string languages known formally as "regular expression" (Hopcroft and Ullman 1979).

Some pattern languages permit the user to constrain the intervening material in various ways. GRAMCORD, for instance, permits the user to exclude any specific grammatical category from intervening between specified patterns, making it easier for the user to focus in on phrases with a desired structure.

We have been using character patterns to illustrate search. With a search program like LBase that reasons with higher-level entities such as morphemes, words, and sentences, one may encounter fixed patterns, boolean combinations, and wild card possibilities at those levels too. Particularly powerful patterns are possible in a language that allows one to ask (for example) for all verbs that occur within three words of the phrase "in Christ," without intervening verbs. A high proportion of the targets matching such a pattern will be clauses in which the prepositional phrase in fact modifies the verb.

All of the patterns we have discussed up to this point match only on the basis of the collocation of words in the text, not on the basis of their grammatical relations with one another. A true syntactical pattern matcher can retrieve clauses based on words standing in specified relations of modification or dependency to one another. This capability requires either a search program that can effectively diagram the sentences in the text or a text base that is coded for grammatical dependencies. Both approaches are technically feasible, but neither is used in popularly available systems.

**D. Analyze Data**

In our four-phase model of scholarly activity, data analysis is the third phase, comparing the data gathered in the second phase with the hypotheses formulated in the first phase. From one perspective, analysis is the activity that confirms or disproves a hypothesis. From another perspective, the issue is not confirmation but exploration. The deviations between hypothesis and observation are the most important product of the analysis stage and fuel the formulation of new hypotheses for the next cycle of research. In this second view, a hypothesis summarizes economically the regularities in a set of data and focuses attention on the remaining irregularities.

Analysis can be either qualitative (dealing with categories, themes, and other symbolic, nonnumeric information) or quantitative (focusing on numbers extracted from the text). The computer offers tools to help with both.

**1. Qualitative Analysis.** Two common computer-based tools for qualitative analysis are the concordance and the data base management system, or DBMS.

**a. Concordances.** A concordance is a list of extracts from a text, ordered according to some linguistic feature of each. Usually the feature is the occurrence of a word, and the concordance allows us to see in a single place all of the occurrences of that word, together with some context for each one. We have already alluded to the use of a concordance as an index to aid in data gathering. A concordance also presents data in a form that is convenient for many types of analysis. A wide variety of computer-generated concordances is published by Biblical Research Associates in the Computer Bible series.

Concordances were an important tool for scholars for years before the advent of the computer, but the preparation of a concordance for a text the size of the Bible required a lifetime. Now computers collect the data for concordances much more quickly, and in various formats tailored to specific exegetical problems. The popular Key-Word-In-Context or KWIC format lines up the occurrences of the target word down the center of the page (the "gutter"). Within the article for a single word, the entries can be sorted by preceding or following context, permitting the user to note differences in constructions involving the word. Exhibit 3 (Fig. COM.03) shows a portion of a KWIC concordance on the Gk particle *ei,* "if," from 1 Corinthians, from Morton, Michaelson, and Thompson 1979. Because the context (in this case, the following context) is sorted, the entry brings together for convenient study such phrases as *ei de, ei de tis,* and *ei de christos.*

Reverse concordances sort words not by their beginnings but by their endings and are useful in identifying manuscript fragments that preserve the end of a word. From a fully analyzed text, concordances can be prepared that organize words by part of speech or conjugation and declension as well as by lemma or textual form. As on-line texts become more widely available and increased computing power becomes less expensive, the notion of a printed concordance will give way to concordance-like displays prepared as they are needed.

**b. Data Base Management System.** A concordance organizes a set of contexts on the basis of a single feature. A DBMS permits the user to explore the interaction of several features at once. In its simplest form, a DBMS stores information in the form of *records,* each containing a fixed number of *fields.* It is an automated version of the venerable box of index cards. For example, a data base supporting the lexical study of a particular noun might devote a record to each syntactic construction in which the noun occurs. One field of each record might record the biblical reference, another the kind of construction in which the noun occurs, a third the word in the construction to which the noun is bound, a fourth the kind of literature in which the passage occurs, and a fifth a brief definition appropriate to the noun in this context.

Defining the fields for such a data base amounts to constructing a hypothesis about the kinds of information that will prove relevant in determining the meaning of a word in a given context. Once the various constructions are recorded, the DBMS permits the user to sort and retrieve them on the basis of any field or combination of fields in order to explore correlations among fields. Typically, the result of the first day spent perusing such a data base is a redefinition of the fields, reflecting a refinement of the original hypothesis and often requiring a return to the data collection phase to fill out the new categories. The use of a DBMS permits repetition of this process more frequently and easily than is possible with physical index cards.

**2. Quantitative Analysis.** *Quantitative analysis* has gained in popularity among humanists with the advent of the computer and the development of packages of statistical software. To many people, "computer-assisted biblical studies" is almost synonymous with efforts to assess the authorship of biblical books from counts of stylistic features, such as vocabulary, vocabulary richness, grammatical usages, and idioms (Morton 1978; Radday and Shore 1985).

Modern statistics offers two classes of tools: confirmatory data analysis and exploratory data analysis. While confirmatory analysis has attracted much attention, it is often misapplied. Exploratory data analysis offers tremendous untapped potential for biblical studies.

**a. Confirmatory Data Analysis.** *Confirmatory data analysis* (CDA) is a mathematical incarnation of the side of analysis that seeks to confirm or disprove a hypothesis. The hypothesis defines a population,

from which the data purport to be drawn. CDA assesses this claim, by estimating how likely it is that the data indeed come from that population.

For example, in typical authorship studies, the analyst derives characteristics of an author's style from a sample of text known to be from that author. One hopes that the characteristics chosen remain fairly constant over all works of the author, but vary from one author to another. No one expects an author to produce exactly the same value for such characteristics in every text, but the variation among known texts can be measured and used to estimate how far the author might deviate from the average values. The analyst measures the corresponding characteristics from a text of unknown authorship and computes the probability that a population of texts exhibiting the values and range of variation shown by the known texts could also include texts with the values shown by the unknown texts.

CDA is also a useful set of tools for addressing grammatical and structural questions. For example, the word "spirit" occurs 26 times in Romans, 18 of them in chap. 8. Could such a concentration of vocabulary result from a random distribution of words over the text, or does it reflect the thematic structure of the book? CDA provides quantitative means to assess the significance of such concentrations.

Several challenges must be met by studies applying CDA. We will discuss them in terms of authorship studies, but similar qualifications exist for any application of these methods. For references and further discussion, see Andersen (1976). A model analysis is Mosteller and Wallace (1964).

The sample used to define the population must indeed be by the author in question. If we have no texts known to be by an author, we can hardly establish parameters for qualifying unknown texts.

If differences between the known and unknown samples are to be attributed to different authors, the samples should not differ in other ways (such as literary genre, subject matter, period of the author's life, later editorial activity, or linguistic register). If samples differ in several ways simultaneously, it becomes very difficult to determine which of the differences is responsible for differing values of the characteristics that the statistician is measuring. Literary studies sometimes seek to circumvent this problem by focusing on function words (like prepositions, conjunctions, relative pronouns, and the copula) rather than content words (like nouns, verbs, and adjectives) on the assumption that an author's usage will show more consistency in function words than in content words. This distinction may be true for subject matter but does not address differences in genre or register. For example, it is well known that some particles occur much less often in Hebrew poetry than in prose, independent of authorship.

In statistical studies in general, more data are better than less. The precision of results often tends to increase as the square root of the number of observations. To get twice as accurate an answer, one needs four times as much data. Landmark authorship studies in nonbiblical literature typically use on the order of 100,000 words of text, well beyond the amount of data available for biblical authorship studies.

Properly applied, CDA is an indispensable tool, but the promise of a "true-false" verdict that it holds out is seductive. It is easy to overlook the extensive methodological pitfalls and assume that, if a procedure yields a number, the answer is certain. Responsible application of these techniques requires close and extended collaboration between exegetes who understand what questions are meaningful in terms of the text and statisticians with a thorough grounding in the capabilities and limitations of their tools. Accessible introductions to CDA include Mosteller, Rourke, and Thomas (1961) and Mosteller and Rourke (1973).

**b. Exploratory Data Analysis.** Recent years have seen an explosion of statistical interest in *exploratory data analysis* (EDA). Where CDA epitomizes the view of a hypothesis as a claim to be proven or disproven, EDA implements the view that a hypothesis is a partial explanation of the data, whose effects need to be understood and removed so that further patterns may be seen. EDA does not render a verdict on hypotheses but gives one the mathematical equivalent of a magnifying glass, clarifying the data as input to scholarly discretion. Its techniques can reveal structure and order that would otherwise remain hidden in data. The cornerstone of EDA is Tukey (1977), together with Mosteller and Tukey (1977).

These techniques have been used, for example, to explore the distribution of boundary verbs among the tribes in Joshua 14–19. Beginning with a table indicating how many times each tribal boundary list uses each of the verbs, the EDA techniques of median polish and recoding suggest a strong preference for five

of the verbs in the boundaries of Benjamin, Judah, Ephraim, and Manasseh, while four other verbs dominate the boundaries of Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali. This observation, which would be difficult to make without these techniques, can be correlated in various ways with the context of the allocation of the land.

The techniques of Tukey (1977) can be applied with paper and pencil, though computer implementations are increasingly common. Other EDA techniques involve massive computations that require computer assistance. Among these are cluster analysis and multidimensional scaling (Parunak 1989a). Both of these techniques give ways to visualize the differences among a number of items (for example, vocabulary words or manuscripts). They begin with an estimate of similarity for each pair of items. Cluster analysis explores how well these similarities can be explained as arising from a set of different categories and seeks to retrieve the underlying categories. Multidimensional scaling (MDS) seeks to build a geometrical model of the set of similarities, thus permitting the scholar to view a spatial arrangement of the items that corresponds to the underlying similarities. Exhibit 2 (Fig. COM.02) is an example of the results of MDS.

A central tenet of EDA is that one picture is worth a thousand digits. Tables of numbers are difficult to understand even if one knows what one is looking for, but an appropriate graph or plot can lead the observer to unanticipated hypotheses. Computers can generate plots easily and thus take advantage of the insight that a picture can give.

For example, Linguistic Density Plots (Parunak 1981a) display the distribution of a linguistic phenomenon (such as a specific word or a grammatical construction) throughout a text, with location in the text on the horizontal axis and concentration on the vertical axis. The result is a series of peaks that show where in the text the phenomenon is concentrated. Such a plot gives the scholar a "feel" for concentrations that is almost impossible to achieve from a concordance list alone. It offers clues to literary structure that would be difficult to find without it.

Exhibits 4–6 show three Density Plots from Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Each dark bullet on the plot represents a separate occurrence of the word being plotted. An integer appears instead of a bullet if two or more occurrences are on top of one another. The horizontal or "REFERENCE" axis shows location in the book, with chapter beginnings labeled and each horizontal position representing four verses. The vertical or "DENSITY" axis is computed in such a way that the higher a point is plotted the closer it is to the adjacent occurrences of the same phenomenon.

Exhibit 4 (Fig. COM.04) shows a dramatic concentration of words beginning with *Israel* (such as "Israel" and "Israelite") in chaps. 9–11. This distribution is not a surprise to anyone familiar with the overall structure of Romans. Exhibit 5 (Fig. COM.05), though, of the verb *sozo,* "to save," and words beginning *soter* (like "savior" and "salvation"), is arresting. It shows that these words also, which many would suspect to be characteristic of the entire epistle, are concentrated in chaps. 9–11, and suggests that the restoration of Israel contemplated in these chapters is not just an afterthought to the book's preoccupation with salvation but an integral element in the discussion. Exhibit 6 (Fig. COM.06) shows that nouns and verbs describing "mercy" also predominate in these three chapters, this time in concentrations that form an inclusio at the beginning and end of the section.

Not all plots are created equal. Some computer graphics packages create showy graphs that in fact obscure rather than clarify data, and some kinds of displays are better than others at showing specific kinds of data. The ubiquitous pie chart, for example, communicates the preponderance of one category over another, but tests have shown that viewers cannot extract quantitative information from it as reliably as they can from a bar chart or a line graph. As another example, a change in the axes of a line graph or scatterplot (say, from linear to logarithmic or squared) can dramatically change the intuitions suggested by the data. Tufte (1983) and Cleveland (1985) are excellent guides to the graphical presentation of data.

**E. Present Results**

Biblical scholarship involves an ongoing conversation among the past, present, and future students of the text. The computer offers new tools for assisting and moderating this conversation, both through

making more effective use of traditional printed media and as a medium of communication in its own right.

**1. Printed Media.** The first introduction many humanists have to computers is as word processors. As mundane as this application seems, it has led to a dramatic increase in the ease and speed of moving ideas from mind to page. Corrections and modifications are much simpler to make than formerly, and many publishers can work directly from an author's machine-readable text, thus avoiding the time-consuming and error-prone rekeying of a manuscript for typesetting.

We have discussed concordances and plots as tools for analysis. The ease with which they can be tailored for a specific purpose also makes them attractive as aids to communicate to a reader the evidence that supports an author's arguments, while imposing an added responsibility on the author to ensure that they are clear and not misleading.

**2. The Computer as Medium.** As well as producing material for printed distribution, computers can themselves be the medium of scholarly activity. Perhaps the earliest example of this tendency is computer-aided instruction. For basic drill of vocabulary and paradigms in language study, computers offer a flexible version of the venerable flash card. More recent technologies that are transforming the computer into a medium of the scholarly conversation include networking and hypermedia.

**a. Networking.** Networking, the linking of computers together so that they can exchange information, is already a major means of daily scholarly interaction in the sciences. Electronic mail (Email) bypasses letterhead, secretaries, stamps, envelopes, and postal carriers, carrying messages directly from one scholar's computer to another's, with same-day service even across the ocean. Email is faster and more reliable than conventional mail, and (unlike telephone conversation) does not necessitate both parties being free at the same time.

The computer conference or bulletin board is the computer equivalent of a discussion. In its simplest form, it consists of a series of comments by participants on a topic of interest. Later participants can read the comments of earlier participants and offer their responses and observations. Networking permits people who are widely separated geographically to take part in the discussion. The participants usually do not take part at the same time. As with Email, the computer conference holds a record of the discussion so that at any time participants can review comments and add their own.

As more scholars prepare their research in electronic form, it becomes increasingly feasible for publishers to support submissions by networking. In the sciences, research is actively under way to permit the entire process of submission, review, and correction to take place by Email, without the need to circulate paper. The next step is the electronic journal, distributed to the final readers by network rather than on paper.

**b. Hypermedia.** Hypermedia is the generic term for a collection of information items linked together so that a user may move from one item to any of several associated with it, depending on need and interest. If the information items are restricted to text, one speaks of "hypertext." An encyclopedia is a simple example of hypertext, with the articles constituting the information items and the movement from one item to another guided by cross-references embedded in the articles. The fundamental characteristic of an information repository structured as hypermedia is that it helps the user move through it in many different sequences, rather than in a fixed linear order, as is customary with books and journal articles.

Exhibit 7 (see Fig. COM.07) illustrates SymEdit, one application of hypertext technology. Biblical literature makes extensive use of symmetrical repetitions of words, grammatical constructions, and ideas to define the kinds of structure that paragraph markings and chapter headings provide in modern literature (Parunak 1981b). To discover and analyze such structures, scholars commonly photocopy the passage, cut it into pieces with scissors, and try to arrange the pieces to bring similar sections close to one another for comparison. While the resulting displays are extremely useful, the mechanical manipulations needed to produce them are tedious and clumsy. SymEdit permits an analyst to arrange a text in columns (corresponding to parallel passages) and rows (which contain repeated features). Rows can be labeled to identify the features that they isolate. Individual rows and columns can be collapsed or expanded to bring other material closer together for comparison. The exhibit shows the beginning of four panels in

Deuteronomy 12, each of which follows the same structure in legislating worship at a central sanctuary. By expanding the one-dimensional structure of the printed text into two dimensions, SymEdit helps the scholar to identify and analyze repetitive structures. SymEdit is also useful in forming critical comparisons and in studying parallel narrative accounts.

While hypertext has existed for years in the form of encyclopedias, computer technology makes it more compact, easier to use, and more versatile. The volume of information contained in an entire 20-volume encyclopedia can be stored in electronic form on an optical disk less than six inches in diameter and an eighth of an inch thick. A computerized hypertext system can jump quickly from one item to another on such a disk with the touch of a key, without the need for the user to turn pages or change volumes. Because the disk can store sound and graphic images as well as text, such a system can provide full hypermedia.

For example, the CD-Word system currently under development at Dallas Theological Seminary will permit a user who is reading a biblical text in electronic form to call up various translations of a verse, to jump to a lexicon entry for any word in the text, or to access selected commentaries, grammars, and encyclopedias on a passage under consideration. The objective is to provide in a single computer system an environment comparable to that provided by a shelf of books and a desk in the conventional study. The CELLAR system, a design of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, will enable a linguist to sort field notes, organize lexical studies, and compare multiple translations while preparing a new rendering of a biblical text. Some designs permit users to add their personal annotations to the network of information, just as we now write notes in the margins of paper texts.

At first, such systems will be stand-alone electronic libraries, but the ultimate vision of hypermedia (Nelson 1987) couples the notion of linked information units with computer networking to anticipate a world in which the global resource of human knowledge is accessible from any computer.

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**CONANIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *kônanyāhû* (כּוֹנַנְיָהוּ)]. Var. JECONIAH. The name of three men mentioned in 2 Chronicles. It means "Yahweh establishes or strengthens."

**1.** A Levite during the reign of Hezekiah who was given charge over the contributions, tithes, and other gifts given to the newly rededicated temple (2 Chr 31:12–13). His brother, Shimei, was appointed as his immediate deputy along with 10 assistants. One of them was Benaiah, who appears in 2 Chr 35:9 as a variant reading but is absent from the MT. The Masoretic marginal note (the *kĕtîb-qĕrê*) records an orthographic variant spelling omitting a *waw,* which indicates a scribal change from the *polal* ("Yahweh is strengthened") to the *qal* ("Yahweh strengthened") stem of the verbal root *kwn* (*HALAT,* 444). This could be for theological reasons (Yahweh could hardly need to be strengthened or made righteous) or the change could be a dialectical difference in the pronunciation between the two vowels *ā* and *ô* or a historical difference (early vs. a modernized pronunciation).

**2.** A second person of that name with the same *kĕtîb-qĕrê* mentioned above lived during the time of Josiah, king of Judah (2 Chr 35:9). He was a leader of the Levites, along with his two brothers (or colleagues) and three others mentioned in the text. They contributed 5000 lambs and 500 head of cattle for the Levites' use during the first celebration of the Passover in Josiah's reign. In the parallel account in 1 Esdr 1:9, Jeconiah occurs as an alternate form of this name.

**3.** An official and judge from the levitical family of Izhar appointed during the time of David (1 Chr 26:29). His administrative duties along with his sons specifically had to do with matters outside of the temple area in the nation at large (*Chronicles* ICC, 288). His name is also spelled with a *šĕwâ* in the first syllable with the LXX and Vg apparently reading an original long *ā* instead.
KIRK E. LOWERY

**CONCEPT OF OUR GREAT POWER, THE** (NHC VI,*4*). *The Concept of Our Great Power* (NHC VI,*4*) is the fourth tractate of codex VI (pp. 36–48) of the Nag Hammadi codices. This sole witness to the text is well preserved except for minor lacunae at the tops of most pages (Parrott 1979: 6). A Coptic translation from a Greek original, the text is written in the Sahidic dialect with minor Subachmimic and Achmimic influences (Krause and Labib 1971: 48–52, 63). See also LANGUAGES (COPTIC).

*Great Pow.* preserves an apocalyptic presentation of salvation history (Wisse and Williams 1979: 291). In this history, ultimate salvation belongs to those who know "our Great Power," the supreme being discussed in the text. Their names will be inscribed in the great light, and they will survive the final purification by fire, which will consume the flesh and everything that burns (matter).

*Great Pow.* incorporates themes from Genesis, the Jesus traditions, and apocalypticism in a triadic periodization of history. The three periods, which are presented in the text in two versions, include the aeon of the flesh (antediluvian period), the psychic aeon (the postdiluvian period), and the aeon that is to come. The creation of the universe began the aeon of the flesh. This aeon, during which the soul was created, drew to a close with the call of Noah and the flood. The presentation of the psychic aeon, which then ensues, includes the origin of evil, the appearance of the Savior (Jesus), his descent into Hades to humiliate the archons, the rise of an imitator or antichrist, and the final consumption by fire. This

consumption will usher in the aeon to come, which is the unchangeable aeon. Matter and flesh will be consumed by the fire and the pure souls (pneumatic) will be joined by the souls that have undergone punishment and become pure (psychic).

The text has been styled as a Christian gnostic apocalypse (Wisse and Williams 1979: 292). While no distinct gnostic cosmogony is outlined, themes and imagery abound which fit into a gnostic world view. The god of Genesis, for example, is called the "father of the flesh" (38,19).

The clarity of the account is clouded by grammatical and logical inconsistencies, the source of which can be traced to the complex literary history of the text (Wisse and Williams 1979: 291–92) and the Coptic translator's failure to fully understand the Gk *Vorlage* (Fischer 1973: 169). The use of the term *anomoean* (40,7; literally meaning "dissimilar things"), if understood as a reference to the Anomoean heresy, offers a *terminus a quo* after the middle of the 4th century. The reference, however, may be a later interpolation (Wisse and Williams 1979: 292, 304). Linguistic analysis has suggested an earlier date for the original text (Cherix 1982: 6, 62).

*Great Pow.* offers a valuable example of the syncretistic use of Jewish, Greek, and Christian elements in the formation of a periodizing apocalyptic salvation history. It illustrates the far-ranging influence of apocalyptic ideas in the early Christian era and their compatibility with gnostic beliefs in certain circles. The complex literary history of this text, if properly understood, could offer valuable insights into the development of apocalyptic ideas in Jewish, Christian, and gnostic circles.

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JAMES E. GOEHRING

**CONEY.** See ZOOLOGY.

**CONFLATE READINGS IN THE OT.** Conflation is the combination of readings from different texts or parts of a text. More specifically, conflate or double readings in a ms combine two or more variants from two or more mss. These alternative readings can be found in the Hebrew ms tradition (MT, Dead Sea Scrolls, medieval mss), and/or in the ancient versions of the OT, as well as in biblical quotations in Apocrypha, NT, patristic, and rabbinic literature. Conflation by copyists of doubly transmitted texts in related to conflation as a redaction technique, by which two or more variant accounts of the same subject were synthesized by an editor or redactor. There are numerous examples in the Samaritan Pentateuch (e.g., the theophany at Mt. Sinai, Exodus 20), in biblical mss from Qumran (the Sabbath Command, 4QDeut$^{n}$ 5:12–15), in the ancient versions (the two LXX accounts of the rise of Jeroboam in 1 Kgs 11:26–12:24 and 12:24a–z), or in other extrabiblical literature (*Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll*).

Double readings may have developed early in the composition and transmission process of biblical books. They may witness to different oral or written traditions or to elements introduced in the process of composition or redaction of a biblical book. Conflate readings reflect the textual pluralism that characterizes the history of the biblical text before its standardization around the end of the 1st century A.D. They prove that copyists had great respect for every existing variant reading transmitted in the mss.

This phenomenon is frequent in parallel texts (2 Kgs 18:13–19:37 and Isaiah 36–37, or 2 Kgs 24:18–25:21 and Jeremiah 52), in different versions of a given text (2 Samuel 22 and Psalm 18 contain conflate readings), and it is common in the parallel books of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. Conflate readings occur mostly in later texts that combine variants of earlier texts or multiple mss: in Isa 37:9, 1QIsa$^{a}$ *wyšm*ʿ

*wyšwb* and LXX *kai akousas apestrepse* combine MT *wyšmʿ* ("he heard it") and 2 Kgs 19:9 *wyšb* ("again").

Double readings are discovered by comparing two or more witnesses of a same text. They are best observed when each item is preserved independently in different textual witnesses: in 2 Sam 22:43, the MT combines two variants *ʾdqm ʾrqʿm* ("I crushed them, I mashed them"). The LXX$^{B}$ text preserves only the first reading and 4QSam$^{a}$ the second. Another characteristic is that one of the two items is sometimes ignored in a part of the textual tradition, because it is a secondary development dependent on the older item: in Ezek 1:20 the MT adds *šm hrwḥ llkt … šmh hrwḥ llkt,* repeating the phrase "wherever the spirit wanted to go." Some Heb manuscripts, LXX, and Syriac do not contain the second phrase.

**A. Classification**

Conflate readings can be classified according to different criteria, such as their sources, the extent of the duplication, their location in the sentence, their content, and the particular text-critical phenomenon involved. A comprehensive presentation of these different types of conflate readings follows:

(1) Variant spellings. 1QIsa$^{a}$ (1,1) has the Masoretic reading *bymy,* "in the days of," miscorrected toward the Aramaic morphology by superscribing a *waw* above the first *yod* (Talmon 1964: 78). In 1 Sam 10:19 the Targum reading *lw lʾ* ("to him: 'No!' ") combines the MT *lw* and *lʾ,* the equivalent of LXX *ouchi.*

(2) Different vocalizations. Two possible vocalizations of the same Heb consonantal text may generate two readings. In 1 Sam 11:5 and Gk Lucianic *prōi katopisthen tōn boōn* ("early, behind the oxen"), followed by the OL *(mane—post boves),* interprets *hbqr* as both Heb *habbōqer* ("the morning") and Heb *habbāqār* ("the oxen").

(3) Variants in the consonantal text. 1 Sam 10:27 *kmḥryš* ("like someone who keeps silent") is a corruption of *kmw ḥdš* ("about a month"). This reconstruction is attested by 4QSam$^{a}$ and suggested by LXX *hōs meta mēna,* which equals Heb *kmḥdš* (see F. M. Cross 1980; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 199–200; for a different opinion Barthélemy 1982), however, the Gk Lucianic conflates both readings, *kai egenēthē hos kōpheuon kai egeneto meta mēna hēmerōn,* "and he was like someone who keeps silent and a month later …"

(4) Syntactical alternatives. The MT of 1 Sam 23:20 makes a syntactic break after *rd* (*lrdt rd wlnw,* "to come down, come down! And it will be our task …"), while the OG agrees with the Heb reading of 4QSam$^{b}$ in making no break there (*lrdt yrd ʿlynw,* "to come down, let him come down to us"), and the Syr essays a conflation of both readings. McCarter (*1 Samuel* AB, 377) and Barthélemy (1982) come to opposite conclusions about the "original text" of this verse.

(5) Scribal errors. The OG translation of Judg 1:15, "and Caleb (Heb *klb*) gave her according to her heart (Heb *klbh*)" may have resulted from an accidental dittography in the tradition represented by the OG. The opposite occurrence, haplography, is also possible in the MT. In 2 Sam 19:8, LXX$^{B}$ combines MT *wrʿh* ("and will be worse") with the erroneous LXX reading *wdʿh* ("and know").

(6) Juxtaposed synonymous expressions. One expression is sometimes supplemented by another which has the same or a similar meaning and which is probably intended somehow to explain the first. In Isa 51:17 and 22 the *hapax legomenon qbʿt* ("bowl") is followed by *kws* ("cup"), which is omitted in the LXX and the Syriac and is generally agreed to be an explicative gloss (Elliger 1974: 131). Such conflation of synonymous pairs is frequent in the longer text form of the book of Jeremiah transmitted by the MT and is missing in the shorter text form reflected by the LXX. MT of Jer 1:15 adds the first item of the pair *lkl mspḥwt mmlkwt* ("all the clans of the kingdoms"), which is lacking in the LXX *egō sugkalō pasas tas basileias* ("all the kingdoms"); the second item of the pair *qṭr—ʿbd* is added in MT Jer 44:3, *llkt lqṭr lʿbd lʾlhym ʾḥrym* ("to go to burn incense, to serve other gods"), the LXX attesting the shorter reading, *poreuthentes thumiąn theois heterois* ("… to burn incense to other gods"). Also the conflation of juxtaposed pronominal and nominal variants is frequent in Jeremiah. Personal names are extensively filled out in the MT as in Jer 41:3 *ʾtw ʾt gdlyhw* ("with him with Gedaliah"); OG omits the nominal variant. Occurrences of expressions containing a common and an uncommon word are a particular type of juxtaposition: in Isa 11:6 the older Gk reading *boskethesontai* reflects an uncommon Heb verb, probably

*ymrʾw,* "shall grow up" (1QIsa[a] *ymrw*); the alternative reading in the same verse *kai tauros* translates a more common noun *wmryʾ,* "the fatling" (MT 4QIsa[c]).

(7) Attraction of an associated text. In Gen 17:14, "if the flesh of his foreskin has not been cut away," the SamPent and LXX *tę̄ emerą tē ogdoę̄* add *bywm hšmyny,* "on the eighth day," from Lev 12:3 to specify the day of the circumcision.

(8) Assimilation of parallels. In 2 Sam 3:23 the Syr combines MT *hmlk* ("the king") and 4QSam[a] (LXX *dauid*) *dwd,* "David." The reading "David" may be an assimilation to 20:21 (Barthélemy 1982) or, on the contrary, MT may have substituted "the king" in anticipation of v 24 (Ulrich 1978; McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 109).

(9) Variant locations. Jer 6:13–15 is repeated in 8:10–12, but the OG omits the latter verses.

(10) Exegetical development. The Gk Lucianic in Ezra 6:4 and the A text in 6:24 *kainon enos,* "new one," combine the MT reading *ḥdt* (Aramaic equivalent of *ḥdš,* "new") and the OG *hd* ("one"), which seems to be an exegetical development.

The components of a double reading may be placed side by side, connected with the copulative *w-,* or could form a single syntactical whole. 1QIsa[a], *ʿd ykyn wʿd ykwnn,* "until he establishes and sets up," preserves two variants connected with *w-,* of which MT knows only the first. The MT of 2 Sam 22:38–39, *ʿd klwtm wʾklm,* embraces two readings which grammatically adjust the text: *ʿd klwtm,* "until finishing them," and *ʿd (ʾšr) ʾklm,* "until I finished them." One of the alternative readings may also be placed outside the syntactical context at the end of the sentence. Conflate readings could also enter into the text from marginal or interlinear notations. In Isa 21:17 1QIsa[a] has *gbwry qdr,* "heroes of Kedar," but the word *bny* has been inserted above the line, bringing the shorter reading in line with the conflate MT *gbwry bny qdr,* "the heroes of the sons of Kedar" (Talmon 1964: 119).

The purpose of textual criticism is to establish a critical text by ridding it of all conflation. This is true for the LXX translation and for nonbiblical classical literature. But as far as the Hebrew biblical text is concerned, this is by its very nature a "variant text." Its formative period extended in some books for many centuries and continued even when the textual transmission had already begun. The variant interpretations to which the text was subjected have also left their traces in the text. Therefore the task of editors and critics is not to reduce the plurality and diversity of variants and doublets but to take account of all of them and to try to explain their origin and meaning. Particularly in cases of pairs of synonymous readings, which combine expressions used alternatively in a given context (*ʾdm-ʾys,* "man"; *ntn—śym,* "to give, to put"), neither term can be said to claim textual primacy. Textual and stylistic aspects are here intimately connected (Talmon 1975: 344–57). Conflate readings help the critic in examining phenomena that may have occurred at three different levels in the history of the text. It is not always possible to decide to which of these three levels a given phenomenon is to be assigned.

**B. Conflation in the Hebrew Text**

Conflation may arise at three different phases in the history of a text. The first is the process of literary formation. At times conflate readings derive from parallel traditions. By inserting the words *wyʿl ʾbytr,* "and Abiathar came up," in 2 Sam 15:24 the redactor blended two traditions which attributed the honor of carrying the ark to different priests, Zadok or Abiathar (Talmon 1960: 189); an editor may also have attempted to remove the reference to Abiathar from the context (Wellhausen 1899: 197).

A second phase at which conflation may arise is the editorial process. The readings of 1 Sam 18:6 *bbwʾm,* "When they came," and *bšwb dwd,* "When David returned," are editorial insertions ignored in the LXX. Their purpose is to connect the following section with two preceding episodes: (1) women came out to meet King Saul on David's return after slaying Goliath the Philistine (17:54); (2) women came out at the approach of Saul and David after their meeting at court (17:55–18:5, omitted in the OG).

The third phase is that of textual transmission. In 2 Sam 13:39, the Targum *npsʾ ddwyd mlkʾ,* "the spirit of David the king," and Gk mss *to pneuma tou basileōs Daueid* combine the OG *to pneuma tou basileōs,* "the king's enthusiasm," which is confirmed by 4QSam[a] *řaḥ hmlk,* "the spirit of the king," and MT *dwd hmlk,* "David the king." The MT reading is a secondary development, because the verb agrees with *řaḥ* (feminine), not with the name "David." Different types of textual changes may occur. In 2 Sam 18:3 the

Targum *ʾry kʿn ʾt ... wkʿn,* "for you … and now," combines the MT and OG reading *ky ʿth = hoti kai nun* ("for now") and a proto-Masoretic reading *kyʾth* ("but you"), which is reflected by $^{B}$ *hoti su* and seems more suitable to the context. Many texts have additions. The Vg of Jer 28:8 reads *et de adflictione et de fame,* which conflates MT *wlrʿh,* "and affliction," and *wlrʿb,* "and famine," supported by many Heb mss. This variant is due to the influence of the following *wldbr,* "and pestilence," which adapts *rʿh* to the usual pair *rʿb* and *dbr;* both words *(wlrʿh wldbr)* were successively added to an older and shorter text reflected by the OG. Enclosed glosses creep into texts, too. The conflate variants in 1 Sam 2:31b *mhywt zqn bbytk* ("so that there will not be an old man in your father's house") and 32b *wlʾ yhyh zqn bbytk* ("and there will not be an old man in your house") form a resumptive repetition that encloses the gloss of v 32a, omitted by.

**C. Conflation in the Versions**

The conflate readings present in the versions can have arisen in the Hebrew original/s (Vorlage), in the translation process, or along the textual transmission of the version. It is not always possible to establish a clear distinction between these different levels.

Double readings occur in the Hebrew original(s). A translator or a later reviser may have interwoven two renderings drawn from different MT variants. In 2 Chr 23:14, LXX *kai exēlthen ... kai eneteilato* conflates MT *wywṣʾ,* "brought out," and 2 Kgs 11:15 *wyṣw,* "gave orders to," which is the older reading. One part of the translation may be based on the MT, while another item may translate a divergent non-Masoretic original. For example, in 2 Sam 18:14, OG *dia touto arxomai* (Heb *lākēn ʾaḥălla,* "therefore I shall begin") was supplemented by the proto-Theodotionic reviser with a more literal rendition of the MT *loʾ kēn ʾōḥîlâ=ouch houtōs menō,* "Not thus shall I tarry." A particular type of conflation is that produced because of different interpretations of the Hebrew Vorlage: the LXX of 2 Sam 21:22 *tōn giganton en geth tō rapha oikos,* "of the giants in Gath, to Rapha a house," combines two variants *bgt,* "in Gath," and *byt,* "house," by confusing *g* and *y.*

Double translation is also used as a translation technique. Two alternate renderings or independent equivalents in the target language represent a single parallel item in the parent text. This type of change is to be distinguished from exegetical amplifications or glosses. In Exod 3:8 the verb *lh ʿlwtw mn ... ʾl,* "to bring them up out … into …," is translated in the Greek with two verbs *exagagein* and *eisagagein* in order to express the two aspects provided by the Hebrew verb.

The same Hebrew word may be rendered by two equivalents with the same meaning. These equivalents may be: (1) synonymous readings, as in Exod 22:16 where the verb *mʾn ymʾn,* "he absolutely refuses," is rendered by two equally appropriate verbs *ananeuōn ananeusē kai mē boulētai,* "he absolutely refuses and does not want"; (2) a rendering in good Greek alongside a literal one: In 2 Kings the OG translates the Heb *yhwh ṣbʾwt,* "Lord of the hosts," by *kyrios pantokratōr,* "Lord Almighty" (attested by the Gk Lucianic in 2 Kgs 19:15; 20:16), corrected by the proto-Theodotionic reviser to *kyrios tōn dynameōn,* "Lord of the hosts" (2 Kgs 3:14; 19:31); (3) a regular translation accompanied by a transliteration, 1 Sam 24:23 MT *hmṣwdh,* "the stronghold," is rendered *tēn Messara stenēn;* or (4) it is replaced by a transliteration, 2 Kgs 25:13, 16 *mknwt,* "the trolleys," is rendered by the OG *baseis,* corrected to *mechonoth* in the proto-Theodotionic recension.

This kind of conflation can sometimes be interpreted in different ways, either as preserving an original longer reading or as the result of an inserted gloss. In 1 Sam 16:20, MT *ḥâm̃r,* "ass," appears transliterated in LXX as *gomor,* reflecting the vocalization *ḥōmer.* The Gk Lucianic *kai elaben Iessai onon kai apetheken auto gomor artōn,* "Jesse took an ass and ladened it with an omer of bread," and the similar OL *et accepit lesse asinum et imposuit super gomor panis* may preserve here an original longer reading *ḥmwr wyśm ʿlyw ʿmr lḥm* (McCarter, *1 Samuel* AB, 280), or may combine the LXX reading, "took an omer of bread," and a glossed reading attested by the Syr, "took an ass and ladened it with bread" (Barthélemy 1982).

The same Hebrew word is sometimes translated by two equivalents with two different meanings, either for semantic considerations, as in Dan 2:11 *yqyrh=barys esti kai epidoxos* ("heavy" and "esteemed"), or because of different etymological derivations, as in Prov 6:3 *rʿk=kakōn dia son philon* ("the evil through

your fellow"), where *r‹k* is derived from *r‹‹,* "evil," and *r‹h,* "fellow," or according to two different traditions of translation, as in Isa 41:7 "*p‹m=hammer*" and "at the right time," where the Targum has *bqrns› zmn›,* "with the mallet, then," and LXX *sphurē ... pote,* "hammer … then" (Elliger 1974: 134).

A translator who is careful to render his Vorlage as literally as possible is not expected to have recourse to double readings. On the contrary, a free or nonliteral translation like the LXX of Isaiah, which borders on the Midrashic, may be suspected of using such a technique.

Double readings arise in the transmission process of the versions. A copyist or reviser may have interwoven two renderings drawn from different sources. This conflation is characteristic of the Gk recensions, particularly of the Lucianic. In elucidating the priority of one or another of the two renderings, Lagarde's criterion is applied: the free translation is generally older than the literal one. Similarly, the item that translates a divergent Hebrew Vorlage is generally to be preferred to the item based on the MT. This is in accord with a tendency present in the later LXX books to produce a more literal rendition and with a similar tendency of the Gk recensions to bring the original text in line with the increasingly authoritative Hebrew text which served as the base for the Vorlage.

The components of a double translation are usually located next to each other and connected with a copula *(kai).* Sometimes they appear unconnected, as in 1 Kgs 3:25 *hyld,* "the child," *=to paidarion to thēlazon,* "the child the sucking baby." They may also be interwoven with one another, creating a genitive relation between them, as in Josh 9:22, the MT *bqrbnw yšbym=egchōrioi (este) tōn katoikountōn en ēmin,* "the inhabitants of the country, who live among us."

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JULIO TREBOLLE

**CONJURING.** See MAGIC (OT).

**CONQUEST OF CANAAN.** See ISRAEL, HISTORY OF.

**CONSCIENCE.** The idea of a human conscience "has existed over since the final verdict of guilt was spoken within man himself, when the true Furies were recognized as the consciousness of guilt" (Dibelius and Conzelmann *Pastoral Epistles* Hermeneia, 19). According to Gooch (1987), the Church has developed three distinct concepts of conscience (Gk *suneidēsis*) as morality's "inner voice": there is (1) a minimal sense by which the term refers to one's self-consciousness (derived from its earlier cognate for "consciousness," *suneidos*) or private knowledge (from the reflexive for knowing one's own knowledge, *sunoida emautō*); (2) a more robust notion where *suneidēsis* refers to "the pain of recognizing that one has done something wrong or bad" (Gooch 1987: 245; also Pierce 1955); and (3) the more recent and

common use of *suneidēsis* as an autonomous agent; the repository of moral convictions, which legislates actions in accord with God's will.

**A. Background**

The first meaning of *suneidēsis* is also earliest and has its origins in popular Hellenistic usage (Maurer *TDNT* 7:898–907; Davies *IDB* 1: 671–74). Although not prominently used prior to the 1st century B.C.E. (e.g., *suneidēsis* does not appear in Aristotle's *Ethics*), the term was used to describe in a general way a person's moral self-awareness. The conscience was that part of the inner person which continued to judge human actions—usually wrong (a "bad" conscience; Xen. *Ap.* 24). Such a judgment derives from a rational nature and does not have its direct source in a deity (although one's "nature" may be traced to God). Further, conscience bears witness in an immediate sense to a particular act rather than preparing for it to do right or wrong.

From the 1st century on, *suneidēsis* is used more frequently, especially by the Latin rhetoricians, and was taken up into the language of philosophical ethics, most notably by the Stoics (although see Davies *IDB* 1: 671–76). However, its meaning remained essentially the same: an inherent capacity which allows a person to act in accord to what he or she knows is right. Cicero and then Seneca did speak of a "good" conscience *(conscientia)* as directive toward the happy life—a point also made by Epicurus. While not a central notion in Stoicism, Epictetus speaks of conscience as that faculty which helps to override moral timidity and do what one knows is good (cf. *suneidos, Diss. 3.22.94).*

The term also appears in Hellenistic Judaism, especially with Philo, who uses *suneidēsis/suneidos* in common with the Greco-Roman world. However, Judaism's usage carries a religious nuance and is informed by their Scriptures. Thus, the conscience bears witness to biblical truth and produces pain when Torah is not observed. Maurer further argues that Philo's positive use of the notion is in line with the Wisdom tradition in that the truth to which the conscience bears witness directs, even converts, a person onto the path which leads to *šalom* (911–13).

Philo did, however, appropriate the language of conscience from its secular usage, since the OT (LXX) use of the *sunoida* family is quite sparse. That the OT does not have a word for conscience astonishes some but can readily be understood by the Bible's general resistance to an introspective and autonomous anthropology (cf. Stendahl 1976): truth is revealed by God and the individual is encircled (and so limited) by a community covenanted with God and itself. The RSV does translate the Heb *lēb,* "heart," as "conscience" in 1 Sam 25:31, even though the LXX translation is *estai soi touto bdelugmos,* "it (the abomination) will (not) be upon yourself." (The most one can say is that *estai soi* here is perhaps idiomatic for moral self-consciousness.) Wolff (1974) contends that *lēb* "comes to take on the meaning of 'conscience' … [in that] what is being described is the reaction of the ethical judgment formed by the conscience" (51). According to OT anthropology, *lēb* is the center of human self-consciousness devoted to making decisions in accord with the word of God. In this sense, the essence of the OT idea of *lēb* is compatible with the general conception of *suneidēsis* in the Greco-Roman world; and it is this conception which provides the background for the NT idea of conscience to which we now turn.

**B. Pauline**

The connection between the OT notion of *lēb* and the NT *suneidēsis* is nowhere clearer than in Rom 2:15. For Paul, conscience is a universal human capacity which condemns or recommends one's fitness before God against an internalized Torah. As in Hellenistic Judaism, then, Paul ties conscience to the word of God (i.e., Torah) as self-conscious judge of and witness to the community's observance of it.

As with most theological and ethical convictions he inherited from Judaism, Paul further qualifies conscience by linking it to his own apocalyptical gospel, which is focused here on God's eschatological judgment at Christ's Parousia. Thus, human conscience evokes a sense of imminent and inward (*ta krypta tōn anthrōpōn,* Rom 2:16) recognition, whether one stands under God's wrath because of disobedience (which is presumed the case for those outside of Christ, Rom 1:18) or under God's righteousness because of obedience which comes by faith (Rom 2:5–11; cf.1:5). With the exception of 1 Cor 8:1–11:1, other occurrences of *suneidēsis* in Pauline texts (Rom 13:5; 2 Cor 1:12; 4:2; 5:11) reflect this more typical and only modestly refined use of the idea which was current in the Greco-Roman and Jewish worlds.

The most important and innovative text in its use of *suneidēsis* within the Pauline corpus is 1 Cor 8:1–11:1 (Jewett 1971: 421–32). In this passage, Paul seeks to settle a controversy surrounding the permissibility of eating food once offered to idols. His essential point is that under certain circumstances some believers should refrain from eating such food because of negative consequences to the spiritual nurture of other believers. The conscience's pivotal function is twofold: on the one hand, it detects those who are "weak" because they lack and have need of Pauline *gnōsis* (8:7); while, on the other hand, it guides those who are "strong" because they have such *gnōsis* and who now must use it in ways which edify the whole community—to keep the "weak" from returning to idolatry.

The first two meanings of conscience given by Gooch (1987) are discernible in 1 Cor 8:7–13: the scrupulous conscience of the "weak" is pained by the apparently idolatrous acts of the "strong" (vv 7, 12) because it has been informed by previous experiences of idolatry and so bears witness to a non-Christian morality (v 10)). Conscience, then, marks the consistency of a particular act with a particular standard of morality; and when inconsistency to that standard is perceived, pain is produced. Yet the pain produced in the conscience of the "weak" is really the result of competing conceptions of *gnōsis* which have in turn produced competing consciences between those who live either in accord with Pauline *gnōsis* or with pagan *gnōsis*. Thus, the conscience of the "weak" is not itself weak or faulty; rather, it distorts the truth, turning an innocent act (according to Pauline teaching) into an evil one, because of a misguided standard of truth (or *gnōsis* contrary to Pauline teaching).

Paul has, however, already established his working moral principle in 1 Cor 8:1: conscience must bear witness to *love* of others rather than to self-knowledge since the yield of the latter is arrogance (and naturally division) and of the former is edification (and so unity; 8:6). The truth by which any particular act is apprehended by the *suneidēsis* is relational and communal rather than individual and juridical, and is as much a problem for the theologically "strong" as for the "weak" —which seems to be the point of the ironical 8:10 (Jewett 1971: 422–23). Here, then, Paul redefines the current notion of *suneidēsis* by regarding its role as supervising one's relationship with others rather than to a particular *gnōsis*.

Thus, in 1 Cor 9:1–10:22 Paul turns to a discussion of those limits to personal freedom which make this new standard of truth clearer to his readers. Paul contends that even as he and other Christian missionaries adjust their behavior and assessment of personal rights to meet the redemptive needs of others, so also certain Corinthian believers must adjust their behavior, even giving up their rights to certain foods, to keep other believers from going back into idolatry. *The new role of conscience is to regulate this sort of moral accommodation which purposes to edify other people*—to know when and how long to abstain from those "lawful" acts which might, however, "cause a co-believer to stumble."

Paul resumes his discussion of *suneidēsis* at 1 Cor 10:23 and adds yet another meaning to the notion. Especially the use of *krinō* with the individual's *suneidēsis* in 10:29, following the succession of the formulaic *dia tēn suneidēsin* (10:25, 27, 28), suggests an element of autonomy which can help determine obedient acts ahead of time (however, see Gooch 1987: 251–52). The believer's conscience, now armed by the principle of love and delimited by the demand to preserve the commitment of those prone to idolatry, makes "judgments" whether certain behaviors will bring glory to God (10:31) by saving the many (10:33) in agreement with the apostle's gentile mission (11:1). The idea of conscience as an internal and autonomous moral agent, fully developed during the Church's medieval period, has its biblical mooring here.

The early catholicizing tendency of the post-Pauline situation is reflected by the use of *suneidēsis* in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim 1:5, 19; 3:9; 4:2; 2 Tim 1:3; Titus 1:15; cf. Acts 23:1; 24:16). The author's concerns are more institutional and less apocalyptical than found in earlier Pauline writings. Thus, the special attributes of the conscience are those found in the "man of God" who is a "good citizen" and best able to rule over the Church of *this* world (1 Tim 1:19; 3:9; cf. Acts 23:1; 24:16; Dibelius and Conzelmann *Pastoral Epistles* Hermeneia, 20). Further, the "good" conscience is shaped by the Church's traditions of the historical Paul (2 Tim 1:3), who is chief exemplar of Christian conduct and teacher of truth; only that conscience which bears witness to apostolic piety and teaching is able to distinguish adequately between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, orthopraxis and heteropraxis (1 Tim 4:2; Titus 1:15). As

such, the "good" conscience of the Church's leadership is an element of ecclesiastical *hugiēs* (esp. Titus 1:13–16), "soundness," and is therefore an essential ingredient in maintaining loyalty to "the faith" and its codes and creeds not only in a pluralistic world but also within a Church where the authority of Paul is being challenged. In this context, then, the institutional function of conscience provides for doctrinal as well as moral discernment and stability for the whole Church rather than only for its individual leader.

**C. Non-Pauline**

The concept of conscience in the Pauline corpus is essentially concerned with human relations. This also seems true of 1 Pet 2:19 and 3:16, where *suneidēsis,* bound to God's will, evaluates behavior toward outsiders. More than Paul, however, the author is concerned with the particular difficulties of living as the Church within an antagonistic (and not simply pluralistic) society; suffering is a real possibility if not already a reality. Conscience, then, is the consciousness of a certain moral particularity which belongs to a divinely elect community of "aliens and strangers" (1 Pet 1:1–2; 2:9–11) and whose common life resists certain sociopolitical standards of behavior; it is an awareness of one's own deviance with the likely result of suffering. Christian baptism inaugurates a manner of life during which the "cleansed conscience" (3:21) seeks to maintain an undivided and difficult loyalty toward God in a world where Christian conduct only marginalizes the people of God. The hope, of course, is that his path of suffering will save the baptized soul (1:3–9; 2:21–25).

The author of Hebrews assumes the essential meaning of *suneidēsis* in the Hellenistic world: the conscience "is the internal faculty within man that causes him to be painfully aware of his sinfulness and, as a result, to experience a sense of guilt" (Selby 1986: 148). However, unlike Paul, who is primarily interested in human relations, the author of Hebrews depicts a guilty conscience as the "one real barrier to an individual's approaching and living in fellowship with *God.* The guilty conscience is thus the impediment to real confidence and stability for the Christian" (ibid).

References to the conscience in Hebrews are gathered together in 9:9, 14 and 10:2, 22, and so at the focal point of the author's exposition on the new covenant. What is "new" in the relationship between God and eschatological Israel is that the work of the priestly Christ has purified Israel's conscience and has made it possible to "draw near" to God (10:22) with inner confidence (10:2; cf.4:16) and to worship God forever (9:11–14). The author's prophetic interest in internal and spiritual transformation (against Judaism's perceived interest in cultic ritual and legal rights) only intensifies the importance of a purified conscience. Judaism's priestly theocracy does not provide a lasting means of ridding Israel's guilt and making easy access to God. Because the priestly Christ offered himself up to God as a "perfect" sacrifice (Heb 7:11–8:13; 10:5–18), the conscience has been cleansed of these legalistic "works which lead to death" (9:1–10; 10:2); indeed, it is the conscience which has now been redeemed in fulfillment of Jeremiah's promise of a new covenant (cf. 8:10).

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**CONSTELLATIONS.** See ASTROLOGY IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST.

**CONSTITUTION.** See LAW (IN JUDAISM OF THE NT PERIOD).

**CONSTITUTIONS AND CANONS, APOSTOLIC.** See APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS AND CANONS.

**CONTRIBUTION FOR THE SAINTS.** A project headed by Paul whereby funds from his gentile churches were collected for the poor among the believers in Jerusalem (the recipients are variously named as "the saints," "the poor among the saints," and "the poor").

**A. The Contribution in the Letters of Paul**

There are references to this project in four of Paul's letters (Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians). It is generally thought that at least the references in 1 and 2 Corinthians and in Romans refer to different stages of one great project (Hurd 1965: 205, n. 1).

In Rom 15:25–32 Paul speaks about the final stage of the collection as he is on his way to deliver it to Jerusalem (15:26). If the significance of the collection was as a symbol of the unity of the Church (Knox 1950: 54) it may be that Paul's worry over the acceptability of the collection (Rom 15:31) is a concern over whether the Jerusalem church might consider that he had failed to provide such a symbol. The churches of Galatia, who were involved in the project at some stage (1 Cor 16:1), do not appear in Paul's last reference to the collection (Rom 15:26).

In 1 Cor 16:1–4 Paul gives instructions about the contribution. He has previously introduced the collection project to the Corinthian church, perhaps in the previous letter (Hurd 1965: 233), and is now giving more specific instructions about how to proceed, probably in order to encourage a more sizeable contribution (Hurd 1965: 202).

2 Corinthians 8 and 9 are most likely two communications written at separate times (Bornkamm 1965: 77). Betz (*2 Corinthians 8 and 9* Hermeneia, 71) has shown that 2 Corinthians 8 has some of the characteristics of a legal contract in which the mandate given to Titus is set out (2 Cor 8:6) along with a description of his credentials and the task assigned to him (2 Cor 8:16–23). Paul also commends two anonymous brothers (2 Cor 8:18, 19, 22) who, since only Titus is Paul's own partner (2 Cor 8:23b), are under the authority of Titus.

In 2 Corinthians 9, Paul's sending of "the brothers" is explained as necessary in order that the gift will be ready when he arrives with the Macedonians (2 Cor 9:1–5a). 2 Cor 9:5b expresses Paul's concern that the original intention of the contribution not be lost among the Corinthians (Betz, 96).

The three main options for explaining the reference in Gal 2:10 are: (1) that it is an exhortation to continue a standard practice that accompanied Paul's missionary activity (de Burton 1921: 99); (2) that it refers to the collection that Paul subsequently commenced as evidenced in 1 and 2 Corinthians and Romans (Knox 1950: 57); or (3) that it alludes both to the great collection referred to in these letters and to Paul's previous efforts, recorded in Acts 11:17–30, when he and Barnabas brought aid from Antioch to Jerusalem during the famine (Nickle 1966: 59).

**B. The Contribution in Acts**

There are only two references to the contribution in Acts: in 11:27–30, as referred to above, and in 24:17 where Paul tells Felix that part of the reason he has come to Jerusalem is to bring to the Jews "gifts for the poor."

**C. The Significance of the Contribution**

That Paul considered the collection project to be highly significant is indicated by the fact that he continued to push for funds even when faced with lethargic and rebellious responses (2 Corinthians 8 and 9) and was willing to risk his life to deliver it (Rom 15:31). It is generally taken that the significance the contribution for the saints had for Paul was as a symbol of the unity of the Church. The collection was meant to represent, primarily to the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem, the unity of both gentile and Jew in Christ, and thereby to be a means of reconciling the Jewish and gentile branches of the Church (Knox 1950: 54). The generosity of the gentile churches was meant to prove the validity of gentile salvation to the church at Jerusalem (Nickle 1966: 127).

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**CONVERSION.** The word "conversion" and the related noun "convert" and verb "to convert" appear infrequently in English translations of the Bible. When they do, they translate the Heb word *šûb* ("to turn") and the Gk *epistrephein*. However, understandings of what conversion involves and what it means are conveyed in diverse ways and cannot be confined to the study of particular terms. To explore the biblical understandings of conversion involves not only a study of particular words but an examination of the varying imagery for conversion.

The unclarity that surrounds the English word "conversion" complicates any discussion of conversion in the Bible. In his classic study of conversion in early Christianity, Arthur Darby Nock defined conversion as "the reorientation of the soul of an individual, his deliberate turning from indifference or from an earlier form of piety to another, a turning which implies a consciousness that a great change is involved, that the old was wrong and the new is right" (Nock 1933: 7). While this definition adequately describes certain uses of the term, it also implicitly eliminates some changes that are customarily described as conversions (e.g., Ruth, whose conversion appears to be a matter of an allegiance to Naomi and her customs; the Ethiopian eunuch and Cornelius, neither of whom appears to undergo a radical change of consciousness). If the term "conversion" is applied more widely than Nock's definition would allow, then there are numerous biblical texts that warrant consideration as examples of conversion.

**A. Conversion in the Hebrew Bible**

Although the religion of Israel primarily concerned people who were born into Israel, the Bible also speaks of those strangers or sojourners *(gērîm)* among the people. Restrictions governed their participation in Israel's religious life (Exod 12:43–45), but they could offer sacrifices to God and, on condition that males had been circumcised, they could even participate in Passover celebrations (Num 14:13–15; Exod 12:48–49). The best-known example of a sojourner who takes Israel's God for her own is that of Ruth, who apparently acts out of her relationship to her mother-in-law Naomi.

In addition to this motif of the sojourner who converts to Israel's worship is the prominent prophetic motif of the call for Israel's return *(šûb)* to God. Two texts that illustrate this motif are Jer 3:1–4:4 and Isaiah 55. Despite Israel's faithlessness (Jer 3:1–4), she will be allowed to return and will find mercy and pardon (Jer 3:12–13; Isa 55:1–9). What is necessary is that the people sincerely repent and return to God in truth and justice (Jer 4:1–4), a move that itself requires God's strengthening of Israel (Jer 3:22) and that will in turn lead to a renewed relationship with God. This return is not a conversion in the sense of a change of religious affiliation, but the transformation called for here does coincide with part of Nock's definition.

**B. Conversion in the New Testament**

The Synoptic Gospels portray both John the Baptist and Jesus as preachers of repentance (Gk *metanoia*). While Mark comments merely that John preached "a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins," Luke and Matthew characterize John's preaching as a polemic against those who do not reflect their repentance through good deeds (Matt 3:7–10; Luke 3:7–9). In common with the prophetic motif of repentance and return to God, John's preaching declares God's final judgment on those who do not repent.

While the Synoptic Gospels also present Jesus' preaching as a call for repentance (Mark 1:15; Matt 4:17), it is Jesus' parables that reveal an implicit understanding that repentance involves a converted or transformed understanding of God. For example, several of the parables challenge conventional ways of understanding God (e.g., Luke 15:11–32; Matt 20:1–16) and thereby encourage the reinterpretation of who God is and how God works in the world. The very riddle of the parables presses for new or converted ways of thinking and acting in response to God.

Despite both the vivid accounts in Acts and its well-established place in Christian imagination, Paul's conversion occupies only a fragment of his letters. Indeed, because Paul says so little about this topic, and because he does not speak of changing religions, many students of his letters insist that it is inappropriate to speak of Paul as having experienced a "conversion," and prefer the term "call" in order to capture the

motif of the prophetic call that appears in Gal 1:15–16. It has also been suggested that the term "transformation" be used for Paul's particular conversion, since it is not a change of religions but a radical reinterpretation of his understanding of God's actions in and will for the world. This debate itself reflects the previously noted confusion about the English word "conversion."

Whatever term is applied to the change Paul experienced, the evidence about it in his letters is slender. He indicates that he was a faithful Jew whose zeal surpassed that of his peers (Phil 3:5–6; Gal 1:14). Nevertheless, his experience of the risen Jesus (1 Cor 9:1–2; 15:8–10) inaugurated a radical transformation (Phil 3:7); contained within that transformation was Paul's call as apostle to the gentiles (Gal 1:15–16; 1 Cor 9:1–2; 15:8–10). While some interpreters still see in Romans 7 an indication that Paul was driven to his change by guilt over his inability to keep the law, the predominant view is that Romans 7 reflects on some aspect of the human situation and is not an autobiographical reflection. Of the dramatic details included in Acts 9, 22, and 26, Paul says nothing, not even that he was traveling to Damascus (see, however, Gal 1:17).

When referring to the conversions of others, Paul often speaks of God as calling (1 Cor 1:2), purchasing (1 Cor 6:20), liberating (Rom 6:17–18), or giving grace (Rom 3:21–26) to human beings. This is consistent with his conviction that it is God who takes the initiative with the world in a new way in the gospel rather than human beings who act to placate or please God. When he does use the language of converting or turning to God, it is in very traditional contexts that refer to gentiles taking up the worship of the true God, such as in 1 Thess 1:9 (cf. Gal 4:9). More often, he refers to the point at which persons acknowledge God's action in Jesus Christ as "faith" or "belief" (Rom 13:11), which results in radical transformation, a transformation that is still God's gift (Rom 12:1–2).

Because Luke's second volume, the Acts of the Apostles, narrates the formation of the Church and its mission in the gentile world, it is understandable that Acts contains a number of stories of conversion, not only the conversion of Saul or Paul (Acts 9, 22, 26) but also the ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH (8:26–40) and CORNELIUS (10:1–11:18), as well as large numbers of converts who remain unnamed (e.g., 2:41–42; 4:4; 9:35, 42). The first story of the conversion of a group of people comes at the event of Pentecost and appears to present Luke's understanding of conversion, for Peter concludes his sermon with these words: "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins; and you shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit" (2:38). Later stories do not necessarily conform to this pattern, however. For example, nothing is said about the Ethiopian eunuch repenting or receiving the Holy Spirit (8:26–40). The story of Saul's conversion makes no reference to his repentance (although his behavior might be said to reflect such a change). In the Cornelius episode, there is again no reference to repentance, and here the gift of the Holy Spirit precedes baptism. This inconsistency indicates that Luke is not presenting a systematic interpretation of conversion but is employing the various accounts to weave a story of God's actions in and through the Church. Even the stories of the conversions of individuals are, in Luke's accounting, less about those individuals than they are about God.

In addition to the gospel accounts in which John and Jesus call for repentance, the language of revelation and transformation in the letters of Paul, and the narratives of Acts, some NT texts use imagery of new birth and new life to refer to conversion. This language occurs in both Jewish and pagan literature roughly contemporaneous with the NT, so that its use in the gospel of John and in 1 Peter draws on well-established religious language. The gospel of John includes a story in which Jesus says to Nicodemus: "Truly, truly, I say to you, unless one is born anew *(gennethe anothen),* he cannot see the kingdom of God" (3:3). This statement turns on a word play, since the Greek word translated "anew" in the RSV also means "from above." While Nicodemus responds to the former meaning of the word, what Jesus intends is clearly the latter. As this birth "from above" stands in its Johannine setting, it refers to life that has its origin in the Spirit, life in radical discontinuity from life in "this world," and life that involves a new relationship with Jesus (e.g., John 15:1–7, 18–19; 17:6–10). In 1 Peter the language of new birth (1:3–5, 14, 23; 2:2) helps to affirm the believer's movement inside the boundaries of a new community. As is the case of John as well, new birth in 1 Peter has ethical as well as social and theological implications, since

those who are in the community are enjoined to be holy in their conduct (1:14–15) and to act out of love (1:22–23).

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**COOPS, PIGEON.** See ZOOLOGY.

**COPPER SCROLL (3Q15)**. In March 1952 a team of archaeologists discovered in Qumran Cave 3 a scroll engraved on two copper sheets which had originally formed one whole 2.40 × 0.30 m in size (de Vaux 1953: 85–86). In 1955/56 H. W. Baker (1956) at Manchester University in England solved the difficult task of opening the brittle and heavily oxidized scroll by sawing it into segments.

Even before the scroll was opened K. G. Kuhn (1954) examined the visible part of the engraving and came to the conclusion that the scroll contained a list of hiding places of the accumulated wealth of the Essenes. Upon further examination the scroll was found to list to twelve columns 64 underground hiding places in various regions of the land of Israel. The deposits include certain amounts of gold, silver, aromatics, scrolls, and also a copy of a more detailed inventory (col. XII, lines 11–13) of the treasures.

J. M. Allegro (1960), who gained access to the newly opened scroll at Manchester, published a transcription and interpretation of it before the official edition was published. His secretive digging around Qumran and elsewhere in search of hidden treasures was severely criticized by the official team. J. T. Milik (1959), a member of the team, published a translation and commentary of the Copper Scroll and maintained that it had no connection with the Qumran Essenes. He declared the scroll a mere compilation of legendary treasures concocted by someone around 100 C.E. (cf. Baillet, Milik, and de Vaux 1962: 199–302). Many scholars were not ready to accept his conclusions. They maintained the reality of the treasures but differed as to their origin. Some ascribed them to the Essenes (Dupont-Sommer 1962: 383–89; Pixner 1983), to the temple of Jerusalem (Kuhn 1956; Rengstrof 1960: 26–28), to the Zealots (Allegro 1964), to other Jewish refugees before 70 C.E. (Golb 1980; 1985), to a collection of money for rebuilding the destroyed sanctuary (Lehmann 1964), or even to the Bar Kokhba revolt (Laperrousaz 1961; Luria 1963). These discussions were summarized by H. Bardtke (1968), Vermes (*HJP²*, 467–69), and M. Wise (1987: 232).

Despite the intricate difficulties posed by the interior structure of the Copper Scroll, a decisive argument for its dating and origin can be derived from a careful examination of Cave 3Q and its history (Pixner 1983: 334–35). In its original state the cave contained many jars with a variety of documents, which were almost completely destroyed when the outer ceiling collapsed. The few surviving fragments (Baillet, Milik, and de Vaux 1962: 94–104) are universally accepted as genuine Qumran documents. The shape of the cave and the hiding place of the Copper Scroll in it make it inconceivable that this double scroll could have been deposited at a later date while the jars with the other documents were still in place. F. M. Cross dated the scroll on paleographical grounds within the broad limits 25–75 C.E. (Baillet, Milik, and de Vaux 1962: 217–21). Its early Mishnaic Hebrew is not unique among the Qumran documents (Baillet, Milik, and de Vaux 1962: 222). The use of a precious material like copper and the prosaic, factual style of the Copper Scroll argue against a mere folkloristic composition.

Dupont-Sommer (1962: 383–84) points out that even the high sum total of the treasures (ca. 4500 talents) mentioned in the Copper Scroll does not necessarily exclude its reality (contra as J. T. Milik 1959). Since the Essenes had a community of goods and were preparing for the eschatological war (War Scroll) and the rebuilding of the temple (Temple Scroll), the amount of their common wealth is not surprising. The various assets of the community could also be considered a substitute or counterbank to the temple treasure, which the Essenes shunned (Pixner 1983: 339–40).

Since the Copper Scroll was meant to be an aide-mémoire for a secretive team of diggers, it apparently avoids well-known geographical terms. This fact makes it difficult to pinpoint the described hiding places. All scholars believe that some of the hiding places were situated around the monastery of Qumran, named Secacah (cf. Josh 15:62) in the Copper Scroll (IV,*13*–V,*14*; cf. de Vaux 1973: 93). This is another argument for the Qumran relationship of the scroll. Also Jerusalem and its surroundings, e.g., Shiloah (X,*15–16;* cf. John 9:7) and Bethesda (IX,*11–14;* cf. John 5:2), are generally (except Luria: 1963) considered as locations of hidden treasures. While Milik (1959; also in Baillet et al. 1962) and Allegro (1964) find that the caches were haphazardly distributed all over Palestine, Pixner (1983) professes to see a systematic order in their distribution: nos. 1–17 near the Essene Gate (Jos. *JW* 5.145) on the SW hill of the city, suggesting a special quarter there (Pixner 1983: 342–47; Reisner 1985); nos. 19–34 in and around Qumran; nos. 35–47 in the Yarmuk Valley area ("Land of Damascus"?; cf. CD VII,*15–19*); nos. 48–60 again around the holy city; and nos. 61–64 at diverse locations in the N of the country. The solution to the intricate problems of the topography of Copper Scroll could be of utmost interest, because it might make us understand the general distribution of Essene centers of settlement. The rather poor quality of the original photos has certainly contributed to the divergence of interpretation (Thorion 1985). A new set of pictures of Copper Scroll taken with the help of modern techniques could further advance the research of this very important document.

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BARGIL (VIRGIL) PIXNER

**COPTIC LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (COPTIC).

**COPTIC VERSIONS.** See VERSIONS, ANCIENT (COPTIC).

**COR** [Heb *kōr* (כֹּר)*; kôr* (כּוֹר)]. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**CORBAN** [Gk *korban* (κορβαν)]. The word "corban" appears in Mark 7:11 (cf. Matt 15:5), "As a man should say to his father or mother, That which you should have had from me is *corban,* that is, a gift [to God] …" Matt 15:5 has the same basic text, but without the transliterated Semitic word *cōrbān.* The equivalence *cōrbān=Gk doron* [*tou theou*], "gift [to God]," is also attested by Josephus, *Ant* 4.73, where he links it with (a) vows and procedures for gaining release from them, and (b) oaths (cf. also *AgAp* 1.167). This use is now attested in an Aramaic ossuary inscription from Jebel Hellet et-Turi (Fitzmyer

1971), which runs "everything which a man may find to his profit in this ossuary [is] an offering *(qrbn)* to God from the one within it." If it is given to God, then it is banned to men, just as appears in Mark 7:11. The terms *qrbn* and *qwnm* occur in these senses in the Mishnah and Talmud. Thus, in *m. Ned.* 1:4 we read, "If a man said, May what I eat of thine be the Korban, or 'as a Korban' or 'a Korban,' it is forbidden to him." It thus appears in (a) prohibitions of use, and (b) dedication formulas of the 1st century A.D. Further confirmation comes from the finding of a stone jar from the 1st century inscribed with the word *qrbn*, and recalling *m. Maʿaś. Š.* 3:10, "If a man found a vessel and on it was written Korban …" (Fitzmyer 1971: 96). In Mark 7:11 the word may thus represent either Hebrew or Aramaic. Matt 27:6 presents the related form, *korbanas*, probably reflecting the Aramaic emphatic state *(qwrbn)*, meaning "treasury" and thus equivalent to the Gk *gazophylakion.* The very same use of the term occurs also in Josephus, *JW* 2.175, but so far it does not seem to have been attested in 1st-century Aramaic sources.

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MAX WILCOX

**CORINTH** (PLACE) [Gk *Korinthos* (Κορινθος)]. CORINTHIAN. A city on the Peloponnesian coast of Greece (35° 56′N; 22° 56′W) where Paul met Aquila and Priscilla and where he spent eighteen months preaching and teaching (Acts 18:1–18). He later wrote at least two letters to the congregation at Corinth (1 Cor and 2 Cor; but cf. 1 Cor 5:9, 11).

**A. Geographic Setting**

The 4-km$^2$ site occupies two broad natural terraces that step up from the coastal plain to the height of Acrocorinth (575 m). This is limited on the E and W by two of the gullies that drain Acrocorinth. The 10-km wall follows the optimum defense line along the edges and is anchored by Acrocorinth. The built-up area never expanded as far as the walls; in times of danger the extra space could shelter the people and flocks of the agricultural area that fed Corinth. Long walls 2.5 km long and 1.2 km apart linked the city to the port of Lechaeum. See Fig. COR.01. Its artificial double harbor covered 460,000 m$^2$ and was bordered by 7 km of quays; only a tiny portion of the harbor area has been excavated (Roux 1958: 103). Corinth's second port, CENCHREAE, lay some 9 km to the E on the Saronic Gulf. The artificial harbor enclosed only 30,000 m$^2$. A large building dominated the N breakwater, and four blocks of warehouses were aligned along the inner part of the S mole (Scranton, Shaw, and Ibrahim 1978: 14, 41).

Control of these two harbors, and its position virtually astride the 6-km-wide isthmus linking the Peloponnese to mainland Greece, made Corinth the great crossroads of the ancient world (Strabo 8.6.20). Set on the edge of a plain whose richness was proverbial, with a tradition of high productivity, and so situated as to be able to levy a percentage on both E–W and N–S trade, the coffers of Corinth were always full. From the time of Homer (*Il.* 2.570) the adjective associated with Corinth was always "wealthy" (Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 37.36). Today the name Korinthos belongs to a small city on the Peloponnesian coast of the Gulf of Corinth 2.4 km W of the Corinth Canal. Its origins go back only to 1858 when the old city was destroyed by an earthquake. The "light of all Greece" (Cicero, *Leg. Man.* 5) is now represented by the poor village of Archaia (or Palaia) Korinthos, located 5.6 km SW of the modern city.

**B. History of Excavations**

The first excavations at Corinth were conducted by the German Archaeological Institute (Dörpfeld 1886). In 1896 the American School of Classical Studies at Athens assumed responsibility for the site and has conducted excavations there ever since. Preliminary studies appear in *American Journal of Archaeology* and *Hesperia*, and final reports in the series of volumes entitled *Corinth* (1930– ). Remains of all periods from the Early Neolithic have been brought to light. Elsewhere in the Corinthia, major excavations have been carried out at Isthmia (1952–60 and again from 1967 to 1978), and at Cenchreae (1963–68). Final reports on Isthmia have been published by Gebhard (1973) and by Broneer (1971; 1973), and on Cenchreae by Scranton, Shaw, and Ibrahim (1978).

**C. History of Corinth**

The history of Corinth is long and complex, but the fundamental distinction is between the Greek city, which came to an end in 146 B.C., and the Roman colony founded by Julius Caesar in 44 B.C.

The origins of the city in the 5th millennium and its subsequent development to the 4th century B.C. have been documented by J. B. Salmon (1984). For long centuries Corinth enjoyed unusual social and political stability, partly because of excellent management by the ruling class, who anticipated rather than opposed change, and partly because of an exceptionally diversified and productive economy. In addition to the celebrated Corinthian bronze (Murphy-O'Connor 1983b), the city was renowned for its ceramics, textiles, shipbuilding, and architecture. In order to develop E–W trade a canal joining the Corinthian and Saronic gulfs was mooted as early as the 6th century B.C. (Diog. Laert. 1.99). When the project came to nothing, Periander (ca. 625–585 B.C.) built a paved road (the *diolkos*) across the isthmus, which permitted light ships to be hauled from one sea to the other on a platform running in grooves cut in the pavement. Excavations have revealed a dock and 460 m of the road on the W side of the isthmus. The width varies from 3.4 to 6 m, and the grooves are 1.5 m apart (Wiseman 1978: 45–46). Repaired many times, it remained in use at least until the 9th century A.D., and would also have served for the movement of goods. These facilities permitted merchants to avoid the voyage around Cape Maleae, which was so dangerous as to be proverbial: "When you double Maleae forget your home!" (Strabo 8.6.20).

Such success inevitably provoked the envy of those less fortunate in their location and less industrious in their habits, and so in the 5th–4th centuries B.C., Athenian writers made Corinth the symbol of commercialized love. Aristophanes coined the verb *korinthiazesthai*, "to fornicate" (*Fr.* 354). Philetaerus and Poliochus wrote plays entitled *Korinthiastēs,* "The Whoremonger" (Athenaeus 313c, 559a). Plato used *korinthia korē,* "a Corinthian girl," to mean a prostitute (*Rest.* 404d). These neologisms, however, left no permament mark on the language, because in reality Corinth was neither better nor worse than its contemporaries. It was not dedicated to the goddess of love, Aphrodite (Saffrey 1985), and Strabo's story of 1000 sacred prostitutes (8.6.20) has been shown to be pure fabrication (Conzelmann 1967).

The events leading to the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C. have been summarized by Wiseman (1979: 450–62). Even though Rome had granted freedom to the cities of Greece after the Second Macedonian War (200–196 B.C.) and permitted them to unite in various leagues, it came to see the latter as a threat. In defiance of a Roman attempt to break up the Achaian League, of which Corinth was a prominent member, the league asserted its independence by going to war to discipline Sparta in 146 B.C. When Metellus reached the isthmus from the N after defeating three Achaian armies, he was joined by the fleet of the consul Lucius Mummius, who assumed command. Corinth, the bastion of Achaia, had only a ragtag army of 14,000 infantry and 600 cavalry recruited from untrained slaves and citizens to face a Roman force of 23,000 infantry and 3500 cavalry plus auxiliaries. The result of the battle on the plain was a foregone conclusion.

The looting of the city is recorded by an eyewitness, Polybius (preserved only in Strabo 8.6.23), but the inference from excavations that the city was neither totally destroyed nor completely depopulated (Wiseman 1979: 494–95) is confirmed by Cicero, who visited Corinth between 79 and 77 B.C. (*Tusc.* 3.53; cf. Feger 1952). Corinth was too natural a market center ever to be abandoned completely, and those citizens who escaped the net cast by Mummius would surely have returned (Dio Cass. 21).

The establishment of the Roman colony is attributed to Julius Caesar by a number of classical authors (all the Greek and Latin references to the colony are conveniently assembled in Murphy-O'Connor 1983a: 1–128), but only Appian gives a precise date, namely 102 years after the sack of Carthage (*Hist.* 8.136), i.e., 44 B.C. Inscriptions show that the new name of the city was Colonia Laus Julia Corinthiensis (Kent 1966: 60, 70). Since the region had been peaceful for over a century and no danger threatened, Caesar's concerns can hardly have been military or political. The economic potential of Corinth was well known in Rome (Cicero, *Leg. Agr.* 1.5; 2.51, 87; cf. E. Salmon 1969: 135), and that this was his motive appears to be demonstrated by the fact that the construction of a canal across the isthmus was part of the project (Suetonius, *Iul.* 44).

Strabo's assertion that the new settlers were for the most part freed slaves (8.136) harmonizes with Appian's view that they were *aporoi* (*Hist.* 8.136), provided that this adjective is understood to apply to those who felt themselves locked into a certain socioeconomic level through lack of opportunity. Thus they were not Romans but had been brought originally from Greece, Syria, Judea, and Egypt (Gordon

1924: 94–95). In a new colony they had everything to gain. Distance would have made their ties to former masters meaningless, and their children would be free. As a group they had the technical, financial, and administrative skills to make the project work. Their enterprise and industry are attested by the fact that, though they had to begin by robbing graves, they quickly found a lucrative market in Rome for the bronze vessels and terra-cotta reliefs that they discovered (Strabo 8.6.23). The great demand for the former prompted some of the wilier colonists to recommence the production of bronze (Stillwell, Scranton, and Freeman 1941: 273), and other traditional industries were soon reestablished.

Once the colony was securely based, it attracted entrepreneurs from Greece and the major trading countries of the E Mediterranean. Such infusions of new capital in a prime commercial situation inevitably generated more wealth, and within 50 years of its foundation many citizens of Corinth were men of very considerable means. The clearest evidence of this is an inscription commemorating L. Castricius Regulus, who assumed the presidency of the first restored Isthmian Games sometime between 7 B.C. and A.D. 3. He refurbished the facilities, which had not been used for a century, and offered a banquet to all the inhabitants of the colony (Kent 1966: 70). Commercial development demanded banking facilities, and by the mid-1st century A.D. Corinth was an important financial center (Plutarch, *Mor.* 831A).

Urban expansion is also a significant indicator of the city's increasing prosperity (Wiseman 1979: 509–30). The early colonists displaced the center of the old city to the S of the archaic temple, where a racetrack had preserved a large open space. It became the forum (Robinson 1965: 23). A number of ancient elements, e.g., the South Stoa, the Well of Glauce, the Peirene Fountain, were incorporated, but new structures quickly appeared. Ten monumental edifices were erected before the end of the reign of Augustus (31 B.C.–A.D. 14). A further six are ascribed to the long reign of his successor, Tiberius (A.D. 14–37). Thus, the city center at the time of Paul can be reconstructed with a very high degree of accuracy (Murphy-O'Connor 1984). See Fig. COR.02. The ruined walls were still visible but served only as a quarry of cut stone. In an era of great political stability their repair was seen as a completely unprofitable investment.

The Corinth that Paul knew was severely damaged by an earthquake in A.D. 77 (West 1931: 18–19). In gratitude for imperial aid in rebuilding, the city was renamed Colonia Julia Flavia Augusta Corinthiensis (Kent 1966: 42), but the original name returned in the early 2d century A.D. (Edwards 1933: 28–29). The tax-free status accorded the city by Hadrian (Wiseman 1979: 507) stimulated a building boom in the mid-2d century A.D. This was the city depicted (about A.D. 174) by Pausanias in his *Description of Greece* (2.1.1–5.5).

The most attractive residential and recreational area in Corinth was the suburb of Craneum on the lower slopes of Acrocorinth (Plutarch, *Mor.* 601B). According to legend, it was there that Diogenes the Cynic (ca. 400–325 B.C.) lived in his barrel (Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 8.5) and asked Alexander the Great to move a little to one side because he was blocking the rays of the sun (Plutarch, *Vit. Alex.* 14). In terms of recreational facilities, its only competitor was the Asclepieion and Lerna complex just inside the N wall (Roebuck 1951; Lang 1977). The latter offered a fine swimming pool, while the dining rooms of the latter could have been the setting for 1 Cor 8:10 (Murphy-O'Connor 1983a: 161–67).

When Achaia was set up as a senatorial province in 27 B.C., Corinth presumably was the capital, but this is not confirmed by any direct evidence (Wiseman 1979: 501). In A.D. 15 Tiberius attached Achaia and Macedonia to the imperial province of Moesia (Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.76, 80), but Achaia was restored to the Senate by Claudius in A.D. 44 (Suetonius, *Claud.* 25). Thus, Rome was represented by a proconsul, who served for one year from June 1 to May 30 (Dio Cass. 57.14.5). The most celebrated proconsul is Lucius Iunius Gallio (June 51–May 52), not because of his personal character or achievements but because he is mentioned in Acts 18:12 and so provides the key date in Pauline chronology (Murphy-O'Connor 1983a: 141–52). Since he did not complete his term of office (Seneca, *Ep.* 104.1), Paul must have met him in Corinth in the summer of A.D. 51.

The municipal government was a miniature of that of republican Rome (Kent 1966: 23). Citizen voters, divided into twelve tribes (Wiseman 1979: 497), elected four annual magistrates, who on retirement

became eligible for membership of the city council. These offices were open to freedmen (Duff 1928: 66). The senior magistrates were *duoviri iure dicundo,* and to date the names of 58 are known (Kent 1966: 24–26, but the dates there given are subject to revision; Wiseman 1979: 498, n. 224). In addition to juridical duties, they were the chief executive officers of the city. Those elected every fifth year were known as *duoviri quinquennales* and had the additional responsibilities of taking the census and naming new members of the city council.

The *duoviri* were assisted by two *aediles* (11 are listed in Kent 1966: 27). They functioned as city business managers and so presumably were responsible for commercial and financial litigation. An inscription in the paving of the square E of the theater, dated to the mid-1st century A.D., mentions an *aedile* named Erastus. The rarity of the name generally and its absence elsewhere at Corinth (Kent 1966: 99) strengthens the identification of this individual with the Erastus mentioned by Paul as the *oikonomos* of Corinth (Rom 16:23). *Oikonomos,* "steward," however, is not a standard rendering of *aedile,* and Erastus may have occupied a lower office when Paul wrote (Theissen 1982: 79–83). If so, his conversion to Christianity did not block Erastus' advancement. In times of food shortages a *curator annonae* was appointed to ensure supplies at his own expense (Wiseman 1979: 499).

The greatest honor that Corinth could bestow was the presidency of the Isthmian Games, which were celebrated every two years in the spring at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia. Responsibility for this, the second greatest of the panhellenic festivals, had passed to Sicyon in 146 B.C., but the new colony must have pressed the traditional right of Corinth from the beginning, since great economic benefits flowed from the presence of huge crowds (Strabo 8.6.20). It would have succeeded in this claim, however, only when some of the settlers had become sufficiently wealthy to accept the financially onerous office of *agonothetes.* Paul could have attended the games of A.D. 51 (Kent 1966: 31); it can hardly be coincidental that his first use of athletic imagery appears in a letter to Corinth (1 Cor 9:24–27). The fact that winners at Isthmia were crowned with withered celery (Broneer 1962a) may have stimulated Paul to think of salvation as an imperishable crown (Broneer 1962b).

In addition to furnishing information on the officials and benefactors of the city, inscriptions also document a shift in the official language. Those published by Kent reveal that, of the 104 inscriptions dated prior to the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117–38), 101 are in Latin and only 3 in Greek, while thereafter there are 39 in Greek and 17 in Latin. There may have been exclusive use of Latin in the early days of the colony, but Greek was the language of trade and commerce, and as the population expanded it would have become the most commonly spoken tongue. Its promotion to an official position, however, was delayed until the 2d century A.D.

The religious and ethnic diversity of the population of Corinth is graphically attested by excavated remains. The imperial cult is attested by a temple just off the forum (Stillwell, Scranton, and Freeman 1941: 168–79), but also by additions to the Isthmian Games. A series of competitions known as the Caesarea and run on a quadrennial basis was added under Augustus, and the imperial contests appear under Tiberius (Kent 1966: 28). Numerous shrines dedicated to Apollo, Athena, Aphrodite, Asclepios, Demeter and Kore, Palaimon, and Sisypus witness to the continuity of Greek cults (detailed references in *2 Corinthians* 32A, 15–18). Egyptian influence is documented by the worship of Isis and Sarapis (Smith 1977). The physical evidence for a Jewish community is late (possibly 4th–5th century A.D.) and meager, only a marble impost inscribed with three menorahs separated by lulab and etrog (Scranton 1957: 26, 116) and a cornice stone reused as a lintel and bearing the lettering [*syna*]*gōgē* hebr[*aiōn*] (West 1931: 78–79).

The complete absence of Jewish remains from the early Christian centuries is rather surprising, since Philo's specification of Corinth (and Argos), in counterdistinction to geographical regions in the rest of his description of the Diaspora, would seem to imply a particularly large and vital Jewish community at Corinth (*Leg.* 281). Jews may have fled to Sicyon in 146 B.C. (1 Macc 15:23). If so, they would have returned to join their coreligionists among the settlers of the new colony (*2 Corinthians* 32A, 20). Whether Corinth benefited by the expulsion of Jews from Rome by Tiberius in A.D. 19 (Smallwood 1981: 201–10) must remain an open question, and Luke's hint (Acts 18:2) that Jews came to Corinth as a result of the so-called Edict of Claudius in A.D. 41 should be treated with extreme skepticism (Murphy-

O'Connor 1983a: 130–40). The community would have increased significantly after A.D. 67 when, according to Josephus, Vespasian sent 6000 Jewish prisoners to work on the canal begun by Nero (*JW* 3.540). Most of them would have become freedmen eventually, because work on the canal did not last long, even though a tremendous amount of work was accomplished (Wiseman 1978: 48–50). Other Jews came from Palestine during and after the revolt of A.D. 132–35 (Justin, *Dial.* 1). On the basis of what is known about conditions elsewhere in the Diaspora, the Jewish community at Corinth would have been recognized as a *politeuma,* a corporation of aliens with permanent right of domicile and empowered to manage its internal affairs through its own officials (Smallwood 1981: 225). Jews, therefore, enjoyed a civic existence but were not citizens in the full sense, though individuals might achieve this status.

Modern writers adopt a view of the moral character of the colony that derives more from Athenian slanders of the 4th century B.C. (see above) and from Athenian envy of the 2d century A.D. (Alciphr. 15 and 24 [3.51, 60]) than from convincing contemporary data. If we exclude the evidence for gladiatorial shows (Apuleius, *Met.* 10.18), which Dio Chrysostom mentions only to indicate that the situation at Athens was worse (*Or.* 31.121), and the mildly erotic tale of a young man in the toils of a vampire (Philostratus, *V.A.* 4.25), all that remains is Apuleius' salacious tale of a woman copulating with a donkey (*Met.* 10.19–23), an act that others considered suitable for the theater (10.34–35). The fact that this episode is set in Corinth (it does not appear in the original Greek novel) owes less to reality than to Apuleius' sojourn in Athens, where he earned the title of the "Platonic philosopher" (Millar 1981). It speaks more of what he learned there than of actual conditions at Corinth. The proverb "Not for everyone is the voyage to Corinth" is used by Strabo in a sexual sense (8.6.20) but, as Horace makes clear (*Epist.* 1.17.36), the original meaning referred not to the danger of losing one's virginity but to the danger of losing one's shirt in the intense cutthroat competition of a boom town.

In choosing as one of his main missionary centers a city in which only the tough were reputed to survive, Paul demonstrated a confidence oddly at variance with his protestations of weakness. Corinth, however, offered advantages that outweighed its dangers. In addition to excellent communications, the extraordinary number of visitors (Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 37.8; Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 46.24) created the possibility of converts who would carry the gospel back to their homelands. In contrast to the closed complacency of Athens (Geagan 1979: 378–89), Corinth was open and questioning, eager for new ideas but neither docile nor passive, as Paul's relationship with the Christian community there amply documents.

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**CORINTHIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE.** A letter of the apostle Paul to the church at Corinth, found as the seventh book of the NT canon.

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A. Introduction
B. Date and Place of Writing
C. Occasion of the Letter
D. Corinthian Parties and Opposition to Paul
E. Literary Analysis
F. Theological Significance

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### A. Introduction

The letter known to us as 1 Corinthians consists of the longest fully extant letter from the correspondence between Paul and the church at Corinth founded by him. The entire correspondence, however, it not extant. A previous letter mentioned in 1 Cor 5:9 has not survived, and from letters subsequent to 1 Corinthians there are one complete and several fragmentary letters now included in 2 Corinthians (whether 2 Cor 6:14–7:1 originally had anything to do with Corinth is not clear). This situation of having substantial parts of an ongoing correspondence is unique as compared with the other letters of the apostle because in all other instances we possess only one letter (Galatians, 1 Thessalonians, Philemon) or some fragments combined in a letter (Philippians, Romans). Methodologically, this requires that all parts of 1 and 2 Corinthians be interpreted not only on their own terms but also within the context of the correspondence as a whole, as far as it is extant. This correspondence consists not only of successive exchanges of letters but also of personal visits, all of it reflecting an important period in the earliest history of the church in Corinth, a period which was decisive for the history of the early Christian mission.

1 Corinthians is characteristically different from the letters included in 2 Corinthians in a number of respects. Being not only the longest of the extant letters sent to Corinth, 1 Corinthians also has its own literary genre and function. The arguments made in this letter have no parallel in 2 Corinthians, although there are many connections between the letters. Issues and events discussed in the later letters (2 Corinthians) can be properly understood only by comparison with the previous letter of 1 Corinthians. To some degree the reverse is also true: 1 Corinthians becomes clearer when one sees from 2 Corinthians what happened to the issues and events later.

1 Corinthians is rich in historical information. The letter reports on the earliest history of the Corinthian church and contains some important clues to Paul's own biography and career as an apostle. It provides just enough data concerning Paul's opponents to generate a plethora of hypotheses as to the character and theological views of these opponents. On the whole, 1 Corinthians contains the apostle's response to the

first phase of the Corinthian crisis which threatened the very existence of that church. Scholarship, especially in the 20th century, has clarified many problems posed by 1 Corinthians, but major challenges still need to be tackled. These pertain to the literary and rhetorical aspects in particular: the problems of literary genre, function, and composition are still being discussed. Also, a consistent interpretation of the letter within the correspondence as a whole is still needed. Considerable progress has been made regarding social history (Hock 1980; Theissen 1982; Malherbe 1983; Meeks 1983); history of religions (Klauck 1982; Willis 1985); and rhetoric (Bünker 1984; Betz 1986; Welborn 1987; Mitchell 1989).

1 Corinthians is comparatively well attested in antiquity (Moffatt 1918: 114–16). *1 Clement* knows it and quotes from it (37:5; 47:1–3; 49:5), as do Ignatius of Antioch (*Eph* 16:1; 18:1; *Rom* 5:1; 9:2; *Phld* 3:3; see Schoedel *Ignatius of Antioch* Hermeneia, 9–10) and Marcion (Harnack 1924: 47–48, *79–*96). In the Muratorian Canon the two Corinthian letters head the list of the Pauline epistles. Early papyri have preserved 1 Corinthians in its entirety (esp. P 46, ca. A.D. 200) or in fragments (Conzelmann *1 Corinthians* Hermeneia, 1–2; Aland 1987: 83–102).

**B. Date and Place of Writing**

The place of composition of 1 Corinthians is clearly Ephesus, as Paul states in 16:8. The same verse indicates that the letter was composed in or near springtime, as Paul is awaiting Pentecost at Ephesus, yet plans to journey to Corinth and perhaps to winter there (16:6). Beyond the time of year, 1 Corinthians gives us no further specific information about its date of composition.

If we allow evidence from the Acts of the Apostles into the discussion of Pauline chronology, we have two other date markers, not for the composition of 1 Corinthians per se, but for Paul's visit(s) to the city of Corinth (Murphy-O'Connor 1983: 129–52; Lüdemann 1987: 202–12). However, neither of these two date markers is unambiguous.

In Acts 18:1–2 we are told that Paul, upon reaching Corinth, met Aquila and Priscilla, who had just come from Italy because the Roman emperor Claudius (41–54 C.E.) had expelled all the Jews from Rome. The Roman historian Suetonius (*Claud.* 25.4) corroborates the existence of such an event (and adds that these were disturbances at the instigation of a "Chrestus") but gives no date. Parallel accounts supplied by Dio Cassius (*Hist.* 60.6.6) and Augustine's pupil Orosius (*Hist. contra Pag.* 7.6.15–16) provide conflicting testimony in regard to the date and description of such an occurrence involving Claudius and Jews at Rome. Traditionally scholars have supported Orosius' testimony, which dates the Edict of Claudius in 49 C.E., thus roughly compatible with the term of office of Gallio (Conzelmann Hermeneia, 13; Jewett 1979: 38). Challenges to this position have recently been made by Luedemann (1984: 170) and Murphy-O'Connor (1983: 136), who prefer 41 C.E. (with Dio Cassius) for the Edict of Claudius.

In Acts 18:12–17, Paul is said to have made an appearance before the Roman proconsul of Achaia, Gallio, whose name is contained in a fragmentary inscription found at Delphi which is dated to the 26th acclamation of Claudius as emperor. The Gallio inscription permits us to date Gallio's term in office from either 51/52 or 52/53 (Conzelmann, 13). Scholars differ in regard to whether the account in Acts 18 is simply historically unreliable (Murphy-O'Connor 1983: 140) or whether Luke has fused events from more than one Pauline visit to Corinth. G. Luedemann (1984: 162–73) champions the latter position, dating Paul's initial visit to Corinth in 41 C.E. (coinciding with the Edict of Claudius) and places Paul's presentation before Gallio in 51/52 C.E. during Paul's third visit to Corinth. Generally, however, scholars have tended (with Luke) to fuse the two events and date the founding visit to Corinth (which was at least one year and a half in duration according to Acts 18:11) ca. 51 C.E. Proceeding from this date, and allowing enough time for Paul to return to Ephesus from the missionary tour of Acts 18:22–23 results in a date for the composition of 1 Corinthians in the range of 53–55 C.E. (53/54 Barrett *1 Corinthians* HNTC, 5; 54 Bornkamm 1969: 70; 55 Conzelmann, 4, n. 31; 55/56 Jewett 1979: 104).

**C. Occasion of the Letter**

In 1 Cor 3:6 Paul states that he "planted" the church at Corinth, claiming himself as its founder, while Apollos, he says, "watered" it. This accords with the traditions about the church at Corinth preserved in Acts 18 and 19. According to Acts 18:1–11, Paul arrived in Corinth and, after meeting Aquila and Priscilla, first took his message into the synagogue and persuaded both Jews and Greeks to the gospel.

Many Corinthians believed and were baptized (cf. Acts 18:8, 10). Paul encountered Jewish opposition (18:6, 12–17), and we are told that he stayed with Titius Justus, a God-fearer whose house was next door to the synagogue (18:7). Jewish opposition was not unanimous, as two synagogue leaders, Crispus (Acts 18:8; 1 Cor 1:14) and Sosthenes (Acts 18:17; 1 Cor 1:1), became Christians, but it was serious, as Paul was led before the Roman proconsul Gallio (18:12–17).

After remaining in Corinth for more than a year and a half (18:11, 18), Paul set out for Syria and other parts E with Aquila and Priscilla (18:18–22), who stayed at Ephesus when Paul moved on. While Paul was on an extended missionary tour (18:18–23), Apollos, an Alexandrian of rhetorical skill, met Aquila and Priscilla in Ephesus (18:24–26). After they had correctly instructed him in the Christian faith, Apollos, armed with a letter of introduction, journeyed to Achaia and its capital, Corinth (18:27; 19:1). Acts 19:1 explicitly states that Paul and Apollos were not in Corinth at the same time. 1 Corinthians itself demonstrates that it postdates Apollos' appearance at Corinth (1:12; 3:4–6; 4:6; 16:12). Acts 19 recounts a long sojourn by Paul in Ephesus (19:8, 19). This is usually taken to be the time when Paul wrote 1 Corinthians (Barrett, HNTC, 5; Hurd 1983: 14).

1 Cor 5:9 indicates that Paul had written a letter to the Corinthians prior to the letter we know as 1 Corinthians. Most probably this letter is lost (although some scholars identify it with the letter fragment in 2 Cor 6:14–7:1).

Much communication between Paul and the church at Corinth preceded the composition of 1 Corinthians and in fact instigated it. Sosthenes (usually identified with the leader of the synagogue who was persecuted among the Christians in Acts 18:17) is with Paul and is the co-sender of the letter (1:1). "Chloe's people" have come and reported to Paul about the divisions among the community (1:11). A letter has been sent to Paul (7:1) and Paul has also received another delegation of Corinthians including Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus (16:17). Apollos has left Corinth and is apparently also at Ephesus (16:12). It is impossible to tell which if any of these communiqués belong together (i.e., if one of the delegations brought the letter, if Chloe's people are identical with the group named in 16:17, etc.).

Within 1 Corinthians, Paul explicitly responds to the report by Chloe's people that the community was divided (1:11; cf. 11:18) and to a letter from some members of the church (7:1). The news from Chloe's people (probably confirmed by the other communiqués) is that in Paul's absence the church community has been divided into various groups. The slogans Paul cites in 1:12 show that Corinthian factions claim allegiance to Paul, Apollos, and Cephas, and perhaps Christ. Specific issues are at the heart of this divisive scene: sexual morality, civil litigation, marriage, idol meat consumption, hairstyles, proper behavior in community worship (the Lord's Supper, manifestations of the spirit), and resurrection. This is the situation to which Paul responds in 1 Corinthians.

**D. Corinthian Parties and Opposition to Paul**

The question of Paul's opponents in Corinth has been under discussion ever since Ferdinand Christian Baur (1845: 259–332; for the history of research, see Räbiger 1847; Hurd 1983: 96–107; Lüdemann 1983: 103–25). The discussion has led to famous theories not only about Corinth but also about developments in early Christianity generally (the so-called Tübingen School). Concerning the opponents in Corinth, however, there is no reliable evidence apart from Paul's polemical and apologetic arguments. This situation raises the methodological problem of how to reconstruct historical facts from strongly biased reports (Berger 1980; Welborn 1987). Basically, these questions must be distinguished: (1) What was the origin and nature of the opposition to Paul? (2) How as the anti-Pauline opposition related to the factions in the church at Corinth? (3) Do 1 and 2 Corinthians presuppose the same opposition, or has the opposition changed after 1 Corinthians?

(1) 1 Corinthians shows that the opposition to Paul originated because of his own claim to be of the same rank as the Jerusalem apostles (1 Cor 9:1–2; 15:3–11). Paul's role as a missionary apostle must not have raised objections, but his claim to higher authority and even independence must have provoked criticism even prior to the writing of 1 Corinthians. See APOSTLE. The apostle's defensive remarks in 9:1–2 and 15:8–9 presuppose such criticism, if not in Corinth, then elsewhere. Paul's self-commendation as the model to imitate (4:16; 11:1) may have intensified the opposition to him. Since there is no reason to

doubt that Paul founded the Corinthian church (1:14–17; and many passages in 1/2 Corinthians, Romans, and Acts), this in itself must have looked illegitimate to his opponents. We would know more if more information were available about what actually happened at the founding of the church. It appears that the opposition was in some way related to rivalry between different house churches. In Corinth there seem to have been several house churches (16:15; cf. 11:22) and a full assembly, called *ekklēsia* (1:2; 11:17–34; 14:23, 26).

(2) Since Paul was close to the houses of Stephanas (1:16; 16:15–17) and Gaius (1:14; Rom 16:23), perhaps the opposition arose in other house churches unfriendly to Paul (see Klauck 1981). Such rivalries may stem from their different histories and resulting outlooks. Was the church a union of several house churches? Such a possibility is even suggested by the report in Acts 18:1–17. If this can be assumed, Paul's goal for the church may have been to solidify union among divergent house churches, rather than to prevent an already healthy union from breaking up into factions. Paul's exhortation that the whole church should submit to the leadership of Stephanas (16:16) seems to show that no generally accepted leadership existed at that time.

The four factions named by Paul (1:12; 3:4, 22–23), however, do not seem to have existed at the beginning but emerged later. Because of this development the original founders (1:14, 16; 16:15–17; Acts 18:7–8) were reduced to the Paul party and found themselves competing with other parties named after Apollos, Cephas, and Christ. Little is known about the party of Apollos (1:12; 3:4–6, 22; 4:6; 16:12; Acts 18:24; 19:1); there is no evidence that this party was opposed to Paul (differently, Sellin 1982; cf. Hurd 1983: 97–99). Most likely the Cephas party was the center of the anti-Pauline opposition (1:12; 3:22; cf. 9:5; 15:5). Since Paul tries to dissociate Apollos, Cephas Peter, and even himself from the parties acting in their names, it is difficult to say how much they were involved in the disputes. Although Paul certainly was involved, Apollos does not seem to have been (cf. Paul's commendation in 16:12), while it is not certain whether Cephas ever went to Corinth (Barrett, HNTC 1–12; Hurd 1983: 99–101; Vielhauer 1975: 341–52). No doubt a difficult relationship existed between Paul and Cephas after the conflict at Antioch (Gal 2:11–14). The anti-Pauline opposition in Galatia seems to have been connected with similar opposition in Corinth, Philippi, and Rome. Greatest is the uncertainty with regard to the Christ party mentioned in 1 Cor 1:12 but not in 3:4 and 3:22. In Paul's own view, the Christ party would be the one to which all Christians belong (1:13; 3:23; also 1:2; 2 Cor 10:7). This party would be identical with the "Body of Christ," of which all Christians are "members" (1:4–9, 30; 6:15; 10:16–17; 11:3, 27, 29; 12:12–27). Therefore, did a Christ party exist in Corinth in distinction from the church and in competition with the other parties? Or was the Christ party Paul's invention, intended to show the absurdity of the other parties? Or was the slogan "but I am Christ's" (1:12) a gloss later inserted by a scribe who had well understood Paul's point? Even if Paul invented the Christ party it could also have been invented by somebody else for the same reason. The fact that this party is mentioned only once in 1:12 makes it most likely that it represents an ironic addition by the apostle as he describes the noisy sloganeering (Lüdemann 1983: 118, n. 48).

About Apollos we know almost nothing and even less about people acting in his name. The Cephas party no doubt subscribed to the Cephas/Peter ideology (3:10–15; cf. Matt 16:17–19; Rom 15: 20). In the history of research much attention has been paid to the elusive Christ party (Baur 1845: 261–322; Hilgenfeld 1865; Räbiger 1847; Lütgert 1908; Rohr 1911; Schlatter 1914; Weiss 1917: 257–58; Hurd 1983: 101–6). More recently Walter Schmithals, building on the work of Lütgert, characterized the opponents of Paul as gnostics who had an already developed gnostic mythology and theology and who identified themselves as "christs" *(christoi)* (Schmithals 1971: 199–208; 374–77). Conzelmann has rightly objected that there is not enough evidence for Schmithals' far-reaching theories. There certainly are "traces of the beginnings of the formation of what later presented itself as 'Gnosticism,' that is, 'Gnosticism *in statu nascendi*. The Corinthians could be described as proto-Gnostics" (Conzelmann, 15). Was this incipient gnosticism represented by one of the parties? Or did it characterize the theology of the whole church? Or if Reitzenstein (1978: 68–89; 426–500) is right, Paul himself may be the gnostic who shared many ideas with the Corinthian enthusiasts, so that the opposition to him may have been anti-

gnostic. If the opposition to Paul was connected with the Cephas party, Paul's critique of gnosticizing ideas may not be aimed at his opponents but at wrong conclusions drawn by some from his own earlier preaching. This assumption would explain why Paul, on the one hand, has no fundamental disagreements with the Corinthian "people of the spirit" *(pneumatikoi)* while, on the other hand, he criticizes theological propositions that could have been derived from his own teaching.

(3) While Schmithals still defends his view that the Corinthian gnostics were Paul's opponents in both letters (Schmithals 1983: 107–24), Georgi (1986) has renewed his thesis that, after 1 Corinthians, intruders in Corinth had introduced new opposition. There is no doubt that the letters give the impression that the opponents are different in 1 and 2 Corinthians, a fact insufficiently recognized by Schmithals. On the other hand, Georgi has difficulties in explaining what connections there must have been between the opponents of 2 Corinthians and those of 1 Corinthians. This question, therefore, remains unsolved.

**E. Literary Analysis**

**1. Literary Composition. a. Division Theories.** Questions regarding the number of letters Paul wrote to Corinth and their literary integrity began with Johann Salomo Semler (1725–91) and his students (Betz *2 Corinthians 8 and 9* Hermeneia, 3–36). During this debate also the unity of 1 Corinthians was questioned (for surveys and bibliography, see Clemen 1894; Moffatt 1918: 113–14; Kümmel 1975: 276–78; Vielhauer 1975: 140–41; Hurd 1983: 45–58). The theories of Johannes Weiss have been of great influence. In his commentary (1910: xl–xliii) he proposed that 1 Corinthians is the work of a redactor who created the letter out of two letters and who added his own interpolations: Letter A is the epistle mentioned in 1 Cor 5:9, sent from Ephesus and containing 2 Cor 6:14–7:1 and then 1 Cor 10:1–23; 6:12–20; 9:24–27; 11:2–34; 16:7b–9, 15–20. Letter B was sent from Macedonia and contained 1 Cor 1:1–6:11; 7; 8; 13; 10:24–11:1; 9:1–23; 12; 14; 15:1–16:7a; 16:10–14, 21–22. Redactional glosses and interpolations are, according to Weiss: 1:2; 4:17; 7:17; 11:16 (these interpolations giving the letter a "catholic" appeal); and 14:34–35; 10:29–30; 11:11–12. While these theories were meant to be merely suggestive, they became part of the ongoing discussions. By his last work (*Das Urchristentum*, published posthumously in 1917), Weiss had revised his theory, speaking now of four letters: Letter A, a rigorous exhortation to break with paganism, includes 1 Cor 10:1–23; 6:12–20; 11:2–34; 16:7(?), 8–9, 20–21(?); 2 Cor 6:14–7:1. Letter B-1 was written in response to questions from the Corinthians and included 1 Cor 7–9; 10:24–11:1; 12–15; 16:1–6, 7(?), 15–19(?). Another letter, B-2, reacts anxiously to bad news arriving from Corinth (1 Cor 1:1–6:11; 16:10–14, 22–24[?]). Letters C and D are from sections of 2 Corinthians (Weiss 1917: 271–72). While the debate subsided in the thirties, after World War II it was revived by Walter Schmithals in a number of important publications. Schmithals also kept changing his theories. In his dissertation of 1956 he proposed two letters (Schmithals 1971: 87–110, 332–43): Letter A begins with 2 Cor 6:14–7:1 and continues with 1 Cor 9:24–10:22; 6:12–20; 11:2–34; 15; 16:13–24. Letter B contains 1 Cor 1:1–6:11; 7:1–9: 23; 10:23–11:1; 12:1–14: 40 (with chaps. 13 and 14 reversed); 16:1–12. Subsequently Schmithals proposed completely different hypotheses, dividing 1 and 2 Corinthians into 9 (1973: 263–88) and later 13 letters (1984: 19–85). The period between ca. 1950 and 1980 saw the emergence of ever changing division hypotheses by Dinkler (*RGG*$^3$ 3: 17–21); Schenk (1969: 219–43); Suhl (1975: 203–13); Jewett (1978: 389–444); Schenke and Fischer (1978: 92–94; 98–100); and Senft (*Corinthians* CNT, 17–19).

These division hypotheses (also called "partition theories") respond to the following incongruities perceived in 1 Corinthians (for discussion of these arguments, see Weiss 1910: xl–xliii; Schenk 1969; Schmithals 1971: 87–101; 1973; Conzelmann, 2–5; Suhl 1975: 203–13; Jewett 1978; Senft CNT, 17–19; Hurd 1983: 43–47; Merklein 1984):

**(1) Contradictions Between 4:17–21 and 16:5–11**. In 4:17 Paul announces that Timothy has been sent, but in 16:10 he talks of Timothy's visit conditionally and with a concern for his cordial reception which was absent in 4:17. In 4:19 Paul announces that he will come "quickly" but in 16:8 says that he will remain until Pentecost in Ephesus. The section 4:16–21 with its exhortation and travel plans is characteristic of a letter-closing formula but inappropriate for the middle of a letter (Schenk 1969: 235; Schmithals 1973: 266; Senft, 18). Schmithals has made the same argument in regard to 11:34b (1973:

281). Weiss also argued that the reference in 15:32 to a past persecution in Ephesus is strange if indeed the letter was sent from Ephesus as 16:8 indicates (1910: xli–xlii).

**(2) Different Epistolary Occasions.** The visit of Chloe's people and their report of divisions in the community seems to provide a different reason for Paul's writing from the Corinthian's letter mentioned in 7:1. In 1:16 Paul refers to the house of Stephanas without further comment, whereas in 16:15–18 he suddenly announces the arrival of a delegation including Stephanas. Most importantly, in 1:11 Paul knows from Chloe's people that divisions exist in the church, but in 11:18 seems ignorant of that fact and of the seriousness of the situation (Weiss 1910: xli, 278; Schmithals 1971: 90–91). 1 Cor 5:9 speaks of a previous Pauline letter to Corinth which is lost if our canonical 1 and 2 Corinthians are unified letters. This "lost letter" has been reconstructed by scholars from 2 Cor 6:14–7:1 and sections of 1 Corinthians (Weiss 1910: xli; Schenk 1969: 221–23; Schmithals 1971: 94–95).

**(3) Literary Breaks.** It has been argued that all sections of 1 Corinthians beginning *peri de,* "and concerning …" (7:1, 25; 8:1, 4; 12:1; 16:1, 12) respond to the Corinthians' letter mentioned in 7:1, and thus must belong to the same letter by Paul, the so-called *Antwortbrief* ("letter of response") (Schmithals 1971: 91; 1973: 268–73; Schenk 1969: 229; Senft, 19). Because "it is to be expected that Paul carries through the answering of the letter without any major digressions" (Schmithals 1971: 91), all sections in chaps. 7–16 not introduced by *peri de* (9:1–11:1; 13:1–15:58; 16:13–24) must belong to a different letter or letters. In general, proponents of division theories have perceived hard transitions throughout 1 Corinthians, which call the unity of the letter into question (5:1; 6:12; 7:1; 9:1; 9:24; 10:1; 10:23; 11:2; 12:1; 13:1; 15:1). In particular, dual treatments of idol meat in chaps. 8 and 10 (one lenient and the other harsh), and spiritual gifts in chaps. 12 and 14, in each case interrupted by the intervening arguments in chaps. 9 and 13, have been of significance for such theories (Weiss 1910: 212; Schmithals 1973: 268–73).

Each division theory resolves these apparent inconsistencies by dividing 1 Corinthians (and often parts of 2 Corinthians) into several distinct letters and constructing a historical scenario to which the letter fragments correspond. Schenk (1969: 242–43), Suhl (1975: 203–13), and Jewett (1978: 398–444) have attempted to reconstruct the redactional work responsible for our canonical 1 Corinthians. The sheer variety of the division theories proposed demonstrates a lack of scholarly consensus as to both proper methodology and specific analysis of the text (Barrett HNTC, 17).

**b. Unity Theories.** As noted above, the unity of 1 Corinthians went virtually unquestioned until the late nineteenth century (Clemen 1894: 19–57). Since the rise of division theories, the unity of 1 Corinthians has more often been assumed (Marxsen 1968: 76; Bornkamm 1969: 244) or conceded (Barrett, HNTC, 14–17; Conzelmann, 2–4) than argued for. The harsh transitions in the letter have been explained as a result of pauses in dictation (Barrett, 15; Conzelmann, 3, n. 20; Fascher *1 Korinther* THKNT, 44) or of fresh news received by Paul (Barrett, 15).

The first sustained argument in favor of the literary unity of 1 Corinthians was made by J. C. Hurd (1983). Hurd contends that the variety in tone and content within 1 Corinthians is a result of the different kinds of information Paul had received (1983: 47–58). He distinguishes three stages of oral and written communication between Paul and the Corinthians prior to 1 Corinthians: (1) Paul's first preaching in Corinth and the founding of the church; (2) his previous letter to the Corinthians (5:9–10); (3) "Information in reply, partly oral and partly written, brought to Paul from Corinth by Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus and by Chloe's people. Some of this information was in the form of questions addressed to Paul by the Church; some in the form of comments on the situation at Corinth by some or all of the travellers" (Hurd 1983: 58). Hurd also proposes (1983: 213–39) that this Corinthian reply provided the outline for 1 Cor 7–16, where the apostle responds point by point to the Corinthians' questions and objections to his first letter. In sections where Paul responds to oral information (1:11–6:11 except 5:9–13a; 11:17–34), this tone is "aroused, even angry," whereas the sections which reply to the Corinthians' letter (5:9–13a; 7:1–11:16; 12:1–14:40; 16:1–9, 12) are "calm and balanced" (1983: 61–94).

Hurd's theory is significant in its attempt to prove rather than assume the unity of 1 Corinthians, but depends perhaps too much upon historical reconstruction and psychologizing. The assumption behind Hurd's thesis is surprisingly the same as Schmithals' (1971: 91), that by the *peri de* formula Paul

responded point by point to the Corinthians' letter. Recent works have argued that, in the arrangement of topics in 1 Corinthians, Paul was governed by his own rhetorical purposes and was not confined to the order of the Corinthians' letter (Lührmann 1986: 305; Mitchell 1989). Similarly, rhetorical rather than historical reasons can account for some of the "inconsistencies" between 4:17–21 and 16:5–11, and between 1:11 and 11:18. An important critique of the bases of partition theories of 1 Corinthians was provided by Merklein (1984: 153–82), who argued for the literary coherence of the letter.

**2. Compositional Analysis.** The following brief analysis of 1 Corinthians argues for the unity of the letter. 1 Corinthians demonstrates both thematic and rhetorical unity when seen as a deliberative letter convincing the Corinthians to be reconciled and end their factionalism (for a detailed argument, see Mitchell 1989).

1:1–3 Epistolary Prescript.

1:4–9 Epistolary Thanksgiving, forming the *exordium,* which introduces key terms of Corinthian debate and of the epistle (Betz 1986: 26–39). The *exordium* ends appropriately with a call to unity in the *koinōnia* ("partnership") of Jesus Christ.

1:10–17 Statement of Facts, or *narratio,* of the argument in the body of the letter. Verse 1:10 is the *prothesis* or thesis statement of the argument of the entire letter, which calls on the Corinthians to end their factions and be reconciled with one another. In the brief *narratio* Paul rebuts any factionalists' claims resulting from baptism by the leaders (1:13–17).

1:18–15:57 Proof or *probatio,* in 4 subsections.

1:18–4:21 *First Proof Section,* which contains Paul's analysis and interpretation of the terms of the formula in 1:5 ("rich in every form of speech and in every form of knowledge"). The concepts of "speech" *(logos)* and "wisdom" *(sophia)* are discussed in 1:10–2:16, while "knowledge" *(gnōsis)* is examined in 3:1–23 (Betz 1986: 26–39). Corinthian boasting, an obvious expression of party politics, is rejected (1:26–31; 3:18–23).

This section lays the groundwork for the rest of the argument in three ways: (1) Paul redefines the goals and standards by which the Christian should make decisions (a common strategy in deliberative rhetoric); (2) he demonstrates their need for his advice for unity by censuring the Corinthians (chaps. 3–4, which contain epideictic elements); (3) Paul argues that he is the best one to advise them by describing his own apostolic office and responsibility in comparison with the Corinthians (esp. 4:14–16). "Therefore, I urge you, brothers, be imitators of me" in 4:16 points both backward (it forms an *inclusio* with 1:10) and forward to Paul's rhetorical strategy throughout 1 Corinthians. He will present himself as the example of the nondivisive behavior he urges the Corinthians to adopt (7:7; 8:13; 9:1–27; 10:33–11:1; 14:18–19).

5:1–11:1 *Second Proof Section* in which Paul treats the specific issues now dividing the community as subordinate arguments in his overall argument to convince the Corinthians to be unified. This section treats relations between Corinthian Christians and outsiders, and among Corinthian Christians within the larger context of the city of Corinth.

Ch. 5–7 *Porneia.* These arguments are grouped around the central issue of *porneia,* "sexual immorality" (mentioned in 5:1, 9, 10, 11; 6:9, 13, 15, 16, 18; 7:2).

5:1–13 *A case of porneia.* Paul begins the second proof section with a discussion of sexual immorality for two reasons: (1) *porneia* stands at the beginning of the list of vices which must have been known to the Corinthians from the beginning (5:10, 11; 6:9–10); (2) before arguing for the unity of the church community Paul must define clearly the boundaries between "insiders" and "outsiders" (5:9–13). Paul executes a legal decision in regard to this man who has married his father's wife. He is to be expelled from the community (5:13) and thus is not included in the unity to which Paul calls the church.

6:1–11 *Court Battles.* In 6:1–11 Paul continues to draw distinctions between "insiders" and "outsiders" (6:1–6). Some persons are taking fellow Christians to civil court. This is another cause and

manifestation of the divisions within the community. Paul urges the Corinthians to deal with such issues within the community and not before outsiders.

6:12–20 *Another discussion of porneia,* along with a treatment of the Corinthian definitions of freedom which justify such actions (6:12), Paul counters these slogans with an appeal to expediency (a part of Paul's argument of redefinition of both freedom and expediency in 1 Corinthians (6:12, 19–20; 8:9; 9:1–27; 10:23–11:1). The "body of Christ" image is introduced (6:15–17) as a corrective to Corinthian individualism and divisiveness; image is fully expanded in chap. 12.

7:1–40 *Marriage and Status.* The section begins "concerning the things you wrote." This *peri de* formula (see above) is used also in 7:25; 8:1, 4; 12:1; 16:1, 12, and introduces a new topic for discussion. The general principle Paul evokes in each of the various cases in chap. 7 is—don't seek to alter your social status (7:8, 17–24, 27, 40) but realize your calling *(klēsis)* (7:15, 17–24; cf. 1:9, 26).

Ch. 8–10 *Idol Worship and Freedom.* Since idol worship *(eidōlolatria)* comes after *porneia* in the vice catalogue (5:10, 11; 6:9), the issues in 8:1–11:1 may be subsumed under this term (see 10:7, 14; cf. 8:1, 4, 7, 10; 10:7, 14, 19). The two complementary treatments of idol meat in chap. 8 and in chap. 10 frame Paul's self-exemplification of the proper use of freedom in chap. 9. The *peri de* formula in 8:1 does not mean that Paul here responds to the Corinthian letter in its order, but is simply a common formula for changing a topic (Mitchell 1989).

8:1–13 *Idolatry, First Treatment.* Paul urges love *(agapē)* over knowledge *(gnōsis)* as the fundamental value. It is true that idols do not exist (8:4–6) but the issue is more complex. 8:9 states a general ethical principle: "lest this your *exousia* ("liberty") might be an offense to this weak." One should sacrifice small freedoms for the sake of the many (8:13).

9:1–27 *Paul the example of proper use of freedom.* Paul establishes that he has the right to support from the gospel (9:3–12a) but has freely renounced that right (9:12b, 17). Such self-renunciation, translated into accommodating social behavior (9:19–23), is what he urges on the Corinthians. 9:24–27 stresses the eschatological goal as the fundamental context of Christian decision making.

10:1–22 *Idolatry, Second Treatment.* A series of rebellious episodes from Israel's wilderness traditions are presented as types (10:6, 11) of Corinthian factionalism and strife. The Corinthians are warned not to destroy themselves as the wilderness generation did—by desiring food, idolatry, and *porneia.* The unifying role of the eucharist in establishing the *koinōnia* of the community is appealed to.

10:23–11:1 This passage provides a conclusion to the second proof section (8:1–11:1). The new ethical principle of *agapē* is stated: "Let no one seek his/her own advantage, but that of the other" (10:24; cf. 13:5). Paul again presents himself as the example of this nonfactionalist behavior (10:33), who is to be imitated, as he imitates Christ (11:1).

11:2–14:40 *Third Proof Section.* Manifestations of Corinthian divisiveness when they come together in worship are discussed, as Paul continues to appeal for unity.

11:2–34 *Corinthians and Tradition.* The two subsections 11:2–16 and 11:17–34 are subsumed under the topic of tradition (11:2, 23; cf. chap. 15).

11:2–16 *Hairstyles in Worship.* A woman should be veiled in prayer but a man should not (11:4–10). Paul rejects the contentiousness which finds expression in the hairstyle controversy (11:16).

11:17–34 *Disorders at the Lord's Supper.* Corinthian factions manifest themselves in changing the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Paul calls the Corinthians to unity in the sacrament by appealing to the original tradition (11:23–26). This important text is our earliest witness to the tradition history of the eucharistic formula in the early Church.

12:1–14:40 *Spiritual Gifts.* Again two treatments of the same topic: spiritual gifts (chaps. 12 and 14) frame an exemplary argument, here on love (chap. 13). Paul urges unity and order in worship as 14:40 forms the conclusion to the third proof section.

12:1–31a *Spiritual Gifts. First Treatment.* Paul applies the political image of the body, theologized into the body of Christ, to the factionalism at Corinth. The goal, as in 1:10, is the end of *schismata,* "divisions" (12:25). Each person has a *charisma,* and all are given, not for individual, but for the communal advantage (12:4–11).

12:31b–13:13 *Love.* This "encomium on love" serves to exemplify the greatest gift—love *(agapē)*—by which the community will be reunified (see esp. 13:4–7). This chapter plays the same rhetorical function as chap. 9, by extrapolating and developing the general unifying principle which Paul embodies.

14:1–40 *Spiritual Gifts. Second Treatment.* Paul tells them to seek those spiritual expressions which promote unity (prophecy and interpretation of tongues, 14:3–5, 13), rather than speaking in tongues, which is divisive (14:2, 6–12). Paul exhorts the Corinthians to build up the church (14:4–5, 26) and stop their partisanship and separation from one another. He urges peace (14:33) and orderliness (14:40) in Corinthian worship.

15:1–57 *Fourth Proof Section.* It is only fitting that chap. 15, dealing with the resurrection from the dead, stands at the end. Divisiveness is caused by the fact that some at Corinth deny the resurrection (15:13), a view here refuted by Paul on the basis of the tradition of Christ's resurrection (15:1–11, 12–28), and an argument on the resurrected body (15:35–57). This eschatological section highlights the final goal in relation to which the Corinthians should make all their decisions. Eschatology plays this role in the *exordium* (1:7–8) and throughout the argument (3:12–15; 4:1–5; 6:3; 9:24–27).

15:58 Conclusion or *peroratio.* Paul sums up his argument in 1:10–15:57 by urging the Corinthians as they stand in expectation of the *eschaton* to follow the course of unity, for it will prove to be to their advantage ("your work is not in vain in the Lord"). This conclusion corresponds to the *exordium* (1:4–9), as it should.

16:1–24 Epistolary Closing, containing travel plans, final admonitions, and greetings.

16:1–12 Information about forthcoming visits of Paul (16:1–9, including instructions on the collection for the saints), Timothy (16:10–11), and Apollos (16:12).

16:13–18 First Paul reiterates the argument in the letter (16:13–14), "Let all things be yours in love" and then supplements this general advice for unity with a concrete political dictum: the Corinthians are to obey the house of Stephanas (16:15–16).

16:19–21 Customary epistolary greetings (16:19–20), to which Paul adds his by his own hand, which serves as an authentication formula (16:21).

16:22–24 Solemn curse (16:22a) and the prayer *maranatha* ("Our Lord, come" [16:22b]). The letter appropriately concludes with a two-part final blessing (16:23–24), for grace *(charis)* and love *(agapē).*

**F. Theological Significance**

Some scholars have criticized 1 Corinthians for its poverty of theological doctrine (Bauer 1971: 219), while others (Conzelmann, 9) have argued that the letter contains "applied theology." The problem with that view, however, is that all the letters of Paul are applied theology. What is then distinctive about 1 Corinthians? First, there are a number of formal features which make the letter unique: 1 Corinthians as a letter is part of a sequence of exchanges, written and oral, and its theology must be derived from the sequence as a whole as well as its particular expression in this letter. In this dialogue 1 Corinthians represents Paul's answer to a number of questions addressed to him by the Church (7:1, 25; 8:1; 12:1; 16:1, 12). Together with preceding (5:9) and following letters (2 Corinthians), messengers and visitors coming from and going to Corinth, 1 Corinthians is part of an ongoing process of educating the Church in the belief and practice of the new Christian religion (Betz 1986: 26–27). This educational process does not simply consist of Paul delivering authoritative doctrines and rules for behavior, but the apostle makes his readers partners in a theological debate. His methods of argument show influences from what may be called the Socratic tradition (Betz 1972). Paul not only instructs his readers, he also stimulates their own thinking and elicits their own answers. At any rate he presumed that the matters regarding Christian belief

and behavior can be argued in a rational way, especially since rationality was believed to be informed by the Holy Spirit.

In terms of theological doctrines, attention must be given to the situation of the Church in general and of the Corinthian church in particular, to the practical and theological problems at hand, to the presuppositions and conclusions involved on each side of the arguments, and to Paul's own doctrinal stance as he develops his recommendations. The situation of the Corinthian church provided Paul with a novel experience. This church was founded in one of the centers of Hellenistic culture (see the studies on social history by Malherbe 1983; Theissen 1982; Meeks 1983). In Corinth the Pauline mission had succeeded—seemingly for the first time—in winning converts from the better-educated and cultured circles of a prosperous and cosmopolitan city. The congregation had access to material as well as spiritual wealth, both proverbial assets of the city of Corinth. From the scarce evidence available to us we can infer that the church was diverse in its makeup. There were in it sharp distinctions socially, intellectually, and probably ethnically. The considerable number of travelers to the church meant connections with and influences from outsiders, relating to various groups inside. Early on, various members of the church seem to have interpreted Paul's gospel in diverse ways. Some seem to have developed it further in conformity with Hellenistic religiosity. This must have led to changes in the performance and understanding of rituals Paul found disagreeable (1:13–17; 15:29; 11:17–34; Klauck 1982; Willis 1985). The older Jewish-Christian ethos as reflected in the moral catalogs (1 Cor 5:9–11; 6:9–10) gave way to the lifestyle of the big Hellenistic city, where freedom from tradition and convention, experimentation with new ideas, and excitement about spiritual experiences were the standards for achievement. Consequently it is not surprising that the values of Hellenistic city life and religiosity dominate the discussion.

The picture of the Corinthian church which Paul depicts shows a bewildering mixture of positive and negative developments that have taken place since Paul's founding visit. Positively, the church was flourishing; negatively, however, internal dissension threatened to tear it apart. Party slogans (1:12; 3:4; 6:12; 10:23) advocated "political rhetoric" rather than thorough theological thinking. Some church members apparently acted more as an avant-garde, while others expressed a cautious conservatism. One group's expression of freedom must have been a scandal to other groups. Thus, to the apostle the church presented a rather distressing picture: so-called spiritual experiences justifying excesses and abuses of freedom in complete disregard for the life of the community, all signs of a disintegrating community.

As far as we can tell, this situation was without precedent in Paul's missionary experience and thus presented him with a new challenge. In 1 Thessalonians and Galatians the apostle had advocated life in the spirit without reservations. Confronted with the Corinthian problems, however, he was forced to marshal all his available resources in a new way in order to come to grips with the issues. Theologically, Paul begins with the self-understanding of the Corinthians as he sums it up in 1:5: "in everything you have been made rich in him [Christ], in every form of speech and in every form of knowledge." This claim of possessing an abundance of speech and knowledge (*logos kai gnōsis*) becomes the focus of Paul's argumentation throughout the letter and even in 2 Corinthians (Betz 1986: 26–48). Applying to it the christology of the Christ crucified (1:13, 17, 18–25; 8:11) and the doctrine of justification by faith (1:26–31), Paul analyzes critically the notions of speech (*logos*), wisdom (*sophia*), and knowledge (*gnōsis*) in 1:18–3:23. Originally developed in confrontation with the Jewish doctrines of Torah possession and observance, the apostle applies these doctrines to their Greek analog, the claim to possess eloquence and knowledge. This demonstrates Paul's flexibility in applying the principles of his theology to new and different circumstances and problems.

Without denying the Corinthians their claimed abundance of eloquence and knowledge, Paul argues that their spiritual wealth should not simply be taken to coincide with maturity in Christian faith. In fact, he points out, there is an obvious discrepancy between what the Corinthians claim and what they really are. While he concedes that they have plenty of eloquence and knowledge, there are serious shortcomings in the area of practical "deeds" (*erga;* 1:7; 3:13–15; 15:58; 16:10). This discrepancy points to a contradiction between claim and reality and renders their faith "immature" (3:1–4). As long as there is no balance

between the claims of eloquence, knowledge, and practice, the goal of "perfection" (cf. 2:6; 3:1, 18; 4:8) cannot have been reached. Paul's argumentation is designed so as to advise the Corinthians how to bring their praxis (*erga*) up to the same standards as their eloquence and knowledge. This goal is behind the long section of arguments in chaps. 5–15. The key concept in these chapters is that of Christian love (*agapē*; 4:21; 8:1; 13:1–13; 14:1; 16:14, 24), specifically defined as "what which builds up" the community (8:1; 14:4–5; cf. 3:9–15).

Paul, however, does not attempt to talk the Corinthians out of their spiritual wealth. His goal is, on the contrary, to enable them to verify that claim by the practice of the Christian *agapē.* For this purpose Paul develops his lengthy ethical arguments and positions in chaps. 5 and 15. Although several of these arguments show signs of their origin in a Jewish-Christian context, in 1 Corinthians they are clearly applied to the confrontation of new gentile Christians with their Hellenistic pagan background and past. The threat as Paul perceives it is their "Hellenization" in the negative sense of the term. (See HELLENISM). Since no agreed standards yet existed, Paul had to develop rules for behavior anew. How should the new converts conduct their lives with regard to polytheism and its communal and religious practices such as prostitution, the courts of law, the meat markets, invitations to dine in pagan temples, and so forth?

One of the major theological contributions of 1 Corinthians is in the area of ecclesiology. The body of Christ image for the Church runs throughout the epistle (1:13; 6:15–20; 10:16–17; 11:29; 12:4–27; for the extensive literature on this topic, see *sōma* in *TDNT*). Paul confronts the divisiveness of the Corinthian community with a political analogy common in Greek and Roman literature for social cohesion, the body (for references, see Lietzmann *An die Korinther* HNT, 61–63, and Conzelman, 211–14), here radically Christianized. This appropriation provides another example of the apostle's adaptation and transformation of Hellenistic concepts in his theological formulations. The Church is the body of Christ, a unified structure in which each member has a part and function (12:4–27). This ontological reality has ethical implications: the Christian does not own his/her body (6:19), should make decisions on the basis of the entire Church and not merely the self (10:23–11:1; 14:5), and must manifest his/her full solidarity with the other members in both joy and sadness (12:25–26; cf. 13:6). The ecclesiological doctrine of the body of Christ, first introduced by Paul in 1 Corinthians, appears also in Romans (12:3–8) and is later transformed in the deutero-Pauline letters into a spiritual-cosmological doctrine in which Christ appears as the head of the body (Eph 1:22–23; 4:4–16; 5:22, 30; Col 1:18, 24; 2:16–19).

Apart from the specific issues discussed in the letter, 1 Corinthians receives its unique importance because it is only here that Paul develops his theological ideas about Greek cultural and religious values. These values include subjects such as rhetoric, wisdom, and knowledge, that is, the experience of the Christian faith as intellectual enlightenment and inspiration, including forms of ecstasy. In the practical area Corinthian notions of freedom need to be redefined in terms of new forms of Christian communal and individual life (6:12; 8:9; 9:19–23; 10:23–11:1). What Paul is primarily concerned with is the need to safeguard the Christian character of what is advocated as the new life in Christ. The most impressive part of Paul's deliberations is the attempt to spell out rules for Christian behavior vis-à-vis the polytheistic and pluralistic environment within which the Church found itself. Christian theology has never made another such attempt, so that modern Christianity which finds itself again in this situation will become Paul's advice, even if it is conditioned by the situation of the 1st century.

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**CORINTHIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE.** A letter written by the apostle Paul to the church at Corinth, found as the eighth book of the NT canon.

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A. Introduction
B. Literary Composition
C. The Letter Fragments in Chronological Sequence
D. Historical Developments in Corinth
E. Dates
F. Paul's Opponents
G. Perspectives on the History of the Early Church
H. Theological Significance

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## A. Introduction

The letter we call 2 Corinthians abounds with fascinating insights into the activity and mind of the apostle Paul. Some of the passages show how he worked as an administrator, a pastoral adviser, and an ecumenical church leader. The careful reader discovers valuable information about historical developments in the churches of Corinth and elsewhere, finds data concerning the life and personality of Paul, and uncovers aspects of the theologies of Paul and his opponents which do not appear in the apostle's other letters. All these perspectives contribute to an engrossing view of the Pauline mission.

2 Corinthians does not yield its information readily and thus poses problems for its readers and interpreters. Understanding these problems is indispensable not only for 2 Corinthians but also for the interpretation of 1 Corinthians. As with all other correspondence, the letters must be interpreted consecutively and in their entirety, for every section has its place in the context of the entire correspondence. Earlier statements may explain why later events occurred, just as later statements may throw light on what was said earlier. In literary terms, a correspondence contains components of an ongoing conversation, the missing parts of which must be reconstructed to as great a degree as possible. Such reconstruction is a major task for the interpretation of 2 Corinthians.

The publication of 2 Corinthians presents the interpreter with a second difficulty. While there is strong evidence for an early (1st century) attestation of 1 Corinthians, the second letter is not attested before the middle of the 2d century, when its name appears in the canon of Marcion (ca. 140–150; see Harnack 1924: 96*–102*, 128*). It received a second notice a few decades later in the Canon Muratori. Prior to these two lists, however, no external evidence exists for the circulation of the letter. Despite this paucity of attestation, no one in antiquity doubted the letter's authenticity. Thus the circumstances which led to the appearance of 2 Corinthians remain shrouded in mystery.

In light of such interpretative difficulties, we are fortunate to have an extensive history of research on 2 Corinthians. At present, this research is in the midst of a new productive phase. For surveys of the older period, see Moffatt (1918: 116–30) and Windisch (1924: 5–31); for recent developments, see Furnish (*2 Corinthians* AB, 29–54); Betz (*2 Corinthians 8 and 9* Hermeneia, 3–36); Georgi (1986: 333–45), and Welborn (1987).

## B. Literary Composition

As most scholars now agree, Paul's second letter to the Corinthians is a collection comprised of fragments from several originally independent letters. The decisive step toward the discovery of these constituent letters was taken by Semler (1776), when he recognized seams in the text between both chaps.

8 and 9 and chaps. 9 and 10. He concluded that 2 Corinthians was composed of pieces of originally separate letters.

Since Semler's discovery, the scholarly debate concerning the division of the letter has not ceased. Questions remain as to whether the letter should be partitioned and, if so, how many sections there are and which passages they comprise (for surveys, see Furnish AB, 30–54; Betz Hermeneia, 3–36). The second of these questions is becoming the more important, as few scholars continue to defend the unity of 2 Corinthians (Hyldahl 1973; Kümmel 1975: 287–93; see Furnish, 33–35, for names and a summary of the arguments).

Important progress in the literary investigation of 2 Corinthians has been made in this century by Bornkamm (1961), who divided 2 Corinthians into fragments from six different letters: (1) an earlier apology (2:14–6:13; 7:2–4); (2) the "letter of tears" (10:1–13:10); (3) the "letter of reconciliation" (1:1–2:13; 7:5–16; 13:11–13); (4) a letter of recommendation for Titus and his companions (chap. 8); (5) a letter to the churches of Achaia (chap. 9); and (6) an interpolated passage (6:14–7:1). Bornkamm assumed that the present letter of 2 Corinthians was the creation of a later editor/redactor. This partition theory, often in somewhat modified form, is now held by a large number of scholars (for a survey, see Betz, 20–25). Furnish (35–41), however, supports the two-letter hypothesis previously held by Windisch, Bruce, and Barrett: 2 Corinthians consists of parts from two originally separate letters: (1) chaps. 1–9 and (2) chaps. 10–13. On the other hand, we have Schmithals' complicated partition theories. Most recently, he has proposed that Paul's Corinthian correspondence consisted of thirteen letters which are now found not only in 1 and 2 Corinthians but in Romans as well (Schmithals 1984: 19–20).

As divisions continue to be discussed, the methodological questions prove to be of primary importance. Since no existing manuscripts of 2 Corinthians show traces of division, evidence for partitioning must come from the internal criteria of philology and comparative literary analysis. Such analyses have been proposed by Betz (Hermeneia) for 2 Corinthians 8 and 9 and by Welborn (1987) for the "letter of reconciliation" (1:1–2:13; 7:5–16; 13:11–13). In addition to careful analyses of the letter fragments, an investigation of the methods and ideas of the redactor who was responsible for the final composition of what we call 2 Corinthians will also be necessary (for interesting suggestions on the redactor's work, see Bornkamm 1961: 24–32).

**C. The Letter Fragments in Chronological Sequence**

(1) The "first apology" (2:14–6:13; 7:2–4) begins with an expression of thanks to God and a description of the apostle's missionary activity expressed through a field of metaphors which create the image of a triumphal procession (2:14–17). In this procession, Paul functions as the herald (4:5; 5:20–6:2; 6:11–13; 7:2–4). Embedded in the use of this image are arguments in which Paul defends his adequacy for the apostolic office. As an apostle, he describes himself as a "servant of the new covenant" (3:6), which is explained in 3:4–6:10. Although the exact nature of the argumentation is far from clear, Paul additionally uses the occasion to present major christological and soteriological doctrines. The conclusion contains a plea for acceptance and trust (6:11–13; 7:2–3) as well as a confession of confidence and joy (7:4). Since such statements are appropriate to the conclusion of letters, it would seem that only the epistolary pre- and postscripts are omitted.

(2) The "second apology" (10:1–13:10), or "letter of tears" (as it is later characterized in 2:4), was doubtless provoked by Paul's unsuccessful earlier attempts—in particular the earlier apology—to clear himself of suspicion (10:1–2). Yet an escalation must have pushed the matter to a crisis. Facing it, Paul realized that if he were to prevail he must mobilize extraordinary rhetorical armaments (Malherbe 1983: 143–73) and confront the accusers directly (Betz 1986: 40–44). In 10:10, Paul actually quotes from what seems to be a critical report concerning his presence: "His letters," he [or: the report] says, "are weighty and strong, but his physical presence is weak and his speech is contemptible."

The origin of this three-pronged personality profile is unknown. Paul attributes it to a person, but it is not clear whether that person acted as an individual or as the leader of a faction, whether this individual was identical with the unnamed person called "the offender" (7:12), and whether he had any official function. Was an investigator appointed by the church whose report was communicated to Paul (cf. 13:3)?

The statement in 10:10 looks like a summary of an investigative report on Paul's performance as a public speaker; it is entirely negative. In order to refute these charges, Paul felt he could only adopt the pose of the fool (11:1; 12:11) and deliver a so-called "fool's speech" (11:1–12:10 [or 12:13]). In this wild and brilliant self-parody, the apostle demolishes the presumptions of his adversaries. He restores his credibility by discrediting theirs through the use of his entire arsenal of irony, sarcasm, and parody. In this fool's speech he demonstrates that, if he wished, he could conform to the standards of his critics but that he had good reason not to do so. In the role of the fool he performs—without actually doing—that which he judges to be inappropriate.

If the critics doubt his skills as a rhetorician, he sheepishly agrees with them: "If I am a layman in speech, I am not in knowledge" (11:6). If they demand the "signs of the apostle," he is ready to deliver them (Betz 1972: 70–100). He presents a testimony about ascending into heaven only to bring back nothing (12:1–4; see Betz 1972: 89–92) and follows with an appeal to a miraculous healing which turns out not to produce the healing (12:7–12; see Betz 1969: 288–305; 1972: 92–100). Paul's own criteria are different (12:11–13). He glorifies God in his weaknesses (12:9, 10; cf. 10:1, 10; 11:21, 23–29; 12:21). He does not accept financial support from the Corinthians (11:7–12; 12:13, 14:18; see Betz 1972: 100–17), and he refuses to be judged in comparison with the other apostles (11:5, 13–15; 12:11–13; see Betz 1972: 118–32). After evaluating his fool's speech, Paul turns to the future, announcing his forthcoming third visit to Corinth (12:14–21; 13:1–4). Typical of a Pauline letter, the last section contains paraenesis and a summary of his concerns (13:5–10). Again, this conclusion suggests that little was omitted by the redactor at the close of the letter.

(3) The "letter of reconciliation" (1:1–2:13; 7:5–16; 13:11–13) is extant in its entirety and provides the frame into which the redactor has inserted the other letter fragments. For an investigation of this "letter of reconciliation," see Welborn 1987.

The letter begins with the epistolary prescript (1:1–2) naming the sender, Paul, with his official title, and the cosender, Timothy, with his rank. There follow the addresses, the church in Corinth and "all the saints living throughout Achaia." The prescript concludes with the usual salutation.

The exordium begins with a praise of God, a *běrakâ* or *eulogia* (1:3–4), rather than with the usual prayer of thanksgiving *(eucharistia).* The main theological concepts of this prayer in praise of God, "affliction" *(thlipsis)* and "consolation" *(paraklēsis),* are them briefly introduced in preparation for the role they will play in the main body of the letter. Paul's design here is to describe his relationship with the Corinthians, particularly in terms of the crisis just passed, as a partnership in Christian suffering and consolation (1:5–7). In a short narrative (1:8–11), the apostle then demonstrates by his own example—his recent escape from almost certain death in Asia Minor—how God's consolation works in concrete life situations.

From these theological presuppositions the apostle enters into a lengthy discussion of his previous letter (1:12–2:4), the "letter of tears" (10:1–13:10). After giving assurances of his integrity and friendly intentions (1:12–14), he explains apologetically and with some apprehension why he had decided to change his travel plans several times and why these changes should not be construed as evidence of his unreliability and fickleness (1:15–22), the charges by his critics to the contrary. He explains further why he had postponed his third visit to Corinth and why in the meantime he had written the "tearful letter." The intention of that letter had not been to inflict "distress" *(lypē)* on the Corinthians but to make them understand his great love for them (1:23–24; 2:1–4). If the letter had caused severe distress among them, it was not so much due to the letter itself as to the provocations of "the offender" (2:5), an unnamed person in Corinth who fomented the whole crisis. Since this offender had meanwhile been reprimanded by the majority of the church, Paul now generously recommends that they forgive him and, should they do so, he, too, would forgive him (2:5–11). The apostle then describes how in great anguish he went to the Troad and to Macedonia, where he awaited Titus, who was due to come from Corinth to meet him (2:12–13, continued in 7:5). This terrifying "affliction" *(thlipsis)* only ended when Titus appeared with the good news of the accomplishment of a reconciliation (7:6–7).

The report then turns to a theological (and even psychological) analysis of the experience of "distress" *(lypē),* which Paul admits having caused among the Corinthians with his letter. As he points out, this distress had a positive result in that it turned the Corinthians around and brought them to their senses (*metanoia* [7:9–10]). This change of mind in turn led to Paul's great joy at learning of the reconciliation, which occurrence also confirmed his original confidence in them (7:8–12). In other words, for Paul no less than for the Corinthian church, the whole crisis was another experience of affliction turned into consolation and thus not to be regretted. Paul is now full of joy, pride, and confidence at things having turned out so well (7:13–16), and in these emotions lie the reason for the praise of God at the beginning of the letter (1:3–4). A warm and exuberant postscript concludes the letter (13:11–13).

(4) The "administrative letter" of chap. 8 (see Betz *2 Corinthians 8 and 9* Hermeneia, 37–86, 131–39) was sent to Corinth together with the delegation consisting of Titus and two "brothers." The letter has two parts, an advisory section regarding the collection for the Jerusalem church (8:1–15) and a legal section commending and authorizing the members of the delegation (8:16–23). The letter concludes with a peroration (8:24). Compared with literary and documentary parallels, the fragment is similar to letters of appointment given to political or adminstrative envoys.

(5) The "administrative letter" of chap. 9 (see Betz, 87–128, 139–40) is addressed to the Christians of Achaia and, like chap. 8, is concerned with the collection for the church in Jerusalem. As a literary unit, its purpose is advisory: it seeks to enlist the help of the Achaians in bringing the collection in Corinth to completion. Its two main sections contain information and explanation on the delegation sent to Corinth (9:2–5) and a theological statement about the purpose of the collection (9:6–14) and it concludes with a peroration, an expression of thanksgiving to God (9:15).

(6) The interpolated passage of 6:14–7:1 reflects a situation different from 2 Corinthians' other components: it does not reflect on Paul's relationship with Corinth or on the Jerusalem collection. This difference has resulted in the view held by most scholars today that 2 Corinthians 6:14–7:1 is a non-Pauline interpolation (see Furnish, 360–68, 371–83, with further references), while Betz (1973) has argued that it is even anti-Pauline in its theology, originating perhaps with (some of) Paul's opponents. If this passage did indeed come from Paul's opponents, it might even reflect the party against which Paul had to defend himself elsewhere in his correspondence with the Corinthians. Regardless, the piece is a carefully composed exhortation warning against teaming up with "unbelievers," whoever they may be. Its theology is strongly dualistic and Jewish-Christian. The origin of the piece is as much a puzzle as is the question of how it became mixed up with the Corinthian correspondence.

**D. Historical Developments in Corinth**

The preceding chronological ordering of the letter fragments provides some clarification of the turbulent events following 1 Corinthians. In 1 Corinthians 16, Paul mentions certain events he expects to take place after the dispatching of that letter. The collection for the church of Jerusalem, begun with Titus during an earlier visit (2 Cor 12:16–18; 8:6), will proceed according to the guidelines set forth in 1 Cor 16:1–2. After the collection, when it is to be taken up to Jerusalem, Paul plans to visit Corinth for the second time. He intends to arrive there from Macedonia, perhaps to spend the winter before going on to Palestine (16:6); however, he is undecided whether he himself will lead the delegation which will deliver the gift to the Jerusalem church (16:3–4). Meanwhile, until his departure for Macedonia, his presence in Ephesus remains crucial (16:8–9). Then he announces the forthcoming visit of Timothy. For reasons we do not know Paul fears that Timothy will not find a friendly reception (16:10–11; cf. 4:17). The letter fragments in 2 Corinthians, however, show that all of these plans could not be carried out as Paul had hoped.

When 2 Corinthians says that Timothy is at Paul's side (1:1), there is no mention of Timothy's visit to Corinth. He probably did go there but upon arrival found the church hostile and in turmoil (see Conzelmann 1973: 104; differently Bornkamm 1961: 9) and returned to Ephesus to inform Paul of the situation. This information, presupposed in 2 Corinthians, included a complete change in the Corinthian situation. While in 1 Corinthians Paul could remain above party factionalism, he now could not avoid facing a full-blown rebellion against him. The problems of his legitimacy, incipient in 1 Corinthians (15:8–10), had worsened, apparently in connection with the collection, which his opponents saw as

evidence of a scheme to line his own pockets. Since these charges are already considered in the "first apology" (2 Cor 2:14–6:13; 7:2–4), where Paul responds to accusations of "inadequacy for office" (2:16; 3:5–6) and "peddling the word of God" (2:17; cf. 4:2; 6:3; 7:2; 12:16–17), this letter may be part of his first response and written either before or after Timothy's return to Ephesus. Although Timothy may have taken this letter to Corinth, we have no evidence to substantiate such a hypothesis. At any rate, this "first apology" did not prevent further deterioration in Paul's relationship with Corinth.

At this point, Paul changed his travel plans. The "letter of reconciliation" (2 Cor 1:1–2:13; 7:5–16; 13:11–13), written after the resolution of the conflict, contains lengthy explanations for these changes. His report in 2 Cor 1:15–16, however, indicates that he must twice have altered the plans presented in 1 Cor 16:5–8, for he says that he intended to go from Ephesus to Corinth, passing through Macedonia, and then perhaps to Judea. Upon receiving the bad news about Corinth, he quickly decided to go there directly, and apparently unannounced, to face the opposition head on. This visit, the so-called "sorrowful visit," resulted in a fiasco for the apostle which he says he would not wish to repeat (2:1–3; 12:21; 13:2). Indeed, he postponed his third visit to Corinth (12:14; 13:1) until the conflict had been resolved. At the center of this conflict appears to have been one whom Paul calls "the offender" (7:12) who apparently brought a charge of embezzlement against Paul (12:16–18; 8:20; see Betz *2 Corinthians 8 and 9*, Hermeneia, 76–77). Such suspicion of fraud of course jeopardized Paul's whole credibility. It is possible that the church may even have appointed an investigator, from whose devastating report Paul himself quotes in 2 Cor 10:10 (cf. 11:6; 13:3, 6).

Rejected by his own church as a charlatan and a fraud, Paul made a final desperate attempt to regain his reputation. He wrote the "letter of tears" (10:1–13:10); most likely after he returned to Ephesus, and sent it on to Corinth, probably with Titus and a "brother" (12:18). As we learn from the subsequent "letter of reconciliation" (2 Cor 1:1–2:13; 7:5–16; 13:11–13), both the "letter of tears" and Titus' mission were successful, although Paul was unaware of this fact until much later. In a state of "great tribulation and anguish of heart" (2:4) he left for the Troad in NW Asia Minor; there, anxiously awaiting Titus, he became so restless that he set sail for Macedonia (2:12–13). Titus finally arrived there, bringing with him the good news of the reconciliation (7:5–7). In great joy, the apostle then sent from Macedonia the "letter of reconciliation."

One result of the Corinthian crisis, of course, was the collapse of the collection for the church in Jerusalem from that city. The Macedonian and Achaian churches had finished their part of the collection (8:2–5; 9:2), and at this point the Macedonians proposed to recommence and complete the Corinthian collection (8:4–5) with Titus volunteering to return to Corinth to reorganize the drive (8:17). Paul thus appointed Titus (8:6, 16–17, 23) and two "brothers" (8:18–23; 9:3–5), a carefully chosen delegation representing not only Paul but "all the churches" as well (8:18). Their letter of authorization is extant in chap. 8. In addition, Paul enlisted the aid of the Achaian Christians, who had already completed their part in the endeavor (chap. 9).

From Rom 15:25–31 we learn that the advance team had succeeded in finishing the collection, that Paul had arrived, and that a delegation was ready to take the money to Judea. Paul now decided to lead that delegation, whose members may be listed in Rom 16:21–23; Acts 20:4 (see Betz *2 Corinthians 8 and 9* Hermeneia, 51, 56). His departure from Corinth meant that he would never see Greece again (Acts 19:21; 20:22–25, 36–38).

This reconstruction of events clarifies the otherwise confusing sequence of visits by Paul and his collaborators. Paul made three visits to Corinth, the first being the foundation visit accompanied by Silvanus and Timothy (1 Corinthians *passim;* 2 Cor 1:19; Acts 18:1–18). The second visit, announced in 1 Cor 16:2–9, was made in haste and without advance notice; it became the "sorrowful" visit (2 Cor 2:1). A third visit had been planned but had to be postponed until the crisis had passed (2 Cor 2:1–3; 12:14; 13:1–2). This final visit became a reality when Paul arrived in Corinth to head up the Judean delegation (Rom 15:25–31). Timothy, named as cofounder of the Corinthian church in 2 Cor 1:19 and Acts 18:5, also visited Corinth three times. If his second visit, announced in 1 Cor 16:10–11 (4:17), was carried out, his third visit occurred when he accompanied Paul to Judea (Rom 16:21; Acts 20:4).

Three visits must also be assumed for Titus, whose assignments were closely related to the collection efforts (cf. Gal 2:1–10 for his presence at the Jerusalem conference). His first visit must have occurred prior to the writing of 1 Corinthians because of the subsequent guidelines for the collection as stated in 1 Cor 16:1–4. On this visit he began the fund raising (2 Cor 8:6). His second visit was made in the company of one "brother" (2 Cor 12:18); the main objectives appear to have been the delivery of the "letter of tears" (2 Cor 10:1–13:10) and the attempt to reconcile the church with its apostle. Paul apparently chose Titus rather than Timothy because the Corinthians did not trust the latter (see 1 Cor 16:10–11). Bringing the news of the reconciliation to Paul in Macedonia (2 Cor 7:6–7) quickly led to Titus' third visit to Corinth, accompanied by two "brothers," to restart and finish the collection (2 Cor 8:6, 16–23; 9:3–5). Having completed this task as well, Titus is mentioned no further and his name is not included in the lists of the delegates to Palestine (Rom 16:21–23; Acts 20:4).

**E. Dates**

Scholars disagree as to whether precise dates can be assigned to the events emerging from the letter fragments of 2 Corinthians. Such variant views depend primarily on the overall view of the chronology of Paul (see CHRONOLOGY (NT)). If Jesus' death is dated early (27 C.E.), Paul's conversion falls in the year 30 C.E.; but if Jesus' death occurred in 30 C.E., Paul's conversion and all other events must be dated later. For Luedemann, who favors earlier dates (see the chronological chart in Luedemann 1984: 262–63), the events involving 2 Corinthians fall in the years 49 (or 52) to 51 (or 54). Jewett (1979; see his appended chart) and Furnish (54–55) date these events in the years 55–56. According to them, Timothy's second visit to Corinth took place in 55 C.E., the year which saw most of the events reported in the letter fragments in 2 Corinthians. Paul spent the winter of 55–56 in Macedonia, went to Corinth in 56, and left for Palestine in the spring of 57. These dates are probable, but good cases can be made as well for two to three years earlier or even for somewhat later (see Schenke and Fischer 1978: 47–63; Vielhauer 1975: 156).

**F. Paul's Opponents**

Recent decades have seen extensive discussion regarding Paul's opponents in (1 and) 2 Corinthians (for surveys and references, see Barrett 1982: 60–86, 87–107; Barnett 1984: 3–17; Furnish, *2 Corinthians* AB, 48–54; Georgi 1986: 333–450), and notable clarification of the problems and options has been achieved. It is now clear that the issues concerning the factions and Paul's opponents in 1 Corinthians must be distinguished from the factions and Paul's opponents in 2 Corinthians. We can no longer assume that both letters deal with the same kind of opponents. Earlier, Schmithals had advanced the thesis (1971; still defended 1983: 107–24) that there was only one, gnostic, opposition to Paul. Schmithals needs this hypothesis to support his thesis that thirteen letters comprise 1 and 2 Corinthians; most scholars, however, do not accept it (Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians* Hermeneia, 14–16), preferring rather the views of Bornkamm (1971: 169–71) and his student, Georgi (1964), who argue that new opponents moved into Corinth after 1 Corinthians was written.

The discovery of these intruders and their efforts at provocation and agitation sent Timothy back to Ephesus to inform Paul, who then embarked upon his second, unsuccessful, visit to Corinth. The apostle's sarcastic polemics in the subsequent "letter of tears" (2 Cor 10:1–13:10) suggest that these new opponents hold views akin to Hellenistic-Jewish concepts of the "divine man" *(theios anēr).* As was typical of Jews (1 Cor 1:22), these rival Jewish-Christian missionaries has succeeded in persuading the Corinthians to demand from Paul "the signs of the apostle" (2 Cor 12:1, 7, 12), that is, miracles and revelations which serve as evidence that Christ speaks through the apostle (13:3).

Unfortunately, Paul's polemics do not yield much detail on the views these opponents actually held. To obtain such data, Georgi has therefore interpreted Paul's opponents against the religious background of Diaspora Judaism and that branch of the Church which handed down the miracle stories of the gospels and Acts. Despite the methodological problems of extracting hard data from polemics and counterpolemics, not to mention the slim evidential base generally, Georgi's direction is the right one for future research (see also Betz 1969; 1972; *RAC* 12: Cols. 231–312; Koester 1982, 1: 126–30; Georgi 1986).

If one adopts this line of thought, one immediately sees other questions: Did Paul's opponents in 2 Corinthians have any connection with the factions in 1 Corinthians, and, if so, with which faction(s)? Was there a connection with anti-Pauline forces in Jerusalem (Käsemann 1942; Barrett 1982)? If there was such a connection (2 Cor 11:13–15, 21–23, 24), how do these opponents compare with those against whom Paul defends himself in Galatians? In Galatians, the points of contention surround the Torah and circumcision, not miracles and revelations; thus these opponents must have been different, despite their common goal of discrediting Paul. From the first chapters of the book of Acts it is quite obvious that apostles with different outlooks did mission work under the supervision of the Jerusalem church. Unlike the opponents in 1 Corinthians, those targeted in 2 Corinthians were intruders from outside the city (2 Cor 10:13–16; 11:4, 19–20). Yet the adversary called "the offender" (2 Cor 7:12) was in all probability a resident of Corinth. How was he connected with the parties of 1 Corinthians and the intruders of 2 Corinthians? After the reconciliation, we are told, forgiveness was to be offered to this "offender"; but it is inconceivable that such simple forgiveness was granted to the "pseudo-apostles" and "messengers of Satan" (2 Cor 11:13–14). What happened to these intruders after the reconciliation we do not know. These and other questions may never be answered without the discovery of new sources.

**G. Perspectives on the History of the Early Church**

The crisis which shattered the relationship between Paul and his church in Corinth had repercussions far beyond Corinth. This particular crisis was just one more piece of evidence that Paul's main mission of bringing the Christian gospel to the gentile world was increasingly threatened from both inside and outside the churches he had founded. Paul's own ambiguous biography had been a source of bewilderment and suspicion from the beginning, and 2 Corinthians shows how well his opponents used this, his Achilles' heel, to undermine his credibility. These doubts about Paul's integrity were compounded by the self-doubts of the Corinthians concerning their salvation. It was not so much that they intended to turn their backs on Christianity altogether as that they had opened themselves up to other Christian missionaries hostile to Paul. These missionaries apparently had better credentials from and connections with the mother church in Palestine. In addition, they offered religious experiences which were more impressive and persuasive in the eyes of people of a Hellenistic religious mentality. Miracles and revelations were easier for the Corinthian Christians to handle than were Paul's complicated theological discourses.

The issue that seemed to have become the focus of the alienation, however, was a monetary one, the collection that Paul had organized in Macedonia and Achaia for the benefit of the church in Jerusalem. Charges, or at least suspicions, of financial irregularities had led the Corinthians to believe that the whole fund drive was a scheme designed to enrich the apostle himself. Their mistrust was justified by the fact that many religious quacks and swindlers with similar schemes operated throughout the Roman Empire. Had one of these con artists duped them? Paul's letter of chap. 9 reveals that the purpose of the collection was to maintain a bond of brotherhood between the Greek churches and the mother church in Jerusalem, thus forestalling their growing alienation from becoming total separation. See also Gal 2:10; GALATIANS.

As the story tells it, Paul's struggle was desperate. Having been driven out of Corinth, he had only a slim chance of regaining his former position. Nevertheless, by the sheer skill of his pen and the diplomatic talents of his envoy Titus, he managed to turn things around, an accomplishment paralleled only in Galatians. Had Paul failed in Corinth, his whole mission work in Greece would have collapsed and passed into other hands. The successful completion of the collection, however, as reported in Rom 15:25–31, meant that he could conclude his mission work in the East and turn his attention to the West, to Rome and Spain (Rom 15:14–24).

**H. Theological Significance**

The letter fragments assembled in 2 Corinthians give evidence of Paul's methods in dealing with severe crises in his churches. Involving the full repertoire of administrative instruments (visits, envoys, and letters) as well as rhetorical strategies, his major goal was that of theological education. Completing what had been started in the (lost) letter mentioned in 1 Cor 5:9, the letters of 1 and 2 Corinthians have taken

the Corinthians through an entire course of theological education. In this course, theological doctrines, rhetorical strategies, and practical experiences went hand in hand (Betz 1986). At the end, Paul could testify that the Corinthians had learned their lessons well. According to 1 Cor 1:5, they could claim an abundance of eloquence and knowledge but lacked mature faith and love. 2 Corinthians can restate this claim in a different form and add another challenge as well: "As you have abundance in everything, in faith and eloquence and knowledge as well as in every kind of zeal and in that kind of love which came from us and dwells in you, you should have abundance in this gift of charity, too" (2 Cor 8:7).

Theological doctrines used in the arguments include here, as elsewhere, those concerned with God, Christ, and Christian salvation, but in the center stands Paul's peculiar doctrine about his apostolic office (see APOSTLE). Much more explicitly than in other letters, Paul devotes two major sections to explanations of his office as an apostle. The "first apology" (2:14–6:13; 7:2–4) contains a self-portrait as the representative of the death and resurrection of Christ. The "letter of tears" (10:1–13:10) goes over this ground again but in a highly sarcastic tone and in the form of an ironic self-parody (the "fool's speech").

While in 1 Corinthians the doctrine of justification by faith (see JUSTIFICATION) is applied to the claim to possess "eloquence and knowledge" (1 Cor 1:18–31), that same doctrine serves in 2 Corinthians (see, especially, in chronological order, 2 Cor 5:17–21; 10:17–18; 12:9–10; 13:3–4; 1:3–7, 18–22) to distinguish between true and false claims of legitimacy. Most important, finally, are the statements and procedures that Paul sets forth concerning the formation of the Church as a theological community of love (see, especially, 2 Cor 5:14; 6:6, 11:13; 11:11; 12:15; 2:4, 8; 13:11, 13; 8:7, 8, 24; 9:6–14).

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**CORINTHIANS, THIRD EPISTLE TO THE.** One of the so-called apocryphal epistles, forming the last part of an apocryphal correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians contained in the *Acts of Paul.* It is preserved in several textual traditions of varying quality: in Armenian through several NT mss; through five rather fragmentary Latin mss; a 6th-century Coptic translation of the *Acts of Paul;* in Greek from the 3d-century Bodmer papyrus (see BODMER PAPYRI); and is attested in Ephrem the Syrian's commentary on the Pauline epistles (*NTApocr* 2: 326–27; Klijn 1963: 2–4). English translations may be found in Schneemelcher and in James.

The Syriac and Armenian churches regarded *3 Corinthians* as authentic and included it with the Pauline letters. Even though it circulated independently and was quite popular among certain groups of early Christians, as early as 1892 Zahn proposed that it was part of the *Acts of Paul* (Zahn; Enslin IDB, 679; *NTApocr* 2: 326; Klijn 1963: 2–5). Discovery of the Coptic Heidelberg papyrus in 1894 showed Zahn to be correct. The Coptic text also indicated that it was written originally in Greek. This was subsequently verified by the discovery of a Greek text which was published in 1959 (Klijn 1963: 5).

While it is now quite apparent that *3 Corinthians* is part of the *Acts of Paul,* opinions vary as to whether the author created the correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians or whether he used already existing writings (Klijn 1963: 10–16; *NTApocr* 2: 340–42).

Establishing the date, place of composition, and the identity of the author of *3 Corinthians* is complicated by its relationship to the *Acts of Paul.* Tertullian says (*De Bapt.* 17; approx. A.D. 200) that the *Acts of Paul* was written by a presbyter in Asia Minor, and the work itself indicates that it was most likely written in Asia Minor. A date between 170 and 195 is usually posited for the composition of the *Acts of Paul* (Klijn 1963: 4; *NTApocr* 2: 351). *3 Corinthians* is at least this early. If *3 Corinthians* was an earlier writing which was used by the author of the *Acts of Paul,* then it is impossible at this time to establish its precise date, place of composition, or the identity of its author.

*3 Corinthians* is located within the Philippi episode of the *Acts of Paul* and forms part of a correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians. The Corinthians first wrote Paul telling of two men, Simon and Cleobius, who arrived in Corinth and distorted the faith by teaching things they had not heard from Paul or the other apostles. They taught that the Corinthians should not "appeal to the prophets, and that God is not almighty, and that there is no resurrection of the flesh, and that the creation of man is not God's [work], and that the Lord is not come in the flesh, nor was he born of Mary, and that the world is not of God, but of angels" (*NTApocr* 2: 374). This letter was delivered to Paul in prison in Philippi by Threptus and Eutychus. *3 Corinthians* is Paul's response to the Corinthians' request that he either visit or write concerning these teachings.

*3 Corinthians* begins with a rather typical Pauline greeting, followed by an acknowledgment that his own tribulation is a sign that the teachings of the evil one are gaining ground. Paul then assures the Corinthians that he taught them what he received from the apostles. This is followed by a refutation of the teachings of Simon and Cleobius, which makes up the bulk of the letter. In turn, this is followed by an assurance for those who accept his teachings and condemnation for those who do not. The letter closes with an urge for them to turn away from the false teachings and a blessing of peace, grace, and love.

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**CORMORANT.** See ZOOLOGY.

**CORNELIUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Kornēlios* (Κορνηλιος)]. According to the book of Acts, Cornelius is the first gentile to become a convert to Christianity (Acts 10:1–11:18, cf. 15:6–11). Although the episode occupies a significant place in Luke-Acts, Luke conveys little information about the man himself. Study of the episode has concentrated primarily on the historical development and literary composition of the narrative and its significance in the unfolding story of Luke-Acts.

At the beginning of the Cornelius narrative, Luke notes that Cornelius resides in Caesarea and describes him as "a centurion of what was known as the Italian Cohort, a devout man who feared God with all his household, gave alms liberally to the people, and prayed constantly to God" (10:1–2). This introduction identifies Cornelius in two important ways. First, that he is a gentile may be deduced from the fact that he is a Roman soldier, since being in the military was incompatible with the observance of Jewish law (Joseph. *Ant* 18.84).

Second, with several phrases Luke signals that Cornelius is a religious man. Together with his entire household (cf. 11:14) Cornelius fears God. Whether this statement means that Cornelius belongs to a distinct group of gentiles known as "God-fearers," (i.e., gentiles who worshipped the God of the Jews but did not become proselytes) is a matter of debate. What is not subject to debate is the positive connotation attached to this statement and the ones that follow. Cornelius is charitable toward "the people" (Gk *laos*), a term Luke often employs for the people of Israel; and he prays to God without ceasing. While Cornelius is a gentile, Luke takes care to introduce him as an exceptionally good and pious gentile whose conversion almost becomes a response to his behavior. Indeed, the angel who appears to him and instructs him to send for Peter says that Cornelius' behavior has become a memorial before God (Acts 10:4).

Since Martin Dibelius' essay (1956) on the Cornelius account, interpretation of this episode has revolved around his thesis that the story has its origin in an earlier and simpler story of conversion, such as Dibelius understood had been preserved in the story of the ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH. Dibelius argued that the following elements conflicted with this earlier version of the story and, hence, that they were later additions: (1) Peter's vision (10:9–16) does not appear to be connected with the surrounding narrative, since the vision has to do with food laws but the larger story focuses on the inclusion of gentiles; (2) the description of the arrival of Peter and his colleagues at Cornelius' home (10:27–29), which is literarily awkward; (3) Peter's speech (10:34–43) appears to be a later addition because, according to Dibelius, early conversion stories did not contain speeches and because this particular speech seems to have been modeled on Peter's other speeches; and (4) Peter's defense of his actions in Jerusalem (11:1–18), since it focuses on Peter's social relations with gentiles, which Dibelius finds to be insignificant in the story itself.

Following Dibelius' essay, other interpreters of the Cornelius episode sought to refine his thesis. For example, while Ernst Haenchen (1965) expressed doubts about Dibelius' assumption that the early Church preserved legends about conversions (a criticism more recently revived by Klaus Haacker [1980]), Haenchen's own suggestion was that Luke had received the Cornelius story, in the form Dibelius had suggested, from traditions preserved at Caesarea. Ulrich Wilckens (1958) examined Peter's speech in 10:34–43, contending that this speech is more catechetical than Peter's other speeches in Acts, which are kerygmatic in content. François Bovon (1970) connected Peter's vision (10:9–16) with the Jerusalem discussion in 11:1–18 and argued that together they suggest that within the Cornelius account a second motif pertains to food laws. Karl Löning (1974) has argued that Peter's vision is an integral part of the Cornelius story, even in its earlier forms.

Despite Löning's attempt, the feature of Dibelius' analysis which has been most widely accepted is almost certainly his claim that Peter's vision is extrinsic to the narrative and is, hence, an addition to an earlier and simpler account. However, Dibelius neglected two features of ancient narratives that undermine his argument. First, numerous narratives in the ancient world use the device of double dreams,

that is, two characters have separate dreams within one narrative episode (see, for example, Jos. *Ant* 11.321–39). The closest example, of course, occurs in Acts 9, where Saul and Ananias each have a vision concerning the eventual visit of Ananias to Saul. Thus, there is good reason to suspect that the two visions in Acts 10 also belong to the same narrative. The second narrative feature Dibelius neglected is the literary role of dreams or visions. Dibelius found the vision of Peter insufficiently related to the larger narrative, but that is to overlook the fact that dreams or visions often occur at the beginning of an episode, but their significance only unfolds as the story itself unfolds. For example, in Plutarch's treatment of the life of Cicero, he tells of a dream in which Cicero sees Octavius, whom he had actually never met; on the next day, however, Cicero does meet Octavius (*Cic.* 44; cf. *Cim.* 18; *Luc.* 10.23.3–4; *Brut.* 20.8–11). Similarly, in Achilles Tatius' story of *Leucippe and Clitophon,* one of the Hellenistic romances, Clitophon dreams that he has been attached to a wife and then the attachment is severed by someone else. When Clitophon's engagement to Calligone is broken, the dream is fulfilled, and it is fulfilled yet again when Clitophon is separated from Leucippe by a series of misadventures. Numerous such examples suggest that, while Peter's vision does not explicitly address the conversion of gentiles, it may nevertheless be an integral part of the narrative.

The literary structure of the Cornelius account, when read as a unified story, consists of a sequence of parallel scenes: (1a) the vision of Cornelius, in which he receives instructions concerning Peter (10:1–8); (1b) the vision of Peter, in which he receives instructions concerning Cornelius (10:9–16); (2a) Cornelius' agents arrive at Peter's house and are welcomed there (10:17–23a); (2b) Peter and his companions arrive at Cornelius' house and are welcomed there (10:23b–29); (3a) Cornelius speaks to explain the events that have occurred to him (10:30–33); (3b) Peter speaks to explain his insight about God's impartiality and to recount the gospel (10:34–43); (4a) God's impartiality is confirmed by the Holy Spirit and through baptism (10:44–48); (4b) God's impartiality is confirmed by the community gathered in Jerusalem (11:1–18).

Luke narrates this particular story in a careful and even dramatic manner, at least in part because it is a major turning point in his story of the early Church. Beginning in Acts 1:8 (or even Luke 2:32), Luke has laid the groundwork for the inclusion of gentiles within the Christian community. Initially preaching the gospel only within Jerusalem, believers leave Jerusalem when they are forced to do so because of persecution (8:1). With the conversions in Samaria, the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch, and the conversion of the archenemy Saul, Luke continues to widen the boundaries of the Christian community. The similarities in the stories of the Ethiopian, Saul, and Cornelius suggest that for Luke they are part of one continuous event.

Not only does the Cornelius account bring to a culmination much of Luke's story up to this point, but it paves the way for the Jerusalem council in Acts 15. There, during a debate about the restrictions that ought to be placed upon gentile Christians, Peter refers indirectly to the Cornelius episode (15:6–9). The agreement that then becomes the launching pad for Paul's continued mission among gentiles has as its starting point this conversion of a pious gentile.

By means of this carefully crafted story, Luke conveys several points that are indicative of his theological perspective. Most obvious among these is the understanding that it is God and God alone who determines what the boundaries of the Christian community are to be. In the face of Peter's threefold resistance to the vision (10:9–16) and the Jerusalem community's complaining when Peter joins in table fellowship with gentiles (11:3), God's will has its way. In multiple ways Luke insists that this inclusion is God's will: the vision of Cornelius, the repeated vision of Peter, the gift of the Holy Spirit prior to baptism with water. The conclusion is clear: the inclusion of gentiles was the direct result of God's intervention and was not a merely human act. Despite the reluctance with which Peter becomes the instrument of Cornelius' conversion, his role in this story also conveys an important element in Luke's theological viewpoint. In keeping with the central importance Peter has in the Jerusalem community from the beginning of Acts, he alone is the apostle who has the authority to take this bold step. A third theological issue in this text has to do with the nature of Christian hospitality. Crucial to the Church's inclusion of gentiles is the problem of table fellowship. That is an explicit issue, of course, in Gal 2:12,

but it also plays a role in this story with its recurrent motif of hospitality and the sharing of food (10:23, 28, 48; 11:3).

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**CORNER GATE** (PLACE) [Heb *sĕʿar happinâ* (שַׁעַר הַפִּנָּה); *šaʿar happôneh* (שַׁעַר הַפּוֹנָה); *šaʿar happĕnîm* (שַׁעַר הַפְּנִים)]. Gate of Jerusalem first mentioned during the reign of Amaziah (2 Kgs 14:13; 2 Chr 25:23) that became increasingly strategic to Uzziah (2 Chr 26:9) and to Hezekiah. After the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.E., Jeremiah and Zechariah refer to the Corner Gate (Jer 31:37—Eng 38; Zech 14:10) as the westernmost boundary of a future Jerusalem. Where the Corner Gate should be located greatly depends on whether or not there was an Israelite settlement on the Western Hill of Jerusalem and on whether it was included inside the walls of the city (for a full summary, see Simons 1952: 226–81, 447–58). These questions were, for the most part, answered by the archaeological excavations on the Western Hill from 1968 to 1971 with the discovery of pottery, figurines, ostraca, and the more significant "broad wall" and "Israelite tower" dated to the 8th–7th centuries B.C.E. and most likely should be attributed to Hezekiah (Avigad 1980: 23–60). It is at the W end of this 8th-century wall, built along the Transversal Valley to protect the vulnerable NW approach of the city, that the Corner Gate should provisionally be located. The gate most likely began as an avenue of ingress and egress for the settlement on the Western Hill. After Amaziah's defeat at Beth-shemesh, Jehoash, king of Israel, came to Jerusalem and destroyed 400 cubits of a city wall between the Gate of Ephraim and the Corner Gate. Uzziah later strengthened the Corner Gate with defensive towers (2 Chr 26:9) to enhance strategically its vulnerable position for lack of a valley or ravine to protect the gate. The Corner Gate then became the westernmost point of Hezekiah's "broad wall." It ran E–W along the Transversal Valley from the temple enclosure to the Corner Gate where the city wall turned S along the Hinnom Valley (Gibson 1987: 86–87). Nehemiah's lack of reference to the Corner Gate may be attributed to his reinforcing of only the old defensive lines of the smaller City of David and temple area (Avigad 1980: 61–62; Williamson 1984: 85–87).

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**CORPORATE PERSONALITY.** "Corporate personality" is a term used in English law. It refers to the fact that a group or body can be regarded legally as an individual, possessing the rights and duties of an individual. The membership of such a group may change through the death of members or the recruitment of new ones, without affecting the rights and duties of the group as a whole.

Although Wheeler Robinson in 1907 had alluded to the concept in his commentary on Joshua, it wasn't until 1911 that he introduced the term "corporate personality" into biblical interpretation. He believed that it helped to explain features of the OT that were puzzling to modern readers. For example, in Joshua 7, the whole household of Achan was destroyed, even though Achan alone had disobeyed the divine command not to take spoil from Jericho. If Achan's household was a corporate personality, the whole group was

culpable, even though only one of its members had offended. Again, in some of the psalms (e.g., 44:5–9—Eng 44:4–8), the language switches abruptly from "I" to "we." If the psalmist belonged to a corporate personality, he could think of himself ("I") as embodying the whole group; yet his sense of solidarity *with* the group allowed him also to employ "we" language.

According to Rogerson (1980), Robinson employed "corporate personality" in at least two different senses: (a) corporate responsibility (e.g., the Achan punishment) and (b) corporate representation (e.g., the corporate "I" of the psalms). Like many scholars of his day, Robinson believed that ancient Hebrew thought was similar to that of "primitive" societies and was impressed by the work of anthropologists on this "primitive" mentality, especially that of Lévy-Bruhl. He believed that the Hebrews analyzed the relation between the individual and the group in ways very different from those of modern man. For example, the Hebrews did not place limits on their individuality but felt themselves to belong to a group in such a way that an individual could be or become the group. Again, a remote ancestor, although dead, could embody the group in such a way that a living member of it could feel the closest identity, even identification, with the ancestor.

Although Robinson took the idea of corporate personality from English law, he applied it to the OT in an imprecise fashion. In English law a corporate personality cannot be punished for the misdemeanor of one of its members. If, however, the offender acted as an authorized representative of the group, then the group as such could be indicted. Furthermore, the idea of a bond of consciousness or identity between individual and group, such as is presupposed in explaining the corporate "I" of the psalms, is foreign to the legal notion adopted by Robinson in order to describe what he believed to be a basic and primitive characteristic of Hebrew thought, one to which modern thought had no parallel.

Since the 1930s many OT scholars believed that Robinson had discovered an important way of avoiding reading modern Western notions of individuality into the OT. Many also believed his work to be confirmed by Pedersen's (1926) mystical account of how Israelites experienced the world. Corporate personality was thus used to explain the individual and collective traits of the servant in the four Servant Songs of Isaiah 42–53 (Robinson 1955; Eissfeldt 1933), the phenomenon of pseudonymity in apocalyptic literature (Russell 1964), the identity between a messenger and the person who sent him (Johnson 1961: 28), and the close affinity between saga characters and Israelite readers of the sagas (Koch 1969). However, the anthropological theories on which Robinson based his notion of Hebrew mentality have since been largely abandoned by anthropologists.

Robinson must be credited, nevertheless, with focusing attention upon an important question: did the Israelites regard a group as a collection of individuals or as a body with various members? In some cases the answer seems to be that a group is regarded primarily as a body whose members are so bound together that they must share a common fate. In Gen 19:22–32, the alternatives are that either Sodom will be destroyed or it will be reprieved should it contain ten righteous persons; that the righteous should be spared and the wicked destroyed is not an option. The city is dealt with as a collective whole.

However, care should be taken not to press this principle into service without careful thought. In the Achan incident there is clear indication of individual responsibility. Achan is identified as the culprit, and, although the people as a whole had been punished by defeat at Ai, it is only Achan's household that is put to death. This punishment need not depend upon corporate personality; it has been explained in terms of the need to execute all those who were defiled by contact with spoil devoted wholly to God (Porter 1965). It has also been seen as an instance of ruler punishment.

The classic instance of ruler punishment (Daube 1947) is 2 Sam 24: 1–17, where David's punishment for holding a census results in the death of 70,000 men. Here again, the idea of individual responsibility is clear: David erred, but his punishment falls upon his property, the 70,000 men.

The above examples should serve as a warning against those who attempt to fit OT texts into simplistic categories. In OT law the principle of individual responsibility was fundamental from the earliest times. Yet some individuals held power over others that might cause them, although innocent, to be punished for the actions of the head. In OT religion the fear of defilement of the whole people by the presence within it of a group or individual that had violated the boundary separating the sacred from the profane was strong

enough to require the execution of those responsible. Again, the OT employs the devices of personification and synechdoche: Israel can be described as a virgin girl (Amos 5:2), or a king can represent the whole of his people (Ezek 28:2, 12).

It would be wrong to assume without further investigation that Israelites perceived the relation between the individual and society in exactly the same way as modern scholars. It is equally wrong to suppose that the OT can only be understood by positing a special Hebrew mentality, radically different from that of modern Westerners. Even in modern society, where individualism is a more dominating concept than in the OT, there exist experiences and resources which can be used sensitively to explain features of OT narrative that are at first sight puzzling and alien.

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**CORPUS HELLENISTICUM NOVI TESTAMENTI.** A research project whose purpose is to collect and publish Greco-Roman parallels elucidating the contents of the NT.

**A. The History of the Project**

Before the 17th century NT exegesis was mainly of a dogmatic nature, both in Protestant and in Roman Catholic circles. The exegete was obligated to "explain" the sacred texts in such a way that the dogmatic interests of the Church were defended. Although as early as 1572 the classical philologist Joachim Camerarius had stated that the NT could only be explained against the background of the linguistic usage of ancient authors (Kümmel 1970: 26–28), it was not until the 17th century that this view became more influential. This period saw the birth and growth of a strictly philological approach to the NT. In the so-called *Observationes* and *Annotationes* literature, the text of the NT books was elucidated on the basis of parallels from one or more classical authors. The most important examples from both the 17th and 18th centuries are works by D. Heinsius, H. Grotius, J. Cappellus, P. Colomesius, J. Dougtaeus, J. B. Carpzovius, C. H. Langius, C. F. Munthe, J. Pricaeus, G. Raphelius, J. T. Krebsius, L. Bos, J. Alberti, C. F. Loesnerus, and J. Elsnerus (for bibliographical details, see Ros 1940: 49–56 and Delling 1963a: 1, n.1). Although *Observationes* and *Annotationes* cannot be strictly distinguished, one may say that, whereas the *Observationes* often merely listed parallels from Greek and Latin authors, the *Annotationes* for the most part have the character of a commentary in which also aspects other than simply elucidating parallels are treated (see the collection of *Annotationes* literature in Pearson 1666).

The practice of collecting classical parallels to the NT reached its zenith in J. J. Wettstein's *Novum Testamentum Graecum* (1751–52). This work, intended to be a new critical edition of the Greek NT, has remained a highly useful tool to the present day (it was reprinted in 1962), not for its edition of the NT, but for its extensive apparatus containing quotations of parallels from Greek, Latin, and rabbinic literature; more than 175 classical authors had been scrutinized by Wettstein over a period of more than

forty years in his search for parallels to the NT (see Hulbert-Powell 1938; van Unnik 1964a: 196–99; Mussies fc.). Neither before nor after him has such a comprehensive and systematic collection of materials relevant to the NT been published. Although Wettstein himself declared that much remained to be done (2: 876), after his death this kind of work gradually came to a standstill. In the 19th century historical-critical questions occupied NT scholars much more than philological matters. But by the beginning of the 20th century the climate had again changed. The discovery of papyri in Egypt, excavations in the E Mediterranean area, and the rise of religiohistorical research brought the relationship between the NT and its cultural milieu into focus again. Shortly before World War I, C. F. Georg Heinrici, a Leipzig professor of NT, developed plans for a large-scale project, called by him "a new Wettstein," and later renamed (probably by E. von Dobschütz) *Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti* (CHNT). Rabbinic writings were excluded from the project when it became known that Paul Billerbeck was working on this material for his monumental *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (1926–28). Heinrici enlisted as his collaborators Ernst von Dobschütz, Hans Lietzmann, Hans Windisch, Adolf Deissmann, and Johannes Leipoldt (von Dobschütz 1922: 146–48; van Unnik 1964a: 200–1). During the initial stage of the project, Heinrici died (in 1915) and his responsibility passed to von Dobschütz in Halle. Von Dobschütz organized the project with great enthusiasm and, after World War I, set a great number of assistants (more than fifty, at several universities) to work on it. They checked Wettstein's quotations against modern critical editions, updating and supplementing his material, all of which was recorded on file cards. Soon it was discovered that a team of scholars in England (under F. H. Colson's direction) was also working on a new edition of Wettstein, to be published by SPCK (Hulbert-Powell 1938: 273). Scholars like G. N. L. Hall, G. H. Whitaker, E. R. Bernard, W. O. E. Oesterley, W. Scott, W. K. Lowther Clarke, and others had been collecting materials from Plutarch, Seneca, Josephus, Vettius Valens, Stobaeus, the Corpus Hermeticum, and the Magical papyri. Once von Dobschütz had succeeded in convincing the British that the German project was in a far more advanced stage, they put all their materials at the disposal of the Germans and discontinued the enterprise (von Dobschütz 1922: 147–48).

Between the years 1918 and 1933 much work was done. In 1928 von Dobschütz (1928: 49) wrote that the project could be completed in a few years. However, with the rise of National Socialism the project gradually broke down, the more so after the death of von Dobschütz in 1934. When his successor, Hans Windisch, who hoped to finish the project in the near future (1935: 125), died within a year, the work came to a complete halt (Aland 1955–56: 218). Together with the individual workers, many of the file cards disappeared in the years before and during World War II. In 1941 the Halle NT scholar Erich Klostermann came to an agreement with Anton Fridrichsen in Uppsala that the pagan portion of the materials (the Pagano-Hellenisticum) should be transferred to Uppsala, while the Judeo-Hellenisticum would remain in Halle (Fridrichsen and Klostermann 1941: 255). Fridrichsen had a long-standing interest in the project and had himself written a series of articles with CHNT materials (Bauer 1954: 128). But owing to a long-lasting illness and his early death in 1953, he was not able to advance the project. Only one contribution, a dissertation by one of his pupils (Almqvist 1946), was made in the years between 1941 and 1953. The untimely deaths of J. Schniewind and H. Preisker also considerably slowed progress in the Halle branch.

In 1955 a new start was made. Fridrichsen's successor, Harald Riesenfeld, and the Dutch NT scholar Willem Cornelis van Unnik agreed, after international consultation in the Society of New Testament Studies (van Unnik 1956–57; Aland 1955–56), that the Pagano-Hellenisticum part of the CHNT would be transferred to Utrecht under the direction of van Unnik, while the Judeo-Hellenisticum would remain in Halle, to be directed by Gerhard Delling (Aland 1955–56: 218–19; Delling 1963a: 5). Like von Dobschütz and Windisch, van Unnik, too, expected that the wish to publish a new Wettstein would soon be fulfilled (van Unnik 1964a: 202). In 1956 the file cards arrived in Utrecht and were studied, checked, and reordered by temporary assistants. In the 1960s two full-time researchers began collecting new materials from Hellenistic authors. In 1966 a new branch of the project was begun at the Institute for

Antiquity and Christianity in Claremont, California, under Hans Dieter Betz, who had previously published a contribution to the CHNT (Betz 1961).

By this time it had become clear that the ultimate goal, i.e., the publication of an updated and completed Wettstein, could not be reached as easily and quickly as had been wished, both because of the immense amount of ancient literature to be studied and because of the very limited number of researchers who were available to the project. Hence it was decided to aim provisionally at an interim goal, namely, the publication of a series of monographs discussing the relevance of one particular author (or corpus) to the NT. This series, the *Studia ad Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti* (published by Brill), began in 1970 and continues to the present time (see Petzke 1970; Mussies 1972; Betz 1975 and 1978; Grese 1979; van der Horst 1980). In addition, a series of articles on minor authors (van der Horst 1973, 1974, 1975, 1981, 1983a), and on NT chapters, pericopae, verses, or themes in their relation to Hellenistic literature (van Unnik 1964b, 1970a, 1973a; Betz 1979; van der Horst 1983b, 1985; Mussies 1986) has been and continues to be published in various scholarly journals.

Within these publications, both monographs and articles, three different approaches can be discerned. In the first, the order of the NT text is the point of departure, and the parallels are quoted *seriatim,* from Matthew 1 through Revelation 22, with little or no comment (as in Wettstein). In the second, the order of the writing(s) of the pagan or Jewish author becomes the point of departure, and to it parallels from the NT are quoted, with or without comment. In the third, the material is arranged thematically, with topics from the pagan literature or the NT as the focus; these are elucidated through parallels drawn from the other corpus. Each of the above divergent approaches has its advantages and they are complementary.

Since van Unnik's death in 1978, the work of the Utrecht branch of the CHNT has been continued by his former collaborators Gerard Mussies and Pieter W. van der Horst. Under Delling, and also, since his retirement in 1975, the Judeo-Hellenisticum branch in Halle has been active mainly in bibliographical work (Delling 1975). With Betz's move to Chicago in 1979, the American branch of the Pagano-Hellenisticum moved from Claremont to the Divinity School of the University of Chicago.

In the seventy years of its existence, progress of the project has seriously been hampered by four causes: the First and Second World Wars; the untimely deaths of several of its directors (Heinrici, von Dobschütz, Windisch, Schniewind, Priesker, Fridrichsen, van Unnik); a serious underestimation of the amount of work involved; and in recent times the increasing number of nonresearch duties imposed upon investigators at the universities. The future of the project lies in the steady continuation of the series of books and articles on individual pagan authors or writings and on pericopae, chapters, or themes of the NT.

**B. The Purpose of the Project**

The primary purpose of the CHNT is to further the understanding of the NT in its cultural context, not only from a religiohistorical, but also from a literary, philosophical, and historical point of view. The work done at this project is necessary in order to learn to hear the words of the NT with the ears of 1st-century people and so to discover the emotional value of these words for the earliest readers or hearers. The aim is to investigate everything that has been preserved from Greek and Roman antiquity in relation to its significance for a proper understanding of the NT (van Unnik 1980: 202, 208). Van Unnik described the project's purpose with the maxim, "Words come to Life" (van Unnik 1971: 199). This does not mean that the project is of a lexicographical nature. In the early *Observationes* literature, as well as in Wettstein, there was a heavy emphasis on lexicographical matters. This was necessary since there were no (or only very inadequate) lexicons in those days. Now with the advent of Walter Bauer (BAGD) and *TDNT*, much of the relevant lexical parallels are easily accessible (Delling 1963a: 8). Moreover, G. H. R. Horsley has undertaken a new collection of lexical material from papyri and inscriptions for a revised Moulton-Milligan (Horsley 1981–87). Of course, there are still several lacunae in NT lexicography, and occasionally CHNT researchers have been able to fill the gaps (see, e.g., van Unnik 1962; Mussies 1978; van der Horst 1976–77, 1978). But more often it is rather the specific combination of words (not indicated by the lexicons) that appears to be relevant. For example, it no longer makes sense to collect occurrences of *gnōmē,* "purpose, mind," and the numeral *heis/mia/hen* in Greek authors; however, it does make sense

to collect instances of *mia gnōmē,* "one mind," since only then does it become clear that the author of Revelation is employing a political technical term, which evoked very specific associations (Rev 17:13, 17; van Unnik 1970b).

The main emphasis in CHNT research, however, is on conceptual parallels, which, more often than not, are phrased differently than in the NT so that there is no or only little verbal agreement (the main reason why the computer is of very little use to this project). This is, of course, most obvious when the parallels are found in Latin writings. For example, to the use of spittle in the story of the healing of the blind man by Jesus (Mark 8:23; cf. John 9:6) the closest parallel is Tacitus' story of Vespasian's healing of a blind man by means of the emperor's spittle (*Hist.* 4.81; also Suet. *Ves.* 7.2). Since the languages are different here, there is no verbal agreement, although Greek parallels can be verbally dissimilar as well. As for the story of the ascension in Acts 1:9, there are many pagan parallels, none of which agree verbally (van der Horst 1983b: 20–23). The same applies even to such a motif as the tongues of fire, a manifestation of divine presence or grace in Acts 2:3; here the many parallels in Greek, and especially Latin, sources show little or no verbal similarity (van der Horst 1985: 49–50). Several aspects of Jesus' genealogy in Matt 1:1–17 can be clarified against their Hellenistic and Jewish-Hellenistic background despite the lack of verbal agreement (Mussies 1986). Also Jesus' raising of the widow's son at Nain (Luke 7:11–17) has a striking parallel in a story of Apollonius of Tyana (Philostr. *VA* 4.45), but again there is no verbal agreement (Petzke 1970: 129–30; cf. Betz 1961: 161). In general, there are many pagan parallels to the miracle stories, especially the healing miracles (Betz 1961: 147–60; cf. Weinreich 1909).

Sometimes the agreement between an expression in the NT and its parallels is only partially verbal while conceptually complete. For instance, to the expression *to pneuma mē sbennute,* "Do not quench the Spirit," in 1 Thess 5:19 there are only partial verbal parallels in Plutarch, but nonetheless the background of the concept of extinguishing the spirit can be illuminated from Plutarch, whose writings on inspiration make Paul's meaning clear, i.e., let not rational considerations and the fear to look ridiculous in the eyes of others restrain the activity of God's spirit within you (van Unnik 1968). The formula in Rev 1:19, "what you have seen, what is now, and what will be hereafter" (NEB), has no exact counterpart in Greek and Latin literature, but comparable (as far as meaning is concerned) formulas from Homer through late antiquity make it abundantly clear that this phrase is a formula describing prophecy (van Unnik 1962–63). When in Acts 9:1 it is said that Saul was still "breathing threats and murder" (NEB) against the disciples of the Lord, the use of various verbs for "breathing," with an object in the accusative or genitive to indicate strong emotions at dramatic high points, can again be traced from Homer down to the later imperial period; all such instances are found, significantly enough, in higher literary sources (van der Horst 1970). Acts 22:28 offers an example of a more historical nature. The Roman commander's statement, "It cost me a large sum to acquire this citizenship (NEB), is illustrated in a discourse by Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 34.23, early 2d century C.E.) where it is stated that one had to pay five hundred drachmas in order to become a Roman citizen of Tarsus (Mussies 1972: 133). The belief of the inhabitants of Jerusalem that Peter's shadow would heal the sick (Acts 5:15) finds its explanation in the whole complex of ideas both in pagan and in Jewish popular belief about the power of an individual's shadow (van der Horst 1976–77, 1979).

A wide variety of parallels have been considered. Sometimes, but not often, they are only lexical. More often they are of a stylistic and literary nature, helping to clarify the linguistic and literary stratum to which the NT writings belong. The most important parallels are the conceptual ones, both in the sphere of the history of religions and in that of ethics and *realia.* "The Corpus Hellenisticum will be a collection of all parallels and antiparallels in expression and contents that exist between the Greek and Roman world and the NT" (van Unnik 1971: 204). All the material collected helps us to see how deeply the earliest Christian writers were rooted in Hellenistic-Roman culture. This is not to deny or doubt the fundamentally Jewish character of the NT writings. The aim of the CHNT is to show what these basically Jewish writings have in common with Greco-Roman and Jewish literary documents. It should also help to measure to what extent 1st-century Jewish (and through it, Christian) thought and diction have been influenced by Hellenistic ideas and modes of expression.

The nature of the work at the CHNT involves the risk that attention is mainly drawn to points where there seems to be a certain agreement or similarity between pagan and early Christian documents, whereas it may rather be the absence of parallels that is significant. Hence it should be stressed that one of the important facets of the project is that, the more work has been done in this field, the better we can identify those passages and concepts in the NT to which no parallels are to be found. Only then will the really distinctive ideas and usages of the NT be brought out in full relief.

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PIETER W. VAN DER HORST

**CORRECTIONS OF THE SCRIBES.** See SCRIBAL EMENDATIONS; TEXTUAL CRITICISM; MASORAH.

**CORRUPTION, MOUNT OF** (PLACE) [Heb *har hammašḥît* (הַר הַמַּשְׁחִית)]. A site mentioned in 2 Kgs 23:13 which tells how King Josiah desecrated "the high places that were east of Jerusalem on the south of the Mount of Corruption." According to 1 Kgs 11:7, this is probably where Solomon had erected shrines to Ashtoreth, Chemosh, and Molech. The specific location of the Mount of Corruption on the hill E of Jerusalem is not exactly clear but seems to have been located on the S end of the hill; in later times it was specifically identified with the S part of the ridge, an area probably to be understood as E of the City of David and up the slope from the modern village of Silwan (Finegan 1969: 89); this area is to the S of the slight depression which separates the N sections of the hill (including the first N summit, Mount Scopus, and the central summit, the Mount of Olives) from the S section of the hill. The same Heb term, used in 2 Kgs 23:13, is also found in Jer 51:25 and translated, "Destroying the Mountain," but in the latter instance refers to Babylon's invasion. The Vg of 2 Kgs 23:13 uses the term Mons Offensionis (Mount of Offense), and this term and a similar one, Mons Scandali (Mountain of Scandal), are often used today to describe the area. Rabbinic tradition identifies the hill by the term, "The Mountain of Anointment," which may have been the earlier name for the hill, because the olives harvested there were used for anointing (Mount of Olives). On this assumption the name of the hill was later changed to "Mount of Corruption" because of Solomon's desecration.

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W. HAROLD MARE

**COS** (PLACE) [Gk *Kō* (Κω)]. Small island (approx. 80 stadia in circumference; Strabo 14.2.19) in the Aegean Sea, SW of Asia Minor, with a city by the same name. The Mycenaeans settled on Cos by 1425 B.C.E. and it was heavily populated, according to Homer (*Iliad* 2.184; 14.225; 1 Macc 15:23; Acts 21:1). The island fell to the Dorians sometime after the 12th century B.C.E. and subsequently received settlers from Epidaurus (Str. 14.2.6; Th. 7.57.6). Cos was a major shipping port, exporting excellent wine (Pliny 15.18; 17.30), costly ointments (Athen. 15.688), purple dye, and fabrics of a transparent texture (Hor. *Od* 4.13.7; Tibull. 2.4.6). Cos was celebrated for its Temple of Asclepius (a Greek god associated with healing), as the birthplace of Hippocrates (the so-called father of medicine), and its legendary medical

school. In the 3d century B.C.E., Cos developed an outstanding library and several Ptolemaic princes were educated there.

When Judah the Maccabee's emissaries were returning from Rome to Judea in 161 B.C.E., they received a letter of safe-conduct from the Roman consul to the authorities of Cos (*Ant* 14.10.15 §233). The Roman Senate sent a letter to the inhabitants of Cos warning them not to join forces with Tryphon against Judea (1 Macc 15:23). Josephus, quoting Strabo, mentioned that the Jews of Asia Minor deposited their money on Cos during the Mithridatic War (*Ant* 14.7.2). Julius Caesar later issued an edict in favor of the Jews of Cos (*Ant* 14.10.15). Herod the Great conferred many favors on Cos (*JW* 1.21.11) and an inscription also associates Herod Antipas with the island. Another inscription from the island refers to a Jewess or possibly to a "God-fearer" from the island. Cos is mentioned once in the Bible in Acts 21:1. After Paul's third missionary journey, the apostle sailed from Miletus to Cos, where he spent the night before sailing the next day to Rhodes.

SCOTT T. CARROLL

**COSAM** (PERSON) [Gk *Kōsam* (Κωσαμ)]. The father of Addi and son of Elmadam, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:28). D omits Cosam, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. The name Cosam occurs nowhere else in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, and falls within a list of eighteen otherwise unknown descendants of David's son Nathan (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 501). Kuhn's (1923: 214–16; endorsed by Schürmann *Luke* HTKNT, 201, n. 95) attempt to find a source for Cosam, as part of the group from Neri through Er, in corrupted forms of names in 1 Chr 3:17–18 MT, is particularly unconvincing, especially since there is serious question whether the genealogy at this point is based on 1 Chronicles, which does not have Cosam in 3:18 MT or LXX (Marshall *Luke* NIGTC, 164; cf. Jeremias 1969: 295–96).

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STANLEY E. PORTER

**COSMOGONY, COSMOLOGY.** The theory and lore concerning the origin and structure of the universe.

———

A. Definitions
B. Cosmogony and Cosmology in the Hebrew Bible
    1. The Significance of Cosmological Material for Biblical Religion
    2. Varieties of Cosmology in the Hebrew Bible
    3. The Cosmic Battle Pattern
    4. The Creation of the First Humans
    5. The Role of Second Isaiah in Centralizing the Cosmological Argument
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C. Cosmology in the NT
    1. Sources of Early Christian Cosmological Thought
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D. The Functions of Religious Cosmogonies/Cosmologies
    1. Older Views
    2. Recent Formulations of the Place of Cosmology in Religion

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## A. Definitions

Cosmogony and cosmology are both terms whose etymologies remain helpful in defining them for the purposes of discussing their place in biblical thought. The first element in both words is obviously the same Greek word that lies behind the English "cosmos," and thus refers to the entire universe as an organized entity. A cosmogony (*kosmos* + *genia* = "birth") is thus an account, usually in the form of a mythological tale, about the genesis or birth of the structured universe. A cosmology (*kosmos* + *logia* = "report") is a blueprint or map, in the widest sense, of the universe as a comprehensible and meaningful place.

Occasionally, scholars have maintained that it is important to make a firm separation between these two terms—a separation between cosmogony, on the one hand, as a mythical account of the original events that produced an ordered universe, and cosmology, on the other hand, as speculation about meaning and value in the universe in the most general sense and even in the absence of any mention of originating events. Though such a terminological division may be useful in discussing nonbiblical religions, the fact is that the locus of almost all cosmological thought in the Hebrew Bible and in the NT is in cosmogonic texts. Hence, the two terms have traditionally been used almost interchangeably in discussions of early Judaism and Christianity; and they will be so used here.

The present treatment of cosmogony and cosmology in biblical texts is composed of three major sections. The first and much the longest is devoted to the Hebrew Bible, whose lengthy history of composition and transmission has led to a striking variety of quite different cosmological views. A second and shorter section is concerned with cosmological materials in the NT. Finally, the concluding section will concentrate on a series of questions posed by historians of religion but too often neglected in treatments of biblical cosmogonic lore: What is the role of cosmological speculation in religious thought generally? Why is it that almost no religion's scriptures omit some discussion of the origin of the universe?

## B. Cosmogony and Cosmology in the Hebrew Bible

**1. The Significance of Cosmological Material for Biblical Religion.** Initially, one might ask if statements about the origin and meaning of the universe played a significant role in the religion of ancient Israel. Both internal evidence from the Hebrew Bible and the conclusions of a previous stage in biblical scholarship suggest that such a potentially troubling question is not out of place. With regard to the biblical evidence, it has been noted that there is no single word in biblical Hebrew which bears the weight carried by the Greek word *kosmos.* The notion that the universe is a rationally comprehensible totality is one that is met with frequently in Greek thought and that is represented already by the use of this term *kosmos.* The postbiblical usage of the Hebrew word "ancient," "everlasting" *(ʿōlām)* carries similar connotations; but *ʿōlām* is not used in such a cosmic sense within the Hebrew Bible, and other expressions ("earth" [*tēbēl*], "heaven and earth" [*haššāmayim* wĕhāʾāreṣ], or "the all" [*kol*]) are similarly limited. Secondly, only rarely does the Hebrew Bible concentrate at sustained length on cosmogonic narratives. Though hints and allusions abound to what must be assumed to be a popular reservoir of thoughts on the origin and shape of the universe, accounts that extend beyond a few verses are essentially limited to those in Gen 1:1–2:4a and 2:4b–25; and of these, the second is more correctly seen as an account of the origin of humanity (an anthropogony).

On the basis of these observations and others, many scholars, especially those working during the early and mid-20th century, concluded that cosmogonic thought was very much a subsidiary and probably too, a quite late concentration for ancient Israel. Thus, the well-known German form-critic Gerhard von Rad, who placed historiographic concerns at the heart of Israel's theology, urged repeatedly that "Israel's faith is based on history rather than cosmology" (*ROTT* 2: 347). The historian of religion Mircea Eliade concurred: "This God of the Jewish people is no longer an Oriental divinity, creator of archetypal gestures, but a personality who ceaselessly intervenes in history … the Hebrews were the first to discover the meaning of history as the epiphany of God, and this conception, as we should expect, was taken up and amplified by Christianity" (1959: 104). Von Rad, Eliade, and others then went on to claim that

historiographical, functional, and soteriological concerns dominate in the religion of Israel as speculative, cosmological concerns dominate elsewhere, for example in ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, or India.

However, the position that cosmological thought plays but a secondary role in the Hebrew Bible is one that has found fewer defenders in the most recent period. The internal evidence most cited for revising the earlier, minimizing assessment of the role of cosmology in biblical religion is, first, that the present shape of the Hebrew Bible does accord primacy to two separate creation accounts. Thus, from a canonical perspective, the ancient Jewish community which based its beliefs and rituals upon the Hebrew Bible clearly saw cosmogony as basic to its religion. Secondly, and especially in the years following the recovery of the ancient, mythological texts from Ugarit (Ras Shamra) on the Syrian coast, the number of allusive references to cosmogonic battles in the Hebrew Bible has been given renewed appreciation.

Beyond this evidence, progress in the study of comparative religion has suggested that no religion entirely omits cosmological reflection. Thus, the French sociologist Emile Durkheim, whose *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* has been perhaps the single most influential volume for the study of comparative religion, argued both that "there is no religion that is not a cosmology" (1915: 21) and that "all known religions have been systems of ideas which tend to embrace the universality of things, and to give us a complete representation of the world" (1915: 165). Durkheim's view is that all religions offer their adherents a satisfying explanation of the world, so that cosmology can be sought and found in many texts that are not overt cosmogonies. The analyses of Durkheim and others have begun to persuade biblical scholars that the older view was too limiting and too much in the service of demonstrating the uniqueness of Israel's religion. The position that the Hebrew Bible is essentially concerned solely with history or with soteriology, to the exclusion of cosmology, has had a similar fate. Two recent summaries of Israelite cosmogony can therefore conclude, in opposition to the older view, that creation is not to be seen in the Bible as transformed and historicized, but rather remains fundamentally mythical (McKenzie 1976: 199) and that "at all points in the cosmogonic traditions, even in places where Israel's election or deliverance from enemies is involved, there is a more fundamental level of meaning: the nature of reality itself" (Knight 1985: 134).

Hence, the view commanding increasing assent is that cosmological thought is of greater significance for both ancient Judaism and early Christianity than earlier critics had judged. Still, it remains true and worth accenting that various religious traditions do place a different weight upon such thought, and that on any chart measuring comparative attention granted to cosmology the biblical religions would not rank near the top. Among the neighbors of ancient Israel, both Egypt and Mesopotamia seem to have engaged more fully and at an earlier date in speculations about the origin and the basic blueprint of the cosmos than did Israelites; and early Greek thought shows a similar concentration upon questions of origin and rational organization. Perhaps the most elaborate religious cosmologies are those developed in India, whose chronologies of the ages of the universe are especially noteworthy (*EncRel* 4: 107–13) and contrast greatly with the very brief (cosmically speaking) time spans narrated in the Hebrew Bible and in the NT. Among the reasons for this relative dearth of cosmogonic speculation may be the composite origins of the biblical portrait of Yahweh, the God of Israel. It has been pointed out that elements of both the god Baʿl Haddu and the god ʾEl from the religion of most ancient Syria-Palestine have gone into the Israelite descriptions of Yahweh (*CMHE)*; and the developing polemic against Baʿl Haddu, whose myths are throughout cosmogonic tales, may have militated against the utilization of the full repertoire of cosmogonic myths in portraying Yahweh.

**2. Varieties of Cosmology in the Hebrew Bible.** A second, prefatory remark about the most general role of cosmology in biblical thought is that this thought displays a notable lack of uniformity and consistency. There is perhaps just sufficient uniformity to allow for the construction of a general world view (see sec. B.9 below); but the contrasts between, for example, the allusions to an original cosmic battle against the forces of chaos, on the one hand, and the portrait of Wisdom's controlling role in the orderly creation of a rational cosmos, on the other hand, remain what is most striking.

The reasons for this lack of uniformity are not difficult to discover. In the first place, the process of the composition and transmission of the materials now in the Hebrew Bible was one that stretched over

something like a full millennium. It should not, therefore, occasion surprise if the cosmogonic accounts which appear to have originated in premonarchical Israel differ dramatically from those now found in Proverbs or the book of Daniel. Secondly, one of the distinctive attributes of the religion of Israel is the allowance for and the preservation of quite different theological positions. Such tolerance of diversity obtains in the area of cosmology as it does elsewhere, so that a recent scholar is on quite firm ground when he concludes of cosmological materials in the Hebrew Bible that "at this point, as in many others, Israel was able to maintain and affirm pluralism as a distinct aspect of her heritage and identity" (Knight 1985: 137).

Of course, both the recent move toward widening the definition of cosmology to include materials previously omitted in discussing cosmology in the Hebrew Bible and the absence of uniformity within this collection of texts create difficulties for any attempt to construct a schematic portrait of cosmology in the Hebrew Bible. In what follows, cosmological materials are treated in rough chronological order, with the frank recognition that the assignment of absolute dates to many strands in the Hebrew Bible must be done with greater hesitancy than was true only a generation ago. Nor is there any attempt, given the constraints of space, to be truly comprehensive. For example, neither the flood story in Genesis 6–9 nor the accounts of the significance of the temple in Jerusalem (e.g., in 1 Kings 8 or Ezekiel 40–48) receives attention below; and yet each could be seen as presenting material of cosmological significance and must be covered in any fuller account.

**3. The Cosmic Battle Pattern.** Already at the end of the 19th century the great scholar of Israel's preliterary traditions, Hermann Gunkel, noted that a careful reading of the Hebrew Bible revealed allusions to a common ANE cosmogony based upon a primordial combat between the creator and the forces of chaos (Gunkel 1895). Prior to the uncovering and translation of the Ugaritic texts, the source of these traditions was regularly seen to be Mesopotamia, the location of the creation tale *Enuma Eliš* with its account of the battle between the god Marduk and the dragon goddess Tiamat, and perhaps too in Egypt, which knew the tradition of a fundamental combat between the creator god Re and the dragon Apophis. The mythological texts from Ugarit in Syria now demonstrate that there is no need to go so far afield in the search for the literary and theological models which Israelite poets found so useful. These texts, as best the narratives they relate can be reconstructed at present, tell of a primeval battle between the god Baʿl Haddu (familiar as Baʿal in the Hebrew Bible) and the forces of chaotic destruction and death. The latter are called by such titles as Prince Sea *(ym)* and Judge River *(nhr)* in the primary version of this combat tale, while what appear to be alternate versions of the same, basic tale label these forces Lotan (*ltn*, the equivalent of the biblical Leviathan) or the seven-headed serpent (Herdner 1963: CTCA Text 2 or 5).

On the basis of these texts from ancient Syria and of their transformations in the Hebrew Bible, a common Syria-Palestinian pattern for the shape of the cosmogonic battle myth can be reconstructed. This pattern consists of four rounds: (1) a Divine Warrior goes forth to battle the chaotic monsters, variously called Sea, Death, Leviathan, Tannin; (2) the world of nature responds to the wrath of the Divine Warrior and the forces of chaos are defeated; (3) the Divine Warrior assumes his throne on a mountain, surrounded by a retinue of other deities; and (4) the Divine Warrior utters his powerful speech, which leads nature to produce the created world (*CMHE,* 162–63). Though there is no single biblical text which relates this battle in its fullest form, once the pattern is made clear, it seems undeniable that it lies behind and is responsible for a great number of biblical allusions which should be accounted as cosmogonic. For example, the titles Leviathan, Sea, River, Sea Monster (*tannîn* or the like), and Dragon *(rahab)* all are used of opponents of Yahweh the God of Israel in settings describing the earlier days of the cosmos.

The recognition of the existence and the continued power of this cosmic battle pattern has brought to life the cosmogonic significance of a number of biblical texts whose importance for the study of Israelite cosmology had long gone unrecognized. In some cases, the briefest of allusions suggests resonance with a widespread knowledge of this cosmogonic struggle tale. For example, Psalm 29, which was perhaps first composed in honor of Baʿl Haddu and only later transformed into a hymn honoring Yahweh, portrays the victorious God of Israel enthroned upon the "Flood dragon" (*mabbûl;* Ps 29:10). In Ps 68: 22–23 (—Eng

68:21–22) we read of God defeating both the "Serpent" and the "Deep Sea" (see Dahood *Psalms II* 51–100 AB, 131, for the text and translation here). Ps 74:13–14, in the midst of a section explicitly devoted to creation, tells of Yahweh's victory over "Sea" *(yam)* and the crushing of the heads of the "Sea Monster" *(tannînîm)* and of Leviathan. Another hymn to God as creator (Psalm 89) refers to Yahweh's reign on the back of "Sea" *(yam)* after defeating the dragon Rahab (Ps 89:10–11—Eng 89: 9–10). Psalm 104, long of special interest because of its similarities with the Egyptian celebration of creation called the Hymn to the Aton, again mentions Leviathan among other watery demons defeated by Yahweh.

It now seems likely that early audiences of all these psalms will have been able to fill out such brief allusions with the larger story so similar to them. Nor are these allusions confined to the Psalter. The hymn in Habakkuk 3, now generally regarded as a very early hymn inserted into a later context, has "River" and "Sea" as the enemies of Yahweh (Hab 3:8). Later prophetic texts display the same awareness of the creator's battle prowess in the struggle against chaotic foes which preceded the present cosmic order. The fire which Yahweh directs, according to one of Amos' visions, devours the "Great Abyss" (*tĕhôm rabbâ*), which appears to be a reference to a sea serpent (Amos 7:4; Wolff *Joel and Amos* Hermeneia, 292–93); and another of this prophet's visions portrays Yahweh commanding the "Serpent" (*nāḥāš*) who dwells in the underworld below (Amos 9:2–3). Leviathan in Isa 27:1 is seen as a "Sea Monster" (*tannîn*), and perhaps too as a fleeing, wriggling snake, if the mythological monsters in this verse are all various epithets for the same cosmic foe. But perhaps the most elaborate series of allusions to this primeval scene made by an Israelite prophet are those contained in the hymn in honor of Yahweh's great strength now to be found in Isa 51:9–11. The setting here is clearly that of the earliest days of the world, the days and generations long past, when Yahweh smote Rahab, pierced the "Sea Monster" (*tannîn*), and dried up the waters of "Sea" (*yam*) and the "Great Abyss" (*tĕhôm rabbă*). A recent study of this hymn observes that "the allusion is to the cosmogonic myth, the battle of creation, in which the monster of chaos is slain by the God who thereby establishes kingship" (*CMHE,* 108).

Demonstrating both the longevity and the power of this theme in a variety of different Israelite settings, another series of similar allusions are to be found in the poetry of the book of Job (Pope *Job* AB). Job 3:8 refers to Leviathan, 7:12 to the "Sea Monster" *(tannîn)* as cosmic foes of the created order, while 26:12 credits God again with smiting Rahab. At much greater length, the second speech from the whirlwind in Job 40–41 contrasts God's powers over Behemoth and Leviathan with the powerlessness of one such as Job. Leviathan is now well known as Lotan, the enemy of Baʿl and ʾAnat from the Ugaritic cosmogonic myths; and, while Behemoth may refer to the hippopotamus in some biblical texts, here the beast is best seen as another power of universal chaos, perhaps even equated with the bull of heaven slain by Gilgamesh and Enkidu in the Epic of Gilgamesh (Pope *Job* AB, 322).

The cumulative effect of all these allusions, tantalizingly brief and vague though each may seem when seen in isolation, is impressive. The texts' very brevity bears witness to the familiarity with the cosmic battle pattern that the author of each could assume on behalf of his listeners. Just as the briefest mention of words and phrases like the Pilgrims, the Founding Fathers, or the Gettysburg Address will resonate widely to an American audience, so too the very spare report of the Sea, the Dragon, or of Yahweh's splitting a sea monster will have called forth for an Israelite audience the entire myth in which these cosmic enemies attempt to play their destructive roles.

Earlier scholars were troubled by the implications of these battle scenes, since they so clearly compromise later Jewish and Christian understandings of the Hebrew Bible as consistently monotheistic. But the Hebrew Bible itself bears clear witness to monotheism as a slowly developing notion within early Israel, and one that for many centuries found no difficulty in portraying Yahweh's creative activity in the terms of the familiar cosmogonic battle pattern.

**4. The Creation of the First Humans.** The narrative that runs from Gen 2:4b through the remainder of Genesis 2 is, as was observed above, more properly an anthropogony ("human creation account") than a cosmogony. This story is normally credited to the Yahwist or the "J" source of the Tetrateuch. The Yahwist's activity is traditionally placed in the 9th century B.C.E.; but renewed doubt has been expressed of late about our ability to assign a date to this narrative strand with much confidence. The story of the

creation of the first man and the first woman in Genesis 2 is surely situated in the remotest past, but as surely this story occurs after the initial cosmogony. About the only clear reference here to events of that earlier, cosmogonic event is that to the underworld reservoir of water which irrigated and hence brought fertility to the otherwise dry and sterile ground (Gen 2:6). The Hebrew word used to designate this reservoir *(ʿd)* is a loan word from Mesopotamia (Sum ID, Akk *edu*), demonstrating again the reliance of many of the details in the primeval history (Genesis 1–11) upon traditions developed in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley.

As is true both of much of the Yahwist's materials in Genesis and of the recently more fully understood Epic of Atrahasis from Mesopotamia, the chief concern in this anthropogony is to describe accurately the status of humanity, and thereby to distinguish humanity from the attributes of the gods (Oden 1981). Another concern of the narrative in Genesis 2, as in so many accounts of the genesis of humanity throughout religious myths, is the origin of the distinction between the sexes (Trible 1978: 72–143). Yahweh here creates humans by forming or shaping them, working as does a potter (Gen 2:7, 19) and using bits of soil as the basic material. As a deity, Yahweh possesses both great wisdom and immortality. Humans initially lack both attributes but hunger ceaselessly for a higher status; and it is this lust for a different position on the cosmic hierarchy that continually causes trouble for humanity. The facts that the tale is set in a garden, so often associated with royalty in the ANE, and that the concern is both the wondrous powers and yet the limitations of humanity have led several scholars to propose the Israelite royal court as the original setting for the narrative's generation and transmission (Coats 1983: 39).

Genesis 2 is not the only account of the creation of primal humanity in the Hebrew Bible, even if it is at once the most familiar and the most sophisticated. Another and related report is to be found in Ezekiel 28, the prophet's lament over the prideful fall of the king of Tyre. Here we encounter again allusion to the creation of early humanity (using the special biblical term for divine creation, *bārāʾ*) in the setting of a garden. And here too read of a human's wickedness and violence requiring his expulsion from the garden. In both stories, the glory of humans as originally created is stressed, but so too is the human propensity to strive pridefully for a status that belongs properly to God.

**5. The Role of Second Isaiah in Centralizing the Cosmological Argument.** The 6th-century B.C.E. author of the poems now contained in Isaiah 40–55 (and perhaps of material found elsewhere in the book of Isaiah) was hardly the first in ancient Israel to credit Yahweh with creation). But this poet may have been the first to expand upon the series of cosmogonic allusions noted above (B.3) to establish something like a full cosmological argument for the unique and incomparable abilities of the God of Israel. Of the biblical occurrences of the Hebrew word "to create" *(bārāʾ),* used solely of divine creation, over a third occur in this section of the book of Isaiah. Isa 40:12–26 offers a quite complete description of the cosmos shaped by Yahweh, a description of the earth founded upon the seas and of Yahweh enthroned above the vault or disk of the tentlike earth. For this poet, Yahweh is the "Creator of the ends of the earth" (*b̃rēʾ* qĕṣt hāʾāreṣ, Isa 40:28), who created both darkness and light (Isa 45:7).

Many have asked why Second Isaiah first combined the previously scattered allusions to Yahweh as creator into a coherent argument for the superiority of Yahweh over all other so-called deities. An answer ready to hand is provided by the setting in which Second Isaiah's prophetic activity occurred. Isaiah 40–55 are the work of a prophet of the Babylonian Exile, whose Israelite audience will have been bombarded by the cosmogonic claims made on behalf of Mesopotamian deities. These claims are countered and thereby refuted by Second Isaiah's full articulation of the cosmological argument in service of the worship of Yahweh.

**6. The Priestly Account of Creation.** Both because of its present position opening the Hebrew Bible and because of stylistic features lending to it a tone of high formality and comprehensiveness, the priestly account of creation (Gen 1:1–2:4a) has long been the normative cosmogony for Judaism and Christianity. Like Second Isaiah, those responsible for the composition of this overture have self-consciously utilized the announcement that the God of Israel is creator as a major theological confession. The seven-part, climactic structure helps to indicate that everything in the cosmos is due to the power and generosity of this deity; and the parallelism so noticeable between the various stages in creation adds a tone of

purposeful structure (Knight 1985: 144). The rhetorical style of this account, in addition to both a manifest concern for cultic matters and a repetition of blessing formulas, have long pointed to priestly circles for its origin. According to the traditional documentary hypothesis, these indications would assign to Gen 1:1–2:4a a fairly late date, perhaps in the 6th or 5th century B.C.E. However, several scholars have questioned so late a date for any part of the so-called "P Work," and others have observed that even if the seven-day cosmogony here owes its present formulation to activity after the Exile, this cosmogony's remoter origins may lie much earlier in the history of Israel (*ROTT* 1: 140).

Though the creation of humanity is surely accented as the climactic achievement of God's creative activity, the priestly account of creation concentrates less upon anthropogony than does the Yahwistic narrative which follows and does offer something much more in keeping with traditional cosmogonic lore. This almost symphonic overture truly does situate the reader "in the beginning." This remains true whether or not one adheres to the traditional rendering of the first words of Genesis ("In the beginning") or rather adopts the alternative suggestion that the first verses of Genesis 1 are to be read as a dependent clause and hence translated something like "When God set about to create the heaven and earth" (Speiser *Genesis* AB, 3, 12).

The portrait here is of a mighty or divine wind hovering over watery and dark undifferentiated matter. The phrase describing this undifferentiated matter (Heb *tōhû wā-bōhû*), the formless abyss over which the mighty wind of God soars, has prompted two areas of inquiry. The first concerns the origin and meaning of these puzzling words. The phrase is probably best seen as a hendiadys, that is, the use of two words to express but a single notion, in this case that of vast formlessness (Speiser, 5). As such, the matter which existed prior to the formation of a structured cosmos here is much in keeping with other cosmogonies, for example, that of India where again " 'At first there was only darkness wrapped in darkness' " and where everything " 'was only unillumined water' " (Rigveda; *EncRel* 4: 107). Secondly, references in some material which is remotely of Phoenician origin suggest that here too, as in so many areas of the religion of ancient Israel, the ultimate source of the priestly vocabulary and of the resulting portrait is the cosmological speculation of ancient Israel's Canaanite neighbors. The Phoenician cosmology, now found among the works of the church historian Eusebius of Caesarea (3d–4th century C.E.) but attributed to an ancient worthy called Sanchuniathon, mentions both "gas and chaos" as the material existing prior to creation and a certain "Baau" which might well be related to the Heb *bōhû* (Attridge and Oden 1981: 36–39, 75–80). If Phoenician speculation played a role in helping Israel to formulate the priestly account, this is not to say that other influences are not felt as well; for example, the portrait of the cosmos in Psalm 104 is discernibly similar to that in Genesis 1, and the Egyptian nature of this psalm has been noted above.

Out of this mass of undifferentiated and dark primal matter, God creates the cosmos by the power of speech alone. This mode of creation, which is to be encountered elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible (for example, Ps 33:6, where the heavens and their inhabitants are made by Yahweh's "word" and "the breath of his mouth"), is one familiar throughout the ANE. To both the Babylonian deity Marduk, who in *Enuma Eliš* causes a constellation (probably not a "garment," as in older translations) to vanish and then to reappear by speech alone, and to several Egyptian gods is attributed this same awesome power. A question which greatly exercised later theologians is that of whether or not we have to do here with *creatio ex nihilo.* This formulation is surely known elsewhere, for example in Egypt where a creator is called the one who begot himself, in Polynesia where a god is called the parentless (though there is some suggestion that later, Christian influence may be here operative), and also in India. The formulation also does appear in postbiblical Judaism, probably first in 2 Macc 7:28 from the 1st century B.C.E. But the priestly account in Genesis 1 seems not concerned with either affirming or denying *creatio ex nihilo:* it moves very quickly from the simple statement that the world was an undifferentiated waste without limit to a concentration upon the fullness and the surpassing quality of what God created.

The incomparability of the divine creative activity is accented by the priestly account, not just by the formality with which creation's stages progress toward a well-structured fullness, but also by a distinctive vocabulary. Rather than utilizing available terms which suggest that God shaped or formed the cosmos on the model of various human activities, the priestly writers are careful to reserve the term *bārāʾ,* "to

create," for God's action alone. Still, if the use of such vocabulary reinforces the theme of the Yahwist's narrative that human status is never divine status, it remains true that the seven-day cosmogony in Gen 1:1–2:4a does grant powerful rank and fearsome responsibility to humanity. Humans are the "image" *(ṣelem)* and "likeness" *(dĕmût)* of divinity itself, and human authority over the earth is overtly portrayed on the analogy of God's own authority over all of creation (Gen 1:26).

**7. The Wisdom Tradition.** Affirmations of the unique creative power of Israel's God are to be found not only in royal circles and among priests, but also within the wisdom or sapiential tradition. This tradition is that which finds extended expression in genres long designated as works of wisdom, materials such as Proverbs or Job, but additionally in other results of Israel's literary and religious heritage, for example prophetic statements. To Jeremiah is attributed the statements that Yahweh made the world through his "wisdom" *(ḥokmâ)* and "understanding" *(tĕbûnâ)* (Jer 10:12); and Second Isaiah as well portrays Yahweh's creative capacity as part of a comprehensive and comprehendible scheme for the structure of the cosmos (Isaiah 40). If the relatively recent trend in biblical scholarship to attribute a most significant role to the wisdom tradition in shaping the religion of Israel should continue to command assent, then it is quite possible that the major impetus to cosmological thought in ancient Israel resulted from this tradition which attempted most directly to understand and categorize the universe's structuring principles.

The most extended report of creation in this context is that now to be found in Prov 8:22–31 as a part of an entire chapter devoted to extolling the concept of "Wisdom" *(ḥokmâ).* Wisdom is here portrayed as the oldest of all created things. Wisdom attended upon Yahweh in the formation of the oceans, the mountains, and the earth, and in the stabilizing of various cosmic features. Given the continued interest in Israel and elsewhere in first things and in the order of creation, a long debate has ensued concerning the question of whether Wisdom was "begotten," "acquired," or "created," with the balance of probability now leaning toward the last of these renderings for the Heb verb *qānâ* on the basis of the word's use in the Ugaritic texts (McKane *Proverbs* OTL, 352–54; Dahood 1968: 513). In any case, the emphasis throughout is clearly upon the almost unimaginable intellectual power of Yahweh's attribute of Wisdom in supplying a reasoned blueprint for the cosmos. Toward the conclusion of this cosmogongy from the wisdom tradition, the figure of Wisdom is portrayed both as a child delighting the resulting cosmic order and as perhaps a master craftsman or technician (Prov 8:30–31). The latter description is dependent upon the correct understanding of the noun *ʾāmn* (Prov 8:30), which may mean "artisan" but might also suggest again "child," or "teacher," or perhaps "faithful companion" (McKane *Proverbs* OTL, 72).

As with the cosmogonies in Genesis 2 and Genesis 1, considerable attention has been granted to the questions of the origin of the role assigned to Wisdom in Proverbs 8 and of the resulting stages in the creation process. Egyptian tradition long established a position of preeminence for the concept of wisdom, often spoken of in terms of a deity called Maat who accompanies the creator's activities, so that here as in the case of Psalm 104 direct Egyptian influence is certainly possible. But the full appreciation of the Ugaritic texts has demonstrated conclusively that Canaanite tradition is the immediate point of impact upon multiple areas of Israel's thinking, whatever may be the more remote origins of any of these thoughts, so that we should probably again look to Canaan for the most direct source of the inspiration for Prov 8:22–31. But the many uncertainties surrounding the origin and translation of these verses should not obscure their chief point, which is to recognize the orderly cosmos as an object of great delight and wonder. As such, Proverbs 8 is very much in keeping with the trajectory of later biblical thought and of Jewish and Christian thinking beyond the biblical period (Philo, for example) with regard to cosmological matters.

**8. Cosmogony in Apocalyptic Thought.** Eschatology, as teachings about final things, and apocalyptic thought, which reports revelations about these same final matters, might initially seem the least likely locus for cosmogonic materials. However, as soon as one reflects that eschatological speculation is in fact but the future translation of cosmogony, then the bearing of such materials upon cosmology is perhaps clear. Eliade, for example, has noted that the chronological setting of cosmogonies in the remotest period, a period that Eliade labels *in illo tempore,* is in fact repeated in apocalyptic materials: "*in illo tempore* is

situated not only at the beginning of time but also at its end … The only difference is that this victory over the forces of darkness and chaos no longer occurs regularly every year but is projected into a future and Messianic *illud tempus*" (1959: 106). Thus, if cosmogonic myths recount the origins of the intelligible universe, apocalyptic myths recount this same universe as created anew in the future.

The initial stages in Israel's development of an apocalyptic tradition are apparent already in the prophets of the exilic period; and it is likely that the apocalyptic tradition is to be traced quite directly to the unfolding of prophetic thought (Hanson 1975). The phrase "in later days," "in following eras" *(ʾaḥărît hayyāmîm),* sometimes refers to a kind of hazy boundary between the near future and the far, clearly eschatological future (as in Jer 23:20), but in later biblical texts has become a technical term for the end of history as previously experienced (*TDOT* 2: 211–12). Perhaps the single and clearest results of this developing apocalyptic tradition are to be seen in Zechariah 14. Those responsible for this chapter extend the thought of Second Isaiah with regard to the revelation of new things and that of Third Isaiah regarding "new heavens and a new earth" (Isa 65:17) to arrive at a portrait of a final cosmogonic battle which will erase the former created order. Zech 14:6–8 shows with particular clarity the announced end of series of paired concepts (day and night, heat and cold, seasons of planting and harvest) which had served to define the originally structured cosmos (Hanson 1975: 376–79). But the very conclusiveness of the former created order's giving way to a new order reveals that such apocalyptic thought should be thought of as additional cosmogonic material within ancient Israel.

**9. The Hebrew Bible's Portrait of the Cosmos.** The variety in date, origin, and scope of the Hebrew Bible's cosmological materials means that achieving a single, uniform picture of the physical universe is hardly possible. Still, sufficient overlap does obtain between the many accounts of the universe, however these may vary in their details, to allow for a few generalizations. The earth on which humanity dwells is seen as a round, solid object, perhaps a disk, floating upon a limitless expanse of water. Paralleling this lower body of water is a second, similarly limitless, above, from which water descends in the form of rain through holes and channels piercing the heavenly reservoir. The moon, sun, and other luminaries are fixed in a curved structure which arches over the earth. This structure is the familiar "firmament" *(rāqîaʿ)* of the priestly account, perhaps envisioned as a solid but very thin substance on the analogy of beaten and stretched metal.

Though some texts appear to convey a picture of a four-storied universe (Job 11:8–9 or Ps 139:8–9), the great majority of biblical texts assume the three-storied universe so clearly assumed in other, ancient traditions. Thus, the Decalog's prohibition of images specifies "heaven above," "earth below," and "water under the earth" as the possible models for any such forbidden images (Exod 20:4). If we understand the common term "earth" *(ʾereṣ)* as designating at times the "underworld," then the combined references in Ps 77:19 to heaven, the "world" *(tēbēl),* and the "earth" *(ʾereṣ)* are another appeal to the universe as a three-storied structure (for other texts where *ʾereṣ* may refer to the underworld, see Stadelmann 1970: 128, n. 678). Clearer reference still to the same structure is to be found in Ps 115:15–17, where we find grouped together "the heaven of heavens," "the earth," and the realm of "the dead" (cf. Ps 33:6–8 and Prov 8:27–29).

The curving, solid structure which arches over the realm of humanity is sometimes called a "disk" or "vault" (*ḥûg;* Isa 40:22; Prov 8:27). That which allows the heavenly abyss to water the earth are occasional interruptions in this solid structure, openings called variously windows, doors, or channels. In some texts, that which suspends the habitable earth above the underworld's waters (see 1 Sam 2:8 for another reference to these rivers) are pillars or some such foundational structures. These seem envisioned in Job 38:4–6; Pss 24:2; 104:5; Prov 8:29, and elsewhere. Finally, the realm beneath the arena of human activity is not only imagined as one of watery chaos but also given the specific designation "Sheol" *(šĕʾôl),* usually translated "the underworld." In the different elaborations upon just what one should imagine Sheol as including, again there is little consistency. At times, Sheol is personified, with a belly or womb and a mouth (Jonah 2:3—Eng 2:2); Prov 1:23; 30:16; and Ps 141:7), while at others Sheol is rather more architecturally portrayed (Isa 38:10; Job 7:9–10; 14:20–22; 17:13; 18:17–18), as a dark and forgetful land or city (Stadelmann 1970: 166–76).

**C. Cosmology in the NT**

**1. Sources of Early Christian Cosmological Thought.** References to the origin of the cosmos and to this cosmos' structure are rather less frequently to be found in the NT than in the Hebrew Bible. This cosmological spareness is to be accounted for partly, and most obviously, because of the smaller size of this collection of texts from early Christianity and partly because the essentials of the portrait painted in the Hebrew Bible are assumed. However, another important reason for the absence of much cosmological lore in the NT is based upon the conclusions of research into the situation in which early Christians felt themselves to lie. Throughout the 20th century, biblical scholarship has confirmed in general the view that the first Christians expected the second coming of the Messiah imminently, and this notable eschatological immediacy does not allow for such speculation as obtains in many religious traditions. One might here contrast Chinese Buddhism, whose expectations of the coming of a future Buddha Maitreya (*EncRel* 4: 116) are certainly messianic; but these expectations still sit quite easily within a vast chronological scheme.

The first and chief source of such NT cosmogonic thought as is to be found is, of course, the material from the Hebrew Bible reviewed above. Especially fruitful ground was found in the cosmological thought of the wisdom tradition, both within the Hebrew Bible and then in later, Hellenistic Judaism. Greek notions of the cosmos' administration through principles of rational organization were also important. To the extent that a fully developed portrait of a cosmic redeemer had been developed within pre-Christian Gnosticism (and the extent of this development remains the subject of scrutiny and disagreement), this portrait too will have exercised its influence upon the first Christian writers, especially in regard to an important departure from Hebrew Bible thought. For gnostic thought, the created world is no longer a divine blessing but is rather evaluated negatively and seen as under the domain of demonic powers. The view of redemption by Christ as redemption from this world obviously shares elements of such thought.

**2. Cosmological Assumptions in Pauline Theology.** The references to cosmology in letters generally recognized to be of Pauline authorship appear largely, or wholly, to be allusions to pre-Pauline confessional formulas. Thus, the affirmation in 1 Cor 8:6 that there is one God from whom "all things *(ta panta)* come" and also one Lord, Jesus Christ, "through whom all things are" reads like a development of the Jewish confession that Yahweh is one into a twofold formula of one God and one Lord (Conzelmann *1 Corinthians* Hermeneia, 144). God as creator of the cosmos is here affirmed, but the affirmation is assumed rather than developed, and is plainly subsidiary to a confession of Christ's soteriological role. Much the same could be said of the hymn, widely seen as pre-Pauline and often attributed to gnostic influence, in Phil 2:6–11. This hymn insists upon the cosmic and preexistent status of the Christian Lord, whose role in rescuing humanity from domination by earthly powers is again stressed. Indeed, it is perhaps worth accenting that confessions of Christ's cosmic role are at the heart of NT cosmology.

At several places in Paul's letter to the Romans one can again catch glimpses of the cosmological foundations of early Christian thought. In his expansion upon the theme of justification in Romans 4, Paul notes that the God of Abraham is the one who calls into being that which was not (Rom 4:17). As with Gen 1:1–3, this verse has been read as a reference to *creatio ex nihilo,* though in the context of Paul's argument the chief intent is plainly to emphasize the power of God rather than to address this issue at all. Rom 8:19–22 alludes to a position never fully developed, that of creation's pained and groaning longing for release from futility; the background here might equally be gnostic speculation (Bultmann 1951: 174, 230) or the laments about the present world order expressed in Jewish apocalypticism. Finally, quite in keeping with 1 Cor 8:6 is Paul's statement in Rom 11:36 that "everything" *(ta panta)* is from God.

**3. The Johannine Tradition.** Much as the priestly account of creation in Gen 1:1–2:4a has become determinative for later Jewish and Christian theology, so too the preface to the fourth gospel is the most readily cited piece of cosmogonic teaching in the NT. The literary style of John 1:1–18 once more, as in the case of Phil 2:6–11, has suggested to many scholars an origin in a ritual hymn. In deliberate imitation of Genesis 1 in the LXX version, this preface too opens "In the beginning," here to emphasize the cosmic and remotest origins of the Logos ("Word") figure. Though there is no reflection on the mechanisms of creation at all, that everything was created through the Logos is affirmed by this preface in clear terms

(John 1:3). Similarly not reflected upon are a host of questions about this figure which have exercised later theologians and scholars: the Logos is of cosmic status and existed with God from the beginning of all, but how exactly is one to imagine this figure? As a person, or as the personified revealing and creating abilities of God? And how does one deal with the apparent paradox of the Logos as both fully equal with God and yet equally and clearly subordinate to the Father? The question of the origin of the Logos concept in Johannine thought is similarly difficult to answer, with both the wisdom speculation of Jewish thought and the gnostic redeemer scheme possible sources. What is clear throughout John 1:1–18 is just what had been stressed by Paul, the soteriological function of the Logos who became flesh for the salvation of humanity.

The final book in the present NT canon, the book of Revelation, returns in fairly elaborate fashion, to the cosmogonic battle scenes witnessed allusively throughout parts of the Hebrew Bible (Collins 1976). In addition to affirmations of God as the creator of all (Rev 4:11), and as the omnipotent being *(pantokratōr)* who is at once beginning and end (Rev 1:8; 21:6; 22:13), four visions in the book of Revelation are devoted to allegorical rehearsals of the old cosmic battle scenario, as first Gunkel recognized nearly a century ago. In Revelation 12, the chaotic enemy is the serpentine dragon, reminding us of the Sea Monster figure *(tannîn)* in the Hebrew Bible. Revelation 13 introduces two such forces of chaos, perhaps Leviathan and Behemoth in their cosmically destructive modes (Ford *Revelation* AB, 217). The description of the great harlot in Revelation 17 reminds one of many of the Hebrew Bible's allusions to the threat posed by undifferentiated water; and again in Revelation 21 the sea as enemy recalls the opponents of Yahweh's cosmogonic task. In all of these visions, the function of apocalyptic in repeating and renewing the original cosmogony is thus especially clear.

**4. Later NT Thought.** Even after the initial, creative period of Christian self-expression, little extended discussion of cosmological issues, at least as these are standardly defined, is to be found in the NT. This suggests that the spareness of early Christian cosmology is at least as much the result of a Christian hesitancy to formalize, much less to make of creedal significance, such issues as it is a consequence of the sense that the second coming of the Messiah was imminent. Col 1:15–20 is perhaps the fullest of these brief expressions of what was assumed on behalf of early Christianity about the cosmos. Here, another likely instance of a hymn reutilized in a different context, Christ is affirmed as uniquely preceding all creation, and as the being through whom everything was established. These affirmations recall most centrally the role accorded Wisdom in Proverbs 8 and in postbiblical Jewish thought, though such views, without, of course, the identification of Christ as the medium of creation, can also be found expressed throughout Hellenistic thought. Finally, 2 Peter 3 returns one to the cosmogonic formulations of the Hebrew Bible, in attributing creation to divine speech and in comparing the coming destruction of the known cosmos to that familiar from the biblical flood tale.

**D. The Functions of Religious Cosmogonies/Cosmologies**

Most scholarly accounts of the place of cosmogonic lore in the religions of Israel and of early Christianity dwell upon the origin, the initial cultic setting, and the eventual literary context of this lore. Given biblical scholarship's understandable concern for questions of historical origin and transmission (Oden 1987: 1–39), this concentration is hardly surprising. But such concentration requires supplementing with questions of function and meaning. Why is it that few, if any, religious traditions omit some attention to cosmology? Why are the religious communities responsible for collections of sacred texts so concerned, some might say obsessed, with inquiry into the earliest days of the cosmos? Some attention must be paid to these and similar questions here, though the fact that cosmological materials are most frequently to be found in the context of cosmogonic myths means that the following discussion overlaps to some extent issues raised in any account of the origin and role of myths in religion most generally. See MYTH AND MYTHOLOGY.

**1. Older Views.** Since cosmogonic myths standardly treat data like the shape of the universe, the ultimate sources of meteorological phenomena, and the origin and meaning of the moon and stars, a view long popular was that cosmology is primitive science. This view can be found expressed even in antiquity; but it commanded especially wide assent in the 19th century, during the early days of the

systematic study of comparative mythology and of the origin of modern anthropology. However, analyzing cosmologies as strictly analogous to scientific inquiry has never ceased to find a few proponents and has most recently witnessed a revival.

Humans need, this view affirms, satisfying answers to some basic questions about the world of nature; and, this explanation continues, as science answers such questions for moderns, so cosmological narratives answered them for traditional societies. Predictably for the 19th-century heyday of this explanation, cosmogony was thus readily accommodated to an evolutionary scheme. Early humans were seen as adequately served by religious cosmologies; but modern humanity was credited with evolving more demanding standards which could be met only by fully scientific, verifiable explanations. Applying this view to the combat myth in biblical texts, for example, one might say that the origin of such myths was the desire to explain the alternating wet and dry seasons. This desire was long fulfilled by cosmogonies which deified the powers of wetness or aridity; today, however, such early cosmogonies no longer continue to provide satisfactory answers and hence have been replaced by impersonal accounts.

A second explanation, often placed in tandem with the model of cosmogony as primitive science, was the myth-ritual hypothesis. According to this view, all myths originated as rituals. Traditional humans, the proponents of myth-ritualism asserted, acted before they reflected. The myths which have survived are the later attempts to make sense of the primary and generative rituals. These myths are, to use an analogy much favored by myth-ritualists, the libretti to the more fundamental ritual dramas. Assertions about the cultic origins of much biblical material owe a great deal to the base assumptions of the myth-ritual model. For example, we have seen that a setting in the priestly cult is often posited for the seven-day cosmogony in Genesis 1, and a royal cult origin for the anthropogony in Genesis 2.

Attractive as each of these hypotheses is, neither has been able to sustain itself fully in the face of more recent research into the role played by cosmologies in various religious traditions. With regard to the former hypothesis, 20th-century ethnological work has established that so-called "primitive" or "traditional" cultures are fully as capable of scientific, rational, and empirical thinking as are their modern counterparts. If religious cosmologies can exist, as they do, side by side with accounts that must be judged scientific, then it must be that these cosmologies play a role somewhat different from that played by scientific thought. Cosmogonies thus do not necessarily give way in an evolutionary scheme to scientific thought.

With regard to the myth-ritual model, demonstrating that all myths originated as rituals has proved exceptionally difficult. The favored example of the myth-ritualists, the alleged origin of the Babylonian *Enuma Eliš* myth in the setting of the Akitu festival, now turns out to be an example which may rather be that of an earlier myth only later adapted to a ritual setting (Smith 1982: 92). Hence, if some myths originated as rituals, other rituals appear to have begun as myths. Additionally, positing a ritual origin for all cosmogonic myths offered no real explanation of these myths; it only postponed the question of explanation, offering instead a genetic description. That is, even if research should document the general priority of ritual over myth, one would still be left wanting a sustainable account of the meaning and function of ritual.

**2. Recent Formulations of the Place of Cosmology in Religion.** Given the apparent inadequacy of older hypotheses, many 20th-century scholars have sought alternative explanations for the demonstrable concern on behalf of so many religious traditions to answer cosmological questions. In fairness, it must be said that many or all of these latter explanations have also been found wanting, so that a major agendum for future research remains inquiry into the deepest role played by cosmological materials.

The explanatory model which has continued to play the largest role for contemporary students of cosmology is the so-called "charter" position, in its various formulations. This position, that cosmologies provide a charter for all behavior and for the meaning of all actions to religious communities, is one that received major impetus in the work of Emile Durkheim. According to Durkheim, all of the classification systems to be encountered in religious traditions, including preeminently religious cosmologies, "are modelled upon the social organization" and "have taken the forms of society for their framework" (1915:

169). All such classifications are hierarchical; and, since "hierarchy is exclusively a social affair," these classifications are taken "from society and projected … into our conceptions of the world" (1915: 173).

This essential perception that cosmologies owe their origins to human social formations was then greatly extended and worked out in detail by the anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski. His field work demonstrated to him that "religious faith establishes, fixes, and enhances all valuable mental attitudes, such as reverence for tradition, harmony with environment, courage and confidence in the struggles with difficulties and at the prospect of death" (1954: 89). A cosmological myth "fulfills in primitive culture an indispensable function: it expresses, enhances, and codifies belief; it safeguards and enforces morality; it vouches for the efficiency of ritual and contains practical rules for the guidance of man"; such a myth is thus no "idle tale," nor "an intellectual explanation or an artistic imagery," but rather "a pragmatic charter of primitive faith and wisdom" (1954: 101).

Many subsequent students of religious cosmogony have found further support for the position first defended by Durkheim and Malinowski. C. Long, for example, has very recently argued again that "the cosmogonic myth provides a model that is recapitulated in the creation and founding of all other human modes of existence"; this myth provides "a charter for conduct for other aspects of culture" (*EncRel* 4: 94). So too Bolle's summary of cosmological thought concludes that "views of the cosmos are in harmony with the social order in a tribe or tradition, and as a rule reflect the prevailing mode of production" (*EncRel* 4: 102). Nor is it simply that a cosmology reflects in some fashion the social formation. As charters, cosmologies also carry with them ethical implications: "the behavior required of man is often described and always implied in the account of the world's structure" (*EncRel* 4: 104).

The historian of religion who has devoted the greatest attention to cosmological thought is surely Mircea Eliade. Eliade's position is in many regards a combination of several noted above. Cosmological thought for him often has a ritual origin, satisfies an intellectual need to provide explanations of puzzling phenomena, and is also a comprehensive charter for ethical conduct. Eliade begins by affirming the absolutely central role of cosmogonic lore in traditional societies. Indeed, he repeatedly proposes the presence of cosmogonic lore as the defining characteristic of traditional as opposed to modern, historically based societies: "Whether he abolishes it periodically, whether he devaluates it by perpetually finding transhistorical models and archetypes for it, whether, finally, he gives it a metahistorical meaning (cyclical history, eschatological significations, and so on), the man of the traditional civilizations accorded the historical event no value in itself" (1959: 141). In the alleged absence of a developed historical consciousness, traditional humans, argues Eliade, turn always to accounts of what occurred in the earliest days of the cosmos. Only things that happened "in the beginning, 'in those days,' *in illo tempore, ab origine*," have full significance for traditional societies (1959: 4).

If this schematic presentation of two worlds of thought offers for Eliade a rationale for the setting of cosmologies in remotest antiquity, their function is then accounted for by utilizing a version of the charter position. Hence, cosmogonic myths "preserve and transmit the paradigms, the exemplary models, for all the responsible activities in which men engage" (Eliade 1959: viii). But, as noted previously, Eliade goes on to combine cosmogonic myths' charter function with the view that these myths also satisfy intellectual needs: "primordial, sacred history … is fundamental because it explains, and by the same token justifies, the existence of the world, of man and society … It relates how things came into being, providing the exemplary model and also the justifications of man's activities" (1984: 141).

The many writings of Eliade possess the clear virtue of offering a comprehensive account for the role of cosmological thought, an account evidenced by material drawn from the widest array of religious traditions. Still, the very comprehensiveness of his position means it remains open to some of the same criticisms offered against its component parts. For this reason, others have attempted a fresh approach to the questions of the meaning and function of cosmogony. At once the most novel and the most controversial of these attempts is that provided by the French anthropologist and philosopher Claude Lévi-Strauss. See MYTH AND MYTHOLOGY. Lévi-Strauss begins by stressing the primacy of language. He thus looks to modern linguistics, rather than to sociology or biology, as providing the disciplinary paradigm upon which study of cosmogonic myths should be founded. The unique

phenomenon of language means that human beings are caught in a kind of cosmic contradiction: they are at once animals, hence a part of nature, and yet also distinct from the rest of nature since through language they create the mental world in which they live. This contradiction is then found to be mirrored in any number of cultural creations, including kinship structures and religious myths.

Given Lévi-Strauss' prioritizing of linguistics, his analyses of myths always concentrate upon structures of relationship, rather than upon individual items in any mythological repertoire. As meaning in language is always relational rather than essential, so too meaning in myths must be sought structurally. Perhaps the best, brief example of how Lévi-Strauss' structural method works when applied to cosmological myths is his analysis of the British Columbian myth of Asdiwal (1976: 146–97). Although he analyzes this myth in terms of four distinct levels (the geographical, the technoeconomic, the sociological, and the overtly cosmological), he discovers that each level in fact is a redundant expression of the same message. This message is the attempt "to justify the shortcomings of reality" (1976: 173). Similarly, Lévi-Strauss' well known and early analysis of the Oedipus myth concludes that, "although experience contradicts theory, social life validates cosmology by its similarity of structure. Hence cosmology is true" (1963: 216). That is to say, the human situation as one caught in the web of various contradictions has given rise to the repeated articulation of cosmogonic myths whose structures makes these contradictions, not disappear, but in a sense become mentally tolerable.

Though the search for an adequate explanation for the function of cosmologies is hardly completed, many scholars have adopted a version of Lévi-Strauss' analytical model. For example, Jonathan Z. Smith has recently argued that "those myths and rituals which belong to a locative map of the cosmos labor to overcome all incongruity by assuming the interconnectedness of all things, the adequacy of symbolization (usually expressed as a belief in the correspondence between macro- and microcosm) and the power and possibility of repetition" (Smith 1978: 308–9). Finally, Geertz too sees the problematic issues of human religious life, such as the classic theodicy dilemma, giving rise to "the uncomfortable suspicion that perhaps the world, and hence man's life in the world, has no genuine order at all—no empirical regularity, no emotional form, no moral coherence. And the religious response to this suspicion is in each case the same: the formulation, by means of symbols, of an image of such a genuine order of the world which will account for, and even celebrate, the perceived ambiquities, puzzles, and paradoxes in human experience. The effort is not to deny the undeniable—that there are unexplained events, that life hurts, or that rain falls upon the just—but to deny that there are inexplicable events" (Geertz 1973: 108).

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**COTTON.** See FLORA; DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**COUNCIL.** See SANHEDRIN.

**COUNCIL OF JAMNIA.** See JAMNIA (JABNEH), COUNCIL OF.

**COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM.** See JERUSALEM, COUNCIL OF.

**COUNCIL, HEAVENLY.** See DIVINE ASSEMBLY; HOSTS, LORD OF.

**COUNSELLORS.** See the article on "Postexilic Judean Officials" in PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF.

**COUNTING.** See NUMBERS AND COUNTING.

**COURIER.** See TRAVEL AND COMMUNICATION (ANE).

**COURT NARRATIVE (2 SAMUEL 9–1 KINGS 2).** Traditions about the Davidic court culminating in the accession of Solomon in 2 Samuel 9–20 and 1 Kings 1–2 have been widely regarded as a single narrative unit usually designated the "Court History" or the "Succession Narrative." Within the larger narrative are several more or less distinct smaller narrative units: the story of David and Bathsheba (2 Samuel 10–12); Absalom's revolt, including the account of the rape of Tamar (2 Samuel 13–19); and the accession of Solomon (1 Kings 1–2). 2 Samuel 9 is loosely connected to the larger narrative by David's relations to the house of Saul, and the Sheba rebellion (2 Samuel 20) is part of the aftermath of the Absalom revolt.

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A. Content and Structure
1. David and the House of Saul
2. The Ammonite War
3. David and Bathsheba
4. The Rape of Tamar and Absalom's Revolt
5. The Accession of Solomon
B. History of Scholarship
1. Sources, Extent, and Genre of the Court Narrative
2. L. Rost and the Succession Theme
3. The Traditio-Historical Approach
4. History or a Well-Told Story?
5. Date of Composition
6. Synthesis

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**A. Content and Structure**

**1. David and the House of Saul.** The narrative begins with David's expression of concern for the house of Saul (2 Samuel 9). He restored Saul's estate to Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan, and granted him a permanent right to eat at the king's table. It ends with the accession of Solomon to the throne and the execution of Joab, Shimei, and Adonijah, and a concluding editorial comment in 1 Kgs 2:46: "And the kingdom was established in the hand of Solomon." The account of David's kindness to Mephibosheth is linked to the rebellion of Absalom by Ziba's accusation against Mephibosheth, his master, who, he charges, is expecting the return of his father's kingdom (2 Sam 16:1–4). A further narrative link appears in Mephibosheth's own welcome to David after the death of Absalom (2 Sam 19:24–30).

**2. The Ammonite War.** A distinct narrative unit appears in the account of the Ammonite war (2 Sam 10:1–11:1; 12:26–31). At the accession of Hanun to the Ammonite throne, David sent condolences to him

over the death of his father, Nahash. Hanun rejected David's emissaries, accused them of being spies, and humiliated them by shaving their beards and cutting their garments in half up to their buttocks. David responded by sending Joab into battle against the Ammonites and their allies, the Arameans. This account, which may derive from royal annals contemporary with the events, provides the setting for David's adultery with Bathsheba. Some scholars have noted points of contact with the account of David's exile at Mahanaim in 2 Sam 17:24–29 (Flanagan 1972: 176; McCarter, *2 Samuel* AB, 275–76), which would place the siege of Rabbah, the Ammonite capital, after Absalom's rebellion.

**3. David and Bathsheba.** The account of David's adultery with Bathsheba (the Chronicler refers to her as Bathshua: 1 Chr 3:5) and its direct consequences is set within the framework of the account of the Ammonite war (2 Sam 11:2–12:25). It is linked to this context by the notice in 2 Sam 11:1: Joab, his servants, and all Israel were sent to battle against Ammon while David remained in Jerusalem. Some have detected a negative connotation in the observation that David remained in Jerusalem. From his roof, David observes Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah the Hittite, cleansing herself from menstrual impurity. He has her brought to his palace, lies with her, and she becomes pregnant. David's sin with Bathsheba is in clear violation of the prohibition of adultery in Deut 22:22 and, according to that law, both should have died.

David's behavior is set in stark contrast to the loyalty of Uriah, her husband, who declined David's deceptive invitation to him to go down to his house and lie with his wife. His refusal was apparently grounded in the rules of holy war which precluded sexual activity in times of battle. The sin of adultery is compounded by murder when David sends Uriah back to the battlefront carrying instructions to Joab which will result in his own death. After Uriah's death Joab sends a messenger to David with a general report on the battle, instructing the messenger to mention Uriah's death should David became angry over the high number of casualties. This report to David concerning Uriah's death contains a narrative link to the account of the death of Abimelech reported in Judg 9:50–57. After Bathsheba's appropriate period of mourning for her husband had passed, David took her to his house and she became his wife, bearing him a son.

In one of the few explicit references to Yahweh's activity in this history, Yahweh sent the prophet Nathan to rebuke David for his adultery and murder. Nathan's condemnation of David took the form of a juridical parable *(māšāl)* eliciting self-judgment, a parable about a rich man who spared his own flock and slaughtered the pet lamb of the poor man to feed a traveler. Whereupon David became enraged and declared that the man doing this deserved to die and must repay fourfold, the restitution specified in Exod 21:37—Eng 22:1. However, many scholars since Wellhausen have preferred the LXX reading "sevenfold" as more in keeping with David's intense anger or with the Deuteronomic use of the number seven (Carlson 1964: 154). Nathan's parable elaborated the relationship between the poor man and his one little ewe lamb. The lamb ate from its owner's food, drank from his cup, and lay in his bosom (*bĕhêq̃ tiškāb*). Nathan's rebuke to David contains a reminder of Yahweh's graciousness to David. In addition to rescuing David from the hand of Saul, Yahweh had also given David Saul's wives "to lie in his bosom." This expression occurs again at the end of the Court Narrative in the account of David and Abishag (1 Kgs 1:1–4) which prefaces the account of Solomon's accession, thereby providing a subtle narrative link between the two episodes.

Nathan's parable may not be original to the narrative. Gunkel (1921: 35–36) stressed the lack of fit between the circumstances of the parable and David's actions. On the basis of the namelessness of the characters, the contrast between the rich man and the poor man and the exaggeration of the relationship between the poor man's family and the pet lamb, he characterized the account as a fairy tale *(Märchenstoff)* which is not original to the narrative of David and Bathsheba. Other scholars (Simon 1967; McCarter, *2 Samuel* AB, 299) have, however, stressed the compatibility of the parable and David's actions, identifying the crimes of both David and the rich man as abuses of power.

In an oracle of judgment condemning David for the murder of Uriah and taking his wife for his own, Nathan announces that, because David had slain Uriah with the sword of the Ammonites, the sword will never depart from his house. One of David's own house will arise against him and will lie with his wives

in the sight of the sun. In contrast to the secrecy of David's action, this humiliation will be public. Although Yahweh has spared David's life, the son who will be born to David and Bathsheba will die. Some scholars regard this account of Nathan's judgment of David (12:7b–12) as a secondary addition to the larger narrative.

When the child born to Bathsheba became ill, David sought God on behalf of the child, refusing food and lying on the ground, behavior typical of mourning. In a striking reversal of custom, David upon receiving word of the death of the child immediately rose, bathed, anointed himself, and asked for food. At this juncture the narrator records the birth of Solomon, who will ultimately succeed David on the throne, observing that the Lord loved him. Some scholars have suggested that the story of the death of the child is a fiction inserted here to establish the legitimacy of the birth of Solomon (Veijola 1979: 230–50; Würthwein 1974: 32).

This section of the history is rounded off by the report of the conclusion of the Ammonite war. Joab reports success in his siege of Rabbah of the Ammonites and summons David to participate in the conquest so that he will receive the credit for the success of the siege. David's return to Jerusalem concludes a narrative unit which began with David sending his servants to the Ammonite king. There is a concentric and climactic arrangement of 2 Samuel 10–12. The narrative begins with a departure from Jerusalem, the goal of which is Rabbah-Ammon's welfare, and ends with a return to Jerusalem after the destruction of Rabbah-Ammon. Ammon's arrogance stands at the beginning, its fall at the end (Roth 1977). The report of the Ammonite war has thus been skillfully utilized as a framework for the Bathsheba episode.

**4. The Rape of Tamar and Absalom's Revolt.** Just as the expression "afterward" *(wayhî ʾahărê kēn)* marked the beginning of the narrative unit in chaps. 10–12, the same expression in 13:1 marks the beginning of a new literary unity focusing on Absalom (2 Sam 13:1–20:26). This unit begins with a largely self-contained episode, Amnon's rape of Tamar. Absalom's brother Amnon is lovesick with desire for his beautiful half-sister Tamar. He is advised to feign illness and to ask David to send Tamar to prepare food for him in his chamber so that he might eat from her hand. His request is granted. Tamar is sent to him to prepare food for him and Amnon, seizing the opportunity, rapes her. Having assaulted her, he brutally expels her from his presence. The violence of rape is thus compounded by the violence of expulsion. The language of expulsion reduces Tamar to a disposable object since the Hebrew, contrary to many translations, has only the demonstrative pronoun *this* (cf. Trible 1984: 48).

Absalom bides his time for two years after which he invites the king's sons to a sheep shearing at which he arranges the assassination of Amnon. Scholars have devoted considerable attention to this narrative, stressing, in particular, the skill with which the story is told. The kinship element is stressed by the repeated use of the terms *ʾāḥ,* "brother," and *ʾāḥ̃t,* "sister" (Rideout 1974: 76).

The episode develops in part on the basis of Amnon's deceptions. He first deceives David, then Tamar about his intentions with the ruse of his illness. The denouement also involves deception, Absalom's deceptive invitation to the sheep shearing. The story pivots on the dramatic reversal of Amnon's feelings in v 15: "Then Amnon hated her very greatly; Indeed, the hatred which he had for her was greater than his former love for her." There are striking similarities between the story of this Tamar and Tamar, the daughter-in-law of Judah (Gen 38:1–30). In both narratives there is a foreign woman named Bathshua (the name given Bathsheba in 1 Chr 3:5) and a woman named Tamar who remains unmarried. Both women are eventually vindicated at a sheep-shearing festival and both lose their first child (Blenkinsopp 1966). To this list might also be added the element of deception present in both narratives. On the one hand, Tamar and David are both deceived as to Amnon's intentions and, on the other hand, Judah's daughter-in-law Tamar deceives Judah by disguising herself as a prostitute in order to bear his child.

The rape of Tamar and the consequent elimination of one of the possible successors to the throne (Amnon) sets the stage for the extended narrative of Absalom's revolt beginning in chap. 14. Having murdered his brother, Absalom flees to Geshur to live in exile with Talmai, his maternal grandfather. At the end of three years Joab, in an elaborate ruse, arranges for the return of Absalom to Jerusalem. He enlists the services of a wise woman from Tekoa who is to pretend that she had two sons, one of whom

was slain in a quarrel with the other, and she informs David that the relatives now seek to kill the remaining son as an act of blood vengeance. She will thus be bereaved of all possibility of posterity. David's response to this "self-judgment eliciting story" is to extend protection to the surviving son, thereby trapping himself into the necessity of allowing Absalom to return from exile, although he continues to be banned from the presence of David.

At the end of two more years Absalom enlists Joab's help in lifting that ban, and Absalom is summoned to the king and, in a customary gesture of obeisance, he bows on his face to the ground in what will prove to be a false expression of allegiance. Absalom then acquires a chariot and horses and fifty men running before him. Stationing himself at the gate, he greets those coming to have their cases adjudicated before the king, assuring the petitioners that were he king they would receive satisfaction. Having thus stolen the hearts of the men of Israel, Absalom is ready for action. At the end of four years Absalom comes before the king, asking permission to go to Hebron (where David had himself first become king over Judah) to fulfill a vow he had made while in Geshur. David sends him in peace unaware, apparently, that this is merely a ruse. His supporters are rallied by messengers who instruct the people to proclaim at the sound of the trumpet, "Absalom is king at Hebron."

The rapid growth of Absalom's conspiracy leads to David's withdrawal from Jerusalem. Taking his loyal servants and the Cherethites, Pelethites, and Gittites, he leaves ten concubines behind to administer the house. The narrative then describes a series of events some of which figure in David's eventual success in thwarting Absalom's coup. And all of them portray a generous, humbled, loyal, and noble figure in contrast to the royal arrogance portrayed in the Bathsheba episode. In a touching episode, Ittai the Gittite asks to join with David's beleaguered force, but David encourages him to return home with Yahweh's blessing. Ittai, however, insists and David accepts his aid. Abiathar, Zadok, and the Levites come bearing the ark, setting it down until all the people with David have passed over the Kidron. David then instructs that the ark be returned to Jerusalem, expressing the hope that he may again find favor with Yahweh and eventually be permitted to see the ark in its proper setting. Zadok and Abiathar, the priests, and their two sons, Ahimaaz and Jonathan, are sent back to Jerusalem with the ark to serve as informants to David and his men. In this context, David and his loyal band of followers are portrayed ascending the Mount of Olives weeping and with their heads covered. David is himself barefoot. At the summit he is met by Hushai the Archite, who comes in mourning with his coat torn and dirt on his head. David, rather than accepting Hushai's offer of support, sends him back to Jerusalem "to defeat the counsel of Ahithophel," Absalom's adviser. The introduction of Hushai in the narrative anticipates the eventual reversal of Absalom's success. At this point, Ziba, Mephibosheth's servant, comes with supplies for David and his men, slandering his master by asserting that Mephibosheth has remained in Jerusalem, anticipating the return of the kingdom to the house of Saul. At Bahurim, David and his men are cursed by Shimei, whose life David orders spared.

A pivotal point in the narrative is reached here. David has arrived at the Jordan and Absalom and all the people with him, including Ahithophel, come to Jerusalem. Absalom is on the verge of success in his effort to become king, while David and his loyal band of followers are on the verge of defeat and death. Ahithophel responds to Absalom's request for council by advising him to go in conspicuously to David's concubines, who have been left behind in Jerusalem. This action, to which may be compared Adonijah's request for Abishag (1 Kgs 2:17–25) and Abner's relations with Rizpah, one of Saul's concubines (2 Sam 3:3–11), is usually regarded as a public symbol of the takeover of the royal prerogatives (cf. Tsevat 1958: 241). This action also explicitly fulfills the judgment Nathan uttered against David.

To this advice, Ahithophel, whose counsel is regarded as equivalent to an oracle of God, adds strategic advice. He describes David's desperate situation, of which the reader has already been informed, and he counsels a swift military action of small scale to take David unaware, killing only him and thus avoiding the further alienation which would result from massive bloodshed. The advice is precisely appropriate to the circumstances. However, Absalom also asks Hushai for advice, and he provides him with a strategy which will gain time for David to consolidate his forces. He proposes mustering the troops from Dan to Beersheba, which Absalom will then lead in person to destroy David and his entire force. Absalom's

acceptance of this deceptive advice signals the beginning of the end of his rebellion. The rejection of Ahithophel's counsel is attributed to Yahweh, who wanted to bring evil on Absalom (2 Sam 17:14).

David, warned by Jonathan and Ahimaaz, crosses the Jordan to Mahanaim where he is received by a number of local leaders and given provisions for his army. As David and his men prepare for the coming battle, the king says to the men, "I myself will also go out with you." His men, however, refuse this offer, indicating that he is worth ten thousand of them and will better serve the cause by remaining behind to send help from the city if needed. There is irony here in that the entire narrative begins in circumstances in which David does *not* go forth to war against the Ammonites and must ultimately be summoned for the final surrender. In this instance he wants to lead but is refused. In the ensuing conflict, Absalom's forces are routed and Absalom himself is killed, having been caught in an oak while the mule on which he was riding continued on its way. Despite David's order to Joab that the young man Absalom be spared, Joab thrusts three darts into Absalom's heart and his armor bearers strike him and kill him. Although the text does not mention his hair, there is a long tradition of interpretation which links this account to the description of Absalom's beauty and hair (cf. McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 406). If the narrator indeed intended the reader to make that connection, there is tragic irony in the account. The overriding irony and reversal in the narrative, however, is in the deception of Absalom by Hushai's false counsel. Seen from the perspective of folklore, the entire narrative of Absalom's revolt may be characterized as a story of the deceiver being deceived.

David's reaction to the death of Absalom and the rout of his army evokes another surprise. David does not rejoice in his victory but deeply and publicly grieves for his slain son. This public and excessive grief turns the victory into mourning, the people stealing away as though disgraced (2 Sam 19:1–2). When Joab rebukes David for grieving for his slain enemy, David finally arises and takes his seat in the gate and the people come before him. David's response to the death of Absalom, seen from a personal and family perspective, is appropriate. However, it is behavior, as Joab reminds him, which is not allowable for a king. The narrator, by emphasizing David's grief over his son who is also his enemy, by contrasting David's behavior with that of Uriah, and by noting the ease with which he was dissuaded from going into battle with Absalom (18:4), portrays David as a thoroughly incompetent person in his role as war leader of the kingdom (cf. Ishida 1982: 184).

The strife within David's family is mirrored in the resulting strife over the issue of returning David to the throne (2 Sam 19:1–15). Having won the acceptance of Israel and Judah, David prepares to cross the Jordan and return to Jerusalem. Shimsi and Ziba rush down to meet the king and to assist him across the Jordan. Ahishai, the son of Zeruiah, wants to kill Shimei because he has cursed David, but David orders his life spared. Mephibosheth himself arrives on the scene and expresss loyalty to David, claiming that Ziba has slandered him to the king. Although it appears that Ziba did indeed slander Mephibosheth, David's response is equivocal. Having previously given the estate of Saul to Ziba, David now orders that it be divided between the two of them. Another of the individuals who gave David succor at Mahanaim, Berzillai, comes down to escort David across the Jordan. He refuses David's invitation to come to Jerusalem and to allow David to provide for him. His refusal is based on the infirmities that go with age, and he asks David to take with him in his stead Chimham, who is presumed to be his son. This series of meetings parallels the series of meetings linked to David's flight from Jerusalem (2 Sam 15:13–16:14). The chapter ends with another reference to the strife between Judah and Israel. Thus, within the narrative even the account of David's return to power is surrounded by strife, an implicit reminder of Nathan's prophetic announcement that the sword would never depart from David's house. This strife culminates in a revolt of Israel led by Sheba, the son of Bichri, a Benjaminite. After David returns to Jerusalem he sequesters the ten concubines he had left behind and they live shut up as in widowhood, their plight echoing that of Tamar. The final episode in the revolt of Absalom is the pursuit and elimination of Sheba (2 Sam 20:4–22). The narrative concludes with a list of David's officials which seems to be a variant of the summary list in 8:16–18. (Chaps. 21–24 of 2 Samuel are usually regarded as appendices interrupting the main narrative.)

**5. The Accession of Solomon.** The resumption of the Court Narrative in 1 Kings 1 presupposes an intervening period. David has become old and cannot get warm even though covered with clothes. The servants offer a solution: a young maiden should be found for the king who will wait upon him and who will lie in his bosom. They search for a beautiful maiden and find Abishag the Shunamite. They bring her to the king and she serves him as a nurse. The narrator, however, informs us that David did not have sexual relations with her (1:4). These details are striking and can best be understood in light of the earlier scene in which David takes Bathsheba. These two scenes form an *inclusio* and they derive their dramatic power in part from their irony. In the opening scene David takes Bathsheba, an illegitimate act from which flows a steady stream of tragic consequences; ironically, in the closing episode, he is incapable of sexual relations with the beautiful virgin Abishag. This kind of ironic reversal seems to be a favorite literary device of the narrator.

The narrative immediately shifts to the account of Adonijah's abortive effort to succeed Solomon. Like Absalom, he prepares for himself chariots and horsemen and fifty men to run before him. The text also notes that, like Absalom, he was a very handsome man and that he was born next after Absalom (1 Kgs 1:6). Adonijah enlists the aid of Joab and Abiathar and invites all his brothers and all the Judean officials to a sacrificial feast at the Serpent's Stone beside En Rogel—with some notable exceptions (1:10). Nathan alerts Bathsheba to Adonijah's actions, advising her to go in to David and to remind him of his promise to her that Solomon will rule after him; while she is speaking, he will come in and confirm her words. There clearly has been no public indication that Solomon is to succeed David. On the contrary, every indication was that Adonijah would be king (1 Kgs 2:15). In terms of the principle of primogeniture, Amnon, Absalom, and Adonijah each would have had a more secure claim to the throne than did Solomon. The strategy of Nathan and Bathsheba works, however, and David orders that Solomon be mounted on the royal she-mule and go down to Gihon where Zadok and Nathan will anoint him king over Israel (1:32–40). This is the third reference to mules in the Court Narrative. The first reference is in the context of the assassination of Amnon. The narrator informs the reader that the other royal sons escaped on their mules (2 Sam 13:29). Again, Absalom met his death when his mule rode out from under him, leaving him hanging helpless before Joab (2 Sam 18:9). These references provide a subtle ironic link between the failed rebellion of Absalom and the accession of Solomon.

When word of Solomon's accession reaches Adonijah, he seizes the horns of the altar and elicits a promise from Solomon that he will be permitted to live if he proves to be an honorable man (1:50–53). Solomon's opportunity to execute his potential rival comes when Adonijah requests (through Bathsheba) that Abishag be given to him. On instructions from David, Joab is executed for his murder of Abner and Amasa. Abiathar is spared because of his role in bearing the ark of the Lord before David, but he is exiled to Anathoth. Shimei violates the order to remain in Jerusalem and he, too, is executed in accordance with the instruction of David. On this note the narrative concludes with the affirmation that the kingdom is securely established in the hand of Solomon. It is in these first two chapters of 1 Kings that the succession motif is most obviously present. Those who see in the Court History a succession document regard the accounts of the murders of Joab and Shimei as efforts to absolve Solomon from full responsibility by shifting some of that responsibility to David. Likewise, Adonijah's request for Abishag is construed as an act of lese majesty necessitating his death.

**B. History of Scholarship**

**1. Sources, Extent, and Genre of the Court Narrative.** The traditions which we have called the Court Narrative have by and large been seen as either a distinct narrative unit or a sequence of somewhat independent narrative units. However, some scholars have attempted to trace the sources of the Pentateuch into the books of Samuel. Among these are Karl Budde (*Samuel* KHC) and Otto Eissfeldt, who regarded the court stories of David as a continuation of the J source as well as a masterpiece of Israelite historical writing (1931; 1965: 276–77). Steuernagel was able to trace two sources through 2 Samuel 8, but identified the traditions in 2 Samuel 9–20 (and possibly chap. 24) as a distinct and well-constructed history emanating from Jerusalem, a history which he could describe as one of the most magnificent pieces of Israelite literature (1912: 334–35).

Other scholars saw in the Samuel books a loose compilation of individual narratives. Gressmann, for example, distinguished a series of *Novellen;* the conflict with Ishbaal (2 Samuel 2–5), the story of Amnon and Absalom (2 Sam 13:1–14:33), and the rebellions of Absalom and Sheba (2 Sam 15:1–20:22). At least in the case of the account of Absalom's rebellion. Gressmann defines the narrative as a *Novelle* in the specific sense of a historical account which is deepened by narrative art as opposed to a merely fictional account. This is expressed in part by the psychological depth given to the characters (Gressmann 1921: xiv, 181). Caspari had also singled out the story of Absalom's rebellion in 2 Samuel 15–20 as an independent narrative. This narrative is indeed history, incorporating the transition of the national literature from *Novelle* to history writing (1909: 317–48). Gunkel cited the narrative of Absalom's rebellion (chaps. 13–20) as a parade example of historical writing, *Geschichtserzählung* (1925: 75 [23]), describing it as "the finest gem ("*das köstlichste Kleinod*") of historical writing in Israel" (1964: 10; *Genesis* HKAT, xii). These scholars, although defining the limits of the narrative units somewhat differently, were in substantial agreement that these traditions collectively and individually be regarded as fine examples of reliable historical writing.

**2. L. Rost and the Succession Theme.** Modern scholarly discussion of the traditions in the book of 2 Samuel has been shaped primarily by Leonhard Rost's epochal study, *Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids,* which appeared in 1926. Rost isolated the materials of 2 Samuel 6:16 and 20ff.; 7:11b and 16; 9:1–10:5 (10:6–11:1); 11:2–12:7a; 12:13–25 (26–31); 13:1–14:24; 14:28–18:17; 18:19–20:22; 1 Kgs 1:1–2:1; 2:5–10; 2:12–27a; and 2:28–46 as a single literary unit dominated by the thematic problem of the succession to the throne of David (hence the designation "Succession Narrative"). Rost's study has been the touchstone for most subsequent investigation of these traditions and the basis for treating them as a discrete literary unit within the Deuteronomistic History (DH).

Rost's analysis was concerned with both the content and the style of the narrative. It is, however, clear that for Rost content was the decisive criterion for setting these materials apart as a discrete narrative unit. The author made use of the end of the originally independent Ark Narrative with its observation that Michal remained childless until her death (2 Sam 6:23) to introduce the question of who was to succeed David on the throne. The originally independent report on David's war with the Ammonites and the Arameans was used as a framework for the account of David's affair with Bathsheba. The question of David's successor is finally answered with the affirmation of Solomon's sovereignty in 1 Kgs 2:46. In addition to the concern to define the scope and limits of the Succession Narrative, Rost offered a date, provenience, and *Tendenz* for the composition. The author was a member of the royal court writing probably in the early days of the Solomonic era in order to glorify Solomon, "*in majorem gloriam Salomonis.*"

Echoing earlier assessments of the material in 2 Samuel 13–20, Rost characterized the succession narrative as "The finest work of Hebrew narrative art …" (1982: 115). Like his predecessors and contemporaries, he accorded "historical trustworthiness" as well as narrative artistry to the Succession Narrative. To be sure, he recognized that the problem of historicity was accentuated by the literary artistry of the narrator, which could be readily interpreted as evidence for regarding it as a fictional account.

Although Rost's analysis was criticized by Eissfeldt and others, his main thesis became the accepted view of the traditions centering on the court of David in 2 Samuel and 1 Kings 1–2, and gave widespread currency to the designation "Succession Narrative" for this body of tradition. This is due in large part to the acceptance of Rost's positions with minor modifications by Albrecht Alt, Martin Noth, and Gerhard von Rad. Alt and von Rad, in particular, emphasized the historicity of the narrative. Von Rad described the narrative as the "oldest specimen of ancient Israelite historical writing," stressing as well its theological contribution, the conception of Yahweh's activity as "concealed in the whole breadth of secular affairs, and pervading every single sphere of human life" (*PHOE,* 176, 204).

It is only within the last two or three decades that extensive criticism and reconsideration of Rost's position have emerged. These criticisms are focused in a variety of ways. Much of the discussion has addressed the question of the *Tendenz* of the narrative. Is the theme of the material really the question of who would rule after David, and is it really a pro-Solomon propaganda piece? This question was raised

sharply and effectively by Delekat (1967). He emphasized the negative reports about both David and Solomon. If the theme of the narrative was the succession to the throne of David, Delekat argued, it must be unfavorable to Solomon. If it was correct that Bathsheba was an adulteress, that Adonijah was generally and with David's approbation regarded as the crown prince, and that there was no divine oracle granting the throne to Solomon, the narrative is implicitly critical of Solomon and the process by which he came to the throne. Clearly then, the concern of the narrative is more generally the reign of David until the consolidation of the kingship in the hand of Solomon. The affirmation that the kingdom was secure in Solomon's hands (1 Kgs 2:46) begs the question, How did this come about? The narrator's view is hostile to the arbitrary exercise of royal power evident in both David and Solomon and he is generally an opponent of kingship. His intentions were to shake Israel's loyalty to Solomon, a loyalty which existed despite Solomon's exactions from the people (Delekat 1967).

Delekat's forceful critique of Rost's thesis was not immediately taken up in subsequent analyses of these traditions. Nearly a decade later Würthwein (1974) pursued the issues raised by Delekat, emphasizing the anti-Solomonic tone of 1 Kings 1–2 and the anti-Davidic tone of 2 Samuel 10–12. The account of Bathsheba's entrance into the Davidic court in its original extent clearly shows a critical *Tendenz* against the Davidic kingdom. David is a king who boldly violates the old Israelite commandments against adultery and murder. The narrative portraying David in this light surely is to be regarded as a critique of the form of the monarchy which developed under David. Würthwein's arguments depended in part on the isolation of a number of texts which are to be regarded as later additions and which provide a more favorable portrait of David and those connected with him while placing Solomon's opponents in a less favorable light.

Two other recent analyses of these traditions also delineate an antimonarchical perspective which has subsequently been modified by later additions. Veijola (1975) found evidence of an antimonarchical stance which was subsequently heavily edited within Deuteronomic circles in order to legitimate the Davidic monarchy, while Langlamet (1976) identified a pro-Solomonic redaction in 1 Kings 1–2. On the other hand, McCarter, while acknowledging the tension within the narrative, attributes that tension to the nature of apologetic writing which maintains a tension between apparently unfavorable details and circumstances on the one hand and, on the other, the favorable interpretation of these details by the writer (*2 Samuel* AB, 15–16). Conroy (1978: 102) has noted the omission of any mention of Solomon in the account of Absalom's rebellion (2 Samuel 13–20) and concluded that these chapters deal only with the causes and outcome of Absalom's attempted coup d' état, not with the issue of succession.

**3. The Traditio-Historical Approach.** Carlson (1964) has applied the traditio-historical methodology of the Uppsala school to 2 Samuel. Following Noth, he sees the traditions of 2 Samuel as a part of the DH, an exilic reflection on the history of Israel. Carlson stressed the importance of the final stage of the process of tradition, its "redactional history" *(Redactionsgeschichte),* the final shape of which is the result of the work of the D-group. The D-group joined units together on the basis of the principle of association by means of catchwords (*Stichworte* or *verba associandi*) used with groups of motifs to link up with earlier traditions, but consistent with the ideological concepts of the prologue, Deuteronomy. The Deuteronomistic approach is to use varied materials to demonstrate that Israel's misfortunes stem from her faithlessness. The D-group used the figure of David as an ideal figure "to give an authoritative demonstration of their faith in a future made possible by turning again to Yahweh and by devotion to him" (Carlson 1964: 26).

Carlson viewed the Samuel traditions in terms of two motifs: David under the blessing *(bĕrākāh),* 2 Samuel 2–5, 6, 7; and David under the curse *(qĕlālāh),* 2 Samuel 9–24. For Carlson, chaps. 9–24 as a whole constitute "a Deuteronomic commentary on the latter half of the Davidic epoch" (1964: 139). He understands 1 Samuel 10–12 as a Deuteronomistic ingress to 2 Sam 13:1–21:14, which is structured in terms of two seven-year periods. The curse introduced by the Bathsheba episode runs in two *šibʿātayim* phases which constitute the restitution called for in 12:6 (reading with many commentators the 's "sevenfold" versus the MT "fourfold"). In addition, 2 Samuel 10–20 as a whole reflects the Deuteronomic

laws governing adultery and affinity: Deut 22:22 (2 Samuel 10–12); 22:28–29 (2 Samuel 13–14); and 23:1 (cf. 2 Sam 23:1).

**4. History or a Well-Told Story?** Rost had himself stressed the importance of the stylistic features of the Court Narrative, although to some recent interpreters Rost's analysis appears idiosyncratic and inadequate. Recent interpretation has to a considerable extent focused on matters of genre and literary artistry. An early example of this recent revival of interest in literary artistry is Jackson's article, which appeared in 1965. For Jackson, the author of the succession story was not simply trying to answer the question of how it came about that Solomon sits upon David's throne. Rather, the author used the techniques of oral narrative along with some of his own to provide a portrait of the varied relations of individuals who contend for temporal power in the secular realm. These techniques include the skillful contrasts of two figures as in the case of David and Joab, the alternation of tension and relaxation, the alternation between terse brevity and wealth of detail, and the heightening of suspense towards a climax and gradual slackening of intensity (1965: 183–95). More recently, Conroy (1978) has focused on the narrative of Absalom's revolt and its aftermarth (2 Samuel 13–20), which he views as a self-contained narrative unity. His detailed analysis of selected pericopes pays close attention to the structural building blocks of the narrative, such as the narrative patterns "command/execution," "desire/fulfillment," and "request and refusal." Conroy also gives careful attention to the movement from complication to resolution within the narrative, as well as to the narrator's point of view and characterization of persons and events. The most elaborate recent literary analysis is that of Fokkelman (1981), whose overarching study finds a series of dominant themes including the dualities of piety-sin, illusion-truth, and unity-duality. Sacon (1982) has applied the insights of the Japanese sentence psychologist, Kanji Hatano, to the Court Narrative. This approach stresses the analysis of paragraphs as the key to clarifying a particular literary work. Sacon, for example, finds a concentric structure in 15:18–19:41 centered around the account of David's reign in exile in 18:1–19:9, which is itself composed of a concentric structure. These studies do not preclude the assessment of the Court Narrative as essentially historical.

However, some of the recent attention to narrative style has to a significant extent called into question the long-standing assessment of the Court Narrative as a fine early example of historical writing. The utilization of motifs and themes characteristic of popular or folk literature, the numerous intimate conversations, the lack of attention to public events, and connections with the Wisdom tradition have led some scholars to conclude that the Court Narrative is not history in intention or in fact. Recognizing that the references to Solomon and his mother in 2 Samuel 11 and 1 Kings 1–2 constitute an *inclusio,* Blenkinsopp distinguished between two separate but connected themes: the legitimation of the Davidic claim to the throne, and the struggle for succession. The *Thronfolgegeschichte* consists of 2 Sam 11:2–27; 12:15b–25; 13–15; 15–20; and 1 Kings 1–2 and is structured by the theme that sin externalized in a sexual form leads to death (1966: 48–49). Blenkinsopp's primary interest, however, was in the affinities with the Yahwist tradition, and he identified several themes common to the David narratives and the Yahwist. These traditional themes included the motifs of the beauty and divine wisdom of the king, brother killing brother, the wise counselor whose advice leads to ruin, and, more prominently, the woman who brings death. Traditional elements in the Court Narrative are also stressed by Gunn. In addition to the themes noted by Blenkinsopp, Gunn notes several traditional motifs: David and the sons of Zeruiah, the judgment-eliciting parable, the woman and the spies, the two messengers, and the letter of death. The author's use of these traditional motifs suggests that the narrative should be seen not as political propaganda but as "first and foremost a fine piece of story-telling" (1978: 37). Whybray (1968) has noted the lack of attention to public events and, *inter alia,* the numerous intimate conversations in the narrative, and on that basis he has characterized the narrative as a work comparable to the modern psychological novel which, in its concerns and perspectives, is linked to the Wisdom tradition. While the author might make use of historical facts, the work itself is not history.

**5. Date of Composition.** Rost dated the Succession Narrative to the early period of Solomon's kingship. Those scholars who have found evidence of subsequent editing by the Deuteronomist or others may date the finished document later. However, there has been little direct discussion of the widely held

assumption that the major part of the traditions contained within the Court Narrative or Succession Document are to be regarded as essentially contemporary with the events which are related. This is the case even though there is little evidence on the basis of which to date the narrative to the 10th century. There are, in fact, some indications of a later date, a number of which have been cited by Gunn. After the death of the child born of the adulterous union with Bathsheba, David goes into the "house" of Yahweh, which would indicate a date after the completion of the temple. There are a number of other references which also suggest temporal distance from the events described. The reference to the attire of the daughters of the king in 2 Sam 13:18 implies a time when this fashion was no longer widely known, and it cannot be easily dismissed as a gloss. There is also apparent confusion about the issue of whether Absalom had sons and about the various parties to Absalom's revolt (Gunn 1978: 32–33).

**6. Synthesis.** Rost's assessment of the unity and historical worth of 2 Samuel 9–20 and 1 Kings 1–2 as a unified political document stemming from the early days of Solomon's reign no longer reflects a consensus of scholarly opinion. Almost every aspect of Rost's analysis has required reassessment. While literary artistry (including the use of motifs from folklore) does not require rejection of the description of this material as history, it has led to a more critical assessment of its historical worth.

It is also no longer clear that one can talk about a succession document embracing all of 2 Samuel 9–20 and 1 Kings 1–2. The distinction between the themes of the legitimation of David's claims to the throne and the struggle for succession suggests a more complex history for the traditions contained within the document as well. Granted this distinction, the designation "Court Narrative" is beginning to displace Rost's designation of the material as "Succession Narrative." The way in which the references to Solomon, Bathsheba, and Nathan (2 Sam 11:1–12:25; 1 Kgs 1:1–2:46) form an *inclusio* calls into question Rost's definition of the extent of the Court Narrative. There is little reason to try to include 2 Samuel 9 as part of the larger composition, and few scholars have followed Rost in including 2 Sam 6:16, 20ff., and 7:11b, 16. Ironically, Rost's real legacy may be in the growing interest in the literary artistry of the composition, which is characteristic of much of the contemporary writing on the Court Narrative.

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**COURT OF THE GUARD.** See GUARD, COURT OF THE.

**COURTS.** See LAW, BIBLICAL AND ANE.

**COVENANT.** A "covenant" is an agreement enacted between two parties in which one or both make promises under oath to perform or refrain from certain actions stipulated in advance. As indicated by the designation of the two sections of the Christian Bible—Old Testament (= covenant) and New Testament—"covenant" in the Bible is the major metaphor used to describe the relation between God and Israel (the people of God). As such, covenant is the instrument constituting the rule (or kingdom) of God, and therefore it is a valuable lens through which one can recognize and appreciate the biblical ideal of religious community.

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I. Conclusion

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**A. Underlying Problems in Approaching the Topic**

At the outset it should be noted that two factors often inhibit the ability of many modern Western readers to appreciate fully the biblical portrayal of the covenant between God and Israel. The first is the problem of the so-called "sociology of knowledge" in the modern Western world. On the one hand, the English word "covenant" itself has largely fallen into disuse, and today is limited to certain highly technical legal matters. On the other hand, as a practical form of social organization and behavior, covenant-based relationships in the West have become almost obsolete, the fragile institution of marriage remaining the most noteworthy vestige of such relationships. Thus, one legitimate issue in the study of biblical covenant must be the extent to which modern and Western students of the Bible can conceive and imagine relationships built upon little more than promises reliably made and honorably kept.

The second is generally a problem associated ultimately with the "sociology of knowledge" in ancient Israel. How fully did the ancient Israelite scribes themselves understand what it meant to live in terms of a covenant? As we shall see, in the millennium during which ancient Israelite society and thought developed and changed, and in which the biblical documents were written, the same single term—*bĕrît*—came to be used to refer to many different types of oath-bound promises and relationships. Therefore, any study of covenant in the Bible must be sensitive to the varying social and ideological contexts associated with different types of oath-taking, and it must also be prepared to make careful distinctions between different phenomena underlying the singular use of the Hebrew word *bĕrît.* These phenomena may be roughly classified as "treaties," "loyalty oaths," and "charters." Especially in the later periods of biblical history and in connection with the subsequent utilization of covenant imagery within early Judaism and early Christianity (see H below), it is also necessary to distinguish between covenants as *socially enacted historical realities* that were expected to bring about functional changes in patterns of behavior, and covenants as *formal or symbolic dogmatic concepts* that were supposed to be the objects of tradition and belief.

In the past century scholars have rarely been sensitive to such ancient phenomena, and consequently there has been much debate recently as to whether the biblical covenant appeared at the beginning of the history of ancient Israel (the time of Moses) as an adaptation of Late Bronze (LB) Age suzerainty treaty forms, or later during the time of the monarchy (introduced either by the classical prophets or by Josiah) as an adaptation of Iron Age "loyalty oaths" (both McCarthy [1973] and Nicholson [1986] embrace relatively limited perspectives on covenant and opt for its relatively late appearance in Israelite religion).

**B. ANE Treaties**

**1. The Nature of Ancient Covenants.** The large number of international treaties preserved in texts from all over the ANE world is dramatic witness to the importance of covenants in ancient social and political life. See also TREATIES. For some periods, especially the Syro-Hittite LB Age, these treaties constitute a major source of our knowledge of the ancient history of the region. As instruments for the creation and regulation of relationships between different social groups, they seem to have been universal in the ancient world. Even the Greek historian Herodotus regarded the forms by which a society established binding covenants as an important element in the description of that culture (e.g. Hdt. 1.74).

By their very nature, covenants are complex *enactments.* As complex acts they combine: (1) historical events that create relationships, usually (though not necessarily) between unequal partners; (2) customary ways of thinking characteristic of both parties, especially common religious ideas associated with deities; (3) descriptions of norms for future behavior (which are often confused with "laws"); (4) literary or oral forms in which the agreement is couched; and (5) almost always some ritual act that is regarded as essential to the ratification of the binding promise. It follows that a covenant cannot be understood merely by regarding it as a rigid literary form, nor can it be understood by reducing it to a literary law code, a ritual act, or a theological or political idea or concept. Thus, most studies of OT covenant in the past

quarter century that have been delimited by one or another of such concepts have largely generated a great deal of unnecessary confusion.

Covenants in the form of international treaties appeared almost as soon as writing itself began to be used for literary purposes. From the EB Age at Ebla through the Iron Age a sufficient number of such treaties were recorded and have been preserved so that we can identify changes in the conventional contents and forms of treaties. It is highly probable that these instruments for the regularization of public relationships between sovereigns developed in prehistoric times from customary forms used for making behavior predictable between private persons. One such occasion for private agreements would be marriage contracts, and it is significant that marriage is one of the most pervasive and constant types of covenant throughout history.

Since covenants are typically enacted between parties to create relationships that did not previously exist, both the *substance* and the *form* of covenants must be valid and meaningful to both. Thus, covenants constituted a most important feature of ancient cultures that operated to transcend a narrow parochialism and so to prepare the way for a broader perspective on society and history.

As is the case in so many other features of ancient civilizations, it was the Bronze Age that produced the most highly developed structure of international treaties. Although these treaties are known primarily through Hittite sources, there is no reason to believe that the Hittites originated this treaty form. Since treaties are intrinsically cross-cultural in nature, the basic underlying patterns of thought incorporated in the texts would necessarily have been common property to most ANE cultures of the time. Note, for example, the (parity) treaty between Ḫattusilis and Rameses II (*ANET,* 199–203) which (however temporarily or ephemerally) was meaningful to both an Egyptian audience and a Hittite one. Indeed, the simple fundamental elements of the treaty structure are already found in a text from Byblos dating probably to the end of the EB Age (Mendenhall 1985, chap. 5).

**2. The Structure of the LB Age Treaties.** The structure of treaties in the LB Age was fully described already in 1931 by V. Korosec, but it was not until 1954 that the extraordinary similarity to certain OT traditions was pointed out (Mendenhall 1954a). Though there has been an enormous amount of discussion since that time, there still seems to be no consensus concerning the historical significance or even the validity of those similarities.

The "ideal structure" of LB Hittite treaties has been abstracted from numerous examples. It is not surprising that not every treaty exhibits all of the individual elements of the structure. The modern idea that all the covenants had to conform to some rigid form defined in advance is characteristic of a "strict law" type of legalistic mentality that not only is quite rare in the history of jurisprudence but also was probably foreign to the ANE historical reality.

**a. Identification of the Covenant Giver.** This introduction to the treaty text typically begins with the formula "The words of …," followed by the name of the Hittite king, his genealogy, and his various titles, ending with the epithet "the hero." The vast majority of the treaties preserved are suzerainty treaties in which the underlying ideology held that the great and powerful king was bestowing a gracious relationship upon an inferior. It followed, then, that the relationship of the vassal to the overlord had to be an exclusive one: the vassal could not engage in treaty or other relationships with other independent monarchs without being guilty of treason, and therefore becoming subject to the death penalty. (The similarity between this ideology centering upon the Hittite great king and the biblical monotheism seems obvious.)

**b. The Historical Prologue.** This section, in which the Hittite king recounted his past deeds of benefit to the vassal, is frequently so detailed and extensive as to constitute a major source for our knowledge of ANE history in this period. The motivation for this section was obviously not an academic interest in the past for its own sake, but rather to have that past serve as the foundation for the present obligation of the vassal to be obedient to the stipulations of the covenant. The implications of this element of the covenant structure are far-reaching, but it is difficult if not impossible to prove what those implications might have been. It can at least be suggested that certain concepts were presupposed as present in the minds of both parties to the covenant.

In the first place, the historical prologue is inseparable from the concept of *reciprocity* that is so prevalent in premodern cultures. The narration of the past history emphasized very strongly the benefits that the great king had already bestowed upon the vassal in the past. The implication is, of course, that the common decency of *gratitude* would place the vassal under *obligation* to comply with the wishes of his benefactor. The principles underlying this sort of relationship are illustrated by an old Arabic saying (which actually applies to persons who are equals in an egalitarian society): "If someone does you a favor, you never forget it; if you do someone else a favor, you never mention it." (The latter part of the saying of course does not apply to a king or to a god, who is in the position to specify what he wishes.)

These prologues are not unrelated to the question of the origin of history writing in the ancient world (a subject surrounded by obscurity, mystery, and controversy). This is even more true of the biblical tradition. In view of the fact that the earliest literary materials of the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Exodus 15 and Judges 5) are poetic descriptions of the acts of God, we should consider more seriously the practical purposes associated with the treaty prologues as the *ideological matrix* from which the biblical historiography developed. In short, just as in the LB treaties, so also even in the late repristination of the old covenant traditions of ancient Israel, the past was recounted for the specific purpose of instilling a sense of gratitude as the foundation and ground for future obedience.

**c. The Stipulations.** This section of the LB treaties, often phrased in the case-law format ("if …, then …"), described the interests of the great king that the vassal is bound to protect and obey under the covenant relationship. Already in this section there is an implicit distinction between what might be termed public vs. private concerns. The imperial control over vassals involved no interest in the internal affairs of the vassal state other than the obvious one of suppressing or controlling subversive activities and elements that might disrupt the harmonious relationship between the vassal and his overlord.

**d. The Provision for Deposit and Periodic Public Reading.** This segment of the treaty is again surprisingly sophisticated. Deposit of a copy of the treaty in the temple was an act that now placed that treaty within the interests of the local deity and under its protection. In more modern terminology, the treaty and its contents were to be incorporated into the operating value system of the vassal state, and thus to be internalized as determinants of future behavior. To put it in simplest terms, the treaty was a sacred act and object. (As is often the case, there was undoubtedly a considerable difference between this official doctrine and practical reality.)

The provision for periodic public reading implies that although the treaty was formally established with the vassal king himself, nevertheless it was also binding upon the population over which he ruled. The treaty became a part of the public policy of the king and thus was integrated into the "law" of his kingdom. Interestingly enough, the frequency specified for the periodic public reading varied, but it was usually scheduled from one to four times a year. (It would be interesting to know whether or not these public readings coincided with local festivals, and therefore became part of a public ritual form, but no such information is so far available.)

**e. The List of Witnesses to the Treaty.** These treaties also typically listed those "third parties" who would witness the enactment of the treaty. It is of especial interest that the witnesses were exclusively deities or deified elements of the natural world. The list of deities was frequently so lengthy as to justify the conclusion that it was intended to be exhaustive: all gods relevant to *both* parties were called upon as witnesses, so that there was no god left that the vassal could appeal to for protection if he wanted to violate his solemn oath. It is especially amusing that often the "*apiru* gods," i.e., even the gods of renegade rebel bands, were included in the list of witnesses.

The witnesses also included the heavens and the earth, and mountains and rivers, a fact of particular significance because the motif continues in the poetic and prophetic traditions of the Bible (Deuteronomy 32; Isa 1:2; Mic 6:1–2), but there is little if any trace of it in any other extrabiblical Iron Age covenant texts and ideologies centuries later. The witnesses were those entities that were called upon to observe the behavior of the party under oath and to carry out the appropriate rewards and punishments (the blessings and curses) connected with the treaty (see below). The fact that these enforcers are all supernatural beings reflects the underlying idea that in this covenant ideology strenuous (if not pretentious) efforts were made

to place the entire covenant complex outside the realm of political and military coercive force, and into the realm of a voluntary acceptance of a commonality of interest between suzerain and vassal. In other words, there is expressed here the hope that the vassal's obedience will be "self-policing," i.e., based upon a conscientious regard for higher principles (the gods) than simply upon the fear of superior military force.

**f. The Blessings and Curses.** This section of the treaty text described in detail the consequences of obedience and disobedience with which the witnesses to the treaty rewarded or punished the vassal. Because the witnesses were the supernatural entities mentioned in the previous section, the blessings and curses were appropriately (in large measure) those experiences that are beyond normal human ability to predict, much less control. Particularly in this prescientific age the most important concerns of humanity were clearly beyond mortal control: health, productivity of fields and flocks and wives, and freedom from external violence. See also BLESSINGS AND CURSES. Thus the treaty made an inseparable connection between ethical adherence to promises made and the consequences of economic prosperity, freedom from disease, and tranquil long life. The text of the treaty typically concluded with this enumeration of the consequences of obedience and disobedience.

It is important to observe that the LB treaty formulas included not only punitive threats to be carried out by supernatural powers but also positive rewards of similar origin. This aspect of international treaties was normal in the LB Age, but later Iron Age treaties typically contained nothing but the curses (see B.3 below).

**g. The Ratification Ceremony.** It would be extremely naive to think that the mere writing of a treaty text brought into existence the treaty and the relationship it stipulated. Even today a treaty must be signed, ratified, or otherwise formally accepted before it can become binding. In antiquity, the formal ritual by which a covenant came into force had such a variety of forms and procedures that no generalization can be made. These formal rituals are the customs that Herodotus specified for the societies that he described. There is no reason to believe, therefore, that some specified rigid formality was always carried out—indeed, it would be unthinkable in view of the variety of cultures and societies that are involved in the dozens of treaties preserved.

One observation, however, is probably valid: the ratification of the covenant was frequently associated with the sacrifice of an animal. The significance of animal sacrifice in general is a complex and intractable subject, and the problem becomes even more complex when it takes place within the framework of covenant relationships. An Iron Age Assyrian treaty, however (*ANET,* 532–33), makes perfectly clear that at that time and place (N Syria), the sacrificed animal represented, and was identified with, the vassal who was being placed under oath: just as the animal was slaughtered, so would the vassal and his dependents be slaughtered if he violated his oath. The same concept is attested for the earliest Roman covenant traditions (Mendenhall 1954a), so we may safely assume that this sacrificial identification was widespread in both time and space. Once the animal was killed, the vassal could expect the same fate if he violated his oath. Perhaps associated with sacrificial ritual as an enactment ceremony is the well-attested fact that covenants were often officially ratified by a common meal (see G.1 below).

It is characteristic of this period that the treaties do not contain a verbal oath formula. The oath is a conditional self-cursing: i.e., an appeal to the gods to bring certain penalties upon the oath taker if he violates the promise that he is swearing to keep. The sacrifice is thus the *enactment* of the oath; therefore, a verbal formula is unnecessary in the *text* of the treaty itself (though some such verbalization possibly accompanied the slaughter of the animal, as in the early Roman ritual).

**h. The Imposition of the Curses.** A final element in the entire covenant complex is one which, like the oath formula itself, is not provided in the treaty text but is implied at least by parallels from other cultures of the ancient world. This is the often delicate problem of imprecations and curses. Though there is no certain evidence for a ritual form that effectively imposed the curses for breach of covenant, it seems probable that such a custom did exist. Under what circumstances could a sovereign declare the curses to be in effect, thus depriving the vassal of the protection that the covenant relationship normally would provide? How flagrant must a violation be before the sovereign could legitimately muster his military

forces and attack the recalcitrant vassal? Although the treaty texts themselves make no provision for such punitive action *by the suzerain himself* (this would negate the entire ideology of the covenant!), there must have been some means by which the suzerain could proclaim that the covenant no longer existed, and that the vassal therefore could be dealt with by force. In such circumstances, the suzerain could legitimately claim to be the agent of the avenging deities, since the actions of the deities themselves were evidently unreliable (and therefore insufficient). As the ultimate curse for the breach of covenant was the complete destruction of the vassal kingdom, the logical instrument for realizing such a *historical* event (in distinction from the curses of the treaty text that represent *natural* events) would be the suzerain himself.

**3. The Structure of Iron Age Loyalty Oaths.** The treaties that have become known in recent decades especially from the late Assyrian Empire reveal that structurally and ideologically they belong to a different world from that of the LB Age (Parpola 1987; Grayson 1987). Gone is the historical prologue, except for one example, significantly enough, preserved in extremely rudimentary form in a treaty with an Arab political entity—a culture that we know also preserved Bronze Age linguistic structures. Gone also are most of the other sophisticated and elaborate elements of the treaty forms, such as the gratitude for previous benefits conferred, the blessings, and the provision for deposit and public reading. Instead, these Iron Age treaties give the strong impression that a promise to obey has simply been imposed by superior military force and is now being reinforced by an incredible elaboration of curses. Thus, these treaties have appropriately been termed "loyalty oaths" (Weinfeld 1976).

The structure of the Iron Age loyalty oaths known from Assyrian sources seems to have been very flexible, but usually it included these basic elements:

1. The preamble, giving the name and titles of the Assyrian king, and the name of the vassal who is placed under oath, together with his descendants and the population of his realm.
2. The designation of the Assyrian ruler or successor to whom loyalty is due.
3. The invocation of the deities in whose presence the vassal swears.
4. The definition of the acts of commission and omission that subject the vassal to the curses.
5. The curses, or evils, brought upon the disobedient vassal by each deity, some curses in *mašal* ("parable") form.

Compared with the treaties of the LB Age, these of the Assyrian period are simplistic and one might say almost brutal. Although the text emphasizes the various ills to be brought upon the disloyal by the panoply of gods, the fate of the disobedient vassal is depicted quite tangibly by the Assyrian annals themselves (e.g., *ANET,* 277–301). The ideological matrix of these loyalty oaths suggests that the only motivation for obedience was simply the *self-interested desire* to avoid the fate so graphically illustrated in the Assyrian texts and reliefs, in sharp contrast to the *gratitude* that was supposed to be the foundation of obedience in the LB Hittite treaties. Thus almost all pretense of any transcendent moral or ethical foundations for the suzerain-vassal relationship was abandoned in favor simply of brute military force. Even the power of the supernatural forces to punish violation of oaths was of little importance compared with the vindictive power of the Assyrian king himself to do the punishing (in which some of these Assyrian kings at least seem to have taken a sadistic delight). It is ironic that a major purpose of the 7th-century treaties was to guarantee the succession of the designated heir to the Assyrian throne. The pathetic reliance on subjugated vassals to assure such succession is vivid witness to the *internal* hostilities within the Assyrian court itself.

In conclusion, the LB international treaties exhibit a sophistication and elaboration of concepts that were very largely lost during the Iron Age. In comparison, the treaties of the Iron Age seem to have been based mostly on mere military power reinforced by superstition. It must be observed, however, that the political instruments of the Hittite Empire were precisely that: political instruments. They were devised and adapted from the age-old common property of ancient cultures in the vain hope that they could bring about the voluntary subservience of peoples who in fact had been subjugated by military force. Although the LB covenant ideology certainly represented an admirable attempt to place cross-cultural relationships on a basis of something other than sheer military superiority, the brute facts of the historical evidence lead inevitably to the conclusion that Hittite foreign policy was exclusively military (Goetze 1957). The

treaties, in other words, were imposed relationships in which the vassal had freedom to choose either capitulation under the covenant or annihilation; thus, the LB treaties were instruments of propaganda, not of practical reality. Nevertheless, as instruments of propaganda they appealed to a different matrix of ideas than did the (equally propagandistic) loyalty oaths of the Iron Age.

**C. The Sinai Covenant**

The ongoing scholarly debate concerning the relationship between the LB suzerainty treaties and the biblical traditions depicting a "covenant" in Israel before the monarchy centers on one fundamental point: whether the Sinai covenant was indeed a historical reality known to the Israelite population in the premonarchic period (ca. 1200–1000 B.C.), or whether it was instead nothing more than a pious literary fabrication of the later monarchic period, an attempt to "invent" a (fictitious) past (nevertheless) replete with religious "meaning." If the former applies, then the relationship between the LB treaties and the Sinai covenant traditions are historically significant, and one could justifiably conclude that the Sinai covenant was conceived to be a type of "suzerainty treaty" establishing Yahweh as king and Israel as vassal. If the latter applies, then any similarity between the Sinai covenant traditions and the LB treaties is coincidental, and the real source of inspiration for the biblical idea of covenant must be sought either generally in the monarchic period, specifically at the time of the Assyrian Empire (ca. 750–620 B.C.), or perhaps sometime in the postmonarchic period (after 586 B.C.).

Here it should be stated unequivocally that all of the various elements of the LB suzerainty treaties (presented above) in one way or another are either present or reflected in biblical traditions associated with the premonarchic (Sinai) covenant. But, as will be noted below, these traditions also bear the marks of later "creative writers" who embellished and reworked the traditions from the radically different perspective of the monarchic period. The first task is to delineate the *formal* elements of the premonarchic covenant, and then to establish the *function* that such a covenant could reasonably have been expected to perform in Israel in the century or two before the rise of the monarchy.

**1. Formal Elements of the Sinai Covenant. a. Identification and Historical Prologue.** The historical investigation of any cultural form must begin with the realization that forms are almost never transferred from one cultural context (such as the international political treaties of the LB Age) to another (such as the hill-country tribes of early Iron Age Palestine) without some modification or adaptation inevitably resulting. This is the "Law of Functional Shift." This principle is aptly illustrated in the first two formal elements of the suzerainty treaty: the identification of the covenant giver and the historical prologue, which have been fused together in the two forms of the Decalogue preserved in Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 6. Unlike the "great kings" in the Bronze Age political treaties, the one God of Mosaic monotheism was not identified by heaping up divine epithets and attributes so characteristic of ancient polytheism; rather, at the very beginning God was simply identified in terms of what God had done: "… who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage" (Exod 20:2). The identification of the deity thus became synonymous with the historical prologue, and although the entire structure of the Sinai covenant represented a continuity with age-old patterns of thought, both the deity and the historical prologue represented a complete discontinuity from earlier ways of thinking. The historical event that was crucial to the identification of the deity became inseparable from the historical event of the establishment of the covenant itself. As Huffmon (1965) has shown, attempts made by some scholars to separate entirely the Exodus tradition from the Sinai covenant tradition are based upon a rejection of and, at the same time, a failure to understand both the biblical traditions themselves and the ANE patterns of thought that underlie them.

Whether the name of the deity, Yahweh, was a continuation from some earlier tradition is a debated issue to which there is no clear answer (see YAHWEH); it is certain that if there was a god by this name worshipped earlier by some group, it could hardly have been associated with any of the well-known politically organized imperial powers or even city-states of the previous age. The suggestion that it was the name of a Midianite deity simply attempts to explain the obscure by the more obscure.

**b. Stipulations.** The biblical traditions insist that the text of the covenant established at Sinai (the stipulations) was the Decalogue, the Ten Words (Deut 10:4), and there is no modern evidence that would

disprove the ancient information. Virtually all scholars agree that the original Ten Words were the simple prohibitions plus the two positive obligations of sabbath observance and honoring of parents (without all the elaborations that were added at a much later period). According to the Exodus 20 tradition, these were written on two tablets of stone, and contained only the first three of the elements of the suzerainty treaty described above. Some scholars have recently argued that the lack of other LB treaty elements in this text is evidence that the Sinai covenant had nothing to do with the suzerainty treaty. However, this line of reasoning is fatuous because it attempts to draw a historical conclusion from an observation about mere literary forms: even if all the LB elements are not attested in the first 17 verses of Exodus 20 (they are not even all attested in many LB treaties!), virtually all of them are nevertheless reflected in the later elaboration of traditions associated with the Sinai covenant (see below). The most that one can conclude from the literary form of Exod 20:1–17 is that the author (or editor) responsible for its final canonical shape did not believe that he had to pattern the *text* of the Sinai covenant deliberately after LB suzerainty treaties (if he even knew what they were), and felt that it was sufficient simply (1) to identify Yahweh formally (even though contextually this is unnecessary), (2) to restate what Yahweh did on behalf of Israel (again, contextually this is unnecessary), and (3) to list Yahweh's Ten Words. What is surprising is not that the other LB treaty elements are absent in this text but rather that v 2 is present, even though it could just as easily have been omitted. It was included precisely because the *received tradition* already linked item (3) above to items (1) and (2); the only explanation for this linkage is to be found in the LB suzerainty treaties.

The Ten Words are not commands, nor are they couched in command (i.e., imperative) language. They are simple future indicative verbs that indicate the future action that is the expected consequence of the preceding prologue: "I am Yahweh your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt …, (and therefore) you will have no other gods before me …," etc. Later biblical tradition itself was utterly confused in its interpretation of the Decalogue, and subsequent postbiblical interpreters have added to the confusion, ranging from the traditional pious view that the phrase "I am Yahweh your God …" is the first commandment, to very recent views held by many scholars that the Decalogue is a classical example of an "apodictic" (as opposed to the "casuistic") legal form. See LAW (FORMS OF BIBLICAL LAW).

The confusion continues with the interpretation of the statements themselves, which traditionally have been classified as three (or four) "laws" having to do with obligations to God (Exod 20:2–8), followed by seven (or six) "laws" of obligations to fellow human beings (Exod 20:12–17). Although this classification is admirable in intention, it has nothing to do with ancient religious reality. *All* of the stipulations represent those characteristics of human behavior that constitute the definition of the will of God: they describe the highest value, the "ultimate concern" of the community formed by covenant, for they are the principles upon which the one God directs the historical fate of the community.

**c. Deposit and Public Reading, Witnesses, Blessings and Curses.** It is true that the Exodus 20 text does not include the provision for deposit and peridic public reading, the list of witnesses, or the curses and blessings. However, it is most inappropriate to conclude that the Sinai covenant therefore had no connection with LB treaty patterns, or that it was a later pious literary invention, or that the Decalogue was completely unrelated to covenant traditions. If these elements were truly absent from the complex of traditions about the very founding of the ancient Israelite community, it is indeed strange that in later times (when most of these elements had been completely forgotten in the process of ANE treaty enactments) some biblical scribes felt it necessary to add them to the complex of the Mosaic tradition.

Since early Israel did not have a temple in which to deposit the text of the covenant written on the tablets of stone, the tablets were deposited in the ark of the covenant (according to numerous variants of the tradition even in Exodus alone). Note also the formal deposit of a text in a "sanctuary" in Josh 24:26. Periodic public reading is not directly attested, but it is certainly implied in ritual customs, such as those described in Exod 23:17 and Deut 27:11–26; and practiced in late OT times and early Judaism ("The recitation of the *Shmaʿ* is the rabbinic covenantal renewal" [Levenson 1985: 86]). If these traditions did not ultimately derive from the LB/early Iron Age, from whence did the later Israelite scribes derive these motifs, and why would their later audiences find them meaningful?

The list of gods as witnesses was of course incompatible with the monotheistic community, and so the members of the community themselves became the witnesses (cf. Josh 24:22, but also v 27 where the stone is a witness; later tradition evidently did not quite know what to do with this otherwise bizarre *but inherited* element of the treaty structure). Thus the enforcers of the covenant became the members of the community themselves (when Yahweh's enforcement became regarded as not sufficiently predictable, or when it was believed that God was not sufficiently concerned to carry out the duties of reward and punishment [cf. Zeph 1:12]); consequently, the stipulations of covenant became socially enforced law. Again, if this tradition of witnesses was not derived ultimately from the LB/early Iron Age, what would inspire some later scribe to introduce otherwise awkward references to them?

The blessings and curses were enormously elaborated in Deuteronomy 28. In this late elaboration the blessings were enumerated in only 14 verses, while the remaining 68 verses enumerate in vivid detail the curses resulting from breach of covenant. At the later (Assyrian?) period when Deuteronomy 28 was composed, the multiplication of curses is not at all surprising (see MANASSEH); what is surprising in that later milieu is that any blessings were enumerated at all, something that could not have been predicted from the structure and content of the Assyrian loyalty oaths (see B.3 above). It is difficult to imagine how an Israelite scribe of that time could *invent* the covenant idea and include *blessings;* rather that element of the covenant tradition already had to have been preexistent in the earliest biblical tradition, and therefore at the disposal of the Deuteronomic writer (and also of the Priestly writer, who similarly wanted to append a list of blessings and curses to his distinctive version of covenant obligations [Leviticus 26]). On the other hand, the multiplication of *curses* that we find in Deuteronomy 28 (and Leviticus 26) represents later elaboration of a tradition similar to that which is universally found in the ANE (Hillers 1964). Though the text of the Decalogue (Exod 20:1–17) does not refer to either blessings or curses, the latter are implied in the narrative accounts that refer to sacrificed animals ("oxen" according to a later embellishment—inappropriate to a desert environment) and to a common covenant meal with Yahweh (Exod 24:4–8, 11).

**d. The Ratification Ceremony.** This seems to have two elements, the first a verbal assent to the covenant ("All that the Lord has spoken we will do," Exod 19:8; 24:3; cf. Josh 24:24 for a quite different formula), and the second a ritual act involving the sacrifice of an animal, the blood of which is thrown upon an altar and upon the people (Exod 24:5–8). The latter was a symbolic action in which the people were identified with the sacrificed animal, so that the fate of the latter is presented as the fate to be expected by the people if they violated their sacred promise (i.e., it is a form of self-curse). Thus the ratification ceremony was, in effect, the pledging of their lives as a guarantee of obedience to the divine will. (In time the ratification ceremony simply became a ritual form signaling membership in the ritual society; i.e., circumcision.)

Traces of other ratification ceremonies or covenant enactments have been preserved in later biblical traditions about the premonarchic period, but nevertheless these narratives correspond entirely to what might be expected in the process of the formation of the twelve tribe federation. Most important in this regard is the narrative in Joshua 24 that reproduces much of the content of the LB suzerainty treaty. It contains an elaborate historical prologue (of course in much later language, vv 2–13), an emphasis upon witnesses (the people themselves, v 22; but also the inscribed stone, v 27), and the warning of the curses of divine wrath in case of disobedience (v 20). (Entirely consistent with the late date of this garbled account is the fact that the blessings are entirely absent.) The formal verbal acceptance by the gathered population is accompanied by a brief recapitulation of the historical prologue (vv 16–18), and the stipulations are identified with the "statutes and ordinances" that Joshua wrote in the "book of the law of God" (vv 25–26).

Although the language is much later and the chapter does not reproduce the text of the treaty, Joshua 24 is a narrative description of a covenant enactment. In fact, in its present form the narrative is anachronistically modeled somewhat after the reform of Josiah and the Iron Age "loyalty oath" that was characteristic of that time (see F.1 below). The character of Joshua is a sort of literary prototype of Josiah, and the population is represented as having fallen away from Yahweh, as they had in Josiah's day. But the

original event of Joshua's time was that covenant enactment by which various population groups of Canaan proper (who had escaped the collapse of LB Age civilization) formally became members of the Yahwist confederation, and thus the "tribes" of Yahweh. Other features of Josiah's reform that were read back into the time of Joshua include the identification of the covenant stipulations with a written law code (a confusion that is perpetuated to the present day) and the emphasis upon the Abrahamic tradition (vv 2–4, 14–15) that was essential to Josiah's claim to rule over *all* the land of Canaan (after three centuries during which the Jerusalem regime governed only Judah).

The ritual of the recitation of the blessings and curses from Mts. Ebal and Gerizim in Deut 27:11–26 was probably a part of the Shechem covenant enactment recounted in Joshua 24 (cf. Josh 8:30–35, esp. v 34), although the present form of the tradition has completely severed any literary connection between the two, probably because the Deuteronomic tradition had become associated with the commands of Moses. The passage in Deuteronomy plus several others may well contain remote reminiscences of the fact that there had also been a covenant ceremony in Transjordan at the time of Moses, by which population groups of that region had become members of the Yahwist federation. This tradition of a Transjordanian ratification in Moses' latter days is perhaps also reflected in Deut 27:9 "Keep silence and hear, O Israel: this day you have become the people of Yahweh your God" (cf. Deut 32:6, 18).

**e. Formal Procedures for Violation of Covenant.** Just as later biblical texts such as Joshua 24 preserve certain premonarchic covenant elements discussed above, so they also unwittingly preserve the element pertaining to procedures in case of covenant violations. The narratives of Exodus and Numbers give many illustrations of procedures taken against such violators during the lifetime of Moses himself, but because these are embedded in the late Priestly narratives marked by substantial literary embellishment, it is very difficult to evaluate them historically. Nevertheless, even the very late literary ("envelope"?) structure of the Priestly motif of the "murmuring in the wilderness" illustrates the continuity of this ancient element: the people's complaints about lack of food and water while on the way *to* Sinai (Exod 15:22–17:7) characteristically induce Yahweh to respond favorably, but when they complain about the same things on the way *from* Sinai (Numbers 11; 14; 16) Yahweh characteristically punishes them. Why this reversal?

All historical considerations aside, it is evident even at the literary level that the Priestly writer believed that the status of the people was changed *at* Sinai (i.e., there they became subject to the covenant): consequently, they can no longer be viewed as being in "dire distress" but now rather in outright "rebellion." Therefore the way in which Yahweh (or the narrator) deals with Israel has changed: Yahweh no longer is portrayed as soliciting a relationship by multiplying favors that could potentially be listed in a covenant's historical prologue; he is now depicted taking punitive measures against those who have violated their covenant obligations. Murmuring (grumbling) against an overlord constituted violation of covenant in the Hittite texts, and it is listed (using the same verb, *lūn*) in a syllabic text from Byblos (ca. 2000 B.C.) as the acts against a sovereign that will result in a curse (Mendenhall 1985: 60). Thus, while the Priestly authors of these late biblical texts felt quite comfortable viewing the Sinai event as Yahweh's license now to punish "murmurings," they were probably completely unaware that this religious motif associated with covenant ultimately went back at least to LB notions about formal procedures for dealing with covenant violations.

**2. Its Historical and Conceptual Context.** The foregoing discussion by no means exhausts the formal similarities between the LB suzerainty treaties and the complex of traditions associated with Israel's premonarchic covenant. Yet in the final analysis the formal links are not the only connections, nor are they necessarily the most important ones (they are simply the ones that modern scholarly method is best equipped to handle). But studies that deal merely at the formal level will inevitably miss an important part of the historical process. Perhaps more important are the substantive links between the ideological matrix of those LB treaties (i.e., their rhetorical appeals to a common interest between suzerain and vassal, and to concepts such as the integrity of promises and the obligations of reciprocity) and the range of biblical concepts associated with the Sinai covenant relationship (such as the "knowledge" of God, the "love" of God, the "fear" of God, righteousness, mercy, justice, repentance, divine wrath, retribution, vengeance,

forgiveness, salvation, etc.). Thus, in the absence of any evidence that early Israelite society was defined by any ritual (e.g., "amphictyonic") or political organizations—and excluding outright the later and artificial biblical construct of an Israelite unity mystically based on some primordial blood kinship—the conclusion seems inescapable that early Israel existed largely because such an ideological matrix ceased being mere political rhetoric and became, however imperfectly and temporarily, the functional basis of community life for a vast diversity of villages in Palestine and N Transjordan. Our task here is to delineate that process and ideology, and to trace its subsequent development.

The context of the Sinai covenant was that of an extremely traumatic period in the history of the then civilized world, namely the transition from the LB Age to the early Iron Age (ca. 1250–1150 B.C.). After having been regarded for centuries as divine institutions ruled ultimately by gods or semigods, empires and states were crumbling and eroding, if not being altogether abandoned and destroyed. The attendant economic and demographic chaos is clearly attested or inferable from the historical and archaeological record. The heartland of the ancient Hittite Empire in central Anatolia was almost entirely depopulated (and would remain so for the next three centuries), and much of Syria experienced a significant drop in population that would not be recovered until much later in the Iron Age. But precisely at this time Palestine and Transjordan experienced a very rapid rise in population (this period also reveals the first settlements in the adjacent regions of the NW section of the Arabian Peninsula contiguous to Transjordan). The only conceivable source for this sudden rise of population was the region to the N whence came the Philistines, the "Sea Peoples," and no doubt many Arameans, to name only some identifiable groups. To add to the chaotic conditions of this period, the old power centers of the Canaanite cities were either drastically reduced or destroyed, and considerable segments of their population probably moved into the hill country, establishing new villages. See "Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement" under ISRAEL, HISTORY OF.

Such calamitous events cannot have taken place without an equally traumatic questioning and abandonment of the moral and religious as well as economic systems that undergirded those political institutions, although this is not so well attested outside the biblical record with its bitter condemnation of Baal-worship. This situation furnished an extremely favorable climate for the introduction and initial acceptance of different and "better" ways of envisioning and structuring life in a community that could not possibly be a mere continuation of the old that now lay in ruins.

The only surviving articulation of such a "better" way is that realized in the ancient Israelite covenant, which was initially enacted by a group of fugitive slaves led by Moses, presumably at a place called "Sinai." (Exodus 20–24 of course contains a very complex interweaving of much later, much garbled, and much embellished accounts of what actually transpired there.) The new understanding of the nature of deity and of the course of human experience, both of which were associated with this covenant, also proved attractive to much of the population of Palestine and Transjordan, who in the course of the previous two generations had witnessed the demise of virtually every venerable Bronze Age institution while managing to survive the wholesale destruction of cities and the ravages of war, epidemic disease, famine, and violent death. Thus, for many of these people the ancient Israelite covenant provided a framework within which they could effectively dispose of any lingering attachments to the old order now in ruins, and enact for themselves a new order of community and of self-understanding as the "people" of a transcendent God. Their enactment of the covenant apparently occurred at Shechem (again, Joshua 24 is a much later and distorted account of this event).

Given all that has been said above, and given the probability that there was no place in the ancient civilized world where the political ideology of empire and its mythological legitimation were unknown, the ancient Israelite understanding of a deity who ruled without a human intermediary and his standing contingent of soldiers and tax collectors was very welcome, and it was an understanding that was proclaimed ironically in a formal way similar to that of the old political suzerainty treaties. However, unlike those old and failed political policies, these of the new Sovereign were ones which met the needs of the population of the village farmers and shepherds that he governed: namely, the value and dignity of persons regardless of their social and economic status, the predictability that follows from reciprocity and

fairness in their interrelationships, and the reliability of the peace that would result (cf. Isa 32:17). Regardless of how practically these "policies of the new King" could be implemented, they nevertheless furnished an ideological matrix on which a broad and functional unity of hill-country tribes could be based.

For example, it is clear that most of the stipulations of the covenant (the Decalogue) represent the concerns that individuals in community legitimately expect in normal civilized human life (e.g., no lying, killing, stealing, adultery). The first two "commandments" are so specifically relevant to the historical situation of the LB/early Iron Age transition as to present difficulties for religious communities ever since. What was (and is) meant by "other gods" remains a perennial and insoluble problem in the history of religion (and in the modern ecumenical movement). However, the contrast to the one God, Yahweh, was clear and absolute ca. 1200 B.C. The "other gods" could hardly be anything other than the parochial symbols of existent political or tribal entities; Yahweh was the deity who represented concerns beyond the immediate interests of any petty political or tribal group, and who thus opposed the elevation of any political power structure to an object of worship wherein its policies took precedence over all other concerns, especially ethical ones.

Likewise the prohibition of "graven images," etc., represents an ancient iconoclastic movement that was a necessary corollary to the antimonarchic theology of the early Israelite movement. Such images, including those of gold and silver mentioned in Exod 20:23, were largely the product of the urban political establishments that were being destroyed; evidently these "images" were not highly valued anywhere in the E Mediterranean at the time. The graven images were essentially symbols of legitimacy for ancient political regimes in which the differences between gods and kings were always problematic and vague. As such, the images were incompatible with the value system of a community based not upon a monopoly of force but upon an ethical and moral consensus. But perhaps it is the final "commandment" that most powerfully underscores the fact that the *morale* of the early Israelite community (i.e., its ability to act consistently over a period of time and to meet crises effectively) was not dependent upon any political instruments of social control: how can any human control system hope to legislate against covetousness?

Thus arose the celebrated biblical "monotheism," the product not of philosophers and technical theologians but of people who could plainly see that the careful adherence to the stated will of a single God could guarantee community morale only if other competing value systems (represented by "other gods") were rejected as thoroughly as is humanly possible. In turn, this value system could become an operative and tangible reality only so long as a sufficient number of people accepted the suzerainty of Yahweh, so that together they could offer one another some measure of protection and security from those whose value systems were still symbolized by the old state idols of pagan imperialism. The idolatry of the political state and its symbolism of "graven images" of Baals and kings were incompatible with the sovereign rule of Yahweh (i.e., the kingdom of God).

**3. History of the Sinai Covenant Tradition.** Of course, we should legitimately question the extent to which such a LB/early Iron Age enactment (i.e., such a premonarchic covenant) actually succeeded in exorcising old attachments and in effecting a new self-understanding. For some it no doubt did succeed both deeply and permanently, and at least enough people were sufficiently committed to it so that this "religious experiment" functioned reasonably well for somewhat more than a century. But even later biblical traditions about the ensuing periods of the judges and the kings are quick to point out how many Israelites "fell back" into the old pagan ways. But the crucial point is that at one time *in history,* in the absence of any competing sociopolitical organizations, such a covenant was the practical and functional norm of Israelite self-definition. As such, this covenant would leave a lasting (indeed a permanent) imprint on Israelite traditions and self-understanding, even though at specific times and in particular places (e.g., Jerusalem during the monarchic period) it either failed to have a decisive impact or was grossly distorted.

Nevertheless, even centuries later in Jerusalem the Deuteronomistic Historian, attempting to "reconstruct" a premonarchic period that he little understood, could be found characteristically describing

Israelite apostasy in the same sentence that he would mention the past favors of Yahweh (Judg 2:12; 8:33–35). The net effect of this juxtaposition is to characterize the Israelites not simply as sinners but as *ungrateful* sinners. Even though the language of these passages is unquestionably Deuteronomistic and therefore quite late, this motif juxtaposing covenant violation with past favor reflects an ideological matrix quite foreign to the Iron Age loyalty oaths, and quite at home in LB Age treaties. The only conclusion is that this motif was already deeply embedded within traditions about the premonarchic period centuries before it fell into the hands of the Deuteronomistic Historian, and that the latter had little choice but to pass it on. If he considered it important to characterize Israelite covenant trespass in terms of ingratitude (and apparently he did; cf. 2 Kgs 17:7, 35–40; 21:15), he got this idea not from the Assyrian loyalty oaths of his day but because he learned it ultimately from the old Israelite traditions themselves.

Because both the *form* of Assyrian loyalty oaths and the *ideological matrix* to which they appeal is radically different from that of the LB treaties, two major problems would arise if we accepted the recent argument that biblical covenant concepts originated later under the influence of these loyalty oaths. First, how do we account for the presence of certain LB treaty elements in the biblical tradition complex, treaty elements that are not present in the Assyrian loyalty oaths (e.g., the historical prologue and the blessings; see C.1.a and C.1.c above)? Second, how did there arise in Israel a matrix of covenant ideas not reflected in the Assyrian loyalty oaths (e.g., the motif of a relationship based on gratitude and a sense of obligation to values shared by suzerain and vassal alike)? Or if these covenant elements and ideas arose *later than* the Assyrian period, how and from where did they emerge?

On balance, more problems are solved and fewer ones are raised by acknowledging that Hebrew covenant ideas emerged with the formation of the society itself in the premonarchic period and were adaptations of patterns of thought that even then were already centuries old.

This is not to say that this premonarchic covenant tradition was unaffected by the proliferation of Assyrian loyalty oaths of the later Iron Age. The extent to which the state of Judah was thoroughly integrated into ANE culture is indicated by the fact that these Assyrian loyalty oaths *did* have an impact on how some Judeans (particularly in the Jerusalem royal establishment) came to think of their own covenant traditions. In short, over the course of the Iron Age the tradition that God had established a covenant with Israel at Sinai (and at Shechem) was revised and transformed in such a way as to erase gradually (but not completely) the increasingly archaic suzerainty treaty features of that covenant. In the process this Sinaitic tradition was reformulated more along the lines of the prevalent oath-taking procedures of the later period (reflected particularly in the increasing emphasis on curses). In fact, it was precisely this late misunderstanding and reformulation that has led some scholars recently to the mistaken conclusion that the Israelite covenant tradition was actually *created* in this historical context of the Assyrian Empire and derived from its loyalty oaths. It is probably true that the concept of covenant obligations to Yahweh was not taken seriously by the political establishment of either Israel or Judah until the ephemeral attempt of Josiah to return to the past (see F.1 below), but it is simply wrong to conclude on this basis that earlier traditions of covenant did not exist, particularly outside the royal establishment. Some of those earlier covenant features are still reflected imperfectly in those later texts (see C.1 above and E below), a fact that cannot be explained away by appealing to some Iron Age "inspired creativity." See also MOSAIC COVENANT.

**D. The Divine Charter**

**1. The Nature of the Divine Charter.** A charter is, among other definitions, "a written grant of rights by a sovereign." This definition (deriving ultimately from English political history) applies remarkably well to three biblical themes that have traditionally been regarded as "covenants," but which now should rather be reclassified as "charters." (Even in modern American usage, the term "charter" has also come to mean "pact, treaty" among other things.)

The term "charter" is used here to refer to a number of ANE and biblical motifs wherein a deity or group of deities presents some special privilege, power, or status to a human being, almost always a king. There does not seem to be any specific literary form involved; rather the ANE charters are mythological statements about the actions of the gods who characteristically confer the power of kingship upon a

successful warrior. The historical background of such concepts is doubtless to be found in military history. The king had succeeded in expanding his economic and political power over realms remote from his home base (which was usually a city-state). In such circumstances, his legitimacy could not possibly rest upon the will of the governed (including the conquered!); now it had to be presented as being based upon the decision of the supernatural powers—especially those identified with his home base.

In the order of their emergence in the developing biblical tradition, these three "charters" are the promise to David (2 Samuel 7), the "covenant" of Abraham (Genesis 15), and the "covenant" of Noah (Gen 9:8–17). Only the latter two narratives specifically designate the divine promise as a "covenant." Although the promise to David is not termed a "covenant" *(bĕrît)* in the narrative of 2 Samuel, it is so designated in the associated traditions (and doubtless royal rituals) recorded in Psalm 89 (see vv 28 and 34; cf. also 2 Sam 23:5). See also DAVIDIC COVENANT. This use of the word *bĕrît* to include now a unilateral divine promise has resulted in enormous confusion in the modern scholarly world, as it probably did in the ancient world as well. (This is another example of the confusion that results from a failure to recognize the fact that verbal classifications often bring together into the same category very diverse historical phenomena simply because they share some important *formal* trait—in this case the fact that a promise is supported by a sworn oath.)

In all three of these biblical traditions—in sharp contrast to the Sinai covenant—it is God, not human beings, who is bound by oath. In all three, some promise is given: first to David and his dynasty (that they would enjoy perpetual rule, 2 Sam 7:12–16), then to Abraham and his offspring (that all Israel would possess the land, Gen 15:18–19), then to Noah and all those on the ark (that all creation need never fear another flood, Gen 9:8–11). The three exhibit an increasing (and very important) transition from covenant as a historical enactment that furnished the foundation of a community to a simple ideological (or theological) assertion. The first two especially presuppose not only an existing *religious community* already ostensibly in a relationship with Yahweh, but also a specific *sociopolitical and economic organization* that is given legitimacy in the context of the existing historical situation. In other words, unlike the ANE treaties and the Sinai covenant, nothing really new is created in any of these "charters"; they are all merely ideological legitimizations of the existing status quo—an expression in traditional theological terms of the value system of the dominant power structure that in the first place created the narratives and in the second place profited by their claims.

The source of this political/religious "charter" tradition is not far to seek (Weinfeld 1970). The old Amorite theory of kingship must certainly have had an elaborate ideology concerning this divine charter. It is specifically stated in the prologue to the Code of Hammurapi (*ANET*, 164–65), and is illustrated on that famous stele as well as elsewhere in ancient Mesopotamian and in Iron Age Syro-Hittite art. Always it is the deity of the king who grants to the king the symbols of sovereignty, for he is the "chosen" one of the committee of gods who in the first place established the kingship as a divine institution.

**2. The Davidic Charter.** In view of the significant Amorite cultural influence in the city of Jerusalem itself (Ezek 16:3), there is little reason to doubt that the prophet Nathan, in proclaiming the divine promise to David (2 Sam 7:1–17) at the outset of the monarchic period, was simply applying the age-old Amorite political theology of Jebus (now Jerusalem) to its new king (and now in the name of the new king's god, Yahweh). The historical conditions that brought about this fateful ideological development are clearly described, but typically the connections are not delineated—the ancient writer assumed that everyone knew these connections.

David had first become king by two distinct covenants enacted by the two major demographic groups of ancient Israel (each accompanied by the attendant rite of anointing): first with Judah in the S (2 Sam 2:4, though no covenant is specified), and subsequently with the elders of Israel in the N (2 Sam 5:1–3; clearly a suzerainty treaty in form!). Though it is precarious to draw conclusions from the very slight hints of evidence that we have, it is possible to argue that the ritual act of anointing signified the transfer of authority from a superior to his designated agent. For this reason, David's authority over all of the tribes of Israel had been confirmed by covenant.

There were two reasons it was politically necessary subsequently to promote an additional divine covenant that superseded these earlier tribal covenants. First, there had to be some ideological resolution of the latent conflict between the N and S tribes. Both groups in the first place presumably existed because of a prior commitment to Yahweh. Despite this, the narrative goes out of its way to emphasize the fact that the old antagonisms between them continued. Subsequently, however, each group on its own had presumably sworn allegiance to David; although it was an allegiance that could be abrogated for good cause (see 1 Kgs 12:16), both had nevertheless agreed on one fundamental thing: David should rule. Thus, common sense led to the inevitable conclusion that only in the king could the regional, tribal conflict be transcended: this king must therefore represent the will of Yahweh, who would want his people to be one. Nothing would so powerfully affirm this conviction as would Nathan's oracle (2 Samuel 7).

Second, as a result of his military conquests David now ruled over a population comprising far more than the original twelve tribes of Yahwist villagers. His realm now included most, if not all, of the old lowland Canaanite urban power centers that had never been incorporated into the community of Yahweh, and only now were beginning to recover from the ravages of the LB/early Iron Age transition period. These populations (as conditioned as they were to the inevitability and the propriety of ritually reinforced political organizations) could not possibly have had any understanding of the Mosaic tradition, or necessarily any sympathy with its belief that community can proceed directly from the will of God unmediated through ritual or political organizations. Since David and his son-successor Solomon could not afford to alienate further these subjugated peoples, it proved fortunate that in the religious ideology of Jerusalem there existed a type of (Amorite?) sanctification of political authority that David and Solomon could promulgate and that the non-Yahwist populations could comprehend (however grudgingly). This ideology persisted in Jerusalem for centuries after the death of Solomon, and we have every reason to believe that after the schism of 922 B.C. a similar type of ideology was adapted also in the N kingdom to legitimize the various regimes that ruled there over the next two centuries.

Thus the divine charter to David was introduced in an attempt to transcend these two political antipathies. By the proclamation that the king (and his dynasty) was established on the throne in perpetuity by Yahweh himself, it was hoped that the king's vulnerability to the tribal rivalries and conflicts would be greatly reduced. To the conquered Canaanite cities—as well as to the pagan, urban population of Jerusalem—the ideology was normal procedure just as it had been for probably a millennium or more. As far as the Jerusalem regime was concerned, the political doctrine was evidently successful. But although such pious propaganda was normal procedure in antiquity, it was also normal to expect that the behavior of the ruling regime would correspond to the reasonable expectations of the citizenry. Upon the death of Solomon, Rehoboam, his successor, refused to meet those expectations; therefore he was unable to retain the allegiance of the N population (whether Yahwist or urban pagan) and the Israelite kingdom split into two (2 Kgs 12:1–20).

The divine charter theology and literary motif are classified as a "covenant" in the biblical tradition simply because in these three traditions of promises (to David, Abraham, and Noah) it is Yahweh who swears to perform certain acts for the benefit of the recipient *and his descendants* in perpetuity. In all three cases, the recipient is *not* bound by oath, though it is clear that, in the case of the Davidic charter, later tradition attempted lamely to introduce the concept of accompanying conditions, i.e., "obedience to the Torah," that was itself the product of several centuries of development *after* the time of David and Solomon (cf. 2 Sam 7:14b, which is almost unanimously attributed to the Deuteronomistic Historian of the 7th or 6th century B.C.; an even more feeble attachment of obligations to the Davidic charter is evident in 1 Kgs 6:12; see also Ps 89:31–34—Eng vv 30–33; cf. also 1 Kgs 8:25 which is unquestionably [post-]exilic and now sees the Davidic charter as *entirely* conditional).

Despite this, the priority of the Sinaitic covenant structure is still evident in the fact that even this divine charter theology must include some provision for *witnesses* to enforce the stipulations. Just as the people themselves could be witnesses in the Sinai covenant, so also in the divine charter Yahweh is represented as swearing "by himself" as witness (Ps 89:36—Eng v 35), since obviously another deity could not serve in this capacity.

In summary, the Sinai covenant was a historical enactment involving two parties, Yahweh being represented by his agent Moses. In contrast, the divine charter was not something done in a two-party agreement at all, but in the case of David it was simply a prophet's (Nathan's) formal verbal proclamation of a message (privately) received from Yahweh. Similarly, the "covenants" with Abraham and Noah were not functional or historical realities but rather literary ideological motifs undoubtedly superimposed on ancient traditions.

**3. The "Covenant" with Abraham.** The basic biblical tradition about Abraham stems from the period of the united monarchy, for there is no trace of it in the premonarchic biblical sources (the archaic poetry in Genesis 49; Exodus 15; Numbers 23–24; Deuteronomy 32 and 33), and in those sources it is characteristically Jacob (= Israel), not Abraham, who serves as the common ancestor (cf. also Deut 26:5). On the other hand, recent attempts to see the Abraham traditions as originating late in the monarchy (or even later) have proved unconvincing, if only because they can just as well be explained in terms of a *renewed* interest in those traditions during the later periods (see especially the P materials). As a product of the period of the united monarchy, the covenant with Abraham is a part of that same ideological matrix that brought about the Davidic charter. In fact, it so closely resembles the Davidic charter as to justify the conclusion that they both ultimately come from the same source (see Clements 1967). In its original form, that source was probably the old Canaanite traditions of Jebusite Jerusalem, though certainly the tradition had a long and complex history before it was adapted by biblical writers.

It is probable that the Abrahamic covenant itself went through at least two versions, and more probably three (Mendenhall 1987). The original, Davidic version was not preserved after the demise of David's dynasty, and therefore it must remain hypothetical. In it the divine promise would have been to Abraham and his (Hebronite?) dynasty to which the Davidic dynasty could easily attach itself by the well-known ancient genealogical techniques (note also the association with Hebron and kingship in 2 Sam 2:1–5:5; 15:7–10; and even Josh 12:10).

With the discrediting of the monarchy at the fall of Jerusalem (586 B.C.), this charter had to be revised and depoliticized; now the *population as a whole* became the recipients of the promise as in Genesis 15, where the "seed of Abraham" is now much more than merely David and his descendants. (This transference of motifs from the ruling dynasty to the population as a whole is also illustrated in the development of the idea of the "chosen" of Yahweh. Originally it designated the king or high priest, but in the exilic/postexilic period it became increasingly applied to the community at large ["the chosen people" ]). Despite these later revisions, the archaic source of the narrative in Genesis 15 is illustrated by the fact that only here is the divine charter "sealed" by a ritual form: the eerie vision of the smoking fire pot and flaming torch passing between the parts of the sacrificed animals (v 17) represents the manifestation of deity by which the deity identified himself with the slaughtered animals as a guarantee of the reliability of the promise. The similar ritual attested in Jer 34:18 indicates that this was a very archaic ritual form for the ratification of a covenant.

Yahweh's promise of the land (Gen 15:18–21) had nothing to do with the ancient Israelite enjoyment of their allotments under the Sinai covenant, which took place some two hundred years prior to David; rather, it was a religious legitimizing of the Davidic empire that had already been established by military force, and is specifically described in vv 18–21 as extending from the border of Egypt to the Euphrates River, most of it never having been Israelite.

The final adaptation of the Abraham tradition is illustrated in Genesis 17, where the covenant is sealed by the ritual of circumcision—a marker that designates the recipient of the promise. From this time on, into the postbiblical Jewish tradition, "circumcision" and "covenant" became virtually identical (the late Heb term *bĕrît* having both meanings). The historical context of this late reuse of the Abraham tradition seems to have been the continuity of the royal/priestly religious tradition in the postexilic period. This is suggested by the emphasis upon the ritual importance of circumcision, a practice that evidently had no particular religious significance in earlier times, since it is not even mentioned in early law collections (no doubt it was originally a folk custom, since it was very widespread in the ANE from the Chalcolithic of Mesopotamia on). It was especially emphasized in the prophecies of the priest of exile, Ezekiel (44:6–9).

In this context, "covenant" is hardly a functional reality that creates community by transcending old parochialisms, but is itself merely a formal, ritual demarcation of a particular preexisting group.

**4. The "Covenant" of Noah.** The narrative of the covenant established with Noah, his descendants, and all the occupants of the ark (Gen 9:8–17) perhaps illustrates the ultimate demise of the "covenant" tradition. The historical development of the covenant from a constitutive act instrumental in creating a new society and a correspondingly new value system in the time of Moses has, in this late narrative, become little more than a theological motif or literary device by which to confer religious value upon that which already existed, namely, the orderly process of the natural world. Even the oath that upheld a promise is gone, but in its place there is simply the *sign* that serves to remind God of his promise. In place of the rich complexity of the LB suzerainty treaty tradition and its function as a vain attempt to create orderly and peaceful relationships between political entities, the covenant has become a mere word-label giving religious value to an old folkloristic "explanation" of the rainbow.

**E. Covenant Traditions in the Prophets**

**1. Continuity of the Sinai Covenant.** On the basis of the politically motivated traditions of "covenants" associated with David and (originally) Abraham (as well as the subsequent politically motivated covenants of Josiah and Nehemiah; see F below), it would be erroneous to conclude that the form, purpose, and ideological matrix of the old premonarchic suzerainty tradition was everywhere forgotten or suppressed. As in any complex society, there was great social and ideological diversity within Israel and Judah, and it would be foolish to assume that the significant transformations of the covenant traditions in the hands of politically ambitious Jerusalem bureaucrats were accepted without question or protest in the rural hinterland where religious values and social processes tended to work differently. Indeed, if any vestiges of the old Sinai covenant tradition should be preserved relatively unadulterated, we would expect to see these emanating from the more conservative villages of the countryside. There the pattern of social life proceeded along lines not much different from that of the early Iron Age, except for the noteworthy intrusions of the kings' tax collectors; and in those villages one might not be too surprised to find an ongoing dissatisfaction with the basic premise of the (Israelite or Judean) state: namely, that meaningful community life must proceed from political bases.

However "theoretical" all this might seem, two points deserve mention. First, the introspective reflections of ancient village agriculturalists and pastoralists are rarely preserved by the "official" religious specialists (priests, scribes, and other functionaries), who tend to dismiss such reflections as unsophisticated and "backward." It is therefore not surprising that most of the biblical narratives dealing with covenant traditions come to us mediated through the minds and pens of various (usually Jerusalem-educated) scribes whom scholars usually identify as J, D, P, DH "Early Source," "Late Source," etc. Second, what *is* surprising is that the Bible preserves the utterances of certain "prophetic" individuals, a good number of whom came from small rural villages (Tekoa, Moresheth, Anathoth—indeed, Isaiah of Jerusalem is the anomaly!) and who encountered notable opposition from "establishment" officials. Nevertheless, it is within the Iron Age oracles of Amos, Micah, Jeremiah, and even Isaiah that we can find vestiges of the old Sinai suzerainty treaty.

These individuals were neither historiographers intent on recounting the role of covenant in premonarchic Israel (but cf. Jer 7:22–23), nor systematic theologians intent on outlining the various formal elements of premonarchic Israelite covenant theology. However, within their oracles we can discern not only surviving LB covenant forms but, more importantly, a surviving matrix of ideas about covenant that has antecedents in the Bronze Age.

Above, we noted that the LB treaties and some biblical traditions about covenant provide for certain formal procedures by which the suzerain declares the covenant to be broken and the vassal now to be susceptible to the imposition of the curses. In this regard we must examine briefly one recurrent procedural form often used in prophetic utterances: the *rîb*, "indictment, lawsuit." Probably the earliest and most dramatic illustration of such a procedure is preserved in Deuteronomy 32, although the date of this poem is much debated. (Decades ago Albright and Eissfeldt independently argued for an 11th-century date, but some recent studies [*CMHE*, 264, n.193] have unconvincingly opted for a later date.) Regardless

of its date, the poem illustrates a theological interpretation of historical processes incorporating virtually every single element of the old suzerainty treaties described above. This literary convention—which begins with an appeal to witnesses (heaven and earth) to hear the case, which recites the previous divine favors conferred upon the "defendant" (i.e., the "vassal"), which describes the defendant's subsequent violation of obligation, and which then announces the punishment—was undoubtedly a well-known form already by the time it was used by both Isaiah (chap. 1) and Micah (6:1–8) toward the end of the 8th century B.C. (see Hillers 1969, chap. 6). The entire structure presupposes that a covenant relationship had existed and was now being abrogated by the behavior of those subject to it. In short, the pattern of ideas represented in the *rîb* had to have existed long before these prophets made use of it, otherwise their contemporaries would not have had the slightest idea what the "message" was within the prophets' words. Simply stated, the prophets of the monarchic period did not invent the *rîb* lawsuit form.

But aside from the formal similarities between the *rîb* and the old suzerainty treaties, the most constant (and specifically biblical) motif shared by the old covenant and the later prophets is the inseparable link between the receipt of past benefits and the consequent obligations binding upon the recipients. The *rîb* form is entirely dependent upon this motif. Insofar as it makes appeal to one's sense of gratitude and obligation as a basis for (re-)establishing a covenant bond, the *rîb* exhibits an ideological matrix similar to that of the LB suzerainty treaties. Theologically, it means that divine "grace" precedes and becomes the foundation for human obedience to the divine will, a will that is revealed most clearly in the experience of "grace" itself and not in some fixed code of social and legal norms. (This lies at the heart of the Christian insistence that "gospel" supersedes "law.") Morally and psychologically, it implies that persons under covenant are capable of recognizing the fact that individually and corporately they have received benefits in their past that they have in no way earned. It furthermore implies that it is the good things in life that they have received in the past (and *not* some politically determined, legally defined, and socially enforced set of formal patterns of behavior) that provide the basis for defining the good they hope to realize in their future choices in community life and in their dealings with other people. It is probably also with regard to this matrix of ideas that we can begin to appreciate the well-known prophetic tendency to think of covenant obligations more broadly in terms of "social justice" than narrowly in terms of "sacred rites" (cf. Deut 24:17–22, esp. vv 18 and 22).

Since the obligations were to the giver of the covenant they were binding upon the individual no matter where and in what context he may find himself: they were not and could not be mere duties to obey culturally or politically prescribed norms and laws. This ethical transcending of political legal systems and ritual cultic systems had as its inevitable correlative the fact that normal social contrasts were also transcended: the community of God cannot be identified merely with the usual "tribal mentality" of political and social organizations that are themselves ephemeral within the broader vision of historical perspective: "Are you not like the Ethiopians to me?" (Amos 9:7).

**2. Reappropriation of the Davidic Charter.** Despite whatever attachments the Hebrew prophets had to the old Sinai covenant ideology, they were aware of the competing Davidic charter ideology being championed by the official establishment in Jerusalem. In some respects that ideology proclaimed certain "truths" that the prophets could in no way endorse, particularly the assertion that God for eternity had chosen to reconstitute his people as mere subjects of yet another political state. But instead of outright declaring the charter to be a fraud, the prophets instead chose to utilize certain superficial elements of the charter but to reconfigure them against the ideological matrix of the premonarchic covenant tradition. Such a practice of removing something (e.g., the tradition of the promise to David) from its original functional context (e.g., legitimizing a dynasty's political claims) and reapplying it in a new and different functional context is here called "reappropriation."

The dates of the few prophetic allusions to the Davidic dynasty and its privileged position have been the subject of much debate. It is clear, however, that regardless of their dates they have a significantly different point of reference than the two major "Davidic charter" texts of 2 Samuel 7 and Psalm 89. For example, Micah's vision of a David redivivus (5:1–3—Eng 5:2–4) clearly implies at least a major disruption of the political organization of Judah, since the "ruler who will come forth" is not identified

with Jerusalem (which will lie in ruins, Mic 3:12) but rather with the village of Bethlehem. It is not clear whether or not the "messianic prophecies" of Isa 9:1–6—Eng 9:2–7 and 11:1–10 originally focused their hopes on a political deliverer (e.g., Hezekiah?). However, the hyperbolic language in these texts heightens expectations for things that no political organization can realistically be expected to provide; the net (and perhaps intended?) effect of the prophecies therefore is ironically to delegitimize any *present-day* Davidic claim to be the fulfillment of God's purpose in the anticipation of some *future* (eschatological?) act of divine favor (note the ubiquitous prophetic phrases such as "in that day," "it will come to pass," and "the days are coming").

The major issue must therefore center on whether the Davidic covenant was so pervasive as to shift the major metaphorical image that Israelites had of their covenant relationship with God. The old Sinai covenant tradition claimed that God himself ruled as king over a religiously constituted body *(thesis).* The Davidic charter tradition held that God guaranteed that in perpetuity the Davidic dynasty would rule over a politically constituted body *(antithesis).* Prophetic "messianism" envisioned God eventually reestablishing his rule over his people, but through an ideal Davidite who governs not by any of the well-known "material" means of politics but through "spiritual" means and by the force of moral example (Isa 9:6b—Eng 7b; 11:2–5; Mic 5:3a—Eng 4a; Jer 23:5–6) *(synthesis).* One could argue that indeed the metaphor of covenant did shift decisively during the monarchic period, so much so that from that time on any attempt to envision the relationship between God and his people in some way had to accommodate the new synthesis incorporating some (usually vaguely defined) Davidic figure (cf. Jer 30:8–33; 33:14). But for the prophets this Davidic figure could not be simply another in a line of human politicians; and indeed it is noteworthy that not all prophets in their visions of the future benevolent acts of God felt it necessary to refer to any Davidic figure whatsoever. Indeed, when the Davidic figure is mentioned, often he is so vaguely defined that his identity and that of God merge together (cf. Ezek 34:11–16 with 34:23). The impact that this development had on early Christology and its understanding of Christ's person and role in the covenant between God and [new] Israel is transparent [see H.2 below].) Obviously, early rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity had radically different understandings of the meanings and even the significance of this subsequent prophetic synthesis.

The point is that the original blend of form and substance that made the old Sinai covenant uniquely recognizable and compelling began to dissolve during the monarchic period. Leaving aside the metaphysical forces that would naturally undercut any Israelite's ability to remain faithful to the covenant with God, it is noteworthy that all the significant social forces working against such faithfulness emanated from within official circles in Jerusalem. In the first place, the state-sanctioned Davidic charter forced upon the Israelites a competing way of conceptualizing the nature of their relationship with God. One could challenge its legitimacy only at the risk of his/her own life (Jeremiah 26).

In the second place, the bureaucratic scribes of the monarchy so distorted all Sinai traditions that the ideological matrix associated with the premonarchic covenant began to shift significantly. This is most evident in the Exodus traditions themselves, where originally deliverance from Egypt served ideologically to instill a sense of gratitude among Israelites, leading them to feel obligated to reciprocate accordingly in the future *moral* choices they would make in life (note how memory of the Exodus serves this function in the old "law codes" [Exod 22:21–24; 23:9; cf. also Lev 19:33–36; 25:35–38; Deut 15:12–15; 24:17–22]). Indeed, the prophets preserved this matrix, and a prophetic command to "remember" *(zĕkōr)* the Exodus characteristically envisioned such a *moral* response (Mic 6:4–5, 8). But in the hands of official Priestly historiographers, the memory of God's benevolent deeds during the Exodus became increasingly connected with the establishment of the cult, so much so that a Priestly command to "remember" *(zĕkōr)* the Exodus ideologically envisioned a *ritual* response (Exod 13:3–10). The traditions fared no better in the hands of Deuteronomistic historiographers; there the benevolent deeds of God associated with the Exodus became a literary (and ideological) foil against which to portray (stereotypically) an Israel fundamentally ungovernable by God (and therefore legitimately consigned to human rulers and managers? cf. Judg 2:11–12; 1 Sam 8:8–9). With the ideological matrix of the old historical prologue focusing on the Exodus so effectively dismantled, what remained to instill the requisite sense of gratitude

among the people? The prophets' ultimate answer was to envision a new and future act of benevolence by God, but one that must be preceded by the dismantling of the political state (Jer 16:14–15).

**3. The "New Covenant."** The date and authorship of Jeremiah's remarkable prophecy of a "new covenant" (Jer 31:31–34) are controversial and probably indeterminable, but there is no pressing reason to doubt the traditional attribution to Jeremiah himself. The context and content of the prophecy suggest that it comes from a time shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. See also NEW COVENANT.

It should first be noted that in the ancient concepts of covenant the ultimate curse for breach of covenant was the destruction and scattering of the body politic with which the covenant initially was formed. This had happened in 586 B.C. Thus the old covenant was no more—theoretically, there was no longer any body politic to which the covenant would apply. Therefore, if there was to be any continuity in the relationships between Yahweh and the former members of the body politic, it would have to be through the enactment of a new covenant with the people, not with a political organization through its king.

Thus the prophecy of the new covenant actually presupposed conditions much like those at the end of the LB Age, the time of the old Sinai covenant, in which there was likewise no body politic with which the covenant could be established. It was *persons,* not social organizations, who would receive the benefits and accept the obligations involved in the relationship with God. The "house of Judah and the house of Israel" (31:31) are deliberate uses of terminology deriving from family life, not from that of political institutions.

The substance of the prophecy itself emphasizes the discontinuity from the old covenant traditions. There is barely any formal similarity to the old Sinai covenant structure. As always, the covenant is granted by the divine sovereign, but there is no historical prologue—the destruction of Jerusalem and Judah was doubtless too painful a memory. Instead there is a prediction of the *future* acts of God, which consist not of the normal expectations of riches, territory, long life, health, and progeny, but rather of "forgiveness" (i.e., the restoration of a broken relationship; v 34). The restoration of the relationship with God is the only benefit mentioned. There are neither oath, nor curses and blessings, nor witnesses, nor any of the paraphernalia of externally enacted covenants (deposit, public reading, ratification rituals, etc.).

The single element of the Sinai old covenant retained in this "new covenant" is simply the stipulations (which are characteristically absent in divine charters). But no longer are they a set of prohibitions and injunctions, no code of laws or externally enforced and legalistically defined body of "commandments, statutes, and ordinances" such as depicted in the Deuteronomistic History. Instead the *tôrâ* ("teaching") of Yahweh "will be written on their hearts" (not on tablets of stone) and "placed in their inward parts" (v 33). It is a description of the complete internalization of the divine will that makes unnecessary the entire machinery of external enforcement.

Even more astonishing is the abrogation of the entire paraphernalia of religious indoctrination: "they shall no more teach each man his neighbor and each man his brother, saying 'Know Yahweh' " (v 34). Instead of the deposit and periodic reading of the covenant text, the knowledge of the divine will is deposited within the conscience of the members of the community. Special training in theology, doctrine, or *tôrâ* is irrelevant, since "they will all know me, from the least of them to the greatest …" Thus the knowledge of God cannot be identified with the accumulated written corpus of prestigious scribes or theologians: the knowledge of God possessed by the most humble is on a par with that of the elite. The community thus envisioned is not one subject to human social control but one that can only be monitored and maintained by the deity himself. In this regard, the vision and hope associated with this "new covenant" draw deeply from that originally associated with the old.

**F. Later Biblical "Covenants"**

**1. The "Covenant" of Josiah.** The narrative of Josiah's reform in 2 Kings 22–23 gives considerable detail concerning not only the events leading up to it but also to the royal acts that ensued; however, it contains virtually nothing concerning the nature of the "covenant" that Josiah made (23:3). Nevertheless, there are sufficient details in the narrative to make it impossible to regard this reform as the basis or origin of the OT covenant tradition. To the contrary, it is presented not as a *novum* (a creative writer could have

easily depicted a theophany in 2 Kings 22) but precisely as a *reform*, which by its very nature consists of a return to earlier traditions, or at least what were thought to be earlier traditions.

The chain of events began with the discovery in the Jerusalem temple of a "Book of the Law" (*sēper hattôrâ*; 2 Kgs 22:8–10), which is also called the "Book of the Covenant" (*sēper habbĕrît;* 2 Kgs 23:2–3). The king's distress upon hearing the words of the book indicates in the first place that the contents were previously unknown to him—and presumably unknown also to his whole bureaucracy, since in order to authenticate the document his bureaucrats had to turn to an otherwise obscure wife of a minor functionary resident in the city, who was known to be a "prophetess" (22:13–14).

The second and most important aspect of the king's distress is the fact that the entire procedure was carried out in order to *escape* the curses for violation of covenant that were evidently included in the document that had been found (2 Kgs 22:13). It is this fact that makes it impossible to regard Josiah's action as a mere loyalty oath patterned after Assyrian models. The latter is the procedure by which a vassal initially *becomes* subject to the curses for disobedience. Josiah, however, learned from the "Book of the Covenant" that they were *already* subject to the curses because of past disobedience to a covenant that was currently in effect and binding (even though they had been ignorant of its content). To avoid the curses it is merely necessary to obey the stipulations, which in the case of the Deuteronomic law conveniently enough demanded the extermination of any religiously or ritually based potential rival to his regime (e.g., Deut 12:1–14).

The narrative tells us that Josiah assembled the population to hear all the words of the "Book of the Covenant": at first it was the elders of Judah and Jerusalem (23:1), then it was all the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem (v 2). The king then "made a covenant" to obey the commands in the Book of the Law, "and all the people joined in the covenant" (v 3). There is nothing in the narrative to indicate that the procedure was a "covenant" other than the fact that it is labeled as such. There is no reference to an oath, other than that implied in the phrase "to make a covenant." There is no evidence whatever of the old conviction that the ground for obedience was simple gratitude for benefits that had already been received; instead there is simply a concern to escape the curses for disobedience. There is no reference to any ritual or symbolic action that made the covenant binding, which seems to have been a requisite even in the Assyrian treaties of the time. All that is certain is that the king made some public commitment to obey the words of a document found in the temple, and that the people under the king made a similar commitment. In fact, the procedure more properly should be designated as a "vow," since there are not two parties to the process (other than possibly the king and people). The evidence thus seems to justify the conclusion that in Josiah's time "making a covenant" amounted to little more than the repetition of some verbal formula. In more modern terminology, it was simply royal legislation made binding by royal command, but ratified in some way by the assembled population's public promise to obey. It is small wonder that earlier Israelite traditions of covenant suffered under the pens of (Deuteronomistic) scribes who possessed such a limited understanding of what a "covenant" was.

It is quite probable that Josiah's reform was a politically inspired exploitation of an old religious tradition for the purpose of reestablishing old political ambitions (the empire of David) and destroying the religious institutions of any potential political rivals, whether of Israel in the N or of Judah in the S. The wholesale slaughter of the priests of the N shrines (23:20) is reflected in the Deuteronomistic concept that Moses had commanded the utter destruction of the pagan nations of the land (Deut 7:2, 16; 3:12–18). The empire of David was also marked by such wholesale murder of foreigners (1 Kgs 11:15–16, 24).

It should not be surprising that the prophets at that time (and later) barely, if at all, mention this major religio-political event that was carried out by monarchic bureaucrats who evidently had no real understanding of (much less any real commitment to) the religious tradition that derived from the premonarchic period. The reform was superficial and short-lived: after the untimely death of Josiah at the hands of Pharaoh Neco (the direct consequence of Josiah's ambitious dabbling in international politics), the situation in Jerusalem reverted to the normal pluralistic political ideology and policy that had existed previously and that in two short decades would lead inevitably to the destruction of Jerusalem and Judah, just as the prophets had predicted. Even more unfortunate because of its perpetual confusion of religion

with politics, however, was the fact that Josiah's hybridized ideas about the religious foundations of ancient Israel—canonized in the Deuteronomistic History—became the "normative" way that much of subsequent Judaism and Christianity (mis)understood the "Old Testament" tradition of Sinai.

**2. The "Covenant" of Nehemiah.** The latest exemplar of a "covenant" in ancient Israel is narrated in Nehemiah 9–10. Although most, but not all, of the motifs in this narrative have antecedents in earlier OT traditions, the entire description justifies the conclusion that with this episode we have entered an entirely different cultural world in which the underlying concepts and values of the old covenant of Sinai were completely foreign.

As in the covenant of Josiah, here also it is the highest political authority—Nehemiah, the governor appointed by the Persian Empire (10:2—Eng 10:1)—who exercises the initiative in the covenant making. A sort of "historical prologue" still appears, but in this case it is a long prayer by the priest Ezra, who is reminding *God* (!) of all his prior mighty acts (9:6–31). Curiously enough, with this historical narrative (a sort of "canonical version" of the history of Israel beginning now, of course, with Abraham), the prayer combines a repeated litany of covenant violations derived from the old *rîb* structure. The major purpose of the historical prologue/prayer seems to be a theodicy: to show that Yahweh was right in bringing all those curses upon the disobedient society (9:33–35). It certainly has nothing to do with the original purpose of historical prologues: reminding *the people* of past benefits received for the purpose of instilling in them a sense of gratitude as the motivation for future obedience.

Instead it is plainly stated that the reason for entering into the covenant is the fact that the Judeans' economic resources were being tapped by a foreign government in the form of taxes (Neh 9:36–10:1—Eng 9:36–38). This unfortunate situation was seen to be caused by their failure to obey the laws of the Torah; therefore they entered into covenant to remedy this regrettable situation. The motivation for the vow of obedience is thus very similar to that behind Josiah's reform, though in the case of Josiah it was fear of future calamity that prompted the covenant to obey the Deuteronomic law code, while here it is the concern to escape continued subjugation by a foreign empire. In both instances the "covenants" were entirely political undertakings that show concerns only for the political autonomy and ethnic exclusiveness of the society and for the ritual necessities that accompany it (10:33–40—Eng 10:32–39).

Yahweh had nothing to do with the entire procedure except to be the passive recipient of Ezra's long reminder of what he had done in times gone by (the text does not even indicate whether God was moved to respond to this reminder). There are not two parties to this "covenant," unless they be the governor Nehemiah and the rest of the people who are listed in a markedly hierarchical order of decreasing social status. Neh 10:30—Eng10:29 states that the people were to "enter into a curse and an oath," but no oath formula or ritual enactment is mentioned. The witnesses are completely absent; instead the notables of the time set a seal upon what seems to have been a written document (10:1—Eng 9:38).

By the time of Nehemiah the evolution of the covenant (and of the word *bĕrît*) had run full course from the actual and constitutive foundation of a community to a theological concept to little more now than a ritual form and legal document. In the process the transition was also made from a population seeking through the acts of God a "better" way than that of the economically and ethically bankrupt political empires to a group now ambitious for political power and prestige, for whom deity apparently was (as in the LB Age) a mere symbol for the body politic, legitimizing both its system of enforced legal norms and the social functionaries who presided over it. In some respects this transformation marks the end of "Israelite/ religion" (in all its complexity) and the rise of a distinctive and new religion called "Judaism" (which understood itself to be a continuation of Israelite Yahwism, and which itself underwent many transformations in the following centuries; see H.1 below).

**G. Other Covenant Traditions**

**1. The Covenant Banquet.** Eating and drinking together has been such a universal expression of social solidarities of various sorts that it is not surprising to find common meals appearing very frequently in connection with the creation of covenants, both in the ANE and in the biblical narratives. Their specific association with covenants, however, seems to be a rather archaic cultural trait. In the ANE there are references to such eating and drinking in the Mari documents, interestingly enough, referring specifically

to the partaking of bread and (presumably) wine as well as anointing with oil as symbolic acts sealing important legal transactions (ARMT 8:13). Similarly, in the problematic narrative of Genesis 14, the king of Salem brings forth bread and wine, though there seems to be little or no context for the act—the narrative is evidently only a fragment.

In the LB Age the Amarna Letters include one from the king of Egypt to his vassal king of Amurru, vigorously upbraiding him for having made a covenant with an enemy of the king by eating and drinking with him (EA 162: 22–25). In Gen 26:26–33, Isaac and Abimelech made a nonaggression pact that is represented as a parity treaty, in that both swore oaths, but the oath taking is preceded the evening before by a feast prepared by Isaac. A similar treaty of peace with a related meal is described in Gen 31:43–54 as having been enacted by Jacob and Laban, where mutual nonaggression is combined with a stipulation forbidding Jacob to mistreat Laban's daughters or take additional wives.

One of the several narratives of the Sinai event seems to have been inspired by this kind of covenant. In Exod 24:9–11 seventy of the elders of Israel went up the mountain to eat and drink in the presence of Yahweh, "and Yahweh did not lay a hand on them." The covenant with the Gibeonites narrated in Joshua 9 seems to have been a similar sort of peace covenant that was obtained by fraud and subterfuge; their offer of (moldy) bread and (old) wine was accepted by the Israelites, and the eating and the drinking seem to be related to the ratification of the peace covenant (vv 11–15). It is typical that the oath sworn was regarded as binding even though fraud was involved; instead the pact was downgraded from a parity treaty to a suzerainty treaty in which the Gibeonites became subservient.

**2. Marriage as Covenant.** The narrative of the covenant between Jacob and Laban mentioned above (Gen 31:43–54) seems to combine two quite distinct acts, one of which involves marriage relationships. Nowhere else in ANE literature is marriage associated with a sworn oath, although it is certainly the most common social institution by which new relationships are created. However, it is interesting to note Malachi's use of the word "covenant" (Heb *bĕrît*) in connection with references to "the wife of (one's) youth" (2:14–15). There, Yahweh is explicitly acknowledged to be a (third-party) "witness" between the two parties of the marriage, and there are clear allusions to (violated) obligations and to resultant curses (2:13). As we have seen, these elements also appear in LB suzerainty treaties.

Although marriage does not correspond formally to the covenant structure as we know it from LB suzerainty treaties, it was an important metaphor for expressing relationships that could also be expressed in political terms. For example, in biblical Hebrew verbs like "love" *(ʾāhab)* and "know" *(yādaʿ)* have nuances of meaning in both conjugal and political contexts (Moran 1963; Huffmon 1966), and biblical prophets often characterized Israelite foreign policy as a series of illicit sexual relations. Therefore it is not surprising that, in addition to the suzerainty treaty analogy, the relationship between God and Israel was also very frequently viewed as analogous to that of husband and wife (Hosea 1–3; Jer 31:32; Ezekiel 16). This metaphor continued in use not only in early rabbinic Judaism but also in NT Christology, where Christ is portrayed as "bridegroom" and the Church as "bride."

In conclusion, these other covenant traditions (banquets and marriage) are noteworthy because they demonstrate how pervasive covenant traditions generally were in the ANE, and how frequently they were utilized in any discussion or presentation of something so fundamental as "community" and "relationships."

**H. Postbiblical Developments**

In the discussion on Nehemiah (see F.2 above) we noted that by the 5th–4th centuries B.C. the old suzerainty covenant form had been virtually forgotten; even the prophetic *rîb* which was most persistent in preserving (elements of) that form tended to emphasize less the formal components of covenant than the accompanying ideological matrix. Thus, in moving now into a discussion of even later covenant ideas in early Judaism and early Christianity the focus must shift still further away from covenant *forms* and into covenant *ideas;* and in discussing covenant ideas, it must be prepared to distinguish between ideas that were largely *symbolic and rhetorical* and those that were *functional and operational.* In short, the issue now becomes the nature of the early Jewish and early Christian communities themselves: not so

much how their traditions formally preserved covenant ideas as how the respective communities themselves were constituted with respect to those ideas.

**1. Covenant in Early Judaism. a. Preliminary Remarks.** Comparatively little work has been spent on the subject of covenant in early Judaism. Part of the problem is that by the late Hellenistic–early Roman period there was really no such thing as an early "Judaism" in the E Mediterranean world; even within Palestine there were numerous "Judaisms," each claiming to be the legitimate continuation of the people of the God of Israel (perhaps one of the most sharply defined of these being the community revealed in the sectarian documents of Qumran). And yet any discussion of covenant in early Judaism cannot ignore the fact of this marked sectarianism; for if indeed covenant is a device for transcending old parochialisms and factions, then one may reasonably conclude that by the turn of the era it was no longer functioning in this respect. It seems largely to have been symbolic, and there seems to have been simply widespread disagreement as to what specifically it symbolized (i.e., which sect constituted the "true Israel" still in covenant with God?).

Another reason for the comparative lack of study of covenant in early Judaism is that most scholars still seem reluctant to expose one major form of early Judaism—rabbinic Judaism—to any sort of critical "history of religions" investigation. Perhaps there is an underlying fear that, because it is the antecedent of modern Judaism, such critical study will somehow be construed as being "anti-Jewish" (just as the application of this approach to the NT over a century ago was construed as being "anti-Christian"); if so, the reasons for this inhibition are obvious and understandable. Yet if we are to do justice to the history of covenant we cannot avoid subjecting early Judaism to the same level of critical inquiry to which we have subjected ancient Israelite religion. However, we must recognize that such endeavors are still very much in their infancy, and for that reason we offer here in preliminary fashion some of the crucial issues we feel must be addressed critically in any future study not only of covenant in early Judaism but also of the nature of early rabbinic Jewish religion.

First, there is virtually no evidence from the Second Temple period that the notion of "covenant" community was ever effective in transcending existing parochialisms. Indeed, the evidence to the contrary emerges as early as Zerubbabel's unwillingness even to consider searching for "common ground" with the Samaritans, who nonetheless professed devotion to the Judean God (Ezra 4:1–3; note also the tensions with "the people of the land," most of whom were fellow Judeans; see also AM HA›AREZ). The evidence from the Hellenistic period (books of Maccabees) and the Roman period (especially Josephus) goes even further to document how ineffective *anything* was for transcending the parochialisms that developed *within* Judaism itself. The point to be noted is that in fact the early Judean community (like most of post-Constantinian Christendom) was held together by a socially enforced prestige system, until this degenerated into competing systems within Judaism (as they eventually did within much of Christianity). We shall therefore focus particularly on one system, rabbinic Judaism, that emerged from the debacle of the Jewish War (A.D. 66–70).

**b. The Antecedents of Rabbinic Judaism.** By tracing itself from Moses and Sinai through the prophets to Ezra and then to subsequent Pharisaic sages *(m. ›Abot),* rabbinic Judaism formally laid claim to a certain connection with Hebrew covenant thought. Before examining the rabbinic Judaism that is most closely connected with the Mishnah (2d century A.D.) and subsequently with the Talmud, we need to trace this claim backward, examining each "link" in this rabbinic "chain" of tradition.

The Pharisees present a special problem owing to the nature of the historical sources, most of which are either much later (the Mishnah) or demonstrably polemical in tone (the NT). Since the 1960s much research has focused upon the parochial character of the Pharisaic *ḥeber* ("society"), which seems initially to have been based on peculiar class interests of an economic and political sort (Finkelstein 1962: vol. 1, esp. pp. 75–76; Neusner 1973a). It is arguable whether notions of "duty" (a formal equivalent to covenant "obligations"?) were taken more seriously by the Pharisees than by the other sects; however, there can be no doubt that obedience to religious law was paramount in the Pharisaic sect (note the Talmudic reference to "the Pharisee [who says,] 'What is my duty, that I may perform it?' " [*Soṭa* 22a]). It is also noteworthy that some Pharisaic leaders articulated their concept of religious duty more in prophetic than in priestly

terms: Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai is reported to have said: "We have another atonement as effective as [the temple cult]. And what is it? It is acts of lovingkindness, as it is said, 'For I desire mercy and not sacrifice' " (*ʾAbot R. Nat.* 4; cf. Hos 6:6).

However, Neusner (1973b, esp. pp. 24, 31) notes that for the most part these ideas of obligation were tied in with the Pharisaic sense of "purity," which in fact was morally neutral and unrelated to anything "prophetic." Finkelstein (1962: vol. 1, 31) underscores its parochial character by noting that, when Pharisees were scattered among the various towns and hamlets after the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, their "rules of purity meant separation from next-door neighbors, [and] refusal to mingle freely with fellow-villagers." If accurate, this suggests that, despite formal, ideological appeals to a "prophetic" sense of ("covenant"?) obligations to an ostensibly transcendent God, in practice the Pharisees were unwilling and therefore unable to transcend existing socioeconomic, political, and ethnic parochialisms (this gap between moral vision and moral practice may in part account for the polemical charges of hypocrisy that the various rival schools within Pharisaism often directed at one another; cf. *b. Ber.* 28a; *Assum. Mos.* 7.4 ff.; see also Matt 23:2). The religious obligations *(hălakt)* were in fact simply a distinctive mark of "in-group" status. As both Finkelstein (1962: vol. 1, 17–20, 266) and Neusner (1973b) point out, and as Josephus' references to the Pharisees seem to confirm (*JW* 1.107–14, 571; 2.162–66; *Ant* 13.171–73, 288–98, 399–418; 17.41–44; 18.11–17), Pharisaic religion in general was a secondary accretion to a group that was primarily constituted by socioeconomic and sociopolitical factors.

Ezra is held to have been the precursor of Pharisaic (and subsequently rabbinic) Judaism, and in that regard he has often been considered a "second Moses" (*b. Sanh.* 21b). If Ezra historically played such a decisive role, then rabbinic Judaism was heir to many of the same sorts of social processes that accompanied the Nehemiah loyalty oath (see F.2 above). In this regard it is noteworthy how in Ezra 9–10 the will of God—i.e., the dynamic equivalent to covenant obligations (intended originally to encourage the transcending of parochialisms)—has for Ezra been reduced to prohibiting intermarriage (reinforcing ethnic parochialisms).

The differences between this understanding of "covenant people" (an endogamous ethnic group) and that reflected earlier in the prophets and still earlier in the Sinai covenant (a unity of diverse tribes/peoples based on shared values) are both obvious and categorical. They perhaps reinforce the conclusion that the reputed links between Ezra and the prophets (and Moses/Sinai) are largely formal and secondary and not substantive or integral; this linkage appears to have been designed at a later time to enhance the prestige (and therefore the authority and power) of rabbinic institutions. (In antiquity the same technique was used by individuals to concoct personal genealogies.)

Early rabbinic Judaism's formal emphasis on the centrality of the Sinai covenant can be adequately understood in light of early rabbinic emphasis on ethnic exclusivity. In the first place, early rabbinic Judaism understandably avoided the prophetic synthesis and reappropriation of the Davidic covenant (see E.2 above) that its chief rival, early Christianity, had embraced and interpreted in light of Jesus. For that reason, it is not surprising that covenant ideas in early rabbinic Judaism characteristically avoided the topics of "messianism" and the Davidic "covenant," and focused instead almost exclusively on the Sinai covenant. In the second place, its understanding of the Sinai covenant (unlike that of the early prophets) was based largely on written Scripture, particularly the canonical Torah, which (as we have seen) depicts the Sinai covenant not as it really was in ancient Israel but as it was later (mis)understood by generations living in a much different (postmonarchic) social context. Chief among these distortions is the canonical sequence itself, which regards the Sinai covenant (Exodus 1–20) as a subsequent event in the history of a community already defined earlier (Genesis 17) in ethnic terms of blood kinship (the covenant of Abraham, understood to refer literally to Abraham's biological offspring; cf. how early Christianity embraced the same canonical sequence but emphasized Abraham's importance in terms of Gen 12:3).

In summarizing the connection between early rabbinic Judaism and earlier biblical covenant ideas, it seems that the chain of transmission in *m. ʾAbot* 1:1 linking rabbinic Judaism to Moses and Mt. Sinai functioned much as the Davidic charter functioned in monarchic Judah: to legitimize an existing social order. The ideological matrix it expresses is actually drawn more from the world of divine charters than

from the world of treaties and covenants. This suggests that, if rabbinic authorities realized the historical and *functional* significance of the Sinai covenant (and they probably did not), they chose not to embrace that as a practical means for self-definition and self-understanding. Their covenant ideas did not function practically to articulate a transcendent set of values that could potentially cut across and dissolve old parochialisms as these ideas did in early Israel; indeed they tended to function in just the opposite way—to reinforce and heighten already existing (and increasingly ethnic) parochialisms.

**c. Post-Mishnaic Judaism.** This is perhaps underscored by rabbinic Judaism's comparative inability to attract converts precisely at a time when the E Mediterranean world was most receptive to monotheism. Instead, in declaring the current inactivity of the Holy Spirit (*Seder ʿOlam Rabbah* 30), early rabbinic Judaism seems to have denied (at least for the time being) the reality of any *religious* forces beyond human control operating to *create* relationships and community where none had previously existed. Instead, early rabbinic Judaism seems to have been content to establish itself in terms of various (parochial) *social* forces operating to *delimit* and *define* an already existing community (note the rabbinic metaphor of "building a fence around the Torah"). These parochial criteria certainly had great "spiritual value" for specific pious Jews, and they received authoritative expression in the Mishnah (although the numerous legal norms contained therein were never regarded as ends unto themselves, nor would early rabbis dare regard them as primarily social or cultural in function). The triumph of parochialism (and the paramount importance of Genesis 17) is perhaps most obvious in the reduction of the term *bĕrît* ("covenant") to mean primarily "circumcision"; the rabbinic need to coin a new word in its place to refer to the Exodus "pact" between God and Israel (Talmudic *dĕyāytîqî*, loan word from Gk *diathēkē*) is evidence that the functional significance of "covenant" had been largely replaced by other concerns. In this context, "covenant" was hardly an operating reality that created community by transcending old parochialisms but was itself merely a formal, ritual demarcation of a particular existing group.

There is little doubt that formal covenant imagery continued to be valued within "orthodox" Jewish circles, and that one's religious obligations continued to be verbalized in prophetic terms as obedience to a transcendent God (cf. especially *b. Mak.* 23b–24a, quoted in Hertzberg 1962: 72–73). However, these obligations were now promulgated within a context that insisted that the orthodox Jewish "circle" be clearly (and ritually) circumscribed. In short, "covenant" was largely symbolic in early Judaism (i.e., a formal part of the tradition), although no doubt for some pious individuals it was a very meaningful symbol insofar as it attempted to inspire Jews to obey an ostensibly transcendent God. In the Talmud (*b. Yebam.* 47a–b) there is an interesting passage about people who convert to Judaism at times when Jews are being persecuted, a passage that implies certain latent covenant forms: the proselyte must first admit that he is not worthy (a statement that perhaps implies he has received some undeserved benefit?), then he is instructed in the lighter and more stringent commandments (obligations), and informed about rewards and punishments that follow from obedience/disobedience (blessings/curses). In lieu of an oath, he is circumcised and later ritually immersed. Despite the apparent survival of old covenant forms, one would have to note that the entire procedure is done in a setting where commandments have a clear social control function, and where circumcision becomes a marker of in-group status. Thus, covenant seems to remain largely symbolic.

The diversity within Judaism, of course, continues to the present; indeed, in the West even most Jews have repudiated as too parochial the rabbinic Judaism manifested in the Mishnah and Talmud. In this regard, a significant issue has been conflicting Jewish understandings about the nature of its covenant with God (Hertzberg 1962: 37–45). Consequently, some Jews have felt it possible to assimilate into a larger pluralistic community without feeling that they have severed their "covenant" bonds to a transcendent God. (This, of course, assumes that such Jews still believe in God; Jewish atheism is another modern Western paradox, perhaps suggesting that the orthodox forms of Judaism were actually counterproductive in their efforts to communicate transcendent values.) Indeed, some Jewish writers (e.g., Feuerlicht 1983) have recently argued that Diaspora and assimilation have been positive experiences (cf. Jer 29:7), enabling Jews to reclaim both the essentially moral character of (Israelite) religious obligations and the (prophetic) vision of a world universally committed to those obligations (cf. Isa 2:2–4).

Perhaps it is no coincidence that, in the West for example, a noteworthy number of Jews have been some of the most outspoken advocates for cultural pluralism. As such they have been in the vanguard of efforts to enact the same sort of "ideological matrix" found in the early Israelite covenant (i.e., a broad human community united by shared commitments to transcendent moral values). Often at some personal risk they have played instrumental roles in such "liberal" causes as the civil rights movement; more recently, a few have even become the most outspoken advocates of justice for the Palestinians (and not surprisingly their efforts have been met with hostile opposition from Zionists for whom the state of Israel has become the ultimate concern). Nevertheless, such Western "liberal" Jewish commitments to pluralism and justice—regardless of how compelling they may or may not be to others in the West—may well be a functioning survival of premonarchic covenant ideas insofar as they embody the same hopes and expectations of the premonarchic Israelite villagers: namely, the value and dignity of persons regardless of their social and economic status or ethnic background, the predictability that follows from reciprocity and fairness in their interrelationships, and the reliability of the peace that would result (cf. Isa 32:17).

**2. Covenant in Early Christianity.** Just as our treatment of early Jewish covenant ideas focused on the best-known form of early Judaism—"rabbinic Judaism" associated with the Mishnah and Talmud—so our treatment of early Christian covenant ideas will focus only on the best-known form of early Christianity—so called "apostolic Christianity" associated with the canonical OT and NT. The subject of covenant ideas in other early (especially gnostic) forms of Christianity will not be discussed here, although it should be pointed out that their dependence on other "scriptures" and other intellectual wellsprings signals that "covenant" was likely not a significant metaphor by which these early "Christian" groups understood their relationship to God and to Jesus.

**a. Covenant and Sacrament.** The first and most important context within which we encounter covenant ideas in the NT are the texts recounting the Last Supper Jesus had with his disciples (Matt 26:26–29 and parallels; cf. 1 Cor 11:23–25). In all the NT traditions concerning the Eucharist (except John, of course) it is reported that Jesus gave a cup of wine to his disciples, identifying it as the "covenant" or "new covenant." Here the NT tradition seems to be making some deliberate and conscious connection with older covenant traditions (especially Jer 31:31–34).

The subsequent ritual celebration of the Eucharist (or "Lord's Supper") that arose in conjunction with this Last Supper tradition became a fundamental (and perhaps even a definitive) feature of early Christian gatherings. Around A.D. 112, Pliny the Younger, writing to the Roman emperor Trajan, who was interested in keeping informed of the spread of the Christian movement, reported that the interrogation of a captured Christian yielded the information that Christians gathered *se sacramento obstringere,* "to bind themselves by an oath." The reference is almost certainly to the Eucharist ritual, which perhaps as early as the 1st century was already being identified as a *sacramentum,* "sacrament." Although the English equivalent "sacrament" has subsequently come to mean "having a sacred character or mysterious meaning" (and perhaps it meant such in early Christian mystery sects), the Latin *sacramentum* at the time of the early Church referred to a soldier's oath of loyalty to the Roman emperor.

Thus, a vast number of early Christians seem to have understood the Eucharist in some context associated with oath taking, specifically oath taking with respect to "Christ" (i.e., Jesus), whose interests were understood to transcend those of the Roman Empire (hence Trajan's concern). There was indeed widespread and growing disillusionment with the Roman Empire by the 1st century (not unlike the disillusionment with imperial powers that existed during the LB/early Iron Age transition), and it is in that context that we must note the growing body of diverse peoples throughout the E Mediterranean world who were now participating in this eucharistic rite and identifying themselves as "Christians" (followers of "Christ"). The Roman persecution of Christians indicates that Roman imperial officials took a dim view of their subjects' swearing oaths of loyalty to anyone but the emperor, although it is equally clear from the historical sources that the Christians were categorically different from those power groups seeking politically to unseat the Roman Empire (cf. Rom 13:1–7).

This brings us back to the late developments in ANE thought when covenants had come to be regarded primarily as "loyalty oaths." No doubt this formal similarity between Iron Age Near Eastern, Roman

imperial, and early Christian concepts of "covenant" facilitated the communication of early Christianity in the non-Palestinian environment of Mediterranean civilization. However, it would be a grave mistake to conclude (as Roman bureaucrats apparently did) that this formal similarity to political/military loyalty oaths explains the early Christian understanding of covenant.

There is no doubt that, in addition to the formal similarity to Iron Age loyalty oaths, the Christian Eucharist has significant formal connections to other ANE covenant motifs (see Herion 1982). First, its utilization of bread and wine is relevant not just because of general associations with covenant banquet imagery (see G.1 above). Bread and wine appear in ancient Mari in connection with the resolution of enmity and the restoration of personal relationships, and they were associated with the *internalization* of a vassal's obligations in the Assyrian loyalty oaths: "Just as bread and wine enter the intestines, so may the [gods] let this oath enter your intestines" (*ANET*, 539).

Second, some of the Semitic terminology used in the Last Supper narrative (reflected in Gk translation) betrays patterns of thought also attested in early biblical and ANE sources. Specifically, the noteworthy appearance of the word "remembrance" (Gk *anamnēsis*) has a significance in Semitic languages (root *zkr*) that is lacking in Greek (and in English). In the Code of Hammurapi the root *zkr* often means "to swear," and this root seems to convey that meaning in 2 Sam 14:11 (RSV "invoke"); its cognate is still used with this sense in modern village Arabic. The verb "to remember" in the context of (the new) covenant therefore does not mean merely "to call to mind"; it implies recalling some benefit received (in this case the atoning death of Jesus) as a basis for present and future action and decision making. In this we see the revival of the central motif in the ideological matrix of the Sinai covenant (and the earlier LB treaties): the basis for a covenant relationship is the grateful recognition and response to the receipt of an undeserved favor.

Third, the identification of the bread and wine with the body and blood of Christ ("this is my body/blood") in turn made possible the identification of the disciples (who eat and drink it) with the sacrificial victim (cf. Gal 2:20). This has a clear connection with the Iron Age treaties wherein the animal sacrificed is stated specifically to be not a sacrificial animal but the vassal being placed under the loyalty oath (cf. "this is the head/shoulder/etc. of Mat›ilu," *ANET*, 532–33). What is certain is that a central metaphor by which the early Church identified itself was "the body of Christ" (Rom 12:4–5; 1 Corinthians 12), and its individual members understood themselves to be the embodiments of the spirit of Christ (1 Cor 6:15ff.; 2 Cor 4:10–11). The "fruit" of this spirit that they were to manifest in their lives was typically those things that make it possible for a diverse body of people to live together in a community that transcends the typical culturally proscribed, parochial bases of social morale (Gal 5:22–25). In this respect, in contrast with the contemporaneous early rabbinic Judaism, there was no codification of culturally bound norms and practices to govern or regulate the behavior of persons in the community (and subsequent attempts to import such norms, whether Jewish or Greco-Roman, were met with strong resistance [Acts 15; Galatians, esp. 3:3]).

In the centuries prior to Constantine, when there was no social reward but often the threat of persecution and possible death for identifying oneself as a Christian, the Eucharist by and large could have been little else but the participants' *sacramentum* ("oath") in which they actually submitted to the lordship of Christ (i.e., to a transcendent, extra-social authority; the "kingdom of God"). This "submission" occurred not merely at the intangible "spiritual" level or simply at the "liturgical" level—both of which Rome would probably have tolerated—but at the tangible level of ethics and values finding expression in the social realm of interpersonal relations. In short, participation in the ritual was an "index" of submission to the transcendent lordship of Christ (on "indexical" rituals whereby participants transmit information about their own current physical, psychic, or sometimes social states, see Rappaport 1979, esp. pp. 179ff.). This would have been a concern to imperial officials, who would understandably want to monitor such a movement closely.

In other words, few Christians in those early centuries could have consumed the bread and wine unless they also really and tangibly became *constituted* as Christ's body in the world (i.e., they were, in fact, subject to something that transcended the interests of the major political powers of their day, or else they

would not have taken the risks associated with being recognized as "Christians"). Thus, as in early Israel, the "new covenant" was a socially enacted historical reality that brought into existence a pluralistic community of people from diverse ethnic backgrounds who were united by their commitment to some basic, transcendent values identified with "Christ." (The connection between this development and the OT hopes for the "ingathering of the gentiles" was not lost upon the early Church.)

The situation was, of course, radically reversed when Christianity (especially the church at Rome) became systematically associated with the institutions of political power after the time of Constantine. Under those very different social and historical circumstances, participation in the Christian Eucharist quickly became less constitutive of anything and became much more *symbolic* in nature. In other words, there were now tangible social rewards for participation in the Eucharist, and the distinction between a pledge of loyalty to a transcendent Christ and a pledge of loyalty to the temporal (but now "Christian") emperor in Rome became increasingly fuzzy. At the very least, the ritual was now an "index" of little more than the participants' acceptance of the rule of the new, "Christianized" Roman Empire, which could not be identical to the rule of Christ (on "symbolic" ritual and how it facilitates deception and hypocrisy, see Rappaport 1979).

In the following centuries the original meaning of the eucharistic *sacramentum* was entirely forgotten, and increasingly it came to be viewed either as a mysterious and mystical "communion" with Christ, or (particularly for the laity) as a sacrificial ritual that served to heighten the sanctity (and the authority) of the presiding priestly hierarchy. Despite its claim to transcendence, the bloody history that followed indicates that in practice Christianity by and large had now become the (parochial) handmaid serving the advance of Western culture.

**b. OT Covenant Motifs in the NT**. The preceding discussion of the covenantal associations of the Eucharist has begged the fundamentally important question: what exactly was this "Christ" with whom the early Christians identified themselves? The creation of the gospel genre seems, in part, designed to answer this question by presenting to the reader the identity and activity of Jesus of Nazareth, who was claimed to be the Messiah (or Christ) of Israel. From these narratives it is fundamentally clear that, while Jesus claimed for himself the title "king," Christians did not regard this as a political claim (John 18:36; supposedly "historical" studies claiming that Jesus *was* a political revolutionary have proven entirely unconvincing). Thus, a *sacramentum* taken with respect to Christ could not legitimately signal any movement of those ambitious for political power and prestige (Matt 5:5).

The complex issue of the historical Jesus need not detain us here, since our main object of study is early Christianity. However, we must point out that the entire NT tradition points to some very important *substantive* connections with the type of suzerainty treaty exhibited in the Sinai covenant. Those connections, however, are not the external, formal continuities that can be easily traced with the standard scholarly methods that compare and classify phenomena in terms of formal features and surface characteristics. For that reason, this tradition must be explicated in terms of its underlying ideological matrix, and not in terms of any formal covenant elements (which were already being atomized at least as early as the writings of the Deuteronomistic Historian). Scholars dependent upon methods of formal classification have sometimes been quick to (mis)understand the formal "new" -ness of Christianity as indicating its fundamental unrelatedness to earlier Hebrew religion. Indeed, comparatively few of the superficial "forms" of Israelite religion are present in early Christianity (as they are in rabbinic Judaism, whose continued reverence for the Hebrew language and onomastics, the rite of circumcision, the levitical dietary laws, and the liturgical calendar insured at least the formal appearance of continuity with [certain aspects of] Israelite religion). But early Christian community and thought each reflect sometimes subtle links with OT covenant traditions, and to appreciate this requires a scholarly sensitivity to something other than formal characteristics. It also probably requires the assumption that the historical Jesus played some role in articulating those old covenant traditions in a new idiom, although it is highly doubtful that even he understood the Sinai covenant in the formal terms of suzerainty treaty elements.

**(1) Identification and Historical Prologue.** The constant and crucial issue of the identification of the covenant giver is a good case in point. As the Eucharist tradition indicates, the early Church

unquestionably understood this to be Jesus himself. The gospel traditions presenting the person and deeds of Jesus of Nazareth assert the same thing, but in a more roundabout way. There, as in the Sinai covenant tradition (Exod 20:2), the identification of the covenant giver is integrally linked to the historical prologue: it is achieved through a narrative of "benevolent deeds" performed, not merely a heaping up of titles and epithets. The importance of this is evident in Matt 11:2–6, where John the Baptist asks Jesus, "Are you he who is to come, or shall we look for another?" The answer indeed identifies Jesus as such by quoting the manifestations of deity envisioned in the book of Isaiah (35:5–6; 61:1; cf. Luke 4:16–21). In other words, Jesus does the things that God does. It is significant that this is a functional rather than a formal identification, and perhaps is based on old concepts that tended to view the Messiah as servant (1 Kgs 12:7) rather than powerful overlord (1 Kgs 12:11; cf. Matt 20:25–28=Mark 10:42–45; Mendenhall 1986).

Thus, it appears that already during his historical ministry Jesus' identity was being linked to the tangible "benevolent deeds" he was seen to perform (especially the miraculous healings). However, for the early Christians who lived with the knowledge of Jesus' death and resurrection (which for them was a historical reality, not a metaphysical proposition), the most important "benevolent deed" performed by the covenant giver was intangible: the atonement, Jesus' offering of himself for the removal of sin and guilt. This suggests at least a formal connection with the prophecy of the "new covenant" in Jeremiah 31, where the forgiveness of sins is the only act of benevolence mentioned. (It is debatable whether the historical Jesus understood himself to be such an "intangible" [i.e., post-mortem] benefit to his followers.)

In sharp contrast to the use of the historical narrative in the prayer of Ezra, where God is supposed to remember his past deeds performed for the benefit of the corporate body Israel (Nehemiah 9), the historical narrative constituting the gospels emphasizes the direct and immediate benefits that God in Christ bestows on individuals. This understanding of historical events as acts of God that furnish the foundation for a lasting relationship is one of the most striking features of the formative period in early Christianity, and it constitutes a tangible reintroduction of the most fundamental religious feature of the OT tradition; namely, that a covenant relationship with God is based on the receipt of a prior and undeserved act of deliverance (whether physically from the grip of Pharaoh, or metaphysically from the grip of sin and death).

**(2) Stipulations.** The notion of covenant stipulations was subjected to a most important transformation in the NT traditions, or at least what appears to be a "transformation" with respect to postbiblical and early rabbinic Jewish traditions equating covenant stipulations with written (and oral) "law." But what on first glance appears to be a "transformation" was in fact a way of recovering and returning to early and authentic OT covenant traditions. As in the case of the historical prologue, there was a two-stage development: the first stage associated with the life and teaching of the historical Jesus, and the second associated with the understandings subsequently reflected in early Christian traditions.

Any understanding of Jesus' notion of religious "obligation" (cf. Pharisaic "duty") must begin by recognizing that for several centuries before Jesus there had been no unanimity among Palestinian Jews—indeed, there had been outright hostilities culminating in civil war—over who had the authority to define and enforce the law of God. It is therefore neither unusual nor surprising to find in the teachings of Jesus (and in the gospel narratives) polemical statements directed against most of the prestigious and ambitious *Jewish* power blocs of the time (Sadducees, scribes, and Pharisees). As a growing number of scholars are beginning to concede, this has nothing to do with "anti-Semitism" but rather emphasizes that the early Christian movement was an *inner-Jewish* phenomenon (and as such participated fully in inner-Jewish polemics). The necessary corollary to this hostile polemic is the fact that Jesus of Nazareth and the early Christian movement had no ideology for, and no intention to engage in, the centuries-old power struggle among Palestinian Jewry (Matt 20:25–27). As in the early Iron Age, the rule ("kingdom") of God was a reality that had nothing to do with the usual paraphernalia of social and political organizations that were based on little more than coercive force.

Jesus apparently did have a strong respect for the commandments (Matt 5:17–20). He was no libertarian, and in the Sermon on the Mount—as elsewhere throughout the gospel traditions—Jesus is

consistently portrayed as a "commanding" personality speaking in the imperative. It has long been noted that the essence of Jesus' teaching is not to advocate relaxing—much less abolishing—the Law (which subsequently became Paul's position) but rather just the opposite: to advocate a more stringent observation of the Law: "You therefore must be perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect" (Matt 5:48; cf. 5:20!). Of course, since no one can attain such perfection the net rhetorical effect of Jesus' teaching ironically is to condemn in advance anyone who seeks to earn covenant blessings by faithful adherence to the stipulations of the Law (which is a structural premise of the "old covenant" tradition). But while subsequent Christians, particularly Paul, used this as the basis for the classic Law/faith dichotomy (and for proclaiming the end of the "old covenant"), Jesus himself seems to have absolutized the Law for different—but reciprocally interrelated—reasons.

In the first place, he removed religious obligations from the realm of social monitoring and enforcement: thus, his absolutized redefinition of the commandments against killing (Matt 5:21–26) and adultery (5:27–30) effectively removes them from the realm of human monitors and sociopolitical authorities. In short, the concept of religious obligation could no longer be indirectly linked to the perfect *will* of God through a verbal listing of do's and don'ts that can be managed and overseen by imperfect human authorities.

In the second place, in exhorting to absolute moral perfection, Jesus now linked the concept of religious obligation directly to the *character* of God. In short, he advocated a total and complete commonality of interests between suzerain and vassal, and in so doing he (unknowingly) reasserted part of the ideological matrix of the LB treaties. The issue is not just reciprocity ("Do unto others as you would have them do unto you"); rather, it is the recognition that the ultimate character of one's religious obligations proceeds from the character of God as revealed in God's benevolent deeds (his "grace"), not as revealed in God's law (1 John 4:11). To state it covenantally, the ultimate will of the sovereign is manifested more deeply in the character of him whose benevolent deeds are recounted in the historical prologue than in him whose words are recorded in the stipulations. To put it more bluntly, God's actions *(character)* speak truer and deeper than God's words *(will)* (a point Jesus himself seems to make in Matt 19:3–9).

There is here the recognition that in the ongoing quest for a truly "blessed" community, the behavior of individuals ultimately must correspond directly to the "blessings" they have already received (and not to some impersonal codification of laws, statutes, and ordinances). The notion that the Christian's obligations should mirror past benefits is reflected in many NT traditions which define Christian "duty" in terms of what Jesus did: forgive, forsake worldly goods, preach, teach, heal (even raise the dead!), take up a cross, die. If the "new covenant" should require a "new commandment," such is given in John 13:34. What is significant about this is the context, definition, and example given for "love" —"… even as I have loved you." "Love" (the stipulation of the covenant) is not codified in words but is rather defined by example, more specifically, by the example of a benefit received ("the Word become flesh"). This suggests a return to the same ideological matrix as the prophets, who, like Jesus, understood obligations in absolute moral terms and were likewise considered to be threats to the social authorities, who reserved for themselves the right to define, interpret, and enforce obligations.

**(3) Deposit, Witnesses, Curses and Blessings.** The provision for deposit and periodic public reading in one respect was almost irrelevant in early Christianity, since there was no material object to deposit. But in another respect, certainly related to the "new covenant" vision of the internalization of the covenant (Jer 31:33), the early Church seems to have developed notions that the "covenant" was deposited within the believer.

The list of witnesses was also subject to drastic transformation of a most curious and almost inexplicable sort. Originally the witnesses were supposed to enforce the covenant stipulations by bringing to bear the covenant curses, including the death penalty. In the NT from the earliest time the "witness" is the "martyr" (Gk *martus,* "witness") who is put to death as a result of adhering (and thereby testifying) to the truth of the faith.

The formula of blessings and curses also underwent significant transformation. As was true also of pre-Christian Judaism, the rewards and punishments meted out by God were to be realized in the "world to

come"; the importance of this is very important to early Christianity as can be seen from the significant role that eschatology plays in early Christian thought. In addition to the eschatological meting out of rewards and punishments in the final judgment, blessings and curses are certainly connected to the "power of the keys" (Matt 16:13–20). The terms translated "binding" and "loosing" have meaning primarily in the ANE context of imposing, and freeing from, a curse. (It is not surprising that after the time of Constantine the Roman church—identifying itself with Peter—claimed for itself this power. In this regard, we see the Matthew 16 text being used as a sort of "divine charter" to legitimize the authority of the Roman priestly hierarchy, an authority that in reality had been conferred on it by imperial concordat.) The several references to the *anathema,* especially in the letters of Paul, probably bear on this same theme, but as in Matt 18:18 and perhaps a parallel in John 20:23 this is not a power given to an authority but is rather a characteristic of the community of the faithful.

**c. Summary.** At precisely the same time that rabbinic Judaism was "building a fence around the Torah" (and rationalizing such by a general appeal to the OT covenant tradition), apostolic Christianity was expanding. In early rabbinic Judaism, "covenant" was largely a formal or symbolic dogmatic concept that gave meaning mainly to those already within a group whose base of solidarity and cohesion was primarily ethnic. In early apostolic Christianity, on the other hand, "covenant" was largely a socially enacted historical reality that accompanied sufficient functional changes in old patterns of behavior so as to rupture old ethnic and political bases of social solidarity and cohesion and to replace these with a larger vision of the human community. Certainly the tenor here was initially set by Jesus himself, who not only sought relationships with people who were outside the "proper" cultural boundaries (e.g., eating with tax collectors and sinners), but also challenged the religious legitimacy of those boundaries (e.g., sabbath observance). In this we see the reappearance of the same ideological matrix found in the Sinai covenant and prophetic faith: that religious community can cut across old parochialisms and need not be defined in terms of legal norms backed up by coercive power.

The entire covenant complex of NT thought that has been only briefly sketched here illustrates the complete internalization of the ethic of the rule of God, ideally envisioned (but imperfectly realized) in the Sinai suzerainty treaty and so frequently pleaded for (largely in vain) by the OT prophets (Ezek 36:26–27). At the same time, this ethic became freed from the cultural parochialism and political arrogation that inevitably accompanies a defined code of norms and laws. It is clear enough that not all Christians (just as not all early Israelites) succeeded in grasping these points, as illustrated by the reversion to a canon law system in later centuries. In that respect, one could argue that even today the ability of most people to grasp the significance of what it means to be in a "covenant" relationship with a transcendent "God" has advanced little from the LB Age. Nevertheless, the radical transformation that constituted the early Christian Church remains an excellent example of what can happen when new wine is put into old bottles.

**I. Conclusion**

Because "covenant" is a central biblical metaphor for the relationship between God and his people, it is not surprising that the attempts of biblical theologians to find a thematic "center" *(Mitte)* of the Bible invariably return time and again to the subject of covenant, or to some particular aspect of covenant. But as long as theologians conceive their task as primarily elucidating biblical "ideas," they will continue to miss the fundamental significance of covenant in the biblical tradition. Covenant is not an "idea" to be embraced in the mind, and therefore religious community cannot be defined with respect to "orthodox" appraisals of that idea. Covenant is an "enacted reality" that is either manifested in the concrete choices individuals make, or not. The rule of God is defined with respect to those whose concrete choices arise out of certain positive values that actually transcend culturally bound norms and politically enforced laws.

Similarly, as long as biblical scholars remain content to deal with covenant "ideas" in terms of formal elements and rigidly defined categories, most of the matrix of ideas associated with covenant will remain unnoticed and unappreciated. Covenant form was apparently never that important anywhere in antiquity: even for the LB Hittites it was merely a device for communicating values envisioning human relationships proceeding along some moral plane higher than coercive force.

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**COVET, COVETOUSNESS.** See WANTING AND DESIRING.

**COWARDICE.** See VIRTUE/VICE LISTS.

**COZBI** (PERSON) [Heb *kozbî* (כָּזְבִּי)]. A Midianite woman of high birth who engaged in an illicit activity with an Israelite, Zimri ben Salu (Num 25:15, 18). As a result, the priest Phinehas killed them both in a show of zealous fidelity to the Lord, thus staying a plague that had broken out in Israel. The name is from Akk *kuzbu, kuzābu,* "voluptuous, sexually vigorous," though likely understood by Israelites to derive from Heb *kāzab,* "deceitful." Some mss of the Sam. Pent. read *kozbît.*

Scholars debate the nature of Cozbi's offense. Was it a matter of mixed marriage, adultery, cultic prostitution, or some other form of apostasy? Mendenhall (1973: 110–16) reconstructs a multiphase ritual, including having sexual relations with "outsiders," which would alleviate plague. Accordingly, Cozbi's offense was enticing Zimri, through a sexual act, into covenant infidelity by trusting in the "tried and true" ritual methods of the past rather than in the faithfulness of Israel's God. More radically, Reif (1971: 205) has argued that the phrase *ʾel qŏbātāh* in v 8 does not refer to physical anatomy ("in her belly," etc.) but rather to locale ("in her shrine"). According to Reif, Cozbi was engaged by Zimri as a diviner and was installed in a *qubbāh* or tent shrine to divine a means of ending the plague. In its present form the story

serves the priestly redactor by legitimating the priesthood of Phinehas. For further discussion see *Numbers* WBC.

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**COZEBA** (PLACE) [Heb *kōzēbā*› (כֹּזֵבָא)]. Listed in the genealogy of Judah, Cozeba is the habitation of some of the sons of Shelah (1 Chr 4:22). Of the whole list of sons of Shelah, only Mareshah, in the Shephelah, is identified with certainty as Tel Ṣandaḥannah (M.R. 140111; *LBHG*, 248). Occupation of the Shephelah by the children of Shelah is suggested by the place names (‹Adullam, modern esh-Sheikh Madhkûr [M.R. 150117] and Timnah, modern Tel el-Baṭâshī [M.R. 141132]) that appear connected with him in Gen 38:1–14. Furthermore, in this passage, Shelah's birthplace is presented as Chezib (Heb *kĕzîb*), a possible variation of Cozeba. Mareshah also appears in Josh 16:44 along with Keilah (modern Khirbet Qîlā [M.R. 150113]) and Achzib as cities in the Shephelah that belong to the tribe of Judah. Achzib (Heb ›*akzîb*), which has been identified with Chezib and Cozeba (*EncMiqr* 1: 278), has been identified with modern Tel el-Beiḍa (M.R. 145116; Elliger 1934: 124), where remains from both the Iron Age I and Iron Age II have been found (*HGB,* 385). Though other site locations have been posited, such as Khirbet Küvayzibâ (M.R. 164112; Press 1952: 470) and Khirbet ed-Dilb (M.R. 164112; *IDB* 1: 724), the preferable site identification for Cozeba is this location in the Shephelah.

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**CRAFTSMEN, VALLEY OF** (PLACE) [Heb *gê›haḥarāšîm* (גֵּיאהַחֲרָשִׁים)]. This location is mentioned in Neh 11:35 as part of a list of communities settled by the survivors of the tribe of Benjamin after their return from the Babylonian Exile. All the towns which can be identified in the list are located to the N and W of Jerusalem, in the old tribal territories of Dan and Ephraim, as well as in that of Benjamin itself.

Since the Valley of Craftsmen is listed along with Lod (M.R. 140151) and Ono (M.R. 137159) in Neh 11:35, it is possible that the area was located in one of the valleys to the E of those communities (*GP*, 405), although there is not sufficient evidence for a precise location to be determined. The portion of the list in which the Valley of Craftsmen appears is not included in the LXX. Simons (GTTOT, 390) notes that in the Talmud the term is used for the cities Lod and Ono.

A similar term, Heb *gê› ḥarāšîm,* occurs in 1 Chr 4:14 as one of the descendants of Kenaz, so named "because they were craftsmen." Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 29) has argued that the two references cannot be separated, noting that many scholars recognize that many of the people in the list in Chronicles are, in fact, toponyms. Aharoni (*LBHG,* 245) notes that the LXX reads Rechab for the Rechah of 1 Chr 4:12, and therefore he links the sons of Kenaz with the Kenites, who were known as smiths in antiquity. Aharoni, following Glueck (1940: 23), located the Valley of Craftsmen in the region of Jordan to the SE of the Dead Sea, along with the Irnasash (Khirbet en-Nashas, M.R. 190010) mentioned in 1 Chr 4:12. Both scholars felt that the copper deposits of the area make that region a likely location for a community of smiths.

While it is true the many of the Kenites and Kenizzites may have been smiths, it seems impossible to associate the references to a Valley of Craftsmen in Nehemiah 11 and 1 Chronicles 4. The passage in Nehemiah clearly refers to a postexilic settlement, and there is no evidence to support a contention that any of the returnees of that period inhabited the region SE of the Dead Sea. The context of 1 Chronicles 4 has no direct link to the period of the Second Temple. In addition, neither is the term "craftsmen" restricted to smith or metal worker, making the copper deposits in the Wadi Arabah irrelevant, nor is there

any indication in 1 Chronicles 4 that the passage is in any way connected with the region around Lod and Ono. If the term in 1 Chronicles 4 is a place name, it should be treated independently from the toponym in Nehemiah 11.

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MELVIN HUNT

**CRATES** (PERSON) [Gk *Kratēs* (Κρατης)]. Seleucid commander of the citadel in Jerusalem, appointed by Sostratus to command the Cyprian troops in his absence. Crates was appointed as *diadochos,* which can mean either viceroy (cf. 2 Chr 28:7) or deputy. Deputy seems the obvious meaning from the context. Goldstein questions the significance of Crates in this passage and suggests that Jason of Cyrene, whose work was abridged by the author of 2 Macc, had treated Crates in greater detail (1 *Maccabees* AB, 237). That Crates commanded Cyprian troops despite the fact that Cyprus was a Ptolemaic province is not surprising. Launey noted that Cypriots played a minor role in Hellenistic armies as mercenaries (1949: 487–89).

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**CRAWLING AND CREEPING THINGS.** Generally small land animals such as rodents, reptiles, and insects, as well as water animals and flying insects.

The Hebrew Bible uses two essentially synonymous roots to describe these animals: *šrṣ* and *rmś.* The noun *šereṣ* usually refers to any small land animal such as small rodents, reptiles, and insects (Gen 7:21; Lev 5:2; Lev 11:29, 31, 41, 42, 43, 44; cf. 22:5), but also to water animals (Gen 1:20; Lev 11:10) and flying insects (Lev 11:20, 21, 23; Deut 14:19). The noun *remeś* mostly refers to small land animals (Gen 1:24, 25, 26; 6:7, 20; 7:14, 23; 8:17, 19 [cf. the Gk]; 1 Kgs 5:13; Ezek 8:10; 38:20; Hos 2:20; Ps 148:10; cf. Hab 1:14), but once to water animals (Ps 104:25) and perhaps once to all animals (Gen 9:3; cf. v 2). The verb *šāraṣ* (which appears only in the *Qal* verb form) usually describes the movement of water and small land animals as "swarming" or "crawling" (Gen 1:20; 7:21; Lev 11:29, 41, 42, 43, 46; Ezek 47:9). It also has a sense of "being abundant" (Gen 1:21; Exod 7:28; Ps 105:30; *šāraṣ* in the first two passages may actually be a denominative verb meaning "to produce *šereṣ* animals"). In the sense of "be abundant," the verb is also used of all land animals (Gen 8:17) and even humans (Gen 9:7; Exod 1:7). The verb *rāmaś* (it too only appearing in the *Qal*) indicates the "crawling" or "swarming" movement of water and small land animals (Gen 1:21, 26, 28, 30; 7:8, 14; 8:17; 9:2; Lev 11:44, 46; 20:25; Ezek 38:20; the verb in Gen 9:2 and Lev 20:25 may be denominative "to produce *remeś* animals"), but is also found several times of the movement of larger land animals (Gen 7:21; 8:19 [cf. Gk]; Deut 4:18; Ps 69:35; 104:20).

About three fourths of the instances of these words occur in the Priestly literature of the Pentateuch. This preponderance is due to this tradition's interest in the creation of all animals at the founding of the earth (Genesis 1), the destruction of land and air animals during the flood (Genesis 6–9), and the impurity of certain types of animals (Leviticus 11). All small land animals are prohibited from the Israelites' diet and several cause impurity by simple touch. Because of this, these animals sometimes receive a negative characterization. Leviticus 11 in many places calls the *šeqeṣ* "an abomination." Lev 7:21 uses *šeqeṣ* as a substitute for *šereṣ* (cf. 5:2). Cf. Ezek 8:10. In the NT, see Acts 10:12; 11:6; Rom 1:23; and Jas 3:7.

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DAVID P. WRIGHT

**CREATURES, LIVING.** See ZOOLOGY.

**CREEDS, EARLY CHRISTIAN.** Christian creeds have grown out of the life of faith itself. No council decided the church needed creeds, and no church assembly until quite recently appointed a committee to write a creed. The church has generally been very modest in writing creeds, doing so only when compelled by the demands of the community of faith itself.

The origin of creeds is rooted on the one hand in the nature of revelation itself, which elicits interpretations by those who receive it that are given expression in words, images, and propositions. Faith is the act of intelligible beings as well as of the human will and affections. Karl Barth has written, "Just because he is *intelligens,* the Christian of all men, has to learn to discern with agonizing clarity what is conceivable by him about God" (1960: 20–21). What cannot be thought clearly and expressed cogently cannot be the basis of life commitment.

Faith itself seeks intelligibility. On the one hand, it seeks the intelligibility of faith itself so that the content of faith can be communicated in intelligible images and in descriptive propositions. On the other hand, faith seeks to understand the world in the light of what it perceives to be the revelation of God.

Creeds are also rooted in and bear the marks of history. Situations in the life of the community of faith have called for creeds, such as heresy, persecution, and worship itself. Controversies within the community have demanded that the community clarify its own judgment as to the content of faith. In addition, great dangers from without which have pressured the church and challenged its deepest commitments have also compelled the church to declare unequivocally its deepest commitments. Creeds therefore bear not only the marks of the believing person, but also the marks of the history in which they have come to be.

Creeds are intentionally catholic. They may bear the marks of their particularity and of a specific perspective and place. The basic intention, however, is to state the faith not of a partisan group but of the one holy catholic church.

The authority of creeds varies. Generally the word "creed" is given to the short and brief statements of the ancient catholic church, such as the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed. The comprehensive Reformed statements of faith are usually labeled confessions. However, there is no established terminology. Protestants in particular have always insisted that creeds are subordinate to Scripture, but at times Protestant churches have used creeds with an equivalent authority. The early Reformed creeds were written with the awareness that a creed ought to be a confession in a particular time and place, and that no one creed should have universal significance. Karl Barth in the 20th century has reiterated the same conviction. Creeds therefore may have normative authority, or they may be the occasional confession of the way the church understands Christian faith in a particular time with no claim to finality. At the other extreme, confessions may be regarded as simply descriptions of Christian belief and practice with no decisive authority.

**A. Sources of Creeds**

**1. Liturgy and Worship.** The liturgical life of the church called for creeds of various types. Rules of Faith, varied and without precise language, served the needs of preaching and teaching without stifling creativity. Declarations of faith by the worshiping congregation, in distinction from Rules of Faith, had to be precise, fixed, and economical in the use of words. Rules of Faith may be found in various forms in the writings of such early theologians as Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Origen.

Creedal statements from the beginning have been associated with baptism. Hans Lietzmann argued that the root of all Christian creeds is the formula for belief pronounced by the baptizands or pronounced in their hearing and assented to by them before baptism.

The creedal form that was used in baptismal rites in the 2d and 3d centuries was interrogatory. One of the best examples of the developed form of the interrogatory creed is found in the *Apostolic Traditions of Hippolytus* (ca. 215):

> Do you believe in God the Father all-governing? Do you believe in Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who was begotten by the Holy Spirit from the Virgin Mary, Who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died (and was buried) and rose the third day living from the dead, and ascended into the heavens, and sat down on the right hand of the Father, and will come to judge the living and the dead?
>
> Do you believe in the Holy Spirit, in the holy church, and (in the resurrection of the body)?

Creeds also became part of the liturgy of the holy communion in the 5th century. This practice gave the Nicene Creed widespread authority in the life of the church.

**2. Education.** The teaching ministry of the church also called for creeds. The mother creed of our Apostles' Creed developed in Rome in the 3d century when the interrogatory creed of baptism was turned into a declaratory creed. This became part of catechetical training when the bishop traditioned the creed to the catechumens and when the catechumens rendered it back as their own witness of faith. Creeds were also used as a basis of catechetical lectures, as in the case of the catechetical lectures of Cyril of Jerusalem.

**3. Interpretation.** Creeds were a useful hermeneutical guide. Biblical studies were carried on and theology was formulated under the guidance of rules of faith and creeds which were the church's best wisdom as to how the Bible should be understood and the faith expressed.

**4. Apologetics.** Heresy was still another occasion for creedal formulation. Older creedal scholars, such as A. C. McGiffert (1902), argued that the refutation of heresy was a primary factor in the development of the Apostles' Creed. For example, the affirmation that God created the heavens and the earth stood over against the conviction that the created world was evil and the work of a lesser god. Others have argued against McGiffert, that heresy was not a necessity for such Christian affirmations as the goodness of creation.

**5. Evangelism.** Christian witness made use of creeds as Christians defined themselves over against the pagan society. It also enabled the Christian to render a firm and clear testimony in the face of persecution.

**B. Forms of Creeds**

**1. The Bible.** Precise, fixed creeds did not appear until the 3d and 4th centuries of the church's history, but the process that culminated in them had its beginning in the historical credos (Deut 25:5–9 and 6:21–25) and in the declaratory affirmations of the OT (Deut 6:4–5 and 1 Kings 18:39). The NT church in preaching, singing, praying, and witnessing increasingly gave expression to Christian faith in more or less fixed formulas, for example, in 1 Cor 15:3–7; Phil 2:6–11; Matt 28:10; and Rom 10:9. Some creedal statements are simple christological affirmations declaring the lordship of Jesus Christ (Mark 8:9, 1 Tim 3:16, Romans 10:9). Others are two-article formulas confessing both God and Christ (1 Cor 8:6). Three-article statements affirming Father, Son, and Holy Spirit appear in Matt 28:19 and in 2 Cor 13–14, which is a pretrinitarian formulation.

**2. Ecumenical Creeds.** The creedlike statements of the NT and early Christian writers such as Ignatius, as well as the Rules of Faith, were replaced by precise creedal formulas which served the liturgical and catechetical needs of local churches. In the East, the creeds varied from church to church, but in the West, the creed of Rome exercised a dominating influence over the great churches in the West. One of the daughter creeds of Rome became the established version of the Apostles' Creed. It first appeared in southwest France sometime in the late 6th or 7th century. Its present text is found in the *De singulis libris canonicis scarapsus* of Priminius, which is dated between 710 and 724. This creed, which owed much to Rome, became the common creed of the Frankish empire and was finally adopted in Rome. It became the most universal creed in the West, but it was not known in the East. The first creed to have synodical authority was promulgated by the Council of Nicea (325) in response to the teaching of an Alexandrian presbyter named ARIUS concerning the deity of Jesus Christ. Christians had spoken of Jesus as Lord, Savior, the Word, Son of God, Son of man, prophet, and priest. All these refer to the activity of Jesus Christ and his relation to us.

Arius changed the question. He did not ask how Jesus Christ is related to us or what he means to us. He asks the prior question, "Who is Jesus?" Is he really God? Or is he a creature? Arius declared that he was a creature, but the Council of Nicea took a creed of an Eastern church and added to it four formulas which stated without ambiguity that Jesus Christ was truly God. The key formula was "of the same substance as the Father." The Nicene Creed, which is used in worship today, is dated from the Council of Constantinople in 381. All creeds that use the phrase "of the same substance (reality, being, essence) as the Father" were regarded as Nicene. The Council of Constantinople also eliminated the anathemas from the Creed of 325 and added a statement affirming the deity of the Holy Spirit as well as the one holy catholic church, the forgiveness of sins, and the resurrection of the dead. The Council of Nicea, in affirming that Jesus Christ was truly God, raised the question of the humanity of Christ, and therefore of

the doctrine of the person of Christ. The church of the 5th century, in an amazingly catholic theological endeavor, defined its understanding of the person of Jesus Christ at the Council of Chalcedon (431) in which it affirmed that Jesus Christ is truly God and truly man in one person (one acting subject).

The Athanasian Creed was not written by Athanasius but by some Augustinian theologians sometime after the middle of the 5th century. Its use has declined because of its anathemas, but recent studies by J. N. D. Kelly have pointed to its theological excellence. The Definition of the Council of Chalcedon (451) was the definitive statement of the ancient church on the person of Jesus Christ, but it was never used in worship as were the other three creeds.

**3. Creeds of the Eastern Church.** The Nicene Creed has always been used in the Eastern churches. Later doctrinal statements included the Orthodox Confession of Peter Mogilas (1643), the Answers of Jeremiah (Patriarch of Constantinople) to Lutheran Theologians (1576), the Confession Prepared by Metrophanes Critopolus to Explain Eastern Orthodoxy to Protestants (1625), the Russian Catechisms, especially the Longer Catechism of Philaret (1839), a confession appearing under the name of Cyril Lucar (1629), Patriarch of Constantinople, which was sympathetic to Protestantism and which was repudiated by the majority of Orthodox. The Confession of Dositheus, approved by the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672 in opposition to the Protestant sympathies of the previous document, is more representative of the Eastern church.

**4. Roman Catholicism.** The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent (1545–63) were formulated in the context of the Protestant Reformation. It also narrowed many of the options of the very fluid theology of medieval Catholicism. The creed of the Council of Trent (1564) is a short summary of the lengthy Tridentine document. The Council of Trent fixed the shape of modern Roman Catholicism. There have been other notable pronouncements of doctrine, such as the Dogma of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (1950), in addition to numerous papal encyclicals of considerable importance. The whole shape of Roman Catholicism received a new interpretation in the work of Vatican Council II (1962–65).

**5. Protestantism.** Protestants were prolific writers of confessions. These include Martin Luther's Ninety-Five Theses (1517), the Augsburg Confession (1530), the Apology of the Augsburg Confession (1531), the Smalcald Articles (1537), the Treatise on the Power and the Primacy of the Pope (1537), the Small Cathechism of Dr. Martin Luther (1529), and the Large Catechism of Dr. Martin Luther (1529). Calvinists and Reformed Protestants wrote many creeds, the most typical of which are the Ten Theses of Berne (1528), the Gallican Confession (1529), the Scots Confession (1560), and the second Helvetic Confession (1566).

Seventeenth-century Protestantism produced the Westminster Confession (1647) and the Westminster Catechisms, which became the dominant Reformed statement for English-speaking Presbyterians, and also the Canons of Dort (1619). The Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England (1563) combined Calvinist and Lutheran influences, as well as an indigenous English tradition with that of the Catholic tradition. At the other extreme of the Protestant Reformation were statements of the radical Reformers such as Schleitheim Articles of 1527.

**6. Contemporary Confessions.** Numerous confessions have been written in the 20th century. Some of these, such as the Barmen Declaration (1934), were in response to National Socialism. The Confession of 1967 of the United Presbyterian Church (USA) was the attempt of a denomination to formulate its faith in contemporary idiom and in response to contemporary problems. Some of the most interesting of the 20th-century confessions have arisen in younger and non-Western churches, such as the creed of the Batak Church (Great Synod of the Huria Kristen Batak Protestant Church of Indonesia, 1956).

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JOHN H. LEITH

**CRESCENS** (PERSON) [Gk *Krēskēs* (Κρησκης)]. A Christian, apparently a co-worker of Paul, who left him during his Roman imprisonment (assumably in Rome, although Caesarea has been defended) and went to Galatia (2 Tim 4:10). In mentioning Crescens, Paul indicates that he had likewise been left by Titus who went to Dalmatia. While most mss read Galatia as Crescens' destination, a few (e.g., Sinaiticus, C) have Gaul. A later tradition also reports that Paul sent Crescens to Gaul (cf. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.4.8), where he is thought to have founded the churches in Vienne and Mayence. That Crescens went to Gaul may be supported by the apocryphal *Acts of Paul* where Titus is said to have arrived in Rome from Dalmatia, and Luke (a substitution for Crescens?) is said to have come from Gaul (*Acts Paul* 11:1). Nevertheless, the reading "Galatia" is usually judged as the more strongly favored in the ms witnesses. This does not, however, settle the question of the Gaul tradition since there are instances of some Greeks using the name "Galatia" when they referred to Gaul (Dibelius and Conzelmann *Pastoral Epistles* Hermeneia 122, n. 3). Also to be considered is the context of 2 Timothy. If the imprisonment it portrays was Rome, proximity to Gaul makes it the more probable destination of Crescens; a Caesarean imprisonment, in contrast, would favor reading "Galatia."

FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

**CRESCENTS.** See JEWELRY.

**CRETE** (PLACE) [Gk *Krētē* (Κρητη)*; Krētēs* (Κρητης)]. CRETANS. The largest and southernmost island in the Aegean Sea. Crete is 156 miles from E to W and 35 miles from N to S (at its broadest point). Mountains, reaching to 7882 feet, run the length of the island. By the 2d century B.C. a formidable Jewish constituency appeared on the island of Crete (Tac. *Hist.* 5. 2) which was centered in the area of Gortyna, lying in Crete's Messara plain. When the Cretans began oppressing the Jews, the latter secured Roman patronage (141 B.C.) and the Romans considered them to be loyal subjects (1 Macc 15:23). From this time through the New Testament era the Cretan Jews continued to flourish. Paul commissioned Titus to oversee the ministry on Crete, and to counteract Judaizing tendencies (Titus 1:5–14). In 67 B.C., Rome finally annexed Crete and Cyrene (Libya); they remained a joint Roman province until Constantine separated them.

Archaeology has revealed a flourishing Minoan civilization on Crete which reached its zenith in the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1700–1450 B.C.). Sir Arthur Evans headed these excavations, focusing on the central city of Knossos, which contains the palace of legendary King Minos. Similar labyrinthine palaces have been found at Mallia, Phaestos, and Zakro. Evans discovered Linear A and B tablets, but only the latter have been deciphered (by Michael Ventris in 1953), proving to be an archaic form of Gk. The Minoan civilization came to an end with a Myceneaen domination, and the cataclysmic eruption of Thera. The subsequent Dorian invasions ushered in Crete's Iron Age (ca. 1200 B.C.). From this time on, Crete was only known for its mercenary soldiers and traders until the Roman annexation.

The Cretan poet Epimenides (ca. 600 B.C.) describes all Cretans as "liars, evil brutes, and lazy gluttons" (quoted both in Titus 1:12 and Acts 17:28). This characterization is found in several ancient sources, e.g., Livy *Epit. Per.* 44:45; Callimachus *Jov.* 8; and Plutarch *Aem* 23. Evidently, after several generations of living in the turbulence of Cretan culture, these characteristics became manifest in the Cretan Jews as well (Titus 3:1).

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JERRY A. PATTENGALE

**CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.** See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES.

**CRISPUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Krispos* (Κρισπος)]. A Corinthian Jew and ruler of the synagogue who, together with all his household, believed in the Lord because of Paul's preaching (Acts 18:8; 1 Cor 1:14). Crispus is named first, preceding Gaius and the household of Stephanas, as one of the few people baptized by Paul himself (1 Cor 1:14). For that reason, he was probably partial to Paul's position in the disputes among the Corinthians. As a ruler of the synagogue (Gk *archisynagogos*), Crispus' role was to see that

services were conducted in the proper order, to take care of the building, to cover the cost for its upkeep, and possibly to finance the construction of a new synagogue building (see Fee *1 Corinthians* NICNT, 62–63). Hence, he was probably a well-to-do person and highly respected by the Jewish community. His own conversion to Christianity probably led to the conversion not only of his household, but also to that of others from the synagogue. Among the Corinthians he knew, the "worshipper of God" Titius Justus, who lived next door to the synagogue, would have to be included.

Also named as a ruler of presumably the same Corinthian synagogue is Sosthenes (Acts 18:17). While synagogues normally had just one such leader, some had two or more for a time (cf. Acts 13:15). Thus it is not certain whether Crispus was the colleague or predecessor of Sosthenes. A conclusion often drawn—that Sosthenes became ruler because of Crispus' conversion—should be closely examined, for it cannot be assumed that at this early date a synagogue leader who became a Christian had to be replaced. Whatever the case, Paul felt it necessary to withdraw from that particular synagogue because of the opposition he faced (cf. Acts 18:6–7). It is probable that his converts, Crispus among them, followed suit by their own choice because of the animosity experienced.

JOHN GILLMAN

**CRITICISM, BIBLICAL.** See the BIBLICAL CRITICISM articles.

**CROCUS.** See FLORA.

**CROW.** See ZOOLOGY.

**CROWN.** See JEWELRY.

**CRUCIFIXION.** The act of nailing or binding a living victim or sometimes a dead person to a cross or stake (*stauros* or *skolops*) or a tree *(xylon).* Generally Herodotus uses the verb *anaskolopizein* of living persons and *anastauroun* of corpses. After him the verbs become synonyms, "to crucify." Josephus uses only *(ana)stauroun,* Philo only *anaskolopizein.* The verb *stauroun* occurs frequently in the NT, which always employs *stauros* and never *skolops* for the cross of Christ (see *TDNT* 7:572–84).

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A. Crucifixion among Non-Romans
B. Crucifixion under the Romans
C. Forms of Crucifixion
D. Jesus' Crucifixion
E. Christian Interpretations of the Crucifixion

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**A. Crucifixion among Non-Romans**

In his *History,* Herodotus notes that the Persians practiced crucifixion as a form of execution (1.128.2; 3.125.3; 3.132.2; 3.159.1). He reports that Darius (512–485 B.C.) had 3000 inhabitants of Babylon crucified. Other ancient sources, which are not necessarily reliable, speak of the use of crucifixion among the people of India (Diod. Sic. 2.18.1), the Assyrians (*ibid.* 2.1.10; Lucian *Iupp. Trag.* 16), the Scythians (Diod. Sic. 2.44.2; Tert. *Adv. Marc.* 1.1.3), the Taurians (Eur. *IT* 1429–30), and the Thracians (Diod. Sic. 33.15.1; 34/35.12.1). Diodorus Siculus says that the Celts crucified criminals as a sacrifice to the gods (5.32.6). According to Tacitus, the Germans (*Ann.* 1.61.4; 4.72.3; *Germ.* 12.1) and the Britons (*Ann.* 14.33.2) practiced crucifixion. Sallust (*Iug.* 14.15) and Julius Caesar (*B Civ.* 66) report that the Numidians used this form of execution. According to many sources (e.g., Polyb. 1.11.5; 24.6; 79.4–5; 86.4; Diod. Sic. 25.5.2; 10.2; 26.23.1; Livy 22.13.9; 28.37.2; 38.48.13), the Carthaginians employed crucifixion. The Romans may have taken over the practice from them.

In the Greek-speaking world, criminals were at times fastened to a flat board *(tympanum)* for public display, torture, or execution. This form of punishment closely resembled crucifixion whenever the victims were nailed to the planks. According to Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius I of Syracuse captured and crucified some Greek mercenaries employed by the Carthaginians (14.53.4). Alexander the Great repeatedly resorted to crucifixion. On one occasion he had 2000 survivors from the siege of Tyre crucified. "Then the anger of the king offered a sad spectacle to the victors. Two thousand persons, for

whose killing the general madness had spent itself, hung fixed to crosses over a huge stretch of the shore" (Curtius Rufus *Hist. Alex.* 4.4.17). After Alexander's death Greece itself witnessed mass crucifixions. In 314 B.C. an administrator of Alexander's kingdom quashed a rebellion in the city of Sicyon (near Corinth) and had thirty of its inhabitants crucified (Diod. Sic. 19.67.2). In 303 B.C., after their town fell to Demetrius Poliorcetes, the commander of Orchomenus (in Arcadia) and eighty of his men were crucified (*ibid.* 20.103.6). Under Antiochus IV in 267 B.C. Judea saw the crucifixion of men who remained faithful to the Jewish law (Joseph. *Ant* 12 §256). During the pre-Roman, Hellenistic period in the Greek-speaking East, crucifixion was practiced in the context of war or for acts of high treason. After Roman rule arrived, crucifixion was also used as a punishment for slaves and violent criminals. As Plutarch (ca. A.D. 46–120) remarks, "every criminal condemned to death bears his cross on his back" (*Mor.* 554 A/B).

Among Jews, crucifixion was occasionally practiced during the Hellenistic-Hasmonean period. The Sadducean high priest, Alexander Janneus (in office 103–76 B.C.), had 800 Pharisees crucified and ordered their wives and children to be slaughtered before their eyes as they hung dying (Joseph. *Ant* 13 §380–83; *JW* 1 §97–98). According to Jewish law, the corpses of executed idolaters and blasphemers were hanged on a tree to show that they were accursed by God (Deut 21:22–23). In pre-Christian Palestine this text of Deuteronomy was applied to those who died by crucifixion, as the *pesher* of Nahum from Qumran Cave 4 shows. Another Qumran document (11QTemple 64:6–13) also connects Deuteronomy 21:23 with crucifixion, which was apparently an Essene punishment for some very serious crimes.

**B. Crucifixion under the Romans**

Cicero calls crucifixion the *summum supplicium* or most extreme form of punishment (*Verr.* 2.5.168). Josephus, who witnessed men dying by crucifixion during Titus' siege of Jerusalem, calls it "the most wretched of deaths" (*JW* 7 §203). In order of increasing severity, the aggravated methods of execution were *decollatio* (decapitation), *crematio* (burning), and crucifixion. At times *damnatio ad bestias* (throwing victims to wild animals) took the place of decapitation, but one needed the animals and an arena to organize such a form of execution. Crucifixion was much easier to carry out and could also serve as a public spectacle. For example, at the time of Caligula (A.D. 37–41) under the prefect Flaccus some Jews were tortured and crucified in the amphitheatre of Alexandria to entertain the people (Philo *Flacc* 72.84–85).

Among the Persians and to some degree in Greece, as we have seen, crucifixion could be a punishment for grave crimes against the state. At times the Carthaginians crucified generals and admirals who had been defeated or had failed in other such ways. Very occasionally Roman citizens were crucified for high treason, desertion during wartime, and similar serious offenses. For instance, just before the outbreak of the Jewish War in A.D. 66, the Roman procurator Gessius Florus had some Jews who were Roman knights flogged and crucified in Jerusalem (Josephus *JW* 2 §308). But normally Roman citizens and, in particular, members of the upper class were safe from the possibility of crucifixion, no matter what their crimes. Death on the cross generally was limited to foreigners and people of the lower class, particularly slaves.

In 63 B.C. Rabirius, a Roman nobleman and senator, was threatened with the penalty of crucifixion. In defending him Cicero argued that the very mention of the "cross" and of the executioner (who tied the criminal's hands, veiled his head, and crucified him) was intolerable for a respectable Roman citizen.

> How grievous a thing it is to be disgraced by a public court; how grievous to suffer a fine, how grievous to suffer banishment; and yet in the midst of any such disaster we retain some degree of liberty. Even if we are threatened with death, we may die free men. But the executioner, the veiling of the head and *the very word* "*cross*" should be far removed not only from the person of a Roman citizen but his thoughts, his eyes and his ears. For it is not only the actual occurrence of these things but *the very mention of them*, that is unworthy of a Roman citizen and a free man (*Rab. Perd.* 16; italics added).

This speech reflected the horrified disgust which "good" Roman citizens felt for any of their own being subjected to, or even threatened with, crucifixion. For such people, crucifixion was "that most cruel and disgusting penalty," (*crudelissimum taeterrimumque supplicium;* Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.165).

The Romans used crucifixion to bring mutinous troops under control, to break the will of conquered peoples, and to wear down rebellious cities under siege. Dangerous and violent robbers could be crucified—often near or at the scene of their crimes. Quintilian (ca. 35–95 A.D.) approved of crucifixion as a penalty for such criminals, and thought that this form of execution had a better deterrent effect when the crosses were set up along the busiest roads. "Whenever we crucify the guilty, the most crowded roads are chosen, where the most people can see and be moved by this fear. For penalties relate not so much to retribution as to their exemplary effect" (*Decl.* 274). The Romans used crucifixion above all as the *servile supplicium* ("the slaves' punishment"), a terrible form of execution typically inflicted on slaves, (*servitutis extremum summumque supplicium;* Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.169).

Plautus (d. 184 B.C.), who happens to be the first writer to provide evidence about Roman crucifixions, has more to say about the theme than any other Latin author. He writes of the "terrible cross" of slaves (*Poen.* 347; see *Capt.* 469; *Cas.* 611; *Men.* 66, 859; *Pers.* 352; *Rud.* 518; *Trin.* 598), and reflects the grim gallows humor of their subculture. From his time on, the lower classes used "*crux*" as a vulgar taunt. The much-quoted confession of Sceledrus in *Miles Gloriosus* (written about 205 B.C.) suggests that for a long time before Plautus slaves had been frequently crucified: "I know the cross will be my grave: that is where my ancestors are, my father, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, great-great-grandfathers" (372–73).

Livy reports that twenty-five slaves made a conspiracy in Rome (in 217 B.C.) and were crucified (22.33.2). In 196 B.C. the leaders of a slave revolt in Etruria were crucified (Livy 33.36.3). Especially during the 2d century B.C., crucifixion was used to deter rebellions among the masses of slaves who lived in Rome or worked on the great estates elsewhere in Italy. According to Orosius (5.9.4), the first slave war in Sicily (139–132 B.C.) saw the crucifixion of 450 slaves. Appian (*BCiv.* 1.120) states that after the final defeat and death of Spartacus in 71 B.C., Crassus had more than 6000 slaves crucified along the Via Appia between Capua and Rome.

Even under "ordinary" conditions slaves had little legal protection. Juvenal describes the Roman matron who wanted a slave crucified and overrode her husband's objections with the notorious response: *Hoc volo, sic iubeo, sit pro ratione volantas* ("This is my will and my command. If you are looking for a reason, it is simply that I want it" (*Sat.* 6.223). Horace may condemn a master who had his slave crucified for tasting the soup while bringing it from the kitchen (*Sat.* 1.3.80–83), but he can also toss off a cruel remark about slaves "feeding crows on the cross" (*Ep.* 1.16.46–48). At the time of Nero a decree of the Senate revived the custom of executing (often by crucifixion) all the slaves of a household if the master was killed (Tac. *Ann.* 13.32.1). A few years later this was done after the murder of a city prefect (ibid. 14.42–45). A slave called Mithridates was crucified for "having damned the soul" of Caligula (Petron. *Sat.* 53.3). Slaves who questioned astrologers about the future of the emperor, of the state, or even that of their own masters faced crucifixion (Paulus *Sent.* 5.21.3–4). Suetonius says that Caligula (*Calig.* 12.2) and Domitian (*Dom.* 11.1) capriciously crucified imperial slaves and even freedmen. In his *Histories* Tacitus reports the crucifixion of several freedmen (2.72.2; 4.3.2; 4.11.3).

Cicero (see above), Seneca (see below) and other Romans recognized that crucifixion was an atrociously cruel form of execution. Yet Varro (*Sat. Men. Fr.* 24) was practically alone in protesting against the barbarism of crucifixion. Most took it for granted that this frequent form of execution was needed to deter the lower classes from committing serious crimes. Although crucifixion was frequent in Roman times, cultured writers preferred to say little about it. Unlike Josephus, Tacitus does not mention the innumerable crucifixions in Palestine (*Hist.* 5.8–13).

**C. Forms of Crucifixion**

Generally the victims were crucified alive; at times it was a matter of displaying the corpse of someone already executed in another way. Polycrates of Samos exemplifies the latter case. He was treacherously seized by the Persian satrap Oroites, killed "in an unspeakably cruel way," and his body fastened to a stake (Hdt. 3.125.3). Whether living or already dead, the victims suffered a degrading loss of all dignity by being bound or nailed to a stake. Herodotus offers a few details when reporting the way the satrap Artayctes was crucified by the Athenians at the Hellespont: "They nailed him to planks and hung him

there. And they stoned Artayctes' son before his eyes" (9.120). Normally ancient writers were reluctant to describe particular crucifixions in much detail.

Under the Roman Empire, crucifixion normally included a flogging beforehand. At times the cross was only one vertical stake. Frequently, however, there was a cross-piece attached either at the top to give the shape of a "T" *(crux commissa)* or just below the top, as in the form most familiar in Christian symbolism *(crux immissa).* The victims carried the cross or at least a transverse beam *(patibulum)* to the place of execution, where they were stripped and bound or nailed to the beam, raised up, and seated on a *sedile* or small wooden peg in the upright beam. Ropes bound the shoulders or torso to the cross. The feet or heels of the victims were bound or nailed to the upright stake. As crucifixion damaged no vital organs, death could come slowly, sometimes after several days of atrocious pain. See also *IDBSup,* 199–200.

Executioners could vary the form of punishment, as Seneca the Younger indicates: "I see crosses there, not just of one kind but made in many different ways: some have their victims with head down to the ground; some impale their private parts; others stretch out their arms on the gibbet" (*Dial.* 6 [*Cons. Marc.*] 20.3). In his account of what happened to Jewish fugitives from Jerusalem, Josephus also lets us see that there was no fixed pattern for crucifying people. Much depended on the sadistic ingenuity of the moment.

> When they [the fugitives] were going to be taken [by the Romans], they were forced to offer resistance, and when the fighting ended it seemed too late to sue for mercy. Scourged and subjected before death to every torture, they were finally crucified in view of the wall [of Jerusalem]. Titus indeed realized the horror of what was happening, for every day 500—sometimes even more—fell into his hands. However, it was not safe to let men captured by force go free, and to guard such a host of prisoners would tie up a great proportion of his troops. But his chief reason for not stopping the slaughter was the hope that the sight of it would perhaps induce the Jews to surrender in order to avoid the same fate. The soldiers themselves through rage and bitterness nailed up their victims in different postures as a grim joke, till owing to the vast numbers there was no room for the crosses and no crosses for the bodies (*JW* 5 §449–51).

Nero's persecution of the Christians in Rome exemplified a similar capricious cruelty: "Mockery of every sort was added to their deaths. Covered with the skins of wild beasts, they were torn to death by dogs. Or they were fastened on crosses and, when daylight faded, were burned to serve as lamps by night" (Tac. *Ann.* 15.44.4).

In the course of a debate on happiness, Plato's *Gorgias* indicates various kinds of torture that a condemned man might suffer before dying by crucifixion:

> If a man is caught in a criminal plot to make himself tyrant, and when caught is put to the rack and mutilated and has his eyes burnt out and after himself suffering and seeing his wife and children suffer many many other signal outrages of various kinds, is finally crucified or burned on a coat of pitch, will he be happier than if he escaped arrest, established himself as a tyrant and lived the rest of his life a sovereign in his state, doing what he pleased, an object of envy and felicitation among citizens and strangers alike? (473 bc).

Different tortures that could precede crucifixion appear again when Plato describes the fate, not of a would-be tyrant, but of the perfectly just man: "The just man will have to be scourged, racked, fettered, blinded, and finally, after the most extreme suffering, he will be crucified" (*Resp.* 361e–362a).

In Epistle 101 to Lucilius, Seneca argues that it is better to commit suicide than face such extreme and drawn-out suffering as death by crucifixion. To press his argument he describes what such a death was like:

> Can anyone be found who would prefer wasting away in pain dying limb by limb, or letting out his life drop by drop, rather than expiring once for all? Can any man be found willing to be fastened to the accursed tree, long sickly, already deformed, swelling with ugly weals on shoulders and chest, and drawing the breath of life amid long-drawn-out agony? He would have many excuses for dying even before mounting the cross.

**D. Jesus' Crucifixion**

All four gospels record that Jesus foretold his own death. Matthew specifies that it would be by crucifixion (Matt 20:19; 26:2) and that some of Jesus' followers would suffer the same fate (Matt 23:34).

Jesus' crucifixion is recounted in Matthew 27; Mark 15; Luke 23; and John 19; and is often referred to elsewhere in the NT (e.g., Acts 2:36, 4:10; 1 Cor 2:8; Gal 3:1; Rev 11:8). According to the Synoptics, Simon of Cyrene was forced to carry Jesus' cross. The crucifixion took place at Golgotha or "Place of a skull." It seems that Jesus was nailed to the cross by his hands (Luke 24:39; John 20:25) and feet (Luke 24:39). Two robbers were crucified on either side of Jesus, whose cross carried a sign saying "the King of the Jews," indicating the crime for which he was being executed. Jesus refused the drugged wine offered to deaden his pain. He was taunted by some of the passers-by, used the opening words of Psalm 22 to cry out "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" and died around three in the afternoon—his death being hastened by the severe scourging he had previously undergone. With Pontius Pilate's permission, Joseph of Arimathea took Jesus' corpse down from the cross and gave it honorable burial.

Beyond doubt, devout reflection on Jesus' death and the desire to find prophetic anticipations of it introduced some details into the passion narratives. Nevertheless, the version just given is a defensible historical account of his crucifixion.

As we saw above, the Romans frequently employed the sadistically cruel and utterly shameful death by crucifixion to uphold civil authority and preserve law and order against troublesome criminals, slaves, and rebels. In Palestine crucifixion was a public reminder of Jewish servitude to a foreign power.

Hence Jesus' cross was a sign of extreme "shame" (Heb 12:2). Paul did not exaggerate when he called the crucified Christ "a stumbling block to Jews and folly to Gentiles" (1 Cor 1:23; see 2:2; Gal 5:11). Nothing in the OT or in other Jewish sources suggests that the Messiah could suffer such a fate. On the contrary, a crucified person—so far from being chosen, anointed, and sent by God—was understood to be cursed by God (see A. above). The nonbelievers it seemed "sheer folly" (1 Cor 1:18) to proclaim the crucified Jesus as God's Son, universal Lord, and coming Judge of the world. The extreme dishonor of his death by crucifixion counted against any such claims. A century after Paul, Justin Martyr (ca. 100–65) noted how utterly offensive it was to acknowledge the divine status of a crucified man: "They say that our madness consists in the fact that we put a crucified man in second place after the unchangeable and eternal God, the Creator of the world" (1 *Apol.* 13.4). In a liturgical rather than an apologetical setting, Melito of Sardis (died ca. 190) also recognized the strange "scandal" of Christian faith in the crucified Jesus.

> He who hung the earth [in its place] hangs there, he who fixed the heavens is fixed there, he who made all things fast is made fast upon the tree, the Master has been insulted, God has been murdered, the King of Israel has been slain by an Israelite hand. O strange murder, strange crime! The Master has been treated in unseemly fashion, his body naked, and not even deemed worthy of a covering that [his nakedness] might not be seen. Therefore the lights [of heaven] turned away, and the day darkened, that it might hide him who was stripped upon the cross (*Pass.* 96–97).

The utter disgrace of crucifixion encouraged Celsus to dismiss derisively the redemptive role of Jesus, who had been "bound in the most ignominious fashion" and "executed in a shameful way" (Origen *Cels.* 6.10). Gnostic docetism eliminated the scandal of the death on the cross by alleging that the living, spiritual Christ remained untouched and laughed when his image was crucified (e.g., *Apoc. Pet.* 82.1–83.15). Against such theorizing Ignatius of Antioch insisted that Christ did not merely appear to suffer but was "truly crucified" (*Trall.* 9.1).

Nothing expresses more forcefully the paradoxical Christian claims about the crucified Jesus than the hymn in Philippians 2:6–11. Whether it existed as a pre-Pauline element or was added by Paul himself, the phrase "even death on a cross" (2:8) presents the extreme contrast between Christ's glory (2:9–11), on the one hand, and the shameful death when he was crucified like a slave *(supplicium servile),* on the other.

**E. Christian Interpretations of the Crucifixion**

Paul sees in the crucifixion the revelation of Jesus' obedience (Phil 2:8) and love (Gal 2:20). The crucifixion discloses God's power and wisdom (1 Cor 1:24; 2 Cor 13:4). It brings deliverance from sin (Col 2:14) and "the curse of the Law" (Gal 3:13); it effects reconciliation and peace (Col 1:20; Eph 2:16).

Becoming Jesus' follower means the crucifixion of one's former, sinful self (Rom 6:6; Gal 2:20; 6:14). The Law has no more claim on those who have died with Christ (Gal 2:19). They renounce sin and leave behind the ungodly world (Gal 6;14). Paul is persecuted because in these terms he accepts and preaches the cross of Christ (Gal 6:12).

To convey what discipleship metaphorically (and sometimes literally) entailed, the Synoptic Gospels spoke of "taking up one's cross" and following Jesus (Mark 8:34; Matt 10:38; 16:24; Luke 9:23; 14:27). "Taking up one's cross" may have been a profane and/or Zealot expression which then was applied to Christian discipleship. For the Synoptics it meant saying no to oneself, accepting suffering, and even surrendering one's life for and with Jesus—in short, being a cross bearer all one's life.

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**CRUSE** [Heb *ṣappaḥat* (צַפַּחַת)]. A translation for a Hebrew word which in several other passages is rendered "jar" (1 Sam 26:11, 12, 16; 2 Kgs 19:6). As "jar," the Hebrew term clearly designates a water container and probably refers to the two-handled lentoid containers known as pilgrim flasks. Such containers are found archaeologically in Late Bronze through Iron II contexts (for illustrations, see Amiran 1969: 166–67, 276; pls. 51, 93–95; Photos 167, 168, 296–98). The biblical passages which use the term for "jar" indicate its portability. The 1 Samuel verses suggest that it functioned as a canteen for soldiers. Travelers too would have carried water in canteens since the mouth of the flask was narrow and convenient for drinking and stoppering (Kelso 1948: 30).

The pilgrim flask makes the most sense as the ceramic vessel meant by *ṣappaḥat,* since the root of that word in other Semitic languages apparently involves flattening or spreading out. The Arabic cognate, e.g., means "to make wide, broad." However, the term *ṣappaḥat* is also used to designate a different vessel, a container used for oil in the story of the oil jar of Elijah and the widow of Zarephath in 1 Kings 17. In that context, it refers to a small container, which contained just a little oil. If this be so, "cruse" designates a small cruet-size ceramic vessel meant for oil as opposed to the larger oil jar (*ʾāsûk;* 2 Kgs 4:2), or to a large storage jar *(nebel)* that could hold oil but also grain or wine. Small juglets used to dip water or to hold oil or another commodity appear in archaeological contexts going back to the Early Bronze Age. Early in the Iron II period, the time of Elijah and the widow's cruse, such small juglets were often black (a black burnished slip) and had rounded bodies, long narrow necks, and handles attached at the middle of the neck (Amiran 1969: 256, 258; pl. 86:12–13; 87:13).

The biblical story of the oil cruse contributes to the characterization of Elijah as a prophetic figure with special powers from God. During a drought, Elijah asks a widow for food and drink. She protests that her supplies are meager (only "a little oil in a cruse," 2 Kgs 17:12). Elijah then assures her that her supplies will not be used up until God ends the drought and her stores can be replenished; and indeed, the cruse of oil [did not] fail" (1 Kgs 17:16).

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**CTESIAS.** Fifth-century Greek physician in the Persian court who authored a history of Persia *(Persika)* in twenty-three books, a geographical treatise *(Periodos)* in three books, and a book about India (*Indika)*.

Scion of a medical family from Cnidus in Asia Minor, Ctesias sojourned for several years in the court of Artaxerxes II. His biography still admits a few obscurities. One of his users, Diodorus of Sicily, thus presents his source in the *Historical Library:* "Ctesias of Cnidus lived during the time of Cyrus'

expedition against his brother Artaxerxes; he was taken prisoner, and as he had distinguished himself by his medical knowledge, he was received at the king's court, where he lived seventeen years heaped with honors" (2.32.4). The details here are not clear, however. Diodorus suggests that Ctesias was made a prisoner at the Battle of Cunaxa, possibly in 405, while it is known from other sources that Ctesias' residence in Persia ended in 398. That is why it has been frequently proposed that Diodorus' texts should be corrected to read seven years instead of seventeen. But doubts continue because other sources seem to indicate that Ctesias was part of the royal entourage even before Cunaxa. Photius notes elsewhere that Ctesias attained his *acme* (40 years of age for the Greeks) at the time of Cyrus II (that is, between 408 and 401 B.C.E.); Ctesias thus probably was born around 445.

In the course of his service at the Persian court, he amassed materials for his works that he drafted after his return to Cnidus. Among his known works figures the *Indika*, a sort of ethnographic description of India, of the country and its inhabitants. (A somewhat fantastic ethnography, as notes the epitomizer Photius.) Two other of his works have unfortunately disappeared almost totally; not even the contents would be known if not for the scattered citations made by later authors to whom Athanaeus refers. One of these books gave an account of the stages and relays on the royal road between Ephesus, Bactria, and India. Even the title of the work shows that Ctesias had an administrative and geographical horizon greater than that of Herodotus, who limited the Royal Way to the itinerary between Sardis and Susa. It is not impossible that Ctesias could have used official sources on the subject.

The other book—*Phoroi*—went into particulars of the produce levied by the royal administration to provision the Royal Table. It is an interesting testimony to the ideology of tribute in the Achaemenid empire. Ctesias possibly had access in this case as well to official registers preserved at the court.

His most important work for the historian of ancient Persia was a history of the dynasties that succeeded from Ninos to Semiramis until Artaxerxes II. It is entitled *Persika*, but in reality the first 6 books, extensively cited by Diodorus, concern the history of Assyria. Only books 7 through 23 can be properly considered *Persika* in the strictest sense of the term. Of the 18 books that form this work, 6 of them were dedicated to the activity of the first Persian kings: Cyrus, Cambyses, the magi, Darius, and Xerxes (ca. 550–465). Books 16–17 deal with the reign of Artaxerxes I (465–424). Books 18–20 deal with the reigns of Xerxes II, Sogdianos, and Darius II (424–405/4). Finally the last 3 books (20–23) were devoted to the first seven years (405/4–398) of Artaxerxes II's long reign.

The use of this work poses many problems for historians. Foremost, we don't have access to the text composed by Ctesias' own hand. Outside of a few scattered fragments, we have available only a copious summary compiled by the Byzantine patriarch Photius in the 9th century C.E. It is not always easy to distinguish what belonged to the original work and what has been given prominence by the selection of the abridger. Nonetheless, it appears clear that Photius did not disturb the general structure of the work, which is organized according to a strict annalistic framework, from king to king. The relative importance accorded to each reign seems to derive from Ctesias himself.

Since antiquity, the credibility of Ctesias' information has been doubted. Plutarch, who relied on him heavily in preparing his *Life of Artaxerxes*, criticizes him several times; for, according to him, Ctesias "had introduced in his works incredible and extravagant tales." Photius too stresses Ctesias' tendency toward fabrication, in particular in his work on India. One can point out numerous errors in his accounts of the reigns of earlier kings, in particular in the narrative of the Median Wars; he even inverted the battles of Salamis and Platea! The errors result in part, no doubt, from Ctesias' undisguised desire to polemicize with Herodotus in order to better compete with him. But the comparison is most often to the advantage of the historian of Halicarnassus. For all that, the opposition between the two historians need not be maintained in a systematic fashion. Herodotus resorts to stories and fables too. For example, there is no reason to choose between the respective versions of Herodotus and Ctesias on the origins of Cyrus: both transmit one of the many versions of the legend of the dynast that circulated in their day. In short, to borrow A. Momigliano's expression, there isn't just invention in Ctesias: he is above all marked by the tradition with which he familiarized himself during his days in the Achaemenid court.

It is clear, in fact, that Ctesias did not simply use the works of his precursors. He also did original work. On which documents did he rely? Diodorus tells that Ctesias himself acknowledged using the royal annals; but such a claim seems hardly plausible, least of all for the *Persika;* it had above all the aim of conferring upon the work a pseudoscientific character. Moreover, Photius takes account of nothing but oral testimony: "Ctesias pretends to have seen with his own eyes most of the facts that he records and to have heard them from the Persians themselves when he wasn't a direct witness: it is from these sources that he would have constructed his history." The recourse to oral sources can only cast doubt. Ctesias explicitly indicates as much himself, in making reference to information given by the queen Parysatis, whose health he looked after. Everything also leads one to believe that the long tormented history of Megabyzus was elaborated from information given by representatives of the family: the narrative form given to the story of Megabyzus also contradicts the oral tradition recognizable in numerous passages of *Persika*.

One can only note as well the central importance accorded to the actions and deeds of the kings, queens, and eunuchs. It has less to do with Persian history than with tales of struggles for succession and conflicts of factions within the court. But one should not ask of Ctesias what he never dreamed of offering. In all, his contribution is far from negligible. It can be shown, for example, that the account he gives of the troubled period begun by the assassination of Artaxerxes I and ended by the succession of Ochos-Darius II is in agreement with the conclusions that one can infer from the analysis of Babylonian tablets. In a more general way, he furnishes irreplaceable information on the royal family and on periods of succession.

Historians today have a tendency to accord only little value to Ctesias' information. It is true that comparison with Herodotus and Thucydides devaluates considerably his accounts of the Median Wars or of the struggle between the Athenians and the Persians in Egypt, to give only two examples. But one must remember that the objective of Ctesias was not to write a Persian history in the sense that we understand it. Living at the court, he writes chronologically ordered histories centering around kings and princesses, officers of the court, and nobles. Hence the importance given, for example, to Megabyzus; such a story allows one to show in a quasi-emblematic manner that the power of a noble, as powerful as he might be, depended exclusively on royal favor. It was also a story about a tragic destiny to which Ctesias knew he could attract impassioned readers. In the account of Megabyzus' return from exile, Greek readers could even find a plot close to a model that the return of Ulysses to Ithaca had made familiar to them.

Historiographically, the greatest damage caused by Ctesias comes from the presentation that he give of political life at the Persian court, which he presents as dominated by palace intrigues led by queens and eunuchs who manipulated incapable and irresolute kings. The work is thus dominated by a series of feminine protagonists, in general not very sympathetic; this is particularly true of Parysatis, sister-spouse of Darius II, all of whose actions seem to be inspired by a desire for vengeance against the enemies of his dead son Cyrus and against the representatives of the family of Hydernes, including his own daughter-in-law, the queen Stateira, whose horrible assassination at the hands of Parysatis Ctesias narrates in detail. In doing this, Ctesias conferred on the Persian princesses a political authority that they had never had. In addition, he was one of the creators of the myth of "Persian decadence," which is witnessed in particular by the feminization of the palaces. This myth was obligingly developed after his example by other authors like Plato, Xenophon, and Isocrates, and willingly taken up again in the modern age. This interpretation corresponds to a Hellenocentric vision of the history of the Near East, exacerbated by Greco-Persian conflicts of the 4th century.

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**CUB** (PLACE). See LIBYA.

**CUBIT.** See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**CUCUMBER.** See FLORA.

**CUMMIN.** See FLORA.

**CUN** (PLACE) [Heb *kûn* (כּוּן)]. Town from which David took much bronze after his defeat of Hadadezer of the kingdom of Zobah in 1 Chr 18:8 (= 2 Sam 8:8). Instead of Cun, 2 Sam 8:8 mentions Berothai. Cun is, according to Albright (1934: 60), the *Ku-nú* found in a catalogue of Ramesses III. The mention in Roman sources of towns named *Conna* and *Cunna* in the N Beqaʿ Valley of Lebanon at or near Rās Baalbek (34°16′N; 36°28′E) has led many scholars to equate the latter with Cun. Dussaud (1927: 271) accepts that *Conna* may be Rās Baalbek, but he argues that *Cunna* is identical with neither of these. Intense survey of Rās Baalbek in 1972 yielded only a few sherds of the Iron Age or earlier (Müller 1976: 93). Rās Baalbek should not be confused with Baalbek (34°00′N; 36°13′E) about 20 miles to the S. Josephus (*Ant* 7.105) renders the place in 1 Chr 18:8 as *Machōni,* indicating that the *mem,* which the MT regards as a preposition, may be part of the name. Accordingly, one should not overlook the Bronze and Iron Age site of Tell Maqna (34°05′N; 36°13′E), known also as *Mighni* in various sources (cf. Dussaud 1927: 553), as a possible location of the place in 1 Chr 18:8.

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**CUNEIFORM.** From the Lat for "wedge-shaped," the term describes writing systems in which signs were rapidly impressed with a reed stylus on a soft writing surface. The native terms for cuneiform writing, Sum GU-SUM = Akk *miḫiltum/mihiṣtum/mihištum* (Vanstiphout 1988), refer to the stroke of the stylus. The most suitable and ubiquitous writing material was clay; over 99 percent of all cuneiform documents are clay tablets (rarely other shapes, such as cones, prisms, barrels, or vessels) ranging in size from 2×2 cm to 30×30 cm. The only other suitable medium for accepting the stroke of the stylus was wax; wax-covered writing boards are attested from the 2d millennium (one was recently found in a Bronze Age shipwreck off the Turkish coast), and were extensively used in the 1st millennium (Parpola 1983), from which, however, only one, plus some fragments of others, have survived (*RLA* 4: 458–9). For purposes of commemoration or identification, cuneiform signs could be chiseled into stone, engraved in metal, and painted or scratched on wood or ceramic. The cuneiform writing system was used from ca. 3100 B.C. into the first century of this era, originally and finally in Babylonia, but at various times in Iran, Upper Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Armenia, Syria, Palestine, Cyprus, and Egypt.

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A. Origin and Development
B. Linguistic, Geographic, and Generic Extension
C. Decipherment
D. Myth of Origin and Divine Patrons
E. Cuneiform in Palestine

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**A. Origin and Development**

The widely publicized theories of D. Schmandt-Besserat (1986, 1988), building on the work of P. Amiet, call our attention to small clay tokens found at sites throughout the Near East from the 9th to 2d millennia, which she claims are the earliest form of human record-keeping. Certain tokens are even said to be the direct forerunners of specific cuneiform signs, but these identifications, except for certain numerical signs which may well go back to token shapes, remain highly speculative. However, Schmandt-Besserat has been able to reconstruct a remarkable and convincing sequence that, beginning in the mid-4th millennium, leads from a crude system of numerical notation to the first cuneiform documents.

The sequence begins with hollow clay balls containing clay tokens of various shapes, which have been impressed on the balls before the balls were sealed. The number and shape of the tokens inside the ball matches the impressions on the outside, and one or more seals may have been rolled over the ball. The tokens record a transaction, and have been sealed in the ball to protect the integrity of the record, but have usually also been impressed on the outside for easy consultation. The seal impressions would prevent both tampering with the token impressions and the undetected opening of the clay ball. It was soon recognized that the seal impressions alone could, when necessary, secure the integrity of the impressed numerical data. The tokens were no longer necessary, and the clumsy ball could be flattened into a cushion-shaped tablet. Both tokens and impressions signified quantities, perhaps of specific commodities. Additional information pertaining to the object of the transaction or the individuals and organizations responsible for it were conveyed by the seals (Dittmann 1986). These clay balls and impressed tablets are known best from late 4th millennium Uruk and Susa, but they have also been found at various sites along an arc stretching from the great bend of the Euphrates to southeastern Iran, in assemblages that characterize the Uruk Expansion (Algaze 1989).

The contrast between the clay balls and numerical tablets, and even the earliest inscribed tablets, is striking. They have numerical notation in common, but the inscribed tablets, in addition, have an array of complex signs that is vastly more capable of signifying people, organizations, operations, and commodities than any system of tokens or tokenlike impressions and fixed seal impressions. The elaboration of this writing system was effected by the extension of the substitution of stylus impression for token evidenced in the numerical tablets, to the use of the stylus to produce the kind of pictorial and symbolic representations heretofore best known from seals (Buccellati 1981).

The earliest tablets appear at Uruk around 3100 B.C. (Nissen's Stage IV; see Nissen 1986a–b; Green and Nissen 1987). The bulk of the archaic tablets from Uruk follow immediately on these earliest tablets, and are similar to archaic tablets found outside of Uruk at Jemdet Nasr, Tell ʿUqair, and Tell Asmar (Nissen's Stage III). The presence of the earliest type at Uruk only seems to confirm Uruk as the point of origin for the writing system, which fits well with Uruk's position as the largest urban center, by far, in Babylon at the end of the 4th millennium. The increasing economic and political complexity of urban society was the prime stimulus for the development and implementation of the information storage system represented by the tablets. Curiously, in its archaic stages, cuneiform writing never spread beyond Babylonia to the areas that had been so heavily influenced by Babylonia in previous periods (Algaze 1989), although Elam developed a different archaic writing system of its own, probably through stimulus diffusion from Babylonia (Vallat 1986).

Each sign stood for a Sumerian word of one (the majority) to three syllables. Although most signs were originally pictograms, even if we cannot always determine exactly what a given sign depicts, there were abstract signs as well in the archaic repertoire. For example, in contrast to the cattle signs, which indeed look much like animal heads, the signs for sheep and for goats consist of various combinations of circle, cross, and rectangle, with cross-hatching on the interior or exterior to mark the adult females and female kid, and lozenges to mark the males (Green 1980). See Fig. CUN.01. Pictographs could have an iconic relationship to their signifieds, as $GU^4$ "ox," SAG "head," or TI "arrow", or could point to them in various ways: KA "mouth" seems to be a SAG "head" with added lines about nose level; DU, a foot-shaped sign is used for Sum DU "to go" and GUB "to stand"; AN, a star, stands for Sum AN "heaven" and DINGIR "god." Signs could be combined to form a new sign, whose meaning would be indicated by the sum of its parts: SAG ("head") or KA ("mouth") + NINDA ("food," a pictograph of a ration bowl?) = $GU^7$ "to eat" (fig. 1:5);

MINUS (pubic triangle = "woman") + KUR (schematically drawn mountains = "mountains, foreign land") = GEME$^{2}$ "slave woman" (slaves were frequently foreign captives). As the system evolved, one (or more) of the combined signs might be inscribed within another, as in GU$^{7}$, or the combined signs might be written side-by-side, as GEME$^{2}$.

This originally pictographic basis accounts for two characteristic features of cuneiform writing—polyphony and homophony. On the one hand, a given sign may have two or more readings (e.g. /DU/ and /GUB/ for DU). On the other, there may be several signs that have the same reading (e.g. GU$^{4}$ and GU$^{7}$; the subscripted index number is the scholarly convention for distinguishing homophonic signs in transliteration). The latter phenomenon was exacerbated both because the Sumerian language had a large number of homophones (perhaps distinguished by tone), and because final consonants often drop in Sumerian in word final position (e.g., GU$^{4}$ is /GUD/ when followed by a vocalic affix).

The signs on the earliest archaic tablets (Stage IV) were *drawn* in the clay, a relatively slow and cumbersome procedure. By archaic Stage III, signs were beginning to be composed out of individually *impressed* strokes. Impression was both rapid and efficient, and imparted the characteristic wedge-shaped head to each stroke in a sign: the wedge was formed by the tip of the stylus, and the trailing line by the stylus's sharpened edge (Green 1981: 351–59). The replacement of drawing by impression quickly led to the signs' loss of pictorialness; within a few centuries of writing's invention, most signs bear little, if any, resemblance to their pictographic antecedents. Other developments obvious from Fig. CUN.01 are the broadening of the wedge at the head of each stroke, the diminution in the number of strokes per sign, the restriction of the possible angles at which a given stroke could be made, and later in Assyria, the resolution of certain groups of angular wedges *(Winkelhacken)* into parallel horizontals (Labat 1988: 1–7). The absolute number of cuneiform signs also declined over time, but not as much as previously thought. A well-educated scribe in 3000 B.C. would know ca. 770 nonnumerical signs; 2300 years later, an Assyrian scholar could be familiar with as many as 600 signs. Although a certain number of signs fell out of use through obsolescence or coalescence with other signs, there was also, over time, a certain amount of differentiation of one sign into two, and the creation of new compounds.

It is immediately apparent from Fig. CUN.01 that the proper orientation of the pictographs is 90 degrees to the right of the normal orientation of the signs in later periods. The motivation and the time of the shift in direction is disputed, but it certainly occurred on tablets by the last centuries of the 3d millennium. Monumental inscription on stone, in keeping with its more solemn and archaizing character, was written to be read in the original orientation well into the 2d millennium (*RLA* 5: 546–67, Powell 1981). In the following discussion, even archaic tablets will be described as if held in the later, "normal" orientation.

Tablet format has an important semiotic as well as organizational role. The use of position, spacing, and horizontal and vertical rulings can convey information not made explicit by the signs alone, and can ease interpretation and help avoid or resolve ambiguities. Although some archaic tablets contain only a few signs deployed on an undifferentiated surface, most already enclose words or phrases in rectangular cases. On larger tablets, these cases can be arranged in vertical rows or columns, read from top to bottom, beginning at obverse left. The tablet was turned on its horizontal axis, and at least by 2500 B.C. but probably earlier, the columns on the reverse were read from right to left. An experiment in very complex columnar subdivisions was abandoned after archaic Stage III (Green 1981).

Within each case, signs originally could be arranged haphazardly, but by ca. 2450 their arrangement, from left to right, corresponded to the order in which they were read. By ca. 2300, the boxlike cases began to evolve into the horizontal lines that are standard by the end of the 3d millennium. The scribes were afflicted with a *horror vacui* at line's end, and spaced the signs on a given line so that the last sign would rest up against the right margin. Words were never broken at the end of a line; if a scribe reached the right margin before finishing a word or a phrase that he wanted to complete on one line, the line would be continued below, indented to the right.

Whereas a pictographic system can adequately represent concrete objects and, as shown above, express certain abstract notions, a writing system in which every word was represented by a different sign would be quite unwieldy. Furthermore, a system with over 700 signs that could give no clue to their reading

would be difficult to learn and use. And grammatical features necessary for complete linguistic representation cannot be expressed by a writing system whose individual signs represent lexemes only. The early emergence of rebus phoneticism solved these and other problems, and was essential to the successful development of the cuneiform system. On the lexical level, a sign TI (Fig. CUN.01), originally a picture of an arrow (Sum TI), could be used to write the nearly homonymous abstract verb TIL "to live." As a phonetic indicator, the sign MA (a type of fruit) was combined with an animal head to indicate the final /*m*/ for the reading as Sum ALIM "bison" (Green and Nissen 1987: 174), or the sign EN is inscribed in GA $^2$ to create the sign for Sum MEN "crown" (Green and Nissen 1987: 245). This separation of phonetic from semantic content then made it possible to use, say, GA (Sum GA "milk;" pictogram originally a milk jar) to write the Sum verbal prefix GA- "let me," or RA (Sum RA "to strike") to write the dative postposition (possibly incipient at archaic Uruk; see Green and Nissen 1987: 264).

Another aid to distinguishing and reading the signs is the semantic classifier or determinative, a sign set before or after the sign that it classifies to indicate the semantic category to which the sign belongs. Thus GIŠ (Sum "tree, wood") is set before the sign(s) for a tree or wooden object, and KI (Sum "place") follows a toponym. The use of such determinatives is already well attested in the archaic texts from Uruk (Green 1981: 360).

**B. Linguistic, Geographic, and Generic Extension**

The possibility of using cuneiform signs to express phonetic syllables divorced from any semantic meaning, that is, as syllabograms rather than logograms, created the potential for using the cuneiform writing system to phonetically write languages other than the Sumerian language for which it was originally invented. The first non-Sumerian words to be written, were, no doubt, personal names and toponyms, people and places whose names were not Sumerian but had to be included in the records of the bureaucracies in Babylonia that utilized cuneiform. Some of these names were Semitic; Semitic-speaking peoples were in Babylonia from at least the early 3d millennium, and by 2500 B.C., 50 percent of the scribes known from Abu Salabikh (near Nippur) bore Semitic names, and another thirty Semitic names are known from the Fara tablets (Biggs 1988, Westenholz 1988). A few administrative and literary texts from Abu Salabikh seem to have been meant to be read in Semitic.

The earliest significant corpora of connected texts written in Semitic are arrested from ca. 2400 B.C. at Mari, on the Euphrates near the present Syro-Iraqi border (Charpin 1987), and Ebla in northwestern Syria (see the bibliographies in Cagni 1987, Krebernik 1988). But although personal names and the Semitic words in the bilingual Sumero-Semitic word lists found there are written phonetically, connected Semitic texts rely heavily on Sumerograms, Sumerian logograms meant to be read as Semitic, supplemented by phonetically written Semitic prepositions and pronouns. The language of the Semitic texts and names from Syria and Babylonia ca. 2500–2400 B.C. seems to form "an unbroken linguistic continuum, a cluster of closely related dialects, despite the numerous local peculiarities" (Westenholz 1988: 101). It is closely related to, but not identical with, the Old Akkadian that emerges in Babylonia ca. 2350.

The Semitic Old Akkadian texts known from the time of Sargon of Akkad and his successors in Babylonia (Gelb 1961), in contrast to the Presargonic Semitic texts, write most nouns and nearly all verbs phonetically. A paradigm for writing Akkadian was established that persisted in all subsequent periods: phonetic representation using a restricted corpus of monosyllabic signs, supplemented by a limited number of Sumerograms representing very common terms, such as "king" or "earth," legal and administrative formulas, and technical terms. The major exception is the high frequency of logograms found in certain categories of Akkadian technical literature, especially in the 1st millennium, where the use and spatial deployment of the logograms makes the texts much easier to scan than they would be if written phonetically.

Despite the large number of signs known by academic scribes in any given period or center of cuneiform literacy, the number of signs that a scribe needed to master for everyday purposes was relatively small. There are no studies of how many signs were normally employed by, say, a clerk writing in Sumerian under the 3d Dynasty of Ur (ca. 2100–2000 B.C.), but an OB or OA scribe writing Akkadian could function well with 100–150 signs, and manage to get by with even less (*RLA* 5: 561–62; Larsen

1989: 132–33). Each period and region has its own particular syllabary, or selection of signs, and orthographic practices.

By the middle of the 2d millennium B.C., several of Mesopotamia's neighbors had adapted the Akkadian syllabary together with Sumerian logograms to write their own languages. These include the Elamites in southwestern Iran; the Hurrians, spread in an arc stretching from the Zagros in the east to the Taurus and the Mediterranean in the west; and the Hittites, who controlled a large empire from their capital in central Anatolia. From the early 2d millennium, but especially between 1500–1200 B.C., cuneiform Akkadian was the lingua franca of the Near East and was used regularly in diplomatic communications between capitals and between rulers and their vassals. It was also the language of local law and administration in such non-Akkadian speaking milieux as Mari, Alalakh, Ugarit (alongside Ugaritic), and Emar.

In the first millennium, Sumero-Akkadian cuneiform was used to write other languages only in Elam and Urartu. In Syria and Palestine, cuneiform, stylus, and clay tablets were replaced by the easier-to-learn alphabet, pen, and ink, and papyrus or leather, a process that was occurring in Mesopotamia as well. The change in writing system and medium was accompanied by a change in language, as Aramaic took over the role that Akkadian had played in the preceding millennium.

The earliest cuneiform texts are the records of the bureaucratic organizations whose needs spawned the writing system, and the lexical lists necessary to educate the scribal bureaucrats who used the system. These early records have been aptly characterized as aide-mémoire (Bottéro 1987: 89–112); they listed quantities, commodities, individuals, and sometimes operations, but depended on the user's prior knowledge of context and procedures to ascertain the relationships between those elements. It was only the systematic development of phonetic writing to express the grammatical elements of language that made written literature, letters, and commemorative inscriptions possible. This began ca. 2600, but the earliest literary texts (mainly from Abu Salabikh) are hardly intelligible unless a later version of the same composition exists, and many are written in a peculiar allographic orthography that is only partially deciphered (*RLA* 7: 36–37, Krebernik 1984: 267–86). Full or nearly full expression of grammatical elements, and long, complex narrative texts, begin ca. 2400. Technical and scientific topics (e.g., omens, ritual compendia, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, glassmaking, and grammar) first find written expression in the 2d millennium.

Sumero-Akkadian cuneiform inspired two completely new and radically simplified writing systems utilizing configurations of wedges impressed on clay tablets. From the mid- to late 2d millennium, a cuneiform alphabet, known chiefly from Ugarit, was used to write Ugaritic and other Semitic languages in Syria and Palestine, and presupposes the existence of a linear alphabet (Dietrich and Loretz 1988). In the middle of the 1st millennium, the Achaemenid Persians developed a cuneiform syllabary of 36 signs and 6 logograms for writing Old Persian, which they used for commemorative purposes only; their administrative records are in cuneiform Elamite or alphabetic Aramaic (*RLA* 5: 563–65).

**C. Decipherment**

Cuneiform first drew the attention of Europeans through artifacts and reports brought back by 17th and 18th century visitors to the Near East, especially Persepolis, the ancient Persian capital. Copies of Achaemenid royal inscriptions on stone were circulated, and it was soon established by formal criteria that some were trilingual. One of the three languages was written in a much simpler writing system, which by the early 19th century was correctly assumed to be the Old Persian language of the Achaemenids. The first steps toward decipherment were taken by the Göttingen scholar Georg Friedrich Grotefend (1775–1853). Substantial progress could be made only when a sufficiently long inscription was found and copied. This was accomplished by the Englishman Henry Rawlinson (1810–1895), who copied the inscription of Darius I on the cliffside at Bisitun. In 1848 he published his decipherment of the Old Persian version, and by the mid-1850s the third language of the inscriptions, Akkadian, had been deciphered through the efforts of Rawlinson, the Irishman Edward Hincks (1792–1866), and the Frenchman Jules Oppert (1825–1905). This was possible only when it was realized that Akkadian was written both syllabically and logographically, and that syllabic Akkadian writing was both polyphonic and homophonic. Because Akkadian was revealed to be a member of the well-known Semitic language

family, rapid progress in decipherment followed, in turn facilitating the decipherment of cuneiform texts in a variety of languages during the following decades (Friedrich 1957).

The second language of the Achaemenid inscriptions, Elamite, is without any known relation and is still only imperfectly understood. Sumerian, whose existence was established only after study of the tablets excavated by the British at Nineveh, also has no known cognate languages, but its decipherment was aided by the large corpus of Sumero-Akkadian bilingual literary and lexical texts. Hurrian and Urartian, related to one another, are still far from completely understood, after a century and more of study. Cuneiform Hittite was deciphered in 1915—less than a decade after the first lot of tablets was excavated—by the Czech scholar Bedrich Hrozny (1879–1952). The decipherment of Ugaritic was even more rapid. Soon after the first tablets were discovered by French excavators in 1929, independent decipherments were offered by the French Scholars Charles Virolleaud (1879–1968) and Edouard Dhorme (1881–1966) and the German Theo Bauer (1896–1957). The first Eblaite tablets were published by the Italian scholar Giovanni Pettinato after their discovery in 1974, and work on them has been continued by him and other scholars (Friedrich 1957, Cagni 1987).

**D. Myth of Origin and Divine Patrons**

The invention of cuneiform is the subject of an episode in the Sumerian epic tale *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* (Cohen 1973). Enmerkar, mythical ruler of the Sumerian city of Uruk, whose historical prototype would have ruled ca. 2700 B.C., demands submission and tribute from the ruler of the distant Iranian city of Aratta, rich in the natural resources that Sumer lacked. Enmerkar's demands are communicated in a series of long messages delivered by a courier. When one message is too long for the courier to remember, Enmerkar invents "writing on clay tablets" to assist him. When the ruler of Aratta was given the tablet he grew angry, because, as H. Vanstiphout has shown (1988: 159), "the words were [just] nails."

This native etiology of writing is implausible, since we know that the earliest use of writing was for information storage, and it was only after many centuries that it was used for long-distance communication (letters). Interesting, however, is that the ancients perceived the wedge shape of the cuneiform signs as moderns do. Before "cuneiform" became a standard term, "nail writing, *Nagelschrift*" were sometimes used, and the equivalent still is in Dutch *(spijkerschrift)* and several other languages (*RLA* 5: 544).

The Sumerian god of wisdom was Enki (Akk Ea), but writing proper was the domain of the goddess Nisaba, tutelary deity of scribes and the scribal academy. By the first millennium, this role had been transferred to the god Nabû, whose emblems were the scribe's stylus and tablet.

**E. Cuneiform in Palestine**

Although the Hebrew Bible seems not to have recognized cuneiform writing as a phenomenon worthy of particular mention, cuneiform was a fact of life in Palestine from at least the 18th century B.C. to the period of Assyrian domination in the 7th–6th centuries B.C. Biblical authors or redactors might have seen it used by Assyrian officials, such as the two damaged scribes on Sennacherib's relief celebrating the capture of Lachish (Ussishkin 1982: 86–87), or would have surely come across some of the stelas erected by Assyrian kings to celebrate their victories.

It is surprising how little has been found in Palestine: working from Jucquois' list (1966: 32–36), for example, and adding more recent finds, we can estimate that there are between 85 and 100 tablets known to have originated in Palestine in the 2d millennium, but only 32 from that same period have actually been found there. A complete inventory of cuneiform artifacts found in Palestine can be found in Galling (1968: 13–14 and 61). Subsequent finds and bibliography are Rainey 1975, and Owen 1981 (Aphek); Shaffer 1970 and Becking 1982 (Gezer); Hallo and Tadmor 1977 (Hazor); Anbar and Na'aman 1986 (Hebron); Sigrist 1982 (Keisan); Böhl 1974 (Shechem); and Glock 1971 (Ta'anach).

At present, it cannot be determined if Ebla represented the extreme southwestern corner of the cuneiform world in the mid-3d millennium B.C., or if the prolific use of cuneiform known there extended southward as far as Palestine. The earliest cuneiform found in Palestine dates to the 18th to 16th centuries B.C., contemporary with the Mari archives and the later tablets from Alalakh level VII, which correlates

well with evidence from Mari showing Hazor to be a participant in a vast network of diplomatic and commercial relations reaching as far east as Babylonia and Elam. Only four or five tablets and an inscribed liver model used for extispicy have been found from this period, at Gezer, Hazor, Hebron, and possibly Shechem, as well as some seals and a jug with a name scratched on its side in cuneiform. But certain of these materials—legal and scholarly texts—never occur as isolated artifacts, and we can safely assume that there were multiple centers in Palestine where cuneiform Akkadian was, as at Alalakh, the language of legal, administrative, and business documents.

The same mix is found in much larger numbers for the first half of the 2d millennium B.C. Twenty-seven tablets of this period have been found, the bulk of which are from Aphek (8) and Ta'anach (13), with others from Gezer, Hesi, Jericho, and Megiddo. To these must be added the letters of Palestinian vassals found in the Egyptian archive at Amarna. Again, we must imagine situations similar to Alalakh, Ugarit, or Emar. We know that at Ugarit the local language, written in a cuneiform alphabet, was used for many of the same purposes as Akkadian. A small number of alphabetic cuneiform tablets have been found in Palestine (Dietrich and Loretz 1988), and one wonders to what extent letters and documents were executed there in local languages, in either cuneiform or linear alphabetic writing.

Cuneiform was not an element of the new cultural paradigm that emerged after the upheavals in the Levant at the end of the 2d millennium B.C. Its reappearance in Palestine coincided with Assyrian domination in the 8th–7th centuries B.C., exemplified by the stela fragments of Sargon II of Assyria found at Ashdod and Samaria. Four legal and administrative tablets were found at Gezer, Keisan, and Samaria, and at the last, an inscribed bulla with the Assyrian royal seal was excavated. Significantly, no school texts were found, suggesting that cuneiform was a device of the conquerors not much propagated on Palestinian soil.

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JERROLD S. COOPER

**CURSE.** A term associated with a substantial semantic range of concepts and vocabulary in the Bible. The English verb "to curse" renders several Hebrew words *(ʾārar, qālal, ʾālâ, heḥĕrîm, nāqab, qābab, bārak* [a euphemism, lit. "bless" ]), and Greek verbs *(kataraomai, anathematizō, katanathematizō, kataraomai, katalaleō).* The English noun "curse" may render any of the Hebrew nouns *ʾalah ḥerem, meʾērāh,* and *taʾalah,* as well as the Greek nouns *katara, epikataratos, anathema,* and *katathema.* We may summarize the predominant usage of the various verbs as follows: to curse is to predict, wish, pray for, or cause trouble or disaster on a person or thing. Correspondingly, the predominant noun usages may be summarized in the following manner: a curse is the expression of such a prediction, wish, prayer, or causation; or the result thereof; or, rarely, the object (person or thing) thereof.

In the Mosaic Law, one means of divine enforcement of the covenant stipulations incumbent on Israel was the curse. Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28–32 contain the sanctions portions of the covenant structure relative to their respective statements of the Law, and in these passages much is made of the many types of curses that will attend the Israelites if they abandon the covenant. Twenty-seven types of curses are found in these contexts, representing virtually all the miseries one could imagine occurring in the ancient world (Stuart *Hosea-Jonah* WBC, xxxi–xlii), but these may be summarized by six terms: defeat, disease, desolation, deprivation, deportation, and death. Such curses are warnings of what God will cause to happen to Israel if they sin. Thus, Jeremiah speaks of the curse that attends the Law (e.g., Jer 11:3) as does Paul (Gal 3:13), with the ultimate curse being that of death, as Rom 6:23 implies. The close relationship between covenant and curse led to a metonymic use of "curse" for "covenant" in Deut 34:12 and Zech 5:3.

As the arbiter of values, God was free to curse those who offended him. Human beings did not have that prerogative. Cursing by people could have serious consequences for themselves depending on who or what it was they had cursed. Cursing one's parents (Exod 21:17; Lev 20:19), the handicapped (Lev 19:14), a king (because he is God's anointed; 2 Samuel 16), or God (Lev 24:11–24) were all crimes or sins punishable by death. In such cases it was the object of the curse that made it wrong rather than the process; pronouncing harm on the innocent was forbidden; pronouncing harm on the evil was appropriate. Thus prophets could utter a curse sinfully (e.g., Balaam against Israel; Num 22:6–17) or righteously (e.g., Joshua on Jericho and Gibeon; Josh 6:26 and 9:23) depending on the object.

It was assumed in ancient times that curses derived their power from the gods (1 Sam 17:43). Merely expressing negative wishes had little force. For the orthodox Israelites, whose God Yahweh was universally sovereign (Gen 12:8, 9; Exod 9:14; Ps 95:3; Amos 1–2), no curse could have effect without

Yahweh's superintendence, including that of a foreign or false prophet (Num 23:8). Yahweh could turn a curse against its speaker (Gen 12:3; 27:29) or turn a curse into a blessing (Deut 23:5). In the latter sense he is said by Paul to have made Christ "a curse for us," i.e., a blessing via his taking the penalty of the Law's curse upon himself in his crucifixion (Gal 3:13).

God's word is his deed; it was inconceivable to orthodox believers, whether Christian or Jew, that what God ordered or predicted would not come true either instantly or according to whatever timing he chose. His curses dominate nature (Gen 3:14, 17; Isa 24:6; Mark 11:21) and nations (Gen 9:25; Jer 24:9). They can affect the family (Prov 3:33) or the individual (Matt 25:41; Acts 5:1–11).

When a divine curse has been announced as generally applicable (e.g., Deut 11:26, "I set before you this day blessing and curse …") violators of the warning automatically bring upon themselves the miseries implied in the curse (Deut 28:15; Zech 5:1–4; 2 Chr 34:24). Indeed, whenever God so chooses, he may as a punishment bring the intended effect of a curse upon the very individual who uttered it against someone else (Gen 27:12, 13; Ps 109:17).

Curses could accompany any sort of covenant, as part of the oaths made to bind all parties. Individuals who then broke such covenants would be subject to the curses they had agreed to in binding themselves to the covenant (Judg 21:18; Neh 10:29; cf. Matt 26:74; Acts 23:12). A ceremony related to the covenant of marriage could involve the uttering of curses as a part of the process of determining marital infidelity (Num 5:18–27).

Individuals could compose their own curses against other individuals, desiring thereby to hurt them (Job 31:30). They could, as well, give strength to a promise (Gen 34:41) or a legal testimony (1 Kgs 8:31) by an oath.

Words involving the Hebrew root *ḥrm* are sometimes translated "curse" in the sense of a thing banned or made off-limits from society, thus bringing a curse upon the person who breaks the ban and makes contact with it. In so-called Holy War, the enemy and anything belonging to him was *ḥerem*, off-limits, and under penalty of death could not be taken as plunder by victorious Israelite soldiers (Josh 7:1, 12; 1 Sam 15:23). The curse of Mal 4:6 uses the term *ḥerem* in reference to the fate of the land if the future Elijah is not heeded, implying that those who reject the word of God will suffer the same fate as did those who violated the ban in Holy War, i.e., death.

Because cursing was intended to produce negative results, the notion of reversal of cursing in the NT conveys the sense of the dawning of a new age of behavior and expectations. Jesus' teaching, "Bless those who curse you" (Luke 6:28), called for a reversal on the part of his followers of millennia of tradition about personal response to cursing. Revelation 22:3 predicts the cessation of "the curse," i.e., the results of the Genesis fall (sin, disease, death).

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DOUGLAS STUART

**CUSH** (PERSON) [Heb *kûš* (כּוּשׁ)]. CUSHITE. Two persons in the OT bear this name.

**1.** The son of Ham, and father of Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, Sabteca, and NIMROD (Gen 10:6–8). This Cush is the eponymous ancestor of the Cushites, but also apparently of a Mesopotamian group, given the relationship to Nimrod in v 8. Thus, in addition to the Ethiopian Cush, Cush has been seen as the

ancestor of the Kassites (Gk *Cossaea*), who ruled Babylon until the 12th century B.C. (*Genesis* 66, 72) or of the *Kash,* who conquered Babylon in the 18th century B.C. (*Genesis 1–11* TBC, 119).

**2.** Benjaminite mentioned in the superscription of Psalm 7 as the person whose activity gave occasion for the composition of the psalm. The LXX reads *chousi* (Heb *kušî*), which may indicate a relationship with 2 Samuel 18:21–32, where the messenger who brought to David word of the defeat and death of Absalom is called *kušî* eight times. This name has been understood as a gentilic, "the Cushite," with no Israelite tribal affiliation. Kyle McCarter, Jr. (*2 Samuel* AB, 402, 408) points out that, in the MT, the second of these eight occurrences of *kušî* does not employ the definite article (thus treating *kušî* as a proper name, Cushi), and that the LXX, Syr, Vg, and Tg. treat *kušî* in all eight occurrences, not as a gentilic, but as a personal name. His conclusion is that it is not impossible to identify the "Cush" of Psalm 7 with "the Cushite" of 2 Samuel 18. Against this view, the "Cush" of Psalm 7 has generally been understood as an enemy of David, e.g., Dalglish (*IDB* 1: 751) describes him as a "calumnious foe of David." This understanding of Cush clearly does not fit the Cushite of 2 Samuel 18, who is no enemy of David, but only a messenger to David from Joab. However, the idea that Cush is David's enemy is based, not on the superscription itself, but rather on the content of the psalm. The superscription reads, "A Shiggaion of David, which he sang to the LORD concerning (Heb *ʿal dibrê*) Cush a Benjaminite." Taken in its plain sense, *ʿal dibrê* means "upon [because of] the words of …" So translated, Psalm 7 does not imply an antagonistic relationship of Cush to David, but only states that Cush's words provided the impulse for the composition of the psalm.

SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

**CUSHAN** (PLACE) [Heb *kûšān* (כּוּשָׁן)]. In the description of a theophany in which Yahweh comes in wrath (Hab 3:3–15), two specific places are pointed out as being distraught, "the tents of Cushan" and "the tent curtains of Midian" (Hab 3:7). The tent dwellings indicate nomads, and such were the Midianites. They are associated with several areas to the S and E of Israel (Gen 37:28, 36; Num 10:29–30; 22; 25). Since this mention of Cushan is unique in the Bible, evidence concerning its location is usually sought elsewhere.

Cush in the OT often is associated with S Egypt and Ethiopia (Gen 10:6; 2 Kgs 19:9), but this appears to be too far S for the context in Habakkuk. Cush is also associated with a more northerly location in its association with the Gihon, one of the four rivers flowing from Eden (Gen 2:13). This seems to place it in the area of Mesopotamia or N Syria. This is also the place of origin of one of Israel's oppressors during the period of the judges, Cushan-rishathaim (Judg 3:8, 10), whose name includes the word under discussion. He comes from Aram-naharaim, "Aram of the two rivers," in the area of the Upper Euphrates and Habur rivers (*MBA,* 4).

Earlier in the 2d millennium B.C., Mesopotamia was controlled by the Kassites (Akk *kaššu;* Gadd *CAH*$^3$ 2/1: 224–27; Drower *CAH*$^3$ 2/1: 437–44; Gadd *CAH*$^3$ 2/2: 34–44). They are referred to in the Amarna Letters from the 14th century B.C. as *kaša/u.* These people could also be those referred to as the *kwšw* "Cush," in an Egyptian execration text (Cazelles *POTT,* 13). In inscriptions of Ramesses II and Ramesses III, reference is made to *qsn-rm,* "Kusan-rom" in N Syria (Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 110; cf. *ARI,* 205, n. 49). The site is not identified, but it fits in the same area as the other pieces of evidence.

The trouble with these identifications is that the Habakkuk reference to Cushan seems to place it to the S of Israel in the Sinai and Red Sea area based on the allusions to the Exodus events (3:3–15). Cushan could be either an alternative name for the Midianites, or a subgroup of them. They seem to have such names or subgroupings elsewhere as well (Gen 37:27, 28, 36; Judg 8:24; see Baker *Nahum, Habakkuk and Zephaniah* TOTC, 72). If the name is to be understood as indicating an ethnic group rather than a geographical location, it might be expected to occur in association with any number of locations which were within the scope of nomadic travel. Therefore locations in the Sinai and in N Syria are not mutually exclusive.

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**CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM** (PERSON) [Heb *kûšan riš‹ātayim* (כּוּשַׁן רִשְׁעָתַיִם)]. A name which appears in the OT only at Judg 3:7–11, telling how in the Judges period Yahweh sold the Israelites into the hand of Cushan-Rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia (Heb *›ăram nahărāîm*), from whom, after eight years' servitude, they were delivered by Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother. According to Josh 15:16–19 and Judg 1:12–15, Caleb took Hebron for himself and Othniel captured Debir. Othniel thus belonged to S Judah. In view of this, and because it seems unlikely that this minor figure attacked and defeated a king from N Syria, many scholars have located Cushan (by minor emendation) in Edom, not Aram, excising *nahărāîm* as a gloss (Malamat 1954: 232). The name *riš‹ātaîm* was explained in talmudic tradition as meaning "of double wickedness" (Malamat 1954: 232). Marquart (1896: 11), however, explained it as *rôš ‹āṯaîm*, "chief of 'Athaim,' " a name he took from the LXX version of the Chronicler's rendering (1 Chr 1:46) of Hadad's city Avith (Gen 36:35). Gray (*Joshua, Judges and Ruth* NCBC, 214–15, 260–61), proposed *rôš hattĕmānî*, "chief of the Temanites"; compare the association (Hab 3: 7) of the name "Cushan" with the land of the Midianites. However, while it seems likely that Othniel was involved with some more local opponents than one from N Syria, these suggestions remain speculative, and even if the compiler of the collection of deliverance stories in Judges wrote Edom where Aram (-naharaim) now stands (Judg 3:8, 10), he may not have had any reliable information at hand. Further, the emendation from "Aram" to "Edom" remains doubtful; if the story was composed, as Mayes (*IJH,* 311) suggests, to give an example of God's saving activity by way of introduction to other such stories of deliverance in Judges (and perhaps to provide a suitable deliverer for the tribe of Judah), then the author may have intended to write "Aram," not "Edom," in which case we can draw nothing of any significance for 12th–11th century B.C. Edom from the story. Accepting the reading *Ăram-nahărāîm*, Malamat (1954: 231–42) proposes to identify Cushan-Rishathaim with a certain Arsu or Irsu, a Syrian ruler mentioned in Papyrus Harris 1/75: 1–9 (*ANET,* 260), who, according to Malamat, seized the Egyptian throne in an anarchic period at the end of the 19th Dynasty, about 1200 B.C. The identification of Cushan with Irsu, however, seems highly speculative. E. Taübler (1947: 136–42) argued that the name "Cushan-Rishathaim" derives from a literary attempt to associate the Midianite Cushan with Babylon (the home of wickedness) and so to bring Cushan into contempt. More prosaically, R. Boling (*Judges* AB, 81) suggests that the place name Aram-naharaim results from the mistaken redivision of an original *›rmn hrym*, "fortress of the mountains"; but where was this? The identity of Cushan-Rishathaim and his connection, if any, with Edom remain totally obscure.

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**CUSHI** (PERSON) [Heb *kûšî* (כּוּשִׁי)]. The name "Cushi" appears to be cognate with the personal name "Cush," the eponymous son of Ham (Gen 10:6–8; 1 Chr 1:8–10), and the unknown personage mentioned in the title of Psalm 7. It is also conceived to be a geographical or ethnological term in Isa 11:11. The term *kûšî* is used not only as a proper name but also as a *nomen gentilicium* (2 Sam 18:21–23, 31–32). The feminine form "Cushite" (Heb *kūšît*) appears twice in Num 12:1, which the Gk renders *gunè tēs aithiópissēs.*

1. The great-grandfather of the princeling Jehudi. This courtier was dispatched to summon Baruch, the amanuensis of Jeremiah, to appear before the royal cabinet and to read the words of the scroll which Jeremiah had dictated and which Baruch had just read to the people (Jer 36:14). In the enjoinder the ancestry of Jehudi is traced back to the third generation, to Cushi, his great-grandfather, a fact which indicates both the aristocracy of his family lineage and the importance of the assigned mission.

2. The father of Zephaniah, the Judean prophet. The genealogy of the prophet Zephaniah is traced back some four generations to Hezekiah, presumably, the king of Judah. This superscription is unique in the

presentation of what appears to be a royal lineage of the prophet. The importance of Cushi can be measured from the above implications suggesting a place in the Judean aristocracy and a deeply committed religious personality. Unfortunately, beyond this, we know no further details of his life.
EDWARD R. DALGLISH

**CUTH** (PLACE) [Heb *kût* (כּוּת)]. Var. CUTHAH. A city in S Mesopotamia (2 Kgs 17:24). Inhabited continuously at least from the 3d to the 1st millennia B.C., this city is best known as the center for the cult associated with the realm of the dead and the chief deity of the Mesopotamian underworld, Nergal. The name "Cuthah" (Heb *kûtâ;* Sum *Gu-du-a,* of unclear etymology) itself may be used in Akkadian as a name for the underworld. The modern Tell Ibrahim, 20 miles NE of Babylon, seems the most likely location for Cuthah, but since extensive excavations have not yet been undertaken, information about Cuthah comes primarily from written sources outside the city. (For further discussion, see Edzard and Gallery *RLA* 6: 384–7.)

When Assyria subdued rebellions in both Israel and Babylonia in the 8th century B.C., the conquered populations of these two lands were resettled elsewhere in accord with Assyrian policy, the Cuthites being relocated 500 miles westward to the territory of subdued Israel and its former capital Samaria (2 Kgs 17:24). Even after being settled in Israel, the former inhabitants of Cuthah continued to venerate their patron deity Nergal (2 Kgs 17:30), presumably maintaining the cult associated with the dead and the underworld with which he was associated. The Assyrian king who was responsible for the deportation of the Cuthites may have been Sargon II if the Babylonian rebellion is to be associated with that of the Merodach-baladan of 2 Kgs 20:12–19. The designation "Cutheans" was later employed by Jews in the first centuries A.D. as an insulting epithet to describe the Samaritans who lived in the region centering on Samaria (Josephus *Ant* 9.14.3; *b. Qidd.* 75–76; *b. Ḥul.* 5b–6a) where the exiles from Cuthah had been settled by the Assyrians.
SAMUEL A. MEIER

**CUTHA** (PERSON) [Gk *Koutha* (Κουθα)]. A temple servant who was the progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:32). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, this family does not appear among their lists of returning exiles (see Ezra 2:52; Neh 7:54). Omissions such as this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra or Nehemiah. Furthermore, problems associated with dating events and identifying persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text.
MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**CYAMON** (PLACE) [Gk *Kyamōn* (Κυαμων)]. Site mentioned in the book of Judith whose exact location is unknown (Jdt 7:3). The verse places it in the vicinity of Esdraelon. It has been identified with modern Tell Qeimon (M.R. 160230), which is located near Geba, on the slopes of Mount Carmel, at the N end of the plain of Esdraelon. It is possible that the name "Cyamon" is a corruption of the Hebrew name "Jokmeam" (Heb *yoqmŏʿām*), which appears at 1 Kgs 4:12 as part of the boundary list for one of Solomon's tax districts. Jokmeam is also identified with modern Tell Qeimon, so the hypothesis that Cyamon is a corruption of Jokmeam is plausible. Of course, given the genre of the book of Judith, it is possible that the name is fictitious.
SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**CYCLONE.** See PALESTINE, CLIMATE OF.

**CYMBALS.** See the MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS articles.

**CYNICS.** Adherents of the Greek school of philosophers who held that virtue is the only good and that its essence lies in self-control and independence.

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A. Historical Outline
  1. Early Cynicism
  2. Imperial Cynicism

B. Name
C. Appearance and Manner of Life
D. Cynic Teachings
E. Impact of Cynicism
    1. Cynicism and Greco-Roman Intellectual Life
    2. Cynicism and Early Christianity

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**A. Historical Outline**

**1. Early Cynicism.** Cynicism began in the 4th century B.C.E. with Socrates' student Antisthenes (ca. 446–366 B.C.E.) and thus is one of the Socratic schools of Greek philosophy. There soon followed Diogenes of Sinope (ca. 404–323 B.C.E.) and his student Crates of Thebes, who flourished during the 113th Olympiad (i.e., 328–324 B.C.E.) (D.L., 6.87) and who died as late as 270 B.C.E. (Susemihl 1891: 1.29–30). No Cynics after them ever eclipsed these three as the school's chief representatives (Lucian, *Fug.* 20; Julian, *Orat.* 6.188B), even though Cynic teachings continued to attract adherents for a thousand years. A brief review of these adherents will draw attention to many of these lesser known Cynics and underscore the long history of this important, if not always appreciated, philosophical movement.

Cynicism's early representatives—from Antisthenes on down to about 200 B.C.E.—are conveniently catalogued by Diogenes Laertius, whose sixth book of *The Lives of the Eminent Philosophers* is our principal source for early Cynicism (Mejer 1978: 1–59). The lives of these early Cynics vary greatly in length, but all tend to include some biographical data; anecdotes of their memorable sayings and actions; summaries, or at least samples, of their teachings; and lists of their writings. Not surprisingly, Diogenes Laertius reserves the most space for Antisthenes (6.1–19), Diogenes (6.20–81), and Crates (6.85–93, 98). He emphasizes Antisthenes' attachment to Socrates (6.2) and his role as founder of Cynicism (2.47), a claim which some scholars doubt (Dudley 1937: 1–16) but without convincing others (Höistad 1948: 8–13; Kusch *RAC* 3: 1063). Diogenes Laertius (6.85–86) illustrates Crates' considerable literary talent with snippets of his poetry, such as the description of a Cynic island utopia called *Pēra* "Begging Bag" (Stenzel *PW* 22: 1625–31, Dudley 1937: 42–53). But he reserves the most space for Diogenes and so clearly announces the importance of this follower of Antisthenes. This longer treatment is justified, as Diogenes became, as it were, the second founder of Cynicism, in that he, more than either Antisthenes or Crates, stamped the movement with his personality and continued to be the point of reference for Cynics of all kinds down through the centuries (Gerhard 1912; von Fritz 1926; Kusch *RAC* 3: 1063–67).

Diogenes had many students. In addition to Crates (D.L., 6.85), he attracted Monimus of Syracuse (late 4th century B.C.E., von Fritz *PW* 16/1: 126–27) and Onesicritus of Aegina or of Astypalaea (6.84), though more probably the latter (Brown 1949: 2–4). Diogenes Laertius treats both Monimus and Onesicritus very briefly, even though the latter in particular was of some significance. He knows (6.84) that Onesicritus was both a student of Diogenes and an admiral and historian on Alexander's campaigns to India (Brown 1949; cf. Strasburger *PW* 18/1: 460–67), but only Strabo (15.1.63–65) reports Onesicritus' meeting with Indian philosophers, which may have been the source of a radical asceticism in Cynicism (Höistad 1948: 135–38; cf. Brown 1949: 38–53). And other followers of Diogenes are little more than names to Diogenes Laertius: Phocion (6.76), Menander, Hegesias, and Philiscus (6.84), though he seems to make Philiscus the son of Onesicritus (6.75–76) and knows that Satyrus attributed to him some tragedies of Diogenes (6.80; von Fritz *PW* 19/1: 656–63).

Crates likewise had many students, the most famous of which is Zeno of Gitium (333–261 B.C.E.), who eventually left Crates and started the Stoic school (D.L., 7.2–3). Others include: Metrocles of Maroneia (6.94–95; von Fritz *PW* 15/2: 1483–84) and his sister Hipparchia, who later became Crates' celebrated and unconventional wife (6.96–98; von Arnim *PW* 16: 1662); Monimus, who, as already noted, had been a follower of Diogenes (6.82); and perhaps Bion of Borysthenes (ca. 335–245 B.C.E.; 4.51 and Kindstrand 1976: 10–11). At this point, however, Diogenes becomes ambiguous. Scholars usually assign the next Cynics named by Diogenes—Theombrotus (Modrze *PW* 5A/2: 2033–34) and Cleomenes (von Arnim *PW* 11/1: 712)—to the circle of Metrocles, as they are named immediately after the report of Metrocles' death

(6.95; Zeller 1922 2/1: 286; Helm *PW* 12: 4). But M.-O. Goulet-Cazé (1986) argues plausibly that the material on Metrocles (6.94–95) is merely a digression in the longer treatment of Crates, so that the reference to "students" here still refers back to Crates. If so, then the dates of Theombrotus and Cleomenes must be pushed back to the late 4th–early 3d century B.C.E. Their students—Demetrius of Alexandria (von Arnim *PW* 4/2: 2842), Timarchus of Alexandria (Nestle *PW* 6A/1: 1238), and Echecles of Ephesus (Natorp *PW* 10:1909; 6.95)—thus belong to the 3d century, though they are little more than names. More, however, is said about the last two Cynics named by Diogenes Laertius: Menippus of Gadara (6.95, 99–101, Helm *PW* 15/1: 888–93) and Menedemus (6.95, 102, von Fritz *PW* 15/1: 794–95).

Diogenes Laertius has not catalogued all the early Cynics. For example, he omits such 3d-century figures as Teles of Megara, whose diatribes are partially preserved in Stobaeus (O'Neil 1977), and Leonidas of Tarentum, whose epigrams are preserved in the *Greek Anthology* (A.P. 6.293, 298, for fuller lists of early Cynics, see Zeller 1922: 2/1.281–87; Helm *PW* 12: 3–5). And he is often too brief about those Cynics he does include, as was seen above in the case of Onesicritus. Still, despite these shortcomings, the account in Diogenes Laertius is invaluable, and not only in bringing some chronological order to the various early Cynics. For he has also preserved important early materials—fragments of New Comedy which record public perceptions of Cynics (6.83, 93) and summaries of Diogenes' educational and political views (6.70–73; Höistad 1948: 37–47, 138–46).

In fact, the value of a Diogenes Laertius becomes immediately apparent when trying to write the history of Cynicism after 200 B.C.E., the point at which Diogenes' survey ends. The evidence is so sparse that some scholars have claimed that Cynicism died out in the last two centuries B.C.E. (Zeller 1922: 2/1.287). While this claim is not justified (Dudley 1937: 117–24), the little evidence that remains is difficult to pin down. For example, some of the letters attributed to Diogenes belong, according to V. Emeljanow (1967: 4–5), to these centuries (so *epp.* 1–29 [Malherbe 1977: 92–132]), and some Cynic materials on papyrus may belong to this general period too (Dudley 1937: 123). Only Meleager of Gadara (ca. 135–50 B.C.E.) stands out from this period (Garrison 1978: 71–93).

**2. Imperial Cynicism.** With the beginning of the imperial period, however, the evidence for Cynicism begins to become more plentiful, though again there is no Diogenes Laertius to catalogue them (the fullest lists are in Zeller 1922: 3/1.793–804; Helm *PW* 12: 5–7). The reemergence of evidence has led some scholars to speak of a revival of Cynicism during the early Empire (Billerbeck 1982: 151–58). At the very least, Cynics begin to appear in the 1st century C.E. with some regularity. To be sure, the evidence is often very brief, sometimes little more than a name (so a Plenetiades in Plutarch, *De def. orac,* 413A) and sometimes not even that (so an unnamed Cynic in *AP* 11.158). The evidence is fuller, however, for those Cynics who got caught up in imperial politics—for example, an Isidorus under Nero (Suet. Ner. 39) and a Diogenes and Heras under Vespasian (Dio Cass. 66.15). But the fullest evidence for any 1st-century Cynic is that regarding Demetrius. He, too, played a role in politics which has continued to fascinate scholars (Dudley 1937: 125–42; Moles 1983). He was also a friend of the Stoic philosopher Seneca, whose letters and essays permit a detailed, if also Stoicized, portrait of Demetrius' habits and teachings to emerge (Billerbeck 1979; Kindstrand; cf. Billerbeck 1982: 158–68).

The fullest documentation, however, awaits the scholar of 2d-century Cynicism. To be sure, many of the Cynics are again little more than names: Agathobulus of Alexandria, the teacher of Demonax (Lucian, *Dem.* 3) and of Peregrinus (Lucian, *Peregr.* 17, von Arnim *PW* 1: 745); Honoratus (Lucian, *Dem.* 19, von Arnim *PW* 16: 2276); Pancrates (Philostratus, *VS* 526); and Rhodius (Lucian, *Tox.* 27). Others, however, do emerge more clearly: Demetrius of Sunium (Lucian, *Tox.* 27–34; Jones 1986: 56), Theagenes of Patras (Lucian, *Peregr.* 3 *et passim,* Jones 1986: 131), and especially Oenomaus of Gadara (Dudley 1937: 162–70). Particularly detailed portraits by Lucian of Samosata of the Cynics Demonax of Cyprus and Peregrinus Proteus are useful, even though the former portrait is largely made up of anecdotes (Lucian, *Dem.* 12–67; Jones 1986: 90–98) and the latter, the *De morte Peregrini*, is a vicious attack (von Fritz *PW* 19/1: 656–63; Jones 1986: 117–32). Hence all the more important for a understanding of 2d-century Cynicism is the extensive evidence about Theodorus, nicknamed Cynulcus, in the *Deipnosophistae* of Athenaeus (1.1d *et passim*); scholars, however, have largely ignored him.

Deserving mention, finally, are many Cynics, who, while not necessarily restricted to the 2d century, seem especially prominent during this period, due in large part to the preservation of many more 2d-century sources. These are the false Cynics whom Lucian in particular attacked; he sometimes lashed out at individuals, such as Alcidamas (*Symp.* 12–14, 16, 19, 35, 44–47), but usually at groups (*Fug.* 12–21; *Pisc.* 44–45; *Vit. auct.* 7–11). And joining Lucian in the condemnation of these Cynics for their abusive, shameless, and greedy behavior which, it was thought, brought reproach on philosophy are Epictetus (*Diss.* 3.22.10–12), Alciphron (*epp.* 2.38; 3.19), and Dio Chrysostom (*Orat.* 32.9) (Malherbe 1970: 204–16; Billerbeck 1978: 1–3, 56–59 *et passim*).

After the 2d century, however, the evidence once again becomes less plentiful, although the emperor Julian is an exception. Writing in the 360s, Julian, like Lucian, is especially bent on attacking Cynics of his day, in particular a Heracleios whose mythmaking Julian found offensive (*Orat.* 7.204A–205A *et passim*). Others who were attacked include an Asclepiades, Serenianus, and Chytron (*Orat.* 7.224D); an Iphicles (*Orat.* 6.198A); and an unnamed Cynic who criticized Diogenes for eating a raw octopus solely for publicity (*Orat.* 6.180D *et passim*).

A century later another Cynic, Maximus of Alexandria, emerges in the record, though in the context of his involvement in ecclesiastical affairs (Dudley 1937: 203–6). And still another century later there is the Cynic Sallustius, who, however, is apparently the last Cynic and who therefore brings an end to the Cynic millennium (Dudley 1937: 206–8).

**B. Name**

Some people, says Diogenes Laertius (6.13), derive the name "Cynic" (Gk *kynikos*) from Kynosarges, the name of a gymnasium at Athens where Antisthenes lectured. But not only is this derivation linguistically unlikely, it is also historically suspect, in that Antisthenes is the only Cynic associated with this gymnasium and only in traditions claiming this derivation (Antisthenes, *Frag.* 136; see Caizzi 1966: 63). What is more, the derivation seems artificial since it looks like an attempt to establish an architectural locus for the school on the analogy of other philosophical schools—Platonists with another Athenian gymnasium, the Academy; Stoics with the city's colonnade known as the Painted Porch (Gk *stoa poikilē*); and Epicureans with their founder's house in Athens, known as the Garden.

A far more likely explanation—indeed, one that is clearly assumed in other passages of Diogenes Laertius and throughout Greco-Roman literature—derives "Cynic" from *kyōn,* the Greek word for "dog." Hence the term "Cynic" refers to a "doggish philosopher" (Gk *kynikos philosophos*). The specific connotation of the term, however, depends on the characteristics of dogs which were applied to these philosophers. Thus the connotation is positive if the point of the comparison were the desirable characteristics of dogs—their protecting and guarding (Dio, *Orat.* 9.3; Lucian, *Fug.* 16).

But all too often it was the undesirable characteristics of dogs—their constant barking, scavenging, urinating, and mating in public—that lay behind the use of the name "Cynic" (Lucian, *Fug.* 16; Athenaeus, *Deipnos.* 13.611b–d; ps.–Lucian, *Cyn.* 5; Julian, *Orat.* 6.182A). Thus a scholiast on Aristotle's *Categories* explains the term "Cynic" by saying that the prime reason for this designation was these philosophers' *adiaphoria,* their shocking disregard of the conventions of social behavior. Like dogs, the scholiast says, they do such things in public as eat and engage in sex, walk around barefoot, and sleep in large storage jars or at street corners (for the whole text, see Caizzi 1966: 121; cf. von Fritz 1926: 48–49).

And indeed such *adiaphoria* frequently characterizes Cynics in Greco-Roman literature. Lucian refers to Peregrinus' masturbating in public as a demonstration of his *adiaphoria* (*Peregr.* 17; cf. Lucian, *Hermot.* 18). Alciphron illustrates Pancrates' *adiaphoria* by having him urinate and later mate with a flute girl during a symposium (*ep.* 3.19.9). And other examples of such shameless conduct are not hard to find (*AP* 11.153; Quintilian, *Inst.* 4.2.30; Lucian, *Conv.* 46).

Just when the term "Cynic" arose, and precisely with this connotation, however, is difficult to determine. The term, though, is clearly early, as it appears in a fragment of Menander's *Twins* with reference to Crates and in the context of the unconventional marriage to Hipparchia (D.L., 6.93). But the term may well be earlier, originating with Diogenes, if not with Antisthenes (*pace* D.L., 6.13). In any

case, the term is especially associated with Diogenes. His practice of sleeping in a large storage jar (D.L., 6.23) is clearly alluded to in the scholiast's remarks discussed above, and many other traditions only confirm this association. Thus he is depicted as eating in public (D.L., 6.58; *Gnom. Vat.* 196; see Sternbach 1887–89: 79), as urinating and doing other bodily functions in public (D.L., 6.46, 56; Dio, *Orat.* 8.36; Julian, *Orat.* 202C), and as engaging in sex acts in public (D.L., 6.69; Dio, *Orat.* 6.17; ps.-Diogenes, *ep.* 44; Malherbe 1977: 174; Julian, *Orat.* 6.200A). Put more generally and also more delicately, Diogenes Laertius says that Diogenes did the works of Demeter and Aphrodite in public (6.69, 76).

In addition, the tradition has Diogenes taunted with the name "dog" (D.L., 6.61; ps.-Diogenes, *ep.* 2; see Malherbe 1977: 92), or has him thrown bones (D.L., 6.46; Dio, *Orat.* 9.9). Diogenes can also turn these taunts around (Aelian, *VH* 14.33; *Gnom. Vat.* 194; see Sternbach 1887–89: 79), and he can even use the term to express his own self-understanding: "Once when Alexander stood over him and said, 'I am Alexander the Great King,' he said, 'And I am Diogenes the Dog' " (D.L., 6.60; Stobaeus, 2.8.21). No wonder then that the Corinthians adorned his grave with a dog carved in stone (D.L., 6.78; *AP* 7.64; Pausanias, 2.2.4).

**C. Appearance and Manner of Life**

Not only did the name "Cynic" (and its associated shameless behavior) characterize Diogenes and his followers, but appearance and manner of life characterized them just as much. For example, the Cynic typically wore the poor man's threadbare cloak (Gk *tribōn*), carried a begging bag (Gk *pēra*) over his shoulder, and had a staff (Gk *baktēria*) in his hand. These items seem to have characterized Cynics from the beginning—perhaps Antisthenes himself (D.L., 6.13), probably Diogenes (6.22–23), but certainly his students Monimus and Crates, as the testimony for the last two comes from the near contemporary witness of New Comedy (D.L., 6.83, 93). And from then on this garb is commonplace: Metrocles (Teles, *Frag.* IV$^{A}$; see O'Neil 1977: 42), Hipparchia (*AP* 7.413), Bion (D.L., 4.51), Sochares (*AP* 6.298), and Menippus (Lucian, *D. Mort.* 20.2). Likewise for the early empire—for example, Demetrius (Seneca, *ep.* 62.3), Demonax (Lucian, *Dem.* 5), Alcidamas (Lucian, *Conv.* 19), and Peregrinus (Lucian, *Peregr.* 15). To be sure, there was some variation: Honoratus wore a bearskin (Lucian, *Dem.* 19), Cantharus a lionskin (Lucian, *Fug.* 33), and Menedemus dressed like an Erinys (D.L., 6.102). Nevertheless, the *tribōn, pēra,* and *baktēria* were so typical (*AP* 11.158; Lucian, *Peregr.* 37; Epictetus, *Diss.* 3.22.10, 50) that Julian called them the *gnōrismata,* the identifying tokens, as it were, of the Cynic philosopher (*Orat.* 6.200D; cf. ps.-Crates, *ep.* 33.2 [Malherbe 1977: 82], and Kindstrand 1976: 161–64).

Of lesser import for, but still characteristic of, Cynic appearance were long hair (ps.-Crates, *ep.* 23 [Malherbe 1977: 72]; Epictetus, *Diss.* 4.8.34; Julian, *Orat.* 6.201A) and beard (ps.-Socrates, *ep.* 9.3 [Malherbe 1977: 246]; ps.-Lucian, *Cyn.* 1; *AP* 11.154). In addition, Cynics often went barefoot (Dio, *Orat.* 6.15; ps.-Socrates, *ep.* 13.2 [Malherbe 1977: 250]; *AP* 11.153) and frequently presented a rather filthy appearance (Lucian, *Vit. auct.* 7; ps.-Socrates, *ep.* 13.2 [Malherbe 1977: 252]; Epictetus, *Diss.* 3.22.89; *AP* 11.156).

But just as characteristic as the Cynics' appearance was their manner of life, and however put, their life was hard. It meant, as Epictetus says, a life without a house, wife and children, or even a bed, an undershirt, or utensil (*Diss.* 4.8.31). It meant a life at the bare minimum, as illustrated by the anecdote told of Diogenes in which he, on seeing a boy drinking water with his cupped hands, threw away the cup in his *pēra* and said, "A boy has vanquished me in living simply" (D.L., 6.37). It meant, in short, a life of constant hunger and thirst, of being cold, and of sleeping on the ground (ps.-Menippus, *ep.* 1 [Hercher 1876: 400]; cf. Dio, *Orat.* 6.8; Lucian, *Vit. auct.* 9; ps.-Crates, *ep.* 18 [Malherbe 1977: 68]). And this regimen was even recommended for the babies and children of Cynic couples (ps.-Crates, *ep.* 33 [Malherbe 1977: 82]).

What little the Cynic really needed was readily at hand. Temples provided shelter (Plutarch, *An vit. ad inf. suff.* 499A), the furnace of a smith provided some heat (Teles, *Frag.* IV$^{A}$; see O'Neil 1977: 42), the quiet of a shoemaker's shop a place to sit and read (Teles, *Frag.* IV$^{B}$; see O'Neil 1977: 48). Moreover, drinking water was available at springs or fountains (Athenaeus, *Deipnos.* 10.422c–d; ps.-Socrates, *ep.*

9.2 [Malherbe 1977: 246]), and edible plants grew by the roadside (D.L., 2.68). Usually, though, Cynics got their daily bread from begging—a practice again especially associated with Diogenes (D.L., 6.6, 38, 46, 49, 56, 59, 60, 62, 67) and popular, if not always welcomed, thereafter (D.L., 6.99; Epictetus, *Diss.* 3.22.10; Dio, *Orat.* 32.9; Aulus Gellius, *NA* 9.2.1–11).

To sum up: Half-naked, filthy, exposed to the elements, and living from day to day—no wonder Epictetus cautioned a would-be Cynic from taking up this manner of life (*Diss.* 3.22.1). Indeed, an epigram in the *Greek Anthology* dramatizes the outcome of such a life. The epigram describes the Cynic Sochares' penniless *pēra* and his few other possessions hanging from a bush, the spoils dedicated to the personified deity Hunger (*AP* 6.298).

**D. Cynic Teachings**

In his apology for Diogenes, the emperor Julian emphasizes the unity of Greek philosophy, in that all the schools can be seen as attempts, say, to carry out the Delphic injunction, "Know thyself" (*Orat.* 6.182D–186A). Still, Julian admits that while Plato did his philosophy with words, Diogenes did his with actions (*Orat.* 6.189A).

Julian's distinction is useful. On the one hand, Cynics often dispensed with many of the intellectual disciplines emphasized in the other schools (ps.-Crates, *ep.* 21 [Malherbe 1977: 70]). Both Antisthenes and Diogenes are claimed to have said that logic and physics, two of the traditional subjects of philosophy, were not necessary, but only the third, ethics (D.L., 6.103). What is more, the study of music, geometry, astronomy, and grammar is ridiculed, and some Cynics had no formal education at all (D.L., 6.27, 73; Lucian, *Fug.* 12; Julian, *Orat.* 6.187D). In this way Cynicism was a shortcut to the happiness which philosophy offered (ps.-Crates, *ep.* 21 [Malherbe 1977: 70]).

On the other hand, the Cynic's manner of life in general and Cynic actions in particular were themselves didactic. Thus the various "doggish" actions discussed above served as illustrations of Diogenes' own Delphic injunction to "alter the currency" (D.L., 6.20–21, 71), to challenge all values and opinions, and to live instead according to nature (Kusch *RAC* 3: 1064). And the simple life also demonstrated, say, the Cynic's claim that he was superior even over Fate (ps.-Diogenes, *ep.* 26 [Malherbe 1977: 118]; Stobaeus, 2.8.21; D.L., 6.93).

And yet, Julian's distinction notwithstanding, Cynicism was more than actions; it, too, had teachings. And, not surprisingly, some of the teachings were as shocking or unconventional as the Cynic's "doggish" actions. Thus Diogenes is held to have advocated having wives and sons in common and to have permitted stealing from temples and even eating human flesh (D.L., 6.72–73; Höistad 1948: 138–49).

Still, Cynic teachings were usually not so shocking as they were sharply critical of misplaced values and human folly. For example: "Diogenes used to say that things of great value were sold for next to nothing and vice versa. At any rate, a statue is sold for three thousand drachmas, but a daily ration of barley for only a couple of copper coins" (D.L., 6.35). Or: "Diogenes observed one of his students associating with scoundrels and said: 'It is absurd that when we wish to sail we select sailors who are our superiors in navigation, but when we decide to live uprightly we choose just anybody to share our life' " (*Gnom. Vat.* 197; see Sternbach 1887–89: 79).

Other Cynic teachings are critical of cooks and feasting (D.L., 6.28, 86), of parasites and courtesans (6.85, 90), of prodigals (6.47), of the rich (6.24), and of tyrants (6.50), and herein lies the principal focus of Cynic teachings: its unrelenting attack on the dominant aristocratic ethos of Greco-Roman society, an ethos that so valued good birth, reputation, and wealth (D.L., 6.72, 104). But it was especially wealth which received censure, as it allowed the satisfaction of every desire and so produced enslavement and immorality (Stobaeus, 3.8.20; ps.-Diogenes, *ep.* 26.5–6 [Malherbe 1977: 122]; cf. Lucian's *Gallus* and *Cataplus*, and Hock 1987: 467–52). Hence the Cynic's wish that his enemies have wealth and a life of pleasure (Lucian, *Gall.* 30; D.L., 6.8), and conversely his praise of toil and poverty which produced a life of virtue—of freedom *(eleutheria),* self-sufficiency *(autarkeia),* and self-control *(sōphrosyne)* (Dio, *Orat.* 7.66; D.L., 6.104; ps.-Socrates, *ep.* 12 [Malherbe 1977: 250]).

**E. Impact of Cynicism**

**1. Cynicism and Greco-Roman Intellectual Life.** In the course of a thousand years the Cynics, not surprisingly, had a widespread and, at times, profound impact on those around them. Their impact on other philosophical schools is well known, beginning with Stilpo and the Megarians (Dudley 1937: 95–96). But their influence on Stoicism was especially significant. This influence is natural, as Zeno, the founder of Stoicism, was, as has been said, a student of Crates (D.L., 7.2–3). Cynic features are readily apparent in Zeno's simple life (D.L., 7.16, 27), in his emphasis on living according to nature (6.104), and in his writings (7.4). Thereafter, however, influence varies, in that some Stoics took a Cynicizing direction (so Ariston of Chios according to Diogenes Laertius, 7.37, 160) and others deliberately moved away (so Panaetius of Rhodes according to Cicero, *De fin.* 3.20.68; cf. Dudley 1937: 96–102). In the early empire, though, Cynic influence is once again strong, as is clear in the cases of Attalus, Seneca, Musonius Rufus, and Epictetus (Billerbeck 1982: 156–72).

The impact of Cynicism on Greco-Roman literature is also well known, and particularly influential were the satires of Menippus and the diatribes of Bion (Helm *PW* 12: 15–22). And even if some of the earlier claims of influence of, say, Menippus on Lucian were overstated (Helm 1906), more recent assessments still show clear influence (Hall 1981: 64–150). And the appearance of Cynic anecdotes, usually of Diogenes, in Greco-Roman literature is especially widespread (see the list in Kusch *RAC* 3: 1066). One reason for Cynics being so prevalent in literature is that writers were introduced to Cynics early on, during their school days. Anecdotes of Diogenes have shown up in educational texts preserved on papyri (Collart 1926: 23–24), and the anecdote itself (Gk *chreia*) became a form for exercises in composition called *progymnasmata* and so was learned by all students who went beyond the literary stage of education (Bonner 1977: 250–76). And among the examples of the *chreia* the most popular was this one: "Diogenes the Cynic philosopher, on seeing a boy eating delicacies, struck the paedagogus with his *baktēria*" (Theon, *Progymn* 5 [Walz 1832 1: 205]). In fact, this *chreia* became a favorite topic for a student essay in which Diogenes is presented as a moral "watchdog" (Gk *sōphronistēs*) (Nicolaus, *Progymn.* 3 [Walz 1832 1: 275–76]; cf. Hock and O'Neil 1986: 313–22).

**2. Cynicism and Early Christianity.** Scholars have long noted similarities between Cynic behavior or teaching and various early Christian texts. Kusch (*RAC* 3: 1067–68) provides a convenient summary of earlier scholarship's identification of such similarities, such as the Diogenes anecdote in which a child teaches the philosopher a lesson in simple living (D.L., 6.37) and the similar function of a child in the gospel tradition (Mark 9:33–37; 10:14–16). Still, many scholars, including Kusch himself (*RAC* 3: 1068), have been, and continue to be, reluctant to posit any direct influence of Cynicism on the NT Gospels (Schottroff and Stegemann 1978: 133–35).

A. J. Malherbe, however, inaugurated a new era in the study of the relationship of Cynicism and early Christianity, although his focus has been on Paul, not on the Gospels. In numerous studies (esp. Malherbe 1968; 1970; 1983) he has provided a careful and sophisticated analysis of Cynicism itself and of such Pauline images as "fighting with beasts" (1 Cor 15:32) and "being gentle as a nurse" (1 Thess 2:7), showing that Paul reflects precise and self-conscious knowledge of important debates going on among Cynics and that such debates are the contexts for understanding Paul's images. And that knowledge extends to other aspects of Paul's teaching and behavior (Hock 1980: 37–42, 52–59).

Scholars have also renewed the study of the gospel tradition from the perspective of Cynic conduct and teaching. Some scholars have focused on specific texts, arguing for Cynic influence on, say, the injunction for disciples to go barefoot in Luke 10:4 (Vaage 1986), or the teaching on wealth and poverty in the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31; see Hock 1987). But of special significance is the thesis of B. Mack (1988: 67–74, 179–92) that the earliest layers of the gospel tradition depict a Jesus whose themes and style of teaching as well as his social role of critic are closest to those of Cynics.

After the NT period the influence of Cynicism becomes explicit, as Church Fathers frequently cite Cynic figures and teachings. Kusch (*RAC* 3: 1069–74) has collected many such references from a variety of Greek and Latin fathers. While Cynic *adiaphoria,* or shamelessness, comes in for frequent censure (*RAC* 3: 1072–73), it must also be stated that many fathers judged Cynics positively, with Clement of

Alexandria and Gregory Nazianzus in particular making extensive use of the Diogenes traditions and of the Cynic philosopher as a pagan paradigm of virtue (*RAC* 3: 1069–72).

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RONALD F. HOCK

**CYPRESS.** See FLORA.

**CYPRIAN.** Rome had brought with her in her colonization of North Africa a class structure where good education, property, and a say in government tended to remain the privilege of a select few. Cyprian of Carthage was a man of such property and education (Pontius *Vit. Cyp.* 2, 15), and his secular acquaintances included men who belonged to the local governing circles; they came from families of curial, equestrian, and senatorial station (Pontius *Vit. Cyp.* 14). Cyprian's trial and martyr's death followed, accordingly, the course proper for an *honestior*, a man of the upper classes (house arrest, despite the extreme gravity of the charge, and execution by the sword as the method of death); and his style at the very end—twenty-five gold coins *(aurei)* to be presented to his executioner (*Acta procons. Cypriani* 5.4)—continued to be in the manner of handsome public benefaction and patronage traditional in (and

expected of) such a level of society. Cyprian was a man with a sense of his position, conscious of his role as a *persona insignis,* a figure of prominence (cf. [Cyp.] *ep.* 8.1.1, written by Roman clergy).

The family of the man is, however, otherwise unknown and his nomenclature (*Caecilius Cyprianus qui et Thascius: ep.* 66 *incipit, ep.* 66.4.1, *Acta procons. Cypriani* 3.3) remains of the obscurest. But the sort of property he possessed in Carthage—it included well-known horti or suburban estates (*ep.* 81.1.1, *Acta procons. Cypriani* 2.1) suggests strongly that he was from a local, established family of some wealth and had inherited the property.

When we meet Cyprian in the 240s, he is living on this estate in Carthage, he has won for himself (according to later, but not uninformed, sources: Hieron. *vir. ill.* 67, 53) reputation and renown as a *rhetor* in a society which prized highly oratorical skills and achievement—and Carthage was *the* center for rhetorically passionate Africa. Late in that decade he is to appear, even though a very recent convert to Christianity, as a man of an authority and stature appropriate for replacing the recently deceased bishop Donatus; the Christian laity urged his candidature with enthusiastic, and successful, acclaim (Pontius *Vit. Cyp.* 5). That suggests a man of some maturity—possibly, to hazard a guess, he was at the time at least into his forties—used to holding a prominent place in his society. Certainly, later as bishop, he gives the appearance of dealing with his laity, his *plebs* as he calls them (clients who had supported his candidacy as bishop) with much greater ease and assurance as their episcopal patron than he does with his more immediate clerical colleagues.

What information of any reliability we have points to Cyprian's secular life as *rhetor* being spent not so much in legal activities in court as an *advocatus* (though some sections in the *Ad Donatum* [on which see below] could suggest this) as in training hopeful devotees in the highly elaborate and stylized art of the public declamation of the time. At all events Cyprian was well equipped for his later episcopal role as preacher and homilist.

Cyprian had not married, and his biographer suggests—no doubt idealistically but perhaps also not without some truth—that there was in him a scholarly dedication to the pursuit of higher learning and accomplishments (Pontius *Vit. Cyp.* 2). Hindsight furthermore suggests that he shared with many of his pagan contemporaries an earnest moral mindedness, espousing exacting and sometimes rigorously unyielding, even puritanical, high principles of behavior and manner. A strong sense of sin, of virtuous living, of moral imperatives, as well as an intense awareness in the reality of a spiritual world, were not notions exclusive to the adherents of Christianity, nor were they confined only to the more thoughtful and philosophic among the pagan members of this society.

By about the middle of the 240s, Cyprian, possessed of such a background, had become attracted to Christianity under the influence and friendship of an aging Carthaginian presbyter Caecilianus (Pontius *Vit. Cyp.* 4; Hieron. *vir. ill.* 67 [garbled]). Conversion, baptism, renunciation of his worldly estate, and advancement to clerical office, which involved withdrawal from his secular profession (cf. *ep.* 1), followed in swift succession, until by about Easter 249, and probably earlier, he had been installed as bishop of Carthage (see *ep.* 59.6.1 and *ep.* 29.1.2 for the dating). Some older clerics had openly opposed the appointment of this novice Christian and despite a public *refus de pouvoir* and gestures of generosity from the eventual victor toward the defeated, the animosity engendered by this opposition continued to rankle (Pontius *Vit. Cyp.* 5). It sounds as if Cyprian was an unusually well-placed and educated convert for this church; he was too competent and prominent a figure to pass by in filling the vacant *cathedra* of Carthage. Indeed some of the clerical resentment to Cyprian's unusually rapid promotion may well have been roused precisely because of his superior class, education, and manner. To judge from the little evidence we have (e.g., *ep.* 24 [Caldonius]), Cyprian may well have found for company relatively few Christian clerics in Africa who could match his accomplishments. Our closest contemporary social picture is of the Christians in the literary dialogue of Minucius Felix, the *Octavius,* which Cyprian appears to have read; in every probability the protagonists came from African Cirta or thereabouts—but they are of the laity and two of the three are depicted as domiciled in Rome (Min. Fel. *Oct.* 2). In the absence of satisfactorily controlling evidence, it is easy to form an exaggerated perception of the social and cultural isolation which Cyprian may have needed to face in becoming a Christian; but it would be fair to assert

that disagreement with his clergy over other issues could readily be sharpened if there were social differences. In an irretrievably class-conscious society it was not possible to overlook such class distinctions.

But on the other side, some of the popular enthusiasm for Cyprian's promotion may have been not just for his eloquent tongue in public oratory and his qualifications for church administration and leadership. This was a man of demonstrable dedication. The gesture of wishing to sell all his worldly goods for the benefit of the Christian poor (so Pontius *Vit. Cyp.* 2, 15) may indeed be in the tradition of the munificent nobility (as of the gospel precepts), but it was nevertheless a personal act of humane charity as well as of total commitment: Cyprian would be selling his secular social status along with his patrimony. For a remarkable feature about Cyprian is how fully a churchman he became in response to his new episcopal role, finding his total career (so far as we know) inside the church, with his talents and energies fully absorbed in the duties of clerical office and ecclesiastical activities. Though others had lived such a life before him, Cyprian's letters allow us to see this new type of churchman clearly delineated for the first time in early church history.

Along with that absorption in church affairs came, it would appear, a corresponding cultural and intellectual absorption; Cyprian was prepared to sell not only his patrimony but much of his cultural birthright as well. All the quotations, allusions, and verbal reminiscences of classical letters, the poets and writers of the past, which richly embellished the compositions of an accomplished rhetorician of the day are astonishingly absent from his churchman's prose, and even the traditional classical *exempla*, the rhetorical stock-in-trade for illustration and elaboration on a theme, are severely limited. This can only be the result of conscious rejection and restriction. Instead, Virgil and Ovid, Cicero and Sallust are replaced by the "sacred letters" to which he devoted study even as a catechumen (Pontius *Vit. Cyp.* 2). Despite the inelegance of quoting verbatim, and often, texts from a Latin version of the Bible which was painfully disharmonious with his own style, Cyprian consistently treats his biblical text with meticulous and exacting reverence; he avoids, by and large, any rewriting of his citation to suit his own paragraph, and even the oblique biblical reference or allusive phrase is relatively rare for one so steeped in the *lectio divina.* In the face of stylistic disadvantages his conscious choice is the direct biblical quotation, normally prefaced by some introductory formula. He has joined a church with a tradition of deep respect for the hallowedness of the sacred word, "the holy and adorable words of the Scriptures," as one of his contemporary African bishops describes his Bible (*Sent. Episc.* LXXXVII. 31). Cyprian has joined a church of *The* Book.

Religious conversion into this church for a man of such dedicated temperament seems to have entailed a kind of linguistic conversion as well. By contrast with other African writers with similar rhetorical backgrounds, say a Minucius Felix a little earlier or an Arnobius or a Lactantius somewhat later, Cyprian is unusually lavish in the range and variety of words with a Christian formation or connotation which he liberally makes his own, not only the almost inevitable technical terms but sometimes ugly Christian neologisms and specialized usages that had been engendered in this close-knit and somewhat beleaguered and separate community. So closely and so wholeheartedly has he identified himself with his new society, and put his literary talents to its service.

Before the year 250 had begun, he had already turned his vigorous pen to the composition of the apologetic essay, the *Ad Donatum,* a rhetorically overblown essay on the marvelous effects of divine grace on his own conversion and regeneration in baptism. Quite probably within the last twelve months he had composed the tractate *De habitu virginum (On the Dress of Virgins),* warning those who have dedicated their virginity to Christ of the perils which beset them from the pagan world with all its vanities and vices. And he had been responsible for the compilation of the three books of biblical *testimonia,* the *Ad Quirinum,* the first book acting as an apology against the Jews, the second as a compendium of christology, and the third (composed later than the first two) as a guide to the Christian duties and virtues.

When in late 249 (or very early 250) the emperor Decius issued orders that all the inhabitants of the empire should make sacrifice to the gods, Cyprian promptly made himself scarce. This action (interpreted by a number as cowardly) was to occasion much, and enduring, criticism (e.g., *ep.* 8, *ep.* 20, *ep.* 66, Pont.

*Vit. Cyp.* 7–8), but it was also to occasion Cyprian to correspond from his place of hiding with members of his congregation (clergy, confessors, and laity) as well as with Rome during his sojourn away from Carthage (lasting over twelve months, *ep.* 43.4.1). Hence we have the rich collection of letters numbering from *ep.* 5 to *ep.* 43, nearly half the corpus of correspondence that survives.

In the aftermath of this persecution, his church—as were others—was beset by dispute and schism. Dispute arose everywhere over the treatment appropriate to those who had apostatized during the persecution (perhaps the majority of the Carthaginian flock, *ep.* 14.1.1): the treatise *De lapsis* (*On the Fallen*) expatiates on this penitential dispute and strives hard to find an acceptable pastoral solution to the sin of idolatry, traditionally regarded as irremissible. Schism arose when parties who advocated a more lax discipline, or those who advocated a more severely purist discipline in penitential matters (Novatianists), split off into schismatic churches: by the year 252 Cyprian had two rival bishops of these two different persuasions in Carthage (*ep.* 59.9.1–3). The influential treatise (or to be more accurate the first version of it) *De ecclesiae catholicae unitate (On the Unity of the Catholic Church)* was penned against this background of disunity and disharmony as was probably also the *De dominica oratione (On the Lord's Prayer).* By this appears the context for three further tractates, *Ad Demetrianum* (defending Christians against the charge of being responsible for natural calamities like plague, famine, and drought), the *De mortalitate (On Mortality),* and *De opere et eleemosynis (On Good Works and Almsgiving)*.

But the turbulence was to continue. Further, and intense, dissensions over the status of schismatic churches (centered on the validity of Novatianic baptism) were promptly to follow both within the North African communities themselves and then with churches elsewhere (especially with Rome). Cyprian adhered staunchly to an inherited view of the church as an enclosed garden outside of which flowed no source of salvation: the strongly contested issue occasioned a spate of pamphleteering (one sample survives in the anonymous *De rebaptismate* [On Rebaptism]) and in Africa at least a series of conciliar meetings and a flurry of letters (the bulky section of the surviving correspondence from *ep.* 69 to *ep.* 75 is all concerned with this matter). The tracts *De bono patientiae (On the Virtue of Patience)* and most probably *De zelo et livore (On Jealousy and Envy)* as well as a revised version of *De ecclesiae catholicae unitate* (less favorable to the status of Rome) are products of this period. Relations between Rome and many churches elsewhere in the East as well as in Africa had reached the point of breakdown over this issue (*ep.* 75.25.1) when persecution broke out anew under Valerian. Cyprian was relegated to nearby Curubis in August 257 (there perhaps composing the *Ad Fortunatum,* a compendium of scriptural texts on persecution and martyrdom), and when the persecution was intensified in the summer of 258 (*ep.* 80), he was recalled to Carthage, tried, and went to his martyr's death on September 14, 258.

We are fortunate in having not only a dozen pamphlets from Cyprian's own pen, but a body of some 82 letters (including 16 by his correspondents and 6 which are synodal or collective) as well as a short and apologetic biography purportedly written by his deacon Pontius and the *Acta Proconsularia,* which embody transcripts of his trials as confessor and martyr. We thus catch an illuminating glimpse via Cyprian into daily church living of the mid-3d century and witness his struggle (and that of others) to find acceptable pastoral solutions to new challenges as the church found itself more and more required to come to terms with its secular environment.

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**CYPRUS** (PLACE) [Heb *kittim* (כִּתִּים); Gk *Kypros* (Κυπρος)]. A Mediterranean island located 43 miles S of Asia Minor, 76 miles W of Syria, and 264 miles N of Egypt.

The Hebrew name probably derives from the city of Kition (Roman Citium), which Phoenicians colonized on the SE coast of the island. It may also have been known as Elishah in the OT (Gen 10:4; 1 Chr 1:7; Ezek 27:7). Most, though not all, agree that this is the similar-sounding place often referred to as Alashia or Asy in texts from the ANE. It appears in connection with copper (for which the island was well known in antiquity) on tablets from Alalakh in the 18th century B.C. and Mari in the 17th century B.C. The name occurs frequently in the 14th century B.C., especially in the correspondence between the Egyptian Pharaoh Akhenaten and the king of Alashia, which also refers to a land that produced copper. In the 11th century B.C., an Egyptian priest, Wenamon, sought refuge in Alashia after suffering shipwreck on his return to Egypt from Byblos. This corroborates the location of Alashia to be in Cyprus rather than in Syria. In the *Iliad* (11.21) and the *Odyssey* (4.83; 8.362; 17.442, 443, 448) as well as the NT (i.e., Acts 4:36; 11:19, 20; 13:4; 15:39), the island is known as *kupros* (Cyprus).

Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean, after Sicily and Sardinia, and only slightly larger than Crete. Its maximum length, E-W, is 138 miles and its maximum width, N-S, is 60 miles, encompassing an area of 3584 square miles. The W half of the island is mountainous, where the Trodos and Kyrenia Mountains reach a height of about 3300 ft and are snow-capped three months out of the year. The E half consists of the Mesaoria Plain and the Karpass Peninsula.

Favorable climate and topography produced a primarily agricultural society on the island throughout its history. However, its most important resources have always been its copper mines and pine forests. These, coupled with a salt industry that undoubtedly flourished in antiquity (from the salt lakes of Limassol and Larnaca), supported the construction of a number of important harbor towns around the island.

The earliest inhabitants of Cyprus, who settled in the SE part of the island and around its central and E coastlines, have been dated by carbon 14 testing to the Pre-Pottery Neolithic period (ca. 7000–6000 B.C.). Circular houses, called *tholoi,* were constructed of mudbrick on stone foundations, and have been found in several settlements around the coastal perimeter of the island (e.g., Khirokitia and Kalavassos-Tenta). They have floors of beaten earth, hearths, platforms built against the walls for sleeping, and posts in the center of the room to support domed ceilings. The inner walls were plastered, and one of them contained a painting of a human figure with uplifted arms. Their dead were interred in the fetal position beneath the floors of their houses or immediately outside. The infant mortality rate was apparently high.

In the Late Neolithic (ca. 4500–3800 B.C.; there are no carbon 14 dates between 6000 and 4500 B.C.), pottery was developed and houses were constructed with greater diversity of forms including wooden structures, stone buildings both circular and rectangular, and partial or total subterranean dwellings like those in Beer-sheba in S Palestine. These people, like those in the PPN, were primarily farmers, but they also hunted wild animals and probably had some domesticated livestock. There was cultural continuity from the Neolithic into the Chalcolithic Period (ca. 3800–2500 B.C.), but settlement patterns shifted to the W side of the island, the central plain, and the Karpass Peninsula.

The EB Age (Early Cypriot, ca. 2500–2000 B.C.) is represented in most of the island except the W half of the Trodos Mountains. Wealthy tomb offerings and beautifully made pottery in a variety of imaginative styles indicate a prosperous culture, supported by an increasing international trade in copper. Tin was imported, probably from Mesopotamia or Asia Minor, evidenced by the production of the many bronze implements which have been found in excavation. Models of sanctuaries show the worship of bulls (after cattle were imported to replace pigs for economic reasons), and testify to a well-developed polytheism.

The MB Age (Middle Cypriot, ca. 2000–1650 B.C.) was brief and continued the basic culture of the earlier period, although the N began to decline when settlement patterns shifted to the SE with the construction of important harbor cities such as Enkomi and Kition. Several forts have been found in the N half of the island, but are completely missing in the S. Apparently hostilities were internal and/or confined to the N, and the S felt no need for such defenses. A clear separation between the E and W is inferred

from the differences in pottery produced in each section. The economy of the W was based primarily on copper, while that of the E was based on agriculture.

An abundance of Cypriot pottery from the MB Age has been found in Cilicia, Megiddo, Ras Shamra (Ugarit), and along much of the Syro-Palestinian coast. From this artifactual evidence and later textual evidence (i.e., Tell el-Amarna letters and the library of Boghazkoy), it is clear that trade between Cyprus and countries such as Egypt, Anatolia, and Syria flourished in both the MB and the LB.

A script was developed in Cyprus around 1500 B.C. and was labeled Cypro-Minoan by Sir Arthur Evans. Three forms of the language (Cypro-Minoan 1, 2, and 3) have been found on clay tablets, incised or painted on vases, engraved on votive objects, etc. Whether its roots lie in the west (Crete?) or the east (Ugarit?, etc.) is debatable, but all attempts to decipher the language have been unsuccessful. The fall of Minoan Knossos on Crete to the Mycenaeans, ca. 1380 B.C., brought Mycenaean settlers to Cyprus, (perhaps the "Sea Peoples," some of whom settled in S Palestine) and with them a new type of pottery which is found extensively in Cyprus and the Syro-Palestinian littoral.

Aegean influence continued in Cyprus well into the Iron Age (Cypro-Geometric Age, ca. 1050–750 B.C.), when the Phoenicians arrived around 850 B.C. and established colonies on the island. These colonists from Tyre and Sidon (cf. Isa 23:1, 12; Ezek 27:6) built temples to Astarte and tried to establish close ties between Cyprus and their homelands. One of the largest temples erected to Astarte in the Phoenician world was constructed in Kition around 850–800 B.C. on the ruins of an LB temple.

In the beginning of the Cypro-Archaic Period (ca. 750–475 B.C.), epigraphic evidence records the submission of Cyprus to Sargon II of Assyria. This event, which occurred in 707 B.C., is recorded both on a stele from Kition and in inscriptions from the Assyrian palace at Khorsabad. Ten cities of Cyprus are named on the prism of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon (613 B.C.), among which are Paphos, Idalion, Kourion, and Salamis. Extraordinary tombs made of ashlar blocks (perhaps royal ones) were found at Salamis, and date to the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. Life under the Assyrians seems to have been good, and Mycenaean culture continued to dominate.

Egyptian influence was felt for a brief time when Egypt took advantage of Assyria's decline and invaded the island. In 545 B.C. Cyprus submitted to the rising power of Cyrus, king of Persia, helped him in his war against Babylon, and thereby continued to enjoy considerable autonomy (Hdt. 4.162) until 499 B.C., when the island, identifying with its Greek heritage, joined the unsuccessful Ionic revolt against Persian rule. Two hundred years of slavery followed.

Cyprus suffered often during the early part of the Cypro-Classical Period (475–325 B.C.), when Greeks, who considered Cyprus to be part of the Greek world, attempted repeatedly and unsuccessfully to free the island from Persian control. Greek influence was strong on the W part of the island, while Phoenician and Persian influence continued in the E part. Stasikypros, king of the city of Idalion, repulsed efforts by the Persians and Phoenicians to conquer his city. Archaeologists have recently identified his palace in excavations at Idalion (Stager and Walker 1989). The most influential Cypriot of the period was Euagoras I of Salamis, who introduced the Greek alphabet on the island through his coins. He tried, without success, to unify all Greeks and make Salamis the Athens of the East. He was responsible for spreading the Hellenization at Cyprus into the E Mediterranean world.

Cyprus assisted Alexander the Great in his conquest of Tyre (332 B.C.) and subsequently became a part of his empire, enjoying considerable favor from the conqueror. After Alexander's death and throughout the Hellenistic Period (ca. 325–50 B.C.), Cyprus was controlled by the Ptolemies of Egypt. Hellenistic culture was dominant during this time, manifesting itself especially in the sculpture of Cyprus. Excellent examples found in excavations include a 3d century B.C. limestone head of a woman from Arsos and a 2d century B.C. marble statue of Artemis. Greek trends are also seen in the production of jewelry, pottery, and terra-cottas.

With the rise of Roman power, Cyprus was made a province after 67 B.C. and, nine years later, was added to the province of Cilicia. After the civil wars ended, Octavian assumed the title of Augustus and controlled most of the area from Britain to Mesopotamia. He combined Cyprus and Cilicia with the province of Syria. After 23 B.C., Cyprus was made a senatorial province and placed under proconsuls.

Many of the proconsuls of Cyprus are known for the Roman period (50 B.C.–250 A.D.), although no Cypriot evidence yet exists to attest the proconsulship of Sergius Paulus (Mitford 1979: 1301), who is said to have been one (Acts 13:7) when Paul visited the island in about 47 A.D.

Peace and prosperity existed throughout the early part of the empire, supported by a flourishing trade in wine, copper, shipbuilding, and agriculture. The chief cities of the time were Salamis, Paphos, Lapithos, and Amathus. The Roman way of life is evidenced by the presence of theaters at Paphos, Salamis, Curium, Soli, and Citium, the last attested only epigraphically. Those at Salamis and Soloi are beautifully restored. Further evidence is seen in the presence of gymnasiums preserved at Salamis and Paphos. Others are attested epigraphically for Citium, Curium, Chytri, Lapethus, and Carpasia. There was an amphitheater at Salamis and an odeion at Paphos. A large Roman bath has been found beside the theater and gymnasium at Salamis, and one is also known for Curium.

Roman roads were built around the island, evidenced by numerous milestones and a map drawn up sometime between the 2d and 4th centuries. Inscriptions show that the roads were maintained until the 4th century. Temples of civic gods such as Apollo at Hyle, Aphrodite at Paphos, and Zeus at Salamis, along with floor mosaics such as those in the houses of Paphos testify to the prominence of polytheism. None of these seem to have survived the more immediate appeal of the deified Severan emperors. No evidence exists that any of them outlived the reign of Caracalla (211–17 A.D.). The spiritual vacuum thus created was filled by Christianity, whose presence is seen in the remains of basilical church buildings such as the one at Salamis.

The New Testament mentions two Christians from Cyprus. One was Barnabas, the traveling companion of Paul (Acts 4:36) and the other was Mnason, who lived in Jerusalem and hosted Paul on one occasion (Acts 21:16). Men from Cyprus shared in the evangelizing of the Greek population of Antioch of Syria (Acts 11:19–20). Barnabas and John Mark visited Cyprus following a dispute with Paul (Acts 15:39).

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**CYRENE** (PLACE) [Gk *Kyrēnē* (Κυρηνη)]. CYRENIANS. The capital of the Roman province of Cyrenaica (Libya) in North Africa. Its name stems from the nature goddess (Kyrana), whose name was given to a perennial spring nearby. The city was founded by Greek colonists from the island of Thera near the end of the 7th century B.C. (Herodotus 4.150–58; *SEG* 9.3). The leader of the expedition, Battus, became its king, and thus instituted a dynasty that lasted nearly two centuries (until ca. 440 B.C.). For the next century it was a republic and subsequently came under the control of Ptolemy I, heir to the North African portion of Alexander the Great's empire, who gave it a constitution (*SEG* 11.1; copy in the museum at Cyrene) establishing a liberal oligarchy, an extensive citizenry, two councils, and a popular court. Under the Ptolemies, the city became an important intellectual center with a celebrated medical school, a classical academy, and a school of philosophers (the "Cyrenaics") who pioneered what came to be known as Epicureanism. Eratosthenes (276–ca. 194 B.C.), a geographer who calculated the circumference of the earth within 50 miles of the presently accepted figure, and Callimachus (ca. 310–240 B.C.), a poet who had a great impact upon the development of Latin poetry, especially that of Catullus and Ovid, were among its famous sons. Both moved to Alexandria, which tended to dominate Cyrene culturally. By the will of Ptolemy Apion (d. 96 B.C.), the city and its territories became Roman; and in 67 B.C. it was united with Crete to form the senatorial province of Cyrenaica. Following a Jewish revolt

during the reign of Trajan and its brutal suppression (A.D. 115; see Dio Cassius 68.32), the city embarked on a period of economic and intellectual decline. Its history ended with the Arab conquest in A.D. 642.

Throughout most of its history, Cyrene was very prosperous. Located in the midst of very fertile countryside, it was rich in grain, wool, olive oil, and especially silphium, a spice that was much prized for both culinary and medicinal purposes. According to Herodotus (4.199), the city's climate provided it with three harvest seasons annually. From the time of Ptolemy I, Jews were an important part of its population (Josephus, *AgAp* 2.4; *Ant* 14.114; cf. 1 Macc 15:23; 2 Macc 2:23), which, of course, is why the city is mentioned in the Bible. The noted Jewish writer, Jason (2 Macc 2:19–23), one book of whose five-volume history of the Jewish wars of liberation was abridged in 2 Maccabees, and Ezekiel the Tragedian came from Cyrene.

A citizen of Cyrene by the name of Simon, perhaps a pilgrim to the Passover festival in Jerusalem, is identified in the passion narrative as having been compelled by the Roman soldiers to carry Jesus' cross (Matt. 27:32 = Mark 15:21 = Luke 23:26). Jews from Cyrene are included in the list of those who witnessed the remarkable events resulting from the coming of the Spirit upon the earliest Jerusalem church on the day of Pentecost (Act 2:10). Acts 6:9 suggests that those Jews who "returned home" to Jerusalem from Cyrene and Alexandria were numerous enough to have their own synagogue. Some from this group were active in debate with Stephen and (presumably) the other "Hellenists" and were possibly involved in his lynching; the same group was also numbered among those early Jewish-Christian believers who began to bear witness to gentiles in Syrian Antioch (Acts 11:19–20), the third city of the empire, which was to become so important in the missionary development of the early Christian community. One of the prominent prophets and teachers from the earliest days of the church in Antioch was Lucius of Cyrene (Acts 13:1). With so many Jews moving back and forth between Jerusalem and Cyrene, and between Antioch and Cyrene, it is likely that there was a church established there at a very early date.

The ancient site of Cyrene has been extensively excavated during the present century by Italian, British, and Libyan archaeologists. It has provided a wealth of information concerning ancient Greco-Roman art and architecture, civic and social life, numismatics, and epigraphy. Among the many monuments are a Greek theater; a Roman theater; temples of Zeus, Apollo, and Isis; the agora (marketplace); Roman forum; baths; magnificent houses; a circus (for chariot races); and two early churches (6th century). Two modern museums, one of them devoted primarily to sculpture, house some of the more important artifacts.

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**CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, 20TH DISCOURSE OF.** See VIRGIN, ASSUMPTION OF THE.

**CYRUS** (PERSON) [Heb *kōreš* (כֹּרֶשׁ)]. A great conqueror and statesman, Cyrus II was the founder of the Achaemenid empire. He was born ca. 590/589 B.C., most probably in Parsa, the modern Iranian province of Fars, but we know nothing historical about his early life (the stories of his childhood related in Herodotus can be dismissed as charming legend).

Much more is known of Cyrus after he came to the throne of Persia in 559 B.C. His career divides into four phases: (1) the triumphant war against Astyages and the Medes in 550 B.C.; (2) his successful campaigns against Lydia in 547 B.C. and the operations against Ionia following the fall of Sardis; (3) campaigns to the NE of the Iranian plateau between 546 and 540 B.C.; and (4) the conquest of Babylon in 539/538 B.C.

Herodotus reports Cyrus as king of Persia was a vassal of Astyages, the last king of the Medes. The basis of his kingdom was several Persian tribes, including his own, the Pasargadae. The extent of his territorial control is unclear, but it certainly included the city of Anshan (modern Malyan). The conflict between Cyrus and Astyages is the first well-documented fact in Achaemenid history. Our two best sources on this event are Herodotus' *Persian Wars* and the Babylonian Chronicle. Herodotus reports that Cyrus successfully rebelled against his master, Astyages. The Babylonian Chronicle suggests that the war with the Medes began with Astyages attempting the conquest of Cyrus, called the King of Anshan. Whatever the cause of the war, the Medes were defeated.

Cyrus spent three years between his defeat of Astyages and war with Lydia (550–547 B.C.) consolidating his control over Medea. His victory had brought under Persian control all of central W and NW Iran, the N and probably the NE parts of the Iranian plateau, some sections of N Mesopotamia and Syria, and large parts of Anatolia, perhaps as far W as the Halys river.

Herodotus tells us the crossing of the Halys by Croesus of Lydia was the cause of the Persian-Lydian war. Cyrus may have been the aggressor. There was an initial and indecisive battle between the two kingdoms in Cappadocia. After the battle Croesus, assuming that it was too late in the autumn to continue campaigning for that year, withdrew his troops to winter quarters in Sardis. Cyrus, on the other hand, continued his advance. A second battle was fought before the walls of Sardis, the Lydians were bested, and withdrew into the citadel in hopes of withstanding a siege. The Persians discovered a way to climb an undefended section of the wall, and a daring assault led to the capture of Croesus and the conquest of Lydia. Cyrus marched on westward from Sardis and, through a combination of war and shrewd diplomacy, conquered most of Ionia.

We know almost nothing in any detail of Cyrus's activities between 547 B.C. and his conquest of Babylon in 539/538 B.C. There are hints in the record that he campaigned extensively to the E and the NE of the Iranian plateau, greatly expanding his new empire in those directions. He almost certainly at this time also undertook the ongoing task of organizing the empire and establishing the administrative controls necessary to command such a vast territory effectively. He may also at this time have begun construction of his imperial capital, Pasargadae, in his home province of Parsa.

Cyrus' defeat of Babylon and the Babylonian empire, along with his previous conquests, brought the whole of the Near East within the Persian empire with the exception of Egypt. Strategically Cyrus's defeat of Babylon began when he conquered Lydia, thus greatly increasing the political and military isolation of Mesopotamia. Tactically the campaign began when Cyrus was fighting in the E and NE, for the Persians mounted a propaganda campaign against Nabonidus, the unpopular king of Babylon, prior to their invasion which proved so successful that the Neo-Babylonian empire ultimately fell almost without a battle. We have evidence of this propaganda campaign in native Mesopotamian cuneiform sources, but probably our best evidence comes from Second Isaiah. In Isa 45:1–3 the prophet speaks of Cyrus as the anointed of Yahweh who is destined to subdue all nations before him. In return for this favor, of course, the prophet notes (Isa 45:13) that Cyrus will restore the Jewish exiles to their native land. In short, Cyrus has been called by God to capture Babylon, to free the Jews from their bondage, and by inference to permit them to return to Jerusalem. It is suggested that Isaiah could so prophesy because he knew of the discontent with their own government among the Babylonians.

Babylon having been successfully softened up, war actually began early in October of 539 B.C. The decisive battle took place at Opis. The Babylonian army apparently did not stand long before retreating in total chaos. While Cyrus marched to the conquest of the important city of Sippar, another detachment of the Persian army peacefully took Babylon itself on October 12. Cyrus then entered the great city, welcomed by his own troops and (to judge from the Babylonian sources) by the people of the city. Cyrus seized the hands of the statue of the city god, Marduk, and announced that it was his intention to leave local culture and customs undisturbed and to rule the city and the empire as the legitimate successor of the ancient kings of Babylon.

This policy of Cyrus to rule his empire by maintaining respect for local cultures and traditions is, of course, further documented in his famous decree, probably issued in Ecbatana (modern Hamadan),

permitting the Jews of Babylon to return to their native land and to rebuild their temple in Jerusalem (Ezra 1:1–4). Such a policy of remarkable tolerance based on a respect for individual people, ethnic groups, other religions, and ancient kingdoms must have seemed amazing to people who had grown accustomed to the governing techniques of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian empires, in which ruthless destruction, the deportation of people, and the forced integration of the conquered into the conqueror's political system had been common practice.

Herodotus reports that Cyrus died in battle in 530 B.C. fighting against the tribe of the Massagetai on Iran's NE frontier. All we really know of the end of his reign is that he was buried in a simple gabled stone tomb at Pasargadae. It is reported that this structure once bore an inscription reading: "Oh man, I am Cyrus the son of Cambyses, who founded the empire of Persia, and was king of Asia. Grudge me not therefore this monument." Standing before the tomb some two centuries later, Alexander the Great is reported to have ordered that it and its supposed treasure be restored, because he was so impressed that Cyrus, founder of the Achaemenid power, creator of the largest empire then known, was the kind of man who would ask so small a favor of posterity.

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# D

**D.** The abbreviation used by scholars to designate the Deuteronomic source in Pentateuchal source criticism. This source is essentially the book of Deuteronomy. See DEUTERONOMY, BOOK OF.

**DABBESHETH** (PLACE) [Heb *dabbešet* (דַּבֶּשֶׁת)]. On the S border of the territory of Zebulun (Josh 19:11), Dabbesheth (lit. 'hump') may indicate a settlement site or a geographical landmark. Dabbesheth has been tentatively identified with Tel Shem (M.R. 164230), N of Jokneam, though many other sites in the near vicinity may qualify. See Kallai *HGB,* 179–192.

RAPHAEL GREENBERG

**DABERATH** (PLACE) [Heb *dāběrat* (דָּבְרַת)]. A levitical city allocated to the tribe of Issachar (Josh 21:28 = 1 Chr 6:57—Eng 6:72). Daberath is also listed as defining part of the border of Zebulun, which went in the direction of Chisloth-tabor and then followed the watercourse to Daberath (Josh 19:12). From this description most scholars argue that Daberath was situated on the border of Issachar and Zebulun. In the Issachar distribution list in Joshua 19, Daberath does not appear. However, Albright (1926: 230) has suggested that Rabbith (19:20) should be emended to Daberath on the basis of $LXX^{B}$. If Albright is correct, what this means is that the Greek scribes read Daberath and that the present reading of the Hebrew text arose from an easy misreading of the *dalet* as a *reš*.

Daberath has been identified with Khirbet Dabbura (M.R. 185233), located on the NW side of Mt. Tabor, less than.5 km E of the modern village of Daburiyeh, which today has nearly engulfed the ancient site with modern buildings and orchard groves. Daberath thus lies at the extreme NE corner of the Esdraelon plain, an area that has been called the Nazareth basin. The site has an important position, nestling between Mt. Tabor and the most S low hills of lower Galilee, connecting two major valleys. Daberath is at the gateway of the Trunk Road as it enters the Esdraelon plain from the Sea of Galilee. This road was one of the main passages from Damascus to the Mediterranean via Megiddo.

Since the mid-1930s inspection visits from the Department of Antiquities and archaeological surveys have been conducted at Khirbet Dabbura. Most of the pottery that has been studied from this site belongs to the Roman, Byzantine, and Arabic periods, although there is also evidence of pottery from the Hellenistic, Persian, Iron, and Bronze Age periods (Peterson 1977: 168–76). Daberath was an unwalled city, and further archaeological work must be done on the NW corner of the base of Mt. Tabor before the occupational history of the site can be established with certainty.

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**DABRIA** (PERSON) [Lat *Dabria*]. One of the five scribes whom Ezra was instructed to take with him in restoring the Scriptures (2 Esdr 14:24). In the 14th chap. of 2 Esdras God speaks to Ezra out of a bush, bidding him to reprove the living generation. Ezra accepts the responsibility but is apprehensive of those who are yet to come. The holy Scriptures had been burnt (2 Esdr 14:21; cf. 2 Kgs 25:8–9), and those who wish to live in the end time may be left in darkness without the light of Torah. Ezra prays for inspiration to restore the Scriptures. God directs Ezra to prepare many writing tablets and to employ the five scribes, Sarea, Dabria, Selemia, Ethanus, and Asiel, whose expertise was to write rapidly. At Ezra's dictation they take turns writing for 40 days in characters which they do not know (2 Esdr 14:42), probably in the square Hebrew characters.

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JIN HEE HAN

**DAGON** (DEITY) [Heb *dāgôn* (דָּגוֹן)]. Dagon is attested as the patron deity of the middle Euphrates region centered around Tuttul, Mari, and esp. Terqa, from the 3d millennium B.C.E. The earliest reference to the worship of this god is in the inscriptions of Sargon of Akkad, though proper names containing the Dagon element are common from the middle of the 3d millennium B.C.E. throughout Mesopotamia (Roberts 1972: 18; Pettinato and Waetzoldt 1985: 239–48). As divine ruler of his land, Dagon was responsible for king and people; this is well attested in spheres of military expansion, fertility, living and deceased human rulers, and divine advice (Kupper 1947: 150–52). A number of messages from Dagon to his territory have survived. By dream, by ecstatic possession, and by oral command, male and female prophets and commoners related Dagon's messages on topics ranging from war and peace (Dossin 1978: 9, 122–23, no. 80; 1948: 128–32) to preparations for a funeral (Kupper 1950: 64–65, no. 40).

Whether or not the cult was adopted from the area around Terqa, Dagon was a popular and enduring deity in Mesopotamia (Menzel 1981: 51–53) and Syria (Schaeffer 1935: 155–56); the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I honored the deity by building the temple Ekisiqa in Terqa (*GARI* 1: 24–25). The cult appears to have been established in Palestine by the second half of the 2d millennium B.C.E. since a name with the Dagon element appears in the Amarna Letters (Artzi 1968: 163–64). There is little information on Dagon and his cult along the E Mediterranean. While the god's name appears in the texts of Ugarit (Del Olmo 1981: 69–70; Xella 1981: 388), little information is provided aside from the fact that he is Baal's father and a ritual reference. Furthermore, the name is lacking from some Ugarit god lists altogether (de Moor 1970: 219). Two inscriptions which might refer to the existence of Dagon in Palestine include the word *dgn*, but it is uncertain what this word means in this context (*KAI* 14:19; Montalbano 1951: 390–91).

All biblical references to Dagon appear in literary narratives and may not be considered primary data. Temples are reported for Dagon as a Philistine deity (1 Sam 5:1–7; Judg 16:23; 1 Chr 10:10; 1 Macc 10:83–84; 11:4) in the cities of Ashdod, Beth-shan, and perhaps Gaza. Yet, no archaeological evidence has independently confirmed such a temple to Dagon in any of these sites. Several place names also include Dagon's name (Montalbano 1951: 391), thus confirming the deity's importance for the area. This importance may also be assumed from the use made of Dagon in biblical texts through the end of the 2d century B.C.E.

Aside from Dagon's attributes as a patron deity, this god's cosmic character remains unknown. Three major theories have been posited for the function of Dagon. It was long thought the god was related to the Semitic root *dg* 'fish' (*ERE* 4: 387); this understanding was supported by references in Jerome and in the Talmudic tradition (Montalbano 1951: 394; Holter 1989: 145). A case was made that Dagon was related to Odakon, a fish-man character in Berossus' *Babyloniaca* (*ERE* 4: 387; Fontenrose 1957: 278). Though both arguments were rejected early in the 20th century (*ERE* 4: 387; *RLA* 2: 101), they were later revived. The fish aspect is still argued to be a secondary attribute (Fontenrose 1957: 278–79; Holter 1989: 146–47), while the Odakon connection (Fontenrose 1957: 278) is now considered highly improbable given that the Berossus mss are not uniform in the name of the fish-human (Burstein 1978: 19 n. 42; Montalbano 1951: 395).

The Semitic root *dgn*, when translated as "grain," is also seen as the original meaning of the name Dagon (Langdon 1931: 78; Dhorme 1950: 135; *EncJud* 5: 1222). The equation of Dagon with *sitōn* in Philo of Byblos (recorded in Eus. *P.E.* 1.10.16) supports such a theory, yet the notion of Dagon as a god of grain finds no solid evidence in the ANE. Albright, followed by several others, argues that Semitic "grain" may have been named after the god Dagon rather than the other way around (Albright 1920: 319 n. 27; Montalbano 1951: 395–96; Wyatt 1980: 377; Attridge and Oden 1981: 87 n. 87); but this suggestion depends on an unknown chronology (Holter 1989: 142).

The Albright note suggested that Dagon was named as a storm god on the basis of an Arabic root *dg*, which he translated "be cloudy, rainy," and argued that the fertility aspect of Dagon was related to this weather aspect. This theory has been widely accepted (Montalbano 1951: 394; Caquot and Sznycer 1980:

15; Wyatt 1980: 377–79; Holter 1989: 142); yet the name must be derived from a root not attested in the ancient world and the fertility aspect is as likely to be related to a patron deity as to a storm deity.

Thus the cosmic character of Dagon eludes definition. The deity is equated to too many foreign deities to posit that any of them really was seen as the same "kind" of divinity (Fontenrose 1957: 277; Laroche 1968: 524; Wyatt 1980: 379; Baumgarten 1981: 195; Lipiński 1983: 308, 309; Pettinato and Waetzoldt 1985: 235–36). Whatever the god represented for his devotees, however, he certainly endured through the centuries.

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**DALET.** The fourth letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

**DALIYEH, WADI ED-** (M.R. 189155). A deep, steep-sided ravine that cuts into the rim of the Jordan rift in the desolate E edge of the central hill country on the W of the Jordan river. It was the site of major discoveries in the early spring of 1962, especially a cache of ancient papyri found in one of its many caves, namely the Mughâret ʿAbū Shinjeh, which penetrates the side of the wâdī at a point some 14 km N of ancient Jericho (Tell es-Sulṭân) and 4 km SW of Khirbet Fasāyil, the Phasaelis of Herod the Great. The cave is about 1500 feet above the Jordan.

The finds, which included hoards of coins, jewelry including seal rings, scores of bullae, and vast quantities of pottery, virtually all dating to the 4th century B.C.E., were associated with hundreds of skeletal remains, all buried under millennial deposits of bat guano.

The initial discovery of papyri and artifacts in the Wâdī ed-Dâliyeh was made by bedouin. Purchase of the papyri and associated finds took place in November 1962 through the agency of the American Schools of Oriental Research; in 1963 and 1964 two seasons of excavations in the caves of the Wâdī ed-Dâliyeh were undertaken by P. W. Lapp on behalf of the Schools. Two caves were thoroughly excavated,

Mughâret ʾAbū Shinjeh (Cave 1), and ʿArâq en-Naʿsâneh (Cave 2). The latter contained very significant remains of EB IV occupation as well as artifacts left by squatters of the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome. Cave 1 proved to be the cave of the papyrus finds, and bits of papyri, bullae, coins, cloth, jewelry, and pottery discovered in excavation firmly established the place of origin of the materials acquired from the bedouin. Save for a few bits of miscellaneous pottery from the surface of the cave floor, the deposits (beneath the surface) were homogeneous.

Most of the papyri of the Wâdī ed-Dâliyeh prove to be slave conveyances, although deeds of property and similar legal documents also belong to the corpus. Perhaps ten of the papyri can be reconstructed wholly or in large measure, but most are highly fragmentary. The owners of the papyri, men and women, were evidently patricians from Samaria. Whenever the place of execution of a papyrus is preserved, it is recorded that the contract was drawn up "in Samaria the city (or Samaria the acropolis) which is in Samaria the province" and normally the deed was executed before the governor of Samaria or a high official of the chancellery. Hence the papyri have been designated SAMARIA PAPYRI. The dates recorded on the papyri range from ca. 375 to March 19, 335 B.C.E., and associated coins date as well from the late pre-Alexandrian era.

The historical occasion for the flight of Samaritan nobles from their capital city into the cave in the cliffs and wasteland of the Jordan can be specified with some confidence. In 331 B.C.E., shortly after Alexander the Great conquered Palestine, the Samaritan leaders rose up in an abortive revolt against their Macedonian overlords. According to Curtius the Samaritans burned alive Andromachus, Alexander's prefect in Syria. In the aftermath the Samaritan conspirators were hunted down, and the city of Samaria was destroyed and resettled as a Macedonian colony. The papyri and associated finds owe their preservation to the massacre of their Samaritan owners in theMughâret ʾAbū Shinjeh.

The finds in Cave 1 in the Wâdī ed-Dâliyeh furnish welcome light on a little-known era in Palestine. The papyri are the first substantial discovery of legal documents from the soil of Palestine. They provide a sample of late 4th-century Aramaic and of its legal formulas and usages, and they reveal substantial differences from the legal formularies in use in the Aramaic papyri from Jewish sources in 5th-century Egypt. Of special interest, too, are the sealings from the papyri. The bullae preserve the impressions of exquisite signets, many showing scenes from Greek mythology, some engraved with motifs familiar from Achaemenid Persia, one inscribed with the name of Sanballat II, governor of Samaria, a hitherto unknown figure, presumably the grandson of biblical Sanballat, adversary of Nehemiah in the late 5th century. The penetration of Greek art motifs in pre-Alexandrian times in glyptic is surprising but adds to a growing accumulation of data for extensive Greek influence in Syria-Palestine before the advent of Alexander.

The finds of Cave 2, if less spectacular, are also of no little importance for the historian. The repertoire of EB IV pottery used by inhabitants of the cave dates probably to the mid-21st century B.C.E. and is further testimony to the poor and relatively obscure culture which intervened between the great urban civilizations of the EB and MB. The finds of the era of the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome (132–135 C.E.) are the first evidence of an outpost or hiding place of Bar Kokhba's Jewish adherents to the N of Jerusalem and Jericho. Hitherto their remains have been found chiefly in the great caves of the canyons S of Jericho which drain into the Dead Sea. Recovered in excavation was a corpus of pottery of substantial size (e.g., 65 storage jars), mostly domestic wares, together with fragments of cloth, keys, and a coin of the Second Revolt. No skeletons or written materials were found. However, papyrus bits of Second Revolt date, claimed to originate in the Wâdī ed-Dâliyeh, but mixed with materials evidently from the S caves, and of dubious provenance, were offered for sale by bedouin. The fate of the Jewish rebels, who, like the Samaritan fugitives four centuries earlier, sought safety in the desolation of the Dâliyeh wilderness, is unknown. Given the ruthless efficiency with which the Romans sought out the rebels, however, it is doubtful that they escaped captivity or death. See also SAMARIA (PAPYRI) .

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**DALMANUTHA** (PLACE) [Gk *Dalmanoutha* (Δαλμανουθα)]. This name occurs once in Mark 8:10 in the majority reading (codices Alexandrinus, Sinaiticus, and Vaticanus). It was apparently located on the NW shore of the Sea of Galilee (cf. Mark 7:31), since the majority reading in the parallel text in Matt 15:39 is "Magdala." The minority reading in Matthew, "Magadan," is actually better attested (original reading of codices Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, Bezae, the Latin, and the Syriac), but a place name otherwise unknown.

It is easy to see that the copyists of Mark did not understand the name, for they consulted Matt 15:39 or otherwise simply "corrected" what lay in front of them. Also, they were not sure whether the place was a mountain, a district, or a territory, as all three terms appear. Aside from "Dalmanutha," they variously recorded the place name in Mark 8:10 as Dalmanountha (Codex Vaticanus), Dalmounai (Codex Washingtonus), Mageda (minuscules 28 & 565), Magedan (Syriac Sinaiticus and the OL), Melegada (the first hand of Codex Bezae), Magdala (families f1 and f13; Codex Tiflis), or with other variants (Metzger 1971: 97).

The place name Dalmanutha is unknown outside the NT. It seems to have a genuine Aramaic locative ending in *-tha* or *-tah* (as in Anabtah in Samaria, Canatha in Tyre, or Gabatha in lower Galilee). However, the root **dlm* is otherwise unattested in biblical Aramaic, though it appears in adverbs in targumic Aramaic. Probably the most ingenious linguistic explanation for the name is that of Nestle (1906: 406), who derived the name from the Aramaic particle *dy* 'which' + *l* 'belonging to' + *mnatah* or *manah* 'portion' or 'lot' in the Syriac Bible, cf. Josh 14:1, 15:1. This implies that Mark had an Aramaic text before him with a phrase something like "which belongs to the territory of …," but Mark understood it as a place name. Mark characteristically preserves bits of Aramaic but elsewhere always in the speeches of Jesus.

The word *dylmʾ* meaning "wall" occurs in the Jerusalem Talmud, which appeared about 400 C.E. (*j. Kil.* 32d). Thus it is at least possible that Mark knew a genuine place name or an Aramaic phrase.

In 1970, when the shores of the Sea of Galilee were exceptionally low, it became possible to investigate several ancient anchorages below the modern surface of the lake. These were walled enclosures built of stone blocks in the water but near the shore. There is one at Capernaum and another at Magdala, among others. A possible third is to be found N of and near Magdala and W of Capernaum. This may be ancient Dalmanutha (Nun 1971). If so, Dalmanutha was a small anchorage, likely in the district of Magdala. On the other hand, it is also possible that the Aramaic word meant "enclosure, anchorage" and came to be understood as a proper name. Thus the oral tradition may have had either "… the anchorage of the district of Magdala" or "Dalmanutha of the district of Magdala." There is no scholarly consensus.

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JAMES F. STRANGE

**DALMATIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Dalmatia* (Δαλματια)]. A region along the modern Yugoslav coast of the Adriatic Sea which in apostolic times was the SW part of Illyricum. This ill-defined mountainous district was a nemesis to Rome. By the time of Paul's epistle to Timothy (ca. A.D. 67) the name denoted at least

the region between the Macedonian frontier to the S and the river Titius (Kerka) and oftentimes the entire province of Illyricum (2 Tim 4:10). The broader definition was definitely used during the Flavian era. Main Dalmatian cities included Salona, Scodra, and Delminium—the capital.

The Romans established a protectorate over Dalmatia in 228 B.C. but never realized an easy or peaceful suzerainty. The name Dalmatia originally indicated the land of a warlike tribe—the barbarous Delmatae or Dalmatae. The region, true to its name, remained rebellious even through the fall of Rome. In 157 B.C. the Dalmatians openly mistreated Gaius Fannius, the leader of a Roman embassy. Subsequently, Marcius Figulus burned Delminium. Already by 119 B.C. the Romans deemed it necessary to send additional forces, this time led by Caecilus Marcus, to put down Dalmatian revolts. And the Dalmatians would revolt a generation later and defeat Caesar and Gabinus (50–48 B.C.). Augustus thought it noteworthy to list Dalmatia (Illyricum) among his accomplishments: "I extended the frontier of Illyricum to the bank of the Danube" (Augustus *Res Gestae* 30; App. *Ill.* 11–12, 28; Suet. *Aug.* 21, 23). But late in his reign (A.D. 6–8) he faced more Dalmatian resistance and sent Tiberius to squelch Bato's revolt. Dalmatia, partly because of its N location, but mainly because of its semi-independence, became a haven for refugees and enemies of Rome, e.g., Aetius in A.D. 433 and Emperor Julius Nepos in A.D. 475 (Jones 1964: 3: 244). Paul highlights its remoteness in Rom 15:19: "… all the way around to Illyricum." However, the N coastal location attracted both merchant and military interest. The Dalmatians made little use of coinage but, nonetheless, remained an important tax base for the Romans (Strabo 7.315). Romans would display their military skills in Dalmatia (Ferrill 1986: 159), and their enemies saw the region as the gateway to the Roman Balkans. Alaric capitalized both on Dalmatia's tax problems, gaining support among Roman Dalmatians (Claudian *De Bello Gothico* 536), and on the location (Ferrill 1986: 95), en route to his sack of Rome in A.D. 410.

The Dalmatian church was infiltrated by both cults and Greco-Roman religious factions. A dedication "to the gods and goddesses" appears in the wall of a Dalmatian church (Fox 1986: 194), and Ramsay MacMullen lists Dalmatia as a cult center (MacMullen 1981: 13, 127).

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**DALPHON** (PERSON) [Heb *dalpôn* (דַּלְפוֹן)]. One of the ten sons of Haman (Esth 9:7). On problems surrounding the list of names see ADALIA (PERSON). The etymology of Dalphon (LXX *delpōn*, A-Text *adelphon*—due to inner Greek corruption, so Tov 1982: 5) remains unclear (Paton *Esther* ICC, 70 and Gehman 1924 offer some possibilities).

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**DAMARIS** (PERSON) [Gk *Damaris* (Δαμαρις)]. A convert of Paul in Athens portrayed in Acts 17:34. That she is mentioned by name suggests that Luke or his sources considered her a prominent convert, perhaps one who made a name for herself in the Christian community. Since it was uncommon for an ordinary Athenian citizen-woman to be present at such public gatherings as Paul addressed in Athens, W. M. Ramsay (1920: 252) suggests that Damaris was one of the Athenian *heitarai*, i.e., women who provided companionship for Athenian men in public as well as in private. Normally these "companions" were foreigners and some were better educated than citizen-women (Witherington 1988: 6–9). Beyond this possible conjecture we know nothing of Damaris' life or background. If Luke's audience considered Damaris a "companion," then this story may be included in Acts to show that the gospel frees one from

such a lifestyle. Finally, we do see at Acts 17:34 the typical Lukan male-female parallelism, where Luke attempts to show that the gospel affects and benefits men and women equally.

The name Damaris is not found elsewhere in Gk literature with the spelling we find here, and thus some scholars have suggested that it is a mistaken reading for the common name Damalis (found in the African Latin ms Codex h at Acts 27:34). Other forms of the name Damaris are known in the relevant Gk literature, and the later Latin evidence is too slender a basis for concluding that the text originally read Damaris (Foakes Jackson and Lake 1933: 220). It is noteworthy that the Western text of Acts, on which the KJV is based, does have a marked antifeminist bias (Witherington 1984: 82–84), e.g., Codex D omits any reference to Damaris at all and focuses only on Dionysius. On the other hand, Codex E attaches the description "of honorable station" to Damaris, not to Dionysius (Bruce *Acts* NICNT, 363).

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BEN WITHERINGTON, III

## DAMASCUS (PLACE) [Heb *dammeśeq* (דַּמֶּשֶׂק), *dûmmeśeq* (דּוּמֶּשֶׂק), *darmeśeq* (דַּרְמֶשֶׂק)].

DAMASCENE. A city of S Syria, which is not only the capital of modern Syria, but was the capital of the nation of Aram during the 10th through 8th centuries B.C.E. Aram was a constant rival to, and sometimes an ally of Israel, until it was incorporated in the Assyrian Empire in 732 B.C.E. See ARAM (PLACE). It is the city to which Paul went after his encounter with the risen Christ, and it is where he became converted to Christianity (Acts 9).

### *PRE-HELLENISTIC HISTORY*

### A. Location

Although on the border of the great Syrian desert, the city is located along the banks of the Barada river, the only major perennial water source in the region. The water, combined with the rich soil of the basin, has made the area of Damascus one of the richest agricultural regions in the Near East. The city has also been a major station on the main N-S caravan route since ancient times. These factors partially explain the importance of Damascus over the centuries.

The site of ancient Damascus is located under the present "Old City," and no excavations into the pre-Roman levels have yet taken place. (On what is known of the topography of the ancient city, see Sauvaget 1949 and Watzinger and Wulzinger 1921). Because of the status of the excavation work, most of our information concerning the ancient city comes from historical sources of neighboring cultures, including those of Israel, Egypt, Hatti, Assyria, and Babylonia. These documents deal with Damascus only when the international affairs of their countries brought them into contact with the city. Thus we know very little about the domestic situation and internal affairs of Damascus.

### B. Damascus in the Late Bronze Age

Although there is a popular tradition that Damascus is the oldest continuously occupied city in the world, no clear evidence for the existence of the city before the 15th century B.C.E. has yet been found. There were reports in the late 1970s that the name Damascus occurs in the Ebla tablets (ca. 2400 B.C.E.), but this has not been confirmed, and many scholars have expressed strong doubts that its name or any S Syrian or Palestinian town names actually occur at Ebla. Neither reference to Damascus in Gen (14:15 and 15:2) can be used to argue for the existence of the city during the MB Age (ca. 2000–1550), even if the patriarchs are to be dated to that period (Pitard 1987: 9).

The first undisputed occurrence of the name is in a list of Syro-Palestinian cities inscribed on the walls of the temple of Amun at Karnak in Egypt and dating from the reign of Thutmose III. This list provides the names of towns the kings of which were said to have been captured at Megiddo after Thutmose defeated their coalition in battle, ca. 1482. Damascus is also mentioned on a statue found in the funerary temple of Amenophis III (ca. 1417–1379), which names several cities and states which were subject to (or

at least had friendly relations with) Egypt. The name occurs in three of the Amarna Letters (14th century) and a tablet found at Kamid el-Loz (ancient Kumidi) and also from the 14th century. These sources give little information about the city besides the fact that it existed, that it was ruled by a "king," and that it was usually within the political sphere of Egyptian influence.

Damascus in the LB Age (ca. 1550–1250) was a city of the land of ʾĀpu/ʾŌpu (conventionally vocalized by scholars in its genitive, cuneiform version, Upi—*māt ú-pî*). A larger number of sources exist which refer to this land, and these give us a bit more information about events in the Damascus region.

The earliest reference to this land occurs in texts which date some three centuries before the first attestation of the city of Damascus. It is listed among the enemies of Egypt in the Execration Texts found at Saqqara (18th century B.C.E.), in the Egyptian form *ʾipwm*, probably to be vocalized as *ʾĀpum*. In these texts the land of Apum is described as being divided into a N and a S part, each of which was ruled by its own prince.

During the LB, the land of Upi was normally a vassal state in the Egyptian Empire. It was, however, usually at the NE boundary of Egypt's regular sphere of influence and therefore often found itself in the midst of the power struggles between Egypt and Mitanni or Hatti for dominance in Syria. Damascus and Upi are mentioned in four Amarna Letters, which center around a Hittite attempt to remove S Syria from the Egyptian sphere of influence, sometime during the reign of Akhenaten in Egypt (EA 53, 107, 189, 197). The Hittites do not appear to have been particularly successful in Upi, for a 13th-century letter of Rameses II to the Hittite king Ḫattusilis III indicates that Upi was under Egyptian control at that time.

**C. Damascus in the Iron Age**

**1. The State of Aram.** Nothing is known about events in S Syria and Damascus during the "dark age" which covered most of the Near East between ca. 1200 and 1050 B.C.E. When historical sources begin to reappear, the area of Damascus is one of a number of small Aramean states which had been established to the N and E of Israelite territory among a few surviving Canaanite states. The first Iron Age reference to Damascus in written sources is found in the account of David's war with the Aramean kingdom of ZOBAH (2 Samuel 8 = 1 Chronicles 17). Zobah, probably to be located in the N Biqaʿ valley in Lebanon, appears to have been the dominant power in S Syria early in the reign of David. When Zobah came into conflict with the expanding Israelite state under David, two important battles were fought (2 Sam 8:3–8 = 1 Chr 18:3–8 and 2 Sam 10:15–19 = 1 Chr 19:15–19), in which David defeated Hadadezer of Zobah. According to the account in 2 Samuel 8, following the battle with Hadadezer, David was confronted with an army of Arameans from Damascus which arrived to support Zobah. David defeated this army, took control of Damascus, and incorporated it into his empire.

Damascus remained under Israelite control until sometime during the reign of Solomon, when Rezon, the son of Eliada, a former servant of Hadadezer of Zobah, took an army of malcontents, captured Damascus, and there proclaimed himself king (1 Kgs 11:23–25). Solomon was apparently unable to regain control of Damascus. This was the beginning of Damascus' rise to political power as the capital of the state called ARAM in the OT.

During the 9th and 8th centuries Aram-Damascus was often a major rival to the N kingdom of Israel. Under Bir-hadad I (biblical Ben-hadad), Aram attacked Israel after making an alliance with King Asa of Judah and plundered much of its N territory (1 Kgs 15:16–22 = 2 Chr 16:1–6). Aram's stature in the political sphere grew during the second quarter of the 9th century, when its king, Hadad-ʿiḏr, became the leader of a 12-state coalition which opposed the westward expansion of Shalmaneser III of Assyria in the battle of Qarqar, 853 B.C.E. According to Shalmaneser's account of this battle, King Ahab of Israel was one of the allies in the coalition (*ANET*, 278–79). The coalition was successful in keeping Shalmaneser out of central and S Syria for over a decade.

There has been considerable scholarly discussion concerning the accounts in 1 Kings 20 and 22 of wars between King Ahab of Israel and a "Ben-hadad" of Aram-Damascus. Many scholars have identified this Ben-hadad with Hadad-ʿiḏr of the Shalmaneser III inscriptions and have assumed that the battle of Qarqar took place during the period between the battles described in 1 Kings 20 and 22. But recently a number of scholars (Miller 1966; and Pitard 1987: 115–25) have proposed that the stories about the Aram-Israel

wars did not originally give the name of the king of Israel and that they have been misattributed to Ahab's reign. It has been proposed that they are actually the accounts of the battles between King Joash (or perhaps Joahaz) of Israel and Bir-hadad (Heb Ben-hadad), the son of Hazael of Aram, during the early 8th century (cf. 2 Kgs 13:14–19, 24–25).

The preeminence of Aram-Damascus among the states of S Syria and Palestine continued during the reign of Hazael, a usurper who seized the throne sometime around 842 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 8:7–15). After having been initially weakened in disastrous confrontations with Shalmaneser III in 841 and 838 (and possibly again in 837), Hazael quickly consolidated his power and began an imperial policy which led to the creation of a substantial empire. By the time of his death, Hazael controlled most of S Syria and Palestine, including Israel (the areas both E and W of the Jordan), Judah, Philistia, and probably the other states in Transjordan (2 Kgs 10:32–33; 12:17–18).

Hazael was succeeded toward the end of the 9th century by his son, Bir-hadad, during whose reign the empire of Aram disintegrated. Joash of Israel was able to defeat Bir-hadad in battle (2 Kgs 13:24–25 and also probably 1 Kings 20—see above). From extrabiblical sources we learn that Aram was also defeated in a conflict with King Zakkur (formerly vocalized as "Zakir") of Hamath and Luash to the N (*ANET,* 655–56) and that the Assyrian king Adad-nirari III besieged Damascus in 796 and forced Bir-hadad (called Mar›i in the inscriptions) to render a heavy tribute.

Throughout the first half of the 8th century, Aram-Damascus continued to decline and, in fact, may have become a vassal of Israel during the reign of Jeroboam II (ca. 782–748. See 2 Kgs 14:25, 28). Damascus, however, took a leading role in an anti-Assyrian coalition one last time, ca. 735 B.C.E., along with Tyre, Israel, and others. See SYRO-EPHRAIMITE WAR. Raḏyan (biblical Rezin) of Aram and Pekah of Israel attempted to force the young King Ahaz of Judah into joining them, but he refused (2 Kgs 16:5–9; Isa 7:1–9). When the kings of Aram and Israel attacked Judah to remove Ahaz and replace him with a more pliant puppet king, Ahaz sent a large gift to Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria and asked him for help. Before the siege of Jerusalem could succeed, Tiglath-pileser III marched into Syria, where in 733 and 732 his army attacked Aram. After destroying virtually all the towns in Aram (his annals claim 591 towns destroyed in the 16 districts of Aram; *ANET*, 283), Tiglath-pileser finally captured Damascus, killed Raḏyan, and annexed Aram into the empire. Damascus became the capital of a province (suitably called "Dam̲ascus"), while the rest of Aram was divided into other provinces, including Hauran, Qarnini, Manṣuate, and Ṣubate.

In 720 Damascus, along with several other cities, joined Hamath, the only independent Syrian state not yet annexed into the Assyrian empire, in another anti-Assyrian coalition. But the new Assyrian king, Sargon II, met and defeated their forces at the city of Qarqar. Hamath was incorporated into the empire and we hear of no other rebellions by Damascus for the rest of the Assyrian period. In 717 Sargon settled exiles from the cities of Papa, Lullukna, and perhaps some others in Damascus.

**2. Under Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Control.** Little is known about Damascus during the succeeding centuries. That it remained under Assyrian control during the first half of the 7th century seems fairly certain. The Assyrian governor of Damascus is listed in the eponym canon for the year 694 and apparently for a year ca. 650. During the course of a campaign against a number of Arabian tribes, Assurbanipal of Assyria found Damascus a loyal and convenient location in which to spend a short period of time before engaging in a battle with the Arab confederation (640s). But Damascus presumably regained its independence temporarily with the collapse of the Assyrian Empire.

As did most of the states in S Syria and Palestine, Damascus came under Babylonian domination in 604. But the extent of its involvement with the various rebellions in the succeeding decades is unknown. Damascus remained a provincial capital under the Persians, but very little specific information has been preserved about its role in the events of the period.

A few other pertinent facts may be gleaned from the texts. The patron deity of Damascus was the storm-fertility god Hadad, who was given the epithet *rimmōn*, probably better vocalized as *rammān* 'the Thunderer.' The temple of Hadad-ramman was the chief temple of Damascus (cf. 2 Kgs 5:18), and it is thought to have been located on the site of the Umayyad mosque in the current Old City of Damascus.

The wine of the region of Damascus, particularly of the area of Helbon, a few miles N of Damascus, was famed in antiquity throughout the Near East. It is mentioned in Ezek 27:18, as well as in Strabo xv.3.22. For further discussion see *POTT:* 134–55.

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### *THE GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD*

Aramean Damascus, the most important of the Aramean states in Syria, was destroyed by the Assyrians in the 8th century B.C. but was subsequently rebuilt to such an extent that in the Persian period it was described by Strabo as "a noteworthy city, having been, I might almost say, even the most famous of the cities in that part of the world in the time of the Persian empire" (16.2.20). Darius was so impressed with the city that he sent the greater part of his valuables there for security before the battle of Issus (Arrianus *Alan.* 2.11). After the battle Parmenio, the general of Alexander the Great, took the city without a struggle, and it remained a significant cultural center throughout the Hellenistic period.

Following the death of Alexander, his empire was divided among his generals and eventually their successors. In the E Seleucus I Nicator emerged as founder of the Seleucid Dynasty in 312 B.C. After the defeat of Antigonus at Ipsus in 301, when a new partition of the Macedonian Empire was made, he added Syria to his empire. He built Antioch on the Orontes as his new capital, which during the succeeding periods of Greek and Roman control overshadowed Damascus.

The city fluctuated between Seleucid and Ptolemaic control until the Nabateans took advantage of the growing weakness of the Seleucids and moved into Syria about 85 B.C. and took control of Damascus. In 63 B.C. Rome entered the arena of conflict with Pompey mounting an expedition against the kingdom of the Nabateans to restore order to Syria's perpetual anarchy and to the civil war in Judea. He allowed the king of the Nabateans to remain in control of Damascus, but after the victory of Octavian and Mark Antony over Cassius and Brutus, Antony gave Damascus to Cleopatra (34 B.C.). After the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra, the city, along with all of Syria and Palestine, remained under the control of Rome.

Roman coins from Damascus date until A.D. 34 in the reign of Tiberius, then skip a number of years and resume in A.D. 62, in the reign of Nero. During this gap Rome apparently did not exercise direct control over the area, but Caligula allowed Aretas IV to govern Damascus, along with the E side of the Jordan from Arabia to Damascus until his death in A.D. 39 or 40.

The importance of Damascus for NT studies lies in the fact that Paul was converted on its outskirts around A.D. 34 (Acts 9; 22; 26:12–23) while en route to the city to persecute Christians (Acts 9:2). Apparently in the synagogues there were Christians who maintained their Jewish identity. There was in Damascus a large Jewish community which may in some way have been affiliated with the Qumran Community (Essenes) near the Dead Sea (CD 6). Josephus records (*JW* 2.561) that during the First Revolt, the people of Damascus slaughtered 10,500 Jews (A.D. 66).

The Damascus of the NT is located in the SE section of the modern city and was laid out on a typical Hellenistic grid of *insulae* measuring 300 feet (E-W) by 150 feet (N-S) and which is still discernible in the modern street plan. There was a 50-foot-wide, colonnaded *cardo maximus* (probably the "street called Straight" of Acts 9:11) running E-W. Some of the columns of this street have been excavated, and others stand amid the modern-day shops. Remains of a theater, a monumental Roman arch, and perhaps a palace have been found along this street.

Part of the Roman wall has been found about a thousand feet S of the E Gate (Bab Sharqi) beneath St. Paul's Chapel and Window. A small chapel was built by Greek Catholics under the present Ottoman

gateway, where a gate from the Roman period once stood. It is with this gate that tradition associates Paul's escape, when he was let down in a basket through a window in the wall (2 Cor 11:33).

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**DAMASCUS RULE (CD).** The "Damascus Rule (CD )"document was first discovered in the genizah (storeroom) of the Qara'ite synagogue in Old Cairo by S. Schechter, who brought it to the University Library, Cambridge, where it remains. First published as "Fragments of a Zadokite Work" (Schechter 1910) because of its references to "sons of Zadok" (4.1, 3) and "Zadok" (5.5)—and hence often referred to as the *Damascus Document* and officially denoted by the siglum CD (= Cairo: Damascus) on account of its allusions to Exile and covenant-making in the "land of Damascus" (6.5, 19; 7.19; 19.34; 20.12). CD consists of two incomplete mss, designated A and B, and dating respectively from about the 10th and 12th centuries C.E. A contains eight sheets, each with two columns; and B a single sheet with two columns. Schechter numbered the A columns 1–16 and the B columns 19–20—rather confusingly, for 19 contains a slightly different version of 8, while 20 follows 19 but has no counterpart in the A ms. There are also fragments of this work from Qumran Caves 4, 5, and 6 (4QD$^{a–g}$, 5QD and 6QD).

**A. Contents**

It is now customary to divide CD into two parts, the "Admonition" consisting of cols. 1–8–19–20 and the "Laws," cols. 9–16. The "Admonition" opens with reflections on the present condition of Israel in the form of three discourses about the history of God's dealings with his people (1.1–4.12a); from the beginning, mankind, then Israel, strayed after its own desires, and the "covenant of the former ones" (i.e., the preexilic Israel) was abrogated with the divine punishment of desolation of the land and Exile. In the "age of wrath" which has followed, Israel is forsaken by God and misled into continued departure from the true law, despite its belief that it was following God's will. However, God has renewed a covenant with the remnant of the "former ones" and revealed to them through their founder, the "interpreter of the law" (*doreš hattôrâ*) "the hidden things in which all Israel had gone astray—his holy sabbaths, and his glorious festivals, his righteous testimonies and his true ways" (3.14), so that these might "inherit the land." An invitation is issued to outsiders to join this "remnant" community before judgment descends upon Israel. The next section (4.12b–7.9) deals with matters of *halakah,* which separate Israel from the remnant community, beginning with the three "nets of Belial," unlawful marriage, illicit wealth, and sanctuary defilement, which Israel mistakes for "righteousness." By contrast, the community's laws, of which a sample is given, stress the distinction between holy and profane, limited contact with the temple cult, and love for one's "brothers" (fellow members of the covenant community). The third section (7.10–8.21–19.1–20.34) issues warnings about the coming judgment on the wicked, drawing a parallel with Ephraim's secession from Judah and the successive fates of the two kingdoms; one was lost forever. The final part of this section focuses on apostasy from the community itself and emphasizes loyalty to the "teacher" whose recent death is also reflected. This last part of the section may be addressing a later situation and a different audience from the rest of the "Admonition": not outsiders to be invited, but other members of the community to be admonished. It has been suggested (Davies 1983: 48–55) that the three elements of history, law, and warnings in the "Admonition" correspond to the structure of the "covenant formulary" (*Bundesformular*) known in the ANE and believed to exist also in the OT.

The "Laws" deals with a variety of issues governing life within the covenant community, including judicial processes, sabbath and sacrificial observances, officers within the community, support for the needy, oaths, and vows. The principles of arrangement are inscrutable and the compilation is incomplete. However, it seems that two orders of community life are ordained, in "cities" and in "camps." Among the more important aspects of these laws are those which acknowledge temple offerings and those which presuppose considerable contact with gentiles.

On the basis of the Qumran fragments a fuller outline of the document has been proposed (Milik 1959: 151–52; cf. Fitzmyer 1977: 90–92) with additional material at the beginning of the "Admonition" and the beginning and end of the "Laws." But the fragments to be edited by Milik have yet to be published (see, provisionally, Milik 1966), while those already published from Cave 6 (Baillet 1956) contain no additional material or significant deviation from CD. For the time being, judgment must be reserved on this matter.

**B. Identification and History of the Community**

CD is evidently the product of a Jewish community at variance with its fellow Jews. Its identity was disputed for many decades, although a wide consensus correctly placed it in the Hellenistic-Roman era. The references to "Zadok" and "sons of Zadok," as well as the apparently non-Pharisaic *halakhot* led many to suggest Sadducees (e.g., Charles *APOT* 2: 785–834; Lévi 1911–12), though Ginzberg's minute analysis of the *halakhot* led him to prefer Pharisees (Ginzberg 1970); Essenes, though considered (Lévi 1911–12; Meyer 1919), were rejected. The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls apparently supplied the answer. Even before the recovery of fragments of the document from Qumran, phrases like "teacher of righteousness" and "man (or spouter) of lie(s)," present in CD, had reappeared in the Cave 1 *Pesher on Habakkuk*, while other terminological parallels emerged between CD and the *Rule of the Community.* Both the Qumran community and that of CD have subsequently come to be widely regarded, with good reason, as Essene.

However, although a simple equation of the community of CD with the inhabitants of Qumran was widely accepted at first, it is now recognized that the relationship is not so straightforward. Yet it is widely believed to hold the key to the origin and/or the history of the Qumran community, a fact which affords CD a crucial place in Qumran studies. The key differences between the community of CD and that of Qumran are as follows:

**1. Damascus.** CD's historical summaries place the foundation of the "remnant" community in the wake of the "destruction of the land" by Nebuchadnezzar while it was exiled in "Damascus" (6.5). While pre-Qumran scholarship interpreted "Damascus" literally, there is hardly room in what we know of the history of the Qumran community for such an Exile. The suggestion that "Damascus" is a cipher for Qumran (Cross 1961), once widely favored, is no more than a wishful guess; CD speaks of exiles who "went out of the land of Judah," which is hardly true of the inhabitants of Qumran; and CD never associates "Damascus" with the "teacher of righteousness," who seems to have been the founder of the Qumran group.

**2. The Founder of the Community.** For CD the founder of the community is the "interpreter of the law" (6.7), whose rules will be followed for the "period of wickedness" until there arises one who will "teach righteousness at the end of days." This passage might appear not only to separate the "interpreter" and the "teacher" but to place them in a clear temporal and ideological relationship. This relationship appears to be obscured by 1.11, which refers to a past "teacher of righteousness" who came to an already formed but "blind" group; however, it is not so much the relationship between the two *characters* which is altered as the relationship between the characters and the *writer:* CD 1 seems to come from a later period and from a post-"teacher" community; CD 6 does not. Where does the rest of CD stand? The majority of scholars still regard all of CD as Qumranic; Davies (1983) regards it as originally pre-Qumranic, but subject to a Qumranic recension, partly following the lead of Murphy-O'Connor (1970–74), who sees pre-Qumranic sources and Stegemann (1971), who concluded that the "Laws" of CD reflected the circumstances of the Qumran community's parent movement, which he identified with the Maccabean Hasidim.

**3. Organization and Ideology.** CD and other Qumran documents, notably 1QS, share important similarities alongside significant differences. CD depicts life in "camps" or "cities" (14.3; 12.19), including women and children (7.7), governed by "judges" and involving participation in the temple cult. Personal property seems permitted. At Qumran celibacy seems to have been the rule, and its organization (on which the texts offer a confusing picture) had no "judges." The Qumran community apparently

boycotted the temple and permitted no personal property. (For a convenient comparison and contrast, see Vermes 1977: 105–6.)

Two main hypotheses are offered to explain both the similarities and the differences. Each assumes that both types of communities are Essene, though this is not essential. The long-established view is that the Essenes began at Qumran (implying identification of the "interpreter of the law" and "teacher of righteousness") and later formed settlements elsewhere which developed their own rules, with Qumran possibly remaining as a "mother house." It is these other communities which CD describes. The second, more recent theory, first advanced by Murphy-O'Connor (1970–74) on the basis of a series of analyses of CD, is that the Essenes as a movement predated Qumran, and that the Qumran community was a splinter movement, which remained alongside, but presumably in disagreement with, the non-Qumran Essenes. For Murphy-O'Connor, "Damascus" is a cipher for Babylon, where the Essenes originated before migrating to Palestine in the Maccabean period and subsequently withdrawing from its society because of differences over *halakah* and high priesthood. The crucial difference between the two theories, each of which conforms well with Josephus' description of two kinds of Essene (*JW* 2 §119–61), lies in the explanation of Essene origins; the former theory sees the formation of the Qumran community as the starting point, the latter opens the way to an earlier origin, possibly described in CD. For the latter theory the community to whom the "teacher of righteousness" came (CD 1.11) was Essene; for the former, it has to be some other group, usually the Hasidim. Each theory poses different reasons for the origin of the Essenes, though not necessarily for the origin of the Qumran community.

The resolution of this crucial problem involves other elements in CD, notably the laws and the relationship to other literature found in the Qumran caves. Several detailed studies of the CD *halakah* have been undertaken (e.g., Ginzberg 1970; Rabin 1954; Schiffmann 1975) but without conclusive results; in many cases failure to distinguish the laws of CD from those of 1QS reduces the usefulness of the study. But important parallels exist between CD and *Jubilees*, a book to which CD probably refers at 16.3, but which is not thought to be a Qumran composition. Other parallels with *1 Enoch* and the *Temple Scroll* are also evident, lending weight to the suggestion that CD has much in common with other movements related to—and possibly earlier than—the Qumran community.

### C. Qumran and the Qara'ites

A further aspect of CD, perhaps rather underemphasized in recent research, is its relationship to the Qara'ites, in one of whose synagogues it was found and by whom it was presumably copied. Al-Qirqisani (10th century C.E.) mentions "Zadokites" who opposed "Rabbanites" and whose doctrines, as he reports them, resemble both those of the Qara'ites and of CD (Schechter 1910: XVIII–XX; Driver 1965: 260–61). Two possible explanations are available for the apparent continuity of these traditions. One is that the Essene movement continued after the end of the Qumran settlement—quite probable if non-Qumran Essenism was a substantial movement and if it existed also outside Palestine; the other is that the discovery of texts in the Dead Sea region in ancient times (see Driver 1965: 6–15) led to the adoption in some circles of doctrines and laws contained in them or even to the creation of Jewish sects devoted to their teaching. While there seem to be strong links between CD and the Qara'ites, the question is far from resolved and invites further research. A detailed and balanced assessment has been made by Wieder (1962; the most recent and very positive discussion is by Wacholder 1985: 148–55).

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PHILIP R. DAVIES

**DAN** (PERSON) [Heb *dān* (דָּן)]. DANITE. The fifth son of Jacob and Rachel's maid, Bilhah (Gen 30:1–6), and the brother of Naphtali, and as such the eponymous ancestor of the tribe of Dan.

The various genealogies and lists which mention Dan are extremely problematic and the center of considerable debate as to their respective dates and purposes. Wilson (1977: 37–45) has shown that the primary purpose of biblical genealogies was not to preserve historical information. Rather they had a variety of economic, political, and religious functions. The fluidity of Dan's position in these lists and genealogies may reflect changes in political and social relationships between various groups at different times. Dan and Naphtali, the two Bilhah tribes, usually appear in tribal lists together (Gen 35:25; 46:23; Exod 1:4; cf. 1 Chr 2:2). The relative position of Dan in the lists varies considerably from fourth (Num 34:22), fifth (Gen 30:6; Josh 21:5, 23–24; 1 Chr 6:46, 54—Eng 6:61, 69), seventh (1 Chr 2:2), the more frequently ninth (Gen 35:25; Num 1:38–39; 2:25–26; 7:66–71; 10:25; 13:12; 26:42–43), eleventh (Gen 46:23) to twelfth place (1 Chr 27:24). In Ezek 48:1 Dan is placed in the most northerly position, presumably reflecting its later geographical location. However, "the gate of Dan" (Ezek 48:32) is placed in sixth position but separated from Naphtali in twelfth. The size of Dan is also confused in the biblical traditions. In Num 26:43, the census after the plague in the wilderness, Dan is the second largest tribe with 64,400: this is remarkably attributed to one family. The equally large census figures (Num 1:39; 2:26) are at odds with the tradition that Dan was able to muster only 600 men for the expedition to capture Laish (Judg 18:11).

The treatment of Dan in Chronicles differs significantly from that in the Pentateuch. Dan and Zebulun are omitted from 1 Chronicles 2–8, suggesting that the Chronicler wanted to deemphasize Dan. The MT of 1 Chr 6:46—Eng6:61 omits any mention of Dan but is emended by some commentators to read "… the tribe of Ephraim and from the tribe of Dan and from the half-tribe of Manasseh" on the basis of Josh 21:5, 25. The same is true of 1 Chr 6:54—Eng6:69, where the MT is often emended to read "… from the tribe of Dan, Eltekah and its common land, Gibbethon and its common land, …" with Josh 21:23. This tendentious aspect of the genealogies and lists in 1 Chronicles 2–8 is further seen in the omission of Dan in 1 Chr 7:12. On the basis of Genesis 46 and Numbers 26, it is reasonable to expect Dan and Zebulun to be mentioned. Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 106) reads "… and Shuppim and Huppim. The sons of Dan: Hushai, the sons of Aher." This seems reasonable since Hushim is mentioned in Gen 46:23 as the son of Dan. It is at this point in the genealogy that one would expect Dan and Zebulun. This is further indicated

by the next verse which begins with "the sons of Bilhah," i.e., Dan and Naphtali. In 1 Chr 12:24–38, Dan and Naphtali are relegated to a position following Issachar and Zebulun; but Dan is relegated to last place in 1 Chr 27:22, having been separated from Naphtali.

The traditions of Dan's migration have been used by historians to show that Israel was originally confined to the hill country and prevented by stronger Canaanite city-states from settling in the Shephelah and coastal plain. The relevance of the list of towns in Josh 19:40–46, which indicates that the Danite settlement stretched well into the coastal plain, is disputed. However, many scholars believe that this list dates from the monarchic period, particularly the reign of Josiah, and thereby does not provide evidence for premonarchic Dan. In Judg 1:34–35, Dan is said to have failed to conquer Aijalon, Harhares, and Shaalbim. They were pressed back by the "Amorites" out of the Shephelah and forced back into the mountains. Many scholars view this as reliable information from the premonarchic period indicating that Israel was forced to settle in the central hill country owing to the military superiority of the Canaanite city-states. The stories of Samson (Judges 13–16), a Danite, are also thought to preserve traditions of Philistine pressure on early Israelite settlement. The narrative of Dan's migration and capture of Laish in Judges 17–18 is seen by Malamat (1970) as based on a pattern like the Conquest traditions. Dan's search for a new settlement culminates in the capture of the isolated city of Laish and its renaming after the eponymous ancestor of the tribe (Judg 18:29). Josh 19:47 preserves a similar tradition but names the city Leshem. These traditions of migration and the "conquest" of Laish/Leshem have been used as evidence that the Israelite settlement was a protracted process. Yadin (1968) has argued that the reference in Judg 5:17 to Dan's remaining with the ships may indicate that the Danites had their origins among the Danuna as part of the Sea Peoples. Spina (1977) interprets these traditions in light of the revolt hypothesis: he proposes that the tribe of Dan had its origins in a new social synthesis of indigenous Canaanites and groups of the Sea Peoples. Similarly, Gottwald (1979) also believes that these traditions contain much material which supports the revolt model. Other scholars argue that the sources are late or are literary creations which preserve little usable historical information.

The narrative of Judges 17–18 is important for its negative appraisal of the founding of the sanctuary at Dan and of its priesthood (Soggin *Judges* OTL, 263–78). The cult symbol is made from stolen silver (Judg 17:2) and is then stolen from the Ephraimite. The narrative implies that the cult of Dan was syncretistic. The origins of the Danite priesthood are called into question since the Levite is taken under the threat of force. Its claims to Mosaic descent (Judg 18:30) are called into question in the MT of Judg 18:30, which describes Jonathan as the grandson of Manasseh. The use of a suspended *nun* in the name *mnšh* has led many commentators to accept the reading "Moses" (*mšh*) along with some LXX mss, the Vg, and the OL. The ambiguity casts doubt on the legitimacy of the priests of Dan to be descendants of Moses. The polemical aspects of this narrative need to be understood in light of the Deuteronomistic condemnation of the cult of Jeroboam I, with its bull images, set up in Bethel and Dan to rival the Judean royal cult in Jerusalem (1 Kings 12; cf. Exodus 32). The puzzling reference in Judg 5:17, complaining that the Danites did not take part in the Israelite coalition against Sisera, indicates a negative attitude towards Dan. It is in line with the other negative references to Dan throughout the Hebrew Bible. Thus the blasphemer in Lev 24:11 was the son of an Egyptian and a Danite mother. In the blessing of Jacob (Gen 49:16) Dan is said to judge his people as one of the tribes of Israel but then is said to be "… a serpent in the way, a viper by the path, that bites the horse's heels so that his rider falls backward" (49:17). It is not clear if this is a commendation of Dan's military prowess or is a denigration of its trustworthiness. When considered in the light of the criticism of Judg 5:17, it might be read negatively. However, the military prowess of Dan is acclaimed in the Blessing of Moses (Deut 33:22) in the imagery of a young lion that leaps from Bashan. The stories of the Danite Samson (Judges 13–16), of the Danite migration, of the theft of the Ephraimite priest, and of the graven image (Judges 17–18) imply a negative appraisal. Klein's literary analysis (1988) of Judges 17–18 highlights the use of irony whereby Dan, the judge, in the book of Judges is shown to violate the laws of hospitality.

A Danite, Oholiab, was involved in the construction of the tabernacle with Bezelel (Exod 31:6; 35:34; 38:23). They were both skilled metal workers, designers, and craftsmen. A further interesting comparison

comes in 2 Chr 2:13 where Huramabi (see HURAM), the son of a Danite woman, is said to be a skilled craftsman from Tyre (2 Chr 2:13). This is a significant variation from 1 Kgs 7:13–14, where Huramabi is reported as the son of a woman from Naphtali. Dillard (*2 Chronicles* WBC, 20) believes that the alteration was deliberate in order to draw a parallel with Oholiab. In fact, rabbinic exegesis made the connection even more apparent by declaring Huramabi to be a descendant of Oholiab. He points out that the Chronicler parallels the construction of the tabernacle with that of the temple. In so doing, Solomon is compared with Bezalel and Huramabi with Oholiab.

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KEITH W. WHITELAM

**DAN** (PLACE) [Heb *dān* (דָּן)]. Tel Dan, formerly Tell el Qadi, is identified with ancient Dan of the phrase "from Dan to Beersheba" (i.e., 1 Sam 3:20). The identification was first suggested by E. Robinson in 1838 (1841: 358) and has been universally accepted. A bilingual inscription mentioning the "god of Dan," found in 1976 in the course of the archaeological excavations, confirms the identification.

Dan is first mentioned in the Bible in Gen 14:14. At that time, the name of the city was Laish (Josh 19:47; Judg 18:29). The name Laish appears in the Egyptian Execration Texts of the 18th century B.C.E. and in Mari. Thutmose III lists Laish among the cities he conquered. See also LAISH (PLACE). The tribe of Dan, after conquering Laish, changed the city's name to Dan. A few decades afterward the city was attacked by Arameans. In the days of the prophet Amos, the people of Israel swore "by the god of Dan" (cf. Amos 8:14). The last biblical reference to Dan is in Jeremiah (4:15; 8:16).

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A. Location and Topography
B. History of the Excavations
C. History of the Settlement

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**A. Location and Topography**

Tel Dan is located in the N of Israel (M.R. 211294), at the foot of Mt. Hermon and near one of the main sources of the Jordan river, and the tel itself has several perennial springs. It is also on the main crossroads from the Mediterranean to the E and Damascus. Tel Dan is a large mound of some 50 acres, rising close to 20 m above the surrounding plain, with a 40° sloping rampart. A gentle slope from the high circumference of the mound towards the center of the site gives a slightly concave appearance to the mound.

**B. History of the Excavations**

Excavations began in 1966, initially as a rescue operation, and have continued almost without interruption under the direction of A. Biran. By 1987, 20 seasons of excavation had taken place.

The very nature of a rescue excavation dictates the strategy of the excavation; and at Tel Dan it also determined, to a large extent, the strategy of subsequent seasons. Thus for a number of seasons work concentrated on the S slopes of the mound in area A, where a trench was cut from top to bottom in 1966 and in a number of squares opened on the mound itself in area B.

In 1966 the excavations in area A revealed the MB glacis and a flagstone pavement. This flagstone pavement was discovered later to have formed part of the Iron Age gateway. To study further the method of construction of the MB ramparts discovered in 1966, a trench was opened in 1972 on the NE slope of the mound (area Y) and another on the SE corner in 1978 (area K).

In the third season of excavations, area H was opened E of area B and on the N side of the mound near the spring area T, where the cult center was discovered. A number of squares were opened in 1980 in the center of the mound (area M), an area which was undisturbed by later burials. The main areas of excavations from 1982–86 have been in areas B and T, at the S and N edge of the mound respectively.

**C. History of the Settlement**

Tel Dan was first settled in the Pottery Neolithic period, around 5000 B.C.E. Evidence for this conclusion came from a small section in area B where bedrock was reached. Because of the small area excavated, the nature of the settlement could not be determined. It may be assumed, however, that it extended to other parts of the site. The abundant water supply would justify such an assumption.

There followed a gap in the history of occupation until the EB II, approximately the 27th century B.C.E. Undisturbed levels of occupation of the 3d millennium were reached in a number of sections spread over an extensive area, and we concluded that the EB remains cover the entire 50-acre site. This conclusion was supported by the fact that in practically every basket of excavated material EB shards were found. These, together with the complete vessels found in the stratified areas of excavation, indicate that a large and prosperous city, probably called Laish, with a rich material culture, existed at our site around the middle of the 3d millennium B.C.E. Storage jars with combed patterns, a decorated bone handle, platters with a red burnished slip, jugs, and juglets some of which are of the Abydos type, animal figurines, and a large number of seal impressions are but a tantalizing indication of the wealth of the city in the EB II and III periods still to be excavated.

The following period, EB IV, is not well represented at our site. Nevertheless, sufficient evidence was brought to light to indicate that the site had not been abandoned, although the nature of the settlement cannot be determined at this stage of our research.

The beginning of the 2d millennium B.C.E. witnessed the gradual development of the city we know was called Laish in the 18th century B.C.E. Three strata of occupation belonging to the MB I period were found. A stone-built tomb with a characteristic MB I juglet and decorated vessels similar to the so-called Khabur ware from N Syria precede the massive fortifications, which gave the site the shape it has to this day.

This system of defenses consisted of a central core with sloping earthen ramparts against both sides of the core. The earth for the ramparts came from the debris of earlier strata (esp. from the large EB city) and from the natural soil of the surrounding plain. The core on the S slope was 6.3 m thick and built of undressed stone. It is preserved to a height of about 10 m. The same principle of construction was discovered on the NE side of the mound, where the builders used an existing sloping stone structure as the core. In area K the core was built of stone and mudbrick. The base of the rampart construction is about 50 m wide. It is estimated that in order to build the ramparts about 800,000 tons of material had to be used, a task which would require a thousand workers three years to complete. The most remarkable feature of this construction was the triple-arched gate discovered at the SE corner of the rampart in area K. See Fig. DAN.01 and Fig. FOR.01.

The gate is built of sun-dried mudbrick with stone steps approaching it from the E plain and similar steps descending into the city on the W. The gate structure, the N half of which was partially excavated, stands 7 m high and consists of two towers, each about 5.15 m wide, which flank on the E and W a recessed arched gateway 5.15 m wide. Some 47 courses of mudbrick are preserved and the remains of white lime and calcite plaster which covered the brick still adhere to the joins between the courses. The interior of the gate is bisected by a N-S brick wall found standing to a height of approximately 4 m. In the center of this wall is an archway. A third arch was uncovered on the W side of the gate structure. The passage through the arches divides the gate into four chambers. The length of the passage is 10.5 m and that of the entire structure 13.5 m. Examination of the pottery found in the composition of the mudbricks, on the steps, and on the floor of the gate lead us to conclude that the gate was built around the middle of the 18th century B.C.E., the date we had ascribed originally to the construction of the ramparts. The gate and ramparts may belong to the city of Laish mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts. Possibly they represent the historical memory reflected in Gen 14:14.

The gate apparently was not long in use. The discovery of retaining walls and of stone structures built to support the walls of the towers suggests structural defects; and, with these, it was still necessary to abandon the gate. The passageway and chambers were filled with compacted earth, and the entire structure was buried. Entrance to the city was then through one of the gates which no doubt existed in other parts of the rampart. Remains of such a gate were found in the course of the excavations on the S side of the city.

During the MB, the city was about 30 acres and was a city with a rich material culture, evidence for which comes in the offerings found in well-built stone tombs and jar burials. A large assemblage of pottery vessels (some with a close affinity to the N), bronze weapons, and ivory cosmetic boxes were found. Especially numerous were the large open bowls, jugs and juglets, and carinated bowls of all sizes. Also found were Yahudiyeh type juglets and two scarabs. The vessels are to be dated to the MB II and III. Evidence of a destruction at the end of this period comes from two squares in which a thick layer of destruction by fire was found, containing cooking pots, bowls, and juglets of the end of the MB III.

While Laish appears in a historical context in the lists of Thutmose III, the excavations have so far shed no light on this campaign, but two finds reflect contacts with Egypt. One is a red granite statuette of a man in a sitting position, Nefertem by name, found in secondary use in a wall of the Israelite period. The statuette is of a well-known type used in the ritual of the dead, dated to the 19th Dyn., ca. the 14th century B.C.E. Another fragment of an Egyptian statuette was found on the surface. Originally from the Middle Kingdom, it bears a secondary inscription of the Ptolemaic period.

The LB is represented by a large building the stone walls of which are preserved to a height of 1 m. The S and E walls have been exposed to a length of 6 and 7 m respectively. The floor is of flat stones. A female ceramic figurine, possibly a mask, was found in the debris. See Fig. DAN.02. Other remains from the LB period were found in practically all areas excavated. Area B yielded a tomb built of rough basalt stones which contained 95 vessels (26 of which were imported), 4 basalt bowls and 2 stone vessels, 4 ivory boxes, 6 bronze bowls, a bronze shovel, a bronze oil lamp, 2 daggers, 2 swords, numerous arrowheads, and silver and gold jewelry; these indicate the wealth and cosmopolitan character of the city in the LB. Especially significant is the discovery of a complete charioteer vase.

In area Y a scarab of Rameses II and a stirrup jar were found. A large krater with four handles, two decorated storage jars, imported bichrome ware, a unique plaque of a dancer playing the lute, and remains of metal workshops (all from area B) add to our knowledge of the LB city.

The evidence for the arrival of the Danites is both textual and archaeological. Judges 18 gives a detailed account of the migration of the tribe of Dan and the conquest of Laish the name of which they changed to Dan. The excavations did not reveal the devastation implied in Judg 18:27, but the appearance of a stratum of occupation characterized by pits implies a drastic change in the material culture of the population. The new inhabitants, like their predecessors, lived within the ramparts, but their lifestyle was different. The new Danite inhabitants probably lived in tents and huts and stored their food in pits. These stone-lined pits were dug into the earlier levels of occupation and contained Iron Age cooking pots and a new type of storage jar, the “collared-rim” jar. The arrival of the Danites and the conquest of Laish took place around the beginning of the 12th century B.C.E.

According to Judges 18 the Danites brought with them a priest as well as the *pesel*, the *ephod*, the *teraphim*, and the *masekhah*. It is probable that the Danites erected a structure to hold these cult objects, possibly a temple, where the priests could also officiate. While the remains of this early sanctuary have not yet been found, its existence must have prompted Jeroboam to establish one of the golden calves at Dan towards the end of the 10th century B.C.E.

The seminomadic character of the tribe of Dan did not last long. Soon after settling in their new locale, they built houses of stone and developed a metal industry. A large number of crucibles containing bronze sediment and slag, clay tuyeres, basalt slabs, and tools were found in enclosed areas which served as workshops. Although some evidence for metallurgical activity occurs in the LB, the development of the metal industry into a major economic enterprise seems to have been the result of Danite initiative.

The Danites were to enjoy a period of relative peace and prosperity until about the middle of the 11th century B.C.E., when the city was destroyed in a fierce conflagration. The city, however, was not abandoned, and the houses were soon rebuilt using the original walls. The vessels continue the tradition of the previous period. Peace followed for about two centuries.

Toward the end of the 10th century, Jeroboam established the N kingdom and made Dan the main cult center in the N of the country. He set up a golden calf at Dan, which apparently became a more important sacred site than Bethel (1 Kgs 12:30). Remains of the sanctuary built by Jeroboam were uncovered in area T at the N edge of the site.

A rectangular platform, ca. 7 × 19 m, built of large dressed limestone blocks was discovered; also found were parts of large storerooms in which were two large pithoi (ca. 300 liters each) decorated with a snake motif and numerous vessels. A decorated incense stand, chalices, a bowl with a trident incised on its base, and the broken head of a male figurine form part of an assemblage of a cultic nature dated to the late 10th or early 9th centuries B.C.E. Further S an installation consisting of a sunken basin flanked by two basalt slabs and two plastered jars was uncovered and found to contain faience figurines. North of the basin another pithos with a snake decoration was found. In a paved courtyard S of the basin, broken parts of a clay tub were discovered. The tub, 1.5 m long,.6 m wide, and.5 m deep, had a seat at one end. The stone pavement extended to the edge of a rectangular pool fed through a channel from the nearby spring. We believe the entire installation served as part of water libation ceremonies.

The establishment of a cult center at Dan called also for special security—remains of massive fortifications, a city wall, and a gate were uncovered at the S foot of the mound. In the 9th century B.C.E. a 4 m thick city wall and gate complex which included an outer gate with a large paved sqaure were built. The gate has four chambers and a monumental paved entryway leading up to the top of the mound. Between the two gates is a stone-paved piazza, 19.5 × 19.4 m, with a bench for the elders and a canopied structure where the king may have sat (see Fig. DAN.03; cf. 1 Kgs 22:10). Ahab, who had trading rights in Damascus, may have been the king who thus fortified Dan against possible attack by the Arameans. Also in the 9th century, considerable building activities took place in the area of the sacred precinct. A large almost-square structure, about 19 × 19 m, built of ashlars laid in headers and stretchers, was uncovered. The structure, probably a high place or *bamah,* was surrounded on three sides by a courtyard of crushed yellowish limestone. S of the *bamah* were two square surfaces of flat ashlars. A four-horned altar, one horn of a much larger altar, remains of the bases of circular columns, and pottery vessels were found. West of the *bamah* a complex of buildings, including an altar room with a sunken jar containing ashes and with three iron shovels, were excavated in the 1985–86 seasons. It appears that in the 9th and 8th centuries the sacred precinct at Dan had reached its zenith. See Figs. DAN.04 and DAN.05.

The city enjoyed a period of prosperity due perhaps to the victories of Jeroboam II in N Syria. An upper gate was built on the ridge of the mound and in the houses a large repertoire of Iron II vessels came to light. How the Assyrian conquest of N Israel affected Dan is not clear. In any case, the stone pavement continued to serve as a road leading northward into the city and to the sacred precinct. The houses of the 7th century were well built and in one quarter they were built around a large stone-paved courtyard. A large quantity of vessels, including decanters, storage jars, cooking pots, oil lamps, and a shard with the name Baal-Pelet, indicate that the settlement at Dan continued to prosper until the Babylonian Conquest.

Following the Babylonian Conquest, there is little archaeological evidence of the history of the city—only scattered shards of the later periods were found in areas B, K, M, and Y. The chambers of the upper gate were blocked and benches were built along the walls. The pavement, however, continued in use through the Hellenistic period. At the foot of the mound where the Iron Age gate was originally located, two cisterns and clay pipes which brought water from the spring date to the Roman period. Another cistern or plastered pool and burials of the Roman period were uncovered on the slope. The Roman settlement was apparently limited to the SW area of the site, where a large number of shards were found on the surface. The sacred precinct, however, continued with those activities connected with the sanctuary.

West of the high place, the remains of a wall and shards of storage jars and oil lamps of the Persian period were uncovered. On one shard the impression of a magnificent lion was found. A number of figurines, possibly from a favissa, belong to the end of the Persian or to the beginning of the Hellenistic period. A figurine of the god Bes, two of the god Osiris, one of a smiling Astarte, another of woman and child, a figurine of a rider, coins of Ptolemy I (4), of Antiochus III (2), and of Ptolemy II (4), and a figurine of a temple boy indicate activities in and around the sanctuary in the 4th–3d centuries B.C.E.

During the Hellenistic and Roman periods considerable building activities took place in the sacred precinct. A well-built enclosure wall with the entrance from the S surrounded the sanctuary during the Hellenistic period. A plastered circular basin, coins of Antiochus IV and Demetrius II, oil lamps, and a bilingual inscription attest to the fact that the sanctuary continued to serve the community of Dan and the surrounding area. The inscription is especially significant. Written in Gk and Aram, it reads: "To the god who is in Dan, Zoilos made a vow." See Fig. DAN.06.

During the Roman period the entrance in the Hellenistic wall was blocked and new walls were built next to it. West of the enclosure wall a fountain house was built. Steps led down to plastered basins which were fed by water brought from the spring through a clay pipe. The overflow was returned to the spring in an open channel. Some 38 coins of Constantine I and Constantine II may have belonged to the pilgrims who visited the sanctuary in the 3d and 4th centuries C.E. The last reference to Dan was by Eusebius, who stated that it was located 4 miles from Paneas.

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**DANIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *dānī᾽ēl* (דָּנִאֵל)*, dānîyē᾽l* (דָּנִיֵּאל)]. **1.** The second son of David, born at Hebron (1 Chr 3:1), the firstborn of David and Abigail of Carmel, Nabal's widow (1 Samuel 25). He is called "Chileab" in 2 Sam 3:3, a reading which undoubtedly is corrupt (see CHILEAB). In Chronicles the textual problem is similarly confused. Greek mss had a variety of readings—*Daniēl* (one codex; so Rahlfs); *Damniēl* (Codex Vaticanus), *Dalouia(s)* (Codex Alexandrinus; Lucianic recension; Aquila)—and the Syriac had *klb,* reflecting the late Samuel reading. "Daluiah" or "Daniel" was most likely his given name.

**2.** The head of a postexilic Levite family descended from Ithamar, the fourth son of Aaron. He returned to Jerusalem with Ezra, along with other leading Israelites and their households (Ezra 8:2). In the parallel account in 1 Esdr 8:29, he is called Gamael (Gk *Gamēlos*). He was among those leaders who signed and sealed their names upon a covenant document (Neh 10:7—Eng 10:6). They were prompted, according to the text, by their awareness of their shortcomings exposed in the ceremony of reading the Law (Nehemiah

8–9), and were joined by the rest of the community (10:29–30—Eng 10:28–29). Specific stipulations in this document are spelled out in Neh 10:31–40 (Eng 10:30–39).

**3.** The primary character in the narratives of Daniel 1–6, and the man who had the dreams and visions recounted in Daniel 7–12. See DANIEL, BOOK OF.

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**DANIEL, ADDITIONS TO.** The Additions (Adds) to Daniel consist of three extended passages in the Greek LXX which have no counterpart in the canonical text of Daniel: (1) "The Prayer of Azariah and the Hymn of the Three Young Men," consisting of 66 verses and located between what would correspond to vv 23 and 24 of the third chap. of canonical Daniel; (2) "Susanna," consisting of 64 verses; and (3) "Bel and the Snake," consisting of 42 verses, the latter two Adds usually appearing after the canonical chaps. of Daniel. All three Adds have their setting in Babylon and describe how some Jew who trusted in the Lord God of Israel was delivered from certain death through the intervention of an angel.

Evidently never a part of the Jewish canon (neither the one probably established by ca. 150 B.C. [*HJP²* 2: 317]) nor as it existed in Josephus' day in the 1st century A.D. (*HJP²* 3/2: 706–8), the Adds were regarded as part of the Christian canon of the Western Church until the time of the Protestant and Catholic movements, at which time they were rejected by Protestants and were termed "apocryphal" while the Roman Catholic Church at its Council of Trent in 1546 reaffirmed them and termed them "deuterocanonical."

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**A. Introduction**

**1. Their Secondary Character.** The external evidence proves that these three compositions are, in fact, later additions. There is no ms evidence for their existence among the Jews of antiquity, not even among the Dead Sea Scrolls, where there have been found, to date, seven Semitic copies of Daniel, most of them

quite fragmentary (Milik 1981), and three Aramaic texts containing hitherto unknown legends about him (Pseudo-Daniel[a,b,c] [Milik 1956]).

Josephus mentions none of the Adds in spite of the fact that he does record some other noncanonical legends about the prophet Daniel (cf. *Ant* 10.11.6–7). Nor is there a Gk translation of them by Aquila, the Jewish convert of the 2d century A.D. who translated the then-current rabbinic text into ridiculously literal Greek (for details on Aquila, see AQUILA'S VERSION). Both Origen (185?–?254) and Jerome (340?–420) expressly stated that they knew of no current Hebrew text of the Adds (on Jerome, see Braverman 1978: 49–52). Finally, the so-called Hebrew and Aramaic "survivals" of these Adds found in the medieval works of Josippon and Jerahmeel (so Gaster 1894–95; 1899) are actually translations of Gk and Lat versions of the Adds (Lévi 1933; Moore 1977: 49, 86, 117; for details on Josippon, see JOSIPPON). An examination of the internal evidence (see below *passim*) also confirms the secondary character of the Adds.

**2. The Two Greek Texts.** The Gk text of Daniel occurs in two quite different forms: the Septuagint (LXX) and the so-called Theodotion ("Θ"), both of which are printed for purposes of convenient comparison in Swete (1894), Rahlfs' *Septuagint,* and Ziegler (1954). While the "Θ" has many witnesses (Ziegler 1954: 7–76), the LXX has only three: (1) the Chester Beatty-Cologne papyrus 967, dating to ca. A.D. 150 (its fragments are scattered among the works of Ziegler 1954; Geissen 1968; and Hamm 1969, 1977); (2) Codex Chisianus 88, a 9th-century cursive ms; and (3) the Ambrosian Syro-Hexaplar, a very literal Syriac translation of Origen's text made by Paul of Tella in 615–617. Inasmuch as the LXX of Daniel was used by the translator of 1 Maccabees (Bludau 1897: 8, n. 6; Montgomery, *Daniel* ICC, 38), virtually all scholars agree that the LXX of Daniel existed by 100 B.C. and that it originated in Egypt, probably Alexandria (Pfeiffer 1949: 440).

For reasons not altogether clear (Moore 1977: 31), the LXX of Daniel was replaced by "Θ" in the Christian Church sometime between 150 and 250.

Regardless of who the scribe Theodotion (i.e., "Θ") was in other LXX books (Montgomery, *Daniel* ICC, 24–29, 35–42, 46–55; Hartman and DiLella, *Daniel* AB, 74–84), the "Θ" of Daniel does not represent that 2d-century recensionist; for many phrases from "Θ" of Daniel are found in the Greek of Baruch and in Hebrews and Revelation (Hartman and DiLella, 80–81). Nor is the "Θ" of Daniel of the same tradition as Proto-Theodotion (*kaige*) in other books of the LXX (Schmitt 1966: 11–16, 100–12; but see Grelot 1966: 392; Delcor 1971: 22). Rather, the "Θ" of Daniel is best regarded as a separate translation of the Semitic book of Daniel (i.e., not a recension of the LXX), albeit its Gk translator sometimes adopted the wording of the LXX. The "Θ" of Daniel probably dates to the 1st century of the pre-Christian era; the 1st century A.D. is its latest possible date. On the basis of the list of officers in Dan 3:2, Koch (1973) proposes Syria-Mesopotamia as the translation's place of origin.

The origin and relationship of the deuterocanonical sections of the LXX and "Θ" in Daniel are even more puzzling. For even though the LXX and "Θ" are virtually identical in "The Prayer of Azariah and the Hymn of the Three Young Men," they differ considerably (in both wording and content) in "Susanna," while "Bel and the Snake" occupies in this matter a midposition. Schmitt (1966: 100–12) would account for these differences in the Adds by arguing that the canonical and deuterocanonical sections of "Θ" had different translators, the Adds probably being done by Symmachus of the 2d century A.D. By contrast, Schüpphaus (1971: 49–72) maintains that the Adds of "Θ" are but an extensive reediting of both the style and content of the LXX and not a new translation (he ignores, however, the question of whether the Adds had a Semitic *Vorlage*). The consensus of scholars is that in neither the LXX nor "Θ" is there a difference between the Greek of the canonical and deuterocanonical sections, that is, in each case the canonical and deuterocanonical sections were done by the same Gk translator. That being the case, differences between the LXX and "Θ" of Daniel are, in essence, a reflection of their different Semitic *Vorlagen.*

In all the ancient and modern versions of Daniel, the Adds are based upon "Θ", the only exceptions being the Syro-Hexaplar and the earliest edition of the *Vetus Latina* (or OL) (Montgomery, *Daniel* ICC, 29–32; Charles 1929: 1viii). Moreover, the Syriac Peshitta and the Vulgate, as well as the Coptic, Ethiopic, Arabic, and Armenian, are all quite literal translations of "Θ".

**B. "The Prayer of Azariah and the Hymn of the Three Young Men"**

**1. Component Parts.** This LXX material is located between what would correspond to vv 23 and 24 of the third chap. of the canonical book of Daniel, where three Jewish youths (i.e., Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego) were miraculously preserved by God's angel after being thrown into the fiery furnace by King Nebuchadnezzar for refusing to worship a large gold idol. So impressed was the king at their deliverance that he decreed that anyone who spoke against their God should be killed and his house destroyed, for there is no other God who could deliver in that way.

The Add contains three (more likely, four) separate and independent compositions: (1) the prayer (3:24–45 of the LXX); (2) the narrative (3:46–51); (3) the ode (3:52–56) or, as it is called in the Roman Catholic liturgy, *Benedictus es;* and (4) the psalm (3:57–90), or *Benedicite* (for a discussion of their liturgical use, see Daubney 1906: 83–97). Those scholars who regard the ode and psalm as one composition commonly refer to it as the "hymn" (Moore 1977: 75–76).

With the possible exception of the narrative, these four compositions are clearly secondary, being added after the completion of the canonical book (i.e., sometime after 163 B.C.) but before the latter's translation into Greek (ca. 100 B.C.). Questions concerning the original language, date, and provenance must be asked about each of the additions, because there is no justification for treating them en masse.

**a. The Prayer.** Azariah's prayer (so "Θ") was actually offered by all the martyrs (so the older LXX) while inside the blazing furnace, miraculously unaffected by its searing heat. That the prayer was a separate and independent entity that originally had nothing to do with the fiery furnace is indicated by four lines of argument: (1) the clumsy and repetitious character of the prayer's own introduction to itself in vv 24–25 of the older LXX; (2) its use in v 24 of the heroes' *Hebrew* names, whereas in the fiery furnace account of the MT their Aramaic names are always used (13 times); (3) the obvious inappropriateness of much of the prayer for its context; and (4) the logical and chronological misplacement of the prayer when compared to the narrative (3:46–51).

As for the prayer's inappropriateness, it is clearly a communal prayer of repentance and supplication, the basic theme of which is well expressed in vv 30–31:

> We have not obeyed them [i.e., your commandments] or done them, as thou hast commanded us that it might go well with us. So all that thou hast brought upon us, and all that thou hast done to us, thou hast done in true judgment.

While such a prayer is never out of date, it is totally inappropriate for its present context where the three youths are in their present predicament precisely because they *have* been true to their God. (Admittedly, 3:41–44 *is* appropriate to their situation and perhaps that is why the prayer was initially inserted.) The prayer is reminiscent of national laments such as Psalms 44, 74, 79, and 80, and of such prose confessions as Dan 9:4–19; Ezra 9:6–15; Neh 9:6–37; and Bar 1:15–3:8.

That the prayer was originally in Hebrew is suggested by four lines of evidence: (1) the prayer calls the martyrs by their Hebrew names while the MT uses their Aramaic names; (2) the prayer has a few commonplace Hebraisms (cf. 3:27, 33) and a few unusual ones (e.g., 3:34, 40 [for lists of Hebraisms scattered throughout the Adds, see Bludau 1897: 160; Daubney 1906: 49–53; and *APOT* 1: 628]); (3) Hebrew is ipso facto the language of Jewish prayer and worship; and (4) Kuhl (1940: 132–54), without taking too many liberties with the Gk text, has retranslated the Gk version of the prayer into a rather literal biblical Hebrew poem with a metrical pattern of 3+3 (or 2+2+2) / 3+3 (or 2+2+2).

The melancholy tone of the prayer in general (and of vv 29, 32, 38, and 40 in particular) is especially appropriate for Israel's darkest days under Antiochus Epiphanes IV, the Seleucid king who tried to wipe out Judaism in 167–163 B.C. But if composed then, the prayer was not inserted until later. It was, however, inserted prior to the LXX's translation of the Semitic text of Daniel. Palestine is the probable place of the prayer's composition, especially if it was originally composed in Hebrew.

**b. The Narrative.** This brief narrative (3:46–51 of LXX), coming between the prayer and the hymn, tells how God's angel kept the interior of the fiery furnace safe and cool for the martyrs even though Chaldeans standing near it were burned to death. In contrast to the other sections of the Add, there is

almost complete agreement between the LXX and "Θ" v 46 being the one exception (Moore 1977: 62–65).

The narrative is the most troublesome of the Adds. Some scholars do not regard it as an addition but rather as either identical to (so Bludau 1897; Rothstein 1900) or similar to (Oesterly 1914: 388; *APOT* 1: 625–37) a section that, they believed, was part of the original book of Daniel but was erroneously deleted from it when the Adds were removed from the canonical book.

The root of the problem probably rests with the MT itself, for a number of scholars have noted "a gap" between vv 23 and 24 of the third chap. of the MT. But the "presence" of such a gap does not necessarily prove that this narrative is the particular material that fell out of the MT (so Kuhl 1940: 84–86; Charles 1929: 72–75), since vv 46–48 of the narrative repeat yet contradict v 22 of the MT (i.e., in the MT those who tossed the martyrs into the fiery furnace were themselves consumed, not later, but immediately).

Either the narrative or, more likely, the prayer is out of place: both logically and chronologically, the prayer should follow, not precede, the description of the youths being thrown into the fiery furnace. Kuhl (1940: 161–64) maintains, probably rightly, that originally the narrative was a prelude to the hymn that a scribe had inserted, and that a still later scribe prefixed the prayer, thereby making what was once a logical sequence an illogical and contradictory one.

If the narrative was originally a prelude to the hymn, then it would have probably been written in Hebrew, the probable language of the hymn. That the martyrs are known in the narrative by their Hebrew names also gives a presumption to a Hebrew *Vorlage.*

If the narrative was erroneously deleted, then it would probably have been in Aramaic, the present language of the fiery furnace narrative in the MT. There is a medieval ms containing an Aramaic text which clearly follows "Θ" 's account of the fiery furnace (Gaster 1894–95), but unfortunately, it has no reading which decisively shows which version was necessarily based upon the other. In any event, the narrative was added to the canonical Daniel after its composition but before it was translated into Greek.

**c. The Hymn.** This addition, consisting perhaps of two separate compositions, the ode (3:52–56 of the LXX) and the psalm (3:57–90), is antiphonal in character and appropriate for public worship. Thus, it was probably originally in Hebrew, a likelihood considerably strengthened by the fact that Kuhl (1940: 154–59) has, with close fidelity to the Greek text, accomplished the retroversion of the ode back into biblical Hebrew with a 4/4 meter; the psalm, with 2+2/3. There is, however, little internal evidence for a Semitic original for the hymn.

**(1) The Ode (3:52–56).** Uttered by the martyrs in the fiery furnace, the ode is an antiphonal hymn of praise consisting of six (originally seven [Christie 1928]) verses, or bicola. The first colon always blesses God, while the second offers a refrain which, while differing slightly in phraseology from verse to verse, is always essentially the same in meaning. Verse 52a is typical of the ode:

"Blessed art thou, O Lord, God of our fathers,
and to be praised and highly exalted for ever."

Although most scholars do not distinguish between the ode and the psalm, there are three good reasons for doing so: (1) they have different addresses: God in the ode, his creation in the psalm; (2) they have different types of refrains: the psalm's always the same, the ode's ever changing; and (3) their presumed metrical patterns are quite different.

The ode's date of composition depends, in part, upon one's interpretation of its phrase "temple of your sacred glory" (v 53), i.e., was the temple still standing (a case that contradicts v 38 of the prayer) or is it the heavenly temple? Inasmuch as Tob 8:5 contains the opening lines of the ode as well as the general theme of both the ode and the psalm, the Tobit passage *may* have inspired the writing of the ode (or at least its inclusion with the psalm [but for the opposite view, see Nickelsburg 1984b: 151]), in which case the terminus a quo for the ode would be the date of Tobit's composition, namely, sometime during the late 3d or early 2d century B.C.

**(2) The Psalm (3:57–90).** The psalm, a beautiful hymn of praise, consisting of four stanzas, is reminiscent of the structure of Psalm 136, in that its second colon is always the same, namely:

"Sing praise to him and highly exalt him for ever."

Its author enjoins a different group in each stanza to praise the Lord: creations in the highest heavens (vv 57–63); elements coming from the heavens (vv 64–73); earthly creatures (vv 74–81); and all mankind (vv 82–90). In its message and content, the psalm is especially reminiscent of Psalm 148.

Like the ode (and for all the same reasons), the psalm was probably composed in Hebrew, in Palestine, during the 2d century B.C. Its frequent mention of water in such forms as dew, rain, and snow (cf. vv 60, 64, 68, 70, and 77–78) probably precludes an Egyptian provenance and therefore the psalm's being composed originally in Greek.

**2. The Effect of These Additions.** Although the original intent of the Jewish editors who first supplied these additions to the fiery furnace incident of the MT is unknown, the effect of these interpolations is quite clear, namely, the spotlight shifts from Nebuchadnezzar and his lavish surroundings to the faith of the martyrs and the greatness of their God. In the MT, for instance, the reader knows more about the feelings of Nebuchadnezzar than those of the heroes themselves. The Add changes all that. The prayer underscores the piety and humility of the martyrs while the narrative and the hymn remind the reader of God's power and majesty.

As for the relative literary merit of the four Adds, if usage or popularity be the criterion for judgment, then the ode and the psalm (but not the prayer) have considerable literary merit; for from the days of the early Church Fathers they figure prominently in the liturgies of both the Eastern and Western churches.

**3. Concerning Canonicity. a. Among Jews.** There is no clear evidence of the fiery furnace apocryphon's use by Jews prior to the Middle Ages, when it appears in the works of Josippon and Jerahmeel. Whatever the reason(s) for this Add's exclusion from the Hebrew canon as determined by the Jewish Fathers, it cannot have been that the Add was adjudged by them as containing heretical ideas or teachings incompatible with Judaism. Its basic message (i.e., that God works in human history, esp. for those Jews who trust in him and praise him as the Lord of all creation) is compatible with postexilic Judaism in general, and with the canonical book of Daniel in particular. Ideas, phrases, and entire lines in the Add are redolent of older biblical passages, notably in Isaiah, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Nehemiah, and, esp. Psalms.

**b. Among Christians.** Unfortunately, canonical lists of the Church Fathers, who nearly always regarded the book of Daniel as canonical, do not distinguish between it and its Adds. Nevertheless, the Add under discussion was quoted as Scripture by Justin Martyr (d. 165), Clement of Alexandria (d. before 215), Hippolytus of Rome (170–235), and others (Moore 1977: 50–51). Although Jerome (340?–420) expressed reservations about the Add's canonicity, he did not place it (as he did for "Susanna" and "Bel and the Snake") at the end of his Latin translation of the canonical Daniel. Polychronius, brother of Theodore of Mopsuestia (350?–428), was convinced that the Add was not part of the original text of Daniel. Nonetheless, the overwhelming majority of Church Fathers regarded it as an integral part of the canonical text of Daniel (for such fathers through the 6th century, see Daubney 1906: 76–80 and *HJP²*, 725–27; for an exhaustive list down through the centuries, see Julius 1903).

**C. "Susanna"**

The story is named after its virtuous heroine, Susanna (Heb *šôšannāh* 'lily'). Framed by two lecherous judges because she had just rejected their adulterous proposal, she would have been executed for adultery but for the divinely inspired intervention of the young Daniel. As the story stands in the Gk texts of Daniel, it is strangely out of place. This is true whether, as in "Θ", it precedes chap. 1 of the canonical text (so also OL, Coptic, Ethiopic, and Arabic versions) or follows the 12 chaps. of the canonical text as in Daniel 13 (as in LXX, Syro-Hexaplar, and Vg).

**1. Summary.** Among the frequent visitors to the home of Joakim, a wealthy Babylonian Jew in Babylon, were two highly respected judges who had developed a secret passion for Joakim's wife Susanna, the daughter of Hilkiah and a very beautiful and God-fearing woman (vv 1–12). One day these two lechers caught Susanna while she was alone in the garden bathing. They insisted that she have sexual intercourse with them, right then and there, or they would frame her for adultery. Perceiving herself in a no-win situation, she no sooner started screaming for help than one of the elders threw open the garden

gate, and as the household came running in, the two wretches described how Susanna's lover had just escaped! (vv 13–27).

At Susanna's trial the next day the two scoundrels testified against her, saying that they had caught the two lovers in the very act, but that the young man had escaped. Her accusers were so above suspicion that their testimony was taken at face value. And without even allowing Susanna to speak in her own defense, everyone condemned her to death by stoning. But as she was being led away, she prayed out loud, insisting that she had been framed. Whereupon the Lord aroused the holy spirit of the young boy Daniel, who shouted, "I am innocent of the blood of this woman." He then castigated the community for condemning Susanna without first confirming the evidence by cross-examining her accusers (vv 28–48).

At the scene of the "crime," Daniel had the two villains separated so that they could not hear one another's testimony. Then he asked each of them the same question: "Under what tree did you see them being intimate with each other?" They each gave a different answer, thereby confirming the correctness of the charge of wickedness and perjury that earlier Daniel had made against each of them. In accordance with the law of Moses, the wicked judges were punished in the way that they had intended for Susanna: they were stoned to death. From that day on the boy Daniel enjoyed a great reputation among his people (vv 49–64).

Brief though the story is (only 114 lines of Greek in "Θ", as printed in Ziegler 1954), its characters are clearly delineated; the plot is simple and direct, with mounting suspense and a sudden, clear denouement. The story is a skillful admixture of three of the most basic and universal concerns of humanity: sex, death, and God. But unlike some other tales with the same ingredients where a moral is "tacked on" at the end of an otherwise titillating and prurient tale so as to make it more acceptable to the "prudish," here religious concerns pervade the story.

**2. The Two Greek Accounts.** The preceding summary reflects that of "Θ", which differs at a number of points from the older and less polished LXX version of "Susanna." The reason for such striking differences between the two texts constitutes the central problem of the Add.

When the two Gk texts are printed on the same page (see Ziegler 1954), one does not have to know Greek to see how different they are (the two Gk texts, side-by-side with a German translation of the two texts, may be found in a sleeve in the back of Engel 1985). More specifically, "Θ" has a number of additions, notably, vv 11 (the elders were ashamed of their passion for Susanna), 15–18 (the bath scene in the garden), 20–21 (the elders propositioned Susanna and explained how they could frame her), 24–27 (at Susanna's screams the household rushed in and learned of the alleged crime), 31b (Susanna was shapely), 36b (she had quite deliberately made preparations for her lover), 39 (the lover was too strong to be captured), 41b (the assembly condemned her to death), 46–47 (Daniel dissociated himself from the verdict), 49–50 (after advising resumption of the trial at the scene of the alleged crime, Daniel was invited to sit with the presiding elders), and 63 (all of Susanna's relatives praised God for the trial's outcome). Some of these additions in "Θ" improve the logic of the tale (e.g., 20–21, 36b, 39, 49–50) while others increase the story's drama and tension (e.g., 24–27, 41b); and a few do both (15–18, 46–47). Hebraisms, it should be noted, are far more common in "Θ" than LXX.

In spite of these and other differences in "details of fact" (e.g., the alleged crime occurred "at dawn" in the LXX; "at midday" in "Θ"), the plot remains essentially the same. The principal difference is one of emphasis: Daniel himself is given far greater prominence in "Θ" (e.g., vv 46–47 and 49–50 occur only in "Θ"; cf. also vv 45b and 64 of "Θ" with the LXX). Inasmuch as Daniel is depicted in "Susanna" as a young male, possibly even a child, "Θ" 's placement of the story (i.e., before chap. 1 of the canonical version) seems more logical than the LXX's having it as Daniel 13, where it fits neither chronologically nor typologically, its being a tale, while Daniel 7–12 are visions. The story's placement after the canonical text also attests to its secondary character. To what extent all this may explain the Church's preference for "Θ" over the LXX is unknown.

In terms of content and diction, the differences between the LXX and "Θ" of "Susanna" are sufficiently great to argue for their being separate translations of two Semitic texts. But if so, then the translator of

"Θ" must have had the earlier LXX before him; otherwise, how can one account for their verbatim agreements in the Greek?

**3. Original Language.** There is no external evidence that the Gk "Susanna" is a translation of a Semitic text. To be sure, Milik (1981) has argued that three exceedingly small scraps from Dead Sea Cave 4 may represent the Aramaic *Vorlage* for the "missing" first five verses of the LXX of "Susanna." But if so, then as Milik himself frankly conceded after his detailed discussion of the reconstructed but still quite fragmentary text, "Not a word or phrase from these scraps of Aramaic text is sufficiently specific to affirm a certain identification" (1981: 357). Had the name of the heroine or even such a key word as "Babylon," "Joakim," or "Daniel" occurred in any of the fragments, Milik's case would have been much stronger. Certainly the title of his French article ("Daniel and Susanna at Qumran?" [Eng]) well expresses the uncertainty, if not the improbability, that these fragments are from "Susanna," let alone that they represent the Aramaic *Vorlage* for vv 1–5 of the LXX of "Susanna."

There is, however, some internal evidence for a Semitic *Vorlage* for "Susanna." A priori, the presence at Qumran of heretofore unknown Aramaic legends about Daniel (Milik 1956) argues for a Semitic *Vorlage* for "Susanna," as does the simple, straightforward character of both the LXX and "Θ". Both texts can be translated into Hebrew much more easily than is the case with acknowledged Gk compositions (e.g., Adds B and E of the Gk Esther). The LXX of "Susanna" has over 50 clauses beginning with *kai* ('and') and a verb, all of which is very reminiscent of the *waw*-consecutive construction of biblical Hebrew (so *APOT* 1: 641). Further evidence of a Semitic *Vorlage* includes the frequent use of such Semitic idioms as *kai egeneto* (Heb *wyhy* 'and it happened' [vv 7, 15, 19, and 28 of "Θ"]), *idou* (Heb *hinneh* 'Behold!' [vv 13 and 44 of LXX; vv 20 and 43 of "Θ"]), the use of an idiom such as "as usual" (lit. "as yesterday and the third day") in v 15; as well as the very frequent use of a pronominal suffix in both the genitive and accusative cases (e.g., vv 30, 63, and *passim*), and the use of the definite article for the vocative (v 42 of "Θ"; v 48). Too often in older commentaries (e.g., Scholz 1892: 148; Daubney 1906: 134–39) the lists of Heb/Aramaisms are exhaustive of the possibilities rather than judiciously selective of probabilities (but see Bludau 1897: 183–85; *APOT* 1: 641–42).

Even more suggestive of a Semitic *Vorlage* are those variants between the LXX and "Θ" which are best explained by regarding them as different translations of the same Semitic text (e.g., vv 23, 53, 54, 55). Then too, there is at least one instance where a very puzzling Gk phrase is best explained by presupposing the misreading of a Semitic *Vorlage:* that the two elders "were wounded over her" in v 10 suggests a misreading of Heb *ḥlh* 'to be sick (with love),' as *ḥll* 'to be wounded' (so Zimmermann 1957–58: 239–40).

Approximately three-fourths of the Heb/Aramaisms in "Susanna" occur only in "Θ". Moreover, since there are no perceptible differences in the translation style between the Greek of "Susanna" and the canonical portions of Daniel, it is probable that the Greek translator of Daniel had in front of him a Semitic text of "Susanna." However, Engel (1985) argues for a Heb/Aramaic *Vorlage* for the LXX but views "Θ" as a revision of the LXX.

In his detailed linguistic analysis Milik (1981) concludes, quite reasonably, that the *Vorlage* of the LXX of "Susanna" was Aramaic, not Hebrew. While, unfortunately, none of his examples are decisive, Milik does give a persuasive answer to what has been a principal argument against "Susanna's" having been composed in anything other than Greek, namely, the paronomasia, or play on words, by Daniel (so Plöger 1973: 671; Nickelsburg 1981: 26) in his response to the two elders in vv 54–55 ("Under a mastic tree [*schinon*] … the angel of God … will immediately cut you in two [*schisei*]") and in vv 58–59 ("Under an evergreen oak [*prinon*] … the angel of God is waiting … to saw you in two [*prisai*]"). In the LXX (in contrast to "Θ") Daniel actually asked each elder *two* questions: in v 54 ("Under what tree and in what part of the garden did you see them with one another?") and in v 58 ("Under what tree and in what part of the garden did you catch them making love?"). Yet each elder answered only the first question: "Under a mastic tree" (v 54), and "Under an evergreen oak" (v 58). Milik (1981) suggests, quite plausibly, that the original answers in the Aramaic *Vorlage* of the LXX were *tḥt ʿrb› bʿrb›* ('Under the poplar in the West') and *tḥt ṣpṣpt› bṣpwn›* ('Under the willow in the North'). In other words, the Greek translator of the LXX

did what other translators, ancient and modern, have done: he chose to create a pun in his own language rather than to translate the Aramaic literally. (For other "translations" of vv 54 and 58, see Ball 1888: 324; *APOT* 1: 650; and Moore 1977: 84, 110–12).

None of the above arguments proves that "Susanna" had a Semitic *Vorlage,* but taken together they do give a reasonable presumption of an Aramaic *Vorlage* for LXX, and a Hebrew one for "Θ"—or at least a "correction" of the latter by a then-current Hebrew text.

**4. Genre.** Even though quite believable, the story has rarely had advocates for its historicity. Among "modern" scholars, Michaelis (in 1770) was the first to contest its historicity. But twelve hundred years earlier Jerome had reported that a certain Jewish teacher regarded "Susanna" as "the fiction of some Greek" (*Preface to Daniel*).

Certain 19th-century scholars, such as Eichhorn and Jahn, viewed the story as fiction with a moral, although they did not agree as to what that moral is. In the early 19th century, esp. among German scholars, "Susanna" came to be regarded as a *historicized myth,* the heroine being either the virgin goddess Phryne, the Swan Maiden, or the sun goddess (for details of these and other comparable suggestions, see Baumgartner 1926: 259–67; Pfeiffer 1949: 452–53).

With greater justice, Fritzsche (1851: 185) and others viewed "Susanna" as an apocryphal tale featuring the modus operandi and downfall of that infamous pair, Ahab ben Kolaiah and Zedekiah ben Maaseiah, the adulterous false prophets mentioned in Jer 29:21–23 and in the Babylonian Talmud (*Sanh.* 93a; for text, translation, and discussion, see Wurmbrand 1963). Critics of the theory point out that the lechers in "Susanna" were not identified by name and, more important, were judges, not prophets.

Another century-old but still popular interpretation of the story is that "Susanna" was originally a Pharisee polemic of the 1st century B.C., attacking the court procedures and theory of the Sadducees (Brüll 1877). In their interpretation of Deut 19:18–21, the Sadducees were strict constructionists, subscribing to the equivalency principle (i.e., "Your eye shall not pity; it shall be life for life, eye for eye … foot for foot" [v 21]) without consideration as to the intent or motive of the false accuser. By contrast, the great Pharisee layman Simeon ben Shetaḫ, brother-in-law of the Sadducean king Alexander Jannaeus (104–78 B.C.), was well-known for his insistence on the importance of cross-examining witnesses: "Be very searching," he cautioned, "in the examination of witnesses; but be guarded in your words, lest from them [the accusers] learn to lie" (*Pirqe Aboth* 1.10). So strongly did Simeon feel about this matter that—as an object lesson!—he allowed his own son to be executed *after* the youth's accusers had admitted that they had falsely accused him, that is, so that the self-confessed accusers would *have* to be executed because the falsely accused had been executed! Many scholars (e.g., Ball 1888; Marshall, *HDB* 4: 630–32; Oesterley 1914) agreed with Brüll that as the story currently stands, it eloquently underscores two important views of Simeon: (1) the necessity of interrogating witnesses with skepticism and care; and (2) the punishment of false accusers in accordance with their intent, not the accused's actual fate.

Critics of this interpretation point out, quite rightly, that Daniel's own "courtroom" conduct was far from exemplary, for he himself badgered each of the witnesses *before* he had established his guilt by cross-examination (cf. vv 49, 52–53, 56–57; Hammer 1972: 225). Arguably, Daniel himself had divine revelation to help him (so v 45), but presumably other interrogators would not. Moreover, there is an even better explanation for the story: it is a folktale (Pfeiffer 1949: 453–54; Doran 1986: 300).

Huet (1912) showed that in antiquity the folktale theme of "the wise child" who intervenes and corrects an unjust decision was a well-established genre found in such diverse folklore collections as *A Thousand And One Nights, The Tales of Sinbad,* and the Mongolian version of *The Throne of Vikramaditya.* Later, Huet (1917) provided additional examples of "the wise child" motif but also reluctantly conceded that in "Susanna" Daniel may have been, not a child, but a youth (so v 45 of LXX). Baumgartner (1926) supplied more examples of the same genre but later (1929) concluded that originally the story of Susanna was a purely secular tale that combined *two* folk motifs: (1) "the wise judge," who often was a child but need not be; and (2) "the Genoveva" theme, i.e., the chaste wife who is falsely accused, usually by a rejected suitor, but is subsequently vindicated. (For further examples, see Thompson 1957: J 1140–50; K 2111.) Nickelsburg (1984a: 38), however, argues that the story of Susanna "has been influenced by the story of

Joseph and Potiphar's wife" (Genesis 39), with the gender of the hero changed to that of a woman. Finally, Busto Saiz (1982) regards "Susanna" as an example story with the emphasis on the judicial role of Daniel and interprets the story as a midrash inspired by Hos 4:12–15.

Regardless of the origins of "Susanna," later variations of the tale are found in the Samaritan version, where the daughter of Amram, a high priest on Mt. Gerizim, was falsely accused of fornication by two rejected suitors (cf. Gaster 1925: 199–210; Heller 1936); in Josippon's account of Anna (Lévi 1933: 166–71), the wife of the priest Hannaneh in the days of Herod Agrippa II (A.D. 56–100); and in the Falashic version from Ethiopia, where the story's heroine is actually named Susanna (Wurmbrand 1963). Each account has a different hero. In the Samaritan version the heroine's father establishes the villains' perfidy; in Josippon's version, it is Nahman; and in the Falasha version, it is the angel Michael disguised as a mortal.

**5. Religious Elements.** Even if the original story was secular and intended to be enjoyed for its own intrinsic interest and drama, in the Greek it is thoroughly Judaized. God is mentioned 15 times in just 64 verses. (Only the wicked judges do not mention him.) Susanna herself was God-fearing (v 2), having been instructed in the law of Moses by her religious parents (v 3). Her community regarded adultery as a capital offense (v 41) and abhorred bloodguilt (vv 48b and 50a). Passages of Jewish Scriptures are paraphrased and quoted in vv 5 and 53. So strong was the community's sense of ethnic and religious identity that Daniel could say to the wicked judges: "You offspring of Canaan and not of Judah" (v 56); and "the daughters of Israel … were intimate with you through fear; but a daughter of Judah would not endure your wickedness" (v 57). The community rejoiced in the vindication of the innocent (v 60) and the punishment of the wicked (vv 61–62). In sum, both Susanna and her community were the embodiment of a simple but strong faith in the Lord God of Israel, a noble and needed example for Jews in any time or place.

**6. Purpose.** "Susanna," however, is not primarily an example story. To be sure, "Susanna," like the stories in Daniel 1–6, features the divine intervention whereby a condemned martyr is saved from certain death, with the category of women now added to that of men and children (MacKenzie 1957: 211–18). So also, the obligation not to commit adultery is put on the same level as not eating pork (Daniel 1) and not worshipping idols (Daniel 3).

Nonetheless, this originally separate and secular tale was evidently prefixed to chap. 1 of the Semitic Daniel to serve as an introduction to the young Daniel. But if so, that effort must be judged as unsuccessful. For one thing, Susanna, not Daniel (but see Doran 1986: 300), is the hero in the LXX (or better, its Semitic *Vorlage*), Daniel not even appearing until v 45, and then as little more than a representative of sensitive and idealistic youth (cf. v 64 of LXX: "Because of this the young are beloved of Jacob—on account of their simplicity. And let us watch over the young that they be courageous sons. For the youth are idealistic, and a spirit of knowledge and understanding will always be in them"). Moreover, the story's physical setting differs in mood and spirit from that of the stories in Daniel 1–6. In "Susanna" the setting is rural, not courtly; and the Jewish community appears to be a contented, independent, and self-governing group, with no evident external oppression or threats to its religious faith or heritage.

Engel (1985: 54–64), however, would take strong exception to much in the preceding two paragraphs, arguing that the LXX of "Susanna," based upon either a Hebrew or Aramaic text (which was composed sometime between 152 and 63 B.C.), was a theological *Lehrerzählung*, that is, a critique of perverted Jewish authorities and institutions; whereas, "Θ" (a revision of the LXX rather than a separate Gk translation and made about 100 years later) *is* an example story featuring God-fearing Susanna.

**7. Author, Place, and Date of Composition.** The author was undoubtedly a Jew, possibly a Pharisee (Brüll 1877). Unfortunately, little can be added to Pfeiffer's statement (1949: 449): "It is of course impossible to tell where Susanna originated or when." Despite the story's Babylonian setting in v 1 of "Θ" (v 5 of LXX), present-day scholars, primarily on the basis of the social and political situation depicted in the story, prefer a Palestinian provenance, possibly even S Judea, that is, some place far removed from Greek influence (MacKenzie 1957: 218).

The secular tale may have originated in the Persian period, when the Jewish community in Palestine enjoyed a modicum of independence and self-governance and when the Jewish religion was unthreatened by Hellenism. In any event, the terminus ad quem, or lowest date, for "Susanna" is, as scholars from Bludau (1897) to Engel (1985) agree, the date of the LXX translation of Daniel.

**8. Concerning Canonicity. a. Among Jews.** How did "Susanna" get into the Christian canon when it failed to enter the Jewish one? The old answer was that, having been composed originally in Greek, the Add never even had a chance of being accepted into the Palestinian canon (so Pusey 1886). However, the probability of a Semitic *Vorlage* for "Susanna" argues against this. A more plausible explanation is that the story contradicted a pharisaic or mishnaic Halakah in the Mishnah (Zeitlin 1950: 236; *IDB* 4: 467; MacKenzie 1957: 214), namely, discredited witnesses could not be punished for false witnessing unless evidence from two other witnesses who had not been present at the scene of the "crime" at the time proved that the accusing witnesses had deliberately lied (*Sanh.* V 1).

Even more likely, the story was ultimately rejected because Jews regarded it as an intrusive and clumsy introduction to the canonical book. Not only were "Susanna" 's setting and mood dramatically different from the stories in Daniel 1–6, but Daniel himself was poorly represented, especially in the *Vorlage* of the LXX.

**b. Among Christians.** The earliest Christian citation of the story as Scripture is by Irenaeus of Lyons (140–?202) in his *contra Haereses* 5:26. Even though reservations about the story were expressed by Julius Africanus (died after 240) in his letter to Origen (185?–254 [for details, see Engel 1985: 17–24]), by the anti-Christian critic Porphyry (233–?304) in his *adversus Christianos*, and by Rufinus (345–410), Christian Church Fathers found ample occasion to refer it (for more details, see *HJP²* 3/2: 725–27); for exhaustive lists, see Julius 1903; also Engel 1985: 24–54 for "modern" commentaries as well).

**D. "Bel and the Snake"**

"Bel and the Snake" represents two distinct "confrontation narratives" in which the prophet Daniel, a confidant of King Cyrus of Persia (550–530 B.C.), courted his own death by deliberately setting out to disprove the "divinity" of two much revered Babylonian gods: the idol Bel (Akk *Belu* 'He who rules,' i.e., Marduk of Babylon) and a large, living snake. In both stories Daniel's clever use of food proved the undoing of the false gods, that is, Bel could not eat and therefore was not a living god; and because of what the snake *did* eat he died immediately. These brief tales, each of which is only 22 verses long, are designated as Daniel 13 in "Θ"; Daniel 14 in the LXX and Vg.

**1. Summary.** When Cyrus of Persia was worshipping the Babylonian idol Bel and noticed that his confidant, Daniel, did not, the king asked him why. To Daniel's answer that he worshipped the living God but not man-made idols, the king countered with, "Do you not think that Bel is a living God? Do you not see how much he eats and drinks every day?" But when Daniel insisted that Bel was just clay on the outside and bronze inside, Cyrus summoned the priests of Bel and insisted that the matter be settled immediately (vv 1–9).

So the priests proposed that the usual enormous offerings be sealed within the temple. Then the next morning, depending upon whether the food had been consumed or not, either they or Daniel would be summarily killed. Now unbeknownst to the king, the priests had a secret entrance into the temple through which they and their families regularly came to get the offerings. But unbeknownst to the priests, that night after they had left the temple but before its door was sealed, Daniel had the floor dusted with ashes (vv 10–14). Later that night the priestly families came and, as usual, took all the offerings. The next morning after the sealed door was opened, the king saw the footprints in the dust! Infuriated, the king had all the culprits killed and handed Bel and his temple over to Daniel for destruction (vv 15–22).

The king then challenged Daniel by pointing to a very large snake the Babylonians worshipped and saying, "You cannot deny that this is a living god; so worship him." To justify his blunt refusal, Daniel got the king's permission to prove the snake's mortality. Daniel then fed it a concoction of pitch, fat, and hair, whereupon the snake burst open and died (vv 23–27).

Threatened by irate Babylonians whose god Daniel had killed, the king had Daniel thrown into the lion pit. But even after six days the seven ravenous beasts refused to eat him. At one point an angel of the Lord

grabbed the prophet Habakkuk by the hair of his head and brought him and the stew he was carrying to Babylon to feed the famished Daniel. The meal having been delivered, the angel returned Habakkuk to Judea (vv 28–39). On the seventh day when the king went to the pit to mourn for Daniel, he discovered him alive. After acknowledging Daniel's God as the only true God, the king hauled Daniel up from the pit and tossed in his enemies, who were devoured instantly (vv 40–42).

The preceding summary, while based upon "Θ", is general enough to cover most of the variant "details of fact" in the LXX. The two stories, in the Greek at least, are clear, concise, and conclusive.

**2. Genre of the Two Tales.** The plot for "Bel," the world's first detective story, is certainly plausible. And whether believable or not, Daniel's being safe in the presence of ravenous lions and a prophet's being transported by the hair of his head do have biblical antecedents (cf. Daniel 6 and Ezek 8:3).

Yet few, if any, scholars argue for the historicity of either tale. For one thing, "Bel" has a couple of historical errors: Cyrus did not "succeed" (v 1) but rather took by force the kingdom of his grandfather, Astyages (cf. Herodotus *Hist.* 1: 130); and more important, classical authors like Herodotus, Strabo, and Arrian agree that it was the Persian king Xerxes I (486–465 B.C.) who destroyed Bel and his temple (not Daniel [v 22 of "Θ"], or Cyrus the Great [the LXX]). Second, both "Bel" and "The Snake" are typologically identical with other unhistorical stories in Daniel 1–6, where Daniel, described in the third person, is always the hero (except in Daniel 3), and the then-reigning king is the other principal. Moreover, it is always Daniel's strong adherence to his faith that is responsible for bringing him into a dangerous situation *and* for saving him from it, with the result that Daniel is rewarded by the king, his enemies are destroyed, and the God of Israel is recognized as the one true God.

Over the past century three quite different genres have been proposed for the two tales, each genre having its present-day proponents. First, around the turn of this century especially, a number of scholars, following Gunkel (1895: 320–23), viewed the Snake narrative as simply *the historization of a myth*, the myth being that most exciting part of Enuma Elish (The Babylonian New Year Creation Epic), where Marduk, the tutelary god of Babylon, kills Tiamat, the primordial goddess of salt water:

> "Stand thou [i.e., Tiamat] up, that I and thou meet in single combat!"
> When Tiamat heard this, she was like one possessed.
> …...
> They joined issue Tiamat and Marduk, wisest of gods.
> They strove in single combat, locked in battle.
> The lord spread out his net to enfold her,
> The Evil Wind, which followed behind, he let loose in her face.
> When Tiamat opened her mouth to consume him,
> He drove in the Evil Wind that she close not her lips.
> As the fierce winds charged her belly,
> Her body was distended and her mouth was wide open.
> He released the arrow, it tore her belly,
> It cut through her insides, splitting the heart.
> Having thus subdued her, he extinguished her life.
> He cast down her carcass to stand upon it.
> After he had slain Tiamat, the leader,
> Her band was shattered (*ANET*$^{3}$, 67).

After this, Marduk proceeded to fashion from the corpse of Tiamat the universe: the heavens and the earth, the sun and moon and stars—everything except man.

Echoes of this struggle between Marduk and Tiamat, suggest some scholars, are to be heard even in the ingredients Daniel fed the snake in v 27 (i.e., "pitch, fat, and hair"). For example, Aram *wêpi*› 'pitch,' represented an early confusion with Aram *wa*‹*ăpi*› 'south wind' (so *HDB* 1: 267). The patties eaten by the snake represented "barley" (= Aram *s*‹*r*› or *s*‹*rt*›), which in Aramaic can also mean "storm/whirlwind," which, in turn, is cognate with Bab *sâru,* 'wind,' one of the weapons Marduk used to kill Tiamat. As for the deadly ingredient "hair," it represents the Gk translator's misreading of Aram *s*‹*rt*› 'storm/whirlwind,'

as Aram *sʿrtʿ* ‘hair’ (so Zimmermann 1958). A priori, there is no reason why these proposed errors could not have happened just as easily with the Gk translator’s working from a Heb text (Moore 1977: 143).

The Hebrew Bible does indeed have echoes of some such titanic battle between Yahweh and a draconic monster, variously known as Leviathan (Ps 74:14; Isa 27:1), Rahab (Job 9:13; 26:12; Ps 89:10), or Yam (Job 7:12). But critics of this theory have pointed out that Tiamat was envisioned by the Babylonians as a female dragon, not a snake (for details, see *APOT* 1: 653–54); and that while the Neo-Babylonians did have snake worship as part of their religion (Landersdorfer 1913), there is no evidence of their worshipping *living* snakes.

Second, some other scholars have preferred to view “Bel” and “The Snake” as popular or priestly *anecdotes of Haggadah* inspired by Jer 51:34–35, 44:

> “Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon has devoured me, he has crushed me; he has made me an empty vessel, he has swallowed me like a monster; he has filled his belly with my delicacies, he has rinsed me out. The violence done to me and to my kinsmen be upon Babylon,” let the inhabitants of Zion say, “My blood be upon the inhabitants of Chaldea,” let Jerusalem say … And I [i.e., God] will punish Bel in Babylon, and take out of his mouth what he has swallowed. The nations shall no longer flow to him; the wall of Babylon has fallen.

Although no extant texts illustrate any intermediate stages in the evolution of “Bel and the Snake” from Jeremiah 51, the process of subsequent midrashic elaboration and embellishment *is* documentable. For example, Daniel’s concoction of “pitch, fat, and hair” (v 27) is described in later Jewish literature as concealing a variety of lethal objects: pointed nails (*B’reshit Rabbah*), iron combs with sharp tines (Josippon), iron hatchets (Chronicles of Jerahmeel), and very hot coals (*Jer. Nedarim* 37d). By contrast, Nickelsburg (1981: 27) suggests that “Bel and the Snake” may be a midrashic treatment of Isaiah 45–46. In any event, for other stories of “Bel and the Snake” in later Jewish literature, see Ginzberg 1909: vols 5 and 6, *passim.*

The third and most recently proposed genre for the two tales is *idol parody*, a motif well illustrated by Isaiah 44 and 46. As “a Daniel confrontation it [i.e., “Bel and the Snake”] sought to ground the rejection of idol worship, typically formulated in the inherited parodies, in the historical act of a well-known hero of the faith in the period … in which it [the idol parody] appeared as a recognized oral genre” (Roth 1975: 43). Roth also maintains that the idol parodies of “Bel” and “The Snake” were written to counteract the appeal of idolatry, and esp. zoolatry, to Egyptian Jews of the 1st century B.C. (cf. Wis 15:18–19; *Let. Aris.* 138). Egypt did indeed have a long history of snake worship; for example, Apophis, the wicked enemy of Re, was depicted as a snake, as was Buto, the snake goddess of Lower Egypt.

Needless to say, such tales were designed for Jews, not gentiles. Any impact on the latter would have been most negative, the gentiles resenting such Jewish pretensions: “the stories were designed to reassure Jews that the pagan religions were absurd and that their own God was superior” (Collins 1981: 128–29). Critics of the idol-parody theory point out that it assumes that “Bel and the Snake” was originally composed in Gk rather than translated from Heb or Aram.

**3. Differences between “Θ” and the LXX.** The story of Bel is told more effectively in “Θ”. It is better integrated into the canonical book and raises fewer questions in the reader’s mind (cf. vv 1–2 of the Gk versions). Then too, “Θ” has more emotive words (“Daniel *chuckled*” [v 7]; “*Infuriated,* the king” [v 21]), more direct quotations (cf. v 18), and greater specificity in terms of the king’s name (v 1) and the terms of the wager (vv 8–9, 12), and more accurate and precise chronology (cf. vv 15–16). “Θ” also has more Hebraisms, including *kai egeneto* (vv 14, 18, 28) and in v 14 eight *kai* ‘and’ in comparison to the LXX’s three. From an ethical or moral point of view, Daniel is less deliberately ruthless in the prosecution of his enemies (cf. v 21 of “Θ”) yet more successful in that he himself, not the king, destroys Bel and its temple (v 22).

By contrast, “The Snake” is told far more effectively in the LXX. The latter’s disagreement with “Θ” is substantial. Apart from the pronounced verbatim agreement of the two Gk texts in the Habakkuk episode (vv 33–39), all of which is a clear indication of the latter’s having been circulated independently and then of having been added later to one of the Gk accounts and then having been adopted from there by the

other (see Fenz 1970), only vv 23–24 of the two Gk texts of the Add show substantial (i.e., 75 percent) verbatim agreement. "Θ" has the greater number of Hebraisms, but the LXX is the better edited (e.g., "in that place" in v 23) and more simple and precise in its content (e.g., vv 24, 27, 36, and 42).

**4. Original Language of the Stories.** The best explanation for the literary superiority of "Θ" in "Bel" and of the LXX in "The Snake" is that their Greek reflects differences in their respective Semitic *Vorlagen,* that is, the "Bel" and "The Snake" narratives were originally separate and independent tales in which the "Bel" narrative was more effectively told in the Semitic *Vorlage* of "Θ"; "The Snake" narrative, in the *Vorlage* of the LXX (but see Nickelsburg 1981: 26–27, who also views them as "inextricably interwoven into a single plot—the conversion of Cyrus" [1984a: 39]). That "Θ" has the greater number of Hebraisms in both tales suggests that, as in "Susanna," "Θ" had a Hebrew *Vorlage* while the LXX probably had an Aramaic one. The fact that the only Aramaic narrative of "The Snake" more clearly resembles "Θ" (Gaster 1894–95: 75–94) *may* mean only that it is a medieval translation of "Θ".

**5. Concerning Canonicity.** If "Bel and the Snake" was originally composed in Gk, then its exclusion from the Jewish canon is quite understandable. But if, as seems more likely, "Bel" and "The Snake" were originally Hebrew/Aramaic compositions, then their exclusion from the Jewish or Palestinian canon is more puzzling—unless, of course, they were added to the book of Daniel *after* its canonization.

In all likelihood, "Bel and the Snake" (whether placed after Daniel 12 [so "Θ"] or after "Susanna" [so the LXX and the Vg]), was added after the composition of the canonical Daniel but before Daniel and its Adds were translated into Gk. However, the reason(s) for "Bel and the Snake" 's being excluded from the older and more venerated text of Daniel is a matter of sheer speculation. Certainly the traditional view (i.e., that the Council of Jamnia [in A.D. 90] rejected the Adds to Daniel) is rapidly losing supporters (Cohen 1987: 186).

Although Christian Church Fathers never expressly say that they consider "Bel and the Snake" as canonical, they evidently did; for a number of the fathers quoted it as if it were Scripture: Irenaeus of Lyons (140–?202) in *Haer.* iv 5,2 and iv 26,3; Clement of Alexandria (d. before 215) in *Stromata* 1:21; Tertullian of Carthage (160?–220) in *de idololatria* 18; Cyprian of Carthage (d. 258) in *ad Fortunatum* 2; and others (for more details, see *HJP²* 3/2: 725–27; for exhaustive list, see Julius 1903). It was always the text of "Θ" that was used.

**6. Religious Ideas and Purpose.** "Bel and the Snake" was the least quoted of the Adds to Daniel, probably because the Church Fathers found the two stories lacking in literary and/or religious value, a view shared by such modern scholars as Pfeiffer ("Jewish fiction of little literary and no religious significance" [1949: 456]) and Metzger ("the motifs of these yarns, grotesque and preposterous as they appear to us today" [1957: 119]).

Neither "Bel" nor "The Snake" offers much in the way of inspiringly stated religious ideas, only rather prosaic monotheistic affirmations (vv 5, 25b–26). To be sure, the king ended up acknowledging the Lord as the one true God; but without the intrusive Habakkuk incident (vv 33–39; Nickelsburg 1981: 39, n. 24) Daniel, not God, is glorified. In fact, Daniel's praying to God is not even mentioned until five verses from the end of the second story (v 38) and only after Daniel had been in the lions' pit for six days! Evidently the primary purpose of both tales was to ridicule paganism in Jewish eyes, although Nickelsburg (1984a: 40) argues that they were intended to supply "a story about the last of the kings under whom Daniel served according to Dan 6:28."

**7. Date and Place of Composition.** Like the stories in canonical Daniel, "Bel and the Snake" may date to the 3d century B.C., or, quite possibly, somewhat later. Certainly there is nothing in either narrative to preclude its having originated as haggadic elaborations of Jer 51:34–35, 44, or Isaiah 45–46 sometime during the late Persian period, there being nothing distinctively Gk in either narrative.

It is likely that "Bel and the Snake" was added to the Semitic text of Daniel several decades after 163 B.C., i.e., the date of canonical Daniel. Antiochus VII Sidetes' invasion of Judea and his razing a portion of the walls of Jerusalem in 135 B.C. could have provided an appropriate Sitz im Leben for inserting "Bel and the Snake" into canonical Daniel.

Virtually every major Jewish settlement has been suggested as the place of composition for "Bel and the Snake." Because zoolatry was a temptation for some Egyptian Jews, many scholars, ranging from Fritzsche (1851) to Roth (1975: 42–43), have argued for an Egyptian provenance. But scholars who believe that "Bel" and "The Snake" are Semitic compositions look to either Babylon (Bissell 1880; *EncJud* 4: 412) or Palestine (Brüll 1887; *APOT* 1: 652–64). The discovery of Pseudo-Daniel at Qumran makes a late 2d or early 1st-century B.C. Palestinian provenance for "Bel and the Snake" more likely than ever before (but see *HJP²* 3/2: 724, n. 341).

**8. The Greek and Other Ancient Versions.** Differing from one another in both style and content, the LXX and "Θ" of "Bel and the Snake" represent separate Gk translations of two different Semitic texts, possibly not even in the same Semitic language (Moore 1977: 139, 146–47). The LXX is the better translation, in that it usually avoids a number of the clumsy Semiticisms of "Θ".

With the exception of the Syro-Hexaplar, which slavishly follows the LXX, all the ancient versions of "Bel and the Snake" were based upon "Θ". The Vg does append to v 42 a doxology: "Then the king said, 'Let all the inhabitants in the whole world fear the God of Daniel because he is the savior, working signs and wonders in the earth, who has delivered Daniel from the lions' pit.' "

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CAREY A. MOORE

**DANIEL, APOCALYPSE OF.** One among several medieval apocalypses (Denis 1970: 309–14) attributed pseudepigraphically to the biblical prophet Daniel or to the Church Father Methodius of Patara. These documents are extant in several different languages, but seem for the most part to have been associated with the Greek world of Byzantium. The subject matter contained in these texts usually centers around the centuries-long series of wars that took place between the Byzantines and the invading Arabs during the period from the 7th through the 9th centuries. However, the document referred to here as the *Apocalypse of Daniel* contains several parallels with substantially older texts. These parallels at least raise the possibility that elements of this particular apocalypse perhaps had a separate, earlier origin than the A.D. 801–2 date of the document as a whole.

The *Apocalypse of Daniel* may be divided into two major sections, each with its own distinctive historical setting and literary character. The first section, consisting of chaps. 1–7, refers to certain major events of the Byzantine-Arab conflicts of the 8th century which culminated in the sole reign of the Byzantine empress Irene (797–802), and the contemporaneous coronation of Charlemagne in the West. These historical events are veiled in secretive language and are related as *ex eventu* prophecy. In the second major section (chaps. 8–14), history abruptly gives way to apocalyptic eschatology, and Byzantine foreign and domestic politics are displaced by the concerns of a newly reconstituted Jewish state ruled from Jerusalem by the antichrist.

Much of the apocalyptic material in *Apoc. Dan.* appears to be related to imagery contained in the NT book of Revelation. It is conceivable that the apocalypse as a whole could have derived its inspiration from the description of the final two bowls of God's wrath in Rev 16:12–21 and the ensuing judgment of the great harlot Babylon in Revelation 17 and 18 (*OTP* 1:759). This possible literary dependence of *Apoc. Dan.* upon the biblical apocalypse is further supported by the existence of numerous parallels in smaller details between these two documents.

But however strong the connection between the book of Revelation and *Apoc. Dan.*, the existence in the latter of apocalyptic elements demonstrably not from Revelation suggests the possibility of other apocalyptic sources underlying it. For example, in 13:8–13 of the present apocalypse, a dragon is portrayed as an enemy of the antichrist. The opposite situation exists in Rev 13:2, 4, 11; and 16:13, where Satan himself appears as a dragon.

In *Apoc. Dan.* 3:12 a Roman emperor is identified cryptically by giving the first letter of his name in Greek. This seems to contradict the method of identifying the antichrist in Rev 13:18, where the sum total of the numerical values of the Greek letters making up his name is given as 666. The method described above as found in the *Apoc. Dan.* is also extensively used in book 5 of the *Sibylline Oracles* 5 to identify a series of Roman emperors. The *Sib. Or.* 3:75–77 also agrees with *Apoc. Dan.* 6:10–11 in presenting a woman as the last ruler before the apppearance of the evil political deceiver who will bring about the end of the world.

There are further indications of possible connections between the *Apoc. Dan.* and other ancient sources. chap. 10 describes the overabundance of the fruits of the earth just before the end of the world. The terminology used in *Apoc. Dan.* 10:3–4 is similar to comparable passages found in *1 En.* 10:19, *2 Bar.* 29:5, and in Papias as referred to in Irenaeus' *Haer.* 5,33,3 (Charles *APOT* 2: 497).

Another possible hint of an underlying source may perhaps be seen in the considerable confusion in the ms tradition of *Apoc. Dan.* 9:25–26 over the three identifying letters on the forehead of the antichrist (Zervos OTP: 756, n. 7; and 768, n. 2d). Each of the three Greek ms witnesses to the text of our apocalypse at this point contains a different set of letters and a different explanation of their meaning. The scribe who wrote the most important of the extant mss of *Apoc. Dan.* (Ms B) appears to have been unfamiliar with the letters that he was attempting to interpret, thus leaving the strong impression that he was working with a separate, possibly even Semitic, source.

Finally, there seems to be substantial evidence to support the hypothesis that chap. 13 of *Apoc. Dan.* has had part of another written source inserted into its text (*OTP* 1: 760–61). Verses 13:8–13 contradict the rest of the chap. both in the tense in which they are written and with regard to the Greek words used in them to describe a rock which is the object of an attempted miracle by the antichrist. It is highly relevant to note here also that 13:8–13 contains the previously mentioned reference to a dragon as an enemy of the antichrist, a concept which is incompatible with the major source of *Apoc. Dan.:* the canonical book of Revelation.

The preceding evidence suggests that *Apoc. Dan.* is not totally dependent upon the NT book of Revelation for its eschatological imagery but contains elements which seem to be associated more with the early Pseudepigrapha. Such a possibility would characterize this particular document as being more than just another medieval apocalypse which is subservient to the traditional concepts found within the confines of the biblical canon. Consequently, *Apoc. Dan.* itself may be viewed as a possible source of substantially earlier apocalyptic material which could have had its origination within the historical and literary milieu which produced both the canonical and intertestamental literature.

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GEORGE T. ZERVOS

**DANIEL, BOOK OF.** A 12-chapter book in the Sacred Writings (Hagiographa) section of the Hebrew Bible, recounting stories about and visions of the prophet Daniel.

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A. Introduction
B. The Text
C. Authenticity
D. The Composition of the Book
E. Genre
F. The Setting
G. Theology
H. The Additions to Daniel

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**A. Introduction**

In the book of Daniel, the first six chapters are narratives in the third person. Daniel is introduced as one of the Jewish youths deported to Babylon by King Nebuchadnezzar "in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah" (1:1). He and his friends are trained to serve in the royal court and have many wonderful exploits. Daniel distinguishes himself as an interpreter of dreams and mysterious signs (chaps. 2, 4, and 5), his companions are preserved in the fiery furnace (chap. 3), and he himself emerges unscathed from the lions' den (chap. 6).

In chap. 7 (v 2) the narrative switches to the first person. The following chapters present a series of revelations which Daniel allegedly received and which are explained to him by an angel. In chaps. 7 and 8 the revelation is in the form of symbolic visions, in chap. 9 it is the interpretation of a biblical prophecy, and in chaps. 10–12 it is conveyed in a discourse by an angel. These revelations are eschatological in the sense that they describe a definitive divine intervention in history. The ancient Gk translations contain four noteworthy additions to this text: "The Prayer of Azariah and the Hymn of the Three Young Men" added to chap. 3 and the stories of "Susanna" and "Bel and the Snake."

Daniel presents the interpreter with an exceptional number of introductory problems. Most obvious, perhaps, is the bilingual character of the book: chaps. 1:1–2:4a and 8–12 are in Hebrew, while chaps. 2:4b–7:28 are in Aramaic. The division between the two languages does not coincide with the formal division between the stories (1–6) and the revelations (7–12). Moreover, the book does not proceed in simple historical sequence. Chapters 1–4 are set in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, in chap. 5 the king is Belshazzar, and in chap. 6 Darius the Mede. Chapters 7 and 8 revert to the reign of Belshazzar, followed in sequence by Darius in chap. 9 and Cyrus of Persia in chap. 10. (The Old Greek translation found in Chester Beatty papyrus Codex 967 avoids this anomaly by placing chaps. 7–8 before chaps. 5–6). Most significant are the numerous glaring historical problems. These begin with the statement in the opening verse that Nebuchadnezzar captured Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim (Jer 25:1 says that the fourth year of Jehoiakim was the first of Nebuchadnezzar). The most famous problems concern the claim that Belshazzar was king of Babylon and that he was succeeded by Darius the Mede. Further, the revelations in chaps. 7–12 seem especially appropriate for the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (168–164 B.C.E.) and have raised serious doubts about the authenticity of the book. (See Bentzen *Daniel* HAT; Porteous *Daniel* OTL.)

**B. The Text**

Fragments of the Hebrew and Aramaic text have been discovered at Qumran. Fragments of two mss from Cave 1 (1Q Dan$^{a,b}$) were published in DJD 1:150–52 and Trever 1964–65: 323–44, and another from Cave 6 in DJD 3:114–16. Fragments of five mss from Cave 4 are being prepared for publication by E. C. Ulrich. The Qumran fragments range in date from the late 2d century B.C.E. to the end of the occupation of Qumran. In general, they support the Masoretic Text. The transition from Hebrew to Aramaic at Dan 2:4 is preserved in 1Q Dan$^{a}$, and fragments of chap. 7 in Aramaic and of chap. 8 in Hebrew are preserved in 4Q Dan$^{a}$ and 4Q Dan$^{b}$.

The Gk versions have their own set of problems. We are told by Jerome in the preface to his translation of Daniel that "the churches of the Lord Savior do not read the prophet Daniel according to the Seventy Interpreters, but use the edition of Theodotion." Whether Theodotion-Daniel conforms to the

Theodotionic translation of other books is disputed (Hartman and DiLella *Daniel* AB, 81). The OG is now known from Chester Beatty papyrus Codex 967, which is pre-Hexaphlaric, as well from the Hexaphlaric Codex Chisianus, Ms 88, and the Syro-Hexaphlar. The most noteworthy feature of the OG is that it diverges widely from the MT in chaps. 3–6. Since the divergence in these chapters is greater than elsewhere, scholars have speculated that these chapters circulated independently or were based on a different Semitic original (Montgomery *Daniel* ICC, 37). Some scholars have argued that an Aramaic *Vorlage* existed prior to the MT of these chapters (so Charles 1929 and most recently Wills 1986). Others have maintained that the divergences are interpretative in character (so Montgomery Daniel ICC, 37 and most recently Satran 1985). At present there is no consensus on this question, but the existence of a variant Aramaic text of Daniel 3–6 (or at least 4–6) is widely accepted. Another significant variant in the OG occurs at 7:13, where the "one like a son of man" is said to come *as* an Ancient of Days. In this case the variant may be due to theological correction (to avoid the impression of di-theism) or to simple error, but it is unlikely to represent an independent tradition.

**C. Authenticity**

Apart from the book that bears his name, Daniel does not appear as a historical personality of the exilic period in any biblical book. The name occurs twice in Ezekiel, one time in conjunction with Noah and Job (14:14) and once as a prototype of wisdom (Ezek 28:3: "are you wiser than Daniel?"). Neither passage can have the biblical Daniel stories in mind, but it may be significant that the name was associated with a legendary wise man in the exilic period. The name *Dnil* is also attached to a legendary figure at Ugarit, in the Aqhat legend, where he is, among other things, a judge. (The name means, most probably "my judge is God" or possibly "judge of God"). In *Jub.* 4:20 Daniel is the uncle of Enoch. The fact that the name Daniel was widely associated with a legendary hero may raise some doubts about the historicity of the biblical figure.

Quite apart from the historicity of the figure of Daniel, the authenticity of the book had already been questioned by the 3d century Neoplatonist philosopher Porphyry. We are informed by Jerome that: "Porphyry wrote his twelfth book against the prophecy of Daniel, denying that it was composed by the person to whom it is ascribed in its title, but rather by some individual living in Judaea at the time of that Antiochus who was surnamed Epiphanes; he further alleged that 'Daniel' did not foretell the future so much as he related the past, and lastly that whatever he spoke of up till the time of Antiochus contained authentic history, whereas anything he may have conjectured beyond that point was false, inasmuch as he would not have foreknown the future."

Porphyry's insight was resisted for well over a millennium, but its validity has been widely acknowledged by modern critics, beginning in the 18th century (see Koch 1980: 186–87). Daniel refers to no events later than the time of Epiphanes, and evidently expected the end of history shortly thereafter. Such preoccupation with the Maccabean period is most easily explained if the author lived at that time. The references to the Babylonian period, in contrast, are notoriously confused.

The story of Nebuchadnezzar's madness in Daniel 4 is now known to be derived from a tradition about Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon. The publication of the Nabonidus Chronicle in 1882 revealed that Nabonidus had withdrawn from Babylon for several years to the desert oasis of Tema. Scholars soon suggested that this episode underlay the story of Nebuchadnezzar's banishment in Daniel 4 (see McNamara 1970). Further light was thrown on the sojourn at Tema by the Harran inscriptions, published by Gadd in 1958. The suggestion that the tradition was originally about Nabonidus was dramatically confirmed, however, by the discovery of the Prayer of Nabonidus at Qumran (Milik 1956; Cross 1984). This fragmentary text contains a first person narrative in the name of Nabonidus. The king says that he was smitten with a bad inflammation for seven years in the city of Tema, until a Jewish seer, one of the exiles, explained the situation and reproached the king for idolatry. While the precise literary relationship between this text and Daniel 4 remains in dispute, it it clear that 4QPrNab contains an older form of the tradition and that Daniel's identification of the king as Nebuchadnezzar is secondary.

Another problem of Babylonian history concerns Belshazzar. Inscriptions discovered in the 19th century show that Belshazzar was the son of Nabonidus, not of Nebuchadnezzar. He was in command in Babylon

while his father was absent in Tema, but he was never actually king and could not take the place of the king at the New Year Festival. The modern discovery that Belshazzar was the name of a crown prince has shown that the story in Daniel 5 may draw on old traditions, but the historical confusion suggests that the story comes from some time later than the Babylonian era.

Again, no such figure as Darius the Mede is known to history. Attempts to identify him with Gobryas (Ugbaru), the general of Cyrus who occupied Babylon, have failed to explain why he should be called Darius the Mede. The name Darius is almost certainly derived from Darius I of Persia (522–486), who in fact organized his empire in satrapies (cf. Dan 6:1). In Dan 9:1 Darius is said to be the son of Ahasuerus (Xerxes). In fact, Xerxes I was son of Darius. Darius put down two revolts by Babylonian pretenders, and one of these may have been confused with the original conquest. The designation as a Mede is most probably due to the fact that the author accepted the widespread belief that the Near East had been governed by a sequence of four kingdoms—Babylonia, Media, Persia and Greece (Swain 1940; Flusser 1972). This schema probably originated in Persia, where the Medes had in fact ruled. (The more usual sequence began with Assyria, but the Jewish author substituted Babylon for obvious reasons). Also, in biblical prophecy Medes were to destroy Babylon (Jer 51:11, 28; Isa 13:17–19; 21:2).

All but the most conservative scholars now accept the conclusion that the book of Daniel is not a product of the Babylonian era but reached its present form in the 2d century B.C.E. Daniel is not a historical person but a figure of legend.

**D. The Composition of the Book**

In the 19th and early 20th centuries critics who dated the book to the Maccabean era also affirmed its unity. This position found its most notable 20th-century advocate in H. H. Rowley. Beginning in the late 19th century, however, the view began to gain ground that the Aramaic section, or part of it, was older than the Hebrew. Discoveries such as 4QPrNab showed that the tales contained older traditions, but this in itself did not decide the question of unity. The crucial argument here is that the tales of Daniel 1–6 do not reflect the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, which dominates chaps. 7–12. Rowley argued that "point can be found for every story of the first half of the book in the setting of the Maccabean age" (Rowley 1952: 264–67), but none of these stories *requires* a setting in that period. The kings of Daniel 1–6 cannot be regarded as types of Antiochus Epiphanes; as Montgomery correctly observed, they are "amiable religious minded monarchs" (Montgomery *Daniel* ICC, 89—an exception should be made for Belshazzar). An author of the Maccabean period found these stories relevant to his situation, but they were not composed with that situation in mind.

The precise delineation of the pre-Maccabean stratum is more difficult and is bound up with the problem of the two languages. There is now a widespread consensus that the tales in chaps. 2–6 are pre-Maccabean. Since these stories are now bound together, but without any clear reference to the period of Antiochus Epiphanes, it is probable that they already constituted a collection before that time. (As we have noted above, some scholars suggest that chaps. 3–6 circulated independently, because of the different character of the OG translation of these chaps.). The collection, however, presupposes an introduction such as we find in chap. 1, and so it is likely that chap. 1 was composed in Aramaic as a prologue to the tales. Many German scholars, following G. Hölscher (1919), argue that the core of chap. 7 was also part of the pre-Maccabean Aramaic collection. (So also, Gammie 1976). This view draws support from the fact that chap. 7 is in Aramaic and that chaps. 2–7 exhibit a chiastic structure (2 and 7 contain "four kingdom" prophecies, 3 and 6 are tales of miraculous deliverance, 4 and 5 illustrate divine judgment on two kings). Yet chap. 7 as we have it is clearly from the Maccabean period. Attempts to distinguish an earlier form of the chapter by literary means are inconclusive (see Collins 1984a: 74–78). Moreover, the tone and idiom of chap. 7 are vastly different from those of 2–6 and cannot in any case have originated in the same setting. The most probable division then is between the tales in 1–6 and the revelations in 7–12.

The problem of the two languages remains. Some scholars (Ginsberg 1948; Hartman and DiLella *Daniel*) have argued that the entire book was composed in Aramaic at different times and that chaps. 8–12 were translated for reasons of nationalistic fervor. There is no textual evidence for this theory: the

Qumran fragments show the transitions between the two languages. Besides, it is unclear why only chaps. 8–12 should have been translated. (For discussion of the supposed Aramaisms of chaps. 8–12 see Collins 1977: 15–16). It is more probable that the two languages reflect the history of composition. Chapters 2–6 (and probably chap. 1) were composed in Aramaic and chap. 7 was added in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Then either the same author or others of the same circle composed chaps. 8–12 in Hebrew (possibly because of nationalistic fervor). Chapter 1 was either translated from Aramaic or composed in Hebrew in order to form a Hebrew *inclusio* around the Aramaic chapters. The fact that chap. 1 is now in Hebrew and chap. 7 in Aramaic provides an overlap which connects the two halves of the book in an editorial unity. The parallelism of chaps. 2 and 7 also serves this purpose. On the other hand, the division of the book at 7:1 is literarily affirmed by the fact that the dating reverts to the reign of Belshazzar, who had already been succeeded by Darius in chap. 6.

The Hebrew-Aramaic book had probably reached its present form by 164 B.C.E. (the year in which Antiochus Epiphanes died: Daniel 11 gives a mistaken prophecy of his death). The strongest arguments for a later addition to the text concern the prayer in Daniel 9. This is a traditional piece, quite different in style and theology from the remainder of Daniel. Yet it may well have been placed in its present context by the author of Daniel since the contrast helps to clarify the theology of the revelations (Collins 1984a: 90–91). Nonetheless, we know from the Greek version that prayers were inserted into the text of Daniel (chap. 3) and therefore the authenticity of the prayer in chap. 9 is not beyond question.

**E. Genre**

Daniel is classified with the Major Prophets in theLXX and was regarded as a prophet already in antiquity (Matt 24:15; *Ant* 10.11.7 [266]). Yet in the Hebrew Bible the book of Daniel is found in the Writings, in the fourth place from the end (before Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles). The position in the Hebrew Bible reflects the late date of Daniel (after the collection of Prophets had been standardized) but may also reflect an awareness that Daniel does not belong with the Prophets in genre.

Taken as a whole, the book of Daniel is an apocalypse, understood as "a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an other-worldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality, which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world" (Collins 1984b: 4). The genre takes its name from the NT book of Revelation. Other Jewish examples of the genre include the various components of *1 Enoch, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, 3 Baruch, 2 Enoch* and the *Apocalypse of Abraham.* Daniel is the only full-fledged apocalypse in the Hebrew Bible.

While all apocalypses have some narrative framework, Daniel is exceptional in the fact that it includes a collection of tales which introduce and establish the identity of the apocalyptic visionary. These tales are formally distinct from the apocalyptic visions. Our understanding of their genre is shaped in part by the realization that they are not historically accurate. The insight that the tales are not meant to be history writing, however, does not depend on their inaccuracy, since historiography can contain errors. Rather, it rests on two observations: (1) the tales have stereotypical patterns which are paralleled in the folklore of the world and (2) they frequently introduce marvelous elements, such as the writing on the wall or the transformation of Nebuchadnezzar into a beast. These elements suggest that the purpose of the stories is not to report facts but to arouse awe and wonder. The wonderful aspects of the tales are underlined by occasional doxologies.

The tales may be most appropriately categorized as *legends,* narratives "primarily concerned with the wonderful and aimed at edification" (Collins 1984a: 41). Their genre can be further specified by their fictional setting: they recount adventures at a royal court. As such, they belong to a broader category of court tales of which examples are found in the Greek writers Herodotus and Ktesias and in the internationally popular tale of Ahikar (which was found in Aramaic among the papyri from the Jewish colony at Elephantine in Egypt from the late 5th century B.C.E.). Biblical parallels are found in the stories of Joseph and Esther and less directly, in *3 Ezra* 3. It is noteworthy that all the Jewish examples are set in the Diaspora (including the Greek *3 Maccabees*)—hence the occasional designation "Diaspora novel"

(Meinhold 1975–76). The most satisfactory form-critical category, however, is court legend, as this takes account of the nonbiblical material in a way that "Diaspora novel" does not.

It has become customary to distinguish further within the genre between "tales of court contest" (e.g. Daniel 2) and "tales of court conflict" (Daniel 3, 6; see Humphreys 1973).

In the "conflict" tales the heroes are endangered because of a conspiracy, but are miraculously delivered from certain death. These stories bear considerable similarity to later martyr legends. The "contest" stories describe the rise of the hero from lowly status to an exalted position because of his ability to solve insoluble problems. In the case of Daniel, the peculiar skill lies in the interpretation of dreams and mysteries. The story is given a distinctively religious stamp since he interprets dreams by divine revelation.

The apocalyptic revelations in Daniel 7–12 also contain a number of formally distinct units, allegorical visions in chaps. 7 and 8 and angelic discourses in chaps. 9 and 10–12. The juxtaposition of multiple revelations is a recurring feature of apocalypses—it is also found in *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, the *Similitudes of Enoch*, and the NT book of Revelation. These revelations should be understood as complementary, whether they all come from the hand of a single author or not. (The strongest case for separate authorship can be made in the case of chap. 7 since it is in Aramaic, while 8–12 are in Hebrew, and it appears to be slightly older than the other chapters.)

The symbolic dream visions in Daniel 7 and 8 are a typical form of revelation in "historical" apocalypses (i.e., apocalypses which contain an overview of history in the guise of prophecy, as contrasted with the "journey" apocalypses, such as *1 Enoch* 1–36 or *2 Enoch*, where the visionary is taken on a tour of inaccessible regions, and the emphasis falls on cosmological mysteries; see further Collins 1984b: 5–6). The visions of Daniel 7 and 8 can be viewed as a development of the symbolic visions of the prophets (Niditch 1983). A characteristic feature of the apocalyptic vision is that it requires an angelic interpreter. The interpreting angel is found already in Zechariah 1–6 but the visions of Daniel are much more elaborate than those of Zechariah. The apocalyptic dream visions are also indebted to the tradition of Babylonian dream interpretation. This point is especially significant in Daniel, since the visionary of chaps. 7–12 is cast as a Babylonian dream interpreter in chaps. 2 and 4.

The symbolism of the dream visions is rich in mythological allusion. In chap. 7 Daniel sees "four great beasts come up out of the sea." The description of the beasts is followed by a judgment scene, presided over by an "ancient of days." The beasts are judged, and the last one is destroyed. Then "one like a son of man" appears "with the clouds of heaven" and to him is given the kingdom. The angel's interpretation informs us that the beasts represent four kings or kingdoms and that "the holy ones of the Most High" will receive the kingdom. This interpretation however stops far short of explaining the significance of the vision. There have been many attempts to identify the mythological background of the imagery (see *TDNT* 8:408–20). By far the most satisfactory explanation sees in the vision a reflection of a Canaanite myth, which is known to us from the Ugaritic texts of the 2d millennium B.C.E. In that myth, the high god is El, "father of years," but the hero is the god Baal, "rider of the cloud." Baal is challenged by Yamm or "Sea," but attacks and defeats him (See *ANET*, 129–142). There are, of course, significant differences between Daniel's vision and the Ugaritic myth, e.g., the battle of the myth is replaced by a court scene. Yet the main figures in the vision correspond to those of the myth: the high god on his throne, the quasi-divine figure riding on the clouds (imagery associated with Yahweh in the Psalms) and the sea as a symbol of chaos (see further Collins 1977: 95–106). We do not know how or in what form the old myth reached the author of Daniel, but we do know that Canaanite imagery plays an important role in the poetry of the Hebrew Bible, where Yahweh is said to do battle with sea monsters (e.g., Isa 27:1; 51:9–11; see further Day 1985).

The mythological imagery is crucial to the meaning of Daniel's vision. The kingdoms mentioned in the angel's interpretation are seen as manifestations of primeval chaos. Equally, the righteous Jews are assured of the coming judgment, and of the support of heavenly allies: the "one like a son of man" and the "holy ones." Many scholars (e.g. Hartman and DiLella *Daniel* AB) take the "son of man" figure and the "holy ones" as mere ciphers for the Jewish people, but this interpretation is inadequate. Elsewhere in

Daniel (4:13, 17; 8:13) "holy ones" are angels and angels can also appear in human form (8:15; 9:21; 10:5; 12:6–7). The "one like a son of man" of Daniel 7 should most probably be understood as the archangel Michael, who is explicitly portrayed as the deliverer of Israel in 10:13, 21; and 12:1. Michael takes the place of Baal in the Canaanite myth as a supernatural figure under the supreme God, who overcomes the beasts from the sea. The holy ones are the angelic host, but the faithful Jews, as "the people of the holy ones" (7:27), share in their victory and dominion. (See further Collins 1977: 123–47.)

The symbolic vision in chap. 8 also makes use of an old mythic pattern. It tells how a "little horn," representing a gentile king, rose above the stars of heaven and challenged the Prince of the Host, God himself, but was then cast down. The pattern is familiar from the taunt in Isaiah 14 against "Lucifer, Son of Dawn," who aspired to set his throne "above the stars of God." This myth too can be traced back to the Canaanite myths found at Ugarit, in this case the myth of Ashtar, the Day Star, who aspired to sit on Baal's throne (*ANET*, 140).

The angelic discourse in chap. 9 takes the form of an interpretation of biblical prophecy, specifically of Jeremiah's prophecy that the subjection of Jerusalem would last 70 years. The number is explained by an angel as 70 weeks of years. The division of history into a set number of periods is characteristic of apocalyptic literature; the division into "weeks" is found in the "Apocalypse of Weeks" in *1 En.* 93:1–10; 91:11–17. The reinterpretation of biblical prophecy gave rise to a whole genre of literature in the Dea Sea Scrolls—the Pesher. While the Hebrew term Pesher is not used in Daniel 9, it is used for dream interpretation in Daniel 2 and 4.

The book ends with another angelic discourse in chaps. 10–12. In this case the apparition of an angel, which is reminiscent of the epiphany in Ezekiel 8, is described (chap. 10). The discourse is a thinly veiled account of the history of the Hellenistic era, which is set in the context of a heavenly battle between angelic "princes." At the end, the archangel Michael, "prince" of Israel, will prevail, there will be a resurrection of the dead, and the righteous teachers will shine like the stars (12:3) which, in apocalyptic idiom, means to become companions to the angelic host (*1 En.* 104:2, 4, 6).

The apocalyptic visions are distinguished on the one hand by the supernatural character of their revelation, which is indicated by the angelic interpreter, and on the other by its eschatological content. In each case the visionary looks beyond known history to a definitive judgment of God. The technique of the genre can be clearly seen in chaps. 10–12. As Porphyry already was aware, the "predictions" in chap. 11 are correct down to the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, but incorrectly prophesy that he would die in the land of Israel. The conclusion is inescapable that the accurate "prophecies" were written after the fact. The real author lived in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. By identifying with Daniel in the exilic period, he could convey the impression that all of postexilic history was foretold and predetermined. This impression strengthened the assurance of the real eschatological prophecy with which the discourse concludes.

The revelation is not only presented as a prophecy of Daniel but it is actually given to Daniel by an angel. It therefore claims to provide a heavenly perspective on human history. The crucial insight of the revelation is that there is ongoing warfare among angelic "princes" in heaven. The human struggles on earth are only a reflection of this heavenly warfare. The outcome is finally decided, not by human armies, but by the victory of Michael and by the final judgment.

The final reward of the just is not only political independence or earthly sovereignty, but fellowship with the angels after the resurrection. This is an appropriate finale since Daniel acquires his wisdom from communication with the angels.

The genre of chaps. 7–12, then, is quite distinct from that of chaps. 1–6; but there is also some continuity. One theme of continuity is the revelation of mysteries. Daniel, the dream interpreter of chaps. 2 and 4, becomes himself the dreamer, but his dreams must be interpreted by an angel. The content of Nebuchadnezzar's dream in chap. 2 anticipates chap. 7 in its use of the four-kingdom schema. The final kingdom of chap. 2, however, lacks the angelic associations of chap. 7. It is also remarkable that the king in chap. 2 in no way resents Daniel's prophecy of a coming kingdom set up by God but rather rewards him for it. Such genial relations with a gentile king are no longer envisaged in chaps. 7–12. Finally, the

theme of deliverance from acute danger is prominent in chaps. 3 and 6 and again in chap. 12. The difference is that the older legends describe miraculous deliverance in this life, while the apocalyptic vision anticipates vindication for the martyrs after death.

**F. The Setting**

The ostensible setting of the book of Daniel is in the Babylonian exile at the courts of Babylonian, Median, and Persian kings. Critical scholarship has established that the book actually comes from the 2d century B.C.E. The tales in chaps. 1–6 are older, and may have had lengthy prehistories, as appears from the cases of Daniel 4 and the Prayer of Nabonidus. In their present form, however, the tales can be no earlier than the Hellenistic age. The four-kingdom schema, which is explicit in chap. 2 and is implied by the introduction of Darius the Mede, requires a date after the rise of the Greek kingdom. The allusion to intermarriage in 2:43 most probably refers to one of the dynastic intermarriages between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids. Since there is no clear allusion to Antiochus Epiphanes, a date in the late 3d or early 2d century B.C.E. is most likely.

The actual setting of the tales is, of necessity, hypothetical. The heroes of the tales are portrayed as courtiers, trained in "the language and letters of the Chaldeans." Their fortunes are closely bound up with good favor of the monarchs they serve. Success is reflected in advancement at court. There is no hint of rebellion. At the same time Daniel and his friends are pious Yahwists who are not prepared to compromise their religion. One purpose of the tales is to suggest that it is possible to gain advancement in the gentile world while remaining faithful. Indeed, the tales contend that religious fidelity is a key to success because of the power of the God of the Jews.

It has been suggested that the tales propose "a lifestyle for the Diaspora" (Humphreys 1973), specifically for upper-class Jews in the E Diaspora. While we cannot assume a direct correlation between the fictional setting of the tales and the actual setting of the authors, the suggestion is plausible. The wisdom of Daniel and his companions is markedly different from that of the Jerusalem wisdom circles represented by Ben Sira. The contrast is most striking in the evaluation of dreams. According to Sirach, one who gives heed to dreams is like one who catches at a shadow and pursues the wind (Sir 34:2; cf. Deut 13:1–5; Jer 29:8). In contrast, Daniel's wisdom is mantic wisdom (Mueller 1972) and is concerned with the interpretation of dreams and omens. There is no doubt that this mantic wisdom is influenced by the model of the Babylonian wise men, although there is also a biblical precedent in the Joseph story. It is certainly *possible* that the tales in Daniel were composed in Jerusalem, which was also subject to a gentile monarch in the Persian and Hellenistic periods. It is not apparent, however, why a Jerusalem author should have set the tales in the Diaspora. It seems more probable that the tales were composed in the E Diaspora, and that their tradents worked in the service of the gentile kings.

The setting of the visions is quite different from that of the tales. Nonetheless, it is likely that there is some form of social continuity between the tradents of the tales and the authors of the visions. In chap. 1 Daniel and his companions are said to be *maskilim* in all wisdom. In chap. 11 the heroes in the time of persecution are also called *maskilim* 'wise teachers.' There is widespread agreement that the author (or authors) of the visions belonged to this group. The common designation *maskilim* may reflect continuity with the mantic wise men of the tales. If so, we must assume that the Danielic circle had returned from the Diaspora to Palestine. Their theology and literary form of expression were then adapted to fit their new situation. This reconstruction must, obviously, remain tentative.

The setting of the visions is the prosecution of the Jews by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (168–164 B.C.E.). Daniel 7 may not yet know of the profanation of the temple (December 167) since it does not clearly reflect that event, although it knows of the suppression of the religious festivals (2 Macc 6:6). The desecrated sanctuary looms large in the other revelations. The author had presumably not heard of the death of Antiochus late in 164 since he predicts that the persecutor would die in the land of Israel (11:45). The duration of the persecution is variously predicted as 3.5 years (7:25), 2300 evenings and mornings (1150 days, [8:14] 1290 days (12:11) and 1335 days. The different figures presumably reflect attempts to adjust the prediction to accommodate the course of events. Since the desecration of the temple had only lasted three years at the time of the reconsecration by Judas Maccabeus in 164 (see 1 Macc 4:52–59), it is

quite possible that the final redaction of Daniel took place after that had happened but did not regard the reconsecration as a satisfactory end to the persecution.

Our primary sources for the history of the persecution are 1 and 2 Maccabees. Other documents, such as the "Animal Apocalypse" in *1 Enoch* 85–90, which were written closer to the events, are of little historical value because of their highly symbolic language. Daniel, however, is a significant historical source, esp. in chap. 11. Daniel "predicts" Antiochus' two campaigns against Egypt and his forced withdrawal by the Romans on the second occasion (11:30). This is followed by the desecration of the temple and suppression of the cult. Then we are told that "he shall seduce with flattery those who violate the covenant; but the people who know their God shall stand firm and take action. And those among the people who are wise shall make many understand, though they shall fall by sword and flame … When they fall, they shall receive a little help, and many shall join themselves to them in flattery, and some of those who are wise shall fall …" (11:32–35). The "wise" (*maskilim*) are singled out in the resurrection to shine like the brightness of the firmament and like the stars forever. There can be little doubt that the author(s) of Daniel identified himself with these *maskilim.*

The books of Maccabees also record the activities of the renegade Jews who violated the covenant and then go on to describe the armed resistance led by the Maccabee brothers. It is uncertain precisely how Daniel should be related to this movement. The reference to "standing firm and taking action" might be read as a reference to armed resistance but nothing that follows supports that interpretation. Jerome already took the "little help" as a reference to the Maccabees. Whether the author regarded the Maccabees as any help is unclear. It is clear that he thought the decisive struggle was taking place in heaven between Michael and the "prince" of Greece. The contribution of the *maskilim* is "to make many understand" and let themselves be purified by enduring the persecution. We are not told the content of their instruction. It is reasonable to assume that it corresponded to the apocalyptic revelations of the book of Daniel itself. The stance of the wise is apparently quietistic. They are not said to fight but to let themselves be killed. A similar stance is found in the *Testament of Moses*, the original form of which dates from the same period (Nickelsburg 1973). The aspiration of the wise martyrs was to shine like the stars and become companions to the angels. Consequently, they could afford to lose their lives.

Scholars have often identified the *maskilim* of Daniel with the Hasidim who are mentioned in the books of Maccabees. In 1 Macc 2:42 we are told that Mattathias and his followers were joined by "a company of Hasideans" (*synagoge Asidaion*) mighty warriors of Israel, every one who offered himself willingly for the law." This follows on a report that a thousand people were slaughtered when they refused to defend themselves on the Sabbath, but these martyrs are not explicitly identified as Hasidim. 1 Macc 7:12–13 says that a company of scribes (*synagoge grammateon*) came to the high priest Alcimus and the general Bacchides to seek peace. The passage continues "and the Hasideans were first among the sons of Israel and they sought peace from them." The Hasideans here are usually thought to be identified with the company of scribes, but the passage is ambiguous. It is also uncertain whether the Hasideans were first in rank or simply took the initiative in seeking peace. Finally in 2 Macc 14:6 Alcimus complains to the Seleucid king that "those of the Jews who are called Hasideans, whose leader is Judas Maccabeus, are keeping up war and stirring up sedition and will not let the kingdom attain tranquillity. These passages provide only meager information about the Hasidim. They were evidently a militant group, who actively supported the Maccabees. Their willingness to make peace with Alcimus does not imply pacifistic inclinations—even Judas made a brief truce with the Seleucids when Alcimus arrived on the scene (2 Maccabees 14). They may have been scribes (1 Macc 7:12–13) but it is not clear how far they were organized—the word "company" (*synagoge*) can certainly denote an ad hoc gathering. Since the one clear piece of information, their militant activism, is counter to the quietistic tendency of Daniel, there is no evident reason why Daniel should be ascribed to this group.

Daniel has also been associated with the founders of the Qumran sect, and it has even been suggested that the author of the visions was none other than the Teacher of Righteousness (Trever 1985). There are indeed important links between Daniel and Qumran (Mertens 1971). Several copies of the canonical book, as well as other Danielic writings, were preserved there. Some of the technical terminology of the sect:

*maskil* (the spiritual instructor at Qumran) *rabbim* (the "many," general members of the sect) and "seekers of smooth things" (*dwrsy hlqwt*) are all taken or adapted from Daniel 11, and there is also significant continuity between Daniel and the *War Scroll* (von der Osten-Sacken 1969). Yet there is no reason to ascribe Daniel to the Teacher of Righteousness. Other bodies of literature (e.g., the Enochic corpus) and traditions (especially halakic) also influenced the emerging Dead Sea sect. We can only say that Daniel belonged to the general milieu from which the sect emerged.

In all we can paint a limited picture of the piety and interests of the group which produced the book of Daniel. We can say very little, however, about its social location in Judaism and cannot identify it with any known group.

**G. Theology**

The theology of Daniel is a theology of history. Throughout, the book affirms a God who "does according to his will in the host of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth" (4:35) and whose kingdom is everlasting (4:3). This God is hidden and mysterious and is known through special revelations to the wise. His control of human affairs may not be immediately obvious but is a matter of a long-term plan. This plan has some deterministic overtones but never denies the freedom of human beings to make their own decisions and comments.

There is also a common dimension to the ethics of both parts of the book. Fidelity to the Mosaic law is a necessity which is established in the first chapter. It requires discipline and a willingness to subordinate personal needs and even to risk life itself. Insofar as those who are faithful to the Mosaic covenant are rewarded, Daniel fits the pattern of convenantal nomism, which E. P. Sanders (1977) has argued is broadly typical of ancient Judaism. Yet the theology of Daniel is not adequately characterized in this way. Throughout the book, Daniel is given special understanding through revelation which is not available on the basis of the Mosaic covenant alone. The heroes of the book are the wise, to whom God has given special knowledge. This special wisdom then enables them to act in the appropriate way.

While Daniel is a wisdom book, as von Rad (1965) argued, it is important to note the difference between this wisdom and the Hebrew proverbial tradition. Biblical wisdom was empirical and inductive. Daniel's wisdom comes by revelation and has appropriately been called "mantic wisdom" because of the importance attached to the interpretation of dreams and mysteries. This mantic wisdom undergoes a development in the second half of the book, where the transcendent nature of the revelation is underlined by the role of the interpreting angel.

The differences between Daniel 1–6 and 7–12 are primarily due to the changed situation and are reflected in the portrayal of the pagan kings. In chaps. 1–6 the monarchs are relatively benign and Jews can advance and prosper under their rule. In chap. 7, however, the gentile powers are portrayed as beasts from the sea, enemies of God, with whom no compromise is possible. The quasi-demonic imagery of beasts, and the opposition of the "princes" of the nations to Michael, reflect an emerging dualism. In Daniel, however, the forces of evil are still closely identified with specific nations. We do not encounter here a force of evil at large, such as Mastema in the roughly contemporary book of *Jubilees* or Belial in the slightly later Dead Sea Scrolls.

The new situation in chaps. 7–12 also causes a significant difference in the way God is thought to act. In chaps. 1–6, most vividly in 3 and 6, the faithful Jews are delivered from mortal danger by miraculous means. In 7–12, most clearly in 11–12, the *maskilim* are offered no such deliverance. Some of them must die. Deliverance comes later with the resurrection of the dead.

The introduction of the notion of resurrection is one of the major contributions of the book of Daniel to Jewish and Christian theology. This is the only clear reference to reward and punishment after death in the Hebrew Bible. Other passages which are sometimes cited as references to resurrection (Isa 26:19; Hos 6:2) are more probably speaking metaphorically of the restoration of the Israelite people. Belief in judgment after death is attested in the "Book of the Watchers" in *1 Enoch*, which is older than the book of Daniel, but Daniel's influence on the subsequent tradition is undeniably greater. The context in Daniel is mythological rather than philosophical: the belief is presented as a revelation, without the support of rational argument. The cogency of the belief in Daniel derives from the underlying trust in divine

retribution. Since the righteous lose their lives in this world, it is reasonable to believe that they will be rewarded hereafter. (In *1 Enoch* 22 the afterlife is not presented as a solution to persecution, so we cannot say that the belief arose only in that context). The idea is not systematically developed in Daniel—"many" of those who sleep in the dust of the earth will arise, not all. The function of the belief is to liberate the righteous from the fear of death. The aspiration to eternal life with the stars or angels also modifies the piety of the book and gives it an otherworldly character.

Another major contribution of the book of Daniel to Jewish and Christian theology concerns the figure of "one like a son of man" in chap. 7. The symbolism of the figure with the entourage of clouds, suggests a divine or quasi-divine being (Emerton 1958: 231–32). As noted above, the most probable reference is to the archangel Michael. In any case, Daniel 7 was influential in the development of the figure of an "exalted angel" in Judaism (Rowland 1982: 94–113). Possibly the earliest reinterpretation of the Danielic figure is found in the Similitudes of Enoch, which probably date from the early or mid-first century C.E. (Collins 1984b: 142–43). There we read of a figure who is referred to as "that Son of Man," "whose face had the appearance of a man, and his face was full of grace like one of the holy angels" (46:1) and who is seated on a throne of glory (62:5). This figure is more than an ordinary angel, since "even before the sun and the constellations were created … his name was named before the Lord of Spirits." He is also called "messiah" (48:10). In *1 En.* 71:14 Enoch is told "you are the Son of Man who was born to righteousness," but the identification is probably secondary (Collins 1984b: 151–53). This tradition reached its culmination in the late (4th or 5th century C.E.) mystical work Sefer Hekalot *(3 Enoch)* where the angel Metatron is "the little Yahweh" greater than all princes and is known by 70 names, one of which is Enoch, son of Jared.

The development of the idea of an exalted angel, a "lesser Yahweh," in Judaism was obviously of significance for the development of christology. Again, Daniel 7 played a crucial role in the development. One of the earliest christological scenarios was that which envisaged Jesus as the Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven with his angels. It is still disputed whether Jesus used the expression Son of Man in the eschatological sense and if so whether he used it to refer to himself or to another figure. The use of "Son of Man" in the Danielic sense is found primarily in the Synoptic Gospels, although the expression is also used in John and in the Apocalypse. In Rev 14:14 an angel, not Christ, is "seated on a cloud, one like a son of man," perhaps a vestige of the original use of the expression in Daniel to refer to an angel.

**H. The Additions to Daniel**

The Greek text of Daniel includes four extensive passages which are not found in the MT. Two of these are inserted in chap. 3 in the story of the three young men in the fiery furnace. The first, the prayer of Azariah, is a foreign body here. It is a typical communal confession of sin and petition for mercy, similar to the prayer in Daniel 9. Such prayers are very common in the later books of the OT (Ezra 9, Nehemiah 9) and the apocryphal literature. It is a prayer for all Israel and starts from the premise that affliction is justified punishment for sin. The situation in Daniel 3 calls rather for a prayer for the deliverance of individuals, whose predicament is in no way due to sin but to their fidelity to the law. The Deuteronomistic theology of the prayer (distress follows from sin, deliverance from repentance) also stands in contrast to the theology of Daniel, where distress usually follows from fidelity and calls for perseverance rather than for repentance.

The "Hymn of the Three Young Men" is more appropriate to its content. It is a hymn calling on all creation to bless and praise the Lord (compare Psalm 136). Its message is that God controls all the elements, as illustrated by the fact that the fire did not harm his servants. Both of the additions to Daniel 3 are traditional pieces, probably translated from Hebrew originals. It is impossible to discover the date or circumstances of their composition.

The story of Susanna is found after chap. 12 in the LXX but before chap. 1 in Theodotion. It tells of a beautiful God-fearing Jewish woman, who is falsely accused of adultery by two Jewish elders whom she has rejected. She is saved by the skillful interrogation of the elders by Daniel, who is introduced as a young boy (even in the Old Greek, where the story follows chap. 12). There are no cross-references to the stories of Daniel 1–6, and no suggestion that Daniel was a courtier. Since the setting of a judgment scene

is in accordance with the etymology of the name Daniel, Lebram (1986) has suggested that Susanna, in Aramaic, was the original introduction to the tales of chaps. 2–6. In view of the lack of a court setting, however, it is more likely to be an independent tale. It is set entirely within the bounds of Judaism: all the characters are Jewish. It is a parabolic tale which plays on the favorite biblical theme of reversal of expectations. The venerable elder judges are convicted by a youth, while the woman, who at first is condemned on the mere word of the elders, is vindicated. Again, the provenance of this addition to Daniel is impossible to establish.

The final addition is the story of Bel and the Dragon (or snake). In the LXX it is said to be taken from the prophecy of Habakkuk (who appears in the story). This indicates that the tale once circulated apart from the book of Daniel. In this case there is a point of contact with the Hebrew-Aramaic book: Daniel is thrown into a lions' den after the death of the snake. There does not appear to be any literary dependence on Daniel 6, however. In both stories the king is sympathetic to Daniel, but in "Bel and the Dragon" he is Cyrus the Great, not the unhistorical Darius the Mede. The temple of Bel in Babylon was in fact destroyed by another Persian king, Xerxes I, but he was not motivated by any opposition to idolatry. It may well be that the Bel episode is an elaboration of Jer 51:44: "And I will punish Bel in Babylon, and take out of his mouth what he has swallowed." The motif of the lions' den was presumably associated with Daniel in oral tradition.

Both the episodes of Bel and of the snake are caricatures of idolatry, in the vein already familiar from Isaiah 44. There is no evidence that the Babylonians worshipped live snakes. Animal worship was most prominent in Egypt and polemic against it was common in Hellenistic Jewish literature. The charge that "the king has become a Jew" (v. 28) also suggests a Hellenistic date, when Judaism had come to be perceived as a cult rather than as an ethnic-political entity. One Mesopotamian ruler, Queen Helena of Adiabene, did in fact convert to Judaism in the 1st century C.E.

We know of at least one other Danielic composition from the ancient world which never made its way into the biblical canon. 4QPsDan from Qumran is closely related to Daniel 2. It presents a summary of world history which Daniel recites "before the ministers of the king." One the reconstruction of the editor (Milik 1956) it offered a schema of four kingdoms and an eschatological conclusion, but the text is very fragmentary and it is not certain that 4QPsDan $^{c}$ is part of the same work as 4QPsDan $^{a}$ and $^{b}$. There are also several medieval apocalypses associated with the name of Daniel (Berger 1976).

For further discussion see Goldingay *Daniel* WBC.

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JOHN J. COLLINS

**DANNAH** (PLACE) [Heb *dannâ* (דַּנָּה)]. A town situated in the S hill country of Judah (Josh 15:49), within the same district as Debir. The only reference to this settlement occurs in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The location of the ancient settlement is unknown.
W. R. KOTTER

**DAPHNE** (PLACE) [Gk *Daphnē* (Δαφνη)]. According to 2 Macc 4:33, the deposed high priest Onias III took refuge from his opponent, the high priest Menelaus, at Daphne near Antioch. Only after being lured away from this sanctuary could he be assassinated by Adronicus at Menelaus' urging. Strabo notes that a famous temple of Apollo and Artemis encompassing an asylum was located at Daphne, which lay about 5 miles from Antioch (*Geog.* 16.2.6). Josephus notes that both Antony (*JW* 1.12.5 §243) and Herod stayed there (*JW*, 1.14.22 §277 and *Ant* 14.15.11 §451). That Onias, a saintly figure in 2 Maccabees, would have taken refuge there should not be taken as unseemly. There is nothing to suggest that the former high priest indulged in idolatry. Indeed, the pious author of 2 Maccabees saw nothing improper in Onias' flight to Daphne to save his own life. Daphne near Antioch should not be confused with the Daphne located S of Dan on a tributary of the Jordan (Abel *GP*, 303).
M. E. HARDWICK

**DARA** (PERSON) [Heb *dara*ʿ (דַּרְעַ)]. Var. DARDA. Dara was the son of Zerah and from the tribe of Judah (1 Chr 2:6). Zerah was the son whom Tamar conceived by her father-in-law Judah (Gen 38:30; 1 Chr 2:4). In 1 Kgs 5:11—Eng4:31 he is listed as Darda (Heb *darda*ʿ), one of the sons of Mahol. Together with Ethan, Heman, and Calcol, he is listed as a wise man whose wisdom was excelled only by Solomon's.

There has been much argument concerning the identification of the sons of Zerah in 1 Chr 2:6 with the sons of Mahol in 1 Kgs 5:11—Eng4:31. It is possible that the *benê māḥôl* should be identified with the musical personnel of the temple, the "sons of the choir" (Albright, *ARI*, 123; de Vaux, *AncIsr*, 382). Two of the *benê māḥôl* appear in the titles of Psalms 88 (Heman) and 89 (Ethan).

The fact that these musicians are not listed among the Levites but as descendants of Judah and his Canaanite wife Tamar probably indicates that the names of the *benê māḥôl* reflect the influence of Canaanite musical traditions upon the worship of Israel (Albright, 123). See DARDA (PERSON).
CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

**DARDA** (PERSON) [Heb *darda‘* (דַּרְדַּע)]. Var. DARA. Listed among those wise men in 1 Kgs 5:11—Eng4:31 whose wisdom was surpassed only by Solomon's. In the above reference in 1 Kings, Darda is listed as one of the sons of Mahol. In the parallel reference in 1 Chr 2:6, however, the variant spelling Dara is found, and he is listed as a son of Zerah, the son of Judah.

Some have tried to harmonize the two references by suggesting that Mahol was the actual father, while Zerah was a distant ancestor. Another possibility is that "sons of Mahol" does not refer to physical family but instead to members of the guild of temple musicians (*māḥôl* = dancing).

Although the background of Darda and the others listed is uncertain at present, it is clear that by the time of the writing of Kings these men symbolized the epitome of wisdom. They were likely well-known traditional figures, and the writer of Kings assures his readers that the wisdom of Solomon was greater even than that of these proverbial wise men. See DARA (PERSON).

PHILLIP E. MCMILLION

**DARIC** [Heb *darkĕmôn* (דַּרְכְּמוֹן) ]. See COINAGE.

**DARIUS** (PERSON) [Heb *dārĕyāweš* (דָּרְיָוֶשׁ)]. The first Achaemenid king of this name, usually called the Great. He ascended the throne in clouded and complicated circumstances in 521 B.C. Son of Vishtaspa, Satrap of Parthia, he belonged to a collateral branch of the Achaemenid family and claimed that he and Cyrus II, (see CYRUS (PERSON)) had a common great-great-grandfather. Darius may have been the commander of the immortal guard during Cambyses' conquest of Egypt.

Our principal source for the troubled times associated with Darius' rise to power is his own, hence prejudiced, great inscription at Bisitun in Iran. Here the new king says Cambyses killed his brother Bardiya before leaving for Egypt but that the people of Persia did not know of this. Then a Magian priest, Gaumata, lied to the people of Persia saying he was Bardiya and in that guise led a rebellion against Cambyses. En route back to Persia from Egypt to crush the rebellion, Cambyses either committed suicide or was accidentally killed. Darius continued on with at least parts of the army that had come from Egypt and, with the assistance of six other strong men, killed Gaumata. Darius was then chosen by the six strong men to be the next king from the Achaemenid house.

The truth of this story of Darius' rise to power has been repeatedly challenged by historians. Whatever the truth in detail, there was clearly a major rebellion against the Achaemenid family. Cambyses apparently had no direct heir, and in crushing the rebellion Darius manipulated affairs so that he became king.

Revolt in Persia triggered widespread rebellion throughout most of the empire and Darius spent the whole of his first year as king putting down these uprisings. The most serious and persistent rebellions were those in Babylon, Media, and Armenia. Displaying great tactical skill as a military commander, Darius with his army was able to keep the several rebels separated and gradually to bring the situation under control by taking on his enemies one at a time. By June of 521 B.C., Darius was firmly in command of a reestablished Achaemenid empire.

There then began a concerted effort at imperial expansion. Sometime after the crushing of the rebellions, but earlier than 513 B.C., parts of N India, including the Punjab and Sind, were conquered by Darius. The great king then marched W about 513 B.C. and campaigned against the Scythians located N of the Danube River and the Black Sea. Campaigns which followed, led by subordinates, brought under Persian control all of the important cities, states, and islands in the N Aegean and around the Bosporus.

Peace was next broken on the European front by the Ionian revolt (499–494 B.C.), in which the Greek cities in Asia Minor attempted, unsuccessfully, to regain independence. The involvement of mainland Greeks in an effort to assist the Ionian cities guaranteed further conflict between Persia and Europe. By ca. 492–491 B.C. Macedonia and Thrace had been added to the Persian Empire and the great king's authority extended as far S in Greece as Mt. Olympus. The Persian defeat by the Athenians at the battle of

Marathon in 490 B.C. temporarily checked westward expansion but did not loosen Persian control of NE Greece.

Darius I was not only an accomplished military commander, but also a shrewd administrator and a monumental builder. Herodotus in his *Persian Wars* provides considerable detail on the great king's reorganization of the empire into 20 provinces or satrapies for purposes of regularizing tax collection and local government (see SATRAP). These basic administrative structures created by Darius served the empire well for approximately the next 200 years. Around 520 B.C. Darius began his grand scheme of construction at Persepolis, the new Achaemenid capital in their homeland, Persia (see PERSEPOLIS). Apparently, for some reason, Darius felt it inappropriate to continue the capital at Pasargadae built by Cyrus, though the slightly more N site did not go out of use. Massive construction works were also undertaken by Darius at the second capital of the empire, Susa, and, we assume, at the third, Ecbatana (Hamadan). Most of what may have been built by him in Babylon, the fourth imperial capital, is lost.

Darius died in November 486 B.C. shortly before the planned second major invasion of Greece and just after the outbreak of a major rebellion in Egypt. His was the first of the great royal Achaemenid tombs set into the rock cliff, Naqsh-i-Rustam, near Persepolis.

T. CUYLER YOUNG, JR.

## DARIUS THE MEDE (PERSON) [Aram *dārĕyāweš mādāyā*ʾ (דָּרְיָוֶשׁ מָדָיָא)]. The Median

Darius was a 62-year-old man who, as predicted by Daniel, gained control over the Chaldean kingdom immediately following the death of Belshazzar (Dan 5:28–6:2). His first action as king was to set 120 satraps over the kingdom. On the king's behalf, but against his will, Daniel was put in the den of lions (Dan 6:14–17). Following his deliverance, Daniel prospered under both the Median king's rule and that of Cyrus the Persian (Dan 6:29—Eng6:28). In the first year of this "Darius son of Ahasuerus by birth a Mede," who "was installed over the kingdom of the Chaldeans," Daniel had his famous vision of the 70 weeks of years (Daniel 9). The references in Daniel place this Darius between the reign of Belshazzar and that of the Persian emperor Cyrus (Dan 5:30–6:1; cf. 6:29—Eng6:28; 9:1; cf. 8:1; and 10:1). At no other place in the Bible do we find a Median king named Darius.

### A. Historical Difficulty

Both Greek and Babylonian sources clearly demonstrate that the Persian king Cyrus—and not Darius—was the conqueror of Babylon, and the real successor to the last Chaldean king (cf. 2 Chr 36:20). Historically, there was no Median invasion of Babylonia and no Median domination of that area. A Median king Darius is unknown. Consequently, the mysterious reference to Darius in the book of Daniel has posed a severe difficulty for exegetes since early times. Already in the 1st cent. B.C.E. the Greek version of (Proto-) Theodotion had tried to harmonize the biblical and the Greek traditions by substituting an Artaxerxes for Darius in Dan 6:1.

### B. Median Rule over Babylonia

From the standpoint of tradition-history, two general conceptions presumably stand behind the Daniel narration. First, and most important for every faithful Israelite, there were the prophetic predictions of the conquest of Babylon by Median troops (Isa 13:17–18; 21:2; Jer 51:1, 27, 28; cf. Graf 1984: 21). For postexilic readers of Daniel these announcements were apparently fulfilled and had to be portrayed as such. Second, there was an extrabiblical pattern of a succession of the four world empires, Assyria, Media, Persia, and Greece, which was widely adhered to in the last centuries B.C.E. (Swain 1940). In order to bring this pattern into conformity with Israelite history, the biblical author simply substituted Babylonia for Assyria. Both of these concepts led the Daniel tradition to the conclusion that at least one Median king must have ruled over Babylonia (and Israel) between the otherwise known Chaldean and Persian kings (i.e., Belshazzar and Cyrus). But why was the name Darius chosen for this Median interregnum?

### C. Proposals for Identification

While a number of solutions have been proposed since early times (Rowley 1935), only three of them are worth mentioning:

**1. Nabonidus.** There is a slight possibility that the king in question was really the last ruler on the throne of Babylon prior to the Persian invasion (for earlier representatives of this opinion see Rowley 1935: 9). As far as the indigenous population of Babylonia was concerned, this king was an alien. The Babylonian Dynastic Prophecy (Grayson 1975a: 25, 33) assigns to him an independent dynasty of Harran, ruling between the last legitimate Babylonian kings and the kings of Elam (Persia). The city of his birthplace, Harran, lies in the N and does not belong to Babylonia, but to Assyria. It may have been dominated by the Medes for some time after 612 B.C.E. (*RLA* 4: 124).

**2. The Persian Darius I.** Most recent commentators propose a confusion of the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus (539 B.C.E.) (e.g., Rowley 1935: 54–60; Hartmann and DiLella, *Daniel* AB, 36) with the later suppression of two Babylonian rebels, both of whom claimed to be the son of Nabonidus (cf. Behistun inscription; Kent 1953: 120–31). It was this *Persian* Darius who reorganized the state and installed the 20 satrapies (Hdt. 3.89). Darius I is mentioned 16 times in the Bible. In his second year the prophets Haggai and Zechariah were exhorting the people to rebuild the temple, and under the guidance of Zerubbabel and Joshua the work was begun (Hag 1:1, 15; 2:10; Zech 1:1, 7; Ezra 4:24–5:2). The governor of the province Beyond-the-River stopped this activity and wrote a letter to Darius requesting an inquiry. But the king confirmed the decree of Cyrus. So the building activity continued until the house of God was completed in the sixth year of Darius (Ezra 5:3–6:15). However, this identification of Darius I with Darius the Mede is not without its problems.

**a.** Where Darius I is mentioned in the Bible, his *Persian* provenance is stressed (Ezra 4:5, 24; 6:14; Neh 12:22, also with Darius II). Daniel, however, underlines the *Median* affiliation of the conqueror of Babylon.

**b.** In the Chronicler's work there is a clear sequence from Cyrus to Darius, king of Persia, who reigns at the time of the dedication of the Second Temple (Ezra 4:5; 5:6–6:14). As the book of Daniel is closely related to the Chronicler's work in many instances (Koch, *Daniel* BKAT, 28–33, 37–40), it is difficult to imagine why the author should have disturbed the chronological sequence of his source.

**c.** Dan 9:25 mentions a time of 49 years (7 weeks of years), presumably between the beginning of the Exile and the coming of a messiah-*nagîd* (Cyrus or Zerubbabel?) He therefore seems to have reliable knowledge about the end of the exilic period.

**d.** In his inscriptions Darius I himself indicates his Persian origin: "I am a Persian, son of a Persian" (Kent 1953: 138; cf. 116, 134). His father's name is Vištaspa (Gk Hystaspes), whereas the father's name in Dan 9:1 is Ahasuerus.

**3. Gaubaruwa** (Akk *Gubaru/Ugbaru,* Gk *Gobryas*). This is the only candidate who fits the otherwise documented historical circumstances. Gaubaruwa was a governor of Gutium who, on behalf of Cyrus and as an old man (Xenophon), seized Babylon and was installed (cf. the passive *hamlak* Dan 9:1) as a vice-regent over Mesopotamia, appointing the governors of the country until his death eight months later (Nabonidus Chronicle, *ANET,* 306–7; Grayson 1975b: 104–11; cf. Whitcomb 1959; Shea 1971–72; Cälmeyer 1977; Koch 1983). The name of his father is never mentioned. He "ruled almost as an independent monarch" (Olmstead 1948: 56). As a man of Gutium, Gaubaruwa surely was no Babylonian. In fact, Gutium in the Babylonian omen literature (replacing an earlier Subartu) signifies the NE quadrant of the known world; in the 1st millenium B.C.E. it was compromised primarily of Media (*RLA* 3: 708–20). The historian Berossos (ca. 280 B.C.E.) identified the old dynasty of Gutium in the Babylonian King List with "tyrants of the Medes" (Burstein 1978: 21–23, especially n. 64). The same identification is made by Daniel. Yet the name "Darius" for Gaubaruwa still remains enigmatic. The old Persian word *Dārayarahu* 'He who holds firm the good' (Kent 1953: 189) is the name of several kings and princes (*RLA* 2: 121–23). Perhaps it was also the throne name for the vice-king Gaubaruwa in Babylonia, whose name was not otherwise documented because of the short time of his reign. For us Gaubaruwa seems to be an obscure figure. But his name and fate are not only documented in cuneiform sources, but are also known to Greek historians (*RLA* 3: 671–2). The statement of "a conflation of confused tradition" (Rowley 1935: 54) regarding Darius the Mede in Daniel therefore seems neither necessary nor probable.

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**DARKON** (PERSON) [Heb *darqôn* (דַּרְקוֹן)]. Head of a family of "sons of Solomon's servants" (see SOLOMON'S SERVANTS) which is listed among those exiles returning from Babylon to Jerusalem and Judah (Ezra 2:56 = Neh 7:58). Mendelsohn (1942: 17) believes this group was merged with the *nĕtînîm* 'temple servants' (see NETHINIM) under Ezra and Nehemiah. Weinberg (1975: 371) holds that the low social rank of these groups, originally composed of craftsmen in royal service before the Exile, in the 6th and 5th centuries resulted in their disappearance after the 5th century B.C. Noth (IPN, 225) derives the name from the Arabic *darkun* 'hard,' understanding it to signify firmness and strength, while Brown, Driver, and Briggs (BDB, 204b) suggest an origination from Arabic *daraqa* 'walk rapidly, hasten' or from Arabic *daraqatun* 'shield.' Blenkinsopp (*Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 91) believes the name may have originated as a nickname. Because *D-R-Q* does not produce any Semitic personal names, Zadok (1980: 115) assumes *darqôn* to be the result of some metathesis of *daqrōn* which comes from *D-Q-R* 'bore through, pierce,' which does generate NW Semitic examples (Gröndahl *PTU*, 125). In the list of 1 Esdras 5, the name Lozon (v 33) seems to occupy the position held by Darkon.

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RODNEY H. SHEARER

**DART.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

**DATE PALM.** See FLORA.

**DATHAN** (PERSON) [Heb *dātān* (דָּתָן)]. Son of Eliab, a Reubenite, who with ABIRAM, KORAH, and 250 leaders of Israel conspired against the exclusive leadership of Moses and Aaron in the wilderness (Num 16:1–40). The conspiracy ended when, in the aftermath of a ritual contest with Aaron, the earth "swallowed" the leaders and fire devoured the 250. The name is derived from Akk *datnu* 'strong, heroic.'

The latest postexilic form of the story (P) is reflected also in Num 26:9. There Dathan, together with Abiram and Korah, is swallowed by the earth, and the rest of the conspirators are consumed by fire. However, both Deut 11:6 and Ps 106:16 give evidence of an earlier form belonging to the epic tradition (J) in which the story of Dathan and Abiram has not yet been interwoven with that of Korah. Belonging to the earlier Dathan-Abiram tradition are vv 12–14 (15) and 25–34, minus the note concerning Korah in v 32, plus fragments of vv 1–2, 24. The conspiracy of Korah is a strictly levitical concern directed against the exclusive claims of the Aaronide priesthood. That of Dathan and Abiram is a more directly political conspiracy against the exclusive governing authority of Moses, who would be "prince" (Heb *śar*) over the people (v 13). Whereas the priestly technical term "come near" (Heb *qārab*) is used of the Korah tradition, the Dathan tradition plays upon the verb "come up" (Heb *ʿălah*). While Korah is instructed to "come near," Dathan and Abiram refuse to "come up" (*Qal*) because the Lord only "brought up" (*Hipʿil*) the people of Israel from Egypt to kill them in the wilderness (vv 12–13).

This conspiracy story is one in a cluster of such narratives, including the revolt of Aaron and Miriam against Moses (Numbers 12), and of all the people (Numbers 14). They cluster at this point in the narrative likely to demonstrate the negative impact of the democratization of God's spirit in Numbers 11, and Moses' statement in particular that he wished "that all the Lord's people were prophets, that the Lord would put his spirit upon them" (11:29). The story of Abiram is often understood as a reflection of the loss of prestige by the tribe of Reuben following the period of settlement. See also Budd *Numbers* WBC.

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RODNEY R. HUTTON

**DATHEMA** (PLACE) [Gk *Dathema* (Δαθεμα)]. A city in Gilead with a fortress to which Jews fled to escape persecution from the surrounding gentiles (1 Macc 5:9). The Maccabean revolt met with early successes, including retaking the temple in 164 B.C., which led to gentile reprisals. Many Jews in Gilead fled to Dathema for refuge and sent to Judas for help. Leaving Simon in charge in Galilee, Judas and Jonathan set out for Dathema. After three days they encountered Nabateans, who told them of the persecution of Jews in other cities of Galilee, including Bozrah, Bosor-in-Alema, Chaspho, Maked, and Carnaim (see ALEMA). Detouring long enough to defeat the enemy at Bozrah, Judas then marched overnight to Dathema and defeated the army of Timothy there.

The location of Dathema is uncertain. Abel (1923: 516) rejected a traditional association with ʿAthaman and identified the site as Ramatha in the center of Gilead. The difference in the initial letter of the name can be explained from the easy confusion of the Heb letters *dalet* and *reš*. In 2 Macc 12:17 one reads that Judas reached a place called *charaka,* which is often taken as a proper name (Charax) and identified with Dathema.

This identification, however, is by no means certain. Simons (*GTTOT,* 425) separates the two, identifies Charax with the site of Kerak, and identifies Tell Hamad, E of Carnaim, as the possible site for Dathema based on the presence of ancient city walls and its location as a suitable place of refuge. Tell Hamid, however, lies a little over 50 km from Bozrah, quite a distance for an overnight march (1 Macc 5:29). Simons suggests that Judas came first to Charax, did not find Timothy there (2 Macc 12:17–18), divided his forces, and himself took part of his army to Tell Hamad, about 25 km away. The identification of Charax with Kerak, however, has been challenged. Goldstein (*2 Maccabees* AB, 440) argues that the Gk word *charaxa* is an inflected noun (meaning "palisaded camp") and not a proper noun at all. Since all of the proposed identifications of the site of Dathema rest on challenged speculation, one should conclude that the site has not yet been satisfactorily located.

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PAUL L. REDDITT

**DAUGHTER.** See FAMILY.

**DAUGHTERS OF PHILIP.** See PHILIP (PERSON).

**DAVID** (PERSON) [Heb *dāwîd* (דָּוִיד)]. Israel's second and greatest king, David rose to power from humble circumstances and amid many difficulties; he captured Jerusalem, established it as his capital, unified the nation, and built an empire that stretched from Egypt to Mesopotamia during a 40-year reign, ca. 1010–970 B.C.E. He was a man of many talents—a shepherd, musician, poet, warrior, politician, administrator—but he is most prominent as the king par excellence, as the standard for all later kings, and as a messianic symbol.

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A. Name
B. Family

C. Rise to Power
D. Consolidation of Power
E. Decline
F. A Man after God's Own Heart
G. Sources and Methods for the Study of David
H. Assessment

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**A. Name**

David's name is rendered *dāwid* or *dāwîd* in Heb (*dauid* or *daueid* in Gk), and it occurs more than 1000 times in the OT, some 59 times in the NT. The name is attested in Old Babylonian (early 2nd millennium B.C.E.: *da-wi-da-nu-um*) and possibly in Moabite (9th cent. B.C.E.: *dwd[h]*).

The term "David" has been suggested as a title, perhaps a throne name, and not a personal name. Impetus for this suggestion has come from 2 Sam 21:19, which credits one "Elhanan" with the killing of Goliath, whereas 1 Samuel 17 has "David" killing him: the former would have been his personal name (Honeyman 1948: 23–24). This creates several problems, however, not least of which is the anomaly of "Elhanan/David" being considered one of his own mighty men (McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 291; *2 Samuel* AB, 450). (1 Chr 20:5 states that Elhanan killed Lahmi, Goliath's brother. This statement has been seen as a harmonizing attempt [or textual corruption] by the Chronicler [Anderson *2 Samuel* WBC, 255]. It may also indicate textual corruption in 2 Samuel, however [Keil and Delitzsch n.d.: 465–66].)

Another support for seeing "David" as a title has come from a reading from the Mari archives (*dawīdûm*), originally understood as "general" or "commander-in-chief." However, that translation has been proven erroneous; the word is related to Akk *dabdûm*, and means "defeat" (Tadmor 1958: 129–31).

**B. Family**

David was the youngest of at least eight sons of Jesse of Bethlehem (1 Sam 17:12–14), and he had at least two (half-?) sisters, Abigail and Zeruiah, as well (1 Chr 2:16). His mother's name is unknown, unless it was Nahash (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 392, 394). Six of his brothers are named in the genealogy in 1 Chr 2:13–15; one may have died without heirs and thus been omitted in this list. (See also McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 276.)

David's previous ancestry is found in Ruth 4:18–22 and 1 Chr 2:1–15, as well as in Matt 1:2–6 and Luke 3:31–38. Each of these genealogies shows him as descended from Judah, with an important purpose of showing the continuity of the Judahite line, in keeping with the royal promise to Judah in Gen 49:8–12. His ancestry was partially non-Israelite: Moabite, via Ruth, and Canaanite, via Tamar. Theologically, these inclusions make the point that YHWH was not to be too tightly bound by nationalistic or ethnocentric expectations in his choice of David.

David had eight wives who are named in Scripture, seven of whom bore him children, the other being Michal, Saul's daughter (2 Sam 6:23); the most prominent were Abigail (1 Samuel 25) and Bathsheba (2 Samuel 11–12). He also had many unnamed wives and concubines, who likewise bore him children (1 Chr 3:9; 14:3).

David had 19 sons who are named, along with one daughter, in addition to numerous unnamed sons and daughters (see DAVID, SONS OF). His line continued unbroken among the kings of Judah, and the NT traces this line, via two routes, to Jesus (Matt 1:6–17; Luke 3:23–31). David's prominence as Israel's greatest king and his importance as a theological symbol (see DAVIDIC COVENANT) account for the special interest in his line.

**C. Rise to Power**

David's story begins with his dramatic rise in fortunes, from humble beginnings as an insignificant shepherd in his father's house to his acclamation as king over all Israel in his own capital city, Jerusalem. Through it all, we see YHWH favoring him and events consistently turning out in his favor (see G.2 below).

**1. Samuel's Anointing of David.** David is introduced in the Bible with the story of his anointing to be king by the prophet Samuel (1 Sam 16:1–13). The story unfolds dramatically—e.g., David is identified by

name only at the end of the episode—with Samuel's going to Jesse's home in Bethlehem at YHWH's behest and reviewing seven impressive sons, who, nonetheless, were not YHWH's choice, before asking about any other sons. David, the youngest, was called from the fields where he was tending the sheep. He was anointed as king, after which YHWH's spirit came mightily upon him from that day forward.

**2. David's Arrival at the Royal Court.** At the same time YHWH's spirit was leaving the present king, Saul, and an evil spirit from YHWH was coming upon him (1 Sam 16: 14–23). This spiritual transfer of power symbolized the inevitable political transfer of power as well. This episode brings Saul and David together, and the remainder of 1 Samuel focuses upon David's rise vis-à-vis Saul's decline. David was introduced into Saul's court as one skilled in many areas, including the ability to soothe Saul whenever he was afflicted by the evil spirit. He became armor bearer and musician to Saul, presumably at Gibeah, Saul's hometown (15:34; 22:6).

**3. David and Goliath.** We see David soon with an opportunity to demonstrate his military capabilities in the lengthy story of his encounter with Goliath (1 Sam 17:1–18:5). This is a complex story, with many difficulties, textual and otherwise (Klein *1 Samuel* WBC, 168–83; Barthélemy et al. 1986). The story in the MT presents a conflict between the Philistines and Israel at the valley of Elah, near Gath. The Philistines were represented by one "Goliath," of Gath (17:4, 23), a giant of a man who challenged Israel to send out a warrior to engage him in single combat; the winner of this contest of champions ostensibly would determine the overall victor (17:1–10). The Israelites' fear in the face of this challenge was put to shame by the fearlessness of the young shepherd boy David, who appeared on the scene from the fields with provisions for his brothers (17:11–30).

News of David reached Saul, who summoned him and sent him out against the Philistine warrior. We see David confronting the giant with nothing but stones and a sling, but nevertheless prevailing over him (17:31–50). Despite the apparent ground rules for the champion conflict, the Israelites pursued the Philistines W to Gath and Ekron (17:51–54). Saul, then, who earlier had known David in the context of the court (16:17–23), now inquired about his pedigree (17:55–58). David's success provided the basis for Saul's and the people's further trust of him, and, significantly, for Jonathan—who was a successful warrior in his own right (13:3; 14:1–15)—to declare his loyalty to David, as well, even to the point of giving David his armor (18:1–5).

**4. Threats to David.** Following David's success over Goliath and his further rise in fortunes, we see Jonathan and Michal, two of Saul's children, "loving" David (18:1, 3, 20). Saul could not go this far, however; indeed, his jealousy was soon aroused, and thus began his long hatred and pursuit of David (1 Sam 18:6–21:1—Eng20:42). He was particularly infuriated by the popular women's taunt that compared him unfavorably with David:

> Saul has slain his thousands,
> but David his ten thousands
> (18:7; also in 21:12 [—Eng 21:11] and 29:5).

This taunt first appears after David technically had killed only one enemy—Goliath—but it reflects the rout of the Philistines and the popular attitudes that arose after that incident (cf. 18:16). Indeed, David's fortunes waxed as Saul's jealousy increased and his fortunes declined (18:9–16; Fokkelmann 1986). This was made even more evident by Saul's plots against David, by Saul's hoping the Philistines would kill David, and by Saul's use of his own daughters, Merab and Michal, as pawns in his struggle (18:17–30). Contrary to Saul's expectations, David succeeded even further, and all Israel "loved" him (18:28). Thus Saul feared and hated him all the more, while David's fortunes continued to rise (18:29–30).

Saul became obsessed with killing David and endeavored by various means to do so. Saul's daughter (now David's wife) Michal, however, helped David escape once (19:11–17), and his son Jonathan also allied himself with David (18:1–4; 19:1–7; 20:1–21:1—Eng 20:42; 23:16–18). The themes of Jonathan's love for David and the covenant between the two are prominent here, and they form the basis later for several of King David's acts of kindness to Jonathan's son. They also dramatically highlight the tenuous nature of Saul's hold on the throne—and its bankruptcy—since his own son, the presumed heir apparent, allied himself with YHWH's chosen heir apparent against his own father.

Finally, despite Michal's and Jonathan's help, David was forced to flee from Jerusalem permanently.

**5. David the Fugitive.** A lengthy account ensues, recounting the details of David's flight from Saul and his service as a mercenary for the Philistines (1 Sam 21:2 [Eng 21:1]–30:31). In each episode, David's character and his fortunes emerge enhanced. The stage is indeed set for David to assume his place as God's chosen king after Saul's death in 1 Samuel 31.

David first fled to Nob, a Benjaminite city near Gibeah and Jerusalem (Isa 10:32; Neh 11:31–32) and the center of religious activity after the destruction of Shiloh (cf. 14:3; Jer 7:14). Here he obtained provisions and Goliath's sword (via a deception) from Ahimelech, the priest. The worthiness of his person and his cause are highlighted by the priest's making available to him the holy Bread of the Presence, which normally was to be reserved for the priests (Lev 24:8–9). (A seemingly innocuous notice about Doeg the Edomite's presence in 21:8—Eng 21:7 later is shown to be rather ominous, since Doeg came to function as Saul's spy and then slaughtered the priests at Nob on Saul's behalf [22:6–19].)

Following this incident, David fled to Gath, in Philistine territory, where he certainly would have been safe from Saul. However, his reputation as an adversary of the Philistines had preceded him, and he was forced to flee (21:11–16—Eng 21:10–15). At Adullam, NE of Gath, he gathered around him—from among the marginal and disaffected members of society—the nucleus of what would become a formidable fighting force (22:1–2). He crossed into Moab to place his parents into the temporary care of the Moabite king (22:3–5). There his descent from the Moabite Ruth could only have helped him.

When he returned to Judah, Saul heard from Doeg of Ahimelech's aid to David and enlisted Doeg—Saul's personal bodyguards having refused to do so—to kill the 85 priests from Nob and their households (22:6–19). Abiathar, one of Ahimelech's sons, escaped, however, and joined David (22:20–23).

Next, David heard of Philistines' harassing Keilah, a Judahite town E of Gath, and he defeated them with YHWH's help, freeing Keilah (23:1–5). David learned from YHWH that, despite their rescue, the men of Keilah planned to give him and his 600 men into Saul's hand, so he fled once again, this time into the Wilderness of Ziph, SE of Keilah (23:6–14).

Here Jonathan met David, renewed their covenant, and reassured him (23:15–18). The men of Ziph, like those from Keilah earlier, plotted to give David up to Saul; thus he was forced to flee again, S into the Wilderness of Maon, just ahead of Saul and his men. Saul was diverted from his pursuit by a report that Philistines had raided the land, and David descended SE to the strongholds of En-Gedi, near the Dead Sea (23:19–24:1—Eng 23:19–29).

We now encounter the first of two related episodes in which David had Saul's life in his hands but chose to spare it (24:2–23—Eng 24:1–22; cf. 26:1–25). In this one Saul returned to the chase reinforced with 3000 chosen men. When Saul entered a cave near En-Gedi to relieve himself, one in which David was hiding, David refused to take advantage of the situation, displaying a respect for the office of the anointed king (24:7, 11—Eng 24:6, 10); he himself, of course, would one day occupy that office. Upon David's disclosure to Saul of this, Saul repented—for the time being—of his pursuit of David, affirmed David's position as YHWH's chosen, and returned home (24:9–23—Eng 24:8–22).

A notice of Samuel's death and burial follows (25:1a), and then David resumed his wanderings, going into the Wilderness of Paran (25:1b). Here, in Maon, he met yet another man who would not help him in his flight, one Nabal, whose character lived up to the meaning of his name ("fool"). Nabal was rich, but he refused to provision David's men in spite of the latter's consideration of his shepherds; and only the intercession of Nabal's wife Abigail spared him from David's retribution since, unlike her husband, she was aware of David's special favor from YHWH (25:28–31). Fittingly, Nabal then died on his own, and David took Abigail as his wife, as well as Ahinoam of Jezreel. In the meantime Saul had given his daughter Michal as a wife to another man (25:42–44), as he already had done with Merab (18:19).

A second incident where David spared Saul's life follows (26:1–25). Its similarities to the first have prompted many to see them as variants of the same story (Klein *1 Samuel* WBC, 236–38). However, it does have a character of its own, and it serves to reinforce the picture given of David's fine character and his awareness of the significance of YHWH's anointed one (26:11, 16, 23). In this episode David encounters Saul asleep, rather than in a cave, and Saul again "repents" of pursuing David.

The last stage that we see of David's life as a fugitive from Saul was one in which he was able to consolidate even further his own position and following, thus facilitating his accession to power following Saul's death (chaps. 27–30). Despite Saul's occasional friendliness, David still feared for his life, so he went over to Achish, king of Gath, with whom he had had earlier contact (27:1–4; cf. 21:11–16—Eng 21:10–15). Achish gave him Ziklag as a city from which he could conduct raids, and David stayed there for 16 months. During this time, he curried favor with his Philistine overlord by conducting many raids, passing them off as raids against the Philistines' enemies in Judah, his own land; in fact, he was raiding to the S, against various desert bands, including Amalekites. These raids would naturally win him the loyalty of those living in Judah itself.

David's position was such that Achish would have taken him into battle against Israel and Saul himself had he not been overruled by the rest of the Philistine coalition because of their suspicions concerning David's loyalties (28:1–2; 29:1–11). This incident had the effect of removing David from any responsibility for Saul's death, which resulted in the ensuing battle (chap. 31). In the meantime David did further battle with the Amalekites (chap. 30), who had been raiding in Judah and had taken much booty and David's two wives. He recovered these and distributed the spoils throughout Judah, further demonstrating his military prowess and strengthening his position in Judah.

**6. The Death of Saul.** David's respect for the office of king was again demonstrated when he received the report of Saul's and Jonathan's deaths (1 Sam 31:1–2 Sam 1:27). The news was brought him by a self-serving Amalekite who attempted to ingratiate himself with David by claiming to have killed Saul. Instead, David had the Amalekite killed for his lack of respect for the royal office (2 Sam 1:1–16). David's lament (1:17–27) over the deaths of Saul and Jonathan is a model of grief and was recorded in the poetic "Book of Jashar" (1:18; cf. Josh 10:12–13; 1 Kgs 8:12–13 [LXX]).

**7. Judah's Anointing of David.** David now was able to return to Judah; and, in a public ceremony, he was anointed as king by the men of Judah at Hebron (2 Sam 2:1–4a), where he reigned 7.5 years (2:11). He immediately reached out to the men of Jabesh-Gilead, in N Transjordan (2:4b–7), a region that was claimed by Ish-bosheth, Saul's son (2:9). David could not pretend to the kingship of all Israel and Judah yet, however, because of the claims of his rival (2:8–4:12).

**8. A Rival King.** Ish-bosheth was installed as king over the N by Abner, commander of Saul's army, and ruled over Israel for two years (2:8–10). Chapters 2–4 reflect the natural rivalry that existed between Israel and Judah; the narrative is couched in terms of the rivalries between the houses of Saul and David (e.g., 3:1, 6). The kingdom had not yet been divided, yet "Israel" is referred to several times in contrast to "Judah" (e.g., 2:9–10; 3:10, 19, 37; 4:1), reflecting the very real divisions that existed throughout the nation's history. It was a testimony to David's personal magnetism and abilities, as well as to YHWH's favor upon him, that a unified kingdom was able to exist as it did under him.

In these chapters (2 Sam 2:8–4:12), the rivalry is played out especially through Abner, Saul's commander, and Joab, David's general: David's involvement is limited until Abner's death. First, in a deadly serious contest (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 95, 98), David's men handed Abner's men an initial defeat; and then Abner killed one of Joab's brothers, Asahel (2:12–23). Joab eventually killed Abner for this (3:26–30) despite the facts that he and Abner had declared a truce (2:24–32) and that Abner had had friendly contacts with David (3:12–21). David mourned Abner's death (3:31–39), in a manner reminiscent of his mourning Saul's death; this—and more—pleased the people (3:36). Ish-bosheth then was murdered, eliminating all effective rivalry to David's claim to the throne (chap. 4). David again mourned and he had the murderers executed, again displaying the concern for fairness in combat exhibited earlier. The way was now clear for David to assume sole power over a united Israel.

**9. All Israel's Anointing of David.** David was anointed for a third time, also at Hebron, this time over all Israel and Judah (2 Sam 5:1–5). The language of acclamation (*shepherd, prince, king*) is all part of standard vocabulary pertaining to royalty. The reference to him as *shepherd,* however, cannot help but recall the first reference to him, as an obscure shepherd, as well (1 Samuel 16). "How the lowly has risen!" Soon after he was to take Jerusalem, and he reigned there for 33 years, for a total reign of 40 years.

**10. David's Capture of Jerusalem.** The story of David's rise to power (2 Sam 5:6–10) climaxes with his capture of the city that was to serve as the nation's capital throughout its later history (see DAVID, CITY OF; JERUSALEM). Jerusalem afforded him numerous advantages. It was centrally located between Judah and the N tribes and was not strongly identified with any tribe: it had been included in the tribal allotment of Benjamin (Josh 18:28), but it appeared as part of the borders of the tribe of Judah (Josh 15:8), and it was included in the list of cities the Judahites did not conquer (15:63). Thus it could well play the role of a "neutral" capital. It was an old, well-established, walled Jebusite city, strategically located in the inland hill country. David easily could have drawn on its established bureaucracies in running the city (Mendenhall 1975; Herion and Hill 1986), although Mendenhall has drastically overstated the case for David as a cynical and Canaanized despot.

The method of David's capture of the city is not entirely clear. The explanation that the route of capture was up through the water shaft discovered by Charles Warren in 1867 (see 5:8) has lost much of its earlier cachet (McCarter *2 Samuel* 136–40; Anderson *2 Samuel* WBC, 81–85; but cf. DAVID, CITY OF).

The story of David's rise ends with the note that his present exalted position was due to "YHWH, the God of hosts" (5:10).

**D. Consolidation of Power**

The zenith of David's story now follows. Things went well for him militarily, administratively, and especially spiritually. It is telling, however, that this portion of his life receives such brief treatment.

**1. Material Successes–I (2 Sam 5:11–25).** There is little break in thought here from the comment in 5:10, for we see David being favored by God and man (5:11–12) and becoming a prolific father (5:13–16). Furthermore, he had his first true military successes against the Philistines; both came by means of YHWH's fighting on his behalf (5:17–25).

**2. Spiritual Successes (2 Sam 6:1–7:29).** David's religious sensibilities are shown here via his desires to bring the exiled ark back to Jerusalem and to build a suitable house for it. The account of the ark's return concludes several stories about its fortunes (1 Sam 4:1–7:1), usually collectively referred to as the "Ark Narrative." In this account, David is seen as somewhat insensitive to strict religious conventions regarding the ark (cf. Num 4:15), but nevertheless well-intentioned and enthusiastic. The ark eventually was brought to the City of David amid much celebration (2 Sam 6:5, 12–19). David's wife Michal was embarrassed by his vigorous celebrations, and she ended up barren as a result (6:16, 20–23), effectively eliminating the possibility that a descendant of Saul would have any hereditary claim to David's throne.

David's fortunes reached their peak with the significant royal-grant covenant that YHWH made with him (2 Samuel 7), assuring him that he himself would have a descendant on the throne in perpetuity (see DAVIDIC COVENANT; Kaiser 1974, 1989). It came in response to David's desire to build YHWH a house; YHWH instead promised David a sure "house" (i.e., dynasty) forever and assured him, using the language of divine adoption (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 207; Anderson *2 Samuel* WBC, 122), that his son would be YHWH's son (cf. Pss 2:7; 89:27–28—Eng 89:26–27). David's response was a prayer of gratitude (7:18–29). This chapter has aptly been called "the theological highlight of the Books of Samuel … if not of the Deuteronomistic History as a whole" (Anderson, 112), because of its significant content and its importance in later texts.

**3. Material Successes–II (2 Sam 8:1–18).** Following this theological highlight, we have a rather mundane catalog of David's further military victories, over Philistines and Moabites (8:1–2), Arameans (8:3–8), Edomites (8:13–14), and others (8:12), and of his acclaim by the king of Hamath (8:9–12). Its function is to show further that YHWH was with David and that he was an effective warrior and ruler (8:6b, 14b–15). The extent of David's kingdom was impressive: it reached the Mediterranean in the W, the N Sinai desert in the S, much of Transjordan in the E, and it approached the Euphrates in the N (cf. 24:5–7).

In connection with David's effectiveness as a ruler, the chapter ends with a list of David's chief administrative officials (8:16–18). Among these are Zadok and Ahimelech, who served as David's priests. (Later we see Zadok and Abiathar in this capacity [20:25; cf. McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 253–57; Keil and Delitzsch n.d.: 365–67].) David's sons also were "priests" (8:18).

**E. Decline**

The rest of the story of David concerns events in which he was largely a victim or a bystander. After an auspicious beginning, he fell into great sin, following which numerous troubles beset him (see G.2 below).

**1. David and Mephibosheth.** The early promises to Jonathan were now fulfilled: David sought to show kindness to a descendant of Saul's for the sake of his covenant with Jonathan (2 Sam 9:1–13; cf. 1 Sam 20:14–17, etc.). That his concern was more than merely a personal one for Jonathan is borne out by the several references to the "house of Saul." Ziba, Saul's servant, who later would prove to be somewhat devious in his dealings, introduced David to the lame (and loyal) Mephibosheth, who would not have been a major threat to his throne (but cf. 16:3), and David took him in.

**2. The Ammonite War–I.** David had a series of hostile encounters with an Ammonite-Aramean coalition (2 Sam 10:1–19; cf. 12:26–31 and the summary in 8:3–8). We see him initiating a friendly encounter with the Ammonite king, but being rebuffed (10:1–5), after which he sent an army against the Ammonites, who by this time had enlisted Aramean help. His general Joab's victory was followed by another attempt—also unsuccessful—by the coalition to defeat Israel (10:6–19). The account serves to show David making peace with the Arameans (10:19) and to set the stage for the story of his great sins (cf. 11:1).

**3. David and Bathsheba.** The "Bathsheba Affair" (2 Sam 11:1–12:25; McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 177) forms a critical turning point in David's life. Prior to this, he prospered greatly; afterward, his personal fortunes were greatly diminished.

For reasons unknown, David did not go with his army to do further battle with the Ammonites (11:1). His presence in Jerusalem afforded him an opportunity to notice Bathsheba bathing and to desire her. He sent for her and consummated his desire, after which she conceived (11:2–5). To cover his actions he sent for her husband, Uriah, who had been with the army; however, Uriah refused to enter his own house while his compatriots and the ark were away engaged in battle, so David arranged to have him killed (thereby achieving some personal satisfaction perhaps, but still not solving his problem of paternity) (11:6–25). David then took Bathsheba as his wife, but YHWH was displeased, and sent Nathan the prophet to confront him. Nathan did so, via a cleverly contrived story that trapped David into admitting his own guilt (12:1–15a). Included in Nathan's oracle was a sentence upon David (12:10–12), one that was fulfilled in several ways after this. The son born to Bathsheba died because of David's sin (12:15b–23), but a grace note was struck for David and Bathsheba in the birth of another son, who was named "Solomon" (meaning "peaceable") and "Jedidiah" (meaning "beloved of YHWH") (12:24–25).

**4. The Ammonite War–II.** After this (or in the meantime), Joab captured Rabbah, the Ammonite capital, and David came out to take it officially and to subdue the Ammonites, who thereafter did not pose a threat to Israel (2 Sam 12:26–31).

**5. Two Rebellious Sons.** From the perspective of succession struggles, the next episodes (2 Sam 13:1–19:1—Eng18:33) serve to clarify the picture somewhat, since two of David's oldest sons—Amnon and Absalom—are killed here. From the perspective of the story of David himself, however, these episodes show him to be "under the curse," the keynotes of which are struck in chaps. 10–12, esp. 12:10–12 (Carlson 1964: 129–259). He is a relatively passive figure throughout.

First, David's oldest son AMNON raped his half-sister Tamar (13:1–22). In retaliation for this, ABSALOM, David's third son, killed Amnon and then fled to Geshur, the home of his mother Maacah, E of the Sea of Galilee, where he stayed for three years (13:23–39; cf. 3:3). At this point, David did little to influence events; he mainly reacted to them (12:21, 37, 39), mourning the loss of these two sons.

Absalom finally was brought back through the efforts of Joab, David's general and nephew, who recruited a wise woman from Tekoa to masquerade as a bereaved mother whose remaining son's life was threatened (14:1–24). When David's compassion caused him to intercede, she pointed out to him that Absalom's lot was the same as her son's. Acknowledging her point, David restored Absalom from exile but did not allow him to come into his presence for two years (14:24, 28). Father and son finally were reconciled after some persistence on Absalom's part (14:29–33).

Soon afterward, however, Absalom began an active campaign of subversion against his father (15:1–12). He conspired to be made king at Hebron, his birthplace and the place of his father's acclamation as king and early reign over Judah and all Israel. His star rose steadily in Israel: this good fortune included the defection to his side of Ahithophel, David's counselor (15:12).

David was forced to flee from Jerusalem, along with most of his household and the warriors loyal to him (15:13–16:14). During the flight, a sad one (15:23, 30), David did work (rather effectively, as it turned out) to subvert Absalom's rebellion. He allowed Ittai, leader of 600 men from Gath, to stay with him (15:19–23); Ittai was one of the three generals who then led the successful battle against Absalom (18:2). He directed the priests Zadok and Abiathar to return with the ark to Jerusalem (15:24–29); their presence there would later help him (15:35–36, etc.). He asked YHWH to render the defector Ahithophel's counsel against him ineffective (15:31); this prayer was answered, and Ahithophel hanged himself (16:20–17:23). He met Hushai and enlisted his help as a spy and counterinfluence to Athithophel (15:32–37); Hushai proved to be the answer to his prayer (16:15–17:23). He also met Ziba, Saul's servant, who attempted to ingratiate himself with David, and one Shimei, who cursed him as he fled (16:1–14). David dealt graciously with both (cf. also 19:17–31—Eng19:16–30).

Following David's departure, Absalom entered Jerusalem (16:15). Ahithophel advised him to consolidate his position as king by taking his father's concubines, which he did (16:20–23). He also counseled a selective strike that would kill only David (17:1–4). To counter Ahithophel's advice, David's agent Hushai advised a large-scale mobilization instead, and Absalom took this advice, which prompted Ahithophel to hang himself (17:5–14, 23). YHWH's hand could be seen in this, since Ahithophel's had been good counsel (17:14): the delay in mobilization allowed Hushai to send word to David about Absalom's plans, via the two priests' sons, thus setting the stage for the military confrontation (17:15–22).

The confrontation took place across the Jordan in the dense forest of Ephraim in Gilead. Absalom's forces, under Amasa, were no match for David's seasoned followers, under Joab, Abishai, and Ittai, and many were lost to the sword or to the forest (18:1–8). Absalom himself was killed by Joab, and word of his death was brought to David (18:9–32); the moving climax of the story is reached abruptly in David's reaction to his son's death and his poignant lament (19:1—Eng18:33).

**6. David's Restoration.** Immediately following Absalom's death (2 Sam 19:2 [Eng 19:1]–20:26), there was a power vacuum in Jerusalem and some confusion over David's proper role in a renewed Israel since he had, in effect, been deposed as king by his son. The situation was aggravated by David's prolonged preoccupation with Absalom's death, rather than with his loyal followers; after a sharp rebuke by Joab, David arose to take his rightful place in the gate at Mahanaim (19:2–9a—Eng 19:1–8a).

North-south tensions that had been visible earlier (chaps. 2–5) now resurfaced. To fill the power vacuum in Israel, David courted the elders of his own tribe, Judah, and was accepted by them as king upon his return to Cisjordan. He also courted Amasa, Absalom's general, to the exclusion of his own general, Joab (19:9b–16—Eng19:8b–15).

This appointment by David of Amasa as commander of his army was typical of the magnanimity and of the forgive-and-forget attitude that are presented in connection with David's return. David also forgave Shimei, who had cursed him earlier, and he assured Mephibosheth of his favor despite questions that had arisen about his loyalties (19:17–31—Eng19:16–30). Even Ziba, Saul's servant, retained David's favor despite his deception (19:30—Eng19:29; cf. 16:1–4). David also invited Barzillai, who had helped him when he was in flight (17:27–29), to join him in Jerusalem; the feeble Barzillai sent his son instead (19:32–41—Eng19:31–40).

While David had been acclaimed in Judah, the men of Israel felt they had not been properly included in his return (19:42–44—Eng19:41–43). Their discontent formed the basis for the brief success of the revolt against David by one Sheba, a Benjaminite (20:1–22). The Israelites responded to his call to withdraw from David, while David finally returned to Jerusalem. David then sent out two of his generals, Amasa and Abishai, to counter this new rebellion. Amasa was killed by Joab, whom he had replaced as general,

and then Joab led the pursuit of Sheba, who was killed by the citizens of Abel of Beth-maacah, at the advice of a wise woman there.

David's restoration to power was complete with the return of Joab to Jerusalem (20:22d), and a second list of his administrative officials follows this notice (20:23–26; cf. 8:16–18).

**7. David's Last Deeds.** David's position as a theological symbol is reemphasized in the final chapters of 2 Samuel (2 Sam 21:1–24:25; Childs *IOTS*, 273–77). First, we have the story of David's execution of seven of Saul's sons, but he was not to be held responsible for this, since it was due to the bloodguilt of Saul. As for David, we see him sparing Mephibosheth (cf. chap. 9) and recovering the remains of Saul and Jonathan for proper burial (21:1–14).

Next, we have a list of David's heroes, who were involved in four Philistine wars (21:15–22). His military prowess here is downplayed; indeed, in his last battle (21:15–17) his weakness is particularly evident.

This weakness forms an appropriate lead-in to his poetic praise in chap. 22, where YHWH receives the credit for David's victories. The prose introduction (22:1) includes "all his enemies" (and not just Saul) as ones from whom YHWH delivered him, rendering appropriate the psalm's inclusion here, with other accounts of the end of his life. The psalm closes (22:51) with a reference to the all-important Davidic covenant.

Another poem follows in which we also see a theocentric emphasis: the "testament" of David (23:1–7). Here David, the "sweet psalmist of Israel," also is deemed the "anointed of the God of Jacob" (23:1), and the everlasting Davidic covenant is once again emphasized (23:5). The poem also speaks of the ideal ruler, of which David was the prototype (cf. Psalms 1–2).

Another list of David's heroes follows (23:8–39). The list ends, significantly, with Uriah, whom David had killed; this abrupt reminder of a major blot on David's record serves effectively to introduce another episode in which he also sinned (chap. 24), especially since the parallel list of his heroes in 1 Chr 11:26–47 occurs in a different context and adds some 16 additional names after Uriah's.

Another story now follows (24:1–25) in which David, responding to a kindling of YHWH's wrath, numbered the people in an apparent gesture of lack of faith. The punishment—which David was allowed to choose—was a great plague upon the people. David then purchased the land that ultimately would serve as the site of the temple, and he offered sacrifices there that averted YHWH's anger. The books of Samuel end with a note of YHWH's graciousness for the sake of the land (24:25; cf. 21:14).

**8. Two Contentious Sons.** David's final decline and demise were accompanied by a somewhat unseemly struggle for succession between Adonijah, his oldest surviving son, and Solomon, Bathsheba's favorite (1 Kgs 1:1–2:12). The feeble condition of David (1:1–4, 15) prompted Adonijah to claim the throne and have himself acclaimed as king (1:5–10). His boldness was partially due to David's failure as a parent (1:6; cf. the similar comment about David and Amnon in the versions of 2 Sam 13:21 [Ulrich 1978: 84–85]). Adonijah's actions prompted Nathan and Bathsheba, who were among those excluded from his celebrations (cf. 1:8–10), to champion Solomon's cause (1:11–27) even to the point of deceiving David (1:13; cf. 1:30). David placed his imprimatur upon Solomon along with instructions for his installation as king (1:28–37). Solomon was anointed and Adonijah disposed of (1:38–53) after which David gave Solomon his final charge (2:1–4) and instructions for disposition of various characters previously associated with David (2:5–9). David was buried in the city that bore his name after having reigned 40 years, and he was succeeded by his son Solomon (2:10–12).

### F. A Man after God's Own Heart

Taken in toto, the biblical pictures of David are overwhelmingly positive. As a "historical" person he accomplished much and was greatly favored despite his flaws. As a theological symbol he was the godly king par excellence.

**1. David in the Former Prophets.** The books of 1 and 2 Samuel contain the most detailed "biographical" information about David. He is shown rising to the throne of Israel from humble beginnings as a shepherd, and then select portions of his life while he was king follow, until his death.

The "reporting" displays close attention to detail and people, contains much dialogue and insight into people's mental processes, and is a masterpiece of literary composition.

In general, the image of David portrayed here is one of a talented and (more importantly) divinely chosen and favored figure who rises to power almost in spite of himself, who is the recipient of an important divine promise, but who then subverts much of his own accomplishment through his sin, after which his life is a series of troubles. A clear message here is that YHWH (and David's trust in YHWH) are behind his rise to kingship and that YHWH's covenant with David will not be derailed by David's flaws. He is a "flawed but favored" character (Bowman fc.); and this favor is the true key to whatever success he has, a point that especially is reiterated in subsequent texts. In 1 and 2 Kings David is important as the father of the Judahite dynasty, as the recipient of the divine promise, and as the standard for the righteous kings; significantly, his status as a warrior is downplayed (Gerbrandt 1986: 158–73).

**2. David in Chronicles.** The books of 1 and 2 Chronicles have "Davidism" (North 1963: 376–81; cf. Howard 1988: 26–30) as a major motif with David as the central character in 1 Chronicles. After an extensive genealogical section (chaps. 1–9) that highlights the interest in Judah, in the Davidic dynasty, and in the institution by David of centralized worship at Jerusalem and the temple, the book quickly dispenses with Saul (chap. 10) in order to highlight David's reign (chaps. 11–29). David now is presented as completely flawless and as very much concerned with religious matters.

Much of 1 Chronicles parallels the accounts in 1–2 Samuel, but it has its own selective omissions and additions and its own distinctive slant. Specifically, 1 Chronicles omits the entire story of David's rise to power (see C above), except for a cursory look at Saul (chap. 10), the list of his sons (3:1–4), his anointing at Hebron (11:1–3), and his capture of Jerusalem (11:4–9). Most of the material related to his consolidation of power is included, but almost all of the story of his decline is missing (including the story of his sins related to Bathsheba), except for his Ammonite war (19:1–20:3) and some of the material from the Samuel "Appendix" (2 Samuel 21–24).

1 Chronicles does provide us with some significant, new information concerning David not found elsewhere. Siginificant additions include an expanded listing of David's supporters (chap. 12); an extended psalm (16:4–42); and details of David's preparations for building the temple, of levitical and priestly responsibilities, of instructions for musicians, gatekeepers, keepers of the treasuries, officers, judges, and other officials, and of David's last words to Solomon and the people, in which he encouraged them particularly in building the temple and in following their God (22:2–29:22a).

The picture of David that emerges in 1 Chronicles is one of a true "man after God's own heart" (cf. 1 Sam 13:14; Acts 13:22). His devotion to God, especially as expressed through his preparations for the future temple and everything associated with it and his place as God's favored king, the head of the Judahite (and messianic) dynasty, are important elements in the book. The notice of his death shows him to have had a full, honorable, and honored life (1 Chr 29:28, 30).

**3. David in the Latter Prophets, the Writings, and the NT.** Elsewhere in the Bible, David is important not so much as a "historical" character, but rather as a model for godly kings and especially as a symbol of Israel's monarchy and of YHWH's favor upon the nation (see DAVIDIC COVENANT; MESSIAH).

For example, in the Latter Prophets, David and his kingship take on eschatological significance; they appear as symbols of YHWH's favor in the past and present, but most especially in the future. In the Psalter David appears in the superscriptions of almost half the psalms; 14 of these tie in their psalms with incidents in David's life. (In the LXX some 14 additional psalms are attributed to him, and 11QPss[a], col. 27 states that he authored 4050 psalms.) The importance of the royal psalms in the Psalter—including their placement (Wilson 1986)—also points to the significance of David and the Davidic kingship. In the NT, David is significant as the ancestor of Jesus, who is the "son of David" and the Davidic king par excellence.

**G. Sources and Methods for the Study of David**

**1. Literary Sources Identified in the Bible.** The primary biblical sources for our knowledge of David are the books of 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 Chronicles. The Bible also mentions documents that no longer

exist in which information about David was contained: the "Book of Jashar" (2 Sam 1:18), the "Chronicles of Samuel the Seer," the "Chronicles of Nathan the Prophet," and the "Chronicles of Gad the Seer" (1 Chr 29:29).

Modern textual criticism has added much to the study of David, particularly in 1 and 2 Samuel, where there are marked variations at many points (*NHT;* Ulrich 1978; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 5–11). In addition, the recent understanding of the Chronicler's stance as an exegete of his sources in Samuel and Kings also has helped in the study of David (Ackroyd 1977; Sailhamer 1989).

**2. Literary Sources Not Identified in the Bible.** Modern scholars have identified various hypothetical sources within the biblical texts for the accounts of David's life. One approach divides the texts (at least in 1 Samuel) into intertwined strands, attributed to different authors with different styles and perspectives (Wellhausen 1871); but it is not as common today as previously.

The dominant approach in this century has identified two major "documents" in 1 and 2 Samuel related to David and generally known as the "History of David's Rise" or "David's Rise to Power" (1 Samuel 16–2 Samuel 5) and the "Succession [or "Accession"] Narrative" (2 Samuel 9–20, 1 Kings 1–2). While larger documents have been proposed—such as Campbell's "Prophetic Record" (1986), Noth's "Deuteronomistic History" *(NDH),* and Freedman's "Primary History" (*IDBSup,* 226–28)—the two primary Davidic documents are seen as having been incorporated into these largely undisturbed.

The "History of David's Rise" was first named in 1926 by Rost (1980; cf. Lemche 1978; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB), and its purpose has been seen to legitimate David's kingship by reporting on his rise to power in Jerusalem from humble beginnings as a shepherd boy, or by functioning as an "apology," a defense against various charges that David illegitimately usurped power from Saul. Although generally analyzed as political propaganda, its essential "historical" orientation usually has been accepted.

Positive evaluations such as this particularly have applied to the second document, the "Succession Narrative" (also called the "Court History of David") (Rost 1982; Whybray 1968). It has been analyzed as a review of the question of the succession to David's throne generally or as a Solomonic apologetic specifically. While its political or other agendas have been stressed, its "historical" character has been praised as perhaps the closest example in the Hebrew Bible of "objective" historiography, most likely written by a close observer of the court. Even this is now questioned, however (Gunn 1978; Hagan 1979; Whitelam 1984; Ackerman 1990). Nevertheless, its general historical orientation and its delightful literary artistry are not seriously questioned.

**3. Literary Approaches.** While the approaches just mentioned are, strictly speaking, "literary," a third approach has recently arisen that focuses upon the received or final forms of the texts, rather than upon hypothetical "documents" that may have existed prior to the texts' final writing or redaction. Here, the approaches vary widely, ranging from *structuralist* or *formalist* treatments that are primarily descriptive of literary techniques (Fokkelmann 1981, 1986; Garsiel 1985) or that go beyond this to identify larger narrative purposes or agendas (Gunn 1978, 1980; Polzin 1989; Bowman fc.) to *poststructuralist* or *deconstructionist* treatments that see meaning as indeterminate (whether intentionally so or not) in any text (Miscall 1983: 47–143; 1986; Gunn 1989; cf. Jobling 1978: 4–25).

**4. Archaeological/Historical Approaches.** Archaeology has provided another, albeit limited, avenue by which to study David. Here, the contribution is generally to provide an understanding of the various contexts—historical, political, economic, sociological—in which he lived. David became king at the beginning of the Iron II Age (ca. 1000–586 B.C.E.), which encompassed the golden age of Israelite life and culture. It represented a resurgence of building activities and political expansion, after the relative "dark age" of Iron I (ca. 1200–1000 B.C.E.). David himself initiated several building projects in Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:9, 11), but only limited data have come from excavations there, including wall fragments and a few miscellaneous loose objects, such as ceramic chalices and a portion of a cultic stand (see DAVID, CITY OF). Elsewhere in Israel, the data are similarly limited. Some impressive building projects, particularly at Megiddo and Beersheba, may have come from that time (Aharoni 1982: 192–224); but their dating is disputed (cf. *EAEHL* 3: 830–56). Distribution patterns of pottery from the period are more productive,

tending to correlate with the biblical data concerning David's military and governmental expansion (Rast 1989).

On the international scene the time of David was one in which the major empires of Mesopotamia and Egypt were relatively quiet. Thus, David was able to extend the borders and influence of Israel as far as he did. He established marriage alliances with several small kingdoms, and he had good relations with Tyre. Otherwise, his international relations were adversarial, especially with the Philistines, about whom a fair amount is now known (Dothan 1982; Brug 1985; cf. Ishida 1982 on the international scene in general).

Closely related to strictly archaeological approaches are various "historical" approaches. These tend to be biographical in nature, generally combining the literary approaches mentioned in G.2–3 with any illumination given by archaeology (*BHI,* 191–211; McCarter 1986; Merrill 1987: 223–84). However, many scholars are skeptical about the possibility of ever recovering a true picture of the "historical" David (Soggin 1984: 41–68; Miller and Hayes *HAIJ,* 149–88).

**5. Other Approaches.** The literary approaches mentioned in G.3 have been dominant in the 1980s, but another characteristic of the decade has been the wide diversification—even explosion—of interests in all directions. This is evidenced by the use of insights from many other disciplines (not just literature) in biblical studies with much overlap among many of these. Currently, sociological (Brueggemann 1985; Flanagan 1988; cf. Gottwald 1986), feminist (Laffey 1988: 108–28), and political/ideological (Rosenberg 1986: 99–199) approaches are among the most popular in the study of David. Most of these are "reader-oriented" approaches, in which concerns of the reader(s) participate in determining meaning (Gunn 1987). David has been a continuing focus of interest from other perspectives, as well (Frontain and Wojcik 1980; Weisfeld 1983: 149–279; Petersen 1985).

**H. Assessment**

Evaluations of the historical David necessarily depend upon evaluation of the reliability of the written sources in which he is presented. At the very least it can be said that this was an extraordinary individual to have stimulated as much historical and theological reflection as he did.

As he is presented in the Bible, David was ideally suited to the tasks of kingship that came to him. His popular following, his victories over the Philistines and others, and his establishment of a powerful kingdom show him to have been a shrewd military strategist and motivator. His successful courting of the factions in Israel and Judah, and his forging of a united Israel that retained its identity for close to 80 years, showed his political skills; and his descendants were able to retain their position on the throne in Jerusalem for centuries afterward. Administratively, his establishment of the military, civil, and religious bureaucracies displayed yet another dimension of his talents.

David's skills as a poet, musician, and sponsor of music were renowned as well. His compositions in 2 Samuel and the Davidic psalms demonstrate a poetic genius. His sponsorship of, and involvement in, religious celebrations in connection with the ark show his musical talents and interests. We even read of "instruments of David" that he created or that were somehow associated with him (2 Chr 29:26; Neh 12:36; cf. Amos 6:5).

In addition, David displayed a fine religious sensitivity for the most part. Certainly the Davidic psalms demonstrate this, although the actual composition of all of them by David is disputed. Even outside the Psalter, however, David's relationship with his God, his concern for others' welfare, his ready repentance when confronted with his sin, and his concerns for the religious matters pertaining to the temple and the cult all evidence this as well.

Ultimately, however, David's lasting significance lay in his position as YHWH's chosen king for Israel and as the father of the royal dynasty that YHWH chose to bless. He occupied a midpoint between his great ancestor Abraham and his great descendant Jesus. The promises made to David stood in continuity with those to Abraham, and they pointed to a messianic ideal of great promise for the world, an ideal that, so Christians have affirmed, found its expression in Jesus, the Christ.

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**DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.** 2 Sam 23:8–39 (= 1 Chr 11:10–47) contains a list of the heroic warriors who served under David. The Hebrew term *gibbôrîm* (RSV "mighty men" after LXX *dunatoi*) is the usual designation of these fighters, who, like the Achaian warriors who fought at Troy, had distinguished themselves in single combat. The names of these warriors and the accounts of their exploits are included primarily in these two lists. The anecdotes in 2 Sam 21:15–22 are also to be mentioned, where four of these champions—Abishai, Sibbecai the Hushathite, Elhanan the Bethlehemite, and Jonathan, the son of Shimei, David's brother—are credited with slaying the last of the descendants of the Rephaim in Gath (contra McCarter [*2 Samuel* AB, 449–50], who interprets these folkloric figures as the "votaries of Rapha," apparently rejecting the traditional assumption that these persons were giants; that they were, however, is precisely the understanding of the text, which includes Goliath of Gath [see 1 Sam 17:4–7], attributes to Ishbi-benob a spear which weighed 300 shekels of bronze, and describes another as "a man of great stature, who had six fingers on each hand, and six toes on each foot, twenty-four in number" [2 Sam 21:20]).

A list of David's monthly levies in 1 Chronicles 27 names heroes (drawn mostly from the list in 1 Chronicles 11) as officers over monthly levies of 24,000 men each (288,000 per year!). 1 Chronicles 27, however, is probably an idealistic projection onto the history of David's reign using the list in 1 Chronicles 11 as a source (Williamson [*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 174–75] reaches a similar conclusion). Anachronisms and exaggerations in the list make this fact clear. For instance, the naming of Asahel in 1 Chr 27:7 would place the list in the time of David's reign in Hebron. Yet it is plain from all other sources that David relied in his early career not on a plentiful source of monthly levies for his military strength, but on a private army of retainers of disparate social and ethnic origin (see 1 Sam 22:1–2; 2 Samuel 23 = 1 Chronicles 11). The private army seems to have been a key feature of his later years as well (see esp. 2 Samuel 18, 20). Moreover, it is questionable whether tiny Judah, or even Israel and Judah, could at any time have fielded an army of this size. At the height of Israelite power under the dynasty of Omri, Ahab of Israel led a contingent of 2000 chariots and 10,000 foot soldiers into battle at Qarqar, where the W alliance stopped the Assyrians in 853 B.C. (*ANET,* 279). Even more telling, the great Athenian expedition against Syracuse in the late 5th century B.C., which the historian Thucydides considered the largest ever fielded by a Hellenic city, comprised no more than 5000 native Attican troops, not counting auxiliaries. While many of the lists in the books of Chronicles contain valuable historical information, it would appear that the list of David's officers in 1 Chronicles 27, and the figures for, and even the idea of, monthly levies have been projected onto David's reign in accordance with the Chronicler's program of presenting the Davidic monarchy as an ideal state.

The Lists

| | 2 Sam 23:8–39 | 1 Chr 11:10–41 |
|---|---|---|
| I. | Josheb-basshebeth, a Tahchemonite, chief of the *šālišî* | Jashobeam, the son of a Hachmonite, chief of the *šālišîm* |
| | Eleazar, the son of Dodo, the son of an Ahohite | Eleazor, the son of Dodo the Ahohite |
| | Shammah, the son of Agee, the Hararite | [Ommited through haplography; the deeds of Eleazor and Shammah have been combined in a single episode.] |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | The anonynous three. | The anonymous three. |
| | Abishai, the brother of Joab, the son of Zeruiah | Abishi, the brother of Joab, the son of Zeruiah (see 2 Sam 21:15–17: credited with killing Ishbi-benob, a decendant of the Rephaim) |
| | Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada | Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada |
| II. | Asahel, the brother of Joab | Asahel, the brother of Joab |
| | Elhanan, the son of Dodo of Bethlehem | Elhanan, the son of Dodo, from Bethleham (see 2 Sam 21:19, which credits a Bethlehemite by a similar name with slaying Goliath of Gath) |
| | [Shammah the Harodite] (var. Hararite; Vg: *arari*) | [Shammoth the Harorite] |
| | Elika the Harodite | [ommited through homoeoteleuton] |
| | Helez the [Paltite] | Helez the [Pelonite] |
| | Ira, the son of Ikkesh of Tekoa | Ira, the son of Ikkesh of Tekoa |
| | Abiezer the Anathothite | Abiezer the Anothothite |
| | [Mebunnai] the Hushathite (corruption of Sibbecia?) | [Sibbecai] the Hushathite (see 2 Sam 21:18: credited with killing Saph, a decendant of the Rephaim) |
| | [Ṣalmon] the Ahohite | [ʿIlai] the Ahohite (corruption of Ṣilai = Ṣalmon? |
| | Maharai the Nitophatite | Maharai the Nitophatite |
| | Ḥeleb, the son of Baʿanah the Nitophatite | Ḥeled, the son of Baʿanah the Nitophatite |
| | Ittai, the son of Ribai, from Gibeah of the Benjaminites | Ittai, the son of Ribai, from Gibeah of the Benjaminites |
| | Benaiah, a Pirathonite | Benaiah, the Pirathonite |
| | [Hidai] from the streams of Gaʿash | [Hurai] from the streams of Gaʿash |
| | [ʾAbi-ʿAlbon] the Arbathite | [ʾAbi-ʾel] the Arbathite |
| | Azmaweth the [Barḥunite] | Azmaweth the [Baḥarumite] |
| | Eliahba the Shaʿalbonite | Eliahba the Shaʿalbonite |
| | The sons of [Jashen] | The sons of [Hashem the Gizonite] |
| | Jonathan [pc Gk mss add *huios*] | Jonathan, the son of [Shageh] … |
| | [Shammah] the Hararite | … the Hararite |
| | Ahiʾam, the son of [Sharar the Ararite] | Ahiʾam, the son of [Shakar the Hararite] |
| | ʾElipelet, the son of ʾAḥasbai, | [ʾElîpal, the son of ʾŬr] |
| | [the son of the Maʿakatite] | Heper the [Mekeratite] |
| | [ʾEliʿam, the son of ʾAḥitopel] the [Gilonite] | [ʾAhijah] the [Pilonite] |
| | [Ḥeṣraw] the Carmelite | [Ḥeṣrô] the Carmelite |
| | [Paʿarai the ʾArbite] (pc mss: ʾArkite) | [Naʿarai, the son of ʾEzbai] |
| | [Yigʾal, the son] of Nathan [of Zobah] | [Yôʾel, the brother] of Nathan |
| | [Bani the Gadite] | [Mibḥar the son of Hagri] (or: the son of a Hagrite) |

| | |
|---|---|
| Zelek the Ammonite | Zelek the Ammonite |
| Naharai the Beerothite, the armor-bearer of Joab, the son of Zeruiah | Naharai the Beerothite, the armor-bearer of Joab, the son of Zeruiah |
| Ira the Ithrite | Ira the Ithrite |
| Gareb the Ithrite | Gareb the Ithrite |
| Uriah the Hittite | Uriah the Hittite |

Additional Names in 1 Chr 11:41b–47

Zabad, the son of Ahlai Abina, the son of Sjiza the Reubenite, a chief of the Reubenites
Hanan, the Maacathite Joshaphat the Matanite [fr. Matanayim?]
Uziyya the Ashterathite Shama and Jeiel
the sons of Hotham, the Aroerite
Jediael, the son of Shimri, and Joha his brother, the Tizite
Eliel the Mahavite [read the Mahanite, or the Mahanaymite?]
Jeribai and Joshaviah, the sons of Elnaʿam
Ithmah the Moabite
Eliel and Obed and Ja-asiel from Zobah

2 Sam 23:8–39 and 1 Chr 11:10–47 exhibit a similar bipartite structure. The first section (2 Sam 23:8–23 = 1 Chr 11:10–25) details the exploits of three of David's most distinguished warriors—Josheb-basshebeth (= 1 Chr 11:11: Jashobeam), Eleazar the son of Dodo, and Shammah the son of Agee, the Hararite—then lists a feat by three anonymous heroes, and concludes with the deeds of two others: Abishai and Benaiah. The second section (2 Sam 23:24–39 = 1 Chr 11:26–41 [1 Chr 11:42–47 contains the names of warriors not listed in 2 Samuel]) is a list of the remaining warriors, widely accepted as "the thirty" since the work of Karl Elliger (1935) and taken up in the major translations (see RSV, JB, NEB). A cursory reading of these lists would therefore seem to yield a simple structure based on the juxtaposition of "the three" with "the thirty."

Yet this interpretation is not the only possibility. Another, raised by Thenius (1864) and recently revived by Mastin (1979) and Naʾaman (1988), is that the Heb term *šĕlōšîm* ('thirty') should here be read *šālîšîm* (the meaning of which will be discussed below). Not only does neither list testify to 30 names (2 Samuel 23 contains 32, not counting the unnamed sons of Jashen; 1 Chronicles 11 has 46, also omitting various unnumbered groups), the reading *šālišî/šālišîm* appears in variant mss. The MT designates Josheb-basshebeth as *rōʾš haššālišî*—"chief of the *šālîšîm*" (the use of *haššālišî/hšlyšy* probably reflects a collective gentilic derivative of *šālîš/šālîšîm*)—in 2 Sam 23:8, and in 1 Chr 11:11 the Qere of the corresponding Ketib *hšlwšym* is *haššālišîm*, thus testifying to a muted tradition in which *šālîšîm* was read instead of *šĕlōšîm*. The same phenomenon is repeated in 1 Chr 12:19—Eng12:18. Such an obscure reading is probably original to the text. It is at any rate far easier to explain how such a reading could be standardized in terms of the related terms, "the three, the thirty," than to explain how *šālîš/šālišî/šālišîm* were introduced into the clear schema that now structures the lists. The Lucianic reading (*tōn triōn* = Heb *haššĕlōšâ*) preferred by McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB, 489) in 2 Sam 23:8 almost certainly reflects a harmonization of the problematic reading *haššālišî* (in other mss, the Ketib is *hšlyšy*) in terms of the final schema, "the three, the thirty." The similar suggestion by Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 102) that "the three" (*haššĕlōšâ*) should be preferred on the basis of context is no different. Indeed, it was precisely on the basis of *context* that ancient scribes frequently attempted to harmonize problematic readings. Neither Williamson nor McCarter deals with the fact that enigmatic yet consistent variants such as *haššālišî* and the Ketib *hšlyšy* in 2 Sam 23:8 and the Qere *haššālišîm* (Ketib *hšlwšym*) in 1 Chr 11:11 did not arise irrationally within an accurate, consistent textual tradition. Rather, the reverse is true: earlier, difficult readings often were suppressed in later versions in favor of simpler, more easily understood ones, according to which the later textual tradition was then standardized. Thus, the difficult *šālîš/šālišî/šālišîm* should be the preferred reading in 2 Sam 23:8 = 1 Chr 11:11. Further references in these passages to "the

thirty" (*haššĕlōšîm;* e.g., 2 Sam 23:13, 23; 1 Chr 11:15, 25) should be interpreted as representing the *šālîšîm,* since the term "the thirty" most likely represents a harmonization of the enigmatic *šālišîm* and its other forms (now preserved in only isolated instances: 2 Sam 23:8; 1 Chr 11:11; 12:19—Eng12:18).

The question remains, who were the *šālišîm*? Thenius had argued that these were the king's principal retainers. Later, the term *šālîš* was taken as designating the "third man in the chariot" (see Mastin 1979 for bibliography). Rabin (1963) traced the term to the Hittite *šalli[š]*, meaning "great, powerful," a derivation which would go far in explaining certain instances of the word (esp. Exod 14:7; 15:4), as well as the apparent parallel with the Heb *gibbôr* in 1 Chr 11:26 (= 2 Sam 23:24). Rabin's explanation also accords well with Thenius' earlier interpretation. Mastin (1979) and Na›aman (1988) also go back to Thenius. However, where Thenius had seen retainers, Mastin and Na›aman find "officers of the third rank" (after the king and commander of the army). While this explanation has gained in popularity, other instances of the term *šālîš/šālišî* make this meaning unlikely. Solomon's lists of officials name the *šālišîm* as a separate category alongside the officers (*śārîm*; 1 Kgs 9:22). In 2 Kgs 10:25 the *šālišîm* are twice grouped with the *rāṣîm*, or runners ordered by Jehu to exterminate the worshippers of Baal. Similarly, Jehu ordered his *šālîš* to cast the body of the slain Jehoram on the ground of Naboth's vineyard (2 Kgs 9:25). These *šālîšîm* do not seem to have had primarily command responsibilities: that is, they are not depicted as officers. Instead, they appear to have belonged to a special class of warrior attached directly to the king (see Thenius) who carried out special assignments for him.

All of the anecdotes about the *šālîšîm* in 2 Samuel 23 fit this definition. The term *šālîš* in this context, and its apparent association with "three," as with the initial three *šālišîm*—Josheb-basshebeth, Eleazar, and Shammah—and the three anonymous warriors who broke through the Philistine line at Bethlehem to draw water from the well there for David, may be derived from the division of these warriors into three-man squads. Such a division in the Israelite army would have been in contrast to the usual divisions of tens, fifties, hundreds, and thousands. The structure of the lists in 2 Samuel 23 and 1 Chronicles 11 would preserve the memory of these squads, naming first "the three," beginning with Josheb-basshebeth, the "chief of the *šālišî*," then giving the exploits of three anonymous *šālîšîm* and of two more of their number (Abishai and Benaiah) who attained important posts in the Davidic court. Finally, the remaining *šālîšîm* (not *šĕlōšîm*) who served under David are listed (2 Sam 23:24–39 = 1 Chr 11:26–41, 42–47). To sum up, David's champions comprised a special cadre of warriors, organized into three-man squads, who were attached directly to the king, and who carried out special assignments for him.

When the *šālîšîm* became a formal division within David's army is unclear, though the presence of Asahel suggests a fairly early date. Informally, a collection of heroic warriors, who later became *šālîšîm*, probably began to assemble around David when he was a fugitive from Saul, and perhaps even earlier, when David was a condottiere commanding his own troop of men in Saul's service (see 1 Sam 18:5–7). Others, including members of his family, joined David after he had fled from the court of Saul and was hiding in the cave of Adullam (1 Sam 22:1–2). The sons of Zeruiah, David's nephews, who became the leading military figures of his reign, are portrayed as accompanying David during his pursuit by Saul (Abishai: 1 Sam 26:6–12) and during the long war between the house of David and the house of Saul (during which Asahel was killed; 2 Sam 2:8–3:1). Still others distinguished themselves during the Philistine wars; indeed, most of the deeds recounted about David's champions derive from this period. Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, on the other hand, was a latecomer to the group. David made him commander of the *mišma‹â* (RSV: bodyguard, from the [explanatory?] Lucianic reading *tēn phulakēn autou*; *mišma‹â* may also refer to those "obedient," or answering directly to the king; perhaps the Cherethites and Pelethites [2 Sam 20:23b]), probably late in his reign, and he was a key player in the coup which brought Solomon to the throne. In return for this service, Solomon set Benaiah over the army in Joab's place (2 Kgs 2:35).

Besides family members and Israelite followers, David's champions included a significant number of non-Israelites. Best known of these is Uriah the Hittite; others included Eliphelet, the son of Ahasbai of Maacah (in S Syria), Igal, the son of Nathan of Zobah (also in S Syria), and Zelek the Ammonite (see 2 Sam 10:1–2 for David's early ties to the Ammonite court). From 1 Chronicles 11 come Hanan, son of

Maacah, Shama and Jeiel, the sons of Hotham the Aroerite (from Aroer in Moab), Ithmah the Moabite (note David's ties to the royal house of Moab during his exile from Saul's court: 1 Sam 22:3–4), and Eliel, Obed, and Jaasiel from Zobah (RSV Mezobaite, which simply means "the one from Zobah"). These foreign nationals were most likely "soldiers of fortune" who had attached themselves to David during his service under Saul and had stood by him out of personal loyalty during his years as a fugitive. Their loyalty would have been rewarded with lands and spoil when David ascended the thrones, first of Judah, and later of Israel, and conquered the smaller nations on Israel's borders. The N Israelites who served under David would also have reaped these benefits. The crucial point is that these champions, from disparate backgrounds, were attached to David by a bond of personal loyalty that withstood the vicissitudes of his career and led to personal reward. They were, in this sense, loyalists as well as mercenaries.

After David had been crowned in Judah, these champions were probably organized into the cadres which came to be known as the *šālîšîm*. As such they did not comprise a royal bodyguard, but a trusted body of retainers who carried out special assignments for the king. At the same time, they served with the militia in war (see 2 Samuel 11) and may have been set along the battle line to stiffen the resistance of the levies, who had proved notably unreliable in pitched battle (e.g., Saul and his men were forced to make a last stand after the flight of the Israelite militia from the field at Gilboa; 1 Sam 31:1–7). David took to heart the hard lessons of Saul's demise: throughout his reign he relied on his professional troops and loyal retainers to secure both the peace of the kingdom and his throne.

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## DAVID, CITY OF (PLACE) [Heb *ʿîr* (עִיר) *dāwîd* (דָּוִיד)].

A term appearing in the OT which refers both to the Jebusite "Stronghold of Zion" (*mĕṣudat ṣîyyôn*), captured, occupied, and renamed by David (2 Sam 5:6–9), and to the burial ground in which at least nine Judean kings were interred (e.g., David, 1 Kgs 2:10). In modern usage it is largely a historical-geographical term denoting that part of Jerusalem inhabited during the time of David. See also JERUSALEM (PLACE).

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A. Name
B. Topography
C. History of Excavation
D. History of Settlement
1. Neolithic-Chalcolithic Ages
2. Early Bronze Age
3. Early Bronze Age IV
4. Middle Bronze Age II
5. Late Bronze Age
6. Late Bronze Age II/Iron Age I
7. Iron Age
a. 10th Century B.C.E.
b. 9th–8th Centuries B.C.E.
c. 7th–6th Centuries B.C.E.

8. Persian Period
9. Hellenistic Period
10. Roman Period
E. Subterranean Water Supply Systems
1. Gihon Spring
2. Warren's Shaft
3. Shiloah (or Siloam) Channel
4. Hezekiah's Tunnel
F. Burial Grounds
1. Bronze Age
2. Iron Age
a. "Tombs of the Davidic Dynasty"
b. The Silwan Tombs
G. Size and Population

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**A. Name**

The term "City of David" appears in the OT 43 times bearing at least three connotations. Firstly, it denotes the Jebusite "Stronghold of Zion" (*mĕṣudat ṣîyyôn*), which David captured (2 Sam 5:7 = 1 Chr 11:5), occupied (2 Sam 5:9 = 1 Chr 11:7, 8:11) and renamed *ʿîr dāwîd*. In this connotation the term also denotes the compound to which David conveyed the ark of the covenant (2 Sam 6:10 = 1 Chr 13:13; 2 Sam 6:12, 16 = 1 Chr 15:29) and that in which the ark was housed prior to the completion of Solomon's temple (1 Kgs 3:1; 8:1 = 2 Chr 5:2; 1 Kgs 9:24 = 2 Chr 8:11). In addition, this compound was that which Solomon occupied and renovated prior to the construction of his new abode (1 Kgs 11:27).

Secondly, the term denotes the location of a burial ground used to inter kings of the Davidic dynasty. The books of Kings and Chronicles clearly state that these Judean kings were buried in the City of David: David (1 Kgs 2:10), Solomon (1 Kgs 11:43 = 2 Chr 9:31), Rehoboam (1 Kgs 14:31 = 2 Chr 12:16), Abijam (1 Kgs 15:8 = 2 Chr 13:23—Eng14:1), Asa (1 Kgs 15:24 = 2 Chr 16:14), Jehoshaphat (1 Kgs 22:51[—Eng22:50] = 2 Chr 21:1), Jehoram (2 Kgs 8:24 = 2 Chr 21:20), Joash (2 Kgs 12:22[—Eng12:21] = 2 Chr 24:25), and Jotham (2 Kgs 15:38 = 2 Chr 27:9). Although other kings are also said to have been buried in the City of David, the books of Kings and Chronicles preserve variant traditions concerning each of these additional kings. Thus while 2 Kgs 9:28 indicates that Ahaziah was buried in the City of David, 2 Chr 22:9 implies that he was buried somewhere in the kingdom of Israel. According to 2 Kgs 14:20 Amaziah was buried in the City of David, while the MT of 2 Chr 25:28 records only that he was buried "in the city of Judah." Similarly, 2 Kgs 15:7 states that Azariah was buried in the City of David, while 2 Chr 26:23 calls his place of rest "the burial field which belonged to the kings." In 2 Kgs 16:20 Ahaz was buried in the City of David, while 2 Chr 28:27 indicates just the opposite—"they buried him in the city, in Jerusalem, for they did not bring him into the tombs of the kings of Israel." Additionally, the priest Jehoiada was also buried in the City of David (2 Chr 24:16). The cemetery of "the City of David" appears to have been synonymous with "the tombs of the kings of Israel" (2 Chr 28:27) and, in the time of Hezekiah, with "the tombs of the sons of David" (2 Chr 32:33). By the time of Nehemiah, however, the City of David (Neh 3:15) and "sepulchers of David" (Neh 3:16) appear to have been two distinct entities (cf. also 2 Chr 21:20; 24:25).

Thirdly, by the time of Nehemiah, and perhaps as early as the reign of Hezekiah, the term "City of David" was also used in the general sense to denote the oldest area within Jerusalem, i.e., the SE hill (2 Chr 32:5, 30; 33:14; Isa 22:9; Neh 3:15; 12:37).

Josephus later equated the "City of David" with the entire city of Jerusalem (*Ant* 7.3.2 §65–67). This equation caused him, mistakenly, to locate the citadel of David on the city's high, strategically advantageous W hill, known in his day as the "Upper City" (*JW* 5.4.1 §137). Josephus' identification of the W hill passed into Christian tradition, with both the Pilgrim of Bordeaux (Bernard 1891: 22–23) and Eusebius (Klostermann 1904: 74) calling it "the Mount of Zion" (see Simons 1952: 35–59). Modern

research into the historical geography of Jerusalem began therefore with the presumption that the original City of David lay on the city's W hill. Archaeological excavation, however, has demonstrated that the Davidic city was situated below the Temple Mount on the S spur of the lower, E hill. Hence within the scope of this discussion, "City of David" is used in the broad sense, as a historical-geographical term denoting that part of the E ridge shown by archaeological excavation to have been occupied during the time of David.

**B. Topography**

The City of David is the long, narrow, triangular-shaped ridge that stretches S of the Temple Mount. Its E boundary is formed by the Kidron Valley, which separates it from the Mount of Olives. Its W and S boundaries are formed by a once-steep valley called only *haggay (,)* 'the valley' in the OT but known to Josephus as the Tyropoean, or Cheesemakers' valley (*JW* 5.4.1 §140). This central valley divides ancient Jerusalem's E and W ridges and converges with the Kidron Valley at the City of David's S apex. The width of the City of David's N base, which rests against the Temple Mount, is 220 m; its length from there to its S apex is 630 m; the level area along its crest comprises approximately 49 dunams; its decrease in height from N to S is approximately 80 m. Of the hills in its immediate vicinity, the City of David is situated on the lowest (Ps 125:2).

The City of David's only perennial source of water, the Gihon Spring, lies at the foot of its E slope, on the edge of the Kidron Valley. Because the Gihon was the only defendable spring in the area, its location determined that of the initial settlements in Jerusalem, and from earliest times the city expanded along the E slope in proximity to it.

Geographically, the City of David is located in the central hill country. Geologically, it is a tilting block composed of two types of limestone, the soft, porous *meleke,* and the hard, nonporous *mizzi ahmar* (Gil and Shiloh 1982: 33). The bedrock along its E slope rises at an angle of approximately 25 degrees. The ascent is punctuated by steep escarpments. In antiquity these escarpments were largely exposed but today are covered with deep deposits of archaeological debris that have created a 45 degree slope.

The archaeological composition of the site conforms to a pattern common in the central hill country where buildings were generally constructed of stone rather than mudbrick. Because ancient builders at these sites often excavated to bedrock in order to secure both firm foundations and building stones, they prevented the eventual buildup of superimposed archaeological strata characteristic of tell sites. Consequently, the best preserved structures at these sites tend to be the last ones constructed, with earlier remains being preserved only when exploited or avoided by later builders. The City of David provides a unique opportunity for investigating the remains of ancient Jerusalem because the last city built along its E slope was destroyed at the end of the Iron Age by the Babylonians (586 B.C.E.). The topography of the area is therefore largely responsible for the nature of the archaeological evidence described herein.

**C. History of Excavation**

Modern archaeological investigations of the City of David began in 1838, when Edward Robinson traversed Hezekiah's Tunnel. The largest and most recent excavations conducted there were directed by Kathleen M. Kenyon from 1961 to 1967 and by Yigal Shiloh from 1978 to 1985. Although these last two projects provide the basis for the current understanding of the City of David's development, many other archaeologists have also excavated the site: E. Robinson and E. Smith (1838); C. Wilson (1864–65); C. W. Warren (1867–70); Ch. Clermont-Ganneau (1873); H. Guthe (1881); C. Schick (1880–1901); E. W. G. Masterman (1901); F. J. Bliss and A. C. Dickie (1894–97); M. Parker and L. H. Vincent (1909–11); R. Weill (1913–14, 1923–24); R. A. S. Macalister and J. G. Duncan (1923–25); J. W. Crowfoot and G. M. Fitzgerald (1927–28); N Avigad (1945–47); D. Ussishkin (1968); B. Mazar, M. Ben-Dov, and E. Mazar (1968–87); and D. Adan-Bayewitz (1977). For a plan showing the areas of these investigations, see Shiloh (1984a: fig. 3). It is possible to reconstruct the stratigraphy and chronology of the City of David on the basis of Shiloh's 1978–83 excavations (see Table 1).

Table 1: City of David: Preliminary Scheme of Strata
(Shiloh 1984a:3)

| Stratum | Period* | Date |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Medival to Modern | 11th–20th centuries C.E. |
| 2 | Ummayyad-Ayyubid | 7th–13th centuries C.E. |
| 3A | Byzantine | 6th–7th centuries C.E. |
| 3B | Byzantine | 4th–6th centuries C.E. |
| 4 | Late Roman | 1st–4th centuries C.E. |
| 5 | Early Roman | 1st century C.E. |
| 6 | Early Roman | 37 B.C.E.–70 C.E. |
| 7A | Hellenistic (Hasmonean) | 1st centuryB.C.E. |
| 7B | Hellenistic (Hasmonean) | Second half of 2d century B.C.E. |
| 8 | Early Hellenistic | 4th–2d centuries B.C.E. |
| 9 | Persian | 6th–4th centuries B.C.E. |
| 10A | Iron Age III | 6th century B.C.E. |
| 10B/C | Iron Age IIC | Second half of the 7th century B.C.E.–586 B.C.E. |
| 11 | Iron Age IIC | 7th century B.C.E. |
| 12 | Iron Age IIB | 8th centuryB.C.E. |
| 13 | Iron Age IIA | 9th centuryB.C.E. |
| 14 | Iron Age IC | 10th century B.C.E. |
| 15 | Iron Age IA–B | 12th–11th centuries B.C.E. |
| 16 | LB IIA–B | 14th–13th centuries B.C.E. |
| 17 | MB II | 18th century B.C.E. |
| 18A | MB II | 18th century B.C.E. |
| 18B | MB II | 18th century B.C.E. |
| 19 | EB II | 29th century B.C.E. |
| 20 | EB II | 31st century B.C.E. |
| 21 | Chalcolithic EB I | Second half of the 4th millennium B.C.E. |

*Periodization has been brought into conformity with *ABD* guidelines.

**D. History of Settlement**

**1. Neolithic-Chalcolithic Ages.** Artifacts which may date to the Neolithic Age include a single shard bearing an incised band with a herringbone pattern like that typical of the "Yarmukian culture," and a flint arrowhead. Shards ascribed to the Chalcolithic Age were recovered from natural depressions in the bedrock. Although most of these shards were found mixed with others from the EB, an uncontaminated layer of Chalcolithic material was found in area B, at the foot of the E slope.

**2. Early Bronze Age.** The earliest architectural remains date to the EB. They are rectangular, broadroom structures with benches lining the interior walls. Built on and against the bedrock slope, these structures were preserved beneath the MB II fortification wall and associated structures at the E edge of area E1 (Shiloh 1984a: 11–12, 25; 1985b: 303, pl. 36c). Although some pottery found in association with these structures may be dated to the EB I, shards belonging to the EB II–III were also present. Consequently, the exact date of the construction and use of these EB buildings has yet to be established. Similarly planned broadroom structures, known as the "Arad-type house," are well-known from other EB sites (Aharoni 1982: 64).

EB pottery has also been found on the bedrock atop the City of David's hillcrest (Macalister and Duncan 1926: 177, fig. 186) and along its W slope (Crowfoot and Fitzgerald 1929: 66, pl. 11:11, 22). EB

tombs have been cleared along the upper reaches of the E slope (see below F.1; Vincent 1911: 24–30) and, possibly, at its foot (Kenyon 1963: 11).

**3. Early Bronze Age IV.** The City of David has no clear evidence of a settlement from the late 3d millennium B.C.E. Rock-cut "shaft tombs" typical of this period have been excavated on the Mount of Olives, and Gonen (1985) has suggested that some of the caves and cisterns on the Temple Mount may have originated as similar EB IV tombs.

**4. Middle Bronze Age II.** MB II Jerusalem is mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts (B. Mazar 1982) and is also represented by several phases of occupational remains, the earliest of which are associated with a massive fortification wall (Kenyon 1974: 82–84; Shiloh 1984a: 3, 12, 26). Several tombs have also been found on the Mount of Olives (see below F.1).

The first phase of the MB II occupation witnessed the construction of a fortification wall built of cyclopean limestone boulders. Standing partially atop some EB structures, this wall skirts a steep scarp about midway between the hillcrest and the Gihon Spring. During its initial phase the wall was approximately 3 m thick (Shiloh 1984a: 12; Kenyon 1974: 83), but buttressing was later added to its inner face and living surfaces were laid up to it (Shiloh 1984a: 12).

Kenyon (1974: 83) cleared 12.5 m of this wall and noted the presence of two angular turns, which she initially interpreted as the corner of a gate tower (Kenyon 1967b: 30). She later concluded that they indicated the presence of a succession of offsets and insets (Kenyon 1974: 84). Shiloh (1984a: 52) uncovered an additional 30 m of this wall and identified a second "offset" or jog in the wall line similar to that exposed by Kenyon. An additional segment of this wall appears to have been unearthed by Parker above Warren's Shaft (see below E.2) and between those segments subsequently exposed by Kenyon and Shiloh (Vincent 1911: 29, pl. 6; Reich 1987a: 163–64; Steiner 1988). Kenyon (1974: 83) and Shiloh (1984a: 26) both ascribe the wall's construction to the 18th century B.C.E., but portions of it became part of a later fortification system built during the Iron Age II (Shiloh 1984a: 26). No clear sign of either the wall's N or W course has been revealed, and Kenyon's (1974: 89–94) claimed reconstruction is based on negative evidence.

Fragmentary remains of MB II structures and floors have been found at the upper, W end of trench A beneath a series of substructural terraces ascribed to the LB II (Kenyon 1974: 94, but see below D.5). Shiloh (1984a: 12; 1985a: 66, pl. 12B), who located them at several points along the E slope in areas E1 and E3, found floors bearing ceramic vessels, including one which yielded an assortment of carved bone inlays and pieces of gold leaf. MB II pottery recovered from the hillcrest (Macalister and Duncan 1926: 177–78, pl. XVIII) and from fissures in the bedrock immediately S of the Temple Mount (B. Mazar 1971: 23) could possibly indicate the extent of settlement during this period.

**5. Late Bronze Age.** Architectural remains from the LB are known only from the upper part of the E slope. The earliest of these are fragments of two poorly preserved rooms belonging to a structure built on the bedrock and tentatively dated to the LB I, ca. 15th century B.C.E. This building, located in the NW corner of Shiloh's area G, may be contemporary with a fragmentary structure which Kenyon (1974: 94) found farther to the S and which she dated to the MB II (see D.4).

Evidence for Jerusalem's status as an Egyptian satellite during the Amarna period, LB IIA, is witnessed by six letters from the city's king, Abdi-heba, discovered in the Amarna archive (Na'aman 1975: 88–104; B. Mazar 1982: 3–5). Although archaeological remains ascribable to this period have been retrieved from nearby tomb deposits (see below F.1), none has been found within the City of David.

**6. Late Bronze Age II/Iron Age I.** Substantial remains of the transitional period between the LB II and the Iron I belong to a massive stone structure of undefined boundaries built along the upper reaches of the E slope in the 13th–12th century B.C.E. See Fig. DAV.01. Macalister and Duncan (1926: 51–55, 57–61, plan facing p. 49, pls. II, V, XXIV); Kenyon (1974: 95–97, 100–103, pl. 31–34), and Shiloh (1984a: 16, 26, 54–58) each unearthed sections of this structure, which is formed of two component parts: a substructure and a superstructure.

The substructure is composed of a series of interlocking terraces formed by N-S "spine" walls and closely spaced, E-W "rib" walls which, together, created rows of rectangular compartments. These, in

turn, were filled with loosely packed boulders topped by layers of compact soil. To date, segments of two, and possibly three, substructural terraces have been revealed, descending from the E edge of the hillcrest towards the Kidron Valley for a distance of ca. 20 m (Shiloh 1984a: 16).

The substructural terraces were capped by a stone-built superstructure itself composed of two parts: a rubble core and a stepped mantle. The rubble core served as an interface, keying the mantle to the substructure. The mantle was constructed of partially dressed, dentiform limestone blocks laid like roof tiles in a series of overlapping courses rising from E to W in a stepped fashion toward the hillcrest.

Macalister and Duncan (1926: 51–55, plan facing p. 49) revealed the mantle's uppermost courses and interpreted them as the "Jebusite Rampart." Kenyon, who questioned Macalister and Duncan's early date for the structure, dismantled a stone buildup which she mistakenly believed to be its S continuation (Kenyon 1962: 79). On the basis of this removal, Kenyon (1962: 81; 1963: 14–15) concluded that the stepped stone mantle's upper courses could not predate the Iron Age II. Kenyon's excavations farther downslope in trench A and Shiloh's excavations in area G, however, each revealed an additional number of stepped mantle courses, which lay under Iron Age II buildings (Kenyon 1962: pl. 22B; Shiloh 1984a: 17, 56–57, fig. 22).

Kenyon (1974: 95, 103) and Shiloh (1984a: 16–17, 26–27) both interpreted the substructural and superstructural components as independent architectural units, dating to the LB II and Iron Age II, respectively. Although they each based their dates for the substructural compartments on the ceramic evidence found within them, Kenyon probably, and Shiloh definitely, dated the superstructural mantle on the basis of the pottery recovered from soil layers *covering* it (Shiloh 1984a: 17, 27). Pottery recovered from a probe in which a rectangular section of the mantle's lower courses was removed, however, was identical to the pottery recovered from the substructural fills dating to the 13th–12th century B.C.E. The "stepped stone structure" therefore appears to have been contemporary with the substructural compartments, and these two features are best interpreted as a single architectural unit.

Kenyon (1974: 95, 100) interpreted the substructural compartments as platforms intended to provide level surfaces on which to construct "civilized" buildings along the City of David's E slope. Shiloh (1984a: 16, 26), in contrast, interpreted them as a means for expanding the level of the hillcrest, atop which he located the Canaanite "Citadel of Zion." Kenyon (1974: 101–3) and Shiloh (1984a: 17, 27) both interpreted the stepped stone mantle as a buttress added to the original substructural fill sometime during the 10th century B.C.E. The substructure and superstructure could, however, be recognized as two features of a single architectural unit constructed at the end of the LB, ca. the 13th–12th century B.C.E.

LB II pottery has been located at the N end of the hillcrest (Macalister and Duncan 1926: 33, 74; Kenyon 1965: 12, pl. IXB; 1974: 94, pl. 77) and on the midslope in area E1 (Shiloh 1984a: 12, 26), and LB II tombs have been excavated on the Mount of Olives (see below).

Sparse archaeological evidence of Iron Age IB–C has been found in areas B, D1, and E1 (Shiloh 1984a: 26–27). To date, however, archaeological data useful for illuminating the status of Jerusalem during the emergence of Israel have yet to be found.

**7. Iron Age.** The Iron Age II is the period of Jerusalem's preeminence as the capital of both the United Monarchy and the S kingdom of Judah. Archaeologically, it is the period best represented, because the last city to have been built along its E slope was that destroyed by the Babylonians in 586 B.C.E.

**a. 10th Century B.C.E.** Early in the 10th century B.C.E. David captured the Jebusite Citadel of Zion and made it his capital (2 Sam 5:6–9). The OT account of Jerusalem's transformation from a Jebusite city-state to the Israelite capital names and describes various constructions that were either incorporated, rebuilt, or added to the city in the 10th century, including the temple, the royal precinct, and the *millôʾ*. Although each of these features has been discussed at length in numerous treatments, none of them has been conclusively identified with any archaeological remains.

Macalister and Duncan (1926: 49–65, plan facing p. 49) revealed a fortification wall and tower standing at the E edge of the hillcrest above the Gihon Spring which they dated to the time of David and Solomon. Kenyon (1974: 192), however, recovered archaeological evidence indicating that the tower actually dated to the Hellenistic period, ca. 2d century B.C.E.

Remains from the 10th century B.C.E. have been located both by Kenyon (1974: 100–103, 114–16) in trench A and areas H and M and by Shiloh (1984a: 4, 27; fc.) in areas B, D1, E1, and G. Slightly N of the fortification wall found by Macalister and Duncan, Kenyon (1974: 114–15) unearthed a wall fragment which she dated to the 10th century. Identifying this wall fragment as part of a casemate fortification wall similar to those at Gezer, Hazor, and Megiddo, which are popularly attributed to Solomon (Yadin 1970), Kenyon interpreted it as evidence for the expansion northward to the Temple Mount (Kenyon 1974: 92). This interpretation led Shiloh (1984a: 27) to interpret the stepped stone structure in area G to its S as the SE corner of the royal compound erected in Jerusalem in the 10th century B.C.E. This structure, Shiloh maintained, had been built over the terraced foundations of the Canaanite citadel at that time. Subsequent evaluation of both the architectural and ceramic evidence from area G, however, indicates that the stepped stone structure and the stone and soil filled compartments beneath it are actually two components of a single architectural unit constructed in the 13th–12th century B.C.E. (see above D.6). In area G therefore the 10th century is represented solely by the fragmentary remains of structures and soil fills found *covering* the lower courses of the stepped stone structure (Shiloh 1984a: 17, 27; fc.). Among the 10th century small finds are a small area (E1) containing clay installations, two ceramic chalices, and the lower half of a fenestrated cultic stand (Shiloh 1984a: 12).

**b. 9th–8th Centuries B.C.E.** The remains ascribed to the 9th century consist of a large architectural unit and soil fills found in areas E1 and G respectively (Shiloh 1984a: 4).

During the 8th century B.C.E., however, the city expanded greatly. Possibly fueled by the arrival of Israelite refugees fleeing the Assyrian conquest of the N kingdom of Israel in 721 B.C.E. (Broshi 1974) and by Judahites possibly displaced during the course of upheavals along the Judah-Philistia border, the city's growth appears to have peaked during the reign of Hezekiah.

Sections of a massive fortification wall ascribed to the 8th century were found by Kenyon (1974: 130–31, 146, pl. 43; Steiner 1986), who cleared ca. 30 m of its length at the E end of trench A, and by Shiloh (1984a: 28; 1984b: 57; fc.), who unearthed an additional 120 m. This wall, which was preserved in places to a height of 3 m, was constructed in a jagged, sawtooth line reaching 5 m in width (Shiloh 1984a: 12–13). Standing near the middle of the E slope above a vertical escarpment, it followed virtually the same course as its MB II predecessor and, in places, incorporated remnants of the older wall (Shiloh 1984a: 28).

Both Kenyon (1965: 11; 1966: pl. 25B; 1967a: pl. 13A; 1974: 144, pl. 63) and Shiloh (1984a: 9; 1984b: 57) revealed outside and abutting the city wall the remains of a 2–3 m wide cobbled pavement revetted by a retaining wall. Kenyon traced this extramural street along the entire 30 m length of the Iron Age II city wall, which she exposed (Steiner 1986), and Shiloh traced its remains further. Presumably, this extramural passage ran the entire length of the city wall and formed a component part of the fortification system.

Shiloh (1984a: 10, 12–13, 28) found that the fortification wall supported a system of structurally integrated buildings linked by a stepped alleyway equipped with a drainage channel emptying into the Kidron Valley via a small rectangular opening built into the city wall (Shiloh 1984a: 53). An important structure for understanding both the building technology and the relative stratigraphy of the Iron Age II on the E slope is the "Lower Terrace House," also called the "House of *mḥmm*," excavated in area E1 (Shiloh 1984a: 13). Integrated with the fortification wall to the E, the structure had three parallel rooms, each of which was built on a successively higher level, following the rise in the bedrock (Shiloh 1984a: pl. 22:1). Like the fortification wall, it served throughout the final three phases of the Iron Age II, each phase being represented by a floor bearing a chronologically indicative assemblage of ceramic vessels (Shiloh 1984a: pl. 22:2). The label "House of *mḥmm*" derives from the Hebrew inscription *lmḥmm ṣl* incised on a storage jar recovered from the middle floor and ascribed to stratum 11, ca. 7th century B.C.E. (Shiloh 1984a: 13).

A number of structures dating to the 8th century B.C.E. were found in areas B, D1, D2, and E2 (Shiloh 1984a: 7, 9–10, 28–29; 1984b: 57). Unlike the "House of *mḥmm*," however, these structures were founded on the lower slopes of the bedrock, *outside* the fortification wall. Because 8th-century pottery was found in and around these buildings, their abandonment may have coincided with the Assyrian siege of 701.

The excavations in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City, N and W of the City of David revealed an additional segment of the 8th-century fortification wall, which has been attributed to Hezekiah (Avigad 1983: 46–49). Avigad's discovery at the N edge of the W hill ended the "maximalist-minimalist" controversy over the size of the Iron Age II city (Simons 1952: 226–81; Broshi 1974; Geva 1979; Avigad 1983: 27–31, 46–60). Moreover, Avigad found that this wall segment had been constructed over the remains of an earlier structure, also dated to the 8th century B.C.E. The archaeological evidence from the Jewish Quarter, as well as from other excavated areas on the W hill, such as the Citadel near the Jaffa Gate (Johns 1950: 129, fig. 6; Amiran and Eitan 1970: 9–10, 16; Geva 1983: 56–58; Solar and Sivan 1984: 48) and the Armenian Garden (Bahat and Broshi 1975: 56; Tushingham 1985: 9–24) appears to indicate that the entire W hill was occupied during the 8th century, first as an unwalled settlement, and later as part of the expanded, fortified city.

The W and S lines of the fortification wall which enclosed the W hill were reconstructed by Geva (1979: 87) and Avigad (1983: 58), both of whom located it along roughly the same line as that followed by the "First Wall" described by Josephus (*JW* 5.4.2.142–45). According to this reconstruction the wall enclosing the W hill continued W from the Jewish Quarter to the Citadel, turned S following the crest above the Hinnom Valley, crossed the mouth of the Tyropoeon Valley at the City of David's S apex, and joined the city wall unearthed by Kenyon and Shiloh. Thus, the S end of the Tyropoeon Valley, which houses the Pool of Shiloah (i.e., the reservoir to which Hezekiah's Tunnel [see E.4] conducted water from the Gihon Spring) was brought within the bounds of the fortified city. The archaeological evidence deriving from the 8th century B.C.E. in Jerusalem may be compared with Isaiah's description of the emergency measures adopted by Hezekiah in the face of the Assyrian siege of Jerusalem (Isa 22:9–11).

**c. 7th–6th Centuries B.C.E.** Most intramural areas excavated within the City of David have produced evidence for occupation at the end of the Iron Age II. Four prominent structures, however, are particularly significant for elucidating both the material culture and the intensity of the 586 B.C.E. Babylonian destruction. These are the "Ashlar House," excavated in area E1, and the "House of Ahiel," the "Burnt Room," and the "Bulla House," excavated in area G (Shiloh 1984a: 13–14, 17–19, 28–29, 53, 61; fig. 25).

The "Ashlar House" is a large (13 × 13 m) structure spreading across two terraces located in the upper reaches of area E1. Its.8 m thick walls (preserved in places to a height of 3 m) were built of roughly dressed, rectangular blocks of limestone and well-dressed ashlars situated in places bearing the most structural stress. Although its entire floor plan was not revealed, Shiloh believed that it followed the so-called four-room, or pillared-house plan, ubiquitous throughout the monarchic period (Shiloh 1970; 1973; 1984a: 14, 18). Its large size, its raised topographical position, and its quality of construction led Shiloh (1984a: 14) to identify it as a public structure. The ceramic and stratigraphical evidence indicated that the "Ashlar House" was constructed in stratum 11, ca. 7th century B.C.E. and destroyed in stratum 10 at the end of the Iron Age II.

The "House of Ahiel" is an 8 × 8 m, four-room, or pillared house, situated along the higher of two structural terraces in area G. See Figs. DAV.01 and DAV.02. Its name derives from the discovery there of a storage jar fragment bearing a Hebrew ink inscription containing the personal name *ʾḥyʾl*. Portions of the structure had already been excavated by Kenyon (1974: 162–65). The walls were of roughly dressed fieldstones and ashlars strategically placed at stress points such as corners and doorjambs. Two stone monoliths and two built piers supported the first floor ceiling and divided the central courtyard from the two side chambers. An external staircase led either to an upper story or to a higher terrace.

Attached to the N wall of the "House of Ahiel" was a three-room addition housing a storeroom with over 40 ceramic vessels, almost all of them storage jars. The floor of a small room (1.4 × 1.4 m) adjoining the storeroom was plastered with a thick layer of lime. Embedded in one side of the floor was a limestone toilet seat beneath which lay a plaster-lined cesspit (Shiloh 1984a: 19, pl. 31:1). Similar limestone toilet seats have also been found in Iron Age II structures excavated by Shiloh (1984a: 10–11, pl. 16:2) in area E3 (in situ) and by Kenyon (1967a: pl. 13B) in square AXXIV (ex situ) and, perhaps, in debris cleared by Parker (Vincent 1911: 29).

An alleyway separated the addition to the "House of Ahiel" from the building containing the "Burnt Room" (see Figs. DAV.01 and DAV.02; Shiloh 1984a: 18–19, pl. 32:2). An external staircase built of ashlars abutted the S wall of this building and led to an upper story (Shiloh 1984a: pl. 31:2). The rectangular "Burnt Room" was the S, ground floor room in a building which was only partially excavated. Evidence for the second story was provided by both the position of the landing atop the external staircase and the corresponding ledge in its W wall, 2.5 m above the floor, along which were found the carbonized remains of ceiling beams similar to those recovered from the top of a monolith in the room's N wall.

The "Burnt Room" earned its name from the thick (.9 m) layer of carbonized debris found covering its lime-plaster floor. Among the charred remains were pieces of burnt wood, including fragments that had been carved in motifs identical to those known from ornamental Iron Age ivories (Shiloh 1984a: 19, pl. 34:1; 1985c: 139). Although most of these wood samples appear to have derived from local species, some of the finely carved pieces were of boxwood (*Buxus* gen.), a nonindigenous species native to Cyprus, N Syria, and S Turkey (Shiloh 1984a: 19, 34 n. 81; 1985c: 139–41; Meiggs 1982: 279–83).

East of the "House of Ahiel," on the next, lower terrace, lay the "Bulla House" (Fig. DAV.02), named after the cache of 51 clay sealings found in its NW corner (Shiloh 1984a: 18–19; 1986). Since only a narrow strip (1 × 7–8 m) at the structure's W edge was excavated, little can be said about its plan. Its W wall, however, served both as the building's exterior boundary and as the support wall for the upper terrace of structures. As in the "Burnt Room," a thick (.7 m) layer of charred debris covered its plaster floor. Forty-nine of the 51 bullae recovered from the floor of the house were well preserved, primarily because they were fired in the conflagration which destroyed the building. The bullae bear oval seal impressions averaging 12 × 10 mm. Their reverse sides bear impressions of the warp and weft of the papyrus documents they sealed, as well as, in most cases, the impressions of the string used to tie the rolled papyrus prior to its sealing. Four bullae have only graphic representations, while 45 are inscribed with the Hebrew formula, "belonging to x, son of y," commonly appearing on personal seals; the other two are too fragmentary to interpret.

The corpus includes 51 personal names, all of which are known in the Hebrew onomasticon. Two of the precise combinations of name and patronymic, moreover, are cautiously identified with biblical personages (Shiloh 1984a: 20; 1986: 33; Schneider 1988). These two are Gemariah ben Shaphan (*gmryhw (b)n špn;* bulla no. 2; Shiloh 1984a: 20, pl. 35:3; 1986: 28, fig. 8:1, pl. 6:13); and Azariah ben Hilkiah (*ʿzryhw bn ḥlqyhw*; bulla no. 27; Shiloh 1984a: 19, 61, fig. 26; 1986: 28–29, fig. 8:6). Gemariah son of Shaphan, a *śar* in the royal court of Jehoiakim, appears four times in the book of Jeremiah (36:9–12, 25–26); Azariah son of Hilkiah, a priest, is named in two priestly genealogical lists (1 Chr 5:39—Eng6:13; 9:10–11) and in the list of Ezra's forebears (Ezra 7:1; Schneider 1988: 140). Moreover, a seal of unknown provenance bearing the name Azariah ben Hilkiah (Avigad 1970: 307) may also be linked to the historical personage of that name. See GEMARIAH (PERSON); AZARIAH (PERSON). Shiloh (1984a: 20; 1986: 37) viewed the multiplicity of ostensibly unrelated names appearing in the bullae corpus as indicative of the public nature of the archive housed in this building.

More than 20 ceramic vessels (Shiloh 1986: 24, fig. 6), a group of stone weights, and four soft limestone stands (Shiloh 1986: 22–23, 26, pl. 6:A; Herzog 1987; Prag 1987: 122–23) were found in proximity to the bullae. These finds, like those recovered from the "House of Ahiel" and the "Burnt Room," all date to the final phase of the Iron Age II.

In her square AXVIII, located just below the E edge of the summit and immediately N of area G, Kenyon (1963: 16; pl. VIIIB) also discovered remains of collapsed Iron Age II structures deriving from the 586 B.C.E. destruction. These remains included ashlar stones and a Proto-Aeolic capital such as those associated with ashlar masonry (Shiloh 1979b). Additional ashlar blocks were also found in the adjacent area G. Although the exact location of the monumental ashlar structure to which these materials belonged is uncertain, it most likely stood either on the hillcrest or on the terrace of structures immediately beneath it.

The massiveness of Jerusalem's destruction by the Babylonians is evidenced not only by the thick layers of charred debris unearthed in structures such as the "Burnt Room" and the "Bulla House," but also

by the deep accumulation of collapsed building stones found covering the entire E slope (Kenyon 1962: pl. 21B; 1974: 170, pl. 71; Shiloh 1984a: 29). The biblical descriptions of the city's destruction (2 Kgs 25:8–10; Jer 39:18; 2 Chr 36:18–19) complement the archaeological evidence, and the 586 B.C.E. date is documented in the historical sources (Malamat 1968). Moreover, the ceramic evidence from the destruction level uncovered along much of the City of David's E slope is identical to the corpus of pottery typifying the final phase of the Iron Age II at other Judahite sites, e.g., Lachish stratum II, Ein Gedi stratum V, Arad stratum VI, and Ramat Rahel stratum Va.

**8. Persian Period.** Following the Persian conquest of Babylonia in the late 6th century B.C.E., the Judean exiles received permission to return to Jerusalem and rebuild their temple (Ezra 1:1–4; 6:2–5). Although reconstruction initially focused on the temple itself (Ezra 3:8–10), the City of David and its fortifications were eventually rebuilt.

Apparently due to the massiveness of the stone collapse covering the City of David's E slope, new structures were not built there (Kenyon 1974: 182; Shiloh, fc.). Immediately below the hillcrest, however, the "Ashlar House" in area E1 was partially reused (DeGroot, fc. b). In addition, sloping layers of limestone chips revetted by flimsy walls have also been found along the E slope of the City of David in areas D1, D2, and E1. These stone chips may be interpreted as refuse originating from a stone quarry located atop the hillcrest (Shiloh 1984a: 29).

The line of the fortification wall built under Nehemiah's direction has not yet been traced with certainty, for no correlation exists between the landmarks listed in his description (Neh 3:1–32) and the archaeological remains. Nevertheless, the biblical description clearly indicates that large portions of the old wall were repaired rather than built anew (Tsafrir 1973; Williamson 1985). The repaired portions are commonly identified with the W line of the pre-8th-century B.C.E. fortifications (Kenyon 1974: 182–83; Tsafrir 1973) the position of which may be indicated by the gateway unearthed by Crowfoot and Fitzgerald (1929: 12–23) along the City of David's W slope. Because Nehemiah described the ruins along the E slope as impassable (Neh 2:12–14), the earlier wall line located at the midslope is thought to have been abandoned in favor of a new line running along the E edge of the hillcrest. A short segment of fortification wall excavated there by Macalister and Duncan (1926: 49–50, plan facing p. 49, pl. V) and reinvestigated by Kenyon (1974: 92, 183, pls. 77, 79) and by Shiloh (1985a: 67) was identified by Kenyon (1974: 183–84) as "Nehemiah's Wall." Built of roughly dressed limestone blocks laid in successively receding courses atop a steep escarpment, this wall fragment was clearly the earliest component in the fortification line in this particular area of the hillcrest (Shiloh 1985a: 67; Kenyon 1974: 183). Kenyon's ascription of it to the Persian period was based on her discovery of "a series of midden tip-lines" containing pottery attributable to the 5th–3d centuries B.C.E., "lapping up against" the lower courses of its E, *outer* face (Kenyon 1974: 183). Although this wall may have served during the Persian period, both its manner of construction and Kenyon's discovery of LB deposits on the bedrock in area P, close to its inner face (Kenyon 1974: 92), suggest that it may actually have originated much earlier.

Sandwiched stratigraphically between the stone collapse of the 586 B.C.E. destruction and strata dating to the early Hellenistic and Hasmonean periods, the Persian period layers in the City of David have yielded a varied ceramic assemblage, including storage jar handles and body shards bearing several types of stamp seal impressions (Ariel and Shoham, fc.). The well-stratified deposits of the Persian period discovered in the City of David stand in sharp contrast to the absence of comparable stratigraphy from other excavated areas of Jerusalem. The archaeological evidence therefore suggests that Jerusalem's occupation during this time centered on the SE hill, i.e., the City of David.

**9. Hellenistic Period.** Historically this period has two major subdivisons: the early Hellenistic period, which began with the conquest of Alexander the Great in 332 B.C.E. and ended with the Maccabean revolt in the mid-2d century B.C.E., and the Hasmonean period, which began with the Jewish revolt and ended with Jerusalem's fall to the Roman general Pompey in 63 B.C.E. (Gafni 1984: 1–17). Archaeologically, the early Hellenistic period, during which Jerusalem attained the status of a Greek *polis* named Antiochia, is poorly known. The Hasmonean period, however, during which Jerusalem served as the capital of an independent Jewish state, is represented on both the E and W hills of Jerusalem.

Archaeological evidence of the early Hellenistic period includes part of a structure uncovered just below the hillcrest in area E1 which had been destroyed in a conflagration (DeGroot, fc. b). Additional evidence of the period comes from a large corpus of ceramic handles deriving from imported E Greek amphorae (the majority of which are from Rhodes with a few from Kos, Chios, and Knidos) bearing stamp seal impressions ranging in date from the late 4th to the early 1st centuries B.C.E., but clustering between 260–150 B.C.E. (Ariel, fc.). Although most of these stamped handles derive from post-Hellenistic stratigraphic contexts, the large number of them from the City of David, in contrast to the small number recovered from other excavated areas of Jerusalem, suggests that the City of David remained the center of occupation during the early Hellenistic period.

Following the establishment of the Hasmonean dynasty in the mid-2d century B.C.E., Jerusalem experienced a period of expansion, during which the populated area spread from its ancient nucleus in the City of David to the W hill. Subsequently, the City of David became the "Lower City," while the W hill became the "Upper City." During this period, the defensive system described by Josephus as the "First Wall" was erected (*JW* 5.4.2 §142–45). Although the N and W lines of this defensive wall largely followed the course of its Iron Age II predecessor, and in places even incorporated it (Geva 1979), its E line presumably followed the course established during the Persian period, skirting the crest atop the E slope of the City of David. Large segments of this wall line have been investigated by Clermont-Ganneau (1899: 296), Guthe (1882: pl. IV), Bliss and Dickie (1898: 126–31, 315), Macalister and Duncan (1926: 49–74), Weill (1920: pl. III), Kenyon (1974: 191–93), and Shiloh (1984a: 30, 40–41). In addition, the remains of a sloping glacis uncovered in area G (Shiloh 1984a: 20–21, 30) may also have been constructed during the 2d century B.C.E. Although the direct relationship between the glacis and the "First Wall" had been obscured by earlier excavators, Shiloh (1984a: 63) projected its continuation to the base of the fortification wall skirting the upper edge of the E slope.

Farther S, in areas D1, D2, E1, and E3, the E slope was covered by a series of stepped, agricultural terraces, formed of single-faced, dry-built, stone walls securing layers of soil fill. These terraces were apparently linked by stone-built stairways.

**10. Roman Period.** Like the previous period the Roman period may be divided historically into two unequal halves: the early Roman period, beginning with Pompey's campaign in 63 B.C.E. and ending with the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., and the late Roman period, beginning with the end of the Jewish revolt and ending with the opening of the Byzantine period during the reign of Constantine the Great in the 4th century C.E. (Gafni 1984: 17–31; Safrai 1976: 307–56).

The archaeological evidence for the early Roman period in the City of David, or "Lower City," is largely the same as that described in relation to the Hasmonean period. The line of the city wall running along the crest above the E slope remained unchanged, and alternating, uniform layers of compact soil and pebbles were added to the glacis in area G. Similarly, the soil-filled terraces farther S, along the E slope were maintained and supplemented throughout the period.

The addition of a vaulted ceiling above the entrance chamber to Warren's Shaft and of a subterranean passageway with a gabled ceiling leading to the vaulted chamber suggested to Shiloh (1981: 35, 39; 1984a: 24) that this water system continued in use despite the fact that it lay outside the line of the city's fortification wall (see below). The reservoirs at the S end of the Tyropoeon Valley also continued to function and appear to have been supplemented by a pool close to the floor of the Kidron Valley (Adan 1979).

Although by the early Roman period the focus of the city's life had clearly shifted to the W hill or "Upper City," the City of David appears to have been the site of an early synagogue. While excavating a cistern on the hillcrest above area D1, Weill (1920: 186; 1947: pl. XXVa) found a Gk inscription commemorating the construction of a synagogue by Theodotos, whose father and grandfather were identified as synagogue leaders. Dated epigraphically to the Herodian period (Roth-Gerson 1987: 76–86), this inscription provides tangible evidence for the existence of a synagogue in Jerusalem prior to the end of the Second Temple period.

Sometime after the Roman destruction in 70 C.E., tons of debris originating on the hillcrest were dumped down the E slope, destroying and completely covering the soil-filled terraces. These dumps were found preserved to a depth of several meters (Shiloh 1984a: 30). The deposition of debris along this slope inhibited any further construction and determined its appearance from that time forward.

During the late Roman period when Jerusalem was rebuilt as the Roman city of Aelia Capitolina, the City of David was thought to have served mainly as a stone quarry (Kenyon 1974: 31–32, 263–64). Ceramic roof tiles stamped with the insignia of the Roman Tenth Legion *Fretensis* have, however, been recovered from excavations at the N end of the hillcrest (Macalister and Duncan 1926: 167–68; Crowfoot and Fitzgerald 1929: 76–77, pl. XIII: 13). Nevertheless, the focus of activity during this period lay farther N and W, and the City of David remained largely unoccupied until, perhaps, the late 3d or early 4th century C.E. (Kenyon 1974: 263; Geva 1984: 253). Bliss and Dickie (1898: 225), however, found a colonnade erected around the Pool of Shiloah which some thought may have served as the Tetranymphon, one of the bath complexes built in Aelia and mentioned in the *Chronicon Paschale* (see Vincent and Abel 1926: 860–61; Avi-Yonah 1976: 612; B. Mazar 1975: 236).

**E. Subterranean Water Supply Systems**

**1. Gihon Spring.** Ancient Jerusalem's only perennial source of water lies in a cave located in the Kidron Valley, beyond the bounds of the fortified city. The Gihon does not maintain a constant flow; it is a syphon type, karstic spring, fed by groundwater that bursts forth through cracks in the cave's floor at intermittent periods. This geological phenomenon is reflected in the spring's name, which derives from the Hebrew root *gyḥ* "to gush." The frequency with which the Gihon gushed depended both on the season of the year and the annual amount of rainfall. Gushes could last for as long as 30–40 minutes at intervals varying from 4–6 hours during the winter and 8–10 hours during the summer. In unusually dry years, however, the water might burst forth as infrequently as once a day, or even less. Hecker (1957: 193) estimated the flow to vary from 200–1200 $m^3$ per day.

Water from the Gihon could be drawn either from the spring cave or from a small pool which was cut in the bedrock close to it (Vincent 1911: 6; Hecker 1957: 193). In addition, three subterranean systems were devised to capture, store, distribute, and protect its waters. These three water systems are known as Warren's Shaft, the Shiloah Channel, and Hezekiah's Tunnel. Although the absolute chronology of the systems is difficult to determine, their relative chronology is fairly well established (Vincent 1911: 31; Shiloh 1984a: 23; 1987: 219).

**2. Warren's Shaft.** See Fig. DAV.03. Jerusalem's earliest strategic subterranean water system is Warren's Shaft, discovered by Charles Warren in 1867 (Wilson and Warren 1871: 248–55). It was cleared initially by the Parker expedition (Vincent 1911: 11–16), recleared by Shiloh (1981; 1984a: 21–22, 68–69; 1987: 215–17), and surveyed geologically by Gil (Gil and Shiloh 1982). The system has five major components: an entrance area, an "abortive" shaft, a cavernous tunnel, a vertical shaft, and a feeder tunnel linking the Gihon to the bottom of the vertical shaft.

The entrance into the system is located on the City of David's E slope, within the bounds of the MB II and Iron Age II city walls, but beyond the walls of the postexilic periods. The entrance area consists of rock-hewn chamber and two secondary features: a barrel-vaulted ceiling and a gabled passageway (Vincent 1911: 11; Shiloh 1981: 31–35; 1984a: 23) leading from the hillside into the entrance chamber. Because the barrel vault is an architectural feature unknown prior to the postexilic period, these two features appear to have been added to the original entrance sometime after the Iron Age II (Shiloh 1981: 35–36; 1984a: 24; 1987: 215, 220).

In the floor of the entrance chamber lies the mouth of the "abortive" shaft, a narrow, 20-meter-deep, irregularly shaped depression which has not been exposed since the Parker expedition. Vincent (1911: 13) thought that the depression represented an abortive attempt to reach the water table by sinking a vertical shaft from the entrance chamber. The endeavor was abandoned, he believed, when an impenetrable vein of rock was reached. As a result of their hydro-geological survey, however, Gil and Shiloh (1982: 34) suggested that this depression actually represents a natural, karstic sinkhole.

A rectangular opening cut through the entrance chamber's N wall opens into a cavernous tunnel consisting of an upper, sloping part and a lower, horizontal part which range from 2–2.3 m in width and from 2–6 m in height. See Fig. DAV.04. This 36 m long, curved tunnel descends 14 m through the bedrock until it reaches the top of an irregularly shaped vertical shaft the average diameter of which is 0.6 m. At a depth of ca. 12.3 m, the shaft intersects a feeder tunnel, which carries water from the Gihon Spring for a distance of 22 m (Shiloh 1981: 32; 1984a: 21, 68–69; 1987: 230–31). People reaching the top of the vertical shaft via the underground tunnel could therefore draw water up through the shaft as if from a well. Excavations below the level at which the vertical shaft meets the feeder tunnel revealed that the shaft descended an additional 3 m which were devoid of toolmarks (Gil and Shiloh 1982: 32, 34; Shiloh 1984a: 21, 69; 1987: 215, 217).

That the water system's final shape resulted from tooling is clearly evidenced by the chisel marks and lamp niches on the walls of the cavernous tunnel. Nonetheless, anomalies pertaining to the tunnel's excessively long, curved path, by which it traverses 36 m to connect points which are linearly only 19 m apart, its irregular dimensions, the exceedingly steep (33 degree) gradient of its upper, W part, and the vertical shaft's apparently unnecessary 3 m continuation below the level of the feeder tunnel were addressed by the hydro-geological survey (Gil and Shiloh 1982).

Gil detected the presence of natural encrustations adhering to the walls of the vertical shaft and cavernous tunnel. The absolute age of one crust sample subjected to carbon 14 analysis proved to be greater than the dating capability of the technique, i.e., 38,000 years B.P. (Gil and Shiloh 1982: 34). Gil and Shiloh concluded, therefore, that both the vertical and "abortive" shafts are natural karstic sinkholes, or solution shafts, and that the cavernous tunnel is the enlargement of a natural solution conduit. The engineers who designed Warren's Shaft successfully integrated a network of natural and artificial components in a manner which allowed Jerusalem's residents to draw water from the Gihon Spring without leaving the protected confines of the city.

Although Warren's Shaft is chronologically the earliest *strategic* water system, its absolute date is still debated. Birch (1878: 179; 1885: 62) and Vincent (1911: 33–37; 1912: 141–61) identified it with the *ṣinnôr* (2 Sam 5:6–10), mentioned in David's successful conquest of Jebus and associated with the exploits of Joab (1 Chr 11:4–7). Such an identification, which requires a pre-Davidic date for the water system, has, however, been rejected on various grounds by most scholars (Albright 1922; Yadin 1963: 267–70; Braslavi 1970; B. Mazar 1982: 9; Aharoni 1982: 235; Shiloh 1981: 39; 1984a: 23; 1987: 219–20). Because no stratigraphical or other archaeological evidence useful for dating its construction has been recovered, any date proffered must rely on historical logic and analogy to other subterranean water systems. On that basis, Shiloh (1981: 39; 1984a: 23–24; 1987: 219–20) concluded that Warren's Shaft was contemporary with similar underground water systems at Megiddo and Hazor, both of which have been dated stratigraphically to the 9th century B.C.E. (Shiloh 1987: 204–9). The discovery that Warren's Shaft incorporates a number of natural geological phenomena, all of which existed long before David's conquest of Jerusalem suggests, however, that the question of its relationship to the biblical *ṣinnôr* should be reassessed. Moreover, as similar subterranean water systems were operative in Mycenaean Greece as early as the 13th century B.C.E. (Mylonas 1966: 15, 31–33, 40–43), the possibility that the technology for constructing such systems was introduced into the Levant during the LB or early Iron Age should not be summarily rejected.

**3. Shiloah (or Siloam) Channel.** This water system is thought to be either contemporary with or slightly later in date than Warren's Shaft (Vincent 1911: 31; Hecker 1957: 196; Shiloh 1984a: 23; 1987: 219). Parts of it have been explored by Schick (1886), Bliss and Dickie (1898: 115, pl. XIII), Masterman (1902), Parker (Vincent 1911: 6–8), Weill (1947: 57–96), and Shiloh (1979a: 168–70; 1984a: 23–24; 1987: 218). Although less than half of its estimated 400 m length has been investigated, the water system is known to vary in width from 0.4–0.6 m and in height from 1.4–2.75 m (Vincent 1911: 8; Hecker 1957: 194–95; Shiloh 1987: 230–31). Unlike the other two water systems connected to the Gihon Spring, both of which are entirely subterranean, the Shiloah Channel is a composite system, consisting partly of a

narrow, rock-hewn tunnel, and partly of a rock-hewn and stone-capped channel. A number of windowlike apertures pierce its E side and an additional number of openings penetrate its roof.

The Shiloah Channel appears to have served three purposes: (1) it carried water from the Gihon downhill along the E slope of the City of David to a reservoir at the S end of the Tyropoeon Valley, generally identified with modern Birket el-Hamra (Simons 1952: 189–90; Wilkinson 1978: 118); (2) it released water into agricultural plots located in the Kidron Valley through the windowlike openings in its E wall; and (3) it gathered runoff water from upslope through the openings in its roof. Because the course it followed lay outside the city's fortifications, it was not a strategic system. Indeed, the construction of Hezekiah's Tunnel prior to the Assyrian siege of 701 B.C.E. superseded and partially cancelled the Shiloah Channel, both by blocking it and by changing the direction in which water flowed through its S end (channel IV; Weill 1947: 70–71; Simons 1952: 187–88; Shiloh 1984a: 23–24; 1987: 218). The Shiloah Channel must, therefore, predate Hezekiah's Tunnel, and may be identified with "the waters of Shiloah that flow gently" (Isa 8:6).

**4. Hezekiah's Tunnel.** See Figs. DAV.03 and DAV.04, and Fig. JER.09. The third, and chronologically latest, water system, Hezekiah's Tunnel, carries water from the Gihon Spring to a reservoir located in the S reaches of the Tyropoeon Valley. This water system consists of three component parts: a sinuous, rock-cut tunnel; a reservoir; and a so-called overflow channel.

The tunnel was cut through the bedrock by two teams working toward each other from opposite directions. Toolmarks visible on its walls indicate both the direction in which the tunnel was cut and the point at which the teams met. The minute,.3-meter difference in level between the tunnel's starting point and its present outlet in the Tyropoeon Valley was originally measured by Conder (1882: 129) and reaffirmed by Shiloh (1984a: 23; 1987: 230–31).

The N segment of Hezekiah's Tunnel incorporates the feeder tunnel joining the Gihon Spring to the base of Warren's Shaft. Shortly before reaching the shaft, however, the tunnel makes a 90 degree turn to the W and meanders along a sinuous course, traversing 553 m to link two points located only 320 m apart. Although the tunnel's width varies only slightly, from.58–.65 m, its height is extremely irregular, ranging from 1.5–5.0 m (Shiloh 1987: 230–31).

Today the tunnel empties into a small reservoir called Birket es-Silwan, also known as the Pool of Shiloah or Siloam, which is located close to the S end of the Tyropoeon Valley. Excavations conducted within the vicinity of Birket es-Silwan and Birket el-Hamra to its S by Guthe (1881; 1882: 52–133, pl. II), Bliss and Dickie (1898: 154–55), and Kenyon (1974: 246–47) have yielded evidence of reservoirs which were in use during the early and late Roman periods and, probably, during the Byzantine period. Despite the fact that no physical remains of earlier reservoirs have yet been found there, those Iron Age reservoirs associated with the water systems are best located or restored in the same vicinity.

Beyond Birket es-Silwan, a rock-cut canal known as channel IV carries water in an easterly direction, around the S tip of the City of David, towards the Kidron Valley. At its S extremity this canal incorporated the S end of the Shiloah Channel (or channel II) and reversed the flow of water through it. Its excavator, Weill (1947: 65–73), believed that channel IV represented a later addition to Hezekiah's Tunnel. Kenyon (1974: 159) and Ussishkin (1976), however, suggested identifying it as the final segment of Hezekiah's Tunnel which, they believed, emptied in the vicinity of the Kidron rather than the Tyropoeon Valley. Although the construction date of this "overflow channel" has not been conclusively determined, channel IV appears to have conveyed water from the Pool of Shiloah to the area of the Kidron Valley either for purposes of irrigation or for storage in an additional reservoir (Shiloh 1984a: 23; 1987: 219). The channel IV system underwent various changes over the course of time, yet seems to have remained in use until it was blocked by a stone wall tentatively dated to the Middle Ages (post-Ayyubid period; DeGroot fc. a).

The ascription of this water system to the time of Hezekiah, late 8th century B.C.E., is based primarily on biblical evidence. Hezekiah's efforts to prepare Jerusalem for an Assyrian siege by bringing the waters of the Gihon within the fortified area of the city is acclaimed in both the OT (2 Kgs 20:20; Isa 22:11; 2 Chr 32:2–4, 30) and the Apocrypha (Sir 48:17). On this basis the incised, lapidary Hebrew inscription

describing the process of hewing the tunnel and found on the wall near its present-day outlet, serves as a chronological indicator for other paleo-Hebrew inscriptions.

The tunnel's sinuous shape, the variability of its height, and the way in which separate teams of tunnelers working toward each other managed to meet have been the subject of considerable debate. The various theories can be divided into three main groups: (1) that proposed by Conder (1882: 128) and advocated by Hecker (1957: 195–97), which proposed that the tunnelers followed a relatively soft, easily quarried stratum in the bedrock; (2) that suggested by Clermont-Ganneau (1897, 1898), who attributed the tunnel's winding course to the tunnelers' desire to avoid disturbing the tombs of the Davidic dynasty; and (3) that initially proposed by Sulley (1929: 124) and subsequently adopted by Amiran (1975: 77–78) and Issar (1976: 133), who believed that the tunnelers followed a natural subterranean conduit, perhaps connoted by the word *zdh* in the Hebrew inscription found in the tunnel.

The results of the hydro-geological survey of the City of David published by Gil and Shiloh (1982) substantiate the theory advocated by Sulley, Amiran, and Issar. Geologist Gil concluded that the sinuous tunnel, cut entirely within the hard, *mizzi ahmar* stone, is most probably an enlargement of a preexisting natural solution conduit which originally carried water towards the Gihon Spring. The original level of the natural conduit, according to Gil and Shiloh (1982: 34), is evidenced by the varied heights of the tunnel's ceiling which reflect the downcutting required to reverse the water flow from the direction of the spring to the direction of the reservoir. The meeting of the two teams of tunnelers was thus ensured by their following the line of a preexisting channel.

During the Second Temple period the Gihon Spring ceased to serve as the primary source of water in Jerusalem. The increased demand for water during this period was met by the construction of aqueducts designed to convey water to Jerusalem from springs located S of Bethlehem (A. Mazar 1975, 1984). Hezekiah's Tunnel and the Pool of Shiloah, however, continued to function throughout the Second Temple period, and Shiloh (1984a: 24) believed that Warren's Shaft may also have remained in use. Although the true location of the Gihon Spring was long thought to have been forgotten during this time (Simons 1952: 48; Hecker 1957: 198), Reich (1987b) has shown that this may not have been the case.

**F. Burial Grounds**

**1. Bronze Age.** The earliest tombs found on the City of David hill date to the EB I. Caves containing multiple burials and line-painted pottery were cleared on the upper reaches of the E slope by the Parker expedition. The best example of these tombs was Cave 3, which contained a number of disturbed human skeletons (Vincent 1911: 24–30). Although the EB I burial caves in the City of David are located slightly N of the area in which Shiloh (1984a: 25; 1984b: 303) found evidence for EB occupation, burial within occupied areas of settlement was not unusual during this period. The caves' location, therefore, does not necessarily indicate the limits of the contemporary occupation.

Unlike their earlier EB predecessors, EB IV tombs have only been found across the Kidron Valley, on the Mount of Olives (Wilson and Warren 1871: 475; Sa'ad 1964; Kenyon 1966: 74–75; 1974: 80–81). Like contemporary tombs from other sites (Kenyon 1979: 12–39), these tombs are entered through round, vertical shafts with openings in their sides leading to burial chambers containing disarticulated bones. In addition to these Mount of Olives tombs, Gonen (1985) has suggested identifying some of the caves and cisterns located on the Temple Mount as tombs from this period.

Although no published evidence exists for burial within the City of David proper during either the MB II or the LB, tombs dating to these periods have been found on the Mount of Olives. A tomb excavated by Saller (1964) on the grounds of the Dominus Flevit Church, on the W slope of the Mount of Olives, consisted of two rock-cut, lobe-shaped burial chambers separated by a stone ridge. Because the tomb's ceiling had collapsed prior to excavation, the location of the original entrance was not determined. Nonetheless, morphologically, the tomb is comparable to the "bilobate tomb" type found at other sites (Petrie 1930: pls. XVII–XVIII; Stiebing 1971). More than 2000 objects, including both local and imported vessels spanning the MB II–LB II, were recovered from this tomb, indicating that it was used over a long period of time. A tomb from the E slope of the Mount of Olives described by Loffreda (1974) similarly appears to have been used continuously from the MB II to the LB II.

**2. Iron Age.** Rock-cut and cist tombs dating to the Iron Age II have been found around the perimeter of Jerusalem's E and W hills (Rahmani 1981: 231–34; Broshi, Barkai, and Gibson 1983). None, however, has been conclusively identified within the City of David, as burial within the occupied area of the city was not permitted during this period (Rahmani 1981: 232). Nevertheless, the OT indicates the existence of a cemetery equated with the term "City of David," in which kings and at least one priest were buried (see A above).

**a. "Tombs of the Davidic Dynasty."** Clermont-Ganneau (1897, 1898), theorizing that the S curve in Hezekiah's Tunnel was designed to avoid contact with the royal tombs of the Davidic dynasty, suggested locating them in the S part of the City of David. Excavating on the S hillcrest in 1913–14, Weill (1920: 157–73, pls. V, XVII–XIX) thus identified two narrow, rock-cut galleries as the royal tombs. The best preserved of these galleries is a 16-meter-long tunnel ending in a trough which Weill believed had originally contained a sarcophagus. Although many authors accepted Weill's identification, scholarly consensus has rejected it on the grounds that no chronological evidence has been found linking these rock cuttings to the Iron Age (Simons 1952: 221; Yeivin 1948: 45; Kenyon 1974: 156). Moreover, typologically, no such tomb plan is known from the Iron Age (see Ussishkin 1986: 260).

**b. The Silwan Tombs.** At least three types of finely quarried Iron Age tombs have been surveyed in Silwan on the E side of the Kidron Valley, facing the City of David (Avigad 1947; 1953; 1954: 18–36; Ussishkin 1970, 1986). These include tombs with straight ceilings, tombs with gabled ceilings, and "monolithic" tombs.

The tombs with straight ceilings (Ussishkin 1970: 38–39; 1986: 233–36) are comprised of two or three rectangular burial chambers arranged in a straight line, one behind the other. They are entered through large openings cut in the vertical face of the bedrock scarp. Burials were placed either on rock benches or in simple troughs lining the chamber walls.

The tombs with gabled ceilings (Ussishkin 1970: 35–38; 1986: 229–33) had a single rectangular chamber with a deep trough hewed into one of the sidewalls. In the bottom of each trough was a ledge at one end in which one or two headrests were carved. Narrow ledges running around the upper sides of the troughs indicate that they were covered with stone slabs. Noting differences in length exhibited by the troughs, Ussishkin (1970: 38; 1986: 238) concluded that the tombs were cut to order prior to the owners' deaths.

Three "monolithic" tombs (Ussishkin 1970: 39–44; 1986: 236–37), in which both the burial chamber and the monument's outer shape were hewed out of the bedrock so as to resemble a stone building, have also been found in Silwan. The most familiar of these tombs is that known as the "Tomb of Pharaoh's Daughter," located at the N end of Silwan. This rectangular tomb is freestanding on three sides but remains attached to the bedrock on the fourth. Its nickname derives from its Egyptian cornice and its pyramidal roof, which is today almost completely missing. An entrance in its W face led to a rectangular burial chamber with a rock-cut shelf running along the wall (Ussishkin 1970: 40; 1986: 47–63). A recessed panel above the entrance bears traces of a paleo-Hebrew inscription of which only two letters survive.

Each of the other two "monolithic" tombs in Silwan also bore Hebrew inscriptions, incised in sunken panels cut into their facades. One of these had two burial chambers side by side, and bore two inscriptions, which were discovered by Clermont-Ganneau (1899: 305–13). The two inscriptions were subsequently deciphered by Avigad (1953: 137–52; 1955: 163–66) and republished by Ussishkin (1975: 64; 1986: 220–26). The tomb is known as the "Tomb of the Royal Steward," because its owner, whose name, apart from the theophoric suffix *ywh*, has not been preserved, bore the title "He who is over the House" or "the Steward of the House." This title or a form thereof occurs eight times in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Gen 41:1; 1 Kgs 16:9; Isa 22:15; 36:3). Although Clermont-Ganneau (1899: 309) also noted the location of the third "monolithic" tomb, the accompanying inscription was discovered and published by Reifenberg (1948) and reexamined by Ussishkin (1975: 64–65; 1986: 217–20).

The "monolithic" tombs and the tombs with gabled ceilings found in the Silwan necropolis are without parallel in the rest of Jerusalem. Although the Silwan tombs were found emptied of their original

contents, their ascription to the Iron Age II is supported by the text and paleography of the Hebrew inscriptions, by the quarrying technique, and by the comparative corpus of Iron Age tombs both inside and outside of Israel (Ussishkin 1970: 44–46; 1986: 279–87).

**G. Size and Population**

Despite the numerous excavations conducted in Jerusalem over the last century and a half, the city's boundaries in many periods of its history remain ill defined and controversial. Nevertheless, estimates of its size and extent can be postulated for most major historical periods. Quantitative estimates of the city's geographical area in each of these periods have been published by Broshi (1978), whose data were updated by Shiloh (1984a: 3, 72).

The occupied area of pre-Davidic Jerusalem is estimated to have been close to 60 dunams: 49 dunams along the hillcrest and 11 on the E slope. The inclusion of the Temple Mount during the United Monarchy is thought to have added ca. 100 dunams to the city's overall size. Following the settlement of the W hill and its inclusion within the fortification wall in the 8th century B.C.E., the city's area increased again by ca. 460 dunams (Shiloh 1984a: 3) for a total of some 620 dunams. During the Persian period the city shrank to ca. 149 dunams (assuming that it encompassed only the Temple Mount and the City of David's hillcrest). However, during the course of the Hasmonean period, the city once again expanded to the W hill, reaching its preexilic peak of ca. 620 dunams. Experiencing additional periods of growth during the reign of Herod, who increased the area of the Temple Mount to ca. 145 dunams in the 1st century B.C.E., as well as in the period immediately preceding the Great Revolt, Jerusalem reached its maximum extent of ca. 1705 dunams around the year 66 C.E. The city then decreased in size during the Late Roman period. By the time of Justinian's reign, however, in the mid-6th century C.E., it is thought to have grown again to approximately 1200 dunams (Broshi 1978: 12).

No consensus exists regarding the size of Jerusalem's population (Wilkinson 1974; Broshi 1978; Stager 1975: 242–45; 1982: 121). This situation derives primarily from the lack of scholarly consensus concerning the methodology by which the size of ancient populations can best be determined (see Shiloh 1980: 26–27). Several studies, however, have found a tentative correlation between a settlement's physical size and the size of its population (Broshi 1978; Marfoe 1980: 317–21; Shiloh 1980; Broshi and Gophna 1984). According to these studies therefore the size of a settlement's population may be estimated by multiplying the overall inhabited area by a density coefficient representing the number of inhabitants per unit of area. Because density coefficients ranging from 20 (Stager 1982: 121) to 114 persons per dunam (Wilkinson 1974: 50) have been proposed for ancient Jerusalem, the following summary chart provides both low and high estimates of the ancient city's population using somewhat more moderate coefficient figures of 25 and 40 as advocated by Broshi and Gophna (1984: 42; 1986: 74) and Shiloh (1980: 30) respectively. Nonetheless, the chart remains oversimplified by virtue of the fact that it fails to consider several issues, including the extent of occupation on the City of David's W slope during the Bronze and early Iron Ages, the extent of the extramural population in any period, and the extent to which the area allocated to the Temple Mount was actually inhabited in any given period.

**The Size and Population of Jerusalem During Major Historical Periods**

| | | **Area** | **Population** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Period** | (in dunams) | Low | High |
| Bronze Age | 60 | 1,500 | 2,400 |
| Solomonic | 160 | 4,000 | 6,400 |
| Hezekiahan (ca. 700 B.C.E.) | 620 | 15,500 | 24,800 |
| Persian | 150 | 3,750 | 6,000 |
| Hasmonean | 620 | 15,500 | 24,800 |
| Herodian | 770* | 19,250 | 30,800 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Eve of Roman destruction | 1560* | 39,000 | 62,400 |
| Late Byzantine | 1055* | 26,375 | 42,200 |

*Does not include area of Temple Mount.

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DAVID TARLER
JANE M. CAHILL

**DAVID, SONS OF.** David had 19 sons and one daughter who are named in Scripture. All were born to his wives. In addition, he had numerous unnamed sons and daughters born to wives and concubines (2 Sam 3:2–5; 5:13–16). Of these only four sons—Amnon, Absalom, Adonijah, and Solomon—and one daughter—Tamar—are known in any detail. Solomon is the most prominent of these, since he succeeded David on the throne of Israel; and his descendants carried on the family line as the Judahite kings. Matthew's genealogy traces Jesus' ancestry through Solomon, while Luke's does so through Nathan. These six children—the most prominent—were among the eldest: all were born in Hebron, or in Jerusalem to Bathshua (Bathsheba).

Ironically, given the importance and prestige afforded David in most of the Scriptures, the accounts of his sons mainly show how poorly they turned out. This is seen as a direct consequence of David's great sins in committing adultery and murder (2 Samuel 11–12). Nathan's sentence foretold the troubles that would ensue (12:9–12, 14). From this point on, David appears as a relatively passive and tragic figure.

Amnon (David's firstborn) and Tamar appear together in a grim story in 2 Samuel 13, where Amnon brutally rapes his sister. Absalom, his brother, then conspires to kill Amnon in revenge.

Absalom (David's third son) figures prominently in David's life (2 Samuel 13–18), since he murdered David's firstborn and especially since he rebelled against his father. He forced his father to flee for his life

from Jerusalem, and he then announced his consolidation of power by going in to David's concubines in full view of all Israel. Eventually he was killed in battle by David's general, Joab.

Adonijah (David's fourth son) was the oldest living son at the end of David's life, and he seized power briefly in a short-lived kingship (1 Kings 1–2). David—enfeebled, senile, and having lost effective control of his children—was passively growing old; and factions of officials and others built up around Adonijah and Solomon. It was only after personal appeals on Solomon's behalf by his mother Bathsheba and by Nathan the prophet that Solomon was sanctioned as the chosen heir to the throne. Solomon spared Adonijah's life initially, but he eventually felt threatened by him and had him executed after David's death.

Solomon, the tenth son of David in the lists preserved, was David's successor to the throne (1 Kings 1–11). He was blessed with incomparable wisdom by YHWH, and he initially followed YHWH. He built the temple and an ornate palace for himself and succeeded in gathering riches and in establishing an international reputation. YHWH established a conditional covenant with him (9:1–9), but, in the end, Solomon's heart, under the influence of his foreign wives, turned away from his God. As a result, the kingdom was divided, and his son Rehoboam was made king over the S remnant, Judah.

The rest of David's sons are known only from four genealogical lists and a few references elsewhere. The table below serves to highlight their relationships with each other.

**SONS BORN IN HEBRON**

| **2 Sam 3:2–5** | **1 Chr 3:1–4** |
|---|---|
| 1. AMNON (mother, Ahinoam) | 1. AMNON (mother, Ahinoam) |
| 2. CHILEAB (mother, Abigail) | 2. DANIEL (mother, Abigail) |
| 3. ABSALOM (mother, Maacah) | 3. ABSALOM (mother, Maacah) |
| 4. ADONIJAH (mother, Haggith) | 4. ADONIJAH (mother, Haggith) |
| 5. SHEPHATIAH (mother, Abital) | 5. SHEPHATIAH (mother, Abital) |
| 6. ITHREAM (mother, Eglah) | 6. ITHREAM (mother, Eglah) |

**SONS BORN IN JERUSALEM**

| **2 Sam 5:13–16** | **1 Chr 3:5–9** | **1 Chr 14:3–7** |
|---|---|---|
| | **Mother: Bathshua (Bathsheba)** | |
| 7. SHAMMUA | 7. SHIMEA | 7. SHAMMUA |
| 8. SHOBAB | 8. SHOBAB | 8. SHOBAB |
| 9. NATHAN | 9. NATHAN | 9. NATHAN |
| 10. SOLOMON | 10. SOLOMON | 10. SOLOMON |
| | **Unnamed Mothers (Wives of David)** | |
| 11. IBHAR | 11. IBHAR | 11. IBHAR |
| 12. ELISHUA | 12. ELISHAMA | 12. ELISHUA |
| 13. ——— | 13. ELIPHELET | 13. ELPELET |
| 14. ——— | 14. NOGAH | 14. NOGAH |
| 15. NEPHEG | 15. NEPHEG | 15. NEPHEG |
| 16. JAPHIA | 16. JAPHIA | 16. JAPHIA |
| 17. ELISHAMA | 17. ELISHAMA | 17. ELISHAMA |
| 18. ELIADA | 18. ELIADA | 18. BEELIADA |
| 19. ELIPHELET | 19. ELIPHELET | 19. ELIPHELET |

20. ——— 20. TAMAR 20. ———

The lists are almost identical, both with respect to forms of names and orders of listings. Eight differences appear, at nos. 2, 7, 12, 13 (2), 14, 18, 20. Of these, five are either variant spellings, alternate names, or scribal slips: 2. Chileab/Daniel; 7. Shammua/Shimea; 12. Elishua/Elishama; 13. Eliphelet/Elpelet; 18. Eliada/Beeliada. The other three are omissions. Of these, two undoubtedly are scribal slips, as well; the names Eliphelet and Nogah likely appeared in the original mss of Samuel, as well. The last difference—the inclusion of Tamar in 1 Chronicles 3—represents an original contribution by the Chronicler at this point, based on knowledge he had from elsewhere in his sources, mainly 2 Samuel 13.

The natural presumption is that these lists are given in the correct birth order. Indeed, the sons born during David's 7 years in Hebron are given first in the two places they are listed, and then they are followed by those born during David's ensuing 33 years in Jerusalem. However, of the four sons born to Bathsheba, Solomon is listed last in all three lists; whereas, it would appear from the narrative texts (2 Samuel 12; 1 Kings 1) that he was her firstborn of David (excluding the son that died: 2 Sam 12:15–18).

The first list is of David's sons born at Hebron (2 Sam 3:2–5). It names six sons and their six mothers. It is impossible to know anything of any earlier existence it may have had, but its appearance here serves to highlight the comment in 3:1 about the ascendancy of David's house vis-à-vis Saul's (see McCarter *2 Samuel* 102).

The second list is of David's sons born in Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:13–16). It mentions concubines and wives and sons and daughters and names 11 sons without naming their mothers. Its occurrence here naturally fits the narrative context, since David's capture of Jerusalem and consolidation of power have just been mentioned (5:1–12). The OG traditions add at the end of v 16 a list of 13 names that is not found in the MT. This list essentially duplicates the one just completed in vv 14b –16a, but it adds the two names that are missing (found in the Chronicles lists), and it has different forms for almost every name (some radically so).

The third list is the most comprehensive, and it combines the two Samuel lists, briefly adding to them (1 Chr 3:1–9). It is only here that Bathshua (= Bathsheba) is named as mother of four of David's sons, as well as of Tamar. It adds two names—Eliphelet and Nogah—that are not found in the MT of the Samuel list. Its larger context is the genealogies that introduce the books of Chronicles (chaps. 1–9). It appears as part of a large genealogy of Judah (2:3–4:23), immediately preceded by a list of descendants of Caleb and Jerahmeel, sons of Hezron, who was a grandson of Judah (2:18–55). It picks up from the list of David's ancestors in 2:3–17, and it is immediately followed by a list of Solomon's descendants (3:10–24).

The fourth list is essentially identical to the third in terms of the sons included, but it omits numerous other details found in that list. Its narrative setting is similar to the second list's, as it occurs in a context of David's consolidation of power after his capture of Jerusalem. However, the Chronicler adds material between this list and the actual account of the capture of Jerusalem (11:4–9) that appears elsewhere (or not at all) in 2 Samuel: lists of David's heroes (11:10–47; cf. 2 Sam 23:8–39) and supporters (chap. 12; missing in 2 Samuel), and the account of the ark's removal from Kiriath-jearim to the house of Obed-edom (chap. 13; cf. 2 Sam 6:1–11). Despite these differences, this Chronicles list functions in the same way that the Samuel list does: they both show YHWH's blessing on David through the proliferation of his family, a blessing that is found in the preceding and following narrative texts, as well.

DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

**DAVIDIC COVENANT.** In Ps 89:4 the Lord says, "I have made a covenant with my chosen one, I have sworn to David, my servant." Among the "last words of David," we find, "He has made with me an everlasting covenant" (2 Sam 23:5). The Davidic covenant refers to God's promise to David, the king, to preserve his dynasty forever.

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A. Historical Questions

1. Emergence of Monarchy

2. Ideology of Kingship
B. Davidic Covenant
1. Davidic Theology
2. Model of Royal Grant
C. Related Ideas
D. Influence on Southern Traditions
E. Relation to the Mosaic Covenant
F. The Prophets
G. The New Testament

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**A. Historical Questions**

The Hebrew people, having fled Egypt and, under Moses' leadership, entered into covenant with Yahweh at Sinai, took possession of the land of Canaan about the year 1200 B.C.E. For approximately the next 200 years they formed a loose organization of tribes united in their faith and worship of Yahweh. Gradually, things began to change.

**1. Emergence of Monarchy.** Kingship emerged in Israel as a response to two kinds of problems, external and internal. Externally, the continuing threat posed by the Philistines, a non-Semitic people living along the W plain and expanding more and more into the Israelite territory in the central hill country, pointed to the need for a stronger government and defense. In addition, internal pressures (e.g., population growth, economic, agricultural, political factors) pushed the Israelites in the same direction (Coote and Whitelam 1986). The people asked for a king (1 Sam 8:1–9), and, despite warnings (1 Sam 8:10–18), persisted in their demands (1 Sam 8:19–22). Saul was anointed king first (1 Samuel 9–10) but was later replaced by David (1 Sam 16:1–13), who progressively consolidated his power, conquered Jerusalem, and established his rule there.

**2. Ideology of Kingship.** About the year 1000 B.C.E., the period of the Monarchy had begun. This represented not only a major political reorganization but also a serious religious crisis (1 Sam 8:6–8). What exactly was the problem? Kingship certainly was not an Israelite innovation. It was an old institution in the ANE and with it came its own ideological beliefs. A whole religious mythology was associated with kingship.

A conflict existed in the world of the gods between the god of life, creation, and order (in Canaan, Baal; in Babylon, Marduk) and the god of chaos and destruction, usually represented as a sea monster (in Canaan, Yam = The Sea; in Babylon, Tiamat = The Deeps). In the struggle between the two (repeated regularly, perhaps annually), the god of order and creation is victorious and then is proclaimed king. He builds a palace in which to dwell and celebrate his victory. Creation is "in order" once again (McCurley 1983: 12–71). The earthly king stood in a special relation to the king-god, one often described as "father-son." If the king was a healthy and good king, society and creation were in order; if he was a poor king or was ill and unable to exercise kingly functions, then chaos threatened. A special responsibility in this regard was the concern to maintain justice in the realm. Injustice is a form of disorder, of chaos, and flows from the failure of kingship. H. H. Schmidt has maintained (1968) that *ṣĕdāqâ*, often translated "justice," in fact means "world order." This concern of the king for justice was a commonplace in the ANE (Lohfink 1987: 18–23; Whitelam 1979: 17–37). As the god's earthly representative, the king was basically the custodian and guardian of the stability of the cosmos. When the Israelites took over the political form of kingship, a real danger existed that they would take over the mythology along with it. They would then truly be "a nation like all the rest" (1 Sam 8:5, 20).

**B. Davidic Covenant**

**1. Davidic Theology.** The problem posed by the introduction of monarchy into Israel was how this new institution was to be related to the older religious traditions, especially that of the Mosaic covenant between Yahweh and the people (see MOSAIC COVENANT). A new idea of covenant developed: God had made a special covenant with David. The so-called oracle of Nathan (2 Sam 7:8–16) is considered the charter of the Davidic covenant. Closely related to this is Psalm 89 (Ishida 1977: 81–117).

As David enjoyed a period of rest after the struggles that brought him to the throne, he contemplated building a house, a temple, for Yahweh. The prophet Nathan came to him with a message from the Lord. Several points are worth noting. (1) The oracle was delivered through a prophet, a spokesman for Yahweh, so the prophet's words would be recognized as authoritative. This was a point of continuity with the older tradition. (2) The oracle makes very clear that the source of David's position and authority is only Yahweh, the God of Israel, who had led the Israelites out of Egypt and established a covenant at Sinai. And it is Yahweh alone who chooses, appoints, and raises up to kingship (2 Sam 7:8b–12). (3) Yahweh promises David two things, land and dynasty. David had wanted to build a house for God; God will, rather, build a house for David. The Hebrew word for house (*bêt*) can refer to a building or family. The latter verses (12–16) of the oracle develop the theme of dynasty. (4) The "father-son" imagery familiar from ANE kingship is used (v 14; Pss 89:27–28—Eng 26–27; 2:7–8). The king is not divine but is raised up above the common person in his relationship to God (Weinfeld *IDBSup,* 190–91). (5) The king does not have absolute authority; he is under Yahweh and is expected to obey the covenant obligations. This is a serious requirement; failure will bring on punishment (v 14b; Ps 89:31–33—Eng 30–32). (6) Failure, however, will not terminate the covenant. Yahweh is committed to David and his dynasty; the covenant is an eternal one which cannot be broken (vv 15–16; Ps 89:4–5, 21–22, 29–30, 34–38—Eng 3–4, 20–21, 28–29, 33–37); it is rooted in Yahweh's promise and fidelity (Ps 89:3—Eng 2). Sin will bring punishment, but the last word is with God's grace.

Two further aspects of the Davidic covenant, not explicit in 2 Samuel 7, can be added. (7) The stability of David's throne is rooted in the order of creation: "… as long as the sun before me. Like the moon, it shall be established forever" (Ps 89:37–38—Eng 36–37). The activity of the king is related to cosmic stability. Psalm 89:10–15—Eng 9–14 depict Yahweh as establishing creation through a victory over Sea and Rahab (another name for the sea monster); in v 26—Eng 25, the king is shown as sharing this activity. (8) The responsibility of the king in this regard is spelled out in the two concepts of justice (*ṣĕdāqâ*) in the realm, and peace (*šālôm*) within and without. It has been noted that names connected with Jerusalem and the monarchy are often derived from these roots (e.g., Melchizedek (Gen 14:18); Adonizedek (Josh 10:1); Zadok (1 Kgs 1:8, 32); Solomon (2 Sam 12:24); and Absalom (2 Sam 13:1; Humphreys 1979: 59–60). Psalm 72 is a virtual summary of Davidic royal theology: the king's justice derives from God (v 1); his rule is rooted in the cosmos (vv 5–7) and also effects fertility (life) of the soil (vv 6, 16); he is related to other nations round about (vv 8–11) for whom he is a source of blessing (v 17); he is the protector of the poor and the helpless (vv 12–14).

**2. Model of Royal Grant.** The type of covenant represented here has parallels elsewhere in the ANE. These have been described as "covenants of royal grant" (Weinfeld 1970; *TDOT* 1: 270–72; Mullen 1983) and are attested in the Hittite and Syro-Palestinian areas. See also COVENANT. They were gifts (often land and dynasty) bestowed by a king upon individuals who had loyally served their masters. Parallels to the Davidic covenant in form and vocabulary are striking.

**C. Related Ideas**

While the number of texts which explicitly treat it are relatively few, the Davidic covenant is intimately connected, even intertwined, with a number of other important ideas. Three are particularly significant. (1) *Zion:* David had wanted to build a house (temple) for Yahweh; Yahweh said, "No, but I will build a house (dynasty) for you." It is no surprise then to see a connection between the traditions about David and those about Mt. Zion and the temple. Yahweh, the great king, has chosen Zion for a dwelling place; Zion is then the sacred mountain where earth and heaven meet. The temple there is the focus of the order and stability of creation (Roberts 1982; McCurley 1983: 149–60; Levenson 1988: 78–99; Ollenburger 1987). (2) *Creation:* Yahweh subdues the forces of chaos and destruction and brings about an ordered universe (Ps 89:1–15—Eng 1–14); the anointed king shares in this task (Ps 89:26—Eng 25). Thus the role of the Davidic king, while deriving from Yahweh and focusing on Israel, operates within a much wider horizon: all people and all of creation are involved (Anderson 1984). (3) *Wisdom:* The connection of the king with wisdom was a commonplace in the ANE. The king was to rule wisely (Kalugila 1980). The great patron of wisdom in Israel was, appropriately, King Solomon (e.g., 1 Kgs 3:4–15). A number of Israel's wisdom

works were attributed to Solomon (Proverbs, Song of Songs, Qoheleth), and it is not uncommon to find references to kings and ruling in this literature (e.g., Prov 8:15–19; 29:14; 31:1–9).

Each of these three themes (Zion, creation, wisdom) is independent and has its own history. However, the figure of the king appears in each in an important way. In light of this, the role of the king can be summarized: the Davidic king, as Yahweh's representative, by ruling wisely is guardian of the cosmic and social order (justice and peace). As these themes interact and overlap, one can describe them as presenting a theology of blessing within the Bible (Westermann 1982: 85–117).

**D. Influence on Southern Traditions**

Another area where the importance of the Davidic covenant can be noted is in its influence on the pentateuchal traditions, which have their roots in Jerusalem with its court and temple, namely, the Yahwist (J) and the priestly (P) writers. Several points of contact can be noted. (1) It is only these two traditions that appear in the primeval history, that is, which situate Israel's narrative traditions squarely within a cosmic context. (2) The human role in creation is described in royal terms. Humans, men and women, share in God's royal dominion (Gen 1:26–28); the creation of Adam and Eve, who share responsibility for the Garden (Brueggemann 1970), is described in royal phrases: taken from the dust (Brueggemann 1972) and receiving the breath of life (Wifal 1974). (3) The stories of the Yahwist's primeval history (Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Flood, Tower of Babel) all show a similar development: humans sin, punishment follows, the last word is one of Yahweh's grace (Clines 1978: 61–79). This is exactly the pattern of the Davidic covenant (2 Sam 7:14–15). (4) The covenant with Abraham (in both J—Gen 15:7–20—and P—Gen 17:1–8) is, like the Davidic covenant, a promissory covenant rooted in Yahweh's choice and fidelity and entails the promise of land and offspring (Weinfeld *TDOT* 1: 270–72). Likewise, the covenant with Abraham (as also with Noah, Caleb, and Phineas) is an everlasting covenant (Gen 17:7; 9:16; Num 14:24; 25:13; Cross *CMHE,* 261–63). (5) The promises to Abraham involve not only Israel, but all nations as well (Gen 12:3b; Ps 72:17). In fact, the patriarchs are shown to bring blessing, in various ways, to the nations round about them, nations which in fact had been subdued by David (2 Samuel 8; Wolff 1982: 55–63).

**E. Relation to the Mosaic Covenant**

The Davidic covenant stands in obvious contrast with the Mosaic covenant. Whereas the latter is made with all the people and is dependent on their obedience for its perdurability, the former is rooted in God's faithful promise and is unconditional. In the latter, God is known primarily through historical experiences; in the former, through creation. How are these tensions to be handled (McCarthy 1972: 45–52, 80–85; Levenson 1985: 187–217)?

The Mosaic covenant is the basic covenant which gives Israel its distinct identity. No text in the OT suggests that this covenant is ever replaced by the Davidic. The two covenants cannot be contrasted on the basis of covenant obligations; the king, too, is expected to be a faithful Yahwist and to obey the covenant commandments, especially in their concern for justice (2 Sam 7:14; Ps 89:32–33—Eng 31–32). The Davidic covenant is a further development and specification that took place within certain circles in Jerusalem. Attempts to localize the two traditions (the Mosaic covenant flourished in the N, the Davidic in the S) seem oversimplified (Levenson 1985: 192–200). Some texts do suggest that attempts were made to bring the Davidic in line with the Mosaic by making its promises conditional (e.g., 1 Kgs 2:4; 8:25; 9:4–5; Ps 132:12), but this was not carried out consistently (Weinfeld *IDBSup,* 191).

Both covenants were accepted in Israel and appear in the canon of Scripture; responsible exegesis must do justice to this fact. It is better to view the two not as contradictory but as complementary. For example, the Mosaic covenant has an inherent particularism or sectarianism; the Davidic is more universal, even cosmic in scope (Levenson 1985: 207–8). How is the tension between king and people to be addressed? Deuteronomy, with its overriding Mosaic concerns, admits kingship but stresses that the king is simply one of the people, "one of your kinsmen" (Deut 18:14–20); the Davidic maintains, as it were, a high view of kingship, but "democratizes" it by raising up into it not only all Israel, but all human beings (Gen 1:26–28; Levenson 1988: 112–16). The Mosaic covenant, with its stress on history and morality, calls Israel to be serious about its covenant life; the covenant is one of human obligation and is precarious. The Davidic

covenant stresses creation and the constancy of God; this is a covenant of divine commitment that assures Israel that even though it sins, God's promises can be trusted (Freedman 1964). As R. E. Brown has said, "… while the Covenants of Divine Commitment gave Israel an undying hope, the Covenant of Human Obligation gave Israel a conscience" (1965: 115).

### F. The Prophets

When the kings failed to rule as true representatives of Yahweh and abused their position and power, the prophets were not intimidated. They addressed squarely the problems they saw. While most of the prophets spoke more out of the Mosaic traditions, the Davidic traditions are not absent. Perhaps the prophet who embodies these the most is Isaiah (Tucker 1985: 332–33, 334). However, in prophetic texts which look to a hope beyond the coming punishment, the Davidic theology occupies a prominent place (e.g.,Isa 8:23–9:6; 11:1–9; Amos 9:11; Mic 5:2–5; Jer 17:24–27; 23:5–6; 30:8–9; 33:14–26). Since the Hebrew word for anointed king is messiah, the Davidic covenant plays a central, even crucial role in the development of OT messianic expectation.

### G. The New Testament

The Davidic covenant is of central importance in the faith of the NT. Jesus preaches the arrival of the kingdom of God, a kingdom marked by justice and peace. In himself, he is the son "descended from David according to the flesh" (Rom 1:3). When Christians acknowledge in faith that Jesus is Christ (= Messiah = anointed king), they are affirming that in Jesus the Davidic covenant has reached its culmination and highest fulfillment.

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MICHAEL D. GUINAN


**DAWN, THE.** See SHAHAR (DEITY).

**DAY OF ATONEMENT.** A day of fasting, self-denial, and rest on the tenth day of the seventh month (Tishri) on which the sanctuary is cleansed of impurities and the Israelites' sins are sent away on the scapegoat.

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A. The Rite in Leviticus 16
1. Purification of the Sanctuary and Sanctums
2. The Scapegoat Rite
3. Self-Denial and Rest
4. Miscellaneous Sacrifical Elements
B. Near Eastern Parallels
C. The Development of the Biblical Rite
D. The Day of Atonement in Later Literature

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**A. The Rite in Leviticus 16**

The Day of Atonement is attested only in the Priestly legislation (= P) of the Pentateuch. P's main discussion is in Leviticus 16, which lists the prescriptions for the occasion. As chap. 16 now stands, the ritual is an annual sanctuary purgation ritual occurring on the tenth day of the seventh month (Lev 16:29, 34). The prescriptions contain two main expiatory or purgative rites: the purification of the sanctuary and some of its sanctums with blood from priestly and communal *ḥaṭṭāʾt* (purgation) sacrifices (vv 3–19), and the dispatch of the scapegoat, which bears the people's sins (vv 20–22). For details pertaining to the following discussion of these rituals, see in particular J. Milgrom (1983: 67–95; *Leviticus* AB on Leviticus 16; Wright 1987: 15–86, 129–59).

**1. Purification of the Sanctuary and Sanctums.** The purification of the sanctuary and sanctums reflects P's carefully conceived system of ritual practice. The cleansing is achieved by a combination of blood sprinkling and daubing in the three main locales of the sanctuary, beginning with the most sacred and ending with the least sacred (see HOLINESS (OT)). The blood manipulations in each locale, while differing in manner and order, appear in pairs with each pair including a sevenfold sprinkling of blood: (a) In the adytum (the most holy room of the tent) blood is sprinkled once on the front of the E side of the *kappōret* (the cover of the ark) and then seven times in front of it (Lev 16:14–16b). (b) The shrine (the outer room of the tent), the text says, was treated similarly (v 16b). This probably presumes the blood manipulation in Lev 4:5–7a, 16–18a, where purgation offering blood is sprinkled toward the veil seven times (apparently not touching it) and then placed on the four horns of the incense altar (cf. Exod 30:10). (c) Outside the tent, blood is placed on the horns of the burnt-offering altar and then sprinkled on it seven times (Lev 16:18–19).

The systematic character of this ritual is made more apparent when the blood manipulations are viewed as discrete acts. The blood of the priests' and the blood of the people's purgation offerings are apparently manipulated separately in the adytum and shrine (Lev 16:14–16), but the bloods of the two animals are presumably mixed before application to the outer altar and are applied together (cf. vv 18–19). The total of each separate act of sprinkling and application to an altar horn is forty-nine, the square of the number seven. The latter number is generally expressive of completeness and wholeness. The seven-times-seven sprinkling thus represents the thoroughness of the rite's effects (see NUMBERS AND COUNTING).

The place where blood is manipulated also reflects the conception of the holiness of the portable sanctuary reflected in other prescriptions. The blood manipulations in the adytum and shrine purify not only the furniture pieces to which they are applied, but also the rooms generally. The sevenfold sprinklings occur in the air space of the rooms and fall on the floor. Outside the tent, however, blood is applied only to the burnt-offering altar and not to the court. This demonstrates the lesser holiness of the sanctuary court vis-à-vis the outer altar and tent and also the higher holiness of the outer altar, which is somewhat less than, but comparable to, that of the other sanctums to which blood is applied—see HOLINESS (OT).

The sanctuary purification rites are part of the larger system of *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifices. The purpose of *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifices generally is to remove impurity from the sanctuary and its sanctums. The purgative effect is clearly stated for the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifices on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:16, 19). The verb *ḥiṭṭēʾ*, a privative *Piʿel* meaning "purify," is used to describe the effect of this sacrifice elsewhere (Exod 29:36; Lev 8:15; Ezek 43:20, 22, 23; 45:18). This verb, in fact, is evidence that the noun *ḥaṭṭāʾt* is to be properly understood as a privative *Piʿel* noun meaning "purgation-offering" rather than "sin-offering" or the like. The blood acts like a detergent and removes the impurity that affects the sanctums. This removal renders the entire offering, including the carcass, impure and it in turn may pollute others (cf. Lev 16:27–28). This impurity, however, does not seem to become effective until after the carcass leaves the sanctuary precincts (*m. Yoma* 6:7; *Zebaḥ.* 12:6). This observation would apply only to *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifices the blood of which is used in the sanctuary or to those which are brought for the benefit of the priests themselves. Only the carcasses of these *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifices are burned outside the camp. The *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifices of individuals, the blood of which is used at only the outer altar, can be eaten by priests inside the sanctuary court (cf. Lev 6:17–20; 10:16–20; see UNCLEAN AND CLEAN (OT)).

The blood of the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* offering is only applied to holy furniture or sprinkled in the rooms of the tent (Exod 29:12; Lev 4:6–7, 17–18, 25, 30, 34; 5:9; 8:15; 9:9; cf. Ezek 43:20; 45:18): it is never applied to a person. The effect the offering has for a person is indirect and is described by the verb *kipper* plus the prepositions *ʿal* or *bĕʿad*. The verb has a general meaning of "appease; propitiate; expiate" and when used with the purgation offering has more the notion of "purify" though the other meanings can be present (e.g., Lev 16:16, 20, 33; cf. vv 18, 27, 32 see UNCLEAN AND CLEAN; Milgrom 1983: 67–84; *Leviticus*; cf. Levine 1974: 55–77; Janowski 1982 *passim*). When the verb and prepositions are used with a person, the expression means the purification or expiation performed on the sanctum is done "on behalf of" that person (e.g., Lev 16:6, 11, 17, 24, 30, 34). P uses the verb *kipper* mainly to describe the effect of purgation offerings. This led to designating this ritual occasion, where these offerings figure so prominently, as *yôm (hak)kippurîm*, "the day of expiation/purification" (Lev 23:27–28 [LXX *hēmera exilasmou*]; 25:9 [LXX: *tē hēmera tou hilasmou*]; cf. Exod 30:10; Num 29:11).

That *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifices purify the sanctums on behalf of persons reveals the human factor in the dynamics of the sacrifice: it is people who cause the impurity in the sanctuary; that is, when they sin or suffer severe impurity, the sanctuary is soiled. People do not have to be in the sanctuary area for this pollution to occur; it occurs aerially. This pollution follows a graded scheme according to the gravity of the impure situation. The more severe the sin or impure situation, the more extensively the sanctuary is polluted. Permissive tolerance of severe impurities and inadvertent sins committed by individuals pollute only the outer altar (cf. Lev 4:22–35). Sins by the community in concert or by the high priest pollute the incense altar and the shrine (4:2–21). Intentional sins and presumably other unrectified sins and impurities pollute the adytum and the *kappōret* and implicitly the ark. This is evidenced by the term *pišʿêhem* 'their crimes' in Lev 16:16a, which seems to refer to brazen, deliberate sins (cf. Num 15:30–31) and which, together with impurities, is the express evil removed from the adytum. In view of this scheme of pollution, the purpose of the Day of Atonement ritual becomes lucid: while throughout the year the impurity of individual or community sins may be purged as they arise (Leviticus 4), once a year a special rite must be performed that cleanses the sanctuary of impurity from deliberate sins and from any other lingering impurity not yet rectified. The implication following from this is that were the sanctuary left sullied by these impurities, God's presence, which manifests itself in the tent, could not dwell there and would leave (cf. Ezekiel 8–11).

The sanctuary purification is a very dangerous chore, so special precautions must be taken. If these were not observed, the officiator would perish (Lev 16:2, 13). An indication of the chapter's concern about the danger of what is holy is the linkage of the chapter with Lev 10:1–7, which recounts the death of two of Aaron's sons who encroached on the sanctuary (cf. 16:1). Part of the reason why Leviticus 16 refers back to this episode is to underscore the care with which sanctuary service must be performed. Since the Day of Atonement purification is the most comprehensive and intensive of all *ḥaṭṭāʾt* rituals, the strictest rules apply. Only the high priest, the holiest human, may enter the adytum. He wears special holy clothing (vv

4, 32), different from what he normally wears. He is to bathe his entire body before officiating (v 4; cf. the Samaritan and LXX). In other cases of sanctuary service, priests only need to wash their hands and feet (Exod 30:18–21; 40:30–32; cf. 2 Chr 4:6). After the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* and scapegoat rites the high priest bathes again, presumably to desanctify after working in the adytum (Lev 16:24). He then changes to his regular high priestly clothing to finish the ritual (vv 23–24). When entering the adytum, he must offer special holy incense, which probably includes an ingredient to cause a thick cloud of smoke to cover the *kappōret* (vv 12–13; cf. v 2). This is to hide the sanctum so that he will not die. On the danger of what is holy, see HOLINESS (OT).

**2. The Scapegoat Rite.** At the beginning of the rite two goats brought by the people were distinguished by lot, one for the Lord and one for Azazel, an attenuated demonic figure living in the wilderness perhaps representing in the present text more a geographical locale than an active supernatural figure (Lev 16:8–10, 26; see AZAZEL). The goat designated for the Lord is offered as a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifice, as seen above; the one designated for Azazel is the scapegoat, which bears the people's sins to the wilderness to Azazel. The scapegoat ritual follows directly after the purgation with *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifices (v 20). To transfer the sins to the goat, the high priest places his two hands on the head of the animal and confesses over it the Israelites' transgressions (v 21; see HANDS, LAYING ON OF (OT)). The goat is then sent out to a remote land (*ʾereṣ gĕzērâ*) in the wilderness (vv 21–22).

Though the purpose of the rite is to banish the people's sins, it is not unrelated to the purgation with *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifices. As already noted, sins and impurity have an intimate connection; the former cause the latter in the sanctuary. Carrying sins to the wilderness removes the cause of impurity to an innocuous locale. The impurity-sin connection is found also in the fact that the scapegoat, though bearing sins, pollutes the person who dispatches it (v 26). The relationship of the scapegoat rite to the foregoing is also seen in its denomination, together with the slaughtered goat, as a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* (v 5). The Priestly legislation has placed both goats into a complementary relationship. Despite this denomination, the scapegoat is not really an offering according to the Priestly context of sacrifice attested elsewhere. It is merely a vehicle for carrying impurity away from the temple and the people's habitation.

**3. Self-Denial and Rest.** The first part of Leviticus 16 deals with prescriptions pertaining to the sanctuary and priesthood; the last part (vv 29–31) deals with the people's obligations. These chiastically arranged prescriptions require self-denial (Heb *ʿinnâ nepeš*) and complete cessation from work. The former requirement mainly denotes fasting, but perhaps also abstention from other physical pleasures such as anointing and sexual intercourse is intended too (cf. Num 30:14; Dan 10:3, 12; 2 Sam 12:16–20; *m. Yoma* 8:1; Heb 9:10). The requirement of complete rest is found only elsewhere with the Sabbath. Other holidays that have prescriptions of rest only require cessation of laborious work (see HOLINESS (OT)). While the people have certain obligations on this day, there is no requirement in any of the legislation that they appear at the sanctuary. Presumably they remain at their homes abstaining from work and pleasures while the priesthood purifies the sanctuary. The rules for fasting and rest are repeated in 23:26–32; Num 29:7 (see FAST, FASTING).

**4. Miscellaneous Sacrificial Elements.** After the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* and scapegoat rites the high priest changes his clothes and offers a burnt offering for the priestly household and one for the people (Lev 16:24b, cf. vv 3, 5). If the text indicates the actual order of the rite, the fat pieces of the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifices are then burned on the altar (v 25; cf. the rule in *m. Zebaḥ.*10:2) and the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* carcasses are taken outside the camp and burned (v 27). The Mishnah keeps these particular acts in the order listed in the Bible (*m. Yoma* 6:6–7; *m. Zebaḥ.*10:2), but the *Temple Scroll* puts them between the blood rites in the sanctuary and the scapegoat rite (11QTemple 26:6–10; 27:3–5). Numbers 29:8–11 lists other offerings to be brought on this holiday: a bull, ram, and seven one-year-old lambs for burnt offerings with their accompanying cereal offerings, a goat for a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* in addition to the other *ḥaṭṭāʾt* animals, plus the daily burnt offering with its accompanying cereal offerings and libations. One controversy growing out of these prescriptions is whether the burnt-offering ram prescribed in this list is the same as the ram of the people in Lev 16:5 or whether it is in addition to it (see 11QTemple 25:12–16; Philo *Leg All* I.187–88; Josephus *Ant* 3.10.3 §§240–43; *Sipra,* Aḥare Mot, Par. 2:2; *b. Yoma* 70b). Lev 16:25b ascribes to the burnt offerings of the

people and priests an expiatory function (cf. Lev 1:4). This may implicitly apply to the extra burnt offerings listed in Numbers 29 as well. Thus all of the animal offerings on the day serve the general purpose of expiation and purification.

**B. Near Eastern Parallels**

Purification and elimination rites similar to those in the biblical Day of Atonement ritual are well attested in the religious literature of the ANE. For a full discussion, see Wright (1987: 31–74 and *passim*).

Parallels to the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* ritual include the purification of the cella of the god Nabû on the fifth day of the Babylonian New Year Festival (the *akītu* festival; see Wright 1987: 62–65). A ram is decapitated and its carcass is wiped on the temple to remove the impurity. The wiping is described with the verb *kuppuru*, cognate with Heb *kipper*. The ram carcass and its head are then discarded in the river. This disposal removes the impurity that has been collected in the carcass of the ram. Those who discard the carcass and head are apparently impure; they may not enter the city Babylon until Nabû leaves. The Hittite ritual of Ulippi is more similar to the biblical *ḥaṭṭāʾt* rite since it uses blood as a ritual detergent. When a new temple is being purified and dedicated for a god, the last rite performed is slaughtering a sheep and smearing its blood on the god's statue, the wall of the edifice, and cultic utensils. The text explicitly says this application renders the god and its temple pure. The sheep is then burned up (perhaps in the temple building); it is not to be eaten (Kronasser 1963: 30–33, iv 35–41). The similarities to the biblical *ḥaṭṭāʾt* are patent, particularly with respect to the animal the blood of which is used inside the sanctuary and which cannot be eaten by the priests: animals, sometimes their blood, are used to remove impurity from a sanctuary. The carcasses become impure and must be discarded; they cannot be eaten.

Rites similar to the scapegoat include the Hittite rituals of Huwarlu and Ambazzi (Wright 1987: 57–60). These are the closest examples to the biblical scapegoat rite in that they use live animals as bearers of the evil and lack the motif of substitution, where the carrier of evil suffers in place of the human sufferers. Substitution is lacking in the biblical scapegoat rite. In the Huwarlu ritual, a dog is waved over the king and queen and inside the palace. The "old woman" officiator recites an incantation expressing the hope that the dog will carry away evil and utters a "magical word," ending with the words: "Wherever the gods have designated it, there let him [the dog] carry it [the evil]." The live dog is then taken away and apparently let loose. In the Ambazzi ritual the woman officiator wraps tin on a bowstring and then puts the string on the right hand and feet of those suffering evil. She then removes the string and puts it on a mouse with the request: "Let this mouse take it [the evil] to the high mountains, the deep valleys (and) the distant ways." The god Alawaimi is called on to drive the mouse away. Mesopotamian literature does not have a clear example where a live animal bears evil away from sufferers, but it does have elimination rituals that are otherwise conceptually similar to the biblical scapegoat ritual. A good example is from the Utukkī Lemnūti series (Wright 1987: 65–67). Ea instructs Marduk, his son, how to cure a person plagued by demons and accompanying diseases. Marduk is to bring a goat into some sort of contact with the patient. An incantation adjures the evil to leave the man and go to the underworld. The skin of the goat is removed from the man and thrown into the street, a place where polluted items are often discarded. In the Shurpu ritual series (Wright 1987: 68–69) Marduk, again, is commanded to take loaves of bread on a skewer and wipe with it a patient who has been seized by a "curse." The patient is also to spit on the skewer. After an incantation the materials are taken out to the open country and placed near a bush. A request follows for the Lady of the Open Country and Plain to receive the patient's curse and that his illness be transferred to the "vermin of the ground." Finally, a ritual similar to the scapegoat may be attested in Ugaritic literature. A model lung contains a list of sacrifices ending with a ritual in which, if the translation of the crucial words is correct, a goat apparently carrying evil connected with an attack on Ugarit or a plague is driven into a remote locale (*KTU* 1.127: 29–31; Aartun 1976; 1980: 91–92; Janowski 1982: 214–15; Loretz 1985: 35–49; cf. Dietrich and Loretz 1969: 171–72; Tarragon 1980: 41).

**C. The Development of the Biblical Rite**

Consideration of these extrabiblical rituals, of other elimination rites in the Bible, and of literary- and tradition-critical evidence from biblical passages dealing with the Day of Atonement has generated different explanations of the development of the Day of Atonement prescriptions. The evidence is

susceptible to various interpretations depending upon one's methodological or theoretical framework and emphasis. A speculative reconstruction based on recent scholarship is offered here (see Milgrom *Leviticus* AB; Knohl 1987: 86–92; Wright 1987: 16–30, 72–74, 78–80; Aartun 1980).

The analysis begins with the present text of Leviticus 16 and moves backwards. This chapter is clearly a composite work. Most critics argue that vv 29–34a are an addition to the first part of the chapter. Reading the first part of the chapter without these verses has led to the generally accepted conclusion that the fixed date of the rite, the tenth day of the seventh month, did not apply originally. Either the ritual was performed annually on another date, or it was an emergency purification rite performed when necessary. The latter interpretation is suggested by the connection of Leviticus 16 with Leviticus 10 (cf. 16:1). Aaron's two sons had just polluted the sanctuary by their encroachment; hence it required immediate purification. God's wrath was aroused; and presumably to prevent further destruction, purification of the sanctuary was necessary. Emergency appeasement rites for arresting divine wrath are not unknown to the Priestly literature (Num 17:9–15). It is likely that the biblical designation *yôm (hak)kippurîm* 'day of expiation,' which points to a particular fixed occasion, arose after the fixing of the date.

Leviticus 23:26–32 and Num 29:7–11, which reflect the text of Leviticus 16 that contains vv 29–34a, are probably composite themselves. The holiday they name for the tenth day of the seventh month may have originally not included the expiation ritual in Lev 16:1–28. Later the ritual was associated with this date because the day was part of—perhaps the last day of—the fall new year period, which began on the first day of the seventh month (cf. Lev 23:23–25; Num 29:1–6; the cultic calendar elsewhere lists multiday holidays where the first and last days are more important than intervening days). Leviticus 25:9 clearly shows the tenth day with the Day of Atonement to be connected with the new year ceremonial (cf. Ezek 40:1). The new year was a proper occasion for sanctuary purification. Ezekiel prescribes a threefold sanctuary purification for the first and seventh day of the first month in the spring, another new year in Israel (Ezek 45:18–20; perhaps this is a ritual to balance the Day of Atonement rite in the seventh month, which he does not explicitly mention; cf. the LXX on v 20). Recall also the purification of Nabû's cella in the Babylonian new year rite, noted above.

While it may be argued on the basis of separating Lev 16:29–34a from the rest of the chapter that self-affliction which includes fasting was not originally associated with the ritual, fasting is often associated with crises elsewhere in the Bible (Judg 20:26; 1 Sam 7:6; 14:24; Joel 1:14; Esth 4:3; Ezra 8:21–23; etc.). It may be that an original day of abstention on the tenth day of the seventh month helped attract the purification rite to it since it too was accompanied by self-denial. As for cessation from work, this may have been originally associated with an emergency rite, but it seems its specific formulation derives from the rite's insertion into the fixed cultic calendar.

Literary-critical criteria do not give hints about the development of Lev 16:1–28 adequate to lead to an understanding of the character of the ritual before its attachment to the fixed fall date. It would seem that various ritual elements were added together, perhaps over time, to arrive at the rite described in these verses. To speculate about the development requires comparison of ritual practices in other places of the priestly writings. The discussion here is limited to the development of *ḥaṭṭā᾽t* and scapegoat rites. Since these two rites form discrete ceremonies, one may surmise that they existed independently and were joined together to form the present ritual. This is supported by the difference in evils they remove (Lev 16:16, 19, 21–22; impurity versus sins) and by the existence elsewhere in P of *ḥaṭṭā᾽t* sacrifices without a scapegoat element. But a comparison with the rite for purification from *sāra᾽at* (so-called leprosy; see LEPROSY) suggests a different development (cf. Lev 14:2–7, 48–53). In this rite two animals—birds—are used to purify a person or a house. One bird is killed to obtain blood to serve as a ritual detergent; the other bird carries away the impurity that the blood removes. This may suggest that what lies behind Lev 16:1–28 is a ritual where two animals, perhaps the two goats, were used, one providing blood for purification and the second carrying away the evil the blood of the first animal had removed. To compose the original stage of the text such a two-goat rite would have been combined with a *ḥaṭṭā᾽t* bull rite which consequently led to designating the two-goat rite a *ḥaṭṭā᾽t* offering (in contrast, the *sāra᾽at* bird rite was never drawn into the *ḥaṭṭā᾽t* system). The bull would have been designated for the benefit of the priests

and the goat for that of the people. The portion of the rite where blood is manipulated in the sanctuary was given the purpose of removing impurity in accord with the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* system. The release of the goat was given the goal of removing sins, the cause of impurities.

What the two-goat rite may have been like prior to its adoption as a sanctuary cleansing rite can only be guessed. The nonbiblical rituals give some hints. The two-goat rite may not have been connected with a sanctuary at all but with purification of individuals or their houses or other property, like the Hittite and Ambazzi rituals. The evils removed might have been much more like those in nonbiblical rites: sorcery, slander, demonic attack, sickness, and so forth, rather than impurity in the priestly sense. The goat sent out to the wilderness could have functioned merely as a carrier of the evil or, as other Near Eastern rituals show, an offering to an offending demon. The obscure figure Azazel could have been an original element in the ritual actively functioning as a custodian of evil or as an attacking demon needing appeasement (see AZAZEL).

Some have argued that the scapegoat element of the ritual derives from a N Syrian (Hittite-Hurrian) origin (Kümmel 1968: 318; Janowski 1982: 213–15; Loretz 1985: 40–41). From there it spread to Ugarit (hence *KTU* 1.127) and Canaan (hence Leviticus 16) and westward to Greece (appearing in pharmakos rituals; cf. Burkert 1979: 39–77). Other biblical ritual elements seem to have a N Syrian origin or connections with Hittite ritual practice, for example, the burnt offering (see Kümmel 1967: 23–24) and the gesture of hand placement (see HANDS, LAYING ON OF (OT)). Though caution must be used in determining genetic relationships (see Moyer 1983: 19–21, 37–38), there is good reason for looking into Hittite-Hurrian ritual for some of the influences upon Israelite ritual practice (cf. Weinfeld 1983: 102–3).

**D. The Day of Atonement in Later Literature**

Because the Day of Atonement embodies the central concerns of priestly religion and sacrificial worship, its treatment and reflexes in postbiblical literature are extensive. For example, the Mishnah devotes an entire tractate (*Yoma,* lit. ‘The Day’) to the ceremony and prescriptions. Additional details, perhaps reflecting Second Temple practice, are found about the priests’ and people’s roles and how the ceremony is to be precisely performed. The *Temple Scroll* (11QTemple 25:10–27:10) reworks and conflates many of the rules found in different places of the Pentateuch into a succinct new law written in the tone of biblical prescription. By its rearrangement of text and with careful additions, it solves for its readers some of the difficulties of the biblical text and, as it seems, engages in a polemic with ritual practice at Jerusalem later reflected in rabbinic documents. The NT calls the day “The Fast” (*hē nēsteia,* Acts 27:9). The main reflex of the ritual is in Hebrews, where the writer metaphorically describes Jesus’ work of salvation as a Day of Atonement ceremony performed in heaven (cf. Hebrews 6–9). Jesus is the high priest of the heavenly sanctuary, who entered into the adytum with his own blood to achieve eternal redemption for the people. See also, for example, Sir 50:5–21; *Jub.* 5:17–18; 34:18–19; *Ps-Philo* 13:6; Philo *Leg All* II.52, 55–56; *Spec Leg* I.72, 186–88; 2.195.

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**DAY OF CHRIST.** Use of the term "Day of Christ," together with synonymous and related expressions in the NT, indicates that the early Christian communities expected that Jesus would soon return as Lord or Christ (= Messiah). His return would mark the beginning of the time or day of judgment, after which the faithful would inherit the kingdom of God. Most scholars maintain that Jesus himself expected to come again either as the Christ or as the supernatural Son of Man at the time of the coming of the kingdom of God. Some scholars urge that Jesus proclaimed the kingdom of God had already come or been "realized" in connection with his own ministry or activity and that he did not expect any significant future eschatological occurrences. Others propose that it was the early Church that first came to believe that some eschatological events had already been realized in connection with Jesus' ministry or his death and resurrection. The majority of scholars agree that the early Christian communities looked for Jesus' return as the Christ or Lord in the (then) near future.

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A. The Term Itself
B. Related Expressions in Pauline Writings and Hebrews
1. The Day of the Lord
2. That Day
3. The Day; the Day of Judgment
C. Related Expressions in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts
D. Expressions in the Fourth Gospel, Catholic Epistles, and Revelation
E. Modern Scholarly Opinion
F. Summary

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### A. The Term Itself

The term "day of Christ" occurs only twice in the NT: in Phil 1:10 and 2:16. Mowinckel (1956: 302–4) suggests that it derived from certain intertestamental terms, most notably, "the day of the Messiah." Similar and evidently synonymous expressions appear elsewhere in Paul's letters: "the day of Jesus Christ" (Phil 1:6); "the Day of our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Cor 1:8); and "the day of the Lord Jesus" (1 Cor 5:5; 2 Cor 1:14). These passages refer to a future time when, Paul hoped, the recipients of his letters would be found pure and blameless. Implicitly, Paul expected the day of Christ to be the time when Christ would return and Christians (if not the whole world) would be judged. In the meantime he urged his readers to live faithfully and righteously so that he might be proud of them and, implicitly, so that they would be found acceptable on that day and inherit the kingdom of God or enter the heavenly commonwealth.

### B. Related Expressions in Pauline Writings and Hebrews

The same pattern of understanding is borne out in other Pauline passages containing variations on the term "day of Christ": "the day of the Lord," also "that day," simply "the day," and "the day of judgment." The names Christ or Jesus do not appear in these expressions, but frequently the contexts indicate that Paul was thinking of Christ's or Jesus' coming on the "day" referred to. Paul's letters contain numerous indications that he hoped and expected that Christ would come during his own lifetime and the lifetime of

at least some to whom he was writing, e.g., 1 Cor 15:50–52; 16:22b; Phil 3:20–21; 1 Thess 2:19; 3:13; 4:13–17; 5:23.

**1. The Day of the Lord.** In three of the passages cited above (section A), Paul refers to Jesus as "the Lord" or "our lord" (Gk *kurios*). In the other two instances where Paul (or a secondary Pauline writer) refers simply to "the day of the Lord" (1 Thess 5:2; 2 Thess 2:2), the preceding verses in each context indicate the writer was thinking of the coming of Jesus (1 Thess 4:13–17; 2 Thess 2:1). The saying in 1 Thess 5:2 compares the day of the Lord to the coming of a "thief in the night," pointing to its sudden and unexpected arrival and also to the destructive consequences for those unprepared for it (1 Thess 5:3–4). The saying parallels particularly the Matthean version of Jesus' parable about the coming of the Son of Man and the importance of readiness (Matt 24:42–44 = Luke 12:39–40). The comparison of the coming of the day or of Jesus to that of a "thief in the night" reverberates in later NT writings as well (2 Pet 3:10; Rev 3:3; 16:15). The writer of 2 Thess 2:2 insists that this "day of the Lord" has not yet come, contrary to the beliefs of some excited people. All these Pauline passages refer to the future coming of this day, understood as within the lifetime of some of those to whom he was writing.

**2. That Day.** When Paul writes about "that day," he evidently means the day of the Lord, i.e., the day of Christ. In 1 Thess 5:4 "that day" clearly refers back to the future and sudden arrival of the "day of the Lord" in 5:2. Similarly, references to "that day" in 2 Thess 1:10 and 2:3 relate back to earlier passages that look for the coming of the Lord Jesus (2 Thess 1:7–9; 2:1–2). These passages in 2 Thessalonians are distinctive: one anticipates that the coming of the Lord Jesus is to be accompanied by "mighty angels in flaming fire, inflicting vengeance" on nonbelievers and the disobedient (2 Thess 1:7–8); the other cautions that before "that day" can come, "the rebellion" and "the man of lawlessness" must come first (2:3–4; cf. 1 John 2:18). The author of 2 Timothy also uses the term "that day" to designate the future time when Christians who are found worthy will be recompensed: 2 Tim 1:12, 18; 4:8. The last of these passages identifies the Lord (Gk *kurios*) as the one who will be "the righteous judge" on that day; an earlier passage (4:1) indicates that this judge would be "Christ Jesus."

**3. The Day; the Day of Judgment.** Twice Paul uses the term "the day," each time with reference to the expected time of judgment (Rom 2:16; 1 Cor 3:13). The former passage, in contrast to 2 Tim 4:8, names "Christ Jesus" as the *agent* at the judgment, but God as the judge. In the latter, Paul does not mention a judge but says that "the day" itself will disclose "each man's work." Rom 2:5 looks for "the day of wrath," the time of God's judgment. Other verses in the same context indicate that Paul visualizes God as the one who will judge (Rom 2:2–13). The same expectation evidently is expressed in Heb 10:25, 30–31.

**C. Related Expressions in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts**

The Synoptic Gospels do not employ the expressions "day of Christ," or "day of the Lord Jesus," or "day of the Lord," but contain many passages that suggest related meanings. In some, Jesus refers to his own future activity "on that day," and he speaks of the "day(s) of the Son of Man," and of "the day" or "that day" when the kingdom of God or the central figure in a parable about the kingdom of God would come. Jesus refers to his own future activity in two Matthean passages, one of which is paralleled in Mark. In Matt 7:22 he says that "on that day" many will tell *him* that they have invoked his name, and, implicitly, that they desire to enter the kingdom. Here Jesus expects to be judge in the day of judgment. In Matt 26:29 (= Mark 14:25), "that day" seems to refer to that time when new conditions of life will dawn in the future kingdom of God; then, Jesus tells his followers, he will again drink wine, this time in the kingdom of God. Various other synoptic sayings about "the day" or "that day" anticipate either the future coming of the kingdom of God or future conditions there: Matt 25:13 (see Matt 25:1); Luke 21:34 (see Luke 21:31; cf. Luke 17:20–31).

Some synoptic passages refer to "the day" (or "days") in which the Son of Man will come. The expression "that day" in Matt 24:36 = Mark 13:32 clearly refers to the coming of the Son of Man (see Matt 24:26–33; Mark 13:24–29). The coming of the Son of Man is contrasted here with the premature and false claims to have found "the Christ" (Matt 24:23–25 = Mark 13:21–23). Moreover, a further saying in this context appears to identify the expected Son of Man as "your Lord" (Matt 24:42–44). These passages imply that the coming of the Son of Man on "that day" will mark the time of judgment. (Cf. Matt 25:31–

46, which portrays the Son of Man as judge [and "king"] but does not mention "day.") The same understanding is expressed in several Lukan passages concerning the future appearance of the Son of Man, most notably, Luke 17:22–35; 21:34–36. See references to "the day(s)" or "that day" in Luke 17:22, 24, 26, 30, 31; 21:34; cf. "that night" in 17:34.

In Acts 17:31 Luke writes that Paul warned the Athenians that God would judge the world by "a man" on "a day" that God had fixed. Luke's Paul identifies this "man" as the one God had raised from the dead—necessarily meaning Jesus. This usage may suggest cognizance of Paul's characterization of the risen Jesus as "the last man," and "the man of heaven" (1 Cor 15:45–49). It may also represent a slight modification of the synoptic traditions that characterize the coming judge as the Son of Man.

**D. Expressions in the Fourth Gospel, Catholic Epistles, and Revelation**

John's gospel identifies Jesus as the Christ, but does not use the expression "day of Christ." In several Johannine passages, however, Jesus refers to his actions on a future "day." A series of verses in John 6 promise that Jesus will raise certain persons "at the last day" (John 6:39, 40, 44, 54; cf. 11:24; 12:48). The Johannine Jesus also promises to return to and be with his followers in or on "that day": John 14:18–20; 16:22–23, 26. In John 8:56 Jesus speaks of "my day," apparently referring to his current presence among his contemporaries.

The catholic letters and Revelation do not refer to the "day of Christ" specifically, but nearly all appear to look for Jesus' return in the near future, using various similar phrases to express this. James 5:7–9 promises that the coming of the Lord is near, indeed, that the "judge" is about to appear. 1 Peter looks for the coming "day of visitation" (2:12), and warns that Christ (or God) is "ready to judge the living and the dead" (4:5), and that "the end of all things is at hand" (4:7). 2 Peter is cognizant of the delay of the Parousia hitherto (3:3–9), but hints that "the day of the Lord" might now come like a thief at any time (3:10). The writer uses two other related terms to denote this future time: "the day of God" (2 Pet 3:12) and "the day of eternity" (3:18). 1 John urges contemporaries to believe that their time is the "last hour" (2:18) of the old world and to look for the appearing of God (3:2) and the "day of judgment" (4:17). The author of Jude anticipates "the judgment of the great day" and considered his own days to bear the marks of "the last time" (vv 17–19).

The book of Revelation also refers to "the great day"—"the great day of God the Almighty" (Rev 16:14). Implicitly, this is also the day when Jesus will come; the next verse contains the parenthetical commentary, "Lo, I am coming like a thief!" Jesus seems to be the speaker here, as in much of Revelation, through "his angel" (see Rev 1:1; 22:16). Throughout, the author of Revelation assured his late 1st century readers that Jesus was coming soon. See also Rev 6:17, which refers to the coming great day of wrath. Like the writers of 1 and 2 Peter, the writer of Revelation evidently expected that both Jesus and God would soon be revealed. Like Paul (1 Cor 16:22b), the author of Revelation concludes with a prayer for Jesus' coming as Lord (Rev 22:20b); evidently, prayer for Jesus' coming was replacing the earlier petition for the coming of the kingdom of God (Matt 6:10; Luke 11:2).

**E. Modern Scholarly Opinion**

Traditional Christianity has always maintained that Jesus himself expected to return at *some* future time as the Christ or Son of Man. Near the beginning of the 20th century, the eschatological school represented by Weiss (1985: 114–29) and Schweitzer (1985) precipitated a major crisis in NT theology by proposing that the biblical evidence showed that Jesus expected to return with the coming of the kingdom of God—a world-transforming, supernatural event—in the then *near* future. But he did not so return, nor did the kingdom of God come. Was Jesus therefore mistaken? Rather than so conclude, a few interpreters undertook to contend that Jesus believed that all or virtually all of the anticipated eschatological events had *already* occurred or been "realized" somehow in connection with his own appearance and ministry. Dodd (1961) is the most notable proponent of this idea; see also Robinson (1957) and Perrin (1976). "Realized eschatology" has been severely criticized, however, most recently by Sullivan (1988). Several interpreters tilt strongly in the direction of realized eschatology, maintaining that in some—though not very significant—way, Jesus also anticipated a future fulfillment or "consummation" of some kind (e.g., Perrin [1963: 185–202; 1976: 194–204] and Käsemann [1969]). The great majority of NT scholars have

subscribed to a mediating position, affirming that Jesus understood both that he had already come as Messiah (and that the kingdom of God had thereby come also), *and* that he and the kingdom would come again in the near, or possibly more remote future. Various mediating positions are reviewed in Hiers (1970: 15–20) and Epp (1987: 35–52).

Many interpreters acknowledge indications in the gospels that Jesus recognized certain occurrences as signs that the kingdom of God or other eschatological phenomena—including his own appearance as the Christ—had begun to be manifested. Achtemeier (1983) has proposed that these texts largely derive from the Christian community's eventual efforts to reconcile the earlier, imminent expectation with the fact that history continued, i.e., that the community modified or added texts to show that some of these expectations *had* been fulfilled. Allison (1985), on the other hand, contends that such modifications or additions were based upon the disciples' taking seriously Jesus' belief that the kingdom of God would come after he had completed his mission in Jerusalem; thus the disciples *perceived* certain events associated with Jesus' death and resurrection as instances of realized eschatology.

In his later work, Schweitzer (1968: 103–8; 148–53) continued to insist that Jesus had expected the whole pattern of eschatological events to occur in the (then) near future. A number of interpreters agree, e.g., Koch (1972), Hiers (1981), Allison (1985). See Sullivan (1988: 61, n. 42). Some scholars, however, urge that while Jesus expected to come again in the future, this expectation can readily be extended to the more distant future and so remain a vital hope for latter-day believers. Thus Cullmann (1964: 81–93) proposes that while Jesus expected the Parousia to occur within the generation of his contemporaries, that "error in perspective" was "corrected" within the NT itself (2 Pet 3:8) and was of little theological importance in the NT Church in view of the revelation that had already occurred in Christ. Buzzard (1988: 13–62) urges that Jesus' message of the future coming of the Messiah can and should be central to the faith of modern Christianity. Sauer's pastorally oriented study (1981: 58–73) likewise implies that Jesus' and the NT churches' Parousia expectation can be detached from their imminent expectation and so rendered valid and vital for contemporary Christian faith. See also De Haan (1944). These last two writers utilize the popular nonbiblical term "the Rapture" to characterize the future resurrection and elevation of the faithful into the heavens. (Cf. 1 Thess 4:13–17.) Conzelmann (1961: 98–136) urges that Luke intended to handle the problem of the delay of the Parousia by showing that Jesus understood that its occurrence was "still far away." Mattill (1979) effectively challenges Conzelmann's contention. It appears more likely that Luke was attempting to explain why the Parousia had not yet occurred and was not intending to show that it would not occur until some remote future time. See Hiers (1973).

Modern scholars agree that the early churches expected Jesus to come or be revealed as the Christ or Son of Man. Tödt (1965) suggests that whereas Jesus himself had proclaimed that those who followed him and his teaching would be vindicated by the supernatural Son of Man—who was, implicitly, someone other than himself—the presynoptic Christian communities concluded, after Easter, that Jesus was the one who would come as Son of Man. Other interpreters emphasize the Christian communities' experience or understanding that salvation had already occurred through Jesus' incarnation or death and resurrection and imply that the NT churches' future expectations were or are of little consequence. Thus hold Schmithals (1975: 151–71) and, of course, Rudolf Bultmann. Bultmann proposed that the future expectations of both Jesus and the early communities should be understood to refer to the ever-recurring "crisis of decision" confronting believers regarding the "meaning of existence." Others consider the NT churches' hope for the future as central to both early and subsequent Christian faith. Thus holds Minear (1954, 1981); but see Käsemann's (1964) disparaging treatment of 2 Peter.

**F. Summary**

Nearly all NT writers looked for the "day of Christ" or its equivalent in the near future. Then Jesus would return as Son of Man or Messiah, and as Lord. He, or God, would judge the living and the dead; and those found righteous would enter into the kingdom of God or era and realm of transformed existence. Modern scholars disagree as to whether Jesus himself expected to come again at some future time. Nearly all agree, however, that the early Christian communities expected Jesus to come or be revealed in the near future. Some suggest that this expectation has little place in contemporary faith and

that the decisive events have already occurred. Others consider this future expectation the central feature of Christian hope.

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**DAY OF JUDGMENT.** Generally this term refers to that time in the future when God or some divinely authorized agent would intervene in history, condemning the unrighteous and vindicating the faithful and obedient. In earlier biblical and intertestamental texts, it is usually nations which will be judged, while in later, particularly NT texts, more attention is devoted to the prospective judgment of individuals. Modern scholars have tended to avoid or neglect this topic. Synonymous terms, appearing mainly in popular literature, include the "great" or "last" judgment. Although a few OT formulations approximate it (e.g., Isa 34:8; Jer 51:52; Mal 3:5–6), the term "day of judgment" does not appear in the OT as such. It does occur several times in the OT Apocrypha (e.g., 2 Esdr 7:38, 102, 104, 113; 12:34; Jdt 16:17) and Pseudepigrapha (e.g., *1 En.* 22:11; *T. Levi* 3:2–3) and seven or eight times in the NT (Matt 10:15; 11:22, 24; 12:36; Mark 6:11 [variant reading]; 2 Pet 2:9; 3:7; 1 John 4:17; cf. 2 Tim 4:8; Heb 10:25–27; Jude 6). In addition, the noun "judgment" and various forms of the verb "to judge" occur in numerous OT, intertestamental, and NT contexts with substantially similar meanings.

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A. (OT) and Intertestamental Usages
    1. Agents of Judgment
    2. Recipients of Judgment
B. NT Usages
    1. Agents of Judgment

2. Recipients of Judgment
3. Time of the Judgment

C. Modern Scholarly Opinion

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**A. OTand Intertestamental Usages**

Often, expressions like "that day" refer to the future time when God or Yahweh would act in judgment against foreign nations, Israel, Judah, or the Jewish people (see DAY OF THE LORD). A similar meaning is indicated frequently, even though no particular terms are used, in, e.g., Hos 11:5–7; 13:7–16; Amos 8:2–3; 9:1–4; Dan 12:1–3. A few instances relate to Yahweh's past acts of judgment against Israel: Ezek 20:36; 23:10; 36:19. Hosea 5:11–12 seems to say that Ephraim was then being judged; but the context (vv 9, 14) points to future punishment. In most cases references to Yahweh's judging or judgment look to the future. A few texts state that—from the speaker's or writer's standpoint—judgment would take place soon, e.g., Ezek 7:3, 8. In intertestamental apocalyptic and NT writings it is generally understood that the day of judgment will mark the transition between the present age and the age to come. See esp. 2 Esdr 7:113–14; *2 En.* 65:6–11; Matt 25:31–46.

**1. Agents of Judgment.** Usually Yahweh is represented as the one who will do the judging, e.g., Pss 58:11; 96:10, 13; Eccl 11:9; 12:14; Isa 33:22; Ezek 11:8–11; Mal 3:5. Pseudepigraphic texts also commonly expect God to be the judge, e.g., *T. Benj.* 10:8–10; *1 En.* 91:7, but sometimes name other figures in this connection, e.g., "the Son of Man" or "Elect One" (*1 En.* 45–55), a "new priest" (*T. Levi* 18:2), "the Son of God" (*Apoc. El.* 5:30–31), or Christ (*L.A.E.* 51:9). See also citations in *OTP* 2: 971. Some passages in Ezekiel refer to the prophet himself ("Son of Man") as the one who will judge by declaring YHWH's word against Israel, e.g., Ezek 20:4; 22:2. Isaiah 11:1–4 suggests that a Davidic messiah will judge. In Daniel's vision "the court" would "sit in judgment" (Dan 7:10, 26). Perhaps the seer was thinking of the "heavenly council" (see, e.g., Job 1:6–12; Tob 3:16–17).

**2. Recipients of Judgment.** Prophetic oracles against foreign nations often speak of Yahweh's pending judgment against other nations, e.g., against the Ammonites (Ezek 21:28–30), Babylon (Jer 51:9, 52), Edom (Isa 34:5; Ezek 35:11), Egypt (Ezek 30:14, 19), and Moab (Jer 48:21–25). Joel 3:2, 11–12, and Jdt 16:17 refer to Yahweh's judgment against all nations—at least all that have oppressed Israel (cf. Zech 14:2–3, 12). Ezekiel expected Yahweh to bring the quasi-cosmic Gog to judgment: Ezek 38:21–22. Daniel 7:26 promised, in a likely reference to Antiochus Epiphanes, that the last of the beast's horns, i.e., gentile kings, would be judged. Most inclusively, Isa 66:16 and Jer 25:31 look for Yahweh's judgment against "all flesh." A few oracles declare that Yahweh ultimately will judge *for* gentile nations: for Moab (Jer 48:47; cf. Isa 16:4–5), for other nations (Jer 12:14–15; 46:26; 49:6, 39), or for "many" nations (Isa 2:4 = Mic 4:3; cf. Isa 19:19–25).

Most frequently, the prophetic oracles of judgment are directed against the nations Israel or Judah. Such oracles are generally said to characterize classical prophetism, which condemned these nations for breaking their covenant with Yahweh by turning to other gods and failing to do justice and mercy in dealing with the poor, fatherless, widowed, and oppressed. Such oracles appear typically in Hosea (e.g., 5:11–12; 6:5), Amos (7:4; 8:4–14), Isaiah (1:2–9; 5:1–30), Micah (2:1–4; 3:9–12), Jeremiah (2:33–35; 5:1–9), and Ezekiel (7:2–27; 24:3–14).

Individual Judahites or Jews will be judged for their own offenses. Interpreters commonly say that the idea of individual accountability (sometimes misleadingly designated "individualism") first appeared in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Several oracles to this effect are found in their writings, e.g., Jer 17:5–11; 31:29–30; Ezek 18:1–32; 33:17–20. Jeremiah pronounced Yahweh's judgment against particular individuals or groups: e.g., Jer 22:13–19; 23:1–2, 9–40; 28:15–16. Yet Amos and Hosea earlier had singled out certain groups or individuals for special punishment, e.g., Amos 4:1–3; 6:4–7; 7:17; Hos 4:4–6; 5:1. Isaiah, too, proclaimed Yahweh's judgment against individuals for their particular offenses, e.g., 1:28; 3:10–11, 13–15, 16–26; 10:1–4.

Postexilic and intertestamental traditions focus almost exclusively on the future judgment of individuals. The Wisdom of Solomon differs from traditional wisdom (which held that the righteous are

rewarded and the wicked punished in this life) by promising that the righteous who die will live forever with God, while the ungodly perish without hope (Wis 3:1–5:23). Isaiah 66:24 looks for the perpetual torment of the wicked, who will be subjected to fire and worm(s); cf. Jdt 16:17. The prospect of perpetual torment is also held before the wicked in *4 Maccabees* (e.g., 9:8–9; 12:12). Several passages in *4 Maccabees* anticipate that the righteous dead, at least those martyred for keeping Jewish tradition, will immediately enjoy immortality with God or the patriarchs (e.g., 17:12; 18:23). See also *3 En.* 43:1–3; 44:7; and 1QS 3:13–4:26. In *T. Ab.* (recension A) the souls of the dead are to be judged 3 times before entering their final places of reward or punishment.

Various biblical and intertestamental apocalyptic texts link future judgment with the resurrection of the dead. In some cases judgment is not mentioned, but it is implicit in the respective destinies to be accorded the righteous and the wicked. Thus, according to Dan 12:2, some of the dead will be raised to everlasting life, but others to "shame and everlasting contempt." See also 2 Macc 7:9, 14, 23; 12:44; 14:46, which look for resurrection to eternal life but do not mention intervening judgment. 2 Esdras and *1 Enoch*, on the other hand, apparently expected a time of judgment to follow the resurrection of the dead: 2 Esdr 7:32–44; *1 En.* 51:1–5 (but see *1 En.* 22:2–13, which refers to the future judgment of the "spirits of the souls of the dead").

According to *T. Levi* 3:3 Belial and "the spirits of deceit" or "error" also are to be punished on the day of judgment. Cf. *T. Levi* 18:12, which states that the "new priest" will "bind" Belial and give his followers power to "trample on" evil or wicked spirits. Apostate angels would be judged also, e.g., *1 En.* 90:24–27; *2 En.* 7:1–2.

**B. NT Usages**

In the NT the day or time of judgment is generally associated with the future coming or Parousia of the Son of Man, the resurrection of the dead, and entrance into the kingdom of God.

**1. Agents of Judgment.** Several synoptic passages suggest that the coming Son of Man will be judge, e.g., Mark 13:26–27; Matt 25:31–46; Luke 21:36. Later NT traditions frequently name Jesus Christ as the one who will judge, e.g., Acts 10:42; 17:31; 2 Cor 5:10; 2 Tim 4:1. The coming of Jesus as judge is sometimes described as "the Day of Christ" or "the Day of the Lord," e.g., Phil 1:10; 1 Thess 5:2. See DAY OF CHRIST. Certain texts assign "the Twelve" or "the saints" (faithful Christians) a share in the task of judging "Israel" (Matt 19:28; Luke 22:30), the Church (1 Cor 5:12), the world (1 Cor 6:2), or even angels (1 Cor 6:3). Nevertheless, God himself is frequently represented as the one who will judge: Matt 18:35; John 8:50; Rom 2:2–11; 3:6; 14:10 (cf. 2 Cor 5:10); Heb 10:30–31; 1 Pet 1:17; 2:23; Rev 18:8. A few Pauline passages suggest that God and Jesus will both take part in judging: Rom 2:16; 1 Cor 4:5. In John 12:48 Jesus warns that the word he has spoken will be his hearers' judge "on the last day."

**2. Recipients of Judgment.** Those whom Jesus addressed in the synoptic sayings were mainly Jews, since few gentiles seem to have been present and Christianity had not yet emerged as a separate community of faith. These sayings warned his contemporaries that individuals (e.g., Matt 5:22; 12:36) and unresponsive towns (e.g., Matt 10:15; Luke 10:14) stood in peril of condemnation at the time of judgment. Later NT traditions warned individual Christians that they would be judged, e.g., 2 Tim 4:8; Heb 4:1–12; Jas 5:7–11; 1 Pet 1:13–17. Several texts imply that all persons are to be judged: Rom 2:2–16; 1 Cor 6:2; Heb 4:13; Jude 14–15 (quoting *1 En.* 1:9). The wicked (e.g., Heb 13:4) and enemies or persecutors of Christians (e.g., 2 Thess 1:5–10; Rev 6:10; 19:1–3) are singled out for special retribution. Angels, too, are to be judged: 1 Cor 6:3; 2 Pet 2:4; Jude 6.

Not only the living, but the dead also will be judged. Several synoptic texts intimate that the dead of earlier times will be raised and then judged, e.g., Matt 10:15; 12:41–42; cf. John 5:25–29. Some texts, however, say that both the living and the dead will be judged (Acts 10:42; 2 Tim 4:1; 1 Pet 4:5), and others refer simply to the judgment of the dead (1 Pet 4:6; Rev 11:18; 20:12–13), as if the dead would be judged but not raised. Luke 14:14 says that the righteous will be raised, without mention of judgment (cf. Dan 12:2). In the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31), after each dies, he enters his apparently final place of habitation without first being raised or judged.

**3. Time of the Judgment.** Most NT references to judgment look for this event in the future (e.g., Matt 25:31–46; Acts 24:25; Rom 2:5; 14:10; 1 Cor 4:5; 2 Pet 3:7; 1 John 4:17), some explicitly in the near future (e.g., Heb 10:25; Jas 5:9; 1 Pet 4:5, 17). A few texts suggest that judgment has already taken place or been pronounced: John 16:8–11; 1 Cor 5:3–4; Rev 19:2. Some others represent judgment as present, either in connection with the presence of Jesus (e.g., John 3:19; 5:30; 9:39), or as "now" (then) imminent: John 12:31; Rev 14:6–7.

## C. Modern Scholarly Opinion

Numerous biblical texts, particularly in the NT, refer to the coming day or time of judgment. Nevertheless, little scholarly attention has been devoted to this topic, in contrast, for example, to closely related topics like the coming of the Son of Man and the kingdom of God. One suspects that modern scholars prefer to deal with more congenial subjects. So suggest Brandon (1967: 56–75, 98–135), who provides an excellent review of NT and subsequent Christian traditions concerning the judgment of the dead, and Fairhurst (1970). Scholarly squeamishness is articulated occasionally, e.g., by Dalton (1968: 7): "God is primarily a God who loves, a God who saves. Hence any eschatological statement set in the context of future judgment must take into account the inadequacy of this context and must allow for this inadequacy if conclusions unworthy of God are to be avoided."

Only those willing to acknowledge as significant the eschatological orientation within apocalyptic Judaism, Jesus' teaching, and the NT churches are prepared to recognize the nature and importance of their beliefs and expectations concerning the coming time or day of judgment. Among those who do are Weiss (1985: 96–101), Schweitzer (1985: 54–56, 124–27), Burrows (1946: 203–15; 1977: 218–34), Hiers (1973: 28–36; 1981: 19–61), and Milikowsky (1988). On the idea of judgment by fire in the OT and intertestamental literature, see Gaster (1981: 649–51). A few scholars who take the position that Jesus did to some extent proclaim or embody the presence of the kingdom of God also undertake to examine his message of coming eschatological judgment. Among them are Jeremias (1963: 162–88; 1971: 122–58), Manson (1951: 269–77), Kümmel (1957: 43–48), and Hooker (1967: 148–73).

Proponents of "realized eschatology" do not ordinarly find any NT passages suggesting that Jesus looked for a future day of judgment. Glasson (1982: 528–39) urges that faithful followers of Jesus would not have to face the last judgment and cautions against a literal reading of the NT judgment passages. Instead, he concludes, "The Judgment should be regarded as a pictorial representation of a transcendent reality" (Glasson 1982: 538). Perrin (1974: 47, 300) went so far as to suggest that all gospel sayings that anticipate a future judgment are inauthentic, i.e., originated in the concerns of the early Palestinian church. Though Bultmann sometimes acknowledged that Jesus expected a future time of judgment, both he and the so-called post-Bultmannians urged that the real meaning of Jesus' eschatological preaching was that human beings continually face an existential "crisis of decision." Proponents of the recent "theology of hope," such as Moltmann and Pannenberg, tended to ignore the biblical expectation of prospective adverse judgment or condemnation.

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**DAY OF THE LORD.** "The Day of the Lord" (= "the Day of Yahweh") is a central feature of the prophets' message to their contemporaries. This phrase and such closely related expressions as "the day of the anger of Yahweh," or "Yahweh has a day," occur over two dozen times in prophetic books (most frequently in Isaiah, Joel, and Zephaniah), and once in Lamentations (2:22). Similar terms, particularly "that day," "the day of," and "the day when," appear nearly 200 times in the prophets, occasionally in Lamentations, and twice in Psalms (Pss 110:5; 137:7). These terms often are used interchangeably with the fuller expressions or in contexts that refer specifically to one or the other of them, e.g., Isa 2:12–22 (see vv 12, 17, 20); Jer 46:10; Ezek 7:5–27 (see vv 7, 10, 12, 19); and Ezek 30:2–3. In most instances, the same ranges of meaning are suggested.

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A. Yahweh's Judgment against Foreign Nations
B. Yahweh's Judgment against Israel, Judah, or the Jewish People
C. Future Deliverance or Blessing for Israel, Judah, Other Nations, and All Creation
D. Day of the Lord in the NT
E. Scholarly Literature

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**A. Yahweh's Judgment against Foreign Nations**

A few scattered passages seem to refer to Yahweh's previous acts of judgment against foreign nations. "The day of Midian" (Isa 9:4) refers to the Midianites' earlier defeat. Most other such expressions refer to Yahweh's future punishment of various nations, e.g., Jer 50:31 (to Babylon, "your day has come"); Ezek 21:29 (the "day of the Ammonites"); Ezek 26:18; 27:27 ("day of the fall" or "ruin" of Tyre); Ezek 32:10 (to Egypt, "the day of your downfall").

Most of the prophetic books contain oracles against foreign nations. The "Day of Yahweh" and similar expressions frequently appear in these oracles. Commentators generally agree that in Amos' time "the Day of Yahweh" popularly was thought to mean the time when Yahweh would vindicate Israel by defeating its enemies. See the expressions "day of battle" and "day of the whirlwind" in Amos' denunciation of the Ammonites (1:14). In contrast, Amos warns his Israelite hearers that "the Day of Yahweh" will not be what they wanted (Amos 5:18, 20. See part B, below.). Several later prophets declared that the Day of Yahweh would be one of disaster for certain other nations, namely, Egypt (Isa 19:16; 20:6; Jer 46:10, 21; Ezek 30:9, 18), Edom (Isa 34:8; 63:4; Jer 49:22), Ethiopia (Ezek 30:9), Babylon (Isa 47:9; Jer 50:27, 30, 31; 51:2), the Ammonites (Ezek 21:29), Damascus (Jer 49:26), Moab (Jer 48:41), the Philistines (Jer 47:4), and Tyre (Isa 23:15). A few prophetic texts suggest that "that day" will be one of judgment against many or even all nations: Isa 24:21 ("the kings of the earth"; cf. Ps 110:5–6), Jer 25:33 (see 25:30–32 for context), Ezek 30:2–5 (particularly Arabia, Egypt, and other African nations), Joel 3:14 (see 3:11–12 for context), and Obadiah 15–16. The Ezekiel and Obadiah passages warned that the day was "near." Zechariah declared that "on that day" Yahweh would destroy all the nations opposed to Jerusalem (Zech 12:3–9; 14:12–13). See also Ezek 38:17–39:8 as to the fate in store for Gog and Magog.

Zephaniah proclaimed more broadly that YHWH would destroy "all the inhabitants of the earth" on the day of his wrath (Zeph 1:7–18). According to Isa 2:12–17 Yahweh's "day" will be a time of judgment not only against the pride of men, but against "all that is proud and lofty." The author of Isa 13:6–13 declared that the whole world would be punished for its evil on the Day of Yahweh which was then "near." The Isaiah Apocalypse announced that "on that day" Yahweh would even punish the cosmic powers (Isa 24:21–22), and the quasi-cosmic sea monsters (Isa 27:1).

**B. Yahweh's Judgment against Israel, Judah, or the Jewish People**

Yahweh's past judgment (on "the day of his anger") is emphasized in Lamentations, with reference to the events marking the end of the S kingdom of Judah and the beginning of the Exile (Lam 1:12; 2:1, 21–22). Compare Obad 11–14 and Ps 137:7, where "the day" of Judah or Jerusalem signifies the same events, which, however, are not viewed as Yahweh's judgment, but only as evil deeds perpetrated by their enemies. Isaiah 22:1–14 may also refer to an already experienced "day" of Yahweh's judgment. Ezekiel 21:25 states that "the day" of a prince of Israel "has come," but the context suggests that his punishment had yet to occur.

Characteristically, the classical prophets warned their contemporaries in Israel and Judah that "the Day of Yahweh" would soon come upon them in the form of cosmic or meteorological catastrophes or of powerful enemy armies which would bring Yahweh's judgment against them for breaking the covenant requirements of the law. Thus Amos warned Israel that the day of Yahweh would be "darkness, and not light" (Amos 5:18, 20; cf. Joel 2:1–2). The prophets point to Yahweh as the one who will ultimately cause the coming disasters as judgment against his people; most of them refer to "the Day of Yahweh" (or equivalent terms) in this connection. Examples include Amos 2:13–16; 3:14; 8:3, 9; Hos 1:4–5; 5:9; Isa 3:18–4:1; 7:18–20, 23; 10:3; 22:5; Mic 2:4; Jer 17:16–18 ("the day of disaster," "the day of evil"); 18:17 ("the day of their calamity"); 39:16; Ezek 7:7–12, 19; 13:5; 24:25–27; 38:14–19; Zeph 1:7–18; 2:1–3; Joel 1:15; 2:1–2, 11, 31; Mal 4:1, 5. Second Isaiah, Obadiah, Jonah, and Nahum, which looked only for Yahweh's blessings on Israel or Judah or for disaster for other nations, do not include this usage.

In general, the preexilic prophets proclaimed that God would punish Israel or Judah through oppression by other nations; e.g., Hos 11:5; Amos 3:9–11; Isa 5:26–30. After the Exile, when the nations Israel and Judah had ceased to exist, prophets looked for Yahweh's judgment against the Jewish people in one of two forms: "natural" disasters, such as plagues, drought, and crop failure, or "supernatural" demonic hordes, as in Hag 1:5–6; 2:14–19; Mal 3:9–12; Joel 2:1–11.

Some texts indicate belief that the Day of Yahweh was near: Ezek 7:7, 12; 22:4; Joel 2:1; 3:14; Zeph 1:7. A few others state that the day "comes" or "is coming," implicitly in the near future—e.g., Ezek 7:10; 39:8 and Mal 4:1. Malachi 3:1–2 warns that Yahweh's "messenger" is coming and warns of "the day of his coming," when he would cause the priests to offer right offerings. None of the prophetic texts, however, that look for the "Day of Yahweh" as a time of judgment against Israel, Judah, or the Jewish people refers to the "coming" of a messiah or of Yahweh himself in connection with it.

**C. Future Deliverance or Blessing for Israel, Judah, Other Nations and All Creation**

Some 60 occurrences of "the Day of Yahweh" and similar expressions refer to the future time when Yahweh would reestablish the fortunes of Israel/Judah or the Jewish people. A few, particularly in Isaiah, look for the redemption of other nations as well: Isa 2:2–4 (= Mic 4:1–3); 11:10; 19:18–25; 25:6–9; Zech 2:11.

Relatively few of these texts explicitly mention a future messiah or Davidic king: Isa 11:10; Jer 23:5–6; 30:8–9; 33:15–16; Hag 2:23; Zech 3:8–10; Amos 9:11; cf. Hos 1:11. (Some messianic passages do not refer to the Day of Yahweh or related terms, e.g., Isa 9:6–7; Ezek 34:23–24; 37:24–25; Zech 6:9–13; 9:9–10.) More typical are texts that look for Yahweh himself to act (Mal 3:17; 4:3), manifest his glory (Isa 2:11, 17, 19; Ezek 39:13), and rule as king over a restored Israel (Mic 4:6–7) or over all the earth (Isa 2:2–4 = Mic 4:1–3; Obad 21; Zech 2:11; 14:9) on that day.

On or in anticipation of that new day, according to Isaiah, those who had been sick or disabled would be restored to full health: Isa 29:18–19; 30:26; cf. Mic 4:6–7. Then all will enjoy the preternatural abundance of milk, honey, fruit, and produce (Isa 4:2; 7:21–22; 25:6–9; 30:23–24; Joel 3:18; Amos 9:13–15). Every man shall sit with his neighbor under his own vine and fig tree (Mic 4:4; Zech 3:10); peace will obtain throughout all creation (Hos 2:18; Isa 11:1–10; cf. Ezek 34:25–28); and all Israel (Isa 10:20; 52:6; Ezek 39:22), if not all nations (Isa 19:19–25; cf. Ezek 38:23), will know that Yahweh is God. In that day exiled Jews will return (Isa 11:11–12; 27:12–13; Jer 27:22), and Jerusalem and the Jewish people will experience God's special favor (Isa 12:1–4; 28:5–6; 30:26; Jer 31:1–6; Ezek 36:33–36; Zeph 3:11–20; Zech 9:16–17; 14:1; Mal 3:17).

**D. Day of the Lord in the NT**

This and similar terms often occur in NT contexts referring to the future appearance of Jesus. In reading the Greek OT (or LXX), Jews and early Christians very likely rendered the OT expression "Day of Yahweh" as "Day of the Lord." Early Christian leaders likely took over the OT expression but now understood it to refer to Jesus' return as their Lord, as the Christ, or as the supernatural Son of Man. See DAY OF CHRIST and DAY OF JUDGMENT.

**E. Scholarly Literature**

For many years OT scholars have accepted the view that Israelites up to the time of Amos regarded the Day of Yahweh as that time when Yahweh would deliver Israel by punishing foreign nations and that Amos radically altered this understanding by proclaiming that on that day Yahweh would also punish Israel for all her offenses (Amos 1:1–3:2). See Bright (1955: 60–70).

Not all agree as to the nature of Israelite beliefs concerning the Day of Yahweh before the time of Amos, and at least two books (Nahum and Obadiah) attributed to prophets well after the time of Amos consist entirely of oracles against foreign nations. There is wide agreement, however, that for most of the prophets, the Day of Yahweh meant that time in the relatively near future when Yahweh would punish not only his people's enemies, but also his people (Israel, Judah, or the Jewish people) for breaking the covenant. Then, either through a new Davidic king or messiah or by acting directly, Yahweh would establish his own rule or kingdom over all the earth. See Robinson (1946: 135–47); Baab (1949: 156–97); and Jacob (1958: 319–21). See, generally, Muilenburg (1961: 128–50); Heschel (1962: 159–94); and Hiers (1988).

There have been a variety of other suggestions, however, particularly as to the origins of biblical traditions concerning the Day of Yahweh. Mowinckel (1956: 143–54) urged that the prophetic expectation of a coming Day of Yahweh derived from a cultic New Year Festival which celebrated Yahweh's enthronement as king and gave expression to hope for the beginning of a new era of blessing. Others, following von Rad (1959), have concluded that the Day of Yahweh represented Yahweh as "Holy Warrior" who had overwhelmed Israel's enemies in battle in the past, and would do so again. Thus Hanson (1975: 354–401) interprets Zechariah 12–14 as the work of a visionary group which looked for Yahweh to punish particularly the Jerusalem temple hierarchy, deliver the faithful from foreign hordes, and renew the order of nature. Everson (1974), on the other hand, finds that the Day of Yahweh passages do not justify any of the theories as to the origin of the expression. He observes that several of these passages refer to different historical events. On that basis he concludes that the prophets likewise looked for separate future events of divine judgment or deliverance and that interpreters therefore should refer to the prophets' beliefs concerning the Days rather than to a single Day of Yahweh.

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RICHARD H. HIERS

**DAY OF YAHWEH** [Heb *yôm yhwh* (יוֹם יהוה)]. An expression found in the following OT passages: Isa 13:6, 9; Ezek 13:5; Joel 1:15; 2:1, 11; 3:4; 4:14; Amos 5:18–20 (three times); Obad 15; Zeph 1:7, 14; Mal 3:23. There occur also the related expressions *yôm lyhwh* 'a day of Yahweh' (Isa 2:12; Ezek 30:3; Zech 14:1); *yôm nĕqāmâ* 'a day of retribution' (Jer 46:10); *yôm nāqām lyhwh* 'Yahweh's day

of retribution' (Isa 34:8); *yôm ʿebrat yhwh* 'the day of Yahweh's wrath' (Ezek 7:19; Zeph 1:18); *yôm ʾap yhwh* 'the day of Yahweh's anger' (Zeph 2:3; cf. Lam 2:22); and *yôm zebaḥ yhwh* 'the day of Yahweh's feast' (Zeph 1:8). There is also the phrase, "My Lord Yahweh of hosts has a day of tumult and din and confusion" (Isa 22:5).

Some scholars would insist on restricting any investigation of the meaning of the Day of Yahweh to these passages; and G. von Rad has even proposed eliminating some of them, arguing that "they do not provide the interpreter with any sure exegetical basis" (von Rad 1959: 97). But it is not really possible to ignore any of these passages. In addition, the prophetic books contain many references to the phrase *bayyôm hahû*ʾ 'on that day.' Furthermore, there are other passages (e.g., in the oracles against the nations) which may well be linked to the concept of the Day of Yahweh. R. H. Charles included Nahum in his discussion of the Day of Yahweh, and subsequent study of the text of Nahum seems to support this view (Charles 1913; Gray 1974: 19–20, 32; Cathcart 1975: 72–76).

**A. Earlier Scholarship: The Eschatological Problem**

In 1899 Charles gave the *Jowett Lectures* on "Hebrew, Jewish and Christian eschatology from pre-prophetic times till the close of the New Testament Canon" (Charles 1913). He believed that there existed already before Amos a popular expectation of the Day of Yahweh, an expectation that the day would be one of judgment against Israel's enemies. The Day of Yahweh was understood by Charles to be "a day of battle," a view that was to influence much subsequent scholarship on the concept. "This conception is related to the people as a whole, and not to the individual. It means essentially the day on which Yahweh manifests Himself in victory over his foes" (Charles 1913: 86–87). It is evident from the title of Charles' lectures that he understood eschatological hopes to be part of the Day of Yahweh concept from the beginning; however, he may have been mistaken, since eschatology *proper* arose in the Exile at the earliest and since the eschatological aspect of the Day of Yahweh belongs to late prophecy.

In 1901 J. M. P. Smith also understood the *popular* conception of the Day of Yahweh as a great day of battle, with Yahweh leading the armies of Israel to an overwhelming victory over their enemies. However, he believed that Amos then transformed the concept into the day of Israel's humiliation and punishment by Yahweh; the preexilic concept as reflected in Amos and Zephaniah is a day of battle and judgment against *both* Israel and her enemies. The righteousness of Yahweh demands corresponding righteousness from his people and the need for reform on their part (Smith 1901: 505–33).

Yet another scholar at this time was proposing the existence of eschatological elements in preexilic prophecy. Gressmann rejected as inadequate the view of Charles and Smith that the Day of Yahweh was a day of battle, storm, and slaughter; rather, he emphasized the cosmic frame of reference of the day, which showed its eschatological character (Gressmann 1905: 143). Gressmann believed that Israelite eschatology was borrowed from an already-developed foreign (Babylonian) eschatology, an assumption he took from Gunkel. Inspired by Gressmann's work, S. Mowinckel proposed in 1917 that the Israelite New Year Festival was the enthronement festival of Yahweh (Mowinckel 1917: 13–79). However, he differed from Gressmann, and from others before him, by rejecting the existence of a preprophetic eschatology. For him the Day of Yahweh originally means the day of Yahweh's manifestation in the cult at the New Year Festival. Eschatology and the eschatological significance of the Day of Yahweh have their ultimate source in the autumn festival, but strictly they belong to later prophecy (Mowinckel 1956: 127–33). In 1948 L. Cerny rejected outright any dependence of the origin of the Day of Yahweh on the kingship of Yahweh and on God's annual re-enthronement as king during the New Year Festival. He argued that the real meaning of the day was a day of divine decree, but he tended to overemphasize the disastrous nature of the day (Cerny 1948: 73–77).

**B. Von Rad and His Critics**

Although the concept of the Day of Yahweh has often been investigated, surprisingly there has not been any major study of it in recent times. For example, the German commentator on the prophets H. W. Wolff (*Joel and Amos*, Hermeneia) and the English commentator L. C. Allen (*Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah* NICOT) are content simply to refer to the brief 1959 study by von Rad. As already mentioned, von Rad urges caution in the admission of evidence for the study of the concept. He is convinced that "the Day of

Yahweh encompasses a pure event of war, the rise of Yahweh against his enemies, his battle and his victory" (von Rad 1959: 103). He pays particular attention to Isaiah 13 and 34, Ezekiel 7, and Joel 2, but criticizes those scholars who take Amos 5:18 as the starting point; for in his view this text is "not sufficiently unequivocal to be used as a suitable starting point for the examination" (1959: 98). But if Amos 5:18 is somewhat difficult to interpret, it cannot be conveniently ignored. Perhaps even more serious is von Rad's view that Isa 2:12ff. "does not amount to more than an allusion" to the Day of Yahweh (1959: 105). To claim that there is no support in the Day of Yahweh texts for any association of the enthronement of Yahweh with the concept of the Day of Yahweh and yet to omit any proper discussion of Isa 2:12ff. seems suspicious. Thus von Rad excludes from his investigation the two oldest witnesses to the concept. Also problematic is his claim that the origin of the concept is to be found in the Holy War tradition. What do we know about Holy War in early Israel? The Deuteronomistic sources are scarcely sufficient for informing us about it. Von Rad's claim that "the entire material for this imagery which surrounds the concept of the Day of Yahweh is of old-Israelite origin" (1959: 104) is not convincing. An examination of von Rad's study shows that he tends to dismiss elements which might contaminate his "pure event of war." In point of fact, a good part of all the Day-of-Yahweh texts has no reference to an event of war (Schunck 1969: 16).

One of the severest critics of von Rad's position, J. Gray, has argued effectively that the Day of Yahweh "signified essentially the moment of the epiphany as King, which was the highlight of the autumn festival" (Gray 1974: 16). With this view Gray is following in the tradition of Mowinckel and J. Pedersen among others. Utilizing evidence gathered from Canaanite sources, and esp. the Baal myth from Ugarit, Gray stresses the importance of *mišpāṭ*, i.e., "the imposition of the effective rule of Yahweh as king, the main theme of the liturgy of the autumn festival with its ultimate origins in the Canaanite festival at the same seasonal crisis" (1974: 14). Furthermore, Gray argues that Yahweh's conflict with the enemies of Israel, the *Völkerkampfmythus,* is the "historification in Israel of the cosmic conflict to sustain the effective Kingship of Yahweh in the liturgy of the autumn festival" (1974: 34). Thus those features of the Day of Yahweh texts which von Rad attempts to trace back to early Israelite tradition of the wars of Yahweh are in fact to be linked with this particularization of the cosmic conflict. In Gray's view there developed later an association of the autumn festival with covenant, and he is ready to accept the full eschatological development of the Day of Yahweh in later prophetic circles.

F. M. Cross, in his study of Israelite religion (*CMHE*), believes that the views of Mowinckel and von Rad on the Day of Yahweh are not incompatible, but complementary. Cross and his student P. D. Miller are both influenced to some extent by von Rad's work on the Holy War, but Cross in particular chides von Rad for not dealing with either the origins of the Holy War in ancient Israel or the mythological elements in it. He says von Rad "fails to perceive, therefore, the reutilization of some of these mythological elements in the royal cult, in prophecy, and above all in the apocalyptic development of the concept of the Divine Warrior" (*CMHE*, 89). Despite this criticism of von Rad, it is clear that Cross and Miller take the view that the origins of the Day of Yahweh are in the Holy War traditions of ancient Israel but as these traditions were carried through the royal cult. Although Cross and his students have made a considerable contribution by their studies of the Divine Warrior and Holy War motifs, they have not yet produced a systematic study of the Day of Yahweh texts.

If there was eventually an association of the autumn festival with covenant, then serious consideration should be given to the view of F. C. Fensham, who sees the Day of Yahweh as the day when the blessings and curses of the covenant were to come into effect (Fensham 1967: 96). Whether the Day of Yahweh was a day directed against foreign enemies (e.g., Babylon or Edom), or against an unfaithful Israel, in all cases it was a day on which Yahweh punished the guilty. Yahweh is not only king and warrior, but also judge (Cathcart 1975: 75).

Whatever position is adopted concerning the Day of Yahweh, it seems necessary to distinguish between a primary day—one of intervention by Yahweh with limited effect—and a secondary day—one of universal cosmic judgment. The developed, eschatological Day of Yahweh is secondary. But granted that there is an organic continuity between prophetic preaching and apocalyptic eschatology, then there should

be no problem in accepting this distinction. Finally, two principles laid down by Y. Hoffmann should guide further research: (1) the investigation should start with Amos 5:18–20; and (2) we must not draw conclusions about an earlier text from a later one (Hoffmann 1981: 38–39).

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**DEAD SEA.** See SALT SEA (PLACE).

**DEAD SEA SCROLLS.** The name given to deposits of ancient texts written in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek, on papyrus or leather, that since 1947 have been discovered near the W shore of the Dead Sea. This label is used in both a narrow and a broad sense. The narrow definition is restricted to mss found in 11 caves in the vicinity of Khirbet Qumran. The broad usage includes documents found at Masada, Wādî Murabba‹at, Naḥal Ḥever, Naḥal Ṣe›elim, and Naḥal Mishmar. In this review we will focus primarily upon the Qumran scrolls and will refer to the others only when they are relevant to the discussion. See also WADI MURABBAAT.

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A. Discovery and Publication
B. Provenance of the Scrolls
C. Community Rule Books
    1. The *Rule of the Community*
    2. The *Damascus Document*
D. Biblical Texts
E. Biblical Interpretation
    1. Continuous Pesharim
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G. Hymnic and Liturgical Works
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    2. Thanksgiving Hymns (1QH)
    3. Angelic Liturgy (4QShirShabb)
    4. Other Works
H. Eschatological, Apocalyptic, and Related Texts
    1. The *War Scroll* (1QM)

2. Other Texts
I. Miscellaneous Compositions
J. History of the Community
K. Character and Significance

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**A. Discovery and Publication**

The initial find, in 1947, consisted of seven rolls of leather from Cave 1. The eleventh cave was discovered in 1956. Only Caves 1 and 11 have produced relatively intact mss. The largest find, however, was in Cave 4 in 1952, which yielded thousands of fragments from more than 500 mss. The larger, relatively intact scrolls were published promptly—three by M. Burrows for the American School of Oriental Research (the Isaiah scroll, 1Q Isa[a], and a commentary on Habakkuk in 1950; and the *Rule of the Community,* then called the *Manual of Discipline,* in 1951, all now reprinted, Cross et al. 1974), and four by the Hebrew University (the *War Scroll, Hodayot,* and a fragmentary scroll of Isaiah, 1Q Isa[b], in 1954 [see Sukenik 1955], and the *Genesis Apocryphon* in 1956 [Avigad and Yadin]). Beginning in 1955 the series *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* from Oxford University Press (DJD) became the main vehicle for publication of the fragmentary material. DJD 1 (1955) contained the fragments from Cave 1; DJD 2 (1961) contained the Murabba‘at fragments; DJD 3 (1962) the material from the "minor caves" 2, 3, and 5–10, including the *Copper Scroll* from Cave 3 and the Aramaic "New Jerusalem" text from Cave 5; DJD 4 (1965) is devoted to a single scroll, the Psalms scroll from Cave 11; DJD 5 (1968) contains a batch of material from Cave 4 edited by J. M. Allegro (but note the book length review by J. Strugnell in *RQ* 7: 163–276); DJD 6 (1977) contains another batch of Cave 4 material edited by J. T. Milik; DJD 7 (1982) yet more material from the same cave edited by M. Baillet; and DJD 8 (1990) contains the Greek Scroll of the Minor Prophets from Naḥal Ḥever (8 Hev XII gr) edited by E. Tov in collaboration with R. A. Kraft. A number of mss have received preliminary publication in scholarly journals (notably 11QMelch by van der Woude in *OTS* 14: 354–73), but there have also been major critical editions outside the DJD series: the *Targum of Job* from Cave 11 (ed. van der Ploeg and van der Woude 1971), the Aramaic fragments of *1 Enoch* from Cave 4 (ed. Milik 1976), the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* (ed. Newsom 1985), the Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus Scroll (ed. Freedman and Matthews 1985), a collection of noncanonical Psalms (4Q 380–81, ed. Schuller 1986), and the fragments of Daniel (Ulrich 1987, 1989). At the time of writing, the publication of the "halakic letter" 4QMMT is awaited in *Revue de Qumran.* The latest discovery from Qumran is the so-called *Temple Scroll* (11Q Temple), which was acquired by Y. Yadin in 1967. His edition was published by the Israel Exploration Society in 1977. Much of the material from Cave 4 still awaits publication. (For an inventory of publications up to the mid-seventies, see Fitzmyer 1975, revised and updated edition currently in press).

**B. Provenance of the Scrolls**

These documents are usually thought to constitute the library of an Essene community (see ESSENES) which inhabited the site of Qumran and whose way of life is described in the *Rule of the Community* from Cave 1 (1QS). The scrolls come from approximately the same period as the settlement the ruins of which stand at Qumran. The date of the settlement is fixed on archaeological grounds as extending from the mid-2d century B.C.E. to 68 C.E. (de Vaux). The scrolls can be dated paleographically from the mid-3d century B.C.E. to the third quarter of the 1st century C.E. (Cross 1961). Paleography provides a relative chronology based on the development of handwriting style. Fixed points of reference are provided by dated documents from the 1st and 2d centuries C.E. (e.g., the Bar Kokhba letters from Murabba‘at and Naḥal Ḥever) and by the fact that some documents were discovered in situ (e.g., a fragment of the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* was discovered at Masada and must have been placed there before the Roman siege). The presence of documents which are older than the Qumran settlement is not surprising since we should expect that the settlers would bring some documents with them. Golb has observed the peculiar lack of original documents such as letters and legal deeds in the Qumran finds (in contrast to those of Murabba‘at and Naḥal Ḥever). He has attempted to explain this fact by the hypothesis that the library did not belong to a community on the site, but to the Jerusalem temple, and had been hidden in the desert before the

onslaught of the Romans. He fails, however, to account for the community described in 1QS or for Pliny's location of an Essene settlement between Jericho and En-gedi to the W of the Dead Sea. It is conceivable that the Qumran community, because of its peculiar religious nature, did not keep deeds and records. It is also possible that such documents were hidden separately and have not yet been discovered. The association of the library with a religious settlement at Qumran remains overwhelmingly probable.

**C. Community Rule Books**

The documents which describe the way of life of the community provide a crucial vantage point from which to view the nature of the library. Two main books of regulations have been found at Qumran: the *Rule of the Community* and the so-called *Damascus Document* (CD). See also COMMUNITY, RULE OF THE (1QS); DAMASCUS RULE (CD); and ZADOKITE FRAGMENTS (DAMASCUS DOCUMENT).

**1. The *Rule of the Community.*** This book of regulation is extant in 12 copies ranging from about 100 B.C.E. to the Herodian period. An almost intact ms (1QS) was discovered in Cave 1 and was one of the first scrolls published (Burrows). Two fragments from Cave 5 covering 1QS 2:4–7, 12–14 have been published in DJD 3 (180–81) by Milik. Ten copies from Cave 4 are still unpublished, but Milik has listed the significant variants in a book review in *RB* 67: 410–16. The date of 1QS is usually put at 100–75 B.C.E., but Milik claims that the oldest ms of the work is the unpublished 4QS$^{e}$.

The *Rule* is composed of a number of distinct literary units. There is a general statement of the purpose of the community in 1:1–15. The rite of covenant renewal is described in 1:16–3:12 and the instruction on the two spirits follows in 3:13–4:26. Introduced by 1QS 5:1 ("And this is the rule for the members of the community") is a collection of regulations which runs to the end of col. 9. This section is quite probably composite. Formally, at least, we may distinguish the community rules in 5:1–6:23; the penal code in 6:24–7:25; instructions for a specific subgroup in 6:1–9:11 and for the *maśkîl* or instructor in 9:12–26. The last two columns of the scroll are taken up with a number of hymnic passages (10:1–8; 10:9–11:2a; 11:2b–15a; 11:15b–22).

The purpose of the community is set forth clearly in col. 5: "to be converted from all evil … to separate themselves from the congregation of perverse men … under the authority of the sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant, and under the authority of the majority of the members of the community." The regulations for admission to the community bear strong, though not perfect, resemblance to the description of the Essenes in Josephus (importance of oaths, multiyear process of admission, some provision for communal property, reference to a common meal). The penal code reveals strict discipline even in minor matters (interrupting another, laughing loudly) and providing for the irrevocable excommunication of anyone who turned apostate after ten years membership.

The most difficult problem in the collection of communal regulations concerns the relation between the special subgroup in col. 8 and the community described in cols. 5–7. Vermes notes that "these three priests and twelve men are referred to nowhere else" and leaves open three possible interpretations: "whether they formed the nucleus of the sect as a whole, or the minimum quorum of the sect's leadership symbolizing the twelve tribes and the three Levitical clans, or a special elite within the Council designated elsewhere 'the Foundations of the Community' " (Vermes 1981: 91–92). In 1959 E. F. Sutcliffe suggested that they were "the first fifteen members of the Qumran Community." This suggestion has been taken up by Murphy-O'Connor, who finds in 8:1–16a + 9:3–10:8a the oldest nucleus of the *Community Rule*—a "manifesto" proposing the exodus to Qumran, possibly composed by the Teacher of Righteousness (Murphy-O'Connor (1969: 531). This is certainly a straightforward way to interpret 1QS 8:13: "and when these become a community in Israel … they shall be separated from the midst of the habitation of the men of perversity to go into the desert to prepare the way of 'Him' …" The likelihood that cols. 8–9 contain material from a stage different from that of cols. 5–7 is enhanced by the difference in views of authority in the community. In 9:7 "the sons of Aaron alone shall command in matters of justice and property and … in every decision concerning the members of the Community." By contrast, in 5:2 the community is under the authority of the sons of Zadok and under the authority of the majority of the members of the community. Murphy-O'Connor has plausibly suggested that this change is related to the expansion of the community in the archaeological phase 1b (about 100 B.C.E). He goes on to posit four stages in the

evolution of the *Rule:* (1) the "manifesto"; (2) 1QS 8:10b–12a; 8:16b–9:2 ("penal legislation for a small community); (3) 1QS 5:1–13a; 6:8b–7:25 (reformulation for expanded community); and (4) 1QS 1–4; 5:13b–6:8a; 10:9–11:22 (material from various sources of a hortatory and theoretical nature; Murphy-O'Connor 1977: 114; Pouilly 1976).

This reconstruction is attractive and at least the distinction between stages 1 and 3 is well founded, but some observations are in order. (1) In view of the paleographical evidence, the evolution of the document must have been complete close to 100 B.C.E. There cannot have been a great lapse in time between stages 3 and 4. (2) It is noteworthy that part of Murphy-O'Connor's original nucleus (1QS 8:17–9:11) is missing from the oldest ms, 4QS$^{e}$ (Milik 1959: 123). The omission may, of course, be accidental, but nonetheless it calls for a reservation. (3) The special group of 12 men and 3 priests are said in 8:11 to be set apart as holy within the council of the community. If this passage was part of the original manifesto (Murphy-O'Connor 1969) it would seem to imply that the members of the pioneer community in the desert were selected from a larger community. Their departure does not appear to be the result of any schism in the movement. If this passage belongs to a later, second stage (Murphy-O'Connor 1977; Pouilly, 1976), it would seem to imply that such a select group continued to function within the community as Vermes proposed. (4) The diverse elements assigned to stage 4 by Murphy-O'Connor were not necessarily the latest compositions.

The treatise on the two spirits is indeed a self-contained piece which was not necessarily composed for its present context. Even if it was only integrated into the *Rule of the Community* in the final stage of its composition, it could still be older, and indeed may have a literary history of its own (von der Osten-Sacken 1969: 167). It is one of the most striking passages in all of the scrolls insofar as it attests a cosmic dualism far beyond anything in the OT. The sovereignty of God is safeguarded, but "He allotted unto man two spirits that he should walk in them until the time of His visitation" (3:18). All the righteous are in the hands of the Prince of Light, while the wicked are ruled by the Prince of Darkness. God has allotted these spirits in equal parts until the final judgment. There is a general consensus that this dualism shows some measure of Persian influence, but the channels through which this influence came about remain unclear.

The place of the treatise on the two spirits in the evolution of 1QS is important for our overall view of the theology of the community. As the document now stands, it is strongly dualistic, not only because of the passage on the two spirits, but also because the covenantal ceremony is permeated with dualism. (It is prescribed for "all the time of the dominion of Belial," 2:19). By contrast there is no reference to "two spirits" or to "Belial" in the supposedly original "manifesto." Yet it would be hasty to think that dualism was a secondary development in the Qumran community. The manifesto does not expound doctrinal beliefs, and it is certainly compatible with a dualistic view of the world: the exodus to the desert is intended as separation "from the habitation of the men of perversity." The instructor (*maśkîl*) is to "weigh the sons of righteousness according to their spirits" (9:14) and not rebuke the men of the pit but conceal the maxims of the law from them (9:16–17). There is at least an ethical dualism here, and a metaphysical dualism may already be implied. The treatise on the two spirits itself can scarcely be later than 100 B.C.E. (The suggestion that it is the work of the Teacher of Righteousness cannot be substantiated, even if it cannot be refuted either.)

**2. The *Damascus Document.*** The other major sectarian rule, the *Damascus Document* (CD), was already discovered in the Cairo Genizah at the turn of the century (Schechter 1910). Its relation to the Qumran scrolls is shown not only by its style and terminology but by the fact that fragments of seven mss have been found at Qumran. Of these only two have been published: 5Q12 (= CD 9:7–9 in DJD 3: 181) and 6Q15 (= CD 4:19–21; 5:13–14; 5:18–6:2; 6:20–7:1, plus a fragment not in the Genizah text, DJD 3: 128–31). The oldest fragment, 4QD$^{a}$, is dated by Milik to the first half of the 1st century B.C.E. (Milik 1972: 135, where he cites a passage. At present the fragments of CD have been entrusted to J. M. Baumgarten for publication).

There are two mss of CD from the Cairo Genizah: Ms A (10th century) contains cols. 1–16 on 8 sheets while Ms B (12th century) contains cols. 19–20 on 1 sheet. Columns 7 and 8 overlap with 19 and 20, but with important variants, and the last part of col. 20 has no parallel. According to Milik, the unpublished

fragments from Cave 4 show that cols. 15 and 16 should precede col. 9 directly. They also show major omissions in the Genizah mss at the beginning, middle (after col. 8), and end of the document. The outline of the work, then is as follows: (1) introduction [4Q] (2) the admonition, which consists largely of historical review but contains some laws and warnings (Ms A 1–8 and B 19–20); and (3) the laws (4Q, Ms A 15–16, 9–14, final columns from 4Q). The 4Q material at the beginning of the laws reputedly contains laws, mostly dealing with purity. The final columns contain a penal code and a liturgy for renewal of the covenant (Milik 1959: 151–52; 1972: 135; his placement of the legal fragments is questioned by Dimant 1984: 497, who relies on analogies with Deuteronomy).

In view of the overlap between CD 7–8 and CD 19–20, it is clear that the document has a redactional history. The most elaborate reconstruction has been worked out by Murphy-O'Connor, who sees CD as "a compilation of diverse documents which enjoyed an independent existence before being assembled into the present text" (1977: 121). He regards the laws (CD 9–16) as "legislation for a Diaspora community;" CD 2:14–6:1 as a "missionary document" to win Palestinian Jewish converts; CD 6:11–8:3 as an exhortation addressed to Essenes; 8:3–18 as a critique of the ruling class in Judea. He also finds an "appeal for fidelity" in cols. 19–20 (19:33–20:1b; 20:8b–13; 20:17b–22). This analysis of CD is closely bound up with Murphy-O'Connor's theory that the Essenes originated in Babylon and that the designation *šby yśr*ʿ*l* (CD 6:5, usually understood as "penitents of Israel") should be taken as "returnees." A different though related analysis has been offered by P. R. Davies, who accepts the basic unity of the admonition in cols. 1–8, but places it in the Babylonian Exile. Cols. 19–20 are viewed as part of a "Qumran redaction," which also involves glosses in col. 1–8. This latter theory, however, requires some textual surgery, esp. in CD 1, which presupposes the career of the Teacher of Righteousness (whom Davies, like most scholars, regards as the founder of the Qumran settlement).

Others besides Murphy-O'Connor regard the laws in CD 9–16 as a separate composition (e.g., Stegemann 1971: 21, 128). Against this, however, Milik claims that the Qumran fragments present the two sections as a continuous text (1959: 38–39). A few important threads link both parts of CD—e.g., reference to those who "live in camps" (7:6; 12:22), and the phrase "Aaron and Israel" (1:7; 12:23–31). The argument that the laws were designed for a Diaspora setting is based on the presence of a few laws regulating relations with Gentiles (e.g., 12:7–9). There were Gentiles in Palestine, however, and the law that the Sabbath not be celebrated in the vicinity of Gentiles (11:14) would be difficult to observe in the Diaspora. In the case of the admonition, Davies has made a strong case for the substantial unity of cols. 1–8, while cols. 19–20 necessarily reflect some redactional activity. The attempts to date any part of CD before the establishment of the Qumran community are, at best, inconclusive (see White 1987).

Whereas the rule in 1QS was designed for a quasi-monastic community (the *yāḥad*), CD provides rules for "the assembly of the towns of Israel" (12:19) and for "the assembly of the camps" (12:23). The most obvious difference is that those who "live in camps according to the rule of the land … take a wife and beget children" (CD 7:6–7), a possibility not envisaged in 1QS. The laws of CD presuppose an environment where members of the covenant come in contact with strangers and with Gentiles. They are required to contribute only two days wages a month to the common fund (CD 14:13). (1QS 1:11–12 required that members bring all their possessions into the community, but the penalties in the *Rule* presuppose that they still had some private property.) CD also legislates on the subject of temple worship (6:12) and sending offerings to the temple (11:18–22). While the interpretation of these passages is debated, they do not seem to preclude all contact with the temple and may be reconciled with the (equally problematic) statement of Josephus on the Essenes (*Ant* 18.1.5 §§18–19). There is also legislation for conduct "in the city of the sanctuary" (12:1–2).

The circumstances envisaged in CD are clearly different from those envisaged in 1QS. Yet there is general agreement that both documents pertain to the same movement or sect. The affinity between them may be illustrated by the regulations for gatherings of ten:

> "in every place where there are ten persons of the Council of the Community, let there not lack among them a man who is a priest. And let them sit before him, each according to his rank … and in the place where the ten are, let there not lack a man who studies the Law night and day …" (1QS 6:3–6).

"and where there are ten of them, let there not lack a man who is a priest learned in the Book of Meditation; they shall all obey his orders" (CD 13:2–3).

Both rules, then, provide for priestly leadership, although CD 13 (the constitution of the camps) allows that the priest may be replaced by a Levite who is more competent.

Both rules also provide for another authority figure, the "overseer" (*mebaqqēr,* 1QS 6:12; CD 13:7; 14:8). In CD 13:5–6, in the rule for the camps, the overseer is clearly distinguished from the priest. There is also an overseer of all the camps (CD 14:9), who is again distinguished from "the priest who enrolls the congregation" (14:7). In 1QS the "overseer" is probably to be identified with the *paqîd* (1QS 6:14) and the *maśkîl* (1QS 3, 9). According to CD 14 the overseer is supposed to have mastered all the secrets of men; in 1QS 3 the *maśkîl* is charged to instruct the sons of light concerning the spirits. A difference in community structure appears in the fact that in 1QS much authority is vested in the Council of the Rabbim ("Many"). There is no mention of a council in CD and the Rabbim have a more passive role; however, the term *Rabbim* is an important link between the two rules. Also, the fact that the community in CD is said to come from Aaron and Israel (1:7) parallels the division of 1QS between "the house of holiness for Aaron" and "the house of community for Israel" (1QS 9:6). Both documents refer to messiahs of Aaron and Israel. Both show a similar preoccupation with purity and holiness. Both documents attach central importance to a covenant, which is interpreted in a dualistic context. The main theological difference is that CD contains no systematic exposition of dualistic doctrine like the treatise on the two spirits in 1QS, although CD 2:2–13 parallels 1QS 3:15–4:26 in some other respects. (The contrast between Belial and the Prince of Lights appears at CD 5:18, but some have regarded this passage as redactional [Murphy-O'Connor; Duhaime 1987]). The apparent omission of the doctrine in CD may be due to any of a number of factors: the full doctrinal exposition may have been reserved for the members of the Qumran *yāḥad*; it may have been presupposed in CD, or the two documents may come from different points in the evolution of the sect. In the latter case, however, the interval cannot have been great, since both documents had reached their extant form by the beginning of the 1st century B.C.E.

Vermes has offered the best explanation for the relationship between the two rule books: they reflect the two orders of Essenes mentioned by Josephus (1981: 106–9). He further suggests that the "assembly of all the camps" (CD 14:3) took place at Qumran and that the "overseer" of the camps was the same person as the "overseer" of the *yāḥad* in 1QS. These suggestions cannot be verified, but the view that the two rules relate to complementary aspects of the life of the sect is very probable.

The "rule for all the congregation of Israel at the end of days" (1QSa), which was appended to 1QS (see DJD 1:107), confirms the overarching unity of the two branches of the sect, since it, like CD, provides for women and children, although the regulations for the council of the community and for the common meal are more similar to 1QS. Further, 1QSa specifies the stages through which a youth advanced in the sect and also legislates for the exclusion from the assembly of people smitten with impurity.

**D. Biblical Texts**

In view of the importance attached to the study of the Law (1QS 6:6–8), it is not surprising that biblical texts figure prominently in the library. All the books of the traditional Hebrew canon have been found, with the exception of the Book of Esther. The oldest mss date back to the end of the 3d century (4Q Sam$^{b}$, 4Q Jer$^{a}$, 4Q Ex$^{b}$). All are much older than any witnesses to the biblical text previously known. They have provided important new evidence for the development of both text and canon. See TEXTUAL CRITICISM (OT).

The antiquity of the traditional Masoretic Text type was confirmed by the Isaiah scrolls from Cave 1 (1Q Isa$^{a}$ and 1Q Isa$^{b}$). See also ISAIAH SCROLL (1QIsa). Fragments of Samuel from Cave 4, however, provided the Heb prototype for LXX readings which differed from the MT; and the Exodus scroll in paleo-Hebrew from Cave 4 attested a text type similar to that found in the Samaritan Pentateuch (see now Sanderson 1986). W. F. Albright proposed in 1955 that three recensions of the Bible developed, in Babylonia (MT), in Palestine (Samaritan), and in Egypt (LXX). This theory was developed and refined by F. M. Cross, who concluded that the "Egyptian" LXX tradition was also at home in Palestine and that the developments were not controlled by recensional activity. Cross's theory has been taken up by his

students (Ulrich and others). Others (Talmon, Tov), however, resist the distinction of text types and argue for a more variegated transmission of the text in the Second Temple period. The paleo-Hebrew Leviticus scroll from Cave 11 lends some support to their position since it cannot be clearly aligned with any one text type. The Qumran evidence has, however, established that diverse forms of the Heb text were current down to the 1st century C.E.

The evidence on the canon is likewise controversial. The canonicity of the Pentateuch is not in doubt. Five pentateuchal mss are written in paleo-Hebrew script, a distinction also accorded to the book of Job. (The book of Hagu or Meditation, CD 10:4–6; 13:2; 14:7–8, is probably the Torah itself, but it has also been identified with the *Temple Scroll*). Formal commentaries or "pesharim" have been found for the Psalms and for the prophetic books of Isaiah, Hosea, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah and Habakkuk. Various biblical books are quoted with the formulas "it is written" (Exodus in 1QS 5:17; Isaiah in 1QS 8:14; Hosea in CD 1:13; Deuteronomy in CD 5:2; Numbers in CD 7:19; Nahum in CD 9:5; Proverbs in CD 11:20–21), or "He said," or "it said" (Micah in CD 4:20; Amos in CD 7:14–16), or "God said" (Deuteronomy in CD 8:9–10). At other times we read that God spoke "by the hand of the prophet Ezekiel" (CD 3:20) or of Isaiah (CD 4:13) or again, without reference to God, that "Moses said" (CD 5:8) or "Isaiah said" (CD 6:8). The *Florilegium* (4Q174) strings together quotations from Exodus, Amos, Isaiah, Ezekiel and Psalms to interpret 2 Samuel 7. The second column cites Daniel in the same manner as the first cited Isaiah and Ezekiel: "As it is written in the Book of Daniel the prophet."

These citations support the general correspondence of the sect's canon with the later Hebrew Bible, but some qualifications are in order. Not all the Writings are cited formally and so we cannot be sure of their status. Moreover, CD cites the *Apocryphon of Levi* (4:15 "of which Levi son of Jacob spoke") and *Jubilees* (16:3: "it is strictly defined in the Book of the Divisions of the Times …"). Neither quotation necessarily implies canonical status, but "Levi spoke" is comparable to "Isaiah said." It is uncertain whether there was a clear distinction at Qumran between the Kethubim and other authoritative writings.

The main debate about the canon at Qumran has centered on the Psalms scroll of Cave 11 (DJD 4). This scroll contains most of the last third of the Psalter but in an unconventional arrangement. It also includes a poem identical with 2 Sam 23:1–7 ("the last words of David") and several apocryphal psalms: Psalm 151 (a variant of the corresponding psalm in the Greek Psalter), Psalms 154–155 which are also extant in Syriac, and a poem related to Sir 51:13–19, 30). There are also three psalms which were previously unknown: a "Plea for Deliverance," "Apostrophe to Zion," and "Hymn to the Creator." There is also a prose catalogue of David's compositions. This, however, is not the last item on the scroll: it is followed by Pss 140:1–5, 134:1–3 and Psalm 151.

The editor (J. A. Sanders) has argued that the Psalms Scroll was considered a portion of the Davidic Psalter. The inclusion of "the last words of David," and the prose catalogue, and the concluding position of the Davidic Psalm 151 are taken as evidence that the entire collection was thought to be Davidic. No distinction is made between canonical and noncanonical psalms. Others (most notably P. W. Skehan) have argued to the contrary that the 11Q scroll was a liturgical collection with no implications for canonicity. It is not clear, however, why a liturgical collection should include a catalogue of David's works; and, in any case, the inclusion of apocryphal psalms in a predominantly canonical collection, with no apparent distinction, is remarkable. The evidence is not conclusive (cf. Wilson 1985), but again it leaves a question as to whether the Kethubim were clearly distinguished from other authoritative writings at Qumran.

**E. Biblical Interpretation**

The Qumran sect had its own distinctive method of biblical exegesis (Fishbane 1988). This is most fully displayed in the continuous commentaries or pesharim on individual books, but it can also be seen in thematic pesharim which string together passages from different books (11QMelch, *Florilegium*) and in isolated interpretations of particular passages which occur in other works.

**1. Continuous Pesharim.** The continuous pesharim on prophetic books and psalms are extant in single mss. No copies of any of them have been found. For this reason, some scholars have proposed that they are autographs, but there is evidence that at least some of them contain copying errors (Horgan 1979: 3–

4). The mss are dated variously to the late Hasmonean and Herodian periods and so are later than those of 1QS and CD. Moreover, the Pesher on Nahum clearly refers to events in the 1st century B.C.E. (Horgan 1979: 161). It is possible, of course, that some of the commentaries are older than this or that they draw on oral tradition. The pesher style of interpretation is already evident in CD.

The underlying presupposition of this exegesis is clearly stated in the Pesher on Habakkuk, col. 7: "and God told Habakkuk to write down the things that are going to come upon the last generation, but the fulfillment of the end-time he did not make known to him … the interpretation of it concerns the Teacher of Righteousness to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of his servant the prophets." In short, prophecy was not to be interpreted in its historical context but was assumed to refer to "the last generation." Scripture was a mysterious code and required further revelation for its true interpretation. Since the pesharim refer to some events in the 1st century B.C.E. which can scarcely have been known to the original Teacher, the task of interpretation was presumably attached to the office of interpreter of the law.

The pesharim follow a basic pattern: citation of a short passage, followed by the interpretation. The interpretation is introduced by a formula (e.g., "its interpretation concerns …") The procedure is atomistic, without necessary regard for context. The interpretation often concerns the history of the sect, and much of the interest of the pesharim derives from the light they shed on its origins (see further below).

The continuous pesharim have a strongly eschatological orientation (e.g., 1QpHab 7:7–8: "The final period will be prolonged and will exceed everything spoken by the prophets, for the mysteries of God are marvellous"; or 4QpPs $^{a}$ 2:7–10: at the end of forty years the wicked will perish and the poor will inherit the earth). This orientation is even more strongly evident in the thematic pesharim.

**2. Thematic Pesharim.** 11QMelchizedek has survived only in fragments of a single ms from the Herodian period. Nine of 14 fragments were arranged by the editor. There were originally three columns. Only the second can be reconstructed intelligibly. Here Lev 25:13 (the year of the jubilee) provides the point of departure and is interpreted with the aid of other biblical texts—e.g., it is identified with the year of favor in Isa 61:2. This in turn is said to be Melchizedek's year of favor, and he is identified with the *ʾelohîm* ('god') of Ps 82:1. Melchizedek is said to exact the vengeance of El's judgments (cf. Isa 61:2) on Belial and his spirits. See MELCHIZEDEK (11QMelch).

A similar midrashic technique is evident in the *Florilegium*, of which two fragmentary columns have survived (DJD 5:53–57). 2 Samuel 10–11 is understood to refer to "the house … at the end of days" which is alluded to in Exod 15:17–18. 2 Sam 7:11–12 ("Yahweh declares that he will build you a house") is interpreted to refer to the Davidic messiah, with the aid of Amos 9:11. Ps 1:1 is interpreted through quotations of Isa 8:11 and Ezekiel (the quotation is lost). The technique of interpreting Scripture by citing other scriptural passages departs from the normal practice of the continuous pesharim, but 11QMelch and 4QFlor use the typical formulas *pišrô ʿal* ("its interpretation, or pesher, concerns") or *pešer haddābār* ("the interpretation of the passage"). The *Florilegium* also uses the term *midrash* for its interpretation. See FLORILEGIUM (4QFlor).

Another thematic Pesher from Cave 4, the Catena (DJD 5:67–75) is very fragmentary. It describes the circumstances of the sect in dualistic terms, by interpreting a string of biblical passages. The fragmentary "Words of Consolation" (4Q*176*); DJD 5: 60–67) also consists of a string of biblical passages, but these may have been part of a larger composition. Finally the work which is introduced as a "Pesher on the Periods" (4Q*180*; DJD 5: 75–77) does not appear to be a work of biblical interpretation but a treatise on the periods of history and on Azazel and his followers. In view of the fragmentary nature of the ms, however, it is possible that it contained a thematic pesher using a number of biblical passages (col. 2 apparently contains an interpretation of Gen 18:1–2, 19:1; see Dimant 1979: 83).

In other documents, such as the Rule books, biblical quotations are often worked into the text, introduced by a phrase like "as it is written" (cf. the famous quotation from Isaiah 40 in 1QS 8:14). While CD is a veritable tissue of biblical quotations and allusions, in some cases there is more direct interpretation. Amos 5:27 is quoted in CD 7:14 and interpreted with the aid of Amos 9:11 and Num

24:17. While the word *pesher* is not used, the technique is similar, e.g., "the books of the law are the hut of the king" and "the star is the seeker of the Law" (compare CD 4:1–4; 6:3–6). The term *pesher* is used in CD 4:14, where the "terror and pit and snare" in Isa 24:17 are interpreted as the three nets of Belial. The basic style of interpretation in all these pesharim is allegorical in the sense that one thing is asserted to mean something else. The interpretation of Scripture at Qumran is similar to the interpretation of dreams and mysteries in the book of Daniel, where the Aramaic cognate *pšr* is used. The ultimate roots of this style of interpretation must be sought in the dream interpretation of the ANE.

**3. Other Use of Biblical Material.** Two other forms of biblical interpretation in the Qumran library should be noted: *Testimonia* and biblical paraphrases. 4Q*175* preserves almost intact a collection of biblical passages: Deut 5:28–29 + 18:18–19 (the prophet like Moses); Num 24:15–17 (the star and the scepter); Deut 33:8–11 (blessing of Levi by Moses), and a quotation from the apocryphal *Psalms of Joshua,* which includes Josh 6:26. (On the *Psalms of Joshua,* see Newsom 1988). See also JOSHUA, PSALMS of (4Q*378–379*). There is no commentary, but the collection evidently provides the basis for the messianic expectations of the sect. (Compare 1QS 9:11 "until the coming of the prophet and the anointed of Aaron and Israel"; the "man of Belial" may be a kind of antichrist [antimessiah], or an enemy of the sect [the Wicked Priest] or both.) This document has been labelled *Testimonia* by analogy with the collections of quotations which have long been posited in early Christianity (see Fitzmyer 1974). Another instance of a messianic proof text is found in 4Q Patriarchal Blessings, which cites Gen 49:10 ("The scepter shall not depart from the tribe of Judah …") and relates it to the coming of "the Messiah of Righteousness," the "branch of David." See also TESTIMONIA (4QTestim).

Several compositions found at Qumran come under the heading of biblical paraphrase. These include: the *Targum of Job* from Cave 11, which is generally a faithful rendition with only a few theological alterations, e.g., the substitution of "angels of God" for "sons of God" at 30:4–5 (Milik also claims to have identified a *Targum of Leviticus,* but it is very fragmentary, DJD 6:87); the *Genesis Apocryphon,* which is a looser midrashic elaboration of Genesis; the book of *Jubilees,* which retells the story of Gen 1:1–Exod 15:22 with strong halakic interest; and the "prophetic words of Moses" from Cave 1, a farewell speech which draws primarily on Deuteronomy but also shows some influence from Leviticus. These latter compositions are among several Moses Pseudepigrapha found at Qumran. "Ordinances," 4Q*159*, is a reinterpretation of various pentateuchal Laws. Other fragments of Moses Pseudepigrapha from Cave 4 have not yet been published. Apparently related to *1Q29* (DJD 1:130–32) are 4Q*376* + 6Q*408*, which deal with a priestly liturgy (Strugnell in Schiffman 1990). The status of these Moses Pseudepigrapha is uncertain: they may have been regarded as authoritative texts in their own right rather than as biblical interpretation. The issue here is most vividly illustrated by the *Temple Scroll,* which is largely composed of biblical paraphrase but may have been regarded as a Torah in its own right (see below). Moreover, it is not clear that any of the biblical paraphrases were composed at Qumran. *Jubilees* is generally assumed to be an older composition, and some of the others may be also. See also GENESIS APOCRYPHON (1QapGen); JOB, TARGUMS OF (11QtgJob); JUBILEES, BOOK OF.

Biblical paraphrase also plays a part in 4QEzekiel, a fragmentary work which has only recently come to light. According to the editors, "The subject matter on the one hand is based on the prophecies of canonical Ezekiel and, on the other hand, it presents historical surveys of the kind found in historical apocalypses. Most of the extant fragments contain dialogues between God and the Prophet, including occasionally also references to the Patriarchs and to King David and King Solomon. From the dialogue between God and the prophet, it appears that the narrative is pseudepigraphically located in the time of Ezekiel; it therefore refers in the past to events that occurred before Ezekiel's time, and in the future to events after the prophet's time" (Strugnell and Dimant 1988: 48). The editors also find analogies with *4 Ezra*.

**F. Halakic Works**

**1. 4QMMT**. It is evident from CD that halakic issues played a major role in the separation of the sect from the rest of Judaism. In CD 3:13–15 is the claim that God revealed to the righteous "the hidden things in which all Israel strayed" and specific mention is made of the cultic calendar. In CD 5 is found the

complaint that "they" (the opponents of the sect) defile the sanctuary and violate marriage laws. The importance of these considerations is now confirmed by 4QMMT, which is identified by its editors as "a letter from a leader of the Qumran sect (possibly the Teacher of Righteousness himself) to the leader of its opponents" (Qimron and Strugnell 1985: 400). This letter or manifesto sets out the points at which the sect differed from its opponents. According to the preliminary report, these points fall into three categories: the cultic calendar, ritual purity (esp. in connection with the temple and sacrificial cult), and laws on marital status. In 4QMMT it is specifically stated that such halakic differences were the reason for the separation of the sect from the rest of Judaism. See also MIQSAT MAʿASE HATORAH (4QMMT).

**2. The *Temple Scroll.*** Perhaps the most important halakic document discovered at Qumran is the *Temple Scroll.* See also TEMPLE SCROLL (11QT). The scroll, acquired by Yadin in 1967 (for the story of the acquisition see Yadin 1985: 8–55), is the longest of all the Qumran scrolls, extending for nearly 9 m. It is divided into 67 columns, of which the first is missing and the last is almost completely blank (there is nothing on the preserved portion of the column). This ms was the work of two scribes, both from the Herodian period. Fragments of other copies have been found in Cave 4. Yadin identifies the earliest copy as Rockefeller 43.366 and dates it "not later than the reign of John Hyrcanus (135–104 B.C.E.), or the beginning of the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76)." Strugnell, however, denies that these fragments belong to the *Temple Scroll.* Instead they belong to "a Pentateuch with frequent non-biblical additions" which either influenced or was influenced by the *Temple Scroll* (letter cited by Wacholder 1983: 206). There are, however, unpublished fragments of the *Temple Scroll* from Cave 4 which date no later than the beginning of the 1st century (Strugnell, oral communication; the letter cited by Wacholder puts the date about 150 B.C.E.).

Since the beginning of the scroll is lost, we do not know how it was presented. Most of the extant scroll is written in the first person and the speaker is God himself. The addressee is Moses, as can be seen from the reference to "Aaron your brother" (44:5). The revelation deals with the following topics:

| | |
|---|---|
| Col. 2 | the covenant relationship |
| Cols. 3–12 | the temple building and altar |
| Cols. 13–29 | feasts and sacrifices |
| Cols. 30–44 | the temple courts |
| Cols. 45–47 | the sanctity of the holy city |
| Cols. 48–51:10 | purity laws |
| Cols. 51:11–56:11 | various laws on legal procedure, sacrifices, and idolatry |
| Cols. 56:12–59 | the law of the king |
| Cols. 60–67 | diverse laws on cult officials, prophets, military affairs, family, and sexual matters |

These laws often correspond, even verbally, with the biblical laws, esp. those of Deuteronomy, but they also contain much additional material. The biblical formulations are often translated into the first person, e.g., "the place which the Lord will choose" becomes "the place in which I will put my name." The first person usage is not maintained consistently, however; the first extant column (col. 2) refers to God in the third person. Cols. 13–29 also use the third person, except that the conclusion in chap. 29 reverts to the first person. The third person is also used in the purity laws of 48–51:10, but again the conclusion (51:5b–10) reverts to the first person. Wilson and Wills (1982) have made a strong case that the variation is due not to lapses of attentiveness by the scribe but to the combination of sources, since the variation in person can be correlated with the variation between singular and plural address.

The prominence of the first person usage for divine speech highlights the problem of the nature of the *Temple Scroll*. If the document was accepted as a revelation from God, its status can hardly have been less than that of canonical Scripture. The divine name in the *Temple Scroll* is written in the square script, according to the practice in biblical books (e.g., Isaiah). In the pesharim or commentaries, in contrast, the divine name is written in paleo-Hebrew script so that it stands out from its context. Yadin (1985: 68) sees

here evidence that the *Temple Scroll* enjoyed the status of Scripture at Qumran. Wacholder goes farther and argues that the author of the *Temple Scroll* "set out to rival Moses, hoping to succeed where his predecessor had failed" (Wacholder 1983: 228) and that the scroll was the Torah of the Qumran community. On the other hand, if the scroll had such fundamental importance, it is surprising that it is not referred to more clearly in other Qumran writings.

Yadin has suggested several possible allusions in the other scrolls. The "Book of Hagu" or "Hagi" (the "Book of Meditation") is mentioned as an authoritative document in CD (10:4–6; 13:2–3; 14:6–8) and 1QSa (1:6–8). In each case someone is required to be learned in that book. It is associated with "the Constitutions of the Covenant" (CD 10:4–6 cf. 1QSa 1:6–8) and "the Judgments of the Law" (CD 14:6–8). The name is derived from Josh 1:8 ("This book of the law shall not depart out of your mouth, but you shall meditate on it day and night"). Yadin (1983, 1: 394) points out that the law of Moses is often called Torath Moshe, but this does not preclude the possibility that the "Book of Hagu" is another name for the Mosaic code. The evidence is simply inconclusive. A second possibility concerns the "sealed book of the law" in CD 4:20–51. The point at issue is the law of Deut 17:17, "he shall not multiply wives for himself," which is construed to prohibit marrying another woman while the first is alive. King David, however, is excused, because he had not read the "sealed book of the law" which was in the ark and which was not opened from the death of Joshua to the rise of Zadok. Yadin, tentatively, and Wacholder, at length, identify Zadok here as the founder of the sect and suppose that the book in question was the *Temple Scroll.* In this case, however, it makes far better sense to identify Zadok as the high priest of Solomon (see VanderKam 1984) and to suppose that the reference is to a temporary concealment of the law of Moses. Finally, Yadin refers to two fragmentary passages in the commentaries. The pesher on Ps 37:32–33 tells of a plot by the Wicked Priest against the Teacher of Righteousness "and the Law which he sent to him." This obscure passage is more likely to refer to 4QMMT than to the *Temple Scroll.* A very fragmentary passage in the Catena refers to *seper hattôrâ šēnît.* Yadin emends the text to *hašēnît* and translates "the book of the second law" (so also Allegro 1985). In view of the fragmentary nature of the text, the interpretation is most uncertain. Even if we suppose that the "Book of Hagu" is the *Temple Scroll,* the references are sparse and certainly do not support the idea that it in any way replaced the law of Moses. It may have enjoyed canonical status, but it was not the Torah of Qumran.

The question of the status of the scroll is bound up with the question of date and of its sectarian character or lack thereof. Yadin dated the scroll to "the reign of John Hyrcanus or shortly earlier" (Yadin 1983, 1: 390). He argued that the statutes of the king were relevant to the Hasmonean era in a way they had not been earlier. Column 34 deals with the rings used to fasten animals in the slaughterhouse. According to Talmudic tradition the rings were introduced by John Hyrcanus. Yadin allows that the scroll may have influenced Hyrcanus rather than reflect an established custom. He also mentions the death penalty of hanging alive as possibly relevant to the dating. Hengel, Charlesworth, and others have rightly noted that the statutes of the king and the use of hanging or crucifixion point rather to the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76). The statutes would certainly have had pointed relevance in the time of Alexander Jannaeus, who used the title king, employed mercenaries, and was said to have crucified 800 Jews while he caroused with his mistresses. Nonetheless, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the statutes were developed as an elaboration and updating of the Deuteronomic law of the king and that their polemical relevance was secondary. The paleographic evidence would seem to require that at least some parts or sources of the scroll go back to the 2d century (and possibly earlier). The arguments both of Yadin and of Hengel/Charlesworth for a Hasmonean date rely heavily on the statutes of the king and do not exclude the possibility that much of the scroll may be older.

Yadin saw the scroll as an Essene composition, which confirmed the identification of the Qumran sect. He pointed to the affinities of the scroll with CD and the book of *Jubilees.* More specifically, he suggested that the "Feast of Oil" (Col. 22:14–16) explains Josephus' statement that the Essenes considered oil defiling (*JW* 2.8.3 §123) and that the provision for a latrine outside the temple city was also a distinctively Essene feature (cf. *JW* 2.8.9 §147–48); but ultimately he found "the draconic nature of all the laws in the scroll pertaining to matters of purity and to the holiness of the Temple" to be "the

determining factor of identification" (1983, 1: 399). The weakness of these arguments can be seen from the parallel with *Jubilees,* which is not usually considered a strictly sectarian work, although, like the *Temple Scroll,* it adheres to the 364-day calendar and is greatly concerned with purity. The Feast of Oil is in fact incompatible with Josephus' actual statement unless we posit a misunderstanding. Provision for a latrine outside the city is rooted in Deut 23:12–14. The scroll is conspicuous for the lack of reference to a distinct community structure, a *yāḥad,* or a new covenant. It also lacks the most distinctive theological themes of the Qumran scrolls, such as cosmic dualism or the role of Belial. Accordingly, some scholars (Schiffman, Stegemann) deny that the scroll is a sectarian composition and see it as part of the older heritage of the sect, like the book of *Jubilees.* Particularly noteworthy is Schiffman's observation (1983: 17) that the derivation of law in the scroll is fundamentally different from what we find in other Qumran documents: "whereas the other texts from Qumran see the extrabiblical material as derived from inspired biblical exegesis, the author of the *Temple Scroll* sees it as inherent in the biblical text." While there are some striking points of affinity with the laws of CD (e.g., TS 45:7–12; CD 12:1–2, on the prohibition of sexual intercourse in the temple city), these are likely to attest a common tradition rather than common authorship. The *Temple Scroll* certainly originated in priestly circles, but it lacks the explicitly polemical character of the sectarian scrolls.

The *Temple Scroll* is primarily concerned to outline an ideal temple and system of purity laws. It does not, however, describe an eschatological or messianic temple: it is "the temple on which I will settle my glory until the day of blessing on which I will create my temple and establish it for myself for all times" (29:8–10). It is, then, a reformist proposal which lays claim to divine authority, but it may be representative of circles from which the sect emerged rather than of the sect itself.

**G. Hymnic and Liturgical Works**

**1. Nonsectarian Works.** We have already noted the Psalms scroll from Cave 11, which includes psalms which are not part of the traditional canon. Some scholars see this scroll as a liturgical collection. Regardless of their canonicity, there is no reason to think that any of the psalms in the scroll were composed at Qumran or are specifically sectarian. A collection of non-Davidic Psalms from Cave 4, published by Schuller (1986), also lacks distinctive sectarian traits. Another traditional, nonsectarian prayer is found in "The Words of the Heavenly Luminaries" (4Q*504–6*; DJD 7:137–75), of which three copies survive, one from about 150 B.C.E. This is a communal prayer for deliverance, based on the covenant relationship, of a type similar to the confessions of sin in Nehemiah 9, Daniel 9, etc. See also WORDS OF THE LUMINARIES (4QDibHam). Several other liturgical works have survived in very fragmentary form. These include daily prayers (4Q*503,* DJD 7: 105–36), which seem to presuppose the solar, 364 day calendar; prayers for the festivals (4Q*508–9*; DJD 7: 177–215, also *1Q34*); a ritual for purification (4Q*512*; DJD 7: 262–86); lamentations (4Q*501*; DJD 7: 79–80; 4Q*179,* DJD 5: 75–77); and a collection of blessings which have been construed by Baillet as a ritual (4Q*502*; DJD 7: 81–105). In view of the fragmentary nature of these texts, their ultimate provenance is uncertain.

**2. Thanksgiving Hymns (1QH).** There are also hymnic and liturgical works which are clearly sectarian compositions. The most important of these is the collection of thanksgiving hymns or *Hodayot.* See also THANKSGIVING HYMNS (1QH). An extensive though poorly preserved ms from Cave 1 was among the earliest scrolls published. This ms dates from the Herodian period. (Two additional fragments can be found in DJD 1: 136–38.) There are also six unpublished mss from Cave 4 of which the oldest dates to about 100 B.C.E. (see Dimant 1984: 523; Lichtenberger 1980: 28) and other fragments in the same style which do not correspond to any known section of the *Hodayot*. A new edition, including the 4Q data, is being prepared by Stegemann and Strugnell. The Cave 4 fragments reportedly complement 1QH at several points and show that the order of the hymns was variable. Whereas 18 columns were reconstructed in the first edition, Lichtenberger (1980: 29) refers to 24 in the light of Stegemann's work and says that most of the fragments have now been placed.

The great majority of the units begin with the declaration "… give thanks to you, O Adonai"—hence the designation "thanksgiving hymns." There are some exceptions, however: 10:14 begins "blessed are you, O Adonai" (cf. 5:20 where "I give you thanks" is erased; 11:27, 32–33) and the opening verses of several

hymns are lost. Cols. 1 and 10:1–12 are hymns of praise to the Creator rather than of thanksgiving for deliverance. Even within the psalms of individual thanksgiving it has become customary to distinguish a number which attest to an exceptionally strong authorial personality. These hymns are characterized by personalized accounts of the distress and affliction of an individual and by the claim to be recipient or mediator of revelation (so Kuhn 1966: 22; Lichtenberger 1980: 29) and are thought to be the work of the Teacher of Righteousness. Other psalms of individual thanksgiving are thought to be "hymns of the community." The "Teacher hymns," according to Kuhn, are 2:1–19; 4:5–5:4; 5:5–19; 5:20–6:36; 7:6–25; 8:4–40. G. Jeremias, who does not make the theme of revelation a criterion, also includes 2:31–39 and 3:1–18 and extends the hymn which begins with 5:20 to 7:5. The distinction between Teacher hymns and community hymns is not universally accepted and there is disagreement about the classification of some hymns (e.g., Becker [1964] would include 2:20–30). Lichtenberger (1980: 65) remarks that not all the Teacher's works were necessarily stamped with his own personality to the same degree. Yet Jeremias (1963: 172–73) has documented significant differences in linguistic usage between the Teacher hymns and other psalms. If the Teacher was not the author of these hymns, we would have to posit some powerful personality who is otherwise unknown. The distinction of a group of Teacher hymns, then, while hypothetical, has much to commend it.

Because of their poetic nature the hymns do not give much factual information about the career of the Teacher, but they do make clear that he was driven out "like a bird from its nest" (4:9) and that he encountered opposition not only from outsiders but also from "all who joined my assembly" (5:20). The cause of dissension was evidently his claim to be entrusted with a mystery. (Compare the Pesher on Habakkuk 7:4–5, which says that God revealed the mysteries of the prophets to the Teacher).

While the "Hymns of the Community" are not as vivid in their imagery as those of the Teacher, they share the same major theological themes. These include a strong deterministic sense of the omnipotence of God and the unworthiness of humanity, e.g., col. 1, cf. 4:28–33; the importance of the covenant (evidently the sectarian understanding thereof; e.g., 2:22; 4:5); and the idea that membership in the sectarian community involves fellowship with the angels or holy ones, e.g., 3:21–23; 6:13–14.

While there is no exposition of dualism like that of the treatise on the two spirits in 1QS, there is a clear moral dualism throughout. This is most vividly expressed in the simile of the two pregnancies in 3:1–18 (which Jeremias reckons a Teacher hymn): the first issues in the birth of a messianic "wonderful counsellor," the second in the "asp" or "wickedness" (the ambiguity of the term is intentional). "Belial" occurs several times in the *Hodayot*, but it is unclear whether it is used as a proper name in its biblical sense of "worthlessness" (von der Osten-Sacken 1969: 73–76). At least in 1QH3: 29, 32 the reference is to a satanic figure, and cosmic dualism is implied.

We do not know whether the *Hodayot* were ever recited in public. A few liturgical texts contain instructions for their use. The Benedictions (1QSb) were originally appended to the *Rule of the Community* (see DJD 1:118–30). They are introduced as "words of blessing for the *maśkîl*" (i.e., to be recited by him). Blessings are provided for "those who fear God … and hold fast to his covenant" (the community), the chief priest (the title is missing but is inferred from the blessing), "the sons of Zadok, the priests," and for "the Prince of the Congregation … that he may restore the kingdom of his people forever." In light of the eschatological overtones of the latter blessing, the editors suggest that the chief priest and prince in question are the messiahs of Aaron and Israel respectively. Like 1QSa, 1QSb then, is intended for "the end of days."

Two other liturgical fragments have eschatological overtones. It is alleged by Milik (1972) that 4Q*280* belongs to a document on purities (4QTeharot). In 4Q*280:1–2* is a curse on Melchiresa which is related to the curse on the lot of Belial in 1QS2. In 4Q*286*, which is part of 4QBerakot, a collection of blessings and curses, is contained a curse on Belial and his guilty lot. By analogy with 1QS, we might suppose that such curses were recited in a covenant renewal ceremony (Milik 1972: 136).

**3. Angelic Liturgy (4QShirShabb)**. A remarkable liturgical text, 4QShirShabb (the Angelic Liturgy), is preserved in fragmentary form in eight mss from Cave 4 (4Q*400–7*) ranging in date from late Hasmonean to early Herodian. The end of another scroll was found in Cave 11, and another fragment in

later Herodian script was found as Masada. The work consists of 13 sections, one for each of the first 13 sabbaths of the year. They evidently presuppose the 52 week, 364 day calendar, but no songs for further sabbaths have been found, despite the number of mss. The individual songs begin with the heading *lĕmaśkîl*, which may indicate either authorship or the person intended to use them. At Qumran *maśkîl* was a technical term for the master or overseer. (The word *maśkîl* is used in biblical psalms without the initial *lamed* to indicate a type of song.)

These songs call on the angels to praise God, describe the angelic priesthood, and the heavenly temple, and its sabbath worship. The climactic seventh (middle) song begins with a series of seven calls to the angels. Then the heavenly temple, with all its parts, is summoned to join in the praise. There appears to be a brief description of the divine throne, and the song concludes with the praise uttered by the *markābôt*, "chariots." The 12th song, in 4Q*405*, also contains a description of the *merkābâ*, "throne of glory," in terms heavily dependent on Ezekiel. According to Newsom (1985: 37) it is "highly likely" that 4Q*401* should be restored to yield two references to Melchizedek, one of which calls him "a priest in the council of God." The reference to the council seems to presuppose the exegesis of Psalm 82 in 11QMelch but adds the element of priesthood. 4Q*401* also contains several references to war in heaven and to the mustering of angelic hosts (Newsom 1985: 8).

Newsom (1985: 17) reasonably suggests that this composition is intended to evoke within a human community "a sense of being in the heavenly sanctuary and in the presence of angelic priests and worshippers" (cf. the first person plural forms in (4Q*400*). Only the 13th song refers explicitly to sacrifices, so it is not clear that they were envisaged as accompaniment to heavenly sacrifices, but they may have been recited at the time of the sabbath sacrifices.

There is a lack of references in 4QShirShabb to the *yāḥad* or any form of community structure which would mark it as clearly sectarian. Nonetheless, 4QShirShabb was evidently congenial to the Qumran community and throws light on the fellowship with the angels which we have seen in the *Hodayot.* It is also related to 4QBerakot, which contains praise of God and the heavenly temple as well as curses on Belial and refers explicitly to the council of the community. In view of the use of *maśkîl* and of the probable dependence on 11QMelch, it is likely that 4QShirShabb was composed at Qumran, but it is still possible that it is an older document from circles such as those that produced *Jubilees.* See also SONGS OF THE SABBATH SACRIFICE (4QShirShabb).

**4. Other Works.** Yet another collection of hymns associated with a maskil is found in 4Q*510–11* (DJD 7:215–62). Here the author refers to himself as a *maśkîl* (4Q*510* v 4). These hymns are intended to praise God and terrify all evil spirits (including "bastards" and Lilith).

Liturgical texts of a different kind are also announced by Milik (1959: 41). These are *Mišmarôt,* "courses," in which the rota of the priestly families' service in the temple is given in detail according to the solar calendar and is also synchronized with the lunar calendar. Fragments of calendrical texts have also been found (e.g., 6Q17).

**H. Eschatological, Apocalyptic, and Related Texts**

**1. The War Scroll (1QM).** We have repeatedly noted the eschatological orientation of works from all categories of literature at Qumran—e.g., the rule for the end of days (1QSa), eschatological midrashic works such as 11QMelch, and liturgical texts such as the Benedictions. The most elaborate and distinctive eschatological composition is the *War Scroll.* See also WAR RULE (1QM). The introductory heading is unfortunately lost. It is usually supposed that the scroll was designated as a *serek,* "rule"—cf. 1QM 3:12; 4:9; 5:3; 9:10. The main text is provided by 1QM, which preserves most of 19 cols., including the beginning but not the end. (Two small fragments are published in DJD 1:135–36 as *1Q33*.) Fragments of six mss (4Q*491–97*) have been found in Cave 4 (DJD 7:12–68). A seventh ms, previously identified as part of the *War Scroll,* is now categorized as a related document (DJD 7:69).

The opening column of the scroll lists the adversaries (Sons of Light/sons of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin against Sons of Darkness/army of Belial-troops of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Philistia, and "the Kittim of Asshur") and outlines the day of battle (the forces of light and darkness shall each prevail in three lots and in the seventh lot God will subdue Belial). Column 2 sets out regulations for a war of 40 years duration.

Columns 3–9 contain directions for deployment of troops and descriptions of trumpets and banners. In cols. 10–14 there are prayers for various occasions in the war. Columns 15–19 describe the battle against the Kittim apparently in seven lots (lots 3 and 4 are mentioned at the bottom of col. 17, but the following lines are lost).

While a few scholars accepted the essential unity of 1QM (Yadin 1962; Carmignac 1958), most have assumed a literary history. The eschatological battle in col. 1 takes place in one day and in seven lots. This outline is elaborated in cols. 15–19. Column 2, in contrast, describes a 40-year war and, moreover, lacks the contrast of light and darkness and the references to Belial which dominate col. 1. There are also duplications between different parts of the scroll. The hymn in col. 12 ("Arise, O mighty one …") is repeated in col. 19. The battle order of cols. 1 and 15–19 is at least partially reflected in cols. 7–9 (von der Osten-Sacken 1969: 52). These and other observations have led scholars to formulate contrasting theories. Von der Osten-Sacken sees cols. 1, 15–19 as the original nucleus, and dates it to the mid-2d century B.C.E. because of its affinities with Daniel. P. R. Davies, in contrast, sees cols. 2–9 as a compilation from the Hasmonean period of traditions from the Maccabean wars, while 15–19 reached its final form (seven phases of battle, Kittim) only in the Roman period (after 63 B.C.E.). He regards col. 1 as a preface supplied by the final redactor. At one extreme L. Rost argued that 1QM was written before the establishment of the Qumran community, since it lacks reference to a separate community and uses the word *yāḥad* in a nontechnical sense. At the other extreme Vermes and Davies put the final redaction in the 1st century C.E. Yadin argued for a Roman date on the basis of military tactics, but his conclusions are disputed.

The source-critical arguments are of somewhat dubious merit. Since the *War Scroll* is arranged thematically (directions for deployment, prayers, description of the battle), some duplication is natural. Even the contrast between the one day of battle in col. 1 and the 40-year war in col. 2 does not involve logical incompatibility, although at least in this case different traditions are being utilized. While cols. 2–9 are less obviously dualistic than 1, 15–19 (Davies 1977), dualistic terminology is, nonetheless, interspersed in these cols. too ("Sons of Darkness" in 3:7, 9; Belial in 4:2). New light has been shed on the development of the *War Scroll* by the fragments from Cave 4. Two mss (4Q*493* and *496*) are dated paleographically before the middle of the 1st century B.C.E. The first of these does not correspond to any known section of 1QM but is clearly part of the same work. The other contains fragments of cols. 1–4. This early attestation of both cols. 1 and 2 would seem to preclude a dating of the final redaction to the Christian era, or even to the Roman period. Another ms, 4Q*491*, presents a recension which is significantly different from that of 1QM. C. H. Hunzinger (1957) had published part of this ms as an "older form" of the scroll. This is disputed by Baillet (DJD 7:12). It includes some passages unattested in 1QM, most notably a hymnic passage in the first person where the speaker boasts that he is reckoned with the angels (or gods) and speaks of a throne of power in the council of the gods. Baillet suggests that the speaker was the archangel Michael. On the evidence of this ms it would seem that different recensions of the scroll were copied in the Herodian period and that its literary history did not follow a neat logical progression. The closest conceptual parallels are found in works like Daniel and 1QS which date to the 2d century. The expressions "Kittim of Asshur" and "Kittim in Egypt" in col. 1 can plausibly be identified with the Seleucids and Ptolemies rather than with the Romans (on the range of "Kittim" see Yadin 1962: 24–25). The sectarian origin of the scroll is open to question in view of the lack of reference to a new covenant or community. Yet the dualism of light and darkness is not attested in Judaism outside the scrolls. Reference to the "Prince of the Congregation" in 5:1 and the citation of Balaam's oracle in chap. 12 constitute parallels with CD 7:19–20. Since 1QM 7:3–4 specifically bars young boys and women from the battle, the scroll seems to presuppose that there were such people in the community (cf. 1QSa), and hence it seems that the scroll was not designed only for a celibate settlement.

The *Rule of the Community* promises not to lay hands on the men of the pit until the day of vengeance (1QS 10:19). It is quite possible that the *War Scroll* was intended precisely for that day. It was not, however, a realistic guide to warfare and is primarily concerned with matters of ritual and purity. The impracticality of the regulations is shown by the fact that "the men of the *serek*" (i.e., the fighters) are 40

to 50 years old, while those who guard the arms and prepare the provisions are 25 to 30 (7:1–3). Great attention is paid to the role of the priests. The purity of the camp was required because "holy angels are with their hosts" (7:6; cf. 12:7–8). Ultimately their hope was that God would raise among the angels the authority of Michael and the dominion of Israel among all flesh (17:7). Like the book of Daniel, the influence of which it shows at many points, the scroll relied on divine and angelic aid rather than on military power.

**2. Other Texts.** The *War Scroll* is perhaps the most obvious example of the affinity of the newly discovered scrolls with the apocalypses. The apocalypses which make up *1 Enoch* are found in several (Aramaic) copies at Qumran, (with the exception of the Similitudes, *1 Enoch* 37–71). Some of these copies are older than the Qumran community (see Milik 1976). Fragments of a related work, "the Book of Giants" is also found there, and fragments of a "book of Noah" and (possibly) of Lamech have been found in Cave 1 (DJD 1:84–87). In addition to the canonical book of Daniel, a number of related "Danielic" writings have been found. Milik (1956) has published fragments of the *Prayer of Nabonidus* (4QPrNab), which may have been a source for Daniel 4, and of 4QpsDaniel ar, which apparently contained a review of history from the Flood followed by a prediction with an eschatological conclusion. See NABONIDUS, PRAYER OF (4QPrNab). He also mentions a document which includes one or more visions. The visionary encounters four trees, of which the first identifies itself as Babylon. Milik speculates that they represent four kingdoms. Another unpublished composition, 4Q*243*, has been labelled 4QPsDan A, although it is not clearly related to Daniel at all. This latter text is noteworthy for mention of one who will be called "Son of God." Milik thinks the reference is to a Seleucid king, but Fitzmyer thinks rather of a Jewish messianic figure (Fitzmyer 1979: 92). Other apocalyptic or related pseudepigrapha include *Jubilees* (several copies), an Aramaic *Apocryphon of Levi*, and fragments related to some of the *Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs*, including a Heb parallel to the *Testament of Naphtali*, relating the genealogy of Bilhah.

Despite the evident interest in apocalypses and related texts at Qumran, the library has yielded no example of an apocalypse which was previously unknown and is likely to have been composed within the sect. There are, however, a few fragmentary works whose genre is uncertain but which may be apocalypses. The most important of these is 4QAmram (Milik 1972; Kobelski 1981: 24–36). This Aramaic document is introduced as "a copy of the book of the words of the vision of Amram son of Qahat, son of Levi: everything that he made known to his sons and that he commanded them on the day of his death …" It is then a testament rather than an apocalypse, but it contains a report of a dream vision in which Amram saw two supernatural beings contesting over him. One of these was called Melchiresa, who rules over darkness. The other rules over light. If Milik has reconstructed the text correctly, each figure had three names: the first called Belial, Prince of Darkness, Melchiresa, and the second called Michael, Prince of Light, Melchizedek. It is then an exceptionally full statement of the dualistic mythology which underlies 11QMelch and the opposition of light and darkness in 1QS and 1QM.

The exceptional importance of the document comes from its early date—early or mid 2d century B.C.E. It is likely then to have been composed before the foundation of the Qumran community, although the dualism of light and darkness is only attested in ancient Judaism in the Qumran scrolls.

Another quasi-apocalyptic Aramaic text is the Description of the New Jerusalem (*1Q32; 2Q24; 5Q15;* there are further fragments from Caves 4 and 11; see DJD 3:184–93). This is a vision of the ideal city in which the visionary is guided by an angel. The literary prototype is clearly Ezekiel 40–48. Another unpublished work attributed to Ezekiel will reportedly be published by Strugnell under the sigla 4Q*384–90*. Milik (1976: 254) refers to it as an "Apocalypse of Ten Jubilees." It evidently bears some resemblance to 11QMelch and to the Pesher on the Periods, but its literary form is as yet uncertain. The Book of Mysteries (*1Q27*, also composed of fragments from Cave 4), speaks of "the mystery to come" and proceeds to give the signs that these things will come to pass. A fragmentary text from Cave 4 reports a vision of Samuel which shows some affinity with Daniel (God will raise up a rock and a kingdom which people of all lands will know). A very fragmentary text, *6Q14*, is labelled "an apocalyptic text" by the editors for no apparent reason. Another allegedly eschatological text (which may not, in fact, be such) is

4QMess ar, the so-called "Elect of God" text. This Aramaic fragment is a horoscopic prediction of the life of an individual who is called the "Elect of God," but that title is not necessarily messianic. The reference may be to Noah (so Fitzmyer 1965). See also ARAMAIC "MESSIANIC" TEXT (4Qmess ar). It should be noted that such compositions as 11QMelch and 4Q2Ezekiel (see E above) are also closely related to apocalyptic literature.

**I. Miscellaneous Compositions**

Several other categories of literature are represented in the Qumran library. These include:

*sapiential works* such as "The Wiles of the Wicked Woman" (4Q*184*, DJD 5:82–85), which is similar to the warning of Proverbs 1–9, and other admonitions (4Q*185* and the unpublished 4Q*371*);

*horoscopes:* 4Q*186*, written in archaic Heb letters (with some Gk ones) from left to right, comments on physical and psychological features, assigns portions in the "houses" of light and darkness, and specifies astrological signs (4Qmess ar also falls in this category);

*list of treasures:* one of the most puzzling of all the Qumran documents is the *Copper Scroll* (3Q15; DJD 3: 201–302). See also COPPER SCROLL (3Q15). Two scrolls were discovered which appear to have originally formed a single plaque of copper-based metal. On this was inscribed, in postbiblical Hebrew, a list of 64 deposits of gold, silver, aromatics, and mss. Because of the enormous amount involved, Milik, the editor, was convinced that the list was fictional. He also argued that the author was not an Essene, because of the lack of distinctively Essene features but also because of the language and orthography. Others, however, (e.g., Golb 1985) have argued that the list records the disposition of the treasures of the Jerusalem temple. There is no close parallel to the *Copper Scroll* in the Qumran library, but Milik notes a similar preoccupation with detail in such imaginative documents as the Description of the New Jerusalem and the *War Scroll;*

*a quasi-medical text?* An obscure fragment, 6QTherapeia, is interpreted by Allegro (1985: 235–40) as "a clinical report on some aspects of Essene therapy." This fragment consists of ten lines, and Allegro's published photo is largely illegible. Allegro's interpretation has now been decisively refuted by Naveh (1986), who suggests that the document in question is merely a writing exercise.

**J. History of the Community**

The origin of the Qumran settlement is dated on archaeological grounds to the second half of the 2d century B.C.E. (probably prior to the reign of John Hyrcanus, 135–104 B.C.E., but not by much; de Vaux 1973: 5). Most scholars date the activity of the Teacher of Righteousness to this period. See also QUMRAN, KHIRBET; TEACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS. The major dissenters from this consensus (Dupont-Sommer 1973, who favors the 1st century B.C.E., and Driver [1951] and Rabin [1957], who argued for a 1st century C.E. date) have found few followers in recent years. There have been several idiosyncratic proposals in recent years (Thiering [1979]; Eisenmann [1983], diversely, for an Herodian date; Golb [1985] denies that the library belonged to a Qumran settlement), but they have made little impression on the scholarly debates. The dominant consensus (Vermes, Cross, Milik) sees the Essenes as an offshoot of the Hasidim of the Maccabean period which broke away when the Hasmoneans took over the high priesthood, to which they had no traditional right. The "Wicked Priest," who appears as the adversary of the Teacher in the pesharim is usually identified as Jonathan Maccabeus, alternatively as Simon (so Cross). (For a very skeptical review of the discussion, see Callaway 1988).

The primary internal evidence for the history of the community is found in the *Damascus Document* (CD) and the pesharim. Only CD provides a narrative account of its origin. According to CD 1 God caused "a root of planting to spring from Israel and Aaron" 390 years after he delivered them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. It has been argued, for metrical reasons, that the chronological data are added as a gloss (Davies 1983: 63), but even if this be granted, their evidence cannot be disregarded because they preserve the sect's own recollection of its history. The chronological precision of the information is questionable. The figure 390 is taken from Ezek 4:9. If it is extended by 20 years until the arrival of the Teacher, by 40 for his career, and by another 40 from his death until the overthrow of his opponents (CD 20:15), we arrive at the classic figure of 490 (the "seventy weeks of years" of Daniel 9). It is then a schematic figure which gives at best an approximate date in the early 2d or late 3d

century B.C.E. CD 1 goes on to say that this "plant root" was "like blind men" for 20 years until the arrival of the Teacher of Righteousness.

Some scholars (Murphy-O'Connor, Davies) have argued that the origin of the movement can be traced back further to the Babylonian exile. Their arguments rest primarily on the interpretation of disputed passages in CD. In CD 3 God is said to establish his covenant with a remnant, and this statement follows directly on the description of the Babylonian exile. In the context of CD, however, this passage must surely be understood in light of the chronological data of CD 1: i.e., the new covenant should be placed "390 years" after the Exile. Other writings from the 2d century (the Apocalypse of Weeks in *1 Enoch, Jubilees*) skip over the postexilic period in a similar way. Again the phrase *šby yiśrā*›*ēl* (CD 4:2–3; 6:5) is translated by Murphy-O'Connor as "the returnees of Israel" (Davies takes it as "the captivity of Israel"). CD 6:5 says that those who dug the well of the Law were the *šby yiśrā*›*ēl* who went out from the land of Judah and sojourned in the land of Damascus. These are men of understanding from Aaron and men of wisdom from Israel and must be identified with the plant root of CD 1. In 4:2–3 the priests are the *šby yiśrā*›*ēl* who went forth from the land of Judah. In these cases, however, the "going out" is not the indiscriminate deportation of exiles but the voluntary separation of a reform movement. Consequently, most scholars translate *šby yiśrā*›*ēl* as "penitents of Israel" (compare the phrase *šby peša*‹, "those who turn from sin" [CD 2:5; 20:17]). Moreover, the "plant root" is explicitly said to be a penitential movement in CD 1:8. The geographical significance of Damascus remains in dispute. It is variously taken as Babylon, Qumran, a place or state of separation from Jewish society, or literally as Damascus. The identification with Babylon depends on the broader theory that the movement originated in Babylon, and in view of the symbolic language of CD a literal reference to Damascus is improbable. The reference to Damascus symbolizes separation from Jewish society, whether Qumran is specifically intended or not. The general sense is clarified by CD 8:16, which refers to the *šby yiśrā*›*ēl* "who departed from the way of the people" (for a critique of the Babylonian hypothesis, as based on CD, see Knibb 1983).

If the development of the movement is located in Palestine in the early 2d century, it must be seen in the context of other developments at that time. The Apocalypse of Weeks (*1 En.* 93:1–10; 91:11–17) speaks of the emergence of "the chosen righteous from the eternal plant of righteousness" at the end of the seventh "week." The Animal Apocalypse (*1 Enoch* 83–91) speaks of "small lambs" who begin to open their eyes and who find a leader in a horned ram, which is evidently to be identified with Judas Maccabeus. *Jubilees* 23:26 tells how "the children will begin to study the laws" in a time of crisis. A group of wise teachers (*maśkîlîm*) play a key role in the prophecy of Daniel 10–12. Many scholars (e.g., Hengel) take all of these passages and also CD 1 as references to the Hasidim, who are known from the books of Maccabees (1 Macc 2:42; 7:12–13; 2 Macc 14:6). We have little direct information about the Hasidim. They were militant supporters of Judas Maccabeus, and they sought peace with the high priest Alcimus, who betrayed them. Their support of Judas Maccabeus is compatible with the lambs of the Animal Apocalypse, but scarcely with Daniel or CD. The Maccabean books tell us nothing of the beliefs or organization of the Hasidim. Nonetheless, there was evidently some relationship between the various reform groups of the Maccabean era. It may be that "Hasidim" was a loose umbrella term which covered more positions than are indicated in the books of Maccabees. It is not possible, however, to relate all the references to groups in the Maccabean era to a single organization. Since CD refers to a "new covenant," this movement at least was formally organized. The Enoch apocalypses, by contrast, make no reference to the organization of their groups and so can scarcely be identified with the plant root of CD, although they were related to it (contra Davies 1987: 107–47, who speaks of the Apocalypse of Weeks and *Jubilees* as "Essene texts.")

It is not fully clear from CD at what point the new covenant was formed. In CD 1 two stages are distinguished, the emergence of the "plant root" and the arrival of the Teacher 20 years later. In CD 3 it is said that God established his covenant with a remnant; and when they sinned, God forgave them and established a sure house for them. If two distinct stages are meant here, as in CD 1, then the covenant was probably established before the Teacher arrived. In CD 6, however, one continuous process is envisaged. The elect group from Aaron and Israel dig the well of the Law with the "staffs" provided by the

interpreter of the Law (presumably the historical Teacher; CD 6:11 refers to another eschatological figure who will teach righteousness at the end of days). In CD the Teacher is seen as confirming and establishing the covenant, so that there is no discontinuity with the "plant" which preceded him. It is not clear how far the movement had separated itself from the rest of Judaism before the arrival of the Teacher. Most scholars assume that at least the settlement at Qumran came about after his arrival.

In CD the Teacher is opposed by the Man of Scoffing who "let flow over Israel the waters of falsehood" (1:14–15). This figure is elsewhere known as "the Man of the Lie." He is mentioned again in 8:13; 19:26; and 20:15. The latter passage refers to the end of "all the men of war who went with the Man of the Lie." He also appears in the Pesher on Habakkuk 2:1–2; 5:8–12; and 10:9–13. There he is grouped with the traitors who "were not faithful to the covenant of God" (2:3–4) and rejected the words of the Teacher. He is also said to have rejected the Torah and rebuked the Teacher in a council where the "house of Absalom" failed to oppose him (5:8–12) and to have established a congregation with deceit (10:10). He is also mentioned in the Pesher on Psalm 37, where he is said to have led many astray and caused them not to listen to the Teacher (a further alleged reference in 1QpMic 10:2 is not actually attested—see Horgan 1979: 60).

The pesharim also refer to an opponent of the Teacher called "the Wicked Priest" (1QpHab [1:13]; 8:8–13; 8:16–9:2; 9:9–12; [9:16–10:1]; 10:3–5; 11:4–8; 2:2–10; 4QpPs 37 4:8–10). We are told that this figure "was called by the true name at the beginning of his course, but when he ruled in Israel he became arrogant, abandoned God, and betrayed the statutes for the sake of wealth" (1QpHab 8:9–13). He is also said to have persecuted the Teacher, when the latter was observing the Day of Atonement (11:4–8). Several passages predict his punishment at the hand of God.

Some scholars assume that the Wicked Priest and the Man of the Lie are one and the same (e.g., Vermes). Jeremias and Stegemann have argued strongly that they are distinct. The Man of the Lie is the leader of a group which rejected the authority of the Teacher. The Wicked Priest is a high priest of Judaism as a whole. While both are enemies of the Teacher, only the priest is accused of defiling the sanctuary. The feud with the Man of the Lie concerns the true teaching. It appears then that the Teacher was involved in two disputes, one with the high priest and another with a rival teacher.

The points of dispute between the "new covenant" and "all Israel" can be inferred from CD. All Israel erred with regard to "his holy sabbaths and his glorious feasts" (CD 3:14–15), i.e., the cultic calendar. It is well-known that the Qumran community held to the 364 day calendar, which is attested in *1 Enoch, Jubilees,* and the *Temple Scroll.* Furthermore, CD 4:15–5:15 expounds the "three nets" in which Belial ensnared Israel—lust (by marrying two women in their lifetime), riches, and defilement of the sanctuary by failure to observe purity laws. Much light will be thrown on the points of dispute between the sect and other Jews by the publication of 4QMMT, supposedly a letter from a leader of the sect (possibly the Teacher of Righteousness) to a high priest (possibly the Wicked Priest). From the preliminary description of this document it seems that the main issue concerned the cultic calendar, ritual purity, and marriage laws.

Many scholars have supposed that the occasion for the break away of the sect was the assumption of the high priesthood by the Hasmoneans, either by Jonathan, who was appointed high priest by the Syrian king Alexander Balas in 152 B.C.E. (so Vermes, Milik, and most scholars) or by Simon, who was both recognized by a Syrian king and acclaimed by the priests and people in 140 B.C.E. (so Cross). Recently some scholars have also held that the Teacher of Righteousness was himself high priest during the interval between the death of Alcimus and the accession of Jonathan. (Stegemann; Murphy-O'Connor says he was de facto high priest; Josephus, *Ant* 20.10.3 §237 says that the office was vacant for seven years. Elsewhere he says that Judas Maccabeus had functioned as high priest and that the interval was only four years, *Ant* 12.112 §434; 13.2.3 §46.) The Teacher is called "the priest" in 4QpPs37 2:19; 3:15 (compare 1QpHab 2:8), and it has been claimed that this absolute designation is elsewhere reserved for the high priest in the postexilic period (Stegemann, Murphy-O'Connor). This claim is not justified, however (see Collins 1989: 166). Ezra is called "the priest," and he is not generally thought to have been a high priest. Moreover, the succession to the high priesthood is not an issue in CD (nor in what has been

made public of 4QMMT). In 1QpHab 8:8 we are told that the Wicked Priest was called by the name of truth at the beginning of his course and only "betrayed the statutes" when he ruled in Israel and became arrogant. It would seem then that he was not considered to be illegitimate because of his descent or to have usurped the rightful office of the Teacher. Rather, the objections to him were that he violated the *halakôt* of the sect by his wealth and impurity (1QpHab 8:10–13; 12:8–9). Besides, the Wicked Priest took the offensive against the sect. We are told that he pursued the Teacher to his place of exile on the Day of Atonement "to swallow them up and to make them stumble on the fast day, their restful sabbath" (1QpHab 11:4–8; cf. 4QpPs37 4:8–10). From this it would seem that the Wicked Priest attempted to suppress the observance of the heterodox calendar. The polemic against him in the pesharim may be a reflex of his own hostility to the sect. Yet, from 1QpHab8 it would seem that better things had been expected of him. If the followers of the Teacher had been among the Hasidim who supported Jonathan, their disappointment would be understandable. (On the Teacher and the high priesthood see Burgmann 1980. Van der Woude [1982] has proposed that each reference to "Wicked Priest" in the Habakkuk pesher refers to a different individual. While this is not persuasive, it is possible that the title is used for more than one of the Hasmonean high priests.)

The Man of the Lie is depicted in the scrolls as one who rejected the Teacher and caused others to do likewise. From CD 20:11–13 it appears that those who "turned back with the men of scoffing had been members of the new covenant. It would seem then that the advent of the Teacher brought about a split in the movement that had existed up to that point. The only reason given is that the Man of the Lie refused to accept the teaching authority of the Teacher. This may have been a matter of personal rivalry, or may have resulted from a new proposal of the Teacher (e.g., the establishment of the Qumran settlement, so Murphy-O'Connor).

Scholars have understood this split in the movement in various ways. In Stegemann's reconstruction, the followers of the Man of the Lie became the Pharisees (those who broke off). Murphy-O'Connor and Davies suppose that the followers of the Teacher were confined to Qumran, while those of the Man of the Lie became the "non-Qumran Essenes" (cf. Garcia-Martinez 1985, who argues that the Essenes originated in Palestine in apocalyptic circles in the early 2d century, but that the Qumran community resulted from a schism in the Essene movement). The latter suggestion is implausible because CD clearly comes from the Teacher's movement. Yet it legislates for life in camps and in towns—i.e., in several settlements. Moreover, the accounts of the Essenes in Philo and Josephus have most affinities with the quasi-monastic *Rule of the Community* which is presumably the rule of the Qumran settlement; yet they both say that the Essenes were found throughout the land. There is no evidence of a schism between the Qumran community and other Essenes. Stegemann's suggestion on the origin of the Pharisees is attractive but cannot be verified conclusively. There are indications that the withdrawal to the desert was not entirely voluntary. In 1QH 4:8–9 the hymnist (presumably the Teacher of Righteousness) says that he was driven out like a bird from its nest. The retreat to Qumran, "to expiate iniquity" (1QS 8:3), may also have been a way of escaping from hostile opponents, some of whom persisted in their pursuit (1QpHab 11:4–8).

From the archaeology of Qumran it appears that the community attracted an influx of new settlers in the early first century B.C.E.—possibly Pharisees fleeing from Alexander Jannaeus (who appears as the "Lion of Wrath" in the pesher on Nahum). The site of Qumran was abandoned for several decades at the end of the 1st century B.C.E. after it had been destroyed, perhaps by the earthquake of 31 B.C.E., perhaps by the Parthian invasion of 40 B.C.E. The settlement was finally destroyed by the Romans during the First Jewish Revolt (66–70 C.E.).

**K. Character and Significance**

The identification of the Qumran community as an Essene settlement is well established. See ESSENES. Yet the character of the community as it emerges from the scrolls is very different from that conveyed by Philo and Josephus in their descriptions of the Essenes. The ascetic tendencies of the community arise not from the pursuit of philosophical mysticism or from the dualism of mind and body but from the observance of priestly purity laws, the dualism of light and darkness, and the expectation of divine judgment.

The priestly character of the community is pervasive and is reflected in its leadership and even in the name "sons of Zadok." (See Davies 1987: 51–72, on the limitations of what can be inferred from this term.) It is also reflected in the sense of participation in the angelic world, which is evident in hymnic compositions, such as the *Hodayot* and 4QShirShabb. Some of the most fundamental points at issue between the community and other strands of Judaism pertained to cultic and purity laws—notably the calendar. In the scrolls, however, these issues are viewed in a particular context (see Collins 1984: 115–41). Right observance depends on right revelation, which in this case is provided by the inspired exegesis of the Teacher (and presumably of his successors). The revelation of Qumran also contains an understanding of the world and of history which is enshrined in the *Rule of the Community.* The dualistic opposition of the two spirits provides a new context even for such a traditional institution as the covenant. The persistent importance of this dualism is shown by the *War Scroll,* which was copied in the Roman period. While other documents (CD, the *Hodayot*), do not expound the dualism of the two spirits, they also ascribe a role to Belial as a supernatural enemy of God and thereby attest the essential structure of dualism.

We have repeatedly noted the eschatological orientation of the scrolls. Several documents attest a periodization of history, culminating in the penultimate age of wrath, in which the community lived. The settlement in the desert was supposed to prepare the imminent way of the Lord (1Q58), and rule books were prepared for the community of the end of days (1QSa) and for the final war. The scrolls frequently refer to the coming of the messiahs of Aaron and Israel—the eschatological counterparts of the priest and the overseer of the actual community. We should expect that the level of eschatological fervor rose and fell during the two centuries of the community's existence, but attempts to trace development in the extant literature have not been successful. The Pesher on Habakkuk shows an awareness of the problem of the delay of the end times, but insists that all of God's times will come in their fixed order (7:9–14). While the *War Scroll* cannot be simply assigned to the Roman period, the late copies of it show the continued vitality of eschatological hope. Whether that hope led the community to participate in the revolt against Rome in the belief that the day of vengeance had come, remains a tantalizing but unanswerable question.

The primary importance of the Dead Sea Scrolls is that they greatly enrich our understanding of Judaism around the turn of the era. Not only do they preserve the actual documents of a sect which had been known through second (or third) hand accounts; they also preserve a range of documents which were not strictly sectarian but illustrate the variety of Judaism. In recent years increasing attention has been paid to the presence of nonsectarian material in the Qumran library (conceivably including the entire Aramaic corpus). In some cases this material sheds light on the pre-Maccabean period, from which we have so little material. The scrolls also show that variety in text and canon persisted at the turn of the era and help dispel the mirage of normative Judaism in this period.

Christian scholars have naturally been preoccupied with the relevance of the scrolls for the NT. Sensational attempts to find direct references to Jesus or John the Baptist in the scrolls have not entirely disappeared but have been thoroughly discredited. The significance of the scrolls for the NT is less direct, but more far-reaching. The scrolls attest another Jewish community which, like the early Christians, lived in the belief that the end of days was at hand and that its struggle was with principalities and powers, and which reinterpreted the Scriptures in that context. There were of course great differences between the priestly Teacher and the miracle worker from Galilee, between the pursuit of purity at Qumran and the Christian mission to the Gentiles. Yet the scrolls have provided a wealth of comparative material which will continue to occupy NT scholars for the foreseeable future (Stendahl 1957; Vermes 1981: 211–25).

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**DEAD, ABODE OF THE.** Several terms are used to denote the abode of the dead in the Hebrew Bible, and they often occur in parallelism to one another. The most common is *šĕ›ôl*. Both *šĕ›ôl* and *māwet*, "Death" are often used in Hebrew to refer to the realm of death as well as to the personified chthonic power behind death and all that is associated with it. See MOT. Hebrew *›ereṣ* is simply "earth" yet, as with Ug *›arṣ* and Akk *erṣetu*, it too can designate the netherworld. The words *šaḥat* and *bôr* both refer to the abode of the dead as the "Pit." Hebrew *›ăbaddôn* is another poetic name for the underworld usually translated "Perdition" or " (place of) Destruction."

Several terms are used to describe the abode of the dead in the NT as well. The word *hadēs* most commonly translates *šĕ›ôl* in the LXX and is used ten times in the NT. It shares many of the physical characteristics of Sheol, and it too can designate either the underworld or the personified lord of the underworld. The NT also refers to the abode of the dead as the "Abyss" (*abussos*). 2 Pet 2:4 mentions Tartaros, which is well known from Greek mythology for its great depth. GEHENNA is also used to describe the eschatological hell of fire where the ungodly are punished after death.

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A. Etymology of Sheol
B. Sheol in the Hebrew Bible
1. Depiction of the Place Sheol
2. Personification of Sheol

3. The Inhabitants of Sheol
C. Other Designations for the Abode of the Dead
D. Hades In the New Testament

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**A. Etymology of Sheol**

Sheol is the most common word used in the Hebrew Bible to refer to the abode of the dead, occurring some 66 times (including repointing MT's *šĕ›ālâ* in Isa 7:11 to *šĕ›ōlâ* following the reading *eis hadēn* in Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and most commentators). Interestingly, Sheol is not found in any of the cognate languages. There is no description of any extrabiblical myths about Sheol as we have with other chthonic figures mentioned in the Hebrew Bible such as Mot and Reshep. There is an extrabiblical reference to *šĕ›ôl* in Cowley's Aramaic papyri #71 (*CAP* 180–81; cf. Sir 41:4 and Yadin 1965: 41).

Because of the significance of *šĕ›ôl* there has been a long history of scholarly debate concerning its etymology with suggestions ranging far and wide. Lo proposal has met with unanimous consensus. The following are just a few of the etymologies which have been advocated. A more nearly complete list may be found in Spronk (1986: 66–67).

(1) Delitzsch suggested a putative Akk *šu›ālu* meaning "underworld" (1881: 121; 1886: 145 n. 2) and was followed by many (e.g., Jastrow 1897: 165–70; Gunkel 1895: 154; and others; cf. Tromp 1969: 21). The Akkadian has been misanalyzed (see the critiques of Jensen 1890; Heidel 1949: 173 and esp. von Soden 1970), and thus this widely held proposal should be abandoned.

(2) Jensen (1890: 131) pointed out the equation *ši-la-an = e-reb* $^{d}$*UTU-ši* and connected biblical *šĕ›ôl* with the descent of Šamaš, the sun (deity), into the underworld (cf. *AHW* 1235). This proposal is far from certain and was even retracted at a later time by Jensen himself. This need not detract from the large role which the sun deity (e.g., Šamaš in Mesopotamia and Šapšu at Ugarit) played in underworld activities and the cult of the dead (see Lewis 1989: 35–46).

(3) Albright (1918: 209) noted how etymologists were handling *šĕ›ôl* "somewhat gingerly" ever since Delitzsch's "unlucky adventure with an assumed *šu›ālu*." At first Albright (1918: 209–10) played it safe by looking to Akk *ša›ālu*, "to ask," "to decide," and thus *šĕ›ôl* would be equivalent to "a place of decision (of fates)." Later however, Albright (1926: 151–52; cf. Baumgartner 1946: 233–35) was himself more adventurous, looking to Akk *šu›ara* to illuminate biblical *šĕ›ôl* (supposing the interchange of *r* and *l*). According to Albright's view *šu›ara* would be a modified form of *šubaru/subartu*, which is associated with the Tammuz cult and equated with Ḫubur, the river of the netherworld (cf. Gelb 1944: 92–98; *CAD* Ḫ 219; *AHW* 352 s.v. *ḫubur*). This, too, is strained, and later we find Albright (1956: 257) embracing yet another analysis of *šĕ›ôl*, namely, the place of ordeal/examination arising out of a forensic context (see (5) below).

(4) In 1946 and again in 1956 Koehler reacted against those looking for the etymology of *šĕ›ôl* among Akkadian words and asserted that *šĕ›ôl* is "a good simple Hebrew word." In *urhebräisch*, says Koehler, "there could have existed an ancient form **šĕ›ô*, which is no longer extant" to which was added "the epenthetic final consonant *l*" resulting in the word *šĕ›ôl.* Accordingly, concluded Koehler, *šĕ›ôl* may be derived from the root *š›h* (cf. nouns *šā›ôn, šĕ›iyyâ, šē›t*) and may denote a desolate or devastated place, which is best translated by "No Land" (*Unland*) designating a world "where are found shadowiness, decay, remoteness from God: Nothingness" (1956: 19–20; cf. KB, 935).

(5) The most plausible etymology for *šĕ›ôl* is also the most obvious and the least strained, i.e., to derive it from the verb *š›l,* "to ask, inquire." This proposal has been suggested on and off through the years with slightly different nuances. A. Jeremias (1887: 62, 109) suggested "Ort der Endscheidung/Ein (for)derung," yet this has not been adopted by many scholars. More likely are the following theses. Jastrow (1897: 169–70; cf. 1900: 82–105) and others (König 1933: 474; *IDB* 1: 787–88) suggested a place of inquiry referring to the practice of necromancy. Jastrow (1900: 89–92) found 28 times where *š›l* is used of consulting oracles including references to consulting the spirits of the dead in Deut 18:11 and 1 Chr 10:13. Oppenheim (1956: 221–23) has argued that *š›l* could also have the technical sense referring to necromancy in the story about Saul and the necromancer at Endor (1 Sam 28:6) and compares the roles of

the *šā›iltu*-priestess in Akkadian (cf. Lewis 1989: 104–17). One could also compare the use of *š›l* in connection with the *tĕrāpîm* (Ezek 21:26), which van der Toorn (fc.) and others have connected to ancestral cults (cf. Akk *eṭemmē ša›ālu,* "to consult the spirits of the dead").

As mentioned in (2) above, Albright's last understanding of the etymology of *šĕ›ôl* emphasized the underlying forensic aspect of the root *š›l.* McCarter's (1973: 407–8) study of the river ordeal in ancient Israel concluded likewise that *šĕ›ôl* may have originally meant "the place of interrogation." Finally, compare Rosenberg (1980: 8–12), who has provided the most detailed study of *šĕ›ôl* to date. She too emphasizes the forensic aspect of the imagery underlying the use of *šĕ›ôl* and suggests "a semantic development from inquire > call to account > punish."

**B. Sheol in the Hebrew Bible**

**1. Depiction of the Place Sheol.** We have few descriptive details of Sheol in comparison to the elaborate depictions of the underworld found in Egyptian and Mesopotamiam literature (Rosenberg 1980: 166–67). One thinks immediately of the Egyptian "guide books" for the dead in the underworld (*dat/duat*), which lead the dead through various gates, portals, and caverns. The Mesopotamian story about the descent of Isthar into the netherworld describes the entrants' journey to "the land of no return" (*māt la târi*), which is a place "bereft of light where their sustenance is dust and their food is clay." Gates and guardian gatekeepers are common to both traditions. For a discussion of the various names for the underworld in Mesopotamia, see Tallqvist (1934).

Sheol is typically depicted as a place to which one "goes down" (*yrd;* e.g., Num 16:30; Job 7:9; Isa 57:9; cf. Isa 29:4; Ps 88:3–4; *KTU* 1.161.21–22; 1.5.6.24–25; CAD A2: 216 s.v. *arādu*). It represents the lowest place imaginable (Deut 32:22; Isa 7:11) often used in contrast with the highest heavens (Amos 9:2; Ps 139:8; Job 11:8). To emphasize further the depth of Sheol we also find *šĕ›ôl,* as well as *›ereṣ* and *bôr* (see C below), modified by *taḥtît/taḥtiyyôt* (e.g., Deut 32:32; Ps 86:13; Ezek 31:14–18), usually translated "the lowest parts of the underworld." Sheol is often associated with various water images (Tromp 1969: 59–66). The best example of this imagery can be found in Jonah 2:3–6, which couples *šĕ›ôl* with numerous terms for the chaotic waters including Sea (*yām/yammîm*), River (*nāhār*), breakers (*mišbārîm*), waves (*gallîm*), waters (*mayîm*), and the deep (*tĕhôm*) (see Cross 1983: 159–67). Rosenberg (1980: 102–69) has noted the stereotypical fixed formulas employed in such passages (e.g., Jonah 2:3–6; Pss 42:8; 69:2–3, 15–16; 88:7–8). Building on the analysis of the river ordeal by McCarter (1973: 403–12) and Frymer-Kensky (1977), Rosenberg proposed that the water imagery has more to say about divine judgment than about an actual description of the locale of *šĕ›ôl.* Rosenberg's contributions to understanding the forensic context of *šĕ›ôl* are many. Yet the crossing of water as part of one's travel to the underworld is too persistent in the ANE not to be underlying the imagery of biblical Sheol to some degree, even if the water imagery is used primarily in forensic contexts. Compare *ḫubur* in Akkadian (CAD Ḫ, 219), which is a designation for both the place of the river ordeal and the netherworld.

The gates of Sheol are mentioned several times in the Hebrew Bible (Isa 38:10; Pss 9:14—Eng9:13; 107:18; Job 38:17; cf. Jer 15:7). As mentioned above, gates and guardian gatekeepers are prominent in the Egyptian and Mesopotamian conceptions of the netherworld. The same concept continues in later Jewish (Wis 16:13; *3 Macc.* 5:51) and Christian (Matt 16:18; cf. Rev 1:18) literature. Similarly, Jonah 2:7—Eng2:6 describes the "bars" (*bĕrîḥîm*) of the underworld (cf. Job 38:10; the common translation "bars of Sheol" in Job 17:16 [cf. RSV] is doubtful). Both of these images have to do with the imprisoning power of Sheol and its impassable nature, which prevents escape. Compare Job 7:9, *yôrēd šĕ›ôl lō› ya‹aleh,* "he who goes down to Sheol does not come up" and the Akkadian description of the netherworld as *māt la târi*, "the land of no return." See also BELIAL. Compare also the ropes and snares of Sheol/Death (2 Sam 22:6 = Ps 18:5–6—Eng18:4–5).

Darkness is a key characteristic of netherworlds (Held 1973: 179 n. 53), and this holds true for Sheol as well. It occurs in parallelism with *ḥōšek,* "darkness" (Job 17:13; cf. Lam 3:6; Job 18:18) as does *›ereṣ,* "underworld" (Pss 88:13; 143:3). One of the etymologies proposed above would see *šĕ›ôl* as the place where one engages in necromancy. If this etymology is valid, it would be significant to note that necromantic rituals regularly took place at night (1 Sam 28:8; Isa 45:18–19; 65:4), the time during which

it was thought appropriate to consult those who live in darkness (Lewis 1989: 12, 114, 142–43, 160). Sheol is also characterized by dust (Job 17:16; 21:26; Ps 7:6–Eng Ps 7:5; cf. Gen 3:19) and quite often silence (Pss 31:17–18; 94:17; 115:17; Isa 47:5; cf. Allegro 1968: 82–84; Ps 28:1).

Sheol is intimately connected with the grave, although the degree to which it is identified with the grave has been debated. On one extreme we have those who see the grave behind every reference to Sheol, while on the other extreme Sheol and the grave are kept totally separate. An example of the former view is that of Harris, who has repeatedly emphasized (1961, 1980, 1986) that Sheol always means simply "grave" and never "underworld." The problem, notes Harris (1980: 892), "is the theological one." "Does the OT teach, in contradiction to the NT, that all men after death go to a dark and dismal place where the dead know nothing and are cut off from God?" The fact that "both good men (Jacob, Gen 37:35) and bad men (Korah, Dathan, etc., Num 16:30) go there" presents insurmountable difficulties. If Sheol does not mean simply "grave," asserts Harris, then all we are left with is the early Church's inadequate notion of a *limbus patrum* (1986: 59; 1980: 892). The weakness of Harris' view is his lack of any appreciation for the solidarity and shared legacy which the biblical authors had in common with their ANE environment (Harris does not cite any extrabiblical literature from either Mesopotamia, Ugarit, or Egypt). There are other ways of addressing the difficulties which lie behind the question of who goes down to Sheol (see B.3 below).

Of a less extreme nature is Pedersen (1926: 461–62), who asserts that Sheol is the netherworld, but:

> The ideas of the grave and of Sheol cannot be separated … The dead are at the same time in the grave and in Sheol … Sheol is the entirety into which all graves are merged … Sheol should be the sum of the graves … The "Ur"-grave we might call Sheol … Where there is grave, there is Sheol, and where there is Sheol, there is grave.

Heidel (1949: 170–91) also demonstrates how Sheol refers to the underworld as well as the grave.

An example of the other end of the spectrum is Rosenberg (1980: 168–69), who argues that Pedersen and others have been too influenced by the extrabiblical material which describes the grave as forming "a veritable continuum with the underworld." "The concept of the grave and of Sheol or its semantic equivalents," remarks Rosenberg, "were consistently kept apart … no concept of 'Ur' grave is attested in the Bible." Sheol in this view is simply the underworld.

**2. Personification of Sheol.** In the Hebrew Bible the word for death (*māwet/môt*) often refers to the realm of death as well as to death personified (see MOT). The same can be said of Sheol. Zimmerli (1983: 152) comments that "the lack of the article in all the occurrences [of Sheol] in the OT would certainly suggest that the word still had something of the ring of a proper name about it." There seems to have been a fluidity between Sheol/Death as a person and a locality. We might mention a similar notion in Mesopotamia where *ḫubur* and *irkallu* are used as both a term for the netherworld and as a name of a deity (CAD Ḫ, 219; I, 178; see Hades discussion below). Sheol, like Death, is described in the Hebrew Bible as having an insatiable appetite (Isa 5:14; Hab 2:5; Prov 27:20; 30:15b–16) which is remarkably reminiscent of Mot's voracious appetite in *CTA* 5.1.19–20; 5.2.2–4. Compare also the swallowing imagery used of Sheol (Prov 1:12; cf. Ps 141:7). Isaiah 25:8 plays on this imagery and turns the tables by having Yahweh swallow up Death forever.

Twice in Hos 13:14 Yahweh is described as ransoming Ephraim from the grasp of personified Sheol and Death (Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea* AB, 639–40). In Isa 14:9 Sheol seems to be the personified monarch of the kingdom of the dead, who rouses the shades of the dead to greet the tyrant of Babylon. Compare also Isa 28:15, 18, where the leaders are accused of making covenants with Sheol//Death (Irwin 1977: 26–29).

Ancient Near Eastern names contain theophoric elements and thus many scholars (e.g., Parker *IDBSup,* 224; cf. Westermann 1984: 328–29; Sarna, *Genesis* JPS, 36) analyze the personal name Methushael in Gen 4:18 as "Man of [the god] Sheol." Others, however (e.g., Cassuto 1961: 233; Speiser, *Genesis* AB, 36; *HALAT,* 618), would analyze Methushael as "man of god/El." See also METHUSHAEL.

**3. The Inhabitants of Sheol.** The denizens of Sheol are called the REPHAIM. A great deal of literature has been written on the nature of the Rephaim especially since the publication of Ugaritic texts where

they are mentioned extensively (*CTA* 20–22 = *Ugaritica* V and *KTU* 1.161). See (*IDBSup*, 739) and L'Heureux (1979) for bibliography. On *KTU* 1.161, a funerary liturgy which invokes the Rephaim, see Lewis 1989: 5–46.

A great deal of attention has also been paid to the nature of those who go to Sheol. It has commonly been asserted that Sheol in the Hebrew Bible is the place where all the dead, both righteous (Jacob and Samuel being given as prime examples) and wicked, eventually reside (e.g., Gray, *Kings* OTL, 102; Pedersen 1926: 461–62; cf. Harris cited above in B.1). Other see Sheol as the habitation of the wicked only. Thus Heidel (1949: 184–91) asserts that "there is no passage which proves that *Shĕ›ôl* was ever employed as a designation for the gathering-place of the departed spirits of the godly." Similarly Rosenberg (1980: 178–252) proposes that Sheol is associated with the concept of premature or "evil death," which was distinguished from the common fate of all humans. On the other hand, "natural death is accompanied by unification with kin, and Sheol is never mentioned" in these contexts. The place where one is "gathered to his/her kin" is never specified says Rosenberg, yet "it is never jointly mentioned with Sheol." "Evil death … results in delegation to Sheol, which is never described as an ancestral meeting place." Rosenberg does not go as far as Heidel, and she admits that in some contexts Sheol may connote the meeting place of all the dead (cf. Ps 89:49—Eng 89:48). Nevertheless, its most common usage is a place for the wicked.

Another pertinent question is whether those who resided in the underworld could be consulted through necromancy. It is commonly asserted that there was no cult of the dead in ancient Israel because such practices were expressly forbidden (Deut 18:11) and, furthermore, "the dead know nothing" (Qoh 9:4–6, 10; cf. Job 7:9; 14:21). Yet the Wisdom tradition is not consistent with other texts which show that the dead were in fact consulted (e.g., 1 Samuel 28; cf. the designation of the spirits of the dead as *yiddĕ‹ōnî* < *yd‹*, "to know"). While the Yahwism which became normative may have been resolute in its condemnation of cults of the dead, such practices were carried out in some forms of popular religion in ancient Israelite society (see ANCESTOR WORSHIP; Lewis 1989).

**C. Other Designations for the Abode of the Dead**

While the most common word to designate the abode of the dead in the Hebrew Bible is *šĕ›ôl*, numerous other terms were also employed as semantic equivalents (cf. Tromp 1969: 23–128 for a complete list of various suggestions all of which cannot be substantiated). Often these terms are used in parallelism with *šĕ›ôl*. They are found in contexts similar to those used of *šĕ›ôl*, including similar phraseology and imagery. Heb *māwet*, "Death," like *šĕ›ôl*, is often used to refer to the realm of death (Ps 6:6—Eng6:5; Prov 7:27) as well as to the personified chthonic power behind death and to all that is associated with it such as disease, sterility, drought, etc. (Hab 2:5; Job 18:13–14; 28:22; Isa 28:15, 18; Hos 13:14; Ps 49:15; Cant 8:6). See MOT for a description of the Canaanite deity of death and the underworld who goes by the same name. Heb *›ereṣ* is simply "earth" yet, as with Ug *›arṣ* and Akk *erṣetu*, it too can designate the netherworld (*HALAT*, 88; CAD E: 310–11; *AHW* 245 s.v. *erṣetu;* Tromp 1969: 7, 23–46; Rosenberg 1980: 29–52; Tallqvist 1934: 8–11). Like *šĕ›ôl, ›ereṣ* is also modified by *taḥtît/taḥtiyyôt* (cf. Zimmerli 1983: 39) to denote the depths of the netherworld. Hebrew *šaḥat* (e.g., Ps 16:10; Job 17:13–14; Isa 38:17–18; Jonah 2:3–7) and *bôr* (e.g., Isa 5:14; 38:18; Ezek 31:16; Pss 30:4—Eng 30:3; 88:4–5—Eng 88:3–4; Prov 1:12) both refer to the abode of the dead as the "Pit." (See Tromp 1969: 66–71; Rosenberg 1980: 53–89; and esp. Held 1973: 173–90, which includes a detailed analysis of the etymology of *šaḥat*) Another poetic name for the underworld is *›ăbaddôn*, usually translated "Perdition" or " (place of) Destruction" <*›bd*, "to perish" (Job 26:6; 28:22; 31:12; Ps 88:12—Eng 88:11; Prov 15:11; 27:20). The personification of Abaddon (cf. Job 28:22, where Abaddon and Death are speakers) leads to the notion of a destroying angel (*›apolluōn* in Greek) of the abyss (Rev 9:11). See also APOLLYON. In rabbinic literature Abaddon comes to designate the place of punishment and damnation = Gehinnom. See also ABADDON.

**D. Hades In the New Testament**

In the LXX *šĕ›ôl* is most commonly translated *hadēs.* As with Sheol and its semantic equivalents, Hades can either refer to the underworld or be personified. The description of Hades parallels that of Sheol

above (B.1). As with Sheol, Hades is a place to which one goes down, and it too represents the lowest depths in contrast to the highest heavens (Matt 11:23; Luke 10:15). Hades has the familar "gates" (Matt 16:18) which are prominent in the netherworlds of ANE and Greek mythology. Compare especially the mention of "keys of Death and Hades" in Rev 1:18.

In Greek mythology (*Iliad* 15.188; cf. Nilsson 1955: 452–56; Burkert 1985: 194–200) Hades occurs as the proper name of the gatekeeper/god of the netherworld. The netherworld was called the "house of Hades" and eventually simply Hades. Likewise in the NT Hades occurs in personified form (Rev 6:8). Death and Hades give up the dead and are then thrown into the lake of fire in Rev 20:13–14.

The question of who resides in Hades is just as acute a problem as it is for Sheol (see discussion above). Most scholars affirm that changes in the understandings of retribution and immortality, most likely through the influence of Persian and Hellenistic thought, resulted in different eternal abodes for the righteous and the wicked (cf. *1 Enoch* 22). The abode of the wicked dead comes to be a place for punishment and torment; the abode of the righteous dead comes to be a place of happiness and bliss. The development of both these concepts is notably absent from the Hebrew Bible. According to Jeremias (*TDNT* 1:147–49) Hades sometimes denotes the abode of both the godly and the wicked (Luke 16:23; Acts 2:27, 31; cf. *Ant* 18.14; *JW* 2.163). At other times (1 Pet 3:19; cf. *JW* 3.375) it appears to be a designation of the abode only of the ungodly, with the righteous residing in paradise or some similar environment (Luke 16:9; 23:43; cf. 2 Cor 5:8; Phil 1:23; Heb 12:22; Rev 6:9; 7:9). Where Hades denotes the abode of all the dead, it is described as a temporary holding place until the resurrection, when Hades gives up its dead (Rev 20:13). This is further underscored by the demarcation between Hades and GEHENNA, which is used to describe the eschatological hell of fire where the ungodly will be punished after death (Matt 5:22). There is one place, however, where Hades is described as a place of torment (Luke 16:23). Yet in contrast to much of later Christian literture, the "torments of hell" are not elaborated upon in the NT.

The underworld is also described in the NT as the "Abyss" (*abussos*), often translated "Bottomless Pit" (Luke 8:31; Rom 10:7; Rev 9:1–2, 11; 11:7; 17:18; 20:1, 3; see Jeremias, *TDNT* 1:9–10). In 2 Pet 2:4 mention is made of casting rebel angels into Tartarus. In classical Greek mythology murky Tartarus was said to be as far below Hades as earth is below the heavens, so much so that an anvil could fall for nine days and nights until it reached it. Tartarus is described as a prison with gates, and it too is personified (Homer *Iliad* 8.13–16; Hesiod *Theog.* 713–35).

Hades plays an essential role in Christian theology. Hades cannot prevail over the Church (Matt 16:18) because Christ holds the keys to Death and Hades (Rev 1:18). Compare Isa 25:8, above, where Yahweh swallows Death (Mot) forever. In fact, those who die are sometimes thought not to be in Hades but are rather united with Christ (Luke 23:43; Phil 1:23; 2 Cor 5:8). The description of the descent of Christ into Hades and his preaching to the spirits of the dead (1 Pet 3:18–20; 4:6) led to the doctrine of Christ's *descensus* (Selwyn 1947: 337–62).

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THEODORE J. LEWIS

**DEATH.** This entry consists of two articles covering the subject of death in the OT and in the NT.

## *OLD TESTAMENT*

Late 19th- and early 20th-century study of death in the Hebrew Bible focused on immortality, the future life, the development of the concept of resurrection, and eschatology. From the mid-20th century the diversity of perspectives on death in the OT has received the greatest attention. Acknowledgment of the long history reflected in the texts, as well as recognition of the diverse folk and "official" Yahwistic views, has made it complicated to suggest any normative concept. The richness of perspectives on death emerges because of the multifaceted way Israel speaks of the intersection between life and death.

There is a complex of terms which circumscribe the Hebrew concept of death. Just as in English, there are diverse verbal and nominal terms which are employed to speak of death (e.g., perish, decease). Most of the efforts to understand the Hebrew perspectives have begun lexically with words derived from the common Semitic root *mwt.* In biblical Hebrew these words include the verb *mût,* "die" (e.g., Gen 2:17) and the noun *māwet,* "death" (e.g., Ps 6:6—Eng6:5); cf. *TWAT* 4:763–88. In other verbal patterns (conjugations) *mût* may be translated "kill" (e.g., 1 Sam 14:13) or "slay" (e.g., Gen 18:25). Several OT texts personify death by referring to the Canaanite deity Mot (e.g., Jer 9:20—Eng9:21), whose name stems from this common Semitic term.

Some of the other Hebrew terms employed for death are: *ʾābad,* "perish" (Job 4:7, 9, 11, 20); *hārag,* "kill, murder, slay" (Gen 12:12; 2 Sam 3:30); *ḥālal* (Ps 88:6—Eng 88:5); *nākâ,* "kill, smite" (Gen 4:15; Ps 135:10); *tam,* "consume, destroy" (Deut 2:14, 15, 16); and many others. In addition, metaphors such as "sleep" (Deut 31:16) further shape the concepts of death. Greater understanding of the diverse

perspectives on death will develop only after these various terms have been studied. While the terms sometimes function in tandem, they often appear separately in distinct genres, from different social contexts, and within contrasting perspectives.

Even though most of the study of death has concentrated on Heb *māwet,* there is no consensus on how best to display the Hebrew Bible's diverse understandings. It is not surprising that in many discussions the intersection of life and death provides the backdrop (Fohrer 1972: 214–22; Kraus 1986: 162–68). Death, after all, is the opposite of life, even in traditions where concepts of life after death are prominent. Dahood (*Psalms III* AB, xli–lii) is one of the few who in recent times discussed Israel's understanding of death in the context of immortality and resurrection. Because there was little if any vision of an afterlife in Israel, it is almost unanimously agreed that the country's "healthy materialism" and "healthy eroticism" required it "to examine the meaning of man's earthly existence to a degree and to a depth seemingly without parallel in the thinking of its contemporaries" (Vawter 1972: 170–71).

A great deal is known about the ANE understandings of death (Bailey 1979: 5–21). Israel's neighbors, so far as evidenced by artifactual and literary remains, show a significant interest in elaborate rituals to fend off the panoply of demons, ghosts, and gods associated with death and the underworld (see MAGIC [ANE]). There exist stories of persons seeking immortality (Gilgamesh's attempt to find eternal life for his dear friend Enkidu), of evil figures bringing death and disease on humans (*Rešep*, the NW Semitic god of pestilence, may be named in Deut 32:5; Hab 3:5; and Job 5:7), and of incantations and various apotropaic charms to fight off death, which, along with a host of institutions and social practices point to the power death exerted on these people. While all religions of the ANE think of their deities as bringing forth life, there were also those deities who terrorized and attacked humankind. The polytheism of these religions presented a rhythm between death and life, a rotation between ascending and descending power which was sewn into the fabric of human existence.

Hebrew literature does not hide a sense of death's power nor does it sequester death from life as though it did not exist. The reminiscences of Israel's seeking to placate or communicate with the dead are heard (1 Sam 28:8–14; Isa 8:19ff.), but intolerance for any cult of the dead is the dominant position.

Death is seen as the normal end of life. The notations of the death of important individuals (Gen 23:1–2; 35:29), as well as of multiple individuals (Josh 5:4; 10:11) are found throughout the literature. A "good" death is portrayed when an individual dies with sufficient offspring and at an old age (Gen 25:8; 46:30). Humankind must accept mortality (2 Sam 14:14), while Yahweh was thought to perdure (Pss 18:47—Eng18:46; 90). Death was a problem when it came prematurely. Whatever their understanding of premature death, it is here where humans begin questioning, whether in a polytheistic or monotheistic context.

The questioning may begin with the etiological question, how did death first come about? Religions account for death in the midst of life either as a part of creation or as something which came into the world after creation. These stories can be classified into seven or eight different types (*EncRel* 4: 251–59). Genesis 2–3 is the locus for Israel's etiology. Some think this represents two original stories (Bailey 1979: 38). The one etiology suggests that death is a punishment for disobeying God, while the other understands it as a part of the original plan for humans. The OT does not suggest which etiology is more appropriate. In fact, there seems little preoccupation with the origin of death. However, understanding death as a part of some original plan is far less compatible with the wide range of texts.

The questioning for Israel focused far more on how to understand the invasion of death into life. This invasion was not articulated predominantly through speaking of divine powers which were threatening Yahweh and with whom battle must be done. Yahweh was the source of life and death. It was not possible to place the blame on competing divine forces. Yahweh could give or take away life (2 Kgs 20:1–11). Life was dependent on the deity whether one looked at this from an individual or communal perspective. Life, as biological or physical existence, was significant; but Israel looked to qualities of relationship with the deity to express the meaning of life and hence the relationship of it to death. The relationships could be expressed in terms of the covenant theme (*IDBSup*, 220). However, this is by no means the most prominent conceptualization.

The most significant theme for Israel was the understanding that life provided an opportunity for the individual and community to praise Yahweh. Praise of God was the sign of life. The inability to praise was a signal of death, even in life. The Hebrew Bible is replete with the idea that death constitutes silence and that the major characteristic of life is to praise Yahweh (Ps 30:9–11—Eng 30:8–10; Isa 38:16–20). Since praise took place in the cult, life was constituted in the special space provided by God. Life was not merely a biological or natural phenomenon. It was a spatial phenomenon. The images of the underworld (e.g., Sheol, Pit), as the space apart from Yahweh, obviously assist in the depiction of life. Death appears as a parallel to Sheol (Prov 5:5; 7:27).

One of the major differences of opinion about the OT understandings of death centers around whether death is viewed predominantly with fear. There are magnificently crafted Hebrew texts on the fear of death. The conclusion of Qoheleth is among the most provocative (12:1–8). The reader is placed before the fact that among all the images of the undoing of nature no death is more profound than the reader's own. There is certainly a deep sense of fear in being brought before this reality. However provocative these expressions of fear are, they do not provide the dominant perspectives. Anger and hostility in the face of death are more common expressions (Psalms 6, 102). Few contemporaries are able to express so vividly the horror of death's invasion into the midst of life. Whatever perspective is taken on the issue of the fear of death, it is widely agreed that the Hebrew Bible contains ample expression of the anger and grief experienced in the face of death. This finds its greatest focus in the Psalms and some of the wisdom literature.

Proverbs presents another interesting theme. This centers in the relationship of life and death to Wisdom. The possession of Wisdom is identified with life in Proverbs 1–9. A person who obtains long life may possess Wisdom, but more importantly in this portion of Proverbs, long life is not the consequence of wisdom. It is what constitutes life. So death is not so much a consequence associated with folly or, as expressed in Proverbs 1–9, of associating with the "strange woman." Death is an expression of a mode of living apart from life (Prov 8:35–36).

This living in life or living in death is expanded in Proverbs through one of the instructions regarding the "strange woman." The man is encouraged to be "infatuated" (Heb *šgh*) with his wife (Prov 5:19–20). On the other hand, he is exhorted not to be "infatuated" (*šgh*) with the "strange woman." The section concludes with the line describing the man who does not follow the advice.

> He dies *yamût* for lack of discipline,
> and because of his great folly he goes astray (*yišgeh*).
> (Prov 5:23)

The Hebrew word *šgh* plays on a double meaning in this passage. It expresses in the concluding verse, not any kind of biological cessation of life, but rather a straying or "infatuation" with folly in this life. "Infatuation" or intense relationship with appropriate objects, as evidenced by the distinction between the two women referred to earlier, is to be encouraged. The folly embodied in the "strange woman" and the death connected with her are not shunned because death is understood as a natural part of existence and therefore not to be feared. "Dying" is understood as a negative way of living. It is a mode of living over against the way (*derek*) of life (Prov 2:19; 5:6; 6:23).

The major English work on death in the OT by Bailey (1979) indicates three senses: (1) a "metaphor for those things which detract from life as Yahweh intends it"; (2) "as a 'power' in opposition to the created order"; and (3) "for biological cessation." While it is recognized that the dominant focus of the Hebrew Bible is the metaphoric, Bailey's "primary concern" is with biological cessation. In the final analysis a threefold distinction, whether Bailey's or another very similar one (symbolic, mythological, and biological), brings OT literature into discussions of various contemporary issues such as bioethics and care for the dying (Bailey 1979: 97–101). The recent discussions do not relegate the OT to a mere proem for the NT.

On the other hand, the threefold senses domesticate the Hebrew Bible perceptions of death. A focus on biological cessation undercuts the dynamic intersection of death with life. Israel, maybe because of its history, is more at home in understanding death through all its faces as a radical challenge to life. The

tripartite understanding unnecessarily isolates Israel's developing monotheistic perspective from its ANE neighbors' polytheistic understandings, which influenced Israel's ideas more than is frequently suggested. Death can be understood and accepted as a natural part of God's order, but the people of the Hebrew Bible experienced individual and communal death, which was far more pervasive than biological cessation.

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KENT HAROLD RICHARDS

## *NEW TESTAMENT*

In the *Phaedo* of Plato (ca. 427–347 B.C.), Socrates philosophizes about death before he drinks the poison. Death is defined as "a release and separation from the body" (67.D; cf. 66.E). For the "soul is immortal" (*athanaton* 73.A). In life the soul is "entirely fastened and welded to the body and is compelled to regard realities through the body as through prison bars" (82.E). The soul, therefore, "never willingly associated with the body" (80.E, cf. "hostile to the body" 67.E). So at death the soul is "freed from the body as from fetters" (67.D). To be afraid to die is to love the body more than wisdom (68.B, C). In facing his own death, Socrates had no fear and looked forward to the release. He took the hemlock "very cheerfully and quietly drained it" (*Phd.* 117.C). See also SUICIDE.

Homer (9th century B.C.) likens the generations of men to the coming and going of leaves on a tree (*Il.* 6. 145–50). The Babylonian *Epic of Gilgamesh* records, "When the gods created mankind, they destined death for man." Perhaps these ideas are joined in Plato's view of reincarnation, a view which may also have roots from the Pythagoreans (6th century B.C.) and Egyptians. Plato considered that souls existed previously "apart from bodies" (*Phd.* 76.C), that "the living are generated from the dead, just as much as the dead from the living" (*Phd.* 72.A). So death is both "god ordained" and confined to the body alone, as the immortal soul returns to many earth lives but never dies. Hesiod (*Theog.* 213) and Diodorus Siculus (15, 25.2) represented death as a sleep.

The words "death" (Gk noun *thanatos, teleute*), "dead" (Gk adj. *nekros*), and "die" (Gk verb *apothnēskō*) occur in the NT. The NT speaks of God alone as immortal (1 Tim 6:16). By contrast, the NT refers to humans as mortals (Col 1:16; cf. Heb 1:2), evidenced by their death (1 Cor 15:21–22) and by the promise of a future gift of immortality at the PAROUSIA (1 Cor 15:53). Death, for humans, is universal (Heb 9:27). The only two exceptions in Scripture are Enoch (Gen 5:24; Heb 11:5) and Elijah (2 Kgs 2:11).

Death does not appear to be a part of God's original plan for the race. "The wages of sin is death" (Rom 6:23); "Death came through a man" (1 Cor 15:21); "sin entered the world through one man, and death through sin" (Rom 5:12). Death is linked with God's judgment (Rev 2:11; 20:6; 21:8).

Romans 5 compares Adam and Christ. (Christ is called "the last Adam" in 1 Cor 15:45). In opposite ways each "Adam" made a contribution to death. Romans 5:12–19 is a parallelism, noting the gifts to the race made by each "Adam." Just as one sin (Rom 5:16), "one trespass" (Rom 5:18), brought condemnation and death to the whole race, so "one act … brings life for all" (Rom 5:18). The one act of the second Adam, his death, canceled the results of the one act of the first Adam (Rom 5:10). So Christ's death destroyed the one who "holds the power of death" (Heb 2:14) and "destroyed death" (2 Tim 1:10). Death could not hold him (Acts 2:24), so Christ is now said to be "Lord of both the dead and the living" (Rom 14:9) and "has the keys of Death and Hades" (Rev 1:18).

Thus death in the NT is qualified. Death is now viewed in the light of the resurrection of Jesus. In 75 places *nekros* is the object of *egeiro,* "to awaken," or *anastasis,* "to raise" (*NIDNT* 1: 445), and Christ is called the first (in importance, not time) from the dead (Col 1:18; Rev 1:5). Death does not "separate us"

from Christ (Rom 8:38–39); so death is spoken of as being "at home with the Lord" (2 Cor 5:8), as "gain" (Phil 1:21), and "to depart and to be with Christ" (Phil 1:23), and as to have "fallen asleep" (John 11:11).

In the NT death is more than a terminus to life. It can affect life as it moves to that end. One can experience a living death, or a "body of death," Rom 7:24. Existentially, one who has encountered Christ is said to have eternal life even during this present life (John 3:36); whereas, one who has not yet encountered Christ is said to be "dead" in sin (Eph 2:1; cf. Col 2:13; Rev 3:1). Passing from death to life, experientially, is spoken of as the new birth (John 3:3–8).

To a degree, then, eternal life (the opposite of death) is given now, but not in fullness. "For as in Adam all die, so in Christ all will be made alive" (1 Cor 15:22). The tension between the "already" and the "not yet" maintains an "eschatological reserve," for "the last enemy to be destroyed is death" (1 Cor 15:26). The final generation, living at the PAROUSIA, will be translated without experiencing death (Matt 16:28). Evidently the translated, and those resurrected, begin the fullness of eternal life at the Parousia (1 Thess 4:16–18). They will be beyond death (Rev 20:6).

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**DEATH OF CHRIST.** See CHRIST, DEATH OF.

**DEATH, POLLUTION OF.** See HEIFER, RED.

**DEATH, SECOND** [Gk *ho deuteros thanatos* (ὁ δευτερος θανατος)]. In the NT, the second death is mentioned only in Rev 2:11; 20:6, 14; and 21:8. It is symbolized as the "lake of fire" (20:14; 21:8), and presented as the opposite of receiving a crown of life (2:10) and life lived in the presence of God (21:3–7;

22:3–5). As opposed to the first death which is physical death, the second death is the final destruction of all that belongs to the realm of evil. It is the fate of those whose names are not written in the book of life (20:15), the unrighteous (21:8), the false prophet and the beast (19:20), the devil (20:10), and Death and Hades (20:14). The second death was the subject of Jesus' warning: "And do not fear those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul; rather fear him who can destroy both soul and body in hell" (Matt 10:28 = Luke 12:4–5; RSV).

Whether the second death is complete destruction or everlasting torment is uncertain from Revelation, although for the Devil, beast, and false prophet, it is everlasting (20:10). Both notions are found in tradition. In *1 Enoch* the second death is destruction: "Woe unto you who spread evil to your neighbors! For you shall be slain in Sheol" (99:11, *OTP*), and "… for the names of (the sinners) shall be blotted out from the Book of Life and the books of the Holy One; their seeds shall be destroyed forever and their spirits shall perish and die …" (108:3, *OTP*; cf. 10:14–15). In Philo, however, second death is everlasting: "live for ever in a state of dying and so to speak suffer a death which is deathless and unending" (*Praem* 12.70; LCL).

Although other Jewish writings contain the concept, both the concept and the expression "second death" are found in the Targums. Here second death can refer to either exclusion from the resurrection (i.e. remaining in the grave) or being relegated to eternal torment after judgment (Str-B 3.830–31). The former sense is found in *Tg. Jer.* 15:39, 57 which describes the fate of the Babylonian oppressors as second death which is the exclusion from the life to come. The latter sense which is more akin to Revelation occurs in *Tg. Isa.* 65:5–6, a passage very close to Rev 20:14 and 21:8, states: "Their punishment shall be in Gehenna where the fire burns all the day. Behold, it is written before me: 'I will not give them respite during (their) life but will render them the punishment of their transgressions and will deliver their body to the second death' " (cf. *Tg. Deut.* 33:6; *Tg. Isa.* 22:14; 65:15).

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**DEBIR** (PERSON) [Heb *dĕbîr* (דְּבִיר)]. The Amorite king of Eglon at the time of Joshua who joined the coalition of 5 kings led by Adoni-Zedek of Jerusalem (Josh 10:3). After being defeated by Joshua at Gibeon, the kings of this coalition fled to the cave of Makkedah (Josh 10:1–27), where they were captured and hanged by Joshua. As a personal name, Debir occurs only once in the Hebrew Bible. Otherwise Debir is found as the site of 2 (apparently) separate Judean cities (see DEBIR (PLACE)), and as a technical term for the holy of holies in Solomon's temple (1 Kings 6–8).

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**DEBIR** (PLACE) [Heb *dĕbîr* (דְּבִיר)]. Three towns mentioned in the OT bear this name.

**1.** A town in the S hill country of Judah listed in the roster of cities that Joshua captured and utterly destroyed (Josh 10:38–39). It was governed by a king (10:39; 12:13). Joshua 15 preserves the tradition that Othniel the son of Kenaz captured the city, thereby winning in marriage Achsah, daughter of Caleb (vv 15–19 = Judg 1:11–15). It also preserves the tradition that the city was associated with "upper and lower springs" and that the pre-Israelite name of the city was Kiriath-sepher, which the LXX simply translates "city of books" (Gk *polis grammatōn*). Josh 15:49 records that its previous name was Heb *qiryat-sannâ,* which is probably an erroneous reading of Kiriath-sepher. See KIRIATH-SANNAH.

Josh 11:21 preserves the tradition that the Anakim were residents of Debir in the time of Joshua. It is uncertain whether or not these people constituted one of the groups of Sea Peoples who occupied parts of Canaan toward the end of the LB Age (Boling and Wright, *Joshua* AB, 315). See ANAK. Mendenhall (1973: 76, 163) suggests that the original form underlying both *dĕbîr* and (*qiryat*) *spr* (which he re-vocalizes *sōpēr*) is Hittite *dabara,* "lord, governor" (cf. Heb *sōpēr*, "official," esp. Judg 5:14); "Kiriath-

sopher" ("town of the governing official") would then have become "Kiriath-sepher" ("town of the book/scroll") by popular etymology. If Mendenhall's linguistic analysis is correct, this reinforces the hypothesis that in the LB/early Iron transition period the city fell under the influence of some NE Mediterranean groups loosely identified as Sea Peoples. See also the linguistic discussion of Debir/Kiriath-sepher in CITY NAMES.

The biblical references all suggest that this Debir is located near the Shephelah in the southernmost region of the Judaean hill country SW of Hebron. For a variety of reasons Albright proposed identifying it with Tell Beit Mirsim (M.R. 141096). See BEIT MIRSIM, TELL. However, dissatisfaction with several of the geographic features of Tell Beit Mirsim which seemingly contradict the biblical references to Debir has prompted a number of scholars to look elsewhere for its location (*ISBE* 1: 901–4). K. Galling first suggested (1954) that Debir should be located at Kh. Rabud (M.R. 151093). The site fits the geographic and expected stratigraphic profile much better. Not only does Kh. Rabud have remains of LB occupation, but the combination of cisterns with 2 nearby wells complies with the description of the site in the biblical narrative (cf. Josh 15:17–19 = Judg 1:13–15). The occupational sequence has been clarified by excavations conducted by M. Kochavi (1974; *EAEHL* 4: 995), which have shown complete agreement with the information provided in the biblical texts.

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**2.** A town that was situated above the Achor Valley, used to demarcate the N boundary of Judah (Josh 15:7). The location is thought to be either along the Wadi Dabr or in Thogret ed-Dabr. Both seem to retain the distinction of a place name. At the head of the Wadi there was a ruin called Khan el-hatrur, which is now covered and displaced by the Jericho-Jerusalem highway and by a local inn. The LXX gives the Gk *epi to tetarton,* which could be a misreading or the deciphering of a damaged Hebrew manuscript, where it was mistakenly understood as the Heb *rbyʿy*.

**3.** A town that marks the boundary of the tribe of Gad (Josh 13:26). The location is presumed to be in the E part of Gilead, though the actual site is unknown. In the passage, the MT gives the Heb *lidebir*, which could be revocalized to read *lôdebār*. This is thought to be the site of Makir's house in 2 Sam 9:4, 5. Here is where Mephibosheth, the lame son of Jonathan, stayed until called by David. This place is mentioned again in 2 Sam 17:27, where the same Makir helped supply provisions to David when he was fleeing from his son Absalom. Evidently, this town was later captured by the Arameans; the fact that Jeroboam II eventually recaptured the city gave the prophet Amos a sarcastic weapon. Using a word play on *lôdebār* (Amos 6:13), he arranges it as *lōʾ dabar*, "nothing," in reference to Israel's boasting about their victory and their false sense of security. See also LO-DEBAR.

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**DEBORAH** (PERSON) [Heb *dĕbōrâ* (דְּבֹרָה)]. Three persons in the OT and deuterocanonical books bear this name.

**1.** Rebekah's nurse (Gen 35:8). She is also mentioned, by position but not by name, among those who accompany Rebekah and Abraham's servant on their return to meet Isaac (Gen 24:59). When Deborah the nurse died, she was buried under "the oak" (sacred tree?) near Bethel, which is hence forth known as *Allon-bacuth,* that is, "oak of weeping." Cf. the etiology of Bochim, "weepers" (probably Bethel!) in Judg 2:1–5.

**2.** One of those who successfully mobilized the Israelite militia, and whose deeds are variously recalled, evaluated, and celebrated in the book of Judges. The activity of Deborah, wife of Lappidoth ("flashes") is admiringly recounted in prose (Judges 4) and celebrated in song (Judges 5). Introduced as a "prophetess," Deborah was available for oracular consultation at "Deborah's palm," also situated near Bethel. On the

relationship between prophecy and warfare in this period, see Ackerman (1975). This was a time of severe oppression sponsored by Jabin, king of Canaan reigning at Hazor, and executed by Sisera, commander of 900 chariots. Sisera, whose name is non-Semitic, probably belonged to one of the Sea Peoples (Tjeker?). His headquarters at the time of the battle are at Harosheth-haggoim ("plantations of the gentiles"), which looks like the poetic equivalent of "Taanach by the waters of Megiddo" (5:19; Rainey 1981; 1983).

Consulted by Israelites in the face of Sisera's aggression, Deborah's "judgment" is to summon Barak ("lightning"), field commander of the Israelite militia from Kedesh in Naphtali, together with forces from Zebulun and Naphtali (the only tribes mentioned by name in the prose account). Barak is most reluctant to go into the field against far superior armaments unless accompanied by Deborah, who repays reluctance with a taunt: She'll go, but victory will not mean glory for Barak, since a woman will deal the final blow. The combination of promise by Deborah and fulfillment by Jael evokes comparison with the partner-like goddesses Anath and Astarte (Taylor 1982). See also Lindars (1983) for the highlighted role of woman. Once the battle is joined, Sisera departs the scene at the flash-flooded Kishon River W of Mt. Tabor, where the chariots were mired, and flees to the far N where, thrown off guard by the hospitality of Jael, he dies at her feet.

Behind the irony and sense of humor, the story is rooted in decisive military action, with a hefty providential assist, which prevented Sisera's forces in the Esdraelon from finally severing connections between the Israelites in Galilee and in the central hill country of Ephraim and Manasseh. Archaeology at the sites of Megiddo and Taanach suggests a setting not long after mid-12th century B.C.E. The relationship between Jabin, king of Canaan in Judges 4 and another Jabin, king of Hazor in Joshua 11, is unclear, and the direction of interaction in the shaping of the stories is still an open question (Boling *Judges* AB, 92–120). In the poetic version Jabin is not named, but it is a coalition of "kings of Canaan" whose forces Sisera commands. And the character of the oppression is specific: disruption of the caravan trade routes where they empty into the Esdraelon (Chaney 1983).

The Song of Deborah and Barak (5:2–31) is for the most part much older than the received form of the prose account, to judge from evidence of archaic language and poetic structure. Here the focus of attention is not on the interaction between Honey Bee and Lightning, Lightning and Jael, but upon the varied response and performance of the Israelite constituencies in rallying against a common threat (Coogan 1978). At the time of crisis the league appears to consist of 10 tribes (Freedman 1979; Boling 1988): 57–63). Judah is not mentioned, nor is Levi. If Levi is already dispersed as priestly-teaching cadre (in effect, muster officers) throughout the other tribes, it may be represented here (unnamed) as carrier of the poetic tradition. That Judah is not mentioned for either praise or blame in the poetic roll call suggests that it is already rendered dysfunctional by S Sea Peoples, the Philistines.

The other 10 tribes are variously lauded for their performance: Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir (that is, Manasseh), Zebulun, Issachar, and Naphtali. Or they are lampooned for nonparticipation: Reuben, Gilead (that is, Gad), Dan, and Asher. The victory song is in many ways comparable to victory hymns of Egyptian and Assyrian Kings. In other ways it anticipates the much later form of a ballad. It celebrates both the prowess of Yahweh's peasantry and the reciprocal intervention by Yahweh, when "the stars in their courses" (source of rain?) "fought against Sisera." The concluding irony contrasts Deborah, "a mother in Israel" who rose up, with Sisera's anxious mother and the wisest of her ladies (5:28–30), both of whom are confident that the victory celebration had delayed the return of the troops, as indeed was the case.

The final verse (5:31) looks, therefore, like a poetic couplet in a different style, which once followed directly upon 5:1 as the content of what Deborah and Barak sang in the story, before it was broken open for insertion of the parallel old favorite.

**3.** The grandmother of Tobit. She was the one who raised, nurtured, and taught Tobit after he was orphaned. Tobit's story is presented as a model of familial piety. Tobit affirms his obedience to both "the law of Moses and the exhortations of Deborah" (Tob 1:8).

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**DEBTS.** The necessity for loans is recognized openly in the Hebrew Bible, where an attempt is made to prevent the practice of requiring interest from debtors. Interest on loans in the ANE could be exorbitant by modern standards (and might be required in advance, from the very principal of the loan. The attempt to convince creditors to forego potential profit was grounded in care for the community, which God had liberated from slavery. A brother might become poor and need a loan (cf. Lev 25:35), but interest was not to be exacted (vv 36, 37), in the name of the same LORD "who brought you out of the land of Egypt" (v 38). The desire for interest is seen as posing the danger that Israel might exchange one form of slavery for another—economic—form of oppression. It is notable that the whole of Leviticus 25 concerns precisely the issue of maintaining the integrity of what God had redeemed, in respect of the release which was to occur during sabbath and jubilee years (vv 1–34), in respect of loans (vv 35–38), and in respect of hired service (vv 39–55). The right of a creditor to receive a pledge against his loan is implicitly acknowledged within the pristine requirement not to expect interest, and abusive liberties with pledges received is forbidden (cf. Exod 22:25–27; Deut 24:10–13). But certain pledges, correctly handled, might yield their own profits, and foreigners in any case might be charged interest (cf. Deut 23:19–20); even on a strict interpretation of the Torah, a creditor might make a living.

Despite persistent attempts at regulation, debt was a perennial, social problem in Israel. 1 Sam 22:2 laconically refers to the attraction to David of "everyone in straits, everyone indebted, and everyone who was bitter"; there would have been no such people to attract had the prescriptions of the Torah been obeyed. One of the stories concerning Elijah is predicated on the fear that creditors can in fact enslave the families of those who fail to pay them (2 Kgs 4:1–7). Nehemiah reflects both a widespread growth of usurious practices, and a programmatic attempt to root them out (Neh 5:1–13; cf. 10:31). It is quite evident that neither the prescriptions of the Torah, nor the prudential wisdom of Proverbs (cf. Prov 28:8), succeeded in preventing abusive lending: even in the time of Ezekiel, it is roundly condemned as one of the community's all too frequent sins (cf. Ezek 18:5–18; 22:12). Of course, generalization is notoriously problematic, in that the sources to hand are far from complete social records, and stem from a variety of periods, but it appears fairly safe to say that the notion of an unprofitable loan proved liable to abuse during Israel's long history.

The necessity of such loans, however, was as obvious as the problem of poverty: Some people simply did not possess adequate means, and required financial assistance. Where the Persians, according to Herodotus (Hdt. 1.138), attempted to discourage debt entirely, inventive means were found in Judaism after the biblical period to humanize the institution. Hillel, a famous rabbi and older contemporary of Jesus', is credited with the provision of *prozbul* (*m. Šeb.* 10.3–6, *m. Giṭ.* 36a; Neusner 1985: 100–102). R. Hillel's provision was designed to address the problem that Deut 15:2 requires the release of debts every 7th year: Obviously, loans under such a scheme would be impracticable shortly before the year of release. Accordingly, Hillel allows the debts to be entrusted by the creditor to a court, which could collect the debt for him. Hillel's provision must in no sense be understood as a mere evasion of the requirements of Torah, since his stance in regard to debt could be very stringent indeed. He was particularly concerned that changes in the market value of commodities might result in interest, if one returned in kind an object (such as a loaf of bread) one had borrowed (*Šabb.* 148b; *B. Meṣ* 62b–62a; Neusner 1985, 102–103). It is therefore plain that the *prozbul* was designed to facilitate responsible lending, not to encourage

exploitation, and it became a cornerstone in the financial practices encouraged by the rabbis. Such practices included writs of debt (which might themselves be traded, cf. Kethuboth), the extension in the period of a loan (*m. Giṭ.* 13b), and the exaction of very large fines from those who took interest (*B. Bat.* 94b).

The justification for excluding the release from debts mandated in Deut 15.2 became a leitmotif within rabbinic discussion. (The regulations concerning sabbath years and years of jubilee of course had implications for many commercial relationships, cf. Morgenstein *IDB* 2: 1001–02; and Van Sehms *IDBSup*, 496–98.) Deuteronomy 15:3 itself excludes foreigners from the provision, and the experience of debt in Judaism was frequently at the hands of gentiles, and therefore quite outside any religious or communal control (cf. *m. Mo‹ed Qat.* 9b and *m. Giṭ.* 43b–44a). Notably, "Rabbi" (that is, R. Judah ha-Nasi) is said to link the forgiveness of debts (Deut 15.2) to the permission of land to remain fallow in the sabbatical year (cf. Lev 25:1–7; *m. Mo‹ed Qaṭ.* 2b; *Kiddushin* 38b). In his understanding, one must be practised when the other is, but debts need not be forgiven when there is no land of promise to be released. The effect of that teaching is a far greater extension of the incentive to loan money than is Hillel's stipulation of *prozbul.* When one takes into account the opinion that sabbatical release did not encompass, in many instances, the possibilities of the rise and fall in the value of loans, the market in the purchase of loans, and payment for arrangement of loans, one is not surprised at the frequency in Talmud with which rabbis are called upon to adjudicate financial disputes (Neusner 1987: 248–56).

The usage in the LXX of the verb "to owe" (*opheilō* ),when a specific Hebrew term is rendered, is generally restricted to those passages in which commercial affairs are at issue (Hauck *TDNT* 5:561). That strikes Hauck as curious (560–61) for the reason that secular usages (and Philo) establish the wider meaning of *opheilō* as including moral indebtedness and obligation. Precisely that broader usage, characteristically paired with another verb in the infinitive, is found frequently in the NT (cf. Luke 17:10; John 13:14; 19:7; Acts 17:29; Rom 15:1, 27; 1 Cor 5:10; 7:36; 9:10; 11:7, 10: 2 Cor 12:11, 14; Eph 5:28; 2 Thess 1:3; 2:13; Heb 2:17; 5:3; 1 John 2:6; 3:16; 4:11; 3 John 8). There are, in fact, usages in the LXX which are roughly comparable (Wis 12.15; *4 Macc.* 11:15; 16:19), but they appear less frequently than in the NT. Moreover, the LXX usages bear out Hauck's point, that the rendering of the Hebrew Bible into Greek did not result in the exploitation of the moral sense of *opheilo* in the Greek language of the period: both Wisdom and *4 Maccabees* are thoroughly Hellenistic in language and concept. In this aspect of its language, then, the NT is more at home in its Greek literary environment than is the LXX.

There is, however, quite another aspect within the NT's language of debt. Just as it represents secular Greek usage, so a principal theologoumenon of early Judaism comes to expression. "Debt" (*ḥwb›*) was the regular translation of "sin" in the Aramaic Targumim, and "debtor" (*ḥyyb*) was the ordinary term for "sinner." The regularity of Aramaic usage may be assessed by the consideration that several words in the Hebrew text are rendered by "debt" and "debtor" in the Targumim (cf. van Zijl 1979: 57–58, 61 and Chilton 1987: 1vi). Two passages in the *Targum of Isaiah* may serve to illustrate the ordinary usage in Aramaic. In 5:18, the Hebrew text reads, "Woe to those who draw iniquity with cords of falsehood, and sin as with cart ropes." In the Targum, that wording is largely respected, but there are also notable, interpretative transformations: "Woe to those who begin to debt a little, drawing debts with cords of vanity, continuing and increasing until debts are strong as cart ropes." The rendering of the Targum immediately makes it plain that "debt" is the ordinary word for "sin"; indeed, it appears naively literal to translate the Aramaic term as "debt" on each and every occasion it appears. It is equally obvious that "debt" was seen by the Aramaic interpreter as the appropriate rendering of several Hebrew words, and as a concept implicit in the text, even when no particular term in Hebrew required the use of "debt" in Aramaic (cf. van Zijl 1979: 57–58).

Nonetheless, a second example (50:1) demonstrates that "debt" was understood as a genuine metaphor of sin, not simply as a conventional rendering. The Masoretic Text reads, "Thus says the LORD, where is your mother's bill of divorce, with which I put her away? Or to which of my creditors is it to whom I sold you? Behold, for your iniquities you were sold, and for your transgressions your mother was put away." This stark statement is so presented in the Targum, as to turn on the literal and the metaphorical senses of

"debt": "Thus says the LORD, where is the bill of divorce, which I gave to your congregation, that it is rejected? Or who had a debt against me, to whom I have sold you? Behold, for your debts you were sold, and for your apostasies your congregation was rejected." The passage instances the generally Targumic tendency to refer metaphors in the Hebrew text to specific entities; Hence, "mother" becomes "congregation." At the same time, a deliberate emphasis upon the ordinary *and* the theological meaning of "debt" is insisted upon.

When, in the Matthean version of the Lord's Prayer, Jesus instructs his follows to ask God, "forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors," there is no doubt but that Matthew is preserving an Aramaic idiom (6:12). Luke only partially preserves the usage: "Forgive us our sins, as we also forgive everyone who is indebted to us" (11:4). Jesus' usage of the Aramaic idiom is not a mere matter of convention: Several of his parables turn on the metaphorical and the literal sense of "debt," much as in the *Targum of Isaiah* 50:1.

Several instances of parabolic presentation of debt are especially striking. In Matt 18:23–35, a debtor is said to owe the astronomical sum of 10,000 talents (18:24). When it is borne in mind that the annual imposition of tax upon the whole of Galilee and Peraea amounted to merely 200 talents (Josephus, *Ant* 17.9.4), the hyperbole involved in the parable becomes readily apparent. The debtor is in no position to repay such a debt, nor is there any credible way in which he could have incurred it. He behaves astoundingly, after his debt is forgiven (v 27), in a manner all but calculated to trivialize such forgiveness: He refuses to deal mercifully with a colleague who owed him 100 denarii (vv 28–30). The latter amount is by no means insignificant; A single denarius was the going rate for a full day of labor (Jeremias 1976: 136–39). But the contrast with the king's incalculable generosity cannot be overlooked, and the close of the parable makes it unmistakably plain that God's forgiveness demands ours as a proper response (vv 31–35). To fail to forgive one's fellow, even when what needs to be forgiven is considerable, is to betray the very logic of forgiveness which alone gives us standing before God.

Two other parables portray, in an apparently paradoxical fashion, the inextricable link between divine forgiveness and our behavior. Within the story of Jesus at the house of a Pharisee named Simon (Luke 7:36–50), a parable explains why Jesus chose to forgive a sinful woman (vv 40–43). Of 2 debtors, the one who has been released from the greater debt will obviously love his creditor more. The sinful woman's great love, therefore, in an outlandish display of affection and honor (vv 37–38, 44–46), is proof that God had forgiven her (v 47). Her love is proof of her capacity to be forgiven (Moule 1982: 282–84). She had succeeded precisely where the unforgiving servant of Matthew 18 had failed: Her actions displayed the value she accorded to forgiveness. Precisely the same logic, developed more strictly in respect of debt, is evident in the otherwise inexplicable parable of the crafty steward (Luke 16:1–9). His lord (or master) praised the steward for his cleverness (v 8) in reducing the debts of those who owed commodities to the lord (vv 5–7). The scheme was devised so that the lucky debtors would receive the steward (v 4) after his lord had followed through on the threat of dismissing the steward for dishonesty (vv 1, 2). On any ordinarily moral accounting, the steward has gone from bad to worse, and yet his lord praises him (v 8). Because God is the lord of the parable, what would be bribery in the case of any ordinary master's property turns out to be purposeful generosity. The effect of the steward's panic is to fulfill the lord's desire (Chilton 1984: 117–23), because he is the same as the unforgiving servant's king, the God who forgave the sinful woman.

Jesus' usage of "debt," therefore, is initially to be understood as an Aramaism. But he appears, on the evidence of the Gospels, to have exploited the metaphorical possibilities of the term in a way which is precedented in the *Targum of Isaiah*, but in a characteristically parabolic fashion. The general activity of telling parables, of course, is well attested among early rabbis (Chilton and McDonald 1987: 31–43). At issue here is not absolute uniqueness, but the relative distinctiveness which distinguishes any significantly historical feature from his contemporaries. A well-established theologoumenon of early Judaism spoke not only of debts, but of credit in respect of God (*TDNT* 5:562). Jesus appears to have exploited the latter metaphor, as well as the former (Matt 6:19–21; 19:21; Mark 10:21; Luke 12:33, 34; 18:22). But it was in

his adaptation of an idiom and in his theology of "debt" that Jesus developed a systematic aspect of his message as a whole.

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**DECAPOLIS.** A group of Hellenistic cities E of the Jordan and Lake Tiberias which were of considerable importance in the history of the region and figure in the Gospels in the ministry of Jesus. The term is from Gk and means literally "Ten Towns," although the number of cities actually included by the term appears not to have been strictly delimited.

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A. Attestations of the Term
B. List of the Cities
C. Identification of Sites
D. History of the Cities
E. Nature of the Decapolis
F. End of the Decapolis

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**A. Attestations of the Term**

The oldest attestations of the term *Decapolis* can be found in the Synoptic Gospels. In Mark 5:20, Jesus, having gone to the other side of Lake Tiberias, cured a possessed man who, according to Jesus' instructions, went on his way proclaiming in the Decapolis what Jesus had done for him. In Mark 7:31 Jesus, having left the territories of Tyre and Sidon, reached Lake Tiberias by passing through the Decapolis. In Matt 4:25 it is specified that the crowds that accompanied Jesus came from Galilee, the Decapolis, Jerusalem, Judea, and from the region above the Jordan.

The *Onomasticon* of Eusebius explains that the Decapolis is a region of 10 cities beyond the Jordan, and around Hippos, Pella and Gadara. (An incorrect definition, but one that suited a region apparently involved in events from the Gospels). The story of the demoniac cured by Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels poses a problem of textual criticism. Matthew 8:28, which speaks of 2 possessed men, places the episode in the countryside of Gadara; in the parallel stories, Mark 5:1 and Luke 8:26–37, the location is the countryside of Gerasa; some manuscripts offer the variant *Gergesinōn* referring to a site N of Hippos (Parker 1975). Flavius Josephus (*JW* 3.9.7 §446) specifies that Scythopolis, to the W of the Jordan, is the largest city of the Decapolis; in the *Life* 65 §341 and 74 §410, he mentions 10 Syrian cities whose notables came to Vespasian to complain about the ravages that rioting Jews were wreaking on the villages in their territories; the passage implies these 10 cities were well known. Pliny the Elder (*HN* 5.18.74) is the clearest. Judea, he writes, is continguous on the Syrian side with the region of the Decapolis (so called for the number of its cities). He notes that in his time there was some uncertainty about the exact list of the cities of the Decapolis and he gives the most currently accepted list, which includes Damascus and Galasa (the form received in the manuscript tradition, considered a mistake for Gerasa). A Gk inscription of the Palmyra region from the time of Hadrian mentions a citizen from Abila of the Decapolis; the city is not found in Pliny's list. A Gk inscription discovered in the Balkans indicates that an officer whose career is dated by the decorations he received during the Domitian wars was prefect of the Decapolis of Syria (Isaac 1981). Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5.14.18) knows but one list, the Decapolis and Coelesyria, in which the cities named by Pliny are, except for Raphana, mixed with other cities of S Syria. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.*

3.5.3) and Epiphanius of Salamis in Cyprus (A.D. 315–403) (*Adv. Haeres.* 29.7.7–8) mention Pella of the Decapolis as a place of refuge for the Christian community of Jerusalem in A.D. 69–70. In the *Ethnika* of Stephanus of Byzantium (135.15) Gerasa is called a city of the Decapolis.

**B. List of the Cities**

It is thus difficult to establish an exact list of the 10 cities of the Decapolis. Neither inscriptions nor coins lead one to think that any of these cities was ever officially called a city of the Decapolis; the specification in the inscription from Palmyra, concerning a private person, is intended to avoid confusion with another Abila in Lysanias (*Ant* 19.275). Abila, Canata, Dius, Gadara, Gerasa, Hippos, Pella, Philadelphia, and Scythopolis have in common that during the Roman period they used on their coins and in their inscriptions a system of dating according to the so-called Pompeian eras that commemorated their liberation by Pompey. Damascus, which after Pliny is often counted among the cities of the Decapolis, never used any but the Seleucid era. Modern historians often include Capitolias among the cities of the Decapolis, but Pliny doesn't mention it and undoubtedly couldn't have mentioned it: The era that the city on its coinage was inaugurated under the reign of Nerva or at the beginning of Trajan's; the city was not founded, at least under this name, until the end of the 1st century A.D.

**C. Identification of Sites**

The identification of most of the cities of Decapolis no longer poses any problems, even if it is not always possible to determine the limits of their territories. Scythopolis is Beth-shan in the lower Galilean plain (*ANRW* 2/8: 262–94). All the others are found to the E of the Jordan. Pella (Smith 1973; McNicoll 1982) is Tabaqat Pahil, on the very edge of the plateau, above a valley rich in water; here there was constructed a nymphaeum, a monumental fountain and water sanctuary, that became famous and gave it the official name Pella (of) Nymphaion (Seyrig 1959: 41–42; Smith 1973: 52–53). Philadelphia (Zayadine 1982) is Amman, the southernmost. The edge of the plateau forms the E limits of its territory (Villeneuve 1988: 280–81), violently contested by the people of Peraea during the time of Emperor Claudius (*Ant* 20.1.1 §1). Gerasa (Kraeling 1938) is Jerash, in the ancient hills of Gilead; the frontier between its territory and that of Philadelphia is situated on a tributary of the Jordan, the river Jabbok, partially more to the S. The two cities are on the main road that runs N–S through the inhabited area of the Jordanian plateau (Bauzou 1988). The territory of Gerasa did not extend NW to Lake Tiberias; despite Mark 5:1 and Luke 8:26; Gerasa was separated from the lake by the territory of Gadara and, without doubt, that of Hippos. Gadara (Wagner-Lux 1982), located at the present-day Umm-Qeis, dominated the river Yarmuk, a tributory of the Jordan, and, at a distance, Lake Tiberias. On the N bank of the Yarmuk were located the Emmatha baths, renowned hot springs; according to Matt 8:28 the territory of Gadara would have run alongside Lake Tiberias. In order to escape the difficulties that are presented on this point by the Synoptic stories, Origen (*Joan.* 6:24, followed by Cyril of Scythopolis *Vita Sabae* 24), conjectured that one must place the healing of the demoniacs in the country of the Gergasenians, identified as Korsia (modern Kursi), along the lake to the N of Hippos, conjecture passed on in a part of the manuscript tradition (PWSup 13:425).

Hippos (*EAEHL* 2:521–23) is near the edge of the lake, on the spot called Qalat el-Hosn, 30 stadia from Tiberias according to Josephus (*Life* 65 §349), facing Tarichaeae (*Life* 31 §153); its territory doubtless encompassed the site of el-Al, to the E of the lake, where an inscription is dated according to an era of the Decapolis. Abila is identified as Tell Qwelbeh, 12 Roman miles to the E of Gadara according to the *Onomastican* of Eusebius (32.16. One must not confuse it with Abila or Abela in the Peraea that Nero gave to Agrippa II according to Josephus [*JW* 2.13.2 §252; Villeneuve 1988: 275; 285 n.4]; that Abila is much farther to the S, without doubt the present Kefrin). Capitolias is located at Beit Ras, in Jordan, N of Irbid. Raphana is the same as Raphon (1 Macc 5:37), and is located at the village of er-Rafe, 13 km ENE of the Sheik Sa‹ad in Syria (*ANRW* 2/8: 223); but some think that Raphana became Capitolias (Jones 1971: 259). Different locations have been proposed for Dium, which Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5.14.8) mentions as lying between Pella and Gadara, an indication without precise geographic value. It has been located in Jordan, at Kefr Abil (E of Pella); at Tell el-Hosn (several km SSE of Irbid); or even further to the SE, near

Mafraq and Er-Rihab, at Edun. A location at Tell el Ashari in Syria, about 15 km NNW of Deraa, is the most likely; among the coins found at the site are two Dium bronzes (Augé 1988: 328, 331).

Canata, Canatha, or Canotha (the spelling variants found in literary texts, inscriptions, and coins are considered variations of the same toponym) is generally identified as Qanawat in the Jebel Arab, formerly called the Jebel Druze; if *Chanata* of the Peutinger Table is indeed Canatha, the distances indicated point to Qanawat. This identification raises some difficulties. An inscription commemorates certain works to harness water to supply the city of Canatha; the springs named can be identified, and they are at an altitude much lower than that of Qanawat. Canatha may designate not the city, but a portion of its vast rural territory (Sartre 1981); but this explanation is not convincing. The coins of Canata/Canatha are dated according to the Pompeian era, while the dated inscriptions found at Qanawat are dated by regnal years of the Roman emperors. It is extremely unlikely that two different systems of dating would have been in use in the same city. The use of the regnal years would indicate attachment to the imperial domain; such a status does not seem acceptable for a city in the Decapolis (Rey-Coquais 1982). Archaeological investigation of the Qanawat region shows an essentially rural area where Hellenistic influences were felt late in the 1st century A.D. (Dentzer 1986; Sartre 1987); but the "ten cities" boasted of being cities of Greek culture, institutions, and origin.

**D. History of the Cities**

The first foundations by Macedonians and other Greeks in the region of the Jordan date back to the conquest of the East by Alexander the Great. Gerasa claimed Alexander and his lieutenant Perdiccas as founders; Alexander was the founder of Dium according to Stephanus of Byzantium (*Ethnika* 103–4), of Abila, if its coins have been properly interpreted, of Capitolias, which celebrated him as *genarchos* "first ancestor" (Seyrig 1965: 24–28; Frézouls 1988: 127 n. 47). Pella, which got its name from the royal capital of Macedonia, is a Macedonian foundation from this same period; archaeological finds of Ptolemaic coins and stamps from Rhodian amphoras seem to confirm this (McNicoll 1982). Philadelphia was founded by Ptolemy II Philadelphus (308–246 B.C.). The absence of any early Hellenistic levels in some archaeological excavations, notably at Amman and at Jerash, poses the problem of the foundation and of the development of these cities (Zayadine 1982: 20; Seigne 1986: 53).

The Greco-Macedonian colonies occupy sites chosen for their natural advantages, their defensive and strategic value, their position on vital roads (Mittmann 1966; Bauzou 1988), their situation on fertile soil. These sites had already been inhabited since early antiquity, as toponymic traditions and archaeological discoveries attest. Philadelphia, for example, is the ancient Rabbath Ammon, mentioned by Polybius (*Hist.* 5.69–70), under the name of Rabbatamana (see RABBAH). Abila, Canatha, Gadara, Gerasa kept their original names (Zayadine 1982). The name of Pella probably replaces an indigenous name of similar sound mentioned in ancient Egyptian documents, which remains to this day in the form of Paḥil or Faḥil. The image on coins from Hippos is a winged horse; the Gk name Hippos, which means "horse," translates a Semitic name of the same meaning: Sussitha in the Talmudic sources, Sussiya in Arabic.

The city of Scythopolis (*ANRW* 2/8 262–67) covers the ancient Beth-shan. A variety of suggestions have been made concerning the origin of the Gk name. According to the 6th century *Chronography* of John Malalas (5.178) the name recalled a Scythian settlement there from the time of the Trojan War. A Scythian settlement might date from the 7th century according to Herodotus, (4.105), or perhaps have arisen under Ptolemy II (*ANRW* 2/8 262–94); "Scythopolis" could also be a very approximate rendering of a Semitic name, if one supposes that a semantic doublet of *-šĕʿan,* "quiet," underlies the element **scyth* (<Heb *šeqeṭ* "quietness"?; Frézouls 1987).

Scythopolis also had the name Nysa, which during the Roman period was linked to the legend of Dionysius, whose wet nurse was named Nysa, as Pliny (*HN* 5.18.14) and also the coins of the city attest. The name might derive from a Seleucid princess, a grandmother of Antiochus III, or perhaps one of his daughters (Rigsby 1980), or even one of Antiochus IV's nieces (Frézouls 1987: 88).

At the end of the 3d century B.C., Antiochus III (the Great) took Syria, southern Phoenicia, and Palestine from the Lagides. He acquired Scythopolis through a treaty; the commander Ptolemaios son of Thraseas, who possessed vast domains in the surrounding area, left the service of the king of Egypt and went over to

the Seleucid king, for whom he then governed the province (*ANRW* 2/8: 268–70; Sartre 1988: 21). Antiochus took Pella; the Galaatide, which is the country of Gerasa, Abila, and Gadara and is thus the strongest area of the region; and Rabbatamana, i.e., Philadelphia (Polyb. *Hist.* 5.69–71). The Seleucid seizure of Philadelphia forced John Hyrcanus, the last representative of the great Tobiad family, servant and partisan of the Lagides, to take refuge in their *baris*, their fortress called "Tyre" (*Ant* 12.4.11 229–35), identified as Iraq el-Amir (Will 1982; Villeneuve 1988).

Antiochus III and, to a lesser degree, his successors, developed the colonization of the Jordan region. Several cities received a Seleucid dynastic toponym, the mark of a new foundation, that the cities would recall with pride during the Roman epoch (Frézouls 1988: 117–19). Gadara, according to Stephanus of Byzantium (*Ethn.* 128.30), became Seleucia and Antioch. Gerasa was Antioch of Chrysorrhoas, from the name of the river that waters it, as attests a weight from the Hellenistic period, dated from 143/42 B.C. (Seyrig 1950: 53), an inscription under Hadrian, and coins from Marcus Aurelius to Commodus (Spijkerman 1978: 160–63). Abila was called S'leucia and Hippos Antioch as its coins show (Spijkerman 1978: 50–57; 170–79). It is perhaps only during this period that the Greco-Macedonian foundations of the Jordan region gained the status of true Hellenistic cities and experienced real urban development (Barghouti 1982), well documented for Gerasa (Pierobon 1983: 18–19; Seigne 1986: 53).

At the end of the 2d century and at the beginning of the 1st century B.C., the cities of Decapolis suffered from the anarchy which began to afflict the Seleucid empire with the rival ambitions of the Jews and the Nabataeans, whose kingdoms were in great expansion. Philadelphia and Gerasa (Gatier 1988: 159–62) were under the power of a dynast, Zenon nicknamed "Cotylas," and his son Theodoros, who operated as vassals of the Nabataeans (Gatier 1988); they owned numerous fortresses in the region and they stored their treasure at Gerasa. About 130 B.C. they offered refuge to the Jew Ptolemy, enemy of John Hyrcanus, at Philadelphia. The Jewish king Alexander Janneus made war on them several times, took over their fortresses (of which Amathus was the most important) and their treasure; he made himself master of numerous cities in Syria and of Dius, Abila, Scythopolis, and Gadara. He led a fanatical war to impose Jewish customs and to annihilate Hellenistic culture (*JW* 1.4.8 §104; *Ant* 13.15.3–4 393: 396–97). The resistance of the inhabitants of Pella ended in the destruction of their city. Alexander Janneus died in the hills of the region of Gerasa while he was attacking the fortress of Ragaba (*Ant* 13.15.5 §398). In 64 B.C., Gadara, Dius, Pella, and Scythopolis found themselves in Jewish territory. At the beginning of 63 B.C., the Nabataean king Aretas III possessed Philadelphia, whither he retreated when Pompey ordered him to raise the siege of Jerusalem (*JW* 1.6.3 §129); without a doubt he also controlled Gerasa (Gatier 1988: 162).

The Roman intervention led by Pompey in 64 and 63 B.C. put an end to the troubles of the Decapolis cities. Taking control of the fortified sites and treasure troves of tyrants and brigands (Strabo 16.2.40 C 763), Pompey liberated the cities from oppression by kings and Jewish and Nabataean tyrants, and rebuilt them from the ruins that the wars, and particularly the Jewish incursions, had caused to accumulate there. Gadara, which had been destroyed a short time before, was given by Pompey to his freedman Demetrius, whose native city it was. Hippos, Scythopolis, Pella, and Dius were turned over to their inhabitants. All the Greek cities were left free—that is to say, they regained their municipal autonomy—but they were attached to the province of Syria (*JW* 1.7.7 §155–57; *Ant* 14.4.4 §74–76). The economic and cultural capital of the region, Gadara, first received the right to mint bronze coinage.

To celebrate their liberation, the cities inaugurated new eras which, contrary to many other new "Pompeian" eras adopted by other cities of the Near East, remained in use up until the end of the Roman empire (Seyrig 1959). Gadara, Hippos, Scythopolis (Alt 1932) made use of eras beginning in the autumn of 64 B.C.; in Gadara, the 1st year of the new era is called "year 1 of the liberty of Rome" (Seyrig 1959). The eras of Gerasa, Pella, and Philadelphia (Gatier 1988: 165) begin in the autumn of 63. For Abila and Dius (Augé 1988: 326), it is not possible to determine whether their eras begin in 64 or 63; an inscription from Tafas (Rey-Coquais 1978: 45 n. 18), and an inscription from Khisfin, in the S Golan (*Revue des Etudes Grecques* 1979 *Bulletin epigraphique* 620), show the use of an era beginning in 64, but it is not known in which ancient city's territory these sites were located. Inscriptions from Qonaitra also employ an era of the Decapolis, which is difficult to specify further.

About two centuries later, these cities made a point of recalling officially in the legends inscribed on their coins that they owed to Pompey and his lieutenants a new foundation (Seyrig 1959). Gadara called itself Pompeia Gadara; L. Marcius Philippus, Governor of Syria in 61 and 60 B.C., gave his name to Pella; on its coins issued under Lucius Verus, Commodus and, Elagabalus, the city calls itself Philippa Pella and also makes reference to Pompey (Smith 1973: 52–54). Aulus Gabinius, governor from 57 to 55 B.C., who contributed to the restoration of many cities, intervened in particular for Canatha which, under Commodus and Elagabalus, proclaimed itself Gabinia Canatha; the *Chronicon Pascal* (351.16 [Dindorf]) also witnesses the action of Gabinius in favor of Philadelphia (Rey-Coquais 1981: 25–26). All these governors had to fight against the Arabs (Appian *Syr*. 51), who were not only the nomads of the E desert but also most certainly the Nabataeans (*JW* 1.7.7 §55–57); *Ant* 14.4.4 §74–76), who were not happy to see Rome cut the direct route between Petra and Bostra, their two great capitals.

During the troubled period of the Roman civil wars the Nabataeans were able to recommence their expansion toward the N. When Mark Antony gave S Syria to Cleopatra, the region of Qanawat, where Canatha is usually located, was in the hands of the Nabataeans. The same year as the victory of Augustus at Actium, Jews and Nabataeans were warring in the region of Dius (which Josephus calls *Diospolis; JW* 1.19.2 §336), the region of Canatha (*JW* 1.19.2 §336–67; *Ant* 15.4.5 §112), and of Philadelphia (*JW* 1.19.5 §380). Reorganizing the E empire after Actium, Augustus gave the area N of Hauran first to Zenodorus of Calchis, who sold part of it to the Nabataeans, and part, after 23 B.C., to Herod the Great, who, in order to maintain security, installed 2 military camps and in 12 B.C. had to call in the Roman army. In 30 B.C., Hippos and Gadara although they had been Greek cities (Joseph. *Ant* 15.7.3 §217), were ceded to Herod and remained in his realm despite their complaints (*Ant* 15.10.2–3 §351–58). Nothing indicates that Scythopolis and Pella had formed enclaves in the Herodian realm and even less that they had submitted to him. At Herod's death, Hippos and Gadara regained their municipal freedom and were attached to the province of Syria (*Ant* 17.11.4 320), like the other Greek cities of the region. The area N of Hauran entered the domain of the tetrarch Philip; it was then given first to king Agrippa I and then, after a new period of direct administration by Syria during the reign of the emperor Claudius, to Agrippa II, who held it until his death around 93–94 C.E. (*HJP*$^{3}$ 2: 336–40; 442–54; 471–83; Bowersock 1975). Numerous inscriptions witness their domination.

At the beginning of the First Jewish War, after the disaster of Caesarea, the Jews in revolt attacked the 10 Syrian cities, sacking the territories of Philadelphia, Gerasa, Pella, and Scythopolis, and later Gadara and Hippos (*JW* 2.18.1–4 §458; *Life* 65 §341). When Vespasian arrived in Ptolemais, the notables from the 10 cities came to complain and ask him for protection (*Life* 74 §410). In A.D. 66, the whole Jewish population of Scythopolis was annihilated, after having been forced to help the pagans defend the city against the Jews in revolt (*JW* 2.18.3–5 §446–77; 7.8.7 §364). Scythopolis served as a base of operations for Vespasian's army. In Hippos and in Gadara the Jews were massacred. Gadara was the only city to organize an expedition against the Jews; the other Greek cities of the region do not seem to have sent any contingent. In Gerasa, the Jews were spared, and those who wanted to leave the city were permitted to do so with an escort. According to Josephus (*JW* 4.9.1 §487–89), Gerasa was destroyed by Vespasian and its population was massacred or reduced to slavery; however, an inscription dating from A.D. 70 tells us that a "suppliant" came to seek the right of asylum in the sanctuary of Zeus, offering him 10,000 drachmas in thanks. Fleeing besieged Jerusalem, the growing Christian community sought refuge in the countryside of Pella in the Decapolis (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.5.3; Epiphanius *Adv. haer* 29.7.7–8; Manns 1982).

**E. Nature of the Decapolis**

The Decapolis has often been presented as a league of independent cities organized by Pompey (Bietenhard 1963; Jones 1971: 259). An examination of the documents, the recollection of historic events shows that it was nothing of the sort (Parker 1975). Neither Strabo, well informed on all of Pompey's actions, nor Josephus knew of such a league. Each city of the Decapolis used its own era, from 64 or 63 B.C., according to the date on which it was liberated by Pompey. The 10 cities experienced different destinies during the first part of the Roman domination; they did not form a politically coherent unit.

Their unity comes from their Hellenistic character, which distinguished them sharply from neighboring populations, Jews to the W, Nabataeans to the S, highland tribes or semi-nomads to the N The 10 cities were Greek cities not only in origin and institutions but in culture (Bietenhard *ANRW* 2/8: 249–52; Rey-Coquais 1982: 9). They gave birth to rhetors, scholars, poets, and renowned jurists. In the 2d century B.C., Hippos was considered the most cultivated city of southern Syria. Natives of Gadara in the Hellenistic period included the satirist Menippus (3d century B.C.); the poet Meleager (ca. 140–ca. 70 B.C.), author of the famous *Garland,* which called his homeland the Syrian Attica; and the Epicurian philosopher Philodemus (ca. 110–ca. 40 B.C.). From the beginning of the imperial period, among renowned Gadarans were the philosopher Antiochus; the orator Theodoros (fl. 33 B.C.), a contemporary of Strabo (Strabo 16.2.29 C 759), who was Tiberius's advisor; and Strabo's adversary the Cynical philosopher Oenomaos (ca. A.D. 12). In the 3d century A.D., Aspine (ca. 190–250), who held the imperial chair of philosophy at Athens and was consul at Rome, came from Gadara; shortly after his time, the illustrious philosopher Iamblicus (ca. 250–ca. 325), a native of Chalcis, would betake himself to the baths of Emmatha in Gadara while philosophizing with his disciples. Among famous men from Gerasa, Stephanius of Byzantium names the rhetor Ariston, the sophist Kerykos, the lawyer Plato; the best known is the mathematician and pythagorian theorist Nicomacus, from the 2d century A.D. From Pella comes an esteemed Christian historian, Ariston. Scythopolis was a center of Greek culture.

The cults and divinities of the cities of the Decapolis were Greek, even if they show signs of eastern influence (Seyrig 1959 and 1962; Augé 1982 and 1988). The arts were developed there according to Greek forms; architecture, sculpture, and painting also, as revealed by tombs from the Roman period (Zayadine 1976; Barbet 1982 and 1986; Vibert-Guigne 1982). City planning and monuments, porticoed avenues, theaters, fountains, and sanctuaries were Greek; Hellenism there was vital enough to enrich itself from eastern borrowing (Seign 1986: 41–53). All this gave to the 10 Greek cities a feeling of shared culture, and conferred them an originality noteworthy in this part of the Orient. The Roman provincial organization was conscious of this fact (Rey-Coquais 1982).

The attestations of the term *Decapolis* go back to the period which extend from Tiberius to the Flavians. Most particularly important and significant is a Gk inscription, for a long time misunderstood, that mentions a prefect of the Decapolis in Syria. The Decapolis was thus, from the 1st century A.D., an administrative region, in the territory of a single holder, endowed with a certain autonomy, and attached to the province of Syria (Isaac 1981). Its situation must have been analogous to that of Judea under the prefect Pontius Pilate, and perhaps also, around the same time, to the territory of Arados, a prefect of which city is honored in an inscription (Rey-Coquais 1978: 50). The status of local communities was intermediate between the "liberty" of free cities like Antioch on the Orontes, Laodicea by the Sea, or Tyre, and the condition of subject cities closely subjugated to the common law of the Roman province. The number of cities allocated to the Decapolis in the Roman administrative region was without doubt variable, as Pliny implies; Stephanus of Byzantium, with respect to Gerasa, notes that at one time these cities numbered 14 (PWSup 13: 370).

**F. End of the Decapolis**

The annexation of Nabataea and the creation of the province of Arabia by Trajan (A.D. 106) brought about the end of the Decapolis. The administrative region by this name no longer existed; the cities that had been part of it now found themselves distributed among neighboring provinces. Philadelphia and Gerasa were included in the new province of Arabia. Many modifications of provincial boundaries during the 2d and 3d centuries would bring about the attachment of other Decapolis cities to the provinces of Arabia or of Palestine.

From the beginning of the 2d century, in the official titles of numerous cities of the Decapolis, appears the name of *Coelesyria;* the term appears on coins and in inscriptions from Philadelphia of Hadrian's epoch; on coins from Scythopolis, Gadara, and Abila under Marcus Aurelius; and on coins of Dius and Pella under Caracalla. Since the time when all of the cities of the Decapolis were part of the province of Syria, they had participated in the celebration of the imperial cult as the district of Phoenicia and Coelesyria, of which Tyre was the metropolis. Those cities that ceased to belong to the province of Syria

would have obtained the right to continue to celebrate the imperial cult in the district of Coelesyria, which was reorganized in the reign of Hadrian, with Damascus as its capital. The Greek cities suffered greatly in being assimilated to Arab or Jewish cities; the ones in Arabia would not have wanted to be associated with the Nabataeans in the celebration of the provincial imperial cult in Petra, metropolis of Arabia since the reign of Trajan (Bowerstock 1983: 85), even if Hellenistic influence was felt there. Scythopolis, gone over to the province of Palestine, called itself one of the Greek cities of Syria on coins minted during the period of Commodus (Spijkerman 1978: 194–95 n. 21). Thus would be explained the name of Coelesyria (Rey-Coquais 1981: 28–31; 1982: 8–9; Sartre 1988: 27). Although the boundaries between the Roman provinces of Syria, Arabia, and Palestine were redrawn several times, the date of the appearance of this name on coins does not necessarily represent the date of the change of province.

The foregoing explains why the geographer Ptolemy used a unique rubic, *Decapolis et Coelesyria,* which regrouped all the cities that participated together in the imperial cult in the district of Damascus without taking into account the provincial boundaries. Ptolemy makes a second mention of certain of the Decapolis cities in other regional lists. Beginning with the 2d century, many of the cities from the former Decapolis would regain their autonomy or liberty, exempting them from the common law of the province, as coins and inscriptions from Gerasa (from Hadrian's period on), and from Gadara, Abila, Capitolias, and Scythopolis attest. Belonging to Arabia or to Palestine, the Greek cities of the region, proud of their origins, their traditions and their culture, continued to affirm their differences. Their own character assured them a unity that, ignoring administrative boundaries, preserved the distinctive traits of the former Decapolis.

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**DECISION, VALLEY OF** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿēmeq* (עֵמֶק) *heḥārûṣ* (הֶחָרוּץ)]. The Valley of Judgment spoken of in Joel 3:14, indicating the place where God will give a judicial decree against the nations; it is also to be identified with the Valley of Jehoshaphat; see JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF. The exact location of the site is uncertain, but from the references to judgment of the nations in Joel 3:32 and 12, and the twice repeated reference to the "Valley of Decision" and to "multitudes" in Joel 3:14, it is clear that the place is a *place* of judgment. The context is eschatological ("sun and moon will be darkened and the stars no longer shine," Joel 3:15), and the site is to be located somewhere in the area of Judah (Joel 3:1) and Jerusalem in particular (Joel 3:1, 16, 17); here the Lord's great judgment is predicted to fall on all the nations (Joel 3:2). Traditionally the last judgment has been viewed by Jews, Christians, and Muslims as occurring in the Kidron Valley just E of Jerusalem, including the valley slopes; as a result of this belief many tombs are to be found on the Kidron slopes, the Muslim cemetery on the W and the Jewish on the E. It is in this Valley of Decision then that the final judgment is seen as taking place.
W. HAROLD MARE

**DECONSTRUCTION.** See POSTSTRUCTURALIST ANALYSIS.

**DEDAN** (PLACE) [Heb *dĕdān* (דְּדָן)]. DEDANITE. An important commercial settlement located at one of the major oases in NW Arabia (Gen 10:7; Gen 25:3). The town has been identified with the ruins of Khuraybah just N of the modern village of al-ʿUla in the Ḥijāz (26°41′N; 38°1.5′E). During the 6th century B.C., it emerged into prominence. Dedan appears in the biblical genealogies both as the descendant of Raamah son of Cush (Gen 10:7; 1 Chr 1:9) and Jokshan son of Abraham and Keturah (Gen 25:3; 1 Chr 1:32). The "sons of Dedan" appear in the plural form, which led to their being interpreted as professional classes—warriors, craftsmen, and tribesmen (Albright 1953: 9–10), but they more likely represent ethnic groups, the "Asshurim" denoting a Syrian colony at the oasis (Winnett 1970: 190–191), the "Letushim" perhaps the native Arabs, and "Leummim" another foreign group residing at the oasis. In

the 6th century B.C., the Hebrew prophets link Dedan with Syria-Palestine and Phoenicia in trading enterprises: the Arab settlers provided Tyre with saddle blankets for their horses (Ezek 27: 20; cf. 15, where LXX "men of Rhodes" is to be preferred with RSV to MT "sons of Dedan") and perhaps the inhabitants of the Levant with incense from S Arabia. The merchants and caravans of Dedan are among the foreigners who drew the ire of the Hebrew prophets (Isa 21:13 and Ezek 38:13).

The ruins of ancient Dedan are extensive, running for approximately 1 km alongside the sandstone cliffs of the narrow valley just N of the modern town of al-ʿUla (Jaussen and Savignac 1909; 1914; Parr, Harding, and Dayton 1970: 204–14). Along this 13-km serpentine stretch, there are the remains of numerous settlements for which Khuraybah was the administrative center (Bawden 1979). The intensive agricultural cultivation of this fertile valley (known as the "valley of villages" or Wadi al-Qurā by Arab historians) is reflected in the complex hydrological system of subterranean conduits that irrigated the fields. These remains appear to be the product of the Lihyanite period (Nasif 1980). The cult of the local god, Ḏu-gabat, also appears to have been an agricultural religion (Beeston 1974). The unique architecture, sculpture and ceramics produced by Dedanite culture indicate a complex, highly organized society. The necropolis with the famous Lion tombs on the E side of the wadi are a fine example of the distinctiveness of the culture.

Hundreds of inscriptions in a distinctive form of S Semitic script have been found at the settlement, in the various adjacent sandstone cliffs, and beyond. Many more undoubtedly await discovery. To the almost 400 texts collected by Jaussen and Savignac, over 100 more must now be added to the corpus. Most of them are from al-ʿUla (Altheim and Stiehl 1968, 1971; Parr, Harding, and Dayton 1972: 36–39) or nearby at Medāʾin Ṣāliḥ (50), but others have been discovered more distantly, such as the handful from Jabal Thadra, 85 km NW of Khuraybah (Jamme 1981: 99–105), and those from Midian (van den Branden 1960) and further N in the region of Aqaba in Jordan (Graf 1983). This corpus has been organized into three categories—Dedanite, Early Lihyanite, and late Lihyanite. This tripartite classification remains a matter of some dispute (Jamme 1968), but the following chronology is widely accepted (Drewes *Encyclopedia of Islam*$^2$ 5: 761–63). The "Dedanite" inscriptions are assigned to the 6th–5th century B.C. based on their similarity to the Taymanite texts of the same period. The "Lihyanite" texts appear to be later, ranging probably from the 5th–1st centuries B.C. (Altheim and Stiehl 1964; al-Ansary 1970; Winnett and Reed 1970: 119–20). The "lower" chronology of the 2d century B.C. to the 2d century A.D. advocated by Caskel (1953) seems less convincing.

In addition to these indigenous scripts, there is a small body of S Arabian texts at Dedan that appear to be the product of a Minaean merchant colony established at the oasis and involved in the incense trade in the Mediterranean from the 4th–2d centuries B.C. The Lihyanite kingdom appears to be contemporaneous with these texts (van den Branden 1957). The language of the Dedanite-Lihyanite texts represents an early form of Arabic that occasionally even borders on classical Arabic (Beeston 1973). The content is primarily funerary or cultic, but occasionally the brief petitions or epitaphs refer to royal figures who ruled at the oasis. Only one text speaks of a king of "Dedan," but at least 6 or 7 kings and even 1 queen of "Lihyan" are mentioned.

The transition from Dedanite to Lihyanite rule remains unclear. Without such clues, an absolute chronology is at this time impossible and only general guidelines serve to date the texts. Several indications of the Hellenistic era for the Lihyanite inscriptions exist, but these are also subject to dispute. Several Lihyanite kings are named *tlmy* (Tulmay), which has been derived from the dynastic name of Ptolemy, the rulers of Egypt, and interpreted as a product of Hellenistic influence. But the name Talmai appears in the Hebrew Bible (2 Sam 3:3, 13:37; 1 Chr 3:2), rendering such connections uncertain (al-Ansary 1970: 58), particularly since a large number of personal names in the Lihyanite onomasticon are well attested in Hebrew and other W Semitic dialects (al-Ansary 1975: 9–12).

Moreover, it can no longer be assumed that Ptolemy II's campaign of 278/7 B.C. was directed against the Lihyanite kindom in Arabia in an effort to gain control of the incense route (Tarn 1929). The expedition rather appears to have been to Syria-Palestine and Asia, not Arabia (Lorton 1971). Minaean inscriptions from the early Hellenistic period indicate S Arabian merchants were in contact with the oasis,

but only one reference is made to Lihyan, whereas Dedan is mentioned nine times (Garbini 1974: no. 392). Lihyanite legends in the late form of the script appear on coins discovered in South Arabia that are imitations of Athenian coins and probably date to the same period (Walker 1959; Boneschi 1961). The fact that Mas‹udu, one of the kings of Lihyan, recorded his name in Nabataean Aramaic inscriptions near Tayma seems to represent the terminus for the kingdom and the Lihyanite inscriptions, i.e., about 100 B.C. Afterwards, the Nabataeans appear to have controlled the region and shifted the administrative center from Dedan to Ḥegrā (Madā'in Ṣaliḥ) some 20 km further N.

In the oracles against Edom in the Hebrew prophets, the Dedanites are involved in the condemnation (Jer 49:8 and Ezek 25:13). Evidence that Dedan moved within the Edomite orbit seems clear. One of the kings of Dedan was named *gltqs* (Caskel no. 30), and Lihyanite texts later refer to individuals named *‹bdqs* and *slmtqs* (Jaussen and Savignac 1909: Lih. no. 363; *‹dbqs* in 143 must be a case of metathesis; and *slmtqs*, no. 117). These names suggest the presence of the cult of the Edomite god, Qaus/Qos, at the oasis. Activities of Dedanites in Edomite territory are indicated by discoveries of their inscriptions at Tell el-Kheleifeh on the gulf of Aqaba and 50 km farther NE in the Ḥismā desert just S of the Edomite plateau (Graf 1983). In the excavations of the Edomite fortress at Ghrareh about 20 km S of Petra, a seal also was discovered inscribed in the proto-Arabic script of the Ḥijāz in a 7th–6th century context (as interpreted by E. A. Knauf in Hart 1988: 98–99). The cult of the Syrian god, Ba‹alsamina, is also present at the oasis in the Ḥijāz during the early Dedanite period (Caskel 1953: no. 12). The cosmopolitan nature of the oasis and its far-flung contacts with Syria, Palestine, and Phoenicia may have taken place under Edomite auspices.

During Nabonidus' Arabian expedition and 10 year sojourn at Tayma (ca. 552–542 B.C.), the Neo-Babylonian king conducted a campaign deep into the Ḥijāz in which the kings of Tayma and Dedan were slain (Graf 1989: 140). A "war against Dedan" is also mentioned in "Taymanite" inscriptions from Jabal Ghunaym just 10 km S of Tayma (Winnett and Reed 1970: nos. 20–23) and at a small watch tower 8 km NW of Tayma (Parr, Harding, and Dayton 1972: 41, no. 39), which also may allude to Nabonidus' expedition (cf. Eph‹al 1982: 179–91). In 539 B.C., Nabonidus was defeated by Cyrus and the oasis may have come under Achaemenid Persian control. The primary evidence for this assumption is one of the inscriptions of the oasis that refers to "Gashm b. Shahr and ‹Abd the governor (*fḥt*) of Dedan" (Jaussen and Savignac 1909: Lih no. 138). This Gashm has been identified with "Geshem the Arab," one of the opponents of Nehemiah (Neh 2:19; 6:1–2, 6), but reservations have been expressed about such connections (Eph‹al 1982: 204).

The matter seems now fairly certain, as a recent Aramaic text found at Tayma indicates the governor of the town in the 5th century B.C. was Pṣgw Shahru, "the son of the king of Lihyan" (Cross 1986). Since Shahru is a dynastic name both of the royal house at Dedan and that of Qedar, the ruling governors in the Ḥijāz may have been Qedarites. A Persian satrap and governor of Qedar is known as early as the 5th year of Cyrus' reign (ca. 545 in BE VIII/1: 65), indicating the Qedarites were subjects of the Achaemenid empire before the defeat of Nabonidus in 539. The Qedarites may have been installed as governors in the region because of their loyalty to the Achaemenid ruler. The common assumption that the title of "governor" (*fḥt*, Aramaic *pḥh*) was used only in the Achaemenid period (Winnett and Reed 1970: 116; Knauf 1985: 105) must now be rejected; the title was in general use throughout the Neo-Babylonian empire for governors including those of the Levant prior to the reign of Nabonidus (Graf 1989: 140). It may therefore be the legacy of Nabonidus' rule in the region. It also has been suggested that Nabonidus used Jewish mercenaries during his Arabian campaign and established them in military colonies in the Ḥijāz at such locations as Dedan (Gadd 1958: 86). Later Jewish presence at the oasis is indicated by several Aramaic inscriptions from the oasis from the Byzantine period (J. T. Milik in Winnett and Reed 1970: 163), but there is no reflection of and Jewish presence in the extensive epigraphic Dedanite corpus of the earlier periods.

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**DEDICATION, FEAST OF.** The festival of dedication, which is named Hanukkah in Hebrew, is the Jewish holiday which celebrates the reconsecration of the Jerusalem temple and its altar to the traditional service of the Lord in 165 or 164 B.C.E. It begins on the 25th day of the month Kislev (the 9th month in the lunisolar calendar; it coincides with parts of November and December) and lasts for 8 days.

**A. The Name**

The term Hanukkah as the name for this festival first occurs in *Megillat Taʿanit*, a 1st century C.E. text in which the festival (*ḥnkt*) is included among the days on which fasting was forbidden. There can be no doubt, though, that the Hebrew term was used in the now-lost original Hebrew text of 1 Maccabees. The word *ḥănukkāh* is usually translated "dedication, consecration," but the Gk words which ancient translators chose for rendering it suggest the idea of "renewal, restoration" (*egkainismos* [1 Macc 4:56, 59; 2 Macc 2:19; cf. 2:9]; *egkainia* [John 10:22]; related verbs are found in 1 Macc 4:36, 54, 57). This association of Hebrew and Greek terms agrees with the practice elsewhere in the LXX (Num 7:10, 11, 84, 88 [this chapter later became the Torah passage which was to be read on Hanukkah (*m. Meg.* 3:6)]; Deut 20:5; 1 Kgs 8:63; 2 Chr 7:5, 9: Neh 12:27; Ps 30:1 [LXX 29:1]), although the words in the two languages do not seem to have precisely the same meanings.

**B. The Event Celebrated**

Like the great festivals of the OT, Hanukkah remembers and celebrates a significant historical event. Unlike the others, it commemorates an event which is described outside the Hebrew Bible. The temple in

Jerusalem had been desecrated and transformed into the center for a pagan cult by order of King Antiochus IV (175–164 B.C.E.) in Kislev of 168 or 167 B.C.E. (1 Macc 1:29–64; 2 Macc 6:1–9) as part of a general proscription of the traditional practices of Judaism. The exact reasons for the king's actions, which were atypical for him, are not clear. He was anxious to create a stronger base of support in Jerusalem during his wars with Egypt, and he had recently had to crush an uprising in the city against his appointee, the high priest Menelaus (2 Macc 5:5–16). The Maccabean revolt which followed his decrees that banned traditional Judaism achieved some surprisingly successful results so that by late 165 or 164 B.C.E. Judas, the leader of the rebels, and his troops were able to gain possession of the temple mount. There they cleaned and repaired the temple and built a new altar so that the traditional forms of worship could be reinstituted (1 Macc 4:36–61; 2 Macc 10:1–8). 1 Macc 4:52–54 indicates that on Kislev 25, exactly three (compare 4:54 with v 52 and 1:59) or two (2 Macc 10:3) years after the pagans had profaned the old altar with their illicit offerings (part of the monthly celebration of the deified king's birthday [1 Macc 1:59; 2 Macc 6:7]), Judas and his collaborators offered sacrifices on the new altar. The celebration which began in this way continued for 8 days (1 Macc 4:56; 2 Macc 10:6). During this initial observance of Hanukkah, the celebrants decreed that in the future it should occur annually (1 Macc 4:59; 2 Macc 10:8).

**C. Elements of the Celebration**

The books of Maccabees agree about several important details regarding the first Hanukkah. For example, they both place the beginning of the festival on the same date, prescribe the same duration for it, and mention sacrifices on the new altar. There are, however, some ways in which their narratives differ. One noteworthy case in point is the fact that the account in 1 Macc 4:36–61 centers on the dedication or restoration of the altar, while the various references in 2 Maccabees (1:18; 2:16, 19; 10:3, 5, 7) focus on the cleansing of the temple. A more intriguing instance is the fact that 2 Maccabees, in complete distinction from 1 Maccabees, links Hanukkah with the Festival of Tabernacles. In 2 Macc 1:9, the Jews of Jerusalem urge their kin in Egypt to celebrate the days of tabernacles in the month Kislev; 1:18 links the purification of the temple with tabernacles and fire; and 10:6 relates that the original festival lasted 8 joyful days after the manner of tabernacles, adding that only a short time before, during the proper time for the Festival of Tabernacles (the 7th month, days 15–22), "they had been wandering in the mountains and caves like wild animals" (RSV). This last verse connects the 8-day duration with Tabernacles and suggests that their inability to celebrate the Festival of Tabernacles at the correct time led them to observe some of its rites as the first Hanukkah. 2 Maccabees never actually calls Hanukkah a festival of tabernacles, but it clearly relates the two occasions, both of which were marked by joy (Lev 23:40; 1 Macc 4:56, 58–59; 2 Macc 10:6). The 8 days of the holiday seem also to be modelled on Solomon's inauguration of the first temple (cf. 2 Macc 2:8–12). According to 1 Kgs 8:65–66, Solomon dismissed the assembled throng on the 8th day, after 7 days of dedicatory rites—days which coincided with the Festival of Tabernacles (8:2; 2 Chr 7:8–10). The parallel in 2 Chr 7:9–10, however, adds an 8th day to the festivities.

There are also several rituals which the two festivals share. (1) Both involved carrying branches (for Tabernacles, see Lev 23:40; Neh 8:15; *Jub.* 16:31; for Hanukkah, 2 Macc 10:7; cf. 6:7 where there is reference to a festival of Dionysus, possibly on the 25th of the month, in which wreaths of ivy were worn), though there is no indication that making booths was ever part of Hanukkah. (2) Both eventually included the Hallel (Psalms 113–18) in their liturgies (for Tabernacles, see *m. Sukk.* 4:1; for Hanukkah, *b. Šabb.* 21b; Scholion to *Megillat Ta*ʿ*anit*; note that the title of Psalm 30 relates it to the dedication of the temple). 2 Macc 10:7 may already be pointing in this direction with its reference to "hymns of thanksgiving" (RSV; see also 1 Macc 1:54).

The Festivals of Tabernacles and Hanukkah also resemble one another in that both are associated with light. But their lights are very different: Tabernacles involved illuminating the Women's Court of the temple (*m. Sukk.* 5:2–4), while Hanukkah came to include lamps and lights at each one's home. As part of the pre-festival renovations and repairs, 1 Macc 4:49–50 notes that the candelabrum was brought into the temple and that its lamps were lit so that they gave light in the temple; 2 Macc 1:8; 10:3 allude to the

same events. The second letter that is prefaced to 2 Maccabees refers to the festival of cleansing as a time of tabernacles and fire (1:18) and adds a story about a miraculous fire from the altar of the first temple that eventually turned into "nephthar" and later kindled the fire on the new altar in Nehemiah's time (1:19–36; cf. 2:1, 8–12). Nevertheless, these sorts of references to lights and fire hardly prepare one for Josephus' claim (*Ant* 12.7.7 §325) that the festival itself was named "Lights" (*phōta* ).He had previously (12.7.6 §319) written that lights were kindled on Kislev 25, but here (§325) he explains the reason for the name *Lights:* "giving this name to it, I think, from the fact that the right to worship appeared [*phanēnai*] to us at a time when we hardly dared hope for it." Lights did indeed become a major characteristic of the festival, though the original reason for them seems to have been forgotten (for another early reference to the Hanukkah light, see *m. B. Qam.* 6:6).

**D. Later References**

The prominence of lights during the holiday encouraged discussions about their use and origin. One learns from *b. Šabb.* 21b that the Shammaites lit 8 lights on the first day of Hanukkah and reduced the total by one each succeeding day, but the Hillelites lit one on the first day and increased the number by one each of the following days (see also Scholion to *Megillat Ta‹anit*). The dearth of information about the origin of the lights seems to have led to the creation of stories to supply the deficiency. According to one legend, the temple candelabrum had been defiled during the Antiochan persecution so that it could not be used when the temple was recovered. The Hasmoneans (= the Maccabees) then took 7 or 8 iron spears and hung lamps on them (Scholion to *Megillat Ta‹anit*; *Pesiq. R.* 2.5). The famous story about a miraculous cruse of oil is also related to the lights of Hanukkah and the duration of the festival. It claims that when the Hasmoneans regained the temple they found just enough undefiled oil in a cruse to fuel the candelabrum for one day; by a miracle, however, the oil kept it burning for 8 days.

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**DEEP, THE** [Heb *tĕhôm* (תְּהוֹם) ]. In ANE cosmology, the earth was thought to have been placed afloat in the midst of terrifying cosmic waters. In Hebrew, this primeval ocean is usually called *tĕhôm*, but also *mĕṣûlāh*, *mĕṣôlāh*, and *ṣûlāh*. These synonyms are regularly translated by *abyssos*, "abyss," in Greek, far less frequently by *bathos* and *bythos*, "depth". The deep may, of course, refer simply to the ocean without any mythological implication (so in Job 38:30; 41:23—Eng 41:31; Ps 107:24; and Mic 7:19).

In Babylonian mythology, the deep is personified in the figure of monstrous Tiamat, a goddess whose name is related to the Hebrew word *tĕhôm.* It was upon the defeat of Tiamat that Babylon's patron god, Marduk, was able to create the cosmos and establish order. Tiamat's body was split in two like a shellfish. One half of the body became the firmament, the other became the bedrock of earth. Traces of this ancient cosmogony are still evident in the priestly account of creation in Genesis 1. Here the wind of God was instrumental in creation, a detail that is reminiscent of Marduk's final blow on Tiamat: a raging wind sent into her mouth (*ANET*, 67). According to the biblical writer, a firmament divided "the waters from the waters" (Gen 1:6). Hence the concept in the Bible of the two deeps calling to one another (Ps 42:8—Eng 42:7).

In another account of creation which confirms the role of the divine wind, the deity is said to have contained the watery chaos: "By the word the heavens were made; by the wind of his mouth all their host. He gathered the waters of the sea as in a container; he put the deeps (*tĕhômôt*) in storehouses" (Ps 33:6–7; cf. Prov 8:27–29). Henceforth, the unruly waters were held back and order was maintained. Only in the face of intolerable corruption on earth did God open the floodgates to unleash the destructive power of the deep. Water burst forth from the great deep (*tĕhôm rabbāh*)and poured out through the "windows of

heaven" (Gen 7:11). Eventually the deluge was ended when "the fountains of the deep and the windows of heaven were closed" (Gen 8:2).

The deep is regularly associated with other watery monsters against whom Yahweh fought in both the creation of the world and of God's people: Rahab, Leviathan, River, Sea, Tannin, Mighty Waters. Indeed, the deep is named with the dragons (*tannînîm*) in Ps 148:7, and some archaic texts still recall the deep personified as a beast "crouching down under" (Gen 49:25; Deut 33:13). A hymn in Isaiah 51 echoes the ignominious defeat of the monster Tiamat:

> Was it not you who dismembered Rahab,
> who pierced the dragon?
> Was it not you who dried up the sea,
> the waters of the great deep (*tĕhôm rabbāh*),
> Who made the depths of the sea a way
> for the redeemed to cross over? (Isa 51:9c–10).

The cosmogonic battle was historicized and appropriated for the propaganda of the nation. Yahweh is said to have defeated Israel's earthly enemies as surely as he defeated the cosmic forces of chaos. Thus, the exodus is often portrayed as God's victory over the sea and the deep (Pss 77:17–21—Eng 77:16–20; 106:9; 107:23–24; Isa 44:27; 63:11–12; Hab 3:10; Zech 10:11; cf. Ps 74:13–15). In the Song of the Sea, however, the waters are not the enemies of Yahweh. Rather, they are merely instruments in Yahweh's victory: "The deeps (*tĕhōmôt*) covered them, they sank into the depths (*mĕṣōlôt*) like a stone" (Exod 15:5; cf. Neh 9:11). Likewise, in Ps 68:23 the victory of the divine warrior was not over the deep but *at* the deep.

In other texts, *tĕhôm* refers to the subterranean waters that have been tamed. The Ugaritic texts speak of the abode of the high god El "at the sources of the two rivers (*nhrm*), amid the springs of two deep (*thmtm*)" at the mountain of El (*CTA* 4.iv.21–22; 6.i.33–34; 17.vi.47–48). Thus the abode of Yahweh in Jerusalem is also said to have water flowing from it (Ps 46:5—Eng 46:4; Ezek 47:1–12; Zech 14:8; Joel 4:18—Eng 3:18; Isa 33:21–23a). Jewish traditions maintained that the rock of the temple was built located precisely at the mouth of the *tĕhôm* (*Tg. J.* on Exod 28:30; cf. *M. Para* 3.3). The deep was thought to be the source from which the subterranean waters flowed (Isa 44:27; cf. Eccl 1:7) and water continually welled up (2 Sam 1:21, reading *t<h>wmt* instead of *trwmt;* cf. *CTA* 19.1.44–45). In the defeat of the watery monsters, the restless deep was tamed (Ps 74:13–15). Now in the garden of God, the unending waters of the deep are harnessed for good, giving nourishment for the trees there (Ezek 31:4, 15). Likewise, the deep provided life-giving waters to the Israelites in the wilderness (Ps 78:15–16; cf. Exod 17:6).

But the waters of the deep were not always so reassuring to the Israelites. Landlubbers that they were, they found the ocean terrifying. It was equated with the underworld to which the wicked were cast and from which they long to be delivered. The prayer of Jonah illustrates this well:

> From my distress I called to YHWH
> And he answered me.
> From the belly of Sheol I cried out
> And he heard me
> You have cast me into the deep (*mĕṣûlāh*)
> into the heart of the seas.
> The flood (*nāhār*) surrounded me;
> All your breakers and your waves,
> They washed over me.
> …
> The waters encompassed me to the neck,
> The deep (*tĕhôm*) surrounded me
> The weeds are wrapped around my head
> At the roots of the mountains.

I have descended to the underworld
Its bars are ever behind me
You brought my life up from the pit
O YHWH, my God. (Jonah 2:4, 6–7)

Here the ocean into which Jonah was cast is seen as the netherworld, where all the terrifying forces were. The poem resembles several individual laments in the psalter. One such psalm speaks metaphorically of *tĕhōmôt hā‹āreṣ* "the depths of the earth" (Ps 71:20). Another describes the underworld as the deep where darkness abides (Ps 88:7—Eng 88:6). In the book of Job 38, the deep is considered the mysterious realm of the dead (Job 38:16–18). It is not surprising, therefore, that the deep is frequently seen as the opposite of heaven (Gen 49:25; Deut 33:13; Ps 107:26; cf. *CTA* 3.iii.21–22). The deep became a metaphor for deep trouble that devours an individual on the earth (Ps 69:3, 16—Eng16:2, 15).

According to Ben Sirach, Wisdom walked in the depths of the abyss near the assembly of the Most High (Sir 24:1–5). In the NT, *abyssos* occurs 9 times. Alluding to the *tĕhōmôt* in Ps 107:26, the apostle Paul speaks of the *abyssos* as the realm of the dead (Rom 10:7). Elsewhere in the NT, the abyss appears to be the place of imprisonment for all kinds of wicked spirits (Luke 8:31; Rev 9:1–2, 11; 11:7; 17:8; 20:1, 3; cf. 2 Pet 2:4; Jude 6).

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**DEER.** See ZOOLOGY.

**DEFILE.** See UNCLEAN AND CLEAN.

**DEIR ‹ALLA, TELL** (M.R. 209178). A site in the E Jordan Valley, roughly halfway between the Lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea, near the river Zerqa (biblical Jabbok). The tell measures roughly 200 by 200 m at its foot; the highest point is 200 m below sea level, which is nearly 30 m above the surrounding fields. This entry will discuss the archaeology of the site, as well as the noteworthy texts discovered there.

## *ARCHAEOLOGY*

### A. Identification

Tell Deir ‹Alla is often connected with the biblical Succoth mentioned in Gen 33:17 and Judg 8:4–16. In the 19th century, Merrill discovered the name Deir ‹Alla which was used locally to indicate a stretch of land through which the river Zerqa flows from the foot of the mountains in the E to where it flows into the Jordan River. The mountains recede a little here to the E, and form a valley. Merrill associated this name with the Dar‹ala or Tar‹ala mentioned in the Talmud, *Šebi‹it* 9, 2 *Gemara,* which had replaced the name Succoth. *Succoth* means "booth," *tar‹ala* means "reeling," and *Deir ‹Alla* means "high monastery." Thus Deir ‹Alla could be a corruption of Tar‹ala, and if so this would mean that the name had been known locally since early Islamic times, whereas the Succoth-Tar‹ala tradition must have gone back to at least the early centuries of the Iron Age. Can this assumption be substantiated? The identification was made in the last century even before the true nature of a mound of ruins or tell was realized, whereas we know little about the nature of biblical Succoth in the sense of its physical appearance, its culture, religion, or its economic and social life. It was assumed before excavations began that Tell Deir ‹Alla was a town in biblical times, and it was taken for granted that Succoth was a town, as it is called in one place in the OT (Judg 8:16).

Through the excavations a good deal is known about the ruins of Tell Deir ʿAlla in the LB Age and in the Iron Age. This evidence cannot be reconciled with our traditional understanding of what Succoth was. It is quite possible that the excavations have revealed Succoth, but this would require biblical Succoth to be interpreted in an unexpected way.

An attempt to explain why the name of Succoth was changed into Tarʿala in antiquity may clarify the issue of identification. This attempt has only become possible since we have known that the tell contains ruins of sanctuaries from the LB Age and from the Iron Age.

The Hebrew word *terʿala* comes from the root *rʿl* meaning "to quiver, shake, reel," and *trʿlh* means "reeling." The word occurs in Ps 60:8 and Isa 51:17–22. In both cases the reference is not to people who are simply drunk, but is applied metaphorically to people who have drunk from "a cup of trembling" and "wine of astonishment." In the Psalm this refers to the aftermath of an earthquake which presumably hit Shechem and the Valley of Succoth. This destruction paved the way for the establishment of God's dominion in the Valley of Succoth. At Deir ʿAlla a complex building, which must be interpreted as a sanctuary dating from the 8th century B.C., was destroyed by an earthquake. Even before the disaster, the prophets of Israel may have referred to the valley of the "booth" as a place of drunkenness, inebriation, or intoxication, which occurred during religious festivals and for which the cult of the Baʿals was known. This prophetic qualification may have become popular in pious circles, and may in the long run have caused the change of name. Yet, in the same way, Succoth may also have been a sobriquet used purposely to avoid mentioning the real name of the LB pagan sanctuary at Deir ʿAlla, or its Iron Age successors. Also both names were occasionally used to indicate the valley as well as the site of the cult.

From about 1550 B.C. until after 1200 B.C. there was a sanctuary which did not belong to a village or a town. The reason for its existence was inferred partly through the study of technological features in the pottery found in the successive stages of rebuilding and repair of the cult center. Although the pottery at each level of development seemed to form an homogeneous group, the composition of the clays used in their production showed that a fair amount of the pottery had been imported from the hinterland. For instance, pottery was brought from basalt areas such as that found in Basan, but also from totally different geological areas. This means that people in the LB Age traveled long distances to bring gifts in pottery containers to the sanctuary. This almost certainly connects the site of Deir ʿAlla and its surroundings with trade and with a staple market. Products from Gilead and beyond to the E, the N, and the S were collected and transported to this area, where they were sold in large quantities to caravans bound for Egypt (Gen 37:25), the Mediterranean coast, and Syria. In return the caravans brought objects from these regions to Deir ʿAlla.

This interpretation can provide the answers to a number of questions about the archaeological evidence. It explains why there would have been a really large sanctuary standing all by itself in the LB Age. It is now clear that it was supported by trade. On the one hand this sanctuary was necessary as a meeting point for caravans and tradespeople because it ensured safe trading through its relation with the divine world, and on the other hand its income was secure. Trading "houses" could introduce their own protective genius into the sanctuary. This would explain the presence of pottery "shrines" in the LB sanctuary, which can be interpreted as containers for sacred objects symbolizing the divine blessing for a tribe, clan, or caravan. The sanctuary of the 8th century B.C. where the "Balaam texts" were written on a plastered wall (see below) may also have been a meeting point for traders and caravan owners from different regions, all with their own deities and rituals. Many kinds of priests from a wide variety of backgrounds may have been permanently stationed there, to sanction sales contracts or bless goods that were being traded. The excavations at the site make it possible to explain Succoth as a market area with an international character. It is not so surprising then that Pharaoh Shishak, when he invaded Palestine in 918 B.C., also crossed the Jordan with his army and went to the Succoth area to control, possibly to restore, the trade between Gilead and Egypt. This would also explain the Egyptian presence in Deir ʿAlla in about 1200 B.C. A faience vase from Queen Taousert was interpreted by J. Yoyotte (1962) as an artifact of political significance. If Deir ʿAlla was a market through which Egypt regularly received products from Gilead, then officials of the Pharaoh must have visited this center of trade.

H. Gazelles (1965) made an attempt to decipher the 3 clay tablets discovered in the sanctuary dating from about 1200 B.C.; together with A. van den Branden, he found a strong influence from early S Semitic writing in the script. One group of foreign pots came from an area where shale sand is abundant, and these pots could have come from the S of Jordan. Midianites whose caravans passed by Gilead could have brought them.

Early in the excavations it became clear that the material culture, as well as the language and religion connected with the site, were atypical of the Israelites as represented from other excavations and historical documents. This suggested that the Iron Age inhabitants were to a high degree assimilated to the culture and the customs of the non-Israelite population of Gilead. Which of the Israelite tribes living across the Jordan in Gilead owned the Valley of Succoth is a much debated issue. In the light of the interpretation given above, members of the tribes who were involved in the trade of local products would have been found in this valley.

**B. The Natural Setting**

Some aspects of the geological formation on which Tell Deir ʿAlla is situated have strongly influenced the history of the site itself, as well as that of its inhabitants. During the Pleistocene, when the area was still covered by the waters of the Lissan lake, the river Zerqa drained its waters from the E mountains into the lake, and deposited a huge accumulation of detritus, including gravels, sands, and clays. When the area became dry, dunes of thick deposits of banded clays were formed on top of the dry lake bed. This material was used in historical times for the construction of houses and other buildings, and also for pottery making. It is the special quality of these clays which explains that Tell Deir ʿAlla has suffered less from erosion than, for instance, the tell of ancient Jericho, whereas the former is exposed to stronger erosive forces than the latter. Because of the characteristics of these clays, it is also easy to separate locally made pottery from imported wares. It is possible that these clays were the reason why foundries were set up "between Succoth and Zarethan" (1 Kgs 7:46).

In this area earth tremors and earthquakes frequently occur. It was discovered that the buildings of the site had been destroyed frequently by earthquakes, followed by heavy fires.

**C. The History of the Site**

Deir ʿAlla lies on a high, clay ridge covered with sand dunes. It is not clear when the first settlers came to the site, although there are some indications that the site was inhabited in the MB Age. The natural surface that existed then on the N side of the tell lies buried under many meters of later soil deposits washed down from the E foothills. At the beginning of the LB Age, about 1550 B.C., an artificial platform was made, and this may cover ruins from the MB Age. On the N side, the platform was over 6 m high and served as a mound for a sanctuary. Very little is known about the original plan of the building, but the earliest cella was built of boulders with a tower-like structure on the N side. It stood on a higher level than the surrounding rooms. A cache of early LB pottery was found under one of the earliest floors of the cella. There are no indications that during the LB Age stone was used for other buildings. The cella was regularly rebuilt on a higher level, the last one from 1200 B.C., made entirely of mudbricks. Its roof was supported by two heavy wooden beams standing on large stone bases, more or less on the long axis. The entrance was on the S side. The N wall came very close to the N slope of the hill, and there was no defense wall. On the W side, rooms have been excavated over a stretch of ca. 25 m, all belonging to a complex of storerooms and workrooms that were built against the cella. E of the cella was a small courtyard leading to a series of small rooms that had clearly contained precious objects and administrative tablets. It seems that the sanctuary had developed its own script, which has not yet been satisfactorily deciphered. Farther to the E were found some rooms that have been interpreted as a priest's house: a pantry, kitchen, and small shrine.

Shortly after 1200 B.C. the entire complex was destroyed by an earthquake, followed by fire. Before rebuilding had started there was another earthquake that levelled the crumbling ruins. From broken and burnt objects it is clear that the sanctuary collected objects from all parts of the ancient world: from Egypt, the Mycenean world, and N Syria. Most remarkable is that until now the excavations have not

produced any terra-cotta or other fertility images of living beings from the LB Age, apart from stylized birds and goats painted on pottery.

While the people were rebuilding after the earthquakes, fire broke out again. Perhaps this was taken as a sign of heavenly disapproval and the site was abandoned (cf. Isa 29:6). Almost immediately afterwards the site was taken over by bronze-smiths who used it for their industry. Their pottery is not the same as that from the 13th century B.C. sanctuary. They may have been there for about half a century, when another earthquake occurred. On that occasion the earth split open and a man fell in the gap and was squashed the next moment, when the crack closed again. The disaster marks the end of the presence of smiths on the site.

There are some indications in the excavated area above these levels that in the second half of the 12th century B.C. the tradition of a holy place was restored. But the plans of the various phases show scattered small buildings of mudbrick, and in one fairly short period, there seems to have been a flimsy defense wall and gate between 2 round towers (ca. 10th century B.C.). Evidence that the original function of the site was not lost came from the excavations just below the summit. A complex building was found over a large area. The layout was not that of a village. The remains were in very poor condition because, again, an earthquake followed by conflagration had destroyed this complex. Masses of restorable and identifiable objects made of stone and clay were preserved. In the middle of the destruction debris, large and small fragments of fallen wall plaster were found containing a beautifully written Aramaic text, relating the seer Balaam the son of Beor, who witnessed a meeting of gods trying to prevent a goddess from punishing the human race by destruction. Balaam the son of Beor is mentioned in a number of texts in the Bible (Numbers 22–24). In the 1st millennium B.C., he was apparently remembered as a great religious authority in Jordan. This sanctuary was unattached to any particular village or town. It was composed of many rooms which had specific purposes such as storage and processing of goods, as well as weaving, which was done in many rooms.

Certain objects of particular interest found here should be mentioned. Among these is a flintstone with a high sheen from having been regularly touched or kissed; it bears the inscription "stone of shar‹a," possibly a goddess. With it were uncovered a libation goblet of a special form and an outsize loomweight; weaving "clothes for Asherah" (2 Kgs 23:7) may have been combined here with sacred prostitution. There are also terra-cottas, some of which depict naked priests and priestesses in a style not found in ancient Israel, and there are also animal figurines of horses, cows, and deer, as well as little clay models of legs. In analogy to pilgrim places such as Lourdes in France, these suggest that visitors expected to be healed from arthritis and other diseases.

After its destruction the site may have been abandoned for a considerable time. When building resumed, another type of pottery appeared, with different forms and techniques based on the use of a true potter's wheel, which had replaced a small hand-operated tournette. The inhabitants dug many large storage bins in their courtyards, and by the 5th century B.C., there were so many deep and wide pits with soft filling, that house walls often sank (probably after heavy rains) causing the dwellings to collapse. At this point, stone foundations became a regular feature. Since these pits often destroyed the remains of earlier walls, it is difficult to reconstruct the original plans of the buildings over the 8 building phases of the latest occupation. It is thought that one of these phases consists of the ruins of a small fortress. The end of the occupation of the site is dated to the 4th century B.C.

From the 8th until the 16th century A.D., the mound was used as a cemetery by the Arab inhabitants of a nearby village.

Since 1960, a Dutch team directed by H. J. Franken has been excavating the site. In the 1980s the work was continued as a joint enterprise headed by M. M. Ibrahim and G. van der Kooij.

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H. J. FRANKEN

## *TEXTS*

Found in 1967 at the E Jordan Valley site of Tell Deir ʿAlla, this text (or texts) consists of 2 large and several smaller combinations of plaster fragments, written in black and (occasionally) red ink. The text was probably originally written on a wall, or on a stela hung on a wall, of a building that has been described as a sanctuary. The wall fell in a series of earthquakes, and part of the text was burned in a resulting fire. The script of the text, its date, and its dialect are all matters of dispute. The script is said to be either Aramaic or an Ammonite (or "Gileadite") offshoot of the Aramaic, and the date of the text, which is for the most part dependent on an analysis of the script, either mid-8th century or ca. 700 B.C.E.

There has been much discussion as to whether the dialect of the text is Aramaic or Canaanite. A comparison with Old Aramaic texts is suggested especially by the use of the pronominal suffix *-wh* on the preposition *ʾl* (and perhaps on plural nouns), and by the representation of consonants in the text (with *q* used to represent **ḏ*). Other features of the text would generally be called Canaanite: use of *waw*-consecutive; appearance of N conjugation verbs; use of *ldʿt* from the root **wdʿ*; imperative plural *lkw* from the root *hlk;* vocabulary items like *dbr* with the meaning "to speak." As far as we understand the dialects of the first half of the 1st millennium B.C.E., then, the text includes some features that would be incongruous in a mid- or late-8th century Aramaic text, and some that would be incongruous in a contemporary Canaanite text. These difficulties have led to several more or less satisfactory suggestions for the origin of the dialect of the Deir ʿAlla text, generally drawn from dialect linguistics or ANE historical records of settlement patterns, although occasionally from more imaginative realms: One commentator has suggested that the incongruities in this text disappear when one realizes that the text as we have it is a word-for-word copy of a 10th-century or even earlier Aramaic manuscript, written on the wall of a school as an exemplary text; another, that the dialect might represent archaic NW Semitic from the time of the Exodus, just the time period in which the Bible places Balaam.

The interpretation of the text has been no less divided. Some of the division results from differences in understanding certain words as either Aramaic or Canaanite; some of it results from variant readings among the several scholars who have examined the fragments or photographs of them; and some is the inevitable result of interpreting such a fragmentary text. In the discussion that follows, the more likely alternative translations and interpretations will be included in brackets at each point of contention.

The text begins by reporting that it is the "book" or "account" (*spr*) of Balaam the son of Beor, a seer of the gods, and continues that the gods came to Balaam by night, and that he saw a vision like an oracle of El [or "according to these words"]. Then the gods say to Balaam something that takes up half of the second line of the inscription (6 or 7 words) and is written in red ink, as was the first half of line 1. [Scholars disagree about whether the division into red and black ink here follows the syntax of the sentences, or is simply half the line in both cases. There is another portion of the text, in the "second combination," that is also written in red, part of the way across one line. The context is too broken, however, to offer more information about the meaning of the use of red ink.] The message is impossible to read clearly. Interpretations have ranged from simply suggesting that some future action is indicated by the first verb *ypʿl*, to reading within it words for fire and destruction and thus interpreting the message as a short statement of a warning of destruction spelled out later in the text.

Whatever the content of the end of line 2, the experience clearly upsets Balaam. He gets up the next day and cries, and he apparently refuses to eat. His people come up to him [or "His uncle Eliqah enters"] and

ask about his behavior, and his response is to tell them of his vision of a meeting of the Divine Council; the gods in attendance are called *ʾlhn* and *šdyn*. (Some scholars have seen in the *ʾlhn* and the *šdyn* two warring groups of gods, one group favorably disposed toward humanity and the other bent on its destruction.)

They (the gods of the Council) have asked a goddess to cover the heavens with a cloud forever because of the unnatural goings-on on the earth. This is upsetting to Balaam presumably because it would mean a loss of light and eventually all life from the earth. The name of the goddess concerned has been lost to us in a break in the text, except for the first letter, *š*. One of three suggestions as to her identity has generally been followed. Some think she is "Šagar," a goddess they think is mentioned later in the text along with another deity (*ʿštr*, in line I, 14). Many commentators, however, read *šgr wʿštr* in that line as common nouns and not divine names ("offspring, young"; cf. Deut 7:13), and so they are not disposed to consider a goddess Šagar at this point. Another suggestion has been to see her as the goddess Šamaš (or Šapaš), since the sun is a female deity in the Ugaritic texts, and some such powerful divinity seems necessary here. But, finally, other scholars see no obvious connection between the sun goddess and the following lines in our text, since what the goddess is asked to do is precisely to cover up the heavens so as to deny light to the earth—the opposite, one would think, of the sun goddess' function. These scholars prefer to leave the issue open.

The goddess is asked to "sew up" the heavens with her cloud, and perhaps to seal the cloud and not ever remove the seal (or "do not be angry forever" or "do not say anything"). The reason she is to do this (or else the result of her doing this) is presented in the next few lines (or else someone, probably Balaam, continues in the next few lines to explain the reasons or present the results). In typical reversals-text style, we read that nothing on earth is as it should be: Small birds are reviling large ones, normally gentle birds are clawing at others, haughty hyenas are sitting still for chastisement, poor women are mixing expensive myrrh, deaf people hear from afar, and so on. (Some commentators have seen this reversals motif in only some of these phrases, while in others they have identified simply lists of birds, lists of female cult personnel, and admonitions shouted by Balaam, presumably, to the gathered people.)

The first main fragment combination of the inscription breaks off at this point. In the readable fragments of the second combination there is no mention of Balaam; rather, there is a description of some sort of ritual, perhaps performed to appease the angry gods of the earlier fragments, if the two combinations are related. This second combination apparently has to do with death and/or sex and has been read, for instance: (1) as including a series of curses from Balaam to his hearers; (2) as a description of a child sacrifice ritual (based on interpreting the word *nqr* as cognate to Heb *nēṣer*, "sprout," like the *ṣmḥ* of Punic and neo-Punic child sacrifice texts); (3) as a version of the descent to the netherworld of a goddess, like the Mesopotamian *Descent of Ishtar;* and (4) even as a foundation story for the establishment at the Deir ʿAlla sanctuary of a brothel for "sacred prostitutes" (Rofé 1979). This last explanation ties in with the accusation in Num 31:16 that Balaam gave advice to certain Midianite women about drawing Israelite men away from their proper worship. Many commentators have thought it prudent to decline to interpret this combination.

Late in this second grouping we have a few words that might indicate the return of life to the planet, with mention of dew and rain, so that if some sort of ritual is envisioned as a cure for the chaos described in the first combination, or simply to appease the obviously angry deities, it would seem that the ritual was effective and that light and life were returned or retained for the planet.

Whether the "second combination" of the inscription is related to the "first combination" is an open question, so any use of this material to comment on the Balaam traditions in the Bible must remain speculative. The first part of the inscription is solidly tied to Balaam, however, and presents us with a picture not unlike Hebrew Bible representations of a prophet as one who is privy to the meetings of the Divine Council (Jer 23:18–22; I Kgs 22:19–23). The occurrence of the divine epithet *šdy* in a vision of Balaam is reminiscent of Num 24:4, 16, where Balaam describes himself as one who sees the vision of Šadday. (If the divine name *ʾl* has been correctly read in I, 2, this would be another connection with Num 24:4, 16.)

Some of the wording in the first combination is remarkably like that in the story of Balaam in Numbers 22–24. *wy›tw ›lwh ›lhn blylh* in I, 1, of the Deir ‹Alla text is very close to *way-yābō› ›ēlōhīm ›el-bil‹ām laylāh* in Num 22:20 (cf. also 22:9), and *wyqm bl‹m mn mḥr* in I, 3, of the Deir ‹Alla text reminds one of Num 22:21: *way-yā́qom bil‹ām bab-bṓqer*. There is even mention of Balaam's "people," in I, 4 (if the mysterious uncle Eliqah be banished from the text), and it is to his "people" that the biblical Balaam returns after Balak has banished him, Num 24:14.

There is no certainty about the placement of the Deir ‹Alla text or about the building in which it must have stood. It has been suggested that the building was a sanctuary, however, and that the inscription was originally written on a wall of this sanctuary or on a stela attached to a wall. The mention that Balaam would flee to or return to his "place," *māqôm*, in Num 24:11 and 25 invites the suggestion that *māqôm* here, as often, refers to a sanctuary, a sacred place (see, e.g., Gen 12:6; Deut 12:2); it therefore would not be difficult to see Deir ‹Alla as the home of just such a sanctuary with which Balaam son of Beor was traditionally tied.

It has also been suggested that the confirmation of Balaam's tie to a god or gods with the epithet Šadday, and to a ritual possibly having to do with death, allows us to speculate that the biblical *šēdîm*, "demons," in Deut 32:17 and Ps 106:37 have been misunderstood and were originally a biblical record of the Šadday-gods mentioned in the Deir ‹Alla text. It is to these characters that the Israelites are said in the psalm to have sacrificed their sons and daughters; shortly before (vv 28–31) the psalmist has mentioned the incident at Peor for which the Priestly source blames Balaam, an incident that had to do with sacrifices of or to the dead—to deities other than Yahweh, perhaps deified ancestors (cf. Num 25:2 with Ps 106:28).

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**DEIR EL-BALAH** (M.R. 088093). The site of Deir el-Balah is located 1.5 km E of the Mediterranean shoreline just S of Gaza. The ancient identification of the site remains unknown. Nine phases of occupation with minor subdivisions were uncovered, dating from the LB II through the Byzantine era, which includes both the settlement and the associated LB cemetery. Founded by Egypt in the 14th century, the site was both an economic and administrative center, as well as a military outpost during different phases of its existence. The LB strata, accordingly, were the most prominent and became the focus of the excavations.

The LB Age was a cosmopolitan era marked by the mixture of cultures, international trade, and commerce. The architectural features and the material finds of the LB strata at Deir el-Balah point to the predominantly Egyptian character of the settlement at that time and reflect the international character of the age. The extensions of occupation into the Philistine, Iron, and Byzantine periods, though extremely important for the history of the site, were much less substantial.

Deir el-Balah is situated in the midst of towering sand dunes. As a result, only about one-half acre of the settlement was excavated. The excavations, therefore, provide at most a window into the history of occupation at the site. Surveys and trial probes conducted at selected locations in the surrounding area indicate that the settlement spread in all directions, but its precise perimeters remain undefined.

*Stratum IX.* Stratum IX was founded upon virgin soil. The major architectural feature from this stratum is a large residence adjacent to a man-made pond, similar in design to building complexes of the Amarna

period in Egypt. This relation of building to pond in conjunction with the specifically diagnostic finds of stratum IX point to the Egyptian background of those who built the first settlement during the second half of the 14th century B.C.E.

The residence is comprised of 3 mudbrick buildings set at a right angle. The two N–S buildings together measure approximately 50 m in length and contain the remains of as many as 15 rooms. The single E–W building measures 20 m in length and contains at least 4 to 5 rooms. It is probable that these buildings are part of a larger settlement, although the N and W boundaries of the complex are as yet undetermined since they continue under the sand dunes.

The residency borders the pond on its E and S perimeters. The pond itself is square (20 × 20 m), its sides sloping steeply into the virgin marl to a depth of 5 m. Both archaeological observation and geological investigation confirm that the crater is man-made. The crater served as a water reservoir, both in stratum IX and throughout stratum VII. The use of the crater as a pond is confirmed both by hydrological investigation and by the known building pattern of the Amarna Age in which building complexes were designed adjacent to a pond or lake.

On the beaten earth floors of several rooms in the residence were large amounts of locally made pottery of Egyptian and Canaanite types, with predominantly Egyptian types which relate to the Amarna period. In addition, sherds of imported Cypriot and Mycenaean vessels were found.

A number of special finds from in and around the residence indicate the close contact between the inhabitants of this site and Amarna. Four worked *kurkar* stone bases were found on the beaten earth floor in one of the rooms of the residence which likely served as supports for the 4 legs of a bedstead. Although many well-known and well-preserved wooden beds have been found in Egypt, the only other stone bases known are from Tell el-Amarna where an identical set was found in a bedroom niche.

In the open area alongside the building, a *favissa* was excavated which contained a clay bulla bearing 4 hieroglyphs, 2 *udjats*, and 2 *nefers.* The closest parallel to this seal again comes from Tell el-Amarna and provides a good chronological indication of the date of the locus and the buildings of stratum IX. This seal also indicates possible correspondence between Tell el-Amarna and Deir el-Balah, since bullae were used to seal papyrus letters.

Another room in the residence yielded approximately 10 cylindrical pieces of carnelian and blue frit, the latter bearing traces of gold. Each cylinder was pierced by a square aperture. These fragments can be reconstructed as a scepter or flail of the type found in the tomb of Tutankhamen. The discovery of this scepter in the building indicates that it was very likely the residence of the local ruler or governor. The size and beauty of the object provide additional proof of the specifically Egyptian character and highly developed culture linking this stratum with the Amarna Age.

The Amarna Age was characterized by continued Egyptian commitment and involvement in maintaining the strength of its borders and the stability of the empire. The site of Deir el-Balah is located on the farthest border of Egypt of that era, just before the entry to Canaan at Gaza. This location and the unique architectural elements of stratum IX, with its rich assortment of special finds, indicate that during this period Deir el-Balah was an Egyptian administrative center, perhaps with links to the capital itself.

*Stratum VIII.* Remains of an intermediate phase of occupation were discerned between the Amarna residence of stratum IX and the fortress of stratum VII. This phase may date to the reign of Horemheb, though diagnostic finds are lacking. It appears that following the destruction of the stratum IX settlement, a small interim occupation occurred which did not constitute a major occupational level.

*Stratum VII.* A dramatic change is reflected in the character of stratum VII. The prominent architectural feature was a roughly square monumental structure resembling a fort or tower complex. It was constructed atop the remains of both the Amarna residence and the meager remains of the interim stratum, and in direct relation to the pond, which continued in use.

The fortress measures 20 × 20 m, including 14 rooms and a tower at each corner. The massive mudbrick walls, preserved to a height of 1 m, served as the foundations of a structure which stood at least two stories high, while the main outer walls were 2.4 m thick. The construction technique of a layer of sand at the base of the foundation trenches, a well-known Egyptian building method, points to the Egyptian

construction of this fortress. This "Egyptianizing" feature indicates that the fortress was built by the 13th century B.C.E.

The function and nature of this structure became evident in light of the Egyptian activity along the coastal route during the 19th Dynasty. The N Sinai route called by the Egyptians "the Ways of Horus," was vividly depicted by Seti I on a wall relief in the Amun Temple at Karnak. On the N wall of the great Hypostyle Hall, one of the earliest "maps" depicts a series of fortresses and their accompanying wells or reservoirs running from the Egyptian frontier town of Sile (Qantara) to the Canaanite border town of Gaza. Deir el-Balah with its fort and pond fits into this picture of garrison outposts along the ancient Egyptian route connecting the two areas.

It is possible to link the fortified route, "the Ways of Horus," with "the Way to the Land of the Philistines" (Exod 13:17), the shorter coastal route referred to in the account of the Israelite exodus from Egypt.

*Strata VI–IV.* These strata coincide with the lengthy reign of Ramesses II, a period of empire building which necessitated the upkeep and constant use of the fortresses and way stations along the N Sinai coast. Strata VI–IV include both occupational levels in the settlement as well as the primary use of the cemetery.

The cemetery, extremely rich in coffins and small finds, seems to have been in use from the 14th century B.C.E. to the last phase of the LB Age. This date is confirmed by a seal of Ramesses II and scarabs of the Ramesside age (13th century B.C.E.) found *in situ* in the tomb excavations. The finds reflect the cosmopolitan nature of the period. However, as noted above, the Egyptian element again predominates, as attested by the custom of burying the deceased in anthropoid coffins as well as by the associated objects found in the tombs.

The excavation of Deir el-Balah began in the cemetery after the appearance on the antiquities market of illicitly excavated coffins and grave goods. Four anthropoid coffin burials and over 100 simple burials were thereafter excavated *in situ.* These 4 coffins which are of distinctly Egyptian style, form a small fraction of the over 40 that surfaced through illicit digging along with their extremely rich burial gifts, and which together comprise the largest and richest group of anthropoid coffins so far known from Canaan. Of particular interest are 4 locally made burial stelae, one found *in situ,* made of *kurkar* with hieroglyphic inscriptions and depictions of Mut and Osiris, strikingly similar to 19th Dynasty stelae from Deir el-Medina in Egypt.

A variety of exquisite burial gifts, wrought primarily in Egyptian style, was recovered from the cemetery. These included a bronze wine set, an alabaster painted goblet and a cosmetic spoon in the shape of a swimming girl, and lotus and palmette shaped beads and earrings, as well as Bes amulets, wrought in gold and carnelian. All the gifts have close analogies in New Kingdom Egypt. Though distinct Canaanite traits were manifest in the workmanship of some of the jewelry and in some of the common pottery vessels, the predominant culture of the people buried in the cemetery was clearly Egyptian. The combined evidence of the coffins and the burial gifts points to an affluent population steeped in Egyptian religion and culture.

The one-half acre of the settlement of strata VI–IV which was excavated exhibited a marked shift in character during this period. The water reservoir was filled with debris—multiple layers of ash and clay mixed with huge quantities of broken pottery, as well as many small finds—and structures were built on top. Private buildings, a water installation, and kilns were excavated, indicating the transformation of the area into an industrial quarter. That the 3 kilns were not used for firing ordinary ceramic vessels is attested by the lack of kiln wastes and by the large number of coffin fragments found in and around the kilns. It is likely that the coffins with their lids received an initial firing in pits built into the filled-in crater, which would account for the heavy ash layers found there. Subsequently, the lids were fired once again, this time in the kilns, which would account for the finer finish of the lids in comparison to the coffin bodies. The evidence for coffin construction at the site, therefore, is indisputable.

In addition to the coffin industry, specific finds from the settlement provided concrete evidence that many of the burial gifts were locally made and the industrial quarter doubled as an artisans' quarter, housing a thriving and varied crafts industry. Burial gifts as well as materials prepared for their

manufacture included a reclining nude figurine of carved stone (a "divine concubine" intended to accompany the dead) and *ushabti* or servant figurines, both found also in the cemetery; chunks of ochre for coloring the coffins and figurines; heaps of modelling clay and 2 identical complete molds for figurines; a heap of bronze scrap; many fragments of spinning bowls for linen weaving; and a stamp bearing the image of the god Ptah, patron of artisans.

The discovery of an ancient artisans' quarter in such close proximity to the cemetery it served is unprecedented and provides an unparalleled glimpse in mortuary industry in antiquity. It is likely that the artisans' quarter lay on the outskirts of the settlement, while the settlement of the rich patrons of the cemetery still lies buried beneath the dunes. In the LB Age, long before the encroachment of the Byzantine dunes, the cemetery lay only 150 m from the artisans' quarter. Together they formed a self-contained mortuary unit.

*Stratum III.* Five pits containing Philistine pottery were dug into the LB deposits of stratum IV. No traces of walls which relate to these pits were found. Philistine pottery was also found in large quantities in the Byzantine wadi. Its presence indicates that a more substantial Philistine settlement existed SW of the excavated area and hence remains under the dunes.

The pits contained mainly fragments of typical Philistine bichrome pottery. Egyptian-type bowls and fragments of Egyptian-type beer bottles were found together with the Philistine pottery indicating that the Egyptian flavor of the site was preserved even as the new Philistine elements were introduced. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the tombs of Tell el-Farah (S). The reoccupation or incorporation of Philistines in Egyptian strongholds is one of the characteristic settlement patterns of the Philistines in Canaan and Israel.

Because of the lack of elaborately decorated pottery, it appears that the Philistines did not arrive early at Deir el-Balah. Rather, the more-simply decorated types found at Deir el-Balah indicate a slightly later phase (second half of the 12th–early 11th centuries B.C.E.).

*Stratum II.* Two small pits that cut into the LB levels had fragments of Iron Age pottery. This pottery assemblage is datable to the late 11th/early 10th century B.C.E. Most fragments were bowls with red slip and irregular burnishing. Additional quantities of sherds were found in the Byzantine wadi, again, as with the Philistine ware, indicating that a sizable Iron Age settlement was once located SW of the area excavated, which now lies under the dunes.

*Stratum I.* Following a gap of 1,400 years, Byzantine presence in the area is indicated by huge amounts of pottery found in a wadi that cuts across the LB crater. Though no definite traces of a settlement have been found, historical sources mention the presence of a monastery in the area. Both geologic studies and historical records indicate that the large sand dunes accumulated during the Byzantine era.

*Conclusion.* Deir el-Balah in its various phases serves as an excellent type-site for Egyptian activity on the border of Canaan during the New Kingdom. Founded during the Amarna Age (14th century B.C.E.) as an Egyptian administrative center on the route to Canaan, its predominantly Egyptian population experienced some interaction with the local Canaanite population (stratum IX). During the next major phase of occupation, stratum VII, the site was transformed into a fortified station on the "Ways of Horus," facilitating Egypt's renewed activity in Canaan during the early 19th Dynasty. In the late 19th Dyn. strata VI–IV, it was an Egyptian-type settlement whose rich material culture was reflected both in its cemetery and in the artisans' quarter for the mortuary industry. Philistine settlement at Deir el-Balah, beginning in the 12th century as indicated by the ceramic repertoire of stratum III, reflects one facet of their settlement in Canaan, i.e. at Egyptianizing sites. The period from the end of the 11th century through the early 10th century was characterized by new cultural trends appearing in stratum II. The Byzantine wadi of stratum I provides evidence of the final chapter of occupation of the site up until modern times.

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TRUDE DOTHAN

**DEITIES, SEMITIC.** See NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT.

**DEITY NAMES.** See NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT.

**DELAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *dĕlāyāhû* (דְּלָיָהוּ), *dĕlāyâ* (דְּלָיָה)]. **1.** A priest who received the 23d position in the priestly order of the Temple during the reign of David (1 Chr 24:18). Rather than an historical person from the time of David, Delaiah seems to represent the family name of a group which returned from Babylon and which the Chronicler has projected back into the time of David as an individual. The exact date of the priestly list of 1 Chr 24:1–19, where Delaiah appears, remains debated. See GAMUL. The stylistic evidence of the list, however, seems to link the list to the time of the composition of Chronicles.

**2.** A member of Jehoiakim's royal cabinet in the last years of the 7th century B.C.E. (Jer 36:12). Delaiah functions as part of a larger literary motif within the narrative of Jeremiah 36; along with the other nobility, he represents Judah's failure to respond properly to the prophetic word (Jer 36:24). His opposition to Jehoiakim's burning of the scroll emphasized the king's obduracy (Jer 36:25; see Carroll, *Jeremiah* OTL, 661). Despite his literary function, it seems likely that Jeremiah 36 accurately reflects the structure and personnel of Jehoiakim's court. Aharoni (1968: 168–69) discovered an ostracon from the late monarchical period at Lachish mentioning a high official named Delaiah. While equating the 2 persons remains completely conjectural, the Lachish ostracon does indicate that Delaiah was a name held by at least 1 person in the upper stratum of Judean society in the time of Jehoiakim.

**3.** A family of returnees from exile who, upon their arrival in Judah, were not able to prove their ethnic identity as Israelites (Ezra 2:60 = Neh 7:62 = 1 Esdras 5:37). This is generally regarded as an authentic source, reflecting important social tensions associated with the return and the inability of certain groups to prove an authentic Judean identity with proper genealogical records. Exclusion from the community of the returnees could result in the suspension of property rights, and thus complete economic and social disenfranchisement (see Ezra 10:8). The descendants of Delaiah most likely eventually became fully incorporated into the Judean society (see Neh 6:10).

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**DELILAH** (PERSON) [Heb *dĕlîlâ* (דְּלִילָה) ]. The woman to whom Samson revealed the source of his strength and who betrayed him to the Philistines for a large sum of money (Judg 16:4–22). Delilah, who lived in the valley of Sorek at the N end of the Philistine plain, was probably Philistine, though the text does not say so. On 2 other occasions, at Timnah (14:1–15:8) and at Gaza (16:1–3), Samson was involved with Philistine women. Each time pursuit of a woman leads Samson into trouble. Of the 3 women, only Delilah's name is recorded. The name may mean "loose hair" or "small, slight"; it is easily explained as a pun on the Hebrew word for "night" (*laylâ*), since Samson's name is related to the word for "sun" (*šemeš*). On a symbolic level, their names suggest the overcoming of the sun by the night.

The motif of the strong man overcome by a woman who learns the secret of his strength and betrays it to his enemies is common to folklore around the world. So too is the motif of strength residing in the hair. The biblical writer has provided popular folk motifs with a religious meaning by relating Samson's strength to his dedication to God—from birth—as a Nazirite.

Delilah makes 4 attempts to learn the secret of Samson's strength (vv 4–9, 10–12, 13–14, and 15–22). The highly stylized repetition in these reports, a characteristic of oral composition, builds suspense: The

closer Delilah gets to Samson's secret, the clearer our realization that Samson is doomed. Only through persistence does Delilah break down Samson's resolve ("she harassed him with her words day after day," 16:16). The strong man's one weakness is love. Faced with Delilah's accusation that he cannot really love her if he does not share his secret with her, Samson reveals that his strength will leave him if his hair is cut. Recognizing that Samson has told her the truth this time, Delilah calls the Philistine lords. As soon as his hair is cut, the Philistines blind Samson and take him prisoner.

Delilah has gone down in popular history as the treacherous temptress who betrays her lover for money. But she is not the only one who betrays Samson. His Timnite wife reveals the answer to his riddle, though she does it to save her father's household (the story of Samson and the Timnite in Judges 14 and 15 is modelled on the Samson-Delilah story). Moreover, Samson's own people, the Judahites, also betray him, out of fear of the Philistines (15:9–13). Viewed in the larger context of the book of Judges, Delilah is the Philistine version of Jael (Judges 4–5)—the woman who brings about the downfall of an enemy through deception. Delilah, unlike Jael, is on the side of Israel's enemies; only the Philistines would have sung her praises, but, interestingly, they attribute their victory over Samson not to Delilah but to their god (16:23 and 24).

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**DELOS** (PLACE) [Gk *Dēlos* (Δηλος)]. This central Aegean island is rich in Greco-Roman history, though it rests relatively deserted as modern Mikra Dili. Originally, Ionians (ca. 1000 B.C.) inhabited this small Greek island, which is only 3 miles long and 1 mile wide. But as the sacred seat of Apollo, and as the treasury and administrative center of the Delian League, Delos was of monumental importance. Its prestigious position prompted the naming of the 220 Cyclade islands which cluster (*kyklos*) around Delos.

During the Third Macedonian War Rome punished Delos, causing most of the Greek inhabitants to take refuge on the mainland. Nearly 2 centuries of independence ended for Delos when Rome made the island a free port (167 B.C.), a calculated move to weaken the commercial position of Rhodes. The free port, rather than Athens, may have been the strong attraction for Jewish immigrants. 1 Macc 15:16–23, inscriptions, and ruins of a (possible) synagogue all attest to a Jewish settlement on the island (Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 498). Delos established itself as the center of Mediterranean trade during the last two centuries B.C. At its economic zenith, ca. 100 B.C., Delos markets could handle 10,000 slaves per day. The managers of the famous temple of Apollo in Delos wielded much power, and even managed to purchase the entire island of Rheneia, farming it with slave labor (Kent 1984: 243–47). But the Mithridatic War (88 B.C.) served the prosperous island its first of three terminal blows. Mithradates VI (the Great) massacred most of Delos' inhabitants. The island barely survived a massive pirate raid in 69 B.C., but was raized in 46 A.D. (Strabo *Geog.* 10.5.2–4).

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**DELTA.** The fourth letter of the Greek alphabet.

**DEMAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Dēmas* (Δημας)]. Demas is mentioned by Paul in Philemon 24, along with Mark, Aristarchus, and Luke, as being among those fellow workers who were with Paul during his imprisonment (presumably in Rome or Ephesus). In Colossians, Demas is similarly portrayed and associated with Luke (4:14), Aristarchus and Mark (4:10), Jesus Justus (4:11), and Epaphras (4:12). From Colossians it is evident that while Mark, Aristarchus, and Jesus Justus were Jews (cf. 4:11), Demas was a

Gentile, as were Epaphras and Luke. In both Philemon and Colossians, Demas sends greetings to the church at Colossae. This indicates some acquaintance with the Colossian Christians, probably as a visiting missionary, since he was not originally from Colossae (cf. Col 4:12 where only Epaphras is described as "one of yourselves").

2 Timothy reflects a tradition that the relationship between Demas and Paul ended in an apparently unresolved rupture. Demas, described as having been "in love with this present world," is said to have deserted the imprisoned Paul and gone to Thessalonica (4:10). The phrase in quotes is eschatological language (cf. 1 Tim 4:8; Tit 2:12; Gal 1:4; Eph 1:21) which contrasts the present age with that to come, and in this case offers a sharp contrast to Paul, Timothy, and others who "love Christ's appearing" (2 Tim 4:8) (Fee *1 & 2 Timothy, Titus* GNC, 242–43). The contrast seems to argue that Demas' break with Paul was a dishonorable one, i.e. apostasy from Christianity. (Polycarp in *Ep. Phil.* 9:1–2 sets up a similar contrast to imply apostasy.) But it has also been theorized that Demas had merely grown discouraged in his work with Paul and decided to leave. Why he chose Thessalonica—it had no reputation as one of the "hot spots" of the Greco-Roman world—(Fee *ibid.*, 243) is not evident from the text; perhaps it was his home.

NT sources offer nothing further about Demas. The apocryphal *Acts of Paul*, however, makes numerous references to him (3.1, 4, 12–14, 16). While it may be that these statements actually derive from 2 Tim 4:10—the reference about Demas' desertion is the type of material on which the apocryphal documents thrive—it is also possible that the *Acts of Paul* are an independent reflection of the same oral traditions reflected in the Pastorals. In that case, the *Acts* may have preserved a few shreds of information not included in 2 Timothy (MacDonald 1983: 65–66).

In the *Acts of Paul*, Demas is linked with HERMOGENES and the two travel with Paul to Iconium where they are entertained by Onesiphorus and his family. Later, both desert Paul for a bribe, but the household of Onesiphorus remains faithful to Paul even though Paul is in prison. Demas and Hermogenes urge that Paul should be arrested for "seducing the crowds to the new doctrine of the Christians" (*Acts Paul* 3:14) and teach, contrary to Paul, that the resurrection has already taken place.

While the apocryphal text pairs Demas with Hermogenes, the Pastorals name Phygelus as Hermogenes' partner. Also, the Pastorals never connect Demas with Iconium nor indicate that Demas knew Onesiphorus. Most striking of all the differences, however, is the information that Demas preached a resurrection that had already occurred. In the NT, this doctrine is mentioned (as unacceptable) only once (2 Tim 2:17–18), and is attributed to Hymenaeus and Philetus. Cf. related issue in 1 Cor 15:12.

With respect to Demas, if the *Acts of Paul* is not merely an elaboration of 2 Tim 4:10, but draws independently from the same oral traditions used by the Pastoral Epistles, it may be suspected that Demas' differences with Paul were theological and so concerned a disagreement about the resurrection. This may in turn illuminate the information in 2 Timothy that Demas left Paul for Thessalonica. For it is certain that questions about resurrection had troubled the Thessalonian community from its founding (1 Thess 4:13–18), and apparently remained pervasive for some years (Bauer, 1971: 74–75). Perhaps Demas went to Thessalonica to join others who agreed with his view concerning a spiritual resurrection.

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**DEMETRIUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Demetrios* (Δεμετριος)]. **1.** Demetrius Poliorcetes (336–283 B.C.E.) "the Besieger," king of Macedon (293–288 B.C.E.). His father Antigonus, who was one of the Diodochi, had been satrap of Phrygia and was able to extend his power all the way to Media, so Demetrius saw himself as inheritor of Alexander's legacy. This aroused the enmity of other officials of Alexander who then waged war against Antigonus. In attempting to protect the S boundaries of the kingdom against Ptolemy I of Egypt, Demetrius met with defeat at Gaza in 312, but this did not prevent further exploits. Demetrius defeated Ptolemy I at Cyprus in 306, and then attempted to take Rhodes from Ptolemy but was

forced to give up the endeavor. After the death of Antigonus at the Battle of Ipsus in Phrygia (301) a brief period of peace ensued, but since Demetrius was still alive warfare soon again erupted (Tcherikover 1966: 9–10). In 296 Demetrius conquered Samaria from Ptolemy I, but he held it only until 295. By that time he had lost all his non-Greek territories (Schürer *HJP²* 2: 87). He was crowned king of Macedon in 293 but was never able to extend his influence eastward.

**2.** Demetrius I Soter, "Savior," king of Syria about 162–150 B.C.E. (1 Macc 7:1; 2 Macc 14:1–2). He was the son of Seleucus IV Philopator and the nephew of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. He came to power during a time of Seleucid domination of Palestine which was threatened both by Ptolemaic Egypt and Roman expansion. Conflict broke out in Palestine between the Seleucids and the Jerusalem religious community because of encroachment of Seleucid authorities against the sanctuary in Jerusalem and the religious observance of the Jews. In view of all the external pressures, internal strife in the Jerusalem community was not welcome by the Seleucids because it threatened the deteriorating situation (Noth *NHI*, 359–361).

Antiochus III (223–187 B.C.E.) was defeated by the Romans and submitted to the Peace of Apamea in 189. He was succeeded in 187 by his son Seleucus IV Philopator, whose brother Antiochus was held hostage in Rome. Seleucus IV exchanged his own son Demetrius for Antiochus. On the death of his father in 175, Demetrius attempted to negotiate his own freedom to assume power, but his failure to do so enabled his uncle to seize the throne under the title Antiochus IV Epiphanes (174–164 B.C.E.). Demetrius finally managed to escape from Rome, and on his return took vengeance on the young successor of Antiochus IV who ruled under a regent (164–162). He arranged the murder of Antiochus V and Lysias and thus ended their short reign which had seen the return of Jewish observance. Demetrius assumed the throne as Demetrius I Soter in 164 (1 Macc 7:1–4).

The history of the interaction between Demetrius I and the Jews is recounted in 1 Macc 7:1–10:52 and by Josephus (*Ant* 12.189–13.79). Demetrius was immediately approached by Alcimus, a member of the hellenizing faction who wanted to be high priest. He aroused the king against the Jews because of the revolts led by the Maccabees. Demetrius sent his faithful friend Bacchides with Alcimus to take vengeance which was initiated by a treacherous massacre of 60 Jews in one day (1 Macc 7:16). The Jews revolted against Alcimus and his forces, so Demetrius sent Nicanor to destroy this people. Nicanor's arrogant mockery and defilement of the temple sparked a battle in which the forces of Nicanor were crushed by the Maccabees and Nicanor himself fell (1 Macc 7:43). Demetrius then sent Bacchides and Alcimus into Judah a second time. They killed many and did battle in which Judas Maccabeus fell. His brother Jonathan assumed leadership and routed Bacchides (1 Macc 9:48). Bacchides returned a third time after the death of Alcimus, but his expedition failed and he made peace with Jonathan. Some years later Demetrius was faced with the arrival of Alexander I Epiphanes (Balas) who posed as the son of Antiochus IV Epiphanes and assumed the throne in Ptolemais. Demetrius' bid for an alliance with Jonathan failed because of Alexander's counter offer. The death of Demetrius in battle with Alexander about 150 left Alexander in power and in a position of contention with the son of Demetrius.

**3.** Demetrius II, Nicator, "Victor," son of Demetrius I, Seleucid king of Syria about 145–140 and 129–125 B.C.E. (1 Macc 10:67). Power was seized from Demetrius I by Alexander Balas, so Demetrius II rose against Alexander to recover the throne which belonged to him. When Demetrius II arrived from Crete in 147 B.C.E., Alexander was threatened and returned from Phoenicia to Antioch to make his position secure there (1 Macc 10:67–68). 1 Maccabees reports that Demetrius II appointed Appollonius governor of Coelesyria and that Appollonius then moved against Jonathan whose choice of allegiance was with Alexander (1 Macc 10:18–21, 67–69). Josephus credits Alexander with the appointment of Appollonius, but this is likely a mistake and would be contrary to the advance of Appollonius against Jonathan (*Ant* 13.4.3, n.d.). At this point the position of Demetrius was stronger than that of Alexander, since the people of Antioch, his own soldiers, and his father-in-law Ptolemy VI sided with him.

Jonathan's victories over Appollonius at Joppa and Azotus won him rich rewards from Alexander. Ptolemy VI Philometor advanced against Alexander and gained control of the coastal cities as far as Seleucia, and he entered into a pact with Demetrius II. Ptolemy VI promised to take back his daughter

Cleopatra from Alexander and give her as wife to Demetrius II. Subsequently in battles between them, Alexander fled and was assassinated in Arabia, and Ptolemy was mortally wounded and died a few days later (Josephus *Ant* 13.116–19). Jonathan was left to contend with Demetrius II from whom he extorted many concessions. Later Demetrius was forced to further concessions to secure Jonathan's help against Diodotus Tryphon, a former general of Alexander who ostensibly sought the throne for Alexander's son Antiochus VI as a rival to Demetrius II. Jonathan continued to consolidate his power and renewed treaties of friendship with Rome and Sparta (Schürer *HJP²* 1: 181–85). This Jewish ascendency became disquieting to Tryphon who took Jonathan prisoner and finally killed him (1 Macc 12:39–13:24). Shortly afterward he killed the young king Antiochus VI and assumed the crown himself. Jonathan was succeeded in the leadership of the Jews by his brother Simon with whom Demetrius made peace (1 Macc 13:33–40). Simon also made peace with the men in the citadel of Jerusalem, cleansed the citadel, and took control of it (1 Macc 13:52).

In the year 140 B.C.E., Demetrius II marched against Media. He was quickly taken into captivity by Arsaces the king of the Parthians and thus was out of circulation for some time. His brother Antiochus VII Sidetes took his place against Tryphon, whom he besieged at Apamea and forced to take his own life. In 130 Antiochus VII advanced against the Parthians and was lost in battle in 129. In the same year, Demetrius II was released and resumed the throne of Syria to rule for a second time, though briefly. Almost immediately Ptolemy VI Physcon sent Alexander Zebinas, the alleged son of Alexander Balas, against Demetrius as a rival to the throne. Demetrius II was defeated by Alexander Zebinas, and his reign ended in about 125. He was succeeded briefly by his son Seleucus in 125, and by Antiochus VIII Grypus in 125–113 (Schürer *HJP²* 1: 130–33).

**4.** Demetrius III, Eucerus, son of Antiochus VIII Grypus. His full name was Demetrius III Theos Philopator Soter, and Eucerus was a nickname.

In the Seleucid empire of the day there was continual fighting. Antiochus IX Cyzicenus defeated his brother/cousin Seleucus V, so Philip I the brother of Seleucus V assumed power over part of Syria (Josephus *Ant* 13.370). Schürer (*HJP²* 1: 225) calls him king of the Nabataeans. Ptolemy Lathyrus then made Demetrius III Eucerus king at Damascus. At the death of their father Antiochus VIII in 96 B.C.E., all of Syria was in the hands of the two brothers, Philip I and Demetrius III.

It was from this position that Demetrius III was called to the aid of Jews rebelling against Alexander Jannaeus in 88 B.C.E. Alexander was routed, but the Jews had a change of heart, apparently preferring a free Jewish state under the Hasmonean Jannaeus, to annexation to the Seleucid empire under Demetrius. About 6,000 Jews went over to Alexander, and Demetrius returned home (Schürer *HJP²* 1: 224).

After the Judean campaign, Demetrius III was besieged by the Parthians who captured him and held him till his death through illness in 88 B.C.E. His brother Philip I then seized Antioch and became king of all Syria (*Ant* 13.365–86).

**5.** Demetrius of Phalerum, director of the royal library of Alexandria (345–283 B.C.E.). On the basis of the legendary *Letter of Aristeas,* Demetrius was credited with suggesting to King Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283–246) the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek. The Septuagint version was indeed available around the 3d century B.C.E., but the *Letter of Aristeas* is dated around 100 B.C.E., and thus it is too late to have arisen in the historical situation which it describes.

Schürer (*HJP²* 3: 1, 475) makes the point that the role of Demetrius cannot be historical because he was never in charge of the library. After the death of Ptolemy I, he was banished by Ptolemy II Philadelphus because he was at variance with the king. In indicating the antiquity of Jewish tradition, Josephus (*AgAp* 1.218) mentions Demetrius Phalerum among other scholars, but this is likely a confusion with another Jewish historian also named Demetrius.

**6.** A Christian mentioned in 3 John 12. Attempts to identify this person with others in the NT of similar name are conjecture. What we can reasonably assume from this letter is derived from the letter itself, particularly from the testimonial in 3 John 12.

Demetrius may previously have been rejected by Diotrephes (3 John 10) and thus the threefold testimonial of the Elder would have been given as a reference to Gaius to receive Demetrius well. The

strength of the recommendation is based on three witnesses: all who knew him (12a); the truth itself, perhaps the goodness of his own life (12b); and the Elder (12c). The writer seems to call for cooperation from Gaius who exercises hospitality to missionaries (3 John 5–9), whereas Diotrephes does not pay attention to the requests of the Elder (Brown *Epistles of John* AB, 721–24; 748–49). Demetrius may have carried the letter himself, or it may have been sent ahead to prepare Gaius for the missionary's coming.

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**7.** A silversmith who was a resident of Ephesus who instigated a riot against Paul when the latter's preaching began to interfere with his trade, which was making silver shrines of Artemis, the patron deity of Ephesus (Acts 19:23–41). Note also Alexander the coppersmith in 2 Tim 4:14, and *IvEph* 554 where the profession of coppersmith is mentioned.

There has been no significant controversy concerning the identity of this individual, except for the effort of E. L. Hicks (1890: 401–22) to demonstrate that this was the same individual mentioned in an Ephesian inscription dating approximately to the time of the Lukan narrative. Hicks' suggestion was predicated on a reworking of the Lukan text of Acts 19:24. This hypothesis has attracted few adherents and raises more problems than it solves. One knows nothing about this Demetrius except the minimal amount of information given by Luke. The germane facts of the story focus upon the nature of Demetrius's occupation and the role of this artisan labor union, rather than upon his personal identity.

Labor unions were part and parcel of urban life in antiquity. In Anatolia such unions are well attested in literary and epigraphical evidence of the Roman era (Magie 1950: 811–13). There are currently over half a dozen inscriptions from Ephesus which mention in particular the guild of silver workers (*IvEph* 425, 547, 585, 586, 636, 2212, 2441). This Lukan vignette portraying the civil disturbances that could be instigated by the labor unions of the period is supported by epigraphical as well as literary evidence (MacMullen 1966: 173–78). In fact, another Ephesian inscription records a riot that was engendered by disgruntled members of the bakers' union at Ephesus (*IvEph* 215). The somewhat later literary evidence that appears in the Pliny-Trajan correspondence (*Ep.* 10.33–34) concerning illegal and potentially disruptive *collegia* in Asia Minor reflects the same urban ethos depicted in Luke's account of the character of the silversmiths' union at Ephesus.

Although silver devotional replicas of the temple of Artemis have yet to be found, devotional objects made from other materials and dedicated to the Ephesian goddess Artemis have been discovered. Silver, in fact, was frequently used for devotional items and statues in various cults (e.g., Lucian, *Alex.* 18; Petron. *Sat.* 29; *IvEph* 27, and the C. Vibius Salutaris inscription for the use of silver in the Artemis cult in objects other than temple replicas).

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**DEMETRIUS THE CHRONOGRAPHER.** A Jewish historian-exegete who probably flourished in Egypt during the last quarter of the 3d century B.C.E. He composed at least one work, probably entitled *On the Kings in Judaea,* that appears to have chronicled Jewish history from the time of the patriarchs until the postexilic period. Only a few fragments of the work survive.

Six extant fragments are reliably attributed to Demetrius. They suggest a work closely, probably exclusively, dependent on the LXX, written in straightforward, unadorned Gk style. The fragments

especially deal with questions of chronology arising from the biblical text, hence the designation chronographer (Freudenthal). Though he rehearses biblical history in the tradition of certain Hellenistic historians, such as Eratosthenes, Manetho, and Berossus, Demetrius displays an explicit interest in exegetical problems. In his exegetical approach, he appears to employ an established method of interpretation known as *aporiai kai luseis* ("problems and solutions," or "questions and answers") used by pagan writers to interpret the writings of Homer and Hesiod and later applied by Philo of Alexandria in interpreting Genesis and Exodus.

Five of the Demetrius fragments (4 of which are explicitly attributed to him) are preserved by Eusebius in *Praep. Evang.*, Book 9, although Eusebius states that he is quoting the excerpts from the pagan author Alexander Polyhistor (ca. 112–30 B.C.E.), who thus appears to be the earliest author to mention Demetrius and quote from his work. A 6th fragment, preserved in Clement of Alexandria *Strom.*, Book 1, attributes a work entitled *On the Kings in Judaea* to Demetrius and provides a summary of its chronological calculations for events following the fall of Samaria and the fall of Jerusalem until the time of Ptolemy IV Philopator (ca. 220–204 B.C.E.).

All of the fragments preserved by Eusebius focus on events in Genesis and Exodus. Fragment 1 provides a brief, unexceptional summary of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac (Genesis 22). Fragment 2 is the longest of the six fragments (approximately 137 lines of Gk text). It treats various events relating to Jacob and Joseph recorded in Genesis 27–50, giving special attention to chronological questions such as the ages of the patriarchs at various junctures in their lives, the birthdates of Jacob's sons, his children's ages when significant events occurred, and the cumulative number of years for certain designated periods of time, e.g., from Adam until the time Joseph's brothers arrive in Egypt. The next three fragments treat events from Exodus. Fragment 3 focuses on Moses, particularly his marriage to Zipporah (Exod 2:15–22): It was chronologically possible because she was only one generation older than Moses; she was endogamous, a descendant of Abraham and Keturah; she was monogamous, identified with the Cushite (Ethiopian) woman of Num 12:1. Fragment 4 briefly treats the incident of the bitter water at Marah (Exod 15:22–27), while Fragment 5 explains how the Israelites could have left Egypt unarmed yet managed to obtain weapons with which to fight the Egyptians (Exod 13:18; 17:8–13).

Establishing the date and provenance for Demetrius is based primarily on Fragment 6 (Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 1.21.141.1–2), in which the reign of "Ptolemy the 4th" (Philopator, 220–204 B.C.E.) is used as a reference point for making certain chronological calculations pertaining to the length of time between 2 events: the deportation of the 10 tribes after the fall of Samaria (722 B.C.E.) and the deportation of the tribes of Benjamin and Judah after the fall of Jerusalem (586 B.C.E.). Because the calculations present several difficulties, various textual emendations have been suggested, some of which identify him as Ptolemy III (246–221 B.C.E.) or Ptolemy VII Euergetes II (170–164 and 145–117 B.C.E.). These alternative suggestions, however, have not won widespread acceptance. Consequently, because it is safe to assume that Demetrius would bring his chronological calculations down to his own time, and that he would define this time in terms of his own reigning Ptolemy, his date is confidently set in the last quarter of the 3d century B.C.E. Because Ptolemaic rule at this time was concentrated in Egypt, Demetrius is usually placed in an Egyptian, or even more specifically, an Alexandrian setting. Yet since the extent of Ptolemaic rule prior to the battle of Paneion (200 B.C.E.) encompassed Syria as well as Egypt, the setting might have been Palestine, or even Cyrene.

The ability to set a relatively firm date for Demetrius is important in assessing his overall significance for Judaism in the Hellenistic period. He thus has the distinction of being the earliest named Jewish author known to have written in Greek. His importance is related to at least the following areas:

(1) *LXX studies.* He is an important, reliably dated witness for the existence of a Gk version of Genesis and Exodus (perhaps the Gk Pentateuch) as early as the 3d century B.C.E. Indeed, depending on the date of Ezekiel the Tragedian, Demetrius may be the earliest independent witness of LXX Genesis and Exodus. In any case, he becomes an important resource for the study of LXX origins.

(2) *Jewish historiography.* Though brief, the Demetrius fragments provide an early instance of a Jewish author in the tradition of other Hellenistic "cultural" historians, Berossus (Babylon) or Manetho (Egypt),

who wrote national histories promoting their respective peoples and cultures. More specifically, his explicit interest in chronography perhaps testifies to the increased respect this particular intellectual discipline had begun to enjoy, especially among Jews, in the Hellenistic period. It has been plausibly suggested that Demetrius belonged to a school of chronographical interpretation that sought systematically to apply principles of Hellenistic "scientific historiography" to biblical interpretation. Certainly, his work should be viewed alongside other Jewish writings with similar chronological interests, such as *Jubilees*, *Genesis Apocryphon*, and *Seder Olam.*

(3) *Biblical exegesis.* Demetrius displays a consistent interest in resolving difficulties in the biblical text. Besides questions of chronology, he addresses other questions the text might pose for a critical reader: Why did Joseph remain in Egypt 9 years flourishing without reporting his whereabouts to his aged father in Canaan? Why did he show partiality to Benjamin? Why is the sinew of the thigh of cattle not eaten by Jews? These may be questions asked by Jews as they began to read the biblical text critically, influenced perhaps by Hellenistic "scientific historiography." Or, perhaps they are questions asked by non-Jews, either unsympathetic or manifestly hostile, as they became aware of Jewish biblical history. In these instances, as well as in his discussion of Moses' marriage to Zipporah, Demetrius appears to be interpreting the biblical text not merely to resolve chronological difficulties in the text as an intellectual exercise, but to answer such questions of religious practice as whether Jews should intermarry with non-Jews, or why certain food laws are observed.

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**DEMONS.** This entry consists of two articles: one treats the subject of demons as attested in the Hebrew Bible, and the other treats the subject of demons and exorcism as attested in the NT.

## *OLD TESTAMENT*

Discussion of the identity, nature, and role of demons in the OT is complicated by terminology, historical developments, and theoretical issues. Decisions made regarding these factors influence both what one identifies as demons in the OT and the significance of this evidence for reconstructions of the understanding of demons in the OT and in ancient Israel.

### A. Factors Complicating Discussion

**1. Terminology.** Use of the term demon in relation to the OT is problematic for 3 reasons: First, it does not seem that there is a single term in biblical Hebrew which can be consistently and unquestionably translated as "demon" (Caquot 1971: 118). Second, many terms thought to refer to demons are either *hapax legomena* or appear only in a few instances. Third, the English term demon is used to refer to two very different concepts—evil spirits and neutral "anonymous gods" or spirits (*daimons*). Both understandings have been applied to the OT.

**2. Historical Developments.** Historical developments also complicate the discussion. The OT itself lacks a simple or coherent presentation of demons. Most interpreters agree that views of demons in ancient Israel became increasingly complex and negative, however, they disagree as to how this occurred. Several possibilities have been suggested: (a) A general belief in demons as independent evil spirits was always a part of Israel's theology (particularly on the popular level) which was simply expanded in later

periods. (b) A general belief in demons as ambivalent spirits or aspects of God was an original part of Israel's theology which in later periods became separated into "good" spirits (angels) and "evil" spirits (demons). (c) A general belief in demons as independent evil figures was a late development arising as it became theologically unacceptable to present evil events and elements as aspects of God. (d) A general belief in the demons reflected in the poetic texts (*deber, qeṭeb*) gradually decreased while belief in other types of demons increased (the various forms of the Satan figure and the hosts of demons and evil angels represented in the intertestamental period).

**3. Theoretical Issues.** Discussion of the identity, nature and role of demons in the OT is complicated by other issues as well. (1) Much of the study of demons in the OT uses comparative materials, particularly those from other ANE cultures. Linguistic and archaeological evidence has proven helpful in illuminating some aspects of OT understandings of demons, however, this evidence also raises the issue of the degree of legitimate comparison possible between cultures separated by language, time, geography, and theology. (2) Much of the language about demons in both the ANE and OT appears in poetic materials with reference to natural phenomena. This context raises the issue of how poetic references to natural phenomena should be interpreted—as literal references to the physical phenomena, as poetic symbolizations or personifications, or as references to actual demons or deities. (3) Translation in general of terms dealing with demons is problematic. Translations are influenced by many factors: philological evidence and trends, theology, and previous decisions regarding understandings of the term demon and proper ways to interpret each particular text. (4) Identifications and understandings of demons in the OT are strongly influenced by the wider context within which demons are discussed; past contexts have included magic and witchcraft, "popular" religion, official apotropaic rituals, poetic symbolism, and religious psychology.

**B. Proposed Demons**

As a result of these factors, identification of demons in the OT has not been consistent. The most generally accepted understanding is of demons as "evil spirits" who live in ruins and the desert and are responsible for illness and natural disasters. However, more neutral, anonymous, or positive demons have also been identified.

**1. *šēdîm* and *śĕʿîrîm*.** Most interpreters identify two general classes of demons in the OT: *šēdîm* (demons) and *śĕʿîrîm* (hairy demons, satyrs). References to these demons appear in two contexts: the worship of demons equated with new or false gods (Deut 32:17; Ps 106:37 [*šēdîm*] and Lev 17:7; 2 Chr 11:15 [*śĕʿîrîm*]); and two judgment oracles (Isa 13:21; 34:14) where the *śĕʿîrîm* are among several demons left among the ruins after God's judgment.

**2. Lilith and Azazel.** Generally accepted as two specific demons referred to in the OT. Lilith (Heb *lîlît*) is seen as a female demon associated in Isa 34:14 with various unclean animals. Additional clues to her character and activities are derived from references in ANE and Rabbinic literature and archaeological evidence which picture her as a succubus and a "child stealing" demon (*IDB* 1: 819) and as Adam's first, rebellious wife (Barnstone 1984: 31). The name Azazel (Heb *ʿăzāʾzēl*) occurs in Leviticus 16 in relation to the goat sent into the wilderness "to Azazel" in the Atonement ritual. Although "Azazel" has been understood to refer to the goat itself or to a place in the wilderness, most interpreters see Azazel as the name of a particular wilderness demon to whom the goat is dedicated (*EncJud* 5: 1524).

**3. Natural Phenomena as Demons.** Several terms referring to natural phenomena have also been seen as allusions to demons: *deber* (plague, pestilence; Hos 13:14; Hab 3:5; Ps 91:6); *qeṭeb* (destruction; Deut 32:24; Isa 28:2; Hos 13:14); *qeṭeb yāšûd ṣāhŏrāyim* (destruction that wastes at noonday; Ps 91:6); *rešep* (flame, firebolt; Deut 32:24; Hab 3:5; Pss 76:4 [Eng 76:3] and 78:48); *paḥad lāylāh* (terror in the night; Ps 91:5); and *bārād* (great cold; Ps 78:48; Isa 28:2). Such identifications are based both on ANE parallels (*IDB* 1: 817–21) and on understandings of poetic texts as referring not simply to the natural phenomena themselves but to the demon/god responsible for, or present in, them.

**4. Other Proposed Evil Demons.** In addition to the categories above, other demons have been identified.

**a. Animal Demons.** Some interpreters have taken several texts as allusions to theriomorphic demons and have proposed the following animal demons: *ʿălûqāh* (vampire, leech; Prov 30:15); *śĕrāpîm* (fiery flying demonic serpents; Num 21:6, 8; Isa 14:29; 30:6) (Langton 1949: 37–38); the various creatures in Isa 13:21–22 paralleling *śĕʿîrîm—ṣiyyîm* (wild beasts), *ʾōḥîm* (howling creatures), *bĕnōt yaʿănāh* (ostriches), *ʾiyyîm* (hyenas), and *tannîm* (jackals) (Langton 1949: 41–43); *lîlît* pictured as a bird (Isa 34:14); and in some cases Leviathan (*liwyātān*) who on the basis of ANE parallels and opposition to God can be seen as "demonic" (Isa 27:1; Job 3:8; 40:25 [Eng 41:1]).

**b. "Beings" Associated with the Underworld.** *māwet* (death; Isa 28:15, 18; Jer 9:20 [Eng 9:21]; Hos 13:14; Job 18:13; 28:20) (*EncJud* 5: 1523–24); *dĕbar bĕlîyaʿal* ("a thing of belial/Belial; Ps 41:9 [Eng 41:8]); and *melek ballāhōt* (King of Terrors; Job 18:14) (*IDB* 1: 820–21). Significantly, most interpreters do not place the *repāʾîm*, the "shades of the dead," in the category of evil or haunting demons.

**c. Additional Terms.** *ḥēṣ* ("[demonic] arrow"; Ps 91:5; Job 6:4; 34:6); 7 evil spirits (Deut 28:22) (*IDB* 1: 820).

**5. *ʾĕlōhîm, rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm*.** Finally, some interpreters (*TDNT* 2:10–11; *IDB* 1: 817–18) see in the OT additional, more neutral allusions to demons in the sense of "anonymous" gods or spirits. In some cases possession by an *ʾĕlōhîm* or a *rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm* (Exod 31:3; 1 Sam 10:10; 16:15–16) or the raising up of an *ʾĕlōhîm* from the dead (1 Sam 28:13; Isa 8:19) is understood to reflect this more classical idea of a demon.

**C. Significance**

Interpreters disagree as to the weight to be given to the OT references to demons in reconstructing Israelite religion and theology. Some (Langton 1949: 10) feel such references attest to a widespread belief in demons among the Israelites which was later systematically suppressed in the text if not in actual practice. Others (*EncJud* 5: 1523; *TDNT* 2:11) caution against using the scattered and limited references in the OT as evidence for a widespread belief in demons. Most interpreters argue for a position which partially accepts both points. References both to demons themselves and to practices associated with them seem to argue for some belief in demons at certain levels of Israelite society at certain times. However, the text as it now stands contains few references to demons and while illness and disasters may in some cases be attributed to demons, they are more often attributed to Israel's God or God's "spirit."

**D. Relation to Satan**

Finally, it should be recognized that there is no connection in the OT between the figure of Satan and the demons referred to above. While one late text (1 Chr 21:1) has Satan as a proper name for an independent being who acts in what could be seen as a demonic manner, "The Satan" in the OT serves primarily as a judicial "adversary" acting at God's request (Job 1; Zech 3:1).

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## *NEW TESTAMENT*

In the NT, demons are portrayed as real and powerful enemies of humankind, who are effectively removed ("exorcized") by the power of God at work in Jesus.

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A. Background
B. Terminology
C. Description of Activity
D. Jesus' Exorcisms in the Synoptics
E. Other NT References
F. Interpretations

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**A. Background**

A belief in the existence and activity of demons is not limited to the NT. Some conception of evil spirits or demons was held almost universally by the religions of the ancient world. Many of these religions had developed a rather extensive demonology. Egyptian religion included the use of magical incantations to ward off disease and misfortune caused by malevolent spirits. Greek popular belief postulated a class of spirit beings (possibly spirits of the dead) between men and the gods. These beings could afflict people with madness and sickness. Zoroastrianism conceived a dualism in the spirit world, with a dark kingdom of demons under the direction of Ahriman warring against the spirits of light led by Ahura Mazda. Though the Hebrew concept of Yahweh's sovereignty minimized the development of demonology in the canonical writings (Job 1:6–12; 1 Sam 16:14–23; 1 Chr 21:1; Zech 3:1–2), Jewish literature began in the intertestamental period to elaborate on the origin and activity of malevolent spirits. Thousands of demons were said to be at the side of every man, posing a threat to enter the personality and cause sickness and distress. Various procedures and conjurations were suggested as a means of protection from them. Against this backdrop of widespread concern for the harmful influence of evil spirits the NT conception becomes clear.

**B. Terminology**

The NT documents take for granted the existence of demons, using various terms in reference to them. The Textus Receptus has the word *daimōn* occurring in Matt 8:31; Mark 5:12; Luke 8:29; and Rev 16:14; 18:2, though some manuscripts attest to its use only in the Matthean passage. Far more common is the diminutive form *daimonion*, occurring more than 60 times, mostly in the Gospels. (Note that Paul uses this term in his speech in Acts 17 and in I Cor 10:20–21 with reference to pagan gods.) In a few instances the word *pneuma* without any modifier refers to demons (Matt 8:16; Luke 9:39; 10:20), but the usual practice is to describe the character of the spirit. Consequently the phrases *pneuma akatharton* or *to akatharton pneuma* occur frequently in Mark and Luke (but only twice in Matthew). A demon is also called *pneuma poneron* in Matt 12:45 = Luke 11:26, with Luke using the term again in 7:21; 8:2; and Acts 19:12–16. A singular reference to a *pneuma daimoniou akathartou* is found in Luke 4:33. Matthew seems to prefer the term *daimonion.* Mark uses both *pneuma akatharton* and *daimonion* frequently. Luke employs the wider variety of terms. In addition to these nouns, the Gospels employ the participle *daimonizomai* to describe the phenomenon. A person is said to "have a demon" or to be "demonized." The English translation "demon-possessed" for the participle is wrongly understood if associated with the idea of ownership. The term rather designates the influence or control exercised over a person by the demon present.

**C. Description of Activity**

Various kinds of physical affliction are attributed to the working of evil spirits. They may cause violently insane behavior (Matt 8:28 = Mark 5:1–5), the inability to speak (Matt 9:32) or to hear (Mark 9:25), blindness (Matt 12:22), characteristics of epilepsy (Luke 9:39), and apparent tendencies to self-destruction (Matt 17:15). The possibility of their being responsible for other maladies not specifically named is suggested in the summary statement of Matt 8:16. There many "demonized" were brought to Jesus, who drove out the spirits and "healed all the sick." As the reference above indicates, the gospel writers do not clearly explain the relationship between demonization and sickness. On the one hand, not all illness is attributed to the actual presence of evil spirits. It is significant that summary statements from all 3 gospels (Matt 4:24; Mark 1:32; and Luke 7:21) list the "demonized" as a category separate from those suffering with other diseases. Mark especially differentiates between the two, never using the word "to heal" (*therapeuō*) in reference to a demonized person. Moreover, the same symptom is spoken of as sickness in one reference (Matt 4:25) and as demonization in another (Matt 17:15). On the other hand, the grammatical construction of Matt 10:1 implies that the disciples' activities of casting out demons and healing sickness both were derived from their "authority over unclean spirits." The inference seems to be that in the exorcisms the power of demons operating directly on individuals is broken, whereas the healings overcome the indirect influences of malevolent spirits (Kallas 1961: 78–79). Support for this inference is drawn from the fact that Matthew uses the term *therapeuō* with indifference as to whether a passage is dealing with the diseased or the demonized.

In contrast to most of the contemporary literature, the NT makes no highly speculative conjectures concerning the origin of these spirits or descriptions of materialized appearances. The emphasis throughout is on the activity of demonic forces especially in relation to the ministry of Jesus.

**D. Jesus' Exorcisms in the Synoptics**

All 3 synoptics agree that the casting out of demons was a most significant aspect of Jesus' ministry. The Beelzebul passages (Matt 12:25–29; Mark 3:23–27; Luke 11:17–22) clearly depict the power of Jesus over demons as the evidence that God's kingdom had broken into the present world order. That kingdom was confronting more than a loose confederation of hostile forces. It faced an opposing kingdom of evil spirits ruled by Beelzebul (whom Jesus identified as Satan in Matt 12:26–27). Therefore Jesus' exorcisms were not merely isolated incidents of compassion for individuals oppressed by malevolent forces. They were direct confrontations with the kingdom of the enemy. They were demonstrations of the power and presence of the Kingdom of God. The success of Jesus' assaults indicated that the head of that evil kingdom had already been bound, making possible the spoiling of his domain. On that basis demons were cast out of people and individuals were liberated from Satan's oppression in order to become participants in the blessings of God's kingdom. Contending that Jesus' ministry in this regard was absolutely unique, Theissen points out that no other charismatic miracle-worker ever claimed that his miracles portended the end of the old world and the beginning of a new age (1983: 278–79). Jesus was the first to make a specific connection between the common occurrence of exorcism and the eschatological defeat of Satan (Leivestad 1954: 254; Twelftree 1985: 79–80).

Jesus' authority over the power of Satan was conveyed to his disciples as well. The commissioning accounts in all 3 gospels connect the casting out of demons with the ministry Jesus authorized the disciples to continue (Matt 10:8; Mark 3:13–19; 6:7–13; Luke 9:1–2). In fact, the only activity that runs consistently from the opening summary of Jesus' ministry through the accounts of his miracles and into the commission given to his disciples is the casting out of demons. The context also relates the commissioning to the proclamation of the Kingdom of God. In the mind of Jesus the casting out of demons appears as one of the most verifiable indicators of the arrival of the kingdom (Leivestad 1954: 254).

Of special note is the lack of reference to any formula or procedure passed along from Jesus to his followers. Rather than being given any secret technique, they are simply endowed with his authority (*exousia*) over the spirits. This observation reflects the fact that Jesus' practice was in pointed contrast to the magical approach of other exorcists. Hull's study of exorcistic practice up to the time the gospels were written found that without exception the expulsion of demons was associated with magical practices (Hull 1974: 129). For that reason, some scholars view Jewish and Hellenistic exorcism stories as the background for the NT practice. David Bartlett, however, in a form-critical study contends that the Jewish and Hellenistic parallels are not close enough to the gospel accounts to be considered their source (1972). Rather, as Eitram points out, Jesus acted with an authority quite different from that of an ordinary magician or exorcist, making any technical gesture or use of names superfluous (Eitram 1966: 30). Jesus' absolute authority is emphasized in Matt 8:28–34, where the pericope is structured to focus on the single word of command effecting the deliverance of the demoniacs: "Go."

Despite Jesus' authority over Satan and his demons, Matthew's gospel depicts a continuing conflict between the forces of the evil one and the sons of God's Kingdom in the present age (13:36–43). A similar allowance for demonic powers to operate against man is found in the pseudepigraphal *Jubilees* (10:5–9) and *1 Enoch* (15:11–16:1). The final outcome is not in doubt, however, and according to Matt 25:41 Satan and his "angels" ultimately will be confined to the eternal fire (compare this reference to a number of allusions in intertestamental literature cited by Langton [1942: 238–44]).

**E. Other NT References**

Mentions of the casting out of demons in the book of Acts are significant in that they represent an extension of the ministry of the Risen Lord through the community of believers. The language of Acts 5:16 describing the apostles' ministry is reminiscent of the summaries in the synoptics (cf. Matt 4:24–25; 8:16; Mark 1:32–34; Luke 4:40–41). The ability to cast out demons was not limited to the apostles,

however. Acts 8:5–8 refers to the healings and deliverance from demons which Philip carried out. Significant in this context is the close association of this activity with the proclamation of the kingdom (Acts 8:12), a theme which reflects the commissioning statements of Jesus (Matt 10:7–8; Luke 9:1–2). Further references in Acts are Peter's characterization of Jesus' activity as "doing good and healing all who were under the power of the devil" (10:38), and Paul's exorcism of a "spirit of python" from a slave girl (16:16–18). The sole mention of any objects being used in exorcism is Acts 19:11–12, where cloths that had touched Paul were taken to the sick with the result that their illnesses were cured and evil spirits left them. This phenomenon, however, was not considered to be the normal pattern, as the term *extraordinary* is used to describe it. Moreover, the writer of Acts is careful to attribute the working to God, and not to any power inherent in Paul. Paul was the human instrumentality, but the power was from God (cf. Luke's understanding of Jesus' dependence on that power in Luke 4:14–19 and Acts 10:38). The motif of dependence on God's power rather than any exorcistic technique or formula is amplified in the next pericope. The Jewish exorcists who invoked the name of Jesus in an attempt to cast out demons were not successful (Acts 19:13–16). Their failure indicates that the use of Jesus' name was not a formula with power to operate *ex opera operati*. This story may be compared with Mark 9:38–40 = Luke 9:49–50. There Jesus allows a man outside of his immediate circle to perform exorcisms in his name. One way to explain the difference is to posit that the man in the gospel accounts was a true follower of Christ, though not in the inner circle of disciples ("not one of us"), whereas the exorcists in Acts were decidedly unbelievers.

Strikingly absent from John's account of Jesus' ministry is any reference at all to the casting out of demons. Twelftree (1985: 90) suggests that since exorcism is closely associated with the Kingdom of God, John's choice to give little attention to the kingdom led him to preclude the exorcism stories. In this gospel, Jesus' conflict with the diabolical realm is not described in terms of individual skirmishes with unclean spirits, but in the climactic overthrow of the opposing spirit world by Jesus' death and resurrection. As the "hour" for Jesus approached, nothing less than the "casting out" of the ruler of this world is signified (John 12:31). The triumph of Jesus in John's gospel, while expressed in more cosmic language, nonetheless involved the same defeat of Satan's realm as that described in the Synoptics.

References to demons in the remainder of the NT focus on their moral and spiritual opposition to believers rather than the kinds of physical affliction described in the Synoptics. They are the spiritual reality behind the apparent nothingness of idols which the heathen worship (1 Cor 10:20–21; Rev 9:20). They are spiritual forces of wickedness in the heavenlies against which the believer must contend by using the armor of God (Eph 6:10–18). They are the source of false teaching designed to lead people away from the faith (1 Tim 4:1). The equation of unclean spirits with demons is clear in Rev 16:13–14 (cf. 18:2), where they are declared to perform miracles and gather the kings of the world for the apocalyptic battle.

**F. Interpretations**

The reports of demonic activity and exorcism in the NT are subject to various considerations by different scholars. One interpretation views the phenomenon as a 1st-century understanding of what would be known today as a psychological problem. What the ancients called demonization would be diagnosed as psychoses. Representatives of this viewpoint include McCasland, Langton, and Oesterreich. Others, such as Bultmann, see in these accounts a mythological description of a person's existential need to transcend the oppressive power systems of evil in the world. Still others maintain that the concept of demons actually existing is not incompatible with a modern cosmology (Dickason, Kallas, Schniewind). In any case, an understanding of the demonic is absolutely essential to a proper interpretation of the life and ministry of Jesus.

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**DEMOPHON** (PERSON) [Gk *Dēmophōn* (Δημοφων)]. Local governor or commander in the time of Judas Maccabeus (2 Macc 12:2). After Lysias returned to Antiochus V, Demophon together with other local governors or commanders (Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 432) continued to persecute the Jewish residents of their cities. Whether they acted on their own initiative or were following orders from either Antiochus V or Lysias cannot be determined. In contrast to 1 Maccabees 5 where the enemies listed are the ancient enemies of Israel, 2 Macc 12:2 lists only officials of the Seleucid empire, whose names are all common Greek names.
RUSSELL D. NELSON

**DEMOTIC CHRONICLE.** The so-called Demotic Chronicle, which forms the recto of Papyrus Bibliothèque Nationale 215 (Spiegelberg 1914; Bresciani 1969: 551–60; Roeder 1927: 238–49), consists of a series of chapters containing what appear to be oracular statements plus explanations, or glosses, in terms of the (political) history of Egypt during the 4th (and early 3d?) century B.C. Each chapter forms a separate unit. Although there are carryovers of theme between chapters, one cannot assume a chronological order between them or explain the political history of one chapter in terms of another. Both the beginning and the end of the papyrus are missing. Although it cannot be proven, it seems quite likely that the chapters were originally set in a narrative framework, i.e., that there was an accompanying story giving the background for the chapters. Other Late Period prophecies, such as the Prophecy of the Lamb (Zauzich 1983) and the Potter's Prophecy (Koenen 1968), are set within such accompanying stories. Paleographically, Papyrus Bibliothèque Nationale 215 appears to be early Ptolemaic and of Lower Egyptian, probably Memphite, origin (Spiegelberg 1914: 3, n. 3; 4 with n. 7). There is no evidence for a long gap between the time when the oracular statements were made and the time the explanations, which are written in standard Ptolemaic demotic, were provided. Thus the text was probably composed early in the Ptolemaic period.

The specific rulers who are named in the explanatory passages of the Demotic Chronicle run from Amyrtaios (Manetho's Dynasty 28), who claimed the throne of Egypt at the death of Darius II in 404 B.C., through Teos, the second king of Manetho's Dynasty 30, whose rule ended in 360 B.C. Teos is treated throughout the text as the "reigning" pharaoh (Meyer 1915: 295 with n. 2); when later rulers are mentioned, they are not identified by name, and events in their reigns are presented as prophecy. When historical statements made in the Demotic Chronicle can be checked with external sources, the facts presented in the Chronicle are seen to be quite reliable. Because of this general historical reliability of the Demotic Chronicle, and since there are few contemporary records of Dynasties 28–30, the Demotic Chronicle has been used as a basic source for the history of this period. But many of the explanations are nearly as unclear as the original oracular statements and, although the explanations clearly refer to events which occurred during this period in Egypt, the exact meaning of many of them remains ambiguous. Indeed, often our (very limited) knowledge of the history of this period is insufficient to interpret with certainty the references being made in the text.

The portion of the Demotic Chronicle which has been preserved includes no statement of authorship. The religious background of the text is apparent from the content of the oracular statements, which are

largely a mixture of calendrical dates (days of the week, days of the month, months of the year), of ritual activities and festivals, and of references to various divinities and/or (holy) cities. Wessetzky (1942) has argued that all were mythological references to calendrical dates (using the lunar calendar) relating to the Nile inundation. Internal evidence suggests that the text was written by, or on behalf of, the High Priest of Harsaphes in Herakleopolis. The prophetic sections of the text predict that a ruler will come into being in Herakleopolis after the Greeks. One of the glosses in chap. 8 states, "It is said, 'A man of Herakleopolis is the one who will rule after the foreigners and the Greeks' " (2/24–24). The following oracular statement "Take joy, o High Priest of Harsaphes!" is explained by saying, "The High Priest of Harsaphes will rejoice after the Greeks; that means coming into being by a ruler in Herakleopolis" (3/1). Although the text might have been written to justify a rebellion which was in progress, it is just as likely that it was preparing the way for one which had not yet begun (Spiegelberg 1914: 6; Meyer 1915: 297).

While providing justification for a rebellion, the Demotic Chronicle also presents a statement of, even a definition of, legitimate kingship (Johnson 1983). In this context, the historical rulers of Dynasties 28–30 are used as examples, illustrating both the good and the bad king and their resultant fates. The clearest statement of this is found in chap. 10, where the fates of different rulers of Dynasties 28–30 are dependent on the manner in which they governed. Thus, of Amyrtaios, the sole ruler of Dynasty 28, it is said that his son was not allowed to succeed him as ruler because he, Amyrtaios, had allowed the law to be violated (lit., "The first ruler who came after the foreigners, who are the Medes, [i.e.] Pharaoh Amyrtaios, when violation of the law was done [in] his time, he was caused to make the movements [of] yesterday; there was no rule by his son after him" [3/18–19]). The fate of Amyrtaios is specified even more clearly later in the same chapter when the oracular statement "first" is explained by saying that "the first who came after the Medes" was forced off the throne because he had ordered that the law be violated (lit., "when he ordered violation of the law, the things which were done for him were seen; his son was not allowed to succeed him; but, instead, he was caused to remove himself [from] upon his throne while he was alive" [4/1–2]).

A very similar statement is found later in the same chapter where the two-part oracular statement "the third—he was deposed" is explained by saying "the third ruler who came into being between the Medes" was deposed "when he abandoned the law" (4/6). This same sentiment also underlies the passage describing the fate of the son and successor of Neferites I of Dynasty 29: "[Only] a few days are what were given to him, himself, because of numerous sins which were done in his time" (3/21). A slight variation is the statement concerning Neferites II of Dynasty 29, "Because the law was abandoned under his father, a crime was made to reach his son after him" (4/12).

By contrast, long rule and succession by one's son result from proper behavior by the king. The clearest example is the explanation of the oracular statement "the fifth—he completed" as "the fifth ruler who came after the Medes [i.e., Achoris, Repeater of Appearances], whose days of rule were caused to be complete [i.e., when he was beneficent to the temples]." (4/9–10). The same standard is found applied to Neferites I of Dynasty 29, "When he did what he did conscientiously [lit., firmly, securely], his son was allowed to succeed him" (3/20–21). A general statement of this theory is found in chap. 12, "The ruler who will be beneficent is the one whom it [i.e., the uraeus, a deity who protects the ruling king] will love" (5/22).

The legitimate king, as portrayed in the Demotic Chronicle and contemporary Egyptian documents, undergoes the proper coronation rituals and possesses the proper royal regalia; he makes Egypt flourish and protects her from foreign invasion; and he shows proper respect for the gods and their temples and for temple ritual. All of these are summed up in the general statement that he will not abandon the law.

Not only past rulers were judged by the criterion of appropriate behavior, for the ruler prophesied to come from Herakleopolis is bound by the same rules of conduct. In chap. 9, one stage of the rebellion which will be led by this man, who will come into being in Herakleopolis, is his legitimization: "A titulary [is given] to me [in] the third month of Winter" is explained by saying, "He will be revealed and he will appear in glory in the crown of gold in the third month of Winter; that means his acting as ruler in the third month of Winter" (3/10). This ruler will found a legitimate dynasty. The following oracular

statement "They will give a seat to Pe [a prehistoric capital of Egypt]" is glossed "His eldest son will be put on his seat [Egyptian *p*] [i.e., (the seat of) the ruler who will come into being in Herakleopolis]; that means he will be similar to Harsiese" (3/11). Harsiese is the archetypal good king who avenged his father's death and succeeded him on the throne. The following sections of the same chapter also stress the legitimate status of this ruler since he will be recognized in Dep as well as Pe, and Isis will stop grieving (for her slain husband Osiris) because the legitimate successor (Harsiese) has taken the throne and avenged the death of his father. This use of mythological references as part of the justification for the ruler whose coming is being predicted reflects the mythological underpinnings of Egyptian kingship as a whole.

The tradition that the quality of a king's rule is reflected in the length of his reign is also found in Hebrew texts (Meyer 1915: 199, 304–5; Daumas 1961; Lloyd 1982: 42–44, n. 37 to p. 45) and in the Hellenistic Babylonian New Year's Festival Ritual (Smith 1978: 72–73). Similarly, the use of recent political events as explanatory devices in prophetic and exegetical texts is found not only in Egyptian materials such as the Demotic Chronicle, for which there are long roots in Egyptian literature, but also in Hebrew, and especially Essenian, exegesis (Meyer 1915: 294; Daumas 1961; Smith 1978: 77–87). Other points of comparison with biblical materials include concepts such as walking on the "path of God" or "path of life" (Johnson 1983: 69).

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**DEN OF LIONS.** See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES (OT AND ANE).

**DENARIUS** [Gk *Dēnarion* (Δηναριον)]. See COINAGE.

**DEPOSIT.** Primarily a legal term referring to money or property placed with a guardian for safekeeping. Israelite laws regarding deposits, including penalties assessed to a custodian under whose guardianship a deposit was lost or stolen, are found in Exod 22:6–10 and Lev 6:2–4 (5:21–23 LXX). In later times, private monies were said to be placed on deposit in the temple treasury, with the high priest as guardian (2 Macc 3:7–34; cf. *4 Macc* 4:1–14). In a derivative sense, people could be placed "on deposit" for safekeeping (e.g., Tob 10:13). When his message fell on deaf ears, Isaiah committed his teaching and writing to the guardianship of his disciples, much like a deposit. Other documents can be described as deposits, placed in earthen vessels for safekeeping (e.g., Jeremiah's deed, Jer 32:9–15; and the books of Moses in *T. Mos.* 11:16).

In the NT, the word "deposit" (*parathēkē*) only appears in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim 6:20; 2 Tim 1:12, 14). The background for this NT term appears to include classical Greek, which preferred the synonym *parakatathēkē* to the NT word (but the Textus Receptus reads *parakatathēkē* at 1 Tim 6:20 and 2 Tim 1:14). The ancient Greek and Roman societies had very specific laws of deposit, the language of which had some influence on Christian times. A clear example of this juridical influence can be seen in *Herm.*

*Man.* 3:2, where truth is said to be part of God's "deposit" with which man is entrusted—the one who lies defrauds God by not restoring the deposit he received (cf. humans as guardians of the divine "deposit" [the soul] in Josephus *JW* 3.372.1).

In the Pastorals "deposit" refers to the faith which has been entrusted to the church in the form of tradition (1 Tim 6:20; 2 Tim 1:14), and to Paul (2 Tim 1:12; or of Paul's personal faith which he entrusts to God's keeping), of which the apostle and his co-workers are simply stewards. The "deposit" apparently includes Pauline teaching and the OT. Guarding the tradition is not a static enterprise, however, in light of the fact that Timothy is charged to guard the deposit by the Holy Spirit, the Spirit which is said to give him guidance in matters of interpretation. A similar glimpse of developing tradition is provided by 2 Peter, whose wholesale appropriation of Jude constitutes a dynamic interpretation of "the faith once for all delivered to the saints" (Jude 3).

Another legal term for "deposit," *arrabōn*, also translated "guarantee," or "pledge," is a Hebrew loan-word (*ʿērābôn*) used of the pledge given to Tamar by Judah (Gen 38:17–20). The word is used by Paul to describe the role of the Holy Spirit as a "deposit" or "guarantee" of the believer's inheritance (2 Cor 1:22, 5:5; cf. Eph 1:14). See PW 5: 233–36; *Kl Pauly* (1979): 1492–93; *RAC* 3: 778–84.

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**DERBE** (PLACE) [Gk *Derbē* (Δερβη)]. An ancient city of Lycaonia located on the plateau of south central Anatolia (modern Turkey). Derbe was located along the main road which connected the chief city of the region Iconium (modern Konya) with Laranda. The city was located in the Lycaonian district of the Roman province of Galatia. Iconium was a Phrygian city but Derbe and the neighboring city of Lystra spoke a local dialect called Lycaonian (Acts 14:11). The name of the city may be derived from a word in the local tongue which means "juniper tree."

Derbe was the home of Gaius who accompanied Paul to Ephesus (Acts 19:29) and on his trip through Macedonia and Greece (Acts 20:4, *Derbaios*). Derbe was the most easterly point of the first missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas. Paul and Barnabas preached in Iconium and some of the leaders of the city planned to have them stoned. Paul and Barnabas, after hearing of the plot against them, fled to the Lycaonian cities of Lystra and Derbe. In Lystra, Paul healed a lame man and the people believed that he was the incarnation of Hermes and Barnabas that of Zeus. The crowd, after much persuasion, was convinced that Paul and Barnabas were only men. This same crowd was later incited by Jews from Antioch and Iconium to stone Paul and drag him outside the city walls, thinking that he was dead. Paul, however, did revive and the next day he and Barnabas departed for Derbe. Once in Derbe Paul and Barnabas preached the good news and many individuals were converted. Paul with Silas returned to Derbe on his second missionary journey (Acts 16:1) and Paul probably returned again at the beginning of his third missionary journey (Acts 18:23).

Little is known of the early history of the Derbe but it was undoubtedly hellenized after the Greeks took control of this region. The city later came under Roman control and was added to Cappadocia as the "eleventh *strategia*" (ca. 65 B.C.). Derbe was later seized by Antipater, a local ruler, who was called "the robber" by Strabo (11.535), but he was also a friend of Cicero (*Fam.* 13.73). Later the city came under the control of Amyntas the king of Galatia after he defeated Antipater. Derbe became a part of Roman Galatia upon the death of Amyntas in 25 B.C. During the 1st century A.D. the nearby city Laranda was under the control of Antiochus IV of Commagene. Derbe at this time gained a special title which indicated a special link to the Emperor Claudius, hence the title Claudio-Derbe. This appellation (*Clau[dia] Derb[e]*) is recorded on the coins of the city dating to the 2d century A.D.

The exact location of the city has long been debated. J. R. S. Sterrett in 1888 purposed that the area near Gudelisin was a probable location of Derbe due to its proximity to Lystra. Ramsey working from this information later affirmed that Gudelisin was the location of Derbe. This was the standard interpretation until two inscriptions were found which indicate that Kerti Huyuk, located nearly 30 miles E of Gudelisin, is the likely location of Derbe. The first inscription was found at the Kerti Huyuk in 1956 by Michael

Ballance. This inscription, dated to 157 A.D., is a dedication of the council and people of Derbe. The second inscription was carried by local inhabitants from Kerti Huyuk to the nearby village of Suduraya. This inscription, dated to the last part of the 4th century A.D., is found on the tombstone of Michael, a bishop of Derbe.

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**DESCENT TO THE UNDERWORLD.** In the ancient world, as in many other cultures, the realm of the dead was usually located in the underworld (Hades, Sheol, sometimes Gehenna) and a descent to the underworld was simply a way of visiting the dead. However, occasionally the dead were also located in other areas. An old alternative to the underworld placed the realm of the dead at the furthest extremity of the world in the west, where the sun goes down. Sometimes the righteous dead were placed in an earthly or heavenly paradise, whereas the underworld was reserved for the wicked dead. During the early centuries C.E., there was a tendency among pagans, Jews, and Christians to relocate even the place of postmortem punishment to the upper atmosphere or the lower heavens. Thus journeys to the world of the dead were not always descents. While this article will focus on descents, it will not be possible to avoid referring sometimes to other kinds of journeys to the world of the dead when they are closely related to descents to the underworld. The common descent to the underworld by all who die will not be discussed, but only cases of those who descend alive and return still alive, or who descend in death but escape death and return to life.

Descents to the underworld occur in the myths and traditions of many cultures and are often attributed to the gods and heroes of myths and legends. Attitudes to the loss of loved ones in death may find expression, for example, in stories of those who braved the terrors of the underworld in order to rescue a relative who had died. The cycle of the seasons may be represented in myths of gods who periodically descend to and return from the underworld. Myths of heavenly gods descending to the world ruled by the infernal deities may serve to emphasize the power of death which cannot be overcome or alternatively to define the limits of the power of death. Descents may also occur as unusual psychological experiences, in trance, vision, or temporary loss of consciousness, when the soul seems to leave the body and finds itself in the other world as described in the traditions of the culture. Such descents may be chance occurrences, or they may be deliberately cultivated and undertaken, as by the shamans of central Asia. Very often accounts of descents to the underworld, either attributed pseudonymously to great heroes or seers of the past, or else actually reported by those who have experienced visions and trances, serve as revelations of the secrets of death and the life to come, preparing their hearers or readers for the journey of death, or seeking to influence their lives by warning of the future rewards and punishments consequent on behavior in this life. Descents of all these kinds and more are found, to varying extents, in the various cultures of the biblical world. The following survey will show, by contrast, how remarkably lacking they are in the biblical literature itself, though the particular forms which descents to the underworld took in the environment of the biblical tradition will also illuminate particular biblical passages and phrases.

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A. Mesopotamia
B. Egypt
C. Syria and Palestine
D. Old Testament
E. Iran
F. Greece and Rome
G. Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic

H. Christ's Descent to Hades (New Testament)
I. Christ's Descent to Hades (Early Church)

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**A. Mesopotamia**

Several Sumerian myths include descents to the netherworld by divine or human beings, which are the oldest known examples of such stories. All make clear that a descent to the world of the dead is extremely perilous. The netherworld is "the land of no return," guarded by seven walls, each with a gate and a gatekeeper whose role is to allow only the dead to enter and to prevent anyone from leaving. To descend and to return to the land of the living is possible only on exceptional terms. Indeed (as the story of Inanna's descent will make clear) even a god cannot descend without dying.

In the myth of *Enlil and Ninlil,* the god Enlil is banished to the netherworld by the gods as punishment for his rape of Ninlil. Ninlil, who is pregnant with Enlil's child Nanna-Sin, the moon god, follows Enlil. Since the moon god belongs in the sky, Enlil does not want his child doomed to live in the netherworld. He adopts a remarkable stratagem to prevent this. As Ninlil leaves the city of Nippur and travels to the netherworld, Enlil disguises himself three times: first as the gatekeeper of Nippur, then as the gatekeeper of the netherworld, then as the ferryman who rows the dead across the river in the netherworld (the Sumerian equivalent of the Greek Charon). On each occasion he makes love to Ninlil and fathers a child. These three new offspring, who become three of the gods of the underworld, are exchanged for the moon god, who is thus free to take his place in heaven (see Cooper 1980). Enlil thus conforms to an inflexible rule of the netherworld: no one who enters can leave except by providing a substitute. (For a much later survival of this idea, see Lucian *Catapl.* 10.)

The same rule comes into play in the fullest account of a descent, that of the goddess Inanna, the morning star. This is known both in a Sumerian version and in a slightly different Akkadian version (the *Descent of Ishtar;* see Sladek 1974). The motive for Inanna's descent is not entirely clear, but it seems that not content with being the queen of heaven she suddenly felt the desire to rule also the lower world of which her sister Ereshkigal is queen. On a false pretext she gains admittance, but the process by which she passes each of the seven gates is in fact the process of death. At each she is made to relinquish items of her jewelry and clothing, until when she enters the presence of Ereshkigal and the Anunnaki, the seven judges of the dead, she is naked, as the dead are when they reach the netherworld. There she is condemned, killed, and hung up as a decaying corpse. However, Inanna had given instructions to Ninshubur her servant to appeal to the gods on her behalf if she did not return. Only Enki is willing to help. He fashions two strange creatures who slip unnoticed into the netherworld, ingratiate themselves with Ereshkigal, and are able to use the water of life and the grass of life they have brought with them to revive Inanna. However, Inanna may leave only on the condition that she find a substitute. Accompanied by a troop of terrible demons she ascends to earth and seeks a substitute. Eventually she comes to her consort, the young shepherd Dumuzi. Enraged by the fact that he is not mourning for her, she allows the demons to seize him. He temporarily escapes, his sister Geshtinanna comes to his aid, and Inanna consents to an arrangement whereby Dumuzi's fate is to be shared with his sister: each year he will spend half the year in the netherworld and Geshtinanna the other half of the year. This conclusion (cf. the Greek myths of Persephone and Adonis) makes it certain that the myth has some connection with the cycle of the seasons. In fact, the theme of the disappearance and renewal of fertility is more obvious in the Akkadian version, in which Ishtar's rescue is prompted by the concern of the gods about the infertility of the earth which has resulted from her descent and death. But Jabobsen's highly ingenious and detailed explanations of such myths in terms of the events of the agricultural year (1976: 62–63) are debated (cf. Kirk 1970: 88–118).

A Sumerian story of a hero's unsuccessful descent to the netherworld is told in *Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld* (Shaffer 1963). (An Akkadian version of this story also forms tablet 12 of the Gilgamesh Epic. When a chasm opens in the ground and two treasured objects belonging to Gilgamesh drop into the netherworld, his friend Enkidu offers to retrieve them. Gilgamesh gives him careful instructions on how to behave in the netherworld so as not to attract attention to himself. Enkidu fails to follow the

instructions and is held there, as dead. Gilgamesh appeals to the gods but the most they can do for him is to enable Enkidu's ghost to ascend temporarily to speak with Gilgamesh. Enkidu tells Gilgamesh about life in the netherworld: how his own corpse is decaying there, and how various categories of the dead fare better than others. The account is of great interest as the earliest instance of a description of the state of the dead given by someone who had been to the underworld and had returned.

The Akkadian *Epic of Gilgamesh* (*ANET*, 72–99, 503–7), whose account of Enkidu's death is different, recounts a dream which Enkidu had when his death was near (7.4.11–55). It seems to be a premonition of his approaching death. A fierce psychopomp seizes him and leads him down to the "house of darkness," where he sees the kings of old. The text breaks off at the point where Ereshkigal asks, "Who has brought this man here?" Possibly, as in stories in Greek and Roman literature (see F. below), the story continued by disclosing that Enkidu had been brought to the netherworld too soon, so that he had to be sent back, though with the knowledge that his real death was fast approaching.

An Akkadian text from the 7th century B.C.E. (*ANET*, 109–10) tells another story of a visit to the netherworld in a dream by a living human being. An Assyrian crown prince called Kummâ (perhaps Assurbanipal: Bottéro 1987: 68) prays to Ereshkigal and Nergal, the rulers of the netherworld, to be allowed to see the netherworld. His prayer is answered in a dream in which he describes the terrifying appearance of the various guardians and gods of the netherworld. Like the dead, he is arraigned before Nergal and the Anunnaki. He is spared death at the hands of Nergal only so that when he returns to the upper world, he may persuade his father to follow the will of the gods of the netherworld.

**B. Egypt**

The myth of Osiris cannot be included here, since his resurrection does not mean his return to the world of the living: he remains in the realm of the dead, as its ruler. More properly a myth of descent and return is that of the sun god Re, who every evening, after traveling in his boat across the sky, descends to the world of the dead through an entrance in the far west, and during the night passes through the underworld before ascending into the sky again every morning. The *Book of What Is in the Other World (Am-Tuat)* and the *Book of Gates* describe in detail Re's passage through the world of the dead during the twelve hours of night (Budge 1906).

Two stories of human beings visiting the world of the dead are known. One is reported by Herodotus (2.122), who says that King Rhampsinitus (Ramses III) descended alive into the realm of the dead, where he played dice (probably checkers) with Demeter (i.e., Isis) and returned to earth with a golden napkin she had given him. He describes an annual ritual supposed to commemorate the event.

The other story is that of Setne and his son Si-Osire (*AEL* 3: 138–51). The story is extant in a Demotic text written probably in the second half of the 1st century C.E., but, since Setne Khamwas was high priest of Memphis ca. 1250 B.C.E., it is likely to be based on an older Egyptian tale. An Egyptian in the realm of the dead was allowed to return to earth in order to deal with a Nubian magician who was proving too powerful for the magicians of Egypt. He was reincarnated as the miraculous child of a childless couple, Setne and his wife, and called Si-Osire. When he reached the age of 12 he vanquished the Nubian magician and returned to the netherworld. But before this there was an occasion when father and son observed two funerals, one of a rich man buried in sumptuous clothing and with much mourning, the other of a poor man buried without ceremony or mourning. The father declared he would rather have the lot of the rich man than that of the pauper, but his son expressed the wish that his father's fate in the netherworld would be the opposite, that of the pauper rather than that of the rich man. In order to justify his wish and demonstrate the reversal of fortunes in the afterlife, he took his father on a tour of the seven halls of the underworld. The account of the first three halls is lost. In the fourth and fifth halls the dead were being punished. In the fifth hall was the rich man, with the pivot of the door of the hall fixed in his eye. In the sixth hall were gods and attendants, in the seventh a scene of judgment before Osiris. The pauper was to be seen, elevated to high rank, near Osiris. Si-Osire explained to his father what they saw, and the fate of the three classes of the dead: those whose good deeds outnumber their bad deeds (like the pauper), those whose bad deeds outnumber their good deeds (like the rich man), and those whose good and bad deeds are equal. (For the coherence of the account with ancient Egyptian concepts, see Zandee

1960: 297–302.) The story is of special importance, both because it is an example of the genre of conducted tours of the underworld (also to be found in Greek, Jewish, and Christian literature) and because it passed into Jewish religious folklore (see section G.) and has been claimed as the original of the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31).

**C. Syria and Palestine**

Among the mythological texts from Ugarit, the Baal cycle includes a notable divine descent to the netherworld (*ANET*, 138–42). After his victory over Yam, the god of the waters of chaos, Baal, who was at the summit of his power, saw signs that the power of Mot, the god of death, was encroaching on his rule. So he sent messengers to Mot in the netherworld to demand his submission to Baal's power, but Mot's reply was to summon Baal to admit defeat and come down to him in the netherworld. Baal sent a message of capitulation ("I am your slave") and then descended to the netherworld (i.e., he died). His sister Anat found his body and buried it on the summit of Mt. Zaphon. Then, driven by her love for her brother, she sought out Mot in the netherworld and vanquished him. Baal revived, returned, and resumed his rule. But seven years later Mot again challenged Baal and they engaged in a fierce battle. The outcome is not preserved: presumably Baal won a decisive victory over Mot. If so, the descent of Baal differs significantly in its final outcome from that of Inanna. Both are first obliged to submit to the power of the netherworld in dying and then escape the power of death with the help of other gods. But whereas in the myth of Inanna's descent the power of death remains intact, in that of Baal it is eventually subjected to Baal's power.

The Ugaritic myth has commonly been connected with the annual cycle of the seasons, and there are elements of the text which suggest this. Baal, the storm god who brings clouds and rain and therefore fertility, would descend to the netherworld at the end of spring, when the scorching heat of summer begins, and return to life in the autumn, bringing the autumn rains and plenty after the summer drought. However, the final battle with Mot in the 7th year is hard to explain in this way, and may indicate that the agrarian elements have been subsumed into a larger mythical design. Xella (1987) sees the myth as expressing the eternal dialectic between life and death. Baal defends the cosmic order against the power of death, not abolishing it but forcing it to observe limits. Mot's attempt at unlimited power—killing gods and threatening the extinction of humanity—is foiled, and death becomes a power subdued and kept in its place by Baal. Xella's further supposition that Baal's resurrection includes representatively some kind of transcendence of death by the great ancestors of the people seems more speculative.

Tammuz, for whom the women of Jerusalem in the 6th century B.C.E. observed a ceremony of mourning (Ezek 8:14), was the Sumerian Dumuzi (see section A.). There is much later evidence about his cult in Phoenicia and Syria, centered at Byblos (Gebal) in Hellenistic times, when he was also called in Greek Adonis. But since this Syrian cult of Tammuz was the intermediary between Mesopotamia and the Greek cult of Adonis, well established in Greece by 600 B.C.E., it must have flourished already in OT times, while the myths of Dumuzi (section A. above) and Adonis (section F. below) are sufficiently similar to show that some such myth about Tammuz, descending to and returning from the netherworld annually, must have been current in Syria and Palestine.

**D. Old Testament**

A. Cooper (1983) argues that Ps 24:7–10 is a fragment of a descent myth in which a high god (now identified with Yahweh) descends to the netherworld to confront the powers of death. The verses describe either the divine warrior's entry into the netherworld to combat death or his victorious emergence from the netherworld after subduing death. The doors are the gates of the netherworld, barred against God's entry or exit. The gatekeepers, commanded to open, challenge him for his identity. This is an attractive interpretation (especially as it would make the early Christian interpretation of these verses with reference to the descent of Christ to Hades a reactivation of their original mythical sense), but unfortunately there are no extant parallels to such a fragment of myth. Baal's entry into the netherworld (section C. above) is not triumphant, but a submission to death. In the fragmentary narrative no account of his subsequent reemergence from the netherworld is preserved, and we cannot tell whether his final conflict with Mot involved a descent.

Ancient Israel shared the conviction of the Mesopotamian peoples that "he who goes down to Sheol [the underworld] does not come up" (Job 7:9; cf. 10:21; 16:22; 2 Sam 12:23). No exceptions were known: there is no OT instance of a true descent to and return from the underworld by a living human being, though there is one case of someone being summoned from Sheol by necromancy (1 Sam 28:3–25; this practice was rejected by the law and the prophets, Lev 19:31; Deut 18:10–12; Isa 8:19; 65:2–4). However, in the OT the *idea* of descending to Sheol and returning alive to the land of the living does occur as a way of describing the experience of coming very close to death and escaping. When the psalmists feel themselves to be so close to death as to be virtually certain of dying they speak of themselves as already at the gates of the underworld (Ps 107:18; Isa 38:10; cf. *3 Maccabees* 5:51; *Pss. Sol.* 16:2) or even already in the depths of the underworld (Ps 88:6). They have already made the descent to the world of the dead and only Yahweh's intervention brings them up again (Pss 9:13; 30:3; 86:13; Isa 38:17; cf. Sir 51:5). The picture of descent and return is more than a poetic fancy. For the psalmists to be already in the region of death means that they are in death's power. The experience of Yahweh's power to deliver them was a step toward the belief that his sovereignty over the world of the dead would in the future be asserted in bringing the dead back to the world of the living in eschatological resurrection. The assertion that Yahweh "kills and makes alive" (Deut 32:39; 1 Sam 2:6; 2 Kgs 5:7; cf. *4 Maccabees* 18:18–19), later found in the form, "he leads down to Hades and brings up again" (Tob 13:2; Wis 16:13), originally referred to the kind of experience the psalmists expressed but became the basis of the later Jewish confession of faith in "the God who makes the dead alive" (*Ascen. Jos.* 20:7; Rom 4:17; 2 Cor 1:9; *Eighteen Benedictions*).

Jonah 2:2–9 is a psalm of thanksgiving for deliverance from death by drowning, which uses the kind of language just discussed in a specially strong form: "I went down to the land [Sheol] whose bars closed upon me for ever; yet thou didst bring up my life from the Pit" (2:6). It has been appropriately incorporated by the author of the book of Jonah, who wished to represent Jonah's miraculous escape from drowning as his rescue by God from the world of the dead itself. Jonah's descent into the sea was a descent to the depths of the underworld, and the great fish was the means by which God delivered him from Sheol and brought him back to dry land. That the fish does not itself represent Sheol but the means of ascent from Sheol is shown by the reference to "three days and three nights" (1:17). The use of this phrase in the *Descent of Inanna* (see section A.) shows that it was the time it took to travel from the earth to the underworld. In Jonah's case it was the time the fish took to bring him back from Sheol to the world of the living (Landes 1967a; 1967b). In later Jewish interpretation, however, the belly of the fish came to be seen as representing the belly of Sheol from which God delivered Jonah (Jonah 2:1–2, 7–8 LXX; *3 Maccabees 6:8*; Matt 12:40).

**E. Iran**

Three visits by living human beings to the world of the dead are known from the Zoroastrian tradition: the legend of a visit to paradise by Zoroaster's royal patron Vištāsp, the long and detailed vision in the *Ardā Virāz Nāmag,* and the journey of Kirdīr (Skjaervø 1983). The last is of great importance, since it is related in an account by the high priest Kirdīr himself (3d century C.E.) in two inscriptions from Iran. It is therefore a historical event, which took place in the reign of the Sassanid king Shapur I (ca. 240–70 C.E.).

Kirdīr relates how he prayed for a vision of the other world, as a special favor from the gods in reward for his outstanding piety and religious service, and in order to increase his confidence in Zoroastrian teaching about the afterlife. He also expresses the wish that his account of it should aid its readers' belief in heaven and hell, so that the vision has in fact the function of a revelation of the fate of the dead, confirming the revelation given in Zoroastrian traditions. The vision itself is not narrated by Kirdīr in the first person; rather he reports the way it was narrated by a group of people (designated in the text by an unknown word) who were presumably visionaries who went into a trance after the performance of a ritual, and told Kirdīr what they were seeing as they experienced it (for this interpretation of the text, see Skjaervø 1983: 294). The visionaries themselves travel through the other world and as they do they see a man who looks like Kirdīr (his soul) following the route which the souls of the dead take. Most of the account (some of which is fragmentary) conforms closely to the traditional Zoroastrian features of the world of the dead: a beautiful woman (who is Kirdīr's *daēna*, a personification of his conscience) comes

to meet him and they travel together on a luminous road towards the east; they pause before a judge with scales to weigh the sins and merits of the dead; they come to the bottomless pit of hell, full of reptiles, and must cross it on the perilously narrow bridge (called Činwad in other sources) which widens for them; they then ascend to a succession of palaces in paradise.

The account of the vision of *Ardā Virāz*, though the pseudo-historical introduction to it seems to date it at about the same time as Kirdīr's vision (see Vahman 1986: 227–28, but cf. 233), only reached the written form in which we have it much later, in the 10th or 11th century C.E. It has no doubt been through a number of redactions (Gignoux 1984b: 14–17), but whether it has a historical core, originally preserved in oral tradition, is very uncertain. Besides the traditional Zoroastrian features, such as the bridge Činwad, the bulk of the text describes in detail the many different punishments suffered in hell by specific classes of sinners. Both the general concept and some of the specific details (such as those punishments in which people are suspended by some part of their body) of the punishments in hell are paralleled in the Jewish and Christian apocalyptic tradition of descriptions of hell (see section G. below). The direction of dependence has been disputed, but the presence of motifs which are also paralleled in ancient Greek accounts of Hades (Tardieu 1985) makes it fairly certain that the *Ardā Virāz Nāmag* is indebted to the Judeo-Christian apocalyptic tradition, which has mediated to it features borrowed from the Greek Hades. Thus the distinctively Zoroastrian features of the other world in *Ardā Virāz Nāmag* have been augmented, probably at a relatively late date, by borrowings from other traditions.

However, there are features which link *Ardā Virāz Nāmag* with Kirdīr's account. The magi seek a vision of the other world for propaganda purposes: in order to verify Zoroastrian teaching and the efficacy of the cult with regard to the fate of souls after death (on this feature in all three accounts, see Gignoux 1974). Virāz is selected for his outstanding piety and righteousness, just as Kirdīr attributes his vision to his exceptional worthiness. Ritual preparations precede his trance, which he experiences in the presence of others. However, unlike Kirdīr he experiences the journey to the other world himself and unlike Kirdīr's visionaries he does not narrate it while experiencing it, but only when he returns after seven days of apparent sleep. This apparent sleep is a feature which is shared with the legend of Vištāsp's visit to paradise, as is the drink of wine mixed with henbane—presumably a drug to induce trance—which is given to both before their experiences.

Gignoux (1979, 1981) detects an ancient Iranian tradition of shamanistic experience (for shamanism, see section F. below) in the three features preserved as a literary tradition in the later sources: a drug conducive to ecstatic experience, the state of apparent death, and the journey to the other world. It is unfortunate for this argument that in the earliest account (the Journey of Kirdīr), the drug is not mentioned and the state of the visionaries is certainly not one of death since they are depicted as speaking. However, it is possible that the accounts do reflect, very remotely, the experiences of an early period. Lucian's satirical account (from the 2d century C.E.) of a Babylonian magus who conducted Menippus to Hades (see section F. below) suggests that Kirdīr's experience, though exceptional by his own account, was not unique among the Zoroastrian magi. Menippus had been told that Zoroaster's disciples, the magi, "by means of certain incantations and initiation rites could open the gates of Hades, take down anyone they wished in safety and afterwards bring him back again" (*Menippus* 6).

**F. Greece and Rome**

Many descents to the underworld were known in the classical Greek and Hellenistic cultures (a fairly exhaustive listing can be found in PW, 2395–448). A number of different influences and concerns are needed to account for them, but two particular kinds of origin may be mentioned at the outset. One is the mythical representation of the cycle of nature as a descent to and return from the underworld. This appears in the myth of Demeter and Persephone, on which the Eleusinian mysteries were based, and which it is difficult not to suppose was connected with the cycle of the seasons in its origin (but cf. Burkert 1979: 138). At any rate the connection is clear in the earliest extant source, the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (7th or early 6th century B.C.E.). Persephone was gathering flowers when the earth opened and the god Hades carried her off to the underworld. When her mother Demeter, after searching for her, discovered the truth, she wandered the earth disguised as an old woman and came to Eleusis. Eventually

she brought about a famine which threatened to put an end to humanity and to their sacrifices to the gods. Zeus succeeded in pacifying her by sending Hermes to persuade Hades to let Persephone return to her mother. The resulting compromise was that Persephone was to spend two thirds of each year with her mother on Olympus and one third with her husband Hades as queen of the underworld. When Demeter consented to this arrangement, she made life return to the fields. She also taught her secret rites to the princes of Eleusis. This was the myth that was somehow enacted in the ceremonies of the Eleusinian mysteries, but again the *Hymn to Demeter* already makes clear that in these the theme of the renewal of the fruitfulness of the natural world was linked with the promise of a blessed afterlife in the underworld. Although the annual descent and return of Persephone is unmistakably parallel to that of Dumuzi in the Sumerian myth, the Greek myth, unlike the Sumerian, acquired a significance for personal fate. However, precisely how the assurance to initiates that they would be happy in Hades after death was linked to the myth and to the secret rites of the mysteries remains obscure.

Not only parallel to but actually derived from the cult and the myth of Dumuzi was the Greek cult and myth of Adonis, though as the name itself indicates (= Semitic *adonî*, "my lord") the Greek Adonis was more immediately the Tammuz of Phoenicia, Syria, and Cyprus. As Dumuzi was linked with Inanna and Tammuz with Astarte, so Adonis was linked with Aphrodite. The old form of the Greek myth seems to have been that Adonis as a child was so beautiful that Aphrodite hid him in a coffin and gave him to Persephone. Later, when she wanted him back, Persephone, who also loved him, refused. The deal, arbitrated by Zeus, was that Adonis was to belong for one third of the year to Aphrodite, one third to Persephone, and one third to himself. He added his own share to Aphrodite's and so spends two thirds of the year on Olympus and one third in the underworld. More popular than the odd form of Adonis' death in this version was the story that he died from a wound by a wild boar when hunting. A later version, attested only by Christian authors, has Aphrodite herself go down to Hades to ask Persephone to give Adonis back. It is doubtful whether in Greece the Adonis myth retained any agrarian association, while the festival in July at which Adonis' death was mourned by women seems to have put no particular emphasis on his return from the underworld.

Secondly, a number of scholars have argued for a decisive influence of "shamanism" on certain Greek religious traditions. Shamanism is a type of religious practice characteristic of the central Asian tribes, but also found in many other societies. The shaman is an ecstatic whose soul leaves his body and goes on journeys, including journeys to the underworld. His ritual initiation typically involves a ritual death and rebirth experienced as a descent to the underworld. He may also travel to the underworld to conduct the soul of a dead person there or to encounter the dead and other supernatural beings. Since the shaman also enjoys a privileged relationship with animals and the natural world, Orpheus, to whose music the whole natural world responded and who visited Hades to rescue his wife, seems an obviously shamanistic figure. Moreover Orpheus came from Thrace, where the shamanistic practices of central Asia most likely penetrated (West 1983: 4–7). Certainly shamanism seems to illuminate the story of Orpheus better than the theory that this myth represents the cycle of the seasons, for which there is no evidence. Shamanistic features have also been seen in the figures of Heracles (Burkert 1979: 78–98) and Odysseus, while Pythagoras, who also visited Hades, can be seen as a historical Greek shaman (Burkert 1972: 162–63).

Many of the descents (*katabaseis*) in Greek mythology are for the purpose of rescuing from death someone who has recently died. The classic instance is Orpheus' rescue of Euridyce (in some versions of the story successful, in others not: see Linforth 1941: 16–21; Lee 1965). Theseus and Pirithous descended to bring Persephone back from Hades, but were unsuccessful. They themselves (or in one version of the story, only Theseus) were later rescued by Heracles (who had not descended for this purpose, but in order to bring up the hound of Hades, Cerberus). On another occasion Heracles descended to Hades in order to rescue Alcestis, the wife of his friend Admetus. Dionysus descended to bring back his mortal mother Semele.

A different motive is represented in the story of Heracles' descent to capture and bring to earth the dog Cerberus: this was the last of the twelve heroic exploits he was obliged to perform at the command of Eurystheus. A rather similar instance occurs in the story of Cupid and Psyche (Apul. *Met.* 4.28–6.24).

One of the tasks imposed on Psyche by Aphrodite was to descend to Hades and to ask Persephone to fill a box with beauty for Aphrodite (6.16–21).

Such motives apply only to the gods and heroes of myth. But the desire to obtain oracular advice from the dead was a motive in the myths which could also be shared and followed by ordinary humans. Odysseus, in the best known of all the literary accounts of journeys to Hades, went there to consult the famous dead seer Teiresias, who gave him prophetic advice about his future. (Compare Saul's similar motive for consulting the dead Samuel: 1 Sam 28:6–25. The story is comparable to the extent that Odysseus not only traveled to Hades, but also employed a necromantic ritual to summon the spirits of the dead.) Virgil later imitated Odysseus' motive when he made Aeneas visit Hades in order to consult his father Anchises, who prophesies the future history of Rome (*Aen.* 6). It was also imitated by Lucian in his satirical dialogue *Menippus* (probably based on the *Nekyia* of the Cynic philosopher Menippus), in which Menippus visits Teiresias in Hades to seek advice on the best form of life. In Lucian's account Menippus returns to earth by way of the famous oracular shrine of Trophonius at Lebadea in Beotia, where visitors were able to make a ritual descent to the underworld to consult the hero Trophonius (probably originally a chthonic deity). After ritual preparations, the inquirer descended a narrow shaft, feet first like the dead, into an underground cave (sometimes called the *katabasion*), where he might spend several days and where Trophonius would appear to him (Paus. 9.39; Lucian *Dial. Mort.* 3).

Another reason why the living might attempt, through trance or dream, a journey to the underworld is suggested by the legend of Leonymus of Athens (Paus. 3.19.11–13), who was wounded in battle and, seeking a means of recovery, was advised by the Delphic oracle to go to the White Isle (Elysium: see Burkert 1972: 152–53; Edwards 1985; Culianu 1983: 38–39). Another motive is uniquely attested in a fragment of a poetic account of a descent to Hades, undertaken by a man who blames his dead wife or mistress for his ruin and seeks her out among the dead in order to upbraid her (Page 1941: 416–21). While such references suggest the availability of magical and ritual means of descent for various purposes, the most important function of such descents was in initiation into the mysteries (see below).

The means of descent to Hades differ. The Greeks knew numerous places which in local tradition were supposed to be entrances to the underworld: springs, rivers, lakes, caves, chasms, and volcanos (lists in PW, 2379–87). These places were used by the gods and heroes of the myths to gain access to the underworld. Heracles, for example, descended by way of Taenarum and ascended by way of Trozen. Such descents, however, encountered the obstacles which normally only the dead could pass. There was the dog Cerberus (variously supposed to have two, three, or fifty heads) who guarded the gate of Hades, the Acherusian lake (or, later, the river Styx), across which the ferryman Charon would willingly row only the dead (Virgil *Aen.* 392–93), and other monsters beyond. Heracles was conducted to Hades by Athene and Hermes (the latter the psychopomp who led down the souls of the dead); Orpheus charmed the guardians and the rulers of Hades with his music; Aeneas bore the golden bow as his passport and tribute to Persephone; Lucian's Menippus dressed up as Heracles, Orpheus, and Theseus at once, in order to fool Charon and the guards; Apuleius's Psyche managed to get through with only the usual fare for Charon and sops of bread to throw to Cerberus. But in normal circumstances a living person could not for a moment expect to make the journey before death (Eur. *Alc.* 357–64).

But since the obvious way to reach Hades was to die (cf. Heracles' advice to Dionysus in Ar., *Frogs* 120–35), it was also possible to visit Hades and return during a temporary experience of death. Stories were told of people who had been dead or at least taken for dead but revived after a few days and recounted their experiences in the world of the dead. Such stories correspond to the very frequent modern testimonies of people who have "died" and been resuscitated and report visionary experiences of reaching the threshold of the next life before being sent back. So, although most of the stories we have from antiquity belong to a literary tradition, it is likely that the literary tradition had its origins in stories actually told by people who had had near-death experiences. The earliest example, and a model for others, is already a conscious literary creation: Plato's story of Er the Pamphylian (*Resp.* 10.614B–621B), who was killed in battle, but several days later revived on his funeral pyre and recounted what he had seen as a disembodied spirit in the realm of the dead before being returned to his body. The no longer extant *Peri*

*physeōs*, one of the Greek works supposed to have been written by Zoroaster, actually identifies Zoroaster with Plato's Er (like Er, he is described as "the son of Harmonius, the Pamphylian"; cf. also Arnobius *Adv. Gent.* 1.52) and began with an account of how Zoroaster visited Hades between death and resuscitation (Bidez and Cumont 1938: 112–13; but cf. Bolton 1962: 159, 203 n. 26). Plutarch (*De sera* 22–33) tells a similar story of Thespesius, who became unconscious and was taken for dead but revived on the third day: the story is no doubt modeled on Plato's, for the same purpose of depicting the author's view of the fate of souls in a myth.

Other accounts of temporary death probably bring us closer to popular storytelling. Aristotle's disciple Clearchus of Soli (fr. 8) told of Cleonymus, an Athenian, who revived from apparent death and reported that he had seen the rivers of Hades and souls being judged and punished and purified. He also met another temporary visitor to Hades and the two agreed to try to get in touch when they returned to earth. The same motif appears in Cornelius Labeo's story of two men who died on the same day, met each other at a crossroads (the crossroads in Hades: cf. Plato *Grg.* 524A), were commanded to return, and resolved to live as friends thereafter (August. *De civ. D.* 22.28). The soldier Gabienus, while dying from his wounds, was able to bring a prophetic message (which turned out to be misleading) from the gods of the underworld before he expired (Pliny *HN* 7.178).

Pliny reports from Varro the story of the two brothers Cerfidius, of whom one, taken for dead, returned from Hades with news of the other brother whom he had met in Hades and was then found to be dead (Pliny *HN* 7.177). Evidently the wrong brother had initially been taken to Hades. This motif of mistaken identity (found also in Hindu and Chinese folklore) occurs also in Plutarch's story of Antyllus (*apud* Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 11.36) and later in stories reported by Gregory the Great (*Dial.* 4.36). Lucian parodied it in the character of Cleomenes (*Philops.* 25) who claims that he went to Hades temporarily during an illness because his psychopomp came to fetch him by mistake. He was sent back when Pluto declared he was not to die yet, whereas the man who was due to die was Demylus the coppersmith who lived next door to Cleodemus. As usually in these stories, Cleodemus authenticates his tale by reporting that Demylus did in fact die not long after Cleodemus had brought the news from Hades. The fact that Cleodemus also mentions seeing the well-known sights of Hades indicates again that such stories were often the framework for descriptions of Hades, especially its punishments. Plato and his successors were probably making their own use of a less sophisticated tradition of such stories, which was to continue in Christian use (*Acts Thom.* 51–59; Gregory *Dial.* 4.31, 36; Bede *Hist. Eccl.* 5.12; *Preaching of Andrew* [Lewis 1904: 7–8; Budge 1935: 147–48]; *History of the Contending of St Paul* 13 [Budge 1935: 552–54]).

A variant on the theme of temporary death is that of the recently dead person temporarily recalled by necromancy. Lucan (*Pharsalia* 6.569–830) relates in fascinating detail how the Thessalian witch Erichtho recalled the soul of one of Pompey's soldiers only recently dead and still on the journey to Hades. Though he is reluctant to return, she obliges him to reenter his body. He tells what he has seen and prophesies the future before the witch allows him finally to die.

For those who wished to visit Hades without dying, dreams, visions, and trances were the available means. Pindar (fr. 116/131) apparently considers that the future life in Hades is frequently revealed in dreams, since the occult power of the soul is released while the body sleeps (cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 8.7.21). Perhaps it was in dreams that some of those who were initiated in the mysteries experienced the underworld (see below). Empedotimus, a fictional philosopher-seer in a lost work of Plato's disciple Heraclides Ponticus, "saw the truth about the fate of souls as if witnessing a drama" in a vision of Pluto and Persephone (Bolton 1962: 151–53), though Heraclides (like Plutarch and others later) located Hades in the air. The possibility of seeing Hades in a vision without even descending into it is parodied by Lucian in the character of Eucrates, who claims to have seen everything in Hades through a chasm in the earth (*Philops.* 22–24; cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 8.243–46).

A close equivalent to the experience of temporary death through illness could be had in the form of cataleptic trance, in which the subject appears to be dead and in which therefore the soul could be thought to experience places distant from the body. Catalepsy for the purpose of shamanistic experience seems to have been cultivated in Greece (Bolton 1962: 139–41, 148–49, 153–56; Culianu 1983: 37–39). One way

in which it could be achieved seems to be suggested by the demonstration of hypnotism which allegedly convinced Aristotle that the soul could separate from the body (reported by his disciple Clearchus of Soli fr. 7; see Lewy 1938). The magician guided the soul from the body with a wand, leaving the body as insensitive as a corpse, and when the soul returned to the body it reported all it had seen. It was surely a cataleptic trance that Timarchus in Plutarch's story (*De gen.* 21–22) experienced in the cave of Trophonius: unsure whether he was awake or dreaming, his soul left his body and traveled above the earth to a position from which he was able to look down on Hades. Since Timarchus was unconscious for two days, this was not the incubation and dreaming associated with other oracles. Clark (1968) suggests that visitors to the cave of Trophonius may have been given a hallucinatory drug.

When Lucian's Menippus wished to visit Hades he traveled to Babylon to consult the Chaldean magus Mithrobarzanes, who put him through an elaborate ritual preparation lasting a month, including ritual purifications and spells to protect him from the dangers of the journey, before conducting him to Hades by boat and copying Odysseus' necromantic ritual (*Menippus* 6–9). Behind Lucian's somewhat tongue-in-cheek account must lie the practice of ritual and magical means of visiting the dead. It also indicates that by the 2d century C.E., the Chaldean magi had a reputation in the Roman world as shamanistic psychopomps for living visitors to the other world. The firsthand account of the magus Kirdīr, a century later (see section E above), gives some clues as to how it was done.

Of the famous mythical descents there were numerous literary accounts, not many of which have survived. That of Odysseus in book 11 of the *Odyssey* is not, in the strict sense, a *descent* (but cf. 11.475), since Odysseus reaches the environs of Hades by sailing to the edge of the world, beyond the river Oceanus. There he conjures the spirits of the dead by a necromantic ritual. Only at the end of the account, in a passage which has often been thought a later addition (11.565–627), does Odysseus seem, without explanation, to view the sights within "the house of Hades": Minos sitting in judgment and several of the famous dead engaging in the activities which occupy them in the realm of the dead. Whatever the origin of this passage, it is notable that more than the rest of the account, it resembles the genre of other accounts of visits to Hades, in relating, one after another, the sights which the visitor saw and, in particular, specific types of punishments taking place. Most of Homer's dead are neither happy nor suffering punishment, but the exceptional cases of Tityos, Tantalus, and Sisyphus (11.576–600) point the way that other influential accounts would follow.

Besides the *Odyssey*, two other old epic poems, now lost, included journeys to Hades: the *Minyas* seems to have recounted the descent of Theseus and Pirithous (Paus. 10.28.2), while the *Nostoi* (on the return of the heroes from Troy) included a *nekyia* whose subject is unknown (Paus. 10.28.7). A lost poem of Hesiod also described the descent of Theseus and Pirithous (Paus. 9.31.5). There was probably an old epic poem on the descent of Heracles to seize Cerberus. Aristophanes' comedy *The Frogs* (only one of many Greek dramas which portrayed a descent to Hades) recounts a descent of Dionysus, who explicitly follows the example of Heracles, and seems to be a parody of a well-known account of the descent of Heracles. A poem, perhaps by Pindar, on this theme survives in fragments (see Lloyd-Jones 1967). There was a *Descent to Hades* attributed to Orpheus (Kern 1922: 304–6), in which presumably he described in the first person his own descent to rescue Eurydice and what he saw in the underworld. This may have been only one of several accounts of Orpheus' descent, which seems to have been important for various mystery cults. One reference to a description by Orpheus of the descent of Heracles (Kern 1922: no. 296) may indicate that there was a *Descent of Heracles* ascribed to Orpheus, but may only mean that Heracles' earlier descent was mentioned in Orpheus' account of his own descent. It is noteworthy that in the 2d century C.E., Lucian's *Menippus* (8) takes it for granted that Heracles, Orpheus, and Odysseus were the three heroes whose descents to Hades were known.

These descents probably provided Greeks of the classical period and later with much of their information about the world of the dead. The accounts of the blessedness of the happy dead in Pindar and the accounts of the underworld, its geography, and the fate of the dead in Plato's dialogues (*Phd.* 112A–14C; *Grg.* 523A–526D; *Resp.* 614B–621D) and in the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus* (371 ff.) may well derive in large part from them. So did the famous painting of Hades by Polygnotus at Delphi, which Pausanias

describes in detail (10.28–31). Although it depicts the descent of Odysseus, many of its details must derive from other accounts. The lost descents have probably also left their mark on later versions modeled on them. Lucian's satirical work *Menippus*, an account of Menippus' visit to the underworld, *Vera Historia* which includes a visit to the islands of the dead beyond the ocean, and *Cataplus*, which describes the journey of the dead to Hades and their judgment (cf. also *Philops.* 22–25), are probably parodic imitations of the manner and content of the great mythical descents to which he alludes in the *Menippus*, as well as perhaps making fun of those claimed for historical persons such as Pythagoras. The sources of book 6 of Virgil's *Aeneid* have been much debated and cannot be reconstructed with any certainty, but they probably included descents of Orpheus and Heracles. Certainly Virgil was consciously writing in the already ancient and well-known genre of descents to Hades and took not only Odysseus as the model for Aeneas in his descent. A papyrus of probably the 3d or 4th century C.E. contains a very fragmentary text of a *katabasis* which described both various categories of sinners undergoing punishment and the state of the blessed dead. Some close parallels with Virgil's account have been observed in it (see Turcan 1956 and Schilling 1982).

Such literary accounts of descents to Hades functioned as *revelations* of the world of the dead. It is important to distinguish between the motives of the heroes themselves in the stories and the function of the literary accounts. Orpheus and Odysseus did not go to Hades in order to see it (though Arnobius *Adv. Gent.* 5.28 does attribute this motive to Heracles, probably reflecting a literary account in which the motive of the writer and the readers was attributed to the hero). But accounts of their descents were able to describe what they saw in Hades and so could function for their readers as apocalypses—revelations of the geography of Hades, its monsters and rulers, the journey the dead will have to take to reach it and the judgment they will face when they arrive, and especially the fate of the various classes of the dead. This function became more explicit when the role of the guide who conducts the visitor to Hades is no longer simply to show the way, as Hermes presumably did for Heracles, but also to explain what the visitor sees in Hades, as the Sibyl does for Aeneas in *Aeneid* 6 (see also the role of guides in Plutarch, *De gen.* 22; *De sera* 27–30). If *Odyssey* 11.565–627 already forms a little apocalyptic revelation of Hades, *Aeneid* book 6 is the fullest such revelation which survives. It must reflect the apocalyptic form and function of older accounts. The revelatory function of descents to Hades was also exploited by Plato and Plutarch, who used the genre to express in mythical form their own understandings of the fate of the soul (*Resp.* 10.614B–621B; Plutarch *De sera* 22–33; *De gen.* 21–22).

What the tradition of descents to Hades seems especially to have revealed is the fate of souls after death. The old Homeric view was that the existence of the dead is undifferentiated: all share the same joyless gloom. The exceptions—on the one hand, Tantalus, Tityos, and Sisyphus, who are punished eternally for their crimes against the gods, and on the other hand, a very few heroes of divine descent, like Menelaus, who are exempted from the common lot and dwell in blessedness in Elysium—are exceptions that prove the rule. But the descents to Hades, so far as we can tell, reflected and encouraged a growing belief in retribution after death. The damned, who may be regarded either as those guilty of heinous crimes or as those who have not been initiated in the mysteries, suffer punishments (cf. Kern 1922: nos. 293, 295), while the blessed enjoy themselves in a sunlit paradise. Although Plato already consigns the souls of the blessed to the sky and sends only the wicked below ground, the common view in the early period, which still survives in Virgil, is that the place of happiness after death is also in the underworld. In Aristophanes' *Frogs* Dionysus sees in Hades both the eternal mud in which various types of criminals are plunged and the sunlit myrtle groves in which the initiates of the Eleusinian mysteries dance (145–58). It is mistaken to regard such views as peculiarly "Orphic," though they do seem to have been especially associated with the mysteries. The well-known accounts of descents to Hades must have played an important part in making retribution in the afterlife a very common belief in the Hellenistic world.

The descents seem to be linked with the mysteries, though it is impossible to be precise on this point. According to the account of his descent, Heracles was initiated at Eleusis before going down to Hades and was presumably thereby protected from the dangers of the underworld. The chorus of Eleusinian initiates who constitute the blessed dead in Aristophanes' *Frogs* also suggest a link between Eleusis and the

descent of Heracles, on which the play is based. At least by the 4th century B.C.E., the Eleusinian mysteries were held to have been founded by Orpheus, who was also associated with Bacchic mysteries, as well as with specifically Orphic groups and with the Pythagoreans (West 1983: 7–29). All such groups taught initiation in the mysteries as a means of attaining a happy afterlife. The *Descent to Hades* attributed to Orpheus cannot be securely associated with any one mystery cult. It was ascribed by some in antiquity to Cercops the Pythagorean or Herodicus of Perinthus: if it did not originate in Pythagorean circles, at least it was taken over by them.

How far initiation into the mysteries involved a ritual enactment or trance experience of a descent to the underworld is uncertain, though it is clear that it did in some cases. There is no evidence that the Eleusinian mysteries included a descent to the underworld. A fragment included in one of the Greek magical papyri (*PGM* LXX, lines 5–19) refers to a mystical initiation in an underground chamber, where the initiate was shown objects associated with the goddesses of the underworld. Presumably this was a symbolic descent to the underworld. The initiate is to be protected by appeal to this initiation from the hostile powers of the realm of the dead, perhaps on a subsequent descent in trance or dream (Betz 1980, who suggests the fragment is from a ritual of the Idaean Dactyls) or after death (cf. the many Egyptian spells for protecting the dead from the demons and other dangers of the underworld: Zandee 1960: 253–59). It is possible that many of the caves and underground chambers associated with shrines were ritual equivalents of Hades and could be used for ritual descents. Apuleius, in his description of initiation into the mysteries of Isis, recounts, as all that can be divulged of the most secret part of the process: "I approached the boundary of death and treading on Proserpine's threshold, I was carried through all the elements, after which I returned. At dead of night I saw the sun flashing with bright effulgence. I approached close to the gods above and the gods below and worshipped them face to face" (*Met.* 11:23; Griffiths 1975: 99). This may refer to the fact that in Egyptian mythology the sun god travels through the underworld during the twelve hours of the night (section B. above). The initiate may undergo a ritual death and resurrection in identification with Osiris (Griffiths 1975: 296–308).

One of the few historical individuals about whom an account of a descent to Hades was composed was Pythagoras, though only a few allusions to it survive (the elaborate attempt of Lévy 1927: 79–128, to reconstruct it is highly speculative). The satirical account given in a fragment of Hermippus (*apud Diog. Laert.* 8.41; Tert. *De Anim.* 28) describes how Pythagoras built an underground cellar in his house, disappeared into it for several years, and when he emerged claimed he had been to Hades. Burkert regards this as a rationalized version of a story in which Pythagoras' descent to Hades took place in the subterranean chamber of a sanctuary of Demeter (since Hermippus' account refers to Pythagoras' mother). He takes Pythagoras' famous golden thigh as a sign of his initiation into the cult of the Great Mother which enabled him to travel to the underworld with impunity. The Pythagorean doctrines of blessed immortality and metempsychosis were closely related to this initiatory descent into Hades (Burkert 1972: 155–63). Hermippus' account of Pythagoras' descent to Hades is curiously parallel to the story reported by Herodotus (4:94–96) about the god Zalmoxis worshiped by the Getae of Thrace, and it is clear that the Greeks themselves associated the two (cf. also Greg. Naz. *Or.* 4.59, and Bolton 1962: 144–46). The cult of Zalmoxis was also a mystery cult conferring blessed immortality (Eliade 1972: 21–61). Finally, it seems that Parmenides describes his philosophical journey (fr. 1) in terms of a journey, like that of Odysseus, to the distant edge of the world where the sun goes down to the underworld. If not exactly a *descent* to Hades, it is as much one as that of Odysseus, and should be understood in the tradition of Pythagoras' descent (Morrison 1955; Burkert 1969).

Thus, for the Greco-Roman world, descents to Hades were more than stories about the gods and heroes. They were also apocalypses, revealing the fate of souls in the netherworld, and they were models which could in some sense be imitated, most importantly in the experience of initiation into the mysteries, which dispelled the terrors of the underworld and secured a blessed immortality for the initiate.

**G. Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic**

In the Jewish tradition descents to the underworld are found largely within the apocalyptic tradition, in which they are ascribed to seers of the past such as Enoch, Elijah, and Moses. The Christian apocalyptic

tradition of visionary descents to the world of the dead is entirely continuous with the Jewish tradition. In both Judaism and Christianity the tradition spans at least a thousand years.

The earliest visits to the world of the dead in Jewish apocalyptic take place in the context of a cosmic tour in which the secrets of heaven and earth are revealed to the seer by angelic guides. The oldest is that of Enoch (*1 En.* 17–36), dating from the 3d or early 2d century B.C.E. In keeping with the widespread ancient tradition which located the realm of the dead, or at least the entrance to it, in the far west where the sun goes down, Enoch is taken to a mountain on the western edge of the world, where he sees the four "hollows" in which the four categories of the dead are kept, separate from each other, until the day of judgment (*1 En.* 22 = 4QEn$^{e}$ 1:22; 4QEn$^{d}$ 1:11:1–3). This classification of the dead into four categories, instead of the two categories of the wicked and the righteous which later prevailed in Jewish descriptions of the world of the dead, indicates the archaic character of this account. *1 En.* 17:1–8, while not expressly mentioning Sheol, describes its environs in the west in terms which resemble both the Greek mythical geography of *Od.* 11 and the Mesopotamian geography which is described most fully in the *Epic of Gilgamesh.* The latter, which alone includes the mountain, is the more probable source for Enoch's description (Grelot 1958). Besides the realm of the dead, Enoch's tour also included the fiery abysses where the erring stars and the fallen angels are punished (*1 En.* 18:10–19:2; 21).

Later versions of the cosmic tour (from the 1st century C.E. onward) take the form of an ascent through the seven heavens, and the realms of the dead were sometimes located within these seven heavens. Thus Enoch in *2 En.* 8–10 sees paradise and hell in (or perhaps from: cf. 40:12; 42:3) the third heaven. (These are not the places which the dead inhabit yet, but the places of reward and punishment ready for them to enter after the last judgment.) In this tour Enoch also sees the fallen angels confined in the second and fifth heavens (*2 En.* 7, 18). According to the later, probably Christian *T. Isaac*, Isaac saw in the heavens the hell in which the wicked dead are presently being punished (*T. Isaac* 5). But in other forms of the tour through the seven heavens, visits to hell and paradise take place only after the ascent to the seventh heaven, and hell retains its traditional place beneath the earth. This was probably the case in the original ending of *3 Baruch* (summarized in the Slavonic version of 16:4–8), although secondary additions to the text in the Greek version locate Hades in the third heaven (4:3, 6; 5:3) and the souls of the righteous in the fourth (10:5). The pattern of a visit to the subterranean hell, as well as paradise, after a tour of the seven heavens also occurs in the Hebrew apocalypse of Moses, known as the *Gedulat Moshe,* which in its present form is probably quite late but reflects an ancient model. From cosmic tours with a strong interest in the fate of the dead developed apocalypses exclusively concerned with the fate of the dead, such as the *Apoc. Zeph.* and the *Apoc. Paul,* which take their seers on journeys around the heavens, the underworld, and the extremities of the earth but only in order to see sights concerned with the judgment, punishments, and rewards of the dead.

It seems that during the first two centuries C.E. a gradual change took place in Jewish and Christian belief about the fate of the wicked after death, from the older view that the wicked are not actively punished immediately after death, but held in detention awaiting punishment at the last judgment, to the later view that the eternal punishment of the wicked begins already after death. This change was very important for apocalyptic descents to the underworld (where increasingly only the wicked were located). The older view allowed for visits to the place of detention in Sheol (*1 En.* 22), visits to the hell which is already prepared for but not yet inhabited by the wicked (*1 En.* 26:3–27:4; *2 En.* 10; 40:12; *2 Bar.* 59:10), and prophetic visions of the casting of the wicked into Gehenna at the last judgment (*1 En.* 41:2; *2 Bar.* 59:11). But only the later view enabled a seer to see and describe in detail the punishments actually being inflicted on the wicked in hell. The later view therefore spawned a long tradition of "tours of hell" (studied especially in Himmelfarb 1983), in which a variety of different punishments appropriate to a variety of different categories of sinners is described.

The oldest extant "tour of hell" of this kind is probably that found in a Latin fragment of the ancient *Apocalypse of Elijah* (Stone and Strugnell 1979: 14–15), which was a Jewish work dating from no later than the 1st century C.E. It features the "hanging punishments" (in which the sinners are hung up by the part of the body with which they had sinned). These are also found in a whole series of later tours of hell,

the most important of which are the *Apoc. Pet.*, *Acts Thom.* 51–60, the *Apoc. Paul*, the *Greek Apoc. Ezra*, the *Greek Apoc. Vir.*, the *Gedulat Moshe*, and the Hebrew texts which describe visits to hell by Isaiah and Rabbi Joshua ben Levi. Most of these apocalypses, along with others which do not include the hanging punishments (such as the *Apoc. Zeph.*, the Latin *Vis. Ezra*, and *T. Isaac* 5), describe a wide variety of other punishments, such as immersion in a river of fire or a burning furnace, impalement on wheels of fire, and tantalization. The main concern is to show how a wide range of particular sins are specifically punished by appropriate forms of judgment in the afterlife. Some of these tours of hell (such as the *Apoc. Paul* and the *Apoc. Vir.*) were extremely popular in the medieval period. Together with the parallel descriptions of paradise, they form a literary tradition whose greatest product was Dante's *Divine Comedy*.

Especially since Dieterich's (1913) argument to this effect, these tours of hell have been thought to be heavily indebted to the Greek and Roman descents to Hades (see section F. above). Himmelfarb (1983; cf. also *ANRW* 2/25/6: 4712–50) has shown that they developed within the tradition of Jewish apocalyptic, as is shown by the important formal features they share with the cosmic tour apocalypses. This does not, of course, preclude Greek influence on them, especially since the Jewish and Christian apocalyptic tradition frequently borrowed from other cultural traditions. While the tours of hell make use of features which were already traditional characteristics of the Jewish Gehenna, especially its fiery quality, some of the punishments in the tours of hell closely resemble those found in Greek and Roman descriptions of the punishments in Hades (see Himmelfarb 1983: 84, 92–96, 107–8, 119), where also the idea of differing punishments for various categories of sinners can be found. It may be that not only specific punishments in hell, but the very idea of punishments inflicted on the wicked immediately after death, was the result of Greek influence, in particular of the descents to Hades, in which the Greek view of punishment in the afterlife would have been most vividly accessible. Thus the Jewish and Christian tours of hell are probably to be seen both as developing out of the cosmic tours of Jewish apocalyptic, with their strong interest in the fate of the dead, and also as incorporating ideas and images available in their cultural environment in the Greco-Roman world. Not only Greek but also Egyptian (see section B. above, for the story of Setne and Si-Osire) descents to the underworld may have influenced the tours of hell, while Zoroastrian influence is possible but more problematic in view of the dates of the texts (see section D. above: the distinctly Zoroastrian features are missing from the Jewish and early Christian tours, though the infernal bridge becomes a feature of medieval Christian visions of hell).

The means by which the apocalyptic seer descends to the underworld are not usually specified more closely than by saying that an angel guided him. Although medieval Jewish texts refer to specific entrances to the underworld, as in the Greek tradition (PW, 2387), these are not used in the tours of hell, nor is there usually any reference to obstacles to be passed. Thus Enoch shudders at the sight of the gatekeepers of hell (*2 En.* 42:1), but Ezra passes without difficulty, like the righteous dead, the two fiery lions who guard the gates of hell (*Vis. Ezra* 3), Paul, like Odysseus, has to cross the river Oceanus to reach hell in the far west, but it is not said how he does so (*Apoc. Paul* 31). In the *Gedulat Moshe*, the fire withdraws before Moses as he enters hell, but when he fears to descend to the abyss of fire and snow, the Shekinah goes before him to protect him from the angels of punishment. The angelic guides (or, in the case of Joshua ben Levi, the prophet Elijah, and in the *Apoc. Vir.*, Christ himself) are a constant feature of the tours: they lead, guide, explain, and answer questions.

The *Apoc. Zeph.* (which may be of Jewish or Christian origin) has a particular interest in that the seer seems to follow the path of a soul of a dead person through Hades to paradise. The fragmentary beginning of the Akhmimic text (1:1–2) seems to describe the body of Zephaniah appearing to be dead. Evidently he has gone into a cataleptic trance like those in which some descents to Hades in the Greek tradition took place (see section F. above; for cataleptic trance in the Jewish and Christian apocalyptic tradition, see *Ascen. Is.* 6:17; *4 Bar.* 9:7–14). In this state his soul could leave his body and be taken by an angel through the other world. His angelic guide protects him from the angels of punishment who seize the souls of the wicked when they die (4:1–10). He perhaps passes the gates of Hades (5:1–6) and the sea of fire in Hades (6:1–3), and is threatened by both. He encounters the angel Eremiel (= Remiel) who is in

charge of the souls in Hades and whom he mistakes for God (6:4–7, 10–15), and another terrifying angel who he discovers is Satan in his traditional role of judicial accuser (6:8–9, 17). He witnesses the assessment of his sins and righteous deeds (8:5). Satan reads out all Zephaniah's sins from a scroll, he prays to God for mercy and is told that he has triumphed over the accuser and come up from Hades, another angel apparently reads out the record of his righteous deeds, and he travels out of Hades in a boat accompanied by myriads of angels. He then finds himself in paradise, with the patriarchs (7–9). Evidently he has passed through the experiences of a righteous person's soul after death. The closest analogy seems to be that of Kirdīr (see section E.), though in Zephaniah's case he himself goes into a trance and recounts his experience afterward (cf. 8:5). The apocalypse, like so many descents to the underworld, serves the purpose of revealing what people can expect after death and warning them to be prepared.

Another feature of the *Apoc. Zeph.* recurs in many of the tours of hell: when Zephaniah sees the wicked in torment in hell, he is moved to pray for God's mercy for them (2:8–9). So do Ezra (*Greek Apoc. Ezra* and Latin *Vis. Ezra*), Baruch (*3 Bar.* 16:7–8 Slavonic), Paul (*Apoc. Paul* 33, 40, 42, 43), and the Virgin Mary (in her several apocalypses). Zephaniah and others also see the patriarchs and the righteous dead in paradise praying for the damned (*Apoc. Zeph.* 11; *T. Jac.* 7:11), while Paul is joined in his intercession by other saints and angels (*Apoc. Paul* 43–44). These pleas for mercy are sometimes rebuffed, but sometimes they win a concession from God, such as the Sabbath or Sunday rest of the damned, a day's respite each week from the pains of hell (*Apoc. Paul* 44). The motif of intercession for the damned was clearly important in the tradition. By attributing it to ideal, exemplary figures of Jewish and Christian piety, the authors were allowing an authoritative mode of expression to the natural compassionate reaction which they and their readers had when faced with the horrors of hell. This desire for mercy coexists with the emphasis on the justice of hell in the same apocalypses (see Bauckham 1990a).

Jewish and Christian tours of hell are found not only in apocalypses, but also in narrative contexts in which a character visits hell in a vision or a dream or an experience of temporary death. The detailed descriptions in such cases are no doubt drawn from the tours of hell in the apocalypses. Significant examples are the Jewish story of the rich wicked man and the pious poor man, which is probably a version of the Egyptian tale of Setne and Si-Osire (see section B. above) and which incorporates two different tours of hell in the version in the Palestinian Talmud (*j. Ḥag.* 77d; *j. Sanh.* 23c) and in the version in *Darkhei Teshuvah* (for which see Rosenstiehl 1985); the story in *Acts Thom.* 51–60, of a girl who dies, sees hell, and is brought back to life by the apostle (cf. other stories of temporary death in section F. above); Isaac's vision of hell in the *T. Isaac*; and Pachomios' vision of hell in the Coptic life of this 4th-century Egyptian saint (Himmelfarb 1983: 28–29). In the *T. Ab.*, Abraham is taken to see not hell itself but the place in the east (or by the river Oceanus: B8:3) where the dead are judged after death and two entrances lead to their respective destinies (A11–14; B8–11): the scene is strongly reminiscent of that visited by Plato's Er (see section F. above).

**H. Christ's Descent to Hades (New Testament)**

Since the most common Jewish view in NT times was that all the dead descend to Sheol (Hades), Jesus' descent to Hades was simply the corollary of his death, just as it was implied in his resurrection "from the dead." But rarely in the NT is his descent to Hades given any attention. Paul's adaptation of Deut 30:13 in Rom 10:7 simply describes resurrection as being brought up from the realm of the dead, while Eph 4:9–10 may indicate Christ's descent in death to Hades (cf. Pss 63:9; 139:15), though it is often taken to refer only to his descent from heaven to earth (but cf. *T. Dan* 5:10–11 for Ps 68:18 used with reference to the descent to Hades).

More significant are two passages which apply to Jesus' resurrection the OT notion of deliverance from Sheol by God (see section D above). In Acts 2:24–32 (cf. 13:34–37), a quotation from and an allusion to Psalms (vv 25–28, 31; Pss 16:8–11, 24; 18:4–5; 116:3; 2 Sam 22:6) interpret the resurrection as God's deliverance of Jesus from the power of Hades, as well as from the physical corruption of death. Matt 12:40 takes up the tradition of the Jewish interpretation of Jonah for which the belly of the fish represented the underworld, so that Jonah's emergence from the fish was God's deliverance of him from death (see section D above). Thus "the belly of the whale" in Jonah's case corresponds to "the heart of the

earth" (cf. Jon 2:3–4 LXX), i.e. Hades, in Jesus' case. Therefore Jonah's virtual death and resurrection prefigures Jesus' actual death and resurrection.

Rev 1:18 ("I have the keys of Death and Hades") presupposes that the gates of Hades have for the first time been opened for a man to leave. Thus the divine prerogative of releasing from the realm of death (cf. Wis 16:13) now belongs to Christ. That in his death and resurrection he has gained power over death and Hades is implied, but not the later notion of a victory won *in* Hades.

Thus in the NT, Christ's descent to and sojourn in the realm of the dead seem to have no independent interest or significance beside his death and resurrection. Such significance has often been found in 1 Pet 3:19; 4:6, understood to refer to a preaching of Christ to the dead during his sojourn in Hades. However, it is now widely recognized that in 3:19 the proclamation to the spirits follows the resurrection (v 18: "made alive in the spirit"), while "the spirits in prison" are most probably angels (cf. v 22). A reference to the idea, widely attested from the beginning of the 2d century, that Christ, after his death, preached the salvation he had achieved to the saints of the OT period, is more probable in 4:6, but on the other hand "the dead" may there refer to those who heard the Gospel while alive, but subsequently died.

Matt 27:52–53 seems to be related to the widespread early extracanonical tradition that Christ released the OT saints from Hades, especially as this was evidently understood as a real resurrection (see section I. below). The Matthean passage probably draws on that tradition, but makes no explicit reference to Christ's activity in Hades. Instead the motif is used to express the eschatological significance of the death of Christ, by which the power of death has been broken. It is striking that in perhaps the NT's closest contact with the development of the theme of the descent to Hades in other early Christian literature, the interest is exclusively in the significance of the death of Christ, not in any activity of Christ in Hades.

**I. Christ's Descent to Hades (Early Church)**

As well as retaining the fundamental notion that Jesus Christ's soul had to descend to Hades in order for him to fully share the human lot in death (*Sib. Or.* 8:312; Iren. *Haer.* 5.31.2; Tert. *De anim.* 55.2), Christians from a very early date saw in the descent to Hades an event of soteriological significance for the righteous dead of the period before Christ, whose souls were in Hades. This significance was expressed in three main motifs: (1) that while in Hades Christ preached to the dead, announcing and conferring on them the benefits of the salvation he had achieved; (2) that he brought the righteous out of Hades and led them into paradise or heaven; (3) that he defeated the powers of death or Hades which keep the dead captive in the underworld. The second of these motifs is usually combined with the first or the third, as its consequence. Only rarely (*Odes Sol.* 42:11–14) are the first and third combined.

The idea of Christ's preaching to the dead is found from the beginning of the 2d century onward (*Gos. Pet.* 41–42; Ign. *Magn* 9.2; *Odes Sol.* 42:14; *Ep. Apost.* 27; *Sib. Or.* 1:377–78; 8:310–11; the elder quoted in Iren. *Haer.* 4.27.1–2; Hipp. *Antichr.* 26, 45; *fr. Cant.* 1). An apocryphal fragment attributed to Jeremiah was current (quoted in somewhat varying forms in Just. *Dial.* 72.4; Iren. *Haer.* 3.20.4; 4.22.1; 4.33.1; 4.33.12; 5.31.1; *Dem.* 78; and see Geschwind 1911: 199–227; Bieder 1949: 135–41): it is possible that one form of this (Iren. *Haer.* 4.33.1; 4.33.12; 5.31.1) was a Jewish text prophesying the resurrection of the righteous at the last day, whereas the version which mentions the preaching to the dead (Just. *Dial.* 72.4; Iren. *Haer.* 3.20.4; 4.22.1; *Dem.* 78) is a Christian adaptation of the text referring it to Christ's descent to Hades. The recipients of Christ's preaching in these early references are the righteous people of the OT period who hoped for Christ (*Ign. Magn.* 9.2). When he proclaimed to them the good news of the salvation he had won, they believed in him and received forgiveness of sins through his death (Iren. *Haer.* 4.27.1–2). The idea met the problem of the fate of the righteous who died before Christ, and most probably arose in a Jewish Christian context where this would be a natural concern. According to the *Ep. Apos.* 26, Christ not only preached to but baptized the righteous dead (cf. also *Gos. Nicod.* 19)—a natural corollary of the idea that he brought Christian salvation to them. The idea of the baptizing of the dead is also found in Hermas *Sim.* 9.16.2–7, where it is not Christ but the apostles and teachers of the first Christian generation who preached Christ and administered baptism to the dead. This unique notion is otherwise found only in Clement of Alexandria, who quotes it from Hermas (*Str.* 2.43.5; 6.45.4).

The scope of the preaching was extended beyond the OT saints by Clement of Alexandria and Origen, who were also the first to refer to 1 Pet 3:19 in connection with the descent to Hades (see Dalton 1965: 16–20). Clement included righteous pagans alongside the OT saints (*Str.* 6.6.37–53), while Origen thought also of the conversion of sinners in Hades (*Princ.* 2.5), as 1 Pet 3:19 must imply, if taken seriously as a reference to the descent. Some other Greek Fathers followed Origen (Dalton 1965: 18–19), but the prevalent view in the Latin church continued to limit the soteriological benefit of the descent to those who were already believers before Christ.

It was widely believed that Christ brought the OT saints out of Hades and led them up to paradise or heaven, though this was denied by Tertullian in the interests of his view that before the last judgment only the Christian martyrs go to heaven, while the rest of the righteous dead remain in Abraham's bosom in Hades (*De anim.* 58). The primitive view was that the dead left Hades along with Christ at his resurrection (*Odes Sol.* 42:11) and ascended to heaven with him in his ascension (*Ascen. Is.* 9:17; *Apoc. Pet.* 17; Origen *Comm. in Rom.* 5:10). As it was sometimes put, he descended alone but ascended with a great multitude (*Acts of Thaddeus*, *apud* Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 1.13.20; Melito New fr. 2.17; Armenian *Acts of Callistratus* 9). There is also good evidence that originally the thought was of an actual resurrection of the dead: language normally reserved for bodily resurrection is used (*Ign. Magn.* 9.2; Melito *Peri Pascha* 101; New fr. 2.12, 15; Origen *Comm. in Rom.* 5:10; cf. also the Jeremiah apocryphon mentioned above), and Matthew 27:52 was sometimes connected with this resurrection of the saints (Iren. fr. 26; cf. MacCulloch 1930: 289–91). Since Christ's death and resurrection were the eschatological saving event, entailing the resurrection of all who believe in him, the Jewish hope of the resurrection of the righteous was thought to be fulfilled when Christ brought them out of Hades. After all, to be brought out of Hades was to be raised from the dead, as it was for Christ himself.

Using the picture of Hades as a stronghold in which the dead are held captive by the angelic rulers of the dead, Christ's descent could be interpreted as a conquest of Hades. Often this was portrayed in images derived from OT prophetic texts. Thus the gatekeepers of Hades trembled when they saw Christ approach (Job 38:17 LXX; cf. Hipp. *Pasch.;* Ath. *Ar.* 3.29; Cyr. H. *Catech.* 4.11; Creed of Sirmium, *apud* Ath. *Synops.* 1.9; cf. MacCulloch 1930: 217–18). He broke open the gates of bronze and the iron bolts (Ps 107:16; Isa 45:2; cf. *Odes Sol.* 17:9–11; *Teach. Silv.* 110:19–24; Tert. *De Res. Carn.* 44; Eus. *d.e.* 8.1; *Ques. Barth.* 1:20; *Gos. Nicod.* 21:3), and released the captives from their chains and led them out of their prison (Ps 68:18; 107:14; Isa 49:9; 61:1; for releasing captives, cf. *Odes Sol.* 17:12; 22:4; Melito fr. 13; New fr. 2.12; *Acts Thom.* 10; *Gos. Nicod.* 21:3; for Ps 68:18, see *T. Dan* 5:10–11). Psalm 24:7–10 was often understood as a dialogue between Christ's angelic forces and the powers of death at the gates of Hades (*Gos. Nicod.* 21), as was Jesus' parable about binding the strong man and plundering his goods (Mark 3:27; cf. Melito *Peri Pascha* 103; fr. 13; Origen *Comm. in Rom.* 5.10; for plundering Hades, cf. *Ascen. Is.* 9:16; *T. Levi* 4:1; Cyr. *Hom. Pasch.* 6, 7; for binding Hades, cf. *Gos. Nicod.* 22:2; *Quest. Barth.* 3:20). Some texts explicitly state that Christ conquered or destroyed death or Hades (Melito *Peri Pascha* 102; New fr. 2.12; 3.5) and trampled death or Hades underfoot (Melito *Peri Pascha* 102; fr. 13; *Testament of Our Lord* 1.23; cf. MacCulloch 1930: 230–32).

There are traces of the view that as one of the dead, Christ was initially bound in Hades and had to break free before also freeing others (*Odes Sol.* 17:10; *Teach. Silv.* 110:14–16; Iren. *Haer.* 5.21.3), but generally the picture of Christ entering Hades by storming its fortifications seems to have prevailed. In the fullest and most dramatic portrayal of the scene, in the *Gos. Nicod.*, he is accompanied by an army of angels (21:3). It is important to notice that in the early period the defeated powers are the angelic rulers of the world of the dead (cf. *Ascen. Is.* 9:16; *Acts Thom.* 10; 143; 156), often Death or Hades personified (*Odes Sol.* 42:11), but not Satan and the forces of evil. In Jewish and early Christian thought Satan was not located in the underworld, but in the lower heavens. (A very exceptional case in which Beliar is the power which Christ defeats is *T. Dan* 5:10–11.) However, the more Hades was thought of as an enemy whom Christ defeated, the more natural it would be to see him as an ally of Satan (cf. Origen *Comm. in Rom.* 5.10), as he is in the *Gos. Nicod.* and Ephraim Syrus (MacCulloch 1930: 111–13). In these and

some other of the later Fathers, the result of the descent is that Satan is chained in the abyss (MacCulloch 1930: 232–33), and thus the descent becomes a mythical portrayal of Christ's triumph over all evil.

The influence of pagan myths of descent to the underworld on Christian ideas of Christ's descent to Hades was probably minimal. The parallels with Orpheus and Heracles were noticed and exploited in minor ways by some later writers, but there is no indication that they account for the origin of any of the Christian ideas. It is the theme of the conflict with and defeat of the powers of the underworld which has most often been claimed to have a broad mythological background in the religious cultures of the ancient world (see especially Kroll 1932), but it is extremely difficult to identify a suitable myth which was available in the environment of early Christianity. Of the myths surveyed in the earlier sections of this chapter, it is only in the Ugaritic account of Baal's victory over Mot (section C.) that the motif of a god who descends to the world of the dead and defeats the powers of death occurs. This parallel is far too chronologically remote to count as an influence on early Christianity. In fact, the idea of Christ's defeat of the powers of Hades is sufficiently explained from the Jewish apocalyptic expectation that at the last day God would "reprove the angel of death" (*2 Bar.* 21:23), command Sheol to release the souls of the dead (*2 Bar.* 42:8), abolish death (*L.A.B.* 3:10), close the mouth of Sheol (*L.A.B.* 3:10), and seal it up (*2 Bar.* 21:23; cf. *Teach. Silv.* 103:6–7). In the expectation of resurrection there was a sense of death and its realm as a power which had to be broken by God (cf. also Matt 16:18; 1 Cor 15:44–45; Rev 20:14; *4 Ezra* 8:53). These ideas were transferred to the context of Christ's descent to Hades because of the early Christian belief that Christ's death and resurrection were the eschatological triumph of God over death. The details, as we have seen, derived from that process of christological exegesis of the OT which supplied so much of the phraseology and imagery of early Christian belief.

The idea of Christ's descent to Hades was powerful and important for early Christians not just because it met the problem of the salvation of the righteous of the OT (and only occasionally because it opened salvation to good pagans of the past), but also because it represented that definitive defeat of death from which Christian believers benefit. If it tended to take precedence over the resurrection of Jesus in this respect (so that Bieder 1949: 202–3, ascribes it to a flagging of faith in Christ's victory in death and resurrection), this was because it showed Christ delivering others from death. His rescue of the OT saints and taking them to heaven was the sign of what he would also do for Christian believers (*Ep. Apost.* 27–28), who experienced salvation as release from the chains of Hades (*Odes Sol.* 17:4). If the suggestion (too strongly asserted by Daniélou 1964: 244–48; Ménard 1972: 303–4) that in the *Odes of Solomon* baptismal immersion is conceived as a descent into Hades and an experience of Christ's deliverance of the dead from Hades, then perhaps at this point Christianity came closest to the significance of the Greek descents to Hades in the mysteries (see section F. above).

However, a final point at which the Christian tradition of the descent took up Jewish motifs is in the prominence which the raising of Adam from Hades to paradise gains in *Gos. Nicod.* 19, 24–25 (cf. also MacCulloch 1930: 337–39). Even Adam's baptism (19; cf. 24:2) has a precedent (*Ap. Mos.* 37:3) in the Jewish tradition of Adam's translation to paradise. The release of Adam from Hades gave a universal significance to the myth of the descent. In this form especially, the "harrowing of hell" became for medieval Christians a powerful dramatization of the *Christus victor* theme in soteriology.

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**DESIRE.** See WANTING AND DESIRING.

**DESOLATION, ABOMINATION OF.** See ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION.

**DESSAU** (PLACE) [Gk *Dessaou* (Δεσσαου)]. Village, presumably in Judea, at which 2 Macc 14:16 claims that the Jews under the leadership of Judah Maccabee first met in battle Nicanor the appointee of Demetrius I. While some major Greek uncials and minuscules use the term *Lessaou* (A' q 62 58 771), the present reading is based on Latin, Syriac, and Armenian texts, probably attesting to an older tradition at this point. The ending of the Greek term should not be considered a genitive since the Latin and Syriac texts retain the *-ou* (Goldstein *II Maccabees* AB, 488). The identification of this site with either of the two locations in 1 Maccabees which have been proposed is problematic. While ADASA, the site of Judah's final triumph over Nicanor in 1 Macc 7:39–46 (Abel 1924: 375; cf. Plöger 1958: 180), bears a linguistic similarity to Dessau, the association is doubtful (Goldstein, 489), since in 2 Maccabees only a minor skirmish occurs there. The proposal that this be equated with the encounter at CAPHARSALAMA recorded in 1 Macc 7:31–32 (Zeitlin and Tedesche 1954: 231) is also lacking a sound basis. While the battles occur at a similar point in the chronology of both works there is no linguistic reason for finding a connection between the two references. While we cannot identify its location, it is most reasonable to conclude that the forces of Judah Maccabee had more than one skirmish with those of Nicanor. Dessau, probably located in the Judean hills N of Jerusalem, would have been the site of one of these.

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**DESTINY.** See MENI (DEITY).

**DESTROYER, THE** [Heb *mašḥît* (מַשְׁחִית); Gk *ho olothreutēs* (ὁ ὀλοθρευτης)]. The Destroyer is a superhuman agent of destruction mentioned in Exod 12:23 and 1 Cor 10:10. In Exodus the Destroyer is an angelic agent who is sent by God to kill the firstborn of Egypt as the tenth plague. However, the distinction between God himself and the angel is unclear. In 12:13 God himself destroys (same root) the firstborn, and in 12:27 he slays (*nāgap*) the firstborn. Ps 78:49–51 speaks of a company of destroying angels executing the tenth plague. Heb 11:28 recalls this incident using the participle "the one destroying" (*ho olothreuōn*).

The Destroyer is illustrative of the OT concept that God uses angels to execute his judgment. An angel destroys the people of Jerusalem with a plague because of David's census (2 Sam 24:16; 1 Chr 21:7–22:1) and destroys 185,000 soldiers of Sennacherib's army (2 Kgs 19:35; 2 Chr 32:21; Isa 37:36; Sir 48:21; 1 Macc 7:41). The vision of Ezekiel 9 is of angels executing judgment on Jerusalem and Judah.

In 1 Cor 10:10 Paul admonishes the Corinthians not to grumble as some of the Israelites did and were destroyed by the Destroyer. It is unclear if Paul refers to Num 14 or 16:41–50, but the latter is preferred because it speaks of the destruction of the people by a punishing plague sent from God. It is also unclear if the Destroyer is an angel or Satan himself. If the Destroyer is an angel it could be a type of angel that executes God's judgment, or the title for a specific angel that did so. A type of angel is supported by the rabbinic use of *mašḥît* as a term, among others, for an angel of destruction. It was an outgrowth of the rabbinic concept that God's mercy and wrath is put into effect by opposing groups of angels. A specific angel is supported by the presence of the definite article. Also, in postexilic Judaism *mašḥît* is sometimes used as a designation for a specific angel of destruction (Str-B 3:412–16). Later the angel Satan is identified as an agent of destruction (Wis 2:24; John 8:44; 1 Cor 5:5 [*olethros*]; Heb 2:14; cf. 2 Cor 12:7; 1 Thess 2:18; 1 Pet 5:8). It at least can be said that in the recollection of the incident of Num 16:41–50 in 4 Macc. 7:11 and Wis 18:20–25 the figure is an individual destroyer.

In the Hebrew Bible, LXX, and early Christian texts "the destroyer" (the participial form of *šāḥat, šādad, hāras, olothreuō,* and *diaphtheirō*) can also be used to designate a human agent of destruction, whether an individual, group, or nation (Job 15:21; Isa 21:2; 49:17; Jer 48:8, 15, 18; Rev 11:18; see also *ETOT* 2: 201–2; and *TDNT* 5:167–71).

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**DEUEL** (PERSON) [Heb *dĕʿû ēl* (דְּעוּאֵל)]. Father of the chief (*nāśîʾ*, Num 2:14) Eliasaph of the tribe of Gad during the wilderness sojourn after the Exodus. He is mentioned only four times in the MT and each time in a tribal list where his son Eliasaph is the current tribal leader (Num 1:14; 7:42, 47; 10:20). According to the LXX and the Syriac, the name "Deuel" should be "Reuel" (*ragouēl*), a reading confirmed in the tribal list at Num 2:14 of the MT. The two spellings of the name are probably due to the confusion of *dalet* with *reš* in the old Hebrew script. Under the leadership of Deuel's son Eliasaph, the tribe of Gad was (1) to list the men it had available for military service (Num 1:24–25); (2) to present its offerings on the sixth day of the twelve-day ceremony for the dedication of the altar (Num 7:42–47); and (3) to take its proper place during encampment on the south side of the tabernacle (Num 2:14) and its position in the order of march at the Israelites' departure from Mt. Sinai (Num 10:20). Baumgartner *(HALAT*) suggests that Deuel could be derived either from *dāʿâ*, "to seek, request," meaning perhaps "the request of God," or from *yādaʿ*, "to know," meaning perhaps "the knowledge of God."

DALE F. LAUNDERVILLE

**DEUTERO-ISAIAH.** See ISAIAH, BOOK OF (SECOND ISAIAH).

**DEUTEROCANONICAL.** See APOCRYPHA.

**DEUTERONOMIC (D) SOURCE.** The designation used by scholars to identify the core of the book of Deuteronomy, considered by some to be the "Book of the Law" found in the Temple in 621 B.C.E. during the reign of Josiah (2 Kings 22 = 2 Chronicles 34). See DEUTERONOMY, BOOK OF; (TORAH PENTATEUCH); SOURCE CRITICISM (OT).

**DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY.** The name commonly used to designate the book of Deuteronomy as well as the section of the Hebrew Bible known as the Former Prophets, i.e., Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel, and 1–2 Kings. The name reflects the scholarly theory that these books comprise a single literary unit alongside the other two great historical works in the Hebrew Bible—the Tetrateuch (Genesis through Numbers) and the Chronicles complex (1–2 Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah). According to this theory, a later editor shifted the notice of Moses' death from its original position at the

end of Numbers to its present location at the end of Deuteronomy (chapter 34) in order to group the first five books of the Hebrew Bible into the Torah or Pentateuch.

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A. Terminology
B. Origin of the Theory
C. The DH and Subsequent Scholarship
    1. Unity and Structure
    2. Purpose
    3. Composition and Date
    4. New Literary Approaches
    5. Historiography and Historicity
D. Conclusion

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**A. Terminology**

The Deuteronomistic History (DH) is also referred to as the Deuteronomic History by some scholars. However, the term "Deuteronomistic" in reference to this corpus is preferable since it better translates Martin Noth's adjective *deuteronomistische* (see B. below), and thus distinguishes between matters pertaining to the entire History (Deuteronomistic) and those concerning only the book of Deuteronomy (Deuteronomic). Thus, in this article, the abbreviation DH signifies "Deuteronomistic History," while "Deuteronomic" is reserved for the fifth book of the Bible, although the latter term may refer to the DH when found in titles or quotations from previous authors.

**B. Origin of the Theory**

The theory of the DH originated with the publication of M. Noth's *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* in 1943 (hereafter *NDH*). Previous treatments of the Former Prophets can be described in two broad categories (see Radjawane 1973: 178–80; Nicholson's introduction to *NDH*; and Mayes 1983: 1–3). One approach continued to apply to these books the same kind of source criticism used in analyzing the Pentateuch (Eissfeldt 1965: 241–48; Fohrer 1968: 193). This was particularly true for Joshua. Another perspective tended to view the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings as independent units that had passed through one or more Deuteronomistic redactions (Pfeiffer 1948: 293–412; Fohrer 1968: 193–95; Driver 1972: 103–203). Noth, in contrast, argued that the material in Deuteronomy and the Former Prophets was a unified history of Israel written by a single, exilic author/compiler. Noth named this writer the Deuteronomist (Dtr).

Noth pointed to the similar language and ideology exhibited throughout the DH as evidence of an individual hand. According to Noth, this individual, the Dtr, composed the first history of Israel on the basis of traditions which he had collected. The Dtr selected those traditions that were appropriate for his purposes and unified them by means of a common structure and chronology. He divided the history of Israel into four major periods: the time of Moses, the settlement of Canaan under Joshua, the period of the judges, and the era of the monarchy. The Dtr's use of the traditions before him was basically conservative. However, he did make changes where necessary in order to introduce his own theological view of Israel's history. He also formulated speeches for the main characters and inserted them at key junctures in his account in accordance with his periodic division of Israel's history. So, for example, Joshua's speeches in Joshua 1 and 23 initiate and conclude, respectively, the time of the settlement. Samuel's speech in 1 Samuel 12 stands at the point of transition between the era of the judges and that of the monarchy, while Solomon's prayer in 1 Kings 8 highlights the dedication of the Temple and closes the first part of the monarchy. Other Deuteronomistic compositions are in narrative form (Joshua 12; Judg 2:11–22; 2 Kgs 17:7–18, 20–23). The Dtr introduced his history with the old Deuteronomic law code (4:44–30:20 minus additions) for which he constructed a new framework (Deuteronomy 1–3 plus original parts of chap. 4 and 31:1–13 plus original parts of chap. 34). Hence, all of the book of Deuteronomy took on the appearance of a speech of Moses.

Noth dated the DH to the middle of the 6th century B.C.E., shortly after 562, the date of Jehoiachin's release from prison, the final event recounted in the DH (2 Kgs 25:27–30). Noth found no evidence to indicate that the materials in the DH had been redacted earlier. The Dtr addressed his contemporaries in Babylonian exile, his purpose being entirely negative: to show them that their sufferings were the fully deserved consequences of centuries of decline in Israel's loyalty to Yahweh. This loyalty was measured in terms of Israel's obedience to the Deuteronomic law. Since Israel and Judah had failed to follow that law, their histories had ended in complete destruction, in accordance with the divine judgment envisaged by Deuteronomy. There was not the slightest glimmer of hope for the future. The clearest illustration of the finality of God's punishment in the DH was Solomon's prayer in 1 Kings 8. The Dtr had Solomon ask Yahweh to hear the prayers of the exiles and to forgive their past misdeeds. But there was no hint of any expectation of the nation's restoration. Similarly, the report of Jehoiachin's release in 2 Kgs 25:27–30 was the result of the Dtr's conscientious reporting of historical fact and was not intended to herald the commencement of a new age for Judah and Israel.

**C. The DH and Subsequent Scholarship**

**1. Unity and Structure.** The main point of Noth's monograph, that Deuteronomy–Kings represents an original literary unit, gained wide acceptance almost immediately (for early reactions to Noth's views, see Radjawane 1973: 186–210). Noth was not the only scholar to conclude that Genesis–Numbers and Deuteronomy–Kings represented two originally distinct literary units. Y. Kaufmann (*RI,* 205–11) and I. Engnell (1969: 58–67) each arrived at this position independently (cf. also Jepsen under 3.b. below). However, it was Noth's volume that established this view in the field of biblical studies. The acceptance of this viewpoint has continued such that, to the extent that any position in biblical studies can be regarded as the consensus viewpoint, the existence of the DH has achieved almost canonical status. However, other approaches continue to be proposed (see Radjawane 1973; Mayes 1983: 14–19). D. N. Freedman, for example (*IDBSup,* 226–28), links his treatment of the DH to the Tetrateuch, viewing both as parts of a larger "Primary History" (compare Peckham's view under 3.c. below). However, Freedman has not put forth this view in detail, and theories such as his have not found a wide following (but see Gunn 1987: 32).

Noth's sketch of the way in which the Dtr structured his history has been corroborated and reinforced by subsequent studies. D. McCarthy (1965) and F. M. Cross (*CMHE,* 241–64) have shown that 2 Samuel 7 should be added to Noth's list of passages that form the Deuteronomistic framework of the DH. McCarthy (1974) has also discussed the significance of the "wrath of God" as a theme in certain of the framework texts. W. Lemke (1976) suggested 1 Kings 13 as another candidate for the series of structural passages. Lemke's arguments for Deuteronomistic revision in 1 Kings 13, especially vv 1–10, are convincing. However, since that chapter is still dominated by a northern, prophetic legend concerning a "man of God," it should not be viewed as a framework passage in the same sense as 2 Samuel 7 and those listed by Noth (Cross, *CMHE,* 279–80; McKenzie 1985b: 206–9).

**2. Purpose.** Perhaps the weakest aspect of Noth's theory, and the one that provoked the most criticism initially, was his view of the purpose of the DH. In a 1947 article on the theology of history in the DH, von Rad traced a theme of "grace" through the DH that provided a balance to the theme of judgment delineated by Noth. Von Rad showed that the DH contained the history of Yahweh's word at work. Time after time the Dtr described how a previously reported oracle from one of Yahweh's prophets was fulfilled precisely as foretold. Thus, on the one hand, the destruction of Israel and Judah was in keeping with the prophetic pronunciation of doom in retaliation for disobedience. On the other hand, the final destruction was restrained by Yahweh's promise to David found in Nathan's oracle in 2 Samuel 7 and reiterated throughout 1–2 Kings (1 Kgs 8:20, 25; 9:5; 11:5, 13, 32, 36; 15:4; 2 Kgs 2:4; 8:19; 19:34; 20:6). In the passages referring to this promise, von Rad found a series of "Messianic conceptions" that, in his view, provided the basis for hope on the part of the Dtr for the restoration of the Davidic monarchy. In this light, the reference to Jehoiachin's release at the very end of the DH was perceived by von Rad to have special theological significance. To be sure, the judgment component of Yahweh's word dominated, at least for the time being, in the reality of the Exile. The Dtr could not minimize the severity of God's

punishment. However, it was equally impossible for him to concede that Yahweh's promise to David had failed. The Dtr resolved this dilemma by recounting Jehoiachin's release from imprisonment. His hope was not explicit, but this final account did leave history open; the Davidic line continued and provided a place for Yahweh to begin anew with his people.

A second important article on the purpose of the DH was contributed by H. W. Wolff in 1961. Wolff criticized the positions of both Noth and von Rad, suggesting that it was inconceivable that an exilic Israelite writer would take pen in hand simply for the purpose of proving to his contemporaries that they were getting just what they deserved. Wolff pointed out that Noth's explanation for the inclusion of 2 Kgs 25:27–30 (Jehoiachin's release) contradicted his (Noth's) conclusion regarding the Dtr's selective use of sources. Against von Rad, Wolff argued that the promise to David in Nathan's oracle was subordinate to the Mosaic covenant, so that disobedience of the Mosaic law also abrogated the Davidic promise. Furthermore, the lack of reference to the Nathan oracle in 2 Kgs 25:27–30 indicated strongly that Dtr did not interpret Jehoiachin's release in terms of the continuation of the Davidic promise as von Rad had asserted. The very length of the DH, according to Wolff, implied a more intricate purpose than either Noth or von Rad had recognized. Wolff found the purpose of the Dtr in the pattern of apostasy, punishment, repentance, and deliverance common in the DH, particularly in Judges. Dtr's intent was to show the exiles that they were in the second stage of that cycle and therefore needed to cry out to Yahweh in repentance. Wolff pointed to the use of the verb *šûb,* "to return," in key Deuteronomistic passages, especially Solomon's speech in 1 Kings 8, as central to Dtr's plea. For Wolff, Dtr's purpose was not entirely negative as it was for Noth, nor did Dtr offer any explicit hope as von Rad claimed. Rather, Dtr raised only the possibility of hope by demonstrating the pattern of Yahweh's previous dealings with Israel; the imperative for the exiles was simply to turn back to God.

The essays of von Rad and Wolff showed the weakness of Noth's original position concerning the Dtr's purpose and pointed out the tension within the DH between the Mosaic and Davidic covenants. Yet the analyses of von Rad and Wolff have their weaknesses. Von Rad's work was especially insightful as far as it went, but he did not perceive the full significance of the Davidic theme for the related issues of purpose, composition, and date of the DH. Wolff's major shortcoming lay in his attempt to dismiss the Davidic promise as conditional in the Dtr's mind, a point specifically denied in the biblical texts.

**3. Composition and Date.** The one aspect of Noth's thesis that has elicited the most discussion since 1943 has been his ascription of the whole of the DH to a single, exilic composer. Indeed, the question of the authorship and date of the DH has become one of the most debated issues in the field of biblical studies.

**a. A Deuteronomistic School.** The two scholars most commonly associated with this position are E. W. Nicholson (1967) and M. Weinfeld (1972). Each has published a book focusing on Deuteronomy which contends that the DH was the product of a circle of Deuteronomistic traditionalists.

Nicholson theorized that ancient traditions were preserved and transmitted by northern prophetic circles. After the devastation of Israel in 721 B.C.E., members of these circles fled S to Judah with the traditions they had collected. A short time later they threw their support behind Hezekiah's doomed reform movement. During the reign of Manasseh (ca. 687–642 B.C.E.), these tradents drew up their own program for reform based in part upon traditional materials. The program's principal doctrine was the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem, a notion derived from a reinterpretation of the Davidic royal theology that promoted a unique covenantal relationship between Yahweh and the dynasty of David. This program produced an early form of the book of Deuteronomy. A copy of the book was deposited in the Temple where it was discovered during Josiah's reign and again used as a foundation for reform activity. At that point the Deuteronomistic school was revived and eventually generated the DH. Nicholson agreed with Noth's date for the final form of the DH, though he believed that the work began in late preexilic times.

Weinfeld's views on the composition of the DH are quite similar in some respects to those of Nicholson. Weinfeld traced three stages of development in Deuteronomistic composition: (1) the book of Deuteronomy in the second half of the 7th century B.C.E., (2) the editing of Joshua through Kings in the

first half of the 6th century B.C.E., and (3) the writing of the prose sermons in Jeremiah during the latter half of the same century. Weinfeld suggested that Deuteronomistic literary activity began during the time of Hezekiah and continued into the Exile (1972: 25). Hence, like Nicholson, Weinfeld agreed with Noth's date for the final form of the DH. Weinfeld's main concern in his exhaustive study was to locate the school responsible for the DH in the Israelite wisdom tradition. Many of the insights adduced by Weinfeld from ANE parallel texts are invaluable in the study of the DH. However, his arguments for connecting the DH with wisdom circles are not convincing since the arguments are based on (1) too broad a characterization of wisdom, and (2) overly general thematic similarities between wisdom literature and the DH.

The arguments for a Deuteronomistic school lasting a century or more point out the difficulties involved in viewing the DH as a work addressing only exilic concerns. Nicholson's reconstruction is especially attractive for its connections with historical circumstances. Still, it is never clear what a "school" or "circle" is supposed to have been, and the literary evidence alone is insufficient to reconstruct a social institution responsible for the production of the DH.

**b. Redactional Levels.** Four years before the appearance of Noth's famous monograph, A. Jepsen wrote *Die Quellen des Königsbuches.* Unfortunately, the publication of this book was delayed until 1953. Jepsen's complex analysis led him to conclude that the book of Kings was essentially the product of two exilic redactors. The first (R 1), a priest, compiled a history of Israel and Judah early in the Exile. The second (R 2) was a prophet about a generation later who took the work of R 1 as his primary source and enlarged it. Jepsen attributed most of the prophetic materials and the "Succession Narrative" to the editorial work of R 2. Since Jepsen's R 2 was essentially the same as Noth's Dtr (Jepsen 1956: 100–1, 105), this independent study provided valuable corroboration for Noth's basic thesis concerning the existence and unity of the DH. At the same time, Jepsen's conviction that redactional levels could be discerned in the DH clearly differed from Noth's perspective. While Jepsen's reconstruction of the redactional history of the DH has not achieved any real following (note, however, Baena 1973; 1974a; 1974b), his postulation of redactional levels was the initial representative of a position on the authorship of the DH that has gained many adherents.

Two major alternatives to Noth's theory of a single, exilic composer for the DH have surfaced in the generation since Noth due to proposals by R. Smend and F. M. Cross. These two opinions have little in common other than their agreement that the DH should be understood as the product of multiple editors.

**(1) Multiple Exilic Redactions.** Smend (1971) initiated this approach with his contribution to the von Rad *Festschrift.* He treated selected passages in Joshua (1:7–9; 13:1b–6; 23) and Judges (1:1–2:9, 17, 20–21, 23), which, he argued, shared a different perspective from surrounding passages concerning Israel's conquest of Canaan. According to the original version of the DH, Israel under Joshua conquered the entire land promised to them and drove out or destroyed its former inhabitants. The only task left to them was the settlement of the land. Smend called this original version of the DH "DtrG," the *G* standing for *Grundschrift,* i.e., basic text, and he equated it with Noth's Dtr. However, in the texts from Joshua and Judges listed above Smend found references to peoples the Israelites still needed to expel from the land. Smend also discerned an interest in law in these passages. He concluded that these texts were additions by a later redactor whom he designated DtrN (omistic). Smend's theory has been extended by W. Dietrich (1972).

One of the problems with Smend's initial essay was that it dealt with passages whose literary-critical condition was very much in disarray and debated among scholars. Dietrich's study avoided this problem by focusing on a more fruitful area of the DH, the book of Kings. As Smend had done, Dietrich used literary-critical techniques to isolate secondary material in various narratives of Kings. He showed that these insertions had a common language and theology which he then examined in order to discover the identity of their redactor. Dietrich concluded that the DH had undergone two redactions beyond the original one (DtrG). The first and major one of these was the work of an individual associated with prophetic (especially Jeremianic) circles (1972: 104). DtrP, as Dietrich designated him, was both a writer, who composed many of the oracles now found in the DH, and an editor, who added some older prophetic

materials to his DtrG *Vorlage.* DtrP was primarily responsible for the structure and contents of the DH. A final nomistic editor, designated DtrN, added certain other texts bearing a pro-Davidic interest, including the reference to Jehoiachin in 2 Kgs 25:27–30. Dietrich devoted very little space to the treatment of DtrN, almost presupposing its existence. Dietrich dated DtrG to ca. 580 B.C.E. and DtrN to ca. 560 with DtrP somewhere in between (1972: 143–44).

A third member of this "Göttingen school" is T. Veijola (1975; 1977). His two monographs have analyzed various portions of the DH according to the scheme worked out by Dietrich in Kings. In his 1975 volume Veijola covered most of 1–2 Samuel and 1 Kings 1–2. His 1977 work dealt with Judges 8–9; 17–21; and 1 Samuel 7–12. Both monographs assumed the correctness of Dietrich's approach to the DH. Like Dietrich, Veijola used literary-critical arguments to partition the passages he treated between the three redactors, DtrG, DtrP, and DtrN. In Veijola's view, DtrG had a positive perspective on the monarchy and was responsible for the doctrine in the DH concerning the permanence of the Davidic dynasty. DtrN, in contrast, viewed the monarchy negatively. While David himself was judged by DtrN to be a model king because of his fidelity to Yahweh's law, the institution of kingship was the product of human sin and was damned by DtrN on narrow, legalistic grounds. The middle redactor, DtrP, qualified the positive tone of DtrG toward monarchy by the insertion of prophetic stories which subordinated the king's role and importance to those of the prophets. Those stories also illustrated the certainty of Yahweh's prophetically mitigated word. The basic approach of Smend, Dietrich, and Veijola to the DH has been adopted by R. Klein (*1 Samuel* WBC) and E. Würthwein (*Kings* ATD).

The adherents of the Göttingen school are expert literary critics, so the literary-critical observations that form the basis of their theory are often quite valuable. However, there are methodological problems with the approach as a whole (see Hoffmann 1980: 18–20; Campbell 1986: 5–12). These appear particularly in Dietrich's work, since Veijola simply accepts Dietrich's methods. For one thing, this approach assumes Noth's conclusion that the DH was initially the product of exilic, Deuteronomistic redaction. The question of the existence of a preexilic, Deuteronomist or a pre-Dtr *Vorlage* is ignored. Yet, these are major issues in the debate over the authorship and setting of the DH. This failure has caused the proponents of this approach perhaps to misdate and misunderstand the prophetic component of the DH (see below). Secondly, the proponents of this approach have not produced an entirely clear picture of the three redactors. There are two sides to this problem. One is that the criteria provided do not always distinguish DtrG, DtrP, and DtrN clearly from each other. Dietrich, for example, is forced to admit that DtrP borrows heavily from DtrG both in terms of language and theology (1972: 138–39). The other side is that it is difficult to perceive any ideological unity within the material assigned to each redactor. The literary and linguistic evidence compiled by Dietrich and Veijola does illustrate the presence of editorial strands, but there is a need to distinguish more clearly the interests or tendencies of the editors at different levels.

**(2) Double Redaction.** The second major position on the composition of the DH is associated with Cross (*CMHE,* 274–89), who treated the issues of authorship, date, and purpose of the DH as different facets of the same question. Citing the validity of some of the older arguments, such as those of Jepsen (see above) and J. Gray (*Kings* OTL, 13–15), for a preexilic edition of Kings, Cross traced two themes through the book of Kings. The first was the sin of Jeroboam and the wickedness of the N kingdom, which culminated in the exposition on the destruction of Samaria in 2 Kgs 17:1–23. The second theme was grounded in the covenant theology of the S monarchy. The faithfulness of David set the tone for Yahweh's dealings with Judah in the same way that Jeroboam's sin led to Israel's decline. There were no good kings in Israel; all of them sinned against Yahweh by "walking in the way of Jeroboam, son of Nebat, who caused Israel to sin" (cf. 1 Kgs 15:26, 34; 16:19, 26, 31; 22:52; 2 Kgs 3:3; 10:29; 13:2, 6, 11; 14:24; 15:9, 18, 24, 28). In contrast to the series of dynasties in the N, Judah continued under David's descendants. Judah had its share of evil kings, but Yahweh had promised David an enduring fiefdom (*nîr,* see Hanson 1968) in Jerusalem as a reward for his loyalty (1 Kgs 11:36; 15:4; 2 Kgs 8:19). The good kings in Judah were compared individually with David. The only king, including David, who escaped criticism was Josiah; his reforming reign represented the climax of this second theme. The persistence of these two themes and their respective climaxes led Cross to posit a primary edition of the DH written as a

program supporting Josiah's reform measures (*CMHE,* 284–85). This editor (Dtr 1) admonished his contemporaries to obedience to the Mosaic covenant that Josiah was attempting to reinstitute, believing that Yahweh would restore the kingdom by the hand of this new David in whom Dtr 1 had placed his hopes. The bulk of the DH, in Cross' view, consisted of this propaganda from Josiah's reign. A second, exilic redactor (Dtr 2) brought the primary edition up to date and blamed the Exile on Manasseh, whose wickedness doomed the later reforms of Josiah to futility (2 Kgs 21:10–25). Cross suggested that certain passages throughout the DH represented retouchings by Dtr 2. Such passages made the promise to David conditional, presupposed the Exile, or addressed the exiles and called for their repentance (Deut 4:27–31; 28:36–37, 63–68; 29:27; 30:1–10; Josh 23:11–13, 15–16; 1 Sam 12:25; 1 Kgs 2:4; 6:11–13; 8:25b, 46–53; 9:4–9; 2 Kgs 17:19; 20:17–18; 22:15–20; and perhaps Deut 30:11–20; 1 Kgs 3:14). The lack of any peroration on the fall of Judah comparable to that found in 2 Kings 17 on the fall of Israel was best explained, according to Cross, by regarding the exilic editor as less articulate than Dtr 1 (*CMHE,* 288).

Cross' thematic argument has convinced a growing number of American scholars that the primary edition of the DH was Josianic, though his position has not been widely accepted in Europe. His Josianic setting for Dtr 1 accords well with the important place of Josiah noticed by previous studies of the DH, including that of Noth. Subsequent studies have gathered more evidence for a primary, Josianic edition. R. Friedman (1981a: 6–10), in particular, has noticed fundamental changes in the editorial perspective following the narrative concerning Josiah, and he has pointed out several deliberate links between the descriptions of the Mosaic period in Deuteronomy and Josiah's efforts at reform. R. Nelson (1981), in his monograph advocating the double redaction theory, has focused on literary analysis and theology in addition to Cross' thematic points. Nelson has also supplied the most thorough collection and evaluation available of the arguments for this hypothesis.

A number of scholars who concur with Cross' basic hypothesis have published works concerned with sketching more precisely the contours of Dtr 2's revisions and theology. All of these scholars are basically in agreement that Dtr 2 wrote during the Exile with the goals of ascribing that predicament to Manasseh and of bringing the Josianic history up to date. However, other passages attributed to Dtr 2 by Cross have been assigned to Dtr 1. Friedman (1981a: 12–13) and Nelson (1981: 118) have shown independently that the passages which Cross ascribed to Dtr 2 because they make the promise to David conditional (1 Kgs 2:4; 8:25b; 9:4–5) actually refer only to the loss of the N kingdom and hence are best viewed as the work of Dtr 1. Reference to captivity within a passage does not necessarily signal Dtr 2's hand, since exile was a common and feared occurrence in the ANE long before the 6th century B.C.E. Also, the exile of the N kingdom was well known in Judah after 721 B.C.E. The judgment that a passage "sounds like" it was addressed to the exiles is too subjective by itself to carry much conviction. Friedman and Nelson have instead based their arguments for Dtr 2 material on thematic and linguistic criteria. Their conclusions tend to support Cross' initial instincts in seeing Dtr 2's revisions as relatively light.

However, others credit Dtr 2 with a much more active role in shaping the DH. Levenson, for example, argues on literary and theological grounds that Dtr 2 was responsible for inserting the Book of the Law into Deuteronomy (1975) and ascribes most of Solomon's speech in 1 Kings 8 to him (1980). Mayes (1983) has produced the first attempt to reconstruct in detail the redactional history of the entire DH. His literary-critical discussion credits Dtr 2 with significant revision and supplementation throughout the corpus.

**c. A Single Exilic Author.** B. Peckham (1985) and H.-D. Hoffmann (1980) have made separate attempts to return to Noth's original position that the DH was the work of a single exilic writer, although each also tried to refine Noth's conclusions. Peckham's 1985 monograph (note also his 1983 article) expressed the opinion that the real problem with Noth's proposal was his understanding of the sources of the DH as fragmentary and discontinuous. By way of correction, Peckham offered a complex theory about the way in which Dtr 2 rewrote various sources in order to form the entire historical work from Genesis through Kings. Peckham analyzed each of Dtr 2's sources in turn. The fundamental source was J's terse narrative. Each of the following sources was composed as a running commentary on the text that grew out of Israel's historiographic tradition. J was expounded by Dtr 1, apparently in the reign of Hezekiah. An

alternative interpretation of J was written by P. E was produced as a supplement to J and P and as a variant to Dtr 1. Dtr 2's work was the culmination of this literary process. Dtr 2 was not an editor, but a tradent who thoroughly revised and rewrote the histories which he inherited. Dtr 2's history was never itself revised, but a legislative supplement (Lev 1:1–7:38 and 11:46–27:34), designated Ps, was grafted onto it, thus giving the Pentateuch its present form. Peckham's view of the relationship between the sources and the extent of Dtr 2's work is creative but highly idiosyncratic. His criteria for distinguishing these sources are never revealed. Indeed, he states that Dtr 2's use of repetition and imitation makes his history "almost indistinguishable from its antecedents" (1985: 49). As a result, his reconstruction of the various layers of composition in the DH appears almost entirely subjective.

Like Peckham (1983: 217–18), Hoffmann (1980: 16–17) asserts that Noth's original thesis contains an inherent contradiction in the notion of the Dtr as both author and editor. His own solution to this perceived contradiction is, however, quite different than Peckham's. Hoffmann concludes that the DH is essentially a fictional history of Israel's cult by an exilic or postexilic author. The Dtr's technique is to contrast the right reforms of good kings with the evil "reforms" of wicked kings. This "pendulum swing" effect is more exaggerated as the account approaches its climax (*Zielpunkt*) in Josiah's reform (2 Kings 22–24). Josiah and his reign serve as *the model* for a new beginning when the Exile is over. The story of Josiah shares connections with that of every reforming king before him. Indeed, the hallmark of the Dtr's literary work is the way in which he links texts by a variety of methods. The basis of the Dtr's judgments concerning the kings of Israel and Judah is the first commandment of the Mosaic law, which sets Israel apart from the nations. Jeroboam, who led Israel away from cultic centralization, and Ahab, who imported Baalism, are the paradigms of wickedness. While the Dtr did employ some historical sources, this occurred more rarely than most scholars, including Noth, have admitted, and these sources can no longer be isolated precisely in the Dtr's highly fictional and tendentious narrative (compare the similar views of Van Seters 1983a: 317–21, 354–62). In short, Hoffmann sees the Deuteronomist as a true author, not a compiler or redactor, whose work is far more creative than even Noth perceived it to be.

There is much that is useful in Hoffmann's book. His analysis of the cross-references within the DH confirms Noth's view of the essential unity of the work. He demonstrates the significance of the cult for the Dtr, a topic which had not previously received so full a treatment. He shows, perhaps more clearly than any previous scholar, the importance of Josiah in the DH. However, his theory regarding the exilic setting for the Dtr does not do justice to the significance of Josiah in the DH; the emphasis on Josiah is explained more clearly by Cross' proposal that the original edition of the DH was in fact Josianic. Hoffmann's monograph completely ignores the position of Cross and his followers. His failure to treat any king after Josiah also tends to substantiate the view that the material following Josiah in the DH is a less creative narrative tacked on to the main body of the work. Finally, Hoffmann's judgment regarding the fictional nature of the DH is unwarranted. To be sure, the Dtr (or Dtr 1) is a creative writer with definite interests, whose work must therefore be used with great caution in historical reconstruction. At the same time, the evidence for various historical traditions underlying the DH is too strong simply to dismiss the work cavalierly as fiction (see section 5 below).

**d. Toward a Solution.** Almost all of the above-mentioned studies on the composition of the DH have some merit, and it is possible to treat their various conclusions as complementary rather than contrastive. For instance, the notion of a Deuteronomistic school is compatible not only with the view that the DH was put together in its final form by a single individual in the Exile, but also with the theory of multiple editions of the DH (Weinfeld 1972: 7–8). The conclusions of Dietrich and Cross are not entirely irreconcilable, since they actually focus on different aspects of the issue of authorship. The arguments of Cross are primarily thematic, while Dietrich's are literary. Yet, Cross' evidence that the primary redaction of the DH supported Josiah carries more conviction than does Dietrich's interpretation on literary-critical grounds. The importance of Josiah for the DH is confirmed not only by the additional evidence from Friedman and Nelson, but also by the observations of Hoffmann. Still, Cross' theory of a double redaction does not answer all the questions raised by the DH. In particular, the significance of the prophetic stories with their generally negative orientation toward the monarchy goes beyond the interests of Dtr 1 and even

stands in tension with his support of the Davidic dynasty, especially as it is represented in Josiah. At the same time, the stress on prophecy is not likely a part of the same edition that added the laconic account of Judah after Josiah and blamed Manasseh for the Exile (Cross, *CMHE,* 285–86).

An intriguing addendum to Cross' theory incorporating some of the most important literary insights of Dietrich and Veijola has been proposed by P. K. McCarter. In his volumes on the books of Samuel (*1 Samuel* AB, 18–23; *2 Samuel* AB, 6–8) McCarter takes the position that a pre-Deuteronomistic level of redaction, done from a prophetic perspective, exists in this material. Hence, much of what Veijola identifies as DtrP in 2 Samuel is assigned by McCarter to this prophetic history. The prophetic historian, in McCarter's view, collected the oldest sources underlying Samuel. In 1 Samuel these include the Ark Narrative (1 Sam 2:12–17, 22–25; 4:1b–7:1), a cycle of stories about Saul (beneath 1 Sam 1:1–28; 9:1–10:16; 10:27b–11:15; 13:2–7a, 15b–23; 14:1–46), and an apology for David sometimes called the "History of David's Rise" (1980; *1 Samuel* AB, 18–20), behind 1 Samuel 16–2 Samuel 5. McCarter argues that in 2 Samuel the primary source was an apology for Solomon (the so-called "Succession Narrative"), which was itself a compilation of various stories from David's reign (*2 Samuel* AB, 9–16). See also COURT NARRATIVE (2 SAMUEL 9–1 KINGS 2). The prophetic historian reordered these sources, with editorial comments, into a running, historical narrative. According to McCarter, the skeptical view of kingship and its subjection to prophecy within the prophetic history betrays the work's N origin. However, the history's acceptance of the Davidic dynasty and the text's hopeful orientation toward Judah as the bearer of Israel's future leads McCarter to date the prophetic document to the end of the 8th century, during or shortly after the fall of Samaria (see also Mayes 1983: 84–85).

A. Campbell (1986) has also posited a prophetic document, which he calls the prophetic record, underlying the DH in the books of Samuel and Kings. Campbell's reconstruction differs from that of McCarter in several particulars. Campbell does not assign as much material in Samuel to his prophetic record as McCarter assigns to his prophetic history. For example, Campbell does not believe that the prophetic record included the Ark Narrative or the Succession Narrative (1986: 67, 82–84). Campbell's prophetic record viewed monarchy as the gift of Yahweh and not as a sinful, human invention, as McCarter argues is the case with his prophetic history. Finally, Campbell dates his prophetic record to the reign of Jehu (late 9th century B.C.E.) and sees it as a document that sought to legitimate Jehu's prophetic anointing and therefore, his kingship (1986: 108–10). Hence, Campbell traces the prophetic record in 1–2 Kings (cf. McKenzie 1985b). He finds it underlying the accounts of the N kings and culminating with a version of Jehu's revolt beneath 2 Kings 9–10. In Campbell's reconstruction, the prophetic record underlies the competition on Mt. Carmel in 1 Kings 18, the Naboth story in 1 Kings 21, and Ahijah's death in 2 Kings 1, but not the rest of the Elijah cycle and none of the Elisha stories.

Despite their differences, both McCarter and Campbell agree that a N prophetic document underlies the Deuteronomistic redaction in the books of Samuel and Kings. The existence of such a pre-Deuteronomistic, prophetic work may help to resolve some of the literary and thematic tensions within the DH. If McCarter's characterization is correct, the prophetic history should continue as an underlying layer in Kings (cf. McKenzie 1985b). Such a layer explains the preservation of lengthy prophetic stories which obviously had little to do in their original form with the concerns of Dtr 1 (e.g., 1 Kgs 13:11–32). It also supports the idea that many of the negative sentiments expressed in the DH toward Israel or its kingship come not from a late redaction of the history but from an earlier level founded in the old league traditions of the north. A number of questions about this prophetic level remain to be answered. What were its exact parameters? Is there any relationship between this prophetic work and the prophetic concerns pointed to by Nicholson in Deuteronomy? Is this prophetic redaction related to arguments by various scholars (Halpern 1981: 48–53; Mayes 1983: 120–25; McKenzie 1985a: 174–76; Weippert 1972) for redactional activity in the DH at the time of Hezekiah? The most that can be said at present is that a prophetic redaction of the sort described by McCarter and Campbell may have served as a major source for Dtr 1's account of the monarchy.

Since the days of Rost, Noth, and their contemporaries, and thanks to their pioneering work, scholars have made important strides in uncovering the process behind the formation of the DH. There is not, of

course, unanimous agreement on the issues, yet progress has been made and continues to be made, however slowly, within historical critical scholarship. This is an important point since several scholars in recent years have adopted newer approaches to the Bible, abandoning historical criticism out of frustration with its results (see below). Recent work on the books of Samuel and Kings makes it clear that a more fruitful approach to the question of the composition of the DH may be found not in late redactions (a task that has preoccupied many researchers), but in the search for sources and redactions preceding the edition of Dtr 1. McCarter and Campbell have drawn attention to the significance of intermediate redactions lying between the oldest sources and Dtr 1.

**4. New Literary Approaches.** A number of works have appeared in recent years which treat portions of the DH with a variety of literary or structuralist techniques (see STRUCTURALISM). These treatments are too many and too diverse to examine individually here. They generally focus on a single section of the DH, predominantly in Samuel, rather than discussing the DH as a whole (see McCarter, *2 Samuel* 16 for a brief listing of some of these works).

R. Polzin's 1980 study, however, deserves special review. This volume is the first part of a literary study of the entire DH. Polzin argues that the domination of reported speech in Deuteronomy in contrast to the preponderance of reporting speech in Joshua and Judges reflects the author's attempt to present himself to his audience in the role of mediator of God's word. Just as Moses was the authoritative interpreter of God's law for his day so the Deuteronomist is the authoritative interpreter of the Mosaic law for the exiles. Deuteronomy stands in relation to Joshua–Kings as prophecy to fulfillment, or as law to application. Polzin describes the book of Joshua as a meditation on the interpretation of the law—a meditation that illustrates the distance between divine law and human interpretation (1980: 144). The book of Judges, for Polzin, tests the traditionalism of Deuteronomy and Joshua. Judges presents a chaotic picture in which "everyone did what was right in his own eyes." A mechanistic interpretation of the Mosaic law would lead one to predict Israel's destruction because of the sinfulness of the judges period. But such an interpretation does not take account of divine mercy. Hence, Israel not only survives the era of the judges, but even prospers. Together, the three books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges, in Polzin's view, militate against the kind of rigid orthodoxy that does not allow flexibility in applying the word of God to new situations. Polzin applies the hermeneutical message he finds in the DH to the current crisis in biblical scholarship caused by the tension between traditional historical criticism and newer literary approaches (1980: 205–12). The DH, he argues, condemns the "scientific" methods of historical criticism that attempt to recover the unitary, original sense of the text. Rather, the DH calls for an approach to its text that constantly reapplies its message to the new situation in which interpreters find themselves.

Polzin's criticisms of traditional scholarship's failure to address the Bible on its own terms and of the scholarly tendency toward theological dogmatism are well taken, although these may reflect problems inherent more in the practitioners than in the method. However, Polzin has failed to show how his approach may interact with historical criticism (cf. Mayes 1983: 20–21). He essentially ignores the historical critical research done on the literary history of the DH, even though he obviously depends on the results of that research (otherwise, he would not treat the DH as a "literary unit" in the first place). Polzin never satisfactorily answers the objection to the literary methods which he employs, namely, that such methods are inappropriate for material that has been redacted numerous times (1980: 16–18). His point that the text must be approached by a method that allows it to be reapplied to the interpreter's ever-changing situation is valid. However, his conclusions seem to ignore the limits which the text places upon itself. His perspective on Judges, in particular, appears to be the result of his forcing the book to conform to the hermeneutical message he wishes to find in Deuteronomy–Judges. His desire to stress what he sees as cultic chaos recounted in Judges leads him to dismiss the rather rigid pattern of apostasy, oppression, repentance, and deliverance that the editor has imposed on the narrative.

Polzin's work underlines the tension existing in contemporary biblical scholarship between the older approach of historical criticism and newer literary study. Literary theory is more satisfying hermeneutically than historic criticism in facilitating the reader's interaction with the text. But D. Gunn

(1987: 69–70) is probably correct that reader-oriented theory undermines historical criticism's attempts at a normative understanding of the text. Moreover, the tendency of literary criticism to deal with canonical unit(s) ultimately is opposed to, or at least dismisses as irrelevant, questions about redactional levels which are at the heart of the topic of the "Deuteronomistic History." Ideally, perhaps, historical criticism and literary criticism should be complementary. Practically, however, the two approaches may simply be moving in different directions with only a few scholars able to bridge the gap between them (Gunn 1987: 72–73). For the perspective on the DH described in this article the view of literary methods is best expressed in the following quotation from R. Alter (1981: 46): "The Bible presents a kind of literature in which the primary impulse would often seem to be to provide instruction or at least necessary information, not merely to delight. If, however, we fail to see that the creators of biblical narrative were writers who, like writers elsewhere, took pleasure in exploring the formal and imaginative resources of their fictional medium, perhaps sometimes unexpectedly capturing the fullness of their subject in the very play of exploration, we shall miss much that the biblical stories are meant to convey."

**5. Historiography and Historicity.** J. Van Seters, in his recent volume on historiography in the ANE (1983a), argues that Noth's exilic Dtr constitutes the first Israelite historian as well as the first true historian in Western civilization. He contends, therefore, that Dtr did not incorporate any earlier historiographic works into his history, and that those sections of Samuel where scholars have perceived older, independent sources (e.g., the Ark Narrative, the Story of Saul, and the History of David's Rise) are actually original compositions by Dtr, sometimes using preformed traditions. The "Court History of David" or "Succession Narrative," which many scholars have seen as Dtr's source for much of 2 Samuel 9–20 and 1 Kings 1–2, is post-Dtr, i.e., a postexilic addition to the story of David. Thus, like Hoffmann, Van Seters (1983a: 117–21; 1983b: 131–32) regards the DH as largely fictional.

There are problems with some of Van Seters' conclusions. His contention that true history writing comes relatively late in Near Eastern history betrays the assumption that anything approaching historical or theological sophistication (from a modern perspective) must be late. He assumes Noth's date for the DH and does not adequately deal with those reconstructions of the DH that posit earlier redactions and sources. His view of the DH's historicity is probably overly negative and leads him to the conclusion that the first extant example of history writing in Western civilization is essentially a work of fiction. His stress on history writing also leads him to neglect the role played by royal propaganda in shaping the DH and its sources, particularly in its portrait of Josiah.

Nevertheless, Van Seters' volume has also made some very important contributions to the study of the DH. His comparison of the DH to history writing from the ANE and especially from Greece suggests a purpose behind Dtr's work which modern scholars have overlooked, namely that Dtr was an ancient historian who wrote "to render an account to Israel of its past." This understanding of the genre and purpose of the DH also has important implications for the method of composition employed in the DH. Like Herodotus, Dtr was both an author and an editor who creatively shaped Israel's traditions into a long, narrative history. In many respects, Van Seters' work represents a return to and a reinforcement of Noth's original conclusions regarding the DH. Van Seters has pointed the way for future studies on the techniques of composition and genre of literature represented in the DH.

## D. Conclusion

The genius of Noth's initial proposal for the existence of the DH was his perception of the overall unity of the account from Deuteronomy through Kings. The genius of Cross' later correction rests in his observation that the principal concerns of this large unit were with an earlier era, rather than the period reached by the DH's account. In Cross' theory, the second editor of the DH was primarily responsible for adding a relatively brief appendix to the body of the work, while the unity of that body was maintained. The search for sources and redactions underlying the DH is certainly a valuable endeavor and has provided scholars with a clearer picture of how this great work developed. However, those who search for sources must be careful not to obscure the unity of the work, Noth's real insight. Some recent treatments of the DH (Hoffmann and Van Seters) call for fresh studies of the creativeness of the Dtr in his use of traditions and in his own composition. Critical scholarship of the DH has a real need for specialists in

literary studies and historiography. But those who study the creativity of the Dtr must in turn not lose sight of the conclusions of older literary critics regarding the sources used by the Dtr.

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**DEUTERONOMY, BOOK OF.** The fifth and last book of the Pentateuch or Torah.

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### A. The Name and Its Meaning

The Greek appellation of the book, *to deuteronomion* (hence Latin *Deuteronomium*), as well as the Hebrew appellation, *Mishneh Torah* (*Sipre*, section 160 based on Deut 17:18; Josh 8:32), means "repeated law" or "second law" and alludes to the fact that Deuteronomy is a (revised) repetition of the large part of the law and history of the Tetrateuch (the first four books), cf. Nahmanides to Deut 1:1 and Ibn Ezra to Deut 1:5. Although the words *mšnh htwrh hz᾽t* in Deut 17:18 may mean "a copy of this Torah" (see commentaries) and thus may be rightly considered of secondary nature, it is also true that Deuteronomy constitutes a second covenant besides the Sinaitic one (28:69). Although all the laws were delivered to Moses at Sinai, the people in fact received them only at the plains of Moab and a covenant, besides the one concluded at Sinai (28:69), was established there.

Deuteronomy indeed draws upon the previous traditions of the Pentateuch, but was revised according to the principles of the Hezekianic-Josianic reforms. Thus, for example, the laws of tithe, of *šĕmiṭṭah* (the year of the release of debts, 15:1–11) and the rules of the release of slaves (15:12–19), of the firstborn animal (15:19–23), and of the three festivals (16:1–17) are all ancient laws (Exod 21:1–11; 22:28–29; 23:10–11, 14–19; 34:19–26). They appear however in Deuteronomy in a new form, adjusted to the principles of centralization of cult as well as to the social-humane tendency which is characteristic of Deuteronomy.

There was thus an awareness of this book being secondary. A similar categorization of stabilized canonic tradition versus secondary, later-added tradition is found in Mesopotamia. There we find the term *šanû* ("second"/"another") for literary sacred material distinct from the original canonic one (Rochberg-Halton 1984). An Akkadian term which overlaps *šanû* is *aḫû* ("external") (140–44), an expression which equals late Hebrew *ḥiṣôn* for which one is to explain the expression *sĕparîm ḥiṣonîm*, "extraneous books," which defines noncanonical literature (*m. Sanh.* 10:1). In the Qumran literature, we find the term *seper hattôrâ hašenît* referring apparently to a noncanonical Torah (4Q*177:14*), 67–68 in Allegro 1968). Similar thematic appellations are found for the other books of the Pentateuch: Genesis (= Creation); Exodus (=

exit from Egypt); Leviticus (= priestly laws, cf. Hebrew *tôrāt kôhanîm*, "priestly laws"); Numbers (= the census of the Israelites, cf. Hebrew *ḥômeš hapĕludîm,* "one-fifth [of the Pentateuch] concerning census" [*m. Yoma* 7:1; *m. Soṭa* 7:7]).

Alongside the Hebrew name Mishne-Torah (Deuteronomium), the prevalent name for the book was *Dĕbārim* ("the Words"). This was taken from the incipit of the Hebrew book, as was the case with the names of the other books of the Pentateuch: *Bĕrēšît,* "In the beginning," for Genesis; *Šĕmôt,* "The Names," for Exodus; *Wayyiqā᾽,* "He called," for Leviticus; and *Bĕmidbar,* "In the Desert," for Numbers. The system for naming a literary creation after its incipit is very ancient; compare the Babylonian creation epic named after its opening: *enuma eliš,* "when above," and the so-called creation "Righteous Sufferer," the ancient title of which was *ludlul bēl nemēqi,* "I praise the lord of wisdom," after the opening words of the work.

**B. The Literary Form of Deuteronomy**

Deuteronomy is presented as a farewell speech delivered by Moses shortly before his death. The form of the "testament" given to the book looks peculiar but has possible antecedents in the Egyptian method of diffusing moral teaching. Most of the Egyptian wisdom instructions were dressed in the form of testaments of kings and viziers to their successors.

This technique may have exerted its influence on Israel's literature, especially since there exist affinities between Deuteronomy and the didactic Wisdom Literature (see L. below). Indeed the book of Deuteronomy is a kind of manual for the future kings of Israel (17:14–23), written by scribes just as were the instructions for the Egyptian kings as well as those for the Mesopotamian ones. As will be shown below, the valedictory speeches in the Deuteronomic corpus are linked to a ceremony of succession bound by covenant, a ceremony attested in the neo-Assyrian Empire in the vassal treaties of Esarhaddon (= VTE). This concept of covenantal succession is reflected in the Greek rendering of biblical *bĕrît, diathēke* or "testament." It seems that the basic sense underlying *diathēke* in the LXX is "imposed obligation" which is semantically true for the Hebrew *bĕrît.* It is hard to decide whether the valedictory speeches were modeled on the ethical wills of the Egyptian type or rather belong to the covenantal scene of royal succession of the Assyrian type.

At any rate Deuteronomy adopted the form of speech as a literary device for the dissemination of its message. The practice of ascribing religious-ethical valedictories to leaders and kings was also used by the editors of the Israelite historiography who were influenced by the book of Deuteronomy. Thus the Deuteronomic writers end the period of the Conquest with a farewell speech of Joshua (chap. 23), the period of the judges concludes with a valedictory speech of Samuel (1 Samuel 12), and the description of David's life in the Deuteronomic edition ends with a religious-ethical will of David (1 Kgs 2:3–4; Weinfeld 1972a: 10–14). Besides the valedictory speeches, the Deuteronomic school ascribed to the national leaders speeches of prophetic nature, liturgical orations, and military addresses (Weinfeld 1972a: 10–14).

A similar literary method is found in Greek historiography. Numerous speeches are cited in the works of Herodotus and Thucydides, supposedly delivered by national heroes. Thucydides himself declares that it was his habit to make the speeches say what, in his opinion, was demanded by them by the various occasions (i. 22.1) (Weinfeld 1972a: 51–53).

Expressing ideology by means of programmatic speeches put into the mouths of leaders and great personalities continued in Israelite historiography of the Second Temple period. Thus the Chronicles put into the mouth of King Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, a speech that emphasizes the eternity of the Davidic dynasty and the sole legitimacy of the Jerusalemite temple (2 Chr 13:4–12). This was done in order to show that the objection of the northern kingdom to the Davidic Kingdom and to the Jerusalemite temple is a rebellion against God.

The same system is found in the apocryphal literature. Two speeches are ascribed to Judith, the heroine, before acting against the enemy. The first speech (8:11–27) comes to implant faith and confidence in her action by citing the tests to which God put Israel in the past, while the second (9:2–14), which is a prayer, invokes the greatness of the God of Israel and his deeds in the past. Similarly, we find in the farewell

speech of Mattathias, the Hasmonean, an enumeration of the faithful ancestors and their keeping God's covenant (1 Macc 2:48–67). This system of programmatic speeches can be traced down to the speeches of Peter and Stephen in the Acts of the Apostles (2:14–16; 7:2–53). These speeches survey Israel's past (Weinfeld fc.) and thus serve a didactic purpose.

**C. The Covenant at the Plains of Moab**

The change of leadership in the ANE was accompanied by a pledge of loyalty on behalf of the people. The so-called vassal treaties of Esarhaddon (= VTE) which have so much in common with Deuteronomy are none other than fealty oaths imposed by the retiring king on his vassals concerning his successor (Assurbanipal). The covenant in the land of Moab, which is concluded at the time when Moses nominates Joshua as his successor (Deut 3:23–29; 31:1–8), resembles then formally the situation found in VTE. The difference is only that the contents of the Mosaic covenant are divine law and the sworn pledge refers to God whereas VTE is concerned with stipulations of a political nature, referring to the human suzerain. Formally, however, the two documents are of similar nature. Especially striking is the covenantal scene in VTE and in Deuteronomy. Both scenes have the entire population gathered: young and old (Deut 29:9–11, cf. 2 Kgs 23:1–3, and VTE 4–5; for the Assyrian covenantal ceremony, see Weinfeld 1976: 392–93). In both scenes the gathered take the pledge not only for themselves but also for the future generations (Deut 29:14, VTE 6–7, cf. Sefire treaty I A 1–5 [Fitzmyer 1967: 12–13]).

In fact, even before the discovery of the Esarhaddon treaties the particular formal structure of the book of Deuteronomy had been recognized. G. von Rad (1958: 1–78) inquired into the significance of the peculiar structure of Deuteronomy: history (chaps. 1–11), laws (chaps. 12:1–26:15), mutual obligations (26:16–19), and blessings and curses (chaps. 27–28) suggested that the structure reflects the procedure of a formal cultic ceremony. According to von Rad, this ceremony opened with a recital of history, proceeded with the proclamation of law, accompanied by a pledge, and ended with blessings and curses. Since according to Deuteronomy 27 the blessings and curses have to be recited between Mts. Gerizim and Ebal, von Rad identified Shechem as the scene of periodic covenant renewal in ancient Israel (Joshua 24). Although no real evidence for a covenant festival has been discovered so far, the observation made by von Rad that the literary structure of Deuteronomy reflects a covenantal procedure has been confirmed by subsequent investigations. It has become clear that the covenant form as presented in Deuteronomy was in use for centuries in the ANE. G. Mendenhall in 1954 (66–87) found that the Hittite suzerainty treaties have a structure identical with that of the biblical covenant. The basic elements are: titulary; historical introduction, which served as motivation for the vassal's loyalty; stipulations of the treaty; a list of divine witnesses; blessings and curses; recital of the covenant and deposit of its tablets.

However, the treaties of Esarhaddon (dated 672 B.C.E.), discovered in 1956, provided new material and a better understanding of the Deuteronomic covenant. It transpires now that like VTE, Deuteronomy is not a covenant between two parties but a loyalty oath imposed by the sovereign on his vassal. The demands of loyalty are expressed in Deuteronomy and in the VTE in identical terms. "Love" stands in both sources for loyalty and the subjects in both documents are commanded "to love" their suzerain "with all the heart and all the soul" (Deut 6:5; Weinfeld 1976: 384–85). The standard terms for being loyal to the sovereign in both documents are: *"to go after" (= "to follow"), "to fear," and "to hearken to the voice of."*

Furthermore, even in the contents there is identity between the Assyrian oath and that of Deuteronomy. The whole series of curses in Deut 28:23–35 is paralleled in VTE lines 419–30 and even the order of curses is the same in both documents. While the order of the curses, as for example, leprosy and blindness in the Assyrian treaties, can be explained in that the order follows the hierarchy of the gods Sin and Šamaš who are associated each with a specific curse (leprosy and blindness respectively), the order of the same curses in Deuteronomy cannot be explained, which shows that the curses originated in the Mesopotamian tradition (Weinfeld 1972a: 116–26). Indeed it has been suggested that the Deuteronomic covenant was a substitution for the Judean loyalty oath to the king of Assyria (the time of Manasseh) and hence the identity in the curses (Frankena 1965).

After the discovery of VTE, it became clear that a distinction should be made between a covenant between two equal parties and an oath of loyalty imposed by the suzerain on his vassals. The latter corresponds to the form of Deuteronomy, which is a loyalty oath imposed by God on his vassal, Israel. Such loyalty oaths were prevalent from the days of the Hittite Empire in the 15th–14th centuries through the Assyrian Empire down to the Roman Empire (Weinfeld 1976: 381–83). The Hittites included in their oath a historical introduction in which the benevolence of the suzerain toward the vassal was stressed, which came to justify their demands for loyalty. A similar element is found in Deuteronomy, which has a long historical introduction (chaps. 1–11), an element not attested in the usual Assyrian treaties. It seems that the Assyrian emperor who saw himself as king of the universe felt that it would be both unnecessary and humiliating to justify his demand of loyalty by referring to the benevolence of the suzerain to the vassal in the manner of the Hittite kings. This assumption may also explain the lack of the blessings in the Assyrian treaties on the one hand and the long list of curses on the other. The Hittites felt it necessary not only to justify their demands for loyalty but also to give promises of help in time of danger, as well as to bestow divine blessings for loyal service. The Assyrians neither gave promises to the vassal nor bestowed blessings but, on the contrary, increased and expanded the list of threats and curses in order to terrorize him.

The arrogance of the Assyrian king may also explain the lack of any sign of affection of the sovereign to his vassal. In the Hittite treaties and in the Israelite covenant (Weinfeld 1972a: 69), along with the demand of "love" (loyalty) on the part of the vassal come expressions of affection from the side of the sovereign. The Assyrian king, however, demands scrupulous "love" (= loyalty) from the vassals but no sign of affection on the king' side. In this matter of affection, Deuteronomy follows the Hittite line and not the Assyrian one.

Another parallel feature between the Assyrian oath of loyalty and the one of Deuteronomy is the theme of self-condemnation in connection with the violation of the oath. The end of Deuteronomy 29 reads: "And the generations to come … will ask: 'Why did YHWH do thus to this land?' and they will say: 'Because they forsook the covenant of YHWH' " (vv 21–24). The same motif is found in the neo-Assyrian texts concerning the breach of the oath. Thus the annals of Assurbanipal state: "the people of Arabia asked one another saying: 'Why is it that such evil has befallen Arabia?' and they say 'Because we did not observe the obligation sworn to the god of Ashur' " (IX, 68–72 in Streck 1916: 78–79; for an additional example see Weinfeld 1972a: 115).

The pattern which served a political need in the ANE came to serve a religious need in Israel. The religious use of this pattern was especially possible in Israel because the religion of Israel was the only religion that demanded exclusive loyalty to the God of Israel, a jealous God, who would suffer no rival. The religion of Israel therefore precluded the possibility of dual or multiple loyalties, such as were permitted in other religions where the believer was found in diverse relationships to many gods. So the stipulation in political treaties demanding exclusive loyalty to one king corresponds strikingly to the religious belief in one single, exclusive deity.

The idea of the kingship of God seems also to have contributed to the concept of Israel as the vassal of YHWH, the King. It is true that the idea of the kingship of God was prevalent all over the ANE (Frankfort 1948). There was, nevertheless, an important difference between the Israelite notion of divine kingship and the corresponding idea in other nations. Israel adopted the idea of the kingship of God a long time before establishing the human institution of kingship. As a result, for hundreds of years the only kingship recognized and institutionalized in Israel was the kingship of God. According to Israelite tradition (Crüsemann 1978 and Weinfeld 1981) during the period of the judges, YHWH was actually the King of Israel (Judg 8:23; 1 Sam 8:7; 10:19).

Because of the concept of the kingship of God, the relations between the people and their God had to be patterned after the conventional model of relations between a king and his subjects, a written treaty. It is no wonder, then, that the pattern of the vassal treaty found a permanent place in the Israelite religion; nor is it a coincidence that this treaty pattern was adopted in its entirety precisely by the book of Deuteronomy. The pattern of a state treaty based on the demand for exclusive allegiance is well suited to

a book in which the concept of the unity of God reaches the apogee of expression. Nicholson's skepticism about the ANE parallel to the covenant of God with Israel (1986) is based on a misunderstanding. The covenant of God with Israel is not to be paralleled to political pacts between states in the ANE but is to be compared with the loyalty oaths of vassals to their suzerains, as indicated above.

**D. Composition and Structure**

In spite of its apparent formal unity, the book is not a homogeneous piece of work. It has two introductions (1:1–4:40; 4:44–11:32), two different kinds of blessings and curses (27:11–13 with 28:3–6, 16–19, and the curses in the rest of chap. 28 [see below]). In addition we find appendixes of various kinds: the Song of Moses (32:1–33) and the Blessing of Moses (chap. 33) which are old poems ascribed to Moses and appended to the book by the editor of Deuteronomy. Similar appendixes were added by the Deuteronomic historiographer to the stories about David in the books of Samuel. The Song of David (2 Samuel 22) and his last prophetic blessing (2 Sam 23:1–7) were appended to the books of Samuel after they had assumed their basic structure (Weinfeld 1972a: 11–12). The Deuteronomic redaction of the Davidic stories ended the account of David's life with a farewell address (1 Kgs 2:3–4), which was incorporated in the old Davidic testament (1 Kgs 2:1–2, 5–9).

The Song of Moses (32:1–43) had been preceded by an elohistic introduction (31:16–22) which presented the song as a written prophetic *witness* (*ʿēd*) for the next generations when troubles might befall Israel as a result of violating the covenant. This stimulated the author of Deuteronomy to present also the Deuteronomic Torah as a prophetic *witness* for the future generations (32:26–29). Both the song and the Torah were said to be written by Moses (cf. 31:9 with 31:22) and taught by him to Israel (31:22; 32:46).

The composite nature of the book of Deuteronomy has been dealt with by many modern scholars, but no final solution has been reached. There is a general agreement in regards to chaps. 4:44–28:68. It is believed that these chapters constituted the original book, which was later supplemented by an additional introduction (1:6–4:40) and by variegated material at the end of the book (chaps. 29–30). The rest of the book is usually divided into two categories: (1) The Deuteronomic material dealing with the commissioning of Joshua (31:1–8), the writing of the Torah, its use in the future (31:8–13), the depositing of it at the ark (31:24–29; 32:45–47), and the death of Moses (chapter 34). (2) Ancient material appended to the book as indicated above such as the Song of Moses (32:1–43) with its elohistic introduction (31:14–23), the blessing of Moses (33:9–29), and the priestly passage in 32:48–52 which recaptures the priestly tradition about the death of Moses in Num 27:12–14 in order to connect it with chap. 34, the account of the death of Moses.

However, it should be recognized that chaps. 5–28 are also not homogeneous. The law code that constitutes the main part of the book was originally put into a framework of the ceremony of blessings and curses of Gerizim and Ebal. The theme of this ceremony appears at the opening of the code (11:26–32) and at its conclusion (26:16–27:26). This enclosure adds significance to the code of laws. The old Shechemite ceremony which is an act of foundation (Weinfeld 1988a) and which parallels the Gilgal tradition, which also has a ceremony of erecting monuments (Joshua 3–5), was linked by Deuteronomy to the covenant of the plains of Moab. Moses' proclamations about Israel becoming a nation "this day" (26:16–19; 27:9–10) are thus interwoven with the ceremony at Mts. Gerizim and Ebal. The first proclamation in Deut 26:16–19 comes before the command about the erection of the stones and building the altar at Ebal, while the second proclamation in 27:9–10 comes before the blessings and the curses at Gerizim and Ebal (27:11–26). By this combination the author makes it clear that the establishment of the people of Israel at the plains of Moab cannot be dissociated from the foundation ceremony at Mt. Ebal. Moses' farewell address in Deuteronomy is a kind of preparation for the ceremony at Gerizim and Ebal.

Deuteronomy 27 preserved a very old tradition about the establishment of the nation at Shechem, the capital of the house of Joseph. Foundation stories of the Greek world (Weinfeld 1988a) indicate that settlers whose colonization was based on divine instigation used to perform ceremonies accompanied by blessings and curses by writing the sacred laws on stelae and by building an altar and sacrificing. Deuteronomy 27 indeed revolves around the following elements: (1) erecting stones on Mt. Ebal in order to write upon them the words of the covenant (vv 1–4, 8); (2) building an altar and offering sacrifices on it

(vv 5–7); (3) the proclamation of the act of foundation (vv 9–10); and (4) blessings and curses (vv 11–13). In addition to these we find there curses for transgressors who perpetrate crimes clandestinely (vv 14–26). The blessings and curses in vv 11–13 actually refer to Deut 28:3–6, 16–19:

> Blessed shall you be in the city and blessed shall you be in the country. Blessed shall be the fruit of your womb, the fruit of your soil and the offspring of your cattle, the fruit of your herd, and the lambing of your flock. Blessed shall be your basket and your kneading bowl. Blessed shall you be in your comings and blessed shall you be in your goings.

Their reversal, i.e., the curses, occur in 28:16–19: "Cursed shall you be in the city …" That the ceremony of blessing and cursing on Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Ebal respectively refers to the series of blessings and curses in Deut 28:3–6, 16–19 was already observed by Ibn Ezra. It was also Ibn Ezra who saw that the curse proclamations in Deut 27:14–26 apply to transgressions perpetrated in secrecy.

It is indeed interesting that both types of public anathema—cursing the violators of the oath and banning transgressors—are attested in Greek amphictyonic oaths, concerning the temple of Apollo of Delphi. Thus, for instance, in the oath taken by the members of the amphictyony against Cirrha (the first "holy war," 590 B.C.E.) we read:

> If anyone should violate this, whether city, private man or tribe let them be under the curse … that their land bear no fruit; that their wives bear children not like those who begat them, but monsters; that their flocks yield not their natural increase; that defeat await them in camp and court and their gathering place.

(Aeschin. 3. 109–11)

Similarly in the Greeks' oath at Plataeia before the battle with the Persians (479 B.C.E.):

> If I observe what is written in the oath my city will be free of disease: if not it shall be sick …; and my [land] shall bear [fruits]: if not, it shall be barren; and the women shall bear children like their parents; if not they shall bear monsters; and the flock shall bear like the flock; if not [they shall be] monsters.

(Siewert 1972: 5–7)

These blessings and curses are strikingly similar to the series of blessings and curses in Deut 28:3–6, 16–19 quoted above.

As in the Greek oath at Plataeia, every blessing in Deut 28:16–19 has its corresponding curse. And the content of the series is identical with that of the Greek oath: fertility of the soil, women, and the flock. The element of coming and going in Deuteronomy is identical with the element of success and failure in camp, court, and agora in the Greek oath. Furthermore the element of sickness which occurs in the oath of Plataeia appears in an identical series of blessings and curses in the ancient epilogue to the Covenant Code in Exod 23:25–26:

> I shall remove illness from your midst. None will miscarry or go barren in your land.

This is elaborated in Deut 7:13–15 in a chapter which depends on the peroration of Exod 23:25–26. The passage in Deuteronomy reads:

> He will bless the fruit of your womb and the fruit of your soil … the increase of your herds, and your flock of sheep … there will be neither male nor female barren among you and your livestock and YHWH will remove from you all sickness.

To all appearance, this genre of blessings and curses has its origin in the tribal confederation based on covenant; hence the similarity to the blessings and curses of the amphictyonic oaths in Greece. The stereotyped series of blessings and curses in Deut 28:3–6, 16–19 thus belongs to the ancient Shechemite covenant ceremony which is elaborated by the Deuteronomic author of 28:7–14, 20–69. These Deuteronomic expansions have a lot in common with the Assyrian and Aramaic treaties of the 8th–7th centuries B.C.E. and thus are clearly later than the short stereotypic blessings and curses which have their parallels in the Greek tribal milieu.

The "curses" in 27:14–26 represent a different genre. These are not threats of punishment as are those in 28:16–19, but legal proclamations accompanied by a curse and addressed to those who commit crimes clandestinely which cannot be punished by the authorities. Such "curses" are also attested in the Greek tribal culture. In Greece those who violated the law were *eparatos*, "accursed." So, for example, it is

related of Alcibiades (Plut. *Alc.* 22) that he was found liable at law for desecrating the sacra of Demeter. After placing his property under the "ban," his judges decided that the priests and priestesses should curse him. Aristides is said to have suggested that the priests should cast curses on anyone who abandoned the war treaty with the Greeks (Plut. *Arist.* 10). As in Greece so in Israel it is the sacred group (the Levites) who have the authority to "revile," i.e., excommunicate, the transgressors.

However, early Israel's affinities to the Greek tradition are most clearly expressed in the foundation ceremony found in Deuteronomy 27. As indicated above, oath taking, erecting stones during foundation ceremonies, inscribing sacred laws on stelae, and building altars and sacrificing on them are attested in Greek colonization. Indeed, the Greeks as well as the Israelites had elaborate foundation traditions. Israel nurtured divergent traditions about their first settlements in the land. Besides the Shechemite tradition recounted in Deuteronomy 27, we find other versions describing foundation ceremonies linked to other places. According to a cycle of traditions crystallized at Gilgal, the children of Israel crossed the Jordan at Gilgal and erected stones there (Joshua 3–4). Instead of a written covenant, we find there the ceremony of circumcision, which is considered the sign of the covenant in Genesis 17, and the celebration of the Passover, which is the oldest ritual connected with the Exodus. The mentioning of Gilgal in Deut 11:30 in connection with the ceremony of Gerizim and Ebal might be a reflection of the divergent Benjaminite tradition about the foundation of Israel at its beginning.

In light of all this, it is clear that two different traditions are combined in chaps. 27–28. Deut 27:1–26; 28:3–6, 16–19, although slightly reworked by the Deuteronomic author (Weinfeld 1972a: 164–277), constitute an ancient Shechemite tradition of the premonarchic period, while 28:7–14, 20–68 reflect the neo-Assyrian period. The neo-Assyrian period is also reflected in Deut 29:9–28. The scene of the covenant in vv 9–14 resembles the Josianic covenant in 2 Kgs 23:1–3 and also the neo-Assyrian covenantal gatherings (see above), while the punishment for violation of the covenant in vv 19–28 has much in common with the Neo-Assyrian loyalty oaths to the Assyrian king (Weinfeld 1972a: 114–16). It seems that the exile referred to in 29:27 reflects the fall of the N kingdom, which serves as an example for the punishment of Judah in case of a violation of the covenant.

**E. Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic Historiographer**

According to M. Noth (*ÜgS*, 12–18) Deuteronomy is a part of the Deuteronomic historiography which started with Deut 1:1 and concluded with 2 Kings 25. See also DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY. Deut 4:44–30:20, in his view, was incorporated en bloc by the Deuteronomic historiographer into his work. Deuteronomy 1–3 is, according to Noth, a historical account which has nothing to do with the code of law of Deuteronomy. Just as the book of Joshua is concerned with the conquest of the promised land in Cisjordan so is Deuteronomy 1–3 concerned with the conquest of Transjordan by Moses. Indeed, for the Deuteronomic historiographer, the beginning of the realization of the promise of the land is the crossing of the Arnon river (2:24–25) and not just the crossing of the Jordan as in the old conventional sources. Furthermore, Deuteronomy 1–3 is linked to 31:1–8 and both form a Deuteronomistic framework for 4:44–30:20. The central concern of this framework is the succession of Joshua. The commissioning of Joshua for the conquest of the land beyond the Jordan is repeated several times in Deuteronomy 1–3 (1:38; 3:21–22, 28) and appears as well in 31:3, 7–8 and this topic opens the book of Joshua. In Deuteronomy 1–3 and 31:1–8 we encounter the same phrases which occur in Joshua 1; compare especially the phrases in Josh 1:5–6, 7, 9 with those of Deut 1–3; 31:1–8: *ḥzq wʾmṣ*, "be strong and courageous" (Josh 1:9; Deut 3:28; 31:6, 7, 23); *ʾl tʾrṣ*, "have no dread" (Josh 1:9; Deut 31:6); *lʾ ʾrpk wlʾ ʾʿzbk*, "I will not fail you and not forsake you" (Josh 1:5; Deut 31:6, 8); *lʾ tyrʾ wlʾ tḥt*, "fear not and be not dismayed" (Josh 8:1; 10:25; Deut 1:21; 31:8); *ʾth/hwʾ tnḥyl/ynḥyl (hʾrṣ)*, "You/he [Joshua] will give the land as inheritance" (Josh 1:6, 7; Deut 1:38; 3:28; 31:7). By the same token the conquest of Transjordan by the two and a half tribes in Josh 1:12–18 corresponds to Deut 3:12–20, cf. especially Deut 3:18–20 with Josh 1:14–15.

The Deuteronomistic framework of the book should not be, however, limited to chaps. 1–3 and 31:1–8. Deut 4:1–40 and especially 4:25–31 correspond to Deut 30:1–10, 15–20. Both sermons foresee the repentance of Israel and the return to its land (4:25–31; 30:1–10). This is actually envisaged in the Deuteronomistic prayer ascribed to Solomon in 1 Kgs 8:44–53 (Wolff 1972).

One should, however, take account of the fact that chaps. 1–3, in spite of being historical in nature, are styled in the first person (as a discourse of Moses) just as are the other chapters of Deuteronomy. Besides, unlike the historiographic accounts of the Deuteronomist in Joshua 1:2ff. which mainly narrate events, chaps. 1–3 are homiletic in character and have much in common with the hortatory of chaps. 5–28. Thus we find here, as in chaps. 5–28, admonitions (cf. 1:26, 43 with 9:7, 23–24), examples of divine care (cf. 1:31 with 8:5), divine blessing (cf. 2:7 with 12:7, 14–24, 29; 15:4, 6, 10, 14, 18, etc.), and similes of different kinds, which are also found in the second introduction, such as "great numerous and tall" (cf. 1:28; 2:10, 21; 4:38 with 9:1–2; 11:23), "large cities fenced into heaven" (*ʿrym gdwlt wbṣrwt bšmym,* cf. 1:28 with 9:1), "it is forty years" (*zh ʾrbʿym šnh,* cf. 2:7 with 8:2, 4), "so much as foot can tread" (*mdrk kp rgl,* cf. 2:5 with 11:24). One must admit, therefore, that although Deuteronomy 1–4 is to be dated in the exilic period, that is the period of the crystallization of the Deuteronomistic literature, from the point of view of genre it belongs to Deuteronomy and not to the historiography of the Former Prophets.

**F. "Singular" and "Plural" Layers**

The composite nature of the book is recognizable not only in its framework but also in the code which forms the basic section of the book. Thus in chap. 12, two parallel sets of prescriptions about the centralization of the cult are found: vv 1–12 and 13–25. The two sets are distinguished by their styles: in the former the people are addressed mainly in the second person plural (exceptions: vv 12:1a, 7b) while in the latter the address in mainly in the second person singular (except v 24a). The distinction between the singular and plural addresses was observed and used as a criterion for establishing different layers in the book already in 1861 (Begg 1979). This theory was sytematically applied by W. Staerk (1894), by C. Steuernagel (1894; 1923), and later by G. Minnette de Tillesse (1962). Indeed one must admit that there are duplicates and overlapping in Deuteronomy which can be explained by the existence of two separate sources: "singular" and "plural"; compare Deut 6:7–9 with 11:18–20; 12:1–12 with 12:13-25. However, not all of the interchanges of second person singular and plural in Deuteronomy can be explained on literary-critical grounds. The change may simply be a didactic device to impress the individual or collective listener, or it may reflect the urge for literary variation. Certain changes in stylistic addresses can be explained by the supposition that an expression is being quoted (Begg 1980): e.g., 11:19b singular in a plural context which seems to be a quotation from 6:7b. Shifts from singular to plural and vice versa come often in order to heighten the tension, as the example in 4:19, where after the reference in singular to the apostate nations comes the address in plural to Israel which was chosen from other nations (v 20). The author shifts to plural in order to create a contrast between Israel and the nations.

The change in the form of address may be recognized also in the pre-Deuteronomic sources, such as Exod 22:21–23:

> A stranger shall *thou* not wrong, neither shall *thou* oppress him, for *you* were strangers in the land of Egypt … if *thou* dost afflict him … I will surely hear … his cry and my anger shall blaze forth and I will kill *you* with the sword …

The shift from plural to singular and vice versa is also found in the ANE covenantal documents, e.g., the Aramaic Sefire treaties III: 4, 16, 23: *šqrtm,* "*you* will trespass" and in the continuation III: 9, 14, 20 and 27: *šqrt,* "*thou* will trespass" (Fitzmyer 1967: 96–100). Even in places where the distinction between singular and plural forms of address seems to indicate layers like the repetition in chap. 12 (see above), there are still interchanges which cannot be explained by the literary-critical criterion. Repetitions are encountered within units of common style. Thus in the plural section of chap. 12, vv 11–12 repeat vv 4–7. Steuernagel considered these as two different sources and therefore maintained that there were three strands in the chapter. In truth a repetition appears also within the singular section itself: vv 15–16 = vv 20, 22–24; one may, therefore, postulate the existence of 4 layers in chap. 12.

Furthermore, within the plural sections of Deuteronomy 12, singular addresses may be found, as 12:1a and 7b, and vice versa the passage in singular (vv 13–25) contains an address in plural (v 16a). Similar inconsistencies are to be found in the parallel passage of 6:7–9, and in 11:18–20 a singular address is attested in 19b which might be seen as a quotation from 6:7b.

In some instances the verse would lose its sense completely if one isolates sources as, e.g., in 4:25: "when *thou* shall beget children and children's children and *you* shall be long established … in the land and *ye* shall act wickedly." The singular without the continuing plural does not make any sense. The singular of the first clause seems to be influenced by the previous verse, which is styled in singular.

In sum, although in some cases the interchange of singular and plural addresses may indicate the existence of different layers, in general the interchange reflects stylistic variations introduced by the same author.

**G. Deuteronomy—The Archimedean Point of the History of the Pentateuchal Literature**

**1. Date of Deuteronomy.** The existence of sources in the Pentateuch had been established since J. Astruc in 1753, but no clue for the dates of the composition of the sources had been found. The one who supplied the clue was W. M. L. de Wette in his work of 1805. Trying to trace the historical circumstances underlying the book of Deuteronomy, de Wette found a correspondence between the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah and the legislation of Deuteronomy. Hezekiah was the first to centralize worship in Israel (2 Kgs 18:4, 22). Before the time of Hezekiah, places of worship throughout the land were considered indispensable for the religious life of Israel, so that, for Elijah, destroying altars of YHWH was tantamount to slaying his prophets (1 Kgs 19:10, 14). On the other hand, in the legislative literature in Israel the demand for cult centralization occurs for the first time in Deuteronomy. This book would therefore be a model or inspiration, or a reflection of them, for reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah. These reforms are reflected in Deuteronomy not only in the law of centralization but also in: (1) the prohibition against pillars in the worship of YHWH (16:22), which according to the older sources is legitimate and even desirable (Gen 28:18; 35:14; Exod 24:4; Josh 24:26); (2) the references to "astral worship" (*ṣbʾ hšmym*, Deut 4:19; 17:3), which is not mentioned in the earlier parts of the Pentateuch and seems to have been introduced into Judah through Assyrian influence in the 8th century B.C.E. (Weinfeld 1972b: 133–54); (3) the correspondence between the manner of celebrating Passover in the days of Hezekiah (2 Chronicles 30) and Josiah (see below) and the prescription in Deut 16:1–8. According to 2 Kgs 23:22, Passover had not been celebrated in such a manner since the times of the judges.

No less important for the date of Deuteronomy is the unique style of this book, both in its phraseology and manner of discourse (rhetoric). Style such as that was not found in any of the historical and prophetic traditions before the 7th century B.C.E. Conversely, from the 7th century onward almost all of the historical and the prophetical literature is permeated by this style. Theologically and stylistically Deuteronomy has become the touchstone for dating the sources in the Pentateuch and the historical books of the Old Testament. The legal codes which do not presuppose centralization of cult must therefore be from pre-Hezekianic times. On the other hand, the editorial passages of Kings which evaluate the kings of Judah in accordance with their observance of centralization of cult, and the passages in Joshua and Judges which are styled in Deuteronomic phraseology, cannot be from before the time of Hezekiah. An objective clue has thus been established for fixing the date of the editorial part of the historic literature.

A new dimension has been added to the dating of Deuteronomy by the discovery of the vassal treaties of Essarhaddon (= VTE) of the year 672 B.C.E. Many affinities between VTE and the Deuteronomic covenant have been established (see C. above) and these support the dating of Deuteronomy in the 7th century B.C.E.

**2. The Book of Law (Torah).** The term "Book of the Law" (*seper hattôrâ*) as a sanctified authoritative work which contains all the divine law is encountered for the first time in Israel's history in the account of the reform of Josiah (2 Kings 22–23). In the Pentateuch the term is attested only in Deuteronomy (17:19–20; 28:58; 29:19; 31:11–12) and from here it passed to the Deuteronomistic editorial framework in the Former Prophets (Josh 1:8; 8:34; 23:6; 2 Kgs 14:6). There it is also designated as "the book of law of Moses" (*seper tôrat Mošeh,* Josh 8:31; 23:6; 2 Kgs 14:6). Deuteronomy is, in fact, the only book of the Pentateuch to be ascribed to Moses (Deut 31:9) and the first book to have been sanctified publicly (2 Kgs 23:1–3). Only after the other books were appended to Deuteronomy was the term "Torah" applied to the whole Pentateuch. In the Tetrateuch the term "Torah" designates specific instructions such as "the Torah of the burnt offering/meal offering/sin offering" (Lev 6:2; 7, 18), "the Torah of the guilt offering/well-

being offering" (Lev 7:1, 11), "the Torah of the woman in confinement" (Lev 12:7), "the Torah of the leprosy/leper" (Lev 13:9; 14:2, 32, 54), "the Torah of jealousy" (Num 5:29), and "the Torah for the Nazirite (Num 6:13, 21), cf. also the *tôrôth* as general instructions in Gen 26:5; Exod 16:28; 18:20; Lev 26:46. The transition from Torah as a specific instruction to the sacred "Book of the Torah" of the Josianic period marked a turning point in Israel's spiritual life. The ritual instructions which were kept in priestly circles were written by scribes and wise men (Jer 8:8) and became part of the national lore. This enabled the transfer of the Torah from the priest to the scribe and the sage, as was the case in the Second Temple period. Indeed Ezra, who introduced the Book of Torah into Judah of the Second Temple period, functioned as a scribe (*sôpēr*) (Ezra 7:6, 11, 12; Neh 8:1, 4, etc.). In spite of being a priest, he is named scribe and he performs his religious functions as such. But one should keep in mind that Ezra's function as "scribe of the Torah" (Ezra 7:6, 11) is not a new phenomenon in Israel's life, as H. N. Schaeder (1930) contends, but rather an intensification of the process already started at the time of Josiah. It was the sanctification and publication of "the Book of the Torah" in the time of Josiah that gave rise to scribes with the ability and competence to handle Scripture. Although the real turning point in Torah teaching took place in the period of the Second Temple, it had its roots in the time of Josiah when the process of canonization of Scripture started.

There is a further analogy between Josiah and Ezra. Josiah enforced the law of the "Book of the Torah" both by his royal authority and by means of a pledge taken by the people (2 Kgs 23:1–3). Likewise in the period of Ezra and Nehemiah "the law of Moses" was enforced both on behalf of the Persian crown (Ezra 7:12–26) and on the authority of a pledge, to which the people had agreed in a formal ceremony (*ʾămānāh,* Nehemiah 10).

**3. The Discovery of the Book of the Torah.** The discovery of ancient sacred documents in a temple was always a thrilling event. Thus we read in the Hittite accounts of the 14th–13th centuries B.C.E. that King Muwatalli presents a prayer of confession for negligence in observing the laws of divinity, as written in the law of covenant (*išḫiul*) in the ancient scripture, and promises to do his utmost to rediscover the written covenant of the gods, and to fulfil it:

> Whatever I … now find from written records, this I shall carry out and [what] I have [not] brought into correspondence with the ceremonial rites (*šaklai*) of the gods, you, O storm-god, my lord, know it. And whenever I shall examine (*punušk-*) a venerable old man, as they remember a (certain) rite and tell it, I shall also carry it out … I shall follow the (covenantal) bond (*išḫiul*) of the gods that I am rediscovering, and it shall be henceforth carried on.

(*KB* xi, 1)

The written instructions of the gods which the king is to rediscover are defined here as *išḫiul*, which like Hebrew *bĕrît* represents the covenantal law imposed on the people.

Furthermore, just as Josiah, king of Judah, in the 7th century B.C.E., when he rediscovers the ancient law, promises to fulfill it and asks for forgiveness for the violations of the covenant written in the rediscovered book (2 Kgs 22:13), so also does Muwatalli, saying "I ask for forgiveness of the sin of the country."

Very instructive from the point of view of comparison with Hebrew traditions is the king's declaration that he will carry out whatever had been referred to him through the recollection of a venerable old man. This corresponds to the tradition preserved in the Mishnah tractate of *Eduyyot* concerning the collection of testimonies given by sages on legal matters and not attested to in the conventional written lore.

**H. Deuteronomy as Turning Point in Israelite Religion**

The Josianic reform revolutionized all aspects of Israelite religion. The centralization of the cult was in itself a sweeping innovation in the history of the Israelite cult, but its consequences were, as we shall see, decisively more revolutionary in nature, in that they involved the collapse of an entire system of concepts which for centuries had been regarded as sacrosanct. The elimination of the provincial cult made possible the transformation of Israel's religion into a religion which minimized external expression. Indeed the very purpose of the book of Deuteronomy was to curtail and circumvent the cult and not to extend or enhance it. The Deuteronomic conception of cult is, as we shall show, vastly different from that reflected

in the Tetrateuchal sources. It represents a turning point in the evolution of the faith of Israel. Let us start with the concept of the divine abode.

Deuteronomy defines the sanctuary as "the place where YHWH chose to cause *his name* to dwell there." It has been rightly observed (von Rad 1953: 38–39) that the expression "to cause his name to dwell" (*lškn šmw*) reflects a new theological conception of the Deity and that the repeated consistent employment of this and similar expression (*śwm šmw*; *i hyh šmw*; *qrʾ šmw*; *bnh lšmw*; *hqdyš lšmw*) by the author of Deuteronomy and his followers is intended to combat the ancient popular belief that the Deity actually dwelt within the sanctuary. The Deuteronomic school used this "name" phraseology in a very consistent manner and never made the slightest digression from it. There is not one example in the Deuteronomic literature of God's *dwelling in the temple* or the building of a *house of God.* The Temple is always the *dwelling of his name* and the house is always built *for his name.* This consistency is seen most clearly when a Deuteronomic text is interwoven with an earlier text which does not know the "name theology." Thus, for example, in the authentic part of Nathan's prophecy the main issue is the building of a house for God's dwelling (*lšbtw,* 2 Sam 7:5, 7) while the Deuteronomist (v 13a) (Driver 1913: 276 n. 1.; McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 205–6) speaks about building a house for *his name.* Similarly the building account of the Temple and the ancient story of the dedication of the Temple speak plainly about building a house for God (1 Kgs 6:1, 2; 8:13) while the Deuteronomist, whenever he mentions the building, describes it as being built "for the name of God" (1 Kings 3:2; 5:17, 19; 8:17, 18, 19, 20, 44, 48).

The most definite expression of this theology is to be found in the Deuteronomic litany of Solomon in 1 Kings 8. According to the Deuteronomistic prayer (vv 14–69), the Temple is not God's place of habitation but serves only as a house of worship in which Israelites and foreigners alike may deliver their prayers to the God *who dwells in heaven*. The idea that God's habitation is in heaven is here expressed most emphatically in order to eradicate the belief that the Deity sat enthroned between the cherubim in the Temple. Whenever the expression "your dwelling place" (*mkwn šbtk*) is employed, it is accompanied by the word "in heaven" (vv 30, 39, 43, 49). The Deuteronomist is clearly disputing the view implied by the ancient song that opens the prayer (vv 12–13) and designates the Temple as God's exalted house (*byt zbl*) and a dwelling place (*mkn šbt*) forever. The Deuteronomist in the prayer ascribed to Solomon appended consistently to the expression *mkwn šbtk* the word "in heaven" (*hšmym*) in order to inform us that it is heaven which is meant here and not the Temple as the ancient song implies. In actual fact, however, the term "your dwelling place" (*mkwn šbtk*) in early sources as well as in Solomon's song (vv 12–13) denotes the sanctuary and it is the Deuteronomist who is here attempting to alter this meaning and thereby wrests the song from its original sense.

The theological corrective, i.e. the addition of "heaven" to the phrase "holy habitation," occurs in Deuteronomy itself. In Deut 26:15 the Israelite in his prayer says: "Look down from your holy habitation [*mʿwn qdšk*], from heaven." The words "from heaven" seem to be an explanatory gloss intended to prevent misconstruing the expression "holy habitation" as referring to the sanctuary. Indeed, the fact that the earlier, prevailing conception was that God's habitation (*mʿwn*) was in Zion may be inferred from Ps 76:3: "His abode has been established in Šalem, his habitation [*mʿwntw*] in Zion." This abstract view of the heavenly abode is also reflected in the Deuteronomic account of the Sinaitic revelation. In contrast to the account in Exodus 19 of God's descent upon Mt. Sinai (19:11–20) we read in Deut 4:36 "Out of heaven he let you hear his voice … and on the earth he let you see his great fire and you heard his words out of the midst of the fire." Deuteronomy has, furthermore, taken care to shift the center of gravity of the theophany from the visual to the aural plane. In Exodus 19, the principal danger confronting the people was the likelihood that they might "break through to the Lord to gaze" (v 21); it was to prevent this that there was need to "set bounds for the people round about" (v 12) and to caution them not to ascend the mountain. Indeed, the pre-Deuteronomic texts always invariably speak of the danger of seeing the Deity: "For man shall not see me and live" (Exod 33:20) and similarly in Gen 32:31: "For I have seen God face to face, and yet my life is preserved" (cf. Judg 13:22; Isa 6:5). The book of Deuteronomy, on the other hand, cannot conceive of the possibility of seeing the Divinity. The Israelites saw only "his great fire" which symbolizes his essence and qualities (4:24: "For YHWH your God himself remains in his heavenly

abode"). The danger threatening the people here, and the greatness of the miracle, is that of hearing the voice of the Deity: "Did any people even *hear* the voice of a god speaking out of the midst of the fire as you have *heard*, and survived?" (4:32; cf. 5:23).

This attempt to eliminate the inherent corporality of the traditional imagery also finds expression in Deuteronomy's conception of the ark. The specific and exclusive function of the ark, according to the book of Deuteronomy, is to house the tables of the covenant (10:1–5). No mention is made of the ark cover (*kprt*) and the cherubim which endow the ark with the semblance of a divine chariot or throne (cf. Exod 25:10–22 = P). The holiest vessel to the Israelite cult, in the Deuteronomic view, performs nothing more than an educational function. It houses the tablets upon which the words of God are engraved and at its side is laid the Book of the Torah, from which one reads to the people so that they may learn to fear the Lord (Deut 31:26; cf. vv 12 and 13). The ark does not serve as God's seat upon which he journeys forth to disperse his enemies (Num 10:33–36), but only as the vessel in which the tables of the covenant are deposited. This becomes quite clear when we compare Deut 1:42–43 with Num 14:42–44, a tradition on which the Deuteronomic account is based. In Num 14:44, we read that after the sinful incident of the spies "the ark of the covenant of YHWH departed not out of the camp" and this was the reason for the Israelites' defeat in their subsequent battle with the Amalekites and Canaanites. The Deuteronomic account, on the other hand, completely omits the detail of the ark and ascribes the Israelite defeat to the fact that God was not in their midst without referring to the whereabouts of the ark.

The author of Deuteronomy similarly relates that it was God who went before the people to seek out new resting places (1:33), whereas the earlier source, upon which Deuteronomy depends, relates that it was the ark which journeyed forth before the people to seek out new resting places for them (Num 10:33). The absence of the ark is especially striking in the Deuteronomic law of warfare (23:15). One would expect a passage which speaks of the presence of the Divinity within the military encampment to make some mention of the ark which accompanies the warriors on their expeditions, as in 1 Sam 4:6–7, "And when they learned that the ark of YHWH had come to the camp … they said, the gods have come into the camp." The Deuteronomic law, however, speaks of YHWH as moving about the camp (23:15), but does not make the slightest allusion to the ark or the holy vessels.

A similar conception is encountered in the book of Jeremiah, for instance at 3:16–17, "They shall say no more: 'The ark of the covenant of YHWH.' It shall not come to mind … At that time Jerusalem shall be called the throne of YHWH." In other words, the ark of the covenant shall no longer serve as God's seat, as the people were previously accustomed to believe, but all of Jerusalem shall be "the seat of YHWH," that is in a symbolic sense.

In another passage the prophet declares: " 'Do I not fill heaven and earth?' says the Lord" (23:24). This reminds one of the words of Deutero- (or Trito-) Isaiah when he expressly repudiates the notion of the sanctuary as the place of God's habitation: "Heaven is my throne and the earth is my footstool, what is the house which you build for me? and what is the place of my rest?" (66:1). This view is also met within the Deuteronomic prayer of Solomon: "Behold, heaven and the highest heaven cannot contain thee; how much less this house which I have built" (1 Kgs 8:27). The sanctuary is here conceived as a house of prayer and not as a cultic center. This tendency to minimize the cult is manifest in the book of Deuteronomy and signifies a religious turning point which occurred following the abolition of the high places and the provincial sanctuaries.

The first thing that strikes our attention when endeavoring to grasp the significance of sacrifice in the book of Deuteronomy is that we do not find sacrifice practiced for its own sake. The Deity, in the Deuteronomic view, has no need of the "pleasing odor," (*ryḥ nyḥḥ*) of sacrifices and no mention is made of the "food of God," which is amply attested in the Priestly Code (Lev 1:9, 13, 17; 21:6, 8, 17, 21). Neither is there any mention of the sin-and-guilt offerings designed to atone for involuntary sins, ritual impurity, perjury, theft, and deception (Leviticus 4–5). The author's view seems to be that spiritual purification and repentance—consisting of confession and prayer—and not sacrificial offerings expiate sin. The sole instance in which the book of Deuteronomy does mention a rite analogous in character to the sin-and-guilt offering is in the law of unsolved murder (Deut 21:1–9). Yet interestingly enough it is

precisely this law which reflects Deuteronomy's special attitude toward sacrifice. The rite conducted here does not consist of a sacrificial offering complete with ceremonial slaughter and blood sprinkling, but calls only for the breaking of the heifer's neck in an uncultivated valley. The priests are present during this act, not because they play any part in the execution of the ritual, for this is carried out entirely by the elders, but merely to guarantee the religious aspect of the ceremony by presiding over it. The entire act has a symbolic value: the heifer's neck is broken at the scene of the crime, as it were, and the elders cleanse their hands only as a purificatory expression of their innocence (Pss 24:4; 26:6–10; 73:13; etc.). There is no laying of the hands on the heifer nor a transference of the sin to it as in the case of the ritual scapegoat (Lev 16:21), because its beheading as such does not atone for the sin; expiation is effected only by the confession and prayer uttered at the close of the ceremony (vv 7–8). It is true, the custom itself originated in a rite of elimination (Wright 1987), however, in the present formulation nothing is said about removal of impurity or sin by the priest as in Lev 14:53, 16:22, or about transferring the evil to the open country as in Lev 16:22 and in the Mesopotamian incantations (Wright 1987). In this rite, God absolves the sin himself without recourse to any intermediary; whereas in P all expiatory sacrifices are executed by the priests, whose mediation alone effects the expiation of the sin (cf. the common priestly expression in the book of Leviticus: "and the priest shall make atonement for him"). In the Deuteronomic law, atonement is possible only through the confession of the elders of the city, who, as representatives of the guilty city, beseech absolution through prayers; in P expiation is effected through ritual sacrifice and incense burning which are mostly not accompanied by prayer on the part of the penitent.

Deuteronomic sacrifice consists primarily of offerings which are consumed by the offerer in the sanctuary and are designed to be shared with the poor, the Levite, the alien resident, the orphan, and the widow. The constant emphasis on the obligation to share the sacrificial repast with indigent persons creates the impression that the principal purpose of the offering is to provide nutriment for the destitute elements of Israelite society. The author of Deuteronomy alludes to this himself when, after prescribing that the joyful nature of the festival be shared with the *personae miserabiles,* he goes on to say: "You shall remember that you were a slave in Egypt; and you shall be careful to observe these statutes" (16:22). It is indeed remarkable that the very book which promulgates the law of centralized worship at the "chosen place" has not so much as a word to say about the presentation of communal sacrifices (the daily and seasonal offerings) which constituted the principal mode of worship at this exclusive sanctuary.

Sacrifice according to Deuteronomy is not an institutional practice but a personal one, which has two principal objects: (a) a humanitarian—to share the sacrificial repast with the poor, as noted above; (b) a private—to fulfill a religious obligation and express one's gratitude to the Deity by means of votive offerings (12:6, 11, 17, 26; 23:22–24). God has no need of the sacrifice itself; it is only an expression of gratitude to the Deity, and this constitutes its entire significance. We may perhaps note in passing that the expression *šlm ndr,* "to pay a vow," found in Wisdom Literature (Prov 7:14; Eccl 5:4) is not found in any book of the Pentateuch except Deuteronomy (23:22).

The same attitude is revealed in the only passage in Deuteronomy (12:27) that describes the manner in which the sacrifice is to be offered. The verse differentiates between nonburnt offerings and burnt offerings (*ʿwlh*), and ordains that the flesh and blood of the burnt offering be offered up entirely on the altar, whereas the blood of the nonburnt is to be poured upon the altar and the meat eaten. It is most surprising that the author makes no mention of the burning of the suet, the fat piece which is set aside for God and which thus renders the meat permissible for priestly and lay consumption (1 Sam 2:12–17).

Sacrifice, however, is not the only rite to be conceived differently by the book of Deuteronomy, for all laws pertaining to cult and ritual are here conceived more rationally than in the earlier sources. This is particularly evident in the laws contained in chaps. 12–19, laws which are a direct consequence of the implementation of cult centralization and form the legal basis of the religious reformation. These laws clearly mirror the change in religious beliefs and attitudes which occurred in the wake of the reform.

Chapter 12 promulgates the law of centralized worship at the chosen place, but alongside this law or as a result of it, we find the authorization permitting nonsacrificial slaughter. Whereas before the reform all slaughter—except that of game animals—was deemed to be a sacral act and was prohibited even for

nonsacrificial purposes unless the blood was sprinkled upon the altar (Lev 17:1–7; cf. 1 Sam 14:32–35), it was now permissible to perform nonsacrificial slaughter without being obliged to sprinkle the blood upon an altar (Deut 12:15, 16, 20–24). It need hardly be said that the sanctioning of profane slaughter freed a significant aspect of Israelite daily life from its ties to the cultus. The more crucial import of the law, however, is that by sanctioning nonsacrificial slaughter it repudiates the hallowed Israelite dogma which ascribed a sacral quality to the blood and prohibited one from pouring it upon the ground. According to the Priestly Document or, to be more precise, the Holiness Code, the blood of slaughtered animals potentially valid for sacrifice must be sprinkled upon the altar, whereas the blood of game animals—which are invalid for sacrifice—must be covered with dust (Lev 17:13): for all spilt blood, even of fowl and beasts of prey, cries out for vengeance and satisfaction, and if the shedding of blood cannot be atoned by offering it upon the altar, then it must be covered up. Uncovered blood begs, as it were, for an avenger (Job 16:18, "O earth, cover not my blood …" cf. Isa 26:21; Ezek 24:7–8), a role which, in the case of homicide, is assumed by the Deity. The author of Deuteronomy, on the other hand, declares that the blood of all animals slaughtered for nonsacrificial purposes may be poured upon the ground like water (12:16 and 24), thereby asserting that blood has no more a sacral value than water has. He does, to be sure, retain the interdiction on the eating of blood (cf. Deut 12:23 with Gen 9:4; Lev 17:11), but he absolutely repudiates the concept that the spilt blood of animals requires satisfaction.

The book of Deuteronomy also contains a less sacral conception of the tithes than the other Pentateuchal sources. The tithe, which the Priestly Document designates as "holy to the Lord" (Lev 27:30–33), and which according to a second tradition accrues to the Levites (Num 18:21–32), remains by Deuteronomic legislation the property of the original owner (14:22–27). Furthermore, it may be secularized and employed for profane purposes on payment of its equivalent monetary value (without the addition of the fifth part required by P [Lev 27:31]). This provision seems to be yet another expression of the liberation of the cultus from its intimate ties to nature. The sanctity of the tithe is not conceived as an inherent quality of the grain or animal, as in the Priestly Document (Lev 27:30–33); for it is man who consecrates it and may, if he wishes, secularize it through redemption. In the Deuteronomic view, sanctity is not a taboo that inheres in things which by nature belong to the divine realm but is rather a consequence of the religious intentions of the person who consecrates it.

Like the tithe, the firstling is also taken from the possession of the priest and is restored to the owner. According to JE (Exod 22:29; 34:19) and P (Num 18:15–17) the firstling is "holy to YHWH" whether it is given to the Lord (Exod 22:29) or presented to his servants (i.e., the priests, according to P, Num 18:17–18), while according to Deuteronomy it remains in the possession of its original owner, although he is obliged to consume it at the chosen place. Indeed, it is the law of the firstlings which informs us of the author's negative attitude toward holy taboo. In the earlier laws the regulations pertaining to the redemption of the firstlings of clean animals are always accompanied by regulations concerning the firstborn of humans and the firstlings of unclean animals (Exod 13:2, 12, 15; 22:28–29; 34:19–20; Lev 27:26–27; Num 18:15–18). The book of Deuteronomy, however, omits the laws of the human firstborn and the firstlings of unclean animals, because these regulations in no way advance its humanitarian purposes (the participation of the *personae miserabiles* in the consumption of the firstlings), and because they are based on mythical and magical conception which the author of Deuteronomy does not share.

The severance of these laws from the realm of myth and magic finds its clearest expression in the Deuteronomic ordinances concerning the paschal sacrifice. According to the JE and P documents, the paschal sacrifice is a domestic celebration accompanied by apotropaic rites of an animistic nature: the paschal blood is daubed upon the lintel and doorposts (Exod 12:7 [= P], 22 [= JE]), the animal must be roasted together with its head, legs, and inner parts (Exod 12:11). In the Deuteronomic law, however, not the slightest reminiscence of these magical prescriptions has been preserved. The paschal ritual has instead been converted into a communal sacrifice which must be offered up at the central sanctuary like all other sacrifices. The paschal offering—which is the most ancient sacrifice in Israel's tradition and which apparently originates from the tribes' former nomadic life—succeeded in preserving its early primitive character until it was here divested of its original import and recast in a form more consistent

with the spirit of the times. Even the earliest features of the sacrifice, such as the requirement that it be selected only from sheep or goats, or that it be roasted by fire—which attest to the nomadic origin of the ritual—have been completely obscured by the Deuteronomic law. The new provision allows the Israelite to select the animal from cattle as well as sheep and goats (Deut 16:2) and permits it to be cooked like any other ordinary sacrifice (v 7).

**I. The National Renaissance at the Times of Hezekiah and Josiah**

After the fall of Samaria, Hezekiah, king of Judah, made efforts to draw the northern population toward Jerusalem, as may be learned from 2 Chronicles 30. Although the book of Chronicles is a tendentious work we have no right to see the events themselves as fiction. The flow of northerners to Jerusalem in those days is now attested archaeologically. At the end of the 8th century B.C.E., Jerusalem underwent an expansion never encountered before; the same applies to the territory of Judah. As shown by Avigad (1980: 23ff.), Jerusalem of that time included the western hill of the city, now the Jewish quarter. By the same token, the settlement of Judah grew immensely at this period and the population doubled (Kochavi 1972: 20–21). The only explanation for this situation is that after the fall of the N kingdom Israelites began to migrate to the S to the territories under the control of their brethren (Broshi 1974: 23–26). People from the N were attached after the fall of the N kingdom to Jerusalem and its cult. This appears evident from the fact that after the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem, people from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria made pilgrimages to the Temple site (Jer 41:5). It seems that in this period, the hatred between Judah and Israel vanished and some kind of symbiosis of the sister nations was established. This is reflected perhaps in Isaiah's consolation oracle of this time:

> Ephraim's jealousy shall vanish and Judah's enmity shall end, Ephraim shall not envy Judah and Judah shall not harass Ephraim.
> (11:13)

In the continuation of this oracle we read about the expansion of Israel and Judah toward the Philistine territory in the W on the one hand and Ammon, Moab, and Edom in the E on the other (v 14). The period of Hezekiah was indeed a period of great expansion. In 2 Kgs 18:8 we hear about Hezekiah overrunning Philistia as far as Gaza and, from 1 Chr 4:41–43, we learn about his incursion toward Seir in the S. It is this period that "the remnant of Israel … and the house of Jacob" return to the Lord and to "mighty God" (*ʾl gbwr*); this equals "Hezek-iah" and seems to allude to King Hezekiah (Isa 10:20–21). As has been recently seen by H. Cazelles (1982), the remnant which returns (*šʾr yšwb*) represents the Israelites from the N who join Judah and accept the authority of Hezekiah, styled—among other things—"El Gibbor" (cf. Isa 9:5). The same imagery is found in Micah 5:1. Micah speaks about the youngest of the clans of Judah, who will rule Israel (5:1–2). This rectifies the earlier situation when Judah was cut off from the other tribes (Deut 33:7: "Hear, O Lord, the voice of Judah and bring him back to his people"). Micah goes on to say that the leader of Judah "will stand and shepherd by the might of YHWH … Assyria with the sword" (vv 4–6). This suits Hezekiah, who rebelled against the king of Assyria and expanded the territory of his kingdom (before the invasion of Sennacherib).

This period of national revival may explain the nationalistic and patriotic atmosphere prevailing in Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic literature. The book of Deuteronomy abounds with military speeches aimed at strengthening the people in their future wars with their enemies (Weinfeld 1972a: 45–59). These in fact reflect the national fervor of the times of Hezekiah-Josiah. Remarks such as "be strong and courageous" (*ḥzq wʾmṣ*), "no man shall be able to stand against you" (*lʾ ytyṣb ʾyš bpnykm*), "every spot on which your foot treads shall be yours," and "YHWH your God will put the dread and the fear on you over the land in which you set foot" (11:24–25) seem to express the national enthusiasm of the period of Hezekiah-Josiah. I refer to the Hezekianic or Josianic period because it is very hard to date the various layers of Deuteronomic literature. Since the book of Deuteronomy was discovered in the days of Josiah (622 B.C.E.) we must suppose that the main layout of the book was existent long before that time—that is, at the time of Hezekiah. However, we still do not know what belongs to later Josianic elaboration and what existed before.

The idea of the ban on all Canaanite population also seems to have crystallized at this time. According to the book of Deuteronomy, the Israelites are commanded to exterminate all the Canaanites and not to leave a soul of them living (Deut 7:1–2; 20:16–17). Such a policy, obliging the extermination of the whole population of the land whether fighting or passive, is utopian and is indeed unheard of in the historical accounts of Israel. On the contrary, from 1 Kgs 9:21 we learn that the Israelites were unable to annihilate the inhabitants of Canaan, and Solomon subjected them to corvée labor. The command of ban (*ḥerem*) of all the Canaanites in Deuteronomy is a utopian program which reflects the bitter struggle with the Canaanite religion and culture ongoing from the time of Elijah until the time of Josiah. Indeed the reason for the annihilation of the Canaanites in Deut 20:18 is one of *Kulturkampf:* "lest they [the Canaanites] lead you into doing all the abominable things that they have done for their gods and you shall be sinful to YHWH your God." One should acknowledge that the *ḥerem* as such was practiced in ancient Israel as elsewhere in the ancient world. It is found in connection with Jericho (Josh 6:17), Amalek (1 Samuel 15) and is also applied to apostate or treacherous cities within Israel such as the city condemned for idolatry in Deut 13:16 and the cities of Benjamin which were banned because of the sin of Gibeah (Judg 20:40, 48). It seems that Deuteronomy adopted the ancient doctrine of *ḥerem* from the North (cf. also 1 Kgs 20:42) and applied it theoretically toward the seven nations of the land of Canaan. The original *ḥerem* referred to hostile cities, banned by means of votive proclamations (Josh 6:17; Num 21:2–3), whereas Deuteronomy conceived *ḥerem* as an automatic decree which applied to a whole country and its inhabitants. This sort of *ḥerem* is not dependent on any vow or dedication, but is an a priori decree which belongs more to theory than to practice.

The national patriotic attitude of Deuteronomy may also be recognized in its conception of the extent of the promised land. According to the ancient sources of the Pentateuch and, especially, the list of boundaries in Num 34:1–15, Transjordan was not part of the land of Israel. The request of the Gadites and Reubenites to settle in Transjordan was considered by Moses as a sin (Num 32:14), and from Josh 22:19 we may deduce that Transjordan was considered "impure land." The stories of the Conquest in Joshua 2–9 also make it clear that the Conquest started with the crossing of the Jordan. The passage of the Jordan and the erecting of the stones at Gilgal actually commemorate the entrance into the promised land (Josh 3:10; 5:1 etc.). This old conception about the Jordan being the border of the land was not accepted by Deuteronomy. According to Deuteronomy 1–3, the Conquest of the land started with the crossing of the river Arnon (Deut 2:24) at the border between Moab and the Mishor, the territory of King Sihon. In accordance with this view, the Israelites apply the law of *ḥerem* to these territories (2:34; 3:6) just as they are commanded to do to the peoples of the western side of the Jordan (Deut 20:16–17). The conquered territories of the eastern side of the Jordan are divided among the tribes as are the other parts of the promised land, and are not just a gift on condition as in Numbers 32. The author of Deuteronomy accepted the ideal borders of Gen 15:18, which reflected the borders of the Davidic kingdom, as binding borders (Deut 1:7; 11:24); for him, therefore, Transjordan was an integral part of the land (Deut 34:1). In this manner, the author of Deuteronomy affords Transjordan a status equal with that of Cisjordan; this looks like an endeavor to restore Israel to its ideal borders of the Davidic-Salomonic period (Weinfeld 1983).

The national resurgence of the period of Hezekiah and Josiah explains the feelings of superiority expressed in Deuteronomy. Israel is promised exaltation above all nations of the earth (26:19), to be always at the top and never at the bottom (28:13); people who hear the laws of Israel will say: "That great nation is a wise and understanding people" (4:6); "Israel will rule many nations but they will not rule it" (15:6). The book of Deuteronomy depicts Israel as a proud nation unfearful but feared. In accordance with this, it changes and reworks old sources. In Numbers, the Israelites asked permission from Edom to cross its territory. The Edomites refused and went out against the Israelites in force (Num 20:14–21). In the book of Deuteronomy, the opposite happens: not only do the Israelites pass Edom and buy food there (2:6, 29), but the Edomites fear the Israelites and the Israelites are asked not to exploit this fact in order to provoke the Edomites (2:4–5) (Weinfeld 1967).

The national pride prevailing in Deuteronomy comes to bold expression in the account of Moses' appointing officers for judging the people. According to Exodus 18 the appointment arose from the advice of Jethro the priest of Midian. In Deut 1:13–17, Moses appoints the officers on his own initiative. Jethro is not mentioned at all because, as A. B. Ehrlich says in regard to Deut 1:9: "in the Deuteronomist's days it was not glorious to tell the people that a foreigner contrived such a plan" (1908–14).

**J. The Land in Deuteronomy**

The gift of the land to Israel, according to the old sources, is a perpetual, unconditional gift (Gen 13:15; 17:8; 48:4). Similarly David was given a dynasty forever (2 Sam 7:13, 16; 23:5; Ps 89:30, etc.) because he served God with loyalty (1 Kgs 3:6; 9:4; 11:4, etc.). As I have shown elsewhere (Weinfeld 1970), the promises to Abraham and to David belong to the type of "grant" to royal servants who devoted themselves to their master, the king. These "grant" documents were common in the ANE from the middle of the second millennium onward, and like the biblical promises (Gen 17:8; 48:4) contained the phrase: "I grant it to you for your descendants after you throughout the generation" (Gen 17:7–8) or "for your descendants forever" (*lzrʿk ʿd ʿwlm*) (Gen 13:15); compare Deut 1:8 (for these legal formulae in Alalakh, Ugarit, and Elephantine, see Weinfeld 1970). In contrast to the vassal treaty, which constitutes an obligation of the vassal to his sovereign, the royal "grant" constitutes an obligation of the sovereign to his vassal.

However, following the fall of the N kingdom an explanation was sought for the failure of the promise and the explanation given was that the realization of the promise to the patriarchs was conditioned a priori by the fulfillment of the obligatory covenant of the Israelites at Sinai in which they committed themselves to keep the laws of God. Two covenants which existed separately—the covenant of God with the patriarchs on land (grant type) and the covenant of Israel with God on law (vassal type)—were thus combined and were seen as dependent on one another (4:25–27; 8:19–20; 11:8–10, 13–17, 22–25; 28:63; 29:24–27; 30:17–18). The same thing happened with the Davidic covenant. After the fall of Jerusalem the divine promise for an eternal dynasty to David which was originally unconditioned (2 Sam 7:13–15) was understood as conditional by the fulfillment of the Sinaitic covenant (1 Kgs 2:3–4; 8:23–25).

Although the loss of land is a punishment for the violation of the covenant, which means abrogation of the law in general, principal sins are specified for which the people will go into exile. Thus, according to the Holiness Code, the land will be desolate and the people will go into exile because of not keeping the laws of land release (Lev 26:34–35). Deuteronomy, however, specifies idolatry as the principal sin for losing the land: "Beware lest your heart be seduced and you turn away to serve other gods … for YHWH's anger will flame up against you and he will shut up the skies and there will be no rain and the land will not yield its produce and you will perish from the good land that YHWH is giving you" (11:16–17, cf. 4:25–28; 29:23–27; 30:17–18).

Going in exile and desolation of the land are also specified as punishment for betrayal in the vassal treaties. Thus we read in VTE liness 538–44: "may your seed and the seed [of your sons] and daughters perish from the land (if you violate the treaty)" (Weinfeld 1972a: 133). Similar threats occur in the Hittite treaties with their vassals: "may they break you like reeds, may your name and your seed … perish from the land" (Weidner 1923: 34–35, lines 64–66). The latter two curses: "breaking like a reed" and "perishing from the land" are found both together in Deuteronomic historiography: "YHWH will strike Israel … like a reed in water and will uproot Israel from this good land which he gave to their fathers" (1 Kgs 14:16).

The whole Deuteronomic corpus actually revolves around the fate of the land of Israel. As has been indicated above, the Deuteronomic law is given to the people for its observance after the entrance into the land (Deut 12:1). The promised land and the occupation of the land is dependent upon the observance of the law (4:26; 11:17; 28:63; 30:19). The aim of the Deuteronomic historiography is to describe the fate of the land of Israel following the sins of the nations. The sins of the period of the judges caused the curtailment of the land in its ideal borders. The "remaining land" (*hʾrṣ hnšʾrt,* Josh 13:2), i.e., the coastal area and the Lebanon (Josh 13:2–5; Judg 3:3) was taken away from the Israelites forever because of their sins after the Conquest (Josh 23:12; Judg 2:21–29). By the same token, the sin of the northern Israelites

caused the loss of the territories of the north (2 Kgs 17:7–23) while the fall of Jerusalem and the exile of Judah was caused by the sins of Judah (2 Kgs 21:12–15; Weinfeld 1984: 120–22). It is this consciousness of sin of the Israelites from the Conquest to the Exile that motivated the writing of the Deuteronomic historiography.

It should be remarked, however, that the loss of land is not presented in Deuteronomy as final. If Israel returns to God in the Exile God will recall the promise to the patriarchs and will bring them back to their land (Deut 4:27–31; 30:1–10). It is true that these are late texts (see above) but the idea itself may be of early origin (Hos 13:2–8).

In Deuteronomy the land is depicted not just as "a land of milk and honey" as in the previous sources (Exod 3:8, 17; 13:5; 33:3; Lev 20:24; Num 13:27; 14:8) but as a rich land in every respect: a land of grain, wines, and all sorts of fruits and also of natural resources as iron and copper (8:7–9). Unlike Egypt, which is flat, rainless with only the Nile incessantly flowing through a monotonous landscape, the promised land has a nice variegated landscape: "hills and valleys" through which brooks spring forth (8:7), soaking water from heaven (11:11). The comparison is a theological and not an empirical one: the rain from heaven expresses divine providence. The Egyptians developed a theology of opposite nature. According to their view, the barbarians and the animals depend on the water from heaven, whereas for the Egyptians the water comes from the underground (see notes to 11:10–12 in *Deuteronomy* AB). Moreover, Deuteronomy's view on Egypt stands in opposition to the other sources of the Pentateuch where Egypt is represented as a most fertile land: "as the garden of YHWH" (Gen 13:10, cf. Exod 16:3; Num 16:13; 20:5).

**K. The Idea of the Election of Israel**

The particularity of Israel was expressed in the ancient Israelite sources by expressions such as "knew" (*yd*ʿ) and "separated" (*hbdyl*). Thus Abraham was "known" by God, which means "singled out" in order that his descendants will keep justice and righteousness (Gen 18:19). The same expression is found in Amos 3:2: "you alone have I known [= singled out] from all the families of the earth." In the Holiness Code the particularity of Israel is expressed by the phrases "separate"/"set apart" (*hbdyl*): "I have set you apart from other peoples to be mine" (Lev 20:26). In Deuteronomy this idea is for the first time expressed by the verb "elect" (*bḥr*). This is linked here (7:6; 14:2; 26:18) to the idea of *sĕgullāh* ("special possession," *sigiltu* in Akkadian) which is rooted in the ANE political sphere where the sovereign singles out his vassal by giving him a status of *sglt* (*PRU* V No. 60:7–12, see note to 7:6) which means *peculium*, "special property." Theologically, the peculiar status of the people was defined as "holy people" (*mqdwš,* Deut 7:6; 14:1, 21). In Exod 19:5–6 the *sĕgullāh* is linked to *gôy qdwš,* "holy nation," but there the special status of the people serves as reward for being loyal to the covenant (19:5a) while in Deuteronomy the election serves as a motivation for observing the laws and especially laws of purity and rejection of pagan practices: "You shall not eat *nebelah* … because you are a holy people to YHWH your God" (14:21; cf. 14:1–2 against self-mutilation and 7:1–5 against idolatry).

A distinction should also be made between the Holiness Code concept of holiness and the Deuteronomic one. While the Holiness Code urges the people to sanctify themselves and to be holy: "you shall be holy" (*qdšym thyw,* Lev 19:2) or "you shall be holy to me" (Lev 20:26), "you shall sanctify yourselves and be holy" (*whtqdštm whyytm qdšym,* Lev 11:44)—hence not to contaminate their souls with impurity, Deuteronomy reverses the order and urges the people not to contaminate themselves because *they are holy to God* by virtue of their election "because you are holy people to YHWH your God" (*ky* ʾ*m qdwš* ʾ*th lYHWH* ʾ*lhyk,* 7:6; 14:1, 21). In the Holiness Code holiness depends on observing purity (Exod 22:30: "You shall be holy to me, you should not eat flesh torn by beasts …"), whereas according to Deuteronomy observance of purity is bound to the holiness of the people which is an established fact. It is true, from the point of view of piety, that the concept of holiness in the Holiness Code is more intense: Israel has to deserve to be holy and is not holy automatically (Milgrom 1973: 158), whereas in Deuteronomy the holiness is inherent in the people and is not conditioned by preserving purity. One should admit, however, that in both cases the privilege of being holy involves obligation: *noblesse oblige*.

This applies also to Gen 18:19 and Amos 3:2 where the singling out of the people means responsibility and self-perfection.

It should be added here that there was awareness of the moral danger that the election might involve. The consciousness of election is apt to foster a superiority complex and therefore the author of Deuteronomy, when speaking about election, is eager to add that it is not the virtue and strength of the nation that caused the election, but that the love of God to the patriarchs is the main reason for choosing their descendants (Deut 7:7–8; 9:4–5).

In the Second Temple period the election of Israel was interpreted as God's giving of Torah and Sabbath to Israel. God's bestowal of Torah and Sabbath upon Israel was seen as a graceful act and a sign of election (Neh 9:7–14). This is also attested in a passage from the book of *Jubilees* of liturgical nature (2:31–33) and constitutes an important element in the festive prayers of Qumran (4Q*503:24–25* in Baillet 1982) and in the conventional Jewish liturgy for Sabbaths and festivals (Kosmala 1959: 339; Weinfeld 1988b).

**L. Deuteronomy and Wisdom Literature**

The book of Deuteronomy has a lot of verbal and conceptional affinities to Wisdom Literature. Thus, for example, the term "abomination of YHWH" (*tw*ʿ*bt* YHWH), which is found in the OT only in Deuteronomy and in the book of Proverbs, has its parallels in Sumerian wisdom literature, in the Akkadian proverbs (Hallo 1985), and in the Egyptian wisdom instructions of Amenemope (Weinfeld 1972a: 265–69).

As R. Yaron (1985) has demonstrated, many abomination proverbs are structured as tricolons, as for example Prov 17:15:

> he that justifies the wicked
> and he that condemns the just
> both are an abomination for YHWH

which is to be compared with the Mesopotamian proverb:

> the one who perverts justice
> the one who loves an unjust verdict
> it is an abomination to UTU (Šamaš).

(Young 1972)

Especially relevant for our purpose is Prov 20:10:

> alternate weight (ʾ*bn w*ʾ*bn*)
> one alternate measure (ʾ*yph w*ʾ*yph*)
> both are abomination to YHWH.

The latter has been legally formulated by Deuteronomy:

> You shall not have in your bag alternate weight (ʾ*bn w*ʾ*bn*), great and small …
> for abomination to YHWH is everyone who does such things.

(25:13–16)

In order to adjust the matter to the spirit of the book Deuteronomy adds the motive clause of retribution (v 15).

There are also other significant overlappings in content between Deuteronomy and Wisdom. Laws which have no parallels in the Tetrateuch have their parallels in Wisdom Literature. Thus the injunctions about "neither adding nor detracting" of the word of God is found only in Deut 4:2; 13:1; and in Prov 30:5–6 (cf. Eccl 3:14; Weinfeld 1972a: 261–65). The injunction about removal of boundaries (Deut 19:14; 27:17) and falsification of weights and measures (25:13–16) have their verbal parallels in Prov 22:28; 23:10; 11:1; 20:10, 23 and in Egyptian wisdom (Amenemope XVII:15–XIX:3; Lichtheim, *AEL* 2:157). Furthermore, like in Deuteronomy and in Proverbs the Amenemope exhortations about falsifying weights and measures are motivated, as indicated above, by the same rationale: "for it is an abomination to YHWH" (Deut 25:13–16; Prov 11:1; 20:10, 23) and "abomination of Re" in the Egyptian wisdom of Amenemope (XVIII:15–XIX:3).

The warning against vows and cultic commitments in Deut 23:22–26 has its parallel in Eccl 5:1–5. Although Ecclesiastes is a late book it contains a great deal of early material (cf. 9:7–9 with the Gilgamesh epic, *NET* 90, and with the Egyptian Song of the Harper [Lichtheim, *AEL* 1: 193–97] and cf. the Mesopotamian parallel to Eccl 4:9–12 [Shaffer 1967; 1969]). Warnings against rash declarations and vows are a frequent topic of Israelite wisdom (Prov 20:13; 18:7) and non-Israelite wisdom as well, cf. the Babylonian injunction: "guard your lips, do not utter solemn oaths … for what you say in a moment will follow you afterwards" (*BWL* 104, 131–33). The motivation for restraint in this area is distinctly utilitarian, typical of sapiential literature. There is consequently no reason to see Pentateuchal influence on this passage in Qoheleth. The style of the exhortation in Qoheleth: "It is better (*ṭwb*) that you should not vow than that you should vow and not pay" (5:4) is sapiential and is characterized by the gnomic dicta which begins with the word "better" (*ṭwb*) (on the *ṭwb* sayings see Zimmerli 1933: 192–94). While using this maxim, Deuteronomy reworked it in order to accommodate it to the religious aims of the book. In place of the neutral sapiential rationale: "for (God) has no pleasure with fools" (5:3) the author of Deuteronomy supplied it with a religious rationale: "for YHWH your God will surely require it from you" (23:22).

Another law which parallels a sapiential exhortation is Deut 23:16: "You shall not extradite a slave to his master," which corresponds to Prov 30:10: "do not slander a servant to his master" (LXX, Syriac, and Weinfeld 1972a: 272–73). Such prescriptions of humane nature are characteristic of Wisdom Literature and are quite strange to be found in a legal code which by nature is concerned with stabilizing interclass relationships rather than prescribing laws which would undermine them (for the duty to extradite slaves, see *ANET*, 166–167 [#15–20], 190 [#22–24]).

The predilection for wisdom in Deuteronomy is recognized in several other places:

(1) Observance of the commandments equals wisdom and understanding (4:6) and the people of Israel who observe the laws and the commandments are considered "a wise and understanding people" (*ʿm ḥkm wnbwn*; 4:6b). (The same term is applied to Joseph [Gen 41:39] and to Solomon [1 Kgs 3:12].) This equation implies some kind of identification of wisdom with law which took place in Israel in the 7th century B.C.E., the period in which scribes and wise men began to take an active part in the composition of legal literature (Jer 8:8; see above; Weinfeld 1972a: 150–51).

(2) According to Deut 1:9–18, Moses appoints "men of understanding and full of knowledge" (*ḥkmym, nbwnym, ydʿym*) in order to judge the people. In the old tradition of Exod 18:13–27, the appointed judges are to possess different qualities: "capable men who fear God, trustworthy men who hate gain." According to Deuteronomy leaders and judges must possess intellectual qualities: wisdom, understanding, and knowledge—traits which characterize the leader and judge in Wisdom Literature (Prov 8:15–16). The same attitude is revealed when Deut 16:19 is compared with Exod 23:8. While Exodus 23 reads: "You should take no bribes for a bribe blinds them *that have sight*" (*pqḥym*), the parallel in Deuteronomy 16 reads: "You shall take no bribes for a bribe blinds *the wise*" (*ḥkmym*). The author of Deuteronomy believes that the qualification of a judge must be intellectual in character.

The same conception is met in the Deuteronomic historiography. Solomon is given wisdom and understanding so that he might judge the people (1 Kgs 3:4–15). Like Moses who complains of the burden of governing a people who are "as the stars of heaven for multitude" (Deut 1:9–10), Solomon speaks of the difficulty to judge a people "that cannot be counted … for multitude" (1 Kgs 3:8–9). Like the author of 1:9–18, the Deuteronomic editor in 1 Kgs 3:4–15 regards wisdom as the principal requisite for the complete functioning of the judiciary.

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**DEVIL** [Gk *diabolos* (διαβολος)]. The LXX and NT translation of the OT *sātan*. *Sātan* is a judicial term referring to an "accuser," "slanderer," "calumniator," or "adversary" in court (cf. Ps 109:6). The NT also uses the transliteration *satanos,* which is synonymous with *diabolos* (cf. Rev 12:9). *Diabolos* is rare outside the LXX and the NT. It is found in Wis 2:23–24, which identifies the serpent of Genesis 3 with the Devil (see *TDNT* 2:71–81).

SATAN as a supernatural accuser of humankind in the heavenly court and working for God occurs three times in the OT. In Zech 3:1–10 Satan stands at God's right hand to accuse Joshua the High Priest, only to

have his accusation spurned. In Job 1–2 Satan questions the sincerity of Job's righteousness before God in the midst of the heavenly council. Here his office is expanded beyond accuser, for he is given control over sickness, death, and nature in the testing of Job. In 1 Chr 21:1 Satan incites David to sin by taking a census. Here the anarthrous form of *Sātan* becomes a proper name. Also apparent here is the tendency to divorce temptation from God and assign it to Satan, for in the earlier version of the census of David, God, not Satan, is the agent of the temptation (2 Sam 24:1; cf. Jas 1:13).

The notion of the Devil as an independent evil power no longer in heaven but ruling a demonic kingdom and headed for judgment is absent in the OT. This move from a subordinate accuser to an independent tempter was a development of the intertestamental period and has been attributed to a number of factors. In limited favor in current scholarship is the proposal that the Hebrew notion of Satan was borrowed or heavily influenced by the dualism of Persian Avestan Zoroastrianism, in which Angra Mainyu, the evil god, opposes Ahura Mazda, the good god. However, in Hebrew thought Satan is always subordinate to God and Angra Mainyu does not function as an accuser in Zoroastrianism. Still, a development of Zoroastrian concepts cannot be ruled out.

The shift in the role of the Devil may have arisen in apocalyptic literature as a way to explain the subjugation of Israel by foreign nations, that is, the rule of evil over the righteous covenant people. This would help to solve the theological tension between the presence of evil in the world and God's absolute sovereignty.

All the features of the Devil in Judaism, including names, functions, and the semi-dualism, are present in the NT. The Devil is a supernatural adversary of God and a tempter of humankind. He goes by a number of names, including "BEELZEBUL, prince of demons" (Matt 12:24 par.), "BELIAL" (2 Cor 6:15), "dragon, ancient serpent" (Rev 12:9; 20:2), "enemy" (Matt 13:39; Luke 10:19), "evil one" (Matt 13:19; Eph 6:16; 1 John 2:13–14; 5:18), "god of this world" (2 Cor 4:4), "prince of the power of the air" (Eph 2:2), "ruler of this world" (John 12:31; 14:30; 16:11), and "the tempter" (Matt 4:3; 1 Thess 3:5).

The Devil brought sin into the world (cf. 2 Cor 11:3) and is the ruler of this world (Luke 4:6; Eph 6:11–12; cf. John 12:31; 14:30; 16:11; 2 Cor 4:4; Eph 2:2). In this capacity he tried to tempt Jesus (Matt 4:1–11 par.) and tempted Judas to betray him (John 13:2, 27; cf. Luke 22:3, 31). He is a murderer and a liar (John 8:44; Rev 12:9) disguised as an angel of light (cf. 2 Cor 11:14). He keeps the gospel from unbelievers (Luke 8:12 par.; cf. 2 Cor 4:4), who are under his lordship (cf. Acts 26:18; Eph 2:2; Col 1:13), oppresses humankind (Acts 10:38), causes illness (cf. Luke 13:11–16; 2 Cor 12:7), and those under his control are his children (John 8:44; Acts 13:10; 1 John 3:10). He is working to lure Christians to him and trap them in sin (Eph 4:27; 1 Tim 3:7; 2 Tim 2:26; 1 Pet 5:8), to hinder their work (cf. 1 Thess 2:18), and to accuse them (1 Tim 3:6–7; cf. Rev 12:10). The Church must be on guard against his wiles (Eph 6:11; Jas 4:7; cf. 2 Cor 2:11). He has the power of death over those outside the Church (Heb 2:14; cf. 1 Cor 5:5), but not the Christian (cf. 1 John 4:4; 5:18).

Christ came to destroy the works of the Devil (Heb 2:14–15; 1 John 3:8; cf. Eph 1:21–22) and to cast him from heaven (Luke 10:18; Rev 12:9; cf. John 12:31). Christ's victory is yet to be consummated (cf. 1 Cor 15:24–26; Heb 10:12–13). The Devil will intensify his work against humankind and God in the last days (Rev 12:12; cf. 2 Thess 2:9–10), only to be hindered by Christ (Rev 20:2) and be thrown into eternal fire with his angels (Matt 25:41; Rev 20:10).

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**DEVOUT** [Gk *sebomai* (σεβομαι), *eusebes* (εὐσεβες), *eulabes* (εὐλαβες)]. This word group (also translated as "pious," "godly," "religious," and "worshipful") derives from the Hellenistic milieu, where it came to mean a reverent and wondering awe at the lofty and pure world of the divine; as such, it is a typical expression of Greek piety. These words have no direct Hebrew equivalent: they are generally avoided in the LXX and the Pseudepigrapha, occurring most frequently in those works composed in

Greek (see especially *4 Maccabees* where the entire word group is used extensively). In the NT these words occur most prominently in Acts, the Pastoral Epistles, and 2 Peter (*TDNT* 7:168–96).

The Pastoral Epistles and 2 Peter use this word group to characterize Christian faith and life. It denotes a life which exhibits a pious attitude toward God and his creation; it is a gift of God (2 Pet 1:3) and extends to the entire life of the Christian (1 Tim 2:2; 4:8). Such piety is at the center of the Christian faith (3:16; 6:3); it stands in contrast to "godless and silly myths" (4:7) and to "irreligion and worldly passions" (Titus 2:12). This attitude is peculiarly Christian, unlike both Jewish piety, which is based on the observance of the law, and Greek piety, based in the cultus.

Luke-Acts presents a different understanding of these words. Here it is not Christians who are called devout; rather for Luke the gospel originated in a devout and righteous community and had its greatest appeal to those who were devout, both Jews and gentiles. Simeon was both "righteous [*dikaios*]" and "devout [*eulabes*]" (Luke 2:25). Zechariah and Elizabeth were likewise righteous (1:2), while Anna worshiped [*latreuousa*] in the Temple daily (2:37). Pious Jews were gathered in Jerusalem at Pentecost (Acts 2:5); devout men buried Stephen (8:2); Ananias was likewise devout (22:12). Cornelius, the first gentile convert, was not only devout (10:2; as was one of his soldiers, 10:7), but also was righteous (10:22) and he feared God (10:2, 22). Only rarely does this word group have a negative connotation. Peter denied that his "piety [*eusebeia*]" enabled him to perform a healing (3:12); Paul was accused of persuading people "to worship [*sebasthai*]" God contrary to the law (18:13). Pagan gods are also said to be worshiped (17:23, 19:27).

The major controversy surrounding the use of this word group arises with the "devout persons [*sebomenoi*]" (Acts 13:43, 50; 16:14; 17:4, 17; 18:7), who have been considered to be the material equivalent of the "fearers of God [*phoboumenoi ton theon*]" (10:2, 22, 35; 13:16, 26). When these phrases are understood in the context of certain literary and epigraphic evidence, they can be understood to refer to gentiles who were interested in the teaching and practice of the synagogue. These so-called "God-fearers" functioned as a bridge between the Jewish and gentile communities and were among Paul's first converts (Lake 1933: 96). Kraabel has emphasized the theological role these gentiles play in Luke's narrative and has questioned the historical existence of such a class of gentiles (1981: 113–26). Even though this argument has not received wide acceptance, it has prompted a reexamination of the evidence. These gentiles do not represent a class with specific requirements or with a clearly defined status in the synagogue of the 1st century (Collins 1985: 184). However, by whatever name they are called, the evidence suggests that there were gentiles who were in some way attracted to Judaism without becoming converts, and at least in some places they formed a defined group (Millar *HJP³* 3/1: 169; Jervell 1988: 11).

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**DEW.** See PALESTINE, CLIMATE OF.

**DH.** The abbreviation for "Deuteronomistic History," which is often used by scholars to designate the narrative spanning the books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings. See DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY.

**DAHAHR MIRZBÂNEH** (M.R. 156182). The traditional Arabic-Persian name (meaning something like "Ridge of the Persian Governor") of a rocky ridge (450–600 m altitude) just N of the copious spring

at ʿAin es-Sâmiyeh, E of the modern village of Kufr Mâlik, ca. 9 miles NE of Ramallah. The site overlooks the small valley around the spring, the Wâdi es-Sâmiyeh, which opens out eastward into the Wâdi ed-Dâliyeh and then plunges down precipitously all the way to the Jordan Valley N of Jericho (on the Wâdi ed-Dâliyeh caves, see DÂLIYEH, WADI ED- [M.R. 189155]; and for the EB pottery contemporary with the Mirzbâneh tombs, see Dever 1974).

Although the name "Dhahr Mirzbâneh" denotes specifically the ridge N of the spring, we shall include here the general vicinity around the spring, which has remains of a number of interrelated settlement sites and cemeteries from various periods, investigated by several archaeologists over the past 75 years.

A cemetery ca. 400 m E of the ʿAin es-Sâmiyeh spring, Cemetery D (this and the following cemetery designations are from Lapp 1966), was first investigated by D. G. Lyon for the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem in 1907, then again by P. W. Lapp under the same auspices in 1963. At least 100 shaft tombs of the EB IV period (ca. 2300–2000 B.C.) are located here, but in the past century and earlier these had been robbed by villagers from Kufr Mâlik; consequently, the known pottery has been widely scattered in several collections (Lapp 1966; Dever 1972). These collections also contain MB, LB, and probably Iron Age pottery as well (Dever 1972; 1975), so this cemetery was reused, and it probably served the main early settlement at Khirbet el-Marjameh. Both Lyon and Lapp report a considerable number of Roman and Byzantine tombs as well.

Khirbet el-Marjameh, ca. 200 m N of the spring on a rocky promontory, has EB, MB, LB, and Iron Age sherds (especially 8th–9th centuries B.C.), plus Hellenistic-Roman on the surface, as well as visible terrace and domestic walls (Zohar 1980). It is probably the major settlement site near the spring. Albright, Lapp, and others have identified it, rather than et-Taiyebeh, with Ephraim/Ophrah in the tribe of Benjamin (2 Chr 13:9; cf. Albright 1923; Lapp 1966), but Kallai has suggested identifying it with Baal-shalishah (2 Kgs 4:42; cf. Zohar 1980).

Khirbet Sâmiyeh, ca. 300 m SSE of the spring, has mostly Ummayed and later material (Albright 1923; Lapp 1966). The more outlying sites are relatively isolated and are characterized mostly by EB IV shaft tombs. Stretching some 400–1200 m along the Dhahr Mirzabâneh ridge to the N are Cemeteries A, B, and C, where Lapp cleared nearly 100 tombs in 1963 (Lapp 1966). Khirbet el-ʿAqibat, ca. 800–1000 m SSE of the spring along the modern road, was investigated by Lyon in 1907, by Lapp in 1963 (his Cemetery E), and again in 1968–70 (cf. Lapp 1966; Shantur and Labadi 1971). Among the 50 or more EB IV tombs was one that produced a unique imported silver goblet, probably Syrian, with a Mesopotamian-style frieze of deities and animals (Yeivin 1971). Both Lyon and Lapp report Roman-Byzantine tombs as well in Cemetery E. At el-Qasr, ca. 1300 m SE of the spring, was found Cemetery F, described briefly by Lapp (1966); little is known about it.

From even the cursory archaeological investigation of the Dhahr Mirzbâneh–ʿAin es-Sâmiyeh area, it is clear that this location, now so isolated and desolate, was once a major attraction. This was no doubt due to its secure location and perennial spring at the head of an important wadi leading up into the central hills of Palestine (cf. the summary in Dever 1972).

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WILLIAM G. DEVER

**DIADEM.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**DIALOGUE.** A literary form used since antiquity, in which two or more characters are represented as conversing or reasoning about some topic.

A. Greek Sources
B. Latin Sources
C. Old Testament
D. New Testament
E. Greek Christian Literature
F. Latin Christian Literature
G. Hermetic and Gnostic Literature

**A. Greek Sources**

As a literary genre, the Greek dialogue has its origins in *mimesis,* or the art of "imitating" real-life conversations. Such dialogues or conversations can be found in Greek drama, history, and oratory. It was Plato, however, who developed the philosophical dialogue as a distinct and separate literary form. Although the Platonic dialogue grew out of the real-life conversations of Socrates with his friends and students, in the hands of Plato, these conversations were transformed from "imitations" of real-life situations to creative "inventions" which incorporated various dramatic elements for the purpose of progressing toward a philosophical truth.

A typical Platonic dialogue has a lengthy preliminary "scene" in which three or four characters are introduced. As the dialogue progresses, the "scene" disappears and the "action" now centers exclusively on debating a specific philosophical problem, e.g., what is piety? What is temperance? What is beauty? In Plato's early dialogues, it is Socrates who directs the discussion, leading the participants toward the resolution of a certain problem through the technique of dialectic or skilled questioning. Over time, however, the dialogues move away from this lively Socratic method of intellectual "midwifery" toward a more dogmatic presentation of various ideas, utilizing the techniques of analysis and interpretation that were characteristic of Plato's own teaching in the Academy. In the *Laws*, Plato's last dialogue, only the form of the dialogue remains. Socrates has disappeared as have the dramatic elements, and the discussion among the various "characters" has become didactic and methodical.

It was under the influence of these later Platonic dialogues that Aristotle made his contributions to the genre. Although Aristotle's dialogues are extant only in fragmentary form, two innovations are worth noting: the use of the Skeptic practice of "arguing both sides" (*disputatio in utramque partem*) and the presence of Aristotle himself as one of the participants in the discussion. (Plato, in contrast, never "appeared" in any of his dialogues, as it was Socrates who, in most instances, functioned as his mouthpiece.)

Following Aristotle, the dialogue was abandoned in the Academy but kept alive among the Peripatetics, notably in the writings of Heraclides Ponticus. Heraclides was especially noted for his elaborate introductions or *proems.* He also changed the internal structure of the dialogue by placing the action in the past and then introducing a number of noted historical persons (e.g., men of state, generals, philosophers) as discussants on a wide range of issues (e.g., ethics, politics, literature, history, physics). By setting the action in the past, Heraclides—unlike Aristotle—never appears "on the scene." Heraclides is also noted for deriving the titles of his dialogues from their content rather than from one of the interlocutors, as was the practice of Plato.

The Greek tradition of dialogue disappeared for some time during the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods, but was revived in the 2d century C.E. by Plutarch and Lucian. Plutarch is noted for using the traditional dialogue form to explore various religious, moral, and philosophical themes. Lucian, however, is credited with creating an entirely new form: the satiric dialogue. Lucian's genius was in skillfully combining the dialogue with elements of Old and New Comedy to express a basically Cynic view of all human affairs, especially as they related to philosophical and religious beliefs. In Lucian's satires, no one is spared, not even the gods. It is generally claimed that Lucian developed his satiric style from the diatribes of the 3d century B.C.E. Cynic and Menippus, but, as Bompaire argues (1958: 550–60), his debt to Menippus is primarily in appropriating the Menippean "spirit" or "attitude," not in slavish imitation. In

general, Lucian's satiric dialogues are a unique contribution to the form and reflect his ability to transpose successfully elements of one genre (comedy) to another (dialogue).

**B. Latin Sources**

Among Latin writers, Varro experimented with the dialogue, as did M. Junius Brutus. Varro wrote satiric pieces (in the manner of the Cynic diatribe) as well as a collection of philosophical-historical dialogues which explored a variety of general subjects, e.g., health, the education of children, peace, and religion. Unfortunately, these works exist only in fragmentary form, so it is difficult to assess to what extent Varro may have made original contributions to the genre. In one area, however, he clearly was innovative: he included autobiographical elements in his dialogues as well as a kind of "interior" dialogue in which he conversed with himself. As for Junius Brutus, his contribution to the form was the construction of lengthy didactic discourses presented as "dialogues" between his son and himself. The subject matter and *locus dialogi* were distinctly Roman: father and son discoursed on various civil and juridical issues in the leisurely setting of the Roman countryside.

It was Cicero, however, who was clearly the master of the Latin dialogue form. Building on both Greek and Roman influences, Cicero used the dialogue as a literary means for exploring his interests in politics, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology while promoting the moderate Skepticism of the New Academy. Thus, in a Ciceronian dialogue, argumentation becomes an end in itself, with the "characters" in a given dialogue arriving at a "probable" truth vis-à-vis a given proposition, not seeking an "absolute" truth in the Platonic sense. Cicero, then, unlike Plato, is content to exist in the realm of beliefs and opinions. Other contributions of Cicero to the dialogue are: (a) the inclusion of prominent persons, past *and* present, with the author himself "on the scene"; (b) the ideal of learned *otium* as exemplified in the *Tusculanae Disputationes*; (c) the development of the prologue or *proem* as a philosophical essay in which Cicero skillfully locates himself in the wider current of Greek and Roman thought. Ruch (1958: 419–20) argues that these Ciceronian *proems,* in effect, constitute a literary genre of their own. It was Cicero, then, with his eclectic interests and superb literary skills, who would most influence the later Latin tradition of the dialogue, notably among a number of Latin Christian writers (see below).

**C. Old Testament**

Among the OT writings, the book of Job is the chief example of a literary work in dialogue form, but a type of dialogue that is influenced by literary precedents in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt. In certain of these texts, the "Job motif" of undeserved human suffering is presented as a dialogue in verse form in which an unnamed sufferer laments his misfortunes to a friend, a servant, his "personal" god, or, in one instance, to his own soul. In each case, the response to this lament is basically the same: no man is sinless; the will of the gods cannot be known; one must endure life without complaint.

The book of Job follows a similar pattern of structure and theme, but with greater literary polish and theological profundity. The opening "scene" is set in heaven, where God agrees to let Satan "test" Job's faith. The result is a series of disasters that destroy Job's health, family, and livelihood. When three of Job's friends come to comfort him, Job bemoans his fate in a lengthy verse lament. Each of Job's friends, in turn, offers consolation in the form of the conventional wisdom: God punishes the wicked and rewards the just; if Job is suffering, then he must have "sinned" in the eyes of God. Job, however, unlike his counterparts in the Mesopotamian and Egyptian dialogues, rejects these pieties and continues to insist on his innocence and God's injustice. The climax of this drama is the appearance of God himself in a whirlwind; he offers no answers to Job's pleas but only a series of ironic questions that render Job's laments irrelevant. For the writer of Job, the mystery of undeserved human suffering ultimately remains unanswered. (The prose epilogue, where Job's fortunes are restored, was apparently tacked on to provide a "happy ending." Such "happy endings" are a stock element in the parallel material from Mesopotamia and Egypt.) The subject matter of Job, then, as well as its form, do not fit the classical tradition of Greek dialogue nor other Greek literary styles (notably epic and tragedy), although arguments have been made in each case. As Pope notes (*Job* AB, xxx–xxxi), Job is essentially a piecemeal work that lacks the kind of literary unity that might classify it strictly in one category or another.

**D. New Testament**

In the NT, there is no particular text that can be designated as a dialogue in the strict sense. However, the conversations between Jesus and various interlocutors in the Gospels approach the dialogue form but in a specific "question and answer" format (e.g., Mark 10:23–31 = Matt 19:23–30 = Luke 18:24–30; Mark 12:13–34 = Matt 22:15–46 = Luke 20:20–40; John 3:1–21; 4:7–30; 6:25–40). Dörrie and Dörries have termed this literary style *erotapokriseis* (*RAC* 6:342–70). What distinguishes this "question and answer" style from the traditional Greek dialogue is that the questioner does not participate in the conversation as a true discussant with a developed point of view but is limited to the role of "student" who asks questions and is often "amazed" or "astonished" at the wise response of the "teacher." Dialogues of this type (especially the longer dialogues in the gospel of John) are close in style and form to similar dialogues found in the Hermetic and Gnostic literature (see below). Dialogical elements have also been isolated in the epistles of Paul, notably Rom 3:27–4:2, where there is an implied exchange between Paul and an interlocutor on the subject of boasting in relation to faith and works. The style here is based on similar dialogical exchanges in the Hellenistic diatribe (Stowers 1981: 155–84).

**E. Greek Christian Literature**

It was among Christian apologists in the 2d century that the Greek dialogue, in its traditional form, was appropriated for purposes of defending the faith. Many of these dialogues were constructed as conversations between Christians and Jews, with the Christian converting the Jew by demonstrating how the prophecies of the OT regarding the Messiah applied to Jesus. The model for dialogues of this type was evidently Aristo of Pella's *Dialogue of Jason and Papicus,* written ca. 140 C.E., but no longer extant.

The most important apologist of the 2d century to write in dialogue form, however, was Justin Martyr. His *Dialogue with Trypho,* written ca. 155 C.E., is innovative in that Justin abandoned the Aristotelian method of "arguing both sides" in favor of a mutual understanding of the other's position. At the end of the dialogue, Trypho, the Jew, is not converted; rather, he and Justin depart with goodwill on both sides. Further, this dialogue was written with a specific audience in mind, namely the educated pagan familiar with Greek philosophy. By demonstrating how each of the philosophical schools of the period (e.g., Stoic, Pythagorean, Peripatetic, Platonic) was unable to satisfy him intellectually until he was persuaded of the truth of Christianity, Justin is arguing for the viability of Christianity as a philosophy rather than a religion.

**F. Latin Christian Literature**

Among Latin Christian writers, Minucius Felix was the first to write an apology in dialogue form—the *Octavius*—evidently written as a reply to the Roman orator Fronto, who had attacked Christianity in a speech to the Senate sometime in the mid 2d century. Although Fronto's speech is lost (apparently this address was the only literary attack on Christianity written in Latin) his arguments are preserved in the remarks of Caecilius, one of the participants in the dialogue. The Christian side is argued by Octavius (for whom the dialogue is named), with Minucius (or Marcus) functioning as a kind of referee. As a literary work, the *Octavius* is clearly indebted to Cicero. The setting of the dialogue is a leisurely outing of three friends en route to Ostia to enjoy the sea; the author, Minucius, is "on the scene"; the arguments presented for and against Christianity are equally balanced and persuasively presented. However, in the end, following the usual apologetic model, Caecilius admits himself defeated by Octavius' defense and henceforth converts to Christianity. Of particular interest is the fact that the *Octavius* contains no biblical references nor even direct mention of Christ. Instead, the arguments in favor of Christianity are made on the philosophical basis of its monotheism and ideas of divine providence coupled with an attack against pagan mythology. Again, these arguments are designed to convince the educated pagan of Christianity's philosophical respectability. Whether Tertullian modeled his *Apology* on the *Octavius* or vice versa has never been satisfactorily settled. Consequently, the *Octavius* is variously dated in either the mid 2d or early 3d century.

Augustine was also a writer of dialogues in the Latin Christian tradition, most of which were written during his contemplative retreat at Cassiciacum following his conversion (386–87 C.E.) or shortly thereafter. These dialogues, although clearly influenced by the Ciceronian model, are minor works in the Augustinian corpus. They represent an early attempt on the part of Augustine to integrate the ideal of

contemplation—especially contemplation of the trinity—with preliminary training in the liberal arts. Since the participants in these dialogues are those friends and family who accompanied Augustine to Cassiciacum, the overall impression is one of talk between "amateur philosophers" who are intellectually curious but not terribly profound.

In terms of Augustine's literary style, Voss (1970: 198–280) distinguishes two types of dialogue: the "scenic," or that type in which Augustine situates several participants in a physical location (e.g., *Contra Academicos, De Beata Vita, De Ordine*) and a "nonscenic," or that type which has no specific location and is essentially a discussion between a teacher and student (e.g., *De Magistro, De Musica*). Voss also notes a "hybrid" form as represented in the single instance of Augustine's *Soliloquia.* In this dialogue, the conversation is between Augustine's "Reason" as teacher and his "Soul" as student; as such, the work is constructed as a form of "internal" dialogue in which the mind converses with itself. The Soliloquia was evidently an important model for Boethius' later work, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, which is similarly constructed as an "internal" dialogue, although direct dependence is problematic (Lerer 1985: 46–56).

**G. Hermetic and Gnostic Literature**

A good number of Hermetic and gnostic writings can also be classed as dialogues, but in the specific sense of "revelation" or "initiation" dialogues. The emphasis in these texts is not on philosophical debate or argumentation but on the imparting of secret, esoteric knowledge ("gnosis") by a divine, revealer figure to a disciple-devotee (e.g., *Corp. Herm.* I, II, X, XI, XII, XIII; *Asclepius*; Ap. John; *1 Apoc. Jas.*; Apoc. Paul; Dial. Sav.; Eugnostos; Soph. Jes. Chr.; Pist. Soph.; Gos. Mary; Disc. 8–9). The reception of this "gnosis" by the disciple (sometimes coupled with specific ritual/cultic acts) often engenders a spiritual "rebirth" or "regeneration" which culminates in the disciple's "salvation" (e.g., *Corp. Herm.* I, XIII, *Disc. 8–9*). Most of these texts are close in style to the "question and answer" format discussed above; Rudolph argues (1968: 88–89) that these texts should properly be termed dialogues only when the repeated questions of the disciple approach a real conversation and a physical "setting" is provided (e.g., *Soph. Jes. Chr.; Apoc. Paul; 1 Apoc. Jas.; Pist. Soph.; 2 Jeu; Gos. Mary*). In general, no one term adequately covers all the extant examples; however, it is clear that the writers of these texts were familiar with the traditional Greek dialogue but reshaped it to suit their own instructional and polemical purposes. For further discussion see *RAC* 3: 928–55.

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RUTH MAJERCIK

**DIALOGUE OF THE SAVIOR** (NHC III,*5*). The *Dialogue of the Savior (Dial. Sav.)* is the fifth and final treatise preserved in Codex III of the Nag Hammadi Library, discovered in Upper Egypt in 1945. See NAG HAMMADI (CODICES). Originally written—or better, compiled—in Greek, perhaps early in the 2d century C.E., it is preserved only in a Coptic translation made before the end of the 4th century. Only recently has a critical edition been published (Emmel 1984); scholarship on this important document is in its infancy.

The *Dial. Sav.* (the title is present at the beginning [*incipit*] and end [*explicit*] of the work) is a compilation of several earlier sources of differing length and purpose. These sources, detected on the basis of form and content, are probably four in number: (A) a dialogue between Jesus and his disciples;

(B) a fragment of a creation myth; (C) a cosmological wisdom list; and (D) a fragment of an apocalyptic vision (Koester and Pagels 1984: 2–9). The four have, however, been woven together, so that the dialogue is now in four parts (4–14; 19–20; 25–34a; 41–104a; Koester and Pagels 1984: 2; paragraph numbers as in Emmel 1984), the creation myth in two (15–18; 21–24), while the wisdom list (34b–35) and apocalyptic vision (36–40) follow part three of the dialogue. The compiler has supplied an introduction (1–3) and a conclusion (104b) to the work.

The critical task therefore has several facets: to distinguish between tradition (oral or written sources) and redaction; to determine the probable origin and life setting of each of the sources; and to isolate the redactional theology of the *Dial. Sav.* so as to propose a life setting for the present work as a whole. The fragmentary state of the single extant ms hinders progress at every stage; nevertheless, some preliminary conclusions may be drawn.

The *dialogue* presents traditional sayings of Jesus together with introductory questions or interpretations and expansions. For example, in *Dial. Sav.* 9 (126.6–8) the disciples ask, "[Lord], who is it who seeks, and … reveals?"; the Lord replies, "He who seeks … reveals …" (10 [126.9–10]). Thus the dialogue, a putative "conversation" between Jesus and three disciples (Matthew, Judas, and Mary), is the literary platform not for extended theological discourse but for an authoritative presentation of sayings and exegesis (Koester 1979: 544–56). Since the writings closest to this compositional model include the NT gospel of John and the *Gospel of Thomas* (NHC 2, 2), works with which the *Dial. Sav.* also has sayings materials in common, it has been argued that the dialogue source in the *Dial. Sav.* may be dated in the late 1st century C.E. (Koester and Pagels 1984: 16).

Comparison with the *Gospel of Thomas* suggests a further connection with the *Dial. Sav.* In *Gos. Thom.* 2 (32.14–19) Jesus announces the steps to salvation: seeking, finding, being troubled, being astonished, ruling (*P. Oxy.* 654 adds "resting"). This sequence seems to be referred to in the *Dial. Sav.*, and has perhaps supplied the principle according to which the topics are arranged. The present for the disciples, and hence for the readers, is an interim before ruling and resting. At the same time, the *Dial. Sav.*'s introduction (1 [120.2–6]) offers an assurance that "already" the time has come to rest (1 [120.6–8]). This tension, between the rest as present and as future, finds its resolution in the probable setting of the writing: baptismal initiation, into which "the opening introduction invites the believer" (Koester and Pagels 1984: 11). In baptism the believer, now empowered to "save that [which] (or: him [who]) can follow" (44 [137.16–17]), anticipates rest from the labors that characterize life in the flesh (cf. 28 [132.9–12]).

The *creation myth,* in question and answer form, reflects upon the generative power of the divine word through water. The *wisdom list,* in the form of a monologue punctuated by rhetorical questions, emphasizes the need for an understanding of the natural elements; these are interpreted soteriologically, with explicit reference to baptism (35 [134.5–8]). The *apocalyptic vision,* in which the disciples are granted a view of "an exceedingly high place" and of "the abyss" (36 [135.4–10]), presents "the Son of Man" (37 [135.16–17]) as the "interpreting angel" (a standard feature of apocalypses). In the *Dial. Sav.* this figure is identified with Jesus during an exchange which anticipates later discussions of the double presence (on earth and in heaven) of the Lord (38–40 [136.5–137.3]; cf. Hippolytus *Contra Noetum* 4.11, and esp. *Gos. Bart.* 28–35).

Although typically gnostic terminology and concepts permeate the *Dial. Sav.*, the work "cannot be understood as the simple product of gnostic theology. Rather, it resembles the gospel of John in its attempt to interpret the sayings of Jesus in the horizon of gnostic thought" (Koester and Pagels 1988: 244).

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**DIATESSARON.** Diatessaron (Greek: *dia tessaron* (δια τεσσαρον)*:* "through [the] four [Gospels]") is the name given by Eusebius (*Hist.Eccl.* 4.29.6) to a "combination and collection" of the Gospels created by TATIAN about the year 170 C.E. As one of the earliest witnesses to the text of the Gospels (it is rivaled only by the quotations of Justin, Marcion, and Clement), it occupies a preeminent position in NT textual studies.

Employing the four canonical Gospels and, perhaps, one or more extracanonical sources, Tatian wove a single, continuous narrative. He omitted doublets, harmonized discrepancies, and "corrected" omissions found in his source gospels. Although some scholars have seen Tatian's theology as the impetus for creating a harmony (so both Elze 1960 and Baarda 1969), the idea was patently "in the air," for we know that Justin used a gospel harmony (Bellinzoni 1967: 140), and that gospel harmonies or synopses were created by Ammonius of Alexandria (Eus., *Ep. ad Carp.*) and Theophilus of Antioch (Jerome, *Ep. ad Algasiam*). Practical advantages must also be considered: a harmony would have—perforce—a unified point of view and, thus, been ideal for evangelization; as a compact epitome it would have been easier to transport and cheaper to copy than the separate Gospels.

The Diatessaron proved itself one of the most popular editions of the Gospels ever produced. It was used by Catholic Christians, such as Ephrem Syrus, by Judaic Christians (Epiph., *haer.* 46.1.8–9), Manicheans, and missionaries, who took it to the furthest reaches of Christendom. Its greatest impact, however, was in Syria, where as late as the 5th century it was the standard gospel text. This is demonstrated by the fact that the *Canons of Rabbula* specifically direct that the "Euangelion da-Mepharreshe" ("separated gospel," i.e., canonical Gospels) be read in the churches, and that Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus from 423 to 457, reports impounding over 200 copies of the "Euangelion de-Meḥalleṭe" ("gospel of the mixed," another name for the Diatessaron) from the churches in his diocese.

Reconstruction of the Diatessaron's text is necessary, for no copy has come down to us. Witnesses to its text are diverse: translations (often rearranged), commentaries, and quotations. On the basis of provenance and language, these witnesses are classified as Eastern and Western. The most important include (in the East): Ephrem's *Commentary* (extant in both the Syriac original and an Armenian translation; both 4th century); the gospel quotations of Aphrahat (Syriac, 4th century); an Arabic Harmony (Arabic, 12th–13th century); a Persian Harmony (Persian, 1547 C.E., a copy of a 13th century ms); Isho‘dad of Merv's *Commentary* (Syriac, 9th century). Further, since the Diatessaron preceded and influenced all extant versions of the separated Syriac gospels (Black 1972: 142), the most ancient Syriac verions ($syr^{s.c.p.pal}$, 4th century and later) also contain numerous Diatessaronic readings. In the West the most important witnesses include: Codex Fuldensis (Latin, 6th century); a poem, *The Heliand* (Old Saxon, 9th century); the Liège Harmony (Middle Dutch, 13th century); related to the Liège Harmony are the Stuttgart, Cambridge, Haaren, and Haagse Harmonies (all in the Middle Dutch, 14th–15th century) and the Middle German *Leben Jhesu,* or Theodiscum Harmony (14th century); the Tuscan Harmony (Middle Italian, 13th–14th century); the Venetian Harmony (Middle Italian, 13th–14th century); and the Pepysian Harmony (so named, for it was once owned by Samuel Pepys; Middle English, ca. 1400 C.E.). This diverse array of sources bears witness to the popularity of Tatian's creation among the common folk wherever it went.

The problems in reconstructing the Diatessaron's text are twofold. First, all of the witnesses have been "Vulgatized" to some degree; that is, the nonstandard Diatessaronic reading (exactly what the text critic prizes) has often been replaced with the standard ("Vulgate," regardless of the language) reading of the language. Second, since each witness has its own textual history, variants in them cannot automatically be regarded as Diatessaronic. This has led some scholars to dispute whether certain "witnesses" or readings

actually are Diatessaronic (de Bruin 1980: 204; Fischer 1972: 48, n. 158). Research, however, has now convinced most experts of their relationship to the Diatessaron, for only in this manner can their singular agreements be explained (van den Broek 1974; Quispel 1975; Petersen 1985). The question of where Tatian composed his harmony remains open. Rome, where he studied with Justin, is possible, as is the Syrian East, where he returned after having been expelled by the Roman Church as a heretic (in the East he is first called a heretic in the 4th-century Syriac translation of Eusebius' *Hist.Eccl.*). On the basis of the text it uses in its OT citations and certain Semitic syntactic features—present even in the Western witnesses—it seems quite certain that Syriac was the original language of the Diatessaron (Petersen 1986). The number and identity of the sources employed by Tatian remain unclear. Numerous readings attributed by Church Fathers to "the Gospel of the Hebrews" or "the Jewish Gospel" appear in the Diatessaron. An example is the "light" which shines in the Jordan at Jesus' baptism. Epiph. (*haer.* 30.13.7) says this stood in the "Hebrew Gospel"; the reading is also in Justin (*Dial.* 88.3) and at Matt 3:16 in two Old Latin mss (*a* and $g^1$, 4th and 9th century, respectively). Whether a "fifth source," such as Epiphanius' "Hebrew Gospel," is Tatian's source for this reading, or whether it came from a variant ms of the gospel of Matthew, as represented by the two Old Latin mss, cannot be determined until we have a clearer picture of the Gospels in the mid 2d century. Nevertheless, a strong prima facie case can be made that Tatian employed sources other than the canonical Gospels, for there are numerous examples of such extracanonical readings in the Diatessaron (Phillips 1931).

Textually speaking, the Diatessaron is a gold mine of early readings, some of which may, arguably, antedate the reading offered by the canonical Gospels (Petersen 1983; 1985: 165–67). The Diatessaron's text is related to the so-called "Western Text" (which is actually of Eastern origin); Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (D) and Washingtonianus (W) sometimes follow its readings. Even more remarkable, however, are the number of agreements offered by the Old Latin mss—a greater number of agreements than with the Greek mss, although from a far smaller number of mss. This phenomenon was first noted by Vogels (1911), and remains unexplained. Whether the agreements are due to Tatian's appropriation of the text used in Rome in the mid 2d century (Klijn 1969: 54–55), or whether the agreements indicate that the Diatessaron preceded and influenced the earliest Latin translation of the Gospels, is unclear. Von Soden's (1911–13) hypothesis that the Greek Gospels owed most of their cross-gospel harmonizations to the influence of the Diatessaron is discredited today, for such harmonizations appear to have been a common tendency of scribes, and many of the harmonizations present in the Greek gospel mss are absent from the Diatessaronic witnesses.

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**DIATRIBE.** Diatribe had several technical senses in antiquity. It was used for the teaching activity of philosophers and sophists. In this sense it can be translated as "conversations," "lecture," "a class," or "seminar." Plato used the word for Socrates' teaching by informal conversation (*Ap.* 37c–d; *Grg.* 484e; *Chrm.* 153a). Writers could speak of a teacher giving a diatribe or students participating in a diatribe. The word could also be used as an equivalent to *scholē* in the sense of an institution or sect, a school of philosophy. The modern scholarly concept of the diatribe is most closely linked to the use of the word for the records, literary by-products, or imitations of such teaching activity. This usage is attested as early as the 4th century B.C. At the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2d century A.D., Arrian took notes of the lecture-discussions of his teacher Epictetus. The oldest manuscripts give the title "diatribes" to Arrian's record of Epictetus' teaching discourse.

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A. Matters of Definition
B. A School Method
C. Rhetoric and Style
D. Subject Matter
E. History
1. Non-Christian Authors
2. Christian Authors

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**A. Matters of Definition**

The modern scholarly concept of the diatribe has often been imprecise and unduly broad. It has been closely tied to the idea of popular philosophy. In the earlier part of this century, scholars developed the idea that the diatribe was the primary oral and literary genre of the supposed popularization of philosophy for the masses in the Hellenistic period. They often claimed, but without warrant, that Bion of Borysthenes (ca. 324–255 B.C.) was the originator of this genre. Modern writers have frequently described the diatribe as a sermon for the common man developed by the Cynic and Stoic street preachers. The main criteria for classifying a work as a diatribe in the early part of this century was that it contain moral teachings advocated by the Hellenistic philosophies and that it employ a lively popular style.

Scholars have at one time or another called a variety of genres diatribes because they are works which seek to teach individuals the attitudes and ways of life advocated by the Hellenistic philosophies. The iambic poems of Hipponax, Cercidas, Phoenix of Colophon; the satires of Varro, Horace, and Lucian; the epideictic and deliberative speeches of Dio Chrysostom; and the philosophical treatises of Cicero—all have been called diatribes. This broadening of diatribe to mean nontechnical and moral-philosophical literature has been strongly criticized by classicists. It is better to use diatribe only for moral lectures and discussions in the philosophical schools, written records of that activity, and literary imitations of that kind of pedagogical discourse. It is also appropriate to speak of other genres employing features of style and rhetorical techniques from this tradition.

**B. A School Method**

First, it is important to understand the nature of ancient philosophical schools. Indeed, the term school can be misleading since it often means a continuing institution with a permanent location and a formalized organization. Aside from the traditional schools in Athens which had some organization and institutional continuity, most schools consisted only of a teacher and students. These circles of teachers and disciples met either in the teacher's home or in public places such as a gymnasium or stoa. In Hellenistic and Roman times the teacher was above all the guide, mentor and model for the students' character formation. The diatribe was a tradition of rhetoric for such moral-pedagogical purposes. See SCHOOLS, HELLENISTIC.

Most of the authors of diatribes whose works are extant look back to Socrates as a model for their own teaching activity. Records with minimal literary shaping of actual dialogues among individuals in the

setting of a class or larger audience are extant from Epictetus and Dio Chrysostom. The dialogical style associated with the diatribe is more typically simulated rhetorically in a lecture or informal discourse. This philosophical-school style was an attempt to adapt the "Socratic" elenchus and protrepticus to the rhetoric of a speech. The elenchus was Socrates' method of critical questioning by which he attempted to expose the ignorance and moral inconsistency of his discussion-partner. The elenchtic method is especially prominent in Plato's earlier dialogues. The protrepticus is Socrates' positive exhortation to virtue or the philosophical life (*Euthydemus* 278E–282D). Both elenchtic and protreptic discourse have the character of direct address to an individual.

**C. Rhetoric and Style**

The diatribal authors simulate direct address in their discourses by creating an imaginary discussion partner and by employing direct address to their audiences. The dialogical element in the diatribe takes several forms and within limits varies considerably from author to author. One method consists of short exchanges of questions and answers. Often this is in the Socratic manner with the teacher leading the fictitious interlocutor by means of pointed questions frequently posing absurdities which the interlocutor must strongly reject. This method is prominent in Teles, Epictetus, and Dio Chrysostom. Paul employs it in his letter to the Romans (3:1–9; 3:27–4:2). Sometimes the interlocutor asks the questions and the teacher answers. A technique of many authors is to string a series of objections and false conclusions from the interlocutor throughout the lecture or treatise. The interlocutor's question draws a false inference from which the author wishes to guard himself or poses a typical objection to the author's line of reasoning. The teacher's answer, then, serves as a transition to a new topic or step in the argumentation. A series of such objections may become a structuring principle for a discourse (Rom 6:1, 15; 7:7, 13; 9:14, 19; 11:1, 11, 19). In objections and other forms of imaginary speech (Rom 7:7–25), the diatribe made much use of the rhetorical techniques of *prosōpopoiia,* character delineation.

Diatribes also effect their style of direct address by means of brief speeches were the teacher turns from his real audience to address an imaginary individual. Typically but not always, these are sharp censorious words which rebuke the interlocutor for some vice or pattern of behavior (Rom 2:1–5, 17–24; 9:19–21; 11:17–24). These apostrophes tend to function as characterizations of the interlocutor and employ the techniques of *prosōpopoiia.* Addresses to an interlocutor employ vice-lists, rhetorical questions, and vocatives such as "O man" (Rom 2:1), "fool" (1 Cor 15:36), and "sir". They are usually spoken in the 2d person singular. The writer or speaker tends to maintain contact at various points with the audience in a way which is similar to letter-writing style. Diatribal and epistolary styles combine easily. The author may turn from the interlocutor or general argumentative discourse to exhort the audience or address a question to it.

Other elements of style vary widely according to the cultural-educational backgrounds, philosophical stances, and immediate purposes of the particular authors. Nevertheless, there are a number of rhetorical features which characteristically serve the didactic and hortatory purposes of the diatribe. The style tends to be conversational with parataxis and elliptical expressions, although some authors use periods. Rhetorical figures such as isocola, parallelism, and antithesis are popular. The style is certainly didactic and sometimes hortatory. Thus, much use is made of quotations from poets and philosophers in the form of maxims and brief citations. Anecdotes or *chreia,* comparisons, and especially examples from history and legend are very important. Irony and sarcasm, especially in connection with the imaginary interlocutor, are prominent. A number of authors personify abstract ideas such as death, poverty, and wealth (Rom 10:6–8; 1 Cor 12:15–16).

**D. Subject Matter**

A great number of themes are found in diatribes and literature influenced by the diatribe. The style is appropriate to almost any topic related to morality and manner of life. There are certain topics, however, which recur in the diatribal literature. These became standard topics for moralists from many schools and various points of view. Such topics largely constitute the content of what has been known as Hellenistic popular philosophy. Among these topics which are prominent in diatribes, other genres of moral literature and Christian writers from the 2d century onwards are: poverty and wealth (Jas 2:1–7; 5:1–6); exile; death

not to be feared (1 Thess 4:13–18; 1 Cor 15:12–56); contentment and self-sufficiency (1 Cor 9:1–27; Phil 4:11–13); freedom (1 Cor 6:12–20); luxury; passions (Rom 1:24–29; 7:7–25; Jas 4:1–3); divine providence; fate; anger (Jas 1:19–20); happiness; covetousness; self-control (1 Cor 9:24–27); old age; tranquility (1 Thess 4:9–12); pleasure; ascetic training; the wise man's speech (1 Thess 2:1–12); and moral armor (2 Cor 10:1–6).

**E. History**

The evidence is insufficient to write a history of the diatribe showing consistent lines of influence and development. Rather, a more modest survey of diatribal authors and the use of the diatribe by early Christian writers is possible and appropriate to the evidence.

**1. Non-Christian Authors.** We have the portrayals of Socrates' teaching activity by Plato and Xenophon but it is not until later Hellenistic times that the typical teaching style of the diatribe appears. Whereas the classical philosophies of Plato and Aristotle focused on the reform of the city-state, the Hellenistic schools tended to focus on the character development of individuals and a corresponding alternative style of life. This is true especially of the Stoics, Cynics, and Epicureans. Nontechnical and nontheoretical ethics, which emphasized practice and methods of moral training, became increasingly important into the early Roman Empire.

Teles, who lived in the mid-3d century B.C., is the author of the earliest extant diatribes, although references exist to the "diatribes" of many individuals who lived from the time of Socrates onwards. Teles was a Cynic teacher who conducted a school for young men, probably in Megara. Teles employs fictitious exchanges of question and answer with an unnamed interlocutor and censorious address in his lectures. His diatribes are full of quotations and paraphrases from philosophers and various moral authorities. Because he quotes Bion of Borysthenes, whose witty style is mentioned by a number of later writers, many scholars at one time accepted the thesis of Otto Hense that Teles' diatribes were merely copies of Bion, the originator of the style. Paul Wendland even outlined a history of the diatribe based on the assumption that the rhetorically and philosophically eclectic Bion had invented the diatribe. Wendland believed that the lively and entertaining diatribe of Bion had evolved into the duller and more serious diatribe of Roman times. It is now clear that Bion did not invent the diatribe and that the dialogical style found in Teles belongs to him and not Bion.

Most of the extant evidence for the diatribe comes from the period of the early 1st century B.C. to the early 2d century A.D. Philo of Alexandria (ca. 30 B.C.–A.D. 45) employs many of the typical themes of the diatribe and sometimes elements of diatribal style in his peculiar exposition of Judaism. The Epicurean, Philodemus, earlier in the 1st century B.C., came from Palestine to Italy where he gathered a circle of aristocratic Roman followers. His treatise on death (*de Morte*) employs the style of the diatribe and his *de Ira* "On Anger" has been variously called a diatribe or a treatise in diatribe style. His use of the first person plural in connection with dialogical features shows interesting similarities to Paul's style. Seneca, the contemporary of Paul and tutor of the young Nero, makes significant use of the diatribe's didactic dialogical style in several of his letters to Lucilius and certain of his moral essays. Seneca's letters illustrate how diatribal and epistolary styles, both of which are dialogical and employ direct address, could be effectively integrated.

The Stoic teacher Musonius Rufus (ca. 30–101 A.D.) conducted a school in Rome and then on the desolate isle of Gyaros where Nero had banished him. His extant diatribes are based on the notes of a student who, by paraphrasing and summarizing, has obscured much of the originally lively style. One of Musonius' students was Epictetus, who began a school in Nicopolis when banished from Rome by Domitian (89 A.D.). His "discourses" were stenographically recorded in shorthand and edited by Arrian. They provide the most extensive and detailed picture of a teacher's diatribes in the context of a school. We see him explaining doctrines, censuring and exhorting students, often using imaginary discussion and address to various interlocutors. He can move from conversations with people in his school to lecturing discourse with a full array of rhetorical techniques.

Dio Chrysostom began as a rhetorician but later turned to philosophy and took up the life of an itinerant Cynic when exiled by Domitian (82 A.D.). Many of his speeches are representative of the style and ethos

of the Second Sophistic. Some, however, are informal lecture-conversations which purport to record his teaching activity with a small group of listeners. These are diatribes which combine Dio's version of what he considered a Socratic teaching style with moral lecture. His diatribes often begin with short dialogues and make frequent use of objections from imaginary interlocutors. Dio's contemporary, Plutarch (ca. 50–120 A.D.), headed a school of philosophy at his home in Chaeronea. A number of Plutarch's moral treatises are based on school lectures or reflect the discussions of the school. Although these treatises have been given literary form, they often contain dialogical and other stylistic features of the diatribe. From the second half of the 2d century, 41 discourses are extant which the eclectic philosopher and sophist Maximus of Tyre gave to a class of aristocratic young men. Maximus mixes popular-philosophical themes, the style of the diatribe, and sophistic oratory in these discourses.

Other evidence for the diatribe is scattered over several centuries and needs further study. Certain discourses of Favorinus (ca. 80–150 A.D.) and Themistius (317–88 A.D.), for instance, have been described as diatribes. Some letters, as for example, certain of those ascribed to Apollonius of Tyana (died ca. 97 A.D.), employ diatribal style. There are also papyrus fragments of writings from Egypt which appear to be diatribes.

**2. Christian Authors.** The letters of Paul are the earliest pieces of Christian literature to show the influence and use of the diatribe. Some have suggested that Paul acquired the style through Hellenistic Judaism and "the sermon" of the Hellenistic Synagogue. We have no evidence for the latter, but any artisan and traveler of the cities in the Greek East could be expected to know of the diatribe. Schools often operated in public view, a teacher gathering a circle of students in a market, gymnasium, or stoa. There are many descriptions of passersby stopping to listen to a philosopher lecturing to his disciples in a public place. Satirists, comic playwrights, and moralists parodied the philosopher's teaching style assuming that their audiences were familiar with it.

As any other writer, Paul's employment of diatribal techniques is an adaptation to his own purposes and rhetorical style. The dialogical style of the diatribe is most prominent in Romans. He uses it to present himself as a teacher to a church where he wants to preach his own particular gospel concerning the redemption of the gentiles. In 2:17–29 Paul introduces and characterizes a Jewish interlocutor whom he censures for failing to be a light to the gentiles. Diatribal dialogues with this interlocutor ensue in 3:1–9 and 3:27–4:2 where Paul urges him to give up his boastful attitude toward gentiles. A series of objections and false conclusions are raised in chaps. 6–11 (6:1, 15; 7:7, 13; 9:14, 19; 11:1, 11, 19). These false inferences, which pose possible objections to Paul's line of argument, are usually rejected by the phrase *me genoito* (by no means!); then reasons are given for the rejection. Address in the second person singular to imaginary interlocutors also occurs (2:1–5, 17–29; 8:2; 9:19–21; 11:17–24; 14:4, 10). As in the diatribe, Paul uses censorious rhetorical questions, the expression "O man" and other typical elements of such apostrophes. The address in 11:17–24 is to a gentile interlocutor who boasts over Jews. Paul also employs a number of other rhetorical features typical of the diatribe including: lists of virtues and vices (Rom 1:29–31; Gal 5:19–23; 1 Cor 6:9–11), personification (Rom 11:17–24), comparisons (Rom 7:1–6; 1 Cor 12:12–26, and frequently), examples (1 Cor 3:5–4:7; 9:1–27; 10:1–13; Phil 2:1–11; Gal 1:10–2:21), and rhetorical questions (1 Cor 4:7–9 and frequently).

The methods of the diatribe are not of such central importance to any of Paul's other letters although the style appears at various places. In 1 Cor 6:12–20, for example, Paul dialogues with a sloganeering interlocutor. Many diatribal features are clustered in 1 Cor 15:29–35: rhetorical questions, direct address and exhortation to the audience, a proverbial saying, a quotation from the poet Menander, a question from an imaginary objector, censorious address to the objector, a comparison. In addition, Paul uses the metaphor of fighting the wild beasts which was used by philosophers for the struggle with their passions.

The hortatory letter of James employs both themes and rhetorical techniques of the diatribe. These include: indictment through the use of rhetorical questions (2:2–7, 14–16; 3:20–21; 4:4, 12), dramatic characterization (2:3, 16; 4:13–16), objection of an interlocutor (2:18), censorious address to an interlocutor (2:19–23; 4:13–5:6), examples (2:21–24, 25; 5:10, 17–18), comparisons (1:11, 23–24; 3:2–8, 11–12), quotations (2:8, 11; 4:5–6), control of the tongue (3:3–12), word versus deed (1:22–27; 2:14–26),

censure of pretentiousness (4:13–17; cf. 6–10), and the passions as the basis for vice (4:1–3). In James, as in any other writing, it is not the occurrence of isolated stylistic phenomena but the combination of multiple features in typical ways which identifies the style as diatribal.

The style of the diatribe was employed by many later Christian writers and in Christian preaching. In 2d century N Africa, Tertullian (ca. A.D. 160–ca. 240) employed the style with vigor (*De pallio; De cultu fem.; De spect.*). Clement of Alexandria (b. ca. 150) quotes large portions of Musonius Rufus' diatribes almost verbatim. In the 4th century, Basil (ca. 330–79) and especially Gregory Nazianzus (329–89) reflect not only the highest philosophical and rhetorical training but also themes and stylistic methods of the diatribe in many of their works. John Chrysostom (ca. 354–407) and Asterius of Amasia (fl. ca. 400) very effectively acculturated the style and themes of the diatribe to the rhetoric of their sermons.

In the diatribe, then, early Christian speakers and writers adapted a style of teaching and exhortation which had developed in circles of philosophical teachers and their students. By the 1st century A.D. this style had been widely influential in moral literature and philosophical rhetoric. In the NT the style of the diatribe is most important in Paul's letters, especially Romans, and the epistle of James. An understanding of its features and functions is invaluable for the exegesis of these texts.

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**DIBLAIM** (PERSON) [Heb *diblāyim* (דִּבְלָיִם)]. Father of Gomer, the wife of the prophet Hosea (Hos 1:3). Especially among those who interpret the first 3 chapters of Hosea allegorically, attempts have been made to find a figurative meaning in "Diblaim." The name has been understood as a dual form of the word "*dĕbēlâ*" (that is, compressed cake). "Daughter of Diblaim" is then taken either to mean that the prostitute Gomer could be hired for the price of two fig cakes, or (given the association of raisin cakes with the Baal cult) to refer to her association with Baal. However, such allegorical interpretation of the name is unlikely. Each of the three unambiguous sign names in Hosea 1 is accompanied by an interpretation of its meaning; in the absence of such explanation, it is best to take "Diblaim" as a concrete historical detail. "Daughter of Diblaim" might refer to Gomer's hometown (cf. the Moabite town, Diblatayim). However, it is most likely simply the name of Gomer's father, about whom nothing else is known.

CAROLYN J. PRESSLER

**DIBON** (PLACE) [Heb *dîbôn* (דִּיבוֹן)]. One of the cities of the Moabites, which, according to Num 21:26–30, was captured by Sihon, king of the Amorites, in his campaign against Moab shortly before the arrival of the Hebrews on their traditional movement from Egypt to Canaan. Literary documentation for Dibon is found mainly in the OT and the Mesha stele (see *ANET,* 320–21). The former, insofar as it concerns Moab's role in Israel's own settlement traditions, and as colored by mutual hostility and ignorance over centuries, must be treated with caution.

**A. History**

The Israelites captured this territory N of the Arnon (Num 21:21–25, 31) and it was assigned to the tribe of Reuben (Josh 13:15–23). In Num 32:34, however, it is said that Dibon, ʿAtaroth, and Aroer were built by Gad, even though its traditional allotment was further N, extending to the Jabbok river (modern Wâdī Zerqā). Reuben's displacement of Gad in this territory is supported by the term "Dibon-Gad," that is "Dibon of Gad" in Num 33:44–45 and the statement of the Mesha stele (lines 10–11) that "the men of

Gad dwelt in the land of ʿAtaroth from of old and the king of Israel had built ʿAtaroth for himself" (ʿAtaroth is probably to be identified with Khirbet ʿAṭrūs, 14 km NW of Dibon). Dibon is on the ancient main route ("The King's Highway" in Num 20:17; 21:22) running N from ʿAqabah via Kerak to ʿAmman, and probably onward to Damascus. Its site is localized by the name of the village of Dhībān, situated on a low mound (M.R. 224101) 64 km S of ʿAmman and 3 km N of the biblical Anon river (the Wâdī el-Mūjib). However, the ancient city stood on a prominent mound N of the modern village, cut off by a deep wadi on the W and N, and by a shallower depression on the E, from the tableland surrounding it. This part of the mound, until recently, supported extensive ruins of the Byzantine and Arab periods. On the S, the mound descends gradually into a bay flanked on either side by slight elevations where, reportedly, the Moabite Stone (the stele of Mesha, king of Moab) was found in 1868. Finally, it merges into a low saddle with joins it to the S mound.

The book of Judges recounts that the children of Israel served Eglon, king of Moab, for 18 years, until delivered by Ehud (Judg 3:12–30); later, apparently, it was necessary for Jephthah to deliver the land N of the Arnon from an Ammonite occupation (Josh 11–12:7). A Moabite domination is referred to, also, in 1 Sam 12:9. King Saul warred against his neighbors, including Moab (1 Sam 14:47), to ensure that they would not pose a threat to his newly founded kingdom. David conquered Moab and put it under tribute (2 Sam 8:2); his census of his kingdom included the lands from the Arnon river N (2 Sam 24:5). Dibon was certainly included within the dominion of Israel at this time, but it is probable that Moab regained its territory N of the Arnon after the death of Solomon when the N tribes seceded. To this period, during the reign of Jehoshaphat, we should ascribe the strange account of an invasion of Judah by Transjordanian states, including Moab (under Mesha's father, *KMŠYT*?) which was repulsed only by divine intervention (2 Chr 20:1–30). It was, however, Omri of Israel according to the Mesha stele (lines 4–5) and 2 Kgs 3:4, who led a successful attack against Moab N of the Arnon, took "possession of all the land of Medeba," and exacted a heavy tribute.

After Ahab's death, Mesha revolted. Jehoram, the grandson of Omri, Jehoshaphat of Judah, and the latter's vassal-king of Edom (1 Kgs 22:47; 2 Kgs 3:4–27) launched a joint campaign against Mesha from the S around the Dead Sea. His army was defeated, his land laid waste, and his city, Kir-hareseth (usually identified with modern Kerak) besieged. Mesha resorted to the ultimate sacrifice of his eldest son as a burnt offering on the wall of the city to appease the divine powers; the desperate act achieved the result he desired—the allied forces lifted the siege and retired, leaving him in control of Moab.

Threatened from N and S, Mesha appears to have decided that his N border was the most vulnerable and launched an attack on the Israelite-held towns N of the Arnon. The Mesha stele gives very detailed information on his campaigns: his assault on Ataroth, rebuilt by the king of Israel, and the slaughter of its Gadite inhabitants; his capture of Nebo, the sacrifice of its populace, and the devotion of the ritual objects of Yahweh to Chemosh, his god; and his seizure of other cities culminating in the capture of Jahaz, the stronghold built by the Israelite king when he came to the aid of the Israelite inhabitants (Mesha stele, lines 4–21; cf. *ANET*, 320).

As Mesha was a "Daibonite," he established Dibon as his capital adding or rebuilding, at its S extremity, a new quarter called *Qrḥh* (possibly pronounced, *Qarḥoh*): "I made this sanctuary for Chemosh in Qrḥh" (line 3); "I built Qrḥh, the wall of the parks and the wall of the acropolis. I built its gates, I built its towers, I built a palace, and I made the retaining walls of the reservoir inside the town" (lines 21–24). As the new quarter had no cisterns, Mesha directed the inhabitants to make cisterns for themselves (lines 24–25). The stele with its triumphant declarations was probably set up in the sanctuary of Chemosh in Qrḥh, near where it was found in 1868.

Mesha's successes may not have been lasting. Hazael of Damascus is said to have conquered Israel's territory E of the Jordan as far as the Arnon (2 Kgs 10:32–33), which may mean that this part of Moab had been lost, perhaps to King Jehu, before this time. On the other hand, there are hints in the OT that Moab maintained a precarious existence including even its territory N of the Arnon. The references in Isa 15:2 and, perhaps, in Jer 48:18, where Moab is called "the daughter of Dibon" suggest that Dibon might still have been the capital. The oracles against Moab of Isaiah 15–16 and 25:1–12, of Jeremiah 48, and

Ezekiel 25:8–11 name not only Dibon but other towns N of the Arnon as though they still belonged to Moab: Heshbon, Aroer, Nebo, Medeba, Jahaz, and others. This was the period of Assyrian and Babylonian expansionism and the states of Syria, Palestine, and Transjordan were forced to submit or be destroyed. By submitting to this foreign domination and paying its tribute, Moab was allowed to keep its own shadow government and kings; four of these are named in the Assyrian annals. That it should be at peace—and no doubt gleefully witnessing Israel's and Judah's travails, in spite of their prophets' dire warnings—was a very sore point with those prophets and made their oracles against Moab bitter and gloating. Finally, Moab, too, committed the fatal mistake: It joined a widespread rebellion against the Babylonians and lost all semblance of independence, probably at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar (582 B.C.).

Moab (and Dibon) play no important role in the centuries that followed, but with the rise of the Nabatean power and the growth of trade, Moab must have flourished. However, Judah, as a result of the Hasmonean triumph over the Greek rulers of Egypt and Syria and the establishment of a strong state, once more turned its eyes to its former territories in Transjordan. Both John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus warred against the Nabateans, winning back some of the lost cities. Whether Dibon was one of these we are not told, but one coin of Hyrcanus II (63–40 B.C.) found at the site, suggests that Dibon was included within the Peraea, "the land beyond (the Jordan)," an adjunct of the Jewish state. If so, it is probable, on the basis of the archaeological evidence, that it reverted to Nabatean rule at least as early as the 1st century B.C. and was incorporated into the new Roman province of Arabia in A.D. 106.

Two inscriptions found at Dibon suggest strongly that there was a Roman garrison here in the latter part of the 2d century and much of the 3d. Eusebius, in the 4th century, notes Dibon as a "very large town." Yāqūt, the Arab geographer, writing in the first quarter of the 13th century, mentions "Dhibyān." By Ottoman times, the village had moved to the S hill and closer to the main road.

**B. Excavations**

A preliminary sounding was conducted in 1950 with full excavations the following year under the direction of F. V. Winnett. His report provides valuable insights into the interpretation of the Mesha stele and the other documentary sources. The field work was continued in 1952 by W. L. Reed; in 1952–53 by A. D. Tushingham; and finally in 1955–56 and 1965 by W. H. Morton. The first 3 expeditions were confined to the SE part of the mound; those of Morton consisted of soundings to bedrock on higher and hitherto untouched parts of the mound—the NE, NW, and summit.

**1. The Bronze and Iron Ages.** Morton's reseaches filled serious gaps in the city's archaeological record. For the first time, excavations to bedrock revealed undisturbed EB Age deposits. In his section H–VII were found bonded walls, 1.40 m thick, running E-W and N-S, resting on bedrock and enclosed within a fill whose ceramic content was consistently EB; their proximity to a gateway of the Iron Age and segments of other walls to the W and N attributed to the EB make it possible to infer a defensive system of this period. While the duration of this early occupation may encompass EB II–IV, there is absolutely no evidence for the MB and LB Ages at Dhiban.

Settlement begins once more in the Iron Age. Pottery characteristic of the early Iron Age has been found, but it is still not possible to assign any structures to this period. At least two Iron Age II stages of a major gateway are represented in Morton's section H. The earlier is built of stone and mudbrick and is approached by a curved, sometimes stepped, pathway on bedrock. Probably to the destruction of this wall is to be ascribed the charred grain found resting on bedrock outside it, which can be compared with the grain found by Reed in a house at the S end of the mound, dated by radiocarbon and ceramic evidence to ca. 850 B.C. The later Iron Age city wall stands to a height of 3.5 m; the gateway as found, however, represents a reworking in the Nabatean period. Outside this wall were large circular grain silos with plastered stone sides and bottoms which may belong to the time of Mesha. They indicate the city's prosperity and the importance of grain as a major staple crop of the kingdom (Ruth 1:1), as of Transjordan generally (for Ammon, 2 Chr 27:5). To this same period may be ascribed a large public building in section L, referred to as a "palace," measuring 42.9 × 21.1 m. Its stone walls rest on bedrock, cutting through 30–40 cm of EB deposits. Its E end may have been a sanctuary; in this area were found pieces of

an Iron Age I incense stand and nearby 2 "fertility" figurines. The "palace" and "sanctuary" may be the buildings referred to in the Mesha stele (lines 3 and 23).

It seems more likely at present, however, to seek Mesha's new royal quarter of Qarhoh in the area partially investigated in the 1950–53 expeditions, even though this area was generally low-lying and difficult to enclose within the city's main defenses. Yet it was here, tradition holds, that Mesha's memorial stele was found—a logical site if it was set up originally in or adjacent to "this high place in Qarhoh" (Mesha stele, line 3). Its subsequent development as the citadel of the city involved great labor and expense which may confirm its identification with Mesha's royal quarter.

Three building stages in this area have been distinguished. The earliest, resting on or immediately above bedrock, contains traces of occupation and city walls, but no fills to raise the occupation level towards that of the main settlement to the N It probably represents a lightly fortified suburb outside the city's main walls. Occupation there can be dated to about 850 B.C.

A major redevelopment of this area included heavy walls along the S, SE, and E (the W part of the area has not been excavated) and an impressive square tower at the SE corner. These supported a great fill which elevated the S quarter to at least the threshold level of the tower 13 m above bedrock. A second tower or other major building may lie beneath an unexcavated knoll to the W. What appears to be a casemate wall in part underlying the S and part of the E podium of the later Nabatean temple, together with other fragments of walls, may be related to the "high place for Chemosh" and palace referred to in the Mesha stele (lines 3 and 23); this may be inferred from the tendency in the Near East for holy places to retain their sanctity and power through a series of shrines. It seems possible that this major building program, although still not completely excavated or defined, represents Mesha's work.

The latest and most spectacular building project at Dibon consists of a great battered wall of roughly dressed blocks averaging 1 × 0.5 m laid horizontally, revetting and supporting the earlier constructions. Where revealed, it still stands up to 10 m above bedrock. Dibon's impressive citadel, when completely visible, must have resembled the podium of David's citadel at Jerusalem recently excavated by Yigal Shiloh. Such expensive works, and permission to build them, suggests that a ruler of Dibon had won special favor from his overlord; such an occasion may be the "defeat in an open battle" inflicted by "Kamashaltu, king of Moab," vassal of Ashurbanipal, on an Arab king who had revolted. Apart from the defenses, archaeology has revealed little of architectural significance; the excavated tombs of the Moabite period, however, reveal that in material culture, at least, Moab differed little from its neighbors E and W of the Jordan.

Dibon's security and prosperity came to a sudden end when Moab joined in a general revolt against Nebuchadnezzar, the new Babylonian overlord. Moab lost all independence in 582 B.C., although there is no evidence that Dibon itself was destroyed. However, apart from some Hellenistic pottery there is no structural evidence of occupation during the Persian and Hellenistic periods which followed.

As we have already noted, the discovery at the site of one coin of Hyrcanus II (63–40 B.C.) may suggest that Dibon formed part of the Peraea, ruled from Jerusalem by the Hasmonean priest-kings of a resurgent Judea. If so, evidence of occupation at this time must be elsewhere on the site, perhaps on the summit of the tell.

**2. The Nabatean Period.** Dibon enjoyed a renaissance with the rise of the Nabatean kingdom. Excavations on the summit have revealed a rich Nabatean deposit, including a city gate, closely dated by the typical fine, thin, sometimes painted and dimpled Nabatean pottery. The chief monument that we can speak about with some assurance is the temple built at the SE corner of the mound. As reconstructed, it is of *distyle in antis* form, and consists of pronaos, naos, and tripartite adytum; the podium walls project northward on either side of a broad flight of steps leading to the entrance. Its overall width, with podium walls, is 19 m; its length, with staircase, is 28 m. Fragments of capitals, columns, pedestals, and entablature permit us to visualize the building. In many respects, it is similar to the Qasr Bint Far'un in Petra and was probably built in the early part of the 1st century A.D., perhaps under Aretas IV. The temple was surrounded by a flagged pavement supported by walls to the S and E. Running parallel to its S wall was an aqueduct, carried on arches. There was no defensive wall surrounding the temple precincts;

instead, a monumental flight of stone steps (originally 8 m wide) led from the S over the ruins of the Moabite defenses. There are evidences for modifications in this plan, but there is no evidence of destruction; it is probable that the temple was abandoned about the time the Nabatean kingdom was absorbed into the Roman province of Arabia in A.D. 106.

**3. Roman, Byzantine and Arab Periods.** A few coins, and particularly 2 inscriptions establish a Roman presence at Dibon: One inscription, probably to be dated to A.D. 201, may mark the establishment of a Roman military post to guard the main N–S road through the province; the other commemorates the construction, in A.D. 245/46, of a tower (?) and refers to a Roman governor (Claudius Capitolinus), hitherto unknown. A bath complex (mostly unexcavated) and what may be a contemporary city wall have been tentatively assigned to this period.

Eusebius knew Dibon in the 4th century as a large, unwalled town, but it obviously shared the general prosperity of Transjordan and Palestine, particularly in the 6th and 7th centuries. Excavation revealed a vaulted hall and an open courtyard to its E, a structure of unknown purpose on the old Nabatean temple podium, a piazza area which was modified to provide vaulted baths, and 2 churches (neither comparable with those at Nebo and Medeba), but no city wall. Three phases of construction or repair have been distinguished running from the middle of the 6th century to the Arab conquest. Tombs of the period give us an insight into the personal lives of Christians in this somewhat remote region of the empire.

The first Muslim occupation appears to have occurred almost immediately, under the Umayyad caliphate. A complex of vaulted rooms overlying the "Gateway" church, W of the Nabatean temple platform, may represent the manor house of a local chief. Its defense wall enclosed the Byzantine bath rooms, converted into vaulted dwellings, as well as the reoccupied Byzantine hall. Morton also reports 2 vaulted Umayyad buildings on the summit of the tell. There is also numismatic and stratified ceramic evidence for an 8th–9th century Abbasid settlement.

The manor house was reused, and a scattering of fragmentary walls over the N church and its atrium suggest a rather extensive occupation in the medieval Ayyubid and early Mamluke period. On the summit of the mound, very substantial remains (some of them originally Byzantine) are probably to be dated to this period.

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A. D. TUSHINGHAM

**DIBRI** (PERSON) [Heb *dibrî* (דִּבְרִי)]. Member of the tribe of Dan whose grandson is stoned to death for blasphemy against the Name of Israel's God (Lev 24:11). Nothing is known of his life, but his daughter is mentioned by name, Shelomith, and it is noted that she was married to an Egyptian. There is

some ambiguity as to the exact nature of the crime of Dibri's grandson, but it seems that at issue in the story is the extension of the law against blasphemy of God (Exod 22:28) to include the utterance of the Name, as well as blasphemy, by one who is only half-Israelite (see Porter *Leviticus* CBC).

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PAULINE A. VIVIANO

**DIDACHE.** An early work on Christian discipline, known also as the *Teaching of the (Lord through the Twelve) Apostles (to the Nations).* The only independent Gk manuscript (dated to 1056 C.E.) of this relatively compact handbook of Christian ethical (chaps. 1–6) and liturgical-community (chaps. 7–15) instructions, concluded by a brief eschatological admonition (chap. 16), was "discovered" (recovered) by P. Bryennios in 1873 and quickly brought to the attention of modern western scholarship. Related forms of part or all of this material were already available in such compilations as the Apostolic Constitutions (7:1–32), the Apostolic Church Order traditions (especially Ethiopic), and the Epistle of Barnabas (chaps. 18–20), although recognition of this fact was not achieved until the Bryennios text became available. Fragments of the Didache tradition have also been found in Latin ("Doctrina"), Coptic, and Georgian, as well as in a Gk papyrus remnant, and there are various patristic references from the time of Eusebius onward to a writing or writings called the "Teaching(s)" of the Apostles.

Didache and these associated materials provide an excellent example of early Christian "evolved literature" of which snapshots of various stages in the development have haphazardly survived. Clues to the existence of earlier strata are abundant in the text of Didache, and have provoked much scholarly discussion. There seems to be a general consensus that the "two ways" material in chaps. 1–6 has a prehistory that connects with Jewish ethical concerns (see Harnack 1896) which probably took shape in both Greek and Semitic formulations. This helps to explain the similarities and differences between the two ways in Didache, Barnabas, Doctrina, and elsewhere (e.g., Goodspeed 1945; Rordorf 1972). To this basic substratum, the Didache form of the two ways has attracted the additional sections in 1:3b–2:1 (gospel sayings and related admonitions; see especially Layton 1968; Mees 1971) and 3:1–6 (the "fences" tradition).

Similarly, the apparent intrusion of such sections as 12:1–5 (compare 11:4–6) and 14:1–3 into the flow of the community instructions, and the evidences of developmental language even within the existing instructions (e.g., the concessions in 6:2 and 7:2–3, the change from itinerant to local ministry in 15:1–2) illustrate the evolving nature of this material even outside the two-ways section. It is no wonder that scholars have found in the Didache a formidable challenge for their analytical and synthetic skills at the level of text and tradition analysis (see especially Audet 1958; Giet 1970; Rordorf and Tuilier 1978).

Assigning firm dates and locations to this type of material has proved especially challenging. Clues that help unlock the mysteries of one part of the composite do not necessarily apply to the whole. Indeed, in such discussions it is important to be very clear about what is identified as the "text" receiving focus (Didache) and what constitute "sources," "recensions," "interpolations," and the like. Thus it may be that the reference to wheat (bread) scattered on the mountains in the prayer language of 9:4 suggests imagery from somewhere (Syro-Palestine?) other than Egyptian wheatflats, but that does not necessarily mean that the person who embedded this prayer in the Didache, or the people to whom the instruction was directed, were located in hilly country. Similarly, the fact that Didache often seems to have an archaic flavor, as with the prayers in chaps. 9–10 or the references to itinerant "apostles and prophets" (and "teachers") in chaps. 11–15, does not necessitate that the surviving form was "published" at an early date, although it may suggest that certain sections of the surviving form have a significant prehistory.

Some commentators argue for a date of effective origin as early as around 70 or soon thereafter (Kleist 1948; Rordorf and Tuilier 1978), and others as late as the later 2d century (Vokes 1970) or even the 3d century (Peterson 1959). The fact that Christian witnesses from the 4th century onward, especially in the vicinity of Egypt, provide the strongest evidence for the existence of the Didache tradition, is the necessary starting point for controlled discussions of its origin and date. That most commentators now seem to opt for Syria (Audet 1958; Hazelden Walker 1966; Rordorf and Tuilier 1978) or Syro-Palestine

(Niederwimmer 1977) as the place of origin is not in itself an indication that the supporting evidence is compelling; Egypt (Kraft 1965) and Asia Minor (Vokes 1970) also have their supporters.

The Didache has provoked an enormous amount of scholarly interest, not only with reference to the text and traditions it represents, or the circumstances of its origin, but also concerning its evidence for reconstructing aspects of early Christian thought and practice. The two-ways material seems to be presented in the larger framework as prebaptismal instruction (7:1) and perhaps also as a criterion for evaluating itinerant teachers (11:1). Although the baptismal rite described in chap. 7 may have been an annual event, the immediately subsequent instructions on fasting and formal prayer explicitly refer to weekly and daily observances. There is much debate about the relationship of chaps. 9–10 (on how to give thanks, *eucharistein*) and the prayers prescribed therein to such early Christian practices as *agape* meals and "eucharistic" celebrations (annual as well as more frequent; see also chap. 14 on possibly weekly "eucharists," and 16:2), and to related uses of ointment/incense (10:8 in some texts; see Peterson 1959; Kraft 1965; Gero 1977; Niederwimmer 1982). And the allegedly "primitive" language (christology, eschatology) of the prayers has also received much attention in various connections (Peterson 1959; Clerici 1966; Niederwimmer 1982).

Equally fascinating has been the Didache's treatment of early Christian leadership (chaps. 11–15), with the focus on itinerant ministry of apostles/prophets and others ("teachers," coreligionists), but also with reference to settled "bishops and deacons" who are in danger of being considered inferior to the itinerants (15:1–2)! How this all relates to similar issues in the sweep of early Christian evidence from Paul through the Montanist crises of the later 2d century has produced much discussion and debate (Niederwimmer 1977; Halleux 1980; Stempel 1980).

Finally, the relationship of the apocalyptic "appendix" in chap. 16 to early Christian traditions (Kloppenborg 1979) and to the remainder of Didache has been subjected to close scrutiny. The relative absence of apocalyptic interests or language elsewhere in the document is noteworthy (compare the more general eschatological phrases and ideas in the prayers of 8:2; 9:4; 10:5–6), as is the general absence of traditional Christian theological and soteriological concerns. The significance of apparent parallels between Didache and the canonical Synoptic Gospel traditions, in chap. 16 and elsewhere, have been widely debated (Hazelden Walker 1966; Kloppenborg 1979). In general, the analyses of the internal contents and concerns of Didache have functioned hand in hand with the external and textual evidence to fortify the impression that a variety of layers underlie the form of the tradition that happens to have survived in the Bryennios manuscript. It is no wonder that, more than a century after its resurrection, the Didache continues to frustrate those who try to fit it into a neat and consistent picture of early Christian history and thought.

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**DIDYMUS.** See THOMAS (PERSON).

**DIET.** See MEAL CUSTOMS; ZOOLOGY.

**DIKLAH** (PERSON) [Heb *diqlâ* (דִּקְלָה)]. A son of Joktan and hence the name of a S Arabian locality or region (Gen 10:27; 1 Chr 1:21). The name is to be explained in accordance with Jewish Aramaic *diqlâ,* Syriac *deqlâ,* Middle Hebrew *deqel,* "date palm," and in biblical Hebrew is probably an otherwise unattested word for the same species. Hence, it follows that the name refers to a region rich in palms or to an oasis with groves of date palms (comparable to this is Heb *tāmār,* "date palm," which likewise occurs as a place-name, or *ʿîr hattĕmārîm,* "city of palms," as an epithet of Jericho (Judg 3:13). Since a root *dql* is not attested in Epigraphic South Arabic either as a proper name or as a noun, it can be assumed that *diqlâ* is the translation of an Old South Arabic word, probably *nḫl,* "palm grove, palm plantation" (cf. Ar *naḫl,* "date palms"). Since in Hebrew *naḥal* normally designates a valley with a brook and *tāmār* was already being used for a place in Palestine, another word had to be chosen.

With regard to a possible location in S Arabia, E. Glaser (1890: 435) proposed the region around Ṣaʿda or the Tihāma, i.e., the Yemenite coastal plain. The most numerous references to *nḫl* in the Old South Arabian inscriptions originate, however, from the oasis of Mārib (e.g. CIS IV 375 = Ja 550,1, where no less than 12 palm groves in the Wadi Aḏanat are mentioned by name) and from the region around Ṣirwāḥ (cf., e.g., Höfner 1973: 10–20, where 5 inscriptions are published in which reference is made to one, two, or even more palm groves). Ṣirwāḥ, which is situated WSW of Mārib, was (next to the capital city) the second most important town of the early Sabaean kingdom. Somewhere in the vicinity of that town was a place whose name contained the word for palm grove, *ʾrḍhmw nḫl ḫrf,* "their land *Naḫl Ḫar (ī)f*" (CIS IV 398,14 and CIS IV 544,100: the donors of these two inscriptions designate themselves as inhabitants of Ṣirwāḥ). In the plain of Raḥāba on both sides of the Wadi Aḏana above the former dam of Mārib in the direction of Ṣirwāḥ there were (as late as in the 10th century A.D.) large palm groves from which most of the dates originated which were sold in Ṣanʿāʾ (al-Hamdānī 1884: 102).

The inscription CIS IV 601 is the decree of a Sabaean king prescribing taxes which had to be paid by the country people from the produce of the soil. The passage *sbʾ wyhblḥ, Sabaʾ and Yuhabliḥ* occurs in this text (lines 5–6), which likewise originates in Ṣirwāḥ. Hommel (1926: 145) explained *Yuhabliḥ* (which he, however, localized in N Arabia) as *regio dactylifera,* i.e., as Diklah of the OT. The explanation of *yhblḥ* is based on Ar *ablaḥa,* "to bring forth green dates." In the inscription CIS IV 601, *Yuhabliḥ* is mentioned side by side with *Sabaʾ,* i.e., the Sabaeans in the oasis of Mārib, and it is possible that *Yuhabliḥ* designates the inhabitants of the land on both sides of the Wadi Aḏana and its tributary valleys above the

great dam of Mārib, a region in which dates were cultivated. The epigraphic testimony of the early Sabaean period—with its frequent attestation of date groves in the district of Mārib and Ṣirwāḥ and the occurrence of *nḫl* as name of a place in the vicinity of Ṣirwāḥ—seems to indicate that *diqlâ,* " (the land of) the date palm," must be located in the region around Ṣirwāḥ.

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**DILEAN** (PLACE) [Heb *dilĕʿān* (דִּלְעָן)]. A town situated in the Shephelah, or low country, of Judah (Josh 15:38), within the same district as Lachish and Eglon. This settlement, whose name perhaps means "protrusion" (from *dlʿ*, "to protrude"), is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The location of the ancient settlement is uncertain.

WADE R. KOTTER

**DILL.** See FLORA.

**DIMNAH** (PLACE) [Heb *dimnâ* (דִּמְנָה)]. Var. RIMMONO. One of the cities in the tribe of Zebulun given to the Levitical family of Merari (Josh 21:35). The apparent parallel in 1 Chr 6:62 [—Eng 6:77] reads Rimmono (Heb *rmwnw*), suggesting that the original may have been RIMMON, a Zebulunite town mentioned in Josh 19:13, and that "Dimnah" is an erroneous form resulting from a misreading of the initial *reš* as a *dalet.*

GARY A. HERION

**DIMON** (PLACE) [Heb *dîmôn* (דִּימוֹן)]. On the basis of the MT, the KJV reads "the waters of *Dimon* are full of blood" in Isa 15:9. Following the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QIsa[a,b]) and the Vulgate, the RSV has *Dibon.* Some scholars suggest that *Dimon* represents a scribal corruption, while others believe that *Dibon* was deliberately changed to *Dimon* to create a play on words between the sounds of *Dimon* and *dām* (Heb "blood"), included in this same verse.

This textual problem occurs in Isaiah's oracle against Moab (chapters 15–16), which has parallels with Jeremiah 48. In fact, the place-name *Madmen,* mentioned in Jer 48:2, is often emended to *Dimon,* since the initial *m* could have resulted from dittography. Dimon, in Isa 15:9, and the emended Madmen (= Dimon) of Jer 48:2 have been identified with Khirbet Dimneh (M.R. 217077), located ca. 21/2 miles NW of Rabbah, in Moab. A recent surface survey was conducted at modern Dimneh, with virtually no Iron Age pottery being recovered.

Two other factors should be considered in selecting the correct reading for Isa 15:9. (1) It has been argued that Dibon is not on a large stream, as would be required by the phrase "the waters of Dibon," although it does sit at the head of a wadi. On the other hand, Dimneh is located on the Moabite plateau overlooking Wadi Ibn Hammād, a major wadi system that could qualify as "the waters of Dimon." (2) More importantly, Dibon was already mentioned in Isa 15:2. Since no other place-name occurs twice in this chapter, it seems likely that a different town was intended in v 9, a place named Dimon.

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

**DIMONAH** (PLACE) [Heb *dîmônâ* (דִּימוֹנָה)]. A settlement of the tribe of Judah. Dimonah is only mentioned once, in Josh 15:22, where it is listed among the settlements occupied by Judah in the aftermath of the conquest. Though the present literary context of the Judean town list is set in the period of Joshua, its original setting was part of a post-Solomonic administrative division of the S kingdom. The

date for the establishment of this system is debated, with suggestions ranging from the early 9th to the late 7th centuries B.C. Dimonah is in the southernmost district of Judah, the Negeb.

The location of Dimonah is problematic. In the list it is placed between Kinah and Adadah (probably a mistake for Aroer), which would place it in the E Negeb. It may be that Dimonah is to be equated with the Dibon of Neh 11:25 which was one of the sites settled to the S of Jerusalem by the exiles returning from Babylon. If this suggestion is valid, a possible location could be Khirbet edh-Dheiba, (*GP* 2: 305) 3.5 km NE of Tell Arad (Hebrew Khorvat Taiyib, M.R. 164079).

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**DINAH** (PERSON) [Heb *dînâ* (דִּינָה)]. Daughter of the patriarch Jacob. She is the only female descendant mentioned in the Genesis account of Jacob and his 12 sons (but cf. Gen 46:15, which mentions both Dinah and daughters [plural] of Jacob). Announcement of Dinah's birth (Gen 30:21) stands out in the narrative both because it presents a female child and because it lacks an explanation of her name, in contrast to the etiologies present for all the 12 brothers. Because of these features, the authenticity of Dinah's place within a unit of Genesis (29:31 to 30:24) that lists the birth and names of eleven of Jacob's sons has been called into question. However, other aspects of Dinah's position in this matriarchal section may mitigate the apparent strangeness of the Dinah verse.

Dinah's birth to Leah follows the announcement that Leah had borne 6 sons to Jacob. Her 7th child is thus a daughter; and, with a female, her childbearing comes to an end. The 7th position, considering the symbolic value of that number, represents the fulfillment of Leah's maternal role, one that includes at least one female child. Furthermore, the birth of Dinah occupies the pivotal spot in the transition between Leah's childbearing and that of the previously barren but favored wife, Rachel. Once Leah's part of the Jacob family is complete, God "remembered" Rachel and opened her womb for the birth of Joseph.

The lack of an etiology for Dinah, a name that, like the name of her brother Dan, is from a Hebrew word meaning "to judge" must be seen in the context of the eponymous nature of the 12 sons of Jacob. All represent tribal groups, and the presence of name explanations contributes to the ancestor traditions surrounding the 12 sons. Because Dinah is not an eponymous ancestor, an elaboration of her birth announcement would be inappropriate.

Dinah's presence in the birth account of Jacob's family also anticipates her appearance in the unusual narrative of Genesis 34, which recounts the rape of Dinah by a local Canaanite named Shechem (son of Hamor), the attempt of Hamor to arrange a marriage between his son and the woman he has violated, the resistance of two of Dinah's brothers (Simeon and Levi) to the proposed arrangement, and the subsequent deceit and slaughter of the prospective bridegroom, and all the men in his city, by the vengeful brothers.

This story departs from the previous narratives in the way it moves from the stories of individuals to personalized history (see Speiser *Genesis* AB, 266–68). As such it deals with two interrelated and complicated aspects of proto-Israelite existence.

Insofar as Shechem represents a Canaanite city and the two antagonistic brothers depict the ancestors of two Israelite tribes, the tale apparently reflects a proto-Israelite struggle and perhaps also the special position of Shechem as both a congenial and a troublesome place in pre-monarchic Israel. Unlike most of the Canaanite cities, it apparently became part of Israel without military conflict; it is the site of the great covenant gathering described in Joshua 24; it is the site of an early monarchic move by Abimelech that results in the destruction of the city (Judges 9).

The second aspect of the story is related to the tension involved in Shechem's status as part of Israel, yet it is different. The personalized tale dealing with marital customs confronts the difficult problem of ingroup (endogamous) vs. outgroup (exogamous) marriage. Israel struggled with the advantages and disadvantages of limiting marriage possibilities to endogamy throughout most of its history. As anthropologists (Pitt-Rivers 1977; cf. Gottwald 1979: 301–15) have pointed out, the shock value of the story draws attention to a sensitive issue. Marriage alliances are useful in territorial expansion or in

compensation for demographic shortages; but they also involve the threat that divergent cultural values will be brought into the group and threaten the group's stability.

The story of Dinah is thus a reflection of both the political history of proto-Israel and early Israel and the social history of all Israel. This interweaving of themes is reflected in the long-recognized complexity of the literary sources and structure of Genesis 34.

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**DINHABAH** (PLACE) [Heb *dinhābâ* (דִּנְהָבָה)]. The residence of the Edomite "king" Bela (Gen 36:32; 1 Chr 1:43). See BELA. Bartlett (1965: 302–4), following Eusebius, located Dinhabah in Moab at either Dannea/Kh. ed-Denn (M.R. 221087), 7.5 miles N of er-Rabbah, or Danaba/Kh. el-Mhatta, W of Heshbon (see Mittmann 1971). These identifications are unlikely on both historical (Weippert 1971: 428–29) and linguistic grounds (Knauf 1985: 250, n. 27). The name has not satisfactorily been explained. Tentatively, one may suggest deriving the name Dinhabah from a clan or tribal name *Ḏahhaba (t), attested as a personal name in Safaitic and Qatabanic (Harding 1971: 259), by dissimilation of the geminate *h.* Dissimilation of geminates is fairly widespread in Aramaic and Arabic.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**DIOGNETUS, EPISTLE TO.** A late 2d century apology addressed to a certain Diognetus who is otherwise unknown. Diognetus was a tutor of the emperor Marcus Aurelius, who admired him for his freedom from superstition and sound educational advice (*Meditations* 1.6), but he is not likely to be the recipient, or even the assumed recipient, of this apology from around A.D. 200. The work itself survived (with other writings ascribed to Justin) only in a 13th century manuscript, formerly at Strasbourg but burned during the invasion of 1870.

The apology is relatively simple and straightforward, though it consists only of the first 10 chapters; the last 2 come from another work, presumably a sermon, composed in the style of Melito of Sardis. In theory it answers several questions raised by pagans about (1) the God of the Christians; (2) the nature of their religion, which results in disregard for the world, the despising of death, and the rejection of pagan gods as well as the superstition of the Jews; (3) the character of their mutual love; and (4) why the religion arose when it did and not earlier. The author deals with the first 2 questions together (chaps. 1–2), then with Judaism (3–4), with Christianity (5–7) and with the appearance of Christ (7–10). Mutual love is discussed only indirectly. The last two chapters (11–12) are also concerned with the appearance of the Logos-Son, but in a rhetorical-homiletic manner.

The treatise *Epistle To Diognetus* resembles the *Exhortation* by Clement of Alexandria and has the same drive toward generalities, lacking the detailed precision of earlier apologetic works. While the work was especially admired in the century after its first publication (Henricus Stephanus, 1592), its lack of historical attestation and its remoteness from a historical setting have led to a neglect that is partly deserved. On the other hand, the pictures of Christians in the world, comparable to soul within body (chaps. 5–6), of divine providence at work (7.2), and of the coming of the king's son—"persuading, not compelling, for force is no attribute of God" (7.3–4)—remain impressive. The discourse is basically moral, not theological.

There are no biblical quotations and relatively few allusions. In chap. 5, the author evidently relies on Paul's self-description in 2 Corinthians 6 for his picture of Christians in general, but he does not mention

the apostle. He does not name Jesus and is rather fond of the archaic and liturgical term "child" (Gk *pais;* chap. 8), though he also calls him Logos, maker (7.2), king, God, man (7.3), and indeed "nurse, father, teacher, counselor, physician, mind, light, glory, strength, life" (9.6). Such lists are rhetorical rather than theological in nature; some have Platonic antecedents, some biblical.

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ROBERT M. GRANT

**DIONYSIUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Dionysios* (Διονυσιος)]. A Gk name derived from Dionysus, the god of vegetation, wine, and drama. In the NT, an individual named Dionysius was an Athenian and a member of the prominent Areopagus who was converted along with others by Paul's preaching (Acts 17:34). Although Paul's address to the Areopagus is usually viewed as less than successful, Dionysius' response suggests that Paul's message was not a complete failure. The conversion of such an important official no doubt gave the young church a good start, but little is known about the subsequent development of Christianity in Athens.

Eusebius reported that a bishop of Corinth also named Dionysius (ca. 175 C.E.) stated that Dionysius the Areopagite was the first bishop of Athens (*Hist.Eccl.* 3.4.11; 4.23.3). Eusebius's tradition is difficult to verify, but it would not be unusual for such an important individual to become a leading figure in a young church. The Neoplatonic literature of the 5th and 6th centuries attributed to Dionysius is an obvious pseudonymous attempt to acquire acceptance of a body of literature by an unknown author.

FRANK E. WHEELER

**DIONYSUS** (DEITY) [Gk *Dionysos* (Διονυσος)]. The Greek god of wine and ecstatic experience generally, and to some extent also of vegetation, and of death and rebirth. He was also remarkable as being subject to birth (from a mortal woman), death, and resurrection.

He is a peculiar phenomenon and something of an intruder into the Olympic pantheon. Known to Homer, but not, apparently, part of the epic tradition on which Homer is drawing (though the name has now been found on Mycenean tablets), Dionysus comes into his own as a god in Greece only in the Archaic Age (7th–6th centuries B.C.E.). Traditionally son of Zeus and a mortal mother, Semele, daughter of King Cadmus of Thebes, he should strictly have been classed as a "hero." That he was not was owing to an unfortunate misunderstanding, arising from the machinations of the jealous Hera, as a result of which his mother was blasted to ashes by the onset of Zeus some time after he was conceived; the embryo was snatched up by Zeus and lodged in his thigh, to be born again from there, at the due time. In fact, however, his mother's name betrays her origin as the Phrygian earth goddess Zemelo, and the curious primitiveness of the legend marks it as of Asia Minor origin (he himself was worshipped in Phrygia as *Diounsis,* a god of vegetation, who died and was resurrected). Semele became connected with Thebes only after it became a center of Dionysiac worship (probably in the early Archaic Age).

Universal tradition in fact presents Dionysus as an intruder into Greece, from Phrygia by way of Thrace. His other main title, Bacchus (Gk *Bakchos*), is originally Lydian, as we can see from inscriptions in that area. This probably reflects some historical reality, though the "resistance tales" associated with this—the one concerning Thebes, immortalized in Euripides' *Bacchae,* is the most famous—are perhaps best taken as dramatized rationalizations of the antagonism between the sexes stirred up and mediated by the introduction of Dionysiac worship. However that may be, Dionysus always remains to some extent a god worshipped on the fringes of society, or in "liminal" situations.

Dionysus is essentially the god of ecstasy, in particular that induced by wine, of which he is celebrated as the inventor. Particular festivals at Athens celebrated this aspect of him. At the Anthesteria, in late February, the new wine was blessed in the presence of a mask of Dionysus. There were wine-drinking competitions, and a procession took place recreating the arrival of the god from overseas, a ceremony matched by many others, called *katagogia* ("bringing home") in various Ionian cities. At the Lenaea (in January), and the City Dionysia, or Great Dionysia (early April), the ecstatic element was also in

evidence, though in classical times this was primarily expressed in the form of dramatic performances, comedy (predominantly) at the Lenaea, tragedy and comedy at the Dionysia. There were also local Dionysiac festivals, the rural Dionysia, celebrated throughout Attica in December, the central feature of which was a procession escorting a phallus, presumably to promote fertility among the slumbering seeds in midwinter.

After the conquests of Alexander, Dionysiac worship spread throughout the Middle East. There is abundant inscriptional evidence of Dionysiac cults and associations, with initiation rituals, where the underworld aspect of the god, his connection with death and resurrection, is often prominent. In these Hellenistic Dionysiac clubs, social wine-drinking was raised to the level of ritual, with elaborate rules regulating the members' conduct. The lobakchoi of Athens are a good example; besides ritual drinking, they on occasion performed a kind of sacred drama, featuring Dionysus and such figures as Kore and Aphrodite.

These were all-male associations. For the women, there was ritual maenadism, again well attested in inscriptions. This involved festivals every other year, when both maidens and married women took up the thyrsus, donned the fawnskin, and retired "to the mountain" to dance ecstatically, handle sacred objects, and eat raw meat (*ōmophagia*)—but not, it seems, drink wine, despite what many men believed. Whatever the remote origins of the phenomenon of maenadism, in Hellenistic times it seems to have been a well-controlled periodic demonstration of female self-assertion, comfortably contained within the confines of civilized society.

There are also attested in the Hellenistic and imperial periods sexually unrestricted Dionysiac groups, in which sexual intercourse, cultic or otherwise, may have been a feature, but there is no evidence of large-scale promiscuity, though it was alleged in hostile sources (leading to the banning of Dionysiac worship in Rome in 186 B.C.). Otherwise men and women continued to celebrate together at the major public festivals, such as the Anthesteria and rural Dionysia in Attica.

As Dionysus spread through the Mediterranean in Hellenistic and later times, he inevitably came up against various Semitic and other gods who filled some or all of the same roles in their society. Liber Pater in Rome, Sabazios in Phrygia, and Osiris in Egypt are obvious examples, but one more relevant to the present article is the "Dionysos" who was worshipped in Sidon, whose cult myth, involving the changing of water into wine, has significant analogies to the Johannine story of the Marriage Feast at Cana (Smith 1975). This was in fact a common feature of Dionysiac legend. Every year on the day of the Dionysus feast, the temple springs in Andros and Teos were said to have poured out wine instead of water, and in Elis, on the eve of the feast, 3 empty jars were set up in the temple, which were then found full of wine on the next morning.

Distinctive features of Dionysiac worship in the Hellenistic era (and earlier) may be summed up as follows: a set of cult objects and symbols (phallus, thyrsus, ivy, grape cluster); a cult language of passwords and symbola, recognizable only by an initiate; ceremonies intended to stimulate a sense of identity with the god, originally, at least, by ceremonially eating an animal (properly a bull) representing the god; a breaking free from, or even reversal of, societal roles; and a belief in a happy life after death for initiates. Many of these features are shared with other cults or movements, such as Pythagoreanism or Orphism, but the totality is distinctive of Dionysiac worship.

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JOHN M. DILLON

**DIOSCORINTHIUS** [Gk *Dios Korinthiou* (Διος Κορινθιου)]. Name of the month dating the first of four official documents (2 Macc 11:21). While all the Greek witnesses and $La^{B}$ contain this reading of the name, the fact that it is not attested elsewhere in antiquity has raised questions concerning its authenticity. Katz (1960: 15) and others prefer to read *dioskoridou,* the genitive of *dioskorides,* at this point as well as for v 38, based on the Latin versions which sometimes attest to older forms of the text. Hanhart (1961: 473–74) rejects such a proposal, arguing that it creates additional difficulties in reading and understanding v 38, thus is not valid for v 21 either. While pointing out that one of the Greek cities could have named a month after the *Dioskouroi* (or *dioskoroi*), the twin sons of Zeus (cf. Acts 28:11), Goldstein (*2 Maccabees* AB, 413) notes that there is no known Greek month with an *-ides* ending. *Dioskouros* is attested during the time of the Roman Empire in the Cretan calendar.

*Dios,* derived from the genitive form of *Zeus* and also found in *Ant.* 1.80, is used as the name for the first month in the Macedonian calendar (Bickerman 1980: 20), coming at the beginning of autumn. This would seem to be the most likely date which the epitomist and probably Jason had in mind. More puzzling is the additional *Korinthiou.* While Corinthian Zeus as a deity does appear in Gk literature, it is not found in any recorded calendar (Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 413). One suggestion has been that the extra term, whatever its original form, was used to designate an intercalary month, as suggested by the Syriac text. Any good explanation for this term eludes present-day scholarship.

The foregoing discussion is based on the premise that the letter in which it is found is authentic. While most recent scholarship has accepted this argument, there remains marked differences in the interpretation of the relationship between the four documents preserved in 2 Maccabees 11 (cf. Habicht 1976 and Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 408–9).

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**DIOSCURI** [Gk *Dioskouroi* (Διοσκουροι)]. The combined form of *Dios kouroi*, "The Sons of Zeus." It was the title (first used in an archaic inscription, *IG* 1898: no. 359, Thera; in script, *Homeric Hymns* 33.1) of Kastor and Polydeukes (Pollux) that formed the insignia (*parasēmon*) of the Alexandrian ship in which Paul sailed from Melita (Acts 28:1) to Puteoli (v 11). The two brothers of Helen (*Iliad* 3.236–42) and Klytemnestra were first located in Lakonia and are frequently referred to as the Tyndaridai, after Tyndareos, husband of Leda and king of Lakedaimon. Already according to Homer (*Od.* 11.298–304) they are the sons of Tyndareos and Leda (Terpandros, fragment 3 Bergk), but Pindar (*Nemean Odes* 10) isolates Kastor as the son of Leda by Tyndareos, and Polydeukes as the son of Leda by Zeus. (See Cook 1914, 1: 760–75; Bethe PW 5: 1087–123; Nilsson 1967: 406–11; Rose and Robertson *OCD,* 354.)

In reprisal for Theseus' kidnapping of Helen, the Dioskouroi invaded Attic and carried off Aithra, mother of Theseus. Later, during the expedition of the Argonauts, Polydeukes earned his reputation as a boxer. Challenged by Amycus, king of the Bebrykes, to a match, with winner take all, Polydeukes proved that skill could overcome brute strength. Destiny's turn finally came for the brothers after they carried off Hilaeira and Phoibe, daughters of Leukippos (Farnell 1921: 175–233). In his 10th *Nemean Ode,* Pindar relates that Idas and Lynkeus, nephews of Leukippos and sons of Aphareus, were irate over the loss of some oxen and stabbed Kastor. Polydeukes came to his brother's aid and slew Lynkeus, whereupon Zeus struck Idas down with a thunderbolt. Polydeukes pleaded with Zeus for his dying brother, and Zeus offered him the choice of full time spent in heaven or half the year with Kastor in Hades (Homer *Od.* 11.301–4).

In time, Kastor was revered for his equestrian skill and Polydeukes became the patron of wrestlers. Their astral associations (Euripides *Hel.* 137–40, 1499; *El.* 990; *Orestes* 1636–37) were connected with

the prestige they enjoyed, especially in later times, as the "Savior Gods" (*hoi sotēres*). Epictetus (2.18.29) notes that voyagers call upon them in a storm. In gratitude for their help, Catullus dedicated a poem to them (*Carmina* 4.27). And Horace, taking note of their constellation known as the *Gemini,* prays for a safe trip (*Odes* 3.29.64). With the words *lucida sideras* (bright stars) in *Odes* 1.3 the same poet appears to refer to the phenomenon known as corposant, which gladdened the hearts of sailors when it seemed to dance double on the masts and yards of a vessel. In the poem *The Battle of the Lake Regillus* (canto 40), Macaulay recalls the phenomenon of "St. Elmo's fire" as he celebrates the role of the Dioskouroi in a victory won by the Lokrians:

> Safe comes the ship to haven
> Through billows and through gales,
> If once the Great Twin Brethren
> Sit shining on the sails.

In his *Evangelica Praeparatio* (1.10.14), Eusebius documents the Twins' reputation for both medical skill as well as naval acumen. According to the scholiast of Pindar *Pythian* 5.6, their cult was vigorously pursued "in the district of Cyrene, near Alexandria," the port of origin of the ship cited by Luke.

Since the Twins were tutelary deities of mariners, their insignia (Acts 28:11) was displayed on the prows of ships, and probably on both sides in the manner of *The Isis,* as described by Lucian (*Nav.* 5; other references in BAGD, s.v. *parasēmos*).

As their appearance on Roman sarcophagi attests, even more important than the Brothers' reputation for tutelary functions is the stimulus their cult gave to belief in personal immortality. Also, they encourged fidelity to friends (Theognis 1087) and respect for long-standing traditions of hospitality (Pindar *Nemean* 10.49–50 and *Olympian* 3.38–40).

Two works by Harris (1903, 1906) trace the Twin Brothers motif in a variety of folklore.

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**DIOTREPHES** (PERSON) [Gk *Diotrephes* (Διοτρεφες)]. An early churchman who asserted authority over all in his local church, rejected the authority of the elder who wrote 3 John, attacked the elder in public, forbade anyone to receive the elder's emissaries, and excluded all who did (3 John 9–10). The name Diotrephes, which means "nourished by Zeus," occurs in the NT only in this one passage.

Some consider Diotrephes as a representative of the same docetic interpretation of Jesus as 1 and 2 John reflect (Bauer 1971: 93). The author of 3 John, however, never charged Diotrephes with heresy. The conflict was over authority in the church instead of theology.

According to one view, Diotrephes was a monarchical bishop (Zahn 1909, 3: 374–81). On the other hand, he could have been an elder or a deacon who abused his authority. Or he may have exercised authority over the entire church by the dominance of his personality without holding any office.

The conflict between the elder and Diotrephes probably represented a transition period in church government. In that case the elder represented the older, centralized leadership of an elder over a number of churches in the region. Diotrephes represented a younger generation that sought greater local autonomy and moved in the direction which eventually led to the monarchical episcopacy (Dodd *Johannine Epistles* MNTC, 163–64).

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**DIRECTION AND ORIENTATION.** Orientation is the means by which persons determine direction. From earliest antiquity, there seem to have been the 4 cardinal directions: north, south, east, and west (N, S, E, and W). This is true of Hebrew, Akkadian, and Sumerian culture. It is also true for Egyptian. Directions were usually related to specific spatial phenomena. Often astronomical or terrestrial features served as the basis for orientation. Astronomical features would make use primarily of the sun for one's point of reference; secondarily, specific stars or constellations might play a role in getting bearings. The rising and setting of the sun served as primary indicators of E and W in Mesopotamia and in Syria/Palestine. Terrestrial features such as mountains and seas served as indicators of direction. Heb *yam,* "sea," referring to the Mediterranean, was one indicator of "west." In a similar manner Akkadian *šadū,* "mountain", was one indicator for "east."

In other instances, once the primary bearing was determined, the individual faced that direction and used the body as a simple compass to locate other directions (when one faces N, the right hand is to the E, the left to the W, south is behind). Since the development of the magnetic compass, N has been the primary direction. Yet the very words *orientation* and *orient* point to the E, probably using the rising sun, as the primary reference point. From the OT itself there are numerous indicators that E served as the primary direction for bearings. In biblical Hebrew the related word group *qedem, qēdmâ,* and *qādîm* appears most frequently for "east." These words literally mean "in front, before." Thus E was the direction in front of one, the direction by which one gained one's orientation and bearings. This usage of the root *qdm* to indicate E is not limited to Hebrew; it has a similar usage in Ugaritic, indicating E or the E wind. One of the Hebrew word groups for "west" was *ʾāhôr* and *ʾahărôn.* The "western sea" (*yam ʾahărôn*) referred to the Mediterranean Sea. Literally, *ʾāhôr* and *ʾahărôn* meant "ack" or "behind." Hebrew also used *śĕmoʾl,* "the left hand," to indicate north and *yāmîn,* "the right hand" to indicate S.

However, not all ANE cultures used the same pattern of orientation as the Hebrews. The Egyptians, for example, had S as their primary reference point, probably because it was the direction of the source of the Nile, their lifeblood. Although they also used the body as a compass, different directions resulted from a different orientation. Facing S, the right hand (*wnmy, ʾimn*) indicated W (*ʾimnt*) and western (*ʾimnty*). Likewise, for the Egyptian, left and left hand (*ʾi€ by* and *ʾi€ bi*) indicated E (*ʾi€ bt*).

Using an astronomical basis for directions, most Semitic peoples used the rising of the sun for the primary direction and bearing. In Akkadian, *ṣitū šamši,* "the rising of the sun," was a common expression used to describe E. Likewise in Hebrew, *mizrāḥ (haš)šemeš,* "the rising of the sun" indicated E, as did *mizrāḥ* alone. Similarly, Akkadian *erēb šamši,* "the setting of the sun" was a phrase to indicate W. The Hebrew *maʿărāb* also means "west," and is cognate with the Akkadian. Hebrew also uses the phrase *mābôʾ (haš)šemeš,* lit. "the entrance of the sun," as the opposite of sunrise, as sunset, and as the direction W.

JOEL F. DRINKARD, JR.

**DISCHARGE.** An emission or secretion of semen, pus, or blood from the genitalia which is considered ritually impure. The main discussion of these conditions is in the Priestly legislation (= P) of the Pentateuch (Leviticus 12, 15). The cases may be classified into normal discharges (seminal emission, menstruation, and lochial discharge after birth), and abnormal discharges (purulent discharge because of urethritis in males and irregular menstrual flows). The cases of menstruation and abnormal discharges are described with the Hebrew verb *zwb* "to flow, stream; to have a discharge" and the noun *zôb* "discharge, flux."

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A. Impure Discharge
   1. Seminal Emission
   2. Menstruation
   3. Lochial Discharge

4. Irregular Male Genital Discharge
5. Abnormal Menstrual Flow

B. Other Bodily Excretions

C. Rationale for the Impurity of Discharges

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**A. Impure Discharge**

**1. Seminal Emission.** In ritual terms, a seminal emission is the least severe of all the discharges (Lev 15:16–18, 32). It causes the emitter to suffer a one-day impurity ("until evening"). Any clothing the semen touches is also unclean for one day. Sexual intercourse brings a one-day impurity to the woman involved as well as the man.

Those contaminated by semen are to purify by bathing in water and waiting until evening. Polluted clothing becomes clean after it is laundered and evening passes.

In the context of P, those persons and things polluted by semen cannot pollute other persons and things of a profane (i.e., non-holy or common) nature. Hence semen-polluted persons and things need to be restricted only from the sphere of the holy (i.e., the sanctuary area and holy items extant outside the sanctuary such as sacrificial meats; cf. Lev 22:4–7); they are presumably allowed free access in the community's area of habitation. Outside of P, Deut 23:10–12 requires one who has an emission to leave a war camp until the next evening when, after bathing, he becomes pure. This is because the entire camp is holy—God's presence is there—and therefore no "abhorrent thing" can remain there lest God leave and the army fail in battle. Other passages talk of abstinence from intercourse in preparation for encountering what is holy or in war (cf. Exod 19:10–11, 14–15; 1 Sam 21:4–7; 2 Sam 11:11). For a more rigorous scheme of exclusion for emissions, as well as other impurities, see the Temple Scroll cols. 45–48 (cf. Wright 1987: 178–79 n. 33).

**2. Menstruation.** The impurity of menstruation is more severe than that of an emission (Lev 15:19–24). A woman in this state suffers a communicable impurity for 7 days from the beginning of blood flow (not 14 days, contra Krause 1983). Persons or objects touching her become impure for one day. Beds and chairs on which she lies or sits become polluted, and they can in turn pollute other persons and things for one day. An object that is on a piece of furniture on which she is sitting or lying can pollute persons or things touching that object (v 23). A man who has sexual intercourse with a menstruant contracts an impurity equal in strength to that of a menstruant.

P does not explicitly state how a menstruant is to be treated in her contacts with the profane sphere. It is doubtful if she was required to leave the area of habitation (cf. Num 5:2–3), but she would probably be required to restrict herself within the habitation (i.e., to stay at home) during the 7-day period so that she would not pollute others in the community generally. Non-P writings display the abhorrence that was felt toward menstruants (Isa 30:22; Ezek 7:19–20; 36:17; cf. Gen 31:35). Moreover, it was considered a sin to have intercourse with a menstruant (Lev 18:19; 20:18; Ezek 18:6; 22:10; and perhaps 2 Sam 11:4–5). Later Jewish tradition, to some extent at the time of the Mishnah and Talmud, but to a greater extent later, developed rather extensive restrictions for the menstruant (cf. the tractate *Niddah* in the Mishnah and Talmud; also Dinari 1980).

P does not prescribe purification rites for the menstruant, but, in view of other examples of purification, it seems that she would have to bathe and launder on the 7th day and wait until evening (cf. 2 Sam 11:4). Note that no sacrifices were required as with more severe sexual impurities (see below).

**3. Lochial Discharge.** An impurity more severe than menstruation is that of a lochial discharge in a woman after birth. (Note it is the discharge, not the birth itself, that is polluting.) Leviticus 12 distinguishes between 2 stages of impurity after childbirth. The 1st stage is immediately after birth, for 7 days if the child is a male and 14 days if it is a female. The impurity of this initial period is like that of a menstruant (vv 2, 5). Socially and cultically she would be treated as a menstruant. The 2d stage, an additional 33 days for the male or 66 days for a female, is a lighter impurity where the woman, though still a threat to holy things and therefore restricted from them (v 4), can presumably mingle with the profane sphere. At this time, intercourse with her husband is presumably permissible. Thus the P system

differs radically from other cultures in having a short postpartum sex taboo. The distinction in the length of impurity for a male child versus a female is not unique to the Bible (Macht 1933). The basis for the distinction appears to be founded in the dominance of the male in Israelite society (Selvidge 1984: 620–21; Macht's attempt to find a physiological basis must be rejected). It should be noted that though the mother is impure, there is no indication that the new child is impure. Except for the circumcision of the male (v 3) the legislation totally ignores the child. This contrasts with customs in many other societies where both mother and baby are impure after birth.

The purification of a puerperal woman is accomplished in stages. Much of this must be deduced. At the end of her initial stage (7 or 14 days) she probably launders her clothes and bathes. After these ablutions at evening she presumably enters into her 2d stage of impurity. On the last day of this stage she presumably launders and bathes and at nightfall is pure in regard to not only the profane sphere but the holy sphere as well. Finally, supposedly on the day after these final ablutions (i.e., on the 41st or 81st day) she brings sacrifices (a lamb or bird for a burnt offering, and a bird for a purgation offering) which complete and confirm her purification process (12:6–8).

**4. Irregular Male Genital Discharge.** An impurity similar in ritual effect and strength to that of the parturient is that of a male with an irregular genital discharge (the *zāb;* Lev 15:2–15). The physical symptoms in these verses appear to be those of urethritis with an accompanying discharge of pus. Urethritis is commonly associated with the sexually transmitted disease gonorrhea, caused by the bacterium *Neisseria gonorrhoeae.* Though some have argued that gonorrhea did not exist in biblical times (Kinnier-Wilson 1982; Vertue 1953), evidence suggests that in fact gonorrhea was an endemic disease of great antiquity (Hare 1967; Felton 1979). Therefore, gonorrhea still must be considered one of the causes of the discharge described in these verses of Leviticus 15. But though gonorrhea is a major cause of urethral discharge, it is not the only cause. Consequently translation of Hebrew *zāb* as "gonorrheic" should be avoided.

Understanding the ailment as urethritis allows the symptom of being "stopped up" in v 3 to be explained. Here may be indicated an inability to pass urine due to swelling and inflammation of the chronically infected urethra. This is a common complication of untreated urethritis seen in gonorrhea and other infections (e.g., Osaba and Alausa 1976; Kibukamusoke 1965).

The effect of the pollution of a *zāb* is similar to that of a menstruant. Every bed, chair, or saddle on which he sits becomes communicably impure so that it can pollute other persons or things with a one-day impurity. Anyone touching the *zāb* directly, or anyone whom the *zāb* touches when his hands are not washed, becomes impure for a day. Moreover, if the *zāb* spits on another person, the latter becomes impure for one day. Inanimate objects that the *zāb* touches also become unclean for one day.

The treatment of the *zāb* in regard to the profane sphere varies in different texts. In Num 5:2–3, the *zāb* (this includes not only the male, but the female equivalent, the *zābâ;* see below), corpse-contaminated persons, and those with scale disease (see LEPROSY) were to be excluded from the sanctuary camp. Leviticus 15, by its silence, implies that, in contrast, the *zāb* and *zābâ* were not excluded (Numbers 19 similarly implies that corpse-contaminated persons could remain in the habitation). The difference in this conception is probably due to the fact that the sanctuary camp, a type of war camp, was subject to stricter rules of purity than a settled habitation in Lev 15 (Wright 1987: 172–73). The stigma attached to those with severe fluxes is intimated in David's curse of Joab and his house (2 Sam 3:29).

When a *zāb* recovers from his physical affliction, he waits 7 days before beginning his regimen of purification. This was probably to make sure that he has really recovered (cf. a similar waiting period for one recovered from scale disease, Lev 14:8–9). On the 7th day, he launders his clothes and bathes. Presumably when evening passes after this set of ablutions he is pure in regard to both the profane and sacred spheres. On the 8th day he brings sacrifices (2 birds for a burnt offering and purgation offering) to complete his purification process.

**5. Abnormal Menstrual Flow.** The female counterpart of a *zāb* is the *zābâ,* a woman with an abnormal menstrual flow (i.e., bleeding outside the normal menorrheal period or bleeding beyond the normal duration of menstruation; Lev 15:25–30). In the context of underdeveloped societies in the Middle East, a

variety of causes for this condition are found including parasitism, malnutrition, and anemia. It is well-known that some apparently normal women menstruate irregularly with some unpredictability of flow (for example, El-Kholi, et al. 1971).

Note that this condition is not medically equivalent to that of the *zāb.* Here it is an irregular blood flow, not a discharge of pus. That a purulent discharge is apparently not considered impure in women may be due to the difficulty in detecting such a discharge in females.

A *zābâ* pollutes exactly like a *zāb.* However, in addition it is logical to suppose that one who had intercourse with her contracted an impurity equal to hers, as in the case of a menstruant. The *zābâ's* course of purification is like the *zāb's.*

In the NT a woman with an irregular blood flow as healed after touching Jesus' hem (Mark 5:25; Matt 9:20; Luke 8:43). For him to make contact with her was startling in the cultural context (see Selvidge 1984). On those with abnormal discharges in Jewish tradition, see the Mishnaic tractate *Zabim.*

**B. Other Bodily Excretions**

Urine and excrement are not impurities in P's system. This is perhaps due to their normality and regularity. Deut 23:13–15, however, treats excrement as an impurity in the context of a war camp. Also, Ezekiel puts food cooked on human dung in the same category as improperly killed animals and desecrated sacrificial meat (Ezek 4:12–14). Moreover, though P does not concern itself about perspiration, Ezek 44:18 requires the priests to not wear any clothing that causes sweat. This prescription, however, does not indicate that perspiration was considered impure. Finally, though the *zāb's* spittle was considered impure, that of a clean person was not defiling.

**C. Rationale for the Impurity of Discharges**

Two questions must be addressed in respect to the question why these discharges were considered defiling. The first is quite easy to answer: Why were some discharges more severely polluting than others in the context of P? The factors that seem to determine this are the normality, duration, and frequency of the conditions. For example, a seminal emission is a normal, nonpathological condition; it is short-lived; and it is the most frequent of the conditions. Consequently, it is the least severe. On the other hand, urethritis is abnormal and pathological; it can be rather long-lived; and, relatively speaking, it was rather infrequent. Hence urethritis, with the irregular blood flow of a woman, is the most severe. The other discharges fit in this spectrum according to these criteria.

The second question is more difficult to answer: Why are these discharges considered impure in the first place? Anthropologists have studied in depth the rationale for sexual impurities, especially that for menstrual impurity. A survey of their views on the rationale behind catamenial impurity indicates the possible directions that interpretations of sexual impurities may take. Some explain menstrual taboos in psychological or social psychological terms: They are a reflection of vagina envy or castration anxiety in males; they are a justification men invent to assuage their guilt for being the dominant sex; they arise from mere disgust or aversion; or they arise from the perception that menstruation is a liminal or marginal state inasmuch as it is a relatively infrequent occurrence in preindustrial societies. Others see a biological basis for menstrual taboos: Menstrual blood is impure because it contains a "menotoxin" which is claimed to have an adverse effect on the growth of certain plants. An ecological or population management basis has been advanced: The taboos serve as a form of birth control or, the reverse, they increase population by increasing coitus during the fertile period due to abstinence during menstruation. Some argue for an ethological basis: Menstrual blood can be smelled by game animals; hence women are restricted so that hunts will succeed. Historical causation is considered a significant rationale: Menstrual taboos appear because they have been learned from another culture or from tradition. Most tend to explain menstrual impurity in social terms: It is often seen as an expression of male dominance and a means of separating between male and female spheres. It has been observed that women can secondarily use pollution rules to manipulate men. It has also been argued that menstrual pollution rules act as a means for a couple to express their commitment to a sound marriage and to living up to society's expectations in marriage. (See Balzer 1981, Douglas 1975, and Montgomery 1974 for summaries and bibliographies of most of these views.)

Many of these views cast significant light on the understanding of menstrual and other pollution practices, but a major failing in the studies presenting them has been a focus on only menstrual pollution, with a general exclusion of other sexual impurities and the larger system of purity of a particular culture. Another failing has been the one-sided approach of many of the studies. Certainly menstrual and other impurities are to be explained by several rationales working together—not by just a single rationale.

Apart from anthropologists, OT scholars have advanced other rationales: Discharges are impure because they are considered demonic; they arise from the Hebrew feeling of sexual shame; they are unhealthy; or they are connected with sin. Another rationale for sexual and other impurities, not new to biblical scholars, has been reopened by G. Wenham (1983). He modifies M. Douglas' explanation that purity or holiness is what is whole or normal and that impurity is what is not whole or normal. He argues that the polarities of holiness/purity and impurity are to be explained by issues and conditions of life and death, respectively. Seminal emission, menstruation, and childbirth are normal conditions, but since they involve the loss of vital liquids, they are associated with death. Hence they, too, become the focus of various pollution rules with the abnormal discharges which are more clearly associated with the idea of death. See also HOLINESS; UNCLEAN AND CLEAN.

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**DISCIPLE, DISCIPLESHIP.** The people in the NT who stood in a special and intensive relationship with the earthly Jesus.

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A. Usage and Occurrence

B. Historical Reconstruction of Discipleship

1. Main Characteristics of Discipleship
2. Comparable Phenomena
3. Sociohistorical Aspects

C. Understanding of Discipleship in the Gospels

D. Toward the Understanding of Discipleship in Acts


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**A. Usage and Occurrence**

The concept of disciple is expressed in the NT through the word *mathētēs*. The substantive meaning "discipleship," however, does not occur. The verb *mathētēuō* (in most cases in the active voice) "to make someone into a disciple" seldom appears. However, *akolouthein* "to walk behind, to follow" (frequently used in the NT as a specialized term for following Jesus) must also be considered. This verb characterizes the central quality of existence as a disciple. All 261 references to "disciple" in the NT are found in the Gospels and Acts. The emphasis clearly lies in the Gospels, inasmuch as only 10 percent of the references occur in Acts. The case is like that of the word *akolouthein* "to follow after": Of the 90 occurrences, 79 are found in the Gospels, the rest in Acts (4), Revelation (6), and 1 Corinthians (1). This discovery already indicates that discipleship is a phenomenon which demonstrates a close association with Jesus himself.

**B. Historical Reconstruction of Discipleship**

**1. Main Characteristics of Discipleship.** One becomes a disciple when called by Jesus himself (e.g., Mark 1:17; 2:14). The initiative lay with Jesus alone; apart from his call, there is no recognizable motive for one to become a disciple and follow Jesus. The synoptic tradition contains instances when the would-be disciple takes the initiative, but all of these attempts fail, and there is no evidence that discipleship would have resulted. In Mark 10:17–27 the rich young ruler turns to Jesus, but when the call to discipleship confronts him, he goes away sadly. According to Luke 9:57–60 Q, several came to Jesus with the intention to be his disciples, yet failed to become disciples because they remained bound to their past. We should take note that the stories for every one of the disciples have not come down to us. The self-understanding of Jesus, who saw the embodiment of the breaking in of the entirely new (the Kingdom of God) in his own person (cf. Luke 11:20 Q; 17:21), was reflected in the call which created the discipleship existence. This call is the indication of the nearness of God, who anticipates the human search for him and unexpectedly and uninvited enters the human life.

The exclusivity of Jesus' initiative in the call to discipleship accords with the great variety of people among the disciples. Because this circle was founded exclusively through Jesus' call, no other social factors needed to surface: Indeed, antisocial factors in this circle could be overcome. At least one Zealot (Simon the Canaanite, Mark 3:18, cf. the historically accurate rendering of "zealot" in Luke 6:15) belonged to the Twelve, as did a tax collector (Levi, cf. Mark 2:14)—representatives of 2 groups that fought bitterly. Much is to be said for counting women, for whom it was otherwise unthinkable to enter into discipleship. (Luke 1:1–3 speaks of several women who followed Jesus; Mark 15:40f also names women who followed Jesus to the cross). It is evident that Jesus called people into fellowship regardless of social, religious, and ethnic background or gender.

The call of Jesus demanded a total break with the past. The disciples immediately left their families and their vocations (e.g., Mark 1:16–20; 2:14), and followed Jesus. So it could become a direct condition of discipleship that only one who hated his or her own family was eligible to be a disciple of Jesus (Luke 14:26 Q). The same break with the past expressed itself further in self-denial (saying no to oneself) and in the distancing from independent income (cf. Mark 8:34f). In view of the call of Jesus, the holiest duties of the past became objectless (Luke 9:57–60 Q). Finally, it also belonged to discipleship that customary values be radically broken (cf. Mark 10:41–45). Conditional relations are to be carefully considered in light of the break with the past: It is discipleship which demands and makes possible this break, but the break itself is not to be equated with discipleship. The call of Jesus demands and makes possible the break with the past in as much as it gives the disciple a new future.

Discipleship means entering into a lifelong relationship with Jesus (cf. Mark 3:14, where the meaning of discipleship is given: "That they be with him"). This includes the participation in the uncertain life of a traveling preacher and then also in the suffering and death of the teacher (cf. Mark 10:39; 8:34). The disciple is not there merely to learn from the teacher but to share his whole life with him without reservation.

Discipleship is characterized by establishing a fundamental life relationship to the person of Jesus (and not merely to his teaching). Jesus newly qualifies the life of his disciples: They are now "wedding guests"

whose time is entirely determined by the presence of the "bridegroom"; this makes it impossible for them to fast (Mark 2:18–22). Jesus gives them the freedom to let the law be for humanity (instead of humanity for the law, cf. Mark 2:23–28). The qualitative difference between master and disciple always remains preserved. It can therefore never be the goal of a disciple to become like the master. Discipleship means to live from what Jesus distributes, to realize that to which he calls. The disciple is as recipient dependent upon what Jesus embodied in his person, not merely upon what he taught.

There is of course no reason to doubt that the sending out, too, goes back to Jesus himself. It is characteristic of Jesus that he approaches people. This movement perpetuates itself in the sending forth of the disciples. According to Mark 1:17, the call to discipleship is simultaneously a sending to the assembly of people (in Israel). Also, Mark 3:14f shows that discipleship is connected with the mission of proclamation (of the approaching Kingdom of God, cf. Matt 10:7 Q) and with the power to exorcise (and to heal human infirmities, cf. Matt 10:8). Here, too, the reference to Jesus is preserved: the disciples do not replace Jesus but receive from him the power to cast out demons (cf. Mark 6:7). The disciples, equipped only with bare essentials, are to remain dependent on the goodwill of people (Mark 6:8f; Matt 10:9f). Their equipment should be a reflection of the gospel itself, which appeals to people to permit themselves to be gifted with grace. It would therefore be contradictory if the disciples were to demonstrate material independence. According to Matt 10:6, the sending was restricted to the "lost sheep of Israel," namely to those who belonged to the people of Israel who through their impure way of life or their ignorance of the law were fallen out of the religious fellowship of the nation. In that, Jesus' sympathy to the sinners and outcasts repeats itself.

The word "disciple," even when thoroughly restricted to disciples of Jesus, names a series of groups who must be distinguished from each other. First, it refers to the rather large number of Jesus-followers who are best referred to as his adherents (cf. Luke 6:13–17; Mark 2:15). In all probability, women, too, belonged to these "disciples" (see above). The word "disciples" refers particularly to the Twelve. It has long been debated whether this was an institution of Jesus. The fact that the description "one of the Twelve" was applied particularly to Judas, the traitor, speaks strongly against post-Easter origins for the establishment of the Twelve (cf. e.g., Mark 14:10). Also, even the later meaning of the Twelve can be better explained if they form an entity instituted by Jesus. The Twelve symbolize the claim of Jesus on all of Israel, his non-exclusive movement towards the whole nation. The creation of the Twelve can be understood as a symbolic act that suits the appearance and the proclamation of Jesus well. The Twelve were chosen by Jesus from out of the crowd. These Twelve are then also the "sent ones" (*apostoloi*). It can be said that although every one of the Twelve was a disciple, not every disciple belonged to the Twelve and was an apostle. The concept "apostle" in earliest time was also used of some who had no recognizable connection with the earthly Jesus (for example, Paul), who neither were disciples nor belonged to the circle of Twelve (see APOSTLE).

Recent scholarship has been moving again toward understanding the disciple relationship more in terms of the teacher-student model. The development of the tradition which led to the Gospels is being understood as analogous to the rabbinical tradition. Thus Jesus is often addressed as "teacher" or "Rabbi" (e.g., Matt 25:25; 8:19). There are, however, two problems with this: first, it is not clear whether Jesus himself established the memorializing and traditionalizing of his own teaching. The growth of the tradition, on the other hand, permits us to recognize an astonishingly free use of the words of Jesus. Secondly, it is worth observing that Jesus placed not his teaching but his person in the center, so that the disciples had no student relationship but a life relationship to him.

It is characteristic of the Twelve for them to desert Jesus in the decisive hour. In contrast to the women (Mark 15:40f), who at least witnessed the crucifixion from afar, the Twelve fled to Galilee (Mark 14:50, a report that does not in the least attempt to justify their flight), and their discipleship dissolved itself into nothing. The frankness with which their failure—especially that of the prominent disciple Peter—is preserved in the memory of the Church is remarkable (cf. Mark 14:53–72). The disciples could probably only afford such a reminder because they were saturated with the experience that the Resurrected One

himself had overcome their failure. Seen historically, it was the appearances of the Resurrected Jesus in Galilee which led them to move to Jerusalem and to risk their lives for the Christ.

**2. Comparable Phenomena.** As analogue to discipleship, the teacher-student relationship, as practiced by the scribes and by later rabbinic schools, first comes to mind. At first glance, there are apparently great similarities: Jesus is addressed as Rabbi, *mathētēs* being the Gk translation of the Heb *talmîd,* and the rabbinic scholars live with the master in order to follow him in his ways. Of course, there are also considerable differences, which all are related to the distinction between teaching and person. While the rabbinic scholar is bound beyond the teachings of his teacher to the Law, discipleship means an unmediated connection to the person of Jesus (that is, with that which is embodied by this person). While the student is concerned with becoming a teacher himself, discipleship is characterized by an insuperable qualitative difference from Jesus. While the Rabbi is petitioned by his students, discipleship always comes into being as the result of the call of Jesus. While the relationship of rabbinic apprenticeship is limited to an agreed-upon period of time, there is no sign of temporal limitation to the term of discipleship to Jesus.

In a few places, the NT reveals tht John the Baptist, too, had gathered a group of disciples (cf. e.g., Mark 2:18; John 1:35ff; 4:1; Matt 11:2ff). Of their calling, however, we hear nothing. It is also not known in what relationship these disciples stood with John. A few of Jesus' disciples probably came from John's group of disciples (John 1:35ff). The group of disciples was preserved after John's death and extended itself as far as Asia Minor, perhaps in heretical groups of Judaism. Its existence was contemporary with the early Church (cf. Acts 18:24; 19:7). John's disciples were difficult to distinguish from Christians on the basis of external characteristics (baptism regarded as sign of membership; local groups separated from the synagogue).

In Greek culture, the phenomenon of discipleship appears in a number of forms (philosophy students, religious scholarship, and mystery cults). The teacher-student relationship is predominantly characterized by the concept of *mimēsis.* Teachers and students are bound together by a certain teaching and practice of life, and the student is recognizable in his imitation of the teachings and life of the teacher. Teachers like Pythagoras or Apollonius of Tyana enjoy expressly religious veneration. The principle of tradition is a further indicator; each student generation cares for and further develops it.

The closest analogy to the discipleship which Jesus created is to be seen in the prophet's vocation. Here, God himself was the one who calls, which reflects the theological quality of discipleship. Jesus stood in the place of God; his call was the call of God. This is responsible for both the unquestioning and the unconditional nature of discipleship.

**3. Sociohistorical Aspects.** The phenomenon of discipleship has been examined sociohistorically in recent scholarship. Sociologically describable aspects are: renunciation of possessions, abandonment of all social ties (residence and socially accepted patterns of behavior), and existence as a wandering charismatic. The sociological description of discipleship is a partial perception, which in accord with its own claims does not desire to compete with religious description. Therefore it is rigorously guarded against, that discipleship is not unintentionally derived from its social conditions (a crisis situation in ancient society). Seen sociologically, the movement to discipleship is categorized as "social uprootedness" (comparable to emigrants, Qumran people, robbers, zealots, vagabonds, prophetic movements). In spite of this categorization, attention to the individual pecularity of the disciples of Jesus must hold good. Having renounced all possessions, they lived a life of wandering and homelessness, even after the death of Jesus, and carried the message and power of Jesus to the people. Among these wandering charismatics, the carriers of the *Logienquelle,* the Stephan-circle, and Barnabas and Paul are to be counted. It is debatable whether they came from the proletariat or from the artisan and farmer class. In the latter case their renunciation of possessions would not have been a condition but a voluntary act. Even when seen from a sociological point of view, it remains certain that Jesus himself and his message is the only factor which can explain the origins of the Twelve.

**C. Understanding of Discipleship in the Gospels**

A pervading motif in the narrations of the Gospels is the misunderstanding of the disciples. Particularly these, who know Jesus best, are confounded again and again by the newness of that which he brings. The expectation of the Messiah, too, is prematurely applied to him by the disciples (cf. Mark 8:27–33). The misunderstanding disciples, who receive special instruction through Jesus, give way to those who can enter into the later churches with their own difficulties in understanding. A further continuous motif is the persecution which the disciples must take upon themselves as a consequence of their following of the cross. The churches are strengthened by their social resistance.

Matthew especially emphasizes the demand for perfection of the disciples (Matt 5:48), whose righteousness had to far exceed that of the Pharisees (Matt 5:17). Discipleship is a radical way of life, radical also in obedience to the will of God, as it is interpreted through Jesus. Mark especially emphasizes the fact that failure and discipleship do not necessarily disqualify each other. The discipleship stories highlight the following motifs: Jesus approaches human beings in order to get them to approach others; Jesus "sees" human beings; one becomes a disciple not through certain conditions of life but because of the unexpected call of Jesus; the call itself creates what it demands, since discipleship is understood as creation of this call and not as decision of the called. Discipleship is entirely dependent on Christology; in being a disciple, the service of the Son of Man as humility, service, and peacemaking replicates itself (Mark 9:33–50; 10:42–45). Luke identifies the Twelve with the apostles and is especially interested in the continuity of the disciples with the period of Jesus' life. The gospel of John especially stresses the conversion of the disciple John to Jesus. Everything depends on remaining in the word of Jesus—on the living relationship to Jesus—whose service in love makes the disciples into friends (John 13; 15). The mark of discipleship is love, which is authoritative in the Church (John 13:34f). Analogous to the sending of the Son, the disciples are also sent into the world (John 17:18); in them God's gift to the world, which became an event in the incarnation of the Word, perpetuates itself.

**D. Toward the Understanding of Discipleship in Acts**

In Acts, the word "disciple" refers to the "Christians" (from 6:1) nearly without exception. Here the only example in the NT of "female disciple" is to be found (9:35; it is not entirely certain, however, whether Tabitha was a disciple of Christ). This occurrence appears to draw on a pre-Lukan linguistic use, which points to a self-description of the (Palatinian) tradition carriers. This usage plays no further role in the rest of the literature of the NT; it is to be assumed that it disappeared from the consciousness of the Christians. Possibly the word "disciple" as self-description of the Christians in the Hellenistic world led to occasion for confusion with the schools of philosophy.

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**DISCIPLINE, MANUAL OF.** See COMMUNITY, RULE OF THE (1QS).

**DISCOURSE ON THE EIGHTH AND NINTH** (NHC VI,*6*). A previously unknown Hermetic tractate in the Coptic language, and one of three Hermetic texts preserved in the Nag Hammadi Library. As part of Codex VI, it is written in the Sahidic dialect but with traces of Subachmimic and Achmimic influence: Its official designation is NHC VI,*6*,52,1–63,32. The text is generally well preserved with the exception of damage at the top of each page; thus the original title is lost. The modern title, "The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth," is derived from the text itself (53,24–26; cf. 61,21–22) and is descriptive of the contents. The Coptic text can be dated towards the middle of the 4th century C.E., or the approximate date of the copying of Codex VI. The Greek original probably dates from the 2d century C.E. as certain terms and concepts demonstrate an affinity with Middle Platonic speculation which was current at that time.

**A. Contents**

*Disc. 8–9* can be described as a Hermetic revelatory dialogue in which a mystagogue and initiate undergo a process of spiritual ascent and illumination at the levels or stages of the "Eighth" and "Ninth," designations which refer to levels within the Divine realm beyond the 7 planetary spheres. The Eighth or Ogdoad is described as the place or sphere where souls and angels continuously praise the Ninth with hymns; the Ninth or Ennead is the dwelling place of Nous or Divine Mind. A tenth level is not mentioned but is perhaps assumed; this would be the dwelling place of the Highest God (cf. *Corp. Herm.* I; *Apoc. Paul*). The mystagogue is identified in the text as Hermes (58,29; 59,11; 63,24) and Trismegistus (59,15.24). The initiate is unnamed.

The spiritual ascent described in the text follows a prescribed order, the so-called "order of the tradition." The text begins with the recollection of a promise made by Hermes to bring the mind of the initiate into the Eighth and Ninth; Hermes acknowledges the promise and declares that he and the initiate are now ready to proceed. At an earlier point, both had advanced to the level of the Seventh (stages 1 to 7 are implied in the text but not described). The initiate had also undergone a period of intellectual preparation by reading certain books. As a result, he was now in a proper state of piety and living according to Divine law and was thus ready to advance to the levels of the Eighth and Ninth. This final ascent is described in terms of 2 stages of ecstatic illumination which are experienced mutually by Hermes and the initiate through the agency of spoken dialogue, prayer, hymns of praise, the chanting of magical vowel sounds (*voces mysticae*), and sacred silences. A further element is a fraternal "kiss" which specifically engenders the divine birth of Hermes as unified Mind (Nous). In this divinized state, Hermes as Nous first sees and describes the vision of the Eighth: he sees an indescribable Depth, then the Source or Fountain of life, and finally sees the souls and angels of the Eighth singing a silent hymn. A second illumination occurs when the initiate shares in this experience and both he and Hermes see the souls and angels silently praising the Ninth and its powers. This vision of the Ninth is followed by an act of grace and thanksgiving, further hymnic praises, and the calling out of the hidden name of God (a series of magical vowel sounds). Hermes then instructs the initiate to inscribe the discourse on turquoise steles and deposit them in the temple at Diospolis, Egypt. This must be done in conjunction with certain astrological signs. The tractate concludes with a sacred oath to keep the words of Hermes protected: those who do so will be blessed; those who do not will be cursed.

**B. Importance**

*Disc. 8–9* is important for several reasons. First, as a Hermetic tractate, it shows special affinities with *Corp. Herm.* I, IV, VI, VIII, XIII, as all these texts demonstrate a common world-negating dualism of the body and the spirit. The closest parallels, however, are with *Corp. Herm.* XIII, as this text describes a similar path of ascent, accomplished via Nous, and resulting in an ecstatic experience of spiritual rebirth. In both texts, this spiritual ascent can be understood as a prefiguring of the soul's ascent through the

various celestial spheres after death (this postmortem ascent is described in *Corp. Herm.* I). A major difference, however, is that *Disc. 8–9* is far more coherent as a literary text, demonstrating a symmetry of structure and language that is not apparent in *Corp. Herm.* XIII. Further, *Disc. 8–9* represents a more-advanced stage of illumination than that of *Corp. Herm.* XIII and focuses in particular on a special aspect of the ascent (the word, Ennead [Ninth], for example, is found in no other Hermetic text). *Corp. Herm.* XIII, in contrast, is a more-loosely organized text which relates an entire anagogic path whereby the soul, before it enters the Ogdoad, is systematically cleansed of various vices by 10 purifying powers or virtues (in *Corp. Herm.* I, these vices and virtues are associated with the 7 planetary spheres in terms of the soul's postmortem ascent). Consequently, the rebirth experience of *Corp. Herm.* XIII can be understood as a form of metamorphosis achieved from without, in automatic or mechanistic fashion. In *Disc. 8–9,* rebirth is experienced dynamically from within as an awakening of a divine power or element that the initiate already possesses. Thus the relationship between the 2 texts is not one of literary dependence but of genre: both are revelatory discourses or dialogues, but represent different traditions of spiritual regeneration.

A second feature of importance in *Disc. 8–9* is its connection with an explicit Egyptian locus. The instructions at the end of the tractate—to inscribe the text in hieroglyphic characters (lit. "in letters of the scribe of the House of Life") on steles and deposit them in the temple at Diospolis—point to the existence of a Hermetic community in Upper Egypt during the Hellenistic period, either at Diospolis Parva (near Nag Hammadi) or Diospolis Magna (ancient Thebes). This community, under the protection of Hermes Trismegistus, would most likely have had links with the Egyptian priesthood, perhaps in connection with a temple of Thoth, the Egyptian scribal god who was said to live in the "House of Life" (the figure of Thoth appears in the guise of Tat in other Hermetic texts). A further reference in the text to 8 frog-faced and cat-faced guardians who protect the temple along with the sun are probable allusions to the primordial Ogdoad and Ennead honored, respectively, at Hermopolis and Heliopolis. Although these Egyptian allusions are not exact (e.g., the Ogdoad at Hermopolis consisted of frog-faced and serpent-headed deities), their inclusion in *Disc. 8–9* points to an authentic Egyptian inspiration for this text and perhaps for the *Corpus Hermeticum* as a whole. This is a significant suggestion as previous scholars had generally discounted any Egyptian influence on the Hermetica (with the notable exception of Reitzenstein), preferring to regard any Egyptian references in symbolic rather than literal terms. The evidence from *Disc. 8–9* would now seem to refute this consensus.

Of further significance is evidence in *Disc. 8–9* for a ritual/cultic context involving a "brotherhood" engaged in esoteric study, prayer, hymnic praises, ascetic disciplines, and a mystery initiation aided by the community leader or "Father" (identified with Hermes). In this context, the ritual "kiss" of Hermes and the initiate can be viewed as a sacramental act reminiscent of the "kiss" in the bridal chamber ritual associated with Valentinian circles. This evidence, then, would argue against those scholars who have viewed the *Corpus Hermeticum* solely in terms of "reading mysteries" with only symbolic but not actual ritual or cultic significance. The evidence from *Disc. 8–9* would now appear to disprove this theory as well.

Finally, the existence of Hermetic material in a gnostic library brings up the question of gnostic parallels. First, the names for God found in the text ("Father of the All," "Source," "Depth," "Fountain," "Ungenerated," "Self-Generated") can be paralleled in various gnostic texts. This is the case with other terms as well; e.g., "pleroma," "pronoia," "aeon," "Hebdomad," "Ogdoad." In addition, the use of *voces mysticae* in an ascent context in conjunction with prayers, hymns, and sacred silences, are also features of gnostic anagogic material. The ritual "kiss" and its Valentinian parallel has already been noted. However, much of the above can also be found in traditions not directly dependent either on Hermeticisim or gnosticism; e.g., the Chaldean Oracles and the magical papyri. Indeed, the repeated use of forms of noesis/noein ("perception," "understanding") in connection with salvation in this text, rather than forms of gnosis (found only once), suggests more direct links with Middle Platonic speculation than with strictly gnostic thought. It is prudent then not to identify *Disc. 8–9* as a form of Hermetic gnosticism, as certain scholars suggest, but to view it as a form of Hermeticism which, like forms of gnosticism, belonged to a

wider current of thought (dualistic in nature, astrologically based, and anagogic in orientation) which found expression in a variety of philosophical and religious traditions of the Hellenistic period.

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**DISCOURSE, DIRECT AND INDIRECT.** The predisposition of the biblical writers to use direct discourse as a means of narration has often been noted, and the new wave of literary studies of the Bible since the 1970s has done much to illuminate the artful complexity in the deployment of direct discourse. Because biblical narrative is very sparing in description and circumstantial detail, its characteristic rhythm is rapid summary—often covering a period of years in a verse or two—suddenly slowing down to a significant scene represented chiefly through dialogue. Thus, in Genesis 25, the narration moves from Jacob's and Esau's birth to their young adulthood in 2 brief verses (Gen 25:27–28), and then the crucial scene of the selling of the birthright (Gen 25:29–34) is represented mainly by direct discourse that subtly characterizes each of the twins through the kind of speech he uses and also sets the terms for the whole ensuing story (Alter 1981: 42–46). The instance of Jacob and Esau equally illustrates the tendency of the biblical writers to exploit the first piece of dialogue assigned to a personage as an initial, revelatory exposition of character.

The biblical writers are so inclined to use direct discourse that they often do so where it would be avoided by other narrative traditions, or even where actual speech is not represented. Inquiry of an oracle, for example, was usually done through the manipulation of a cultic device such as the Urim and Thummim, but in biblical narrative the result of this inquiry is represented as a verbal response to a verbal query (e.g., 2 Sam 1:1). When, however, a full-scale dialogue or a sequence of dialogues is introduced into the narrative, the shift to direct discourse is generally an index of the importance of what is happening. David's adultery with Bathsheba in 2 Samuel 11 takes up just 5 verses with only two small bits of dialogue. His machinations that lead to the murder of Uriah are conveyed through an elaborate chain of dialogues and speeches reporting or responding to other speeches that unfolds over the remaining 22 verses of the chapter. On the plane of moral significance, one infers that the truly grave transgression is not the adultery but the killing with which David compounds his sexual crime (Perry and Sternberg 1968; Sternberg 1985: 190–229).

The intricacy of the biblical representation of characters' language is especially evident in the frequent tendency to embed direct discourse within direct discourse. Occasionally, one encounters Chinese-box constructions, as in Jer 36:27–31, where the Lord addresses Jeremiah, quoting the words the prophet is to say to King Jehoiakim, in which are embedded the king's angry words to Jeremiah, which in turn incorporate the words written by the prophet in the scroll he delivered to the king (Alter 1985: 138–39). More characteristic is the subtle interplay between embedding and embedded discourse, or, alternately, between direct discourse and the narratorial report that it seems to mirror more or less verbatim. The rule of thumb is that whenever a character repeats in dialogue what either the narrator or another character has said, small but significant changes are introduced—in the suppression or alteration of a detail, in a choice of terms, in the order of items—that tell us something about the position and attitude of the speaker or the audience he or she is addressing. In the Genesis 24 story of the proxy wooing of Rebekah by Abraham's

servant, the dialogue at the beginning, in which Abraham exacts an oath from the servant, is repeated by the servant in his speech to Rebekah's family; but many details are modified in order to play down Abraham's role as emigrant to a divinely promised foreign land while playing up family ties (Savran 1985; Sternberg 1985: 131–52). In Genesis 39, when the Egyptian lady denounces Joseph as a rapist, she uses virtually the same words the narrator has just used to report the action in which she in fact assaulted Joseph; but the order of the items is changed (in her version, first she cries out and then he flees, instead of the other way around), and the telltale garment is no longer "in her hand" but "by" her. When she accuses Joseph to the household staff, who are presumably slaves, he is a "Hebrew fellow"; when she repeats nearly the same words of accusation to her husband, Joseph becomes a "Hebrew slave" (Alter 1981: 109–10; Sternberg 1985: 423–27).

Direct discourse is also sometimes used to represent the thoughts of the characters in biblical narrative. The scale of such representation is highly restricted, but these nevertheless qualify formally as interior monologues. In some instances, interior monologue is explicitly introduced by the phrase "he said in [or to] his heart," as in 1 Sam 27:1: "And David said in his heart: Now one of these days I shall perish by the hand of Saul. The best thing for me is to flee to Philistine territory …" Often, the Hebrew verb "to say" has the force of "to think" even without the adverbial "in his heart," as when Saul schemes, clearly talking to himself, to have David killed: "And Saul said: Let me give her to him so that she can be a snare to him, and so that the hand of the Philistines will be against him" (1 Sam 18:21). The play of variations in the citation of direct discourse in dialogue can even occur when the direct discourse cited is interior monologue. A piquant example that illustrates how subtly this general technique can be employed occurs in the repetition of Sarah's unspoken speech of skepticism about the promise of a son (Gen 18:12–13). "And Sarah laughed inwardly, saying: After being shriveled, will I have pleasure, and my lord is old!" The angel of the Lord, with the advantage of the auditory equivalent of chairvoyance, hears these unvoiced words, but this is how he repeats them to Abraham: "Why is it that Sarah laughed, saying: Will I really give birth, I being old?" The angel, with divine tact, has clearly tempered the vehemence of Sarah's interior monologue. The most salient of the changes he makes in her speech was already noticed by the great medieval Hebrew exegete Rashi: No mention is made now of Abraham's age, only of hers. The angelic version also edits out Sarah's biological concreteness. There is no reference to being shriveled or worn (Heb root *blh*), or to pleasure (in all likelihood, the Hebrew root *ʿdn* indicates sexual pleasure, though it might merely allude to the "pleasure" of maternity). This purposeful transformation in repetition of direct discourse is characteristic of the procedure throughout the Bible: in this instance, nothing is left of Sarah's words that might offend her husband's sensibility.

The biblical writers are far more concerned with how the characters manifest themselves in their speech than in their chains of perception, musings, and preverbal sensation; but there are nevertheless many brief instances of what students of narrative call free indirect discourse or narrated monologue (Cohn 1978: 99–140)—that is, the representation of the unvoiced inner speech of the character not through direct quotation but through the 3d person grammatical perspective of the narrator. Biblical Hebrew has a convenient term, the so-called presentative, *hinnēh* (KJV "lo" or "behold"), that often serves as a shifter from the point of view of the narrator to that of the character. (In direct discourse, that term is a way of pointing to an object or person visible to the speaker, as when Isaac says to Abraham, "Behold [*hinnēh*] the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb for the offering?"; Gen 22:7). The shift itself is typically made to dramatize a moment of climactic discovery. Thus, when the Israelite general Barak is brought by Jael into her tent where she has just killed the Canaanite commander Sisera, all she says to Barak is that she will show him the man he seeks. Then the narrator reports what Barak sees in the following language: "And behold [*wĕhinnēh*] Sisera lying dead, the tent-peg through his temple" (Judg 4:22). The immediacy of perception intimated through indirect discourse is caught by the use of a participial form instead of a verb in the perfect tense, and even more by the syntax, which beautifully replicates the quick successive stages of Barak's discovery: first the identity of the figure before him; then the fact that he is not just sprawling but dead; then the precise instrument of death—the tent-peg through the temple.

At less dramatically defined moments, the shift into free indirect discourse is chiefly a way of bringing to the fore the subjective viewpoint of the character as he undergoes an experience. This is the case when Jacob, at the beginning of Genesis 29, arrives at the site of a country well in an unfamiliar Mesopotamian setting, after a journey by foot of hundreds of miles and just before the moment he will meet the woman he is to love (Fokkelman 1975: 50–51). "He saw, and behold [*wĕhinnēh*], a well in the field, and behold [*wĕhinnēh*] there, three flocks of sheep lying by it (for from that well they would water the flocks), and the stone was big on the mouth of the well" (Gen 29:2). The double use of the presentative punctuates two successive moments of perception—First, Jacob notices the well, then the sheep nearby; then, in the phrase placed here in parenthesis, the narrator appears to intervene momentarily from his perspective to explain the local practice of watering; and, finally, Jacob's eyes fix on the great stone over the mouth of the well, the stone against which he is about to pit his strength. Such use of indirect discourse is of course modest in comparison to the richly sustained elaboration of that technique in the 19th and 20th century novel, but it illustrates the finely adjusted mobility of biblical narrative in the means of presentation it adopts. The inner experience of the characters may be conveyed by quoted monologue, or as here, by narrated monologue by narratorial summary of attitudes and feelings, and by the way the characters respond to each other in speech and action. Similarly, the narration of events and relationships may be conveyed by dialogue, or dialogue embedding previous dialogue and narration, or by a variety of modes of narratorial report.

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ROBERT ALTER

**DISEASE.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**DISHAN** (PERSON) [Heb *dîšān* (דִּישָׁן)]. A son of Seir, the Horite (Gen 36:21; 1 Chr 1:38), brother of Dishon (Gen 36:21; 1 Chr 1:38), uncle of Dishon (Gen 36:25, 26 [read, with 1 Chr 1:41, Dishon instead of Dishan]), and the father of Uz and Aran (Gen 36:28; 1 Chr 1:42 [read Dishan instead of Dishon, but see below]). See also SEIR; HORI; DISHON; UZ. According to Gen 36:30, both Dishan and Dishon were Horite/Seirite tribes, regardless of whether one translates Heb *ʾallûp* as "tribe" or "chief". Furthermore, the names Dishan and Dishon are identical, Dishon exhibiting the Canaanite (and ancient NW Arabian) shift *â* > *ô* whereas Dishan shows the Proto-Semitic, Aramaic, and Central Arabian form of the same name. The occurrence of the same name in 3 different positions of the genealogy (Gen 36:20–28; 1 Chr 38–42) makes it doubtful that this genealogy is an actual representation of the Horite/Seirite tribal system. The Masoretic tradition may have expressed similar doubts by misspelling the name of Dishon/Dishan twice (Gen 36:26; 1 Chr 1:42). Gen 36:20–28 forms one of the most ancient components of Genesis 36 (Weippert 1971: 443); it seems, however, to have been compiled from conflicting traditions well after the demise of the Seirite/Horite tribal system.

The name Dishan/Dishon signifies an unspecified piece of game (Nöldeke 1904: 84). For more animal names among the tribal/personal names recorded in Genesis 36, see also ACHBOR; AIAH; ARAN.

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**DISHON** (PERSON) [Heb *dîšôn* (דִּישׁוֹן)]. The name of two men in the OT. It may mean "mountain goat" (*IDB* 1:854).

**1.** The 5th son of Seir, the Horite, who lived in the land of Edom (Gen 36:21; 1 Chr 1:38). He was the father of Hemdan, Eshban, Ithran, and Cheran (Gen 36:26; 1 Chr 1:41). Some scholars believe that Dishon is a variation of DISHAN, but in the genealogy of the Horite chiefs he is listed as the brother of Lothan, Shobal, Zibeon, Anah, Ezer, and Dishan (Gen 36:20–21). The form *dîšon* occurs only in Gen 36:26.

**2.** The son of Anah and grandson of Seir, the eponymous clan leader of the Horites who lived in Edom (Gen 36:25; 1 Chr 1:41).

CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

**DISMEMBERMENT.** See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES.

**DIVES.** See LAZARUS AND DIVES.

**DIVINATION, DIVINER.** See MAGIC (OT).

**DIVINE ASSEMBLY.** Common to the mythopoeic world of the ANE was the idea of a council or assembly of the gods that met to determine the fates of the cosmos. Depictions of such divine gatherings are found in the religious and mythological literatures of Mesopotamia, Ugarit, Phoenicia, and Israel. Though the concept of a "synod" of the gods was present in Egyptian mythology, it seems to have played little active role in Egyptian religion. While there is much to suggest that in Mesopotamia and Canaan this heavenly assembly reflects a developed political reality within the human realm, in the literatures of these cultures the council of the gods is presented as a standard part of the organization of the divine realm which constituted the major decision-making body in the divine world to which all the members of the pantheon were subject.

Within the biblical materials, the concept of an assembly of divine beings is found throughout the OT as an expression of Yahweh's power and authority. Yahweh is frequently depicted as enthroned over an assembly of divine beings who serve to dispense his decrees and messages. It is this mythological setting that provides the background, in part, for the development of the angelic hierarchy that occurs during the intertestamental period. This concept of divine authority and power also supplies the conceptual background for understanding the idea of prophetic authority within the Hebrew texts.

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A. Terminology
1. Extrabiblical
2. Biblical
B. Members of the Assembly
1. Mesopotamia
2. Ugarit
3. Israel
C. The Messenger of the Council
D. Hebrew Depictions of the Assembly
E. Development of Specialized Functions

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**A. Terminology**

Despite the common mythological depictions of the assembly of the gods, the terminology used to describe this concept is rather diverse.

**1. Extrabiblical.** In the Mesopotamian materials, the standard term used for the assembly is *puḫru*—the assembly of the gods is most commonly designated as *puḫur ilāni.* Among the various terms used to designate the assembly in the Ugaritic materials is the analogous phrase *pḫr ʿilm.* While it remains disputed whether *ʿilm* in this and analogous phrases in Ugaritic is to be read as the plural, "gods," or as

the singular, "El" (+ enclitic *m*), it is apparent that it is one designation for the assembly of the gods in the Ugaritic texts (*UT* 17.7 [*KTU* 1.47.29]; *Ug* V.9.I.9 [RS 24.643; *KTU* 1.148]). In *UT* 51.III.14 (*KTU* 1.4) the phrase *pḫr bn ʾilm* designates the assembly of the gods while *mpḫrt bn ʾll* is frequent in the liturgical texts (*UT* 107.3 [*KTU* 1.65]; *UT* 2.17, 34 [*KTU* 1.40; see also lines 8, 25]). To this should be compared the 10th-century B.C.E. Phoenician reference to "the assembly of the holy gods of Byblos" (*mpḫrt ʾl gbl qdšm; KAI* 4.4–5). In the most detailed Ugaritic description of the assembly (*UT* 137.14, 15, 16–17, 20, 31 [*KTU* 1.2]), the compound expression "gathered assembly" (*pḫr mʿd*) is employed. Elsewhere in the Ugaritic texts the most common designation for the assembly is *dr ʾil/dr bn ʾil*, "the assembly of El/the assembly of the sons of El" (*UT* 107.2 [*KTU* 1.65]; *UT* 2.17, 25–26, 34 [*KTU* 1.40; see also line 8]; *UT* 1.7 [*KTU* 1.39]; *UT* 3.16 [*KTU* 1.41]; RS 18.56, 17–18 [*KTU* 1.87]; *UT* 128.III.19 [*KTU* 1.15]). In the Keret text the phrase *ʿdt ʾilm* is also used to connote the assembly of the gods (*UT* 128.II.7, 11 [*KTU* 1.15]).

**2. Biblical.** The terminology used in Hebrew to denote the assembly is also diverse. Biblical Hebrew, while not using the term *puḫru/pḫr* to designate the assembly, does employ the terms *ʿedâ,* "assemblage" (Ps 82:1) and *dôr,* lit. "generation" (Amos 8:14; see also Pss 14:5; 49:20; 73:15; 84:11; 95:10; 112:2; Isa 53:8; Jer 2:31, 7:29; Prov 30:11–14; compare *dr* in *KAI* 26.III.19;27.12), both of which are used of the council in Ugaritic materials. Additionally, Isa 14:13 employs the phrase *har môʿēd,* "mount of assembly" (cf. Ug *pḫr mʿd*), and *qĕhal qĕdōšîm,* "assembly of the holy ones" (Ps 89:6). The term *sôd* also occurs in the biblical materials as a designation for the council (Ps 89:8; Jer 23:18; 23:22; Job 15:8). Neither *qāhāl* nor *sôd* is attested in Ugaritic as a term designating the assembly of the gods.

**B. Members of the Assembly**

More significant for an understanding of the role and function of the divine assembly in the literature and religion of the ANE is the variety of terms used to designate the members of the assembly.

**1. Mesopotamia.** The membership of the heavenly council is most clearly discernible in the Mesopotamian literature. There the membership of the council is composed of all the major gods and goddesses of the land. Most important among these gods are two special groups, the fifty *ilū rabiūtu,* "the great/senior gods," and the seven gods called *ilū šīmāti,* "the gods of the fates," or the *mušimmū šīmāti,* "the determiners of the fates." The depictions of the council proceedings in Mesopotamian materials, most especially in the *Enūma Eliš,* reveal that the council met under the presidency of the high god Anu and that after a banquet and discussion of the issues, the fates were determined and pronounced. The executor of the will of the council was the storm god Enlil.

In the Canaanite and Hebrew literatures depicting the assembly of the gods, the individual natures of the constituent members of the assembly are not nearly so clear as they are in the Mesopotamian accounts. In both the Canaanite and Hebrew assemblies, the identities of the gods, apart from the high god, remain somewhat obscure.

**2. Ugarit.** In the assembly of the gods, as depicted in the Ugaritic materials, the members of the assembly are noted as *ʾilm,* "gods," a fact that is conveyed by the designation of the assembly as *pḫr (bn) ʾilm, mpḫrt bn ʾil,* and *dr bn ʾil.* There are, however, some more specific indications of the membership in the Canaanite assembly. In the Keret epic (*UT* 126.V.1–28 [*KTU* 1.16]), El sits at the head of the assembly and four times addresses the gods, called either *ʾilm,* "gods," or *bny,* "my sons," asking who will heal the ailing Keret. *UT* 128.II.2–7 (*KTU* 1.15) presents El, Baal, Yarih (Moon), Kothar-wa-Hasis, Raḥmayyu (ʾAṯirat[?]), Reshep, and the *ʿdt ʾilm,* "the assembly of the gods," as gathering to consider Keret's request for progeny. Though broken, the text seems to give the names of some of the major deities and the leading members of the assembly, and then lists the assembly itself, as though the latter had been hypostatized and could represent a grouping of minor deities. This hypostatization of the council is confirmed by the appearance of the council in the pantheon lists and sacrificial tariffs from Ugarit. The Ugaritic pantheon list (*UT* 17.7 [*KTU* 1.47.29]) includes the *pḫr ʾilm* among the deities of Ugarit; the corresponding Akkadian list (*Ug* V.18.28 [RS 20.24]) reads $^{d}$*pu-ḫur ilāni*$^{M}$, "the council of the gods." In addition to this grouping of deities occurs the notice of *pḫr bʿl,* the "assembly of Baal," that might be equivalent to the "helper gods of Baal" (*ʾil tʿḏr bʿl/ilānu*$^{M}$ *til-la-at* $^{d}$*adad* [UT 17.4 (*KTU* 1.47.26)/*Ug* V.

18.25 (RS 20.24)]). The connection of the two assemblages in the texts (*dr ʾil wpḫr bʿl*; *UT* 1.7 [*KTU* 1.39]; *UT* 3.16 [*KTU* 1.41]; RS 18.56.17–18 [*KTU* 1.87]) suggests that these might be interpreted as collective "summary" statements for those deities not designated specifically in the lists. The dedication of sacrifices to this hypostatized council (*dr bn ʾil//mpḫrt bn ʾil,* UT 2.17, 33–34 [*KTU* 1.40 (see also lines 7–8, 42)] or *pḫr ʾilm,* Ug V.9.9 [RS 24.643; *KTU* 1.148]) indicates that it was regarded as an object of veneration, a view that is confirmed by the Phoenician references to the council that show that as late as the 6th century B.C.E., the divine assembly was still invoked as an active part of the Canaanite pantheon (*KAI* 4.3–5; 9.B.5–6; 26.III.18–19; 27:11–12). The Ugaritic materials reveal a concept of the council that may be summarized as follows: the major and minor deities of the pantheon met in assembly under the leadership of El to make those decisions concerning the cosmos that fell within the purview of the gods. Most specifically, the issues of kingship, temple, and progeny concern the council. Apart from the fact that the members of the assembly are noted as gods or sons of El and are often the recipients of sacrifices, there seems to be little or no development of the individual roles or functions as presented in the Ugaritic texts.

**3. Israel.** An analogous situation is encountered in the Hebrew materials. Though there are numerous references to the divine beings that constitute the members of the heavenly court, there is little or no development of individual figures or functions in the early Hebrew materials. In Pss 29:1, 89:7, the members of the Hebrew council are called *bĕnê ʾēlîm,* "sons of gods/gods" (or possibly "sons of El," reading *ʾēl-m;* cf. Ug *bn ʾilm*). Likewise, Deut 32:8 may contain the reading *bĕnê ʾĕlōhîm* (cf. LXX, 4QDt), a reference that would be analogous to the *bĕnê hāʾĕlōhîm,* "the sons of god," contained in Gen 6:2, 4; Job 1:6, 2:1. See also SONS OF GOD. In Ps 82:6, the deities of the assembly are called "sons of the Most High/Elyon" (*bĕnê ʿelyôn*), while the inclusive nature of the membership in the assembly is reflected by the reference to *kōl ʾĕlōhîm*, "all the gods," in Ps 97:7. A more general designation of the members of Yahweh's court is *qĕdōšîm*, "holy ones" (Deut 33:2–3; Job 5:1, 15:15[Q]; Pss 16:3; 89:6, 8; Zech 14:5; Prov 9:10; 30:3), or the collective meaning of *qōdeš* (Exod 15:11; Pss 77:14; 93:5; cf. Ug *bn qdš*). Despite the tendency of interpreters to view the Hebrew materials from a monotheistic viewpoint, it is apparent that the biblical materials themselves envisioned Yahweh surrounded by his heavenly court, the lesser deities who made up the divine entourage.

Given the warrior character of Yahweh presented in the early Hebrew materials, it is possible to ascertain one function of these divine beings who accompanied the high god. Though the precise meaning and etymology of the phrase remain debated, it is possible to interpret the *ṣĕbāʾôt,* "host, army," of the phrase *YHWH ṣĕbāʾôt* as a reference to the military retinue that fought alongside the high god. Whatever character is assigned to these divine beings, two matters are made clear from those texts that are concerned with the incomparability of Yahweh (cf. Deut 3:24; 10:17; 1 Kgs 8:23; Jer 10:6; Pss 86:8, 95:3; 96:4[=1 Chr 16:25]; 97:7; 135:5; 136:2; etc.): such comparisons presume the setting of the council (cf. Ps 89:6–9), and the members of that council are presumed to be clearly inferior to Yahweh. Despite this inferior status, these beings constituted the "host of heaven" (*ṣĕbāʾ haššāmayīm*, cf. Isa 40:26; Ps 148:3), the worship of whom was forbidden in Hebrew tradition (Deut 4:19; 17:3; cf Jer 8:2, etc.). As illustrated by the parallelism of the *kôkĕbê bōqer* and *kōl bĕnê ʾĕlōhîm* ("the morning stars"//"all the sons of god"; Job 38:7), the heavenly bodies could be envisioned as part of the divine entourage who participated in the wars of Yahweh (cf. Josh 5:13–15; 10:12b–13a; Judg 5:20; Ps 148:2–3). In addition to the function of serving as part of the divine retinue, the beings served to praise and adore Yahweh in his court (Pss 29:1; 148:2–3).

**C. The Messenger of the Council**

Since the major function of the council of the gods was to make and enforce decrees concerning the operation of the cosmos, an important role played by certain members of the assembly was that of messenger of the council. In the Canaanite materials from Ugarit, the major gods are depicted as dispatching messengers (called *mlʾk, tʿdt, ǵlm;* cf. Hebrew *malʾāk, tĕʿûdâ, ʿelem*) who deliver their addresses in a highly stylized, formulaic manner (*tḥm//hwt*). In the Hebrew Bible, the phrase *malʾak YHWH,* "the messenger of Yahweh" (Exod 3:2; Num 22:31; Judg 13:13, 15, 16, 2 Sam 24:16–17; Zech

3:1; etc.; see also the *mal*ʾ*ăkê* ʾ*ĕlōhîm* of Gen 32:2–3), is used to denote those divine beings who serve as envoys of Yahweh and who deliver his decrees. Often confirming their divine commission is the notice that they are "sent" (*šlḥ*) by Yahweh from his council (Gen 24:7, 40; Exod 23:20; Num 20:16; compare Judg 13:8).

This concept of messenger forms a major aspect of the conceptual background of Hebrew prophecy wherein the prophet is viewed as the messenger of Yahweh (cf. Hag 1:13; Mal 3:1). Such texts as Jer 23:18 (cf. v 22) and Amos 3:7 reveal the council background presumed by the concept of prophecy (see also Job 15:8). As the messengers of the Ugaritic council delivered their messages via set formulas, the pronouncements of the Hebrew prophets were also characterized by certain formulaic expressions, the most common of which was "thus says Yahweh" (*kōh* ʾ*āmar YHWH*), a phrase frequently paralleled by the formula "the word of Yahweh" (*dĕbar YHWH*). The prophetic reception of the divine message, i.e., the commissioning of the messenger, is conveyed at least in part via the common expression "the word of Yahweh was to PN" (*wayhî dĕbar YHWH* ʾ*el-PN*) and then delivered with the imperatives characteristic of prophetic addresses (cf. 1 Kgs 12:22–24; 13:20–22; 2 Sam 7:4–5; Jer 21:11–12; Ezek 28:1–2; etc.).

**D. Hebrew Depictions of the Assembly**

The role of the divine assembly as a conceptual part of the background of Hebrew prophecy is clearly displayed in two descriptions of prophetic involvement in the heavenly council. In 1 Kgs 22:19–23 (cf. 2 Chr 18:18–22), Micaiah ben Imiah oversees the heavenly decision regarding the fate of Ahab. Isaiah 6 depicts a situation in which the prophet himself takes on the role of the messenger of the assembly and the message of the prophet is thus commissioned by Yahweh. The mythological depiction here illustrates this important aspect of the conceptual background of prophetic authority.

Not all depictions of the assembly pertain to prophecy. Ps 82:1–8 presents a picture of judgment in the divine realm. Yahweh is presented as speaking in the ʿ*ădat* ʾ*ēl*, "the assembly of El … in the midst of the gods" (*bĕqereb* ʾ*ĕlōhîm*), called also "sons of the Most High/Elyôn" (*bĕnê* ʿ*elyôn*), and condemns them to death because of their failure to dispense justice properly.

A further association between the concepts of the assembly and the divine decree is found in the epic traditions concerning the "Tent of Meeting" (ʾ*ōhel mô*ʿ*ēd*—cf. Exod 33:7–11; Num 11:16–29; 12:4–10, etc.). In Hebrew traditions the ʾ*ōhel mô*ʿ*ēd*, an earthly representation of the heavenly abode of the deity, served as an oracle tent where Yahweh appeared directly to his people (Exod 25:22; 29:42–43; 30:36; 40:34–38; Num 9:15–23). These traditions are consistent with the ANE concept of the council meeting at the shrine of the high god. In mythological terms, this shrine was located on the mountain dwelling of the deity. In the Canaanite materials, this was the cosmic abode of El, *ġr ll*, "Mount L-1" (*UT* 137.14,20 [*KTU* 1.2]]), called also *ḫršn* (*UT* ʿnt pl. ix:III.22 [*KTU* 1.1]), located at the confluence of the rivers of the deep (*UT* 51.IV.20–24 [*KTU* 1.4]; *UT* 129.4–5 [*KTU* 1.2.III]; *UT* ʿnt.V.13–16 [*KTU* 1.3.V.5–7]; *UT* 49.4–6 [*KTU* 1.6.I.32–34]; etc.). In the biblical materials, the assembly is depicted as meeting on the "mount of assembly" (*har mô*ʿ*ēd,* Isa 14:13, cf. Ezek 28:14, 16). With the establishment of Jerusalem as the central cultic site, such traditions were applied to Mt. Zion, the dwelling place of Yahweh (Pss 48; 46; Isa 2:2–4; Mic 4:1–3), the place of the decree of Yahweh and the issuance of the Law (Isa 2:3; Mic 4:3), the site of life-giving waters (Isa 33:20–22; Ezek 47:1–12; Joel 4:18; Zech 14:8; *1 Enoch* 26:1–2).

The depictions of the council contained in Job 1:6–12 and 2:1–7 and Zech 3:1–7 reveal the beginnings of the development of a specialized figure, the *śāṭān*/Satan, "the adversary." In Job 1:6–12 and 2:1–7, the *śāṭān* is presented as one of the *bĕne hā*ʾ*ĕlōhîm* who assembled before Yahweh on the appointed day (*hayyôm*). In the story, he serves to test Job's faithfulness, but remains throughout under the direct control of Yahweh. In Zech 3:1–7, this figure stands to accuse the high priest Joshua but is rebuked by Yahweh; this figure, though developing a specialized function and role in the conceptions of the assembly, remained, at least until the time of Zechariah, a member of the assembly under the control of Yahweh.

**E. Development of Specialized Functions**

Despite the general tendency for the members of the council to remain in the background, the development of some specialized functions and figures, such as those of the Satan, are apparent, especially toward the intertestamental period. The collection of divine beings constituting the assembly

provided a basis for the development of an elaborate angelology wherein there were specific ranks and hierarchies of divine beings (Dan 8:16; 9:21; 10:13, 21; 12:1; Tob 12:15; *1 Enoch* 81:5; 87:2–3; 88:1; 90:21–22; 2 Esdr 5:20; etc.). The figure of the Satan begins to appear as a distinct figure (*Jub.* 49:2; CD 4:13; 5:18; 8:2; 1QS 1.18, 23–24; etc.), and the concept of "hostile" angels also becomes evident (*1 Enoch* 40:7; 53:3; 61:1; 69:4, 6, etc.). A partial background for this development may be found in those biblical texts that reflect stories regarding human and/or divine rebelliousness in varying forms (Gen 6:1–4; Isa 14:12–15; Ezek 28:1–19; Job 4:17–18).

At the same time, heavenly figures are seen as intercessors on behalf of humans (Dan 6:23; 10:13, 21; *1 Enoch* 15:2; Tob 12:15; etc.), a role that is assigned to a member of the heavenly court in Job (9:33–35; 16:19–21; 19:25; 33:23–24). In the Ugaritic epics, the role of intercessor is played by the god Baal, who intercedes before the high god El on behalf of the earthly king (*UT* 128.II.11–16 [*KTU* 1.15]; *UT* 2 Aqht I.16–27 [*KTU* 1.17]). Additionally, these figures serve as protectors of the righteous (Dan 10:13, 21; 12:1; 2 Macc 11:6; *1 Enoch* 20:5; *Jub.* 35:17; 1QH 5:21–22; etc.) and as the heavenly army of the end time (Zech 14:3–5; 1QH 3.35–36; 10.34–35; 1QM 15.14). The NT materials add nothing new to the picture already developed. Such passages as Luke 1:11–20 and 2:8–14 show that the messenger function remained a primary aspect of these divine beings, though throughout they remain subjugated to the power and will of God. See also ANGELS; SATAN.

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**DIVINE MAN.** See ARETALOGY.

**DIVINE NAMES (OT).** See NAMES OF GOD.

**DIVINE WARRIOR.** See WARRIOR, DIVINE.

**DIVINERS' OAK** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾēlôn* (אֵלוֹן) *mĕʿônĕnîm* (מְעוֹנְנִים)]. A sacred tree (a terebinth or perhaps an oak) near Shechem, according to Judg 9:37. Since Gaal, looking out from the gate of Shechem, described the approach of the enemy as from the direction of the Diviners' Oak, the tree must have been outside Shechem.

Since several other biblical texts refer to a conspicuous tree in association with an altar or a sanctuary at Shechem (Gen 12:6–7, cf. Deut 11:30; Gen 35:4, cf. 33:19–20; Josh 24:25–26; and Judg 9:6), the question arises whether they all refer to the same tree and holy place at Shechem. Though this may indeed be the case, such a simple identification is hindered because the trees bear different names (*ʾēlôn, ʾēlâ, ʾallâ,* and *ʾēlôn,* respectively). It may be, however, that the names are used imprecisely or interchangeably (Gottwald 1979: 776, n. 500). Also, the texts offer scant information regarding the locations of these trees with reference to Shechem, and the trees are described differently.

The description given to the tree in Judg 9:37 connects it with divining or receiving oracles. A similar association may be sought in Judg 4:4–5, which states that the prophetess Deborah used to sit under "the palm tree of Deborah," and in 2 Sam 5:24–25, where David awaits a sign from the trees. Messages were also sought from trees at Ugarit (CTA 3.C.19–20). The tree in Gen 12:6 is qualified by the term *môreh* (*Hipʿil* masc. part. from *yrh*). Based on the evidence of Hab 2:18–19, which uses this same form and also a 3d masc. imperfect verb of the same stem to denote the giving of revelation, it is probable that the sacred tree of Moreh in Gen 12:6 is also one where revelation was received and that it should be identified with the Diviners' Oak. See also *YGC,* 165–66; Nielsen 1955: 216–22.

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**DIVORCE**. The biblical teaching on divorce is much debated for two reasons. First, while the relevant texts are not numerous, they provoke exegetical issues which are complex and difficult. Second, since the church and synagogue look to Scripture for moral guidance and since divorce continues to be a pressing moral problem, the pastoral issues these texts envisage are important and urgent.

**A. In the OT**

The great halakic debate over divorce among the rabbis of Second Temple Judaism focused on two OT texts: Gen 2:22–24 (with 1:27) and Deut. 24:1–4. According to rabbinic haggadoth, Gen 2:22–24 teaches that God created males and females (Gen 1:27) in order to re-create them into an inviolable union (*CD* 4:19–5:3). Marriage thereby establishes a new physical relationship ("one *flesh*") comparable to other familial relationships, held together by a natural (i.e., hereditary) and therefore indissoluble covenant. In fact, the deuteronomic text (cf. Jer 3:1–5) which forbids remarriage of a divorced wife to her first husband is but the logical extension of the levitical prohibition (Leviticus 18) against marrying close relatives; a divorce (or subsequent remarriage) cannot annul the kinship relation God established through marriage (Heth and Wenham 1985).

However, since the prohibition of remarriage (Deut 24:4a) is the apodosis of the deuteronomic *crux interpretum,* the assumption is that divorce was a known practice regulated by now unknown customs or rules. Indeed, the practical issue in the debate between rabbis was to explain the grounds for divorce, centering on the meaning of the vague phrase (Deut 24:1) *ʿerwat dābār,* "an indecent thing," which when found in a woman brought her into disfavor with her husband and gave him reason to issue her *sēper kerîtut,* "a bill of divorcement." While it is not possible to reconstruct the exact pre-deuteronomic or deuteronomic meaning of the phrase *ʿerwat dābār,* two schools of rabbinic interpretation establish the range of possible meanings (*Git.* 9:10; *b. Git.* 90a). The school of Shammai contended that the phrase referred to unlawful sexual behaviors, even though the Deuteronomist surely would have excluded adultery, a behavior punishable by death (Deut 22:22–24) rather than divorce. The school of Hillel contended for a much broader definition which included childlessness, cultic offenses, and even failure to complete household tasks.

**B. In the NT**

Jesus' teaching on divorce (Matt 5:31–32; 19:3–9; Mark 10:2–12; Luke 16:18) can be understood against the backdrop of this rabbinic discussion of the deuteronomic text as well as the "one flesh" ideal of the creation narrative. The Lukan version (Q; cf. Matt 5:32) is the most authentic. Cast from the male perspective of Palestinian Judaism (*contra* Mark 11:12), the logion of Luke's Jesus contends that the man who initiates a divorce, who marries a divorced woman, or who then remarries another woman commits adultery. Although his teaching was similar to that of the Qumran Essenes (Fitzmyer 1976), it was dissimilar to current, mainstream rabbinic halakoth in three ways: (1) it prohibited remarriage, even to the woman with a bill of divorcement; (2) it broadened adulterous behavior to include a man's infidelity (cf. Mark 10:11) and a woman's remarriage; and (3) it ruled out serial monogamy.

Although similar to Luke, the divorce logion of Mark's Jesus is found within a pericope less concerned with halakoth than with a haggadic commentary for disciples (Mark 10:10) on the biblical ideal of "one flesh" (Mark 10:2–9). Thus, if God made male and female into one flesh, then neither the male (Mark 10:11) nor the female (Mark 10:12) should divorce and remarry; to do so is adultery.

Matthew's Jesus, on the other hand, is a scribal Messiah very interested in the rabbinic debates. However, by adding the exception clause to the divorce logion found in 5:32 (*parektos loqou porneias*) and 19:9 (*mē epi porneia*), the first evangelist clearly moves Jesus' concern beyond those which typified the scribes and Pharisees. While everything about these exceptive clauses is contested (Witherington 1985), at the heart of the matter is the meaning of *porneia.* We would agree that *porneia* refers here to incestuous marriages; however, Matthew intends an *ironical* meaning for both outsider and insider.

According to Matt 19:3–9, the divorce logion, with its concession, makes the decisive point which ends his debate with the Pharisees (*contra* Mark). To this point, Jesus' appeal to the Genesis texts (19:4–6) could have been construed by his opponents as supporting their interpretation: to leave one's father is to forsake unnatural (i.e., incestuous) marriages with sister or mother (*b. Sanh.* 58a). The tendency among Pharisees was to define the "one flesh" principle negatively and narrowly in order to broaden their own grounds for divorce and polygamy. The effect of the climactic 19:9 is to challenge divorce as a practice approved by God and to reassert monogamy as God's ideal. In this reconstruction, then, the exception clause makes a rhetorical point against the outsider: while apparently acknowledging the typical rabbinic interpretation of the Genesis texts as prohibiting *porneia* (incestuous marriage), Matthew's Jesus subordinates this interpretation (i.e., the exception clause) to his own, thus using these same biblical texts to authorize monogamous relationships rather than polygamous ones as God's ideal.

For the disciple, who seeks to live a life "more righteous than the scribes and Pharisees" (5:20), neither the hardness of heart (cf. 5:28) which made the deuteronomic legislation necessary (19:8a) nor the *porneia* which makes divorce possible can be permitted. Thus, while Matthew apparently allows divorce if *porneia* is found, such a possibility is moot for the righteous disciple. For the insider, Matthew's exception clause becomes an ironical reminder that one's character is formed by a God whose will is for indissoluble monogamy (19:6). Clearly, the sum of the synoptic tradition argues that Jesus' teaching intended to create among his disciples an intolerance for divorce even though Jewish law tolerated it.

While Paul reformulated Jesus' prohibition of divorce and remarriage in 1 Cor 7:10–11, the particular contingencies of the Gentile mission forced him to adapt the dominical tradition in new ways. Some Corinthian believers understood Paul's ascetical preference (7:1, 6–9), rooted in his missiological values (7:32–35) and apocalyptical convictions (7:29–31) as absolutizing ascetical marriages even though not everyone had the gift of celibacy (7:7b, 17–24). Other believers desired (cf. 7:9b) their conjugal rights (7:2–5). The result was marital conflict between believers with divorce a real possibility.

The exegetical problem with Paul's response concerns the apparent contradiction between the dominical prohibition of divorce in 7:10–11 and the apostolic permission granted in 7:15. Murphy-O'Connor rightly observes that the parenthesis, *ouk egō alla ho kyrios* (7:10), qualifies Jesus' prohibition as an "afterthought because of its pastoral utility" (1981: 606) rather than as a normative principle. (This Paul gives in 7:17: believers should be content to remain in the marital state they had entered before being summoned into the church by the converting call of God.) Thus, Paul adapted the dominical to his own solution as a halakic commentary on a particular kind of marriage in the Corinthian church: that is, in the case of ascetical marriage, there was no grounds for divorce (and so for remarriage) when the people involved did not have the gift of celibacy.

His permission to divorce granted in 7:15 applied to a different kind of marriage (7:12, *tois de loitois legō egō, ouk ho kyrios*; *contra* Moiser 1983), when believers were abandoned by nonbelievers. In this case the grounds for divorce were more convincing: there was not a mutual commitment to the believer's divine calling (*keklēken;* cf. 7:17a), and the unbeliever divorces (*chorizō*; cf. 7:10) the believer. Evidently, Paul did not consider Jesus' prohibition of divorce binding in this case, and later even considered the possibility of remarriage under certain circumstances (7:27b–28).

**C. Conclusion**

Scriptural teaching on divorce underscores two convictions which form a pastoral dialectic. Following Jesus, there must be a readiness to resist divorce as an evil; divorce is opposed to God's reign, even though the believing community may tolerate it. However, following Paul, there must be a willingness to resist facile solutions which fail to accommodate concrete and difficult cases presented by our own situations. See also *ISBE* 1: 976–78.

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**DIZAHAB** (PLACE) [Heb *dî zāhāb* (דִּי זָהָב)]. Referred to as the location of Moses' "repetition of the law" (Deut 1:1). The name is a mixture of official Aramaic (*dî* "the one of") and Hebrew (*zāhāb* "gold"); orthographically (*dy* instead of *zy*) the name cannot predate the 6th century B.C. The place remains unidentified, but three suggestions deserve mention.

1. According to the first half of Deut 1:1, Dizahab, Suph, Tophel, Laban, and Hazeroth may have been situated in Transjordan NE of the Dead Sea. A. Musil (1907: 196, 211–12) identified Dizahab with aḏ-Ḏuhaybah, 22 km E-NE of Mâdabâ. Musil's identifications of Dizahab, Laban, and Suph do not, however, lead to a geographically consistent reading of Deut 1:1 (Mittmann 1975: 9–11).

2. According to Deut 1:2, the four places could have been situated between Mount Sinai/Horeb and Kadesh–barnea. This view contradicts the plain meaning of Deut 1:1 but finds support in Pharan Deut 1:1 (Wâdî Fêrân on the Sinai peninsula; Knauf 1989: 23–24). Furthermore, both Laban and Hazeroth may occur under the names of Libnah and Hazeroth in the wilderness itinerary (Num 33:17; 20). Therefore, Burckhardt (1822: 523) suggested Mînâ᾽ eḏ-Ḏahab "Gold-Harbor" on the Sinaitic coast of the Gulf of Aqabah as a location for Dizahab.

3. Meyer (1906: 375) identified Dizahab with MEZAHAB, Gen 36:39; 1 Chr 1:50, which may have been a place in Edom.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**DODANIM** [Heb *dōdānîm* (דֹּדָנִים)]. Fourth "offspring" of Javan (Gen 10:4). The Sam. Pent. and the LXX, along with some Hebrew manuscripts, follow the parallel passage in 1 Chr 1:7 and read an initial *reš* in place of the MT 's *dalet.* This assumes scribal confusion which may reflect the similarity in the orthography of the two letters. On the basis of the plural suffix marker *-îm,* this figure seems to be the name of an ethnic group. Many commentators have followed the alternative reading and found in the Rodanim the inhabitants of Rhodes. If so, is this error repeated by the MT in the "people of Dedan" mentioned in Ezek 27: 15 (so LXX; cf. Simons, *GTTOT,* 80)?

An alternative explanation which preserves the MT 's vocalization identifies the Dodanim with the Danuna. The Danuna appear as a region in Syria, mentioned in a 14th century B.C. Amarna letter from Tyre (*da-nu-na*), in a Neo-Assyrian inscription of Ashurnasirpal I (*dan-nu-na*), and in the Egyptian inscriptions (*d-in-nw-n* et al.) (*RA* 2: 120). However, the dissimilarity in the consonants of Dodanim and the Danuna renders this interpretation unlikely (Wenham *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 219).

A more recent proposal has been set forth identifying the Dodanim with the inhabitants of Dodona, the site of an ancient Greek oracle in the region of Epirus (Neiman 1973: 121; Berger 1982: 60).

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RICHARD S. HESS

**DODAVAHU** (PERSON) [Heb *dōdāwāhû* (דֹּדָוָהוּ)]. Father of Eliezer, a prophet from Mareshah, a town in the Shephelah district of Judah (2 Chr 20:37). The LXX's *ōd (e)ia* and *dōdia* probably reflect Heb* *dōdîyāh*. Dodavahu's son upbraided Jehosaphat, king of Judah, for aligning himself with Ahaziah, king of Israel, in order to build ships for the purpose of trade. The fleet was destroyed by Yahweh in an act of judgment against this alliance (2 Chr 20:35–37). Since the prophet is not mentioned in the parallel account (1 Kgs 22:49–50), scholars have argued that Eliezer, son of Dodavahu is a literary fiction created by the Chronicler to explain the failure of Jehosaphat's maritime venture. Ward (*IDB* 1: 861) suggests that the Chronicler based the name on the Davidic hero Eleazar, the son of Dodo (2 Sam 23:9). The evidence, however, for such theories remains inconclusive. Although a definite theological perspective governs the Chronicler's historical writing, he may have employed different sources here. He also may have had a different *Vorlage* than that reflected in the MT of Kings (see Williamson, *1–2 Chronicles* NCBC, 302–3). Since 4QSam[a] is closer to Chronicles than the MT of Samuel, the exact form of the *Vorlage* of Chronicles remains uncertain.

STEPHEN G. DEMPSTER

**DODO** (PERSON) [Heb *dôdô* (דּוֹדוֹ)*; dōdô* (דֹּדוֹ) ]. Var. DODAI. The name of three men in the Hebrew Bible, two of whom were warriors associated with the royal court. Like the name "Dodavahu," this name is derived from the common Heb root *dwd,* which means "beloved," "favorite," or "friend." The term can also refer to one's uncle (cf. Lev 10:4; 20:20; etc.). This root forms the basis of the name David as well as Solomon's other name, Jedidiah ("beloved of Yahweh"). Isaiah 5:1, which begins with references to *yĕdîdî* and *dôdî,* is probably a play on the names of David and Solomon. Related forms (*dôdî, dôdek, dôdâ*) are especially prominent in the Song of Songs (1:13–14; 2:3, 8, 10, etc.). The names *Dodāhū* and *Dudū* are attested in cuneiform texts.

**1.** The grandfather of Tola, one of Israel's minor judges from the tribe of Issachar (Judg 10:1).

**2.** The father of Eleazar, the second of "the three" most renowned warriors of David (2 Sam 23:9 = 1 Chr 11:12). Dodo's own lineage is described as *ben-ʾăḥôhî,* "the son of Ahohi," or more likely, "the son of an Ahohite." Dodai the Ahohite is named as one of David's officers over the monthly levies (1 Chr 27:4), and he may be this same father of Eleazar (Heb *ʾel-āzār*). The related name *Dodavahu* (cf. Akk *dōdāhū*) is attributed to the father of Eliezer (Heb *ʾĕlîʿezer*), the prophet in 2 Chr 20:37.

**3.** The father of Elhanan of Bethlehem, who immediately follows Asahel, brother of Joab, in the list of David's warriors (2 Sam 23:24 = 1 Chr 11:26).

D. G. SCHLEY

**DOE.** See ZOOLOGY.

**DOEG** (PERSON) [Heb *dōʾēg* (דֹּאֵג)*; dôʾeg* (דּוֹאֵג) ]. An Edomite in the service of King Saul (1 Sam 21:8; 22:9, 18; Ps 52:2). The etymology of the name is unknown—perhaps it is a shortened form of a theophoric name with confessional and/or trusting character " (God NN) cares about/has cared about." Doeg accidently spied David when David fled to the sanctuary of Nob and received holy bread and Goliath's sword after consulting the oracle there. Doeg reported this to Saul after an assembly in Gibeah (1 Sam 22:9–10; Ps 52:2); thereupon Saul condemned to death Ahimelech son of Ahitub and the rest of the priests of Nob because they had assisted David (1 Sam 22:16–17). When Saul's Benjaminite "footmen" (*rāṣîm,* 1 Sam 22:17) refused to execute the sentence, Doeg himself killed all the priests of Nob (1 Sam 22:18) and then executed many of the people who lived in the city of Nob. One of Ahimelech's sons, Abiathar, was able to escape the massacre and fled to David, who took him in (1 Sam 22:20–23). David reacted to Abiathar's report with self-condemnation because he had foreseen Doeg's and Saul's action (1 Sam 22:22).

ULRICH HÜBNER

**DOG.** See ZOOLOGY.

**DOK** (PLACE) [Gk *Dōk* (Δωκ)]. A small fort near Jericho constructed by Ptolemy, the son-in-law of Simon Maccabeus. Following a banquet at this location, Simon, the last surviving son of Mattathias, and two of his sons were treacherously murdered by Ptolemy in 135 B.C. (1 Macc 16:11–15). Josephus in his account called the fort Dagon and located it N of Jericho (*Ant* 13.8.1 §230; *JW* 1.2.3 §56). The Copper Scroll (3Q15) of Qumran also makes reference to the site. The site of the fort is thought to have been located on Jebel Qarantal (M.R. 190142), two miles NW of Jericho. At the base of that hill is the spring "Ain Duq," which is thought to retain the ancient name of the fort.

ROBERT W. SMITH

**DOLMEN.** A megalithic structure, a stone chamber created by the erection of two or more massive vertical "wall" stones roofed by one or more equally massive "roof" stones. Similar structures in W Europe are known as *cromlechs.* The typical dolmen in biblical lands is rectangular, and the narrower chamber-closing wall stones are known as "end" slabs or stones. Dolmens are sometimes held to be intimately and culturally associated with other megalithic phenomena in Bible lands such as the twelve standing stones at Gilgal (Joshua 4) or Jacob's pillar (Gen 28:22), but the association is unproved. Consensus is that dolmens are tombs, but unassailable proof of this is yet to be produced.

A "classic" dolmen is a stone box: floor, four walls, and roof, each consisting of one or more great slabs. Modifications occur. Some structures have more than one roof slab. Some have more than one slab forming each wall. Some have more than one floor slab. Some have no floor slabs, their floors being earth or bedrock. Some dolmens were made not of slabs but of boulders forming walls and roofs or boulders for walls and slabs for roofs. In many instances "door" or "window" holes, simple or drafted, were carved into one of the end slabs. Two-decker dolmens exist, one chamber above another. There are dolmens with more than one chamber on the same level, each divided from the other by a vertical slab. Some of these slabs have carved holes. There are some dolmens with "trailers" attached to them, dolmens smaller than the main dolmens and in line with them.

Some researchers hold that stone cist graves such as those of Chalcolithic times found at ʿel-Adeimeh are degenerate forms of dolmens, examples of which are found nearby, but this theory is not universally accepted.

It is not known if the variations in design and construction indicate changing traditions within one population, or are evidence of movements of groups in and out of the territories in which the variations occur.

Despite the great size of many of the components of dolmens, there is no reason to doubt that application of human and animal muscle, levers, rollers, and perhaps ramps, combined with sliding, tumbling, rolling, and lifting sufficed to move dolmen components into position. No sophisticated methods were required.

Old World dolmens occur in a band stretching from the British Isles and the Scandinavian countries, Germany, France, Portugal, and Spain E across Italy and N Africa into the Near East and the Caucasus, India, and on to Korea and Japan. Since our interest is the core Biblical lands, it is to be noted they are found from the Jordanian and Syrian deserts W to the Mediterranean foothills of the central mountain ridge of Palestine, and from Syria and Lebanon S to about the latitude of Kerak. That dolmens practically disappear S of the region of Kerak is provocative, but no satisfactory explanation of the fact has been advanced.

There are dozens of dolmen sites in the core area, and they contain thousands of dolmens. Huge fields exist in Syria, smaller ones in Lebanon. At the Tawahin es-Sukkar site in the Jordan valley there are more than two hundred dolmens. Less than twenty miles to the SE, at Tell Umm el-Quttein there are only six. This variation in numbers is a common pattern: large groups occur at Meron, Khorazin, and especially Shamir in Israel and Irbid, Kefr Yuba, and El Maslubiyeh in Jordan; but dolmens appear singly at Abu Dis and Beit Jibrin. Perhaps these are but remnants of former more extensive fields, their original companions having been swept away by farming, road building, military construction, or other such

activities ancient and modern, but there is no reason to assume that single dolmens were not erected upon occasion.

We do not know when the dolmens were built, nor do we know who built them. Estimates of age range from 7000 to 3000 B.C. for the most part, although some dates more recent than 3000 B.C. have been suggested. While builders have been held to be people of Neolithic, Chalcolithic, or the Early Bronze Age, no artifacts have been discovered in acceptable associations with dolmens to permit assignment of the structures to a particular culture and thus a time. Until we have such datable artifact association with dolmens or have found some other method of equating dolmens with established time and culture niches, we simply do not know when they were built nor who built them.

The classic and exhaustive treatment of these phenomena to date in biblical lands is that of Paul Karge in his *Rephaim,* Paderborn (1925).

JAMES L. SWAUGER

**DOMESTICATION OF ANIMALS.** See ZOOLOGY.

**DOMITIAN** (EMPEROR). Titus Flavius Domitianus, second son of Vespasian and brother of Titus, was born in Rome on 24 Oct. A.D. 51 and became emperor on 14 Sept. 81. His early years coincided with a decline in the Flavians' relationship with the imperial family, which had been quite close under Claudius when Titus lived at court and was educated with the royal children. No such favor came to Domitian. Twelve years younger than Titus, he was still not of an age to acquire military experience when his father rebelled in 69 A.D. He was in Rome when Vitellius perished and found himself in charge until Vespasian reached Rome some ten months later (Oct. 70). However, his first taste of real power was brief and he was soon relegated to a position of comparative inferiority. Although granted substantial honors (he held all the priesthoods and seven consulships) during the reigns of his father (69–79) and brother (79–81), he received no military training and was appointed to no positions of authority; and as Titus was only forty when Vespasian died, there was no prospect of and little apparent reason for a change in this policy.

On Titus' sudden death Domitian became emperor. Unlike his father and brother, he was either unable or unwilling to disguise his autocracy: in particular, he could not maintain a good relationship with the senate, and as most historians were senators, this has done little to enhance his reputation. For a time, though, he made the effort and even awarded consulships to potential opponents—Helvidius Priscus (whose father was executed by Vespasian), Arulenus Rusticus (long recognized as a member of the "philosophic opposition"), and Salvidienus Orfitus (whose father was executed by Nero). Possibly he hoped to compromise them in the eyes of their senatorial supporters, but whatever his motives, the attempt was a failure and all three were executed (Dio Cass. 67.13.3; Suet *Dom.* 10.2–4). Other senators shared their fate, including two imperial cousins, T. Flavius Sabinus and T. Flavius Clemens. But the ancient evidence does not fully support modern claims that he instituted a reign of terror. Fewer than twenty victims are named in our sources, and the timing of the beginning of the "terror" varies—for Suetonius (*Dom.* 10.5), Domitian became more cruel after Saturninus' revolt (89), but for Tacitus (*Ag.* 44) the worst came four years later, after the death of Agricola. On the other hand, his was an overt autocracy: he styled himself "perpetual censor" and even "Lord and God," though the latter title has not been found on any coin, inscription, or manuscript. Far more significant in the long term was the increased role in government assigned to the equestrian order at the expense, inevitably, of the senate: this did violence to tradition and harm to his reputation. In 87/88, for instance, he executed the (senatorial) proconsul of Asia and replaced him with the equestrian C. Minicius Italus, an event particularly offensive to senators since the Asian post was the most highly regarded external appointment open to them. Equally unprecedented was the appointment of the equestrian Cornelius Fuscus to the command of the Dacian war, a traditional senatorial post. It is not surprising that Domitian's relationship with the senate deteriorated.

To describe Domitian simply as an autocrat would be to ignore his achievements as an administrator. Like all the Flavians, he kept close control of the finances of state. Despite considerable expenses at home and abroad, he at the very least managed to balance his budget, for his successor Nerva could afford

immediately to pay a generous donative and *congiarium* (distribution of money to the people), as did Trajan two years later, while his predecessor Titus had had enormous expenses. His building program was extensive and included the completion of the Flavian Amphitheatre (the Colosseum) and the erection of his fine palace on the Palatine. He was also concerned with the administration of justice. Suetonius refers to his scrupulous and conscientious nature and stresses the integrity of his city officials and provincial governors—"at no other period were they more honest or just" (*Dom.* 8.2). Famine was a severe problem during the reign, especially in Asia Minor (possibly reflected in 6:5–6), where one of his provincial governors issued an edict (*Année Epigraphique* 1925: 126) forbidding hoarding and setting a maximum price on the grain to be released by his orders, apparently the earliest example of imperial regulation of prices in the provinces. But his concern was more positive: to promote grain production he allowed no more vines to be planted in Italy and ordered half the acreage assigned in the provinces to vineyards to be turned over to grain production (Suet. *Dom.* 7.2; 14.2).

Domitian was a successful commander and almost always popular with his troops, no doubt because he increased their salary by twenty-five percent, the first rise of any kind in a hundred years. His military activities were considerable: he favored consolidation in the west together with expansion in the east. In 82 or 83 he moved against the Chatti (a German tribe living near the upper Weser), thereby strengthening the Middle Rhine; the result was peace in Germany for over a century. In Britain, Tacitus' father-in-law Agricola advanced far into Scotland but the conquest of the north was not completed. The abandonment of the legionary fortress at Inchtuthil near Perth (about a million Roman nails were found in one pit alone) provides dramatic evidence of the new direction in imperial policy, for in 85, Domitian turned to the Danube, where the Dacian leader Decebalus had invaded Moesia and killed the imperial legate Oppius Sabinus. Cornelius Fuscus' subsequent expedition also met with disaster: he himself was killed, and it was not until 88 that the Romans were successful. Then, in 92, the Marcomanni and Quadi invaded Pannomia and destroyed an entire legion; before long they were subdued and peace was finally established. Thus by 96 the best legions in the empire were stationed not on the Rhine but on the Danube.

Domitian resorted to legislation in an effort to improve public and private morality. Again the hand of the autocrat was obvious. He forbade castration and checked theatrical license; at the same time, three Vestal Virgins were executed for immorality; one, the chief Vestal Cornelia, was buried alive. Consistent with this was his determination to restore the official religion of Rome to its former purity. Again, transgressors were severely punished, even if they were imperial relatives: Flavius Clemens and his wife Flavia Domitilla were executed in 95 for atheism, "a charge on which many others who drifted into Jewish ways were condemned" (Dio Cass. 67.14.2). Similar charges were laid against Christians, still regarded by some as members of a Jewish sect. Perhaps Suetonius had Christians in mind when he said that Domitian exacted the special Jewish tax on "those who lived as Jews without publicly acknowledging their faith" (*Dom.* 12.2). But both Pagan and Christian writers attest to Domitian's hostility to Christianity: Pliny (*Ep.* 10.96.1) knew of the "examination" of Christians at this time, as did the Christian writer Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.18.4), whose sources referred to the banishment of Flavia Domitilla (niece rather than wife of Flavius Clemens) because of her "testimony to Christ," and some support is provided by the fact that a woman of that name gave a cemetery to the Christians. The persecution, limited though it probably was, reached its height in the latter part of the reign and is reflected in the book of Revelation: for Pliny, worshipping the living emperor's image distinguished Christian and non-Christian, it was a useful administrative device. But for the author of Revelation it was a request to worship "the beast and his image" (Rev 6:9, 7:14, 12:11 and 20:4).

Domitian's unpopularity in various quarters led to conspiracies against him. On 22 Sept. 87, sacrifice was offered "on account of the detected crimes of wicked men" (*CIL* VI 2065), who presumably were guilty of plotting against the emperor; however, both their identity and their motivation are unknown. In Jan. 89 occurred the rebellion of L. Antonius Saturninus, governor of Upper Germany, which was quickly suppressed by his counterpart in Lower Germany, A. Bucius Lappius Maximus (*Année Epigraphique* 1961: 319): the consensus of opinion is that this was a military rather than a senatorial plot. But the execution of his cousin Flavius Clemens provoked a third and successful conspiracy involving his wife

Domitia Longina, one or both of the praetorian prefects, and a number of his personal staff of freedmen. They stabbed him to death on 18 Sept. 96, a few weeks before his forty-fifth birthday, an act greeted with delight by the senate, indifference by the people, and anger by the army (Suet. *Dom.* 23.1).

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**DOPHKAH** (PLACE) [Heb *dopqâ* (דָּפְקָה)]. The first encampment site of the Israelites after leaving the wilderness of Sin, but before reaching Alush, as listed in Num 33:12–13. The meaning of the name is unknown, but many (Abel, *GP* 213; Aharoni, *LBHG*, map 48; Simons, *GTTOT*, 252; *WHAB*, pl. V) have associated it with *mfkt*, the Egyptian word for turquoise, and connected it with the Egyptian mining center at Serabit el-Khadim (M.R. 999829), though it is not universally accepted (Robinson 1856: 73). Though the Egyptians continued to mine there into the 20th Dyn., their expeditions were periodic, and Israelites moving through the area would have faced no opposition from them.

The discussion of the location of any of the places associated with the journey of the Israelites from Egypt through Sinai is problematic. Identifications depend on whether a northern or southern route for the Exodus is assumed, and are based on the similarity between the sound and/or meaning of the Hebrew name and Arabic names found in the area by explorers. Some authorities doubt if any confidence can be placed in the historicity of the list in Num 33:1–9, where most of these stations are mentioned. Also, no material culture that can be definitely associated with the Israelites has been found in the Sinai. Therefore all suggested locations must be treated as extremely tentative.

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**DOR** (PLACE) [Heb *dôr* (דּוֹר)]. A city that joined the coalition led by Jabin, king of Hazor, against Joshua and the Israelites (Josh 12:23; cf. also NAPHOTH-DOR). The Canaanite city of Dor, located in the territory of the tribe of Manasseh (Judg 1:27; 1 Chr 7:29), apparently was not conquered until the time of David.

**A. History**

Dor is first mentioned in an inscription of Rameses II (13th century B.C.). This inscription contains a list of the settlements along the *Via Maris*, including its W branch from the Sharon to the Acco Plain. It is likely that Dor (like other cities on the coast such as Tell Abu Hawam) was founded during the LB II period shortly before the reign of Rameses II, when commercial relations between the Mediterranean eastern coast and the Aegean islands were thriving.

The port of Dor and its ruler, Beder, king of the Tjeker (one of the groups of Sea Peoples who invaded the E Mediterranean area in the LB/early Iron transition), is mentioned in the account of Wen-Amon's journey to Byblos (ca. 1100 B.C.; *ANET*, 26). In the reign of Solomon, Dor became the center of his fourth administrative district and was governed by Abinadab, the king's son-in-law (1 Kgs 4:11). In 732 B.C. Tiglath-pileser III conquered the city along with that section of the Coastal Plain which belonged to the

kingdom of Israel. He made it the capital of the Assyrian province of Duru, extending from the Carmel to Jaffa.

The Eshmunezer inscription (*ANET*, 662) suggests that during the Persian period Dor was ruled by the Sidonians. This probably accounts for the error of the Greek writers who attributed the founding of the city to the Sidonians. There was apparently a Greek colony at Dor in Persian times, and it might even have been a member of the Attic Sea League (in its Carian division). During the Hellenistic period, the city became an important fortress. In 219 B.C. it withstood the attack of Antiochus III and the Seleucid army. Eighty years later the pretender Tryphon entrenched himself there during his war against Antiochus VII Sidetes (1 Macc 15:10–14). At the end of the 2d century B.C. the tyrant Zoilus ruled both Dor and Straton's Tower (later Caesarea) until Alexander Jannaeus took both cities from him. Pompey ended Hasmonean rule in Dor and awarded the city autonomy and the right to mint coins. Its coins indicate that Zeus, Dorus (a son of Hercules, Dor's mythical founder), and Astarte-Aphrodite were worshipped at Dor.

A Jewish community and synagogue are known to have existed in Dor at the time of Agrippa I (A.D. 41–44). Hieronymus relates that the city was entirely in ruins in his time (end of the 4th century A.D.), but it is known that bishops resided there until the 7th century. Afterward the site was abandoned until the construction of the Crusader fortress of Merle (Dahl 1915; Albright 1925; Luciana 1964).

**B. Identification and Exploration**

According to Greek and Latin sources, Dor was located between the Carmel Range and Straton's Tower. The *Tabula Pentingeriana* map places Dor 8 mi. N of Caesarea; Eusebius states that the distance is 9 mi. (*Onomast.* 78:9; 136:16). On the basis of these sources it is possible to locate Dor at Khirbet el-Burj (M.R. 142224) on the coast S of Kibbutz Nahsholim and N of Tantura. NW of the mound are the remains of the port, and to the S are the ruins of the Crusader fortress.

In 1923 and 1924 two seasons of excavations were carried out at Dor under the sponsorship of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. The excavations were begun under J. Garstang and were expanded a year later (Fitzgerald 1925; Garstang 1924). In 1950 and 1952 J. Leibowitz conducted excavations N of the mound (Leibowitz 1951; 1957). From 1980 to 1983, the Byzantine Church located E of the mound was excavated (Dauphin 1984). The most recent excavations on the tel have extended over six seasons (1980–1985). Three areas (A–C) were opened in 1980 on the E edge of the mound, a fourth (area D) above the S bay in 1984, and a fifth (area E) on the W side in 1985 (Stern 1985a). At the same time an underwater survey was carried out (Raban 1983; Raban and Galili 1985; Wachsmann and Raveh 1980).

**C. Area C—The Residential Quarter**

Area C has yielded almost nothing of the Byzantine period and very little from the Roman. Enough, however, is preserved from the Roman period to infer two phases of development in what appear to be elaborate houses with fine masonry walls and cement and mosaic floors.

The Hellenistic strata had several phases and included a residential quarter erected in strict compliance with the Hippodamic system. From the beginning of the 3d to the 1st centuries B.C., a long row of stores and workshops (one room having a thick layer of crushed murex shells on the floor) stood along the entire inner face of the city wall. At least two streets have been found which parallel the N-S city wall. These in turn are flanked by blocks (insulae) of subdivided buildings (ca. 20 m wide) with doors opening onto their respective streets. These may have been multiple-storied and traces of what appear to be basements have been found. See Fig. DOR.01.

This quarter of the city seems to have survived with occasional rebuilding at least until the days of Alexander Jannaeus. With each reconstruction the floor was raised, resulting in as many as three Hellenistic floor levels, some made of crushed chalk, others of pressed clay. The outer walls of the buildings were constructed mostly of well-hewn sandstone ashlars laid in "headers"—a sort of small-scale version of the city wall. The inner walls and divisions, however, were built in the typical Phoenician style of ashlar piers with a fill of rubble. It appears that the general plan of this building was Greek while the structural details were Phoenician.

On the W side of area C the Hellenistic levels were penetrated to the Persian levels. During 1983 and 1984 excavations were conducted below the street separating the two insulae and below the western insula. These excavations demonstrated that the plan of the residential quarter, including the division into adjacent insulae, had started early in the Persian period, perhaps as early as the 6th century B.C., and continued to the early Roman period. During this long occupation the plan of the quarter remained essentially the same.

**D. Area A—The Trial Trench**

Area A, located at the center of the E slope of the tel, presents a picture of the site very similar to that revealed in area C. The upper stratum, dating from the late Roman period, has two sections of plastered stone aqueducts. The first crosses the center of the E slope of the mound; the second appears to branch off from the first and carried water inward to the city.

Beneath this stratum stood a magnificent wall of the Hellenistic period which continued into the early Roman period. It is perhaps the most impressive fortification of this period discovered in Israel. The wall is of local sandstone ashlar blocks and is preserved to a height of more than 2 m. A square tower extends 15 m from the wall and is also constructed of large *kurkar* ashlars laid in "header" fashion. Inside the tower is a central square pier made of large stones, which apparently served as a foundation for a wooden staircase giving access to the roof. This feature is quite common in the later Roman and Byzantine architecture of Palestine.

The discovery of a coin of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 B.C.) in the stratum below the fortifications implies that the complex was built in the latter part of his reign or shortly afterward. However, it was apparently built before 219 B.C. because Antiochus III (223–187 B.C.) beseiged the fortified city (Polyb. 5.66).

**E. Area B—The Gate Area**

The Gate Area is S of areas A and C and yielded many remains of the late Roman period (stratum I), mainly stone-slab–covered water channels. Additional late Roman structures include a system of plastered cisterns built one above the other. The remains of some poorly preserved buildings were found, but they were badly eroded and would not permit a coherent plan for reconstruction. One of the buildings, however, had some especially fine masonry.

Stratum II (the Roman period) had several phases. The main road which led into town from the E city gate consisted of a monumental causeway and a wide court. The pavement stones had been embedded in a thick layer of hard lime cement. A system of small drainage channels led from the S into the main drainage channel built of ashlar stones, which in turn led W through the city gate. Sections of black granite pillars were found in the court which evidently stood along both its sides. Almost nothing remains of the Roman city gate, and the area had actually been razed to the level of the road pavement. At the site of the gate itself, the structures were found destroyed to below the surface of that period.

Elsewhere in area B parts of large buildings from the Roman period have been uncovered, all similarly constructed from a mix of cement and stones. One room had parts of limestone tables of the type now familiar from the excavations in the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem, as well as a complete bronze bowl standing on three decorated feet, along with many vessels and sherds of both local and imported wares from the Roman period. One of the rooms near the city wall and gate apparently served as an arsenal, as inferred from a large accumulation of well-worked ballista stones. These were of different sizes and two were inscribed with Greek letters apparently denoting their weight.

Strata III and IV are of the Hellenistic period and consist of a number of phases. The dominant structures from stratum III are the city wall and the poorly preserved remains of a defensive tower projecting eastward from the wall. A street parallels the inside of the city wall and apparently is a continuation of the one found in area C. Here, too, sections of buildings probably continue those observed from area C. A relatively narrow street leading from the gate into the town transects the N-S street and then continues further W, toward the probable locations of the Agora, the temple, and the harbor.

In the final phase of the Persian period only a narrow postern gate existed from which a narrow street led into the city. However, below this were two superimposed city gates. The uppermost was a two-

chambered gate from the Persian period to which a stone-paved square led from the E. One smooth basalt socket of the outer door was found *in situ* as well as a socket in the center of the entrance where a vertical bolt would have been placed to lock the door. Only Persian period material was found in this gate, and it appears that it was already in use at the beginning of that period. It is, however, logical to assume that it was actually constructed earlier in the Assyrian period, and that only material of its last (Persian) phase is represented, hence its construction would have been in Iron Age IIC.

Remains of a four-chambered gate with a tower flanking each side of its facade stood below the two-chambered gate. The gate was only partially excavated, but its plan closely resembles that of the four-chambered gate of Megiddo. The gate at Dor, however, is much more massive. The width of one of the inner piers was 2.5 m and was built of two huge limestone boulders brought probably from the Carmel range. The W side of the pier, which faced the city, was covered with well-dressed orthostats. Since a 10th century B.C. layer was uncovered beneath part of this gate complex, we may assume that the four-chambered gate was in use during the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. and was destroyed by the Assyrians at the end of the 8th century. One of the more unique finds in this area was an oval stamp seal made of an animal's horn, depicting two stags standing on mountaintops. Only some pits and installations of the 7th–6th centuries B.C. phases were preserved.

The 11th–10th century town of Dor was uncovered in the 1984 excavations. It seems that the general layout in this phase was similar to the one of the 9th–8th centuries. The houses of both strata were generally built with stone foundations and mud brick superstructures.

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EPHRAIM STERN

**DORCAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Dorkas* (Δορκας)]. A female disciple who was raised from the dead by Peter in Joppa (Acts 9:36–43). She is the only woman called a *mathetria*, a Greek word meaning "female disciple." Possibly Luke thought she best exemplified what a female disciple of Jesus should be like, for we are told that she was literally "full of good works" (v 36). Dorcas was noted for her aid to the poor, in particular poor widows for whom she sowed garments and did other good deeds (Witherington 1988: 149–51).

That Dorcas' ministry was specifically to widows has fueled the conjectures that (1) there was an order of widows in the Christian Church from a very early date, and (2) that Dorcas may have been in charge of such an order (Viteau 1926: 513–27). Against this view is the fact that both here and in the Pastoral Epistles widows are mentioned as those who receive, not perform, ministry (1 Tim 5:3–16). It may be implied that Dorcas is a single person who ministered to widows on an ongoing basis, but we are not told that she is a widow. In fact, the description of her activities is reminiscent of Luke 8:3, which may suggest she had a function similar to the Seven mentioned in Acts 6:1–7. In the text the word "deaconness" is

never mentioned, though Luke may be depicting Dorcas as one who functions as a prototype of a deaconness. Regardless, she is presented as a model disciple, for she is one who builds up the community of faith by various sorts of practical service. That an urgent plea was sent to Peter for help, even after Dorcas had died and was laid out for public mourning, shows how indispensable she was to the Christian community in Joppa (Witherington 1988: 149–51).

Dorcas was not originally a proper Greek name, but rather a nickname which means "gazelle," as does the Aramaic name Tabitha. This may suggest that Dorcas was or had been a slave, since slaves bear nicknames of this sort in the extant literature of the period much more often than is true of the general population. Alternatively, the name could be a reference to some personal characteristic the woman had (Foakes Jackson and Lake 1933: 110). It may be that Dorcas had become a proper name by NT times, and thus one should perhaps not read too much into the name itself. It is notable that she is given more attention than Aeneas, and that Luke pairs a story about how the Gospel helps a man with one about a woman.

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BEN WITHERINGTON, III

**DORYMENES** (PERSON) [Gk *Dorymenēs* (Δορυμενης)]. Father of Ptolemy, who was the governor of Coele-Syria (1 Macc 3:38; 2 Macc 4:45; cf. 2 Macc 8:8). He might have been the Aetolian commander under Ptolemy IV, the king of Egypt, as mentioned by Polybius (5. 61. 9).

URIEL RAPPAPORT

**DOSITHEUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Dositheos* (Δοσιθεος)]. Greek theophoric name that became popular among Jews in the Hellenistic period. It replaced the Hebrew parallel name Mattathiah (="present/gift of God"), or similar names (Mattaniah, Nethaniahu). It is recognizable in Hebrew/Aramaic form as *Dosthai.*

**1.** Commander under Judas Maccabeus in the war waged against Thimotheus in Transjordan. Sosipatros served with him as a commander. These two took Thimotheus prisoner, but he convinced them to release him (2 Macc 12:19–25).

**2.** Cavalryman in Judas Maccabeus' forces, fighting against Gorgias, in the border region of Judea and Idumea (2 Macc 12:35). He almost captured Gorgias, but a cavalryman of Gorgias troop wounded him in his arm and enabled Gorgias to escape. He was one of the soldiers of the Tobiad garrison in Transjordan, according to an improved reading of the text of 2 Macc 12:35 (Abel 1949; Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB).

Some argue that 1 and 2 are the same person, who took part in Judas Maccabeus' campaigns against the neighbors of Judea and showed prominence in battle (note that the first Dositheus took Timotheus prisoner, the second almost took Gorgias prisoner). Yet it should be noticed that the second Dositheus is introduced in the discourse as "… one of …" (*dositheos de tis*), which shows him to be a person not mentioned earlier in the story. Also, the first Dositheus, though fighting in the Tobianic territory, is not described as belonging in any way to this region.

**3.** Egyptian Jew, who served as general under Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 B.C.E.). He is mentioned in Josephus' *Contra Apionem* 2.49 with Onias, who may be identified with Onias IV.

**4.** Dositheus, son of Drimylos, a renegade Jew who served under Ptolemy IV Philopator (222–205 B.C.E.). He saved the king's life (*3 Macc.* 1:3) and is known also from papyrological evidence (*CPJ* I, Nos 127a, 127e, pp. 230–236, Fuks 1953–54; Mørkholm 1961).

**5.** Man who brought to Egypt the Greek translation of the book of Esther (Add Esth 9:1). He was a priest (Kohen) and Levite, and it happened in 114 B.C.E., or 77 B.C.E. or, more doubtfully, 48 B.C.E.

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URIEL RAPPAPORT

**DOTHAN** (PLACE) [Heb *dōtān* (דֹּתָן)]. A town in Ephraimite territory mentioned in the story of Joseph's seizure by his brothers (Gen 37:15–36), in the Elisha story (2 Kgs 6:13), and in Judith (3:9; 4:6; 7:3–18), but not in any other extant written sources.

Dothan has been identified since the mid-19th century with Tell Dotha (M.R. 173202), an imposing mound of some 25 acres 14 miles N of Shechem. The mound presents a classic *tell*-formation, rising steeply nearly 200 feet above the surrounding terrain. It is situated along the E reaches of the broad fertile Dothan Valley, on the main route N from Samaria to En-gannim (modern Jenin) and the pass leading into the Jezreel Valley.

Excavations were carried out from 1953 through 1960 by Joseph Free of Wheaton College, who purchased the entire mound. Brief and somewhat preliminary reports of seven seasons have appeared, but Free is deceased and has left such inadequate records that the site's stratigraphy is confused and may never be satisfactorily published. Therefore the following outline is very tentative (based partly on the few published reports, as well as personal examination of the material; there are few stratum numbers published, and none can be supplied).

Excavation was carried out in areas P and K, deep soundings on the W and S slopes, and in areas A, T, L on the summit. Dothan seems to have been first settled in the Late Chalcolithic period (ca. 3800–3200 B.C.), to judge from basal sherds. During the EB I–III periods (ca. 3200–2400 B.C.) the site developed into a major city-state, with at least seven levels of occupation distinguished. A stone-built defense wall some 11 feet wide and preserved at least 16 feet high was found, with a flight of steps leading up the slope to a presumed city gate. An auxiliary city wall and another gate are reported from area K, but this cannot be checked. The site appears to have been abandoned thereafter, like many others, throughout EB IV–MB I (ca. 2400–1800 B.C.).

The MB II–III period (ca. 1800–1500 B.C.) is poorly known, but in area K there are massive city walls that belong to this period, and the steep slopes of the mound give the appearance of having been created by a typical MB Age *glacis.* In area D, two levels of domestic occupation were partially cleared, with house remains and some burials. Sporadic occupation seems to have continued into the LB Age (ca 1500–1200 B.C.), but it is not known whether the site suffered the usual Egyptian destruction between the two periods. A large rock-cut tomb (Tomb 1) on the W slopes, with faint traces of a corbel-like construction, produced some 100 burials and one thousand whole vessels. The range of the pottery appears to extend from the 13th century into the 12th or early 11th century B.C. (i.e., LB IIB–early Iron I). Many vessels (unpublished) suggest cultic functions, and several are unique. Particularly striking are a number of chalices, stands, and multi-handled kraters.

The Iron I period is poorly known (or at least poorly represented in the excavated material). A number of ashy layers on the W end of the mound may, however, be dated to Iron I (12th–11th centuries) on the basis of parallels at Gezer, Aphek, Tell esh-Sharia, and elsewhere; these may be threshing floors or industrial deposits of some sort, rather than "destruction layers."

Iron II is a major period, with material reported from nearly all areas. Area A produced several complete private dwellings along a street. A destruction may be dated to the 9th century B.C., on the basis of a carbon-14 determination of 804 B.C. (± 80 yrs). Area L reveals in levels 4–1 a series of Iron II occupations. A level 4 building (ca. 10th–9th centuries), with thick walls, many rooms, and dozens of storage bins and vessels, may have been an administrative building, finally destroyed in the Aramaean invasions of ca. 810 B.C. Level 1 is post-Assyrian, with Assyrian Palace Ware.

Dothan was then deserted until the Hellenistic period, when a small settlement, with well-preserved houses, was constructed on the summit on the E end of the mound. Roman and Mameluke remains complete the picture, the latter with a multiroomed building and several courtyards in area T.

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WILLIAM G. DEVER

**DOUAY VERSION.** The Rheims New Testament, translated from the Vulgate by Gregory Martin and supervised by both William Allen and Richard Bristow beginning in October 1478, was finished in March 1582. The translators were Roman Catholic refugees from the persecutions of Elizabethan England whose Catholic College had been temporarily (1578–93) moved from Douay to Rheims in Flanders. Martin, formerly a scholar at St. John's College, Oxford, and at the time Lecturer in Hebrew and Holy Scripture at the Catholic College, is described by biographers as an excellent linguist. Martin died of consumption only about seven months after his translation work. The controversial matter which accompanied the translation is attributed to Bristow.

The translation (Herbert 1968: No. 177), made from Latin, shows a dependence on existing English translations, particularly Coverdale's. There are correspondences with Taverner which passed on into the KJV. The Rheims translation also shows a careful comparison with the Greek. Published by John Fogney, it employs a style disfigured by Latinisms. Martin expresses agreement with Jerome that in translating Scripture one must keep the very words lest one miss the sense. The preface gives an apology for translating from the Vulgate and criticizes certain renderings of the English Bible, giving their dates. The text is in paragraphs with verse numbers on the inner side of the page. Discussions of contents precede each chapter, and summaries of contents called "Arguments" precede most books. A glossary at the end of the volume explains fifty-eight words.

Though not authorized by English church authorities, the translation circulated in England without legal hindrance. The notes, as might be expected from the English atmosphere at the time, were quite polemical. Its producers represented a persecuted English minority, and its critics also could not be expected to be objective. Thomas Fuller called it "a translation which needs translating," and another Britisher, on reading the title, "Translated out of Latin into English," said, "It is a lie! It is not English."

Sir Francis Walsingham requested Thomas Cartwright to write a refutation of the Rheims notes, but later Archbishop Whitgift opposed Cartwright's work and turned the task to William Fulke. Fulke in his *a Defence of the sincere and true Translations of the holie Scriptures into the English tong* issued a refutation. He then also issued a second work, *The Text of the New Testament,* in 1589, with the Bishops' NT and the Rheims printed in parallel columns. Fulke's work was reprinted in 1601, 1616, and 1633 and was the means by which the Rheims version became widely known. In 1618 Thomas Cartwright's *A Confutation of the Rhemists Translation, Glosses and Annotations on the New Testament* was issued posthumously. The full text of the Rheims is given only to the end of Matthew, and after that only the verses to which the controversial notes refer.

The Rheims version did not experience the circulation of its rivals—the Bishops', the Geneva, and the King James. It went through only four editions (1582, 1600, 1621, and 1633) from its origin until 1700. It was then printed again in its original form in 1738, 1788, 1789, and 1834. It was included in the *English Hexapla* (1841) and *The New Testament Octapla* (1962).

Some of the Latinisms of the Rheims (acquisition, advent, caluminate, character, evangelize, resuscitate, victims, and neophyte) later became accepted English words, but "Pasche" and "azymes" remain strange. Carleton in 1902 showed the indebtedness of the KJV to the Rheims, a debt which Butterworth (1941:231) estimated to be five percent of the language of the King James.

The English Catholics found themselves unable for financial reasons to publish the OT until twenty-seven years later, in 1609–10 (Herbert 1968: No. 300). Published at Douay by Laurence Kellam, the text, though earlier done by Martin, had been further compared with the Latin text of Clement VIII published in 1592. The annotations, which are less copious than those of the NT (as well as less polemic) are

attributed to Thomas Worthington. The preface criticizes the previous English Bibles of 1552, 1577, 1579, and 1603.

The apocryphal books follow the order of the Vulgate rather than forming a collection between the OT and NT as in Protestant Bibles of the period. Third and Fourth Ezra, however, are printed at the end of the Prayer of Manasseh. The Douay OT appeared too late to be influential on the King James.

A second edition (Herbert 1968: No. 499) in two volumes was published by John Cousturier of Rouen in 1635, after which there were no further editions for 115 years until Dr. Challoner issued a revision in 1749–50. Challoner is the first to issue the Douay-Rheims NT and OT together. The printing of 1635 carries an extract from a royal license, dated 3 August 1634, granted Cousturier to print these Bibles in English. The Douay text of Genesis was included in L. A. Weigle's *The Genesis Octapla,* 1965.

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JACK P. LEWIS

**DOUBLE NAMES.** See NAMES, DOUBLE.

**DOVE.** See ZOOLOGY.

**DOWRY.** See MARRIAGE.

**DRACHMA** [Gk *Drachmē* (Δραχμη)]. See COINAGE.

**DRAGON AND SEA, GOD'S CONFLICT WITH.** In the OT there are a number of references to Yahweh's conflict with the dragon and the sea, the dragon sometimes being named as Leviathan or Rahab. The theme is also seen in the NT in the book of Revelation. The imagery is sometimes associated with the creation of the world. Sometimes it is historicized, so that the dragon symbolizes a foreign nation such as Egypt, and sometimes the divine conflict is projected into the future as the final, eschatological battle. It is also sometimes claimed that Leviathan and Behemoth may denote existing, natural creatures, but this is probably incorrect. The background of this mythological imagery was previously believed to be Babylonian, but since the discovery of the Ugaritic texts it has become apparent that the more immediate source of the biblical allusions is Canaanite mythology.

**A. Creation**

A number of poetic OT passages describe a conflict at the creation of the world which pit Yahweh against the dragon and the sea. The clearest instances are in Ps 65:7–8 (—Eng 6–7); 74:12–17; 89:10–15 (—Eng 9–14); 104:1–9; Job 9:5–14; 26:5–14; and 38:8–11. This conflict also seems to form the background of Ps 93:3–4; Job 7:12; 40:15–41:26 (—Eng 34), while Job 3:8 seems to allude to the reversal of the process of creation.

At the end of the 19th century, H. Gunkel (1895) argued that these OT allusions constituted an Israelite appropriation of the Babylonian myth of Marduk's defeat of the sea monster Tiamat recounted in Enuma Elish, the so-called Babylonian creation epic. This view has continued to find support in the 20th century, but the discovery of the Ugaritic mythological texts has shed new light on the question. In addition to a detailed account of Baal's defeat of the sea-god Yam (*KTU* 1.2 = *CTA* 2), there are allusions to another conflict between Baal or Anat and the sea monster Leviathan (also known as the twisting serpent, the crooked serpent, and the dragon, in addition to other monsters; *KTU* 1.3.III.39.IV.3, 1.5.I.1–3, 1.82.1–3, 1.83.3–10 = *CTA* 3.IIID.36.IV.47, 5.I.1–3, *UT* 1101.1–3, 1003.3–10). These indicate a Canaanite background for the allusions to Leviathan (Ps 74:14; Job 3:8; 40:25–41:26 —Eng 41:1–34; Isa 27:1) and the twisting or crooked serpent (Isa 27:1; cf. Job 26:13). Since Rahab seems to be another name for Leviathan, this too was presumably a Canaanite dragon name, though it has not yet appeared in any extra-biblical text. The form of the word *tĕhôm* (cf. Ugaritic *thm*) suggests that it is not simply a borrowing from Akkadian Tiamat, though the word is philologically cognate with it.

If one grants a Canaanite background, the question is raised whether the underlying myth is a creation myth. The Baal-Yam myth certainly makes no reference to creation, and although certain parts are missing, it seems unlikely that sufficient is missing at the end for a creation account comparable to Enuma Elish. However, the Canaanites may have envisaged a primeval creation context for the conflict with Leviathan. This cannot be proved, but it would explain why the dragon conflict is associated with creation in the OT and why the defeat of the dragon is anticipated at the very end of the Baal epic (*KTU* 1.6.IV.51–53 = *CTA* 6.VA.50–52), which probably corresponds to the time just before the New Year.

It seems likely that the theme of Yahweh's conflict with the dragon and the sea was a motif in the celebration of Yahweh's kingship at the autumn festival (feast of Tabernacles) in the Jerusalem cult. Just as the kingship of Marduk was associated with his defeat of the sea monster Tiamat in Babylon, and Baal's kingship was connected with his defeat of the sea-god Yam at Ugarit, so perhaps Yahweh's kingship was associated with his victory over the sea. This is explicitly the case in Ps 29 and 93, as well as the exilic Ps 74. In Babylon the imagery was associated with the Akitu festival, the Babylonian spring New Year festival, and it appears that in Israel this imagery had its setting at the turn of the year—at the feast of Tabernacles (presumably also among the Canaanites). Such a setting is in keeping with the creation context of the theme—the obvious connection between creation and the New Year. Moreover, Ps 65, which has the chaos conflict theme, not only has the creation context (vv 7–8—Eng 6–7), but is also a harvest hymn (vv 10–14—Eng 9–13), and the feast of Tabernacles was a harvest festival. There is strong evidence that Yahweh's kingship, which was associated with the conflict with the chaos waters, was an important theme at the feast of Tabernacles (cf., Zech 14:16–17; later Jewish tradition associating Yahweh's kingship and the New Year; the LXX heading associating Ps 29 with Tabernacles; etc.).

There are several allusions to Yahweh's conflict with the dragon and the sea in the book of Job (3:8; 7:12; 9:8, 13; 26:12–13; 38:8–11; and 40:15–41:26—Eng 34). There are also references to Rahab (including the helpers of Rahab), Leviathan, Behemoth, the twisting serpent, the dragon, and the sea. In some of the passages the creation context is clear (cf., Job 9:8, 13; 26:12–13; 38:8–11) and, in the absence of more plausible settings, the creation context is reasonably assumed in the others. In Job 3:8, when Job laments the day of his birth, he cries, "Let those curse it who curse the day, who are skilled in rousing up Leviathan." This appears to involve the reversal of the process of creation. Two reasons may be suggested to explain why this imagery is so frequent in Job. First, Wisdom theology is preeminently creation theology, and the dragon/sea conflict passages in Job have a creation context. Secondly, the conflict between the dragon and God provides an appropriate parallel to the theme of Job's conflict with God (Job 7:12; 9:13–14; 40:15–41:26—Eng 34; see below for more on the second divine speech in Job).

A number of passages in the OT speak of Yahweh controlling the waters at the creation of the world rather than in conflict with them (most importantly Gen 1:2, 6–10; but also Ps 33:7–8; Prov 8:24, 27–29; Jer 5:22 and 31:35). Perhaps these are a demythologization of the conflict myth. It has often been thought that Genesis 1 depends on, or polemicizes against, the so-called Babylonian creation epic Enuma Elish. The Hebrew word translated "deep" (*tĕhôm*) in Gen 1:2 is a cognate with Akkadian Tiamat, the name of the chaos monster overcome by Marduk in connection with the creation in Enuma Elish. However, though cognate, there is no reason to believe that the word *tĕhôm* is actually derived from Akkadian Tiamat. Also, although there are some points in common in the order of creation in Genesis 1 and Enuma Elish, these are not compelling enough to demand the dependence of one upon the other. Instead, it appears that the same chaos conflict myth ultimately lies behind the account in Genesis 1 as well as the poetic passages elsewhere in the OT discussed in this article—i.e., that the myth is ultimately Canaanite, not Babylonian. More immediately, it seems likely that Ps 104 is one of the sources behind Genesis 1. The order of creation in Genesis 1 corresponds very closely with the order cited in Ps 104; the psalm even has the word *tĕhôm* in the context of Yahweh's battle with the sea (v 6), as well as other parallels.

Finally, it should be noted that Ps 29:3, 10 and Nah 1:4 seem to speak of Yahweh's victory over the sea as part of his present lordship over the world of nature.

**B. Alleged Naturalization**

In the second divine speech in the book of Job (Job 40–41) Yahweh asks Job if he is able to capture the beasts Behemoth and Leviathan. The most common view, going back to S. Bochart's *Hierozoicon* in 1663, is that Behemoth and Leviathan denote respectively the hippopotamus and the crocodile. However, they are probably instead chaos monsters. The description of neither Behemoth nor Leviathan corresponds to any known creature, and certainly not the hippopotamus and crocodile. It seems fundamental to the argument in Job 40–41 that the beasts in question can be captured by God alone, otherwise Job might have replied that he could have captured them, and then God would lose the argument! The hippopotamus and crocodile were, however, captured in the ancient Near East. Leviathan, moreover, is said to breathe out fire and smoke (Job 40:10–13—Eng 18–21), strongly suggesting a mythological creature, and Leviathan is elsewhere a mythological sea serpent or dragon in both the Ugaritic texts and the OT, including the book of Job (3:8). Apparently Yahweh's subduing of Leviathan and Behemoth at creation forms the presupposition of the second divine speech. Job is, in effect, asked if he can play the role of God. Thus God asks Job (40:29—Eng 41:5), "Will you play with him as with a bird …?", which must reflect Ps 104:26, which may be read, "There go the ships, and Leviathan whom you (i.e., Yahweh) formed to play with," or alternatively, "There go the ships, and Leviathan whom you formed to play in it (i.e., the sea)." Leviathan in Ps 104:26 has often been thought to be some creature such as the whale, but it may be a mythical monster.

Similarly, Behemoth is no hippopotamus, for its tail is high and lifted up (Job 40:17), not short and curly, and Behemoth clearly cannot be captured by man (Job 40:24). It is most likely another chaos monster, oxlike in view of its name (lit. "great ox"), and also capable of living in the water (Job 40:23). Twice in the Ugaritic Baal myth (*KTU* 1.3.III.43–44, 1.6.VI.51 = *CTA* 3.IIId.40–41, 6.VI.50) there is a mythological beast *Arš* or *ʿgl ʾil ʿtk,* "El's calf *ʿtk*," answering to this description, and on both occasions it is mentioned alongside Leviathan (dragon). This is likely to be the prototype of Behemoth.

The point of the second divine speech about Behemoth and Leviathan seems to be that since Job cannot overcome the chaos monsters whom Yahweh has overcome, how much less can he hope to overcome Yahweh in argument. It is therefore appropriate that following this speech Job humbles himself before God.

**C. Historicization**

The dragon imagery in the OT is also used metaphorically to denote earthly powers hostile to Yahweh. In particular, it is applied to Egypt (so Rahab, Isa 30:7; and quite possibly 51:9, cf. v 10; Ps 87:4) or Pharaoh (Ezek 29:3–5; 32:2–8; reading *tannîn* "dragon" for MT *tannîm* "jackals"). Isa 30:7 should probably read *rahab hammošbāt* "the silenced Rahab" for the meaningless MT *rahab hēm šābet.* Since Egypt oppressed the Hebrews prior to the Exodus, and the heart of the Exodus was the deliverance at the Reed Sea, it is understandable how Egypt would be singled out for special designation as this mythical sea monster. The imagery seems to apply to Egypt in connection with the Exodus deliverance in Isa 51:9 (cf. v 10), and Ps 77:17–21 (—Eng 16–20) likewise uses *Chaoskampf* imagery with respect to the Exodus, but with no reference to the dragon. The *Chaoskampf* imagery is also employed in the so-called Song of Moses in Exod 15:1–18 in a transformed sense, namely that the battle is no longer *with* the sea but *at* the sea, as F. M. Cross has emphasized. Although some scholars have argued that this passage is extremely early, it is more likely that its *terminus a quo* is the 10th century B.C., since Exod 15:17 appears to presuppose Solomon's temple (cf 1 Kgs 8:13), which is here spoken of as deriving from Baal's dwelling on Mt. Zaphon.

The imagery of the chaos waters is also applied to the Assyrians (Isa 17:12–14; cf. 8:5–8), and the waters and the dragon are both used to denote the oppressive Babylonians (Hab 3; Jer 51:34, 44). The supposition that the swallowing of Jonah by the great fish is an allegory of the Babylonian exile, dependent on Jer 51:34, 44, is certainly to be rejected. Perhaps the mythology of the chaos monster ultimately lies behind Jonah 2: the association of mythological monster imagery with Joppa, where Jonah set out before being swallowed up, is illustrated by the strong tradition which locates Perseus' deliverance of Andromeda from the sea monster at Joppa, a tradition already attested in Pseudo-Skylax in the 4th century B.C., the probable date of the book of Jonah.

In Ps 44:20 (—Eng 19) the MT *tannîm* "jackals" should probably be emended to *tannîn* "dragon," though it is unclear which political entity is meant. Some suggest that in Ps 68:23 (—Eng 22) an allusion to the dragon should be found in the reference to Bashan (Heb *bāšān,* cf. Ugaritic *bṯn* "serpent"). However, Bashan is clearly a geographical name only a few verses earlier (Ps 68:16—Eng 15), and this is likely to be the meaning of the reference here too.

It is also unlikely that Ps 68:30 (—Eng 29) refers to a chaos monster in its allusion to "the beast of the reeds, the herd of bulls with the calves of the peoples." It more probably uses animal names to denote leaders and warriors (e.g. 1 Sam 21:8; Job 24:22; 34:20; Lam 1:15).

Sometimes the chaos waters denote the hostile nations as a whole (e.g., Ps 46). It seems probable that the motif of nations coming to attack Zion who are then miraculously defeated by Yahweh constitutes a development of the divine conflict with the dragon and the sea (cf. Ps 46; 48; and 76; Isaiah; and eschatologized in later proto-apocalyptic passages: Joel 4—Eng 3; Zechariah 12 and 14). It has widely been held that this motif in Psalms 46, 48, and 76 was simply an allusion to Sennacherib's abortive attempt to capture Jerusalem in 701 B.C. (cf. 2 Kgs 18–19). However, it is now generally accepted that the description does not adequately fit this or any other known event. G. Wanke (see 1966) claims that the belief in Zion's inviolability is postexilic, but various indications argue against this, especially the fact that this belief would be more natural before Jerusalem's destruction in 586 B.C. than afterward. Nor convincing are R. E. Clements' and J. J. M. Roberts' (see 1976) attempts to see these psalms as warnings to the vassal kingdoms of the Davidic empire not to revolt.

Reference to the waters in Ps 46:4 (—Eng 3) suggests that the divine conflict with the chaos waters may underlie the *Völkerkampf* motif. In support of this, Ps 48:3 (—Eng 2) refers to Zion under the name of *ṣāpôn,* which seems to reflect the name of Baal's dwelling place. Mythological traditions have clearly been adopted, and they were possibly mediated to the Israelites through the Jebusites, the pre-Israelite, Canaanite inhabitants of Jerusalem (cf. Ps 110:4, where the Jebusite priest-king Melchizedek is mentioned in the context of the *Völkerkampf*).

**D. Eschatologization**

In accordance with the principle *Urzeit wird Endzeit* (the Primeval time becomes the End time), the conflict with chaos is associated not only with the creation of the world but also with the *eschaton.* The so-called Isaiah apocalypse reads: "In that day the Lord with his hard and great and strong sword will punish Leviathan the twisting serpent, Leviathan the crooked serpent, and he will slay the dragon that is in the sea" (Isa 27:1). This passage depicts Leviathan in terms similar to the Ugaritic Baal myth almost a thousand years earlier (cf. *KTU* 1.5.I.1–2, = *CTA* 5.I.1–2: "Because you smote Leviathan the twisting serpent [and] made an end of the crooked serpent …"). The Ugaritic passage makes it clear that Isa 27:1 is speaking only of one dragon, something which had previously been questioned. There is no consensus with regard to the political identification of Leviathan in Isa 27:1. Part of the problem is the scholarly disagreement about the date of the "Isaiah apocalypse," but even if this could be ascertained, the problem persists whether Leviathan actually denotes the major world power of the time; if it does not, Egypt may be intended.

One of the most interesting instances of the influence of the myth of the divine conflict with the dragon and the sea appears in Daniel 7, the chapter about the "one like a son of man." Not everything in this chapter can be explained from the Canaanite myth, but as was first pointed out by J. A. Emerton (see 1958), only the Canaanite myth can adequately explain the combination of the following three factors: (1) in Dan 7:9, God is called "the Ancient of Days" and he has white hair, which is reminiscent of the Canaanite supreme god El, whose stock epithet was "Father of Years" (*ʾab šnm* ) and whose position as an aged deity is also indicated by his gray beard; (2) the "one like the son of man," who comes with the clouds of heaven and is exalted to kingship by the Ancient of Days (Dan 7:13–14), may be compared with the Canaanite god Baal, who is often called "Rider of the clouds" (*rkb ʾrpt*),and whose rule ultimately depended on El's authority; and (3) the "one like the son of man's" rule follows that of the beasts of the sea, which may be compared with Baal, whose kingship resulted from his victory over Yam, the god of the sea.

The chaos monster imagery is unique in Daniel 7 in that it reflects the underlying Canaanite myth, in which a distinction is still made between the supreme God and the one who is exalted over the sea. The question naturally arises how this ancient Canaanite imagery came to influence the late, apocalyptic book of Daniel. It seems likely, as Emerton conjectures, that the imagery was passed down in syncretistic circles in the preexilic Jerusalem cult at the autumn festival, in which Yahweh-Baal was subordinate to El. The author of the book of Daniel probably had access to earlier Israelite written sources.

In the present form of the text the "one like a son of man" may denote the angel Michael (cf. Dan 12:1). One may compare Revelation 12, where Michael defeats the seven-headed dragon (= Satan). It is striking that Michael, not Christ, defeats the dragon; this may reflect an underlying Jewish tradition equating the "one like a son of man" with Michael. Interestingly, the next chapter of Revelation (i.e., chap. 13; cf. 17:3) presents another creature derived from Leviathan, the seven-headed beast, symbolizing Rome (Rev 13:1–10) as well as another beast, symbolizing the false prophet, who appears to derive from Behemoth (Rev 13:11–18).

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JOHN DAY

**DREAMS IN THE NT AND GRECO-ROMAN LITERATURE.** Belief in the reality and significance of dreams and visions was widespread in ancient times. The people of the Greco-Roman world believed that dreams and visions were ways of receiving divine messages, prophecy, and healing. Dreams and visions in which a message was delivered in a direct and imperative fashion were valued more than symbolic dreams and visions, which required interpretation. But there was also great interest in the interpretation of dreams. Handbooks on dream symbolism were popular and part of the almost universally accepted belief that all dreams were significant in some way.

This belief in the revelatory significance of dreams and visions is also found in the OT; significant dreams and visions come from Yahweh who uses them as one means of communicating with human beings. The prophets are also called "seers," perhaps because the word of God so often comes through dreams and visions. But the emphasis in the OT is always on the revealed word of God, not the mode of that revelation. For this reason God also gives the interpretation of dreams and this interpretation is as important as the dream itself. The OT is also concerned with distinguishing true dreams and visions, which are genuine revelations of God, from those which are false. Only those dreams and visions which lead the people into a more faithful relationship with God are regarded as genuine revelations.

The NT, in common with both the OT and the Greco-Roman world, regards dreams and visions as one of the significant ways in which God chooses to reveal himself. But the NT understanding of dreams and visions is also unique in several ways. In the NT the meaning of a dream is always stated directly; interpretation of symbolic content is not required. Even when the symbolic content of a vision is given, the emphasis falls on the revelatory meaning of the vision. In keeping with this confidence that God's revelation is meant to be understood, the NT expresses little concern with the problem of false dreams and visions. Only once, in Jude 8, are dreams spoken of in a disparaging manner; even here, the real problem is the character of those who have the dreams, not the dreams themselves. The central message of the NT is that God has uniquely revealed himself in Christ. In the NT, dreams and visions are always seen as secondary to this central revelation and are significant only in relationship to God's revelation in Christ.

In the NT, dreams and visions are not always clearly distinguished from one another or from other more ordinary ways of seeing. The common word for dream (Gk *onar*) is found only in Matthew. The words used for vision (Gk *horama, optasia, horasis*) are found mainly in Luke-Acts. It is not always clear from the contexts in which these words are used whether they refer to dreams, visionary experiences, or some

other form of revelation. Visionary experiences are not always referred to as visions either. Even the great vision written down in the book of Revelation is only referred to as a vision once, in Rev 9:17. The NT always emphasizes the revelatory nature of dreams and visions, not the dreams and visions themselves.

The gospel of Matthew sees dreams as one of the ways that God communicates with humans and reveals his will to them. The fact that the message is delivered in a dream is stated, but the meaning of the dream is what is highlighted. In the infancy narrative, God uses dreams to direct and warn both Joseph and the wisemen. Matthew is also the only gospel to refer to a dream or vision during the public ministry of Jesus. In Matt 17:9, Jesus refers to the transfiguration as a vision. Here the word vision is probably best understood as referring to what was seen; this is the way Mark 9:9 (= Luke 9:36) understands it. In Matt 27:19, Pilate's wife has a dream which warns Pilate that he ought not to crucify a righteous man. This dream, like those of the infancy narratives, reveals God's continuing intervention on Jesus' behalf.

Luke's gospel opens with Zechariah's vision of an angel who prophesies concerning the birth of John. Luke 24:23 mentions a vision of angels who tell the women who come to Jesus' tomb that he is alive. In both cases the vision is used to announce an unexpected action of God. No dreams or visions are mentioned during Jesus' lifetime in Luke, Mark, or John. All four gospels see Jesus as a unique and full revelation of God. The revelation of God in Jesus is a complete revelation. Dreams and visions are not necessary when God chooses to reveal himself in such a direct and unequivocal way.

In Acts the preaching of the gospel and the fellowship of the early Christians both point to this revelation of God in Christ. Dreams and visions are a sign of God's continuing presence in the church through the Holy Spirit. Acts 2:17 declares that the coming of the Holy Spirit is marked by dreams, visions, and prophecy. God reveals his will to the church through the Spirit; and one of the means the Spirit uses is visionary experience. Visions mark the advance of the gospel into the gentile world. Paul's vision on the road to Damascus (Acts 9:1–9 = Acts 26:9–20) and his vision of the man of Macedonia (Acts 16:9–10) both initiate crucial events in the missionary activity of the church. Peter's vision in Acts 10 is especially important in this regard. This is the only vision in Acts in which the symbolic elements of the vision are mentioned in detail and the only one for which the interpretation is not immediately given. It is only when Peter sees the Holy Spirit fall upon Cornelius that he understands the meaning of the vision. As he reports in Acts 11:1–18, he then interprets the vision as an indication that the gentiles are to be included in the church as gentiles. God's revelation through visions directs the decisions of the early church, especially the crucial decision to accept gentiles as members of the community of Christ.

In 2 Cor 12:1–10 Paul writes about an ecstatic visionary experience. As is typical of the NT accounts of visions, almost no details about the vision itself are given. In fact, Paul declares that he does not know enough about the mode of the vision to give details and cannot speak about the content of the vision. The point of his story about the vision is not the vision itself but the revelation he received as a result of the vision. This revelation leads him to a greater understanding of what it means to suffer as an apostle of Christ.

In the NT, dreams and visions are understood as one of the ways that God communicates his will to human beings. When a dream or vision is mentioned, the emphasis is always on the message which is revealed and the revelatory character of the experience. The revelations received in dreams and visions are understood in relationship to the unique revelation of God in Jesus Christ. All true revelations of God are part of this great revelation in Christ.

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JANET MEYER EVERTS

**DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.** Dress provides important social and cultural information concerning status, power, group identity, manufacture, and trade. The significant role played by clothing in ancient society is apparent in the biblical writers who use dress metaphorically to make ethical exhortations or take theological positions, and to show the status and character of significant figures.

Any description of dress and its importance in the biblical tradition is complicated by the long period involved (ca. 2000 B.C.E.–125 C.E.), the diversity of peoples and nations depicted, the distinctive dress

worn by various classes and groups, the extensive geographic area with which the texts deal, the paucity of sculptural or physical evidence in Palestine, and the fluid meaning of terms used for dress in literary texts. Nevertheless, significant evidence for clothing and ornamentation worn by biblical people comes from physical remains, artistic renderings, and textual evidence.

Archaeological excavations in and around Palestine have periodically uncovered remains of clothing and textiles and of ornamentation such as rings, buttons, toggle pins, and earrings for most relevant periods. Sculpture, ivory carvings, and paintings provide rare though often stylized glimpses of clothing of persons from the kingdoms of Judea and Israel. In addition, some groups or individuals during the preexilic and postexilic periods no doubt wore the garb of the dominant political and cultural power of the time. For these reasons sculpture, pictorial panels, and steles in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia provide important though not unambiguous clues to ancient dress.

Likewise, Greek and Roman society and culture influenced what persons wore in Palestine during the Greco-Roman period. Further, the NT depicts people and events throughout the Roman empire. Description of dress and ornamentation in the NT period, therefore, must consider material evidence obtained from sculpture, numismatics, funerary dedications, mosaics, and paintings both in and outside of Palestine proper. In addition, textual sources give important evidence for the role of dress in ancient societies as well as its symbolic importance. When combined, archaeology, artistic representation, and literary evidence elucidate what people wore, how people wanted to look, and the symbolic power of dress and ornamentation (Bonfante and Jaunzems 1988: 1385–86).

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## A. Hebrew Scriptures

The frequent reference to dress or ornamentation indicates the social and symbolic importance of clothing for ancient Israelite society. The most common Hebrew term for clothing, *beged,* occurs over 200 times and is used indiscriminately for men's (Gen 39:12) and women's (Gen 38:14) clothing, the torn garments of a leper (Lev 13:45), the robes of the high priest (Lev 8:30), the covering of the poor and the garb of the wealthy (Ezek 26:16; 27:20). Less frequent general terms for dress include *śalmâ* (Josh 9:5; 1 Kgs 10:25; Mic 2:8); *mad* (Lev 6:3; 1 Sam 18:4); *kĕsût* (Job 31:19; Isa 50:3); *malbuš* (1 Kgs 10:5; 2 Chr 9:4); *śimlâ* (Gen 9:23; Deut 22:5; Isa 9:5); *ʾadderet* (Gen 25:25; Josh 7:21); *tilbošet* (Isa 59:17); and *lĕbûš* (Gen 49:11; Job 30:18; Mal 2:16). Even fabric, generally wool or linen (Lev 14:47), could have symbolic importance; only priests, for example, were to mix the two (Lev 19:19; Deut 22:11).

**1. Men. a. Outer garments.** The outer garment in the Hebrew scriptures is given a number of names which makes clear distinctions difficult. Outer wear in antiquity was generally draped around the body and pinned, belted, buttoned, or fastened (Bonfante and Jaunzems, 1988: 1386). The outer garment primarily served a functional role. Men or women could carry kneading bowls on the shoulders wrapped in a *śimlâ,* a large mantle (Exod 12:34). Mantles, *madweh,* down to the ankles are implied (2 Sam 10:4 = 1 Chr 19:4) which provided protection from the elements. The outer garment, *kĕsût,* covered one while sleeping and was the final most essential part of one's wardrobe (Exod 22:27; Job 24:7; 31:19). A portion of the outer garment, *ʾadderet,* could be pulled up to cover one's head (1 Kgs 19:13).

Rare visual evidence for a male's outerwear in Syro-Palestine comes from the "Black Obelisk" of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.E.), which shows Jehu, the Israelite king, wearing a fringed outer garment with tassels on a section thrown over the shoulder; a girdle with tassels on the end is tied around his middle (*ANEP*, 120–22, 290–91; Mazar et al. 1959, 3: 212–13; cf. 2 Sam 20:8). Each of his attendants has a fringed mantle or *śimlâ* draped over the left shoulder (Matthews 1988: 119). Tassels, *gĕdilîm,* or fringes which could be placed on the four corners of one's cloak, *kĕsût* (Deut 22:12) served as extensions of the hem and were to contain a blue thread as a reminder of the covenant between God and the Israelites (Num 15:37–41). The tassels, according to ancient Near East parallels, were threads of the embroidery and could be decorated with a flower head or bell. The more ornate the hem, the greater the social status and wealth of a person (Milgrom 1983: 61–65).

Some traditions portray the outer garment of special persons as conveying power (or its loss). Saul, for example, grabs and rips the hem of Samuel's cloak, symbolizing the loss of Saul's kingdom to David (1 Sam 15:27; cf. 1 Sam 24:4–20; cf. Stephens 1931: 68–69). Elijah, on the other hand, throws his mantle (*ʾadderet*) over Elisha to indicate his successor (1 Kgs 19:19); Elisha uses the same mantle to part the waters of the Jordan (2 Kgs 2:8, 14). Garments also served as an expensive prize of war (Josh 7:21; cf. Gen 25:25; Judg 14:12; 1 Sam 27:9, *ANET*, 175, 177, 311), gifts (1 Kgs 10:25), payment (2 Kgs 5:23; Prov 20:16), or disguise (1 Sam 28:8). Some prophets wore a hairy mantle (Zech 13:4), perhaps of camel hair (Mark 1:6). Prisoners in certain periods had to wear special clothing (2 Kgs 25:29; Jer 52:33) as did widows and those in mourning (Gen 38:14). A red garment symbolized the destruction by God of his enemies (Isa 63:1–4).

In general, the tearing or removal of one's garments publicly displayed despair (Gen 37:29), mourning (2 Sam 1:11–12), or loss of status (Num 20:26). A type of cloak, *meʿîl,* which was wrapped around the body and the undergarments (1 Sam 15:27; Ps 109:29) was commonly torn when one was in grief (Job 2:12; Ezra 9:3). The prophet Ahijah tore his new *śimla* to symbolize the division of Solomon's nation into the northern and southern kingdoms (1 Kgs 11:30). Shame, humiliation, powerlessness, or outrage result when one is stripped of one's dress (cf. Bonfante 1989:546). The king of the Ammonites exerts his power, displays his contempt, and shames David's emissaries when he cuts their clothing, *madwêhem* (lit. "their garments") in half to the hips and shaves off half their beards (2 Sam 10:4–5; cf. Isa 7:20). The stele of Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.E.) depicts naked male prisoners from Lachish impaled on stakes as the battle rages; after the fall of the city, naked prisoners are staked out on the ground. The pictures graphically portray for the Assyrian audience and their client states (including Judah) the impotence of those who challenge Assyrian rule (Mazar et al. 1959, 2: 286–87; cf. Mic 2:8). Prohibitions against taking a poor

man's coat existed (Exod 22:25–26); a 7th century B.C.E. ostracon records a peasant's plea to the governor to return a coat that had been confiscated (*WHJP* 4: 249).

In the priestly tradition, special outerwear depicted power, prestige, and identity. The apparel of the high priest expressed the priest's intercessory role for Israel (Exod 28:29, 38). Three outer garments apparently distinguished his garb. The ephod cloth was composed of a mixture of fine linen and gold leaf, blue, purple, and scarlet threads (probably woolen); the garment itself had shoulder straps. Each strap had an onyx stone engraved with six names of the tribes of Israel (Exod 28:6–12; 39:2–7). The same materials were used to fashion the breastplate, which was worn over the ephod and had twelve precious stones, each inscribed with the name of a tribe, in four rows. The Urim and Thummim were also attached to the ephod (Exod 28:15–30; 39:8–21). Under the ephod was worn a blue robe made of wool with pomegranates of linen, and blue, purple, and scarlet wool threads alternating with golden bells on the fringe (Exod 28:31–35); Josephus attaches cosmic implications to the colors (*Ant* 3.184–87). The Levites wore outerwear of fine linen; the Chronicler depicts the priestly character of David by describing him as one who wears a robe, *me‹il,* of fine linen (1 Chr 15:27).

Special clothing must be worn by the priests entering the holy place (tent of meeting and altar) or they may die (Exod 28:42). Apparently priests wore other garb when not performing temple duties (Ezek 42:14; 44:19) further emphasizing the sacred and special character of the priestly garb (Bergemeier 1963: 268–71). The clothing served as a protective cover for them while they were in the presence of God.

**b. Undergarments.** Most males wore the *›ezor,* probably the type of kilt represented by the soldiers of Lachish in the stele of Sennacherib, that wrapped around the waist. Generally made of flax, the *›ezor* often had a leather or cloth belt from which a knife, seal, stone weight, or other valuables could be hung. Excavators have found leather and bronze belts in Iron Age tombs at Tel 'Aitan (*WHJP* 4: 247–48). The *kĕtonet* was probably the forerunner of the Greek *chitōn* and Roman tunic, and was worn next to the skin (Brown, 1980: 8–11) or over the *›ezor;* it often had sleeves (Gen 37:3; Lev 16:4; Cant 5:3). The "Black Obelisk" of Shalmaneser mentions the *kĕtonet,* a garment generally made of wool (Matthews 1988: 117–19). Antecedents reach back at least to the 19th century B.C.E. as the Egyptian tomb at Beni-Hasan that depicts Semites contemporary with the patriarchs indicates. The men have pointed beards and no mustaches and wear decorated one-shoulder tunics that reach to just below the knees. Some men are bare from the waist up; from the waist down they wear a skirtlike garment with fringe at the bottom (Davies and Gardiner 1936, pl. 10–11; *ANEP,* 3).

Jehu, who prostrates before Shalmaneser III, appears to wear a short-sleeved tunic extending to the ankles that is belted around the middle and has fringes or a large border along the bottom (*ANEP*, 120, panel II; cf. Isa 22:21). Jehu's attendants also wear tunics that extend to the ankles under their cloaks (Mazar et al. 1959, 3: 212–18.) In like fashion, the stele of Sennacherib shows several Judaean leaders or defenders of Lachish wearing an unbelted tunic with sleeves as they plead for their lives before the king (*ANEP*, 129, 293–94). Styles of undergarments apparently varied according to one's wealth or allegiance. Excavations at Ramat-Rahel and En-Gedi, for example, have found 7th century B.C.E. sherds with figures of men whose dress imitates the style of Assyrian wall paintings (*WHJP* 4: 248).

Priests had special undergarments. The high priest's tunic was a "checkerwork of fine linen" (Exod 28:39); according to Josephus, this tunic extended to the ankles and had long sleeves (*Ant* 3.153). Around the tunic was a finely spun linen girdle that contained blue, purple, and scarlet wool and elaborate embroidery (Exod 28:30; 39:29). Under their tunics priests wore linen breeches, *mikněsê,* that covered their loins (Exod 28:42; 39:28; Ezek 44:18). In addition, a type of girdle, *‹abnĕt,* was worn as a belt around the waist (Exod 29:9; Lev 8:7).

**c. Headgear and hair.** A turban or cloth miter could cover the head (Exod 29:6; Zech 3:5). Some (*hăbālîm*) were wound around the head (1 Kgs 20:31; cf. the term *sānîp* [Job 29:14; Isa 3:23]). Helmets in war are depicted on the Sennacherib stele (cf. 1 Sam 17:5; 2 Chr 26:14). The soldiers on the walls have two types of headgear. Most of the archers have conical helmets with earflaps; other defenders' headgear, rounded on top, may be a length of cloth wrapped around the head (Mazar et al. 1959, 4:283; *WHJP* 4:

248). In contrast, on the Shalmaneser stele Jehu's ambassadors have socklike headcoverings similar to Syrian headdress of the day (Mazar et al. 1959, 3:212–13; *ANEP*, 120–22, 290–91).

Priests wore a turban of fine linen (Exod 28:39). In addition, the high priest wore a crown or miter, *nēzer.* A gold plate hung by a blue thread in front of the miter or headdress that had the world "Holy to the Lord" engraved on it (Exod 28:36–38; 39:30–31; cf. however, Jos. *Ant* 3.178; *JW*, 5.235, who states that it had only the tetragrammaton; Feldman 1971: vii–clxix).

The obelisk of Shalmaneser shows the Israelite king, Jehu, and his attendants with pointed beards (Mazar et al. 1959, 3: 212–13; *ANEP*, 120–22, 290–91) similar to the Semites in the Beni-Hasan painting (*ANEP*, 3). In contrast, the Sennacherib stele has some defenders of Lachish wearing hair and beards that are tightly curled (*ANEP*, 129, 293–94), reflecting a change in hairstyle because of either a different time period or region.

Hairstyle had important symbolic implications and often depicted one's relation to the rest of the community. According to priestly tradition, the tattered clothing and long, unkempt hair of the leper signified his uncleanness with respect to the community (Lev 13:45–46). Carefully defined procedures in the priestly tradition determined whether a person with yellowed or thinning hair in the beard or on the head, perhaps a type of ringworm, was viewed as unclean (Lev 13:29–37). A male healed of leprosy, however, displayed his new status in the community by washing his clothes and shaving his hair, including his beard and eyebrows (Lev 14:8–9). Mold or mildew on garments was also viewed as a form of leprosy; such unclean garments were destroyed (Lev 13:47–59).

Hair carried symbolic as well as religious social or political overtones. Kings and priests were anointed with oil poured over their head. Spit running down one's beard could depict insanity (1 Sam 21:13). Joab took Amasa by his beard, perhaps as an outward sign of greeting, while he killed him with a hidden weapon (2 Sam 20:9). As a sign of his total allegiance to God the Nazirite did not cut his hair (Num 6:5) until his time of separation with God was completed; then he shaved his head and burned the hair (Num 6:18; cf. Judg 16:22). Levitical priests were to trim their hair and not let their locks grown long nor shave their heads (Ezek 44:20). Some traditions, however, discouraged persons from rounding the hair, *śē‘ăr,* near the temples; nor were persons to cut or tear the edges of their beard when mourning (Lev 19:27; 21:5; Deut 14:1), a custom in the ancient Near East (Isa 15:2; Jer 48:37). Other traditions, however, especially in the prophetic tradition suggest that shaving heads or beards as a sign of mourning or judgment was practiced (Amos 8:10; Isa 22:12; Jer 41:5; Mic 1:16; Ezek 5:1; cf. Job 1:20). Indeed, tearing out one's hair or beard could indicate shame and anger (Ezra 9:3).

**d. Footwear.** A sandal, *na‘al,* was generally made of leather and fastened with a strap or laces, *śĕrôk* (Gen 14:23; Isa 5:27). The male Semites in the Beni-Hasan tomb painting wear sandals with straps (*ANEP*, 2–3). The attendants of the Israelite king Jehu, however, wear shoes with upturned toes that cover the entire foot (Mazar et al. 1959, 3:212–13; *ANEP*, 120–22, 190–291).

To go barefoot indicated poverty (Deut 25:19), mourning (2 Sam 15:30; Ezek 24:17, 23), or contact with holy ground (Exod 3:5; Josh 5:15). Isaiah's symbolic act of taking off his sandals portrays the eventual destruction of Egypt and Ethiopia by the Assyrians who lead the captives away naked and barefoot (Isa 20;2–5; cf. the barefoot petitioners from Lachish who appear before Sennacherib; *ANEP*, 129, 293–94).

The sandal could symbolize breakdown in the fabpic of society or the family. The prophet Amos depicts social disparity and societal disintegration in the northern kingdom by condemning the wealthy who sell the poor for a pair of shoes (Amos 2:6; 8:6). Another tradition states that when a man does not marry his brother's widow, even on the advice of the elders, the widow may pull off one of his sandals and spit in his face (Exod 25:9–10). In still a different tradition the removal of one's sandal verifies a business transaction, which could include marriage (Ruth 4:7–10). The Deuteronomist symbolized God's presence and guidance of Israel by the lack of wear on the sandals of those who wandered 40 years in the wilderness (Deut 29:5). In contrast, in the same tradition the Gibeonites used worn-out, patched sandals and clothing to trick the Israelites (Josh 9:5, 13).

**e. Ornamentation.** Typically, the greater the ornamentation on outer garments, especially the hem, the greater the importance of the individual in society (Milgrom 1983:61). Thus the high priest wore elaborately decorated outerwear. The king wore purple robes and garments of fine linen. A man could wear a signet, or an arm band, or a cylinder that had his name or some identifying mark on it around his neck, or on his hand or arm (Gen 38:18, 25; Jer 22:24; 2 Sam 1:10). Finger rings indicated rank (Gen 41:42; Esth 3:10; Hestrin and Dayagi-Mendels 1979; *IDB* 1: 871). Molds for casting bronze ornaments have been found at several sites in Israel (*WHJP* 4: 253).

**2. Women.** Specific information on the dress of women is sparse, especially since general terms for dress are similar to those mentioned for men's clothing (*lĕbûš, malbuš,* beged). Some characteristics distinguished the two, however, as indicated by the warning that men were not to wear women's garments, *śimlâ* (Deut 22:5). 8th century B.C.E. attire of wealthy women in Judah could include ankle jewelry, headbands, pendants, bracelets, scarves, headdresses, jewelry for the arms, sashes, signet rings, nose rings, festival robes, mantles, garments of gauze, linen garments, turbans, and veils. In addition they used perfume, had belts around their clothing, and maintained well-groomed hair (Isa 3:18–24; cf. Ezek 16:10–13).

**a. Outer garments.** Women who lived at the time of Abraham may have worn brightly colored garments with designs as indicated in the Beni-Hasan tomb. There, each of three women appears to wear a square piece of colored material wrapped around her with the end tossed over her left shoulder, leaving her right shoulder bare; a fourth wears a garment rounded at the neck (Horn 1968: 2). The Sennacherib stele depicts women and girls dressed in a cloaklike garb that extends to just above the ankles and could be pulled over the head like a hood (Mazar et al. 1959, 2: 283). Women wore special outerwear when they were widowed (Gen 38:14). Some wealthy women perfumed their clothing with myrrh, aloes, and cassia (Ps 45:8; cf. Cant 4:11) and had garments with ornaments of gold (2 Sam 1:24). From the 10th century B.C.E. on, bronze toggle pins (safety pins) and buttons found in many excavations may have been used to pin or button the garment (*WHJP* 4: 249).

**b. Undergarments.** The *kĕtonet* was a long undergarment, similar to the males; according to tradition, virgin daughters of kings such as Tamar wore a long robe with sleeves (2 Sam 13:18; Cant 5:3). The same term describes Joseph's garment (Gen 39:) incorrectly translated by the LXX as the *chitōn* of many colors (Brown 1980: 8). In addition, women probably wore some sort of girdle or belt (Isa 3:24).

**c. Headgear and hair.** The veil appears to be used on special occasions to identify the status or character of women. Women used veils, *ṣā‹îp,* or part of their outer garment to cover their faces on wedding days (Gen 24:65) or if they were prostitutes (Gen 38:14, 15,19); cf. *rĕ‹ālôt* (Isa 3:19). Certain veils allowed the face to be seen (Cant 4:1, 3). In Sennacherib's stele, the women leaving the city of Lachish are wearing a type of mantle that is pulled over the head, probably signifying their act of mourning (Mazar et al. 1959, 2: 283).

In the priestly tradition, when a woman was accused of adultery by her husband, the priest unbound or uncovered her hair as part of a lengthy ritual proving her guilt or innocence (Num 5:11–28; cf. Susanna 32). If an Israelite wished to marry a beautiful woman who is captured in war, her head must be shaved, her nails cut, and her captive's garb removed (Deut 21:12–13).

**d. Footwear.** Footwear for women seems little different than men's. The women and children in the Beni-Hasan tomb painting wear shoes that cover the entire foot (*ANEP,* 2–3). Women's footwear is rarely mentioned in the biblical accounts, but the Song of Songs 7:1 depicts women's feet as graceful in sandals. The women and girls on the Sennacherib stele are barefoot (Mazar et al. 1959, 2: 283).

**e. Ornamentation.** Women wore pierced rings in their ears and nose (Gen 24:47; Ezek 16:12). Other JEWELRY included bracelets, arm and leg bands, nose rings, earrings, and beads (probably for necklaces) made of gold and silver (Exod 32:2; Prov 25:12). Some women wore rings and jewelry associated with worship of foreign cults (Hos 2:13).

**3. Manufacture and Trade.** Except for luxury goods, most clothing and ornaments were made and circulated locally. Bracelets, earrings, rings, and beads made of iron, bronze, copper, silver, and gold have been found in excavations throughout Israel (*WHJP* 4: 253). Perfumes, widely used in Israel, had great

popularity as indicated by numerous stone bands, juglets, and bottles that probably held cosmetics (1 Sam 8:13). Indeed, perfumery as a craft was practiced in large measure by women (*WHJP* 4: 262). Local farmers and herdsmen provided the raw flax for linen and wool for woolen goods. Women probably cleaned the wool and spun it into thread (Prov 31:13, 19); garments were probably made on horizontal looms (*ANEP*, 142–43; Horn 1968: 24–28). Evidence exists for silk, cotton, hemp, and jute as well (Horn 1968: 5–14). Local guilds or particular cities or villages may have manufactured some clothing (Mendelsohn 1940: 17–18; cf. Prov 21:10–29; 31:24). Numerous loom weights found throughout Palestine and weavers' workshops at Lachish and Tel Amal substantiate this (*WHJP* 4: 244–45).

Color was often a sign of status, as was the quality of the garment; thus dyeing was an important industry, as evidenced by the large numbers of dyeing establishments found throughout ancient Israel (Horn 1968: 18–21; Albright 1943: 55–62; *WHJP* 4: 245–47). Especially significant was the purple dye industry, as indicated by the large quantity of purple dye producing murex shells that have been found along the coast of present-day Israel and Lebanon (see PURPLE: Milgrom 1983: 61–65; Spanier 1987; Reinhold 1970; Ziderman 1987: 25–33). The weaving industry was probably associated with this industry (Horn 1968: 23–24).

In summary, archaeological and ancient Near Eastern iconography provide important clues as to the garb of men and women in Palestine in the pre- and postexilic periods. Dress and ornamentation tell much about ancient Israelites' social status, trade and commerce, and interaction with surrounding cultures, information not readily available in written records. In turn, the biblical tradition illustrates the symbolic power that dress played in social, political, and religious arenas of the day.

**B. Intertestamental and New Testament Period**

Like the Hebrew scriptures, Greek terms used to describe dress are often general in character. The garb of Jews both in and outside Palestine reflected the regional and international dress worn from the Persian through the Roman periods. Roman citizens were especially status conscious, and this was reflected in the quality, color, and design of their clothing. In certain cases, color and designs in the Near East identified male from female, rich from poor. Special occasions often necessitated special dress as, for example, at weddings (although the exact nature is not clear [Matt 22:11]). White garments could signify purity (Rev 3:4–5).

**1. Men. a. Outer garments.** Roman citizens in Palestine were allowed to wear the toga, a large, semicircular garment draped around the body; often, however, only the wealthy could afford the expensive fabric (Wilson 1938). Acts, for example, portrays Paul, who as a Roman citizen does not wear the toga (Acts 16:35–39). The Gk *himation*, on the other hand, served as the most common outer garment for men and women including Roman citizens (Bonfante 1973: 586). Rectangular and of various sizes, it was draped around the body. The crowds that meet Jesus in Jerusalem throw their *himatia* on the ground (Mark 11:7–8); Bartimaeus, the blind beggar, takes off his *himation* and comes to Jesus (Mark 10:50); workers in the field generally took off their *himatia* to work (Mark 13:16 = Matt 24:18). As in the Hebrew Scriptures, power can be associated with the mantle, as the healing of the woman who touches Jesus' *himation* indicates (Mark 5:28–30). The Gk *stole*, a general term for the outer garment or long robe in the NT, is associated with wealth (Luke 15:22; 20:46) or salvation (Rev 6:11; 7:9).

In Palestine, color and designs in the fabric distinguished male and female outer garments. Male *himatia* found at the Cave of Letters near the Dead Sea (*ca.* 90–135 C.E.) were made of white or yellow wool with reddish-brown or blackish-blue notched bands woven into the fabric (Yadin 1963: 169–203). Similar *himatia* with notched bands have been found at Dura Europas, Egypt, Palmyra, and in the At-Tar Caves west of ancient Babylon (Yadin 1963: 227–32; Fujii 1987: 225–26). Some male *himatia* in the Cave of Letters had stripes the same color as the notched bands. The stripes, of different widths, ran around the portion of the *himation* draped around the neck (Yadin 1963: 223). Yadin argues that the stripe framed the face when the *himation* was pulled over the head for prayer or sacrifice. The stripe may be the *kraspedon* (RSV "edge") of Jesus' *himation*, which the woman with the flow of blood touched (Matt 9:20 = Luke 8:44). This may explain, as well, the passage that states the Pharisees made their *phylactēria* broad and their *kraspeda* long (stripes rather than fringes) (Matt 23:5). Similar designs have been found on clothing

discovered at En-Gedi and on some of the clothing piled and burned by the last defenders of Masada (Yadin 1965: 81; Yadin 1966: 154).

An outer cloak, Gk *chlamys,* was fastened at the neck and worn like a cape. A sign of authority, a purple *chlamys* was part of the Roman officer's garb. Only the Gospel of Matthew has taunting soldiers place a purple *chlamys* on Jesus (27:28). Some Judea Capta coins show a Jewish soldier with a *chlamys* around his neck, suggesting that the cloak was not limited to Roman soldiers and officers (Madden 1903: 208–14; 219–25; cf. Jos. *JW* 7§29).

**b. Undergarments.** The principal garb for men and women was the Gk *chitōn* or Lat *tunica.* It came in a variety of shapes, sizes, and colors, and one could wear more than one tunic (Matt 10:9–10; cf. Mark 6:9; Luke 9:3). Tunics have been found by Yadin at the Cave of Letters, one of them almost completely intact. The intact tunic consists of two equal sized pieces of cloth sewn at the top and sides, leaving openings for the head and the arms (Yadin 1963: pl. 66; cf. Jos. *Ant* 3§161). The seamless tunic in John 19:23 was distinctive. Josephus mentions that such a seamless garb was worn by the high priest (*Ant* 3§161–62); however, the actual technique for making such a tunic remains problematic (Horn 1968: 30–32).

Like the *himation,* the quality of the fabric of a *chitōn* could signify social status or wealth; in addition, Roman citizens and often those of some means had narrow bands running from the top to bottom of the tunic. Initially, wide purple *clavi* were reserved for Roman senators, smaller purple bands for equestrians. By the time of the empire, however, the wearing of tunics with purple bands was widespread (Bonfante and Jaunzens 1988: 1402–1403). Tunics found in the Cave of Letters have purple bands although not of true purple (Yadin 1963: 207–209; pl. 66). Frescoes at Pompeii show children with thin purple bands on their *tunica* (Mazar et al. 1959, 5:120).

A child's tunic found in the Cave of Letters had the four corners tied into bundles that held various items (Yadin 1963: pls. 65, 89), perhaps to ward off evil. NT tradition suggests that some tunics were long, belted, and made with gold (presumably gold thread; Rev 1:13). In the Johannine tradition Peter wears a tunic (*ependytēs*) common to the peasants of the day (John 21:7). For possible parallels see the depiction of a 1st century B.C.E. peasant (Hadas 1965: 148) who wears the tunic over one shoulder with the other bare, the garb of a swineherd as depicted in a 1st-century funeral stele from Italy, and a Hellenistic portrayal of a fisherman from Alexandria (Mazar et al. 1959, 5:37, 155; cf. Laubscher 1982).

At Masada hundreds of silver-plated scales of armor have been found near the remains of one of the defenders; the scales were probably laced onto a leather undergarment (Yadin 1966: 54–55) such as Roman soldiers, especially the legionaries and centurions, wore (Sander 1963: 144–66; Mazar et al. 1959, 5:154, 191, 241). Another undergarment was a type of linen cloth, Gk *sindōn,* wrapped around the loins (Mark 14:51–52). The same term can refer to a linen shroud (Matt 27:59). Imprints of woven material on bones and a skull found in a tomb indicate that wrapping the deceased in a shroud was probably common (Hachlili 1988: 95).

**c. Headgear and hair.** During the reign of Antiochus IV, the high priest Jason forced the nobles in Jerusalem to wear the broad-brimmed hat of the Greeks (2 Macc 3:12). The hat may have had its origin in Persia and was imported to Greece by Alexander the Great (Bonfante and Jaunzems 1988: 1398–99). In addition, the high priest and other priests wore special headgear (Jos. *Ant* 3 §172). The head itself plays an important symbolic role in the NT tradition. A woman anoints Jesus' head with expensive oil, probably perfumed (see esp. John 12:3; cf. Matt 26:7–8 = Mark 14:3 = Luke 7:38) an allusion to burial and kingship. Perfumed ointment was used across the Roman empire at this time (cf. picture of woman pouring ointment in picture from Pompeii [*Views,* 5:99]).

On the Judea Capta coins, some Jewish soldiers wear beards and longish hair. No doubt, other 1st-century Jews shaved their faces and had short hair in the Roman style (cf. 1 Cor 11:14; Ps-Phoc 212). The Acts tradition has Paul cut his hair to fulfill a vow he had made, perhaps an allusion to the Nazirite tradition (18:18; cf. 21:24; Num 6:1–21). Paul states in his correspondence to the Corinthians that the head of a man is to remain uncovered (1 Cor 11:3) probably to discourage any connection with the Roman practice of pulling the toga over one's head while offering sacrifices to the gods (Thompson 1988: 104).

Paul also admonishes the Corinthian men to wear their hair short, perhaps in accordance with Roman custom or simply to highlight the differences men and women should maintain in the community (Thompson 1988: 104). As in the Hebrew scriptures, dust could be thrown on the head and hair as a sign of mourning (Rev 18:19).

**d. Footwear.** Roman society developed varied footwear for different occasions. Outdoor shoes (Lat *calceii; hypodēma*) were strapped or laced, like the sandal (*hypodēma*) that John the Baptist did not feel worthy to untie (Mark 1:7). For Romans, *sandalia* were generally an indoor shoe, in function the ancient equivalent of slippers (Bonfante 1973: 593–94). Sandals and sandal fragments have been found at Masada (Yadin 1966: 54, 57). Some tombs in Palestine contained leather sandals that were placed in a coffin near the dead person's head (Hachlili 1988: 95).

**e. Ornamentation.** Signet rings found at Masada indicate that the defenders had a degree of wealth; some rings functioned to make an imprint on wax that sealed legal documents or letters (Yadin 1966: 150). Such signet rings may be the same type as the *sphragis* mentioned in the NT (Rom 4:11; 1 Cor 9:2; 2 Tim 2:19; Rev 5:1; 6:1; 7:2; 8:1; 9:4). They served as a sign of identity and authority. In addition, men wore phylacteries (Matt 23:5; Matthews 1988: 234), examples of which have been found at Qumran (*WHJP* 8: figs. 12–15).

**2. Women. a. Outer garments.** Women's outerwear, though similar in style to men's, often had darker and more varied colors, greater length, and unique ornamentation. In particular, a gamma-shaped design on the mantle appears to distinguish a woman's garb from a man's. At Masada and the Cave of Letters, Yadin found fragments of mantles with a gamma-like shape sewn into the fabric which identifies them as women's garb (1965: 81; 1966: 223–29). As with men, outer garments of wealthy women could be made of linen with gold woven into the fabric (*T. Job* 25:7; *Jos. Asen.* 5:5). The outer garment and tunics could be girded with a cord or sash; one text gives the cord cosmic significance (*Test. Job* 48:1; 50:3). In certain periods and regions virgins could have two girdles or sashes that indicated virginity, one around the waist, the other probably just under the breast (*Jos. Asen.* 15:15–17).

**b. Undergarments.** As a sign of mourning a woman might wear a black tunic and a sackcloth, the latter presumably of burlap (*Jos. Asen.* 15:16). Torn clothing could symbolize the loss of status (*T. Job* 39:1–5; Judith 10:3–4). The NT does not specifically mention or discuss the undergarments of women during this period; no doubt women, like men, wore a type of tunic or *chitōn.*

**c. Headgear and hair.** The Judea Capta corpus (which includes coins, sculpture, and a breastplate) generally depict a despondent and veiled woman. The woman's veil is part of the *himation,* which was pulled over her head especially during periods of worship. This is standard practice for both men and women elsewhere in the Roman empire (cf. 1 Cor 11:2–16). No clear evidence, however, exists for 1st century Jewish or Christian women wearing a separate veil. It was acceptable for women to go unveiled in public (Thompson 1988: 112; MacMullen 1980: 208–18). Evidence does exist for women in Palmyra, Tarsus, and Syria wearing veils that covered at least part of the face (Thompson 1988: 133; de Vaux 1935: 397–412). The head could be covered by a hairnet such as those found at Masada and the Cave of Letters which were similar to those in Roman society, as indicated by the famous portrait from Pompeii of a woman wearing a golden hairnet.

Hair found at Masada confirms that some 1st-century women in Palestine wore their hair long. In this case, the hair was in a single braid down the back (Yadin 1966: 54, 56; cf. 1 Tim 2:9). The popular fashions of aristocratic Roman society likely influenced certain Jewish fashions. Cutting a woman's hair, especially in public was a sign of disgrace (*T. Job* 23:6–25; cf. 1 Cor 11:6; Thompson 1988: 133).

**d. Footwear.** As yet no clear distinctions between the footwear of men and women are apparent. Sandals found at Masada are much like those of the present day.

**e. Ornamentation.** Cosmetic equipment found in the casement walls of dwellings at Masada included palettes for mixing eyeshadow, bronze eyeshadow sticks, clay perfume vials, a bronze mirror case, and a wooden comb, fibula, and ring keys (Yadin 1966: 146, 148, 150; cf. *1 En.* 8:1–2; Jdt 10:2–4). Ring keys such as those found at Masada were often worn by women on their fingers or around their necks; one was

found still attached to its chain (Yadin 1965: 81). The rings locked chests that held important items (*Jos. Asen.* 2:3–4).

Wealthy women who could afford gold, pearls, and the latest hair and clothing fashions were among the early Christians (1 Tim 2:9; 1 Pet 3:30; cf. Jdt 10:4). Some women wore phylacteries, which in certain cases were believed to have a therapeutic role or the capacity to ward off evil (*T. Job* 47:11).

**3. Manufacture and Trade.** In the 1st century, the Roman empire traded extensively with the east (China, India, Parthia); indeed, Jewish traders settled in the Indus River as early as the 1st century (Warmington 1928: 131–32). An important trade item was cloth and clothing (including fine linen, silk, and various qualities of wool; (see Casson 1989: 39–40; Sidebotham 1986: 196; cf. Rev. 18:11–12). 2d- and 3d-century evidence suggests that Galilee was noted for its linen and Judea for its wool industries (Jones 1974: 350–64; Horn 1968: 5; Paus. 5.5.2) and thus may have participated in this trade.

Clothing was part of local and regional economies. Wool and clothing markets existed in Jerusalem prior to its destruction (Jos. *War* 5§331). Fullers cleaned dirty clothing acting as the ancient equivalent of dry cleaners. The type of fullers, *gnapheus,* depicted in Mark who could never bleach clothes as intensely white as those Jesus wore (Mark 9:3; cf. Matt 17:2, Luke 9:29) may have dressed in the same type of simple tunics as the fullers depicted in a mural found at Pompeii (Tanzer 1939: 10, 12).

Clothing was a significant industry in the Greco-Roman world. According to Acts, certain members of the early Christian communities were involved in some manner with the clothing industry (Jones 1974: 350–64). Simon, who lived at Joppa, (Acts 10:32) was involved in the tanning industry, which was unpopular because of the smell. Lydia dealt in the lucrative purple dye industry (Acts 16:14). Dyes such as indigo were imported from as far away as India (Casson 1989: 16, 43, 194). Representative samples of most colors in antiquity have been found in the Cave of Letters and at Masada (Yadin 1966; Horn 1968: 18–20).

Clothing and ornamentation played a significant role in the economic, social, political, and religious fabric of ancient society. It depicted one's social standing, ethnic origin, sex, and political position. Clothing functioned as more than covering against the elements. What you wore conveyed who you were and the nature of your relationship to those around you. The biblical writers adeptly tapped the symbolic power of ancient dress to convey social, theological, or political messages.

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**DRINKING.** See EATING AND DRINKING.

**DROMEDARY.** See ZOOLOGY.

**DROWNING.** See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES.

**DRUM.** See MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

**DRUSILLA** (PERSON) [Gk *Drousillē* (Δρουσιλλη)]. The Jewish wife of Felix, the Roman procurator who heard Paul's defense in Caesarea (Acts 24:24). Most of what we know about Drusilla comes from the Jewish historian Josephus, who reports that she was born in A.D. 37/8, the youngest daughter of Agrippa I and Cypros (*Ant* 18.132; *War* 2.220; cf. *Ant* 19.354: she was six at the time of her father's death in A.D. 44). She had inherited Roman citizenship and her full name, Julia Drusilla, indicated as much. The name Drusilla was itself a Roman name and probably was bestowed by Agrippa in honor of another Drusilla, the sister of his friend Emperor Gaius (alias Caligula); she had died in A.D. 38 (Braund 1984: 111). Drusilla's father betrothed her to Epiphanes, son of Antiochus IV, the king of wealthy Commagene, which lay to the north on the Euphrates around Samosata (*Ant* 19.355). Epiphanes had initially agreed to convert to Judaism, but subsequently, after Agrippa's death, he demurred and thus declined the marriage. Instead, Drusilla married Azizus, king of Syrian Emesa, in A.D. 53, after he had been circumcised (*Ant* 20.139).

Drusilla is said to have been very beautiful. For that reason she was the victim of the jealous behavior of her equally beautiful sister, BERNICE. Her beauty also brought her to the attention of Antonius FELIX, Roman procurator of Judea. Josephus reports how Felix sent her one of his associates, a Cyprian Jew named Atomus, who claimed magic powers in order to persuade her to leave Azizus and marry Felix instead. Felix's promises of future happiness and her weariness given the mistreatment at her sister's hands persuaded her to violate Jewish law and do as he asked. She and Felix had a son, Agrippa, who later died in the volcanic eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in A.D. 79, and it is possible that she died with him (*Ant* 20.141–44). To this extent the biography of Drusilla is clear enough, however some confusion exists elsewhere in sources where another Drusilla is mentioned. This individual was also a royal personage who married Felix (Tac. *Hist.*5.9; Braund 1984: 179).

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**DUMAH** (PERSON) [Heb *dûmâ* (דּוּמָה)]. A son of Ishmael (Gen 25:14; 1 Chr 1:30). In all probability, this "Dumah" refers to the district and oasis town in N central Saudi Arabia near the S end of the Wadi Sirhan. An oracle against this town and its relation to the Kedarite tribal confederacy is perhaps contained in Isa 21:11; but the reference in Joshua 15:52 apparently belongs to another location; see

DUMAH (PLACE). The modern name, al-Jauf, has been in use since at least the 19th century A.D. and means "depression, basin, or hollow." The ancient name of the site, Dumah, is perhaps derived from the Aramaic and may mean Edom or, according to the Bible and various Arab scholars, may have been one of the sons of Ishmael (Gen 25:14; Musil 1927: 531–32; Mandaville 1965: 492; Vaglieri 1965: 624). The earliest reference to the town occurs in the inscriptions of Sennacherib (691–689 B.C.; *LAR* 2.358). The town was first identified as the locale mentioned in the Neo-Assyrian documents by Glaser in 1890. Most modern scholars accept this identification (Eph'al 1982: 121, n. 414).

Dumah (29°48.5′ N, 39°52.1′ E) is the largest oasis in the long, extremely arid, Wadi Sirhan and often has been referred to as "the gateway to Arabia." The springs of the area allow very productive agriculture. Because it lies astride the major trade routes leading from central and S Arabia to Amman and Damascus, it has enjoyed commercial prosperity, which has made it the object of political struggles by both sedentary states and nomadic tribal groups.

There has been continuous historical documentation of Dumah since the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions. Niebuhr was the first Westerner to describe the town in 1772 (Musil 1927: 553), but actual archaeological reconnaissance did not begin until the 1960's (Winnett and Reed 1970). The first comprehensive survey of the area and town was conducted in 1976 (Adams et al. 1977) and a second campaign in 1977 clarified the archaeological-historical record for the S Wadi Sirhan basin, including Dumah (Parr et al. 1978). More recently, ongoing excavation and survey in the town environs promises to shed new light on Dumah in its historical context.

The S Wadi Sirhan basin has seen human occupation as early as the Paleolithic period, but large-scale pastoral nomadic groups did not occupy the region until the Chalcolithic/EB Age. Our knowledge of the 2d millennium B.C. both archaeologically and historically remains elusive, but a period of renewed growth and vitality characterized the 1st millennium B.C. By the time of the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions, Dumah had become well established both as an agricultural town and trade entrepot. Sennacherib and Esarhaddon both waged campaigns against Kedarite Arab leaders at Dumah and Esarhaddon describes Dumah as a fortified town (Eph'al 1982: 5, n. 7). Sennacherib removed the principal deities from the town and sent Te'elhunu and Hazael, the Arab leaders, into exile. The tribute levied against the town included objects obtained from long-distance trade such as spices and precious stones (cf. Musil 1927: 480–85). No corroborating archaeological evidence has been found to support the Assyrian inscriptional evidence that Dumah was located in the Wadi Sirhan. Iron Age II sites, however, have been located in the N end of the Wadi Sirhan at Kaf and Ithra (Adams et al. 1977: 36).

From the Classical period, both Pliny (*HN* 6.157) and Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5.19.7) mention Dumatha/Domatha (cf. Musil 1927: 531–32), and considerable Nabatean remains have been found which include painted wares, coins, and inscriptions (Winnett and Reed 1970: 7, 15, 144; Bowersock 1983: 57–58, nn. 48–49). From the 2d century A.D. is a memorial stone of a centurion of the III Cyrenaican Legion (Bowersock 1983: 98–99, n. 26). A brief sounding at the base of the massive fort, Qasr Marid, which turned up Nabatean and Roman wares, confirms that the lower courses belong to this period. In addition to the principal site there was a large-scale gardening system (Adams et al. 1977: 36).

The satellite site of al-Tuwayr just S of Jauf with extensive Hellenistic remains has been recently examined and may be identified with Ptolemy's Obraka or Pharatha (Parr et al. 1978; Gilmore, Ibrahim, and Mursi 1984). Byzantine references to Dumah and the involvement of the Beni Kalb continue into the early Islamic period (see Musil 1927: 532; Vaglieri 1965: 625). Islamic tradition essentially confirms the earlier role that Dumah played as an agricultural center for tribal confederations and a key locale in the Arabian spice trade. When the shift of political capitals from Damascus to Baghdad occurred in the 8th century A.D. Dumah declined in importance and today is of little consequence.

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**DUMAH** (PLACE) [Heb *dûmâ* (דּוּמָה)]. The Hebrew word appears twice in Psalms (94:17; 115:17) as a designation for the netherworld. Some infer that the word in this context means the "silence of the grave"—a metaphor for Sheol. Dahood (*Psalms II* AB, 349–50), however, prefers to identify Dumah with the Akk-Ug *dmt* meaning "fortress," which suggests a different metaphor of the netherworld.

**1.** One of the nine towns assigned to the Hebron administrative district of the hill country of Judah (Josh 15:52). Most scholars agree that these districts were established during the Judean Monarchy. In the Ginsburgh Hebrew manuscript, the name appears as "Rumah." It also appears as "Rumah" in the LXX and Vg. Since it is easy to mistake a Heb *dalet* for a *reš* and vice versa, it is possible that "Rumah" in 2 Kgs 23:36 should read "Dumah," particularly since a Rumah is mentioned nowhere else in the Bible. Eusebius identified a village of Dumah in his *Onomasticon,* and Robinson noted a village of ed-Daumeh. Modern cartography lists this village as Duma (M.R. 148093; Ar Khirbet Doma ed-Deir), which lies just W of the main road from Hebron to Beer-sheba, about 15 km SW of Hebron.

**2.** A place mentioned in connection with the region of Seir (Isa 21:11), a mountainous country inhabited chiefly by Edom. It is possible that the text originally read Edom instead of Dumah, and that the *ʾalep* at the beginning of the word was dropped by scribal error. But the scribe would then also have had to add a *he* to fully transform Edom into Dumah. LXX renders the word as "Edom" or "Idumea." Others suggest that the Hebrew word means "silence" and refers to the enigmatic nature of the question which follows: "Watchman, what of the night?" (This location may be the same as #3 below.)

**3.** An oasis in N central Saudia Arabia, located midway along an ancient desert route from Babylon to Tema, which is mentioned in various Neo-Assyrian documents. See DUMAH (PERSON).
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**DUNG GATE** (PLACE) [Heb *šaʿar* (שַׁעַר) *hāʾašpōt* (הָאַשְׁפֹּת)]. This gate of Jerusalem is referred to four times in Nehemiah (2:13; 3:13, 14; and 12:31). The Heb word *ʾašpōt* used here can mean "ash-heap (Lam 4:5, NIV), refuse-heap, dung hill," referring to human and animal excrement and other refuse connected with the sacrificial system; the gate to it would be in an area of any access and would be expected to be on the side of the city less offensive, where the wind would blow the odors away. The most likely location for the Dung Gate is at the Hinnom Valley toward the S, and this would fit Nehemiah's description of going (counterclockwise) from the Valley Gate (Neh 3:13) on the west side of David's City, south to the Dung Gate (Neh 3:13, 14) at the Hinnom Valley, and back northward to the Fountain Gate and the wall of the Pool of Siloam (Neh 3: 15). Some have identified the Potsherd Gate at "the valley of Ben Hinnom" (Jer 19: 2) with the Dung Gate. In another view (Mazar 1975: 194–95) holds that the Ashpot Gate is to be taken as the Gate of Tophet (based on a root *špt* meaning "hearth," from an archaic *tpt*) in the Hinnom Valley where in the reign of Manasseh infant sacrifice was performed (2 Kgs 21: 6; 2 Chr 33: 6).

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**DUR-KURIGALZU** (PLACE). The ancient city which occupied the site of the present city of Aqar Quf, near Baghdad. Although not mentioned in the Bible, the site is famous because of its impressive ziggurat. From the Middle Ages to the present times, certain travelers have even believed this monument to be the Tower of Babel referred to in the book of Genesis. Nevertheless, it was not until 1942 that any archaeological interest was shown in the site. The General Department of Antiquities of Iraq undertook an

expedition under the direction of Taha Baqir and assisted by Seton Lloyd which worked there from 1942 to 1945. They focused on the ziggurat and the temples associated with it, as well as the large palace which occupied the neighboring tell of El-Abyad. Since that time important restoration work has been carried out by the Department of Antiquities: the temples have been restored and the entire foundation of the ziggurat has been reconstructed to its original likeness with baked bricks.

The ancient name of the city, Dur Kurigalzu, known from the epigraphic findings, shows that it dated to the Kassite era and undoubtedly was founded by one of the two kings named Kurigalzu, either the first one at the end of the 15th century B.C. or the second one (1332–1308 B.C.). Our knowledge of the history of the site stops at that point.

In terms of archaeology, the whole of the Enlil quarter formed by the ziggurat and the temples is only partially known. The ziggurat itself, one of the largest in Mesopotamia and in any case the best preserved, is supported on a foundation that measures 67.6 meters by 69 meters. The core which still exists shows that clamping was done every eight or nine rows of baked bricks by a layer of reeds which are still in a good state of preservation. It is probably their presence which retarded the destruction of the heart of the ziggurat. At its base, the solid mass was surrounded by a wall of baked bricks and three stairways which were located on the southeast side. The stairways were constructed by using the same materials and led to the top of the first story located about 33 meters above the ground. The total height of the ziggurat remains unknown.

Opposite the perpendicular stairway of the ziggurat was a construction considered to be the sanctuary of Enlil. It is composed of at least six courtyards surrounded by rows of nondescript rooms. The courtyard opposite the stairway of the ziggurat differs from the others due to a large terrace which allows only a small passageway between it and the walls. Most probably the temple itself or the altar stood there. This layout seems to have been unique in Mesopotamia.

The palace of Dur-Kurigalzu is also of prime interest since certain of its characteristics differentiate it from other palaces at other sites. The presently known part extends more than 300 meters in all directions, and although it is not absolutely certain, it seems to be one and the same building. But of this building, only one large complex is known, referred to as "complex A." It is 100 meters by 140 meters, centered around a courtyard of 64 meters on the side against which the units "C," "D," "F," "G," and "H" are laid side by side, all of which are only partially excavated. More or less detached from this group are other parts of buildings ("E," "AA," "C") which have been recognized only by the markings of the walls above the ground. Even if the whole complex was not built at the same time, as is probably the case, the strength of the construction is even more impressive if one adds another floor to it, as the different architectural characteristics tempt one to do. Elsewhere, the use of the archway for a series of alveoles form the base of an architectural unit which has no known parallel. This unit seems to show the utility of techniques which were still little known in the Near East in the middle of the 2d millennium B.C. No other palace in Mesopotamia, even among those constructed during the great splendor of the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires of the first millennium B.C. resemble the one of Dur Kurigalzu. One can almost speak of it as an architectural enigma, for it is not fixed in any known tradition, it has no successors, and it stands as a unique case in a period which was not the most brilliant in Mesopotamia.

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**DURA** (PLACE) [Aram *dûrā*ʾ (דּוּרָא)]. A Mesopotamian site mentioned in Daniel. Dan 3:1 says that King Nebuchadnezzar made a golden image and "set it up on the plain of Dura, in the province of

Babylon." Because of their refusal to bow down to this image, Daniel and his friends Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego were thrown into the fiery furnace. The location of Dura is uncertain. The name probably derives from Akk *dūru,* which means "city wall, fortification, fortress." Thus the LXX translation *peribolos* "walled area," is technically correct (Theodotian gives *Deira*).

The name "Dura" could signify the outer fortifications of Babylon. Pinches (*ISBE* [1939] 2: 883) proposed a general interpretation of "the plain of the Wall," a part of the outer defenses as "the rampart designated *dur Suanna,* "the rampart [of the city] Lofty-defense," a name of Babylon. The "plain" or "valley" of Dura could simply be a section of the city. However, Jeffery (*IB* 6: 395) translates Aram *biq·â* (Dan 3:1) as "a low plain between two ranges of mountains" rather than an open space in the city. And one might expect the text to refer to the "city" rather than the "province" of Babylon if the setting was within the walls of the city.

"Dura" is a common name in the area and forms an element in a number of names, such as the famous Dura-Europos, 270 miles NW of Babylon, on the upper Euphrates in what is now Syria. Within the province or administrative district of Babylon, Oppert (1862: 238–40) and others noted the River Dura is a tributary which flows into the Euphrates about 5 or 6 miles below Hilla, the site of ancient Babylon. Nearby is a series of mounds or low hills called Tulul Dura (pl.) or (sing.) Tell Dēr, 27 km (or 16 miles) SW of Baghdad, in the neighborhood of ancient Erech. At the end of the row are two larger mounds, the smaller of which is called el Mokattat. There Oppert noted a massive brick structure 14 m square and 6 m high. He thought this was the platform for Nebuchadnezzar's gold image, and that this was the Dura of Dan 3:1. Whether this is correct or not the context of the story in Daniel does suggest proximity to city of Babylon. This precludes not only Dura-Europos, but other earlier identifications such as the sites north of Babylon and east of the Tigris.

Polybius (5.48) and Ammianus Marcellinus (23.5.8; 24.1.5) mention a Dura at the mouth of the river Chaboras where it enters the Euphrates near Carchemish (see PW 5: 1847). Another Dura is beyond the Tigris near Apollonia (Polyb. 5.52 and Amm. Marc. 25.6, 9). The former was certainly outside the province of Babylon. The second was in the district of Sittakene, which in Parthian times was included in the province of Babylon (according to Strabo). But it is still far from the capital.

Montgomery (*Daniel* ICC, 199) cites Ptolemy's *Geography* (6.3) for the Susian *Deera.* Pinches says it was also called *Dūr-ili,* "god's rampart." Duru is listed with Tutul and Gudua (Cutha) in an intervention between Deru or Dur-ili and Tindir (Babylon). A Talmudic tradition (*b. Sanh.* 92b) makes the plain or valley of Dura the scene of Ezekiel's vision in 37:1–14 of a valley full of dry bones which are brought back to life. It has also been identified with the valley or plain of the vision in Ezekiel 3:23. Rabbi Johanan said "The plain of Dura extends from the river Eshel to Rabbah." The dead were young Israelite men who attracted the attention of Chaldean women. Jealous husbands had the men killed. When Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah were thrown into the fiery furnace, God told Ezekiel to "Go and resurrect the dead in the plain of Dura." The Dura-Europos synagogue (3d century C.E.) frescoes included a painting of this event in Ezekiel 37. The painting would thus be a picture of Dura and may represent an early identification with the site and the story in Dan 3:1.

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**DURA-EUROPOS** (PLACE). An ancient city, marked by the village of Slihiyeh in Syria, on the right (W) bank of the Euphrates River about halfway between Aleppo and Baghdad, 60 miles S of Deir ez-Zor, where the Ḫabūr River enters the Euphrates. This was the old Roman frontier post of Circesium. The place is referred to by the Greek geographer Isidore of Charax writing in the 1st century C.E. (Hopkins 1979: 4). Dura is E of Palmyra, NE of Damascus. Its antiquity was accidentally discovered by a British officer, M. C. Murphy, in the course of digging trenches in 1921 during operations against the Arabs (Rostovtzeff 1938: 1). The trenches revealed wall paintings in what was later found to be the temple of the Palmyrene gods. In a scene dating to about 239 C.E., the Roman commander Julius Terentius is shown sacrificing to the gods. Another tradition ascribes the discovery to French soldiers doing amateur

archeology around their campsite (Gates 1984: 168). A survey was conducted by James H. Breasted (1924: 52–61) with the help of British East Indian troops who uncovered part of the temple. A painting brought to light included a Greek inscription, "The Good Fortune (Gk *tychē*) of Dura," giving Breasted the name of the site.

Systematic excavation was begun by the Belgian scholar Franz Cumont in 1922–23, and continued from 1928 until 1937 by a Yale University expedition, both in conjunction with the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Cumont continued with the expedition as the Académie's representative. About a third of the area was uncovered by the excavators. It was determined that the site was a Roman military outpost destroyed in 256 C.E. Among the finds were pagan temples, a Jewish synagogue, and a Christian church. A parchment sheet from Tatian's *Diatessaron* in Greek offered evidence of Greek-speaking Christians there in the first half of the 3d century. The *Diatessaron* fragment went far to demolish arguments favoring a late date for John's gospel. (The history of excavations of the site has been compiled by Hopkins [1979] and more recently reviewed by Velud [1988].)

After a long hiatus, excavation of Dura-Europos resumed in 1986 under the auspices of the Mission Franco-Syrienne d'Étude Archéologique et de Rehabilitation du Site de Doura-Europos. Results of the 1986 and 1987 campaigns are presented in preliminary reports (Leriche 1986, 1988).

The compound name "Dura-Europos" is a modern construction (Matheson 1982: 3). The name "Europos" was attached to the new foundation in commemoration of the birthplace of its Seleucid patron, and was the name used locally until at least 180 C.E. After 200 the city was more often called in Greek *Doura,* preserving a Semitic name meaning "fortress." The city was Greek in character although influenced by oriental traditions.

Dura-Europos was founded (apparently *ex nihilo;* see Will 1988: 316) during the reign of Seleucus I (311–281 B.C.E.) by his relative Nicanor, probably one of the Seleucid governors' generals (Rostovtzeff 1938: 10). For the brief period 280–268 B.C.E., Europos minted its own coins (Bellinger 1949). In 113 B.C.E. the city was occupied by the PARTHIANS. They made Europos into a caravan city and it prospered for nearly a century. Conflict with Rome ensued, but in 20 B.C.E. Augustus concluded a peace with the Parthian king Phraates IV, ensuring peaceful trade. During the Partho-Roman peace, agriculture expanded up and down the Euphrates, yielding economic growth (Rostovtzeff 1938: 20–22, 139). But war with Rome returned when the Emperor Trajan (98–117 C.E.) reversed the peaceful policies of his predecessors and conquered Europos. He built a triumphal arch on the desert road W of the city. Later the city was evacuated by Hadrian (117–38), who restored peace and gave the city another 40 years of prosperity (Rostovtzeff 1938: 23). But with its reconquest by Lucius Verus in 165 C.E., the city became a military garrison in the *limes* of Rome. Septimus Severus (193–211) and Caracalla (211–17) stationed new detachments and built the monumental praetorium. Under Caracalla the city became a Roman colony. The archives—some 200 documents—of the XXth Palmyrene cohort have been excavated. Monumental baths and a new amphitheater were built in 216.

Despite efforts by Alexander Severus (222–35) to reinforce the city, it nearly fell to the Sassanids in 238. Rome retained possession of Dura for another 18 years, until its destruction in 256 under the Sassanid ruler Shapur I (241–72 C.E.). Dura-Europos was never rebuilt.

Dura-Europos is perhaps most renowned for the artwork preserved there. The most striking are paintings, especially frescoes, of religious themes. The Temple of the Palmyrene Gods, the Mithra temple in the Roman camp, the Jewish synagogue (dating from 246 C.E.), and the Christian church are all decorated with paintings.

The synagogue (discovered in 1932–33) originated as a private house that was remodeled as a public building at the end of the 1st century C.E. From dated inscriptions it is known that in 244/5 the synagogue was refurbished and expanded by the synagogue leader Samuel, and that the paintings were added in 249/50 (Gates 1984: 172). These paintings have been called "the most exciting and revolutionary discovery of early Jewish art" (*IDBSup,* 68). The religious diversity implicit in their motifs has called into question the widely held notion of a "normative" rabbinic Judaism in this early period.

All four walls of the synagogue were covered with paintings in 5 horizontal bands. The top and bottom bands are decorative; the 3 middle bands consist of at least 28 panels portraying 58 biblical scenes. The bands converge on the Torah shrine in the W wall. Bilingual inscriptions indicate that the Jews at Dura spoke Greek; the style of representation is likewise a result of a confluence of ANE and Hellenistic elements. The clothing of figures in the biblical scenes, for example, ranges from Syrian workers' attire to formal Greek wear, all anachronistic in a biblical context. Among the biblical figures portrayed are Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Samuel, Elijah, Ezekiel, David, and Solomon. The art of the Dura synagogue seems to be closer in spirit to later cabbalistic conceptions than to Talmudic (Gates 1984: 174; Matheson 1982: 116; Goodenough 1988: 259–60).

The Christian church was created in 232/3 C.E. by remodeling a private home built earlier in the 3d century (Kraeling [1967: 37–39] argued that the house was not converted into a church until later, about 240). Two rooms combined to form the worship area. A platform is at one end. Another room may have been a school. A small room in the NW corner was made into a baptistery. This is the only decorated room in the church. Over the vaulted baptismal font was a painting of Jesus as the Good Shepherd. A scene incorporating Adam and Eve was added later in the lower left corner. Other pictures show Jesus healing a paralytic, walking on water, and helping Peter. These and other paintings in the baptistery are less influenced by Mesopotamian artistic canons and more strongly Greco-Roman in style (Matheson 1982: 130–33). The paintings are the work of at least two artists whose techniques contrast visibly. There are several inscriptions, among which are the phrases "Christ Jesus is yours: remember Proclus" and "Christ Jesus remember the humble Siseos" (Hopkins 1979: 115).

The Mithraum was built new in 168 C.E. specifically as a temple by two commanders of the Palmyrene mounted police stationed in Dura. It is unusual in that it was built above ground (the typical temple of Mithra is subterranean, in keeping with the divinity's birth in a cave; Matheson 1982: 19); in 211 it was rebuilt by the *vexillationes* of two Roman legions (Matheson 1982: 24–25). In the center of the shrine were two bas-reliefs, one above the other, of Mithras slaying a bull. Two magnificent wall paintings flanking the bas-reliefs date from a third rebuilding about 240; they are more than five feet in height (Gates 1984: 166–67; 176–77). Each shows Mithras mounted on horseback with a bow and arrow in a hunting scene. Two seated figures, each with an ebony staff, are also portrayed (Hopkins 1979: 202). They may be the Mithraic prophets Zoroaster and Osthanes (Matheson 1982: 202). It is interesting to find a Mithraum in a city with a church; Mithraism was a chief rival of Christianity for several centuries.

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**DWARF.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**DYE.** See ZOOLOGY.

**DYSENTERY.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**DYSPHEMISM.** The use of grossly disparaging terms (e.g., when referring to enemies or despised activities) rather than normal or neutral designations. This phenomenon is common in the Bible. See BIBLE, EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE.

# E

**E.** The abbreviation used by scholars to designate the Elohist source in Pentateuchal source criticism. See ELOHIST.

**EAGLE.** See ZOOLOGY.

**EARRINGS.** See JEWELRY.

**EARTH.** The habitation of human beings, viewed physically as land, soil, or ground, geographically as a region, politically as a state, territory, or country, cosmically as the opposite of heaven, and symbolically as the entirety of material existence.

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A. Earth in the OT
1. Terminology
2. Cosmology
3. Theology
B. Earth in the NT
1. Terminology
2. Cosmology
3. Theology

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**A. Earth in the OT**

**1. Terminology.** "Earth" is generally (approximately 660x in RSV) a translation of Heb *ʾereṣ,* a word that derives from a base common to the Semitic languages (Akk *erṣ-;* Ar *ʾarḍ-*). Hebrew *ʾereṣ* has a broad range of meaning, and is most frequently (about 1620x in RSV) rendered "country" or "land" (see further *TDOT* 1: 388–405). Less often, "earth" translated Heb *ʾădāmâ* (also translated "country," "ground," "land," and "soil" in RSV; see *TDOT* 1: 88–98). Once in Genesis (26:15) and six times in Job (7:21; 8:19; 19:25; 28:2; 30:6; 41:33) the English word "earth" represents Heb *ʿāpār,* elsewhere translated "ash," "dust," "ground," "rubbish," and "soil" in RSV.

In the Aramaic portions of the OT, "earth" renders Aram *ʾăraʿ* (Jer 10:11 and seventeen times in Daniel), and, uniquely, *ʾăraq* (Jer 10:11a). The sole occurrence of Aram *yabešet* (Dan 2:10) is also translated "earth."

The extremely wide range of meaning embraced by Heb *ʾereṣ* has been explained in two ways. Possibly the word originally designated the Semitic speaker's home region or country, from which it was extended to the territories of neighboring peoples, eventually including the whole expanse of human habitation, i.e., the "earth" below, as contrasted to heaven above (Rost 1965: 85; *IDB* 4: 874). However, the early and firm association of "earth" with "heaven" in the formula "heaven and earth" in several Semitic languages from earliest times on may suggest that its primary meaning embraced the inhabited surface of the cosmos, each subsection of it, or "country," constituting a microcosm (Stadelmann 1970: 127). While neither option can be advanced with full confidence, the vast predominance of the singular in Hebrew as compared to a few late instances of the plural (e.g., Ezra 9:1; 2 Chr 32:13) makes it abundantly clear that the OT perceives as continuous what English distinguishes with the words "earth" and "land, country." In a number of passages the choice between the translation "earth" or "land" is a difficult one.

**2. Cosmology.** On the whole, Israel shared the world view of the ancient Near East. The earth was perceived as a flat expanse, seen either in the image of a disk or circle upon the primeval waters (Isa 40:22; Job 26:10; Prov 8:27; cf. "circle of the heavens," Job 22:14) or of an outstreched garment spanning the void (Job 26:7; 38:13). According to H. H. Schmidt (*THAT* 1: 230–31), these two images, present also in Mesopotamia, derive from different but compatible conceptions of the cosmos which are intertwined without tension in the OT. References to the earth's (four) corners/rims/hems ([*ʾarbaʿ kanĕpôt hāʾāreṣ;*

Isa 11:12; Job 37:3; 38:13; cf. Isa 24:16), its end(s), border(s), edge(s) (*qĕṣê/qĕṣôt;* Job 28:24; Ps 135:7; Isa 5:26; 40:28; 41:5, 9; Jer 10:13; 51:16), combinations of these images (Jer 49:36; also Ps 48:11—Eng 48:10; 65:6—Eng 65:5), its ends (where it ceases: *ʾapsê [hā] ʾāreṣ;* Deut 33:17; 1 Sam 2:10, etc.) its boundaries (Ps 74:17), or its remotest parts (Jer 6:22; 25:32; 31:8; 50:41) depict the vast expanse of the earth and its outer limits, rather than a firm conception of its shape. T. Boman (1960: 157–59) has pointed out that naming the outer limits of any area includes the whole area, so that the above terms function almost as synonyms for "earth," "world." The modern concept of an infinite or open-ended universe was not known in the OT; on the contrary, heaven and earth were thought to be sealed together at the rim of the horizon to prevent the influx of the cosmic waters (Stadelmann 1970: 43).

In contrast to this preoccupation with the earth's outer limits, a center or navel of the earth (Heb *ṭabbûr*) is mentioned only once (Ezek 38:12; cf. Judg 9:37; *Jub.* 8:19). L. Stadelmann (1970: 147–54) suggests that Jerusalem (cf. Ezek 5:5), and possibly Bethel at an earlier time (cf. Gen 28: 10–12, 17–18), were considered in this light, in keeping with the views of many ANE and other peoples that their central sanctuary or capital city represented such a center. However this theme is not prominent in the Old Testament; that Jerusalem, as the center of worship of the universal God, held a position of central prominence (Isa 2:2–3 = Mic 4:1–2) is a theological rather than a cosmological observation.

Over the earth and its surrounding sea(s) arches the firm vault (or firmament, Heb *raqîaʿ* [Gen 1:6]) of (the) heaven(s). Together, heaven and earth make up what we would call world, universe, cosmos (Gen 1:1; 2:1, 4; Exod 31:17; Ps 102:26—Eng 102:25; Isa 48:13; 51:13, 16 and often). Occasionally, earth alone seems to enhance the whole cosmos (e.g., Isa 6:3; 54:5; Zeph 1:2–3, 18[?]). The vault of heaven rests on the earth (Amos 9:6; cf. 2 Sam 22:8: "the foundations of the heavens" = the earth) which in turn is firmly set on pillars (1 Sam 2:8) or foundations (Isa 24:18; 40:21; Jer 31:37; Mic 6:2, etc.). The foundations are associated with the "heavens" (2 Sam 22:8) or the "world" (Heb *tēbēl;* 2 Sam 22:16 = Ps 18:16—Eng18:15), and with "mountains" (Deut 32:22; Ps 18:8—Eng18:7). The verb *yāsad* "to found" is used with reference to God's founding of the earth (Job 38:4; Ps 24:2; 102:26—Eng 102:25, etc.).

Somewhat ambivalent in this structure is the place of the sea(s) or water(s), the deep, and the underworld. The seas can be spoken of as familiar reality, in which the fish and other water creatures swarm (Gen 1:20, 22, 26, etc.) and on which humans move in ships (Ps 104:25–26; 107:23; Prov 30:19; Ezek 27:9). As such, the sea forms part of the earth, i.e., the flat surface below juxtaposed to the heavens above. A transitional position between earth and the surrounding sea is occupied by the islands or coastlands (Heb *ʾiyyîm;* Isa 24:14–16; 41:5; 42:4, 10). Elsewhere in the OT the sea(s) or water(s) take on the character of a third cosmic realm in addition to heaven and earth, the extension of the cosmic chaos waters surrounding everything (see EASTERN SEA; SEA; WESTERN SEA).

The underworld is often spoken of as part of the earth, a lower cavern, grave, pit, (called in Heb Sheol) where the dead lead a shadowy existence; it can even be referred to simply as "earth" (1 Sam 28:13; Ps 71:20; 106:17; Isa 29:4). In other texts, Sheol is treated as a separate cosmic realm besides heaven and earth (Job 26:5; Ps 139:8; Amos 9:2). The OT conception of the world, then, is basically bipartite (heaven and earth), variously extended to a tripartite cosmos (heaven-earth-sea, or heaven-earth-underworld). Although certain later books and sections (Job, Proverbs 8, several postexilic Psalms, Isaiah 24–27; 40–55) are more explicit in their cosmological descriptions than the earlier documents, the general view of the cosmos does not show any significant change or development throughout the OT period.

**3. Theology.** Even though *ʾereṣ* is generally a feminine noun, the writings of the OT nowhere acknowledge a divine "Mother Earth" or earth goddess related as female consort to a sky god or other male deity, a widespread Near Eastern conception (*RGG*$^3$ 2: 548–50), though not universal. (Egyptian mythology had a female sky goddess and a male earth god [*TDOT* 1: 390].) Where heaven and earth conjoin to produce fertility, they are never more than mere created instruments of God (Hos 2:23–24—Eng2:21–22). At the same time, Israel was well aware of the fertility practices of its neighbors and their divinizing of the earth and its features. Literary remnants of that divinizing are employed occasionally as metaphors. For example, heaven and earth are called as witnesses in God's lawsuit (Deut 4:26; 30:19; 31:28; Ps 50:4, etc.) and exhorted to "shout for joy" (Isa 44:23; Jer 51:48). Actual divinizing of the

earthly realm, however, was firmly rejected (implicitly in Exod 20:4–5 = Deut 5:8–9). Schmidt (*THAT* 1: 233) considers possible allusions to the Mother Earth motif in Job 1:21; Eccl 5:14—Eng5:14; Ps 139:15 (cf. also Gen 3:19; Sir 40:1), while Eliade (*RGG*$^3$ 2: 550) allows only Job 1:21; Ps 139:15.

Israel also knew of the localization of deities in certain parts of the earth/land by its neighbors (e.g., 2 Kgs 17:24–41), but the God of Israel is rarely so localized (1 Sam 26:19 may be such a case). He is the *ʾādōn kol-hāʾāreṣ* "Lord/Master of the whole earth," a firmly coined epithet (Josh 3:11, 13; Ps 97:5; Mic 4:13; Zech 4:14). That his rule proceeds from Zion (Pss 48, 76, 84, 87, 122; Isa 2:2–4), a foundational assumption of the royalist Jerusalem theology, constitutes no limiting localization; it belongs to the theme of election of instruments (including places) towards the accomplishment of his universal ends (cf. Deut 10:14–15; 1 Kgs 8:27–30).

God is the creator, owner, ruler, and sustainer of "heaven and earth, the sea and all that is in it" (Ps 146:6). He created them a cosmos in contrast to chaos (Gen 1:1–2:4a; Job 38:4–6; Ps 121:2; 124:8; 134:3; 146:6; Prov 8:24–29; Isa 45:18–19; 48:13), keeping chaos at bay (Job 38:8–13; Ps 33:7, etc.) yet not in a struggle or contest among near-equals (as in ANE mythology) but by his wisdom (Prov 3:19–20; 8:30–31) and his sovereign, commanding word (Gen 1:1–2:4a; Job 26:12–13; Ps 33:6, 9; 104:7; Isa 51:9–10; Jer 32:17 [? power, outstretched arm]). This is true even though the language of combat has been preserved now and then (Job 38:8; Ps 74:12–17; Isa 27:1; Heb 3:8–11). In his sovereignty he may, however, employ the chaos powers as instruments of judgment, as is evidenced particularly, but not only, in the great Flood and as it is threatened for the eschaton (Gen 6:5–8:22; Isa 24:17–23; Jer 4:23–28; Ezek 26:19–20; Amos 9:13).

In the present eon, however, God willed the earth's stability and permanence as a sign of his grace towards his creatures (Gen 8:22; Ps 74:12–17; 104:5–6). That the earth is "founded" on "pillars" or "foundations" gains theological relevance here. He set the earth's bounds against chaos and sea (Ps 33:6–7; 104:7–9; Isa 40:12), making "earth" synonymous with the realm of the living; note the phrase *ʾereṣ ḥayyîm* "land of the living" (Job 28:13; Ps 27:14—Eng 27:13, etc.). God the Creator is therefore not to be contrasted with God the Savior, for his work of creation in itself constitutes salvation from the rule of the chaos powers (Ps 74:12–17; 89:9–15—Eng 89:8–14; 104:5–9; Isa 40:28–31; 51:9–11). The frequent expression "the ends of the earth" marks the all-inclusiveness of his rule, both for judgment and salvation, a rule that is not limited, however, to the earth, but includes the heavens and the netherworld (1 Sam 2:10; 2 Chr 16:9; Job 28:24; Ps 46:10—Eng 46:9; 98:3; 139:7–12; Isa 41:5, 9; 45:22; 49:6; 52:10; Amos 9:2–3; Mic 5:3—Eng5:4; Zech 9:10).

God himself is consistently associated with the heavens, his dwelling place, which are "above," juxtaposed to the earth "beneath," a characterization expressive not only of ancient perceptions of world structure, but also of rank. In remarkable contrast to Mesopotamian beliefs, however, as well as to the NT (see B.3 below), heaven in the OT does not become a prototype for life on earth. In Mesopotamia, life on earth was seen as a participation in, and reflection of, a model in heaven (Jacobsen 1946: 185–201). In the OT, the notion of heaven is devoid of such content, and life on earth, supremely under God's lordship, is called to imitate God only in his works on the earthly plane (as in his care for oppressed Israel in Egypt), and never in his heavenly existence (Harrelson 1970: 237–52). Nor is the petition "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven" (Matt 6:10) imaginable in the OT context. Even when God is presented in the metaphorical setting of the Heavenly Council (e.g., 1 Kgs 22:19–22; Job 1:6–12; 2:1–6; Isaiah 6; 40:1–11), we hear only of deliberations concerning events on earth; we learn nothing about a heavenly world. And further, even the heavens, as God's creation, are subject to his verdict of destruction (Ps 102:26–27—Eng 102:25–26; Isa 13:5; 14:26; 24:18; 51:6; Jer 4:23–28; Zeph 1:2–3, 18), so that God transcends both heaven and earth (Isa 65:17; 66:22).

**B. Earth in the NT**

**1. Terminology.** In the NT "earth" renders Greek *gē.* In the LXX *gē* translates both Heb *ʾereṣ* and *ʾădāmâ.* The Greek word can also mean "land, country, region" and "soil, ground." As *ʾereṣ* in the OT, *gē* can mean both a particular country or region and the whole inhabited earth.

**2. Cosmology.** In most respects the NT shares the cosmology of the OT without devoting extensive discussion to it. While certain passages allude to a tripartite universe (heaven, earth, "under the earth," Rev 5:3, 13 [cf. Phil 2:10]), the bipartite designation (heaven, earth) is dominant throughout. Hades, the LXX's name for Sheol, was undoubtedly conceived of as a subterranean abode of the dead, but its place as a tier in the tripartite universe (heaven, earth, Hades) can be discerned only in Matt 16:18–19, and there uncertainly. Matt 1:23 (= Luke 10:15) uses heaven and Hades as the extremes of exaltation and humiliation, possibly implying that earth is the middle tier (cf. also Rev 5:3).

As in the OT, the earth itself can be regarded as the realm of the dead; thus the Son of man will spend three days and nights "in the heart of the earth" (*en tę̂ kardia tês gês*; Matt 12:40) or descend "into the lower parts of the earth" (*eis ta katōtera merē tês gês*; Eph 4:9). On the other hand, hell or Gehenna (*geenna*; Matt 5:22, etc.), though the destiny of the condemned dead and therefore a third state of human beings (as contrasted with life on earth, and redeemed existence in heaven), is apparently not visualized very concretely as a tier in the cosmic structure, though it is certainly associated with neither regions rather than higher realms.

We conclude, then, that the NT generally understands the universe as comprehended in the duality of (the) heaven(s) and (the) earth, an expression that is often coextensive with "world" (Gk *kosmos*), although the latter can also be used for the arena of human life, and thus as a synonym for "earth" alone, as well as for "world" (Gk *oikoumenē;* see *TDNT* 3:884, 888).

Only occasionally do we find reminiscences of the OT's vivid structural details of the cosmos, such as the earth's "four corners" (Rev 7:1; 20:8), its "end" or "uttermost parts" (Acts 1:8; 13:47, cf. Isa 49:6), its " (four) ends" (Matt 12:42 = Luke 11:31) or its "face" (Acts 17:26). Mark 13:27 and Rev 7:1 mention the "four winds."

**3. Theology.** Presupposing the OT throughout, the NT views earth as the creation and possession of God, ultimately subject to his sovereign rule (Matt 5:35; 11:25 = Luke 10:21; Acts 2:19; 4:24; 7:49; 14:15; 17:24; Rom 9:17; 1 Cor 8:5–6; 10:26; Eph 3:15; Rev 11:4; 14:7), yet a rule challenged by the power of Satan. Due to this challenge, the earth, as to its theological status, "lags behind" heaven, where God reigns unimpeded.

As the battlefield between God and Satan, the earth becomes the arena of human probation, the scene of either obedience or disobedience. The pervasiveness of the latter, in turn makes the earth the target of God's judgment and salvation, especially through the agency of Jesus, the Christ/Messiah. The adjective "earthly" (Gk *epigeios*), often designating anything located on the earthly plane of the universe (Phil 2:10), can consequently also refer to that which is the opposite of what is heavenly (1 Cor 15:40; 2 Cor 5:1; Phil 3:19; *TDNT* 1:680–81).

Christ's mission originates in heaven and is marked by his bringing what is qualitatively of heaven (in harmony with the rule of God) onto the earthly scene (Mark 2:10–11 = Luke 5:24; Luke 12:49; 18:8[?]; John 3:31–36; 17:4; Rom 10:18 [Ps 19:4]; 1 Cor 15:47; Eph 4:9–13, 24). Here he establishes signs of the incipient rule of God, destined to become visible to the ends of the earth. Ultimately, however, it is not the complete transformation of earth that constitutes the end *(telos)* of Christ's mission, but a redeemed state that transcends heaven and earth, both of which are divinely ordained to pass away (Matt 5:18; 24:35 = Mark 13:31 = Luke 21:33; Luke 16:17[?]; Heb 12:26 [will be shaken]; 2 Pet 3:7, 10), or to be transformed into a new heaven and earth (2 Pet 3:13; Rev 21:1). In the book of Revelation more than elsewhere the earth moves increasingly toward becoming the realm of the evil posers, and thereby the target of God's judging wrath (Rev 3:10; 6:10; 7:2; 11:6; 14:15–20; 16:1; 19:2). The faithful are preserved through God's grace (Rev 7:3; 9:4) and ultimately saved from the earth (Rev 14:3; cf. Heb 11:13).

Short of this apocalyptic drama, however, the realms of heaven and earth are frequently characterized as standing in sort of cosmic correspondence, heaven constituting divine perfection to be emulated on earth (Matt 6:10; 23:9; Luke 2:14; 11:2; 18:8[?]; John 3:31; 1 Cor 15:47; Col 3:2, 5; Heb 12:25). Yet at times the initiative can be taken on earth, evoking its validation by the heavenly world (Matt 16:19; 18:18, 19; Mark 2:10 = Luke 5:24). Clearly, heaven and earth do not function only as cosmological realms here, but as theological horizons. Jesus Christ is the prime agent to effect the permeation of earth by heaven, and

his church takes up this task. Christ's mission can be described, from one perspective, as removing the discrepancy and uniting (theologically speaking) the realms of heaven and earth (Matt 28:18; 1 Cor 8:5–6; Eph 1:9–10; Col 1:16, 20).

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**EARTH, NEW.** See NEW EARTH, NEW HEAVEN.

**EARTHWORM.** See ZOOLOGY.

**EAST.** The primary direction for orientation for most of the ANE world. East was the direction of the rising sun, which served as one of the ways of describing the direction in biblical Hebrew. Likewise in Akkadian, the same phrase was often used to indicate east.

In biblical Hebrew the word root *qdm* is the most common word-group meaning east. Literally, *qdm* referred to what was before or in front of one. Thus east was the direction a person faced in order to get his/her orientation. Ugaritic used the same root *qdm* to indicate east or the east wind. The Hebrew words *qedem, qēdmâ, qidmat, qadmōni* and *qādîm* can have the meaning "east, eastward, eastern." The other common word for east is *mizrāḥ* or *mizrāḥ (haš)šemeš,* the rising of the sun. A third word group *ʿal pĕnê,* at times translated as east by RSV and other versions, probably should be understood not as a specific direction, but more as a general location, "in the vicinity of."

East in biblical texts was the location of Eden; and when Cain was banished, it was to an area east of Eden. It was from the east that men migrated to the plain of Shinar to build Babel. The Hebrews designated many peoples who lived east of them as "people of the east". When Jacob fled to Paddan-Aram, the people there are called "people of the east." Similarly, the people living across the Jordan river from Israel could be called "people of the east." People of the east were often respected for their wisdom. In the NT, men from the east came following the star and seeking the messiah-king, and in the vision of Revelation, the Euphrates River is dried up so that kings from the east might destroy Babylon. In a few passages, the Dead Sea, usually called the Salt Sea, is referred to as the Eastern Sea paralleling the similar common terminology for the Mediterranean Sea as the Western Sea.

The east wind was the wind coming from the desert regions of Syria and Arabia. This east wind is today called a *khamsin* (literally, "fifty," for it often lasts about fifty days) or sirocco. It comes in a season marked by low humidity, high winds, and extremely hot weather. Because the winds come from the desert regions and are strong, they often carry a great deal of dust and sand. Such winds were extremely sultry, causing plants to wither, even stripping fruit from plants and scattering everything in its path. This east wind can be called "the wind of Yahweh," for he controls it. He uses the east wind as an instrument of his judgment. It was a strong east wind that drove back the waters of the Red Sea and permitted the Hebrews to cross on dry ground.

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**EAST COUNTRY** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾereṣ qedem* (אֶרֶץ קֶדֶם)]. Area to which Abraham sent the sons of his concubines (Gen 25:6). The phrase *ʾereṣ qedem* may be translated as either "the land of the east" or "the land of Kedem." Elsewhere in the Bible *qedem* is used to refer to various regions within a wide expanse of territory from the Middle Euphrates to N Arabia (see Gen 29:1; Num 23:7; Judg 6:3, 33; 7:15). Most scholars feel, therefore, that *ʿereṣ qedem* represents a broad, nonspecific region to the E, or SE, of Palestine. Sarna (1989: 173), however, suggests that *ʾereṣ qedem* implies a specific territorial entity: "the

land of Kedem." He cites as support the Egyptian Story of Sinuhe (20th century B.C.E.) in which a traveler visits Kedem, near Byblos in ancient Phoenicia (see *ANET,* 19).

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**EAST GATE** (PLACE) [Heb *ša῾ar hammizrāḥ* (שַׁעַר הַמִּזְרָח)]. The name East Gate has been variously applied in biblical literature to the eastern gate (*ša῾ar hammizrāḥ;* Neh 3:29) of the inner court of the Temple in Jerusalem and to the eastern gates (*ša῾ar haqqadmônî;* Ezek 10:19; 11:1; 40:6–11; 43:1–5; 44:1–3; 46:1) of the inner and outer courts of Ezekiel's visionary temple. In the KJV it is erroneously used to translate "Potsherd Gate" in Jer 19:2.

The East Gate of which Shemaiah was the keeper (Neh 3:29) was a gate in the enclosure of the sacred Temple precincts. Surrounding the sacred Temple enclosure and the royal compounds was yet another enclosure that apparently had two gates (the Water Gate, Neh 3:26; and the Mifqad or Muster Gate, Neh 3:31) on the east facing the outer defensive wall of the city. The street(s) and/or open place where Hezekiah gathered the priests and Levites (2 Chr 29:4–5) and where Ezra assembled the men of Benjamin and Judah (Ezra 10:9) is most likely located between this East Gate of the sacred Temple enclosure and the Muster Gate of the royal enclosure. The eastern gate of the outer defensive perimeter was the Horse Gate.

In extrabiblical literature, the name has alluded to the Gate of Nicanor of the Temple court (*JW* 5.5.3 §201, *m. Middot* 1:4; 2:3) and to the Shushan Gate of the Temple Mount (*m. Middot* 1:3; see also *m. Para* 3:6 and *m. Šeqalim* 4:2). The uniqueness of the Herodian Gate of Nicanor distinguishes it from all the other gates of that period. It was the only gate not made of gold (*m. Middot* 2:3), and Josephus refers to this gate as the gate of Corinthian bronze. It was here that priests came to trumpet (*m. Sukka* 5:4) and where adulterous women were brought for judgment (*m. Soṭa* 1:5; 2:1). The doors of this gate were nearly lost at sea but were miraculously recovered (*m. Yoma* 3:10). Any association of the Nicanor Gate with the Beautiful Gate (Acts 3:2, 10) is unfortunate and the distinction between the two should be kept in mind with the Gate of Nicanor on the east side of the Court of Israel and the Beautiful Gate on the east side of the Court of Women.

Biblical references to an East Gate should not be confused with the east gates of the Temple Mount of later periods (e.g., the Shushan Gate [*m. Middot* 1:3; *m. Para* 3:6 and *m. Šeqalim* 4:2], the Gate of the Temple Treasury [Gk *gazophylakion*] of John 8:20).

The Shushan Gate ("the Eastern Gate whereon the Castle of Shushan was sculptured" [*m. Middot* 1:3]) exited from the Temple Mount (Court of Gentiles) to the Kidron Valley. It was not a public entrance or exit but was for the ceremonial leading away of the scapegoat to the wilderness and the red heifer to the Mount of Olives via one or possibly two causeways built for that purpose (*m. Para* 3:6; *m. Šeqalim* 4:2).

After the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E., the esplanade was desolate and an eastern gate (Shushan Gate) that may figure in the Medaba Map (Avi-Yonah 1954: 53, 59) may already have been closed. It was this east gate that later became the Golden Gate (a name that resulted from Latin speaking pilgrims misinterpreting the Beautiful Gate [Gk *hōraia*] and the Golden Gate [Lat *aurea*] [Mackowski 1980: 134–35]).

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DALE C. LIID

**EAST, PEOPLE OF THE** [Heb *bĕnê qedem* (בְּנֵי קֶדֶם)]. "People of the East" is a literal and succinct translation of Heb *bĕnê qedem.* The expression occurs ten times in the OT. According to the

place and time of the speaker, "people of the east" comprises various tribes and people. The geographical derivation of a generic ethnonym is not peculiar to Hebrew. In the story of Sinuhe (20th century B.C.), *qdm* is the region E of the Phoenician coastal cities. In the late 19th century A.D., the peasants of central Transjordan referred to the bedouin as *ahâlî aš-šarq* "people of the east" or *šarqîyah* "easterners" (Musil 1908: 22). The latter expression still provides the most probable etymology for the Gk/Lat term *sarakênoi/saraceni* (cf. O'Connor 1986 for a different view).

The most generic use of "people of the east" is found in 1 Kgs 5:10. According to this verse, Solomon's wisdom surpassed that of both Egypt and "the people of the east." If this verse was written in the Persian period, "people of the east" refers to the Asian part of the Persian empire, including Syria, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. They and the Egyptians constituted what was understood as, more or less, the world. If one prefers a more restricted circumference of the expression, the eastern wisdom may allude to Arabian adages (cf. Prov 30:1; 31:1, and see MASSA), and to the Edomites metallurgical skill (Jer 49:7; Obad 8; cf. Knauf and Lenzen 1987: 87).

The "land of the people of the east," where Jacob seeks refuge from his brother's wrath (Gen 29:1), was originally the area E of the mountains of Gilead, populated by Aramean shepherds in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age (Otto 1984: 76–78). Within the context of Genesis' final redaction, it refers to N Syria, the vicinity of Harran.

In Judg 6:3, 33; 7:12; 8:10; Isa 11:14; Jer 49:28; Ezek 25:4, 10, *bĕnê qedem* signifies the predatory bedouin as experienced by Israel and her neighbors from the 6th century B.C. onward (cf. Knauf 1988: 31–38; 160–61 for the perception of the "Midianites" in the book of Judges). Given the locale of the book of Job (see UZ), Job 1:3 also refers to Arabia.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**EASTER.** See PASSION NARRATIVES.

**EASTERN SEA** (PLACE) [Heb *hayyām haqqadmônî* (הַיָּם הַקַּדְמוֹנִי)]. A body of water or a sea to the E of the land of Israel. The term is employed three times in the Prophets: Joel 2:20; Zech 14:8; Ezek 47:18, the former two as part of an idiomatic expression designating one of two opposite points of the compass and the latter as part of the future border of Israel envisioned by the prophet.

The Hebrew expression is composed of the word *hayyām* "the sea" and the term *haqqadmônî,* a denominative noun derived from *qdm* and suffixed with termation *ôn (ōn* in Joel 2:20) and the adjectival ending *î.* Akkadian *qudmu (qadmu)* connotes "early time," "olden days" and (in prepositional use) "front" (CAD 13: 295–96), while in Ugaritic texts *qdm* is in the sense of "east wind" and "in front of" (*UT* 19.2208). Biblical Hebrew employs the aforementioned meanings and extends it to a variety of expressions mostly designating a period of time or a location eastward (KB, 823–24).

*Hayyām haqqadomônî,* perceived as connoting an eastern orientation, is therefore a designated location, a body of water in "the front" (of a person facing eastward). Geographically, scholars favor its identification with the Dead Sea because of the latter's place to the E of Israel, thus formulating the equation *hayyām haqqadmônî* = Dead Sea, translated into English as the Eastern Sea (GesB 302; see also Mitchell ICC, *Haggai, Zechariah* 347; Joel 112; Eichrodt *Ezekiel* OTL, 589–90). It should not go unnoticed, however, that Eusebius (Onomasticon #503) does not record *hayyām haqqadmônî* as cognate to the Dead Sea. Neither the LXX, nor the Aramaic translations are familiar with the equation. To Rabbinic literature it is unknown, and the Vulgate translates it verbatim, *mare oriental.*

Remarkable, however, is Rashi's explanation. In Ezek 47:18 he considers the sea as a geographical place on the future E border of the land of Israel, which he identifies as the Sea of Salt, mentioned elsewhere as located in the east. Nevertheless, in the other places where *hayyām haqqadmônî* is in apposition to another body of water, Rashi does not consider it cognate to the Sea of Salt. In the prophecy of Zechariah it meant for him a cosmic sea located "eastward to the world." Kimḥi (Ezek 47:18) contends that if the sea is an actual body of water, then the possibility of identifying it with seas to the east of Israel is either with the Sea of Salt or with the Sea of Chinnereth.

Ancient commentaries provide an additional dimension of the term *qdm*. Commenting on *miqqedem* (Gen 2:8), Jerome advances that it be understood as *ab exordio,* and indicates that Symmachus and Theodotion are of the opinion that the word there is *non orientem sed principium* ("not 'eastern' but 'first' ") (Origen *Hexapla* Gen 2:8 [Field 1875]). Further, the Sages support the understanding that the term *qdm* (*b. Pesaḥ.* 54a) has the specific meaning of a beginning related to the creation epoch, an assumption manifested also by Targum Onkelos, which renders it in Aram *mlqdmyn* "before the beginning." It is echoed by Albright (1968: 97) who remarks that *(miq)qedem* connotes primordial time and not "from the east."

Unique to *qdm* is the Akkadian *Qu-du-mu* a name for a god, which appears in a Northwest Semitic tongue in the denominative form of *qdmn.* For the Ugaritians it is a personal name (UT 68:40; 328:3) and for the Sages (*Midr.* Gen. Rab. 38:7) it is also a name, but only as an epithet for God, the one who antedated creation. Rabbinic literature employed the term *qdmny* in order to qualify the condition of creatures existing immediately after the Creation. *Nḥš hqdmny* and *ʾdm hqdmny* were placed among those existing during the period of creation but, after being punished by God, vanished and went into oblivion.

The biblical expression *hayyām haqqadmônî* undoubtedly predates the Rabbinic expressions and serves as a model for them. Jerome discerned the antiquity of the sea while explaining it as *mare primum* "primal sea" (*PL* 1527), thus permitting the understanding of the phrase in mythical context. The term is incorporated only in prophecies envisioning enormous cosmic changes (*b. Menaḥ.* 54a; Cook *Ezekiel* ICC, 425; also Kaufmann 1955–56: 524–25; 563–66) and in metaphors which intermingle the historical and the legendary; hence it makes a geographical identification less attractive and contributes to the proto-historical nature of *hayyām haqqadmônî.*

The merger of two senses of the term "belonging to the creation epoch" and the "eastern direction" form a new dimension for the Eastern Sea as the "legendary orient." This sea is complemented by *hayyam hāʾăhărn,* the "legendary occident" (see WESTERN SEA). The expression constitutes a word pair of two opposite points of the world, the uttermost east and the extreme west. The use of legendary entities as designations of the ultimate points is not alien to East Mediterranean people. It is anticipated by the couplet *šḥr* and *šlm* "Dawn and Sunset" (UT text 52:52–53), the mythological Gk Cadmus (from *qdm* "east") and Gk Erebus (from *ʿrb* "west") all of which are metaphorical expressions of the same idea, the furthest limits in the legendary cosmos. Neither is it uncommon for the poet to mix and match separate units to forge the antithesis (Ps 139:9; Job 18:20), nor is it unconventional to form word pairs (Isa 43:18, Qoh 1:11) which describe both antiquity and extremity (Ben Yehuda Vol 12:5766). Hence, *hayyām haqqadmônî* and *hayyam hāʾăhărôn* symbolize the extreme frontiers of east and west in the unique phraseology of the biblical heritage.

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MEIR LUBETSKI

**EATING AND DRINKING IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.** In the Old Testament, "eating" and "drinking" denote the ingesting of food and liquid for two primary purposes: (a) the preservation and strengthening of the life force; and (b) the establishment and strengthening of communal bonds between

persons who eat and drink together. There are, in addition, a number of passages in which "eat" or "drink" are metaphors for other kinds of consumption or relationship.

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A. The Hebrew Terms for "Eat" and "Drink"
B. Primary Functions of Eating and Drinking
1. Relation to the Life Force
2. Relation to Communal Bonding

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**A. The Hebrew Terms for "Eat" and "Drink"**

The Hebrew *ʾkl,* "to eat," a root common to several Semitic languages, occurs 910 times in MT. Most of these occurrences represent the verb itself, though there are a few related words such as *ʾōkel,* "food," and *maʾăkelet,* "knife." The cognate verb *akālu* occurs frequently in Akkadian; the main derivative in that language is *akalu,* "bread" or "food," while Hebrew employs *leḥem* for "bread." Ugaritic uses as verbs both *ʾakl* and *lḥm* for the meaning "eat," though *lḥm* appears more frequently.

The root *šth,* "to drink," appears 216 times in the Hebrew Bible, again primarily as the verb itself, though there are derivatives such as *mišteh,* which means either a "feast" or a "drink." The verb *šātâ* does not occur in the *Hipʿil* or causative form; its causative is supplied by the *Hipʿil* of *šqh,* "to give drink," appearing 64 times. Again, the cognate words are used in much the same way in Akkadian: *šatû,* "to drink" and *šaqû,* "to give drink." Ugaritic uses both *šty* and *šqy* to mean "drink," and also employs the causative š-form with *šqy* to produce the meaning, "to give drink."

In 35 OT texts the two words are used together in a fixed expression, "he/they ate and drank." This same fixed expression occurs in Ugaritic and Akkadian texts as well. The effect of the two verbs together is intensification of whatever connotations are supplied by the context. Thus if the plain fact of consumption is the point, the phrase "ate and drank" implies a full meal, satiation (e.g., Gen 25:34). If the hospitality owed to visiting strangers is involved, "they ate and drank" emphasizes that full-services were extended to the visitors (e.g., Judg 19:4, 6, 21).

**B. Primary Functions of Eating and Drinking**

One very important range of meanings stems from the fact that eating and drinking sustain the human life force. This fact leads, in turn, to the celebration of Israel's God as the one who provides food and drink through his work in creation and history. It leads at the same time in another direction—toward the use of eating and drinking as metaphors for any kind of activity where elemental human needs are met.

**1. Relation to the Life Force. a. Sustenance.** A human both "has" a *nepeš* ("soul," "life," "life force") and "is" a *nepeš* ("person," "appetite," even "throat"; Wolff 1974: 10). Food sustains this hungry being in life—so much so that "to eat" can mean "to live" (Gen 47:22).

If eating and living can be identified, it stands to reason that the strength or quality of the life force is directly dependent on the intake of food (1 Sam 28:20; Judg 15:18–19). A strong life force is shown by the brightness of the eyes, while sickness, depression, or anxiety cause the eyes to dim (Ps 6:8; 38:11; 2 Sam 14:29; Deut 28:65; Lam 4:16). Eating and drinking strengthen or "improve" the heart (Ruth 3:7); wine makes the heart "glad" (Ps 104:15). Stress and illness make a sufferer forget to eat bread, so that the heart is "smitten like grass" and "withered" (Ps 102:4).

The need for food is so intense and so endlessly a part of experience that it can even spill over into dreams, "as when a hungry man dreams that he is eating and awakes with his hunger not satisfied" (Isa 29:8). Akkadian texts, too, show dream interpreters dealing with the meaning of food in dreams (*CAD* 1/1: 249).

Such intense need leaves society at the mercy of those who would exploit its limitations, because the person who controls the food supply has great power. This fact lies behind Jacob's purchase of Esau's birthright in exchange for food (Gen 25:29–34). Later, Jacob exploits his father's hunger and obtains Isaac's blessing after serving him a savory stew (Genesis 27). It is ironic that the blessing itself concerns food and power (Gen 28:28–29).

The power to control food lies in the hands of the wealthy, who flaunt this power in ostentatious banqueting (Amos 6:4–6; Isa 6:22; 22:13). Meanwhile, the poor are chronically hungry. "All my life I have never had enough to eat," says an Old Akkadian text from Mesopotamia (*CAD* 1/1: 241, 9′); many poor people in Israel must have known the same endless hunger. Only Israel, however, had a body of sacred legal or *torâ* traditions which were designed to ensure food for the poor.

Prominent among Israelite laws designed to provide food for the poor are: permission to pick and eat handfuls of grain and grapes from a neighbor's field (Deut 23:24–25); the command to leave some grain and fruit unpicked at harvest time so that the poor may glean a little food (Deut 24:19–22; Ruth 2); the prohibition against taking a grinding stone as collateral on a loan (Deut 24:6); and the command to pay day laborers at the close of each working day, out of consideration for the hand-to-mouth existence of poor folk (Deut 24:14–15).

Even worse than the chronic hunger of the poor, however, was the frequently mentioned experience of starvation, whether as a recorded fact or as a recurrent symbol for God's punishment of people. Perhaps the most graphic description of starvation is found in Deut 28:47–57, where the famished survivors within a besieged city resort to cannibalism, even eating their own children's bodies. That such things happened in wartime throughout the ancient Near East is confirmed by the occurrence of very similar passages in the "curse" or threat sections of Assyrian treaties—treaties imposed by the very nation whose tactics starved opponents into cannibalism (*CAD* 1/1: 250b; *ANET,* 533). The threat to inflict such starvation is probably the ultimate use of "food power" as a weapon of control. Such brutal manipulation of human hunger stands in sharp contrast to God's kindly provision of food to all living beings.

**b. Symbolic Aspects.** Where does food come from? The Old Testament unequivocally ascribes the provision of food to God, the very God who "breathed into the man and he became a *nepeš*" (Gen 2:7). From the beginning, humans are given the vegetation of the earth to eat (Gen 1:29, P; 2:16, J). Later, after the Flood, the Noahites are permitted to eat animal flesh, but not the blood (Gen 9:3). Still later, detailed and extensive sets of regulations are given concerning the foods that may or may not be eaten (e.g., Leviticus 11; Deuteronomy 14). Whether these well-known food laws are motivated by a desire to avoid Canaanite cult practices (*IDB* 1: 641) or by a kind of logic about "natural" and "unnatural" animals (Douglas 1966; Soler 1979), the theological implications are clear: God is the Power who provides food for human life.

Certain foods are not intended for use. Traces of food taboos are found elsewhere in the ancient Near East, especially in Egypt. For example, a text which first appears on coffins in the Middle Kingdom tells "how the pig became an abomination to the Gods, as well as their followers, for Horus' sake" (*ANET,* 10).

God's beneficence in providing food is not limited to humans alone. Psalm 104, for example, powerfully celebrates God's gift of food and drink to all living creatures, whether herbivores such as cattle (v 14), or carnivorous predators such as lions (vv 20–23). As in Egyptian and other literatures, this divine provision of food is made through the regular orders of nature (see the famous Egyptian "Hymn to the Aton," *ANET,* 369–71). Only Israel, however, celebrates God's supply of food through history as well as through the operations of nature. Indeed, Yahweh's provision of food to Israel appears as a major theme in two segments of the basic sacred-historical recital, namely the Wilderness Wandering and the Conquest.

Far from romanticizing the wilderness of the Sinai peninsula and the south and east borders of Canaan, the ancient Hebrew hated and feared this barren, empty land (Jer 2:6; Davies 1974: 75–90; *IDBSup,* 946–49). This only serves to underscore the fact that Yahweh, through pure miracle, sustained Israel's life in a place bereft of any normal supplies of food and water. Yahweh effected this miraculous sustenance of his people in the face of their frequent rebellion and grumbling, through the provision of manna and quails from the sky and water from the rock (Exodus 16; Ps 105:40–41; Neh 9:15). Deuteronomy finds in the mysterious manna a lesson on divine sovereignty and mankind's humble dependence: "man does not live on bread alone, … man lives on everything that proceeds out of the mouth of the Lord" (Deut 8:3).

The Conquest traditions shift to a sterner depiction of Yahweh as a warrior for his people, but with the same goal—the provision of food. The Promised Land into which Joshua leads the tribes of Israel is

described again and again in terms of its fertile potential for food production (e.g., Deut 8:7–10). Other texts develop the theme of food supply in different directions. "I destroyed his fruit above and his roots beneath" (Amos 2:9, referring to the Amorites). Psalm 80 speaks of Israel as a "vine out of Egypt," planted by God after he "cleared the ground for it." Isaiah develops this vineyard metaphor even further (chap. 5), while Jeremiah represents Yahweh himself as the people's inexhaustible source of water—a source rejected by the people, who hew out broken cisterns "that can hold no water" (Jer 2:13).

The result of apostasy, Deuteronomy and the prophets threaten, will be the loss of land and food alike, so that Israel itself will be "consumed off the land" (Deut 28:21). Nature will turn against an erring people: "the heavens over your head be brass, and the earth under you shall be iron" (Deut 28:23). Finally, starvation will set in and Israel will be deprived of its beautiful land by enemy conquest (Jer 28:53–57).

With the hold on food and on life itself so dependent on a relationship to God, it is understandable that the rabbis of later Judaism prescribed a blessing thanking God for every kind of food. "A person should not taste anything," they taught, "until he says a blessing. For it is said, 'The earth is the Lord's and all that it holds.' One who benefits from this world without a blessing performs a sacrilege" (*t. Ber.* 4:1; Bokser 1981).

**c. Metaphorical Eating and Drinking.** Humans share the earth with a multitude of other creatures and forces which unremittingly pursue their own appetites, often at human expense (*TDOT* 1:236–46). Fire eats houses, cities, and fortresses (Num 21:28; Amos 1:4, 7, 10, 12). Cold and heat eat people (Gen 21:40). Invading armies eat up territory (Isa 1:7). In war, the sword eats first one soldier and then another (2 Sam 11:25). Death is hungry too, and its hunger is never satisfied, nor is the hunger of the barren womb, earth, and fire (Prov 21:15–16). Even famine is said to "eat," as if it were a force that gets to the food before people do (Ezek 7:15).

No Bible translation can succeed in conveying the prevalence of "eating" and "drinking" in the Hebrew. After all, the semantic range of the words is much broader in Hebrew than in English. As a result, translators must constantly employ milder or more oblique words such as "use," "burn," "consume," and "devour." The same happens in translations of Akkadian texts, which use the Akkadian cognate *akālu* to describe all kinds of destructive and consumptive activities, especially those of fire and warfare. Here as in the biblical translations, however, some of the nuance of the original text is lost.

With *šth* and *šqh,* "drink" and "give drink," we find much the same range of metaphorical meanings in the Bible and much the same problem for translators. Just as the sword eats, it also drinks blood until it is sated (Jer 46:10). The thirsty earth drinks water provided by God (Deut 11:11; Gen 2:6). Trees drink water from the earth (Ezek 31:14). A person not only drinks wine and water, but also "drinks" iniquity, derision, and violence (Job 15:16; 34:7; Prov 4:17).

In all these various metaphorical usages there are certain threads of continuity. In addition to their literal meanings of ingesting solids and liquids, "eat" and "drink" mean "to assimilate," "to internalize," "to make a part of oneself." This is what is meant when Jeremiah says he "ate" the word of Yahweh when it came to him (Jer 15:16; cf. Ezek 31:1–3). Similarly, a wicked person can internalize evil, making it habitual (Job 15:16; Prov 4:17), while a psalmist can express people's daily diet of pain and grief as being given "tears to drink" and "the bread of tears" to eat (Ps 80:5).

Secondly, "eat" can mean "use," "enjoy the use of," and even "enjoy" (Gen 3:17; Eccl 5:10). Thirdly, since "use" can imply "use up," *ʾkl* can also mean "to destroy," "lay waste," as by fire, pestilence, famine, and especially warfare. All of these meanings are paralleled in Akkadian and Ugaritic.

What still strikes the modern reader as odd is that no distinction is made between animate and inanimate forces. Not only do people and animals eat and drink, but so do things and abstractions. This suggests that there may be some truth to Johannes Pedersen's observation that the Hebrews did not firmly distinguish between living creatures and "lifeless" nature. Everything which has its own special peculiarities and faculties is thought of as "living," whether a stone or the earth itself (*PI* 1: 155). And all of these other creatures compete with humans in consuming.

**2. Relation to Communal Bonding.** The act of eating together implies a relationship of closeness and trust (Ps 41:9). Conversely, people who do not wish to be intimately related do not eat together (Gen 43:32). The social bonding function of eating together, which is widespread if not universal in human cultures, probably originates in the shared meals of families, or even more elementally in the experience of being suckled by one's mother. After infancy, the image of the father as food provider complements the mother-child imagery (cf. Ps 128:2–3).

**a. Establishment of Human Community.** The Bible depicts families and extended kin groups eating and drinking together on both humble and festive occasions (Ps 128:2–3; Job 1:4–5, 13, 18). Other groups also eat together, thus binding themselves into a quasi-family. This is the practice of the prophets encountered by Elisha (2 Kings 4) and, for that matter, it is also the practice of the despised "prophets of Baal," who "eat at Jezebel's table" (1 Kgs 18:19). To absent oneself from a family meal is to communicate feelings of alienation and anger (1 Sam 20:34).

The strong image of trust and solidarity which is projected by the family meal is subject, like hunger itself, to exploitation. This warping of family unity is part of the irony of Jacob's provision of food to his famished brother and his aged father. Even more strongly do Joseph's brothers make a mockery of family solidarity by callously eating together after throwing Joseph into a nearby pit (Gen 38:23–25). The re-created unity of the family is symbolized by the brothers' eating and drinking with Joseph in Egypt (Gen 43:32–34).

The festal eating and drinking at the banquet that accompanied a wedding was a major extension of the family meal. The bride and her attendants went in a procession to meet a similar procession of the groom and his friends, both accompanied by music (1 Macc 9:39; Jer 7:34). From there the joint procession moved to a house, usually the groom's, where a banquet was held with much merriment, to the accompaniment of more music. One marriage feast is described as lasting for seven days (Judg 14:12), but Tobias's feast lasted for fourteen (Tob 8:20; *IDB* 3: 278–87).

At the other end of the emotional spectrum, normal eating patterns were disrupted by a death in the family. Family members often fasted for a day or more after a death (2 Sam 1:12; 12:20–21; 1 Sam 1:13). Food was not prepared in the deceased person's house for about a week, during which time friends and neighbors brought "the bread of mourning" and "the cup of consolation" (Jer 16:7; Ezek 24:17, 22; *AncIsr,* 59–60). It was no small part of Jeremiah's lonely suffering as a prophet that he was allowed to share neither in the joys of marriage and family life, nor even in the meals prepared for mourners (Jer 16:1, 5).

Even after death and burial, the provision and sharing of food with family members was continued by means of funerary offerings. Archaeological excavations show that the Israelites for a time continued the Canaanite custom of placing food in the tomb at burial, and even as late a writing as Tobit includes the counsel to lavish bread and wine on the tomb of the righteous (Tob 4:17; *AncIsr,* 60).

In Akkadian, the expression for "host" is "one who gives salt and bread" (*CAD* 1/1: 245). Biblical texts place a similar emphasis on eating together as basic to the guest-host relationship; righteous Israelites even extend the solidarity of family meal to outsiders. The inclusion of strangers in a family meal is idyllically depicted in the narrative of Genesis 18, where Abraham and Sarah entertain the angels of Yahweh, and in Genesis 24, where Isaac's servant is treated with utmost kindness by Rebekah's family. Even the unfortunate Lot extends the prescribed hospitality to his visitors (Gen 19:1–2; Alexander 1985). The brutal assaults on travelers in the parallel narratives of Genesis 18–19 and Judges 19 show that such provision of hospitality was badly needed by people who traveled outside the territory of their clans or tribes; the sharing of food embraced these strangers in the solidarity and mutual protectiveness of the family circle.

Eating could also be used deliberately and ritualistically to seal a treaty or COVENANT. Some scholars even propose that the Hebrew *bĕrît*, "covenant," derives from the rare verb *bārâ,* "to eat" (*TDOT* 2: 253–54). The Hebrew Bible uses the word *bĕrît* to describe solemn mutual oaths or contracts between human individuals or groups, and also in reference to the covenants between God and his people. Four major texts describe covenants between people in which meals are eaten together as part of the ritual which

sealed their relationship: Gen 26:28–31 (Isaac and Abimelech); 31:51–54 (Jacob and Laban); Exod 18:12 (Moses and Jethro); and Josh 9:3–27 (Israel and the men of Gibeon). The implication seems to be that the covenant partners will now regard each other as "family" (McCarthy 1972: 30). At the same time a sacred dimension is added by the swearing of solemn oaths (Gen 26:31; 31:53; Josh 9:20), and even by the offering of sacrifice (Exod 18:12; Gen 31:54). Exodus 24:9–11 describes a similar series of events in the ceremony which ratifies the Sinai covenant between God and Israel. Here the solemn, awe-filled joy of a meal shared in the very presence of God seems to open up a new avenue of communion between God and man (Childs *Exodus* OTL, 507).

**b. Celebration and Renewal of Communion with God.** Closely related to the family and covenant meals were the meals which were eaten in connection with fixed religious observances. Major examples of such cultic meals are the yearly Passover supper and the meals associated with sacrifices, especially the *šĕlāmîm* or "communion sacrifices." Only a narrow line divides these cultic meals from the festal family meals, for Israel is, after all, Yahweh's *mišpāḥâ,* his "family" (Amos 3:1).

As with other ancient peoples, practically all ritual offerings and sacrifices of ancient Israel were foodstuffs (the only exception was the incense offering, Exod 31:1–10). Did these offerings of food and drink represent meals given for Yahweh's sustenance? Here Israel decisively parted company with the neighboring cultures of Canaan and Mesopotamia, where the mythological texts are full of descriptions of gods banqueting on priestly offerings (*ANET,* 69; Pope 1972). In Israel's scriptures Yahweh himself is never depicted as eating or drinking (*AncIsr,* 449–50); he is not fed from the sacrificial offerings (Ps 50:12–13; Schmidt 1983: 127–32). On the contrary, it is Yahweh who feeds his family at his table in the wilderness (Ps 78:19) and in the Temple (Ps 23:5).

The joyful banqueting of ordinary Israelites on occasions of sacrifice is depicted in 1 Samuel 2, where Elkanah distributes portions of meat to his family at Shiloh. On such occasions, families drank enough wine that it seemed reasonable for Eli to suspect that Hannah was drunk (1 Sam 2:14–15). In a narrative from the stories of Saul and Samuel, the prophet Samuel presides over a festal meal following a sacrifice (1 Sam 9:12–13). Saul is welcomed by Samuel and, in accordance with the rules of hospitality, is offered an especially fine piece of meat and later given lodging for the night (1 Sam 9:22–26).

One type of sacrifice, the *šelem,* was a "peace offering" (RSV) or a "communion sacrifice" (JB). Although scholars are no longer inclined to emphasize the etymological association of *šelem* with words implying "covenant," "peace," or "communion," there is little doubt that the *šelem,* even more than other sacrifices, emphasized feelings of brotherhood through commensality as the participants solemnly ate and drank "before Yahweh" (Deut 27:7; *IDB* 4:147–59). The *šĕlāmîm* are prescribed on occasions of thanksgiving and fulfillment of a vow, and as freewill offerings (Lev 8:11–16). The thematic link between all of these occasions for offering sacrifice is rejoicing (Deut 27:7; *IDBSup,* 763–71; see SACRIFICE AND SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS).

Most deeply and permanently ingrained in Hebrew and Jewish custom throughout the ages, though, has been the annual *sēder* or Passover meal. In this meal many of the meanings of eating and drinking in ancient Israel come together in one complex experience. The Passover meal is at the same time an offering or sacrifice of food to God (Exod 12:2–7); a celebration of God's deliverance of his people from Egyptian bondage (Exod 12:27, 40–42); a harvest festival celebrating the first fruits of the grain harvest (Lev 23:1–4), and indeed a celebration of the whole gift of the land of Canaan to Israel (Deut 16:9–10; Exod 13:3–10); the meal also served to confirm familial and community solidarity not only with contemporaries, but with every future generation (Exod 12:43–49; 13:8–10). Participation in the meal was tantamount to participation in the great Exodus event of redemption, for the Passover supper takes on a nearly sacramental significance (in addition to the Old Testament texts, see *m. Pesaḥ* 10:5; *IDB* 3: 663–68).

**c. Symbolic of End-time Redemption.** The joy of the redeemed in the end-time experience of redemption is often symbolized, especially in intertestamental and New Testament literature, as a great banquet (Jeremias 1958: 59–65; Smith 1987). Even in the earlier biblical literature, however, the end time is presented as an era of miraculously high agricultural production (Amos 9:11; Hos 2:21–23; Ezek 47:12;

Joel 4:18—Eng 3:18). All of these passages build on the general importance of food as a symbol of security and health, and specifically on the important role of food in Israel's Wilderness and Conquest traditions.

These same motifs undergo baroque elaborations in postexilic depictions of the eschatological feasting of the redeemed at Yahweh's banquet table. The only canonical text describing this banquet is found in the Isaianic Apocalypse, Isaiah 24–27 (Isa 25:6–8). A number of pseudepigraphic texts elaborate upon this description (e.g. *1 En.* 62:14; *4 Ezra* 6:49–52). The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch pictures the redeemed community feasting on the bodies of Behemoth and Leviathan and on the fruit of vines and trees which "shall yield ten thousandfold." This same apocalyptic tradition provides three different diets for the members of the Messianic kingdom: flesh, fruit, and manna. The flesh suggests the food of Israel's settled life after the conquest; the manna comes from the wilderness traditions; and the fruit is the diet of Adam and Eve in paradise. Thus the major epochs in the sacred history are made present, each through its characteristic food.

When the eschatological banquet takes the shape of the Messianic banquet in these late traditions, the emphasis shifts away from the prodigious quantities and qualities of the food. In place of the food, the texts mention either the protocol of the banquet, as in the Qumran scrolls (1 QS 6:4–6; 1 QSa 2:11–22; Cross 1961: 61–67) the simple fact of fellowship with the Messiah, or the honor and status accorded those who share in the consumption.

These scenes of eschatological dining complete the symbolic journeys whose trajectories began in Israel's most ancient scriptures. In the end time, in a perfect way never quite experienced in this world, food and drink represent fellowship with other men and women, communion with God through covenant and cult, and the gifts of God to Israel and to all mankind through history and through nature. In the time of God's final victory, the texts affirm, the life force itself will be eternally nourished as the plenty and joy of Eden are restored. The way to the Tree of Life, lost through a primal meal in the Garden, will no longer be barred to a hungering human race.

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**EBAL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿêbāl* (עֵיבָל)]. A clan name which appears in the genealogical clan list of Seir the Horite in Gen 36:23 and in the matching genealogy in 1 Chr 1:40. This person is described as the third of five sons of the clan chief SHOBAL, and is thus a grandson of Seir. These elaborate genealogical lists may simply reflect the tribal alliances or territories in the region of Edom rather than actual blood kinship.

VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

**EBAL, MOUNT** (PLACE) [Heb *har ʿêbāl* (הַר עֵיבָל)]. A large mountain located just N of Shechem in the central Samaria mountains, often paired in the Bible with Mt. Gerizim immediately S of Shechem. One of the highest peaks in the area, Mt. Ebal descends to the E in four large steps, which continue to be cultivated today. In the days of Joshua, Mt. Ebal was the location of a major Israelite ceremony associated with the stone inscription of the Mosaic law, the building of an altar of unhewn stones, sacrifices, and a special liturgy of blessing and cursing (Josh 8:30–35; cf. Deut 11:26–32; 27:1–26).

Although the biblical passages attesting to the Mt. Ebal ceremony are clearly Deuteronomistic (and therefore late), their reference to an important ceremony outside Jerusalem and in the heart of N territory is in sharp contrast with the so-called "main theme" of the Deuteronomistic historian: namely, the centralization of the cult in Jerusalem. Thus, many scholars assume that the historical witness of these texts is generally authentic (see Soggin *Joshua* OTL, 241). This assumption has been reinforced by the April 1980 discovery of an early Iron Age site, apparently cultic, on the S part of one of the steps of the mountain.

This previously unknown site, known as el-Burnat, was discovered during a survey of the hill country of Manasseh begun in 1978. Actual excavations began in 1982, and six seasons of excavations were conducted.

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A. Stratigraphy and Chronology
B. Excavation Results
1. The Enclosures
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3. Area B: The Domestic Building and Courtyard
4. Analysis of the Finds
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1. Archaeological Features
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**A. Stratigraphy and Chronology**

The two strata recognized at Mt. Ebal (2 and 1, with subdivision for 1A and 1B) belong to the earliest part of Iron Age I in the central hill country of Canaan (B. Mazar 1981; A. Mazar 1981: 31–36; Finkelstein 1986; Stager 1981; 1985; Zertal 1986; and contra Ahlstrom 1984: 171–73).

Both strata were short-lived, with no discernible evidence of destruction or violent action. Based upon two Egyptianized scarabs, a seal, and the pottery that had been discovered, stratum 2 apparently was founded in the middle of the 13th century B.C.E. It is suggested that stratum 2 can be dated ca. 1240–1200 B.C.E., while stratum 1 can be dated ca. 1200–1130 B.C.E.

**B. Excavation Results**

**1. The Enclosures.** The site consists of a large, double enclosure, defined by a stone wall. See Fig. EBA.01. The outer enclosure (ca. 250 m × 52 m), which is devoid of any architectural remains, constitutes an elongated kite with its tip to the S, where the entrance probably was located. The surrounding temenos wall was built in a single phase (str. 1B) and is of an unequal thickness, probably due to subsequent stone piling when nearby fields were cleared.

The inner enclosure (ca. 110 m × 35 m) is located at the higher, N part of the outer one. It consists of two parts—the N part (area C) and the S part (areas A and B). The S part contains the only architectural feature at the site. The W and S borders of the inner enclosure are founded upon a low rocky ledge, in the middle of which is an entrance which connects the two enclosures.

The enclosure wall was investigated in area C and was found to be approx. 0.9 m high. It was perhaps built as a barrier to prevent unauthorized passage while still allowing observation of the activities inside.

**2. Area A: The Architectural Complex.** This complex belongs to stratum 1B and consists of five elements.

The main building is a large, rectangular structure (ca. 9 m × 7 m) built of unhewn stones standing 3.27 m above bedrock. See Fig. EBA.02. Its corners are oriented toward the four cardinal points within an accuracy of 1 degree. The structure's walls are 1.4 m thick. The inner space is subdivided by two inner walls: a straight wall and an L-shaped wall, with an opening between them. The inner walls rest upon the earlier remains of stratum 2.

The remaining space was deliberately filled with four distinct layers of fill (layers A–D), consisting of earth, stones, ashes, animal bones, potsherds, or combinations of each. Layers A and C were pure ash with 962 animal bones which were burned and scorched. Layers B and D were of stones and earth, while the upper one (D) was probably meant to seal the fill and provide an upper floor for the structure. The fill seems to be the result of a single activity, as inferred from the well-stratified layers and the homogeneity of the pottery. The fact that the pottery collected from the fill was unrestorable implies that the fill was collected elsewhere and brought to the structure, rather than resulting from a second-floor collapse into a hypothetical cellar.

The main structure contains neither a floor nor an entrance, but was built as a high platform containing a special fill. Its construction was part of the new architectural scheme of the site in stratum 1B. It seems that it was filled with the remains of the cult of the preceding stage (str. 2).

The "surround" is a low stone wall abutting the outside of the main building. See Fig. EBA.03. Its stratigraphic position proves that it was built in stratum 1B as a single unit. The NW and the SE surrounds are 2 m wide, while the SW surround measures 0.6 m. A surround does not appear on the NE side.

The "ramps" (a main ramp and a secondary ramp) slope upwards from the SW to the main structure and bisect the courtyard. The main ramp leads to the center of the main structure and is 1.2 m wide, with an ascent slope of 22 degrees. The secondary ramp is 0.6 wide and parallels the main ramp abutting it on its N side, but ascends only to the level of the NW surround.

The courtyards are open, square, stone-paved architectural units attached to the main structure. They differ slightly from each other in their plan and inside them were found eleven stone-built installations containing either ash and animal bones, or clay vessels *in situ.*

A total of 70–80 installations of various shapes and dimensions were discovered around the main building. Roughly half of them contained either whole or partial ceramic vessels; some were votive vessels, two forms of which are unique to Mt. Ebal (a sharp-based juglet and a tiny carinated bowl). The installations were arranged in two layers, probably corresponding to the strata of the site. These installations also yielded an Egyptian scarab and a golden earring.

The custom of bringing pottery vessels and placing them as offerings around a ritual structure has deep roots in Near Eastern traditions. Collections of such vessels have been found at the MB-LB cult-place at Nahariya (Dothan 1956: 19), at the "long temple" of Hazor (Ottoson 1980: 60), at the "Obelisk temple" and the "champ des offrandes" at Byblos (Dunand 1950: pl. XCI:2; XCII:14122–23), at Athienou in Cyprus (Dothan 1984: 91–92), and at other sites.

Beneath the main complex of stratum 1B, were the remains of stratum 2: mainly a hard-packed dirt surface with a round, 2m-in-diameter, stone-built structure (L94). This structure was filled with black ash and animal bones. The floor and structure were presumably part of an earlier complex which undoubtedly bore a cultic character. The builders of the later large structure apparently considered the earlier round structure important, since they made it the exact geometrical center of the new building.

A stratigraphic section in the S courtyard unearthed a wide layer of ash and animal bones under the stone paving of the later courtyard. It seems that before the erection of the stratum 1B structure, cultic activities were conducted during stratum 2, and remains of these were likely used to fill the new structure.

The final phase, stratum 1A, appears to have been a deliberate burial of the site with stones. Evidence of this activity was found all over the site. The protection of sacred places by burying them is a well-known phenomenon in the Near East, including Israel (Ussishkin 1970).

**3. Area B: The Domestic Building and Courtyard.** NW of the main building the slope consists of wide rocky steps. A wall of big boulders was erected along the edge of the upper step when the site was founded in the second half of the 13th century B.C.E. (str. 2). This wall became a retaining wall for several elongated rooms where perhaps the custodians of the site lived.

In the transition into stratum 1, this building was filled to the top of the rockstep, creating a wide, paved courtyard. On the new courtyard were some installations, together with bones and pottery. Otherwise no other architecture existed apart from the main structure in area A.

A wide entrance gave access from the outer to the inner enclosure. It was located at the only natural opening in the rocky ledge W of the inner enclosure. Because of its width (7.5 m), the stone-paved three-stepped entrance may be inferred to have been a ceremonial, processional entrance. This contrasts with the gates at other Iron Age sites, which always had restricted access to help in defending the site.

**4. Analysis of the Finds.** The pottery represents a well-dated inventory of the early Israelite settlement. Three percent of the pottery in stratum 2 was of the LB tradition, containing carinated bowls, decorated juglets, etc. This stage apparently represents the interrelationship between Israelites and Canaanites during the 13th century B.C.E. The rest of the pottery was typical "Israelite," resembling the inventory of Giloh, ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah, Raddanah, Shiloh, Israelite ʿAi, Taʿanach, etc. It differs only slightly from these by the appearance of some special types, typifying the N hill country. These are a thick-rimmed bowl ("Manassite" bowl), trihandled jugs and jars, etc. To this must be added the two forms of votive vessels, unique to Ebal. The collared-rim jar represents nearly one third of the finds, while cooking-pots are less than the average from other sites (15–20 percent in domestic sites like Giloh and ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah as opposed to 5 percent at Mt. Ebal).

A special phenomenon is the decoration of the handles with designs of small indentations and incisions (Zertal 1986–87). It is the only kind of decoration known for the period, and it appears in many of the earlier sites of Iron Age I in Manasseh. This decoration appears to be geographically typical of Manasseh and limited to the early part of the settlement (13–12th centuries B.C.E.), and perhaps can be used to indicate the movement of the Israelites into Manasseh.

The nearly 3,000 bones analyzed thus far provide one of the largest samples ever studied in Israel. Apart from some small animals (hedgehogs, rats, wild rabbit, porcupine, etc.), which presumably died on the spot after the abandonment of the site, the remains of four species of large mammals were unearthed: sheep, goats, domesticated cattle, and fallow deer *(Dama dama mesopotamica).* Most of the bones were concentrated in the main building. Some were scorched and burned, probably indicating sacrifice (see analysis in Horowitz 1986–87).

The faunal data differ in many points from the typical finds at other Iron Age sites. The range of animals represented at Mt. Ebal is very narrow, while at other sites one usually finds the donkey and the dog, which were necessary animals for the Iron Age economy. The pig, which shares the same surroundings as the fallow deer and which is found at some of the other sites, is lacking here. The Mt. Ebal inventory represents only edible animals. The percentage of scorched and burned material is higher than is normally found, and this was concentrated in and around the main building. These points indicate that Ebal was a cultic site where animals were sacrificed and eaten.

Two Egyptian (or Egyptianized) scarabs were found in the site; both are rare and well dated (Brandl 1986–87) and belong to stratum 2. They have been dated by parallels from Egypt, Cyprus, and Israel to the second half of the 13th century B.C.E. or the last part of the reign of Rameses II. Since they show the same date, it is suggested that they can be used as dating material, rather than as a *terminus post quem* only. If so, we can fix for the first time an objective chronology for the Israelite settlement.

The stone seal found in the fill has a geometrical design and yields the same date of the second half of the 13th century B.C.E.

**C. Interpretation of the Site**

**1. Archaeological Features.** A comparison of Mt. Ebal with other contemporary sites indicates that it was a cultic site. Domestic and food-producing sites are often defined by four characteristics: a wide range of domesticated animals, the presence of sickle blades for harvest, the existence of bins to store

grains, and the presence of food-processing installations. Apart from the food-producing installations, none of the above have been found at Mt. Ebal. However, the combined presence of the bone finds, the fill, the general absence of domestic architecture, the special location, the installations, the entrance, and the temenos walls indicate a site for ritual ceremonies. Nevertheless, some have still compared the main building to storehouses, towers, or dwelling-houses (cf. Kempenski 1986; Coogan 1987; Shanks 1988).

Our only parallels are from literary sources. Special attention must be paid to the nonfunctional architectural features—the surround and the double ramp—to explain the site's special character.

Four Jewish sources from the Second Temple period (early Roman period) provide descriptions of a large burnt-offerings altar. This structure stood in the courtyard of the Temple at Jerusalem. Its description is given in the Mishnah (*Mid.* 3:1), twice by Josephus (*JW* 5.222; *AgAp* 198.1), and in the *Temple Scroll,* recently published by Yadin (1983: 239–41). These sources describe a large, square building, reached by a ramp. The altar is surrounded by a surround on three sides, with access via a secondary ramp joined to the main one. A striking similarity exists between these descriptions and the find at Mt. Ebal; the nonfunctional parts at the Mt. Ebal site are well explained by those sources. Albright (1920), analyzing the descriptions of the future altar in Ezekiel 43, suggested that it was built according to a Mesopotamian model—the ziggurat, which consists of a stepped building with a ramp, resembling the Mt. Ebal remains.

It is suggested, therefore, that the structure on Mt. Ebal is a large burnt-offerings altar, built in the beginning of stratum 1B, ca. 1200 B.C.E. This model, probably taken from Mesopotamian origin, was brought by the Israelites to Canaan. No other such structures have been found in the Canaanite religious world.

**2. Historical and Sociological Issues.** The discovery at Mt. Ebal represents one of the earliest stages of the Israelite settlement in the hill country. The existence of a cultic center implies social organization. The size of the enclosure and the main building, together with the quantity of the pottery and bones, may indicate a tribal or multitribal society. Since the site was where food and water were consumed and not produced, these were probably brought there, gathered, and distributed. Such organization requires some leadership—probably a priesthood.

The transition from stratum 2 to stratum 1 is a turning point from a modest cultic site (A. Mazar 1982) to a large central one, probably serving a large population. This transition could have been the result of some kind of social reorganization and centralized leadership.

Mt. Ebal appears to represent a different social element than the autochthonic one, bearing a basically imported culture. The architecture, the location of the site vis à vis Shechem, and to an extent the pottery are all foreign to the existing Canaanite civilization.

**3. The Biblical Tradition.** The presence of a ritual place on Mt. Ebal is mentioned in two biblical sources (Deut 27; Josh 8:30–35). These describe a ceremony requiring the presence of all the people of Israel. The ceremony includes inscribing the Mosaic law on stones, erecting an altar of unhewn stones, sacrifices, and special pronouncements of blessing and cursing.

In spite of the Deuteronomistic nature of the texts many scholars accept the basic authenticity of the event, especially such a significant event which is described outside Jerusalem and in the heart of the House of Joseph. On this basis, the tradition of Mt. Ebal is considered ancient and historical by Steuernagel (1900: 96), Alt (1966: 125–26), Noth (1966: 141–42), Mazar (B. Mazar 1974: 149), etc.

If there is a historical basis for the biblical tradition, an ensuing question is if there is a connection between the biblical tradition and the site at Ebal. The site is the only one from the Early Iron I period on the mountain; it agrees with the biblical traditions by its date, its location, and the general character of the remains. Furthermore, it appears to connect with a new social identity—the settling Israelites. It therefore appears that the site on Mt. Ebal is connected to the biblical tradition and that a central ceremony was performed on Mt. Ebal. It is also suggested that the site was the first multitribal cultic center, preceding Shiloh. The possible correlation between the abandonment of Ebal and the foundation of Shiloh (mid-12th century B.C.E.) may be interpreted as the movement of the national and religious focus of the Israelites from the north to the south, or from Manasseh to Ephraim.

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**EBED** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿebed* (עֶבֶד)]. The name of two individuals in the Hebrew Bible.

**1.** The ancestor of GAAL (Judg 9:26, 28, 30, 31, 35). Gaal led the men of Shechem in an unsuccessful revolt against Abimelech. The MT renders the name Gaal ben-Ebed, although some Hebrew mss contain the variant spelling Eber. It has been suggested that "ben-Ebed" (lit. "son of a slave") is a perversion of ben-Obed on the supposition that Ebed is not a usual proper name (Boling *Judges* AB, 176; Burney 1970: 278); but at least one other OT character was named Ebed (see no. 2 below). The LXX calls him *Abed* (var. *Abel, Sabet, Iobel*). The latter variant, found in Codex Vaticanus, has prompted discussion over whether Ebed was Canaanite or Israelite. If it is assumed that Vaticanus preserves the original reading, then Gaal's ancestor seems to have had the old Canaanite name Jobel or, less likely, an Israelite name which means "Yahweh is Baal (lord)." Gaal's nationality must be born out by the context of Judges 9, as demonstrated by Moore (*Judges* ICC, 254–56). Another possibility is that Ebed and Jobel are two names from the genealogy of Gaal ben Ebed ben Jobel (Boling *Judges* AB, 176).

**2.** A descendant of Adin and son of Jonathan (LXX *Obeth,* var. *Obe, Oben*) who was the family head of some returnees from exile under Ezra (Ezra 8:6; 1 Esdr 8:32 AV, NEB Obeth). Codex Vaticanus (1 Esdr 8:32) reads simply Ben-Jonathan. Fifty men accompanied Ebed, although according to 1 Esdr 8:32 the number was 250. Other descendants of Adin had returned earlier from exile under Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:15).

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**EBED-MELECH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿebed melek* (עֶבֶד מֶלֶךְ)]. An Ethiopian eunuch prominent in the service of the palace of Zedekiah and who provided timely aid to the prophet Jeremiah during his incarceration (Jer 38:7–13; 39:15–18).

Four components inhere with the personal life of this remarkable individual. First, he was an Ethiopian (Heb *kûšî*). Whether he was purchased as a slave or born in a Judean servile family or naturalized as a resident alien in Judah is not provided. It was not an uncommon practice to engage foreigners for royal service, particularly for the domestic chores. Secondly, the name Ebed-melech was clearly not his original name since it is Hebrew. It appears likely that it was bestowed upon him when he entered or rose to royal recognition in the kingly service. The name is neutral: "servant of [the] king"; the personal name is missing. Thirdly, he is described as a eunuch (Heb *sārîs*), a term which may be taken literally—antiquity did not attach so much stigmatization to such individuals as is common in modern parlance—or, it may mean a "court official." The usage of the term provides some foundation for either interpretation. And, finally, his responsibility that he exercised at court was extremely important. He was well informed of the inner workings of the palace, the political status of the foreign policy, the intrigues of the powerful nobles, and the injustices perpetrated against Jeremiah and minor groups by a regnant aristocracy. Amid the confusion of the bewildering times that tormented Zedekiah, he found in this loyal servant a refreshing confidence.

Some relationship to Jeremiah is presupposed by the text. When Ebed-melech discovered that Jeremiah had been consigned to the dungeon or cistern of Malchiah by the order of Zedekiah, who reluctantly acceded to the four powerful warlords of his court, he braved personal danger and appealed to the king as he sat in the Gate of Benjamin, no doubt administering the high court (Jer 38:1–6). Pleading the fatal consequences of such imprisonment to Jeremiah, he secured from the king a rescission of his former order and a new decree to transfer Jeremiah to confinement in the more livable court of the guard. One can only imagine the wrath he aroused from the prosecutors of Jeremiah, but one must applaud his selfless dedication to effect that amelioratory deed: to raise the prophet from the muddy cistern of Malchiah and to transport him to his new quarters.

This glaring invasion of a servant in the highest politics of the day and the glaring loss of face by the supreme war counselors earned for him the fear of stern reprisals. He seems to have become a marked man whose liquidation the anti-Babylonian aristocrats at court hotly pursued. Yet in all his fears there came to Jeremiah a divine oracle assuring Ebed-melech that he would never fall prey to his enemies, but would survive the coming disaster. Such was the kind gift of Yahweh in whom he had placed his trust. The didactic affirmation of the oracle indicates that faith in Yahweh is salvific though it involves a fight for the right, a concern for the oppressed, and a courage to dare (Jer 39:15–18).

EDWARD R. DALGLISH

**EBENEZER** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾeben hāʿēzer* (אֶבֶן הָעֵזֶר)]. The site of a battle with the Philistines in which the Ark was captured (1 Sam 4:1; 5:1). Ebenezer also figures in the story of a battle in which Israel defeated the Philistines under the leadership of Samuel. After this victory, Samuel erected a monument which he named "Ebenezer" (meaning literally "stone of help") commemorating the help which YHWH provided (1 Sam 7:12).

Many scholars feel that there are two Ebenezers, corresponding to the two battle narratives. Since Samuel erects the monument stone in 1 Sam 7:12 and names it Ebenezer after the battle of Ebenezer (1 Samuel 4) has already taken place, they reason that these must be two distinct places (see Cohen *IDB* 2: 5). In addition, the two battles are given different geographical locations: the battle in 1 Samuel 4 is near Aphek on the road leading from the coast towards Shiloh, and the one in 1 Samuel 7 is near Mizpah in the hill country N of Jerusalem (Driver *Samuel* ICC, 45).

Recently, however, excavations directed by M. Kochavi and supervised by I. Finkelstein were carried out at ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah (M.R. 146167) after its discovery in 1973 during survey work associated with excavations at Aphek (M.R. 143168; later called Antipatris, modern Ras el-Ein). Kochavi (1977) identifies this small settlement, 3 km E of Aphek, as the possible site of Ebenezer. Kochavi and Demsky (1978: 21) note, "As the nearest Israelite settlement on the fringe of the hill country facing Philistine Aphek in the Sharon plain, it is the best candidate for the Israelite staging area for the decisive battle with the Philistines." (For further discussion of this site see ʿIZBET ṢARṬA.)

Others who are less confident that the location of Ebenezer can be found point to the narrative and theological symmetry between the two battles (Garsiel 1985: 41–44) as evidence that these two scenes are meant to mirror each other as examples of Israel's fate being tied to its fidelity with YHWH. The repetition of the name Ebenezer, in this view, is part of this symmetrical arrangement. The use of Ebenezer in 1 Samuel 4 and 5 before the erection of the monument stone is an anachronism with many parallels in the OT; for instance, the mention of Bethel in Gen 12:8 before it is named by Jacob in Gen 28:19 (McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 146). Hertzberg (*1 and 2 Samuel* OTL, 68–69) underlines this point with respect to the geography of Ebenezer when he observes that the problems posed in locating an "Ebenezer" based on these conflicting references were of little moment to the narrator, whose concerns were theological rather than historical.

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**EBER** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿēber* (עֵבֶר)]. **1.** A son of Shelah (Gen 11:14), and the father of Peleg (Gen 11:16), and Joktan (Gen 10:24–25). Eber lived a total of 464 years. Gen 10:21 designates Shem as the father (i.e., ancestor) of all the sons of Eber. The association of the name Eber with the name of Ebrium (*eb-rî-um*), a king of the 3d millennium B.C. Syrian city of Ebla (Matthiae 1976: 109; Pettinato 1976: 47), remains an unproven possibility (Archi 1979: 565; Loretz 1984: 190–92). The root of Eber, *ʿbr,* may appear as a verb in West Semitic ("to cross over") and Akkadian ("to cross over water"). The intention of the note in Gen 10:21 seems to be to relate Eber to the Hebrews, with which it shares the same root (Wenham *Genesis* WBC, 228). It is disputed whether this implies that the author of Genesis 10 considered both Eber's sons as well as all their descendants to be "sons of Eber" (Haran *WHJP* 2: 288 n. 35). The use of "Hebrew" in Genesis and throughout the rest of the Bible is a separate matter for consideration. Its relationship to Eber depends on how the name is intended in the context of Gen 10:21–29; as referring to a geographic region (cf. the Akkadian *eber nāri,* "beyond the river"; Gunkel *Genesis* HKAT 3/1, 80; Cazelles *POTT*: 22; Thompson 1974: 305–6, although he recognizes a possible exception for Eber), as referring to an ethnic group (Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 218–20; Malamat 1968: 166–67; Koch 1969: 39–40, 71–78; Loretz 1984: 183–90; on the *ʿapîru* and their relationship to Eber, cf. also Bottéro 1954 and Greenberg 1955), as referring only to a personal name in a genealogical list (Westermann *Genesis* BKAT, 700–1), or as referring to a sociopolitical group (Oded 1986: 19–22).

2. The seventh of seven kinsmen (or clans) dwelling in the territory of Gad in the area of Bashan and Gilead (1 Chr 5:13). Some Hebrew manuscripts read *ʿbd,* "servant," followed by LXX A, and other LXX manuscripts read *ōbēd,* LXX B, which reads *iōbēd.*

3. The first of three sons of Elpaal, a Benjaminite (1 Chr 8:12). Some Hebrew manuscripts and the LXX read *ʿbd,* "servant."

4. The second of eleven sons of Shashak, a Benjaminite (1 Chr 8:22). The LXX reads *ōbēd.*

5. At the time of Joiakim, the head of the priestly clan of Amok, who returned to Jerusalem from exile in Babylonia (Neh 12:20). A few Hebrew manuscripts and the LXX (*ōbēd* ) read *ʿbd.*

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**EBER** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿēber* (עֵבֶר)]. Mentioned along with Asshur in the final prophecy of Balaam as a place afflicted by ships from Kittim (Num 24:24). The LXX, Syr, and Vg see here a reference to the "Hebrews," rather than to a specific place. Targum Onkelos reads *lʿbr prt* , "to Eber Perat," the area of N Mesopotamia. The oracle seems to refer to the Sea Peoples' invasion of the Levantine coast, ca. 1200 B.C. (Albright 1944: 226–31), although later sources find applications of the oracle in the invasions of Alexander the Great (1 Macc 1:1), of the Seleucids (*Ant* 13.6.7; Noth 1968: 194), and of the Romans (Dan 11:30 LXX). Eber in Num 24:24 may therefore be understood either as a general reference to the Israelites (through their eponymous ancestor mentioned in Gen 10:21–24; 11:14–17; Koch 1969: 75–78; de Vaulx, *Numbers* SoBi, 296–97; Wenham, *Numbers* TOTC, 182; Budd, *Numbers* WBC, 271) or, less likely, as a reference to N Syria as the region "beyond (*ʿbr* ) the river (Euphrates)" (Gray, *Numbers* ICC, 379).

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**EBEZ** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾebeṣ* (אֶבֶץ)]. A town listed in the tribal territory of Issachar (Josh 19:20). The RSV and AV render the name Abez, transliterating the pausal form of the name. The name seems to be a cognate of the PN Ibzan (Heb *ʾibṣān;* Judg 12:8–10), and Boling (*Judges* AB, 215) associates the Heb root with the meaning "swift." The $LXX^B$ reads *rebes* here, suggesting a Heb vorläge *rēbeṣ*, "resting place." The location of Ebez is unknown, although it has been suggested that it be identified with ʿAin el-Ḥbuṣ (or el-ʿAbuṣ), between Aulam and Sirin (*WDB*, 145).

**EBIONITES.** An early Christian sect known for its observance of some form of the Jewish law. Its members were regarded as heretical by the Church Fathers. The earliest undisputed use of the term Ebionites (usually *Ebiōnaioi* in Gk, *Ebionaei* or *Ebionitae* in Lat) appeared in the 2d century in the *Contra Haereses* of Irenaeus of Lyon, who recorded it as the name of a Christian group he considered heretical because they lived according to Jewish law. However, the term has an earlier history, having evolved into a sectarian name from the generic biblical Hebrew word *ʾebyônîm*, meaning "the poor." The significance of this earlier evolution has long been a subject of dispute.

The beginning of publication of the Qumran scrolls renewed an old debate on the question whether various NT references to "the poor" (*ptōchoi*) could help in retracing the history of the Ebionite heresy. The Qumran manuscripts include references to "the poor" which can be seen as semitechnical terms, midway between the generic biblical Hebrew use (e.g., in Psalms) and the use by Irenaeus. For example, in a commentary on Psalm 37, the Qumran writer describes his group as *ʿădat hā-ʾebyônîm*, "the congregation of the poor" (4QpPs37 III.10). Such references were noted by Teicher (1951), who proposed that the Qumran texts were written by Christian Ebionites; his proposal is emphatically rejected by most scholars, who find no evidence at all of Christianity at Qumran. At the other end of the spectrum, Keck (1965, 1966) essentially denies that Qumran, NT, and patristic references to "the poor" can help illuminate one another. The question as to whether the data from Qumran and the NT are useful for understanding Ebionite origins and history depends on what varieties of Jewish sectarianism and of early Christianity influenced the group.

Paul referred to certain early Christians in Jerusalem as "the poor" (Rom 15:26; Gal 2:10; Fitzmyer 1955). There is insufficient evidence to determine whether some of the Jewish law-observant Christians around James in Jerusalem designated themselves "the poor," though Jas 2:1–7, referring to the poor man

in the synagogue, suggests such a term would not have been offensive. What can be asserted on the basis of patristic literature is that the Ebionites associated themselves with early Christians who observed Jewish law. They rejected Paul's view of Jewish law (Irenaeus, *Haer.* I 26.2) and possibly encouraged the view that they were represented among the Jerusalem Christians who supposedly fled Jerusalem before 70 C.E. for Pella (as suggested by Epiphanius' account in *Haer.* 30.2).

All patristic accounts agree that Ebionites observed some version of Jewish law (including, e.g., circumcision). In addition, according to Irenaeus, Ebionites used only the Gospel of Matthew, venerated Jerusalem, and regarded Jesus' birth as natural (the patristic references are conveniently gathered in Kiljn and Reinink 1973). Tertullian repeats the complaints that Ebionites observed Jewish law and denied the Virgin Birth, regarding Jesus as merely a prophet, but adds that their founder was a person named Ebion *(Hebion),* presumably on the false assumption that all heresies can be traced to an eponymous founder. According to Hippolytus, Ebionites claimed that Jesus became Christ as a result of observing the law. Origen dismisses Ebionites as "poor in understanding" for insisting that Jesus was sent only to the Jews. By the 4th century, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and Jerome repeated familiar criticisms, but added some uncertainty as to which apocryphal gospels were used by Ebionites and other Jewish-Christian groups (see EBIONITES, GOSPEL OF THE); also, they allowed that some Ebionites may have accepted the Virgin Birth.

Epiphanius' long account of Ebionites (*Haer.* 30; see Koch 1976) assigns some portions of the pseudo-Clementine literature to them; this literature, which has a complex composition history (see CLEMENTINES, PSEUDO-), includes strongly dualistic theology, speaks of a reincarnated true prophet, and has Peter speak against Paul's view of law. Other innovations include vegetarianism and the rejection of portions of Hebrew scripture. Additionally, Epiphanius asserts that Ebionites had come under the influence of the revelation of Elchasai. See ELCHASAITES.

The Bible translator SYMMACHUS is occasionally mentioned as an Ebionite. His translation of Zech 9:9, for example, renders the characterization of the humble (Heb *ʿonî*) donkey-riding Messiah as *ptōchos,* poor. However, little is known of Symmachus, so this possible identification adds little to our knowledge of Ebionites.

Among possible allusions to Ebionites in Rabbinic literature, one of the more likely appears in *b. Šabb.* 116a, wherein rabbis debate whether to save books of the *minim* (heretics) in the case of fire. If one allows for a slight self-censoring spelling of the names, the rabbis consider books found in the house of Ebionites (*byʿbydn*) relatively more worth saving than books in the house of Nazarenes (see NAZARENES). In favor of this reading, it may be noted that the rabbis were more inclined to condemn Nazarenes, whereas Church writers were more inclined to condemn Ebionites.

Many questions remain concerning the evolution of the Ebionites and their relation to other Jewish-Christian groups. After the accounts in Epiphanius and Jerome, Ebionites fade from history.

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**EBIONITES, GOSPEL OF THE.** The name given by scholars to a presumed Judaic-Christian gospel, now lost. The matter of these Judaic-Christian gospels, namely, the *Gospel of the Ebionites,* the *Gospel of the Hebrews,* and the *Gospel of the Nazoraeans* has been called the most irritating problem in the NT Apocrypha.

Confusion stems from the fact that the title "Gospel of the Ebionites" is never used by the Fathers. Rather, it is the creation of modern scholarship to reference a specific source cited by Epiphanius. He quotes from "The gospel which is called with them (viz. the Ebionites) according to Matthew which is not complete but falsified and distorted, they call it the Hebrew Gospel …" (*Haer.* 30.13.1). He further states that the Ebionites "also accept the gospel according to Matthew. For they too use only this like the followers of Cerinthus and Merinthus. They call it 'according to the Hebrews' which name is correct since Matthew is the only one in the NT who issued the gospel and the proclamation in Hebrew and with Hebrew letters" (30.3.7). Yet elsewhere, in the *Anacephalaiosis* (t. 2.30.2), a précis of the *Haer.* which may or may not be Epiphanian, it is said that the Ebionites "use the gospels (*euaggeliois*)."

We have other early reports concerning the Ebionites' choice of texts; these only further confuse the picture. Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.26.2; cf. 3.11.7) states that "they use the Gospel according to Matthew only." Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.27.4) says that they used "only the so-called Gospel according to the Hebrews and made small account of the rest." How these contradictory statements are to be resolved is unclear.

The Ebionites are described by the Fathers as law-abiding Jews, who rejected Paul. They apparently rejected the Virgin Birth, arguing that Jesus was the natural son of Mary and Joseph, and was adopted by God. Even after Christ descended on Jesus in the form of a dove at his baptism, Jesus remained simply a man. The Ebionites appear to have had an abhorrence of sacrifice; they may have used water in the Eucharist (on Ebionite beliefs, see Epiphanius, *Haer.* 30.2; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3.27.1–6; Schoeps 1953; Klijn and Reinink 1973; EBIONITES).

The name Ebionite is correctly derived from the Hebrew *ʾbywnym*, which means "poor men" (Or. *princ.* 4.3.80). Tertullian is the first to derive it (incorrectly) from the purported founder of the sect, a certain man named "Ebion." The Fathers make word plays on the name "Ebionite," saying that it is an appropriate name, reflecting the "poverty" of the Ebionites' understanding of the "true" (from the Fathers' point of view) meaning of the Scriptures.

Epiphanius quotes the gospel used by the Ebionites a total of seven times. Most of his citations are of reasonable length, permitting us some insight into the nature of the document. It appears to have been harmonized, woven from traditions found in the Synoptic Gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke). Johannine parallels are not found. Because of these characteristics, which distinguish it from the other Judaic-Christian gospels quoted by the Fathers, scholarship appears justified in positing a distinct document and designating it the "Gospel of the Ebionites."

In connection with his remarks about the Ebionites' rejection of the Virgin Birth, Epiphanius quotes what he says is the beginning of their gospel; and indeed, it appears to omit the genealogies and Virgin Birth account, commencing, rather, with John the Baptist's mission. The opening story is similar to that in Mark, although harmonized from all three Synoptic Gospels.

It is difficult to determine which if any of the canonical gospels provides the framework for the *Gospel of the Ebionites.* Similarly, one is hard pressed to state the original language. Despite the statements of Epiphanius (*Haer.* 30.3.7), scholars have usually argued for Greek. This is because of a substitution in Frag. 2 (Vielhauer's numbering in *NTApocr* 1: 117–39, 153–58), which seems to have been elicited by the similarity of the words in Greek (so Dibelius): *egkris* (oil-baked cake) is substituted for the canonical *akris* (locust). A dissenting position, however, is that of Boismard, who detects two traditions in Epiphanius' quotations from the gospel used by the Ebionites. One is a later, more developed tradition, which is probably a Greek language original; the second is a much more primitive tradition and has a strong imprint of a Semitic language. It is this latter tradition which Boismard equates with the Hebrew (i.e., pre-Greek) recension of Matthew—the document described by Epiphanius.

The harmonized form of the *Gospel of the Ebionites* is noteworthy. Jerome reports that Theophilus of Antioch created a harmony of the Gospels (*Ep. ad Algasiam* [121] 6), and Eusebius *(Ep. Carp.)* tells of a synopsis of the gospels, created by Ammonius of Alexandria. Investigations into the gospel text of Justin show that he used a harmony which incorporated the Synoptics, but not John (Bellinzoni 1967: 140). The date of Justin's gospel text, its harmonized form, and its failure to incorporate John are all reminiscent of the Ebionite gospel. The relationship between Justin's gospel and the Ebionite gospel, if any, is unclear at

present. It is plain, however, that the genre was known, and Bertrand has argued that the harmonized *Gospel of the Ebionites* antedates the DIATESSARON of Tatian, which was composed about 170 C.E.

Frag. 1 (Vielhauer's numbering), which speaks of "Jesus … who invited *us*," led Lagrange (1922) and Waitz (1937) to equate the *Gospel of the Ebionites* with the *Gospel of the Twelve*, mentioned by Origen and Jerome. This seems both unnecessary and unlikely, as Klijn and Reinink (1973) have pointed out, for the same Fragment also speaks of "you, Matthew," which would infer that Matthew is the putative author.

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**EBLA TEXTS.** The texts discovered at Ebla (Tell Mardikh in NW Syria), which constitute the largest single find of 3d millennium B.C. cuneiform texts so far recovered anywhere in the Near East. Estimates of the number of texts have varied widely and have not always taken into account the distinctions made by the excavators in describing the tablets. Alfonso Archi, epigrapher of the Missione Archeologica Italiana in Syria, has counted 1,757 tablets (defined as complete or nearly complete texts), 4,875 fragments (that is, incomplete pieces which may have up to ten columns of writing), and many thousands of chips (that is, small pieces having only a few lines or parts of lines) (Archi 1986c: 78). A single room in the palace, L. 2769, yielded more than 14,000 inventory numbers (Matthiae 1986: 56).

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A. Introduction
B. Chronological Considerations
C. Language of the Ebla Texts
D. Problem of "Reading" the Eblaite Language
E. Ebla and the Bible
F. Administrative Texts
G. Lexical Texts
H. Literary Texts
I. Letters and Diplomatic Texts
J. Colophons
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**A. Introduction**

Although not mentioned in the Bible, Ebla has long been known from Mesopotamian cuneiform texts, especially those of the Dynasty of Akkad (*RG* 1: 37–38) and the Ur III period (Owen and Veenker 1987: 263–91) as a major Syrian city of the 3d millennium B.C. Since many important cities of that time in both Syria and Mesopotamia continued to be occupied for many centuries, Tell Mardikh presents a rare instance where substantial 3d millennium remains lie near the present surface of the mound (Biggs 1981: 132). This fact combines with the special circumstance of the destruction of the Ebla palace by a violent fire that may have helped to preserve some of the tablets by baking them. While accidental baking of the tablets is certainly possible, it is also likely that the large summary account tablets, the tablets of a distinctly diplomatic archival nature, and the large lexical tablets were baked intentionally and that the small daily account tablets—that would normally have been destroyed or recycled when their contents

had been entered in the summary tablets—were unbaked at the time of the fire. The tablets were originally arranged on shelves (Matthiae 1981 unnumbered figs. following p. 80, etc.), which collapsed presumably at the time of the fire. There have been differences of opinion on the physical arrangement of the tablets on the shelves (Pettinato 1981a: 50, challenged by Matthiae 1986: 64), but Matthiae's opinion is upheld by Archi (1988e: 67–69), who has provided detailed drawings of the reconstructed shelves.

The other principal finds of comparable 3d millennium cuneiform texts were likewise made at sites that were largely unoccupied beyond the end of the 3d millennium B.C. Previous major finds were in Iraq at Fara (ancient Šuruppak) in 1902–3 and at Abu Salabikh in 1963 and 1965. The Fara literary and lexical texts and the Abu Salabikh texts are described in detail by Biggs (1974: 35–42). A few additional tablets have been found in subsequent excavations at Abu Salabikh (Biggs and Postgate 1978: 101–17). Recently, administrative documents similar to some of those found at Ebla have been discovered at the Syrian site of Mari as long ago as the 1930s, but have only recently been published (Charpin 1987: 65–127).

A considerable amount has been written concerning the relations between Ebla and Mari. The most extensive survey is found in Gelb (fc.), where he discusses such questions as the writing system and the language of Mari and Ebla and its relation to certain features of the Akkadian used in texts found at Kish, use of the decimal system at Ebla, Mari, and Abu Salabikh, systems of measures, the month names, and year dates. (See also Archi 1985b: 47–51; 1985c: 53–58; 1985d: 63–83; 1985f: 25–34; 1988c: nos. 1–17; Pettinato 1977: 20–28; 1980b: 231–45; Edzard 1981b: 89–97; Kienast 1980: 247–61; Pomponio 1983a: 191–203; Pinnock 1985: 85–92).

In the early stages of the study of the Ebla tablets, it was believed that the geographical names found in them indicated that Ebla was the capital of a major Near Eastern empire in the 3d millennium B.C. which included Akkad, Assyria, Byblos, and parts of Anatolia (Pettinato 1976a: 45–46), a fact that is reflected in the titles of books about Ebla (Matthiae 1977, revised English translation 1981; Pettinato 1979b and English translation 1981a). The identification of the Mesopotamian city of "Agade" turned out to be a mistaken reading (Matthiae 1978: 540–43), and the reading of the signs A-BAR-SAL$^4$ as Assur (Pettinato 1976a: 48) is considered by many scholars to be dubious as well (Sollberger 1980: 130–55; Biggs 1982: 17; Lambert 1987: 353–64), although it is still maintained by Pettinato (1986: 286–87). Byblos (the Gk designation of the city whose name is normally written in cuneiform as *Gub-la*) was thought (Pettinato 1981a: 209; 1983a: 107–18) to be found in the writing DU-*lu* in the Ebla texts, but because *gub* has not yet been identified with certainty as a reading of the sign DU in Ebla texts (Krebernik 1982: 185), this identification is generally abandoned (Archi 1987e: 15–16; Fronzaroli 1984–86: 141; Michalowski 1988: 100–1). There were certainly diplomatic and cultural ties between Ebla and Kish in northern Mesopotamia (Gelb 1981: 9–73; Biggs 1981: 131–33; Archi 1987a: 125–40; 1987c: 37–52), but Nippur and the cities of central Sumer are not yet found in the Ebla tablets. This seems all the more reason to doubt that Dilmun (Pettinato 1983b: 75–82; Stieglitz 1987: 43–46) is correctly identified in the Ebla texts (Michalowski 1988: 100–1).

Much has been made of the supposed occurrences of Canaan in the Ebla texts (Pettinato 1981a: 341 index s.v.), but it is not certain that the writings *Ga-na-na* and *Ga-na*-NE can be interpreted that way (Edzard 1981b: 95).

Whatever may have been the extent of the commercial relations of Ebla, the idea of an empire in a political sense is explicitly denied by Archi (1985a: 145) who points out that there were local rulers even at Hama only 90 km to the S and that the Eblaite territory to the W stopped at the mountains which delimit the Syrian coastal region. He believes that the kingdom of Ebla included the plain of Antioch, but that its N border was probably the foothills which now define the border between Syria and Turkey.

There is no mention of Egypt in the Ebla texts, but inscribed vases of the Egyptian pharaohs Cephren and Pepi I were found in Royal Palace G (Scandone Matthiae 1979: 33–43) as well as uninscribed Egyptian vases (Scandone Matthiae 1981: 99–127).

**B. Chronological Considerations**

The date of the Ebla archives has been discussed at great length, but without dwelling on the particulars here, it can be said that the excavator, Paolo Matthiae, now dates the Royal Palace, Area A, to the early Proto-Syrian period, ca. 2400–2250 B.C. (Matthiae 1985: 134–37). Alfonso Archi, the epigrapher of the expedition, dates the archives to approximately the middle of the 24th century B.C. (Archi 1985a: 140); that is, in Mesopotamian terminology, late Pre-Sargonic and the early part of the reign of Sargon of Akkad.

Since there are so far no 3d millennium B.C. royal inscriptions from Ebla, all chronological and genealogical information comes from the administrative documents, where it is only incidental to the purpose of the particular documents. The section "relative chronology" in Archi (1988a: 205–21) should especially be consulted in this regard. The best current estimate is that the Ebla archives cover thirty to forty years (Archi 1985a: 140; 1988a: 218).

The kings of Ebla are designated by the Sumerian title EN, corresponding to *malikum* in Eblaite (Pettinato 1981a: 74; Archi 1987c: 17–43). Pettinato (1981a: 69) gives the following as kings of Ebla: Igriš-Halam, Irkab-Damu, Ar-Ennum, Ibrium, and Ibbi-Sipiš. Two of these names now require different readings: Ar-Ennum is to be read ARRULUM (Archi 1988a: 208), and Ibbi-Sipiš is to be read Ibbi-zikir, as many scholars recognized early (Gelb 1977: 21; see now Archi 1988a: 208). Archi has demonstrated that the evidence that suggested that Ibrium and Ibbi-zikir were kings was misinterpreted and that in fact they were only high officials in the kingdom (Archi 1988a: 209–12, 219). The texts concerning offerings to dead kings (Archi 1986a: 213–17; 1988a: 212) provide a list of previous kings of the dynasty (that is, excluding the king who was ruling when the document was drawn up), while the title "king of Ebla" in the Ebla archives is attested for only two individuals: Igriš-Halam and Irkab-Damu (Archi 1988a: 215).

**C. Language of the Ebla Texts**

Although written in the cuneiform writing system of Sumer, the ancient language of Ebla is beyond doubt Semitic, but its position within the Semitic family of languages remains in dispute. Pettinato (*RLA* 5: 12 and elsewhere) considers it Old Canaanite, but based partly on mistaken assumptions such as the supposed occurrences of *ik-túb*, "he wrote" (Pettinato 1981a: 56). The signs in question are now to be interpreted as GÁL-TAK$_x$, a Sumerogram for an accounting term (Alberti 1984: 65–74).

Gelb (1977: 28) concluded that Eblaite (or Eblaic or Eblaitic as others prefer to designate the language) is most closely related to Old Akkadian and Amorite. On the other hand, Sollberger (1986: 1) goes further than Gelb in insisting that it *is* Akkadian (his italics), while another scholar identifies it as a dialect of Akkadian (Dombrowski 1988: 211–35). It should be borne in mind that different scholars attribute differing importance to such matters as vocabulary, verbal system, pronominal system, phonology, and syntax. It should also be remembered that most of the analysis of the Eblaite language is not based on connected texts but rather on interpretation of the personal names (Krebernik 1988a; Archi 1988a: 205–306). The highly formalized administrative documents yield little information that would be of real significance in analyzing the language of the Ebla texts. On the other hand, most of the so-called historical texts with their syllabically written passages remain unpublished. A plausible reason for this is that texts written syllabically in the Eblaite language are extraordinarily difficult to interpret given the ambiguities of the script and the inadequate fashion in which the Sumerian writing system was adapted for writing a Semitic language (Krecher 1987: 177–97; Michalowski 1988: 100; for a nontechnical discussion, see Biggs 1982: 14–15, 22). Nevertheless, it is hoped that the "historical" texts will eventually provide the best examples of connected passages in the Eblaite language. The few literary texts found at Ebla are unlikely to be of much help.

**D. Problem of "Reading" the Eblaite Language**

It is now generally agreed that most of the Ebla texts were intended to be *read* in Eblaite. The fact that they are written with an overwhelming number of Sumerograms (including entire verbal forms in Sumerian, all surely to be pronounced using their Eblaite equivalents) has sometimes led to the mistaken opinion that the texts were largely in Sumerian. In many instances the only evidence for the underlying Eblaite language is an occasional preposition or conjunction.

The handwriting of the Ebla cuneiform texts demonstrates a distinctive regional style immediately recognizable as different from any cuneiform writing known from Mesopotamia (for the question of regional cuneiform handwriting styles in general, see Biggs 1973: 39–46). Yet most signs are sufficiently similar to their Mesopotamian equivalents that scholars who can read the 3d millennium B.C. Mesopotamian signs rarely misidentify Ebla signs. Nevertheless, there are some notable divergences (Krecher 1987: 177–97).

A more serious problem than the identification of signs has been establishing the correct syllabic readings of signs. It is well known that many Sumerian cuneiform signs have two or more possible readings. Normally one would, at least at a preliminary stage, assume a reading in an Ebla text corresponding to the most common Mesopotamian values. Yet, a number of common signs have readings that are not immediately obvious. A prime example is the sign EN. As a logogram, EN stands for the Eblaite word for "king." It has a syllabic value *en* (as in the personal name En-na-il), but it is used more commonly with the reading *ru*[12] (Krebernik 1982: 186; Civil 1984a: 78). An example is the reading of the "royal" name *Arennum, which has now been revised to *Ar-ru*[12]-LUM (where even the last syllable is of uncertain reading—*lum, núm, gúm,* and *hum* are theoretically possible) (Archi 1988a: 208).

The possible readings of the sign NI have been the subject of a great deal of controversy, principally because some scholars have believed in a reading *ya* and held open a possibility that the syllable was an abbreviation of Yahweh (with obvious religious-historical implications) in such names as En-na-NI, Iš-má-NI, and MI-kà-NI (Müller 1981: 70–92 and references cited there). A reading *ì* (standard in Mesopotamia) has never been in doubt, and a reading *bu*$_x$ is also certain (Krebernik 1982: 198; Civil 1984a: 77–78). A reading of NI as *ni* is apparently rare (Krebernik 1982: 198–99; Krecher 1988: 175) in the Ebla texts. In the case of the supposed Ya as a divine name, the solution seems now to come not from any syllabic reading of the sign NI, but from the Ebla treatment of consonants in a closed syllable, here specifically the consonant *l* (Archi 1986b: 246; 1988a: 263; Müller 1988: 72–73). The evidence is overwhelming that *l* is often not expressed in the writing at the beginning or end of a syllable. Thus *ì* can be simply a short writing for *il.* It seems likely that *ì* for *il* in personal names (where Il is a very common element) is especially frequent, because the sign NI (i.e., *ì*) is very simple (4 easy stylus strokes) whereas *il* is a complicated sign (usually made up of 15 or more wedges at various angles).

A number of further examples of syllabic values at Ebla that might be unexpected could be given, but only two additional examples will be provided to illustrate the extent of the ambiguities and the degree of caution that is needed. It appears that the common sign RI does not have a value *ri* in Ebla texts, but only *dal/tal/ṭal,* which is especially clear in words beginning with a *ta-* preformative (Krebernik 1982: 200) and in feminine personal names (Fronzaroli 1987b: 63–73). The sign BU represents not only the syllable *bu* (more often expressed by *bù*) but also *gi*$_x$ (based on Sum gíd).

While this is not a place for detailed discussion of the Eblaite writing system or of phonology, an additional feature should be mentioned: the problem of *l* and *r.* It has long been recognized that *l* can occur (at the beginning of a word, the beginning of a syllable, or the end of a syllable) where *r* would be expected (Archi 1980: 85, 87; Krecher 1984: 150; Müller 1988: 72). The contrary (use of a syllable with *r* where *l* is expected) is apparently not attested (Müller 1988: 72).

Some specific examples of potential ambiguities have been given here, but it should be stressed again that the Sumerian writing system was not well adapted to write a Semitic language with consonants that do not occur in Sumerian. It appears that the script, as adapted for use at Ebla, made no distinction, or at least no clear distinction, between different kinds of stops and the various sibilants (Krecher 1988: 175).

**E. Ebla and the Bible**

Soon after the discovery of the Ebla tablets, speculation arose concerning possible relationships to the OT (Pettinato 1976a: 48–50; 1980c: 49–72; Freedman 1978: 143–64; 1982: 309–35). The principal advocate of the theory that the Ebla tablets were of direct relevance for the study of the OT was the late Mitchell Dahood (1982: 1–24; 1984: 439–70; for additional references, see Baldacci and Pomponio 1987: 455 index ad Dahood). A famous example of Dahood's work is a text of which he confidently "translated" what he believed to be a proverb written in Canaanite but which turned out to be a text listing

Sumerian terms for cuts of meat. Most of his other attempts at elucidating texts from Ebla or texts in the Bible based on his interpretation of Ebla vocabulary cannot be as decisively rejected, but scholars who are knowledgeable about the cuneiform writing of the 3d millennium B.C. tend to be very dubious about his theories. The issue now seems to be principally one of historical interest when looking back upon the development of a new field of Near Eastern studies. Jonas Greenfield (1988: 94), referring to article of Dahood, neatly reflects the scholarly consensus when he writes, "Suffice it to say that Ebla has no bearing on the prophets, minor or major."

**F. Administrative Texts**

Approximately 80 percent of the 3d millennium B.C. tablets found at Ebla are administrative (Archi 1985a: 140). Many of these tablets may not be from archives in the technical sense of a collection or repository of records no longer in use, but rather are preserved for their historical value (Veenhof 1986: 7). However, it seems useful to follow the usual practice in Assyriology and to utilize the term "archive" to include texts stored or found together or which originated in the same administrative context (see detailed discussion in Veenhof 1986: 1–36). Although the term "library" has been used occasionally to refer to the tablets found at Ebla, the term "archives" has been used more generally.

The archives provide documentation for the activities of the various administrative sectors of the Ebla kingdom such as food supplies for the palace and its dependents (Archi 1982: 173–88; 1988b: 25–29; Milano 1987: 519–50), agricultural production and animal husbandry (Archi 1982: 175–76; 1984c: 45–81; Gelb 1986: 157–67; Milano 1984a; Renger 1987: 293–311), transactions in precious metals (Archi 1985f: 25–34; 1988c; Waetzoldt 1981: 363–78), and, with a vast documentation, the textile industry (Edzard 1981a; Biga and Milano 1984; Zaccagnini 1984: 189–204; Ribichini and Xella 1985; Sollberger 1986; Archi 1988c).

The tablets recording these administrative activities were stored in several different rooms of the palace (see Archi 1985a: 140–41 for a brief summary and 1986c: 72–86 for a detailed discussion of the particular archives).

Some of the tablets are dated, but the sequence within an archive can usually be determined best by internal evidence, principally by prosopography, since the order of the Ebla year names is not yet known (Archi 1986c: 72; see also Pomponio 1987a: 249–62 and Mander 1987: 395–407). Even prosopography is of limited use, however, because a number of persons bore similar names and patronymics are rarely given. No documents so far discovered bear seal impressimns, though seals were in use for other purposes (Mazzoni 1984: 18–45).

**G. Lexical Texts**

Word lists (or lexical texts as they are usually called by Assyriologists) form the backbone of the Mesopotamian scribal tradition from near the beginning of writing in the early 3d millennium B.C. through the 2d and 1st millennia B.C. with bilingual vocabularies (usually Sumerian and Akkadian but, depending on the area, including Hittite and other languages), ending with Greek transcriptions of the Sumerian entries. The texts of interest to us here are those of the 3d millennium B.C. (see especially Westenholz 1985: 294–98). Such lists of words are mostly thematic, and consist almost entirely of nouns. It is copies of such texts which make up the most important component of the lexical texts from Ebla (Pettinato 1981a: 46–47, 237–38; Biggs 1981: 129–32). Some of these texts are descended from the lexical traditions of early 3d millennium B.C. Uruk (Nissen 1981: 99–108). The best known of these is Early Dynastic (ED) Lu A (Civil 1969: 4–12; Arcari 1982), a list of occupations already ancient by the time of the Ebla tablets. Its archaic nature is indicated by the inclusion of cuneiform signs unknown except in copies of this list. Another list of occupations, ED Lu E, probably composed closer to the middle of the 3d millennium B.C., occurs at Abu Salabikh (Biggs 1974: nos. 54–60, edited in Civil 1969: 16–21, with corrections in Biggs 1974: 82), Kish, and Ebla (Pettinato 1976b: 169–78). An unrelated text of similar date, now known from Abu Salabikh and Ebla, was first published as a "Names and Professions List" (Biggs 1974 nos. 61–81 and edition pp. 62–71; Ebla version Archi 1981a: 177–204; 1984d: 171–74; cf. Biggs 1988: 91–96).

There is a list of geographical names first found at Abu Salabikh (Biggs 1974 nos. 91–111 and edition pp. 71–78), of which a version was also found at Ebla (Pettinato 1978a: 50–73; 1981b: 217–41; Pomponio 1983b: 285–88). A proposal to find Palestinian place names in this list (Shea 1983: 589–612) is generally rejected by scholars (Greenfield 1988: 94). See Steinkeller (1986: 31–40) for some specific identifications; he categorically rejects a proposal to see in the writing *U*$^{9}$*-ga-ra-ad* the name of the city of Ugarit, a conclusion also reached by Fronzaroli (1984–86: 145). The consensus now is that many of the place names are to be located generally in N Babylonia and the Trans-Tigris area and thus are not to be sought either in S Mesopotamia (not explicitly proposed by any scholar) or in the Syrian area (Pettinato 1976a: 52). Most scholars who have considered the question apparently agree with Biggs (1980: 84–85; 1981: 130–31) in rejecting a Syrian origin for the composition (Civil 1984c: 290; Steinkeller 1986: 31–32).

Other traditional Sumerian lexical texts found at Ebla include lists of birds (Pettinato 1978b: 165–78; 1981b: nos. 39–42 and pp. 105–23; Civil 1982: 17–22), fishes (Pettinato 1981b: 91–104), and practical repertories of words needed in writing everyday documents commonly known as "Practical Vocabularies" (Civil 1987a: 132–33).

Besides the numerous examples of Sumerian word lists directly related to those from Mesopotamia, Ebla has provided others so far unknown from elsewhere (Civil 1984a: 77). The most important of these texts is the Ebla Vocabulary published by Pettinato (1982: 115–343). It consists in most cases of a list of Sumerian words to which an Eblaite translation has been added. This list consists of nearly 1,500 lines and is known almost in its entirety from numerous exemplars (Archi 1980: 81–89); Fales 1984: 173–87). There is also the Ebla "Syllabary" (Pettinato 1981b: 51–52), which is more precisely a sign list with sign names (Civil 1984a: 77; Archi 1987d: 91–113).

There is another genre of lexical text that should be mentioned in this context, notable for its absence at Ebla: lists of deities (see also PANTHEONS, MESOPOTAMIAN). The lack of godlists among the lexical texts at Ebla may be accidental, of course. In the absence of such texts, however, the pantheon of Ebla has been reconstructed mainly on the basis of offering lists (Pettinato 1979d). The repertory of deities in the personal names is a somewhat less reliable criterion for establishing the Ebla pantheon since some of the divine names occur in the names of individuals from other areas (Archi 1984a: 225–56; 1985c: 53–58). Deities occurring in the literary texts, notably the incantations and Edzard (1984 no. 6), should be excluded from consideration in reconstructing the pantheon since the texts clearly did not originate at Ebla.

**H. Literary Texts**

Compared to Fara and Abu Salabikh, Ebla has yielded very few literary texts (Biggs 1981: 124–29), even fewer than initial descriptions indicated. The principal group of literary texts (in the widest sense) consists of incantations (Mander 1979: 335–39; Pettinato 1979a: 329–51; Krebernik 1984; Edzard 1984: 32). Of the other literary texts, a major example is Edzard's (1984 no. 6), which has been recognized as being a duplicate of a text from Abu Salabikh (Biggs 1974 no. 326, 342; Biga apud Edzard 1984: 30). The two versions studied together allow a better understanding of a number of passages than does either version alone. Both versions include a number of Sumerograms, but there are enough Semitic words (including pronominal suffixes) to indicate that the text is written in a Semitic language. Because the Abu Salabikh version is presumably earlier than that from Ebla, there is no reason to suggest that the language is the Semitic language of Ebla (Michalowski 1987: 171).

The supposed Creation of the World story found among the literary texts of Ebla (Pettinato 1979b: 278; 1980c: 59–67; 1980d: 46–47) has attracted a certain amount of interest. The composition, consisting of three exercise tablets, is also published by Edzard (1984 nos. 24–26 and pls. 40, 41, 53). The text is more convincingly intepreted by Civil (1984a: 80–81 and nos. 9–10) as a list of Sumerian personal names beginning with LUGAL, followed by two lines of literary quotations (Hruška 1985: 289–90).

One of the tablets originally identified as a proverb (Pettinato 1979c: 174 no. 1833; also published by Edzard 1984 no. 23) was "translated" by M. Dahood (1978: 93), who asserted that "The proverb appears to be pure Canaanite, containing not a word of Sumerian":

Donate without measure,
Donate without weighing;
Make presents without measure,
Make presents without weighing.

The text has subsequently been identified (Civil 1984b: 161–63) as an exercise tablet containing syllabic Sumerian words for cuts of meat, corresponding to the standard Sumerian of Ebla Word List D (Pettinato 1981b: 172, lines 50–53).

**I. Letters and Diplomatic Texts**

The letters and diplomatic records found among the Ebla archives are potentially among the most interesting and important, though formidable obstacles remain before they can be understood. These texts, with very few exceptions, are unpublished. To judge from the published examples, these texts are more likely to be written syllabically, that is, with few Sumerograms that would give modern scholars major clues to their contents. However, these published examples are fraught with difficulties which provide the basis for differing interpretations. One example is the so-called treaty tablet (Pettinato 1986: 389–95; Sollberger 1980: 130–55; Lambert 1987: 353–64 and references cited there). Doubts about reading "Assur" in this text have already been mentioned. A further example of disagreements concerning interpretation is Pettinato's belief that a certain sequence of signs is to be interpreted as Tudia, the first king in the Assyrian King List (Pettinato 1986: 287–88). The same signs have been interpreted as a form of the Sum verb È, "to go out, to send out" (Biggs 1980: 81–82; Sollberger 1980: 131). Nothing more can be said concerning those texts until they are published.

**J. Colophons**

The literary and lexical texts from the 3d millennium B.C. are often accompanied by a colophon (see in general Biggs 1974: 33–35). Such colophons usually include the name of the scribe who copied the tablet (most often indicated by *dub mu-sar,* "wrote the tablet"). Some of the names could also be those of other scribes or scholars who were involved in the production of earlier copies or who participated in some other way in the preparation of the tablet or its text (Mander 1984: 345–57). A surprising feature of the Abu Salabikh colophons was that approximately half the names in the colophons were Semitic rather than Sumerian (Biggs 1967: 55–66; 1974: 33–35; 1988: 89–98). Some of the Ebla literary and lexical texts bear colophons similar to those found at Abu Salabikh (Pettinato 1981a: 231–32; Mander 1984: 357–61). It is even possible that one of the best attested scribes (Lugal-kisal-si) from Abu Salabikh is also attested in a colophon on a text from Ebla (Pettinato 1981b: xxvii, no. 88). If this is correct, it may indicate a direct manuscript connection between the scholars at Abu Salabikh and at Ebla.

**K. Second Millennium Texts**

While the finds in the 3d millennium B.C. Palace G at Ebla have attracted the most attention, substantial finds of 2d millennium B.C. materials have been made, including part of an inscribed statue that first suggested that the site of Tell Mardikh was ancient Ebla (Pettinato 1970: 73–76; Lambert 1981: 95–96). A letter written in Babylonian, probably from a private archive but found out of context, was discovered some years ago (Kupper 1980: 49–51); publication of further OB documents by Kupper is expected. Among the finds from a grave was a silver vessel with a cuneiform inscription. Excavations of Mardikh IIIB (ca. 1800–1600 B.C.) are continuing (Matthiae 1985: 138; 1988: 34–43), so perhaps more 2d millennium textual material will eventually be found.

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ROBERT D. BIGGS

**EBRON** (PLACE) [Heb ‹*ebrôn* (עֶבְרוֹן)]. A town in the territory of Asher (Josh 19:28). Assuming confusion between the Hebrew letters *bet* and *reš,* the MT form here is likely a misspelling of the place name ABDON.

**ECBATANA** (PLACE) [Aram ›*aḥmětā*‹ (אַחְמְתָא)]. Place located in the Zagros mountains of NW Iran between Tehran and Baghdad which was the capital of the Median Empire (Ezra 6:2). The name derives from an Old Persian expression (*hagmatāna*); Gk *ekbatana*) meaning "gathering place." At the foot of Mt. Orontes, this city provided a cool summer retreat for the later Persian kings, subsequent to its capture by Cyrus from Astyages in the 6th century. Herodotus (1.98)—although some would dispute the accuracy of his statement—attributes its foundation to Deioces (died ca. 656 B.C.) and provides a description of its seven concentric walls of fortification. Ecbatana may have been one of the "towns of the Medes" to which Israelites were exiled by the Assyrians (2 Kgs 17:6).

Ezra 6:2 contains the only mention of this city in the OT. When Darius was searching for a record which would confirm Cyrus' decree (de Vaux *BANE,* 63–96) about the restoration of Jerusalem and its

Temple, he could find nothing in the Babylonian archives. However, when the search was extended to the citadel of Ecbatana, a scroll was discovered and the claim of the Judeans substantiated (cf. 1 Esdr 6:23). This detail indicates the importance of Ecbatana as a government center, particularly for the Persian Empire.

Ecbatana figures in three apocryphal books—Tobit, Judith, and 2 Maccabees. In the book of Tobit (3:7; 6:5, 9; 7:1; 14:12, 14) Ecbatana is the home of Raguel, Tobit's brother. Tobias, the son of Tobit, stops at this city while on his way to collect money from Gabael, who lives in Rages, Media. During his stay in Ecbatana Tobias marries Sarah, the daughter of Raguel. Apart from indicating that Jews had dispersed as far as Ecbatana, little additional information about the city is provided.

Ecbatana is mentioned in Judith 1:1, 2, 14 as the headquarters of King Arphaxad, "who reigned over the Medes in Ecbatana." Nebuchadnezzar destroys Arphaxad's army in battle and spoils Ecbatana before turning his attention to the region of Judea, which had refused to assist him in his fight with Arphaxad. The major preoccupation of the author of Judith is with the awesome fortifications of Ecbatana, which rival those of Babylon.

According to 2 Macc 9:3, Antiochus IV died in the vicinity of Ecbatana. After his unsuccessful attempt to loot the treasures of Persepolis (9:1–2) and subsequent ignominious retreat, Antiochus received news of the defeat of Nicanor and Timotheus and their respective armies at the hands of the Judean rebels. This occurred "near Ecbatana." No other source links Ecbatana with Antiochus IV's death and this has caused some scholars, such as Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB) to question its accuracy.

The modern city of Hamadan occupies the site of Ecbatana. Tradition alleges that the tombs of Esther and Mordecai lie in the middle of the city. Major archaeological investigation remains to be done at Ecbatana.

L. PERKINS

**ECCLESIASTES, BOOK OF.** One of the Five Megilloth (Scrolls), this biblical book characterizes life as utter futility, like shepherding or chasing the wind.

———

A. The Meaning of the Name
B. Literary Integrity
C. The Structure of the Book
D. The Historical Setting
E. The Literary Expression
F. Qoheleth's Teachings
G. The Larger Environment
H. Canonization
I. The Text

———

**A. The Meaning of the Name**

The Hebrew title of the book is "Qoheleth." The word "Qoheleth," from which the name "Ecclesiastes" derives, has been variously explained as a personal name, a nom de plume, an acronym, and a function. The difficulty of comprehending the meaning of the word "Qoheleth" is compounded by the fact that it seems to be understood differently within the book itself, where "Qoheleth" has the article at least once (12:8, although the same verse occurs in 1:2 where Qoheleth lacks the article). In all likelihood, the article also appears in 7:27, where "Qoheleth" has a feminine verb form, although the word "Qoheleth" is otherwise always construed as a masculine. The LXX supports a redivision of the consonants in 7:27, yielding *ʾmr hqhlt* ("says the Qoheleth").

The name occurs seven times:

1. The words of Qoheleth son of David, King in Jerusalem (1:1).
2. The ultimate absurdity, says Qoheleth, the ultimate absurdity; everything is absurd (1:2).
3. I Qoheleth have been king over Israel in Jerusalem (1:12).

4. Look, I have discovered this—says Qoheleth—[adding] one to one in order to find the sum (7:27).
5. The ultimate absurdity, says the Qoheleth, everything is absurd (12:8).
6. In addition to the fact that Qoheleth was a sage, he also taught the people knowledge (12:9a–b).
7. Qoheleth sought to find pleasing words and accurately wrote down trustworthy sayings (12:10).

Although the word "Qoheleth" is understood as masculine, its form is *Qal,* feminine participle. Elsewhere the root *qhl* is always *Hipʿil* or *Nipʿal* (causative or reflexive/passive). It thus means "to convoke," "to assemble" (*Hipʿil*) or "to be gathered" (*Nipʿal*). Precedent exists for a masculine personal name with a feminine ending (Alameth, 1 Chr 7:8). This interpretation as a personal name clearly underlies the identification of Qoheleth as son of David, which occurs in the superscription to the book (1:2), but the idea of royal authorship ultimately derives from the book itself (1:12).

Three things weaken the argument for viewing "Qoheleth" as a personal name, a substitute for "Solomon": (1) the use of the article; (2) the identification of Qoheleth as a wise man *(ḥākām),* presumably a technical term in this instance (12:9); and (3) the point of view from which the book is written, except for the royal fiction in 1:12–2:26. Elsewhere the author writes from the perspective of a subject powerless to redress the injustices perpetrated by higher officials. Of course, an additional factor renders impossible the identification of Qoheleth with royalty: David did not have a son named Qoheleth who succeeded him, for Solomon occupied the throne after his father's health failed.

Then is "Qoheleth" a nickname for Solomon? The link between this unusual form and "Solomon" could easily have arisen from the language in 1 Kgs 8:1–12, which reports that the king assembled the representatives of the people to Jerusalem. But the initiative to look for such a suitable text must surely have sprung from the author's self-presentation in 1:12–2:26, for Solomon's vast wealth supplies the imagined context for the royal experiment described in these verses. As we shall see, the Egyptian royal testament offers a prototype for this section of the book, but Qoheleth was not content to restrict his sayings to this literary form. Conceivably, the allusion to one shepherd in 12:11 reverts to the royal fiction earlier abandoned by the author, inasmuch as the image of the pharaohs as shepherds circulated widely in Egypt. Nevertheless, Qoheleth usually speaks as a teacher, not a king; therefore, another explanation for the name must be sought.

Does the strange form conceal an otherwise unknown identity? Is "Qoheleth" an acronym? It has been argued (Skehan 1971: 42–43) that the name for Agur's father in Prov 30:1a, Jakeh, represents the first letters of a sentence *(Yqh = yahweh qādš hʾ).* Following this analogy, *qhlt* constitutes the abbreviation of a four-word sentence. But what would those words have been? So far, no satisfactory explanation along these lines has come to light. Some have even thought that Qoheleth stood for personified wisdom, a walking assembly of wise sayings, but elsewhere Dame Wisdom is always called *ḥôkmâ.* The most compelling answer to the enigma of the name points to two instances of a feminine participle functioning as an office (Ezra 2:55, 57; Neh 7:59). Two different occupations lie behind the personal names in these verses (a scribe and a binder of gazelles). Accordingly, Qoheleth refers to an office that was related in some way to assembling people. The LXX renders the word in this way, associating the noun for "assembly" with the word for a public gathering (*ekklēsia*). Jerome continued that line of reasoning in the Vulgate, but stressed the role of speaking in the presence of an assembly. Now if Qoheleth gathered people, did he summon them to a cultic assembly? This understanding led to the Reformers' use of *Prediger* ("Preacher") with reference to this book, but biblical evidence for such a meaning does not exist. Whatever else Qoheleth did, he did not preach, at least not in the modern sense of the word.

Did Qoheleth assemble people to a school? That kind of activity accords with the epilogist's description in 12:9. The difficulty remains that Qoheleth consistently opposes traditional wisdom. To be sure, school wisdom possibly possessed the capacity to criticize itself in the manner demonstrated by the book. One could even say that Qoheleth democratizes wisdom, turning away from professional students to ordinary citizens. The use of *hʿm,* "the people," in 12:9, where one would naturally expect a reference to students, favors this interpretation of the situation. Furthermore, if the form *qĕhillâ* in Neh 5:7 actually means "harangue," then the word "Qoheleth" might refer to an office of "arguer" or "haranguer." However,

Qoheleth does not present his observations in a manner that would justify this particular interpretation of the word under consideration.

The verb *qhl* always occurs with reference to an assembly of people. If the sense of the word could extend to the gathering of objects, then "Qoheleth" might refer to "collecting proverbs," the task for which the epilogist remembers the teacher (12:9–11). Qoheleth kept an ear in readiness to hear something worthwhile; he searched high and low for appropriate insights; and he grouped the resulting sayings in an understandable way. This instance would not be the only one in which Qoheleth departed from ordinary usage, for he forged a language and syntax peculiar to this book. Furthermore, he saw no fundamental distinction between humans and animals with respect to death; one could therefore argue that Qoheleth assembled sayings (1:1) and that 7:27 contains a veiled allusion to this understanding of the title ("One to one to discover the sum"). In short, Qoheleth collected sayings and in doing so arrived at the complete picture that life amounts to a huge zero.

**B. Literary Integrity**

We have already had occasion to mention an epilogist who commented on the achievement of the teacher. Naturally, the presence of an epilogue of this sort introduces the question of literary integrity. Did Qoheleth write the complete book, or have several authors contributed to its present form? Answers to these questions vary, but four different responses have commended themselves to interpreters: (1) the author wrote the bulk of the book, but editorial glosses entered at a later time; (2) the author cites traditional wisdom and refutes it; (3) the author enters into dialogue with an interlocutor, real or imagined; and (4) the book reflects a single author's changing viewpoints over the years, as well as life's ambiguities.

By analogy with superscriptions throughout the canon, it can be safely argued that 1:1 does not derive from Qoheleth's hand. This superscription identifies the author with David's son who held the office of king in Jerusalem. The expression "words of Qoheleth" echoes a similar superscription in Prov 30:1a, but the form also occurs in prophetic collections (e.g., Amos 1:1a; Jer 1:1a). The book of Qoheleth really begins at 1:12 ("I Qoheleth have been king over Israel in Jerusalem"). Furthermore, a thematic statement in 1:2 and 12:8 functions as an inclusio, setting off the beginning and the end of Qoheleth's teaching. Only in these verses does the superlative form *hăbel hăbālîm* occur. The additional verses in 12:9–14 derive from one epilogist, or more probably two. To this point in analysis a virtual consensus exists in scholarly discussion.

Within the body of Qoheleth's teachings as delineated above (1:3–12:7), one searches in vain for a consistent argument. It appears that later editors have toned down the extreme views of the teacher. Theories of multiple redactors (Qoheleth, a Sadducean, a sage, a pious one, and another editor) have lost their attraction in the latest analyses, although most interpreters still reckon with at least one glossator who corrected Qoheleth's views about reward and retribution (2:26a; 3:17a; 8:12–13; 11:9b; perhaps 5:18 and 7:26b). Whether or not these glosses derive from the second epilogist, also responsible for 12:12–14, remains uncertain, but the hypothesis has plausibility.

The effort to attribute the entire book to Qoheleth lacks persuasiveness for at least two reasons. First, it overlooks the probability that the same sort of editorial activity that took place during the preservation of the other books of the Hebrew Bible would also have occurred in this one. Indeed, the radical character of Qoheleth's views invited editorial comments. Second, the claim that Qoheleth could easily have referred to himself in the third person, as he apparently did in 7:27, obscures the appreciable differences in attitude between the rest of the book and the final epilogue (12:12–14). These differences go beyond use of language such as *bĕnî*, "my son," to religious views like the admonition to "fear God and keep the commandments" and the warning that the deity will bring every hidden thing into the light of day, presumably at a final judgment. One has the impression that Qoheleth's epitaph appears in 12:9–11, and that a less appreciative assessment of the teacher's unusual views about life follows.

Throughout the book one encounters teachings that stand in considerable tension with each other. A strong case has been made for understanding these contrasting opinions as instances in which Qoheleth cites traditional wisdom. An adversarial stance toward established dogma is beyond dispute, for Qoheleth

actually warns against an uncritical acceptance of claims about absolute truth (8:17). In one instance Qoheleth's language almost requires the addition of something like "he asks" ("There is an individual who has no heir, whether son or brother, but there is no end to all his work, and also his eyes are never content with his wealth—'for whom am I toiling and depriving myself of good things?' [he asks]; this also is absurd and grievous bother," 4:8).

Traditional sayings dot the observations of Qoheleth, as has been recognized for some time, for example, "the crooked cannot be straightened and what is missing cannot be counted" (1:15). One investigation (Whybray 1981b) has isolated eight quotations on the basis of affinities in form and content between the oldest collections in Proverbs and aphorisms in Qoheleth (2:14a; 4:5; 4:6; 7:5–6a; 9:17; 10:2; 10:12). Those scholars who believe they have found quotations in Qoheleth's observations emphasize the variety with which these traditional sayings are used. Some he quotes with full approval (7:5–6; 10:2, 12), but he gave them a radically new interpretation. Others serve to confirm the first stage in the characteristic two-part argument, the so-called broken sentence in which Qoheleth stated a truth only to qualify it by appealing to a fact of life that contradicted it. This phenomenon of quotations, widespread in the ANE, has four main categories: (1) the verbalization of a speaker's or writer's unexpressed ideas or sentiments; (2) the sentiment of a subject other than the writer or speaker; (3) use in argument and debate; and (4) indirect quotations without a *verbum dicendi* (Gordis 1976).

Early Christian theologians perceived the apparent contradictions within Qoheleth's thought and attributed the different views to two persons, a speaker and an interlocutor, real or imagined. The dialogical character of the book thus came to expression, despite the strong tendency to neutralize Qoheleth's unorthodox sentiments. Thesis stands over against antithesis in such a way that all teachings are relativized. J. G. Herder endorsed this view of the book, and contemporary interpreters have sought to bolster the argument by appealing to the juxtaposition of a *bonum* and a *malum* and by an intricate analysis of polar structures in the book. Although some of the proposed 38 chiastic structures and 60 polar structures result from much too general criteria, for instance, desirable and undesirable, one can scarcely deny the force of the hypothesis as such. After all, Qoheleth did arrange his argument in a group of 14 polarities in at least one literary unit (3:1–8).

Of course, the application of modern standards of logical consistency may bestow too much weight on the Greek heritage. Qoheleth may never actually have reconciled the disparities between faith and experience, but such a view elevates the religious dimension to a degree that Qoheleth probably never permitted. Perhaps two additional factors strengthen this particular approach to the contradictions in Qoheleth's thought. The teachings in the book may represent the fruit of a lifetime's research, having been given literary expression over a long period. Furthermore, life's ambiguities themselves may have struck Qoheleth as worthy of noting, particularly as historical situations changed from time to time. There may indeed be some truth in the claim that the confrontation between Hebraism and Hellenism produced a compromise position, best exemplified by Qoheleth. However, the Jewish tradition alone had its share of ambiguities, and these disparities between religious conviction and actual reality found expression in Qoheleth's realism.

Signs of thematic unity and a single tone largely offset these indications of tension within Qoheleth's thought, or between his views and those of later editors. Nevertheless, some segments of the book have not been successfully integrated into its logical scheme, above all the collection of sayings in 10:1–4, 8–20, which discourages the view that Qoheleth wrote a unified treatise. Although neither characterization of the book, treatise or collection of sentences, explains the situation adequately, it may be instructive to think of a kaleidoscopic image whereby apparently incongruent features of the text come together in many different meaningful configurations. Even if one accepts this reading of the disparate material, the difficult task of ascertaining the powerful force that brings a semblance of order out of apparent disarray remains. In a word, what shape does the book take; what identifies its internal structure?

**C. The Structure of the Book**

One can easily recognize the outer frame of the book. Leaving aside the superscription in 1:1, there remain a thematic refrain (1:2) and a poem (1:3–11) at the beginning, and a poem (11:7–12:7) plus a

thematic refrain (12:8) at the end. Together with the superscription, the two epilogues (12:9–11, 12–14) enclose the book in a kind of envelope. The first poem demonstrates the aptness of the thematic statement in the realm of nature, and the final poem shows the accuracy of the theme on the human scene. Nature's ceaseless repetition illustrates the utter futility of things, as does the eventual disintegration of the human body.

Within Qoheleth's teachings bracketed by a thematic statement and a poem, a few distinct units stand out, either because of content or because of introductory and concluding formulas. For example, a single thread holds together the royal experiment in 1:12–2:26, specifically the idea that a powerful monarch indulges himself in a vain search for something that will withstand time's ravages. A second example, this one smaller in scope, 4:9–12, discusses the advantages of teaming up with another person. So far, however, no satisfactory scheme has surfaced to explain all the units of Qoheleth's teachings. Often determining where one unit begins and another ends cannot be done. Therefore scholars vary widely in their calculations of the number of literary units within the book.

If the text lacks clear demarcations of the several units, how can one decide on the extent of each? Perhaps a clue exists in Egyptian Instructions, clearly divided into sections or chapters. Analogy with Papyrus Insinger, roughly contemporary with Qoheleth, may suggest that refrains mark off larger units in the Hebrew text. One refrain seems especially suggestive in this regard, the sevenfold exhortation to eat, drink, and enjoy one's portion of life's good things (2:24–26; 3:12–13; 3:22; 5:17–19; 8:15; 9:7–10; 11:7–10). But the first and last of these texts illustrate the difficulty of this approach, for the refrain in 2:24–26 certainly concludes a unit, and the formula in 11:7–10 just as certainly begins a new unit.

As a matter of fact, the book has a wealth of formulaic expressions, and these repeated phrases and sentences probably function to delineate units of thought. Wright has seized these data to arrive at an arrangement of the entire book. According to his view, a single refrain sets off the different units in the first half of the book, whereas two formulaic expressions indicate subsections in the second half. The first refrain, "All [this] is absurd and a chasing after wind" occurs six times in 1:12–6:9, yielding the following literary units (2:1–11; 2:12–17; 2:18–26; 3:1–4:6; 4:7–16; 4:17–6:9). In 6:10–11:6 the repeated phrases "not find out" and "who can find out?" indicate four subsections (7:1–14; 7:15–24; 7:25–29; 8:1–17) and "cannot know" also points to four sections (9:1–12; 9:13–10:15; 10:16–11:2; 11:3–6). This theory is then reinforced by an involved numerological analysis that takes its clue from the number of uses of the Heb word *hebel*, as well as the numerical value of its three consonants.

This elaborate hypothesis appears to press a valid intuition too far. In some instances, the formulaic expression occurs in the midst of a thought unit rather than at the end (for example, 11:2). Moreover, the repeated phrases sometimes do not enter into consideration (4:4, "striving after wind"), and other formulaic expressions are ignored altogether ("this is absurd," "under the sun," "I turned and considered"). In addition, the units perceived in the analysis under discussion vary in length, forcing one to wonder about the utility of such an approach. Despite the claims for objectivity, the decision to ignore some formulaic expressions and to concentrate on just these three ("This is absurd and a chasing after wind," "not find out"/"who can find out," and "cannot know") undercuts that claim, and the many assumptions necessitated by the numerological proof weaken the argument greatly.

Not all attempts to discover the book's structure have taken refrains as the starting point. Of course, many interpreters have searched for logically consistent units. Two recent theories illustrate this approach and demonstrate the sophisticated nature of such analyses of the book. Both interpretations apply the refined methods of literary criticism to the biblical text, although such literary analysis developed as a means of understanding quite different material. Loader's approach (1979) stresses the polar structures in the book and arrives at twelve fundamental units (1:2–11; 1:12–2:26; 3:1–4:16; 4:17–5:8; 6:10–8:1; 8:2–9; 8:10–9:10; 9:11–10:11; 10:12–20; 11:1–6; 11:7–12:8). Lohfink's approach emphasizes the Greek background of the book, which he understands as a philosophical treatise. In his view, Ecclesiastes has the form of a palindrome, a complete balancing of material so that the second half repeats the substance of the first half. Such a reading leads to the following structure:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1:2–3 | Frame |
| 1:4–11 | Cosmology (poetic) |
| 1:12–3:15 | Anthropology |
| 3:16–4:16 | Social Criticism I |
| 4:17–5:6 | Criticism of Religion I (poetic) |
| 5:7–6:10 | Social Criticism II |
| 6:11–9:6 | Ideology Critique (Refutatio) |
| 9:7–12:7 | Ethics (poetic at the end) |
| 12:8 | Frame |

Even if one conceded the far from obvious premise that the book uses Greek rhetoric, several questions remain. Why did the author allow the intruding critique of religion in 4:17–5:6 to mar the perfect palindrome? Has Lohfink chosen adequate rubrics? For example, is anthropology missing from the passage where Qoheleth offers a low opinion of men and an even lower estimate of women (7:25–29)? Can one rightly restrict ethics to 9:7–12:7 in light of persistent efforts to view the entire second half of the book as the practical, or ethical, implications of the worldview advanced in the first half of Ecclesiastes (1:2–6:9)?

Without committing oneself wholly to either clue, refrain or logical coherence, one can certainly discern a semblance of structure in the book. One of the most attractive interpretations (Schoors 1982b) divides the book as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1:1 | title |
| 1:2 | general theme of the book |
| 1:3–2:26 | Solomon's confession |
| 3:1–22 | human beings under the law of time |
| 4:1–16 | life in society |
| 4:17–5:8 | the advantage of silence over unreflected speech |
| 5:9–6:9 | on wealth |
| 6:10–12 | transitional unit |
| 7:1–9:10 | the experience of life and death |
| 9:11–10:20 | wisdom and folly |
| 11:1–6 | the necessity of taking risks |
| 11:7–12:7 | the necessity of enjoying life |
| 12:8 | inclusion: the general theme of the book |
| 12:9–14 | epilogue |

Attractive as this analysis may be, it still does not answer all the questions that result from general rubrics such as "life in society" and "wisdom and folly." Because other sections also deal with social relations and knowledge or its opposite, it appears that every attempt to discover the book's structure serves as little more than a heuristic device.

So far this discussion has said nothing about another unifying principle, the tone of the book. The individual units combine to give a single impression. An honest and forthright teacher observes life's ambiguities and reflects on their meaning for human existence under the sun. Furthermore, a unity of themes and topoi reinforces this tonal unity, as a glance at the vocabulary of the book quickly confirms. Qoheleth uses certain words with such frequency that they almost induce a hypnotic state in the listener or reader. By their frequency of occurrence these words send a distant echo through the corridors of the mind

erected by this skillful teacher: do/work, good, wise, time, know, toil, see, under the sun, fool, profit, portion.

**D. The Historical Setting**

If all attempts to discern the book's structure remain inconclusive, the same verdict characterizes efforts to locate it in a particular place and time. For a brief period, scholars endeavored to demonstrate that the original language was Aramaic, but this trend has virtually disappeared. The discovery at Qumran of Hebrew fragments from the book to which a date in the mid–2d century B.C.E. seemed appropriate has hastened the demise of the theory of an Aramaic original. Such an early dating of a Hebrew version of Ecclesiastes left little time between its composition and the Qumran fragments. However, the decisive refutation of the Aramaic origin lay in the inability of its proponents to show how the present form of the book required a theory of translation to explain its peculiar style and syntax.

The fact remains that the book is writen in an Aramaizing Hebrew, a language with strong Mishnaic tendencies. The vocabulary contains a high percentage of Aramaisms, and in this regard it belongs alongside certain other late canonical books. Occasional Persian loan words also appear, for example *pardēs,* "park" and *mĕdînâ,* "province." Greek influence, once believed to lie behind the phrases "under the sun" and "to see the good," no longer seems likely; the ancient Semitic world attests to the former expression and the latter phrase is authentic Hebrew.

On the basis of certain commercial terms and usages, as well as orthography, a setting for the book in Phoenicia has been proposed (Dahood 1952). This theory of the book's origin has made little impact on the scholarly community. The suggestion of Egyptian provenance, based largely on the allusion to natural phenomena in 1:5–7, has been less convincing. The references to reservoirs (2:6), leaky roofs (10:18), wells (12:6), farmers' attention to the wind (11:4), and the Temple (4:17; 8:10) are perfectly appropriate for a literary composition in Palestine (Hertzberg *Prediger* KAT). Nevertheless, the evidence is inconclusive, for ancient authors openly received material from various sources. The so-called historical references in 4:13–16; 8:2–4; 9:13–15; and 10:16–17 function typically. Therefore, they offer no real assistance in dating the book or in locating its cultural setting.

Many factors point to a relatively late date for the composition of Ecclesiastes. The vocabulary itself shows signs of being very late, for example *sôp,* "end"; *pēšer,* "interpretation"; *māšāl,* "rule"; *šālat,* "rule"; *pitgām,* "decision"; *zĕmān,* "time"; *ʿinyān,* "worry"; the relative pronoun *šĕ,* "that, which," attached to another word; and the personal pronoun *ʾănî,* "I," used alongside *ʾanōkî,* "I," with almost equal frequency. Moreover, the *waw* consecutive occurs only twice, although the literary types in the book do not lend themselves to frequent use of this verbal form. A Hellenistic coloring may rest behind the vocabulary for rulers, perhaps also the observations about individuals whose responsibilities brought them in regular contact with the royal court. At least one of the rhetorical questions, a literary device that the author uses nearly 30 times, occurs only in arguably postexilic texts. This rhetorical question, *mî yôdēaʿ,* "who knows?", functions as a strong assertion equivalent to "no one knows." Another stylistic peculiarity of the book, the use of participles with personal pronouns, forms a late feature of the language.

The meager political data that scholars have detected in the book point to a period prior to the Maccabean revolt in 164 B.C.E., for the attitude toward foreign rulers fits best in the Ptolemaic period. The Zenon archives reflect a political situation of economic prosperity for the upper echelons of Jewish society about 250 B.C.E. It has been plausibly argued that Qoheleth belonged to the privileged class (Gordis 1968), although on the basis of highly inferential evidence. More probably his students came from privileged families, hence could act on their teacher's advice about wearing fine clothes and anointing themselves with expensive oils. The severe policies of Antiochus IV restricted such freedom to follow one's inclinations, whether personal or religious. Furthermore, Ben Sira probably knew and used the book about 190 B.C.E., although Whitley has attempted to show that Qoheleth actually used Ecclesiasticus. The bases for this late dating of Qoheleth lack cogency: that the language of Daniel is earlier, that the Mishnaic tongue was widely used, that Qoheleth wrote before 140 but after Jonathan's appointment in 152 B.C.E. and its accompanying political changes. A date for Qoheleth between 225 and 250 therefore still seems the most likely one.

**E. The Literary Expression**

What literary type best characterizes the book? Although several different types come to expression, the dominant one is reflection arising from personal observation. Qoheleth's language calls attention to both aspects, the observing and subsequent reflection ("I said in my heart" [1:16; 2:1, 15; 3:17]; "I gave my heart" [1:13, 17; 8:9, 16]; "I saw" [1:14; 2:24; 3:10, 16; 4:1, 4, 15; 5:17; 6:1; 7:15; 8:9, 10; 9:11, 13; 10:5, 7]; "I know" [1:17; 2:14; 3:12, 14; 8:12]; "there is" [2:21; 6:1, 12; 8:14; 10:5]). Naturally, the reflection varies from time to time, prompting some interpreters to distinguish between unified critical and broken critical reflections or meditative reflection and simple meditation. Not every critic thinks that such language adequately describes Qoheleth's dominant literary type; three alternatives have received some attention: *māšāl* (a similitude or comparison), diatribe, and royal testament. The latter of these, royal testament, occurs only in the "fiction" in 1:12–2:16 (perhaps also the conclusion resulting from the royal experiment, 2:17–26). From Qoheleth's language, "monologue" more accurately describes the material than "diatribe," for he emphasizes the debate within his own mind. The term *māšāl* has too broad, or too specific, a scope to be useful in describing the book's literary type.

Qoheleth also uses such literary types as autobiographical narrative, example story, anecdote, parable (often called an allegorical poem), antithesis, and proverb. The last of these occurs in many of its forms: truth statements (or sentences), "better" sayings, numerical sayings, instructions, traditional sayings, malediction and benediction. Qoheleth had particular fondness for "better" sayings, for they enabled him to pretend to endorse conventional wisdom but actually to challenge its veracity by introducing a wholly different consideration (4:3, 6, 9, 13; 5:4 [—Eng 5]; 6:3, 9; 7:1, 2, 3, 5, 8; 9:4, 16, 18). He also used the emphatic form, "nothing is better" (2:24; 3:12, 22; 8:15).

**F. Qoheleth's Teachings**

What did Qoheleth communicate by means of these diverse literary types? According to the thematic statement in 1:2 and 12:8, he sought to demonstrate the claim that life lacked profit and therefore was totally absurd. In support of this thesis, Qoheleth argued: (1) that wisdom could not achieve its goal; (2) that a remote God ruled over a crooked world; and (3) death did not take virtue or vice into consideration. Hence (4), he advocated enjoyment as the wisest course of action during youth before the cares of advancing years made that response impossible.

(1) *Wisdom could not achieve its goal.* The purpose of being wise, according to Qoheleth, was to discover the good for men and women. In other words, sages searched for ways to ensure success, specifically of living long, prosperous lives surrounded by children and admired by friends and neighbors. For many generations this quest for success had occupied the thoughts of Qoheleth's predecessors, whose conclusions the book of Proverbs preserves. In general, they considered it possible to achieve the goal of wisdom, although reckoning with incalculable divine actions now and again. Consequently, these early sages exuded optimism about the chances of living well. They based their hope on the conviction that a moral order existed, having been established by the creator who continued to guarantee it. These sages went about their work with confidence that the wise would prosper and fools would experience ruin.

But something happened that dashed such comforting thoughts, which had hardened into dogma. Mounting evidence that injustice often prevailed produced a religious and intellectual crisis. The books of Job and Ecclesiastes surfaced from this turmoil and offered a different perspective on the universe. The wisest man in the East underwent horrendous suffering that defied explanation, and wisdom possessed only limited value. It appeared that the moral order had collapsed, and this event had serious religious implications, making it no longer clear whether or not the deity turned toward humans benevolently.

Qoheleth recognized the futility of striving for success, because he saw such efforts being frustrated on every hand. The fastest runner did not always win the race, nor did the strong warrior necessarily achieve victory. The intelligent person did not always receive food, and the skillful were sometimes overlooked. Chance became the supreme factor in human experience, and none could exercise control over it. Qoheleth examined all those things thought to offer happiness—sensual pleasure, achievement, fame, fortune—but dismissed them as utterly absurd.

Whereas earlier sages had believed they could achieve wisdom, Qoheleth thought it impenetrable. Human resolve to possess her only enabled them to discover Wisdom's remoteness and profundity. Of course, limited bits of insight were accessible, enabling their possessors to waEc in light rather than darkness. Nevertheless, no one could really discover wisdom's hiding place, however much he or she claimed to have done so. Consequently, the future remained hidden and mysterious, even for the wise, who could not discern the right moment for any given action. Although Qoheleth characterized the natural universe and the human scene by monotonous repetition, he noted that none could profit from this element of predictability. In this respect, Qoheleth refused to yield a toehold to practitioners of the science of predicting the future, a technique of wisdom, popular in Mesopotamia, that used omens to discover what lay in the immediate future.

(2) *God was remote and the world crooked.* A devout Job directed his complaint to God in heated dialogue, but Qoheleth refused to address the deity at all. He warned those who approached the holy place that since God dwelt in heaven and they resided on earth, their words should be few. Qoheleth noticed that religious vows were a source of danger, inasmuch as some people forgot their promises once the occasion for the original vows had passed. He thus advised caution with respect to religious obligation. Qoheleth had the same attitude toward deeds of morality that he did toward acts of piety. He suggested that individuals adopt a moderate lifestyle, being neither excessively devout nor extremely virtuous. The suffering of Job indicated what could happen when a person became too good. Although Qoheleth did not refer to Job by name, he did counsel against striving with a stronger person, which some interpreters have plausibly taken as an allusion to Job's fruitless struggle with God.

Although Qoheleth freely referred to God's activity, he seemed unclear about the nature of the divine work. It appears that he thought the deity tested human beings in order to demonstrate their kinship with animals. Hence God showed individuals that they would die just like animals, with the implication that decomposition awaited as the final event for all creatures. Although Qoheleth mentioned a judgment, it seems nothing more than another way of talking about death. Some references to judgment must imply a forensic setting, presumably after death, but they probably constitute glosses in the spirit of the second epilogue.

In any event, oppression had gained the upper hand on earth, and the hierarchy of authority ultimately reached the sovereign of the universe, also implicated by such tyranny. Utter mystery characterized God's actions, both in the enlivening of a fetus and in the granting of power to enjoy the fruits of one's labor. Although Qoheleth freely talked about divine gifts, he did not know what disposition characterized the deity, whether love or hatred. To be sure, God bestowed generous gifts on human beings, but no apparent rationale for these acts of kindness existed. Instead, God dispensed these gifts with complete disregard for character. Consequently, nobody could ever ensure that the deity would grant only good things as reward for faithfulness.

Earlier sages had also believed that the High God transcended the universe, which owed its origin to the deity. But they proclaimed nearness as well, for they believed that God sustained a moral order. Qoheleth agreed that God created the universe; the language, however, differs sharply from the Priestly account of creation that seems to provide the source for Qoheleth's observations. God made everything appropriate for its time. This declaration substitutes a nontheological expression and an aesthetic category for the language in Genesis 1. Nevertheless, the created universe cannot be faulted, for human beings have perverted the beautiful and appropriate creation.

Qoheleth recognized an order inherent to things, but he denied that anyone could discover the right time for action. The creator placed some unknown gift in the human mind but made it impossible to use the divine mystery profitably. A time to laugh and a time to cry existed, but how did one know when those different moments presented themselves? What if a person looked for peace when the occasion called for war? Perhaps this anomaly prompted Qoheleth to spy out and explore all knowledge, for only by embracing the many polarities of existence could one ever hope to know the proper time for anything. Nevertheless, Qoheleth conceded that nobody really knows the meaning of a thing.

It made little difference that the universe had integrity, so long as human beings had an innate disposition to do evil. God's achievements could not be changed; the crooked could not be straightened and the straight could not be made crooked. This popular proverb, which Qoheleth quoted with approval (1:15; 7:13), hardly accords with Qoheleth's statement that men and women have used their ingenuity in the service of evil—unless, that is, God bears indirect responsibility for human contrivance.

In this oppressive world Qoheleth recognized a need for companionship, although he judged others on the basis of the contribution they could make to his comfort. A friend would rescue him from a pit, fight off robbers and brigands, and keep him warm on a cold night. Although Wisdom Literature usually moves within the general area of self-interest, that feature of Qoheleth's thought comes to prominence in the royal fiction, with indulgence the operative word. Only once did a pained conscience speak out in behalf of oppressed citizens, and the repetition of the cry "There was no comforter" reveals the impact of their suffering on Qoheleth.

(3) *Death did not take virtue or vice into consideration.* Qoheleth was not the first person to reflect on the finality of death, but he dwelt on it so much that it became central to his thought. Indeed, he once expressed hatred of life because he lacked the power to control his fate. Nevertheless, he stopped short of encouraging suicide, a natural consequence of his disdain for life. In this regard, Qoheleth differed from the unknown author of the *Dialogue between a Master and a Slave* (*ANET*, 437–38).

The thought that death cancels all human achievements prompted Qoheleth to consider life pointless. When one's accumulated wealth fell into the hands of a stranger or a fool, it seemed to mock personal ambition and frugality. Qoheleth imagined that memory of persons disappeared almost as quickly as their bodies decomposed. Furthermore, death's clutches caught some people even before they breathed that last breath, so that they could not gain any pleasure in life. Faced with such grim prospects, these unfortunate individuals would be better off dead, and better still if they had never been born. Qoheleth characterized the stillborn's condition as rest, whereas those who have entered this world undergo buffeting from all directions. Although he quoted a proverb that "a living dog is better than a dead lion," Qoheleth made it clear that the living have a dubious advantage. Knowing that one must die seems hardly worthwhile information; in this instance, as in most, knowledge brings suffering. Critics therefore generally assume that Qoheleth spoke ironically when citing the proverb.

Qoheleth's predecessors had also recognized death's inevitability, but they had assumed that a positive correlation existed between one's virtue and the manner and time of death. In addition, they had managed to deal with exceptions by appealing to the larger entity, the community. Neither source of solace remained for Qoheleth, who recognized death's arbitrary nature and who rarely transcended egocentrism. The same fate befell wise and fool, humankind and animals. Moreover, no one knew what happened after death, but the prospects did not look promising.

The concluding poem (11:7–12:7) depicts this common fate in unforgettable images. The decline of one's powers in old age resembles the collapse of a stately house, and the restrictions on activity contrast with nature's annual rejuvenation. The darkness of approaching death falls on humankind, but nature stands unmoved. Then comes the final silencing of men and women, depicted in two images. The first describes an expensive lamp that falls from the wall and experiences ruin; the second portrays a well at which the pulley breaks and the container for drawing water falls to the bottom and shatters. The language emphasizes the priceless commodities that come to ruin or cease to benefit anyone—silver, gold, light, water. The brief existence under the sun seems to constitute a single act of breathing on the part of the creator, who now takes back the vivifying breath. The death angel takes flight, bearing its reluctant burden into the realms of the night. Qoheleth may have despised life and envied the condition of the aborted birth, but he still did not welcome this destruction of personal identity.

(4) *The wisest course of action was to enjoy life during youth before the cares of advancing years made that response impossible.* Of course not everyone had the capacity to enjoy good food, women, expensive clothing, and perfumes. Qoheleth seems to have addressed young men who had adequate resources, enabling them to indulge in pleasure. Unless his advice was entirely divorced from reality, Qoheleth probably taught individuals from the privileged class. In any case, he implies that they had access to

persons in important positions of authority and that they possessed sufficient resources for living comfortably.

Qoheleth did not encourage total abandon to sensual desire, for such behavior carried too many risks. Instead, he advised young people to enjoy the simple pleasures available to them without resorting to extremes of austerity or debauchery. Although the language about enjoying "the woman you love" is unusual, Qoheleth may not have meant someone other than the young man's wife. However, Qoheleth warns of a future judgment, and a moment's reflection on this sober prospect may explain why he praised those who visited the house of mourning rather than the ones who chose to frequent places of levity.

Such somber warnings detract from Qoheleth's positive counsel, for he seemed unwilling to believe that anything really softened the impact of this conclusion about life's utter futility. Therefore he encouraged enjoyment and reminded those practitioners of pleasure about life's ephemerality and absurdity. Presumably, the little joys available to humans merely made an otherwise intolerable situation bearable. On the other hand, Qoheleth's view that God has already approved one's actions has a remarkably emancipating effect. Life introduces enough risks without the additional factor of a scrupulous conscience. Qoheleth thus left no room for anxiety about religious duty, for life was complex enough without complicating things by becoming a religious zealot. The truth of Qoheleth's observations about human existence speaks for itself. One can hardly escape the wisdom in his advice to enjoy the simple pleasures of daily existence while the strength and financial means to do so endure.

To sum up, Qoheleth taught by means of various literary types that earlier optimistic claims about wisdom's power to secure one's existence have no validity. No discernible principle of order governs the universe, rewarding virtue and punishing evil. The creator, distant and uninvolved, acts as judge only (if at all) in extreme cases of flagrant affront (for example, reneging on religious vows). Death cancels all imagined gains, rendering life under the sun absurd. Therefore the best policy is to enjoy one's wife, together with good food and drink, during youth, for old age and death will soon put an end to this "relative" good. In short, Qoheleth examined all of life and discovered no absolute good that would survive death's effect. He then proceeded to report this discovery and to counsel young people on the best option in the light of stark reality. It follows that Qoheleth bears witness to an intellectual crisis in ancient Israel, at least in the circles among whom he taught.

**G. The Larger Environment**

An intellectual crisis struck other cultures also, but not at the same time. One expects, therefore, to find some common themes throughout the ANE. This expectation has led to exaggerated claims of literary dependence on Qoheleth's part. Given the probable date of the book, Hellenistic influence has seemed most likely. Qoheleth's concept of chance (*miqrēh*) has been related to *tyche*; absurdity (*hebel*) to *typhos*; profit (*yitrôn*) to (*ophelos*); portion (*ḥēleq*) to *hyph*; "under the sun" (*taḥat haššemeš*) to *hypo ton helion*. One recent critic (Lohfink 1980) has postulated competing places of learning in Jerusalem, private schools in which the Greek language was spoken and Temple schools using Hebrew. This author argues that Qoheleth struck a compromise with Hebrew wisdom as the background and Greek—especially Homer, Sophocles, Plato, Aristotle, and contemporary philosophers—the inspiration. Other interpreters plausibly suggest that Qoheleth's knowledge of Greek thought amounts to no more than what any Jew would have absorbed simply by living in Jerusalem during the late 3d century.

What about literary relationships with ancient Egypt? To be sure, Qoheleth issues a *carpe diem* similar to the advice contained in the Harper's Songs, but this determination to enjoy sensual pleasure seems universal. The preoccupation with death in Qoheleth recalls a similar emphasis in the *Dialogue of a Man with His Soul*, (*ANET*, 405–7) and the royal testament must surely correspond to this literary type in such instructions as those for Merikare (*ANET*, 414–18). Nevertheless, Qoheleth does not offer a legacy for a successor, and the royal fiction disappears after chapter 2. Verbal similarities do occur with late Egyptian texts, particularly *Papyrus Insinger* (*AEL* 3: 184–217) and the *Instruction of 'Ankhsheshonq* (*AEL* 3: 159–84). For example, the hiddenness of God and divine determination of fate characterize both Insinger and Qoheleth, whereas Ankhsheshonq and Qoheleth advise casting bread (or a good deed) on the water and

promise a profitable return, and both use the phrase "house of eternity." However, the counsel about casting bread on water has a different sense, and the euphemism for the grave occurs widely.

Perhaps the most striking verbal similarity occurs in a Mesopotamian text, the Gilgamesh Epic (*ANET*, 72–99, 503–7). The alewife Siduri's advice to Gilgamesh that he enjoy his wife, fine clothes, and tasty food finds an echo in Qoheleth's positive advice. Qoheleth omits one significant thing, the allusion to the pleasure that Gilgamesh would receive from his child. The Gilgamesh Epic also deals with the themes of death, life's ephemerality, the importance of one's name, and memory of a person after death. According to *I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom* (*ANET*, 596–600), divine decrees are hidden from humans, a view that Qoheleth advocates in 3:11, 8:12–14, and 8:17. The *Babylonian Theodicy* (*ANET*, 601–4) has a fundamentally pessimistic mood, whereas Qoheleth shrinks from blaming all evil on God (cf. 7:29). The *Dialogue between a Master and His Slave* recognizes the threat posed by women and sets up polarities in a way that commends neither alternative. Qoheleth also voices a low opinion of women (7:26) and juxtaposes positive and negative activities (3:1–8).

**H. Canonization**

Qoheleth's radical views have branded his teachings an alien body within the Hebrew Bible. How, then, did the book find acceptance in the canon? The usual answer, that the attribution to Solomon paved the way for its approval as Scripture, does not take sufficiently into account the fact that a similar device failed to gain acceptance in the canon for Wisdom of SolomonSolomon or for the Odes of Solomon. Their use of Greek may have canceled the effect of the claim to Solomonic authorship. A better answer to the question, that the book received two epilogues, the last of which removed the sting from Qoheleth's skepticism and advocated traditional views concerning observance of Torah, presents itself. Evidence from the 2d century C.E. indicates that the book of Ecclesiastes was mentioned, along with Song of Songs, Esther, Ezekiel, and Proverbs, in a discussion about books that "defile the hands" because of their sacred character, but the attitude of Hillel prevailed over the Shammaite contingency. On the Jewish side, Akiba recognized Qoheleth's canonical authority just before the middle of the 2d century. The book appears in the list drawn up by the Christian Melito of Sardis about 190 C.E., but in the 5th century Theodore of Mopsuestia first raised objection to its sacred character.

Precisely how early Qoheleth became canonical cannot be determined. A few verbal similarities between the book and Sirach exist (for example, "everything is beautiful in its time" [3:11; 39:16], "God seeks" [3:15; 5:3], "wise of heart" and "change of face" [8:1; 13:24], "either for good or for evil" [12:14; 13:24]). In addition, verbal echoes also occur in "one in a thousand," and "the end of the matter," but these comprise stock expressions in Wisdom Literature. Although Sirach was probably familiar with the book of Ecclesiastes, the evidence remains inconclusive. A similar situation exists with regard to Wisdom of Solomon, often thought to attack Qoheleth's views about enjoying life's sensual pleasures. If the author of chap. 2 has Qoheleth in mind, it clearly implies a misreading of his teachings, for Qoheleth did not advocate robbery.

**I. The Text**

The Hebrew text of Qoheleth is in good condition. Fragments dating from the middle of the 2d century B.C.E., discovered at Qumran, include part of 5:13–17, substantial portions of 6:3–8, and five words from 7:7–9. The Greek version may be the work of some disciples of Aquila, whereas the Syriac translation in the Peshitta may rest on a Hebrew text very similar to the Masoretic one. The Vulgate strove for faithfulness to the Hebrew, although Jerome hastily completed the translation of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs ("in three days").

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**ECCLESIASTICUS, BOOK OF.** See WISDOM OF BEN-SIRA.

**ECSTASY.** Ecstasy may be defined as "an abnormal state of consciousness, in which the reaction of the mind to external stimuli is either inhibited or altered in character. In its more restricted sense, as used in mystical theology, it is almost equivalent to trance." The term has been used to explain certain phenomena in connection with biblical prophecy, but it seems that it is here rather a question of what has been recently termed "possessional trance," i.e., "a condition in which a person is believed to be inhabited by the spirit of another person or a supernatural being." During this possession, the person is in an altered state of consciousness and may speak and act like the inhabiting spirit, lapse into a coma-like state, and/or exhibit physical symptoms such as twisting, wild dancing, frothing at the mouth, and so on. This kind of trance may be an individual or group phenomenon. In many societies it is more or less institutionalized.

The biblical accounts of such phenomena are inadequate for a thorough psychological analysis, partly because they lack the necessary details, partly because they are not contemporary documents. Some examples, however, in the OT seem to fit into this pattern.

What the elders in the camp in the wilderness do when they "prophesy" (*hitnabbeʾ;* Num 11:16f., 24f.) is not described, but we learn that they receive something of the spirit that is upon Moses. Saul meets the "prophets" coming down from the high place at Gibeah, obviously in a state of ecstasy or trance induced by music (1 Sam 10:5f.), the spirit of Yahweh comes upon him, and he behaves like the prophets. He is also given "another heart." At another occasion (1 Sam 19:20–24) the men whom Saul had sent to kill David were confronted with a group of "prophets" in trance and began to *hitnabbeʾ* themselves: finally, Saul himself was seized by the spirit of God and behaved like the prophets: he stripped off his clothes and lay naked for a long time. In none of these cases is there any kind of prophetic proclamation.

The same expression is used of the prophets of Baal on Mt. Carmel (1 Kgs 18:26–29). They danced, cried aloud, and cut themselves with swords and lances, but no one answered. Here again, the word *hitnabbeʾ* is used, but no prophetic activity is involved; it should rather be translated "they raved." This kind of ecstatic behavior was obviously deemed typical of Canaanite religion.

Although the words *nabiʾ* "prophet" and *hitnabbeʾ* or *nibbaʾ* are used of the scriptural prophets, there is no obvious sign of such possessional trance in them. The vision Isaiah had at his call (Isaiah 6) seems to have been induced by what he really saw in the Temple; Amos' fruit basket (Amos 1–3) and Jeremiah's almond twig and boiling pot (Jer 1:11–19) seem to be real perceptions given a symbolical meaning. There may be some literary connection between Isaiah 6 and the story of Micah ben Imlah in 1 Kings 22, where, however, we learn that a lying spirit enters the prophets (v 22). The great vision of Ezekiel (chaps. 1–3) may be partly inspired by Isaiah 6, but here it is also told that the prophet was seized by the spirit (2:2) and carried away (3:14). Here we may be close to an ecstatic experience. On the other hand Ezekiel's lying paralyzed for 390 days (Ezek 4:4–8) is rather a symbolic action. Isaiah's description of his panic and deaf-mute state after receiving a terrifying revelation (Isa 21:31) describes his reaction to what he has seen, not the process of receiving his message. The same probably applies to Ezekiel's being mute and paralyzed after his vision (Ezek 3:22–27); it is the prophet's reaction, not the process of inspiration, that is described.

Another indication for ecstasy in Israelite prophecy has been found in the use of *měšuggāʿ,* "mad" or "crazy," with reference to prophets (2 Kgs 9:11; Jer 29:26; Hos 9:7). However, this is not an objective description of a prophet's behavior—no details are given—but rather a derogatory statement from the side of enemies. Furthermore, the word *hiṭṭip* is sometimes used to denote prophetic speech; it may be derived from a root meaning "to drip" and has been taken to refer to an ecstatic way of speaking (cf. frothing above). However, the actual use of the word in context does not allude to any such phenomenon.

Nevertheless, the fact that both possession trance and prophecy are expressed with the same term seems to imply that there were points of similarity between the two. One such point may be that the spirit of God was supposed to be at work in both cases, another that the visionary experience of the prophets sometimes was reminiscent of the state of trance or ecstasy. There is, however, one fundamental difference: the one believed to be possessed by a spirit usually forgets all about the spirit on awakening, while the OT prophets were fully conscious of the message they had received.

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**ED-DALIYEH, WADI.** See DALIYEH, WADI ED- (M.R. 189155).

**EDDINUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Eddinous* (Ἐδδινους)]. See JEDUTHUN (PERSON).

**EDEN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿēden* (עֵדֶן)]. Son of Joah, and a Levite of the Gershonnite family, participated in the cleansing of the Temple during the first year of Hezekiah, king of Judah, taking about nine days (2 Chr 29:12). A person with the same name also assisted in the distribution of Temple funds in various Levitical towns, caring for families whose male head was serving in Jerusalem (2 Chr 31:15), obtaining the Chronicler's approval for being "faithful," that is, distributing without favoritism (2 Chr 31:18). The fact that other names besides Eden occur in both contexts (Shimei, Jehiel, Mahath, and Shemaiah) argues for their identity as persons, although this evidence is not conclusive. The name "Eden" is etymologically related either to the name given the birthplace of man, the Garden of Eden, meaning "delight" or "finery" (i.e., jewelry) or, less likely, to the Akk *edinu,* meaning "open field" (*HALAT* 748–49).

KIRK E. LOWERY

**EDEN, GARDEN OF** (PLACE) [Heb *gan-ʿēden* (גַּן־עֵדֶן)]. The place where the first humans are placed by Yahweh and from which they are later expelled. In Genesis 2–3 it is described as a place of beauty and abundance. Elsewhere it is designated as Yahweh's own garden (e.g. Isa 51:3; see GARDEN OF GOD) and even in Genesis 2–3 it is probably meant to be understood primarily as a dwelling place of Yahweh rather than simply a place of human habitation. Scholarly debate over Eden has concerned the

etymology of the name, the various biblical references, and the location of Eden. See also BETH-EDEN (PLACE).

**A. Etymology**

Two explanations have been proposed for the origin of the name *ʿēden,* "Eden": (a) that it derives from the Akkadian word *edinu,* "plain, steppe," which in turn is a loan word from Sumerian *eden;* (b) that it is connected with the West Semitic stem *ʿdn* occurring in several languages, having to do with "luxury, abundance, delight, or lushness."

Explanation (a) was first proposed after the discovery of parts of a cuneiform tablet from Nineveh containing a syllabary of Sumerian logograms and Akkadian equivalents. It has been adopted with varying degrees of caution by scholars such as H. Zimmern, H. Gunkel, J. Skinner, and S. R. Driver. The attractions of such a derivation are obvious. There is phonological similarity and the possible Eastern origins of the word coincide with the traditional placement of Eden "in the East." However, several objections have been raised. First, Genesis 2–3 refers to Eden in terms of a fertile garden or oasis. The transference to this meaning from a Sumerian word for "plain" or "steppe" is obscure. Secondly, while the word *eden* is common in Sumerian, the Akkadian equivalent *edinu* is attested only once on the syllabary referred to above. The usual Akkadian equivalent to Sumerian *eden* is *ṣĕru.* Several synonyms also exist for *ṣĕru.* From available evidence it seems that *edinu* was an extremely rare word in Akkadian and it is not a likely candidate for further borrowing into biblical Hebrew. The craft of a narrator or scribe in adopting such a word would be lost to nearly all hearers or readers. Thirdly, there is the problem that the Sumerian word begins with */e/,* while biblical Hebrew *ʿēden* begins with the guttural *ʿayin.* Some scholars would argue that the initial phoneme */e/* in Sumerian corresponds to Heb *ʾalep.* This is the basis for the proposed correspondence between Sum *íd,* Akk *id*, "river," and biblical Hebrew *ʾēd* (Gen 2:6). However this argument is not conclusive. One should compare also Sum *idiglat,* "Tigris," with the Heb *ḥiddeqel,* where the initial */i/* in Sumerian corresponds to another Hebrew guttural, *ḥet*.

Explanation (b) has been the traditional etymology. The LXX translates *gan-ʿēden* by *ho paradeisos tēs truphēs*, "the garden of luxuries," in Gen 3:23, 24 and elsewhere. This is clearly based on the connection of the name of the garden with the biblical Hebrew, *ʿēden* , "luxury, delight." This connection would have been missed neither by those who narrated the story nor by those who read or heard it. After all, the garden contained every tree which was "delightful to look at and good for food" (Gen 2:9). The question remains, however, whether or not the garden's name arose in this connection.

The stem *ʿdn* is known in Syriac and Talmudic Aramaic, and the cognate *ǵdn* occurs in Arabic. In languages contemporary with biblical Hebrew only two examples of possible cognates exist. The first is in Ugaritic. In the mythological text, *CTA* 12.2.53–54, the phrase *bʿdn ʿdnm* can be connected with a stem *ʿdn,* indicating "delight" or "abundance," although some scholars would disagree. In *CTA* 3.3.30; 4.2.17; 4.5.68–69 and elsewhere other meanings or explanations must be given to *ʿdn.*

The second example is in Old Aramaic, in an inscription on a statue of *Haddu-yisʿī,* King of Guzan. The statue is from Tell Fekheriyeh in N Syria. The bilingual inscription contains the Aramaic phrase *mʿdn mt kln,* which is parallel to the Assyrian expression *muṭaḫḫidu kibrāti*, "the provider of the regions," also inscribed on the statue. It would seem that the Aramaic expression is to be translated "one who provides for all the land," but whether the participle *mʿdn* is meant to carry the implication of "abundance" and "great delight" as the Hebrew *ʿēden* might suggest, or whether it is meant to indicate provision in general as the Assyrian parallel *muṭaḫḫidu* suggests, is a matter for debate. Since, however, both expressions occur in a list of epithets of the deity Hadad (Adad) who is described as the giver of plenty to both heaven and earth, including pasture and watering places, the use of *mʿdn* cannot be separated from the notion of earthly abundance and delight.

The etymology of *ʿēden* is therefore still a matter for debate. The derivation from Akk *edinu* remains problematic. The second derivation from West Semitic *ʿdn*, indicating "abundance" or "luxury," remains tenuous. Connection with this stem could just be secondary and late. The Ugaritic and especially the Old Aramaic evidence strengthens the case for this more traditional explanation.

**B. Usage**

The term *ʿēden* occurs thirteen times in the OT, although not always in the same context. Even within Genesis 2–3 it changes in meaning. In 2:8 and 10 (cf. also 4:16) *ʿēden* is used unqualified as a place name. In 2:15; 3:23 and 24 it occurs in the phrase *gan-ʿēden*, "Garden of Eden." Gen 3:23 and 24 seem to indicate that Eden refers just to the garden and not to some larger region in which the garden is located. Even the LXX reflects this change in sense. In 2:8, 10 and 4:16 it renders *Edem* for *ʿēden.* In 3:23 and 24 it translates *gan-ʿēden* as *ho paradeisos tēs truphēs*, while in 2:15 it renders it simply as *ho paradeisos.* The variation has been seen by some scholars as evidence for different sources within Gen 2:4b–3:24. Attempts to delineate these sources have not met with general acceptance and the unity of the present narrative is now widely stressed. Moreover, while inconsistencies or irregularities within the story can be attributed to a complicated history of tradition, they should not be seen solely as the result of development within the written form of the narrative. The story is an ancient one and the influence of oral narrative techniques (open to inconsistencies and parataxis) on its early written forms should not be ignored.

Outside the early chapters of Genesis, reference to *ʿēden* occurs most often in Ezekiel (28:13; 31:9, 16, 18; 36:35). Elsewhere it is mentioned in Isa 51:3 and Joel 2:3. In the case of Isa 51:3, Ezek 36:35, and Joel 2:3, *ʿēden* or the *gan-ʿēden* appears as a symbol of fertility. The first two references are set within oracles directed to Israelites in exile. In each, Yahweh's promise to restore his people involves the restoration of the land of Israel from a desolate waste to a fertile place. It will be like (the garden of) Eden. In Joel 2:3 the opposite is the case with the threat of judgment in which the land, now like the garden of Eden, will be stripped bare by locusts.

Isa 51:3 places *ʿēden* in parallelism with *gan-yhwh*. It would appear that at least by the time of the Exile Eden was associated wth the mythic concept of the garden of God (or Yahweh). This association possibly lies behind the reference to Eden in Ezekiel 36:35, although some scholars would regard vv 33–36 as a later addition. Direct equation of Eden with the garden of God (*gan-ʾĕlōhîm*)is found in Ezek 28:13. Here the king of Tyre is described residing in Eden, the garden of God, enjoying its privileges, and exhibiting a life commensurate with that until iniquity is found in him (v 15). He is then driven out to die without dignity on earth (vv 17–19). Equation of Eden with the garden of God is also found in Ezek 31:8–9 in an oracle describing the pharaoh of Egypt as a mighty and splendid tree with its top in the clouds and its roots watered by subterranean springs. It was luxuriant and provided shelter for animals and birds (vv 3–7). The trees of Eden which were "in the garden of God" were jealous of it (v 9). Further reference is made to the trees of Eden in the subsequent oracles speaking of the downfall of the pharaoh (vv 16–18).

The relation of the garden of Eden to the general theme of the garden of God must be seen in light of a full discussion of the latter. See GARDEN OF GOD. The issue has to do with the question of whether Eden was understood as a human paradise or a divine dwelling. It ultimately bears on the meaning of the narrative. The argument that the garden was created after the first human and therefore could not have been Yahweh's dwelling misses the subtlety of the situation. Many of the motifs of Eden are also those of the divine dwelling described in Mesopotamian and Canaanite myth. These include the unmediated presence of the deity, the council of the heavenly beings, the issuing of divine decrees, the source of subterranean life-giving waters which supply the whole earth, abundant fertility, and trees of supernatural qualities and great beauty.

The proliferation of such motifs in the ANE cannot be ignored. The description of Eden in Gen 2:46–3:24 draws heavily on the mythic garden-of-God theme but as is the case elsewhere in the Yahwistic narrative, there is a blend of mythic and historical elements. The mythic elements break through the narrative sufficiently to suggest that Eden was not simply a human paradise which had been lost through disobedience. Rather it portrays a divine dwelling within the human, historical context. It is certainly a place set apart from the world as humans have experienced it, but it nevertheless is meant to be understood as an historical entity. The garden of Eden serves as the setting for a drama which explores the relationship between the divine and human worlds, a relationship which in Israelite experience was played out in the context of history.

Some scholars have argued that the oracles of Ezekiel 28 and 31 show direct literary dependence on the Eden narrative of Genesis 2–3. Certainly some motifs are held in common (the magnificent trees, the

rebellion against God and subsequent expulsion, wisdom, precious stones, cherubim, and fire) and the oracles reveal some knowledge of the Eden tradition, but the stories also show marked differences. It is easier to assume that the Ezekiel passages come from a fluid oral tradition, and while they have drawn on the same theme and used some of the same motifs, they nevertheless have been composed independently of Genesis 2–3.

In pseudepigraphal literature the garden of Eden is frequently mentioned. In *4 Ezra* 3:6 and *Jub.* 3:9–35 there is direct reference to the Genesis 2–3 account and the garden. In this context Eden is an earthly concept (of *Jub.* 423–25; and 8:18–19 where Eden is one of the abodes of God on earth). However, we can detect a shift in meaning, for in *4 Ezra* 3:6 we have the first reference to Eden as a garden planted before the earth appeared. In *Jub.* 4:23–25, Enoch is taken in honor from among sinful humans in the garden of Eden where he writes condemnation and judgment on the world.

In other works Eden is clearly associated with Paradise, a heavenly dwelling set aside for the righteous and faithful (e.g., *T. Dan* 5:12). Elsewhere we see certain elements of the garden in Genesis 2 associated with Paradise, for example the trees of Life and Wisdom in *1 Enoch* 24–25; 28–32 and *4 Ezra* 8:52. In *T. Levi* 18:1–14 we have a description of a new anointed priest bringing redemption to God's saints. Verses 10–14 describe the opening of the gates of Paradise and the blessing of the saints as a reversal of the events of Eden in Genesis 3.

**C. The Site of Eden**

The location of the garden of Eden has intrigued biblical commentators from the time of Josephus (*Ant* 1.3.38–39). Interest has focused on the reference in Gen 2:10–14 where there is mention of the four headwaters which emerge from the river that flows out of Eden. Some commentators have questioned whether these verses are secondary. They interrupt the flow of the narrative and v 15 repeats the notice of v 8 that Yahweh put the human being he had created in the garden. This is not the only possible explanation. If the Eden story of Genesis 2–3 is a written version of a formerly oral traditional narrative and the description of Eden has been based on the theme of the garden of God, then it is possible that vv 10–14, with the description of the four rivers and reference to the jewels and produce of the lands through which they flow, could be the remnant of an embellishment of the theme at that point. The motifs of the rivers and precious jewels are elsewhere related to the garden of God (e.g., *Gilgamesh* [*ANET*, 89]; Ezek 28:12b–19). We should note that the description of the rivers decreases in length but the first three rivers show a part parallel structure. These features indicate the possibility of a longer, poetic basis for the verses.

The names of the rivers are important. The rivers *ḥiddeqel* and *pĕrat* are undoubtedly the Tigris and the Euphrates. The identities of the first two rivers, the *pîšôn* (usually taken to be formed from *pûš,* "to spring up") and the *gîḥôn* (from *ğaḥ* or *gîaḥ,* "to burst forth") are disputed. For the *pîšôn,* suggestions have included the Indus or the Ganges. The land of *ḥăwîlâ,* around which the *pîšôn* flows, is thus associated with India, although elsewhere it is connected with Arabia (cf. Gen 10:29; 25:18). The *gîḥôn* is frequently identified as the Nile through the connection with *kûš,* an ancient name for the south of Egypt. Others have connected the two rivers with canals in the Euphrates-Tigris plain or with the great oceans that encircled the known inhabited lands of Arabia and Africa. W. F. Albright argued in 1922 that Eden lay in the far west and that the *pîšôn* and *gîḥôn* were the Blue and White Niles.

Any firm identification of these rivers or the lands associated with them must remain tentative. There is probably little hope of moving beyond speculation. The possibility that *pîšôn* and *gîḥôn* were not river names in current use at the time of the composition of the Eden narrative ought not to be overlooked. They could even be a traditional rhyming pair of names without specific geographical reference.

The connection of *gîḥôn* with the name of the spring in Jerusalem cannot be neglected. The reference to the Tigris and Euphrates suggests a possible Mesopotamian origin for the Eden story. It therefore would seem unlikely that the Jerusalem spring is the origin for the *gîḥôn* of Gen 2:13, but the possibility of the identification of the two must be considered. The *gîḥôn* spring of Jerusalem is mentioned as the place of Solomon's anointing (1 Kgs 1:33, 38) and so was known at the time of the Yahwist. The name could even form a bridge between the motifs of the mountain dwelling and the life-giving springs associated with the

theme of the garden of God. See GARDEN OF GOD. This would be particularly important when Jerusalem-Zion was being promoted as the dwelling place of Yahweh in David's time and especially Solomon's reign.

The site of the garden is referred to in Gen 2:8 as *miqqedem*, usually translated "in the East." This has been used to support the idea of a Mesopotamian location for the story. The phrase could also be translated "from of old" (cf. Pss 77:6, 12; 78:12; 143:5; Prov 8:22–23, etc.) and possibly in earlier forms of the narrative it had a temporal rather than a geographic reference. If the Yahwist understood the phrase to indicate "in the East" then the precise location still remains uncertain. In Genesis 2–11 the Yahwist depicts the movement of primeval humanity in an easterly direction from the garden (Gen 3:24; 4:16; 11:2). This movement is reversed in Gen 12:4 when Abraham begins his journey westward from Haran to Canaan. It is possible that the Yahwist does not place Eden in Mesopotamia but somewhere W of that land, allowing for an easterly migration after the expulsion. In such a case the rivers of Gen 2:10–14 need not form an interconnected system but could be simply independent, traditional, or famous waterways which in the writer's cosmology are fed from the source that rises in the dwelling place of God. See also Driver *Genesis* WC; and Skinner *Genesis* ICC.

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**EDER** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿēder* (עֶדֶר)]. The name of two men in the OT.

**1.** Listed among the Levites of David's time, a descendant of Merari (1 Chr 23:23; 24:30). David is credited with the organization of the Levites into divisions with "charge of the work in the house of the LORD" (1 Chr 23:4). However, as Williamson notes (*Chronicles* NCBC, 160), in that these Levite genealogies do not extend to David's time, it is "probable that the expression *the sons of* is to be understood loosely."

**2.** A descendant of Benjamin, listed in the longer Benjaminite genealogy of the Chronicler (1 Chr 8:15). The Greek ($LXX^B$) reads *ōrēr* and *ōdēd* instead of (MT) *ʿarād* and *ʿāder,* a transposition of the consonants *r* and *d* which evidences the confusion between the Hebrew letters *reš* and *dalet*. The Chronicler attaches special significance to Eder as being among the "chief men" who "dwelt in Jerusalem." The Chronicler emphasizes this link of Benjamin with Jerusalem (1 Chr 8:28, 32), providing a clue as to why Benjamin is elaborated in 1 Chronicles 8. The Benjaminite line had been treated earlier in its proper place in the list of tribal genealogies (1 Chr 7:6–12). See also *Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah* TBC.

SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

**EDER** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿēder* (עֶדֶר)]. A settlement of the tribe of Judah. Eder is only mentioned once, in Josh 15:22, where it is listed among the settlements occupied by Judah in the aftermath of the Conquest. Though the present literary context of the Judean town list is set in the period of Joshua, its original setting was part of a post-Solomonic administrative division of the southern kingdom. The date for the establishment of this system is debated, with suggestions ranging from the early 9th to the late 7th centuries B.C.

A version of the LXX, however, takes this as Arad, which may well be correct (M.R. 162076). The beginning of the list states that these settlements were "toward Edom," i.e., the first sites listed are in the E part of the Negeb. In the early Hebrew orthography *reš* and *dalet* are very similar, and in copying could

easily be miswritten. The excavators of Arad have suggested that the earliest Iron Age citadel in Stratum XI is Solomonic (Aharoni *EAEHL*, 83). Joshua 12:14 also claims that the Israelites vanquished the king of Arad. It would be strange for Arad not to be listed among the southernmost settlements of Judah. Most commentators prefer the LXX reading (*GP* 2: 309; *GTTOT*, 142; *LBHG*, 105). In 1 Chr 8:15 Eder and Arad are listed as descendants of Judah. The Chronicler, having one source which listed Eder, but knowing full well of the existence of Arad, simply used both.

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JEFFREY R. ZORN

**EDER, TOWER OF** (PLACE) [Heb *migdal-ʿēder* (מִגְדַּל־עֵדֶר)]. *Migdal-ʿēder* (M.R. 171123), meaning "tower of the flock," was a pastoral landmark in antiquity near Bethlehem (M.R. 169123) beyond which Jacob established a campsite after Rachel's death (Gen 35:19) and where Reuben violated Bilhah (Gen 35:21–22; *T. Reu.* 3:13). While the exact location is not known, it has been associated with Khirbet Siyar el-Ganam ca. 2.5 km (1.5 miles) E of Bethlehem on a ridge overlooking the modern village of Beit Sahur. Its name was most likely derived from the flocks that were kept in the area (1 Sam 16:4, 11; Luke 2:8). The suggestion that the tower received its name from the family of Ader (1 Chr 8:13–16) and is to be equated with the Migdal (city no. 58) of Shishak's cities list (Ahituv 1984: 141) is not probable since the clan of Beriah was from Aijalon near the coastal plains and Shishak's Migdal (no. 58) is to be found in the hill country of Ephraim between Tirzah and Adam, according to Aharoni and Mazar's reading of the list (*LBHG*, 324–25, 380 n. 9).

During the Second Temple period, it was prohibited to keep flocks in the land of Israel (*m. B. Qam.* 7:7; *b. B. Qam.* 79b) because of the negative effects on agriculture. The region around Jerusalem, as far out as Migdal-eder, was an exception in order to accommodate the need for sacrificial animals at the Temple. Sheep or goats within this area (of one year or more) were assumed to be for Temple service (*m. Šeqal.* 7:4). Possibly as early as the prophet Micah (4:8), Migdal-eder has been associated with messianic expectations; and the *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Gen 35:21 states that Migdal-eder is the place from where the Messiah will make himself manifest (Winter 1955: 230–42). Jerome (a 4th century C.E. resident of Bethlehem) affirms the traditional identification and function of Migdal-eder (Lat *turrim Ader* or *turris Gader*) and locates it by a road ca. 1.5 km (1 mile) from Bethlehem (*Quaestiones* 43; *de Situ et Nominibus* 215, 222 [*PL* 2: 898, 900]; *Quaestionum in Genesim* 361 [*PL* 2: 992]).

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DALE C. LIID

**EDESSA** (37°08′N; 38°46′E). Modern Urfa in E Turkey, also known as Syr *ʾUrḥāy* (Orhay), Ar *al-Ruḥa*.

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A. Topography and Political History
B. Pre-Christian Culture and Religion
C. Earliest Christianity in Edessa
D. Syriac Language and Literature

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**A. Topography and Political History**

Protected on three sides by a limestone massif, overlooking the plain of Harran to the SW, and located at the convergence of two ancient routes—from Armenia to Syria and from the Mediterranean to Iran, India and China—Orhay is a natural fortress and commercial center. Jewish and Christian traditions which state that Nimrod was the city's founder derive from competition with nearby Harran and lack historical basis (Duval 1891–92: 106, 256; Segal 1970: 1, 3, 188). Although the town probably dates to the 2d millennium B.C., it is not mentioned in surviving texts or inscriptions until its refoundation by

Seleucus Nicator ca. 303 B.C. (Appian *Syr.* 57). After this the city was known as Antioch by the Callirhoe as well as Edessa, both names alluding to the abundance of water provided by the *Skirtos* (Gk "leaping," = Syr *Dayṣan*) River as well as by the large spring-fed pools within the city (Pliny *HN* 5.21.1). Even in the Hellenistic period virtually nothing is known of the history of the city.

Syriac chronicles supplemented anecdotally by Greek and Roman historians and numismatic and inscriptional evidence provide a fuller view from ca. 132 B.C. to ca. A.D. 240. Then the city was ruled by a dynasty of Nabatean rulers, styled variously as toparchs, phylarchs, or kings, who carved a place for themselves at the eastern edge of the Roman domain. An 8th-century chronicler's list of the rulers, which begins with the eponymous *ʾUrhāy bar Ḥewyâ,* includes several who are known from other sources (Chabot 1953: 50.20–23). As the area was of strategic importance to Rome in the competition first against Parthia and then against Sassanid Persia, the Edessene policy of self-interested independence was sometimes perceived by the Roman historians as traitorous. So *ʾAbgar bar ʾAbgar* (68–53 B.C.) was wrongly accused of betraying Crassus (Plutarch *Crass.* 21–22; Cass. Dio 37.5, 40.20–23), but *ʾAbgar VII bar Izates,* grandson of the Jewish Helen of Adiabene, probably did betray Trajan in A.D. 116 (Cass. Dio 68.18, 21, 30). After a brief period of direct Roman rule (A.D. 116–18) relations between the Nabatean rulers and Rome were especially close under *Maʿnu VIII bar Maʿnu "Philorōmaios"* (A.D. 139–63) (Chabot 1953: 126.1). *ʾAbgar VIII bar Maʿnu* "the Great" (A.D. 177–212), once seen as especially friendly to Rome, may instead have been deemed traitorous due to his support for the wrong candidate in the struggle after the death of Commodus (Drijvers *ANRW* 2/8: 876–78). In any case, as a prelude to his Mesopotamian campaign, Caracalla summoned *ʾAbgar IX Severus* to Rome, arrested him, and in January 214 declared Edessa a Roman *colonia.* The surrounding area was designated the province of Osrhoene (originally Orrhoene, probably derived either from *ʾÛrhāy* or from the Persian name Khusro, Chosrhoes), and Edessa, now its capital, received a governor and a garrison. In A.D. 231 Alexander Severus elevated the city to the status of *metropolis,* but in 242 Gordian reduced it again to the status of *colonia.* The later 3d century brought Sassanian and Palmyrene domination, followed by renewed Roman control under Diocletian. When Diocletian's administrative reforms divided Osrhoene into two parts, Osrhoene and Mesopotamia, Edessa retained its status as capital of Osrhoene, though with a reduced jurisdiction. The city continued to be a commercial and administrative center throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods until it was captured by the Turks in the mid–12th century.

**B. Pre-Christian Culture and Religion**

Under the Nabatean kings, as under Roman rule, the city's population and consequently its culture and religion were a conglomerate of native Mesopotamian, Aramean, Greek, Jewish, and Roman elements. Although archaeological evidence is limited almost entirely to a few funerary monuments, several media are represented: sculpture, mosaics, and architectural remains. Semitic, Parthian, Palmyrene, and Greek influences are evident. Some inscriptions—most of them funerary—survive in Syriac, Greek, and Aramaic. Later Christian literary sources, principally the hymns of Ephrem Syrus (d. A.D. 373), the *Doctrine of Addai* (ca. A.D. 400), and the *Homily on the Fall of the Idols* by Jacob of Sarug (d. A.D. 521), attest several varieties of pagan worship. The ancient Mesopotamian deities, Bel (Marduk) and Nebo, are found in a Father-Son cult. The Aramaean *Taʿata* (Syr = Gk *Atargatis*) is worshiped, sometimes with her consort, *Baʿal Šamin.* At Edessa as at her principal cult center in neighboring *Hierapolis* (Syr *Mabbug*), she was associated with fertility rites and sacred fish ponds (cf. Lucian *Syr.D.* and *Itin. Eger.* 19.7 = CChr ser. latina 175, 1965, pp. 27–103). The Arabian river deities, Azizos and Monimos, are attested (Drijvers, *ANRW* 2/8: 892). Worship of sun, moon, planets, and stars is associated with astrological lore (Ephrem *HCH* 4, 5, 6 and Doc Add. = Howard 1981: 48). In addition, the city had a substantial and prosperous Jewish community associated with the siEc trade and with their coreligionists in nearby Nisibis. It is, however, to the legends associated with the arrival of Christianity in Edessa that the city owes its greatest fame.

**C. Earliest Christianity in Edessa**

According to traditions associated with King *ʾAbgar* V (d. A.D. 50) the evangelization of Edessa took place in the apostolic period. (See ABGAR, EPISTLE OF CHRIST TO. The earliest literary accounts of

the Abgar legend, in Eusebius' *Church History* (1.13; ca. A.D. 304) and in *The Doctrine of Addai,* claim that Addai, one of the seventy, was sent to the city by the apostle Thomas. Another tradition, which may have arisen independently, saw Thomas himself as the missionary to Edessa. Despite the fact that the *Acts of Thomas* recount the death of their protagonist in India (*Acts Thom.* 1–2, 159–70), both this work and the *Gospel of Thomas* (q.v.) may have originated in Edessa, and they may, therefore, attest an early association of the apostle with this city (Klijn 1965: 64–83, 106–38, but cf. Ehlers 1970). Ephrem Syrus alludes to a transferral of the bones of the apostle and to their veneration at Edessa (Ephrem *Car. Nis.* 27.62, 42.1.1–2.2, 49.9–40). Finally, Egeria came to the Syrian city (ca. A.D. 404–417) expressly to see the martyrium of Thomas, whom she believed to be the apostle sent to *ʾAbgar* by Jesus (*Itin. Eger.* 17.1).

Except for the fact that his rule coincided chronologically with Jesus' life (i.e., 4 B.C.–A.D. 7 and again A.D. 13–50), there is no evidence independent of Eusebius and the *Doctrine of Addai* to confirm any tie of *ʾAbgar* V to Christianity. Nevertheless, in an attempt to discern a kernel of historical truth in these legends, Gutschmidt (Burkitt 1904) argued that they actually referred obliquely to *ʾAbgar* the Great (ruled A.D. 179–214), since he is mentioned in the Bardaisanite *Book of the Laws of the Countries* (= *BLC,* cf. BARDAISAN OF EDESSA) as having forbidden emasculation in honor of Atargatis when he "came to the faith" (*BLC* 607). Burkitt (1904) accepted this view and argued further that the legends provided evidence for the Jewish-Christian character of early Syriac Christianity and for the evangelization of Edessa in the late 2d century. These proposals, once widely accepted, have been rejected or significantly modified (Bauer 1971; Drijvers 1970; Segal 1980; Murray 1975: 4–24).

Apart from the legends and the problematic *Chronicle of Arbel* (cf. Murray 1975: 9), the history of Christianity in Edessa begins with the *Chronicle of Edessa.* This 6th-century compilation records only a handful of events relevant to the history of Christianity prior to the time of Constantine: (1) the birth of Jesus, (2) Marcion's departure from the Catholic church, (3) the birth of Bardaisan, (4) the birth of Mani, and (5) a lengthy notice, prefatory to the other shorter notices, describing the destruction caused by a flood of the city in A.D. 201 (= *Sel.* 513/14), which mentions that the water "destroyed the nave of the Church of the Christians" or "destroyed the Church of the community of Christians" (Syr *wsrḥw hww twb bhaykl› d‹dt› dkrïṣṭyn›*; Guidi 1955: 2.4). The chronicle does not mention a Christian bishop until 313, when Bishop *Qônâ* is said to have undertaken the construction of a new cathedral church, just coinciding with the new status of the Church under Constantine; the building was completed by his successor (Guidi 1955: 4.2–3). From this point forward a continuous succession of bishops and buildings is attested.

Dismissing the reference to the Christian church building as a later interpolation and rejecting any notion of a kernel of truth in the Abgar legend, Bauer argued in 1934 (= Bauer 1971) that the first Christians of Edessa were neither orthodox nor Jewish-Christian and that they had neither formal organization nor doctrinal norms. Various heretical groups—the followers of Marcion, Bardaisan, and Mani—were there by the late 3d century, but the orthodox Christians arrived only in the 4th century with a Bishop *Palûṭ* consecrated by the bishop of Antioch. Thus Ephrem Syrus' objection to designation of the orthodox Christians as "Palutians" (Eph. Syr. *HCH* 22, esp. 22.1–10) is to be explained by the fact that the Marcionites had been the first Christians in the city and thus were designated simply as "Christians." Against these views of Bauer, Vööbus (1958: 3–108; followed by Quispel 1968 and Murray 1975: 4–24) adduced parallels from the Qumran literature to fragments of early baptismal preaching preserved by Aphrahat (d. A.D. 337) and Ephrem to argue again a Jewish-Christian origin and theological orientation of the earliest Church at Edessa. Bauer's view has been forcefully reiterated by Drijvers (1970), and has been generally accepted for the city of Edessa itself although not necessarily for all of Syriac Christianity (cf. Murray 1975: 4–24).

**D. Syriac Language and Literature**

During the 2d–3d centuries A.D. the Aramaic dialect of Edessa became the literary language known as Syriac and it became the common language of the Christians of Syro-Mesopotamia. Edessa is thus the most probable place of composition of the earliest Syriac literature, such as the *Odes of Solomon* and the *Testament of Adam* as well as the putative Syriac originals of such works as the *Gospel of Thomas.* Some early Syriac versions of the Bible may have taken shape there as well. The first known Syriac author,

Bardaisan, (A.D. 154–222), certainly resided at Edessa, where he was associated with King ʾAbgar VIII. Three other early Syriac works may have originated here: an early 3d-century apology mistakenly attributed to Melito of Sardis was composed in Syriac by a writer well acquainted with the apologies of Justin and Aristides (Cureton 1855: Syr 22–35, 41–51; Ulbrich 1906). Also extant is an early Syriac version of a short 3d-century Greek apology wrongly attributed to Justin (Cureton 1855: Syr 38–42, 61–69). *The Letter of Mara bar Sarapion to His Son,* ostensibly an epistle of advice from a non-Christian Stoic to his son, is actually a Christian work, probably from the 4th century rather than the 3d as Schulthess thought (Cureton 1855: Syr 43–48, 70–76; McVey 1990). Accounts of the earliest Edessene martyrs, a former pagan priest, *Šarbîl,* and a bishop of Edessa, *Barsamyâ,* purporting to date from the reign of Trajan, are completely unreliable additions to the *Doctrine of Addai* (Cureton 1864: Syr 41–72, 41–72; Duval 1889; Burkitt 1904: 19–22). Although there is little of historical value in the surviving accounts of two early Diocletianic martyrs, poor village boys named *Šamônâ* and *Gûryâ,* or of the deacon *Ḥabîb,* executed under Licinius, the authenticity of their names is consistently attested in early liturgical materials (von Gebhardt 1911: xliv–lxiv).

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**EDNA** (PERSON) [Gk *Edna* (Ἐδνα)]. The wife of Raguel and mother of Sarah in the book of Tobit (Tob 7:7—Eng7:8). Edna is mentioned seven times (7:2, 7:7—Eng7:8, 7:14, 7:15—Eng7:16, 8:12, 10:13—Eng10:12, 11:1), each time as the object of address; she initiates no independent actions. The

name comes from the Hebrew root ʿ*dn*, the same root as the word for (the Garden of) Eden, and means "delight" or "daintiness." In view of the author's use of word plays in connection with other names in the book of Tobit (e.g., Azarias, "God helps"), one might suppose the author intended the reader to associate Edna with the delight of Eden.

PAUL L. REDDITT

**EDOM** (PLACE) [Heb ʾ*edôm* (אֱדוֹם)]. EDOMITE. A territory that in OT times was generally located S and E of the Dead Sea. The word "Edom" is derived from a Semitic root meaning "red," "ruddy." The name was thus probably given to the area because of the reddish color of the sandstone there. This entry consists of two articles, one focusing on historical and biblical references to Edom, and the other focusing upon the archaeology of the Edomite territory.

## *EDOM IN HISTORY*

Less is known of the history of Edom than of most neighbors of ancient Israel, because there are no extant historical records from ancient Edom, and Edom has always been relatively isolated. Edom's natural contacts were with Midian and Hejaz to the S, with Egypt via the Gulf of Aqaba and the Sinai peninsula to the W, and with Syria and Damascus to the N via the difficult road that led across the Wadi Môjīb toward the territory of the Ammonites. The early Israelites knew very little about Edom, and since their knowledge was colored by their perpetually hostile experience of Edom, modern historians of Edom work under considerable disadvantages. Some historical evidence comes from Egypt, and a number of references occur in the Assyrian and Babylonian records, and recent findings of archaeological surveys and excavations have proved valuable (see below), but the OT records remain centrally important.

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A. Early History of Edom
1. Egyptian References
2. Early OT References
3. Edom and the United Israelite Monarchy
B. The Edomite Kingdom
1. Edom and the Divided Israelite Monarchy
2. Edom and the Assyrians
3. Edom and the Babylonians
4. Edom during the Persian and Hellenistic Periods

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### A. Early History of Edom

**1. Egyptian References.** The earliest reference to Edom comes from Egypt. Papyrus Anastasi (6.54–56; *ANET*, 259) preserves the report of a frontier official from the reign of Merneptah (ca. 1224–1214 B.C.), who noted:

> We have finished letting the Bedouin tribes of Edom pass the Fortress [of] Mer-ne-Ptah Hotep-hir-Maat—life, prosperity, health!—which is (in) Tjeku, to the pools of Per-Atum … to keep them alive and to keep their cattle alive.

"Edom" is presented as a foreign, non-Egyptian name. This Semitic place name (which means "the red (land)," and almost certainly refers to the mountains of Nubian sandstone which extend N-S between the Wâdī ʿArabah and the Syro-Arabian desert) was in use by the late 13th century B.C., and perhaps as early as the 15th century if Edom is indicated by ʾ*i-d-má* on a list of Thutmose III (1490–1436 B.C.; Helck 1971: 243–44). The name may be much older, but an earlier use cannot be traced.

The OT closely links Edom with the region called Seir (cf. Gen 36:8–9; Judg 5:4). This name first appears in a letter found in the Egyptian archives at Amarna from King Abdi-hiba of Jerusalem (first half of the 14th century B.C.), who wrote to Pharaoh Amenhotep III: "The land of the king is lost: there is war against us, as far as the lands of Seir ([*matat*] *Se-eri*$^{ki}$) (and) as far as Gath-Carmel!" (EA 288: 24–25; *ANET*, 488). Nearly a century later Rameses II (1290–1224 B.C.) claimed to have laid waste the land of the Shosu and plundered Mt. Seir (Montet 1933: 70–71; Albright 1944: 228; Giveon 1971: 100; for the

connection of Seir with the *šsw sʿrr* and *šsw yhw* on Rameses II's inscription at ʿAmārah West, see Fairman 1939: 141; Grdseloff 1947: 79; Giveon 1971: 27, 75; Weippert 1981: 292), but this must be reckoned dubious in the light of Astour's demonstration (1979: 17–33) that the place names on this list belong to Syrian and Lebanon. Rameses III (1193–1162 B.C.) makes a similar claim:

> I have destroyed the people of Seir among the *Shosu* tribes. I have laid waste their tents, with their people, their belongings, and likewise their cattle without number.

(Papyrus Harris I: 76: 9–11; see Giveon 1971: 134–37; Albright 1944: 229)

Thus 14th–12th-century-B.C. Egyptian sources mention both Edom and Seir, the latter more frequently (was it nearer and better known?); they do not identify the two places (Bartlett 1969: 1–2), but know their inhabitants as *shosu*.

Unfortunately the term *shosu* does not help to identify these early inhabitants of Edom with any precision. The word may derive from a NW Semitic root and mean "plunderers," or, perhaps more likely, from an Egyptian word meaning "wanderers" (Ward 1972: 56–59; cf. Gottwald 1979: 458–59). They appear in the regions of N Israel and Syria as well as in Seir and Edom (Giveon 1971: 22–261; Weippert 1974: 273), and possibly also in Nubia (Ward 1972: 37–40). But they are not presented as desert nomads; Ward sees them as a social class of freebooters and mercenaries, like the Habiru, not as an ethnic group (1972: 550–56; see further Weippert 1974: 265–80, 427–33; Görg 1979: 199–202; Giveon *LÄ* 5: cols 533–34).

The later OT tradition thought of the early occupants of Edom as "Horites" (Gen 14:6; 36:20–30; Deut 2:12, 22). De Vaux (1967: 481–85) suggested that "Horite" derived from "Huru," the Egyptian 18th Dynasty name for Canaan, and was reapplied by the OT writers to one particular group of the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Transjordan; if so, the Israelites' adoption of "Horite" may have been influenced by the similarity of the word to the Heb *hôr*, "cave," and by the known Edomite practice of cave dwelling (Obadiah 3). It is difficult, however, to extract hard evidence for the supposed pre-Edomite population from Genesis 36, because (1) the "Horite" clans of Gen 36:20–30 in many cases bear names found in 1 Chronicles 2 and 4 as names of Judahite clans (Meyer 1906: 328–54) and are linked with places W of the Wâdī ʿArabah, and (2) the phrase "the inhabitants of the land" (Gen 36:20) suggests that the Israelite historian has assumed from an analogy with the history of Israel that the Edomites entered from outside and took over an already inhabited land (a view explicitly stated in Deut 2:12). However, it is more likely that the Iron Age kingdom of Edom developed naturally from the LB Age population. Recent archaeology surveys in N Edom have found evidence of at least some occupation of the land in the LB Age, and also of continuity of occupation into Iron Age IA at most LB sites (MacDonald 1980: 169–83; 1982a; 1982b). Analysis of the archaeological evidence from the Transjordan as a whole has suggested that there was a strong LB Age presence, showing signs of Mycenaean and Cypriot influence from the Mediterranean, particularly in the more fertile N and central Transjordan and that this Mediterranean influence disappeared in the 12th century B.C. The LB tradition, however, lived on (for example, in several characteristic pottery shapes) into Iron Age IA. The decline of Mycenaean and Cypriot influence in Transjordan is not necessarily or simply to be explained by supposed new arrivals in Transjordan, and the other evidence may suggest the continuance, change, and development of the existing LB population under new economic circumstances. For Edom in particular, however, more evidence is needed.

**2. Early OT References.** The OT evidence for the early Edomite inhabitants of the land is limited and of uncertain value. Possibly some fragments of information can be gleaned from Genesis 36, but its current form derives from an Israelite editor of the 6th century B.C. who identified Edom with an ancestral figure, Esau of Seir, known in Israelite tradition as the brother of Israel's ancestor, Jacob. The process by which Jacob's brother Esau came to stand (in Israelite eyes) as the ancestor of Edom probably began when David conquered Edom in the early 10th century B.C., and the Edomites became better known in Israel and popularly linked with the uncouth Esau of the foEctale, the older brother whom Jacob worsted (Bartlett 1977). Analysis of the family ascribed to Esau in Gen 36:10–14 shows that Esau is associated with people and places ranging from the S borders of Judah to Midian in NW Arabia. Thus Esau's son Eliphaz is linked with Teman, perhaps the S region of Edom (de Vaux 1969; cf. Eliphaz the Temanite,

Job 2:11), but also with Kenaz, a tribe found in the Hebron region (Num 32:12; Josh 14:6, 14; 15:17; Judg 1:13; 3:9, 11). The name Reuel appears in Exod 2:18, Num 10:29 as that of a Midianite, but among his sons, Nahath appears as a Judahite (2 Chr 31:13), Zerah as a Judahite clan (Gen 38:30; cf. Num 26:13; 1 Chr 6:6, 26), and Shammah perhaps relates to the Jerahmeelite or Calebite clan Shammai (1 Chr 2:28,32, 44–45). Oholibamah (Gen 36:14) links Esau with the clans of the sons of Seir (Gen 36:20–30). Other links appear with Timna (a place on the W edge of the Wâdī ʿArabah) and Amalek, whose tribal home was in the Negeb. There is little in these names to suggest that the compiler is drawing on genuine early Edomite material, and much to suggest that he is doing his best to associate Esau with appropriate names. Most of the names link Esau with S Judah and the Negeb, and some with the S regions of Teman and Midian. This probably reflects the situation of the 7th–6th centuries B.C. when both literary and archaeological evidence suggests an increasing Edomite presence in the Negeb S of Hebron, and when Edom's associations with Midian to the S are well known (cf. Ezek 25:13). Of the tribes and clans of the Edomite heartland in the early period, Gen 36:10–14 tells us nothing. The Song of Moses (Exod 15:1–18) refers to the "chiefs" (*ʾallûpê*) of Edom in parallel with the "rams" (*ʾêlê*) of Moab, and the word has been taken up by the compiler of Genesis 36, who has formed his lists by conferring chiefdoms on the descendants of Esau and Seir (Gen 36:15–19, 29–30) and on various places and names already mentioned in the chapter (vv 40–43). The surprising story of the defeat of Cushan-rishathaim, king of Aram (-Naharaim), by Othniel the son of Kenaz from Debir (Judg 3:7–11) in the Negeb has sometimes been understood to refer to 12th- or 11th-century-B.C. Edom by emending *Aram* to *Edom* (Gray, *Joshua, Judges and Ruth* NCBC, 214; for a different solution see Malamat 1954). However, the emendation is doubtful, and the story may have been composed to give an example of God's saving activity to introduce the edited collection of stories of Israel's deliverance from its enemies (Mayes 1977: 291–92). It is thus of no value for the early history of Edom.

This presentation of the archaeological and literary evidence for early Edom forces us to reconsider the Israelite traditions of Israel's encounter with Edom after the Exodus. The oldest version of this story (Num 20:14–21) pictures Edom united under a king, its borders reaching to Kadesh (= Kadesh-barnea = Tell el-Qudeirat, some 100 km W of the Wâdī ʿArabah), with fields and vineyards, the King's Highway, and armed forces. Edom is introduced as Israel's brother. The Edom presented here depicts the later monarchic period, and this version of the story was perhaps formulated no earlier than the 8th or 7th century B.C. when the Edomites were beginning to settle in the land W of Wâdī ʿArabah, when Assyrian administration had led to the old N-S route being called "the King's Highway," when Edom's prowess with the sword had been experienced (cf. 2 Kgs 8:20–22; Amos 1:11), and when the idea of Israel's brotherhood with Edom had developed. The Israelite account gives no precise details of persons or places, except for Moses and Kadesh; the king of Edom is a shadowy figure, and there is nothing to imply the preservation of an ancient tradition of any value. It is a story of the confrontation of "all Israel" against "all Edom," revealing more of the monarchic period than of the Mosaic age (Bartlett 1977: 8–10). At the time of Moses, Edom was probably not a political unity or a nation; the evidence suggests that this did not occur for another three or four centuries.

The first hint of political development in Edom is given by the king list of Gen 36:31–39 (cf. 1 Chr 1:43–51). In its present form this list is an Israelite, not Edomite, document, looking back from a comparatively late period to "Kings who reigned in the land of Edom, before any king reigned over the Israelites," and presenting them as ruling in succession to one another. This, however, is an artificial construction put upon archival material which appears to derive from at least two different sources. One source simply listed the kings in the form "*X* from *Y*" (Jobab son of Zerah, Husham, Samlah, Shaul), while the second lists the kings with the added formula "and the name of his city was *Z*" (Bela the son of Beor, Hadad the son of Bedad, and Hadar); further information is supplied for Hadad and Hadar. One person, Baal-hanan the son of Achbor, is not connected with any particular place; possibly the name of his city was either then or subsequently lost. Apart from its incorporation in this list, the second group of names shows no connections with Edom, but instead with Moab (Bartlett 1965). Furthermore, a list of early kings, each with his city, fails to correspond with what we know of this early period of Edom's

history either from archaeological or literary sources; Edom was evidently not a land of city-states at this stage. The first group of names and places is much easier to relate to Edom. Jobab comes from Bozrah (modern Buseira), which is known from excavations (Bennett 1973; 1974; 1975; 1977) and from references in the OT prophets (Amos 1:12; Isa 34:6; 63:1; Jer 49:13, 22) to have flourished during the 8th–6th centuries B.C.; evidence for earlier centuries is less certain. Husham came from the land of the Temanites, a region (not a city) notable for its wisdom (Jer 49:7; Bar 3:22–23; cf. Job's comforter, Eliphaz the Temanite), and named in poetic parallelism with Edom itself (Jer 49:20), Mount Esau (Obadiah 9), and Mt. Paran (Hab 3:7). The name Husham may recall the Wâdī Ḥismeh, a broad plain between the S end of the central Edomite range and the peaks of Jebel Ram (Clermont-Ganneau 1906: 467). Samlah came from Masrekah, otherwise unknown; Simons (1959: 390–91) suggests a connection with Jebel Mushrāq between Ma῾ān and Aqaba. Shaul came from Rehoboth on the Euphrates (RSV), but the Hebrew *hannahar* might refer to the Wâdī el-Ḥasā. Eusebius (*Onomost.* 142.13) says that Rehoboth "is now a military post in Gebalene" (i.e., N Edom); this is probably the Roman Robatha near Zoara, which Simons identifies with Khirbet Riḥāb just S of the Wâdī el-Ḥesā (Simons 1959: 391).

The core of this king list thus names four apparently unrelated kings and their places of origin, or, more probably, their areas of rule. One, Bozrah, lay in N-central Edom and was regarded in monarchic times as the capital of Edom. The land of the Temanites was perhaps the region to the immediate S of the mountain range which was the focus of Edom. The other two places are uncertain. These four kings may have been local rulers, comparable with various rulers mentioned in Joshua and Judges. The age of this core material is uncertain, but the prominence of Bozrah and Teman suggests that it was the monarchic period, from which all the other references to these places come. The Israelite editor has combined this with other (not necessarily Edomite) material to produce a quite misleading picture of a pre-Davidic period when Edom was united under a succession of rulers. The editor, and even his sources, had at best only a fragmentary knowledge of Edom, which until the Davidic conquest was barely known to Israel.

**3. Edom and the United Israelite Monarchy.** How Edom was ruled before the Davidic conquest must therefore be a matter for conjecture, but it is clear that the growing power of the tribes of Israel as they united under a monarchy helped develop Edom's national consciousness. According to 1 Sam 14:47 Saul successfully fought against Edom; Doeg the Edomite's presence at Saul's court (1 Sam 22:9, 18), whether as an ex–prisoner of war or a fortune-seeking immigrant, reveals contact between Edom and Israel at the end of the 11th century B.C. (if the record is accurate and does not simply betray the Israelite writer's readiness to credit a vicious deed to an hereditary enemy). David's campaign against Edom (2 Sam 8:13–14; 1 Kgs 11:15–16; Psalm 60 (title); 1 Chr 18:12) may probably be dated ca. 990 B.C., after his wars with the Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites, Arameans, and Amalekites (Bartlett 1976: 218–20). David presumably wanted to secure the SE border of Judah and to control the trade possibilities of the Gulf of Aqaba. David's campaign was conducted by Joab, who ruthlessly exterminated the male population of Edom (thus ensuring Edom's future hatred for Judah; cf. Amos 1:11), and garrisoned Edom throughout. Joab's thoroughness is emphasized, and it was a century and a half before Edom gained independence from Judah.

Joab's massacre, however, was not quite total; 1 Kgs 11:14–22 tells how the Edomite Hadad, "of the seed of the king," escaped as a child with his father's servants to Egypt, where he married into the Egyptian royal house; after David's death he asked to return to Edom, but was refused by Pharaoh. Some may infer from this that in David's time Edom already had an hereditary monarchy, but though Hadad was a relative (not necessarily the son and heir; cf. 2 Kgs 25:25; Jer 41:1) of a king, we hear nothing of the king himself and nothing of his father, his father's position, or his place of rule. If Hadad fled ca. 990 B.C., his marriage in Egypt and the early youth of his son Genubath took place toward the end of David's reign, probably in the early years of Pharaoh Siamun (ca. 978–959 B.C.). Pharaoh might have seen this as a ripe moment for Egypt to regain, through Hadad, influence or even control in Edom, and hence the marriage. But with Solomon's accession Egyptian policy seems to have changed, perhaps recognizing that "the kingdom was established in the hand of Solomon" (1 Kgs 2:46), so Pharaoh soon gave Solomon his daughter in marriage, with the city of Gezer as her dowry (1 Kgs 3:1; 9:16). This change of policy may

explain why Pharaoh became unwilling to let Hadad return to Edom—it was the wrong moment to show Egyptian interest in Edom or make trouble there for Solomon. Some scholars believe that Hadad indeed returned to rule Edom, and made trouble for Solomon, following the LXX version which completes the Hadad story by borrowing material from the end of the following account of Rezon's hostility to Solomon (MT 1 Kgs 11:25), but this is unlikely. Edom was garrisoned, and lacking in population and manpower; in Jehoshaphat's reign there was still no king in Edom (1 Kgs 22:47), and it was not until the reign of Jehoram (ca. 847–845 B.C.) that Edom was strong enough to establish a monarchy. The activities described in 1 Kgs 11:25 are Rezon's, not Hadad's, especially if we follow the Syriac and LXX and read *wayyāṣoq* ("and he oppressed") for MT *wayyōqoṣ* ("and he loathed"). Hadad might have loathed, but he could not have oppressed Solomon (see Bartlett 1976).

We know virtually nothing of Edom under Solomon and his immediate successors. Glueck argued that the first period of Tell el-Kheleifeh, on the N shore of the Gulf of Aqaba, was destroyed ca. 925 B.C. by Sheshonq from Egypt (cf. 1 Kgs 14:25; Glueck 1967: 440), but Sheshonq's presence in this area is far from certain (Kitchen 1973: 296–300, 432–47), and recent analysis of the pottery from Tell el-Kheleifeh does not encourage belief in its existence before the 8th century B.C. (Pratico 1985). The relationship between Tell el-Kheleifeh and Ezion-geber "near Eloth on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom," where Solomon is said to have built a fleet of ships (1 Kgs 9:26), remains highly debatable. If Eloth is modern Eilat, Aqaba, or Tell el-Kheleifeh, Ezion-geber may be the island of Jezirat Fara῾un (Rothenberg 1965; Flinder 1977). Through the second half of the 10th century B.C. and the first half of the 9th, however, Edom continued to be garrisoned and governed by a "deputy" (*niṣṣab*, 1 Kgs 22:47). The Edomites were, like the Moabites and Syrians, the "servants" of David (2 Sam 8:14) and his successors, and probably like them paid tribute, though perhaps at a lower rate. Solomon is said to have included Edomite women among his wives (1 Kgs 11:1). Edom was too weak to take advantage of Judah's preoccupation with the revolt of Israel (1 Kgs 12), the attack by Sheshonq (1 Kgs 14:25–26), and subsequent wars with Israel. But its population must have been slowly recovering from Joab's massacre. From this situation Edom made a new start in the mid-9th century B.C.

**B. The Edomite Kingdom**

**1. Edom and the Divided Israelite Monarchy.** When Jehoshaphat reigned over Judah (869–847 B.C.), "there was no king in Edom; a deputy was king. Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold; but they did not go, for the ships were wrecked at Ezion-geber" (1 Kgs 22:47–48). The destruction of the ships was perhaps the result of storms, or of local hostility, to which Glueck (1965: 84) attributed the destruction of the second period of Tell el-Kheleifeh. The dating of this event may need revision in the light of recent research (Pratico 1985), but local unrest probably preceded the full revolt of Edom from Judah which took place in Joram's reign (ca. 847–845 B.C.), when Edom set up a monarchy (2 Kgs 8:20). The OT does not name this king, and offers a confusing account of Joram's response to the revolt (2 Kgs 8:21); by a slight correction, the MT may read, "Then Joram passed over to Zair with all his chariots, and the Edomites which surrounded him rose up by night and smote him and his chariot commanders, and his army fled home" (Stade 1901: 337; Zair, otherwise unknown, is perhaps Zoar at the S end of the Dead Sea). From this time, until its submission to Assyria a century later, Edom was an independent kingdom.

This account of the establishment of Edom's independence and monarchy in the reign of Joram of Judah is apparently contradicted by 2 Kings 3, which describes a campaign in which Jehoram of Israel leads Jehoshaphat of Judah (Joram's predecessor) and an unnamed king of Edom against Mesha of Moab. Some have solved this problem by dating the campaign to Jehoshaphat's later years when (it is argued) Joram was coregent with Jehoshaphat (Thiele 1965: 69–71, 205; Gray, *1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 66–67); others (following the Lucianic recension of the LXX) argue that the king of Judah in this campaign was originally Joram's successor Ahaziah (Miller 1967; Shenkel 1968: 93–108). However, closer analysis of the narrative reveals that it is composed from a brief account of Jehoram of Israel's campaign against Moab and a prophetic tale about Elisha; in this story and in the similar story in 1 Kings 22, the historian has attributed to Jehoshaphat's reign a campaign which really belonged later (cf. 2 Kgs 8:28–29); and the reference to the king of Edom (who is unidentified and pays no real part) is inspired by the reference to

the topography of the campaign, which itself owes much to the narrative of Numbers 20 (Bartlett 1983). In short, 2 Kings 3 provides no solid evidence for the existence of an Edomite king before the reign of Joram of Judah.

For the next half-century nothing is known of Edom. The new king and his successors were able to establish their kingdom while Mesha was establishing his in Moab to the N, while Israel was occupied by Syrian and Assyrian attacks, and while both Israel and Judah were suffering from internal upheaval. It was not until the reign of Amaziah (801–787 B.C.) that Judah attempted to reconquer Edom. According to 2 Kgs 14:7 Amaziah "killed ten thousand Edomites in the Valley of Salt and took Sela by storm, and called it Joktheel" (i.e., "El has put an end [to Edom]"; Starcky *DBSup* 7: cols 886–1017). Sela, usually identified with Umm el-Biyarah in Petra, has also been identified with Khirbet Silʿ a few km N of Buseira (see Bartlett 1973: 252 n. 55; Hart 1986). In either case, Amaziah's success was a raid rather than a conquest, for there is no evidence that Judah's rule over Edom was restored. Edom was certainly weakened by the raid, and its weakness is further revealed by its submission and payment of tribute to Adad-nirari III of Assyria (809–782 B.C.), along with Tyre, Sidon, Israel, and the Philistines. Edom may have offered tribute (when Judah, Moab, and Ammon did not) in hopes of being left unmolested, and, whether it continued to pay tribute or not, there are no further Assyrian references to Edom until the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.).

A further sign of Edom's weakness in this period is Judah's revived interest in the route through the Gulf of Aqaba. 2 Kgs 14:22 reveals that after Amaziah's death, Uzziah "built Elath and restored it to Judah," which Glueck connected with the rebuilding of Tell el-Kheleifeh after a period of dereliction (Glueck 1965: 85); to this period of the tell Glueck ascribed the seal inscribed "belonging to Jotham," who may or may not be identified with Uzziah's successor in Judah (Glueck 1940: 13–15; 1971: 225; Avigad 1961; Galling 1967).

Of the Edomites themselves in the first half of the 8th century B.C. we know virtually nothing. Amos 1:6 condemns Gaza for delivering "a whole people" to Edom, presumably selling them to slavery; Gaza and Edom may have been links on the slave-trading route between Arabia and the Mediterranean (though contra, Haran 1968). The oracle of Amos 1:11–12, if authentic (Bartlett 1977: 10–12), reveals Amos' knowledge of "the strongholds of Bozrah" and the region of Teman and of the fierce and warlike character of the Edomites as experienced by Judah when Edom seized its independence in the mid–9th century. Throughout Uzziah's reign, Edom was presumably recovering from the losses inflicted on it by Amaziah, and by time of Ahaz (736–729 B.C.) Edom was ready to take the offensive again. While Syria and Israel were attempting to depose Ahaz in favor of the son of Tabeel and coerce Judah into rebellion against Assyria, "the king of Edom recovered Elath for Edom and drove the men of Judah from Elath; and the Edomites came to Elath, where they dwell to this day" (2 Kgs 16:6; cf. the account in 2 Chr 28:16–18, where Edomite and Philistine attacks on Judah are made reasons for Ahaz' appeal to Assyria for help). Glueck ascribed the end of Tell el-Kheleifeh's Period III to this attack, and Period IV to the subsequent Edomite occupation (Glueck 1965: 86). The Edomite capture of Elath was an important development for Edom; Edom, not Judah, could derive the benefit of trade passing between Arabia and Syria via the Gulf of Aqaba, and could control the S Wâdī ʿArabah. This made it easier for Edomites to settle in the S regions of Judah, as they did over the next two centuries.

**2. Edom and the Assyrians.** The rebellion of Syria and its allies against Assyria ended with Tiglath-pileser III's capture of Damascus in 732 B.C. It was probably on this occasion that he,

> [received] the tribute of … Sanipu of Bit-Ammon, Salamanu of Moab, … Mitinti of Ashkelon, Jehoahaz of Judah, Kaushmalaku of Edom (U-du-mu-a-a), Muzr [i …], Hanno of Gaza, (consisting of) gold, silver, tin, iron, antimony, linen garments with multicolored trimmings, garments of their native (industries) (being made of) dark purple wool … all kinds of costly objects be they products of the sea or of the continent.

(*ANET*, 282)

Edom thus became Assyria's vassal, with the obligations of regular tribute and probably military assistance when required. Presumably some Assyrian officials were installed, and it was perhaps in this

period that the important N-S route from Damascus through Rabbath-Ammon, Heshbon, Dibon, Aroer, Kir-hareseth, and Bozrah became a vital link for imperial administration and first received its name, "the King's Highway" (Num 20:17; Oded 1970). Vassaldom to Assyria may not have been entirely to Edom's disadvantage; archaeological evidence suggests that it was in the Assyrian period that cities like Bozrah, and smaller places like Tawilan or the settlement on the top of Umm el-Biyarah, were at the height of their prosperity (Bartlett 1972: 31–35). Edom was therefore understandably hesitant to join rebellions against Assyria planned by Palestinian states, and when Ashdod solicited Edom's support in 713 B.C. (along with support from Philistia, Judah, Moab, Egypt, and elsewhere; *ANET*, 287), Edom probably avoided any serious commitment. A letter discovered at Nimrud in 1952 names the Edomites at the end of a list of those who paid tribute—Egypt, Gaza, Judah, Moab, and Ammon—after Sargon's retaliatory campaign against Ashdod in 712 B.C., but a lacuna in the text makes it uncertain what is said about Edom (Saggs 1955: 132–33, 151–52; Donner 1957: 159–61). In 701 B.C., when Sennacherib punished Hezekiah for rebellion, Aiarammu of Edom, together with the kings of Moab, Beth-Ammon, Ashdod, Byblos, Arvad, Sidon, and Samsimuruna, hastened to bring tribute (*ANET*, 287). An ostracon from Level VIII at Arad may be a fragment of diplomatic correspondence between Judah and Edom on the eve of Sennacherib's invasion, and it is not unlikely that Hezekiah invited Edom to join the rebellion, and that Edom (no friend to Judah) declined (Aharoni 1970: 28–32). A fragment of an Assyrian tribute list, from the reign of Sennacherib or his successor, notes "two minas of gold from the inhabitants of Bit-Ammon; one mina of gold from the inhabitants of Moab; ten minas of silver from the inhabitants of Judah; […mi]nas of silver from the inhabitants of [Edom] (mat[U-du-ma]-a-a) …" (Pfeiffer 1928; *ANET*, 301). Restoration of the name Edom here is strongly suggested by the context. The list seems to be ordered according to the amount of tribute paid, Edom as a poor country probably paying less than the others.

The importance of Edom to the Assyrians in the 7th century B.C. is revealed in the records of Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) and Assurbanipal (668–633 B.C.). Esarhaddon narrates that he called up

> Bal›u, king of Tyre, Manasseh, king of Judah, Qausgabri, king of Edom, Musuri, king of Moab, Silbel, king of Gaza, Metinti, king of Ashkelon, Ikausu, king of Ekron, MiEciashapa, king of Byblos, Matanba›al, king of Arvad, Abiba›al, king of Samsimuruna, Puduil, king of Beth-Ammon, AhimiEci, king of Ashdod

with others to transport "under terrible difficulties" Lebanese timber and quarried stone to Nineveh (*ANET*, 291). How this corvée affected Edom we do not know.

Assurbanipal later conscripted Edomite forces for his campaigns. According to the Rassam Cylinder, he took 22 kings from the seashore, the islands, and the mainland with him against Egypt, and if the list of 22 kings on Cylinder C belongs to this event, Qausgabri of Edom was involved with Manasseh of Judah, Musuri of Moab, Amminabdi of Beth-Ammon, and other contemporaries. In his ninth campaign, Assurbanipal marched against Uate›, king of Arabia:

> Upon the oracle-command of Ashur, and Ishtar [I called up] my army and defeated him in bloody battles, inflicted countless routs upon him (to wit) in the *girû* of the towns Azaril (and) Hirata (-)kasai, in Edom, in the pass of Iabrudu, in Beth-Ammon, in the district of Haurina, in Moab, in Sa›arri, in Harge, in the district of Zobah … Uate› had misgivings and he fled, alone, to the country Nabate. (*ANET*, 298)

Uate› was a member of the Qedarite tribe, which was in the Syrian desert E-SE of Damascus, traveling and raiding as far as the borders of Moab, Edom, and even into the Teima region (Bartlett 1979: 59–62). Edom could hardly escape involvement in this campaign, which seems to have occurred in part in its own territory. The advantage of Assyrian help against a local enemy may have been counterbalanced by the coercion to provide not only men but military bases, food, and other supplies.

These Assyrian references outline a period of Edom's history on which the OT is silent. Three Edomite kings are named: Qausmalaku in 732 B.C., Aiarammu in 701 B.C., and Qausgabri in the reigns of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, contemporary with Manasseh of Judah. Qausgabri's name is confirmed by a seal found at Umm el-Biyarah (Bennett 1966: 399–401). The lengths of their reigns are unknown, though Qausgabri's was perhaps fairly long. There is perhaps room for another king between Qausmalaku

and Aiarammu, and another between Aiarammu and Qausgabri, and certainly for several between Qausgabri and the end of the Edomite monarchy under the Babylonians in the 6th century. However, while we know that the capital was in Bozrah, the nature of royal succession is unknown.

A sign of Edom's self-confidence in the Assyrian period is that Edomites were beginning to settle in S Judah. Edom's seizure of Elath ca. 735 B.C. has been mentioned; and 2 Chr 28:16 notes a successful Edomite raid on Judah at the time. Particularly interesting are those OT passages which assume that the territory immediately S of Judah and W of the Wâdī ʿArabah was Edomite. Thus the account of Israel's request for a passage through Edom after the Exodus (Num 20:14–21) locates the Israelites in Kadesh (ʿAin Qudeirat, over 100 km W of Buseira and a similar distance S of Hebron) on the Edomite border. In its present form this account may be no earlier than the 7th or 6th century B.C. (Mittmann 1973). A similar assumption appears in Num 20:23; 21:4; 33:37, and in the boundary descriptions of Judah given in Num 34:3–5; Josh 15:1–4; and Ezek 47:19, and in the Judahite city list of Josh 15:21–32. These passages suggest a boundary extending from the S end of the Dead Sea SW toward Kadesh. However, the discovery of pottery similar to that from Buseira and elsewhere in Edom at Tel Malḥata and Tel Aroer (Kochavi 1967; *EAEHL* 3: 771–75; Biran and Cohen 1976; 1978), and of ostraca from Malḥata (Kochavi 1967; *EAEHL* 3: 774) and Arad (Lemaire 1977: 171–72) and a seal from Tel Aroer (Biran and Cohen 1976; 1977) bearing recognizably Edomite names, suggests the presence of an Edomite element in the population of the region between Beer-sheba and the S end of the Dead Sea in the 7th century B.C. Ostracon 24 from Arad contains an order that troops be sent from Arad and Qinah (Khirbet Ghazzeh or Khirbet eṭ-Ṭaiyib) to Ramath-negeb (Khirbet Ghazzeh or Khirbet el-Gharrah [Tel ʿIra]) "lest anything should happen to the city" and "lest Edom should come there" (Aharoni 1970: 16–27; Lemaire 1977: 188–95; the connection of this reference with 2 Kgs 24:2 [emended] and Jer 35:11 is highly speculative; see Bartlett 1982: 16–17). Edomite presence or influence in the Negeb is further indicated by recent identification of "Edomite" ware at Tell Meshash (Tel Masos; Fritz and Kempinski 1976), at Tel ʿIra (Beit Arieh 1981) and at Ḥorvat Qiṭmiṭ (Beit Arieh and Cresson 1985), and the identification of an ostracon written in Edomite at Ḥorvat ʿUza (Beit Arieh and Cresson 1985).

Later, Obadiah 19 and 1 Esdr 4:50 reveal the postexilic Jewish grievance that the "sons of Esau" and the "Idumaeans" continued to hold the Negeb; by the late 4th and 3d centuries B.C. the land S of Beth-zur is known by the Greek name *Idoumaia* (Diod. 19.95.2; 19.98.1; Zenon papyri PZC 59006, 59015 verso, 59084 [Edgar 1925: 10, 34]; see also 1 Macc 5:65; *Ant* 13.9.1 257; 13.15.4 395; *JW* 1.2.6 63). This Edomite settlement on the S border of Judah should probably be seen as a population drift extending over several centuries (Doeg the Edomite may be an early example) of people migrating W from Edom in search of a better life. They probably had enough in common with the tribes of S Judah—the Kenites, Jerahmeelites, Kenizzites—to facilitate intermarriage; certainly the editor of Genesis 36 could draw on names from this region when compiling lists of Edomites. The over-simple view that the Edomites migrated W under pressure from incoming Arabs from the E is based upon misconceptions of the origins of the Arab population of the desert, and of the relationships between the occupants of the desert and the sown, and needs careful restatement (Gottwald 1979: 426–28, 435–63; Bartlett 1979: 53–54).

**3. Edom and the Babylonians.** The decline and fall of the Assyrian Empire doubtless gave Edom a few years' relief from imperial administration and taxation. Probably it became a vassal of Babylon, together with Judah and other states, when Nebuchadnezzar took control of the W after 605 B.C. Though involved in discussions of revolt with Moab, Ammon, Tyre, Sidon, and Judah at Jerusalem in Zedekiah's fourth year (594 B.C.: Jer 27:1–7), when Judah openly rebelled in 589 B.C. Edom seems to have stayed aloof, perhaps accepting Jeremiah's view that rebellion would bring disaster (Jer 27:8–22). The commonly held view that Edom wholeheartedly assisted the Babylonians in the sack of Jerusalem is largely based on an uncritical reading of prophetic oracles which owe more to the communal memory of Edom's traditional enmity than to precise knowledge of Edom's activity in 587 B.C. (Lam 4:21–22; Isaiah 34; Mal 1:2–5; Joel 4:19—Eng 3:19; Ezek 25:12; 35:3, 15; Ps 137:7; Obadiah; for a detailed discussion see Bartlett 1982: 13–24). The two major complaints in this material are that Edom had annexed land (for the background to this see above) and had been guilty of violence (that Edom usually came out against Israel with a sword

was a longstanding tradition: cf. Amos 1:11; Num 20:18). A 4th- or 3d-century-B.C. development goes so far as to blame the Edomites for the burning of the Temple (1 Esdr 4:45), which 2 Kgs 25:9 attributes to the Babylonians. The most reliable evidence we have for Edom's part in the events of 587 B.C. is Jer 40:11, which reveals that Edom (with Moab, Ammon, and elsewhere) had given refuge to Jews fleeing the Babylonian forces. For inhabitants of S Judah, accustomed to the presence of an Edomite element in the population, Edom would have been a natural refuge. While some individual Edomites may have taken advantage of the opportunity to pay off old grudges, there is no evidence that Edom gave formal and military help to Babylon in 587 B.C.

On the other hand, Edom did not oppose Babylon, and probably remained intact. Josephus notes (*Ant* 10.9.7 §181) that Nebuchadnezzar subjected Ammon and Moab five years after the fall of Jerusalem, but neither Josephus nor the OT suggests that Edom was attacked on this occasion. The end of the Edomite kingdom and monarchy may have been a result of the campaigns of Nabonidus in S Transjordan and N Arabia in the years after 552 B.C. (Lindsay 1976; Bartlett 1979: 57–58). According to the Nabonidus Chronicle, Nabonidus besieged a place called [*uru A/U*]*du-um-mu* (perhaps to be interpreted as "the city of Edom," i.e., Bozrah). If so, Nabonidus may be responsible for the destruction, burning, and clearing of the acropolis at Buseira (Bennett 1977: 4–6) and perhaps also the destruction of Period IV at Tell el-Kheleifeh (Glueck 1970: 134), but both places soon revived and remained centers of population and administration or trade throughout the following period. Possibly such passages as Jer 49:7–22; Ezek 25:12–14; Obadiah 1, 7; and Mal 1:2–5 allude to these difficult years for Edom. Mal 1:2–5 notes that Edom's hill country has been laid waste, but goes on to speak of the Edomites as contemplating rebuilding. Malachi does not see the land as empty (though he does see the Edomite effort as doomed to failure).

**4. Edom during the Persian and Hellenistic Periods.** The subsequent history of Edom and its inhabitants during the Persian period is virtually unknown. Nabonidus' activities are unlikely to have cleared the land of its inhabitants, most of whom doubtless continued in their traditional way of life, living in caves and tents, working their land or tending their herds. A cuneiform tablet discovered at Tawilan in 1982, drawn up in Harran in Syria in the accession year of Darius (probably Darius I, 521–486 B.C., though Darius II or even III are not ruled out entirely), tells of the sale of livestock by Samsa-yabi and Samsa-idri (the names are Syrian) to Qusu-šama›, who is almost certainly an Edomite. Also from Tawilan came a hoard of gold jewelry, probably deposited in the late 6th or 5th century B.C. (Dalley 1984; Maxwell-Hyslop 1984). Bennett notes occupation at Buseira at the beginning of the Persian period (Bennett 1977: 9), and Buseira may have remained the center for whatever Persian administration may have been imposed. At Tell el-Kheleifeh, Glueck says, Period IV was destroyed before the end of the 6th century B.C.; "a new industrial city [Period V] was built over it which lasted from near the end of the 6th or from early in the 5th century B.C., mainly under Persian administration" (Glueck 1967: 442). Aramaic ostraca were found testifying to trade with Arabia; 5th and 4th century B.C. black-glazed Greek pottery indicated contact with Greece (Glueck 1967: 443). Nothing is known of this period for the site of Petra (its Semitic name was Reqem: cf. Num 31:8; *Ant* 4.4.7 §82; 4.7.1 §161; see Starcky 1965), though its importance is shown by Antigonus' attempt to capture it in 312 B.C. (Diod. 19.95).

Little is known of the people of the land, but evidence of changes in the population exists. It has been argued that by Nehemiah's time Geshem the Arab (Neh 2:19; 6:1, 9) was ruling Edom and the S Negeb (Myers 1971: 386); Geshem has been identified with Gashmu, the father of Qainu king of Qedar, the donor of a bowl found at Tell el-Maskhuṭa in the Delta region of Egypt, and a kingdom of Qedar has been postulated whose power ranged widely over NW Arabia and S Palestine (Dumbrell 1971: 33–44). A less speculative assessment of the evidence shows that the Qedarites belonged to the Syrian desert E-SE of Damascus, migrating and raiding as far as the borders of Moab, Edom, and even the Teima region, but there is no evidence that they settled or ruled in Edom. In the OT, however, the people of Qedar are closely associated with the Nabaioth (Isa 60:7; Gen 25:13; 1 Chr 1:29), who are in turn linked with the people of Esau (Gen 28:9; 36:3). It has always been tempting to identify the Nebaioth with the *na-ba-a-a-ti* of the Assyrian records, the *nbyt* of the texts from Jabal Ghunaym near Teima (Winnett and Reed 1970:

99–101), and the Nabateans *(nabaṭu)* whom Antigonus attacked in Petra in 312 B.C., and whose kings ruled from Petra from ca. 200 B.C. to A.D. 106. The identification has been opposed on linguistic grounds: in particular, it is not clear how the final *t* of the *na-ba-a-a-ti, Nebaioth,* and *nbyt* could become the emphatic *ṭ* of the *nabaṭu* of the Nabatean sources (Starcky *DBSup* 7: cols 902–3; but see Broome 1973). But close examination of the literary evidence for the homeland of the OT Nebaioth, the Assyrian *na-ba-a-a-ti,* the *nbyt* of the Jabal Ghunaym texts, and the Nabataioi of Diodorus locates them all in the region bounded by the mountains of Edom to the W, the Ḥismeh plateau to the SW, Teima to the S, the Nafûd to the E, and the Wâdī Sirhan to the NE (Bartlett 1979: 63–66), and whatever the relationship of the names, it seems clear that the forefathers of the Nabateans who became the dominant population of ancient Edom from the end of the Persian period onwards had their homes in this area. Diodorus portrays the Nabateans as people with recent experience as herdsmen in desert areas and acquaintance with the as yet forbidden pursuits of agriculture, viticulture, and house building. Diodorus' picture suggests that the older Edomite population in the 4th and 3d centuries B.C. was being overtaken by the newer Nabatean element, who in due course produced a dynasty and a kingdom of their own.

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## *ARCHAEOLOGY OF EDOM*

A. Extent of the Territory
B. History of Explorations
C. Present Status of the Archaeology of Edom
D. Conclusion

### A. Extent of the Territory

Some scholars restrict the land of Edom to the territory between Wadi el-Ḥasā in the N and Wadi Hisma in the S, and Wadi ‹Arabah on the W and the desert on the E (Glueck 1970: 161–67; Aharoni *LBHG,* 40). Others extend the territory W of the ‹Arabah (Eod-Avd 1963: 622; Cohen 1962: 25; Is 1971: 370–71). The second position appears to be more consistent with the biblical data which describe the N border of

Edom as extending from the Dead Sea southward to the Ascent of Akrabbim to Zin and Kadesh-barnea (Num 34:3–4; cf. Josh 15:1–3). The N shore of the Gulf of Aqaba, according to the biblical data, appears to be the S border of Edom (Deut 2:8). Moreover, the hill country of Seir is identified with Edom (Gen 36:8–9, 21) and the land of Edom is repeatedly referred to as the land of Seir (Gen 32:3; Num 24:18, Josh 24:4; Judg 5:4; Ezek 35:15; 2 Chr 25:14; Isa 21:11). The Bible locates Seir, in part, in the E Negeb (Josh 11:17; 12:17) in relation to the territory of Simeon (1 Chr 4:42–43) and Judah (Josh 15:10; Ezek 35:2, 3, 7, 15). It also uses the name to refer to a great part, if not the whole, of the Edomite territory E of the ʿArabah between the S end of the Dead Sea and the territory of Moab (Deut 2:1, 4, 5, 8, 12, 22, 29) as far S as the Gulf of Aqaba. The land of Edom, thus, includes territory both W and E of the Wadi ʿArabah. This entry, however, will treat only the territory of Edom located in the E ʿArabah and eastward or what is now in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. See Fig. EDO.01.

**B. History of Explorations**

Modern interest in the area essentially began with Burckhardt's visit to Petra on August 22, 1812 (1822; see Browning 1982: 64–65). He was followed to Petra by a number of scholars (Browning 1982: 70–78), including de Laborde, who made a thorough study of Petra as early as 1828 (Laborde and Linant 1830). Later, Musil (1907–8; 1926), Brünnow and von Domaszewski (1904–9), Albright (1924; 1926), Frank (1934), and Alt (1935), among others, did exploratory work in Edom. Glueck conducted extensive archaeological surveys in S Transjordan between 1934 and 1938 (1935; 1937a; 1939a). He followed this up by excavations at Khirbet et Tannur just S of Wadi el-Ḥasā in 1937–38 (1937b; 1937c; 1965a; 1970: 213–43) and at Tell el-Kheleifeh just N of Aqaba for three seasons between 1938 and 1940 (1938a; 1938b; 1939b; 1940; 1965b; 1970: 106–37; Pratico 1985). For almost 50 years Glueck's work has dominated the scholarly analysis of this area.

**C. Present Status of the Archaeology of Edom**

As a result of work in Edom during the past several decades a more complete picture of the archaeology of Edom is emerging. There is evidence of human occupation in N Edom dating to the Lower, Middle, and Upper Paleolithic periods. This evidence spans as much as a half million years of human cultural development (MacDonald, Banning, and Pavlish 1980: 170–71; MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982: 119–25; Rollefson and MacDonald 1981; MacDonald et al. 1983: 314–18). Prehistoric sites in the Ras en-Naqb region cover a period of over 100,000 years between the Lower Paleolithic and the Chalcolithic (Henry 1979a; 1979b; 1982: 45; 1985; Henry et al. 1981). Just N and S of this area, between Maʿan and Aqaba, there is more Paleolithic evidence (Jobling 1981; 1982; 1983a; 1983b; 1984). In the Fjaje area near Shaubak, Late Acheulian hunters "harvested" herds during their migration, through the Wadi el-Bustan drainage complex, from the E grasslands and savannahs of the plateau to the warm and lush expanses of the Rift Valley in the fall and on their return to the grazing lands on the plateau in the spring (Rollefson 1981; 1985: 105).

The early Natufian site of Wadi Judayid, in the vicinity of Ras en-Naqb, carbon-dated to ca. 12,000 B.P., was occupied by sedentary hunters and intensive collectors. During the Epipaleolithic period sites were established in the upland piedmont zone of the Edomite plateau as well as on the floor of the Wadi Hisma. These sites display marked differences in their settings, sizes, and artifact inventories (Henry 1985: 76; see 1979a; 1979b; Henry et al. 1981). The Epipaleolithic period is also well attested in N Edom (MacDonald, Banning, and Pavlish 1980; Rollefson and MacDonald 1981; MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982; MacDonald et al. 1983) and near Petra (Kirkbride 1958).

Among the Pre-Pottery Neolithic (PPN) sites in Edom, Beidha is the most important excavated to date (Kirkbride 1966; 1968; 1982; 1984; 1985). D. Kirkbride dates the beginning of Beidha to about 7200 B.C. (1982: 52; 1985: 120). She writes: "After camping for a while in temporary huts the people of Beidha also built a wall around their inner territory and created their permanent community" (1982: 52). The site was abandoned about 6500 B.C. (Kirkbride 1982: 53; 1985: 120). In the late PPN at Abu Nakhailah in the Wadi Rum there was a stone-built settlement with both round and rectangular architecture. The round houses are semisubterranean and reminiscent of early Beidha. It had a more advanced flint industry than Beidha but there was no pottery (Kirkbride 1978; 1982: 54; Kirkbride and Harding 1947). PPN sites are

also present at Jebel Queisa in the Judayid Basin (Henry 1979a; 1982; 1985: 74; Henry et al. 1981) and in the Wadi ʿArabah (Raikes 1980; 1985: 98–99). The Aceramic Neolithic site at Jebel Queisa served as a temporary hunting camp. Based upon the point typology, Henry dates the site to early in the 8th millennium (1985: 74).

The Pottery Neolithic is poorly represented in Edom. However, several sites from the period are reported from N Edom (MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982: 121) and the Hisma (Jobling 1983a: 189).

Twenty-five percent of the sites discovered in Henry's Ras en-Naqb survey contained a Chalcolithic component most of which contained "one or more circular or semi-circular stone structures in association with thick ash lenses and refuse pits" (Henry et al. 1981: 117; see Henry 1982: 45; 1985: 75). The sites normally displayed moderate densities of lithic artifacts along with some pottery (Henry et al. 1981: 117; Henry 1985: 75). Some of these sites suggest the transhumant pattern of modern pastoralists (Henry 1985: 77). There are remains of copper smelting near ʿAqaba, dating to the Early Chalcolithic period. Also found at the site were well-used, flint sickle blades and objects made from sea shells (Raikes 1985: 99). The Chalcolithic/EB is attested on the Edomite plateau (MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982: 121; Hart 1985: 412–13), between Maʿān and Aqaba (Jobling 1984: 201), and in the Feinan region in the Wadis Khalid, Ratiye, and Fidan (Hauptmann, Weisgerber, and Knauf 1985: 185–88; see Raikes 1980: 55; 1985: 99).

No Bronze Age sites have been excavated in Edom. However, Glueck reported EB sites from the SE plain of the Dead Sea (1935: 33–34). Sites belonging both to sedentary and nomadic peoples of the EB period are found in N Edom (MacDonald, Banning, and Pavlish 1980; MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982; MacDonald et al. 1983). EB sherds are also reported from the mining area in the Wadi Khalid (Hauptmann, Weisgerber, and Knauf 1985: 188). Thus, there is the possibility of EB Age mining activity in Wadi ʿArabah.

There is scant evidence of any population, either sedentary or nomadic, in Edom during both the MB and LB Ages with the exception of the copper mining areas of the Feinan region (Hauptmann, Weisgerber, and Knauf 1985: 173, 185, 188–90). A U.S. Geological Survey team has published radiocarbon dates from charcoal found in the E tributaries of the Wadi ʿArabah which yields corrected dates for Wadi Feinan-Wadi Dana area of 1390–1310 B.C. ± 70, and for Jebel Khirbet en-Nahas, 1540 B.C. (Overstreet et al. 1982: 2).

The situation changes at the end of the LB. Glueck was the first to report Iron I period sites from Edom (1935; 1936; 1939a). Weippert's work in Edom led him to conclude that the population increased during the Iron I period. This settlement began in the N between the Wadi el-Ḥasā and Tafila and gradually extended S of Tafila in the Iron II period (Weippert 1974: 30). This conclusion is supported by the Wadi el-Ḥasā Archaeological Survey (WHS) which reported LB-Iron I and Iron I sites in N Edom. These sites, which are small villages, farms, and sherd scatters, are generally located in the area best suited for agricultural activity (MacDonald, Banning, and Pavlish 1980; MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982; MacDonald et al. 1983). The Feinan region survey also reported Iron I pottery (Bachmann and Hauptmann 1984: 120–22; Hauptmann, Weisgerber, and Knauf 1985: 190–91). Thus, the archaeological evidence indicates both farming and mining activity in Edom during the Iron I period.

There was another increase in population in Edom during Iron II (Hart 1985: 412). Many of the sites from this period appear to have been agricultural settlements (MacDonald, Banning, and Pavlish 1980; MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982; MacDonald et al. 1983), but it is possible that several of these sites were fortresses or watchtowers (MacDonald 1984a).

Bennett's excavations at Umm el-Biyara, TAWILAN (M.R. 196972), and Buseira (see BOZRAH) led her to conclude that no occupation earlier than the late 8th century B.C. existed at these sites. She posits that the settlement at Umm el-Biyara had a life of perhaps no more than 50 years. On the basis of a seal impression found at the site (of Qos Gabr, one of the few Edomite kings mentioned in the Assyrian annals), the settlement could center around the mid–7th century B.C. No earlier pottery or artifacts were found (Bennett 1964; 1966a; 1966b; 1966c; 1971a: 40; 1976: 252). At Tawilan she uncovered "a large,

unfortified, prosperous agricultural settlement of the Iron Age II period" (1976: 252). She posits that neither the buildings nor the artifacts suggest a date earlier than the late 8th century B.C. for the earliest settlement (1969; 1970; 1971b; 1984). She suggests that the main period of occupation of Buseira was from the end of the 8th century B.C. to the end of the succeeding century (1973a; 1973b; 1974; 1976: 252; 1977).

There is also evidence for the Iron Age presence at es-Safi, Feifeh, and Khanazir (Rast and Schaub 1974). Rast and Schaub collected Iron II pottery from es-Safi and Feifeh and Iron I and II sherds from Khanazir (1974: 15–18).

Further S in the Feinan region, 8th–6th century sherds were found in Wadi Feinan, Khirbet en-Nahas, Khirbet el-Jariye, Khirbet Ghuweib, and the Wadi Dana (Bachmann and Hauptmann 1984: 117, 199; Hauptmann, Weisgerber, and Knauf 1985: 168). The U.S. Geological Survey reports a radiocarbon date from charcoal in the Jebel Khirbet en-Nahas area as having a corrected age of 800 B.C. (Overstreet et al. 1982: 2, 9). In summarizing its findings on mining and smelting activities in the Wadi ʿArabah the U.S. Geological Survey reports: "Certainly at the Wadi Feinan, Wadi Dana, and Jebel Khirbet en Nahas sites in Jordan, the largest slag piles are associated with dates from 3,220 ± 200 to 2,540 ± 200 years B.P. (corrected to 1,540 years B.C. to 800 years B.C.) …" (Overstreet et al. 1982: 37).

Pratico has reappraised Glueck's excavations at Tell el-Kheleifeh. He dates the site from the 8th–6th centuries B.C. with the possibility of its continuance beyond the Iron Age (1985).

There appears to be little continuity of settlement between the Edomite and Nabatean periods. The Iron Age villages that Hart surveyed, not to mention Tawilan and Buseira, show little evidence of major Nabatean reoccupation (Hart 1985: 412). Firm evidence for Persian period occupation in Edom is lacking, but Pratico writes: "Although both architectural and ceramic data are lean, the occupational history of Tell el-Kheleifeh continued beyond the Iron Age, perhaps as late as the 4th century B.C.E." (1985: 26–27). Evidence from the Hellenistic period is also poorly represented, with the exception of sherds from several sites (MacDonald, Banning, and Pavlish 1980: 177; MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982: 127; MacDonald et al. 1983: 319–20). However, no recognizable Hellenistic architectural remains are reported.

In Glueck's opinion "the Nabataean kingdom was highly organized and intensively settled, and from the fourth century B.C. on was concerned with much more than caravan trade" (1970: 193). Nabatean sites are found throughout the Edomite plateau. They made greater use, for agricultural purposes, of the wadis than either earlier or later settlers in the area. Some of their reclamation projects, instead of supporting settled villages, may have been designed to supply forts and garrisons which guarded their extensive trade networks. They positioned their signaling stations or watchtowers on the ridges between the major wadis (MacDonald 1984b; 1984c: 188–89). The countryside is covered with farms, hamlets, and villages during the period (Hart 1985). The Hisma also supported a substantial Nabatean population. Graf posits pre-Roman, Nabatean settlements at such sites as Humayma, Quweira, Khirbet el-Khalde, and Khirbet el-Kithara along the main highway to Aqaba, and in Wadi Rum which was a large Nabatean center (Graf 1983: 650–60).

Parr dates the earliest building activity in the central part of Petra, the Nabatean capital, to the mid–3d century B.C., based on the earliest coins which were minted in Aradus in the mid–3d century B.C.; and later, painted Nabatean ware is common at Petra after about 100 B.C. (Parr 1970: 369–70). In his study of Nabatean pottery Khairy states: "The best ware belongs to the time of Aretas IV (9 B.C.–A.D. 40) but the most prolific period belongs to the second half of the first century A.D. and the first half of the second century" (1982: 276).

A number of Nabatean temples are located in Edom. Glueck dates the one on Jebel et-Tannur from about 25 B.C. to about 125 A.D. (1970: 241). Another, Khirbet edh Dharih in the Wadi Laʿban, also in N Edom, is dated to the 1st century A.D. (Villeneuve 1984; 1985a; 1985b; see Savignac 1937). The Nabatean temples of Qasr el Bint (Bowersock 1976: 225–26) and the "Winged Lions" (Hammond 1982) are located within Petra. The former is dated to the reign of Aretas IV (Bowersock 1983: 61; Starcky and Strugnell 1966; Parr 1965–66; Wright 1961). Another Nabatean temple is located in the Wadi Rum (Savignac and Horsfield 1935; Kirkbride 1960).

The main theater at Petra dates to the time of Aretas IV (Hammond 1964; 1965). It is an "obvious case of the Nabataean absorption of Graeco-Roman styles" (Bowersock 1983: 61). Bowersock also dates the Khazneh ("treasury"), with its strongly Hellenized architectural elements, to the same time (1983: 62; see Schmidt-Colinet 1980; Wright 1962; 1973).

Possibly, the best route for humans and pack animals from Aqaba to Petra is up the Wadi ʿArabah. There is evidence of Nabatean presence along this route (Raikes 1985: 100) at such sites as Aqaba (Glueck 1935: 46–48), ʿAin Gharandal (Glueck 1935: 39–40), Khirbet et-Taiyibeh (Glueck 1935: 37–38), and Bir Madhkur (Glueck 1935: 35–37; see Frank 1934, pl. 24). Glueck posits that the latter three sites were all *caravanserai.* These sites were probably also occupied during Roman times (Glueck 1935: 35–40). Further N in the ʿArabah, the sites of Feinan (Glueck 1935: 34–35) and of Qasr et-Talah show evidence of Nabatean occupation (Glueck 1935: 12–17; see Musil 1907–8: 209–14; Frank 1934: 213–15; and Raikes 1985: 100).

The Romans under Trajan annexed Edom as part of their annexation of Nabatea in A.D. 106 (Starcky 1955: 103–4; 1966; Bowersock 1976: 228; 1983: 76–81). It was at this time that the *Via Nova Traiana,* which joins Bostra in the N with Aila (= Aqaba) in the S, was built (Starcky 1955: 104; 1966; Bowersock 1983: 83). The S segment of this highway, from the Wadi el-Ḥasā to Aila, passes through Edom. Parts of the *Via Nova Traiana* are well preserved (MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982: 128–29). The milestone inscriptions recorded by Thomsen (1917) along this stretch are now, in most cases, faint or completely obliterated (MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982: 128, 452). See Fig. ROA.03.

Petra apparently continued to flourish after the Roman annexation (Bowersock 1983: 86) and the domestic area of Petra has provided evidence of unbroken habitation through the Roman period, down to the great earthquake of the mid–4th century (Hammond 1980; 1981; Bowersock 1983: 86). The triumphal arch at Petra is the greatest memorial to Trajan in Roman Arabia (Bowersock 1982: 198; 1983: 84).

The WHS surveyed a number of structures along the *Via Nova* in N Edom. The most important of these is known as Rujm Faridiyyeh (Brünnow and von Domaszewski 1904–09, 1: 83; Glueck 1939a: 50; 1965; MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982: 129, 453; Roller 1983: 181; Parker 1986: 89–91).

SE of this area, and NE of Udruh, two *castella*—namely Jurf ed-Darawish and Daʿjaniya—are located E of the *Via Nova* (Parker 1976; 1986: 91–94). The former is located on a branch road which left the *Via Nova* a short distance N of Udruh (Parker 1986: 88). Parker dates it from the late 2d or early 3d century through the 4th century (1986: 91; cf. however, Brünnow and von Domaszewski 1904–09, 2: 14; Bowersock 1976: 226). Its function was to guard the outer branch road leading from Udruh to the upper Wadi el-Ḥasā (Parker 1986: 91). Parker suggests that the latter was occupied from about the time of the Roman annexation until the early 6th century, with the extant fort dating to the late 3d or 4th century (1986: 94). It protected the outer branch road E of the *Via Nova* against incursions from the E (Parker 1986: 94). S of this area, such sites as Udruh, Ail, Humayma, Quweira, Khirbet el-Khalde, and Khirbet el-Kithara are located along the *Via Nova* before arriving at Aila on the N tip of the Red Sea. Killick writes of Udruh that "in Roman and Nabataean times the site may have taken on a strategic importance because of the proximity to Petra and the construction of the Roman road network" (1983a: 239). Parker considers the fort as being the most important fortification of the S Arabian frontier and among the largest Roman military sites in Transjordan (1986: 94–95).

Humayma is located adjacent to the *Via Nova* near the N edge of the Hisma, just below the Esh Shara range. It is the largest ancient site in the Hisma and was occupied from the Hellenistic through the Umayyad periods (Eadie 1984a: 211, 220; 1984b: 5–6). The *castella* of El Quweira (Alt 1936: 96–98; Glueck 1935: 58–59; Graf 1983: 652–53; Parker 1986: 105), Khirbet el-Khalde (Parker 1986: 109; Savignac 1932: 595–96), and Qasr el-Kithara (Parker 1986: 110; Savignac 1932: 595; Glueck 1935: 54; Alt 1936: 106) were all located on the *Via Nova* between Humayma and Aila, and were all occupied during the Roman period.

A number of Roman sites were located in the Wadi ʿArabah. One of the most important of these is a fort in the Qaʿes Saʿidiyin just N of Gharandal. Many of the Nabatean sites in the ʿArabah, such as Aila, Gharandal, Khirbet et-Taiyibeh, and Bir Madkhur, were recognized during the Roman period (Glueck

1935: 35–40). SE of es-Safi and high above the Wadi el-Ḥasā, McCreery discovered a Roman period fort called Umm al-Tawabbin (MacDonald 1984c: 188–89). Evidence of Roman mining activity in the Feinan region spans the 1st to the 4th centuries. This evidence includes sherds, slag heaps, and a "triple shaft" (Bachmann and Hauptmann 1984: 114–20; Hauptmann, Weisgerber, and Knauf 1985: 169, 192).

The territory of Transjordan which had been unified by Trajan into *Provincia Arabia* was subdivided into four parts in the 4th century. The S part, which included Petra, was part of Palestine III or *Salutaris* (Piccirillo 1982: 291).

Edom continued to be occupied during the Byzantine period. The presence of pottery at nearly all the forts of Edom and the Hisma suggests continuous occupation from Diocletian to Justinian (ca. 284–530 A.D.). The fortress at Udruh apparently was refortified at this time, and the extant Hisma forts, such as Khalde and Quweira, may have been rebuilt (Parker 1986: 137, 142). Parker sees the Roman frontier of the 4th and 5th centuries as remaining essentially the system of Diocletian: "a broad fortified outer zone in Transjordan from Bostra to Aila …" (1986: 145). Moreover, he believes that the *castella* of el Hammam and el-Mutrab, just E of Maʿan, dates to the 4th and 5th centuries and represents an eastward extension of the frontier zone in this sector (1986: 146).

There was a decline in the defenses of the Arabian frontier by the late 5th century with the abandonment of the fortifications of the Diocletianic system during the late 5th and 6th centuries. Along the Edomite plateau, only the fortress at Udruh and the *castellum* of Ail yielded significant amounts of 6th-century pottery (Parker 1986: 149; see Killick 1983a: 231; 1983b: 125). Most other military sites were abandoned by the mid–6th century.

Byzantine agricultural sites are especially numerous in N Edom (MacDonald, Banning, and Pavlish 1980). Moreover, the hermitage of John the Abbot is located just S of the Wadi el-Ḥasā. The record of an abbot is the first evidence in the search for a monastery in the area (MacDonald and Vibert-Gogue 1980). Another hermitage is located on the N bank of the Wadi el-Ḥasā close to es-Safi (Frank 1934: 207–8). Frank reported finding bases, shafts, capitals (one with a cross), and several stones with crosses in Ghor es-Safi (1934: 204). Albright discovered Byzantine traces in his soundings at Khirbet Sheikh ʿIsa just S of modern es-Safi (1924; see Rast and Schaub 1974). Further S, Frank reported four churches, a monastery, and two large Byzantine cemeteries from Feinan (1934: 221–24; see Alt 1935: 64–72). Killick discovered a Byzantine church at Udruh (1983a: 231, 233). Eadie reports that abundant Byzantine pottery has been located at Humayma (1984a: 221; see Graf 1979: 124–27). He identified two Byzantine churches at the site. This is the only representation of the Christian faith in the Hisma that has been securely identified (Eadie 1984a: 219–20). Other Christian monuments located in Edom, which also date to the Byzantine period, are listed by Saller and Bagatti (1949: 229–33), Avi-Yonah (1954: 42–43), and Abel (*GP* 2).

Between 630 and 640 A.D. all of Jordan fell to Islam, after which the Umayyad dynasty was established in Damascus in A.D. 661 (Vaglieri 1970: 62, 77).

**D. Conclusion**

From the above, it is obvious that there is archaeological evidence for human occupation and cultural development in Edom for a period spanning approximately 500,000 years. This evidence testifies to periods of increased population and to other periods in which there appears to have been little or no occupation. On the basis of the present information, it would appear that the Iron Age II, Nabatean-Roman, and Byzantine periods were ones of increased population. On the other hand, the Pottery Neolithic, the MB, the LB, and the Early Islamic periods were ones of little or no population.

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BURTON MACDONALD

**EDOMITE LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

**EDREI** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾedreʿî* (אֶדְרֶעִי)]. **1.** A town in Transjordan and one of the residences of Og, the Amorite king of Bashan. Following their victory over the Amorites, who held northern Moab at the time of the Hebrew migration, the Israelites moved against the adjacent kingdom of Og. Though the capital of the ill-defined region of Bashan was Ashtaroth, Og moved his army to engage Israel at Edrei. As God had promised, the Hebrews were victorious; Og was killed, his army was soundly defeated, and Israel took possession of Og's land (Num 21:33–35; cf. Deut 1:4; 3:10; Josh 12:4; 13:12, 31). Following these events, the kingdom of Og was assigned to the Machirites, part of the tribe of Manasseh (Josh 13:31).

According to Deut 3:10, Edrei and Salecah (cf. Josh 12:5, where Salecah appears to be a regional name) seem to have formed the boundaries of Og's small kingdom in Bashan; both of these sites were situated in the southeastern region of that territory. It is normally thought that Salecah was the easternmost town in the kingdom of Og and that Edrei was on the western frontier. Because Ashtaroth is located to the northwest of Edrei, it is possible that these two sites formed the western limit of Og's territory.

In Roman times, Edrei was known as Adraene, and occupying this same spot is modern Derʿa, Syria. Derʿa sits on a tributary of the Yarmuk, ca. 60 miles south of Damascus.

**2.** A town in Naphtali, in upper Galilee (Josh 19:37), probably *ʾi-t-rʿ* in a campaign itinerary of Thutmose III.

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

**EDUCATION.** This entry consists of three articles on the subjects of schools and the education of young people in the ancient world of the Bible. The first article surveys education in ancient Mesopotamia; the second examines the principles and institutions of education in ancient Israel; the third covers the subject of education in the Greco-Roman world of which early Judaism and Christianity were a part.

### *EDUCATION IN MESOPOTAMIA*

Education developed quite early in Mesopotamia, particularly for the purposes of training scribes. To some degree, a general portrait may be reconstructed of these "schools."

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A. Introduction
B. Teaching Materials
1. Word Lists

2. Clay Tablets
C. “School Regulations”
D. School Dialogues
E. Schools
F. Curriculum and Teaching
G. School Personnel
H. Students
I. Literacy
J. Social Value of Education

———

## A. Introduction

Educational practices in ancient Mesopotamia can be indirectly reconstructed from preserved pupil exercises and, more indirectly, from descriptions of school activities and occasional literary references to scribal knowledge and training. Archaeological remains are at times helpful. There are no preserved theoretical treatises on educational methods and goals, and none is expected given the intellectual outlook of Mesopotamian culture, which was not given to the formulation of abstract principles and rules. Important considerations in understanding didactic practices of Mesopotamian schools are the use of the cuneiform writing system, the writing medium of clay tablets, and the bilingual nature of Mesopotamian societies. A further characteristic of historical and political import is a great uniformity of teaching materials and, presumably, of methods over very long periods of time and all throughout the entire area where cuneiform script was used. This area reached at times as far as Boghazköy in Anatolia and Tell el-Amarna in Egypt. The sources are chronologically uneven; direct sources are available only for the OB period. Unless indicated otherwise, the reconstruction of school life presented in the following paragraphs is based on and limited to the OB period.

## B. Teaching Materials

**1. Word Lists.** Scientific and technical knowledge was transmitted in Mesopotamia primarily by extensive word lists and paradigms written on clay tablets in cuneiform script. How-to manuals or procedural instructions are known to a very limited extent. One example of such texts is the manual “Instructions to a Farmer,” giving advice on barley cultivation. Hundreds of school exercises, recovered in archaeological excavations, allow the reconstruction of word lists. These lists are already found among the earliest examples of cuneiform writing in the Uruk III–IV periods, ca. 2,700 B.C. About a dozen lists of less than 100 lines date from this period. Each list is devoted to a single subject: birds, fish, trees and wooden objects, cattle, etc. These archaic lists, with the addition of a few more from Fara, Abu-Salabikh, and Ebla, were used in school until the end of the third millennium B.C. not only in Southern Mesopotamia but also in peripheral areas where cuneiform was used, from Susa in the east to Ebla in the northwest. More recent lists include practical vocabularies (lists of frequently used words in everyday documents) and lists of cuneiform signs. A new set of lists—customarily designated by their opening lines—with many local recensions, was introduced in the early centuries of the 2d millennium B.C. Sometime around the 11th century B.C. their texts became fixed (“canonical” recensions). They continued to be copied everywhere and used in this form until the demise of the cuneiform script around the beginning of the Christian era. The major didactic compilations are the lists, or “series,” HAR-ra and Aa. HAR-ra = *ḫubullu* is an encyclopedic list of 24 tablets containing ca. 9,700 entries with the following themes:

| Tablet | Contents |
|---|---|
| I–II | legal terminology |
| III | trees |
| IV–VII | wooden implements |
| VIII–IX | reeds and reed objects |

| | |
|---|---|
| X | pottery and clays |
| XI | skins, leather objects, copper |
| XII | bronze, silver, gold |
| XIII | domestic animals |
| XIV | wild animals |
| XV | meat cuts |
| XVI | stones |
| XVII | plants, vegetables |
| XVIII | fish, birds |
| XIX | textiles |
| XX–XXII | toponyms, stars |
| XXII–XXIV | food, drinks |

The list AA = *nâqu* is a syllabary combined with a bilingual Sumero-Akkadian dictionary of 42 tablets containing ca. 14,000 entries. An abbreviated recension in 8 tablets is known as EA = *nâqu.* Each entry can consist of several subcolumns. In their most complete form, entries read, for instance:

*ga-na* GÁN *ga-nu-u* *eq-lu*

*ka-ra* KÁR *ga-na-te-nu-u na-pa-hu ša mê*

*ri-ib* KAL *gu-ru-šu* *šu-tu-qu*

To be understood as "[read] *gana* [the cuneiform sign] GÁN, [called] *ganû,* [means in Akk] *eqlu* 'field.' " The two other entries mean "to twinkle" (said of light or water) and "to surpass," respectively. Assorted word lists of various types completed the inventory of "textbooks." Among the more remarkable, one can mention: DIRI: SI.A = *atru,* a list in 6 tablets with a total of ca. 2,100 entries, similar to AA but with compound logograms. LÚ = *ša,* a thematic list in 4 tablets with ca. 1,300 entries, giving professions, kinship terms, and assorted human activities. $SIG_7$.ALAN = *nabnītu,* an etymological Sumero-Akkadian glossary in 32 tablets with ca. 10,500 entries, arranged according to the shape of the Semitic roots. ERIMHUŠ = *anantu* and ANTAGAL = *šaqû* are lists of synonyms, or semantically related entries, in groups of three. Naturally, more elementary syllabaries were used in the earlier stages of scribal training. The better known are Syllabary A and Syllabary B, the first in one tablet of some 400 lines, the second in two tablets with a total 743 lines; these lists were the backbone of scribal education in Post-OB times. The lexical lists can be unilingual (Sumerian) or bilingual (Sumero-Akkadian). Occasionally, one can find trilingual lists (Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite), in Boghazköy, and even quadrilingual (Sumerian, Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hurrian), in Ugarit. Unilingual lists are naturally more common in earlier periods. It should be stressed that the use of a Sumerian unilingual lexical list in school does not necessarily exclude bilingualism. There are indications that the pupils were required in most cases to provide an Akkadian translation orally. A few examples of grammatical drills and procedural texts have been preserved. Extensive verbal paradigms, dating from the 18th century, helped in translating Sumerian texts into Akkadian and in creating new Sumerian texts. In Neo-Babylonian times lists of grammatical elements, such as affixes, appear for the same purpose. A corpus of all preserved lists is available in Landsberger et al. 1937. A few examples of the oral teaching of the masters, from the last centuries of cuneiform, have been preserved in the form of commentaries which give etymologies and illustrative quotations, often side by side with astrological and religious speculations (Civil 1974; Cavigneaux 1976).

**2. Clay Tablets.** Various types of clay tablets were used in school in OB times. A typical one is a round plano-convex tablet, easily fitting into the student's hand, which has on its flat side a couple of lines of a model text—written by the instructor—in Sumerian which was copied underneath by the student. Sometimes, especially in peripheral areas, the convex side has a syllabic spelling to aid in reading the Sumerian and the Akkadian translation. An example from Susa:

(flat side):
(a) PA DÈ$^{mušen}$
PA KUR-GI$_4$$^{mušen}$
(represented by the student)
(reverse, convex side):
(b) BA-A TE
BA-A KU-UR GI
(c) *ga-pu-um ša e-ri-im*
*ù ga-pu-um ša ku-ur-ki*
"a feather of an eagle,
a feather of a goose."
Lines in (a) are the basic exercise in Sumerian; (b) gives the pronunciation; and (c) is the Akkadian translation. In other cases, these tablets have only a two- to four-line lexical or literary excerpt, with no model. At times, these tablets are biconvex rather than plano-convex, hence the designation "lenticular" in the Assyriological literature. Examples of such tablets can be seen in Falkowitz (1983) and al-Fouadi (1979). Another is a large rectangular tablet divided in two columns, with the instructor's model on the left and the student's copy on the right. The right half was erased and reused over and over until the clay was too thin, at which time the right half was broken off and the model on the left side kept for further use. The convex side of these tablets generally has long excerpts from word lists, written from memory. When learning literary texts, the scribes wrote small one-column tablets with an excerpt from a composition; these tablets were called IM-GID-DA, and are occasionally signed and dated. To avoid the accumulation of bulky old tablets in school, exercise tablets were "melted" down by softening in water and their clay was formed into new tablets. This practice was also useful in teaching the students how to make tablets. In MB schools the most frequent type is a small oblong tablet with a short literary quotation on one side and a lexical excerpt, written at a right angle to the first text, on the other side. The classic school exercise of NB times includes, on a rectangular tablet, an excerpt from a literary or religious text followed by several five- or six-line excerpts from successive sections of the major word lists. These tablets are frequently dated by day and month, but not by year. From indirect textual evidence it may be concluded that students must have also used wax tablets, papyrus, and leather strips at the time when these writing materials became current after the NA period. Except for a few remains of wax-covered wooden boards, nothing has been preserved of these materials and there are no texts describing their use in school.

**C. "School Regulations"**

A Sumerian text from the OB period—not available yet in a critical edition—gives the norms or rules (Sum Á-ÁG-GÁ) for school activities and student discipline. A student is interrogated about his knowledge of them. The text unfortunately is preserved in an extremely fragmentary condition. Some examples of the better preserved passages read: "If a pupil, after he has laid down the cloth on his sitting place, strikes another pupil, after misbehaving he will not be beaten, he will be expelled." And: "After the instructor [lit. "big brother"] has collected the tablets, he will inspect them. He will correct the places where the wedges are not right. If the student is found to be deficient and could not recite his exercise tablet and his word list, the instructor and the master will strike his face. After the inspection is finished, when the "water man" says "take the jars!" and "idiot, your jar!" they [the students] will take the jars and fill them from the canal in the center of the city."

**D. School Dialogues**

Tablets, several still unpublished, mostly dating from the 18th century, preserve dialogues between schoolchildren. One, bilingual, probably dates from the 12th–9th centuries (Sjöberg 1975). Dialogues have been a traditional teaching tool through the millennia. OB dialogues contain ironical descriptions of school life and verbal fights between pupils and were used to learn Sumerian, the prestige language, which by then was extinct. Edubba A, or "Schooldays," is an ironical description of daily school activities and of a student's induction into the scribal ranks (Kramer 1949). The theme of the dialogue in Edubba B,

or “A Father and His Misguided Son” (Sjöberg 1973), is the age-old one of a father’s frustrations with his son’s lack of application and ambition. Edubba C is a conversation between an established scribe, with the rank of supervisor (Sum UGULA), and a student, giving advice on the latter’s future duties. Edubba D (Civil 1985) is a discussion between two students comparing their abilities and knowledge; it degenerates into an exchange of insults. Dialogue 1 is little more than an exchange of invectives between two pupils. In Dialogue 2 Enkitalu and Enkihegal discuss their social status and personal distinction. The text is not directly related to school activities, although education is a recurrent theme; the interlocutors seem to have been musicians. Dialogue 3 has two students, Enkimansun and Girnishag, fighting, in the teacher’s absence, about the extent of their respective scribal knowledge. In a dialogue (Sjöberg 1975), probably of post-OB date but inspired by earlier sources, a teacher carries out a sort of “examination” of a pupil:

A scribe tested his pupil [lit. “son”] in the masters’ assembly, in the school courtyard.

“Come son, sit at my feet, I want to talk to you, listen! From childhood to adolescence you have been attending school. You have learned the office of the scribe, but you do not know its salient points.”

“What is that which I don’t know?”

“What do you know? Come on I will question you, answer! Come on I will talk to you, speak!”

“Ask, and I will answer, speak, and I will talk to you!”

“You won’t be able to answer!”

“Why I won’t be able to answer?”

“The beginning of writing is the single wedge, its pronunciations are six and it stands for sixty. Do you know its name?”

[The student apparently cannot answer.]

“Do you know all the secrets of Sumerian you have learned that badly?”

“Do you know how to translate, transfer the words, first the Akkadian then the Sumerian, first the Sumerian then the Akkadian?”

Following several paragraphs with similar questions, after a series of complaints of the genre “How long are you going to be deaf?” the text ends with a brief praise of the scribal art.

**E. Schools**

The Sumerian term for “school” is É-DUB-BA-(A), “tablet house” (or “tablet room”). The term is also the normal designation for an administrative center or archive, of which there could be several in a single town. Furthermore, the signs used to write this term can also be read É-KIŠIB-BA, “house of the seal” or “of the sealed documents” (a translation “sealed house” is unlikely). This ambiguity makes it very difficult to identify references to schools proper in economic texts. School exercises have been found—in greater or lesser numbers—in practically all archaeological sites which have produced tablets: Ur, Nippur, Isin, Uruk, Girsu, Adab, Sippar, Babylon, etc. However, despite many archaeologists’ claims, no large building exclusively devoted to teaching can securely be identified. Where the large number of scribes required by the administration of the Sargonic and Ur III empires were trained is unknown. When remains of teaching activities have been found they are always in a familial milieu (Charpin 1986: 419–85, Stone 1987: 36–39) or in a section of a very large building that obviously served many other functions such as a palace or temple. Scribes, at least the ones destined to an administrative career, were probably trained as apprentices at the administrative centers (archives and repositories) or in the royal palaces where they would later ply their trade. Family teaching, on the other hand, was apparently more oriented toward the preservation of traditional literary and religious texts. From literary descriptions, it appears that teaching took place in a courtyard (Sum KISAL), covered when needed by an awning, with the student sitting on a piece of felted cloth spread on the ground. Sand in front of the student was used as some sort of blackboard to sketch models of cuneiform signs. A physical feature of the teaching place was the “school well,” a basin for the water needed to mix with the clay.

**F. Curriculum and Teaching**

Teaching was based on rote learning by repeated writing and recitation of word lists. Each line of text had to be written and recited repeated times, as many as four times in a single day, until well memorized by the student. After being taught how to make tablets, handle the stylus, and write elementary exercises

of a syllabic nature, the student learned the repertory of cuneiform signs. Lists of personal names were a frequent writing exercise at this stage. He then memorized thematic lists that formed a sort of cultural encyclopedia, and various other types of lists, culminating in a list of human occupations and conditions over 800 lines long. Legal formularies, metrological and mathematical tables and problems, as well as the memorization of traditional literary works, completed the scribe's education. Many, if not all, students also learned the musical skills necessary for reciting these literary works. Students spent twenty-four days a month in school, the rest being taken by three days of vacation and three days of sundry festivals. At the time when information about schools is most abundant, the language of the population was certainly Akkadian. Sumerian was then an extinct, prestige language used in administration, law, religious activities, and literature. It can be assumed that teaching was conducted in Sumerian since it is the basic language in school exercises, even though an Akkadian translation, oral or written, was constantly required. One could compare this cultural and linguistic situation to a similar one in the classical world; that of educating the young Romans in Greek for centuries.

**G. School Personnel**

The headmaster was called "the school father" (Sum AD-DA É-DUB-BA-A) and belonged to the rank of experts or masters (Sum UM-MI-A). There is also mention of supervisors (UGULA É-DUB-BA-A), but their rank in relation to the masters is unclear. Helping in teaching tasks as instructor was the "big brother" (ŠEŠ-GAL), presumably an advanced student or an aspirant to a teaching career. A number of aides and servants were in charge of class discipline and supplies. Their activities can be inferred from a humorous passage of "Schooldays," paralleled by damaged paragraphs of "School Regulations," and from lexical texts:

> At school, the man on duty [LÚ BAL] said "why are you late?," when he said that, I was scared and my heart pounded … the man in charge of the felted cloths [LÚ TAG-TAG, to be spread down at each pupil's sitting place] looked into the aisles and said "your felt is not picked clean!" and he beat me. I took my tablet; the model was written [on the sand] at my feet. I wrote my tablet and did my assignment, and then opened my mouth, without paying attention, and the man in charge of keeping silence [LÚ SI-TUR] said "why did you open your mouth without my permission?" and he struck me. The man in charge of the feathers [LÚ PA-MUŠEN-NA, function unknown] said "why didn't you raise your neck straight?" and he struck me. The man in charge of the drawings [LÚ GIŠ-HUR-RA] said "why did you get up without my permission [risking to step on the designs on the ground]?" and he struck me. The doorman [LÚ KÁ-NA] said "why did you go out without my permission?" and he struck me. The man in charge of the water jars [LÚ$^{dug}$LAHTAN-NA] said "why did you take [water] without my permission?" and he struck me. The Sumerian expert [LÚ EME-GIR$_{15}$-RA] said "put it[?] in Sumerian!" and struck me. The master [UM-MI-A] said "your handwriting is not nice at all!" and he struck me.

(Kramer 1949, revised)

It is unknown how teachers and other personnel were paid. The texts seem to indicate that they had a right to a portion of the food brought in by the students for their own meals, or that they took it anyway.

**H. Students**

Students were called DUMU É-DUB-BA-A, "schoolchildren," an expression occasionally used to also designate a full-fledged scribe (normally called DUB-SAR). There is no information about how many years the student's education lasted, nor about at what age boys were first sent to school. In Edubba A the student's father is educated and can evaluate the homework of the son. Many Ur III scribes were themselves sons of scribes. It appears that even if the scribes were not necessarily always wealthy, they tended to form, up to a point, a class apart. Despite the patron deity of the school being a goddess (Nidaba), no text dealing with school activities mentions female students, although three or four lexical or literary tablets are signed by females. There must have been some female students, since female scribes, although exceedingly rare, are not unknown. At least three are known in Ur III times: two in the household of Babati, an archivist of note, uncle of king Šu-Suen. Another was the wife of a high-ranking scribe in the household of the governor of Umma. The highest number of female scribes is attested in Sippar—among the *nadītu,* women at the service of the sun god—and some are known from Mari. A

daughter of king Sargon of Akkad is credited with compiling a long collection of hymns to the most famous Mesopotamian shrines. There is mention in Nineveh of a woman writing oracle questions on papyrus.

**I. Literacy**

Lacking reliable population estimates it is impossible to give any idea of the quantitative extent of reading and writing. For the six decades or so at the end of the second millennium B.C. for which the archives of the Ur III empire are preserved, the names of no less than 1,500 scribes are known. At that time, literacy seems to have been common in the upper classes and monarchs often boast of their literary accomplishments. Besides his uncommon scribal and musical abilities, king Šulgi claims that he could personally administer justice and conduct diplomatic relations in five languages (Sumerian, Akkadian, Elamite, Amorite, and Subarian). He describes his education as follows: "When I was a young child, there was school. There I learned Sumerian and Akkadian texts (tablets); no nobleman could write on clay like me. I surpassed everyone in cleverness in the scribal arts. I learned adding and subtracting, counting and accounting perfectly … I am a smart scribe whom nothing escapes." The theme of the learned king, protector of letters, although perhaps less explicitly expressed than in Šulgi's case, is a recurrent one in Mesopotamia. For example, the preservation of many literary and scientific works is due to the actions of Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.) and Assurbanipal (668–627 B.C.).

**J. Social Value of Education**

Good schools were eagerly sought, and children were sometimes sent away to another town for their education. A letter says " (The children) are anxious to (go to) Nippur … where they (the children) live there is no school of the right kind and they cannot learn the office of scribe. They do not recite the words twenty or thirty times; they do not perform the songs ten or twenty times … don't you know that there is one (good) school in Nippur?" The post of a scribe "who regularly comes and goes in the palace" was considered a most enviable one, a divine blessing to be preferred to material riches.

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MIGUEL CIVIL


## *ANCIENT ISRAEL*

"We should praise Israel for his education (*paideias*) and wisdom (*sophias*)." This sentence from the prologue to Ecclesiasticus shows how highly valued Israelite education was toward the end of the biblical period. However, the Bible does not present any systematic description of this education and we must try to piece together the various sources at our disposal.

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**A. Terminology**

The main source of information about education in ancient Israel is clearly the Bible itself which, here and there, but mainly in the wisdom books, contains several references to education. Actually the Hebrew word *mûsār* is probably the best word to render "education" since it has been generally translated in Greek by *paideia* in the LXX; *paideia* appears 36 times in Ecclesiasticus and 5 times in the Wisdom of Solomon, while *mûsār* appears mostly in Proverbs (30 times), Jeremiah (8 times), and Job (5 times), and is often associated with *ḥokmâ*, "wisdom" (Prov 1:2, 7; 23:23; cf. 8:33; 13:1; 15:33; 19:20). However, *môsār* also has the specific meaning of "discipline," "punishment." If we want to understand Israelite education more generally, we must take into account many other references connected with other roots such as *ḥnk*, "initiate," "start" (cf. Prov 22:6); *yrh*, "to show," "to teach" (*Hipʿil*); and *lmd*,"to learn," "to teach" (*Piʿel*). This last root is mainly attested in Deuteronomy (4:1, 5, 10, 14; 5:1, 28; 6:1; 11:19; 14:23; 17:19; 18:9; 31:12, 13, 19, 22) where it may have been used by one of the last redactors instead of the old word *šnn,* "to repeat," "to teach" (Deut 6:7; 28:37; 32:41); *lmd* is also well known in Isaiah (1:17; 2:4; 8:16; 26:9, 10; 29:13, 24; 40:14; 48:17; 50:4; 54:13), Jeremiah (2:24, 33; 9:4, 13, 19; 10:2; 12:16; 13:21, 23; 31:18, 34; 32:33) and Psalms (mainly Ps 119:7, 12, 26, 64, 66, 68, 71, 73, 99, 108, 124, 135, 171). The root *yrh*, in the *Hipʿil* (Gen 46:28; Exod 4:12, 15; 15:25; 24:12; 35:34) is also well known by the nouns *môreh*, "teaching, teacher" (2 Kgs 17:28; Isa 9:14; 30:20; Hab 2:18; Prov 5:13; 6:13; Job 36:22; 2 Chr 15:3) and *tôrâ* (Exod 12:49; Lev 7:7, 37); this last word is very often translated "law" (Gk *nomos*) but its first meaning is "instruction" (Östborn 1945; Jensen 1973).

**B. Methodological Issues**

In studying Israelite education we must also take into account the fact that it probably underwent changes during Israel's long history. This is especially true of the educational institutions which were probably affected by changes in political history. More generally, education as found in the time of the judges did not remain the same down to the time of the Maccabees, who were confronted with Hellenistic education. Moreover, education was not necessarily the same throughout all levels of the society. We have to be aware of the differences in educational background between the inhabitants of a farm, a small village, or a town like Jerusalem, as well as the differences existing among Palestinian Jews or among Diaspora Jews.

The general historical and sociological context of the ANE may provide help in understanding Israelite education. What is already known about education in Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia must be taken into account, as well as the situation in Greece for the later periods. This background serves not only comparative purposes but also indicates possible sources of concrete influence. For instance, it is generally accepted that Proverbs contains some adaptation of part of an Egyptian book, namely the Instruction of Amenemopet (cf. Prov 22:17–24:22 and *ANET*, 421–25) and two small Transjordanian collections (Prov 30:1ff; 31:1ff). During the Exile, many Jews probably received some Chaldaean (mainly Aramaic) education in Babylonia (cf. Dan 1:4, 17). At the beginning of the 2d century B.C., the influence of Hellenistic education was so strong in Jerusalem (cf. 2 Macc 4:12ff) that the Jewish tradition was actually in danger of disappearing. Knowledge of the educational practices among Israel's neighbors is therefore a useful guide for understanding various aspects of the history of Israelite education.

A study of Israelite education must take into account the discoveries in Hebrew and Aramaic epigraphy in Palestine (Puech 1988) and in the Jewish communities of the Diaspora. Even if the texts are fragmentary, they give us some direct evidence. For example, the various ostraca with "abecedaries" and schoolboys' exercises found in the latter half of the First Temple period (ca. 800–587 B.C.) reveal that reading and writing were taught not only in the capital city but also in small towns and fortresses. The Aramaic documents from the 5th century B.C. found in Elephantine shed some light on the Jewish and apparently mainly Aramaic education there, as well as probably in other communities of the Diaspora. In Palestine, the Dead Sea Scrolls have revealed the teaching of an Essene community in the 1st centuries B.C. and A.D. In the teaching of their community, biblical books and commentaries held a prominent place (Lemaire 1986a).

**C. Principles of Education**

**1. Parental Responsibility.** Education of children appears to have been initially a parental responsibility: "Attend, my son, to your father's education and do not reject the instruction of your mother" (Prov 1:8; cf. 6:20; 23:22). Because of this responsibility, the child had to respect his parents: "Honor your father and your mother" (Exod 20:12; Deut 5:16; cf. Prov 15:20; 20:20; Sir 3:1–16; 7:28).

If the mother took an important part in the education for her children (cf. 1 Sam 1:22–28; Prov 31:28; 2 Macc 7:24ff) even when they were teenagers (Prov 31:1ff), the father is often mentioned in the education of his sons (cf. Prov 4:4; 13:1) as soon as they become boys: "Discipline your son, and he will be a comfort to you and give delights to yourself" (Prov 29:17; cf. Deut 8:5: "as a man disciplines his son …"). The father was not to be hesitant in reprimanding his son, neither was he to avoid using the rod, so that the son might not put his father to shame: "Rod and reprimand give wisdom, but a boy who runs wild brings shame on his mother" (Prov 29:15; cf. 3:12; 23:13f).

The father was often considered responsible for his son's behavior and was reproved for being too feeble (cf. 1 Sam 2:22–25, 29–36; 2 Sam 13:21 [LXX]; 1 Kgs 1:6). The law of Deut 21:18–21 (cf. Exod 21:17) shows the official procedure to follow in case of a disobedient son:

> When a man has a disobedient and rebellious son, and he does not obey his father and mother, and even if they correct him, he does not obey them, then his father and mother shall take hold of him and bring him out to the elders of his town and to the city-gate of his place. They will say to the elders of his town: "This son of ours is disobedient and rebellious, he does not obey us, he is a glutton and a drunkard." Then all the men of his town shall stone him and he will die.

This extreme case was probably very rare. It is not known whether this law was ever implemented, but this borderline case shows clearly the limits of the authority of the parents. In ancient Israel a child's parents did not have the power of life and death even in the case of a bad behavior of a son; death can be only the consequence of an official procedure. The case of a young female prostitute is not so clear (cf. Gen 38:24ff; Lev 21:9) but can also be interpreted in the same way, namely the rebellious child could only be put to death after an official judgment.

**2. Moral and Religious Education of Children.** The desire and love for children pervades the OT (cf. Gen 15:5; 22:17; 24:60; 26:4; Prov 17:6; Ps 127:3–5; 128:3; Job 5:25; Sir 25:7) and disciplinary strictness in education was not at all thought to be incompatible with love for children. On the contrary, "A father who spares the rod hates his son, but one who loves him keeps him in order" (Prov 13:24); "A man who loves his son whips him often" (Sir 30:1–13). Even God displays the same attitude: "For those whom he loves, the Lord reproves, just as a father reproves his favorite son" (Prov 3:12; cf. Deut 8:5; 2 Sam 7:14).

Religious education was also the responsibility of the parents; in this way the religious tradition and its teachings were passed on from generation to generation. The parents had "to tell their children and grandchildren" the religious experience of their ancestors (cf. Exod 10:2; 13:8; Deut 4:9; 32:7). It was the father's duty to explain the meaning of the family's religious rites (Exod 12:26) and to teach the commandments of the Lord (Deut 6:7, 20–25; 32:46). The principal aim of this education was to help the young child become a wise person. This goal could only be reached through a religious education: "The essence of wisdom is fear of the Lord" (Ps 111:10; cf. Prov 1:7).

**3. Vocational Instruction.** The parents usually taught their children their profession. Living at home with his father, the son naturally watched and helped his father at work and learned his father's profession (cf. 1 Sam 16:11; 2 Kgs 4:18). The book of Proverbs several times insists on the usefulness of good work (12:24, 27; 14:23; 18:9; 20:13; 22:29; Qoh 9:10; 11:1–6; contrast Qoh 4:4–60), especially agricultural work, the most often attested profession (Prov 12:11; 24:27, 30–34; 27:18, 23–27; 28:19; cf. Sir 7:22; Proverbs of Ahiqar: saying 40). Girls learned household activities with their mother, in particular baking (2 Sam 13:8), spinning, and weaving (Exod 35:25–26). Prov 31:10–31 seems to present the picture of the ideal woman as a model for the girls' education (Crook 1954). Young girls could also work in the fields (Gen 29:6ff; Exod 2:16ff; cf. Cant 1:6; Prov 31:16). According to Sir 42:9–11, in ancient Israel a father was generally more concerned and anxious about the education of his daughter than for his son. In later Judaism, the parents' responsibility in teaching a profession to their children was underlined by the maxim: "Who does not teach a profession to his son teaches him brigandage" (*b. Qidd.* 29a).

**D. The Stages of Education**

A young child first lived with his mother, who generally suckled him until his weaning. The day of his weaning was probably celebrated as a feast with a sacrifice (cf. Gen 21:8; 1 Sam 1:23–25). The date of the weaning is difficult to specify and may have varied with the mother. However, according to 2 Macc 7:27, Josephus (*Ant* 2.230), and Mesopotamian and Egyptian traditions (*ANET*, 420), it was generally celebrated when the child was three years old (Pfeiffer 1972).

In the leading families, a wet nurse (Heb *mêneqet*) could take the place of the mother (Gen 24:59; 35:8; Isa 49:23); this is especially attested among the royal families of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 11:2; 2 Chr 22:11) or of Egypt (Exod 2:7). Later on, and at least until age five or older, the child would be under the care of a dry nurse or governess (Heb *ʾōmenet;* 2 Sam 4:4). This last job was sometimes assumed by the grandmother (Ruth 4:16) or even by a male (Heb *ʾōmen:* Num 11:12; Isa 49:23; cf. Esth 2:7). Male guardians were especially connected with the sons of the king (2 Kgs 10:1, 5), like the *paidagôgos* ("family tutor") in Greece. From about five to seven years of age the child could go to school or in some cases start to work with his father, who introduced the child to a profession (farmer, craftsman, etc.).

In later Jewish tradition a boy was generally considered to be an adult, at least from the religious point of view, as soon as the first signs of manhood became apparent, probably when he was twelve to fourteen years old. Thus, according to Rabbi Yehuda ben Tema (*m. ʾAbot* 5:21):

> At five years, one is fit for the Scripture,
> at thirteen for the commandments,
> at fifteen for the Talmud,
> at eighteen for the bride-chamber,
> at twenty for pursuing (a calling),
> at thirty for authority.

These approximate stages of life seem to be confirmed by the personal stories of Jesus (Luke 2:42; 3:23) and of Josephus (*Life* 9). The data of the OT, however, are not so clear. According to Gen 37:2, "Joseph was a boy of seventeen" when he worked with his brothers in the fields and started his adventures; he was probably considered an adult at that time. Lev 27:3–7 presents an estimation of the worth of a man according to the various stages of his life: "Between a month and five years old," he is still considered a small child; accordingly his value is one tenth of an adult. "Between five years old and twenty," the child can already help and work; accordingly his value is one third or about two fifths of an adult. "Between twenty and sixty years old," the person is an adult. "Over sixty," the person cannot do much work and thus his value is only about one third of an adult. See also OLD AGE.

These verses indicate that age twenty was generally considered the approximate age for full efficiency at work, that is, for assuming full responsibility in one's job. However, other traditions indicate that age thirty was considered the usual age to assume an official position with responsibility. It was at this age that Joseph became Pharaoh's prime minister (Gen 41:42–46), David was made king (2 Sam 5:4), and the Levites became servants of the Temple near the altar (cf. Num 4:3, 23, 30, 35, 43, 47). Of course the information concerns the upper class of Israelite society, namely the members of the royal family or of the

priestly families, that is, high functionaries and leading citizens. Information about the lower class (farmers, craftsmen) is lacking.

**E. Educational Institutions**

**1. Family.** If parents were the ones initially responsible for the education of their children, other members of the family naturally could take part in this education as well, especially the grandparents (cf. Ruth 4:16), the paternal uncle, or even a cousin (cf. Esth 2:7). Actually, amid this large family, the child received not only a general education but also teaching about the national traditions, especially during the family celebrations (cf. 1 Sam 20:6) such as Passover where children played an active part asking questions (cf. Exod 10:2; 12:26).

**2. Community Liturgy.** Besides the family celebration at home, the child would accompany his parents on pilgrimages to sanctuaries (cf. 1 Sam 1:24). In the early period this meant a trip to the local sanctuary, but later, after the Deuteronomic reform, the pilgrimage was to the Jerusalem Temple: "Three times a year all your males shall come into the presence of the Lord your God at the place which he will choose, namely at the time of the pilgrim-feasts of Unleavened Bread, of Weeks, and of Tabernacles" (Deut 16:16).

These pilgrimages were important not only because of the sacrifices but also because of the teaching and prayer which occurred during the celebration. For instance, the *tôrâ* was to be read publicly once every seven years during the feast of Tabernacles: "Assemble the people, men, women, and children together with the aliens who live in your cities, so that they may listen and learn (*yilmĕdû*) to fear the Lord your God and observe all the words of this instruction (*tôrâ*) with care" (Deut 31:12). Parts of the instruction or similar texts were probably also read publicly at each feast, especially during the renewal of the covenant (cf. Exod 24:7).

All this teaching was memorized not only by means of hearing but also through repetition and singing. Psalms played an important role in this regard, especially the psalms of meditation on history or on the instruction (*tôrâ*).The psalms were good pedagogical means for learning about the nation's past and its foundational principles. "Listen to my instruction *(tôrātî)*, O my people, pick up your ears to the words of my mouth. I will open my mouth for sentences, I will expound the riddles of the past which we have heard and know, and our ancestors narrated to us" (Ps 78:1–3). This kind of didactic and historical meditation is well attested in several psalms (44; 105; 106; 114; 136), while other psalms insist more on moral education (cf. Psalms 15; 19; 50; 119).

Besides pilgrimage feasts, one of the best pedagogical means for developing the religious and national feeling in ancient Israel was the regularized sequencing of the Israelite feasts. In the earlier period this included every new and full moon (the sabbath of the First Temple period; cf. 2 Kgs 4:23; 11:5, 7, 9; Isa 1:13; Hos 2:13; Amos 8:5; Ps 81:4; see also Lemaire 1973); and then, after the promulgation of the Law by Ezra, every seventh day came to be used for the moral and religious education of not only children but also adults (cf. Gen 2:2–3; Exod 16:26; 20:10; 31:15–17; Lev 23:3; Deut 5:14).

**3. Specific Training.** Most of the specific training for a special profession was generally given when the boy helped his father as a shepherd (cf. 1 Sam 16:11) or as a farmer (cf. 2 Kgs 4:18) and when the girl helped her mother as a housewife or sometimes even went to the fields. However, some training could also be given outside of the family. Craftsmen, for example, seem at times to have been organized in guilds (Neh 3:8, 11–32; 1 Chr 4:14, 21–23). Apprentices were probably trained in this context, while midwives (cf. Exod 1:15, 21) learned their profession working with an older midwife.

Military training (cf. Judg 3:2) was probably first given within the family and the clan or the tribe; a boy gained some experience in accompanying his father (cf. Judg 8:20–21) or his brothers (cf. 1 Sam 17:13ff) at war. Military training was first a general training in physical exercises to learn steadiness and agility (2 Sam 22:34, 37) but also involved training in the handling of weapons, including the sling, bow, sword, and spear. For instance, the tribe of Benjamin was famous for the ambidextrous use of the sword (Judg 3:15–16) and of the sling (Judg 20:16), while other young men were trained to use the bow (1 Sam 20:20–22; cf. 2 Sam 1:18 MT). Youth were also trained to fight face-to-face (2 Sam 2:14–16). This specialized training was probably supplemented by learning about the heroic exploits of the past (Judg 5:14–16; 2

Sam 21:15–22) and particularly of tactical tricks (Josh 8:3ff), while past mistakes were recalled in order that they not be repeated (cf. Judg 9:50–54; 2 Sam 11:20–21). Later, military training was given under the supervision of professional officers of the king who supplied the required weapons (1 Chr 27: 16–22; 2 Chr 17:13–18; 26:11–15; 2 Kgs 25:19). Other specific training for the king's sons, scribes, and high royal functionaries was generally given in the context of schools.

**4. Schools.** Over the course of the last few decades there has been considerable discussion about the problem of the existence of schools in Israel from the beginning of the First Temple period (Whybray 1965; 1974; Lang 1972: 21–53; 1975; 1979; 1980; Golka 1983; Haran 1988). It is true that the Hebrew word for school, *bêt-midrāš,* appears only in Sir 51:23. According to late Jewish tradition, Joshua ben Gamla (= Jesus son of Gamaliel), high priest about A.D. 63–65, "decided that school-teachers *(mlmdy tynwqwt)* be appointed in every province and in every town, and children of six or seven years be brought to them" (*b. B. Bat.* 21a), but this decree was certainly not the creation of the first schools in ancient Israel. It was only a reform or a systematization of elementary schools everywhere in Israel; such schools and other types of schools existed long before the decree.

The general historical context of ancient Israel (at least from the time of David and Solomon), the existence of schools in Egypt and Mesopotamia from the 3d millennium B.C., as well as the recent discovery of various schoolboys' exercises from the First Temple period (Lemaire 1978) demonstrate that schools existed in Israel already during the time of the Israelite monarchy (Lemaire 1981). One must keep in mind, however, that schools in the ANE were not identical to schools today. Ancient schools were not so well organized and did not need the same furnishings. Actually, a school existed whenever a learned man, a master, taught a few pupils sitting around him. Such schools could exist in the open air or in the corner of a courtyard. The traditional Quranic schools offer some idea of the nature of these schools. Having made these observations, we may now consider various aspects of this educational institution in ancient Israel (cf. Lemaire 1984).

**a. History.** Before the birth of the Israelite confederation at the end of the LB Age, the small Canaanite kingdoms could use three kinds of writing besides hieroglyphic and Egyptian writing: (1) writing in Akkadian for international relations, especially with Egypt (cf. the El-Amarna letters); (2) cuneiform alphabetic writing, attested by the tablets of Beth-Shemesh and Taanak, and by a bronze blade from Nahal Tabor; and (3) linear alphabetic script, attested by a few incised and ink inscriptions scattered in Palestine, especially at Lachish. The use of these three kinds of writing as well as lexical and trilingual texts found at Aphek indicate that there was probably some kind of scribal training in Palestine during this period (Edzard 1985), but it is difficult to specify where.

Evidence from the beginning of Israel's history, namely the alphabetic ostracon from Izbet Sartah, the inscription from Qubur el-Walaydah, inscriptions incised on arrowheads from el-Khadr (Cross 1980), and a few other inscribed sherds from the 12th–10th centuries B.C. show that linear script, and apparently linear script only, continued to be used in Palestine, and that this script tradition was assumed by the Israelites from the Canaanite tradition. Actually from the biblical tradition one may assume that an Israelite culture was transmitted in the 12th–11th centuries B.C., probably mainly orally, near the local sanctuaries of Shiloh, Shechem, Gilgal, Bethel, Hebron, and Beersheba. The case of Shiloh is the clearest. Associated with that site is the story of young Samuel who stayed at the sanctuary carrying out the Lord's service in front of Eli (1 Sam 3:1). This story seems to imply that Samuel was some kind of apprentice and received cultic instruction at the sanctuary, perhaps at the same time as Eli's sons (cf. 1 Sam 2:12ff).

Later, under David and Solomon, the growth of Israelite territory and influence, the development of the administration, and the building of a new Temple in Jerusalem brought with it the need for instructing royal functionaries and for the organization of a royal school, possibly under Egyptian influence (Solomon married Pharaoh's daughter: 1 Kgs 9:17; 11:1) and according to an Egyptian model (Mettinger 1971). As in Egypt, the royal school, at least in Jerusalem and perhaps also in the twelve regional capitals, gave a formative education (reading, writing, calculation, administration, history, geography, etc.) to the "sons of the king" and to the sons of "the friends of the king" or leading citizens who might then become

high functionaries and royal advisers (cf. 1 Kgs 12:8, 10: "the young men who had grown up with him and who stood before him").

Such a royal school was also probably created in the capitals of the N kingdom, namely Shechem, Tirzah, and Samaria, but it is difficult to determine whether the seventy royal princes who were "with the nobles of the city who were bringing them up" (2 Kings 10) is a reference to a royal school or to private teachers. At least these tutors *(ʾōmĕnîm)* seem to have formed a special group at the royal court of Samaria (2 Kgs 10:1, 5).

In Jerusalem, the building of the Temple carried with it the need for trained personnel for the Temple who had to receive a formative education for their service (reading, writing, singing, music, rites, feasts, calendar, national religious traditions, etc.). This instruction was probably given at or near the Temple, perhaps under the supervision of the high priest. 2 Kgs 12:3 (—Eng 12:2) show that this priest could even, under special circumstances, be responsible for the education of the young king.

From the 8th century onward, paleo-Hebrew epigraphy (Samaria ostraca, Kuntillet-Ajrud, Khirbet el-Qôm, Khirbet Beit-Lei, Silwam, Siloah, and Arad inscriptions, as well as inscribed seals) and the biblical texts (mainly the prophetic books of Amos, Hosea, Micah, and Isaiah) show an important development in the use of writing in ancient Israel. This development may have been connected with the creation of new schools; in fact 2 Chr 17:7–9 probably refer to some reform in teaching under the supervision of high royal functionaries, priests, and Levites. The "abecedaries" and schoolboys' exercises found at Lachish, Arad, Aroer, Kadesh-Barnea, and Kuntillet-Ajrud show that at the end of the First Temple period, one could learn writing not only in the great cities but also in villages and small fortresses. Actually "Deuteronomy expects a degree of literacy to permeate society" (cf. Deut 6:9; 11:20) and according to epigraphic evidence "few places will have been unaware of writing" (Millard 1985b: 308). Such degrees of literacy can hardly be reached without the existence of local schools.

In 598 and 587, most of the exiles were well-educated people; part of them probably already knew some Aramaic as is shown by the attitude of the members of the royal cabinet as early as 701 B.C. (2 Kgs 18:26). With this knowledge the exiles could prosper in Babylonia and some could even obtain an official position in the Babylonian, and later, Persian, administrations (cf. the story of Mordecai in Esth 10:1–3). Some of their children may have been educated in the royal Babylonian schools (cf. Dan 1:3–5 with an allusion to a training of three years) and entrusted with an official position by the king of kings—as were Sheshbazzar (Ezra 1:8, 11), Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:2ff), Nehemiah (Neh 1:1ff), and Ezra (Ezra 7:12–26).

Bullae and seals from a Judean archive (Avigad 1976) seem to indicate that the governors of the Judean province appointed by the Persian authorities were all Jews (Avigad 1976; Laperrousaz 1982), some of whom came from Babylonia and spoke Aramaic as their primary language. In fact, all the administrative ostraca from this period found in Palestine are written in Aramaic; this means that the local functionaries had received formal instruction in Aramaic, while Hebrew was used mainly in the cultic celebrations of the Temple of Jerusalem and in the teaching of the schools as the classical language of national literature.

In the Hellenistic period, efforts were made to inculcate Greek language and culture, thereby superseding Jewish (Hebrew and Aramaic) education (cf. 2 Macc 4:12ff). However, the nationalist revolt of the Maccabees succeeded in preserving Jewish culture even if they also adopted some aspects of Hellenistic education. Qoheleth and Ecclesiasticus are good examples of Jewish teaching in the Hebrew language in Jerusalem during the first part of the Hellenistic period, teaching based on the "study of the Law, the Prophets, and the other Writings of our ancestors" (preface to Sirach; Qoh 12:9–10), but the text was very soon translated into Greek to be used in Jewish education in Egypt (preface to Sirach).

From the end of the 2d century B.C. onward, Jewish tradition divided itself into three main groups, namely the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, each of which had its own interpretation of the Law, its own masters, and its own schools. The Essene school and teaching are now well known thanks to the Dead Sea Scrolls (Lemaire 1986a), while the Pharisees were famous for their teaching in the local schools as well as in Jerusalem (cf. Acts 5:34ff; 22:3; 23:6); the teaching of the Pharisees is known from the later written rabbinic tradition (Mishnah, Talmud). The teaching of the Sadducees still remains virtually unknown (Le Moyne 1972). Around the turn of the Christian era, schools were a very well

attested institution in Jewish society, especially in the capital: "There were 480 synagogues in Jerusalem and each had a *bêt-sēper* and a *bêt-talmûd,* the former for the Scripture, the latter for the Mishnah" (*y. Meg.* 3:1).

**b. Teaching.** The general method of teaching in ancient Israel was probably the same as in the other countries of the ANE; that is they emphasized two pedagogical means, oral repetition and the rod. The learning of reading started with the oral repetition of the sounds of letters and of syllables as hinted in Isa 28:9–10. "Reading" (Heb *miqrā*ʾ) was essentially "to proclaim, to read in a loud voice," as is still done in traditional Quranic schools. This oral repetition bordering on chanting was a great help to memorize the whole text. This is possibly what is meant by the expression "to write on the tablet of the heart" (Prov 3:3; 7:3; cf. Jer 31:33; Deut 6:6) which could also be understood as an allusion to a tablet for schoolboys' exercises hung about the neck (Couroyer 1983). This repetition of words before writing is also referred to in the famous text of Deut 6:6–7: "These words which I command to you today will be on your heart. You shall repeat them to your sons and speak of them indoors and out-of-doors, when you lie down and when you rise." The call to memorize was also made easier with mnemonic devices used in teaching such as numerical sayings (cf. Ps 62:12; Job 5:19; 33:14; Prov 6:16; 30:15, 18, 21, 29; Sir 23:16; 25:7; 26:5, 28; 50:25; see also Roth 1965; Reuger 1981), acrostic alphabetic poems (Psalms 9–10; 25; 34; 37; 111; 112; 119; 145; Prov 31:10ff; Lamentations 1–4; Nah 1:2ff; see Freedman 1972), parallelism, key words, and alliteration. Even with good pedagogical means, the Bible knows that teaching and education are not always easy; the teacher may have to use reprimand and the rod: "Do not withhold discipline from a boy. If you beat him with the rod, he will not die. When you beat him with the rod, you will save him from death" (Prov 23:13–14; cf. Prov 10:13). This use of the rod in ancient Israel confirms what is known about schools in Egypt and Mesopotamia.

The content of teaching probably differed according to the age of the person, the schools, and the time period. Young boys used to go to school after weaning (cf. 1 Sam 1:24; Isa 28:9–10), probably when they were "five" (cf. Lev 27:6; 2 Sam 4:4; *m.* ʾ*Abot* 5:21; and cf. Egyptian custom; cf. Brunner 1957: 40), "six" (cf. *Ketub.* 50a) or "seven years" old (cf. 2 Kgs 12:1, 3?; *B. Bat.* 21a). Children at first learned to read and write by identifying the 22 letters of the alphabet in the traditional order (cf. paleo-Hebrew and square Hebrew "abecedaries"); then they copied the same word twice, complete sentences (for instance proverbs?), lists of names and months (cf. the calendar of Gezer), greeting formulas at the beginning of a letter (cf. Kuntillet-Ajrud), and even models of short messages or letters (cf. Lachish ostracon 2?). Soon, children were trained in writing ciphers and the abbreviations for the units of measures (cf. ostraca from Kadesh-Barnea), in calculation, and in drawing (cf. the copy of drawings on the pithoi of Kuntillet-Ajrud). In learning to read, children probably used classical Hebrew texts and, at least at the beginning of the Christian era, they started by reading the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament (cf. *m.* ʾ*Abot* 5:21; 2 Tim 3:15).

Later, the student would begin writing on papyrus and leather. As a future scribe, he was probably trained to write deeds of sale (Jer 32:10–14), marriage contracts (Tob 7:14 and Elephantine papyri), bills of divorce (Deut 24:1–3; Isa 50:1; Jer 3:8) and court pleas (cf. Job 31:35; Meṣad Hashavyahu ostracon). For this the student needed to be trained in Israelite law as well as in administrative texts (bookkeeping, census, etc.). During the First Temple period, most of the scribes may have been employed in the royal administration and organized in a type of guild (Heb *mišpāḥâ;* cf. 1 Chr 2:55). The most important scribe was the official "king's scribe," probably a kind of secretary of state or chancellor (2 Sam 8:17; 20:25; 1 Kgs 4:3; 2 Kgs 12:11). In 701 B.C., this function was assumed by Shebna (2 Kgs 18:18, 37; 19:2 = Isa 37:2), during Josiah's reign by Shaphan (2 Kgs 22:3, 8, 9, 10, 12), and under Jehoiakim probably by Elishama (Jer 36:12). These names, especially that of Shaphan (cf. also Jer 36:11, 12, 20, 21; 40:9), whose family may have played an important role in writing the Deuteronomic history, present us with a few names of high royal functionaries (Lipiński 1988) from among the leading families—officials who are also known from seals and bullae bearing titles such as *bn hmlk,* "son of the king," *ʾšr ʿl hbyt,* "royal steward" (more or less a prime minister), *ʿbd hmlk,* "servant of the king," *šr hʿr,* "governor of the city," *spr,* "scribe," *khn,* "priest" (Avigad 1988).

These royal functionaries probably received their training in the royal school of Jerusalem with the sons of the king, a custom attested in Egypt (cf. 1 Kgs 11:20). They had to master fully Israelite law, geography, and history as well as probably a diplomatic language such as Aramaic, the use of which is attested already in 701 B.C. (1 Kgs 18:26). Furthermore these students had to study the difficult art of ruling and administrating with success (cf. Heb *ḥokmâ,* "wisdom," "political acumen"). This kind of teaching may have been given/partly by senior officers or retired high functionaries, as is attested in Egypt. The students were probably teenagers (cf. many counsels about moral behavior in Proverbs), predominantly members of families of high functionaries, who were taught the difficult art of succeeding in the king's service. Several biblical books from this period, namely old traditions in the Pentateuch, geographical materials in Joshua, historical traditions in Samuel and Kings (Lemaire 1986b), and sapiential traditions of Proverbs (cf. mainly the proverbs about the king's court and the art of ruling) could well reflect the teaching of the royal school of Jerusalem.

The refined education needed for Temple service probably differed from that required by the royal administration. After a possible general training in reading, writing, the scribal arts, and national traditions, future priests were probably taught more specific subjects concerning rites, sacrifices, calendar, the Temple (buildings, furniture, etc.), distinctions between clean and unclean, the singing of psalms, and the playing of sacred music. Priestly instruction could well be reflected in biblical books such as Leviticus (especially chaps. 1–7; 11; 13–14; 25) or the end of Exodus (chaps. 25–31; 35–40). In fact, these biblical texts may have been used as a reference work, a kind of textbook, in the priestly school of Jerusalem, a learning center probably situated in the Temple complex having some kind of library (cf. 2 Kgs 22:8; Van der Kooij 1981: 332–35) as known from Egypt.

Some of the prophets may have originally been trained either in the royal school (cf. probably Isaiah and possibly Zephaniah) or in the priestly school (cf. Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and possibly Malachi). However, the prophets had their own teaching and their own disciples. The various stories about the "sons/disciples of the prophets" show that prophetic discipling was an old Israelite tradition. The success of this movement (cf. more than fifty "sons of the prophets" near Jericho mentioned in 2 Kgs 2:7) in the second half of the 9th century B.C. around Elisha even led to the building of a special house for teaching, since the place where the disciples used to sit and listen to Elisha had become too small; they decided: "Let us go to the Jordan and each fetch a log, and make ourselves a place to sit there" (2 Kgs 6:1–2). Expressions such as "to sit in front of somebody" are typical in describing the posture of disciples listening to their master (cf. 2 Kgs 4:38; Ezek 8:1; 14:1; 20:1). One can speak here of the building of a "prophetic school."

Prophetic teaching was different enough from the usual teaching in the royal or priestly school. The disciples may have been adults as well as teenagers, and the atmosphere may have been close enough to that of philosophical schools in Greece (Lang 1980: 31–58). The method of teaching was dependent on the individual character of each prophet. The existence of such "schools" of disciples around the prophets explains why and how the prophet's story and teaching could be written down and transmitted to posterity (cf. 2 Kgs 8:4; Isa 8:16; Jer 36:17–19).

At the beginning of the Hellenistic period, teaching such as that of Qoheleth (cf. 12:9) or Jesus ben Sira (cf. preface to Sirach and 51:23) gives us an idea of the kind of "philosophical" teaching offered in Jerusalem—teaching which was at one and the same time traditional and innovative. Toward the beginning of the Christian era, strong religious personalities such as Bannus (Josephus, *Life* 10–12) or Gamaliel (Acts 5:34; 22:3) offer examples of teaching closely tied to this traditional and philosophical teaching; John the Baptist (Matt 3:1ff and par.) and Jesus (Matt 4:23ff and *passim*), who also assembled disciples around themselves (cf. Matt 4:18ff; 5:1ff; 11:2–15), may be considered more in line with the prophetic tradition.

**c. The Teacher/Master–Pupil/Disciple Relation.** In conformity with ANE tradition, the relation of teacher to pupil or of master to disciple is expressed metaphorically in terms of the relation of "father" to "son" (Nel 1977). This way of speaking is sometimes misunderstood and interpreted literally as if the biological father was himself teaching everything to his children, namely reading, writing, and the national and religious traditions. If, according to biblical tradition, parents were responsible for the

general education of their children, it is however clear that most of the references to the "father" in wisdom books such as Proverbs, Qoheleth, and Sirach are to be understood as references to a teacher; the same is true about the relation between prophet and disciple (cf. 2 Kgs 2:12, 21; 13:14). The appelation "my son" *(benî)*, used by the teacher when addressing his pupil (cf. Prov 1:8, 10, 15; 2:1; 3:1, etc.; cf. also Proverbs of Ahiqar line 82, 96, 127, 129, 149), corresponds to the honorary title "father," "my father."

Two appelations are more technical: *môreh*, "instructor," which could be used for a wisdom teacher (Prov 5:13), priest (2 Chr 15:3; cf. 2 Kgs 12:4; 17:28) or prophet (cf. Isa 9:14), and *mĕlammēd*, "teacher" (Prov 5:13; cf. Qoh 12:9). In a general way the teacher was considered a man of experience, a "wise" man (*(ḥākām*); this adjective, which can be used more generally, seems in several places to characterize the teacher and master (cf. Prov 13:14; 15:12; 22:17; 24:23).

Beyond the honorary title of "father," the relation and respect shown to the teacher by the students may have been quite different according to the type of teaching given (elementary or more specialized). However, there is one point which is clear enough, namely that the student (or his parents) had to pay or give something to the master for his services. This may be the reason why Deuteronomy insists so much on giving gifts to the Levites in the cities and villages (Deut 12:12, 19; 14:27; 16:14; 26:11–13) and may also explain the insistence of Proverbs on the "price" of wisdom which is to be bought (cf. *qĕnēh ḥokmâ*, "buy wisdom"; Prov 4:7; 16:16; cf. 3:14; 8:10; 16:16; Sir 51:28). This habit of paying the teacher was well known in the antiquity and probably explains why the students of the "high schools" of Jerusalem generally came from wealthy families of high functionaries or leading citizens.

**d. Schools for Younger Women.** Besides the general education of young women to be good housewives and to help occasionally in the fields, a few professions seem to have been assumed by women: nurses, midwives (Exod 1:21), cooks, weavers (1 Sam 8:13; cf. Tob 2:11ff), perfumers (1 Sam 8:13), mourners (Jer 9:19), singers (cf. Sam 19:36; Qoh 2:8; 2 Chr 35:25), necromancers (1 Sam 28:7) or prostitutes (cf. 1 Kgs 3:16)—these latter two activities were reproved but were known to have been practiced by women. In Prov 31:10–31, the acrostic poem of a capable wife, the woman is quite active and this description could well have served as a guide for teaching younger upper-class women in home economics (Crook 1954).

It is possible that some kind of teaching and school existed for upper-class women, especially for the daughters of the king and of other great personalities in Jerusalem. Several seals belonging to "daughters" or "wives" are known, among them the seal of "a king's daughter" (*lmʿdnh* bt hmlk; Avigad 1978) with the emblem of a lyre, which could mean that she was an ardent lyre-player. However, the most interesting seals could be that of *yzbl*, probably to be identified with the Queen Jezebel, the wife of Ahab (Avigad 1964; cf. 1 Kgs 16:31; 18:4ff), and that of "Shelomith wife [*ʾmt*] of Elnathan the governor" (Avigad 1976: 11), probably to be identified with the daughter of Zerubbabel, governor of Judah, who was ultimately descended from David (1 Chr 3:19; Lemaire 1977; Laperrousaz 1982). This means that these women could sign official documents (letters, deeds, etc.) with their own seals and that they probably could read and write. A certain education of upper-class women in a school in Jerusalem would explain why Hulda, "the wife of Shallum son of Tikvah, son of Harhas, the keeper of the wardrobe," was considered an official prophet and consulted at home by officials sent from the king (2 Kgs 22:14–15).

## F. Summary

These aspects of education in the OT do not give us all the information about the various historical problems connected with Israelite education and Israelite educational institutions; nevertheless, they clearly indicate that there is a strong connection between the Bible and education in ancient Israel. Biblical texts were essentially written with a didactic and educational aim, a position reflected in the NT (for which the OT essentially served as Scripture): "All the ancient scripture was written for our own instruction" (Rom 15:4); "Every scripture is inspired and useful for teaching, for refuting, for reformation, and for education in justice" (2 Tim 3:16).

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ANDRÉ LEMAIRE

## *GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD*

In the world of the NT, educational theory and practice were essentially Hellenistic. The Greco-Roman world had settled into a single, universal educational system that was to dominate the ancient scene until the barbarian overthrow of the West and the Muslim conquest of the East. One should not see this system as a corruption of education in classical Athens but rather as the culmination of its development. Nor should education in the Latin West be viewed as developing out of Roman educational practice in early republican times. Rather, late republican and imperial Roman educators simply adopted the main tenets of the Hellenistic system with Latin added to the curriculum and with less emphasis on physical training. Even Jewish Hebrew schools were not immune to the pervasive Hellenistic influence, and one can easily interpret rabbinic education as the Jewish adaptation of Hellenistic educational methods and curricula.

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A. General Characteristics
B. Primary Schools
C. Secondary Schools
D. Higher Education
E. Jewish Education

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### A. General Characteristics

Evidence for the essential unity of Greco-Roman education is impressive and extends beyond a general similarity in curriculum. Methods that Quintilian advocated in 1st-century Rome are reflected in the school papyri from Hellenistic and imperial Roman Egypt. Gymnasia from Hellenistic and imperial Roman times show remarkable similarity in design. Late Greek and Latin grammarians expounded grammar in ways quite similar to those of Dionysius Thrax of Rhodes during the 2d century B.C.E.

There were, of course, some changes that took place during the long period in which ancient education followed the Hellenistic model; but these changes evolved slowly. In the western part of the empire Latin language and literature were receiving more emphasis, although the continuing importance of Greek in Roman schools meant that Paul foresaw no difficulty with Christians at Rome understanding an epistle written in Greek. In fact, Greek predominated in Christian worship at Rome until well after the NT period. The study of law was becoming more important, while music, and to a certain extent, physical education were on the decline. One reason for the decline in music was that real proficiency in musical performance was becoming the province of uncultured professionals. Even as early as 43 B.C.E., Sallust (*Cat.* 25.2, 5) casually refers to a lady who is able to “play the lyre and dance better than necessary for a virtuous woman.”

The decline in the importance of physical education should not be exaggerated. In NT times, it still played a significant role in all levels of education, particularly in the East. Physical training was centered in the gymnasium, which was often an extensive complex. The typical gymnasium generally contained a sand-covered courtyard (palaestra) for physical exercises and a stadium. In addition, the complex included a lecture hall and hot and cold baths, as well as rooms for storing oil and dust, for working out on the punching bag, and for massage. Athletes performed in the nude, a fact which helps explain the negative attitude of traditional Jews toward the gymnasium (cf. 2 Macc 4:12, 14). The major sports were *pankration* (a combination of wrestling, boxing, and kicking), boxing (cf. 1 Cor 9:26), and the pentathlon (which included running, long jumping, discus throwing, javelin throwing, and wrestling). Much is known about how wrestling was taught, and part of a handbook has been found which tells an instructor how to put two wrestlers through their paces (Townsend 1971: 143–44).

At the head of a gymnasium was a gymnasiarch; and in a city with more than one gymnasium there was a gymnasiarch general over all of them. Serving as gymnasiarch was a high honor, but one which only the very rich could afford to accept. The gymnasiarch served without pay and was responsible for

underwriting the costs of running his institution. He was not, however, expected to teach. Actual instruction was the province of assistants, gymnastic instructors, and lecturers.

Although classical education usually involved attending school, wealthy students might be tutored. In fact, Quintilian felt compelled to devote a whole chapter of his work on education to the advantages of school over a tutor. Unfortunately, there is not too much evidence about what home education was like, but sources such as Cicero's letters suggest that home study substantially paralleled education at school.

Ancient education progressed in three stages: primary, secondary, and advanced. Relatively few reached the advanced stage. Primary education, however, was widespread and not limited to freeborn males. Girls frequently attended school along with their brothers (Dittenberger 1960: no. 573 [9]); and in the case of slaves, many of them also necessarily received at least some education in order to perform tasks commonly assigned to them. In the Greco-Roman world of the NT, even the poor felt the need for reading skills. In fact, Martial, the late 1st-century Latin epigrammatist, could joke about a poor cobbler whose parents tried to save money by teaching him to read themselves (*Epigrammaton libri* 9.73.7). Even the strict Christian Tertullian recognized that the need for literacy might require Christians to attend pagan schools (*De Idololatria* 10). He did so even though pagan classrooms were decorated with representations of various gods and in spite of the fact that the students in these classrooms were expected, even compelled, to take part in pagan religious festivals.

**B. Primary Schools**

A few municipalities like Miletus and Teos of Asia Minor undertook the support of official primary and secondary schools. They hired the teachers but paid them only slightly more than skilled workers. Elsewhere schools were private affairs, commonly small and inadequate, and often with only one teacher. Such teachers depended on meager, sometimes unpaid fees for their living and tended to be socially despised. Classrooms consisted of whatever space was available, perhaps some curtained-off place at the market.

Students began their primary schooling at the age of seven and attended two institutions, the reading school *(didaskaleion)* and the palaestra, which at the primary stage was usually a private institution separate from the municipal gymnasium. Originally children spent all morning at the palaestra in physical education, but by NT times they were only spending the latter part of the morning there (Lucian, *Am.* 44–45; *Par.* 61) with the rest of the day in the *didaskaleion.* Still the Greek emphasis on physical training remained strong and exercised an influence even where Latin was spoken (Quintilian, *Inst.* 1.11.15).

Of special importance for primary education was the *paidagōgos,* a person whose position has no modern equivalent. The *paidagōgos* was the slave who accompanied a child to school and his role tended to be that of a male nursemaid. It is to this custodian that Paul compared the law in Gal 3:24. The *paidagōgos* was not the teacher. The teacher was a *grammatistēs,* known in Latin as a *litterator* or a *ludi magister,* whose main job was teaching children to read aloud (cf. Acts 8:28, 30) and to write.

Reading teachers first taught children to recite the alphabet forward and backward. Then the children learned two-letter syllables (*ba, be, bi, bo, bu, ca, ce,* etc.). Next came whole words with special emphasis on the rare and the archaic as well as on tongue twisters. School vocabulary lists have been found consisting wholly of proper names. After words came reading, not from simplified primers, but from passages out of the finest writers, i.e., those with a style worthy of imitation (such as Homer and Euripides). Having learned to read their selections aloud, students then memorized them for recitation.

In a world without printed books or blackboards, texts had to be hand-copied. Thus, the sooner a student could write, the sooner a student could reproduce the necessary texts for classroom use. As with reading, the learning of writing also began with individual letters. Usually the teacher would guide a student's hand over sample letters, although Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.1.27) suggests using letters carved in wood to guide the student's stylus. The emphasis was on the ability to copy one's own exercises, not grammar or free composition. In addition, students learned simple arithmetic, which included a system of using the fingers for calculation.

Most children remembered the discipline of their early school days. While Quintilian disapproved of flogging (*Inst.* 1.1.20; 2.15–19; 3.6–18), brutality was the rule. In the 3d century B.C.E. Herodas (Mime 3)

vividly depicted a school flogging with a bull-tail lash, and at the end of the 4th century C.E., floggings provided Augustine with the most vivid memories of his schooling (*Conf.* I.14). As for Jewish Hebrew schools, the 2d-century Mishnaic ruling of Abba Saul absolving a teacher who beats a pupil to death speaks for itself (*m. Mak.* 2:2; cf. *b. Sukk.* 29a).

**C. Secondary Schools**

After the reading school, students might choose to enter a grammar school to study the classics under a *grammatikos* or *kritikos*. Homer held first place among Greek writers, followed by Euripides, Menander, and Demosthenes. Among Latin writers, Virgil was first, followed by Terence, Cicero, and Horace. This pattern molded one's thinking. Students tended to remember the authors they had studied, and Christians were no exception. Thus, Clement of Alexandria in his *Exhortation to the Greeks* cited Homer far more than any other pagan author (39 times), with Euripides placing second (9 times).

The study of classics was divided into four disciplines *(merē).* The first was textual criticism *(diorthōtikon),* in which a student's copy of the teacher's text was checked for error. Then came reading aloud *(anagnōstikon)* with proper attention being paid not only to general meaning, but to things such as the meter and genre. Since the manuscripts were written continuously with no spacings between words and few marks of punctuation, fluent reading was difficult. Students therefore needed to prepare a manuscript for reading by adding such helps as accents and small marks to separate individual words. Only then came the actual reading followed by memorization. The third discipline was exegetical *(exēgētikon)* and involved "translating" a given selection from classical, literary Greek into the common *(koinē)* language of the day. To facilitate the process, students made vocabulary lists of literary usages along with their *koinē* equivalents. Other elements of exegesis took the form of a catechism which students memorized. Some catechisms concerned the content of the work being studied. One such catechism on the Iliad has been found. Other catechisms treated more technical aspects, such as details of meter and grammar. The fourth discipline was evaluative *(kritikon)* and was ultimately moral in character. It was believed that one could extract a whole ethical system from the poets in general and from Homer in particular in spite of the obvious problem that the classics contained so much that was immoral. Some interpreters would solve the problem through the use of allegory and so might understand the adultery between Venus and Mars astrologically as representing the conjunction of these planets (see Plutarch, *Mor. Quomodo Adol.* 4 [19F–20B]). Plutarch, however, preferred to look for clues that a poet disapproved of the evil being portrayed (*ibid.* 4 [19A–E]).

Along with reading the classics went writing in the classical style. According to Quintilian (*Inst.* 1.9.1–6), students would learn to write first a strict paraphrase of a simple fable, then a paraphrase that was freer, and finally a simple piece of original composition on a given theme. As sample themes he suggested, "When Cratus saw an ignorant boy, he beat his *paidagōgos,"* or, "Since Milo had been accustomed to carrying the calf, he [now] carried the bull."

Such training impressed upon students that only works written in the classical style were worth taking seriously. In most cases the preference was for Attic Greek, but there were exceptions. The dialect of Homer was of course generally praised, and Cicero (*Ad Brut.* 53; cf. 284–91; also *De Or.* 25) defended the Rhodian dialect. Apart from such variation, however, all students learned that serious writers must shun the common *(koinē)* language. *Koinē* Greek was only fit for casual, nonliterary use. It was for this reason that Josephus wisely arranged to have his writings styled by experts (*Ant* 20.263; *AgAp* 1.50; cf. *JW* 1.2; *Ant* 1.2). The *koinē* Greek of the NT sounded barbarous enough in the ears of the educated that it had to be defended by the early Church (Tatian, *Ad Gr.* 26–30; Origen, *Comm. in Rom.* 4:23 [Scherer ed.]; Jerome, *Ep.* 22:30).

All the subjects studied in Hellenistic and Roman schools were collectively known as the *egkyklios paideia,* the ancient equivalent of the "liberal arts." Apart from reading and composition, opinions differed over what other subjects should be studied. Quintilian's list is typical. He included music and more mathematics (*Inst.* 1.10.1–49). Music was largely musical theory. Mathematics on this level included geometry (Euclid), astronomy, and numbers; and numbers included not only arithmetic but also the aesthetic properties of numbers, e.g., perfect numbers and friendly numbers (Nicomachus of Gerasa,

*Ar*. I.14.1–1; 17.3–5). In fact, Nicomachus of Gerasa composed a whole Pythagorean theology of arithmetic *(Theologoumena Arithmētichēs)* on the mystical property of numbers.

**D. Higher Education**

After secondary school, young Greeks of good family commonly rounded off their education in an institution known as the *ephēbeia.* Many others chose the serious study of rhetoric. Somewhat fewer chose to study one of the philosophies. Other options were the study of medicine or law. In NT times, Rome was the center for legal training (Aulus Gellius, *NA* 13.13.1), although in the later empire Constantinople and particularly Berytus (modern Beirut) eclipsed Rome in this area. The great centers for the study of medicine included Alexandria, Cos, Pergamum, Smyrna, Corinth, and Ephesus. These centers commony had medical teachers loosely organized into a kind of medical faculty. At Ephesus the association *(synedrion)* of physicians used to sponsor yearly medical competition with contests in various aspects of the field (Keil 1905: 128–29). Such organizations, however, were no guarantee of reliable medical practice. Standards varied. A physician might have finished grammar school and then studied for many years at one of the major medical centers; but humble apprenticeships were more the rule, apprenticeships as short as six months (Galen, *Opera* [Kuhn ed.], vol. 1, pp. 82–83; vol. 10, pp. 4–5). Thus the NT reference to "Luke the beloved physician" (Col 4:14) tells little about his education and training.

More important in the ancient world were the Hellenistic *ephēbeia* and its Roman equivalent, the *collegia juvenum.* Originally an instrument of military training, by Hellenistic times the *ephēbeia* had become an exclusive municipal male finishing school housed in the gymnasium where future aristocrats *(ephēboi)* leisurely pursued their studies with an emphasis on physical education. Apart from athletics, learning as not rigorous. Even though various grammarians, rhetoricians, and philosophers offered courses on a variety of subjects and even though the students usually had a library available, the time for study was relatively short. Students on the island of Chios were serving three years in the *ephēbeia* (Dittenberger 1960: no. 959), but one or two years was more the norm, with much of that time spent at the palaestra and the stadium. The importance of the *ephēbeia* lay, however, not in its curriculum, but in its social significance. Study in the *ephēbeia* certified that one was truly civilized (i.e., Hellenized) and was essential for full social and political acceptance. Thus, according to 2 Macc 4:9, 12, the high priest Jason established "a gymnasium and *ephēbeion*" in Jerusalem to demonstrate his Hellenism.

Serious higher education generally meant the study of rhetoric, a discipline which scholars like Cicero and Quintilian considered normative. One began rhetoric with learning the five steps for speech preparation: invention of ideas, arrangement, style, memorization, and delivery. Each of these steps was an elaborate discipline in itself with its own rules and systems. In fact, Quintilian devoted the bulk of his work on education (Books 3–9) simply to the elaboration of these five steps, nor was he exceptional in this respect. In the 2d century C.E., Theon listed thirty-six categories under which one might invent material for lauding the subject of an encomium. Then he showed how to expand this material, for example by making comparisons. He even showed how to praise subjects who were otherwise unpraiseworthy in areas such as parentage or citizenship. As for the other steps of speech preparation, teachers of rhetoric developed them to a similar extent. The arrangement of the oration proper fell under five or six headings, each with its own rules. Style and memory both had their own subdivisions and techniques. Delivery involved not only voice production and the theory of musical intonation, but also a system of gestures, which was almost detailed enough to stand alone as a sign language (see, e.g., Quintilian, *Inst.* 11.3.96).

Although much of the study of rhetoric involved the study of the rules, students also analyzed model passages from the great prose writers. These typically included Cicero, Livy, Cato, the Gracchi, and the ten Attic orators from the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.E. After the analysis of such model passages, the students practiced writing preparatory exercises of their own. Only then were they ready to compose full speeches on given subjects. The whole discipline of rhetoric, however, included much more than the art of public speaking. Since an orator had to be able to give a discourse on any subject, it was necessary for

him to study all subjects (Cicero, *De Or.*, Book 1). The study of rhetoric, therefore, became the ancient equivalent to studying for a degree in liberal arts, i.e., the *egkyklios paideia*.

The study of philosophy generally presupposed a secondary education, although some schools were not overly strict in this regard. What they universally demanded, however, was some separation from the general culture. In this respect the Cynics were extremists; yet all philosophical schools were at least somewhat sectarian in their view of society. They expected a kind of "conversion" from their members, which was outwardly expressed by a special philosopher's garb such as Justin Martyr once wore (*Dial.* 1.2; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.11.8).

Even though the different schools of philosophy varied widely, there was a certain general pattern of study. Instruction typically started with the history of philosophy beginning with Thales. This was followed by some general instruction on the school's own philosophical teachings. Then came a more detailed study of the school's basic writings.

Not all learning of philosophy, however, took place in institutions. Learning might come about in any of three ways. First, one might listen to wandering lecturers and preachers. They were typically Cynics or Stoics, not unlike the Epicureans and Stoics whom Acts 17:18 portrays encountering Paul in Athens. By listening to such preachers many in the ancient world received a smattering of philosophy. It is therefore rash to assume that philosophical allusions in a Jewish or Christian writing implies that its author had deep knowledge of the philosophies behind the allusions. Secondly, an aspiring student might attend the lectures that private philosophy teachers gave on a regular basis. Epictetus, the Stoic philosopher, became such a lecturer in 89 C.E. after the emperor Domitian had exiled him to the western coast of Greece. In 2d-century Rome, Justin Martyr, Marcion, and Valentinus would have resembled such private philosophy teachers. Thirdly, as with rhetoric, one might study philosophy in established institutions. Athens was the oldest center in which Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, and Zeno established their institutions during the 4th century B.C.E. Rivaling Athens was Alexandria. Here the center of scholarly study was the great Museum, which was founded around 280 B.C.E. In fact, Alexandria surpassed Athens in certain areas of higher learning. Thus, for example, the Alexandrian reputation in astronomy led the Church to depend on Alexandria for calculating the date of Easter (Cyril of Alexandria, *Ep.* [*Prologus*] 87.2). In the 1st century Vespasian set a precedent by establishing chairs of Latin and Greek rhetoric at Rome with salaries from the imperial treasury (Suetonius, *Vesp.* 18). In the following century Marcus Aurelius added state chairs at Athens for every branch of knowledge (Dio Cassius 72.32.3).

**E. Jewish Education**

Throughout the world of the NT many Jews received a standard Hellenistic education. They had accepted much of the culture surrounding them and were anxious for their children to share in the benefits which this culture offered. Thus it is not surprising that the edict of the Emperor Claudius to the Alexandrians (41 C.E.) represents a situation in which some Jews had enrolled their children as *ephēboi* while others were attempting to do so, and Alexandria was not a special situation. Lists of *ephēboi* containing Jewish names have been found throughout the Hellenistic Roman world (Applebaum 1974–76: 446–48). There were other Jews, however, who preferred a Hebrew education. They had their children learn Scripture and Jewish tradition rather than Homer along with the rest of the *egkyklios paideia*.

Jewish Hebrew schools apparently arose after Hellenistic schools were well established. The earliest reference to a Hebrew secondary school is provided by Ben Sira at the beginning of the 2d century B.C.E. (Sir 51:23), but there is little evidence for the existence of Hebrew primary schools until the 1st century C.E. (see *j. Ketub.* 8.11 [32c]). In fact they were probably not widespread until the middle of the next century (*b. B.Bat.* 21a; cf. *b. Sanh.* 17b [Bar.]). Perhaps one reason for the relatively late development of Hebrew primary schools was the biblical injunction to teach children Scripture at home (Deut 4:9; 6:7; 11:19). In any case, at home or in school, Jewish boys learned to read well enough to take part in synagogue services (cf. Luke 4:16–20; Josephus, *AgAp* 1.60). There is also some evidence for teaching Torah to Jewish girls since the Mishnah (*Soṭa* 3.4) records a controversy on the subject between Ben Azzai and R. Eliezer around the end of the 1st century C.E. Ben Azzai argued that one is obligated to teach

a daughter Torah, but the conservative R. Eliezer replied that to teach a daughter Torah was to teach her immorality.

Since ancient Jews and Greeks lived in relatively close proximity, it is not surprising to find elements of Hellenistic education in Jewish schools; and these similarities existed not only in Greco-Roman Jewish communities like the one in Rome where synagogue teachers were called *grammatei,* but even in rabbinic circles. It can hardly be a coincidence that Hebrew and Greek teachers used quite similar methods for teaching the alphabet and that rabbinic principles of scriptural interpretation had their Hellenistic counterparts (see Liebermann 1962: 47–82). In addition, rabbinic education took place in three stages that parallel the three in Hellenistic education (*ʾAbot* 5.21).

The Hebrew primary school (*bēt sēper* or *bēt sôpēr*) was taught by a scribe *(soper)* and had a curriculum not too different from Hellenistic reading schools, except for the use of Hebrew in place of Greek or Latin and the Bible in lieu of Homer and the classics. Like their Greek and Roman counterparts, Jewish students in Hebrew school began with the alphabet, which they learned to recite forward and backward (*b. Šabb.* 31a). After learning the alphabet, they proceeded directly to the reading of the biblical text. There was no intermediate study of syllables because Hebrew lacked written vowels; and since one could scarcely sound out vowelless words, reading was necessarily a matter of memory. Other differences from Greek schools arose from various precepts regarding the copying and general use of Scripture, e.g., the prohibition of copying Scripture from dictation. Besides the reading and probably the writing of Scripture, these Jewish elementary students learned to recite essential parts of the Jewish liturgy as well as how to do *targum* ("translation") in areas where Aramaic was spoken.

The Jewish secondary school *(bēt midrāš)* was concerned with the study of oral Torah. Oral Torah was the tradition of the Jewish *ʾAbot* ("fathers") and, as its name suggests, was not written down (at least not officially) but passed from the mouth of the teacher into the ears of the student. It took two forms: *Midrash,* which arranged this oral tradition as a kind of scriptural commentary, and *Mishnah,* which used a topical arrangement. Paul refers to oral Torah in Gal 1:14 as "the traditions of my fathers," and states that he had been "extremely zealous" for them, presumably at the time of his Damascus experience. This statement indicates that he reached at least the second level of Jewish education.

After studying oral Torah, a student might choose to study advanced scriptural interpretation and juridical learning, along with subjects like astronomy, mathematics, and mystical speculation. At this level it was common for students to become disciples of some great scholar. The NT represents Jesus as such a scholar-teacher surrounded by disciples, although it is doubtful whether Jesus' disciples had the academic qualifications that other great teachers would have expected. It is also unlikely that Acts 22:3 is correct in stating that the apostle Paul had advanced to studying under a teacher as famous as Gamaliel. The Pauline epistles (in spite of claims to the contrary) show little evidence that their author had reached this level of rabbinic education. Paul's scriptural interpretation is far closer to the general exegetical methods common throughout the Greco-Roman world than to specific rules of exegesis as used in early rabbinic works such as the *Mek.* R. Ishmael (see Liebermann 1962: 47–82).

Not all traditional Jewish education involved formal study. On Sabbaths and holidays Jewish scholars regularly preached in the synagogues and in doing so reached a large audience. There is some doubt about just where these homilies fitted into the liturgy (i.e., whether they introduced Scripture readings or came after them), but their popularity is undisputed. In time such homilies, or outlines for them, were arranged according to the order of the lectionary and strung together to form homiletic *Midrashim.* These preachers would have resembled Greek philosophy lecturers, except that the Jewish teachers were more popular and probably exercised more influence.

Among the Essenes there was a more intensive pattern of general education. The Dead Sea Scrolls speak of the continual study of Torah as their goal so that in any community of ten people one person was searching out Torah day and night (1QS 6:6–7). Philo gives a somewhat less mechanical picture of how Essenes studied (Philo, *Quod Omn* 80–82), but leaves little doubt that the Essenes had a reputation for taking the study of Torah very seriously.

In two areas Jewish children might receive special training that had nothing to do with Scripture and tradition. The first was vocational. A relatively early rabbinic saying clearly obligates a father not only to circumcise his son and teach him the Torah, but also "to teach him a trade" (*t. Qidd.* 1.11). Here Jewish attitudes differed from the general culture of the ancient world, which regarded manual labor and higher learning as incompatible. Thus, it is in keeping with Jewish culture for the author of Acts to represent Paul as a tentmaker by trade (18:3; cf. 1 Cor 4:12).

The other special area of Jewish education involved the study of Greek, although the place of Greek in rabbinic education is difficult to determine. In spite of the many rabbinic warnings against Greek wisdom, there is little evidence of an absolute ban against the language itself. Some knowledge of Greek was necessary for communicating with the civil government and the world at large. Although it is unlikely that Greek found a regular place in rabbinic schools, there is evidence that some who chose a traditional Jewish alternative to Hellenistic schools still achieved a certain proficiency in Greek. A notable example is Paul. Even though he never used the polished literary Greek taught in Hellenistic schools, he nevertheless had learned to communicate quite well in the common *(koinē)* Greek of everyday speech. Other Jews attained a more acceptable style than Paul, and in the 4th century C.E. a Jewish patriarch (probably Gamaliel VI) was able to carry on a written correspondence in Greek with Libanius of Antioch, the most famous rhetorician of his day. Eight of the letters from Libanius have survived (Stern 1974–78, 2: 580–99), and they indicate that he regarded the patriarch as a person with an accomplished Hellenistic education.

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JOHN T. TOWNSEND

**EGERTON PAPYRUS 2.** Papyrus Egerton 2 (P. Lond. Christ. 1) consists of some small fragments of an early Christian papyrus codex which contained a Gospel-type document. This document, otherwise unattested, is often called "the Unknown Gospel." Four fragments of this codex were found in 1934 among a miscellaneous group of ancient papyri purchased by the British Museum from an antiquities

dealer. The place of their discovery is not known, but may have been Oxyrhynchus. Quite recently a fifth fragment of the same codex has been identified among the Cologne papyri (inv. 608, nr. 255).

The five small fragments now known preserve parts of three leaves of the original codex. Fragment 1 (11.5 × 9.2 cm.) carries parts of 20 lines of text on each side; fragment 2, only slightly larger, preserves parts of 17 lines on the recto and 16 on the verso; fragment 3 (3.6 × 2.3 cm.) offers only small parts of 6 lines on each side; fragment 4 is a mere scrap, blank on the recto and showing only one character on the verso. The newly identified fragment 5 (5.5 × 3 cm.) contributes parts of 7 lines on each side, which continue the text of fragment 1. Thus only fragments 1 (+5) and 2 provide significant portions of text.

The interest and value of this text are far larger than the fragments themselves. The ms is dated on paleographical grounds to the 2d century, and most consider it to be not later than ca. 150. Thus it is one of the earliest surviving ms of any Christian writing, rivaled only by $P^{52}$, and is the very earliest surviving ms of any noncanonical Christian text. Furthermore, the content of the papyrus bears upon questions about the early history of traditions about Jesus and upon problems in the emergence and use of gospel literature.

Since the original sequence of the fragments cannot be determined, their substance can only be itemized: (1) part of a controversy between Jesus and Jewish leaders over the interpretation of Scripture and the authority of Moses (fr. 1 v. + fr. 5 v.), which has some parallels in John 5:39, 5:45, 9:29 and 5:46; (2) the conclusion of a story of an attempt to stone and to arrest Jesus (fr. 1 r. + fr. 5 r.), which has some parallels in John 7:30, 10:31 and 39; (3) a virtually complete story of Jesus' healing of a leper (also fr. 1 r. + fr. 5 r.), which has features in common with Mark 1:40–45 (and parallels), Luke 17:11–19, and John 5:14; (4) part of an account of a controversy concerning tribute money (fr. 2 r.), elements of which are also found in John 3:2, Mark 12:13–17 (and parallels), and Luke 6:26; (5) part of a report of a nature miracle of Jesus at the Jordan river (fr. 2 v.), for which no parallels are known.

The similarities and differences between this "Unknown Gospel" and the canonical Gospels present a puzzling picture. In its structure, which appears to be provided only by loosely linked pericopes, the "Unknown Gospel" closely resembles the Synoptics. The vocabulary and style of the papyrus are closer to those of Luke than of any other gospel, but the most striking similarities of content (including some verbatim agreements) are with John. It is also noteworthy that incidents in the papyrus which resemble incidents in the Synoptics are recounted with some marked differences from the synoptic reports, and that those which resemble the gospel of John in content are stylistically closer to the Synoptics. Such peculiarities make it very difficult to determine what sort of relationship, if any, obtains between the "Unknown Gospel" and the canonical Gospels, and scholarly judgments have varied widely. On the one hand, it has been argued that the "Unknown Gospel" is somehow dependent on one or more of the canonical Gospels. Various scholars have considered that it is drawn, probably by memory rather than through direct literary dependence, from all the canonical Gospels, but enriched with additional material (Jeremias *NTApocr* 1: 94–97; Gallizia 1956; Vielhauer 1975: 635–39; Wright 1985), in which case the papyrus might be regarded as a gospel harmony rather than as a gospel in its own right. Another has found evidence in the papyrus only for its literary dependence on the gospel of John, supposing that for the rest it relies on independent oral tradition (Dodd 1936). On the other hand, it has been claimed that the "Unknown Gospel" is not derivative from any of the canonical Gospels but is an early and independent redaction of tradition (Bell and Skeat 1935; Mayeda 1946). Some have gone still further to suggest that the "Unknown Gospel," far from being derivative, is perhaps itself a source of the gospel of Mark (Crossan 1985) or the gospel of John (Koester 1983).

While none of these possibilities can be excluded out of hand, the newly identified fragment (fr. 5) underscores the relationship of the papyrus with the gospel of John, which, as $P^{52}$ shows, was in use in Egypt by the early 2d century. This strengthens the likelihood of literary dependence on John, and yet it remains conceivable that both the "Unknown Gospel" and the gospel of John drew on a common source. There are, however, no compelling reasons to think that the papyrus is dependent on any of the Synoptic Gospels as opposed to oral tradition, and even those who allege dependence on them must acknowledge

that it is neither direct nor exclusive. Hence the question of the literary relationships of the papyrus to other known documents is still open to debate.

Too little remains of the document to draw conclusions about its original scope, general character, or purpose, all of which are uncertain. Presumably it contained a passion narrative, since reference is made to "the hour of his betrayal" (fr. 1 r.). Characteristic redactional tendencies cannot be ascertained in so small a sample, though the double vocative "Teacher Jesus" (twice, fr. 1 r. and fr. 2 r.) is unique, and the use of catchwords for linking purposes can be observed (the latter telling in favor of composition from memory). It has been theorized that the "Unknown Gospel" was composed for private and domestic rather than public and liturgical use (Mayeda 1946), but there is no good evidence for this. It may very well have been a gospel of the same order as other early gospels. The fact that it is attested only in this papyrus and finds neither echo nor reference in subsequent Christian literature may be explained as well on the assumption of strictly provincial use and/or by appeal to the fortuitous character of such evidence.

Finally, it should be noticed that the papyrus has some interest for early Christian paleography and codicology. It is a very early witness for the Christian convention of *nomina sacra* (see Roberts 1979), and an interesting one, since some of its contractions are unusual and even unparalleled. It also provides early attestation for the preference of Christianity for the codex or leaf book, as opposed to the roll, for the transcription of Christian literature of a "scriptural" type.

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HARRY Y. GAMBLE

**EGLAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿeglâ* (עֶגְלָה)]. A wife of David and mother of Ithream (2 Sam 3:5 = 1 Chr 3:3). Little is known of Eglah or her son. She appears as the sixth and last wife/mother mentioned in two lists of David's sons born in Hebron (2 Sam 3:2–5 and 1 Chr 3:1–3). Eglah is distinguished from the other five by her designation as David's "wife." Whether or not this epithet indicates that Eglah held a favored position (Hertzberg *1–2 Samuel* OTL, 254) is difficult to establish. Jerome (*Quest. Heb.* on 2 Sam 3:5) identifies Eglah with Michal, David's first wife, and suggests she died giving birth to Ithream. No indication in the text supports this speculation.

The list of wives and sons in 2 Sam 3:2–5 serves both a genealogical and literary function. 2 Sam 3:1 notes that David grew "stronger and stronger," while his enemy Saul grew "weaker and weaker." This general statement about David's strength is made specific by the genealogical list in vv 2–5. The increase of David's strength is mirrored in the increase of his wives (i.e., Eglah) and sons. See also DAVID (PERSON); ITHREAM (PERSON).

LINDA S. SCHEARING

**EGLAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿeglayim* (עֶגְלַיִם)]. A town mentioned in the oracle against Moab in Isa 15:8. The context and poetic parallelism of this verse make it likely that Eglaim was located near one of Moab's boundaries, at the extremity opposite Beer-elim.

Although its exact location remains uncertain, several proposals have been made. Eusebius mentions Agallim, a site located 8 Roman miles S of Areopolis (modern Rabbah); the only ruin in this vicinity is Rujm el-Jilimeh (M.R. 217064), an amorphous heap of stones. Just over 4 miles further S is Kh. Jeljul, but its pottery seems to point to occupation only in the Nabataean and Roman periods. Aharoni tentatively identified Eglaim with Mazraʿ, on the E side of the Lisan (*LBHG,* 32).

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

**EGLATH-SHELISHIYAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿeglat šĕlīšiyyâ* (עֶגְלַת שְׁלִשִׁיָּה)]. Hebrew for "the third Eglath," a place name mentioned in oracles against Moab in Isa 15:5 and Jer 48:34. Its location is so uncertain that no identification has been widely accepted.

The ASV and RSV, along with a majority of translations, follow the LXX and regard Eglath-shelishiyah as the name of a town. Conversely, the KJV translates these Hebrew words as "an heifer of three years old" (i.e., a calf not yet broken to the yoke). Such figurative language appears elsewhere in the OT (e.g., Jer 46:20; Hos 10:11) and could refer, in Isa 15:5 and Jer 48:34, to the as yet unconquered towns of Zoar and Horonaim.

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

**EGLON** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿeglôn* (עֶגְלוֹן)]. The obese king of Moab who, allied with the Ammonites and Amalekites, subjugated Israel for eighteen years during the period of the judges until he suffered an ignominious assassination at the hands of EHUD, son of Gera, the Benjaminite "savior" (*môšîʿa;* Judg 3:12–30).

The setting of the episode is not entirely clear from the geographical data supplied by the narrative (e.g., on the location of SEIRAH [PLACE] in v 26, see Soggin *Judges* OTL, 52; Knauf 1988: 64). It is possible that the narrative embellishment of this story has, to some extent, displaced historical details in the account (Soggin 1989). However, in its present literary form, the reference to the city of palms (v 13) is presumably Jericho, which was occupied, not destroyed, by Eglon (note Deut 34:3; 2 Chr 28:15; see CITY OF PALM TREES [PLACE]). Also, from context, it seems probable that Eglon received tribute from Ehud at this location (Josephus *Ant* 5.187; see Soggin *Judges* OTL, 53–54). However, some, for example Kraeling (1935: 205), have proposed that Eglon was at his capital, perhaps Medeba, in Transjordan; and Mittmann (1977: 227–29) has suggested that the "city of palms" originally designated Tamar (M.R. 173024) SW of the Dead Sea rather than Jericho at its NW end.

According to the account, after Ehud completed his diplomatic mission and dismissed his retinue, he obtained a private audience with Eglon by informing him that he had a "secret word" (or "thing," *dĕbar-sēter*) to give him. When alone, Ehud surprised the king by reaching unsuspiciously with his left hand for the dagger hidden at his right side. Taking advantage of the obese king's efforts to stand up, Ehud plunged the blade, handle and all, into Eglon's belly of fat.

Despite the attention to detail, the story is confounded by both incongruities in the narrative (e.g., vv 18–19; cf. explanation by Kraeling 1935: 205–7) and obscure lexical forms. The latter is particularly vexing in the finale. After Ehud stabs Eglon, leaving the dagger lodged in his belly, v 22b adds the phrase *wayyēṣē› happaršĕdōnâ.* However, *paršĕdōnâ* is a *hapax legomenon* which has been variously interpreted. The RSV translates this as "dirt" (i.e., feces), in the phrase, "and the dirt came out," the result of either the puncturing of the colon, or a post-mortem release of the intestines (so also *Targum Jonathan* and Vulgate; see Moore *Judges* ICC, 97). Halpern (1988a: 40, 69, n. 3) translates it as "anal sphinchter." The LXX omits the phrase entirely. Perhaps the episode of Joab's execution of Amasa in 2 Samuel 20 may shed light on this incident. The actions and outcome are remarkably similar to the Eglon-Ehud story:

Joab approaches Amasa, grasps Amasa's beard with his right hand to kiss him, and with his left hand he reaches for the dagger hidden under his garment (vv 8–10a). Only one thrust of the blade is needed (v 10b), and Amasa "shed his bowels *(mē‹āyw)* to the ground." Whatever the exact meaning of *paršědōnâ* in the Eglon-Ehud story, the context seems to indicate some sort of "bowel movement" as a result of the death blow, since his guards later assume that he is relieving himself when they find the door locked (vv 24–25). Consequently, this supplies valuable time for Ehud to escape, assemble the Israelite militia, and cut off the Moabite troops at the fords of the Jordan River.

The episode is framed in typical Deuteronomistic language and in the repetition characteristic of the book of Judges: (1) because the people of Israel "did what was evil in the sight of the Lord," they were given into the power of an enemy (vv 12–14); (2) when they cried out to the Lord, he raised a deliverer, who subdued the enemy and gave rest to the land (vv 15a, 30); and (3) a period of faithfulness was followed again by the people's apostasy and the appointment by Yahweh of an enemy as an instrument of punishment (4:1; see Mayes *Judges* OTG, 18–19; but cf. Greenspahn 1986).

However, while the context of this narrative served as a theological vehicle, the story was also valued as entertainment (e.g., see Koch 1969: 138–40). Especially notable is its use of satire and irony. For example, the native reader (or hearer) would immediately catch the play on Eglon's name, which recalls both "calf" *(‹ēgel, ‹eglâ)* and "rotund" *(‹āgôl, ‹āgōl).* The description of Eglon as "very fat" (*bārî› mĕ›ōd,* v 17), is echoed in the description of his troops as "plump" or "fat" (*šāmēn,* v 29). (Note also the lines in the Ugaritic Kirta story [*KTU* 1.15 IV:4, 15]: *šmn mri,* "fattest of the fatlings," in which *šāmēn* modifies *mĕrî›*, a form phonetically related to *bārî›*, "fat.") Similarly, Ehud's designation as a Benjaminite (lit. "son of the right") adds to the irony of his left-handed intrigue. The scatological details of the assassination, highlighting the humiliating effectiveness of the deed (vv 21–23), heighten the satire of the story. Even the description of the confused guards in vv 24–25 borders on slapstick, were it not for the sobering discovery on the other side of the door. The course of events, too, is enriched by ironic wordplays. For example, Ehud's pretext for revisiting the king is an extended pun on his actual intention: Ehud's "word" (*dābār,* vv 19, 20) which he has for Eglon is, in a sense, "spoken" by the dagger's two edges (*pēyôt,* lit. "mouths," v 16; see Good 1965: 33–34). Similarly, the narrative balances the dramatic action around a single verb: Ehud's "thrusting" *(tq‹)* the sword into Eglon's belly (v 21) is followed by his "blowing" *(tq‹)* the trumpet to rally the Israelites and complete the *coup d'état* (v 27). For further observations on these and other features of the narrative art of this episode, see Alonso-Schökel (1961: 148–58) and Alter (1981: 37–41).

Presumably the text reflects a period when Moab had penetrated into Benjaminite and Ephraimite territory from Transjordan (see Donner 1984: 158). In the 9th century B.C.E., the situation was reversed when Mesha, king of Moab, was obliged to deliver tribute to the king of Israel until he successfully overthrew Israelite domination (2 Kings 3; note also MESHA STELE [*KAI* #181; *ANET,* pp. 320–21, esp. lines 1–9]). Ironically, Mesha's name *(mêša‹),* like Ehud's epithet, means "savior." It seems altogether fitting that the "savior" in the Eglon-Ehud story is a Benjaminite, since in the biblical tradition Jericho was assigned to the tribe of Benjamin in the original division of the land (Josh 18:21). Later indication of Moabite influence in the Benjaminite genealogy is suggested by the list of names recorded in 1 Chr 8:8–10. See also MOAB (PLACE) D.4.; and MESHA (PERSON).

Rabbinic tradition identifies Eglon as both the grandson of Balak, the Moabite king who hired Balaam to curse Israel (Numbers 22–24), and the father or grandfather of Ruth (*Ruth Targum* 1:4; for further references see Levine 1973: 48 n. 6). Aggadic commentary finds a redeeming virtue in Eglon's effort to stand at the "word of God" (Judg 3:20). According to this tradition, the king's pious action received its reward through the inclusion of Ruth in the genealogy of David (Ruth 4:18–22; see *Ruth Rabbah* 2.9; note 1 Sam 22:3–4). Furthermore, because of Ruth's own piety, she would be the ancestor of "the six Righteous of the world," namely, "David, Daniel, his three companions, and the Messiah king" (*Ruth Targum* 3:15). Perhaps the familiarity of the latter tradition also contributed to the inclusion of Ruth in the otherwise selective genealogy of Jesus (Matt 1:5; cf. Luke 3:32).

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JOHN KUTSKO

**EGLON** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿeglôn* (עֶגְלוֹן)]. A royal Canaanite city conquered by Joshua (Josh 10:34–35).

It was later incorporated into the Judean Shephelah district of Lachish (Josh 15:39). Eglon figures prominently in the narrative of Joshua's conquest of the south (Joshua 10). Debir, king of Eglon, was one of four Amorite kings called upon by Adoni-zedek of Jerusalem to aid him in a war against Gibeon (Josh 10:1–4), which had, through a ruse, allied itself with the Israelites (Joshua 9). Since Debir occurs as a personal name only in v 3 (all other occurrences in the MT being the name of a place; see DEBIR), it has been speculated that in this passage, too, it originally represented a city (Soggin, Joshua OTL, 119; Boling, *Joshua* AB, 280). Eglon subsequently appears only in the list of the thirty-one Canaanite kings defeated by Joshua (12:12) and in the aforementioned list of cities in the Judean Shephelah. On the critical problems of Joshua 10 see Elliger 1934; Wright 1946; Soggin, *Joshua* OTL, 116–32; Boling, *Joshua* AB, 273–95.

The proposed location of Eglon has shifted a number of times over the course of the last century. Both Tel Nagila (Tell Nejileh) and Khirbet ʿAjlan were proposed as possible sites for Eglon in the late 19th century (about the former see Doermann 1987: 130–32 and Wright 1971: 439–40; about the latter see Petrie 1891: 19 and Bliss 1898: 141–42). However, in the 20th century the two leading candidates for Eglon have been Tell el-Hesi (M.R. 124106) and Tell ʿAitun (M.R. 143099). Once Albright (1924: 7–8; 1942: 35–36, 38) had questioned the identification of Lachish with Tell el-Hesi (a site of paramount importance in the history of Palestinian archaeology, since it was there that Petrie first developed the application of stratigraphy and pottery chronology), and had located Lachish instead at Tell ed-Duweir, the way was open for the identification of Eglon with Tell el-Hesi, partly on the basis of the alleged transference of the name to the nearby Khirbet ʿAjlan (but see Rainey 1983: 9–10). This identification has become the most widely accepted (see, e.g., Wright 1971: 440–41).

However, Elliger (1934: 66–68), basing himself on the geographical progression of Joshua's conquests in Josh 10:28–39 (Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, and Eglon, north to south, "up to" Hebron, "back to" Debir), argued that Eglon was to be sought in the region to the S or SE of Tell ed-Duweir, preferably at Tell Beit Mirsim, or perhaps at Tell ʿAitun. This latter suggestion has been taken up by Noth (*Joshua* HAT, 95) and by Rainey (1980: 197; 1983: 3, 6, 9–10) and would appear to be the current leading contender for Eglon (dissenters include Ahlström [1980], who identifies Tell ʿAitun with Lachish [but see Davies 1982 and subsequent articles in *PEQ*], and Galil [1985: 71], who identifies Tell ʿAitun with Libnah).

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**EGYPT** (PERSON) [Heb *miṣrayim* (מִצְרַיִם)]. The second of four "sons" of Ham and the "father" of seven whose *-îm* endings suggest they are to be regarded as peoples (Gen 10:6, 13–14). Egypt appears as a personification of the land of Egypt in the Table of Nations.
RICHARD S. HESS

**EGYPT, BROOK OF.** The Hebrew expression *naḥal miṣrayim* (נַחַל מִצְרַיִם), "Brook of Egypt," is found only in the OT. It occurs both as a geographical term with reference to the southern border of Judah (Num 34:5; Josh 15:4, 47; 1 Kgs 8:65 = 2 Chr 7:8; Ezek 47:19; 48:28) and as an element in the phrase "from the Brook of Egypt to the river Euphrates" (2 Kgs 24:7) or its reverse (Isa 27:12). This latter phrase is a merism designating the portion of Syro-Palestine between the NE and S borders of the area to which Israel and Judah lay claim.

The expression "Brook of Egypt" is found outside the OT as a geographical term in some Neo-Assyrian documents (AOAT 6: 256). A summary inscription of Tiglath-pileser mentions a campaign to the URU *naḫal muṣur,* "Brook of Egypt," immediately after his conquest of Gaza on the S coastal plain (Alt 1953: 150–62; Tadmor 1966: 88). The use of the cuneiform determinative URU (indicating a region or country) rather than ID (designating a river) seems to indicate that the expression is a toponym in the general sense (Na›aman 1979). Tiglath-pileser's campaign can be dated during the years 734–732 B.C.

The next mention of the Brook of Egypt is in Sargon II's account of his campaign in the year 716 B.C. The prism fragment contains the phrase *ša patti* URU *naḫal* M[*uṣur*], "situated on the border of the Brook of Egypt," (Na›aman 1979). Another inscription by Sargon II gives the extent of his conquests as ranging from the Elamite border "as far as the Brook of Egypt" (Winckler 1889; Na›aman 1979). Esarhaddon refers to a city named Arza which is situated near the "Brook of Egypt" (*ANET,* 290). Another more detailed geographical notice found in the annalistic comments regarding his second campaign places Arza "a distance of thirty 'miles' from the town of Aphek [situated] on the border-region of Samaria as far as the town of Raphia, beyond the border of the Brook of Egypt, a place without [flowing] river" (after Na›aman 1979). The town Arza, probably identical with later Yarda and Orda, should be identified with the toponym Yurza known from Egyptian topographical lists; this leads to an identification of the "Brook of Egypt" with the Nahal Bezor. The commonly suggested equation with the Wadi el ›Arish should be ruled out, at least as far as the earlier lists are concerned (Na›aman 1979).

Another argument for this location may be the absence of pre-Hellenistic ruins in the vicinity of Wadi el ›Arish. The boundary between Palestine and Egypt stabilized at the latter location only in the Persian period or later (Na›aman 1979; cf. Rainey 1982).

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**EGYPT, HISTORY OF.** In part because it was one of the greatest political and military powers in antiquity, Egypt had significant contact with the various states and peoples of the Levant. See EGYPTIAN RELATIONS WITH CANAAN. Consequently, much of biblical history is tied in with that of Egypt. This entry, which consists of nine separate articles, surveys the history of ancient Egypt. The first article covers the problems and issues related to the chronology of ancient Egypt. The remaining eight articles survey Egyptian history from the prehistoric period to the Greco-Roman period.

## *CHRONOLOGY*

This article attempts to survey the available sources used for reconstructing the chronology of ancient Egypt, and provides a construct for dating the major periods of Egyptian history.

A. Sources for Egyptian Chronology
1. Lists of Kings
2. Genealogies Mentioning Kings
3. Original Documents and Archaeological Evidence
4. Synchronisms
5. Astronomical Data

B. Constructing an Egyptian Chronology
1. Predynastic Period
2. Archaic Period
3. Old Kingdom
4. First Intermediate Period
5. Middle Kingdom
6. Second Intermediate Period
7. New Kingdom
8. Third Intermediate Period
9. Late Period

### A. Sources for Egyptian Chronology

The ancient Egyptians had no single, continuous era for reckoning the passing of the years, such as our modern use of years counted B.C. and A.D. Instead, for most of their history, the ancient Egyptians dated events and documents by the years of the reigns of their successive kings, the "pharaohs." This system had its origins in the Archaic Period (1st–2d Dynasties), when years were named after important events. Then the habit was established of counting years by "Year of the 1st Cattle-census" of a reign, followed by the "Year *after* the 1st Cattle-census," then the "Year of the 2d Cattle-census" the year after it, and so on (census-years alternating with "after-census" years) through a given king's reign. The whole process began anew with each succeeding king. Eventually, in the later Old Kingdom (later 3d millennium B.C.), this alternating year-numbering gave way to a continuous year-count, e.g., Year 1, Year 2, Year 3, etc., as mentioned above. (On Egyptian reckoning of regnal years, see Gardiner 1945.)

Unfortunately, we do not possess today an ideal, straight, unbroken line of kings' reigns and their lengths in years that would enable us to convert Egyptian years instantly into years B.C. For many kings, we do not know the exact length of the reigns. During the three Intermediate periods in ancient Egyptian history, two or more lines of kings reigned side by side in different parts of Egypt. Therefore, our ancient Egyptian chronology has to be established (and not yet precisely) by making use of a variety of sources. These include ancient lists of kings, sometimes giving their supposed lengths of reign; genealogies giving sequences of people and rulers; original documents citing regnal years of kings, and archaeological evidence; synchronisms between Egyptian and independently dated foreign rulers; and astronomical calculations based on phenomena of the sun, moon, or stars mentioned in ancient texts.

**1. Lists of Kings.** The seemingly oldest such monument is known to us only from some fragments of an upright slab, the largest being the so-called Palermo Stone (after the town-museum where it resides). When complete, this slab was originally inscribed on both front and back with a series of horizontal registers. Each register was marked off into rectangles, one per year of a king's reign, and each year space was compactly inscribed with a note of events considered important by the ancients. On the front, the top register gave not years but the names of "prehistoric" kings. This monument originally gave the full series of regnal years of all the kings from Menes and the first historic dynasty down to the 5th Dyn. to King Neferirkare or even later (see Helck, *LA:* 652–54; Redford 1986: 87–90, 135–36). Intact, the Palermo Stone would have been invaluable; but the mere fragments that do survive are not enough on which to base a reconstruction that can be generally accepted.

Leaving aside other minor pieces (on which see Redford 1986: 24–29, 34–64), the next equivalent of a king list is the Table of Kings originally inscribed in the Karnak temple at Thebes under Thutmose III in the 15th century B.C. (see Redford 1986: 29–34, 176–78). However, its "display" of bygone monarchs in balancing groups is not very helpful to modern chronologers.

More important are the series of kings named in three monumental king lists of the 19th Dyn. (13th century B.C.). Two are mutual duplicates, inscribed under Seti I and Rameses II in their great temples at Abydos. The other, quite similar, was included in the tomb chapel of the official Tjunuroy at Saqqara. While Tjunuroy omits the first few kings (Redford 1986: 23), these lists are excerpts from a longer tradition, giving the names (in order) of the main kings of the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms (OK, MK, NK; ca. 3000–1250 B.C.). All exclude the female pharaoh Hatshepsut and the Amarna "heresy" kings (disapproved of by later rulers), but the Abydos lists include the Memphite kings who followed the 6th Dyn. (for texts see *KRI* 1: 177–79; *KRI* 2: 539–41; *KRI* 3: 481–82; latest discussion in Redford 1986: 18–24). So far as they go, these selective lists agree both with the evidence of firsthand documents and with the canon of kings transmitted to us by the Turin Papyrus and (a millennium later) in Manetho's work. The three lists from Abydos and Saqqara are in fact offering lists that formed part of the royal cult; nevertheless, they must derive from real, fuller king lists, simply omitting names and numerical data not needed in the limited space available.

A document of far greater extent and importance is a badly damaged papyrus in the Turin Egyptian Museum, known as the Turin Canon of Kings (text in Gardiner 1959; *KRI* 2: 827–44; for hieratic, see plates in Farina 1938). This is an informal copy, made on the reverse of an old tax register of the time of Rameses II. It gives a long list of kings: dynasties of gods and spirits, then historical kings from Menes down to the 17th Dyn., so far as preserved; originally it may have included the 18th and early 19th Dyn., perhaps to Rameses II himself. Regnal years are given for all rulers named (with life spans for early kings), including also months and days for reigns of the 12th Dyn. onward. Comparison of the canon's data with firsthand contemporary evidence indicates that its order of kings (within each dynasty or group) is mostly reliable, but not faultless. Some names have been corrupted by previous recopying, and likewise various figures (but not all). It is an unofficial and imperfect witness to a well-established historical tradition (see discussion in Málek 1982a; von Beckerath 1984; Redford 1986: 2–18, 197–201, contrast p. 5 top with p. 197, n. 238 end), but nevertheless constitutes a clear forerunner to the lists compiled by Manetho a millennium later.

In the transition from the late Persian to the early Ptolemaic period in Egypt (roughly 320 B.C.), we have the so-called Demotic Chronicle (for translations, see Spiegelberg 1914; Bresciani 1969: 551–60). In reality, this is an oracular work with commentary. It names (in order) the kings of the 28th–30th Dyn., differing slightly from Manetho for the order of the 29th Dyn. (cf. Johnson 1974; Ray 1986). See also DEMOTIC CHRONICLE.

Finally, there is the *Aegyptiaka* or "Egyptian History" by Manetho (an Egyptian priest of the 3d century B.C.), written in Greek under Ptolemy II. This work embodied in its narrative various series of kings and reigns. These are grouped in "Dynasties" or families (real or otherwise), with summaries of years of each dynasty, and of longer periods of several dynasties. Except for a few citations in Josephus (1st century A.D.), Manetho's original work is now lost. But at an early date, a basic list of the kings, dynasties, and

periodic summaries had been gathered into an *Epitome*. This summary "king list" survives in three versions: in the writings of Africanus (3d century A.D.); Eusebius (4th century A.D.); and George the Syncellus (about 800 A.D.). The Greek text/Latin version with facing English translations is conveniently available in Waddell (1940), along with other Manethonic fragments and pseudo-Manethonic "lists." Even today, the 30 Dynasties given by Manetho are still retained because they provide convenient groupings of Egyptian rulers for historical purposes. However, the names and figures in the *Epitome* have clearly suffered considerable (if uneven) corruption in the course of centuries of repeated hand-copying, and sometimes at the hands of would-be manipulators of ancient chronology. This is clear from the variant names and numbers evident in Africanus, Eusebius, the Syncellus, and Josephus, when compared with firsthand older Egyptian sources, especially from the reigns of individual kings. Thus, Manetho provides only an outline framework; in detail, his data have to be used critically in conjunction with older and original sources.

**2. Genealogies Mentioning Kings.** There are two types of genealogy: "unitary" and "synthetic." "Unitary" describes an entire genealogy derived from one single monument or document. "Synthetic" denotes genealogies built up by combining data from several different sources. Dating from the Late Period, the most striking "unitary" genealogy is that preserved on the tomb relief Berlin 23673 (see Borchardt 1935: 96–112, pls. 2–2a), which provides a sequence of 60 generations extending back from the priest Ankhefen-Sekhmet, who flourished ca. 750 B.C. under Shoshenq V. Going back through time, beginning with the 11th generation before himself, this man included the cartouches of kings (supposedly contemporaries of various ancestors) alongside the names of at least 26 of the 49 generations from the 11th back to the 60th. While a few anomalies occur (see Kitchen 1986: 187–90, 560), the overall span of kings and generations compares well with results obtained from other evidence. For the 21st Dyn., the genealogy itself is confirmed by another monument that belonged to another branch of the same family (Louvre C.96; see Malinine, Posener, and Vercoutter 1968: 48–49, pl. 4, No. 52).

Under this head may also be mentioned the famous genealogy of Pasenhor from the Serapeum (from Year 37 of Shoshenq V, ca. 731 B.C.), which lists his forebears back to the 17th generation—the 8th down to 5th previous generations were the kings we know today as Shoshenq I (biblical Shishak) to Osorkon II of the 22d Dyn., the 17th to 9th ancestors being also those of Shoshenq I (for text, see Malinine, Posener, and Vercoutter 1968: 30–31, pl. 10, no. 31; discussion in Kitchen 1986: 105–6, 109–12).

"Synthetic" genealogies come closer to contemporary sources. Thus if three men, C, B, and A, each mention their contemporary king (Z, Y, and X), and C is son of B and grandson of A, then we have three generations A, B, and C, which in turn establish a basic parallel series of kings, X, Y, and Z, contained within a time span (biologically) of 60 years or so. Naturally, allowance must be made for kings who had ruled (if briefly) between X and Y, or Y and Z, but not mentioned by the sources concerned. This kind of evidence—combining the data from a group of documents—is especially useful in the Third Intermediate Period, ca. 1070–660 B.C. (see Kitchen 1986: 90, 106–9, 112, etc., particularly 187–239 passim), but applies also to all earlier periods, e.g., the mass of data concerning the royal workmen at Deir el-Medina in the New Kingdom (see, e.g., Bierbrier 1975).

**3. Original Documents and Archaeological Evidence.** Most valuable are the explicitly dated texts and monuments that bear the names and year dates of particular kings. Such datelines can confirm or correct the later record of the king lists. The range and sheer bulk of such data forbid any detailed list here.

Archaeological findings can add fresh dimensions to our historical understanding. For example, the recently documented growth of Memphis eastward during the NK (see Jeffreys 1985: 48 and passim) transforms our understanding of the history of Egypt's longest-serving capital city. It can also solve a puzzle in the narrative of Herodotus on Egypt, where two kings with the same name (Asychis) are confused as one (Kitchen 1988: 148–51). Proper historical sequence can also be verified archaeologically. For example, the fact that Shoshenq III cut up a great colossus of Rameses II to build his own main gateway at Tanis proves conclusively that the Ramesside kings preceded the 22d Dyn.

**4. Synchronisms.** The ancient Egyptians did not live in total isolation. By trade, or in war and peace, they had contacts with neighboring cultures and rulers. In the earliest periods, these linkups are

archaeological and (in years) only approximate, not precise. Thus, links can be seen with Protoliterate Mesopotamia, as well as Early Bronze Age Palestine and Syria during the late Predynastic (prehistoric) period through the Archaic Period (1st and 2d Dyn.) into the OK (see Kantor 1965: 10–19 with references; Gophna in Rainey 1987: 13–21).

Later in the 3d millennium B.C., we have a link in the 6th Dyn. with the Syrian Early Bronze Age IV, provided by finds of stone vessels naming Khephren (Khafre) and Pepi I at Ebla (Scandone Matthiae 1979a: 33–43, figs 11–14).

In the early 2d millennium B.C., cross-links are still limited. The Tod treasure (a temple foundation-deposit) includes varied material from Western Asia; the cartouche of Amenemhet II provides an upper limit, but the actual date of deposit can be much later (Kemp and Merrilees 1980, Appendix II, correcting Kantor 1965: 19). Equally vague (in terms of cross-dating) is Minoan pottery in 13th-Dyn. (not 12th) deposits at Kahun. Turning to inscriptional data, it may be possible to link up Neferhotep I of the 13th Dyn., via Yantin (-Ammu) of Byblos, indirectly with Zimri-lim of Mari, who in turn was a contemporary of Hammurabi of Babylon. But a strictly fixed and agreed date is not yet available for Neferhotep or Hammurabi (Kitchen 1987a: 48; Franke 1988: 273–74).

During the NK (late 2d millennium B.C.), we have far more evidence. The great pharaohs of the 18th and 19th Dyn. engaged in war and diplomacy with the "great kings" of Hatti, Mitanni, Assyria, and Babylon, besides vassals in the Levant and important smaller states such as Ugarit. Given the high accuracy of Mesopotamian dates during the 10th to 5th centuries B.C., and the close limits (within a decade or so) for such dates back to ca. 1400 B.C., the Mesopotamian data are of value in helping to set limits for Hittite and Egyptian dates for the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.

In the 1st millennium B.C., close dating becomes better as time passes. During the 22d Dyn., from Soshenq I to Osorkon IV, occasional cross-links with the Hebrew kingdoms and Assyria complete and confirm the general dates obtainable by dead reckoning of reigns before the 25th Dyn. In turn, the 25th and 26th Dyn. were involved with Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian rulers, for most of whom we have very precise dates based on firsthand cuneiform sources. These dynasties and Egypt in the time of the Persian Empire and after are enmeshed by classical writers and chronographers with later classical history and chronology (from Herodotus onward) down to Roman times.

**5. Astronomical Data.** In the past, vigorous attempts have been made to fix ancient Egyptian dates more precisely by using astronomy to set dates for mentions of new moons or so-called "heliacal" risings of the Dog Star, Sothis, in ancient sources. But here, too, various uncertainties make it difficult to reach firm results.

The problem with records of observations of the new moon is that any particular rising in the Egyptian calendar will be repeated every 25 years precisely, in an unending cycle (Parker 1976: 180–81; 1957a). Thus, we need to know in advance (within half a century) the general date of a given mention. Usable lunar dates are found in the Lahun papyri of the late 12th Dyn., and in Year 52 of Rameses II, which can be utilized within a wider frame of dates established on other grounds. However, attempts to turn most Egyptian festival dates into lunar dates for chronological purposes (so Kraus 1985: 136–63) are premature and too theoretical to be of any use at present.

So-called Sothic dates operate on a far grander scale, based on the slight difference in length between the Egyptian civil calendar and the real solar calendar. The latter is (in practice) 1/4365 days long. But it is not convenient to work with a quarter of a day. So, since every four years the four quarters add up to one whole day, we maintain a calendar of 365 days per year, but with a leap year of 366 days (the extra day) every four years. Consequently, our calendar stays basically in line with the year as expressed by the movements of sun and earth, and so with the seasons.

However, the ancient Egyptians did not operate as we do. Probably in the early 3d millennium B.C. (see Parker 1950: 53 and generally), the Egyptians instituted a calendar of 12 months of 30 days each, plus "5 days over the year"—a calendar of 365 days like ours (and the origin of ours). But they did not notice (or if known, did not bother with) the odd 1/4-day by which their calendar was short. So, after four years (with *no* leap year), their fourth civil calendar year ended one day too soon, and the next year began a day

too soon. After another four years, the 8th year ended 2 days too soon. As this process of every year finishing too early continued, each year's calendar months began earlier and earlier during the natural seasons of the solar year. At first, no one would notice this. After 120 years, the civil calendar year was beginning a whole month (30 days) ahead of the real solar year, and by the time that 700 years had passed, the civil calendar year would begin (and end) 6 months too soon; then, the "winter" months of this calendar would have crept forward into nature's summer season of the previous solar year! But as time passed, after a total of some 1460 years, the too-short civil year would have overtaken itself by one complete year of 365 days, and everything (like the seasons) would for the moment be in its right place again. This, of course, applies to all phenomena dated by the civil calendar. The ancient Egyptian New Year was supposed to coincide with the observed rise of the new Nile flood, i.e., in July—or, the coming of the "inundation" be dated to the 1st day of the 1st month of the 1st season, in calendar terms. But of course, after several hundred years, any such report of the rise of the Nile would be dated correspondingly to some later date in the civil calendar, because that too-short calendar had meantime been creeping forward as noted above.

The rise of the Nile was not the only event noticed in the July time of the year in Egypt. Quite by coincidence, the so-called "heliacal rising" of the Dog Star (Gk *Sothis,* from Egyptian *Sopdet*) also took place on the original July "New Year" of the civil calendar. (The heliacal rising of Sothis is defined as that day on which this star first becomes visible just before sunrise, after 70 days of invisibility, Parker 1950: 7.) Because of the behavior of Egypt's too-short civil calendar, some 1460 years have to elapse between one sighting of this heliacal rising of Sothis on the 1st day of the 1st month of the 1st season (New Year's Day) in the civil calendar and the next time this exact sighting could reoccur. This period of about 1460 years is therefore called a Sothic cycle. Fortunately, one such date point is known: within the period 139–42 A.D. (Parker 1976: 182). Therefore, allowing for variations in the stellar motion of Sothis, it can be calculated that previous Sothic cycles would begin in 1313 B.C. and 2769 B.C., if observed at Memphis (see Parker 1976: 182, who uses astronomic notation).

Fixing the date of these cycles should (in theory) help us to date any reign of a pharaoh, if a heliacal rising of Sothis is found mentioned in a particular year of his rule on a specific date in the civil calendar—one only needs to know inside which cycle his reign falls. For example, if some king who belonged within the period 2700 to 1350 B.C. had a document dated to his Year 1, mentioning the rising of Sothis on the 6th day of the 4th month of the summer season (11th month in the year), it is clear that the civil calendar had crept forward 335 days since such a rising last happened on its New Year's Day. So, 4 × 335 years had elapsed since 2769 B.C., putting our theoretical king's accession (Year 1) at about 2769 minus (4 × 335) years B.C., or 2769 minus 1340 = 1429 B.C.

Alas, in practice things are not so simple. There are several complications. First, one must allow for a 4-year margin of error (before quarter days add up to one day, among other factors). Second, the geographical location of any reported Sothic sighting affects reckoning of the date. In practice, the further south the sighting, the later the date B.C. So, we need to know, for example, whether a report of Sothis was made in Memphis, Thebes, or Elephantine. Only two usable Sothic rising reports are known to us at present: one in Year 7 of Sesostris (Senwosret) II or III, and one in Year 9 of Amenhotep I. The former one may have been observed either in Memphis or Elephantine; there would be a roughly 30-year difference in date, depending on place of observation. The latter one would have been seen in either Thebes (source of the Ebers Papyrus bearing the datum) or Elephantine; the date difference is then only about 11 years. (For the suggestion of Elephantine as the point of observation for both risings, leading to ultra-low dates for both, see Krauss 1985; contrast Kitchen 1987a: 42–44, 47, where the corresponding options of observations made at Memphis and Thebes respectively are preferred.)

**B. Constructing an Egyptian Chronology**

In the light of the kinds of evidence and their various problems sketched above, the only proper way to build up a chronology for ancient Egypt is to begin at the end and work our way back from the well-fixed dates of the 26th Dyn. to Roman times, step by step, until we reach the beginnings, i.e., the 1st Dyn. and

the prehistoric era beyond it. However, for the reader's convenience, the chronology will be presented here in its natural order from the beginning to end.

While the long line of 30 dynasties is still useful as a basic framework of kings, it has been found helpful in modern times to divide the dynasties into larger, more convenient historical periods, i.e., "kingdoms" and "intermediate periods"—the former being eras of power and political unity (one line of kings), and the latter periods of political disunity (with parallel lines of kings). The following brief table will summarize the position.

*Predynastic Period* prehistory
*Archaic Period* Dyn. 1–2 (Formative Age)
*Old Kingdom* Dyn. 3–8 ("Pyramid Age")
• *1st Intermediate Period* Dyn. 9–10 (partly contemporaneous with Dyn. 11)
*Middle Kingdom* Dyn. 11–12 (reunification, "Classical" Period)
• *2d Intermediate Period* Dyn. 13–17 (overlapping lines of kings)
*New Kingdom* Dyn. 18–20 ("Empire Period")
• *3d Intermediate Period* Dyn. 21–25 (age of disunity)
*Late Period* proper Dyn. 26–"31" (Saite, Persian, and independence rulers)
*Greco-Roman Period* Ptolemies and the Romans

The dating of each period in this long history can now be reviewed.

**1. Predynastic Period.** Traditionally, prehistory in Egypt ends with the union of the two "predynastic" kingdoms Upper and Lower Egypt (Nile valley and delta, respectively) by "Menes" the Narmer of the monuments), founder of the first line (dynasty) of kings of all Egypt. This event can be set somewhere about 3000 B.C., so Egypt's prehistoric ages are earlier than that approximate date. For the three main successive cultural periods in Egypt's prehistory (Taso-Badarian, Naqada I and II), no precise dates can be assigned beyond locating them in the 4th millennium B.C. (For Carbon 14 dates for the Naqada I and II periods [4th millennium], see Hassan and Robinson 1987: 128, 127 end.)

**2. Archaic Period.** The contemporary monuments and later king lists agree on 8 kings for the 1st Dyn., but neither set of sources enables us to know the actual lengths of these 8 reigns. For the 2d Dyn., the Abydos list has 6 kings, the Saqqara list 8 kings, and the Turin Canon and Manetho each have 9 kings. From the firsthand monuments we have rulers corresponding to the first five kings in all the lists. At the Dynasty's end, Khasekhem and Khasekhemwy appear to be successive forms of the same name used by one king during his career; this gives us a 6th king. In the middle of this dynasty, problems arise. It is still uncertain whether Sekhemib Perenmat is the same individual as Peribsen, and whether either is Senedi of the later lists. Therefore, a minimum of 7 kings is likely. The Turin Canon's figures for the 2d Dyn. are incomplete and not yet verifiable; from the Palermo Stone fragments we have just the 20 years of king Nynetjer. Thus, no definite total is available for the 2d Dyn. either. Involving yet another theoretical reconstruction of the Palermo Stone, a computation made by Kaiser (1961) suggests about 300 years for the whole of this period (1st Dyn., ca. 160 years; 2d Dyn., ca. 140 years). Such a period may be dated to roughly 3000–2700 B.C., if we begin the OK at about 2700 B.C.

**3. Old Kingdom.** Our first problem in this period is that the alternation of years of cattle census and years after census (see above) was no longer maintained. Under Snofru, for example, the 7th cattle count was immediately followed by the 8th with no intervening year "after" the 7th (Gardiner 1945: 13–14). Thus, there is uncertainty as to how one should reckon many reigns—assuming the usual scheme of alternating years of *x*th cattle count and that years after counts provide a total of years for a king's reign; this total well exceeds the corresponding figure for the reign found in the Turin Canon in a suspiciously high number of cases. Snofru was probably only one king of several who sometimes reckoned cattle-count years consecutively. Each reign has to be considered on its own merits.

The 3d Dyn. has 5 kings in the Turin Canon (two with 19 years each, two with 6 years each, and the last with 24 years similar to Snofru who follows). Even if these curiously paired figures are not all correct, they may at least indicate relatively long and short reigns. For example, Djoser Netjer-khet (given 19

years) did complete his pyramid complex, but Djoser-Teti Sekhemkhet (given 6 years) did not. So 70/80 years (74 in the Turin Canon) may not be far wrong for the 3d Dyn., within 2700–2600 B.C. at most.

For the 4th to 6th Dyn., similar detailed argumentation (using the incomplete data from original documents, the Palermo Stone, and later lists) enables us to suggest about 102 or 112 years for the 4th Dyn. (18 or 28 years for Menkaure), within roughly 2600–2500 B.C. Three apparent kings in Manetho (Bicheris, Hardjedef, and Thamphthis) are probably spurious and never actually reigned. In the 5th Dyn., we have an agreed 9 kings from Userkaf to Unis, and in the 6th Dyn. probably 7 rulers down to Nitocris/Netjerkare, if the enigmatic Userkare be included between Teti and Pepi I. In terms of years, the 5th Dyn. cannot have lasted much under 150 years (about 2500–2350 B.C.), and the 6th may be allowed about 160 years (say 2350–2190 B.C.), although the internal details remain difficult to sort out. (For example, Teti may have reigned 12 or 20 years; Pepi II reigned at least 63 years, but may have died at 100 after 94 years if the cattle counts are interpreted strictly and the Turin Canon and Manetho figures are accepted.)

The length of the 7th to 8th Dyn. (all one line in the Abydos and Turin lists) is unknown. The Turin Canon has only 6 rulers here (Abydos has 16) and is obviously incomplete. Therefore, its total of 187 (= 181 + 6) years for the 6th to 8th Dyn. is most likely too small. It would be wiser to allow about 30 years for the 16 kings of the 7th–8th Dyn., as reigns of 1, 2, and occasionally 4 years are given by our sources for some of these kings. This would set the 7th–8th Dyn. within about 2190–2160 B.C. on the scheme adopted here. During this general period, we have evidence from Dendera on the sequence of local provincial governors ("nomarchs"). These data indicate 2 (perhaps 3) nomarchs contemporary with the 7th–8th Dyn. and at least 2 more contemporary with the 9th–10th Dyn. before the emergence of the 11th (see Fischer 1968; cf. Kitchen 1972: 124–25). Such a series of four, five, or even six nomarchs as stable local dynasts would require a period of some 60 to 90 years (note also Hayes, *CAH*³ 1/1: 180–81), within (in this case) about 2190–2100 B.C.

**4. First Intermediate Period.** The last of the 7th/8th Dynasty kings at Memphis was replaced by a fresh line of rulers from Heracleopolis, the House of Khety of Egyptian sources, and the 9th/10th Dyn. of Manetho. The Turin Canon does not distinguish between two separate dynasties here, but has one group of 18 kings, just as it has one set of kings that correspond to Manetho's 7th and 8th Dyn. However, it is convenient here to reuse the term "9th Dyn." for the first few kings who ruled all Egypt, and the term "10th" for their immediate successors who lost Upper Egypt to the new 11th Dyn. in Thebes. For an initial four Heracleopolitan kings of all Egypt, we may guess at some 50/60 years, at about 2160–2100 B.C. on the scheme used here. The remaining Heracleopolitan rulers will have been short-lived contemporaries of the 11th Dyn., who were finally brought to an end by Nebehepetre Mentuhotep II of the 11th Dyn. The date of that triumph within his long reign is unknown; it probably falls at some point after his Year 14, but not later than Year 39, allowing for this king's changes of titles, reflecting his political fortunes. Generally, the reunion of Egypt by Mentuhotep II has been set at about Years 20–25 of his reign (Stock 1949: 80, 92, 99, 103; Hayes, *CAH*³ 1/1: 181). On the scheme used here, the ending of the 9th/10th Dyn. by Mentuhotep II would have fallen in about 2010 B.C.

**5. Middle Kingdom.** In Manetho, the 11th Dyn. is accorded 16 kings for 43 years, which is transparently corrupted from the Turin Canon's figure of 6 kings for 143 years—a realistic figure, in terms of the amounts that can be assigned to individual reigns. Hence, depending on the date used for the following 12th Dyn., the 11th can be set best at ca. 2106–1963 B.C., or at the very latest (according to Krauss 1985) ca. 2080–1937 B.C.

Until recently, the anchor for all the early Egyptian dating down to this point had been the 12th Dyn., set at 1991–1786 B.C., as classically established by Parker (1950: 63–69, 81–82), using the Sothis datum of Year 7 of an unnamed king (probably Sesostris III and not before Sesostris II [document from his temple's archive]) calculated to be 1872 B.C.

However, three factors have rather dragged this "anchor" from its usual moorings. First, reductions in the supposed lengths of reigns of Sesostris II and III. Sesostris II is not known to have reigned any more than 6 full years (rather than 19), while Sesostris III cannot be shown to have reigned beyond 19 full

years—his Year 19 is followed by a Year 1 in the Lahun papyri, and officials from before his Year 19 are still in office in the reign of his successor Amenemhet III (less likely if Sesostris III had really reigned 36 years; see Simpson 1972: 52–54; *LA* 5: 900, 903–4; Krauss 1985: 194–95). As a result, even if we kept the date 1872 for the Sothic rising of Year 7, the limits of the 12th Dyn. would shrink to a theoretical 1978–1801 B.C.

Second, it has been questioned (see above) whether this rising of Sothis was observed in the region of Memphis, as is usually assumed. Krauss (1985) locates its observation far south at Elephantine. This would lower the date from 1872 to 1830 B.C., reducing the date of Sesostris III by 42 years. Combined with the reduced reign lengths noted above, the theory of Krauss (and it is *only* a theory!) would produce a new low date of 1937–1759 B.C. for the 12th Dyn. (Kitchen 1987a: 43; Krauss 1985: 207).

Third, all these changes have required a reevaluation of the lunar dates of the late 12th Dyn. and inclusion of new ones, a topic tackled at length by Krauss (1985: 15–35, 73–103). So the various possible dates for the lunar entries in the Lahun papyri have to be integrated with those for the Sothic datum, a matter of complexity.

Out of all this, we have for the Sothic date of Year 7 of Sesostris III (rather than II) a possible date in 1831/1830 B.C. (if observed at Elephantine) or else a higher date in 1856/1855 B.C. if observed near Memphis (so Baer, based on, and courtesy of Krauss). Combined with the revised lunar dates, the accession of Amenemhet III came in 1818/1817 B.C. (Elephantine dating) or 1843/1842 B.C. (Memphis dating) (see Krauss 1985: 96). It should be noted that the Elephantine dating for the 12th Dyn. is only usable if one adopts a similarly low Elephantine dating for the Sothic datum of Amenophis I in the 18th Dyn. (see below; see Kitchen 1987a: 44–46, 47). The Memphis location for the 12th-Dyn. Sothic observation would date this Dyn. at 1963–1786 B.C.—the date used as the baseline for all dates in the preceding sections of this survey. This location and date agrees well with a Theban location (and consequent date) for the Sothic datum of Amenophis I.

**6. Second Intermediate Period.** The limits of this period (13th–17th Dyn.) are set by the end of the preceding 12th Dyn. and the beginning of the following 18th Dyn. On the higher dates for those two "framing" dynasties, this intermediate era can be assigned either 236 years (1786–1550 B.C.) or 220 years (1759–1539 B.C.) on the lower dates of Krauss. Since the Hyksos regime was not expelled until the 11th year of Ahmose I of the 18th Dyn. (cf. von Beckerath 1965: 210–11), this era in fact did not fully end until either 1540 or 1529 B.C.

This whole era is characterized by the existence of contemporary lines of kings. Essentially, the 15th (Hyksos) Dyn. ejected the ruling 13th Dyn. from *Ithet-tawy* and Memphis, confining its rule to Upper Egypt as a vassal. The 17th followed the 13th Dyn. in Thebes, still contemporary with the 15th in the north. The somewhat nebulous 14th and 16th Dyn. were little more than local Egyptian and Hyksos princelings in the delta, largely contemporary with the mainline 13th/17th and 15th Dyn. (For the respective lengths of the various dynasties, see von Beckerath 1965: 135–37; Kitchen 1987a: 50, 44–45; and Franke 1988.)

**7. New Kingdom.** Here, the key figures chronologically are Amenhotep (Amenophis) I and Thutmose III (18th Dyn.), and Rameses II (19th Dyn.). A rising of Sothis is recorded for Year 9 of Amenhotep I in Papyrus Ebers, a document found at Thebes. If the observation of Sothis was also made at Thebes, the most natural solution, then it would lead us to set the accession of Amenhotep I at 1525 B.C., and the beginning of the 18th Dyn. (and NK) with the accession of Ahmose I at ca. 1550 B.C. If, however, we follow the theory of Krauss that all Sothis observations were taken far south in Elephantine, then the 18th Dyn. would have begun 11 years later, in 1539 B.C. From the reign of Thutmose III we have a lunar date which would imply his accession to the throne in 1479 B.C., in line with a similar datum from the reign of Rameses II, favoring his accession in 1279 B.C., in conjunction (1) with synchronisms with other Near Eastern rulers and (2) with the lapse of generations linking the Rameside period to later epochs.

If the 18th Dyn. began in 1550 B.C., there is ample time for the reigns of Thutmose I and II in between those of Amenhotep I and Thutmose III. If, however, the dynasty began in 1539 B.C. (so Krauss 1985), then only 13 years are available for those two reigns—which is decidedly cramped and not realistic.

Between the reigns of Thutmose III of 54 years (1479–1425 B.C. and Rameses II of 66 years (1279–1213 B.C.), all the intervening reigns can be fitted in without any serious problems. Most lengths of reigns can be determined quite closely (Kitchen 1987a; 1989). Bones of contention include the possibility of a coregency between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten, which would require a longer reign for Amenhotep II; and whether or not Amenmesses of the 19th Dyn. had an independent reign (on the latter point, see Kitchen 1987b).

**8. Third Intermediate Period.** Dead reckoning from the beginning of the 26th Dyn. back to the accession of Shoshenq I, founder of the 22nd Dyn.—plus the use of synchronisms with Assyria and the Hebrew kingdoms—enables us to set the accession of Shoshenq I in (or close to) 945 B.C. The claim that the Egyptian dates of this period depend entirely on Hebrew/Assyrian dates is a false one; these merely refine dates now obtainable by dead reckoning of known consecutive reigns.

Before 945 B.C., we have the 21st Dyn. for which there is good agreement between original data on kings and their reigns and the data in Manetho; the total count comes to 124/125 years—certainly not more than the total of 130 years given in Manetho, a figure which cannot itself be justified at present (Kitchen 1986: 531–33). At any rate, the death of Rameses XI (the end of the NK) and the start of the 21st Dyn. can be reasonably set within ca. 1075/1069 B.C.

For the 22d (Libyan) Dyn., the main sequence of kings from Shoshenq I down to Osorkon IV is now clear and generally accepted. By dead reckoning of known reigns from a bottom date of 712 B.C. (by which time Osorkon IV disappears), and allowing the data that speak for a minimum reign of 33 years (probably 35 years) for Osorkon I and 14/15 years for Takelot I, the accession of Shoshenq I could *not* fall any later than ca. 930 B.C. However, two synchronisms at least require an earlier date. First, despite occasional suggestions to the contrary, the So of 2 Kgs 17:4 (whose help Hoshea of Israel sought in 725 B.C.) was a king, not a place (Sais deep in the west delta had no role in Levantine politics before the 7th century B.C.). Osorkon IV is the only serious candidate for identification with So (see data, references and discussion in Kitchen 1986: 372–75, 551, 583). This has the effect of raising the minimum accession date of Shoshenq I to ca. 940 B.C. He in turn invaded Palestine in the 5th year of Rehoboam, which is virtually certainly 926/925 B.C. (Hornung 1964: 28; Thiele 1983: 80, Table and passim; Kitchen 1986: 74–75). There are good reasons for dating Shoshenq's campaign to his last year or so, hence his 21-year reign will have begun in 945 B.C. or very soon after. The 23d and 24th Dyn. were wholly contemporary with the 22d and 25th Dyn. (details in Kitchen 1986).

The 25th Dynasty's last full ruler of Egypt, Taharqa, reigned 26 years (690–664 B.C.) just prior to the fixed accession year 664 B.C. for the 26th Dyn.; his successor Tanutamun was entirely a contemporary of the 26th Dyn. Of Taharqa's two main predecessors, the first—Shabako—reigned at least 14 years (perhaps 15), conquering Egypt in his 2d year. That event cannot be set later than 712 B.C., when Sargon II of Assyria had contact with a king of Egypt *and* Nubia (as Shabako was), or any earlier than 716 B.C., when Osorkon IV still ruled in the east delta as the (U)shilkanni of Sargon II. Depending on whether a totally hypothetical coregency of up to 2 years between Shabako and Shebitku is accepted (probably not; Kitchen 1986: 164–72, 555–57, 583), Shebitku must have reigned 10 or 12 years.

**9. Late Period.** The dates from the 26th Dynasty to the Roman period are, with very few exceptions, well fixed by Egyptian, Near-Eastern and classical sources, and require no consideration here.

Table of Dates

PREDYNASTIC PERIOD

*c. 4000* B.C. Taso-Badarian period
*c. 3700* B.C. Naqada I (Amratian) period—C-14, 3850–3650 B.C.
*c. 3500*–3000 B.C. Naqada II (Gerzean) period—C-14, 3400 ± 139 B.C.

Later in this period belong traces of such Upper Egyptian local kings as "Ka" (Sekhen?) and "Scorpio," also, Lower Egyptian rulers (West Delta?), of whom some 9 names are preserved on the Palermo Stone.

## ARCHAIC PERIOD

### *1st Dynasty (ca. 3000–2840 B.C.)*

| Horus | Eg. lists | Manetho |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Narmer | Meni | (menes) |
| 2. Aha | (A)teti | (Athothis) |
| 3. Djer | Atet | (Kenkenes) |
| 4. Djet | Ite (r)ty | (Uenephes) |
| 5. Den/Udimu | Khasty/Semti | (Usaphis) |
| 6. Anedjib | Merpabia | (Miebis) |
| 7. Semerkhet | Irynetjer | (Semempses) |
| 8. Qa/Sen | Qebehu | (Bieneches) |

### *2d Dynasty (ca. 2840–2700 B.C.)*

| Horus | Mons. | Eg. lists | Manetho |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Hetep-sekhemwy | Hetep | Bedjau/Bauneter | (Boethos) |
| 2. Nebre | Nubnefer | Kakau | (Kaiechos) |
| 3. Nynetjer | Nynetjer | Baninetjer | (Binothris) |
| 4. —— | Weneg | Wadjnes | (Tlas) |
| | | | *? same as* |
| 5a. —— | | Senedi | (Sethenes) |
| 5b (6). Sekhemib | Perenmat | Neferkare/Aka | (Chaires/ Nephercheres) |
| | | | *? same as* |
| | | Neferkasokar | (Sesochris) |
| 5c (7). Peribsen (= Seth) | | “Hudjefa” [lacuna?] | —— |
| 6a (8). Khasekhem, *prob. same as:* | | | |
| 6b (9). Khasekhemwy | | Nebwy-hetep-imef Bebti/Djadjay | (Kheneres) |

## OLD KINGDOM

### *3rd Dynasty (ca. 2700–2600 B.C.)*

| Horus | Mons. | Eg. lists | Manetho |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Sanakht | Nebka I | Nebka | (necherophes?) |
| 2. Netjerkjet | —— | Djoser Sa/Ti | (Tosorthros) |
| 3. Sekhemkhet | Djoser-ty | Djoser- Te (ti) | (Tureis + Tosertasis) |
| 4. Khaba | —— | Sedjes/ … djefa? Nebkare | (Mesochris + Aches) |
| 5. Qahedjet | Nebka II | Neferkare Huni | (Souphis + Sephuris) |
| —— | —— | —— | (Kerpheres) |

### *4th Dynasty (ca. 2600–2500 B.C.)*

1. Snofru (Soris)
2. Khufu (*Kheops; Suphis)
3. Redjedef (Ratoises, 5th)
4. Khafre (*Khephren; Suphis)
5. Menkaure (*Mycerinus; Mencheres) (Bicheris)
6. Shepseskaf (*[S]asychis; Sebercheres) (Thamphthis)

*=Herodotus

*5th Dynasty (ca. 2500–2350 B.C.)*

1. Userkaf
2. Sahure
3. Neferirkare I Kakai
4. Shepseskare Isi
5. Neferefre
6. Neuserre Ine
7. Menkauhor Ikauhor
8. Djedkare Isesi
9. Unis

*6th Dynasty (ca. 2350–2190 B.C.)*

1. Teti
2. Userkare
3. Meryre Pepi I
4. Merenre I Nemtyemsaf I
5. Neferkare Pepi II
6. Mernre II Nemtyemsaf II
7. Netjerkare Nitocris

*7th–8th Dynasty (ca. 2190–2160 B.C.)*

| | Abydos | Turin | | Abydos | (Turin omits) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Menkare | —— | 7. | Seneferka (Neferkamin) | I |
| 2. | Neferkare | Neferka | 8. | Nekare | |
| 3. | Neferkare Neby | Nefer, “child” | 9. | Neferkare Teruru | |
| 4. | Djedkare Shema | —— | 10. | Neferkahor | |
| 5. | Neferkare Shema | —— | 11. | Neferkare Pepisonb | |
| 6. | Merenhor | —— | 12. | Seneferka (Neferkamni) | II ‹Anu |
| | | | 13. | Qa (?)ka (u)re Ibi (Saqqara pyramid)—Ib (Turin) | |
| | | | 14. | Neferkaure ?Koptos: Kha (bau) Wadjkare ( … ) | |
| | | | 15. | Neferkauhor Koptos: Netjerbau Neferkauhor (+ Turin) | |
| | | | 16. | Neferirkare II ?Koptos: Demdjibtawy (+ Turin) | |

1ST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

*9th Dynasty (ca. 2160–2106 B.C.)*

1. Meryibre Khety I
2. ( … )
3. Neferkare (“Kaneferre”)
4. (Nebkaure) Khety II

*10th Dynasty (ca. 2106–2010 B.C.)*

FOURTEEN KINGS, FEW NAMES PRESERVED, BUT INCLUDING AT THE END:
12. (Wahkare) Khety III
13. Merykare ("Kameryre")
14. (A last, ephemeral ruler?)

## MIDDLE KINGDOM

*11th Dynasty (ca. 2106–1963 B.C.)*

| B.C. | Horus | Prenomen | Name | Reign |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2106– (2100?): | "Ancestor" (Tepy-á) | —— | Methuhotep I | (6?) |
| (2100?)–2090: | Sehertawy | —— | Intef I | (10?) |
| | | | Total: | 16 |
| 2090–2041: | Wah ankh | —— | Intef II | (49?) |
| 2041–2033: | Nakhtnebtepnufer | —— | Intef III | (8) |
| 2033–1982: | Seankhibtawy | —— | | |
| | Netjerhedjet | Nebhapetre | Mentuhotep II | (51) |
| | Smatawy | Nebhepetre | | |
| 1982–1970: | Seankhtawyef | Seankhkare | Mentuhotep III | (12) |
| 1970–1963: | Nebtawy | Nebtawyre | Mentuhotep IV | (7) |

*12th Dynasty (ca. 1963–1786 B.C.)*

| B.C. | King | Reign | (Krauss:) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1963–1934: | Amenemhet I | (29) | (1937–1908) |
| 1943–1898: | Sesostris I | (45; 9 CR) | (1917–1872) |
| 1901–1866: | Amenemhet II | (35; 3 CR) | (1875–1840) |
| 1868–1862: | Sesostris II | (6; 2 CR) | (1842–1836) |
| 1862–1843: | Sesostris III | (19) | (1836–1817) |
| | | (Sothic date, Year: 1856–55) | (1830) |
| 1843–1798: | Amenemhet III | (45, min.) | (1817–1772) |
| 1798–1789: | Amenemhet IV | (9) | (1772–1763) |
| 1789–1786: | Sobeknofru | (3) | (1763–1759) |

## 2D INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

*13th Dynasty (ca. 1786–1633 B.C.)*

| B.C. | Kings | Reigns | (Krauss:) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1786–1723: | first 21 kings | (63 years) | (1759–1696) |
| 1723–1712: | Neferhotep I | (11) | (1696–1685) |
| 1712: | Sihathor | (3 months) | (1685) |
| 1712–1705: | Sobekhotep I | (7) | (1685–1678) |
| 1705–1701: | Sobekhotep II | (4) | (1678–1674) |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1701–1691: Iaib | (10) | (1674–1664) |
| 1691–1668: Merneferre Ay | (23) | (1664–1641) |
| 1668–1633: later kings | (35 years) | (1641–1606) |

*14th Dynasty*

Either local Egyptian (West) delta kings, or "76 kings who reigned 184 years" in Xois (W. delta) with Manethos; 1786–1602 B.C. (1759–1575 B.C.).

*15th (Hyksos) Dynasty (ca. 1648–1540 B.C.)*
*(Krauss 1985: 1637–1575 B.C.)*

1. "Salitis"
2. "Bnon"
3. "Apakhnan"
4. Khyan ("Iannas"), Sewoserenre
5. Apopi ("Apophis") Nebkhepeshre/Aqenenre/Awoserre
6. Khamudy ("Assis")

*16th (Hyksos) Dynasty (ca. 17th century B.C.)*

Probably local Weat Semitic princes in East Delta

*17th (Theban) Dynasty (ca. 1633–1550 B.C.)*
*(Krauss 1985: 1606–1539 B.C.)*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1663–1575: | includes Rahotep, Thuty Nebiryerau I and II; Sobekemsaf II; Intef V (Numkhepere); Intef VI and VII (Herihirmaat, Wepmaat). | |
| 1575–1565: | Tao I (Senakhtenre) | (1565–1555) |
| 1565–1555: | Tao II (Seqenenre) | (1555–1545) |
| 1555–1550: | Kamose (Wadjkheperre) | (1545–1539) |

NEW KINGDOM

*18th Dynasty (ca. 1550 [or 1539]–1295 B.C.)*

| B.C. King | Reign | (Krauss:) |
|---|---|---|
| 1550–1525: Ahmose I | (25) | (1539–1514) |
| 1525–1504: Amenhotep I | (21) | (1514–1493) |
| 1504–1492: Thutmose I | (12) | (1493–1481) (12?) |
| 1492–1479: Thutmose II | (13) | (1481–1479) (2?) |
| 1479–1457: Hatshepsut | (22) | |
| 1479–1425: Thutmose III | (54) | (Coregency option, Am. III/IV) |
| 1427–1400: Amenhotep II | (27) | (1427–1392: Amenhotep II (35) |
| 1400–1390: Thutmose IV | (10) | 1392–1382: Thutmose IV (10) |
| 1390–1352: Amenhotep III | (38) | 1382–1344: Amenhotep III (38) |
| 1352–1336: Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten | (16) | 1352–1336: Amenhotep IV (16; 8CR) [Akhenaten]) |
| 1338–1336: Smenkhkare | (2 CR) | |

1336–1327: Tutankhamun (9)
1327–1323: Ay (4)
1323–1295: Heremhab (28)

*19th Dynasty (ca. 1295–1186 B.C.)*

1295–1294: Ramesses I (1)
1294–1279: Seti I (15)
1279–1213: Ramesses II (66)
1213–1203: Merenptah (10)
1203–1200: Amenmesses (3)
1200–1194: Seti II (6)
1194–1188: Siptah (6)
1188–1186: Tewosret ("6"+2=8)

*20th Dynasty (ca. 1186–1069 B.C.)*

1186–1184: Setnakht (2)
1184–1153: Ramesses III (31)
1153–1147: Ramesses IV (6)
1147–1143: Ramesses V (4)
1143–1136: Ramesses VI (7)
1136–1129: Ramesses VII (7)
1129–1126: Ramesses VIII (3)
1126–1108: Ramesses IX (18)
1108–1099: Ramesses X (9)
1099–1069: Ramesses XI (30)

*3D INTERMEDIATE PERIOD*

*21st Dynasty (ca. 1069–945 B.C.)*

| Kings | High priests of Amun |
|---|---|
| | 1081–1074: Herihor (7) |
| | 1074–1070: Piankh (4) |
| 1069–1043: Smendes I (26) | 1070–1055: Pinudjem I as high pr. (15) |
| 1043–1039: Amenemnisu (4) | 1054–1032: Pinudjem I as "king" (22) |
| 1039–991: Psusennes I (48) | 1054–1046: Masaharta (8) |
| | 1046–1045: Djed-Khons-ef-ankh (1?) |
| | 1045–992: Menkheperre (53) |
| 993–984: Amenemope (9; 2CR) | 992–990: Smendes II (2?) |
| 984–978: Osoekon the Elder (6) | |
| 978–959: Siamun (19) | 990–969: Pinudjem II (21) |
| 959–945: (Har-)Psusennes II (14) | 969–945: Psusennes "III" (24) [ = Ps II?] |

*22d Dynasty (ca. 945–715 B.C.)*

945–914: Soshenq I (21)
924–889: Osorkon I (35)
ca. 890: Shoshenq II (*x*, CR)
889–874: Takelot I (15)
874–850: Osorkon II (24)
ca. 870–860: Harsiese (ca. 10, CR)
850–825: Takelot II (25)
825–773: Shoshenq III (52)
773–767: pimay (6)
767–730: Shoshenq V (37)
730–715: Osorkon IV (15/17)
(-713?)

*23d Dynasty (ca. 818–715 B.C.)*

818–793: Pedubast I (25)
?804–803: Iuput I (*x*, CR)
793–787: Soshenq IV (6)
787–759: Osorkon III (28)
764–757: Takelot III (7;5 CR)
757–754: Rudamun (3?)
754–720:Iuput II (34–39)
(-715?)
(720–715: Shoshenq VI (5?)
(existence doubtful)

*24th Dynasty (ca. 727–715 B.C.)*

727–720: Tefnakht I (7) (or 727–719 [8])
720–715: Bakenranef (5) (or 719–713 [6])

*25th (Kushite) Dynasty (ca. 780–656 B.C.)*

CA. 780–760: ALARA (CA. 20?)
ca. 760–747: Kashta (ca. 13)
747–716: Pi (ankhy) (31) (or 747–714 [33])
716–702: Shabako (14) (or 714–700 [14])
702–690: Shebitku (12) (or 702–690 [12; 2 CR])
690–664: Taharqa (26)
690–664: Taharqa (26)
664–656: Tantamun (8)

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*SAITE-PERSIAN PERIOD*

*26th Dynasty (ca. 664–525 B.C.)*

664–610: Psammetichus I (54)
610–595: Necho II (15)
595–589: Psammetichus II (6)
589–570: Apries [Hophra] (19)
570–516: Amasis II (44)
526–525: Psammetichus III (1)

*27th Dynasty (1st Persian Dominion) (ca. 525–404 B.C.)*

525–522: CAMBYSES (3 IN EGYPT)

522–486: Darius I (36)
486–465: Xerxes I (21)
465–424: Artaxerxes I (41)
424–404: Darius II (20)

*28th Dynasty (ca. 404–399 B.C.)*

404–399: AMYRTAIOS (5)

*29th Dynasty (ca. 399–380 B.C.)*

399–393: Nepherites I (6)
393–380: Hakor (Achoris) (13)
[392–391: Psimut (Psammouthis), rival (1)]
380: Nepherites II (and possibly a "Muthis") (months only)

*30th Dynasty (ca. 380–343 B.C.)*

380–362: Nakhtnebef (Nectanebo I) (18)
362–360: Djedhor (Teos) (2)
360–343: Nakhthorheb (Nectanebo II) (18)

*"31st" Dynasty (2d Prsian Dominion) (ca. 343–332 B.C.)*

343–338: Artaxerxes III (5 in Egypt)
338–336: Arses (3)
336–332: Darius III (4)

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HELENISTIC-ROMAN PERIODS

332–323: Alexander the Great (9)
338–30: Eraof the Ptolemies
30 B.C.–A.D. 641: Roman and Byzantine epochs
A.D. 641: Arab conquest

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Mons. = The Monuments
CR = Co-regency

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K. A. KITCHEN

## *PREHISTORY*

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A. Introduction
B. Early and Middle Paleolithic
C. Upper and Late Paleolithic
D. The Holocene and the Neolithic
    1. Early Neolithic and Cattle Domestication
    2. Middle and Late Neolithic

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**A. Introduction**

Egypt can be divided into two strikingly different geographic areas. See Fig. EGY.01. On the one hand is the Nile Valley, the narrow strip of land bordering the river, which supports rich agricultural fields and lush vegetation and is most suited to human habitation. The waters of the Nile come not from local rainfall but from the highlands of East Africa. They travel the length of Egypt, dividing the country into two, and flow into the Mediterranean. In marked contrast to the valley are the deserts on each side; they are essentially rainless and barren of vegetation. The landscape consists of vast expanses of rock and sand, and, except in a very few, favored areas, is uninhabitable. Because of the differences in resources, these two zones have had very different histories of human exploitation, but each has made important contributions to the prehistory of Egypt. The Nile Valley, so far as we know, has probably been occupied more or less continuously for the last half-million years and possibly more. The deserts, or at least the W Desert (almost nothing is known about the prehistory of the Red Sea Hills and the desert E of the Nile), saw human occupation only during episodes of increased moisture, of which there have been several in the last few hundred thousand years.

**B. Early and Middle Paleolithic**

Our knowledge of the Early Paleolithic in Egypt is very limited. There is no reason why Egypt should not have been occupied during the Oldowan period (beginning about 1.75 million years B.P.), but no evidence for such an occupation is known at this time. The earliest conclusive evidence of human occupation are the numerous large, crude hand axes and cleavers in the W Desert, associated with deflated remnants of fossil ponds along the margin of a large basin or much older river system. At one locality, a thermoluminescence date of 350,000 B.P. was obtained on sediments overlying the artifacts, but this provides only a minimum age for the occupation. Similar crude hand axes (but apparently lacking cleavers) have also been recovered from Nile sands, silt, and gravels near Cairo.

Finely made hand axes, which may be in the order of 250,000 years old, are more common. They have been reported from several sites in the Nile Valley, as well as from the W Desert, where they are associated with deflated fossil spring vents and remnants of shallow ponds. One of the spring vents with Final Acheulian tools also yielded bones of a horse or ass and fragments of ostrich eggshell, indicating a grassland environment and suggesting that there was significant local rainfall at this time (Caton-Thompson 1952; Schild and Wendorf 1977; 1981; Wendorf and Schild 1980).

We have much more detailed knowledge of the Middle Paleolithic in Egypt. Several varieties of occupation are known and seem to reflect both regional adaptations and diachronic change. The best data are from the W Desert, where a long sequence of Middle Paleolithic occupations has been found in two adjacent basins, Bir Sahara East and Bir Tarfawi (Wendorf and Schild 1980). The sequence is tied to a series of lacustrine events, which reflect periods of a high water table. The periods of lake development are separated by intervals of lower water table, wind erosion, and eolian deposition. The age of this Saharan Middle Paleolithic is not firmly established. The last lacustrine phase may date to about 90,000 B.P. and the beginning may be as early as 200,000 B.P. Many of the occupations fall within the Last Interglacial.

All the settlements share a similar tool kit, but there is considerable diversity in the functions of individual sites. Some sites were workshops; others had little manufacturing debris but numerous tools, and still others had quantities of both debris and tools. The associated fauna consisted predominantly of large herbivores, including rhino, buffalo, giraffe, extinct camel, and several varieties of antelope and

gazelle (Gautier 1980). The microfauna and avian remains suggest that the environment was tropical and that the rainfall was probably about 600 mm per year (K. Kowalski, personal communication, 1986). There is no direct evidence that Middle Paleolithic people hunted the large animals, but many of the bones have been cut, split, or battered, and clusters of bones often occur closely associated with heavy cutting or scraping tools, indicating that the animals were butchered, regardless of how they may have died.

In the Nile Valley, most of our knowledge of the Middle Paleolithic comes from S Egypt and adjacent Sudan, N of the 2d Cataract (Wendorf 1968a). One site, deeply buried in ancient Nile sediments, had two cultural layers, with abundant remains of wild cattle in the lower and numerous fish bones in the upper layer (Shiner 1968a). This is the first evidence for the specialized exploitation of the two food resources, wild cattle and fish, which were to dominate the economies of the Egyptian Nile Valley until the adoption of food production during the Neolithic.

We do not know what the Middle Paleolithic inhabitants of Egypt looked like. Their contemporaries in Europe and the Near East were Neanderthals, and skeletons of this period found elsewhere in North Africa have Neanderthal features (Trinkaus 1982). In South Africa, however, Middle Paleolithic skeletons have been identified as modern *Homo sapiens sapiens.*

**C. Upper and Late Paleolithic**

The W Desert seems to have been hyperarid and uninhabitable from the time of the Middle Paleolithic until the early Holocene about 10,000 B.P. In the Nile Valley, the record is also far from complete, with a hiatus from before 45,000 B.P. until the first Upper Paleolithic, which is dated between 35,000 and 25,000 B.P.

One of the most interesting early Upper Paleolithic sites is a shafted and chambered flint mine, with several radiocarbon dates around 33,000 B.P.; it is perhaps the oldest known flint mine (Vermeersch et al. 1984b). On an adjacent hill was an extended human burial with an associated adz-like tool similar to those recovered from the mine (Vermeersch et al. 1984a). The identification of the burial as that of a miner is supported by the archaic physical features of the skeleton: he was a Mechtoid, a robust variety of *H. sapiens sapiens* known from several Late Paleolithic sites in the Maghreb and in the Nile Valley.

The quantity and quality of our information are much greater for the Final Pleistocene, beginning around 21,000 B.P. (Close, Wendorf, and Schild 1979; Hassan 1974; Lubell 1974; Phillips 1973; Wendorf 1968a; Wendorf and Schild 1976; Wendorf et al. 1980; 1986–89). The Nile at that time was very different from today. The highlands of E Africa were cold and arid; the Blue Nile had a very restricted flow that was loaded with sediment and the White Nile did not flow at all. As a consequence, the Egyptian Nile was a braided stream with several channels, which deposited sediment in the Valley, raising the level of the river much higher than it is today (Wendorf et al. 1986–89, vol. 2).

Most of the known sites seem to have been seasonal camps occupied immediately after the annual flood, which today occurs in late August and September. The period after the flood is an ideal time for fishing, because the fish can be readily caught by simple techniques as the floodwaters recede. Most of the sites contain numerous fish bones, but other subsistence activities included the gathering of starchy tubers, which grew along the edge of the flood plain and were in prime condition for harvesting shortly after the flood, and the hunting of hartebeest, wild cattle, gazelle, and hippo (Wendorf et al. 1986–89, vol. 2). In some sites, particularly those occupied after 15,000 B.P., there are indications that cattle were the most important prey.

The tool kits include numerous grinding stones on which the starchy tubers were crushed to remove volatile toxins and to improve their digestibility. Bone tools and ornaments make their first appearance in the prehistoric record; they are not common but include simple bone awls and narrow bi-pointed pieces which may have served as fish gorges, as well as beads made from ostrich eggshell (Wendorf et al. 1986–89, vol. 3).

Human remains of this period are known from several sites, including three graveyards containing multiple burials (Anderson 1968; Green et al. 1967; Wendorf 1968b; 1968c). All of them were Mechtoids, the same type as appeared in the valley in the early Upper Paleolithic. Their presence suggests that there was a single human type throughout N Africa during this period, from the Nile Valley to

Atlantic Morocco. In the graveyards at Jebel Sahaba, near the Sudanese-Egyptian border, more than 40 percent of the skeletons—men, women and children—had stone artifacts embedded in their bones, fractures, cut marks, or other evidence of violent death; the actual percentage to have died violently was undoubtedly much higher. The skeleton of a male from Wadi Kubbaniya in Egypt had two stone blades in its pelvic cavity and signs of older, healed traumas (Wendorf et al. 1986–89, vol. 1). It is not clear that these deaths bear witness to organized warfare, but this was obviously a period of intense and violent competition for the limited resources of the valley.

**D. The Holocene and the Neolithic**

After about 13,000 B.P., there was a significant increase in the rainfall in E Africa, the White Nile began to flow, Victoria Falls became active, and the river soon broke through the dunes which had blocked its channel S of Khartoum. A stream regimen developed similar to that of today. At first, this produced record floods, traces of which are still evident along the edges of the flood plain, but the multiple braided channels which had characterized the river for nearly ten millennia were soon abandoned for a single, wide-stream course, which began to cut through the soft sediments that had filled the valley. This new and greatly enlarged river provided more stable, and probably richer, resources than before, but successful exploitation of them undoubtedly required new adaptations and technological skills.

**1. Early Neolithic and Cattle Domestication.** The period between 12,000 and 8000 B.P. is poorly represented in the archaeological record of the Nile Valley; only four or five small sites are known (Schild, Chmielewski, and Wieckowski 1968; Vermeersch 1978). Fishing and hunting were still important economic activities, and grinding stones continued to be used, but there are no plant remains to tell us whether they were for processing tubers or for crushing grass seeds. There is nothing to suggest the presence of domestic plants or animals.

In striking contrast, we know much about developments in the W Desert during this period (Banks 1984; Caton-Thompson 1952; Wendorf and Schild 1980; Wendorf et al. 1984). The increased rainfall had spread N into the S Sahara by 11,000 B.P., ending the long period of hyperaridity. It was not as wet as during the Middle Paleolithic, with perhaps only 100 mm per annum even during the wettest periods, but this was sufficient to permit men and animals to recolonize the area. The summer monsoons created temporary ponds, or playas, in basins scoured out of the bedrock. Several meters of sediment had accumulated in the basins before the first evidence of human occupation, indicating a significant delay between the onset of the rains and the arrival of the first human groups (Wendorf et al. 1984).

The earliest Holocene sites are small clusters of stone artifacts, representing brief occupations by small groups of people. The tools closely resemble those from contemporary sites along the Nile. Several sites have also yielded a few sherds of well-made pottery, decorated with rows of designs made by pressing a comb into the clay while it was still soft. This pottery, called Early Khartoum ware, is known from the Nile Valley in central Sudan, and also from much of the S part of the Sahara.

The associated fauna is very different from that of the Middle Paleolithic, consisting mostly of the small dorcas gazelle, with some specimens of the slightly larger dama gazelle and an occasional hare. Many of the sites also contain the bones of cattle intermediate in size between wild and domestic forms (Gautier 1987). These are believed to have been domestic, primarily on ecological grounds. If the cattle were wild, there should have been the range of animals that usually accompanied them. For example, in the Nile Valley, where wild cattle were present, there were hartebeests, occasional Barbary sheep, wild asses and hyenas, as well as dorcas and dama gazelles, hare, and other small mammals. The early Holocene desert fauna lacks these medium-size animals, indicating an environment too harsh to support anything larger than a small ruminant. In addition, unlike gazelles and hare, cattle need to drink water. There was no permanent standing water in the Holocene desert. When the playas were dry, the only way to obtain water was to dig for it. Wild cattle thus could not have survived in the W Desert and the cattle must have been brought, as domestic animals, by the Neolithic people who found water and pasturage for them (Wendorf, Close, and Schild 1987). Since these Saharan cattle are quite as early as the earliest domestic cattle in the Near East and SE Europe, this raises the possibility of an independent African domestication of cattle.

There are two kinds of settlements among the earliest Neolithic sites (Wendorf et al. 1984). The first are small but relatively dense concentrations of artifacts with one or several hearths. Such sites are always located in the seasonally flooded lower parts of the basins. None of the sites has any indication of a dug well, so surface water must have been available nearby, in still deeper portions of the basins; these settlements do not, therefore, date from the very driest part of the year.

The second kind of settlement has small, thin clusters of artifacts and an occasional hearth, but with very few and often crudely made stone tools. These sites occur on the higher plateaus and on the sand sheets, where grazing would have been available in periods of increased rainfall. Since all the known earliest Neolithic sites seem to have been temporary camps occupied after seasonal rains, and since the associated faunas consistently include a few bones of presumably domestic cattle, it is likely that both varieties may have been herding camps occupied by small groups, but that each represents a slightly different function. The small clusters, with a few crudely made tools, are seen as representing satellite groups, possibly of young men or boys, who were tending cattle herds in distant pastures. The more elaborate sites in the playa basins are interpreted as the remains of camps of the families from which the herding groups were derived.

Since there is no evidence for the digging of wells, these groups must not have remained in the desert throughout the year. It is likely that the Early Neolithic cattle herders left the desert unoccupied each year from the beginning of the dry season until the grass began to grow—that is, from late winter until after the summer rains. They seem not to have moved S into Sudan, but may have gone E to the Nile Valley. However, there is an important difference between the Nilotic sites and those in the desert. Although the sites on the Nile contain cattle, they are larger than those found in the desert sites, falling within the normal range of wild cattle (Gautier 1987). However, the Neolithic groups in the Nile Valley may have kept herds of domestic cattle primarily for milk and blood, and obtained their meat from the wild cattle which roamed naturally in the lush environment of the valley. In that case, the cattle remains would represent almost exclusively the hunted wild animals, with only an occasional bone from a herd animal.

After a brief but intensely arid interval around 8200 B.P., distinctly different groups suddenly appear in the W Desert at about 8100 B.P. (Wendorf and Schild 1980; Wendorf et al. 1984). These new people lived in true villages, often with a clearly defined plan of houses set in rows, or with storage pits placed in an arc. Some of the villages had large, deep wells, with steps cut into the side, making it possible to walk down to the water. Hunting was still important, but hare were now relatively more common in the faunal remains. Cattle were present, although still rare, and domestic cereals (six-row barley) were also known. Pottery was more abundant, although it was not common.

The houses and pits indicate long-term or, at least, recurrent occupations, and they may even have been occupied for most of the year. These people seem no longer to have migrated to the Nile Valley; no sites have been found there of this age with anything approaching this level of social complexity (although they might, of course, now be buried). The stimulus for these new developments is not well understood, but one contributing factor may have been the domestication of plants, for which these sites provide the first evidence in Egypt.

**2. Middle and Late Neolithic.** The trend of Saharan development was again broken by aridity between 7900 and 7800 B.P. When the rains returned, the playa sediments once more began to accumulate in the basins and the desert was reoccupied by people with a different stone tool technology, new preferences in raw materials, more abundant and differently decorated pottery, and a social system that did not require organized villages like those of the preceding period. Middle Neolithic sites are numerous and a few are very large. Settlement was almost certainly restricted to the desert. Occupation lasted 1500 years (until about 6200 B.P.) without interruption, even though there is evidence for several intervals of pronounced aridity during this period (Wendorf and Schild 1980; Wendorf et al. 1984).

Cattle were still present but rare, and the later part of this period may have seen the introduction of sheep or goats. Domestic emmer wheat occurred, as well as the already known six-row barley. Hare and gazelle remained the most important sources of meat. The only evidence of direct contact with people living along the Nile is a few shells from Nilotic and Red Sea shellfish, but stone tools in the two areas

are remarkably similar, which should indicate more than occasional contact. There are only a few human skeletal remains which can be assigned to this period, and these seem to have Negroid features.

The Middle Neolithic saw the development of considerable variety in settlements, but in all the variations the availability of water remained the crucial factor. The communities include numerous middle-sized settlements, each with several wattle-and-daub houses, located in the lower portions of large playas, and small one- or two-house settlements in the lower part of small basins. On the higher plateaus and distant sand sheets, there are small clusters of hearths and artifacts, like those of the Early Neolithic; these, again, are thought to represent herding camps. There is also one very large settlement (>15 ha), on a dune overlooking one of the largest playas and above the highest reach of the seasonal floods (Banks 1984). No trace of houses has been found, but there are deep storage pits, large walk-in wells, and many hearths throughout a 2 m deep sequence. The bones of cattle are significantly more frequent here than in any other type of Middle Neolithic site.

We may try to reconstruct how these settlements articulated into one system. The exceptionally large site may have been the place where most, if not all, of the local population gathered, presumably for social purposes, during one period of the year. This period was probably within the rainy season, because only then would there be available sufficient water for a large group. The social purposes of such a gathering are, of course, unknown, but they may have included betrothals and marriages, trade, and religious or ritual activities. This may also explain the relative abundance of cattle remains, which recalls the practice among many modern cattle pastoralists of slaughtering cattle to mark socially significant occasions.

Later, near the end of the wet season, the people dispersed into medium-sized groups who moved onto the lower levels of the playas as the water levels receded. Before the playas had completely dried, crops were planted around the still-moist margins of the basins. The very small scatters of artifacts on the plateaus and sand sheets may also date from this season and may represent the pasturing of cattle on the new grass that came up during and after the rains. The one- and two-house sites in the playas may represent simply an alternative type of settlement during the same season, and the existence of such sites strongly suggests that there was no warfare or less formal conflicts, such as banditry. All the sites on the playas would become uninhabitable at the onset of the rains, and it was perhaps then, or shortly thereafter, that movement began back to the large aggregation sites.

Contemporaneous sites known in the Nile Valley are few and small, and date only to a late phase of the Middle Neolithic (Shiner 1968b). Thus, the best evidence now available suggests that an efficient settlement system, together with a rather sophisticated technology and a moderately stable interval of increased rainfall, permitted large communities to live permanently in what must still have been a very harsh environment.

A change in ceramics and possibly the introduction of new livestock (sheep or goats, if they were not already present in the later Middle Neolithic) mark the beginning of the Late Neolithic at about 6200 B.P. (Wendorf and Schild 1980; Wendorf et al. 1984). The new pottery tradition is characterized by burnished or polished surfaces and occasional simple painted decorations. These features seem to appear in the desert slightly earlier than in the valley, but this is probably a consequence of our limited knowledge of the Nilotic Neolithic. The appearance of the Neolithic along the Nile is one of the least studied and poorest documented periods of Egyptian prehistory. Only from the Faiyum is there any good archaeological information (Caton-Thompson and Gardner 1934; Wendorf and Schild 1976), and that area may have been exploited by groups who also made use of the desert.

The Faiyum is a large depression 30 km W of the Nile, which was filled by Nile water during the seasonal floods, forming a high lake (until controlled by the civil engineering projects of the pharaohs). From about 8000 to 7500 B.P., the lake shore was occupied by small groups of fishers, whose sites lack pottery, cereals, and domestic animals (Wendorf and Schild 1976). However, sites dating between 6400 and 6000 B.P. (the next period for which evidence is available) contain large, crudely made, undecorated, fiber-tempered pottery vessels and a few small, finely made vessels with polished surfaces and sand temper. Wheat and barley were both known, as well as domestic cattle and sheep or goats. The

settlements included large, slab-lined storage pits, some of them still filled with grain, even in the 20th century (Caton-Thompson and Gardner 1934). The numerous fish remains indicate that fishing remained an important activity.

In the Sand Sea far to the W, sites have been found of about this age which contain pottery and stone artifacts similar to those of the Faiyum (R. Kuper, personal communication, 1984). These similarities suggest the possibility that the Faiyum Neolithic and the Sand Sea Neolithic may be part of the same settlement system, which would have involved seasonal occupation of the Faiyum after the late summer flood to fish and to plant wheat and barley, and a westward migration into the desert with the herds. Such a pattern could explain why Faiyum Neolithic pottery has never been found in the Nile Valley.

We cannot yet determine whether the Nilotic Neolithic appeared because of the stimulus, or even immigration, of Neolithic desert groups to the valley, or because of stimulus (or migration) from the S Levant. We do know, however, that the modern aridification of the W Desert began about 5400 B.P.—corresponding to a historical date of 4320–4240 B.C.—at about the same time as the predynastic began in the Nile Valley. It seems very likely, although it cannot yet be demonstrated, that at least some of the stimulus for the predynastic can be attributed to the movement of desert populations into the Nile.

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# *NEOLITHIC TO DYNASTY 1*

Although often characterized as "prehistoric" or "predynastic" (Weeks 1985), the period that immediately preceded the 1st Dyn. witnessed the emergence of writing and pharaonic rule in Egypt, and thus would be better thought of as "protoliterate" or "protohistorical."

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## A. Early Neolithic Prelude

The earliest evidence for Neolithic settlement near the Nile occurs in poor and dispersed sites or site-complexes without durable structures or deep deposits, which lack the transitions and detailed interconnections that make later sequences cohesive historical units. Although regionally distinctive features suggest that groups occupied areas as spheres of activity for long periods, important features of pottery, implements, and a rich rock art which emphasized cattle can be traced across the Sahara, indicating widespread relationships (Håland 1987: fig. 3; Striedter 1984). This era of changing climate in northeastern Africa produced widely varying opportunities for human existence in any small area, but always allowed some kind of habitation in the region. By obstructing movement, the desert increasingly encouraged regional cultures (Eiwanger 1987: 83).

## B. Emergence of Regional Cultures

In the sixth and fifth millennia B.C., human occupation shifted from the drying desert toward its southern and northern margins, the Nile, and the oases. Areas occupied included the mountainous desert east of the Nile, savanna lands east of the Nile in the south, Kordofan and Darfur to the southwest, the western oases, and the Nile Valley. Here, an annual inundation removed surface salts, leaving a layer of new silt, naturally fertilizing and irrigating the land well enough to support a limited population (Krzyzaniak 1977: 25–27, 55; Butzer 1976: 18–20).

**1. Stone Tools and Interrelations.** Regional cultures are present in the Nile Valley from the Middle Neolithic to the Egyptian 1st Dyn. (see discussion in *LÄ* 6: 1069–76). See Fig. EGY.02. Despite their differences, these cultures shared such developments as trends in stone tool making. From Sudan to

northern Egypt, the earliest Neolithic industries were blade industries. Thereafter, a bifacial core industry predominated until the Maadi and Naqada cultures of Egypt revived blade technique (Eiwanger 1983: 63–67). Mutual contacts and those with Asia correlate the cultures, but chronology in real time remains approximate, despite the application of radiometric techniques (Kantor fc.). The earliest phases in northern Egypt shared significant features with the pottery Neolithic of Palestine, but these contacts were severed (Eiwanger 1983) until the Chalcolithic period, when they again became important.

**2. Egypt and the Middle Nile.** The three major regional cultures in the northern Nile Valley were centered in northern Egypt, Upper (or southern) Egypt, and Lower Nubia, respectively. Far to the south, The Sudanese-Saharan tradition appears in small settlements supported mainly by hunting, fishing, and gathering, notably at Khartoum. Later, people also raised cattle and crops (Håland 1987: 51–56, 59–62). Distant contacts are illustrated by the widespread adoption of a special form of harpoon in Africa and Palestine (Håland 1987: fig. 3). In the Khartoum Neolithic phase contemporary with the Naqada period of Upper Egypt, a major center comparable in size to the great sites of Upper Egypt was established at Taragma near Meroe, a concentration previously unsuspected in the region (Reinold 1987: 17–43).

**C. Cultures of Northern Egypt**

From the western delta to south of the Fayum, the cultures of northern Egypt occur largely in single sites or restricted areas, rather than extensive "horizons." The emergence of distinct cultural traditions in northern Egypt has often been connected to the later canonical division between Upper and Lower Egypt (*LÄ* 1: 1148–49), although these early cultures were actually located in large part south of the Delta in areas assigned to Upper Egypt. In order of appearance, the site phases are Merimda (early and main) at the western edge of the delta; Fayum A; sites near the northern shore of Lake Qarun; el-Omari and Maadi just south of modern Cairo; and possibly Buto, in the northwest delta.

**1. Domestic Economy.** The domestic economies of northern Egypt were substantially supported by agriculture which concentrated on the cultivation of cereals. Animals such as sheep, goats, cattle, and dogs were kept; fish and a wide range of animals were taken. Even hippopotamus bones occur in the settlements (Hayes 1965: 93, 112). Hunting this dangerous animal requires the coordinated tactics of bands or crews (but see Eiwanger 1988: 44).

**2. Structures and Settlements.** Like earlier *playa* settlements, most habitations were light, irregular or oval structures made of posts and reeds, sometimes plastered with mud. Many had hearths and circular storage pits nearby, some of which were lined with baskets or mud. At Maadi, some light structures were rectangular. The settlements had no regular plan, but part of a ditch and palisade were found at Maadi, in addition to large communal storage areas. Merimda contained a number of oval structures about two meters long, built of mud or mud slabs with floors below ground level. Sometimes a small jar would be imbedded in the floor near one end of the oval, and a stick or hippopotamus tibia would be plastered against the wall near the opposite end (Hayes 1965: 105). The buildings, some arranged as though on a lane (Hayes 1965: 105), were built only in restricted areas, probably for a special purpose (Eiwanger 1982: 68). They may be related to structures at Maadi that were sunk into the ground over two meters and approached by steps. One very large (10 × 6 × 2 m) and elaborate brick-lined sunken structure had a special entry and a niche. It was found with a cemetery and large deposits of fish and pottery vessels, many containing grain. These structures at Merimda and Maadi, especially the large building, may represent a tradition of religious architecture (Anonymous 1986).

**3. Religious Practice.** Other evidence of religious practice includes burials, deposits, and possibly structural features. Early Merimda contained a small cemetery of contracted burials, mostly placed with the heads south, on the right side. Later, burials in the Merimda levels were oriented irregularly (Eiwanger 1982: fig. 1; Hayes 1965: 112–13). In the el-Omari and Maadi phases, burials were made in cemeteries, some of them very large. Grave goods were deposited with later burials, and some later graves have simple dolmen-like superstructures. Even some goats were buried at Heliopolis with grave goods (Debono and Mortenson 1988: 39, 46–48). Female figurines and an egg-shaped terra-cotta head from Merimda are not readily connected to known traditions, but a deposit with axes and a hippopotamus

figurine (Eiwanger 1982: 76–80; 1988: 46) and the hippopotamus tibia used as steps may be forerunners of Egyptian magical practices.

**4. Manufactured Goods.** The handmade pottery of earliest Merimda was relatively fine, but apart from some stands, the mostly ovoid shapes were simpler than later pottery. Many vessels were pattern burnished with a pebble. Some vessels have a band of incised herringbone decoration, a feature that occurs both in Palestine and elsewhere in northern Africa (Eiwanger 1984: 61). The pottery of later Merimda was coarser, with vegetable temper. Shapes remained simple, but knobs and lugs were sometimes applied (Hayes 1965: 106–7; Eiwanger 1979: 28–38, 56; 1988: 15–33, pls. 1–32). Most vessels were burnished, with a dark surface color. This simple pottery continued at Maadi. Only a few pieces were decorated in red paint on a light ground, and the finer red and black burnished vessels were accompanied by much coarse dark pottery, and some very large storage jars (Ibrahim and Seeher 1987: pls. 27, 2 and 28, 2). In other industries, the stone vessels of Maadi were more elaborate than those found at Merimda (Hayes 1965: 126). Copper was also worked at Maadi from imported ores.

**5. Trade.** Trade and contacts expanded greatly between the time of Merimda and Maadi, but imports from the East primarily consisted of raw materials such as copper ore and asphalt, or oils; most objects were made locally or regionally, although wavy-handled jars were imported from southwest Asia and some vessels and other objects were imported or imitated from Upper Egypt (Kaiser 1985: 70; Ibrahim and Seeher 1984; von der Way 1987: 242–47, 256–57).

**6. End of Northern Egypt.** Maadi ended early in the second phase (II) of Upper Egypt's Naqada culture (Fig. EGY.02; Kaiser 1985: fig. 10). The settlement seems to have been finally destroyed by fire (Hayes 1965: 123). Maadi was the last of Lower Egypt's cultures in the area, although Buto in the Delta—where a settlement with a cemetery has recently been found—may continue (von der Way 1986; 1987: 242–47, including Naqada II pottery; Kaiser 1985: fig. 10).

**7. Summary.** In northern Egypt, a large number of small, shifting villages probably sustained a few more permanent large settlements (Eiwanger 1987: fig. 9). Consolidated in the area of Helwan and Maadi, these centers transcended the shifting earlier habitations without eliminating cultural variations (Kaiser 1985: 67), a contrast with the more uniform Naqada culture of Upper Egypt.

**D. Cultures of Upper Egypt**

Largely known through burials, the stream of culture in Upper Egypt is uninterrupted from the Tasian to the First Dynasty. The Naqada culture—divided into I (Amratian), II (Gerzean), and III—consists of broadly distributed cultural horizons most readily identified by their pottery (Kaiser 1957; for a different view, see Kantor fc.).

**1. Tasian.** The Tasian culture of Middle Egypt was found in few graves, but the burial arrangements and objects deposited were distinctive (Brunton 1937: 25–33), especially a narrow black pottery beaker with a flared rim and white-filled incised geometric decoration. The typical ordinary Tasian bowl or jar was burnished with a rippled effect in shallow grooves or facets.

**2. Badarian.** The culture identified at el-Badari and other sites in Middle Egypt is typified by red- or black-topped pottery combed and burnished to make a diagonally rippled surface. Other objects, decorated ivory combs and spoons, stone vessels, slate palettes, carved amulets, figurines, and vessels, were often elaborate versions of Tasian prototypes and many were developed still further in the Naqada I phase (Brunton and Caton-Thompson 1928; Krzyzaniak 1977: 68–84).

**3. Succession of Tasian, Badarian, and Naqada I.** The relations between Tasian, Badarian, and the succeeding Amratian or Naqada I are problematic; some have considered them partly or even entirely contemporary, although they are found in close proximity. Since the differences between objects are those usually encountered in successive phases in Egypt, the later reappearance of Tasian features such as the flared beaker—which had persisted in Nubia and Sudan—was probably due to reintroduction (Kaiser 1985: 81, fig. 8; but see Reinold 1987: fig. 4, ER, for persisting beakers).

**4. Naqada Culture.** The Naqada culture leads directly into the 1st Dyn. In the Naqada I, this culture extended from Middle Egypt to northern Lower Nubia. In Naqada II, it expanded into the delta, while a separate culture, known as the A-Group, occupied Lower Nubia (Kaiser 1956: fig. 5; 1957: 74). During

Naqada III, official art appears in a refined and elaborate form in the well-known carved slate palettes and ivories. The later part of the period is sometimes referred to as Dyn. 0 because the names of pharaonic rulers not attested in the later king lists occur (Kaiser and Dreyer 1982: 260–69).

**a. Manufactured Goods.** The shapes of most Naqada I pottery vessels were different from Badarian, and burnished surfaces were no longer rippled; but continuity can be traced in such features as white-painted designs inside bowls derived from patterns incised in Badarian bowls. This Naqada I painted pottery became elaborate and included complex representations. Increased technical competence in other crafts is apparent in the presence of copper tools, glazed steatite, and high-quality linen textiles. Other objects, especially ivories, further developed Badarian types. In Naqada II, black-topped and red-polished pottery was first augmented, then replaced by buff or hard pink vessels fired in a closed kiln, and sometimes decorated with red paint in a new style. In Naqada III, only the pink-buff pottery was left among the Egyptian vessels (Kaiser 1957: 72–73; Kroeper and Wildung 1985: 69–72). Painting became less common, done in a third style related to formal art on the ivories and palettes. Stone vessels became truly elaborate and these and other industries develop without interruption (Petrie 1920: 34–36; Krzyzaniak 1977: 140–56), possibly already organized along lines familiar from later representations.

**b. Domestic Economy.** The domestic economy of Upper Egypt was agricultural, based on the cultivation of grains and raising livestock. By late Naqada III, even the date palm was cultivated. However, permanent agriculture and settlement in Upper Egypt's narrow valley was only possible where irregularities in the location, timing, and even height of the inundation could be sufficiently controlled to ensure reliable yields in the same location year after year. The foundation of Egyptian agriculture, the simple, flexible, and relatively reliable basin irrigation system, achieved control using crescentic canals to take water from the high river, direct it onto a series of basin fields, and then drain it back into the river downstream. Even a rudimentary basin system is a large-scale enterprise requiring a considerable effort made yearly by organized troops of workers. Thus, a large resident population in Upper Egypt and control of the inundation are mutually implied, but control was never complete enough to prevent progressive or catastrophic failures (Butzer 1976: 51–56).

**c. Settlements and Construction.** The known habitations, mostly located at the desert edge, were probably peripheral and do not fairly represent the original settlements. Most major permanent settlements were probably located on modest eminences in the floodplain or on the riverbanks; they are now largely destroyed or deeply buried. A reconstruction of Upper Egypt depends on inference from scattered and fragmentary physical remains such as the village at Hemamiyya (Brunton and Caton-Thompson 1928: 69–74), representations, and cemeteries.

The earliest long-lasting sites are found in Middle Egypt, but great sites began in the Naqada I southern Upper Egypt. From south to north, these include the cemeteries and town of Hierakonpolis (Fairservis, Weeks, and Hoffman 1971: 29–37; *LÄ* 2: 1182–86), the large structures and cemeteries of Naqada (Petrie and Quibell 1896; *LÄ* 4: 344–47), evidence for a temple at Coptos (Petrie 1896: 5–9), and the cemeteries of Abadiya-Hu, or Diospolis Parva (Kaiser 1957: 73–74). Population was not just scattered in villages, but also concentrated in such major centers. The consolidated towns dominated almost crescentic areas of arable land sharply constricted at either end where the river approaches the desert to define a virtually natural basin irrigation complex. The Scorpion Macehead of Naqada III may actually depict part of such a complex (Krzyzaniak 1977: fig. 3; Butzer 1976: 20–21).

As in the north, dwellings in Upper Egypt were at first simple circular or oval shelters of posts and reeds with some substantial circular mud-ring foundations; enclosures of grass or matting were also used (Brunton and Caton-Thompson 1928: 47, 82). Some shelters were rectangular (Hoffman 1980). In Naqada II, an important rectangular tomb was lined with mudbrick and painted, and a model probably represents a rectangular brick house (Baumgartel 1960: pl. XII, 3). A terra-cotta model of Naqada I–II date and representational evidence from Naqada III indicate that large oval fortifications with bastions were erected of a type later depicted enclosing the names of known towns, using brick for at least part of the structure (Baumgartel 1960: pl. XII, 1–2; Petrie 1953, pls. F: 19 [Libyan Booty Palette], F: 17–18

[Bull Palette], and K [Narmer Palette]). A sinuous, curved wall with a bastion of this general kind surrounded the compact town of Elephantine by the end of the 2d Dyn. (Kaiser et al. 1987: figs. 5–6).

**d. Trade.** Trade for products such as malachite (and copper?) and vessels of oil from the east, and resins from the south, was already important in the Naqada Period. Its organization is not easy to reconstruct, but groups of cache pits found from the northern delta to Nubia and small short-term settlements in northern Sinai indicate that it was at least partly handled by small parties or teams (Oren 1973). Naqada III sealings from Ein Besor in Palestine may derive from official trade (Williams 1986: 175). Many large pottery vessels that may have contained agricultural products were taken to Nubia, probably in cargo boats. Naqada II–III rock drawings in the Eastern Desert indicate that expeditions already obtained products such as gold, slate or schist, and alabaster.

**E. A-Group in Nubia and Upper Egypt**

Through trade, the growing prosperity of Naqada-period Upper Egypt played a vital role in the expansion of the A-Group culture of Lower Nubia and southernmost Upper Egypt. Although the two cultures differed somewhat, A-Group pottery was related to both older Tasian-like ceramics and the preceding Abkan of Lower Nubia (Nordstrom 1972: 21–22, 28–29), while A-Group and Egyptian art shared important formal features (Williams 1986: 138–59, 167–71). Although the settlements were badly preserved and cemeteries were of modest size, one site at Afya contained substantial rectangular buildings with apsidal ends, and fields of cache pits at Khor Daud near Nubia's gold-mining region were larger than most in Egypt (Nordstrom 1972: 20–21; Williams 1986, table 6 and 16–18). The domestic economy may have been simple, but trade was so important that Egyptian vessels were placed even in poor burials and A-Group vessels appear in Egypt (Nordstrom 1972: 26; Kroeper and Wildung 1985: 73). Sudanese features also appear. Later tombs contained evidence of differences in wealth comparable to Upper Egypt and early Naqada III attests a rich cemetery of great tombs at Qustul near the modern Sudanese border more important than any in contemporary Egypt. This cemetery contained representational evidence linking it to pharaonic rulers (Williams 1986: 163–83).

**F. Emergence of Pharaonic Egypt**

The origin of Egypt's all-pervading pharaonic culture is the major problem in the era before the 1st Dyn. Although scholars do not now generally believe that pharaonic Egypt was essentially the creation of a "dynastic race" from the northeast, or that the Delta was largely responsible for high culture (Kantor fc.; Krzyzaniak 1977: 14–18), contacts with Mesopotamia are based more firmly on the striking similarity of elements that occur in both countries. These include important artistic motifs, such as a bark approaching a paneled or niched building, intertwined serpents, and paired monsters with long, intertwined necks, as well as cylinder seals and niched brick architecture (Helck 1987: 134–37, Kantor fc.). Even the development of writing may have been accelerated by Mesopotamian contacts (Kantor fc.). Most of these features appear early in Upper Egypt, but Mesopotamian relations remain an important consideration.

**1. Ruler, Writing, and Cults.** Pharaonic images always depicted or indicated the ruler and the gods in a manner that supported universal order. Certain signs, images, and conventional activities can be traced in progressively earlier representations as early as Naqada I. Standards of known deities appear in the art of Naqada I and II. A pharaonic sacrificial procession appears on monuments of Naqada III, on a painted textile from Gebelein of Naqada I, and in a large wall painting in a tomb dating to the middle of Naqada II at Hierakonpolis that is an organized pharaonic composition (Williams and Logan 1987: 253–57). In Naqada III, pharaonic images on ceremonial stone and ivory carvings can be linked with other representations to show that the art of the period was completely pharaonic (Williams 1988). It concentrated on the figure of the pharaoh and his ceremonial activities and often included or reflected political conflict (Kaiser 1964: 89–92). The compositions have brief but definite inscriptions that label persons, objects, possibly situations, and name rulers, such as Narmer and Scorpion, whose monumental carved stone palette and macehead were found at Hierakonpolis. Cults already included the monumental gigantism characteristic of later ages. Stone colossi found at Coptos in the pose of Min were inscribed by Narmer and display the emblem of the god (Anonymous 1988: 41–42).

**2. Succession of Rulers.** Important lists such as the Turin Papyrus and the Palermo Stone, as well as later mythological texts and the 3d-century historian Manetho, record dynasties and rulers for this early period, but a relationship to actual persons and events is difficult to establish (Helck 1987: 81–114). Archaeological evidence must be used to help reconstruct political geography in Naqada II–III. The large painted tomb of a ruler at Hierakonpolis of mid-Naqada II and comparable tombs at Naqada and Abadiya indicate that Upper Egypt was consolidating into regional sovereignties (Kaiser and Dreyer 1982: 242–45). At the end of Naqada II, these large tombs in different locations were replaced by a unique series of even larger tombs and complexes whose designs lead in a direct, possibly dynastic, succession from Naqada III into the 1st Dyn. At Abydos, double-shaft tombs of three predecessors of the 1st Dyn. were found: Iry-Hor (Ra), Ka (Sekhen), and Narmer. A still earlier tomb at Hierakonpolis, a long trench with a side chamber, may be assigned to Scorpion. Qustul's great trench and side-chamber tombs may fill the hiatus between Scorpion and the latest rulers of Naqada II to complete a series that led to the 1st Dyn. (Williams 1986: 177).

## G. Consolidation of Egypt.

In early Naqada II, the northern Nile Valley was divided among northern Egyptian cultures, the Naqada culture, and the A-Group. By mid–Naqada II, Naqada culture cemeteries appeared in the delta, indicating that control of the southern delta and the entire valley had passed to the south. By Naqada III, the vast cemeteries at Tarkhan and Tura indicate that the Naqada culture now had regional centers in an area that had been the core of northern Egypt. The geographical completion of ancient Egypt, if not its unity, had essentially been accomplished, for records of conflict parallel the consolidation of regional centers. At the same time, trade with Asia and Sudan expanded, leaving northern Sinai dotted and A-Group Nubia lined with sites. The culmination of the consolidation is reflected in monuments at Abydos in Dyn. 0, followed by great but secondary funerary monuments at Saqqara and elsewhere in the 1st Dyn. At this time, the overland routes across Sinai became inactive and Lower Nubia was largely abandoned. Having developed in contact with so many peoples, Egypt began her 1st Dyn. as a solitary eminence in northeastern Africa.

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BRUCE B. WILLIAMS

## *EARLY DYNASTIC—1ST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD*

(DYN. 1–11)

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A. Unification of Egypt
B. Early Dynastic (or Archaic) Period
C. Old Kingdom Period
D. First Intermediate Period

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### A. Unification of Egypt

During the last centuries of the 4th millennium, a long-term process of political and cultural coalescence resulted in an Egyptian state encompassing much of the Nile Delta (Lower Egypt) and the valley proper, almost as far S as Aswan (Upper Egypt). Later Egyptian tradition, however, held that an Upper Egyptian ruler named Meni (Gk Menes) had conquered Lower Egypt. This unification became for the Egyptians not only the beginning point of their history, but an enduring emblem of the congruence of the social and political order with the cosmic (Eg *ma'at*), embodied in the divine monarch. Menes—perhaps the King

Narmer whose palette appears to lay claim to sovereignty over both parts of the country—stood as the founder and first ruler of a unified Egypt. A new administrative center, later Memphis, was attributed to him. The accession year of each succeeding ruler was designated "the (year of the) Unification of Upper and Lower Egypt." Throughout its long history, even under foreign domination, Egypt was understood to be a condominium of two originally discrete political entities.

While this is certainly too simple, idealized, and constructed a notion of how unity came about or of the political situation in Egypt prior to unification—evidence for a preunification delta monarchy, for example, is not strong—the controlling idea that eventually emerged from this picture of the founding was that the unity of the Two Lands (i.e., Egypt) equalled "order," stability, prosperity, etc., while disunity meant "chaos." The monarch's role—both as king of Upper and Lower Egypt (Eg *nisu-bity*) and as the embodiment of the patron goddesses (Eg *nebty*) of the two sections of the country—was to ensure the former and suppress the latter. Rebellion against the king, therefore, became not merely a political act, but resistance to the divine order of the world as well.

Despite late predynastic cultural and technological influence from SW Asia, Egypt did not develop the pattern of urbanism (with its particular sort of localism) that had emerged earlier there. The establishment of an effective centralized state in Egypt likely limited the potential of larger towns to become cities in the Mesopotamian sense, because the monarchy, with its control over economic and political priorities and decision making, became the focus of social and economic life. Nevertheless, local centers of economic, judicial, and cultic responsibilities retained an underlying importance: whenever, in later eras, the central royal government disappeared or was, for one reason or another, ineffectual and unable to enforce its will much beyond the royal palace complex district, these local centers and their leaders provided the essential stability and continuity in daily life. Egyptian history is thus best understood as an equilibrium between the ideologically preferred centralized monarchy and the decentralizing tendencies of local power foci.

**B. Early Dynastic (or Archaic) Period.**

The two primary developments during the Early Dynastic (ED) period (Dyn. 1–2; late 4th–early 3d millennia B.C.) were the country-wide articulation and acceptance of the ideology of the divine monarchy and the development of an administrative hierarchy that effectuated the king's wishes. The king's verbal command *(hu)* gave form to his divine perceptions *(sia)*, always within the constraints of *ma'at*. The ruler's titulary expressed his relationship to the gods, his own divine attributes, and his essential unifying and ordering role. As the bodily manifestation of the god Horus, he was the living expression of royal legitimacy and succession. The elaboration of the size and design of the royal tombs, surrounded by the burials of relatives, officials, and retainers—some perhaps killed and buried at the time of the king's death (Dyn. 1)—and the 2d Dyn. decision to abandon the older royal cemetery at Abydos (Upper Egypt) to make the Memphite necropolis at Saqqara the preferred royal burial site, focused attention on the monarch, both in this life and in the next. From a very early date, kings fortunate enough to rule for an extended period of time celebrated the *sed* festival, a rite of royal death and rebirth designed to renew the king's divine powers and, by extension, the stability and prosperity of the entire country.

The bureaucracy, dominated until late in the 4th Dyn. by the king's male relatives and headed by the vizier (or chief minister), organized the land-holding elites to manage the royal economy (the palace, royal estates, tax collection, economic redistribution, etc.). They also utilized a growing and increasingly indispensable scribal corps and the social and political aspects of monarchy: the king's cultic activities, the biennial tour of the country, the judicial apparatus, the royal construction administration, the military (a corvée, rather than a standing army), and the maintenance of records (including annual Nile heights). The evolving class structure included newly important artisans, service personnel and retainers, a small group of professionals, and the peasantry.

Foreign trade in the ED period was conducted under royal aegis. From SW Asia, principally exploiting surplus grain production, precious and semiprecious materials, and some manufactures, Egypt obtained such materials as construction-quality wood, obsidian, lapis lazuli, turquoise, and copper. Dyn. 1 Egyptian pottery has been found in S Palestine, and EB II ware from Syria-Palestine is known from Egypt. A portion of the proceeds was subsequently redistributed to cultic and private loci in the form of royal

patronage. An inscription of King Den (Dyn. 1) near the 2d Cataract attests to early royal trade interests in Nubia to the S.

The king's role in the support and construction of cult temples together with the demands of the new ruling elites resulted in a number of basic artistic innovations, building on both foreign influences and native trends. These formed the foundations of subsequent Egyptian art and architecture. It is in this period that major advances were made in the design and construction of tombs and in the use of stone for building.

During the 2d Dyn., a still poorly understood, but temporary, alteration of the divine symbols of kingship took place. Whether the episode reflects a change of royal family, civil strife, or some ideological shift is not clear, but, by the end of the dynasty, little trace of that change remained; its last king's name (Khasekhemwy) stresses the harmony of once disparate elements. The burials of royal officials, retainers, and relatives cluster around the burials of the monarchs, signifying their continued dependence on and service to the king in the next world. Uncertainties submerged and the divine monarchy institutionalized, the formative period was now essentially over; an age of unparalleled royal power began.

**C. Old Kingdom Period**

The chief index of royal power in the Old Kingdom (OK; Dyn. 3–8; ca. 2700–2130 B.C.) was the king's ability to command and organize the country's human and material resources. The most visible manifestation of his godhead and authority was monumental architecture. Little remains of the royal temples for the cults of the various divinities (notably Ptah of Memphis and Re of Heliopolis), but not so with the massive monuments devoted to the burials and funerary cults of the kings (Edwards 1985). Beginning with the Step Pyramid complex of King Djoser (Dyn. 3) at Saqqara and reaching a dramatic high point with the 4th Dyn. pyramids of Snefru at Dahshur and the Giza pyramids of Kings Khufu (Gk Cheops), Khafre (Gk Chephren), and Menkaure (Gk Mycerinus), vast amounts of labor, building materials, food, etc. were marshaled for the construction of the pyramid-tomb and its attendant temples and subsidiary structures, an "eternal" palace complex designed to meet the needs of a ruler who, after bodily death, would take his place among the gods of heaven and earth, meriting ritual and sacrifice from succeeding generations. The king's association with the solar deity Re emerged quite early, and the pyramid is, in part at least, related to the deceased monarch's ascendance to the heavens to accompany Re as he circumnavigated the world. From the middle of the 4th Dyn., the king's throne name was most commonly compounded with the name of Re. During the 5th Dyn., when the solar aspects of kingship were stressed, the title "son of Re" came to precede the name the ruler had been given at birth. Likewise, during the first 75 years or so of Dyn. 5, some of the smaller resources available for pyramid building were reallocated to the building of solar temples in the W desert not far from the royal pyramids, forming a part of the mortuary complexes. By the end of the dynasty, the rulers had reverted to the single pyramid complex, but the linkage between the Osirian and solar aspects of the monarchy was now mirrored in the so-called Pyramid Texts (Faulkner 1967) inscribed on the walls of the chambers of pyramids from King Wenis (Unas), the last king of the 5th Dyn., through the end of the Old Kingdom. These dual aspects of the monarchy remained central to the ideology of kingship throughout the remainder of pharaonic history: the identification of the deceased king with Osiris stressed his continuity with his royal predecessors (as well as his divine role in the afterlife), while his association with Re (as his bodily son) emphasized the monarch's role in the present (prosperity, order, etc.) and the future (i.e., the continuity of the cosmic and social orders). The tombs of the officials created a life-after-death made brilliantly concrete with scenes of the daily life familiar to the elite.

To build these complexes, a bureaucratic apparatus grew (Strudwick 1985). The administrative responsibilities of such officials as the "Overseer of All the Works of the King" included the design, the work organization, and the overseeing of these projects at every stage. Slaves played a very minor role in the work force; labor conscripted from among dependent farmers with less to occupy them during the inundation season comprised the bulk of the labor force. Devotion to the god-king no doubt shaped some worker attitudes and willingness to work, but economic incentives were probably also a factor.

Pyramid, solar, and cult temple establishments served essential economic roles. Corvée laborers received food and clothing rations. More far-reaching, perhaps, was the economic impact of the perpetual endowments, sometimes called "pious foundations" (Kemp 1983), which provided the economic wherewithal for the maintenance of the various cults (the architectural necessities, the priestly and support staff, offerings, etc.) in the form of agricultural estates whose proceeds were assigned to the temples. Since the number of professional priests was small during the OK, many priestly responsibilities were performed by members of the landholding and administrative classes on an assigned periodic basis. In exchange for services rendered, these individuals were assigned income from one or more of these estates. They, in turn, could reassign a portion of such income to individuals who would then perform the required services. A considerable segment of Egyptian society derived some portion—all in some cases—of their income from institutional sources. Not all land was held under such usufructual arrangements; a significant segment of the Egyptian upper classes owned land outright, as part of their patrimony. In advance of death, such OK personages wrote mortuary contracts in which they assigned some of their estate income to individuals (relatives, friends, etc.) who would, in exchange, serve as mortuary priests for the cult of the deceased. These royal and private endowments formed an interlocking network of economic distribution. The system, however, lacked long-term stability: although it promised individuals a continuing postmortem food supply, there was no assurance that the agreement would be maintained over the course of generations. By the late OK, a number of mortuary endowments—notably those for temples—were exempted from taxes and labor corvée, thus limiting the economic resources available to the monarchy, causing some loss of royal power and influence (*AEL* 1: 28; Hayes 1946).

The kings of the 4th Dyn., having experienced some conflict within the royal family over the succession to the throne, began the process of relocating control of the main bureaucratic departments into the hands of upper-class families. In theory, such individuals, owing their new eminence and power to the king's favor, would be assiduous and loyal in the king's service. The premise was largely correct for most of the OK period and was strengthened by the institution of a ranking hierarchy among the royal officials. This process may have contributed to a weakening of the monarchy, especially with the growth, at least as early as the 5th Dyn., of an hereditary factor in office-holding. The officials in the central administrative offices in the capital appear to have remained loyal to royal position and prerogative right to the end, although, during the 6th Dyn., many provincial officials were building their tombs in their home districts. It is likewise clear that the king came to play a smaller personal role in what went on outside Memphis, despite the continuance of the periodic processions to the S. Decision making with respect to major economic, construction, and judicial policies would be made at the central administration, but the daily work in all these areas was performed at the local level, where the personal power and prestige of officials likely counted for a great deal, especially whenever lower Nile inundations (5th–6th Dyn.) led to some serious food shortages. These men no doubt acquired more and more confidence in their abilities and a concomitant sense of independence, but they certainly made no show of the latter that might overtly oppose royal dictates. It is conceivable that very long reigns, such as those of Pepi I and Pepi II of the 6th Dyn., would have, at least in their later stages (and during the long minority of Pepi II), required greater reliance on officialdom. It is clear, however, that the kings neither completely isolated themselves in the royal residence nor felt great mistrust of the greater provincial magnates. Merenre I made the tour as far as Aswan, and Pepi I appointed the provincial official Djau to be his vizier (chief minister).

Foreign relations during the OK period centered on either trade or defense. The periodic incursions of the Libyans were met with force. In the S, trade for good wood, oils, incense, animal pelts, etc. took center stage (Kemp 1983). King Huni (Dyn. 3) extended the S boundary to Aswan and built a fortress there. The 4th Dyn. king Snefru campaigned in Lower Nubia (Aswan to the 2d Cataract), adversely affecting that region for generations; captives and cattle were brought back to Egypt. From the late 4th Dyn. until the mid-5th, an Egyptian copper smeltery was in operation at the 2d Cataract, and thereafter Egyptian officials conducted trade missions further S, employing force if need be. The Aswan official Harkhuf made at least three trips (each lasting 7–8 months) to the S during the reigns of Merenre and Pepi II (*AEL* 1: 23ff.). During this period, a new, more dynamic people (C-Group) entered Lower Nubia;

Harkhuf's mercenaries ensured his safe passage, but at least one other Egyptian expedition leader was murdered in the S. Occasional trade with the distant land of Punt was carried on in the 5th Dyn. In SW Asia, beginning in the ED period, the lure of copper and turquoise in Sinai, as well as the products and manpower of Palestine, led to Egyptian royal trade missions and, not infrequently, military forays. The 6th Dyn. official Weni (*AEL* 1: 18ff.) reports five expeditions into S Palestine, using Egyptian forces augmented by Libyan and Nubian mercenaries (Redford 1986).

The end of the OK came as a result of a number of factors: economic decline due to Nile problems and the decline of foreign trade; the reassertion of local authority as the central administration became moribund; and perhaps the lengthy reign of Pepi II and related problems of succession.

**D. First Intermediate Period**

While it suited the propaganda of the early 12th Dyn. kings (*AEL* 1: 139ff.; 149ff.) to portray the 1st Intermediate period (Dyn. 9–11; ca. 2130–1940 B.C.) as an age of anarchy during which the lack of a strong central government allowed the release of disruptive social forces, it is more likely that after the confusion of the largely ephemeral Dyns. 7 and 8—a mere 25 years at most—generalized disorder was episodic rather than typical. The emergence of such regional power centers as Herakleopolis (Dyns. 9–10) near the Fayum and Thebes in Upper Egypt (Dyn. 11) yielded considerable stability. Territorial conflicts or attempts to unify the country were the principal causes of conflict. The local officials dealt with the problems of food supply, legal affairs, and the suppression of criminal behavior (*AEL* 1: 88ff.). The problems against which the Herakleopolitan King Merikare is warned (*AEL* 1: 97ff.) are those of a ruler of a small state, trying to build and maintain the network of loyalty and obligation necessary to attain permanent (even expanded) power. On the whole, the inscriptions of officials, independent landowners (James 1962), and some literary texts (*AEL* 1: 169ff) generally project a picture of stability. The campaigns to reunify Egypt, perhaps begun by Wahankh Intef II of Thebes and brought to a successful conclusion by his grandson, Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II, no doubt were attended by bloodshed and disruption, but even these were periodic, not constant. Localism was a powerful force that Mentuhotep sought to overcome by recourse to both force and diplomacy; his success was due to his own personal qualities of leadership and did not outlast his reign. That fact, coupled with the certainty that the 12th Dyn. rulers took more than a century and a half to subordinate localism completely, shows how far the balance of power had shifted toward localism after the OK period.

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GERALD E. KADISH


## *MIDDLE KINGDOM—2D INTERMEDIATE PERIOD*

(DYN. 11–17)

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A. Dynasty 11

1. Activities

2. Inscriptions of Officials
B. Dynasty 12
1. Origins
2. Initial Policies
3. Dealings with Provincial Rulers
4. Foreign Policy
C. Dynasty 13
D. Second Intermediate Period
1. Rival Dynasties
2. Hyksos Invasion

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**A. Dynasty 11**

**1. Activities.** With his victory over the northern Heracleopolitan kingdom (ca. 2040 B.C.), the Theban Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II brought about the end of the civil war that raged during the First Intermediate Period. This victory inaugurated the period known as the Middle Kingdom (MK) by establishing the 11th Dyn. with Mentuhotep as sole ruler of Egypt. After a few military campaigns against remaining dissidents, the king was able to turn his attention to peacetime activities. Large building projects, such as his funerary monument at Deir el-Bahri and numerous expeditions sent to mines and quarries, show a confident administration in control of the country's resources—one that could muster and support large contingents of men and with the bureaucracy necessary to oversee the logistical requirements of such undertakings. Trade routes were also reopened, implying that the central authorities commanded the roads and outlying areas, and could once again assume the protection of the population.

**2. Inscriptions of Officials.** Indicative of the new age are the inscriptions left by its officials. The expedition leaders of the past had been content with terse phrases recording the purpose of their missions, along with their names and titles, attributing whatever success they had achieved to the goodwill of the king. The 11th Dyn. functionaries, however, added autobiographical information which proclaimed their success to future generations. A new era had dawned upon Egypt, with the officials refusing the role of unacknowledged functionaries.

Two other kings named Mentuhotep closed off the 11th Dyn. with successful reigns; they sent large expeditions to the quarries of the Wadi Hammamat and the Wadi el Hudi, and even to far-off Punt. But suddenly, and without any records to illuminate the period for the historian, the 11th Dyn. disappeared. In its place a new family—the 12th Dyn. (1990–1786 B.C.)—sat on the throne, with King Sehetepibre Amenemhet I as its ruler. This would be a pivotal dynasty for Egyptian history, a time of great prosperity, witnessing the flowering of literature. Its rulers would live on in the Egyptians' consciousness in the later legends involving kings Sesostris (Senwosret) and Lamarres (Amenemhet III).

**B. Dynasty 12**

**1. Origins.** Little is known of the origins of the 12th Dyn. A literary source states that its founders were southerners, and it is tempting to speculate that this Amenemhet was the vizier of the same name under the last king of the 11th Dyn. The new dynasty faced a number of problems, chief of which was the legitimacy of its claim to the throne. The population surely felt no loyalty to these upstarts and had to be convinced that the new rulers were in fact the true heirs to the throne of Egypt. How the 12th Dyn. accomplished this constitutes one of the major achievements of this vigorous family and assured them a place among the great rulers of ancient Egypt.

**2. Initial Policies.** Quickly realizing that it would have been politically unsound to ignore his Theban predecessors, Amenemhet I erected monuments that associated him with the 11th Dyn. Other monuments were commissioned which claimed direct descent from the Old Kingdom (OK) families; thus the new ruler established himself as a true heir to the throne in the minds of his contemporaries. Nevertheless, political intrigue was not quenched, for the king's long reign ultimately ended in assassination.

Another major decision of the new dynasty was the choice of a capital city. A need must have been felt to move away from Thebes, where the ghosts of the previous dynasty still lingered. The new site chosen

was named (in Egyptian) *Itj-tawy* (meaning "[Amenemhet-is]-The-one-who-has-taken-possession-of-the-Two-Lands"). Little is known of this city, including its exact location. A later text states that it lay somewhere between Memphis and Meydum. Since the early 12th Dyn. rulers built their pyramids near the modern village of Lisht, it is quite likely that the capital city was situated nearby. The move to the Memphite area may also have been motivated by a need to be associated with the past glories of the OK. In the collective memories of the Egyptian people, Memphis must still have been the capital city par excellence; by building a royal residence in that general area, the 12th Dyn. sought legitimacy by close association with a traditional seat of power. Another more pragmatic reason for the move may have been a desire to be closer to the northwest border of Egypt, where Libyan tribes threatened invasion.

Another way in which the 12th Dyn. furthered its claims to the throne was through the subtle use of literature as political propaganda. The *Prophecy of Neferti* (see Lichtheim *AEL* 1: 139–45) recounted how an OK sage had long ago foretold the advent of the new dynasty. If this were the case, who could now deny its existence? In the *Instructions of Amenemhet* (*AEL* 1: 135–39), the assassinated Amenemhet I advised his son Senwosret (Sesostris) I to trust no one around him, something which must not have escaped the guilty courtiers' attention. The beautiful and moving passage describing the death of Amenemhet I may have been included to win sympathy for the young king for the harsh reprisals which no doubt followed the assassination.

The classic *Story of Sinuhe* (*AEL* 1: 222–35) is another example of such propaganda. Although the tale appears to be a simple affair filled with heroes and villains, and wise old chieftains and fair maidens, long hymns of praise for Senwosret I make the story an effective tool in enhancing the crown's reputation. Also useful to the royal house was the so-called *Satire on Trades* (*AEL* 1: 184–92), in which various trades are unfavorably compared to the comfortable life of a scribe. The purpose behind this particular tradition may well have been that the 12th Dyn. needed new recruits for a burgeoning bureaucracy, since the scribal profession had fallen out of favor during the troubled times of the 1st Intermediate Period.

Starting with Amenemhet I and Senwosret I, the institution of coregency was also used to ensure smooth transitions of power. In practice, the younger king assumed the more strenuous activities, such as military campaigns, while the senior partner remained in the palace and handled the affairs of state. This system worked remarkably well for the 12th Dyn., as son succeeded father for two hundred years without interruption.

**3. Dealings with Provincial Rulers.** Despite their sound political maneuvering, the 12th Dyn. kings still had to contend with formidable provincial rulers who held sway over particular domains in Egypt. The independence which the latter had acquired during the 1st Intermediate Period could not be disregarded, and once again the Palace showed remarkable political acumen in dealing with them.

The Crown's basic policy was a compromise between controlling the nomarchs, their territories, and their revenues, while, at the same time, acknowledging the rights of these long-standing families who boasted impressive pedigrees. The nomarchs were allowed to have their own courts, maintain a small standing army, erect buildings in their domains, and even record the dates of events according to their own tenures of office. They were allowed to collect their own revenues and were even given the liberty to lower taxes after bad harvests. Nevertheless, the king reserved the right to approve the appointment of a new nomarch, at which time the province's boundaries were also resurveyed. In addition, the nomarch had to render a yearly account of his holdings to the Palace, and was responsible for supplying the labor force for royal enterprises such as building projects or quarrying expeditions. Thus, the policy of the royal family toward the provincial rulers was a constant give and take where the claims of the nomarchs were respected yet the absolute rights of kingship were still acknowledged.

The almost total disappearance of the nomarchs' tombs by the reign of Senwosret III (1878–1843 B.C.) has led to the belief that the power of these individuals was curbed under this king, and that the country was reorganized under a centralized bureaucracy. Although this belief has been challenged recently, the disappearance of these old provincial families cannot be ignored; nor can the creation at this time of new administrative titles based on a division of the country into three major provinces, each administered from the capital city.

**4. Foreign Policy.** Caution must also be exercised when examining the foreign policy of the 12th Dyn. Although an aggressive frontier policy had been demonstrated by the earliest Egyptian kings, the 12th Dyn. rulers seemed more concerned with maintaining their borders and keeping foreigners out of Egypt than with establishing a presence outside. The Execration Texts, nevertheless, have been cited as evidence for an MK empire. Written on clay figurines in the shapes of bound prisoners or on pottery bowls, these texts list the names of various local rulers and localities in Syria-Palestine, Libya, and Nubia, followed by ritualistic curses directed against these rulers. Although they show an astounding ability on the part of Egypt to collect intelligence about its neighbors, the purely ritualistic nature of the texts does not permit us to determine the 12th Dyn.'s foreign policy from them alone. See also EXECRATION AND EXECRATION TEXTS.

Close scrutiny of the existing archeological material has shown that what used to be regarded as proof of a 12th Dyn. empire in the MB Syro-Palestinian area was nothing more than evidence for strong trading ties between Egypt and the Levant. To the Egyptians, the most important of these trading partners was the seaport of Byblos, which furnished Egypt with coniferous woods and resin. The Egyptian influence there was great enough that by the close of the MK, the Byblite princes had become quite slavish in their imitation of Egyptian customs. The same degree of contact existed in the Aegean: although Middle Minoan objects have been found in Egypt and Egyptian material in Crete, the uncertain context of many of these finds cannot argue for anything more than contact of a mercantile nature.

The situation was markedly different with Egypt's southern neighbors. In the 11th Dyn., Mentuhotep II had begun the reconquest of Lower Nubia against the local C-Group population, whose culture spanned the period between the late OK and the early New Kingdom (NK) with occupational sites south of the Second Cataract. The 12th Dyn. kings continued this policy and eventually annexed the whole of Lower Nubia, where they built a series of forts between the First and Second Cataracts. These forts were built in two main stages. The earliest ones served as metal-working centers or trading posts to control river traffic. The second group was built by Senwosret III around his newly acquired frontier at the Second Cataract, at the border of modern-day Sudan. This group served to remind the population of the king's intention to let no one pass through the cataract at Semna unless a business transaction was to be conducted at the major trading center of Mirgissa, north of Semna. Although Senwosret III's boundary stelae show an expected aggressive tone against the native population, other texts from the period imply that the Egyptians were actually more concerned with profits from the river trade and the local gold mines than with military conquest for its own sake.

With a full Egyptian dependency to the south and a strong centralized government—and thus the resources of the entire country at his disposal—Senwosret III's son Amenemhet III (1842–1797 B.C.) was free to concentrate on domestic matters. He continued his predecessors' work of reclaiming land in the Fayum, where he built his second pyramid at the site of Hawara. Attached to this monument was his Mortuary Temple, which became famous in the Classical period as the Egyptian Labyrinth.

**C. Dynasty 13**

The end of the 12th Dyn. brought no immediate change in Egypt's fortunes. Although the succeeding period is obscured by a lack of sources, it seems clear that the 13th Dyn. (ca. 1786–1633 B.C.) originally ruled from the Memphite area. Many of its kings ruled only briefly and may have been under the influence of a few powerful viziers, but the principle of a single central government continued to be respected for a time. The last kings of the 13th Dyn., however, lost control of Lower Egypt and probably retreated upriver to Thebes, where a new capital was established.

**D. Second Intermediate Period**

**1. Rival Dynasties.** The weakening of the 13th Dyn. begins what is known as the Second Intermediate Period. By this time, the country had become fragmented. A number of rulers vied for hegemony over limited areas, and rival dynasties were established concurrently. The names given to these dynasties by the classical historian Manetho do not necessarily reflect a chronological sequence. In Thebes, the 13th Dyn. was succeeded by the 17th (ca. 1650–1567 B.C.). In the Delta, certain rulers designated themselves

as kings and set up short-lived dynasties; these correspond to Manetho's 14th (ca. 1786–1603 B.C.) and 16th Dyn. (ca. 1684–1567 B.C.).

**2. Hyksos Invasion.** The most significant of these contemporaneous rulers were the so-called Hyksos, Manetho's 15th Dyn. (ca. 1674–1567 B.C.). See also HYKSOS. There has long been a debate regarding the arrival of the Hyksos in Egypt. Documents that show large numbers of Semites in Egypt in the late Middle Kingdom have been used to prove a slow infiltration into the country, with these Semites somehow acting as a fifth column for the advancing Hyksos. However, Manetho's dating of the Hyksos attack to the reign of a King Tutimaios—probably one of the two Egyptian kings named Dudumose—argues for a sudden invasion, since it is unlikely that the Egyptians' collective historical memory would have fixed a slow infiltration to a specific reign.

The archeologists' spade has provided evidence for both theories. Excavations at modern Tell ed-Dab‹a (Manetho's Avaris and the site of the Hyksos capital) have shown that Northwest Semitic peoples did migrate and settle in the area, bringing MB II Syro-Palestinian culture with them. A destruction level between the late MK and the Hyksos strata implies more than just peaceful infiltration.

Once in Avaris, the Hyksos prospered and, utilizing their own Palestinian models, ruled as overlords over Egyptian vassals. This occupation was a watershed in Egyptian history, for up to that point, the Egyptians, despite periods of internal political chaos, had been free from invasion. For generations the Egyptians would be haunted by the specter of foreign domination. Thus, when the 17th Dyn. rulers revolted against their Hyksos overlords and surged northward in victory, they would rightly be regarded as liberators by the grateful Egyptians. The liberation of Egypt under kings Kamose and Ahmose ushered in a new era, the New Kingdom.

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RONALD J. LEPROHON

## *NEW KINGDOM (DYN. 18–20)*

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A. Chronology
B. Early 18th Dynasty
C. Formation of the Empire in Western Asia
D. Amarna Period
E. Dynasty 19
F. Dynasty 20


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### A. Chronology

Absolute dates within this period (ca. 1570–1070 B.C.E. = New Kingdom [NK]) revolve around the disputed accession years of two kings: Thutmose III (Dynasty XVIII) and Ramesses II (Dynasty XIX).

Recent scholarship has reached consensus on 1279 B.C.E. for the beginning of Ramesses II's reign, but the debate regarding Thutmose III's accession year—variously placed at 1504, 1490, and 1479 B.C.E.—continues (e.g., Parker 1957; Hayes and Rowton *CAH³* 1/1: 173–239; Hornung 1964; Krauss 1978). The chronology followed in this article adheres to the highest date for Thutmose III, i.e., 1504 (Wente and Van Siclen 1976), but readers should be aware that a reasonable case can be made for the lower options as well (e.g., Kitchen 1987). The gaps in the historical record preclude all certainty. For example, since exact lengths of reign are unknown except in a few cases (Thutmose III, Hatshepsut, Amenhotep III [?], Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, Tutankhamun, Ramesses II, Sety II, Siptah, and Ramesses III), shifts amounting to one year or more are possible in the NK for all reigns, except for those of Thutmose III and Ramesses II, both of which are fixed points in any chronological scheme. Given the uncertainties that still prevail before Ramesses II (see Hornung 1979; Krauss 1985; Kitchen 1987), it should be noted that dates provided in this article for kings prior to Amenhotep III could be lowered in some cases by more than a quarter of a century.

**B. Early 18th Dynasty**

The expulsion of the Asiatic "Hyksos," who had dominated Egypt since ca. 1650 B.C.E., is the event that demarcated the beginning of the NK in Egyptian tradition. Freedom from Hyksos suzerainty and the reunification of Egypt were finally achieved in the reign of Ahmose I (ca. 1570–1546). Ahmose thus achieved the somewhat artificial distinction of founding a new dynasty, called the Eighteenth by the 3d cent. B.C.E. historian Manetho (Waddell 1940: 100–47; cf. Redford 1986: 18–64, 242–47), even though Ahmose was a direct descendant of the late 17th Dyn. kings who had begun the Theban rebellion (Hayes *CAH³* 2/1: 64–74; James *CAH³* 2/1: 289–96). Ahmose I's struggle and his final success were achieved on two fronts. In the north, he drove the last of the Hyksos into Asia and crushed their Egyptian supporters (Vandersleyen 1971: 17–48, 75–88). The struggle was carried onto Asiatic territory, notably with the siege of the city of Sharuhen (Vandersleyen 1971: 89–129), but the further extent of his northern wars is uncertain (e.g., Weinstein 1981: 1–10). As a necessary counterpart to the struggle with the Asiatics, Ahmose I also continued the war begun by his predecessor, Kamose (ca. 1573–1571), against the Hyksos' southern ally, the kingdom of Kush (Smith 1976: 80–85; Vandersleyen 1971: 49–74). By the reign of Thutmose I (ca. 1524–1518), the Egyptians had more than tripled their domains in Nubia. This unprecedented extension of Egypt's southern possessions was accompanied by an equally novel imperial system. Nubia was placed under a viceroy, the "King's Son of Kush," and was directly governed by a hierarchy of Egyptian officials in collaboration with native Nubian princes (Adams 1977: 217–45; O'Connor *AESH*, 252–70). Egypt thus secured the rich mineral deposits of Nubia, including the renowned "gold of Kush," and also controlled the trade routes that brought southern African products to northern markets (Hayes *CAH³* 2/1: 329–33, 346–53). This political arrangement endured until the end of the NK, and the effects of the Nubians' adoption of their rulers' culture lasted long after that.

The peril to Egypt's northern frontier was not exorcised, however, by the Hyksos' defeat. Sparsity of textual documentation prevents any but the most speculative discussion of the players in this drama and their actions (Drower *CAH³* 2/2: 415–36; Helck 1971: 107–19). It is clear, however, that the pharaohs were occasionally compelled to lead their armies far beyond their borders during the half-century that followed Ahmose I's reunification of Egypt. Military exercises such as the campaign of Thutmose I up to the banks of the Euphrates River, together with the wars that secured Egypt's hold on Nubia, helped to forge the military facets of the king's institutional identity. There is little evidence, however, that these activities in western Asia were as yet motivated by the imperialist spirit so apparent in Egypt's policy toward the south (Redford 1979). An empire was no doubt easier to impose in Nubia than in the culturally more diverse and politically complex environment of Syria-Palestine, where the Egyptians already faced a potential rival in the kingdom of Mitanni (Frandsen 1979; Kemp 1978). It appears, however, that while the Pharaohs were resolute in the face of provocation, they were not prepared at this point to commit themselves to much more than a defensive posture toward western Asia.

At home, Ahmose I and his son Amenhotep I (ca. 1551–1524) took in hand the reorganization of Egypt after nearly two centuries of disunity (James *CAH³* 2/1: 299–312). Internal affairs were managed by one

or two viziers (one for Upper and Lower Egypt respectively, a division of office attested by the reign of Thutmose III and intermittently thereafter). The viziers exercised regular supervision over the treasury, supply, judiciary, and police departments. They also appear to have ranked over the chief commanders of the army and the high priests of the various gods in Egypt, although their real power in these areas was frequently overshadowed by others, not least by the king himself. Although tenure in office was under the king's control, the patrimonial tendency ingrained in Egyptian society encouraged the growth of whole "dynasties" of entrenched officeholders, whose power endured so long as they remained in favor (Hayes *CAH³* 2/1: 323–29, 353–401; *AESH,* 204–18). While the effects of such social inertia were not always beneficial, the government thus constituted proved sufficiently stable to weather many disturbances in the centuries to come.

The first major crisis was dynastic, involving tensions within the royal family, which festered over the next three generations (Hayes *CAH³* 2/1: 315–22). For lack of a male heir, Amenhotep I went outside the immediate royal family and appointed Thutmose I as his successor. The latter's paternity is unknown, and his claim to the throne seems to have been secured by his marriage to a daughter of Amenhotep I and his chief queen, herself a full member of the royal family on both sides. Over the next two generations, this pattern persisted. Thutmose I's chief queen passed her Ahmoside lineage on to her daughter, Hatshepsut, who wed her half-brother, Thutmose II (ca. 1518–1504); and the issue of this union, another daughter, was married to *her* half-brother (and cousin), Thutmose III (1504–1450). As the last descendants of Ahmose I, these women continued to hold the office of chief queen at the expense of the nonroyal women who bore the king's sons.

While the preeminence of the Ahmoside females has suggested that the kingship was transmitted matrilineally in the earlier 18th Dyn. (Redford 1967: 65–76), it may reflect little more than the value that the pharaohs then placed on their connection with the dynasty's founding family. In any case, the implied conflict between the claims of the Ahmoside branch, by now exclusively female, and the king's supremacy (regardless of lineage) was not to be resolved quietly. When Thutmose II died prematurely, leaving the baby Thutmose III as his heir, Hatshepsut assumed the regency for the young king. Her eventual assumption of the kingship itself (in 1498?) carried to a logical extreme the pretensions of the Ahmoside branch of the royal family. Although Hatshepsut did not dethrone her nephew, she asserted a claim to royal power equal to his and, as senior coregent, took precedence over him in contemporary monuments (Redford 1967: 50–87; Murnane 1977: 32–44). The joint reign of Hatshepsut and the young Thutmose III was outwardly prosperous, punctuated by the execution of great building projects (e.g., the queen's mortuary temple, today called Deir el-Bahari) and expeditions to the land of Punt on the eastern coast of the Sudan (Hayes *CAH³* 2/1: 329–33; Kitchen 1971). An ingenious hypothesis, which interprets an inscription from this time (Gardiner 1946) as referring to the tidal wave that followed the volcanic eruption on the Greek island of Thera and connects this phenomenon with circumstances surrounding the Israelite exodus from Egypt (Shanks 1981; 1982), has not gained general acceptance (e.g., Oren 1981).

Hatshepsut's death (1483?) ended her coregency with Thutmose III; and when her daughter also died, apparently childless, the original branch of the 18th Dyn. died with her. While the dispute between the two sides of the royal family was practically resolved in the Thutmosides' favor, the issue of legitimacy continued to rankle. In spite of all the glory he won through his later achievements, Thutmose III felt compelled to secure his claim to the throne by systematically dishonoring Hatshepsut's memory (Edgerton 1933; Nims 1966). Thutmose III's later queens, and those of his successors, enjoyed a largely ceremonial status that did not permit them to challenge the king's right to determine the royal succession, as the females of the Ahmoside line had at least implicitly managed to do.

**C. Formation of the Empire in Western Asia**

The resolution of the dynastic crisis in Egypt coincided with the rise of a fresh challenge from western Asia. During the last years of Hatshepsut's reign, the king of Kadesh had succeeded in forging an alliance with over three hundred Syro-Palestinian principalities. This was a development that the Egyptians, from their experience of the Hyksos invasion, could only regard with apprehension. In his first and most celebrated campaign (1483), Thutmose III surprised the confederate princes at Megiddo and, after a

seven-month siege, was able to dictate terms (Faulkner 1942; Helck 1971: 118–36). The fate of the vanquished princes, however, was unexpectedly mild: tribute and an oath of loyalty to the pharaoh were all that was required in most cases. These provisions marked a departure in Egypt's relations with her Asiatic neighbors: reciprocal obligations between vassal and overlord were now extended more widely and systematically than ever before, and the Egyptians were committed to a consistent pattern of involvement in Syria and Palestine (Drower *CAH³* 2/2: 444–59).

The stability that Thutmose III sought through this farsighted policy was not, however, to be won quickly. Continued resistance from major states such as Kadesh and Tunip encouraged other cities to rebel and eventually triggered the direct involvement of Mitanni, the rival superpower in the north. The ensuing struggle, prolonged over the next three generations, demonstrated the futility of the major powers' efforts to prevail over one another. Having secured the Syro-Palestinian coastline, as well as the interior of Palestine, Thutmose III next carried the war deep into enemy territory. In 1473 he equaled Thutmose I's earlier feat of campaigning on the River Euphrates, thus demonstrating Mitanni's vulnerability on her own borders (Faulkner 1946). This lesson was driven home repeatedly in Thutmose III's later years, which witnessed numerous incursions into the Mitannian vassals' territories. The Mitannians countered by inciting rebellions within Egypt's sphere of influence, precipitating fresh campaigns by Amenhotep II (ca. 1453–1419) and Thutmose IV (ca. 1419–1386). By the close of the 15th cent., competition between the superpowers had become a vicious circle that benefited neither one. The time had now come for Egypt and Mitanni to stabilize their respective spheres of influence in the Middle East (Drower *CAH³* 2/2: 459–67; Redford 1979; Spalinger 1983).

Peace between Egypt and Mitanni was celebrated by the first of several "diplomatic marriages" when Thutmose IV married a daughter of the Mitannian king Artatama. This marriage tie between the royal families, maintained over the next two generations in Egypt (Schulman 1979), symbolized the peace that, with the two empires' rapprochement, now extended from the Nile to the Euphrates. Cordial relations between Egypt and Mitanni removed barriers to trade between their territories and helped to expand commercial and diplomatic contacts with other regions, notably Cyprus, Hatti, Assyria, and Babylon. Peace between the superpowers also helped suppress, even if it did not eliminate, rivalries and occasional lawlessness among their vassals. The two empires met in southern Syria. On the coast, the Egyptians were supreme, for their sphere of influence ran north into Amurru (northern Lebanon). Mitannian access to the coast was through the territory of Ugarit, which was friendly to both powers. Inland, the border lay north of the city of Kadesh, an Egyptian vassal. A measure of insight into the vassal states' relations with their suzerains and with one another can be gleaned from the diplomatic correspondence on cuneiform tablets recovered from the Egyptian site of El-Amarna (Drower *CAH³* 2/2: 467–93; Albright *CAH³* 2/2: 98–116; Liverani 1979). The beneficial effects of peace can be observed in the Nile Valley under Amenhotep III (ca. 1386–1349), whose reign has become identified with the splendor of imperial Egypt in the period just preceding the foreign and domestic crises which arose in the reign of his son (Hayes *CAH³* 2/1: 338–46).

**D. Amarna Period**

Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) is one of the best known, yet among the most mysterious, of the pharaohs. A younger son of Amenhotep III, he became crown prince on the premature death of an elder brother. Suggestions that he spent the greater part of his reign as his father's coregent (Aldred 1968: 100–32) are now generally disbelieved (Redford 1967: 88–169; Murnane 1977: 123–69, 231–33). Although many of the changes he introduced can be traced to artistic, linguistic, and religious trends of earlier periods, the contemporary significance of these innovations are still debated (e.g., Aldred 1968: 163–96; Redford 1984: 157–81). Similarly, while the objects and practical effects of Amenhotep IV's program are fairly clear, a great deal of uncertainty still clouds his motives and the antecedents of his reforms.

Amenhotep IV's new program began to manifest itself soon after his accession (ca. 1350?). An obliquely expressed disdain for traditional cults (Redford 1981) was accompanied by unequivocal signs of favor to a form of the sun god who was manifest in the solar disk, the "Aten." Although the disk itself was an accepted religious symbol, the king gave it new attributes and a cult that the established priesthoods were forced to accept. Temples to the Aten, hastily built and decorated in a new style that self-consciously

broke with the artistic tradition of previous reigns, sprang up throughout the Nile Valley. The new cult was particularly favored at Thebes (Redford 1984: 57–142), the bailiwick of the most conspicuous of the old deities whom Amenhotep IV wished to supplant, "Amun-Re King of the Gods." Favored since the beginning of the 18th Dyn. as the ruling god of the family's Theban hometown, Amun and his clergy had acquired property and privileges far beyond those awarded to other institutions. The danger presumably lay in the possibility that this power might someday erode the king's exclusive authority (Kees 1953: 10–84; Hayes *CAH³* 2/1: 323–29). While the precise nature of the challenge, if such it was, remains obscure, it is clear that the pharaoh had set himself on a course that would only be to the established cults' disadvantage.

By the fifth year of Amenhotep IV's reign, even the pretense of dispassion toward the old gods (Redford 1963) had been replaced by a widening alienation from their clergy. The king now changed his name to Akhenaten (meaning, perhaps, "One who is effective on behalf of the Aten"). At the same time, he established a new cult center for his god in Middle Egypt, at a site hitherto devoid of cultic associations, which he called Akhet-Aten ("the Horizon of the Sun Disk"), today known as El-Amarna (Murnane 1984; Kemp *LÄ* 6: 309–19). See also AMARNA, TELL EL-. The resources of the state were thrown into the construction of the new royal residence city, which was further magnified at Amun's expense when Akhenaten decreed that he and his family should be buried there instead of in the traditional royal cemetery of West Thebes (Redford 1984: 142–53). The snubbing of the old gods eventually turned to outright persecution when Akhenaten closed their temples and ordered that the images of most divinities be destroyed (Aldred 1968: 191–96). It was plain that the stability of Akhenaten's new order would have to depend on the force of his will, and not on any long-standing institutional bases.

Much has been written on the doctrinal foundations of Akhenaten's creed. The identification of his god with the royal interest has even led to a charge of atheism (Redford 1984: 157–81, 232–35); but the prevailing tendency has been to debate the extent to which Akhenaten was or was not a monotheist. A strict monotheism can be excluded, for the divinity of the Aten in the sky was shared on earth by the king and, very probably, by his chief queen, Nefertiti (Wilson 1973). On the other hand, one of the salient characteristics of Akhenaten's "heresy" is that it sharply restricted the traditional embodiments of divinity, even in the cult of the sun god (Assmann 1972; *LÄ* 1: 526–40). The king's iconoclasm, moreover, extended beyond the destruction of individual divine images, attacking even the word "gods" in earlier hieroglyphic inscriptions (Hornung 1982: 244–50). Akhenaten may not have breached the traditional Egyptian henotheism, but he certainly stretched its limits to an ultimately unacceptable degree.

In the end, Akhenaten's reforms could not outlive their creator. The religion of the Aten found no effective champions at his death, which left Egypt wracked by troubles abroad and instability within the royal family. The accession of Akhenaten's son-in-law Tutankhamun (ca. 1334–1325) brought with it the restoration of the orthodox cults, and a measure of calm was thus restored. Akhenaten and his immediate successors were tarred with the same brush, however, and all were eventually consigned to the official oblivion that Akhenaten initially planned for Egypt's ancient gods (Alfred *CAH³* 2/2: 63–81; Redford 1984: 222–31).

Alongside the internal upheavals of Akhenaten's reign, Egypt faced nothing less than a fundamental change in the balance of power in the Middle East. The superpowers' *entente cordiale* was already under strain when the renascent kingdom of Hatti began to challenge the Mitannians in the north. When the Hittite king Shuppiluliuma drove the pharaoh's father-in-law, Tushratta of Mitanni, from his capital and took over most of his vassals in Syria, the Mitannians suffered a mortal blow. Egyptian interests were directly affected, moreover, when the Hittites took over the city-state of Kadesh, an Egyptian vassal, and then refused to give it up. There followed a prolonged period of cold war, during which both Egypt and Hatti were hostage to each other's indecisiveness and to the machinations of their Syrian vassals. A serious effort to resolve the superpowers' dispute ended badly when a Hittite prince sent to marry Tutankhamun's widow (ca. 1324) died on his way to Egypt. The active hostilities which followed only confirmed the dispiriting trend of foreign affairs under the Amarna pharaohs. Egyptian military failures

and the preponderant Hittite power in northern Syria eventually forced the kingdom of Amurru to join Kadesh as a Hittite vassal, pushing the border of Egypt's empire still further south. Affairs on the frontier would continue to sour relations between Egypt and Hatti over the next three generations (Goetze *CAH³* 2/2: 1–20, 117–29; Murnane 1979).

**E. Dynasty 19**

When a series of premature deaths wiped out a royal family already discredited by association with the Amarna heresy, the way lay open for a competent strongman to rule in its place. This was Horemheb (ca. 1321–1293), a general of humble birth who had risen to a position of preeminent authority in the years following Akhenaten's death. His coronation by oracular decree (Gardiner 1953) inaugurated a long reign whose solid orthodoxy did much to repair the social ravages the Amarna period had left in its wake (Aldred *CAH³* 2/2: 71–77). Horemheb's failure to produce an heir, however, compelled him to appoint as his successor a trusted associate who, as Ramesses I (ca. 1293–1291), founded the 19th Dyn. (Kitchen 1982: 9–20).

The unresolved quarrel between Egypt and Hatti was reopened by Ramesses' son Sety I (ca. 1291–1279), who won back for Egypt the border territories of Kadesh and Amurru. The Hittites' failure under Sety, however, would be redeemed with interest in the early reign of his son, Ramesses II (1279–1212). When Kadesh once more defected to the Hittites, Ramesses marched north in 1274 and, believing reports that the Hittite King Muwatalli was still far away, pitched camp on the western side of Kadesh. Muwatalli's army was hiding behind the city, however, and in a fierce attack it cut the Egyptian column in two, nearly destroying the king and his forces. Ramesses II's gallantry on the field and the timely arrival of relief troops averted this disaster; and after another day of inconclusive fighting, Muwatalli allowed the Egyptians to leave the field of battle (Kitchen 1982: 43–64; Schulman 1962; 1981). This orderly retreat masked a calamitous defeat for Egypt, however, as the Hittites reconquered Amurru and swept down into southern Syria, which Egypt had held since the middle of the 18th Dyn. Although this territory was recovered, the ensuing struggle between the two empires soon degenerated into an unproductive stalemate (Kitchen 1982: 64–72). Mutual exhaustion, the Hittites' inability to cope with Egyptian intrigues, the rising power of Assyria, and (perhaps) concern with the waxing might of marauding "Sea Peoples" in the Mediterranean, finally ended the hostilities. With the conclusion of a mutual defense pact in 1259, the superpowers were again at peace. During the balance of his long reign, Ramesses II would resume the practice of diplomatic marriage and wed no fewer than two Hittite princesses (Kitchen 1982: 73–95; Goetze *CAH³* 2/2: 252–73; Schulman 1977–78; 1979). The equilibrium of the great powers in the Middle East was restored.

The scale and abundance of Ramesses II's monuments—which include the majestic rock temples in Nubia, imposing cult buildings at Thebes, and numerous constructions in the north—amply justify this pharaoh's posthumous reputation for grandeur. Among these projects, embellishments to ancient Heliopolis and the development of the royal residence Piramesse (at Qantir in the eastern Delta) probably lie behind the account in Exodus 1:11 of the Hebrews' servitude at the cities of Pithom and Rameses (Uphill 1968; 1969). See also RAMESES (PLACE). Widespread prosperity is also reflected in commemorative monuments of the high officials of the reign (Kitchen 1982: 97–182) and in the surviving workaday records of common people, notably those recovered from the workmen's village of Deir el-Medina in West Thebes (Bierbrier 1982).

In Asia, the turmoil that had beset the borders of Egypt's empire from the Amarna period into the early 19th Dyn. led to an intensified military presence in the remaining territories (Weinstein 1981: 15–22). This heightened security in the east was matched in Ramesses II's reign by defensive measures against the persistent infiltration of foreigners from Libya into the Delta (Habachi 1980). The movement of people from the Libyan homelands could not be stopped, however, and by the reign of Ramesses II's son Merneptah (ca. 1212–1202), bands of Libyans roved virtually at will through the western Delta. In 1208, Egypt's northwestern border was overrun by a massive invasion from Libya: spearheaded by the Libu tribe, it was rendered even more formidable by an alliance made by the Libyan chief with five peoples from the marauding groups at the fringes of the Mediterranean, known collectively as "Peoples of the

Sea" (Helck 1976). Merneptah's defeat of this horde, and his suppression of a major revolt in Nubia at about the same time, deflected a major challenge to Egypt's imperial and, indeed, political integrity (Faulkner *CAH³* 2/2: 232–35; Sandars 1985: 29–117). Egypt's territories in western Asia not only survived any disruption from the Sea Peoples' invasion of Egypt, but enjoyed (under Egyptian auspices) a renewed prosperity that lasted into the next century (Oren 1984). Egyptian dominance within her sphere of influence is also illustrated by Merneptah's war with the city-states of Ashkelon, Gezer, and Yanoam and with a people called Israel, the latter being mentioned in Egyptian records for the first time during this reign (Yurco 1986). Egypt, however, had not seen the last of her troubles from Libya or the Sea Peoples.

The quarter-century following Merneptah's death was marked by civil wars, capped by a fresh wave of foreign invasions. The first phase, marked by a dispute between rival branches of Ramesses II's family, was eventually settled in favor of Merneptah's son, Sety II (Yurco 1980; Krauss 1976, 1977; Osing 1979). At Sety II's death (ca. 1193), the crown passed to his feeble son Siptah; but real power was apparently held by Sety's chief queen, Tausret, and by a court official of Syrian extraction, the "great chancellor of the entire land" Baye. At Siptah's death, Tausret briefly took the throne, but when she died, there ensued another obscure period of civil war—this time between foreign mercenaries, supporting Chancellor Baye, and forces loyal to the country's administration, which stood behind a certain Sethnakht. This man's victory, after a struggle lasting somewhat in excess of a year (ca. 1183), restored order to the land and passed the kingly office to a new royal family (Drenkhahn 1980; Faulkner *CAH³* 2/2: 235–41).

**F. Dynasty 20**

Sethnakht had barely been succeeded by his son Ramesses III (ca. 1182–1151) when problems on the northern borders flared up anew. Two Libyan invasions (ca. 1178 and 1172) and a fresh incursion of Sea Peoples (ca. 1175) required the young pharaoh to engage in a vigorous defense of Egyptian territory. Particularly menacing were the Sea Peoples, who had eliminated the northeast Mediterranean states that had previously helped to contain them. Now they were advancing into Egypt's Asiatic possessions, while their fleet assaulted the coastal defenses of the empire. Pitched battles on land and sea prevented this invasion from penetrating Egypt itself (Faulkner *CAH³* 2/2: 241–44; Sandars 1985: 117–77; Stadelmann 1968). Ramesses III's defeat of the two Libyan invasions, especially that of the Meshwesh Libyans in ca. 1172, was also considered a major achievement; but the Libyans' infiltration into western border areas, which had continued despite Merneptah's victory, would be the source of recurring difficulties later on (*AESH,* 271–78; Kitchen 1985). Seen retrospectively, the victories of Ramesses III appear to have been won at some cost. Egypt could not defend her Asiatic vassals from the very Sea Peoples whom Merneptah and Ramesses III had defeated, and who were now settling on the Levantine coast. As a result, even the appearance of Egyptian imperial control in Asia ended by the second half of the 12th cent. (Dothan 1982; Weinstein 1981: 22–23). At home, large numbers of Libyans were incorporated into the armed forces. Settled in permanent military camps, these troops formed the basis of a soldier class that, within two centuries, would support the political ambitions of its native leaders, the "Great Chiefs of the Me[shwesh]" (Kitchen 1973: 243–45, 285–92).

Strikes by the workmen of the royal tomb late in Ramesses III's reign (Edgerton 1951; Janssen 1979) are among the first indicators of the economic difficulties that persisted through the 20th Dyn. (O'Connor *AESH,* 226–29). The extent to which these problems can be traced to lower annual inundations (Butzer 1976: 29–33) is debatable; but they are manifest in higher prices for basic foodstuffs (Janssen 1975a, 1975b) and in widespread corruption at all levels of society (Peet 1924, 1930; Wilson 1956: 267–88). Some of the social disruption seen in this period can be blamed on marauding bands of Meshwesh Libyans, whose depredations are mentioned frequently in surviving records from Thebes (Černý *CAH³* 2/2: 616–69). The pharaohs who succeeded Ramesses III are ill defined as historical personalities, and it is hard to escape the impression that they remained increasingly in the splendid isolation of their Delta residence, leaving the local management of affairs in other hands. In much of Upper Egypt this duty came to devolve upon the high priest of Amun, whose importance as the chief manager of his god's extensive land holdings increased when the office became hereditary during the 20th Dyn. (Černý *CAH³* 2/2: 626–

34; *AESH*, 211–18, 222–25). To all appearances, the competition that Akhenaten had feared from the Amun clergy was realized some two centuries after his death.

It was not the priests, however, but the generals who would preside over the dismemberment of NK Egypt. While much of this process remains obscure, it began with a rebellion that broke out in Upper Egypt near the beginning of Ramesses XI's reign (ca. 1098). Apparently directed against the central authority represented by the high priest of Amun (Wente 1966), the insurrection was put down by loyalist troops under the command of Panehesy, the viceroy of Nubia. Panehesy stayed on as governor of the Thebaid until he was driven out by the general Herihor, a commander of Libyan extraction who also professed loyalty to Ramesses XI. Herihor, like Panehesy before him, acted as military governor at Thebes, but he went a significant step farther by claiming the offices of viceroy of Nubia, vizier, and even high priest of Amun. In fact, Herihor was an independent ruler who appropriated the titles of kingship on some of his monuments at Thebes. The "Report of Wenamun," which (like the MK "Autobiography of Sinuhe") is probably an artful work of fiction with a factually realistic setting (Helck *LÄ* 6: 1215–17; but cf. Wente 1973), describes Herihor as having cordial relations with one Smendes, who wielded a commensurate power in the north from his headquarters at Tanis. The ideological legitimacy of these regimes was apparently grounded in their leaders' authority as representatives of the god Amun, who by now was reckoned as the true king of Egypt. Ramesses XI still reigned through all this, but it is clear that he did not rule.

However peacefully these usurpations were accomplished, they would have far-reaching and ultimately destructive results. When Smendes became the founding king of the 21st Dyn. at Ramesses XI's death (ca. 1070), he could command only the nominal submission of the Theban high priests, whose territory began some fifty miles south of Memphis. In the far south, the war that Herihor and his successors had begun with the viceroy Panehesy achieved only the detachment of Nubia, which would go her own way until she reclaimed her heritage from Egypt in the 8th cent. B.C.E. The NK had begun with the reunification of Egypt and her brilliant conquests in Asia and Nubia. It ended with the loss of both empires and the beginnings of an internal fragmentation that would eventually cost the nation its political independence (Kitchen 1973: 247–57; Černý *CAH³* 2/2: 626–43; *AESH*, 229–35).

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## *3D INTERMEDIATE—SAITE PERIOD (DYN. 21–26)*

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A. Third Intermediate Period
1. Egypt in Dynasty 21
2. Libyan Era: Unity
3. Libyan Era: Anarchy
4. Kushite Era
5. Assyrians and Kushites
B. Saite Period

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### A. Third Intermediate Period

The era immediately succeeding that of the New Kingdom (NK) witnessed varied developments in society, culture, and economy (Kitchen 1973). Notwithstanding the apparent paucity of royal inscriptions, much has been revealed by recent research concentrated on this hitherto presumed Dark Age of Egypt. However, the paramount and consistent trend in the dynasties following the fall of the NK is one of political decentralization and corresponding lack of a firm unified monarchy (Yoyotte 1961). Foreigners, too, made an impact on the Nile valley, and not one but three different contenders for the prize of Egypt left their mark. First, there were the Libyans, who had already settled in the north during the reign of Ramesses III; then Egypt was faced with a southern incursion, that of the Kishites; finally, the mighty Assyrians attempted to conquer the land. As a result, the political history of this time is difficult to view as a whole if only because Egypt was not unified as before. For the sake of simplicity and ease of comprehension, modern scholarship now uses the term "Third Intermediate Period" to cover Dynasties 21–25 (ca. 1069–664 B.C.). This, in turn, was followed by the Saite Period, Dyn. 26 (664–525 B.C.), an era of unity (De Meulenaere 1951; 1967; all dates follow Kitchen 1982–83). However, it should be stressed that the 3d Intermediate Period is purely a global designation, revealing little about the 400-year span of Egyptian history, a time that witnessed the emergence of a society quite different than any preceding.

**1. Egypt in Dynasty 21 (ca. 1069–945 B.C.).** The last years of Pharaoh Ramesses XI saw a subtle alteration in the power structure of Egypt. The famous report of Wenamun (ca. 1076 B.C.) alludes in fairly direct language to the dual control of Egypt: in the south, control had effectively passed to the high priest of Amun, Herihor, while the north was under the *de facto* jurisdiction of Smendes from his capital at the seaport of Tanis in the East Delta (Wente 1972; Lichtheim *AEL* 2: 224–30). At the death of the last Ramesside ruler, the two offices passed smoothly to, respectively, the then incumbent high priest of Amun Pinudjem and to Pharaoh Smendes himself. It is noteworthy that there followed a sudden blanket of darkness concerning Egypt's control over Nubia. From the beginning of Dyn. 21, most of the territory south of Egypt proper was lost to the Egyptians, whether the royal house of Tanis or the pontiffs of Thebes. However, some degree of economic control may be inferred from the female side of the priestly family of Pinudjem II, high priest of Amun, which received titles such as "Superintendent of Southern Foreign Lands" and, presumably, revenues from Nubia (Kitchen 1973: 276). This cessation of control further aggravated the economic weakness of Egypt already begun with her withdrawal from Asia a half-century earlier. An examination of the difference between the two parts of Egypt at this time is more instructive. Not only was the high priest of Amun the religious leader of the south, controlling the old area of the "Head of the South" in Upper Egypt as well as most of Middle Egypt, but he was likewise a commander-in-chief of the army, or *generallissimo,* as modern scholars label him, and "army leader" (Kitchen 1973: 252, 257). Inscriptional evidence from Thebes points to the common practice of consulting oracles, in which the god Amun (through his priesthood) played a crucial role (Gardiner 1962; Kruchten 1986). A few such oracles have come down to us from this period, dealing with property settlements by members of the royal family; these texts stress the all-powerful connection of the religious hierarchy of Thebes and its far-ranging secular jurisdiction (Černý 1962). The judgments that were rendered had to be approved by the god, who "nodded vigorously" as the inscriptions recount. A famous inscription probably dating from the later reign of King Siamun (ca. 978–959 B.C.) narrates an oracle

decision wherein the legal case concerned misappropriation of funds (Kitchen 1973: 277; Kruchten 1985; 1986).

Pinudjem I renewed the burials of his royal ancestors in the Valley of the Kings, albeit with some possible mistakes in attribution (Černý 1946; Kitchen 1973: 257). He also had himself proclaimed pharaoh in his own right, the first clear-cut evidence of this practice from the temple of Khonsu at Thebes. In the 16th regnal year of Smendes (ca. 1057 B.C.), Pinudjem became the first pharaoh of the south, while his son Masaharta took the position of "high priest of Amun." Although this was not the start of a civil war, it essentially created a separate and continuing dynasty in addition to the royal line of Tanis. It is difficult to view such appropriation of royalty as *lèse majesté* or revolt by Pinudjem against Smendes, since the latter never had effective control over Thebes. Moreover, there are no regnal years associated with Pinudjem as king, a point worth stressing as it indicates that Smendes still was superior, if only in form. Indeed, the high priest may have taken this move owing to unrest in Thebes, which was finally resolved by his son (see below). Nevertheless, the natural division in Egypt between north and south finally reached its logical conclusion and the new king probably moved his residence to El-Hibeh in Middle Egypt, thereby establishing his court there. He was related by marriage to Smendes through his wife Henettowe and it is probable that relations between Smendes and his son-in-law were cemented by means of this physical alliance. In this light it is interesting that the next high priest, Menkheperre, traveled south (from the Middle Egyptian residence of El-Hibeh) to take up his new position in year 25 of Smendes. He was soon faced with dissension and civil disturbances in the Theban region (Kitchen 1973: 260). Rather than resulting from a conflict between adherents of the Tanis dynasty and those of Pinudjem I, it is more probable that these outbreaks of violence reflected the further disintegration of unity within Egypt, in this case with Thebes and the extreme south against Middle Egypt. Indeed, it is clear that Pinudjem attempted to firm his absentee control over this religious capital by ensuring that all of the key positions remained within his family. It should also be remembered that during the preceding dynasty, the Theban temples, especially that of Amun-Re at Karnak, possessed large tracts of land to the north (Gardiner 1942–48); there is no reason to think that such was not the case in the middle of Dyn. 21. Hence, he who controlled Thebes and its hierarchy automatically gained access to considerable resources, including tenants, land, and of course, wealth. The so-called "Banishment Stela" of Menkheperre recounts the apparent success of Pinudjem's son in quashing unrest when he reached Thebes, as well as his later grant of clemency toward banished malcontents who were then residing in the Khargah Oasis (Von Beckerath 1968). The most careful reading of the text fails to disclose any clue to the exact historical circumstances leading up to the Theban dissension, but one suspects that it was more politic for the high priest to aim at reconciliation rather than warfare.

With the deaths of Smendes and his short-lived son, the Tanite line then passed on to the energetic Psusennes I (ca. 1039–991 B.C.). Although the southern line of high priests never again rose to claim royalty after Pinudjem I's death seven years later, Psusennes himself took the title of high priest of Amun (this time in Tanis). He copied the policy of his southern contemporaries by securing his control over various priestly offices. Indeed, unlike the administrative setup of the NK, Dyn. 21 and its successors reveal the intimate family relationships that existed between the kings and the religious benefices in the land. It would be false to view only the south in this manner: Psusennes I and his royal descendants also established a joint religious-secular state, a "God's State," to employ the term used by German Egyptologists (Meyer 1928). In addition, the new monarch built extensively at Tanis, transforming it into the major commercial and administrative metropolis of the north. Noteworthy is his predilection for the Theban gods Amun, Mut, and Khonsu, reflecting the predominance of this triad, already known from the NK, outside of Thebes.

Very little is known concerning the south of Egypt during the reign of Psusennes and his successors. The line of Menkheperre continued to hold the office of High Priest of Amun, but none of his descendants ever took the kingship. Perhaps indicative of the independence of this region from the north was the establishment of El-Hibeh as the capital and fortress of the southern rulers, a fact well known from Menkheperre's own building program there and from a group of papyri (Spiegelberg 1917). This citadel

city was ideally suited both for possible defense against the north and commercial control over the north-south river trade owing to its vantage point on the Nile. In fact, Menkheperre and his sons may have found their hands full maintaining control over the southern city of Thebes from their capital in addition to keeping guard on the border just north of El-Hibeh. However, the close connections between Tanis and the southern pontiffs should remind us that there is no evidence of warfare or hostility between the two powers. Psusennes I and his immediate successors were recognized in Thebes, and the aged king himself was interred there.

The next three Tanite kings, although of relatively small importance, present interesting aspects. During the reigns of the first two, Amenemope and Osorkor (n), now named "The Elder," close connections appear to have been forged between the Tanite court and Hadad the Edomite (see 1 Kgs 11:14–22), a political refugee from the north (Malamat 1958; 1963: 8–17; Redford 1973: 5–6; Kitchen 1973: 273–75; Schulman 1983). It was probably during these two reigns that Hadad came to Tanis and secured for himself a place in exile after the victorious armies of King David had taken control of his kingdom. This passive support of an enemy of the Israelite Kingdom was to have repercussions toward the close of Dyn. 21. Such brief indications of international maneuverings clearly indicate that the paucity of our sources for this period does not necessarily indicate that the Tanite kings eschewed foreign affairs. The second pharaoh, Osorkor (n) (ca. 984–978 B.C.), bears a good Libyan name and there is little doubt, following recent research, that he was not related to the previous pharaoh (Yoyotte 1976–77). Quite the contrary, Osorkor (n) was descended from an important Libyan (or Meshwesh, as they called themselves) tribe that had settled in the north in Dyn. 20. His father was a tribal emir of great importance and he himself was the uncle of the future founder of Dyn. 22.

Such an occurrence indicates the gradual but steady rise in importance accrued by the Libyans in Egypt during the 21st Dyn. By and large, they were descendants of captured soldiers and families defeated by Ramesses III at the beginning of Dyn. 20. As such, they were given parcels of land on which to work, a fact confirmed from the data of Papyrus Wilbour (Gardiner 1942–48). Despite many years in Egypt, they appear to have kept their military ability as well as their tribal character. Indeed, although the next dynasty may be viewed as archetypically "Libyan," at this earlier date they still possessed their tribal political system and were ruled by chiefs designated as "Great Chiefs of the Ma" (or Meshwesh).

Siamun (ca. 978–959 B.C.) continued to support the refugee Hadad at his court. However, when the aged king David of Israel died, he took the opportunity to support fully Hadad's return to Edom and at the same time moved his army north into Philistia (Malamat 1963: 12–16; Kitchen 1973: 280–83). This campaign, although minor in comparison to those of the NK, nevertheless indicates that Tanis regarded her northern neighbor, the kingdom of Israel, with a jaundiced if not jealous eye. Precisely at David's death and coinciding with the problems of royal succession in Israel, Siamun moved on Gezer and seized it. Unfortunately for the Egyptian, events in Israel had also sped swiftly and Solomon quickly took control of his father's kingdom. As a result, the Tanite monarch made an about-face and, under the guise of a diplomatic marriage agreement, "gave" the captured city of Gezer to Solomon as a dowry with his daughter, thereby cementing an alliance with his powerful neighbor. Indeed, as Gezer belonged to the Philistines, it may be persuasively argued that Siamun's campaign was an attempt at curtailing, if not crushing, a commercial rival, since the Philistines were in control of much of the East Mediterranean sea trade.

The last pharaoh of Dyn. 21 (Psusennes II: ca. 959–945 B.C.) rounded out the domination of Tanis. Recent evaluation of his little-recorded reign has indicated that the rise to power, previously thought to be quite sudden, of an important Libyan family, was not so very rapid or unexpected (Redford 1973: 7–8; Kitchen 1973: 284–86). This lineage, which eventually saw one of its members (Sheshonk) placed on the throne, could trace its roots far back in time. Indeed, as Yoyotte was first to stress, the importance of the Libyan families in the north, especially in the Western Delta, was part and parcel of Egyptian society from Dyn. 20 onward. At Bubastis, the family of the future king intermarried with that of Tanis. Much of the background information concerning the future Sheshonk I of Egypt can be derived from a well-known inscription set up at the holy shrine of Abydos, as well as from some genealogical stelae and inscriptions

(Blackman 1941; Kitchen 1973; 105–6, 109–10, 282–85). They reveal that Sheshonk was related to the earlier Pharaoh Osorkor (n) and that his son in turn was married to the daughter of Psusennes II.

Certainly one of the most significant aspects of Dyn. 21 is the almost incredible linkages maintained by the royal family at Tanis and by the high priests of Amun at Thebes. Both in the north and south, the two powers consistently maintained their relatives in key economic and military positions of the land. One might well view a system wherein the king's wives, children, and other relations were all associated with the main cult centers of the day as quasi-feudal. This system was not practiced in the NK to as great an extent. Basically, the growing devolution of the Egyptian state in Dyn. 20 had revealed the importance of temporal and religious power, especially in the south with the immense influence of the priesthood of Amun-Re. No longer could a pharaoh depend upon an ostensibly impartial bureaucracy for his power. The situation had altered to one in which the king's might was not merely contested by the power of the pontiffs at Thebes but, more significantly, could not be effectively exercised without firm support from other temples in Egypt. Such limitations on actual rather than theoretical power must imply that the basis for the king's strength was more constricted than previously, a conclusion partially supported by the numerous officials in Egypt—not only at Thebes—who held military ranks side by side with religious ones, and whose loyalty was not necessarily to the pharaoh. The settlement of Libyan warrior-families undoubtedly hastened the change of the social setup of Egypt, for these settled soldiers carried with them a clan or tribal system alien to the Egyptians. This can best be seen in the plethora of Libyan titles mentioned earlier, and it is striking that these people kept for a long period of time their native names, unlike other foreigners who settled in Egypt. The West Delta at this time may be likened to a Libyan lake, an interpretation stressed by Yoyotte (1961: 148–49, 151–59) and Kitchen (1973: 285).

**2. Libyan Era: Unity.** Owing to the complexities of the period during which the Libyans dominated Egypt, it is best to divide it into a time of comparative unity (ca. 945–850 B.C.), followed by a gradual disintegration leading to the fragmented political structure so well evident (c. 750 B.C.) just before Assyria and the Kushites became interested in the Nile Valley. This section will therefore deal with the first kings of Dyn. 22 and their apparent success in holding the land. Unfortunately, despite grandiose plans, they were unable to alter the social and political structure of the day, and Egypt relapsed further into a decentralized form of government.

Such an interpretation belittles the apparently radical move of Sheshonk I to the throne of Egypt. This active and internationally minded pharaoh (ca. 945–924 B.C.) is well known to biblical historians and Egyptologists. He quickly associated himself with the religious capital of Thebes, while at the same time allying with the last members of the Tanite lineage. Indeed, as noted previously, Sheshonk could trace his ancestors back into the misty past of Dyn. 20, certainly indicating that his pedigree was as old and, from a residence point of view, as settled as any local commoner. He followed the practice of his less successful predecessors of Dyn. 21 in cementing control over the Theban hierarchy through appointments of his relatives. It is unclear whether he intended any new course of action, for records indicate that the army commanders under his dynasty, just as that preceding, held religious posts as well. Although he planted his supporters and relatives in key positions in the north and south, Sheshonk did nothing to invalidate that decentralized system. Indeed, in his inscriptions we note constant references to adherents from the army, thereby lending credence to the feeling that the new pharaoh was perhaps even more dependent upon his military retainers (Blackman 1941: 84–85; Tresson 1935–38: 825–26).

Sheshonk's well-known campaign into Asia, for example, was not one of conquest (Kitchen 1973: 294–300, 432–47; Redford 1973: 7–11; Feucht 1981). Quite the contrary, he seized upon an opportune time to damage the power of his immediate neighbor to the north by marching into Palestine a few years after the death of Solomon. Recent work has revealed that rather than attempt to annex property, Sheshonk preferred to despoil the territories of Israel and Judah, which had the added advantage of providing needed booty in order to pay his army. Certainly the campaign was a success if the limited nature of the strategy is seen and understood (Redford 1973: 7–13). Unlike Siamun before him, who had to contend with a united kingdom of Israel, the split between the north and south after the death of Solomon lent itself to an effective war of attrition. Significantly, Sheshonk did not return to Palestine, even though the

state of Judah was weakened from the attack as well as from the desertion of Israel. Hence, one might also interpret Sheshonk's action as an attempt to break Israel's commercial monopoly in the north which had grown considerably at the expense of a weak Tanite line. This argument has the indirect support of the date of the campaign: in year 21 of the king, which is quite late in comparison to NK pharaohs, who usually campaigned in their opening years, thereby indicating that Sheshonk waited for a favorable time before moving north. Whatever the actual cause, the pharaoh returned home with much captured booty from Jerusalem itself and soon after began building at Karnak the Bubastite Portal (Caminos 1952; Epigraphic Survey 1954: pls. 2–9). This overt sign of Theban construction indicates the importance that the new Libyan king attached to the temple hierarchy of Amun-Re, a policy very different from that of the preceding dynasty.

It is therefore wrong to view the policy of Sheshonk and his immediate successors, Osorkon I (ca. 924–889 B.C.) and Takelot I (ca. 889–874 B.C.), as an attempt to revive the glory and power of the NK. While it is true that the former (Sheshonk I's son) did involve himself to the north in Judah, this was a minor foray (2 Chr 14:9–15) and probably intended solely for added booty. Close connections were also maintained with Byblos, the age-old ally of Egypt in the Levant. At home, Osorkon I is presumed to have provided the major temples of Egypt (Thebes and those in the north) with a great deal of wealth, or so says a lengthy inscription from Bubastis (Redford 1973: 13–15; Kitchen 1973: 303; Naville 1891: pls. 51–52). However, it is possible that this text is a copy of an earlier inscription, an occurrence well known from one other text written by Osorkon's namesake at Bubastis, Osorkon II (see below). In Thebes, Osorkon I had one of his sons installed as high priest of Amun, thereby preventing the incumbent from securing for his own lineage this all-important post. A second son, "Sheshonk II," became coregent but never ruled in his own right. Oddly enough, this shadowy king is eclipsed by one even more unknown, Takelot I, of whom, as Kitchen has stressed (1973: 310), not one contemporary document can be found. Nevertheless, during his reign there was issued a famous inscription known as the Iuwelot Stela. This text, now in the Cairo Museum, is a will listing the Theban property given by the donor (Iuwelot) to his son (Legrain 1897: 13–16; Baer 1973: 14). Of crucial importance for prices of land and slaves at the time, the Iuwelot Stela is remarkable for the omission of the name of the then reigning pharaoh, Takelot I. Is it possible that Takelot was not readily accepted in Thebes or that Iuwelot, himself a military chief of Libyan descent who controlled most of Middle and Upper Egypt, was independent enough of the royal authority to ignore the pharaoh? Such questions can be answered only through speculation, although it is significant that both Takelot I and his elder brother, "Sheshonk II," remain as ephemeral today as they must have been considered in antiquity.

With Osorkon II (ca. 874–850 B.C.) we come to the last significant king of Dyn. 22. His reign is noteworthy for a great amount of temple building, especially at his capital, Tanis. A well-known inscription from Bubastis dealing with his *heb-sed* (or Jubilee) festival is actually a copy of an earlier text of Amenhotep III and as such, bears witness to Osorkon II's "pious plagiarism," for want of a better phrase (Kitchen 1966: 277; 1973: 320–21; Van Siclen 1973; Naville 1892, pl. 6). Building projects at Thebes in Karnak, as well as at Bubastis, also provide evidence for this king's wide-ranging activity. Nevertheless, a close examination of his relations with the standard political offices and officeholders of the day reveals that he did nothing outside of the ordinary. In other words, the same type of decentralization existed, with members of the royal family holding key military and religious centers of the land. Kitchen has noted (1973: 314) that a dangerous precedent was established by the pharaoh when he allowed a certain Harsiese, son of a previous high priest of Amun-Re, to be appointed to that position. Sometime after, Harsiese elevated himself to the level of kingship in a little-understood event that bode ill for the Libyan state. That he died before Osorkon II, and that the king placed one of his sons in this post, in no way contradicts the feeling that Egypt's unity was quite fragile. Indeed, oracular degrees written at this time parallel in their verbiage and formulae a text of Osorkon II which refers to evildoers and threats to one's family (Redford 1973: 13–14; Yoyotte 1961: 136–37; Jacquet-Gordon 1960: 77; Kitchen 1973: 317). This sense of insecurity probably was the result of two conflicting elements in the Libyan era, attitudes that can be traced back to an earlier date: the king had to secure control of the land through his

appointments, particularly from his family; however, the sons and descendants of these appointees sought the very same positions themselves. In other words, devolution was a natural by-product of such a policy, and Egypt may be likened, for the first time in her history, to a feudal state following the model of medieval Europe. Yoyotte has noted (1961: 122–24, 129–30, 134–36) that toward the middle of the 9th cent. B.C. the title "Great Chief of the Ma (swesh)" was taken up by members of the royal family even though they were not clan leaders, properly speaking. And as for Osorkon himself, despite his construction projects, his close connections with Byblos and his abortive attempt to stave off the Assyrians at Qarqar (853 B.C.), he was unable to halt the internal developments within Egypt. Although he passed the throne to his son Takelot II, with his death the land split into warring camps.

**3. Libyan Era: Anarchy.** Within the next twenty or so years, Egypt was witness to the complete fragmentation of political power so evident in the numerous small principalities that the Assyrians later faced. At this time one of the ostensible causes was the attempt of Pharaoh Takelot II (ca. 850–825 B.C.) to secure his son, a certain Osorkon, the position of high priest of Amun-Re in Thebes. The trials and tribulations of this man are aptly considered to be his chronicle. In them, one reads of the continual opposition of the locals in Thebes as well as their adherents in Upper Egypt against the Bubastite ruler (Caminos 1958; Kitchen 1973: 329–33). Even though Osorkon's chronicle is one-sided, enough historical information is provided to follow the main thread of political dissolution. Basically, the king attempted to control the south by placing his son, Osorkon, as pontiff. This time the resistance was too great. For ten years the political and military fortunes of this man waxed and waned, until he reconciled with his opponents and then studiously followed a policy of realism. As stressed above, the real causes of dissent did not lie within Thebes itself. By following the decentralizing practices of Dyn. 21, the pharaohs of the Bubastite line only made the political situation worse. Actually, considering the tribal nature of the Libyans themselves and their dependence upon a leader for each clan, the so-called "Great Chiefs of the Ma," it is hardly surprising that the state of Egypt should become fragmented. The high priest Osorkon found during his lifetime that the system was too weak for effective royal control. Let it not be forgotten that during this time all the pharaohs resided in the extreme north at Tanis, quite distant from the religious center of Thebes. In addition to this center of potential opposition, other cities in Middle Egypt (Heracleopolis, Hermopolis, and El-Hibeh) were controlled by powerful Libyan dynasts; even if one could trace their ancestry back to a common royal figure, this says nothing concerning the real temporal power of the day, viz., inheritance of office without royal intervention. Such appears to have been the *causus belli* following Osorkon's fatal move to Thebes. He eventually lost and was buried soon after his father.

With Sheshonk III (ca. 825–773 B.C.), we reach the end of a united kingdom. Although the south, particularly Thebes, went its own way, a second dynasty established itself at Leontopolis in the East Delta (Kitchen 1973: 123–37; Baer 1973: 11–12, 21–23 differs). Indeed, the country can be envisaged at this time as being peppered with pro-Bubastite (Dyn. 22) and pro-Leontopolite (Dyn. 23) rulers, all small Libyan potentates. This political fragmentation is confusing as both lines followed their own system of regnal dating. Rather than recount the history of these two rival dynasties, it would be better at this point to turn to a more generalized picture of the land.

For the next eighty years or so the Egyptian state became a country with numerous Libyan principalities, each quasi-independent of any royal control. The split between Dyn. 22 and 23 merely hastened the breakup of the country. Indeed, toward the end of this period we find that some local Libyan rulers omit their nominal pharaoh's name while still using his regnal years! The redoubtable prince Osorkon, whose appointment to Thebes began this fragmentation, still pursued a persistent but unsuccessful policy against his opponents in the south. With Thebes went Heracleopolis, although Memphis and most of the Delta remained pro-Bubastite. Owing to this extreme state of affairs, a group of mini-dynasts or kinglets eventually arose. The trail-blazing research on this period was done by Yoyotte (1961), whose work remains the basis for all future analyses. He pointed out that, in the middle of the 8th century B.C., a new power arose in the West Delta and managed to unify most of that area within two decades. The leader of this territory held the Libyan title of "Great Chief of the Libu," unlike his

compatriots in other corners of the Nile valley (Yoyotte 1960a; Kitchen 1973: 350–51, 355). These local yet increasingly powerful chiefs had not yet reached the point of claiming royal status, although they effectively ran a homogeneous territory, at least geographically speaking, in contrast to their rivals of Dyn. 22 or 23. Indeed, if one were to survey Egypt at the time of the Bubastite king Sheshonk V (ca. 767–730 B.C.) or his contemporary Iuput II of Dyn. 23 (ca. 754–717 B.C.), one might well find at least a surface resemblance to Medieval France or Germany.

One interesting sidelight of the Libyan period is that much of our information, especially concerning the royalty, is derived from a series of inscriptions generally termed "Donation Stelae" (Meeks 1979). These were erected by a king or private individual to record gifts of land to a temple. Such monuments were in effect the visual declaration of a previously ratified contract, presumably on papyrus. For modern scholars their importance lies in the economic as well as political sphere. Although such stelae are known from as early as Dyn. 13, they appear to have become more popular close to the end of the NK and especially later, in the Third Intermediate Period. In particular, one can determine the allegiance of a specific locality from the name of the king at the beginning. As mentioned earlier, quite late in the Libyan anarchy even the cartouches were left blank, thereby strikingly testifying to the impotence of the nominal rulers of Egypt.

This period of extreme political fragmentation did not end abruptly. A series of internal struggles was to be compounded by external threats from both the south and the north, until a new and unified Egypt could be forged. One such long-range trend was the consolidation of the kingdom of the West Delta. By year 36 of Sheshonk V (of Bubastis) a certain Tefnakht of Sais claimed to be Great Chief of the Libu and two years later absorbed the remaining western principalities into his realm. His later contemporary, Osorkon IV, ruled as the nominal head of Dyn. 22, while the contender of Dyn. 23 faced more serious problems from the south. Indeed, it is the south and particularly the kingdom of Kush that performs the main role in the next act of Egypt.

**4. Kushite Era (ca. 747–664 B.C.).** The Kushites did not begin with their surprise move northward into Egypt. One must remember that, after the fall of the NK, the south was severed from Egyptian control. A new power had emerged which, although native, was very Egyptianized and had absorbed much of NK Amun religion. This new expansive commercial kingdom had its capital at the Fourth Cataract at Gebel Barkal (Napata) and held territory even farther south. By the middle of the 8th century B.C., this new state began a series of northern campaigns that was to head it into the hornets' nest of divided Egypt. Under the first known king, Kashta, both Lower Nubia and Thebes were taken (Leclant 1963; Priese 1970: 16–22; Kitchen 1973: 358–59). This move downstream (i.e., northward) was not lost upon the nominal ruler of Thebes, a Dyn. 23 ruler. However, the Kushites possessed a unity sorely lacking in Egypt, and a religious fervor for their god Amun which seems to have enabled them to withstand adversity. Following Kashta's death, his son Piankhy (or Piye as perhaps he should be called) was the effective ruler of a kingdom that included part of Upper Egypt (Thebes to Elephantine) and all of Nubia, in addition to core territory with a capital at Napata. It was in his 20th regnal year that Piye heard of an ominous development—the Chief of the West Delta, a certain Tefnakht, had not merely laid claim to his father's territory (with its capital at Sais), but had moved southward and found allies eastward (Yoyotte 1961: 151–59; Kitchen 1973: 363–68). In other words, a rival to the Kushite king now existed. Considering the virtual political anarchy in Egypt, such a situation could have bode ill for Piye and he was now slow to react.

The campaign of this Kushite king is well known owing to his famous and detailed stela of victory now in the Cairo Museum (ET in Lichtheim *AEL* 3: 66–84; see also Grimal 1981a). Piye followed a cautious and careful strategy, first sending his army to Heracleopolis north of Thebes in Middle Egypt and then, after that strategy had failed, traveling to Egypt itself (Spalinger 1979; Kessler 1981). Piye's effective maneuvering was counterbalanced by his devout belief in the Egyptian gods, and it is revealing that he spent part of his time in Thebes performing religious rites before marching north. His campaign was a relative success: whenever the Kushite met the Libyan allies of Tefnakht or even those cities loyal to the new ruler, he was victorious, even under siege conditions (as, for example, at Hermopolis and Memphis). On one occasion, disregarding the condition of the inhabitants themselves, he vociferously complained

about the treatment of horses in Hermopolis after his siege had succeeded, probably owing to the crucial role that the beasts played in the army. Piye also recorded in minute detail the political setup of the day: local Libyan chiefs are correctly labeled and their names included; the various kings (pharaohs) are enumerated (there were four at this time); and a very competent account of the warfare is described with many asides known only from the NK. The stela is itself a masterful piece of political propaganda, glossing over setbacks (although not failing to note some losses) and glorifying the pharaoh. However, Piye failed to achieve his ultimate desire: despite the fact that Tefnakht was pushed out of Middle Egypt and lost Memphis as well, the Kushites were unable to penetrate far into his kingdom of the west. This limitation of power is best seen in the final act of this drama. Piye first received the submission of his opponents in Memphis after Tefnakht had fled home. The latter eventually sent a messenger to sue for peace, but this was only a token submission: Tefnakht remained in complete control over his small kingdom, and when the Kushites withdrew southward, he was now slow in claiming royalty for himself.

In Tefnakht's resilience we see the kernel of the failure of Kushite policy in Egypt. Although they could defeat the motley and heterogeneous Libyans and Egyptians, they could not effectively administer the land unless they themselves moved north. Piye was unable to prevent the recovery of power by Tefnakht, who capitalized on the absence of any Kushites in the north by proclaiming himself pharaoh and effective founder of Dyn. 24. Since no military or administrative network was established by the victorious Kushites, one wonders if their main purpose was simply to prevent any major kingdom coming to power in Egypt that would threaten their control of Upper Egypt. For example, Piye's successor and brother, Shabako (ca. 715–700 B.C.), was forced to repeat the military actions of his predecessor, although after conquering the north, he remained in Egypt. Dyn. 24 was itself extinguished with the last pharaoh, Bakenranef (Bocchoris), dying in opposition (Yoyotte 1971). The new Kushite capital was placed at Memphis and it is from this time that a marked intellectual influence can be seen on the Kushites. Now settled in the age-old capital of the north, they quite naturally were influenced by the art and culture of Memphis. This period of artistic endeavor has often been called the Kushite Renaissance, following earlier historical work which labeled the succeeding dynasty (26) as the Saite Renaissance (Russmann 1974; Bothmer, De Meulenaere, and Müller 1960: xxxvii). Of course, both terms are ill employed. By "Renaissance," we commonly mean a distinct intellectual break with the period immediately preceding and an attempt to link with a far older era which is then cherished and emulated. There is little doubt that the Kushites and later their successors of Dyn. 26 copied the artistic style of the Old Kingdom (OK), but this was probably in part due to the proximity of private tombs at Memphis and Sakkara. The Kushite move from Thebes as their outlying capital in Egypt to Memphis meant a switch from NK traditions (for example, the cult of Amun-Re) to those of the OK.

Despite the apparent unity under the 25th Dyn. kings, the fabric of Egyptian society remained complex. The local Libyan princes were suppressed but their lineages were alive; resistance was quashed but nationalism persisted. Hence, Shabako and his successors, Shebitku (ca. 702–690 B.C.), Taharqa (690–664 B.C.), and Tanwetamani (Tanutamun) (664–656 B.C. in Egypt), always faced the same problem: their administration was strained, stretching from Napata at the Fourth Cataract up to the Mediterranean, and they continued to depend heavily upon local support, whether it be from an Egyptian prince or a Libyan. In fact, they left alone the local military caste system so typical of the period of Libyan anarchy. Even the very city of Sais itself, the former capital of Tefnakht and Dyn. 24, remained a focal point for future pharaonic aspirations by its local rulers.

**5. Assyrians and Kushites.** The main impetus for change was not to come from the Egyptians themselves. Outside of Egypt a world empire had been in existence for many years. This kingdom of Assyria had already proven that it had the ability to absorb most of its enemies, including any small state in its path. Over a period of expansion lasting three centuries, Assyria had moved from an insular state to a far-ranging one. Her battles against the Arameans had formed the nucleus of the greatest army that the world had seen: the north Syrian states had fallen, one by one, in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C., the Lebanon was taken, Phoenicia made into a client, and the kingdom of Israel crushed in 722 B.C. Confrontation with Egypt was inevitable. Sargon II (722–705 B.C.) was the first Neo-Assyrian ruler to

encounter Egyptian or Kushite armies (Tadmor 1958: 33–38, 77–80). His claim was not on Egypt herself; rather, Sargon intended to control the sea trade of the East Mediterranean through the subjugation of the small kingdom of Judah, Egypt's northern neighbor, and the capture of Philistia. However, such a policy automatically carried the seeds of further warfare since Judah, Philistia, or even a Phoenician city, could always appeal to Egypt for aid. Thus in ca. 726 B.C. Hoshea of Israel had sought military support against the Assyrians who were besieging his country. The king wrote to a certain "So, King of Egypt," for aid (2 Kgs 17:4) and it has been argued that the local Egyptian ruler was Osorkon IV, the last nominal pharaoh of Dyn. 22 (Kitchen 1973: 372–75; Goedicke 1977). In 720 B.C. Sargon of Assyria marched into Philistia, Egypt's closest neighbor to the north. At this time the king of Gaza received logistic support from one of the generals in the Delta. The upshot of the affair was that Gaza fell and Raphia, the final post leading from Palestine, was taken (Tadmor 1958: 33–38). However, it must be noted that Sargon's policy was circumscribed: he set up a trade entrepôt but made no pretense of invading Egypt. Four years later the same Osorkon IV sent gifts to the Assyrian ruler, clearly supporting him in his annexation and reorganization of Philistia and, at the same time, maintaining good political ties (Kitchen 1973: 376). On all of these occasions only local Egyptian-Libyan potentates were involved; the kings of Kush were yet to meet the Assyrians.

With Shabako's triumph, Dyn. 25 now controlled the north more or less completely. However, relations with Assyria could not be ignored by him. By 713/12 B.C. another minor affair, again close to the southern border of Philistia, broke out. This time the city of Ashdod rebelled and the local ruler, Yamani, fled to Egypt. He was ungraciously returned by Shabako, whom the Assyrians designated king of Egypt, adding that the territories now belonged to Kush (Spalinger 1973; Kitchen 1973: 380). Hence, despite a change of political climate in the Nile Valley, relations between Assyria and Egypt remained ostensibly cordial.

Sargon's death in 705 B.C. brought no end to Assyrian aggressiveness. This was as much due to the attempt of her captured territories to free themselves as to the continual battles with rebels and lands farther away from her homeland. The famous 701 B.C. clash with Sennacherib (705–689 B.C.) indicates just how extended the interests of Assyria had become (Kitchen 1973: 383–86; Spalinger 1978). The Assyrian king tried to crush totally the rump kingdom of Judah, now under the leadership of Hezekiah. The latter sought active support from Egypt, or from the Kushites. An army composed of Egyptians, Kushites, and Libyans was sent north to meet the Assyrians, but failed and retreated after losing the battle of Eltekeh. The Bible (2 Kgs 18:13–19:37), as well as Assyrian sources (*ANET* 287–88), provide independent accounts of this conflict: the Kushites may have been led by Taharqa, who was not yet pharaoh; the Judeans resisted the siege of Jerusalem; and the Assyrians failed to achieve their desired goals. Henceforth, Sennacherib stayed out of Judean politics, preferring to concentrate his energies elsewhere, and the Kushites, although defeated, had time to regroup for further war. In a nutshell, the battle of Eltekeh reveals the foreign policies of this region for the next half-century or so: Egypt would support Judah and any local city against the superpower of Assyria, despite the latter's overwhelming strength and military capability. Under the reign of Taharqa, the Kushites and Assyrians fought more than once.

To the outsider, these battles and political sallies appear monotonous. However, such definitely was not the case under Taharqa's reign. His was the unfortunate task to deflect the Assyrians from an all-out attack on Egypt. Again, late in the 670s, he fought with his enemy in Asia. His opponent, Esarhaddon, finally managed to defeat the Kushite king and drive him out of Memphis ca. 671 B.C. (Kitchen 1973: 391–93; Spalinger 1974b). This apparent success ought to have resolved for the Assyrians their perennial difficulties with Egypt. Nevertheless, they found themselves in the same situation as Kush herself following Piye's invasion almost a half-century earlier, viz., the land was divided into small principalities each led by a warrior class. In other words, the Libyan setup had not yet been erased and the conqueror was by necessity forced to rely upon the local kinglets, since he could not change the social and political system of the land. Any attempt to do so would involve a great deal of time and expense, in addition to

encouraging even more severe outbursts of rebellion. As a result, Assyria practiced the same internal policy that Kush had done: holding nominal rule, but leaving local structures alone.

It comes as no surprise that Egypt (or Kush) revolted when the Assyrians left and a second campaign was undertaken in 669 B.C., the date of the death of Esarhaddon. Taharqa's support came from the native Egyptians or their Libyan leaders, but so did Esarhaddon's. It was clear that whoever wrested effective control of the land would be the accepted pharaoh. Assurbanipal, Esarhaddon's successor, attempted twice. In 668/67 B.C. and 664 B.C. the Assyrians marched to the Nile, first taking Memphis and then even Thebes (Spalinger 1974b; Kitchen 1973: 393–94). Significantly, in the interim there was another revolt and the Kushites regained their former territories. On the second occasion, Taharqa was succeeded by his nephew Tanwetamani, who proudly reports on his Dream Stela of his victories in the north (Grimal 1981b). However, even a cursory reading of the inscription reveals that his success in Egypt (the Delta in particular) was against the local kinglets, not Assyria. As it turned out, some of the Delta kings supported Assyria and Assurbanipal's army was soon on the road. Tanwetamani was forcibly removed from Memphis and Thebes, and for all practical purposes, Kush never again could claim the north, although it must be noted that she still had a degree of influence in Thebes until 656 B.C. (Kitchen 1973: 403–4).

But the Assyrians were still faced with recalcitrant local potentates. This time Assyria attempted reconciliation—whether for altruistic reasons or otherwise, we cannot say. The city of Sais was particularly singled out by Assurbanipal, if only because it had held the seeds of revolt against Kush for many years (cf. Tefnakht and Bakenranef above). Indeed, there was the tradition of a pharaonic dynasty there, and what could be better than enlisting the support of Necho I of Sais and his son Psamtik (Psammetichus) I (664–610 B.C.) against the southern foreigners. Such turned out to be Assurbanipal's policy and it served him well. Beset by a massive revolt in Babylon plus a threat from the east—not to mention Arab incursions—Assyria preferred to maintain her alliance with Sais, now the seat of Dyn. 26, even though it meant the unification of Egypt. This was no rapprochement: Psammeticus was not a king of Kush, nor had he advocated a pro-Kushite policy.

**B. Saite Period (664–525 B.C.)**

The following period properly speaking belongs to the rule of a united Egypt led by the pharaohs of Sais (De Meulenaere 1951). It should be added by way of clarification that Psammetichus remembered his alliance with Assyria and that he and his son, Necho II, aided the tottering Assyrian Empire in the last decades of the 7th century B.C., thereby proving their allegiance. In Egypt itself, Psammetichus carefully quashed his Delta rivals and took first Memphis and then, after some diplomatic wrangling, Thebes (Kitchen 1973: 401–4; Spalinger 1976). The latter affair is quite well known owing to a length report entitled the Nitocris Stela (Caminos 1964). The Kushites appear to have simply withdrawn from Egypt, probably owing to their continual losses against the Assyrians, while Psammetichus peacefully (and with pomp) had his daughter Nitocris appointed to the position of God's Wife of Amun in Thebes. With that act, Egypt was once again reunited and the Libyan anarchy finally at an end. Indeed, its demise was more protracted than it should have been, owing to the rival interests of Kush, Assyria, and Sais.

The reign of Psammetichus I (664–610 B.C.) set the paradigm for the new united dynasty. He carefully built up his power in the Delta, outwitting his local rivals until the only opposition remaining was that of Thebes. With the active intervention of Montuemhet—the Fourth Prophet of Amun, City Mayor, and actual power in Upper Egypt—Psammetichus accomplished the annexation of the south by 656 B.C. Noteworthy in the first decades of his rule is the king's reliance upon the military (Spalinger 1976). Indeed, the account of Herodotus places a great deal of emphasis upon his employment of Greek mercenaries in the army and their usefulness in defeating his foes. It was from this time that mercenaries began to play a significant role in the country, later forming a separate division in the Egyptian army, a fact known from texts dealing with Psammetichus II's campaign into Nubia (see below). Garrisons were established at the south in Elephantine, and to the northeast at Daphnae. A local war with the Libyans ended successfully for Psammetichus, and he erected a series of stelae commemorating his army's victory over these perennial foes in regnal years 10–11 (Goedicke 1962; Basta 1968; Kitchen 1973: 405). In this case, it is clear that the Libyans actually represented Egypt's western neighbors, rather than the former

kinglets of the Delta. It is possible that a third garrison was founded on the west soon after this victory. All three were built to control the entrances into the land, since Egypt had to fear invasion from Kush (south of Elephantine), Assyria (northeast at Daphnae), and Libya (northwest at Marea). In addition, the Nile itself was supplied with an independent fleet, a forerunner of the navy developed in the East Mediterranean by later Saite monarchs. Finally, Psammetichus allied himself to the Lydians who, under King Gyges, began to expand and form a kingdom hostile to the Assyrians (Spalinger 1978c; Millard 1979).

Internally, Egypt lost much of the character of the preceding age. The abiquitous donation stelae were still erected but now under only one king. Local independence in the north had ended by year 8 of the pharaoh and even though Libyan families still held power in some cities, their might was now subservient to the monarch. Initially, Psammetichus stressed the importance of the powerful families in Egypt, such as the Masters of Shipping at Heracleopolis and the Theban dignitaries (Kitchen 1973: 402–3). Later, he placed his adherents, most of whom came from the north, in key positions in the land (Kees 1935). However no real administrative reform took place. The local administrative units, the nomes, became tax collectors' districts, and outmoded titles dating back to the Old and Middle Kingdoms were employed, but no major reorganization of the finances or bureaucracy was apparently needed. By simply sending his new officials to the south, Psammetichus ran the land effectively.

Necho II (610–595 B.C.) succeeded his father to the throne of Egypt and reigned during one of the momentous periods of world history. Already late in the life of his father, the Assyrian Empire had begun to break up at the death of Assurbanipal (629 B.C.). Egypt, which may well have been promised support and territory from the Assyrians, sided with them against the new opposition of the Babylonians and Medes (Freedy and Redford 1970: 476–78; Spalinger 1978a). From 616 B.C. on, the collapse of this empire precipitated Egypt into an aggressive foreign policy which continued upon Necho's accession. In his first regnal year he marched north to aid the tottering Assyrians, now fighting for their rump state in Syria. In a famous encounter with the resurrected kingdom of Judea, now led by Josiah, Necho (biblical Neco; see 1 Kgs 24:29) smashed his opponents at Megiddo before traveling north (Malamat 1973; 1975). See also NECO. Allied to Assuruballit of Assyria, Necho fought against Nabopolassar, the king of Babylonia. In the next few years, Assyria fell, but the Egyptians maintained a presence in Lebanon until Nabopolassar's son, Nebuchadnezzar, defeated Necho at Carchemish in 605 B.C. (Yoyotte 1960b: 374–92). Necho was able to keep the Babylonians out of Egypt, being just sufficiently powerful to prevent an invasion in 601 B.C. The result of these sudden political and military alterations was that Egypt lost whatever power she had accrued in Asia during the reign of Psammetichus I. Indeed, despite later support for the kingdom of Judah, the best that Necho and later Psammetichus II could do was to stave off invasion by a triumphant Babylonia.

Internally, Necho is best known for his attempt to build a canal between the Red Sea and the Nile, a "proto-Suez Canal," one may say (Posener 1936; De Meulenaere 1951: 50–54). This probably successful enterprise highlights the direct continuation of his father's policy. Owing to the importance of the kingdoms of Lydia and Cyprus during this period, the Saite rulers found it politically beneficial to maintain a strong commercial and military presence in the East Mediterranean. In similar fashion, Necho supported the circumnavigation of Africa, an event well known to the Greeks, who later kept record of this astounding maneuver (doubted by Lloyd 1977). With Babylonia now fully in control of the Lebanon, Necho's maritime strategy had the added advantage of not involving him in fruitless land wars. Internally, Necho undertook building work in Thebes, although for the most part he appears not to have been preoccupied with the temples of the land (Yoyotte 1960b: 367–68). Significantly, his reputation came into disgrace after his death, a fact made visible by the erasures of his name (cartouches) on his monuments and those of his officials (Yoyotte 1960b: 370–71; Bothmer, De Meulenaere, and Müller 1960: 50–51). The exact cause of this later disrepute is unknown, but perhaps Necho's lack of visible success with the Babylonians and his loss of empire in Asia were a major contributing factor.

Necho's son, Psammetichus II (595–589 B.C.), did not rule long. Nevertheless, he followed an interesting foreign policy with respect to the north and south. Although avoiding direct involvement with

Babylonia, he actively supported the state of Judah against Nebuchadnezzar just as earlier the Libyans and Kushites maneuvered in Palestine against the Assyrians. It is probable that the Egyptians reckoned correctly with their Judean allies by not overtly committing themselves to a policy antagonistic to Babylon: Judah under her last king Zedekiah was, after all, nothing more than a rump state with no outlet to the sea. Although Psammetichus II marched to Asia in his fourth regnal year, the affair was nothing more than a show of Egyptian presence (Yoyotte 1951b). When the final seige of Jerusalem took place (ca. 589 B.C.), Egypt watched the fall of her former ally without taking arms in her defense (Malamat 1968; 1973; 1975). Perhaps part of this cautious policy owed a great deal to a sudden war in the south with a former foe, Kush. In year 3 of Psammetichus II's reign, a combined Egyptian-Greek army, led by Egyptians, traveled south into the heartland of Nubia. This military campaign was successful and we possess important hieroglyphic records of the encounter which indicate that Napata (Gebel Barkal) was taken (Sauneron and Yoyotte 1952; Bakry 1967; Habachi 1974; Goedicke 1981). The Kushite kingdom removed its capital farther south and henceforth no longer played an important role in the affairs of Egypt. It is not surprising to learn that Psammetichus II then systematically erased from the monuments the names of the 25th Dyn. kings (Yoyotte 1951a). Such a policy of anathematization fits perfectly with his military activity and reflects the new dynasty's antagonistic feeling toward its immediate predecessor.

Psammetichus II died and was succeeded by his son Apries, who ruled until 570 B.C. This pharaoh continued to play an important role in the political affairs of the east by moving against the Phoenician cities of Tyre and Sidon in an effort to prohibit their control by Nebuchadnezzar. Although inheriting the continual war with Babylon, for almost all of his reign Apries was able to keep the enemy at bay. His dependence upon Greek mercenaries was cited by later historians, such as Herodotus, as proof of his philohellenic policy. On the other hand, among the Egyptians, a great deal of resentment had built up which was to spill over in the successful revolt of his general, Amasis (Ahmose). A famous stela from Mitrahineh, first edited by Gunn (1927), is notable for the archaism in language as it reads almost like an original OK document. The deliberate attempt to emulate OK artistic representations as well as language had begun earlier in Dyn. 25, but by the Saite Period such imitation was part and parcel of official monuments and inscriptions. Blocks from the capital of Sais indicate that Apries apparently celebrated a *heb-sed* (Jubilee) festival, although he did not rule the standard thirty years required for such a celebration (Habachi 1943: 402; Koefoed-Petersen 1956: 45–46 and pl. LV). A famous commander of the southern fortress at Elephantine, Nesuhor, is known from the reign of Apries (Schaefer 1904; Kees 1935: 95–96, 101–2). He suppressed a revolt of his troops who wished to leave their posts and flee to Nubia. Later, Nesuhor donated gifts to the god of Mendes, an action mentioned by other texts of the Saite Period.

A recent reinterpretation of the Amasis Victory stela by Edel (1978) has revealed the complexity of the period surrounding the fall of Apries. In 570 B.C. Amasis, a general of Apries, revolted after a defeat at Cyrene. With Cypriot troops as well as his Greek soldiers, Apries recaptured control of most of Egypt. However, this counterattack was not long successful and Apries fled to the east. His return in 567 B.C. (year 4 of Amasis) led to his ruin. Against a combined naval and land attack, Amasis, now allied with Cyrene and, utilizing Greek mercenaries, overwhelmed the former pharaoh, who died in battle. This inauspicious beginning of a new reign does much to reveal the weaknesses of Egypt in the middle of the 6th cent. B.C.: she continually had to defend herself from foreign intervention, but such defense could be accomplished only through the aid of mercenaries, mainly Greeks (specifically Carian and Ionian soldiers). It is not surprising to see that Amasis later allied himself with Polycrates of Samos and Croseus of Lydia (De Meulenaere 1951: 98–100, 113). Further contacts were cemented through gifts to various Greek temples, and later by a conquest of Cyprus, thereby attempting to counter the Babylonian threat. Finally, to the south, a possible campaign (ca. 529 B.C.) is reported on a fragmentary account (Erichsen 1941).

At home, the tradition of Amasis befits his plebian origin. Clearly not of the royal family, he apparently received from the popular press of the day a reputation as a wine bibber (De Meulenaere 1951: 93–96). Such reports reached Herodotus a century later and are confirmed from a Demotic tale centered on Amasis. More important, the settlement of Greeks at the Delta site of Naucratis is generally dated to his

reign (De Meulenaere 1951: 100–10). This policy of permitting the Hellenes to reside permanently in Egypt in the Delta is further proof of their growing significance in the internal affairs of the Nile Valley.

Unfortunately for Egypt, the Babylonians were overrun by the more vigorous Medes and Persians, led by Cyrus. With the fall of Babylon (ca. 546 B.C.), most of the Near East became part of the second World Empire, i.e., Achaemenid Persia. Cyrus then marched against Lydia and took it. Therefore, at the death of Amasis in 526 B.C. little remained independent of Persia in the Near East outside of the Nile Valley. In fact, under Cyrus' successor, Cambyses, plans were already under way for an attack on Egypt. Cambyses found natives who would support him, and within a year, purposely not long after the accession of the new pharaoh Psammetichus III, the Persians moved southwest and conquered Egypt.

Dyn. 26 became one of the last native ruling families of Egypt for a long period of time. This period saw a restoration of unity and the beginnings of another empire. Although the latter was short-lived, the Nile Valley did witness a continuance of its art and religion as previously. The dynasty fostered a new landed nobility by allowing them to receive a salary from plots of land given by the kings. However, these parcels of land were also donated to temples and therefore could not be used by the nobility to build up an independent power base. Indeed, the right of succession to the plots was conditional. By the 7th–6th centuries B.C., Egypt was no longer parochial. Foreigners in increasing numbers traveled freely within its borders. If the backbone of the army came more and more to be Greek, this was in part due to their advanced state of military preparedness. At the same time, these mercenaries posed no real threat to the safety of the country. The Saite kings also relied heavily upon the sea and it is ironic that their final fall to the Persians was connected with the defection of one of Egypt's admirals. Certainly fatal to her might was the lack of iron deposits, now crucial since the world had turned from bronze to iron; for the first time Egypt was reduced to the role of a dependent importer for her armament.

The annexation of Egypt by the Persian ruler Cambyses led to a stronger foreign domination than that attempted by the Assyrians. This was in part due to the resilience of the Persians, as well as their newly founded empire. Persia at the close of the 6th century B.C. was unlike the Assyrian Empire in the middle of the 7th. Egypt became effectively administered by a satrap who, with Persian troops, lived in Memphis. However, the history of Egypt as part of the Persian Empire belongs to another chapter.

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ANTHONY SPALINGER

## *PERSIAN PERIOD (DYN. 27–31)*

A. Political and Military History
B. Administration
C. Culture

### A. Political and Military History

Persian control of Egypt fell into two stages: the First Persian Occupation (525–404 B.C.) and the Second Persian Occupation (343/2–332 B.C.). The invasion of the country by Cambyses in May/June 525 was the result of a long period of hostility initiated by Egyptian fears of Persian expansion westward. As early as the reign of Cyrus (538–29), these fears had led to the formation of a grand defensive alliance between Egypt, Lydia, Babylonia, and Sparta (Hdt. 1.77.1–2; 1.53.4). The destruction of Lydia and Babylonia left Egypt as the only significant Near Eastern opponent by the beginning of Cambyses' reign. The latter ruler's invading force defeated the Egyptian king Psamtik (Psammetichus) III at Pelusium, took the capital city of Memphis, and swiftly achieved the subjugation of the entire country (Hdt. 3.1–26; Lloyd 1988b: 55, 63–64).

Information on Cambyses' behavior within Egypt is contradictory. The classical tradition is generally hostile and paints a picture of a brutal and impious tyrant afflicted with intermittent and progressive insanity (Hdt. 3.16, 27–29, 37; Brown 1982: 387–403; Lloyd 1988b: 56: cf. *CAP* nos. 30–31). On the other hand, hieroglyphic sources depict a ruler making a great effort to respect Egyptian sensibilities by establishing himself as pharoah in the fullest sense and acting in religious matters with the strictest propriety (Posener 1936: 1–26; Lloyd 1982: 166–80). In all probability, the hostile tradition arose from priestly resentment excited by Cambyses' determination to define precisely the privileges of Egyptian temples. Negative reactions to Cambyses as a fratricide and king associated with widespread rebellion could also have encouraged this hostile attitude (Lloyd 1988b: 65–66). Be that as it may, in 522 B.C., this general unrest compelled him to depart from Egypt, leaving Aryandes in control as satrap. *En route* he died, under somewhat mysterious circumstances, probably in September of that year.

Cambyses was succeeded by Darius, who had been one of his bodyguards during the Egyptian invasion (Hdt. 3.2.3–140; Xen. *Cyr*. 4. 2. 46); Egypt immediately revolted as a result of the harsh government of the satrap Aryandes. Problems elsewhere in the Empire meant that Darius could not immediately march on Egypt, but in 519–518 he had regained control. His reign in Egypt was characterized by circumspection and a concern for developing it as part of the Persian Empire. In 518 he undertook a reform of the laws which made a deep impression on later tradition (Spiegelberg 1914: 30–32; cf. Diod. Sic. I. 95. 4–5); in the same year, he buried an Apis bull with all the traditional honors (Posener 1936: 36–41, cf. 30–36); he was active in temple building or restoration at Hibis in the Khargeh Oasis, Abusir, Edfu, and El-Kab (Porter and Moss 1927–74, 4: 44; 5: 173; 6: 167; 7: 277–90); and he began the construction of a canal in ca. 510 B.C. to join the Nile to the Red Sea as part of a policy of improving communications within the Empire (Posener 1936: 48–87; Hinz 1975: 115–21). Overall, therefore, it is

not surprising to find that Herodotus can depict Darius as remarkably tolerant of Egyptian nationalist pretensions (Hdt. 2.110.2–3). However, membership in the Persian Empire brought obligations as well as benefits, and Egypt was no exception: Egyptian craftsmen were employed in making Darius' citadel at Susa, and we can be confident that they were also active in Persepolis during his building operations between 503 and 494. Whether "the Egyptian" mentioned in Babylonia in the 490s was, in any way, involved in these activities remains an open question (Olmstead 1948: 168, 193). Military duties were also discharged; for we find an Egyptian naval contingent participating in the Persian assault on Miletus in 494 at the end of the Ionian Revolt (Hdt. 6.6). Evidently, Darius extracted full benefit from this rich and populous satrapy, and it comes as no surprise that Persian exploitation drove the country into revolt toward the end of his reign in 486 (Hdt. 7.1.3; Porten *ArchEleph,* 25–26).

Darius' successor, Xerxes, came to the throne in 485 B.C., and although anxious to exact vengeance from the Greeks for his father's defeat at Marathon in 490, he gave priority to the Egyptian revolt. Xerxes marched south as soon as possible and had subjugated the country by early January 484, placing it under the control of his brother Achaimenes. The tradition of Herodotus that Xerxes' rule was harsher than that of Darius is powerfully confirmed by the Satrap Stele of 311, which vividly describes his iniquitous treatment of the deities of Buto (Sethe 1904–16: 11–12; Bevan 1968: 30–31: cf. Posener 1936: 120–24). However, the Egyptians' resentment of Xerxes did not prevent their employment in his military operations. In the fleet which accompanied the invasion of Greece in 480, no fewer than 200 Egyptian ships were engaged under the command of the satrap Achaimenes and carrying contingents of heavily armed Egyptian marines. According to Herodotus, they distinguished themselves at Artemisium, capturing five Greek ships, and were also present at Salamis and Plataea (Hdt. 7.25.1; 34; 89.2–3; 97; 8.17; 68.2; 100.4; 9.32).

The accession of Xerxes' successor, Artaxerxes I (464–423 B.C.), was greeted by general unrest throughout the empire. Egypt became involved through the revolt of the Libyan Inarus (ca. 463), which quickly spread eastward. The latter was successful in gaining the support of the Athenians and proceeded to defeat and kill the satrap Achaimenes at Papremis in the western Delta, penning up the remnant of the Persian forces in Memphis. These initial successes were, however, short-lived, and the main revolt was brought to a disastrous conclusion (ca. 455/54). The embers of rebellion were kept alive in the Delta by a certain Amyrtaeus, with some halfhearted support from the Athenians ca. 450, but the affair was probably highly localized and of no great importance (Olmstead 1948: 303–4, 308–12; *ArchEleph,* 26–27; Meiggs 1979: 93–95, 101–8).

The reign of Darius II (423–404 B.C.) is best recorded in Egypt for the problems created among the Jews at Elephantine by his intervention in their religious life. We also hear of a revolt by a certain Hydarnes in 410, which clearly had Egyptian support but was quickly suppressed. Much more serious was the revolt of the younger Amyrtaeus (ca. 405), which brought a speedy end to the first Persian domination.

Even though the Persians had been expelled from Egypt by Amyrtaeus, they continued to dominate Egyptian foreign policy since they evidently had no intention of relinquishing their claim to the country. The Egyptians attempted to keep them at bay by military and diplomatic means, but these did not prevent the Persians from mounting four major assaults on the country, one by Artaxerxes II in 374 (Diod. Sic. 15.29; 38.1; 41–44; Kienitz 1953: 89–92), and three by Artaxerxes III in 359–358, 351, and 343 (the first as crown prince) (Trogus, prol. 10; Kienitz 1953: 99–107). The third of these was successful; the last pharaoh of the 30th Dynasty, Nectanebo II, fled the country. Artaxerxes then set about consolidating his conquest by pulling down the walls of major cities and establishing Pherendates as satrap. He is also alleged both in Greek and Egyptian sources to have engaged in widespread plundering of Egyptian temples (Diod. Sic. 16.47–52; Bevan 1968: 30, 209, 390).

The Second Persian Occupation may well have been difficult to sustain initially, since there are indications of an Egyptian nationalist revolt under a certain Khababash, who may have regained at least part of the country sometime between ca. 343 and 339–338. The revolt was brought to an end by a second Persian invasion (Kienitz 1953: 109–10, 185–89; Lloyd 1988a: 159–60). Be that as it may, the last Persian Dynasty has left few traces in Egypt (Kienitz 1953: 231), a situation which bears striking

testimony to the Persian lack of commitment to the country. This was, in turn, reflected in the grim catalog of maladministration and incompetence characteristic of the period; thus, it is hardly surprising that the invasion of the country by Alexander the Great late in 332 was welcomed with open arms.

**B. Administration**

Civil government followed the usual Persian laissez-faire approach. The great king became the pharaoh and was given all the traditional titles and divine status which formed the theoretical basis of the pharaoh's authority. Generally, however, the Persian emperors were absentee rulers, and their powers were wielded by a satrap or governor whose activities were subjected to regular scrutiny by imperial officials such as the *gauša-ka,* "ears," and "the King's Eye." The satraps were drawn from the cream of the Persian aristocracy and based in Memphis, the capital. Here they disposed of a chancellery modeled on that of the great king himself and were supported by an army of scribes and officials either Egyptian or Persian in origin, though the overall trend ran clearly toward a progressive Egyptianization. The administrative language, as elsewhere in the Empire, was Aramaic, but there were at Memphis scribes for translating relevant texts into the native language, and we can be confident that bilingualism was common.

The most important section of the satrap's administrative machinery was undoubtedly the treasury which was under the protection of the god Ptaḥ (hence its Egyptian name *pr-ḥḏ n Ptḥ,* "treasury of Ptaḥ") and administered by a treasurer who on at least one occasion and probably always bore the old Egyptian title *iꜣmy-r pr-ḥḏ,* "overseer of the treasury." Its most important function, from the Persian point of view, was the collection of taxes paid both in cash and in kind (Hdt. 2.98.1; 149.5; 3.91.2–3). In addition to this fiscal role, the satrap also functioned as the ultimate court in legal matters, thereby inheriting another of the major functions of the pharaoh, though normally these legal duties were discharged by the *patifrasa/frasaka,* "inquisitor." The law which he administered for the subject population was Egyptian law which shows no break with the system used under native rule. In addition, the satrap exercised a general supervisory control over local government and for this purpose probably conducted annual inspection tours.

The precise details of local government under the Persians are obscure, but the system evidently followed traditional pharaonic practice. We hear of the nomes, which were extremely ancient administrative subdivisions of the country reminiscent of English counties. These were administered by nomarchs, and traditionally numbered forty-two, but whether that held true for the Persian period cannot be determined. At least in the southern part of the country nomes could be grouped together into larger units, the best known being *Teshres* or *Ptōres,* which possibly extended from Elephantine to Hermonthis. Within the nomes themselves, cities functioned as distinct administrative areas under the control of governors, and the same held true of villages. Probably all these administrative entities had their own treasuries and record offices. If there were garrisons in a particular area, the head of the garrison could function in a civil capacity in local administration. Attempts to identify within this scheme the role of such Persian officials as the *fratarak* mentioned in 5th-century Aramaic documents have generated more conflict than consensus, but these texts at the very least provide a clear picture of the general character and problems or provincial government, including the suspect loyalty of some of the Persian officials (*BMAP* 32–40; Bresciani 1958: 132–47; *ArchEleph,* 28–61).

Details of administration during the Second Persian Period (343–332 B.C.) are very sparse, but we can safely assume a system based on that of the last period of Egyptian independence which, in turn, evolved from the scheme described above. The written evidence shows clearly that it was characterized by a mixture of avarice, arrogance, impiety, and violence which inspired bitter hatred (*POxy.* I.xii [col. IV]; Q. Curtius Rufus 4.1[5]; 7[29]; Diod. Sic. 17.49; cf. the Demotic Chronicle [Spiegelberg 1914: 19–20], and possibly the autobiography of Petosiris [Otto 1954: 181–82; Lloyd 1982: 177–78]).

The satrap was also the commander of the military resources of the province, which were substantial. The army consisted of two main elements: the native Egyptian militia, or Machimoi, and foreign units. The Machimoi amounted, according to Herodotus, to 410,000 in the 5th century. They were inherited by the Persians from their pharaonic predecessors and were settled almost entirely in the Delta. In exchange

for the obligation of required military service, they were each given tax-free plots of land, allegedly ca. 8 acres (3.2 hectares) in extent, though this is likely only an average (Hdt. 2.168; Lloyd 1988c: 200–1). They could also serve as marines in the Egyptian fleet, a capacity in which we encounter them during Xerxes' campaign of 480–479 against Greece (Hdt. 7.25; 89; 97; 8.17; 68; 100; 9.32). As for the non-Egyptians, the best-known group is the force of Jewish troops maintained in the important garrison town of Elephantine at the First Cataract. The substantial corpus of Aramaic papyri from this site has yielded a vivid picture of their life, revealing an intriguing vista of assimilation, on the one hand, and religious antagonism, on the other. The latter arose mainly, if not entirely, from local Egyptian resentment at the sacrifice of animals in the cult of Yahweh (*ArchEleph*, 278–98; cf. *BMAP*, 100–10). See also ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI.

In addition to the army, the Persians inherited a substantial fleet of warships from the Saites, which they put to good use (see above). Clearly, despite some disparaging comments, they were not the least efficient or successful contingent in the Persian fleet.

**C. Culture**

The ambiguity of the evidence makes it very difficult to define precisely the impact of Persian culture on specific aspects of Egyptian civilization. Possibly the marked upsurge in Demotic papyri of a legal nature reflects Persian practice. There is some reason to believe that the Egyptians took over loan words from Aramaic and Persian at this stage; it is also feasible that they were influenced by Mesopotamian ideas on prophecy using astronomical phenomena. Mathematics may have drawn on Mesopotamian influences at this period; and Egyptian literature may also have borrowed from Achaemenid sources (Ray *CAH²* 4:280–81). However, in essentials, the overall impression is one of continuity with earlier Egyptian civilization. Egyptian religious tradition was quite unimpaired, not least because the Persian kings generally showed considerable circumspection toward it. This is illustrated by the sequence of Persian Serapeum stelae, the exploitation of the Wadi Hammamat greywacke quarries for building stone, and the restoration or building of temples. Overall, however, the corpus of work is small, given the length of Persian occupation, and the quality of the workmanship inferior to that of the 26th Dynasty. The attractions of Egyptian religion for the invaders were, however, very real, and the devotion of some of them to Egyptian deities is easily demonstrated (Ray *CAH²* 4: 279–80).

When we turn to sculpture, continuity is again the hallmark. Certainly, private statuary shows an upsurge of realism at the beginning of the Persian period which sets a trend for the development of Egyptian sculpture down to the end of the pharaonic period. One also detects a growing tendency to crowd hieroglyphs, which was to become a standard feature of Greco-Roman writing. In addition, the statuary shows modifications in dress. Only occasionally, however, can we detect unequivocal Persian influence: a gesture involving the clasping of hands before the body is the one conspicuous exception (Bothmer 1960: xxxiv–xxxix, 67–87; Bianchi *LÄ* 4:946–47). In general, the distinctive artistic features of this period should be regarded as the result of the evolution of a native tradition which is at most reacting to the experience of foreign occupation and has little interest in assimilating traits of the invaders' civilization.

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ALAN B. LLOYD

## *GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD*

The Hellenistic period of Egypt's history began with the arrival of Alexander the Great in late November 332 B.C. This period, shaped by the succession of rulers descended from Ptolemy I, was itself brought to an end by Rome's annexation of Egypt in 30 B.C., following Cleopatra's death on August 12 of that year. Rome's direct influence over Egypt ceased with the establishment of Constantinople as the first city of the Roman Empire by Constantine in November A.D. 324. The Byzantine era lasted until September A.D. 642—except for ten years of Persian rule (618–28)—when the conquering Muslims compelled the remnants of the Byzantine army to leave Egyptian soil.

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### A. Alexander the Great

Except during the 29th and 30th Dyn. (ca. 399–343 B.C.), Egypt was ruled as a Persian satrapy after Cambyses conquered the country in 525 B.C. Because of the harsh character of much of Persian rule, contemporary Egyptian sources complained about conditions under which people were obliged to live. Consequently, Alexander was hailed as a liberator when his conquering troops—coming from a seven-month siege of Tyre and a major battle at Gaza—drove out the Persians.

During Alexander's brief stay, limited to a few months, he forced the submission of the Persian satrap, journeyed to Memphis, where he was crowned pharaoh, returned to the sea coast, where he established boundaries for the future city of Alexandria, paid his famous visit to the oracle of Amon at the Siwa oasis, then returned to Memphis, where he organized the government. Even though legends have elaborated on these events, their main outline remains solid. Alexander's most memorable experience may have

occurred at Siwa, home of the oracle of Amon, which ranked in the Greek world with the oracles at Delphi and Dodona. Here he was addressed as "son of Amon," a title he took seriously, affirming as it did his divine station. It was this affirmation of divinity that the Ptolemaic rulers, who eventually inherited Alexander's power in Egypt, adopted to show that they were his true successors, as well as heirs to the godly prerogatives of the pharaohs.

In his governmental restructuring, Alexander first appointed two native Egyptians as satraps, one over Upper Egypt and the other over Lower Egypt, reversing the Persian policy of a single governor. When one of the satraps failed in his office, Cleomenes of Naucratis—appointed as financial overseer—took his place. The task of collecting taxes from the native population was initially entrusted to local Egyptian officials, presumably to protect against extortion. The small occupation army left behind was placed under Macedonian commanders, one of whom oversaw the mercenaries formerly employed by the Persians.

**B. Administration under the Ptolemies**

Substantial links to the Greek world had existed for about three centuries before Alexander. The delta city of Naucratis, situated on the western or Canopic branch of the Nile, had been established in the 7th century as a trading colony by the city of Miletus in Ionia. Greeks seeking opportunities abroad had settled in Memphis and elsewhere. An additional Greek city, Ptolemais, was founded by Ptolemy I in Upper Egypt—320 miles upstream from Memphis—doubtless to play an economic and political role in the south similar to that of Alexandria in the north, and to underscore this king's status as Alexander's successor.

Egypt already served as the granary of the region as well as the sole supplier of papyrus. The Ptolemies maintained the export of grain, adding to it barley beer, alabaster, linen, and the polychrome glass which would make Alexandria's artisans renowned. Imports were necessary in Egypt, a country poor in natural resources, especially in timber and metals. Wine and olive oil were imported, even though the production of both was fostered by the Crown. But the local variety was inferior, principally because of growing conditions. Other imports included cheeses, fruits, slaves, and horses. One major contribution to trade was the domestication of camels early in the Ptolemaic era.

The early Ptolemies pursued both land reclamation and improvement of irrigation. Building a system of canals, they brought more land under cultivation. Further, agricultural experts from Greece soon improved farming methods so that in some areas three crops became the annual norm. Attempts to improve viticulture—largely to meet the demands of wine-drinking Greeks—were frustrated by the inferior quality of the product. Even though olive oil was not of the same grade as that produced abroad, Ptolemy I saw opportunity for export and established state control over the amount produced, the price received by growers, and the sale price abroad. The state had virtual monopolies over salt, beer, and textiles. It also controlled banking. But even though banks and a new coinage were now established, bartering and payments made in kind were not entirely eliminated. Indeed, rents on royal lands were paid in kind.

Taxation added substantial revenues, in addition to those profits acquired from rents of arable land and royal industries. The welter of taxes included those on sales of certain goods, on homes and estates, on licenses for artisans in various trades, and on revenues generated by religious activities. Moreover, the Ptolemies imposed duties on imports to protect certain homegrown commodities—such as olive oil—and quite simply, to generate revenue. The collection of such fees was let out for bid to "tax farmers" whose activities were regulated by decree. Hence, the profit realized by tax farmers was never very great, and as time passed, the numbers of bidders became fewer.

The most valuable resource was land. Made fertile by the late summer flooding of the Nile, it was treated largely as royal estate. In a sense, the Crown was the sole landowner. Some of the best land, retained in regal hands, was leased as "royal land" to freeman peasants, even though they were not free to move from the land while agricultural work was in progress. For lessees of "royal lands," the lease could be canceled at any moment, causing obvious difficulties. To a degree, ownership of private property was allowed, minimally under the early Ptolemies, but more broadly under later rulers. To be sure, "sacred land," i.e., parcels that belonged to temples while actually administered by the Ptolemies, was managed nonetheless for the benefit of the temples. Sacred land could even be leased or purchased by individuals.

Military personnel—of Greek or Macedonian descent—were encouraged to settle in Egypt with the offer of land grants *(klēroi),* a tactic that assured the presence of a permanent group of soldiers for defense. As time went on, the *klēroi* were of inferior land, occasionally parcels already abandoned by prior tenants. Thus, the numbers and quality of soldiers loyal to the royal house diminished so that, by the time of Ptolemy IV (222–205 B.C.), the army survived only by conscripting native Egyptians. In the case of land allotments to soldiers, only occasionally was such land passed on from one generation to another. But as enticing mercenaries from abroad with offers of land grew more difficult, the Ptolemies allowed *klēroi* to be inherited by soldiers' sons. In time, it became possible for the wife or a brotherless daughter to receive title to such land, indicating a basic shift toward rights of women.

While Greek newcomers were attracted chiefly to Alexandria, Naucratis, and Ptolemais, a substantial number settled in Egyptian villages and cities, particularly Memphis. Those who resided away from concentrations of Greeks usually dwelt on lands awarded to military personnel. Intermarriage between natives and newcomers became widespread, but there seems otherwise to have been little intercultural borrowing. Rarely did Greeks learn the Egyptian language. Some natives, of course, sought opportunities in the Hellenic centers; but they were a small group who, to further ambitions, learned Greek and adopted Greek culture. Even so, they could not acquire citizenship in the Greek cities, just as other ethnic groups were excluded from the citizenry, including Jews. Plainly, Greeks formed an élite. This situation doubtless contributed to the resentment felt by natives toward their foreign overlords, feelings which grew until, at the end of the reign of Ptolemy IV, the whole of the Thebaid in Upper Egypt revolted and, for a period, became independent. Ever after, there were sporadic, local outbreaks, although never a rebellion of the whole native populace.

Citizenship in the Greek cities was limited to Greeks and Macedonians alone. Citizens were organized much like those of a Greek city-state, formed into demes and tribes, with a senate, assembly, and magistrates. Such an arrangement engendered a certain independence in this part of the population and, inevitably, led to conflicts between Crown and citizenry, with some disputes leading to rioting in the streets of Alexandria. Evidence suggests that Alexandria's senate, because of its pugnatious tendencies, had been disbanded before Rome took charge of affairs in 30 B.C.; but the date of such action cannot be fixed.

Of the Macedonians, little is known. To be sure, they formed the majority of colonists who came in Alexander's wake. They also formed the king's guard and made up part of the court. One of their contributions came in liberalizing attitudes and laws toward women, certainly within the Greek population. This tendency began in the royal family, but eventually spread to a growing segment of the population.

The Jewish population, growing to an estimated one million people in the Roman era, centered largely in Alexandria, and initially in the delta quarter near the royal palace. Eventually they occupied much of a second of the city's five areas. In fact, early in the Roman age, synagogues stood in all of Alexandria's quarters. Although Jews could not become citizens, they were allowed their own courts as well as their own magistrates and council of elders, and thus possessed, in effect, a government within a government.

Extensive foreign possessions characterized the reigns of the first four Ptolemaic kings (323–205 B.C.). Thereafter, rulers were unable to maintain an extended empire, owing not only to strife within Egypt and the royal family, but also to Rome's refusal to return lands when it halted the expansionist designs of Seleucia (198) and Macedonia (197) during the childhood of Ptolemy V. At the height of Ptolemaic influence, foreign dominions included Cyprus and Cyrene—each held for more than 200 years—as well as major cities and their environs throughout Palestine, Coele Syria, Phoenicia, southwestern Asia Minor, islands in the southern Aegean Sea, and the islands of Samothrace and Lesbos. Soon after the fifth Syrian War (202–199 B.C.), Egypt's empire had been reduced to little more than Cyprus (finally lost in 30 B.C.) and Cyrene (lost in 96).

In matters of religion, the Ptolemies were far more tolerant of the Egyptian gods than the monotheistic Persians had been. Moreover, it was in this area that the Greek populace apparently assimilated most from Egyptian culture. Worship was augmented by the introduction of the cult of Sarapis by Ptolemy I. Besides

a shrine in Memphis, the major cult center for this deity was the Serapeum, built in the native Rhacôtis quarter of Alexandria. While the origins of both Sarapis as a god and his cult are debated, it is clear that few Greek settlers and Egyptians worshipped Sarapis. Even though this god, represented in male form, was the patron deity of the Ptolemaic dynasty, his cult was received much more enthusiastically outside Egypt. In time, the worship of Sarapis was established as far away as Britain. It was Sarapis, along with deities such as the Persian Mithras and the Great Mother of Phrygia, which were marshaled by pagans in their last struggles against Christianity in the third and fourth centuries. Worship was further augmented by cults in honor of kings and queens, effectively broadening state support for the powerful priesthood. According to the Decree of Canopus, Ptolemy III and Queen Berenice II even inaugurated a cult to honor their daughter Berenice, who died in her youth. Under Ptolemaic leadership, some of the most important temples preserved were founded: Philae, begun and almost completed by Ptolemy II; Edfu, began in the reign of Ptolemy III; and Dendera, started by Ptolemy IX and Cleopatra III.

**C. The Ptolemaic Dynasty**

**1. Ptolemy I Soter (323–383 B.C.).** Ptolemy, son of Lagos, a general in Alexander's army, took over the office of satrap of Egypt from the devious Cleomenes not long before Alexander's death in 323 B.C. When Alexander's generals divided up the empire, Ptolemy governed Egypt first for Alexander's half-brother, Philip Arrhidaeus, and then on behalf of his son, Alexander IV. After eighteen years as satrap, Ptolemy declared himself king on November 7, 305 B.C., establishing his descendants as "pharaohs" for the next 275 years. Years before, in order to secure his claim as Alexander's successor, Ptolemy had brought the late king's body to Memphis and then, with lavish pomp, to Alexandria, where it remained—an act which also demonstrated that the new Greek city had replaced the ancient capital.

Ptolemy I was a vigorous ruler. Even during his satrapy, his confidence as overseer was evident from the hieroglyphic "Satrap Stela," which stressed his role in liberating the country from the Persians. He grew strong enough to be able to marry women from other royal families. He divorced his first wife, a Persian woman. In 321 B.C., he married Eurydice, daughter of Antipater, satrap of Macedonia. Within four years, he married Berenice (I). Plutarch reported that Berenice exercised "great influence" over Ptolemy as well as being a fine example of virtue and wisdom [*phronēsis*], in the best Greek sense. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine at what points in affairs of state she had her strongest influence.

Ptolemy viewed Egypt more or less as his estate; it was to furnish him with a base not only for pursuing domestic and particularly foreign interests, but also for filling the treasury. Because he was Greek, he looked to the Mediterranean for commercial and political ties. Indeed, his divine title Soter ("savior") was granted by the senate of Rhodes after he had helped to end a blockade of the island in 304. Thereafter, kings and queens adopted titles which pointed to their divine character.

For its inhabitants, Alexandria was a thoroughly Greek city. Here, Soter founded both the Library, which eventually housed the largest collection of texts assembled in the ancient world, and the Museum, an unrivaled center of higher studies. In medical studies alone, the Museum surpassed the schools at Cos and Cnidus, establishing a standard at its zenith that would not be matched until modern times.

**2. Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 B.C.).** Late in 285, Soter handed power to one of his sons, selecting Ptolemy II Philadelphus ("sibling-loving"), son of Berenice, over the older Ptolemy Ceraunus, son of Eurydice. When the old king died early in 282, he left an empire which spread from the western Mediterranean to the Aegean Sea. Ptolemy II did not rigorously pursue foreign dominions, but he did establish outposts in Arabia and eastern Africa and, with his sister-wife Arsinoë II, sent an embassy to Rome in 273. The negotiations, which included a return visit by a Roman delegation, resulted in a lasting *amicitia* ("agreement of friendship"). This mutual recognition formed the first link between the two states and, later, placed each in position to serve as intermediary in disputes involving a third party. The agreement lent status to Philadelphus and Arsinoë II, who were facing both insubordination from their half-brother Magus in Cyrene and military expansionism into Coele Syria by the Seleucid king Antiochus I.

According to extensive papyrus remains, Philadelphus began, or at least continued, restructuring the country's administrative system. He also continued state support of culture and education; it was under his rule that the Library and Museum were completed. Legend has assigned to his reign the production of the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible. The account in Pseudo-Aristeas exhibits terminology peculiar to the Ptolemaic age, pointing to an Egyptian backdrop. Moreover, Manetho, an Egyptian priest of Heliopolis, dedicated his history of Egypt to Ptolemy II. This account has provided the traditional divisions of pharaonic Egyptian history not only into thirty-one dynasties, but also into the three overarching periods known as the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms. Ptolemy II was also the founder of the Ptolemaieia, a celebration modeled on the Olympic games to honor his father, including contests in equestrian events, music, and gymnastics.

Philadephus' marriage to his older full sister Arsinoë set a precedent for his successors. Although they may have been imitating marriage practices of ancient pharaohs, or even following the divine model of Zeus with Hera, or Isis with Osiris, their marriage seems to have offended the sensibilities of their Greek subjects. Arsinoë had first been married to the aged Lysimachus of Macedonia, then to Ceraunus, her half-brother and contender for Philadelphus' crown. But after each of her husbands perished as a result of foul play, and after two of her three children by Lysimachus were killed by Ceraunus, she returned to Egypt and supplanted Ptolemy II's first wife, also named Arsinoë (I). Besides being an ambitious woman, Arsinoë II was a capable administrator, a trait that ensured the continuing success of the royal couple. She and her husband were later deified, receiving the title "Gods Adelphi." She was known in Egyptian sources as "King of Upper and Lower Egypt."

**3. Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–222 B.C.).** The third Ptolemy, named Euergetes ("Benefactor"), came to the throne on 29 January 246 upon the death of his father. Internally, Egypt was prosperous and peaceful, but the new king's sister, Berenice, the queen of Syria, whose husband had just been murdered, fell into mortal danger. Before Euergetes' military force could reach her, she and her young son were betrayed and killed. Ptolemy's rescue effort then became a campaign to avenge his sister. Though Syria lay helpless before his army, he chose to withdraw, retaining only territories as far inland as Damascus. In returning, he brought back statues of Egyptian gods originally taken by the Persian Cambyses, an act which earned Ptolemy the goodwill of Egyptians as well as his divine title "Euergetes."

Berenice II, a cousin, married Ptolemy upon his coronation. A skilled horsewoman, she not only sponsored horses at equestrian events, but also rode into battle herself. In Demotic sources she was called "the female pharaoh." Her divinity was celebrated in a poem of Callimachus, which relates that a lock of her hair, offered at the shrine of Arsinoë Aphrodite for the safe return of her husband from Syria, was whisked to heaven to become a constellation.

Papyri from the Fayyum, substantial for this period, reveal that life continued in that part of Egypt much as it had before. The Canopus decree, intended to honor Ptolemy III and Berenice II, points not only to the inauguration of a cult dedicated to their late daughter Berenice, but also to a chronometrical reform that anticipated the modern calendar by adding an extra day every four years to the Egyptian calendar of 365 days. The most enduring monument from this period is the famous Edfu temple in Upper Egypt, begun in 236. All succeeding Ptolemaic rulers contributed to its ongoing construction and adornment.

**4. Ptolemy IV Philopator (222–205 B.C.).** Both Polybius and Strabo maligned Philopator ("father-loving") as a pleasure-seeking, careless ruler whose reign—influenced by self-seeking courtiers—saw the onset of Egypt's decline. Early in his reign, his army was ill prepared to meet the threatening Syrian army of Antiochus the Great, a temporary weakness which may have resulted from his father's relaxed policies in his later years. The Egyptian victory at Raphia in southwestern Palestine in 217 was decisive in Philopator's foreign affairs. Thereafter, Antiochus and Ptolemy's other nemeses kept their distance. The victory had other consequences at home. In the rush to assemble an army to defend Egypt, Sosibius, Ptolemy's confidant and leader of the influential palace circle, not only hired mercenaries from abroad, but also brought in Greek commanders to train native Egyptians as soldiers. The performance of the Egyptian force at Raphia helped turn the tide against the Syrians. The lesson was not lost: their hard-won confidence inspired natives to revolt when opportunity arose.

After Arsinoë III finally married her brother the king, she bore a son. Her murder at the behest of Agathocles, another confidant of the king, was kept secret until Ptolemy IV died under mysterious circumstances. A riot ensued at Alexandria, ostensibly owing to outrage over Arsinoë's fate. Agathocles was killed when turned over to the mob by the Macedonian guard. Aside from this outburst in the capital city, affairs were in largely good condition when Philopator died, except for a local flareup in Upper Egypt during his last year.

**5. Ptolemy V Epiphanes (205–180 B.C.).** Ptolemy V Epiphanes ("God-manifest") was crowned king at age five and was guided by courtiers who vied with one another for influence. Internally, the troops dispatched to Upper Egypt (a still troubled region) did not return for several years, illustrating the seriousness of the rebellion. Externally, Antiochus of Syria, Ptolemy IV's old foe, and Philip V, king of Macedon, agreed to move against Egyptian holdings. Philip made war against cities loyal to Egypt in Samothrace and Thrace while Antiochus attacked Palestine. Rome eased into affairs when an embassy came to Alexandria in 200 to thank the royal house for its neutrality in the Second Punic War. Rome had no quarrel with the Syrians, but was on the brink of hostilities with Philip. Then in 197, Egypt lodged a protest in Rome against Antiochus, who had recently vanquished her territories in southern Asia Minor. In the end, Egypt settled her differences with Antiochus, who, in the bargain, betrothed his daughter Cleopatra (I) to the young Egyptian king. Rome, after bullying Philip and then Antiochus into relinquishing former Egyptian lands, restored none to Ptolemy's control; Egypt's power had been eclipsed.

Cleopatra wedded Epiphanes in 194/3. It is said—not without dispute—that her dowry included lands in Coele Syria, a territory which Egypt had recently lost in war to Syria. In any case, she brought a certain amount of independent wealth to the union as well as a resilient personality.

A year after Epiphanes celebrated his majority (197), he accorded honors to the Egyptian religions at a synod; these were recorded on the now famous Rosetta Stone. The language of the commemoration was certainly Demotic, the Greek panel representing a rather slavish translation. Compared to the Canopus decree, the growing sensitivities of the Greek monarchy toward native affairs are apparent and, from this period, were visibly continued by the queen, who introduced Jews and other non-Greeks into administrative posts. Epiphanes died while trying to recapture lands under Syrian control. There is evidence that, to raise money for the campaign, he forced the wealthy to buy titles and ranks.

**6. Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 B.C.).** The second successive king to come to power as a child, Philometor ("mother-loving"), enjoyed his mother's guidance. While regent, Cleopatra ruled as monarch, minting her own coins and placing her name before her son's on official documents. Following her death in 176, the Syrian and Egyptian courts quarreled, and the two sides prepared for hostilities. In the meantime, a joint rule was celebrated, elevating as a triumvirate Philometer and his sister-bride Cleopatra (II), along with their younger brother Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II.

When the Egyptians attacked, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the Syrian ruler, overwhelmed them and fought his way to Memphis, where he had himself crowned pharaoh. A dispute between the two young Ptolemies undercut the war effort until it was healed by their sister. After Antiochus IV had subdued much of Egypt, had captured Ptolemy VI—apparently during an attempted escape to Samothrace—and had made the young ruler his client overlord in 168, he returned to Syria. But when he came the next year, he found that Cleopatra II and Ptolemy VIII had turned the countryside against him. His ensuing attempt to crush Alexandria failed. In the course of the war thus far, Cleopatra and her younger brother had sent appeals for help to Rome. Subsequent events turned the relationship of Rome and Alexandria from one of cordial but distant dealings to one of Egyptian dependence. The Roman ambassador sent to settle difficulties was C. Popillius Laenus. After delaying until he learned of Rome's victory over the Macedonians at Pydna, he ordered Antiochus to withdraw. When Antiochus hesitated, Laenus drew a circle in the dust around his feet and told the Syrian king to make up his mind before stepping out. During his forced return, Antiochus took out his frustrations on Jews in Jerusalem, an action that galvanized Maccabean resistance and led to Jewish independence.

**7. Dynastic Rivalries and Relations with Rome (145–52 B.C.).** By pressing appeals at Rome in the winter of 169/8 for help against Antiochus IV, Egypt became a virtual client state. This situation, which lasted for almost a century, was characterized and perpetuated largely by feuding within the royal house. Barely four years after Rome forced Antiochus to withdraw, a quarrel between the two royal brothers became cause for public storm, leading to the ascendancy of the younger, Euergetes II. Philometor was forced into exile, and went to Rome. When members of the senate learned, to their embarrassment, that he was in the city, living in a cheap dwelling, they received him and heard his pleas for righting injustices committed against him. To its credit, the senate agreed only to "reconciling the kings." In time, Alexandrians demanded that Philometer be restored to Egypt; in the settlement, Euergetes II was handed control over Cyrene, a lesser appointment. Thus affairs remained until Ptolemy VI died from injuries suffered in 145 while on the threshold of regaining dominion over territories formerly held by Egypt in Coele Syria.

Cleopatra II's attempt to install her young son on the throne as Ptolemy VII ended in disaster for him. The queen's younger brother Ptolemy VIII seized power, had his nephew killed, and married his sister, whom he unofficially set aside in favor of her daughter Cleopatra III. Euergetes' suppression of opponents, including the murder of his own son born to Cleopatra II, finally sparked a revolt in 131 which was backed by Cleopatra II. After an uneasy peace concluded between brother and sister in 127, Cleopatra II turned to the Seleucid ruler of Syria, Demetrius II, who had married her daughter, and embroiled the ruling houses of the two nations in quarrelsome matters of royal succession.

Both Cleopatra II and Ptolemy VIII died in 116, opening the way for Cleopatra III to rule without rival. But instability also grew. Her attempt to elevate her younger and favored son, Alexander, met resistance from the Macedonian guard, who would not breach tradition, installing instead her older son Ptolemy IX Soter II. It was he who, except for the year 110/109, ruled with his mother until he was expelled from office in 107 by Ptolemy X Alexander I, Cleopatra's favorite. Alexander reigned through a period of worsening relations with his mother and the apparent crisis engendered by her death in 101. He then ruled with Cleopatra-Berenice (III), daughter of his older brother Soter II, until 88 when he was removed by Soter II, who again ascended the throne, this time with his daughter, until he died in 80. This king and his mother, Cleopatra III—even while hating each other—together launched an extensive building campaign during Ptolemy IX's first regnal period, laying the foundation of the great temple of Dendera and adding to other temples, notably that at Edfu. Ironically, in order to suppress a revolt during his second kingship, Alexander had much of Thebes destroyed in 85 B.C.

Berenice III became sole ruler after her father Soter II died in 80. She married and elevated to the throne her cousin Ptolemy XI Alexander II, son of Ptolemy X. He then had her murdered and, after reigning nineteen days, was himself murdered in retaliation by soldiers.

It was during the period of these kings and queens that Rome's influence grew in the eastern Mediterranean. Direct interference in domestic affairs of Egypt was never part of the Roman program, but the country's wealth was ever an attraction. The most important of Egypt's dominions to fall under Roman sway was Cyrene, which had been bequeathed to Rome by Ptolemy VIII while he still reigned there. In the interim, his illegitimate son, Ptolemy Apion, had ruled this dominion until his death in 96. Rome allowed its cities to remain independent until 74 when Cyrene as formally annexed as a province, a territory that had been Egypt's for more than two centuries. Next to be annexed was Cyprus in 58.

**8. Ptolemy XII Auletes (80–51 B.C.).** Nicknamed Auletes ("flute player") because of his skill with the flute, Ptolemy XII was the son of Soter II. He held on to power through support which he brought with gifts at Rome. Though ineffectual as king—even being forced into exile for two years by Alexandria's citizens—he was able to remain neutral in Rome's war with Mithridates of Pontus in northern Asia Minor. While he was in Rome winning patronage to be reinstated by passing out lavish bribes to officials (including Julius Caesar), the queen, Cleopatra VI Tryphaena, assumed rule with her sister Berenice (IV). When Auletes was restored in 55 through the intervention of one of Pompey's officers, the king was obliged to install the Roman banker Rabirius Postumus as finance overseer, a result of Rabirius' huge loans for the king's lavish gifts. Although the appointment of a Roman was unprecedented, and eventually

public outcry drove Rabirius from Egypt, his nomination doubtless arose because Egypt's taxes would lie under his direct control.

**9. Cleopatra VII (52–30 B.C.).** The most famous of the Ptolemaic line, she and her older brother Ptolemy XIII became co-regents with their father Auletes in 52, a year before his death. Not content merely to share Egypt's throne, she involved herself in the upheavals besetting the late Roman Republic. Her first opportunity came in 48 when Julius Caesar arrived at Alexandria in pursuit of the defeated Pompey. When Caesar departed the next year, after subduing the Egyptian forces that had pinned him in the capital city, and solidifying Cleopatra's regal hold, by her account he left her with child. She named her infant son Caesarion. During the same year, Ptolemy XIII died and she married her younger brother Ptolemy XIV, who reigned with her until his death in 44.

In the meantime, two important events occurred. First, Egypt's economy, which had sagged for decades (most recently under the weight of Aulete's bribes in Rome), began to revive under Cleopatra's leadership. With it, the country's fortunes seemed to rise. Taking an interest in all her subjects, even learning Egyptian along with several other languages, she came to enjoy solid popular support. Second, pursuing her loftier aim of being queen of the Roman world, she followed Caesar to Rome in 46. Her efforts to link her fortunes with his came apart in 44 when he was assassinated. Her retreat to Egypt did not last long. In 41, after the victory of the party led by Octavian and Mark Antony, she answered Antony's summons to account for her neutrality by going in person to Tarsus. Thereafter, Antony became Cleopatra's slave.

In 40, Antony returned to Rome. There, in an apparent effort by Octavian to draw him from Cleopatra's grasp, Antony was married to his friend's sister Octavia. But in 36 he was sent east to lead the war against the Parthians. Once again, he fell under the Egyptian queen's charm. Politically, this was fatal for him in Rome, particularly when he gave large tracts of land to Cleopatra and, additionally, refused to visit his wife Octavia in Athens where she had come to meet him, choosing instead the company of the queen. Militarily, he was vanquished by Octavian in the naval battle fought at Actium in September of 31. When Cleopatra and her ships pulled away from the battle, Antony followed. It was only a matter of time before Octavian caught up with them in Egypt. The victor finally arrived in August of 30. Antony committed suicide. Cleopatra, after seeing that she could not entice Octavian, reportedly exposed herself to the bite of a cobra, the snake which had long symbolized royalty and divinity. Within days of her death, Egypt belonged to Rome.

### D. Egypt as a Roman Province (30 B.C.–A.D. 324)

As the Ptolemies had thought of the land and its inhabitants as their personal property and workforce, so the emperors of Rome continued to look upon Egypt as their own. Octavian—later known as Augustus—and his successors allowed no Roman of senatorial rank to visit Egypt without permission of the emperor. He had two reasons for this decision. First, Egypt's geography gave it a unity possessed by no other province. Flanked on both east and west by desert, it was difficult to invade. By sea, because of the prevailing northwest winds, it was most easily approached from the west. But no natural anchorage existed along the delta coastline except at Alexandria. Hence, Egypt could be turned into a base of power by an enterprising adventurer. The second reason was linked to Egypt's character as the most abundant agricultural producer among territories abutting the Mediterranean Sea. The confinement of the Nile valley—coupled with the Ptolemaic bureaucracy already in place—made management of shipping a simple matter. During the early empire, Egypt's produce offered the most certain and abundant supply of food for Rome. As Italy's needs for food grew, the stability of Egypt became paramount.

**1. Administration under Rome.** Egypt was now governed from afar. Although his representatives lived in Egypt, the Roman emperor only occasionally visited the country. For the same reasons that those of senatorial class were to stay away, members of the emperor's family were not to come. Consequently, any appeal to Rome's highest authority, whether by a Roman citizen or on behalf of a person or a group—as that carried out in A.D. 40 for Alexandria's Jews by Philo Judaeus and his associates—had to be made in Italy.

The highest-ranking appointee in Egypt was the prefect, a person from the equestrian or knight class. His authority was preeminent, since responsibilities included those of principal financial officer, chief justice, and head of both the military and civil service. In the judicial realm, differences between the Ptolemaic era and that inaugurated by Rome are readily apparent. In place of the previous system of itinerant courts, the prefect now served as virtually the only judicial officer. Consequently, litigations could be resolved only by a certain expense and inconvenience to the parties. Yet the prefect's judicial circuit was largely limited to Pelusium in the eastern delta, Alexandria in the west, and Memphis for Upper Egypt. It must have become clear to many Egyptians that Rome intended to rule in civil matters with the least expense possible.

The civil administration was reinforced in its duties by the military, with the prefect holding both. Rome could afford to keep relatively few civil servants on its payroll because the army secured order and cooperation, an empire-wide trait. When revolt broke out in the Thebaid over the first Roman census, the disturbance was quelled with a strength which showed that Rome would brook no dissent. The census, conducted every fourteen years, was designed chiefly to inventory properties for taxation purposes. The resulting records were deposited in Alexandria in a central records office, as well as in the capital city of the relevant nome or region.

The nomes, consisting of more than thirty administrative regions in Egypt, acquired a new status under Rome. All village gymnasia—the basic educational institutions of Hellenistic societies—which had sprung up under the Ptolemies were now concentrated in nome capitals. The heads of these schools, gymnasiarchs, were given official status, each in a magistracy or urban office. These magistracies constituted an innovation. Several such offices were joined to form a type of city council, each officer with a different responsibility. One function of the urban magistracies was to keep track of youths who qualified by birth or otherwise for special privileges, including citizenship and reduced taxation. This policy perpetuated social classes, a fixation in Roman society. At the end of the second century, the urban magistracies formed the core for Septimius Severus' creation of senates in each nome capital.

Service in a magistracy became difficult over time. Under the Ptolemies, civil service had been voluntary, except in crises when persons were conscripted, for example, to lease a certain tract of land. Although voluntary acceptance of governmental trusts continued under the Romans, during the first century the "liturgy" was introduced. Under this system, not only were officials to use their own resources in performing their duties but their persons and properties were warranted as guarantees against any failure occurring during their tenure in office. One result was to weaken the wealthier peasants and, eventually, the more affluent of the middle class. To escape the harsh penalties for failures caused, say, by a bad agricultural year, some abandoned homes and lands. One reads of villages from which 10 or 12 percent of the inhabitants had fled. In order to make up shortfalls, others were compelled to cultivate abandoned fields and were held liable for further failures. The reforms of Septimius Servus in 200 A.D. were designed to address falling revenues, then epidemic throughout the empire. He awarded senates to Egypt's nome capitals, making these bodies of about 100 persons responsible for the financial functions within the nome, e.g., collecting taxes or financing the municipal gymnasium. Each senator became liable for shortfalls that might occur in the jurisdiction of any and all associated on the council. To refuse the nomination to serve—even for a term of a few days, an attested circumstance—was no solution, since the nominee would thereby forfeit two-thirds of his property. While the impact on the wealthy who could accept such nominations was often ruinous, the effect was not uniform.

Religion required attention. In Ptolemaic times, temple priests, often sympathetic to nationalist sentiments, were treated with respect. Under Rome, the rules changed. While sacred lands underwent no fundamental alteration, temples and priesthood ranks came under supervision of the "high priest of Alexandria and all Egypt," a Roman civil officer. Temples were inspected regularly and the ranks of priests limited, any excessive numbers being liable to the poll tax, a fee from which the priesthood had earlier been exempt. Even so, within the guidelines, temple personnel prospered and little complaining was heard from that quarter for a long time.

To traditional religion in Egypt was added the emperor's cult. The emperor had taken the place of the Ptolemies as pharaoh, "Lord of the Two Lands." His divinity, celebrated in his cult, was widely accepted. *Libelli,* certificates of sacrifice submitted by all subjects, were imposed to ensure the ongoing function of emperor worship. Only Christians who were willing to risk public ridicule, and even death, refused to comply.

Christianity's arrival probably occurred by the third quarter of the first century. Although literary evidence is thin, recent archaeological finds in the Fayyum are compelling. The movement is often thought to have embraced so-called heterodox forms and ideas; but the fourth-century gnostic texts from Nag Hammadi, taken with the speculative elements in the writings of the Alexandrian scholars Clement and Origen, need not be seen as broad indicators of Christianity's character throughout the country. While Egypt became a seedbed for movements later deemed schismatic, e.g., the Arian controversy of the early fourth century and the later Monophysite dispute which drove a wedge between Egyptian Christians and others, Egypt's contribution to Christendom in the early centuries is not thereby diminished. Like Christians everywhere, Egyptian adherents suffered severely—often for refusal to join in emperor worship—during both local and empire-wide persecutions. These gave rise to a martyrdom literature whose more sober accounts detail dreadful human suffering at the hands of Roman officials. Persecution also led to growth, with Christians becoming the numerical majority as early as 325 A.D. See also CHRISTIANITY (EGYPT).

Citizenship was the dominant feature which perpetuated distinctions within Roman society. In Egypt, citizenship could be either Roman or of one of the "Greek" cities: Naucratis, Alexandria, Ptolemais, or Antinoöpolis (founded in Middle Egypt in 130 by the emperor Hadrian in memory of his friend Antinoüs, who drowned in the Nile). People attracted to Antinoöpolis at its founding were awarded privileges, including exemption from certain taxes. Citizenship in the "Greek" cities continued much as it had under the Ptolemies, featuring special exemptions. Roman citizenship formed the highest prize and, during the first two centuries of Roman rule, was awarded to those who had served in the legions. But the Edict of Caracalla *(Constitutio Antoniniana de Civitate),* issued in 212 A.D., gave citizenship to all inhabitants of the empire, diluting its importance. For those in Egypt, it apparently made little difference.

**2. Diocletian's Reforms.** The empire came under increasing strain in the late third century when a series of military leaders seized imperial power, none holding office for more than a decade. Diocletian, who became emperor in the fall of 284 A.D., saw the difficulties, and with his organizational acumen, revamped the empire's administrative structure. Egypt became a part of the eastern diocese and was divided into three provinces. The prefect's duties were restricted to the northernmost province in the delta. The other two provinces received governors *(praeses),* both of whom reported to the prefect. Military authority was placed in the hands of a duke *(dux),* leaving the prefect as a civil authority only. Taxation underwent simplification and was linked to a fifteen-year cycle ("indiction") of production estimates for a province, rather than to a quota established locally. In a further move to unify, Latin replaced Greek as the language of administration, but the impact in Egypt was slight.

In Egypt, most prior governmental attempts to meet difficulties did not involve thorough reformation, only temporary measures which often led to further problems. Even after Diocletian's reforms, the strictures faced by small landholders drove them to deed their lands to owners of larger estates who could bear the burdens of ownership, a feature which would dominate Byzantine Egypt. All that the former sought in return was the right to farm their own holdings as lessees. Further, Roman objectives in Egypt did not really change. The wealth of the country was at Rome's disposal. Unlike the Ptolemies, who amassed wealth from the country and then disposed of most of it there, Rome was an absentee landlord. Egypt's riches, gathered by Roman civil servants, were sent off to Italy; Rome's fiscal interests were to be served, first and foremost. However, it is not completely fair to conclude that all in life was miserable. Evidence from papyri shows that, even in periods of political or economic difficulty, for many (perhaps the majority) of Egyptians life went on much as it always had, unperturbed by forces that shaped the larger picture of the empire's destiny.

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**EGYPT, PLAGUES IN.** The series of nine plagues *(maggepōt),* also called signs *(ʾotōt)* and wonders *(mōpetîm),* climaxing with the tenth plague, the death of the eldest son (i.e. Passover), which Yahweh brought on Egypt to move the obdurate pharaoh to allow the Israelites to leave Egypt (Exod 7:14–12:32). These events play a significant in Israel's salvation history in as much as they are linked to the deliverance from Egypt.

**A. Sources in the Plagues Narrative**

The three-source analysis (J, E, P) of Driver (1913: 24–29), which goes back to Wellhausen, has continued to find support (*IDB* 3: 823 and accompanying table; Clements *Exodus* CBC, 40–41; Childs *Exodus* OTL, 130–142). The reasoning for distinguishing J from E is not at all clear. The use of the rod in introducing the first plague (Exod 7:15b, 17b) is assigned to E (Childs, *Exodus,* 137), and yet the introduction of the magical rod is found in a passage generally regarded as belonging to J (Exod 4:1–4; Hyatt *Exodus* NCB, 48; Clements *Exodus,* 26). When the rod is in Aaron's hand, that section is assigned to P (Hyatt *Exodus,* 103).

The use of divine names, *ʾelōhîm* (E) and YHWH (J), is considered as diagnostic for these two sources. However, this criterion does not work in the story of the plagues. In passages connected to E, according to Hyatt (p. 48; e.g. 9:22–23a, 35; 10:12–13a, 20–23, 27) and to Childs (p. 131; 7:15b, 17b, 20b, 23; 9:22–23a, 24a, 25a, 35a; 10:12–13a, 15, 20, 21–23, 27; 11:1–3) YHWH is written, not *ʾelōhîm.* In fact, *ʾelōhîm* is never used without being associated with the divine name. Noth (*Exodus* OTL, 9–18) recognized this problem and maintained that J and E were virtually indistinguishable, and hence he referred to these narratives as JE, and the remaining sections were the work of P. G. Fohrer (1964: 60ff.), however, has argued against Noth for three sources in the plague narratives. His conclusions have more recently been endorsed by Childs (*Exodus,* 131). The work of a redactor, it is argued, removed some of the distinctions. The redactor is thought to be the work of the Deuteronomist by Clements (*Exodus,* 4), while Noth (*Exodus* 18) speaks of additions after P, and does not assign a particular redactor. For Childs, three sources are present and P is the redactor (pp. 131–32).

A complicating factor in the source analysis is the relationship between Exod 7:14–12:44 and Psalms 78 and 105, which have different sequences for the plagues than that in Exodus (see table in *IDB* 3: 823), and in recent years this has attracted considerable discussion (Lauha 1945: 39–50; Margulis 1969: 491–96; Loewenstamm 1971: 34–38). The differences may "reflect only a free handling of the source material" (Allen, *Psalms 101–150* WBC, 41), or what might be called "liturgical license." Psalm 78, for instance, mentions the rebellion in the wilderness (78:40–41) before mentioning the plagues in vv 44–51. The reversal in sequence is not accidental but deliberate to show that in the wilderness the Israelites forgot God's power as evidenced in the signs and wonders in Egypt. The reversal in order of wilderness period and the plagues/exodus events does not mean that the Psalmist had his history backward.

It is clear that both Psalms refer to only seven plagues, which may in part account for the differences between them and Exodus. Again, liturgical reasons may lie at the root of this problem. Drawing conclusions on the relationship between these Psalms and Exodus, and what sources they may reflect, still entails much speculation.

In recent years a number of scholarly works have raised serious questions about traditional sources and tradition criticism (Alter 1981; Kikawada and Quinn 1985; Rendsburg 1986; Whybray 1987). The emphasis has shifted from the micro to the macro structure of pericopes.

**B. The Structure of Plagues Narratives**

In their present form, the first nine plagues are closely related and constitute three parallel cycles of three plagues each, which for some indicate the literary unity of the text (Cassuto 1967: 92–93; Sarna 1986: 73–78 and his table 4.2). The tenth plague represents the climax which resulted in the release of the Hebrews. Like the number seven, ten signifies completion and perhaps may be a climactic number (Loewenstamm 1971: 38). If the the literary unity, a tightly woven fabric, found in Exod 7:14–12:30 merely reflects the work of the redactor, it might be asked if it is possible any longer to isolate the threads that have been so thoroughly reworked. This factor in part has led a number of scholars to aver that in matters of exegesis and theological reflection, the present form of the text must be seriously considered (Childs, *Exodus,* 149–51; Noth, *Exodus,* 18; Rendtorff 1986: 290).

**C. The Phenomena of the Plagues**

On the phenomena of the plagues from an Egyptian perspective, Petrie has said, "The order of the plagues was the natural order of such troubles on a lesser scale in the Egyptian seasons, as was pointed out long ago" (1911: 35). For Petrie, the bloodlike Nile derived from stagnating conditions associated with the lowest level of the Nile before the beginning of the inundation which generally began in July. One very early rationalistic approach to the plagues was that of Eichhorn in *De Aegypti anno mirabili* (1818). In modern times, Hort (1957: 84–103; 1958: 48–59) has examined various natural explanations for the first plague and argued that for the right condition of the Nile to be determined it had to meet four attendant phenomena as outlined in Exod 7:20–24; (1) the blood red color (7:20), (2) the death of the fish (7:21a), (3) the putrid smell of the water (7:21b), and (4) the undrinkableness of the water (7:21c). For Hort, only one scenario explains all four and provides a basis for the rationale for some of the later plagues that appear in chapters 8–9, and that is presence of massive numbers of flagellates (*Euglena sanguinea* and *Haematococcus pluvialis*) in the waters of the inundation (1957: 94). The flagellates likely originated in Lake Tana and came via the Blue Nile to Egypt. The presence of the flagellates would account for the color as well as the loathsome taste of the water (p. 94). The flood waters are generally reddish owing to the presence of suspended particles of soil *(Roterd),* but this alone would not cause the other three phenomena. Furthermore, the flagellates yield high amounts of oxygen during the day but absorb oxygen during the night. Fish require a consistent amount of oxygen, and this fluctuating condition could lead to their death. If this theory is correct, then a chronological framework for the plagues can be established. The Nile rises in July–August, cresting in September, and declining in October and November (Hort 1957: 95). The implications of Hort's thesis for the study of the plagues of Egypt is so important that a thorough review of her observations is in order.

In connection with the annual inundation, frogs are known to invade the land from the marshy banks of the Nile, usually in September–October (Hort 1957: 95). Hort notes that 7:25 dates the occurrence of the second plague seven days after the waters had been infected by the first plague, showing the relationship between the two (p. 96). The sudden death of the frogs (8:13) is attributed to their being contaminated by bacillus anthracis, which is found along the banks of the Nile and may have come from the decomposing fish (p. 98).

The identity of the insect mentioned in the third plague *(kinnîm)* has been debated. "Gnats" is a popular understanding (RSV; NASB; NIV; Cassuto 1967: 105); "lice" is another suggestion (KJV, Clements, *Exodus,* 49). "Mosquitos" (JB) makes very good sense in the aftermath of the inundation season, especially if it had been an abnormally high flood, which would take longer for pools and puddles to dry (Hort 1957: 98–99). Childs understands "gnat" to be a type of stinging mosquito (*Exodus,* 156).

The fourth plague is flies *(ʿārōb),* which as a collective means "swarm" (Hyatt, *Exodus* NCB, 111). The LXX reads *kunómuia,* "dog-fly," so named because it is especially vicious. Hort also associates this flying insect with the sixth plague (1957: 101–3). The fifth plague *(deber),* which affected field animals (Exod 9:3), is often described as "murrian" (Hort 1957: 100; *IDB* 3: 823; KJV, RV). For Hort, the anthrax that

was associated with the second plague now affected limited numbers of field animals, since most animals were kept in stables and shelters away from the flood waters during this season (1957: 100).

"Boils" is the usual understanding for the sixth plague *(šĕḥîn),* but boils do not afflict animals, and Exod 9:9 specifies that this plague affected man and beast alike. For this reason, Hort ties this plague to the flies of the fourth plague (which she identifies as *Stomoxys calctirans*), which transmitted the anthrax to both humans and animals (1957: 102). *St. calcitrans,* known to multiply rapidly in warmer climates, bites its victims in the lower regions of the body, a point acknowledged in Deut 28:35.

Hail, thunder, and lightning make up the seventh plague (Exod 9:23), which caused considerable damage to vegetation (9:25, 31–32). Rain and hail are not that common in Egypt (hence the statement in 9:24), but very violent and heavy storms are known to strike even in modern times. In ancient times such storms were considered divine manifestations (Hoffmeier 1985: 224–45). Hort suggests, based on the time when storms hit Egypt and the agricultural date offered in 9:31–32, that February would have been the likeliest time for this plague to have occurred (1958: 49).

Locust hordes, a known plague in the Mediterranean world and Africa—as the Bible elsewhere attests (Amos 7:1–2; Joel 1:4–7)—was the eighth plague. According to 10:13, an east wind *(rûaḥ qādîm)* brought the locusts to Egypt, and after the pharaoh softened his stance, a west wind drove them into the Red/Reed Sea (10:19). Hort argues that a north wind driving the locusts down the Nile valley better accords with the description in Exod 10:15 and with the prevailing wind patterns, which blow in off the Mediterranean; it also makes good sense of *rûaḥ yam,* a sea wind, i.e. a north wind (1958: 51). To resolve how a north wind could blow the locust west to *yam sûp,* Hort proposes emending *yam sûp* to *yamin* based on a misreading of the *mem* as *samek* and *waw* for *yod. Yamin* would mean toward the south. This is certainly a possible explanation, but unnecessary. The blowing of the locusts into the Red Sea possibly foreshadows the destruction of the Egyptian armies in the same waters in Exodus 14 (Cassuto 1967: 128–29).

The obscuring of the sun for three days (10:21), the ninth plague, must certainly have seemed strange in Egypt, a land accustomed to sunshine year round. Most commentators agree that a sand storm (Arabic *khamsin*), prevalent in Egypt between March and May, is the phenomenon in question (Clements *Exodus,* 63; Hyatt *Exodus,* 126). Having traveled in Egypt from Minya to Cairo (ca. 170 miles) on a train in May 1967, through the brown-orange darkness caused by a *khamsin* that blanketed a good portion of Egypt, the writer can attest to the eerie feeling caused by this phenomenon. Cars had to drive with lights on in the afternoon. Hort points out that the *khamsin* was exacerbated by the *Roterd* left behind by the sudsiding flood waters that would have covered the land (1958: 53).

The tenth plague generally is considered to belong to a different realm than the nine. Sarna says, "From a theological perspective, they are the instances of God's harnessing the forces of nature for the realization of His own historic purpose. The tenth and final visitation upon the pharaoh and his people is the one plague for which no rational explanation can be given. It belongs entirely to the category of the supernatural" (1986: 93).

Some (Finegan 1963: 47–57; Kitchen, *NBD,* 943–44) agree with Hort that the scheme she proposes demonstrates "that the Biblical account gives us true and historically accurate information of the events which led up to the Exodus of Israel from Egypt" (1958: 59). On the other hand, McCarthy (1965: 336–37) rejects the approach of Hort owing to the inconsistencies between the Exodus material and Psalms 78 and 105, claiming that there was no attempt to "mirror reality" in the "sequence of these episodes." He maintains that the long oral and literary history of the traditions behind the development of the Exodus plagues pericope militates against the naturalistic analysis. In view of the literary considerations discussed already and the source critical questions raised above (sections A and B), one could equally ask, if the scheme proffered by Hort is logical and can be demonstrated as a sequence of events, how is it that a variety of traditions could be drawn together centuries later by a redactor that makes such good sense in an Egyptian context, but certainly not in Palestinian or Mesopotamian locales?

**D. Egyptian Religious Background to the Plagues**

It has long been maintained that Egyptian local color and a specific degrading of Egyptian deities are evident in the plague narratives. Exod 12:12 and Num 33:4 point out that plagues and exodus were God's executing judgment on "the gods of Egypt." Furthermore, Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, said "Now I know that the Lord is greater than all the gods" (Exod 18:11a; RSV). Some have tried to see an Egyptian deity behind each plague (Davis 1971: 79–129; Aling 1981: 103–9); e.g. the Nile and the god Hapi; frogs and the goddess Heket; the cows and bulls struck by the murrain as representing Hathor and Apis respectively; the Sun being obscured and the god Re; etc.

It is incorrect to regard animals in Egypt as "sacred." In some cases, there has been a misunderstanding about certain deities and their function. A few examples will suffice to demonstrate this. Concerning the first plague, Aling says, "it is quite obviously an attack against the Nile god, Hapi. The god and the river were synonymous …" (1981: 106). However, Hapi is not the Nile, nor the Nile god. In fact, Hapi is associated with the annual innundation. While there are hymns to Hapi (P. Sallier II, P. Anastasi VII, and P. Chester Beatty V), there is no known temple, priesthood, or cult of Hapi. His praises were likely sung in connection with the annual innundation at other temples. The obese fecundity figures, wrongly called "Nile-gods" by early Egyptologists, are now classified as personifications of fertility by J. Baines in his authoritative monograph *Fecundity Figures* (Aris & Phillips 1985). Furthermore, it is inappropriate to call the river Nile "sacred" because the Egyptians never used words like "sacred" or "holy" attributively of the Nile (Hoffmeier 1985). There is no evidence to suggest that the Nile was a sacred river in the sense used by Hindus of the Ganges river. These observations have an impact on the view that the Nile god is somehow shown to be overmatched by Yahweh. If the plague on the Nile, however, coincided with the annual innundation, as Hort suggested, then it could be argued that Hapi's manifestation in the innundation is overshadowed by Yahweh.

The annual innundation was also connected to the resurrection of Osiris (Frankfort 1978: 190–91). It has been suggested that the reddish flood waters might have been seen by the Egyptians as the failure of Osiris to come back to life (Sarna 1986: 79). Or possibly, the red waters might remind the Egyptians of Osiris' death because his corpse was pulled from the Nile near Memphis, according to the tradition in the Memphite Theology (l. 9) and the Pyramid Texts (§ 615).

In general, animals, even though associated with a particular deity, were not considered "sacred." Indeed, from the time of Amenhotep III the Apis bull at Memphis was mummified and buried at Saqqara. But only one bull at a time received the special treatment in the temple. Cows and bulls were slaughtered for meat. They were not revered in the sense that cows have a special status in Hinduism. While some animals were associated with a particular cult center and may have been kept as pets (Spencer 1982: 196–97), not every animal of that species received special treatment or was linked with the deity. The proliferation of mummified animal burials (e.g. falcons, cats, ibis, baboons, etc.) began in the 7th century and possibly expanded as a nationalistic movement against Persian domination in an attempt to express the superiority of traditional Egyptian religion (Spencer 1982: 212). During the Greco-Roman period, the practice of mummifying animals reached its zenith. Whatever religious attitudes these burials reflect on the sacred nature of certain animals, they are certainly too late to have any association with plague on the animals in Exodus.

The supremacy of the sun god Re (or Atum) throughout much of Egyptian history is well known. For this reason, the obscuring of the sun in connection with the 9th plague has been regarded as the triumph of the Hebrew God over the head of the Egyptian pantheon (Sarna 1986: 79; Aling 1981: 106). It was noted by Cassuto that "evil" *(rāʿâ)* in Exod 10:10 was a word play on the Egyptian term *rʿ* for sun, and that the darkness was a response to pharaoh's comment there (1967: 129). A recent detailed study of *rāʿâ* elsewhere in the Pentateuch has made a good case for this word play on the sun god (Rendsburg 1988: 3–15). It seems quite likely, then, that a connection between the 9th plague and Re can be made.

One area of Egyptian backgrounds that has not sufficiently been explored is how the plagues affected the pharaoh and his office. In Near Eastern parlance, the "hand of god X" is an idiom for a plague, and it has been suggested that the expression "hand of Yahweh" in Exod 9:3 and 15 should be understood in this manner (Stieglitz 1987: 47). Consequently, plagues were considered to be divine in origin. This

observation certainly fits the scenario of the epic struggle between God and pharaoh. It has also been observed that the expressions about the hand or arm of God in the exodus narratives take on a special meaning when it is realized that similar expressions are found in Egyptian literature that symbolize the conquering and controlling power of pharaoh (Hoffmeier 1986: 378–87; Görg 1986: 323–30). This realization shows that the contest was primarily between Yahweh and pharaoh, known in Egypt as the "Son of Re," "Good God," and other divine epithets. The final assault on the power and authority of pharaoh came at "the sea." God says to Moses, "I will get glory over Pharaoh and all his host; and the Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord" (Exod 14:4). The plagues, exodus, and the incident at "the sea" were all a part of a cosmic struggle between Yahweh and pharaoh.

The cumulative effect of the plagues on the Egyptian view of cosmic order and the king's role in maintaining it is a major issue in the plagues. From Dynasty 4 onward, the pharaoh bore the title "Son of Re." As such, he was the god of the Egyptian state and was responsible to maintain the cosmic order *(ma‹at)* on earth that had been established by Re at creation (Frankfort 1978: 51–56). Because of the bond that existed between the created order and the king as the incarnate "Son of Re," he was responsible for the fertility of the land as well as for the proper function of the Nile, and because of the strong bond between the sun god, Re, and the king, he was the one who illuminated the two lands, i.e., Egypt (Frankfort 1978: 56–59). The vitality of the land was ensured by a number of annual festivals and related rituals over which the king presided.

The nine plagues certainly showed that a cosmic struggle was in progress, and they challenged the king's ability to maintain that cosmic order. If the king failed to execute his duties properly, the land would suffer, i.e., it would be in a state of chaos *(isft),* which is how Egyptian literature describes the 1st and 2d Intermediate periods. When a strong king appeared and regained control of the land, *ma‹at* was reestablished. The "Admonitions of Ipuwer" laments the deplorable conditions within Egypt:

> Lo, the river is blood, as one drinks of it one shrinks from people and thirsts for water …
> Towns are ravaged, Upper Egypt became a wasteland …
> Lo, the desert claims the land, the nomes are destroyed, foreign bowmen have come to Egypt …
> See now, the land is deprived of kingship by a few people who ignore custom … (*AEL* 1: 147).

The same despair is found in "Prophecy of Neferti," which dates to early in the 12th Dynasty, and was apparently written to help legitimize Amenemhet I (1991–1961 B.C.), the founder of the dynasty. Conditions move from gloom to glory at accession of Amenemhet as king. Neferti states:

> Dry is the river of Egypt, one crosses the water on foot; one seeks water for ships to sail on, its course having turned into shoreland …
> The land is bowed down in distress, owing to those feeders, Asiatics who roam the land. Foes have risen in the East, Asiatics have come down to Egypt …
> Re will withdraw from mankind: Though he will rise at his hour, one will not know when noon has come; No one will discern his shadow, no face will be dazzled by seeing him.
> Then a king will come from the South, Ameny the justified his name … Then Order *(ma‹at)* will return to its seat, while Chaos *(isft)* is driven away (*AEL* 1: 141).

These texts have several points in common. First we see that the Nile is either extremely low, owing to poor innundations, or in some way is contaminated, and so the crops fail and people don't want to drink the water. Second, kingship that unites and controls the land is absent. Third, foreigners are present in Egypt; and fourth, the sun was concealed in some way.

The plagues of Exodus 7–10 would have been understood by pharaoh and the Egyptians as a direct assault on the king, who was responsible for the proper function of the Nile, the crops, and the sun. This could be why the unnamed pharaoh of the exodus is so angered by the "signs and wonders." They were beyond the limits of his control. Perhaps his continued obstinacy was due to his hoping he could somehow reestablish himself as the Lord of Ma›at.

Indeed the gods of Egypt were shown to be impotent through Yahweh's "signs and wonders." But much of the language and symbolism of the exodus narratives is directed at the monarch and his inability to maintain order and protect Egypt from the Asiatic foreigners.

### E. Theological Implications of the Plagues

In Exod 5:2 Pharaoh asks, "Who is the Lord, that I should heed his voice and let Israel go? I do not know the Lord …" Ultimately, the plagues were the means used by God to convince Israel, Egypt, and Pharaoh that Yahweh was supreme. The plagues, along with the exodus from Egypt and the deliverance at "the sea," were regarded as part of the mighty acts of God (Deut 3:24). In later Israelite worship, the plague traditions did not play a major role, and when they did, they were reworked (i.e. Psalms 78 and 105) for reasons which are not clear. The recitation of the plagues in the Psalter serves to remind later Israelites of God's grace and power, which were soon forgotten in the wilderness (Childs *Exodus,* 169).

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**EGYPT, RIVER OF.** Appearing only once in the OT, the expression *nahar miṣrayim* "river of Egypt" serves as an element of the phrase "from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates" (Gen 15:18). The expression might suggest the Nile, certainly the best-known Egyptian river. But the contrasting designation of the Euphrates as the "great river" implies that the *nahar miṣrayim* is a lesser waterway, probably the Brook of Egypt (see EGYPT, BROOK OF). Emendation of MT *nahar* "river" (Gen 15:18) to *naḥal* "brook, wadi" is unwarranted; the author of Gen 15:18 is placing Israel in contrast to, but also on a par with, the neighboring powers (on the passage, see Lohfink 1967: 65; Mölle 1989: 166–67; Weimar 1989: 405–6). A late mention of the River of Egypt is found in LXX *potamos Aigyptou* (Jdt 1:9), clearly indicating the border of Israel with Egypt.

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M. GÖRG

**EGYPTIAN LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (EGYPTIAN).

**EGYPTIAN LITERATURE.** Writers in ancient Egypt produced a great quantity of texts that can be considered as "literature" in the sense that they partake in a tradition and were not composed simply to meet immediate needs of communication and finance. This entry consists of four articles. The first provides a broad, introductory survey of Egyptian literature. The second focuses on perhaps the earliest type of Egyptian literature—the biography. The second and third articles respectively cover two types of Egyptian literature that seem to have influenced Israelite (and therefore biblical) literature: love poetry and wisdom writings.

## *SURVEY OF EGYPTIAN LITERATURE*

In this survey the term "literature" will be used in a broader sense to include all kinds of texts belonging to the written tradition of ancient Egypt but excluding actual letters, receipts, files, and other documents that were not meant for tradition but for everyday use.

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A. Generalities
   1. Definitions, Literaticity, and Poeticity
   2. Institutional and Functional Frames
   3. "Poeticity": Formal Devices and Metrics
   4. Inscriptions and Manuscripts
   5. Forms of Transmission

B. Genres
   1. Belles-Lettres
      a. Wisdom Literature
      b. Narratives
      c. Poetry
   2. Functional Literature
      a. Temple Literature
      b. Funerary (Mortuary) Literature
      c. Magical Incantations
      d. Codification of Knowledge
   3. Monumental Literature
      a. Royal Inscriptions
      b. Biography

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### A. Generalities

**1. Definitions, Literaticity, and Poeticity.** Literature in the narrow sense of aesthetic or fictional texts will be called *belles-lettres.* These texts are called "literary texts" in contrast to "nonliterary texts," which constitute the body of "functional literature." The criterion for attributing texts to one or the other corpus is their functional fixity. While some texts are meant to serve only one well-determined function, as is the case with magical spells or biographical tomb inscriptions, others, such as narratives, harper's songs, and wisdom texts, may serve several functions. The latter appear in different contexts because they are functionally nonspecific, that is, not permanently bound to a single context. This functional nonspecificity is our main criterion for determining the "literaticity" of a text, regardless whether it exhibits poetic form ("poeticity") or not (Assmann and Assmann 1983: 269–74). Poetic texts may in fact be found within both belles-lettres and "functional literature."

All Middle Kingdom (hereafter MK) texts belonging to belles-lettres are framed by a narrative which explains their setting. This interior frame may be interpreted as the intratextual substitute of the extratextual context which is lacking in the case of literary texts. This custom of framing literary texts has caused chronological problems. Most Egyptologists tend to identify the date where the author locates the plot (the literary date) with the time of the author himself (the historical date). The literary date may in

most cases, however, point to a much earlier time than the historical date and may thus have a special, symbolic meaning (which has, of course, nothing to do with "pseudepigraphy" much less "forgery").

**2. Institutional and Functional Frames.** Institutions of literature, where books were produced, stored, and copied, were primarily the "House of Life" (Eg *pr ʿnḫ;* Weber *LÄ* 3:954–57) and to a lesser degree the school. Houses of Life were attached to the major temples. They served not only scriptorial, but also ritual purposes for the sake of "the preservation of life." Their primary concern seems to have been the tradition of ritual and magicomedical knowledge, but the literary activities extended into the fields of education, wisdom, and belles-lettres on the one hand, and astronomy, cosmography, and "sacerdotal sciences" on the other. In the schools the main focus was on educational ("teachings") and administrative knowledge (model letters). Our main sources here are the ostraca from Deir el Medinah and papyri from the Memphite area. Officials typically assigned to the House of Life were the priests of Sakhmet—physician-scholars of broad erudition and magical competence (von Känel 1984), who appear in the Bible (e.g., Gen 41:8; Exod 7:11; Dan 1:20) as *ḥartummîm* (Eg *hrjw-tp*) and constitute the typical entourage of pharaoh (Quaegebeur 1985; 1987). This institutional frame accounts for the seemingly strange combination of wisdom texts, narratives, rituals, hymns, and magicomedical texts which typically occurs in each of the (rare) relics of, or references to, libraries: e.g., the Ramesseum find (a chest with books, 13th Dyn.; Gardiner 1955b), the Chester Beatty find (a group of papyri from Deir el Medinah, 20th Dyn.; Gardiner 1935) and the papyri from Elephantine (temple of Khnum, ptolemaic period) and Tebtunis (Roman period; Tait 1977; Reymond 1977), and the catalogues of temple libraries at el-Tod and Edfu, as well as the canon of 42 books described by Clement of Alexandria (Fowden 1986: 58–59).

There are four major functional frames, or "macro-genres," to be distinguished in Egyptian literature: temple, tomb, palace, and administration. Within both temple and tomb literature a distinction should be made between "recitation" and "knowledge" literature. The latter term refers to codifications of knowledge necessary for the priest to perform a ritual or for the deceased to resist the dangers and pass the trials of the netherworld. Under the notion of "palace," we subsume the body of official royal inscriptions, most of which do not occur in palaces but in (relatively) public spaces like temple outskirts, courtyards, rock inscriptions, etc. Biographical inscriptions of nonroyal persons seem to address the same kind of public. They occur mostly on tomb walls and on temple statues. These genres are by necessity linked to the inscriptional or monumental form and therefore can be grouped together as "monumental literature." Bureaucracy seems to have been the most productive realm of all. The annual output of one minor temple office in the Old Kingdom (hereafter: OK) could amount to 120 m of papyrus. Bureaus of similar productivity were attached to palaces, various offices, granaries, workshops, and courts of justice. Quotidian administrative records should not be regarded as "literary," even in the broadest sense of the term, insofar as they do not belong to the Egyptian tradition by which is meant the body of texts intended for reuse or repeated reference.

**3. "Poeticity": Formal Devices and Metrics.** The basic formal principle in Egyptian literary compositions is semantic recurrence (*LÄ* 4:900–10), combining both continuous units and discontinuous units. The unit or verse corresponds to clauses of normal language, without any specifically poetical accentuation rules. Verse accent is identical with clause accent with the sole restriction that a "verse" may not contain fewer than two and more than three pitches or cola (Fecht *LÄ* 4:1127–54). A carefully written literary manuscript may indicate verse stops by placing red dots above the line. Such verse points may occur in virtually every genre of Egyptian literature. Higher units of text organization, such as verse groups, stanzas, paragraphs, songs, or chapters, are also semantically defined. They may be graphically indicated by rubrics or other signs (Assmann 1983d). "Poeticity" is scalar; poetry differs from prose not in kind but in degree. A measure of poeticity is the recurrence of elements. The number of recurrent elements can be increased or decreased. Especially popular were songs with several short stanzas, each stanza beginning with the same line as a refrain. But the intensified use of imagery may also have been esteemed as a sign of poetical value.

**4. Inscriptions and Manuscripts.** In ancient Egypt there were two writing systems in use: *hieratic,* the cursive script, and *hieroglyphic,* the monumental script. In spite of the fact that *hieratic* developed out of

*hieroglyphic*, they had to be learned separately. The Egyptian scribe was taught the hieratic script. Only artists went further and studied the hieroglyphs as well. A scribe was supposed to possess a reading competence in hieroglyphs; writing them required special training. Significant for hieroglyphic script is its iconicity: hieroglyphs retained (in opposition to almost all other scripts which started as picture writing) their pictorial character and thus belong as much to the sphere of monumental art as to that of writing (Assmann 1988a).

Hieroglyphs are the monumental script. Virtually all Egyptian monuments bear inscriptions. The extraordinary cultural significance of monumentality seems the most prominent feature of ancient Egyptian civilization (Assmann 1988b). The inscribed monument (tomb, statue, stela, offering table) bestows a "body" and a "voice" to the deceased. The hieroglyphic text is thereby always linked to a place and a person; it is "situationally bound" (in opposition to the "situationally neutral" character prerequisite of belles-lettres). All inscriptional literature is "eponymous" (produced in the name of a historical person) and "autothematizing": temple inscriptions refer to a king, tomb inscriptions to a deceased person.

Hieratic is the script for "manuscripts" on portable materials like papyrus, ostraca (limestone and pottery), and (more rarely) leather and wood. The demarcation line between hieroglyphic/monumental and hieratic/mobile communication is rather strict. There are virtually no texts pertaining to belles-lettres in hieroglyphic/monumental form, whereas in some exceptional cases, inscriptions pertaining to official literature were copied in papyrus (the Kadesh poem, the Kamose stela, the Berlin leather roll among others). In the genres of temple and tomb literature, however, the distinction between the monumental and the cursive is blurred, because the decoration of temple and tomb walls was carried out from manuscript prototypes.

There are three functions of recording to be distinguished: eternalization, publication, and storage. *Eternalization* is the function which is linked to the inscriptional form. It keeps a text present at a certain place, regardless of its readability for human eyes. Eternalization belongs to the "monumental sphere" as a sphere of eternal duration (in Egyptian: *ḏt*/djet/ "endurance" "unchangeability") into which one may enter by erecting a monument. *Publication* is the function that addresses human readers (letters address specific readers), thus implying different kinds of readerships. For publication, either inscriptions or manuscripts may be used. The inscription on a royal stele, for example, addresses visitors to a given place; the manuscript can reach distant readers. *Storage* is a function serving to keep texts and data permanently accessible. It is always linked to the manuscript form.

**5. Forms of Transmission.** Two kinds of transmission have to be distinguished: *productive* and *reproductive* transmission. Reproductive transmission affects *texts*, which are copied, epitomized, and in exceptional cases even commented on, whereas productive transmission is based on types or genre-specific deep structures (*ÄHG*, 1–94). Type-oriented text production achieves functional identity through being related to a specific situation and by virtue of a corresponding situational competence. Text-oriented reproduction achieves *formal* identity by the techniques of copying. A copyist may acquire the source text by reading it, by dictation, or from memory. Each method can give rise to different kinds of possible mistakes.

The Egyptian scribal culture does not seem to have developed more than very rudimentary methods of philological emendation (text control) and exegesis (sense control). Besides *textual* and *contextual* relationships between texts, there is also the possibility of *intertextual* relationship, which is based on texts (and not types), but in a productive way, producing new texts with (explicit or implicit) recourse to older ones. Intertextuality is most prominent in Wisdom Literature, where references to classical texts (such as the *Teachings of Ptahhotep*) occur even in late Egyptian instructions (like *Amenemope*). The notion of "classical" texts seems also to be restricted to Wisdom Literature. The two different lists of "classical authors" preserved from the Ramesside Periods contain names connected with wisdom texts (Assmann 1985).

A special problem of transmission is addressed by the terms "sacred literature" and "canonization." Sacred texts are texts which not only deal with "sacred" matters but also possess in themselves a kind of sacredness. Sacred texts may thus be regarded as "verbal sanctuaries" of restricted access requiring

special qualifications (purity, initiation) in their reciter. Most of the temple and tomb literature belongs to this category. Funerary literature was almost exclusively confined to the inaccessible parts of the tomb. This seems to be the only domain where, beginning perhaps in the Persian period (27th Dyn.), a process of *canonization* developed. At about this time, the body of mortuary spells was compiled within a "book," fixed with respect to outer limits and interior arrangement.

An attempt at canonization in a somewhat different sense may, however, be observed in the transmission of literary texts during the Ramesside period. Only a limited selection of "Great Texts" seem to have been treated in the scribal curriculum and therefore survive in dozens of (mostly very corrupt) copies.

**B. Genres**

**1. Belles-Lettres. a. Wisdom Literature.** Wisdom Literature is the earliest and the most important genre of Egyptian belles-lettres and seems to have been considered by the Egyptians themselves as the very quintessence and apex of their literature. (The "encomium of ancient writers" in pChester Beatty IV endeavors to show that a "book" is a far more glorious monument than a pyramid; the examples mentioned are sages appearing in wisdom texts.) There is no Egyptian term corresponding to Heb *ḥokmâ* ("wisdom"). Egyptian wisdom texts employ the word *maʿat* (hereafter Maat), signifying "truth, justice, righteousness, order." Wisdom Literature consists of two major genres: "teachings" (Eg *sb3jjt*) and lamentations (also comprising dialogues and prophecies). The teachings deal with Maat and the individual, the lamentations with society as a whole vis-à-vis the social and political norms of Maat.

Teachings date back to a time perhaps as early as the OK. Following the Egyptian tradition, the genre of teachings begins with Imhotep, the famous vizier of King Djoser of the 3d Dyn.; the "literary dates" of many preserved teachings point to the OK: *Instruction for Kagemni* (Snofru). *Instruction of Djedefhor* (4th Dyn.), *Instruction of Ptahhotep* (Isesi of the 5th Dyn.). All these dates may be literary fictions, but the possibility of an OK date for at least a part of these texts cannot be entirely excluded. Whereas teachings continue well into Hellenism (Lichtheim 1983; Sanders 1983), lamentations seem to be confined to the MK and to the Late Period. Late examples are: the Moscow Literary letter (Caminos 1977), demotic texts like the *Oracle of the Lamb* and the *Demotic Chronicle*, and the Greek *Oracle of the Potter*. Many of the (presumably) MK texts are, however, preserved on New Kingdom (hereafter: NK) mss (Neferti, Khakheperreseneb [*AEL* 1: 145–49], Admonitions [*AEL* 1: 149–63]).

**b. Narratives. (1) Didactic.** There are two narratives of the MK which show a very high level of reflection and have therefore been labeled "didactic" pieces (Otto 1966). These are the *Story of Sinuhe* and the *Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor*. Both are situated outside Egypt. Sinuhe flees from Egypt to Palestine, where he achieves wealth, family, and social recognition, but returns to Egypt in order to be buried with royal favors (Loprieno 1988). The story reflects upon problems of intentionality (attributing the flgiht to the "plan of some god"), of the relationship between human and divine, commoner and king, individual and the social environment and the individual with the interior self (Eg *jb* "heart"). The story illustrates the basic conviction, typical of ancient Egypt, that there is an indissoluble bond between pharaonic dominion and life beyond death. The shipwrecked sailor (*AEL* 1:211–15) travels east and become stranded, after a shipwreck, as sole survivor on the shore of an exotic island, where he encounters a serpent god. The question which the serpent asks repeatedly and with increasing emphasis, "Who has brought thee to this island?," requires the answer "god," and thus points in the same direction as *Sinuhe:* divine intervention in human life. A special feature of this text is its concentric structure. Not only is there a *frame*-story motivating the main tale and providing it with a setting, but also an interior tale told by the serpent. Both tales have a consolatory and admonatory function. The serpent admonishes the sailor to survive solitude by self-control *(dōr jb),* the sailor admonishes an expedition leader to overcome fear by self-control.

From later tradition, only the report of Wenamun (Helck *LÄ* 6: 1215–17; Loprieno 1988: 64; *AEL* 2: 224–30) may be compared with these MK stories. It is most closely related to Sinuhe in its imitation of a nonliterary form: Sinuhe is cast in the shape of a tomb biography, Wenamun in the shape of an official report. Wenamun addresses the same topic: an Egyptian outside Egypt. Wenamun travels to Byblos on an

official mission to fetch lumber for the bark of Amun. His lord is none other than Amun himself, for the story takes place in the time of the Theban theocracy (21st Dyn.). The pretention and impotence of this regime are most amusingly ridiculed by the diverse failures of the hero to acquit himself of his commission.

The *Doomed Prince* (pBM 10060 = Harris 500 vso 4.1–8.15; Gardiner 1932: 1–9; *AEL* 2: 200–3) is another NK story dealing with the Egyptian abroad, but in a completely different, fairy tale manner. A prince is doomed to die by one of three destinies: the crocodile, the serpent, or the dog. He emigrates to Syria, marries a princess, and escapes his first destiny by her vigilance (the remainder is lost; pBM 10060 = Harris 500 vso 4.1–8.15). The allegorical story of the *Blinding of Truth* (pBM 10682; Gardiner 1932: 30–36) may be classified as "didactic" because of its strong moralizing tone. "Truth," a man, is falsely accused of theft by his brother "Lie," and blinded. But "Truth" begets a son with "Desire" (the name is only conjectural), who avenges his blind father before the tribunal. The story stresses the two fundamentals of Egyptian ethics: the superiority of truth over lies, and the son as avenger of his father (in which respect the story is an allegorical variant of the myth of Osiris).

**(2) Mythological Tales.** Contrary to what might be expected in Egypt, mythological tales belong not to religious but to "entertainment" literature, the only exception being the insertion of mythological episodes in magical spells, where they assume the function of mythical precedents. There are no nonmagical examples preserved antedating the NK. The most important text is *The Contendings of Horus and Seth* (*AEL* 2: 214–23) preserved on pChester Beatty I. In its present form, this text is an attempt at collecting various tales and episodes concerning the struggle of Horus and Seth for the succession to the throne of Osiris within the frame of an endless litigation. Six episodes appear to have originally been autonomous tales: (1) the offending and reconciling of Re (who is offended by Baba's injunction: "Your shrine is empty," and reconciled by Hathor (who shows him her pudenda); (2) the ruse of Isis who, in the guise of a beautiful girl, brings Seth to proclaim his own judgment (an etiology of the claw-footed god Nemti); (3) Horus and Seth's combat as hippopotami (Säve-Söderbergh 1953); (4) the blinding and healing of Horus; and (5) the "homosexual episode" (this portion appears already in a late MK papyrus from Kahun, probably in a medico-magical context [pKahun VI,12 recto; cf. Posener 1951b: 36.]).

Other tales are fragmentarily preserved: an early version of the *Myth of the Solar Eye* (pMoscow 167, ed. Caminos 1956: 40–50) and a story concerning the Syrian goddess Astarte (pAmherst 9; Gardiner 1932: 76–81; see also Helck 1983). The *Story of Isis and Re* (pTurin Pleyte and Rossi pl. 131.10–135.14 and pChester Beatty XI rto. [Gardiner 1935, pl 64]; *ANET*, 12–14) figures in a magical text. Common to these tales is a rather burlesque rendering of the divine characters and actions, a feature also characteristic of Mesopotamian mythology. Very different in its exterior form of presentation is the *Myth of the Heavenly Cow* (Hornung 1982), preserved as an element of wall decoration in royal tombs, perhaps because of its proximity to cosmography. This myth gives an account of the "Fall," or rather of the "Parting," of the world, because it is the separation of heaven and earth, of gods and men, which, according to Egyptian concepts, marks the decline of the "Golden Age." The *Tale of the Two Brothers* (Gardiner 1932: 9–30; *AEL* 2: 203–11; Blumenthal 1973: 1–17) is not a myth but rather a folk tale whose protagonists are gods. (The mythological links point to the 17th–18th nome of Upper Egypt, where Anubis and Bata appear together in cult legends.) The story resembles the biblical story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. Bata, a herdsman, is asked by Anubis, his elder brother and a farmer, to help him with the sowing (in Egypt the seed was stamped into the ground by cattle which were driven over the newly sown fields). Anubis sends Bata home to bring more seed, where the wife of Anubis tries in vain to seduce him. Later, she calumniates him before her husband. In its Egyptian version, the myth has an evident original meaning: the act of sowing puts the herdsman in a suspicious position, because he enters and even "inseminates" the farmer's fields with his cattle. The tale, by its explicit exculpation of the alleged adulterer, helps to disambiguate the situation. On tomb reliefs of the OK there is even a song connected with the scene of sowing which alludes to the myth of Bata, the innocent shepherd (Assmann 1977a; 20–21).

**(3) Tales of Kings.** Apart from official inscriptions, narratives in which kings appear as protagonists are surprisingly rare: the *Story of Neferkare and the General Sisene* (pChassinat I = Louvre E 25351; Posener 1957) and the *Story of King Djedkare (?) and General Merire* (pVandier = pLille; Posener 1985) are tales situated in the distant past and critical of the pharaoh and his moral stature. In the first tale, Pepi II indulges in nocturnal escapades with homosexual implications and neglects law and order; in the second tale, Pharaoh breaks his promise to protect the widow and orphan of Merire, who has consented to die in his stead. With these tales, we are close to the anecdotes of Egyptian kings which appear in Herodotus' history and reflect the oral tradition of the time. But in the *Tale of the Two Brothers,* the pharaoh also appears as an unprincipled dallier with his wives, courtiers, and appetites (Posener [1960] contrasts the negative image of the king in literary narratives with the elevated representation of divine kingship in official records).

Closer to official literature may have been the fragmentary *Story of Apophis and Seqenenre* (Gardiner 1932: 85–89; Goedicke 1986; *LAE,* 77–80). But here also, one is surprised to find Seqenenre, who to judge by the state of his mummy must have met a heroic death in a battle against the Hyksos, unable to find an adequate answer to the insulting challenge of the Hyksos king, who has complained about the noise of the hippopotami. The narrative contrasts sharply with a contemporary and official document, the stelae of Kamose, which glorifies the deeds of the victorious king.

Related to royal narratives is *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians* (pWestcar [pBerlin 3033]; Blackman 1988; *LÄ* 4: 743–45; *AEL* 1: 216–22; *LAE,* 16–30). Various tales about miracles worked by several magicians are followed by an account of the divine origin of the 5th Dyn.: the sun god begets triplets with Rud-djedet, the mortal wife of a provincial priest, and the triplets eventually ascend the throne of Egypt (Brunner-Traut 1988: 31–59). Kheops (Khufu) threatens the newborn future kings with persecution (like Herod in Matt 2), showing the typical unreliability of the "roi des contes" (Posener 1956: 10–13).

**(4) Satire.** Many of the ostraca and some papyri which contain series of drawings seem to give illustrations of fables (Brunner-Traut 1968) and fabliaux (Omlin 1973) existing only in oral tradition. Some of the fables recur in demotic and Greek texts more than a thousand years later (parallels have been pointed out by E. Brunner-Traut in various articles). Especially conspicuous is the theme of the "world turned upside down," e.g., a mouse pharaoh conquering a town defended by cats (Brunner-Traut 1968: 4 with fig.1) or a hippopotamus collecting figs in a tree (ibid. p.5 with fig. 8). These pictures give an idea of what might have been Egypt's place in the "history of laughter" (see also HUMOR AND WIT [ANCIENT EGYPT]).

**(5) The World of the School.** Although the school is where most of the belles-lettres were transmitted and perhaps also produced, there are some texts or books which seem connected with this institution in a more particular way. The book *Kmjt* ("the sum"), which dates from the MK and which Posener was able to reconstruct out of hundreds of ostraca (Posener 1951a), has been convincingly identified as a schoolbook containing formulas of salutation, narrative passages, and maxims (Barta 1978). In the NK, the "satirical letter" (pAnastasi I; *ANET,* 475–79) served similar purposes, presenting a great variety of salutation formulas and information about the geography of Palestine and related subjects (Gardiner 1911; Fischer-Elfert 1986). The most characteristic feature of scholastic literature is found in the "miscellanies," papyri containing model letters and literary exercises of all sorts. Miscellanies include eulogies; hymns and prayers; admonitions to the pupil not to become a soldier, or not to get drunk or indulge in similar debaucheries; satires of the trades (after the model of the *Instruction of Kheti,* perhaps the most famous classic of Egyptian literature [see Brunner 1944; Helck 1970]); and lists of commodities (Gardiner 1937; Caminos 1957). Real letters, a fair number of which have been found, exhibit the hallmarks of this scribal training (Bakir 1970), but they cannot be considered "literature" even in the broadest sense of the term. (Letters from the NK were published by J. Černý [1939] and translated by Wente [1967]. Letters to the dead were published by Gardiner and Sethe [1925].)

**c. Poetry. (1) Religious Poetry.** Hymns and prayers appear in both the genre of belles-lettres and the functional genre of temple literature. In spite of some common aspects, the two categories are distinct.

The *Hymn to the Nile* (latest edition: van der Plas 1986), which appears in NK mss as one of the "classics" of MK poetry to be studied in school, is clearly a literary text. The hymn is didactic, depicting a great variety of phenomena from both nature and culture as manifestations and gifts of the Nile. The *Teaching for Merikare* (*AEL* 1: 97–109) closes with a beautiful hymn to the creator god. At the end of a passage, the central theme of which is recompense and retribution, the author shows that god has always given, thus placing all human action in the role of response. The famous Cairo hymn to Amun-Re (*ÄHG*No. 87; *ANET*, 365–67) is a collection of hymns evidently intended more for literary than for liturgical purposes (the number of surviving ostraca indicates that the text was studied in school). Both texts praise "God" as the one and only creator and maintainer of the world, the other gods being merely part of the world, along with men and animals, heaven and earth, trees and plants. The hymns from Tell el-Amarna (*ÄHG*Nos. 91–95), which may well have been composed by King Akhenaten himself, continue in some way this tradition and may, in spite of their liturgical purpose, be placed among religious poetry because of their unusual perfection. The Leiden Papyrus J 350 contains a cycle of hymns to Amun, arranged by numerical puns as in some cycles of love songs. Some of these hymns, e.g., the hymn "200" (*ANET*, 368), mark the summit of Egyptian theological reflection (Assmann 1984: 274–77). These texts achieve a new concept of the oneness of "God," in opposition to the virtually infinite multitude of "gods." Instead of primacy—one divinity ruling others—there emerges the idea of abscondity—God being the hidden unity symbolized by the manifest multitude of divinities—to dominate theological discourse.

An important part of scholarly "miscellanies" is alloted to prayers (*ÄHG*Nos. 174–95) and among the exercises on ostraca are some of the jewels of Egyptian religious poetry (e.g., *AEL* 2: 110–14). These poems share the spirit of personal piety which dominates late Egyptian Wisdom Literature, exemplified in the *Wisdom of Amenemope* (*AEL* 2: 146–63; Assmann 1979).

**(2) Banquet Poetry.** Banquet or "entertainment" songs are linked with the Egyptian concepts (and customs) of "making holiday" *(jrj hrw nfr)*, "following the heart" *(sms jb)* and "diversion" (*sḫmḫ* jb, lit. "cause the heart to forget" [Fox 1982; Assmann 1989a]). Two genres in particular seem to be connected with the banquet scene: love songs (see the article on EGYPTIAN LOVE SONGS below) and harper's songs.

Some 25 harper's songs have so far been identified (Assmann 1977b). With the exception of one song on papyrus—said to have been copied from the tomb of a king "Antef" (*AEL* 1: 194–97; *ANET*, 467)—all are preserved on tomb walls, accompanying the figure of a harper or lutist. They can be classified into two groups: (1) the "make merry" songs, which combine the motifs of *memento mori* and *carpe diem*, and (2) songs which assume the form and content of funerary liturgies. Only group (1) has preserved—within the context of tomb decoration—the characteristics of its original situation: the festive banquet. The *memento mori* motif—in connection with an exhortation to enjoy life—occurs from the epic of Gilgamesh and the biblical book of Qohelet to late Egyptian festival customs as described by Herodotus (2.78) and in the Roman writers Horace and Petronius.

**2. Functional Literature. a. Temple literature. (1) Recitation literature.** The most archaic ritual papyrus, the "Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus," discovered in a wooden chest along with literary works (*Sinuhe, Eloquent Peasant*, and wisdom texts) and medico-magical texts, contains a ritual for the accession or jubilee of Sesostris I (Sethe 1929; Barta 1976). The papyrus is horizontally divided into a broader zone containing the text (139 lines referring to 47 scenes), beneath which runs a narrow strip with 31 pictures. The text of each scene begins with (1) the title of the scene and (2) its mythical interpretation, followed by (3) a direct speech, which is introduced by an identification of the (always divine) speaker and addressee, and (4) some notes concerning roles, objects, and places. Nos. 2 and 3 typically refer to the divine world, whereas No. 1 and the pictures refer to the cultic sphere, giving the names of priests, objects, and ritual actions. Two elements are very typical of the Egyptian cult: first, cultic communication is divine communication, man addressing the gods in the role of a god (Horus or Thoth) and uttering words which have the magical force of divine speech; second, cultic action is interpreted by the accompanying recitation as a mythical event taking place in the divine world ("sacramental interpretation"). But the myths are never coherently represented in cultic action, only alluded to in a very

discontinuous manner. The coherence of the ritual is on the cultic level, not on the level of mythical interpretation (Schott 1945; Otto 1958).

A similar "dramatic text" is preserved on the Shabaka stone in the British Museum and forms the first part of the "Memphite Theology" (*AEL* 1:51–57), but this text refers exclusively to the mythical sphere. It gives an account of the development of the Egyptian kingdom (1st stage: two kingdoms under Horus and Seth; 2d stage: one kingdom under Horus at Memphis; see Junker 1941). Here, coherence is established on the mythical, not the ritual, level. We are dealing here with ritual and even dramatic representation of mythical events; this type of cultic performance seems to be exclusively connected with some of the major festivals, like that of Osiris at Abydos (see Schäfer 1904) or the *Triumph of Horus* as it was performed in Ptolemaic times in Edfu (Fairman 1974) and Philae (Goedicke 1982). The festival of "the birth of the god" *(mswt nṯr)* was performed in the *mammisi* ("birth house," attached to the temples) in the form of a sacred drama consisting of a sequence of scenes and long speeches of gods (Daumas 1958; Sauneron 1962: 185–244). (For the general question of theater in Egypt, see Drioton 1942.)

Several papyri from the early Ptolemaic to the Roman period contain liturgies especially connected with rites and ceremonies of the cult of Osiris in Abydos. Most important among these texts, in terms of lyrical composition, is the *Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys* which exist in several versions (pBerlin 3008 [Faulkner 1935–38; *AEL* 3: 116–21; pBremner Rhind [Faulkner 1933]; pNew York Metropolitan Museum of Art 35.9.21, 38–54). Another important genre of recitation connected with the cult of Osiris is the so-called *glorification (sōḫw)*, several liturgical collections of which are preserved (Goyon 1974; Haikal 1972; Möller 1900; Smith 1987). The cultic setting of both lamentations and glorifications is the *Stundenwachen* (hourly vigil), an Osirian rite performed in the temples of Edfu, Dendera, Philae, and elsewhere (Junker 1910; Soukiassian 1982).

The purpose of the daily temple ritual is to tend to the cult image with fumigations, libations, unctions, and adorations (pBerlin 3055 [Moret 1902]), and to feed the god (this aspect of the ritual has been preserved in the ritual for Amenophis I [pChester Beatty IX; Gardiner 1935, pls. 50–58 and pCairo CG 58030+pTurin CG 54041]). In the Ramesside period, the scene of the offering of Maat, a symbol of truth, justice, and order to be established on earth by the king, gains a prominent place in the ritual. This scene by itself expresses the whole ideology of sacrifice, which, in Egypt, is based not on the idea of a communal meal, where the community of offerers or sacrificers share in the consuming of the victim (as in the Mesopotamian, Israelite, and Greek conception), but on the idea of exchange (in the sense of Mauss 1966), where humans render to the divinities what they have given, in order that they continue to give. Maat is what emanates from god in the form of vivifying and organizing energies, and it is rendered to one "who lives on Maat" as justice and ritual correctness. This idea is expressed in a long recitation, the "Litany of Maat," which accompanies the offering (*ÄHG*No. 125). The Litany originated in the cult of the sun god, but extended to other cults during the NK, especially that of Amun-Re, it is attested in the Ptolemaic period in numerous copies in all the major temples. Another prominent place in the daily as well as the festival ritual was allotted to the recitation of hymns, of which several hundred exist mostly on private (i.e., funerary) monuments. The hymns to the sun god and to Amun-Re show an especially great variety of form and theological evolution during the NK (Oswalt 1968; Assmann 1969; 1983a; 1983b; Daumas and Barucq 1980). The most explicit version of the myth of Osiris is to be found in a hymn to Osiris on a stela of the 18th Dyn. (*AEL* 2: 81–85). Hymns to the king exist on papyri from the MK (cycle of hymns on Sesostris III; pKahun [*ÄHG*Nos. 228–31]) and of the Ramesside period (Condon 1978). The "Loyalist Instruction" (*LAE*, 198–200), a wisdom text of the MK, begins with an elaborate eulogy of the king (Posener 1976).

A special place must be reserved to the (mostly penitential) hymns and prayers subsumed under the rubric *personal piety*. Some forerunners date back to the 18th Dynasty (Posener 1975), but as a literary phenomenon the movement belongs to the age of the Ramessides (13th–11th centuries). Personal calamity, sickness especially, is now interpreted as a case of divine intervention (Borghouts 1982; Griffiths 1988) in punishment for some crime which has to be publicly confessed in order to restore the disturbed relationship between the individual and the offended deity. Many of the texts show remarkable

literary qualities in their poetic form and religious content, thus testifying to an oral tradition which may have originated during the Amarna age (14th century B.C.) as a period of persecution, during which the ancient cults were prohibited and adversity was explained as divine wrath and abandonment (Assmann 1984: 258–67).

**(2) Theological and Mythological Treatises.** Scattered among various genres of temple and even funerary literature (like spells, hymns, and architectural inscriptions), some texts display elements of a coherent theological system. Among the earliest examples are the "Theology of Shu" in Coffin Texts (CT) spells 75–83 (de Buck 1947; Assmann 1984; 209–15; Allen 1988; 13–27), and the "Theodicy" in CT spell 1130 (Assmann 1984: 204–8). CT spell 80 recounts how Atum floated unconscious in the primeval waters and, in the act of becoming conscious, "becomes three" (CT II 39e). The ancient names of Shu and Tefnut, the twin children of Atum with their cosmic significations "air" and "humidity" (?), are translated in the new theologico-philosophical system as "life" and "truth" (Maat).

Thus, "life" and "truth," together with Atum (whose name expresses both the "totality" and "nonexistence" of being), constitute a primordial trinity foreshadowing similar conceptions in neo-Platonist cosmology. The theodicy of spell 1130 is a monologue in which the creator takes credit for four good deeds which he performed at the time of creation. In listing the four deeds, the god makes two assertions of prime importance: that he created all persons as equals; and that it was not he who taught humanity to do wrong; rather, people do wrong of their own volition (*AEL* 1: 131–33; *ANET*, 7–8).

It has been argued that the theodicy of CT spell 1130 may have been a response to that part of the *Admonitions of Ipu-Wer* (*AEL* 1: 149–63), which Otto has called *The Reproach to God* (Otto 1950; Fecht 1972). The most famous of Egyptian theological treatises is preserved in the second part of the Shabaka inscription (commonly referred to as the "Memphite Theology": Breasted 1901; Sethe 1929: 1–80; Junker 1940; *ANET*, 4–6; *AEL* 1:51–57; Allen 1988: 42–47, 91–93), which recounts how Ptah created the world "through heart and tongue," i.e., by conception and proclamation, and how heart and tongue operate in nature. The text, which had formerly been dated to the OK, is now proved to be, at least in its final state, not earlier than the 13th century B.C. In the stress it lays on conception and speech as means of creation, it comes closest to the biblical account of creation (Koch 1965). Theban theology produced a similar treatise, which centers around the concept of "life": Amun vivifying the cosmos by means of his 10 *Ba*s: *Ba*s 1–5 are the vivifying elements: the sun, the moon, the air (Shu), the water (Nun), the fire (Tefnut); *Ba*s 6–10 are the vivified beings: the royal Ka (humanity), the lion-and-bull (i.e., quadrupeds), the hawk (i.e., birds), the crocodile (i.e., fishes and reptiles) and the serpent (i.e., the dead and all chthonic animals) (*ÄHG* No. 128; Goyon, Parker and Leclant 1979: 69–79).

Many of the great hymns from the Ramesside period onward shows the same systematizing approach and may well be termed treatises (note *ÄHG* Nos. 127–31, 143–45; *AEL* 3: 109–15; Sauneron 1962). Architectural inscriptions of Ptolemaic temples often include very elaborate accounts of the mythical origin of the temple. Obviously, these inscriptions represent a larger body of mytho-theological literature which is otherwise lost.

**b. Funerary (Mortuary) Literature. (1) Funerary and Mortuary Service.** The funerary ritual exists only in the form of a sequence of pictures (Settgast 1963); the accompanying recitations are lost, except for a great variety of dirges, some of which are very expressive in their treatment of affliction and bereavement (Lüddeckens 1943). Much better preserved is the ritual of "Opening the Mouth," for which we have not only the pictures but also the spells (Otto 1960; Goyon 1972: 85–182). The ritual was originally intended for the "vivification" of statues and was later extended to mummies, objects, and even temples. It contains a very archaic section (scenes 8–21) where the "shape" *(jrw)* of the deceased is captured by the sleeping son in an oneiric vision. (P. Munro [1984] interprets this part as the ancient ritual of regicide). The embalming, which took place in a separate building *(wꜥbt)* during the 70 days between death and burial (see also EMBALMING), was accompanied by the recitation of a collection of spells known as the "Ritual of Embalment" (Sauneron 1952; Goyon 1972: 17–84) as well as of the ceremonies of *Stundenwachen* (hourly vigil) comprising lamentations and glorifications (*LÄ* 6: 104–6). The offering cult in the tomb chapel was also accompanied by recitations, which appear as inscriptions on tomb walls

but are also found on papyrus (*LÄ* 6: 998–1006). Many hundreds of these "glorification spells" *(s3ḫw)* exist. They complement the corpus of funerary literature in a fortuitous way, because they belong to a "productive" rather than "reproductive" tradition and thus reflect the development of funerary beliefs far better than the magical spells of funerary literature.

**(2) Funerary Literature.** The textual equipment of the dead is called "funerary literature" (Sethe *Pyr*). In the OK, it is restricted to the tombs of kings and appears from the end of the 5th Dyn. (e.g., pyramid of Unas: see Piankoff and Jacquet-Gordon 1974) in the form of hieroglyphic inscriptions on the walls of the hidden chambers inside the pyramid. More than 2,200 spells are known; together these constitute the so-called "Pyramid Texts" (PT; Sethe *Pyr*; Faulkner 1969), the most ancient corpus of religious texts. After the breakdown of the OK, the institution of funerary literature was extended to nonroyal use (a process called "democratization," or better "demotization"). Many of the PT survived embedded among a great number of new spells, the "Coffin Texts" (CT: de Buck 1935–61; Faulkner 1973–78; Barguet 1986), which were inscribed on the panels of wooden coffins of the MK. In the NK, a selection of these spells reappears together with new spells on papyrus scrolls known as "Books of the Dead" (BD; Naville 1886; Budge 1898, 1910; Faulkner 1985; Hornung 1979). During the NK, and until the Late Period, there is great variation among the individual scrolls: no two of them coincide. Only in the Saite or Persian period does this fluctuation give way to a more strictly canonized form, where the number and sequence of "chapters" become standardized (Lepsius 1842; Allen 1960). In the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, new compositions appear which are more adequate to the changed funerary beliefs of the period: the two "books of breathing" (Goyon 1972, 183–317) and the "book of traversing eternity" (Stricker 1950–56). Related documents are the collections of "glorification spells" *(s3ḫw)* which occur on separate scrolls or annexed to Books of the Dead, both in Hieratic and Demotic (Smith 1987) script (Goyon 1974).

The spells of the PT are still close to cultic recitations performed in the process of embalming, the funerary procession, and the mortuary cult. Probably all of them derive from "festival scrolls" *(h3bt)*, though only the spells connected with the ritual of food offering (PT 26–203) can be attributed with any certainty to a cultic context. Many of these sequences of spells remain in liturgical use until the LP, when they reappear, copied not from the pyramids themselves but from other liturgical manuscripts in the temple library (Möller 1900). The principle of "sacramental interpretation" is very prominent in almost all the spells. For example, in PT 373 the presentation of food is connected with the sacramental ideas of revivification (bodily reintegration) and ascension to heaven.

Spell 273–74, the famous "cannibal hymn," gives a sacramental interpretation of some yet unidentified rite, wherein the king is said to "live on his fathers and to feed on his mothers" (*AEL* 1: 36–38). With the CT, the situation is different. Here one finds liturgical sequences of spells, some of which can be traced back to the PT and downward to liturgical papyri of the Ptolemaic period. Most of the spells serve some magical purpose for the deceased in the hereafter: "transformation spells" to transform him into every shape he desires, "food spells" to provide him with food, every kind of apotropaic spell to ward off dangerous demons, the "Book of the Two Ways" to guide him through the difficult topography of the netherworld (Lesko 1972), as well as the maps of the "field of Hetep," the Egyptian paradise (Lesko 1971–72; Mueller 1972). Titles and postscripts, carefully written in red, give indications as to function, accompanying pictures, objects, actions, and success ("proved efficient, a million times"). This "bookish" layout of the texts contrasts most strikingly with the monumental austerity of the PT. The PT "eternalize" the oral recitations of the funerary and mortuary cult, the CT equip the deceased with all kinds of magical material and knowledge concerning the hereafter. The BD continues this development from funerary liturgy to magical book. The great innovation of the 18th Dyn. are multicolored vignettes, which come into standard use after the Amarna period (Munro 1988). With the *Book of the Dead*, the Egyptian idea of a post-mortem judgment has achieved its classical form (chaps. 30 and 125; see Yoyotte 1961; Brandon 1967; for representations, Seeber 1976, and Grieshammer 1970 for earlier stages). Another remarkable text is chap. 17 (= CT spell 335), which seems to be one of the very few Egyptian texts that received a "philological" treatment in the form of a commentary with numerous glosses written in red ink (Rössler-Köhler 1976).

**(3) Books of the Netherworld.** Whereas the PT are exclusively royal, the CT and BD are nonroyal. Only with the NK does a new body of texts appear which seem to function as exclusively royal funerary literature. These are the "books" which decorate the walls of the royal tombs. For the most ancient compositions, the "Amduat" and the "Litany of Re," an origin in the solar cult is very probable. But some of the later compositions which do not appear in tombs until after the Amarna period may have been made expressly for the royal hereafter. All of them, however, are centered around the theme of the solar circuit in its nocturnal phase (when the sun god Re passed through the underworld) and may be better understood as codifications of priestly knowledge in connection with the solar cult.

**c. Magical Incantations.** Magic, following the *Teaching for Merikare* (*AEL* 1:106), was given to humanity as a weapon "to shield off the blow of what might happen." Magic is always directed "against" something: snakes, scorpions, evil demons that might threaten a newborn child, and especially diseases. There is a very strong link between medicine and magic, and most of the preserved texts are medico-magical. But magic can also be directed against political enemies (Sethe 1926) or cosmic foes (pBremner Rhind 22.1–32.12 [Faulkner 1933]) and is therefore not restricted to the private sphere (as opposed to the temple). Catalogs of sacred books mention compositions entitled "Manifestations of Re" *(b3w R'w),* which may well have been magical books of execration and protection. The literary importance of magical literature lies in the fact that it preserves many accounts of mythical episodes in a vivid and often even poetically structured narration (among the most important are "Re and Isis" [*ANET*, 12–14] and the texts on the Metternich stela [Klasens 1952]. For a very useful collection of translated spells, see Borghouts 1978).

**d. Codifications of Knowledge. (1) Onomastica.** Egypt cannot compete with Mesopotamia in its use of lists and tables for the systematization of knowledge. But this might be due to the scarcity of secular material. The Abusir Papyri from the archives of the funerary temple of Neferirkare Kakai (ca. 2470 B.C.) make ample and very careful use of tabular forms (Posener-Kriéger and de Cenival 1968; Posener-Kriéger 1976). Many of the spells of the CT and some of the chapters in the BD reflect these bureaucratic techniques in their arrangement. They are arranged in the same systematizing manner, listing the parts of the ferry boat (CT 398) or the fowling net (CT 474; see Bidoli 1976) and their mythical counterparts, the members of the body and their divine equivalents (BD 42) and the 42 assessors of the divine tribunal, their places of origin, and the specific sins which the deceased declares not to have committed (BD 125). Especially important is the "list of offerings" which developed during the first five dynasties. The first lists were documents of real funerary possessions and equipment, but soon such lists became standardized and developed into tabular representations of a very complex ritual of funerary offerings (Barta 1963).

The Egyptian Onomastica, catalogs of things arranged by their kind, contain "everything that Ptah has created, what Thoth has written down, heaven with its affairs, earth and what is in it, what the mountains belch forth, what is watered by the flood, all things upon which Re has shone, all that is grown on the back of earth" (Gardiner 1947: Onomasticon of Amenemope). The earliest example of this genre dates back to the MK, but the best-known composition, the onomasticon of Amenope, is from the 21st Dyn. (11th century B.C.). These Egyptian "catalogs of the universe" have been compared with the closing chapters of the book of Job (von Rad 1960; Keel 1978: 24). There are strong connections between the onomastica and the "satirical letter" (pAnastasi I), which may be regarded as just a variant form of presentation for a similar albeit more specialized material. The latest onomasticon, dating from the 1st and 2d centuries A.D., was discovered by J. Osing on a papyrus from Tebtunis. Here, we are dealing with a real vocabulary, because the material is arranged in linguistic categories.

The famous king-lists date from the NK and exist in monumental form at Karnak (Redford 1986: 29–34) and Abydos (ibid: 18–20), as well as on a papyrus (the "Royal Canon of Turin"). The papyrus list is much more complete than the monumental versions and represents the kind of sources on which Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* was based.

King-lists and annals have to be carefully distinguished from historiography; they contain no narration and thence do not attribute any specific meaning or significance to the past, but are simply tools of time reckoning and chronological orientation (Redford 1986). Similar attempts at systematization and

codification must have been undertaken for other fields of knowledge as well, but these are only indirectly attested. The beautiful reliefs in the solar sanctuary of Niuserre (5th Dyn. [Edel 1961–64]) and the reliefs of Thutmose III known as "Botanical Garden" (Porter Moss 1960–81, 2: 120) show a sophisticated level of biological knowledge. (The Punt reliefs in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari are similar.) A papyrus in Brooklyn with an ophiological treatise is still unpublished. The existence of legal codifications is, however, controversial (Allam 1984).

**(2) Medical and Mathematical Manuals.** Medical manuscripts exist in great numbers from the MK (pKahun, pRamesseum III, IV and V; and many medico-magical manuscripts) to Roman times (Reymond 1976). The most important manuscripts date from the NK, but may contain much older material (pEbers, pEdwin Smith, pHearst, pMedLondon, pMedBeatty VI, pCarlsberg VIII, and pMedBerlin 3038; a list is given in HO $1/2^2$ §36 pp. 212–14). The manuscripts differ very significantly from each other in the extent of magical elements. Some are almost free of magic (pSmith, pEbers, pDemWien), some almost free of technical medicine.

Medicine was the domain of the priests of Sakhmet, who were assigned to the "House of Life" and combined the highest erudition in all fields of science with magical competence (von Känel 1984; Ghalioungui 1983). The medical manuscripts, especially pSmith and pEbers, are excellent examples of "scientific prose." The individual sections follow strict formal patterns and often contain glosses written in red ink which explicate phrases and technical terms, or provide additional information or variant readings.

Mathematical manuals are attested from the MK onward (pRhind = pBM 10057+58 from the Hyksos period, copy of an MK original; five MK documents, others of Greco-Roman date). The NK is represented only by a section in pAnastasi I. The title of pRhind is of remarkable solemnity:

> Exact reckoning. The entrance into the knowledge of all that exists, everything obscure, ( … ), every secret. (Peet 1923: 33; Chace et al. 1927: 49)

The manuscripts give collections of mathematical problems arranged in systematic order (Gillings 1972).

**(3) Cosmographies. (a) "Funerary" cosmographies in the royal tombs.** The "Books of the Netherworld," which appeared as elements of wall decoration in the royal tombs since the reign of Thutmose I, can be viewed in two ways: (1) as the royal equivalent to the Book of the Dead, that is, as funerary literature (Barta 1985), and (2) as cosmographic codifications of knowledge about the netherworld and part of a "sacerdotal science" particularly connected with the solar cult (Assmann 1970). The earliest of these compositions are the *Amduat* (Hornung 1963–67) and the *Litany of Re* (Hornung 1975). The first is more descriptive, being an itinerary of the nocturnal part of the sun's circuit; the second is more liturgical, consisting of laudations in invocations of the sun god. But the *Amduat* also integrates, alongside descriptive passages, a great number of hymns and speeches into its cartography. Word and image are very closely related in this genre, the most striking feature of which perhaps being that it presents a vast amount of knowledge about the unknown in the same clear arrangement as the tables of Egyptian bureaucracy. There are no blanks in these maps of the netherworld.

After the Amarna period, other compositions of this type appear in the royal tombs: first the *Book of Gates* (Hornung 1980) and the *Book of the Heavenly Cow* (since Tutankhamun: Hornung 1982), later also the *Book of the Earth* (Piankoff 1953), the *Book of Caverns* (Piankoff 1946), the *Book of Nut* (Neugebauer and Parker 1960) and lesser documents (Hornung 1984). In these books, the descriptive and iconic parts recede in favor of the recitative parts, a distribution which might be indicative of their function as funerary literature (which is primarily recitation or incantation literature). One of these books, however—the *Book of Day and Night* (Piankoff 1942)—is exclusively descriptive but belongs to a recitative type, a cycle of sun hymns for each hour of the day, which occurs independently in contexts related to the solar cult (Assmann: "hourly ritual," *ÄHG* Nos. 1–12). The whole composition appears only in the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu. This proves the affiliation of the entire genre with the solar cult and its pertinent priestly knowledge. A very prominent feature of this literature is its hermetism. These are texts which, until the end of the NK, virtually never occur outside the royal tombs, which were hermetically sealed.

**(b) Geographic manuals of the Late Period.** It is only in the Ptolemaic period that comparably exhaustive and systematic codifications of knowledge referring to the terrestrial sphere appear. There must have existed manuals of religious geography comprising all the nomes of Egypt and indicating for each of them its capital, reliquiae, god and goddess, priest and chantress, bark and canal, tree and holy hill, dates of principal feasts, taboo, serpent, cultivated land and swamps. These manuals must have served as sources for the various processions of nomes and related compositions which appear with striking uniformity in many of the great Ptolemaic temples (Osing discovered an exact parallel to parts of the Edfu list on three papyri from Tebtunis, which proves that there existed a uniform and canonized tradition of religious geography for all the temples of Egypt).

There also existed monographs dealing only with particular areas, but in a more comprehensive manner, inserting mythical traditions, illustrations, and the like; the pJumilhac for the 17th and 18th nome of Upper Egypt (Vandier 1962) and the famous papyri of the Fayyum (Lanzone 1896; Botti 1959) are examples. Another document of religious geography in tabular arrangement is the pTanis 2 (Griffith 1889).

Another field of sacerdotal science was time reckoning and astronomy. The dates of most Egyptian feasts were based on astronomical observation and calendaric calculation, which were therefore of prime necessity for the cult and secondarily for the administration. Astronomical tables of the hours of the night occur already in MK coffins (Neugebauer and Parker 1960). Catalogs of temple libraries and Clement of Alexandria mention many titles having to do with astronomy and chronology (Fowden 1986: 58–59), but very little is preserved (Neugebauer and Parker 1960). Festival calendars, which form a regular part of temple decoration already in the NK, may be extracts from those chronologico-astronomical manuals.

Omen literature consists chiefly of oneiromantic (pChester Beatty III 1–11r; see Sauneron 1959; for Demotic sources, Volten 1942) and calendric manuals (calendric papyri with lists of lucky or unlucky days with mythological explanations: nine calendars, from MK onward [see Bakir 1966]; for Lunar omina, Parker 1959). A very typical example of what might be termed oracular literature are the *Amuletic decrees* of Dyn. 21–22, where the oracular decision of Amun-Re, the supreme deity, is recorded to protect any individual against all possible dangers coming not only from evil spirits, but also from major deities like Ptah, Thoth, Hathor, Sakhmet, and even Amun himself; the genre thus reveals a deep-rooted distrust and anxiety typical for this period, which extends even to the divine sphere (Edwards 1960). Security is only to be found in a supreme and transcendent deity far above the world, a deity whom the texts circumscribe in an elaborate panegyrical letterhead with the titles of the instance which issues the decree (*ÄHG* No. 131).

**3. Monumental Literature. a. Royal Inscriptions.** Inscriptions recording royal deeds begin with the 11th Dyn. They manifest a new concept of kingship wherein the king is no longer a god but the incumbent in a divine office and therefore under continuous need of legitimation. His legitimation is based less on any dogma that the king is the incarnation or son of a god than on his deeds, which he therefore proclaims by inscriptions erected in public space. But the "publicity" is directed more to a divine than to a human public, because it is the divine world whose acceptance matters most. Thus, the new concept of kingship, inherited as it seems from the nomarchs of the First Intermediate Period (whose autobiographies, characterized by the same need for legitimation, mark the very summit of the genre), lies at the root of a literary genre which soon becomes productive of significant and carefully formed texts.

One of the first examples, a building inscription of Sesostris I, was even copied centuries later because of its literary merits (de Buck 1938; Goedicke 1974). The literary form of this text, which became normative until the Late Period, has been termed "Königsnovelle" (royal novella: Hermann 1938). A royal decision of far-reaching consequences and its successful realization is framed by a scene of consultation between king and councillors, where reasons are given for the royal action and the superior insight and providence of the king are demonstrated. But even inscriptions which are not couched in the form of a royal novella often show the same concern for careful substantiation of royal actions as, e.g., the boundary stelae of Sesostris III at Semna and Uronarti (*AEL* 1: 118–19).

Another prominent feature of royal inscriptions are panegyrical amplifications of the royal "protocol" (the canonical sequence of five names and titles of the pharaoh). The earliest example occurs in the literary autobiography of Sinuhe (*ÄHG* No. 227), and hundreds of such "eulogies" occur in inscriptions of the NK. The eulogies develop two major themes: the king as warrior and as lord of temples and cults. During the NK there was a change in the general pattern of interpreting historical events; in the light of the new "theology of will" underlying the "Personal Piety" movement, events tended to be seen as divine interventions. The most striking examples of this new sense of history are the documents recounting the Battle at Kadesh (van der Way 1984; Goedicke 1985; *AEL* 2: 57–72), where the victory of Ramses II is attributed to a personal intervention of Amun in his favor, and the Israel Stela of Merenptah (*ANET*, 376–78; *AEL* 2: 73–78), where the victory over the Libyans represents the execution of divine judgment in a heavenly tribunal.

The summit of this new theology of history is reached in the inscriptions of Ramses III, perhaps the most pious king on the throne of Egypt, who expressed his piety in a beautiful hymn to Amun–Re (*ÄHG* No. 196; Oswalt 1968: 148–54) and numerous inscriptions in the form of interlocutory speeches between god and king (Görg 1975). It is to the piety of Ramses III that pHarris I refers in a post-mortem account of royal actions—especially donations—with lists, invocations, prayers, and a historical review recounting the overcoming of chaos at the turn from the 19th to the 20th Dyn. (Erichsen 1933; *ARE* 4 §§182–412; *ANET*, 260–62). This section is the most elaborate example of an ancient tradition of restoration texts that begins with inscriptions of nomarchs such as Anchtifi of Moalla and Kheti of Herakleopolis, who boast of themselves as having saved their respective territories from starvation and turmoil. The idea of the ruler as savior was adopted in the *Prophecy of Neferty* (*AEL* 1: 139–45) for the royal ideology and subsequently exploited in royal inscriptions, but only when the historical situation actually motivated such an interpretation, as in the expulsion of the Hyksos (Hatshepsut: Speos Artemidos Inscription), the restoration of the cults after the Amarna revolt (Tutankhamen, Haremhab, Seti I), the disturbances at the end of the 19th Dyn. (Sethnakht Stela, Elephantine) and at other turning points (Assmann 1983e).

**b. Biography.** See the separate article on EGYPTIAN BIOGRAPHIES below.

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JAN ASSMANN

## *EGYPTIAN BIOGRAPHIES*

### A. Content and Significance

Older than the Pyramid Texts, biography is the first literary genre known from ancient Egypt and the best attested. This must be attributed to the fact that the Egyptian biography was never a purely secular composition, i.e., a narrative produced for the entertainment or edification of the reader. It was, rather, a religious document and was essential to the preservation of a person's soul. Biographies are always found in holy precincts—either funerary or the temple. Even the "autobiographical" story of Sinuhe, a popular literary narration of extraordinary events in an official's life, uses the standard form of a funerary inscription. (For the way genuine biographies function in their religious settings, see below.)

The earliest known biographical inscription was written by a noble, Metjen, in the 4th Dynasty ca. 2620 B.C.E. (See Goedicke 1966: 1–71 for a somewhat whimsical translation and commentary.) From that time forward, virtually every official who could afford a tomb also dedicated a biographical inscription (van de Walle 1975: 815 provides a general bibliography).

An Egyptian biography opened with the deceased's names and titles to show that he had been a man of standing. Then followed a litany of stereotypical epithets (sometimes richly metaphorical) describing his moral virtues. A few highlights from his career might follow, though many Egyptian biographies omit them entirely. Egyptian biographies, in fact, rarely contain information we would consider historically significant. More typically, they record anything about a life which would demonstrate that the person who lived it was of high position and moral character, possessed temporal power, and served his king or god well.

Since the earliest biographies were inscribed at the entrance to the subject's tomb chapel—with the stated purpose of impressing passersby—an appeal to the living to give offerings, to say offering formulas, or simply to repeat the subject's name quite often followed the biographical passages, "for the breath of the mouth is beneficial to a man" who "lives by the repetition of his name." For a discussion of this idea, and of the accompanying notion that saying a formula costs the sayer nothing, see Spiegelberg 1908: 67–71. On the appeal to the living, see also Garnot 1938.

To an Egyptian, then, biography functioned as the prologue to an appeal, and it seemed most natural to appeal in the first person. This was so even in cases where the text specifically states that a pious son or other near relative had dedicated the monument. In most cases, therefore, it is not possible to say with any certainty whether a biographical inscription was written by its subject, for the vast majority of texts were written in the first person and appear to be autobiographical. In some few cases, such as the biography of Metjen, the inscription is written in the third person. Even more rarely, the author will address the subject of the biography, so that the form used is second person: cf. the Old Kingdom biography of Ptahshepses (Sethe 1904) and the two speeches addressed to Petosiris by his sons (Lefebvre 1923–25: no. 61).

### B. Biography as a Record of Ethical and Religious Thought

This general pattern obtained in Egypt throughout the 3,000 years that the Egyptian biography as a genre was in vogue. In addition, Egyptians continued to write these texts in hieroglyphs long after that

writing system had been superseded (first by hieratic, then by demotic Egyptian) for all but temple texts or state decrees. Despite the religious function of Egyptian biographies, however, and that people's undeniable respect for tradition, subtle changes crept into them—such as variations in the laudatory epithets or in the choice of deeds recorded. Though small, these modifications reflected the moral and religious climate of the times, making it possible to trace major developments in the intellectual history of ancient Egypt using biographical texts alone.

**C. Biographies Inscribed on Tomb Chapel Walls: 2500–1300**

Egypt's earliest biographies demonstrate to what degree the state, in the divine person of the king, had power over its subjects. The earliest courtiers were members of the king's own family, yet even the most powerful of them state that they owed everything, including life itself, to royal grace. One Old Kingdom noble proudly records how he was allowed to kiss the king's foot rather than the ground before it (*ANE* 1: 260). Another man relates how he accidentally brushed against the king's scepter during a ceremony, but His Majesty graciously allowed him to live unpunished (Sethe 1904: vol. 1, no. 232). The king is called the "Great God," while other gods are rarely mentioned. Though the troubles which ended the Old Kingdom put an end to such absolute royal power, the religious tenet that the king was the source and guardian of order in the world remained strong and ended only with the fall of the pharaonic system of government.

During the hard times of the First Intermediate period (2134–2040 B.C.E.), local rulers grew powerful in their own right, and their biographies display a whole new range of qualities for nonroyal persons. Nobles now assessed their worth by how well they had acted toward their fellows, and particularly toward their native cities in time of need. Many of the most common epithets with social content originated during the Old Kingdom, but with the coming of the First Intermediate period, a whole range of new laudatory phrases came into use. See Janssen 1952 for a collection of these epithets.

The advent of personal power also brought with it the concept of personal responsibility, and biographies from the Middle Kingdom (2040–1668) laid a new emphasis on the "justification" of a soul in the Judgment which follows death. The newly dead person was led before the Lord of Eternity, where the heart was weighed against the Feather of Truth. If it was found wanting, the heart was devoured by a monstrous beast, but if it balanced true, the person was "justified" and allowed to join the other Excellent Spirits in the hereafter (Yoyotte 1961).

The New Kingdom was a period of empire and wealth for Egypt and shows a new taste for narratives recording historical events. Each man sought to show how his own initiative had brought him favor in the eyes of the king. The fortunes of war also brought a certain democratization to the biographical genre, simple soldiers sometimes becoming wealthy enough to dedicate tombs and inscriptions of their own. One of the most famous early New Kingdom biographies is that of Ahmose, son of Ibana (Vandersleyen 1971). (For biographies from later in the dynasty, see Sandman 1938.)

**D. Biographies Inscribed on Statues of Nonroyal Persons and Placed in Temple Courtyards (1350 B.C.E.–50 C.E.)**

Toward the end of the New Kingdom, two high officials inscribed statues and placed them in a public courtyard of the Temple of Amun of Karnak. These were the first nonroyal persons whose names and forms were allowed to rest inside a god's house. Crouched like scribes in a public courtyard at the foot of stone images of the kings they had served in life, they urged all who came by to tell them their petitions. These powerful officials would then use their influence with the god (again, as they had done in life) to make sure the petitions were heard. The reward for such service was that those who remained on earth would say offering formulas in their name. The two owners of these statues were the great architect Amenhotep, son of Hapu, who lived during the reign of Amenhotep III (1386–1349 B.C.E.) and the vizier Paramessu, who very likely became King Ramesses I (accession date, 1293). Amenhotep's services were so popular that a deep groove has been worn away by the fingers of the faithful in the hieroglyphic text incised on the stone papyrus unrolled on the statue's lap.

The New Kingdom—like the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom before it—ended in a political fragmentation and social unrest. When the last Ramesses died ca. 1070 B.C.E., Egypt fell prey to outside

forces. It was ruled first by Egyptianized Libyans; then by Sudanese, Assyrian, and Persian invaders; and finally by a Macedonian dynasty, the last "Egyptian" pharaohs. In these troubled times, men could no longer trust in isolated necropolis priests and the occasional passerby to remember their souls. In ever increasing numbers, they consigned their personal inscriptions to the courtyards of temples—courtyards protected by strong walls from the depredations of war and frequented by literate priests and officials. Statues dedicated by private people come down to us in ever increasing numbers from the 22d Dyn. (ca. 945) on. Under Ptolemy II Philadelphus (280–250 B.C.E.), high Egyptian officials were still dedicating statues, sometimes of colossal proportions. Only one monumental statue, however, dates from the reign of his successor, Ptolemy III Euegertes, and it would appear that Philadelphus had effectively put a stop to the practice—if only by replacing Egyptian officials with Macedonians or Greeks. The Late period (1070–30 B.C.E.) biography, therefore, is generally inscribed on a statue of the subject. It addresses the god of the temple that housed the statue and records pious acts the subject carried out on behalf of that god. Egyptians were turning their backs on the realities of political chaos and foreign occupation, preferring to ignore the here and now in favor of the more palatable reality of the hereafter.

Occasionally, however, an Egyptian would mention a battle or a conquest if it impinged directly on his own concerns. One Egyptian doctor, for instance, who had found favor in Darius' court, recorded a dream in which his local god ordered him to hurry home. The dream took place when "the Greeks" (led by Alexander the Great) fought and defeated his Persian hosts. Upon arriving in Egypt, he dedicated an inscription to his god, thanking him with a biblical turn of phrase for his earlier successes abroad and his safe return home. He attributes all his good fortune to this local god, and to his own faithfulness to him:

> I am Your servant, my heart being loyal to You (and) I having filled my heart with You. I care for no city except Your city (and) I never cease putting its renown (about) among all peoples, my heart seeking out truth in Your house every day. On millions of occasions you acted for me as they (his pious acts) were good … You distinguished me before millions (though) You had turned your back on Egypt, putting love of me in the heart of the Ruler [of] Asia (Darius I) … You protected me during the battle of the Greeks when you repulsed the Asiatic nation, millions being slain at my sides, yet none raising his arm against me … I reached Heracleopolis (his hometown) with not a hair on my head being harmed (Tresson 1930).

**E. Personal Accountability and the Judgment after Death**

The longest and most revealing biographical texts to come out of Egypt's Late period are those inscribed on tomb walls of the nobleman Petosiris. Petosiris ruled a large portion of the country around the time that Ptolemy I Soter took the throne, founding the Ptolemaic Dynasty, in 305/4 B.C.E. He was also the high priest of the Thoth of Hermopolis Magna, and his tomb is decorated inside and out with carvings of Egyptians wearing Greek garb and colored with an un-Egyptian palette. The biographical inscriptions are written in several locations throughout the tomb, interspersed with strictly religious texts. These texts display a thoroughly Egyptian theology, but—like the drawings in the tomb—are heavily influenced by Greece in form (Lefebvre 1923–25: vol. 3).

Petosiris' little brother, for instance, offers a characteristically Greek lament for his own premature death. "He who hearkens to my story will be saddened on account of it," says Thotrekh. He stresses that he was seized abruptly from among the living "like a man whom sleep has taken" and sent to the City of Eternity, the harbor of the Blessed Souls." Once there, the child had to undergo Judgment like everyone else, and he describes the experience:

> I arrived at it, before the Lord of the Gods, (though) there was no judgment against (?) me … I arrived at this land of privation and the Lord of the Gods brought men to account, but no sin of mine was found (Lefebvre 1923–25: no. 56, lines 2–3, 7–8).

Petosiris, too, describes his own Last Judgment:

> The West (where the dead go) is the harbor for him who has no sin. Praise God for the man who reaches it! Not every man shall reach it, but only when he is scrupulous in doing right. The poor man is no different from the rich there, but only (the man who) is found (to be) without sin. The scales and the plumb bob are before the Lord of Eternity and there is no one without the pronouncement of his

reckoning. Thot-as-an-Ape sits upon his place to reckon every man ('s Fate) in accordance with what he did upon earth (Lefebvre 1923–25: no. 81, lines 16–22). (Drawings of the Egyptian Judgment after death show a small baboon sitting in the center of the crossbar of the scales.)

The Late period noble was accountable for his acts, but the biographies of this age make it clear that acts toward God counted most in the final accounting. One man, for instance, stresses that he invented a new way to embalm his local god's sacred animal—a feat accomplished under the noses of his Persian overlords. Petosiris' career comes down to us as a litany of services to various temples and gods. The Late period man "adhered to the Path of God," and God rewarded him. (For a discussion of the content of Late period biographies, including personal piety, see Otto 1954.)

Failures in piety, just as surely, led to awful retribution:

> This place, which the wretches were defiling …, the trespasser had trespassed upon it so that disturbance was in the entire land, and nothing was good in Egypt on account of it, because the halves of the Primeval Egg (from which all life came) were buried in it (Lefebvre 1923–25: no. 81, lines 63–68).

**F. Development of a Personal Relation to God**

Through the Egyptian biography, it is possible to trace attitudes from the earliest times, when the king was the supreme god. Later, as individuals seized the initiative, men began to take both credit and responsibility for their deeds. Both these attitudes carried over into the optimistic narratives of the New Kingdom biography, where a soldier forged his own way beside his king.

By 1070 B.C.E., Egypt was war-torn and chaotic, and neither the state nor the individual was sufficient to hold off invaders or poverty from the land. Men now turned to God and entrusted their biographies to the temples. In this new climate a Late period noble might take credit for his special abilities—like the chief judge and vizier who said he was "piercing of mind like Thoth, so that the laws of the Tribunal were (made) in accordance with his prescriptions" (statue of Ḥr, Staatliche Museen 7737, Berlin, unpublished). He might take credit for his services to society, like the man who claimed he (and his statues) were a cure for snake bite (Sherman 1981). But chiefly, the Egyptian of the Late period sought to show that he had been a pious man, for only the pious were rewarded both in this life and the next:

> For he was one (who adhered) to the Path of God. He carried out his life in happiness, richer than all his peers. He grew old in his city. He was a respected man in his province. All of his limbs were sound—he was like a youth. His children were numerous beside him as rich men among the townsfolk, son inheriting from son. The sight of him was like that of the sun when it sets. Awe of him was in the hearts of men, (while) love of him was in the hearts of women … He was one who was a follower of (the god) Khenty-Imentet, and never was there a complaint of God against him (Lefebvre 1923–25: no. 61c, lines 28–31).

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ELIZABETH J. SHERMAN

## *EGYPTIAN LOVE SONGS*

Some 40 love songs, ranging in length from 4 to 140 stichs, have survived from ancient Egypt. These songs are of interest both for their intrinsic poetic value and for the parallels they offer to the Song of Songs. (All references to love songs here are according to the enumeration in Fox 1985: 5–6.)

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A. Dating and Cultural Background
B. Selections
C. Function of the Egyptian Love Songs
D. View of Love
1. Personae
2. Sex Roles and Distinctions
3. Sexual Relations
4. Concept of Love

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### A. Dating and Cultural Background

The extant manuscripts of the Egyptian love songs date from the 19th Dyn. (ca. 1305–1200 B.C.E.) and the early part of the 20th (1200–ca. 1150 B.C.E.). The major manuscripts are: Papyrus Harris 500, the earliest of the group (a collection of twenty-one short songs and a short story, "The Predestined Prince"); Papyrus Turin 1965 (a three-stanza song about trees in a garden); The Cairo Love Songs (two songs of seven stanzas each, written on a vase, now broken); Papyrus Chester Beatty I (a seven-stanza song spoken alternately by a girl and a boy who see each other and fall in love, a three-stanza song spoken by a woman waiting anxiously for her lover, one collection of seven songs, as well as the legend of Horus and Seth). Additionally there are a number of ostraca from Deir el-Medineh with short songs or song fragments.

While it is possible that these love songs were composed earlier and transmitted either orally or in writing before being inscribed in the extant manuscripts, it is most likely that their composition too dates from the Ramesside period. The love songs are in literary Late Egyptian, a written literary language taught as a "second language" in the scribal schools at this time.

### B. Selections

The following selections from various poems give a sense of the songs' character: playful, tender, erotic. They include some of the favorite themes of love poetry: description of the feelings of love, "lovesickness," the love trap, praise of the beloved. Note that the lovers refer to each other as "brother" and "sister," terms implying intimacy (the Song of Songs too uses "sister" as a term of affection, e.g., 4:9, 10, 12; 5:1, 2).

A maiden tells her lover of her determination:

My heart is not yet done with your lovemaking,
Your liquor is (your) lovemaking.
I will not abandon it
until blows drive (me) away
to spend my days in the marshes. (no. 4)

In "Alba" theme, a lover complains of the breaking of dawn after a night of love. In the following passage, a girl scolds the dove for heralding the dawn:

The voice of the dove speaks. It says:
"Day has dawned—
when are you going (home)?
Stop it, bird!
You're teasing me.
I found my brother in his bedroom,
and my heart was exceedingly joyful. (no. 14)

Love causes "lovesickness," whose symptoms are lassitude, even a sort of paralysis, and considerable confusion:

When I behold sweet cakes,
(they seem like) salt.
Pomegranate wine, (once) sweet in my mouth—
The scent of your nose alone
is what revives my heart.

Compare Cant 2:5; 5:6b. The phrase "scent of your nose" alludes to the practice of nose kissing; cf. Cant 7:9b.

I will lie down inside,
and then I will feign illness.
Then my neighbors will enter to see,
and then my sister will come with them.
She'll put the doctors to shame,
for she will understand my illness. (no. 6, complete)

The following youth is drunk on the liquor of love:

I'll kiss her,
her lips are parted—
I am merry without beer. (no. 20G)

The "love trap" theme speaks of the girl as a trap, or alternatively, a lasso, whose charms ensnare the willing boy (cf. Cant 7:6a). The following selection uses that theme in a riddle: how can it be that the maiden is skilled with the lasso yet catches no cattle?

How skilled is she—my sister—at casting the lasso,
yet she'll pull in no cattle!
With her hair she lassos me,
with her eye she pulls me in,
with her thighs she binds,
with her seal she sets the brand. (no. 43, complete)

The "Praise Song," which describes the beloved part by part, is found in several Egyptian poems and in the Song of Songs (4:1–7; 5:10–16; 7:2–10a). In the following selection, taken from a more complete description, a youth watches a girl walking past his house and says to himself:

One alone is my sister, having no peer:
Behold her, like Sothis rising
at the beginning of a good year:
shining, precious, white of skin,
lovely of eyes when gazing. (no. 31)

**C. Function of the Egyptian Love Songs**

We do not know the role the love songs played in Egyptian society, but can only attempt to infer it from their contents. They do not seem to be wedding songs, for they never speak of the couple as presently married or as about to be. Furthermore, none of the songs express the hopes for the couple's future that would be appropriate in wedding festivities. Nor do they show any signs of a religious-cultic function, such as a Sacred Marriage liturgy, which, as the Mesopotamian Sacred Marriage songs show, can be expected to emphasize strongly the connection between the divine sexual union and the fertility of the land. The Egyptian songs show no interest in fertility.

The Egyptian love songs were probably meant simply for entertainment. The headings to three groups state their purpose as "entertainment," lit., "diverting the heart." The same phrase labels scenes of banquets in Egyptian tombs, scenes that frequently include musicians and singers. While no love songs have been found in such scenes, the type of occasion they portray—banquets on both holidays and ordinary days, when family and friends would come together to eat, drink (sometimes to excess), and enjoy musicians and dancers—would be most suitable for listening to songs about love.

**D. View of Love**

The extant love songs come from different times and places. They do not present a unified concept of love. It is, nevertheless, possible to summarize the main attitudes and concepts they share and to sketch the way love and lovers appeared to the ancient Egyptian poets. We should keep in mind that the love songs present an ideal of love and not necessarily a social reality.

**1. Personae.** The lovers portrayed seem to be quite young and all unmarried. While many of the songs do not give hints about the lovers' age and social situations, those that do show us young people living with their parents and under their supervision. Since marriage in Egypt probably took place in the late teens for males and the early or middle teens for females, we may surmise that the love songs show us young people in the short time between childhood and marriage.

**2. Sex Roles and Distinctions.** The relationship portrayed in the Egyptian love songs is essentially egalitarian. The songs do not show a rigid conception or strict stereotype of the ways the sexes behave. The behavior of the sexes differs from one song to another, with males being the more active and assertive in some, females in others.

For the most part, however, the girls are more intent on love and more sexually assertive than the boys. In poems with the love trap theme, which compare falling in love to being trapped or lassoed (e.g., no. 43, above), the girl is always the trap or trapper. On the other hand, the love trap theme does not embrace a "femme fatale" stereotype (although the "femme fatale" is prominent in Egyptian stories). In general, the boys are awed by the powerful effect their girls have on them, but they do not try to affect them in return. They see themselves as "captured," their hearts as "taken."

**3. Sexual Relations.** The Egyptian love songs are deeply erotic without dwelling on the details of sexual activity. The songs treat sexual intercourse with restraint and indirection, but not with embarrassment, coyness, or apology. The sex act is never described, even euphemistically, though certain motifs allude to genitals or intercourse, such as the "cave" of the beloved (nos. 40, 41) or the "seal" with which she "brands" him (no. 43, see above).

Although sexual intercourse, in the view of the Egyptian love songs, is not restricted to marriage, the lovers often look forward to marriage, and their relation is almost never a mere dalliance. (One poem, in contrast [nos. 41–42], seems to describe activities in a brothel). The lovers sometimes say that they will possess each other forever. In the following, their lying together is the start of a life together:

> How lovely is my hour (with you)!
> This hour flows forth for me forever—it began when I lay with you.
> In sorrow and in joy,
> you have exalted my heart.
> Do not (leave) me. (no. 17)

In general, the intensity of the lovers makes us feel that they are intent on a lifetime together, even when this is not said explicitly. Yet marriage is never the focal point of the songs. The lovers concentrate on their immediate experience, which, when it is a happy one, they expect to continue throughout their lives.

**4. Concept of Love.** The love poets show young love as a great force that creates a moral order of its own, for love demands—and engenders—total commitment. Obedience to its demands overrides other considerations. One stakes all for it and shares in its power, or hesitates to obey its dictates and so feels the pangs of hopeless desire.

The effects of love's power are shown as diverse and paradoxical. Love is the dominant force in a lover's life, giving illness or health, weakness or power, pain or pleasure. In fulfillment, love gives a delight that only a concatenation of sweet images can even start to convey. In the absence of the beloved, love's power agitates and disturbs, confusing tastes and nullifying normal pleasures. The presence of the beloved restores life and health. The imagery of the Egyptian love songs thus implies a general state of being: love fulfilled is harmony, wholeness, health, life.

Much of the energy of the poems goes into a description of love's feelings. This concern gives the Egyptian love poems an introspective focus. Moreover, none of the Egyptian love poems are dialogues. In poems where two lovers speak in alternating stanzas, they do not speak to each other, but to an indefinite audience, or in their hearts, in two separate soliloquies. This absence of communication distinguishes the

Egyptian poems from the Song of Songs, which is largely composed of interlocking dialogue. The Egyptian poets create a variety of personalities and study each one in isolation, painting a picture of love as a state of emotion more than a relationship between individuals. It seems important to the lovers (and the poets behind them) to communicate just what is going on inside. In contrast, the urgency of the lovers in Canticles is to tell what they see in each other. They display their emotions rather than reporting on them, for it is the relationship that arises from the emotions of love, more than the emotions themselves, that concern the poet of the Song.

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MICHAEL V. FOX

## *EGYPTIAN WISDOM LITERATURE*

Egypt's reputation for wisdom was extolled by biblical writers (1 Kgs 4:30—Heb 5:10; Acts 7:22) as well as classical authors. Nevertheless, the designation "wisdom literature" was borrowed from OT scholars, who coined the term for those books which dealt primarily with the personified figure of the preexistent Wisdom so intimately associated with the "fear of God." The Egyptian expressions for "wisdom" lack this connotation of the Hebrew word *ḥokmâ.* The central concept in the Wisdom Literature of Egypt was *maʿat,* a word variously rendered as "truth," "righteousness" or "justice," but also meaning "order," especially the divinely ordained cosmic order.

Egypt shared with her neighbors in the cultural continuum of the Near East. Like them, her understanding of the nature of the universe found expression in mythology; like them, she enshrined the experience of generations in sentential sayings or proverbs. Her reflections on life—its meaning and the ways by which its demands might be met—eventually became what we call "wisdom literature." However, there is no unanimity on a fixed body of texts comprised under this heading. The "wisdom" tradition is an attitude to life and conduct, and may be found to permeate many works which are not properly regarded as wisdom texts, e.g. biographical inscriptions and the Coffin Texts.

The mistaken view that Egyptian wisdom was predominantly nonreligious and utilitarian, especially in its early stages, has been conclusively refuted (de Buck 1932). Throughout its history, this literature had a religious basis, although there is a steady and significant development perceptible (Schmid 1966: 8–84).

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A. Instructions
1. Old Kingdom Texts
2. First Intermediate Period Texts
3. Middle Kingdom Texts
4. New Kingdom Texts
5. Late Period Texts
B. Speculative Works
C. Scribal Literature
D. Fables

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### A. Instructions

The earliest known wisdom compositions were compiled by high court officials for the training of the young who were being groomed for government service in scribal schools. The writer addresses his son (i.e. pupil), offering advice regarding such topics as courteous behavior, moral conduct, obedience, and felicitous and effective speech. These treatises were entitled *sbōyet,* a term which has the twofold sense of instruction, both mental and moral, as well as chastisement.

**1. Old Kingdom Texts.** In the Old Kingdom (ca. 2686–2181 B.C.) such writings were attributed to royal persons or viziers, and were intended for the children of the aristocracy. The earliest, according to later tradition, was the work of Imhotep, the illustrious vizier of Djoser, but no trace of it has survived. The *Teaching of Hordjedef*, a son of the 4th Dyn. ruler Cheops, was also renowned in later ages. This has been partially reconstructed from 17 ostraca of Ramesside date (Dyn. 19–20) and a much later wooden writing board (Dyn. 26). Only the beginning has so far been recovered (*AEL* 1: 58–59).

The concluding portion alone of the *Teaching for Kagemni* (*AEL* 1: 59–61) is preserved on a single manuscript of Middle Kingdom date, so that the author is unknown. We are informed that the recipient, Kagemni, was appointed vizier under Huni and Sneferu, rulers of Dynasties 3 and 4 respectively. However, the only vizier of this name served under Teti of the 6th Dyn. Scholars are inclined to regard the work as pseudonymous, originating in the 6th Dyn. or slightly later. The writer advises against gluttony and urges self-control.

The first complete example of this type occupies the same manuscript as the preceding work. This is the *Teaching of Ptahhotep* (*AEL* 1: 61–80), described as vizier under Isesi of the 5th Dyn., although no evidence for such a historical person has been found. This treatise too may be pseudonymous, and arguments for a date in the 6th Dyn. have been made. A lengthy prologue is followed by 37 maxims and an epilogue. The sage counsels proper conduct on all occasions and recommends such virtues as obedience, self-control, honesty, patience, and generosity. Copies of the text on three other fragmentary papyri, one writing board, and three ostraca dating from both Middle and New Kingdoms reveal that at least two editions were extant. The enduring popularity of this composition is evident from both allusions and citations in later texts, some perhaps as late as the 7th century B.C.

**2. First Intermediate Period Texts.** The collapse of the Old Kingdom was followed by a series of weak, ephemeral rulers during the First Intermediate Period (ca. 2181–2040 B.C.). Rival dynasties arose at Heracleopolis and Thebes. The *Teaching for Merykare* (*AEL* 1: 97–109) is represented by three 18th Dyn. papyri, but the beginning is damaged. Ostensibly composed by a ruler of the 10th Dyn. at Heracleopolis, probably Achthoes III, for his son and successor, Merykare, it is likely to have been commissioned by Merykare as a work of political propaganda in the form of a royal testament (Williams 1964: 15–19) and ascribed to his deceased father. Advice is given concerning the appropriate attitude toward subjects and enemies and how to select adherents and foster their loyalty. The earlier confidence in material success as a reward for good conduct had been severely shaken and such recompense is now projected into the afterlife. The whole text maintains a high moral tone and lauds the beneficence of the creator god in a hymn.

**3. Middle Kingdom Texts.** The reunification of Egypt by Mentuhotpe II inaugurated the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2040–1786 B.C.). All the instructions from this period have political overtones. The *Teaching of Ammenemes* (*AEL* 1: 135–39), like the previous document, is cast in the form of a royal testament. In it Ammenemes I of the 12th Dyn. vividly describes an attempt on his life and warns his son, who will succeed him as Sesostris I, to beware of court conspiracies. The view of many scholars that this too is a pseudepigraph written after the assassination of Ammenemes to legitimize the accession of Sesostris is supported by ostraca which have recently come to light (Foster 1981). An encomium on ancient authors written 500 years later identifies the revered scribe Khety as the author of this tractate. The complete text is provided by 6 scrolls, 3 writing boards, and 197 ostraca, all of New Kingdom date. A tiny scrap of papyrus from the 26th Dyn. or later testifying to yet another copy shows that the work was read and copied for fourteen or more centuries.

Another example of a political document has been given the modern title of the *Loyalist Teaching* (*AEL* 1: 128). It probably originated early in the Middle Kingdom and contains a panegyric of the ruler, followed by an exhortation to be loyal subjects. An abbreviated version of the first part of the text was later incorporated in the biographical stela of Sehetepibre, an official of Ammenemes III. Later New Kingdom copies on three papyri, one writing board, and sixty-five ostraca have assisted in the restoration of the second half of the text, which describes the conduct a master should exhibit toward his serfs (Posener 1976, with complete translation). The author's name is not preserved.

The *Teaching of a Man for His Son* is the anonymous title of a similar composition which is still being pieced together from fragments of one leather roll, five papyri, and some eighty ostraca, all from the New Kingdom. It is clearly of Middle Kingdom origin, and begins with a long prologue, followed by a section devoted to the same theme of loyalty to the sovereign (translation in Kitchen 1969). A further section treats the subject of daily conduct between individuals (Posener 1979; translation of part in Kitchen 1970). A writing board contains what appears to be an excerpt from another Middle Kingdom production on the theme of allegiance to the king (Barns 1968). The copy dates from the late 16th century B.C.

**4. New Kingdom Texts.** The didactic treatises of the New Kingdom (ca. 1567–1085 B.C.) were no longer concerned with political affairs, nor were they written by or for members of the aristocracy. The 18th Dyn. witnessed the establishment of an extensive Egyptian empire which may have aided the rise of the national god Amon-Re to universal status. Although polytheism continued, a certain tendency toward syncretism was developing and moving in the direction of henotheism. The period also witnessed a gradual growth of personal piety. In the Old and Middle Kingdoms the concept of the ideal person as "silent," i.e. self-controlled, disciplined, and modest, became increasingly prominent, and by the New Kingdom also implied an inner calm and repose.

A minor official was responsible for the *Teaching of Any* (*AEL* 2: 135–46) which was probably composed in the 18th Dyn. Five papyri (none complete) and nine ostraca preserve this text, but the introduction has been lost. However, a writing board bears the opening title in both Middle and Late Egyptian. The work consists of a prologue, some thirty maxims, and an epilogue which takes the form of an argument between Any and his "son" over the varying abilities of persons to comprehend instruction. A manuscript from the 19th or 20th Dyn. exhibits a later recension of the composition.

It is likely that the *Teaching of Amennakhte* is contemporary with the preceding text. The beginning alone remains, partially reconstructed from 6 ostraca. The writer addresses his apprentice Harmin, urging him to pursue his scribal studies. It has been suggested that the contents of Papyrus Chester Beatty IV, verso, 1:1–7:2, may be a later part of this work (translation of the latter in Gardiner 1935: 37–43).

Another New Kingdom text has been restored in part from 7 ostraca. It is unique in consisting only of prohibitions and appears to be an anthology. A limestone flake bears the words: "Instructive teaching … according to ancient writings," which could be the title of this intriguing collection.

The *Teaching of Amenemope* (*AEL* 2: 146–63) is the best-known representative of this period because of the likelihood that it was the inspiration for Prov 22:17–23:14 and Jer 17:5–8 (see Bryce 1979). It has survived complete on a papyrus of the 26th Dyn. with excerpts on three equally late writing boards. One sheet of a papyrus duplicate from the 21st or 22d Dyn. and a single ostracon of the same date (which is a schoolboy copy) imply, however, that the original must go back at least to the 12th century B.C. A long prologue is followed by 30 numbered chapters, the last of which serves as an epilogue. Great emphasis is laid on honesty and concern for the disadvantaged, and personal piety is stressed. The dominant theme is that of the "silent" man who is self-controlled and, above all, modest. He is contrasted with the "passionate," i.e., quick-tempered man.

**5. Late Period Texts.** From the Late Period the earliest work of this type so far known is written on a long and very fragmentary papyrus, probably of the 4th century B.C., although the original may well have been older (Posener and Garnot 1963). When published by Dr. R. Jasnow, valuable light may be shed on this obscure period. A novel feature of the text is the high regard expressed for the farmer and his importance to the economy.

Some insight into the pervasiveness of wisdom thought in this period, however, may be gleaned from some passages occurring in the biographical texts on the walls of the family tomb of Petosiris, who served as high priest of Thoth at Hermopolis during the late 4th century B.C. The priest now appears as a sage. For instance, the conventional appeal to passersby to make funerary offerings to the deceased also requests them to profit from the words of advice (Barucq 1961). Expressions like "way of God," "fear of God" and "will of God" are frequent. The close kinship between these texts and the biblical Psalms, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes is a noteworthy feature.

Beginning in the mid 7th century B.C. the vernacular form of the Egyptian language was written in a simplified, cursive script called by Herodotus "Demotic." The didactic treatise still continued to flourish in the Demotic era, but with a significant structural difference: the couplet used in the maxims of earlier ages has given way to the "aphoristic monostich" (Lichtheim 1983: 1–12), a short prose sentence of one line. Another important feature is the impact on Egyptian sages of other cultures, notably Aramaic and Hellenistic.

The *Teaching of Ankhsheshonqy* (*AEL* 3: 159–84) was discovered on a long papyrus scroll written in the late 1st century B.C. The beginning of the text and the top lines of all twenty-eight columns are lost. The citation of lines, some in sequence, on two papyri of 2d century B.C. date suggests that the original goes back to the early Ptolemaic period. The maxims are embedded in a narrative framework which recounts Ankhsheshonqy's imprisonment on a charge of plotting against the pharaoh's life. This recalls the story of the wise Ahiqar which was current in Egypt not only in a 5th century B.C. Aramaic text from Elephantine, but also in a Demotic version (Zauzich 1976). There are striking parallels between some maxims in the two compositions (Lichtheim 1983: 13–65). The most significant themes concerning the wise man versus the fool and the certainty of retribution, together with two formulations of the Golden Rule.

A papyrus of the 2d century B.C., now in the Louvre, contains a short work of only three columns: the *Teaching of Pordjel.* This is one of the texts which quotes lines from Ankhsheshonqy; it appears to be a collection of aphorisms with no thematic arrangement (translation in Lichtheim 1983: 94–98). Such random compilations are known from several fragmentary papyri and an ostracon of similar or slightly later date.

The most familiar document is *Papyrus Insinger* (*AEL* 3: 184–217) which preserves thirty-four columns virtually intact. However, a number of papyrus fragments belonging to the missing first nine or so columns are dispersed in several museums and still await publication. This manuscript is to be dated to the 1st century A.D. Five more papyri, all incomplete, provide further copies and are also of Roman date. These show great variation in wording and in the order of lines and sections. The maxims are divided into twenty-five numbered "teachings" arranged by subjects. Some of the topics dealt with are: the wise or godly man versus the fool or impious man; moderation in all things; Fate and Fortune, now clearly in the developed Hellenistic sense of *anankē* and *tychē* (Lichtheim 1983: 107–96). The author's name is lost, unless the mention of Phibhor at the end of the text is a reference to him.

Still more Demotic treatises are known, e.g., a text of considerable length in Berlin is now being prepared for publication by Dr. U. Kaplony-Heckel.

**B. Speculative Works**

Under this heading are included those compositions which display a reflective attitude toward life and the universe. They may take the form of a discourse or a prophecy by a sage, or occasionally a dialogue. Frequently pessimistic and skeptical, they question accepted beliefs and customs. Many include the theme of national disaster which was to become a mere literary topos (*AEL* 1: 149–50; Junge 1977).

The *Admonitions of Ipuwer* (*AEL* 1: 149–63) occupy a single manuscript of 19th Dyn. date. The beginning and, therefore, the setting are lost. In its present form it can be no earlier than the late 13th Dyn. (Van Seters 1964). A penetrating study suggests that the main body of the work was produced probably between 2180–2130 B.C. (Fecht 1972). The first half of this may be the "Prophecy of the Court" referred to in *Merykare* (line 71); the second part takes the form of a dialogue between the sage Ipuwer and the creator god. The deity is held responsible for the current ills of the land. A later editor is credited with additions which reflect the conditions of the 17th century B.C.

The *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* (*AEL* 1: 169–84) survives on four fragmentary papyri of the late Middle Kingdom. Between them they render the text virtually complete. The scene is set in the reign of Achthoes II (ca. 2100–2050 B.C.). A humble oasis dweller (not a "peasant") is robbed on a flimsy pretext by a tenant farmer. When he complains to the high steward, the latter is so impressed by his eloquence that he contrives to delay the sufferer's defense until he has made nine long speeches of complaint full of wit and extravagant metaphor. In this work the Egyptian love of fine speech is apparent, but of far greater importance is the cry for the rights of the common man which is the focal point.

For the *Prophecies of Neferty* (*AEL* 1: 139–45) we possess one papyrus and two writing boards, all from the 18th Dyn., as well as twenty-one ostraca. The composition is attributed to a lector priest during the reign of Sneferu in the 4th Dyn. Summoned to display his rhetorical abilities before the ruler, he foretells the accession of Ameny, who will restore the troubled land to order. This Ameny is none other than Ammenemes I, who inaugurated the 12th Dyn. Clearly we have yet another tractate designed as propaganda to give divine approval to this king who was a usurper.

Only one 18th Dyn. writing board and one ostracon represent the *Lament of Khakheperresonb* (*AEL* 1: 145–49). This priest of Heliopolis strives for original and novel expressions with which to decry the lamentable state of the nation. No purpose other than a display of rhetoric is apparent, but this may be only the beginning of a longer work. It was produced during or soon after the reign of Sesostris II.

The *Dispute of a Man with His Ba* (*AEL* 1: 163–69) is known only from one 12th Dyn. papyrus for which the beginning is lacking. The text is unique in depicting an argument between a man and his *ba*. This term, usually rendered as "soul," actually designates the vital forces, both mental and physical, which are released at death and by means of which the deceased continues his existence. The work is a vigorous assault on the traditional costly material provision for the afterlife (see EGYPTIAN RELIGION).

One very fragmentary Middle Kingdom papyrus is the only source for the *Discourses of Sisobk.* The beginning and ending are lost. The speaker in the narrative, a scribe named Sisobk, is apparently a prisoner. His release is announced and he delivers a series of counsels. The text is too damaged for connected translation (Barns 1956: 1–10).

The *Harpers' Songs,* carved on tomb walls and funerary stelae and depicted as sung by a blind harpist, number about two dozen. A few may fittingly be grouped with these reflective compositions. The best known one is introduced by the words: "A song which is in the tomb of (King) Inyotef," most likely referring to one of the rulers of the 11th Dyn. It was discovered complete on a papyrus of the 19th Dyn. as well as in a damaged duplicate on the wall of an 18th Dyn. tomb at Saqqara. Like the *Dispute of a Man with His Ba,* this text expresses skepticism with respect to expensive mortuary preparations and advocates a hedonistic attitude to life. In a Theban tomb of the 18th Dyn., two other songs are inscribed, one attacking the skepticism of the earlier song and the other attempting to moderate its hedonistic and unorthodox views (translations in *AEL* 1: 194–97; *AEL* 2: 115–16).

**C. Scribal Literature**

Teachers produced a rich and variegated literature for the edification of their pupils. In addition to providing models of correct speech and patterns for letter writing, they emphasized the development of character and social behavior.

*Kemyt,* "compendium," is not strictly a title, but rather the description of a manual produced during the early Middle Kingdom for the use of beginning students. Its contents include a selection of epistolary formulae, a model letter, and an assortment of suitable sentences. It was widely used in New Kingdom schools, as the great number of copies attest. The introduction was found on an 18th Dyn. writing board; the remainder was reconstructed from a large mass of later ostraca. Despite the date of these copies, the pupils were taught to write the text in vertical columns in accordance with the Middle Kingdom custom.

This work was later quoted in the *Satire on the Trades,* the creation of the famous scribe Khety early in the 12th Dyn. pseudonymously attributed to an unknown minor official. Attested by 4 papyri, 2 writing boards, and some 250 ostraca, it clearly outstripped all other texts in popularity. Its theme was new: a glorification of the scribal craft to the disparagement of any other occupations (translation in *AEL* 1: 184–92). Later centuries saw a flood of variations on this topic, and citations from the original work appeared as late as 264 B.C. The theme also inspired Jesus ben Sira, ca. 190 B.C., to compose Sir 38:24–39:11.

*Papyrus Lansing* is a 20th Dyn. manuscript of one of a dozen or more "miscellanies" which were compiled by teachers. This example includes model letters, a pupil's eulogy of his teacher, praise of the scribal profession, and echoes of the *Satire on the Trades,* with advice to the pupil regarding work habits (translation in *AEL* 2: 168–75).

The so-called *Scribal Controversy* or *Satirical Letter* has been preserved virtually intact on Papyrus Anastasi I and in fragments or excerpts on four other papyri and seventy-three ostraca, all of Ramesside date. The original was probably composed during the reign of Ramesses II. In it a military scribe is mockingly interrogated on his knowledge of subjects such as mathematics, geometry, geography, and military logistics (translated in Erman 1927: 214–34).

Lexicographical lists which we call *Onomastica* were produced in Egypt as in Mesopotamia, differing mainly in their order. They were compiled during the period from the late Middle Kingdom down to the Ptolemaic era, and included meteorological and geographical terms, plants, animals, titles, professions, etc. A New Kingdom example bears the title: "The teaching in order to enlarge the mind and instruct the ignorant to know all that exists." It has been suggested that these lists lay behind biblical passages such as Job 38–39 or Prov 30:24–31 (von Rad 1955).

**D. Fables**

Literary evidence of fables in Egypt, unlike Mesopotamia, is lacking until the New Kingdom. It is probable that, since fables were primarily an element of folklore, they were transmitted orally and only later began to assume a written form. Support for this view derives from the numerous sketches on papyri and ostraca which depict animals acting as humans, often in satirical situations. These probably represent both beast fables and animal epics. The earliest pictorial evidence begins just before the start of the 3d millennium. Fables were an important medium of entertainment and instruction (Williams 1956; Brunner-Traut 1959).

A wooden label of the 18th Dyn. belonging to a lost papyrus roll bears the legend: "Book of the Sycamore and Moringa." From this we may deduce that plant or tree fables of the contest type were current in Egypt as in Mesopotamia. However, the earliest written fable from Egypt is that of the *Dispute between the Head and the Stomach.* It appears on a very fragmentary writing board of the 22d Dyn. and was clearly for schoolboy use. The protagonists argue their respective merits before a tribunal of thirty judges (see Brunner-Traut 1963: 126, 278–79).

The *Tale of Truth and Falsehood* is inscribed on a 19th Dyn. papyrus. This work, which lacks its introduction, was doubtless originally in oral form. It is an allegorical folktale, and this is the first time that personified abstract concepts were thus employed in Egyptian literature. Truth is blinded by his younger brother Falsehood as the result of a quarrel. Eventually, through the efforts of Truth's son, Falsehood is convicted by a tribunal, blinded, and sentenced to servitude. Thus good triumphs over evil (translation in *AEL* 2: 211–14).

The *Myth of the Sun's Eye* is a lengthy Demotic text with both beginning and ending lost. For it we are dependent on three papyri, one still unpublished, all from the 2d century A.D. An ostracon of the 14th century B.C. offers an unmistakable illustration of the contents and shows that the original form of the work was much earlier. Indeed, after it was rendered into Demotic there must have been several versions or editions, for the scribe provides variant readings and editorial glosses. The mythological frame-story recounts the search for the Eye of Re (i.e. his daughter Tefnut) who had fled south to Nubia. Re's envoy is Thoth, in the guise of a baboon, whose task is to persuade the goddess to return to Egypt. This he does by a series of arguments and blandishments, in the course of which he relates six fables. Two of these turn up in the Aesopic corpus (translation of two fables in *AEL* 3: 156–59; of all in Williams 1956: 19–23). A papyrus of the 3d century A.D. preserves a Greek version of the Demotic text.

A few other Demotic fables survive on scraps of papyrus and potsherds as school exercises. One pottery jar of the 1st or 2d century A.D. records the fable of the *Swallow and the Sea* which has a parallel in Sanskrit literature (translation in Williams 1956: 18–19).

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**EGYPTIAN ORACLES.** See ORACLE (ANCIENT EGYPT).

**EGYPTIAN RELATIONS WITH CANAAN.** The following article is a presentation of the relation of Egypt with Canaan between the Early Bronze Age and the Persian Conquest.

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A. Introduction
B. The Early Bronze Age (ca. 3200–2000 B.C.E.)
C. The Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2000–1550 B.C.E.)
D. The Late Bronze Age (ca. 1550–1200 B.C.E.)
E. The Iron Age up to the Persian Conquest (ca. 1200–525 B.C.E.)

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### A. Introduction

"Canaan" is used here in its broadest sense to include the Levantine coast as far north as Ugarit (modern Latakia), southern Syria, and all of Lebanon and Palestine. Throughout its ancient history, the normal political structure within Canaan was the city-state, an autonomous unit with its own government, based on an agricultural economy. There were scores of such city-states in Canaan, political unity among them being achieved only by military conquest, usually be foreign powers. Some cities became larger and more powerful than others through trade, treaties, or cultural domination, but the essentially independent city-state remained the rule. Egyptian political structure was the opposite. Forced into cooperation by a single water source, Egypt maintained a united state from the Mediterranean south to Aswan, down the narrow corridor of rich agricultural land fertilized annually by the Nile Flood. The deserts to the east and west of the Nile Valley were, like Canaan, foreign territory. Political unity in Egypt collapsed from time to time, but by and large, the united state existed through most of its ancient history.

Cultural, economic, and political contacts were thus between a united Egypt and the individual independent city-states of Canaan. When the time came, around 1550 B.C.E., for Egypt to create an Asiatic empire, it was created swiftly. The city-states of Canaan had little stomach for unity; the very independence they craved made them easy prey to a whole series of conquerors who came from all

directions. Before 1550 B.C.E., however, relations between the two regions were largely commercial. Egypt normally had an excess of foodstuffs, which Canaan did not. Egypt also had control of the gold mines of the eastern mountains and of the land and sea routes to the Sudan and Ethiopia whence came ebony, spices, and other luxuries. Canaan supplied raw materials Egypt did not possess and, through the Levantine cities, made possible Egyptian participation in international trade.

The chronology of these relations must be given in general terms until the early 1st millennium B.C.E., when written documents are numerous enough to correlate more than isolated events or rulers. Egyptian chronology, upon which that of Canaan depends, is less certain before 2000 B.C.E. than after. At the beginning of the 3d millennium B.C.E., the margin for error is rather large (Hassan 1980; Shaw 1984) but grows much smaller as one approaches the 2d millennium. The Egyptian chronology adopted here is generally that of Trigger et al. (1983).

**B. The Early Bronze Age (ca. 3200–2000 B.C.E.)**

Contacts between Egypt and Canaan can be discerned in the Chalcolithic Age but were too few and sporadic to be meaningful (Ben-Tor 1982: 4; Kantor 1965: 6–7). Reliable evidence begins to appear in the Egyptian Late Predynastic period and 1st Dyn. (ca. 3200–2890 B.C.E.), contemporary to the Canaanite EB I Age. At this time, there was a rather sudden change only recently defined by new excavations.

Egyptian material, mainly pottery, has been found at several EB I–II sites in southern Palestine, and Palestinian pottery of this period has long been known from Egyptian tombs (Ben-Tor 1982: 4–6; Helck 1971: 33). Of special interest is the site of ʿEn Besor (Gophna 1976), where Egyptian material is more abundant than Canaanite and includes a substantial number of Egyptian Protodynastic cylinder seal impressions (Schulman 1976; 1980). Also new is a series of sites along the northern coast of Sinai, where again Egyptian material is dominant (Oren 1973). Since the Egyptian pottery at both ʿEn Besor and the Sinai sites includes ordinary household ware, it is generally felt that Egyptians resided there.

The interpretation of this and related material varies between Egyptian domination and control over southern Canaan and northern Sinai and the more moderate claim that this is evidence of trade. The much-discussed theory of an Egyptian invasion of Canaan at the beginning of the 1st Dyn. does not seem likely (literature in Ben-Tor 1982: 9). But some kind of military activity against Asiatics in this period is evidenced by small ivory labels portraying Asiatic prisoners and the entry "smiting the Asiatics" for two 1st Dyn. kings on the Palermo Stone (Helck 1971: 15–16; Drower and Bottéro 1971: 357). The location of this military activity was within the Delta itself (Smith 1967) or anywhere east of the Delta. The word *s<u>t</u>.tyw*, "Asiatics," used in these texts may be derived from *S<u>t</u>.t*, an old border town of the Delta, so that the term could mean all foreigners beyond Egypt's eastern Delta frontier, not specifically Canaan. At any rate, it is tempting to relate this Egyptian material to the swift growth of the numerous settlements in northern Sinai noted above.

It is difficult to say what products were involved in this early commercial contact. The seal impressions from ʿEn Besor were used to seal sacks, indicating that Egypt was already exporting grain and other dry products. The Canaanite pottery found in Egypt is of a kind used for transporting liquids, perhaps wine and oil. As for technology, metallurgy must have been brought into Egypt from the metal industry of the Wadi Arabah, active already before the Early Bronze Age (Rothenberg 1972). The long-held view that at least some agricultural techniques were also imported is given support by Conti's study (1978) of Egyptian agricultural terms, many of which are loanwords from Semitic.

The close commercial ties with Palestine during the Protodynastic period apparently ceased before the beginning of the Old Kingdom (ca. 2700–2185 B.C.E.), and, on present evidence, were not resumed during that period (Ward 1963: 20, 25–26; Ben-Tor 1982: 6). The only Old Kingdom contacts with Palestine now suggested are a few military incursions of a temporary nature (Helck 1971: 17–21), and even these may rather have taken place in the eastern Delta or the Sinai coast (Goedicke 1963). This rather surprising situation can be explained by the shift of Egyptian commercial interests during the Old Kingdom to Byblos and southern Sinai, where valuable raw materials could be obtained.

Byblos, already in contact with Egypt before this time, became the focus of Egyptian trade in western Asia from the Old Kingdom on (Helck 1971: 21–24). From here came the coniferous woods of the

Lebanese mountains as well as the oils and resins they produced. The wood itself was in great demand as building timber and for making coffins, chests, statues, and the like. The oils and resins were used in mummification, for perfumes, and in medicine. Through Byblos, Egyptian commercial interests spread indirectly to inland Syria and the Aegean world.

The copper and turquoise deposits of southern Sinai provided another source of wealth not available in the Nile Valley. These mines were first worked by colonists from southern Canaan from the Chalcolithic period to EB II times (Amiran, Beit Arieh, and Glass 1973) and were then exploited by Egyptian mining expeditions from the early 3d to the mid-6th Dyn. (Gardiner, Peet, and Černý 1955). The primary Egyptian interest in Sinai was turquoise, there being no evidence that they ever worked the copper mines there. They may well have traded for copper ingots with the local inhabitants, who had long experience in that industry, but copper was more readily available in the Eastern Desert both in Egypt and Nubia. The latter may have been exploited as early as the Old Kingdom, but this remains uncertain. The mines of the Wadi Arabah were not exploited by anyone after the Chalcolithic period until the late 2d millennium B.C.E.

Hence, the apparent cessation of contact with Palestine seems largely due to the need for raw materials by a swiftly expanding and wealthier Egyptian economy. Palestine, with far less to offer, could not compete and was thus seemingly ignored. But in spite of the lack of direct evidence, it is difficult to believe that all trade contacts were broken. At the very least, Egyptian grain and other foodstuffs must still have been imported since Palestine was a natural market for such products all through Egyptian history.

By the late Old Kingdom, however, most commercial contacts were terminated for some time, due to far-reaching events that overtook both Egypt and Canaan in the period ca. 2300–2000 B.C.E. This period, traditionally designated EB IV and MB I, is being intensively studied through the wealth of new discoveries in Palestine and Syria (Dever 1970; 1980; Gerstenblith 1983).

In Egypt, the gradual transfer of power from the state to the provincial governors and an increasing economic strain brought on the collapse of the central government (Trigger et al. 1983: 175–77). Symbolic of this decline is the fact that the last datable Old Kingdom inscription in Sinai is ca. 2250 B.C.E. By the end of the 6th Dyn., the disintegration of the Egyptian state was complete. There followed a period of over a century of internal strife and competing dynasties until ca. 2050 B.C.E. when unity was again established under the Middle Kingdom. During this same general period, all the known towns and cities of Palestine were destroyed or abandoned. Urban culture disappeared and was replaced by a kind of modified nomadism for over two centuries. Then, roughly contemporary with the rise of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom, urbanism slowly revived in the early Middle Bronze Age. A similar disruption occurred in coastal Syria, though to a lesser degree. There is some evidence that at least a sporadic trade contact was maintained between Byblos and the western Delta (Ward 1971: 49–58).

Until recently, it was generally felt that these events were historically related, the catalyst being an Amorite invasion that brought a new culture to Palestine and coastal Syria and was partially responsible for the fall of the Egyptian Old Kingdom. Both the Egyptian and Canaanite evidence for this hypothesis has been challenged and the whole theory of an Amorite invasion seriously undermined (Dever 1980; Liverani 1973; Ward 1971). The breakdown of urban culture in Canaan is now seen more as a result of climatic change, which brought on a period of desiccation from ca. 2300 to ca. 2000 B.C.E. (Crown 1972). This also affected Egypt, though to a lesser extent (Trigger et al. 1983: 179–83), internal political and economic weakness being the prime causes for the collapse of the Old Kingdom.

**C. The Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2000–1550 B.C.E.)**

For the period of the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2050–1650 B.C.E.) there is considerable evidence of extensive contacts between Egypt and western Asia, though this is largely restricted to the 12th Dyn., 1991–1785 B.C.E. (Posener 1971; Helck 1971: chaps. 5–10). Both archaeological and textual material of this dynasty attest to Egyptian exploitation of the Sinai mines, a strong cultural and commercial presence at Byblos, and a growing Asiatic population resident in Egypt in various capacities. Egyptian objects, from royal statues to amulets, have been found throughout Canaan, including statuettes and seals of

several Egyptian officials. The archaeological documentation is far more extensive than before, and it is evident that Egypt was very much a part of the east Mediterranean world.

But the nature of the role Egypt played eludes us. The evidence, which is extensive and includes datable texts and objects, remains inconclusive. There is still a wide difference of opinion as to whether Egypt actually ruled Canaan during the 12th Dyn. or only had a commercial interest there. The cautious assessment of Kemp (Trigger et al. 1983: 137–47) is perhaps the best approach.

The problem is both chronological and interpretive. The end of the Middle Bronze Age is fixed by the initial military moves of the 18th Dyn. into western Asia around the middle of the 16th century B.C.E. (Weinstein 1981). But the dates for the beginning of this period and the transitions from one archaeological phase to another are still debated. Lacking a generally accepted solution, the position adopted here is that of Dever, Yadin, and others. The key date in the present context—the transition from MB IIA to IIB—occurred ca. 1800 B.C.E., though different scholars propose this date for different reasons. Thus, the MB IIA period, characterized by small unfortified settlements in Palestine and large urban centers in Syria, was contemporary with the 12th Dyn. The MB IIB period, characterized by large fortified towns in Palestine and major Syrian cities such as Ebla and Mari, falls roughly contemporary with the Egyptian 13th Dyn. (ca. 1785–1650 B.C.E.).

Egyptian literary evidence tends to confirm this. The wanderings of the fugitive Sinuhe in Palestine and southern Syria toward the beginning of the 12th Dyn. finds him among seminomadic tribes in regions which were at least partially sedentary (Posener 1971: 553–54). The Execration Texts, which divide into two collections of the later 12th and early 13th Dyn., are often interpreted as representing political changes in Palestine. The earlier group names only one-third as many Palestinian towns as the later, and this may reflect growing Egyptian trade interests as well as the increasing number of fortified settlements in the late MB IIA and early MB IIB periods (Weinstein 1975: 13). While the import of these texts is still uncertain, they at least prove that Egypt was well aware of events in Palestine and kept rather close track of its northern neighbors.

The interpretive aspect of the problem centers around the statuary and scarabs naming kings of the 12th and 13th Dyn. found in Canaan. There are half a dozen royal monuments, mostly from Syrian sites; half a dozen inscribed private statuettes, mostly from Palestine (Helck 1971: 68); and a little over a dozen scarabs each of kings and officials of these dynasties (Tufnell 1984: pls. 51–53). Very little of this material can be proved to have arrived in western Asia at its time of manufacture: a multiple seal impression of Senwosret I from Gezer (Giveon 1967: 31), possibly scarabs of Senwosret I and II from Ruweisé near Sidon (Tufnell 1984: 152), and three pieces of statuary from Ugarit (Ward 1979). Opinion is divided as to whether all this material should be considered positive evidence of Egyptian control or at least contact during the Middle Kingdom or whether it arrived in Asia at a later date as booty or *objets d'art* (Helck 1976). At present, neither position can be adopted without question. Indeed, far too much has been made of certain of these objects, such as the statuette of the Nomarch Thuthotep found at Megiddo. This, like all other statuary found in Palestine, was discovered in a later archaeological context and is therefore of no use in interpreting foreign relations of the Middle Kingdom.

In spite of modern attempts to defend an Egyptian empire in Canaan at this time, the only hint of military activity is the long known statement of Khusebek that he raided in the district of Shechem in the reign of Senwosret III. The military activity of Nesumontu in the reign of Amenemhēt I is not specifically located but was probably in the desert region east of the Delta (Helck 1971: 42–43). A recently published text (Farag 1980) said to describe Asiatic wars of 12th Dyn. kings is instead a donation stela of the Empire period. Royal annals, the major source for this kind of information, either never existed or have disappeared owing to the dismantling of buildings for later construction. The lack of information on military actions in the north may therefore be due to accidents of preservation.

In attempting to define the relations between the 15th or "Hyksos" Dyn. (ca. 1650–1550 B.C.E.) and the contemporary Canaanite MB IIC Age, one meets similar problems (general survey: Kempinski 1983). There is ample evidence of contact, though the nature of this contact is obscure: was it basically commercial, or was a strong political element involved? Even the origin of the Hyksos rulers is still

debated. Some 18th Dyn. texts and the 3d century B.C.E. Egyptian historian Manetho preserve the tradition of a barbaric invasion of Egypt by northerners at the end of the Middle Kingdom, a view maintained by some modern historians (Helck 1971: 93–94; Giveon 1974; Weinstein 1981: 8–10). However, an alternate view is gaining more general support. The gradual increase in the Asiatic population in the east Delta during the Middle Kingdom created a foreign community of some size. With the weakening of central authority toward the end of the 13th Dyn., these Egyptianized Asiatics usurped political power in the east Delta—as did their 17th Dyn. contemporaries at Thebes—and established the "Hyksos" 15th Dyn. (Van Seters 1966: 121–26; von Beckerath 1964: 123–29; Bietak 1977: cols. 93–94; the 14th and 16th Dyn. never existed). As should be expected, this event was not entirely peaceful, and related groups from southern Palestine may have joined forces with the Asiatics already in Egypt. There is some destruction at Middle Kingdom sites in the eastern Delta, followed by settlements along the Nile fringe with substantial Canaanite MB II Age influence (Bietak 1977: cols. 98–99). In the south, there are hints in contemporary texts of trouble at Thebes (Vernus 1982: 134–35) though this was local and unconnected with events in the Delta.

The geographical extent of 15th Dyn. domination is unknown. Various theories propose anything from an empire stretching from Nubia to Syria to a small east Delta kingdom with vassal states. A contemporary text, if taken literally, places the boundary between the 15th and 17th Dyn. at Cusae, near Assiut. Less sure is the idea that the 15th Dyn. ruled over southern Palestine, a theory supported principally by the numerous scarabs of Hyksos-period kings and officials discovered there (Giveon 1974; Weinstein 1981). These scarabs have a chronological value, but there are many explanations as to why they and hundreds of ordinary ones should find their way to Palestine; they need not be political documents. However, it seems logical that Egyptian rulers of Asiatic origin might find natural allies in Canaan. The character of this alliance remains to be determined.

One factor is significant. Apart from the MB II material along the east Delta fringe, Egyptian culture remained Egyptian and Canaanite culture remained Canaanite. The term "Hyksos" applies only to the 15th Dyn. kings and the contemporary kinglets with Semitic names. There was no "Hyksos people" nor a "Hyksos culture," even though the word is often used in this manner. The "Hyksos period" means only the time of the 15th Dyn. in Egypt and the MB IIC Age in Canaan; the phrase has no ethnic, political, or cultural connotations. A large amount of Egyptian material has been found in Canaan, in particular the ubiquitous scarab, and Canaanite material other than that from the east Delta sites has been found in Egypt (Kantor 1965: 22–23); all this, however, represents only the normal residue of trade.

The major items said to have been imported into Egypt are the Canaanite fortifications typical of the period, the so-called Tell el-Yahudiyeh pottery style, and the horse and chariot. Though statements are still made to this effect, the theory was effectively challenged over thirty-five years ago (Säve-Söderbergh 1951). It is now generally felt, though not without some opposition, that the "Hyksos fortifications" at Tell el-Yahudiyeh and Heliopolis are temple foundations, the Yahudiyeh pottery was introduced before the 15th Dyn., and the horse and chariot do not appear in Egypt until the very end of this period (Helck 1971: 102; Van Seters 1966: 184; Dever 1985). The only really new element in Egypt at this time is the introduction of Semitic deities, chiefly Baal, who was identified with the Egyptian god Seth (Van Seters 1966: chap. 12). Other than this and their Semitic personal names (Ward 1976), the Hyksos rulers maintained the native Egyptian civilization. It has been proposed that a new political form standard in western Asia, the overlord and vassal, was introduced into Egypt at this time (Van Seters 1966: 162–70). However, hints of this political pattern always appeared in Egypt in times of disunity, so it seems more a natural process, dictated by historical necessity, than one that needed foreign inspiration (see HYKSOS).

It is around this time that many scholars place the biblical Patriarchs, though this problem is still being intensively examined and argued with no consensus of opinion. Three recent works which have analyzed the evidence all conclude that the historical setting of the patriarchal narratives is the 1st millennium B.C.E. rather than the 2d as commonly believed (Redford 1970: 241–43; Thompson 1974: 324–26; Van Seters 1975: 309–12). But this is still not a solution, since this does not place the Patriarchs themselves in a specific historical context, only the postexilic version of their lives.

A third chronological possibility is based on a significant point which seems to have been obscured by the very mass of literature on the OT: Joseph lived to see his great-grandchildren (Gen 50:23), and Moses was the great-grandson of Joseph's brother Levi (Gen 46:11; Num 26:58–59). Hence, Joseph could still have been alive when Moses was born, an event which occurred in the fifth generation after Abraham. Now the Hebrews are said to have been associated with construction at Pithom and Ramesses, which Uphill (1968–69) has plausibly identified with Heliopolis and Pi-Ramesse, the latter a new city in the eastern Delta (modern Tell ed-Dab‹a–Qantîr) built primarily by Ramesses II (1289–1224 B.C.E.). It would thus appear that Moses lived during the reign of that king and that the lives of the Patriarchs from Abraham to Joseph spanned the 14th century B.C.E. Again, there is no consensus.

Unfortunately, there is not one unequivocal episode, event, or detail in these narratives which proves when the Patriarchs lived, when Joseph served in the Egyptian court, or when Moses led his followers out of Egypt. Nonbiblical sources provide no certain point of reference prior to the period of the divided monarchy. Even Egypt, with which the Joseph and Moses traditions are so intimately connected, is totally mute with regard to the existence of the Hebrews or any event in which they were involved. The earliest clear Egyptian reference to biblical history is the mention of "the land of the Hebrews" in a Demotic papyrus of the mid-1st millennium B.C.E. (Redford 1970: 201). The appearance of "Israelites" on a stela of Merneptah is almost universally accepted as the sole Egyptian reference to earlier biblical events, but this translation of the term involved is debatable.

On the other hand, there is no reason not to accept an underlying historicity in these narratives. Much has been written, for example, concerning the Egyptian background of the Joseph stories (Vergote 1959; Redford 1970; etc.), and it is quite clear that this background is accurate. The names of Joseph's wife and father-in-law are good Egyptian names. The ring, linen garments, and gold collar given to Joseph when he took office (Gen 41:42) are precisely the gifts bestowed by Egyptian kings on deserving officials, and his approximate Egyptian titulary as Minister of Agriculture can be reconstructed (Ward 1960). That foreigners, even those of low station, could ultimately achieve important positions is confirmed by other documents. Dream omina are well known in Egyptian texts, Joseph's age of 110 when he died is an Egyptian idiom meaning a ripe old age (Gen 50:22), and the embalming and mourning periods of forty and seventy days (Gen 50:3) conform to Egyptian custom. The basic issue, then, is not whether the Patriarchs lived, but when. In spite of decades of intense scholarly endeavor, the question still remains to be answered.

**D. The Late Bronze Age (ca. 1550–1200 B.C.E.)**

Two new features characterize Egyptian relations with Canaan during the Empire period (1552–1069 B.C.E.): Egypt's political and military domination of the area, and the confrontation with the Hittite and Mitanni Empires. Furthermore, we need to depend less on archaeological material since written records are abundant, including Egyptian royal annals and archives from several Asiatic capitals. While the old commercial ties between Canaan and Egypt continued, the connection is now more a political one, with Canaan of the Late Bronze Age caught between the imperial aspirations of its neighbors.

From the beginning of the 18th Dyn. to the battle of Megiddo (ca. 1468 B.C.E.), Egyptian policy in Canaan was twofold. The initial thrust into Palestine in the mid-16th century was to break the power of the Hyksos allies in that area (Weinstein 1981; Vandersleyen 1971: 30–41), and the succeeding campaigns of Ahmose, Amenhotep I, and Thutmose I in the Byblos area must have been to secure the old center of Asiatic trade (Redford 1979: 274–77). Probing expeditions went down the Orontes Valley and toward the Euphrates, but little territory was actually held. These initial military moves into Syria took place in a period when momentous events were reshaping the historical orientation of that area.

The catalyst was probably the Syrian campaign of the Hittite king Muršiliš I, who, sometime in the 16th century B.C.E., destroyed the important city of Aleppo and went on to sack Babylon as an ally of the Kassites. The latter, tribal groups from the Zagros Mountains, then established their own rule over Mesopotamia which would last over four centuries. This was not the first Hittite incursion into north Syria, but certainly the most decisive (Gurney 1973: 243–51). Internal troubles forced the Hittites off the stage for another century, but the north Syrian kingdom of Yamḫad and the 1st Dyn. of Babylon had

disappeared. The new political power in north Syria became the Hurrians, a people originating in the Caucasus who had been filtering into the region for centuries. By the 16th century, the Hurrians formed a large population group from east of the Tigris to the Mediterranean. Under the rule of an Indo-Aryan aristocracy, they were a dominant element in the Mitanni Empire (Drower 1973: 417–23). The western border of the latter reached to the upper bend of the Euphrates; from there to the sea stood the allied kingdom of Mukiš with its capital at Alalaḫ.

The relation between the campaign of Muršiliš I, the subsequent events in north Syria, and the Egyptian move into western Asia is bound up in the long-standing controversy over the chronology of the period. According to the "middle chronology" adopted in the latest edition of *CAH*, the Hittite campaign took place in 1595 B.C.E., contemporary with the Egyptian 15th Dyn. By the "low chronology," Muršiliš' campaign was in 1531 B.C.E., which would place this major disturbance in north Syria at about the time the kings of the early 18th Dyn. were gaining their foothold in the Byblos region (Helck 1971: 111; Redford 1979: 277–79). The latter date is the more attractive but cannot be proved.

The true beginning of the Egyptian Empire in western Asia came with the reign of Thutmose III (1490–1436 B.C.E.). Having finally thrown aside the "regency" of his mother-in-law Hatshepsut, this king led his army northward, defeated a large coalition of Canaanite cities at Megiddo (1468 B.C.E.), and effectively took control of Palestine. This and subsequent campaigns established Egyptian rule in western Asia up to the borders of the Hurrian states of north Syria and the Mitanni Empire. This Egyptian Empire remained more or less intact until the reign of Ramesses III (1184–1153 B.C.E.). Even during the troubled times described in the Amarna letters of the second half of the 14th century B.C.E., when a new Hittite move into Syria fomented rebellion among Egyptian vassals, only the northern provinces were lost. The Egyptian military response was not negligible (Redford 1973a) and Egyptian garrisons were still maintained at important towns (Pintore 1972).

During the Amarna period (1364–1333 B.C.E.), the aggressive policies of the Hittite king Šupiluliumaš brought about the end of the Mitanni Empire and the rise of Hittite sovereignty in northwest Syria. This policy was continued by his successors so that until the mid-13th century the major power with which Egypt had to contend in the north was Hatti (Spalinger 1979b). Much of the Empire was regained by Sety I (1303–1289 B.C.E.) in a series of campaigns which consolidated Egyptian rule once again throughout Palestine and southern Syria. He fought at least one war with the Hittites but did not achieve his goal of dislodging Hittite forces from the key fortress city of Kadesh. This city roughly marked the boundary between the two powers (Faulkner 1975: 218–21; Spalinger 1979a).

The troubles with Hatti came to a head in the 21st year of the reign of Ramesses II (1289–1224 B.C.E.) when, after sixteen years of warfare, the two powers fought their last battle at Kadesh. The result was a draw, and both nations realized there was little use in further hostilities. A long nonaggression and mutual assistance pact was agreed to, and Egypt and Hatti remained allies until the fall of the latter around 1200 B.C.E. (Faulkner 1975: 226–29; Kestemont 1981).

Still, Ramesses II had to subdue revolts among his Palestinian vassals, as did his successor Merneptah (1224–1204 B.C.E.), indicating that the Asiatic provinces were less easy to control than before. This was but symptomatic of a slowly gathering unrest around the east Mediterranean. Both kings had to repel Libyan tribes attempting to force their way into the western Delta. And at the battle of Kadesh the Egyptian and Hittite armies included mercenaries from the west, the vanguard of a storm which would end both empires and the Late Bronze Age in Canaan.

This was a group of tribes known as the Peoples of the Sea in Egyptian records, though only some were actual seafarers (Sandars 1978). Originating in western Anatolia, the Greek Islands, and perhaps as far away as Sardinia, these tribes moved eastward into the Levant, destroying every state in their path. Their move across Anatolia and the final collapse of the Hittite Empire is described in the archives from Boghazköy. They then moved through Syria and into Palestine and, in the reign of Ramesses III (1184–1153 B.C.E.), they tried but failed to invade Egypt. From Cilicia to Gaza these invaders destroyed the coastal cities, some tribes settling there. The last documents written at Ugarit, actually found in the baking ovens, describe the land and sea war in which that city was engaged just before its fall (Astour 1965).

Cyprus fell to these invaders, and one group, the Pelset, settled on the coast of Palestine, thus giving this region its modern name.

Ramesses III, the last Egyptian conqueror, may have had to deal with a successful rebellion in the Asiatic provinces which had occurred just prior to his reign (Goedicke 1979). He made a valiant effort to delay the inevitable by military campaigns in Palestine and by reinforcing or establishing garrisons there. The pressure from the new invaders and the collapse of effective resistance in the north left Egypt as the only major power to contend with the situation. But internal problems had weakened the state so that with the reign of Ramesses III Egypt ceased to be an international power, its Asiatic empire gone (Faulkner 1975: 244–47).

Weinstein (1981: 12–22) has shown that Egyptian administration in the Asiatic provinces differed somewhat after the Amarna Age from what had been before. During the 18th Dyn., it was sufficient to maintain small token garrisons and resident ambassadors in key cities. In the 19th and 20th Dyn., military occupation was much more evident, and Egyptian temples may have been built at various sites. Royal and private monuments of the Ramesside age are far more numerous than previously. The reason for this change in policy may have been the rise of Hittite power in the north. The 18th Dyn. had had to contend with the Mitanni Empire and its allies, but this was not a difficult problem to overcome. With the Hittite invasion of north Syria during the Amarna period and constant Hittite interference within the boundaries of Egyptian vassals, a stronger Egyptian presence among those vassals was necessary.

Throughout the Empire period there was an intense commercial and cultural exchange. Foreigners came to Egypt in large numbers in many capacities: merchants, prisoners of war, mercenaries, etc. From the time of Horemheb at the end of the 18th Dyn., Egyptian kings often appointed foreigners to high government posts. Children of vassal princes were brought to Egypt to live at court and be educated in Egyptian culture. Temples to foreign deities appeared in Egypt, and a few of these deities gained minor positions in the Egyptian pantheon. A large number of foreign words were borrowed into the Egyptian language, and Egyptian scribes had to learn Akkadian, the international language of the time. Translations were made of Canaanite literary works, and there is some Asiatic influence in art and in craft work.

Contacts went the other way too, of course. Egyptian expeditions regularly went to the turquoise mines of Sinai and the copper mines of the Wadi Arabah, now worked again for the first time since the Chalcolithic period (Rothenberg 1972 chap. 3). The craft of ivory carving, a well-developed industry in Canaan, was strongly influenced by Egyptian originals (Kantor 1956) and Canaanite artists may even have studied in Egypt. Numerous Egyptian words were borrowed into the Canaanite languages, and Egyptian influence has been suggested in the Proto-Sinaitic and Byblos syllabic scripts (Lambdin 1952; Albright 1966; Mendenhall 1985).

**E. The Iron Age up to the Persian Conquest (ca. 1200–525 B.C.E.)**

From the collapse of the Egyptian Empire in Asia ca. 1150 B.C.E. to the fall of Babylon in 539 B.C.E., the precise political relations between Egypt and Canaan are difficult to define. In Canaan itself, the Lebanese maritime cities maintained a semi-independence though they paid tribute to Assyria and Babylonia from the 9th century on. Coastal Philistia under its Indo-European rulers, the Hebrew state in the hill country, and the kingdoms of Edom and Moab in Transjordan represent the new political structure in Palestine. All these states were subject to conquest from the east and, to one degree or another, were absorbed into the Neo-Assyrian Empire (early 9th century to 605 B.C.E.) and the Neo-Babylonian Empire (605–539 B.C.E.). While the Egyptian state was not passive, for much of this period it was internally divided and played a minor political role in Canaan. Egypt itself was subject to invasion by both the eastern empires as well as its powerful new southern neighbor, the kingdom of Napata in Nubia. At those times when Egypt was a united sovereign state, its foreign policy was basically defensive, and there was an increasing dependence on allies among the Greek cities (Trigger et al. 1983: 337–43).

The old ties between Egypt and Byblos seem to have been greatly weakened. Around 1065 B.C.E., the Egyptian official Wenamon went to Byblos to purchase timber and the rude treatment given him by the Byblian ruler is symbolic of a new attitude toward Egypt (Leclant 1968). Datable Egyptian objects of the period are rare at Byblos, the most notable being statues of three 22d Dyn. kings who ruled in the period

950–850 B.C.E., two of which were further inscribed with Phoenician texts by local kings. Whether these statues represent political, cultural, or commercial relations is still debated (Kitchen 1973: 292, 308–9, 324; Redford 1973b: 15–16).

Egyptian ties elsewhere in Canaan were characterized by interference in local affairs rather than direct action. The only successful military campaigns in Canaan were temporary ventures prior to the appearance of the Assyrians on the scene. From then on, the few Egyptian military raids in the north ended mostly in defeat. It is of interest that the sparse Egyptian records are concerned with Philistia and ignore the Hebrew states. Egyptian connections with the latter are noted only in Assyro-Babylonian and biblical sources, with less trustworthy statements by classical authors.

Egyptian policy toward the Hebrew monarchy vacillated as the situation required. When King David (ca. 1010–970 B.C.E.) conquered Edom, Hadad, the crown prince of that kingdom, sought refuge in Egypt, where he was welcomed and eventually married to a member of the royal family (1 Kgs 11:14–22). This gave Egypt an ally east of the new Hebrew state. Early in the reign of Solomon (970–930 B.C.E.), the Egyptian king Siamon invaded Philistia, sacked Gezer, and gave that city as the dowry of his daughter, whom he married to Solomon (1 Kgs 9:16). Such diplomatic marriages sanctioned treaties between states so that the Hebrew kingdom, now at its strongest, became an Egyptian ally. Toward the end of Solomon's reign, Jeroboam, another fugitive from Hebrew justice, took refuge in the court of Shoshenq I of Egypt (945–924 B.C.E.), the first of the new line of Libyan kings of the 22d Dyn. Like Hadad of Edom, Jeroboam was welcomed and eventually returned to his country to lead a rebellion against Solomon's successor (1 Kgs 11:26–40). This turnabout in Egypt's policy toward Solomon was due to the long militaristic tradition of the Libyans and their desire to help break up the strongest state in Palestine.

In spite of his gesture of friendship to Jeroboam, shortly after the Hebrew monarchy was replaced by the smaller states of Israel and Judah, Shoshenq I embarked on the first major invasion of Canaan in over two centuries (1 Kgs 14:25–26; Kitchen 1973: 294–300). The biblical statement and Shoshenq's own record of this campaign show that his armies went through Philistia, Israel, and Judah. Jerusalem was not taken, as often stated, but paid heavy tribute, including the temple treasury.

During the following two centuries, Egypt was torn by the internal divisions of the 22d to 24th Dyn. and the domination of the kingdom of Napata which placed the Nubian 25th Dyn. on the throne (780–656 B.C.E.). Most of western Asia was absorbed into the Assyrian Empire. Some events of this period—about which Egyptian records are silent—are found in Assyrian and biblical sources. A minor Egyptian campaign into Canaan in 897 B.C.E. was defeated by King Asa of Judah (2 Chr 14:8–14—Eng14:9–15); a small Egyptian contingent joined the coalition defeated by the Assyrians in 853 at Qarqar; in 726 B.C.E., Hoshea of Israel attempted an alliance with "So, king of Egypt" against Assyria (2 Kgs 17:4; Kitchen 1973: 372–75); and in 701 B.C.E., Egypt and Hezekiah of Judah were again defeated by the Assyrians (Kitchen 1973: 385).

For the next fifty years, Assyria and Napata waged war for control of Egypt (Spalinger 1974). The Assyrians invaded Egypt twice with the intent of crushing Nubian control over Egypt, not to occupy the land themselves. These troubles were the impetus for the rise of a native dynasty, the 26th (663–528 B.C.E.), which ceased sending tribute to Assyria, now more concerned with the growing power of the Babylonians and Medes. Egypt regained a measure of influence over Philistia for a while and allied itself with Assyria against Babylon (Spalinger 1977). In the later 7th century B.C.E., with Assyrian power waning, Egyptian campaigns in the upper Euphrates region were beaten back by Babylonian forces. After the campaign of 610 B.C.E., Necho of Egypt was confronted by Josiah of Judah, who was enlarging his territory by absorbing the towns of Samaria. At the resulting battle of Megiddo, Josiah was killed (2 Kgs 23:29). Necho's final Euphrates campaign ended in another defeat in 605 B.C.E. at Carchemish (Jeremiah 46; 2 Chr 35:20), which opened the way for Babylonian moves into Canaan. Ezek 29:19–20 and later sources record Babylonian invasions of Egypt, but the one contemporary cuneiform source which notes an encounter between Babylonians and Egyptians is ambiguous as to the location of these hostilities (Spalinger 1977: 237–38). It is possible that the Babylonians were unable to actually invade the Nile Valley.

Two major events effectively ended Egyptian-Canaanite relations at the political level: the disastrous invasions of Canaan by the Babylonians in the earlier 6th century B.C.E., and the subsequent takeover by Persia, which invaded and annexed Egypt in 525 B.C.E. While the Phoenician cities continued to thrive under Persian rule (Elayi 1980), much of Palestine had been laid waste and, save for a brief period in the early 4th century B.C.E., pharaonic Egypt was finished as an independent power.

Throughout the Iron Age, trade and commerce played a major role in the political and military policies of the larger powers. The cities of the Levantine coast were in the geographical center of the sea and land routes which tied the ancient world together commercially from Europe to Persia and Arabia. As kingdoms and empires were formed, the growing demands of these states required more luxury products and raw materials. The empires came into being to protect these trade routes, capture the sources of raw materials, and collect extensive tribute from conquered territories.

Through all these centuries, the coastal cities of Syria and Palestine were the middlemen between East and West. By the 9th century B.C.E., Phoenician fleets opened up the routes to the west, the ultimate goal being the tin mines of Spain and the rich new markets of western Europe. As the focal point in the international trade between East and West, these cities were a rich prize for whatever empire controlled them. Just as important were their merchant fleets and navies and their expertise as shipbuilders and sailors. None of the oriental empires were really seafaring nations. Control of the trade cities thus meant indirect control of the whole Mediterranean trade structure, as well as experienced naval fleets when war at sea was necessary.

Even though Egypt was a weaker state in the Iron Age, it still attempted to maintain some contacts with the Phoenician harbor cities to the extent that the Assyrians forbade the latter to trade with Egypt. At the same time, Assyria, whose policy was to plunder rather than occupy foreign territories, maintained regular trade connections with Egypt. A desert separated Egypt from Assyrian vassals in Canaan, so the Philistine cities and the nomad sheiks of northern Sinai became the channel through which much-desired Egyptian exports—gold, linen, grain, papyrus—flowed into Assyrian hands (Tadmor 1966; Elat 1978).

Egyptian political influence in Canaan may have been sporadic during the Iron Age, but its artistic influence remained strong. This represents both the continuation of artistic influences begun much earlier and new contemporary ones. The ivory-carving tradition, already prominent in the Late Bronze Age, maintained its Egyptianizing character and was far more widespread (Barnett 1957). Scarabs and seals—imported or copied locally—were still common but with some differences. For example, hard stone was used far more often than previously, and new designs appear: scenes from the Osiris legend on seals made throughout the Mediterranean, and four-winged serpents on a small group of Hebrew seals, both designs of Egyptian inspiration. Such Egyptian or Egyptianizing objects spread from the Levant to Spain via Phoenician trade as well as from as yet unspecified manufacturing centers in Europe (Culican 1968: 50–54). Furthermore, a case can be made for the plundering of Egyptian cemeteries and temples in antiquity with the result that many objects were taken abroad outside the normal channels of trade. Also of Egyptian inspiration are the designs on Phoenician metal bowls, which were likewise a popular item of export to the whole ancient world.

A great deal of study has gone into the search for Egyptian parallels or origins for OT ideas and literary motifs. For example, Psalm 104 is said to be related to the Amarna sun hymns. Further parallels with Egyptian thought are claimed for Job, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles. Some aspects of the Hebrew kingship, including the coronation ritual, the position of the king relative to the temple, and the titles of Hebrew court officials are thought to be of Egyptian inspiration (Grieshammer 1972–73 cols. 163–66). However, such parallels are often illusory. Hymns and prayers to different deities may express similar ideas not through cultural borrowing but because of basic religious patterns common to all ancient cultures. And as Redford (1970: 191–92) has observed, one need look no further than Palestine itself for the origin of the titles of court officials of the monarchy. That there are Egyptian terms in the OT indicates nothing more than the fact that Hebrew shared in the general linguistic interchange of the age. The long-held view that Hebrew monotheism was somehow influenced by Egyptian ideas is incorrect since monotheism was

never part of Egyptian religious thinking until the advent of Christianity. In short, the Egyptian influence in the OT is not nearly as extensive as has been supposed.

Foreigners had long come to Egypt for various reasons, largely economic, but the foreign population was larger and more varied in the Iron Age. A main reason for this was the use of mercenaries in the Egyptian armed forces. This practice began in the 3d millennium B.C.E. and grew proportionately more pronounced as the army expanded. Libyans, Nubians, and Asiatics, many captured in war, provided the bulk of the mercenary forces, but in the Iron Age, Anatolians, Carians, and Greeks were also hired. Many of these foreigners were garrisoned in national groups within Egypt and, on retirement from active service, settled there permanently (Helck 1980).

Greeks were especially welcome and established a large trading colony at Naukratis in the Delta. When Egypt came under Persian rule, a Jewish military colony was set up on the island of Elephantine, opposite modern Aswan. This colony included a temple to Yahweh, the god of the OT. This growing foreign population, centered in the major cities especially in the Delta, helped set the stage for the cosmopolitan age which followed the taking of Egypt by Alexander of Macedon. This event brought on the Ptolemaic period, when Egypt once again became a world power, but that is part of a different story.

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**EGYPTIAN RELIGION.** The religion of ancient Egypt may be viewed in terms of the following categories:

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A. Polytheism
B. Communal Ritual
C. Divine Revelation

D. Personal Piety
E. Myth and Sacrament
F. Ethics
G. Afterlife
H. Anthropology of "The Soul"

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**A. Polytheism**

Though there have been repeated attempts to discern an underlying belief in a monotheistic god behind Egypt's pantheon, the worship of many gods was, with the exception of Akhenaten's reformation (ca. 1350 B.C.E.), never abrogated until the pagan culture ended with the gradual spread of Christianity and the final closing of the Isis temple at Philae in the 6th century C.E. While Egyptian texts occasionally appear to describe a monotheistic god, such instances belong to the phenomenon of henotheism, i.e., reliance is placed on a particular deity. Already at an early date, wisdom texts speak of "the god," thereby creating the impression that there was a sole god; but since these same texts may also name more than one deity, the term "the god" must be understood as an attempt by the writer to make the "instructions" acceptable to a broad audience in various parts of Egypt, where the identity of the major god varied from one locale to the next. Thus the neutral designation "the god" was used, permitting readers to supply for themselves the name of the particular deity whom they deemed supreme (Hornung 1982: 33–65).

The Egyptians organized their deities hierarchically, with the creator assuming the role of king of the gods. According to the Heliopolitan, or solar, version of creation, the Sun God emerged on the primal mound from Nūn, the abyss, and by masturbation or spewing forth created the first pair of deities, Shu and Tefnut (air and moisture). In turn this couple produced Geb and Nūt (earth and sky), from whom issued two pairs of deities, Osiris and Isis, and Seth and Nephthys, whose natures were less elemental and more political-cultural. At Memphis the role of creator was assigned to Ptah, and a spiritual mode of creation by thought (heart) and word (tongue) was stressed. A further elaboration of the solar version was developed at Hermopolis, where attention was given to four pairs of primordial elements that, lying dormant in Nūn, were activated in the production of the Sun God, who emerged on a lotus.

In the New Kingdom, Amon of Thebes was the king of the gods par excellence by virtue of the prominence of this city that gave rise to the 18th Dyn. line of pharaohs. In order to substantiate Amon's primary position, it was customary to link his name with that of the Sun God Re in the syncretistic form Amon-Re. Such "hyphenated" names express the notion that one god was in the other without conveying true unity, since the independent existence of each deity was still maintained. Throughout Egyptian history there was a tendency to produce syncretic deities like Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, but this in no way led to monotheism. There are texts, however, that occasionally treat lesser deities as hypostases of the creator.

In discussing Egyptian religion, some scholars (e.g., Morenz 1964; Assmann 1979) have often distinguished between the immanent and the transcendent in attempting to trace a trend away from the immanence of a god toward an emphasis on the god's transcendence, a trend believed to have come into prominence after the Amarna period (14th century B.C.E.). However, this dichotomy is very much a modern construct and does not necessarily correspond to the realities of a religion which was primarily a cult, not a book, religion (Hornung 1982: 194–96; Finnestad 1985: 104–07, 143–45). If there was anything that provided unity to Egyptian religion, it was not a set of written dogmas but rather the actions of ritual, for basically identical rituals were celebrated daily in temples throughout the land as we know from papyri, scenes, and texts of the ritual in various temples. These rituals, concerned with the care and feeding of images of the gods in the temple cellae, survived to the end of the pagan religion. The primary emphasis on the action of ritual is graphically conveyed in scenes of ritual activity where the liturgist precedes the lector priest, whose recitations accompanied the ritual (Morenz 1973: 224–25).

**B. Communal Ritual**

An important characteristic of Egyptian religion was its communal nature, which allowed very little room for the convictions of an individual (with the exception of Akhenaten) to affect the faith. In this connection the distinction between a state religion of the temples and popular religion (e.g., David 1982:

143), as though the common people did not participate in the same religion as the elite, deserves reconsideration. The notion that the temple bore only a loose connection with the populace has been fostered by the survival of large temples, such as Karnak and Luxor, without proper recognition that the Egyptian landscape was dotted with myriads of small temples, often only of mud brick, which have largely disappeared in the Nile alluvium and whose existence is only attested by their names recorded in papyri. In small village temples, the cult was performed daily by officiants who had a closer relationship to the community than did the clergy of a huge temple like Karnak. Any Egyptian temple, large or small, housed an image of the deity in whose honor the temple was built, while in the larger temples additional chapels for associated deities provided a sort of family residence. The sanctuary, called "the doors of heaven," frequently was said to rest on the primal mound of creation. Indeed the temple was the image of the cosmos, and what took place within its walls was of cosmic import. According to the dedicatory inscriptions of the New Kingdom, even a king's mortuary temple served as a place of community worship and prayer.

In theory the pharaoh was the sole liturgist in all temples, but in practice this role was delegated to priests functioning as royal deputies. In depictions of cultic activities it is the king who is universally shown officiating, and it is to him alone that the recorded speeches of the gods are directed. As the theoretical high priest, the king acted as the corporate personality of the society. The purpose of the ritual was to ensure the god's continued presence on earth, thus guaranteeing the bounty of the land and success in state endeavors, both at home and abroad. Tutankhamen's (Amemophis IV) restoration inscription claims that, under Akhenaten, when the cult images were destroyed, neither gods nor goddesses could respond to people's prayers and even the army could achieve no success abroad.

The actual performance of the cult in the holy of holies, to which only the initiated had access, did not involve large segments of the community, except insofar as subordinate personnel of the temple estates provided a continual supply of foodstuffs for the offerings. Once these provisions had been ritually offered to the deity, they were consumed by the priests and temple staff. A provision in the ritual sanctioned this form of remuneration. Whereas men of the community had their secular occupations to perform, their wives often served as chantresses, singing hymns at the temple service each day. Women's participation in religion and religious education at home was perhaps more significant than the average man's, for the doxology of the hymns they sang served to define the nature of the deity.

During the New Kingdom there was a trend away from traditional hymns that expressed the god's activities in highly symbolic language (such as the daily course of the Sun God and his vanquishing the demon of chaos, Apophis) toward hymns that describe the deity in more rational terms as an almost transcendent creator and sustainer of the world. After the Amarna period, greater stress was placed on the supreme god as a controller of time and human destiny. Nonetheless, the older liturgical hymns, full of imagery, continued to be used in conjunction with the celebration of the cult. There was no either/or proposition demanding that a decision be made in favor of the god's transcendent or immanent nature.

**C. Divine Revelation**

For the New Kingdom there is considerable information on the participation of the community in temple religion. The Egyptian week was of ten days' duration, with the last day being the day off from work, thus providing the opportunity for people to participate in religion at the temple. On this feast day, as well as on other designated festivals of the year, the populace assembled either in the area before the temple pylon or within the courtyard of large temples to witness the public epiphany of the deity, whose image was housed in a shrine on board a portable bark or in a palanquin provided with carrying poles. The lavishly embellished bark of the god, who for nine days had rested in his dark sanctuary, was carried forth into the forepart of the temple in an "appearance." It is significant that the Coptic Christian word for religious feast, *ša,* was identical to the ancient word for this divine epiphany. While the bark was in procession, people rendered adoration to the god. The decade feast was also the occasion when individuals submitted petitions to the divine bark demanding positive or negative responses, which were indicated by motions of the bark as it was borne on the priests' shoulders. In such oracular proceedings a broad range of issues were decided, including the divine appointment of the king at Karnak, as well as

judicial and even mundane economic matters, such as the purchase of a goat. What is important to note about this divine intervention into the human world is that the proceedings took place within the context of community and not in the inner sanctum of the temple. Indeed the priests who carried the god's bark were not professional priests but lay priests, men of the community who periodically served a tour of duty in the temple for one month each of the three seasons.

Another, more personal, manner in which the divine might become manifest was through the medium of a dream. From several surviving accounts of such dreams, the deity seems to appear in the form of a cult image, who issues commands to carry out some project. In the pharaonic period these dreams occurred by chance, but in the Greco-Roman period people would sleep within the temple compound in order that a deity might appear to them in a dream.

**D. Personal Piety**

Although Egyptian religion was strongly communal, a degree of personal piety is attested at a very early period, when personal names like "He whom I have begged for" and "Praised be Ptah" bear testimony to a deity's response to a person's prayer for a healthy child (Brunner 1983: 105). Shortly before the Amarna period there is increased evidence for human submission to a god as a controller of destiny in requests for divine aid, and the Ramesside Age provides abundant testimony for the ethical instant when individuals acknowledge to a deity that their bodily suffering is due to a transgression against the god, to whom they beg for mercy. While it has been surmised that this brand of personal piety owed its origin to the presence of Canaanites in Egypt (Vandier 1949: 215, 233), it is more plausibly linked with indigenous developments regarding the nature of god and human dependence on the god's will.

**E. Myth and Sacrament**

The position of narrative or epic myth in ancient Egypt is somewhat peculiar. For the pharaonic period, the rarity of mythos in the strict sense of a narrative account and the unmythological nature of many of the deities is striking. In contrast to ancient Mesopotamia and Greece, mythical events were rarely depicted in art, and the ancient Greek historian Herodotus dwells more on Egyptian festivals than mythos. In fact, mythos appears to be a latecomer into Egyptian religion, not really taking form until the collapse of the Old Kingdom and the weakening of the divine kingship, at a time when the concept of a mythical past developed. To narrate the actions of gods demands a linear concept of the past, whereas divine time in Egyptian thought was predominantly cyclic. The oldest body of religious texts, the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts, are not myth, nor do they even need be considered as based on underlying narrative myths. Rather, they are sacramental in nature, in that the ritual actions were, through the accompanying words, identified with actions in the divine world. There was thus an ontological, not temporal, distinction between the human realm and the realm of gods. This sacramental quality of religious ritual continued to remain important even after narrative myth made its appearance at a time when a deterioration of social conditions enabled one to view the past as distinct from an altered present. The germs for the development of a narrative myth such as that of Horus and Osiris, can be discerned in the Pyramid Texts; with the end of the Old Kingdom the formulation of episodes of a mythical story was taking place. For a good part of Egyptian history, myth remained in the realm of what was orally related about the gods, as distinct from what was written down. When we do find stories about the gods, especially from the New Kingdom, the accounts are episodic and lack clear, consistent motivation of character. In the pharaonic period, myth tended to be more closely associated with the world of the sorcerer's curative spells, which were based on mythological precedent, than with temple religion (Assmann 1977; 1982).

Much of what is loosely described as myth in ancient Egypt is really more a mode of iconic thought, not involving mythical events set in the past but ever repeating cosmic events, where beginning and end concur ad infinitum. Such is the nature of the Sun God's diurnal voyage by boat across the sky and through the underworld, where his daily death results in a union with Osiris, god of the dead, to achieve revivification and rebirth. Scenes and texts in the New Kingdom royal tombs dwell at length upon the activities of the Sun God in the twelve hours of the night.

**F. Ethics**

While Egyptian religion was very much a nationalistic one with no attempt made to proselytize, there existed a tolerant attitude toward foreign deities. Despite repeated assertions in royal inscriptions concerning foreigners being ignorant of god, in actuality Asiatic deities, such as Astarte, Baal, Rešep, and Anat, were accepted in Egypt in the course of the New Kingdom. An image of the goddess Astarte of Nineveh was sent to aid the ailing king Amenhotep III, and full testimony to the power of Asiatic deities is evident in Rameses II's treaty with the Hittites. In Egypt, Asiatic deities were worshiped by Egyptians in accordance with Egyptian cult practices. In the New Kingdom a universal concern for the well-being of foreigners is ascribed to gods like Amun-Rē or Akhenaten's Aton, and quite remarkable is the blessed afterlife granted to Egypt's traditional enemies in the Book of Gates, a theological composition inscribed in royal tombs after the Amarna period.

In considering the problem of ethics in ancient Egypt, it should be stressed that the wisdom texts were not regarded as sacred literature. Although portions of the biblical Proverbs betray the influence of the Wisdom of Amenemōpe, the Egyptians did not include Wisdom Literature in the category of "god's word." What they regarded as divine in the ethical realm was the concept of Maat, which encompassed the notions of truth, harmony, and world order as it should be. A principle of cosmic dimensions, regulating the functioning of nature, society, and an individual's life, Maat was the daughter of the Sun God and, being a goddess, even possessed a cult. The king's offering of the icon of Maat to the creator was a symbolic expression of the king's role in preserving the harmony of nature and society. Imbued with Maat, writers of wisdom texts articulated a principle that gave rise less to laws than to the resolution of contention.

Ethical behavior entered into the judgment of the dead, where one's good qualities were assessed against one's wrongs. In the Book of the Dead, the heart is shown being weighed against the feather of Maat, while a negative confession was recited by the deceased before a tribunal of netherworld judges. The heart scarab, placed on the deceased's chest, was designed to prevent the heart from adducing adverse testimony or, in other words, to prevent one from being overburdened by a heavy sense of guilt. It would be wrong to reduce Egyptian religion to the realm of ethics or to magical practices designed to circumvent the consequences of sin, for Maat was a gift of the god, instilled in people's hearts to enable them to lead a good life. Participation in religion by the community on the last day of the ten-day week and during other feasts that stressed renewal was one means whereby Maat was revealed, as hymns expressed the god's triumph over the forces of evil and chaos that menaced the world order.

**G. Afterlife**

A remarkable feature of Egyptian religion was its complex system of beliefs regarding the afterlife. Since Egyptians gods were themselves subject to death and rebirth, and some even possessed cemeteries in the parts of Egypt, the fate of humanity had a powerful precedent. One aspect of the afterlife was the simple continuation of existence in the tomb. Already in archaic times natural dehydration of the body in a shallow grave suggested the permanent existence of the deceased, but as tombs became more elaborate and natural desiccation of the corpse ceased to be effective, mummification was developed as a means of preserving the body. Initially only the king and elite had their bodies mummified, but after the Old Kingdom mummification was gradually extended. The superstructure of the tomb contained a cult place where offerings could be made to the deceased's spirit, which was believed to emerge from below through a false door. Sometimes elaborate contracts were drawn up with mortuary priests to ensure the perpetuity of the cult. In the absence of real offerings, the recitation of an invocation offering was considered a valid means for satisfying the deceased's needs.

But there was more to the afterlife than continued existence in the tomb. In the Old Kingdom the king's afterlife involved his spiritual participation in cosmic processes such as the course of the Sun God or the motion of the stars. At first only the dead king became identified with Osiris, lord of the netherworld; but with the collapse of the Old Kingdom, royal funerary prerogatives were gradually extended to deceased commoners, whose names were preceded by the epithet Osiris. Funerary texts that had been for the dead king's use now became the domain of a broader segment of the population. Many new spells were composed, inscribed in the interior of coffins or, later, on rolls of papyrus, known as the Book of the

Dead. Included in this funerary literature were spells effecting the deceased's identification with some of the highest gods, such as Rē, Atum, and Horus. The myth of Osiris's murder, the finding of his body and revivification by Isis, and the posthumous procreation of their son Horus had an especial appeal. At Abydos, the burial place of archaic kings and Osiris, cenotaphs were erected along the processional route of the god Osiris, enabling the commoner to participate in the celebration of the god's triumph and renewal.

**H. Anthropology of "The Soul"**

The anthropology of the deceased's being was complex. Besides the mummy resting permanently in the tomb, there were several spiritual elements. The *ka* was a dynamic vital force, formed at one's birth. After death it rejoined the body in the tomb and emerged through a false door to receive offerings. It was that element of the personality that related to society, for statues of the deceased in tomb chapels or even temples served to invoke within the beholder's mind the *ka*-image of the deceased. The *ba* was a manifestation of power, sometimes rendered by "soul," which seems to have existed in one's lifetime but after death became that portion of the psyche capable of participating in broad cosmic processes. As a human-headed bird it flew up the burial shaft from the mummy to enjoy the little garden pool outside the tomb, or it could ascend to the sky and travel with the Sun God. The *akh* was a spirit, something like a ghost, that came into being only after death and could exert influence upon a living person. In response to malevolent actions by an *akh,* the Egyptians frequently wrote letters to the *akh* of a deceased person urging it to desist. The netherworld tribunal was composed of many *akh*s presided over by a high god like Rē, and legal action against an offending *akh* could be taken in such a court.

The question arises why the Egyptians, who were keenly aware of the plundering of tombs and the destruction of mummies, continued the practice of mummifying the dead. Since mummification and interment were ritual acts, it may be that the performance of the rites of embalming was of paramount importance in making the deceased person an Osiris and that what eventually happened to the mummy in the context of human linear time was of secondary consequence. The deceased Egyptian, from the religious point of view, survived less in human time than in two types of divine time: the *ba* in divine cyclic time and the corpse in the realm of *djet*-eternity, a sort of area of timelessness and no change.

It has generally been maintained that the religion of pharaonic Egypt lacked the mystical element discernible in Hellenized Egyptian cults. However, there are certain indications that at least some spells of the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead were available to the living for their use. The theological texts from the New Kingdom royal tombs contain indications that knowledge of these texts permitted the living person to participate in the Sun God's journey through the netherworld (Wente 1982). Such evidence together with the probability that priestly initiation did exist in pharaonic Egypt suggests that there may be a genuine Egyptian basis for the later Hellenistic mystery cults.

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**EGYPTIAN THEOLOGY.** See MEMPHITE THEOLOGY.

**EGYPTIAN, THE** (PERSON). A revolutionary leader for whom the Apostle Paul was mistakenly identified (Acts 21:37–39). This person is mentioned only once in the NT, and twice by Josephus. Although the man's name remains unknown, it is noteworthy that the Roman tribune interrogating Paul—Claudius Lysias (Acts 23:26)—recalls "the Egyptian" as the man "who recently stirred up a revolt and led the four thousand men of the Assassins out into the wilderness" (Acts 21:38). Doubtless reflecting a Roman view of the Egyptian's activities, Lysias' comment about him is coupled with Paul's request that he be allowed to address those who had just been trying to kill him (Acts 21:30–32). The tribune's response, "Do you know Greek?" (v 37), indicates that at least in his estimate the Egyptian was uneducated and therefore to be reckoned among barbarians.

Whatever his native tongue, the Egyptian could evidently communicate with the common people in Palestine since he had aroused interest to such a pitch that at least 4,000 followed him into the desert. An allied issue is whether he was really a person whose home was Egypt or whether he was a native of Palestine who had returned to stir up trouble. While the matter cannot be settled conclusively either way, it is noteworthy that, on the whole, Jews from Egypt lived either in Alexandria or in one of the other major Hellenistic cities and thus were not limited to speaking the common Egyptian dialect. Whatever his national home, the man must have been a Jew, since it is highly unlikely that contemporary Judeans would have given ear to a non-Jew. Further, Paul's insistence that he himself was "a Jew from Tarsus" (v 39), as distinct from Egypt, may support the notion that the Egyptian was also Jewish.

Of equal interest is the association—at least in Lysias' view—of the Egyptian with the Sicarii or "knife men," so called because of the Latin term (*sica*) for the knife that they used in assassinations (Foakes-Jackson and Lake 1933: 277). In a relevant passage in which Josephus discusses not only the rise of the Sicarii before the Jewish War (A.D. 66–70) but also the flourishing of false prophets and the activities of an unnamed Egyptian (*JW* 2.13.3–5 §254–263), there is no connection made between the "Egyptian false prophet" and the knife men. However, Josephus' description is sufficiently close to the one of Lysias reported in Acts to allow the rather firm conclusion that the same Egyptian was meant. In this connection, it is necessary to discount assessments that have deduced a dependency of the Acts account on Josephus' report (Foakes-Jackson and Lake 1922: 357–59).

It is essential to note the points of agreement between Acts and the *Jewish War* passage of Josephus: these include references to (1) the Egyptian himself, (2) the insurrection which he led, (3) the Sicarii within the context of the discussion, and (4) the desert. To be sure, not all details agree, and Josephus offers more information. For instance, in Acts, Lysias mentions 4,000 followers of the man; Josephus puts the umber at 30,000 (possibly explained by the difference between the Greek letters *delta* [=4] and *lambda* [=30]). In addition, the account in Acts says that the Egyptian led his adherents "into the desert" whereas the report in the *Jewish War* claims that he led them "out of the desert." Josephus alone recorded that they ascended the Mount of Olives, evidently traveling through the Judean wilderness and climbing the hill from the east. Moreover, he recounted that this host was about to attack Jerusalem and subdue it, liberating it from the Romans. He then explained that the procurator Felix (A.D. 52–60 [?]), anticipating the Egyptian's moves, sent a contingent of infantry which scattered and slaughtered his followers, although allowing him to escape.

Josephus wrote another narrative about this Egyptian and his activities approximately 20 years later (*Ant* 20.8.6 §169–72). In this report, Josephus adds that, rather than taking Jerusalem by storm from the Mount of Olives, the Egyptian's followers were supposed to enter the city after their leader had miraculously brought down its walls at his command. Even though this detail is not mentioned in either Acts or the *Jewish War,* it fits with what is implied in both: namely, that the insurrection instigated by the Egyptian had strong ties to religious motives (Horsley and Hanson 1985: 160–72). First, the mention of the desert as the region of the man's operations conforms to the widely shared notion that the desert was a place of

spiritual renewal and manifestation. Second, in both passages from Josephus, the immediate context is formed by notations about the rise of "deceptive" prophets in the years just before the war with Rome. While Josephus' obvious purpose was to discredit these persons as panderers of false and misleading hopes to the Jewish populace, it is significant that he used the Egyptian as his principal illustration of the practical failures of this sort of prophetic movement. Third, the belief of the Egyptian's followers that he could miraculously bring down the walls of Jerusalem—much as Joshua and the Israelites had done at Jericho (Joshua 6)—exhibits a further link to religious sentiments. Fourth, according to Josephus, one of the major purposes of such prophetic pretenders was to demonstrate to believing followers the "tokens of deliverance" from Roman rule (*JW* 2.13.4 §259) which had grown in its oppressive character under Felix. These signs or tokens of freedom were doubtless understood to have come about by divine assistance (cf. the mention of "marvels and signs that would be wrought in harmony with God's design" in *Ant* 20.8.6 §168). Sixth, the spiritual roots of this concept of deliverance were likely planted in their most enduring form by Judas the Galilean, whose principal rallying cries were those of freedom and zeal, ideas based in the Bible and promulgated by him in the aftermath of the taxation census conducted by Quirinius in A.D. 6 or 7 (*HJP²* 1: 381–83; 2: 602–6; Hengel, 229–50).

It is clear, then, that the unnamed Egyptian Jew had won a wide following among Judeans, who believed him to have prophetic powers, had led followers from the desert to the top of the Mount of Olives with the intent of capturing Jerusalem, and had then been driven into hiding by Felix's troops, who crushed his army. Following this defeat, the tribune Lysias apparently mistook Paul for this Egyptian revolutionary who, seeming to have returned to the scene of his activities, had been seized by people who knew him and were bent on killing him to avenge the deaths of his followers.

At this point, one final issue must be addressed: why did the author of Acts believe it necessary to record the dialogue between Lysias and Paul? Would it not have been sufficient merely to narrate Paul's rescue from the mob? The answer doubtless lies in Luke's interest in dissociating Christians from Jews and Judaism, especially in the aftermath of the Jewish War (Hänchen *Acts* MeyerK, 622). He took great pains both throughout his gospel and in Acts to demonstrate that anyone associated with the movement inaugurated by Jesus was a strict adherent to social and religious norms and, moreover, was never an instigator of public or political disorder, as were many Jews both inside and outside Palestine (Luke 1:6; 2:22, 24, 39, 51; etc.; Acts 13:45, 50; 14:2, 19; 17:5–8; etc.). The fact that Paul was absolved of charges against him (Acts 23:29; 25:25–27; 26:31–32) serves to buttress this point. Furthermore, in contrast to those who participated in the Jewish War against Rome, this last observation implicitly affirmed Paul's loyalty as a Roman citizen. Additionally, Paul was to be distinguished from the Egyptian, whose character was insinuated by Lysias to be uncivilized, underscoring the implied compatibilities of Christian norms with Roman law and society, particularly as they were personified in Paul. Moreover, as every Christian reader of Acts was aware, Paul was the true representative of the Lord; others who represented different spiritual interests, including the Egyptian, were to be understood as somehow misled and misleading.

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**EGYPTIANS, GOSPEL OF THE** (NHC III,*2* and IV,*2*). This gnostic tractate bears no relationship to the encratite *Gospel of the Egyptians,* of which a few quotations survive in the writings of Clement of Alexandria. The gnostic *Gos. Eg.* is extant in two independent Coptic translations from Greek found among the Nag Hammadi codices (see NAG HAMMADI [CODICES]). Both versions survive only in fragmentary form. The one in NHC III originally comprised pp. 40,12 to 69,20, but pp. 45–48 are now lacking while others in the first part of the tractate suffered lacunae. NHC IV,*2* covers pp. 50–81, which are all in a poor state of preservation. Its value lies in supplementing NHC III,*2* where it is fragmentary or

corrupted. More than 90 percent of *Gos. Eg.* survives in one or the other version. Both versions are preceded by a copy of *The Apocryphon of John* (NHC III,*1* and IV,*1*).

There are no indications that the Gk text behind the two Coptic versions differed significantly, but IV,*2* appears to reflect the original Greek more accurately than III,*2*. Both are written in Sahidic with IV,*2* conforming more closely to the standardized form of this Upper Egyptian dialect. See also LANGUAGES (COPTIC).

The title *Gos. Eg.*, by which the tractate has become known, is taken from the colophon which is attached to III,*2* but absent in IV,*2*. More appropriate is the title found in the subscript and at the end of the colophon: *The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit.* This title was derived from the opening line of the tractate. The colophon existed already in Greek. Its author, a scribe whose spiritual name was Eugnostos and fleshly name Gongessos, Christianized the title using the word "gospel" for holy book. It appears that the Egyptian attribution was also based on the opening line; the uncertainty is due to a lacuna. The colophon is far more Christian in character than the tractate and appears to have a monastic setting.

*Gos. Eg.* does not conform to any established literary genre. It is an esoteric writing which treats themes typical for mythological Gnosticism. Its content can be divided into four parts. The first (III 40,12–55,16 = IV 50,1–67,1) presents the origin of the heavenly world. From the great invisible spirit emanate a trinity of powers—the Father, the Mother Barbelo, and the Son. To each of these an ogdoad of powers is attached. Then follows a description of the Doxomedon aeon, the heavenly throne room, in which the thrice-male child of the great Christ resides. Other prominent figures in the Pleroma are the male virgin Youel, Adamas, the great Seth, and the four lights Harmozel, Oroiael, Davithe and Eleleth.

The second part (III 55,16–66,8 = IV 67,2–78,10) describes the origin, preservation, and salvation of the race of Seth. Because of the hostility of Saklas and his evil archons, Seth comes from heaven and puts on Jesus as a garment in order to save his race. Baptism has a prominent place in the salvation of the gnostics.

The third part (III 66,8–67,26 = IV 78,10–80,15) is hymnic in character; it is followed by a brief section (III 68,1–69,17 = IV 80,15–81,end) which tells how the book was written by Seth and was hidden in the mountain Charaxio until the time of the latter-day gnostics.

*Gos. Eg.* bears obvious similarities to such other representatives of mythological Gnosticism as *Ap. John, The Hypostasis of the Archons* (NHC II,*4*), *On the Origin of the World* (NHC II,*5*), *The Sophia of Jesus Christ* (NHC III,*4*), *The Three Steles of Seth* (NHC VII,*5*), and *Trimorphic Protennoia* (NHC XIII,*1*). Though these writings share various themes and mythologumena, the very different use they make of these makes it doubtful that they come from the same sectarian background. The assumption of the ancient heresiologists that such writings represent the teachings of gnostic sects can no longer be taken for granted. It is more likely that they are part of a literary rather than a sectarian phenomenon. Such speculative literature is best placed on the fringes of Christianity among heterodox ascetics who long remained outside of the control of orthodoxy.

The scholarly interest in *Gos. Eg.* focuses on the hymnic material scattered throughout the document and on the role of baptism. This has given rise to the claim that it represents a gnostic "baptismal service book" (Layton 1987: 101). However, there is no hint in the text that it was meant for cultic purposes and it is hard to imagine that it would lend itself to this. The references to baptism and the use of hymns and glossolalia are not out of place in such an esoteric, mystical writing. There is no need to pose a sectarian, cultic setting for which there is no corroborating evidence.

Since III,*2* and IV,*2* are to be dated shortly before 350 C.E., and are copies of Coptic archetypes, the Gk text is most likely earlier than 300 C.E. Certain traditions incorporated in *Gos. Eg.* were known already to Irenaeus in the late 2d century. Nothing in the tractate betrays its actual author and original provenance.

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**EHI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēḥî* (אֵחִי)]. The sixth in a list of ten sons of Benjamin, according to one Benjaminite genealogy (Gen 46:21). It is widely agreed that the four names "Ehi, Rosh, Muppim, and Huppim" evidence a mechanical corruption of "AHIRAM, Shephupham, and Huppim," the third, fourth, and fifth sons of Benjamin in Num 26:38–39 (e.g., Speiser *Genesis* AB, 343).
SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

**EHUD** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēhûd* (אֵהוּד); *ʾēḥûd* (אֵחוּד)]. **1.** Second of the "saviors" or "major judges" in the book of Judges (3:12–30; 4:1; see also 1 Chr 8:6). The narrative portrays Ehud as a military man, trained in left-handed combat (Judg 3:15; 20:16; cf. 1 Chr 12:2), who escorts Israel's tribute to EGLON, the corpulent Moabite king, at Jericho. Dismissing his detachment after one such payment, Ehud sneaks back to the court and promises Eglon a confidential revelation. Eglon in turn dismisses his attendants, who leave him alone with Ehud in the audience hall. Thereupon, Ehud springs up the steps of Eglon's throne-platform (*ʿăliyyat hammĕqêrâ,* "the chamber atop the joists," 3:20), and he locks its double doors behind him. From his right thigh, not his left, where the retinue and the king would normally expect to see it, Ehud plucks a sinister shaft—short, without a crossbar, tailored to his task. Declaring that his revelation is in fact a divine one, he punches the dagger into the king's ample belly. The fat enfolds the haft (v 22). Death is instantaneous; no blood seeps out. And the king's anal sphincter releases the contents of his intestines onto the floor (v 22).

Ehud escapes from the locked throne-platform by some extraordinary route, denoted by the *hapax legomenon, misdĕrôn.* Possibly, this is the loggia of the throne-platform; more likely, it is the space *beneath* the joists (cf. Ar *sadira,* "to blind"). In the latter case, his egress would have been the hole, used for excretion, that led to the space below the throne-platform. Ehud then negotiates his way back into the area of the vacant audience hall that lies outside the throne-platform and its structure. His emergence through the doors of this chamber signals to the retinue that the audience is at an end. They resume their stations in the hall while Ehud makes for the hills. (For this reconstruction see Halpern 1988a: 45ff. or 1988b: 37ff.) Other translations of *misdĕrôn* favor an architectural term meaning simply "porch," "portico," or "vestibule" (see, e.g., Moore *Judges* ICC, 99; Kraeling 1935: 208).

Eglon's courtiers deduce from the fact that the throne-platform doors are locked (from inside) that the king must be relieving himself. The odor of his excrement perhaps encourages them in their conviction; they wait, at all events, a considerable time (vv 24–25). Eglon's overlong occupation, however, engenders consternation. In the end, they fetch the keys to the throne-platform, and discover their liege, expired on the floor. Meanwhile, Ehud has had time to rally Israel's forces, seize the fords of the Jordan, and engage the Moabites. The latter, fleeing homeward across the river, are cut down to a man.

The name Ehud ("where is the glory?") follows the pattern of Ichabod ("where is the glory?" 1 Sam 4:21), Jezebel ("where is the exalted [one]?" if this is not a collapsed form of Ish-zebel, "the exalted one is present!"), and perhaps Ayyah (2 Sam 3:7; Gen 36:24). Names compounded with the element *-hûd* are common in the Benjaminite genealogies (1 Chr 7–8). The patronym Gera is in fact the name of a clan (1 Chr 8:3, 5, 7). Indeed, one Benjaminite clan may have taken its name from Ehud himself (1 Chr 7:10). If so, this was presumably the community in which the memory of his exploits was most conscientiously preserved.

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**2.** Son of Bilhan and a descendant of Benjamin through Jediael (1 Chr 7:10). The description of the Jediael clans as skilled in warfare (v 11) may indicate a connection between this Ehud and the famous

judge (see #1 above). The inclusion of the Benjaminite genealogy in vv 6–12 appears out of place considering its fuller treatment in chap. 8. In addition, the exclusion of Zebulun and Dan from the genealogies in 1 Chr 2:1–9:1 has led to the suggestion that their omission is due to textual corruption, having perhaps originally occupied the place of Benjamin's list in chap. 7. (See the discussion in Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 47–8, 77–8.)

JOHN KUTSKO

**EIN EL-JARBA.** See JARBA, ʿEIN EL-.

**EIN YAEL PROJECT.** See REPHAIM, VALLEY OF.

**EKER** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿeqer* (עֶקֶר)]. The son of Ram, the grandson of Jerahmeel, and a direct linear descendant of the patriarch Judah by some five generations (1 Chr 2:27). Noth (*IPN*) has suggested that the solitary noun form may suggest "offshoot" or "member" of a stranger's (*ger*) family (Lev 25:47), and therefore the proper name should reflect something of the social debasement discoverable in such names as Jathom (orphan), Machir (sold), Acubah (forsaken), and Jerushah (adopted). It is true that both Hebrew and Sumero-Akkadian names (Holma 1914; Rasmussen 1981: 435, 479–80; Stamm 1939: 248, 264–68) embrace those that reflect a demeaning social rank or physical liability, but the case is less than clear in interpreting the meaning of the name Eker. Nothing suggests anything irregular in his genealogy except a contested etymology of the Hebrew root *ʿqr*.

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**EKRON** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿeqrôn* (עֶקְרוֹן)]. A site in the Shephelah on the border between the Israelites and the Philistines, which was important in several episodes in the Bible.

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A. Biblical and Extrabiblical Sources
B. Identification
C. Excavations
1. Chalcolithic through Middle Bronze Age
2. Late Bronze Age
3. Iron Age IA–B
4. Iron Age IC–II

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**A. Biblical and Extrabiblical Sources**

Ekron was one of the capital cities of the Philistine Pentapolis, and is first mentioned in the Bible as part of "the land that yet remains" to be captured by the Israelites (Josh 13:2–3). Subsequently, Ekron is cited as defining the N border of the territory of Judah (Josh 15:11) and as one of its cities (15:45–46). In Judges (1:18), Judah is accredited with taking the areas awarded it in Joshua, including Ekron and its territory. However, it is also stated in Judges (1:19) that "Judah took possession of the hill country, but could not drive out the inhabitants of the plain, because they had chariots of iron." Apparently, based on this later verse, the LXX of Judg 1:18 makes the correction that Judah did *not* conquer the Philistine cities. The assignment of Ekron to Judah may indicate a late addendum in the time of Hezekiah. Another source lists Ekron in the territories of the tribe of Dan as marking its S boundary (Josh 19:43). This may reflect the tribal boundary system of the time of David and Solomon. After the ark of the covenant was captured by the Philistines, they passed it through the Pentapolis members, including Ekron (1 Samuel 5–6). Israel later recaptured the cities which the Philistines had taken (1 Sam 7:14); it also was part of the battle scene following the David and Goliath epic (1 Sam 17:52). In the 9th century B.C.E., Ahaziah, king of Israel, sent ambassadors to "Baalzebub the god of Ekron" to inquire regarding the prospects of

recovery from his illness (2 Kgs 1:2–3). In the 8th century B.C.E., the prophet Amos threatened Ekron and its sister cities with destruction (1:8).

Extrabiblical references to Ekron—*ʾam-qa- (ar)ru- (na)*—first appear in the 8th–7th century B.C.E. records of the Neo-Assyrian kings. Sargon II's 712 B.C.E. siege of Ekron is depicted on a wall relief in his palace at Khorsabad. The royal annals describe the capture of Ekron and the restoration of Padi as king of Ekron in 701, in the course of Sennacherib's suppression of the rebellion led by Hezekiah, king of Judah. In the first half of the 7th century B.C.E., the annals mention Esarhaddon calling upon Ikausu, king of Ekron, together with his other vassals, to provide building materials and their transport to construct his palace in Nineveh. In 667 B.C.E., Assurbanipal required his vassal Ikausu, king of Ekron, among others, to support his military campaign against Egypt and Ethiopia.

Apparently, in the second half of the 7th century B.C.E., the Philistine Pentapolis became a Tetrapolis, as inferred from the prophetic forecast of the destruction of Ekron together with Ashdod, Ashkelon, and Gaza (Gath is no longer mentioned; Jer 25:20; Zeph 2:4; Zech 9:5–7). This imminent destruction of the Philistine cities is supported by the late-7th-century Aramaic Saqqarah Papyrus or Adon Letter, in which Adon, the king of one of the Philistine city-states, appeals to the Egyptian pharaoh for military aid against the forces of Babylon. A recent interpretation of a demotic line on the letter suggests that Adon was king of Ekron (Porten 1981). The actual destruction of Ekron may be indicated in the Babylonian chronicle that describes a 603 B.C.E. campaign by Nebuchadnezzar against a city in Philistia.

Ekron is not mentioned again until the Hellenistic period, when, in 147 B.C.E., Alexander Balas grants Ekron (Accaron) and its toparchy to Jonathan the Hasmonean as a reward for his loyalty (1 Macc 10:89; *Ant* 13.4.4). The toparchy of Ekron is also cited as being torn from Ashdod (1 Macc 14:34). The latest references to Ekron are in the 4th century C.E. by Eusebius, who records a village of Gallai near Accaron (*Onomast.* 11.6–7) and a large village of Jews who lived at Accaron near Azotus (*Onomast.* 11.9–10).

**B. Identification**

Ekron is identified with Tel Miqne (Khirbet el-Muqannaʿ; M.R. 135131) 35 km SW of Jerusalem and 4.5 km E of Kibbutz Revadim. The tel is situated on the W edge of the inner Coastal Plain, the natural and historical frontier zone that separated Philistia and Judah, overlooking the ancient network of highways leading NE from ASHDOD to GEZER and inland via the Nahal Soreq to BETH-SHEMESH. One of the largest Iron Age sites in Israel, Tel Miqne is composed of a 40-acre lower tel and a 10-acre upper tel. See Fig. EKR.01. The lower tel is flat, almost square, and at its N end has a 2.5-acre mound-shaped acropolis. A 10-acre settlement exists off its NW slope. The tel's low profile rises 108.25 m above sea level, only 7 m above the surrounding plain. The true height of the tel is masked by a heavy buildup at its base of post-Byzantine alluvium from the downflow of the Nahal Soreq.

Khirbet el-Muqannaʿ, probably deriving its name from the nearby wadi, first appears in Conder and Kitchener's survey (*SWP* 2: 425) as Khirbet el-Mekennaʿ, and in Ch. Clermont-Ganneau's *Archaeological Researches in Palestine* (1896: 195) as el-Muknaʿ. In 1924, W. F. Albright (1924: 8; 1925: 5–6), the first to survey the site in modern times, identified Muqannaʿ with biblical Eltekeh in the territory of Dan, based on his view of the site as a small ruin. In 1951, the Circle for Historical Geography reaffirmed Albright's identification. As a result, in 1953 the Israel Government Names Committee officially designated the site as Tel Eltekeh. In 1964, the same committee changed the name to Tel Miqne, a neutral designation in which the consonants of the Arabic Muqannaʿ were transcribed into Hebrew letters. This was done in the light of new evidence from J. Naveh's 1957 survey of Muqannaʿ, and his conclusion that its identification as Eltekeh, one of the less important towns in the region, was inconsistent with the large size of the site, which included the previously unrecognized 40-acre lower section of the tel. Also, in the same year, B. Mazar identified Eltekeh with Tel esh-Shalaf, based on the survey of that site by J. Kaplan. Naveh's survey of Muqannaʿ, and his analysis of the architectural, ceramic, biblical, extrabiblical, and topographical evidence, led him to conclude that Muqannaʿ should be identified as Ekron. Subsequent discussion in the literature and the recent excavations support Naveh's conclusion.

**C. Excavations**

In 1981, a long-term joint American-Israeli interdisciplinary research project was initiated at Tel Miqne under the direction of T. Dothan and S. Gitin. The main focus is on the process of urbanization and the interaction between Philistines and Israelites during the Iron Age.

To establish the stratigraphic profile of the site, two pilot seasons of excavation were conducted in 1981 and 1982. From 1984, when the first of the five major seasons of the Phase I excavations was initiated, through 1988, the major emphasis was on the investigation of the Iron Age town plan, its fortifications, industrial zones, and inner city. In 1985, a survey of industrial installations and architectural remains was conducted by D. Eitam and N. Aidlin.

**1. Chalcolithic through Middle Bronze Age.** The Chalcolithic, EB I–II, and MB I–III periods are only attested by ceramic evidence in mixed fills and mud bricks from occupation phases of the LB and Iron Ages. MB I sherds form the largest group within this sample. While sherds from all of these periods were found in every field of excavation, the majority were from the sondage on the NE acropolis, which has provided the most complete stratified profile of the tel (Field I).

**2. Late Bronze Age.** A sequence of three LB strata was exposed only in the sondage on the NE acropolis. As a result, the extent of the LB city has yet to be determined. However, LB sherds have been recovered from every field of excavation, suggesting that the city may have extended over most of the tel.

The earliest stratified remains, stratum IX, are dated to the 15th–14th centuries B.C.E., based on the high percentage of imported wares, including Base Ring I, Monochrome, and White Slip II. A two-room structure, containing a substantial industrial installation in the final phase of this stratum, was destroyed by fire. Above it, stratum VIIIB of the 14th–13th centuries B.C.E. produced domestic areas with a large plastered vat and a burial site with a faience seal, an Egyptian 19th Dyn. scarab, and an Egyptian-style calacite tazza (footed goblet). The pottery, in addition to local Canaanite wares, included Mycenaean IIIB and Cypriot imports, and an Egyptian-style "beer bottle" and bowl.

Stratum VIIIA included a sequence of four mud-brick structures which are associated with the culmination of the LB at the end of the 13th century B.C.E. The main room of one of the structures contained tuyeres, indicating industrial bronze activity. Krater fragments of Anatolian Grey Polished ware were found in this area. This ware hints at the establishment of new cultural connections at the end of the LB. The international character and wide-ranging trade and cultural contacts of the Canaanite city during the LB are indicated by the diverse group of ceramic imports found in these strata.

**3. Iron Age IA–B.** *Field I.* See Fig. EKR.02. In the first third of the 12th century B.C.E., an abrupt transition occurred in stratum VII. Fortifications, industrial and elite areas, and new material culture elements appear, the latter suggesting a new ethnic element—the Philistines, one of the Sea Peoples—with an inclination to recreate the environment of their Aegean home.

The stratum VII city was fortified by a 3.25-m-thick mud-brick wall, found along the slope of the NE acropolis. Adjacent to it were a number of different types of kilns, of which the best preserved had a unique square shape. Associated with it was a large quantity of locally made Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery and several Aegean-type figurines. The Myceneaen IIIC:1b pottery assemblage, which made up at least 50 percent of the ceramic sample, included monochrome decorated bell-shaped bowls, kraters, stirrup jars, beer jugs, and the plain-ware kalathos.

The dating of the stratum VII city wall is based on a chain of stratigraphic and ceramic evidence. The wall, cut into the last LB phases, was built of mud bricks and the latest pottery in evidence was LB II. The earliest possible floors that could be associated with the wall, although the connections were disturbed, were those of stratum VII, dated by the Myceneaen IIIC:1b pottery to the first quarter of the 12th century B.C.E. The latest pottery of the stratum VI revetment, built up against the city wall, was Philistine Bichrome ware. The slope wash from the stratum VI revetment, in which the Iron II strata III–I mud-brick city wall was founded, contained no post–Iron I pottery.

Stratum VI, in which the first Philistine Bichrome ware appeared, is dated to the last two thirds of the 12th century B.C.E. New kilns appeared, and next to one was an ivory iron-knife handle with a ring-shaped pommel, one of four found on the site. A new building complex was built, remaining essentially unchanged through the next stratum. One of the rooms had an architectural plan associated with cultic

traditions, including a stone pillar base, a pit with a large kalathos, and a bovine scapula. This room, which was on the periphery of the city, may have been one of the first shrines to be established in Philistia by the Sea Peoples/Philistines. In stratum V, the first half of the 11th century B.C.E., the shrine room had a plastered floor with installations, votive vessels, kernoi, and several incised bovine scapulae, known from contemporary shrines in Cyprus. An adjacent area yielded Ashdoda-type figurines and a lion-headed rhyton. Stratum IV was identified by floor fragments and red-slipped-pottery forms of the 11/10th century B.C.E.

*Field III.* In stratum VI, the mud-brick city wall was extended to the S crest of the tel as part of a massive fortification system which included an offset platform and revetment. The latest pottery from the mud bricks of the city wall and on the floors which ran up to the inside face of the city wall was Philistine Bichrome ware, dating the fortifications like the revetment in Field I to the last two thirds of the 12th century B.C.E. The fortifications continued in use in stratum V, and one room built up against the city wall produced a spiral gold ring. The thick white plaster which covered the fortifications and the rooms built behind them was typical of all the buildings on the tel of the late 12th century through the 11th century B.C.E. No doubt in this period the Iron I city covered the entire 50 acres of the site. In stratum IV, the 11/10th century B.C.E., the fortifications were strengthened with stone towers. The city wall was cut back, and a new series of rooms were built up against it. One of these, containing a crucible with traces of silver, was found in a large installation lined with *hamra,* a red, sandy plaster, suggesting the existence of a metal industry on the periphery of the city. An ivory knife-handle with a ring-shaped pommel, similar to the one in Field I, was found in the debris above this installation.

*Field IV.* In stratum VI, a large, well-planned mud-brick building (4112) was constructed, dated by its Philistine Bichrome pottery to the 12th century B.C.E. In stratum V (the first half of the 11th century), another monumental building (4111) was built on huge stone foundations, 1–2 min height, and was set into building 4112. Possibly a palace with two shrine rooms, it measured 15 m × 16 m and was part of a larger complex. The building's plastered mud-brick walls were preserved to a height of 3 m and a width of 1.20 m. The main entrance from the N led into a large, partially covered hall (D), with benches along its S wall and two stone pillar bases flanking a round, well-constructed hearth with a pebble base. Hearths are an important feature in the Aegean and on Cyprus, particularly in the megaron plan, in which they are central architectural elements. They are rare, however, in Canaan. The only other hearth of this type was found at Tel Qasile, also a Philistine site with Aegean connections.

Three rooms of approximately equal size opened onto the hall (D). The northern room (A) contained three superimposed floors, the upper with a plaster installation, the middle with a wall bench and round, conical, and pinch-shaped unperforated loom weights, and the lower with a gold-leaf object and an ivory earplug. The central room (B) seems to have been the focus of the building. Opposite the entrance was a plastered mud-brick *bamah* (altar), which continued in use throughout all phases of the building until it was abandoned at the end of stratum IV. The room contained a rich assemblage of Philistine Bichrome pottery, an ivory knife-handle similar to the ones in Fields I and III, three bronze eight-spoked wheels, and a frame fragment originally belonging to a wheeled stand of the type known from Cyprus in the 12/11th century B.C.E. The southern room (C) had a small mud-brick *bamah,* on which was found a large iron implement, 16.5 cm in length. The associated floor contained Philistine Bichrome pottery, and a complete iron knife with bronze rivets and an ivory handle with a ring-shaped pommel similar to the ones in room B and in Fields I and III. The knife has cultic connotations and Aegean and Cypriot parallels (Dothan 1989: 154–63). It is part of an assemblage of iron objects found throughout the site in the Iron Age I period that represents the largest concentration of iron objects at any one site in Philistia. On the floor of room C there were also an Aegean-type bronze cauldron handle, a bronze spear butt, and a unique, double-human-headed bronze peg. The cultic character of rooms B and C reflects a continuation of the local Canaanite tradition and also the tradition known from Cyprus at Enkomi and Kition, and in the Aegean at Phylakopi and Mycenae.

In stratum IV, the architectural plan of building 4111 continued in use with some minor changes. The floors of the building's final phase were covered with red-slipped bowls stacked one upon the other,

flasks, chalices, and miniature vessels of a votive character, including pomegranate-shaped vessels and kernos fragments. The Philistine ceramic tradition is represented only by debased bichrome decoration and forms, accompanied by red-slipped and Cypro-Phoenician wares of the late 11th/early 10th centuries B.C.E. In room A, a cache of unique objects, including a stone baboon statuette, earplugs, faience pendants and rings, a decorated ivory lid, and a beautifully carved human head of ivory, link Ekron to the 21st Egyptian Dyn. The peak of the early Iron Age city, reached in stratum IV, was accompanied by the loss of the uniqueness of its material culture, as Egyptian and Phoenician influences had their effect on art and cult practices. In the last phase of stratum IV, the large well-planned and well-fortified urban center of Ekron, featuring industrial and elite areas, and a material culture with international affinities, came to a sudden end. With it also came an end to the early period of Philistine occupation. Afterwards, most of the city was abandoned and not settled again until the 7th century B.C.E. The reasons for this abrupt transition probably relate to Egyptian and Israelite military campaigns, which drastically affected the geopolitics of the region and altered the occupation pattern of Philistia.

**4. Iron Age IC–II.** *Fields I and VII.* At the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C.E., Ekron shrank from 50 to 10 acres and was restricted to the upper city, leaving the lower city unoccupied. This radical change reflects the United Monarchy's ascendancy over the Philistines in the 10th century B.C.E. and Ekron's diminished status in the Iron IC and IIA periods. The reduction in size of the city is supported by extensive stratigraphic data from the upper and lower cities. However, the evidence for the upper city from the 10th through 8th centuries B.C.E. is based on a limited sample from the sondage on the NE acropolis. Thus, while the excavated data are secure, the following conclusions based on that data are only tentative.

In accordance with the city's smaller dimensions in the post–stratum IV, 11th/10th century B.C.E. period, perhaps as early as the 10th century, a new mud-brick city wall was built at the bottom of the slope of the acropolis. Attached to the wall was a 7-m-wide mud-brick tower faced with large blocks of ashlar masonry, in a header-and-stretcher construction. On top of the acropolis, a stratified sequence of floors and ceramic evidence assigned to strata III–IIA seems to indicate continuous occupation from the 9th through the 8th centuries B.C.E. The main ceramic forms are coastal, with some typical Judean types, like the late shallow cooking pot, the everted-rim bowl, and the plain-rim small hole-mouth jar. In stratum IIA, which may be dated to the second half of the 8th century B.C.E., a citadel tower built of boulder-sized stones and a stone-lined drain were constructed. Two *lmlk*-stamped jar handles that were found on the slope—one with the inscription *lmlk hbrn*, "belonging to the king of Hebron"—can be ascribed to stratum IIA, the period during which Hezekiah, king of Judah, probably took control of Ekron.

It was only at the very end of the 8th century B.C.E., when Philistia came under the control of the Neo-Assyrian empire, that Ekron experienced new physical growth and again became an important city-state. At the beginning of the 7th century B.C.E. in stratum IC, the mud-brick city wall was rebuilt and a new citadel tower was constructed, as well as an industrial zone of olive oil installations. The upper city continued to be occupied through stratum IB until the end of the 7th century B.C.E., when it was destroyed and abandoned.

*Fields II, III, IV, and V.* In the lower city, the broad sample of evidence and identical stratigraphic profile in all fields of excavation provide a sound basis for the conclusions that follow. In stratum I, in addition to occupying the upper city, Ekron expanded onto the lower city and beyond the limits of the mound itself. After a long gap in occupation of ca. 270 years, stratum IC, a fortified urban industrial center, was founded in the 7th century B.C.E. directly on the Iron Age I fortifications and buildings of stratum IV. Stratum IB, continuing the general plan of stratum IC, had an enormous quantity of restorable pottery, sealed below a massive destruction debris. It was distinguished from stratum IC by architectural alterations, the narrowing of the city gate entrance, and superimposed floors. This stratigraphic division is further defined by the reuse of elements of stratum IC oil installations, by large perforated stone weights, in the construction of stratum IB buildings, and by the discarding in stratum IB of stratum IC industrial equipment. For example, a huge olive-crushing basin and an olive press were buried in a pit beneath a stratum IB olive oil installation. These phenomena, which also indicate some reduction in oil production

in stratum IB, can be associated with the end of Assyrian rule and the reinstatement in Philistia of Egyptian hegemony at about 630 B.C.E., the date suggested for the division between strata IB and IC. It is assumed that the diminution in oil production was caused by the transition in political authority, resulting in a loss of Assyrian and Assyrian-controlled Phoenician markets and their extensive distribution system. The dating of the stratum IB destruction to the 603 B.C.E. campaign of Nebuchadnezzar to Philistia is supported by ceramic evidence, which includes the En Gedi V metallic ware and Mesad Hashavyahu types of cooking pots, the flat-based mortarium, the balloon bottle, and the East Greek skyphoi, which first appeared in the last quarter of the 7th century B.C.E. Stratum IA, found only in the lower city, was built in part over the destruction debris of stratum IB and also coexisted with its exposed remnants. It was a random, unfortified settlement with at least one structure similar to an "Assyrian" open-courtyard building. Stratum IA is dated to the early 6th century B.C.E., based on the ceramic evidence which continued the stratum IB coastal tradition and exhibited post–7th century forms, like the cyma-shaped, pointed-base sausage jars. Following stratum IA, the entire tel was abandoned until the Roman period. Evidence for the Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic periods was found only in the small, mound-shaped acropolis isolated at the N end of the lower city (Field V). This acropolis was formed solely by the occupation levels from these periods, the earliest of which was built directly over the stratum IB 7th century B.C.E. destruction.

The town plan of the 7th century strata IB-C city was well conceived and well constructed in a system of stepped-down terraces. Its best-preserved features belong to stratum IB. Designed in four zones, the city had specific districts for fortifications (Fields II, III), industry (Field III), and domestic and elite living areas (Fields IV, V).

The fortifications include a double stone-wall system—the upper wall on the crest of the slope and the lower wall at its base—with a long line of stables running between them. In the SE corner of the tel, a series of insets/offsets were connected to the upper wall, apparently the foundation for a bastion. The city gate, located in the center of the S face of the tel, consisted of a tower, three piers, and two cells, and was protected by a large gatehouse. The gate has much in common with Judean examples from Gezer and Lachish, as well as Philistine Ashdod.

The industrial zone, used primarily for olive oil production, was composed of a series of buildings located in a belt extending around most of the tel behind the fortifications and in an area off the NW slope of the tel. In the main excavation area (Field III), this zone had two major subdivisions located on either side of a well-constructed street. The rectangular-shaped industrial buildings had a tripart division with an olive oil production room, a storage/work room, and an anteroom which opened onto the street. The most complete building, immediately adjacent to the gate, contained in the oil production room an olive oil installation with a large, rectangular crushing basin, two pressing vats, carbonized remnants of a woodbeam, eight perforated stone weights, 108 restored pottery vessels, and 34 conical ceramic storejar lids, as well as a bronze juglet, a cosmetic palette, and a Phoenician-type figurine. See Fig. EKR.03 The work/storage room of this building contained 88 restored vessels, among which were large jars with circular holes used in the olive oil separation process. A storejar hidden below the floor contained a cache of eight large, well-preserved iron agricultural tools. This room also had a stone niche with a four-horned altar. The anteroom contained a large number of loom weights and pottery vessels for food preparation. In the industrial zone, more than 600 vessels have thus far been restored from the excavated areas, and at least one four-horned altar has been found in each industrial building.

The olive oil industry was the dominant feature and the chief stimulus for the phenomenal physical and economic growth of Ekron in the 7th century B.C.E. Initially established in stratum IC, the oil industry was probably created as a direct result of the stability produced by the *Pax Assyriaca* and the commercial interests of the expanding Assyrian empire. The 102 olive oil installation units thus far excavated or found on the surface of the tel, and associated with stratum IB, indicate that in antiquity Ekron was the largest olive oil industrial center in the ancient Near East. These installations, representing only a part of the potential sample, had the capacity of producing at least 1,000 tons of olive oil annually, one fifth of Israel's current level of export production (see Eitam and Shomroni 1987).

The extensive evidence of loom weights found throughout the industrial zone suggests that a second industry existed at Ekron for the production of textiles. Since olives could be pressed for only four months a year, a second industry probably existed to make efficient use of the large industrial plant during the remaining eight months of the year.

The domestic district was just N of the industrial zone. Here, buildings, courtyards and floors produced installations and pottery associated with domestic activities. The elite zone, continuing the Iron Age I tradition, was located in the center of the lower city (Field IV). It consisted of a large complex of at least four buildings, with a different plan than that of the industrial zone. So far, fifteen rooms have been excavated, including courtyards, storage areas, and living quarters, with no indication of industrial activity. Only this zone had Assyrian ceramic forms and East Greek skyphoi, as well as the highest percentage of decorated vessels and small closed and open ceramic forms. It also contained two unique large caches of silver jewelry and two small, well-worked four-horned altars.

The material culture of Ekron in the 7th century B.C.E. belongs primarily to the Philistine coastal tradition. Just over 83 percent of the ceramic evidence is coastal, 7 percent is Judean, 9 percent is common to the entire S, and 0.5 percent represents N ceramic forms. Typical of the coastal tradition are pointed-base juglets, hammer-head rim kraters, and small, incised and carinated bowls. The ceramic assemblage also includes twelve chalices—three with painted, triangle decoration, only paralleled at Tel Batash–Timnah, a daughter city of Ekron—and nine chalices with relief leaf decoration, not usually found in Judah. Another type of artifact, the four-horned incense altar, usually associated with Israelite religious practice of the Iron IC–IIA period, is unique to Ekron in the 7th century B.C.E. Ten examples have thus far been found. They do not exist elsewhere in Philistia, nor in Judah in the 7th century B.C.E. (Gitin 1989: 52–67). The three inscribed stone *shekel* and *bekah* weights from Ekron, while characteristic of Judah, are also known in Philistia. The same is true of the two words in paleo-Hebrew letters found on two storejars in the elite zone: *bt,* indicating volume, and *dbl,* possibly referring to figs. Only two Judean-type female figurines were found in stratum IB. Among the rich assemblage of small objects of ivory, faience and shell amulets, and figurines, many were Egyptian or showed Egyptian influence. Especially significant are the inscribed limestone sistrum (a musical instrument) and a scarab of the 26th Egyptian Dyn. This phenomenon is consistent with the coastal tradition in this period when Philistia was under Egyptian control.

The current excavations at Tel Miqne have demonstrated that the site was settled before the founding of Philistine Ekron at the beginning of the Iron Age; the urban center of Ekron evolved through a four-stage process of growth, contraction, regeneration, and partial abandonment, reflecting its changing role as a border city on the frontier separating Philistia and Judah; and the material culture of the Philistine coastal tradition was maintained throughout Ekron's 600-year history.

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**EL (DEITY)**. See NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT.

**EL-AREINI.** See AREINI, TELL EL-.

**EL-ʿAJJUL, TELL.** See ʿAJJUL, TELL EL-.

**EL-BATASHI.** See BATASHI, TELL EL-.

**EL-BERITH** (DEITY) [Heb *ʾēl bĕrît* (אֵל בְּרִית)]. See BAAL-BERITH (DEITY).

**EL-EMIR, ʿIRAQ.** See ʿIRAQ EL-EMIR.

**EL-GHASSUL.** See GHASSUL, TULEILAT EL-.

**EL-HESI, TELL.** See HESI, TELL EL-.

**EL-HIRI, RUJM.** See RUJM EL-HIRI.

**EL-HUSN.** See HUSN, EL-.

**EL-JARBA, ʿEIN.** See JARBA, ʿEIN EL-.

**EL-JIB** (PLACE). See GIBEON (PLACE).

**EL-KHALIL, RAMAT.** See RAMAT EL-KHALIL.

**EL-KHELEIFEH, TELL.** See KHELEIFEH, TELL EL-.

**EL-KOM, KHIRBET.** See KOM, KHIRBET EL- articles.

**EL-MARJAMEH, KHIRBET.** See MARJAMEH, KHIRBET EL-.

**EL-MASKHUTA, TELL.** See MASKHUTA, TELL EL-.

**EL-MAZAR, TELL.** See MAZAR, TELL EL-.

**EL-MESHASH, KHIRBET.** See MESHASH, KHIRBET EL-.

**EL-MILH, TELL.** See MALHATA, TEL.

**EL-OLAM** (DEITY). See NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT.

**EL-PARAN** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾêl pāʾrān* (אֵיל פָּארָן)]. Place "on the border of the wilderness" reached by Chedorlaomer and his allies after they crossed (from the N) Mount Seir (Gen 14:6). From there they turned back and came to "EnMishpat, that is, Kadesh" (Gen 14:7). These data make it certain that El-Paran corresponds to Elath on the Gulf of Aqabah (Sinus Aelaniticus) in the southernmost point of Edom (Seir) bordering on the wilderness of Paran. This leg of the itinerary of the four kings reproduces, in reverse order, the route of the Israelites from Kadesh to Moab according to Num 20:22; 21:4, 10–13; and Deut 1:46–2:8 (note "in the direction of the Red Sea," 2:1, "turn northward," 2:3, and "away from the Arabah road from Elath and Ezion-geber"). The term *ʾêl (ʾyl)* in the composite name El-Paran—QL Gen Apocryphon, *ʾyl prn*—is a masculine variant of *ʾêlāh* or *ʾêlat* and means a large tree, like an oak or a terebinth, often a landmark and an object or reverence. LXX translated it *tereminthos tu pharan* "the terebinth of Paran." Because of Jewish opposition to the adoration of sacred trees, Targum Onkelos rendered *ʾêl pāʾrān* by *mêšar pāʾrān* "the plain of Paran," and the Palestinian Targum (Cod. Neofiti) by *gbwlʾ dprʾn* "the border of Paran." This was followed by Vg: *campestria Pharan.*
MICHAEL C. ASTOUR

**EL-QEDAH, TELL.** See HAZOR.

**EL-QOM, KHIRBET.** See KOM, KHIRBET EL-.

**EL-UMEIRI, TELL.** See ʿUMEIRI, TELL EL-.

**ELA** (PERSON) [Heb ʾēlāʿ (אֵלָא)]. The father of Shimei, the governor appointed by Solomon over the administrative district of Benjamin (1 Kgs 4:18). The name Ela, which is also found in the Samaria Ostraca (Reisner, Fischer and Lyon 1924: 236), is formed from the common Semitic term for deity *(ʾēl)* with a vocalic ending, perhaps serving as a vocative (*IPN,* 38). The Massorah Parva on 1 Kgs 4:18 is keen to point out that this is the sole instance in the Bible where *ʾēlāʿ* appears with a final *ʾalep.* The homonymous name written with a final *he* (RSV Elah) probably has a different etymology.

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**ELAH** (PERSON) [Heb ʾēlâ (אֵלָה)]. One of the eleven "tribal chiefs" *(ʾallûpîm)* of Esau/Edom (Gen 36:41; 1 Chr 1:52). This list of chiefs is probably an addition originating with the Priestly source, while the 1 Chr 1:51b–54 list represents a shortened version of it. Six out of the eleven (Timna, Alvah, Jetheth, Oholibamah, Kenaz, and Teman) are already recorded in the older geneological tradition of Genesis 36 prior to the list of vv 40–43 (cf. 1 Chr 1:36–41). Although the names Magdiel and Iram cannot be classified with certainty, Pinon and Mibzar are likely place names. Elah may, of course, be understood as a hypocoristic personal or tribal name, but it is more probable that it is a place name analogous to Pinon and Mibzar. It is probably identical to Elath and ought to be sought near present-day ʿAqaba.

ULRICH HÜBNER

**ELAH, VALLEY OF** (PLACE) [Heb ʿēmeq hāʾēlâ (עֵמֶק הָאֵלָה)]. The place where the Israelites under the command of Saul were encamped in the face-off with the Philistines which resulted in David's slaying of Goliath. This event is recorded in 1 Samuel 17, and the place name is mentioned in 17:2 and 17:19. The valley of Elah is later recalled as the place where these events occurred in 1 Sam 21:9, when David is fleeing from Saul and requests help from Ahimelech, the priest of the city of Nob. At David's request, Ahimelech gives him the Bread of the Presence and Goliath's sword. That these mentions of the valley of Elah, along with David's first display of heroism, occur at the beginning of David's relationship with Saul and as David is fleeing Saul, is an example of the artistry of the compiler of these stories about the rise of David and the early days of kingship in Israel. The name Elah means "Terebinth," a kind of deciduous tree noted for its longevity (*BDB* 18). It is often translated as "oak" (so RSV, Gen 35:4, for instance). The name of the place where David slew Goliath, then, is "the Valley of the Terebinth." It is identified with modern Wadi es-Sant ("Valley of the Acacia"), about 15 miles WSW of Bethlehem (see *IDB* 2: 70; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 290).

JEFFRIES M. HAMILTON

**ELAM** (PERSON) [Heb ʿêlām (עֵילָם)]. 1. The first of five "sons" of Shem (Gen 10:22). Elam appears as a personification of the land of Elam in the Table of Nations. See ELAM (PLACE). The appearance of the name Elam among Israelites in the following occurrences may be related to the international nature of the periods when the name is used, the time of David (if occurrence 2 is to be dated from that time) and that of the return from the Exile. Especially for the latter, it might not be surprising to find figures bearing the name of their place of Exile (cf. however Clines *Ezra Nehemiah Esther* NCBC, 49).

**2.** Fifth son of Meshelemiah of the Korahites, one of the gatekeepers appointed by David (1 Chr 26:3).

**3.** A son of Shashak, son of Elpaal, son of Shaharaim and Hushim in Moab, of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr 8: 24). This Elam may be identified with Elam (4) below. Rudolph (*Chronicles* HAT, 77) has

suggested 1 Chronicles 8 to be a list of various families of Benjamin dating from the reign of Josiah or from the postexilic period.

**4.** The head of a clan from which 1,254 people returned from the Exile to Jersualem with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:7; Neh 7:12; 1 Esdr 5:12). A group of seventy males from this clan returned with Ezra under the leadership of Jeshaiah son of Athaliah (Ezra 8:7; cf. 1 Esdr 8:33, where Jeshaiah is the son of Gotholios). A member of this family, Shecaniah son of Jehiel, was the first to confess to the sin of marrying foreign wives after Ezra's speech and a group of six men from the family of Elam are named among those who made sacrifice and expelled their foreign wives (Ezra 10:2, 26; 1 Esdr 9:27). Elam is also named among the heads of the people who make covenant with God (Neh 10:15—Eng 10:14).

**5.** The head of a clan from which 1,254 people returned from the Exile to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:31; Neh 7:34). Described as the "other Elam" to distinguish him from the Elam of Ezra 2:7 and Neh 7:12; the fact that the number of returnees is the same for both families has led to the identification of the two figures (Gunneweg *Ezra* KAT, 60). However, the combined number of returnees from the families of both (the other) Elam and Ono is 725 in 1 Esdr 5:22.

**6.** One of the priests involved with Nehemiah in the thanksgiving celebration at the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem (Neh 12:42).

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**ELAM** (PLACE) [*ʿêlam* (עֵילָם)]. ELAMITES. The Elamites called their country *Haltamti* (or *Hatamti*), a word that means "the country (of the) lord," from which is derived the Akkadian word *Elamtu.* The Sumerians designated this region by the ideogram NIM, which means "high" or "raised." This name is rendered in Hebrew by *ʿêlām* and in Greek by *aylam,* whereas in Achaemenid inscriptions composed in Old Persian, this province is called *Hujā* (or *Huvjā*), that is to say Susiana. It is mentioned in several late biblical texts (Isa 21:2; Jer 25:25; 49:34–39; Ezek 32:24; Dan 8:2; Ezra 4:9; Acts 2:9).

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**A. Geography**

The site of Susa, in the modern Iranian province of Khuzistan, furnishes the major part of our documentation of the Elamite civilization; Elam was thus for a long time confused with Susiana. Today recent research permits us to better define the geography of this country, whose boundaries varied over the course of the three millennia of its history. This confusion was even easier, given that the word Elam had for the ancients two different meanings. In the strict meaning of the term, Elam corresponded more or less to the present province of Fars and had Anšan (Tell-i Malyân, in the area of Persepolis) for its capital. In a larger sense, the word designated a large part of the Iranian plateau to which Susiana had been politically attached during certain epochs. At the end of the 3d millennium and at the beginning of the 2d, when cuneiform inscriptions (found for the most part in Mesopotamia and in Susiana) become explicit, Elam appears as a federation of different geopolitical entities that successively assume domination over the whole (Awan, Šimaški, Anšan). At this time, Elam stretched to the E of Mesopotamia from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf, and seemed to have for its eastern limits the great deserts of Kavir and Lut. It is only in the 1st millennium, when Medes and Persians invaded the Plateau and when the

autochthonous population took refuge in Susiana, that this latter region took the name of Elam. It is to this later situation that the Assyrian annals, the Achaemenid inscriptions, and the biblical books allude.

**B. History**

Today, the history of Elam remains one of the least known of the ancient Near East despite real progress made during the last decades. And it is still the Mesopotamian texts that give us the principal points of reference for an absolute chronology. The three millennia of its history are characterized, in our written documentation, by constant contacts, friendly or aggressive, with Mesopotamia, because Elam, with its natural riches (metals, stone, wood, etc.) and by its position en route toward the sources of certain highly sought-after materials (lapis lazuli, tin, etc.) was often indispensable to the Mesopotamian economy. But it is only from archaeological finds that one discovers the contacts that the Elamites had with their oriental neighbors, whether from the N (Central Asia), from the E (Afghanistan, Sistan, Pakistan) or from the S (the Persian Gulf, Arabia). However, this history, which begins around 3200 B.C.E. when the first Proto-Elamite documents appear, and ends arbitrarily in 331 B.C.E. when Alexander the Great put an end to the Achaemenid Empire, can be divided into five distinct periods.

**1. Proto-Elamite Period** (ca. 3200–2700 B.C.E.). When Elam enters into history around 3200 B.C.E. with the appearance of the first written documents, the country is heir to a long tradition. The Iranian Plateau's prehistory was already closely associated with Mesopotamia's and Susa's. Since its foundation around 4000 B.C.E., the city oscillated between its two large neighbors, sometimes dependent on the Plateau and sometimes under the influence of the Mesopotamians. Thus, in the first half of the 4th millennium Susianan ceramics, of a remarkable aesthetic quality, have no equal in Mesopotamia; whereas, in the second half of this millennium, the archaeological material discovered on Susa's acropolis is interchangeable with that of Uruk, the Mesopotamian site of reference.

It is at the end of this period (called the Uruk period in Mesopotamia) that the Susians employed a system of reckoning by means of clay tokens enclosed in a clay envelope upon which cylinder seals were rolled. There arose at a later stage the idea of symbolizing, on the surface of the bulla, by means of different circles and notches, the tokens that the envelope contained. These last became *ipso facto* useless. Thus only the part inscribed on the bulla was conserved. This was the birth of the clay tablet, which became the graphic medium for a large part of the ancient Near East for several millennia. During this early period, only the quantities of merchandise exchanged were noted, not the nature of the goods. The creation of ideograms called Proto-Elamite—which despite all attempts have remained undeciphered—were probably the work of people from the Iranian Plateau. They were used in Elam until about 2700 B.C.E. Susa during this period lived under the influence of the Plateau. Similar tablets have been found at Sialk near Kachan, at Anšan in the Fars, at Tepe Yahya in the Kerman, and as far as Shakr-i Sukhte in the present province of Sistan, on the Afghanistan border. And it is during a still obscure period from 2700 to 2400 that there is the first mention of Elam (NIM) in an inscription by the Sumerian King of Kiš, Enmebaragesi. But it is only at the beginning of the Agade period that Susa and Elam truly enter into history, thanks to cuneiform texts that make numerous allusions to the relationship that existed between these two countries.

**2. Old Elamite Period** (ca. 2400–1500 B.C.E.). This period sees three dynasties succeed each other in Elam, that of Awan, that of Šimaški and that of the *sukkalmah,* corresponding in Mesopotamia to the Agade, Ur III, Old Babylonian, and the beginning of the Kassite periods. Constant conflicts arose between the two great rivals, conflicts that alternated occasionally with matrimonial alliances created by economic exchanges.

During the Awan period (ca. 2400–2100), the Mesopotamian sovereigns of the Agade dynasty made Susiana one of their provinces. It was governed by their representatives of whom Ešpum and Ilišmani are the best known. It is even likely that they wielded, for a certain time, their power over Anšan as their title leads one to suppose. With the forays by Sargon (2334–2279) and his successor Rimuš into the Plateau as far as the Kerman, the kings of Awan, Luh-išan and Hišiprasini became rivals. But these expeditions seem more like raids than real conquests. Naram-Sin even had to sign a treaty with one of the Awanite rulers. This document is the first text drawn up in Elamite and written in cuneiform characters.

But it is the last king of the Awan dynasty, Puzur-Inšušinak—a contemporary of Ur-Nammu (2112–2095), the founder of the 3d dynasty of Ur, according to a text recently found at Isin—who seems to have realized the first historic unification of Elam. King of Awan, he first subjugated the whole of the Plateau, then conquered Susiana. But this unity illustrated by the title "King of Awan," vice-king of the country of Elam, governor of Susa, did not last long. It is, however, in Susa that monuments by Puzur-Inšušinak have been found that have the oddity of carrying bilingual dedicatory inscriptions, in Akkadian and in linear Elamite whose symbols are the heirs of the older Proto-Elamite script.

While the Šimaški dynasties (2050–1860) were in power on the Plateau, Susiana once again became a Mesopotamian province dependent on the kings of the 3d dynasty of Ur. With the military forays into Elam came dynastic marriages between Mesopotamian princesses and Elamite princes against a background of commercial exchange. But in 2004, under the conduct of Kindattu, the 6th king of the Šimaški dynasty, Elamites and Susianans invaded Mesopotamia and put an end to the prestigious empire of Ur. Its last king, Ibbi-Sin (2028–2004) was even taken prisoner in Elam where he died. During several decades after this Elamite victory—victory which will long leave marks in the memories of Mesopotamians, as is seen in the *Lamentations of Ur*—the situation remained confused and it was not until around 1970 that the Elamites were definitively installed in Susiana.

It is interesting to note that it is at the end of the 3d millennium and at the beginning of the 2d, and particularly during the Šimaški period, that the Elamites maintained extremely tight ties with their oriental neighbors. No text makes mention of the fact, but the archaeological material shows that certain cultural themes were diffused over a vast area including the N of Iran, from Turkmenia to Afghanistan, Pakistan to the Baluchistan and the Persian Gulf. In each of these regions identical documents to those found in Susa, in Anšan, or in Shahdad bordering the Lut, probably ancient Šimaški, are vouched for. One can also mention the axes, the staff, the disk, symbols of power, the clothing for the kaunakes, the representations of snakes (sometimes androcephalic, sometimes with dragon heads), the ceramics, different objects out of steatite or metal, buildings with different levels or their representations, etc.

**3. *Sukkalmah* Dynasty** (1970–1500 B.C.E.). When Ebarat or Eparti, the 9th king of Šimaški came to power in Susiana, he gave himself the title of "King of Anšan and of Susa" that his immediate successors will abandon for that of *sukkalmah,* a word that can be translated as "Grand Regent," a legacy from the empire of Ur III. The *sukkalmah* was sometimes helped by two *sukkal,* "regents," the *sukkal* of Elam and of Šimaški who oversaw the oriental part of the empire while the *sukkalmah* spent the winter in Susa, and the *sukkal* of Susa (sometimes called *šarru,* "king") who had the responsibility for Susiana when the *sukkalmah* lived in either Anšan or Šimaški. With respect to the division of power in Elam, it is henceforth appropriate to renounce the theory according to which the king's nephew was associated with the management of affairs. This interpretation results from the incorrect translation of the expression "son of the sister" that one should understand to be "son that the king had with his own sister"—an illustration of royal Elamite incest—and not "nephew."

This definitive installation of people of the Plateau does not accompany any important changes in the civilization of Susa which then became the principal capital. The Elamite kings—no more than they imposed their title—did not impose their language or their religion. Thus economic and judicial texts, those of daily life, were always drawn up in Akkadian. The few royal inscriptions written in Elamite scarcely pass the half-dozen mark and not all of them come from Susiana. As to the pantheon, it remained essentially Suso-Mesopotamian with Inšušinak at its head. Šamas and Išmekarab continued to be influential. The *sukkalmahs* constructed or restored the temples of the acropolis which were all dedicated to non-Elamite deities. They seemed thus to have "semitized" themselves. This period is relatively well documented by several hundred tablets and dedicatory documents found at Susa and by some precious synchronisms with Mesopotamian history. The oldest concerns Attahušu, contemporary of Idadu-napir, 11th king of Šimaški and of Sumuabum (1894–1881), first sovereign of the 1st Babylonian dynasty. This synchronism permits first of all, to suppose that the reign of Attahušu truly began following a raid that Gungunum, 5th king of Larsa (1932–1906), led in Susiana around 1927. It then implies that the reign of Ebarat, 9th king of Šimaški and founder of the new dynasty, must be dated around 1970. In fact, between

Attahušu and Šilhaha, son of Ebarat, one can henceforth place different *sukkalmah*s and *sukkals:* Palaiššan, Kuk-sanit, Kuk-Kirmaš, Tem-sanit, Kuk-Nahundi and Kuk-Našur I.

Next, we know that the *sukkalmah* Širuktuh was a contemporary of Šamši-adad I of Assyria (1813–1781). His name is cited in a letter to the Assyrian king, a letter which explains the presence of an Elamite army in the S Zab region. Later, the Mari tablets mention Siwepalarhuppak (sometimes under the name of Šeplarpak) and Kuduzuluš: they show that during the years 7 and 8 of Zimri-Lim, ties that were at first amicable and perhaps founded on the tin commerce, disintegrated rapidly and Zimri-Lim allied himself with Hammurabi (1792–1750) against the Elamites. Finally, a last synchronism with Mesopotamia, the Babylonian king Ammi-ṣaduqa (1646–1626) probably reigned at the same time as the *sukkalmah* Kuk-Našur III. Between these two chronological points of reference, there are twelve *sukkals* and *sukkalmah*s who succeed each other in Susa and among them, the most important are, in order: Kutir-Nahhunte I, Temti-agun, Kuk-Našur II, Kuduzuluš II, Tan-Uli and Temti-halki. We know little about the successors of Kuk-Našur III. This dynasty died out under unknown conditions at the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 15th century.

**4. Middle Elamite Period** (ca. 1500–1100 B.C.E.). This period had three successive dynasties: The Kidinuides, the Igihalkides, and the Šutrukides. It seems to be one of the most brilliant in Elamite history and is characterized by a progressive "Elamitization" of Susiana.

The period of the Kidinuides is still poorly known and the term dynasty is probably improper since the different rulers do not seem to be linked by ties of parentage: the mention of a father is never documented in the titles which, however, come from the old tradition of the "kings of Susa and of Anšan" in the Akkadian texts, an expression which will transform itself into "king of Anšan and of Susa" in Elamite texts. It is to these kings that we owe the great period of Haft Tépé, the former Kabnak located 20 km to the SE of Susa. The texts found on this site show that the king Tepti-Ahar had partially abandoned Susa. It seems that an end was put to this dynasty at the very beginning of the 14th century by a military campaign of Kurigalzu I. And it is likely that from the disorder created by this war, a new dynasty was born, that of the Igihalkides who adopted with respect to the Kassites, new political alliances. A recently published text puts into question the image that we have had of this dynasty. It consists of a letter probably sent by the king Šutruk-Nahhunte to the Kassite court to demand sovereignty over Babylonia, the throne to which it claimed the right through matrimonial ties. The Elamite ruler thus enumerates a series of marriages between kings of Elam and Kassite princesses. Pahir-iššan, son of Igihalki, married the daughter of Kurigalzu I whereas Untaš-Napiriša took for his spouse, the daughter of Burnaburiaš II (1359–1333), which leads one to believe that this Elamite dynasty reigned much earlier than had previously been thought.

The Elamitization of Susiana during this period is marked by two facts: the Elamite language replaced Akkadian and the pantheon of the Plateau imposed itself over Suso-Mesopotamian divinities. This political change is particularly well illustrated by the politico-religious complex of Tchogha Zanbil. In fact, Untaš-Napiriša, at an earlier time, constructed a temple surrounding a square tower associated with a little ziggurat. The whole thing was dedicated to the great god of Susa, Inšušinak. But later, the king took down the first ziggurat and, using as a base the temple that surrounded the courtyard, built a large ziggurat which has come down to us. He dedicated it conjointly to Napiriša, the principal divinity of the Elamite pantheon and to Inšušinak. It is thus with Untaš-Napiriša, that the Elamite gods (Awanites, Šimaškians, or Anšanites) profited for the first time in Susiana from a cult on a grand scale. All, or almost all, had a temple in the *Siyan kuk* (sacred area) of Tchogha Zanbil. Timidly introduced by the Kidinuides, the Elamite gods henceforth enjoyed in Susiana the same prerogatives as the Suso-Mesopotamian deities. The construction of the Tchogha Zanbil ziggurat, the temples, and palaces that surround the interior of the three concentric enclosures illustrate the mastery of Elamite architects; the reservoir which brings water to the site from over 40 km away gives an idea of the technical abilities of the Elamites which were often superior to those of the Mesopotamians.

But relations with Kassite Mesopotamia worsened and a great-grandson of Untaš-Napiriša, Kidin-Hutran III, revolted against Enlil-nadin-šumi (1224) and then against Adad-šuma-iddina (1222–1217)

whom he deposed after having sacked Der, Nippur, Isin, and Marad. And once again the dynasty died amidst what seemed to be general confusion since Tukulti-Ninurta I was assassinated in Assyria during this same period.

With the reign of Šutruk-Nahhunte, son of the founder of the new dynasty, that of the Šutrukides, relations with Kassite Mesopotamia deteriorated even further. It is possible that he is the author of the letter in the Berlin Museum which demands the Babylonian throne. His attitude toward his neighbors makes it likely. He had, in effect, led many campaigns into Mesopotamia where he put an end to the reign of Zababa-šuma-iddina (1158) and from where he brought back to Susa numerous trophies, among which one must mention the Naram-Sin stele, the statue of Maništušu, and above all the famous Code of Hammurabi. On each monument, he had engraved an inscription that reminded one that it was indeed he who had brought back these works as spoils of war. It is perhaps also the riches that these raids procured for him that permitted him to acquire the fortune necessary to build the temples that he had constructed on Susa's acropolis. He even claimed to have been the first to have used enamaled brick, a very costly building material, in the building of certain monumental doorways.

His son Kutir-Nahhunte continued the same politics of conflict with Mesopotamia. By deposing Enlil-nadin-ahi (1157–1155), he put an end to the Kassite dynasty. His reign does not seem to have lasted very long. For some, it is possible that the biblical episode of CHEDORLAOMER, in Elamite Kudur-Lagamar (Genesis 14) can be attributed to him. This hypothesis would suggest confusion between two Elamite divinities: Lagamar and Nahhunte. For others, the incident would be contemporary with Hammurabi. It is, however, probable that he occupied, for a short time, the Babylonian throne. After his death, of which we do not know the circumstances, he is replaced by his brother Šilhak-Inšušinak who appears as one of the major figures in Elamite history. His reign can be characterized by two essential points: the construction and restoration of temples and the pursuit of war against Mesopotamia. Šilhak-Inšušinak left us numerous dedicatory inscriptions of which the greater part report that the temples, all over the empire (constructed out of raw brick), were torn down and rebuilt with fired brick. In his restorations, he does not forget to mention his predecessors who had left their own dedicatory inscriptions in the foundations. One stele recounts the reconstruction of more than twenty temples all over Susiana. The other aspect of his reign is equally illustrated by a stele which narrates numerous campaigns to the W. Some of these expeditions (against Akkad, Nippur, and Sippar) are also related in recently discovered inscriptions which are still unpublished.

His successor, Hutelutuš-Inšušinak followed an identical policy but with less success since he found himself opposed by a powerful ruler, Nebuchadnezzar I (1125–1104). This king, in fact, handed a defeat to Hutelutuš-Inšušinak, but a defeat less severe than had been thought, due to the incorrect interpretation of a text. It appears that after having taken refuge in Anšan where he profited from his brief exile by building a temple, he came back to Susa where he continued to build. However, his reign marked the end of a great Elamite period. Two kings succeeded him before our sources dry up for almost four centuries.

One cannot, however, omit mention of the most surprising personage of this dynasty; the queen Nahhunte-utu whose destiny seems out of the ordinary. Daughter of Šutruk-Nahhunte, she married successively two brothers, Kutir-Nahhunte then Šilhak-Inšušinak, and it seems probable that Hutelutuš-Inšušinak was born from a union between Šutruk-Nahhunte and Nahhunte-utu, his own daughter. This would explain the strange title Hutelutuš-Inšušinak adopted, when he called himself son of Šutruk-Nahhunte, Kutir-Nahhunte and Šilhak-Inšušinak. Rarely in Elamite history will a queen be so closely linked to royal power and she is the only woman to be so often cited by name in inscriptions.

**5. Neo-Elamite Period** (ca. 1000–539 B.C.E.). The slow disintegration of the Elamite Empire which characterized this period had essentially two causes: to the W, the interference of Elam in the interminable conflict between the Assyrians and the Babylonians; to the N and E, the continued pressure of the Indo-Europeans, Medes and Persians who inhabited the Plateau, pushing the indigenous Elamites toward the Low-Country.

Of the first Neo-Elamite period, which began at the beginning of the 1st millennium and continued up until the reign of Šutruk-Nahhunte II, we know almost nothing, if only that an Elamite king, Mar-biti-

apla-usar, reigned over Mesopotamia from 984–979. And it is possible that the economic tablets discovered at Tell-i Malyan, the former Anšan, date from this period. The written sources are silent until 743, the date beginning with which the Neo-Babylonian chronicles begin to give us abundant information of the participation of Elam in the Assyrio-Babylonian conflict. One must note, however, that for this period the archaeological material is relatively plentiful and numerous tombs have been found, mostly in Susa.

In 720, the first king of this second phase, Humban-nikaš (743–717) confronted Sargon II (721–705) near Der. The Elamites went to help the Chaldean Merodach-Baladan, who will ask later still for the help of Šutruk-Nahhunte II (716–699) against the same Sargon. The Assyrian king finally conquered the N and W of Elam and his son Sennacherib (704–681) finished by dethroning Merodach-Baladan and installing his own son on the Babylonian throne. The defeat of the Elamites provoked the fall of Šutruk-Nahhunte II who was deposed by his brother Hallušu-Inšušinak (698–693). He occupied Babylonia for a very short time before he, too, was killed and replaced by Kudur-Nahhunte (693–692). The latter did not reign in Susa but in Madaktu, the second of the three Elamite capitals (with Susa and Hidalu) of this troubled period. He also seems to have suffered a violent death. His successor Humban-nimena (692–689), despite the setbacks of his predecessors, recruited a new army to give help to the Babylonians and in 691 the uncertain battle of Halule took place that saw a true coalition of Babylonians, Elamites, and Persians confront the Assyrians, who ended up losing Babylonia in 689. Humban-haltaš I (688–681 and Humban-haltaš II (680–675) took part in the internal struggles in Babylonia and Assyria, struggles that ended with the assassination of Sennacherib and the assumption of the throne by his son Esarhaddon (680–669). Curiously, Esarhaddon kept up good relations with the new Elamite ruler Urtak (674–665). This relative calm lasted just until the reign of Assurbanipal (668–627). But in 665, after an attack against Babylonia, Urtak was pushed back by Assurbanipal into Elam where he died. Tepti-Humban-Inšušinak (664–653) who appears in Assyrian under the name Te-umman, son of Šilhak-Inšušinak II, succeeded him. After a period of calm, Assurbanipal undertook a campaign against Elam in 653 and confronted Te-umman on the river Ulaï. The latter was killed after having been betrayed by the Elamites. Assurbanipal thus installed the sons of Urtak on the Elamite throne, who, after the assassination of their father, had taken refuge at the Assyrian court: Humban-nikaš in Madaktu and Tammaritu in Hidalu. Susa was perhaps still in the hands of Atta-hamiti-Inšušinak.

After a confused period in which the Elamites took the side of Šamaš-šum-ukin and then Nabu-bel-šumati against Assurbanipal, in 647, the Assyrian troops invaded Elam where puppet kings succeeded each other, but it was in 640 that the city fell into Assyrian hands. In the narration of this campaign, Assurbanipal gives forceful details of the ferocity with which he avenged generations of Mesopotamians: the treasure is pillaged, the tombs are violated in the sacred groves, the kings' ashes are thrown to the winds, statues of gods are brought back to Mesopotamia and Susa and destroyed. Some of the inhabitants are even deported to Samaria (Ezra 4:9–10). The reality must have been a little different since after this terrible sack, a new royalty was installed in Susa (the Neo-Elamite III Period) where the Elamite element was clearly predominant. In a documentation henceforth exclusively Elamite, even Akkadian proper names are rare. The Elamites of the Plateau, pushed back by the Medes and the Persians, flourish in Susiana.

**6. Achaemenid Period** (539–331 B.C.E.). While the Susianans were mixed up with Mesopotamian problems, the Medes and the Persians discretely took root on the Plateau that had thus become Iranian. On his cylinder, Cyrus the Great (559–530) demanded the prestigious royalty of Anšan, not only for himself but also for his predecessors Cambyse, Cyrus I, and even Teispes, which implies that the double kingdom of Anšan and Susa had existed for a long time. Whatever it may be, it is likely that Susiana, in turn, fell into Persian hands when Cyrus prepared to conquer Babylonia in 539. There were still several vague impulses toward independence that Darius put down, in particular against Ummanuš and Hašina. But since this time, Elam, under the name of Susiana in inscriptions written in Old-Persian, is no more than a province of the empire, an important province to be sure, since the Achaemenids inherited many characteristic traits of the Elamite civilization.

With Darius (521–486), Susa regained its faded greatness, becoming one of the principal capitals of the Achaemenids, if not the most important. It is, in fact, curious to note on the economic tablets found at Persepolis, voyages of long distances toward Arachosia, Greece, or Egypt, were begun and completed in Susa, and not in Persepolis where these documents were found. Whatever it may be, from the beginning of his reign, Darius undertook the construction of a palace of which certain important details were only recently discovered. Thus, the excavations that have allowed the unearthing of the palace complex, have not permitted, for example, the tracing of Esther's itinerary, who, from the doorway where Mordecai stood, would go join Ahasuerus. This doorway, for which a generation of archaeologists had searched to the S of the palace, was finally discovered to the E of the palace complex. Since then, the book of Esther took on new meaning and one can be practically certain that the writer or writers had visited if not lived in Susa. Darius was not content with just reconstructing Susa or with building a new capital at Persepolis, this one, more symbolic, was linked, it seems, with the celebration of the Iranian New Year (March 21). He succeeded in affirming an empire which stretched "from India to Sardis, the Saces who are further than Sogdiana, to Egypt" according to his own expression. He organized a remarkable chancellery, heir of a long Elamite tradition, of which the Bible is an echo.

In Darius' trilingual inscriptions (Old-Persian, Elamite and Akkadian), one can note an interesting peculiarity. When the king enumerates the countries he has conquered, the province called Elam in Elamite and Akkadian texts, has the same Susiana (*Huǰa* or *Huvǰa*) in versions written in Old-Persian. The Bible thus inherited the Akkadian tradition as the book of Daniel indicates (8:2): "… I was in Susa, the capital, which is in the province of Elam …" or the book of Ezra (4:9): "The men of Erech, the Babylonians, the men of Susa, that is, the Elamites, …" Elsewhere the bible confirms an organized chancellery. It is again in the book of Esther (6:1) that one reads: "On that night, the king could not sleep; and he gave orders to bring the book of memorable deeds, the chronicles, and they were read before the king." The book of Nehemiah (7:64) talks of people who do research in geneological registers, while Ezra (6:1) gives other details: "Then Darius the king made a decree, and search was made in Babylonia, in the house of the archives where the documents were stored. And in Ecbatana, the capital which is in the province of Media, a scroll was found on which this was written …" But the clearest summary of the administration of Elamite origin, is again given in Esther (8:9): "The king's secretaries were summoned at that time, … and an edict was written according to all that Mordecai commanded concerning the Jews to the satraps and the governors and the princes of the provinces from India to Ethiopia, 127 provinces, to every province in its own script and to every people in its own language, and also to the Jews in their script and their language."

At this period when Aramean replaced Akkadian in international exchanges, it is interesting to note that almost all the tablets found at Persepolis were written in Elamite (two are in Akkadian and one in Greek, a few rare documents are in Aramean), legacy of the "kings of Anšan and Susa."

Under the Achaemenids, the province of Elam, tightly associated with Persia, Persian avatars would live. And, *in fine*, Susa, like Persepolis, would see Alexander and his generals within her walls. During the Seleucid, Parthian and Sassanid periods, neither Elam (under the name of Elymaïde), nor Susa would recapture its past grandeur. It is with difficulty that at the beginning of the Islamic period, Susa becomes a center of some importance. A mosque and a conventual building adjoin the bazaar. But the commercial centers are displaced and in the 14th century C.E. the city fell into oblivion, until archaeologists from the 19th and 20th centuries discovered a part of its history that is several millennia old. Thus Elam, son of Shem (Genesis 10:22), saw, on several occasions, Jeremiah's prophecies come to pass (49:35–39).

**C. Language**

The Elamite language does not belong to any known linguistic group. It is an agglutinate language that uses prefixes on mono- or dissyllabic roots. Its evolution can be traced from the Paleo-Elamite period up to the Achaemenid period.

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**ELASA** (PLACE) [Gk *Elasa* (Ἐλασα)]. The site of Judas Maccabeus' last stand against the army of Bacchides in the year 160 B.C.E. (1 Macc 9:5). The major proposals for identifying the site have located it either at Khirbet Il‹asa (Loewenstamm *EncMiqr* 1: 371–72), which lies between Upper and Lower Beth-horon, or at Khirbet el-‹Aššì (M.R. 169144), by modern Ramallah. Although both identifications have been questioned on strategic grounds, each of them lies in close proximity to el-Bireh (M.R. 170146), the most likely location of Bacchides' encampment. However, significant complications still remain. One is the possibility, based on a tradition in Josephus, that the Seleucid army may have been stationed not at el-Bireh, but at Birzeit (M.R. 168152), about seven km to the NW. In such a case, one would expect the Jewish camp to have assembled further N as well, unless Birzeit is mentioned only as the starting point for Seleucid troop movements. A further complication is prompted by another remark of Josephus, namely that Judas met his death not at Elasa but at Akedasa. This discrepancy might reflect a confusion with the site of Judas' previous victory over Nicanor, namely Adasa between Jerusalem and el-Bireh (1 Macc 7:39–45). For a text-critical explanation, see Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 374.

DAVID A. GLATT

**ELASAH** (PERSON) [Heb *›el‹āśâ* (אֶלְעָשָׂה)]. The name Elasah consists of the common Semitic term for deity *(›ēl)* and the root *‹śh,* forming the nominal sentence "God has made, wrought."

**1.** A Judean diplomat in the time of Jeremiah (Jer 29:3). Along with Gemariah son of Hilkiah, Elasah was sent by the Judean king Zedekiah on a mission to Babylon, at which time the two messengers carried a letter written by Jeremiah to the Judean exiles. Elasah was the son of Shaphan, a well known scribe in the days of Josiah (1 Kgs 22:8). Shaphan's offspring maintained close ties with Jeremiah (cf. Jer 26:24; 36:25), and evidently sided with his preaching of nonresistance toward the Babylonians (cf. Jer 40:5).

**2.** One of six descendants of the priestly family of Pashhur who were implicated at the time of Ezra's purge of foreign wives (Ezra 10:22). The variant Greek forms of the name found in the versions of 1 Esdr 9:22, Salthas and Saloas, appear to be corruptions.

DAVID A. GLATT

**ELATH** (PLACE) [Heb *›êlat* (אֵילַת)]. Var. ELOTH. A settlement on the N coast of the Gulf of Aqaba, closely associated with Ezion-geber, and a port for trade with Arabia, Africa, and India (1 Kgs 9:26).

The origins of the settlement are obscure. It may be the El-paran mentioned in Gen 14:6 as the southernmost point reached by the four kings of the East on their raid through Canaan (*LBHG,* 55, 140, 142), though this is disputed (Simons *GTTOT,* 214). Elath may be connected with Elah, listed as one of

the chiefs of Edom in Gen 36:40 and 1 Chr 1:51. Elah here is probably a region as it appears in the list immediately before Pinon, probably the Punon in the Arabah (Num 33:42–43). The Israelites departed from Elath in order to circle around Edom and not violate its territory (Deut 2:8). Egyptian mining expeditions to Timna continued at least into the reign of Rameses III (ca. 1150; Rothenberg *EAEHL*, 1188–1201). Since these expeditions probably came by ship, it is possible that Elath's origin was as a transshipment point for the Egyptian copper industry.

Elath stood at the end of two important land routes. It was the terminus for the S extension of the King's Highway which ran the length of Jordan's inland plateau (*LBHG*, 56), and also for travelers journeying S along the Arabah, the biblical Way of the Red Sea (Num 14:25; 21:4; Deut 1:40; 2:1; *LBHG*, 36, 58).

After David's crushing victory over the Edomites (2 Sam 8:13–14; 1 Chr 18:12–13) Solomon built his fleet of ships for trade with Ophir at Ezion-geber, "which is near Eloth on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom" (1 Kgs 9:26; 2 Chr 8:17). If Ezion-geber can still be identified with Tell el-Kheleifeh (M.R. 147884; Pratico 1985: 1–32), it is as a fortress guarding Israelite interests on the gulf by keeping a watchful eye on predominantly Edomite Elath, and perhaps by providing temporary storage facilities.

It is unknown how often Solomon and his successors dispatched fleets from Elath/Ezion-geber. Jehoshaphat lost the ships which he sent to Ophir (1 Kgs 22:48). During the reign of his son Joram, Edom revolted and Elath was lost to Judah (2 Kgs 8:21–22). Amaziah defeated Edom (2 Kgs 14:7), and his son Azariah/Uzziah was able to rebuild Elath (2 Kgs 14:22; 2 Chr 26:2). Though no reason for this is given, Uzziah probably intended to revive the Red Sea trade. Elath was finally lost to Judean control during the reign of Ahaz when the king of Edom recovered it after Judah was weakened by a war with Aram and Israel (2 Kgs 16:5–6).

Elath's history does not end with its loss to Edom. Under the name Aila it is mentioned in many classical sources when it was an important port for trade with India, the home of *Legio X Fretensis*, a bishop's seat, and the residence of an at least partially Jewish population (Robinson and Smith 1841: 251–253, and *GP* 2: 311 summarize these sources). After the Moslem conquest it was an important stopping point for pilgrims from Cairo on their way to Mecca and Medineh (Robinson and Smith 1841: 252). The Crusaders held it briefly before it was regained by the Moslems. After A.D. 1300 it dwindled until it was largely deserted by the 19th century (ibid.).

Most commentators (Robinson and Smith 1841: 241; *GTTOT*, 342; *GP* 2: 311; *LBHG*, 434) locate Elath/Aila about 1 km NE of Aqaba (M.R. 150882), about 4 km from Tell el-Kheleifeh.

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**ELCHASAITES.** An early Jewish–Christian sect with gnostic traits.

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A. The Sect and Its Founder
B. Sacred Book of the Elchasaites
C. Significance of the Elchasaites

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### A. The Sect and Its Founder

The Elchasaites were named for their founder Elchasai, whose name is found in the following variants: *Ēlchasai* (Hippolytus *Haer.* 9.13.1 and elsewhere), *Ēlxai* (Epiphanius *haer.* 19.1.4 and elsewhere), *Ēlxaios* (Epiphanius *haer.* 30.3.2; 53.1.2, and elsewhere), *Ēlchasaios* (Methodius, *symp.* 8.10), *Ēlkesai* (Theodoretus *haer.* 2.7), and *Ēlkesaios* (Methodius *symp.* 8.10, v 1). He was active primarily between A.D. 100 and 115: the first date stems from Hippolytus' comment (*Haer.* 9.13.1) that Elchasai appeared in the third year of the reign of Trajan (98–117); the second is based on a quotation from the *Book of the Elchasaites*, in which Elchasai predicted that an apocalyptic war between the Angels of the North would take place in the third year after the subjugation of the Parthians by Emperor Trajan (Hippolytus *Haer.* 9.16.4). This prediction would have been recorded in 115 when significant areas of the empire were freed

from Parthian control. Elchasai presumably was active in the border regions between Syria and Parthia. Apart from the aforementioned prophesy, Hippolytus' comment that Elchasai received the sacred book "from the Seraeans in Parthia" (*Haer.* 9.13.1) points to this region. His bilingual facility and the fact that Elchasaites were living in Syrian Apameia as early as 200 (Hippolytus *Haer.* 9.13.1) make the border area of Hellenistic Syria more likely than Parthia itself.

In subsequent centuries the sect spread in all directions. Not only Hippolytus, as described above, but also the Ps.-Clementine source *Kerygmata Petrou* (*Ps.-Clem.*, Cont., 2.1; 4:1), which contains Elchasaitic material, indicates the presence of Elchasaites in Greek-speaking Syria ca. 200. Furthermore Hippolytus was aware of the appearance in Rome of the Elchasaite Alcibiades from Apameia (*Haer.* 9.13.1), indicating that the group tried to establish in Rome as early as 220.

The missionary efforts of the sect in the vicinity of Caesarea in Palestine are apparent from a comment by Origen in his exposition of Psalm 82, written ca. 247. East of the Jordan and the Dead Sea (in Peraea/Moab) Elchasaites lived under the name "Sampsaeians" ("People of the Sun"; Brandt 1912: 120–23) in the middle of the 4th century, as Epiphanius reports (*haer.* 53). Epiphanius' comment that Jewish Essenes had joined the Sampsaeians (*haer.* 20.3.2–4), is doubtful—apparently Epiphanius' inclination to describe expansively the extent of Elchasaite activity led him to transfer Sampsaeian information to the Essenes. Connections between Elchasaites and Nazarenes, Nazorenes, and Ebionites must likewise be viewed as secondary relationships (particular references in Strecker, *RAC* 4: 1174–76).

On the other hand the existence of a group of Elchasaite Sabaeans is conceivable. The personal name *Sobiai* appears in Hippolytus *Haer.* 9.13.2. It is probably a Gk circumlocution for the Aram *sebî›ayyā›*, meaning "the bathed ones" (Brandt 1912: 42) and referring to the original Elchasaite community. Finally, Sabaeans are mentioned in the Qu'ran (Sûrah 2.59, 5.73, 22.17) and by the bibliographer Ibn an-Nadîm, who, in his *Kitâb al-Fihrst* (987/988), was aware of the "Sabaeans of the Swamp-Regions" as a group of Mugtasila living on the lower Euphrates and Tigris. This group cannot simply be taken as identical with the original Elchasaites, but, besides the name "Sabaeans," such practices as ablutions and worship of the stars make a connection to the older Elchasaites likely. The Cologne Mani Codex offers a parallel—Manichaeanism undoubtedly had Elchasaite roots (cf. Cirillo 1984: 85ff.). See also MANDAEISM and MANICHEANS AND MANICHAEISM.

**B. Sacred Book of the Elchasaites**

The Elchasaites derived their doctrine from a sacred book that has not survived. Its contents are in large part discernible in the quotations transmitted by Hippolytus and Epiphanius, although the organization and scope of the work as a whole can no longer be reconstructed. The book was presumably available to these Church Fathers in Greek; only the secret phrase included by Epiphanius (Epiphanius *haer.* 19.4.3) and the personal names Elchasai and Sobiai, not the work as a whole, might hint at the existence of an Aramaic original.

The source of the teaching, according to the sacred book, was a revelation to Elchasai in the form of a masculine being (called "Son of God"; "Christus") and his feminine companion (referred to as the "Holy Spirit"), both assuming gigantic proportions (Hippolytus *Haer.* 9.13.2–3; Epiphanius *haer.* 19.4.1–2; 30.17.6–7; 53.1.9). Presumably this is an example of the metamorphosis motif, according to which Christ was repeatedly born and, in the process, exchanged births and bodies (Hippolytus *Haer.* 9.14.1; cf. 10.29.2). Revealed to Elchasai was the possibility of a new forgiveness of sins through a second baptism in the name of the highest and greatest God and in the name of his Son, the great king (Hippolytus *Haer.* 9.13.1; 9.15.1–2). Besides baptism, frequent ritual ablutions to bring healing from diseases were encouraged (Hippolytus *Haer.* 9.15.5–6). In general, Jewish law was valued. Prayer offered in the direction of Jerusalem (Epiphanius *haer.* 19.3.5–6) and circumcision (Hippolytus *Haer.* 9.14.1) were expressly required, and vows and Sabbath observance were encouraged. On the other hand, sacrifices were rejected (Epiphanius *haer.* 19.3.7). Indeed, the book warned against fire in general. Recantation under persecution was to be viewed as an indifferent matter, when it occurred "with the mouth rather than with the heart" (Epiphanius, *haer.* 19.1.8; Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.*, 6.38). Moreover, an imminent war of apocalyptic dimensions between the godless Angels of the North was predicted; one could escape this

endtime event only with the aid of a secret phrase. Transliterated from the Aramaic original into Greek (all but the last word), *Selam,* must be translated from the middle backwards in both directions) it reads: *abar anid mōib nōchile daasim anē daasim nōchile mōib anid abar selam* (Epiphanius *haer.* 19.4.3), meaning, "I shall be a witness over you on this great (judgment) day" (Levy 1858: 712). The book was not to be read to everyone. Further instructions, e.g., abstinence from eating meat and praise for marriage, are, to be sure, not found explicitly in Hippolytus' and Epiphanius' literal quotations, but may have been taken by them from the sacred book.

**C. Significance of the Elchasaites**

Elchasaitism had Judaeo-Christian origins. To Judaism it owed its requirements based on Mosaic law (circumcision, Sabbath); from Christianity it derived its expectation of an imminent eschatology and the metamorphosis motif, including the virgin birth theme. Above all the Elchasaite view of baptism as a second act of repentance through which major sins are forgiven assumes as a prerequisite Christian baptism as a rite of initiation. Additional Jewish characteristics are Scripture criticism and rejection of Pauline teachings.

Alongside these, such characteristics as the metamorphosis motif and worship of the "greatest and highest God" point to gnostic influences. Thus Elchasaitism is best characterized as "syncretistic–gnostic Jewish Christianity" (Uhlhorn *RE,* 314).

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**ELDAAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēldāʿâ* (אֶלְדָּעָה)]. A son of Midian (Gen 25:4; 1 Chr 1:33). Midian's five "sons" as listed in Gen 25:4 comprise the clans, tribes, or people inhabiting the country of Midian. The list antedates 716 B.C. (Knauf 1988: 84–86). Eldaah means "God called." The verb *daʿâ* "to call" is specific to Arabic and ancient S Arabian. Eldaah belongs to the large group of clan or tribal names that are structured like personal names (Knauf 1988: 84).

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**ELDAD** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾeldād* (אֶלְדָּד)]. One of the seventy elders chosen to assist Moses in administration in the wilderness of Sinai (Num 11:26–27). These elders were appointed to alleviate Moses' burden in judicial and spiritual matters relating to the nation. At the request of Moses, the elders assembled before the door of the tabernacle. There they received the spirit of prophecy from God to validate their appointment. Eldad and Medad received the same gift, although they were not with the others in the tabernacle court, but in the camp. Although the nature of this prophecy is unknown, three primary views are held. Gordon Wenham (*Numbers* TOTC, 109) maintains that the prophetic element was an unintelligible ecstatic utterance. George Gray (*Numbers* ICC, 113–14) concludes that the utterance was a prophetic frenzy or excitement, which he considered to be a common feature of Semitic religions; however, he offers no explanation as to whether the prophecy was intelligible or not. Leon Wood (1970: 157), on the other hand, points out that 1 Chr 25:1–3 presents "praise" as the meaning of Heb *wayyitnabbĕʾû.* The seventy had joined in a chorus of praise to God, and these two elders, Eldad and Medad, had moved their praises as far as the camp. Whatever the case, according to the MT it is clear that prophecy did not continue, as indicated by the phrase in Num 11:25, Heb *wĕloʾ yāsāpû* (root *ysp*), "they did not add" or "continue," which is supported by the LXX (see Budd *Numbers* WBC, 130). The Targum of this text *(psqjn)* reflects an alternate pointing from the Heb *wĕloʾ yāsupû,* "they did not cease" (from

the Heb root *swp*). In this translation, the prophecy did continue, as is exemplified by Eldad and Medad in the following verses. A pseudepigraphon purporting to be the prophecy of Eldad and Medad is cited in the 2d century C.E. text *Herm. Vis.* 2.3.4. See also ELDAD AND MODAD.

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**ELDAD AND MODAD.** Sometime prior to the compilation of the Mishnah, around 200 C.E., someone, probably a Jew, composed an apocryphal story about Eldad and Modad, the two prophets who prophesied in the camp during the wanderings in the wilderness after the Exodus (Num 11:26–29; MT Medad). The biblical text does not indicate the content of their prophecies, but the apocryphal book, which according to the Stichometry of Nicephorus contained 400 lines, filled in the missing details. The only extant part of this lost pseudepigraphon is a short quotation in the mid-2d century work titled the *Shepherd of Hermas* (*Vis.* 2.3.4): " 'The Lord is near to those who turn (to him),' as it is written in the (Book of) Eldad and Modad (var. Modat), who prophesied to the people in the wilderness." Although possibly only an allusion to the biblical account, it is likely that *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Num 11:26 also quotes from the pseudepigraphon, because the excerpt quoted is similar to the one found in Hermas: "The Lord is near to those in distress." This Targum also indicates that Eldad and Modad predicted the attack upon Jerusalem, and that at the endtime there would be a war in which the royal Messiah would defeat all evil. See also *OTP* 2: 463–65.

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**ELDER.** See PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (POST-EXILIC JUDEAN OFFICIALS); FAMILY.

**ELDERS, TRADITION OF THE.** See TRADITION OF THE ELDERS.

**ELEAD** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelĕʿād* (אֶלְעָד)]. Elead was a son or descendant of Ephraim. According to 1 Chr 7:21, Elead and Ezer were killed by the men of Gath in an attack upon that city (further discussion on Gath, see Mazar 1954: 227–35). The usual designation for "his son" is missing with Elead and Ezer, suggesting that they were not sons but descendants. Perhaps the narrative dealing with Elead and Ezer (vv 21b–23) is an independent fragment. Its location in the middle of the Joshua genealogy (v 27) has led some to combine it with Exod 13:17 and Ps 78:9 and suggest a reference to an early and unsuccessful Ephraimite exodus from Egypt (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 80). However, the incident could be an etiological explanation of Beriah (v 23) since affixing the Hebrew preposition "in" to *rāʿa,* "evil," approximates the sound of Beriah (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 115).

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**ELEADAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelʿādâ* (אֶלְעָדָה)]. Son or descendant of Ephraim (1 Chr 7:20) whose name means "El has adorned." The phrase "sons of Ephraim" in this passage is best understood as descendants. 1 Chr 7:20–27 gives a vertical genealogy of Joshua, the son of Nun, v 27, the hero of the Conquest. Eleadah is found nowhere else in the OT. Numbers 26 contains the only other listing of the Ephraimite clan but makes no mention of Eleadah. It lists three sons of Ephraim, namely Shuthelah, Becher, and Tahan who compare favorably to Shuthelah, Bered, and Tahath of 1 Chr 7:20. The omission of Eleadah from the Numbers passage and its similarity to other names in the Chronicles list, i.e., Elead (v 21) and Ladan (v 26), would suggest that the Chronicles list is a combination of other lists and that Eleadah is a later addition to the Ephraimite genealogy (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 114).

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**ELEALEH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾelʿālēh* (אֶלְעָלֵה), *ʾelʿālē* (אֶלְעָלֵא)]. A town in Transjordan's tableland, always mentioned with Heshbon in the OT. Elealeh was rebuilt by the Reubenites and assigned to their territory (Num 32:3, 37). Although it is not named in the Mesha inscription among towns taken by Mesha, Elealeh, along with other settlements in the tableland, fell under Moabite control. Isaiah (15:4; 16:9) and Jeremiah (48:34) included Elealeh in their oracles against Moab. Ancient Elealeh is usually identified with Khirbet el-ʿÂl (M.R. 228136), located 1.5 miles NE of Tell Hesban (ancient Heshbon?). Excavations at both sites have demonstrated that their occupational histories were similar, with neither yielding significant remains antedating Iron Age I.
GERALD L. MATTINGLY

**ELEASAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelĕʿāśâ* (אֶלְעָשָׂה)]. A Benjaminite listed among the descendants of Saul and Jonathan (1 Chr 8:37; 9:43). The name seems to derive from the verb *ʿāśâ*, "to make," and the divine component *ʾēl*, "God," thus, "God has made." Eleasah represents the 10th generation after Saul, included in a list (1 Chr 8:29–38) which continues for fully twelve generations after Saul. This family list is repeated almost exactly in 1 Chr 9:35–44. Peter Ackroyd (*Chronicles Ezra Nehemiah* TBC, 42) has suggested that the continued knowledge of Saul's line might indicate the existence of support for Saul's descendants well into the monarchical period. He suggests that, while this support is largely obscured in the biblical narrative due to its focus on the legitimacy of the Davidic line, this preservation of such a family list could hint at traditions which assigned a greater importance to the Saulide line. H. G. M. Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 93) sees no reason to attach any such inference to this remembrance of Saul's line. He suggests that the Chronicler's inclusion of these lists in no way negates his concern to show that "Saul's dynasty was judged, and was therefore to all intents and purposes at an end. Its death-throes were in irrelevance, as was the fact that part of the family survived."
SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

**ELEAZAR** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelʿāzār* (אֶלְעָזָר)]. Eleven persons in the Bible bear this name, which means "God has helped."

1. Third son of Aaron and Elisheba (Exod 6:23), the husband of a daughter of Putiel (Exod 6:25) and the father of Phinehas (Exod 6:25), consecrated as priest (Exod 28:1; Num 3:3–4) and designated as Aaron's heir (20:25–28; Deut 10:6) after the deaths of Nadab and Abihu (Leviticus 10; see ITHAMAR). He is the supreme chief of the tribe of Levi (Num 3:32), in charge of all affairs pertaining to the transportation of the tabernacle (Num 4:16). The Zadokite priests of Jerusalem traced their descent from Aaron through Eleazar (Ezra 7:1–5; 1 Chr 5:29–41 [—Eng 6:3–15]; 6:35–38 [—Eng 6:50–53]; 24:3). In the story of Korah (Numbers 16–17), which legitimates the primacy of the priesthood of Jerusalem, Eleazar gathers up the censers of the slain Levites and plates the altar with them as a warning against future Levitic usurpers (Num 17:1–5). Subsequently he performs the newly instituted red heifer rite (Numbers 19), perhaps to purify the camp after the events of Numbers 16–17. Eleazar assumes an important role in the administration of the nation, especially in the enumeration of the clans of Israel in preparation for the apportioning of Canaan (Numbers 26). Between the deaths of Aaron and Moses the people are led by Moses and Eleazar (Num 27:1–11; 31:12, 13, 25–31); Joshua is elevated to be Moses' successor, but under the supervision of Eleazar (Num 27:18–23). To Eleazar are attributed certain ordinances pertaining to purification of the spoils of war (so Num 31:21–24 in the MT, but the Samaritan Pentateuch attributes these laws to Moses). Using the priestly lots, Eleazar later presides at Shiloh over the settlement of the Israelite tribes (Num 34:17; Josh 14:1; 19:51; 21:1). Eleazar's grave was believed to be in Gibeath Phinehas in the hills of Ephraim. Since Benjamin and Ephraim shared these hills, it may be that Eleazar's tomb was near Gibeon, Geba, Anathoth or Almon/Alemeth, cities assigned to the house of Aaron (Josh 21:17–18; 1 Chr 6:45 [—Eng 6:60]). According to the Chronicler, in David's time there were sixteen families of the house of Eleazar (1 Chr 24:4, 7–14).

The name Eleazar resembles that of Eliezer, the son of Moses (cf. the similarity of Gershom and Gershon), and it is possible that the clan of Eleazar/Eliezer was split between the descendants of Moses and Aaron, though ordinarily this would have been expressed by making Eleazar/Eliezer the father of Moses and Aaron.

2. Son of Abinadab of Kiriath-jearim, or perhaps Gibeah (1 Sam 7:1; 2 Sam 6:3–4), custodian of the ark and presumably the ancestor of Uzzah and Ahio (unless *ʾḥyw* is to be interpreted "his brothers"), who surrender it to David (2 Sam 6:2–7).

3. Son of Dodo the Ahohite, one of the Three, an elite category of David's warriors (2 Sam 23:9; 1 Chr 11:12). He earned this rank with persistence in battle against the Philistines even though weary from fighting (2 Sam 23:9–10). 1 Chr 11:12 refers to his participation in a battle in a barley field at Pas-dammim, called Ephes-dammim in 1 Sam 17:1, where the Israelites under Saul faced the Philistines. The Three are said to have made a raid upon Bethlehem when the Philistines occupied it and brought water from its well to David in the cave of Adullam (2 Sam 23:13–17; 1 Chr 11:15–19). See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

4. Levite of the house of Mahli in David's time who had no sons, and so his daughters married the sons of his brother Kish (1 Chr 23:21–22; 24:28).

5. Son of Phinehas, a Levite of Ezra's day, a custodian of the treasures contributed to the second temple (Ezra 8:33). He might be the same as No. 6 below.

6. Temple singer of Nehemiah's day (Neh 12:42).

7. Israelite, a descendant of Parosh, who put away a foreign wife at Ezra's instigation (Ezra 10:25).

8. Senior scribe tortured to death under Antiochus IV Epiphanes (2 Macc 6:18–31) for refusing to eat sacrificial pork or to even pretend to do so.

9. The 4th son of Mattathias, also called by the nickname of Auaran (1 Macc 2:5), perhaps meaning "paleface" (Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 231). He was crushed to death at Beth-zechariah by the corpse of an elephant which he slew in battle against Lysias (1 Macc 6:43–47). See AVARAN.

10. The father of Jason, Judas Maccabeus' emissary to Rome (1 Macc 8:17).

In addition, 1 Esdr 8:43; 9:19 refer to individuals called Eleazar, but MT has Eliezer (Ezra 8:16; 10:18). The former is an envoy sent to Casiphia to fetch some Levites, and the latter is a priest who had married a foreigner.

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11. The son of Eliud and father of Matthan, according to Matthew's genealogy tying Joseph, the husband of Mary, to the house of David and Solomon (Matt 1:15). The name does not appear in any other genealogy or list of Jesus' ancestors, although Albright and Mann (*Matthew* AB, 4–5) believe the name is characteristic of names used in the last two centuries B.C. Gundry (1982: 17) posits that Eliezer in the similar place in Luke's genealogy (3:29) "reminded Matthew of the well-known high priest Eleazar. As a result, the evangelist's thoughts turned to the priestly genealogy" of 1 Chr 6:3–14 (MT 5:29ff.). According to Gundry, changes which Matthew makes can be accounted for by his intention not to give physical descent and by his lack of interest in priestly Christology. Gundry's theory is intriguing but difficult to prove, since Matthew's dependence on 1 Chr 1:13–15 is difficult to establish.

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**ELECT LADY** [Gk *eklektē kyria* (ἐκλεκτη κυρια)]. The phrase "Elect Lady" is found only in the salutation of 2 John 1 as the designation of the addressees (cf. v 5 where *kyria* recurs). There has been considerable debate whether "elect lady" should be taken literally of an individual, or figuratively of a particular Johannine church.

The literal interpretation partly assumes that since 3 John is addressed to a specific individual (Gaius), so is 2 John. Clement of Alexandria *(Hypotyposes)* assumed that the addressee was a Babylonian woman named Electa, hence "lady Electa." However there is insufficient evidence to assume that *electa* was a proper name. Clement is probably not dependent upon historical tradition, but instead on 2 John 1 in light

of 1 Pet 5:13 where he found reference to a *syneklektē* ("chosen together") in Babylon. The concluding greeting from the children of an elect sister (2 John 13) would necessitate that the supposed Electa had a sister by the same name.

Athanasius called the addressee "noble Kyria." *Kyria* is attested as a personal name and there are early Christian examples of *eklektē* modifying a proper name (Rom 16:13; Ign. *Philad.* 11.1). A related proposal suggests that the identity of the woman is unknown, "elect lady" being equivalent to the expression of courtesy "dear lady." Ruling against literal interpretations is the fact that if it is a name, the phrase would be *kyria tē eklektē,* not *eklektē kyria* (cf. v 13; 3 John 1; Rom 16:13).

The figurative interpretation assumes that the "Elect Lady" is a personification, possibly of the Church universal (Jerome, Oecumenius). The lack of a definite article preceding the address is inferred to indicate that 2 John is a Catholic letter. However this leads to the implausibility of the children of an elect sister (v 13) greeting the Church universal. This implausibility can be circumvented if the broader church context is limited to a group of Johannine churches which is greeted by an individual Johannine church.

By far the most widely held view is that the Elect Lady is a personification of an individual Johannine church whose identity is unknown. Groups of believers are described as the elect (Matt 24:22; Rom 8:33; 16:13; Col 3:12; 2 Tim 2:10; Titus 1:1; 1 Pet 1:1; Rev 17:14). In the body of the letter the alternation from singular to the plural with reference to the addressees is more easily explained if a collectivity is involved. The content of the letter is more appropriate to a church than an individual (esp. vv 1–3, 5–6, 8). The admonition (v 10) suggests a house church, and the greeting (v 13) is best thought to be from a Johannine church from which the Elder is writing, rather than a sister's children greeting their aunt.

As personification, "Elect Lady" stands in the Jewish–Christian tradition of referring to the covenant people of God using feminine imagery. Israel and Jerusalem are portrayed as Yahweh's bride (Isa 54:1–8; 62:4–5; Jer 2:2; Hos 1–3) and as mothers (Isa 54:1–3; Bar 4:5–5:9; Gal 4:26–27). The Church is portrayed as a woman (1 Pet 5:13), the bride of Christ (2 Cor 11:2; Eph 5:21–33; Rev 19:6–8; 21:2), and as a mother (1 Pet 5:13; Rev 12:1–2, 17). This feminine imagery is carried through 2 John with the address of the church members as children (vv 1, 4) and the sending church as sister (v 13). For further discussion see *Epistles of John* AB.

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**ELECTION.** This term is used in biblical and theological discourse to refer to the idea that God chooses a people or individuals to belong to him in a unique way.

## *OLD TESTAMENT*

In the Hebrew Scriptures, it is the people of Israel that is the object of God's choice, and groups and individuals within this people.

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## A. Scholarly Discussion

The concept of election has had its stock rise and fall in 20th century biblical interpretation. The generation of OT scholars which set the agenda of the discipline before, during, and after WW II was virtually unanimous in according it an essential role in the conceptual structure of the OT. It was the subject of several monographs—by H. H. Rowley (1950), T. C. Vriezen (1953), and H. Wildberger (1959)—and was discussed in every OT theology written during the era. One of the leaders of the "biblical theology movement" in America, G. E. Wright (1952: 55) spoke for the generation when he declared that "the chief inference from this view of history as revelation was the mediated nature of God's action in history: that is, his election of a special people through whom he would accomplish his purposes."

The theological constructions of that generation came under severe criticism in the 1960s. The most telling criticism was of the concept of "revelation in history." J. Barr (1966) demonstrated that both "revelation" and "history" were used equivocally in virtually all biblical theologies of the era, and that concentration on "history" (by whatever definition) distorted the witness of the OT. Since the concept of election was an inference from and interpretation of Israel's history with YHWH, this critique of the slogan "revelation in history" undercut the importance of election as an organizing concept for biblical theology.

Barr (1961; 1966) also subjected the presuppositions of Bible dictionaries to serious scrutiny. His thesis, simply stated, is that words are not concepts. The actual meaning of a word in a given passage is as dependent upon the context as it is on its general semantic value. It is, therefore, highly misleading to construct a developed concept or doctrine from the various uses of a word, then import this concept into any passage in which the word is found.

In the aftermath of the assault on the "biblical theology movement" by Barr, Childs (1974), and others, it became common to deny that any comprehensive, synthetic concept like election, covenant, or kingdom of God was ubiquitous in Scripture. One must restrict the study of such concepts to their explicit appearance in specific texts. The witness of the OT is radically pluralistic, and to generalize a concept from one text to others is to impose an essentially alien conceptual framework on the latter.

A salutary effect of the demise of the biblical theology movement was the revival of interest in OT texts and traditions which were not "history." Wisdom, in particular, had been pushed to the margin of Scripture by the theologians who located its center in the "sacred history"; the 1960s and 1970s saw an explosion of creative work on this body of literature. This interest in wisdom further undercut the theological claims of such a synthetic theologoumenon as election, because the wisdom tradition built upon the universals of human experience and belonged to an international culture; the particularism of election was not only inapplicable to it, but in opposition.

Another trend in biblical interpretation began to gain momentum in this period. There was a turn toward the poetics and rhetoric of biblical narrative and poetry. During the earlier era, much of this literature would have come under the rubric, "revelation in history." This new set of methodologies, however, ignores both "revelation" and "history" and eschews subsuming texts under comprehensive theologoumena like election and covenant. These scholars desire to give the text, which usually means the extant text rather than the reconstructed "core," a close reading—a reading more concerned with the text's artful features and effect upon an audience than on any doctrine which might be abstracted from it.

This sketch of the last 75 years of OT scholarship and theology is decidedly impressionistic. It is intended only to give the reader a sense of where we have come from and where we are at on the discussion of "election." As one may surmise, after a period in which election was the center of theological discussion, it has fallen to a relatively minor subject within OT studies. Articles have appeared now and then in scholarly and theological journals, but the last three decades has seen nothing of great significance or interest. The relatively few attempts at theological synthesis in this period have found their center elsewhere (e.g., Terrien 1978).

Despite the demotion of the concept of election within the guild of biblical scholars and theologians, it has burst upon the theological scene with renewed vigor in recent years. The theological movements among Black and Latin American theologians (e.g., Cone 1975; Gutierrez 1973; Miranda 1974) have offered a new, bold interpretation and application of the concept of election: the God of Israel identifies with the poor and oppressed against the rich and powerful. This God is known solely by his will for justice (Miranda 1974), and he proposes to achieve justice through the empowerment of the powerless.

The reading of the Scriptures by liberation theology deserves the serious attention of biblical theologians. The Bible is *not* the property of academic scholars, but the Holy Book of Jews and Christians. It has become an effective text, a text with transforming power, within these radical movements, and biblical interpreters should appropriate as well as criticize these transactions between text and reader. Significant insights are to be gained by listening in on them (see especially Gottwald 1979 and 1985; on election, see Patrick 1976).

Of course, biblical scholars and theologians cannot allow movements in the religious communities or secular culture to dictate their agenda. Any rehabilitation of the synthetic concept of election must answer the criticisms of synthesis and proceed in a chastened manner. Barr's criticism of the creation of concepts from vocabulary items is valid. It is imperative that the study of election *not* import a complete concept into every passage in which a term or even several associated terms occur. Particular Hebrew words may be an index of a theological concept only when they occur in conjunction with other words and phrases which together enunciate the concept or some aspect of it.

The emphasis on the diversity of Scripture, though initially liberating, has become too nominalistic. The wisdom tradition, for example, was in fact incorporated into a canon in which YHWH's history with Israel is the center (Torah and Prophets). The shape of the canon should be a necessary, if not sufficient, component in the interpretation of particular texts (see Goldingay 1987); especially since the authors and editors of Scripture intended that their works be interpreted synoptically (see Patrick and Scult 1989).

Consequently, it is not necessary to limit the discussion of the concept of election to those passages which assuredly communicate it. It should be possible to work out its "fit" with narratives and utterances of various sorts. Let the interpreter admit that the concept, in such cases, is being used to synthesize the diverse texts of Scripture. The concept was not necessarily in the mind of the author, but what was in the mind of the author (as articulated in the text itself) fits within the conceptual scheme.

Another way to state this position is to reflect on the logical status of concepts. Election is a concept which was implicit in the stories Israel told of its origins and vocation. When a story does not answer all the questions that it raises, discursive thought begins to raise its implicit concepts and principles to consciousness. Election is an abstract concept meant to account for and justify the story of YHWH, the one Creator and Sovereign, and Israel. What explains and justifies the narrowing of the story, after the primeval period, to the people of Israel? How can Israel claim to know the universal God when no other people does? Why was Israel the beneficiary of such marvelous events? What distinctive identity must Israel maintain to be the people the text portrays? (See also Jacob 1958: 201–209; *IDB* 1: 76–82; *TDNT* 4:145–68; *ROTT;* Zimmerli 1978: 43–48.)

In the rest of this essay, we proceed from explicit statements of the concept of election to texts which can be read productively within its framework. We begin with the rather late document, Deuteronomy, which gives the concept its classical formulation. Then we trace applications of the concept from Deuteronomy back into the narrative traditions. The narrative order is followed, disregarding the purported date of the sources. After treating the narratives we venture into the prophetic applications of the concept, and conclude with the effect of the concept in the canonization of Scripture.

**B. The Classical Formulation**

The credit goes to the author of Deuteronomy for the classical formulation of the concept of election. Pondering the story of Israel's origins and calling, and the mounting crisis to its existence produced by the prophetic word and the course of human events, this author portrays Moses as defining its essential identity for all time. "For a holy people are you to YHWH your God; in you chose YHWH your God to be to him a people of treasured possession out of all the peoples which are upon the surface of the earth"

(Deut 7:6). The Hebrew word *bḥr* is the key word for our concept; YHWH chose out" *(bḥr)* this one people from all the peoples and "set it apart" *(qdwš)* as his own, bestowing upon it a "unique value" *(sglh).* According to Deuteronomy, there was nothing about Israel that made it more worthy of YHWH's favor than other nations; it was hardly impressive in size (7:7) so that YHWH might symbolize his power by being represented by a mighty nation. Asshur had elected Assyria so that his rule might be extended over the earth by conquest, but YHWH showed forth his power in weakness. Under the power of YHWH's blessing, Israel would multiply in numbers and increase in might, but this too would manifest YHWH's power in weakness. Nor was Israel of superior moral character, for their disposition is in fact recalcitrant (9:4, 6); if they do show forth his righteousness nevertheless, it will be a sign of YHWH's power to transform the human heart. The only reason for Israel's being chosen is to be found in YHWH's own will, in his incomprehensible "love" *(ʾhb)* for this people.

**1. The Term *bḥr* in Hebrew Usage.** At the time when Deuteronomy was composed, the word *bḥr* had currency in everyday Hebrew for the human act of choosing or selecting. It could be used of the mundane act of selecting an object for use (1 Sam 17:40; 1 Kgs 18:23, 25) or a place to reside (Gen 13:11; Deut 23:16). The criterion for choice appears to be fitness for the chooser's purposes. The verb could also be used of possible courses of action (2 Sam 15:15) and suffering (2 Sam 24:12). Persons, too, could be chosen for the purposes of the chooser: men are selected for military service (1 Sam 13:2; 2 Sam 10:4; 17:1), and individuals for leadership (Exod 18:25; 1 Sam 8:18; 12:13). When Saul charges Jonathan with choosing David (1 Sam 20:30), this may indicate that it was normal to speak of *bḥr* in the context of friendship, but given the general tenor of the evidence one should probably hear overtones of a political alliance. (See *TDOT* 2: 78–87; *THAT* 1: 275–300.)

The term *bḥr* was used of human decisions within the moral and religious discourse of ancient Israel as well. Isaiah describes a child's attaining the age of discretion as learning to "refuse the evil and choose the good" (Isa 7:15–16). It is noteworthy that one does not choose *between* evil and good; one always chooses *something.* Deut 30:19 sets out two modes of existence, obedience leading to life and disobedience leading to death, and urges Israel to "choose life." The deity—either YHWH or other gods—could also be the object of choice (Josh 24:15, 22; Judg 5:8; 10:14). To choose a deity means to rely upon (Judg 10:14) and serve that god (Josh 24:15, 22).

The term *bḥr* could be employed theologically. Long before Israel stepped upon the stage of history, the idea of a god choosing a human was in circulation. Within Hebrew Scripture, YHWH is the subject of *bḥr* with both persons and places as objects. As in the case of human choices, YHWH's choice of individuals is for official positions: he chose Saul to be king (1 Sam 10:24), then David to take Saul's place (1 Sam 16:8–10, 12; 2 Sam 6:21). Perhaps by chance, we do not find David's dynasty as an object of *bḥr,* though there are numerous passages which speak of it as "established," "covenanted," etc. (e.g., Ps 89:19–37; 2 Sam 7:11–16; 23:1–7). On the other hand, there are a number of references to chosen priestly dynasties (1 Sam 2:28; Deut 18:5; Ps 105:26). Finally, YHWH is said to have chosen Zion, or Jerusalem, as his dwelling place (Ps 132:13); the Deuteronomic tradition prefers to describe the holy place as the dwelling place of the name (Deut 12:5, 11, etc.; and 1 Kgs 14:21).

**2. The Rhetorical Purpose of the Deuteronomic Formulation.** Whether or not the author of Deuteronomy was the first to speak of YHWH's choice of the people of Israel, this work contains the most thorough and penetrating reflection on the concept of election within Scripture. In Moses' preaching, YHWH's free act of choosing this people accounts for the divine favor they have experienced, and the vocation and destiny they have inherited. The purpose of his homilies was to recapitulate the events of sacred history in an explicitly persuasive mode in order to enlist the identification of the audience with the "Israel" which was created and governed by the only God the people had ever "known" (Deut 13:2, 6, 13). The concept of divine election made explicit the unique value of belonging to this people. No other nation had been so favored by the one universal God (Deut 10:14–15, etc.); thus, it would be foolish, even suicidal, to renounce one's obligations to the relationship.

**C. Election in the Acts of the Biblical Drama**

Aspects of the concept of election can be drawn out of reflection on each act of the biblical drama. The creation of the world establishes YHWH's claim upon all creatures: "Behold, to YHWH your God belong heaven and the heaven of heavens, the earth with all that is in it" (Deut 10:14). Yet, among all the creatures under heaven this universal Lord selected one family to belong to him in a special way: "Yet YHWH set his heart in love upon your forebears and close their descendants after them—in you—above all peoples" (10:15). Belonging to YHWH is a great gift which can only be explained by reference to his mysterious will. YHWH had simply "fallen in love" with Israel's ancestors, choosing them over every other people.

**1. The Call of Abraham.** This special favor for one family is by no means a form of favoritism inappropriate to a just God! God, our author affirms, plays no favorites: "For YHWH your God is God of gods and Lord of lords, the great, mighty and terrible God, who is not partial and takes no bribes. He executes justice for the orphan and widow, and loves the sojourner …" (10:17–18). The favor shown Israel is an unfair favoritism because the people are called to embody in their life the very divine justice that justifies YHWH's favor toward them: "You shall love the sojourner, for you were sojourners in the land of Egypt" (10:19). The passage then enunciates the underlying principle of election, that the God who has shown them favor expects not only justice toward those who are below them, but devotion and obedience to the One who raised them from below: "YHWH your God you shall fear; him you shall serve and to him you shall cleave, and by his name you shall swear; he it is who is your praise and he it is who is your God, the very one who has done you these great and wonderful deeds which your eyes have seen" (10:20–21). It is not so much that Israel pays back God's concern by showing gratitude as it is that Israel fulfills the purpose of election by embodying a God-centered life.

Why did the universal God not show the same favor to other peoples? Why did he not fall in love with their forebears as well as with Israel's? To answer this question, we must go back to the Genesis narrative recounting the choice of Abraham. While the promise given to Abraham (Gen 12:2–3) and repeated to him (18:18; 22:18), to Isaac (26:4), and to Jacob (28:14) does not use the word "to choose," it does depict YHWH's singling out one person and people for a special destiny. The key word in these passages is "blessing" *(brk),* which is the receiving of supernatural favor or power to achieve that which makes life worth living. Abraham and his descendants are promised the power of fecundity and renown (12:2) and divine support in their competition with other peoples for existence (12:3a). These blessings might be said to equip Abraham and his descendants to fulfill their destiny. The nature of that destiny is stated in the cryptic expression, *wnbrkw bk kl mšpḥt hʾdmh* (12:3b), which can be translated either, "all the families of the earth will bless themselves by you," or, "in you all the families of the earth will be blessed." The first of these would mean simply that other families and nations would be so impressed by Israel's success and happiness that they would say, "May you be blessed like Abraham/Israel." The second would mean that Israel's very existence would mediate a "blessing" to all the families on earth. While both are linguistically and conceptually possible, as elsewhere in the Bible, the ambiguity of the text may be there for a reason. However, we prefer the latter because it provides the most comprehensive, consistent, and cogent possible interpretation (see Dworkin 1985 for a discussion of the criteria employed here). In it we have an explanation of how the story of the universal God can be narrowed from universal history (Genesis 1–11) to the history of one people (from Genesis 12 to the end of history): God is achieving a universal purpose in Israel's history. How that purpose is to be achieved, and how all peoples will receive a blessing through Israel, is left for the future to unfold.

There is a passage within the Abrahamic narrative which does chart the direction of election history: Gen 18:17–21. YHWH is pondering whether he should reveal his impending judgment of Sodom and Gomorrah. He decides to tell him "because I have known (Heb *ydʿ*) him in order that he may command his children and his household after him to keep the way of YHWH by doing righteousness and justice in order that YHWH might bestow on Abraham all that he promised" (18:19). While this enunciation of the reason for election does not explain how the attainment of righteousness and justice by Israel will benefit the world, it does indicate how Israel is expected to fulfill its role. It must be remembered that election

does not imply proselytizing other peoples; thus, the text leaves open how other peoples will benefit from Israel. In the story that follows, one way is exemplified: Abraham intercedes for them.

**2. The Exodus from Egypt.** YHWH's election of Abraham and his descendants is manifested in his great deeds for them, particularly his deliverance of Israel from Egyptian bondage. Deut 7:7–8 draws out this connection: "It was not because you were more in number … that YHWH became attached to you and chose you … but out of YHWH's love for you and his fidelity to his oath which he swore to your forebears he brought you out with a mighty hand, freed you from the house of slaves, from the power of Pharaoh king of Egypt." YHWH was true to the solemn promise he had made to the patriarchs, confirming his election by a great deliverance. The Exodus was the moment in Israel's history in which God's loyalty to the people he had attached to himself coincided with his justice for the oppressed. "I have witnessed the affliction of my people who are in Egypt, and their cry I have heard in the face of their slave drivers, so I know their pains, and I have come down to deliver them out from under the power of Egypt …" (Exod 3:7–8). YHWH owns this suffering mass of slaves and enters sympathetically into their condition, and is thereby moved to rectify the injustice they have experienced. Since YHWH is the Creator and Lord of history, one could logically infer that the power structures which produce injustice are the creation of his providence, but here in the Exodus we see that his power is manifested in overturning unjust power. It is precisely because all human power derives from God that he has the authority and capacity to empower the powerless.

**3. The Conquest of the Land.** YHWH's military support of Israel in their conquest of Canaan has a similar logic. Deut 7:17–24 makes this connection: "If you say in your heart, 'These nations are greater than I; how can I dispossess them?' you shall not be afraid of them, but you shall remember what YHWH your God did to Pharaoh and to all Egypt …" (v 17). YHWH will overturn the odds in Israel's struggles against enemies of superior strength, just as he did in Egypt. The same theme reappears numerous times in Hebrew Scripture. For example, Ps 44:3 confesses that

> Not by their own sword did (our fathers) gain nor did their own arm give them victory;
> but thy right hand, and thy arm, and the light of thy countenance;
> for thou didst delight in them.

The term "delight" *(rṣh)* carries the same weight as "love" and "choose" in Deuteronomy. The power to conquer the land was a gift of the God who had graciously taken it under his care.

The justice of this love is less clear in the Conquest than in the Exodus. In the accounts of the book of Judges, we do hear of the oppression of Israel by its enemies (3:8–9, 12–15; 4:1–3; etc.). This theme is not only present in these rather late frameworks of the deliverances, but in the stories themselves—even in the very old Song of Deborah (Judg 5:6–8). One has to admit, however, that these peoples were defending their own territory against the encroachment of land-grabbers. The old narratives simply do not justify YHWH's decision to dispossess the peoples of Canaan in order to give Israel a land. Of course, one could appeal to YHWH's ownership of the land (e.g., Lev 25:23) and his right to dispose of it however he pleases (cf. Exod 19:5). This arbitrariness, however, endangers YHWH's claim to be a just God of all nations. The author of Deuteronomy sensed the need to provide an additional justification: "It is because of the wickedness of these nations that YHWH is driving them out before you" (Deut 9:4, 5, etc.). The fate of nations depends upon the character of their common life; this is a warning to Israel that they should obey the divine law by which they shall attain righteousness in the eyes of the universal Judge (Deut 6:24–25), or they will go the way of the nations that preceded them (Deut 8:17–20; 28:1–68, and *passim*).

**D. The Distinctive Identity of Israel**

YHWH's election of Israel is manifested in the people's distinctive identity as well as God's deeds. This distinctive identity is articulated in two allusive expressions in Deut 7:6: "you are a *people holy* to YHWH your God"—"… a *people of unique value* to Him." In the phrase "holy to Yahweh," one hears allusions to cultic personnel, places and utensils which are set apart from the everyday to be in the immediate vicinity of the divine and to perform mediating functions. Israel itself, the expression suggests, is to be a people with God in its midst, called to witness and perform his works. Moses once prays at

Sinai: "If now I have found favor in thy sight, O Lord, let the Lord … go in the midst of us, although it is a stiff-necked people, and pardon our iniquity and our sin, and take us for thy inheritance" (Exod 34:9). To which YHWH replies: "Behold, I strike a covenant. Before all your people I will do marvels, such as have not been wrought in all the earth or any nation; and all the people … shall see the work of YHWH; for it is an awesome thing I will do with you" (Exod 34:10). Israel will stand out from other nations by the marvel-working presence of the holy God in its midst.

The other expression derives from the language of ownership. The distinctive word *sglh* is used outside of our formula for the private wealth of a king, in distinction from wealth held in trust for the people (see 1 Chr 29:3; Eccl 2:8). From this we can infer that Israel is YHWH's private treasure, in distinction from the peoples of the earth; it is, as suggested in the translation (above), a "unique value" to him. Other texts use another word from the semantic field of "ownership," *nḥlh* ("inheritance"), for Israel's unique position of belonging to YHWH (so Exod 34:9; Deut 4:20; 32:8–9, etc.). Israel is being compared to a plot of land that belongs to a family in perpetuity, passed on from generation to generation by inheritance. Perhaps this is meant to intimate that Israel is YHWH's "stake" in the world, his inalienable parcel of territory among the nations.

When the covenant is offered to Israel on Mount Horeb/Sinai, YHWH initially recalls his demonstrations of power and concern for Israel in the deliverance from Egypt (Exod 19:4), then offers them the opportunity to choose to be a "holy nation" and "unique value" to YHWH by agreeing to "obey my voice and keep my covenant" (19:5). The best interpretation of the conditional structure of this passage is to construe it as a condition that can be met in the course of the ritual, for the covenant arrangement is put in force in this very event. That is to say, Israel *becomes* YHWH's people by formally pledging to obey him (as they do in 19:8 and 24:3, 7–8). Of course, if they go back on their pledge to recognize YHWH as the focus of loyalty and locus of authority in Israel, the stated condition could come into force as judgment; but then it would be judgment of the *chosen* people.

Exod 19:5–6 uses the expressions found in Deut 7:6. There is a slight difference in wording, however, for in Exod 19:6 Israel is called a holy *nation*, and this is paired with "kingdom of priests." A nation, unlike a people, is a political entity, and the matching term *kingdom* reinforces this political import. Both phrases combine a political and a religious term, suggesting the idea of theocracy: a nation ruled by God. The election, it would seem, establishes Israel as a political state with a divine sovereign. This is in fact simply the reverse side of the pledge to obey YHWH, for sovereignty is defined as the authority to command and the duty of the sovereign's subjects to obey.

The use of the term "priests" in the one phrase may allude to a role of mediation between God and the nations. The priesthood performed such a role within Israel, so by analogy Israel as a priesthood would perform this role for the nations. Such an allusion is justified by its nice fit with the promise to Abraham that he and his offspring will be a blessing to the nations.

In these passages, election is so bound up with COVENANT that the conceptual structure associated with the one can be transferred to the other. Hence, Israel's unique status entails the obligation to obey YHWH's will; that will is enunciated in the commandments and laws which are delivered to the people (in Exodus 20–23) as a part of the act of covenant making, and which the people agree to obey in the ritual ratifying it (24:3–8). It is quite understandable, then, that virtually every passage in Deuteronomy which speaks of YHWH's choice of Israel is juxtaposed to admonitions to obey him (7:6–8, 9–11; 10:12–13, 14–15, 16, 17–18, 19–20; 14:1, 2; 28:1a, 1b; cf. 26:17–19).

**E. Election in the Message of the Prophets of Judgment**

Amos 3:1–2 constitutes a powerful commentary on the responsibility entailed in being YHWH's elect: "You only have I known among all the families of the earth; therefore I will visit upon you all your iniquities." This passage does not contain the key word *bḥr*, yet it does speak of a unique relationship established at YHWH's initiative. Being "known" *(yd‹)* by YHWH is indeed tantamount to having been chosen (see Gen 18:19, and for an individual, Jer 1:5). Amos here appears to be refuting a natural, but spurious, extrapolation from the concept of election: YHWH will side with his people in their conflicts with enemies and show indulgence toward their iniquities. To the contrary, YHWH says through Amos,

since I have chosen you and revealed my law by which my people can preserve a righteous and just community, I will especially hold you responsible for your corruption. Other nations could plead for mercy because of their ignorance, but Israel could not. In another passage (Amos 9:7), Amos actually denies that Israel is special to YHWH: The Ethiopians are equal to God's concern, and his providence has been demonstrated in the history of other nations as well as Israel's. To square this with Amos 3:2 is difficult because they appear to be contradictory, but it is noteworthy that both argue to the same conclusion: Israel is at least as vulnerable to judgment as any other nation.

Although biblical scholars find virtually no other references to election in the preexilic prophets, a close reading of the texts does turn up passages which resonate with election ideas. For example, the name of Hosea's third child, Lo Ami ("Not my people," 1:9), negates the unique status election claims for Israel. Israel's apostasy has violated the mutually exclusive relationship between the people and YHWH, so the bond is nullified. The very identity of this people was defined by the relationship, so when the relationship was ruptured, the people "lost" that which distinguished them from other peoples. Likewise, when they pursue the game of international power politics, "Ephraim mixed itself with the peoples … Aliens devour its strength" (7:8–9); "Israel is swallowed up; already they are among the peoples like a useless vessel" (8:8). They must undergo the suffering consequent upon their deeds (2:2, 9, 10–13; 8:9–10; etc.) before they can be reconstituted as YHWH's people and reverse the negation in the name (2:14–23).

The book of Deuteronomy was in all probability composed after the 8th century prophets and was responding to their message. The author seeks to motivate the people to practice justice and be loyal to their God in order to avoid the dire consequences of injustice and apostasy announced by the prophets. The Conquest of Canaan is a central symbol in the author's presentation. The previous inhabitants were being driven out because of their wickedness, particularly their religious and cultic abominations. It is imperative, Moses says, that these peoples and their religion be eradicated to avoid their corrupting Israel (e.g., 7:1–5, 25–26). Moreover, once the people of Israel are in control of the land, they must be on guard to purge their own people when they "revert" to the religion of their predecessors or anything like it (12:29–31; 13:2–19—Eng 13:1–18; etc.). A similar viewpoint is expressed elsewhere in the Torah; for example, the portion of Leviticus known as the Holiness Code has admonitions like: "And you shall not walk in the customs of the nation which I am casting out before you; for they did all these things and I abhorred them" (Lev 20:23).

In the history of Israel, movements to purge the people of polytheism broke out now and then. Probably the most violent outburst occurred during Jehu's rise to power (2 Kgs 9–10). He not only killed the king, Joram, and his Judean ally, Ahaziah, and the hated queen mother, Jezebel, but every member of the royal family and its political allies and, in addition, several thousand worshippers of Baal whom he had assembled under false pretenses. The narrative approves of this massive bloodletting in the service of national purgation (2 Kgs 10:28, 30). However, about a century later Hosea condemned the house of Jehu for this butchery (Hos 1:4–5). He offers no explanation for YHWH's change of mind, but his overall message would support the idea that the political enforcement of orthodoxy held no prospect of transforming the people, and simply masked the will-to-power of rulers. Hosea saw no redemptive possibilities in power politics, only violence, betrayal, and self-salvation (cf. 14:3; 5:8–6:6; 7:1–7, 8–10, 11–13, and *passim*). To use a somewhat anachronistic expression, Israel could come to its true identity only by a "conversion of the heart" after power politics and lust had brought them to ruin.

**F. Election in Prophetic Promises of Salvation**

The classical prophets, beginning with Hosea, not only pronounced judgment on the people of God, but promised that the passage through divine judgment would prepare the people for a new beginning. This new period would not be like the history that resulted in judgment, it would break out of the self-aggrandizement, violence, and suffering which had characterized human existence hitherto. Some of the depictions of the new age involved the breakdown of national distinctions, including the division between Israel and the nations. Others looked forward to the eternal separation of the righteous and the wicked, the result of which would be the cessation of the victimization of the righteous by the wicked. Alongside

these transcendent hopes we find more practical policies of communal leaders designed to preserve the identity of the people of YHWH amid the exigencies of history.

**1. The Expansion of Election.** Occasionally we receive hints in the classical prophets and in anonymous prophecies within their books that the distinction between Israel and the nations is only provisional, and that at the denouement of history the nations will be incorporated into the people of God. One such passage (Isa 19:19–25) speaks of the conversion of Egypt and by implication Assyria, the two great powers of Isaiah's day, to YHWH, concluding with an explicit reference to election language: "In that day Israel will be the third with Egypt and Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth, whom YHWH of hosts has blessed, saying, 'Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel my heritage' " (19:24–25). The language once used to set Israel apart from the nations will be addressed to them; the election of Israel reaches its true end in the election of all nations.

The anonymous prophet of the Babylonian exile, known as Second Isaiah, also announces the conversion and incorporation of all peoples into Israel in Isa 45:20–25. In Cyrus' conquest of all the known world, the nations will discover that their gods are impotent and that it is YHWH who rules human destiny (vv 20–21). Once YHWH wins his "debate" with the gods of the nations, he offers his salvation to the peoples and insists that they will all accept it (vv 22–23). They will become the "offspring of Israel" (vv 24–25).

Some scholars maintain that Second Isaiah envisages the subordination of all nations to Israel. There are, for example, promises that the nations will give their wealth to Israel and serve them (e.g., 45:14). However, the interpretation of our text that renders the most comprehensive, consistent, and cogent message (see Dworkin 1985) would find a genuinely universalistic message in it. There is no hint in Isaiah 40–55 that Israel will become a world power in any but a religious sense, so the references to receiving the wealth and service of the nations are best understood as freely given gifts to YHWH's sanctuary.

The language of election is repeated frequently in Isaiah 40–55. The exiled people of YHWH are called his chosen (*bḥr* in verb and adjective forms) no less than seven times (41:8, 9; 43:10, 20; 44:1–2; 45:4). Of these, all but 43:20 pair it with the term "servant." Israel has been chosen out by YHWH to be his servant. Their suffering is due to their failure to "walk in his ways and obey his law" (42:24, cf. v 21; also 43:24), in a word, to serve YHWH. However, he intends to revive them and make them messengers (42:19) and witnesses (43:10) to the nations. Alongside these passages designating Israel as YHWH's chosen servant are several which speak of an individual in that role (42:1; 49:7). Of course, there is an unresolved debate among scholars as to whether the Servant Songs (42:1–4 [5–9]; 49:1–6 [7–13]; 50:4–9 [10–11]; 52:13–53:12) depict a real or ideal individual or a corporate figure representing Israel. In any case, they give the servant a rather specific task, to "bring forth justice from the nations" (42:1, cf. v 4) without the use of force; the performance of this prophetic task (49:1–6; 50:4–9) leads to suffering, and finally to a sacrificial death (52:13–53:12). Here we have one answer to the question of how Abraham and his seed will be a blessing to the nations.

**2. The Division of the People into Elect and Reprobate.** When Israel was chosen out from the nations to be YHWH's people, the other nations were not so much rejected as simply passed over, to be the beneficiaries of election at the denouement of history. Only once in the OT is it actually said that YHWH chose Israel and rejected someone else (Esau/Edom in Mal 1:2–3). As seen in the Isaiah passages, the very logic of election tends toward universalism.

However, there is a countervailing development in postexilic prophetic literature: the people of God themselves are divided between righteous and wicked, the elect and the reprobate. In a number of passages deriving from Second Isaiah's disciples, known as Third Isaiah, we find the beginnings of the reconception of election on a nonnational basis. Isaiah 65 thrice speaks of a group within Israel as "my chosen" (vv 9, 15, 22), parallel with another title of election, "my servants" (vv 8, 9, 13–15). Over against this group is another which has proven faithless and arrogant (65:1–7); the entire chapter threatens the latter group with judgment, while promising salvation to the elect. The chosen servants will "inherit" YHWH's land and be blessed with the blessings promised Abraham, while the rejected "shall leave your

name to my chosen people for a curse, and Lord YHWH will kill you, but his servants he will call by a different name" (v 15). It is within such passages, which grew out of concrete conflicts within the restoration community (see Hanson 1975), that the beginnings can be found of the eschatological drama of a great day of judgment when some are saved, and some damned (as, for example, we find in Dan 12:1–3).

**3. Fencing Off the People of God.** It should not be concluded from the above that the concept of Israel's own election ceased to play a central role in Israelite thought after the Exile. At the very time when prophets were envisioning the opening up of Israel to the peoples of the earth, the reformers Ezra and Nehemiah were demanding a strict separation of the "holy seed" (Ezra 9:2) from the peoples of the land. Intermarriage would result in apostasy and "pollution" (Ezra 9:10–12), so these men exacted pledges from the people to marry only other Jews and to divorce their foreign wives (Ezra 10; Nehemiah 10, 13). Coupled with ritual laws which reinforced segregation, the postexilic Jewish community provided for the maintenance of its distinct identity and traditions among the peoples of the ancient world. While this "fencing off" the people of God ran counter to the universalistic visions of the prophets, and provoked their protest, it was a sober, realistic policy for life within the bounds of history.

## G. Election and the Canonization of Scripture

The concept of election played a largely hidden, but very active role in the emergence of the doctrine of divine revelation in Scripture. Before the concept of election was formulated by the author of Deuteronomy, those who passed on Yahwistic traditions were apologists for a view of Israel defined by the calling of YHWH. The Deuteronomic Moses raised this calling to a full-fledged theologoumenon. Israel has been called out from the nations to know the true and living God and to be his obedient subject among the peoples of the world. The story told by the Yahwists was not a national record, but an account of events and communications which constituted Israel as a holy people, and of the course of the history lived under this regimen. This history reached a certain closure in the Exile of Judah. The religious community that survived and was reconstituted after the Exile, shaped its identity around the texts deriving from the time when the people of God was originally constituted—the Torah—and lived under that regimen—the Prophets. Other tokens of its life as the people of God were finally incorporated in the sacred text.

It may be that a version of the hermeneutical circle exists at the basis of this doctrine of Scripture. The literature that recounted the story of Israel, the people of YHWH, is revelation because the people were chosen to be his own possession, his holy people, among the nations, and Israel is the people of God because the story—now in text form—so constituted it. To belong to this people is to appropriate this text as one's own story, and to recognize this text as true is to enter into the community for whom it was written. The text and its interpretive community are in symbiotic relationship: the meaning of the text is to be found in its power to constitute the community in its true identity, which in turn is to be measured by its faithfulness to the text which constitutes it.

There is a temporal aspect to the interaction of text and community. The community lives in a specific moment in political and cultural history. For the text to perform its function of community formation, it must be interpreted to meet the exigencies in the life of the community. To use the contemporary expression, the text must be "relevant" to the community, translated into its forms of thought and applied to its modes of life. There is a reverse process as well: the text must challenge the community's forms of thought and modes of life. While the text legitimates the community simply by being read within it, the text must call the community out from the "world" to be revelation. There will remain a permanent conflict within the interpretive community regarding how the community should be distinguished from those outside: by its eschatological passion, by its ritual separation, by its theological doctrine, or by some dialectical synthesis of these divergent readings.

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DALE PATRICK

## *NEW TESTAMENT*

Election in the NT is understood as God's selection in the distant past of those (whether angels or human beings) who will form the eschatological community of the holy. It is also God's choice of those who will serve him in special ways.

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A. Terminology
B. God's Choice of Individuals for Special Service
C. Jesus as the Elect Servant
D. The Elect Angels
E. The Corporate Election of Israel
F. The Corporate Election of the Church
G. The Election of Individuals to Salvation
1. "The Elect" in the Synoptic Tradition
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6. Summary

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### A. Terminology

A range of terms is used in the NT to describe divine election. Common are *eklogē* ("election") and *eklektos* ("elect," it denotes being the object of God's choice, except for Rom 16:13); there are also

*eklegomai* ("to choose"), *suneklektos* ("likewise chosen," only in 1 Pet 5:13). Three verbs which are used one time each for election are *hairetizo* ("to choose," in Matt 12:18), *haireo* ("to choose," in 2 Thess 2:13), and *tasso* ("to ordain," in Acts 13:48).

**B. God's Choice of Individuals for Special Service**

There are a handful of NT references of God choosing an individual for a particular ministry. This choice for ministry has a rich OT background; God would show his choice for leaders (Num 16:5; Hag 2:23), priests (Deut 18:5; 21:15), kings (1 Sam 15:28), and prophets (Jer 1:5).

The apostle Paul had a firm sense of God's choice of him to be the apostle to the gentiles (Acts 9:15; 13:47).

**C. Jesus as the Elect Servant**

According to the NT, Jesus was chosen to fulfill the divine plan, that the Messiah would suffer and die, rise again, and rule over creation (e.g., see Acts 3:20; Eph 1:9–10; 1 Pet 1:20; Rev 13:8). 1 Peter 2:4 refers to Christ as the Stone rejected by men, but "in God's sight chosen and precious." Some mss of the Gospels refer to Christ as the "Chosen One" *(eklektos)* in connection with God's approval of him as the "beloved Son" (in John 1:34 and Luke 9:35); this change probably reflects the link between election and the language of kingship in the early Church. Jesus' taunters accused him of claiming to be "the Christ of God, his Chosen One" according to Luke 23:35.

The title derives either directly from the servant passages of Isaiah 41–42 or indirectly through other sources, such as the *Similitudes of Enoch,* in *1 En.* 39:6 and 48:6, one who is variously called the Son of Man and the Righteous One is also designated the Elect One. The work plainly reflects traditional terminology, regardless of the possible Christian theological influence.

It is more likely that the Chosen Servant motif stems directly from Isaiah. The Servant Songs contain language of election and calling when speaking of the Servant Israel and of an individual servant (cf. Isa 41:8–9 with Isa 42:1). Matthew 12:18 contains the Christian paraphrase of Isa 42:1: "This was to fulfill what was spoken by the prophet Isaiah: 'Behold, my servant whom I have chosen, my beloved with whom my soul is well pleased.' " The early Church read the Servant Songs as predictions of Jesus (Cullmann 1963: 51–82); their conviction that God had ordained him as the servant is found in Matt 8:17; Isa 53:7–8; and Acts 3:13; 4:25, 27, 30; 8:32–33.

**D. The Elect Angels**

Only in 1 Tim 5:21 does the NT speak of elect angels. *"Eklektos"* here means "chosen," not "elite" or "choice," since Paul was calling on all angels to witness. The designation of "elect angels" is quite rare. Schrenk and Quell *TDNT* 4:144–92 cite *1 En.* 39:1 and Tob 8:15 (contra the RSV) as parallels, but neither reference is unambiguous (*TDNT* 4:185). This election is not to service (since again that would limit the number of angelic witnesses to Paul's oath) but to retain their holy status. The elect angels contrast with those who fell from their first estate (Jude 6). The elect and holy angels will participate in the judgment (Matt 24:31; 25:31; 2 Thess 1:2–8), while the wicked angels will be judged (1 Cor 6:3).

**E. The Corporate Election of Israel**

Particularly in Deuteronomy, Israel as a national whole is the "chosen" people of God, as in Deut 7:6 "For you are a people holy to the Lord your God; the Lord your God has chosen you to be a people for his own possession, out of all the peoples that are on the face of the earth" (see Deut 10:15; 14:2; Ps 105:6, 43; Isa 41:8). Election is coupled with the demand for holiness, since the elect nation must reflect the divine character.

It is an oversimplification to say that the older idea of corporate election gives way to individual election in NT theology. In the OT too, there is progression toward a doctrine of individual election for members of the "remnant" (*ROTT* 2: 21–22). Even in the days of the prophets it was clear that "not all Israel is Israel." The doctrine of individual election developed out of the hope of the holy and elect remnant. In Isa 65:9, "my chosen" form a distinct group within greater Israel who will find eschatological blessing (cf. also Isa 10:20–23 and Isa 14:1—God "will again choose Israel").

Paul bases his pivotal discussion in Romans 9–11 on the dismissal of the Gospel by the majority of Jews. Paul has to explain why the "chosen people" are rejecting Jesus Christ. He thus reaches back to the

remnant concept: history and revelation disclose that within the nation Israel there exist two classes: the unbelieving descendants of Abraham, and the elect believing remnant which God spares from downfall. Paul argues that the remnant of Israel (of which he is a part, Rom 11:1–2) is now turning to Christ in belief through the preaching of the Gospel (Rom 11:7). This remnant is "chosen by grace" (Rom 11:5) and was foreknown (Rom 11:2).

Paul asserts that after the gentile elect enter into salvation, "all Israel will be saved" (Rom 11:26). His quotation from Isa 59:20–21 indicates that he is thinking of the eschatological redemption (see the commentaries, esp. Cranfield *Romans II* ICC, 574–77). Paul is following the line of reasoning found in the OT that salvation is for the elect remnant. Probably the best interpretation of Rom 11:26 is that the "natural branches" of the end time will be beloved and thus elect for the sake of their fathers (Rom 11:28–29). Alternatively, he is enunciating that all believers are elect, whether Jew or gentile, and all the elect shall be saved.

In Pauline thought, the OT doctrine of the remnant points to personal election, that God has elected both Jews and gentiles to be saved. One may therefore adduce the statements of Romans 9–11 as data for the doctrine of individual election.

**F. The Corporate Election of the Church**

The NT does not thoroughly expound the corporate election of the Church, but the idea is not absent. In 1 Pet 2:9 the Church is called "a chosen race … a holy nation, God's own people," reminiscent of biblical titles for the nation of Israel. The connection between God's choice, holiness, and corporate mission is unmistakable.

Although "the elect" are spoken of collectively, emphasis is usually placed on the sum total of elect individuals, the *eklogoi,* not on the Church as a chosen group.

Christian congregations are possibly called "elect" in 2 John: the "elect lady" of 2 John 1 and "elect sister" in 2 John 13 (see the commentaries). These are isolated occurrences, but cf. the inscription to Ignatius' *Epistle to the Ephesians* in which he speaks of the "elect" church of Ephesus.

**G. The Election of Individuals to Salvation**

In the apocalyptic literature and the literature of the Qumran community (especially CD) individual election comes to the fore more than it does in the OT; this was in order to distinguish the true saints from "false" Israel (*TNDT* 4: 170–71). But in the NT there is a bridge to the new nation, composed of Jews and gentiles. The election of gentiles is only broadly foreshadowed in the OT (see Amos 9:12, in which the "nations" are called by God's name).

**1. "The Elect" in the Synoptic Tradition.** There are a cluster of references in which Jesus speaks of "the elect" (from *eklektos*), usually in connection with the tribulation (Matt 24:22, 24, 31; Mark 13:20, 22, 27; Luke 18:7). In its present setting, Luke 18:7 claims God's general protection of his own. Nevertheless, eschatological events uncover whether an individual is elect (Pannenberg 1977: 55): although "many will fall away" (Matt 24:10) the elect will not be deceived by false Christs and false prophets (Matt 24:24). Then at his coming, the Son of Man will "gather his elect" (Matt 24:31). The fact of being elect is eschatologically revealed: "For many are called, but few are chosen" (Matt 22:14).

**2. Election in Pauline Theology.** In the Synoptic Gospels it is seldom explicit that it is God who chooses individuals. But Paul (with the Fourth Evangelist) develops the concept of election from a more theocentric standpoint. Here *eklegomai* and its synonyms have God as their subject: "God chose you from the beginning to be saved through sanctification by the spirit and belief in the truth" (2 Thess 2:13).

In 1 Cor 1:27–28, Paul analyzes the composition of the Church and makes it clear that the appeal of the Gospel to the lower classes is not merely sociologically defined. While this passage could be taken to refer to corporate election (*TDNT* 4:174), individual election is logically demanded in 1:24, 26. The fact that the socioeconomic makeup of the Church is under God's control, is not accidental. And control over the Church's composition demands control over its parts.

Paul develops the doctrine of election further in Rom 8:28–38. God's choice of the individual is typically underscored in times of persecution. In 8:29–30 Paul sets forth an *ordo salutis,* and illustrates graphically and grammatically that God does not lose any men or women between his choice in eternity

past to their glorification (the "elect" first appear in 8:33). He seems to make election synonymous with "foreknew" in 8:29. Meanwhile, predestination is the next logical step, God's determination that the elect shall be Christlike. Paul speaks of "us" as those who are truly elect, not those who merely profess faith and then tend to fall away from Christ, but those who persevere through tribulation to the end. Paul's emphasis on perseverance as well as preservation by God dovetails nicely with the promise of Matt 24:24.

The modern trend is to read Romans 9–11 as a treatise on the nature of Israel rather than a theology of election (Kümmel 1973: 232). But the passage must be read in the light of its two connects, both with the issue of Jewish salvation, and with his treatment of soteriological election in Rom 8:28–38. Far from being limited to one idea in Romans 9–11, the context indicates that Paul is speaking both of Israel's destiny and election to salvation.

Paul seldom theologizes out of context. So following his description of God's election, he applies the doctrine to the problem of Jewish unbelief. He shows that the reason Jews are not turning to Christ as a nation is that God has not elected all the Jews to belief in Christ (Rom 9:11). The Scriptures teach that God's choice is prior to one's own existence (Rom 9:1–18) and that election is divine prerogative (Rom 9:19–24). With the prophets, Paul defines Israel as the sum of elect Jews (for him, the Jews elect in Christ), who with the elect gentiles share the blessings of Abraham. While divine election is chronologically prior to faith in Christ, the apostle Paul emphasizes the vital importance of justification by faith—the elect come to light only as they believe in Christ (Romans 10).

When Paul speaks of the basis for God's election, he refers to divine grace (Rom 11:5; according to 2 Tim 1:9 Christians are called by God's purpose and grace determined "ages ago"). He clearly spells out that election cannot be attained either through sincere effort (Rom 9:30) nor through works (Rom 11:6) nor through high social status (1 Cor 1:27–28).

Ephesians 1:4 and Col 3:12 both indicate that the end of election is holiness (see Rom 8:29); in fact, Ephesians is in part a treatise on the destiny of the Church from prehistory to its eternal witness to the love of God.

Paul's theology of election was not developed in a vacuum; it was shaped by his own experiences. He was aware of his own unworthiness as a former persecutor of the Church (Phil 3:2–7; 1 Tim 1:15–16). Thus in Gal 1:13–16 he must say that "he who had set me apart before I was born, and had called me through his grace, was pleased to reveal his Son to me." So also in Acts 22:14: "And he said, 'The God of our fathers appointed you to know his will, to see the Just One and to hear a voice from his mouth.' " These two passages cannot be reduced to a mere "missionary call," since his call to faith and his call to mission cannot be separated (see also Acts 13:47). Paul knew he was given both salvation and apostleship through God's gracious purpose.

Paul's missionary experiences also reinforced the theology of divine sovereignty. This fact may be the reason why he closely links election to the "call" of God (evidenced by conversion). He tells the Thessalonians that the evidence for their election (1 Thess 1:4) is the fact that the Spirit powerfully called them from idols to God (1 Thess 1:5–10).

Paul links election with God's foreknowing *(proginosko)* in Rom 8:29 and 11:2 (cf. 1 Pet 1:2). While Arminian theologians take foreknowledge as prescience of individual faith, it is significant that the object of divine foreknowledge is never specified. It is perhaps the person himself who is foreknown (Rom 8:29 "whom he did foreknow"). Foreknowledge as attributed to God has the flavor of ordaining the future rather than merely knowing the future (*TDNT* 1:715); this is the meaning it most certainly has in regard to Christ in 1 Pet 1:20. Thus 1 Pet 1:2, which in the original speaks of election "according to the foreknowledge of God," is well rendered as "chosen and destined by God the Father."

**3. Election in the Gospel of John.** John emphasizes the Son's role in election. The Father is said to have "given" the elect to the Son (John 6:37; 17:2, 6, 9), and Jesus states in John 6:44 that the Father "draws" them to eternal life. The latter concept seems to be equivalent to the Pauline idea of the "call" of God to saving faith.

In John 15:16 Jesus contends: "You did not choose me, but I chose you and appointed you that you should go and bear fruit …" (see also 15:19). While this might be read as the call to apostleship, the

previous context indicates that he is speaking of "bearing fruit" with those who abide in the True Vine (see the commentaries). This choosing is therefore soteriological and makes the Son the chooser of the elect along with the Father.

**4. Election in Other NT Literature.** Acts 13:48 contains the striking statement, that "as many as were ordained to eternal life believed." Grammatically it is next to impossible to make the foreordination contingent upon individual faith; rather, Acts postulates with Paul (as in 2 Thess 2:13) that the decision to believe the Gospel follows from God's choice of the elect.

While Jas 2:5 gives a clear picture of election based on the Beatitudes of Jesus, it is remarkably similar to 1 Cor 2:27–28: "Has not God chosen those who are poor in the world to be rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom …?"

1 Peter mentions the concept of individual election in 1:2: "chosen and destined by God the Father and sanctified by the Spirit for obedience to Jesus Christ and for sprinkling with his blood."

In Rev 17:14 Christ's people are said to be "called and chosen and faithful." Prominent, too, is the traditional Book of Life, containing the names of the true saints (Rev 3:5; 13:8; 17:8; 20:12, 15; cf. Luke 10:20).

In all these references to individual election, it is particularly noteworthy that election and faith or faithfulness are linked together. Election is known through its fruit of conversion and perseverance.

**5. Individual Election in Christian Theology.** Biblically distinct, election and predestination are often interchangeable terms in theological parlance. The meaning of the biblical doctrine of election has been disputed throughout history, particularly in the clashes over Pelagianism in the 5th and 6th centuries and during the Reformation (Berkhouwer 1960: 28–52; Jewett 1985: 5–23). The common denominator is an anthropological question: does fallen humankind yet possess the freedom to turn to salvation apart from elective grace and an efficacious call of the Spirit, or does natural depravity preclude such "freedom of the will"?

Pelagianism taught that the human will was not fatally damaged, and that whatever God commanded, humankind must be free to fulfill. This enabled people to be righteous apart from God's grace, and removed the need for election. The Council of Orange (529) condemned Pelagianism and semi-Pelagianism, according to which the human decision to choose Christ preceded God's special grace. Election was understood as divine prescience of belief, which led to the predestination to Christlikeness. The western Church generally followed a version of Augustine's doctrine of double predestination—of the elect to salvation and of the reprobate to damnation. Election is based solely on God's own grace and will.

The Reformation brought about a reassessment of election within Protestant circles, and defined the terms of the debate to this day. The Reformers seem to have universally held to unconditional election (inexactly known as the "Calvinist" view). In accordance with an Augustinian anthropology, God's choice of individuals to salvation was the first step in salvation, and not contingent upon any faith or work in the elect: "God once established by his eternal and unchangeable plan those whom he long before determined once [and] for all to receive into salvation, and those whom, on the other hand, he would devote to destruction. We assert that, with respect to the elect, this plan was founded upon his freely given mercy, without regard to human worth" (Calvin 1960, 2: 931).

Arminianism turned out to be the major reaction to unconditional election. Being semi-Pelagianism, it taught that election was conditional, i.e., it was God's choice of those whom he saw would respond to the Spirit's general call. Conditional election has been widely disseminated through the Wesleyan movement. The Five Points of Calvinism highlight differences with Arminianism on the points of depravity, election, the scope of the atonement, calling grace, and the perseverance of saints.

A third alternative is Universalism, according to which all are elect and will be saved in the end.

Karl Barth's theology of election is the most important recent development. It is his position that election is christological, that is, that not a group of individuals but Christ himself is the elect one, and that he is the only man rejected by God. Thus reprobation, being predestined to damnation, falls only on Christ, while election to salvation goes to man.

**6. Summary.** Christians have long felt the tension between calling on people to believe and at the same time harboring the thought that only the elect will believe and be saved. The doctrine of unconditional election might lead one to fatalism, but it seeks to do justice to the sovereign freedom of God to choose whom he wills. Conditional election might lead to anthropocentricity, since divine choice is conditioned by God's foresight of faith in the individual; while this system by definition deprives God of actual choice, it seeks to approach election pastorally, knowing that without repentance and faith there is no salvation.

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**ELEMENT, ELEMENTAL SPIRIT** [Gk *stoicheion* (στοιχειον)*; stoicheion tou kosmou* (στοιχειον του κοσμου)]. In most of its uses, element denoted an elementary or fundamental principle in a subject or discipline. Thus, it could designate a letter of the alphabet, a part of speech, a geometrical proposition, or a basic mathematical unit, such as a point or line. Heb 5:12 aptly displays this typical usage when it refers to rudimentary Christian teachings as the "first principles" of God's words.

An important term in Greek philosophy, the plural elements denoted the four basic components thought to constitute the entire physical world: earth, air, fire, and water. So widespread was this usage that all three occurrences in the OT apocrypha reflect this understanding. According to Wisdom of Solomon, part of the wisdom that God imparts is knowledge of what exists in the world. Insight into the cosmic order includes knowing "the structure of the world and the activity of the elements" (7:17), evidently a reference to the four fundamental constituents of the universe. The author of Wisdom of SolomonSolomon is also aware of the Greek philosophical notion that the four elements underwent alteration and exchanged properties; as the book closes he describes the miraculous events of Exodus in terms of change in the properties of earth, water, and fire (19:18–21). *4 Maccabees,* too, shows acquaintance with the philosophical usage of the term. According to 12:13, cruelty to one's fellow creatures has no justification because both torturer and victim share the same human feelings and are composed of the same elements.

Except for Heb 5:12, the meaning of elements in the NT is debated. When, in the closing chapter of 2 Peter, the author assures his readers that the day of universal destruction and renewal will inevitably come, he relates the fate in store for the distinguishing features of the cosmos: the heavens will pass away, the elements will be dissolved with fire, and the earth consumed (3:10, 12). The destruction of the cosmos would entail the dissolution of the four basic constituents of the physical world, an event detailed in Stoic eschatology. But since he mentions the heavens and the earth, the author might be referring instead to other essential features of the universe, namely, the stars or planets. By the 3d century C.E. and possibly as early as the composition of 2 Peter, the elements were associated with such celestial bodies. The 3d-century writer Diogenes Laertius, for example, applies the term to the signs of the zodiac (6.102).

Especially controverted are references to the elements in Galatians. Paul introduces the phrase "elements of the world" in drawing a contrast between those under the yoke of the Law and those free in Christ (3:19–4:31). He argues that custodianship under the Law is little more than enslavement to the elements of the world (4:3), so that by conforming to the Law (specifically, by adopting the Jewish legal calendar), Gentile Christians surrender their freedom to the elements (4:9–10). In doing so, they return to their former condition; as pagans they worshiped the elements as gods (4:8). Given the relationship Paul sees between the Law and the elements and his description of both as weak (4:9; cf. Rom 8:3), a plausible case could be made for understanding the elements as rudimentary religious observances and ordinances (presumably both Jewish and pagan). Detracting from this reading, however, is v 8, where Paul

acknowledges that some mistake the elements for gods, an unlikely statement if the elements are mere regulations.

The importance of astral determinism in Greco–Roman piety has promoted two other interpretations of the elements of the world in Galatians: (1) the elements are celestial bodies that dictate a sacred calendar and inspire worship; and (2) the elements are the demons or spirits, often connected with the stars and planets, that control human destiny and demand human devotion. The latter interpretation is reflected in the RSV's translation of the phrase as "elemental spirits of the universe" (Gal 4:3). Encumbering both these readings is the relatively late date at which the term elements came to have either astral or demonic associations. Even though the *Testament of Solomon* (3d century C.E.?) links the elements with demons, spirits, and stars (8:1–4) the identification falls well after the composition of Galatians.

A fourth interpretation is least susceptible to criticism; here, the elements are understood as the four constituents of the universe. In Gal 4:8, where Paul chastises his readers for their spiritual ignorance, he depends upon the Hellenistic Jewish critique of idolatry as the misguided worship of air, fire, and water as gods (Wis 12:2–3). By ascribing enslaving power to the elements (Gal 4:3, 9), Paul understands them to be active cosmic forces, which was the contemporary understanding of the four elements. Philo, for example, regarded the four elements as forces (*dynameis; Aet* 21.107–8), while the early Christian writer Hermas noted that they governed the world (*Herm. Vis.* 3.13.3). Paul's placement of the four elements among the powers of the present age led him to view them in a negative light.

The two occurrences of the elements of the world in Colossians have produced interpretations similar to those in Galatians: (1) the elements of the world are principles or rudimentary teachings of the human tradition adhered to by the philosophy (2:8; cf. 2:22) or they are its regulations (2:20); (2) they are the elemental spirits of the universe who rule as the principalities and powers of this world (*archai kai exousiai;* 1:16; 2:10, 15) and whom the philosophers at Colossae identified as angels and worshiped (2:18); or (3) they are the four cosmological forces that define the world (2:20) and provide the bases or guiding principles of the philosophy (2:8). This third reading in particular allows the interpreter to grasp the meaning of Col 2:20—especially the sense of the prepositions in it—in which the letter writer describes death with Christ as parting *from* the elements. The cosmic elements appear to define a sphere of existence or arena of activity that one can part *from* or live *in.* Believing that they still live *in* the world (2:20), the philosophers live according to its key principles (2:8) (see Lohse *Colossians* Hermeneia, 96–98).

The first of these interpretations would be more attractive had the letter writer used the word elements without elaboration. In that case, rudimentary teachings or regulations would very likely have been denoted by Colossians. But the use of the phrase elements *of the world* in 2:8 and the repetition of it in v 20 emphasize the importance of this qualification, an emphasis which should not be ignored. When Philo attached that qualification to the term elements, for example, he referred invariably to the four constituents of the world.

The second interpretation suffers, like its counterpart in Galatians, from the relatively late date of the evidence connecting elements with celestial bodies and with cosmic spirits or demons. It may be anachronistic to equate the elements with angels and conclude that the philosophers of Colossae worshiped them (2:18).

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**ELEPH.** See HA-ELEPH (PLACE).

**ELEPHANT.** See ZOOLOGY.

**ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI.** A group of papyrus documents and fragments written in Aramaic during the 5th century B.C.E. and discovered by chance finds and archaeological excavation during the 19th and 20th centuries. The papyri originate at or near Elephantine, a site in Upper Egypt.

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## A. Introduction

Elephantine (Aram *yb;* Eg *ʾibw, ʾbw;* Gk *ieb*) is an island in the Nile opposite Aswan (ancient Syene = Aram and Eg *swn*) just N of (= downstream from) the first cataract. It has yielded papyri in Egyptian (Zauzich 1971), Aramaic, and Greek (Rubensohn 1907). It is the Aramaic material which is of direct interest for biblical studies and Jewish history. They are listed first according to their year of discovery and publication and then studied according to their category. Other sites besides Elephantine have yielded papyri and are also noted. Sigla used to designate the papyri are those employed by Porten and Yardeni (*TAD* A; *TAD* B; *TAD* C).

Throughout the 19th century, isolated pieces of papyrus were discovered at intervals and frequently not published until years later, if at all. The earliest recorded acquisition was made by Giovan Battista Belzoni at Elephantine between 1815 and 1819. It consisted of two letters (*TAD* A3.3–4) and fragments of a third, housed now in the Museo Civico di Padova (Padua) and first published by Edda Bresciani (1960). The 3d decade of the 19th century yielded five pieces, none of which is known to have come from Elephantine: (1) a fragment of a letter (*TAD* A5.3) acquired by the Museo Egiziano di Torino (Turin) as part of the first Bernardino Drovetti collection (1824), first noted by Michelangelo Lanci (1827: 20) and only understood by Adelbert Merx (1868); (2) a fragment of a literary text that may be designated "The Tale of Ḥor, Son of Punesh" bought by the Duc de Blacas in 1825, published by Lanci (1827: 7–26) and later acquired by the British Museum (*TAD* C1.2 = *CAP* 71); (3) a fragment of wine accounts (*TAD* C3.12 = *CAP* 72) acquired by the Louvre in 1826 as part of the second Drovetti collection and published by Jean Joseph Bargès (1862); (4) a fragmentary list acquired by Stefano Borgia, first noted by Lanci (1827: 20), published by E. Ledrain (1884: 30–32), and later acquired by the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (*TAD* C4.9 = *CAP* 74); (5) and a fragmentary sheet of accounts (*TAD* C3.19 = *CAP* 73) stemming perhaps from the Salt collection acquired by the Museo Egizio Vaticano, first noted by Lanci (1827: 20), and published by Charles Jean Melchior de Vogüé (1869: 25–31). These five pieces came to be known by their Latin designations indicating either the private collector (Papyri Blacasiani, Papyrus Borgianus) or the museum or library where they were housed (Papyrus Taurinensis, Papyrus Luparensis, Papyrus Vaticanus). Ten pieces are known to have been acquired during the second half of the 19th century before 1893, though

the circumstances of acquisition sometimes remain obscure. Seven of these are held by the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, one by the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, one by the Harrow School Museum in London, and one by the Niedersächische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen. Three of the seven Cairo pieces were found by François Auguste Mariette at the Memphis Serapeum and published by Julius Euting (1885: 670+Pl.VI; 1887: 408–9+Pl.VII); two are letter fragments (*TAD* A5.4; *CAP* 77) and one is a fragment of accounts (*TAD* C3.21 = *CAP* 75). Two fragments were discovered in 1888 at Abusir near Saqqarah but were never properly published (Ricci 1906: nos. 13 and 14). One fragment of accounts from an unknown site was published as No. 153 in the monumental *Corpus Inscriptionum semiticarum* (1893; *TAD* C3.25 = *CAP* 78); the final piece, a fragment of accounts, was said to have been found near the tomb of Ptahhotep at Saqqarah and was published by Mark Lidzbarski (*Ephem* 3: 128–29). The one text (*TAD* B8.5) acquired by the Staatliche Museen, a record of legal proceedings, was published only with photograph by Karl Richard Lepsius (1859: pl. 124). A sheet of accounts was part of the Gardner Wilkinson collection acquired by the Harrow School Museum, cataloged by E. A. Wallis Budge (1887: 79), and published without photograph by Arthur Ernest Cowley (1903; *TAD* C3.27 = *CAP* 83). Finally, there is a fragment (of accounts?) given by Prof. Wilhelm Fröhner of Paris to the Niedersächische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen in 1884, transcribed by T. Nöldeke in 1894, and published 80 years later by Rainer Degen (1974a).

All told, then, eighteen items came to light during eight and one-half decades of the 19th century and none was a wholly intact piece. Only three (the Padua papyri) were from Elephantine; most, and probably all, of the others were from Memphis-Saqqarah. The Elephantine papyri clearly concerned Jews; the others concerned only non-Jews. Ten of the eighteen were brought together in *CIS* (1889 [Nos. 144–48]; 1893 [Nos. 149–53]), which marked the end of almost a century of random discovery.

It was during the next quarter century (1893–1917), ending during World War I, that the great finds were made, mostly at Elephantine but also at Saqqarah. In the very year that *CIS* II/1 fascicle 2 appeared, the American Egyptologist Charles Edwin Wilbour acquired at Aswan as many items as had been acquired during the preceding eight and one-half decades. These waited sixty years before their publication by Emil G. Kraeling (*BMAP* 1953). This Brooklyn Museum collection included four unrelated fragmentary texts, among which were two letters (*TAD* A3.9; *BMAP* 16), a document of wifehood (*TAD* B6.1), and one of accounts (*BMAP* 17). But the prize was a family archive of a dozen documents, most of which were fully intact with cord and seal (*TAD* B3.2–13). In 1898, Wilhelm Spiegelberg acquired for the (now-named) Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire of Strasbourg a fragmentary letter (*TAD* A4.5) published by Euting (1903). The Bodleian Library in Oxford soon came into possession of three papyri acquired by Archibald Henry Sayce and published by him and/or Cowley—an almost fully intact loan contract (*TAD* B4.2) rescued from the hands of diggers for *sebakh* at Elephantine in 1901 and published in 1903; a multicolumn roll of accounts (*TAD* C3.29 = *CAP* 81) acquired at Luxor in January, 1906 and published in 1907 (by Sayce and Cowley); and a fragmentary letter (?) acquired at the same time and published in 1915 (by Cowley = *CAP* 82). A fourth papyrus acquired by the Bodleian is the first of a ten-document family archive. The other nine contracts, all intact but two (*TAD* B2.4,6), were acquired at Aswan in 1904 by Lady William Cecil (*TAD* B2.2, 6, 7, 11) and Mr. (later Sir) Robert Mond (*TAD* B2.3, 4, 6, 8–10) and at the insistence of Howard Carter, Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt, made over to the Egyptian Museum of Cairo. They were published by Sayce and Cowley (1906). Stimulated by the random finds and dealer acquisitions, French and then German archaeological teams undertook excavation of the mound at Elephantine with the specific goal of discovering papyri. On January 1, 1902, Gaston Maspero found several fragments, which were deposited with the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in Paris and published by Melchior de Vogüé (*RES* 1. 246–47 = *CAP* 79–80) and Bezalel Porten (1986; *TAD* A5.5). That same year Maspero found some fragments at Saqqarah that were published in stages by Charles Clermont-Ganneau (1905: 255–60; 1917), Maurice Sznycer (1971) and Porten (1983; *TAD* A5.1). The greatest discovery was made in 1906–1908 by Otto Rubensohn. In addition to the significant Greek and demotic papyri he uncovered, he unearthed the largest collection of Aramaic papyri ever found. These included nineteen letters (*TAD* A3.1–2, 5–8, 10; 4.1–4, 6–10; 5.2; 6.1–

2), among which were nine that belonged to the communal archive of Jedaniah b. Gemariah (*TAD* A4.1–4, 6–10); eighteen contracts (*TAD* B3.1; 4.1, 3–6; 5.1–2, 4–5; 6.2–4; 7.1–4; 8.5); nine lists and accounts (*TAD* C3.3, 13–15; 4.4–8); the Darius Bisitun inscription (*TAD* C2.1), the Words of Ahiqar (*TAD* C1.1) as well as numerous fragments and inscriptions on potshards, wood, and stone. Following the preliminary publication of a few items (Sachau 1907; 1908 = *TAD* A4.7–9; Sachau 1909 = *TAD* B4.6), this remarkable find was soon published in elegant fashion by Eduard Sachau (1911). A few major pieces and some thirty fragments waited decades for their publication—by Zuhair Shunnar (1970; *TAD* A3.10), Rainer Degen (1974b, 1978), and Porten (1988; *TAD* C3.15). Most of these documents were deposited in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and only a few were kept by the Staatliche Museen zu (East) Berlin (*TAD* A4.1, 4, 7, 9; B3.1; 4.4, 6; 5.1–3; 6.4; 7.1–4; 8.5; C1.1; 2.1; 3.13, 15). Those documents published in the 1970s and ’80s are held by the Agyptisches Museum in (West) Berlin while one fragmentary contract held by the Staatliche Museen (P. 13607) was published by Porten and Ada Yardeni (*TAD* B5.3). Finally, from Saqqarah there came two pieces, a fragmentary list found by James E. Quibell in December, 1913 (*TAD* C4.1) and a fragment of accounts found by him on May 27, 1917 (*TAD* C3.5). Both were published by Noel Aimé-Giron (1921) and are held by the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Some hundred years after the discovery of the first Aramaic papyri almost all the published pieces were brought together in a small volume by one of the main contributors to the decipherment and publication of these texts, A. E. Cowley (CAP). For thirty years, until the publication of the Brooklyn Museum Aramaic papyri (BMAP), the name of Cowley was virtually synonymous with Aramaic papyri.

All but one of the following five decades saw the discovery, uncovery, or acquisition of Aramaic accounts, letters, and a contract. They are associated with the names of Aimé-Giron, Bauer and Meissner, Bresciani and Kamil, Driver, Dupont-Sommer, and Segal. None was found at Elephantine. In 1924–25 Gustave Jéquier found three fragments of accounts at Maṣṭabat-Fara῾un in S Saqqarah (*TAD* C3.26) while the following year (1926) Cecil M. Firth uncovered at Saqqarah some seventy fragments from the Memphis arsenal (see *TAD* C3.7; 4.3). These were deposited in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and published by Aimé-Giron along with several fragments of unknown origin (1931). About the same time Giorgio Levi Della Vida received as a gift from Giulio Farina a papyrus of accounts of unknown origin (*TAD* C3.28), later published by Edda Bresciani (1962). It is now in the Museo dell’Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente, Università di Roma. One and possibly two pieces came from el-Hibeh. The first was a fragmentary letter (*TAD* A3.11) discovered in excavations by Evaristo Breccia (1934–1935), published by Bresciani (1959) and held by the Museo Archeologico di Firenze (Florence). The second, allegedly from el-Hibeh, was a joint venture agreement, acquired by Bruno Meissner, published by him and Hans Bauer (1936), and now held by the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. Two discoveries by Zaki Saad at Saqqarah in 1940 and 1942 were turned over to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The first consisted of a few fragments later published by Bresciani (1971). The second was a letter appealing for military assistance addressed to Pharaoh by King Adon, probably of Ekron. It was published by André Dupont-Sommer (1948) and received expanded treatment by Porten (1981a), who was the first to notice a demotic line on its verso. The most exciting finds of this period were two collections of letters. The first was an acquisition from a dealer in 1933 by Ludwig Borchardt of a batch of intact official letters on parchment (*TAD* A6.3–16) which passed into the hands of the Bodleian Library in Oxford in 1943–44; thirteen letters and twelve fragments were published by Godfrey Rolles Driver (1954; 3d ed., 1965). The second was a discovery made by Sami Gabra in 1945 of eight private letters (seven intact with cord and seal [*TAD* A2.1–7]) destined for Luxor and Syene but left deposited in an ibis jar at Tuna el-Gebel (West Hermopolis). They were deposited in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Cairo and published by Edda Bresciani and Murad Kamil (BK). At that time Walter Bryan Emery (1966–67) discovered numerous fragments in the course of excavations at N Saqqarah. Further discoveries there were made by Geoffrey Thorndike Martin in 1971–72 and 1972–73. These fragments are now held by the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and 202 items were published by Judah Benzion Segal (1983; see *TAD* B4.7; 5.6; 8.1–4, 6–12; C3.6, 18, 21–24; 4.2).

If the first hundred years of discovery could be condensed in the small volume by Cowley, the next fifty years had yielded texts scattered in some ten different publications. New collations and a new corpus were in order. A preliminary edition of fifty-one texts including contracts, letters and lists, bringing together the major Cowley texts and all the Kraeling documents, was put out by Bezalel Porten (1974). A new edition of the Bisitun Inscription was published by Greenfield and Porten (1982). A four-volume *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt, Newly Copied, Edited and Translated into Hebrew and English* is being produced by B. Porten and A. Yardeni (*TAD* A–D) with the support of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities. It includes letters (vol. 1), contracts (vol. 2), literature and lists (vol. 3), fragments and inscriptions on potshard, stone, and wood (vol. 4).

**B. Letters**

Aramaic letters on papyrus number 35, not all fully intact, and many fragments. Twenty-eight belong to Elephantine (*TAD* A3.1–10; 4.1–10; 5.2, 5; 6.1, 2) or Syene (*TAD* A2.1–4) and seven elsewhere (el-Hibeh [*TAD* A3.11], Luxor [*TAD* A2.5–7], Saqqarah [*TAD* A5.1], unknown [*TAD* A5.3, 4]). Almost all were written by persons resident at Elephantine–Syene who were away from home. Four are drafts of letters sent from outside of Elephantine (*TAD* A4.5, 7, 8, 10) and one is strictly speaking a memorandum, probably written in Judah or Samaria (*TAD* A4.9). Like the contracts, the letters span the 5th century, perhaps extending back to the late 6th (*TAD* A2.1–4) and down into the early 4th (*TAD* A3.10, 11). Unlike contracts, they were usually written on both sides of the papyrus (except *TAD* A3.4, 9; 4.4; 5.2), the scribe writing first on the side perpendicular to the fibers, turning the piece bottoms-up and concluding on the side parallel to the fibers. Occasionally, the piece was turned sideways (*TAD* A3.9). One unique piece, unfortunately fragmentary, contains a letter written on the side parallel to the fibers and to the join, with the reply begun on the other side, parallel to the fibers and perpendicular to the join, and concluding in the right and left margins of the first letter (*TAD* A3.1). Unlike contracts which were rolled up and folded in thirds, letters were rolled up and folded in half, addressed on one of the exposed bands with the name of the sender and the recipient (and sometimes the destination [*TAD* A2.1–7]), and then tied and sealed just like the contracts. Two official letters have a second entry on the other exposed band recording scribe and date (*TAD* A6.1, 2). Evidence of tears and folds shows that some letters may have been (secondarily, after having been opened and read?) folded in quarters (*TAD* A3.4–11; 4.3–4; 5.2; 6.1–2; Porten 1980). Contracts were meant to be stored for an extended period and so a top blank sheet was insurance against external damage obliterating any part of the opening lines. Letters were meant to be opened and read immediately and so there was no need for an upper blank sheet. Curiously, one fragmentary draft of a letter was written, like literary texts and lists, in two parallel columns on the recto and then concluded on the verso, being turned only 90°, i.e. again parallel to the fibers (*TAD* A4.5). Two other brief pieces, one a draft and the second a memorandum, were written parallel to the fibers, vertically (*TAD* A4.9, 10). A letter was shorter than a contract, running between five lines (*TAD* A2.7; 3.11) and fifteen or so (*TAD* A2.1–4; 3.2, 3, 8; 4.2) with the average length being ten or so lines (*TAD* A2.5, 6; 3.5, 9, 10; 4.1, 3, 4). Official letters dealing with matters of weighty importance (*TAD* A4.7–8) or requiring detailed enumeration (*TAD* A6.2) would run to 23 or 29–30 lines.

The letter began, not with a date like the contract, but with an address. If the two parties were peers or if the recipient was the superior the usual formula would be "To my brother/sister/mother/lord $PN^1$ (from) your brother/son/servant $PN^2$" (*TAD* A2.1–7; 3.1, 4–11; 4.1–4, 7–8; 5.3; 6.1). If the sender was the superior, the formula would be "From $PN^1$ to $PN^2$" (*TAD* A6.2–16). Four private letters prefaced the address with a greeting to a local temple, whether of Bethel, the Queen of Heaven, Nabu or Banit at Syene or YHW at Elephantine (*TAD* A2.1–4; 3.3). Following the address there usually appeared a blessing or greeting. The more important the recipient and/or the more serious the matter at hand, the weightier would be the greetings (cf. *TAD* A4.3, 7–8; 5.3). The writer dispatched wishes for welfare, strength, and life (*TAD* A2.7; 3.3, 4, 8; 6.3–7). The usual greetings used the name of the deity and took the form, "May DN/(all) the gods seek after the welfare of my brother/lord (abundantly) at all times" (*TAD* A3.5–7, 9–11; 4.1–4, 7–8; 6.1). The blessing used repeatedly by the scribe of the Hermopolis letters was "I have blessed you by Ptaḥ that he may show me your face in peace" (*TAD* A2.1–6). The greetings or blessings might

also mark an ilclusio to the letter as the writer concluded with the statement "I have sent this letter (to inquire) about your welfare" (*TAD* A2.1–7; 3.4) or something like "Greetings to your house and your children until deity shows me [your face in peace]" (*TAD* A4.4; cf. A3.5). The letter occasionally bore a date, and this came either on the outer band as noted above (*TAD* A6.1,2) or at the end of the letter itself (*TAD* A3.3, 8, 9; 4.7, 8; 5.1). The structure and internal formula of the letters as well as parallels in the Bible, West-Semitic, Babylonian, Egyptian and Greek epistolography have been intensively studied (Fitzmyer 1962; 1974; Whitehead 1974; Porten 1978; 1982; Alexander 1978; Dion 1979; 1982a; 1982b; 1982c; see also LETTERS [ARAMAIC]).

**1. Private.** At least eighteen letters may be assigned to this category (*TAD* A2.1–7; 3.1–11). Of the parcel of family letters discovered at Hermopolis, probably dispatched from Memphis, the center of worship of Ptaḥ, four were destined for Syene, three for Luxor (*TAD* A2.5–7). Six were written for the Aramean stepbrothers Nabushezib and Makkibanit by the same scribe, probably one after the other on the same papyrus roll, sealed with the same Egyptian seal and addressed to different women all designated as "sister" and to Psami designated by Makkibanit alternately as "my lord" and "my father" (*TAD* A2.3, 4). No letter is addressed to a wife; it is likely that one or another of the "sisters" was a wife of the senders. The letters communicate items of personal interest to the parties concerned. They request the dispatch of objects such as castor oil, containers, and garments and they report upon the purchase of oil and cloth, awaiting a reliable traveler for dispatch. They issue instructions about the management of affairs and the arrangement of purchases, e.g., receiving wool and buying beams. They are particularly fulsome in sending greetings and showing interest in other individuals' personal welfare. A letter sent to Luxor complains passionately, "And what is this that you have not sent a letter to me?! And as for me, a snake had bit me and I was dying and you did not send (to inquire) if I was alive or if I was dead." It then concludes with the standard formula, "I have sent this letter (to inquire) about your welfare" (*TAD* A2.5). The only intimation as to the occupation of these Arameans located at Memphis, Luxor, and Syene is the statement, "And now behold, salary *(prs)* has been given to them here and it will be taken ahead of them at Syene" (*TAD* A2.3). This statement recalls the complaint of the Jew Osea writing from Migdol to his son Shelomam at Elephantine, "Now, from the day that you left (Lower) Egypt, salary *(prs)* has not been g[iven *to us/you here.* And when we] complained to the officials about your salary *(prskm)* here in Migdol we were told thus, saying: 'About this [*you must complain* before] the scribes and it will be given to you' " (*TAD* A3.3). Salary is clearly government allocation (*TAD* B4.2:6) and the Jew based in Migdol and traveling to Elephantine and the Arameans moving between Memphis, Luxor, and Syene were doubtlessly soldiers.

In their personal concerns and preoccupation with household affairs and the sending and receiving of objects, the Elephantine letters of the Jews are no different from the Syenian letters of the Arameans. The letter writers are Hoshaiah b. Nathan (*TAD* A3.6), perhaps the same as Hosea b. [PN] (*TAD* A3.7–8), and, judging from the handwriting, the scribe Mauziah b. Nathan (*TAD* A3.5), perhaps the brother of Hoshaiah. A sample of the economic activity of these soldiers may be found in the letter of Hosea to Ḥaggus, "And write for them (= the creditors) a document about them (= the money). And if they will not [*give*] *all* [*the*] silver at interest or will not [*gi*]ve it to you, saying: 'Give a pledge' (i.e., a loan on security), sell the house of Zaccur and the house of *Ašn.* [And] if they (i.e., Zaccur and *Ašn*) will not sell them, seek a man who will buy the [b]ig house of Hodo and give it to him for the silver that is fixed upon it" (*TAD* A3.8). Persians and Egyptians also wrote to each other in Aramaic. Spentadata and Armantidata owned a boat which was being run by Ḥori and the former wrote to instruct the latter about loading, purchasing, and hauling (*TAD* A3.10; Porten 1988). Occasionally a private letter contains a significant piece of historical information such as the succession to the throne of Nepherites in Epiph (Sept 27–Oct 6, 399 B.C.E.) reported to "my lord Islaḥ" from "your servant Shewa b. Zechariah" (*TAD* A3.9).

**2. Jedaniah Communal Archive.** Historically, these ten documents (*TAD* A4.1–10) are the most significant of the Elephantine texts. The leading personality is the communal leader and perhaps chief priest Jedaniah b. Gemariah. In 419/18 he received a letter, now fragmentary, from Hananiah b. [PN] informing him of a directive (now lost) from Darius II to the Egyptian satrap Arsames and instructing him

on the observance of the Passover. In addition to provisions known from the Torah, such as abstention from work on Nisan 15 and 21 and abstention from the consumption of leaven during the seven days of the feast, the letter announces regulations that may have been part of the developing oral law, e.g., obligation of purity during the week, prohibition of fermented drink, and authorization of the storage of leaven in sealed chambers during the festal week (*TAD* A4.1; Porten 1979: 88–92). Hananiah's identity and the thrust of Darius' directive may only be conjectured. But it is clear from another letter that the arrival of Hananiah in Egypt aroused the animosity of the Khnum priests of Elephantine against the Jews. That second letter is a recommendation by the scribe and communal leader Mauziah b. Nathan writing from Abydos to Jedaniah that he look after two Egyptian servants of the scribe and chancellor Anani; those servants had secured his release from arrest in the matter of a stolen dyer's stone (*TAD* A4.3). A third letter, only the right half of which is preserved, shows the Egyptians offering bribes and acting "thievishly" while the Jews appear in conflict with the Persian authorities in Memphis (*TAD* A4.2). In a fourth letter, Islaḥ b. Nathan, perhaps the recipient of the news on Nepherites, informs [PN] b. Gaddul of the arrest at the gate in Thebes of Jedaniah and other communal leaders as well as of several women. If correctly restored, the letter reported that the Jews were withdrawing from the houses which they had occupied and plundered. There was also talk of a heavy fine of 120 karsh (= 1200 shekels) (*TAD* A4.4).

These four letters are preliminary (though the last may be subsequent) to the destruction of the Jewish temple by the Khnum priests in connivance with the local Persian governor Vidranga in the summer of 410 B.C.E. when the satrap Arsames had left the country to report to King Darius. Of the six documents that deal with that crisis four are fragmentary (*TAD* A4.5, 6, 8, 10) and they obscure certain details. The first is a petition to a high official designated "our lord," perhaps Arsames himself, reporting the Egyptian bribe to Vidranga allowing them to destroy a royal storehouse and erect a wall. The priests also stopped up a well used to supply the garrison's needs. The missing part of the letter must have reported the destruction of the Jewish temple because the verso of the document appears to be a petition for its reconstruction (*TAD* A4.5). The second text is pieced together from a half dozen fragments and reports the names of two Egyptians, the enchainment of the petitioners' colleagues, and something "prior to Cambyses" (*TAD* A4.6). As the next letter reports, it is Cambyses on whom the Jews relied for the legitimacy of their temple. It was built under the Egyptian pharaohs and when Cambyses "entered Egypt" he reportedly destroyed all the native temples but did not harm the Jewish temple. The document makes it plain that the temple was a handsome structure (cedar roof, stone pillars, five great gateways of hewn stone) wherein animal sacrifices, meal offerings, and incense were regularly offered. Upon its destruction the Jews went into mourning. They eventually saw the punishment of their enemies but permission to rebuild the temple was not granted. An earlier petition to the Jerusalem authorities, the governor Bagohi, the high priest Jehohanan and Ostanes of the nobility, went unanswered. The present petition was written on November 25, 407 B.C.E. to Bagohi with a copy to the sons of Sanballat governor of Samaria. It opened with a fourfold blessing and concluded with a threefold promise of spiritual benefits if he would write a letter interceding on their behalf for the reconstruction of the temple (*TAD* A4.7). A stylistically revised version of this letter is also preserved (*TAD* A4.8). Not wanting to say no but unable to say yes to their earlier petition, the Jerusalem authorities remained silent. The second petition evoked not a written but an oral response, given jointly by Bagohi and Delaiah b. Sanballat, recorded in a memorandum. It accepted the Jewish version of the event, condemning Vidranga as "wicked," and authorized reconstruction of the temple "on its site as it was formerly," but omitted permission to offer animal sacrifices (*TAD* A4.9). Blood on the altar was to be the exclusive prerogative of Jerusalem. The Jews at Elephantine accepted the limitation and in a further petition to "our lord," perhaps Arsames, offered him rich reward if he would allow reconstruction of the temple (*TAD* A4.9). It is from the last contract of the Anani archive, dated December 13, 402 B.C.E., that we learn of the continued presence of the temple of YHW (*TAD* B3.12:18–19), indicating that if it had not yet been rebuilt, its place had not been taken by another structure (see Porten 1978, 1982).

**3. Official.** All five letters in this category are fragmentary (*TAD* A5.1–5). Only two are from Elephantine and both concern a hereditary land lease, in one case held by the garrison (*TAD* A5.5) and in

the other perhaps by a military detachment *(dgl),* between 441 and 434 B.C.E. (*TAD* A5.2). The latter names various administrative and judicial officials and seeks rectification of an "injustice." The former is an order from a Persian official Mithradates to the judges concerning rebels (Porten and Szubin 1985).

**4. Arsames Correspondence.** He was the satrap of Egypt in the last quarter of the 5th century B.C.E. and over a dozen letters on leather were found in Egypt at an unknown site, written by him and other Persian senior officials (*TAD* A6.3–16). Two letters of his on papyrus turned up at Elephantine, one addressed to him by a long string of officials—heralds, judges and scribes (*TAD* A6.1)—and the other sent by him to the Egyptian Waḥpremaḥi of unknown title (*TAD* A6.2). Both were dated on the outside band of the folded roll, the first to November 6, 427 B.C.E. and the second to January 12, 411 B.C.E. The first concerns a "share" *(mnt),* probably of land, and its unusually long external address allows for clarification of the address formula in two of the Aramaic letters in the book of Ezra (4:8–11, 17; Porten 1983b). The second, originally 23 lines long, is a masterful illustration of the bureaucratic procedure necessary to repair a boat held in hereditary lease by two Egyptian "boatholders of the Carians." They reported the matter to the Persian boatholder Mithradates. He ordered an inspection by the treasury accountants, the foremen headed by Shamashshillech and the carpenters headed by the Egyptian Shamou. They drew up a precise inventory of all the materials necessary for repair. All this information must have been sent to Arsames (in Memphis?) and turned over to his chancellor, the Jew Anani, who instructed his scribe Nabuaqab to write the long letter at hand. It recorded all the procedures followed and the inventory of materials to be used and instructed Waḥpremaḥi to act "as order has been issued." Upon receipt, he scribbled something at the bottom in a nearly illegible Aramaic script and then further notations were made in demotic.

**C. Contracts**

Elephantine has yielded forty-three items, most intact, and numerous fragments. These span the period from 495 to 400 B.C.E. They are written usually on only one side of the papyrus with the writing running perpendicular to the fibers and parallel to the joins. Only rarely was a piece written on both sides (*TAD* B2.3, 4; 4.4) or an additional entry made on the verso (*TAD* B3.3). Four pieces from the end of the century were written parallel to the fibers and perpendicular to the join (*TAD* B4.6; 7.1–3). In the vertically written pieces, the height varied according to the number of lines and whether or not the scribe had left a blank sheet at the top and cut off too much from the original scroll so that there was also a blank space at the bottom. Thus a small-sized document of 14–15 lines with no blank space at the top or bottom would measure between 27.5 (*TAD* B3.3) and 32.7 cm (*TAD* B3.2) while a long document of 45 lines with blank space at the top and bottom would be almost a meter tall (*TAD* B3.8). Upon conclusion, the scribe usually rolled his document bottoms-up to just below the top, turned down a fold or two, wrote a single-line summary on the exposed band ("endorsement"), folded the roll in thirds, tied and sealed it. The few preserved epigraphic bullae are Egyptian or Persian. On occasion, the document was rolled from the top down (*TAD* B2.7; 5.1 and perhaps 3.7). The horizontally indited documents were folded from left to right and no endorsement has been preserved on these. During the course of the 5th century, there appears to have been an increase in the size of the rolls. In a dozen dated documents written by eight different scribes from the 1st half of the century, the width of the scroll is 25.5–28.5 cm and the mean height of the individual sheets is ca. 10 cm (*TAD* B1.1; 2.1–6; 3.1–2; 4.2–4). Eighteen documents from the 2d half of the century, also written by eight different scribes, show an increased width of 28.5–34 cm with the mean height of the individual sheets rising to ca. 14 cm (*TAD* B2.7–11; 3.3–13; 6.1, 4).

Like other legal documents, the Aramaic contracts have been studied according to their schema (Yaron 1957; *ArchEleph,* 189–99, 334–43; Porten 1981b). The most common document in our collection is the conveyance (*TAD* B2.1–4, 7–11; 3.2, 4–7, 9–12; 5.1–6) and it follows a seven-paragraph structure wherein the central paragraph asserts the purpose of the contract—affirmation of the recipient's right to the object. The opening and closing paragraphs are objectively formulated; the central paragraphs are subjectively formulated. The order of elements is:

1. Date
2. Parties (and place: optional)

3. Transaction: Past
4. Investiture: Present and Future
5. Guarantees: Future
6. Scribe (and place: optional)
7. Witnesses

Prior to 483, contracts bore only an Egyptian date (*TAD* B4.3–4; 5.1; cf. B4.2) and after 413 most contracts again bore only an Egyptian date (*TAD* B3.12–13; 4.5–6; 5.5; 7.1–2). In the seventy-year interval, and occasionally thereafter (*TAD* B3.10–11), all documents bore a double, synchronous Babylonian–Egyptian date. Of the twenty-two double dates, only eight have exact synchronisms (*TAD* B2.1, 6 [restored], 9 [only month]; 3.5, 6, 8 [only month], 11; B6.1 [restored]). In seven documents, the Babylonian date is one day later than the Egyptian date, probably due to the fact that the contract was drawn up at night (*TAD* B2.2, 8, 10, 11; 3.2, 4, 10). In seven documents the deviation is greater—two days (*TAD* B2.7; 3.3), four days (*TAD* B3.1), a month (*TAD* B3.9), fifty days (*TAD* B2.3, 4), or a year (*TAD* B3.7). Various explanations have been offered for these incongruous synchronisms (Horn and Wood 1954; Parker 1955; Porten 1990).

The parties regularly (except for Egyptians), and witnesses and neighbors occasionally, were identified by ethnicon (Aramean, Babylonian, Caspian, Jew, Khwarezmian), occupation ([member] of [a military] detachment, builder, boatman, [temple] servitor), and usually by residence (Elephantine, Syene) as well. One of the parties (alienor) was presented as speaking to the other (alienee), e.g., "Esḥor son of Ṣeḥa, a builder of the king, said to Mahseiah, an Aramean of the detachment of Varyazata" (*TAD* B2.6:2–3). The document was drawn up by a scribe skilled in legal terminology "upon/at the instruction of" the alienor and occasionally of the alienee as well when he or she was one of the speakers (*TAD* B3.8; 6.3–4). There are thirteen known scribes at Elephantine, six with Hebrew names and seven with non-Hebrew ("Aramean") names. Jewish scribes, with but one exception (*TAD* B7.1), drew up their documents at Elephantine (*TAD* B2.9–10; 3.6, 8, 10–12) while Aramean scribes, with but one exception (*TAD* B2.11), drew up theirs at Syene (*TAD* B2.2–4; 3.9, 13).

Witnesses usually appeared in groups of four (*TAD* B2.6, 8–9, 11; 3.1, 4–6, 12–13; 4.2, 6; 5.5; 6.4), eight (*TAD* B2.1–2, 10; 3.2, 9–11; 5.1[?], 3; 6.3) or twelve (*TAD* B2.3–4), though occasionally there are multiples of three (*TAD* B3.3), six (*TAD* B2.7; 3.8 [though last line is torn]), and nine (*TAD* B3.3–4). In most cases the witnesses signed themselves and in one case a party to the contract also signed as a witness (*TAD* B2.7:17–18).

The subjective clauses in the center proceed in chronological order. The transaction paragraph recalls an act that has taken place; the investiture paragraph confirms ownership/possession and future right of transfer; the guarantee paragraph promises not to interfere with the new owner/possessor's rights. To paraphrase: I sold you a house; it is yours and you may give it to whomever you wish; I shall not be able to sue you regarding that house. The transaction paragraph contains subclauses, sometimes as many as four. A sale or bequest, for example, would include reference to title (previous owners), description, measurements, and boundaries (*TAD* B3.10, 12). The guarantee paragraph is always threefold, a main clause and two subclauses: waiver, penalty in case of violation of promise, and reaffirmation of the original investiture ("clausula salvatoria"). Variations in terminology and formula characterize the investiture and guarantee paragraphs and certain terms or phrases were favored by a particular scribe. The investiture clause had two variant formulas: "It is yours (from this day) (forever)" (*TAD* B2.1, 3) and "You have right over it from this day (and) forever" (*TAD* B3.7; cf. B2.4). Certain clauses occur only on occasion. The "document validity" paragraph appears also in deeds of obligation and affirms the power of "this document" to ward off suit or complaint (*TAD* B2.3; 3.1) and its priority over any other ancient or recent document (*TAD* B2.3, 7; 3.10–11; cf. B3.12). When a prior document was available to reinforce title, the alienor passed it on to the alienee and added a "document transfer" paragraph (*TAD* B2.3, 7; 3:12).

**1. Mibtahiah Archive.** It contains eleven documents and spans three generations (471–410 B.C.E.). The first four documents constitute a small archive concerning a house-plot bequeathed by Mahseiah to his

daughter Mibtahiah. The first of these deals with a wall built on the property by a neighbor Konaiah. "That wall is yours," he says to Mahseiah, and "I shall not be able to restrain you from building upon that wall of yours" (*TAD* B2.1:4–6). The wall ran along Konaiah's own wall and may have been intended to give him the necessary two-wall thickness to erect an upper story. But in 464 Mahseiah's possession was challenged by his Khwarezmian neighbor and a judicial oath was imposed upon him by the court. He, his son, and wife swear by YHW the God "that it was not the land of Dargamana, mine, behold I," whereupon the plaintiff was obliged to draw up a document of withdrawal (*TAD* B2.2:4–7). Indeed, in the deed of bequest to his daughter at the time of her marriage (460/59 B.C.E.), Mahseiah omits mention of pedigree but identifies himself as *mhḥsn,* "hereditary property-holder" (*TAD* B2.3:2; Szubin and Porten 1982: 4). The fourth document, written on both sides and made out by Mahseiah simultaneously with the third, grants her husband Jezaniah, also a neighbor to the property, a life estate of usufruct to the house in exchange for his building it up (*TAD* B2.4; Szubin and Porten 1987: 47–48).

The second set of four documents introduces Mibtahiah's spouse(s), presents her Egyptian connection, and shows her property expanded. A fragment of a betrothal contract drawn up by an unknown groom with Mahseiah may have been for Mibtahiah (*TAD* B2.5). The damaged date in the document of wifehood drawn up between her father and her second husband, Esḥor b. Ṣeḥa, may have been either October 27, 458 B.C.E. or November 2, 445 B.C.E. (*TAD* B2.6). Esḥor presents Mahseiah with a modest *mohar* (bride-price) of 5 shekels which he incorporates into her handsome dowry of 651/2 shekels. As was the practice at Elephantine both parties have equal rights of divorce. In case of death, however, if there are no children, Esḥor *inherits* Mibtahiah's property, but she only has right *(šlyṭh)* over his. Three special clauses, reinforced by heavy penalties, protect her rights to his property, both during his lifetime and after his death, and make provision for their children (*TAD* B2.6). In 446 Mahseiah granted Mibtahiah a house in exchange for fifty shekels worth of goods she had earlier given to him. The fourth deed in this set is a document of withdrawal drawn up in 440 by the Egyptian Pia in settlement of a "litigation *nprt* about silver and grain and raiment and bronze and iron—all goods and property—and the wifehood document" (*TAD* B2.8:3–4). The newly hypothesized chronology for *TAD* B2.6 excludes the possibility that the wifehood document had been drawn up by Pia and that he was Mibtahiah's husband prior to Esḥor. The document referred to must have been her contract with Esḥor. The litigation was not a divorce settlement but probably a dispute over deposited property including the document (Porten 1989b: 534–35).

The last three documents in the archive cover a decade (420–410 B.C.E.) and deal with problems arising out of the estate of the deceased parents. The brothers Menahem and Anani drew up a document of withdrawal for Jezaniah and Mahseiah from goods allegedly deposited by the formers' grandfather Shelomam with Esḥor but never returned (*TAD* B2.9). Similarly Jedaniah, the nephew of Mibtahiah's first husband Jezaniah, probably as part of a probate procedure, drew up a document of withdrawal from Jezaniah's house (416 B.C.E.) which must have passed to Mibtahiah upon the death of Jezaniah and to her sons upon her death (*TAD* B2.10; Porten and Szubin 1982a: 654). Finally, the two brothers divide between themselves ownership of two of their mother's four slaves, leaving the other two, mother and child, for future allocation (*TAD* B2.11).

**2. Anani Archive.** It contains thirteen documents, touches upon two interrelated families, and spans two generations (456–402 B.C.E.). It may be presumed that the four shekel loan taken by the woman Jehoḥen from Meshullam b. Zaccur (456 B.C.E.; see *TAD* B, 53–57) was never repaid and that he simply seized part of her property as security in accordance with the provisions of the contract (*TAD* B3.1) and he or his son Zaccur subsequently passed the seized property and contract on to Anani son of Azariah or his daughter Jehoishma. In 449 Anani drew up a document of wifehood for Meshullam's handmaiden Tamet (*TAD* B3.3). The erasures and corrections in the document are evidence of considerable haggling over the sum of the dowry and the terms of the settlement in case of death or divorce (Porten 1971). Surprisingly, the document attests to the presence of a child belonging to the couple by the name of Pilti (Pelatiah) over whom the master Meshullam still had rights. In 437 Anani bought a piece of abandoned property from the Caspian couple Bagazushta and *ʾwbyl* (*TAD* B3.4). Unable to provide the purchaser with clear title to the "house of *ʾpwly,*" the sellers attach a defension clause obligating them to clear the property of third-party

suit within thirty days or provide an identical replacement. Only if an heir of the original owner/possessor *ʾpwly* should make good his claim to the house, would the present sellers not have to provide a replacement but merely refund the relatively modest purchase price of fourteen shekels plus improvements (Porten and Szubin 1982b). Improvements were not slow in coming and after three years (434 B.C.E.), perhaps on the occasion of Tamet's bearing a daughter, Jehoishma, Anani bestowed upon her "in affection" half of "the large room and its chambers … new, containing beams and windows" (*TAD* B3.5). As appropriate to a gift in contemplation of death, the contract limits the succession of the property to the couple's children Pilti and Jehoishma.

A new stage in women's status was reached in 427 B.C.E. when the aging Meshullam drew up a testamentary manumission for Tamet and Meshullam. He "releases" them at his death as "free" persons. They are "released from the shade to the sun, released to God" with the obligation to serve the master and his son Zaccur "as a son or daughter supports his father" (*TAD* B3.6). This implicit adoption is given concrete expression when Jehoishma marries in 420 B.C.E. Her father Anani gave her a room in his house as a life estate of usufruct (*TAD* B3.7; Szubin and Porten 1988) but it was her adoptive brother Zaccur who presented her with an elaborate dowry of $78^{1/8}$ shekels registered in her document of wifehood drawn up jointly by him and the groom Anani b. Haggai (*TAD* B3.8). In addition to the customary death and divorce clauses, the contract forbids Jehoishma to "acquire another husband besides Anani" and Anani "to take another woman besides Jehoishma." Should either do so, "it is hatred" and "the law of hatred" is applied. Presumably, the circumstances under which Jehoishma would acquire another husband would be the extended and inexplicable absence of Anani. The term "hatred," frequently taken to mean divorce, is still subject to further clarification. In 404 Anani b. Azariah converted his life estate of usufruct to a gift in contemplation of death in consideration of old-age support (*TAD* B3.10; Porten and Szubin 1987a) and in 402 he further upgraded it to an "after-gift" to her dowry, effective immediately and protected against future "reclamation" by himself or "removal" by a third party (*TAD* B3.11; Porten and Szubin 1987b). Final disposition of the estate comes at the end of 402 when Tamet and Anani sell the remaining parts of their house to their son-in-law Anani for thirteen shekels (*TAD* B3.12). Perhaps as a result of the purchase Anani is forced to take a loan of grain, two *peras*, three seah of emmer. The loan is to be repaid interest-free from Anani's (monthly?) ration. If it is not, a twenty-day grace period ensues, after which a ten-shekel penalty falls due (*TAD* B3.13). Here the archive comes to an end. We should but mention the earlier document of withdrawal, following suit-countersuit (451 B.C.E.; *TAD* B3.2; Porten and Szubin 1982a), and a document of adoption and emancipation of a slave Jedaniah who belonged to Jehoishma's adoptive brother Zaccur (416 B.C.E.; *TAD* B3.9).

**3. Obligation Documents.** Eight texts spanning the century from beginning to end ([*TAD* B4.1–6] including two in the Anani archive [*TAD* B3.1, 13]) are obligation documents. The documents are drawn up by the obligor/debtor and their shema is more varied than that of the conveyances. It includes four subjective main clauses, variously formulated, and optional subclauses: (1) loan/debt (with compound interest [*TAD* B3.1; 4.2]); (2) repayment from allotment/ration (*TAD* B3.13; 4.2 [with receipt]) or due date (*TAD* B4.5, 6); (3) penalty upon default (*TAD* B3.13; 4.2, 6 [with seizure of security (*TAD* B3.1, 13; 4.6)]); (4) obligation of heirs (*TAD* B3.1, 13). Two documents were written without dates (*TAD* B4.3; Porten 1985). Two documents appear to be parallel and concern the obligation to deliver grain to the garrison (*TAD* B4.3, 4). The others are private obligations for varying amounts of money or grain: two (*TAD* B4.6), three-and-one-half (*TAD* B4.2), four (*TAD* B3.1) and fourteen shekels (*TAD* B4.5); and two *peras*, three seah of emmer (*TAD* B3.13). Three are actual loans (*TAD* B3.1, 13; 4.2); two are IOUs for payment on a house (*TAD* B4.5) and restitution of dowry (*TAD* B4.5); and one is either a receipt or a cancellation of a debt (*TAD* B4.1). The payment period was either less than a month ("payday" [*TAD* B3.13]), one month (*TAD* B4.6), nine months (*TAD* B4.5), perhaps a year (*TAD* B4.2) or longer (*TAD* B3.1). A straight money loan cost 5 percent monthly (*TAD* B3.1; 4.2) whereas a grain loan might initially be interest-free (*TAD* B3.13). Charges varied in case of default of payment, whether of interest or capital (Porten 1989a).

**4. Conveyances.** Five texts (*TAD* B5.1–5) in addition to those in the two family archives are conveyances, none fully intact. The first document is the earliest from Elephantine (495 B.C.E.; *TAD* B5.1) and concerns an exchange of inherited shares of realty. The share of the sisters Salluah and Jethoma came through probate while that of Jehour resulted from a division among the heirs themselves (Porten and Szubin 1982). In the last quarter of the century the hereditary property of Jethoma and Salluah was mentioned in a suit by Mattan son of Jashobiah (*TAD* B5.2). From the same period is a text which may be plausibly restored as a mutual quitclaim between the two sisters Miptahiah and Isweri in which the former renounced claim to payment made and the latter to payment received (Porten 1989a). The other two documents are fragments from the first half of the century (*TAD* B5.3, 4).

**5. Documents of Wifehood.** In addition to the three relatively intact documents in this category found in the two family archives (*TAD* B2.6; 3.3, 8) there are four more fragmentary texts (*TAD* B6.1–4), making seven in all. Because of the formulaic nature of these texts, each may be restored with high probability (Porten 1989b). The document was drawn up by the groom (*TAD* B2.6; 3.3), sometimes in conjunction with the parent or proprietor of the bride (*TAD* B3.3; 6.3, 4). It defined the change in status of a woman becoming a wife. The groom usually gave the parent/proprietor a *mohar* (five or ten shekels [*TAD* B2.6; 3.8]) and she brought in a dowry (22.19 shekels [*TAD* B3.3], 38.125+ [*TAD* B6.2], 60.5 [*TAD* B2.6], and 68.125 shekels [*TAD* B3.8]), to which was usually added the *mohar.* The document set forth potential contingencies that could affect the status of the wife, such as repudiation ("hatred"), divorce, and death. One document had been considered a conveyance but on the basis of terminology has been restored as a document of wifehood (*TAD* B6.3).

**6. Judicial Oaths.** All four are fragmentary (*TAD* B7.1–4); one is merely the endorsement on the verso with the recto showing a largely unintelligible text in demotic (*TAD* B7.4). Two are drawn up as regular contracts. In the first an unknown party pledges to Mahseiah b. Shibah to take an oath by YHW denying charges of theft of fish (*TAD* B7.1); in the second Malchiah b. Jashobiah pledges to [Ar]tafrada b. A[rvastah]mara to make a declaration before Ḥerembethel the god denying charges of assault and theft (*TAD* B7.2; but cf. van der Toorn 1986). The third is the actual statement of an oath sworn by one Menahem to Hodaviah "by Ḥ[erem?] the [god?] in/by the place of prostration and by Anathyhw" affirming his rights to dispose of a she-ass and denying the plaintiff's charge that his father had acquired half ownership (*TAD* B7.3).

**D. Literary Texts**

The *Words of Aḥiqar* is the only literary text discovered among the Elephantine papyri. Eleven sheets containing fourteen columns are preserved (*TAD* C1.1). The first five columns are narrative, relating the story of the "wise and skillful scribe … counselor of all Assyria and [kee]per of the seal" for Kings Sennacherib and his son Esarhaddon who adopted his nephew Nadin, instructed him in wisdom, and had him appointed to succeed himself. Nadin slandered his father before the king who ordered the officer Nabusumiskun to kill Aḥiqar. Aḥiqar talked the officer out of it and here the narrative breaks off. Later versions of the story (Syriac, Armenian, Arabic) recount in detail the restoration of Aḥiqar and his exploits on behalf of the king of Assyria against the king of Egypt. These versions divide the proverbs into two groups, one set uttered before the betrayal and the other after the restoration. Though the order of the nine columns of proverbs in our edition is not certain, papyrological considerations rule out interspersing any of the columns in the narrative.

There is no intimation in the Aramaic text that Aḥiqar was Jewish but the book of Tobit makes Aḥiqar the nephew of that worthy (Tob 1:21–22). The Aramaic Aḥiqar was extensively studied, both at the time of publication and in more recent years (Ginsberg *ANET,* 427–30; Grelot 1972: 427–52; Lindenberger 1983; Kottsieper 1989). Only one of the five narrative columns is fully intact and Cowley's restorations have become virtually canonical. Yet the resulting line length in columns 2, 3, and 5 falls short of the average column line length of 27 cm and must be corrected accordingly. Similar criticism needs to be leveled at his restoration of col. 14. The frequently quoted proverb "[Do not sh]ow an Arab the sea or a Sidonian the st[eppe], for their occupations are different" (line 208) must be expanded in the middle and corrected at the beginning. Most of the proverbs are pithy one-liners that are meant to instill discipline,

caution, restraint, obedience, and industriousness. A marginal stroke at the beginning of the line often separates one proverb from another and if the proverb ran over into a second or third line, then an archaic *ʾalep* was inscribed to mark separation between it and the proverb immediately following on the same line. Deity plays a significant role in the proverbs, both in the generalized sense of "gods" and of Shamash and El in particular. The apparent hypostatization of wisdom (lines 94–95) recalls Prov 8:22–31.

**E. Historical Texts**

The one historical text is a late 5th century copy of the original Bisitun inscription despatched by Darius I to centers throughout the Empire recording his victory over nineteen rebels in one year (*TAD* C2.1). The text published by Sachau consisted of two papyrus sheets with three columns on the recto and one on the verso as well as thirty-six fragments. Cowley issued a text running to 63 lines. Extensive papyrological and textual work has made it possible to place most of the fragments and restore a text of 79 lines. The original Aramaic text must have consisted of eleven columns of 17–18 lines each, yielding a total of ca. 190 lines. Restoration of fragmentary text is possible because the Aramaic and Akkadian versions match almost verbatim. Each campaign was introduced by the formula, "Thus says King Darius" and the space following the last sentence was left blank. The nine preserved paragraphs correspond to eight campaigns with separate paragraphs for individual battles in the two Armenian campaigns. The tenth and final paragraph is a composite piece, with part corresponding to the last paragraph of Darius' Naqš.i Rustam b. inscription (Greenfield and Porten 1982).

**F. Accounts**

These four documents are very different from one another. One comes from the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 5th century, has some kind of narrative text in the fragmentary first column, and a list of Hebrew names in the second column. Most of these names have some sort of check mark in front of them (*TAD* C3.3). The others all came from the end of the century; each bears a date but omits the name of the king (*TAD* C3.13–15) so we cannot be certain regarding the year. Two appear to have been written by the same scribe. One is an accounting of barley rations allocated to members of the Syenian garrison (*TAD* 3.14 = *CAP* 24). The other is a list of 128 (mostly Jews) who contributed two shekels each to the God YHW on 3 Phamenoth, year 5 (*TAD* 3.15 = *CAP* 22). The years may be either 419/420 or 401/400. The third account has two year dates, one 6+ and the other 6 and possibly 7. This account is written on the verso of the papyrus containing the Bisitun inscription and is a register of vessels and other objects associated with different individuals known from documents of the last two decades of the 5th century B.C.E. (*TAD* C3.13 = *CAP* 61–63). So this list was inscribed in 418/417 B.C.E. and gives us a date *ad quem* for the copying of the Bisitun inscription.

The Collection List poses problems of accounting and is an enigma for students of religion. The two shekel contributions collected come to 236 shekels, yet the recorded total is 318 shekels. The caption above the first two columns assigns the money to YHW, yet the total at the end divides it up among YHW (126 shekels), Eshembethel (70 shekels), and Anathbethel (120 shekels). The two-shekel difference between 316 and 318 is a mathematical error and the 82 shekel difference between 318 and 236 may be due to a carry-over of a previous balance. Most scholars see in the division of funds evidence for the syncretistic nature of the religion of the Elephantine Jews. But a careful analysis of the onomastic and epistolary material leads to the conclusion that these other deities are part of the cult of the Arameans (Porten *ArchEleph*, 151–86; 1969).

**G. Lists**

In this category are included five lists of personal names that have no additional notations appended to the names. All come from the end of the century and on the basis of prosopographical considerations, three may be dated more closely (*TAD* C4.4 to 420; C4.5 to 410; C4.6 to 400). Only one of the five lists is fully intact. It contains nine names and a summation, "All (told), nine men" (*TAD* C4.4). Three lists have only the bottom intact (*TAD* C4.5, 7, 8) and one has the bottom and top missing (*TAD* C4.6). Only one was written on both sides with text missing at the top of the recto (*TAD* C4.8). Two have the marginal subtally "10" indicating these were part of longer lists (*TAD* C4.6, 7). In all but one (*TAD* C4.5) the handwriting runs parallel to the fibers. Ethnically, the lists display the cosmopolitan nature of the society

in the Persian period. Three lists consist essentially of Jews, with a sprinkling of Aramean and Egyptian names (*TAD* C4.4–6); one of Persian praenomina only (*TAD* C4.7); and one of mixed Egyptian, Babylonian, and Aramean names with a sprinkling of Jewish names (*TAD* C4.8). The difficulty in reading some of these names (e.g. *nryh* or *pdyh* [*TAD* C4.6:3] *nḥwm* or *pḥnm* [*TAD* C4.6:12]) illustrates the variant readings frequently encountered in parallel biblical lists (e.g. *rḥwm* vs. *nḥwm* [Ezra 2:2 = Neh 7:7]).

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BEZALEL PORTEN

**ELEUTHERUS** (PLACE) [Gk *Eleutheros* (Ἐλευθερος)]. A river in ancient Syria to which Jonathan marched with Ptolemy king of Egypt (1 Macc 11:7). Later, Jonathan routed the forces of Demetrius, but was unable to overtake them before they crossed this river (12:30). Both passages seem to suggest that the river constituted part of a political boundary beyond which Jonathan dare not proceed. The river flowed from the base of the Lebanon mountains into the Mediterranean (cf. Strab. 16.2.12). It has been suggested that the Eleutherus be identified with the modern Nahr el-Kebir, which flows near the Lebanon–Syria border about 19 miles N of Tripoli (*IDB* 2:85; *ISBE* 2:61), although Aharoni and Avi-Yonah apparently identify it with the Nahr Ibrahim, about 30 miles farther S (see *MBA,* map 203).

GARY A. HERION

**ELHANAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelḥānān* (אֶלְחָנָן)]. **1.** A valiant warrior in David's army, who came from Bethlehem (2 Sam 21:19; 1 Chr 20:5). He was noted for killing a famous Philistine soldier in battle at Gob, an unidentified location in Philistia. There is confusion regarding the identity of Elhanan's father and the Philistine who was slain. In 2 Samuel the patronymic is Jaareoregim whereas in 1 Chronicles it is Jair. There exists a simple textual explanation for this variation. The word "oregim" appears again in 2 Sam 21:19 (the shaft of his spear was like a *weaver's* beam). Consequently, a copying error has occurred in which the word "oregim" has been inserted after Jaare (dittography). The difference between Jaare and Jair is minor, requiring a transposition of the last two letters in Hebrew. The probable name of Elhanan's father, then, is preserved as Jair (Heb *yāʿîr*[Q]) in 1 Chronicles.

The identity of Elhanan's opponent is a more difficult matter. In 2 Samuel the text reads, "Elhanan, son of Jaareoregim, the Bethlehemite (Heb *bêt hallaḥmî*) smote Goliath (Heb *ʾēt golyāt*)." In 1 Chronicles it reads, "Elhanan, son of Jair, smote Lahmi (Heb *ʾet laḥmî*) the brother of Goliath (Heb *ʾăḥî golyāt*)." Since the patronymic in 2 Samuel is corrupt, some scholars feel that 1 Chronicles contains the generally superior text. The reading "the Bethlehemite" was influenced by another text in which it was known of an Elhanan from Bethlehem (2 Sam 23:24). However, the standard solution to this problem is that the Chronicler harmonizes the text with 1 Samuel 17 in which it is stated that David, not Elhanan, killed Goliath.

How then does one explain the contradiction between 1 Samuel 17 and 2 Samuel 21? The usual explanation states that David originally killed an anonymous Philistine, who was later confused with Elhanan's victim. Another, more ancient solution (Targums, Midrash) is that Elhanan and David were the same person, David being a second name acquired later, probably at his coronation. A significant number of modern scholars have lent support to this view, some arguing on the basis of the occurrence of the word *dawidum* at Mari that the name, David, was a title received at coronation (von Pákozdy 1956). Some have postulated that the patronymic in 2 Samuel originally was Jesse (Heb letters *yšy*) instead of Jaare (Heb letters *yʿry*), the consonants *ʿ* and *r* representing a corruption of *š* (Honeyman 1948: 23–24). Although this theory is attractive, it lacks conclusive support. The Mari evidence has now been essentially refuted, and the reading of "Jesse" for "Jaare" is dubious (Stamm 1960; Hoffman 1973: 168–206).

**2.** One of the distinguished group of David's warriors known as "The Thirty" (see DAVID'S CHAMPIONS) (2 Sam 23:24; 1 Chr 11:26). He came from Bethlehem and his father's name was Dodo. The fact that he is placed second on the list suggests that he was with David at an early stage in his career and thus came from an area close to his original home (Mazar 1963: 318). Consequently, this soldier probably had a high rank.

Some scholars identify this person with Elhanan in 1. above. However, there is no satisfactory explanation of the differing patronymics. Others identify the two Elhanans as both referring to David. An original text in 2 Sam 23:24 is conjectured: "Elhanan, he is David from Bethlehem." Although the word Dodo (Heb letters *dwdw*) and David (Heb letters *dwd*) are similar, such a theory requires major changes in the text. It also fails to explain adequately why David is included in his own list of warriors.

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STEPHEN G. DEMPSTER

**ELI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿēlî* (עֵלִי)]. The priest at Shiloh (1 Sam 1:9; 2:11) and a judge in Israel (4:18) before and during the days of Samuel's youth. More precisely, Eli's office was probably that of high priest, although he is not specifically given this title in the OT text. Eli's two reprobate sons—

unfortunately also priests of the Lord (1:3)—bore appropriately Egyptian names: Hophni ("Tadpole") and Phinehas ("The Nubian").

On one occasion, while Samuel's mother Hannah was on pilgrimage at Shiloh, she was praying silently that the Lord would give her a son (1 Sam 1:3, 9–11). Eli rebuked her for what he took to be the inaudible mutterings of a drunken woman. When she responded that she was in fact praying, he graciously rectified his mistake (1:12–18). After Samuel had been weaned, his parents brought him to the tabernacle at Shiloh to begin service as a lifelong Nazirite under Eli (1:24–28; 2:11).

The contrast between Eli's young charge and his own two sons could scarcely be more stark and is intentionally highlighted in the text. Hophni and Phinehas "had no regard for the Lord" (1 Sam 2:12), treated with contempt "the offering of the Lord" (2:17) as well as "all the Israelites who came" to Shiloh (2:14), and "lay with the women who served at the entrance to the tent of meeting" (2:22). Samuel, meanwhile, "ministered to/before the Lord" (2:11, 18; 3:1), "grew in the presence of the Lord" (2:21), and "continued to grow both in stature and in favor with the Lord and with men" (2:26). Eli rebuked his sons for their wicked behavior, but they refused to listen to him (2:22–25).

An unnamed prophet came to Eli and told him that the sins of his sons would bring judgment and that his priestly line would be cut off and superseded by that of another (1 Sam 2:27–36). The same basic message was repeated to Eli by Samuel himself who, serving as the conduit of God's word to the aged priest, informed him of the day of reckoning that would come at least partly because Eli had failed to restrain his sons' evil conduct. Eli submissively accepted the inevitable as a sign of the Lord's displeasure (3:11–18).

After a severe military defeat suffered by the Israelites at the hands of the Philistines, Hophni and Phinehas accompanied the ark of the covenant onto the battlefield (1 Sam 4:1–4). The elders had ordered the ark to be brought out of the tabernacle and into battle as a talisman to assure Israel's victory. Although fearful, the Philistines fought bravely and captured the ark. Apparently Eli's two sons were among the casualties who died in the battle (4:10–11; 4QSam[a] omits mention of the sons).

By this time Eli was an obese (1 Sam 4:18; cf. also 2:29) old man, ninety-eight years of age (4:15) and nearly blind (3:2; 4:15). When he heard the report of the death of his sons and the capture of the ark, the shock was such that he fell backward off his chair, broke his neck and died. He had been a judge in Israel for forty years (4:17–18). A tragic figure, Eli had successfully prepared Samuel for divine service but had failed with his own sons.

Eli's ancestry is not clearly outlined in the OT text, and any reconstruction must remain speculative. If the Ahimelech who was Eli's great-grandson and successor (1 Sam 22:9, 11, 20; 14:3) is the same as the one mentioned in 1 Chr 24:3, then Eli was a descendant of Aaron's son Ithamar (see also Josephus *Ant* 5.11.5 §361; contrast, however, 2 Esdr 1:2, where Eli is traced back to Eleazar, another of Aaron's sons). 1 Sam 22:9–20 indicates that Eli's descendants, through Ahimelech's son Abiathar, continued to serve as priests at Nob, at least temporarily. When Doeg the Edomite slaughtered the priests at the command of Saul, Abiathar escaped (22:20) and shared the priesthood with Zadok under David (2 Sam 19:11). The prophecy concerning the demise of Eli's line (see above) was further fulfilled when Solomon relieved Abiathar of his priestly duties (1 Kgs 2:26–27; approximate dates for Eli through Abiathar are given in Albright *ARI,* 200). The sole priesthood then reverted to the line of Eleazar under Zadok (cf. 1 Chr 6:4–8; Josephus *Ant* 5.11.5 §362), to whose house Ezra traced his own priestly lineage (Ezra 7:1–5). (See also the discussion in ITHAMAR.)

The personal name *ʿēlî* is used only of Eli the priest in the OT. But it has long been recognized that it is the hypocoristic of a longer name such as *yḥwʿly* in the Samaria ostraca (Albright *ARI,* 200) or *yhwʿly* (a woman's name, however) in the Elephantine papyri (Noth *IPN,* 245). Recent discoveries have added the names *ʿlyhw,* found on three bullae (Avigad 1986: 45, 93, 94), and *ʿlyw,* inscribed on a seal (Avigad 1987: 200, 207).

M. Noth brought the divine name Elyon into the discussion of Eli and its longer forms (Noth *IPN,* 146), but it remained for H. S. Nyberg to prove that *ʿl/ʿly/ʿlyw* itself was used as a divine name (meaning "Exalted One, Most High") in the OT as well as in numerous extrabiblical texts (see especially Nyberg

1938; cf. also Ginsberg 1946: 47). During the past fifty years, numerous studies have added to the list of occurrences of *ʿl* and its derivatives and/or commented on their significance (e.g., Dahood 1953; *Psalms 1–50* AB, 45; Freedman 1976: 65–67 *et passim*). Especially instructive in the context of the fall from grace of Eli the priest is 1 Sam 2:10 in the Song of Hannah:

*ʿlw* thunders from the heavens;
*yhwh* judges the ends of the earth.

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RONALD YOUNGBLOOD

**ELI, ELI, LAMA SABACHTHANI.** Jesus' cry from the cross is recorded in Matt 27:46 and Mark 15:34, in slightly differing forms. That given above is basically a mixture of the two, while yet a further form occurs in Codex Bezae at both places. The two most probable forms, along with that in Codex Bezae, are as follows:

Mark 15:34, *eloi eloi lama* [*lema* Sinaiticus C] *sabachthanei*
Matt 27:46, *ēli ēli lema* [*lama* $D^{w}$ it vg, *lima* A] *sabachthanei*

Codex Bezae (D) in both reads ēlei ēlei lama zaphthanei. From this it is clear that D represents the Hebrew text of Ps 22:1 (apart from the omission of the syllable before *zaphthanei*): *ʾēlî ʾēlî lāmâ ʿăzabtānî.* In the more usually accepted texts in Matthew and Mark, *sabachthanei* reflects the Aramaic verb *sbqtny.* The form *lema* in Matthew is slightly closer to the Aramaic *lmʾ* than is the Markan *lama. Eli* is Hebrew, but has also been found in an Aramaic text from Qumran (11QJN frag. 14, line 1), whereas the Markan form *eloi* seems to reflect best a biblical Hebrew form *ʾlhwhy* ("my God"), although it may possibly represent Aramaic *ʾlhy,* but it does not coincide with the known Hebrew text of Ps 22:1a in that reading.

If Matthew used Mark here, why did he change the *eloi* to *ēli* in conformity with the Hebrew text but leave the rest of the sentence in Aramaic? Actually, if we consult the Targum to Psalms we find that it has not *eloi* but *eli,* so that Matthew's version is in fact precisely that of the Targum. The Bezan variant is equally that of MT. The question becomes even more involved when we look at the Greek translations given respectively by Matthew and Mark and compare them with that in the LXX as we know it. Mark deviates a little from the LXX as we know it. Mark deviates a little from the LXX in reading *eis ti* (literally, "for what?") for *hina ti,* ("why?"), but Matthew's *thee mou thee mou* "my God, my God" (against Mark and LXX, *ho theos mou ho theos mou*) is strikingly independent. Are Matthew and Mark really interdependent here after all? Which of them (if either) is the more likely to have been original? What is the status of the Bezan reading? Is it an attempt to conform them both to one another and to MT, and perhaps also to help explain how the opening word *(ēlei)* came to be mistaken for the name of the prophet Elijah *(ēleias)?*

Apart from the Bezan readings, both Matthew and Mark point to Aramaic as the language in which the cry was uttered. It would hardly be surprising that in such deep distress Jesus should have used his mother tongue. The authenticity of the saying is surely supported by the sheer embarrassment of the words for the early Church.

MAX WILCOX

**ELIAB** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîʾāb* (אֱלִיאָב)]. Var. ELIHU; ELIEL. **1.** Prominent man in the tribe of Zebulon, son of Helon (Num 1:9). He represented his tribe's interests as an assistant to Moses in the wilderness. After the census of the tribes, he was Zebulon's leader (Num 2:7–8) and commanded a host of

57,400 (Num 2:8); also, in his capacity as leader he provided an offering for the dedication of the altar (Num 7:24–29).

**2.** Man from the family of Pallu, of the tribe of Reuben (Num 26:5, 8). He was the father (Num 16:1) of the rebels, Dathan and Abiram, who, with Korah and On, led a mutiny against the authority of Moses and Aaron (Num 16:1–3, 12–4; Deut 11:6).

**3.** Levite from the family of Kohath (1 Chr 6:7, 12—Eng6:22, 27). He was the great-grandfather of the judge/prophet, Samuel (1 Chr 6:12–13—Eng6:27–28). His name is given also as "Elihu" (1 Sam 1:1) where the lineage is connected with Ephraim and as "Eliel" (1 Chr 6:19—Eng6:34) where the lineage, as with Eliab, is connected with Levi.

**4.** The oldest son of Jesse and therefore David's oldest brother (1 Chr 2:13). He was the father of at least one daughter, Abihail (2 Chr 11:18). He was most probably the leader of Judah during the time of David's kingship. This is based on the reference in 1 Chr 27:16–18 which states that "Elihu, one of David's brothers," was "chief officer" over the tribe of Judah. The following evidence suggests that, in this passage, "Elihu" is another name for Eliab: (1) the oldest brother would naturally be the leader, (2) the LXX renders "Elihu" as "Eliab" in 1 Chr 27:18, and (3) (less direct evidence) the Eliab in **3.** above is also called Elihu, which establishes that "Elihu" is a variant of "Eliab." But see ELIHU. He was a man of imposing stature, appearance and bearing, qualities which inclined Samuel to identify him, although mistakenly, as Jahweh's choice to be Saul's successor to the throne in Israel (1 Sam 16:6–7). He served in Saul's army during the conflict with the Philistines. During his tenure in Saul's army, his brother David conveyed to him greetings, and supplied him with provisions, from home. When, on one such occasion, David expressed in the camp an interest in meeting the Philistine, Goliath, Eliab asserted himself against David's design: he rebuked David, belittled him and imputed to him a specious motive (1 Sam 17:28–29). He seems, thus, to have been embarrassed by David, jealous of David, or both.

**5.** A warrior from the tribe of Gad (1 Chr 12:8–9). He was the leader of a troop of either a thousand or a hundred men, and was one of eleven such military leaders who, as a group, transferred their allegiance to David after Saul's demise (1 Chr 12:8–15). This group of eleven leaders aggressively protected Israel's interests against unfriendly people, particularly in the valleys beyond Jordan, and their military exploits and prowess gained them fame. As a member of the group, he possessed the qualities in which the group excelled: he was eminent in battle, skillful with shield and spear; his strong, dauntless character expressed itself through his aspect and demeanor; in military maneuvers he was adroit, nimble and swift (1 Chr 12:8–9).

**6.** A Levite who played the harp skillfully (1 Chr 15:20). He was a member of a group of musicians under the direction of Chenaniah. David honored this group by appointing them to provide music during the transfer of the ark from the house of Obededom to the tent prepared especially to receive it (1 Chr 15:14–28).

**7.** A man of the tribe of Simeon, and an ancestor of Judith (Jdt 8:1; 9:2). The genealogy in Jdt 8:1 lists him as the grandson of Salamiel who was the leader of the tribe of Simeon under Moses in the wilderness (Num 1:6). But the list is obviously incomplete (Sarasadai succeeds Israel [Jacob] in the list though he lived several hundred years later), and extensive time gaps could separate persons whose names are successive in the list. If the list is complete at the point at which Eliab occurs, he was the son of Nathanael and the father of Hilkiah.

GERALD J. PETTER

**ELIADA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelyādāʿ* (אֶלְיָדָע)]. **1.** One of 13 sons of David listed as having been born in Jerusalem (1 Chr 3:5–9; 14:3–7; cf. 2 Sam 5:13–16). His mother was among the several wives and concubines whom David took in Jerusalem, but she is not named. His name means "God knows" (2 Sam 5:16 and 1 Chr 3:8). His given name was most likely "Baaliada" or "BEELIADA" (the form found in 1 Chr 14:7), which means "Baal knows" or "the Lord knows." This name change was not necessarily late, since theophoric names with *ʾēl* prefixed were most common during the period of the united monarchy (*TPNAH*, 42–44).

**2.** Father of the Syrian king, Rezon (1 Kgs 11:23). Rezon was a subject of Hadadezer, who was king of Zobah, an Aramean city-state, and who had been subdued by David (2 Sam 8:3–8); he had fled from Hadadezer, and established himself as leader of a marauding band and as king in Damascus. He was a troublesome presence to Israel throughout Solomon's day (1 Kgs 11:23–25).

**3.** One of two Benjaminite commanders of large military units stationed in Jerusalem under King Jehoshaphat, along with three Judahite commanders (2 Chr 17:17–19). The large numbers cited in the passage as it stands (200,000 men under Eliada alone) were undoubtedly smaller originally, and have achieved their present status either by inflation or by later misunderstanding (see Dillard *2 Chronicles* WBC 106–7, 135, and refs.).

DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

**ELIAHBA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelyaḥbā*ʾ (אֶלְיַחְבָּא)]. One of David's mighty men mentioned in 2 Sam 23:32 (= 1 Chr 11:33). On the one hand, his is the seventeenth name in the brief listing of the *gibbôrîm* (23:20–39). On the other hand, 2 Sam 23:32 designates his home as Shaalbon. This city is generally identified as the Danite city, Shaalbim, mentioned in Judg 1:35 and 1 Kgs 4:9, and Shaalabbin, mentioned in Josh 19:42, which is close to Benjaminite territory. Thus, the location of his home town would support Mazar's thesis that the list comes from David's Hebron period (1963: 318). Using Elliger's theory that the first twenty-three names are part of the original group of *gibbôrîm* (1935: 69–70), Eliahba's location in the list would have him included in this group, while the theory that the list is arranged geographically radiating from Bethlehem (1935: 47) would explain Eliahba's name appearing midway within the list. McCarter's argument that the list is arranged according to the power and influence held by the individuals (*2 Samuel* AB, 500–501), would suggest that Eliahba was of medium rank, while Naʾaman's theory of *šālîšîm* being officers of the third rank (1988: 77) would place Eliahba on equal rank with the others listed in vv 20–39. See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

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R. C. BAILEY

**ELIAKIM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelyāqîm* (אֶלְיָקִים)]. The name is composed of two parts, the theophoric element *ʾēl* (meaning "God," the Canaanite or the Israelite deity), and the verb form *yāqîm* (a *Hipʿil* impf 3ms from *qûm,* with the meaning "to raise, set up, establish"). Thus "God will establish" would seem to be the best translation, though some prefer a jussive "May El establish" (*TPNAH,* 99), which would seem to be obviated by the fact that a *plene* written *yod (yqym)* is used. The jussive of this verb is ordinarily written as *yāqēm (yqm)* in the MT. This name occurs in the Hebrew Bible as well as in several Iron-Age seals (cf. *TPNAH,* 359 for references. For a good discussion of the identification of *ʾlyqm nʿr ywkn* found on several seals from Tel Beth Mirsim, Beth Shemesh, and Ramat Rahel, in the light of some new discoveries, cf. Avigad 1981: 303).

**1.** The son of Hilkiah, "master of the palace" (Heb *ʾăšer ʿal habbayit,* apparently roughly equivalent to the office of vizier in Egypt, cf. de Vaux *AncIsr* 1: 129–31) under Hezekiah. He was one of three officers (the other two being Shebna the scribe [Heb *hassōpēr*] and Joʾah the herald [Heb *hammazkîr*]) Hezekiah sent out to meet the Assyrian envoy which Sennacherib sent out from Lachish in the fourteenth year of the Judean king's reign (ca. 701 B.C.). Subsequently, he and the other two Judean officers were sent to bring the vexatious words of the Assyrians to the prophet Isaiah (2 Kgs 18:18, 26, 37; 19:2; Isa 36:3, 11, 22; 37:2). These three offices would appear to be paralleled by that of vizier, royal scribe, and herald in ancient Egypt. In an interesting parallel, de Vaux points out, "It is remarkable that in the very serious matter of the violation of the royal tombs under Ramses IX, the three corresponding Egyptian officials, the vizier, the royal scribe, and the herald, are named in the same order as alone presiding over the enquiry" (*AncIsr* 1: 132). One of the other two officers, Shebna the scribe, formerly held the office of

"master of the palace," until he was demoted and replaced by Eliakim, as Isa 22:15–25 prophesied. The same passage describes in poetic language some of his official functions, including being charged with the "key of David," which gives him power over Judah and Jerusalem. As Isa 22:22 indicates, "he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open" (RSV). (Note that Rev 3:7 makes an obvious allusion to this passage.) The Egyptian vizier was second to Pharaoh, to whom he would report daily for instructions. He was in charge of the openine of the "gates of the royal house" and would rule in the name of the Pharaoh. The biblical references to Eliakim and his office would seem to indicate that his duties were similar to that of his Egyptian counterpart.

**2.** Son of Josiah whom Pharaoh Neco of Egypt made king in place of his brother Jehoahaz around 609 B.C. (2 Kgs 23:34; 2 Chr 36:4). The Pharaoh also changed his name to Jehoiakim, the new name probably being conciliatory to the Jews in Judah at this time, while at the same time demonstrating the power of the Pharaoh over his subject (Gray *Kings* OTL, 751).

**3.** First of seven priests bearing trumpets mentioned as participating in the dedication ceremony of the restored temple (Neh 12:41).

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H. ELDON CLEM

4. The son of Abiud and father of Azor, according to Matthew's genealogy tying Joseph, the husband of Mary, to the house of David and Solomon (Matt 1:13). Apart from Luke (see below), Eliakim does not appear in any other genealogy or list of Jesus' ancestors, although Albright and Mann (*Matthew* AB, 4–5) state that this name, like those around it, is attested for the postexilic period. Johnson (1969: 179–80) goes so far as to argue that the names between Zerubbabel and Joseph have a basis in later OT documents (e.g. Neh 12:41; Isa 22:19–25). Gundry (1982: 18) is more specific, positing that Matthew saw in Luke's genealogy (3:30) the name of Eliakim (the name given to Jehoiakim in 2 Chr 36:4), whom Matthew earlier omitted in v 11. According to Gundry, Matthew includes Eliakim to "offset his omission of Jehoiakim and inject a bit of Davidic Christology." This theory is intriguing but difficult to prove, since Matthew's dependence on 1 Chronicles in 1:13–15 is difficult to establish.

**5.** The father of Jonam and son of Melea, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:30). Manuscript D in Luke includes an Eliakim (but in Matthew's sequence [see #4 above]), substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. Apart from Matt 1:13 (see above), this name appears in a list of eighteen ancestors of Jesus otherwise unknown to the biblical documents (Fitzmyer *Luke* AB, 501). Kuhn (1923: 208–9) argues that two seemingly parallel lists of names—Luke 3:23–26 (Jesus to Mattathias) and 3:29–31 (Joshua/Jesus to Mattatha)—were originally identical, the first perhaps reflecting a Hebrew context and the second, in an Aramaic context, tracing Mary's line of descent (since it does not mention Joseph as Jesus' father). Eliakim, in the second list, corresponds to ESLI, in the first list. In the NT, however, there are no textual variants for either name to support a confusion of the two, leaving Kuhn's theory with little support.

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STANLEY E. PORTER

**ELIALIS** (PERSON) [Gk *Elialis* (Ἐλιαλις)]. A son of Bani who divorced his foreign wife during Ezra's reform (1 Esdr 9:34). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, Elialis does not appear as a son of Bani in Ezra 10:34–37. Omissions such as this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra or Nehemiah. Furthermore, problems associated with dating events and identifying persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**ELIAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelîʿām* (אֱלִיעָם)]. Var. AMMIEL. The father of Bathsheba (2 Sam 11:3) and one of David's mighty men, the son of Ahithophel of Gilo (2 Sam 23:34). See also DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

While many scholars view these to be references to two separate individuals (Ackroyd *2 Samuel* CBC; *IDB*), more are now arguing that these two references are to one person (Hertzberg *Samuel* OTL; McCarter *Samuel* AB; Wharton 1980). Some of the mighty men mentioned in 2 Samuel 23 were warriors who fought with David, as far back as his outlaw days running from Saul. Others joined him during the Hebron period of his reign (2 Sam 3:5a). It is, therefore, assumed that he knew them well. Similarly, since Eliam's father, Ahithophel of Gilo, was one of David's key advisers (2 Sam 16:23), and since "Giloh" is associated with the Judean hills south of Hebron (Josh 15:48–51), we can assume that Eliam had been with David since the Hebron kingship and that David was familiar with the members of this influential family.

In 2 Sam 11:3, David speculates on the identity of the woman he notices bathing in Jerusalem, as being "Bathsheba the daughter of Eliam the wife of Uriah." This word order for identifying her and the fact that David is the speaker suggest that David is familiar with her, her family, and her marital status. In other words, given the order of the identifying information about this woman, her family ties are more important to him than her marital status (Bailey 1990).

The identification of the Eliam of 2 Sam 11:3 and the Eliam of 2 Sam 23:34 as the same individual would also suggest that the David–Bathsheba marriage was another example of David becoming closely associated with a politically influential family by marrying a woman from that family. Similarly, this would also fit his pattern of marrying women who were previously married to other men (cf. 1 Samuel 25 and 2 Samuel 3:14–16) (Levenson and Halpern 1980).

Interestingly, the Chronicler records the name of the father of Bathsheba (who is called Bathshua—literally, daughter of nobility—in 1 Chr 3:5b) as AMMIEL, which in Hebrew is Eliam with the syllables reversed. On the other hand, the Chronicler omits any reference to Eliam/Ammiel (2 Sam 23:34b) in the redaction of the list of David's mighty men (2 Sam 23:34a = 1 Chr 11:35b and 2 Sam 23:35 = 1 Chr 11:36). These name changes of Eliam and Bathsheba and the omission of Eliam by the Chronicler can be explained as systematic attempts to cover up any references to the David–Bathsheba–Uriah affair, which the Chronicler omits from the story of David's reign, and to mute any association between Bathsheba and the politically powerful southern family of Ahithophel given the latter's support of Absalom in his revolt (2 Samuel 17). This is very similar to the way the Chronicler omits any reference to the Abigail–Nabal connection (1 Chr 3:1).

Thus, it is most probable that both the Eliam of 2 Sam 11:3, Bathsheba's father, and the Eliam of 2 Sam 23:34, David's mighty man, are one and the same.

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R. C. BAILEY

**ELIASAPH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelyāsāp* (אֶלְיָסָף)]. **1.** Leader of the tribe of Gad, a son of Deuel (or Reuel) as recognized by Moses at the time of the census in the wilderness (Num 1:14; 2:14; 7:42, 47; 10:20). His name, "God has added," was common for that period since it is built from the same Hebrew root as Joseph, the venerated Hebrew leader of Egypt before the era of Hebrew bondage.

**2.** Prince of the Gershonites and son of Lael during the wilderness wanderings (Num 3:24). His leadership duties included care for the tent, coverings, curtains, altar, and cords of the tabernacle. See ASAPH.

JOEL C. SLAYTON

**ELIASHIB** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelyāsîb* (אֶלְיָסִיב)]. The name of several men in the OT.

**1.** A priest who received the eleventh position in the priestly order of the Temple during the reign of David (1 Chr 24:12). An evaluation of the historical reliability of Eliashib's appearance during the reign of David depends largely upon the literary context of 1 Chr 24:1–19. Though generally agreed that the priestly list originated after the exile, its exact date remains debated. J. Liver (1968: ix, 29–32) associates the twenty-four course priestly organization to the reforms of Nehemiah, while H. G. M. Williamson (1979: 262–68) assigns it to the late Persian period. Due to genealogical connections between 1 Chr 24:7–18 and Hasmonean priestly claims, L. Dequecker (1986: 94–106) dates the list to the Hasmonean era. The stylistic characteristics of the list, however, seem to link it to the time of the composition of Chronicles. This would correspond well with the commonality of the name "Eliashib" in Judah during the Persian period.

**2.** The high priest of the Jerusalem temple during the governorship of Nehemiah (Neh 3:1). Eliashib actively participated in Nehemiah's refortification of Jerusalem (Neh 3:1) despite the outcry of Sanballat, Tobiah, and others (Neh 4:1–3). The size of Eliashib's house (Neh 3:20–21) indicates the relative wealth and high social standing that he possessed. His family retained the high priesthood at least throughout the later half of the 5th century B.C.E. (Neh 12:28).

**3.** A priest who oversaw the temple chambers during the time of Nehemiah (Neh 13:4). The favoritism that this Eliashib showed to Tobiah, Nehemiah's nemesis (Neh 13:4–5), suggests that he represents a different individual from Eliashib, the high priest. Yet the intermarriage between the grandson of Eliashib the high priest and the daughter of Sanballat (Neh 13:28) may indicate that Eliashib's cooperation with Nehemiah in the refortification of Jerusalem was a practical matter, independent of the conflict between Nehemiah and Sanballat and Tobiah. The two Eliashibs may therefore represent one individual. This uncertainty over the identity of the Eliashib of Nehemiah 13 contributes to the difficulty of assigning the proper chronological date for the mission of Ezra (see below).

**4.** A Davidide that lived sometime in the 4th century B.C.E. (1 Chr 3:24). As he belongs to the last generation of Judah's royal line mentioned in Chronicles, Eliashib and his brothers help date Chronicles to the 4th century. Unfortunately, textual problems earlier in the genealogy and the uncertain time span of a "typical" generation do not allow the assignment of Eliashib's life, and the composition of Chronicles, to a more precise date.

**5.** A singer who lived in the Persian province of Judah during the mission of Ezra (Ezra 10:24). Though a temple official, Eliashib married a non-Judean wife. He consented to divorce her during the reforms of Ezra under the threat of complete ostracism from the Jerusalem temple–state.

**6.** A son of Zattu, who lived in the Persian province of Judah during the mission of Ezra (Ezra 10:27). Eliashib married a non-Judean wife. He consented to divorce her during the reforms of Ezra under the threat of complete ostracism from the Jerusalem temple–state.

**7.** The father, or possibly grandfather, or Jehohanan, a contemporary of Ezra (Ezra 10:6). The identity of this Eliashib is crucial for the determination of the date of the mission of Ezra. If he is identical with the high priest of the same name in Nehemiah 3 and 12, Ezra's mission must have postdated the governorship of Nehemiah (Rowley 1963: 233–34). F. M. Cross has postulated that this Eliashib was the grandfather of the Eliashib the high priest who lived during the time of Nehemiah on the basis of the practice of papponomy in Judah during the Persian period. Thus he dates the mission of Ezra to its traditional date (Cross 1975: 10–11). The commonality of the name "Eliashib" during this period makes the identification of persons with this name tenuous at best.

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JOHN W. WRIGHT

**ELIASIS** (PERSON) [Gk *Eliasis* (Ἐλιασις)] A son of Bani who "divorced" his foreign wife during Ezra's reform (1 Esdr 9:34). His name is almost identical in spelling to that of another son of Bani, Elialis. See ELIALIS (PERSON).

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**ELIATHAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîʾātâ* (אֱלִיאָתָה), *ʾĕlîyātâ* (אֱלְיָתָה)]. One of the fourteen sons of Heman who were appointed to prophesy with musical instruments under the direction of their father and the king (1 Chr 25:4). Eliathah received the twentieth lot which was cast to determine duties (1 Chr 25:27).

Scholars have long suggested that with only slight modifications the final nine names in 1 Chr 25:4 can be read as a liturgical prayer. For instance, Eliathah can be modified slightly to *ʾēlî ʾattâ*, "My God (art) thou." It would form the second line of the prayer as Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 173) reconstructed it:

Be gracious to me, Yahweh, be gracious to me;
My God art thou;
I have magnified, and I will exalt [my] helper;
Sitting [in] adversity I said,
Clear signs give plentifully.

It is unlikely that an editor simply mistook a psalm fragment for proper names. It is more likely that some of the sons of Heman took their names from first lines or key phrases of songs they regularly sang. In any case, it is clear that the final editor understood the words involved as proper names, since nine names are needed to complete the list of the fourteen sons of Heman (1 Chr 25:5). It may be that the present ambiguity is an intentional play on words, perhaps to lend authority to the sons of Heman. It is striking that the final nine names in 1 Chr 25:4 also receive the final nine lots cast to determine duties (1 Chr 25:23–31). One may conclude that the editor responsible for the scheme of twenty-four lots also expanded 1 Chr 25:4 from an original five-name list to a fourteen-name list, again perhaps to indicate the ascendancy of Heman (Petersen 1977: 64–68).

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J. CLINTON MCCANN, JR.

**ELIDAD** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîdād* (אֱלִידָד)]. The leader of the clan of Benjaminites (Num 34:21), and son of Chislon. He was one of the tribal leaders responsible for managing the distribution of the land of Canaan among the ten tribes who occupied the land W of the Jordan River. The name has been given the meaning of "the deity loves." Others have suggested a meaning based upon the root *dwd,* "beloved," "close friend," and cite names using a theophoric element and the root *dwd* in Egyptian, Akkadian, and Ugaritic. According to Johnson (*IDB* 2: 87), "the meaning of the name Elidad and of the other names in the account (the distribution of the land) underscores Israel's dependence upon God for the new life in Canaan." Others relate the name to Eldad who prophesied in the camp with Medad (see Num 11:26–29) and have suggested that Elidad and Eldad are the same person. Another suggestion is that the name is similar to Bildad, the friend of Job (see Job 2:11ff.). Note also that in the LXX, the Samaritan, and the Syriac, Elidad is rendered as Eldad.

RAPHAEL I. PANITZ

**ELIEHOENAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelyĕhôʿênay* (אֶלְיְהוֹעֵינַי)]. Two persons bear this name in the OT. The name itself (= "toward Y are my eyes") follows a common pattern of Akkadian names from the Neo-

Babylonian period, as in *Itti-Nabū-īnīa* (Tallqvist 1913: 84), "toward Nabu are my eyes." In 1 Esdr 8:31 (see 2. below) it is rendered in Gk *Eliaōnias.*

1. Gatekeeper from the family of Meshelemiah (1 Chr 26:3), whose Levitical extraction is traced through Korah (1 Chr 26:1) in the Chronicler's (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 169) or perhaps a later (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 173) organization of the gatekeepers in the temple at Jerusalem (1 Chr 26:1–19). Eliehoenai was the seventh and last "son" of this family.

2. Son of Zerahiah and head of the family of Pahath-Moab, a lay family, some of whose members returned to Jerusalem with Ezra (Ezra 8:4 = 1 Esdr 8:31). Eliehoenai brought with him a relatively sizable extended family, numbered at two hundred males. It would appear that Eliehoenai was the head of the Jeshua branch of the family of Pahath-Moab (see Ezra 2:6 = Neh 7:11; 1 Esdr 5:11), as the Joab branch is included separately in the same list several verses later (Ezra 8:9 = 1 Esdr 8:35).

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J. S. ROGERS

**ELIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîʾēl* (אֱלִיאֵל)]. 1. A leader of the half-tribe of Manasseh which settled in Transjordan (1 Chr 5:24). Eliel is among seven Manassites described as "mighty warriors, famous men, heads of their fathers' houses." Several scholars have pointed out the awkward positioning of this brief account of the half-tribe of Manasseh (1 Chr 5:23–24) following the more general account of the two-and-a-half tribes in the previous paragraph (1 Chr 5:18–22), concluding that 1 Chr 5:23–26 is likely an intrusion into the Chronicler's original composition (e.g., Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 66). It is probable that the material is drawn from a military census list. Eliel is conjectured to mean "My God is El" or "My God is God."

2. A Kohathite, one of the levitical singers appointed by David for temple service (1 Chr 6:19—Eng6:34). Eliel seems to be variously known in other levitical lists as Eliab (1 Chr 6:12—Eng6:27) and Elihu (1 Sam 1:1).

3. A Benjaminite name appearing twice in the longer Benjaminite genealogy offered by the Chronicler (1 Chr 8:20, 22). These Eliels are among those designated as "chief men" who "dwelt in Jerusalem." This linking of Benjaminites with Jerusalem is emphasized in the longer Benjaminite genealogy (1 Chr 8:28, 32), providing a clue as to why the Chronicler chose to elaborate on the line of Benjamin, which had been treated in its proper place in the earlier list of tribal genealogies (1 Chr 7:6–12).

**4.** A name mentioned three times, apparently with three separate individuals in view, among the listing of David's "mighty men" (1 Chr 11:46, 47; 12:12—Eng12:11). The lists of David's "mighty men" beginning in 1 Chr 11:10 reveal the accumulating support which David received prior to his ascension to the throne. The Eliel of 1 Chr 11:46 is further described by the gentilic, "the Mahavite." See MAHAVITE, THE.

**5.** A Levite of the sons of Hebron, prominent in David's transfer of the ark of the covenant to Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:9, 11). Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 123) points out that Hebron is nowhere else listed as a head of a levitical family, but should probably be identified with the family of Kohathites (a conclusion based on 1 Chr 6:18).

**6.** A Levite of Hezekiah's time (2 Chr 31:13).

SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

**ELIENAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîʿēnay* (אֶלְיְעֵנַי)]. A Benjaminite family listed in the longer Benjaminite genealogy offered by the Chronicler (1 Chr 8:20). Elienai is among those designated as "chief men" who "dwelt in Jerusalem." This linking of Benjaminites with Jerusalem is emphasized in the longer Benjaminite genealogy (1 Chr 8:28, 32), providing a clue as to why the Chronicler chose to elaborate on the line of Benjamin, which had already been treated in its proper place in the earlier list of tribal

genealogies (1 Chr 7:6–12). At least one ms renders the name *ʾĕlyôʿênay* (cf. Alexandrinus, Tg., and Vg). The name may mean "towards Yahweh are my eyes" (*TPNAH* 128).
SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

**ELIEZER** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelîʿezer* (אֱלִיעֶזֶר)]. Var. ELEAZAR. Name of eleven biblical individuals. The name is composed of the elements *ʾēlî,* "my god," and *ʿēzer,* "aid" or "strength," which accordingly means "My god is aid/strength." The latter element appears in many other biblical and Near Eastern names (Loewenstamm *EncMiqr* 1: 346–7) and is of uncertain translation due to the merger of originally distinct roots *ʿzr,* "to aid," and *ǵzr,* "to be strong" (Ginsberg 1938: 210f.; Driver 1956: 142, n. 17; Dahood *Psalms 1* 210).

**1.** Servant of Abraham. In Genesis 15:2–3 Abram complains to Yahweh "I go childless; my house is *ben-mešeq,* that is, Damascus Eliezer (alternatively: 'the *ben-mešeq* of my house is Damascus Eliezer') … Since you have not granted me progeny, a member of my household is my heir." The words *ben-mešeq* have not been translated because we do not know what they mean, though at least since Aquila (1st century C.E.) *mešeq* has been regarded as a variant or defective spelling of *mašqe (h),* "cup bearer." Some consider the references to Damascus and/or Eliezer the result of corruption or glossation, and various restorations have been proposed (Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 277–79) but Cassuto (*EncMiqr* 2: 675–77) hypothesizes that the traditional understanding (already in the LXX) of Eliezer as the name of Abram's servant is correct and that he is also called Damascus because he went on to found that Aramean city. The passage is sometimes taken to mean that Abraham has legally adopted his slave Eliezer as his heir, but on the ambiguity of the data and the limited relevance of ancient legal parallels see Thompson (1974: 203–30).

**2.** Moses' second son (Exod 18:4; 1 Chr 23:15; 26:25). According to 1 Chr 23:17 Eliezer had one son, Rehabiah, while 1 Chr 26:25 lists further descendants Isaiah, Joram, Zichri, Shelomith, the last being the custodian of the military spoils of Samuel, Saul, Abner, Joab and David. It is possible that the clan of Eliezer is a branch of the Aaronid clan ELEAZAR that claimed Mosaic ancestry.

**3.** A family of Benjamin (1 Chr 7:8).

**4.** One of the priestly trumpeters who ushers the ark into Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:24).

5. Leader of the tribe of Reuben during the reign of Solomon (1 Chr 27:16).

**6.** Son of Dodavah (probably read *Dodiah) (2 Chr 20:37). He is a prophet from Maresha who curses Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, for his cooperation with Ahaziah of Israel.

**7.** Messenger of Ezra sent from the Ahava canal to Casiphia to find Levites to serve in the Temple (Ezra 8:16; 1 Esdr 8:43 has Eleazar). He might be the same as No. 8 below.

**8.** Priest of Ezra's day who marries a foreigner (Ezra 10:18; 1 Esdr 9:19 has Eleazar).

**9.** A Levite, contemporary of Ezra, who has a foreign wife (Ezra 10:23; 1 Esdr 9:23 has Jonah).

**10.** A lay Jew of the same period as Ezra and a member of the clan of Harim (cf. Ezra 2:32). He has a foreign wife (Ezra 10:31; 1 Esdr 9:32 has *Eliōdas* [Codex B] or *Eliōnas* [Codex A]).

**11.** An ancestor of Jesus (Luke 3:29).

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WILLIAM H. PROPP

**ELIHOREPH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîḥōrep* (אֱלִיחֹרֶף)]. One of the sons of Shisha who served as a royal secretary at Solomon's court (1 Kgs 4:3). J. A. Montgomery (*Kings* ICC, 113) has suggested textual changes here and takes Elihoreph as *ʿal-haḥōrep* which he translates as "over the year"—the title for an official in charge of the court calendar. Such a change appears unsupported, and the traditional reading of Elihoreph as a proper name is preferred.

The duties of the secretary are not defined in the Hebrew Bible, but this appears to have been a significant position. The secretary could have been in charge of records and official correspondence. Some have even suggested a position such as secretary of state may have been implied. The reference to two secretaries could be a reference to different positions with one in charge of internal records and correspondence and the other in charge of external matters. The etymology of the name is debated (see *TPNAH*, 77). It may mean "Autumn God" or "God rewards."

PHILLIP E. MCMILLION

**ELIHU** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîhû* (אֱלִיהוּ), *ʾĕlîhû* (אֱלִיהוּא)]. The name can be interpreted as "El/God it was indeed" (i.e., who acted when the child was born). With its elements inverted, the name is already attested at Ugarit (*hwʾil;* PTU, 134). M. Noth (*IPN*, 143–44) may, however, be right in his assumption that the name became a confession to monotheism in the postexilic period, from which most of the references for Elihu derive (cf. Deut 32:39 "I, I am the one [Heb *hʾ*], and there are no [other] gods with me"). Five biblical persons bear the name Elihu.

1. The great-grandfather of Samuel (1 Sam 1:1); the same person is called Eliab "El is [my] father" in 1 Chr 6:12, and Eliel "El is [my] god" in 1 Chr 6:19.

**2.** The fourth opponent of Job (Job 32:2, 4; 5f; 34:1; 35:1; 36:1). Even scholars who regard the book of Job as a literary composition by a single author tend to see in Elihu's speeches (Job 32–37) an early orthodox addition (and commentary) to the original book of Job (Knauf 1988). Reasons for this view include the fact that Elihu is not introduced with the other friends in Job 2:11, he is not included in their redemption (Job 42:9), he does not say anything that is not said more succinctly by the three original friends or by God, and his speech contains more Aramaisms than the rest of the book of Job. Whereas the Elihu-author assigns his hero to the Arabian locale of the book of Job (see UZ) by means of Elihu's patronymic and country of origin (see BARACHEL), he may have chosen Elihu's name as an expression of his theological program: it is his god who speaks through Elihu's speeches.

**3.** A Manassite chief who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Chr 12:21 (without a parallel in the books of Samuel).

**4.** A Korahite door-guard, 1 Chr 26:7. H. Gese (1963: 232–34) dates the exclusion of the clan of Korah from the priesthood (as reflected in Num 16; 1 Chr 9:19, 31; 20:19; 26:1–9) to the 5th century B.C.

**5.** A brother of David and chief of Judah, 1 Chr 27:18 (LXX Eliab), his name obviously identical to Jesse's firstborn, Eliab (1 Sam 16:6; 17:13; 1 Chr 2:13). The list of Israel's tribal chiefs under David (1 Chr 27:16–22) is, however, without historical significance (the tribes of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi no longer existed in the 10th century B.C.), and probably was produced by a postexilic redactor who missed the category of "tribal chief" among David's officials (Galling *Chronik* ATD, 75).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**ELIJAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēlîyâ* (אֵלִיָּה)]. Four persons in the Hebrew Bible bear this name. Three of these persons appear in postexilic lists (see #2–4 below). The most famous "Elijah" was the prophet who was active in N Israel around the middle of the 9th century B.C.E. (see #1 below).

1. The stories of Elijah the prophet are found in 1 Kings 17–19, 21 and 2 Kings 1–2. Their most frequent theme is the conflict between Elijah and the royal house of Israel over syncretistic worship. The prophet's ministry is set in Israel during the Omride dynasty (9th century B.C.E.), a period marked by relative peace and prosperity. Elijah is presented as the powerful champion of Yahweh against the royally-patronized worship of Baal.

Behind this drama we can discern a picture of prophetism as it was understood by the circle or circles who preserved the stories for us. The arrangement and details of the narratives reveal well-developed

theological ideas on the prophetic word, the Mosaic paradigm of Elijah's ministry, and the prophetic succession. The figure of Elijah is portrayed with characteristics drawn from throughout Israel's prophetic tradition.

The face of the historical Elijah himself, however, lies hidden behind a veil of miraculous legend. Even the prophet's name ("Yahweh is my God") has been seen by some as a pseudonym reflective of his zeal. He is regularly called "the Tishbite," but the word is of uncertain meaning. The LXX reads it as a reference to a place in N Transjordan, "Tishbe in Gilead" (1 Kgs 17:1). The MT, on the other hand, calls Elijah a "sojourner in Gilead" and nowhere uses "Tishbe" as the name of a place.

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A. Elijah and Royal Paganism
B. Portrait of a Prophet
1. Common Prophetic Traits
2. A Prophet Like Moses
3. Elijah's Assumption and the Prophetic Succession
C. Elijah in Later Tradition
1. Elijah in Judaism and Islam
2. Elijah in Christian Tradition

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**A. Elijah and Royal Paganism**

The stories of Elijah occur mainly during the reign of King Ahab and his son Ahaziah. They presuppose a period of violent persecution of Yahwism, especially at the hands of King Ahab's Baalist queen, Jezebel of Tyre. Elijah is the hero of Yahwism, the prophet who speaks the word of the true God, the new Moses who withstands royal oppression and preserves the faith alive.

The struggle between Yahwism and Baalism supplies dramatic unity to the events recounted in 1 Kings 17–19. Elijah speaks a word of power to withhold rainfall, thus posing a direct challenge to Baal's claim of authority over storms and fertility. The resulting drought, however, is ambiguous. It could be understood as evidence of Yahweh's power working through Elijah; but Ahab chooses to see it rather as Baal's displeasure that Elijah's "blasphemy" has gone unpunished (18:17–18). The contest of the gods on Mount Carmel is intended to resolve the dilemma. Yahweh's resounding victory appears definitive, as the assembled Israelites help execute the prophets of Baal. But royal policy is not swayed by the vagaries of popular enthusiasm. Jezebel threatens to avenge the murder of her favorites, and Elijah escapes to the S desert, where he undertakes a pilgrimage to Horeb to complain of the failure of Yahwism in Israel.

Royal paganism plays a role in two other Elijah stories. The central focus of chap. 21 is the juridical murder of Naboth and the royal confiscation of his land. An editor, however, has inserted an awkward reference to Ahab's religious infidelity into the narrator's parenthetical remarks (21:26). Finally, 2 Kings 1 depicts Ahab's son and successor, Ahaziah, as a devotee of "Baal-Zebub of Ekron." As in 1 Kings 17, Elijah lays claim to the authority attributed to this manifestation of Baal by answering the king's question about his injury and denying his recovery. He also speaks a word of power that punishes those who disdain a prophet of Yahweh.

The Elijah narratives, however, may be exaggerating the royal house's infidelities. Elsewhere, Ahab is on good terms with prophets of Yahweh and consults them (1 Kgs 20:13–15; 22:1–28); and his children bear Yahwist names (Ahaziah, Jehoram, Athaliah). It seems likely, too, that the stories' demand for absolute exclusivity in the worship of Yahweh reflects, at this time, the views of an intransigent, not to say fanatical, minority. Religious syncretism was officially sanctioned as early as the reign of Solomon, if not of David; and it does not seem to have incurred effective resistance before the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah (*HAIJ,* 271–74).

**B. Portrait of a Prophet**

**1. Common Prophetic Traits.** Elijah displays many of the traits characteristic of prophetic figures throughout Israel's history. He is a miracle worker whose word of power can produce weal or woe (1 Kgs 17:1, 16; 2 Kgs 1:10, 12; 2:8). He is a powerful intercessor for individuals or the whole people (1 Kgs

17:20–22; 18:42–45). He confronts the king with condemnation for religious infidelity and for social injustice (1 Kgs 17:1; 18:18; 21:20–22; 2 Kgs 1:16). The prophet's role in chap. 21 in particular seems modeled to some extent on that of later classical prophets.

The motif of "word" in chap. 17 reveals a well-developed theology of prophetism. The prophet is one who speaks an authoritative word of power (17:1), obeys Yahweh's word (vv 5, 10), commands human obedience and conveys divine promise (vv 13, 15, 16), speaks a word of miraculous intercession that Yahweh heeds (v 22), and is ultimately acknowledged as chosen bearer of Yahweh's own word (v 24).

**2. A Prophet Like Moses.** Allusions to the stories of the Exodus pervade chaps. 17–19 and establish a parallelism between the ministries of Elijah and Moses. The geographical framework of the three chapters recalls Moses' wanderings: each prophet begins his journey with a flight eastward to escape a king's wrath; each lodges with a family. Each returns to his country to face and challenge the king, and to awaken faith among the Israelites. Each leaves the country again on a journey to Sinai/Horeb, where he experiences a theophany. Each then departs for Israel via Transjordan.

Mosaic allusions in chap. 17 link these three stories to Exodus 16 and Numbers 11. Like Moses and the Israelites, Elijah is fed by Yahweh (17:6; cf. Exod 16:8, 12); Yahweh's miraculous food takes the form of cakes baked with oil (17:12–16; cf. Num 11:7–9); Elijah and Moses complain about Yahweh's mistreatment of a faithful servant (17:19–21; cf. Num 11:11–12).

In chap. 18 the Mosaic allusions point to Exodus 24 and 32. The people's conversion begins when they "draw near" to Elijah (18:30), who then builds an altar like Moses', symbolic of Israel's unity (18:31; cf. Exod 24:4). The people obey Elijah's command to drench the altar with water, a priceless sacrifice in time of drought (18:33–35; cf. Exod 24:6). The prophet "draws near" to Yahweh (18:36; cf. Exod 24:2) and begs forgiveness for the people's apostasy, invoking the memory of the patriarchs with the unusual sequence "Abraham, Isaac, and Israel" (18:36–37; cf. Exod 32:12–13). The people's conversion is completed by their confession of faith and their cooperation in executing the faithless (18:39–40; cf. Exod 32:25–28). After Moses had established the covenant with the people in Exodus 24, he and the elders of Israel went up the mountain of theophany and ate a covenant meal before Yahweh (Exod 24:9–11). Elijah's invitation to Ahab to "go up the mountain and eat and drink" (18:41) is an invitation to renounce Baalist sympathies and return to Yahweh as his people have just done.

Allusions in chap. 19 to Exod 33:12–23 continue the Elijah–Moses typology. But here the parallel between the prophets is antithetical. Moses requests Yahweh's continued presence with the people he leads; Yahweh promises him a theophany as sign of that presence. Elijah, on the other hand, comes to Horeb to resign as a prophet (von Nordheim 1978; Coote 1981: 117–19); Yahweh's theophany fails to dissuade him, and he is sent home with commissions that will lead to the punishment of unfaithful Israel and to his own replacement as prophet.

Allusions to the Exodus traditions are lacking in 1 Kings 21 and 2 Kings 1. In 2 Kings 2, however, Elijah's mysterious disappearance in Transjordan and the disciples' inability to recover his body parallel the death and divinely-hidden burial of Moses (Deut 34:1–6).

The cumulative impact of these extensive Mosaic allusions is to present Elijah as a Moses *redivivus*. Both appear at crucial moments in the religious and political history of the people. Through Moses, Yahweh rescued Israel from Egyptian oppression and formed it as his people; through Elijah, Yahweh preserves the faithful members of his people amid paganism and persecution. Both are significant figures in the history of prophetism as well. With Moses began the long line of Yahweh's intermediaries in Israel; in Elijah that line produces its quintessential hero.

**3. Elijah's Assumption and the Prophetic Succession.** The story of Elijah's assumption and of Elisha's succession to his master's prophetic office (2 Kgs 2:1–15) is oddly set in time and space. Its unusual position, between the formulaic notice of Ahaziah's death (2 Kgs 1:17–18) and that of Jehoram's succession (2 Kgs 3:1–3), removes it from the ordinary flow of history and places it, so to speak, outside time. Its locale, too, is symbolically removed from the ordinary world: the heroes' journey is a pilgrimage that miraculously crosses a boundary (the Jordan) to a place of power. Ordinary mortals, represented by the Jericho prophets, do not follow.

Elijah's mysterious assumption to heaven in a whirlwind occurs once the Jordan has been crossed. In 1 Kings 19, Elijah had made an earlier, solitary pilgrimage to Horeb, whence he returned with new tasks, including the commissioning of his successor. This time the pilgrimage is Elisha's. He accompanies his master on the outward road to the place of power where Elijah is translated. This is the moment of supernatural encounter from which Elisha returns transformed and empowered.

Elisha's succession is mirrored in the externals of clothing. His request for the oldest son's share of his master's prophetic spirit is confirmed by the sign Elijah had specified: Elisha sees Elijah disappear. Thereupon the disciple not only tears his clothing in the customary gesture of sorrow, but tears it *off* to assume the mantle of the master. On Jordan's banks, the waiting prophets witness Elisha's demonstration of his rightful succession when he wields the mantle to duplicate Elijah's final miracle.

The three stories of Elisha that follow have some parallels in the stories of 1 Kings 17, thus supporting an identification of Elisha as a new Elijah. The setting in both 1 Kgs 17:2–6 and 2 Kgs 2:16–18 is Transjordan, where Elijah has gone apart from the people. He is being sought in 2 Kings 2; in 1 Kings 17 we surmise he is hiding from the king he has angered. Neither search is successful. In 1 Kgs 17:7–16 and 2 Kgs 2:19–22 both prophets work miracles in response to others' need for provisions; in each case the need is a matter of life or death. 1 Kgs 17:17–24 and 2 Kgs 2:23–25 involve contrast: Elijah invokes Yahweh's name to raise the dead child of the good widow who acknowledged him; Elisha invokes Yahweh's name to bring about the death of a number of children who have mocked him.

**C. Elijah in Later Tradition**

**1. Elijah in Judaism and Islam.** Later OT, intertestamental, and rabbinic tradition sees in the mysterious disappearance of Elijah from this world a sign that he will have a unique role in the future victory of God. Mal 3:23–24 [—Eng 4:5–6 foresees him as the harbinger of the day of Yahweh. He will come to bring peace and to resolve all rabbinic legal disputes (‹*Ed.* 8:7). He is often identified as the precursor of the Messiah, a tradition that looms large in the NT as well.

Perhaps because of Christian use of Elijah's messianic associations, this aspect wanes in later Jewish tradition, though the prophet remains a popular figure of legend. Many of his traits reflect the influence of the stories in 1 Kings 17. He combats social ills by care for the poor and by punishment of the unjust. He is identified with the "Wandering Jew" of medieval folklore, and a place is always set for him at the Seder table. He is protector of the newborn, and the "Chair of Elijah" is a fixture at circumcisions.

Elijah has left an impression on Islamic tradition as well. The Qur›an lists Elijah among the "righteous ones" (*sura* 8:85) and recalls his mission as a staunch opponent of the cult of Baal (*sura* 37:123–130).

**2. Elijah in Christian Tradition.** The NT evokes the figure of Elijah in a variety of different contexts. Some passages simply recall Elijah's deeds in the OT (Luke 9:54; Rom 11:2–4; Jas 5:17–18); others use Elijah's ministry as a paradigm for Jesus', either explicitly (Luke 4:25–26) or implicitly (Luke 7:11–16; cf. 1 Kgs 17:10, 17–24). The later tradition of Elijah as helper of the oppressed may lie behind the bystanders' misunderstanding of Jesus' cry from the cross (Mark 15:34–36; Matt 27:46–49).

The primary trait of Elijah in the NT, however, is his role as precursor of the Messiah. In the Synoptic Gospels, popular opinion identifies Jesus as this figure (Mark 6:14–15; 8:27–28; Matt 16:13–14; Luke 9:7–8, 18–19), while Jesus himself so identifies John the Baptist (Mark 9:11–13; Matt 11:13–14; 17:10–13; cf. Luke 1:17). In the Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, the Baptist rejects such a designation (John 1:19–28).

A pre-Christian apocalyptic tradition of two messianic precursors may also explain Elijah's presence at the Transfiguration (Mark 9:2–8; Matt 17:1–8; Luke 9:28–36). Outside the NT the two forerunners are identified as Elijah and Enoch, presumably because both had been miraculously translated to heaven. A NT tradition identifying them as Elijah and Moses seems to lie behind the anonymous "witnesses" of Rev 11:3–6; here as in the Transfiguration accounts their appearance anticipates eschatological events (*TDNT* 2:938–39).

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**2.** A Benjaminite listed among the clan chiefs in the longer Benjaminite genealogy supplied by the Chronicler (1 Chr 8:27). Elijah is among those designated as "chief men" who "dwelt in Jerusalem." The linking of Benjaminites with Jerusalem receives repeated emphasis in the longer genealogy (1 Chr 8:28, 32), providing a clue as to why the Chronicler chose to elaborate on the line of Benjamin, which had been treated in its proper place in the earlier list of tribal genealogies (1 Chr 7:6–12).

**3.** A name appearing twice in the list of those returning from the exile who pledged, in response to Ezra's sermon (Ezra 10:1–5), to divorce the foreign women whom they had married while in captivity (Ezra 10:21, 26). The first of these Elijahs was a priest, the son of Harim (Ezra 10:21—LXX *elia*). The second Elijah, son of Elam, was among the extended list of lay people who had married foreign women (Ezra 10:26—LXX *ēlia*). Myers (*Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 87) notes that the roster of 111 names in the unemended list of offenders is small considering the total census and the national furor caused by the intermarriage problem. He conjectures that the list is only a partial surviving fragment of the original list, not indicative of the full scope of the problem.

**4.** Listed among the ancestors of Judith (Jdt 8:1—LXX *ēliou*). Since the LXX uses *ēliou* to translate both Elijah (2 Kgs 1:3 [Heb *ʾēlîyāh*]) and Elihu (1 Sam 1:1 [Heb *ʾĕlîhûʾ*]), this Elijah is sometimes rendered Elihu.
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**ELIJAH, APOCALYPSE OF.** A title that appears in the listing of "apocryphal" writings appended to the Christian *Catalogue of the 60 Canonical Books.* A second, shorter list of apocryphal works is found in the *Stichometry of Nicephorus.* In that list, a book "of the prophet Elijah" is assigned a length of 316 lines. Scholars have generally assumed that both lists refer to the same *Apocalypse of Elijah.* Unfortunately, the lists provide no information about the content of the work beyond the stichometry and the designation as an apocalypse. Evidence from the early Christian writers and two surviving apocalypses, however, indicates that more than one apocalypse circulated in the name of Elijah. It is still not possible to determine whether they all can be traced to a common ancestor.

**A. Surviving Traditions Concerning the Apocalyptic Visions and Writing of Elijah**

It is hardly surprising that apocalyptic writings have been attributed to Elijah, an OT prophet who had conversation with an angel (1 Kgs 19:5–7), was granted a theophany at Horeb (1 Kgs 19:11–18), ascended into heaven in a chariot of fire (2 Kgs 2:9–12), and was expected to return in order to instruct men before "the great and terrible day of the Lord comes" (Mal 4:5–6). He provided an ideal pseudonym for anonymous seers who flourished from the 3d century B.C.E. until the Middle Ages. As a result, a number of apocryphal writings were attributed to him. The earliest contained traditional episodes or prophetic sayings that can be understood as the result of midrashic expansion of the biblical account.

Malachi's promise that Elijah would be sent to his people at the end of the present age meant that he would appear in the time of the "contemptible one" (Dan 11:21) who would mislead many, set up an abomination in the temple (Dan 9:27), "wear out the saints of the Most High" (Dan 7:25), and "magnify himself above every god" (Dan 11:36). Although the author of Daniel was alluding to the activities of Antiochus Epiphanes, later writers accepted the imagery as a description of the Antichrist, whose grotesque features they described in detail. An episode describing the physical appearance of the Antichrist and his torment of the saints appears in both of the extant Elijah apocalypses, the Coptic Apocalypse of Elijah, *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* (verses cited below from 1985 translation by Wintermute), and the Hebrew Apocalypse of Elijah, *Apocalypse of Elijah (H)* (page lines cited from Jellinek's 1938 Hebrew text).

The description of the physical appearance of the Antichrist was a widespread literary topos found in many Christian and Jewish texts. J. M. Rosenstiehl (1967) has made available bibliography and French translations for most of the ancient witnesses. The texts vary considerably in detail. Among them is a short Greek text published by Nau (1917: 458), who discovered it at the end of a 13th century Biblical manuscript. It claims to be what "Elijah the prophet said concerning the Antichrist." Although it differs from the details in the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* and *Apocalypse of Elijah (H)* it confirms the opinion associating the Antichrist tradition with Elijah.

In Ben Sirach's encomium of Elijah (48:5–7), he celebrated the prophet as one "who raised a corpse from death and from Hades … who heard rebuke at Sinai and judgments of vengeance at Horeb." His association with Hades and vengeance provides one basis for a tradition regarding Elijah's familiarity with the postmortem torment of sinners in Gehenna. Stone and Strugnell (1979: 14–24) have collected both Jewish and Christian texts that reflect such a tradition. An excerpt from a lost book (apocalypse?) of Elijah that describes the torments in detail is quoted in the *Pseudo-Titus Epistle*, a 5th century Christian text. In the *Apocalypse of Elijah (H)* that episode is described in a single sentence, "Again the Spirit lifted me up and carried me to the west of the world, and I saw there souls punished with great pain, each one according to his deeds (Jellinek 1938: 65:7–9). No report of that episode is found in the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C).*

There are additional early witnesses to apocalyptic traditions associated with Elijah that are not found in either of the extant apocalypses. Epiphanius (*Adv. Haeres.* 42) claimed that the quotation in Eph 5:14, "Awake, O Sleeper, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give you light," is "obviously from the Old Testament" with the specific passage being found "in Elijah." If that unusual citation is correct, it could refer to either a book (apocalypse?) of Elijah or to a gloss added to the biblical account of Elijah in 1 or 2 Kings. It is, however, possible that the citation is an error for Isaiah, who was credited with the quotation by Hippolytus (Dan. 4.56.4). In any case, it is obvious why such a quote would enter the tradition assigned to an eschatological prophet with a reputation for raising the dead.

It is also quite natural that the prophet who ascended into another realm should be credited with knowledge of "what no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived, what God has prepared for those who love him." Origen traced that quotation in 1 Cor 2:9 to the *"Apocryphon of Elijah" (in Secretis Elia).* Jerome, who was concerned to protect his readers from being snared by the devil through the use of apocryphal works admits that the quote is found in "The Apocalypse of Elijah" (and also the *Ascension of Isaiah*), but insists that Paul did not quote it from there (Epistle 101 to Pammachius). According to Jerome, the true source was Isa 64:4, which Paul paraphrased freely (*Commentary on Isaiah,* vol. 17). The combined testimony of those two well-informed Church Fathers clearly proves the existence of an apocryphal apocalypse of Elijah which contained that famous quotation. Stone and Strugnell (1979: 42–73) have assembled a sampling of over two dozen quotes or partial quotes of the saying. It is found in Christian, Jewish, and Islamic texts. In the *Gospel of Thomas*, it appears as a dominical saying. As one might expect, it was also an obvious favorite among gnostic writers.

Finally, Epiphanius informs us of a lost gnostic story about Elijah. On the authority of an unknown source (apocalypse?), the gnostics reported that Elijah was prevented from going up to heaven by a female demon (Lilith) who seized him. When he protested, she claimed to have begotten children from him by stealing his seed during a nocturnal emission (*Adv. Haeres.* 26.13.228).

The relationship between the apocalyptic works credited to Elijah by the Church Fathers and the two surviving Apocalypses is still an open question. It is complicated by the fact that the relationship between the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* and the *Apocalypse of Elijah (H)* is not clear.

**B. A Comparison of the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* and the *Apocalypse of Elijah (H)***

Both the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* and the *Apocalypse of Elijah (H)* show evidence of a complex reediting of earlier material. The *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* is the translation of a Greek original that was written by a Christian in the second half of the 3d century (Rosenstiehl 1972: 36–37; *GJV* 3: 367–68; Bousset 1900: 103–12). It is assumed, however, that the writer incorporated an earlier Jewish writing that was at least a century older. Rosenstiehl (1972: 68–73) dated it in the 1st century B.C.E. Wintermute (*OTP*

1: 730) did not propose a specific date, but suggested that it was composed before 177 C.E. According to Buttenwieser (*JEnc* 1: 681–82), the writer of the *Apocalypse of Elijah (H)* lived in either the mid-6th or early-7th century, but much of the content goes back to an original apocalypse written about 261 C.E.

The two apocalypses agree in a number of details, but they reflect the contrasting views of the communities for which they were written. The *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* was reworked within a Christian community and, in its present form, is a Christian apocalypse that includes a description of the advent of Christ (3:2–4), his compassion for those sealed in his name (5:2–4), and a report of his millennial rule (5:36–39). The *Apocalypse of Elijah (H)* was reworked within the Jewish community and contains eschatological elements not present in the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)*, e.g. a rabbinic debate regarding the name of the last king who is about to come, a battle against Gog and Magog in which the Messiah plays a central role, and a picture of the resurrection in which dead bodies are dipped in a river so that their dust might be kneaded together again.

The major difference between the two apocalypses is the role that each writer assigned to Elijah. In the *Apocalypse of Elijah (H)* Elijah is described as a seer who is the recipient of the vision of the future events contained in the apocalypse. In the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* Elijah is not identified as the source of the description of future events. Rather the narrator of those events is an unnamed prophet, and Elijah is mentioned in the third person only as a participant in the events. Elijah is mentioned twice in the apocalypse; both times he acts together with Enoch in an eschatological context. In their first appearance they are expected to descend in Jerusalem to fight with the Antichrist, who will kill them. On the fourth day they will be resurrected and ascend into heaven in view of the whole city (4:7–19). In their second appearance they will kill the Antichrist (5:32). Other differences may be noted in the discussion of the individual texts which follows.

**C. The Coptic *Apocalypse of Elijah***

The text of the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* was first clearly defined by Steindorff (1899). The studies by Rosenstiehl (1972) and Wintermute (*OTP* 1: 721–53) contain a discussion of introductory matters (e.g. language, manuscripts, ancient witnesses, provenance, and date) and commentary on the apocalypse. Pietersma, Comstock, and Attridge (1981) have made available an important new Sahidic manuscript of the text from the library of Chester Beatty.

The *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* begins with a hortatory section encouraging prayer, fasting, and single-mindedness (chap. 1). That is followed by a cryptic description of the sequence of worldly powers ruling Egypt before the advent of the Antichrist (chap. 2). The chapter on the Antichrist (chap. 3) describes his miraculous acts which parallel those of the Christ "except for raising the dead," and ends with a portrayal of his physical appearance. That is followed by a chapter on martyrdoms (chap. 4), and a concluding description of a premillennial destruction of heaven and earth and the final judgment (chap. 5).

The text is a composite work. Although it is clearly identified as the *Apocalypse of Elijah* by a title at the end of a 3d/4th century Achmimic manuscript, it does not begin in the form of an apocalyptic revelation to a seer. The opening statement reads, "The word of the Lord came to me, saying 'Son of man, say to this people …' " Neither Elijah nor any other prophet is further identified with the "Son of man" who is addressed. The prophetic word which is given is in the form of a homily recalling the speeches of Deuteronomy with its repeated exhortation to "remember … hear … remember."

The second chapter begins with a subtitle containing the writer's description of the remainder of the text. It reads, "Furthermore, concerning the king of Assyria and the dissolution of the heaven and the earth and the things beneath the earth." The subject matter of the text which follows is typical of apocalyptic literature, but it lacks the literary framework of an apocalypse that would identify it as the content of a revelation to a seer.

A further example of the composite nature of the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* is provided by the changing scene of action. Chap. 2 has a special interest in Egypt. It will experience a sequence of rulers including "the king of injustice" and "the king of peace," whose "own son will rise up against him and kill him." "The cities of Egypt will groan … The markets of Egypt … will become dusty. Those who are in Egypt will weep." Four Persian kings will fight with three Assyrian kings, and "blood will flow from Kos to

Memphis." Eventually, the "Persian kings will plot ambush in Memphis" and control the land. In contrast to the Egyptian focus of chap. 2, the remaining chapters make no further mention of Egypt. The scene shifts abruptly to Jerusalem, where the Antichrist presides over a series of martyrdoms.

The abrupt shift in subject matter, setting and actors, which is characteristic of many ancient pseudepigrapha, is the result of the reworking of earlier traditions by one or more authors in order to make them relevant for a new community. In the case of the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)* the abrupt changes suggest three stages of development. The earliest stratum must have dealt with a version of the Antichrist legend in which the "son of lawlessness" will appear in Jerusalem, cause the martyrdom of saints, and finally be destroyed on the day of judgment when heaven and earth have been devastated. The earliest version may also have included a description of world rulers who would precede the Antichrist. When, however, the Antichrist legend was reworked by an Egyptian author, the political changes which signify the imminent approach of the final age were described from the parochial perspective of his own community. By joining the political preface to the Antichrist legend, the author created the account of "the kings of Assyria and the dissolution of the heaven and the earth." It would have been appropriate at that stage to compose an introduction providing an apocalyptic framework. If the author ever planned such a preface, it is now lost because the work begins with a homiletical exhortation, which joins the apocalyptic section in an abrupt manner.

In addition to the obvious changes which occur between the three major sections of the *Apocalypse of Elijah (C)*, there are other literary seams and doublets in the text which are due to the Christian reworking and expansion of an original Jewish composition. Both Rosenstiehl (1972: 28–42) and Wintermute (*OTP* 1: 721–27) have made attempts to interpret the doublets and to distinguish between earlier and later material within the text, but much work remains to be done.

**D. The Hebrew *Apocalypse of Elijah***

Buttenwieser (1897; *JEnc* 1: 681–82) has written the primary study of the *Apocalypse of Elijah (H).* The text, which first appeared in Salonica in 1743, was reprinted by Jellinek in 1853. A new edition of Jellinek (1938) is now available. A German translation of the text was also made by Wunsche (1907).

The *Apocalypse of Elijah (H)* is also a composite work. It contains six easily identified literary units: (1) An introduction which provides an apocalyptic framework in which Michael appears to reveal to Elijah a secret about the end of the age and its last king; (2) a description of Elijah's journey south, east, and west, where he saw sinners punished; (3) a rabbinic debate about the name of the last king; (4) a description of the advent, physical features, and evil acts of the Antichrist, Gigith; (5) a calendar of days of the year when significant eschatological events will occur, including the return of three captivities, three wars, and three days on which the Messiah will appear; and (6) five visions of Elijah, which include descriptions of the resurrection, future rewards and punishments, three patriarchs seated in a beautiful garden, the descent of a new Jerusalem, and the houses where the righteous will dwell.

The oldest portion of the text must have included an earlier version of the introduction, the description of Elijah's journey, and the section dealing with the Antichrist. Buttenwieser (*JEnc* 1: 682) wrote that the apocalypse in its original form was probably "more voluminous." That is especially true with regard to the description of Elijah's journey. The episode of the Antichrist is the only section common to the two surviving apocalypses.

Although the Antichrist episodes differ in detail, they are close enough to allow one to postulate a common ancestor. Since both of the surviving apocalypses are identified with Elijah, the common ancestor would have been an episode within a Jewish *Apocalypse of Elijah* composed before 100 C.E. That early text may also have contained the episode in which Elijah witnessed the punishment of sinners since it was an apocalyptic motif widely associated with that prophet in both Jewish and Christian circles, and it has survived in one of the witnesses. Both apocalypses locate the Antichrist episode within Israel, from Mount Carmel to Jerusalem. It is possible to assume that the writer also lived in Israel. The language of the postulated ancestor is harder to determine. It could have been Greek, Hebrew or Aramaic. Finally, it is possible that the ancestor contained the quotations known to Origen, Jerome, and Epiphanius.

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**ELIKA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîqā* (אֶלִיקָא)]. One of David's elite warriors, a member of "The Thirty" (2 Sam 23:25). He is called "the Harodite," an adjective probably describing the location of his origin. His name does not appear in the parallel list of "The Thirty" in 1 Chronicles 11. See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS. This is due to a scribal error in the transmission of the text of Chronicles caused by the repetition of "Harodite" in 2 Sam 23:25 (homoioteleuton).

There is dispute about the place of Elika's origin, Harod. The "Spring of Harod" is mentioned in Jud 7:1 (cf. 1 Sam 29:1). If this is the same Harod as Elika's home, Van Beek (*IDB* 2: 526) is probably right in identifying it with modern *Ain Jalud,* a spring located on the NE spur of Mt. Gilboa. However, Elliger argues that *Khirbet el-Harēdān,* just SE of Jerusalem, is the location. Possible supporting evidence is the early occurrence of Elika's name in the list of "The Thirty." It is placed 4th on the list in 2 Samuel, a position usually reserved for men who came from locations near Bethlehem, David's hometown.

The meaning of the name, Elika, is obscure. It is one of six names in the list of David's warriors in which the divine appellative, El, is used. The meaning of the name as it is vocalized in the MT may be "God has vomited." Zadok (1977) suggests this should be changed to read *ʾēl-yāqâ:* "God has guarded." LXX's *evaka* is a variant of *elika* (cf. Fowler, *TPNAH,* 142).

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**ELIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾêlim* (אֵילִם)]. The second named encampment reached by the Israelites four days after crossing the Red Sea, as listed in Exod 15:27–16:1 and Num 33:9–10, possibly located in the wilderness of Shur (Exod 15:22–27) or Etham (Num 33:8–9). The site was marked by twelve springs and seventy palm trees; presumably Israel would have remained at this oasis for most of the period following the crossing of the Red Sea, and before entering the wilderness of Sin. It was within a day's march of a camping site on the coast of the Red Sea.

Researchers who accept a S route for the Exodus have usually located Elim in the wadi Gharandel, about 90 km S of Suez (*GP* 2: 210; Palmer 1872: 46, 226; Petrie 1906: 205; Robinson 1856: 68–69, 72–73; *GTTOT,* 252; *WHAB,* 41), where much water and vegetation was found (M.R. 953855). About half a day's journey to the N is ʿAin Hawarah, which last century was a brackish spring that may be identified with Marah, "Bitterness," the encampment reached just prior to Elim. For a discussion of the location of any of the places associated with the journey of the Israelites from Egypt through Sinai see DOPHKAH.

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JEFFREY R. ZORN

**ELIMELECH** (PERSON) [*ʾĕlîmelek* (אֱלִימֶלֶךְ)]. A resident of Bethlehem, father-in-law of Ruth, and a relative of Boaz (Ruth 1:1–4; 2:1). Because of financial hardship and famine, Elimelech emigrated to Moab with his wife NAOMI and their two sons MAHLON and CHILION. Soon thereafter Elimelech died, but the family remained in Moab, where the sons subsequently married the Moabites Ruth and Orpah. See ORPAH. Tragically, the sons also died, and Naomi and Ruth returned to Bethlehem where they discovered a relative of Elimelech named Boaz who could act as a *gōʾēl* (i.e., kinsman-redeemer) for the family's property and progeny (1:2–3; 4:3, 9). However, since Naomi does not appear to know Boaz until she returned to Bethlehem (1:6–14), the familial relationship between Boaz and Elimelech is unclear. See BOAZ.

Legal questions concerning Elimelech's inheritance abound since the case of Ruth's marriage to Boaz does not conform to Mosaic legislation (Deut 25:5–10). The differences can be attributed to the unusual circumstances created by the death of all the Elimelech men. See RUTH.

The historicity of Elimelech as well as other characters in the story has been challenged. The name "Elimelech," meaning "my God is king," has encouraged the interpretation of Elimelech as a symbolic character. If Elimelech is figurative, the purpose of the name may be to contrast the period of the Judges, which is the story's setting, when Yahweh alone was king, with the era of the monarchy. Also, "Elimelech" can be read as "El is king" (*TPNAH* 51) or "My El is Milku." If the foreign deities El and Milku were intended, then the story is using the character's name to reflect the apostasy of the period. Since the name, however, is well-attested in the ANE (inscr. Hazor B2) and fits the period of the story, there is no necessity for taking Elimelech as unhistorical.

The LXX translators struggled with the name since they rendered it "Abimelech" (*abeimelech;* cf. variant *alimelech*). The LXX reading has been explained as the substitution of a more common name occurring in the Hebrew Bible (cf. Judges 8).

KENNETH A. MATHEWS

**ELIOENAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelyôʿênay* (אֶלְיוֹעֵינַי)]. The name of six individuals in the Hebrew Bible. "Elioenai" appears to be a shortened form of Elyehoenai, which means "my eyes (are turned) toward YHWH." However, according to Noth, the name is not a genuinely Israelite name but is patterned after Akkadian forms of a "trust name" (*IPN,* 163, 216).

**1.** One of the descendants of Jehoiachin (called Jeconiah in vv 16, 17), and thus, a postexilic descendant of David (1 Chr 3:23–24 [LXX *elithenan*]). 1 Chronicles 3 is a list of "sons of David born to him at Hebron … and Jerusalem," and Elioenai appears in the next to last generation listed. The exact location of Elioenai in this genealogy is uncertain, owing to the ambiguity of the Hebrew text of v 21 and the variant readings in the LXX and Vg (see discussion in Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 58). Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 20–21) renders Elioenai as the fifth great-grandson of Jehoiachin, and calculates that he would have lived in the mid-5th century B.C.E. (the list having been compiled late in that century). Coggins argues that this list was probably maintained because of pride in Davidic ancestry rather than hope for a restoration of dynastic rule (*Chron* CBC, 26). This could indicate that Elioenai was a person of significant social standing in the community since he was the only member of his generation whose own sons were listed.

**2.** A chief of the tribe of Simeon (1 Chr 4:36 [LXX *eliōēnai*]). 1 Chr 4:34–43 describes the movements of several tribal chiefs and their clans and is part of one of four Simeonite genealogies (Gen 46:10; Exod 6:15; Num 26:12–13; 1 Chr 4:24–43). The movements which Elioenai led took some of the clans into territory occupied by Philistines and Canaanites who were traditionally considered Hamites (v 40) (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 62) and others to Seir. The text implies that these migrations were undertaken to search for more grazing lands because the regions originally occupied had become overpopulated. It has been suggested that these "princes in their clans" (v 38) were military officers within the tribal structure and that their appointments may not have been made along hereditary lines

(Coggins *Chronicles* CBC, 32). Elioenai might have been a specially selected military commander who led a group of Simeonites in search of new grazing land.

**3.** A son of Becher and grandson of Benjamin (1 Chr 7:8 [LXX *elithenan*]). Because this genealogy (vv 6–12) does not correspond with the lists at Gen 46:21, Num 26:38–41, or the other Benjaminite genealogy in this block of material (8:1–28), some have speculated that this is actually a family list for Zebulun (see Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 77–78). Others have suggested that this list reflects both genealogical and census lists and is constructed from both old and new material, thus producing the discrepancies (see Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 53). Alternatively, the Chronicler may have relied totally on later sources here, while the material in chap. 8 is based on the older lists in the Pentateuch. The name is more common in the postexilic era and may be a late name, indicating a postexilic date for this material.

**4.** A member of the priestly family of Pashhur and one of the returned exiles who was required by Ezra to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:22 = 1 Esdr 9:22 [LXX *eliōnais*]). Elioenai was a member of a family from which a group of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:38; Neh 7:41). For further discussion, see BEDEIAH.

**5.** A descendant of Zattu and one of the returned exiles (Ezra 10:27 = 1 Esdr 9:28 [ *eliadas*]). The lay Elioenai was also a member of a family from which a group of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:10; Neh 7:13). For further discussion, see BEDEIAH.

**6.** A postexilic priest who assisted in the ceremony rededicating the newly reconstructed walls of Jerusalem (Neh 12:41 [ *eliōēnai*]). Neh 12:41–42 lists the priests who accompanied Nehemiah in a circumambulation of the walls of Jerusalem in a dedicatory service. Elioenai is listed as a trumpeter who "went to the left" (12:38) around the wall while another group of celebrants "went to the right" (12:31). The inclusion of rituals of purification (v 30) underscores the importance of this rite. It is possible that this is the same Elioenai mentioned in Ezra 10:22 (see #4. above). However, Elioenai was a popular name in the postexilic community (1 Chr 3:23; Ezra 10:22, 27), and the missions of Ezra and Nehemiah may have been separated by several decades. Therefore, such an identification seems unlikely.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

**ELIONAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Eliōnas* (Ἐλιωνας)]. A son of Annan who divorced his foreign wife during Ezra's reform (1 Esdr 9:32). His name may be the Gk rendering of ELIEZER son of Harim in Ezra 10:31. Furthermore, Codex Vaticanus contains the textual variant Gk *eliōdas.* Differences such as this among the lists of personal names in 1 Esdras, Ezra, and Nehemiah, raise questions about the sources of and literary relationships among the texts.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**ELIPHAL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîpal* (אֱלִיפָל)]. Son of Ahasbai and noted for belonging to the distinguished group of David's warriors (see DAVID'S CHAMPIONS) known as "The Thirty" (1 Chr 11:35)—for the meaning of the name, "my God/El has judged," see *TPNAH,* 107. In the two extant lists of David's heroes, the name "Eliphal" occurs in the list in Chronicles and is probably a corruption of "Eliphelet" in the parallel reference in 2 Sam 23:34. The text in 2 Samuel reads, "Eliphelet, the son of Ahasbai, the son of the Maachathite" whereas 1 Chronicles states, "Eliphal, the son of Ur, Hepher the Mecherathite." Since there are strong similarities in the readings and the grandfather's name is given in 2 Samuel (the only time in the list), there has been some textual corruption. Most scholars believe that 2 Samuel, as the older text, preserves the original name, Eliphelet. "Ahasbai the Maachathite" is a reasonable conjecture for his father's name. Maachathite probably designates the clan or tribe to which Eliphelet's father belonged. One such Judean clan was associated with the town of Eshtomoa, nine miles S of Hebron. The town had received its name from the clan's ancestor (1 Chr 4:19) (Elliger 1966: 99–100).

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STEPHEN G. DEMPSTER

**ELIPHAZ** (PERSON) [Heb ʾ*elîpāz* (אֱלִיפַז)]. Two persons in the OT bear this name. The interpretation of this name (cf. Safaitic ʾ*lypz*) is uncertain. The construals "God/El is agile/nimble" (from **pzz;* Meyer 1906: 347) and "My God is gold" (Heb *paz,* "gold") are improbable. A derivation from Hurrian (Ginsberg and Maisler 1934) cannot be proven. The most plausible interpretation is either "God/El is the victor" (from **pūz;* Moritz 1926) or "God/El is pure/shining" (Wieppert 1971: 246–47, 261, 451–56).

1. The firstborn son of Esau and Adah, daughter of Elon the Hittite (Gen 36:4, 10, 15; 1 Chr 1:35). Eliphaz was the father of Teman, Omar, Zepho, Gatam, Kenaz, Korah, and Amalek (Gen 36:15–16), the latter being the son of Eliphaz' concubine Timna (36:12). The sons of Eliphaz are considered "tribal chiefs" (Heb ʾ*allûpîm*) of Edom. Within the Edomite tribal system, they probably designate clans of the tribe of Eliphaz.

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**2.** The first friend of Job, identified as "the Temanite" (Job 2:11; 4:1; 15:1; 22:1; 42:7, 9). His name may mean "God is fine gold" (*BDB,* 45), but the meaning is problematic. The designation "Temanite" ties Eliphaz to a place known for its wisdom (cf. Jer 49:7). However, it has long been recognized that whatever historical background may be discerned in the book of Job is far less significant than the dramatic dialogue that ensues between the miserable sufferer and his three friends.

Along with Bildad and Zophar, Eliphaz has come ostensibly "to comfort and condole" the suffering Job (2:11). In fact, after the Joban outburst of chap. 3, wherein he damns the day of his birth (3:3–10) and accuses God of giving him an unlivable life (3:23–26), Eliphaz is in no mood to comfort, but rather intends to demonstrate to Job that he, Job, finds himself on an ashheap not because of God's randomness but because of Job's wickedness. In his first address to Job (chaps. 4–5), Eliphaz, representative of a traditional theology, reminds Job that his "fear of God" should be his "confidence" and the "integrity of his ways" his hope (4:6). As far as Eliphaz is concerned, "no innocent one ever perished" and no "upright one" was ever "cut off" (4:7). Though Eliphaz may intend these phrases as some kind of comfort (cf. Habel 1985: 118), in the ears of Job they sound cruel, clear indications that Eliphaz classes Job with the wicked. Job will say throughout the book that he is "innocent" (9:21) and a man of "integrity" (27:5).

And the reader hears something more. In the prologue of the book, both the narrator (1:1) and God (1:8; 2:3) have announced that Job is, in fact, "blameless and upright." Eliphaz' traditional theology has forced him to claim that "the upright" are never cut off. The case that gives the lie to that claim (i.e., Job himself) sits before his very eyes. Immediately, the reader is made aware that the book of Job has launched an attack on a theology that would offer simple solutions to a person in the condition of Job, namely, an "upright" person who has lost everything.

In Eliphaz' succeeding two speeches (chaps. 15 and 22), he steps up the attack on Job, classing him squarely with the wicked by using Job's own words to describe wicked people (cf. 15:20–35 and Holbert 1975: 192–200), and finally accusing him of being the foulest and most unjust of sinners, one who rejects "widows" and "breaks the arms of orphans" (22:9). That these are patent lies is made certain by Job's long oath of clearance in chap. 31.

In the epilogue of the book, Eliphaz is singled out by Yahweh as one who "has not spoken right about me" in distinction to Job (42:7, 9). As a result, Eliphaz and his two friends are forced by God to make sacrifice, and are only readmitted to the community through the prayers of Job, the one he had accused of evil. Thus is Eliphaz' theology called into the most serious question.

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JOHN C. HOLBERT

**ELIPHELEHU** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîpĕlēhû* (אֱלִיפְלֵהוּ)]. One of the Levites of second rank appointed to provide music during David's second effort to move the ark to Jerusalem; his instrument was the lyre (1 Chr 15:18, 21). The list of names in 15:17–18 is expanded by ten in 15:19–24; Eliphelehu is not mentioned in the third list (16:5–6). The entirety of 1 Chr 15:1–24 is unique to Chronicles, not contained in the parallel account in 2 Samuel 6. Inadequate attention to preparation and detail on the part of the Levites had resulted in the initial abortive effort to move the ark; in this context the Chronicler is concerned to portray adequate preparations. The Levites are in transition from their former duties in moving the ark to their new roles in part as musicians. Numerous scholars regard sections of the lists in 1 Chronicles 15–16, particularly 15:16–24, as secondary expansions of the Chronicler's work; 15:16–24 is commonly viewed as interrupting the narrative flow between 15:15 and 15:25.
RAYMOND B. DILLARD

**ELIPHELET** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîpeleṭ* (אֱלִיפֶלֶט)]. Var. ELPELET. 1. A son of David (1 Chr 3:6; 14:5), one of 13 listed as having been born to David's wives in Jerusalem, in addition to his six sons born at Hebron. His mother's name is unknown: four of the 13 were Bathsheba's sons; the remainder were born to unnamed wives. Besides these 13, David had numerous (unnamed) sons born to his concubines, according to 1 Chr 3:9.

This name occurs between Elishama/Elishua and Nogah in both lists in 1 Chronicles, but it is missing at this juncture in the list of David's sons in 2 Sam 5:15. All three lists end with this name (1 Chr 3:8; 14:7; 2 Sam 5:16), leading to speculation about a scribal dittography in the 1 Chronicles passages, where the name occurs twice in each list. However, two OG traditions contain this name here in 2 Samuel (along with Nogah, also missing only in the 2 Samuel list); Josephus appears to have included this name here (*Ant* 7.3.3); and the spacing in the 4QSam[a] ms suggests that both names were there, as well (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 148). If so, then David had two sons named Eliphelet, or the second occurrence of the name in the 1 Chronicles lists is a dittography. The form Elpelet, Heb *ʾelpeleṭ*, which occurs only at 1 Chr 14:5, is merely a variant spelling. Since the number given in 1 Chr 3:8—nine—requires the presence of both occurrences of Eliphelet, as well as Nogah, it is internally most consistent to postulate two sons of David with the same name. One may have died at an early age and the other been named after him (Keil and Delitzsch 1875: 322). See also DAVID, SONS OF.

**2.** A son of David (2 Sam 5:16; 1 Chr 3:8; 14:7). See #1 above for discussion.

**3.** One of David's select group of thirty mighty men (2 Sam 23:34). He was the son of Ahasbai, of Maacah, which in this case was a town in Judah, south of Hebron (McCarter *2 Samuel* 498–99). He is likely the ELIPHAL, son of Ur, of 1 Chr 11:35.

**4.** A distant descendant of Saul and Jonathan, a Benjaminite, the third of three sons of Eshek (1 Chr 8:39).

**5.** One of the returnees from Babylon to Jerusalem under Ezra, during the reign of Artaxerxes. He and his two brothers, all sons of Adonikam, were heads of a contingent that included sixty men, and they came after the main return with Ezra (Ezra 8:13; 1 Esdr 8:39).

**6.** One of seven sons of Hashum who put away their foreign wives and their children during the reforms of Ezra (Ezra 10:33; 1 Esdr 9:33).

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DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

**ELISHA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîšāʿ* (אֱלִישָׁע)]. A northern prophet of the 9th century, the son of Shaphat from Abel-meholah. He was a follower and the designated successor of Elijah (1 Kgs 19:16–21; 2 Kgs 2). He appears to have been active during the reigns of Ahab, Ahaziah, and Jehoram, ca. 850–800 B.C.E.

The extensive narratives which preserve numerous stories about the prophet Elisha are found in the Deuteronomistic History (1 Kgs 19:19–21; 2 Kings 2–13). This narrative complex is constructed from a number of legends or miracle stories which have been classified and analyzed by Rofé (1970; 1974), Schmitt (1972), Schweizer (1974), and De Vries (1978). The general conclusion is that many of these stories achieved their form prior to their inclusion in the Deuteronomistic History. It is conjectured that extensive hagiographical material about Elisha was collected and preserved by the prophetic groups closely associated with him in 2 Kings. The wide range of hagiographic material about Elisha details numerous dramatic feats of power which establish his authority as a prophet of Yahweh. After his commissioning by Elijah, his authority is confirmed by his ability to part the waters of the Jordan (2 Kgs 2:13–14), to clear the spring outside Jericho of impurities (2 Kgs 2:19–22), and to fatally curse the children that taunted him (2 Kgs 2:23–25). These prophetic acts of power are repeated throughout the narrative complex: he helped the widow of one of the prophetic guilds to pay her debts (2 Kgs 4:1–7); he promised a son to the barren Shunammite woman and then revived the child after its death (2 Kgs 4:8–37); he nullified poisonous wild gourds planted by one of the prophetic guilds (2 Kgs 4:38–41); he fed one hundred men with twenty loaves of barley and some fresh ears of grain (2 Kgs 4:42–44); he healed Naaman, the commander of the Syrian forces, of leprosy (2 Kgs 5:1–19); he punished Gehazi with leprosy for his dishonesty and greed (2 Kgs 5:20–27); he retrieved a lost ax-head by causing it to float upon the water (2 Kgs 6:1–7); he blinded a Syrian raiding party and led them into Samaria (2 Kgs 6:8–23); and a dead man was revived when he came into contact with Elisha's bones (2 Kgs 13:20–21).

The Deuteronomic setting of these legendary stories is important since Elisha provides a model of the Mosaic prophet. The transfer of authority from Elijah to Elisha is modeled on the transfer of power from Moses to Joshua (Num 27:18–23; Deut 34:9). The miracle stories, which provide little evidence of prophetic activity, appear to be concerned much more with authenticating the role of Elisha as a model Mosaic prophet who plays a central role in the overthrow of the Omrides. The prophecy and fulfillment schema of the Deuteronomistic History is evident in Elijah's prophecies of the overthrow of the Omrides and Elisha's active role in the rebellion of Jehu (1 Kgs 19:15, cf. 2 Kgs 8:7–15; 1 Kgs 21:23–29, cf. 2 Kgs 9:1–10).

It is difficult on the basis of these stories to identify, with any certainty, historical information about Elisha. However recent analyses of the social roles of Israelite prophets (Wilson 1980; Petersen 1981) reveal that despite Deuteronomic editing these narratives preserve important information about the activities of Ephraimite northern prophets. It is argued that these stories were originally collected and preserved by northern prophetic groups closely associated with Elijah and Elisha. Elisha is seen as the leader of a prophetic guild, "the sons of the prophets." The ambiguous term "father" (2 Kgs 2:12; 13:14), used of both Elijah and Elisha, is often interpreted as an honorific title designating the leader of a prophetic guild.

Elisha is frequently addressed as *ʾîš ʾĕlōhîm,* "man of God," in addition to *nābîʾ*, "prophet." Petersen (1981: 43) understands *ʾîs ʾĕlōhîm* as a designation for a holy man as depicted in legends. However, both terms in the Hebrew Bible appear to be synonymous, and it is very difficult to isolate differentiated meanings especially since they are both applied to Elisha and other prophetic figures. Wilson (1980) and Petersen (1981), among others, both describe Elisha as a peripheral prophet. His support group, "the sons of the prophets," was also composed of peripheral prophets removed from the religiously, economically, and politically dominant groups at the center of society. They may have had minimal support in Ephraimite society (2 Kgs 4:8–17, 42–44). Wilson (1980: 202) has likened this group to the members of a peripheral possession cult.

Elisha is depicted as constantly in conflict with the Omride dynasty, and he is responsible for Hazael's accession as king of Syria (2 Kgs 8:7–15). His opposition to the Omrides culminates in his central role in legitimizing the rebellion of Jehu (2 Kgs 9:1–10), who massacred Ahab and the remaining Omrides in a palace coup. Wilson (1980: 205–6) argues that Elisha's social role changed after Jehu's assumption of power from that of peripheral to central prophet. He became more closely associated with the royal court, particularly in the military sphere (2 Kgs 6:8–7:20; 13:14–19).

Smith (1971: 25–26) argues that Elisha is an example of a leader of a Yahweh-alone group in early Israel, as remembered in popular legend, who preserved Yahwism against the threat of syncretistic cults. He understands the revolution of Jehu as the triumph of Elisha and the Yahweh-alone movement, which included the prophetic group gathered around him.

The healing of Naaman by Elisha is used by Jesus in the synagogue at Nazareth to justify his own ministry to the gentiles (Luke 4:27). A universalistic tendency is to be seen in the Naaman narrative (2 Kgs 5:1–19) since he responded to his healing by promising to worship Yahweh alone, and would enter the temple of Rimmon only when he had to for the sake of the king of Syria.

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KEITH W. WHITELAM

**ELISHAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîšâ* (אֱלִישָׁה)]. A son of Javan (Gen 10:4; 1 Chr 1:7), grandson of Japeth and great-grandson of Noah. In the Sam. Pent. the name is *ʾelîšā.* His name, like those of a number of other people in the Table of Nations in Genesis 10, became associated with a geographical area, presumably where his descendants settled. A maritime nation (Ezek 27:7), its association with Javan (Greece) would suggest a location in the Aegean. See JAVAN. It became known as a source for colored fabrics, even supplying them to Tyre (Ezek 27:7). Since Tyre itself was a well-known source of dyed cloth, their supply by Elishah would indicate that the latter's product was of very high quality indeed.

"Alašiya," attested in 2d millennium B.C. texts from Egypt, Assyria, Ugarit, and Asia Minor, is generally accepted as equivalent to Elishah. Apparently the term was first used for part of the island of Cyprus (*CAH* 3: 201–5), possibly the area around Enkomi on the E coast. Later the term expanded its use at times to refer to Cyprus as a whole. Another suggestion has placed Alašiya on the coast of N Syria. Cyprus exported copper (from which the name "Cyprus" is derived). This supports its identification with Alašiya, which name is itself derived from the Sumerian word *alas,* "copper." A Mycenaean colony on the island in the mid-2d millennium (*CAH* 3: 181–82) associates Cyprus culturally with Greece (Javan).

DAVID W. BAKER

**ELISHAMA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîšāmāʿ* (אֱלִישָׁמָע)]. Name of six persons in the Hebrew Bible. The name probably means "El has heard."

**1.** Son of Ammihud and leader of the tribe of Ephraim. He, with others, assisted Moses in the wilderness (Num 1:10; 2:18; 7:48, 53; 10:22). In 1 Chr 7:26, Elishama, son of Ammihud, is identified as the grandfather of Joshua.

**2.** One of the sons of David born in Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:16; 1 Chr 3:8; 14:7). The name occurs twice in the list 1 Chr 3:1–9, but "Elishama" is probably a scribal error for "Elishua" in v 6 (cf. 2 Sam 5:15; 1 Chr 14:5).

**3.** A member of the royal house of Judah and grandfather of Ishmael son of Nethaniah. He was the Judean troop commander who assassinated Gedaliah following the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/6 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 25:25; Jer 41:1).

**4.** Son of Jekamiah (1 Chr 2:41) and a Jerahmeelite descended from Sheshan (vv 34–41).

**5.** One of the two priests (2 Chr 17:8) who formed part of a commission sent by Jehoshaphat to teach the law in the cities of Judah (vv 7–9).

**6.** A high-ranking government official who held the position of *sōpēr* during the reign of Jehoiakim (Jer 36:12, 20–21). It is probable that Elishama's office was that of state or royal secretary. On the basis of Jer 36:10, it has been suggested that there may have been two royal secretaries at this time (as was the case during the reign of Solomon [1 Kgs 4:3]), and that Elishama held this office together with Gemariah son of Shaphan. However, in Jer 36:10 the title *hassōpēr* undoubtedly applies to Shaphan, Elishama's predecessor (cf. 2 Kgs 22:8–10), and not Shaphan's son Gemariah. The secretary's chamber, which may have served as the state secretariat, was located in the royal palace (Jer 36:12). It was here that Baruch's scroll is reported to have been kept (Jer 36:20–21). Elishama was succeeded in the office of royal secretary by Jonathan (Jer 37:15, 20).

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**ELISHAPHAT** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîšāpāṭ* (אֱלִישָׁפָט)]. The son of Zichri, a commander of a hundred men during the palace revolution of Jehoiada the high priest, overthrowing Athaliah (2 Chr 23:1) and placing her son, Joash, on the throne. The name means "God judged." His role, along with the other four palace guard commanders, was to raise an army among Judeans as well as Levites and priests. During the proclamation of Joash as king, he was among the military units who protected strategic points around the temple and the royal palace. These commanders were also responsible for the execution of Athaliah (2 Chr 23:14) and participated in the coronation processional (2 Chr 23:20). The parallel passage (2 Kgs 11:4) informs us that these commanders were the Carites, the royal bodyguard first established by David (2 Sam 20:23; *Kings* OTL, 571), which explains their support for a son of David. Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 424), Gray (*Kings* OTL, 569) and Myers (*2 Chronicles* AB, 131) interpret the Chronicler as presenting the commanders to be Levites so that the temple would not be violated by the unconsecrated, contradicting the parallel account. However, there is no evidence of the temple ever having its own separate military units. More likely, these officers of the royal bodyguard commanded a mixed force of Levites, priests, professional soldiers, and volunteers, with Jehoiada relying upon the commanders' tactical expertise and steadiness in the heat of battle outside the temple while arming the Levites and priests who could enter the temple precincts.

KIRK E. LOWERY

**ELISHEBA** (PERSON) [*ʾĕlîšeba*ʿ (אֱלִישֶׁבַע)]. Daughter of Amminadab and sister to Nahshon (Exod 6:23), who was captain of Judah during the wilderness journey (Num 2:3). She became the wife of Aaron, the high priest, and thus mother of the priestly family. Rather than belonging to the 4th generation after Jacob, according to the genealogies of Ruth 4:18–20 and 1 Chr 2:4–10, Elisheba belonged to the 6th generation (Childs *Exodus* OTL, 117). Her name means "God of the oath" or "God makes an oath," so named for God's faithfulness to his promise of deliverance from Egyptian bondage.

JOEL C. SLAYTON

**ELISHUA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîšûa*ʿ (אֱלִישׁוּעַ)]. One of 13 sons of David listed as having been born to David's wives in Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:15; 1 Chr 14:5), in addition to his six sons born at Hebron. In both lists, Elishua is listed between Ibhar and El (i)phelet, but the list in 1 Chr 3:5–9 omits this name, substituting ELISHAMA instead. This is undoubtedly a scribal slip, since Elishama was another of David's sons, his name occurring only a few names later in all three lists.

His mother's name is unknown: four of the 13 sons born in Jerusalem were Bathsheba's sons; the remainder were born to unnamed wives. Besides these 13, David had numerous (unnamed) sons born to his concubines, according to 1 Chr 3:9. See also DAVID, SONS OF.

DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

**ELIUD** (PERSON) [Gk *Elioud* (Ἐλιουδ)]. The son of Achim and father of Eleazar, according to Matthew's genealogy tying Joseph, the husband of Mary, to the house of David and Solomon (Matt 1:14, 15). Eliud does not appear in any other genealogy or list of Jesus' ancestors (except in Luke in D, where an adaptation from Matt 1:6–15 is substituted in Luke 3:23–31), although Albright and Mann (*Matthew* AB, 4–5) believe the name is characteristic of names used in the last two centuries B.C., with Johnson (1969: 179–80) claiming that Eliud is a transliteration of ›*lyhw*‹ (1 Chr 12:20 MS A); cf. 1 Chr 26:7, where Heb ›*lyhw* is rendered Gk *heliou,* and Job 32:6, where Heb ›*lyhw*‹ is rendered Gk *helious.*

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STANLEY E. PORTER

**ELIZABETH** (PERSON) [Gk *Elisabet* (Ἐλισαβετ)]. Wife of Zechariah, mother of John the Baptist, and a relative of Jesus' mother Mary. Elizabeth is mentioned only in the birth narrative material in Luke 1 where she is said to be a descendant of Aaron, barren, and advanced in years. Luke uses a general term which does not specify the degree of kinship between Mary and Elizabeth. Luke 1:42 indicates that Elizabeth is to be seen as a prophetess, given inspired insight into the character of the baby in Mary's womb, and the events which have just transpired in Mary's life.

The barrenness and supernatural intervention which causes Elizabeth to become pregnant are reminiscent of various OT stories, especially those of Sarah (Gen 17:15–21; 18:9–15; 21:1–7) and Hannah (1 Sam 1:1–20). These similarities suggest that Luke wants his audience to see Elizabeth as one who would bear a child important in Israel's history. However, Luke casts Elizabeth in the shadow of Mary, and thus prepares the way for the similar treatment of the Baptist and Jesus. The Lukan birth stories focus on the perspective of the women, Elizabeth and Mary, not their men Zechariah and Joseph. In fact, Zechariah is not seen to be a model of faith for Luke's audience in the same way that Elizabeth and Mary are. Here we see the first of many examples in Luke's Gospels of a reversal of ordinary expectations—the women, not Zechariah, properly respond to the initiatives of God in Luke 1 (cf. Luke 4:18). Elizabeth and Mary, not Zechariah and Joseph, first receive the message of the coming Christ, first respond in full faith to that news, first are praised and blessed by God's angels, and first sing and prophesy about the Christ child.

When the pregnant Mary visits Elizabeth she receives a twofold blessing. First, Elizabeth blesses Mary because she is the mother of "my Lord." Second, Mary is blessed because she responded in faith to the words of the angel—she believed the promise given to her about the coming Christ child. What follows this interchange in vv 46–55, the song called the Magnificat, has been the subject of much scholarly debate, because of the textual possibility that Elizabeth is the singer of this song of praise. Though the textual evidence that attributes this song to Elizabeth is primarily western and found in Latin mss (it$^{a}$, b, l, Irenaeus$^{Lat.}$, Niceta, Latin mss known to Origen), in view of the history of growing devotion to Mary in the Church it is difficult to see that any scribe would have changed an original reference to Mary singing this song in order to place it on the lips of Elizabeth.

There are also other factors which may favor Elizabeth as the giver of this oracle: (1) she is the nearest antecedent, who has just been speaking to Mary in 1:45; (2) as a childless older woman this song seems more appropriate on her lips, and it is probably not accidental that this song sounds like that of another barren woman, Hannah (1 Sam 2:1–10); (3) the Greek of v 56 seems to suggest that Elizabeth was the last speaker, hence Mary's name must be introduced again at that point; (4) we have already been told at v 41 that Elizabeth was filled with the Spirit and was speaking, but there is no mention of Mary being filled in like manner. Despite these considerations, the earliest and best mss attribute this hymn to Mary, and it seems unlikely that Luke would have Elizabeth overshadow Mary. Thus, most scholars believe that Luke cast Mary as the speaker of "The Magnificat."

We find further evidence of Luke's theme of reversal when we learn that Elizabeth gives her child his name when John is born, an act which Zechariah can merely confirm (1:57–66). Indeed speech only comes back to Zechariah when he confirms the action of his wife. Thus Luke intends us to see Elizabeth

and Mary as the primary human figures in the drama that leads to the births of the Baptist and Jesus. That Elizabeth fades out of the picture after Luke 1, is in part because Luke does not wish to have her or her son overshadow Mary and her child.

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BEN WITHERINGTON, III

**ELIZAPHAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlîṣāpān* (אֱלִיצָפָן)]. Var. ELZAPHAN. Two persons in the Hebrew Bible have this name. Several meanings have been proposed for the name Elizaphan. These include "my god is hidden," "god is hidden," and "god has hidden." The name has also been related to the name Zephaniah, and names using its base root of *ṣpn* have been found in Hebrew inscriptions, as well as in Phoenician, and Punic sources.

Although an alternate form of the name, Elzaphan (Heb *ʾelṣāpān*), occurs in Exod 6:22 and Lev 10:4, these texts obviously refer to the person otherwise called Elizaphan. Both the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Peshitta read *ʾelîṣapan,* and the LXX offers *el (e)isapha (n).*

**1.** The father of a clan of Levites and one of three sons of Uzziel, the Levite (Exod 6:22). When Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, were killed because of their "strange fire," (i.e., improper sacrifice), Moses instructed Elizaphan and his brother Mishael to carry the corpses out of the camp (Lev 10:4–5). Elizaphan is identified once as the leader of the Kohathite clan of Levites (Num 3:30); elsewhere his descendants are of equal status to the sons of Kohath, Merari, and Gershom (1 Chr 15:8; 2 Chr 29:13). This demonstrates that the descendants of Elizaphan retained an important position in the postconquest history of Israel. In 1 Chr 15:8, 10–11, King David commanded the sons of Elizaphan along with other Levites to carry the ark of the covenant up to Jerusalem. In 2 Chr 29:12–13, King Hezekiah called upon the descendants of Elizaphan to assist in cleansing the temple of its impurities.

**2.** The son of Parnach and the leader of the tribe of Zebulun who participated in the allotment of the land of Canaan (Num 34:25).

RAPHAEL I. PANITZ

**ELIZUR** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelîṣûr* (אֱלִיצוּר)]. Son of Shedeur and Chief (*nāśîʾ,* Num 2:10) of the tribe of Reuben during the wilderness sojourn after the Exodus. He is mentioned only five times in the OT in four different tribal lists. He conducted a census of all able-bodied fighting men of the tribe of Reuben (Num 1:5); he led the Reubenites to their proper place on the S side of the tabernacle in the Israelite camp (Num 2:10) and to their position in the order of march at the Israelites' departure from Mt. Sinai (Num 10:18); and he presented the offerings of the Reubenites on the 4th day of the twelve-day celebration of the dedication of the altar (7:30, 35). The name Elizur means "God is a rock" or "my God is a rock."

DALE F. LAUNDERVILLE

**ELKANAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelqānâ* (אֶלְקָנָה)]. As many as eight different men, probably all but one of whom were Levites, bore this name.

**1.** A Korahite Levite descended from Kohath son of Aaron (Exod 6:24); possibly, though not necessarily, the same as # 2 below.

**2.** A Korahite Levite, presumably somewhat later chronologically than # 1 above (1 Chr 6:23, 25, 36).

**3.** A Korahite Levite, descended from # 2 above (1 Chr 6:26, 35).

**4.** A Korahite Levite, descended from # 3 above (1 Chr 6:27, 34; 1 Sam 1:1). The descriptive genealogical relationships between # 2, 3 and 4 may be seen in the following table:

| | 1 Chr 6:33–36 | 1 Sam 1:1 |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Chr 6:25–27 | (in reverse order) | (in reverse order) |
| Elkanah #2 (6:25; cf. also 6:23) | Elkanah #2 (6:36) | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Amasai | Amasai | |
| Ahimoth | Mahath | |
| Elkanah #3 (6:26) | Elkanah #3 (6:35) | |
| Zophai | Zuph | Zuph |
| Nathan | Toah | Tohu |
| Eliab | Eliel | Elihu |
| Jeroham | Jeroham | Jeroham |
| Elkanah #4 (6:27) | Elkanah #4 (6:34) | Elkanah #4 |
| Samuel | Samuel | [Samuel; cf. 1:19–20] |

Elkanah # 4, the father of Samuel, is described in 1 Sam 1:1 as a Zuphite (revocalizing MT *ṣôpîm* as *ṣûpî* + enclitic *-m*), doubtless because of his descent from Zuph/Zophai (the above table displays similar spelling differences and other modifications in some of the other sets of parallel names as well). The reference to the Levite Elkanah as an Ephraimite probably relates to the tribal territory where he lived rather than to his tribal origins.

Samuel's father must have been a man of some means, since he is the only commoner in the books of Samuel and Kings to have had more than one wife. Solicitous of the religious welfare of his family, Elkanah was in the habit of taking his two wives (Hannah and Peninnah) and Peninnah's children with him on an annual pilgrimage to Shiloh. While there, he distributed portions of sacrificial meat (cf. Exod 29:26; Lev 7:33; 8:29) to them, since wives and offspring shared in certain of the sacrificial offerings brought to the Lord by the head of the family (cf. Deut 12:17–18; 16:13–14). Peninnah, the barren Hannah's rival, seemed to take special delight in using what should have been a time of joyous celebration as an occasion for continued provocation concerning Hannah's sterility, often moving her to tears. At such times, Elkanah would try to comfort Hannah by suggesting that his love for her should have meant more to her than numerous sons (1 Sam 1:2–8).

Eventually, and in answer to her prayers, Hannah became pregnant by Elkanah and bore Samuel. Elkanah meanwhile continues his custom of the annual pilgrimage to Shiloh. On one occasion, he used the opportunity for the additional purpose of fulfilling a vow (v 21), perhaps in support of the vow Hannah had made earlier (v 11). Elkanah concurred with her desire to present Samuel to the Lord for apprenticeship in the priesthood under Eli (vv 22–23; 2:11). Elkanah and Hannah ultimately became the parents of five additional children (2:20–21).

**5.** A Korahite Levite who was one of David's warriors at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:1, 6). See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

**6.** A Levite who was one of two doorkeepers for the ark of the covenant during at least a part of David's reign (1 Chr 15:23).

**7.** A high official in the court of Judah, assassinated by an Ephraimite warrior during the reign of Ahaz (2 Chr 28:7).

**8.** A Levite who was the ancestor of Berechiah son of Asa, who settled in Jerusalem after returning from Babylonian exile (1 Chr 9:1–3, 16).

The name *ʾelqānâ* means "God Has Created (a Son)." The verbal root underlying the name occurs in Gen 4:1 with the meaning "brought forth," where it puns on the name "Cain"; in 14:19, 22, where God Most High is called "Creator" of heaven and earth; in Exod 15:16, where the Lord is described as having "created" his people; etc. It has long been recognized that the root *qny* in various Semitic languages often means "bring forth, create," especially when a deity is its subject (BDB 888–89; KB 843; *WUS*, 229; Habel 1972: 321–37; Cassuto 1975: 55; Miller 1980: 43–46; contrast, however, Vawter 1986: 461–67). Titles similar to that in Gen 14:19, 22 were applied to El, the chief Canaanite deity, in ancient times (Pope 1955: 50–54).

An unpublished seal decorated with the figure of an ibex bears the name *ʾelqānâ* (Avigad 1987: 200). Three other names found on seals and containing the same verbal root are pertinent here: (1) *qnyw*,

"Yahweh Has Created" (Avigad 1987: 197); (2) *mqnmlk,* "The Creation of the (Divine) King" (Avigad 1986: 77); and especially (3) *mqnyw/mqnyhw,* "The Creation of Yahweh" (Avigad 1986: 99; 1987: 198), a name identical to that of Mikneiah (1 Chr 15:18)—who, like the descendants of Elkanah # 4, was a tabernacle/temple musician (15:21).

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RONALD YOUNGBLOOD

**ELKIAH** (PERSON) [Gk *Elkia* (Ἐλκια)]. A name which is part of the genealogy of Judith (Jdt 8:1). Elkiah is a translation of the Hebrew name Hilkiah (Heb *ḥilqîyāh*). The most famous character in the OT named Hilkiah was the high priest in the time of Josiah (2 Kings 22, etc.). However, the Elkiah in the genealogy of Judith should not be connected with that Hilkiah, for the name here is part of what Noth *(HPT)* terms a "secondary genealogy," that is, a genealogy with no existence apart from the narrative. This is in keeping with the genre of the book of Judith.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**ELKOSH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾelkōšî* (אֶלְכֹּשִׁי)]. Supposed birthplace of Nahum the prophet; probably the name of his village originated from the name of his ancestor. The place name *ʾelqōš* does not appear in the Bible, but can be assumed from the Heb *ʾelqōšî* "Elkoshite" in Nah 1:1; however, its locality is unknown. According to the prologue of Jerome's commentary on Nahum, "Elkosh was situated in Galilee, since there is to the present day a village in Galilee called Elcesi (or Hilkesei), a very small one indeed, and containing in its ruins hardly any traces of ancient buildings, but one which is well known to the Jews, and was also pointed out to me by my guide." Modern el-Kauzeh might be the site to which Jerome referred. A Galilean town Capernaum (M.R. 204254), which may mean "village of Nahum," supposedly from the Heb *kĕpar naḥûm,* appears to claim to be Nahum's hometown. A Turkish town of the medieval origin, Al-Qush N of Mosul near Nineveh, claims to be the birth and the burial place of the prophet Nahum. Another tradition locates Elkosh in the S Judean Simeonite territory. Pseudo-Epiphanius locates it near Begabar in Syria, the modern Beit Jibrin. All of these locations lack the positive evidence of being the hometown of the prophet Nahum.

Elkosh may have been originally a personal theophoric name which means "God, give!" if the last element *qōš* is etymologically related to the Akk *qâšu* "to give as a gift, reward." The biblical name Kushaiah (Heb *qûšāyāhû*) in 1 Chr 15:17 may mean "Yahweh rewarded," if *qûš* is the cognate of the Akk verb *qâšu.* Likewise, the Edomite name Kaush-Malak in the building inscription of Tiglath-pileser III (*ANET,* p. 282a) may mean "King gave." The Akkadian name *Anu-qîšanni* "God, reward me!" is quite similar to the Hebrew name *ʾEl-qōš* "God, reward!" Also other Akkadian names with the verb *qâšu* are attested as follows: *Taqîša-Bêltu* "divine Lady gave me," *Sin-iqîšam* "Sin gave me," etc. (See *AN,* 28, 138–39, 178–79; *APNM,* 259.)

YOSHITAKA KOBAYASHI

**ELLASAR** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾellāsār* (אֶלָּסָר)]. The domain of ARIOCH, Gen 14:1, 9. The identity and location of Ellasar was already uncertain to ancient interpreters. LXX, Targum Onkelos, and one version of the Palestinian Targum (Cod. Neofiti) simply reproduced the OT form. *Targum Ps.-Jonathan* rendered it by *tlʾsr* (Telassar), no doubt because of assonance. Another school of thought placed it in Asia Minor. The QL Gen Apocryphon XXI:23 replaced *Ellasar* by the totally unrelated *kptwk* (Old Persian *Katpatuka*) "Cappadocia." Another version of the Palestinian Targum rendered it by *pnṭws* (Pontus), a region

bordering on Cappadocia. (The Cod. Neofiti manuscript of the Palestinian Targum has *ʾlsr* in v 1, with the marginal note *pnṭws,* and, conversely, *pnṭws* in v 9, with the marginal note *ʾlsr*). This tradition was followed in Vg which has *Pontus* in both places.

An early and long-followed identification of Ellasar was that by Schrader 1883: 135 which equated it with Larsa, the capital of one of the two principal kingdoms of S Mesopotamia in the Isin-Larsa period before it was conquered by Ḫammurapi, king of Babylon. However, since neither of the two kings of Larsa proposed for that role could correspond to Arioch, and since the similarity between the names *Ellasar* and *Larsa* was not very close, this identification was abandoned. Böhl (1930: 23) resurrected the old identification of Ellasar with Telassar, but tacitly rejected it fifteen years later. Meanwhile, Dossin (1934: 118–19), in a different connection, proposed to see in *Ellasar* a phonetic transcription of A.LA$^{5}$.SAR, an ideographic spelling of *Aššur.* This idea proved to be in agreement with the presumed Babylonian model of Genesis 14, the "Chedorlaomer texts" (see CHEDORLAOMER, B:1), in which the character corresponding to Arioch represents the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I. Böhl (1953: 46) and Dhorme (1956: 42) also equated Ellasar with Assur, but derived it from *āl Aššur* "the city of Assur," according to the Assyrian pronunciation of *š* as *s* and its rendering in Hebrew and Aramaic transcriptions (e.g., *Aššur-aḫa-iddin* = Heb *ʾēsar-ḥaddōn,* Aram *ʾsr ḥ ʾdn*).

Lipiński (1975: 205) called attention to the Greco-Aramaic epitaph at Ağaça Kale, 41 km SW of Divriği (E Turkey), dating from the 3d century B.C., which mentions a man with a Persian name, written *Ariukēs* in Gk and *Hrywkʾ* in Aram, who was a satrap of—according to Lipiński's tentative restoration—[*Hr*]*m*[*n*] "Armenia." Referring to the rendering of Ellasar by *kptwk* in the QL Gen Apocryphon and by *Pontus* in Vg, Lipiński noted: "The repute of a dynast called Ariauka, who had reigned in those parts of Asia Minor, might have helped this localization of *ʾlsr* and it is not impossible for the author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* to have identified the Armenian satrap with the biblical Ariōk *(Ariōch).* The author of the *Genesis Apocryphon* obviously knew that a place called *ʾlsr* existed there. Now, a Cappadocian place called Alasar can most likely be identified with Alişar, that kept its old name." Lipiński had in mind the archaeological site of Alişar Hüyük, ca. 80 km SE of the Hittite capital Ḫattušaš (Bogazköy). However, (1) the site is quite distant from Armenia Minor, the satrapy of Ariukēs; (2) the last, very modest settlement at that site ended well before the Persian domination of Cappadocia; (3) the ample toponymic evidence on classical Asia Minor does not include a place name resembling Ellasar; (4) *Alişar* is a modern Turkish toponym, derived from a personal name, and besides the Alişar in question, there are six other places of that name in widely scattered areas of Turkey. Thus the motive behind Arioch's transfer to Cappadocia by the QL Gen Apocryphon remains unclear.

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MICHAEL C. ASTOUR

**ELMADAM** (PERSON) [Gk *Elmadam* (Ἐλμαδαμ)]. The father of Cosam and son of Er, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:28). Gk *elmōdam* is read in numerous mss and a few versions, while Gk *elmadam* is contained in others. The variant is possibly based on Gk *elmōdad* found in Gen 10:26 for Heb *ʾlmwdd.* D omits Elmadam, substituting a genealogy adopted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. The name Elmadam is unknown as an ancestor of Jesus in any other biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, and falls within a list of eighteen otherwise unknown descendants of David's son Nathan (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 501). Kuhn's (1923: 214–16; endorsed by Schürmann *Luke* HTKNT, 201 n. 95) attempt to find a source for Elmadam, as part of the group from Neri through Er, in corrupted forms of names in 1 Chr 3:17–18 MT, is particularly unconvincing, especially since there is serious question whether the genealogy at this point is based on 1 Chronicles, which does not have Elmadam in 3:17–18 MT or LXX (Marshall *Luke* NIGTC, 164; cf. Jeremias 1969: 295–96).

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STANLEY E. PORTER

**ELNAAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelnaʿam* (אֶלְנַעַם)]. Father of Jeribai and Joshaviah, two of David's warriors, in 1 Chr 11:46. These warriors are two of the sixteen which Chronicles lists in addition to David's "Thirty" brave men (cf. 1 Chr 11:26–41 = 2 Sam 23:24–39 see DAVID'S CHAMPIONS). The additional sixteen names listed in 1 Chr 11:41–47 appear to form a supplement, and may be connected with heroes from the Transjordan. These names may have been found in another source, perhaps the one which extends to 1 Chr 13:4, and could have been appended to the original list in order to show that from the beginning David was recognized as a leader even by the inhabitants of outlying and isolated regions. It is not possible to determine whether the list of additional names may be traced back to the time of David.

In the LXX the Codex Vaticanus B calls Joshaviah the son of Jeribai and lists Elnaam (Gk codex A = *elnaam*; codex B = *ellaam*) as a separate warrior. This variant, however, may be attributed to a textual confusion in the Hebrew text underlying the LXX: *bnw* ("his son") instead of *bny* ("sons of").

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STEPHEN PISANO

**ELNATHAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelnātān* (אֶלְנָתָן)]. 1. The son of Achbor, and a royal official (Heb *śār,* translated "prince" in RSV) during the reign of Jehoiakim (Jer 36:12). Elnathan appears to have been a member of a prominent Judean family. His father was probably Achbor ben Micaiah, one of the officials sent by Josiah to consult the prophetess Huldah on the occasion of the finding of the lawbook. See ACHBOR.

According to the MT of Jer 26:20–23, Elnathan led a deputation appointed by Jehoiakim to bring the prophet Uriah back from Egypt. The reliability of the MT is challenged by the LXX, which notes more generally that "the king sent men to Egypt." According to Talmon (1960: 180), the LXX preserves an earlier reading to which the MT tradition subsequently added details. Lachish Ostracon 3, dating to ca. 590 B.C.E. (*ANET*, 322), mentions a "Coniah son of Elnathan" who was dispatched to Egypt, although it is not clear what his mission was. Malamat (1950: note 18), assuming that the ostracon refers to the extradition of Uriah and should be dated to that time, prefers the reading of the ostracon to that of the MT, in effect removing Elnathan from participation in this deputation. Although it is possible that the Elnathan of Jer 26:22 may be identified with the father of Coniah, there is otherwise no connection between the extradition mentioned in Jer 26:20–23 and the mission associated with the Lachish ostracon.

Elnathan was also one of the officials present for a reading of Jeremiah's scroll (Jer 36:12; the LXX reads "Jonathan"), and was one of those officials who later urged Jehoiakim not to burn the scroll (Jer 36:25), underscoring his sympathy to the prophetic voice. The fact that Elnathan's name heads this list of officials may provide some support for the view that Elnathan was also Jehoiakim's father-in-law (see #2 below), particularly since the second name is probably not Delaiah, but the more important Gedaliah (cf. LXX), whom the Babylonians later appointed ruler of Judah.

**2.** The Jerusalemite, father of Nehushta, wife of King Jehoiakim and mother of his successor Jehoiachin (2 Kgs 24:8). This Elnathan is possibly the same as #1 above.

**3.** Three men called Elnathan (Ezra 8:16) are among those sent by Ezra to Iddo at Casiphia, with the request that Iddo provide those returning to Jerusalem with Levites for the temple (Ezra 8:15–20). Although it is possible that this small group included three different individuals named Elnathan (another member of this delegation bears the short form of the name, "Nathan"), this is unlikely. As Ezra 8:16 now reads, there are nine "leading men" (literally "heads") and two "men of insight." Some commentators favor the view that the names of the "men of insight" (Joiarib and Elnathan) are duplicates of the 5th and 6th names in the list (Jarib and Elnathan), and are to be regarded as a gloss (cf. BHS and 1 Esdr 8:43–44). If this reading is valid, the text does not distinguish between two groups; rather, all nine men are portrayed as "wise leaders." For the first of the two remaining occurrences of the name Elnathan in Ezra 8:16, a few mss read "Jonathan."

**4.** A governor of Judah during the Persian period unattested in the Bible. Among the bullae and seals from a postexilic Judean archive (the discovery site is unknown; it is known only that the bullae and seals were found in the Jerusalem region [Avigad 1976:1]) is a bulla inscribed *l ʾlntn pḥwʾ*. It is probable that *pḥwʾ* is an Aramaic form of the Hebrew *hpḥh* ("the governor") and that this inscription is to be read "Belonging to Elnathan the governor." This interpretation of *pḥwʾ* is supported by the fact that a seal from the same official archive is inscribed "Belonging to Shelomith, maidservant *(ʾamah)* of Elnathan the governor" (restoring the last word to read *pḥwʾ*). It is probable that Shelomith was a woman of high status; possibly she served the governor in some official administrative capacity. Scholarly debate on the dating of these artifacts (on paleographical grounds) continues. There is a wide range in the dating of the seal and bulla containing the name Elnathan (see survey in Stern 1982: 203–5). Avigad (1976: 35) and Talmon (*IDBSup,* 325) believe that Elnathan served as governor of Judah in the late 6th century.

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JOHN M. BERRIDGE

**ELOHIM.** See NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT.

**ELOHIST.** Anonymous author or authors of one of the four sources or collections of traditions which were combined, according to the documentary hypothesis, to form the Pentateuch. The symbol "E" was chosen because of the source's preference for the Hebrew word *Elohim* ("God") in referring to the Deity. "E" stands both for the author or authors of the source, and for the source itself.

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A. History of Scholarship
  1. E in 19th-Century Pentateuchal Criticism
  2. E in 20th-Century Pentateuchal Criticism
B. The Contents and Scope of E
C. Characteristic Theological Perspectives and Emphases
  1. Prophetic Leadership
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———

**A. History of Scholarship**

Modern Pentateuchal scholarship began in the early 1800s, when researchers developed the theory that the Pentateuch was a composite document rather than the unitary production of a single author, namely Moses. The first criterion to be used in identifying and separating the narrative strands was the occurrence of the divine names "Yahweh" and "Elohim," the latter being the general Hebrew term for "god" or "gods." By this criterion, however, only two sources could be identified.

**1. E in 19th-Century Pentateuchal Criticism.** Not until the middle of the 19th century was E recognized as a source separate from P. Like P, E referred to the Deity as Elohim in the stories about the pre-Mosaic period. However, E was now seen to differ from P both in date (E reflected the concerns of preexilic Israel) and in characteristics (E had a prophetic rather than a priestly bias). By the time of the classic formulation of the documentary hypothesis in the late 19th century, E was described as an 8th-century document from N Israel, a source which manifested the ethical concerns of prophets like Amos

and Hosea. E also emphasized the relative remoteness of God from any casual interchange with humans: in E, God is "Elohim," not the more personal "Yahweh," and he mainly reveals himself through dreams and visions, not through direct encounters.

**2. E in 20th-Century Pentateuchal Criticism.** One set of developments in scholars' theories about E reflects changing trends in Pentateuchal criticism as a whole; another set relates specifically to E.

**a. General Developments in Pentateuchal Criticism.** The most important development in 20th-century Pentateuchal criticism has been the realization that the Pentateuchal sources derive from oral traditions, and that oral traditions continued to play a part in the development of narratives until a relatively late date. This realization has led in turn to a widely accepted theory that both J and E were preceded by an oral epic, designated "G," which contained the original forms of many stories used by J and E. G is also thought to have contributed the main outline of the Pentateuch, starting from the stories reflecting the promise to the patriarchs and stretching through the Exodus and Sinai Covenant narratives to the traditions about Israel's period of wilderness wandering. The conquest of the promised land is the culmination of these Pentateuchal themes, which all look forward to a time of fulfillment. In the Davidic and Solomonic empires the promise implied in the conquest is itself fulfilled in an experience of national strength and unity (*PHOE*; NHPT).

From the perspective of that heady experience of power and fulfillment, it is believed, J for the first time put the G materials into writing as a kind of national epic for the kingdom of Judah. After the division of Solomon's kingdom, E wrote down a northern version of the old epic tradition—a version which reflects the peculiar interests and insights of northern prophetic groups. The date of J is now commonly given as the 10th century, but there is less agreement about the date of E. Some scholars still maintain an 8th-century date and relate E to classical prophecy (Ruppert 1967); others relate E's religious concerns to those of 9th-century prophecy, the period of Elijah and Elisha (*IDBSup*, 259–263). An even earlier dating which has been proposed relates E to the crisis period following immediately upon the breakup of Solomon's kingdom, and would thus place E in the late 10th century (Jenks 1977).

Almost every element in the above reconstruction has been challenged, in recent years, by scholars who are not convinced by the evidence that there ever was a common epic tradition, "G," (Conroy 1980) and who would place the composition of J and E and of the entire Pentateuch quite late in the preexilic and exilic periods (Van Seters 1975; Schmid 1976). The scholarly reconstruction sketched above remains, however, a good working hypothesis, even though it is a hypothesis which still needs constant testing and is always subject to revision (North 1982).

**b. Developments in Scholarship Specifically Relating to E.** The most commonly voiced criticism of the classic view of E has been the claim that the E narratives are not independent of J. This view tends to greatly reduce the amount of "E" material, and the E narratives which remain are viewed as deliberate corrective supplements to J. This process of correction by means of supplementation has been compared to the production of *midrashim* in later Jewish tradition.

The crucial question in answering such theories concerns the precise amount and scope of E material, and especially whether there are E narratives and other tradition units which have no J parallels. As will be seen below, the nature and the number of E traditions makes such a "midrash" or supplement theory unlikely, pointing instead to a once independent narrative source.

Another consideration is the mention in E passages of narrative motifs which do not appear in the present Pentateuch. For example, Gen 42:21 and 50:16–17 both refer to scenes which must have been part of E's original narrative, but which must have been eliminated by the JE redactor when J and E were combined. This indicates that E was originally an independent and sizeable literary composition of which only fragments still appear in our Pentateuch (Wolff 1972).

**B. The Contents and Scope of E**

The Genesis patriarchal narratives contain three sets of double narratives: Gen 12:10–20 (parallel: 20:1–18); 16:4–14 (parallel: 21:8–21); and 26:26–33 (parallel: 21:22–34). In each pair listed, the second is attributed to E. These sets of stories, of which one actually exists in a triple form (see Gen 26:1–16), tell

the stories of Abraham and Sarah at the court of a foreign king, of the expulsion of Hagar, and of a controversy and covenant with Abimelech at Beersheba in relation to rights of access to water wells.

These parallel narratives constitute the most important source of information about the characteristic traits of E, for here the E narratives can be analyzed in contrast to similar J traditions. Characteristically, the E versions of these triple and double narratives use *Elohim* instead of *Yahweh;* they focus on the nature of divine revelations or disclosures to humanity, which in E generally occur in dreams; they include reflections on problems of sin, guilt, and innocence; and they emphasize the "fear of God."

Using these E characteristics as a starting point, at least the following Pentateuchal passages can be ascribed to E:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Abraham* | Gen 15:1–6, 13–16; 20:1–17; 21:8–21; 21:22–34; 22:1–14, 19. |
| *Jacob* | Gen 28:11–12, 17–18, 20–22; 31:4–16, 17–24, 25–42, 45, 49, 50, 53–54; 31:5–11; 35:1–8. |
| *Joseph* | Gen 37:20–24, 28*a*, 29–30, 36; chaps. 40–41; 42:1*a*, 2–3, 6–7, 11*b*, 13–26, 28*b*–38; 45:2–3, 5–15; 46:1–4; 48:1–2, 7–14, 17–22; 50:15–26. |
| *Moses* | Exod 1:15–21; 3:1, 4*b*, 6, 9–13, 15; 4:17, 18, 20*b*; 13:17–19; 14:5*a*, 19*a*; 15:20–21; 17:4–7, 8–16; 18:1–27. |
| *The Covenant* | Exod 19:2*b*–3*a*, 4–6, 16–17, 19; 20:18–21; 24:1–2, 9–11; 24:12–15*a*, 18*b*; 32:1–6, 15–20; 33:3*b*–6, 7–11. |
| *Wilderness Wandering* | Num 11:1–3, 16–17, 24–30; chap. 12; 22:2–21, 36–40; 22:41–23:26. |
| *Moses' Farewell and Death* | Deut 31:14–15, 23; 34:1–12. |

Some scholars would, in addition, ascribe portions of the Book of Joshua to E (Bright *Joshua* IB, Weiser 1961; Eissfeldt 1965); the Shechem covenant narrative of Joshua 24 has even been described as the culmination and conclusion of E. It seems preferable, however, to attribute such "Elohistic" segments of the Deuteronomistic History to northern tradition schools which continued to share E's theological outlook down to the end of the life of the kingdom of Israel. It is difficult, in any case, to separate E from "proto-Deuteronomic" materials, because of the similarity in outlook.

An "E strand" has also been claimed by at least one scholar in the Primeval History, Genesis 1–11 (Mowinckel 1937). It is much more likely, however, that all of the non-P material in Genesis 1–11 is J, and that minor discrepancies or inconsistencies within that J material simply point up the disparity and the antiquity of the earlier narrative fragments and lists which J has combined.

**C. Characteristic Theological Perspectives and Emphases**

From the above outline of E's contents it can be seen that E is represented in every major segment of the Pentateuchal traditions: the promise to the fathers, Moses and the Exodus from Egypt, the Sinai covenant, the wilderness wandering, the Balaam oracles, and the end of Moses' life after he transfers his authority to Joshua.

This sketch of E's contents lends weight to the belief that E, prior to its being combined with J, was an independent narrative strand stemming from a northern version of G, the common epic tradition of the premonarchical period. Still, the scope of E is narrower than J's world-historical scope, primarily because E does not contain a primeval history. That is, E does not begin with a depiction of Yahweh's creation of humankind, but with the divine address to Abraham, Israel's ancestor (Gen 15:1–6). At the same time, this primary focus on Israel puts E closer to the old premonarchic epic tradition, which likewise lacked J's universalistic, world-historical scope. There is more that characterizes E, however, than this focus on Israel as "a people dwelling alone, and not reckoning itself among the nations" (Num 23:9, from E's version of Balaam's blessing on Israel). Certain other major theological perspectives and emphases are evident.

**1. Prophetic Leadership.** E's overall narrative is built of segments which focus on four specific Israelite ancestors: Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. E presents these four leaders, whether explicitly or implicitly, as prophets who receive revelations from God in visions (Abraham, Gen 15:1; Moses, Exod 3:4b), and in dreams (Jacob, Gen 28:11–12, 17–18; 31:4–16; Joseph, Gen 38:20–24). Abraham is explicitly called a prophet (Gen 20:7), while the call narrative in which Moses is addressed (Exodus 3) suggests that he is a prophet. Both Abraham and Moses appear in opposition to kings, while Joseph serves the Pharaoh of Egypt as his most significant source of divine revelation and guidance. Joseph is led by God to interpret Pharaoh's dreams and to exercise leadership because Joseph possesses the Spirit of God (Gen 41:38–41). Abraham intercedes for King Abimelech and heals the barrenness of the women of Abimelech's household (Gen 20:17). In the circles responsible for the E traditions, in short, Israel's leaders are idealized (e.g., Abraham in Gen 20:11–13; Jacob in Gen 31:9–13) in such a way that their ethically questionable behavior is excused and their forceful prophetic leadership is counterposed to the power of kings. Monarchy is seen in the E source as a potentially dangerous institution; royal pretensions to godlike power must be challenged by inspired prophetic leaders. Even Balaam, who is not an Israelite, is presented as an inspired spokesman of Israel's God ("The word that God puts in my mouth, that must I speak" Num 22:38); he is a prophet who resists the king's command to curse Israel.

**2. The Fear of God.** Several significant E passages are linked together by the repeated mention of the fear of God. Abraham, as he receives his initial call is told not to fear (Gen 15:1); Abraham had said that Sarah was his sister in order to avoid trouble in a city (Gerar) where he suspected there was no fear of God (Gen 20:11). Later, Abraham is tested by the command to sacrifice his son, Isaac. God knows from Abraham's obedient behavior, however, that he is one who "fears God" (Gen 22:12). Jacob is filled with awe-like fear at the realization of God's presence at Bethel, as revealed in a dream (Gen 28:16–17). Joseph is likewise one who "fears God," (Gen 42:19). When the Hebrew midwives heroically defy the orders of the Pharaoh to kill the male infants of the enslaved people, their defiance is a result of their fear of God (Exod 1:17, 21). In the Moses call narrative Moses avoids looking at God who addresses him because he is "afraid to look on God." Moses later appoints judges to try people's cases, being advised by Jethro to choose men who fear God (Exod 18:21). Finally, the Sinai theophany fills the people with fear so that they beg Moses to act as their intermediary with God (Exod 20:18–20).

The fear of God in E thus symbolizes a number of different human experiences and responses. It is not only the numinous awe engendered by an encounter with the holy, as in Jacob's dream at Bethel and the people's awe at Sinai, it is also the obedience to moral demands of God for basic human decency, as in the narrative of Abraham and Sarah at Gerar. It is the root, most profoundly of all, of a father's obedience to a mysterious and terrible command to slay his only son. For E, not only awe but the covenant values of obedience and loyalty are embodied in the fear of God (Wolff 1972).

**3. Covenant.** The centerpiece of E's theology of history is the covenant of Israel with God at Mt. Horeb ("Sinai" in the J and P traditions). E's narrative has been used by the JE redactor as the base for his entire presentation of the event, with the J Sinai traditions worked in secondarily, primarily in Exodus 34. A crucial question is whether the Decalog and the Covenant Code (Exod 20:1–17; 21:22–23:33) are to be ascribed to E, or whether these torah materials have been inserted secondarily, perhaps because of the frequent use of these legal/teaching materials in liturgical covenant contests. The balance of evidence seems to cast doubt on the older assumption that these law materials were part of E's collection, though many scholars (e.g., Weiser 1961) still describe them as "E."

Apart from these disputed law collections, E's covenant narrative lays the base for the entire pericope by depicting God's revelation of himself on Sinai, where he dwells or is enthroned. The role of the people is emphasized in E: because of their fear at the awesome theophany, they entreat Moses to act as their spokesman. Moses interprets the fearsome appearance of theophanic phenomena, however, in another characteristic E theme, as a "test" of the people.

The covenant ceremony of Exodus 24 is presented in two parallel narratives (vv. 1–2, 9–11; and vv. 3–8). It is in vv. 1–2, 9–11 that we find E's account of the conclusion of the covenant. Here the elders of the people, as well as Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu, worship afar off while Moses draws near to God. In the

sequel (vv 9–11), the elders and leaders eat a sacred meal in the presence of God on the mountain; it is a matter of wonder that God does not harm them for all his numinous power.

E's narrative of the Sinai covenant continues with the startling defection of Aaron, who fashions a golden calf which he proclaims as a representation of "your God, O Israel, who brought you out of the land of Egypt." This golden calf narrative has been interpreted as an indirect polemic against the installation of similar images for the people's worship at Bethel and Dan shortly after the division of Solomon's kingdom into the nations of Israel and Judah. If so, this narrative confirms the theory of E's northern provenance and suggests an early date for the composition of E, perhaps a time when the new cultic establishments at Bethel and Dan were still fresh developments. At any rate, E's narrative of apostasy and rebellion at Horeb emphasizes that the covenant was soon broken by priests and people—broken even before they had departed from the sacred mountain. This helps explain E's last Sinai narrative, which relates the establishment of the Tent of Meeting (Exod 33:3b–6, 7–11). Here God will meet his appointed representatives, Moses and Joshua, to spare the rebellious people the awesome impact of his direct presence among them.

Israel's rebellion at Sinai also coincides with E's rather gloomy view of the propensity of Israel to violate her covenant with God and to transgress the moral values which are part of covenant law. Here as elsewhere, E castigates idolatry (cf. Gen 31:34–35; 35:1–4) and suggests that Israel can avert deserved destruction only by the intercession of a prophetic figure like Moses, with whom God speaks "face to face, as a man speaks with his friend." The consciousness of human sin and guilt which we saw in the figure of Abimelech (Genesis 20) is the direct result of E's emphasis on the necessity of obedience to the demands of the covenant.

**4. Theology of History.** E's understanding of the history of Israel's life with God is characterized, as has been said, by a narrower scope than either J's or P's. Instead of beginning with the creation of the cosmos (P) or the inhabited world of man (J), E begins with Abraham.

Israel's life-story is thus the only arena E knows for the encounter of man with God. The life of the other peoples of the world, whether they impinge on Israel violently (as in the battle with Amalek, Exod 17:8–16), or peacefully (as in the Joseph narrative) is almost incidental to the sober fact that Israel's ultimate struggle is her own struggle to render obedience to God.

In its depiction of this struggle, E contrasts the disobedience and idolatry of the people, as in the golden calf narrative of Exodus 32, with the courageous loyalty of Israel's four great leaders, Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. At critical junctures in history, God subjects Israel's obedience and her "fear of God" to deliberate stress; these stress events "test" the response of men (Gen 22:1; Exod 20:20). Ideally, however, it will be all of the people, not just the great leaders, who will be God's "prophets." "Would that all the Lord's people were prophets, that the Lord would put his spirit upon them" (Num 11:29).

In its presentation of historical events, E is inclined more than J to focus on the specifically religious aspects of human life—on prayer, sacrifices, pilgrimages, and prophetic revelations (Gen 20:3, 17; 28:17; 35:1–8; Exod 32:1–6, 15–20). Indeed, the goal of history for Israel is understood in religious—almost institutionally religious—terms: to be for God "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Exod 19:4–6). E also contains a number of passages, especially in speeches of the major characters, where past and future are linked meaningfully to the present, with God's guidance of events as the connecting thread. Such an interpretation appears, for example, in Joseph's speeches to his brothers (Gen 45:7–14; 50:15–26), and in Moses' address to Israel in Exod 20:18–20. The resulting implication is that history's meaning is understood by inspired prophetic leaders, and that they perceive the goal of the historical process in thoroughly religious terms: "Do not fear; for God has come to prove you, and that the fear of him may be before your eyes, that you may not sin" (Exod 20:20). This strongly didactic and parenetic presentation of history—so similar to that of Deuteronomy—is but one of the indications that E and the Deuteronomic traditions shared a common origin, probably in the N kingdom.

**D. Provenance and Date**

There can be little doubt that E's provenance is the N kingdom. Evidence for this N origin includes the emphasis on N sites such as Bethel (Gen 28:11–12, 17–18, 20–22; 35:1–8), and the similarities between E's vocabulary (e.g. Horeb) and the characteristic vocabulary of Deuteronomy.

Even more importantly, E shares significant theological themes and emphases with Deuteronomy and Hosea and with the Samuel and Elijah traditions as well. Such shared themes include: emphasis on the covenant and covenant obedience, elevation of the figure of Moses, warnings of the danger of idolatry to the integrity of the covenant people, and a focus on the leadership of prophets as the counterbalance to the pretensions of royalty to absolute power. It may even be that the figure of Samuel provided the prototype for E's figure of Moses, which in turn influences the portrayal of Elijah. At any rate, it seems probable that all of these prophet-oriented traditions were preserved in related schools or tradition circles.

If it seems certain that E fits into a body of N traditions which stretches across the centuries between Samuel and Hosea, it is less certain when the composition of E should be dated. From the originally proposed 8th-century date, scholarly opinion has shifted in the last decades to an earlier date. One proposal has been that E should be dated in the late 10th century and interpreted as an attempt on the part of prophetic or levitical-prophetic groups to exert religious leadership over Jeroboam I (Jenks 1977). This proposal focuses attention on the parallels between the golden calf episode of Exodus 32 and the narrative of Jeroboam's establishment of calf images at Bethel and Dan (1 Kings 12). It also relates E to the opposition to dynastic monarchy which is evident in the stories about Saul's rise to kingship against the steady opposition of the prophet Samuel.

More commonly proposed as an earlier date for E is the 9th century. Here the emphasis is on the parallels between E's Moses and the figure of Elijah, as well as on E's preoccupation with covenant loyalty and the danger of idolatry. Here again, the author or authors of E would presumably be conservative prophetic circles in the N kingdom who, like Elijah, stood up for loyalty to Yahweh against idolatrous monarchs like Ahab.

The date assigned to E will, in the last analysis, depend on a given scholar's total reconstruction of the religious history of the kingdom of Israel. What is evident is that E intends to put forward a corrective—indeed a prophetic—call for religious loyalty and covenant obedience at some point in Israel's history which is sensed by prophetic groups as a turning point, and therefore a time for critical decisions to be made by the nation and its leaders. E's urgent plea in this time of decision is not only for a correct institutional balance between kings and prophets, but for a deeply-felt religious response of loyalty and awe before God.

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**ELON** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēlôn* (אֵלוֹן)*; ʾêlōn* (אֵילֹן)*; ʾêlôn* (אֵילוֹן)]. ELONITES. Three persons in the OT bear this name, which means "Oak" or "Terebinth."

**1.** One of three eponymous sons of Zebulun who went down to Egypt in time of famine (Gen 46:14) and whose descendants are named in a tribal roster of the wilderness period (Num 26:26).

**2.** A Hittite who was father of one of the wives of Esau. That the daughter is named Basemath in Gen 26:34, but Adah in Gen 36:2 probably reflects adjustments of Edomite genealogy in line with shifting sociopolitical alignments.

**3.** One of the leaders of Israel, unaptly called "minor judges" (Mullen 1982). He was a member of the tribe of Zebulun and "judged Israel" for ten years (12:11–12). He was buried at Aijalon (mentioned only here, location unknown) in the territory of Zebulun. The personal name Elon and the place name Aijalon are identical in consonantal spelling and may reflect on etiological interest. With no other information given, it is unclear which name is being explained by the other (see further Boling *Judges* AB, 215–16).

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**ELON** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾêlôn* (אֵילוֹן)]. One of the villages included in the tribal territory of Dan, before the tribe's migration N. The context suggests that it is located between Aijalon and Timnath, i.e., S of the Nahal Ayyalon and N of Nahal Soreq. However, it is possible that Elon is a variant for AIJALON or ELON-BETH-HANAN.

**ELON-BETH-HANAN** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾêlôn bêt ḥānān* (אֵילוֹן בֵּית חָנָן)]. A locality enumerated within Solomon's second administrative district (1 Kgs 4:9). Although the general geographic setting is defined by the context as falling within the old tribal territory of Dan, textual as well as historical difficulties prevent a definitive identification. On the basis of the LXX's reading *heōs* (until) and the Vulgate's *et* (and) following the word *ʾêlôn,* many scholars (e.g. Elitzur 1982: 47; Naʾaman 1986: 115; but cf. Mazar *EncMiqr* 1: 266–67) regard *ʾêlôn* and *bêt ḥānān* as two separate places. A prevalent proposal which has textual support from the Codex Alexandrinus equates *ʾêlôn* with the well-known Aijalon (Heb *ʾayyālôn,* present-day Yālo; M.R. 152138). However, it is unlikely that an original reading *ʾayyālôn* would have suffered textual corruption. Moreover, in Josh 19:42–43 we find *ʾayyālôn* and *ʾêlôn* listed separately, the former grouped with sites in the N of ancient Dan, the latter grouped with sites to the SW and W. As for *bêt ḥānān,* we can look either to Beit ʿAnān, some seven km E of Yālo, or along with *ʾêlôn* to some as yet unidentified site to the W. Neither proposal is wholly satisfactory, as Beit ʿAnān was probably incorporated within the district of Benjamin, and the extent of Solomon's control over the Philistine lowland is debated (cf. 1 Kgs 9:16).

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Naʾaman, N. 1986. *Borders and Districts in Biblical Historiography.* Jerusalem Biblical Studies 4. Jerusalem.
DAVID A. GLATT

**ELOTH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾelôt* (אֵלוֹת)*; ʾêlôt* (אֵילוֹת)]. Alternate form of ELATH.

**ELPAAL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelpaʿal* (אֶלְפַּעַל)]. A Benjaminite name appearing three times in the longer Benjaminite genealogy offered by the Chronicler (1 Chr 8:11, 12, 18). Elpaal, whose name has been understood to mean "God has worked," is singled out in this list as the father of the builders of "Ono

and Lod with its towns." Since the list of Elpaal's sons in v 18 reveals no similarity with the sons of Elpaal listed in v 12, it is possible that two separate individuals are in view here, or that the name Elpaal reflects a strong clan name whose branches developed independently (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 84).
SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

**ELPELET** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelpāleṭ* (אֶלְפָּלֶט)]. See ELIPHELET (PERSON).

**ELTEKEH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾeltĕqē* (אֶלְתְּקֵא); *ʾeltĕqēh* (אֶלְתְּקֵה)]. The first of four levitical cities allocated to the tribe of Dan (Josh 21:23). Eltekeh does not have a parallel in the Chronicles list (1 Chr 6:69). Eltekeh also appears in the inheritance list of Dan (Josh 19:44).

There is an important reference to Eltekeh in the Annals of Sennacherib. Here a detailed record is given of Sennacherib's military campaign into Palestine in 701 B.C. From Sennacherib's description, it seems that he entered Palestine from the Phoenician coast, advancing along the coastal cities, taking Jaffa, Beneberak, Azor, and Beth-Dagon. The march continued to Ashdod, where he met the Egyptians, whom Hezekiah, the Judean, and Sidqia, king of Ashkelon, had called for help. In a battle at Eltekeh, Sennacherib defeated the Egyptian forces as well as the city (*ANET,* 287).

Two sites have been proposed as the location of Eltekeh. Albright (1924: 8) first identified Eltekeh with Khirbet el-Mukenna‹ (Heb Tel Miqne; M.R. 136133), a site located 20 km E of the Mediterranean on the E border of the coastal plain. One km to the E are the hills of the Shephelah. The valley to the N and E of the tell is called Wadi el-Mekkenna‹. On the 1969 Israeli survey map, the river flowing to the N of Khirbet el-Mukenna‹ is called Eltekeh, while the river to the S is called Evot.

In proposing that Eltekeh lay at Khirbet el-Mukenna‹, Albright contended that it "fits the biblical and extra-biblical indications perfectly, better than any other possible location" (1924: 8). He found no evidence of Bronze Age occupation but a large number of early Iron sherds (12th–7th cent. B.C.), including Philistine ones.

A number of surface surveys were conducted between 1924 and 1957. Naveh in his 1957 survey proposed that Kh. el-Mukenna‹/Tel Miqne should be associated with biblical Ekron (Naveh 1958), a position that is widely held today. In 1981 an archaeological excavation there commenced under the direction of S. Gitin and T. Dothan. Gitin (1989: 52) has argued that Albright did not recognize the total extent of the site, which consists of a large lower tell of 40 acres and a northern acropolis. Further, while Albright did not find any LB material, this period is now well defined at Khirbet el-Mukenna‹. On the basis of the evidence, Dothan and Gitin refer to the site in all their reports as T. Miqne-Ekron. For a description of excavations at Kh. el-Mukenna‹, see EKRON (PLACE).

When Khirbet el-Mukenna‹ was identified with biblical Ekron, it became necessary to find a site to associate with Eltekeh. The second site that has been identified with Eltekeh, although always with a question mark, is Tell esh-Shalaf (M.R. 128144), located 16 km NW of Mukenna‹ and 3 km due W of the modern technological center Rehovot, on the coastal plain. About 4 km to the SE is Jabneh, a major road junction in ancient Israel from which one road ran N to Beth-Dagon, while the other turned off to ancient Lod. Only 9 km E of the Mediterranean, the tell has fallen victim to the winds of the sea and an outspreading of human occupation. Particularly from the W, Tell esh-Shalaf is visible from a distance because it is a relatively high mound compared to most others in the area. The height affords a view of the coastal plain, the Mediterranean, and the Shephelah in all directions except the NE, where three or four small hills block the view. However, the tell is unimpressive and is not widely known.

Since 1957 a few topographical surveys have taken place at Tell esh-Shalaf. On the first survey one MB II tomb was found as well as pottery from the LB Age, Iron Ib–c, Iron IIa, Persian, and Hellenistic periods. Three years later Mazar (1960: 73) identified characteristic pottery from the middle Iron Age, especially the 8th century B.C., as well as from the early Iron Age, including Philistine. When the Levitical City survey team visited the site eleven years later, only one 10th century sherd was found (Peterson 1977: 296–316).

The identification of Tell esh-Shalaf with biblical Eltekeh is not convincing since it is located too far to the S. While Dothan, Gitin, and others place Ekron at Khirbet el-Mukenna‹, they offer no alternative for the identification of Eltekeh except Tell esh-Shalaf. Boling points out that the argument that Eltekeh was too insignificant for a site as large as Mukenna‹ does not hold, because Eltekeh was "prominent enough for Sennacherib's scribe to use it as a major point of reference." (1985: 30). At the present time Khirbet el Mukenna‹ remains the best candidate for Eltekeh.

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JOHN L. PETERSON

**ELTEKON** (PLACE) [Heb ›*eltĕqôn* (אֶלְתְּקוֹן)]. Town situated in the north-central hill country of Judah (Josh 15:59), within the same district as Beth-Zur and Halhul. The only reference to this settlement occurs in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). Abel (*GP* 314) proposed an identification with Khirbet ed-Deir, located approximately 9 km W and slightly S of Bethlehem (M.R. 160122). Although this location is suitable in geographic terms, archaeological verification is lacking.

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WADE R. KOTTER

**ELTOLAD** (PLACE) [Heb ›*eltôlad* (אֶלְתּוֹלַד)]. Var. TOLAD. A settlement of the tribe of Simeon. Eltolad occurs twice in Joshua: in 15:30 it is listed among the settlements of Judah, while in 19:4 it is one of the towns of Simeon. Since the tribe of Simeon was assimilated to Judah at an early date, Eltolad is recorded under both tribes. In 1 Chr 4:29, another list of the Simeonite towns, Tolad is placed between Ezem and Bethuel. This is exactly the place Eltolad occupies in Josh 15:30 and 19:4 (in Josh 15:30 Chesil is a corruption, and in Josh 19:4 Bethul is a variant, for Bethuel). Some texts of Joshua have "El tolad"; Tolad is an abbreviated form of that found in Joshua.

Though the present literary context of the Judean town list is set in the period of Joshua, its original setting was as part of a post-Solomonic administrative division of the southern kingdom. The date for the establishment of this system is debated, with suggestions ranging from the early 9th to the late 7th centuries B.C. Eltolad is in the southernmost district of Judah, the Negeb.

The location of Eltolad is problematic. An ostracon found at Beer-sheba mentions Tolad in a context apparently having to do with the distribution of wine (Aharoni 1973: 71 and *LBHG*, 260). Eltolad is perhaps to be sought in the vicinity of Beer-sheba (M.R. 134072).

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JEFFREY R. ZORN

**ELUL** [Heb ›*ĕlûl* (אֱלוּל)]. The sixth month of the Hebrew calendar, roughly corresponding to August and September. See CALENDARS (ANCIENT ISRAELITE AND EARLY JEWISH).

**ELUSA** (M.R. 117056). A city in the Negeb, some 20 km SW of Beer-sheba.

**A. Identification**

The name of the site is preserved in the Arab form el-Khalasa, possibly deriving from the common Nabatean personal name Halsat or Halisu (Elusa in its Greek form). Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5.16.10) lists it among the cities of Idumea W of the Jordan. On the Peutinger map, Elusa is marked at a distance of 24 Roman miles from Oboda and 71 from Jerusalem, on the way from Haila (=Aila). Libanius mentions it several times (*Ep.* 101, 132, 532, 536) as a city in *Palaestina Tertia,* formerly in Arabia. It is marked as an important border town on the Medaba map, and is named el-Khalus in the Graeco-Arabic papyri of Nessana. The Semitic name "Halusa" is found in the Jerusalem Targum of Gen 16:7, where it is appended to the name "Shur" as a kind of explanation or description.

**B. Investigation**

Elusa was discovered and identified in 1838 by E. Robinson, who estimated that the ruins covered 25 or 30 acres, about one-tenth of the actual size of the site (1856: 200–201). In 1870 E. H. Palmer (1871) estimated Elusa to be much larger, but stated that it was utterly destroyed. Palmer stated that by using the site as a stone quarry, the Arabs of Gaza had destroyed Elusa completely. Greek pre-Christian and Byzantine tombstones were discovered in 1904 by A. Jaussen, A. Savignac, and L. H. Vincent (1905). E. Huntington (1911) visited Elusa in 1909 and estimated its population to have been 20,000. The first attempt to draw a general plan of the site was by C. L. Woolley and T. E. Lawrence in 1914, who also discovered the earliest known Nabatean inscription, which was found in one of the cemeteries. The 21 Greek inscriptions which they published range from 426 to 565 C.E. Hellenistic black glazed and Nabatean pottery was found on the site by J. H. Iliffe of the Department of Antiquities. Exploratory excavations were made in 1938 which sought to establish the history of the site by excavating its dumps. After a preliminary survey by A. Negev in 1972, exploratory excavations began in 1973 show much still exists, even after extensive stone plundering. Further excavations were made in 1979 and in 1980.

**C. History**

Elusa apparently belongs to the first group of road stations established by the Nabateans in the 3d century B.C.E. or earlier, on the trade route from Arabia to Gaza. This is supported by the archaic Nabatean inscription dated to 168 B.C.E., and by the Hellenistic pottery. Painted Nabatean and early Roman pottery attest to the occupation of Elusa in the Middle Nabatean Period (ca. 30 B.C.E.–50/70 C.E.). In the Late Nabatean Period (2d–3d centuries C.E.) and Late Roman period it became one of the most important cities of the Provincia Arabia, and later of *Palaestina Tertia.* Christianity seems to have penetrated Elusa after the visit of St. Hilarion in the middle of the 4th century, but paganism died hard, as attested by late non-Christian Greek inscriptions. Elusa was certainly a Christian town by the beginning of the 5th century, when its bishop is mentioned in conjunction with the visit of St. Nilus at Elusa. Local bishops who bore Nabatean-Arabian names participated in the church councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451). Nevertheless an official inscription found in the theater of Elusa, of 454/5 C.E., bears no signs of Christianity. The city of Elusa, in *Palaestina Tertia,* is mentioned by Hierocles (6th century C.E.) and by Georgios Cyprios (7th century C.E.). As attested by Theodosius and Antoninus of Placentia, Elusa must have been an important station on the pilgrims' road to Sinai. As a district capital, Elusa is frequently mentioned in the Nessana papyri. It still retained its position late after the Arab conquest, and is mentioned in a document of 689 C.E. found at Nessana. The city was abandoned by 800 C.E.

**D. Excavations**

The purposes of the exploratory excavations in 1973 were to refute the legend of the total destruction of the site, to study the reasons for the disappearance of ancient remains, and to determine the extent of the ancient town. Three soundings were made on the W half of the 250-acre site, which is limited between two dry rivers Nahal Besor and Nahal Atadim. Area A is one of the large city dumps, noted already by earlier researchers and located on the W and E borders of the site. The purpose of excavating these areas was to study the history of Elusa by collecting as many small finds as possible (pottery, glass, coins). Contrary to expectations these "dump heaps" contained mostly dust and sand, and very little pottery. These huge heaps consisted mainly of windblown dust and sand (Elusa is situated in the heart of huge sand dunes that extend from the sea), which the city had constantly to battle. The thick cover of sand and dust consequently protected most of the ancient buildings after Elusa was deserted.

Area B is a tower to the E of area A. At this place Woolley and Lawrence marked a gate in the city wall. The ground floor of the tower and remains of an upper floor were buried in sand, but it was not connected with any city wall. Ground surveys identified two lines of towers, one on the N, facing Nahal Atadim, which included the tower in area B, and another on the S, above the bank of Nahal Besor. These date to the Late Roman period and were probably manned by the "Keeper of Peace," referred to by Libanius. In area C, S of area B, is a 10 × 5 m pool, preserved to its full depth of 2 m, which was part of the city's water supply. It was constructed in the Late Roman period and was repaired twice, once in the same period, and again in the Byzantine period.

The discovery of Nabatean capitals, bases, and other decorated architectural members on the E part of the site prompted an additional probe (area D) in the NE part of Elusa. These excavations revealed a large house in an excellent state of preservation. The house was originally built in the Nabatean period, possibly in the 2d century C.E., but it was apparently expanded in the Byzantine period, as attested by a capital decorated by a cross flanked by two birds. At the S end of the E quarter was discovered a Nabatean theater, near which the outlines of a large church were observed.

**1. The Theater.** The theater is entirely artificial, built on level ground. It consists of two separate components, the *cavea* and the *scaenae frons.* The *cavea* (35 m in diameter) is founded against a structure consisting of two heavy parallel semicircular walls (the outer wall is 1.70 m wide, and the distance between the two is 2.97 m). The walls are built of large hammer-dressed blocks of hard limestone. The space between the walls, normally used in other contemporary theaters for the placement of *vomitoria*, was filled at Elusa with a hard-packed mixture of Early Roman-Middle Nabatean pottery and glass, not later than the middle of the 1st century C.E. The *cavea* is of hard concrete consisting of gray mortar mixed with quarry refuse and has nine or ten rows of seats, separated by 0.55-m-wide gangways. In the middle of the *cavea* is a 2.90 × 2.80 m paved box, apparently for the directors of ceremonies. In the orchestra, facing the box, is a small base (1.0 × 0.80 m) approached by two steps, possibly for a statue (the lower part of a life-size statue of white marble, showing two sandaled feet, was found in the debris). The orchestra is paved with blocks of limestone.

The *scaenae frons* is 31.30 m long, and consists of two rectangular towers—one on the N, the other on the S—and of a solid wall 1.42 m wide. Both towers had steps leading to their roofs, from which one reached the roofs of the vaulted *parodoi* and the *cavea.* In the *scaenae frons* were the three regular doors. In the debris of the central door, two classic Nabatean doorpost capitals were found, and an inscription of a later date was found in the debris of the N door. While the pottery found in the fill of the theater is dated to Aretas IV (9 B.C.E.–40 C.E.), within the *cavea* and in the N tower were found numerous pottery vessels of the Late Roman–early Byzantine period, attesting for a later use of the theater. This is confirmed also by the Greek dedicatory inscription mentioned above, which reads: "During the governorship of the most magnificent and most glorious Flavius Demarchus was made the pavement of the old (or: in front of the) theater, up to the old pavement, by the charge of the citizen Abraamius son of Zenobius. In the year 349" (349 Arabian Era = 454/5 C.E.). Despite its relatively late date, there are no signs of Christianity in this inscription. There is a remote possibility that the theater was still used for the performance of pagan cults even at this late period. W of the theater rises a 3-m-high wall; the relation between the wall and the theater has not been established. In the Byzantine period a dwelling was built against this wall, facing the theater.

**2. The East Church.** Approximately 36 m N of the theater is the East Church, apparently the cathedral of Elusa. This building (77.40 × 29.60 m) is the largest church in the Negeb and one of the largest in the Holy Land. To the W is a spacious atrium (28 × 32 m) with four porticoes (8 × 9 columns). The E portico is approached by a monumental flight of steps extending along its whole length. Like the rest of the basilica it is paved by large slabs of Proconesian marble. The columns of the portico were, however, made of limestone segments. Three doors lead into the partly excavated basilica. There were ten columns and two engaged pilasters in each row. The monolithic columns (only one was found), bases, and large Corinthian capitals were made of the same imported marble. The sanctuary consists of three apses. Most of the space of the central apse (5.65 m in diameter) is occupied by a marble-covered seven-step structure

of the base of the bishop's seat, the largest known in the Christian world. The walls of the apse were also faced with marble. The unusual size of the bishop's seat forced the moving of the large marble altar (2.60 × 2.0 m) from its regular place on to the bema. The bema is T-shaped, deep in the middle and narrow in front of the side apses. Broken chancel posts and screens decorated with Christian symbols were found in the debris. Special care was given to the S apse. At the back of the chancel a small square was cut off by a subsidiary chancel. At this space a reliquary was placed on a small altar supported by one leg (fragments of the leg, altar table, and reliquary were found in the debris). The floor of the apse was decorated by a large star made in opus sectile. A marble hexagonal preaching pulpit, placed to the NW of the bema, completed the church furniture. The pulpit was supported by a small marble capital richly decorated by windblown leaves, painted in crimson and plated with gold. One face of the capital is occupied by an eagle of spread wings with a cross on its chest. In the debris in the basilica were found numerous small glass mosaic cubes of various colors (some gilded), large white tesserae, and clay roof tiles. It seems that the large tesserae come from the floor of the gallery above the aisles, whereas the small cubes pertain to the decoration of its balustrade. The wooden beams covered by the clay tiles were robbed, together with the marble columns. Chapels and dependencies were along both sides of the building, but these have hardly been investigated.

Excavations E of the basilica, behind the lateral apses, indicate that this church was originally a monoapsidal building with rectangular rooms at the sides of the single central apse. At a later date the lateral apses were added. A similar phenomenon has been observed in the churches of Sobata. A. Negev attributes these innovations to a change which took place in the performance of the cult of saints and martyrs, which occupied a most prominent place in the Christian cult of this region. At the beginning, the reliquary was at the back of the S side room; it was moved to the front of the apse at a later stage. With these changes, the central apse was made smaller by the construction of an additional shell against the original wall, both of which were faced with marble.

No dating material was found in the church, but it apparently still existed after the Islamic conquest of the Negeb. This is supported by the fact that each of the nine Corinthian capitals so far discovered has had one face damaged by iconoclasts, which almost certainly was done by order of the Moslem conquerors. Tentatively, the church could have been built at about 350–400 C.E.; the structural changes probably took place about 450–500 C.E. The excavators are of the opinion that the spacious atrium of the East Church, larger than any other in the Negeb, similar in plan to the forecourt of the Nabatean temples, could have formed part of a large Nabatean sanctuary, which also included the theater. This point has not yet been verified.

**3. The Cemeteries.** Explorers had earlier observed large cemeteries to the N, E, and S of Elusa. An additional cemetery was found immediately SE of the theater. Although ancient, the tombs also contained burials of the 19th/20th centuries. Investigations were conducted in a cemetery ca. 400–500 m E of Elusa, where the terrain is covered by pottery of the Middle Nabatean Period. Several family tombs were discovered, each surrounded by a thick wall. In one plot, an ashlar-built subterranean monument was found under a fill of heavy boulders. This tomb was lined and covered with slabs of stone, and was used for secondary burial. In the same area were found two *triclinia*, which were used in funerary meals. The Middle Nabatean pottery found all over the site dates this cemetery to the late 1st century B.C.E.–the 1st century C.E.

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AVRAHAM NEGEV

**ELUZAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕlʿûzay* (אֱלְעוּזַי)]. One of the Benjaminite warriors who left Saul to ally themselves with David at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:6—Eng12:5). 1 Chr 12:1–22 is a section which provides information on the accumulating support for David in his early career, prior to his ascending to the throne. Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, (104–106) offers a discussion of the literary structure of this section. The defectors from Benjamin are placed first, possibly because their support, coming from the house of Saul, placed special honor upon David (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 96). The fact that even Benjaminites allied themselves to David develops the theme that the coming kingship of David was recognized by all, even while Saul remained on the throne (Ackroyd *Chronicles Ezra Nehemiah*, TBC, 54). In addition, a special skill of theirs as warriors is indicated in the narrative (1 Chr 12:2): the ability to shoot arrows and sling stones with either the right or left hand, a skill that made up for their lack in number.
SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

**ELYMAIS** (PLACE) [Gk *Elymais* (Ἐλυμαις)]. Greek name for biblical Elam, the region or province between Babylonia and Persia, of which Susa was the chief city; today SW Iran (Khuzistan). The text tradition of 1 Macc 6:1 is quite confused (*IDB* 2:95). Although the majority of the readings suggest that Elymais was the name of a city located in Persia, the original text was likely: "in Elymais in Persia there was a city." Although the chief city of Elam was Susa, the reference is not likely to Susa, since it was controlled by Antiochus IV at the time of the story narrated (Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 308). The name may have been used to refer to that part of Elam that was not under the control of the Seleucids (KlPauly 2: 253–54).

In Josephus (*Ant* 12.9§1), Elymais is considered a city where there was a temple of Artemis (cf. Polybius *Hist.* 31.9[11]). The reference in Tob 2:10 could refer to a city or a province. However, there is no evidence that such a city ever existed. Elymais is, however, known to be the name of a region or a province of the Persian empire (so the LXX text of Dan 8:2, preserved by Codex Chisianus [87]; cf. Strabo 15.732, 744; Herodotus 3.91; Ptolemy *Geog.* 6.3).
W. WARD GASQUE

**ELYMAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Elymas* (Ἐλυμας)]. The Jewish magician (Acts 13:8; also called BAR-JESUS, Acts 13:6) who had connections with the Roman proconsul of Cyprus, Sergius Paulus, and opposed the Apostle Paul when he and Barnabas sought to evangelize the proconsul. He was temporarily blinded by Paul as punishment.

A consensus has emerged in recent studies that the author of Acts intended to translate *Elymas* by *magos* (magician) and to say that a person with the Jewish name of Bar-Jesus had taken in a Greek context the foreign name Elymas, which translated into Greek as "magician" (e.g., Haenchen *Acts* MeyerK, 398). According to this reconstruction, Elymas is to be seen as the transliteration of a Semitic word which could be connected with the functions of a magician. Various solutions have been proposed ranging from the Arabic *halīm,* "wise," to the Aramaic *hālimā,* "powerful." Yaure (1960: 297–306) has argued that *Elymas* is the exact transliteration of the Aramaic *ḥālōmā,* which refers to a person who can interpret dreams and offer divine messages in a state of trance. These activities are common characteristics of magicians in the ancient Near East and thus *magos* would be an accurate translation.

Other scholars have thought that Luke intended Elymas to be the Greek translation of the Semitic Bar-Jesus and that he understood both to mean "magician." However, the generally accepted readings will not work for this reconstruction since *bariēsous* means "Son of Jesus" (or more completely, "Son of Salvation") and *elymas*, whatever its meaning, has no relation to this. But some mss read *hetoimas* (or *hetoimos*) in place of *elymas* (D, cf., Lucifer, $it^{gig}$, $vg^{mss}$, Ambrosiaster, Pacianus). Zahn (*Acts* KNT, 416–18) adopted *hetoimas* (meaning "ready") as the original text. In turn this led him to conjecture that Bar-Jesus is actually a corruption of the transliteration of the Heb *bar-yišwah.* The *Pi*ʿ*el* form of *šawah* means "make smooth, level, or ready" and could be translated *hetoimas.* The resultant "Son of Readiness" is supposed to connote "magician."

Zahn's reconstruction has not been generally accepted. The occurrence of *hetoimas* in D can be explained as originating with a later scribe who sought to connect the Cypriot magician of Acts 13 with one mentioned by Josephus (*Ant* 20.7.2, and in one ms named *Atomos*). We also know that it was common for Jews to have both a Jewish name and a Greek one that may not have been linguistically related. In Acts there are Saul, also known as Paul (13:9), and John, also known as Mark (15:37). Thus some scholars who believe that Luke intended to connect Bar-Jesus with Elymas suggest that *methermēneuetai* (v 8, "is translated," RSV, "is the meaning"), might be taken in a weak sense to connote "this person known as Bar-Jesus in Jewish circles was called Elymas in Greek circles" (e.g., Lake and Cadbury 1933: 144). There is, however, no evidence that *methermēneuō* can have this weak meaning.

The picture of a diaspora Jew involved in the popular Hellenistic preoccupation with magic, despite the condemnation of magic in "official" Jewish texts, is not surprising (Alexander in *HJP* 3/1: 342–43). His function in the proconsul's household may have been similar to that of a court philosopher or later private chaplain; to answer questions about the nature of life and offer divine guidance for the future. It is from a Christian perspective that he is called a "false prophet" (v 6).

Other questions surround the function of this magician in the theology of Acts. It seems clear that this confrontation between Paul and Elymas is part of an anti-magic polemic which is also found in Acts 8:9–13; 16:16; 19:13–16, 18–19. In each case Luke does not engage in a philosophical attack on magic but simply points out that it is negated by the power of Jesus.

Sanders (1987: 259) argues that Luke's theology is anti-Jewish, and that what is important about Elymas is that he is a "Jewish" magician. True to the stereotypical picture of Jews in Acts, he intransigently opposes the gospel. However, it should be noted that not all scholars agree that Lucan theology is anti-Jewish, and debate on this point continues.

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**ELYON.** See MOST HIGH.

**ELZABAD** (PERSON) [Heb ʾ*elzābād* (אֶלְזָבָד)]. Two individuals in the OT bear this name which means "God has given." In addition, this Hebrew name also occurs in Neo-Babylonian business texts as *Ilî-za-ba-du/Ilî-za-bad-du* (Coogan 1976: 13, 43–47, 71–72). With it may be compared the biblical Jehozabad and the Aramean *Nabû-zabad* (Hilprecht and Clay 1898: 27, 65; Clay 1904: 57).

1. Ninth of eleven men who were "chiefs of the Gadites in the army" (NEB, 1 Chr 12:15—Eng12:14). Elzabad was among the warriors, experts in close combat (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 106), who came to the aid of David while he was at Ziklag. $LXX^{BS}$ reads *eliazer* in place of Elzabad.

2. Elzabad is also the name of a gatekeeper (1 Chr 26:7) in the temple in Jerusalem according to the schematization offered by a reviser of the Chronicler's organization of these temple functionaries (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCB, 125–26, 169–70; Rudolph, 173). Here Elzabad is named as the fourth son of the preeminent family of Shemiah (Rudolph, 173), the oldest son of the Gittite OBED-EDOM.

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**ELZAPHAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾelṣāpān* (אֶלְצָפָן)]. See ELIZAPHAN (PERSON).

**EMADABUN** (PERSON) [Gk *Ēmadaboun* (Ἠμαδαβουν)]. One of the sons of the Levite JESHUA responsible for supervising the building of the Temple (ca. 520 B.C.E.) after the return from exile (1 Esdr 5:56—Eng5:58). His name appears in 1 Esdr 5:56 as one of the Levites charged with overseeing the laying of the Temple's foundations. The fact that the parallel section in Ezra 3:8–9 does not mention him calls attention to differences between 1 Esdras and Ezra-Nehemiah. Josephus mentions a similar name at this point, Aminadabos, identifying him, however, as the father of Judas and Zodmielos, and less clearly with Jeshua (or Jesus) (*Ant* 11.4.2).

It has been suggested that Emadabun represents a confusion or modification of the name Henadad, which does appear in Ezra 3:9 (Myers *1 and 2 Esdras* 66). The similarity between Josephus and 1 Esdras here is one of several indications that Josephus had followed 1 Esdras rather than Ezra-Nehemiah in his account of this period. In addition to the reference to Emadabun in 1 Esdras' depiction of the founding of the Temple, other slight differences from Ezra 3:8–13 mark this section. Both Ezra 3 and 1 Esdras 5 state that the founding took place in the second month of the second year after the people's arrival. 1 Esdras, however, adds also that they began their activities "on the new moon," (1 Esdr 5:55), a detail Josephus repeats. Such variants play a role in scholarly debates about the relation between 1 Esdras and Ezra-Nehemiah and in the attempts to determine which is the earlier work.
TAMARA C. ESKENAZI

**EMAR** (36°01´N; 38°05´E). A Bronze Age city, modern Tell Meskene/Balis, located on the great bend of the Euphrates river in Syria. The name of the city does not appear in the Bible; nevertheless, the archaeological and epigraphic material that has been found there portrays in a remarkable way the period at the end of the Late Bronze Age (14th–13th centuries B.C.), the importance of which to the formation of Israel is well known.

**A. The Excavations**

The campaign originated as a salvage operation to save the archaeological sites of a region which was in danger of being flooded by the construction of a dam on the Euphrates near Tabqa. It was in the context of this operation that the observations made at the site of Meskene enabled one to confirm that the medieval city of Balis, which was then being excavated, partially covered the city of Emar, a city known only from some epigraphic documents dating from the 2d millennium B.C.

A first reconnaissance mission was carried out in November and December 1972. The findings were of such interest that five other campaigns followed between 1973 and 1976. In addition, a study of the environs led to the discovery of the site of Tell Faq'ous, which was situated on a promontory overlooking the river near the site of Emar. It was excavated in 1978. This operation was especially important, for it made it possible to describe the regional system in which Emar functioned and the organization of that part of Syria as a whole during the Late Bronze Age.

**B. A New City**

The research in the area rapidly revealed that the site of Emar, destroyed in 1187 B.C., judging from a dated tablet discovered on the floor of a private house, did not date back any further than the 14th century and that it showed all the signs of a newly built city. That information was in apparent contradiction with the fact that the name Emar had been found in Mari documents dating to the 18th century B.C. as well as in the later documents of the Mitannian period. Moreover, texts found at Ebla in 1975 have again mentioned the name of the city, which would therefore place Emar as far back as the ED Period. The

antiquity of the city is thus attested, yet the situation resulting from the excavation was hardly in accord with this information. However, the meander of the Euphrates provides the explanation for this anomalous situation. The early city, which existed at the time of Ebla or perhaps even before, and which continued to exist during the first two thirds of the 2d millennium B.C. undoubtedly underwent increasing difficulties due to the change in the meander of the river with which it was associated. The movement of the river condemned the city to destruction; the only solution was to abandon the city and rebuild it nearby.

The Hittite King Suppiluliuma I (ca. 1380–1346 B.C.) or his son Mursili II (1345–1315 B.C.) had the city moved and rebuilt. The dwellings were not rebuilt in the valley beside the old ones, but on the plateau which bordered the valley on the south side. The builders used the slope of the rocky sub-foundation which descended from west to east to form the base of the successive terraces on which the living quarters as well as the main monuments were to be set up. To build this terraced city it was necessary to remodel the face of the rock, eliminate its asperities, fill in its cracks and gullies, and build rock embankments all around, the purpose of which was to retain the earth and the constructions, but also to raise the floor of the sub-foundation by several meters in order to balance the plan as a whole and allow prominent parts effectively to dominate the environment. One can easily measure the magnitude of this task if one is mindful that the new city extended more than a thousand meters from east to west and six to seven hundred meters from north to south. But above all, it is the boundaries of the eastern side of the city that best show the size and difficulty of the operation: the rocky mass which served as a foundation was bordered on the northern side by the Euphrates and on the eastern and southern sides by a deep ravine originating on the plateau, but on the western side the rock had no break which could be used. Therefore the builders dug out a slightly curved ravine more than 500 meters long, about 15 meters deep and about 30 meters wide at the base. The fortress of the city was connected to the edge of this artificial ravine. The final result was the building of a sort of amphitheater, facing the river, located 285 meters away and rising to a height of 325 meters at the site of the city's great sanctuary. The excavation also showed that the layout of the city had been very well planned and organized. Before building the houses, the people had set up the system of roads in the form of a network of parallel streets spread out along the slope following the level curves, then connected by highways which followed the line of the largest slope. This was a magnificent work which shows the degree of technology attained by Bronze-Age men and is also the only example that we have at present of a new city which involved works of such major importance.

**C. The Palace**

The local king's palace stood on a NW promontory. From this position one could overlook not only the city but also the valley below. This may have allowed the palace to communicate by visual signals with the fortress of the province of Ashtata located at the site of Tell Faq'ous.

The architectural style of the building is the well-known *bīt Hilāni* style seen in other 1st millennium sites. Recently the origins of this architectural style have been questioned, and therefore Emar is extremely important since this is the first time that the *bīt Hilāni* style could be so clearly seen on a Syrian site dating to the end of the Bronze Age. Thus the origin of that style seems clear; one must look for it in the Hittite architectural practices such as those found at Boğhazköy (see Hrouda *RLA* 4: 406–409).

The palace was formed mainly of a large rectangular room which undoubtedly served as a throne room. It was connected to a porch upheld by two columns by a hall with unequal sides. One floor extended above the official quarters, which were situated on the ground floor to house the royal family, while outlying buildings were terraced along the slope behind the main building. It was in this palace that the first 14 tablets were discovered, placed in a jar and hidden in a small cupboard. These tablets, found on the fourth day of the excavation, made the identification of the site possible. Some beautiful objects (glazed ceramics, a bronze sword, the remains of a composite statuette) also attest to the quality of the furnishings of this residence. The building seems to have belonged to the local king and not to the representative of the Hittite government.

**D. The Temples**

Four temples were discovered, all based on the model of the *megaron;* an oblong room closed off at one end but opened at the other by a central entrance which was preceded by a porch supported by two columns. The interior furnishings consisted of a raised altar which was often preceded by a platform that covered almost two thirds of the length of the room and facing a support or a small seat placed in the middle of the far wall; other seats were occasionally placed along the side walls and small supports were placed in the room itself. Decorations made from earthenware nails adorned the front, and perhaps also the long walls, of some of the temples which have been found, but it is impossible to suggest exactly how to restore them.

Two of these temples, set up at the highest point of the site, were closely linked: they were set up on both sides of the highway leading to a vast esplanade, where what is doubtless the base of an altar has been unearthed. The tablets collected from the floors of these buildings indicate that the south temple, situated a meter higher than the second one, was probably dedicated to Baal, and the north one to Astarte. These buildings make up the major worship center of the city, which explains why the place chosen for them could be seen from all over the city and from all the surrounding areas.

A third temple was unearthed in a different section of the city; it differs only minimally from the two preceding ones, but it was the worship center of a diviner who, protected by the Hittite sovereign, seems to have played an important role in the city. In the ruins of the sanctuary, part of the library and its archives have been found, a discovery which not only brings to light the activity of such a personality in the city, but fills in the step which had been hitherto missing in the process of the transmission of hepatoscopic practices between Mesopotamia and the Hittite Anatolia. Unfortunately we do not know the name of the divinity worshipped there. But the wealth of the artifacts found there (high-quality glazed ceramics, engraved stone, and a sculptured horn) is proof enough of its importance.

**E. Houses and Daily Life**

Many sections of the city have been completely or partially excavated. Added to the information about urbanism which is gleaned from this site is that which concerns daily life. The houses hardly differ from each other; one can see a kind of blueprint which was modified only to fit in with the terraces and the system of roads. Each house consisted of a main room which opened directly on to the outside, and two small rooms placed side by side, generally opposite the entrance. In the main room can often be found a baking oven of traditional shape and the remains of the staircase leading to the floor where there were one or two rooms looking out on the terrace which played such an important role in daily life.

The utensils found consisted of the usual potteries, stone objects, tools, earthenware figures of humans or animals, and occasionally jewelry. One characteristic of the site was also to provide a large number of "models" of houses or towers apparently used for home worship. Real works of art are scarce; one of the most remarkable of them is a sculptured horn of capridae. This relative paucity of artwork may certainly be due to the pillaging that occurred when the city was finally destroyed.

**F. The Texts**

The palace, the temples, and the private houses have yielded several hundred cuneiform tablets which shed new light on the culture of that region of the Euphrates in the 13th century. They lead us deeper into the daily life of Emar, its administrative problems, its economic and judicial activities, and its religious practices. Most of the documents are written in the Akkadian language, but some were also written in Hittite and Hurrian. As regards the seal impressions—there are almost 400 different copies of them—they show the same diversity of origins and influences as well as a local style imitating the patterns of the dominant power. Thus at the heart of the Syrian universe Emar found itself in contact with Mesopotamian and Anatolian influences, but the latter influences seem to have been weaker than the former.

**G. Tell Faq'ous and the Province of Astata**

This is a fortress built on the top of a promontory overlooking the valley. This fort guarded the entrance of the site and was responsible for defending the river upstream against the incursions of the Assyrians. The Hittite annals enable one to attribute its construction to Muršili II, and by chance a sealing was found there belonging to the "Chief of Chariots" (that is, the Hittite general-in-chief) identical to the one found at Emar; the close association of the two sites is beyond doubt. The organization of the province of Astata,

the southeast border of the Hittite Empire, therefore stands out clearly: there was a fortress at the entrance of the province which was responsible for protecting the capital Emar, whose role on the Euphrates as a commercial port between Mesopotamia and Syria was economically important. With these conditions, it is easily understood why Astata was the object of the particular attention of the Hittite sovereigns and why they did not hesitate to engage in a policy of major building developments there.

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**EMATHIS** (PERSON) [Gk *Emathis* (Ἐμαθις)]. A descendant of Bebae and one of the returned exiles who married a foreign woman during the era of Ezra's mission (1 Esdr 9:29, cf. Ezra 10:28). In the parallel text of Ezra 10:28, the name Athlai appears in the position Emathis holds in 1 Esdr 9:29. For more discussion, see ATHLAI (PERSON).

JEFFREY A. FAGER

**EMBALMING.** The various methods of preserving dead human and animal corpses from organic putrefaction and decay. The Hebrew *ḥānaṭ,* "to embalm," is found twice in the OT (Gen 50:2, 26), where it is used with reference to the bodies of Jacob and Joseph in Egypt. The verb *ḥānaṭ* in Song of Solomon 2:13a ("the fig ripens/brings forth her fruits") must be an unrelated Semitic loanword of the same consonantal spelling, cp. Arabic *ḥanaṭa* and Akkadian *ḫunnuṭu,* "to become mature, to ripen." Others have suggested a relationship to the word for mature wheat *ḥiṭṭāh* (<**ḥinṭat;* cp. Aramaic *ḥinṭīn,* and Ugaritic *ḥṭt*) perhaps by reason of its color at maturity, although this needs further study. Embalming of the dead has its origins in ancient Egypt.

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A. Origins of Embalming in Egypt
B. Formative Period of Embalming
C. First Attempts at True Embalming
D. Embalming during the First Intermediate Period
E. Embalming during the Middle Kingdom
F. Embalming during the Second Intermediate Period
G. Embalming during the New Kingdom
H. Embalming during the Late Period
I. Embalming and the Rise of Christianity
J. Procedure of Embalming
K. Was Embalming Biohazardous?
L. Embalming in the Bible
M. Embalming in Egypt, the History of Medicine, and Paleopathology

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**A. Origins of Embalming in Egypt**

It is generally assumed that embalming arose in Early Dynastic Egypt to some extent as a result of the occasional observation and examination of Predynastic-period bodies which had been preserved by simple accidental desiccation in the hot sands of Egypt, but which later had been exposed to view by natural means such as the wind. This was probably a contributing factor but certainly not the major reason why embalming began in Egypt. It is also generally assumed that the origins of embalming paralleled developments in Egyptian religion. This may be true for all but the earliest periods of Egyptian history. It

is well known that Osiris, as god of the dead and the resurrection, was closely associated ritually with embalming and beliefs concerning the afterlife of the dead. However, such an association cannot be earlier than the latter part of the Old Kingdom or about 2700–2250 B.C., the date at which Osiris first appears in Egyptian texts (Fleming et al. 1980: 5). By this time attempts at embalming were already several centuries old. Indeed, it is with the Predynastic Badarian culture burials, ca. 3790 B.C. with a radiocarbon date error of about 300 years (the village of El-Badari is about 30 miles south of Asyut), that we find the first evidence of belief in an afterlife which was apparently thought of as being similar to mortal life along the Nile valley, and requiring the same daily supplies and material objects (Fleming et al. 1980: 1). At the present time, the central motivating factors which underlie the origins of embalming in Egypt remain obscure.

**B. Formative Period of Embalming**

Embalming developed during the Archaic to Early Dynastic Periods, ca. 3100 B.C.–2700 B.C. The earliest attempts to preserve lifelike corpses appear during the 1st–3d Dynasties, where corpses were wrapped in linen wetted with resins fashioned around the corpse to preserve a likeness of the dead body and visage. Somewhat similarly, the application of painted plaster modeling to early skulls, some of which are now in the Cairo Museum, shows just how accurately the visage of the dead could be reconstructed. Clearly, however, at this period there is no true embalming of the dead. The use of resinated linen outer wrappings over the body provided in effect only a shell within which some degree of decay still occurred, and so preservation of human remains from this period, especially the soft tissues, is generally poor. The use of natural dehydration in sandy burials may well have continued for some time among the poorer classes, and occasionally well into the later Pharaonic periods in unusual circumstances such as war, where rapid preservation of the body was required (Spencer 1982: 114).

**C. First Attempts at True Embalming**

(Dynasties 3–61; ca. 2686 B.C.–2181 B.C.). From the 4th Dynasty to the beginning of the 6th Dynasty, the first real attempts at embalming the dead are found. It was obvious by this time to Egyptian burial technicians that the abdomen, the intestines, and the stomach were somehow directly associated with processes of decay. Only by their removal and neutralization by washes and soaks could such putrification be arrested. For the first time the incision in the left side of the lower abdomen is used to gain access to internal organs of the abdomen which were removed and preserved individually in receptacles placed within the tomb. Removal of the brain, however, is not found until the New Kingdom. The Egyptian Coffin Texts, especially Spell 755, show plain familiarity with the realities of the decay of the dead corpse (here now ritually associated with Osiris): “The members of Osiris are inert, but they shall not [always] be inert, they shall not putrefy or shake, nor swell up or make foul liquid” (Fleming et al. 1980: 18). The slow procedure of mummification, still quite an imperfect process at this early period, with the dissection and preservation of various individual organs must surely have been a very gruesome and repulsive procedure. From a modern perspective, if one considers that human fecal matter is composed approximately of 40–50 percent living and dead anaerobic bacterial cell bodies, then one quickly realizes just what potential there is for rapid decay of human corpses and the associated massive production of foul gases. Certainly it took an extraordinary motivation such as religion and eternal existence to facilitate and ensure the continuance of such large-scale dissection and embalming of corpses through several millennia in the climate of Egypt.

Alongside these first attempts at arresting decay by dissection, embalmers as late as the end of the 5th Dynasty (ca. 2400 B.C.) were still applying the simple linen wrapping around intact corpses to preserve and mold the external shape and likeness of the body, with facial features and other details highlighted by paint, the application of hair, etc. During this period, embalming was a luxury available only to royalty and nobility (Fleming et al. 1980: 7). The application of natron, the one crucial ingredient for successful embalming in later periods, first occurs at this period as a desiccant, but by no means was it applied universally.

The oldest extant mummy is that of Waty, found at Saqqara, where it still remains; it dates to the late 5th Dynasty (ca. 2400 B.C.). This mummy was wrapped only in resin-soaked linen. Facial details such as

eyebrows and moustache, painted onto the surface of the wrapping, reproduce the deceased's appearance (Andrews 1984: 9, and photograph). Only three complete mummies survive from the Old Kingdom. A fourth, once the property of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, perished in World War II.

**D. Embalming during the First Intermediate Period**

(Dynasties 7–11; ca. 2181–1991 B.C.). During the First Intermediate Period (ca. 2200–2000 B.C., 7th–11th Dynasties) there was a substantial decline in the quality of mummification due to several factors, particularly the decline in the quality of material arts generally and a shortage of various imported oils, resins, and woods which were required for embalming (Fleming et al. 1980: 8). There are few examples of mummies from this period, but those that do survive exhibit the now common practice of evisceration through incisions in the abdomen, with the preservation of the internal organs in storage containers. Even so, as late as the 11th Dynasty, primitive mummification without dissection is still evident in some mummies. The use of linen bandaging during this period continued to be an important procedure in embalming. Enormous quantities of linen were often employed as outer wrappings. For example, an 11th Dyn. mummy from Thebes belonging to a certain Wah was bound and wrapped with a total of some 375 square meters of material (Spencer 1982: 115).

**E. Embalming during the Middle Kingdom**

(Dynasty 12; 1991–1786 B.C.) During the reign of Mentuhotep II at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, trade was widely reestablished throughout the Mediterranean and Africa and supplies of embalming materials were again available in Egypt. When corpses were embalmed elaborately, the internal organs were still removed from the body, but now, apparently in response to the need for simpler or cheaper methods of embalming, mummies were found in which the internal organs were not removed and the corpses themselves were merely dehydrated. Thus decay often continued after the mummy was wrapped because of residual moisture retained deep within the corpse. During this period, mummification continued to be increasingly available to the lower classes of Egyptian society (Fleming et al. 1980: 17–19).

**F. Embalming during the Second Intermediate Period**

(Dynasties 12–17; 1786–1567 B.C.). The Second Intermediate Period in Egypt was a period characterized by internal collapse, most notably that which occurred following occupation of the country by the Hyksos after about 1670 B.C. Interruptions in trade resulted in shortages of embalming materials, especially in the south. Thus mummies from the 17th Dyn. are of poor quality and generally lack treatment with coniferous resins (Fleming et al. 1980: 19).

**G. Embalming during the New Kingdom**

(Dynasties 18–20; ca. 1567–1070 B.C.). Very little is known about mummification during the Second Intermediate Period (1786–1567 B.C., Dynasties 12–17). However, by the beginning of the New Kingdom, major advances appear in the embalming process. Advanced and superior techniques of embalming continued through the 21st Dynasty. Here are found the most extensive efforts at making the mummy appear as lifelike as possible. The skin was colored according to artistic tradition—red for men and yellow for women. False eyes were made of glass and shell and imparted to the mummy a startlingly realistic stare, shriveled limbs of the dehydrated corpse were packed subcutaneously with sawdust, mud, or rags to reproduce lifelike bodily contours and corpulence, wigs for women replaced hair lost to embalming, and sometimes the mummy was clothed and bejeweled to reproduce the dress and appearance of daily life. The so-called "Royal Mummies" of the Cairo Museum certainly represent the finest embalming techniques available during this period (see the plates in Smith 1912). Surviving examples of superior preservation of the corpse include the mummy of Seti I (14th Dynasty; see Andrews 1984: 8 and photograph, or Smith 1912), the mummies of Yuya and Thuya (18th Dynasty; see Fleming et al. 1980: 34 and photograph), and Rameses II (14th Dynasty; see Smith 1912).

From the 22d through the 25th Dynasties and later, the art of embalming gradually declined in quality.

**H. Embalming during the Late Period**

(Dynasty 26, Saite Period and later; *post* 664 B.C.). After 600 B.C., the desire to preserve the visage of the living body accurately is increasingly less obvious. The embalmers are no longer of priestly rank, and

Herodotus seems to regard them merely as common tradesmen. In this light, Herodotus lacks almost completely any mention of the religious nature of embalming (Lloyd 1976: 355). By the Ptolemaic Period, the process is rather crude generally, with the majority of the effort applied to the bandaging and other efforts to create the outward appearance of a wholesome intact body, while less and less effort is expended in the actual preservation of internal organs and tissues. Copious treatment of the corpse with hot resins usually made it heavy and hard. Preservation of tissues in these mummies is very poor as resin usually impregnated the entire corpse and permeated into the bone. While the mummy itself may have lacked suitable treatment, the outermost wrappings were often elaborately fashioned, imparting to them a beauty distinctive of the period.

The word "mummy" stems from the Late Period, deriving from a Persian word for bitumen or pitch. The application of the term to embalmed corpses is due to the blackened color of Late Period mummies, which resembled bitumen both in color and in combustible characteristics when mummified corpses were burned as fuel in late antiquity. The word passed into Byzantine Greek *moumia/momion* and then into the Arabic *mumiyya*, literally "a bituminized thing or object." The importance of bitumen as a medical remedy in antiquity was soon associated with Late Period mummies and their presumed bituminous qualities. This eventually resulted in the sale and widespread prescription of ground and powdered mummy corpses as a potent medicine used for a wide variety of ills, and which was still being imported into Europe as late as the 17th century. One 17th-century English drug list describes mummy as being "resinous, hardened, [having a] black shining surface, of a somewhat acrid and bitterish taste, and of a fragrant smell" (Dawson 1927).

**I. Embalming and the Rise of Christianity**

The Christian belief in the ultimate resurrection and eternal preservation of the body differed from the older Egyptian religion by recognizing no fundamental need for the deliberate preservation of the body immediately following death. The treatment and burial of Egyptians in the Christian Period after the third century was simple and uncomplicated. Coptic corpses were washed, dressed, and bound in shrouds, often with salt and juniper berries placed within the layers, and then buried to be preserved naturally by accident in much the same way as Predynastic corpses (e.g., Grilletto 1981). The Greek *Life of St. Antony* by Athanasius illustrates the Coptic attitude toward the treatment of the body and its burial. Here Antony forbids pagan Egyptian burials: "The Egyptians love to honor with burial rites and to wrap in linens the bodies of their worthy dead … not burying them in the earth but placing them on low beds … Do not permit anyone to take my body to Egypt, lest they set it within the houses." And thus, "in accordance with the commands he had given them [i.e., his disciples] making preparations and wrapping his body, buried it in the earth, and to this day no one knows where it has been hidden …" (Gregg 1980: 96–98). A passage in the Bohairic *Life of Shenoute* 133 describes the treatment of the body of a young monastic novice in simple terms: "They wrapped him in a shroud, took him out, and buried him" (Bell 1983: 85). Attempts at embalming employing any of the classical Pharaonic methods declined and ceased by about the 4th or 5th century A.D., a period which also roughly corresponds with the last dying vestiges of the old religion and its priesthood, and the loss of the knowledge of hieroglyphs.

**J. Procedure of Embalming**

Descriptions of the process of embalming in Egypt are extant only from the later periods, notably from the hands of Herodotus (*History* 2.85–90) and Diodorus Siculus (*History* 1.91). The earliest and fullest account is that of Herodotus, who visited Egypt just after 450 B.C., and whose account of mummification probably describes methods of embalming stemming from the New Kingdom period, but in the particular state of decline representative of the time in which he writes (see Lloyd [1976] for a recent detailed analysis of Herodotus' account of mummification). Herodotus appears to describe two or three individual methods of embalming, but recently Lloyd (1976: 356) discounts these as "yet another example of the orderly Greek mind's imposing a rigid system [of classification of embalming] where none appears to have existed." It is important to note that there is no inherent or direct derivational pathway between the dissection of the corpse during mummification and the development of Egyptian medicine and knowledge of physiology. Physicians were priests of the healing goddess Sekhmet, whereas the embalmers were

priests of Anubis the god of the dead. Further, while much of the canon of Egyptian medical practice and tradition was already fixed near the beginnings of Egyptian history, the process of embalming developed much more gradually (see Wilson 1962: 121–22). And thus also, the mention in Gen 50:2 of the mummification of Joseph at the hands of the Egyptian "physicians" (Heb *rōpĕʾîm*) is probably incorrect as Egyptian physicians were not employed in the mummification of the dead.

The religious character of the process of embalming cannot be overemphasized. For most, if not all of Egyptian history, embalming was a religious practice. The preservation of the body was necessary so that the *ba*, very roughly similar to an individual's soul or spirit, could recognize the body upon its return to it. Further, in certain periods at least, the embalming priests wore masks of the god whose function they were ritually performing upon the deceased. For example, from one workshop has been discovered a priest's mask of Anubis, the god of embalming, which has openings located at the bottom of the chin through which the wearer could see and work upon the dead while at the same time impersonating the god of embalming himself (Spencer 1982: 129).

Embalming itself surely took less than the 70 days mentioned in certain texts. It is now clear that this included the period of actual embalming as well as the periods of mourning, ceremonies, and other burial preparations, as illustrated by one Demotic text which mentions day 35 as the day in which the prepared corpse was wrapped with linen. It has been rightly emphasized that the ceremonial and religious aspects of embalming were extremely important to the Egyptians, being the key to the continuance of life in the hereafter. Accordingly, the various ritualized performances attending death were the reason why the process of embalming and burial lasted so long (Lloyd 1976: 361; Spencer 1982: 126–27). The period of 40 days in which the body of Jacob was embalmed (Gen 50:2–3), is not incompatible with current knowledge of the duration of the process.

Embalming usually took place in a temporary structure located near the tomb or necropolis. Generally the corpse was placed upon the embalming table, a shallow stone "trough" which sloped and drained toward one end where biological fluids and washes derived from any part of the embalming process could easily be collected. Actual work on human corpses began with the head. A narrow chisel was inserted into the left nostril and forced through the ethmoid bone into the cranial vault. The brain was slashed to pieces with a hooked rod, then removed (often incompletely) with a slender spoonlike instrument (Leek 1969). The vault was sometimes packed with linen soaked in resin. Next the corpse was incised on the left side of the lower abdomen so that the abdominal organs could be withdrawn. Such incisions are said to have been made with an Ethiopian obsidian knife (the use of obsidian knives for ritualistic purposes is known elsewhere, as in Joshua 5:2, where they are used for circumcisions). Through this incision the intestines, liver, and other organs were removed. The diaphragm was slashed and the thoracic organs removed. The heart and kidneys were usually left *in situ.* However, examples are known in which the internal organs were removed through the anus without the use of the abdominal incision, but with the aid of a fluid which was introduced to accelerate lysis and degeneration of the internal organs, much like one method described by Herodotus and for which examples are extant today (see Reyman and Peck 1980). The organs were individually preserved and wrapped in bundles which were either stored in canopic jars or returned to the corpse. Various spices such as myrrh, cassia, and other substances were placed in the body cavity, apparently to mask the smell of biodegradation of the corpse until it was completely dehydrated.

The application of natron was the one step necessary to ensure successful preservation of the corpse. Natron is largely a mixture of sodium carbonate and sodium bicarbonate. It is found naturally in various locations, especially at Wadi el-Natrun in the Libyan Desert, Barnugi near Naucratis, and El-Kab in the south. The natron powder was applied in a process which Herodotus describes as being similar to the drying and salt preservation of fish, except he notes that natron was substituted for salt. Modern experiments have shown that natron in solution (as suggested by some of the older translations of Herodotus) was not suitable for embalming, and that dry natron powder is far superior as a desiccant and preservative than is sodium chloride or natural dehydration, or either substance in solution (Lucas 1932; Lucas 1962; Sandison 1963; David 1979). Even so, Iskander and others seem correct in believing that Old Kingdom mummies were often processed with a natron solution during the formative attempts at

embalming, and that many such corpses which appear partially decarnated were not embalmed after partial decay but were actually exhibiting the results of an extended liquid steeping in salt or natron solutions (Iskander 1980: 9–10). The corpses were dehydrated by being packed within a pile of dry natron powder, and linen sacks of natron were also placed within the eviscerated corpse. In fact, one of the hieroglyphic symbols for natron is a sign representing a linen bag (filled with natron) like actual bags which survive as embalmers' refuse and which were originally packed within the corpse. In Egyptian texts, natron is sometimes termed *ntry,* meaning something like "the divine salt," so closely is it associated with embalming (Iskander 1980).

After desiccation, the corpse was washed and cleaned of natron, then packed with resinated linen or other materials such as sawdust or lichen. Then the embalming incision was covered over with a gold plate or beeswax held in place with a coating of resin. The plate frequently bore the imprinted Eye of Horus, a powerful amulet which protected the now purified and preserved corpse from invasion by evil external influences (compare the similar notions of the origins of physical illness by demons "from the outside" gaining access into the body, and the unique ghoulish determinative hieroglyph used in Egyptian medical texts which mention such illnesses, in Breasted 1930). At some time during the process of mummification, the eyes were pressed flat in the ocular orbits and packed with small resinated linen packets. Then the eyelids were closed over the top of the packing. Naturally, the embalmers may have felt obligated to restore portions of the corpse which were defective or had been lost (Gray 1966). The dried body was apparently anointed and freshened with a final dressing of ointments and spices, followed by a swabbing with resins. Finally the embalmed corpse was wrapped in linen shrouds and bound with linen strips. The mummy, called in Egyptian the *sah,* was then ready for various ceremonies such as the "Opening of the Mouth" and other vivifying rites, ultimately concluding with burial. Indeed, the mummy was now ready to live forever. A late Egyptian funerary text illustrates the purpose and final result of embalming: "You live again, you revive always, you have become young again [now] and forever" (Sauneron 1952: 18).

It is important to note that the entire mass of embalming refuse was buried with the mummy. Such matter included rags, natron stained with body fluids, scraps of tissue removed from the skull or abdomen, and vegetable matter which had been in contact with the corpse, hair, and other materials (Iskander 1980: 25). The refuse was placed in as many as 70 jars, which were in turn placed within the tomb so that not a single hair or portion of the embalmed corpse could be obtained by enemies of the deceased who might apply black magic against the peaceful repose of what Morenz (1984: 198) calls the "living corpse" and its eternal existence (Winlock 1941).

There were some side effects of embalming. Occasionally sheets of epidermis were exfoliated and found in modern times wrapped in linen and buried within the tomb. The nails of the fingers and toes commonly fell off during the process and were tied in place with string. The color of the mummy changed over time from near natural color to the darker browns and blacks noted in modern times. The hair commonly suffered damage during mummification and through time lost natural pigmentation, seen in modern times as the patchy orange-brown hair observable in several New Kingdom mummies such as Rameses II, or Yuya and Thuya.

**K. Was Embalming Biohazardous?**

Portions of the process of embalming, especially the removal of the alimentary tract and certain other organs, could be expected to be associated with a relatively significant biohazardous risk to the team of embalming priests and subsequently their families and their immediate associates. Embalming must have occasionally placed the workers in direct contact with dangerous contagious microorganisms such as cholera vibrios, the causative agents of tuberculosis, dysentery, and typhoid fever, or the causative organisms of food poisoning illnesses such as salmonella and others. However, there is no evidence that the ancient Egyptians were aware of such potential or regarded the process as being risky in any way. In this light it is important to note that the occupation of embalming priest was hereditary.

**L. Embalming in the Bible**

In ancient Israel and in other early societies of the biblical world, embalming was not practiced. Excavations of numerous sites outside of Egypt have not produced a single native corpse which was embalmed. Obviously this also explains the lack of references to embalming in the OT and NT, the only exceptions being the specific mention of the embalming of the bodies of the Patriarchs Jacob and Joseph in Egypt (Gen 50:2–3, 26). In the case of Joseph, mention is made of the sarcophagus in which his body was placed (Gen 50:26, the Heb *ʾārôn,* commonly translated "ark, box, chest"). The discrepancy found in Josh 24:32 which mentions the transport of Joseph's bones from Egypt, rather than his mummified body, undoubtedly reflects a scribal awareness of the common practice of secondary interment of skeletons, a practice which was common in ancient Israel as well as in nomadic societies, rather than reflecting in hindsight an accurate knowledge of the period and circumstances of the presumed removal of the mummified body of Joseph from Egypt.

The lack of any form of embalming in ancient Israel is the result of its religion and theology, as well as the probable antipathy held by Israelites against Egyptian religion generally. The body of Asa was simply covered with spices (2 Chr 16:14). The body of Jesus was buried with 100 pounds of spices (John 19:39–40; the text implies that certain women present at the burial regarded this amount as insufficient and therefore they brought to the tomb even more spices (Mark 16:1; Luke 23:35–36; 24:1). Neither of these examples describes embalming in any true sense but appears as an attempt to cover the foul odors associated with the natural biodegradation of corpses during the single day of mourning before burial, and to keep the immediate locality of the burial or tomb fresh. Even so, the body of Lazarus reeked with foul odors soon after burial (John 11:39). For such reasons the small son of the widow of Nain was mourned only briefly on the day of his death and then quickly carried off to his burial (Luke 7:11–17). Thus, in contrast to the beliefs of Egypt, where it was necessary to preserve a suitable habitat for the use of the dead in the next life, including a proper store of earthly supplies, in late ancient Israel (at least) and during the Christian period generally, preservation of the corpse was considered unnecessary in view of various developing beliefs regarding the resurrection.

**M. Embalming in Egypt, the History of Medicine, and Paleopathology**

It is only by the study of substantive extant ancient human remains that any sure knowledge of the history of human health and disease may be obtained. The advances in mummification and preservation of the body developed thousands of years ago in Egypt have preserved for the modern scientist the precious perishable organs and tissues required for a medical examination of the ancient inhabitants of Egypt. The fields of paleopathology and the history of medicine owe a great debt to the development of embalming. In fact, the beginnings of paleopathology appear more or less simultaneously with the influx of Egyptian antiquities into Europe and Britain and the first crude unwrapping and examination of mummified corpses more than 200 years ago (see the bibliographies and discussions in Dawson 1929; Strouhal and Vyhnanek 1979; and PALEOPATHOLOGY). The importance of embalmed corpses for the field of Egyptology is exemplified in the extreme by one particular case—that of the Pharaoh Akhenaten. It is clear that the discovery of his mummy would bring to an end the countless debates regarding his personal health, his potency and children, related issues regarding the canons of artistic representation during his lifetime, and evidence for the presence of certain diseases in antiquity. Indeed, scores of historical problems could be solved by the discovery of this one mummy alone.

It is unfortunate, however, that historically there has been a certain amount of neglect in the proper study and preservation of excavated human remains, as well as a reluctance by host countries to provide scholars freely with the opportunity to examine the remains of their ancient dead. Precious few mummies are currently available for serious examination and study. Egyptology in particular is desperately in need of a serious centralized preservation and storage facility with an associated data base devoted to the study of ancient human remains recovered from Egypt—and this logically located somewhere in Egypt. Sadly, it appears that the best examples of embalmed human remains from ancient Egypt have been exhausted, and certainly most of the better examples of Egyptian embalming have already been exhumed and largely lost forever during the last two centuries. It must be recognized by all that embalmed corpses, indeed all physical human remains from Egypt, are nonrenewable resources, and only now is modern science and

technology just adequate for a serious study of such remains, enabling scientists to discover from them the vast store of evidence which they surely contain. Important studies of these human remains could be performed reverently by sympathetic scientists if only this could be freely permitted and allowed. Ancient corpses are dead indeed when left to lie in the earth. However, ancient human remains may yet speak to us of the many aspects of their lives if placed in the careful hands of modern forensic anthropologists and other specialists in related fields.

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**EMBROIDERY.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**EMEK REPHAIM** (JERUSALEM). See REPHAIM, VALLEY OF (PLACE).

**EMEK-KEZIZ** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿēmeq qĕṣîṣ* (עֵמֶק קְצִיץ)]. One of the towns in the tribal territory of Benjamin, listed after Jericho and Beth-hoglah and before Beth-arabah (Josh 18:21). Beth-hoglah may be identified with Deir Hujlah (M.R. 197136) and Beth-arabah may be associated with Ein el-Gharaba (M.R. 197139), less than 2 miles N of Deir Hujlah. The context therefore suggests that it was located somewhere in the Jordan plain SE of Jericho, even though the name (containing the element *ʿemeq,* "valley") hints otherwise.

**EMENDATIONS, SCRIBAL.** See SCRIBAL EMENDATIONS.

**EMESA.** The small but surprisingly influential Kingdom of Emesa arose in the 1st century B.C., basing itself on the city of that name in Syria (modern Homs). It lay on the Orontes River, N of the Anti-Lebanon Mountains, just W of the desert where the "tent-dwelling" Arabs (*Skenitai*) ranged. Its prosperity derived from rich pastures and from trade.

Though ancient, the city largely escaped notice in Hellenistic times, and also did not receive a Seleucid colony, retaining its native Arab name and rulers. About 88/87 B.C., Emesa emerged into recorded history. A possible ruler from there, Azizus, engaged in the factional disputes of the last Seleucids; he may have assisted Philip I Philadelphus against his brother, Demetrius III Eucaerus (Jos. *Ant* 13 §384). The conquest of Syria by Tigranes the Great of Armenia deferred these ambitions, but after Tigranes left in 69 B.C. Azizus joined Sampsigeramus, the later King of Emesa, in a complicated intrigue designed to remove the last Seleucids and partition Syria (Diod. 40.1a–1b).

The arrival of Rome in force prevented that, but Sampsigeramus maintained himself in Emesa and Arethusa, winning the praise of Strabo (16.2.11.753) for his well-ordered government. He appears to have been ruling, along with his son Iamblichus, as late as the conspiracy of Caecilius about 46/45 B.C. (Strabo 16.2.10.753).

Despite the failure of his scheme to obtain a portion of the former Seleucid holdings, Sampsigeramus became a Roman ally. During his reign at Arethusa, an era on its coinage honored Pompey. In 51, when he still lived, his son Iamblichus wrote to Cicero in Cilicia to warn of a Parthian invasion. Cicero describes him as one "whom men consider well disposed to our Republic, and a friend" (Cic. *Fam.* 15.1).

In 47 B.C., when Caesar sought to extricate himself from a desperate situation in Alexandria (not Cleopatra, but her brother), he summoned allies. Among the "dynasts in Syria" who responded was Iamblichus (Jos. *JW* 1 §188). About two years later, however, he appeared among the allies of Caecilius opposing Caesar, for reasons impossible to determine (Strabo 16.2.10.753). The complexities of the Roman civil war caught more than one dynast on the losing side.

Just before Actium, Antony executed Iamblichus. His brother, Alexander, succeeded him but suffered the same fate at the hands of Octavian soon afterward (Plut. *Ant* 37.2; Dio Cass. 51.2).

By 20 B.C., Iamblichus II succeeded to the throne of Emesa, with the blessing of Augustus (Dio Cass. 54.9). This restoration parallels others in the vicinity: Cilicia, Commagene, Armenia Minor. Iamblichus married his son, Sampsigeramus II, to a princess from the dynasty of Commagene, Iotape III. The son in turn carried on the policy by marrying his daughter, Iotape IV, to Aristobulus of Judea, grandson of Herod the Great. The sister and brother of Iotape II contracted a philadelphic marriage and became the parents of Antiochus IV of Commagene, who ruled throughout the reigns of the Julio-Claudians. A son of Iotape III, King Azizus of Emesa, also went to Judea for a brief marriage to Drusilla, daughter of Agrippa I and sister of Agrippa II (Jos. *Ant* 20 §139). This extensive intermarriage greatly strengthened the dynasties of the Near East (*ANRW* 2/8: 198–219, 296–354).

Sampsigeramus II had begun his reign as "Great King" by the time of Tiberius (*ANRW* 2/8: 213). He took part in the assembly of Eastern dynasts convened by Agrippa I of Judea at Tiberias in A.D. 42 (Jos. *Ant* 19 §338–342). One of the dynasts, Polemo II of Pontus, married an apparent relative of Sampsigeramus, Julia Mamaea.

King Azizus, his successor, is first mentioned in A.D. 53, though he may have taken power as much as a decade before. He died by the first year of Nero, A.D. 54. He was succeeded by his brother, Sohaemus, the last firmly attested King of Emesa.

Emesenes engaged as allies in the Roman wars of the 1st century. King Sohaemus ruled both Emesa and distant Sophene, near Armenia, under Nero. He appears several times under arms in the record of the Jewish War. In A.D. 70, he joined the forces of the future Emperor Titus marching on Jerusalem (Jos. *JW* 2 §500–501; 3 §68; Tac. *Ann.* 2.81; 5.12). He also assisted Rome against its former ally, Commagene, in the war which broke out under Vespasian in A.D. 72 (Jos. *JW* 7 §226).

Perhaps Emesa shared the fate of Commagene in due course, but its kings may have ruled to the end of the 1st century, as in nearby Judea. A "very doubtful" coin of Domitian (A.D. 81–96) cannot prove the dynasty's eclipse; otherwise, Roman coinage apparently does not begin there until the reign of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161) (*ANRW* 2/8: 218–19). Some dynastic names lacking the royal title turn up on epitaphs in the 2d century, but these people may be only relatives of a ruling king and do not prove the kingdom extinct. A King of Armenia with the Emesene royal name of Sohaemus ruled between A.D. 163 and 175.

Emesa leaped out of this second period of obscurity late in the 2d century. Suddenly a line of priests there began to supply the royal family for the Roman Empire (Stemma: *ANRW* 2/8: 200). One priest of the local cult (*sacerdos Soli Elagabali*), Ti. Julius Balbillus, may have descended from the royal family of Commagene. Another priest of this cult, Julius Bassianus, produced two daughters, Julia Maesa and Julia Domna, who married the Emperor Septimius Severus. Their two sons both ruled, Geta (A.D. 211–212) and Caracalla (A.D. 211–217). The grandson of Julia Maesa was the Emperor Elagabalus (A.D. 218–222).

Emesa declined again in prominence after this last efflorescence. About 253, an aspirant with the pretentious name L. Julius Aurelius Sulpicius Uranius Antoninus declared himself Emperor of Rome at Emesa, and coins exist reflecting his claim (Seyrig 1958: 51–57; Magie 1950: 704, 1566 n. 26). Odenathus of Palmyra (ca. A.D. 260–267) has been considered a descendant of the Emesene royal house. He brought Emesa again into notice when he defeated the usurper Quietus there. In 272, his widow, Zenobia, suffered defeat by the Emperor Aurelian "in a great battle at Emesa" (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae: Aurel.* 25).

By late in the 4th century after Christ, Emesa had sunk to such obscurity that Libanius can speak of it as "no longer a city" although it "continues to send ambassadors and crowns to the Emperors, knowing its poverty but ashamed to fall from the number of cities" (Lib. *Or.* 227, 42 Foerster; *Ep.* 846). Two 6th-century lists, the "Synecdemus" of Hierocles and the "Description" of Georgius Cyprius, mention Emesa still among the cities of Syria (Jones 1971: App. III and 267).

The little Kingdom of Emesa achieved an impressive record, dimly reflected in the echo of its ancient name in the modern town of Homs.

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**EMIM** [Heb *ʾêmīm* (אֵימִם)]. Hebrew for "terrible ones" or "frightful ones," the designation used by the Moabites for giants who occupied their territory in more ancient times. Deut 2:10 describes the Emim as "great and many, and tall as the Anakim," another race of giants who lived in ancient Palestine. Both the Anakim and the Emim were called Rephaim (Deut 2:11). Because the Emim are associated with ancient Moab, the Zamzummim (or Zuzim) are giants linked with Ammonite territory (Deut 2:20; Gen 14:5). The Emim were defeated by Chedorlaomer and his coalition in Shaveh-kiriathaim (Gen 14:5). Nothing is known about the Emim outside of the OT.

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

**EMIR, IRAQ EL-.** See IRAQ EL-EMIR (M.R. 221147).

**EMMAUS** (PLACE) [Gk *Emmaous* (Ἐμμαους)]. Many places bore the name in antiquity, but in the NT Emmaus was a village where the risen Christ appeared to two disciples, one named Cleopas (Luke 24:13–35). Efforts to identify this site have focused on its distance from Jerusalem. There are two figures in the textual tradition in Luke for the distance from Jerusalem to Emmaus. The better reading is "sixty stadia." This is the reading in Papyrus Bodmer (P75), Codex Alexandrinus, Codex Vaticanus, Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, the second corrector of Codex K, Codex Regius, the Freer Gospels, Codex X, Codex Delta, Codex Psi, and uncials 063 and 0124. "Sixty stadia" also appears in minuscule families one and thirteen, in twenty-one other minuscule manuscripts, in the menologion of Byzantine Lectionary 185, in

eight manuscripts of the Old Latin tradition, and also in several ancient versions: in the Vulgate, in the Curetonian, Sinaitic, and Harclean Syriac, in the Peshitta, in both the Boharic and Sahidic Coptic, in the Ethiopic, and in the Georgian. The poorer reading "one hundred and sixty stadia" appears in Codex Sinaiticus, the original of Codex K, Codex Koridethi, Codex π, probably in uncial manuscript 079, certainly in minuscule 1079, in the Palestinian Syriac, in the Armenian, and in Eusebius, Jerome, and Sozomen. Codex Palatinus of the Old Latin reads "seven stadia." The Editorial Committee of the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament feels that the reading "160 stadia" arose with patristic identifications of Emmaus with Amwas-Nicopolis W of Jerusalem (Metzger 1971: 184). Since a stadium was 600 Roman feet, sixty stadia was about 7.5 miles, while 160 stadia was about 19.5 miles. The committee dismisses "seven stadia" as a scribal blunder.

According to Luke, the disciples journeyed to Emmaus, meeting up with Jesus on the way, ate a meal, and returned to Jerusalem, where they found the disciples still awake. These events therefore took place in one day, which makes a one-way distance of 160 stadia surely wrong. This distance would indeed place the traveler at ancient Emmaus-Nicopolis (modern Khirbet Imwas; M.R. 149138), which lies about 17.4 miles or 153 stadia from Jerusalem on the S road and 18.3 miles or 161 stadia from Jerusalem on the N road to Joppa. Nicopolis is assumed in almost all Christian Pilgrim texts from the 4th century onward. In 221 C.E. the emperor Heliogabalus (Elagabalus) gave Emmaus the title of "city" and the name Nicopolis or "City of Victory" at the petition of Sextus Julius Africanus, a Christian, who headed a delegation from Emmaus to the emperor. The Bordeaux pilgrim about 333 C.E. visited Nicopolis, but he merely listed it as a staging post. But in 404 C.E. St. Jerome describes his journey eight years earlier with Paula and her daughter Eustochium to the holy places, including Emmaus, which he names "Nicopolis, formerly called Emmaus" (Letter 108; Wilkinson 1977: 47). Nicopolis is Emmaus in Eusebius' *Onomasticon* (90:16). In 440 C.E. Hesychius of Jerusalem was aware that Nicopolis was too far from Jerusalem to be the Emmaus in Luke 24, if the distance was 60 stadia (*Problems and Answers;* Wilkinson 1977: 156). Extensive remains of Roman Jewish, Christian, and Samaritan buildings have been found at Khirbet Imwas.

Other sites that have been recommended as ancient Emmaus are first el-Qubeibeh (M.R. 163138), 65 stadia from Jerusalem on the road to Khirbet Imwas. This was a site favored by the Crusaders, who found an old Roman fort near el-Qubeibeh named Castellum Emmaus. A Byzantine church was excavated here by the Franciscans beginning in 1873.

Second, Abu Ghosh (M.R. 160134) is about nine miles or 83 stadia W of Jerusalem on the S road to Khirbet Imwas. It is also known as Kiryat el-'Anab (City of Grape[s]), and has been identified as OT Kiriath-jearim. There is a Roman fort at Abu Ghosh with a Greek inscription that mentions the Tenth Legion stationed there.

Third, Qaloniyeh, or ancient Colonia, lies about four miles or 35 stadia W of Jerusalem on the same S road as Abu Ghosh. It is often identified with the Motza (M.R. 165134) of the Jerusalem Talmud (Avi-Yonah 1976: 82; Sukkah 54b). Motza could be the Latin *Amassa* or Greek *Ammaous* of Josephus (*JW* 7.10.9 §217), who tells us that Titus settled eight hundred Roman veterans at Motza after the First Jewish Revolt. Josephus also tells us that Ammaous was 30 stadia from Jerusalem. Although the distance is wrong, it is not impossible as a candidate for NT Emmaus. There is no scholarly consensus.

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JAMES F. STRANGE

**EMPEROR WORSHIP.** See ROMAN IMPERIAL CULT.

**EN-BOQEQ** (M.R. 185067). An oasis on the SW shores of the Dead Sea. Like En Gedi 33 km to the N, it thrived on the growth of precious plants indigenous to hot climates. These were watered by two springs: En Boqeq and En Noith, producing 216,000 $m^3$ and 17,500 $m^3$ per annum respectively. The original name of the site is lost. However, it may be identified with the 7th century C.E. *tetrapyrgium,*

mentioned by the monk Anasthasius in his *Questiones* (Migne, *PG* 89, col. 744–45), so named after its dominant *castellum.*

Excavations have shown that the earliest occupation was in Hasmonean times, when a tower was built by Alexander Jannaeus (?) to guard the newly established plantations of pharmaceutical and cosmetic plants, such as the world famous and exceedingly lucrative judean balsam (cf. Strab 16.41, 486–89; *HN* 12.111–23; *JW* 4.468–70).

These plants, together with bitumen from the Dead Sea (also a much esteemed compound of ancient medications; Galen, *De Simplicium Medicamentorum* 11.2.10) were processed in a factory *(officina)* in the middle of the plantations, which were established by Herod and operated until its destruction by the Zealots during the First Revolt (*JW* 4.402). The Romans quickly restored the plantations (*HN* 12.112), but only Bar Kokhba refurbished the factory. Following the final destruction of the *officina* by Hadrian, the first certain sign of renewed life at En Boqeq is the building of the *castellum* during the first half of the 4th century, either by Constantine or Constantius. Until the Islamic conquest in about 634 C.E. this *castellum* guarded the E flank of the cis-Jordanian sector of the Roman *limes* and the revived plantations. After the conquest, life in and around the *castellum* continued for several decades.

**A. The Officina**

This is a workshop of 20 × 20 m, built of coarse masonry and preserved to a height of 3 m. Six rooms, including the anteroom with benches, are arranged around a central courtyard, the covered portions of which formed an integral part of the production areas. See Fig. ENB.01. Room 4, with heavy plaster on the walls and floor, had a treading floor and a collection basin for pressed-out liquids. Room 6 housed a mill on a round base for crushing, and in room 5, fixtures belonging to a bag press (?) were discovered. A central production area in the courtyard had a storage facility for dry raw materials, a fireplace, a grinding platter, a stone vat, and two adjacent ovens, of stone and clay, constructed on two different levels. Other ovens and fixtures attest to the complexity of the production process. A staircase led to a flat roof or a second story.

In one corner of the workshop area was a Hasmonean tower of well-cut ashlar blocks. This is the oldest preserved structure on the site. It served for protection as well as a strongroom for the *officina.*

Heaps of dates and lumps of bitumen attest to their use, while chemical analyses have detected the presence of etheric oils and resinous matters; these could be residues of balsamum and related substances.

The installation served, with minor changes, during three short periods: those of Herod, the first procurators, and Agrippas I up to 68 C.E. The workshop was roughly refurbished during the Bar Kokhba war (131/132–135 C.E.), after which it fell in permanent disuse.

**B. The *Castellum***

The *castellum* was a typical *tetrapyrgos* (i.e., a square structure with four protruding towers). It was small but quite strong, guarding the oasis and its approaches. It measured 18 × 18 m, and its towers were about 6 × 6 m. The walls were about 1.90 m thick, and were built of rough ashlar faces with a rubble fill. The walls were preserved 5.80 m above the lowest floor and up to 8 m from the foundations. The deep foundations were an effort to reach a layer of hard gravel. To further strengthen the structure, its E half was filled with up to 2 m of hard pressed fine gravel beneath the lowest floor. All these were necessary precautions, since this region is susceptible to frequent earthquakes. The good state of preservation of the *castellum* attests to their success.

The two internal barrack blocks, one or two stories high, were built against the outer walls, thus strengthening them and providing additional space behind the ramparts (see Gichon 1987). The following four phases of occupation have been established for the *castellum:* (1) Constantius II (337–361) to the second third of the 4th century; (2) Valentianus (364–375) to the mid-5th century; (3) mid-5th century to the Persian invasion (613/14); and (4) Heraclius (628/29) to the Arab conquest (634/35).

**C. Aqueducts and Plantations**

The oasis was watered by a system of channels and cisterns fed by two aqueducts from the springs of Boqeq and Noith. The former was 1 km long, and its course was partly rock-hewn, and part was on a freestanding wall which bridged the 35 m wide, 12 m deep Nahal Boqeq; this supplied water to the

*castellum.* Water from En Noith was undrinkable because of its mineral content. The Noith aqueduct was maintained throughout the whole Byzantine period to irrigate the plantations that had adapted to the mineral waters.

The plantations were partitioned into various-sized plots that covered the whole delta and some terraced slopes. The former were divided by dry walls up to 2 m high, with no openings; the sole access was by steps to the top and down again on the other side. The multiple enclosures seem to indicate that not all the plots were government owned, or that crown lands were leased out to private growers (cf. Yadin 1971: 128, 239). Whether the partitions were constructed only to guard the precious plants from wandering cattle, or also against theft or hostile inroads, can only be conjectured.

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MORDECHAI GICHON

**EN-DOR** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿên dōr* (עֵין דֹּר)*; ʿên dôr* (עֵין דּוֹר)*; ʿên dōʾr* (עֵין דֹּאר)]. A town located in the vicinity of the Esdraelon Plain (the ancient Megiddo Plain). Since the spelling of the final element varies in Hebrew, the meaning of the name is not certain. The spellings *dōr* (Josh 17:11), and *dôr* (1 Sam 28:7) would seem to derive from the Hebrew root *dwr* and would yield a meaning "spring of settlement," or perhaps "spring of divine assembly" (Margalith 1985: 111). There is no root *dʾr* in Hebrew, so the meaning of the third attested spelling (Ps 83:11 [—Eng 83:10]) is uncertain. It has been connected with the Greek tribal group the Dorians, on the presumption that a group of Dorian settlers settled beside a spring somewhere in the vicinity of the plain at the end of the LB or the beginning of the Iron I period (Brown 1981: 399; contrast Margalith 1985: 111).

The town is to be distinguished from its larger namesake, often qualified as NAPHOTH-DOR, a port located on the Mediterranean coast 20 km S of Haifa at the foot of the Carmel spur. The spelling of the latter site also fluctuates between *Dor* and *Doʾr,* and confusion between the two sites seems to have led to attempts to identify which "Dor" was intended in older texts where the qualifiers *ʿên* and *nāpat* were not used by appending them after the fact (so esp. Josh 12:23; Josh 17:11 and perhaps other texts where the qualifiers now appear).

En-dor is reported to have been the home of the medium whom Saul, the first king of Israel, was to have consulted on the eve of his final battle against Beth-shan (1 Sam 28:7). It is also named in Ps 83:11 (—Eng 83:10) as the site of Sisera's defeat by Barak. According to Judg 5:19, the same battle took place "at Taanach, by the waters of Megiddo"—outside of Taanach, in the Megiddo Plain, near the Kishon River. The implication in the prose account (Judg 4:12–16) that the battle site was further N, in the vicinity of Mt. Tabor, may have arisen from the interweaving of Barak's battle against Sisera with another battle in which the enemy confronted was Jabin, king of Hazor (cf. Josh 11:1–9; contrast Rainey 1985: 63*–65*). A generic Dor is listed in Judg 1:27 as a Manassite city that lay within the territory of Issachar. The list appears to be loosely arranged from E to W, so that Dor's position between Taanach and Ibleam would favor its equation with En-dor rather than Naphoth-dor. The same city list appears again in Josh 17:11, but with the variant spelling *dōʾr* instead of *dôr,* and with the expository expansion immediately following, "that is, the inhabitants of En-dor," introduced by the explicative *wāw* (for this device, see Kallai *HGB,* 258; contrast the proposal that the latter phrase arose through dittography by Margalith 1985: 111).

On the basis of the available evidence, no final decision can be made as to whether the site was located on the S or N side of the Esdraelon Plain, but two factors tend to favor a S location. The battle in Judg 5:19 was to have taken place in the immediate vicinity of Taanach, so the reported defeat at En-dor in Ps 83:11 should have been in the S end of the plain, and all the other sites named in the list in Judg 1:27 are located on the S side of the Esdraelon Plain, perhaps indicating that En-dor was too.

The site identification currently favored for En-dor is Kh. Ṣafṣâfeh (M.R. 187227), N of the Esdraelon Plain, on the N side of Nebi Dahi, ca. 6.7 km NE of modern Sôlem (i.e., Alt 1927: 41; Abel *GP* 2, 316; Zori 1952; Simons, *GTTOT* sec. 715; Aharoni *LBHG,* 434). This proposal has replaced the early equation with modern Indur, a few km SW of Ṣafṣâfeh, which was based on assumed name preservation and the 4th century C.E. testimony of Eusebius in his *Onomasticon* (Klostermann 1904: 34, 94). Archaeological survey work has ruled out Indur as a candidate, since no antiquities were found. Most recently, Tell el-ʿAjjūl (M.R. 185226) has been suggested as a viable candidate (Gal 1982: 85; Kallai, *HGB*, 175). As indicated above, however, a site on the S side of the Esdraelon Plain may be more consistent with the biblical evidence.

The narrative about Saul's final battle positions the Philistine army on the N side of the Esdraelon Plain at Shunem (modern Sôlem) on the evening of Saul's visit to En-dor and the Israelites on the S side of the plain, at the foot of Gilboa (1 Sam 28:4). According to the narrative, Saul would have had to cross behind enemy lines undetected to reach Ṣafṣâfeh or ʿAjjūl. The narrator's report in v 8 that he donned a disguise may therefore have had a twofold purpose: to lead the audience to believe that he needed it (1) to pass through the enemy ranks undetected and (2) to hide his true identity from the medium so that she would break his royal mandate and summon Samuel's dead spirit for him. Whether the author wanted to imply that Saul was risking his very life to go to En-dor to learn from the dead Samuel that he would die the next day is no longer clear to a modern audience for whom the location of En-dor is not common knowledge. It seems to be a possibility but is not a certainty. On the basis of 1 Sam 28:4–7, En-dor might just as logically be sought behind Saulide lines, on the S side of the plain, with the disguise intended to hide the king's identity from the medium.

Since according to the story Saul's trip to En-dor was to have been a secret known only to a few trusted servants, it is very unlikely that such a trip actually occurred the night before his death. Knowledge of a secret rendezvous would not have survived in sources to be "reenacted" by the "Deuteronomistic Historian" in his account of Israel's past. Nevertheless, the author of chap. 28 would have been familiar with the geographical setting in which he was recreating his fictionalized action, so that implications derived from the story as to En-dor's location can be deemed reliable for the author's own time frame.

A site in or near the S portion of the ancient Megiddo Plain, in the vicinity of the Kishon River, W of Ibleam, near a spring, and with evidence of Iron II occupation would be consistent with all the biblical evidence. All textual references to En-dor can arguably be dated to the Iron II period, so Iron I occupation does not seem to be a prerequisite. While Josh 1:27 and Judg 17:11 envision En-dor to have been a walled LB or Iron I site with dependent villages ("daughters") surrounding it, this characterization may not be reliable. It may have arisen from the use of the stereotypical description for all the sites, regardless of their size, and a retrojection or presumption of their existence "from of old."

Kh. Jadûrāh (M.R. 175213) suits the geographical context, but does not satisfy all the deduced criteria. While Iron II and Byzantine pottery has been found there during a single survey (Zori 1977: site 67), there is no spring in the immediate vicinity today. A non-perennial spring could have silted up over time, however. The site would only have housed a small village in the Iron II period, requiring one to discount the size implications from Josh 17:11 and Judg 1:27 as stereotyping. A second more promising candidate that meets all the specified criteria would be Tell Qedesh/Tell abu Qudeis (M.R. 170218). Surface survey has indicated more or less continuous occupation from the MB II period (Zori 1977: site 72), and a 12-day trial excavation in 1968 uncovered 5 strata spanning the Iron I, Iron II, Persian, and Late Roman periods in a probe trench that did not reach bedrock (Stern 1968). Two springs lay just outside the ruins to the NW. The site was a walled urban center during most of its existence, making it consistent with the

descriptions in Judg 1:27 and Josh 17:11, although the reliability of the site characterizations in both lists needs careful consideration.

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

## EN-EGLAIM (PLACE) [Heb *ʿên ʿeglayim* (עֵין עֶגְלַיִם)]. A place apparently on the shore of the

Dead Sea mentioned in Ezekiel's eschatological vision of the life-giving river flowing from the temple (Ezek 47:1–12). In that vision, the water flows S and E from Jerusalem (i.e., down the Kidron Valley) to the Arabah, freshening the once brackish water of the Dead Sea, which will then be so teeming with fish that "from En-gedi to En-eglaim it will be a place for the spreading of nets" (v 10). However, in Ezekiel's vision salt will remain in the swamps and marshes (v 11).

The location of En-gedi has never been doubted: it is identified with Ain Jidi (M.R. 187096) on the W shore of the Dead Sea about 9 miles N of the tip of the Lisan peninsula. The location of En-eglaim, however, is more problematic. Assuming that Ezekiel's vision was limited to only Cisjordanian reference points, many scholars have assumed that En-eglaim also lay on the W side of the Dead Sea. At one time, on linguistic grounds, it was identified with Ain Hujlah (M.R. 197136), about 3 miles N of the Dead Sea (however, this hardly seems to be a good place for "casting nets," and many scholars now identify this site [also, in part, on linguistic grounds] with Beth-hoglah). Another proposed identification has been Ain Feshkhah (M.R. 192122), on the W shore of the Dead Sea 16 miles N of En-gedi. In this view, Ezekiel envisioned a 16-mile-wide band of fresh water running across the Dead Sea, fed by the waters of the Kidron, with the salty marshes remaining intact N of Ain Feshkhah (and probably also S of En-gedi; Farmer 1956: 21).

However, the assumption that Ezekiel's perspective was parochially restricted to the W side of the Arabah can be questioned, and it is possible that En-eglaim was located somewhere on the E shore of the Dead Sea *opposite* En-gedi. This possibility has been enhanced by the discovery of a cache of mid-2d century A.D. documents from caves in the Judean desert. One of these documents, a Nabatean contract, mentions a place named *mḥwz ʿgltyn,* which has been associated with the biblical En-eglaim (Starky 1954: 167). A Hebrew document from this cache refers to two men "from Luhith which is in *mḥwz ʿgltyn,*" which is noteworthy because elsewhere (Isa 15:5) "Luhith" is associated with Zoar, Eglath-shelishiyah, and other Moabite places (including "Eglaim"; v 8) on the E side of the Dead Sea. Aramaic documents from this cache refer to this place simply as *mḥwzʾ,* while Greek documents refer to it as *Kōmē Maōza* ("village of Maoza") and describe it as lying within the administrative district of Zoar, thus somewhere in the SE quadrant of the Dead Sea (Yadin 1962: especially 242 and 251; Polotsky 1967: 46, 50).

It is therefore possible that *Maōza, mḥwzʾ, mḥwz ʿgltyn,* and En-eglaim are one and the same. It is furthermore possible that Ezekiel's En-eglaim is the same as Isaiah's Eglaim, which is cited apparently in poetic parallelism with Beer to define the extreme limits of Moabite territory (Isa 15:8). Beer is undoubtedly located N of the Arnon (wadi Mojib), thus Eglaim lies to the S. Eusebius (Klostermann ed., p. 36, lines 19–21) lists an *Agalleim* 8 (Roman) miles S of Areopolis (=Rabbah); if this is the same as biblical Eglaim it is located high on the Moabite plateau near Kerak (M.R. 217066), too far from Zoar to be associated with the *mḥwz ʿgltyn* of the 2d century and too far from the Dead Sea to be associated with the En-eglaim of Ezekiel 27. Aharoni (*LBHG,* 35), however, tentatively identified Eglaim with Mazra

(M.R. 201078) on the shore of the Dead Sea on the NE end of the Lisan peninsula and therefore at the extreme SW corner of Moab, but still far enough S to be placed reasonably within an administrative district headquartered at Zoar in the 2d century A.D. If Mazra is (En-) Eglaim = *mḥwz ʿgltyn,* then Ezekiel envisioned the *entire* Dead Sea N of the Lisan (not just a 16 mile wide band extending from the wadi Kidron) being revived by the river flowing from the temple, with salt residues remaining only in the marshy area S of the Lisan.

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GARY A. HERION

**EN-GANNIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿên gannîm* (עֵין גַּנִּים)]. The fourth levitical city in the tribe of Issachar, mentioned only once in the Bible (Josh 21:29). It does not have a parallel in 1 Chronicles; instead ANEM is the fourth city in that list (6:58—Eng6:73).

There is much disagreement about the identification of En-Gannim. Robinson (1841: 156) first suggested that the city should be associated with Jenin, but Jenin is clearly located in the tribe of Manasseh, only 2 km NE of Khirbet Belʿameh, a city that has been identified with the levitical city Ibleam. Because of Jenin's location, two other cities have been identified with En-gannim: En-onam (modern Olam) and Khirbet Beit Jann.

ʿÔlām (M.R. 197230) was identified as En-gannim by Albright (1926: 232) as a result of his text-critical work. Albright had argued that there was a corruption in the name as reflected in two different readings between the Joshua and 1 Chronicles texts and that the name should have been En-onam. ʿÔlām is 2 km SE of Tell Hadeṭeh/Tell ʿên-Haddah and only 5 km from the Jordan rift. North of ʿÔlām the slope drops decidedly into a narrow, cultivated ravine. Saarisalo (1927–28: 63) described this ravine as flowing to Wadi eš-Šerrâr. ʿÔlām was near the trunk road running from Damascus to Egypt via Megiddo, providing it with ready access to other parts of Galilee as well as to the Mediterranean. The deep valleys around ʿÔlām contributed to an easy access to the site. It is believed that Eusebius identified ʿÔlām as Ullama (ʾ*Aulam*) in the *Onomasticon* (140: 17).

The first pottery found was identified by Albright as belonging to the Roman/Byzantine and Arabic periods and possibly some dating to the early Iron Age I. When the inspection visits were made by the Palestine Department of Antiquities (Makhouly 1927) and by the levitical city survey team (Peterson 1977: 186–201), the pottery found was also exclusively Roman/Byzantine and Arab. It has been suggested that Albright's early Iron I assignment was based on a fine burnish ware that appears in the Roman period as well as in Early Iron I. From all the survey pottery evidence, it does not seem that ʿÔlām had an occupation before the Roman period. If this is so, then another site for En-gannim in Issachar must be found.

Over a century ago, Guérin (1880: 83) pointed out the similarity in the names between the biblical city En-gannim and the Galilee village Beit Jann. Aharoni (*LBHG,* 376) has followed this identification, suggesting that En-gannim should be provisionally identified with Khirbet Beit Jann, a site clearly situated on the NE border of Issachar (M.R. 196235), 1.5 km from Kh. Artushah at the mouth of Wadi Sarunah, where it emerges into the plain. Immediately to the W of the tell is the village of Bet-gan, bearing the ancient name of its neighboring ruin. It is only 7 km due W of the Sea of Galilee, but the altitude is much higher because of the mountains near the lake. The mound is about a km E of *Har Yabneel;* consequently Beit Jann looks over the plain to the E and has a good view to the N and S along *Har Yabneel.* It is on a strategic pass from Mt. Tabor to the Sea of Galilee. The occupational history of Kh. Beit Jann includes EB I and II, LB, possible Iron I, an abundance of Iron II, particularly the 8th century, Roman, Byzantine, and Early and Late Arabic (Porath 1971).

The one unresolved question concerning this site is whether or not a linguistic association can be made between biblical En-gannim and the village Beit Jann. From an archaeological point of view the evidence supports an Iron Age occupation (and earlier) at Beit Jann, while at ʿÔlām there is no such corroboration. The location of Beit Jann is also more accessible since it is directly on a trunk route. Nevertheless, to accept Beit Jann as biblical En-gannim does not deal with the 1 Chronicles 6 problem, but even Albright (1945: 70–71) admitted the solution to this question was "more ingenious than convincing."

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JOHN L. PETERSON

**EN-GEDI** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿên-gedî* (עֵין־גֶּדִי)]. An oasis midway down the W shore of the Dead Sea, about 35 miles SE of Jerusalem (Gold *IDB* 2: 102; M.R. 187096). This oasis is fed by a spring located on the lower slope of the cliff which rises from the Dead Sea; there are other springs nearby. The name "En-gedi" means "spring of the young goat" or "spring of the kid." Its long usefulness as an oasis is attested to by a temple that has been uncovered which dates from the 4th millennium B.C.E. (Ussishkin 1971). En-gedi later served as a stronghold in the Herodian period, ca. 50–60 C.E. (Mazar 1967a: 86; 1967b: 141–42). The oasis also contained a bathhouse in the Roman period, and a synagogue existed at the turn of the 6th century C.E. (Barag and Mazar, *EAEHL* 2: 377–79).

In strata dating from OT times, excavations at Tell el-Jurn within the oasis have uncovered buildings dated to the turn of the 6th century B.C.E., ca. 625–580 B.C.E. and a larger settlement in the Persian period, ca. 400 B.C.E. (*EAEHL* 2, 373–75).

En-gedi is spoken of in the OT both as a place whose springs created a fertile oasis and as a military stronghold. The Song of Solomon (1:14) speaks lovingly of the "gardens of En-gedi," while in Ecclesiasticus, the figure of Wisdom speaks of herself as having grown tall or been exalted "like a palm tree in En-gedi" (24:14; cf. Pope *Song of Songs* AB, 354–55). Josephus (*Ant* 9.1.2) also praises En-gedi for its palm trees and balsam. Indeed, Mazar (*EAEHL* 2, 373) supposes that ovens and pottery unearthed at Tell el-Jurn were used for the production of perfume.

As for the military side of En-gedi's history, 1 Sam 24:1 (—Eng 23:29) speaks of David in his period of flight from Saul as dwelling in the "strongholds of En-gedi." It is to this place that Saul pursues David (1 Sam 24:2—Eng 24:1) and here that David cuts off a section of Saul's robe instead of killing the king (1 Sam 24:5b–8—Eng 24:4b–7). 2 Chr 20:2, in relating the story of Jehoshaphat's battle against a coalition of Moabites, Ammonites, and Meunites, equates Hazazon-Tamar with En-gedi and says that the enemies of Israel gathered themselves for battle there. Hazazon-Tamar is spoken of as an Amorite stronghold in Gen 14:7, the story of Abraham's rescue of his nephew Lot from an alliance of eastern kings.

En-gedi is assigned in the allotment of tribal territories to the wilderness district of Judah (Josh 15:62).

The enduring quality of Israel's portrayal of En-gedi is apparent in Ezekiel, where En-gedi is named along with EN-EGLAIM as proverbial boundaries of the Dead Sea in the prophet's vision of the salty Dead Sea turned fresh and teeming with fish by the stream of water which will flow from the temple at the restoration of Israel (Ezek 47:10).

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JEFFRIES M. HAMILTON

**EN-HADDAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿên ḥaddâ* (עֵין חַדָּה)]. A town in the territory of the tribe of Issachar, mentioned only in Josh 19:21. The site is generally located at the former village of el-Hadatheh (M.R. 196232), now named Tel en-Hadda on modern maps (*LBHG,* 434). This identification is based upon the similarity in the names, the order in which the towns are listed in the passage in Joshua 19, and the assumption that all the towns listed were located between Mt. Tabor (M.R. 187232) and the Jordan River. Kallai (1986: 476) questions the identification, since he would prefer to locate the town of Shahazumeh at Tel en-Hadda (*HGB,* 476), but his suggestion has not been accepted by other researchers.
MELVIN HUNT

**EN-HAKKORE** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿên haqqôrēʾ* (עֵין הַקּוֹרֵא)]. A name of a spring in an unknown location. The phrase, a *hapax legomenon,* is found only in Judg 15:19 as "the spring of the invoker," based on Samson's "call" to God to quench his thirst and God's miraculous provision of a spring of water. An alternate etymology arises if one associates the name of the spring with that of a bird, *qôrēʾ,* identified "usually as a partridge" (KB, 851, I; cf. 1 Sam 26:20). Burney (1970: 375) suggests that *qôrēʾ* likely refers to the quail (usually Heb *sĕlāw*). While springs and fountains in Scripture often have animal names (cf. KB 1958: 699–700), there is no apparent connection between Samson's tale and the *qôrēʾ,* "partridge." There is even less reason to believe that the *qôrēʾ* refers to *sĕlāw,* "quail," since the Bible employs both names and clearly differentiates between the two. The text suggests, instead, an explanation based on Samson's "call" to God.

The ancient translations (of Judg 15:19) provide the following insights. The LXX identifies the spring as bursting forth from a "pond" (Gk *lakkos*) in the "jawbone" (Gk *siagōn*). See also LEHI. The Aramaic Targum (Sperber 1959: 79) notes that the spring emerged from a "tooth" (*kakkāʾ*) "in the jaw" (*bĕlôʿāʾ*). Because the Babylonian Aramaic *kakkāʾ* is related to Akk *kakku,* "weapon," the point of the Targumic passage may be that the spring gushed from Samson's weapon, the jawbone of a donkey. See RAMATH-LEHI. The Vg reflects this approach by indicating that the water sprang out of the molar in *"maxilla asini,"* "the jawbone of the donkey." Thus the ancient translations associate En-hakkore with a miracle, rather than with a specific topographical entity.

Despite this, during Jerome's times (ca. 400 C.E.) the spring was believed to exist in the vicinity of Eleutheropolis (Robinson and Smith 1860: 64). Modern attempts to identify the spring have thus far been unsuccessful. Guerin's (1868: 318) suggestion of Kh. ʿAin el-Lehî NW of Bethlehem is too far away for Samson's activities. Similarly, *ʿuyûn qara,* the "fountains of *qara*" (whatever *qara* means), is not a convincing identification (Buhl 1896: 90–91; Naor 1954: 147–48). If indeed the tradition of the ancient translators is true, the search for a specific topographical spring may be pointless and futile.

The extensive use of paronomasia in the Samson tales supports this view. The narrator intended a pun when citing *leḥî* twice in verse 19. The source of water was from the *leḥî,* the jaw, and the name *ʿên haqqôrēʾ* was given to commemorate the event at a particular spot, but not necessarily to name an existing spring. The location of the occurrence was *balleḥî,* "in the *leḥî,"* which here means "along the border" (see LEHI) where two other of Samson's campaigns against the Philistines took place.

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MEIR LUBETSKI

**EN-HAZOR** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿên ḥāṣôr* (עֵין חָצוֹר)]. A fortified town of Naphtali, mentioned between Edrei and Yiron (Josh 19:37). It has been proposed that it can be identified as *ʿn-y*, referred to in the town list of Tutmoses III. Its location is not certain. Some scholars have placed it at Khirbet el-Hasireh in Upper Galilee (modern Khorvat Hadran; M.R. 179271). However, archaeological surveys there have shown that Khirbet el-Hasireh was not settled before the Roman period. Aharoni (LBHG, 150; *EncMiqr* 6: 210) suggested that it may be identified with the modern Ainatha (M.R. 191281) near Bint Jbeil in S Lebanon.

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RAMI ARAV

**EN-NASBEH, TELL.** See NASBEH, TELL EN-.

**EN-RIMMON** (PLACE). See RIMMON (PLACE).

**EN-ROGEL** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿên rōgēl* (עֵין רֹגֵל)]. Spring on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin (Josh 15:7; 18:16). The name most likely means "spring of the treader, fuller, or cleaner (of clothes, i.e., at a spring)." The boundary itself, from the standpoint of Judah, runs from En-rogel up the Hinnom Valley along the S slope of the Jebusite city, Jerusalem (15:7). From the standpoint of Benjamin, it goes down to the foot of the hill facing the Himmon Valley, then down this valley along the S slope of the Jebusite city (Jerusalem) to En-Rogel (18:16). Thus the location of the site is pinpointed to be S, ca. 200 m (ca. 600 feet), just below the confluence of the Hinnom and Kidron Valleys as they join to become the lower course of the Kidron (Wadi en Nar), which then proceeds through the Wilderness of Judea to the Dead Sea. En-rogel, then (if the modern identification is correct), is just a short distance (ca. 650 m, ca. 2150 feet) S of the Spring Gihon located at the foot of the E slope of the City of David. 2 Sam 17:17 reports that Jonathan, son of Abiathar the priest, and Ahimaaz, son of Zadok the priest (2 Sam 15:35–36), were stationed at En-rogel to pass on to King David the news they would hear about the rebellion of Absalom David's son, coming from the palace at the City of David near the Spring Gihon. A little later we are told that at the Stone of Zoheleth beside En-rogel, Adonijah, David's fourth son, who aspired to be king, sacrificed sheep, cattle, and fattened calves to enhance his cause (1 Kgs 1:9).

En-rogel—Bir Ayyub ("Job's Well") in Arabic—then, near the junction of the Hinnom and Kidron and about 90 feet lower than Gihon—provided an additional water source for Jerusalem (En-rogel may share the same underground water source as Gihon). The lower part of the spring or well, 31 feet deep, is made of large, rough-hewn stones, with the upper section extending up from this lower part about 41 feet. It may be that the original spring was covered over in the earthquake in the days of Uzziah (Amos 1:1; Zech 14:5; *Ant* 9.225) (Mazar 1975: 157–58). The water comes out of a cave at the bottom of the well and, at the time of the winter rains, overflows into this upper section; the waters from the well must have helped water the gardens, such as the King's Garden (2 Kgs 25:4; Neh 3:15), in the valley (Mare 1987: 108). Some feel En-rogel may be the same as the "Jackal Well" of Neh 2:13, (Simons 1952: 161); others associate it with the Fountain Gate (Neh 3:15).

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**EN-SHADUD** (M.R. 172229). Adjacent to a perennial spring located on the N-central slope of the Jezreel Valley at the foot of the Nazareth mountains, the site has a modern name derived from the Hebrew word for spring (*En*) combined with the name of the nearby Tel Shadud.

Blanketed by as much as 1 m of alluvium, the low-lying site was apparently quite extensive, covering a wide swath of the valley slope up to and beyond the tell some 200 m to the W. The abundant water supply

from the spring and annual rains, a mild climate, and large tracts of arable land in the valley favored settlement at this site.

In salvage excavations directed by E. Braun and S. Gibson (Braun and Gibson 1984), initiated when modern construction activity uncovered some of the remains of the ancient buildings, two strata were uncovered. The earlier, Stratum II, founded on virgin soil, was represented by a number of partially preserved rectangular houses including several with features common to the EB Age such as pebbled and cobbled floors, stone pillar bases, and internal benches.

Stratum I, constructed above and occasionally reusing the earlier walls, showed some continuation of the preceding architectural traditions but is notable for the addition of an unusual sausage-shaped structure and the appearance of rounded corners in rectilinear buildings, suggesting new architectural influences.

The pottery associated with both strata is virtually identical, suggesting a continuous and probably relatively short-lived occupation. The majority of vessels are of light colored ware painted red or in the grain wash style. Rarer are finely made gray-burnished or Esdraelon Ware bowls, probably in forms attributable to the later development of this style. A few special finds include cylinder seal impressions, which have almost exact parallels at Megiddo (Stages IV and V) suggesting direct trade links, perhaps through the medium of an itinerant potter.

En Shadud was a farming community of food producers with evidence found in the flint tool kit for the reaping of cereals. A study of the faunal remains suggests that the inhabitants were also herders of sheep, goats, cattle, swine, and perhaps ass. The presence of Canaanean flint blades, some unused, without the blade cores, suggests that the village was capable of producing sufficient food surpluses to stimulate trade.

Sometime in the EB I period the low-lying village was completely and apparently peacefully abandoned with the permanent settlement shrinking to the area of the small nearby tell perched on a protruding hump of bedrock. Perhaps marshy conditions prevailed which might account for the serious warping of the strata of the site encountered in the excavation. Whatever the ultimate reason, despite the seemingly favorable factors for population development, the site never again attracted any sizable settlement, although there is evidence for occupation on the tell for the EB II, MB, LB, Iron II, Roman, and Byzantine periods as well as finds from the Middle Ages.

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ELIOT BRAUN

**EN-SHEMESH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿên šemeš* (עֵין שֶׁמֶשׁ)]. A town on the border between Judah and Benjamin (Josh 15:7; 18:17). It is usually identified with Ein Haud (M.R. 175131), on the road between Bethany and Jericho 2 miles due E of Jerusalem.

**EN-TAPPUAH** (PLACE). See TAPPUAH (PLACE).

**ENAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿênayim* (עֵינַיִם)]. Place "on the way to Timnah" where the sexual encounter between Tamar and her father-in-law, Judah, took place (Gen 38:14, 21). Its occurrence in the phrase of v 14, *bĕpetaḥ ʿênayim,* has been interpreted either, following the Targums, the Peshitta, and the Vulgate, as a reference to a fork in the road or crossroads (hence the NEB translation "where the road forks in two directions"), or, following the LXX, as a place-name (generating such translations as "entrance to Enaim" (JPSV) or "gate of Enaim" (RSV)). KJV simply translates "in an open place." The occurrence in v 21 of *ʿênayim* by itself, however, supports the latter interpretation as a place-name, possibly taken from nearby springs. Many scholars have equated Enaim with Enam in Josh 15:34, and locations in the Shephelah, either between Zanoah and Jarmuth in Nahal Yarmut (Wâdi Bûlus) or in the vicinity of the Vale of Elah, have been suggested.

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**ENAM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿênām* (עֵינָם)]. Town situated in the Shephelah, or lowlands, of Judah (Josh 15:34), within the same district as Azekah, Zanoah, and Socoh. The only reference to this settlement, whose name perhaps means "two springs," occurs in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The location of the ancient settlement is uncertain. It may be the same place as Enaim.
WADE R. KOTTER

**ENAN** (PERSON) [*ʿênān* (עֵינָן)]. Father of the chief (*nāśîʾ*, Num 2:29) Ahira of the tribe of Naphtali. Each of the five times that Enan is mentioned in the OT occurs in a tribal list where his mark of distinction is his status as the father of Ahira. Under the leadership of Enan's son Ahira, the tribe of Naphtali participated in the census of Israelite men able to go to war conducted by Moses (Num 1:15, 42–43), presented its offerings on the final day of the twelve-day celebration of the dedication of the altar (Num 7:78, 83), took its proper place on the north side of the tabernacle in the Israelite camp (Num 2:29), and assumed its position in the order of march at the Israelites' departure from Mt. Sinai (Num 10:27). The name Enan is a hypocorism which seems to mean " (God's) spring (of water)" and may have originated, as Noth (*IPN*, 224) contends, as a metaphor for the delight and joy the parents felt at the birth of their child.
DALE F. LAUNDERVILLE

**ENCHANTER/ENCHANTMENTS.** See MAGIC (OT).

**ENCOMIUM** [Gk *enkōmion* (ἐνκωμιον)]. The encomium was a rhetorical device that has been described as an elementary exercise commonly mastered in Greco-Roman schools of rhetoric. Although the rhetoricians included discussions for writing encomia under the Epideictic (display) division of oratory, its impact upon the Deliberative (legislative) and Forensic (judicial) divisions is readily evident. The encomium played a pivotal role in the development and use of portraiture in all types of literature produced during the Greco-Roman period.

While the encomium could be either a praise or an invective treatise, the primary purpose was that of praise. According to the rhetoricians, suitable subjects for the encomium included persons, cities, things; i.e., any subject an author might select. Lucian of Samosata, for example, wrote an encomium to a fly. Whereas Lucian's effort reflected his negative view of the device, such treatises were intended to demonstrate the author's rhetorical skill by concentrating on the degree of difficulty inherent in the subject chosen for praise.

Rhetorical discussions of encomium writing are found in the *Rhetorica* by Aristotle, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* (author unknown, though attributed to Aristotle), *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (attributed to Cicero), *De Partitione Oratoria* (Cicero), *Institutio oratoria* (Quintilian), and the works of Theon and Hermogenes. Though this list is more representative than exhaustive, the examples cited encompass prominent Greek and Roman literary traditions and span five centuries of rhetorical activity (4th century B.C.–1st century A.D.).

The rhetorical schools detailed precise rules for writing encomia. Quintilian's rules, for example, are representative (*Inst.* 3.7.10–18). Encomia that praise persons are to include signs or prophecies which anticipate the birth of the subject and significant events that occur on the occasion of birth. References to the person's country, parents, and ancestors may convey praise, as do accounts of his childhood and youth accomplishments. The author will then present the subject's adult career and offer accounts that give evidence of his praiseworthiness. The nature of the evidence depends upon the subject's vocation: i.e., battles for praising the soldier/general, laws for the ruler, orations for the orator, and the like. Next, the description of death with attention to how the subject stood in death is appropriate. Finally, praise is derived from events occurring both at the time of death (e.g., as signs or events of nature) and after death (e.g., resurrection accounts or festival celebrations in honor of the subject). In each instance, praise of the

adult is the primary focus, and the author is free to select those topics which best serve this encomiastic purpose.

Literary techniques are also specified. Amplification by way of exaggeration or embellishment is important to the writer of encomia. Amplification involves the selection of those events which best reflect the character of the subject, even to the point of attributing events or actions to a subject that have not occurred, if they are the kind in which the subject might have been involved. Comparison is also an important technique. Literary comparison with other personages demonstrate the superiority and excellence of the chosen subject.

Extant texts illustrate the rigor by which the rules are followed. For example, Isocrates's *Helen, Busiris,* and *Evagoras* may vary with respect to the specific topics chosen for portrayal, but they mirror rhetorical encomium prescriptions. Xenophon's *Agelilaus* also presents the model. Other ancient works of portraiture reflect close affinity with the encomium but also give evidence of more fluidity of form and variation of purpose. Examples of this type include Philo's *Vita Mosis,* Tacitus's *Agricola,* Lucian's *Demonax,* and some of the lives by Suetonius and Plutarch.

Further evidence for the fluidity of the form and the popular use (or misuse, as Lucian argues) appears in those works which contrast portraiture with history and in Lucian's invective treatise *How to Write History.* Polybius (*The Histories* 10.21.8), Cicero (*Fam.* 5.12.3), and Plutarch (*Alex.* 1.1–3) distinguish between tasks of positive or praise portraiture from the recording of events. Lucian likewise attacks those "historians" who praise at the expense of the accurate recording of events. In such works as these, one sees both the influence of this popular rhetorical device and the tensions the encomium produces, praise purposes which will move subsequent periods to further refine the art of literary portraiture.

The relevance of encomium writing for biblical studies has recently focused on discussions of the genre of the canonical gospels. Whereas there is currently a general willingness to admit the biographical nature of these biblical writings, the identification of the gospels with specific *bios* ("life") categories remains tenuous and the question continues to be the object of open discussion. See GOSPEL GENRE.

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**ENCRATISM.** The advocacy of a harsh discipline of the body, especially in regard to sexual activity, diet, and the use of alcoholic beverages. The word is derived from the Greek *enkrateia,* which has a basic meaning of "self-control." While the term had some significance in Greek philosophical usage and appears occasionally in the LXX and NT, its most familiar association is with early Christian groups practicing such disciplinary observances as celibacy, abstinence from wine, and vegetarianism (a triad familiar in the history of religions to this day). Most notable among these groups is an early Christian community called Encratites, said to have been founded by Tatian, the pupil of Justin Martyr.

In discussions of ancient Greek philosophy *enkrateia* referred to self-mastery in relation to the desire for food, drink, sex, or sleep as well as the hardships of heat, cold, or drudgery (*Xen. Mem.* 2.1.1). The ability of Socrates not only to resist sexual attraction but also to endure physical hardship is an example admired

by Plato (*Symp.* 219–20). Aristotle defines the virtue at length in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (7.1–10. 1145a–1152b). Naturally, *enkrateia* was a highly prized virtue among the Stoics.

The relatively few places where *enkrateia* is used in the LXX are mainly in the Wisdom literature and reflect the influence of Hellenistic asceticism. The term is not used in the Gospels. Paul uses it for the self-discipline of athletes (1 Cor 9:25), and it appears in the list of virtues in Gal 5:23. Exercising self-control is contrasted to marrying in 1 Cor 7:9, but the perspective is obviously eschatological and, in any case, Paul is stating a preference rather than a command. More typically Hellenistic usages occur in Acts 24:25, 2 Pet 1:6, and Titus 1:8.

As might be expected, Philo has great affection for the ideal of *enkrateia.* It also appears that the main community at Qumran practiced celibacy, although the skeletons of women and children have been found in some of the adjuncts to the main cemetery there, suggesting that it was not practiced by all community members. A number of scholars have considered the asceticism of Qumran to have been a major influence on Jewish Christianity and have used this theory to account for the severe asceticism that characterized early Christianity in Mesopotamia. Two facts stand in the way of this interpretation: (1) the Jewish communities from whom the first Christian converts in Mesopotamia were drawn were very hellenized and showed little Palestinian sectarian influence, and (2) a demonstration of the origins of the initial impulse to this asceticism would not explain why it was so dispersed through the area and lasted so long.

While early Mesopotamian Christianity as a whole was characterized by encratic tendencies, such tendencies were common elsewhere in the late Roman and early Byzantine period. There was a general mood, though not a movement, of popular encratism which extended from Mesopotamia to the Coptic monks, male and female, in the Nile river valley.

Little is known about an organized sect of Encratites. The credit for founding such a group is given to Tatian by Irenaeus, who says that they rejected marriage, abstained from meat, and denied the salvation of Adam (*Haer.* 1.28). The heresies of which Irenaeus accused Tatian do not appear in Tatian's *Oration Against the Greeks,* but there is no reason to doubt that after Justin's death (ca. 165) Tatian returned to his Mesopotamian homeland and fell into an extremely ascetic form of Christian practice and teaching there. Certainly the fragments that have remained of Tatian's other works support this view and Tatian's *Diatessaron* contains what are described as "encratite glosses," or additions to the biblical text. Regarding Tatian, Hippolytus seems to have no information not derived from Irenaeus and he does not even connect Tatian explicitly with the Encratites. He does say of both that they were Cynics and not Christians (*Haer.* 8.9, 13 and X.14). While virtually nothing is known about the sect, it must have shared the asceticism reflected in documents of other early Christian groups in Mesopotamia, documents as diverse as *The Gospel of Thomas, The Acts of Thomas, The Odes of Solomon, The Gospel of Philip,* and the works of the Marcionites, the Quqites (with significant differences), and the Manichaeans.

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O. C. EDWARDS, JR.

**ENEMESSAR** (PERSON) [Gk *Eneméssar (os)* (Ἐνεμέσσαρος)]. The name of an Assyrian king in the book of Tobit during whose reign Tobit was taken into captivity (1:2). His successor is said to have been his son Sennachereim (Sennacherib; Tob 1:15), who in turn was followed on the throne by Sacherdonos (Esarhaddon; 1:21). The Vulgate reads Salmanassar throughout (1:2, 15, 16).

No king named Enemessar is otherwise attested. Since according to Assyrian sources Shalmaneser (V) was followed by Sargon (II), who was succeeded by his son Sennacherib, scholars have tried to see in Enemessar either a corruption of Shalmaneser or some reference to Sargon. To the latter belong the suggestions (1) that the name is an inversion of Assyrian Sarru-ukkin said to mean "legitimate king," adopted by Sargon who was a usurper, and (2) that it is an otherwise unrecorded private name of Sargon

for Anumasir "Anu is gracious." In support of the former it has been suggested (1) that Enemessar derives from Senemessar, with a loss of *l* and transposition of *m* and *n*, and (2) that *shal-* was dropped and *m* and *n* were transposed. Corruption of the name would seem to be the better explanation, though it is not possible to trace all its stages. Transposition of *m* and *n* becomes the more plausible when one notes a similar metathesis in *sacherdonos.* Elsewhere in the LXX, Heb *ʾsr-ḥdn* is transliterated by some such form as *asordan* (2 Kgs 19:37; Isa 37:38; Ezra 4:2). It should come as no surprise that a romance written some centuries after its fictive date might make a mistake on the succession of Assyrian kings.
ALBERT PIETERSMA

**ENGINE.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

**ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE.** See the VERSIONS, ENGLISH articles.

**ENGRAVING.** See JEWELRY, ANCIENT ISRAELITE.

**ENLIL** (DEITY). The principal god of the Sumerians, attested as early as 2500 B.C., in the cuneiform tablets from Fara near Nippur (Sum EN.LÍL). His principal cult center was at Nippur, the Sumerian religious and cultural capital. His great temple there, called the Ekur, was considered to be the assembly hall of the gods.

Although Enlil's father An was the nominal head of the Mesopotamian pantheons, his embodiment of authority was rather static, and Enlil was de facto the most important deity, representing activity and direct engagement with the human world. In this regard, the relationship between Mesopotamian An and Enlil was similar to that between Canaanite El and Baal.

In the mythology, Enlil is allotted the earth as his domain, but he was also considered to have mastery over the moisture-bearing spring winds, and in the earliest periods Enlil was primarily a god of agriculture and productivity. He caused trees and plants to spring up from the earth and fashioned agricultural implements for humankind to use in tending them. His name was invoked in prayers for abundance and prosperity.

By the second millennium B.C., the Assyrians and Babylonians attributed to Enlil a gradually more cosmic role. He became more explicitly a wise father figure, ordering and presiding over creation. Alternately he executed the collective will of the gods toward the universe or assigned to them specific tasks to be done. Eventually he came to embody the very notion of kingship and was the source of it among all of humanity. Kingship and authority were called in Akk *ellilûtu* (<**enlilûtu*), "Enlil-ship."

Later texts, especially of the first millennium B.C., begin to assign progressively more negative traits to Enlil: he brings destruction, famine, chaos. This negative aspect, however, has probably been exaggerated in some recent studies. (See discussion in Kramer 1963: 119).

Enlil's consort was Ninlil, and among their offspring were Ninurta, god of the plow and of spring thundershowers, Nergal, lord of the underworld, and Nanna-Suʾen, the moon god who was, in turn, father of Utu, the sun god. Enlil's preeminence in the Mesopotamian pantheon was gradually replaced by Marduk among the Babylonians and Ashur among the Assyrians.

Enlil was prominent in many ancient hymns and tales. His role varies in the major Deluge traditions (i.e., in the Sumerian Flood Story, Gilgamesh Tablet XI, and Atraḫāsis), but in general he is the agent of the floods, sent because the gods are bothered by human noise. (See Jacobsen 1976: 118–21).

The *Hymn to Enlil* (Jacobsen 1976: 100–101), akin in style and content to Ps 104 and to the *Hymn to Aton* (*ANET*, 369–71), proclaims that nothing can happen in the universe without Enlil's participation. There are at least two hymns to Enlil and Ninlil, and Enlil plays a part in the Journey of Nanna to Nippur and in the Descent of Inanna as well as in many other Mesopotamian texts. In the famous creation story *Enūma eliš,* Ashur is the force in creation in the Assyrian version and Marduk in the Babylonian, but some have suggested that these versions both reflect an earlier common tradition where the god was Enlil.

The lore about Enlil was well known at the Canaanite city of Ugarit and presumably at other Canaanite sites at least by the middle of the second millennium B.C. The Hurrians were probably the transmitters of these and other major Mesopotamian religious ideas to the Mediterranean coast and into the cultural and literary milieu of the Bible (see Fulco *EncRel* 6: 533–35).

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**ENOCH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥănôk* (חֲנוֹךְ)]. 1. Son of Cain and father of Irad (Gen 4:17–18). The genealogical context suggests that Enoch (rather than Cain) may have been the builder of the city which he named after his son, Irad (Cassuto 1961: 229–31; *GHBW,* 139–41; Sasson 1978: 174; Miller 1985: 241–42 n. 9; but cf. Sawyer 1986: 164).

**2.** Son of Jared, born when Jared was 162 years old (Gen 5:18), and at 65 years, father of Methuselah (Gen 5:21). Enoch lived 365 years, "walked with God" (cf. also Noah in Gen 6:9), and was taken by God (Gen 5:22–24).

The name Enoch may be derived from the West Semitic root *ḥnk*, "to introduce, initiate" (Reif 1972; *TWAT* 3/1: 20–22). See HANUKKAH, which shares the same root. It has been suggested that the name Enoch means "founder," on the basis of its association with the founding of the first city in Gen 4:17 (Westermann 1984: 327), or "initiate," on the basis of the non-canonical traditions about Enoch's introduction into the mysteries of the world (see VanderKam 1984).

As the first biblical character to forgo death, Enoch had a unique relationship with God. This direct and continuous relationship may be the meaning of the phrase "walked with *hā-ʾĕlōhîm,"* though others have found here a reference to Enoch's association with angels. As the seventh in the line from Adam (Sasson 1978), Enoch's life of piety is a contrast with the seventh in the line of Cain, whose life is one of bloodshed (Gen 4:23–24). Further, the tradition of acquisition of heavenly wisdom, which lies behind the prophecies of *1 Enoch* and of Jude 24, contrasts with the earthly wisdom of Lamech (cf. Reiner 1961), seventh in the line of Cain.

Enoch's life of 365 years is unusually brief for the members of the Sethite genealogy. It may suggest associations with the solar year (i.e., 365 days); in this regard, Enoch has been compared with Enmeduranki, a figure taught divinatory rites by the sun god and usually listed as seventh on Mesopotamian antediluvian king lists (VanderKam 1984: 33–52; Lambert 1967). However, a closer comparison exists with Enmeduranki's adviser Utuabzu (seventh and last in the *bīt mēseri* list of antediluvian sages), of whom it is also said that he ascended to heaven (Borger 1974: 192–93).

In the NT, Enoch is portrayed as an individual who possessed faith and pleased God, so that he did not die (Heb 11:5–6); his prophecy in Jude 14–15 is a quotation from *1 En.* 1:9. The quotations of Genesis 6 that are found in the book of *1 Enoch* argue against Milik's hypothesis that the Genesis 6 material is dependent upon *1 Enoch* (1976: 30–31; cf. Black 1985: 24–25; 1987). Parallel themes in Mesopotamian myths may suggest other sources for the pseudepigraphic traditions (Grelot 1958: 24–25).

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**ENOCH, FIRST BOOK OF.** A collection of traditions and writings composed between the 4th century B.C.E. and the turn of the era, mainly in the name of Enoch, the son of Jared (Gen 5:21–24). The collection, which is roughly the length of the Book of Isaiah, is extant in its entirety only in a Ge'ez (ancient Ethiopic) translation of a Greek translation of Aramaic originals which are attested, nonetheless, by manuscript fragments from the Qumran caves (see B below).

The Enochic corpus claims to be a series of revelations which Enoch received in antiquity and transmitted to his son Methuselah for the benefit of the righteous who would live in the end times. Its major subject matter is twofold: the nature and implications of the created structure of the cosmos and the origin, nature, consequences, and final judgment of evil and sin.

The figure of Enoch portrayed in the various strata of this collection is much more complex than the prototypical righteous person suggested in Genesis. He is variously seer, sage, scribe, priest (or at least mediator), and eschatological judge.

Three myths govern the exposition in *1 Enoch.* The primary myth, rooted in Gen 5:21–24 and its Mesopotamian sources, is concerned with Enoch's journeys to the heavenly throne room and through the cosmos and the wisdom that was revealed to him during these excursions. Two other myths posit different scenarios for a primordial heavenly revolt that has had long-lasting evil consequences for the human race. In tension with these latter two myths, however, is the prevailing assumption that human beings are accountable for their conduct and for their positive or negative response to the revelations contained in this book.

In order to trace the development of the diverse but related traditions that have been collected in *1 Enoch,* this exposition will follow what appears to have been the order of their composition.

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A. The Component Parts of *1 Enoch*
1. The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries (Chaps. 72–82)
2. The Book of the Watchers (Chaps. 1–36)
3. Enoch's Two Dream Visions (Chaps. 83–90)
4. Two Pieces of Testamentary Narrative (81:1–82:3; 91)
5. The Epistle of Enoch (Chaps. 92–105)
6. An Account of Noah's Birth (Chaps. 106–7)
7. Another Book by Enoch (Chap. 108)
8. The Book of Parables (or Similitudes) (Chaps. 37–71)
9. The Book of the Giants
B. Literary History, Versions, and Manuscript Tradition C. Literary Genres and their Function
1. A Collection of Apocalypses
2. A Testament and Testimony
D. The Enochic Corpus as Revealed Heavenly Wisdom
E. Dualism in the Enochic Writings
F. *1 Enoch* as a Theological and Intellectual Synthesis
G. Provenance and Social Setting
H. The Enochic Traditions and Early Christianity

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**A. The Component Parts of *1 Enoch***

**1. The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries (Chaps. 72–82).** The structure and functioning of celestial (mainly) and terrestial phenomena are the subject matter of these chapters (VanderKam 1984: 76–109). The primitive science that is expounded suggests that this section is the oldest stratum in *1 Enoch* and that it stems from the Persian period (Neugebauer in Black 1985: 387). The text as it presently stands is a narrative in which Enoch recounts to Methuselah (76:14; 79:1) his journey through the heavens and over the earth, during which Uriel, the angel in charge of the luminaries, interpreted what Enoch saw.

Fundamental to the treatise is a solar calendar of 364 days, i.e., four seasons of ninety days each, plus one day added to each season. In the 2d century B.C.E. sectors of the Jewish community were locked in a bitter debate about the divine institution of the solar or lunar calendar. Evidence of this controversy appears in the Qumran sectarian documents and in the book of *Jubilees* (4:17, 21), which cites this treatise in support of polemics against a "gentile" lunar calendar (*Jub.* 6:35–38). Although the non-tendentious style of most of the treatise probably indicates that it was not composed for a polemical purpose, the revelatory form in which it is cast suggests that it is presented as a divinely ordained Torah, and two passages—probably not original to the book (80:2–8; 82:4–6)—indicate that the treatise had a polemical function in the form transmitted in *1 Enoch*.

The literary history of this section has many question marks. Because of its fragmented condition, the precise contents of the Qumran Aramaic material underlying these chapters are uncertain. It is clear, however, that at least parts of the Ethiopic version are a considerably abbreviated form of an Aramaic treatise that was copied on manuscripts that did not contain the other parts of *1 Enoch.* On the other hand, literary considerations indicate that 81:1–82:3 in the Ethiopic are an addition to an earlier form of the Book of the Luminaries.

**2. The Book of the Watchers (Chaps. 1–36).** These chapters constitute the second oldest section of *1 Enoch.* As a literary unit they probably date to the second half of the 3d century B.C.E. and reflect a developing accretion to a nucleus of traditions that stem from the 4th century.

**a. Introdution (Chaps. 1–5).** Most likely composed as an introduction to chaps. 1–36, this section strikes the keynote for the book (Hartman 1979). The superscription and introduction to the section (1:1–3) describe Enoch as a righteous man who saw heavenly visions that were interpreted by angels and that are now transmitted as a "blessing" for "the righteous chosen" who will live at the time of the eschatological judgment. That blessing is given in an oracle in late prophetic style which describes the eschatological theophany and the resulting blessing and curse on the righteous and sinners. Thus the Book of the Watchers is presented as a collection of revelations about the judgment.

Parallels to the form and contents of this section indicate that it is a fusion of literary forms and ideas that were at home in prophetic, wisdom, and priestly circles. The opening words (1:1) and the beginning of the theophanic description (1:3c–4) are drawn from the blessing of Moses (Deuteronomy 33), and the oracle is introduced in analogy to the oracles of Balaam the prophet (1:2–3b; cf. Num 24:15–17). The poetic first and third parts of the oracle (1:3c–9; 5:4–9) are a pastiche of phrases from biblical accounts of theophanies (Deuteronomy 33; Micah 1; Zechariah 14) and from the scenario of the new creation in Isaiah 65. Positive and negative paraphrases of the priestly benediction (Num 6:24–26) appear in 1:8 and 5:5–6. Between these two parts is a prose passage in wisdom style that contrasts nature's obedience to God's order with humanity's disobedience of the divine commands. The paradigmatic citation of the heavenly bodies may indicate that the human perversion of God's commands includes a rejection of the Enochic astronomical and calendrical Torah.

**b. The Myths of the Watchers' Rebellion (Chaps. 6–11).** This narrative of the primordial angelic rebellion serves as a mythic foundation for the Enochic authors' interpretation of certain regnant evils and their expectation of its resolution in the eschatological judgment (Nickelsburg 1981a: 212–13). The text conflates two or three separate traditions. The first recasts Genesis 6–9. The biblical "sons of God" are angels, led by their chieftain Šemiḥazah—"holy watchers," whose intercourse with mortal women breeds a race of malevolent giants whose bloody violence desolates the earth. The sin of "all flesh," which triggered God's judgment in the Deluge, according to Genesis, is here transformed into the watchers' rebellion and giants' violent victimization of "all flesh." The biblical description of the postdiluvian restoration of the earth (Genesis 9) is rewritten as a scenario of eschatological re-creation. The tradition interprets the events of Genesis as a prototype of eschatological violence, judgment, and restoration in which evil that originated in demonic rebellion would find its cure in divine intervention. Although aspects of this interpretation of Genesis may have their roots in pre-Hellenistic times, the form of the myth attested in *1 Enoch* 6–11 fits well in the time of the successors of Alexander (the Diadochoi), whose wars in contention for the kingdom (323–302 B.C.E.) have a mythic counterpart in the violence of the

giants and whose claims of divine parentage find an admirable parody in the motif of the watchers' rebellious spawning of semi-divine warriors.

In the second tradition of angelic rebellion, the angelic leader, ‹Aśa›el, reveals the secrets of metallurgy and mining which enable men to make the instruments of war and to fashion the jewelry and cosmetics that facilitate sexual seduction. According to the text of chaps. 6–11 preserved by the chronographer Syncellus, this rebellion preceded and precipitated the rebellion of Semihazah and his associates. It is likely that in the original form of this myth the watchers were sent by God to instruct humankind in useful arts (cf. *Jub.* 4:15; 5:6; Pseudo-Clementine Homilies 8:13). The story of ‹Aśa›el has analogies in ancient Near Eastern myths about culture bearers and is most closely paralleled in the Greek myth of Prometheus as told by Hesiod and Aeschylus. The motif of rebellion through the revelation of forbidden knowledge is further expounded in 8:3 (perhaps relying on another tradition), which ascribes to various of the watchers the revelation of several kinds of astrological prognostication. In context this revelation is a foil to the astronomical revelations that Enoch received and transmitted.

This section as a whole criticizes aspects of contemporary civilization, construing them as the result of heavenly rebellion that can be reversed and overcome only by divine judgment and reparation. The pervading sense of humanity's victimization by demonic forces and the necessity for direct divine intervention will continue to be a constitutive part of much of later apocalypticism.

**c. Enoch's Commissioning as a Prophet of Judgment (Chaps. 12–16).** In a kind of commentary on chaps. 6–11, this section describes Enoch's ascent to the heavenly throne room as a prophetic commissioning in the tradition of Ezekiel 1–2. The account also contains important characteristics of later Jewish accounts of mystical ascents. Although the name of Šemiḥazah is not mentioned, the text focuses on the watchers' sin with the women, which is interpreted as the heavenly priests' forsaking the eternal sanctuary and defiling themselves by violating the created distinction between spirit and flesh. Unlike chaps. 6–11, the death of the giants results not in their annihilation, but in the release of evil spirits which will plague the world until the eschaton (15:11–16:1; cf. *Jub.* 10:1–13). Reference to ‹Aśa›el and the revelation of forbidden secrets (13:1–2; 15:2–3) appears to be secondary to the section but reflects ‹Aśa›el's increasing importance in the tradition.

The watchers' sin is recounted in traditional language also found in polemics against the Jerusalem priesthood (15:3–4; cf. *Ps. Sol.* 8:13; CD 5:6–7), and aspects of the story are reminiscent of Ezra's confrontation with the Jerusalem priests who had married foreign women. This may reflect a conflict between this author and the Jerusalem priesthood. The narrative setting of the account in Upper Galilee near sites that were sacred to Canaanites, Israelites, Jews, pagans, and—later—Christians, suggests that this author lived in this region among people whose opposition to Jerusalem led them to another traditional sacred place (Nickelsburg 1981b). A date in the mid–3d century B.C.E. seems likely.

**d. Enoch's Journey to the West (Chaps. 17–19).** From the heavenly throne room (the setting of chaps. 14–16) certain angels (17:1; only Uriel is named in 19:1) accompany Enoch on a journey to the western edge of earth's disk, which culminates in two visions of the places of punishment of the rebel watchers and certain transgressing stars (18:10–11 + 19:1–2 + 18:12–16 + 19:3, assuming there is a displacement in the received text). The order of the account parallels chaps. 14–16, with the horizontal journey to God's mountain throne and the vision of the watchers' punishment replacing the vertical ascent to the heavenly throne room and the oracle that announces that punishment. A literary form akin to the Greek Nekyia (a journey to the places of punishment in the underworld) replaces the form of the prophetic call. The detailed references to places of geographic and cosmic importance indicate the apocalyptist's familiarity with speculation about these matters. In the account, however, they function as landmarks that document the seer's progress to his journey's goal.

**e. Enoch's Journey to the East (Chaps. 20–36).** After a list of the seven archangels who will accompany Enoch (chap. 20), this section recounts Enoch's visions, from the far west (where chaps. 17–19 left off) to the easternmost edge of earth's disk. The principal motif is eschatological retribution, which is stressed through a series of additions to the traditions in chaps. 17–19 (Wacker).

The journey narrative begins in chap. 21 with a repetition, in reverse order, of the visions in 18:10–19:2. Still in the West, Enoch arrives at the mountain that holds the spirits of the dead until the time of the final reward or punishment (chap. 22). Chap. 23 may be a doublet of traditions in chap. 21. At 24:2–25:7, Enoch visits the mountain paradise where God's throne is set (cf. 18:6–8). Here the Tree of Life is kept until it will be transplanted to the temple mount in the new Jerusalem, where it will nourish the righteous in the new age. Enoch's vision of Jerusalem focuses on the cursed valley of Hinnom, where the wicked will be punished eternally in the presence of the righteous. Chaps. 24–26 depict the geographic setting for the scenario in the resurrection passage in Dan 12:2. In 28:1–32:2, a literary counterpart of 17:1–7, Enoch recounts his travels through the eastern spice orchards to the paradise of righteousness, whose trees are dominated by the fragrant tree of wisdom (32:3–6). At chap. 33 he arrives at the eastern end of the earth, where Uriel shows him the outlets of the luminaries, a summary allusion to the Book of the Luminaries. The Book of the Watchers ends in chaps. 34–36 with a brief account, reminiscent of chap. 76, which summarizes Enoch's journey around earth's edge, to the sources of the winds in the North, West, South and East.

**3. Enoch's Two Dream Visions (Chaps. 83–90).** Enoch recounts to Methuselah the contents of two dream visions which he saw before he was married to Edna. According to the first (chaps. 83–84), he saw a vision of the Deluge and prayed that his posterity not be destroyed.

The second vision is an extensive allegorical apocalypse that traces human history from Adam to the eschaton (chaps. 85–90). The author depicts human beings as animals, and angels as human beings. The patriarchs through Isaac are portrayed as bulls. Jacob and his descendants are symbolized by sheep that are continually being victimized by the wild beasts that represent the gentiles. In response to the sin of Manasseh, the Lord of the Sheep commits his flock to seventy angelic shepherds (89:59–64), who are to rule for four periods. The shepherds abuse their office by permitting more than the proper number of sheep to be destroyed. This is recorded by an angelic scribe who intercedes for the sheep. The eschaton is depicted in a two-stage textual tradition (90:9–19). In its developed form, a great horned ram, representing Judas Maccabeus, wages war against the nations. A theophany leads to the final judgment of the rebel watchers, the angelic shepherds, and the apostate Jews of the end time (90:20–27). Then Jerusalem and the sanctuary are rebuilt in unsurpassed glory. A white bull is born as a (messianic?) reappearance of the primordial man, and the sheep and other animals are transformed into white bulls, thus signaling the eschatological unity of the human race which has returned to its created purity.

This dream vision has important points of contact with Enochic and biblical traditions. The rebellion of the watchers and their judgment by the archangels, the intercession of the angelic scribe which triggers the final judgment, and the final reconstitution of a righteous humanity all have counterparts in *1 Enoch* 6–11. Many events in the historical narrative reflect biblical narratives. The antagonism of the sheep and wild beasts, the shepherds' dereliction of duty (cf. Zechariah 11), and the appearance of an eschatological messianic figure are all reminiscent of Ezekiel 34. The seventy shepherds and the four periods of their rule recall the seventy years in Jer 25:11–12 and 29:10 (cf. Dan 9:2) and the four kingdoms in Daniel 7.

The dream vision was composed at least by the time of Judas' defeat of Nicanor in 161 B.C.E., though an earlier version may have ended with the theophany. Although the exact provenance of the apocalypse is uncertain, several details reflect social, theological, and ideological aspects of that provenance. The author is critical of the Second Temple and seems to assert that the polluted food on the sacrificial altar (89:73; cf. Mal 1:7) was never removed. Alongside this polluted food are mentioned apostate Jews (blind sheep, 89:74), who, late in the Hellenistic period, are opposed by young lambs whose eyes are opened—obviously pious Jews of the author's persuasion. At least in its final form the apocalypse was transmitted (and revised) by an author favorably disposed toward Judas Maccabeus, and the prominence of the motif of the eschatological sword indicates a militant ideology that is reminiscent of the congregation of mighty warriors, described as Hasidim in 1 Macc 2:42.

**4. Two Pieces of Testamentary Narrative (81:1–82:3; 91).** The brief narrative in 81:1–82:3, which is out of place in its present context in the Book of the Luminaries, forms a narrative bridge with material that follows. Enoch views the heavenly tablets that contain a record of human deeds. He is then brought

back to earth by the angelic guides mentioned in the Book of the Watchers and is told to instruct his children for one year, transmitting to them the wisdom he received on his journeys. This "testimony" for future generations is given in the presence of Methuselah.

Although chaps. 83–90 are part of Enoch's instruction to Methuselah, the narrative style of 81:1–82:3 is continued in chap. 91. Enoch's other children gather to hear the testimony of Enoch's final instruction. Its ethical component employs the scheme of the two ways, of righteousness and wickedness. The predictive section in vv 5–10 parallels two subsequent texts: the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1–10 + 91:11–17) and Enoch's prediction in 106:13–107:2.

**5. The Epistle of Enoch (Chaps. 92–105).** These chapters claim to be an epistle from Enoch to his spiritual descendants in the latter generations. Counterposed throughout are the righteous and the sinners and the respective judgments that await them. The introductory Apocalypse of Weeks schematizes human history from Enoch to the eschaton and provides a time frame for the judgment that is presumed in the rest of the Epistle (VanderKam 1984: 142–60). Central to the Apocalypse is the primordial and eschatological opposition between violence and deceit and righteousness and truth. The seventh week will be marked by the constitution of the community of the righteous and chosen, whose gift of "sevenfold wisdom and knowledge" will enable them to uproot the structure of violence and deceit. The sword of judgment given to the righteous in the eighth week is reminiscent of the Animal Vision, and the motif is repeated in 95:3; 96:1; and 98:12. In the tenth week, the eschatological temple will be built, and the revelation of righteous Torah will turn all humanity to righteousness (see also above).

The body of the Epistle employs three literary forms typical of biblical prophecy: woes, admonitions usually introduced by "Fear not," and eschatological predictions introduced by "then" or "in those days" (Nickelsburg 1977). Described throughout is the oppression of the righteous by rich and powerful sinners (corresponding to the aforementioned "violence") and the false teaching of those who alter the Torah and lead many astray with their lies (corresponding to the "deceit" mentioned in the Apocalypse; Nickelsburg 1982). In a final major section (102:4–104:8), the author confronts the problem of theodicy raised by the present situation and offers a solution in the judgment that will give new life to the righteous dead and will recompense the sinners who have thus far gone unpunished. In a brief concluding section (104:12–105:2), the eschatological wisdom mentioned in 93:10 is identified with the books of Enoch, which are the basis on which the righteous will "testify to the sons of the whole earth."

Although the Epistle employs earlier and, in many cases, non-Enochic traditions, the section as a whole was created as an exhortative conclusion to the Enochic corpus. Its admonitions to the faith and righteous conduct that will lead to salvation presume earlier sections of *1 Enoch.* Enoch's vision of the place of the dead (chap. 22) is presupposed in 102:4–103:8, his viewing of the heavenly tablets is cited in 103:2, and his visions of angelic intercession are referred to in 104:1. Vision, angelic interpretation, and his reading of the tablets are mentioned in 93:2. Through these citations and the use of prophetic literary forms and of oath formulas that underscore the certainty of the author's message of judgment, the author identifies this section and the corpus as a whole as the revealed, saving wisdom they claim to be.

The date and provenance of the Epistle are uncertain. If the Epistle as a whole was composed at the same time as the narrative in 81:1–82:3 and 91, the possible allusion to this narrative in *Jub.* 4:18–19 may indicate a date early in the 2d century B.C.E. On the other hand, the body of the Epistle may reflect excesses in the Hasmonean period and thus date to the latter part of the 2d century. The Epistle was composed in unidentified circles closely related to the Qumran community.

**6. An Account of Noah's Birth (Chaps. 106–7).** The miraculous circumstances attending Noah's birth terrify his father Lamech, who suspects an angelic conception and sends Methuselah to Enoch for an explanation. The seer attributes the evils of the present time to the angelic rebellion but promises that in Noah Lamech's progeny will be preserved and the world and humankind will be restored after the judgment of the Deluge. Thus the narrative concludes the Enochic corpus with the promise, inherent in its typology of primordial and end times, that salvation will follow the eschatological judgment. Evidence from the Qumran manuscripts indicates that the narrative was composed before the middle of the 1st century B.C.E. It is a variant of the stories of Enoch's vision of the Flood in chaps. 83–84 and Noah's

anticipation of the Flood in chap. 65. All three reflect the kind of apprehension and fear that are typical of people who believe they are living in the last times.

**7. Another Book by Enoch (Chap. 108).** This brief work of uncertain origin and date was added to the end of the corpus as a final word of exhortation to the righteous of the end time. Drawing on other parts of the corpus, it presents a brief vision of the place of punishment as evidence of the coming judgment and calls on the suffering righteous to endure in anticipation of their glorification.

**8. The Book of Parables (or Similitudes) (Chaps. 37–71).** This longest of all the Enochic books is generally considered to be the latest major stratum in the corpus. There is some doubt as to its title. Although the superscription in 37:5 calls attention to the three "parables" (38–44; 45–57; 58–69) that constitute its primary contents, and 68:1 (a later interpolation) refers to "the Book of the Parables," the expression "He took up his parable and said" is used in earlier strata to introduce the initial oracle (1:2, 3) and the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1, 3). The author's superscription designates the work as "The vision of wisdom which Enoch … saw" and wrote down both for the men of old and those of the latter days (37:1–3; cf. 1:1–2; 92:1).

The Book of Parables is, for the most part, an account of the visions that Enoch saw and the accompanying angels interpreted as the seer journeyed to the heavenly throne room and through the cosmos. A significant part of the text is a revision of earlier Enochic traditions drawn from the Book of the Luminaries and the Book of the Watchers. Material parallel to the former is found in 41:3–8, chaps. 43–44; 60:11–24; and 69:22–24. The first parable has many point-by-point similarities to chaps. 1–16, and later sections develop aspects of the accounts of Enoch's journeys in chaps. 17–36. The double list of angelic names in 69:1–12 is a variant of the lists in 6:7 and 8:1–3. The Noachic narratives in chaps. 65–67 are related to the stories in 83–84 and 106–107, although this material may be a secondary interpolation into an earlier form of this work.

The uniqueness of this Enochic work lies in a series of vignettes set in the heavenly throne room which depict, in the form of a developing drama, events related to the great judgment. The principal figure in these scenes is a transcendent heavenly figure whom God has designated as the eschatological judge and the vindicator of the righteous and elect. The text refers to him variously as "the Chosen One" (his primary title), "the Righteous One," "that son of man," and God's "Anointed One." See SON OF MAN. As these designations indicate, the descriptions of this figure are the fruit of speculations on the biblical texts about "one like a son of man" (Daniel 7), the Deutero-Isaianic servant of the Lord (esp. Isaiah 42, 49, 52–53), and the Davidic king (Psalm 2 and Isaiah 11). The Chosen One will judge two major groups of sinners. They are "the kings and the mighty," who persecute the righteous and function in analogy to the giants in chaps. 6–11 and the sinners in 92–105, and the angelic chieftain Azazel and his hosts, who, like ‹Aśa›el and the others in chaps. 6–11, have revealed the secrets of unrighteousness.

Through these vignettes the author presents his message. In the coming judgment, God will vindicate the righteous and elect and punish their enemies. The book, in turn, is offered as revealed wisdom about this judgment and the heavenly realm in which it is already beginning to happen, and it promises salvation to the righteous who stand firm in this knowledge.

The Enochic character of the Book of Parables is emphasized in its last two chapters, which, however, may be secondary to the text. Here Enoch's translation (Genesis 5) is identified with his ascent to the heavenly throne room (*1 Enoch* 14) and with the presentation of the son of man in Daniel 7. Thus, as a climax to the drama that the seer has seen unfold, he sees himself being presented to God as the son of man who is to be the eschatological judge.

The date and provenance of the book have long been disputed. Taking note of their absence from the Qumran Aramaic fragments and some similarities to the Christian Sibylline Oracles, Milik (1976: 91–98) has argued that they are a Christian product from ca. 270 C.E. However, several weaknesses in Milik's argument make this conclusion highly dubious. The Parables' absence from Qumran need only indicate that their author based his work on copies of the pre-Qumran Enochic texts which circulated outside of Qumran. The Christian Sibyllines are probably ultimately dependent on the Parables and not vice versa. Milik's identification of the Parthians and Medes (56:5) with the Palmyrenes is generally not accepted.

Currently, most scholars take the Parables to be a Jewish text from either the last half of the 1st century B.C.E. or the first three quarters of the 1st century C.E. The earlier dating finds in 56:5 a reference to the Parthian invasion of 40 B.C.E. and in 67:8–13 a reference to Herod the Great. The later dating emphasizes the affinities between the Parables and the Jewish apocalypses of the late 1st century C.E. and the book of Revelation (Knibb 1978). Their specific provenance in Judaism is uncertain.

**9. The Book of the Giants.** Although these narratives about the sons of the watchers and the women are not part of the Ethiopic corpus, they are contemporaneous with some of the strata in that corpus. Fragments of six copies of the work have been identified among the Qumran Aramaic fragments, and paleographic considerations indicate the early 1st century B.C.E. as a terminus ad quem for its composition. From the Qumran fragments and from numerous fragments and passages from a Manichean version of the work we can reconstruct some of the contents of the book, but the rest of its contents and its relationship to the narrative parts of *1 Enoch* are uncertain (Milik 1976: 298–317).

**B. Literary History, Versions, and Manuscript Tradition**

Although many details remain obscure, we can trace major aspects in the literary history of the Enochic corpus. The Book of the Watchers developed in stages from its mythic nucleus in chaps. 6–11. With some more additions this major unit came to function as the narrative introduction to an Enochic testament. An additional narrative described how Enoch returned from his journeys through the cosmos and was commanded to instruct his children (81:1–82:3; 91). At some point that instruction came to include not only the two–ways admonitions in chap. 91 and 94:1–4 and the historical surveys in 93:1–10 and 91:11–17, but also the two dream visions (chaps. 83–90) and the body of the Epistle (92; 94:5ff). This latter served as an exposition of the two–ways theology and an extended exhortation that was based on Enoch's visions (chaps. 21–36; 81) and the announcement of the judgment implicit in them and explicit in chaps. 1–5. The addition of chaps. 106–107 provided a narrative of primordial times that anticipated the salvation of the eschaton. A compressed form of the Book of the Luminaries (chaps. 72–82) was juxtaposed to the astronomical material in chaps. 33–36, and then the Book of Parables (chaps. 37–71) was interpolated between these two sections. Chapter 108 was added as a final exhortation.

With the exception of the Parables and chaps. 83–84 and 108, all the major sections of *1 Enoch* are represented among the Qumran Aramaic manuscripts, as is the Book of Giants. It is likely that all component parts, including the Parables, were composed in Aramaic. The Akhmim papyrus (6th century) and the Chester Beatty papyrus (4th century) preserve, between them, approximately twenty-five percent of the Book of Watchers and the Epistle in Greek translation. Two other mss preserve Greek fragments of the Book of the Luminaries and the Animal Vision. Quotations in the Book of Jude, various of the Church Fathers, and the chronography of George Syncellus reflect knowledge of a Greek translation of the Book of the Watchers, the Apocalypse of Weeks, and the Epistle, and the earliest of these quotations indicates the late 1st century C.E. as a terminus ad quem for the Greek translation(s). Whether the archetype of the Ethiopic translation, which was made no later than the 6th century, used a single Greek ms or a set of mss depends on whether the Parables were translated from a Greek version or directly from the Aramaic, as Ullendorf and Knibb suggest (Knibb 1978: 2.37–46). In the latter case, *1 Enoch* would have come into its present form only in the Ethiopic version. Of that version, a large number of mss are known, many of them parts of more extensive biblical mss.

**C. Literary Genres and Their Function**

*1 Enoch* provides a wealth of information about the development of (biblical) literary genres during the crucial transitional Hellenistic period. Chaps. 6–11 are an early example of the rewriting of biblical narrative which will later emerge in Targum and Midrash. Other texts are developing examples of the prophetic forms of call story, salvation-judgment oracle, woe, or exhortation. Chaps. 2–5, the two–ways instruction in chaps. 91 and 94, and some of the woes in the Epistle have important analogies in Israelite Wisdom Literature.

**1. A Collection of Apocalypses.** Large parts of the Enochic corpus belong to two literary genres. The first of these appears in various types of apocalypse. The Book of the Luminaries, chaps. 17–19 and 20–36, large parts of the Parables, and part of the narratives in 81:1–82:3 and chap. 108 are cast as journeys

to inaccessible places where visions are interpreted by an accompanying angel. This form and literary device have counterparts in Ezekiel 40–48 and Zechariah 1–6 (Himmelfarb 1983: 56–58). In addition, in texts with no counterpart in a biblical genre, Enoch recounts in chaps. 85–90, 93:1–10, and 91:11–17 visions that describe the history of the world from primordial time to the eschaton. In both of these, the narrator functions as an inspired revealer of secrets about the hidden future. Finally, the instruction and exhortation that constitute the major part of the Epistle are explicitly based on Enoch's visions of heavenly and cosmic entitites: heavenly tablets and books, angelic intercession, and the places and objects of eschatological blessing and punishment. This repeated use of revelatory literary forms and recourse to revealed visions and information justifies our calling *1 Enoch* an apocalyptic work or, in large part, a collection of apocalypses.

Enoch sees and then reveals to the reader God's hidden world and hidden future. The former is important to note because studies of apocalyptic theology have tended to stress eschatology. However, in its earliest form, a work like the Book of the Luminaries appears not to have dealt with eschatology. Instead, the author revealed the hidden workings of the heavenly bodies which undergird a calendrical Torah.

Although the journey narratives in chaps. 17–36 reveal aspects of God's hidden world and doubtless reflect study and speculation about "scientific" matters, the journeys and various segments in them climax in interpreted visions about phenomena and places of eschatological importance, and thus the cosmic information functions to undergird the author's eschatology. This eschatology has both a temporal dimension and a spatial one. Here Enoch sees the places, things, and agents of the judgment that elsewhere is predicted. God has prepared and built into the cosmos the entities that will facilitate that judgment and its consequences. Enoch's revelation includes reports that these things are present and happening in God's hidden world, and this revelation of present realities guarantees that the future judgment and its consequences will also take place.

**2. A Testament and Testimony.** The function of the apocalyptic genres becomes evident in the use of a second genre—the testament—which governs the shape of a large part of the Enochic corpus. Especially noteworthy are the similarities to parts of Deuteronomy. The superscription and initial description of the eschatological theophany recall the Blessing of Moses (1:1, 3c–4, 9; cf. Deut 33:1–2). The testamentary setting in 81:5–82:3 and chap. 91, the double description of future history in 91:5–10, 93:1–10, and 91:11–17, and the two–ways instruction in 91:3–4, 18–19; 94:1–4 have counterparts in Deuteronomy 38–32. The fragmentary passage in 93:11–14 paraphrases Deut 4:33 and sets the uniqueness of Enoch's revelations of the heavenly throne room and the cosmos in parallel to the uniqueness of the revelation of the Mosaic Torah (contrast Deut 30:11–14). The key word "testify" (81:6; 91:3), used of Enoch's instruction to his children and of the book's function in the eschaton (104:11; 105:1), parallels the usage in Deuteronomy 30–31 and ascribes to the Enochic corpus a function that parallels the Mosaic Torah and Moses' descriptions of the future. In the end time the testamentary deposit of Enoch's revealed wisdom appeals to the righteous and the world at large to obey its Torah (both what is written in the corpus and the broader tradition transmitted by the community) so that they may be saved in the coming judgment.

**D. The Enochic Corpus as Revealed Heavenly Wisdom**

The Enochic authors' use of revelatory genres derives from their belief that they are transmitting heavenly "wisdom." Contrary to what one might expect, the noun "revelation" seems never to have been used in this corpus, and the verb "reveal" is rare (see 7:1; 8:3; 9:6, 8; 13:2 for the secrets brought by the rebellious watchers; 10:2, 107:3 for information about Noah and the Flood, and 106:19; 91:14; 94:2 for the revelations to Enoch and their promulgation in the end time). More frequently Enoch's revelations are called "wisdom" (5:8; 32:3–6; 37:1–4; 82:2–3; 92:1; 93:8, 10; 94:5; 104:12; 105:1), and the verb "given" denotes its divine origin (5:8; 37:4; 93:10; 104:12).

The Enochic corpus is an earthly deposit of wisdom from and about the hidden world, which has been mediated through authors who are identified with the primordial sage and seer. One is interested not in the historical process by which this wisdom came to be embodied in these texts but with its identity as

heavenly wisdom and its association with an ancient figure who is perceived to have been the quintessential source and mediator of such wisdom.

Enochic wisdom has a salvific function. It is Torah broadly conceived. Aspects of it reveal the laws that embody the divine will that is to be obeyed if one is to be saved. It also provides instruction about the coming judgment, in which God will save and damn the obedient and disobedient. Thus the Enochic revelation of wisdom and one's response to it are crucial for salvation, or life, or blessing.

This view of wisdom is functionally similar to Ben Sira's understanding of wisdom. As is evident from Sirach 24, Ben Sira sees the Mosaic Torah less as a historical phenomenon associated with Mount Sinai than as the perennial repository of preexistent heavenly wisdom whose life-giving function is mediated through its interpretation by sages like himself. The differences between the two authors' understanding of wisdom must, of course, be noted. Ben Sira expounds what he understands to be Mosaic Torah; his opinion about the specifics of Enochic wisdom is uncertain (44:16 is textually problematic). As to the means of revelation, he is skeptical about dreams and visions (34:1–8). Unlike the author of the Epistle, moreover, he does not limit salvation to those who accept his interpretation of Torah.

**E. Dualism in the Enochic Writings**

The Enochic authors' use of revelatory genres is a function of the dualistic understanding of historical and cosmic reality which pervades the corpus and is essential to its exposition. The phenomenal world is a reflection of a hidden world whose complex realities can be known only if they are revealed. The nature and functions of this dualism and the consequent pervasive use of apocalyptic genres are important defining characteristics of the Enochic corpus and signal some important transformations of biblical tradition.

A spatial dualism is integral to the exposition of Enochic Torah. Although we are not well informed about the totality of the Torah of the circles that created the Enochic writings, it is evident that correct calendrical practice played an important role. For this reason, certain of the authors emphasized the revealed knowledge of the hidden world of the heavenly luminaries which was necessary for right conduct.

Important aspects of the Enochic authors' understanding of the nature of evil were governed by a dualistic worldview. Human beings were, of course, responsible for their actions, and they would be rewarded or punished accordingly at the great judgment. Nonetheless, the Enochic authors attributed a significant part of the evils in this world to a hidden demonic world, and the corpus devotes considerable space to myths that trace the origins of that world to an angelic rebellion that took place in the heavenly realm and the hidden primordial past (see A.1.b above).

Given the supernatural origin and character of the evils, the authors seek a remedy beyond history and beyond the empirical world. On the one hand, the remedy lies in the hidden future when divine judgment will usher in a new age qualitatively different from the present one, when the Creator's primordial intention will become permanent reality and evil will be forever eradicated. On the other hand, the solution is already in process, in the hidden throne room in the heavenly realm, where the archangelic counterparts of the demons plead and prepare for salvation, and in the secret recesses of the cosmos, where the places of punishment await or already claim their victims.

**F. *1 Enoch* as a Theological and Intellectual Synthesis**

*1 Enoch* attests the confluence of many social, cultural, and religious currents in postexilic Judaism. Fundamental is the belief that God's will has been revealed and is to be obeyed. The Mosaic Torah, evidently interpreted in specific ways, is presumed, but supplemented by Enochic Torah, which focuses on cosmology and calendar. In their predominating claim to be mediating revelations about the great eschatological judgment that will recompense the righteous and the sinners for their responses to God's will, the Enochic authors are indebted to aspects of Israelite prophecy, as is evident from the use of prophetic forms and genres and dependence on specific prophetic traditions. However, the embodiment of this message in extended historical and cosmological apocalypses and the transformation of the call vision into a heavenly ascent reflect important divergences from biblical tradition. Passing allusions and detailed references to animate and inanimate aspects of the created world and its components and structure

indicate more than a passing acquaintance with interests and concerns elsewhere evident in the Wisdom Literature (Stone 1976). These motifs supplement the temporal emphasis of prophetic eschatology with a spatial dimension, and the whole is further embellished through the use of literary forms and traditions at home in the Wisdom Literature.

Through the intersection of these currents a new phenomenon appears in *1 Enoch.* The content of Torah is broadened, and its true interpretation is specified. The revelation of God's will and of the eschatological future is supplemented by revealed knowledge of a hidden world, and together these are identified as heavenly wisdom of broad and inclusive dimensions, mediated by a primordial seer and sage.

The Enochic convergence of Israelite intellectual, theological, and religious streams is further complicated by elements of pagan provenance: Babylonian myths about the ancient sage (VanderKam 1984: 23–75), Greek myths about Prometheus and about the Titans, and common Near Eastern mythic geography and cosmology (Nickelsburg 1981a: 212–13). The principle of selective syncretism is not new to Israelite religion, but the specific mix is novel.

**G. Provenance and Social Setting**

The Enochic writings are a corpus of closely related traditions that were created, transmitted, and developed in "pious" Jewish circles of the 4th to 1st centuries B.C.E. The Essenes at Qumran were one important heir and transmitter of the corpus during the 2d and 1st centuries, although there is no sure evidence that this group wrote any part of the corpus (Nickelsburg 1986). That the group or groups who created the Enochic traditions were closely related to the Qumran sect is indicated not only by the presence of many Enoch manuscripts at Qumran but also by allusions to this literature in Qumran sectarian documents and by a substantial number of similarities between *1 Enoch* and various of the sectarian texts. Among the similarities are a common solar calendar, antagonism toward the Second Temple (though partly for different reasons), the prized memory of a religious awakening, reform, or renewal in the Hellenistic period, the claim to be God's (harried and persecuted) righteous elect who possess the interpretation of the Torah necessary for salvation and insight into the divine eschatological mysteries, and a common militant ideology that anticipated the elect community's participation in the coming judgment.

Much work remains to be done on the history of the circles that produced the Enochic literature and their relationships to the Qumran sect, but the following are guideposts. In the earliest recoverable form of the Šemiḥazah story, the reference to God's revelation to Noah reflects the author's belief that he and certain others constitute a righteous remnant whose knowledge of the coming judgment will save them. The early date of the Book of the Luminaries indicates that a solar calendar was one of the earliest constituents of Enochic Torah. Chaps. 12–16 appear to reflect antipathy toward the Temple as early as the 3d century, and the later Animal Vision and probably the Apocalypse of Weeks trace this back to the time of its construction. The book of *Jubilees,* which probably dates to the time of Jason's reforms in Jerusalem, prizes the Enochic traditions and emphasizes the importance of the solar calendar. Nonetheless, it reflects little sectarian consciousness and appears to limit its condemnation of the temple and priesthood to the Hellenistic period. Daniel 7 and 12 appear to reflect traditions in *1 Enoch* 14: 24–27, and Daniel's visionary activity parallels that of Enoch. Although we know very little about the Hasidim mentioned in 1 and 2 Maccabees, nothing in the Enochic texts prevents the theory that these texts and that group were parts of a common reform movement or series of movements. Column 1 of the Damascus Document and the Apocalypse of Weeks appear to refer to a religious awakening in a period that both describe without mention of the Return and the Second Temple, and Column 8 of the Manual of Discipline reapplies the tradition to the founding of the Qumran community. The absence of the Book of Parables in the Qumran library suggests that the corpus was transmitted and developed in at least one context other than Qumran.

Although the pseudepigraphic nature of the Enochic texts masks much of the social, institutional, and other functional realia that constituted their authors' world, some hints are present. Interpretation of received tradition was a primary activity. This tradition was, of course, ascribed to Enoch. Behind it, however, lay the Pentateuch and the Latter Prophets, and in the Animal Vision, the history recorded in the

Former Prophets. In addition, certain kinds of speculation reflect a study of the heavens and transmission of cosmographic and geographic lore. From a formal point of view, the largest part of the corpus records dreams and visions and their interpretation—an activity with a history that runs from the Joseph stories, through Ezekiel and Zechariah, to the Danielic stories and visions.

Binding all this activity together is the claim to be mediating revelation. Interestingly, however, in spite of the Mosaic and prophetic roots of much of the tradition, the authors never attribute the title of "prophet" to Enoch or to any of the righteous described in the texts. Two terms in the texts are suggestive of revelatory activity. Certain of the righteous who teach divine Law are called "the wise" (98:9; 99:10), which may indicate the title *ḥakkîm* or *maśkîl.* Since Enochic "wisdom" is revealed, the title has revelatory connotations. Enoch, on the other hand, is called the wise and righteous "scribe" (15:1; 92:1). Although this term refers to his writing activity, it has more exalted connotations. In keeping with the earlier picture of Ezra and the later description by Ben Sira (chaps. 24, 39), it probably identifies the authors as sages who are the authoritative interpreters and transmitters of sacred tradition. Unlike both of these, however, the Enochic authors claim for their interpretation a directness and immediacy of revelation that functionally parallels that of the prophets. The precise office, institution, and practices that underlie the terms "wise" and "scribe" need further study. The Qumran Scrolls offer some hints in their references to "the Teacher of Righteousness," whose title parallels that of Enoch (*1 Enoch* 12:4; 15:1) and whose interpretation of the Torah and the Prophets may be counterparts of some of the types of activity in the Enochic tradition.

How the Enochic authors and their readers and adherents may have been organized into a community or communities remains a mystery. Some suggestions of communal existence may be present in the references to the chosen righteous in chaps. 1–5, the Apocalypse of Weeks, and 104:12–14, as well as in the Parables in the reference to "the houses of his congregations." However, specific and explicit information of the type furnished by the Qumran Manual of Discipline and archeological evidence is lacking for the Enochic literature.

**H. The Enochic Traditions and Early Christianity**

Until the discovery of the Qumran Scrolls, the only preserved texts of the Enochic writings derived from Christian circles (see B above). The living context of this transmission was a religious community that arose from and for some time continued to draw on the resources of an apocalyptic Judaism transmitted in the Enochic writings. At least some of the Son of Man sayings in Mark and "Q" know the tradition as it was reshaped in the Book of Parables and "christologize" it (see SON OF MAN). Traditions associated with the Apostle Peter (in Matthew 16, 1 and 2 Peter, and the *Apocalypse of Peter*) draw on elements in the corpus (Rubinkiewicz). Matthew and probably Luke reflect parts of it. The Apocalypse of John of Patmos uses Enochic traditions about ‹Aśa›el and is the closest formal counterpart to the Book of Parables. Jude (vv 14–15) and Tertullian (de Idololatria 4; de Cultu Feminarum 3:1) ascribe prophetic status to the patriarch Enoch and quote the opening oracle and the Epistle respectively. *Barnabas* 16 quotes the Animal Vision and the Apocalypse of Weeks as "scripture." Justin Martyr (2 Apologia 5) and evidently Irenaeus (Adversus Haereses 4.36.4) appear to know the Enochic traditions about the angelic rebellion, and Pseudo-Clement (Homilies 8:12ff.) knows more than is preserved in *1 Enoch.* Other allusions and quotations appear in Clement of Alexandria and in Origen. Thus, at a time when the writings ascribed to Enoch were falling into disuse among Jews, these same texts continued to be cited as inspired scripture in sectors of Christianity. Except in the Ethiopian church and among the Manicheans, however, this authority of Enochic scripture disappeared as the canon of ancient writings was limited to the books contained in the Hebrew Bible or the. Nonetheless, the Enochic influence has continued in the form of traditions that were formative in the writing of the NT texts.

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**ENOCH, SECOND BOOK OF.** This pseudepigraphical apocalypse is attested only in Slavonic. Conventionally identified as *2 Enoch*, the work has almost as many names as there are manuscripts (Andersen, *OTP* 1: 102), ranging from "The Tale (*slovo*, literally 'word') of" or "Life of" or "Book of (the Secrets of) (Righteous or Wise) Enoch" to even more elaborate titles. These variants reflect the mixed identity, the diverse contents, and the complex structure of the work.

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## A. Contents

In its most extended form, *2 Enoch* consists of two distinct and different parts: first, the life of Enoch (chaps. 1–68); second, events after the final disappearance of Enoch until the death of Noah (chaps. 69–73). The contents can be outlined as follows:

1. Life of Enoch
    a. Enoch's Journey Through Seven (or Ten) Heavens (chaps. 1–21)
    b. Enoch's Interview with the Lord (chaps. 22–35)
    c. Enoch's Return to Earth (chaps. 36–38)
    d. Enoch Instructs His Children (chaps. 39–63)
    e. Enoch's Final Call and Last Words (chaps. 64–66)
    f. Second Translation of Enoch to Heaven (chaps. 67–68)

2. Subsequent Events a. Ministry of Methusalom (69:1–70:16)
b. Ministry of Nir (70:17–26)
c. Birth of Melkisedek (chap. 71)
d. Translation of Melkisedek (chap. 72)
e. The Flood (chap. 73)

**B. The Text**

The study of *2 Enoch* is hampered by the inaccessibility of the primary data in reliable form. Although at least twenty mss are known which contain portions of the text in various forms and contexts, so far only one (*Mpr*) has been published in facsimile (Tikhomirov 1961). There are no diplomatic presentations of any of the others, and critical editions (Sokolov 1899; 1910a; Vaillant 1952) are limited in scope and method.

**1. Manuscripts.** The best available stemmatology is that of Vaillant (1952: xxiv). This will be used in what follows, although it can be considered only provisional. Vaillant classified twelve manuscripts (mss) into six families. Bonwetsch (1922: xiv) arranged ten mss into six families, different from those of Vaillant.

**a. Family 1.** (1) Ms *A.* BAN 45.13.4 in the Library of the Academy of Sciences, Leningrad (Meshchersky 1964; 1965). This is a still unpublished 15th-century ms, the "Academy Chronograph" in which the text of *2 Enoch* occupies folios 357–366ob. This ms is the basis of Andersen's translation (*OTP* 1: 101–221).

(2) Ms *U.* The Uvarov ms, GIM 3 (18) in the State Historical Museum, Moscow. The text was published by Sokolov (1910a: 111–30), with notes (1910b: 33–44). In 1899 Sokolov (1–80) supplied variants from ms *U* to his edition of ms *Rum* (see family 2 below). This 15th-century ms was the basis of Vaillant's edition (1952). Ms *U* is close to ms *A*; in fact Meshchersky (1974) recorded the impression that ms *A* had been copied from ms *U.*

(3) Ms *Tr.* Ms No. 793 of the Trinity-Saint Sergius Monastery Library (now in the Lenin Library, Moscow) is a 16th-century chronograph into which has been worked a summary of the final part of *2 Enoch* (folios 401–402ob). The extracts cover the closing scenes of Enoch's life and go on to the Melkisedek story. They correspond to *2 Enoch* 67; 69:16–18a; 70:16; 71:1–23a, 27–29; and 72:9. This material was the first part of *2 Enoch* to be printed in modern form (Tikhonravov 1863: 19–20 [Enoch]; 26–28 [Melkisedek]). Sokolov subsequently published some extracts (1910a: 161–62; notes 1910b: 95–103), and concluded that the précis had been made from a ms belonging to the same family as ms *U* (1910b: 103). Because the excerpts have been handled with considerable liberty, unique readings cannot be given much weight as evidence for the original text.

(4) Ms *Syn.* Ms 387 (3) in the Moscow Synod Collection. In a late recension, the synaxarion for the feast of the Archangel Gabriel (celebrated on March 26) contains material reminiscent of *2 Enoch* derived from a tradition resembling ms *U* (Sokolov 1910b: 103–105).

**b. Family 2.** (1) Ms *B.* The Barsov ms in the State Historical Museum should not be confused with Charles' "B" which is labeled ms *N* in Family 3 (see below). The text of *2 Enoch* in ms *B* is a 17th-century Russian redaction. It was edited by Sokolov (1899: 83–107 [text, with variants from mss *N* and *V*]; 1910b: 54–69 [notes]). Vaillant (1952) pays particular attention to its variant readings.

(2) Ms *Rum.* Ms No. 578 in the Rumyantsev Museum is dated to the end of the 16th century. It is a miscellany of 466 folios, containing over fifty items (Sokolov 1910b: 84–89). The sixth (folio 164) is an extract from *2 Enoch*. This text was published by Sokolov (1910a: 153–55). After a few phrases from the long heading as in ms *B* (1a:1–2), it jumps to the story of Melkisedek, for which it supplies a title. It reproduces 70:13 (Methusalom's investiture of Nir) and moves on to 70:22, continuing to the end of the story, which is complete except for a few small gaps. This portion was published by Tikhonravov (1863: 28–31). Vaillant (1952: vi) suggested that this material was derived from a ms older and better than the *Vorlage* of ms *B* and was prepared to use its evidence rather confidently in textual reconstruction of the brief portion that it covers, which is otherwise rather sparsely attested.

**c. Family 3.** (1) Ms *N.* Ms No. 151 (443) had been in the National Library of Belgrade, evidently destroyed during the war. It was published, not scientifically, by Novaković (1884), the first printing of a text of the so-called "short" recension. The extract occupies folios 1–11. It is a 16th-century Serbian redaction (and abridgement?) from a Russian *Vorlage.* It ends with chap. 67, except that some later material has been inserted instead of 65:11. Sokolov (1910a: 83–107) incorporated variants of ms *N* into the apparatus of his edition of ms *B.* It is unfortunate that the early appearance of this text, which supplied the translation labeled "B" in *APOT,* gave it prominence in the early stages of *2 Enoch* research, since this ms is the worst of all the main witnesses.

(2) Ms *V.* Ms No. 125 in the Austrian National Library (Vienna) is a Serbian recension, the text almost identical with that of ms *N.* Sokolov's notes (1910b: 74–77) listed its Russian traits (77), indicating that it was not as far removed from its source as ms *N.* Repp (1963) pointed out the superiority of some of its variants.

(3) Ms $B^2$. This is another ms in the Barsov collection of the State Historical Museum, Moscow, dated 1701. Folios 87–98 contain a text virtually identical with that of mss *N* and *V.* They were studied by Sokolov (1910a: 133–42 [text]; 1910b: 69–72 [notes]), but his edition normalized the text from chap. 3 onward, limiting its value for critical work.

**d. Family 4.** (1) *Mpr.* Ms TSS 15 is in the Trinity-St. Sergius Monastery Library. Not later than the 13th century, a notable collection of juridical texts was assembled called *Merilo Pravednoe,* "The Just Balance" (Job 31:6). It contains a chapter titled "From the Book of Righteous Enoch." It is not clear from the literature just how many copies of this work exist (Andersen, *OTP* 1: 215). There are at least three (Tikhomirov 1961: v), possibly four (Sokolov 1910b: 106–18), or even five (Meshchersky 1964a: 94). In any case, interest attaches to *Mpr,* a mid-14th-century copy which has been published in facsimile by Tikhomirov (1961). The text had been published by Tikhonravov (1863: 20–23), folios 36–38ob of *Mpr.* Although it is the oldest extant evidence for the text of *2 Enoch,* it is limited to extracts from chaps. 41–65 and its value for textual reconstruction is diminished by the great freedom with which the material has been rearranged and paraphrased (translated by Andersen, *OTP* 1: 215–21).

(2) Ms *TSS 498.* Folios 335–37 are a copy of *Merilo Pravednoe* made early in the 15th century. It was described briefly by Sokolov (1910b: 92–93), who listed twenty variants.

(3) Ms *TSS 253.* This gigantic codex of 1124 folios is divided into 827 small chapters and includes such curiosities as a calculation of the number of months, weeks, days, and hours from the creation of the world up to 1622 (chap. 815), which dates the ms. A copy of the *2 Enoch* extracts derived from *Merilo Pravednoe* occupies folios 543–45 but has not been made a separate chapter. The (normalized) text was published by Sokolov (1910a: 155–57), with notes (1910b: 89–92). There is an intriguing reference to the Presbyter Jeremiah, a character much discussed in connection with possible links between *2 Enoch* and the Bogomils (Angelov 1976; 1985).

(4) Ms *TSS 682* is a 16th-century miscellany in which chap. 16 is a copy of *2 Enoch* as found in *Merilo Pravednoe.* Sokolov (1910b: 90–95) listed forty-two of the "more interesting" variants.

(5) ?. A fifth copy in the *Mpr* tradition about which we have no information beyond a remark of Meshchersky (1964a).

(6) Ms *G.* In 1489, Gennady, Archbishop of Novgorod, wrote a letter to Ioasap, Archbishop of Rostov and Yaroslav, in which he quoted from *2 Enoch* a passage resembling 65:1–10 and with a text resembling that of *Mpr.* It was first published by Popov, who compared it with ms *P.* Sokolov published the text and discussed its affiliation (1910b: 118–19); but he could not decide whether Gennady got his quotation from a copy of *Merilo Pravednoe* or from some other recension of *2 Enoch.*

**e. Family 5.** (1) Ms *Chr.* Ms No. 39 of the Institute of History and Philology, Nezhin, is a beautiful 17th-century codex of 677 folios, a history of the ancient world into which extracts from *2 Enoch* have been incorporated in four portions. The first (folios 16ob–17ob) describes the movements of the sun and moon as in *2 En.* 11:1–13:2 and 14:1–15:3. The second (folio 20) has *2 En.* 16:1, 6–8; the third (folio 36) 58:1–5; the fourth (folios 50ob–53) represents a selection and rearrangement of *2 Enoch* 37; 24:1–33:4;

47:2–48:4; 40:1–42:6. These excerpts were edited by Sokolov (1910a: 148–53 [text]; 1910b: 80–83 [notes]), with variants from three other mss of the chronograph (the three following items).

(2) Ms Udolsky 728; see *Chr* above.

(3) Ms Udolsky 729; see *Chr* above.

(4) Ms *Chr*$^2$. This 18th century ms is No. 590 in the Rumyantsev Museum. It reproduces the first extract from *2 Enoch* as found in ms *Chr* in folios 134–36. Sokolov (1910a: 147–48) reproduced the text in normalized orthography.

**f. Family 6.** (1) Ms *R.* This ms was No. 321 in the National Library of Belgrade. Sokolov had given an ample description of the ms and designated it *"A"* (1910b: 10–32), but here we follow Vaillant (1952: vii) and call it *"R."* With a discoverer's enthusiasm, Sokolov made it the basis of his first critical edition of *2 Enoch* (1899). Bonwetsch used it for his 1922 translation, and Vaillant regarded it as the best witness to the "longer" recension.

(2) Ms *J.* BAN 13.3.25 is a 16th-century miscellany with Moldavian features. Sokolov published some notes on it (1910b: 44–53), but the text has not been published. Andersen used a microfilm, generously supplied by the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. through the good offices of James H. Charlesworth, as the basis of his translation of the "longer" recension in *OTP*. The text continues into the Melkisedek legend, but not to the end.

(3) Ms *P.* Part of the Khlyudov collection, now in the State Historical Museum, Moscow, was published by Popov (1880) and was the source of the Morphill-Forbes translation in *APOT,* recension "A." This was unfortunate, because *P* is the most corrupt of all witnesses (Vaillant 1952: iii, viii; Meshchersky 1964a: 93).

(4) Ms *P*$^2$. Ms No. 3058 in the Rumyantsev Museum; an 18th-century extract of God's account of creation (*2 Enoch* 28–32), recensionally close to ms *P* (Sokolov 1910b: 77–79). The text was published by Sokolov (1910a: 145–47).

**2. Recensions.** Because of the codicological practices of Slavic scribes, no intact copy of *2 Enoch* exists as a stand-alone item. The text has been excerpted, abbreviated, expanded, and rearranged. A shorter and a longer recension are generally recognized. The available material may be classified as follows: (a) reasonably complete manuscripts of the shorter recension (*A, U, B, N, V, B*$^2$); (b) excerpts from sources akin to the shorter recension which appear in other works—*Tr, Syn, Rum, Mpr* (TSS 253, TSS 498, TSS 682), *G, Chr* (Ud. 728, Ud. 729, *Chr*$^2$); (c) manuscripts of the longer recension, the only complete text (*R*) having been destroyed before it had been properly edited (*J* and *P* are truncated); and (d) a short extract of the longer recension (*P*$^2$).

**3. Text Criticism.** Early researchers favored the longer recension as more original. Charles, while recognizing that there were interpolations in *P* (his *"A"*) and that it was "very corrupt" (Charles and Morphill 1896: xv) considered "it is nevertheless a truer representative of the original than [his] *B*" (our *N*) (1896: xv). After Schmidt's paper (1921) opinion swung the other way (Vaillant 1952; Sparks 1984); but misgivings have been increasingly expressed (van den Broek 1972). The textual history of this work is probably beyond recovery; it is very complicated, and in all likelihood there have been deletions and interpolations in both recensions.

**4. Chapters and Verses.** The mss present no standard system of versification and there is no agreed division into chapters. Sokolov introduced verse numbers, followed in part by Vaillant and Sparks. Charles made partial use of the (artificial and somewhat inconsistent) chapter divisions of *P,* which has a unique set of headings as well. Andersen (*OTP* 1: 98) extended Charles' system into the Melkisedek legend for the sake of continuity, and this scheme is being followed here.

**C. Literary Affinities and Dependence**

Although it is a pseudepigraphic apocalypse, *2 Enoch* does not belong to only one distinctive genre. With its revelations of heavenly secrets it is indeed an apocalypse. As narrative, it is a kind of midrash on Gen 5:24. With its moral admonitions it stands with the wisdom tradition (Enoch is called "wise" [1a:1]). Its discussions of natural phenomena, particularly astronomy, give it a strong scientific interest. Comparison with other traditions, literary corpora, and individual compositions suggests possible sources

for the ideas found in *2 Enoch,* but the only palpable connection that can be established is its dependence on *1 Enoch*.

**1. *1 Enoch.*** The derivation of *2 Enoch* from *1 Enoch,* which is a collection of numerous Enochic books, is only partial and probably indirect. Even then the themes and motifs that *2 Enoch* shares with *1 Enoch* are not so distinctive as to require a direct connection, since many of them enjoyed a general circulation. The closest links are (a) in the journeys through celestial realms (but in *1 Enoch* they are visions while in *2 Enoch* they are real); (b) in Enoch's visions of judgment on humans and angels; (c) in his intercessory role; (d) in using the legend of the fallen angels or watchers (including the Mount Hermon location); (e) in astronomical-calendrical matters (although they differ in specific details); (f) in gaining access to heavenly books (*1 Enoch* 81; *2 Enoch* 23—details are different); (g) in being returned to earth to instruct his family (by seven holy ones in *1 En.* 81:5; by two in *2 En.* 38:1); (h) in forseeing the Flood (but *2 Enoch* ends there, whereas *1 Enoch* surveys the whole history of Israel, a subject in which *2 Enoch* has no interest); etc. See ENOCH, FIRST BOOK OF. The contacts are palpable with *1 Enoch*'s Book of Watchers and the Astronomical Treatise. Both books contain parting admonitions of Enoch to his family, similar in circumstances, intention, and ethical values and literary expression. Yet it is hard to find any passages in *2 Enoch* which can be proved to be derived substantially from *1 Enoch.* Besides that, there is much in *1 Enoch* that has no echo in *2 Enoch* (not only the Similitudes, which are a special problem) and much in *2 Enoch* that does not match anything in *1 Enoch,* such as the great interest in creation, and its continuation into the Melkisedek legend. The theory of Vaillant and others that *2 Enoch* represents an early Christian revision of *1 Enoch* is unconvincing, not only because the links are so tenuous, but also because hardly any of the material found only in *2 Enoch* is distinctively Christian.

**2. Comparative Methodology.** The piecemeal search for other occurrences of the hundreds of ideas and images found in *2 Enoch* usually comes up with something. But not one of the innumerable cases now on record has indicated whether *2 Enoch* borrowed from that source (and so is later), was itself the source (and so is earlier), or whether both got it from an unknown third source. This is true even when verbal coincidences suggest direct or indirect, conscious or unconscious literary quotation or allusion (there are no identified quotations in *2 Enoch*). Thus the echoes of the NT, already noted by Charles (Charles and Morphill 1896) convinced him that *2 Enoch* was known to early Christian writers; but the same evidence suggested to others that the NT was behind these parallels. The instances are so numerous that in this brief summary we shall mention only one or two examples of each kind, with a very small selection of the literature.

**a. Mesopotamian Background.** The work of Borger (1974), Milik (1976), VanderKam (1983), and others has found a Mesopotamian background for motifs in *1 Enoch,* some of it known only in works of great antiquity. In the case of *2 Enoch* one could point to the issue of eating or drinking or changing clothes when a mortal visits heaven, as in the Adapa myth (*ANET,* 102), or the preservation of books written before the flood and their later recovery. But these could be floating folk motifs that could surface anywhere at any time.

**b. The OT.** Biblical background can shine through indirectly. Ethical cliches about widow and orphan such as found in the OT and in *2 Enoch* prove nothing. The surprising thing is that, apart from the recognizable contact with Genesis, there is no palpable use of OT sources. Even the Melkisedek legend shows no interest in what the Bible says.

**c. Egyptian Background.** Charles (Charles and Morphill 1896; *APOT*) was convinced of the Egyptian provenience of *2 Enoch;* for him, the author was an Alexandrian Jew in the 1st century B.C. He pointed to such details as the crocodile form of the chalkydri (chap. 12) and the Egyptian month names (chap. 73). One might add the peculiarity that the Lord tells the story of creation in the first person, just as Re does in the Brenner-Rhind Papyrus III: 26–27 (Faulkener 1936); or compare Enoch's mode of celestial travel with the ascension myth in the Pyramid texts (Davis 1977); or *2 Enoch*'s fascination with the sun; or the thought of salvation as healing (Therapeutae?). The two most serious proposals of this kind are (1) that of van den Broek, who has shown in detail (1972: 287–304) that both the phoenixes and the chalkydras of *2 Enoch* are close to Egyptian traditions and come from "Egyptian syncretism of Roman times" (p. 297);

and (2) that of Scopello (1980), who identified Enoch's transformation into a "glorious one" (chap. 22) as gnostic and identified a quotation *from 2 Enoch* in the Nag Hammadi text *The Apocalypse of Zostrianos.* See also Charlesworth (1986). Philonenko (1969) found Egyptian affinities in the cosmogony of *2 Enoch*.

**d. Other Pseudepigrapha.** Innumerable tenuous similarities have been pointed out between phrases and ideas in *2 Enoch* and other pseudepigrapha, though it is not possible to determine who borrowed from whom. Of interest is the similar description of bird songs at dawn in *2 Enoch* 15 and *3 Baruch* 6.

**e. Qumran.** Soviet scholars have been particularly interested in possible links between *2 Enoch* and the Qumran community (however they may have to be explained historically), especially in the matter of the calendar and the Melkisedek legend (Amusin 1971; 1981). In addition there are a number of motifs, such as dark (or cold) fire, as well as ideas about angels in which the two sources resemble each other.

**f. Philo.** Some of Philo's ideas, such as Adam's appointment as king of the world (*2 En.* 30:12 compared with *Quaes Gen* 2: 56), may have found their way into *2 Enoch*. But these could have come through many channels, and *2 Enoch* is quite lacking in Philo's philosophical seriousness.

**g. The NT.** Charles' notes are rich in NT parallels which he took to be quotations from *2 Enoch,* but most can be explained as late Christian interpolations and glosses. An obvious case is the Trishagion in its Christian form (*2 En.* 21:1), which is a later addition to the text.

**h. The NT Apocrypha.** Some themes in *2 Enoch* which remind one of marginal but popular Christian writings, such as the torments of the damned (chap. 10) or the release of Adam from hell (chap. 42), may be early or late Christian additions and do not prove that the book as a whole is a Christian composition or revision of "Jewish" Enoch.

**i. Church Fathers.** Early Christians debated such questions as the number of heavens, the place of the creation of angels in the program of Genesis 1, the day on which Satan fell, whether Satan tempted Adam before he tempted Eve, how long Adam was in Paradise, etc. *2 Enoch* answers all these questions—there are seven heavens (chaps. 3–21 [but ten in chap. 10, a crude interpolation]); angels were created and Satan rebelled on the second day (chap. 29 [but the longer recension gives another version of the Satan legend in chap. 31]); Satan had no contact with Adam (31:6—interpolation); Adam was in Paradise for five and a half hours (32:1) or seven years (71:28).

**j. Hexameron.** The relation of the six days of creation in *2 Enoch* to the widespread hexameron tradition (Robbins 1912) needs a full study, especially in light of the prestige enjoyed by John Eksarch's *Shestodnev* (Kochev 1981) in Slavic culture.

**k. Judaism.** The posture of *2 Enoch* in relation to rabbinic Judaism is hard to gauge. The apocalyptic ascent to the place of secrets has affinities with merkabah mysticism (Gruenwald 1980); the uncompromising monotheism of *2 Enoch,* and its strict moral code, could be Jewish, but there is no interest in the history of Israel apart from Enoch and his generation, and no trace of Torah piety. Rubinstein (1962) showed that a sacrifice rule (59:3; 69:12) is known in marginal Judaism; but the general teaching of the book about sacrifice is mixed.

**l. Gnosticism.** The relation of *2 Enoch* to Gnosticism is a vast question that still awaits systematic investigation. Its severe monotheism contrasts with the dualism(s) (Charlesworth 1968–1969) of Gnosticism (Segal 1977) and of Bogomilism (see below). But in numerous other respects, including Enoch's acquisition of knowledge, there is a gnostic flavor. Its cosmogony touches *The Hypostasis of the Archons* at some points (but then Archas [chap. 26] could have come from the Chaldean Oracles); its theory of sin includes the idea of a fall from spirit to body (Gero 1978); its question-and-answer method reminds one of the gnostic gospels. Yet these similarities are so vague (apart from the one noted by Scopello) that similar impressions could be recorded of the *Corpus Hermeticum* (Poimandres).

**m. Origen.** The question whether Origen knew *2 Enoch* has been debated since Charles (Charles and Morphill 1896: xx) argued the affirmative from a statement that Origen knew about creation in a book of Enoch (not a theme in *1 Enoch*). Vaillant (1952: x) was likewise convinced; but Milik (1976: 109) explained this as no more than a reference to the astronomical section of *1 Enoch.* Pennington (1984: 323–24) reviewed the question evenhandedly but inconclusively, admitting that "there is a similar uncertainty about all the other suggested patristic quotations" (p. 324).

**n. The Quran.** There are a number of passages in the Quran that remind one of *2 Enoch,* particularly those touching on creation and on the activities of Satan. Just one illustration: in *2 Enoch* 71 the newly born Melkisedek is already fully developed, as Jesus was according to Sura 3:46; 5:110; 19:30.

**o. 3 Enoch.** The numerous parallels between *2 Enoch* and *3 Enoch* were listed by Odeberg (1928: 52–63), who accepted Charles' position. Of similar interest is the place of *2 Enoch* in the Metatron tradition (Greenfield 1973). See also ENOCH, THIRD BOOK OF.

**p. Byzantine Background.** Milik, accepting Vaillant's theory that the longer recension was the result of a late medieval revision of the Slavonic translation, argued that the Gk original of the short recension, "which preserves the original Greek text fairly faithfully" (1976: 109)—a theory impossible to prove or disprove, since not one word of this supposed Gk original is available—was based on *1 Enoch* as we know it from the Ethiopic, and contains a number of Byzantine features which point to composition by a monk in Constantinople in the 9th or 10th centuries.

**q. The Bogomil Connection.** The theory that *2 Enoch* is simply a Bogomil work was propounded by Maunder (1918), but it received its fullest expression by Ivanov (1925). It was refuted by Turdeanu (1981: 1–74) but is still strongly held by Bulgarian scholars (Andersen 1987).

**r. Slavic Culture.** Study of pseudepigrapha in their medieval setting by scholars of eastern Europe has highlighted the significance of folk ingredients in this kind of literature (Petkanova 1979; Oinas 1985).

## D. Composition, Translation, Transmission

The origins of *2 Enoch* are unknown. Research has not reached any consensus about the time, place, or contents of its first published form. The options range from Charles' theory that the longer recension was written by an Alexandria Jew in the 1st century B.C. through belief that it was a Christian rewrite of *1 Enoch,* probably in Gk, made anywhere from the 2d century A.D. (in Syria?) to the 10th (in Byzantium), up to the denial that it is anything more than a home-grown product of Slavic religious culture. The numerous Gk elements, such as the names of the planets or the anagram for Adam's name (chap. 30), could betray the source language; but such features could attest no more than the general dependence of Slavic letters on Gk influence. The same can be said about the Semitisms that have been detected in this (Pines 1970) and similar works with a biblical flavor (Rubinstein 1953).

## E. Translations

The main English translations are those of Morphill (Charles and Morphill 1896), Forbes (*APOT*), Andersen (*OTP* 1: 101–221), and Pennington (1984). In French there is Vaillant (1952). German translations include Bonwetsch (1922) and Reissler (1928), while Angelov (1922) and Petkanova (1981) are Bulgarian translations. For an extensive bibliography covering Bulgarian works, see Andersen 1987.

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**ENOCH, THIRD BOOK OF.** A late Jewish apocalypse in Hebrew, probably compiled in the 6th or 7th century A.D. in Babylonia.

**A. The Name "3 Enoch"**

Odeberg coined the name "3 Enoch" for his 1928 edition of the text. He chose it because he held that the redactor of *3 Enoch* made extensive use of *1 Enoch* and *2 Enoch.* Despite many shared motifs, direct literary dependence of *3 Enoch* on the earlier texts has yet to be proved. To avoid the possibly tendentious overtones of "3 Enoch" some scholars prefer the more neutral designation "Hebrew Enoch." The manuscripts refer to the work in whole or in part by a variety of titles, e.g., "The Book of Enoch by Rabbi Ishmael the High Priest"; "The Book of the Palaces [*Hêkālôt*]$^{w}$; "The Chapters of the Palaces"; "The Chapters of Rabbi Ishmael"; "The Matter of the Elevation of Metatron."

**B. Structure and Content**

Both the content and the redactional identity of *3 Enoch* are problematic. The manuscripts and early printed editions contain very different collections of *3 Enoch* traditions. The differences between these collections are fundamentally a matter of length; wherever *3 Enoch* traditions are found they always occur in the same order. It is unclear whether the shorter collections have been excerpted from the longer, or whether they represent earlier stages in the evolution of the longer collections. The manuscripts which contain *3 Enoch* material sometimes appear to be anthologies, i.e., private notebooks in which medieval scholars collected from diverse sources traditions which interested them. Note, e.g., the Cambridge Geniza fragment (T.-S. K 21.95.L; Schäfer 1984: No. 12) which quotes a version of *3 Enoch* 1 (Schäfer 1981: §§1–2) followed directly by a version of *3 Enoch* 43–44 (Schäfer 1981: §§61–62). This consideration might be seen as favoring the primacy of the longer collections. On the other hand, the longer collections are clearly made up of preexisting and sometimes contradictory units of tradition (pericopae). Consequently the possibility cannot be ruled out that some of the shorter collections mark earlier phases in the history of the work. One Oxford manuscript (Neubauer No. 1748/2) and the early printed edition *Děrûš Pirqð Hêkālōt* (ca. 1650) contain only the account of the elevation of Enoch (*3 Enoch* 3–12, 15; Schäfer 1981: §§4–15, 19). The traditions regarding the elevation of Enoch play a pivotal role in the longer forms of *3 Enoch* (see below on structure), so it is intrinsically probable that these were the first *3 Enoch* traditions to be collected. They also happen to be the first collection of *3 Enoch* traditions to be externally attested (see below on date).

The largest collection of *3 Enoch* traditions is to be found in the manuscripts Vatican 228 and Oxford 1656. This collection tells a coherent story and has a clear redactional structure. Rabbi Ishmael ascends to heaven and meets the archangel Metatron, who acts as his sponsor, rescuing him from the hostility of the Merkaba angels and bringing him before God's throne, where he joins the angels in the celestial Sanctus (*Qědušša*). Ishmael asks Metatron to identify himself and in particular to explain the title "Youth" (*Naʿar*) with which the Merkaba angels addressed him. Metatron reveals that he is Enoch the son of Jared (Gen 5:18–24); as the youngest of the angel princes he is known as "Youth." He recounts in detail to Ishmael how as Enoch he was taken up to heaven and transformed into Metatron, one of the highest of the archangels who acts as God's vice-regent. Having established Metatron's impeccable credentials as a heavenly guide, the text then turns to the revelations which he granted to Ishmael. First Metatron discourses to Ishmael on the angels (the *familia caelestis*)—their hierarchies, the sessions of the Heavenly Law Court, and the performance of the celestial *Qědušša.* Then he takes Ishmael on a tour of the wonders of heaven: he shows him the cosmic power of the divine names and the storehouses of souls (both those to be born and those who have been born and returned). Finally he shows Ishmael the Right Hand of God waiting impatiently to redeem Israel.

The structure of the text may be analyzed in detail as follows:

A. SUPERSCRIPTION = Gen 5:24

B. THE ASCENSION OF ISHMAEL (1:1–2:4; Schäfer 1981: §§1–3)

1. Ishmael's ascent to heaven, his meeting with Metatron, and his participation in the *Qědušša* (1:1–12)
2. Alternative version of the angels' opposition to Ishmael's ascent (parallel to 1:7–8)

C. THE ASCENSION OF ENOCH (3:1–16:5; Schäfer 1981: §§4–20)

1. The Names of Metatron, especially the name *Naʿar* (3:1–4:2)

2. The Elevation of Enoch (4:3–7:1)
   a. First Version: Enoch taken up as a "witness" to God's justice (4:3–10)
   b. Second Version: Enoch taken up with the *Šekīna* (5:1–7:1)
      (1) Preface: the story of the taking up of the *Šekīna* (5:1–14)
      (2) First attempt to link Enoch's elevation with the taking up of the *Šekīna* (6:1–3)
      (3) Second attempt to link Enoch's elevation with the taking up of the *Šekīna* (7:1)
3. Enoch's physical transformation, enthronement and insignia (8:1–15:2)
4. The Humbling of Metatron (16:1–5)

D. THE *FAMILIA CAELESTIS:* ITS HIERARCHIES AND ACTIVITIES (17:1–29:2; Schäfer 1981: §§21–58)
1. The Angelic Hierarchies (17:1–29:2)
   a. First hierarchy, in descending rank (17:1–8)
   b. Second hierarchy, in ascending rank (18:1–25)
   c. Third hierarchy, in ascending rank (19:1–29:2)
2. Traditions regarding the Heavenly Law Court (30:1–34:2)
3. Traditions regarding the Celestial *Qĕdušša* (35:1–40:4)

E. THE WONDERS OF HEAVEN (41:1–48A:10; Schäfer 1981: §§59–70)
1. Cosmology (41:1–42:7)
   a. The cosmic letters by which the world was created, i.e., the letters of the Divine Name (41:1–3)
   b. The power of divine names to hold in balance the conflicting physical elements (42:1–7)
2. "Psychology": the storehouses of souls (43:1–47:4)
   a. The souls of the righteous (43:1–3)
   b. The souls of the wicked and intermediate (44:1–6)
   c. The souls of the patriarchs (44:7–10)
   d. The souls in the Heavenly Curtain (the *Pargôd*) (45:1–6)
   e. The souls of the stars (46:1–4)
   f. The souls of the angels that erred (47:1–4)
3. Eschatology: the Right Hand of God waiting to bring the messianic redemption (48A:1–10)

F. CONCLUSION = Zech 14:9

G. APPENDIX: THE ALPHABET OF AQIBA TRADITIONS ON METATRON (48B:1–48D:10; Schäfer 1981: §§71–80)
1. The Seventy Names of God (48B:1–2)
2. Short Account of the Elevation of Enoch, in acrostic form (48C:1–12)
3. The Seventy Names of Metatron (48D:1 + 5)
4. Metatron as Prince of Torah (*Sõar* Tôrâ) (48D:2–4 + 6–10)

Certain elements within this long form of the text look like secondary additions. The Appendix (chaps. 48BCD; Schäfer 1981: §§71–80) has clearly been borrowed from an alphabetic midrash, as its acrostic form shows. Its insertion at the end of *3 Enoch* probably reflects the desire of the redactor to make his encyclopedia of Metatron traditions as full as possible. The parallel lists of the winds and chariots of God (chaps. 23–24; Schäfer 1981: §§35–38) seem to interrupt the third angelic hierarchy. However, their appearance at this point is not illogical in that they provide further information on the cherubim, who are the subject of chap. 22 (note 23:1 and 24:1). Chap. 34 (Schäfer 1981: §51), on the circles around the creatures (the *Ḥayyôt*), also looks intrusive. But note that it attaches itself by the catchword principle to 33:4 (cf. 34:1), and it forms a natural transition to the following section on the *Qĕdušša* (see 34:2). Chap. 16 (Schäfer 1981: §20), on the humbling of Metatron, might be thought to reverse too abruptly the laudatory trend of the preceeding chapters. It need not, however, be explained as a secondary expansion; it could be an integral part of the work, added in a spirit of self-correction. Or it might represent an attempt to link the Metatron speculations to Talmudic tradition, and thus to validate them (see below). There is a suspicion of a lacuna at 4:1 (Schäfer 1981: §5); Ishmael's question about the seventy names of

Metatron is not answered. A block of material (similar to 48D:1; Schäfer 1981: §76) has apparently been edited out.

None of these cases seriously impairs the integrity of *3 Enoch* as found in Vatican 228 and Oxford 1656. Indeed, they are what would be expected, given that the work is basically a compendium. The redactor has gathered together certain Merkaba traditions that interested him and arranged them in a coherent order. As his organizing principle he has chosen a standard apocalyptic form, broadly resembling that found in *1 Enoch, 2 Enoch, T. Levi* 2:6–5:3, *Ascen. Is.* 6–11, and *Ap. Ab.* 15–29, in which a sage ascends to heaven and meets an angel who discloses to him certain secrets. As a secondary measure, the redactor has attempted to superimpose on his apocalypse midrashic form by adding the superscription (Gen 5:24). The direct quotation of a biblical lemma is totally foreign to apocalyptic form, but it serves here to key the material of *3 Enoch* into Scripture. Its presence illustrates the tendency of midrash to dominate all other literary forms in rabbinic literature.

**C. Literary and Historical Context**

Though *3 Enoch* is an apocalypse which shares many features with early apocalypses such as *1 Enoch* and *2 Enoch,* and with late apocalypses such as *Rĕ'uyyôt Yĕhezqē'l,* its closest affinities (in language, style and content) are with the so-called *Hêkālôt* literature (represented by texts such as *Hêkālôt Rabbātî* and *Hêkālôt Zûtartî*). The Talmud classifies the subject matter of the *Hêkālôt* texts as *Ma*ʿ*ăśēh Merkābâ,* the "Account of the Chariot," a term used to describe Ezekiel's vision of the glory of God by the river Chebar (Ezek 1:1–28). The *Hêkālôt* texts draw motifs from Ezekiel 1 and from other OT theophanies but they are not straightforward expositions of the biblical text. They present themselves as fresh visions, as attempts to see again what Ezekiel saw. In elaborate descriptions of the heavenly world, of God's throne, of the angelic hierarchies, and of the celestial liturgy, they depict God as a heavenly emperor, the angels as a celestial civil service (*pāmalyâ šel ma*ʿ*ălâ;* cf. the Roman term *familia Caesaris*). They stress the transcendence of God: his throne is located in the seventh heaven, in the middle of seven concentric palaces or temples (*hêkālôt*), and can be approached only through seven doors guarded by fierce guardian angels. Even if the adept does manage to penetrate to the Throne of Glory, what he perceives on the throne is only the outward manifestation of God; God in himself dwells in impenetrable regions beyond the seventh heaven.

The circles which produced the *Hêkālôt* literature were concerned to assert their links with rabbinic Judaism: they wrote in good rabbinic Hebrew and attributed their works pseudepigraphically to Rabbi Aqiba and Rabbi Ishmael. Yet their teachings were viewed with distrust by some rabbinic authorities; their appeal to fresh visionary experience ran counter to the fundamental rabbinic doctrine that the age of prophecy had passed, and their angelology at times comes close to jeopardizing the unity of God. The Talmud declares *Ma*ʿ*ăśēh Merkābâ* esoteric doctrine, not to be proclaimed in public, and to be studied only by scholars who have mastered the traditional discipline of halakhah (see *m. Ḥag.* 2:1, *t. Ḥag.* 2:1–7, *j. Ḥag.* 77a–d and *b. Ḥag.* 11b–16a). The nature of the *Hĕkālôt* circles is unclear. Some texts point to the existence of conventicles of Merkaba mystics who passed on a secret doctrine, and who met to engage in trance ascent to heaven (*Hêkālôt Rabbātî,* Schäfer 1981: §§198–268). Other texts contain rituals (whether performed privately or with others is not clear) for conjuring the Prince of the Divine Presence (*Śar happānîm*) down to earth and inducing him to part with secret information, probably relating to the heavenly world, or to the future (Schäfer 1981: §§623–39). Yet other texts appear to be liturgies formulated to promote effective private prayer (*Sēper haqqômâ* Cx, in Cohen 1983: 195–96). A powerful current of theurgy runs through *Hêkālôt* literature: the ultimate aim is to compel God or the angels to perform one's will. This aspect of the literature brings it close to magical texts such as *Sēper hārāzîm.* Certain *Hêkālôt* motifs appear on amulets, notably on the incantation bowls from Babylonia.

The historical development of *Hêkālôt* mysticism is obscure. The Talmud indicates that there were groups in Tannatic and Amoraic times (2d–6th centuries A.D.) devoted to the study of *Ma*ʿ*ăśēh Merkābâ,* though only glimpses are given of their teaching. It is reasonable to assume that some of the traditions contained in the extant *Hêkālt* texts go back to Talmudic times. *Hêkālôt* mysticism clearly owes a debt to Jewish apocalyptic of the Second Temple period, which suggests that it originated in Palestine. Scholem

(1965) and others have argued that *Hêkālôt* mysticism and Gnosticism show significant parallels. The *Hêkālôt* distinction between God as transcendent and God as he reveals himself on the throne in the seventh heaven (a theophany sometimes designated the *Yôṣēr bĕrēʾšît,* the "Creator of the World") recalls the gnostic distinction between the Primeval Father who resides in the Pleroma and the Demiurge who created the world and who resides in the seventh heaven. (However, unlike most gnostic systems, *Hêkālôt* mysticism is not strongly dualistic; the transcendent and the revealed God are one and the same, and there is no obvious denigration of the material world as evil.) The seven *hêkālôt* with the guardian angels recall the seven gnostic aeons with their attendant archons. Both gnostic and *Hêkālôt* texts speak of an ascent of the soul to the highest heaven which involves negotiating one's way past the angels/archons by the use of magical names, called "seals" in both literatures. Gnostic texts which will bear detailed comparison with the *Hêkālôt* literature are *Hyp. Arch.* 93:31–96:17 (NHC II,4); *Orig. World* 102:11–106:18 (NHC II,5; compare the elevation of Sabaoth with the elevation of Enoch!); and Origen's account of the doctrines of the Ophians (*c. Cels.* 6:24–38). Though the historical connection between the *Hêkālôt* texts and Gnosticism is much debated (see Alexander 1984), it is very probable that *Hêkālôt* mysticism emerged as a full-blown system within rabbinic society at the same time (3d–4th centuries A.D.) as Gnosticism was flourishing in the non-Jewish world.

*Hêkālôt* ideas and literature were carried from Palestine to Babylonia, and some of the key texts were known to the Babylonian Geonim (e.g., Saʿadya and Hai) in the 10th and 11th centuries. The texts were also known in North Africa and Egypt (they are referred to in the writings of Rabbenu Hanan'el [11th century] and fragments have been recovered from the Cairo Geniza). The Qaraites attacked the *Hêkālôt* literature and made fun of its exaggerated anthropomorphism. Though this attack deeply embarrassed the Rabbanites, it did not halt the spread of *Hêkālôt* literature. Certain texts were transmitted W to Europe, probably via Italy. They were valued by the medieval German Jewish pietists, the *Hăsîdêʾ Aškĕnaz.* Most of the surviving texts have been passed down by the *Hăsîdêʾ Aškĕnaz,* who may have had a hand in editing some of them into their present form. From the Rhineland the texts traveled to E Europe, where they had some influence on the thought of the 18th-century Hasidic movement. From medieval Italy *Hêkālôt* ideas passed also into S France. Their presence there in the early 9th century is attested in the *De judaicis superstitionibus* of Bishop Agobard of Lyons. Certain *Hêkālôt* ideas were taken up and reinterpreted by the Qabbalists of Provence and Catalonia and can be found reflected at various points in the Zohar.

**D. Date and Provenance**

Given the long and active history of *Hêkālôt* mysticism and of the *Hêkālt̃* literature, it is not surprising that the date of *3 Enoch* has been fiercely disputed. Odeberg (1928: Part I, 23–43, 188) argued that the text as a whole is pre-Islamic, the main body (chaps. 3–48A, Schäfer 1981: §§4–70) having been redacted in the latter half of the 3d century A.D. He detected a stratum of material on Metatron as a primordial being (9:2–13:2, Schäfer 1981: §§12–16) that goes back to the 1st century A.D. Scholem (1965: 17), Gruenwald (1980: 192), and Alexander (*OTP* 1: 229) favor a 5th- or 6th-century date. Milik (1976: 123–35) suggests that *3 Enoch* cannot have been composed before the 9th or 10th centuries, and that, in fact, most of it was written between the 12th and 15th centuries.

In the case of a work such as *3 Enoch,* which is made up of diverse traditions from diverse periods, dating is a complex problem covering at least three things: (1) the date at which the individual pericopae, traditions, and motifs originated; (2) the date at which the macroform of the text, represented by Vatican 228 and Oxford 1656, was redacted; and (3) the dates at which the microforms of the text, represented by the other text witnesses, came into being. Though *3 Enoch* contains traditions and motifs that can be traced back to the Talmudic era, or even to the Second Temple period, there are indications that the macroform belongs broadly to the Gaonic period. It is unlikely to be later, since there are no compelling reasons to date any of the *Hêkālôt* texts, with the possible exception of *Masseket Hêkālôt,* to post-Gaonic times (though some editorial activity on the texts by the *Hăsîdêʾ Aškĕnaz* cannot, as noted earlier, be ruled out). The Geonim Saʿadya and Hai knew of a body of *Hêkālôt* literature and speak of it in terms which imply that it was of considerable antiquity. Conversely, the macroform is unlikely to be pre-Gaonic, since

it includes the short account of the elevation of Metatron from the Alphabet of Aqiba (*3 Enoch* 48BCD, Schäfer 1981: §§71–80), a work normally dated to the early Gaonic period. The Qaraite Jacob al-Qirqisani (10th century) criticizes these Alphabet of Aqiba Metatron traditions in his *Kitab al-anwar wal-maraqib* I.4.2.

That the macroform of *3 Enoch* dates from the early Middle Ages is further indicated by its constant reuse of earlier *Hêkālôt* traditions and of traditions attested in the Talmud. The following are some examples:

(1) *3 En.* 4:2, 3, 10 (Schäfer 1981: §§5–6): Metatron's title *Naʿar* originally meant "servitor" and referred to his role in the heavenly sanctuary (cf. Exod 24:5; 1 Sam 2:13). *3 Enoch* reinterprets it as meaning "youth" and uses the reinterpretation to validate the identification of Metatron with Enoch. In doing so it is probably making use of the tradition in *b. Yebam.* 16b: "The following was uttered by the Prince of the World [=? Metatron], 'I have been a youth [*naʿar*] and now I am old' " (Ps 37:25).

(2) *3 En.* 4:3–5 (Schäfer 1981: §§5–6): *Gen. Rab.* 28:8 and *b. Sanh.* 108a consider the question of whether God acted unjustly in destroying all flesh in the waters of the Flood. *3 Enoch* attempts to use this tradition to suggest that Enoch was taken up to heaven to bear witness to future generations that God had not destroyed the innocent with the guilty. *3 Enoch* seems untroubled by the biblical chronology which implies that Enoch was translated 669 years before the Flood (Gen 5:21–24; 7:11). Note, however, that the motif of Enoch as a heavenly witness is very old (see *Jub.* 10:17).

(3) *3 En.* 4:6–10 (Schäfer 1981: §§5–6): *b. Sanh.* 38b reports the tradition that the angels opposed the creation of man and claimed that their opposition was vindicated when God was compelled virtually to obliterate mankind in the Flood. *3 Enoch* rather obviously tries to adapt this tradition: (a) The Talmudic "third company" of angels is identified with ʿUzza, ʿAzza and ʿAzaʾel, three angels mentioned elsewhere (*3 En.* 5:9, Schäfer 1981: §§7–8); (b) The general charge against mankind is made incongruously to apply specifically to Enoch; (c) The Talmudic "first ones" is left without any obvious referrent; and (d) *3 Enoch* perforce retains the dating of the tradition to the time of the Flood, even though the biblical chronology has Enoch translated to heaven long before the Flood (cf. *3 En.* 4:7).

(4) *3 En.* 5:1–14 (Schäfer 1981: §§7–8) weaves together rabbinic traditions regarding the removal of the *Šekīna* from earth and the beginning of idolatry in the time of Enosh (*Gen. Rab.* 25:6; *b. Sanh.* 118b). It introduces the figure of Enoch and suggests that Enoch was translated to heaven with the *Šekīna* in the time of Enosh. That Enoch was contemporary with Enosh is based on the Cainite genealogy in Gen 4:17–26, which makes both grandsons of Adam. The Sethite genealogy in Genesis 5, however, puts Enosh in the third and Enoch in the seventh generation from Adam (cf. Jude 14).

(5) *3 En.* 16:1–5 (Schäfer 1981: §20): *3 Enoch's* account of the humbling of Metatron is almost certainly dependent on that in *b. Ḥag.* 15a. The manuscripts of *b. Ḥag.* 15a offer at least three recensions of the story of the humbling of Metatron. Significantly *3 Enoch*'s version corresponds to the latest of these recensions (found, e.g., in the Vilna edition of the Talmud), which turns on the notion that there is no sitting in heaven (Alexander 1987).

(6) *3 En.* 18:22 (Schäfer 1981: §28): the name ʾZ"BW"GH, which in earlier *Hêkālôt* tradition probably designated the Ogdoad, the Eighth Heaven (its three groups of consonants each add up by gematria to eight), has been reinterpreted as a name of an angel and taken by a kind of *notariqon* to mean "he who girds (the pious) with the garments of life" (*ʾôzēr bigdê ḥayyîm*).

(7) *3 En.* 31:1–2 (Schäfer 1981: §48): the "staff" of Mercy appears (deliberately?) to transpose the "staff" of Violence (= Judgment) in *b. Sanh.* 108a. That the image of the staff is original to the Talmudic tradition is shown by the quotation of Ezek 7:11, "Violence has risen up into a rod of wickedness."

(8) *3 En.* 45:2 (Schäfer 1981: §64): Metatron shows Ishmael all the generations of the world printed on the Heavenly Curtain (the *Pargôd*). This is probably modeled on the tradition (based on Gen 5:1, "This is the book of the generations of Adam") that God showed Adam all his descendants (*Gen. Rab.; b. ʿAbod. Zar.* 5a; *b. Sanh.* 38b). The reference to "tormentors" (*sôrĕqîm*) in *3 En.* 45:2 possibly alludes to the martyrdom of Aqiba, whose flesh they "combed" (*sôrĕqîn*) with combs of iron (*b. Ber.* 61b). The

Talmudic version of the generations of the world tradition actually concludes with the martyrdom of Aqiba.

The redactor of *3 Enoch* has a clear purpose in reusing earlier rabbinic tradition: he wants to integrate his ideas with mainstream tradition and thereby to validate them. This maneuver only makes sense if the traditions he uses would be recognized as in some sense authoritative. The simplest hypothesis is to suppose that those traditions carried authority because they were already included in the Talmud. This indicates that the macroform of *3 Enoch* is post-Talmudic. A date in the 6th or 7th century A.D. is probably not too far from the truth.

As to provenance, there is evidence that the *Hêkālôt* movement flourished both in Palestine and Babylonia, so the macroform of *3 Enoch* could have originated in either region. In favor of Palestine is *3 Enoch*'s use of Palestinian apocalyptic traditions. However, the fact that *3 Enoch* appears to have a particularly close literary relationship to the Babylonian Talmud (note especially its reuse of the story of the humbling of Metatron found elsewhere only in *b. Ḥag.* 15a) tips the balance in favor of a redaction of the macroform in Babylonia.

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**ENOS** (PERSON) [Gk *Enos* (Ἐνος)]. The son of Seth and father of Cainan, according to Luke's genealogy of Jesus in Luke 3:38. See ENOSH (PERSON).

**ENOSH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕnôš* (אֱנוֹשׁ)]. Var. ENOS. Son of Seth at the age of 105 and father of Kenan (Gen 5:6–11). Enosh lived 905 years, fathering Kenan at the age of 90. Gen. 4: 26 also notes the birth of Enosh, with the observation that it was at that time that people first began to call on the name of Yahweh. Both the name of Enosh and the meaning of Gen 4:26 have been subjects of discussion.

Enosh means "man" in Hebrew. Despite attempts to prove the contrary, the term is virtually synonymous with the Hebrew root underlying the name of Adam (Maass *TWAT* 1: 373–75). It occurs less frequently than *ʾdm,* however, most often in poetic texts where parallelism demands a synonym for the more frequent term. The name *ʾdm* is unique to this figure, and *ʾdm* is used both as a name and as a generic term for humanity in the opening chapters of Genesis. Similarly, the figure Enosh appears first in that line, which was destroyed in the murder of Abel but renewed by the birth of Seth. Just as in the case of the name of Adam, the name of Enosh may also form a symbolic reference to that line from which all humanity would come after the Flood. Enosh thus appears as a parallel or new Adam (Cassuto 1961: 246–47; Sasson 1978: 175; Rendsburg 1986: 24).

During the generation of Enosh, people began to call upon the name of Yahweh. Setting aside earlier attempts to translate the verb as "to profane" (for surveys, see Sandmel 1961; Fraade 1984), source critics view this statement as originating with J. They note the contrasting statements of E (Exod 3:13–15) and P (Exod 6:3–4) that the tetragrammation remained unknown until the time of Moses (Gunkel *Genesis* HKAT, 48; Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 127). Others understand the Exodus 6 (P) passage as referring either to worship in general taking place for the first time (Westermann 1984: 340–41), or to a particular type of divine self-revelation (Speiser *Genesis* AB, 37–38). A third alternative accepts both Yahweh's name as

first revealed in the time of Moses and as revealing a particular aspect of the divine character, but also as having been retrojected into the Genesis narrative (including 4:26) by a writer who discerned that aspect of divine character as apparent in God's earlier manifestations (Wenham 1980: 182–83, 188 n. 72; *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 116). Finally, an alternate translation has been suggested for Exodus 6:3 which would relate it to the occurrences of the divine name in Genesis, "Did I not let myself be known to them by my name Yahweh?" (Martin 1955: 18–19; Driver 1973: 109). The implications of Gen 4:26 suggest that in some unspecified manner the worship of God began at this time. Whether or not this is intended to contrast with the line of Cain in the preceding verses depends upon whether or not the line of Cain is given as an example of wickedness in contrast to the righteousness of the line of Enosh (von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 112).

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RICHARD S. HESS

**ENROLLMENT.** See CENSUS.

**ENTRANCE OF HAMATH.** See HAMATH, ENTRANCE OF.

**ENUMA ELISH.** A Babylonian narrative myth of about 1100 poetic lines, often misleadingly called "The (Babylonian) Epic of Creation." Its purpose was to explain and justify the rise of the god Marduk to headship of the pantheon, and creation is incidental to that. H. Gunkel and others held that it was the source or inspiration of OT passages about Yahweh's killing of Rahab, Leviathan, and other monsters, but this view is no longer tenable, since it is now known that Baal's defeat of Leviathan and Tannîn lies behind the Hebrew poetic passages. However, Enuma Elish remains important as a major Babylonian cosmological text, though it was not normative for its own world and needs to be understood in the light of other Sumero-Babylonian texts. It is a highly composite work, but many of its sources still survive so that its exposition is an object lesson in ancient composition.

In this narrative, because of a primeval contretemps, a group of young gods was threatened with destruction by Tiamat ("Sea"), who had her own group of followers. To prosecute her plan, she created a number of monsters which she put under the command of her spouse Kingu. Of the younger gods, Anshar, their king, first sent Ea and then Anu to do battle with Tiamat and her host, but both withdrew at the first glance. Marduk, Ea's son, was persuaded to take up the cause. He, however, imposed a condition that, were he to return victorious, the existing divine government would abdicate in his favor, and this was agreed. Duly armed he set out, and after falling back at the first sight of the enemy, he recovered his nerve and advanced to victory. Immediately after victory he rearranged the universe according to the Babylonian concept of the author's day and made Babylon the first city. In his newly built temple there he was celebrated by the gods as their king.

In history, Babylon and Marduk, its patron god, were insignificant until Hammurabi made Babylon the capital of southern Iraq ca. 1750 B.C. and promoted Marduk to be a "great god" (among other great gods). It was only under Nebuchadnezzar I (ca. 1120 B.C.) that Marduk was officially exalted as "king of the gods," though there are rare hints of this earlier. Enuma Elish was probably composed at about that time to support and justify this promotion (Lambert 1964).

The text is divided by most ancient scribes into seven tablets, but though seven is a significant number, the author does not seem to have composed the text with this division in mind. Many pieces of this text

written in cuneiform script on clay tablets have been recovered from both Babylonian and Assyrian sites, since it was a very popular composition at least with scribes in the second and third quarters of the 1st millennium B.C. Most date from between ca. 750 and 200 B.C., but there are four small fragments from Assur of about 900 B.C. The lack of earlier pieces and of allusions to the text opposes a date of composition substantially earlier than Nebuchadnezzar I, and nothing internal supports an earlier dating. Berossus narrates a very similar story, but it is different enough in some details that his dependence on the text we know is not completely certain. All the available evidence argues that this is an original composition, using very freely earlier sources. There is no reason to suspect that this is a lightly revised version of an earlier text (now lost).

The major motif of threatened gods (gods actually worshipped in the author's time) saved by one of their juniors who is rewarded for the service is known from two other Babylonian texts, the Anzû Myth and the Slaying of Labbu. Enuma Elish clearly depends on the former, though all but a few of the details are changed. The text begins with a theogony that combines elements from the traditional ancestries of the gods Anu and Enlil. The only original elements are the pair at the head, the male Apsû (the underworld body of water on which springs draw) and the female Tiamat ("Sea"). The concept of water as the prime element is commonly attested elsewhere in the ancient world, in Sumer with Nammu/Namma, mother of Ea, but only in Enuma Elish and dependent sources are the male–female pair Apsû and Tiamat used. Since there is no evidence of a Sumero-Babylonian background for Tiamat as the origin of everything, there have been suggestions that this concept was borrowed from the West, perhaps from the Amorites. However, there is no good support for this idea ("Sea" there is Yam, a male deity), and there is now evidence of Tiamat as a primeval god from the Diyala region in the later 3d millennium. So the author himself probably married the Sumerian male Apsû to the Semitic Tiamat (perhaps from the Diyala region) and used them as the prime elements. In Enuma Elish Tiamat in fact varies between being a body of water and a monstrous female goat. The theogony leads up to Ea, Marduk's father.

At this point the junior gods disturb Apsû and Tiamat by their noise, so Apsû proposes to exterminate them, despite Tiamat's objections. Ea acts first by killing Apsû and sets up his abode on the dead body. This is etiological, explaining how (in Sumero-Babylonian thought) Ea lived in the Apsû. In this new abode of Ea, Marduk, Ea's son is born and promptly disturbs Tiamat by creating a wave. Gods of unspecified origin now urge Tiamat to act before she meets the fate of Apsû, so she creates eleven monsters (the victor of the Anzû Myth had defeated eleven opponents) and puts Kingu in charge. The author has incorporated verbatim a passage from a lost text describing the monsters. No explanation of Kingu's origin is given, but he is an alter ego of Enmesharra, who, with his sons (paralleling the monsters of Enuma Elish), was defeated by Marduk in another myth. From this point to the victory the Anzû Myth provides the outline of the narrative.

Marduk's reorganization of the universe involves the Apsû, which already existed and was put at the bottom; the body of Tiamat, which was split into two to provide the watery upper heavens and the solid earth; and a lower heaven ("Esharra"), the only part specially created. The author is in fact blending three originally distinct cosmologies: (1) a two-level universe of heaven and earth resulting from splitting a body of matter (an extremely widespread concept), (2) a Sumero-Babylonian three-level universe for the Neo-Sumerian trinity consisting of Anu in heaven, Enlil on earth, and Ea in the Apsû (most clearly attested in the Atra-ḫasīs Epic), and (3) the concept of three heavens (in Enuma Elish, the uppermost is half of Tiamat's body, the middle one was apparently made *ex nihilo,* and the lower one is the level of the stars, and not given any particular name). No netherworld is mentioned, though it was believed to exist below the Apsû. Enlil, the god Ea displaced as head of the pantheon, is first mentioned at this point, when Marduk assigns him the second heaven as his abode. Creation continues with the furnishing of the void between the base of the lower heaven and the surface of the earth. The heavenly bodies were appointed, but the author had no interest in astronomy as such and only deals with those heavenly bodies conceived to regulate the cultic calendar: the thirty-six stars that regulate the year; the moon, which regulates the month, and the sun, which governs the day. Meteorological phenomena are supplied, and the physical features of the surface of the earth are arranged from parts of Tiamat's animal body (the Tigris and

Euphrates flow from her eyes, etc.). The various levels of the universe thus set up are finally stabilized by a cosmic cable and Marduk's battle net, which was spread around them. Images of the eleven monsters were then set up as a memorial of Marduk's victory (etiology in fact: representations of them existed in the author's day).

From this point, between the remaining episodes, the gods repeatedly proclaim Marduk king. First Babylon is built on the earth and centrally in the universe to serve as Marduk's home, where the gods of upper and lower cosmic regions will meet in assembly. Thus Nippur, Enlil's town, where the gods met in Sumerian myths, was displaced, just as its god was. Now man is created by interplay between Ea (the traditional Sumero-Babylonian creator) and Marduk (who replaces the Mother Goddess of tradition). The particular version of creation used is that of the Atra-ḫasīs Epic, in which Ea and the Mother Goddess make man from clay mixed with the blood of a slain god, but in Enuma Elish much of the detail is omitted. There is no mention of clay, only of the slain god's blood (Kingu in Enuma Elish), but probably readers were expected to be familiar with the notion of clay being mixed with the blood. Kingu is judicially found guilty of causing the war (wrongly, according to the story of Enuma Elish: Tiamat was responsible), and he is condemned to die so that man can be created from his blood. It is assumed that life can come only from preexisting life. The contradiction in the story results from using the myth about Enmesharra as the basis of the judgment scene. In that story Marduk defeats Enmesharra and his sons, who had rebelled, and after a short period in prison their father is condemned to death as the ringleader while his sons are pardoned. The author deftly changes this freeing from prison into the freeing of the younger gods from the hard labor required of them to provide them with their daily bread. In Sumero-Babylonian thought the human race existed solely to supply the gods with food and drink, which they did with regular meals set before the statues of the gods in the temples. With the gods now content with this supply of food and drink, Marduk proceeds to organize them in two groups, those of heaven and those of the netherworld, which suddenly appears from nowhere. At this the gods in gratitude build Marduk's temple in Babylon, Esagil, and, seated at a banquet, admire his net and bow and then, for the fourth time, proclaim him king and in addition take a loyalty oath, after which they proclaim his fifty names. This listing of names together with etymological and (more often) pseudo-etymological interpretations occupies 172 lines and was borrowed by the author from a triple-column god list with a little rearrangement and expansion (Bottero 1977). The interpretations constitute a theology of the god.

The concluding epilogue hopes that this work, whose compilation was undertaken for the benefit of posterity, would teach the greatness of Marduk to scholar and shepherd alike.

It is known that under the Late Babylonian empire this text was recited to Marduk's statue on the fourth day of Nisan in the course of the New Year festival (*ANET*, 332). During the same festival, about a week later, Marduk ceremonially defeated Tiamat and was proclaimed king by the other gods, who had assembled in Babylon for this purpose. It has been argued that Enuma Elish was the "scripture" for this annual reenactment, an example of the interplay of myth and ritual. But the recitation did not take place in connection with the Akitu rites in the course of which Tiamat was defeated. Furthermore it is known that Enuma Elish was also recited to Marduk on the fourth day of Kislimu, when no Akitu house battle took place, and information about the fourth day of the other ten months is lacking. Thus it is possible that Enuma Elish was recited to Marduk on the fourth day of every month, so the occurrence in Nisan is not especially significant. In any case there is no evidence that Enuma Elish was composed with cultic recitation in view. The epilogue states clearly that it was intended to serve in spreading knowledge of the greatness of Marduk throughout the population, by oral recitation. Thus the context of Enuma Elish is the rise of Marduk in history, in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I, not the cult of Babylon, in which its use was presumably secondary.

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**ENVY.** Envy is not a topic of any significance in either the OT or the NT. There is, for instance, no passage in which envy itself is discussed. This is in striking contrast to the importance it is accorded in Greek and Latin literature and in the writings of the Fathers of the Church. In this latter body of literature, envy is singled out as a moral failing particularly to be avoided by Christians, because it is the peculiar fault of the Devil and because it is the very antithesis of the injunction that we love our enemies. Envy is the peculiar fault of the Devil, since it was envy that brought about his fall and it was his envy that caused man's fall (Cypr. *Zel. et liv. PL* 4:665–66); it is the antithesis of loving our enemies, since the envious man will hate even a friend if that friend is fortunate (John Chrysostom, *Invid. PG* 63:679). It is true that frequent citations from the Bible lend a seeming authority to the teaching of the Church Fathers on envy, but the real intellectual underpinning of that teaching is provided by Greek literature and philosophy. We have then something of a paradox: envy plays little part in the Bible but is a key concept in developed Christian theology.

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A. *Phthonos*
B. OT References
C. NT References
D. Extrabiblical Material

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### A. *Phthonos*

The Fathers of the Church were the products of a culture that was acutely conscious of envy; they possessed a profound understanding of its nature and at the same time were convinced that it was an ever-present threat. In these circumstances it is not surprising that they should have read their own preoccupations into the Bible. What the Fathers of the Church were concerned about when they spoke of *phthonos, baskania* or *zēlos,* or if they were writing in Latin, *invidia, livor, zelus,* or *aemulatio,* was a grudging, mean-spirited condition of mind. A man subject to that state of mind finds it difficult or impossible to share his own goods with another and cannot bear to see anyone else in possession of a good. It is this latter aspect of *phthonos* that corresponds to our "envy" and "jealousy." It is important to bear in mind that *phthonos* has a broader application than "envy" or "jealousy" and that these terms are not always an accurate rendering of its meaning. Sometimes it is applied to those who only reluctantly share their own goods with others; on other occasions, and this is how it is most often used, it has the same intent as "envy" or "jealousy"; and sometimes it is used of those who not only begrudge others a share of their own goods but begrudge others their good fortune.

The man afflicted by *phthonos,* the *phthoneros* man, begrudges others their possessions not because they possess them unjustly but simply because it is not in his nature to view such good fortune with equanimity. It may nonetheless be the case that he is convinced that he is justified in his resentment. This unjustifiable begrudging is a form of malice or ill will; it is so because in wishing to see his neighbor deprived of a good he wishes him ill. It is the unjustified malevolence inherent in *phthonos* that makes people hate and fear it.

Ancient moralizing on *phthonos,* both Christian and pagan, tends to concentrate on the ill it does its possessor rather than others, perhaps because arguments aimed at self-interest are more effective than those that rely on one's sense of altruism. *Phthonos* was supposed to make its possessor unhappy to the point that he might even begin to waste away in his misery. All ancient definitions of *phthonos* in fact say

that it is distress *(lupē)* provoked by the good fortune of others (Plat. *Phlb.* 49d; Arist. *Rh.* 1387b22–25; *SVF* 3:99:38–39).

*Phthonos* is to be distinguished, as in envy, from greed and from competitiveness. Unlike the greedy man, the man afflicted by *phthonos* does not necessarily want the goods he resents another having; he simply does not want that other to have them. He differs from the competitive man in that his aim, unlike that of the competitive man, is not to win but to keep others from winning.

One of the pecularities of *phthonos,* as of envy, is its lack of self-awareness. The *phthoneros* man, if called upon to justify his conduct, will always tell himself and others that those he attacks deserve it and that it is the unfairness of the situation that moves him to criticize. If asked how he can possibly speak of a friend in the way he does, he will say that his criticisms have the friend's best interests at heart. It is because *phthonos* always conceals its true nature from its possessor and from others that it is associated with hypocrisy. This made it all the more feared, since its attacks were never open and straightforward but always veiled.

Those given to *phthonos* were thought to indulge their spite in whispered slanders, in backbiting, and in denigration in general. Their ill will could also take a more sinister and immediately dangerous form: their hate-filled look was thought to blight that on which it fell. It was believed to make crops, livestock, and people wither and waste away. This is the superstition known as the evil eye, although there is very little ancient authority for it under that name. In Classical Antiquity, it was known simply as *phthonos* or *baskania*.

This brief analysis of the nature of *phthonos* should make it clear on a little reflection that it is a particularly vicious and inexcusable form of malice. In Classical Antiquity it was a condition that was supposed to afflict all men in some measure and a very large number of men in significant measure (*Aesch. Ag.* 832–33; Hdt. 3:80:3; 7:237:2). This is a view of human nature shared by many other societies. What is so remarkable about the OT and the NT is that this fundamental human failing should have so little engaged the attention of its authors. What little is said about it shows the stamp of Greek ways of thought.

**B. OT References**

The Church Fathers when they discourse on *phthonos* regularly appeal to what was obviously a canonical list of the envious drawn mainly from the OT. They begin with the *phthonos* of the Devil for mankind, and proceed to that of Cain for Abel, to that of Joseph's brothers for Joseph, and to that of Saul for David and end up finally with the *phthonos* of the Jews for Jesus (*1 Clem.* 3; Cypr. *Zel. et liv. PL* 4:665–67). Only in the first and third of the passages from which these *exempla* are drawn are *phthonos* or *zēlos* mentioned explicitly (Wis 2:23–24; Gen 37:11). This is an illustration of how seldom *phthonos* is cited as a motive for men's actions in either testament. By the standards of Classical Antiquity this is quite remarkable.

It is really not until we come to the later books of the OT that *phthonos* makes an appearance, though a somewhat illusory one. It is in Ben Sira and in Wisdom that *phthonos* first comes to the fore. On closer scrutiny we find that the translator of Ben Sira, although he appears to be talking about *phthonos,* is not really doing so, for he uses *phthonos* and *baskania* with the same extension of meaning that they have elsewhere in the LXX. Warnings against *phthonos* and *baskania* turn out on closer inspection to be admonitions against a greedy and miserly spirit (14:3–10; 18:19). There is in that work very little evidence of a real concern with envy.

*Baskania* in the LXX is used principally of a spirit that is both greedy and miserly. (Prov 23:6; 28:22; Sir 14:3–10; 18:19). In one passage, in Deuteronomy, "jealousy" is a plausible rendering (28:54–56). Once in Wisdom it appears to be used of bewitching (4:12). The situation with *phthonos* is superficially less confused. It is used of envy and jealousy (Wis 2:24; 1 Macc 8:16) and is also applied to a begrudging and stingy spirit (Wis 6:23).

The author of Wisdom has a rather better grasp of the concept of *phthonos* than is evident elsewhere in the LXX. In one passage, the writer promises to reveal all the wisdom he has received from God and not

accompany that wisdom with wasted *phthonos,* on the ground that *phthonos* does not consort with wisdom.

> I shall not lead the truth aside, nor shall I accompany it with wasted *phthonos,* because *phthonos* does not consort with wisdom (6:23).

The idea that it is wrong to hold back special knowledge or wisdom and not give it unstintingly is Greek and is to be found first in the collection of gnomic verses that go under the name of Theognis of Megara (769–72. *Cf.* Pind. *Isthm.* 1:43–46). It is very much the common currency of the time of the author of Wisdom and plays a prominent part in the writing of Philo Judaeus (*Post* 138; *Spec Leg* IV:75; *Virt* 223). It is especially prevalent in prefaces to technical treatises (Gal. *De anatomicis administrationibus* 9; Vitr. *De Arch.* 7 *praef.* 1).

The mode of expression is also Greek; wasting is regularly associated with *phthonos.* It is so because the envious are thought to waste away in their own misery. It is nonetheless puzzling that wasting should be an attribute of *phthonos* here, as it is the *phthonos* of envy or jealousy which causes wasting and not that of being merely begrudging.

The influence of Greek thought is to be seen most clearly in those lines in Wisdom in which the presence of death in the world is explained:

> For God made man without corruption and created him in the likeness of his own immortality. By the *phthonos* of the Devil death came into the world (2:23–24).

What this passage amounts to is an interpretation of Gen 1:26, where God is said to create man in his own likeness, and Genesis 3, in which the story of Eve's temptation by the serpent is told. The serpent has become the Devil or the Devil's instrument, as it is hereafter in Christian and gnostic literature, while the temptation of Eve becomes the Devil's introduction of death into the world. His motive for so acting is put down to *phthonos.* We have to infer that his *phthonos* was aroused by God's making man in his own likeness and thus making him immortal.

The influence of Plato's account in the *Timaeus* of how the Divine Demiurge made the world in his own image may be detected in this interpretation of the creation-myth in Genesis. In the *Timaeus* the Divine Demiurge is said to have created the world because he was good, since in one who is good there is no *phthonos* ever about anything at all (29e). The Devil has been endowed with exactly the attribute of which the Divine Demiurge is free and whose absence in the Divine Demiurge explains his willingness to create all things in his own image. We know that in Alexandria in the generation following that in which Wisdom was composed, Philo used the *Timaeus* to interpret the creation story in Genesis (*Op* 21). The same influence may well be at work in Wisdom. If not, it is exceedingly difficult to see where the idea of the Devil's *phthonos* can have come from.

Reese (1970: 11) suggested that in this passage the author of Wisdom wished to introduce from Greek religious literature, where Reese thinks it is common, the motif of the envy of the gods to clear God of the responsibility of having brought death into the world. Van Unnik (1972: 130) was prepared to entertain the suggestion but very properly asked whether the idea was in circulation in the time of the author of Wisdom. There is no evidence in what we have of Hellenistic Greek literature for the idea as such, although belief in the *phthonos* of fate or fortune existed at that time. The two Greek authors in whose work the notion of the envy of the gods plays a prominent part belong to the 5th century B.C. They are the historian Herodotus and the lyric poet Pindar. It seems unlikely that the author of Wisdom had read either.

Wis 2:23–24 was taken up by both Christians and gnostics as the accepted explanation of the Fall. It also helped shape one of the standard tenets of early Christian theology, namely, that envy is the Devil's chief and defining characteristic.

**C. NT References**

The NT has relatively little to say about envy. Perhaps not surprisingly it is Paul who mentions it most frequently, and it is what he has to say about envy to which the Church Fathers have most frequent recourse.

At Rom 1:29, in the midst of a long catalog of the sins to which those who reject the knowledge of God for idolatry are given, Paul mentions *phthonos,* murder *(phonos),* contentiousness *(eris),* and deceit and a

malicious nature *(kakoetheia). Phthonos* in Classical and later Greek literature is regularly mentioned alongside *eris* and *phonos* (for *phthonos* with *eris* and *phonos,* see Soph. *OC* 1234–35; for *phthonos* and *phonos,* see Eur. *Tro.* 769–70; Plut. *Marc.* 29:1; *Phoc.* 37:2) while *kakoetheia* and *phthonos* are frequently coupled in later Greek literature (Plut. *Arat.* 15:4–5; *Demetr.* 50:5; *Mor.* 92b; 100f–101a; 465b; 556b; 630d; 845d; 856a–b). The influence of Greek culture on Paul here cannot be gainsaid, although there is little of ethical or theological significance that can safely be gleaned from this passage.

In Gal 5:20–22 Paul mentions *phthonos* in a catalog of the deeds of the flesh. In that passage he also mentions *eris* and *zēloi.* In Rom 13:13 Paul couples *eris* with *zēlos* in appealing to his hearers to put off the deeds of darkness and don Christ. Again in 1 Cor 3:3 he warns his listeners that when there is *eris* and *zēlos* in them they are creatures of flesh. In 2 Cor 12:20 he expresses the fear that he may still find *eris* and *zēlos* in the Corinthians. There is really nothing in these catalogs to enable us to decide whether Paul intends a distinction between *phthonos* and *zēlos* or whether they are little more than synonyms for him. The conjunction of *eris* with *zēlos* does not help to clarify the issue, since contentiousness can equally well be coupled with both envy and worldly ambition. Although envy is clearly the graver failing, it would still make perfectly good sense for Paul to include worldly ambition among the deeds of the flesh. It does, after all, lead to envy and strife.

There is little help in turning to Church Fathers to see whether they shed any light on what Paul means by *zēlos* and *eris.* Cyprian in the *De Zelo et Livore (On Envy and Jealousy),* not unsurprisingly, given his subject matter, takes Paul in 1 Cor 3:3 to be issuing a warning against envy (*PL* 4:672). Basil, for his part, associates *zēlos* and *eris* with *philoneikia,* "contentiousness," and places them in opposition to *sumpnoia* and *homonoia,* "harmony" (*jud. PG* 31:660; *reg. br. PG* 31:1000). If these associations and oppositions point in any direction, they suggest that Basil understands *zēlos* to be competitiveness or emulation rather than envy.

It would not greatly matter what Paul intended by *zēlos* and *eris* in these catalogs of the deeds of the flesh were it not the case that he also uses *zēlos* in his definition of what love *(agapē)* is in 1 Cor 13:4. It is, he says, long suffering, it does good, it does not engage in *zēlos,* it is not vainglorious, and it is not conceited. Both Origen (*comm. in I Cor.* 51 ed. C. Jenkins, *JTS* 9 & 10 [1908]) and Cyprian (*Zel. et liv. PL* 4:672) assume that he is speaking of envy or jealousy. Origen, as examples of a *zēlos* that is far from love, cites the *zēlos* of Cain toward Abel and that of Joseph's brothers for Joseph. These are by the time of Origen *exempla* of envy. Modern scholarship also takes it for granted that envy is at issue in 1 Cor 13.4 (Conzelmann *1 Corinthians* Hermeneia, 72 n.32).

It is impossible to decide whether *zēlos* in this passage is to be rendered as envy or as competitiveness. If *zēlos* here is envy, Paul's definition of love has a sharpness and precision, since envy is the very antithesis of Christian love; it is self-absorbed and filled with ill will toward others, whereas love is selfless and goodwill toward others is of its essence. That said, it has to be admitted that Paul might well have meant that there is no competitiveness in love, in which case it is probably the self-sacrificing quality of love that he intends to emphasize.

At the conclusion of Galatians 5, Paul calls on those he addresses to walk in the path of the spirit and to reject vainglory *(kenodoxia)* and neither challenge nor envy *(phthonountes)* each other (25–26). This exhortation is reminiscent of Epicurean and Stoic rejections of worldly ambition. Such ambition was rejected by Epicureans on the ground that it led to strife, murder, and the mental distress of greed and envy (Lucr. 3:59–81). For Epictetus, boastfulness and *kenodoxia* are one side of a coin whose other side is made up of distress, envy *(phthonos),* and lamentation (Arr. *Epict. Diss.* 3:24:43). Those in pagan antiquity who advocated withdrawal from the world did so in the belief that it gave men tranquility of mind and happiness by eradicating the sources of the aspirations that make men greedy, envious, and ambitious, and so tortured and unhappy. This concern with personal contentment and happiness is clearly not Paul's. It nonetheless remains the case that Paul's exhortation to the Galatians to put aside vanity and its attendant ills owes a good deal of its inspiration to Greek popular philosophizing.

In Rom 12:15 Paul exhorts his hearers to rejoice with those who rejoice and weep with those who weep. John Chrysostom, in commenting on this exhortation, says that many weep with those who weep but do

not rejoice with those who rejoice but rather weep. That, he says, is *phthonos* and *baskania* (*hom. 1–32 in Rom. PG* 60:447). That Chrysostom should see in Rom 12:15 an exhortation against envy was almost inevitable for a man both versed in Classical Greek literature and possessed of a heightened awareness of the part that envy played in human life. In Aeschylus' *Agamemnon,* the Chorus of Elders, addressing Agamemnon, remark that everyone is ready to groan over one in misfortune but that many men have to force their faces into a semblance of a smile when they want to pretend that they rejoice with someone (790–98). Agamemnon's response to this is that it comes naturally to few men not to envy a friend when he is successful (830–33). In a paraenetic speech in the Isocratean corpus the speaker bids the addressee in choosing his friends not to select those who are merely distressed by his ills but those who in addition do not envy him (Isoc. *Ad Demonic.* 26). The ultimate inspiration for Rom 12:15 must be teaching of the sort found at Isoc. *Ad Demonic.* 26, but Paul's failure to expand on the meaning of the exhortation makes it impossible to know whether he intended a warning against envy. Since he shows no great familiarity with the commonplaces of Greek moralizing, it seems on balance more likely that he did not have envy in mind.

To put into perspective what Paul says about envy, we should remember that he does not accord that failing any special attention and that it is simply one among several other failings to which he makes passing reference. Only in Galatians 5 can envy really be said to be toward the center of his thinking. There is, in short, little sign that he has given much thought to envy.

In James there is a passage in which bitter *zēlos* and factionalism are compared to their disadvantage with the wisdom that comes from on high and are condemned as the cause of anarchy and all that is bad (3:13–18). The writer then turns to the origins of wars and battles, which he finds in the pleasures that, in his words, "campaign in our limbs" (4:1). As the ensuing passage makes clear, what he means by this is that strife comes from frustrated desires, which realize themselves in *zēlos* (4:2). The topic of physical pleasure leads into that of love of the things of the world, which the writer condemns as hateful to God (4.4). He then asks rhetorically:

> Does it seem to you that Scripture speaks emptily saying: "The spirit that dwells in us longs jealously *(pros phthonon)*" (4:5).

That is followed by the assertion that God sets himself against the proud and gives his grace to the humble (4:6 = Prov 3:34). The writer's hearers are now enjoined to place themselves under God's command and to resist the Devil, whom, they are assured, will flee from them (4:7).

These strictures against *phthonos* and *zēlos,* and in particular the association of a bitter and contentious spirit with bodily desires and wordly ambition, strongly resemble Paul's warnings on the same topic. As in Paul there is the same difficulty in deciding what exactly the writer understands by *zēlos* and by *phthonos* and to what extent, if at all, he distinguishes between them. James goes beyond Paul in finding the origins of strife in frustrated physical desire, but it should be noted that his conception of physical desire is a broad one and encompasses a longing for the things of the world, among them the objects of ambition.

In some ways the most interesting aspect of the passage lies in what seems to be implied in the exhortation to resist the Devil, namely, that *zēlos* and *phthonos* are the Devil's work. It is probably wrong to press this connection too hard and to take the writer to have in mind something akin to the later thesis that *phthonos* is the snare by which the Devil entraps men. The writer in all likelihood had nothing more specific in mind than that the deeds of the flesh belong to the Devil.

In 1 Peter the writer calls on his hearers to put aside all wickedness, guile, instances of hypocrisy *(hypokrisis)* and *phthonos,* and all slandering, and in their place drink the unadulterated milk of the word (2:1). *Hypokrisis* and *phthonos* are almost certainly a hendiadys here and represent one idea, not two, the hypocrisy of *phthonos.* It is readily understandable why *phthonos,* which always tries to conceal its true nature, should be associated with hypocrisy. There are in Classical Greek literature before this passage no instances of this association. The earliest seems to be in the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius (1:11). That may be simply an accident of survival. However that may be, the association of these two ideas in this passage led some of the Church Fathers to profound insights into the nature of *phthonos*.

Besides these passages of moral and theological purport, *phthonos* is twice adduced in narratives as the motive for men's actions. Both Matthew and Mark say that Pontius Pilate knew that *phthonos* was the motive that had prompted the high priests and elders of the Jews to hand Jesus over to him (Matt 27:18; Mark 15:10). We are told that he knew this when he asked these same high priests and elders whom they would prefer him to set free, Jesus or Barabbas. That is to say, both Mark and Matthew are suggesting that Pontius Pilate was being disingenuous in asking that question, since he already knew that the high priests and elders were fatally prejudiced against Jesus because *phthonos* was their motive in handing Jesus over to him. These passages were to bear fruit in later Christian literature: there Jesus' death is regularly ascribed to the *phthonos* of the Jews (Cypr. *Zel. et liv. PL* 4:667 is the first instance).

In sum, neither the OT nor the NT provides any real guidance on the subject of envy. Paul, it is true, leaves us in no doubt that it is to be avoided. What neither he nor anyone else makes clear is what it is nor what there is about it which makes it reprehensible.

**D. Extrabiblical Material**

A better perspective on its relative insignificance in the NT may be gained by comparing the NT with some Jewish and Christian texts of roughly the same era. Philo Judaeus mentions *phthonos* frequently. For example, he appeals to God's complete freedom from *phthonos* to explain God's goodness and his creation of the world (*Spec Leg* II:141; 173). Philo's inspiration here is Plato's *Timaeus.* The adroit manner in which Philo handles and analyzes the concept suggests that he was deeply imbued with Greek culture to the point that his patterns of thought were those of an educated Greek.

*Phthonos* plays an important role in the *Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs,* a Jewish work almost certainly of the 1st century A.D., which shows signs of a superficial Christian redaction. It is the envy which Joseph aroused in his brothers that is responsible for the work's concern with *phthonos.* One of the Testaments, that of Symeon, is devoted largely to that subject. The author of the work displays an easy familiarity with the concept, evidence that Hellenized Jews of very modest intellectual attainment and culture were quite at home with the notion.

At the end of the 1st century A.D., we have a letter from a Roman Christian, presumably a man of some standing in the community, addressed to the Christians of Corinth, who had just deposed their leaders, warning them of the dangers of communal strife. This is the letter that goes under the name of *1 Clement.* Its Greek is significantly more elegant and idiomatic than anything in the NT (Lane Fox 1986: 305). The writer of the letter, to impress on the Corinthians the evil *phthonos* does, cites a long list of examples of that failing drawn principally from the OT (4–6). It is true that he has little or nothing to say about the nature of *phthonos* and that his knowledge of Greek myth is sadly confused. Yet his concern with *phthonos* is transparent. He would hardly have devoted so much energy to cataloging the ills it does were he not convinced of its importance. Even if it is the case that the catalog is not his own work, it still remains true that here we have a man of modest education in whose consciousness *phthonos* looms large.

The greater awareness of *phthonos* that Philo and the authors of *T. 12 P.* and *1 Clem.* display is surely to be attributed to their having been more deeply Hellenized than any of the authors of the OT or NT. An indication of their Hellenization is their facility with Greek. Philo, despite his verbosity and pomposity, writes infinitely better Greek than anything in the NT; the writers of *T. 12 P.* and *1 Clem.* write reasonably clear Greek and rather better than what is on offer in the NT. What all of this adds up to is that at a certain level of Hellenization, Greek ideas take hold. The authors of the books of the NT have barely crossed that threshold. Hence, apparently, their lack of concern with envy.

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**EPAENETUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Epainetos* (Ἐπαινετος)]. A Roman gentile Christian who received greetings from Paul in Rom 16:5 as "my beloved." Epaenetus had immigrated to Rome. Rom 16:5 depicts him as the first Christian convert of the province Asia whose capital was Ephesus. He may have been converted by Prisca and Aquila in Ephesus and moved together with them to Rome (see AQUILA); the couple is mentioned just before Epaenetus in Rom 16:3–5. He therefore also may have attended the couple's Roman house-church. Ollrog (1979: 38) even conjectured that he was one of Aquila's servants, although there is no evidence that Aquila had ever hired anyone other than Paul in Corinth for his workshop (Acts 18:2–3); Aquila's social status has often been overestimated (see AQUILA; Lampe *StadtrChr*, 160–64).

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**EPAPHRAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Epaphras* (Ἐπαφρας)]. A Christian from Colossae (Col 4:12), referred to by Paul as a "fellow slave" (Col 1:7) and "fellow prisoner in Christ Jesus" (Phlm 23). Epaphras is also mentioned as having sent greetings to Philemon (Phlm 23) and to the Colossians (Col 4:12), both of whom were undoubtedly well known to him.

According to Paul, Epaphras is the one who taught the Colossians "the grace of God in truth" (Col 1:6). Paul also testified that Epaphras worked hard for them "and for those in Laodicea and in Hierapolis" (4:13). From this it can be inferred that Epaphras was the founder of the Colossian church (Lightfoot 1879: 29) and an important evangelist in the other two communities in the Lycus valley (Bruce 1984: 8–10).

During one of Paul's imprisonments Epaphras brought him news of the Colossians' faith in Christ Jesus and their love for all the saints (Col 1:4). Epaphras also conveyed to Paul their love in the Spirit (1:8). Furthermore, it was probably Epaphras who had informed Paul about false teachers in the Colossian community (2:4, 8). That very situation may have inspired Epaphras to visit Paul in prison in order to consult with him. When he saw Paul, Epaphras most likely is the one who gave him news about Philemon, thus bringing much joy to Paul (Phlm 5). In addition there is some merit to the suggestion that Epaphras brought the runaway slave Onesimus to Paul, because he knew that Paul would be able to help him (Bruce, *Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians* NICNT, 197).

Paul greatly respected Epaphras, whom he describes as "our beloved fellow servant," and as "a faithful minister of Christ on our (some mss read 'your') behalf" (Col 1:7). Paul also calls him a "*doulos* ('servant' or 'slave') of Christ Jesus" (4:12, cf. 1:7, where Epaphras is called *sundoulos*, "fellow servant"), a description Paul uses at various times of himself but rarely of another (cf. the identification of Timothy in Phil 1:1). From Paul it is also known that Epaphras was a man of prayer, for he tells the Colossians that Epaphras was constantly praying for them that they might "stand mature and full assured in all the will of God" (4:12). Although the name Epaphras may be a shortened form of Epaphroditus, this Colossian should not be confused with the Philippian of similar name.

On the site of ancient Colossae an inscription has been found which mentions a person named T. Asinius Epaphroditus (Johnson 1950: 7), but it is rather doubtful that this refers to the Epaphras known to Paul. A marble altar was also found in Laodicea which is thought by some to have the name of Epaphras on it (Johnson 1950: 7).

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**EPAPHRODITUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Epaphroditos* (Ἐπαφροδιτος)]. A Christian sent by the Philippians to help Paul and to take the collection from Philippi to Paul (Phil 2:25; 4:18). The name Epaphroditus, rather common in the 1st century, suggests that his family may have been followers of the

cult of Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of love and fertility. It is interesting to note that after being converted from paganism to Christianity, Epaphroditus was not required to change his name in spite of its association with this cult.

The identity of Epaphroditus is best understood within the context of his relationship to Paul and to the Philippians. Paul uses three significant terms to characterize his bond with Epaphroditus: "my brother" (Gk *adelphos*), "my fellow worker" (Gk *sunergos*), and "my fellow soldier" (Gk *sustratiotēs*) (2:25). As a brother, Epaphroditus was one in the faith with Paul and other Christians, but more specifically, a colleague of Paul in evangelizing, as the next two terms suggest. As a fellow worker, one of those who labored with Paul in spreading the Gospel, Epaphroditus must have had a prior association with Paul, perhaps going back to the founding of the church at Philippi. As a fellow soldier, he had struggled side by side with Paul against adversaries of the Gospel (cf. 1:28, 30). See ARCHIPPUS. This military metaphor suggests that Epaphroditus experienced suffering and conflict in his ministry. Undoubtedly he was highly regarded by Paul.

The Philippians sent Epaphroditus to Paul during his imprisonment either in Ephesus, ca. A.D. 56–57, or in Rome, ca. A.D. 61–63. The proximity of Ephesus to Philippi makes that city the preferred choice because of the frequent comings and goings between Paul and the Philippians implied in the letter. Epaphroditus was their Gk *apostolos* (2:25) and a minister to Paul's needs. Whether the term indicates that Epaphroditus was their "apostle" in the sense of being commissioned and sent out with a specific task of spreading the Gospel as was Paul, or in the sense of being their messenger, envoy, or delegate, is not immediately clear. Epaphroditus serves as a minister (Gk *leitourgos*) to Paul's material need by bringing the monetary gifts the Philippians entrusted him with, gifts described as "a fragrant offering" and "an acceptable sacrifice" (4:18), which perhaps also were intended to aid Paul in other ways while he was imprisoned. Thus Epaphroditus was able to "complete their service" (2:30) as they could not all come personally. Also, he was probably the one who made Paul aware of the disagreement between EUODIA and SYNTYCHE.

In the course of carrying out his mission, Epaphroditus "risked his life" (2:30) and became so ill that he nearly died (2:27, 30). His illness may have developed during his journey to Paul, or later, when he was with Paul, doing the work of Christ. Paul says nothing about the nature of Epaphroditus' illness. But, the later regained his health—a turn of events explained by Paul as a merciful act of God. Thus, not only did Epaphroditus recover, but Paul was also spared from "sorrow upon sorrow" (2:27).

The Philippians eventually heard of Epaphroditus' illness and began to worry, which in turn caused him further distress and a longing to be with them (2:26). Hence Paul thought it necessary to send Epaphroditus back to Philippi sooner than expected (2:25) in order to calm the anxiety raised there, to enable Epaphroditus to fulfill his desire to be with them again, and to relieve Paul's own concerns. Paul may also have been thinking that Epaphroditus, probably a respected leader in the church there, would be instrumental in leading the Philippians away from a misguided perfectionism and legalism (cf. 3:2–19). Also, because of the way he had risked his life in self-sacrificing service while with Paul, Epaphroditus was an admirable example of one who had the "mind of Christ" (cf. 2:5–11), which Paul asked all the Philippians to make their own.

Epaphroditus probably delivered Paul's letter to the church at Philippi (cf. 2:25, 28; the aorists can be taken as "epistolary"). In sending him back, Paul includes a commendation, requesting that the Philippians "receive him in the Lord with all joy" (2:29). Paul explains that he takes sole responsibility for Epaphroditus' return at that time, lest the Philippians suspect that Epaphroditus had not fulfilled his mission. Evidently Paul wanted no misunderstanding, no questioning of his character, no lessening of his authority. Epaphroditus was to be held in high esteem because of what he had done.

Finally, Epaphroditus is among those sometimes identified with the "yokefellow" in Phil 4:3; as the bearer of the letter he is the likely object of this otherwise obscure reference. See YOKEFELLOW. Epaphroditus should not be confused with the Christian Epaphras from Colossae.

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**EPHAH** [Heb ʾ*êpâ* (אֵיפָה)]. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**EPHAH** (PERSON) [Heb ʿ*êpâ* (עֵיפָה)]. Three persons in the OT, one of which (if not all three) was an Arabian tribe. If Ephah is a genuine personal name, it can be compared to Ar *ġayfâ*ʾ and *ġâfah* (a kind of tree); compare the Hebrew personal name Elon. This explanation does not, however, apply to (1) because of the Akkadian evidence listed below.

**1.** A son of Midian (Gen 25:4; 1 Chr 1:33). Midian’s five “sons” as listed in Gen 25:4 comprise the clans, tribes, or people inhabiting the country of Midian sometime before 716 B.C. (Knauf 1988: 84–86). Ephah heads the sons of Midian and may have been the leading tribe in this country. By the time of Isa 60:6 (late 6th century B.C.?), the tribe was still famous for its camel breeding. In the Assyrian annals, Ephah figures as a tribe of NW Arabia under the names of (URU) *Ḫa-a-a-ap-pa-a-a* (Tiglath-pileser III, 734 B.C.) and *(lú) Ḫa-ia-pa-a* (Sargon II, 716 B.C.). The Heb consonants ʿ*yph* together with the Akk syllables lead to **Ġayyâpâ* as the original form of the tribal name. According to the Ar, *Ġayyâpâ* can be explained as “having long beards” (compare the Germanic ethnonym *Langobards;* Knauf 1988: 79–80).

As the most prominent Midianite tribe, Ephah may have inhabited the Wâdî ʿAfâl, Midian’s central area with the town of Madyan (today Maġâyir Šuʿayb and al-Badʿ). Tiglath-pileser’s determinative URU (“city”) in front of the tribal name may refer to this place. It is not possible to link Ephah/*Ḫayyâpâ* with the site of Ruwâfah, as Musil had suggested (Knauf 1983: 153–54).

2. A concubine (Heb *pîlegeš*) of Caleb, and mother of several Calebite clans and/or villages, 1 Chr 2:46.

3. A son of Jahdai (1 Chr 2:47) who appears in the list of Calebite towns and clans (1 Chr 2:42–50) without a genealogical connection to any descendant of Caleb. Ephah 2 and 3 may form variant traditions referring to a clan or family which originated from Ephah 1 and immigrated into the Negeb in the exilic or postexilic period. Such an immigration is suggested by the high frequency of Arabian names in 1 Chronicles 2 and 4 (Wellhausen 1870: 38–39).

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**EPHAI** (PERSON) [Heb ʿ*ēpay* (עֵפַי)]. A Netophathite from Judah whose sons were among the troop commanders of Gedaliah at Mizpah following the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/6 B.C.E. (Jer 40:8). The form of the name follows the Qere reading. The Kethibh reads ʿ*wpy* “Ophai” and is the reading of the name adopted by the LXX and Vg. In a parallel text, 2 Kgs 25:23, the words “the sons of Ephai” are omitted and Seraiah the son of Tanhumeth is designated as the Netophathite.
JOHN M. BERRIDGE

**EPHER** (PERSON) [Heb ʿ*eper* (עֶפֶר)]. Three eponymous ancestors of tribes or clans in the OT. As a personal name, Epher can be interpreted as a phonetic variant of Heb ʿ*ōper,* Ar *ġufr* and *ġafr* “kid of a gazelle” (or ibex). For the Midianite tribe (see #1), Sabaic ʿ*fr* “agricultural land awaiting rain” provides a more fitting etymology (Knauf 1988: 80).

**1.** A son of Midian (Gen 25:4; 1 Chr 1:33), i.e., a clan, tribe, or people inhabiting the country of Midian. The list of Midian’s five sons antedates 716 B.C. (Knauf 1988: 84–86). There are three areas or towns in NW Arabia which may have preserved the name of this ancient tribe: (1) Wâdî ʿAfâl (also recorded as ʿAfâr), the heartland of Midian with the site of Madyan/Maġâyir Šuʿayb - al-Badʿ; (2) Wâdî al-ʿIfrîyah, SE of Wâdî ʿAfâl; (3) Ṭayyib al-Ism on the Midianite coast of the Gulf of ʿAqabah (ancient names from

the root ʿ*PR* have frequently been changed to "good [of] name," which is the literal translation of Ṭayyib al-Ism, in order to avoid any resemblance with Ar ʿ*ifrît* "demon"). The three places or areas were all settled in the Early Iron Age (Knauf 1988: xii Abb.1; 80).

**2.** A son of Ezra (1 Chr 4:17). This Ezra is probably identical to the Ezer in 1 Chr 4:4, a grandson of Judah. Given the high frequency of Arabian personal and tribal names in 1 Chronicles 2 and 4, one may ask whether the Judahite Epher was in fact a family or clan of the Midianite tribe which immigrated into S Palestine in the exilic or postexilic period (Wellhausen 1870: 38–39; Knauf 1989: 68).

**3.** A family in Israelite Transjordan, exiled by Tiglath-pileser III in 734 B.C. (1 Chr 5:24). 1 Chr 5:26 suggests that the compiler of the list still knew descendants of these "Manassite" families among the Jewish diaspora in Mesopotamia. If one accepts a 3d century B.C. date for the compilation of Chronicles (Welten 1973: 200), one may ask whether the Jewish families mentioned in 1 Chr 5:24 were not, in fact, exiled by the Persians in the course of the troublesome 4th century B.C. (*IJH*, 500–502). Their geographical distribution as described in 1 Chr 5:23 fits into the postexilic period much better than into preexilic times.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**EPHES-DAMMIM** (PLACE) [Heb ʿ*epeś dammîm* (אֶפֶשׁ דַּמִּים)]. Var. PAS-DAMMIM. The area in which the Philistines gathered before the battle during which David slew Goliath (1 Sam 17:1). This text places the area between Socoh (M.R. 147121) and Azekah (M.R. 144123) and near the Valley of Elah where the Israelites under Saul gathered. It lies W of Bethlehem toward the Philistine coast. This same place is mentioned as Pas-dammim (Heb *pas dammîm*) with reference to David's victory over "the Philistine" in 1 Chr 11:13. The main subject of the text in Chronicles is the exploit of one of David's warriors, Eleazar, against the Philistines. The parallel text at 2 Sam 23:9 lacks the reference to Pas-dammim (Ephes-dammim) in the MT, but the fuller text in the $LXX^{L}$ has the place-name and is to be preferred (see McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 490, 494–495; Driver *Samuel* ICC, 365). The area has been equated with modern Damun, ca. 4 miles NE of Socoh (McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 290; Gold *IDB* 2: 108).

JEFFRIES M. HAMILTON

**EPHESIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.** Ephesians, like Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, is traditionally counted among Paul's "imprisonment epistles" (3:1; 4:1). Although the majority of ancient manuscripts indicate that it is intended for "the saints who are faithful at Ephesus" (1:1), the words *en Ephesō* ("at [or "in"] Ephesus") are not present in some of the earliest and most important manuscripts. Moreover, the phrase does not seem to have stood in the mss used by Marcion, who regarded this as the letter to the Laodiceans (Col 4:16), or in those known to Tertullian, whose rejection of Marcion's view makes no appeal to the text of the opening verse (*Against Marcion* 5.11.17; 5.17.1). By the end of the 2d century, however, it was generally regarded as a letter "to Ephesus," and so entitled; with this the way was clear for the words "at Ephesus" to be inserted into the opening sentence by some later scribe or editor.

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**A. Structure and Contents**

At least in a general way, the overall structure of Ephesians conforms to that of the other letters of the Pauline Corpus. One notable difference, however, is that the address (1:1–2) is followed by two introductory paragraphs—a blessing (1:3–14; cf. 2 Cor 1:3–11) and a thanksgiving (1:15–23; cf. Rom 1:8–15[17]; 1 Cor 1:4–9; Col 1:3–8). No other letter in the Pauline Corpus has both. Within the body of Ephesians, a series of affirmations (2:1–3:21) is followed by a lengthy series of appeals (4:1–6:20), a division which is found in most of the Pauline letters (Rom 1:18–11:36 [affirmations] and 12:1–15:13 [appeals]).

The affirmations of chaps. 2 and 3 reiterate and extend what is already stated in the opening blessing and thanksgiving: that through the grace of God bestowed in Jesus Christ, believers have experienced a moral and spiritual resurrection (2:4–9; 3:11–12; cf. 1:3–8, 13–14), and that by their incorporation into Christ's body the Church, they have become a new people reconciled to God and to one another (2:13–20; cf. 1:22–23). It is "the mystery of [God's] will" (1:9; "the mystery of the gospel," 6:19) which is being presented here, as this has been made known to Paul by revelation (3:3–4, 7–9).

The appeals in chaps. 4–6 call for the readers to manifest in their behavior, both personal and corporate, the new life that they have been given in Christ. Here as throughout Ephesians, various kinds of traditional materials are in evidence, drawn from the Church's liturgy (5:14) and Scripture (4:8–10) as well as from its ethical codes (5:21–6:9).

Two special points should be noted about the outline that follows: (1) Although the thanksgiving (1:15–23) has been placed within the letter opening, it could also be regarded as the initial paragraph of the letter body. (2) The introduction to the prayer and doxology of 3:14–21 actually begins in 3:1 (cf. vv 1 and 14), only to be broken off abruptly in favor of several important declarations about Paul's stewardship (vv 2–13). Formally, then, vv 2–13 constitute a digression interrupting the prayer and doxology which conclude the first part of the letter body.

I. Letter Opening, 1:1–23
A. Address, 1:1–2
B. Blessing, 1:3–14
C. Thanksgiving, 1:15–23

II. Letter Body, 2:1–6:20
A. Affirmations about the mystery of Christ, 2:1–3:21
1. Resurrection and reconciliation, 2:1–22
2. Paul's stewardship of God's grace, 3:1–13
3. Prayer and doxology, 3:14–21
B. Exhortations to lead a Christian life, 4:1–6:20
1. Fundamental appeals, 4:1–24
a. Maintain the unity of the Spirit, 4:1–16
b. Put off the old nature, 4:17–22
c. Put on the new nature, 4:23–24
2. Specific appeals, 4:25–6:9
a. Various topics, 4:25–5:20

b. Life in the household, 5:21–6:9
3. Concluding appeals, 6:10–20
a. Put on the whole armor of God, 6:10–17
b. Pray in the Spirit, 6:18–20
III. Letter Closing, 6:21–24
A. Commendation of Tychicus, 6:21–22
B. Benediction, 6:23–24

**B. Style and Character**

Ephesians is distinguished by a pleonastic, ornamented style (Percy 1946: 185–91). There are a striking number of sentences of extraordinary length (1:3–14 and 4:11–16, each of which is just one sentence in Greek), liberal use is made of prepositional phrases (4:12–16), relative clauses often follow one after another (1:6, 7, 8; 2:2, 3), and there are many constructions which employ participles (2:14–16; 4:18–19) or infinitives (4:22–24). Synonyms abound, often expressed in a genitive construction ("the counsel of his will," 1:11; "the working of the strength of his might" [RSV: "the working of his great might"], 1:19; "the law of commandments," 2:15; "the spirit of your minds," 4:23; "in the strength of his might," 6:10). Adjectives tend to pile up, especially with reference to the attributes of God ("the immeasurable greatness of his power," 1:19; "the immeasurable riches of his grace in kindness," 2:7), and there is a tendency toward tautology ("a spirit of wisdom and of revelation in the knowledge of him, having the eyes of your hearts enlightened," 1:17–18; "we all once lived in the passions of our flesh, following the desires of body and mind," 2:3).

This ponderous, redundant style is attributable in part to the fact that certain liturgical and confessional traditions have been used in Ephesians, not only in 5:14 (where a liturgical acclamation is introduced by "it is said"), but perhaps also in 1:20–23 (Deichgräber 1967: 161–65) and 2:14–16 [18] (Sanders 1965: 216–18). Some interpreters believe that traditional materials also lie behind such passages as 1:3–14 (Schille 1965: 65–73), 2:4–10 (Schille 1965: 53–60), and 4:5–6 (Fischer 1973: 137–38); but even if they do not, here as elsewhere in Ephesians the stereotyped language of the Church's traditions has left an imprint.

Not only the style but also the fact that no specific congregational issues seem to be in view set Ephesians apart from the rest of the Pauline Corpus. Despite its epistolary opening and closing, it is a "letter" only in a highly qualified sense. Ephesians has been characterized by many as a theological "tractate" or "manifesto" (Moffatt 1918: 388; Lindemann *Der Epheserbrief* ZBK, 14, 127; Fischer 1973: 104; Schnackenburg *Epheser* EKKNT, 19), and by numerous others as a "meditation" (Martin 1968: 302; Marxsen 1978: 194; Barth *Ephesians* AB vol. 1, 58). Pokorný (1962: 178) and Gnilka (*Der Epheserbrief* HTKNT, 33) refer to it as a "homily," while Schlier characterizes it as a "wisdom speech" (1963: 21–22; Conzelmann 1966: 234).

Taylor (*Ephesians* Augsburg, 22–24), prompted by Dahl's observation that Ephesians is in part a letter of "congratulation" to those who have left their gentile ways for the gospel (Dahl 1977: 314; *IDBSup*, 268; Lincoln 1982: 46), classifies Ephesians as an example of "epideictic" literature. As defined by ancient rhetoricians, an epideictic composition uses praise or blame as the basis for some kind of an appeal. In Ephesians, however, the praise is much less specific and the appeals are much more extensive than in typical "letters of praise" (*epainetikai;* Stowers 1986: 77–85). Moreover, the writers of epideictic letters ordinarily understood themselves as either inferior or equal to those whom they addressed (Stowers 1986: 79)—which is by no means the case in Ephesians, where much is made of Paul's unique status and role (chap. 3).

Ephesians does not, in fact, fit readily into any of the standard literary genres of its day, and not much is gained by trying to force it into one. It is best to describe it rather more loosely as a treatise, presented in the form of a letter, which combines edifying affirmations (chaps. 1–3) with exhortation (chaps. 4–6).

**C. Relation to Colossians**

One of the most striking features of Ephesians is the extent to which it is similar in both overall structure and particularly in contents to Colossians (for listings and displays of the verbal parallels, see

Mitton 1951:279–321). It has been calculated that more than one-quarter of the words in Ephesians appear as well in Colossians and that more than one-third of the words in Colossians appear in Ephesians (Mitton 1951: 57). In addition to the particularly close parallelism of Eph 1:1–2 with Col 1:1–2 and of Eph 6:21–22 with Col 4:7–8, the following examples may be noted: Eph 1:22–23 and Col 1:17–19; Eph 2:13–18 and Col 1:20–22; Eph 4:16 and Col 2:19; Eph 5:19–20 and Col 3:16; Eph 5:22–6:9 and Col 3:18–4:1. Moreover, certain concepts and terms are prominent in both letters, including the idea of Christ as "head" of the church, which is his "body" (*kephalē/sōma;* Col 1:18; 2:19; Eph 1:22; 4:15–16; 5:23), of a divine "fullness" (*plērōma;* Col 1:19; 2:9; Eph 1:10, 23; 3:19; 4:13), of a profound "mystery" (Col 1:26–27; 2:2; 4:3; Eph 1:9; 3:3, 4, 9; 5:32; 6:19), of "reconciliation" (Col 1:20, 21–22; Eph 2:16), and of the believer's resurrection with Christ as an event already experienced (Col 2:12–13; 3:1; Eph 2:4–7).

There are also some important differences between Colossians and Ephesians, however. Unlike Colossians, Ephesians seems not to have been intended for a particular congregation or to have any specific kind of "false philosophy" in view. Of the twelve friends and associates mentioned in Colossians (including Timothy, who is identified as the co-sender of that letter, 1:1), only Tychicus is named in Ephesians (6:21). Whereas Scripture is never cited and there are few scriptural allusions in Colossians, scriptural passages are drawn on several times in Ephesians (2:17; 4:8–10; 5:31–32; 6:2–3; less directly in 1:20, 22), and there are a number of scriptural allusions (Lincoln 1982). Whereas in Colossians interest is particularly focused on the cosmic role and significance of Christ, in Ephesians special attention is given to the cosmic role and significance of his body, the Church (cf. Col 2:9 with Eph 1:22–23). Only in Ephesians is there any reference to the law (2:15) or to righteousness (4:24; 5:9 [RSV: "right"]; 6:14). Moreover, certain key terms are used somewhat differently; for example, in Colossians the "mystery" now disclosed is Christ himself (2:2; 4:3), especially as he has been preached among the gentiles (1:26–27), but in Ephesians it is primarily understood to be God's plan for the inclusion of Jews and gentiles within the one body of Christ (3:2–6, 9; cf. 1:9); in Col 1:25 the word *oikonomia* refers to the "divine office" (RSV) which God has given to Paul, but in Ephesians it is used of God's "plan" (RSV) of salvation (1:10; 3:9; cf. 3:2, where it is not the *oikonomia* but the "grace" which Paul has been granted); and although the term "fullness" has an exclusively christological reference in Colossians (1:19; 2:9), that is not the case in Ephesians (thus 1:10, "the fullness of time"; 3:19, "the fullness of God").

If both Ephesians and Colossians are accepted as Paul's own letters, then the similarities between them would probably be due to their having been written at about the same time (presumably during the same period of imprisonment) so that the apostle still had the phrasing of the one letter in mind while he was writing the other. In this case, however, the differences are not easy to explain (see the discussion of authorship below). Numerous scholars hold, therefore, that one or the other of the letters is pseudonymous. Thus Mayerhoff—accepting the Pauline authorship of Ephesians—argued that the similarities and differences are due to the fact that Colossians is a secondary reworking of Ephesians by a later writer (1838: 72–106). De Wette, however, argued that the reverse is the case, Ephesians having been written in imitation of the authentically Pauline Colossians (1843: 79–81; 1858: 277–85). H. J. Holtzmann (1872) accepted neither Colossians nor Ephesians as authentic. Building on a hypothesis first advanced by Hitzig (1870: 22–33) that an authentic Pauline letter lies behind Colossians, he advanced the theory that a later writer used this proto-Colossians to create Ephesians (Holtzmann 1872: 131–48); then subsequently, according to this view, the same writer used Ephesians to interpolate and elaborate proto-Colossians, thus creating our present canonical Colossians (Holtzmann 1872: 148–68).

Because it was based on a number of highly subjective and questionable judgments, Holtzmann's complex theory never gained a following, and with only a few exceptions (Coutts 1958) scholars now agree that there is little evidence to support Mayerhoff's view that Colossians is later than and dependent on Ephesians. Those who regard both letters as authentic generally hold that the similarities between them demonstrate common authorship, and tend to dismiss the differences as relatively few and unimportant (Percy 1946: 360–433; Guthrie 1970: 492–502; van Roon 1974: 192–95).

It is probable that some of the similarities and differences between the two letters resulted because common traditions have been adapted differently in each (Schille 1957; Dahl 1963: 72). Beyond this,

however, most scholars are now agreed that one must reckon with the literary dependence of one letter on the other, and specifically of Ephesians on Colossians (Mitton 1951: 68–74; Lindemann 1975: 44–48). (A) It is easier to conceive of the author of Ephesians generalizing the more specific teachings of Colossians for a wider audience and eliminating the sharp polemic than to conceive of the author of Colossians adapting Ephesians in order to address a specific local situation. (B) The thought of Ephesians represents a development beyond that of Colossians (e.g., the cosmic Christology of Colossians has become the basis for a cosmic ecclesiology; in Colossians the expectation of Christ's future return has receded, but it is not present in Ephesians). (C) Certain passages in Ephesians read like elaborations of passages in Colossians (Eph 2:1–10 of Col 2:12–13, and Eph 5:21–33 of Col 3:18–19). (D) Certain other passages in Ephesians seem to represent the conflation of two passages from Colossians (Col 1:14 and 1:20 in Eph 1:7; Col 1:9 and 1:4 in Eph 1:15–16; Col 2:13 and 3:6 in Eph 2:1–5). That one must reckon with a specific literary dependence of Ephesians on Colossians is indicated by various passages in which there is extensive verbatim agreement between the two letters; for example, between Eph 1:1–2 and Col 1:1–2; Eph 6:21–22 and Col 4:7–8; Eph 1:7, 10 and Col 1:14, 20; and Eph 4:16 and Col 2:19.

**D. Relation to other NT Writings**

There are also parallels between Ephesians and the other letters of the Pauline Corpus, although these are neither so striking nor so extensive as those between Ephesians and Colossians (Mitton 1951: 98–158, 173–75, 333–38). In many of these instances one may be dealing only with widely used stock phrases (Eph 4:17–19 / Rom 1:21–24; Eph 1:13 / 2 Cor 1:22; Eph 5:2, 25 / Gal 2:20). Other parallels, however, particularly in Romans and 1 Corinthians, suggest a specific dependence on the part of Ephesians (of Eph 2:8 on Rom 3:20–27; of Eph 4:16; 5:23 on 1 Cor 11:3; of Eph 3:8 on 1 Cor 15:9–10; of Eph 1:20–23 on 1 Cor 15:24–29). There may also be a literary relationship between Ephesians and the Pastoral Epistles, but in this case the dependence would be on the part of the Pastorals (of Titus 3:3–7 on Eph 2:3–7; Mitton 1951: 173–75).

It is sometimes held that there are echoes of Luke-Acts in Ephesians (Mitton 1951: 198–220) and echoes of Ephesians in the book of Revelation (Mitton: 170–73), but the evidence for both is slender. The parallels between Ephesians and 1 Peter are much clearer and more numerous (Eph 1:20–22/1 Pet 3:21–22; Eph 5:21–6:9/1 Pet 2:18–3:7), and some have argued that a literary relationship exists between these two letters (Mitton 1951: 176–79 holds that 1 Peter is dependent on Ephesians). The nature of the parallels, however, makes it more likely that they are the result of common reliance on widely circulating church traditions (Schenke and Fisher 1978: 175) than that they are due to one author's borrowing from the other.

**E. Theme**

In Ephesians as well as in Colossians, the Pauline image of the Church as the body of Christ (Rom 12:4–5; 1 Cor 12:12–27) has been expanded to include the idea of Christ as the "head" of that body (Eph 1:22–23; 4:15–16; 5:23; Col 1:18; 2:19). But while in Colossians attention is focused primarily on the cosmic status and role of Christ, the one great theme of Ephesians is the cosmic status and role of the Church. In Ephesians the word *ekklēsia* is never used of a local congregation (as in Col 4:15, 16), only of the Church universal (1:22; 3:10, 21; 5:23–32; cf. Col 1:18, 24). This church is understood to be part of the unity of "all things" which Christ's sovereign rule represents and to be in a sense the crowning instance of that unity (1:22–23); for in and through the Church the gentiles have become "fellow heirs, members of the same body, and partakers of the promise" bestowed upon the Jews (3:6)—reconciled along with them to God and therefore united with them in Christ (2:11–22).

This participation of the gentiles in the promises of God is perceived to be a fundamental part of the divine "plan" *(oikonomia)* "to unite all things in him [Christ], things in heaven and things on earth" (1:10). It is therefore the content of "the mystery of the gospel" (6:19) which is also called "the mystery of [God's] will" (1:9), "the mystery of Christ" (3:4; cf. "the unsearchable riches of Christ," 3:8), and simply "the mystery" (3:3). This "mystery plan" (3:9; RSV: "plan of the mystery") was hidden from all preceding generations (3:5), but now the Spirit has disclosed it to the Church's "holy apostles and prophets" (3:1–6). However, in Ephesians the Church is presented as not only the recipient and mediator

of this revelation but as a constituent part of it. Because it is the "fullness" of Christ, the Church shares his cosmic status (1:22–23); it is the place where a new humanity has been created and where a cosmic peace has been instituted (2:15–16); and it is central to the divine purpose that "through the church the manifold wisdom of God might now be made known to the principalities and powers in the heavenly places" (3:10, 11).

Because the Church is conceived here as being an integral part of the eternal plan and purpose of God, its existence transcends the boundaries of time as well as of space: believers were chosen for salvation "in the heavenly places … before the foundation of the world" (1:3–4), "destined" to be God's sons and to receive the grace bestowed in Christ (1:5–6), "destined and appointed" to live for the praise of God (1:12), and "created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God prepared beforehand" (2:10). Similarly, in Ephesians Christ's relationship to the Church is defined not with reference to his death (although there are references to this, formulated in traditional ways: 1:7, 20; 2:13, 16; 5:2, 25), but primarily with reference to his timeless cosmic rule. By raising him from the dead and seating him "at his right hand in the heavenly places," God has enthroned Christ as "the head over all things for the Church" (1:20–23; 4:10); and by the bestowal of his power also upon the believers (1:19), God has "raised [them] up with [Christ], and made [them] sit with him in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus" (2:6). Thus the baptized have already been "saved" (2:4–6) and the "hope" which belongs to their calling is already fulfilled (1:18–19; 2:12–13; 4:4; cf. 1:12), their "inheritance" (1:14, 18) already given, the kingdom "of Christ and of God" (5:5) already present. Because it is through their incorporation into Christ's body the Church that believers come into possession of their true inheritance, one may properly describe the eschatology of Ephesians as "ecclesiological" (Lona 1984:442–48). There are, to be sure, traces of a more traditional Jewish and Christian eschatological perspective in the letter (1:13–14, 21; 2:7; 4:30; 6:17). These, however, are hardly more than terminological traces and provide not even a hint that Christ's return is expected.

Although believers have already experienced resurrection with Christ to "the heavenly places," they nonetheless have a "calling" (4:1) to fulfill within history, and the various exhortations of chaps. 4–6 are intended to make this apparent. Even these, however, must be read in the light of the earlier affirmation that believers were in fact "created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God prepared beforehand, that [they] should walk in them" (2:10). Similarly, the closing appeal to "put on the whole armor of God" in order to withstand "the principalities, … the powers, … the world rulers of this present darkness, … [and] the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places" (6:10–17; cf. 3:10), must be read in light of the earlier affirmation that Christ already has been exalted as sovereign above all other powers (1:20–22) and that his cosmic rule of peace has been established (2:14–18).

**F. Conceptual Backgrounds**

It is clear that Ephesians stands within the Pauline tradition and is, if not the apostle's own letter, at least indebted to his thought. It is also clear, however, that other contemporaneous religious traditions have influenced the way certain ideas, including that of the "body of Christ," have been developed.

**1. Sectarian Judaism.** Some interpreters have emphasized the importance of Semitic and Jewish influences. One can no longer argue that the "body of Christ" motif reflects a sense of "corporate personality" and therefore an essentially "Hebraic" way of thinking (Best 1955), since the "corporate personality" concept as developed by H. Wheeler Robinson has been largely discredited (Rogerson 1970). There are, however, manifest similarities between some of the other ideas in Ephesians and the teachings of the Jewish sectarian community at Qumran (Kuhn 1968; Mussner 1968). For example, one prominent theme in these sectarian writings, as well as in Ephesians, is the present disclosure to the elect community of the "mysteries" (almost always the plural) of God's grace, wisdom, and purposes (1QS 4.6, 18–19; 11.5–8; 1QH 4.27–28; 7.27; 10.4–5; 11.9–10; 12.20; 13.13–14); and here, as in Ephesians, community virtues like humility and kindness are especially valued (1QS 2.24–25; 5.25–6.1; cf. Eph 4:2, 3, 25–26).

More fundamentally, a similar kind of dualism seems to underlie the community rules of Qumran and the exhortations in Ephesians. This dualism is expressed in both instances as a struggle between God's elect and the hosts of wickedness (1QS 3.13–4.26; Eph. 6:10–17) who are commanded, respectively, by "the spirits of light and darkness" (1QS 3.25; cf. Eph 6:12, "the world rulers of this present darkness," and

2:2, "the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that is now at work in the sons of disobedience"). The "sons of light" who "walk in the light" (1QM 1.1, 3, 9, 11, 13; 1QS 1.9; 2.16; 3.13, 20, 24, 25; in Eph 5:8, the "children of light") are therefore distinguished from the "sons of darkness" who "walk in the darkness" (1QM 1.1, 7, 10; 3.6, 9; 13.16; 14.17; 1QS 1.10; 3:21; 4:11–12; cf. Eph 2:2 and 5:6 [the "sons of disobedience"]; 5:11–12), and the former are required to keep themselves separate from the latter (1QS 5.10–20; cf. Eph 5:3–14).

**2. Hellenistic Greek and Jewish Thought.** Before anything was known about the Qumran sectarians, W. L. Knox had referred to the "general Hellenistic outlook" of Ephesians (1939: 184, 203) and, with numerous others, had identified the body concept which is so central to its thought as deriving ultimately from Stoicism (Knox 1939: 161). In fact, various aspects of the concept as it is found in Ephesians recall ideas that are present in the Greek tradition beginning at least with Plato (*TDNT* 7/1025–44 offers an extensive survey). Among these are: (A) an assembly *(ekklēsia)* as a body which is more than the sum of the individuals who compose it, (B) the cosmos as the body (or "image") of God, (C) the unity of the cosmic body (Hanson 1946: 46–57), and (D) the rule of the cosmic body by a divine "head."

To the extent that Hellenistic concepts have helped to shape the thought of Ephesians, they could have done so in part by way of Hellenistic Judaism (Hegermann 1961; Colpe 1960). Philo, for example, can describe the world *(kosmos)* as a body with many members (*Plant* 7), ruled by the divine Logos who is its head (*Somm* I.128; *Spec Leg* I 147; 3.184; *On Flight and Finding* 108–110), and in whom the members are knit together into "a mutual harmony and unity" (*Fuga* 112; *Migr* 220; *Qunes Ex* II 74). One may also compare Philo's description of God as one who "fills all things" in that the whole of the universe is penetrated by his power and presence (*Conf* 136; *Leg All* III 4; *Vita Mos* II 238; *Somm* 2.221), with statements in Ephesians about the divine "fullness" with which both Christ and his church are associated (1:23; 4:10; cf. 3:19; 4:13). A similar idea is present even in the Greek Bible (Wis 1:7).

**3. Gnostic Thought.** A number of interpreters have concluded that the author of Ephesians is more indebted to the cosmological and soteriological ideas of gnostic thought than to either sectarian or Hellenistic Judaism (Schlier 1930; Pokorný 1965). For example, the interpretation of Ps 68:18 in Eph 4:8–10 has been compared with the gnostic idea of the heavenly ascent of the redeemer (Schlier 1930: 1–18; Käsemann 1933: 138), and the conception of a "dividing wall" broken down by Christ (Eph 2:14–16) has been compared with the gnostic view that a wall separating the heavenly realm from the earthly has been destroyed by this redeemer (Lindemann 1975: 162–64 cites *Psalms of Thomas* 1.3–5, according to which, also, the righteous are granted unity and peace). Further, an apparent preference for spatial over temporal categories (Eph 1:20–23) has been compared with the gnostic notion of salvation as deliverance from this world (Lindemann 1975: 237–59), and the emphasis on incorporation into the unity of Christ's body has been compared with the gnostic theme of incorporation into the cosmic body of the heavenly man (Käsemann 1933: 59–97, 138–59; Pokorný 1960).

**4. Conclusion.** Nothing suggests that the author of Ephesians is directly dependent on any non-Christian source (other than the Jewish Scriptures). The sources on which he is directly dependent are Christian, and it is primarily with reference to the Pauline tradition—above all to Colossians—that his thought should be assessed. Nevertheless, other contemporaneous religious traditions have undoubtedly helped to shape his thinking, even though indirectly and less decisively. It is difficult and probably unnecessary to single out one of these as more important than the others. He seems to have been an "eclectic" thinker, influenced by several different kinds of conceptual models (Lindemann *Der Epheserbrief* ZBK, 121—who, however, emphasizes the special importance of gnostic concepts).

## G. Authorship

**1. Reasons for Presuming Pauline Authorship.** Paul's name stands in the salutation as the writer of this letter (1:1) and it appears again in 3:1. The comments about his apostolic status and role in 3:2–13 are formulated in the first person singular, as is the reference in 4:1 to his present imprisonment (3:1; Phlm 1, 9). The dispatch of Tychicus, who is identified as a trusted associate (6:21–22) also suggests the apostolic origin of this letter (Col 4:7–8; Acts 20:4).

The Pauline authorship of Ephesians seems never to have been doubted in the early Church. The earliest specific references to the letter all presume that it is Paul's (Irenaeus, *Her.* 5.2.3—who uses Paul's name in citing Eph 5:30 [cf. 1.8.4–5]; Clement of Alexandria, *Str.* 4.65; Tertullian, *Against Marcion* 5.11.17; 5.17.1). Ephesians is listed among the apostle's letters in the Muratorian Canon (usually dated to the late 2d century), and (according to Tertullian in the passages already cited) it was also accepted as Paul's by Marcion (even though he identified it as a letter to the Laodiceans). There could be echoes of Ephesians as early as *1 Clem* (36:2 [cf. Eph 4:18; 1:18] and 46:6 [cf. Eph 4:4–7]) and it seems probable that Ignatius was acquainted with it (in the inscription of *Ephesians* [cf. Eph 1:3–23]; Schoedel *Ignatius of Antioch* Hermeneia, 9–10, 37). Alleged echoes in other Apostolic Fathers (*Barnabas*, *Hermas*, Polycarp) are not as clear, but from the end of the 2d century Ephesians is frequently cited in the patristic literature.

Further, some typically Pauline ideas seem to be present in Ephesians, among them that salvation is not by works but by God's grace through faith (2:5, 8–9), that the secret wisdom of God has been disclosed to the apostle by the Spirit (3:5, 9–10; cf. 1 Cor 2:6–7, 10), that believers have been reconciled to God through Christ's death on the cross (2:16), and that the various gifts with which the members of Christ's body have been graced come from the one Spirit, and are to be employed for a mutual upbuilding in love (4:1–12; cf. 2:18–22; 4:16).

**2. Reasons for Questioning Pauline Authorship.** In a monograph published in England in 1792, the Anglican cleric Edward Evanson had pronounced Ephesians (as well as most of the other NT writings) a forgery. The first careful arguments against the letter's authenticity were formulated by De Wette, initially in his introduction to the NT (1st ed. 1826; the English trans. of 1858 is based on the 5th German ed. of 1848) and subsequently in a brief commentary on the letter (1843). The objections to Pauline authorship raised by De Wette are still matters of discussion and, along with further points developed since his day, may be summarized under four headings: (a) style and vocabulary, (b) theological viewpoint, (c) portrayal of Paul, and (d) dependence on Colossians.

**a. Style and Vocabulary.** Beginning with Erasmus (*Annotationes in Novum Testamentum*, 1519), virtually all students of Ephesians have acknowledged that its extraordinarily long sentences, its pleonasms, and its numerous prepositional, genitival, participial, and infinitive constructions set the letter apart stylistically from most others in the Pauline Corpus. The statistics on sentence length, for example, are striking. Morton and McLeman (1966: Table 51) have counted 9 out of 100 sentences in the Greek text which have more than 50 words, whereas the incidence of sentences of this length in the letters certainly written by Paul is much lower: 3 of 581 sentences in Romans 1–4; 1 of 621 sentences in 1 Corinthians 1–4; 2 of 334 sentences in 2 Corinthians 1–3; 1 of 181 sentences in Galatians; 1 of 102 sentences in Philippians; and 1 of 81 sentences in 1 Thessalonians.

The distinctiveness of the vocabulary used in Ephesians also gives pause. There are about 116 words which are not found in the letters of unquestioned Pauline authorship (Percy 1946: 179, 180), and some of these are associated in particular with Christian writings of the late 1st and early 2d centuries (Mitton 1951: 8–9). Moreover, some terms found in the undisputed letters are used differently here, including *ekklēsia* ("church," which Paul uses primarily with reference to specific congregations), *mystērion* ("mystery," which even in Rom 11:25 does not refer specifically to the inclusion of the gentiles within the Church, but to the "hardening" and temporary exclusion of Israel), and *oikonomia* (which in 1 Cor 9:17 [cf. 4:1, 2], as in Col 1:25, refers to Paul's apostolic "commission").

**b. Theological Viewpoint.** When compared with the certainly Pauline letters, much of the teaching in Ephesians is distinctive. For example, special emphasis is placed on Christ's exaltation, enthronement in "the heavenly places," and cosmic rule (1:3–4, 9–10, 20–23; 2:6; 4:8–10); the Church is viewed as a cosmic entity built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets (contrast Eph 2:20 with 1 Cor 3:10–11); Christ is portrayed as standing over the Church as its "head," which thereby distinguishes the head from all the other members of that "body" (contrast in particular Eph 1:22 with 1 Cor 12:12–27, esp. v 21); and believers are exhorted to have nothing to do with outsiders (contrast Eph 5:6–11 with 1 Cor 5:9–12). Moreover, while the concern for the unity of Jew and gentile within the Church is certainly consonant with Paul's conviction that in Christ "there is neither Jew nor Greek" (Gal 3:27–28), the presupposition in

Ephesians seems to be that controversy over the law is a thing of the past (2:15), and that the Church is now composed primarily of gentiles. It may be significant that the parallel to Gal 3:28 in Col 3:11 is not picked up in Eph 4:22–32, which is clearly dependent on Col 3:5–12.

Of greatest significance, however, is the altered eschatological teaching of Ephesians, which includes no mention of Christ's expected return (there is no parallel to Col 3:4), and according to which believers have already been "saved" and resurrected with Christ (contrast Eph 6:17, "And take the helmet of salvation," with 1 Thess 5:8, "and [put on] for a helmet the hope of salvation"; and Eph 2:4–8 with Rom 6:5, 8; 1 Cor 15:51–54; 1 Thess 4:16–17). The reference in Eph 3:21 to future generations of believers, and the evident concern for social order in the domestic code of 5:21–6:9, presume—contrary to Paul's comments in 1 Cor 7:31 and Rom 13:11–12—that the form of this world is not passing away and that the end of the age is not at hand.

**c. Portrayal of Paul.** Beyond the fact that the reference to "holy apostles" (Eph 3:5) is more in keeping with the viewpoint of the later church ("holy presbyters" in *Ign. Magn.* 3:1) than with Paul's own conception of apostleship (his description of them as "earthen vessels," 2 Cor 4:7), one must note that Paul is accorded a unique status within this group. To him in particular God has entrusted the mystery of Christ and granted insight into the meaning of that (3:3–4, 7–9). Thus he is portrayed here less as a missionary than as a mystagogue (Pokorný 1962: 181; Fischer 1973: 99), as one whose task is not just to convert the gentiles (as in Rom 15:15–21 and Col 1:25–29) but to "enlighten" them about and initiate them into the mystery of Christ and his church (1:15–23). It is clear that the readers of Ephesians are to regard Paul as the apostle for the Church universal and not just for the congregations that he himself has founded.

Paul's distinctive apostolic role is also emphasized when he is identified as "the prisoner" for Christ (3:1 and 4:1; the definite article, which has been left untranslated by RSV in Eph 3:1 and 4:1, is not used by Paul in Phlm 1, 9), although little is said about the meaning of his suffering (contrast 3:13 with Col 1:24). Moreover, neither Timothy's name (Col 1:1) nor that of any other associate appears alongside Paul's in the salutation of Ephesians; the great apostle is without peer. Even the statement of Eph 3:8, "To me, though I am the very least of all the saints, this [God's] grace was given, to preach to the gentiles …," seems to betray a later idealization of the apostle (1 Tim 1:15). Paul's remark in 1 Corinthians 15 that he is "the least of the apostles" is not only more measured but is prompted by criticism of his apostleship and tied specifically to his having once been a persecutor of the Church (vv 9–11; see Fischer 1973: 95–96; Gnilka 1981: 187).

**d. Dependence on Colossians.** There can be little doubt that the author of Ephesians has borrowed ideas and even terminology from Colossians. Thus one is bound to ask whether, if Paul wrote Colossians, he could also have written Ephesians. Can the borrower and the lender be the same person? Even if he has retained some kind of copy of an earlier letter, why would Paul be moved to borrow not only ideas but even phrases and on occasion whole sentences from himself—especially when he has to generalize and otherwise adapt those to serve a new theme?

**3. Conclusion.** (A) The non-Pauline vocabulary and stylistic features of the letter may be due in part to the author's use of traditional language and materials. However, if all or even most of these non-Pauline features are attributed to reliance on the tradition, then one only has further reason to question Pauline authorship; such wholesale employment of traditional language and materials is not a characteristic of the undisputed letters (Dahl 1963: 76–77). The suggestion of Guthrie (1970: 491–92) that the circumstances of Paul's imprisonment or his mood could have affected the way he wrote not only is fanciful, but it must also reckon with the fact that Philippians, which would have been written during the same imprisonment, as Guthrie himself holds (515–16; 535–36), shows no such marked divergence from the apostle's style. (B) The theological differences between Ephesians and the undisputed letters are so extensive and significant that it does not suffice to say simply that the apostle's thought is "more developed" here (Guthrie 1970: 504, referring to the doctrine of the Church); and again, Philippians does not show the same kind of theological "development." (C) The portrayal of Paul's status and role, especially in chap. 3, is without parallel in the undisputed letters and is most reasonably explained as reflecting the point of

view of the later church. (D) If Paul wrote Colossians, then it is unlikely that he also wrote Ephesians, since the latter borrows so extensively from the former. Indeed, if Paul did not write Colossians, then it is certain that Ephesians too is pseudepigraphical.

There is broad scholarly agreement that the author of Ephesians was, like Paul himself, a convert from Hellenistic Judaism. The style of the letter, the affinities of this author's thought with the teachings of both Qumran and Philo, and his way of interpreting Scripture (in its Greek version) all point in this direction. No more precise identification of the author is possible.

**H. Occasion and Purpose**

The affirmations and appeals of this letter are formulated in such general terms that nothing very specific can be determined about its occasion and purpose. It is clear that the author—whether this is Paul or someone else—wants to lead his readers more deeply into "the mystery of Christ" (3:4), and therefore into a better understanding of what it means to be incorporated into Christ's church as fellow heirs with the Jews (3:6; 2:11–22). If he has taken up this theme in order to oppose some errant teaching (4:14), or in response to some particular crisis (Lindemann 1976: 242–43, referring to 6:10–17, suggests persecution), the letter gives scant indication of this. One can only say that it is written primarily for gentile Christians (2:11) who, the author presumes, have been instructed already in Christian "truth" (4:20–21), but who, in the author's judgment, need further teaching and encouragement.

There is little to support the hypothesis, first proposed by Weiss (1900: 556; *RGG*[1] 3/2209; Jülicher 1906: 127), that Ephesians was composed by the redactor-collector of the Pauline letters in order to give them a more "catholic" aspect. As developed by Goodspeed (1933; 1937: 210–39), this hypothesis holds that Ephesians was written (perhaps by Onesimus, Phlm 10; Col 4:9) as a covering letter for the collection in order to introduce the apostle's writings to the Church as a whole (hence the lack of a specific address in 1:1). The case for this hypothesis is not convincing, however: (1) One does not choose the pseudepigraphic form in order to introduce the person in whose name one writes; Ephesians is composed in Paul's name precisely because the writer can assume that the apostle's authority is already well established (Fischer 1973: 95–96, n. 1). (2) Contrary to the claims of those who have advocated this hypothesis or some modification of it, Ephesians does not provide a comprehensive summary of Paul's thought or even a good introduction to it. Indeed, a distinguishing feature of the letter is its sustained development of one fundamental theme (the mystery of Christ and his Church). (3) There is no evidence that Ephesians was ever circulated as the first letter of the collection, a position which Goodspeed's hypothesis must only presume that it once had.

**I. The Date and Place of Writing**

Those who accept the letter as Pauline ordinarily regard it as having been written during the apostle's imprisonment in Rome (ca. 62 C.E.). Had it been written during an earlier Ephesians imprisonment, one could hardly explain its distinctive theological viewpoint as a "development" of the apostle's earlier thought.

If Ephesians is pseudonymous it must have been written sometime before 100, since it was probably known to Ignatius, and sometime after the composition of Colossians, to which its author is heavily indebted. Colossians, if Paul's, was probably written ca. 62, and if post-Pauline, no earlier than ca. 65. Thus Ephesians could be broadly dated between ca. 70 and ca. 95, although its general point of view suggests a date fairly near the end of this period. The only clue as to the place of writing—if Ephesians is judged to be pseudonymous and if it was not originally addressed to any specific congregation—is the author's use of Colossians, which is addressed to a congregation in SW Asia Minor.

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VICTOR PAUL FURNISH

**EPHESUS** (PLACE) [Gk *Ephesos* (Ἔφεσος)]. A large seaport city in the Roman province of Asia.

A. Geographical Features

B. Historical Survey
C. History of Excavations
D. Major Excavations and Restorations
    1. Temples and Shrines
    2. Private Dwellings
    3. Theater
    4. Agoras
    5. Library of Celsus
    6. Gymnasiums and Baths
    7. Fountains, Wells, and Aqueducts
E. Ephesian Religions
    1. Paganism
    2. Christianity
    3. Judaism

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**A. Geographical Features**

Like most Greek colonies in Anatolia, Ephesus was located along the coastal region. It was situated near the nexus of the Cayster river and the Aegean Sea. The earliest evidence of occupation is reflected in a Mycenaean grave dating from ca. 1400–1300 B.C. The history and development of the occupied site can be divided into four eras, together lasting two millennia. These four periods can be traced by their relationship to three topographical landmarks. These landmarks are the three small hills known in modern Turkish as Bülbül Dagh, Panayir Dagh, and Ayasoluk. The first period is that of the old Ionian city. According to Strabo (*Geog.* 640) the Greek colonists from the time of Androclus to the period of Croesus' hegemony (ca. 1000–550 B.C.) settled at the N base of Panayir Dagh. The second period, that of the Greek city, lasted from the time of Croesus to Lysimachus (ca. 550–300 B.C.), during which time the population inhabited the region near the Artemision, SW of Ayasoluk. During the third period (Hellenistic–Roman–Early Byzantine) the city was located, as a result of Lysimachus' efforts, in the valley between the two hills Panayir Dagh and Bülbül Dagh and was protected by the impressive Lysimachan city wall. The final era of the city's history was late Byzantine, when the city forsook the boundaries of the Lysimachan city. During this final period the population was divided among those who chose to remain within the walls of Byzantine Ephesus and those who decided to relocate at Ayasoluk.

In addition to the hilly terrain, the river and harbors of Ephesus also affected the urban development of the city. One of the harbors was called Panormus by Strabo (*Geog.* 639). Additional harbors included one mentioned by Athenaeus (*Deipn.* 8.361d) as a sacred harbor. There was also the major commercial harbor for the Greco-Roman city (Meric 1985: 30–33). According to Strabo (*Geog.* 641) alluvium from the Cayster river caused navigation problems in this commercial harbor long before Rome's acquisition of Asia in the latter half of the 2d century B.C. Some scholars have misinterpreted this alluvium problem and have incorrectly concluded that, "by NT times, however, the great days of Ephesus' trade were long past" and "deepening economic depression and decline must have been a feature of Ephesus' life over the last century B.C." (Blaiklock 1975: 324–26). Strabo's evaluation of Ephesus' mercantile prowess in the Augustan era, however, was that it was the largest commercial center in Asia Minor W of the Taurus (*Geog.* 641). Cicero likewise judged that the Roman province of Asia was without peer with regard to its natural resources. Moreover, literary (Tac. *Ann.* 16.23) and epigraphic documents (*IvEph* 23, 274, 2061, 3066, 3071) testify to major efforts at keeping the harbor serviceable during and after the period of Paul's ministry there. These dredging operations were apparently successful since Aristides (*Orat.* 23.24) of the 2d century A.D. and documents of the 5th-century Council of Ephesus refer to the accessibility of Ephesus' harbors (Foss 1979). Moreover, one must reckon with the fact that the alluvial sediment "in the Kücük Menderes delta at Ephesus" was the greatest during the Hellenistic rather than during the Roman period (Brice 1978: 62, 71 fig. 2).

The positive sentiments of the Ephesians toward the natural resources of the Cayster river, the sea, the ocean, Mt. Pion (Bülbül Dagh) as well as local brooks were evident in their mythological use of these resources and also in their personification of them on imperial Ephesian coinage (Imhoof-Blumer 1924: 278–80; Paus. *Descript.* 7.2.7; 7.5.10).

Strabo (*Geog.* 641–42) was correct in noting the significance of Ephesus' location as one of the many reasons for its commercial growth. In addition to its propitious littoral situation, it was also part of a principal trans-Anatolian highway system that had been in use for centuries (Birmingham 1961). In Strabo's words it was a "common road constantly used by all who travel from Ephesus toward the East" (*Geog.* 663). The fact that Republican period milestones from Asia used Ephesus as the point of origin for measuring distances portrays the continuing significance of this site as a travel hub at the period contemporary with nascent Christianity. Furthermore, the city was also the hub of regional urban development. Ephesus had successfully annexed several adjacent suburban areas; NW to Metropolis, S toward Magnesia and Priene, and E 40 km into the Cayster valley. However, unlike other Ionion cities such as Miletus (Boardman 1980: 238–55), Ephesus is not known to have established colonies in other regions, though Hecataeus notes an island in the Nile river named Ephesus.

**B. Historical Survey**

Greek migrations to Ionia seem to be the best explanation for the beginnings of Ephesian settlement in the LB, though the presence of Mycenaean artifacts suggests some form of pre-Greek occupation, a perspective preserved in Pausanias' account (*Descript.* 7.2.6–8). The extant legends place the influx of Greek settlers at the dawn of the 1st millennium under the direction of Androclus, son of the Athenian king Codrus (Strabo *Geog.* 633). The 12 cities colonized comprised the Pan-Ionic League, with Ephesus serving, in Strabo's words, as "the royal seat of the Ionians" (*Geog.* 633). In the late Archaic Period Ephesus, as other Ionian cities, came under the influence and control of the Lydian kingdom. The city itself was beseiged by the last Lydian king, Croesus, who, in spite of harsh treatment of the Ionians in general, was a primary benefactor in the construction of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. This Lydian influence "produced at Ephesus a more thoroughly mixed culture, part Greek, part Asiatic, than we know anywhere else in the Greek East" (Dunbabin 1957: 63). After the defeat of Croesus by Cyrus and during subsequent Persian hegemony, Ephesus enjoyed better relations with the Persians than did other Ionian cities. Between the time of the defeat of the Persians at Salamis (480 B.C.) and the later ascendancy of Alexander's successor, Lysimachus (ca. 290 B.C.), over Ephesus, the city was involved in various internecine Aegean conflicts.

Under Lysimachus' insistence the city of Ephesus was relocated to the area between two hills, Panayir Dagh and Bülbül Dagh. The residents were reluctant to move, but Lysimachus' strategy of flooding the city's streets forced its denizens to relocate. Lysimachus' new city was arranged according to the Hippodamian plan, and this arrangement was to remain the warp and woof of civic administration and urban life for well over half a millennium (Paus. *Descript.* 1.9.7; Strabo *Geog.* 640). Lysimachus also enclosed the city within an impressive city wall, stretching approximately 9 km over hills and valleys and standing 7 m tall and 3 m thick, parts of which are yet in situ. Between the death of Lysimachus (ca. 280 B.C.) and the Roman acquisition of all Asia in the will of Attalus III (133 B.C.), both the Seleucids and the Ptolemies forcefully exerted their control over Ephesus and W Anatolia.

During the Roman Republic Ephesus vacillated in its relations with Rome. On the one hand, there was veneration of Dea Roma and Roman officials during the final century of the Republic. On the other hand, the city suffered from the fallout of troubles in Italy as well as insurrection in the provinces. The city had to pay a high price for its collaboration with the supporters of Mithridates, king of Pontus, who fomented revolt that eventuated in a one-day slaughter of 80,000 Romans in Asia. Moreover, the city ceremoniously welcomed visits from the soon-to-be-vanquished Antony and Cleopatra as late as the winter of 33–32 B.C.

Beginning immediately with Augustus' ascendancy, Ephesus entered into an era of prominence and prosperity. It served as the capital of the Roman province of Asia and received the coveted title "First and Greatest Metropolis of Asia." The elevation of Ephesus in the dramatic urbanization policies of Augustus is revealed in its architecture. This revitalization included construction of aqueducts, repavement of

streets, and Hellenization, including at times enlargement of agoras. As the political centerpiece of the province of Asia, Ephesus' burgeoning architectural program also encompassed triumphal monuments honoring C. Memmius, son-in-law of the Roman general Sulla, and M. Vipsanius Agrippa, adopted son and ally of Augustus. The new political realities of the early Empire were strikingly evident in the comprehensive romanization of the civic space in the State Agora (58 × 160 m). This "strategy of incorporating the emperor into the public space" (Price 1984: 143) is reflected in the juxtaposition of the Royal Basilica, the temple of Roma and Julius Caesar, the temple of the Flavians (= "Domitian's temple"), and the temple of Augustus with the city's pre-Roman Prytaneion, Bouleterion, and agora.

Beginning in the late 1st century A.D., Ephesus received its first of four imperial Neocorate temples. On a rotating basis Ephesus also served as the seat for the long-standing and very influential provincial institution known as the Koinon of Asia. The office of high priest of Asia in the Ephesian imperial cult was filled by both men and women of Ephesus, demonstrating anew that women of the period held public office (Magie 1950: 1518, n. 50). Reexamination of inscriptional evidence vitiates the traditional view that the high priestesses of the imperial cult in Asia held that title only because of their marriage to the high priest of the imperial cult. Recent investigations of the numismatic and epigraphic evidence are also calling into question the older majority view that the office of provincial high priest was identical with that of the Asiarch (cf. Acts 19:31; Kearsley 1986: 183–92; 1987; see ASIARCHS).

Generally speaking, Ephesus prospered under the succession of various Roman emperors from late 1st century B.C. up to the mid to late 2d century A.D. The plague brought back by Roman troops in the latter half of the 2d century A.D. following the Parthian victory of the emperors Verus and Marcus Aurelius was virulent. Ephesus, along with the Empire in general, was better able to cope with a short-lived, albeit ravaging, plague than with the increasing incompetency and cruelty that characterized the stream of Roman emperors in the late 2d and 3d centuries. A cluster of misfortunes led to the deterioration of the E frontier of the Roman Empire in the 3d century. This included a depletion of political and administrative leaders through assassination, aggressive pogroms against Christians, and the increase of foreign intervention from Parthians in Mesopotamia and from Goths in S Russia. In these matters Ephesus suffered along with the rest of the Anatolian cities. It was during one of these sea attacks from Gothic invaders that the temple of Artemis was heavily damaged, never again to be restored to its former glory. The severity of the situation in the mid-3d century is captured in the observation of D. Magie: "It was the first time that the country had been invaded by an enemy from outside since the Parthian army had overrun it in 40 B.C. and the first time that it had suffered from northern barbarians since the raids of the Galatians in the 3d century before Christ" (1950: 705). The impact of severe earthquakes in the late 4th and 7th centuries led to the partial desertion of the Lysimachan city. In comparison, however, to the fate of cities such as Sardis and Pergamum, Byzantine Ephesus was relatively viable, with one center of city life located near the harbor within the reduced walled city and a second center on the hill of Ayasoluk.

**C. History of Excavations**

The 18th and 19th centuries saw numerous explorers and dilettantes visit Ephesus. The first serious exploration and quasi-archaeological effort there occurred in the years 1863–74 under the guidance of John T. Wood, an architect who had a long fascination with ancient Ephesus. Wood was commissioned by the British Museum to locate the ancient temple of the Ephesian Artemis. Through the fortuitous discovery of an imperial inscription that adumbrated the route of the Via Sacra leading from the temple of Artemis to the theater at Ephesus and back again by a different route, Wood was able to locate the foundations of the Artemis temple 20 feet beneath the topsoil. His work there also included excavation of the theater and Odeon. With the departure from Ephesus of J. T. Wood, the British Museum terminated support of excavations there, with the exception of the brief work at the site of the Artemis temple conducted by David G. Hogarth in 1904–5.

In 1895 the Austrian Archaeological Institute (Vienna) received permission to begin systematic exploration at the site of Ephesus and has continued to excavate there, interrupted only by world wars and outbursts of regional strife. With the commencement of its excavations, the Austrian Archaeological Institute begin publication of two serial works which have continued to be the principal outlets for the

publication of epigraphic, numismatic, architectural, and plastic artifacts. These are the *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* (annually) and *Die Forschungen in Ephesus* (irregular). Annual excavation reports are also published in *Anzeiger der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil.-hist. Klasse), Vienna. The inscriptions are now collected and published in the multivolume *Inschriften von Ephesos* (= *IvEph*), which is part of the series Inschriften der griechischen Städten Kleinasien.

**D. Major Excavations and Restorations**

**1. Temples and Shrines. a. Imperial Temples.** At the base of the S slope of Panayir Dagh along the Curetes Street lies a cluster of buildings used to quarter the city's Prytaneion and Bouleterion. Between these two was the single temple for Dea Roma and Divus Julius, probably representing the provincial desire, shortly after Actium, to venerate Augustus. According to Dio Cassius (*Rom.* Hist. 51.20.6) Augustus allowed the Ephesians to erect a sacred precinct for the veneration of Dea Roma and Divus Julius.

Westward along the Curetes Street and situated at the foot of Bülbül Dagh is an immense temple, traditionally called "Domitian's temple." The temple, the altar, and a colossal statue were placed upon a substructure measuring 50 × 100 m and which contained underground shops. Only the foundation of the temple is preserved, indicating a stylobate of 34 × 24 m. With the *damnatio memoriae* of Domitian, his name was removed from all the inscriptions and replaced with the name of Vespasian. Some have suggested that it was at this time Domitian's (?) colossal statue was removed to the subterranean compartments (crypto-porticus) of the terraced area. This temple was apparently the first of several Neocorate temples of the imperial cult in Ephesus. Magie (1950: 1432–34, 18) suggested that the Neocorate temple was originally dedicated to the earlier emperor Vespasian, later usurped by Domitian, and then returned to Vespasian at the time of Domitian's *damnatio.* A collage of weapons and armor covers the remains of the altar of this temple.

Farther westward along the Curetes Street lies "Hadrian's temple." It was constructed no later than A.D. 127 and its diminutive size suggests that it surely was not a Neocorate temple. Considerable controversy yet surrounds the proper nomenclature for this edifice dedicated to the Ephesian Artemis, to the emperor Hadrian, and to the Neocorate people of the Ephesians (*IvEph* 429).

**b. Traditional Cults. (1) Artemis.** The pinnacle of Ephesus' sacred architecture was the temple of Artemis, largest Greek temple in antiquity, and one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world. In its 1200 year history the sanctuary of the Ephesian Artemis underwent fundamental evolution and expansion. Typically the temple's history is divided into five successive periods, temples A–E respectively. Temples A–C were pre-Croesus and are known by only the most meager evidence. Temple D, on the other hand, can be evaluated on the basis of more artifactual evidence as well as ancient literary discussion of the temple. Herodotus noted that King Croesus had donated most of the columns for the new temple (*Hist.* 1.92), a fact supported by the discovery of column fragments from the Artemis temple which read "donated by King Croesus." Strabo (*Geog.* 640) and others report that the Croesus temple was destroyed by an arsonist named Herostratos in 356 B.C. Temple E was standing during the period of nascent Christianity, finally falling as a result of Gothic plunder (ca. A.D. 262) and Christian looting. Its dimensions were 70 × 130 m and it contained 127 columns, each approximately 2 m in diameter and 20 m high. There were originally 36 column bases with relief carvings *(columnae caelatae);* one has been unearthed and is now in the British Museum. Even though the temple foundation was discovered over a century ago by J. T. Wood, it was not until 1965 that the foundation of the temple's altar outside the temple was unearthed. This horseshoe-shaped altar was erected on an area 32 × 22 m. Since most of the temple was plundered, scholars have relied on literary and numismatic evidence for supplementary information. The typanum of the temple's pediment suggests the presence of an epiphany window for the goddess, a motif preserved in numismatic iconography.

**(2) Temple of Hestia.** At the S foot of Panayir Dagh and directly N of the State Agora lies the Prytaneion, Ephesus' city hall. As goddess of the city's sacred public hearth, Hestia is mentioned in numerous inscriptions excavated at the Prytaneion, where her eternal flame was housed (*IvEph* 1058,

1060, 1070). Certain cosmic qualities were also attributed to Hestia because of her identification with the pervasive and cosmic element of fire.

**(3) Temple of Serapis.** This temple was located on the SW corner of the Square Agora. It is traditionally interpreted to be a temple of Serapis because of fragmentary inscriptional remains that refer to Serapis and other Egyptian deities and also because of the enormous size of the extant columns and the immense proportions of the overall structure. The forecourt was 16 × 107 m. The entrance to the cella was 5 m wide with a lintel weighing approximately 5 tons. There were eight monolithic-form columns 15 m tall, weighing 57 tons. Since Egyptian cults relied heavily upon the use of sacred water rites, the abundance of water basins and of the symmetrical water canals has also contributed to the Egyptian interpretation of this structure. As the presence of a presbyterium and baptistery demonstrates, this temple was later adapted for Christian usage.

**(4) Sanctuary of Zeus and Mother Goddess.** On the N face of Panayir Dagh were discovered, some in situ, several archaic inscriptions dedicated to Zeus and the Phrygian mother goddess. The reliefs typically depict a trinity consisting of Cybele the mother goddess, a younger male deity, and an older bearded male deity (perhaps Apollo and Zeus).

**2. Private Dwellings.** The remains of several important residences have been discovered at Ephesus. Situated above the theater on the W face of Panayir Dagh is the foundation of a peristyle residence 20 × 20 m. The splendid location and size of this residence have suggested to some archaeologists that it may well have been the home of the proconsul. During the Byzantine era a small chapel was erected at this site, including pews and a presbyterium. The partial remains of a small structure with a basin for bathing were also discovered nearby.

The most significant dwellings so far excavated are the slope houses situated adjacent to the temple of Hadrian and the Scholasticia Baths but on the S side of the Embolos (Curetes Street). This area contained two insulae occupied from the late Roman Republic until the late 6th–early 7th centuries.

Insula 1 (East Slope House) was trapezoidal, measuring 47 (S) × 54 (E) × 75 (W) × 50 (N) m, and containing peristyle courtyards with pool, fountains, sleeping quarters, and a *cenatorium* (dining hall). Separating insula 1 and the Embolos was a colonnade consisting of a series of 12 shops *(tabernae)* which were built and renovated from the 1st through 6th centuries. Some contained stairways leading to second floor dwelling quarters. The mosaics of this colonnade were commissioned by a certain Alytarchus and date from the 5th–6th centuries.

Insula 2, situated to the W, has revealed seven opulently decorated peristyle dwellings with no adjoining shops. Dwellings nos. 1 and 2 lay on the S side of insula 2 and were two-story. Dwelling no. 1 contained approximately 700 sq. m of living space. This house contains frescoes with scenes from works of Menander and Euripides as well as typical scenes from mythology. Bedrooms, bathroom (with bathtub), *triclinium* (dining hall with couches), kitchens, and other rooms were discovered in dwelling no. 1 of insula 2. Insula 2, dwelling no. 2 contained approximately 900 sq. m of living space and was originally built in the 1st century A.D. Dwelling no. 2 likewise contains frescoes and mosaics dating from the Roman and Byzantine periods. Dwelling no. 4 dates from the late Roman Republic and later underwent extensive renovation. One of its more interesting rooms is the Socrates room, so named because of a fresco consisting of a stereotypical depiction of the philosopher Socrates. The presence of Socrates' name removes any doubt regarding whom the original artist was intending to depict.

**3. Theater.** The major theater at Ephesus, seating 25,000, was built in the Hellenistic period into the W face of Panayir Dagh. Major structural alterations were carried out on the theater during the reigns of Claudius, Nero, and Trajan in order to bring it into line with the ideals of Roman theaters. Efforts at modernization included deepening the stage by extending its front edge 20 feet into the orchestra, constructing an impressive *scaenae frons* "stage front," and enlarging the orchestra at the expense of the front seats so that animal fights and gladiatorial combat could be accommodated (Bieber 1961: 213–20). Fragments of winged Erotes, Amazons, and satyrs, friezes with tragic masks, numerous inscriptions, and a "throne of honor" for prestigious individuals were found among the theater ruins during its original excavations (1897–1900).

As in all cities, the theater at Ephesus served as the site for theatrical performances, for the regular meeting of the city's ecclesia (*IvEph* 27, passim), and for city meetings in times of urban crisis (Acts 19: 23–41). Epigraphic data indicate that Nikes and Erotes were dedicated there (*IvEph* 724); the city's Ephebes conducted their songfest to the emperor Hadrian there (*IvEph* 1145); religious awards (*IvEph* 27, passim) and civic ceremonies (*IvEph* 1408, 1411, 1440, 1452, 1453, 1457, 2003) occurred there. Notwithstanding the widespread notion in popular and scholarly works, there is no historical evidence that the apostle Paul even once preached in the theater at Ephesus. The only text that mentions both Paul and the theater explicitly states that he did *not* go into the theater to preach and defend the gospel (Acts 19:30).

**4. Agoras.** Two agoras have been located and partly excavated at Ephesus. One is located S of the base of Panayir Dagh and is known as the State Agora. The State Agora is bounded on the W by the monument of C. Sextilius Pollio and the Domitian temple, on the S by the fountain of C. Laecanius Bassus and the Nymphaeum, on the NE by the so-called Varius Baths, and on the N by the Agora Basilica (Alzinger 1974: 26–37; and *IvEph* 404), which separated it from the Bouleterion and Prytaneion, situated at the S base of Panayir Dagh. Begun in the Hellenistic era, the State Agora was modernized in the Roman period. In the Imperial period this agora was 58 × 160 m. A temple foundation 15 × 22 m, dating from the late Republic, was located in the W end of this agora. Some have suggested that it was perhaps dedicated to Egyptian deities, possibly under the influence of Antony and Cleopatra. More recently, scholars suggest that it was the city's temple of Augustus. A Byzantine inscription cleared from the theater by J. T. Wood refers to a forum of Theodosius; some have speculated that the State Agora later carried this appellation.

The second agora is located on the W side of the Marble Road, SW of the Ephesian theater and N of the Celsus Library. Inscriptions refer to this agora as the Square Agora (*tetragona agora; IvEph* 3005, 4123), a term also used in other cities for their agoras. This Square Agora, or commercial agora, arose in the Hellenistic period and was 112 × 112 m. This agora was surrounded on all sides by shops which had arched roofs and were about 12 m deep. The recently restored Mazaeus-Mithridates Gate, named after the two freedmen of Agrippa who paid for its construction, connected the Square Agora with the plaza to the S that was adjacent to the Celsus Library. The agora also had gates on its N, S, and E sides, though these have not been as well excavated and restored as the Mazaeus-Mithridates Gate. The proximity of this agora to the harbor and to its numerous adjacent shops testifies that it was clearly the city's commercial agora. A sundial (*horologion; IvEph* 3004) and numerous statues (cf. *IvEph* 3007, 3019, 3031, 3046, 3047, 3064, 3065, 3067, 3069) originally embellished the Square Agora. It underwent significant modernization under the reign of Caracalla (A.D. 211–17).

**5. Library of Celsus.** The Celsus Library at Ephesus is one of the visual highlights of the restored city; the approximate dates of construction are A.D. 115–125. It is "thought to represent the standard monumental form of the Roman library" (Johnson 1984: 11). Its facade (21 m long and 16 m high) is over 80 percent original stone. It lay to the S of the Square Agora and E of the Serapis temple. Its facade was oriented toward the E, probably for better lighting (Vitruvius, 6.7.3 *ad orientem autem byblioteca*s). The interior area of the library was 17 × 20 m. Estimates of the Celsus collection at less than 15,000 rolls are small when compared to the hundreds of thousands of rolls collected in the libraries of the Ptolemies and Attalids (*Kl.Pauly* 1: 892–96).

The library was dedicated to Tiberius Julius Celsus Ptolemaeanus, proconsul of Asia, by his son Tiberius Julius Aquila. Aquila's largess paid for the construction of the library (concluded by his relatives after his death), an operations budget for library staff and new acquisitions, and, in addition, annual choral performances in his father's behalf. Impressive statuary was also part of the original dedication. The function of the library as a memorial to Celsus is highlighted by the fact that his sarcophagus was located under the apse (Pliny *Epist.* 10.81.7). In the late 4th–early 5th century it was filled in with debris, while the magnificent facade became the backdrop for a monumental fountain. This remodeling was accomplished under the Christian proconsul Stephanus (*IvEph* 5115).

**6. Gymnasiums and Baths.** The gymnasium "was a center for mental as well as physical training, and inevitably became a center of general social life, like the agora and the stoas" (Wycherley 1962: 139).

Roman imperial urban life depended upon the baths and gymnasiums to furnish a place for education, relaxation, contemplation, entertainment, admiration of plastic and performing arts, public hygiene, exercise, and intensive athletic training and competition. Even before the excavation of certain Ephesian bath-gymnasium complexes, several references to these had appeared in literary and epigraphic sources. These references mentioned an "old gymnasium," the "upper gymnasium," the "Emperor's gymnasium," the "Koressus district gymnasium," and the "new gymnasium." In all probability some of these coincide with extant gymnasium ruins, though the identifications are tenuous at times. All six baths which have been uncovered in Ephesus come from the 1st or 2d century A.D. and have acquired the following names in modern literature: (1) Harbor Gymnasium and Baths, (2) Vedius Gymnasium, (3) Theater Gymnasium, (4) So-called Varius Baths, (5) Scholasticia Baths, and (6) East Gymnasium.

The state of preservation and extent of excavation of these six vary significantly. Each one, nevertheless, conforms to one of two architectural patterns. The first pattern is the symmetrical axis pattern where identical rooms were constructed symmetrically on both sides of an axis which divided the baths. This convention characterized the Harbor Baths, Theater Gymnasium, East Gymnasium, and Vedius Baths. The less dominant style was asymmetrical (Scholasticia and "Varius Baths") so that the bather could enter and leave the baths through different doors without having to retrace his steps on departure.

The normal configuration of rooms of a Roman bath included: (1) caldarium (warm water), (2) tepidarium (mild water), (3) frigidarium (cold water), (4) apodyterion (changing room with lockers), (5) latrine, (6) natatio (swimming pool), and (7) unctorium or elaethesium (rooms for anointing with oil and unguents). Several Ephesian inscriptions mention oil donations given by benefactors to all the local gymnasiums (*IvEph* 644, 661, 926, 3014; Vitruvius 5.10.1–5; 5.11.1–4; Lucian *Hippias* 4–8 for literary evidence regarding Greco-Roman baths and gymnasiums).

The Greek gymnasium (palaestra) was often attached to a Roman bath and included an expansive area for exercise, jogging, and athletic competition. There were often rooms and auditoriums for rhetorical and musical performances and an "imperial room" usually containing the bust of the emperor and other leaders who perhaps endowed the construction and maintenance of the gymnasium. In this regard the excavation of Ephesian gymnasiums has yielded an impressive collection of statuary and busts.

**a. Vedius Gymnasium.** This building complex—gymnasium with palaestra and baths—was built in the mid-2d century by the Ephesian couple Publius Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiana. The inscription indicates that it was dedicated to Artemis and to the emperor Antoninus Pius. There were altars and statues of Antoninus Pius and later emperors. The gymnasium was 75 × 135 m and located directly N of the city stadium in the vicinity of the Koressian Gate. A latrine in the gymnasium's SW corner served both the street traffic and those from the inside. The complex contained an exercise room, changing and locker rooms, swimming pool, frigidarium, caldarium, and small shops.

**b. Harbor Gymnasium.** This large complex (240 × 356 m) was not a single structure architecturally, but rather consisted of three components. The tripartite structure was situated close to the harbor, directly N of Arkadiane Street and was arranged, moving from E to W, with the Verulanus Hall, the gymnasium, and baths. The Verulanus Hall (200 × 240 m) takes its name from a benefactor, Claudius Verulanus, high-priest of Asia, who paid for the marble veneer of the hall during the reign of Hadrian. The hall's principal entrance was situated on the E. The inside roofed perimeter of the Verulanus Hall was used for races and jogging (Vitruvius 5.11), while the uncovered center portion provided the location for training and athletic competition. It was in the Verulanus Hall of this sports complex that Apollonius of Tyana purportedly received a vision of the assassination of the emperor Domitian (Philostratus *Vita Apoll* 8.26). The gymnasium, dating at least from the time of Domitian, contained an inner square 88 × 88 m enclosed by surrounding colonnaded hallways 11 m wide. On the N and S sides lay marble rooms (16 × 32 m) used for the emperor's statue, works of art, and rhetorical presentations consistent with the pedagogical function of Roman gymnasiums.

The baths themselves (70 × 160 m) consisted of dressing rooms, caldarium, tepidarium, and frigidarium. With the discovery of a statue base of the proconsul P. Calvisius Ruso, dated ca. A.D. 93, previous efforts

to date the baths in the late 2d century have been abandoned. The baths were renovated in the mid-4th century.

**c. East Gymnasium.** Located at the base of the SE face of Panayir Dagh and adjacent to the Magnesian Gate, the East Gymnasium was rectangular (50 × 75 m), with a palaestra in the S end of the complex. The East Gymnasium contained the rooms typical for such a complex and was completed probably by the middle of the 2d century A.D.

**d. The "Varius Baths."** So-called Varius Baths (54 × 100 m) lay immediately E of the State Agora. They were apparently constructed in the 2d century A.D. However, the fragmentary nature of the ruins and the architectural deviations evident in the extant foundation make detailed suggestions tenuous.

**e. The Scholasticia Baths.** Located adjacent to the "temple of Hadrian" along the Curetes Street, they were, in all probability, constructed during the reign of Trajan or Hadrian. The Scholasticia Baths were laid out differently from most of the Ephesian bath complexes but contained the appropriate rooms for changing clothes, bathing, and swimming. The modern nomenclature, Scholasticia, derives from the name of a Christian woman of the late 4th century who rebuilt the baths and whose statue was erected in the entrance room.

**7. Fountains, Wells, and Aqueducts.** The water requirements of the earliest settlement at Ephesus were probably met by the water source mentioned by Creophylos (Athenaeus *Deipn.* 8.361c–e) and by the collection of rainwater. In this latter case an Ephesian inscription (A.D. 92) is instructive regarding the volume of rain runoff in the area. In an epigram Claudia Trophime mentions that Mt. Pion drinks in so much rain water and stores it in its ravines, that it is comparable to the greatness of the sea (*IvEph* 1062; Engelmann 1987: 149–50). In the Hellenistic-Roman period the local river Marnas (*IvEph* 414, 415–17, 1530, 4105) and waterway Klaseas (*IvEph* 415–16) were channeled into the city's fountains and gymnasiums; these were celebrated for the first time on coinage during the reign of Domitian.

The early Empire saw the construction of three aqueducts at Ephesus. The emperor Augustus contributed to the construction of the Aqua Iulia (*IvEph* 401) and the Aqua Troessitica (*IvEph* 402), thereby reflecting his well-known attentiveness to the water supply of cities (*Res Gestae Divi Augusti,* 20). The wealthy benefactor C. Sextilius Pollio also paid for the construction (ca. A.D. 4–14) of the aqueduct that can still be seen today approximately 4 km S of Ephesus (*IvEph* 3092; Alzinger 1974: 1.21–23). Excavations among private dwellings (e.g., slope houses) reveal the presence of numerous cisterns and fountains.

The most important public fountains and wells in use in the imperial era include:

1. Fountain of C. Laecanius Bassus, built in ca. A.D. 80 (*IvEph* 695).
2. Nymphaeum (S of State Agora), built sometime in 2d century A.D. (*IvEph* 414, 1316–17).
3. Fountain in honor of C. Sextilius Pollio constructed in A.D. 93 (*IvEph* 413, 419).
4. Fountain attached to Memmius Monument. The fountain dates from early 3d century A.D. (*IvEph* 435).
5. The impressive Trajan Fountain was constructed ca. A.D. 110 (*IvEph* 265).
6. The Hellenistic Fountain, located at the NW foot of the city theater, was built sometime in the 3d–2d century B.C.
7. Roadside Fountain (Strassenbrunnen) was constructed during the reign of Trajan, excavated and reconstructed in 1927 by the Austrian Archaeological Institute, and completely demolished in 1955 by a Turkish road crew in order to construct a highway (*IvEph* 424a; Keil 1964: 138–39).

## E. Ephesian Religions

**1. Paganism. a. Artemis of Ephesus.** Religion was of paramount significance to the city of Ephesus. The city was the cult center of the worship of the Ephesian Artemis. When called upon to do so, the city would vigorously defend the goddess against impious detractors. The origins of the Ephesian goddess are lost in the undocumented centuries of early contacts between the Greeks and their Anatolian neighbors. During the Roman period several facets about the Artemis cult are salient: (1) the goddess was the tutelary deity of the city; (2) the goddess' cult was not characterized by base sensualism or a focus upon sexuality and fertility; (3) the goddess' influence was evident in the city's political, civic, cultural,

educational, and economic activities; (4) the goddess' religion was internationally recognized as a premier religion, and her temple was acknowledged as one of the Seven Wonders of antiquity; and (5) the goddess appealed to both the social need and to the personal pietism of the pagan Ephesians.

**b. Traditional Deities.** Ephesus' religious climate was similar to that of many other large cities in the Greek East. There is documentation—including literature, epigraphy, numismatics, sculpture, and architecture—of a plethora of Greco-Roman and, to a lesser extent, Anatolian deities. These include the following:

| | DOCUMENTATION | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| NAME | Literature | Coins | Epigraphy | Monuments |
| Aphrodite | * | | * | |
| Apollo | * | * | * | * |
| Asclepius | * | | * | |
| Athena | * | * | * | |
| Cabiri | | | * | |
| Demeter | * | | * | * |
| Dionysus | * | * | * | * |
| Egyptian Cults | * | * | * | * |
| Ge | | | * | |
| Gods Most High | | | * | |
| Hecate | * | * | * | |
| Hephaestus | | | * | |
| Hercules | * | * | * | * |
| Mother goddess | | | * | * |
| Pluton | | | * | |
| Poseidon | * | | * | |
| Zeus | * | * | * | * |

**c. Hero Veneration.** The worship of select individuals, sometimes while they were yet alive but more often after death, was a common practice of Greek cities. The motivation for such veneration could be a pious and grateful response to unusual benefaction, to miraculous assistance, to extraordinary civic or political contribution, or to a unique role in the founding and history of the honoring city. Heroes at Ephesus include:

1. Alexander the Great, whose cult was still maintained into the 2d century A.D.
2. Androclus, regarded as the Greek founder of Ephesus
3. Apollonius of Tyana, a Neo-Pythagorean preacher and thaumaturgist, was venerated at Ephesus because of the exorcism he performed to rescue the city of Ephesus from a plague.
4. Pixodarus Evangelus was worshipped with regularity at Ephesus, under the auspices of the city magistrate, because of his singular role in discovering the marble quarry from which the city took the marble for the construction of the temple of Artemis.
5. There existed at Ephesus, even into the imperial era, a cult and priesthood for the former Roman proconsul of Asia (46–44 B.C.), Publius Servilius Isauricus. This honor was in all probability a response to this administrator's just treatment of the city and his advocacy of the city's interests in official issues.

**2. Christianity.** The early history of Ephesian Christianity can be divided, for the sake of convenience, into periods characterized by the influence of different Christian authors and leaders. The earliest period obviously falls to the apostle Paul. The text of Acts indicates that Paul's efforts played an important role

in the early spread of the Gospel in Ephesus (Acts 18–20). This city was not only the site of his longest missionary tenure, as presented in the scheme of Acts, but also was the base of operation for Paul and his associates as they spread the Christian Gospel into the adjacent cities and regions of Asia Minor (e.g., the Lycus valley). The Pauline Corinthian correspondence was written at a time contemporary with the apostle's Ephesian ministry and Romans was written shortly thereafter. Dogmatism in the matter of the provenance of the Pauline "Prison Epistles" seems inadvisable. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the complex issues of authorship, the letters of Ephesians, Colossians, and the epistles of 1 and 2 Timothy provide strong indications of the importance of Ephesus in the Pauline Anatolian ministry and the perception of such in the nascent Christian community.

Less well attested is the role of Ephesus in the final years and ministry of the apostle John. There is no internal evidence in either the Fourth Gospel or the Johannine Epistles that indicates their provenance or destination. While the Revelation of John was written from the island of Patmos, off the coast of W Anatolia, that geographical proximity does not intrinsically bespeak an Ephesian home of its author. In addition, there is no necessity based upon internal evidence of the documents themselves to identify the author of the Fourth Gospel with the author of the Revelation. The *onus probandi* for the historical reconstruction placing the apostle John (as the author of the Fourth Gospel, Johannine Epistles, and the Revelation) in Ephesus lies in the use of Christian literature of the 2d century. The consensus of 2d-century sources is in favor of placing John in Ephesus in his latter years. It was during these later years of his life that he was exiled to Patmos, wrote the Fourth Gospel, Johannine Epistles, and the Revelation, and combated gnostic heretics such as Cerinthus. However, the matter of John's tenure there was not without dispute in this early Christian period, with the result that certain Christian authors opted for the presence of two different Johns (and later their graves) in Ephesus.

The Ephesian Christian community of the 2d century is documented, in part, by the evidence available in the letter to it from Ignatius of Antioch. The name of the Christian apologist Justin Martyr was also associated with Ephesus in the first half of the 2d century A.D.

**3. Judaism.** While Judaism thrived in Greco-Roman Ephesus, especially under the legal protection of the Seleucids and Romans, firm evidence of its size, character, and role in Ephesian urban life is difficult to reconstruct. The term *Ephesus* occurs about a dozen times in Josephus, making his record the largest Jewish literary testimony concerning Ephesian Jews (*Ant.* 16 §27–65). Unlike certain other cities of W Asia Minor, Ephesus has yet to yield any synagogue remains. Moreover, there is a dearth of physical evidence (e.g., lamps) and of inscriptional evidence to the presence of Ephesian Judaism in the Greco-Roman era. Both the Pauline corpus and the Acts of the Apostles testify to Jewish-Christian hostilities in this region. For further discussion, see PWSup 12: 248–364, 1588–1704.

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RICHARD E. OSTER, JR.

**EPHLAL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾeplāl* (אֶפְלָל)]. Descendant of Judah (1 Chr 2:37) through Perez and the family of Jerahmeel. Considerable scholarly debate surrounds this particular family line. Some scholars maintain that the importance of these names in postexilic times stems from the possibility that they were not originally Hebrews but nomadic Edomites (Elmslie *Chronicles* IB, 353) settling in permanent kraals in S Judah about the time of David (Curtis *Chronicles* ICC, 86–87). The line of descent of which Ephlal is a part is of particular interest because of the prominent way in which women are noted in the genealogies. First, Atarah, the second wife of Jerahmeel, is named specifically. Secondly, Sheshan had no sons and thus gave his daughter, Ahlai, as wife to his Egyptian slave Jarha, from whose line Ephlal descends. Considerable scholarly debate surrounds the nature of these genealogies. While Curtis (*Chronicles ICC,* 83) considers vv 34–41 an appendix to the descendants of Jerahmeel, Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 45) adopts a more cautious and less speculative approach. The meaning of Ephlal is highly speculative. Frequent suggestions include "nicked" and "judgment." It is possible the name comes from the root meaning "intervene" or "interpose" and producing such words as judge, intercede, and pray.
W. P. STEEGER

**EPHOD** (OBJECT) [Heb *ʾēpôd* (אֵפוֹד)]. An item of priestly apparel. As a noun it appears 49 times in the Hebrew Bible, and it occurs once as a denominative verb (Lev 8:7). In three more instances (Exod 28:8; 39:5; Isa 30:22), a slightly different form of the word is used to accommodate a suffix. Since the word *ephod* refers to a sacred vestment, most of the usages are in the priestly passages of the Pentateuch, mainly in the tabernacle texts of Exodus. However, other individuals involved in cultic activity—notably Gideon (Judg 8:27), the priest of Micah (Judg 17:5; 18:14, 17, 18, 20), Eli (1 Sam 14:3), Samuel (1 Sam 2:18, 28), and David or his priests (1 Sam 21:9; 22:18; 23:16; 30:7; 2 Sam 6:14; 1 Chr 15:27)—are associated with the ephod. In Hos 3:4 it is mentioned, along with the teraphim, independently of a priestly figure.

Most of the information about the ephod's appearance comes in the description of Aaron's wardrobe. Despite the enormous amount of detail provided (mainly in Exodus 28 = Exodus 39), a clear picture of what it looked like is difficult to obtain. It apparently was an apronlike garment, suspended from waist level downward and kept in place by shoulder pieces or straps; it probably completely encircled the lower

body. Two onyx stones, each engraved with the names of six of the Israelite tribes, were set into gold bracteates (RSV filigree) and attached to the shoulder pieces. The fabric of the ephod was of the most elaborate kind. It consisted of a multicolored mixture of wool and linen, but the predominant kind of thread woven into it was gold. Because it is mentioned first in the list of materials (Exod 28:8 = 39:2) and because it was evidently woven into all the individual threads of colored wool and linen (Exod 39:3), gold dominated its fabrication (Haran 1955) and certainly made it an object that was heavier and had more of a defined shape than do most items of apparel.

As a golden garment, the ephod clearly had special status in the elaborate series of undergarments, overgarments, and supplementary vestments and headpieces worn by the high priest. It is one of four items of apparel reserved for the high priest alone, in addition to what he wore in common with the other priests. Two other special items were intimately connected with the ephod: the breastpiece was attached to it (Exod 28:25); and one of the high priest's outer garments, "the robe of the ephod" (*me‹îl hā›ēpôd;* Exod 28:31) is designated in relation to it. All the items used in the priests' vestments and in the construction of the tabernacle belong to a sequence of workmanship and choice of materials, from simple to intricate, from common to costly (Haran 1978). The most elaborate items are the most holy ones, and the ephod clearly belongs to that category.

The prominence of the high priest's ephod relates to its function and also its symbolic nature. Because the breastpiece containing the Urim and Thummim are attached to it, the ephod is an essential part of the divinatory apparatus of the Israelite cult. That function is clear in many of the passages associating David with an ephod, in which he uses it to "inquire of the Lord" (1 Sam 30:7–8; cf. Judg 18:5).

The symbolic aspect of Aaron's ephod derives from its nature as a costly and intricate golden garment. As such, it is made of materials that, in both ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, were reserved for garments that clothed either the statues of the gods or a very select group of high officials (royalty and top priestly ranks). Several old Assyrian texts from Cappadocia refer to a rich and costly garment called an *epattu* (*CAD* 4: 183), and Anath in Ugaritic literature apparently wears an *›ipdk* (Albright 1941). In addition, certain elaborate and distinctive items, known as "golden garments," were used in Mesopotamian ritual to drape the statues of deities (Oppenheim 1949). This practice endowed the garment with an aura of sanctity, since it was used to clothe the god or goddess in rituals meant to secure the deity's presence and availability. For ancient Israel, with its aniconic tradition, the use of a distinctive golden vestment for the highest cultic functionary provided an analogous purpose. No image of Yahweh could be specially robed in order to insure divine immanence. But the priest closest to Yahweh was so adorned as a way of symbolizing and securing God's presence.

The references to ephod outside the priestly texts do not say much about its appearance aside from several references to its linen fabric (Heb *›ēpôd-bād*). But they do indicate both cultic practice and priestly attire. Thus, while they may not refer to a physical item identical to Aaron's ephod, they belong to similar conceptualizations of sacred apparel. The same can be said for references to the ephod apart from a human wearer, as a item along with teraphim or images. Such passages may indicate the ephod's role as a garment for cultic statues that were part of Israelite religion at some stage.

Scholars trying to understand the wide array of biblical information about the ephod have made various proposals about its appearance and function. Because of the apparent incongruities between the ephod in the priestly writings and the ephod elsewhere in the Bible, some have argued that this item is a sacred garment in some places but some sort of distinct cultic object or even an idol in other places (e.g., May 1939; Morganstern 1943–44). Such speculation involves too rigid a classification of garment and cultic objects as separate categories. The ephod was both a special garment and a ritual object, and in either or both of these aspects it functioned symbolically to bring a human representative of the Israelite community into contact with the unseen God. See also BREASTPIECE.

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**EPHOD** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēpōd* (אֵפֹד)]. The father of Hanniel (Num 34:23). The latter was a leader in the tribe of Manasseh selected for overseeing the distribution of the land to the ten tribes. The name has been corrupted in the LXX to read variously *ouphi (d)* and *souphi.* The meaning of the name is obscure, but has been related to the ritual vestment worn by the priests, the ephod.
RAPHAEL I. PANITZ

**EPHPHATHA** [Gk *ephphatha* (ἐφφαθα)]. Found in Mark 7:34 in words attributed to Jesus and addressed to a blind man whom he was healing, the word is there given a Gk translation, *dianoichthēti,* "be opened." Since Wellhausen it has been widely regarded as reflecting the 2d person masc. sing. *Ithpeʿel* (reflexive-passive) of the Aramaic verb *ptḥ,* "to open," thus meaning "be opened." Wellhausen noted that in the Babylonian Talmud *ephphatha* was the usual contraction for the more formal and expected form [*ʾtptḥ*]. Against this view I. Rabinowitz argued that this contracted form did not occur in the Jerusalem Talmud, Midrashim, or the pentateuchal Targums. He proposed instead that it was a 2d person masc. sing. *Nipʿal,* imperative of the Hebrew verb *ptḥ,* namely, *hptḥ.* Z. Ben-Ḥayyim showed that in Samaritan Hebrew this form is pronounced *affeta.* Now the contracted form of the Aramaic is in fact found in the Palestinian pentateuchal Targum ms Cod. Vat. Ebr. 440 at Gen 49:1; whereas, Targum Neofiti has the full form at that point. Whatever else may be said, it is clear that the form in the Vatican Codex is supported by the pronunciation given in Mark 7:34. First century A.D. Palestinian Aramaic inscriptions preserved on four tombs (the Kidron Valley Dipinto, line 4; the Uzziah Tomb slab, line 4; the Kidron Epitaph, lines 2–3; and the Jerusalem Hypogeum Ossuary 1, line b) give what appears to be the contracted form of the *Ithpeʿel* infinitive of Aram *ptḥ,* namely, in the formula *lʾ lmptḥ* (instead of *lʾ lmtptḥ*), "not to (be) open (ed)." These inscriptions seem to confirm that in Mark 7:34, *ephphatha* reflects this assimilated pronunciation of the Aramaic. All this is consistent with the view that the word is part of the authentic speech of Jesus. The idea that in Mark 7:34 it is really a "foreign" word, part of the magician's art, has met with support in a number of places but has an air of unreality about it in that such an Aramaic word can scarcely be "foreign" in the setting given to it by Mark.
MAX WILCOX

**EPHRAEMI RESCRIPTUS.** See CODEX (EPHRAIMI RESCRIPTUS).

**EPHRAIM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾeprayim* (אֶפְרַיִם)]. EPHRAIMITES. The second son of the biblical patriarch Joseph, and the eponymous ancestor of the tribe bearing this name. The central hill country of Palestine was called Ephraim after the tribe associated with that region. This entry consists of two articles, one focusing on the topography and history of the region, and another discussing archaeological survey work in the region.

## *EPHRAIM IN THE BIBLE*

### A. The Name

The original etymology of the name Ephraim is unknown. The derivation from Heb *prh,* "to be fertile," is based on a popular etymology (Gen 41:52; Hos 13:15). The ending *-ayim* indicates a place or geographical name. Noth (*Joshua* 145) translates the construction *har ʾeprayim* (Josh 20:7) as "pasturage mountain" (Ger "Weideland-Gebirge"). More plausible is the derivation from *ʾeper* in the sense of "region" (cf. Akk *epēru*), plus the locality ending *-ayim* (Gesenius 1987: 91). But a reliable translation of "Ephraim" would seem impossible.

Ephraim is the proper name of Joseph's second son (Gen 41:52; 46:20), who receives the blessing of the firstborn instead of Manasseh (Genesis 48); thus he received a share of Jacob's inheritance and is reckoned among the tribal eponymous heroes. The tribal territory named after him is situated in the S part of the central W Jordanian massif (the *har ʾeprayim:* Josh 17:15; 19:50; 20:7; etc.); its borders are

described in Josh 16:5–10. In connection with Ephraim's N neighbor, Manasseh, the Bible speaks of "the land of Ephraim and Manasseh" (Deut 34:2 and 2 Chr 30:10). In numerous passages in the prophetic writings, "Ephraim" designates the N kingdom of Israel, since Ephraim actually encompassed the real territorial center of this geopolitical region (cf. esp. Isa 7:2, 5, 8, 9, 17; 9:8, 20; 11:13, etc.; see also Jer 31:9, 18, 20; Ezek 37:16, 19).

**B. Topography**

The region designated by the name Ephraim was considerably larger than the territory originally inhabited by the tribe of Ephraim (cf. 1 Kgs 4:8; Josh 17:15). The "mountain of Ephraim" was made up of the W Jordanian mountainous country stretching approximately from Bethel in the S to the plain of Jezreel in the N; in the NW, Mt. Carmel and, in the NE, Gilboa are probably to be reckoned to the territory as well. The town of Shechem, situated in a valley between Mt. Ebal to the N and Mt. Gerizim to the S, is probably to be seen as the real center of the region. The *har ṣalmôn* mentioned as being in the vicinity of Shechem in Judg 9:48 is not identifiable today. The mountain *gaʿaš* is located in the SW part of the Ephraimite massif, near Joshua's home at Timnath-Serah (Josh 19:50; 24:30). Although certainty in the matter is impossible, the mountain *ṣĕmārayim* (2 Chr 13:4), like the site of the same name (Josh 18:22), was presumably located in the SE part of Ephraim.

From the border of Benjamin in the S until around Shechem the Ephraimite massif is higher than the N section and can only be traversed with difficulty on the E–W axis. Its highest landmark, Baal-Hazor (modern Tell ʻAṣur or *Jebel el-ʿAṣūr*), about 8 km NE of Bethel (mentioned in 2 Sam 13:23), reaches a height of 1011 m. This S part of the Ephraimite massif was the settlement area of the tribe of Ephraim. It is a fertile region, largely composed of cenomanite, an erosion-resistant hard variety of limestone. The main line of communication through the region is the road which traverses the sometimes difficult terrain running N–S along the watershed.

The N part of the Ephraimite massif consists mainly of the rather softer limestone known as senonite, and is not as fertile as the S part. Numerous valleys offered suitable paths of communication for local traffic and thus encouraged the development of urban centers. In addition to Shechem, mention should be made of Tirzah *(tell el-Fārʿa),* at the E reach of the Wâdī el-Fārʿa, Dothan in the NW, and to the S, in an especially favorable location on a hilltop in the midst of a kettle-shaped valley, the city of Samaria.

**C. History**

Ephraim is regarded as the heartland of Israel. It was here, in a fashion entirely independent of developments in Judah to the S, that the history of what was later to develop into the entire people of Israel began. Bethel and Shechem appear as the main loci of the Jacob traditions (Gen 28:10–22; 33:17–20; 34; 35), but some of the narratives connected with Abraham (Gen 12:16; 13:3) also lead through Ephraimite territory. The sanctuary at Shechem was the scene of important symbolic events of great significance to the development of the supratribal "Israel." Joshua's tribal assembly in Shechem (Joshua 24) and the ceremony of curse and blessing on the mountains of Ebal and Gerizim (Deuteronomy 27; cf. also Josh 8:30–35) are among the more solid traditions of the central Palestinian tribal league which was also known as the "house of Joseph" (Judg 1:23) and included both Ephraim and Manasseh (Deut 33:17). In the tribal blessings in Gen 49:22–26 and Deut 33:13–17, Joseph receives both a place of honor and a favorable comment.

Shechem was already a political center at an early date. If the reading of the Execration Texts is correct, it was mentioned in them, as well as in the burial inscription of the Egyptian functionary Khu-Sebek, in the days of Sesostris III (ca. 1880–1840 B.C.E.; cf. *ANET*, 230–31). In the Amarna Letters the city is known as the home of the rebellious governor and king (?) Labayu; it possessed an aristocratic organization (cf. Judges 9) until Israelite times, when that organization was ultimately dissolved. However, Shechem did not achieve political ascendancy during the time of the N kingdom in spite of her favorable situation in the center of the region. Instead, the city remained an "uncrowned queen" among the cities of Israel and Palestine (Alt 1925a: 4). Already the first N kings after the partition of the empire established themselves at, first, Tirzah *(tell el-Fārʿa)* and then Penuel *(tulūl eḏ-ḏahab),* until Omri finally purchased the hill of Samaria and there, in the borderland between Israelite and Canaanite influence,

constructed his residence (1 Kgs 16:24; on the fate of the site described and evaluated in detail, see Alt, *KlSchr* 3: 298–302).

In the course of his conquests, probably around the year 733 Tiglath-pileser III appropriated the border regions of the N kingdom and incorporated them as provinces of his empire under the designation *Magiddū* (Megiddo). The regions included were Galilee, *Gal›azu* (Gilead) in the region E of the Jordan (although whether this was an independent province is contested), and *Dū›ru* (Dor), a coastal province S of Carmel. The central region of Ephraim, consisting of Samaria and its immediate environs (often called the "rump state" of Ephraim), was retained by King Hosea until, after the fall of Samaria in 722–721, it, too, became Assyrian.

The attempts by King Josiah, as Assyrian power collapsed at the close of the 7th century, to unify the N kingdom with Judah foundered on the early death of the king (in 609 at Megiddo, at the hands of the N-bound Egyptians) and the subsequent transition of suzerainty over the region to the Egyptians and, later, to the Neo-Babylonian Empire under Nebuchadnezzar.

Probably as a continuation of the efforts of the Babylonian administrators, the Persian province of Samaria arose and attempted to maintain its independence of Judah and Jerusalem. After the conquests of Alexander the Great in Palestine during the last third of the 4th century, the final separation of the Samaritan cultic community from the Judaism which was centered on the temple in Jerusalem took place. When this occurred, an administrative and religio-political opposition between "Judea" and "Samaria" arose and extended into the Roman period. The Romans, however, partitioned off large parts of the areas won from the Hasmoneans in Judea. These included, in addition to the coastal cities and the region of the later Decapolis in the N part of the territory E of Jordan, on the W side of the Jordan also Samaria and its environs. The entire Syro-Palestinian region became the province of Syria and was subject to the rule of a governor.

**D. Archaeology**

At the beginning of the 20th century, the archaeological exploration of Palestine was concentrated on prominent sites in Ephraim and its periphery. American, British, German, and Danish archaeological societies and institutes, supported by both public and private funding, were involved in the effort. The work continued between the two world wars; it has been intensified since the foundation of the state of Israel and, in the wake of the events of 1967, the entire territory of Ephraim became open for study. Israeli, American, and European archaeological teams have since then participated.

Among the sites that were excavated early on were, above all (including mention of the excavational seasons): SHECHEM *(Nâblus; Tell Balāṭa)*, 1913–14, 1926–27, 1956–69; SAMARIA, 1908–10, 1931–33, 1935; MIZPAH *(Tell en-Naṣbe)*, 1926; SHILOH, 1926, 1929, 1932, 1963, 1981–84; 1933–35, 1964–69; TAANACH, 1902–3, 1904, 1963–64, 1966, 1968; MEGIDDO, 1903–5, 1907–9, 1934; DOTHAN, 1953–60; TIRZAH, 1946, 1950–51, 1954, 1958, 1960. (For the early period of excavation, see Thomsen 1932.)

In recent times further excavations have been undertaken, principally including: Khirbet Raddana on the W side of el-Bireh, 1971–75; BETHEL 1934, 1954, 1957, 1960; ‹IZBET ṢARṬAH, 1976–78; MT. EBAL, 1983–85. On these recent excavations, with inclusion of the Israelite Conquest in Ephraim, see Finkelstein (1988). In all brevity these studies allow us to conclude the following: the sites mentioned in the Conquest Narratives reveal no traces of the "remains of the Late Bronze period" (Finkelstein 1988: 352–56). Among the regions so thickly settled by Canaanites, there "is virtually no evidence of Israelite settlement prior to the 10th century B.C.E." Recent sociological studies have conjectured that the Israelites emerged at the close of the Bronze Age from the sociopolitical organization of Canaan (see Gottwald 1979; differently, Lemche 1985, 1988). Against this it can be shown that the new inhabitants of the hill country of Ephraim and Manasseh in the Iron I period came from a pastoralist background. The beginning of Israelite settlement of the region cannot have taken place earlier than the 12th century B.C.E. Ten Iron I sites in Judah and about 12 in Benjamin must be compared with about 120 in Ephraim and about 100 in Manasseh. It can be shown that the ethnic composition of Ephraim during the Iron I period was strongly homogeneous. Although the settlement was regionally diverse, in general the new settlers either

established themselves among the earlier populace or else settled in the thinly populated mountainous highlands. Taken together, these observations, which allow us to conclude that the population grew at the beginning of the Iron I period, coincide temporally and spatially and agree with the biblical information concerning the Israelite Conquest. They point to a largely peaceful process of settlement and are accordingly suitable archaeologically to confirm and support a number of observations and conjectures which Alt (1925b, 1939) had made concerning the essential character of the first stage of the course of the settlement. For a more extensive discussion of the archaeological survey of the Ephraimite territory, see below.

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SIEGFRIED HERRMANN


## *ARCHAEOLOGY OF EPHRAIM*

Since 1980, area of the ancient land of Ephraim has been the object of an intensive archaeological survey. Headed by I. Finkelstein, the survey covers an area of approximately 1050 $km^2$. Its boundaries, which correspond roughly to the biblical borders of the inheritance of Ephraim, run along the Beth-horon–Ramallah–Deir Dibwan road in the S, the Kanah brook and the northernmost reaches of the valley of Beit Dajan in the N, and extend beyond the easternmost of the permanent settlements of the desert fringes in the E; the W border is demarcated by the foothills of the Shephelah. See Fig. EPH.01. The major biblical sites located within the survey area include Bethel, Shiloh, and Tappuah, while Shechem lies just beyond its N border.

To the end of 1985, some 95 percent of the sites in the survey region have been investigated (including the Arab villages) and about two-thirds of the area has been surveyed in detail. A total of some 550 sites have been discovered, enabling a reliable picture of the pattern of settlement to be drawn for each of the various periods of occupation.

The land of Ephraim is located in the heart of the central hill country, a marginal zone for agriculture, since it has neither the arable mountain plateaus of Benjamin nor the broad alluvial valleys of Manasseh. Lithologically, most of the region consists of hard limestone formations, which make it difficult to till the

soil. In ancient times much of the region was covered with dense forests, with *Quercus caliprinos* (Kermes oak) and *Pistacia palaestina* (terebinth) predominating, as inferred from the remnants of these forests today and paleobotanical samples from excavated sites. Since these forests had to be cleared before crops could be sown, the presence of these forests was another disadvantage for agricultural settlement.

In order to understand the pattern of settlement through various periods, it is helpful to divide the region into six geographical subunits, each of which has its own distinctive morphological, ecological, and demographic-economic characteristics. (1) The desert fringe on the E is a long, narrow strip between the central mountain range and the Samaritan desert. The land is marginal but has some arable plots. (2) The N part of the central range is a large unit in the heart of the hill country and is characterized by small fertile valleys suitable for agriculture, extending from the valley of Shiloh in the S through the valley of Beit Dajan in the N. (3) The S part of the central range is a high plateau in the Bethel hills, which is a continuation of the plateau of the land of Benjamin. Topographically, it is an attractive area for settlement. (4) The N part of the W slopes is a hilly zone between the brook of Shiloh and the brook of Kanah. (5) The S part of the W slopes is a topographically wild zone lying S of the brook of Shiloh, consisting of an E–W series of steep scarps and deep wadis. This is the most difficult area for settlement in the land of Ephraim. (6) The foothills area is a long, narrow strip in the W with low rolling hills descending westwards towards the coastal plain. The central mountain range and the S part of the W slopes are rich in springs; whereas, there are almost no perennial water sources in the desert fringe, the N part of the W slopes, and the foothills.

The subsistence economy in ancient times may be reconstructed for each subregion by analogy with the sources of livelihood of the Arab villages at the beginning of the present century. The villagers living in the E desert fringes were supported by cereal cultivation and grazing. In the interior valleys of the N–central mountain range, the viability of raising field crops is also evident. In the S part of this range, the N part of the W slopes, and the foothills, acreage was divided equally between cereal crops and olive plantations. In the S part of the W slopes, the economy was based mainly on horticulture (olive groves today, in the past olive groves and vineyards). The sites on the E side of the central range had the advantage that they were able to diversify their economy into the three traditional components: cereal cultivation, horticulture, and grazing.

The first significant human activity known in the land of Ephraim began in the EB Age. So far, some 30 settlements are known from this period; the only large fortified city, however, was Khirbet et-Tell (biblical ʿAi); the rest of the sites were rather small, with an area generally not exceeding 2.5 acres. The sites are concentrated along the desert fringes, the central mountain range, and the foothills. No signs of intensive settlement have yet been discovered in the interior valleys of the N–central range nor on its W slopes, which are almost completely devoid of human occupation. Apparently, most of the region was still heavily forested at this time, and the inhabitants were active mainly on its peripheries without attempting to contend with those areas that were difficult for habitation.

Most of the MB I remains are burial concentrations on the edge of the desert and along the central range. The largest burial site was around ʿAin Samiya. The location of the cemeteries may indicate that the population lived from seasonal pastoralism, transmigrating between the marginal zones in the green, wet winter season and the cooler central range in the summer.

During the MB IIB–C a large settlement wave swept over the region, including the hill country of Manasseh. Almost 60 sites from this period are known, most of them concentrated in the desert fringes, the interior valleys of the N–central range, the NW slopes, and the Bethel hills. During the MB IIB, according to the survey results, small open settlements were established throughout the region. However, many of these settlements were abandoned in the next phase (MB IIC), and their inhabitants concentrated in a smaller number of central sites, some of them fortified. The main fortified sites, which usually extend over 4–5 acres, are Bethel, Khirbet Marjama, Shiloh, Sheikh Abu Zarad (biblical Tappuah), and Khirbet ʿUrmah (biblical Arumah).

During the LB Age there was apparently a serious settlement crisis in this and other parts of the hill country. Only five of the MB centers remained, and most of these seem to have decreased in size and importance. In one of them, at least (Shiloh), there was no real settlement but only a cultic place, as revealed by the recent excavations.

Intensive settlement was renewed in Iron Age I. So far, 110 sites of the settlement period have been surveyed (another 6 are known on the periphery of the coastal plain in the vicinity of ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah). Some 25 of these can be classified as large villages (ca. 1.5 acres each, sometimes larger); another 30 are small villages or hamlets (occupying 0.5–1 acre); and the rest are isolated farmsteads or seasonal campsites. Settlement at this time was concentrated along the desert fringes, around the small valleys in the N–central range, on the Bethel plateau, and on the NW slopes. The settlement pattern, both in its local and overall aspects, indicates a clear preference for cereal cultivation and animal husbandry instead of for orchards and vineyards. A particularly large number of settlements is observable around Shiloh, the religious and political center of the central hill country at this time. Other important sites excavated over the years include ʿAi, Khirbet Raddana, Bethel, and ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah. In the hill country of Manasseh, to the N of Ephraim, there are also a large number of Iron Age I sites. Together these two regions contain nearly 90 percent of the Iron Age I sites of the hill country and some 75 percent of the total number of Israelite settlements W of the Jordan River. It would appear therefore that the N part of the hill country was the focus of Israelite settlement. Its density in the land of Ephraim accords well with the importance attributed to the tribe of Ephraim in the biblical tradition.

During Iron Age II the magnitude of Israelite settlement reached unprecedented proportions. So far, some 185 sites are known in Ephraimite territory, including the majority of the Iron Age I sites. About 15 of these are very large (5 acres or more), another 15 are medium sized (2.5 acres or more), and the rest are small villages (less than 2.5 acres). Population density is particularly observable in the N part of the region. However, fairly vibrant activity also begins in the S part of the W slopes—a classic area of olive groves, fruit orchards, and vineyards. Several olive oil production installations have been found here. In contrast to the increase in the overall number of settlements in our region, there appears to be a decrease in the Bethel hills, perhaps because this was the area of the contested border between the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, a condition which resulted in political instability. The volume of activity in the land of Ephraim indicates that almost the entire region was cultivated and that the agricultural scene was fairly similar to that known today.

During the Persian period, after the downfall of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, the population of this region decreased drastically. Only some 80 sites are known, most of them very small in comparison to those of Iron Age II. The center of gravity of settlement activity shifted westwards, perhaps because the coastal plain was flourishing.

During the Hellenistic period the area began to revive; and in the Roman period the number of settlements once again equaled that of Iron Age II, except they were more evenly distributed; and an intensive settlement wave also took place in the S part of the area, apparently due to the influence of the great metropolis of Jerusalem to the S.

Under the Byzantines, the number of sites reached 200 or more, the greatest population density in the history of the land of Ephraim. The center of gravity shifted clearly to the S, with settlement density thinning out in the vicinity of Shechem, probably because of the suppression of the Samaritans. In the SW of the region were a number of monasteries that were probably involved in the production of wine and olive oil.

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ISRAEL FINKELSTEIN

**EPHRAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾeprayim* (אֶפְרַיִם)]. **1.** One of the tribal territories of Israel, the name of which was often synonymous with that of the N kingdom of Israel. See the EPHRAIM (PERSON) articles.

**2.** An important town near Baal-hazor; it was at Baal-hazor that Absalom kept his sheepshearers and where he assassinated his half-brother Amnon to avenge the rape of his sister Tamar (2 Sam 13:23). Baal-hazor is usually identified with Jebel el-ʻasur (M.R. 177153), 14 miles NNE of Jerusalem. Some have suggested that this village of Ephraim (also N of Jerusalem) might be the same village to which Jesus retreated after raising Lazarus from the dead in Bethany and incurring the wrath of the chief priests and Pharisees in Jerusalem (John 11:45–54). Others, however, suggest that these are separate places (*ISBE* [1929], 963) and that the Ephraim of Absalom may be Eusebius' *Ephraim* (*Onomast.*, 90), 20 Roman miles N of Jerusalem, while that of Jesus may be identified with Eusebius' *Aphra* (*Onomast.*, 28), 5 Roman miles E of Bethel. (The latter may be the same "Ephraim" that Vespasian captured along with Bethel; *JW* 4.9.9 §551.)

Despite the marked difference in the initial consonants, this village of Ephraim has sometimes been equated with the "Ophrah" (Heb *ʿoprâ*) listed in the tribal territory of Benjamin (Josh 18:23), which is also mentioned in Judg 6:11 and 1 Sam 13:17 (Robinson 1856: 444–47). Likewise, Ephraim has been associated with "Ephron" (Heb *ʿprwn*), which lay near Bethel and vacillated between N Israelite and S Judean spheres of political and military control (2 Chr 13:19, note the Qere *ʿeprayin*). To this constellation some add the "Ephron" of 1 Macc 5:46 (in Transjordan), while others add the "Aphairema" of 1 Macc 11:34 (cf. *Ant* 13.4.9 §127), located between Samaria and Jerusalem.

Most scholars identify Ephraim/Aphairema with et-Taiyebeh (M.R. 178151), a village 4 miles NE of Beitin (Bethel) and 15 miles NNE of Jerusalem on a high hill overlooking the plains of Jericho and the Dead Sea to the SE. Albright (1922), however, distinguished between "Ephraim/Aphairema" on the one hand and "Ophrah/Ephron" on the other. While he felt the latter pair could be identified with et-Taiyibeh, he felt that the former pair should be identified with Ain Samieh (M.R. 182155), about 3 miles NE of et-Taiyibeh and closer to the Jordan valley. To Albright, John 11:54 suggested that Jesus needed a warm place in February to winter with his disciples: Ain Samieh (1400 ft. above sea level)—in a warm and secluded valley that was well watered and had numerous grottoes—would have been ideal, a better candidate than et-Taiyibeh (2850 ft. above sea level), where the temperature is often colder than Jerusalem. See also DHAHR MIRZBANEH.

Noting the abundance of tombs in the vicinity of Samieh, Albright suggested that originally a sanctuary of the ewe goddess Rachel (Heb *raḥel*, "ewe") was located here and that in time this came to be identified with the tomb of the matriarch Rachel, who died giving birth to Benjamin (1 Sam 10:2 locates Rachel's tomb in Benjaminite territory N of Jerusalem, although Gen 35:16–20 associates it with Ephrath in Bethlehem [v 19]). The similarity of the older names Ophrah and Ephraim N of Bethel (as well as Ephrath) to Arabic *ʾifrit*, "demon," may have led subsequent Arabs, through the practice of euphemism, to change the older name to et-Taiyibeh ('favor,' 'goodness'; cf. *LBHG*, 121; cf. also Ephron of 1 Macc 5:46, which was identified with the former Efreh, now Taiyibeh).

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**EPHRAIM GATE** (PLACE) [Heb *šaʿar ʾeprayim* (שַׁעַר אֶפְרַיִם)]. A gate of Jerusalem located immediately W of the temple precincts, where the Temple Mount gives way to the Central or Tyropoeon valley, and immediately N of the junction of Hezekiah's broad wall and the wall surrounding the Temple Mount. The Ephraim Gate was so named because it exited immediately to the central ridge route that led to the mountains of Ephraim via the central Benjamin plateau. The gate was first mentioned (2 Kgs 14:13; 2 Chr 25:23) during the reign of Amaziah (798–769 B.C.E.); it was rebuilt during the early return of the

exiles under Zerubbabel (ca. 539–536 B.C.E.?) and later dedicated (Neh 8:16; 12:38–39) by Nehemiah (ca. 446–434 B.C.E.).

During the reign of Amaziah, Jehoash of Israel destroyed 400 cubits (ca. 200) of the N defenses of Jerusalem between the Corner Gate and the Ephraim Gate, most probably along the line of Hezekiah's broad wall, built several decades later. The placing, by some, of the Ephraim Gate 200 m E of the Corner Gate is based on the assumption that the entire section of the wall between the two gates measured about 200 m and that Jehoash destroyed the entire section of the wall between these two gates. This is not supported by the texts (note the different prepositional prefix [*bĕša‹ar* in 2 Kgs 14:13 versus *mišša‹ar* in 2 Chr 25:23]; see also Avi-Yonah 1954: 243 and n. 25). Many, assuming that the two gates were 200 m apart, have placed the Ephraim Gate near Avigad's excavations in areas W or X–2 (Simons 1952: 234, 255 n. 5, 276, passim), while Avigad would rather identify these gates as Jeremiah's Middle Gate (area W) and Josephus' Gennath Gate (area X–2) (Jer 39:3; *JW* 5.4.2; Avigad 1980: 59, 69).

The reason Nehemiah mentions the dedication but not the rebuilding of this gate may be found in the first building activities of the early returnees under the direction of Zerubbabel (Sheshbazar) and Ezra (Ezra 1:5–11; 3:8). Upon arriving in Jerusalem with the temple treasures that were returned by Cyrus (Ezra 1:5–11; clay cylinder of Cyrus; *ANET*, 315–16), the returnees most probably secured a perimeter for the safekeeping of the temple utensils and for the guarding of the sanctity of the temple enclosure. This rebuilt perimeter may have included the Ephraim Gate years before Nehemiah's complete rebuilding of the walls.

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DALE C. LIID

**EPHRAIM, FOREST OF** (PLACE) [Heb *ya‹ar ›eprayim* (יַעַר אֶפְרָיִם)]. The site of the battle where the forces of David defeated the men of Israel who had joined Absalom's rebellion (2 Sam 18:6–8). Presumably it was also there that Absalom met his death (vv 9–15). Because of the direction of David's earlier flight ("toward Mahanaim," 17:27), it would be logical to think that the forest of Ephraim was located E of the Jordan river (cf. 17:24 and 19:15). There may be implicit references to this forest in Josh 17:14–18, although there the forest is associated with the whole tribe of Joseph (both Ephraim and Manasseh), not just Ephraim, and is located in the land of the Perizzites and the Rephaim. Some scholars see these latter as being Transjordanian peoples (Og of Bashan was the last of the Rephaim; Deut 3:12). Leibel (1967) has even suggested that we should instead refer to the "forest of Rephaim" both in the Joshua 17 passage and in the 2 Sam 18:6 battle account. However, these peoples were not restricted to Transjordan: 2 Sam 23:13 refers to the valley of Rephaim near Jerusalem, while Josh 9:1 relates the Perizzites to the Jebusites, etc. Joshua's prediction that the Joseph tribe, in clearing out their new forest, would drive out the Canaanites also seems to point to a possible Cisjordan location (although the Canaanites may have had a broader range of territory). Thus the forest given to the tribe of Joseph and the scene of the battle between David's forces and Absalom's could be W of the Jordan river. However, the Lucianic LXX revised 2 Sam 18:6 to read "the forest of Mahanaim," thereby insisting that the battle was fought E of the Jordan.

Noth suggested that the forest should be identified with the wooded hills S of the Jabbok (*NHI*, 60–61, 201). This would account for the two different routes that the Cushite runner and Ahimaaz took to deliver the battle report to David in Mahanaim (2 Sam 18:19–23): the former ran due N through the forest and over the hills, while the latter ran by way of the Jordan valley ("the plain," v 23).

The nature of this "forest" has been another issue discussed by scholars. The name Ephraim comes from a root meaning "fruit bearing" (plural of Heb *parah*). Of course, by the time of David the name Ephraim may have been traditional, no longer designating an actual fruit-bearing forest. Some have argued that

since Absalom's head was caught in a great oak tree, the Hebrew *ya‹ar* refers to what in English is meant by "forest," a densely wooded area with many standing trees. Others, however, suggest that *ya‹ar* is cognate with Arabic *wa‹r,* "rough country," which refers to an area abounding in rocks, stones, scrub, and only occasional trees (*ISBE* [1929], 963).

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**EPHRATHAH** (PERSON) [Heb *›eprātâ* (אֶפְרָתָה)]. Var. EPHRATH. A wife of Hezron and subsequently of his son, Caleb. All the references to Ephrathah the person appear in the genealogical lists of 1 Chr 2:19, 24, 50; 4:4. At least three problems related to Hebrew genealogies make personal identification difficult: (1) their eponymous nature, (2) the practice of patronymy and papponymy, and (3) the use of *ben,* "son," "child," esp. in the plural, to mean "descendant" in general (see BDB, 120–21). A textual difficulty complicates Ephrathah's identity still further, but the passages do converge to yield a probable meaning consistent with the biblical use of EPHRATHAH (PLACE).

Judah and Tamar (Genesis 38) were the parents of Perez, who had a son named Hezron (1 Chr 2:3–5). The textually corrupt 1 Chr 2:24 (lit. "And after the death of Hezron in Caleb [Heb *bĕkālēb*] Ephrathah and the wife of Hezron her father and she bore to him Ashhur the father of Tekoa") should almost certainly be emended with *BHS* and RSV to read: "And after the death of Hezron, Caleb went in to [Heb *bā›* for *bĕ,* haplography, cf. LXX and Vg, and context v 21] Ephrathah, the wife of [omit *waw*] Hezron, his father [add *waw,* haplography], and she bore to him Ashhur, the father of Tekoa." Hence, it seems that Ephrathah was a wife of Hezron in the autumn of his life. After both Hezron and Caleb's wife, Azubah, had died (1 Chr 2:18–19), Caleb married Ephrathah, who was not his mother. Their son Ashhur is perhaps identical with their son HUR, a shortened form of the former (cf. 1 Chr 2:24, 50 [read "sons of Hur," plural, with and Vg], 4:4–5), though this is not clear. At any rate, Ephrathah is portrayed as ancestress of Tekoa and great-grandmother of Bethlehem, Kiriath-Jearim, and Beth-Gader [= Geder?] (1 Chr 2:50–51).

Ephrathah's prominent mention in the traditions of the Chronicler belies the memory of her as a matriarch of Israel. The messianic line passed through her (with Hezron) to Ruth, (with Boaz) to David and Bathsheba. Both her son Hur and her grandson Salma are called fathers of Bethlehem (1 Chr 2:51; 4:4). Mother Ephrathah would leave her name, not only to her clan, but to the region it inhabited.

LAMONTTE M. LUKER

**EPHRATHAH** (PLACE) [Heb *›eprātâ* (אֶפְרָתָה)]. Var. EPHRATH. EPHRATHITES. Area inhabited by the Judahite clan of the same name (Gen 35:16, 19; 48:7). The gentilic form, Ephrathite(s), in 1 Sam 17:12 and Ruth 1:2 (cf. 4:17) refers to the extended family of David from the village of Bethlehem in Judah, and the poetic parallelism of Ruth 4:11 pairs Ephrathah with Bethlehem. Thus it seems clear as a starting point that Ephrathah includes or is in the environs of the village of Bethlehem. (The gentilic form of Ephraim [RSV Ephraimite] spelled *›eprātî* in Judg 12:5; 1 Sam 1:1; and 1 Kgs 11:26 is an etymological coincidence.) Micah 5:1—Eng5:2—addresses Bethlehem Ephrathah as a clan (Heb *›elep*) within the tribe of Judah.

The Genesis occurrences of Ephrath (ah) may employ the *he*-locale (cf. BDB, RSV), but this is dubious given the *plene* spelling of the LXX in these verses and of the Hebrew occurrences everywhere else except 1 Chr 2:19 (where LXX also reflects the shorter variant). The only time the Hebrew text of Genesis actually records the abbreviated "Ephrath" is the second occurrence in 48:7 (absent in LXX), and this could easily be due to haplography.

According to the Genesis legend, Rachel died giving birth to Benjamin on the way to (Heb *bĕderek*) and a relatively short distance (Heb *kibrăt-hā›āreṣ*) from Ephrathah while traveling S with her husband, Jacob, from Bethel. The eponymous nature of the tradition would affirm that the patriarch was born in the Benjaminite tribal territory. 1 Samuel 10:2 likewise locates Rachel's tomb in the territory of Benjamin, and Jer 31:15 records a tradition that she was buried at Ramah, midway between Bethel and the

Benjaminite-Judahite border. Now 1 Chr 2:24, 50–52; and 4:4–5 recall Ephrathah as the matriarch of Kiriath-jearim, on the border between Benjamin and Judah; of Bethlehem, just S of Jerusalem; of Tekoa, just S of and visible, according to Jerome, from Bethlehem; and of Beth-Gader, which, if equal to Geder, was probably just W of Tekoa. In short, the memory of the region of Ephrathah is the Judahite area surrounding Bethlehem. This is congruent with a LXX verse (Josh 15:59a) lost to the MT due to homoeoteleuton, which assigns Ephrathah to the territory of Judah (see *BHS*, NEB). Similarly, Ps 132:6 pairs Ephrathah with Kiriath-jearim ('the fields of Jaar'), on the N border of Judah and the S border of Benjamin, in poetic parallelism.

This evidence renders von Rad's (*Genesis* OTL) suggestion that the Ephrath (ah) of Genesis is Ophrah, NE of Bethel, highly unlikely. LXX A of Josh 18:23 translates the Heb Ophrah as Aphra, though Gk text B reads Ephrathah; but LXX Judg 6:11, 24; 8:27, 32; 9:5 also translates Ophrah as Ephrathah, and this is clearly a different location. And while the Ephron (Heb *ʿeprôn*) of 2 Chr 13:19 may equal Ophrah, textual evidence does not equate it with Ephrathah: LXX transliterates as *Ephrōn* and the MT Qere is *ʿeprîn.*

A broader assessment of the history of traditions leads to the conclusion that Ephrathah was originally a Judahite clan named after its matriarch which settled in and around Bethlehem, stretching N of Jerusalem to the Benjaminite border at Kiriath-jearim and S to Tekoa; see EPHRATHAH (PERSON). The Davidic family of the clan came from the village of Bethlehem, a fact recalled by which translates Mic 5:1 with "Bethlehem, house of Ephrathah" (*oikos tou Ephratha,* Heb *bet-ʾeprātâ*). In other words, Bethlehem was a village locale within the greater expanse of the clan Ephrathah. As Israel's tribal structure gave way to the monarchy along with the rise of Ephrathah's most famous family as the dynasty, Ephrathah became more and more identified with Bethlehem, its royal village. Later glossators simply thought the two were synonymous (Gen 35:19; 48:7; Josh 15:59a [LXX]).

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**EPHRON** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿeprôn* (עֶפְרוֹן)]. Son of Zohar, identified as a Hittite, who sold his field containing the cave of Machpelah to Abraham (Gen 23:8–17; 25:9; 49:29–30; 50:13). Abraham's wife Sarah had died, and he urgently needed a place to bury her. He negotiated with Ephron to buy just the cave of Machpelah, but Ephron insisted on selling the field and the cave for 400 shekels of silver. This was a very high price compared with other land sales, cf. Gen 33:19. Although Lehmann (1953: 18) has argued that the negotiations between Abraham and Ephron presuppose an extensive knowledge of Hittite laws and customs, Tucker (1966: 77–84) has convincingly argued that these customs are not specifically Hittite at all. Instead, they are not significantly different from local customs relating to real estate transactions. Furthermore, Hoffner (1969: 32) has shown that the names of persons called "Hittites" in the OT are almost all good Semitic names, e.g., Zohar, Gen 23:8; Judith et al., Gen 26:34; Ahimelech, 1 Sam 26:6; etc. Ephron is also a good Semitic name from *ʿpr* meaning "gazelle." Therefore it is most likely that Ephron was part of a group of Canaanites living in the hills near Hebron during the time of Abraham and not a Hittite from Anatolia.

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**EPHRON** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿeprôn* (עֶפְרוֹן)]. Three places in the Hebrew Bible and the Apocrypha have this name.

**1.** City captured by Abijah, king of Judah, along with its surrounding villages, from Jeroboam I, king of Israel (2 Chr 13:19). It is usually identified with the Ophrah of Josh 18:23 in Benjamin (not the Ophrah in Manasseh, Judg 8:32) and modern et-Taiyibeh about 4 miles NE of Bethel (M.R. 178151).

**2.** "The cities of Mount Ephron" (Josh 15:9). It is part of a boundary description of the territory assigned to Judah. This district has been difficult to locate precisely, but Boling and Wright (*Joshua* AB, 369) place it at el-Qastel, near Mozah.

**3.** A large and well fortified city which attempted to block the passage of Judas Maccabeus, who was on his way from Gilead to Judah along with his army. Judas captured the city, killed all the males, looted the city, and razed it to the ground (1 Macc 5:46–52; 2 Macc 12:27–29). It is located E of the Jordan river about 12 miles SW of the Sea of Galilee (M.R. 217216).

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**EPIC OF GILGAMESH.** See GILGAMESH EPIC.

**EPICTETUS.** Epictetus was born between A.D. 50 and 60 in Hierapolis (Phrygia) and died between 120 and 140 in Nicopolis. As a youth he was a slave of Epaphroditus, a freedman of Nero. Epaphroditus was the one who enabled him to attend the philosophy lessons of C. Musonius Rufus and finally set him free. Therefore the well known story that Epictetus' lame leg was a result of torturing by his master (Celsus at Origen, *Cels.* 7.732) is hardly credible. First Epictetus himself taught philosophy in Rome; but when Domitian banished all the philosophers (A.D. 89), he transferred his school to Nicopolis (near Actium). His audience were part of the ruling class of the Empire (*Diss.* 1.11.1; 2.23.38; 3.4.1; 5.3; 7.1; 4.4.1–2).

Epictetus himself did not write anything. Of the originally eight books *Diatribai* (= Dissertationes) four have come down to us. They are notes of lessons, taken by Arrian, who also edited the famous *Encheiridion,* a compilation of the essential doctrines of Epictetus. The letter of dedication of Arrian to Gellius, which precedes the *Diatribai,* claims high proximity to the original lessons (accepted by Hartmann 1905 and the *communis opinio,* doubted by Wirth 1967). Apart from some redactional interferences by Arrian, the notes probably give us quite an authentic picture of Epictetus' philosophy and his way of teaching (Schmeller 1987: 164–66). The doctrine of Epictetus follows the Stoicism of Chrysippus to a great extent but also shows a certain Cynic influence (esp. in the Cynic ideal of the wise man, *Diss.* 3.22). Epictetus pursues popular philosophy, and so orthodoxy is irrelevant for him. Logic, physics, and the interpretation of philosophical texts must have been part of Epictetus' lessons but were apparently of very little importance (*Diss.* 1.4.5–17, 28–29; 17.13–19; 2.21.8–11). The only thing of value was the practical progress in the direction of one's *aretē,* "virtue" (esp. *Diss.* 1.4: *peri prokopēs,* "concerning moral progress").

The contents of Epictetus' philosophy are formed of two central themes, treated in multiple variations: the relation of man to the exterior things and to God. Fundamental to the first topic is his classifying of the reality accessible to man as "up to us" on the one hand (this is the realm of good and evil) and "not up to us" on the other hand *(ta eph' hēmin - ta ouk eph' hēmin)* (*Diss.* 1.22.10). The only thing which is up to us is the inner attitude to the ideas conveyed by our sense organs, the *chrēsis tōn phantasiōn,* "acquaintance of the mind" (*Diss.* 1.1.7): "conception, choice, desire, aversion, and, in a word, everything that is our own doing" (*Ench.* 1.1). Richness, fame, health, etc., however, are exterior and indifferent to man. Epictetus does not join the Stoics in their distinction within the "indifferent things," the *adiaphora,* between the natural and the unnatural ones: in his eyes there is only the one *diairesis,* "distinction," "reckoning," "classification" as one's own things or strange things (*Diss.* 2.6.24; 19.15.17); and happiness depends on the self-restriction to the former (*Fr.* 4; *Diss.* 1.1; 4.1; and often). Liberty consists in "desiring each thing exactly the way it happens. And how do they happen? As he that ordains them has ordained" (*Diss* 1.12.15; cf. 4.1.98–99; and often). The man who has aligned his own will with the divine will in this way is free from any determination by others and at the same time acknowledges the providence of God,

who has arranged and guides everything perfectly (*Diss.* 1.6; 16). Every destiny is destined by God (who bears nearly personal traits) and therefore man may, but also has to accept it trustfully (*Diss.* 2.16.42). This includes fulfilling one's duties to the fellow beings (*Diss.* 2.10). Not least because of their "diatribe" style the *Dissertations* are still today a most fascinating piece of literature.

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**EPICUREANISM.** A philosophical movement founded by Epicurus (341–270 B.C.). Born at Samos, Epicurus established a school of philosophy called "the Garden" (Gk *kepos*) in Athens after he settled there in 307–306 B.C. Only a few of his many writings have survived. We have three complete letters: *Letter to Herodotus,* a summary of his physics; *Letter to Pythocles,* a summary of astronomical and meteorological teachings; and *Letter to Menoeceus,* an introduction to his ethics. We also have a collection of sayings called *Kyriai Doxai (Authoritative Opinions),* another collection called "Vatican Sayings," and some fragmentary papyri; the most important papyri are the remains of his 37 books *On Nature.*

Epicurus' physical doctrines are the basis of his ethics. His physics is greatly indebted to Leucippus and Democritus, the founders of atomism in the 5th century B.C. Epicurus held that physical doctrines deal with things that cannot be perceived by the senses. These hidden things, he maintained, must be discovered by the faculty of reason, using as evidence the information provided by the senses. The universe is composed of empty space (void) and subperceptible bodies, atoms, which are indivisible and cannot change in any way. The atoms have only three properties, shape, size, and weight; they have numerous types of shape but no color, taste, or other perceptible properties. There is an infinite number of atoms, moving in an infinite void.

The atoms move extremely rapidly and collide frequently. By getting entangled with one another, they form complexes of various sizes. The largest type of complex is an entire world system. It is formed when a vast number of atoms come together and the heavier atoms gather in the center to form the earth, whereas the lighter atoms are squeezed out toward the periphery. This gathering and sorting of atoms may be described as a "chance" happening, since it is the spontaneous and necessary result of infinite atoms forming infinite combinations throughout an infinite time. There is an infinite number of worlds in the

universe, and worlds are continually being created and destroyed. Nothing is everlasting except the universe as a whole, the atoms in it, and the gods.

Epicurus thought that it is self-evident that there are gods. But since the universe consists of atoms and void and nothing else, the gods are nothing but complexes of atoms. They live outside any particular world system in the spaces that separate one world from another. Most important, the gods never intervene in the affairs of any world. They do not create or destroy worlds, and they have no concern whatsoever for human beings or anything else in the world. They do not punish or reward human beings. This doctrine is summed up in the most famous of Epicurus' sayings, "What is blessed and indestructible neither has trouble itself nor gives trouble to others, so that it is not subject to anger or favor; for all this sort of thing lies in weakness (*KD* 1)." The gods lead a perfectly happy life remote from the world, serving as models of happiness for human beings.

By his physics Epicurus hoped to free humans of their fear of the gods. He also hoped to free humans of their fear of death. The human being, he held, is composed of body atoms and soul atoms; and when a person dies, the soul is destroyed along with the body. There is no afterlife; hence "death is nothing to us" (*KD* 2). Freed of these fears, humans can devote themselves to the pursuit of their natural goal, pleasure. Epicurus held that the supreme good is pleasure, but his hedonism is modified by two considerations. First, he believed that the greatest pleasure is the absence of pain (*KD* 3). Second, he held that one must calculate pleasures carefully, so as to forgo some immediate pleasures for the sake of a maximum of pleasure. The source of all pleasures is a person's body; mental pleasures exist only insofar as they are thoughts about the condition of the body. It is not difficult to achieve a pleasant life since acute pains are of short duration and long-lasting pains admit of a preponderance of pleasure over pain (*KD* 4).

These first four *Kuriai Doxai* form the *tetrapharmakos*, Epicurus' fourfold remedy for leading a happy life. This remedy is the basis of Epicurus' ethics. It follows that justice, wisdom, and other traditionally recognized virtues are desirable only as a means to living a pleasant life (*KD* 5). Political life is to be shunned. The best life is a quiet life, among friends, devoted to the satisfaction of simple desires.

Epicurus' primary aim was to make people happy. To this end he directed his teachings at both the educated and the uneducated. His writings, which range from highly technical works to simple maxims, reflect this broad humanitarian concern. His followers gathered in groups to memorize and study his writings. After his death they celebrated his birthday each year. They regarded Epicurus as a savior who was more beneficent than any god was alleged to be. There was a tendency to accept Epicurus' doctrines as infallible; but there was also considerable dialogue with other philosophical schools, especially in the 2d century B.C. We know of this activity primarily through Philodemus and Cicero in the first century B.C. The best known follower of Epicurus is the Roman Lucretius (ca. 99–55 B.C.), who endeavored to convert the Romans to Epicureanism. He wrote a magnificent poem, *On the Nature of Things*, in which he set out in detail Epicurus' physics and extolled its ethical value.

Although Epicureanism enjoyed its greatest influence in the three centuries before Christ, it continued to have social and intellectual importance for some centuries afterward. The Epicureans continued to be denounced for denying providence and for making pleasure the goal of life. Because they rejected the influence of the gods in the world, they were often erroneously accused of being atheists. They were also denounced for denying the immortality of the soul and, in general, for being uneducated boors. But occasionally, even staunch opponents lauded Epicurus for the simplicity of his life, his courage in confronting a painful death, and his devotion to others. The Stoic Seneca, in particular, recognized ethical nobility in Epicureanism. The Epicureans seem to have gained a new vitality in the latter part of the 2d century (Lucian *Alexander* 61). Evidence of proselytizing activity is a long inscription of Epicurean doctrines put up by Diogenes (2d or 3d century) in the town of Oenoanda in Lycia, Asia Minor.

In Judaism there are traces of anti-Epicurean polemic in rabbinic literature (Bastomsky 1973; Fischel 1973). It is likely that Epicureanism had an influence on Wisdom (Reese 1970: 16, 65–66, 111–12). Philo opposed Epicurus' hedonism and denial of providence (Usener 1887). Josephus (*Ant* 10, §277–81) denounced the Epicureans for "throwing out providence" and "saying that the world moves spontaneously without a guide and administrator" (Unnik 1973). In Christian literature the Epicureans appear as

opponents of Paul (Acts 17:18). Generally, Christian writers are hostile to the Epicureans, although there are a few positive evaluations (Schmid *RAC* 5: 780–811). The similarities between early Christians and Epicureans were overestimated by De Witt (1954). There are common features, however, notably the rejection of divination and fatalism (Simpson 1941) and the instructional use of moral sayings (Betz 1985: 11–15).

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**EPIGRAPHY, TRANSJORDANIAN.** Transjordanian epigraphy was born in 1868 when a French missionary, Rev. Klein, found the famous Mesha stele at Dhiban (biblical Dibon). The inscription engraved on this stele is still the longest and the most important inscription ever found E of the Jordan. Ammonite, Moabite, and Edomite inscriptions were also discovered in controlled excavations, especially after World War II. The publication of many new seals and a careful analysis of their script and iconography, initiated by N. Avigad, permitted clear distinctions between the Ammonite, Moabite, and Edomite seals or seal impressions, the ductus of which are different from the Hebrew, Phoenician, and Aramaic seals.

Ammonite, Moabite, and Edomite epigraphy do not cover the whole field of Transjordanian epigraphy, either chronologically or geographically. These languages are represented in linear alphabetic inscriptions from the 10th century until about 500 B.C. The corpus under consideration thus does not include either the Deir ʿAlla tablets (Lemaire 1981: 98) or the Baluʿa stele (Drioton 1933; Ward and Martin 1964–65) (both of them still undeciphered and probably to be dated at the beginning of the 12th century B.C.). The Aramaic inscriptions from the Persian period and later (e.g., Ibrahim and van der Kooij 1983: 581; Milik 1958–59; 331–42) are not included here (see ARAMAIC SCRIPT), nor are the N Arabic inscriptions (mainly Thamudic and Safaitic; see INSCRIPTIONS, SAFAITIC).

Also excluded are Aram inscriptions from N Transjordan from the 9–6th century B.C., especially a few small incised inscriptions and the famous inscriptions on plaster found at Deir ʿAlla (Hoftijzer and van der Kooij 1976). The language of these last inscriptions is still a matter of dispute; there have been attempts to relate the language to Midianite, Ammonite, Gileadite, and Aramaic (e.g., Hackett 1984b, 1986, 1988; *BibAT*, 313–70; Puech 1987). According to this last attribution (Lemaire 1987a, 1988a; cf. Garr 1985; Kaufman 1988) the "*Book/text of Balaam son of Beor*, the seer of the gods" could be the oldest example of a literary Aramaic dialect of N Transjordan (Lemaire 1985; see DEIR ALLA [TEXTS]).

The Edomite kingdom, however, occupied not only part of S Transjordan, but also part of S Cisjordan from at least 734 B.C. (the capture of Elat by the king of Edom [2 Kgs 16:6; the reading "Edom" is to be preferred to MT's "Aram"]). Edomites occupied the Negeb in 597 B.C. and the S part of the Shephelah and the Judean mountains in 587 B.C. Edomite inscriptions can be found in Cisjordan as far N as a line from Lachish to Hebron and En-gedi.

Transjordanian paleography is not yet so well known as paleo-Hebrew epigraphy. However, it is possible to distinguish several features which show that separate script traditions arose for Ammon,

Moab, and Edom late in the Iron II period (Herr 1980; van der Kooij 1987). The linguistic features of Ammonite, Moabite, and Edomite show them to be Canaanite dialects closely related to Hebrew and Phoenician.

**A. Ammonite Inscriptions**

The identification and study of Ammonite epigraphy started about 1950 with the discovery of a few fragmentary inscriptions and the study of the characteristics of Ammonite seals (Avigad 1952). Today we can list the Amman citadel inscription, the Tell Siran inscription, the Heshbon, Tell el-Mazar, Deir ʿAlla, and Nimrud ostraca, a few fragmentary incised inscriptions, and about one hundred seals. To these texts in Ammonite script and language we may add a few Aram inscriptions containing Ammonite names.

**1. Amman Citadel Inscription.** This fragmentary stone slab (26 × 19.4 cm) was discovered in 1961 in the excavations of the SW crest of the Amman citadel in an Iron Age level. Now in the Archaeological Museum in Amman (J 9000), this inscription contains fragments of eight lines incised in limestone. The paleographic dating can only be approximate: from mid-9th century (Cross 1969a) to early 8th century B.C. (Horn 1967–68: 83; 1969: 8).

Because of the fragmentary state of this inscription, the reading of some letters is doubtful and the general interpretation unsettled. However, this inscription is probably a kind of building inscription, perhaps a royal inscription recording Milkom's oracle of "building instruction" for new defenses in case of a siege (diverted entrance, doors, ditches, or cisterns … ) so that the country will be in security and peace.

**2. Tell Siran Inscription.** This inscription was discovered in 1972 in the excavations at Tell Siran (University campus), about 10 km NW of Amman. It is incised around a 10-cm-long bronze bottle which contained wheat and barley grains (Helbaeck 1974; Thompson 1983). Because the bottle was not found in a stratified context, the inscription's paleographic and historical dating can only be approximated in the late 7th century B.C. The text is complete and the reading certain:

1. "Deeds of Amminadab king of the Ammonites
2. son of Hizzilel king of the Ammonites,
3. son of Amminadab king of the Ammonites:
4. the vineyard and the garden (s?) and the *canal*
5. and the reservoir (s?).
6. May he rejoice and be glad

7–8. for many days and long years."

This inscription on a votive object records the foundation of a "garden of pleasure," a literary motive well known in Hebrew (Cant 4:12–15; 6:2.11; Qoh 2:4–6) and in Assyrian inscriptions.

**3. Heshbon Ostraca.** Several Ammonite ostraca, first published by F. M. Cross (1973b, 1975, 1976), were discovered in the Tell Heshban excavations (probably biblical Heshbon).

Ostracon 1 is a list of names: "Son of *Laha[y?];*" "ʿUzzîa (or ʿUzzîe[*l*]," "Son of *Rabe[l?]*," "Son of Psammî," "Nanaydan." It is probably to be dated ca. 525 B.C. Ostracon 2, probably also a list of names, though badly preserved, is of the same date.

Ostracon 4 seems earlier and could be dated ca. 600 B.C. It is a list of names connected with various items: small cattle, gum (?), silver, wine, hay (?), cakes (?) and cattle (?) Ostracon 11 (7th century B.C.) is fragmentary; it could mention small cattle and beasts of burden.

The ostracon most recently published by Cross (1986; Jackson 1983: 53–54), is likewise a list of names: "Elram son of *Hô[sha]l,* "Azarel son of […]," "Elazar son of Malakel," "*NQR* son of Elûr," "Elnadab (son of) Baraq …"

**4. Tell el-Mazar and Deir ʿAlla Ostraca.** Several ostraca dating from the 7th to 5th century B.C. have been found during the Deir ʿAlla (Ibrahim and van der Kooij 1983: 581) and Tell el-Mazar excavations: they are Ammonite or Aramaic. One of them, published by K. Yassine and J. Teixidor (1986; Yassine 1988) is a message with formulas close to those found in Phoenician, Hebrew, and Edomite epistolography:

" (Thus) said Palat: say to his brother to Abd*â*: are you well? And now …"

**5. Nimrud Ostracon.** Found in the Nimrud excavations in 1957, this ostracon (registered as ND 6231) carries a list of names written in columns on both its sides. Some of the names were identified as Transjordanian by P. Bordreuil (1979) and the whole list as Ammonite by J. Naveh (1980):

*Recto:* Column I. " (1) […] son of Anael, (2) Hananel son of Anael, (3) Manahem son of B*eya*del, (4) Shabel son of Uzzel, (5) Hananel son of Hazael, (6) GN' son of Menahem.

Column II. (1) Elnur son of Me (na)hem, (2) Elnur son of *Padi*el, (3) Zakarel son of Zinnor, (4) Nadabel son of Hannun."

*Verso:* " (1) Menahem son of Elyasha, (2) Elnur son of Mikael, (3) Ayanadab son of Haggay, (4) Eltamak (the launderer), (5) Akbar *s[on of E]l*natan."

Ostracon ND 6231 was probably found in the last Neo-Assyrian level of Fort Salmanasar. According to M. E. L. Mallowan (1966: 407) it could be "a list of foreign workmen employed by the Arsenal in the 7th century B.C." However the paleographic date of this ostracon is disputed and seems rather ca. 700 B.C.

**6. Short of Fragmentary Incised Inscriptions.** The Amman theater inscription, a triangular stone fragment, was discovered in 1961 in the course of excavations at the Roman Theater at Amman (Dajani 1967–68); it contains remains of two incised lines and is probably to be dated in the late 7th century B.C.

Three incised sherds from the Amman citadel, an incised sherd from Heshbon, an incised bronze cup from Umm Udheinah (Zayadine and Bordreuil 1986), and a still unpublished Deir ʿAlla sherd give the (fragmentary) names of the owners of the vessels.

Eight isolated letters were incised on the backs of the eyes of double-faced heads found in the Amman citadel (Zayadine 1973: 33–35; Bordreuil 1973b); they are to be dated in the late 8th or early 7th century B.C.

**7. Ammonite Seals.** Since the discovery of a few Ammonite seals in the Adoninur tomb (Driver 1953) and the first identifications of seals of unknown origin as Ammonite by Avigad (1952), the corpus of Ammonite seals identified as such by place of origin, paleography, onomastics, and iconography has continued to grow. The identification of seals as Ammonite according to these criteria can now be considered reliable, although the paleographic dating is still approximate. Several varieties of seals can be distinguished:

- 5 seals of "servants" (of a king): "Adonipelet servant of Amminadab" (ca. 667), "Adoninur servant of Amminadab" (ca. 667), "Beyadel servant of Padiel" (ca. 701), "Menahem son of Samak servant of (the) king" (ca. 700–650), "Milkomûr servant of Baalyasha" (ca. 587).
- 5 seals of various officers: "Abdâ steward *(nʿr)* of Elram" (7th century), "Battush steward of Barakel" (6th century?), "Hatay scribe of Adonur" (7th century), "Shôher the standard-bearer" (late 7th century), "Nazarel the gold/silversmith" (7th century).
- 2 seals of wives: "Alyah (maid)servant *(ʾmt)* of Hananel" (ca. 700–650), "Anamût (maid)servant of DBLBS" (ca. 700–650).
- 6 seals of women with a patronym: "Abyehay daughter of Yenahem" (ca. 700), "Elsagab daughter of Elshama" (ca. 700–650), "Biqeshat daughter of Abdyarah" (ca. 700–650), "Ala daughter of Amar" (ca. 700–650), "Abyehay daughter of Uzziyâ (ca. 600).
- 64 seals of men with a patronym.
- 27 seals with only one name.
- Several seals with various religious formulas: "[*To X son of*] Abnadab who made a vow to Asta (rte) in Sidon. May she bless him!" (late 7th century); "Seal of Mannuki-Inurta *blessed* by Milkom" (ca. 700–650).
- About 10 seals with partial abecedaries. The first four, five, eight, ten, or eleven letters of the alphabet are found. These seals were probably engravers' exercises.

From all these inscriptions, the Ammonite onomasticon is becoming better known (Jackson *WLSGF*, 507–21; O'Connor 1987). The god Milkom was the national god of Ammon, and is mentioned in blessing formulas, but does not figure in the onomasticon. El is the divine name used in many Ammonite personal names.

Ammonite script appears to be a branch of Aramaic script with certain local peculiarities, such as the square *ʿayin*, the flag-shaped *he*, the oval angular *ṭet* with one horizontal stroke, and the *kap* with triangular head. Most of the letters tend to be upright in stance, a feature also found in Phoenician and Aramaic writing. As in Aramaic, the heads of the letters with closed curves (*b, d, ʿ, r*) are no longer closed in examples datable to the end of the 7th century. The 6th-century Ammonite script so much resembles Aramaic script that in several cases only the language (e.g., Ammonite *bn* instead of Aram *br*) is a clear indication of a text's Ammonite origin.

The influence of Aramaic on the Ammonite culture is further attested by the sporadic use of Aramaic in inscriptions written by Ammonites. This seems the case with the Amman statue inscription (ca. 700 B.C.), which reads:

"*[I],mage* (or *[S]tatue)* of Yarahazar *[son of Za]kkur* son of Shani*p*."

This is probably the statue of a grandson of the Ammonite king Shanipu mentioned in the Annals of Tiglath-pileser III. The use of Aramaic by Ammonites seems also to be attested by a Neo-Babylonian seal (ca. 600) to be read: "To Tamakel son *(br)* of Milkom." After the fall of the Ammonite kingdom (582 B.C.), the Ammonites seem to have used Aramaic script and language with increasing frequency. So far, we have no evidence of the use of the Ammonite language after ca. 500 B.C.

**B. Moabite Inscriptions**

Since 1868 Moabite epigraphy has been dominated by the Mesha stele. However, other small inscriptions and several inscribed seals recently identified as Moabite have expanded understanding of Moabite epigraphy.

**1. Mesha Stele.** This famous stele, discovered in 1868 at Dhiban, was later broken by bedouin. C. Clermont-Ganneau succeeded in sending most of the pieces to the Louvre in Paris, where it was almost entirely reconstructed from a squeeze taken before the stone had been broken (Horn *WLSGF*, 497–505; see also MESHA STELE). The stele is a royal inscription of Mesha, king of Moab, glorifying the king and his accomplishments in the two fields of warfare and construction. This inscription seems to have been written towards the end of Mesha's long and successful reign: not only has the house of Omri been destroyed (by Jehu in 841), but also Israel itself has been annihilated (under Jehoahaz's reign [2 Kgs 13:3–7]); this latter political situation corresponds probably to ca. 815–810 (cf. 2 Kgs 13:20).

**2. Fragmentary Inscriptions.** Several small fragmentary inscriptions have been found in Dhiban (perhaps mentioning the "temple of Che[mosh]"), in Kerak (with the name of the father of Mesha: "Chemoshyat"), and in Balu'a (Zayadine 1986).

**3. Moabite Seals.** More than 30 seals can be identified as Moabite on the basis of their origin, paleography, onomastics, and iconography. The most important ones include a title: "To Chemosham (son of) Chemoshel the scribe," "Amoz the scribe," "To Paltî son of Maosh the herald *(mzkr)*," "To Menasseh son of the king." Several of the names include the theophorous element "Chemosh": "Chemoshmaosh," "Chemoshdan," "Chemoshzadaq," "Chemoshyahay," "Chemoshnatan." Most of the Moabite seals employ only one name.

Moabite script was close to Hebrew during the 9th and the beginning of the 8th century B.C., but at the end of the 8th and during the 7th century the ductus of Moabite underwent original development. The tails of letters became more curved, leaned to the left, and shortened, giving letters with descenders a squat shape; *mem* and *nun* developed large heads; and there developed a *ḥet* with the two vertical bars in the opposite direction. Later on, probably towards the beginning of the 6th century B.C., this script was influenced by Aramaic writing. Aramaic influence is perceptible especially in the *šin* executed in three strokes and in the open *ʿayin.*

No Moabite inscription currently known seems to be later than the 6th century B.C., but we know from an Aramaic inscription published by J. T. Milik (1958–59) that the cult of Chemosh was still attested in Moab in the late 4th–early 3d century B.C.

**C. Edomite Inscriptions**

The study of Edomite epigraphy is just beginning. Identification of inscriptions as Edomite is still largely conjectural.

**1. Tell el-Kheleifeh Ostracon.** The first Edomite ostracon was discovered at Tell el-Kheleifeh (no. 6043) and identified as Edomite by Naveh (1966: 28–30). The text is a list of ten names, the readings of which are sometimes uncertain: "Rael," "Bodqô[s]," "Shalem," "Qôsb[anah]," "Pagaqôs." Paleographically this ostracon is to be dated ca. 600 B.C.

**2. Umm el-Biyara Ostracon.** Discovered in Umm el-Biyara (Milik 1966), this ostracon contains the beginning of three lines difficult to read and approximately to be dated in the 7th century B.C.

**3. Horvat ʿUzza Ostracon.** Discovered in Khirbet/Horvat ʿUzza (a site in the Negeb) in a ca. 600 B.C. archaeological context, this ostracon is part of a letter:

" (Thus) said *Lumalak:* say to *Blbl.* Are you well? I bless you by Qôs.

And now, give the food …"

**4. Fragmentary Inscriptions.** An Edomite graffito was found on a small jar at Tell el-Kheleifeh; several fragmentary inscriptions come from Buseirah (Puech 1977); and at least two fragmentary inscriptions containing the DN Qôs have been found in the Edomite shrine of Qitmit in the Negeb (Beit-Arieh and Beck 1987). A small bronze weight inscribed *ḥmšt* (45, 35g) from Petra is difficult to classify: it may be Aramaic, Ammonite, or Edomite (Pilcher 1922; Bron and Lemaire 1983).

Other probable Edomite (or Aramaic?) ostraca have been found in the S Negeb: in Tell Aroer (Biran and Cohen 1982; Naveh 1985), and in Tell Malhata (Kochavi 1972).

**5. Lachish Inscription (?).** A small cuboid limestone incense altar found in Lachish is inscribed on one side; the script is Aramaic (end of 6th or beginning of the 5th century B.C.); but the language is probably Edomite or N Arabic: "Incense altar of Iyâsh son of Mahlay the *king*." After 587, the Edomites occupied S Judah and were later (after ca. 552) probably absorbed and controlled by the Arab confederation of Qedar. Accordingly *Iyâsh* could be either an Edomite prince keeping the title "king" within this confederation, or an Arabic king of Qedar (Milik 1958–59: 334, n. 4; Cross 1969b: 23; Lemaire 1974; 1988b).

**6. Khirbet el-Kôm Ostraca?** The relationship of the Khirbet el-Kôm ostraca to Edomite epigraphy has been disputed. If the categorization of the Semitic text as Edomite is sustained, the ostraca attest to the use of the Edomite language in Idumea in the early 3d century B.C. See KOM, KHIRBET EL- (OSTRACA).

**7. Edomite Seals.** About ten seals can be identified as Edomite. One, an early 7th century bulla with the inscription "To Qôsga[bar king of E]dom," is especially precious; the king Qôsgabar is mentioned in Sennacherib's annals (*LAR* 2 876 [667 B.C.]) together with Musuri, king of Moab, and Amminadbi, king of Beth-ammon.

Seven seal impressions on jars found at Tell el-Kheleifeh give us the name of a minister of the Edomite king: "Qôsanal servant of the king" (late 7th century?). A bulla with the same title was found at Buseirah.

Paleographically, the Edomite script seems to have been very close to Moabite and probably influenced by the Aramaic and Phoenician scripts from the 7th century on. However, Edomite script is the least attested of the Transjordanian scripts, making its typology difficult to describe. One feature of the ductus appears to be unique to Edomite: in most of the inscriptions from the 7th or early 6th century B.C., *dalet* is written with the tail pointing upwards, presumably to prevent confusion with *reš.*

Edomite names with the theoporic element "Qôs" appear, starting about the late 6th century, in cuneiform inscriptions (Dalley 1984; Joannes 1987), in Aramaic ostraca from Beersheba (Naveh 1979b) and Arad (Naveh 1981), and in Gk inscriptions (Milik 1958; 1960: 95–96; Israel 1979a) mainly from Marissa (Peters and Thiersch 1905; Oren and Rappaport 1984).

Transjordanian Inscriptions

| INSCRIPTION | DATES | BIBLIOGRAPHY |
|---|---|---|
| *Ammonite* | | |
| Amman Citadel | mid-9th/early 8th cent.? | Horn *ADAJ* 1967–68; Cross 1969a; Albright *BASOR* 198 (1970): 38–40; Kutscher *Qadmoniot* 5/1 (1972): 27–28; Puech and Rofé *RB* 80 (1973): 531–46; Dion *RB* 82 (1975): 24–33; Van Selms *BiOr* 32 (1975): 5–8; |

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| | | Fulco *BASSOR* 230 (1978): 39–43; sasson *PEQ* 111 (1979): 117–25; Shea *PEQ* 111 (1979): 17–25; *PEQ* 113 (1981): 105–10; Jackson 1983 |
| Tell Siran | late 7th cent. | Thompson *ADAJ* 18 (1973): 5–13; *AJBA* 2 (1974–75): 125–36; Thompson 1883; Thompson and Zayadine *BASOR* 212 (1973): 5–15; *BA* 81 (1974): 80–85; *RB* 81 (1974): 80–85; Zayadine and Thompson *Berytus* 22 (1973): 115–40; Dion *RB* 82 (1975): 24–33; Krahmalkov *BASOR* 223 (1976): 55–57; Loretz *UF* 9 (1977): 196–71; Shea *PEQ* (1978): 107–12; Coote *BASOR* 240 (1980): 93; Isreal *BeO* 22 (1980): 283–87; Baldacci *VT* 31 (1881): 363–68; Becking *BiOr* 38 (1981): 273–76; Emerton |
| Heshbon | 6th cent. | Cross *AUSS* 7 (1969): 223–29; *AUSS* 11 (1973): 126–31; *AUSS* 13 (1975): 1–20; *AUSS* 14 (1976): 145–48; Cross 1986; Shea *AUSS* 15 (1977): 217–22; Geraty *AFO* 27 (1980): 251–54; Jackson 1983 |
| Tell el-Mazar, Deir ʿAlla | 7th/6th cent. | Ibrahim and Van der kooji 1983; Yassine and Teixidor 1986; Yassine 1988: 137–55 |
| Nimrud | ca. 700 B.C. | Segal *Iraq* 19 (1957): 139–45; Albright *BASOR* 149 (1958): 33–36; Segert *Asian and African Studies* 1 (1965): 147–51; Garbini *AION* 27 (1967): 94–95; Bordreuil *RHPR* 59 (1979): 313–17; Naveh 1980; Jackson 1983 |
| short incisions | 8th/7th cent. | Dajani 1967–68; Oded *RSO* 44 (1969): 187–89; Bordreuil 1973a; Zayadine 1973; Fulco *JNES* 38 (1979): 37–38; Jackson 1983; Zayadine and Bordreuil 1986 |
| seals | 8th–6th cent. | Avigad 1952l *Sepher Tur Sinai* (1960): 319–24; *BIES* 25 (1961): 239–44; *IEF* 14 (1964): 190–94; *IEF* 15 (1965): 222–28; *EI* 9 (1969): 1–9; Avigad *EI* 13 (1977): 108–10; *BASOR* 225 (1977): 63–69; *IEF* 35 (1985): 1–7; Driver 1953; Hammond *BASOR* 160 (1960): 38–41; Martin *RSO* 39 (1964): 203–10; Tadmor *IEF* 15 (1965): 233–34; Garbini *AION* 27 (1967): 251–57; *AION* 28 (1968): 453–54; *JSS* 19 (1974): 159–68; Naveh and Tadmor *AION* 28 (1968): 448–52; Horn *BASOR* 205 (1972): 43–45; Bordreuil *Syr* 50 (1973): 181–95; Bordreuil 1986, 1987; Cross *CBQ* 36 (1974): 486–94; Dion *RB* 82 (1975): 24–33; Bordreuil and lemaire *Sem* 26 (1976): 55–63; *JA* 265 (1977): 17–19; Bordreuil and Lemaire 1979; Heltzer *UF* 8 (1976): 441–42; no. 131 in *The Elie Borowski Collection*, ed. R. Mehav, Tel Aviv, 1987; Puech *RB* 83 (1976): 59–62; Israel *BeO* 19 (1977): 167–70; *OLP* 10 (1979): 143–59; Herr 1978; Abbadi *ZDPV* 95 (1979): 36–38; Hestrin and Dayagi-Mendels 1979; Yassine and Bordreuil 1982; Bordreuil and Gubel *Syr* 60 (1883): 335–41; Jackson 1983; Knauf *BN* 25 (1984): 22–26; Lemaire *Syr* 61 (1984): 255–56; *CRAIBL* (1985): 270–85; *EI* 18 (1985): 29–32; *Syr* 62 (1985): 41–47; *Syr* 63 (1986): 305–25; Lemaire 1987b; *VT* 38 (1988): 220–30; Tushingham 1985; Zuckerman 1987; O'cannor 1987; Israel Syr 64 (1987): 141–46; Millard 1988; Yassine 1988: 137–55 |
| *Moabite* | | |
| Mesha stele | ca. 815–810 B.C. | Clermont-Ganneau 1870; Cooke 1903; Sidersky 1920; Albright in *ANET*, 320–21; Murphy *CBQ* 15 (1953): 409–17; Michaud *VT* 8 (1958): 302–4; *Sur la pierre et l'argile,* Neuchâtel, 1958, pp. 29–45; Bernhardt *ZDPV* 76 (1960): 136–58; Van Zyl 1960; Kuschke *ZDPV* 77 (1961): 24–31; ZDPV 78 (1962): 139–40; *PEQ* 99 (1967): 104–5; Segert *ArOr* 29 (1961): 197–267; Schwantes *AUSS* 3 (1965): 158–66; Wallis *ZDPV* 81 (1965): 180–86; Anderson *Or* 35 (1966): 81–120; *KAI* 181; Schottroff *ZDPV* 82 (1966): |

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| | | 163–208; Liver *PEQ* 99 (1967): 14–31; P. D. Miller Or 38 (1969): 461–64; Bonder JANES 3 (1970–71): 82–88; *TSSI* 1: 71–84; Lipinski *Or* 40 (1970): 325–40; *OLP* 8 (1977): 81–117; Lipinski 1978; M. Miller *PEQ* 106 (1974): 9–18; Reviv 1975; Auffret *UF* 12 (1980): 109–24; Blau *Maarav* 2 (1980): 143–57; Timm *ZDPV* 96 (1980): 23–27; Timm 1982; Jaroš 1981; Horn *WLSGF*, 497–505; Demsky *Shnaton* 7–8 (1883–84): 255–57; Beeston *JRAS* (1985): 143–48; H. P. Müller *TAUT* 1/6: 646–50; Dahood 1986: 429–41; Knauf *BN* 31 (1986): 70–95; Lemaire *Syr* 64 (1987): 205–14; Smelik 1987 |
| Fragmentary inscriptions | late 9th–7th cent. | Murphy *BASOR* 125 (1952): 20–23; Winnett *BASOR* 125 (1952): 7–20; *AASOR 36/37* (1964): 6–10, 23; Reed and Winnett *BASOR* 172 (1963): 1–9; Braslavi *BIES* 28 (1964): 250–54; Freedman BASOR 175 (1964): 50–51; Schiffmann *ZAW* 77 (1965): 324–26; Tushingham AASOR 40 (1972): 5–26; Israel *Lateranum* 48 (1982): 106–9; Swiggers *AION* 42 (1982): 305–6, 521–25; Zayadine *Syr* 62 (1985): 155–58; *ADAJ* 30 (1986): 302–4; Smelik 1987 |
| seals | late 9th–early 6th cent. | Herr 1987; Lemaire *Sem* 33 (1983): 18–31; Bordreuil 1986; *AulaOr* 4 (1986): 119–20; Israel 1987a: 101–38; *SMSR* 53 (1987): 5–39; Millard 1988: 44–46 |
| *Edomite* | | |
| Tell el-Kheleifeh Ostracon | ca. 600 B.C. | Albright *BASOR* 71 (1938): 17–18; *BASOR* 82 (1941): 11–15; Glueck *BASOR* 71 (1938): 3–18; *BASOR* 79 (1940): 2–18; *BASOR* (1941): 3–11; pp. 225–42 in *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright,* ed. H. Goedicke, Baltimore, 1971; Naveh *BASOR* 183 (1966): 27–30; Israel *RBI* 27 (1979): 171–205 |
| Umm el-Biyara Ostracon | 7th cent. | Bennett *RB* 73 (1966): 372–403; Milik *RB* 73 (1966): 398–99; Israel *RBI* 27 (1979): 171–205 |
| Horbat ʿUzza Ostracon | ca. 600 B.C. | Beitz-Arieh and Cresson *TA* 12 (1985): 96–101; Beit-Arieh *Qad* 19 (1986): 31–40; Israel RBI 35 (1987): 337–56; Zwickel BN 41 (1988): 36–40 |
| short or fragmentary inscriptions | late 8th–early 6th cent. | Pilcher 1922; Kochavi 1972; Bennett *Levant* 6 (1974): 1–24; *Levant* 7 (1975): 1–15; JSOTSup 24 (1983): 9–17; Puech Levant 9 (1977): 11–20; Israel 1979a; Biran and Cohen 1982; Bron and Lemaire 1983; Naveh 1985; Beit-Areih *Qad* 19 (1986): 72–79; Beit-Areih and Beck 1987 |
| Lachish | late 6th–early 5th cent. | Dupont-Sommer 1953; Milik 1958–59; Cross 1969b; Aharoni Leš 35 (1970): 3–6; Naveh *BASOR* 203 (1971): 27–32; Degen *Neue Ephemeris Fur Semitische Epigraphik* 1 (1972): 39–48; Albright 1974; Lemaire *RB* 81 (1974): 63–72; Lemaire 1988a; Israel 1979a |
| Khirbet el- Kôm | early 3d cent. | Geraty *BASOR* 220 (1975): 55–61; *AUSS* 19 (1981): 137–40; *WLSGF*, 545–48; Skaist *IEF* 28 (1978): 106–8; Israel 1979a; *RBI* 35 (1987): 337–56 |
| seals | late 8th–early 4th cent. | Diver *QDAP* 11 (1945): 81–82; Avigad *BASOR* 163 (1961): 18–22; Galling *ZDPV* 83 (1967): 131–34; Naveh *BASOR* 203 (1971): 27–32; *IOS* 9 (1979): 182–95; Lemaire *Levant* 7 (1975): 18–19; Biran and Cohen *IEJ* 26 (1976): 139–40; Herr 1978; Israel 1979a; Pratico BASOR 259 (1985): 1–32; Becking *UF* 18 (1986): 445–46; Israel *RBI* 35 (1987): 337–56 |

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**EPILEPSY.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**EPIPHANES** [Gk *epiphanes* (ἐπιφανες)]. An epithet or title assumed by various Eastern monarchs, it is in ordinary usage an adjective having such meanings as "evident," "conspicuous," "famous," "notable," "coming suddenly into view." Its common occurrence as a descriptive adjective modifying *theos,* "god," as well as, along with its cognate noun and verb, in descriptions of a manifestation of deity or of divine power, indicates that, even when used without *theos,* its full titular sense is "God Manifest."

The most notable, and apparently the first, to employ Epiphanes as a regal epithet were the Hellenistic kings PTOLEMY V of Egypt, who is so titled in the honorary decree of 196 B.C. that is recorded on the Rosetta Stone, and ANTIOCHUS IV of Syria, who ruled the Seleucid kingdom from 175 to 163 B.C. and is notorious in biblical history for his desecration of the temple at Jerusalem and his attempt to hellenize Judea (1 Maccabees 1–6; 2 Maccabees 4–10). Epiphanes was also frequently taken as a royal title by the

later Seleucids; and in Roman times we find it, for example, incorporated into the nomenclature of Antiochus Philopappus, the exile prince of Commagene in whose honor the Athenians erected in A.D. 114–116 the splendid monument the substantial remains of which are still in situ on the Hill of the Muses.

Official usage of *epiphanes* was not confined to regal titulature. In 48 B.C. the cities of the province of Asia set up an inscription at Ephesus in which they honored Julius Caesar as a *theos epiphanes,* and Eastern cities later made a practice of so honoring the Roman emperor and members of the imperial family. Hadrian's favorite, Antinous, is in fact described in such inscriptions by both *epiphanes* and its superlative, *epiphane-statos.*

In the NT, *epiphanes* occurs only at Acts 2:20, in the phrase "that … notable day of the Lord," quoted from the Septuagint (3:4) of Joel 2:31.

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**EPISTLES, APOCRYPHAL.** One of the literary genres of the writings commonly called "NT Apocrypha," along with apocryphal gospels, apocryphal acts, and several apocalypses. The Apocryphal Epistles appear to imitate the epistles in the canonical NT. However, the epistle form did not gain the popularity of other genres, and only a few letters are found among the apocryphal material (*NTApocr* 2: 90; and Enslin *IDB* 1, 166–69). Scholarly opinion as to the value and proper classification of the extant epistles varies greatly.

At one time the writings of the Apostolic Fathers were considered NT Apocrypha. Now there is general agreement that they constitute a separate category (Wilson *IDBSup* 34–36). Classification of the Apocryphal Epistles becomes even more difficult with the discovery of the Coptic gnostic library at Nag Hammadi. Several of these documents, such as the *Letter of Peter to Philip,* the *Apocryphon of James, Eugnostos the Blessed,* and the *Treatise On Resurrection,* are in epistolary form. Opinions vary as to whether the Nag Hammadi material should be included with NT Apocrypha, but the general consensus is that it should be classified separately (Wilson *IDBSup,* 35).

A fairly comprehensive list of Apocryphal Epistles includes: the *Epistle to the Laodiceans;* the series of 14 letters known as the *Epistles of Paul and Seneca;* the *Apocryphal Epistle of Titus;* the two short *Epistles of Christ and Abgarus* (Abgar); and the *Epistle of the Apostles.* Often a medieval document describing Jesus' physical appearance, known as the *Epistle of Lentulus,* is included among the Apocryphal Epistles. Several epistles are embedded in other writings. Thus *3 Corinthians* appears in the *Acts of Paul;* the *Epistle of Peter* is part of the *Kergymata Petrou;* and the *Epistle of Pontius Pilate to Claudius* is included in the *Acts of Peter and Paul.* English translations of these may be found in James (1924) and/or *NTApocr.*

Further, Schneemelcher (*NTApocr* 2: 91–93) calls attention to a few Apocryphal Epistles known only through references in other sources: Clement of Alexandria (*Prot.* 9.87.4) quotes from a *Letter of Paul to the Macedonians.* The Muratorian Canon mentions, by way of rejection, the *Letter of Paul to the Alexandrians.* A *Letter of Peter* may be mentioned in Opatus Milevis (*De schism. Donat.* 1.5), and a *Letter of John* is referred to in ps. Cyprian (*De Montibus Sina et Sion* c. 13).

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DANA ANDREW THOMASON

**EPISTLES, CATHOLIC.** This term designates the group of seven NT documents consisting of James, 1 and 2 Peter, 1, 2, and 3 John, and Jude.

Toward the end of the 2d century the term "catholic" was utilized to describe an individual epistle. The first known example of this usage is by Apollonius (d. ca. 184 C.E.), who stated that the Montanist heretic "Themiso … dared to compose a catholic epistle imitating the apostle" (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.18.5), but it is not clear to which NT letter or apostle he is referring. Clement of Alexandria (d. 215 C.E.) called the letter arising out of the deliberations of the Council of Jerusalem in Acts 15:22–29 a "catholic epistle" written by "all the apostles" (*Strom.* 4.15). Origen, writing in the first half of the 3d century C.E., used "catholic epistle" several times to identify 1 John (*Jo.* 1.22.137; 2.23.149; *or.* 22.2.14–5; etc.) as well as 1 Peter (*Jo.* 6.35.175; *sel. in Ps.* 12.1128.56; cf. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 6.25.5). Dionysius, a pupil of Origen and later bishop of Alexandria (d. ca. 265 C.E.), suggested that John, the author of Revelation, was not "the apostle, the son of Zebedee, the brother of James, who wrote the Gospel entitled 'according to John' and the catholic epistle." Though Dionysius knew of 2 and 3 John, he evidently distinguished them from the Catholic Epistle of 1 John (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 7.25.7, 10–11).

It should be noted, however, that the term "Catholic Epistle(s)" was also used to describe extracanonical letters. Eusebius describes a highly esteemed collection of letters by Dionysius, bishop of Corinth (written ca. 170 C.E.), as "catholic epistles which he drew up for the churches," but they were not considered in any sense to be Scripture (*Hist. Eccl.* 4.23.1, 12). The term was also used for documents which may have been considered authoritative by some but which were later excluded from the NT canon. For example, Origen identifies the *Epistle of Barnabas* by this term: "Now in the catholic epistle of Barnabas, from which perhaps Celsus took the statement that the apostles were notoriously wicked men, it is recorded that …" (*Cels.* 1.63).

This early usage of the term to identify certain letters probably arose out of the theological use of "catholic" to distinguish the universal Church from a local congregation (Ign. *Smyrn.* 8:2; *M. Poly.* inscr.; 8:1; 19:2; cf. Cyr. H. *catech.* 18.23). 1 Peter and 1 John, the letter from the Council of Jerusalem, as well as some of the letters of Diognetus, and the *Epistle of Barnabas* were all written to a wider, more general audience. Therefore the term was originally used to identify the encyclical character of a document rather than its canonical or authoritative status. Later, in a work attributed to Leontius of Byzantium (d. ca. 543 C.E.), the author identified seven Catholic Epistles, and explained that "they are called catholic because they were not written to one group, as those of Paul, but generally [ *katholou*] to everyone."

In the 4th century "Catholic Epistles" was used to identify the seven NT documents as a collection. After narrating the story of James, Eusebius (d. ca. 340 C.E.) explains that James is "the first of the epistles called 'catholic'. It is to be observed that its authenticity is denied, since few of the ancients quote it, as is also the case with Jude, which is itself one of the seven called 'catholic'; nevertheless, we know that these letters have been used publicly with the rest in most churches" (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.24–25; cf. 6.14.1). Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria (d. ca. 373 C.E.), lists the "seven epistles called catholic" in his NT canon (*Ep. fest.* 39.5; cf. *synops.* 28.292, 405; Epiph. *Haer.* 25.289; 31.251; 37.369; Gr. Naz. *Carm.* 474).

The use of "Catholic Epistles" to identify this collection of NT documents probably developed as a result of a number of factors. The other NT epistles had already been collected together and identified as "the epistles of Paul" (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.25.2; cf. 2 Pet 3:15–16). Certain of the non-Pauline epistles, notably 1 Peter and 1 John, had already been designated individually as "catholic," and the term could be used to describe the encyclical character of most of them (except perhaps 2 and 3 John, which are addressed to individuals; cf. comment above on Dionysius in Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 7.25.10–11). As part of the canonical process, the collective designation was a natural development. But it also suggests that the significance of the term shifted to indicate not only their encyclical character but also their authoritative or canonical status, though this status was still under debate for certain of these documents (cf. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.25.2–4). This shift is reflected in the Western Church's use of the term *epistolae canonicae* to identify these same NT documents (e.g., Cassiod. *Div. lect.* 100.8; Childs 1984: 494–95; Kümmel 1975: 497–503).

As a collection, the Catholic Epistles were not always listed or placed in the same location in the NT canon. After the Gospels, Acts, and the epistles of Paul, Eusebius lists 1 John and 1 Peter, then

Revelation, and then the "disputed books" of James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.25.2–3). Athanasius lists the Gospels and Acts and then places the seven Catholic Epistles before the epistles of Paul (*Ep. fest.* 39.5). This order is also found in several canon lists and mss. In fact, except for Codex Sinaiticus, all uncial mss which have both Paul's epistles and the Catholic Epistles place the Catholic Epistles first (Farmer and Farkasfalvy 1983: 7–48, cf. n. 2). Westcott and Hort attempted to restore this order because of its ancient attestation. However, the order still used today demonstrates the dominant influence of the canonical order found in Jerome's Vulgate (Zahn 1890: 376–83; Metzger 1987: 295–300).

As a term identifying this group of NT epistles, the traditional term continues to be a helpful designation. However, its use should not overshadow the specific and diverse situations faced by the different recipients, nor encourage neglect of the distinctive theology and ethical advice offered in each epistle.

On the character, contents, and canonical status of the individual epistles see their separate articles. See also CANON (NT).

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**EPITHETS, DIVINE.** See NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT.

**EPSILON.** The seventh letter of the Gk alphabet.

**ER** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿēr* (עֵר)]. **1.** The firstborn son of Judah and a Canaanite woman named Shua, who married Tamar, possibly also a Canaanite, and who died childless in Canaan when Yahweh slew him for an unnamed wickedness (Gen 38:3, 6, 7; 46:12; Num 26:12; 1 Chr 2:3). The nature of Er's wickedness is unknown, although Skinner (*Genesis* ICC, 451) posits that it was simply an untimely, premature death, and not a crime, which would have indicated Yahweh's displeasure, while Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 31) considers the reference unusual in light of the similar account regarding Onan and his sin, which may indicate haplography. On the origin of the Genesis 38 and 46 accounts see Skinner (pp. 449–50, 493) and Wilson (1977: 188–89). On possible origins of the Numbers account in Genesis 46 and the 1 Chronicles account in Genesis 38, see Budd (*Numbers* WBC, 286–88) and Braun (p. 30) respectively.

**2.** The son of Shelah, the son of Judah, and the father of Lecah (1 Chr 4:21). This Er is otherwise unknown, although Braun (p. 59) believes there is "nothing improbable in naming a child after his uncle" (see 1 above).

**3.** The father of Elmadam and son of Joshua according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:28). Manuscript D omits Er, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. The name Er is unknown in the direct line of Jesus in any other biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, although the name is found elsewhere in the Bible (see above; Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 501). Kuhn's (1923: 214–16) attempt to find in corrupted forms of names in 1 Chr 3:17–18 (MT) a source for Er as part of the group from Neri through Er is particularly unconvincing (even though it is endorsed by Schürmann *Luke* HTKNT, 201, n. 95); there is serious question whether the genealogy at this point is based on 1 Chronicles, which does not have Er in 3:17–18 MT or LXX (Marshall *Luke* NIGTC, 164; cf. Jeremias 1969: 295–96).

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**ER-BALA, DEIR.** See DEIR ER-BALAH (M.R. 088093).

**ERAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿērān* (עֵרָן)]. ERANITE. The son of Shuthelah and the grandson of Ephraim who is the eponymous ancestor of the Ephraimite *mišpāḥâ,* "protective association or clan," the Eranites (Num 26:36). Noth (*IPN,* 208) claims that the information in Num 26:36 about the *mišpāḥâ* of Shuthelah and its subgroup the Eranites was not originally part of the basic clan list used to fashion the census list of Num 26:5–51 but was added to show that a segment of the *mišpāḥâ* of Shuthelah became independent. Noth's position is supported by the absence of Eran from the enumeration of Ephraimites in 1 Chr 7:20–29. Since 1 Chr 7:20–29 is generally regarded as an expansion of Num 26:5–51, the Chronicler probably had a version of the clan list in Num 26:5–51 from which Eran was absent.

The name Eran may mean "protector," "watcher." The LXX, Syriac, and Samaritan Pentateuch read Edan instead of Eran; this variant seems to be an instance of the confusion of *dalet* with *reš* in the old Hebrew script. The name Edan means "joy," "delight" (Noth, 223) and would have been given by parents to express their feelings about the newborn child.

DALE F. LAUNDERVILLE

**ERASTUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Erastos* (Ἔραστος)]. Name of three persons in the NT.

**1.** One of Paul's helpers who, along with Timothy, had been with Paul in Ephesus during his third journey (Acts 19:22). When Paul decided to leave there for Macedonia and Achaia, he sent Erastus and Timothy on ahead.

**2.** A person said by the author of 2 Timothy to have "remained at Corinth" (4:20). This implies he had been traveling with Paul and that after reaching Corinth Erastus stayed while Paul went on. The mention of Erastus in this epistle indicates he was known to Timothy.

Erastus no. 1 and Erastus no. 2 are very likely the same person, since both are traveling companions of Paul, both are known to Timothy, and both may be connected with visits to Corinth. The link to Corinth raises the question of whether Erastus no. 3, the city treasurer of Corinth (Rom 16:23), might not also be identical to Erastus 1 and 2; but this is uncertain. As will be noted below, he might have been a city-owned slave and thus hardly would have had the freedom to travel with Paul.

**3.** This man is listed among those sending their greetings to the readers of Romans (Rom 16:23). Since Paul quite certainly wrote Romans 16 from Corinth, Erastus must have been living there. Paul describes him as *ho oikonomos tēs poleōs,* which the RSV renders as "the city treasurer."

Theissen has observed that Paul normally does not speak of the worldly status of a member of the Christian community in his letters; he is usually interested only in services given to the congregation, although he does at times allude to social, for example, slave, status (1982: 75–76). Acts, on the other hand, often supplies such information (e.g., that Aquila and Priscilla were tentmakers, Lydia was a seller of purple). Theissen concludes that the exceptional instance in Rom 16:23 where Erastus' worldly occupation is noted "probably indicates status *worth* mentioning, that is, relatively high status" (1982: 76). Yet others, notably Cadbury, have held that Erastus in his municipal office of *oikonomos* would most likely have been a city-owned slave with very humble financial duties (1931: 51).

These differing assessments reflect a complex and ongoing debate over what can be known about Erastus. At issue is precisely what his social status and functions would have been as an *oikonomos,* a term whose meaning varied in time and place; it could denote either a high city office to which the person was elected or a far less significant post in financial administration normally held by a municipal slave. Related to the discussion about Erastus' role, and taking into consideration that Corinth in the mid-1st century C.E. was a Roman colony and therefore under *Roman* municipal organization, is the question of what Latin term corresponded to the Greek-named office of *oikonomos.* The witness of the Latin Vulgate, which translated the term as *arcarius,* figures prominently but not always conclusively in attempts to resolve that query. No consensus can yet be observed in studies on these matters and the controversy has been complicated by the possible relevance of an archaeological find.

In 1929 an inscription was uncovered in Corinth which mentions an Erastus who had the Latin-named municipal office of *aedilis,* a function usually translated into Greek as *agoranomos.* The inscription, dated to the mid-1st century C.E., is on a long paving block of Acrocorinthian limestone found near the theater where a street from the NE enters a square. The seemingly incomplete text refers to an Erastus who had had the street paved at his own expense in return for his aedileship. Should this *aedilis* be identified with the Erastus of Rom 16:23, i.e., was the Christian Erastus, the *oikonomos/arcarius (?),* the same man as Erastus the *agoranomos (?)/aedilis?* At issue is the question of identity between an *oikonomos* and an *aedilis,* and, most importantly, in the face of the probable non-equivalence of those offices, the question of whether the same person might have held both successively, the rank of *aedilis* being the higher.

For those who argue the improbability of the Erastus of Rom 16:23 and the Erastus of the pavement being the same person, e.g., Cadbury (1931: 58), the inscription of course adds nothing to our knowledge of the NT Erastus. But for some others who think it likely that the Christian *oikonomos* either (1) was at the time Paul mentioned him, or (2) later became an *aedilis,* the stone is illuminating. For example, Murphy-O'Connor, reflecting the first slant, has commented that since the responsibilities of an *aedilis* included the management of public markets, "it is not impossible that Paul first met Erastus in the latter's official capacity—that is when paying rent or taxes on his work space, which explains why he would call Erastus 'the treasurer of the city' " (1984: 155). Taking the second nuance is Theissen, who theorizes that Erastus could have been the *oikonomos* in the year when Romans was written and later have risen higher in his public career to the position of *aedilis* (1982: 83). This author points out that to be chosen *aedilis* one would have to have been a Roman citizen. Thus in his view Erastus was apparently a successful man who had risen into the ranks of local notables.

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**ERECH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾerek* (אֶרֶךְ)]. The biblical form of the Sumerian city of Uruk (the present-day Warka) built near the Euphrates on the left bank and undoubtedly on a subsidiary branch of that river. The name is cited only once, in Gen 10:10, where it appears with Babel and Akkad as one of the capitals of the country of Shinar, that is, of Mesopotamia. This unique reference does not correspond at all to the real importance of that city, which played an outstanding role in the process which led to urbanization and to what later became, perhaps for the same reason, one of the great religious centers of Mesopotamia.

First visited in 1849 by William K. Loftus, who conducted an investigation there for three weeks, then again in 1902 by W. Andrae, it was not until 1912 that regular excavations were initiated by J. Jordan on behalf of the German Oriental Society. Interrupted in 1913, the work was not resumed until 1928. From then until 1977, under the direction of A. Nöldeke, E. Heinrich, H. Lenzen, and J. Schmidt, excavations were carried out intensively, except between 1939 and 1954 because of World War II. But since the 33d expedition in 1977, ground surveying and other complementary works seem to have taken precedence over the intensive research and excavation. This is regrettable, given the number of remaining problems the solution of which would require additional study of that site.

The site is one of the largest in Mesopotamia. An irregular city wall almost 10 km long enclosed an area of nearly 5 $km^2$ which extended more than 3 km from N to S and over almost the same distance from E to W. Three main tells dominated the center of the site: one of these was occupied by the ziggurat of Eanna, the second by the sacred sector of the god Anu, and the last by a large temple from the Seleucid era, called the *Südbau* by the excavators. Nevertheless, these three focal points of the city did not contain all of the most important monuments, since the palace of Sin-kašid, the temple of Gareus, and the palace of the Parthian era had their place in the area which extended between the central sanctuaries and the city wall, an area where the living quarters and perhaps the gardens were found.

According to the investigation carried out in the Eanna sector, the history of this city began early in the Ubaid period in the 5th millennium B.C., but nothing is known of its real importance, or of its characteristics at that time. It was around 3700/3600 B.C. that forms of a new culture appeared which scholars have called "Uruk culture." Until now this is the site which has yielded the most precise information on this phenomenon, and phases 4 to 6 show very clearly the high degree of sophistication attained by the young city. Phase 3, which corresponds to the so-called Jemdet Nasr era, (at the very beginning of the 3d millennium B.C.), shows certain changes in its nature, but no decline. The city seems to have played an important role during the first half of the 3d millennium since the Sumerian King List cites Uruk as the second city after the Flood to have exercised hegemony. Furthermore, the legendary traditions of Enmerkar, Lugalbanda, and Gilgamesh all take place in and around Uruk, also attesting to its fame and importance. It was only during the ED period that the natural dynamism of the first city of Sumer seems to have weakened, but it was still from that place that the first abortive attempt was made to establish an empire by Lugalzaggesi (about 2400 B.C.). It was also this city which was the first to react after the dark era of the Guteans and that, about 2200 B.C., signaled the Neo-Sumerian revival, of which Ur rapidly became the actual center. It was not to play an important historical role from that time on, but continued as an active cult center the sanctuaries of which were the object of particular care by the rulers of the 3d Dynasty of Ur, Babylon, and Assyria.

The ziggurat which stood at Eanna was built on older terraces by Ur-Nammu, and important works of maintenance and restoration were carried out by Hammurabi (18th century B.C.) and later by Sargon II of Assyria (8th century B.C.) In the Seleucid and Parthian eras the city experienced increased economic activity because of the exploitation of its palm groves. The temples of Anu and Antum, the *Südbau,* and the Gareus temple testify to this vitality. Nevertheless, it was actually its role in the origins of urban civilization that gave Uruk its importance. The efforts of German archaeologists have rightly focused on this period by studying two different and complementary work sites, the Eanna and the White temple.

It was at Eanna that the archaeologists defined the phases of the Uruk civilization and the antecedents of the Ubaid period. For the first time Mesopotamia saw the development of complex constructions of several architectural units founded on the association of two types: the first was a tripartite plan inherited from the Ubaid period but pushed to an unequal degree of perfection. It was made up of a large central room of rectangular shape with buildings along the sides. These individual units were built in numbers of two, three, or more, around open spaces or joined to terraces covered by porticoes which represented the second type of construction: a mosaic decoration of cones or a set of redans and of abutments which adorned the front walls or the large indoor rooms. The quality and extent of this architecture, its requirements in lumber, and its suggestion of pomp lead one to think that only a really widespread political or religious power could have accomplished this work. But other novelties that can be understood only in such a context also made their appearance: such were the first cylinder seals which showed the growing role of trade as well as the birth of writing which, initially in the form of pictographs, was progressively transformed into cuneiform writing during the ED period. Economic life was based on the exploitation of the land, undoubtedly in the form of large areas with important shares belonging to the ruling power. But the role of trade in the development of urbanism should not be underestimated; for wood, metal, bitumen, and certain qualities of stone were totally lacking in Sumer; and the rise of the city could not come about without a regular supply of these raw materials. The birth of cities is as much the consequence of the development of agriculture as it is of trade.

There remains a problem that is not yet totally solved. The German excavators, and those who followed them, considered the buildings unearthed in the Eanna precinct as religious in nature. Nevertheless, a strict analysis of the given findings does not make for absolute certainty. Therefore that sector could also be interpreted as the political power center the religious function of which, while generally accepted, is certainly not certain.

On the other hand, the other major section of the city occupied by the White temple is certainly of a religious nature. The building itself clearly appears as a temple of the tripartite plan, equipped with two platforms, one with its back to the furthest wall, the other facing the first one in the position of an offering

table. The temple is set up on a terrace 10 m high, assuring it of a dominant position in the city. The divinity worshipped in this temple could have been Anu, the god of the sky.

Uruk is a key site of the Sumerian period for understanding the birth of urban civilization and also for elucidating the organization of sanctuaries and Middle Eastern forms of worship.

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**ERI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿērî* (עֵרִי)]. A son of Gad, grandson of Zilpah and Jacob, and ancestral head of the Erites. His name is entered in the fifth position among the seven sons of Gad in the list of the descendants of Israel that went to Egypt (Gen 46:16; cf., *Jub.* 44:20). Likewise, in the census reported in Numbers 26, he is the fifth mentioned of the seven descendants of Gad whose names were adopted as clan names (Num 26:16—LXX 26:25). The LXX readings in Gen 46:16 (*Aēdis*) and Num 26:25 (*Addei*) reflect the interchange of orthographically similar *reš* and *dalet,* which could easily have occurred at various stages in the development of the Hebrew script.

RICHARD W. NYSSE

**ERIDU** (PLACE). The name of the southernmost Sumerian city, the present-day Tell Abu Shahrain, situated on the right bank of the Euphrates, about 15 km SW of Ur in a region that was a complete desert at the beginning of this century. Located in a vast field of ruins measuring 5 by 4 km, Tell Abu Shahrain is of roughly circular shape, and about 600 m by 500 m across, and rises to more than 25 m at its highest point.

Archaeological interest was drawn to Eridu because even in antiquity the city was renowned for its old age. According to Sumerian sources it is the world's most ancient city, predating even the legendary Flood. The first campaign, reduced to an impressive number of small investigations scattered around the site, was conducted in 1918 by R. Campbell Thompson. No spectacular discovery was made, but the site's early date was established and the existence of a prehistoric phase was recognized. H. R. Hall led a second expedition there in 1919, lasting only two weeks. It was not until 1946 that another mission, led this time by the Department of Antiquities of Iraq under the direction of F. Safar and S. Lloyd was sent to Eridu. Its results were important for two basic reasons: (1) for the first time a ceramic sequence was established for the Ubaid period in S Mesopotamia and (2) a series of monuments found at the foot of the ziggurat provided data concerning the emergence and development of the Sumerian temple.

Regarding the first point, the stratigraphic sequence obtained at Eridu, the beginning of which shows similarities to the Samarra ceramics and dates back to the last centuries of the 6th millennium B.C., remained the sole source in the S until the undertaking of regular excavations at tell Oueli near Larsa in 1975. Its importance can be seen in archaeological literature; nevertheless, the research carried out over the last decade, particularly at Oueli, but also the comparative studies made with the N sites and with Susa, led the archaeologists to make slight changes in the sequence, and, at times, to modify more drastically the conclusions from the chronology of the Ubaid era based on the testimony of Eridu.

The conclusions concerning the emergence of the Sumerian temple based on Eridu must also be revised. The study of the front of the ziggurat of Ur-Nammu (ca. 2100 B.C.) had led excavators to engage in detailed research at the foot of the ziggurat. They had isolated 17 architectural levels on the elevation of the terrace which supported the temple. Going back in time, it was at levels 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 that a comprehensible architecture was discovered; levels 12, 13, and 14 showed a gap in the evolution; finally levels 15, 16, and 17 yielded elements of monocellular constructions which were considered to be the first temples. But numerous reasons (gap in the phases 12–14, absence of sacred morphological characteristics at levels 15–17, scantiness of excavated areas) led to a sure recognition of temples only in the buildings found at level 8 and also, probably, at levels 9–11 despite the gaps that characterize them. Under these

conditions, one would not find at Eridu the first stages in the formation of the temple: when the temple does appear, at level 8 and perhaps a little before, it already possesses its essential features.

Among the other discoveries at Eridu, mention must be made of a house from the Uruk period found in a good state of preservation because it had been filled with sand shortly after being abandoned. Also, a palace from the ED III period was unearthed on one of the tells near Eridu. It showed certain characteristics very similar to those of other palaces of that era, but the city associated with it is unknown; consequently, its role does not appear to be clear.

The site seems to have been more or less deserted in the 2d millennium B.C., but perhaps the worship offered to Ea was carried on in a city devoid of all other activity. Ea, whose Sumerian name was Enki, was in fact a very important god in the Sumero-Akkadian religion: the god of wisdom, friend of man, to whom the organization of the earth is attributed. It is possible that a scribal school functioned in the shadow of his temple, but, to the deep regret of various excavators, nothing of it has been found. Nor does anything prove that the exhumed temple at the foot of the ziggurat was even dedicated to Ea.

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**ERUPTION.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**ES-SAIDIYEH, TELL.** See SAIDIYEH, TELL ES-.

**ES-SAMRA, KHIRBET.** See SABRA, KHIRBET ES-

**ESARHADDON** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾēsar-ḥaddōn* (אֵסַר־חַדֹּן)]. The son of the Assyrian king Sennacherib, who ruled (ca. 681–669 B.C.) after his father's assassination (2 Kgs 19:37 = Isa 37:38). In Assyrian the name is spelled *Aššur-aḫa-iddina* and means "the god Ashur has given a brother." In other words Esarhaddon had one or more elder brothers, a fact borne out by other sources.

Ezra 4:2 provides information otherwise unknown from biblical or Assyrian records, raising some questions about Esarhaddon's relations with Judah. According to Ezra when the exiles were permitted to return to Jerusalem by the Achaemenid Persians, they began to rebuild the temple. The narrative then says "the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin" approached the newly returned exiles offering to participate in the construction program; for, they said, they had worshipped the same god since the days of Esarhaddon "who brought us here." The newly returned exiles refused cooperation and so "the adversaries" began to plot against them. The question is, who were these "adversaries"?

The kingdom of Judah is mentioned only once in the royal inscriptions of Esarhaddon (*ANET*, 291), according to which Manasseh, king of Judah, along with a number of other rulers in Syria-Palestine provided exotic building materials for the royal construction program at Nineveh. The implication is that all of these rulers, including Manasseh, were vassals of Assyria. This impression is borne out by the military activities of Esarhaddon, who campaigned through Syria-Palestine several times in his attempt to conquer Egypt but never mentions hostilities with Judah. Obviously he had a reasonably secure hold over the area.

Returning to the question of the "adversaries" and their claim that Esarhaddon had brought them to Judah, the following is a possible solution. Elsewhere (see SENNACHERIB), it was suggested that Sennacherib, the predecessor of Esarhaddon, led a campaign against Jerusalem late in his reign. In true Assyrian style some of the local population were carried off into exile and replaced by foreign immigrants. This process could have spread over many years into the early part of the reign of Esarhaddon. Relevant to this suggestion is the statement in 2 Chr 33:11–13 that the Assyrians took Manasseh as prisoner to Babylon. This may well have happened at the time that foreigners were

transported to Jerusalem in the early reign of Esarhaddon. This proposal is hypothetical, however, and we must await further evidence on this question. See *CAH* 3/2/23.
A. KIRK GRAYSON

**ESAU** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿēśāw* (עֵשָׂו)]. Son of Jacob and eponymous ancestor of the Edomites (Gen 25:25; 36).

**A. Etymology**

The etymology of the name Esau has not yet been clarified (cf. Nabatean: *ʿsw;* Thamudic/Safaitic: *ʿys* [?]; Minaean: *ʿysw* [?]). Uncertainty concerning the meaning of the name Esau is already evident in Gen 25:25 (cf. Gen 27:11–24), where the explanations of the name—"red" (Heb *ʾadmônî*) and "hairy" (Heb *śēʿār*)—are etymologically related, not to Esau, but to Edom (Heb *ʾĕdôm*) and Seir (Heb *śēʿîr*) respectively. Philo's attempts to provide a suitable etymology—"oak" (Gk *drys*) and "a thing made up" (Gk *poiēma*)—are linguistically unreliable (see also *Sacr* 17; *Congr* 61; *Fuga* 39:42).

**B. Israelite Traditions**

Esau was Isaac and Rebecca's firstborn son (Gen 25:25) and Jacob's older twin (Gen 25:22–25). In the OT he is described both as an individual person who represents a specific lifestyle (the hunter) and as the eponymous ancestor of a people (Edomites or Idumeans). These two variant representations are amalgamated in the different traditional compilations especially in the Pentateuch, and are seldom distinguished. At the same time the tradition is dominated by an additional theme of the unequal brothers, which, because of the one-sided perspective of the Israelite authors, leads to a relatively negative impression of Esau/Edom. See also Noth 1948: 103–11; Thompson 1974: 280–93; Westermann 1981: 54–62.

The contrast between the twins is already anticipated before their birth in God's proclamation that the older brother will serve the younger (Gen 25:23). The two brothers are clearly distinguished by their physical appearance (Gen 25:25; 27:11–23). The older son is his father's favorite (cf. later *Jub.* 35:13) while the younger is favored by his mother (Gen 25:28). Esau chose the profession of a hunter (Gen 25:27; 27:3, 7, 30), while Jacob became a shepherd, "a cultured man in tents" (Gen 25:27). The younger brother bargained for the older brother's birthright (Gen 25:29–34) in exchange for a dish of lentils, and deceitfully obtained the firstborn's blessing from Isaac (Gen 27:1–40) with his mother's help. Jacob fled to Harran (Gen 27:41–46; 28:1–5) to escape Esau's vengeance. In contrast to Jacob, Esau married several of the "daughters of Canaan" (Gen 26:34; 28:9; 36). After Jacob's return the brothers reconciled (Gen 32:1–22; 33:1–16) and settled in different regions: Jacob in the hilly central area of Palestine and Esau in Seir-Edom of S Transjordan (Gen 32:4; 33:16; 36).

The association of Esau with Edom, alluded to in Genesis 25, becomes the essence of Genesis 36 (cf. 1 Chr 1:35–54). Esau married Edah (36:2) and Basemath (v 3; as well as—in a secondary literary source—Oholibamah, cf. 36:2, 14). Esau's sons, Eliphaz and Reugël (vv 4, 10)—as well as Jeush, Jalam, and Korah (vv 5, 14)—issued from these marriages. The tribal constitution of Edom, wherein the inhabitants of Edom were divided into two tribal units, the "sons of Seir" ("Horites"), and the tribe of Esau, is evident in this schema. Esau appears as the eponymous ancestor both of the tribal units and of the people as a whole. Therefore his sons from Adah and Basamath appear as separate tribes—their sons in turn are considered secondary tribes and/or clans. Inasmuch as "Edom" refers to the name of a country, it is apt that Edom could either refer to the geographical boundaries of Edom or the people of Edom (see Gen 36:1, 8, 19; Jer 49:8, 10; Obad 6, 8–9, 18–19, 21).

The equation " (patriarch's son) Esau = country/people Edom" (Gen 25:30; 32:4; 36:1, 8; Jer 49:8, 10; Obad 6, 8–9, 18–19, 21; Mal 1:2–3; 1 Chr 1:35) and Esau's settlement in Seir (Gen 25:25; 27:11, 23; 32:4; 33:14–16; 36:6, 8; Deut 2:2–8, 12, 29; Josh 24:4) represent the Israelites' perspective of their neighbor. This perspective intends to explain the ethnic kinship of the two peoples on the one hand and their political differences on the other. It is probable that Esau, the patriarch's son, originally had little to do with the Edomite tribal ancestor or tribal unit. Like his brother Jacob, Esau was originally at home in Ephraim of Transjordan (cf. Gen 32:3, 31–32; 33:1–16). The negative theme of Jacob vs. Esau of Genesis

25 is especially evident in the political contrast between Israel/Judah and Esau = Edom (and later Idumea) delineated by the oracles about Edom in Jer 49:8, 10; Obad 6–21; and Mal 1:2–3. See Weippert 1971: 230–35, 437–62; *TRE* 9: 291–99; Kornfeld 1985; Maag 1957; Moritz 1926.

**C. Jewish and Christian Traditions**

God's proclamation transmitted in Mal 1:2–3—"and yet I love Jacob and hate Esau"—retained its effectiveness in numerous variants within many Jewish and Christian sources throughout many ages (cf. Rom 9:13; Ps-Philo *L. A. B.* 32:5). Therefore within Jewish and Christian literature Esau represents the godless and jealous individual who is rejected by God because of wicked deeds and evil disposition (*Jub.* 15:30; 35:13; *4 Ezra* 3:16; Philo *Leg All* III 2, 88–89, 191–93; *Sacr* 17–18, 81, 120, 135; *Ebr* 9–10; *Quod Det* 45–46; *Migr* 208; *Congr* 61, 129; *Fuga* 24, 39, 43; *Virt* 209–10; *Praem* 62; *Sobr* 26–27; *Quod Omn* 57; *b. Šabb.* 145b–147; *b. B. Bat.* 16b; *b. Sanh.* 12a; *b. Giṭ* 57b; Heb 12:16; *1 Clem.* 4:8; *Pre. Pet.* H II 16; *Ps-Clem.* 16:6; *Acts Thom.* 84). In the same manner Esau becomes the symbol for the corrupt age (*4 Ezra* 6:7–10), the evil passions (Philo *Heres* 251–54), or Rome (*j. Taʿan.* 4:8, 68d; *b. ʿAbod. Zar.* 2b; *Gen. Rab.* 65:21, 67:7; *Tanh. Ter.* 3). See also *EncJud* 6: 854–59.

One of the few positive treatments of Esau from this period comes thirdhand from Eusebius of Caesarea, citing a quotation of Alexander Polyhistor on the works of a 1st-century B.C.E. Jewish scholar, Aristeas the Exegete (*p.e.* 9.25.1). Aristeas uses a tradition where Esau marries Bassara from which marriage issues Job. However, other traditions of the period have Jacob killing Esau in a civil war (*Jub.* 37–38 esp. 38:2; *T. Jud.* 9; *b. Soṭa* 13a; *Gen. Rab.* 100: 63d).

The presentation of Esau follows a similar vein within the NT. In Rom 9:10–13 Paul interprets Esau's rejection typologically and undergirds his interpretation with two scriptural proofs (Gen 25:23 LXX; Mal 1:2–3 LXX). Esau and Jacob are children of the same father and mother as well as the same age; their paths of life, however, are completely different. God's sonship and promise, based solely on God's free choice and not on priority of birth or one's own merits, is exemplified in the destinies of the two brothers. Though in Heb 11:20 the author notes that Isaac blesses both Jacob and Esau, yet in Heb 12:16–17 the author maintains the normative Jewish interpretation of Esau. Because Esau's behavior led to a complete loss of God's blessing, he represents therefore the individual who is lewd and godless (see *TDNT* 2:953–54). See also *Bibel-Lexikon*$^{2}$, 428; *BHH* 1: 437–38.

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U. HÜBNER

**ESCHATOLOGICAL MIDRASHIM.** See FLORILEGIUM.

**ESCHATOLOGY.** Derived from the Gk word *eschatos,* meaning "last" or "final," eschatology is teaching about "the last things." It refers to a time in the future when the course of history will be changed to such an extent that one can speak of an entirely new state of reality. This entry surveys eschatological ideas in the biblical world, and it consists of three separate articles. The first focuses exclusively on the idea as it is expressed in the Hebrew Bible. The second, which picks up on the OT material, mainly surveys the so-called intertestamental writings. The third article focuses mainly on eschatology in the NT. See also APOCALYPSES AND APOCALYPTICISM.

***OLD TESTAMENT***

A. Introductory Issues

B. Sources of OT Eschatology
    1. Patriarchal Promise Traditions
    2. David-Zion Tradition
    3. Sinai Covenant Traditions
C. Prophetic Eschatology
    1. Preexilic Prophets
    2. Postexilic Prophets
D. Dynamics in OT Eschatology
    1. Historical Development
    2. Social Context
    3. Historical Period
E. OT Eschatological Expectations

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**A. Introductory Issues**

At least three things should be said as part of the prologue to a discussion of OT eschatology: (1) the term *eschatology* is used with widely differing meanings; (2) the term, as applied to OT literature, dates only to the 19th century; and (3) despite the previous point, the term sounds vaguely archaic today, reminiscent of overly systematic treatments of ancient Israelite thought. Of these observations, the first especially requires some discussion. The word *eschatology* derives from the Greek term *eschatos,* which has a variety of meanings depending upon the larger frame of reference: farthest extent in space, final element of time, and last piece of money. The term *eschatology* has been prominent in theological discourse as a reference to the last things in a worldwide and historical sense, e.g., an apocalyptic, cosmic cataclysm and a new age of conflict followed by utopian bliss. Of course, it is possible to speak about an individual's ultimate fate, e.g., the afterlife, but this discussion *senso stricto* is not coterminous with eschatology, which is most often innately communal and cosmic in its reference.

Another preliminary issue involves the uniqueness of eschatological notion in ancient Israel. Any discussion of eschatology in the OT must raise the question of whether or not ancient Israel, as reflected in the OT, possessed eschatological notions which serve to distinguish it from other ANE cultures. This particular issue has been important since the earliest discussions of the topic of OT eschatology. For those interested in religio-historical questions, e.g., Gressmann and Gunkel, Israel's religion grew out of its larger ANE environment. Gressmann argued that OT eschatology derived from royal language and ideology common throughout the ANE; whereas, for Gunkel, this larger environment involved perceptions of an *Urzeit* and *Endzeit*, primal time and a return to such time in the final days. Discussions of eschatology were often couched in this conceptual framework. Wellhausen, on the other hand, sought to focus discussion of Israel's eschatology on the unfulfilled predictions of Israel's prophets. As a result, he had no particular reason to discuss eschatology within the larger ANE context. Now, many decades after the work of Gressmann, Gunkel, and Wellhausen, it seems appropriate to maintain that no evidence from ANE civilization attests the level of eschatological expectation which we find in Israel; but this may be a function of lack of evidence, rather than of something wanting in these cultures.

A related but by no means identical issue is the relationship between two conceptual terms *eschatology* and *apocalypticism.* At the outset it seems important to affirm that all apocalypticism involves eschatology, but not all eschatology involves apocalypticism.

All apocalyptic literature in the OT, which may be conveniently subdivided into early (e.g., Isaiah 24–27; Zechariah 9–14; Joel 3–4—Eng 2:28–3:21) and developed (Daniel 7–12), involves some notion of a momentous time during which Yahweh will act decisively to create a time of weal for Israel. Nonetheless, not all literature which has been labeled as eschatological shares the characteristics of this aforementioned apocalyptic literature, whether early or developed. Further complicating the relationship of eschatology and apocalypticism is the fact that whereas one may readily speak of apocalyptic literature, it is much more difficult to use the term *eschatological literature.* The term *eschatological* is not in the first instance appropriate as a literary description. Eschatological notions appear in prose and in poetic texts. There is

no constellation of characteristics for eschatology that allows regular literary classification; and this is in contradistinction to the use of the term *apocalyptic literature,* which refers to vision reports such as those found in Daniel 7–12. Nonetheless, it is rare to read a discussion of OT eschatology without finding reference to Amos 5:18–20, a text which is regularly termed eschatological.

**B. Sources of OT Eschatology**

If by eschatology one means a form of radical orientation to the future, which may involve a sort of social and/or cosmic arrangement fundamentally different from that which currently exists, then it is possible to speak about the development of an eschatological tradition complex in ancient Israel. To pose the issue in this way is to refine the discussion by a reference to a particular method of biblical study, that of tradition history. (See TRADITION HISTORY.) The ingredients which make up the development of an eschatological tradition complex in Israel are several. These elements, in conjunction with the message of the Israelite prophets as well as the catalyst provided by the events surrounding the year 587, the year in which Jerusalem fell, configured the eschatological tradition in its most vigorous form.

**1. Patriarchal Promise Traditions.** There are at least three important sources for the eschatological tradition complex. First, there are promise traditions often associated with the so-called patriarchs. Although there is considerable debate about the time during which these promises were conceptualized as well as debate about the most original elements of the promise, it seems clear that the form of the promise articulated by the Yahwist involved the promise of both land and progeny. This promise becomes much more specific, however, than the general terms of land and progeny would imply. After a careful examination of the relevant texts, one discovers that the land promised to the patriarchs is in fact the land that Israel controlled during the time of the united monarchy, so Gen 15:18–20. Moreover, the notion of progeny is defined in terms of "a great nation." This phrase, too, suggests a national context for the formulation of the patriarchal promise traditions. Quite apart from chronological considerations, this casting of the promise tradition holds out certain expectations for Israelite existence, national boundaries as well as national identity. From the perspective of the time of Israel's forebears, Israel's true existence lay in the future, namely, during the time of the Monarchy.

**2. David-Zion Tradition.** Another tradition important for the development of eschatology focuses on the Davidic line and the city of David, Zion or Jerusalem. Through the instrumentality of David and in terms consistent with the notion of the patriarchal promise, Israel secured a place on the ANE map as a nation with certain distinctive boundaries. However, the institution of monarchy in Israel involved more than matters of boundary and nationhood. There was, first of all, regnant in the S kingdom or Judah, the promise that a member of the Davidic line would always reign on the throne, so 2 Samuel 7. Such an expectation was based on the so-called Davidic Covenant or Davidic Promise, a grant by Yahweh to the house of David (see Ps. 132). Secondly, and more generally, the inception of monarchy itself in Israel meant the introduction of some central ANE concepts involving the king, so especially Gressmann. When a just king sat on the throne, there were certain expectations, projections into the future about what would occur—peace, fertility, righteousness, and justice in the land—to name some of the more basic features, cf. Isa 9:2–7; 11:1–9. A third part of the kingship tradition in Israel involved the particular seat of David's rule, the city of David, or Zion. There was, as Gerhard von Rad has clearly shown, a basic expectation concerning this cosmic mountain city upon which the Deity dwelt and from which the Davidic heir ruled. For the expectations concerning the Deity's dwelling, one need only look at Psalm 46 or 48 to discover the notion of the inviolability of this special divine and human royal residence. It was a city which, because of the presence of the Deity, could not be defeated. Such virtual mythic connotations created a special aura for the Davidic heir, as well as a certain expectation about the future fate of the city. In sum, the royal traditions in Judah and, more generally, the united Israel, involved expectations which were not difficult to speak about in the future tense: there would always be a Davidide on the throne, a just Davidide would engender future blessing for Israel, the city of David would exist securely in the future. This tripartite monarchic tradition in Israel involved notions not only specific to Israel, but common to ANE ideas about kingship and the inviolability of the divine dwelling as well. These future expectations

therefore entailed both powerful historic as well as mythic elements, linking as they do the patriarchal promise traditions to the inception of the institution of monarchy in Israel.

The Day of the Lord is prominent in many eschatological texts. This notion belongs to the monarchic tradition complex, representing the dual motifs of Yahweh's combat and ensuing victory along with the subsequent enthronement of Yahweh as king. For Israel this day was, early on, a cause for rejoicing. However, the Day of the Lord becomes as well a day of Yahweh's assault on his enemies both inside and outside Israel, see Amos 5:18–20; Isa 2:11–17; Zeph 1:11–2:3; Joel 2:1–2. In postexilic literature, the Day of the Lord entails both positive and negative consequences, e.g., Isa 61:2. The importance of the Day of Yahweh traditions in early apocalyptic literature is suggested by the prominence of the phrase "on that day" in the texts such as Zechariah 12–14.

**3. Sinai Covenant Traditions.** The third tradition, that of the Sinai covenant, which is important for an understanding of OT eschatology, is not linked genetically with either the promise to the patriarchs or the monarchic tradition complex. E. Sellin emphasized the importance of the Sinai tradition when he argued for the early and specifically Israelite origins of OT eschatology. See COVENANT. Moreover, this covenant tradition often seems to stand in tension with the two aforementioned traditions. The Sinai covenant tradition involved the contract which the people of Israel made with their god, Yahweh. This contract included at its core a series of stipulations which the people had agreed to obey. Put another way, this idea of treaty incorporated the notion of future compliance or noncompliance. These alternate future possibilities were spelled out in the treaty's blessings or curses. Should the people follow the treaty's dictates, then a blessed existence and proper relationship with the Deity would ensue (see Deut 28:1–14). Conversely, should the people not follow the treaty's dictates, then a cursed existence and an improper relationship would eventuate (see Deut 27:16–46). The Sinai covenant has a distinctive future orientation spelled out clearly in the treaty's blessings and curses. Thus, although the Sinai covenant created a community which might be construed as present or existing at any given moment, there were decisive future expectations about the existence of this community, expectations which could be discussed in terms of a blessed and/or a cursed existence in the future.

**C. Prophetic Eschatology**

**1. Preexilic Prophets.** All these ingredient traditions: patriarchal promise, monarchy, and Sinai covenant have expectations involving the future. It lay with Israel's prophets to sharpen and even to challenge some of these future expectations. Although it is possible to speak of a prophetic tradition, for the purposes of this discussion it will suffice to think about the prophets as spokesmen utilizing various traditions already identified, in particular, the Sinai covenant tradition. The prophets seemed to have functioned as those who articulated the ways in which Israel had violated the covenant and then spelled out the character of the forthcoming punishment, understood properly as the covenant curses. The character of the Day of Yahweh as a day of negative expectation resounds throughout the so-called classical prophets. In time, the negative picture of the Day of Yahweh becomes so bleak that it sounds as if an entirely new aeon will dawn, one of catastrophic punishment and of national annihilation, so especially the formulations of Amos, Zephaniah, and Ezekiel. Because the future foreseen by these prophets is so different from that which Israel had experienced and had expected—namely, these unexpected eventualities: the forfeiture of national existence, the defeat of Zion, the devastation of the temple, and the loss of a monarch—such views are, not without reason, construed as eschatological, that is, final or of an end time. The picture drawn by the prophets out of the covenant curse scenario does mean an end to a prior mode of existence. Here there was, as it were, a negative eschatology. The good expectations involving kingship, statehood, and a national peaceful existence, are abrogated. The closer one comes to the decisive defeats of Jerusalem in 597 and 587, the more decisive is the punishment for Israel as a nation. An end, an eschaton, of statehood is foreseen. This eschatology which the prophets articulated could be construed as stemming directly out of the Sinai covenant traditions. Nonetheless, at least one of the other traditions, that of monarchy, figured prominently as well. To be sure, there is negative judgment upon individual kings for not having performed their royal duties, so for example, the section on kingship in the book of Jeremiah (Jer 21:11–22:30). The last oracle of this Jeremianic text

would seem to preclude the possibility of any Davidide in the future. Nonetheless, this same prophetic tradition, in Jer 23:5–6, is able to foresee a time during which a Davidic heir will sit on the throne and will rule properly. The Davidic tradition would seem, almost inexorably, to provide not only a means for judging kings but also for thinking affirmatively about some future king who might preternaturally rule with justice and righteousness. Put another way, what seems at first glance to be a uniformly negative eschatology involves, almost inherently, positive future expectations for kingship as well. It is this component of the monarchic tradition which leads to so-called messianic expectations, namely, the expectation of some anointed human leader, in all likelihood a king, who will facilitate weal for Israel. See MESSIAH.

The Sinai covenant traditions, just like the kingship traditions, allowed for both negative and positive expectations. For most of the prophets and for most of the time prior to 587, it was appropriate to speak of covenant curses. According to their oracular preachments Israel had violated the covenant stipulations. And yet, for those Israelites who believed that the covenant relation was still in force even after the catastrophe of defeat and exile by the Babylonians, it became possible to think of a time in which covenantal blessings might be possible, so the exilic texts of Isaiah 35. Such conviction depended, of course, on the presupposition of radical covenant obedience as this was articulated in the texts which describe the so-called new covenant (Jeremiah 31 and Ezekiel 11). Concomitant with this expectation of covenant blessing in the exilic and postexilic periods, it became possible to iterate patriarchal promise traditions which now held out the hope for restored national boundaries and resettlement in the land. It is not too much to say that all three traditions so far adduced, patriarchal promise, monarchy, and Sinai covenant, figure prominently in the strong, positive hopes—one may even say eschatological expectations—which were evoked during the 6th century B.C.E. Prior to the national defeat Israel had expressed the language of eschatological doom. Then, at another and later time, the language of eschatological blessing became appropriate.

**2. Postexilic Prophets.** During the early restoration period Israel's eschatological traditions, which by this time entailed language of both weal and woe, began to develop in new and decisive ways. With the rededication of the temple, the stage was set for the realization of the eschatology of weal proclaimed most prominently by Deutero-Isaiah. Such realization did not, however, occur. In a dimly understood process, the eschatologies of weal and woe were conjoined and became what some have termed "early apocalypticism." This process in which the eschatological traditions intensified and coalesced was, no doubt, influenced by the frustrated expectations for restoration in the late 6th and the 5th centuries. All one has to do is compare the promises for blessing which date to the time of the Exile, e.g., Isa 54:11 ff., or from the time of the early restoration period, e.g., Hag 2:6 ff., with the realities of the late 6th and 5th centuries B.C.E. to appreciate the contrast between what was expected and what actually happened. The radically new "good time," with the streets paved with gold and with unprecedented crop yield, did not arrive for those who had returned to the land from exile. As a result, these expectations for a blissful restoration were frustrated, though still very much alive. Interestingly, in this development of eschatological traditions into apocalypticism as expressed in apocalyptic literature, the notion of a good future is linked with that of future doom. Zechariah 9–14, for example, envisions prospects for a glorious future, along with prospects for woe within Israel, so for example, Zech 14:2–5. Moreover, the character of what will happen moves beyond the world as humans had known it: "on that day there shall be neither cold nor frost, there shall be continuous day" (Zech 14:6–7a). Such expectations would seem to constitute a major step beyond the notion of a day of defeat or a day of radical covenant loyalty proclaimed by the preexilic prophets. One senses, in such texts as Zechariah 14, the notion of a fundamentally different sort of cosmic and social order, one in which the experience of time, natural order, social existence, religious affiliation, even Yahweh's lordship, will be of a fundamentally different sort from that which had existed earlier. Whereas earlier eschatology had focused on an "end," with apocalyptic literature a new age is foreseen. There is something beyond "the end." Concern with the new time appears as one hallmark of apocalypticism.

From this coalescence of earlier Israelite traditions into the eschatological tradition complex which developed in the late monarchic period, and then from the development of the eschatological tradition complex into apocalyptic literature in the early restoration period, the further step of fully developed apocalyptic visions, which were inherently eschatological, was not a large one. Here, with the eschatological visions of Daniel, there is a specific form—the apocalyptic vision—for articulating the complex conceptual apparatus of a radically new future, that of apocalypticism. With the configuration of the eschatological tradition complex into apocalyptic literature, the history of the development of OT eschatology is at an end. Postbiblical eschatology is prominent in the OT apocryphal literature, in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and in the NT.

**D. Dynamics in OT Eschatology**

**1. Historical Development.** At this point in the discussion it seems appropriate to make at least three fundamental observations. First, OT eschatology should be discussed within the context of historical development. Old Testament eschatology is best understood as a complex of traditions evolving out of earlier and discrete Israelite traditions. Old Testament eschatology is not essentially a systematic theological term, and therefore it is difficult to discuss eschatology as if one were describing one basic concept. Israel's eschatological expectations changed considerably over time. In this regard it is important to note that much of OT eschatology during, for example, the 6th century, was an intra-Israelite development. To be sure, there were notions about kingship which were common to the larger ANE environment. However, the patriarchal promise tradition as well as the traditions about the Davidic heir and the Sinai covenant were Israel-specific. Israelite eschatology becomes therefore much different from future expectations discernible in other Syro-Palestinian or Mesopotamian cultures.

**2. Social Context.** Second, not all Israelites shared OT eschatological expectations. There were other circles in Israel which, especially during the time of the Exile and, even more so, during the time of the restoration, did not use eschatological or early apocalyptic language. For example, the wisdom circles, as these are preserved in the books of Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes, did not seem to share the notion of a radical historical judgment or a fundamentally different sort of future. Moreover, there were circles whose views are preserved in the book of Ezra-Nehemiah and also in the book of Chronicles, which perceive Israel's existence during the Persian period in noneschatological ways. The same may be said for the so-called Priestly circles associated with the P-source. Put another way, OT eschatology was not an all-Israelite phenomenon but was one important way of perceiving reality. In all likelihood the eschatological perception of reality was experienced by those who were not necessarily in charge of either Israel's political or religious institutions.

**3. Historical Period.** Third, OT eschatology, namely, the development of a certain tradition complex, seemed to evolve and intensify in particular historical conditions, conditions in which all Israel or even certain groups in Israel were not flourishing. For example, the intensification and the integration of the separate traditions during the time of the classical prophets occurred at a time during which Israel was under threat first by the Neo-Assyrian Empire and then secondly by the Neo-Babylonian Empire. This was a time of dire threat to the independence of Israel, and of course, eventuated in the demise of the nation-state. Then, too, the tradition complex of OT eschatology developed decisively in the Persian period. This too was a time in which the emergent identity of the restored Yahwistic community was under significant threat. Moreover, during this time there appeared to be fundamental dissensions occurring within the Yahwistic community, with various groups vying for leadership and authority. Threat to the community could come from without or from within. With this dual threat during the time of the Persian period, the specific historical contexts were set for the development of the eschatological tradition complex into apocalypticism and its literature configuration as apocalyptic literature.

**E. OT Eschatological Expectations**

Having described the development of the OT eschatology tradition complex, it is necessary to highlight briefly some of the major features in the fully configured eschatological tradition complex. The eschatological expectation is heavily dependent upon the notion of Yahweh's divine kingship and rule. Yahweh is expected to arrive again and act decisively in the future so as to effect the institution of his

realm. Military imagery is a prominent way of describing this action, though interestingly, "natural" events such as famine, drought, pestilence may create submission to his larger purpose. In fact, the entire cosmos may be affected by Yahweh's military action, e.g., Joel 3:15, Isa 34:4. During this conflict Yahweh's enemies, whether inside or outside Israel, will receive their just desserts. Only in later apocalyptic literature does the fate of those loyal to Yahweh become the subject of considerable reflection. Nonetheless, Isa 25:6–9 does hint at the fate of those upon whom Yahweh looks with favor. Since Yahweh's imperium is cosmic, all people have a place in it and therefore all people, including those outside the boundaries of Israel, may be construed as venerators of Yahweh (cf. Isa 2:1–4) and hence included in his kingdom.

With Yahweh enthroned, one expects a time of paradise or peace. Such good times may be understood in terms of the monarchic traditions, namely, through the expectations associated with a just and divine king on the throne. Such expectations include proper administration of justice, fertility for the land, and the lack of military confrontation. Although the emphasis in eschatological tradition is on Yahweh as king, there is on occasion a place for a righteous Davidide, one who will rule with equity and beneficence. This expectation gives rise to so-called messianic texts, literature which attests to the hope of a radically good Davidic ruler, Ps 18:50; Ezek 37:23–24. Yahweh remains, however, the ruler par excellence.

The future time may be described using the language of the covenant, so Isa 34:16, in which the future age is described with explicit reference to what is presumably a covenant text or book. The eschatological future is a time in which the covenant will be obeyed, so Jeremiah 31, which means *eo ipso* that covenant blessings will ensue. The specifics of covenant blessing language are not dissimilar to the sorts of things foreseen as part of Yahweh's just rule. So too, the patriarchal promise traditions figure in the eschatological scenario by indicating that Yahweh's rule will center not on a heavenly throne, nor just in the city of divine residence, but throughout the land which had been promised to Israel's forebears. That Israel will be great in number, the other side of the patriarchal promise, seems to be presumed in much of the eschatological tradition.

By way of summary, two texts, one which predates the destruction of 587 B.C.E. and one which dates to the postexilic era, may serve to encapsulate critical emphases in the OT eschatological tradition complex—Ezek 7:2b–3a, "An end! The end has come upon the four corners of the land. Now the end is upon you …"; Zech 14:9a, "Yahweh will become King over all the earth …" For further discussion see Smend *TRE,* 10: 254–64.

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DAVID L. PETERSEN


## *EARLY JEWISH LITERATURE*


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**A. Introduction**

Although the term *eschatology* does not occur in the ancient sources, its widespread use in modern criticism reflects the correct notion that the OT, the Jewish writings of the Greco-Roman period, and the NT frequently assert that God will act decisively in the future and that a different state of affairs will ensure. The term and its traditional use have been misleading, however, because they have often been governed by theological agendas that have attempted to extrapolate from the texts a unified and systematic doctrine about the "end of the world" or one's state and fate at the end of one's life. Also problematic is the implication that *all* the texts designated as "eschatological" envision a decisive end to the present order and the beginning of a totally new order.

Given the variety that contemporary scholarship has begun to discover in the sources, it is appropriate to hear the texts, each on its own terms, and to develop categories that reflect the differences and points of continuity—synchronically among contemporaneous texts and diachronically from the oldest OT strata through the noncanonical Jewish texts to the NT and beyond. This task, which awaits doing, is substantial; in what follows it is possible only to sample typical texts from the Hebrew Scriptures and from the Jewish writings up to ca. 100 C.E. Crucial in the analysis is the assumption that expressions of religious thought must be interpreted with a view toward the specific situations and experiences that gave rise to them and influenced their formulation.

**B. The OT**

**1. Pentateuch.** Composing their traditions when Israel already lived in its land, the authors of the J and E strands of the Pentateuch created a narrative world in which God, of old, had made covenant promises that would be fulfilled in the future, when Israel would be a great nation and inhabit the land of Canaan. While the fulfilled promise of land may have been understood as vindicating Israel's covenantal status, the promises of innumerable progeny and a superior relationship to the nations may well have been seen at times to await fulfillment in the future.

The inseparable relationship between present and future is a basic structural component in the covenantal scheme of the Deuteronomist. As initiator and overseer of the covenant, Yahweh deals justly with Israel in the present, rewarding and punishing the people for past action; or Yahweh is expected to do so in the future because of their present actions. This causal relationship between past and present or present and future is explicated in detail in Deuteronomy 28–30, according to two scenarios in chaps. 28–30 and chap. 32. Chapter 28 describes the blessings and curses that will be dispensed alternatively when Israel obeys and disobeys. Chapter 30 posits the chronological succession of blessing and curse, the latter culminating in exile; and it predicts that Israel will repent and God will restore the people to their land. In the Song of Moses (chap. 32) sin is punished through oppression by the enemy, but deliverance is not

triggered by repentance, which is never mentioned; the arrogance of the enemy provokes the divine judge to vindicate the blood of the people.

The Deuteronomic scheme, with and without the element of repentance, becomes paradigmatic for later writers; and Jewish texts from the Greco-Roman period explicitly refer to Moses and Deuteronomy to explain or speak to their present situation. The connection between past and present or present and future is cited in several ways. Present prosperity is evidence of Israel's faithfulness and God's blessing, and present calamity indicates a sinful condition that calls for repentance. Alternatively, in good times one may use the threat of punishment to effect repentance of perceived sin, while in bad times one may encourage the righteous to be faithful and await intervention by the vindicator of the covenant.

**2. Eighth-Century Prophets.** Although the 8th-century prophets (Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah) were not primarily predictors of the future, such prediction was essential to their role as critics of a society which they perceived to be violating the stipulations of the covenant. The sinful nation could expect divine punishment.

The time of that punishment is usually vague, but it is imminent enough to constitute a threat to the prophets' audiences. According to Isaiah God will shave Israel with a hired razor (Assyria) before a child soon to be born reaches the age of moral discrimination (7:14–16). Amos warns those who are anticipating salvation in "the day of the Yahweh" that they will experience terror and death (5:18–20); and in a rare usage, he warns of the "end" (*qēṣ*) that awaits the people (8:2).

Occasionally these prophets anticipate divine blessing when Israel's punishment is sufficient and the people have returned to Yahweh. An important aspect of such consolation is the idea that God's action in the future will replicate the past. For Hosea, after a return to the wilderness, Israel will be betrothed again to God, and this covenant will restore primordial peace on the earth (2:14–23). Although an "end" is not mentioned, a new beginning lies in the future.

**3. Exilic and Postexilic Prophets. a. Jeremiah.** Although the final literary form of Jeremiah interweaves oracles of the 6th-century prophet with Deuteronomistic interpretations, later writers treated it as the work of "Jeremiah." Thus, Jeremiah decries the sins of Judah and Jerusalem and announces that in the imminent future Judah's leaders will be exiled, the temple and city will be destroyed, and the people will go into captivity.

The prophet also anticipates a restoration of the former state, when the dispersion of Israel and Judah will return to the land from which they had been exiled (23:1–8; 29:10–14), Jerusalem will be rebuilt (31:38–40), and the Davidic king will rule (23:5–6). Like Hosea, Jeremiah expects a replication of the past; but God's new event will supersede the old. The God of the Exodus will be known as the God who has returned the dispersion (23:7–8). In the new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah, the Torah will not have to be taught, because it will be written in human hearts (31:31–34). Different from the earlier prophetic books, Jeremiah specifies when the people will return from captivity—after 70 years are completed (29:10), when "you seek me with all your heart" (29:13; cf. Deut 30:2). Although, for Jeremiah, Yahweh is the executor of covenantal curses and blessings, the prophet also depicts this God as the universal judge of the whole human race ("all flesh"; 25:30–33).

**b. Ezekiel.** Prophesying in Babylon between 593 and 571 B.C.E., Ezekiel interprets the Exile as punishment primarily for idolatry and anticipates an end to that punishment and the return of God's blessing. In his oracles about the future (chaps. 34–37), he elaborates motifs found in Jeremiah. The sheep of Israel, abused by their shepherds and devoured by the wild beasts (the nations), will be sought out by God and returned to the mountains of Israel. There God will make a covenant of peace with them, banish the beasts from the land, and nourish and lead them, placing them under the care of the Davidic shepherd (chap. 34). In 36:22–36 God's restoration is described as a new creation. God will cleanse Israel of its sin, put a new spirit in its people, and replace their heart of stone with a new heart; the desolate land will be made like Eden. Chapter 37 extends the metaphor, describing the resurrection and re-creation of the dead nation. Then Israel and Judah will return to their land and be joined as one nation, governed by the prince and shepherd David in the presence of the God who makes an eternal covenant of peace with them and dwells among them in the sanctuary. The importance of the city and sanctuary are evident in chaps. 40–

48, where Ezekiel records an extensive vision that balances chaps. 8–11. The old polluted sanctuary from which God's glory departed (chap. 10) will be replaced by a new temple to which the glory will return (43:1–9). Like Jeremiah, Ezekiel calculates the time when the punishment of Israel and Judah will be complete (4:5–6).

**c. Isaiah 40–55.** The oracles of this unnamed prophet of the Exile (usually called "Second Isaiah") are devoted entirely to the good news of Israel's deliverance and the punishment of its captor, Babylon. Different from Jeremiah and Ezekiel, this text does not mention the return of the N tribes; central are Mother Zion and her children (51:17–52:3) and the anticipated restoration of Jerusalem (54:11–12), to which God now returns (40:2–5, 10–11).

As in all the earlier texts, the Exile is punishment for sin—now paid in full, indeed doubly (40:2). Thus the return is an act of divine justice, in which Yahweh sets things right with Judah, having also recompensed Babylon, the arrogant and idolatrous conqueror (chaps. 46–47; cf. Deut 32:26–43).

The notion that God's act of deliverance will replicate the past is elaborated as the essence of the text. Constitutive for Israel is the Exodus, which is described, however, in language that is at home in Genesis 1–2; God has "created," "formed," and "made" Israel. God's creation of Israel in the past is the guarantee of the coming salvation, which is depicted in heavily mythical language as a new Exodus led by God (52:11–12; 40:3–5, 9–11) and as a new creation in which the old dragon is conquered (51:9–11), the world is reshaped (40:4; 45:2), and the wilderness is made fertile like Eden (51:3; see also Isaiah 34–35, which derives from this prophet or a disciple). The former things that God did and declared of old are contrasted with the new things God creates and declares (49:3–7). In another metaphor Israel's vindication is described as the servant's resurrection from death (52:13–53:12; cf. Ezekiel 37). As in Jer 23:7–8, Yahweh's new act of salvation will vastly overshadow the old (Isa 43:18–19). One may debate how literally to interpret the prophet's mythical language about re-creation; however, the use of this imagery about the past to color the picture of the future indicates that a new beginning is clearly envisioned.

Although Second Isaiah frequently refers to Yahweh as king—a staple in Israelite royal ideology—these chaps. give no hint that the prophet expects a restoration of the Davidic dynasty. To the contrary, Cyrus is identified as Yahweh's anointed one (45:1), David is demoted to "a witness to the people, a leader and commander for the people" (55:4), and the everlasting covenant with David is democratized and applied to the nation as a whole (55:3).

Whereas earlier prophets were vague about the time of God's future act of judgment and Jeremiah and Ezekiel specified the time of its consummation, Second Isaiah takes the radical step of identifying God's great act of deliverance with a historical event, the rise of Cyrus, the king of Persia. The future has broken into the present.

**d. Isaiah 56–66.** A disciple of Second Isaiah (called "Third Isaiah") composed these oracles in Judea in the decades following the return from Babylon. The style, vocabulary, literary forms, and concerns of the master have been radically transformed by bitter disappointment; the oracles of hope and promise have not been fulfilled. In the place of Israel, God's "servant" and "chosen one," we hear of the "servants" and "chosen ones," who stand in opposition to the sinners (65:1–16), whose misdeeds in Jerusalem are catalogued at length (chaps. 56–59; 66:1–3). The situation is reflected in mixed oracles of salvation and judgment. In contrast to Second Isaiah's optimistic announcement of the imminent theophany and triumphant return to Jerusalem, this prophet confesses the sins of an impure people and desperately appeals for a theophany (63:15–64:12), in which Yahweh will come with fire and storm to execute judgment on "all flesh" (66:15–16; cf. Jer 25:30–33). This judgment is associated with God's creation of new heavens and a new earth (65:17; 66:22) and a new Jerusalem (65:18–25; see also chap. 60), in which the righteous will live to old age and enjoy the covenantal blessings in a world that will revert to the peace of Paradise (65:25). Like Second Isaiah there is no place for a Davidic king in Israel's future; the prophet is the one who is anointed (61:1).

Essential to Third Isaiah's message is a sharp contrast between the present evil time, which will end in a universal judgment that will eradicate evil, and the creation of a new cosmos (heavens and earth) in which

God's primordial intentions are realized. Although the prophet does not mention an "end" and a new "beginning," the contrast between the present and a future that returns to primordial beginnings seems to justify the term *eschatology.* The term *apocalyptic eschatology* (Hanson 1975) seems problematic, however. Third Isaiah's situation and message have clear parallels in the early apocalypses (see below, C.1); but Isaiah's message is not embodied in the form of a mediated and interpreted revelation (apocalypse), as is the case in the later works. To preserve this distinction, which is an important fruit of recent scholarship (see the articles on APOCALYPSES AND APOCALYPTICISM), it seems better to define Third Isaiah's eschatology as "dualistic," emphasizing the contrast and caesura between old and new, or as "mythical," highlighting the appeal to primordial beginnings.

**e. Isaiah 24–27 ("The Isaiah Apocalypse").** This text is actually not an apocalypse but is a collection of prophetic materials of disputed date, placed variously between 500 B.C.E. and the 3d century. Several features are of significance. The description of a broken and disintegrated cosmos exceeds the mythical language of Isaiah 34. Against this background the prophet anticipates a divine judgment that will replicate the Deluge and eventually punish the rebellious hosts of heaven and kings of the earth (24:17–23). The finality of this judgment and of the concomitant punishment and salvation is indicated in the prediction of a resurrection of the righteous in 26:19. Although this could be a metaphor for national restoration (as in Ezekiel 37), the promise that God will swallow up death, the great swallower (25:8), suggests a finality that merits the term *eschatology.* In any case later authors will draw on these texts in Isaiah to inform their descriptions of a resurrection of those who are physically dead.

**f. Haggai and Zechariah.** These two Judean prophets agree and also significantly disagree with their contemporary, Third Isaiah. Haggai expresses his chagrin over the returnees' failure to rebuild the temple (1:2–6); and like Second and Third Isaiah he uses language of cosmic disturbance to describe the events that will attend its rebuilding (2:6–8), which he and Zechariah anticipate in the very near future. However, different from Second Isaiah and Third Isaiah, Haggai and Zechariah tie their hopes to the Davidide Zerubbabel, whom Zechariah identifies as "the Branch" predicted by Jeremiah (Zech 3:8; 6:12–13; cf. Jer 23:5) and whom Haggai identifies as God's servant and chosen one (2:23). Together with the anointed high priest Joshua, who will preside over the cult, Zerubbabel—like Solomon—will build the temple and sit on the royal throne (Zechariah 3; 6:9–14). Thus, different from Third Isaiah, both prophets see in the present situation and in known historical personages the imminent fulfillment of the exilic prophets' predictions of restoration and rebuilding.

**4. The Legacy of Prophecy.** The prophets of the 6th century created high expectations through their fantastic and sometimes heavily mythicized scenarios of the future. Among the staples in these scenarios (although they are not always present) were the return of the N and S dispersions; the glorious rebuilding of Jerusalem and its temple; the restoration of the Davidic dynasty and the united kingdom; the universal sovereignty of Yahweh, Yahweh's anointed one, and Yahweh's people; and the gathering of the nations to worship the one God.

The rise of Cyrus and the beginning of a return to Judah were seen as the beginning of the fulfillment of these prophecies and hopes. But the historical experience of the returnees clashed with their expectations, as is evident, for example, in the differences between Second Isaiah and Third Isaiah. As time passed, moreover, it must have become painfully evident that specific predictions had not been fulfilled as expected. Zerubbabel the Davidide disappeared from the scene; much of Israel and Judah remained in dispersion; the scenarios of a new, sinless, and peaceful creation were not being played out. Much of the substance of the divine promises, as enunciated by the prophets, was held in abeyance.

Further evidence for this state of affairs is provided by the 5th-century writings of Malachi, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The contrast between the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah and the oracle of Malachi could scarcely be greater. In Malachi the restored temple, cult, and priesthood are seen to be polluted (chaps. 1–2), and the people violate the Torah (3:5). As a result, the nation suffers the curses of the covenant. The prophet appeals for the repentance that will restore the divine blessings promised in Deuteronomy (Mal 3:6–12). Additionally, the prophet anticipates the epiphany of God's messenger (Malachi, "my messenger," 3:1; cf. Exod 23:20 for the angel of the Exodus), who will cleanse the priesthood, and then

the appearance of Yahweh, who will judge between the righteous and the wicked (3:16–4:3). In a late appendix to the book, the messenger and preacher of repentance is identified as the ancient prophet Elijah (4:5–6).

The writings of Ezra and Nehemiah also reflect a critical assessment of the postexilic situation in Judah. The mixed marriages of priests and laity, as well as other sins, violate the Torah and have delayed a return of the covenantal blessing. Both books preserve extensive scenes and prayers of repentance and rededication to the Mosaic Torah (Ezra 9–10; Nehemiah 8–10). While this activity anticipates the return of God's favor, neither Ezra nor Nehemiah, nor indeed Malachi, suggests that the nation's future includes a place for the restored monarchy.

Although Malachi, Ezra, and Nehemiah did not appeal to prophetic scenarios as a source of hope, the optimistic promises of Israel's prophets were not lost and forgotten in the Persian period. To the contrary, the oracles were gathered and edited into written collections, which would emerge by ca. 200 B.C.E. as authoritative deposits of divinely inspired oracles. In the meantime the content of the promises was in the awareness of the collectors, although it is uncertain how these promises may have been mediated to the people. The Psalms, on the other hand, were used in public worship; and in the case of the royal psalms, their ideology and references to the eternal Davidic covenant would have been repeatedly impressed on the minds of the worshipping community. In the absence of a royal incumbent, one would consider the promise to have been empty or to await fulfillment in the future.

Thus a substantial part of the texts that would eventually emerge as Israel's Scripture were considered to be a corpus that contained divine promises which provided a scenario that awaited fulfillment. *In the Torah* were the promises to the patriarchs and the future-oriented final chaps. of Deuteronomy; *in the prophets* there remained many specific unfulfilled prophecies; *in the psalms,* one found allusions to, or citations of, the royal oracles. The Jewish writings of the Greco-Roman period indicate that these texts were being read in this manner.

**C. Jewish Writings of the Greco-Roman Period**

Less than a century after the time of Ezra and Nehemiah other Jewish texts which would later be excluded from the Hebrew canon were being composed. Historically, we must consider their views about the future in continuity with texts that were later declared to be canonical.

**1. Early Apocalyptic Writings. a. *1 Enoch* 1–35 and 85–105.** The early strata of *1 Enoch* indicate significant points of continuity and contrast with the prophetic tradition in particular. First, these authors are aware of most of the texts that will constitute the Hebrew Scriptures. Second, because the fictive setting of these texts long antedates the time of the prophets, the authors never explicitly quote the prophets or employ the pattern of prophecy and fulfillment. Instead, they see in the prophetic texts a valid description of times still to come, and they weave the literary forms and the language of the prophetic texts into their own creations. Third, a major motif that runs through almost all the strata of *1 Enoch* is the coming of the great judgment. Fourth, this judgment forms a caesura between the present time, which is coming to an end, and the future, which constitutes a new beginning. In a clear and meaningful way, one can speak here of "eschatology"—teaching about the end. Finally, for all of their use of prophetic material and motifs, the Enochic texts have almost no place for a Davidic king in their scenarios of the future (the exception is probably 90:37–38).

Although the roots of the myths in chaps. 6–11 are lost in the mist of oral tradition, the present form of the myths was extant in the early 3d century B.C.E.; and the Šemiḥazah story, which forms the narrative framework for these chapters, must have had a viable function during the wars of the Diadochi, ca. 300 B.C.E. Several factors are central to the author's perception of his world: the violence of war threatens the existence of the human race and its environment; the earth (or the Holy Land) is ritually polluted; the revelation of arcane knowledge has broken the appointed boundary between heaven and earth. In a radical appeal to the primordial past, the author parallels the present time with the period before the Flood and posits a new judgment that will exterminate the whole human race, except a righteous remnant, who will begin a new creation. A cue for this idea appears already in Gen 9:1, where Noah and his family, as the first parents, are given essentially the same command (cf. Gen 1:28).

Two peculiarities characterize this author's use of the Genesis traditions. What Genesis places near the beginning of human history is here a transparent fiction for the present time; in this time one anticipates another, imminent end and, beyond it, a new beginning. The latter point is evident, above all, in *1 Enoch* 10. In the new creation that will appear after the judgment, all humanity including the gentiles will become righteous and worship the one God, all evil and defilement will be permanently banished, and blessing, truth, and peace will reign forever. This scenario is fleshed out through the use of language and motifs from Third Isaiah's picture of the new creation and new Jerusalem (Isaiah 65). Like Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who specified times for the end of Exile, the author of *1 Enoch* 6–11 speaks of "70 generations" until the consummation of the great judgment (10:12). The specification of the number suggests a predetermined scheme of ages between the primordial sin of the watchers with its first punishment in the Flood and the time of final judgment.

Several basic features of this text parallel Isaiah 24–27: a time of great evil and oppression that threatens the existence of humanity and the earth; a great judgment like the Flood (Isa 24:18–20); the earth's disclosure of shed blood (26:21); the punishment of the hosts of heaven and the kings of the earth and an extended period of imprisonment in the pit before the final punishment (24:21–22). This last feature, which is a function of *1 Enoch*'s real and fictional time references to primordial and present times, has no clear rationale in Isa 24:21–22. This, along with the other parallels, could indicate that the Isaianic author knew something like the Enochic myth.

According to the account of Enoch's call (chaps. 12–16), the death of the giants releases their ghosts as a host of evil spirits who plague humanity until their judgment and extinction at the end. Thus the postdiluvian world did not provide a new beginning with promise; it began a plague-ridden evil age which a just creator must eventually bring to an end. The promise of that end is guaranteed in a new way in chaps. 17–19; angels conduct Enoch on journeys across the earth, where he sees the places where the angelic sinners are already suffering punishment. A similar tour is recounted in chaps. 20–36, where Enoch sees places of eschatological import for the judgment and final salvation or punishment of human beings. In the segments in chaps. 24–27, Enoch sees the mountain of God and the tree of life, as well as the new Jerusalem, where, at the "consummation," the righteous will live long lives and the blasphemers will suffer in the valley of Hinnom. These visions are described in part with language that is drawn from Isaiah 65–66 (*1 En.* 25:5–6; 27:2–4; cf. Isa 65:18–22; 66:14, 24). Different from Third Isaiah, however, this author uses the form of an apocalypse—a guided tour for the primordial patriarch interpreted by an angel—to undergird the certainty of the oracle uttered by the prophet. Mythical eschatology has become apocalyptic mythical eschatology.

Chapters 1–5 were composed as an oracle to introduce chaps. 6–36 by focusing on the coming judgment of "all flesh." The literary form of the oracle, with alternating blessings and curses, is paralleled in the oracles of Third Isaiah, on the words of which it is often dependent. Different from the prophetic prototypes, its central section of wisdom material emphasizes the faithfulness of the nonhuman creation as a foil to the human sins that will be punished in the great judgment that will usher in a new creation. The notion of replication appears in 1:1, 3–4, 9, which use the description of the Sinaitic theophany in Deut 33:1–2 to depict God's imminent appearance as judge. Similarly, 1:2–3 recasts the language of the Balaam oracle (Num 24:15–17) so that "Enoch" speaks "not for this generation, but concerning one that is distant …," the time of the righteous and chosen. This fiction asserts that another ancient prophecy was uttered with a conscious view toward its fulfillment at the time of the great judgment of all flesh, which will usher in the new creation envisioned by Third Isaiah (*1 En.* 5:5–9; Isa 65:13–23).

For the author of the Epistle of Enoch (chaps. 92–105), the unrequited sins of the wicked and the related victimization of the righteous are cause for a great judgment, and the deeds and their judgment are described or implied through the use of traditional prophetic forms. The eschatological character of the real author's time and the expected judgment are indicated in the Epistle's superscription, which takes up the motif in 1:2; the patriarch addresses his sons but mainly "the latter generation who will observe truth and peace" (92:1). Characteristic of this time is the existence of the community of the righteous, who receive a revelation about the character of good and evil and their reward and punishment in the judgment

(94:1–5; 104:12–13, a reprise of 92:1). This is explicit in the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1–10; 91:11–17), which places the revelation in the 7th week and a subsequent revelation to the gentiles in the 9th week (cf. 105:1–2), both in conjunction with a series of judgments that precede the renewal of the earth and the creation of new heavens. The symmetry of the apocalypse's 10 "weeks" or heptads suggests that the author has in mind a scheme similar to the 70 generations of chap. 10. The predetermined character of the scheme is implied by the prediction's fictive origin in primordial times and by the claim that Enoch's information was derived from heavenly tablets (93:2; see explicitly 81:1–4). Because Enoch mediates heavenly knowledge that was interpreted by angels, we may describe his eschatology as "apocalyptic." The deterministic character of Enoch's eschatology perhaps stands in tension with the epistle's assertions that the prayer of the righteous can trigger divine intervention (97:3–6; 99:3; 104:1–3). In any case the claim that the heavenly apparatus for judgment is already in motion (104:1–8) adds a note of imminence to the promises of judgment.

That the course of history is fixed and that the author's own time is the predetermined end time is expressed nowhere as clearly as in the Animal Vision (*1 Enoch* 85–90). Already in Enoch's time God revealed the events to come, which would culminate in a great final judgment. The primordial rebel watchers will be punished. There will be an end to the long-standing victimization of the Israelite flock by the gentile beasts and the more recent abuse by the 70 shepherds. The present pollution of the cult will cease as a new Jerusalem and temple are built by the God of Israel. To that Jerusalem the gentiles will come, to be subject to Israel; and the dead and dispersed of Israel will return. Then all of humanity, Jews and gentiles, will be transformed to their primordial purity and unity. In this explicit way the seer envisions the end as a return to the very beginning.

Like other parts of *1 Enoch*, this vision employs imagery known from the prophetic texts, especially Ezekiel 34, and the more general expectation of a new Jerusalem. But at one point the author appears to espouse the notion that the end time brings the fulfillment of prophecy. The scheme of 70 successive angelic shepherds, whose periods of influence conclude with the judgment and restoration of Jerusalem, appears to be an interpretation of Jeremiah's prediction of 70 years, which may have been reshaped by the totally different scheme of four kingdoms (see below).

**b. Book of *Jubilees.*** In this selective paraphrase of Genesis 1–Exodus 15, which purports to be a revelation given to Moses on Mt. Sinai, the author twice summarizes the history of Israel according to the schema of the latter chapters of Deuteronomy. Chapter 1 presents an overview of that history, from Sinai through the occupation of the land, and Israel's sin, and its punishment in the Exile, to the people's repentance and the return from the dispersion, and beyond that to the time of the new creation of the heavens and the earth. The summary in 23:11–31 focuses on the sins of postexilic Israel, which culminate in crisis of the Hellenistic period and specifically in the events of 200–150 B.C.E., during which time the book was composed. Repentance occurs when the people "begin to study the law and seek the commandments and return to the way of righteousness" (23:26), that is, when they discover, accept, and obey the Torah as expounded in *Jubilees' hălākâ* (specific legal prescriptions). Such obedience will lead to the renewal of the creation, which is briefly described in language drawn from Isaiah 65–66. In what way the author's view of the future is locked into a predetermined scheme of ages, or jubilees, is debated. However, the book is significant because Deuteronomy's categories of sin, punishment, repentance, and future salvation are interpreted in terms of the rejection and the return to a very specific understanding of the Torah. History, *hălākâ,* and eschatology are explicitly linked.

**c. *Testament (Assumption) of Moses.*** For this author history stretches from "the beginning of the creation of the world to the end of the age" (12:4), "the consummation of the end of days" (1:18). All the events of this history and their time frame (10:13) were foreseen by God from the foundation of the earth (12:4–5; 1:13–14). The notion of a real end is tied to the fulfillment of prophecy, which is expressed in the literary form of the book. Writing at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (ca. 168 B.C.E.) in the name of Moses, the author recasts the last chapters of Deuteronomy so that Moses foretells in detail the events of ca. 200–168 B.C.E., which time is identified as the consummation. Thus Moses' prophecy points to the end and provides a scheme for interpreting the events that lead up to it. The finality of imminent events is

indicated in chap. 10, where history gives way to a mythical description of the judgment and its consequences. The agents of the judgment are a chief angel and the Deity rather than a human messiah. The sequence—angel and God—is reminiscent of Malachi. Associated with the judgment is the appearance of God's reign (or kingdom) throughout the creation; and after cosmic upheaval and the destruction of Israel's gentile enemies, Israel will be lifted up from earth to the heavenly, immortal realm of the stars. Thus a historical caesura is combined with a cosmic one. The notion of a new creation of heaven and earth is replaced by a division between earth, turned into the place of punishment, and heaven, the realm of salvation (10:9–10).

**d. The Book of Daniel.** The eschatological ideas in the *Testament of Moses* appear also in the various strata of the contemporary apocalypse, the book of Daniel. Both Nebuchadnezzar's dream about the colossus (chap. 2) and Daniel's night vision (chap. 7) depict a succession of four kingdoms that will end with God's judgment and the inception of God's universal reign. In chap. 7 the bearer of that reign is a high angel—one who looks "like a Son of Man"—whose heavenly exaltation is simultaneous with the beginning of the everlasting earthly preeminence of Israel, "the people of the holy ones of the Most High" (7:7–14, 26–27). That the details of history are, allegedly, foreseen is evident in the extensive revelation which the angel gave to Daniel in the Exile, forecasting events up to the time of the author (chaps. 10–12). As in the *Testament of Moses,* these events, described in prose, give way to a poetic description of the judgment and its consequences (12:1–3). These verses, presuming the scenario in *1 Enoch* 24–27, allude to the long life of the righteous in the new Jerusalem and to the ongoing contempt to be heaped on the apostates. A decisive break between historical events and that future is indicated by the references to resurrection (12:2) and to the exaltation of the righteous leaders of the community into the realm of the stars (12:3). Although the fulfillment of prophecy does not structure the form of the book, the Deuteronomistic scheme of sin-punishment-repentance-salvation appears in chap. 9 (vv 4–19). Israel's present plight and its future resolution are related to both Moses' prophecy in Deuteronomy and Jeremiah's prophecy about 70 years (9:2, 11–13). Jerusalem is desolate because the people are suffering the covenantal curses foretold by Moses. The length of their period of punishment is calculated through a reinterpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy; 70 weeks of years (490 years) must pass between Manasseh's sin and the restoration of Jerusalem (cf. *1 Enoch* 85–90). Like the *Testament of Moses,* Daniel's revelation has been recorded in order to be revealed at the end time (12:9; cf. *T. Moses* 1:17–18).

**e. Parables of Enoch (*1 Enoch* 37–71).** This longest of the sections of *1 Enoch* was probably composed in the decades preceding the turn of the era. Its central and all-pervasive theme is the great judgment that will befall "the kings and the mighty," the gentile rulers who are oppressing "the righteous and the chosen." The time of that judgment is tied to an invasion of Israel by the Parthians and Medes (56:5), although the only indication given for the source of this prophecy is the pseudonymous revelation itself. In God's scheme, however, the time is related to the predetermined number of the righteous who must die (47:4). The agent of God's judgment is a transcendent figure who combines the attributes and functions of the Davidic king, Second Isaiah's servant of Yahweh, and Daniel's "one like a Son of Man." Although the author never uses terms like *last, latter,* and *end* in a temporal sense, the events described clearly constitute the end of the present time and the beginning of a new and permanent order. Narrative material about Noah provides a paradigm for the coming judgment (54:7–55:2; 60:1–10; 65–68). Constitutive in the judgment will be a resurrection of the dead (51; 61:1–5), after which the righteous and chosen will dwell on a newly created earth, from which the sinners have been permanently expelled to the darkness and torture of Sheol (38; 45; 50; 58; 54; 63). Although fulfillment of prophecy cannot be an explicit category in this pseudonymous text, the language of Third Isaiah is evident; and the heavenly Chosen and Anointed One is seen as the referent of biblical descriptions (understood as prophecies) of the Davidic king and the Servant of the Lord. Just as important, this author is a bearer and transformer of the traditions generated in the names of Enoch and Daniel.

**2. Tobit, Sirach, and Baruch.** The fulfillment of prophecy is an explicit category in three texts that are normally categorized as "wisdom" writings. The earliest of these is the book of Tobit (3d century B.C.E.). The central tale about the suffering and healing of Tobit and Sarah is recounted within the context of the

broader saga of the Exile and dispersion, which constitute a problem to be resolved in the future, when the nation's chastisement is removed by God's mercy. This future salvation has been predicted by the prophets, whose words await fulfillment in their time (14:5; cf. v 4). The succession of events forecast in 14:4–7, with its remarkable parallels to the Apocalypse of Weeks (*1 Enoch* 93:1–10; 91:11–17), reflects a kind of determinism usually associated with apocalyptic thought rather than Wisdom Literature. Similarly, the language of 14:5 suggests that the times are fixed, although—different from some of the apocalypticists—this author does not indicate that the times themselves have been revealed to human beings. Tobit's scenario for the future culminates in the restoration of Jerusalem and the temple to their former glory, an event which is described in language drawn from Third Isaiah but not ascribed to "Isaiah." Because this restoration is seen to be permanent (13:10; 14:5), one may properly speak of Tobit's eschatology. Consonant with Tobit's dependence on Third Isaiah is the omission of any reference to a restoration of the Davidic dynasty.

For Joshua Ben Sira (*floruit* 198–175 B.C.E.), the prophets are an important group among Israel's heroes (Samuel, Nathan, Elijah and Elisha, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve; 46:13–20; 47:1; 48:1–14, 22–25; 49:6–10). Although they spoke primarily to their own situations, they uttered predictions that were shown to be trustworthy (46:15; 49:6). Isaiah, however, "saw the latter things (*ʾḥryt*), and comforted those who mourned in Zion, [and] revealed what would happen forever (*ʿd ʿwlm*) and the hidden things before they came to be" (48:24–25). This brief summary of Second and Third Isaiah reflects the notion that the prophets forecast hidden events that still lie in the future. Similarly, the prayer preserved in 36:1–7 laments the Jews' subjugation to the nations, the dispersion, and the present state of Jerusalem; and it awaits the return of God's glory. Thus the sage appeals to God to fulfill the ancient prophecies and thus to reward those who wait for God to vindicate the trustworthiness of the prophets (36:15–16). Ben Sira's scenario of the future includes the reappearance of Elijah, who will calm God's wrath, bring repentance to Israel, and restore the dispersion (48:10; cf. Mal 4:5–6). He also anticipates a restoration of the Davidic dynasty, in keeping with the eternal covenant with David (47:11, 22). By associating this covenant with the priestly covenant with Phinehas (45:24–25; cf. Num 26:10–13), Ben Sira indicates a conscious pairing of the anointed priest and king, first indicated in Zech 4:14 and later developed in the Qumran Scrolls (see below).

Like Tobit, Baruch is a pseudepigraphic text (probably from the 2d century B.C.E.) that is deeply impressed with the problem of exile and that construes the future in terms of a restoration of Zion. Speaking in the Jeremianic tradition, "Baruch," in the context of prayers that parallel Dan 9:4–19, describes the Exile as realization of the curses that Moses had predicted in Deuteronomy (Bar 1:20; 2:2, 28). But following the scenario in Deuteronomy and the prophecy in Jer 29:10–14; 31:31–34, he anticipates that God's mercy will appear and an everlasting covenant will be made when the people repent in the land of their exile (2:30–35). Identifying Torah as divinely given Wisdom, the author interweaves a traditional wisdom poem (cf. Sirach 24) with the diction of Deut 28–33 (3:9–4:8). The last two chapters employ the language and imagery of Second and Third Isaiah to describe the return of Zion's children and the glorification of Jerusalem (4:9–5:9).

**3. The Qumran Scrolls.** The collections of texts found at Qumran include works of diverse origin, date, and genre. Some antedate the founding of the community in the mid-2d century B.C.E.; others of later origin may have been brought to Qumran by new members. Although the presence of such texts may indicate what was considered to be compatible with the sect's religious thought and practice, one must exercise caution in using them as evidence for the group itself. Moreover, even the texts that were probably composed by members of the sect do not provide a single witness. They are of diverse authorship and were written over a period of perhaps a century and a half, and they do not clearly speak with one voice on major issues. Finally, of special significance is the evident fact that the Qumranites themselves authored few, if any, apocalypses—the genre that self-consciously presents detailed scenarios of the future.

These difficulties and cautions notwithstanding, it is possible to identify some texts that seem to reflect a coherent sense of how their authors understood their community to be a unique phenomenon of the end

time; and it is useful to indicate some points at which these texts agree and diverge in their pictures of the future.

**a. Structure of the Ages and God's Foreknowledge.** God's foreknowledge of historical events and human deeds and God's foreordination of the structure of the ages are a common topic, expressed in stereotyped language, in at least five Qumran texts: 1QS 3–4; CD 2:3–10; 1QH 1:7–8, 23–25; 4Q180 1; and 1QpHab 7. According to the *Rule of the Community,* "the God of Knowledge" established (*kwn*) the shape of all things before they came to be and appointed (*śym*) two spirits to govern humanity (3:13–16). He has also set a fixed time or end for the existence of perversity (*ntn qṣ*) (4:18). The *Damascus Document* (CD) also ascribes "knowledge" to God (CD 2:3) and then expounds the idea: God knew human deeds before they were created, and God knew the times of their coming and the exact length of their times for all ages (2:9–10). The first column of the *Hymn Scroll,* which may depend on 1QS 3–4, describes God's foreknowledge of human deeds before creation (1QH 1:7–8) and God's creative activity, including the apportionment of the two spirits (1:15–20). Human deeds and the times of their accomplishment, moreover, "are engraved before you on a written reminder" (*ḥqwq lpnykh bḥrt zkrwn,* 1:23–24). The language presumes the existence of written tablets that stand in God's presence. The same notion is evident in 4Q180 1 ("the Ages of Creation"), where the tablets are said to contain a record of the successive ages (*qṣ*) that God has established for the orderly structuring of human history. The commentary on Habakkuk presumes a similar notion: "all the ages (*qṣ*) of God come to their fixed place (*tkwnh*) as he has decreed (or "inscribed," *ḥqq*) them in the mysteries of his wisdom" (1QpHab 7:13–14).

Although these assertions are not made in accounts of revelatory visions, their content parallels the pseudepigraphic historical apocalypses attributed to Enoch and Daniel, as well as Enoch's vision of the heavenly tablets in *1 En.* 81:1–3. The claim of revelation is also present. According to 1QpHab 7:1–5 God "did not make known" to Habakkuk "the end of the age" (*gmr hqṣ*), but God did "make known" to the Teacher of Righteousness "all the secrets of his servants the prophets." Similarly, according to 1QH 1:21, "these things I know through your wisdom because you have opened my ears to your marvelous secrets." In the same vein 4Q180 appears to have been an interpretation (*pšr*) of an authoritative text that laid out the structure and length of the ages, perhaps according to a scheme similar to the Enochic Apocalypse of Weeks (Milik 1976: 251–55).

**b. The Community's Place in the Last Times.** The scrolls widely attest the belief that the Qumran Community was living in the last part of the ages that God had predetermined and created. This belief is reflected in the authors' terminology ("latter generation[s]," "latter days," "latter age," "the age is consummated"), and it is bound up with the conviction that the prophetic oracles described this latter time.

**(1) The Qumran Commentaries.** This conviction is explicit in the commentaries on the prophets and the Psalms—which are also considered to be prophetic. Running sections of text are quoted and then followed by interpretations that show how the text foretold in detail specific events in the life of the sect. The theory underlying this type of interpretation is spelled out in the exposition of Hab 2:1–2 (1QpHab 7:1–5). Prophecy refers to the last times; the "when" of those times was a "secret" the interpretation of which was revealed to the Teacher. The theory is applied throughout the commentaries, as their authors, following the tradition of the master, see prophecy unfolding in their communal life, which is by definition set in the latter generations.

**(2) The *Damascus Document* (CD).** Although this text is not a historical apocalypse, it frequently refers to the passing of time and to certain termini which are denoted by the conjunction "until" (*ʿd*). The historical context of the rise of the Qumran community is located in the latter times and associated with the fulfillment of prophecy. Four passages make basically the same point.

In CD 1:1–2:1 the beginnings of the sect are placed at the end of "the age of wrath, three hundred and ninety years after [God] delivered" Israel to Nebuchadnezzar (1:5–6). When the period of punishment predicted in Ezek 4:5 is completed, in a time of wickedness and apostasy described in Hos 4:1–6 and Isa 30:10–13, God initiates a new beginning by causing a root to spring up from Aaron and Israel—a remnant

who repent of their sin and seek (*drš*) God with their whole heart (1:10; Jer 29:13). To this "latter generation" (1:11–12) God sends "a Teacher of Righteousness" to reveal God's way (cf. Isa 30:19–20).

In 3:9–5:19 the author focuses again on the span between the Exile and the rise of the community in the end of days, before the age is consummated (*šlym hqṣ*). It is a time of terrible evil instigated by Belial and marked particularly by fornication, the abuse of wealth, and the profanation of the temple. God makes a covenant with the community and reveals to them the hidden things of the Torah, especially laws about the observance of the Sabbaths and feasts.

A similar collocation of ideas occurs in CD 5:20–6:19, which finds its scenario in Num 21:18; Amos 9:11; and Isa 54:16. The men of Aaron and Israel, "the converts of Israel," have left Judah and the profaned temple in order to sojourn in "the land of Damascus," where they enter the new covenant during "the time of wickedness." To them comes "the interpreter [lit. "seeker"] of the Torah," who may or may not be identical with "the one who teaches righteousness at the end of days." They dig the well of the Torah (cf. 3:16–17), taking heed particularly of purity regulations and the right observance of the Sabbaths and feasts.

An explicit reference to Amos 5:26–27, the source of the references to "the land of Damascus," appears in CD 7:13–21, where "the Interpreter of the Law" is said to be followed by "the prince of the whole congregation," evidently the Anointed One of Judah (Num 24:17).

The last part of this time span is perhaps referred to in CD 19:35–20:1 and 20:13–22—the 40 years (20:15) between the death of "the Teacher of the Community" and the coming of "the Anointed One of Aaron and Israel" (20:1) and, evidently, the great judgment (20:17–22; cf. Mal 3:16–18), when God's glory will be manifest (20:25–26).

In summary, the prophets foretold a latter time, in which God would create a remnant of penitents, to whom would be revealed the right understanding of the Torah. This they would obey (though not without periods of lapse) during a period of unmitigated wickedness, which would conclude with the appearance of the Messiah and with God's visitation of the earth (7:9; 8:2). Beyond that judgment were the ultimate punishment of the wicked (2:5–6) and eternal or long life for the righteous (3:20).

**(3) The *Rule of the Community.*** In 1QS 8:1–9:11 the community is also placed in an eschatological context. Employing language from Isaiah 28, with its indictment of the rulers of Jerusalem and its announcement of the new cornerstone to be laid in Zion (v 16), the author describes "the council of the community" as a temple that will atone for the land and as the chosen of God's good will (the servant of Isa 42:1), who will function as witnesses and agents of God at the judgment (cf. *1 En.* 93:10). In the meantime they have separated themselves from the wicked to devote themselves to "the study [lit. "the searching"] of the Torah" (*midraš hattôrâ,* 8:15), in keeping with the prophecy in Isa 40:3–5. This situation will continue "until there shall come the prophet and the anointed ones of Aaron and Israel" (9:11). As in the *Damascus Document* (CD), the community is composed of converts who have "entered the covenant" and live in accordance with the right and revealed interpretation of the Torah during the time of Belial's dominion (1:1–3:12; 5:1–20).

**c. The Community as the Present Locus of Eternal Life.** Since the Qumranites' particular observance of the Torah is based on an eschatological revelation, they can speak of the community as the locus of eschatological covenantal blessings. Several texts in the *Hymn Scroll* employ such a rhetoric (1QH 3:19–38; 6:1–7:5; 11:3–14). Outside the community is the sphere of death and damnation, where one is subject to the eschatological fury of Belial. When one enters the community, one is raised from the destructive Pit (Sheol) to a heavenly height and from dust and worms to the knowledge of God and the company of the angels. Thus entrance into the covenant (1QS 1–2, 5) is here construed as a resurrection from death to the life that is normally placed after the great judgment.

**d. The Tension Between Present and Future.** The eschatological quality of life in the community does not eliminate the reality of evil in the present time. Even for the authors of the hymns, the consummation lies in the future, as is evident in a number of stylized passages in the *Hymn Scroll* (1:21–23; 3:23–28; 4:29–40; cf. 1QS 11:9–22). The problem is stated in anthropological terms. Although the sectarian has been justified by God and has received the knowledge that saves, he continues to exist as

"flesh" and "dust." This notion is explicated in the two-ways section of the *Rule of the Community*, which emphasizes the future dimension of eschatology (1QS 3:13–4:26). Although the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness are subject to the respective dominions of the Prince of Light and the Angel of Darkness, the evil spirit wars against the Angel of Light even in the hearts of the "Sons of Light" (1QS 3:21–24). The respective rewards and punishments of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness, described in language found in some of the apocalypses (eternal life, unending light, the garments of majesty; punishing angels, torture in the flames and dark regions of Sheol), lie in the future (4:15–26). At the time which God has determined for the judgment, those who have been chosen for the everlasting covenant will be purified and given the primordial glory of Adam, and evil and the Angel of Darkness will be definitively annihilated. Until then the battle continues.

**e. The Future in Qumranic Eschatologies.** Although it is not appropriate to conflate details from the many Qumranic documents into a single detailed picture of the future, a few items call for comment.

**(1) The *War Scroll.*** A common feature in Jewish writings is the contest between angelic attorneys or chieftains (Nickelsburg 1972). The judicial nature of this contest, attested as early as Zechariah 3, is almost always present in later texts. Increasingly, however, the setting becomes the final judgment, and the opponents are depicted as chieftains of warring armies of angels and demons. This opposition is fundamental in *Jubilees* and the *Melkî-ṣedek/Melkî-reša*ʿ documents—both found at Qumran—and is central to the two-ways section of the *Rule of the Community.* All of these texts feature a dualism that makes human beings the point of contention between opposing angelic chieftains and their benevolent or demonic hordes.

This battle's culmination in the final judgment is the focus of the *War Scroll*, the seven Qumran copies of which indicate its significance for the sect's eschatology. The setting is the End, and the judgment is enacted in a great war, in which the sectarians are co-opted as major functionaries. The scroll's viewpoint stands in an ambiguous relationship with the Enochic writings and the book of Daniel. The warfare between angelic armies parallels Daniel 10–12, but the notion of human participation conflicts with Daniel's more pacifist viewpoint. A military interpretation of angelic activity is less evident in *1 Enoch*, but the Epistle of Enoch (*1 Enoch* 92–105) does espouse such an ideology, and the final form of the Animal Vision (chaps. 85–90) celebrates the activities of Judas Maccabeus.

**(2) Messianic and Non-messianic Eschatological Figures.** Traditional Christian categories have led scholars to generate a plethora of literature on Qumranic "messianism." What is striking is the variety that, on present evidence, escapes clear and certain categorization and chronological definition. Yet a few tendencies are evident.

Three texts tie their hope of a future Davidic king to biblical prophecy. Thus 4QPBless interprets Gen 49:10 with reference to Jeremiah's prophecy about the "Righteous Branch," who will sit on the Davidic throne in accordance with the covenant recorded in 2 Sam 7:13. A commentary on Isaiah 11 sees in that passage a prediction of the Davidide, "who will arise at the end of [days] and rule over all [the nations] … and … execute judgment on [all] the peoples (4Q161). The "Florilegium" (4Q174) also interprets 2 Sam 7:13–14 of the "Branch of David who will arise with the Interpreter of the Law … and … save Israel." To this is added an interpretation of Ps 2:1, referring it to the eschatological battle against the elect ones of Israel. These texts emphasize the king's function as ruler, but also as judge and as Israel's military deliverer from its enemies.

Alongside these texts, which *focus on* the future Davidic king, a significant group of texts *presume* a more complex messianism. Twice, and perhaps three times, the *Damascus Document* (CD) cites the coming of the anointed one of Aaron and Israel as a terminus for the end of the present age ("until the anointed one … arises" [*d* ʿ*mwd mšyḥ*]; 20:1; 12:23–13:1; 14:19). A similar formula occurs in 1QS 9:11, which mentions two anointed ones, of Aaron and Israel, along with "the prophet." The triad of prophet, king, and priest (along with their opponent) is presumed in the Testimonium (4Q175) and is tied to Deut 18:18–19; Num 24:15–17; Deut 33:8–11. The first addition to the *Rule of the Community* (1QSa) anticipates two anointed figures who will be present in the community in the last days. In none of this

group of texts are the functions of the messianic figures spelled out; it is sufficient to cite their arrival as a highly significant event of the end time.

This Qumranic messianism must be placed in the context of the community's eschatological self-understanding. Because the rise of the community is itself an event of the end time, the Teacher and the other figures mentioned in the *Damascus Document* (CD) are also viewed as eschatological figures of soteriological significance. Their role is to elicit the repentance and obedience that will enable the members of the community to survive the divine judgment that separates the righteous and the wicked. In this sense they are analogous to the messenger of the Lord in Malachi.

Commentators on the scrolls have often noted that the rich collection of Enochic literature at Qumran contains no single ms of the Book of Parables. Also lacking therefore is the transcendent judge and deliverer who dominates this text, the Chosen One, Son of Man, and Anointed One. What is usually not noted, however, is the prominence of another angelic figure, who appears in a number of the scrolls, exercising functions elsewhere attributed to priest and king. In 11QMelch, *Melkî-ṣedeq,* who is evidently identified with Michael, is the opponent of Belial and carries out military and priestly roles. In 4QAmram he is the judicial opponent of *Melkî-rešaʿ*. This military and judicial opposition parallels the Michael-Satan antagonism in the *War Scroll.* The quotation of Isa 52:7; 61:2–3; and evidently Dan 9:25 in 11QMelch may indicate that the term "anointed one," used in that text, does in fact designate a heavenly deliverer, as in the Parables of Enoch. On the other hand, this group of texts ascribes to an angelic figure the kind of eschatological functions attributed to the Davidic king in, e.g., the *Psalms of Solomon* (below C.5). In spite of all the Qumranic references to the anointed one(s) of Aaron and Israel, none of the texts that feature Michael and *Melkî-ṣedeq* (except 1QS, where the Prince of Light has primarily ethical functions) makes reference to an eschatological Davidic king or anointed priest.

**(3) The New Jerusalem.** Although the Qumranites indicate considerable disenchantment with Jerusalem and its priesthood, the scrolls contain no major references to the future transformation of the holy city in the tradition of texts like Sirach 36 and Tobit 14. Nevertheless, a few hints of such an idea appear. The commentary on Ps 37:21–22 anticipates the time when "the congregation of the Poor … will possess the high mountain of Israel … and will enjoy [everlasting] delights in his sanctuary" (4Q171 3:11). The reference is noteworthy because the psalm itself does not mention Jerusalem. The idea of a purified Jerusalem also appears in one of the noncanonical psalms in 11QPs$^{a}$ 22. A detailed visionary description of the new Jerusalem in the tradition of Ezekiel 40–48 has also been found (5Q15). These texts notwithstanding, the eschatologically oriented passages in the scrolls are noteworthy, by and large, for their silence about the restoration of Jerusalem. On the other hand, in the spirit of 1QS 8, a commentary on Isa 54:11 interprets language about Jerusalem and its walls to refer to the community and its leaders (4Q164). Perhaps the hope for a restoration was satisfactorily met in such texts as *1 Enoch* and Tobit, which are preserved among the scrolls.

**4. 1 and 2 Maccabees.** The two historical texts that describe the events of the mid-2d century B.C.E. employ traditional future-oriented material in special ways that reflect the authors' situations and purposes. For both, but in radically different ways, prophecy has been fulfilled and God's future activity is anticipated.

According to 1 Macc 1:64; 2:49 the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes is an expression of God's wrath over the apostasy of the hellenizers who have forsaken covenant and Torah (1:11–61). This wrath is turned aside when Mattathias and his family obey the commandments, when the zealous Mattathias follows the example of Phinehas and exacts punishment on an idolatrous Israelite (2:19–26; Num 25:1–13), and when Judas takes up his father's command to repay the gentiles (2:68; 3:8). Thus the Hasmonean house has shown itself to be "the family of those men through whom deliverance was given to Israel" (5:62) as well as rightful high priestly dynasty in the succession of Phinehas. For this advocate of the Hasmoneans, God's turn from wrath to mercy is effected by militant human action; and as in Numbers 25 and Exod 32:25–29, this equips one for priestly service. Writing early in the 1st century B.C.E., the author believes that he lives in the time of blessing that follows repentance from apostasy. Thus the hymn in praise of Simon (14:4–15), which is a veritable pastiche of prophetic clichés, strongly suggests that the

time of fulfillment of the prophecies of Israel's glory had begun in the years of Simon's rule. The covenantal blessings now rest on Israel, and the high priesthood and the title of "king" are legitimately the possession of the Hasmoneans. In such a context it is deemed unnecessary and inappropriate to mention the future consummation of a new covenant, the restoration of the Davidic dynasty, and the rise of a new and righteous high priest. Of course, 4:46 and 14:41 refer to "a (trustworthy) prophet" who may change things in the future. However, since the Hasmoneans would have a say in judging the trustworthiness of such a prophet, there is a certain safety in their openness to future change in the high priestly dynasty.

The author of 2 Maccabees orders the events of ca. 200–165 B.C.E. according to the pattern of Deuteronomy 28–32 (2 Maccabees 3–15). The action focuses on the sanctuary: God protects it during the righteous reign of Onias (chap. 3); the sins committed in it lead to its desolation and the punishment of the people (5:15–20); the repentant actions of the martyrs facilitate the turning of God's wrath to mercy (7:1–8:5) and the restoration of the cult (10:1–8); in this new situation the temple is again under divine protection (chaps. 14–15). In their use of the Deuteronomic cycle, 2 Maccabees and the *Testament of Moses* are noteworthy for their similarities and their differences. Both authors explicitly impose the cycle on the same set of events, and for both, Moses' promise of deliverance from the curse is effected by the act of repentant obedience which occurs in the martyrs' passive acceptance of unjust death. However, different from the *Testament*, which anticipates future salvation through cosmic upheaval and divine epiphany, 2 Maccabees finds the fulfillment of the last stage of the cycle in the past historical events connected with the victories of Judas Maccabeus. In contrast with the propagandistic author of 1 Maccabees, this writer makes pejorative comments in connection with Simon's activity (10:20; 14:15–17) and gives no indication of accepting the perpetual legitimacy of the Hasmonean dynasty.

References to the future appear in two places. In the second letter preceding the historical account, the author cites a pseudo-Jeremianic account about the burial of the temple furnishings until a new time of God's mercy, when the people are gathered and glory returns to the sanctuary as at the time of Moses (and Solomon) (2:4–8). Thus a pseudonymous tradition is accepted as a genuine prophecy that awaits fulfillment. The second set of allusions to the future occurs in chap. 7 with reference to the resurrection of the seven brothers and their mother. Although God's mercy returns to Israel in the events that follow their deaths, they themselves must be vindicated for their faithfulness to the Torah. This notion is expressed through the use of three motifs from Second Isaiah: creation and redemption, the vindication of the Suffering Servant of the Lord, and the return of the children of Mother Zion. Through the use of this last motif, the author denotes a metaphoric fulfillment of Isaiah's prophecy, alongside the literal fulfillment indicated in chap. 2. Although this work shows no love for the priestly and royal pretensions of the Hasmoneans, its scenario for the future time reflects no expectation for a revival of the Davidic dynasty. This is consonant with other texts in the tradition of Second and Third Isaiah.

**5. Messianism and Resurrection (*Psalms of Solomon*).** Written in the mid-1st century B.C.E., Psalms 2 and 8 of this collection agree with the Qumranic *Damascus Document* (CD) and Habakkuk Commentary that the Hasmonean high priests have polluted the sanctuary (*Pss. Sol.* 2:3; 8:11–13). *Psalms of Solomon* 17:5–6 goes beyond the scrolls in criticizing the Hasmoneans' usurpation of the Davidic throne, and it interprets their expulsion by Pompey as divine punishment for this arrogance (17:4–10). Like the authors of 4QPBless and the Florilegium, this writer cites the eternal covenant with David, here interpreted as an oath (cf. Ps 89:3–4), as the basis for his criticism of the Hasmoneans and his hope for a restoration (17:4, 21). The major part of the psalm (vv 21–43) is a description of the activities of the future "son of David" (v 21), "the anointed one [of] the Lord" (v 32; cf. 18:5, 7). The description is expressed in terminology drawn from Ps 2:9 (17:23–24; cf. 18:7); Isaiah 11 (17:24–25, 35–37; cf. 18:7–8); and Ezekiel 34 (17:40), which are read together as a prophetic scenario to be played out in the future. To the normal military, ruling, and judicial functions appropriate to the future king are added others that may indicate priestly functions: the cleansing of Jerusalem (vv 30, 45) and, perhaps, teaching (v 43; cf. Ps 19:7–10). In addition, the time of the king is associated with the return of the dispersion and reordering of the tribes, who are described in language reminiscent of Isaiah 60 and Ezekiel 40–48 (vv 31, 28). This use of Trito-Isaiah is unusual in a Davidic passage, but it occurs also in *Pss. Sol.* 11. Different from Qumran and the

apocalypticists, the authors of these psalms do not claim to know the time of the restoration, which has been fixed by God (17:21).

The resurrection of the righteous to eternal life and the eternal destruction of the wicked (*Pss. Sol.* 3, 13, 14, 15) are an aspect of the eschatology of the *Pss. Sol.* that is never directly associated with their messianism, possibly because they are not functions of the retributive judgment against the enemies which is associated with the coming Davidic king (Nickelsburg 1972: 131–34). Chronologically, the resurrection is placed at the time of God's judgment, when God visits the earth, the day of mercy for the righteous (15:12–13; 14:9). How this is associated with the day of God's mercy at the time of the future king (17:45; 18:9) is unclear (for a similar duplication of terminology in 2 Maccabees, see above).

**6. Immortality in Heavily Hellenistic Texts.** A group of thoroughly Hellenistic Jewish texts, possibly all from the 1st century C.E., express a view of immortality that is largely disconnected from the explicit future orientation of most Jewish speculation about a resurrection of the dead. For more details, see RESURRECTION. These texts reflect the typical eschatological concern that God bring to an end death, mortality, and other related human conditions, but that end is usually not associated with a particular future point in history.

**a. The Wisdom of Solomon 1–6.** The primary example in this treatise on the certainty of divine justice is the case of the persecuted righteous one, who is vindicated when he is exalted in heaven over against his rich and powerful enemies. The precise moment of this post-mortem scene is uncertain because such chronological matters are irrelevant to the author (Nickelsburg 1972: 88–89). Immortality is the *present* possession of the righteous, although it will reach its fruition in God's presence after "they seem to have died" (3:2). Conversely, what the author calls "death" *already* characterizes the wicked and foreshadows their future annihilation. This radicalization of eschatology, while it may be compatible with a Greek notion of immortality, closely parallels the viewpoint of certain of the Qumran hymns.

A temporal historical dimension is not totally absent in Wisdom. The wicked can be punished during their lifetimes (3:10–13, 16–19), and God exacts judgment in historical time and through the forces of the creation. Rulers may be toppled from their thrones or receive divine support, depending on the justice or injustice of their rule (5:17–6:21). One eschatological motif is notably, but not surprisingly, absent in this pseudo-Solomonic text allegedly addressed to kings and rulers. The use of Psalm 2 notwithstanding, the central figure in the text—although he is associated with eschatological functions—is not a future Davidic king, but a righteous spokesman of God patterned after Second Isaiah's servant of Yahweh. See SON OF MAN.

**b. *The Testament of Job.*** Because Job, here the king of Egypt, has obeyed God's voice and destroyed an idolatrous temple, he becomes the victim of Satan. In this patently unjust situation, the significant soteriological axis is vertical—between earth, where Job is reproached because he has been toppled from his throne into a living death, and heaven, the realm of immortality, where Job's eternal throne is already established as the vindication of his righteousness (chaps. 32–33). Aspects of the narrative recall Wisdom's description of the righteous one (Nickelsburg 1981: 269, n. 35). The vertical dimension is emphasized also when Job distributes to his daughters the magical apparatus that enables them to transcend the things of this world and sing the angelic hymns (chaps. 46–52). In the context of this vertically oriented eschatology, where one participates on earth in the immortal blessings of heaven, there is no place for the horizontal axis of a historically oriented eschatology. Even the bodily resurrection of Job's first children (whatever the literary history of chaps. 39–40) is an accomplished fact rather than a future event of the eschaton.

**c. *Joseph and Aseneth.*** Different from Wisdom and the *Testament of Job*, life and death are not treated here in a discussion of theodicy (although 4:12–6:7 recalls Wisdom 2 and 5). Rather, through her conversion from idolatry, Aseneth is brought from the realm of death to life, immortality, and incorruptibility. Her physical transformation attests that she is now qualified to marry Joseph, the son of God. Different from the Qumran hymns, where the ordinary Israelite's entrance into the sect brings one from the realm of death to the sphere of salvation and eternal life, here the conversion that confers

immortality brings a gentile idolatress into the family of the God of Israel; and the wife of the son of God is seen as the mother of future converts to Judaism.

**d. *4 Maccabees.*** This hellenized reworking of 2 Maccabees 7 is noteworthy for its concept of immortality. This state, if it is not already present in the earthly life of the righteous, is conferred at the moment of death, which is the eschaton for individuals. There is no need for a future consummation.

**7. Writings Associated with the Destruction of Jerusalem.** Four major works survive from the time of the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E.: *2 Baruch*, *2 Ezra*, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, and the *Book of Biblical Antiquities* (Pseudo-Philo). For all of them, contemporary events constitute a crisis of theodicy, and each addresses the problem, using its own nuances to reshape earlier Jewish eschatological traditions. Here we discuss three of these works.

**a. *2 Baruch.*** Like its sister apocalypse, *4 Ezra*, this work employs a fictional setting at the time of Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of Jerusalem as a paradigm for the Jews' situation after 70 C.E. The problems of theodicy are worked out through a series of conversations or debates between the seer and God, which make the following points. The present situation indicates that the Jews are being justly punished for their sins. Nonetheless, their gentile conquerors are guilty of greater sins; and their victory over the covenant people is a paradoxical contrast to the divine punishment that they themselves deserve. Moreover, if Israel's plight continues, the people will be denied the privileges of their covenantal status. Thus the present situation massively contradicts the axiom of divine justice and offers a classic opportunity for the solution offered by the varieties of Jewish thought about the future.

The author's answers are difficult to schematize and harmonize, because he has assembled traditions whose views of the future stand in tension and even contradiction with one another if they are taken literally. Nevertheless, some general lines are clear. The solution to the present lies in the future, often designated as "the latter (or last) times," or "in the consummation of the times." God's "chastisement" in the present will be alleviated through God's salvation in the future (1:5; 13:10; cf. Tobit). Chapters 49–52 and 53–74 contrast present and future according to two traditional paradigms. The discussion of the resurrection (chaps. 49–52) employs a vertical axis, contrasting this world and its bodies bound to corruption with the heavenly world of incorruption reserved for the transformed bodies of the resurrected righteous. Chapters 53–74 are an extensive historical apocalypse, with a horizontal eschatological axis. Adam's sin brought untimely death, grief, anguish, pain, and related evils into the world (56:5–6). At the time of the judgment, paradisiacal peace will return, and the consummation of the corruptible will lead to the beginning of the incorruptible (chaps. 72–74).

Three passages associate the events of the end time with the appearance of the anointed one. In chaps. 25–30 his time is placed at the end of twelve periods of evil; he will initiate a time of great blessing and fertility on earth, which will be followed by the consummation and the resurrection. Chapters 36–40 locate the coming of the Messiah during the reign of a particularly wicked king who rules over the last of four kingdoms (cf. Daniel 7). He will judge and condemn that king and reign over Israel until the end of the corruptible world. In the long periodized apocalypse in chaps. 53–74, the Messiah also appears as judge of Israel's enemies who will preside over a world returned to primordial peace. The precise relationship between this messianic reign and the world of incorruption is not clear. Common to all of these texts is their complete silence about the humanity and Davidic lineage of the Messiah. Similarities to Daniel 7 and the Parables of Enoch suggest that the author envisions a transcendental deliverer.

More than the authors of any of the previous texts, this author explicates scenarios for a future that is the end of the old and the beginning of a new time that will replicate the first beginning. The reference to a deliverer defined only as "the (or my) anointed one" (29:4; 30:1; [39:7; 40:1; 72:2]) suggests a fusing of separate eschatologies. The use of historical periodization indicates that God has determined the future, although it is unclear whether the author claims to know its precise time. The admonitions to observe the Torah during the time of the teachers who will succeed "Baruch" suggests that, different from many earlier apocalypses, here the time is not thought to be imminent.

**b. *4 Ezra.*** The author of this apocalypse also reacts to what he considers to be the patent injustices evident in the gentile conquest of Jerusalem. Perhaps the major difference from *2 Baruch* is the

persistence and penetration with which the questions are pressed in lengthy dialogues that are reminiscent of, and perhaps as unsatisfactory as, the book of Job. These nagging doubts and this ongoing questioning color the book's discussions of the end time. The seer wishes to know: How long? Do we live closer to the end than to the beginning? Is this sorrowful age near its end? Are our sins delaying the consummation? What are the signs of the end? Could God not have made the judgment happen sooner? The responses to these questions indicate, first of all, that the times are fixed, as is the number of the souls of the righteous. Like the period of human gestation, the moment for the birth pangs of the new age can be neither delayed nor accelerated. That time, however, is near; this world is in its old age. A particular time frame for the end is indicated in chap. 12, which expects the Messiah during the reign of a contemporary Roman emperor.

*4 Ezra*'s messianism is noteworthy for its eclecticism. Chapters 11–13 expand on and elaborate the vision in Daniel 7, dividing it into two separate visions. Chapter 13 retains the notion of a heavenly figure who—different from Daniel, but like the Parables of Enoch—will function as the judge and annihilator of the nations. This idea of a transcendent messiah parallels *2 Baruch.* In chaps. 11–12, however, the Messiah, whose functions parallel those in chap. 13, is identified as a descendant of David. See SON OF MAN. The Messiah's humanity is evident in a different way in chap. 7. He will reign for 400 years, and then he will die when the earth returns to primeval silence before the resurrection and judgment over which God will preside.

The last mentioned passage posits a real end that precedes a new beginning which harks back to creation. Ezra's anthropology requires a radical new beginning, so that humanity may be rid of the evil seed which was sown in Adam's heart and produces ungodliness until the time of threshing (4:28–32). "But the day of judgment will be the end of this age and the beginning of the immortal age to come, in which corruption has passed away" (7:112–14). The formulation parallels *2 Baruch*'s.

**c. *The Book of Biblical Antiquities* (Pseudo-Philo = L.A.B.).** This work is a retelling of the narratives from Genesis to 1 Samuel rather than an apocalypse that explicitly addresses questions about the end. Nonetheless, it addresses some of the same issues as *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, sometimes employing the same traditions. The crisis of the year 70 is addressed in terms of present and future, but with a special nuance. Do Israel's sin and the plight that has resulted from it mean the end of the nation's covenantal status and the failure of God's promises to the patriarchs? An answer does, in fact, lie in the future, even if one is hard-pressed to find references to that future as the time of an end and a new beginning. However, the Enochic typology of Flood and final judgment appears to underlie *L.A.B.* 3:10, where the resurrection, which marks the end of the world and death, is associated with "another heaven and another earth."

Like the apocalypticists, this author presumes a preordained schedule of divine actions (3:9–10; 56:2; 59:1; 61:3; 62:2–9). Whether the author expected a restoration of the Davidic dynasty is disputed. The book's sudden ending before the reign of David may contradict such an idea, or it may leave the story open-ended, precisely in order to suggest the coming of the Davidic heir.

**D. Summary**

**1. The Future as a Necessary Change.** Israelite attitudes about the future are bound up with a negative appraisal of the present, in two ways. The expectation that things will change in the future may stem from the belief that God's justice is absent in the present. Thus one awaits an act of divine judgment that will reverse present unjust conditions. Alternatively, one may believe that present calamities are the deserved punishment for the sins of the people or some group of them. In such a case one appeals for the repentance that will restore blessing from the just God of the covenant.

The description of the present that needs to be changed varies from text to text and is always colored by the author's experience and appraisal of the current situation. Early texts cite the destruction or effective dismantling of significant social, political, and religious institutions (the monarchy and the temple, cult, and priesthood) and, preeminently, exile from the land. Some later texts continue to dwell variously on the absence of a Davidic king, the failed glory of Zion, the perceived ineffectiveness of the cult, and the continuation of the Diaspora. Other specific situations that call for adjudication or the repentance that leads to blessing include: religious persecution and social and economic oppression by one's compatriots;

political domination by sinful foreigners; undeserved natural disasters; defilement of the temple; egregious disobedience of the Torah and, worse, the teaching of false interpretations of the Torah which leads others astray.

In the context of these (perceived) conditions, Israelite authors await the inevitable intervention of the righteous God, who will adjudicate these wrongs. The arrogant and disobedient will be punished, the righteous will be rewarded, and those who suffer unjustly will be vindicated. A new day will dawn, in which righteousness and abundant blessing will flourish.

**2. Various Eschatological Topics.** The 6th-century prophets addressed the disruption and chaos of their times by creating scenarios of the future that were basically restorationist: return from Exile and Diaspora; restoration of the Davidic monarchy over one nation; the glorious rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple; the revival of the cult. When judgment had been effected, sin had been paid for, and the people had repented, these were the ways in which God would restore the promised blessings to Israel.

Thus the prophetic texts provided a range of topics that reappeared in a wide variety of mixtures and with creative transformations and nuances in scenarios of the future that were, in turn, created by writers of the late Persian and Greco-Roman periods. This variety has tended to be obscured by synthetic and topically oriented handbooks—as valuable as these are for their collections of data. The scholarly investigation of Jewish eschatology needs to focus on individual texts and the specific ways in which their authors interpreted their circumstances and posited solutions to what they perceived to be the major problems that characterized their times.

**a. Messianism.** The issue of Jewish messianism is particularly knotty, and references to a future Davidic king are far less frequent than one might suppose. The texts posit a variety of figures and combinations of figures with a range of judicial and salvific functions: angels and human beings, a king, a priest, a prophet, an interpreter of the Torah. The term *messiah* should perhaps be reserved for figures whose "anointing," whether literal or figurative, places them in continuity with the anointed kings, priests, and prophets of old. Attention to such detail allows one to detect significant discontinuities and distinctions, e.g., between an anticipated Davidide (*Pss. Sol.* 17–18) and a transcendent savior who fills the role that others ascribed to such a royal figure. Similarly, one can track such tendencies as the absence of a Davidic king in texts that are strongly beholden to the traditions of Second Isaiah and Third Isaiah.

**b. The Kingdom of God.** The notion that God is king and exercises kingly rule even over the nations is a natural concomitant of royal messianism, as the biblical texts, and the psalms in particular, indicate. It is noteworthy therefore how seldom the term and the idea of the kingdom of God appear in texts of the Greco-Roman period. Significantly, however, this term does occur in contexts where no Davidide is evident but where the problem is a (potential) threat by gentile kings (Daniel 2; 7; *T. Moses* 10:1; Wis 6:4). These and other occurrences need to be studied with an eye toward understanding why the term does not appear in other contexts.

**c. Resurrection and Eternal Life.** While many of the texts of the Greco-Roman period posit God's transcendence over death, their formulations differ widely. Other texts get along handily without any such idea, and texts like Baruch and 2 Maccabees 7 can employ the same Deutero-Isaianic traditions to describe a literal return from dispersion and a resurrection of the dead. Careful study of historical situation, social context, and literary form helps to explain these differences.

**3. Development toward Eschatology.** The term *eschatology* is problematic. The Hebrew and Aramaic roots *ʾaḥryt* and *ʾaḥrwn* ('after,' 'latter') need not, in themselves, denote a finality that involves a decisive break with the present. The emergence of the notion that the *latter* times will be the *last* times is difficult to track and is hardly the result of simple evolution. Linguistically it is perhaps most evident in texts—whether original or translations—where *eschatos* ('last') appears as the equivalent of the Semitic terms. More important indicators appear in the content and in the rhetoric or literary form of both Semitic and Greek texts.

**a. Replication in a New Beginning.** The writings of the 6th-century prophets emphasize with some consistency that the future will be characterized by the replication of a significant past event or situation. A new beginning will correspond to an earlier beginning. One envisions a new exodus, or a new covenant,

or, more radically in Second Isaiah and Third Isaiah, a new creation. The repetition of the primordial sequence of judgment and new creation is central to *1 Enoch* and is suggested in Isaiah 24–27. To the extent that such new beginnings imply an *end* to the present order, one may appropriately use the term *eschatology.*

**b. Qualitative Distinction Between the Present and the First Beginnings.** Increasingly with time, scenarios of the future posit a sharp and qualitative distinction from the present, a caesura that brings closure to the evils that characterize the present time. The new age will be marked by the universal, permanent eradication of evil and the cosmic, eternal sovereignty of God. In its universality and permanency the new order qualitatively exceeds and transcends the first beginnings that have been replicated. Different from the Flood (Gen 9:11 notwithstanding), this judgment will be final because the world that follows it will live up to the Creator's intentions, completely and forever. The distinction between the future and both the present and the first beginnings justifies the term *dualistic* or *mythic eschatology.* An increasing tendency toward such an eschatology is evident in *some* texts from Second and Third Isaiah onward.

Dualistic eschatologies are a function of their historical contexts and express a pessimistic appraisal of the present situation and severe skepticism about the possibility of redeeming the present order. Differences in the manner and locus of eschatological salvation are, functionally, not all that significant. One may live an eternal life in a transformed and immortal body on a newly created earth. One's soul or spirit may permanently ascend from earth to heaven, the realm of immortality and incorruption, which may eventually be separated from earth, which becomes the place of damnation.

Alongside texts that reflect such dualistic eschatologies, others appear that express views of the future that do not differ significantly from their counterparts in the 6th-century prophets. It remains a task for scholarship to identify and seek to explain these differences.

**c. Teleology.** If one is justified in using "eschatological" to describe dualistic views of the future with their notions of end and new beginning, there is also another sense in which one may see an "end" in the future. When prophecy fails to reach its complete literal fulfillment, one may look for the *telos,* the moment when God's infallible word finds its "goal" and reaches its fulfillment and culmination. This idea of end is clear in the Qumran commentaries on Scripture and, e.g., in Tobit and Sirach. It may be implicit when prophetic language is used to color new scenarios that describe the future (Baruch, as well as *1 Enoch*). It is evident in a different way when the Deuteronomic scheme is imposed on present and imminent events.

**4. Time Frames and Their Implications.** Jeremiah and Ezekiel are the earliest among the extant prophetic writings to indicate the specific time when a prophecy was to be fulfilled. Second Isaiah follows by identifying the time of salvation (also the end of the Exile) with a historical event that was in the process of happening. Third Isaiah, Haggai, and Zechariah saw God's intervention as imminent. Although prophecy continues to fall short of its complete fulfillment, writers of the Greco-Roman period continue to announce God's decisive intervention in the imminent future. In the case of the apocalypticists, this notion is expressed in sometimes lengthy reviews of history, attributed to figures of the past, which place the eschaton very close to the real authors' own times. Precisely how these authors concluded that they were living in the end times is not clear. A comparison of these texts with non-apocalyptic writings may shed some light on the matter. Daniel 9 indicates a reinterpretation of Jeremiah; the *Damascus Document* (CD) cites Ezekiel's prophecy, perhaps in revised form, and the Qumran commentaries explicitly point to the fulfillment of specific prophecies; the *Testament of Moses* is cast in the form of a paraphrase of Deuteronomy. However, the methods and mechanics of timing the fulfillment of prophecy and the arrival of the end remain obscure.

Two notions about the time of the end stand in tension with one another, although they sometimes appear in the same texts. The first is the relatively common idea that God foresees all of the future and, indeed, that God determined the structure of the ages before creation. This view is implied in historical apocalypses that "predict" events that cover centuries and even millennia; it is evident in Enoch's claim to have seen the heavenly tablets; and it is explicit in a number of Qumranic texts. It may also be suggested

in Tobit. Over against these kinds of determinism, one finds references to a variety of eschatological catalysts and deterrents. The end can be brought on by the prayers of the righteous, by conversion to a right understanding and observance of the Torah, and by the resolute deaths of the martyrs. Sin and its judgment can deter the coming of salvation and blessing; or for want of a better explanation, one may speak of the times being extended through the mysteries of God (1QpHab 7:7–11).

As the last cited passage indicates, claims that the end is imminent (and in some cases, to be dated) bring with them the problem that one must with time explain the evident fact that the end has not come. The more precise the prediction, the greater the subsequent necessity to explain. Such explanations in the form of revised calculations appear in Daniel 9 and Dan 12:12–13. In *T. Moses* 6 and *1 Enoch* 90 new material is interpolated to indicate a different time frame for an extant context.

In some cases eschatological awareness is so high that one can rightly speak about a "realized eschatology." The events of the end have already begun to happen. Methodological rigor requires, however, that we employ the term with great caution, making appropriate distinctions between Second Isaiah, the Qumran hymns, and the Epistle of Enoch.

**5. Eschatology and Genre.** Certain literary genres seem more likely than others to express eschatological ideas. Two implications follow from this. The absence of detailed and significant references to the future may be a function of the purposes and limitations of the genre and need not indicate that the author placed no stock in a change in the future. Ben Sira's wisdom genres tend to obscure his eschatology. On the other hand, one should be careful not to posit belief in a certain eschatological topic in spite of its absence.

Eschatology is often linked with apocalyptic thought. Recent studies of apocalypticism have demonstrated, however, that apocalypses reveal the secrets of the cosmos, as well as the hidden events of the future—although the two may be related. The salutary distinction between the literary genre of apocalypse and the kind of eschatology that typifies some apocalypses needs to be maintained and investigated with greater precision. One blurs careful definition when one speaks of "apocalyptic eschatology" in texts that chronologically precede the documented rise of apocalyptic genres (e.g., Isaiah 24–27; 56–66; and Joel). Similar caution is necessary in the study of later texts that are contemporary with the writing of apocalypses. Do these authors (perhaps in their claims about the nearness of the end) presuppose notions of revelation present in apocalypses? Finally, why did apocalypticists employ new, revelatory genres to embody the mythic and dualistic eschatologies that the prophetic texts had expressed in other literary forms?

**6. Social Matrices of Eschatological Thought.** Relatively little attention has been given to the social contexts that gave rise to early Jewish eschatological speculation. Qumran is an exception, because the archaeological evidence and the genre of some of the texts provide information that is not available in other texts. These latter texts, however, should be pressed for the evidence they may provide. For example, *1 Enoch* suggests the notion of an eschatological community constituted by a belief that they are the possessors of eschatological revealed knowledge. Although we can know almost nothing about whatever communal structure may have existed, it is important to see in these texts and others like them how an eschatological belief may have created or influenced certain behaviors, ideologies, and social arrangements, or may have resulted from them.

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(See also *RGG* 2: 630–89; *TRE* 10: 254–70; and bibliographies for APOCALYPSES AND APOCALYPTICISM; KINGDOM OF GOD; MESSIAH; RESURRECTION; SON OF MAN.)

GEORGE W. E. NICKELSBURG

# *EARLY CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY*

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## A. Introduction

The term *eschatology,* formed from the Gk adjective *eschatos* (meaning "last," "final") was coined in the early 19th century by theologians to refer to that part of systematic theology which deals with Christian beliefs concerning death, the afterlife, judgment, and the resurrection, i.e., *individual* eschatology. The term is now used more broadly to refer to the whole constellation of beliefs and conceptions about the end of history and the transformation of the world which particularly characterized early Judaism, and early Christianity, and Islam, i.e., *cosmic* eschatology. The central foci of these beliefs are the judgment of sinners and the salvation of the righteous. In early Judaism and early Christianity eschatological beliefs were often linked with a sense of urgency in view of the imminent expectation of the end of the age, although the degree of urgency or imminence varies in accordance with the particular social situation in which such beliefs are thought meaningful (e.g., persecution, feelings of alienation, etc.). The future is more important than the present since the existing world order will soon be overthrown.

**B. The Morphology of Eschatology**

All religions are centrally concerned with *salvation,* though the fundamental problems of human existence perceived by particular communities and the solutions formulated by their religious systems exhibit great diversity. Eschatology is a mythical mode of understanding the complete realization of salvation as a *future* event or series of events which are, nevertheless, somehow linked to the *present.* For this reason, in the belief and myth systems of early Judaism and early Christianity there is always *tension* between the present and future, because the present can always serve as the stage for the inauguration of the eschatological drama and the future can always be drawn into the present through ritual anticipation. Since the emphasis on the imminent expectation of the end is often *increased* in settings of adverse social, economic, and political experience and *decreased* during periods of relative peace and prosperity, it is clear that eschatology had an important social and religious function in ancient Judaism and Christianity. Though the importance and salvation of the individual are not without significance, the eschatology of early Judaism and early Christianity tended to focus primarily on the *social* and *ecological* dimensions of salvation. Eschatology therefore has several important constituent features which require separate discussion.

**1. Protology and Eschatology.** Many ancient religious traditions produced and preserved mythical accounts of the origins of the gods (theogony) and the world and humanity (cosmogony). They also consciously understood religious rituals as reenactments of archetypal or paradigmatic events, activities, and gestures from a pristine era (Eliade 1959: 21–27; 1963: 392–97), thus providing the basis for possible links between myth and ritual (Fontenrose 1966: 50–60). Comparatively few religious systems share the early Jewish and early Christian view that since the world had a beginning, it must also have an end. For both early Judaism and early Christianity, the idyllic conditions of earlier periods (e.g., the situation of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden before the fall, the relationship between Yahweh and Israel in the wilderness of Sinai, the golden age of David and Solomon) became important sources of language and imagery for describing the ideal conditions of the future. This is the *Urzeit-Endzeit* ("primeval epoch-final epoch") schema, in which the future is expected to parallel idyllic eras of the past. Isaiah's vision of a world free from strife and of Jerusalem as an international center (Isa 2:1–4) is based on this pervasive pattern of thought. Similarly, the imagery of Isaiah's prophecy that "the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid" (Isa 11:6), is a vision which conceptualizes the idyllic future in imagery drawn from the myth of Eden. Thus the conditions of eschatological salvation are usually conceptualized as a *restoration* of primal conditions rather than an entirely new or utopian mode of existence with no links to the past. On the other hand, the apocalyptic conviction that a period of great stress and upheaval will precede the inauguration of the end is also conceptualized using language and imagery from the past. The mythical primordial story of the fall of Helel ben Shachar (RSV: Day Star, Son of Dawn) first appears in Isa 14:12–15. There it is used in a song of taunt to celebrate the fall of the king of Babylon. Understood as a description of the primordial fall of Satan, it is alluded to in Jesus' vision of Satan's eschatological fall (Luke 10:18) and is applied in Rev 12:7–9 to Satan's protological fall. Similarly, the plagues unleashed by the seven trumpets and seven bowls of Rev 8:1–11:14 and 15:1–16:21 are modeled after the ten plagues inflicted on the Egyptians in Exodus 7–12 (an earlier tradition of *seven* Egyptian plagues is preserved in several OT texts: Pss 78:43–51; 105:27–36; Amos 4:1–12; cf. Wis 11:1–19:9).

**2. Eschatology and History.** Since the focus of eschatological salvation is upon a transformed society living in an ideal environment, the earliest and most persistent forms of Jewish eschatology have a marked temporal and materialistic focus. The Israelite conception of "salvation" centered in the notion of *bĕrākâ* ("blessing,"), which consisted exclusively in temporal benefits: abundance of crops, long life, good health, many children, peace with one's adversaries, and (even better) victory in war (*PI* 1: 182–212; Westermann 1978: 15–23). In addition, a strong emphasis on the secure and permanent possession of the land, with its center in Jerusalem, pervades the Hebrew Bible and has remained a focus of Judaism until modern times (Brueggemann 1977).

Though there was a tendency in early Christianity to reject the temple (Acts 7) and to spiritualize the conceptions of the land, the holy city, and the temple (Davies 1970: 366–76), it is, nevertheless, true that for some strands of early Christianity strongly influenced by Judaism emphasis was placed upon the eschatological renewal of the earth and the exaltation of Jerusalem within the context of the land (cf. Rev 14:1–5; 20:1–5; 21:1–22:5), a view particularly at home in Jewish Christianity (Danielou 1964: 377–404). The late 1st- and early 2d-century C.E. emphasis on millenarianism (a term ultimately derived from Rev 20:1–5), at home in Jewish Christian circles, was particularly popular in Christian groups living in the Roman province of Asia. Millenarianism included an idyllic portrait of life on a renewed earth as emphasized by Papias (Iren. *Haer.* 5.33.3–4) and accepted by Justin, Irenaeus, and Hippolytus. This materialistic conception of eschatological salvation, however, antithetical to the Hellenic emphasis on the priority of spirit over matter, was ridiculed by educated Christians (cf. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.11–13) and, with the demise of Jewish Christianity, was eventually given up.

Frequently Jewish and Christian perspectives on history have been characterized as *linear,* i.e., as portraying history as a line that began with creation and God's first covenants with people and progresses straight to the future eschatological consummation. This is contrasted with the *cyclical* perspective of Greco-Roman culture, which knows no final and nonrepeatable events. This contrast appears to be a vast oversimplification, however; for the historical thought of ancient Israel and early Judaism as well as early Christianity was not fundamentally different from that of ANE nations and Greece. The Stoic view of time in particular shows close similarities with ancient Israelite conceptions of time.

**3. Eschatology and Apocalypticism.** Both *eschatology* and *apocalypticism* are modern terms used by scholars to describe an important religious perspective characteristic of some but not all strands of early Judaism and early Christianity. When applied to early Christianity, the terms *eschatology* and *apocalypticism* are essentially synonymous, since there is no aspect of cosmic eschatology that cannot also be considered an aspect of apocalypticism, *apart from the element of the imminent expectation of the end.* Yet until very recently eschatology and apocalypticism have frequently been distinguished, with the former regarded positively and the later negatively (e.g., Perrin 1963: 176–78). According to this assessment the most striking difference between prophecy and apocalypticism lies in their respective views of history. While prophecy regards history as the arena of God's saving activity, apocalypticism understands history in mythical terms so that individual events have ceased to be important and the emphasis is on a climactic series of events by which God will bring salvation to his people by bringing history to a cataclysmic conclusion (Perrin 1963: 176–78). Jesus is understood as rejecting the apocalyptic understanding of history and reverting to a prophetic understanding (Kümmel 1961: 88–104; Perrin 1963: 178; Crossan 1973: 26–27).

Old Testament scholars usually make a distinction between the "prophetic eschatology" of the classical Hebrew prophets and the "apocalyptic eschatology" characteristic of early Jewish apocalyptic literature. Until very recently there was a tendency to deny any direct continuities between prophecy and apocalypticism, a denial motivated at least in part by a generally negative attitude toward apocalypticism on the part of biblical scholars. Apocalypticism was consequently regarded, not as an *internal* development within the postexilic Jewish community, but as the result of the pernicious influence of *external* cultural forces (variously assessed as Canaanite, Babylonian, or Persian). "Prophetic eschatology," it was claimed, was essentially an optimistic world view espoused by the classical Israelite prophets, who expected that God would ultimately transform the world by reinstating the lost Edenic conditions. This prophetic optimism was supposedly shattered by the capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Solomonic temple in 587 B.C.E. This event, which entailed the exile of many inhabitants of Judea (Jer 52:28–30 reports three deportations totaling 4600 people; a larger, probably exaggerated, figure is reported in 2 Kgs 24:14), began centuries of national subjugation to a succession of Near Eastern empires. Preexilic optimism was replaced with despair and pessimism which found expression in "apocalyptic eschatology." According to this perspective the world appeared to have become so irredeemably evil that only through a cataclysmic intervention and the destruction of the old world could a new and ideal society and environment be created.

One persistent problem is the propriety of using the term *eschatology* of the message of the preexilic prophets (beginning with Amos and Hosea). In ancient Israelite thought the terms *ʾahărît* ("end,") *ʾahărît yāmîm* ("end of days,") and *yôm YHWH* ("day of the Lord") do not refer to the eschatological consummation or the end of the world but rather to the more or less distant future (Lindblom 1952: 79–114). While the OT speaks of the "day of the Lord," such phrases do not refer to the end of history but rather to a future time (sometimes considered near and at other times more remote), when God is expected to act in human history to accomplish his purpose. Though the precise origins of Jewish eschatology are obscure and a matter of some speculation, it is, nevertheless, clear that earlier *noneschatological* terms and conceptions were later given an *eschatological* significance.

The critical issue for some scholars is whether or not prophets such as Amos and Hosea were prophets of *doom* (McKane 1979: 176 f.). Prophetic eschatology may be defined as "the study of ideas and beliefs concerning the end of the present world order, and the introduction of a new order" (Clements 1965: 105). If the term *eschatology* is restricted to the anticipation of events which follow the consummation of history, then it is an inappropriate designation for describing the element of hope and restoration in Israelite prophecy subsequent to Amos and Hosea. The term *eschatology* can be meaningfully applied to the perspective of the 8th- and 7th-century Israelite writing prophets when the term is broadly defined as the expectation of imminent events brought about by the action of God in history accompanied by the dissolution of the old salvation history. Prophetic eschatology involves the implication that the saving events of the past (e.g., the Exodus; the conquest of the land; the Davidic covenant) are no longer considered adequate or valid (*ROTT* 2: 112–19). It is problematic to label the prophetic anticipations of hope, restoration, and reconstruction (cf. Isa 9:2–7; 11:1–9; 32:1–8; Amos 9:11–12; Hos 2:5) as *eschatological,* since a full and complete *end* is not anticipated. However, the language of prophetic expectation for the future of Israel became increasingly extravagant (cf. Isa 60:1–2; 61:1–7; 66:12–16) and in ignoring historical realities increasingly took on the characteristics of later apocalypticism. Apocalyptic eschatology, then, must be considered primarily as a theological development which took place *within* postexilic Jewish religious thought.

**4. Eschatology and Cult.** Religious ritual is usually regarded by its practitioners as the conscious repetition and representation of paradigmatic events and activities of the past, serving to restore and invigorate the present (Eliade 1959: 5–6; Zuesse *EncRel* 12: 406–8). In Babylon the annual New Year *Akitu* Festival (preserved in documents from the Hellenistic period, cf. Smith 1978: 72–74) involved a sacred marriage ceremony and a ritual presentation of the primeval battle between the Babylonian god Marduk and the chaos monster Tiamat. The victory of order over chaos assured another year of blessing and prosperity. In ancient Israel and in Judaism, the *šôfār* ("ram's horn") was used in cultic contexts (2 Sam 6:15; Isa 27:13; Joel 2:15; Ps 81:3), where it recalls the Sinai theophany (Exod 19:16; 20:18), and was also used as part of ancient Israelite theophanic imagery (Isa 18:3; Joel 2:1; Zech 9:14; Ps 47:5), a cultic metaphor found also in Rev 1:10.

In early Christianity eschatology was not simply one aspect of a cognitive theological system, but rather was intimately connected with religious experience within the corporate setting of worship. Even though early Christianity (as early Judaism) conceptualized the future in terms of the meaningful paradigmatic or archetypal events and conditions of the significant past, nevertheless, during the first century C.E. the focus was placed on the eschatological consummation in which salvation would be fully and completely realized. Early Christian worship functioned primarily as a vehicle for celebrating the realization of salvation in and through Jesus Christ. The goal of salvation, the complete attainment of the presence of God, was considered the object of eschatological hope, whether in a renewed earthly environment or in the heavenly world (1 Thess 4:16–17; 1 Cor 15:20–28; Heb 12:18–24; Rev 21:22–22:5; *Odes Sol.* 11:16–17; 36:1–2; *Ign. Magn.* 14:1). In Christian worship the anticipated goal of final, eschatological deliverance was drawn into the sphere of present experience and celebrated *as if* it had been fully and finally achieved. In the phenomenology of this worship, past and future collapse into an eternal present; and the spatial distinction between heaven and earth is momentarily obliterated. In the light of this kind of

cultic experience, there can be no hard and fast dichotomy between the presence of Jesus in the midst of the worshipping community and the "distant" presence of Jesus at the right hand of God.

At least two major constellations of imagery were used by early Christians to conceptualize the final heavenly gathering of the redeemed (Aune 1976: 455–58). In early Judaism this final gathering before God or his accredited representative was sometimes conceptualized using banquet imagery (1QSa; *1 En.* 62:14; *2 En.* 42:5; *2 Bar.* 29:8; cf. Isa 25:6; 65:13). The cult meal of the Essenes anticipated the coming of the messiah(s) of Aaron and Israel (1QSa 2:17–22; 1QS 6:1–6; cf. *JW* 2.128–33), and is phenomenologically similar to the function of the early Christian celebration of the Last Supper (Kuhn 1957: 65–93). Through the utilization of this messianic banquet metaphor (which early Christians used only rarely), the celebration of the Eucharist could be understood as an anticipation of the eschatological heavenly banquet (cf. Matt 8:11; 26:69; Mark 14:25; Luke 22:16; 18:30; *Didache* 9:4). Yet the primary way of conceptualizing the complete experience of eschatological salvation was not the messianic banquet metaphor, but rather the conception of the final festal gathering of both angelic beings and redeemed people before the heavenly presence of God. Using this imagery, the gathering of a local community for worship could be viewed from a cosmic perspective as *the* final gathering of *the* Christian church before the eternal presence of God. This phenomenon explains some unusual features of Christian worship, such as the belief that angels were present in the midst of the worshipping community (1 Cor 11:10; Heb 12:22; 13:2; Col 2:18; *Herm. Sim.* 9.27.2; cf. Peterson 1964). The eschatological focus was celebrated in various ways in early Christian worship. Even the celebration of the Eucharist, which is often understood more exclusively in terms of the repetition of the Lord's Supper in light of the events of the death and resurrection of Jesus, nevertheless, has a significant eschatological emphasis in the fragments of the early liturgies which have been preserved (1 Cor 11:26; Mark 11:25 = Matt 26:29 = Luke 22:18; *Didache* 9:4). Some early Christian hymns, such as Phil 2:5–11, have an eschatological perspective in which events which clearly belong to the future are described as if they are already part of present experience. This phenomenon of the blending of the future with the present in the experience of worship suggests that the language of "realized" eschatology (i.e., events and conditions which belong to the eschatological consummation are described as if they already belonged to present experience) may have its origin and primary setting in worship (Aune 1972: 8–23).

**5. Eschatology as Folklore.** While accounts of the beginning of the gods (theogony) and of the world (cosmogony) are generally recognized as that type of folk literature usually labeled "myth," it is not often recognized that eschatology also belongs to the realm of myth and therefore itself belongs to the category of folk literature. *Eschatology* in the sense that the term is generally used of early Jewish and early Christian conceptions of the end, consists of *narratives* rather than doctrines. Furthermore, since such narratives focus on some time in the future at which the present order will be radically transformed, they are necessarily couched in metaphoric and symbolic terms and include large doses of communal fantasy. Jewish eschatology and Christian eschatology consist primarily in the imaginative projection of folkloristic themes and motifs into the future as constitutive parts of a final salvation presented in narrative form. In an important study the implications of which have yet to be realized L. Hartman (1966) isolated a sequence of five motifs which occur in order in 65 pericopes on the last things found in early Jewish apocalyptic literature (listed in Hartman 1966: 53, n. 13): (1) the preliminary time of evil, (2) divine intervention, (3) the judgment, (4) the fate of the sinners, and (5) the joy of the elect. This structure has two main forms, one in which God intervenes and no messiah is mentioned and the other in which the Messiah has a place in the pattern. Two other frequently occurring motifs are the earthquake motif and the tumult and assault of the heathen. The structural *unity* of the various scenarios consists in the relatively consistent use of this structural pattern and in the extensive use of ancient myths and symbols rather than in any theological or ideological consistency. It is important to emphasize the fact that neither Jewish nor Christian eschatology can in any way be considered a *unified* or consistent system of beliefs and symbols about the saving events of the future.

There are several texts in early Christian literature which narrate a sequence of events associated with the end of the world. Several of these "eschatological scenarios" are found in the Synoptic Gospels: Mark 13; Matt 24–25; Luke 21; 17:20–37.

**C. The Jewish Roots of Christian Eschatology**

**1. Introduction.** Eschatology appears to have constituted not only the matrix within which early Christianity developed, but also an inseparable feature of early Christianity itself. One persistent methodological problem in reconstructing the Jewish eschatological setting of Jesus and early Christianity, however, has been the tendency to use the NT itself as a primary source for reconstructing Jewish eschatology for the 1st century C.E. This approach is made even more problematic once it is recognized that early Judaism had no single consistent "eschatology," but rather exhibited a variety of eschatologies. This problematic approach was particularly prevalent in the decades before the discovery and publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which provided a datable body of texts (and texts not subject to revision after ca. 68 C.E.), which attested to several forms of Jewish eschatology which existed in Palestine from the 2d century B.C.E. to the 1st century C.E. In most modern discussions of early Christian eschatology, the emphasis is usually placed on parallels with Jewish eschatology without a suitable emphasis on the distinctive features which Christian eschatologies share. The process whereby Jewish eschatology was transformed began with Jesus of Nazareth. Though Jesus certainly stands within the framework of early Jewish eschatological thought, his distinctive combination of eschatological motifs and themes and the way he related them to his own mission and message produced a new perspective which was inherited and broadened by his followers after his death and resurrection.

**2. The Messiah.** Until the middle of the 1st century C.E. in Judaism, the term *māšîaḥ* ("anointed one") did not unambiguously refer to the eschatological Davidic messiah, a fact which suggests the relative unimportance of the term for Jewish eschatological expectation (de Jonge 1966: 133 f.). That usage begins to appear toward the end of the 1st century C.E. and becomes dominant in later rabbinic Judaism. In CD 14:11, an ambiguous text, there *may* be a reference to the coming of a single messiah representing both priesthood and people or the text may be understood to expect *two* figures, a priestly messiah and a lay messiah. Nothing in these texts suggests a Davidic messiah. In 1QS 9:11–12 there is a clear reference to *two* messianic figures, a priestly messiah and a lay messiah (i.e., the messiah of Israel is nowhere said to be Davidic): "the coming of a prophet and the messiahs of Aaron and Israel." In 1QSa 2:12–21, a single messiah, the messiah of Israel is mentioned alongside the priest. The *War Scroll* (1QM) contains no mention of any messiah, with the exception that the phrase "anointed ones" (11:1–3) clearly refers to prophets. Similarly the *Hodayot* (1QH) makes no clear mention of a messiah. Elsewhere the notion of a Davidic messiah is found in 4QFlor and 4Q161 and 162. Despite the many fragments and documents which made up the library at Qumran, it is remarkable that references to a messiah or messiahs occur only sporadically and inconsistently. It is useful to understand Jewish messianism in terms of Gershom Sholem's typology, which distinguishes between *restorative* and *utopian messianism. Restorative messianism* anticipates the restoration of the Davidic kingdom, while *utopian messianism* expects the creation of a new and perfect world after the destruction of the present evil world.

**3. The Combat Myth.** The legendary narrative pattern of a combat between a hero and his adversary or the mythical narrative of a primordial cosmic struggle between two divine beings and their allies for sovereignty over the cosmos was widespread throughout the ancient world. The names of the combatants (as well as their roles) change from culture to culture: in Babylon it was Marduk and Tiamat, or Gilgamesh and Humbaba; in Canaan the combatants were Baal and Yamm. There were many variants of the combat myth in Greece; and some of the combatants included Ouranos and Kronos, Zeus and the Titans, Zeus and Typhoeus, and Helios and Phaethon. Many of the mythical motifs of the combat myth remain constant or are subject to a limited range of variation.

Various versions of the combat myth were adapted first by Israel and later on by Judaism from the various cultures with which they had close contact throughout their historical experience. Jewish apocalyptic literature reflects a renaissance of ancient mythical narratives, of which one of the more important was the combat myth. This myth functioned to ascribe the experience of suffering and evil in

the world to an independent cosmic adversary, Satan. Satan is the primary adversary (variously conceived as a rebel, tempter, or tyrant) in early Judaism and early Christianity; his name suggests that his primary role is that of *opposition* (the Gk term *diabolos* means "slander," and the Heb term *śaṭan* means "adversary"). He is of course known by many other names as well, including Beliar, Beelzebul, Abaddon, Apollyon, Lucifer, Sammael, Semihazeh, Asael, and the Devil. In Rev 12:9 he has a long list of aliases, including the Great Dragon, the Ancient Serpent, Devil, Satan, and the Deceiver of the Whole World. In the specifically Christian version of the combat myth, an exalted angelic being challenged the power of Yahweh and now has control of the earth. Christ functions as the divine warrior. Though Satan attempts to defeat him (cf. Luke 22:3: "Then Satan entered into Judas"), Christ has freed humanity through his crucifixion from the tyranny of Satan, though Satan's final banishment has yet to take place. This protological imagery was thus transformed into eschatology in early Christianity.

**4. The Paradise Motif.** In early Judaism the protological conditions described in Gen 2–3 became the source of imagery for the widespread belief that the ideal conditions which existed before the fall would be restored in the eschaton. In an ideal earthly environment, called the Garden of Eden, but later frequently referred to as Paradise, Adam and Eve possessed perpetual life and were free from disease, pain, sorrow, and the necessity of labor. The process of mythologization further developed each of these ideal features. Paradise was considered a heavenly region (2 Cor 12:2f.; *2 En.* 8:1), so that the expulsion of Adam and Eve was from heaven to earth. Adam was conceptualized as an angelic heavenly being who lost immortality when he was expelled from heaven. Further, the tree of life, first mentioned in Gen 2:9 and 3:23–24, became a recurring symbol for access to eternal life in Judaism (Sir 19:19; *4 Ezra* 7:123; *4 Macc.* 18:16; *T. Levi* 18:11; *Apoc. El.* 5) and in early Christianity (Rev 2:7; 22:2, 14, 19). Whenever the attainment of eternal life was the subject of Jewish eschatological hopes, that life was conceptualized in terms of the restoration of Edenic conditions. In Rev 22:1–5, for example, the New Jerusalem (the dwelling place for the righteous on a re-created earth) is described with imagery drawn from Gen 2–3.

**5. The Denationalization of Jewish Eschatology.** While Christianity began as a movement within Judaism, by the late 1st century C.E. a polarization had taken place which eventually resulted in the complete separation of Christianity as a distinct entity from Judaism. Christianity then became a distinctive religious phenomenon in the ancient world, a religious cult without a national homeland. Paul had already placed all people into three distinct groups, Jews, Greeks, and members of the church of God (1 Cor 10:32). This tendency culminated in the designation of Christians as the *tertium genus,* "third race" (*Diog.* 5–6; Tert. *Ad Nat.* 1.8).

Since the mythical imagery and motifs of Jewish apocalyptic eschatology were drawn from the ancient *national* mythical traditions of creation and kingship, the separation of Christianity from Judaism also entailed separation from the mythical traditions which defined the Jewish national identity. It is not accidental that Revelation was apparently the *only* apocalypse with close generic ties to early Jewish apocalypses nevertheless produced by an early Christian author (theories proposing that Revelation is basically a Jewish apocalypse with a light Christian redaction have proven unconvincing). While the *Shepherd of Hermas* (particularly *Vis.* 1–4) is an apocalypse, there is little similarity in content with either Revelation or early Jewish apocalypses. Christian "apocalypses" produced in the 2d and 3d centuries C.E. such as the *Apocalypse of Peter,* tend (like Greco-Roman apocalypses; cf. Betz 1983: 594 f.) to focus on tours of heaven and hell in which the eternal states of the righteous and sinners are emphasized as sanctions for present behavior. In several respects the acts of Christian martyrs, with their focus on individual eschatology, replaced the apocalypse as the idiom of an oppressed minority.

**D. Eschatology in the Greco-Roman World**

Several themes which play an important role in Jewish and Christian eschatology were also the subject of speculation in the Greco-Roman world. Three such themes include (1) the end of the world, (2) the schematization of history into periods, and (3) the anticipation of an idyllic period following a time of decline or repression.

In early Greek thought the expectation of the end of the world was a concern of natural philosophy, not of religious or mythological speculation (Burkert 1983: 240). Stoicism taught a periodic conflagration

*(ekpyrosis)* and reconstitution *(palingenesia)* of the cosmos (cf. von Arnim 1964: 2.596–632; Long and Sedley 1987 §46A–P). The conflagration of the world was a view attributed to Heraclitus (Diog. Laert. 9.8). According to the Stoics the world, though imperishable, was subject to an eternal series of world cycles in which all matter was reduced to pure fire *(ekpyrosis).* Chrysippus emphasized the periodic return of the *same* world and the *same* people. Virgil, writing in this tradition, predicts that in the golden age a second voyage of the Argo (from the story of Jason and the Argonauts) will take place, and a second Trojan War will be fought, and a second Achilles will go to Troy (*Ecl.* 4.34–36). The Stoics even spoke of these cosmic cycles in terms of the beginning *(arche)* and end *(telos)* and of significant events which changed the character of the world. Though both Plato and Aristotle held to a conception of the eternity of the cosmos, they both thought that civilization was periodically destroyed by natural disasters and thereafter reborn (a view also reflected in Polyb. 6.5.4–9).

The periodization of past epochs was also important for such Greek authors as Hesiod (*Op.* 106–201) and Plato (*Plt.* 273E; *Ti.* 29A). This historical scheme appears in Daniel 7–12 and later Jewish apocalypses and seems to have been borrowed by the Jews from the Greeks and thereafter transformed into an apocalyptic conception (Burkert 1983: 244–51; Momigliano 1984: 77–103). For Plato the present age is perfect and eternal, the third of three successive stages. The first was the period before the great reversal (*Polit.* 269C; 270A; 272E); the second was the great reversal, the Age of Kronos and the Earthborn (*Polit.* 269D–E; 270D ff.; 273A). However, the ideal past periods of human history (followed by periods of decline) were irretrievable. The Great Year, the cycle of time in which all things began again, was a widespread Greek belief. The legendary Musaeus reportedly claimed that "everything proceeds from unity and everything is eventually resolved into unity" (Diog. Laert. 1.3). The Pythagoreans held that everything repeated itself in exact detail.

During the early Roman Empire there was some speculation that the idyllic "Saturnian" era of the past would again be realized in the near future. The poetry from the early Roman imperial period has just three passages concerning the imminent reemergence of the Saturnian age: Virgil *Ecl.* 4.5; Calp. *Ecl.* 1.42–45; anonymous poet in *Anth. Lat.* no. 726, 22–24. In Augustan propaganda, the return of the *aureum saeculum* ("golden age") was associated with Augustus (Virgil *Aen.* 6.791–94):

> Here is the man you've heard so often promised:
> a golden age in Latium, land where once
> Saturn was king.

The Romans adapted the god Aion (a deity who was important in Hellenistic Alexandria), the ruler of the universe and god of limitless time who was expected to bring about the return of the golden age.

In the Hellenistic world the notion of immortality, originally understood in the Greek world as the exclusive possession of the gods and one which they jealously guarded, came to be understood as a permanent or ontological property of the human soul. Early Judaism was inevitably influenced by this conception (Wis 3:4; 6:18 f.; *4 Macc.* 9:22; 14:5; 15:3; 16:13; 17:12; Philo *Quaest Gen* 3.11; *Probus* 7.46; *Congr* 18.97). Yet Judaism continued to associate immortality with resurrection at the end of days, and few conceptions were as foreign to Greek and Roman thought as that of physical resurrection.

**E. The Eschatology of Jesus**

Even though there is wide disagreement regarding what can be known about the historical Jesus and his teachings, two important features of his eschatological orientation have attracted the attention and the speculation of scholars: Jesus' views of the future (i.e., his eschatological perspective) and Jesus' understanding of his own role within the framework of that eschatological perspective. Whether or not Jesus considered himself an eschatological figure, his followers quickly placed him in that category within a relatively few years following his crucifixion in 29 C.E.

**1. Models for Understanding the Message of Jesus.** The four canonical Gospels are the end result of complex oral and literary processes which have preserved a great variety of traditions about Jesus of Nazareth. While much of this material may be rooted in the teachings and activities of the historical Jesus, most of it has been subject to various degrees of modification by early Christians who transmitted the Jesus traditions. This complexity has made it very difficult to reconstruct the teachings of the historical

Jesus with any confidence. It was not until the early 20th century, through the work of such NT scholars as Johannes Weiss and Albert Schweitzer, that the eschatological or apocalyptic character of early Christianity began to be more fully recognized and thereafter to be taken more seriously. This modern rediscovery of the significance of eschatology for early Christianity has been assessed in four very distinctive and influential ways (Chilton 1984: 1–26 contains a succinct survey).

**a. The Consistent Eschatology Model.** This view, which developed toward the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, was formulated by Johannes Weiss (1971; originally published in 1892; 2d ed. 1900) and Albert Schweitzer (1964; originally published in 1901; 2d ed. 1913), and accepted by a number of prominent NT scholars including F. C. Burkitt, B. F. Easton, M. Dibelius, and R. Bultmann (survey in Perrin 1963: 13–36) and more recently by R. H. Hiers (1970, 1973). Schweitzer eloquently exposed the tendency of liberal scholars to create Jesus in their own image by turning him into a moral teacher who propounded timeless truths. Like Weiss before him, Schweitzer insisted that the eschatological views of Jesus be taken seriously and understood against the background of early Jewish apocalyptic literature (Schweitzer 1964: 367 f.). Ethics and eschatology in the teachings of Jesus and early Christianity, it was argued, are not superficially related to one another as kernel to husk. Both are essential. Jesus was an apocalyptist with an eschatological timetable. The mission discourse which Jesus gave when he sent out the Twelve (Matt 10:5–42) contained an explicit prediction of the imminent coming of the Son of Man (Matt 10:23), identical with the dawn of the kingdom of God, and the sufferings which the disciples would experience (10:34–39); both predictions failed to be fulfilled (Schweitzer 1961: 358–64). Since the tribulations heralding the end which Jesus had anticipated failed to materialize, he resolved to suffer himself in an attempt to force the arrival of the kingdom (Schweitzer 1961: 387–97). Since the end did not arrive, Jesus is an example of a failed prophet. The whole subsequent history of Christianity is in fact based on the nonoccurrence of the Parousia and the consequent abandonment of eschatology (Schweitzer 1961: 360; Werner 1957). While few scholars accepted Schweitzer's thesis in all its details, his emphasis on Jesus as an eschatological prophet has continued to dominate modern conceptions of the historical Jesus.

**b. The Realized Eschatology Model.** C. H. Dodd proposed that Jesus taught the essential *presence* of the kingdom of God (survey in Perrin 1963: 58–78). Formulated in opposition to consistent eschatology with its view of Jesus as a failed prophet, Dodd's view of the continuing truth and relevance of the message of Jesus was based on a careful exegesis of the sayings of Jesus in the Gospels, particularly the parables. Though recognizing that Jesus referred to the kingdom of God in some sayings as future and in other sayings as present, Dodd thought that Jesus' emphasis on the *presence* of the kingdom was the most characteristic and distinctive feature of his teaching (Dodd 1961: 34). Dodd therefore objected to understanding the kingdom of God as an apocalyptic concept. The "kingdom of God" is rather "the manifest and effective assertion of divine sovereignty against all the evil of the world" (Dodd 1961: 35), i.e., "history had become the vehicle of the eternal" (Dodd 1961: 159). The real problem for Dodd was not the delay of the Parousia or the de-eschatologization of early Christianity, but rather how such doctrines as the imminent Parousia became such an integral feature of post-Easter Christianity *at all.* While the Synoptic Gospels, Acts, Paul, and the Revelation of John represent the entry of eschatology into Christian belief systems, according to this view the Fourth Gospel and Hebrews retain the original emphasis on realized eschatology as taught by Jesus.

**c. The Proleptic Eschatology Model.** A number of scholars (J. Jeremias, O. Cullmann, W. G. Kümmel), reacting to the antithetical alternatives posed by Schweitzer and Dodd, proposed that Jesus held a paradoxical juxtaposition of the kingdom of God as *both* a present reality and a future expectation (survey in Perrin 1963: 79–89). Though few scholars explain the relationship between present and future in the teaching of Jesus in precisely the same way, the label "proleptic eschatology" is useful for indicating that there is a tension between present and future in Jesus' understanding of the kingdom of God, in which the present is a critical stage in the full future realization of the kingdom of God. The positions of consistent eschatology and realized eschatology can only be maintained by ignoring or minimizing present or future elements in the eschatological teaching of Jesus. W. G. Kümmel (1961)

sought to demonstrate three theses: (a) there is incontrovertible evidence that in the teaching of Jesus the kingdom of God is a future reality which will appear imminently (Kümmel 1961: 19–87); (b) there is also incontrovertible evidence that the kingdom of God is a present reality in and through the words and deeds of Jesus (Kümmel 1961: 105–40); (c) the eschatological message of Jesus must be contrasted with the apocalyptic eschatology characteristic of early Judaism, for Jesus' juxtaposition of present and future means that the redemptive function of the eschatological consummation has already become a present reality in the mission and message of Jesus (Kümmel 1961: 141–55). This view of the paradoxical juxtaposition of both the present and future aspects of the kingdom of God in the teachings of Jesus became dominant in the early 1960s as evident in the almost simultaneous publication of three books in 1963–64, the first two of which are primarily surveys of research (Perrin 1963; Lundström 1963; Ladd 1964).

**d. Models De-emphasizing Eschatology.** At the present time the proleptic eschatology model (a synthesis of the antithetical consistent and realized eschatology models) dominates the modern understanding of Jesus' eschatological perspective. Yet some scholars have recently criticized the assumption that the outlook of Jesus was primarily determined by eschatology, i.e., he understood his mission and message within the framework of the actual end of the world in his generation (Glasson 1980, 1984; Borg 1986; Mack 1987). This critique is based on several arguments (cf. Borg 1986: 81–102). (1) In recent critical discussions of the coming Son of Man sayings in the Gospels, many scholars have concluded that such sayings are not authentic and that there was in fact no eschatological Son of Man conception in early Judaism to which Jesus could have referred. (2) The conception of an eschatological kingdom of God, which occurs so frequently in the Synoptic teachings of Jesus, is a notion conspicuous by its general absence from early Jewish apocalyptic literature (Chilton 1987: 51–75). Perrin (1963: 168–70) finds just five occurrences: *Pss. Sol.* 17.3; *Sib. Or.* 3.46 f.; *Assum. Mos.* 10.1; 1QM 6.6; 12.7 (though a more thorough investigation is found in Lattke 1984: 72–91). The conception of the royal rule of God is completely absent from a surprising number of early Jewish apocalypses (*Martyrdom of Isaiah; 2 Baruch; 3 Baruch; 2 Enoch; 4 Ezra;* cf. Lattke 1984: 78). (3) The notion that Jesus' proclamation of the arrival of the kingdom of God involved the end of the world is a conception which has no basis in the kingdom sayings themselves. (4) The eschatological understanding of Jesus has not been able to account adequately for the strong component of *proverbial wisdom* present in the teachings of Jesus (particularly in Q, the Sayings Source). On the basis of arguments such as these, some scholars have rejected the widespread understanding of Jesus as an eschatological prophet, based on the apocalyptic context of his mission and message, and replaced it with the model of Jesus as a Cynic sage, a model which attempts to deal more seriously with the substantial element of proverbial wisdom preserved in the Synoptic Jesus tradition (Mack 1987:11–22). This construction has many similarities to the earlier liberal view of Jesus to which Weiss and Schweitzer reacted so strongly, as well as to the emphasis on realized eschatology begun by Dodd. A. Harnack, one of the more prominent Protestant liberal scholars, rejected the proposal that Jesus must be understood within the context of Jewish apocalypticism and emphasized instead the religious and ethical elements of the teaching of Jesus which were so prominent in Q (Harnack 1908),

**2. Jesus and the Kingdom of God.** The kingdom of God, which is the focus of the teaching of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels, was also central in the proclamation of the historical Jesus. Jesus proclaimed the kingdom, explained it through parables, enlisted disciples to help in its proclamation, was involved in disputes with Jewish religious leaders about its meaning, and very probably died as a consequence of the controversy which the proclamation of the kingdom of God generated. Despite this emphasis on the kingdom, the Gospels preserve no sayings in which Jesus explains precisely what he meant by it. Since the term *kingdom* in Judaism referred to the *rule* or *sovereignty* of God rather than to the territory or sphere ruled over by God, a more appropriate translation of the Gk phrase *basileia tou theou* (reflecting the Heb phrase *malkût šāmayim*) would be "*reign* of God." Despite the fact that the specific phrase "kingdom of God" or its equivalent occurs rarely in early Jewish apocalyptic literature (Perrin 1963: 168–70; Lattke 1984: 72–91), it is sufficiently clear that in the Judaism of the time of Jesus there was a

widespread expectation that God would soon act in a decisive way to visit and redeem his people. The many parables in the Synoptic tradition which illuminate various aspects of the kingdom of God suggest that Jesus' own perspective was not one commonly held but required definition and explanation (Matt 13:24–50; 18:23–25; 20:1–16; 22:1–14; 25:1–13; Mark 4:26–34; Luke 13:18–20). The phrase "kingdom of God" occurs just twice in John (3:3, 5) and usually in the form "kingdom of heaven," in Matthew.

Jesus is presented as announcing the *presence* of the kingdom of God in many sayings preserved in the Synoptic Gospels (Matt 12:28 and par.; Matt 11:5–6; Luke 7:22–23; Matt 13:16–17 and par.; Luke 4:16–30; 17:20–21; cf. Beasley-Murray 1946: 75–107). A similar emphasis on the presence of the kingdom appears in many parables (Mark 3:27 and par.; Matt 13:44–46; 18:23–25; 20:1–6; 22:1–14 and par.; Mark 4:26–29; cf. Beasley-Murray 1946: 108–46). It is also evident that in many other sayings and parables the *future* arrival of the kingdom of God is emphasized (Matt 6:9–13 and par.; Matt 5:3–12 and par.; Matt 8:11–12 = Luke 13:28–29; Mark 9:1 = Matt 16:28 = Luke 9:27). Many of the parables attributed to Jesus convey a situation of imminent crisis (Mark 4:30–32 and par.; Matt 13:33 = Luke 13:20–21; Mark 4:26–29; Mark 4:1–9 = Matt 13:1–9; Luke 8:4–8; Matt 13:24–30). The many sayings which deal with *entering* the kingdom of God must also be understood in terms of the futurity of the kingdom (Mark 9:43–48 and par.; Mark 10:23 and par.; Mark 10:15 and par.; Matt 5:20; 7:21). Though the problem of the authenticity of many of these sayings will continue to be debated, the sheer volume of such Jesus traditions emphasizing the present or future dimensions of the kingdom of God strongly suggests that Jesus himself understood the kingdom as provisionally present in his own person and message but that complete arrival of the kingdom of God was the object of imminent expectation.

This eschatological conception of Jesus, however, was not as unique in early Judaism as many scholars have thought. In the *Hymn Scroll* from Qumran, there is evidence that the Qumran sectarians held that eschatological salvation had already entered the present age in the history and experience of their community (1QH 3:19–36; 11:3–14; 11:15 ff.; 15; Kuhn 1966: 44–112; Aune 1972: 31–37).

**3. Jesus as the Messiah.** The central category to which the earliest Christians assigned Jesus was that of *messiah.* Yet precisely *how* this title became a central way of characterizing the religious significance of Jesus is problematic since his career did not cohere well with early Jewish messianic expectations. It is, nevertheless, true that within 20 years after the crucifixion of Jesus, as demonstrated by Paul's letters, *Christos* (the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew term *messiah*) occurs 266 times, usually as a proper name for Jesus, as in the phrase "Jesus Christ," in the quasi-titular usage "Christ Jesus," or as the name for a specific messiah, i.e., Jesus (Rom 9:5). This suggests that Paul had no particular concerns about the messianic status of Jesus. In the Gospels and Acts, on the other hand, the specifically messianic status of Jesus is a central issue. *Christos* occurs 80 times, 16 times as a proper name for Jesus (e.g., Mark 1:1; John 17:3), but also as a title predicated of Jesus (e.g., Mark 8:29 and par.; 14:61 and par.), and a designation for the eschatological Davidic king (e.g., Mark 12:35 and par.; Acts 2:31). The *meaning* of the designation "messiah" when applied to Jesus by Christians was determined primarily by Christian conceptions of Jesus rather than by conventional Jewish ways of understanding that title.

**4. Jesus and the Son of Man.** The Son of Man designation, found 69 times in the Synoptic Gospels and 13 times in John, is a distinctive designation which Jesus alone used of himself in the Gospels. In just two passages, John 12:34 and Acts 7:56, is the designation used by anyone other than Jesus himself. Further, Jesus is never referred to as Son of Man in the rest of the NT, apart from two allusions to Dan 7:13 in Rev 1:13 and 14:14. The designation is not used in an exclusively eschatological way but is used of the *present* Son of Man (e.g., Mark 2:10, 28 and par.), the *suffering* Son of Man (Mark 8:31 and par.; 9:31 and par.; 10:33–34 and par.), and the future or *eschatological* Son of Man (see below).

The origin and significance of the Son of Man designation has become one of the most hotly debated issues in modern NT scholarship. Up until quite recently most scholars assumed that "Son of Man" was a term for a heavenly eschatological figure expected by apocalyptic groups within Judaism. Since the 1960s it has become increasingly clear that such a concept was quite unknown in early Judaism (Perrin 1963: 164–99; Leivestad 1987: 153–64). References to the Son of Man in *1 En.* 37–71 (the dating of which is uncertain) appear to be based on an exegesis of Dan 7:13 rather than on a current eschatological

conception. The Gospels contain a number of eschatological Son of Man sayings, i.e., those which center on his Parousia (cf. Mark 8:38 and par.; Matt 19:33 = Luke 12:8–9; Matt 19:28; 24:27, 37 = Luke 17:24, 26), some of which clearly allude to Dan 7:13 (Mark 13:26 and par.; 14:62 and par.). These latter are often judged to be inauthentic. The fact that the Son of Man and the kingdom of God are motifs which do not occur together in authentic sayings of Jesus has suggested to some that the Son of Man sayings are all secondary, since many kingdom sayings have a strong claim to authenticity (Vielhauer 1965: 55–91). While some scholars argue that *none* of the Son of Man sayings in the Gospels is authentic, others argue that only the eschatological sayings are authentic but contend that Jesus is not speaking of himself but of another, since the sayings are couched in the third person. While Jesus could well have referred to himself as "son of man" in a polite Aramaic idiom for "I" or "me," it appears improbable that he consciously referred to himself as the heavenly redeemer figure of Dan 7:13. Evidence from the Gospels, however, makes it quite clear that this is precisely the category into which Jesus was placed in the sayings tradition.

**5. Eschatology and Ethics.** The traditional understanding of the message of Jesus links his proclamation of the imminent but *future* arrival of the kingdom of God with repentance evidenced by changed behavior in the *present* (Mark 1:15; Matt 4:17). However, many of the ethical teachings of Jesus appear to have no logical relationship to his proclamation of the kingdom, such as the sayings on divorce (Mark 10:11–12 and par.; Matt 5:31–32). The reconciliation of the eschatology of Jesus with his ethical teachings occurs in the demand of Jesus that people make a present decision which will affect their future standing with God.

**F. Pauline Eschatology**

**1. Sources and Problems.** Seven of the corpus of 13 Pauline letters are widely regarded as authentic (Rom, 1–2 Cor, Gal, Phil, 1 Thess, Phlm). The other six letters, however, including the Pastoral Epistles (1–2 Tim; Titus), as well as Eph, Col, and 2 Thess (all written during the last quarter of the 1st century C.E. or later), are in all probability pseudonymous and reflect the later thought of various individuals and groups of Christians sympathetic to Paul. Though these six letters are valuable sources for the transmission and development of Pauline traditions, they cannot serve as primary sources for Paul's own thought. Acts, though emphasizing the travels, teaching, and preaching of Paul, is of uneven and uncertain historical reliability and can be used as evidence for Pauline thought only when supported by the authentic letters.

There are several problems involved in evaluating the role which eschatology plays in the Pauline letters. First, since it is difficult to place the seven authentic Pauline letters in relative chronological order, the varying eschatological emphasis in them (e.g., the Parousia is not mentioned in Galatians) has led to various hypotheses of the development of Pauline eschatology (Hurd 1967; Longenecker 1985). Second, there is the problem of deciding on the center of Paul's thought and of determining whether apocalypticism is that center (Beker 1980: 15–18; 1982: 10), or what the relationship is between apocalypticism and that center.

**2. Transformations of Apocalypticism.** Whether or not apocalypticism is the *center* of Pauline thought, the apocalyptic world view certainly provides a framework for his thought (Käsemann 1967a: 82–107; Beker 1980: 143–52); and it is from this perspective that the *gospel*, the central theological emphasis in his letters, must be understood. The eschatological framework of Paul's gospel is clearly reflected in 1 Thess 1:9f., where he relates how the Thessalonians "turned to God from idols, to serve a living and true God, and to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, Jesus who delivers us from the wrath to come." Here the themes of Parousia, resurrection, and judgment are interwoven. This apocalyptic orientation has several significant features: (1) eschatological dualism, i.e., a distinction between "this age" and "the coming age"; (2) cosmic eschatology, i.e., the anticipated victory of God over the created world; and (3) a belief in the imminence of the end (Beker 1980: 135–38).

**a. The Two Ages.** In continuity with the two ages characteristic of Jewish apocalyptic thought (Bousset and Gressman 1966: 243–49), Paul maintains a dualistic contrast between the present and future age or aeon (Gal 1:4; Rom 8:18; 1 Cor 7:26; cf. Eph 5:16). Paul frequently uses the expression "this age" (Rom 12:2; 1 Cor 1:20; 2:6, 8; 3:18f.; 2 Cor 4:4; cf. Eph 2:2) and speaks of the evil supernatural powers which

dominate it (1 Cor 2:6; 2 Cor 4:4). This temporal dualism (the age to come as *future*) coincides with a spatial dualism (the age to come as a heavenly reality); i.e., in Judaism the age to come had two aspects, it was an unseen, heavenly reality, but one which would succeed this age in the future (cf. Davies 1970: 308–20). Paul can also say that "the things that are seen are transient, but the things that are not seen are eternal" (2 Cor 4:18; cf. Phil 3:20; 2 Cor 5:1–5). Paul expected the age to come, which would be introduced by the Parousia of Jesus, to arrive in the near future (Phil 4:4f.; 1 Cor 7:29), though he considered the possibility that he might die before its arrival (Phil 1:23).

However, Paul's conviction that Jesus was the Lord who had already died and risen again meant that he could not simply retain the Jewish apocalyptic conception of the two ages unchanged. The resurrection of Jesus convinced Paul that the age to come had already begun. He did not view the resurrection of Jesus as an isolated event, however, but rather as the first stage in the future resurrection of all the righteous dead (1 Cor 15:20–23). The sharp distinction between the present and future characteristic of much of Jewish apocalypticism has therefore been softened or blurred in his thought, since Christians can experience the future age in the present time (1 Cor 2:6; 7:29–31; 10:11). He regarded the period between Christ's resurrection and the Parousia as an interim period in which the powers of the age to come were present in a hidden way for the community of Christian believers (Beker 1980: 135–81; 1982: 40). Deliverance from "the present evil age" has been made possible by the sacrifice of Christ (Gal 1:4). Thus Christian existence can be called a "new creation" (2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15); for the Christian participates in salvation by being "in Christ," by "putting on Christ" in baptism whereby he dies to sin and shares the promise of resurrection (Rom 6:1–11; Gal 2:20). Even though Christians are in process of transformation (2 Cor 3:18; 4:16), the full transformation will not occur until the Parousia of Jesus (1 Thess 4; 1 Cor 15:51–56; Phil 3:20f.). When Paul speaks of the believer's rising with Christ, he uses what E. Käsemann prefers to call Paul's "eschatological reservation" (Käsemann 1967b: 132–37), in that Paul does not speak of participation in Christ's resurrection as a *past* experience (a view expressed in Deutero-Pauline letters, cf. Col 3:1–3; Eph 2:1–10) but as one which lies in the *future* (cf. Rom 6:4–5).

**b. Judgment and the Parousia.** The prophetic conception of the Day of the Lord (Amos 5:18–20; Zeph 1:14–16; Joel 2:2; cf. Rowley 1956: 177–201) became the basis for Paul's conception of the impending eschatological judgment of the world (1 Thess 5:2; Rom 2:16). Phrases such as "the Day of Jesus Christ" (1 Cor 1:8; Phil 1:6), however, indicate that for Paul the center of eschatological hope had shifted from God to Christ (Kreitzer 1987: 99–102). Yet the very fact that Paul can refer to the judgment seat of Christ in one place (2 Cor 5:10) and the judgment seat of God in another (Rom 14:10) suggests fluidity and ambiguity in his thought (Kreitzer 1987: 107–12), a phenomenon explicable in part by the application of the term "Lord" to Christ. The expectation of the Parousia, which focuses on the return of Christ as savior and judge rather than on the visitation of God, is a major way of understanding the Day of the Lord. Paul refers to the Parousia frequently in his letters (1 Cor 15:23; 1 Thess 2:19; 3:13; 4:15; 5:23; cf. 2 Thess 2:1, 8). In passages such as 2 Cor 4:4 it is clear that Paul understood that the resurrection of Christ implied the resurrection of believers. In 1 Thess 4:13–18 he depicts the Parousia primarily as a *saving* event signaled by the Lord's cry of command, the archangel's call, and the sounding of God's trumpet (apocalyptic visitation and judgment imagery), at which deceased Christians will rise from the dead and, together with living Christians, will be taken up to the Lord in the clouds. This passage should be understood in light of early Jewish apocalyptic imagery of accounts of translations or assumptions of living people into heaven (for other Christianized accounts, cf. Luke 17:34–35 = Matt 24:40–41; Luke 24; Acts 1; Rev 11:3–13; 12:5); assumption of living people means that they do not have to taste death, while those who are really dead cannot be assumed (Plevnik 1984: 280). If Paul had taught the Thessalonians that at Christ's Parousia they would all experience assumption to the risen Lord, they would have believed that only the *living* could be assumed. Paul's insistence that the dead in Christ will rise first (probably in a transformed state rather than a restoration of earthly life) means that all will qualify for assumption (Plevnik 1984: 280–83). In 1 Cor 15:51–57 the same event is dealt with in a different way (the Parousia itself is not mentioned), though the focus is on eschatological salvation. At the sound of the eschatological trumpet, the dead will be raised and will, with the living, experience a transformed state of existence.

**3. Did Paul Expect a Temporary Messianic Kingdom?** The conception of an intermediate messianic kingdom which serves as a transition between a temporary age and an eternal age is found in three Jewish apocalypses: (1) Apocalypse of Weeks (*1 En.* 91:1–10; 93:12–17; between 175 and 167 B.C.E.), (2) *4 Ezra* 7:26–44; 12:31–34 (ca. 90 C.E.), and (3) *2 Bar.* 29:3–30:1; 40:1–4; 72:2–74:3 (ca. 110 C.E.). Schweitzer proposed that Paul (particularly in 1 Cor 15:20–28), like John the Seer in Rev 20:1–15, anticipated a temporary messianic kingdom which would be introduced by one resurrection and concluded by a second resurrection (Schweitzer 1931: 65–68, 90–100; cf. Schoeps 1961: 97–110). Schweitzer proposed that Paul anticipated the following sequence of eschatological events: (1) the sudden and unexpected Parousia (1 Thess 5:1–4); (2) the resurrection of deceased believers and the transformation of living believers (1 Thess 4:16f.); (3) the messianic judgment presided over by Christ (2 Cor 5:10), or God (Rom 14:10); (4) the dawn of the messianic kingdom (not described but presupposed by Paul); (5) transformation of all nature (Rom 8:19f.) and a struggle with angelic powers (Rom 16:20) until death itself is conquered; (6) the messianic kingdom ends (Paul does not mention its length); (7) a general resurrection (1 Cor 6:3), followed by judgment upon all people and defeated angels. Schweitzer's reconstruction has been widely criticized (Wilke 1967; Davies 1970: 285–98). First, there is no evidence that Paul expected an intermediate messianic kingdom, and second, there is no evidence that Paul expected a general resurrection. In Pauline thought there is an unforeseen interval only between the resurrection and Parousia of Christ.

**4. Eschatology and Ethics.** Paul often uses eschatological language as a means of sanctioning certain types of behavior (Gager 1970: 327–37; Meeks 1983b: 687–703). In Rom 8:18–25 Paul argues that the experience of suffering and tribulation is an indispensable condition for glorification (cf. 2 Cor 4:7–12; Rom 5:3–5; 6:5–11). Thus his eschatological perspective provides meaning for negative aspects of present experience. In Gal 5:21, at the conclusion of a list of vices, he claims that "those who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God" (cf. 1 Cor 6:9–10, where the warning precedes a list of types of sinners). Here eschatology provides a direct sanction for discouraging certain unacceptable types of behavior. The relationship between eschatological language and moral exhortation is often more subtle. The social function of such language has been explored in several recent studies (Meeks 1983a: 171–80; 1983b; Jewett 1986). In 1 Thessalonians, for example, apocalyptic language tends to reinforce notions of community uniqueness and solidarity, disposing Christians to act in a manner beneficial to the entire Christian community (Meeks 1983b: 694).

## G. Eschatology in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts

The Synoptic Gospels are complex compositions which narrate the life and ministry of Jesus as refracted through decades of Christian tradition and interpretation culminating in the literary activity of each of the Evangelists. The various strata of each gospel exhibit varying emphases on eschatology overlaid on their presentation of the words and deeds of Jesus.

**1. The Gospel of Mark.** The term "kingdom of God," introduced in Mark 1:15, occurs 14 times in Mark (1:15; 4:11, 26, 30; 9:1, 47; 10:14, 15, 23, 24, 25; 12:34; 14:25; 15:43), while the kingdom of David is mentioned just once (11:10). Despite C. H. Dodd's attempt to interpret Mark 1:15 to mean "the kingdom of God has come" (Dodd 1961: 29f.), subsequent exegesis agrees that though the problematic verb *eggizein* is somewhat ambiguous (Berkey 1963; Perrin 1963: 64–66), it normally has a future reference (Fuller 1954: 21–25). The phrase in Mark 1:15 should be translated "the kingdom of God has come near" or "the kingdom of God is at hand" (Kümmel 1961: 19–25), i.e., it is not present, but imminent. According to Mark 9:1 the disciples will not die before they see the kingdom of God. Similarly, Mark's emphasis on "entering the kingdom of God" (10:23, 24, 25) and on Joseph of Arimathea's expectation of the kingdom of God (15:43) also suggests that it is a future entity. With the possible exceptions of the parables of the Sower (Mark 4:3–9), of the Seed Growing Secretly (4:26–29), and of the Mustard Seed (4:30–32), there is no suggestion in Mark that the kingdom of God is in any sense a present reality. While these parables have been understood to refer to the *presence* of the kingdom in the ministry of Jesus (Dodd 1961: 140–47), that meaning is not evident in the present text of Mark; and if their original meaning is recoverable at all (Linnemann 1966: 117–19), it was oriented toward the *future*

(Jeremias 1963: 149–53). The debate is far from over, however, for in a recent study Mack (1987: 29–44) argues that *none* of the kingdom sayings attributed to Jesus in Mark is authentic in the sense that they derive from the historical Jesus. The apocalyptic element, he argues, has been superimposed on an essentially non-eschatological Jesus by Mark and the community he represents.

Mark 13 consists of an eschatological scenario which indicates the apocalyptic orientation of the author. Following Jesus' prediction of the destruction of the temple (13:2), Jesus predicts a series of eschatological events including the appearance of false messiahs, wars, earthquakes, and famines, a period of great tribution (13:5–8). The arrest and prosecution of Jesus' followers is predicted, along with persecution even by family members (13:9–13). When the "desolating sacrilege" is set up (an enigmatic reference to the desecration of the temple based on an earlier event recorded in Dan 9:27; 11:31; 12:11), citizens of Judea are advised to flee; for a terrible time of tribulation will ensue, including the appearance of false messiahs and false prophets (13:14–23). Finally, after a cosmic upheaval (13:24–25), the Son of Man will come in the clouds and gather his elect from all parts of the world (13:26–27). Since there is no clear allusion to the fall of the temple in 70 C.E., it may be that Mark was written before that event occurred, i.e., from 65–70 C.E.

**2. Q: The Synoptic Sayings Source.** The abbreviation "Q," (usually linked to the German word *Quelle*, meaning "source") can be defined very simply as the non-Markan parallels between Matthew and Luke. This double tradition is quite extensive, consisting of about 250 vv found grouped in nearly 50 pericopes. Often referred to as the Synoptic Sayings Source, Q was in all probability a *written* (rather than an oral) source used by Matthew and Luke; it exhibits *literary unity* (Jacobson 1982); it was probably composed in Greek, ca. 50 C.E., very likely in Palestine (Kloppenborg 1987a: 42–64). Since Q probably arose within Palestinian Christianity, scholars often refer to the "Q Community," that is, to the hypothetical Christian community whose theology found expression in this document. Unlike the Gospels, Q consisted primarily of *sayings* of Jesus (and John the Baptist) and lacked the narrative unity provided by a plot. It contains just two miracle stories (Luke 7:1–10 = Matt 8:5–13; Luke 11:14 = Matt 12:22–23). It did not include an account of the last days of Jesus, nor does Q appear to have mentioned the resurrection.

There is a strong and pervasive emphasis on *eschatology* throughout Q (Kee 1977: 87–117), yet there is also a significant focus on *wisdom* (Carlston 1982: 101–19; Edwards 1976: 58–79), as well as *prophecy* (Edwards 1976: 44–57). The relationship between these three emphases remains problematic. The emphasis on eschatology and prophecy has suggested to some that the hypothetical community which produced Q was an apocalyptic sect which lived in imminent expectation of the end (Schulz 1972: 168) and which had undertaken a prophetic mission to Israel.

In the preaching of John the Baptist preserved in Q, imminent expectation consists of three connected motifs: (1) the threat of *judgment*, (2) the fact that this judgment is *imminent*, and (3) the focus on the *coming judge* (Luke 3:7–9 = Matt 3:7–10; Luke 3:16–17 = Matt 3:11–12). One of the more important of these motifs is that of the *imminent expectation of the end* (Hoffmann 1972: 34–49). There are nine Son of Man sayings in Q, six of which focus on the *future coming* of the Son of Man (Luke 11:30 = Matt 12:40; Luke 12:40 = Matt 24:44; Luke 12:8–9 = Matt 10:32–33; Luke 17:24 = Matt 24:27; Luke 17:26 = Matt 24:37–39; Luke 17:28 = Matt 24:37–39). Three describe the *present activity* of the Son of Man (Luke 7:34 = Matt 11:19; Luke 12:10 = Matt 12:32; Luke 9:58 = Matt 8:20), while Q contains no sayings relating to the suffering Son of Man. The Q Community appears to have experienced persecution (Luke 6:22–23 = Matt 5:11–12; Luke 11:49–51 = Matt 18:34–35; Luke 13:34–35 = Matt 23:37–39). A continuing problem which dogs the analysis of Q, and the primary reason for the varied assessments of that source, is the difficulty of determining the extent to which it reflects the self-understanding of the Q Community.

**3. The Gospel of Matthew.** The Christian community in which Matthew arose was apparently a Jewish-Christian group in conflict with a Judaism in process of reconstruction after the First Jewish Revolt of 66–73 C.E. (Matt 23:1–36). Probably allusions to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. are reflected in the parable of the wedding feast (Matt 22:1–14). For Matthew the Church is the true Israel and the eschatological promises made by God in the OT have been fulfilled in the life and ministry of Jesus (cf.

the ten fulfillment quotations in Matt 1:22 f.; 2:15, 17 f.; etc.) The term *kingdom of heaven* ("heaven" is used as a pious circumlocution for "God") is mentioned 32 times, *kingdom of God* 4 times (12:28; 19:24; 21:31, 43); and the term *kingdom* with other modifiers occurs 14 times in Matthew. Though there are several passages which suggest the imminence of the end (10:23; 16:28; 24:34), they have been taken over with little change from sources (Strecker 1971: 41–43). Thus Matthew's expectation of the end is not as imminent as that of Mark. Further, there is little evidence that Matthew understood the kingdom of heaven as present in Jesus. The announcement that "the kingdom of heaven has come near" is made by John the Baptist (3:2), Jesus (4:17), and the disciples (10:7). The phrase "the gospel of the kingdom" (4:23; 9:35; 24:14; 26:13) is Matthew's designation for the message which Jesus and his disciples proclaimed to Israel, though in actuality this phrase refers both to the proclamation of the historical Jesus and that of the post-Easter Church (Kingsbury 1975: 129 f.). A distinctive emphasis of Matthew is that the coming judgment applies even to disciples (13:24–30, 36–43; Bornkamm 1963: 18). The Olivet discourse in Matt 24 (based on Mark 13), is directed to the disciples generally, not to a restricted group of four as in Mark; and it is more sharply focused on "when this will be and what will be the sign of your coming and of the close of the age" (24:3). Matthew emphasizes the theme of eschatological judgment by appending several parables which focus on this theme in his rewriting of Mark 13 (the ten maidens, 25:1–13; the talents, 25:14–30 [= Luke 19:12–27]; the last judgment, 25:31–46). To the five parables of Mark 4, Matthew 13 adds the parable of the weeds (13:24–30) and its interpretation (13:36–46), along with four additional kingdom parables (13:44–52). The author frequently uses the Son of Man designation in its apocalyptic sense for Jesus (10:23; 13:37–41; 16:28; 19:28). Matthew is the first author to use the Gk term *Parousia* in the technical sense of the second coming of Christ (24:3; 24:27, 37, 39). Matthew closely links the coming of the Son of Man with the kingdom (compare Matt 16:28 with Mark 9:1 and Luke 9:27). The imagery of "weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth" as a means of expressing the terrors of eschatological judgment occurs five times in Matt (8:12; 13:42; 22:13; 24:51; 25:30), though elsewhere in the NT it occurs only in Luke 13:28).

**4. Luke-Acts.** While eschatology is clearly a central issue in Luke and Acts, it is also one of the most complex and debated aspects of Lukan theology. The central issue is not whether Luke anticipated an eschatological consummation, but whether he conceives of that consummation as belonging to the *near* or *distant* future. Wilson (1969–70) has proposed that Luke inconsistently emphasized *both* the imminence of the end and the delay of the end. This inconsistency results from the fact that his central concern is pastoral and these two emphases deal with different problems caused by the delay of the Parousia. According to Conzelmann (1960) Luke was aware of the problem involved in the delay of the Parousia and rewrote and edited his sources to eliminate or suppress the earlier expectation of an imminent eschatological consummation in favor of a consummation located in the indefinite future.

There are some clear instances in which Luke has omitted or toned down the imminent expectation of the end found in Mark (Mark 1:15; cf. Luke 4:15; Mark 9:1; cf. Luke 9:27). In a saying attributed to Jesus in Luke 17:20–21, the kingdom of God will not come with outward signs, but is "in your midst." Jesus tells the parable of the pounds in Luke 19:11–27 because people thought that "the kingdom of God was to appear immediately" (v 11).

Yet Luke has also included several sayings (admittedly few) which emphasize the imminence of the eschaton. John the Baptist threatens his hearers with the imminence of eschatological judgment (3:7–9, 16–17). Jesus announces the imminent arrival of the kingdom of God (10:9, 11; 21:31) as well as the coming of the Son of Man (17:22–37).

One aspect of Luke's response to the problem of the delay of the Parousia, according to some scholars, is the transformation of macrocosmic eschatology (the end of the world) into microcosmic eschatology (the end of the individual), i.e., the judgment and entry of individuals into heaven or hell (Dupont 1973; Schneider 1975). However, the few passages used to support this view (Luke 12:20; 16:19–31; 23:43–46; Acts 7:55–60; 14:22) provide slim support for such a proposal. The parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31), for example, deals with punishment and reward in the afterlife; but the extent to which Luke's cosmology agrees with that of this traditional story cannot be known. Eschatological language is

used in Stephen's dying vision of the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God (Acts 7:55–56). Some have interpreted this passage as involving a private and personal Parousia for Stephen. Yet the literary function of this passage (coming at the end of Stephen's long sermon) is to emphasize the divine judgment which will fall on those who do not heed Stephen's message, rather than simply to depict the Son of Man as standing to receive the soul of the dying martyr. Jesus' words to the dying thief, "today you will be with me in paradise" (Luke 23:43), and his final words, "Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit" (Luke 23:46; cf. Acts 7:59b), suggest that God receives the spirit of the righteous person upon death. Though individual eschatology is involved in these last passages, it is not without parallel elsewhere in the NT (Phil 1:23). Following Conzelmann, some scholars have argued that all traces of a belief in an imminent end have been eliminated by Luke (Kaestli 1969). Yet Luke has not completely shifted eschatological expectation from a near to a distant future, and there is a strong emphasis in Luke-Acts that promised eschatological events have been partially fulfilled.

Some passages in Luke which have played an important role in the theory of the delay of the Parousia are Luke 13:22–30; 14:15–24 (the parable of the Great Feast); 19:11–27. Other important passages are Acts 1:6–8; Luke 22:69; Luke 9:27; Luke 21:32. Luke 21:32 is a saying which does not fit well with the notion of an indefinitely delayed Parousia: "Truly, I say to you, this generation will not pass away till all has taken place." Yet this is the *only* passage in Luke-Acts suggesting imminence, and it is not part of Luke's editorial work but a traditional saying which he has retained relatively unchanged from Mark.

In Luke-Acts the expectation of an Israelite messianic kingdom with Jesus as the Davidic messiah is part of the plan of God (Luke 1:32–33, 68–71; Acts 2:30–36; 3:20–21; 13:22–23, 32–34). Jesus' predictions that he must suffer and be rejected are not understood by the disciples (9:22, 44–45; 17:25; 18:31–34; 22:22). This misunderstanding kindles false eschatological expectations. The disciples mistakenly expect the imminent arrival of the kingdom of God when Jesus triumphantly enters Jerusalem as messianic king (Luke 19:11; 24:21). Their disappointed expectation of the inauguration of the Davidic eschatological kingdom is momentarily rekindled after Jesus' resurrection (Acts 1:6). When he arrives in Jerusalem, Jesus is recognized as king (19:37–38). As the immediate result of the rejection of Jesus, the "restoration" of the messianic kingdom is delayed (Luke 19:41–44; Acts 1:6–7). In Acts the necessity of repentance becomes a condition for the arrival of the messianic kingdom (Acts 3:19–21), though this emphasis is found only here in Acts. Those who predict the coming of the Son of Man (Luke 17:23) or who announce that "the time is near" (Luke 21:8) are false teachers.

In Mark and Matthew the fall of Jerusalem (alluded to by reference to the "abomination of desolation," which refers to Dan 9:27 and 12:11) is an apocalyptic event which is part of the eschatological program culminating in the Parousia of Jesus (Mark 13:14; Matt 24:15). For Luke, on the other hand, the destruction of Jerusalem is a historical event separate from the events of the eschatological consummation. Whereas Mark was probably written shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., Luke-Acts was probably written much later, ca. 90 C.E. For Luke the fall of Jerusalem was the fulfillment of a prophetic oracle (Luke 21:20; cf. 13:34–35; 19:41–44; 23:27–32). Yet Luke has portrayed the capture of Jerusalem in 19:42–44 and 21:20–24 in biblical language and imagery describing the conquest of Jerusalem by the Babylonians in 586 B.C.E. (Dodd 1968; Reicke 1972).

Eschatology is little emphasized in Acts. Aside from several general references to the resurrection (Acts 23:6; 24:15, 21; 26:6–8) and vague references to the hope of Israel (Acts 1:6; 28:20), the author refers to the eventual return of of Jesus from heaven in a manner analogous to his ascension (1:11). According to 3:19–21 repentance will hasten the arrival of the messianic kingdom; and according to 10:42 and 17:30–31, Jesus, acting as God's agent, will one day judge the living and the dead.

**H. Johannine Literature**

The eschatology of John is dominated by the presence of Jesus, who demands decision and belief on the part of characters in the narrative as well as on the part of the readers (John 20:30–31). A positive response to this invitation results in the present appropriation and enjoyment of the eschatological gift of eternal life.

Just as in the Synoptic Gospels, the title messiah is of central significance for the christology of the Fourth Gospel (20:30 f.), since for the Fourth Evangelist the coming of the Messiah is an essential aspect of Jewish eschatological expectation (1:20, 25, 41; 3:28; 4:25, 29; 7:26 f., 31, 41 f.; 9:22; 10:24). These references, however, tell us more about the *Christian* conception of the messianic role of Jesus than they do about early 1st-century *Jewish* messianic expectation. Since the author clearly identified Jesus with the Christian conception of the Messiah of Jewish expectation (20:31), the title functions as a key to understanding the realized eschatology of John. Though "Christ" is twice used as a name for Jesus (1:17; 17:3), a usage characteristic of Paul, the term *messiah* is also used in a creedal or confessional way (9:22; 11:27; 20:31). Many aspects of traditional future eschatology are found in John. Several times reference is made to "I will raise him up on the last day" (6:39, 40, 44, 54). Two aspects of the Parousia of Jesus are described in 14:23. The future resurrection is referred to in 5:28–29. The second coming is mentioned in 14:3 and 21:21–23. Judgment is referred to in 12:48, the Parousia in 14:18. The element of futurity is possibly retained in John 4:14, 36; 5:29, 39; 6:27; 12:25; 1 John 2:25.

While the Gk text of the gospel of John contains eschatological statements which refer *both* to the present and to the future, the phenomenon of "realized eschatology" is clearly dominant. Since realized eschatology refers to the realization in present experience of blessings normally regarded as belonging to the eschatological future, the author and the community he represents have transformed traditional Christian eschatology. The benefits of future eschatological salvation were experienced as present realities by the Johannine community in four primary ways. (1) Since the spirit of God is understood as an eschatological gift, the *presence* of the Spirit-Paraclete means that an aspect of the eschaton is present. (2) Since " (eternal) life" is understood as a *future* blessing of eschatological salvation both in early Judaism and in pre-Johannine Christianity (Mark 10:17, 30, and par.; Matt 19:16, 29; Luke 18:18, 30; Matt 25:46; Luke 10:25; cf. Mark 9:43 and par.; Matt 18:8; Mark 9:45), the emphasis in John of the *present* possession of that life represents a radical modification of traditional Christian eschatology. The key phrase in John is "to have/possess (eternal) life" (John 3:15, 36; 5:24, 40; 6:40, 47, 53, 68; 10:10; 1 John 3:13, 15; 5:12, 13, 16). (3) Since judgment is an event normally associated with the eschatological consummation, the belief that divine judgment occurs in the present suggests that another important eschatological feature is regarded as part of present experience (3:36). (4) Since the Parousia or "coming" of Jesus as Son of Man to save and to judge is one of the central features of the eschatological consummation for traditional Christianity, references to the present "coming" of Jesus must be understood as realized eschatology.

There are several ways of assessing the significance of realized eschatology in John. (1) Since realized eschatology is characteristic of Johannine theology, any references to apocalyptic eschatology can be regarded as foreign intrusions inserted in the text by later interpolators or redactors (Bultmann). (2) The presence of some features of apocalyptic eschatology in the present text of John and its supposed connection with Revelation have led a few scholars to accentuate the role of futuristic eschatology (van Hartingsveld 1962). (3) Most scholars, recognizing the presence of both present and future eschatology in John, accept the existence of a tension between these two aspects of Johannine thought (Corell 1958; Cullmann 1967: 268–91).

**I. The Revelation of John**

Revelation is the only Christian apocalypse in the NT (the name of the genre "apocalypse" was derived from Rev 1:1). The main portion of the book (4:1–22:5) is a complex vision report stitched together from earlier Jewish and Christian eschatological traditions of various lengths and complexity. The overall plan of Revelation is a sequential narrative of future events of the type which characterizes the eschatological scenarios in revelation discourses (Mark 13 and par.; 1 Thess 4:13–18; 2 Thess 2:1–12; *Didache* 16). As in such revelatory discourses, the primary emphasis is on the eschatological punishments which will afflict the enemies of God's people (Rev 6:1–16:21). The anticipated destruction of Babylon-Rome is savored with particular glee (Revelation 17–18). The Parousia is presented as a final battle between Christ, depicted as a field marshall leading the heavenly armies, and his opponents, both earthly and supernatural (Revelation 19). Satan's defeat ushers in a millennial kingdom (20:1–6), which is concluded

by the final defeat and punishment of Satan and his allies (20:7–10), followed by a great judgment scene (20:11–15). Following the destruction of the first heaven and earth, a new heaven and earth are created, and the heavenly Jerusalem descends from heaven to earth (Revelation 21), providing a restored Eden where Christians can enjoy eschatological salvation in the eternal presence of God and the Lamb (22:1–5).

Revelation is permeated by a sense of urgency. The eschatological events described in the book will occur shortly (1:1, 3; 22:10). Christ reiterates the claim that he will come soon (2:16; 3:3; 16:15; 22:7, 12, 20). Moral exhortation, concentrated in Revelation 2–3, in the proclamations to the seven churches, is sanctioned by the rewards and punishments which will be meted out at the final judgment (21:5–8). While Jesus is sometimes referred to as the Messiah (11:15; 12:10; 20:4, 6), he is more frequently referred to as the Lamb (28 times), obviously with the intention of including the suffering and sacrifice of Christ (5:6, 9, 12; 7:14; 12:11). Yet the Lamb is also associated with messianic imagery; he shares God's throne (22:1, 3), he shepherds the people of God (7:17; 14:1–5), and he is a mighty warrior (17:14).

**J. The Problem of the Delay of the Parousia**

In the view of many scholars, the *delay of the Parousia* was the single most important factor for the transformation of early Christian eschatology from an emphasis on the *imminent* expectation of the end to a vague expectation set in the more distant future (Schweitzer; Werner 1957: 3–27. The Gk word *parousia* means "coming," "arrival," and was frequently used of the ceremonial arrival of a king, emperor, or highly placed government official. In the NT the term is applied to the eschatological return of Christ, a term widely used in early Christianity (1 Thess 4:15; 2 Thess 2:8; 1 Cor 15:23; Matt 24:3; Jas 5:7; 1 John 2:28; 2 Pet 3:4). According to this view early Palestinian Christianity lived in the imminent expectation of the return of Jesus as Son of Man to bestow salvation and execute judgment. With the passage of time, the process of institutionalization, and the expansion of Christianity into the world of Roman Hellenism, the fervency and imminence of eschatological expectation began to diminish so that the significance which eschatology once had in Christian belief became increasingly less important. The widespread realization of the problem of the delay of the Parousia necessitated a theological adjustment. Thus the delay of the Parousia has been regarded as the single most important factor in the transformation of early Christianity. Since the imminent arrival of the end which was announced by Jesus in the Gospels (Mark 1:15; 9:1) and an early consummation expected by Paul (Rom 13:11; 1 Cor 7:29; 1 Thess 4:15) did not occur, awareness of the problems involved in this delay necessitated a readjustment in expectation. (See also Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 28.)

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**ESDAR, TEL** (M.R. 147064). A small site on a low hill 2.5 km N of Tel ʿAroʿer in the Negeb. It was excavated in 1963–64 by M. Kochavi, who discovered five periods of occupation.

Stratum IVb consisted of silos and ash pits. These contained pottery and other finds from the Chalcolithic period typical of the Beer-sheba culture.

Stratum IVa dates from the EB II period and yielded occupational evidence of pebble floors. A hoard of very large incised tabular flint scrapers was found on a floor.

Stratum III dated to the end of the 11th century B.C. and was the most important stratum at the site. Remains of ten houses, built in a circle on the summit of the hill, were observed. At least six more are well attested. Eight houses were excavated, revealing the same architectural traits—long rectangular buildings divided by stone pillars into two or three living spaces. All entrances faced the center of the circle, and the houses were built adjoining one another, with their outer walls forming a kind of defensive wall. The area surrounded by the circular line of houses was left undeveloped and open and could have served as a corral. The settlement was probably destroyed in a sudden attack since all the contents of its dwellings were found smashed on the floors and were fully restorable—a phenomenon explained only by a sudden catastrophe such as an earthquake or a surprise assault.

Stratum II consisted of two buildings on the slope of the hill outside the circular line of stratum III. Its architectural traits and pottery assemblage differed from those of Stratum III. This was a 10th-century B.C. farmhouse with a subsidiary building beside it.

Stratum I was field terraces and scattered pottery sherds of the Byzantine period.

The two earliest periods of occupation at Tel Esdar (stratum IVa–b) do not differ from other sites of the Chalcolithic and the EB in the Negeb. Farmsteads of the 10th century B.C. (stratum II) as well as Byzantine field terraces (stratum I) are also common in the area. The early Iron Age settlement of stratum III, however, was the first to be excavated in the Negeb and is still the best example of an early Israelite settlement there. Its initiation, like that of Arad XII and that Beer-sheba VIII–VII, coincides with the collapse of the large non-Israelite (probably "Amalekite") center at Tel Masos. Early Israelite settlers could settle in the Beer-sheba/Arad plain only after the alien inhabitants of Tel Masos suffered severe blows, probably from Saul and David. After a short period of time, the settlement was totally destroyed. Its destruction could be attributed to the wars of Saul and David against the Amalekites (1 Sam 15:3; 2 Sam 8:12; etc.).

Since no early Iron Age pottery was found at nearby Tel ʿAroʿer, usually identified with biblical AROER, it has been suggested (Biran 1983) that Aroer of the time of King Saul, mentioned in 1 Sam 30:28, should be identified with Tel Esdar.

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MOSHE KOCHAVI

**ESDRAELON** (PLACE) [Gk *Esdrēlōn* (Ἐσδρηλων)]. Western section of the valleys and plains that separate Galilee from Samaria (Jdt 1:8; 3:9; 4:6; 7:3). The name does not occur in the OT, where the name given to this area is Jezreel. Esdraelon includes the plain of Megiddo, which extends from the N slopes of Mt. Carmel to the plain of Acco, to En-gammin (modern Jenin) as far as Mt. Gilboa on the S and NE to the slopes of Mt. Tabor. The river Kishon runs through the N of the valley. The plain served as a part of a trade route from the earliest times. As part of the Way of the Sea (Isa 9:1), it connected Egypt with the N. As Jezreel in the OT, it was the scene of many battles because of its strategic location. In the Apocrypha the name occurs in the book of Judith as the place where Holofernes camps with his army (Jdt 3:9). It is one of the few place names in the book of Judith that can be identified with certainty.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**ESDRAS, FIRST BOOK OF.** A book of the Apocrypha which appears in the standard texts of the LXX as Esdras A or 1 Esdras. In OL and Syriac versions it is also called 1 Esdras. In English Bibles since the Geneva edition of 1560 it is named "Ezra," the same name as that of the canonical book. In 1883 P. Lagarde's *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canonicorum pars prior Graece* refers to the book as Esdras B or 2 Esdras and states that it represents the Lucianic recension of the LXX in which 1 Esdras is Ezra-Nehemiah. Jerome condemned the text but, nevertheless, retained it and placed it after the NT. In Latin Bibles since his time it is designated 3 Esdras. In the "Great Bible" of 1539, it appears as 3 Esdras while 1 and 2 Esdras refer to Ezra and Nehemiah respectively. For clarity and convenience the book has also been called the "Greek Ezra" to differentiate it from the other Ezra books. This brief summary of the names for this text indicates the complexity attached to the history of the text and the confusion which has characterized its study.

**A. Textual Traditions**

Various Gk texts of 1 Esdr 3:1–5:6 are to be found in many of the important mss and versions of the LXX. Among the Gk texts which provide a reliable text of 1 Esdras, Codex Alexandrinus (A) is the best. Contrary to a long-standing practice of using Codex Vaticanus (B) as the oldest and best extant copy of the LXX upon which to base a translation of 1 Esdras, Codex A provides the superior text, having suffered less extensive revision than B. Of additional value in studying 1 Esdras are Josephus, the OL, and the Syriac versions. R. Hanhart's critical edition of 1 Esdras in the Göttingen LXX is indispensable for its thorough ms citations on restoring the text.

Of the numerous printed editions of the Gk text, S. Tedesche's critical edition (1928) is noted for its recognition and use of Codex Alexandrinus as the text superior to Josephus', the OL, and Syriac versions. Armenian and Arabic versions also exist, but little work has been done on them. Jellicoe (1968) and Myers (*1–2 Esdras* AB) offer extended discussions of the value of the several ms traditions of 1 Esdras.

**B. Contents and Relationships**

With the exception of 3:1–5:6, 1 Esdras is a rather free Gk version of the biblical history from the time of Josiah's Passover to Ezra's reforms. In any discussion of the book's origin, literary type, original language, purpose, value, date, and place, it is necessary to note the parallels with the biblical material and to take account of deviations in order and content. Using the RSV versification, the relationship of 1 Esdras and the canonical books of 2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah is shown in the following table:

1 Esdr 1:1–55 = 2 Chr 35:1–36:12
1 Esdr 2:1–15 = Ezra 1:1–11
1 Esdr 2:16–30 = Ezra 4:7–24
1 Esdr 3:1–5:6 is without a parallel
1 Esdr 5:7–46 = Ezra 2:1–70
1 Esdr 5:47–73 = Ezra 3:1–4:5
1 Esdr 6:1–7:15 = Ezra 4:24–6:22
1 Esdr 8:1–9:55 = Ezra 7:1–10:44 and Neh 7:73–8:12

As the table shows, 1 Esdras and portions of the Chronicler's work constitute duplicate versions, with the exception of the long passage 1 Esdr 3:1–5:6, which is unique to 1 Esdras.

While the content of 1 Esdras parallels material from the canonical 1–2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, it is not in its present form an exact parallel, since 1 Esdras is a truncated version of the Chronicler's work. Some scholars view it as a fragment of the entire Chronicler's work with a rearrangement of some of the material in order to emphasize the role of Zerubbabel and Ezra in the return and rebuilding of the temple and revival of religious reform. The abrupt beginning and ending of the narrative suggest this rearrangement. The superior Gk style of 1 Esdras compared to the LXX version of the canonical Ezra-Nehemiah suggests to some that 1 Esdras and the canonical works stem from a common prototype (Pfeiffer 1949: 245).

1 Esdras has traditionally been of interest mainly for its textual affinity with the canonical books of the Chronicler, and the work itself is canonical for the Eastern Orthodox Church but not for Protestants or Roman Catholics. Most commentators agree it has been preserved in 1 Esdras because it contains the Story of the Three Youths, an element without canonical parallel.

**C. Date**

While the historical period covered in 1 Esdras is from the reform of Josiah (621 B.C.E.) to the restoration of the Jews from Babylon to their homeland (444 B.C.E.), the book was probably written much later. Linguistic and stylistic affinities to Daniel and Esther make it probable that 1 Esdras was composed after 165 B.C.E. Since Josephus used 1 Esdras for his account of the postexilic period, the book can have been composed no later than the middle of the 1st century C.E.

**D. Story of Three Youths**

1 Esdr 3:1–5:3 constitutes a third person narrative of a contest of wits at the court of the Persian king Darius. Following a great feast, after which the guests and the king retire to bed, three young men, identified as bodyguards of the king, propose a riddle contest on the subject of the strongest thing in the world. After each youth names what he thinks is the strongest, the answers are put under the pillow of the king who, they believe, will reward the wisest youth with great gifts and honors. The king, upon waking, summons an audience and requests each youth to give a public defense of his answer to the riddle. The third youth, identified as Zerubbabel, delivers the winning speech on the strength of women and truth and accordingly is allowed to make a request of the king as his prize. He requests that the exiled Jews be permitted to return home to Jerusalem, that the city and the temple be rebuilt, and that the temple vessels be returned to the temple. The king grants his request and issues the proper decrees. Zerubbabel then offers thanksgiving to God for his gift of wisdom and prepares to lead the exiles to Palestine. Darius provides an escort. The narrative ends with a list of those returning under Zerubbabel.

Basic to this story is the recognition that the passage is composite, the result of a growth of its various parts. These chapters, which purport to be history by virtue of their location in the middle of the "historical" work of the Chronicler, are in fact a devotional or edifying legend about an important leader of the Jews during the Babylonian Exile. This legend probably circulated independently before it was adopted and identified with Zerubbabel, a historical leader of a return from captivity during the early Achaemenid period. It is impossible to tell whether Zerubbabel's name was attached to this legend while it was circulating independently, or whether it was identified with the builder of the Second Temple when it was interpolated into the Chronicler's history.

The devotional legend of 3:1–5:3 grew out of a court tale, still discernible in 3:1–4:42. An original tale about a riddle contest at the court of a nameless king was adapted and given a Persian court setting, the king having been identified with an unspecified Darius. Other details of the narrative framework indicate that the unspecified Darius is probably meant to be Darius I (the Great), the organizer of the Persian Empire. The passage on truth was not a part of the original court tale but was adapted to form a legend about the success of a Jew at a foreign court. The three answers of the youths—wine, the king, and women—were probably a part of the original court tale.

The court tale of 3:1–4:42 constitutes Wisdom Literature with common elements of Oriental court tales abounding in the passage—two of these being the great feast (cf. Esth 1:3 and Dan 5:1) and the

restlessness or sleeplessness of the king, giving the opportunity for some "wise" individual to provide a remedy. In other Oriental literature Ahikar, Judith, Zerubbabel, Esther, Daniel, and ʿOnchschshonqy seize similar opportunities to exhibit their powers of wit and wisdom.

The basis of the tale is the riddle, "What is the strongest thing in the world?" This riddle constitutes the smallest unit with an independent existence within the entire section and no doubt was widely circulated throughout the ANE. Impersonal in style, the riddle form, along with aphorisms and parables, is characteristic of the wisdom genre. Interrogative form, either explicit or implicit, is basic to riddle speech; and embedding the riddle in a narrative framework is a characteristic means of transmitting riddles in both Hebrew and non-Hebrew literatures. The passage also shows that the original riddle has grown from its early oral stage and moved to the court tale, finally being fixed in a devotional legend. Future research should focus on textual studies and analyses of the "wise sayings" in the speeches of the three youths.

The most enigmatic unit of the Story of the Three Youths is the second speech of the third youth on the power of truth. In this passage the answer has been interpolated into the original, thus making "truth" and not "women" the winning answer. The abstract concept "truth" in the third youth's answer seems to have a cosmic sense as well as an ethical content, a fact which makes a determination of its origin difficult. Asha in Zoroastrian circles, Maat from an Egyptian background, Hokmah of the Hebrews, and Sophia of the Greeks are all candidates as the original subject of the speech in praise of the power of truth in 1 Esdras. The interpolation of truth into the original tale of the riddle contest thus moralizes the tale, removing what appears to have been a purely secular story from the sphere of the profane to serious or even sacred use.

**E. Purpose**

Temple oriented, 1 Esdras is largely a Gk translation of portions of the work of the Chronicler, except for 3:1–5:6, which is without canonical parallel. This unit is an independent literary unit apart from the rest of the book. Historical material precedes and follows it, with the RSV beginning at 3:1 with "Now King Darius …," thus indicating the beginning of a separate story or episode. The narrator does not seem to be concerned with historical accuracy (a characteristic of the entire book) and does not precisely identify King Darius.

The origin of the material in the elaborated speeches or riddle answers has not been thoroughly studied and provides a subject for further research into parallels with other ANE wisdom material.

Taken as a whole, 1 Esdras preserves some remarkable Wisdom Literature from the ANE in a devotional legend in which Zerubbabel, Sheshbazar, and Ezra, historical figures in the Chronicler's narrative, are presented as "heroes" of the faith. The return from Babylonian Exile, the rebuilding of the temple, the reforms under Ezra, and the beneficent patronage of the Persian monarchs confirm the greatness of "truth," which prevails.

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**ESDRAS, SECOND BOOK OF.** Also known as "the Apocalypse of Ezra" or *4 Ezra,* this work is a Jewish apocalypse written in the last decade of the 1st century C.E. It has not survived in its Semitic original (probably Hebrew; see Stone 1967: 109–11; Klijn 1983: 9–10), or in the Greek version made from that Hebrew. It was not preserved in rabbinic tradition and is known thanks to its popularity in the Christian churches.

**A. Versions**

Full-length versions made from the Gk translation survive in Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic; two in Arabic, Georgian, and Armenian. Fragments of a Coptic version have also been uncovered. In addition, the influence of *4 Ezra* is witnessed by a number of tertiary translations. From Latin, translations were made into Arabic (a single fragment), New Greek (chaps. 11–12), Armenian (the second version), Georgian (the second version), and Slavonic. A Romanian version, apparently made from the Slavonic, exists. A third full Arabic version was translated from Syriac.

Ever since the analysis by Robert Blake (1926: 308–14), it has been accepted that the textual tradition divides into two chief families: Latin and Syriac on the one part, and Ethiopic, Georgian, and Coptic on the other. The other translations from Greek are of a less literal character and generally have only secondary importance as textual witnesses. Readings attested by either of the two chief families have a strong claim to have existed in Greek. This is significant, since scholars have tended to attribute disproportionate weight to the Latin version.

**B. Use in Jewish and Christian Literature**

This wealth of translations reflects the extraordinary impact of *4 Ezra.* This is corroborated by the number of later writings that depend on it, including the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra, Apocalypse of Sedrach, Vision of Ezra, Revelation of Ezra, Questions of Ezra,* and further compositions in Ethiopic, Syriac, and other languages.

The most widely known of the versions of *4 Ezra* is the Latin. It was often contained in the Vulgate in the Middle Ages and is usually printed in an Appendix to the Latin Bible, following the NT. *4 Ezra* is included in the Apocrypha of the Church of England and of Protestant churches. The Latin version includes four chapters, more than any other; two of these usually precede the book and two follow it. They are conventionally included in the chapter numbering, though recognized as different works. The title "2 Esdras" is drawn from the English Apocrypha; most usually the Jewish Ezra Apocalypse, i.e., chaps. 3–14 of the Latin, is called *4 Ezra,* while chaps. 1–2 are called *5 Ezra,* and chaps. 15–16 are *6 Ezra.* These latter two writings are not integral parts of *4 Ezra;* and while some scholars raise the possibility that *5 Ezra* is Jewish or Jewish-Christian in origin, more generally both works are considered Christian.

*4 Ezra* was apparently lost in Greek quite early. It is definitely cited by 2d-century authorities (e.g., *Apostolic Constitutions* 2.14.9 = *4 Ezra* 7:103; 8.7.6 = *4 Ezra* 8:23; Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 1:22 = *4 Ezra 5:35*). Later, definite Gk citations are not known; and, although other quotations from the Gk text have been claimed to exist, they are far from certain. The reasons for the loss of the Gk text remain mysterious. The surviving versions were cited to a greater or lesser extent depending on particular circumstances in the diverse ecclesiastical traditions.

**C. General Character**

*4 Ezra* is an apocalypse. Written a generation after the destruction of the temple, it is dominated by this catastrophe. The book is structured in seven parts, conventionally called visions: Vision 1 = 3:1–5:20; Vision 2 = 5:21–6:34; Vision 3 = 6:35–9:25; Vision 4 = 9:26–10:59; Vision 5 = chap. 11–12; Vision 6 = chap. 13; Vision 7 = chap. 14. The first three visions are predominantly dialogues between the seer, identified as Ezra the Scribe, and an angel. In the fourth vision the seer meets a mourning woman, comforts her, and experiences her transformation into the heavenly Jerusalem. The fifth and sixth visions are political and messianic in character, foretelling in detail the downfall of the Roman Empire and of the wicked nations together with the coming of a redeemer. The last vision relates the revelation to Ezra of the sacred Scriptures as well as of 70 secret books, and it concludes with Ezra's assumption to heaven.

**D. Chief Critical Issues**

The chief critical issues raised in the study of the book over the past century and a half have been those of date, literary unity, and, in recent years, its overall character and purpose.

The *date* cannot be more precisely established on external grounds than to say that *4 Ezra* precedes the oldest definite citations from it, those by Clement of Alexandria and in the *Apostolic Constitutions.* The internal evidence that has been adduced to establish the time of composition has proved debatable in

many instances. For example, 3:1 dates the book pseudepigraphically to the 30th year after the Babylonian destruction of the First Temple. Taken typologically, this date might be thought to indicate a date 30 years after the Roman destruction of the Second Temple, i.e., in 100 C.E. But such typological use of pseudepigraphical dates is unknown elsewhere, and *4 Ezra* 3:1 may instead have drawn this date from Ezek 1:1. Other indications have been sought in certain prophecies of messianic woes (e.g., von Gutschmidt 1960: 78; de Faye 1892: 44–45; Wellhausen 1899: 247), but these woes can be shown to be traditional in character.

More convincing are two considerations. The first is that, from its very character and central concerns, the book must have been written not very long after the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple by the Romans in 70 C.E. The other has to do with Vision 5. This is a political vision, like a number of other apocalyptic visions (e.g., *1 Enoch* 89–90; Daniel 7; and others). Such visions tell past history and predict future history up to the eschaton, disguising events behind complex symbolic structures. If it is possible to isolate the point at which the narrative of past events is abandoned for the prediction of future happenings, that point may be regarded as the time of composition. Vision 5 of *4 Ezra* is the seer's dream of a monstrous eagle with 12 wings, 8 little wings, and 3 heads. Each of these is said to represent a Roman ruler, and the peak of Roman wickedness was achieved during the rule of the three heads and particularly of the middle head. The heads are discussed in considerable detail, and can be most admirably identified as the Flavian emperors, and the middle head as Domitian (81–96 C.E.). The vision does not know of Domitian's death, which is taken to indicate that *4 Ezra* was written before 96 C.E. The major arguments in this matter were already assembled by Schürer (*GJV* 3: 241–42), and no argument of substance has been added since then.

The question of *literary unity* is deeply connected with the conception of the purpose of the book and has been a central issue since Richard Kabisch published his source analysis of *4 Ezra* in 1889. The most influential English language scholar to follow this view was G.H. Box (1912), who concluded that *4 Ezra* was composed of five sources combined by a redactor who was also responsible for part of the text. These sources were: (1) *S: A Salathiel Apocalypse* (3:1–31; 4:1–51; 5:13b–6:10; 6:30–7:25; 7:45–8:62; and 9:15–10:57); (2) *E: An Ezra Apocalypse* (4:52–5:13a; 6:13–29; 7:26–44; and 8:63–9:12); (3) *A: The Eagle Vision* (chaps. 11–12 with revisions by redactor); (4) *M: The Son of Man Vision* (chap. 13, with much revision by redactor); and (5) *E2: Second Ezra Piece* (14:1–17a; 14:18–27; and 14:36–47). The redactor composed a number of passages and was responsible for numerous adjustments within the sources.

The criteria applied for drawing these distinctions within the book were both literary and conceptual. On the one hand, literary unevennesses were highlighted and taken as indications of the inept combination of existing sources. On the other, supposed differences in the eschatological conceptions of the different parts of the book were also taken to demonstrate its composite authorship.

The attack on this view proceeded along various lines. First, the literary difficulties, when examined, proved in no way as serious as Kabisch and Box had claimed (Sanday in Box 1912: vi–vii). Second, the assumptions about the requirements of consistency were questioned on the grounds that (1) they implied a systematic approach unjustified for a work of this genre, and that (2) in any case, very often the supposed contradictions were the result of exegesis designed to highlight differences (Keulers 1922: 46–54; Stone 1965: 12–21; Hayman 1975: 48; Stone 1983, etc.).

Gunkel (1900), while recognizing the differences between the various parts of the book, regarded them not so much as stemming from the combination of different sources, as reflecting the psychological stresses within the personality of the author. This view deeply influenced succeeding scholarship (e.g., Breech 1973). Today, on the whole, this source analysis is no longer accepted, while Gunkel's approach has been both criticized and modified.

It is now almost universally accepted that *4 Ezra* is the work of a single author who probably used some literary sources and some crystallized traditions, incorporating them skillfully into his book. Chief passages reflecting preexisting materials probably include 13:1–13 (Stone 1968); 9:43–10:3 (Gunkel 1900: 334); 4:35–37; 6:49–52; 13:40–47; and perhaps 7:78–99. Such materials have further been detected

in 5:1–13 and 6:18–27. This use of preexistent materials is, however, a quite normal and natural phenomenon in the literature of the age. The book is, nonetheless, a very deliberate and considered composition as has most recently been stressed by Brandenburger (1981) and Stone (*4 Ezra* Hermeneia).

**E. The Teaching of *4 Ezra***

It is quite evident that *4 Ezra* is wrestling with the problems arising out of the destruction of the temple. Visions 1–3 are dialogues between the seer and an angel in which the seer repeatedly attacks the divine governance of the world as it is evident both in the fate of Israel (e.g., chap. 3) and that of human beings (e.g., Vision 3). In the fourth vision the seer changes and accepts the point of view presented by the angel (see particularly 10:5–17). The vision of heavenly Jerusalem ensues, and this is followed in Visions 5 and 6 by prophecies of the destruction of the wicked kingdom. Finally, Vision 7 contains the story of the revelation of the sacred Scriptures, both exoteric and esoteric (14:37–48) and Ezra's last words to the people *(Abschiedsrede)* in 14:28–36. Although this seems clear enough, the question of the overall purpose and meaning of the book has been much discussed and, in the past a number of rather different interpretations have been offered.

One interpretation is associated with the names of Brandenburger and Harnisch (1969), most recently expanded and refined by Brandenburger (1981). Brandenburger would claim that the book is a carefully developed treatise designed to forward the views set in the mouth of the angel (= God). Ezra, throughout the dialogues, represents an opposition point of view, characterized by him as "skeptical" or "gnosticizing." Ezra remains unmoved throughout the first three visions, and the change in Ezra in Vision 4 is a mysterious act of divine grace in which the opponent is turned to accept the wisdom of God's governance of the world. This change is sustained throughout the following revelations and into the *Abschiedsrede,* where Ezra adopts the views previously set in the mouth of the angel.

This significant theory has been attacked by a number of scholars (e.g., Breech 1973; Hayman 1975; and Thompson 1977). It seems to be unacceptable to regard the figure of Ezra as a literary fiction, used more or less "cold-bloodedly" by the author to forward his theological views, which are set in the angel's mouth. This runs against the clear literary intent of the work of which Ezra is the obvious hero. Moreover, although, on the one hand, it is clear that the author cannot ascribe to God or his angel views which, in the final analysis, he rejects; yet on the other hand, Brandenburger and Harnisch offer no explanation for the ascription of these heretical and skeptical views to Ezra the Scribe (Hayman 1975: 51).

It seems most persuasive to regard the book as the "Odyssey of Ezra's Soul." The first three dialogues do not present merely a static conflict, but a dynamic of dialogue and dispute in the course of which Ezra partially accepts certain of the ideas propagated by the angel (Stone 1988). There is development in Ezra's views, though even at the end of the third vision he is far from full acceptance of the angel's position. The fourth vision, rightly viewed by Brandenburger and others as a turning point, describes a major psychological experience of the seer in which he internalizes the teachings he has previously partially accepted. The result of this is precisely the epiphany of heavenly Jerusalem and the command to enter in and see whatever mortal eyes can see (10:55–56).

The dream visions follow, revelations which resolve the basic issues that have motivated the seer from the first part of the book (chaps. 11–13). The main remaining difficulty touches on the final vision. What is its relation to and function in the rest of the book? Brandenburger puts almost exclusive emphasis on the *Abschiedsrede,* Ezra's address to the people. But this is a small part of this vision, which is clearly about the revelation of exoteric and esoteric lore. In the preceding visions the revelation to Ezra has been of esoteric teaching (see 12:36). In the seventh vision at first he is promised esoteric teaching (14:7–8); but only after his special prayer (14:19–22) does God also grant him the revelation of exoteric teaching, the 24 books of the Bible. Only with this does he become equal to Moses. The number of days of the first six visions totals 40, corresponding to the 40 days of the seventh vision (and of course to Moses' time on Mt. Sinai). The seventh vision tells of a revelation that parallels and complements the revelation of the first six visions. Ezra has moved from his doubts to a full prophetic position, indeed to the role of Moses. The transcending of doubts is the transcending of the problems raised by the destruction and the acceptance of divine governance of the world and divine determination of its history.

## F. *4 Ezra* in Judaism of its Time

The problems addressed by the book—of divine justice and the fate of Israel—were clearly very much on people's minds after the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E. As with all the apocalypses, we are quite ignorant of their social context or function (Stone 1984: 433–35). *4 Ezra* does refer to a tradition of esoteric learning, of which the author partakes and which he traces back to Abraham and Moses. Moreover, the Eagle Vision is presented as contemplation on Daniel 7 (12:10); Ezra is commanded to teach it to "the wise among your people" (12:37), and he is told in Vision 7 that the esoteric books are to be taught "in secret to the wise" (14:26; cf. 14:47). Exactly what is reflected by these hints, in terms of social context and function, is beyond our ken. Some sort of social group must have existed, however, which bore and cultivated this tradition. This is corroborated by the fact *4 Ezra* is particularly close to *2 Apocalypse of Baruch,* with which it shares the seven-vision structure and many elements of terminology and language. To a lesser extent it also shows clear affinities to *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*.

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MICHAEL E. STONE

**ESDRIS** (PERSON) [Gk *Esdris* (Ἐσδρις)]. A Jewish commander in 2 Macc 12:36. Esdris is a shortened form of the Heb Azariah. Abel noted that the Eleazar (Gk *Eleazaros*) of 2 Macc 8:23 is also a form of the Heb Azariah as is the variant reading Ezra (ArmLa$^{BMP}$Vg), which he prefers. Abel thinks this Esdris or Ezra/Eleazar to be Eleazar, brother of Judas Maccabeus, mentioned in 1 Macc 2:5 (1961: 271). Goldstein points out that 1 Macc 5:56 refers to Azariah as a commander (*2 Maccabees* AB, 447). Judas, Simon, Jonathan, and Joseph are mentioned along with Azariah as military commanders in 1 Macc 5:55–56 as they are with Eleazar in 2 Macc 8:22–23. The confusion regarding the names may suggest that the author of the source common to both 1 and 2 Maccabees did not recognize that they were the same person. This confusion was passed on to Jason of Cyrene, whose history was epitomized in 2 Maccabees.

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MICHAEL E. HARDWICK

**ESEK** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿēśeq* (עֵשֶׂק)]. The name given to a well dug by the servants of Isaac (Gen 26:20). The name means "contention," "strife," "hostility" and is based on the tradition of conflicts between Isaac's herdsmen and those of Gerar over rights to its water (Matthews 1986). The exact location of the well is, of course, unknown; but the context suggests that it was located between Gerar and Beer-sheba, perhaps somewhere in the Wâdī esh-Sheriah (Naḥal Gerar) E of Tell Abu Hureira (M.R. 112087).

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GARY A. HERION

**ESH-SHUNA, TELL (NORTH).** See SHUNA (NORTH), TELL ESH-.

**ESHAN** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾešʿān* (אֶשְׁעָן)]. Town situated in the central hill country of Judah (Josh 15:52), within the same district as Hebron. The only reference to this settlement, the name of which perhaps means "resting place" (from *šʿn,* "to lean," "support oneself"), occurs in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). Based on the alternative reading *sōma* in LXXB, it has been suggested (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 389) that the ancient town might be associated with Khirbet hallat Sama, located approximately 17 km SW of Hebron. Considering the difficulty in understanding the differences between the two readings and the lack of archaeological verification, the identity of the ancient town must remain enigmatic.
WADE R. KOTTER

**ESHBAAL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾešbaʿal* (אֶשְׁבַּעַל)]. The youngest son of Saul ben Kish and Ahinoam bat Ahimaaz, who succeeded his father to the throne of Israel. The name Eshbaal occurs in the Saulide genealogy in 1 Chr 8:33; 9:39. In 2 Samuel the same individual is consistently named ISH-BOSHETH. The alternate English form Ishbaal never appears in the Bible; it is a hypothetical reconstruction of the original name. The etymology of the name Eshbaal is disputed, with three possibilities proposed for understanding the initial element *ʾeš-*. The first suggests that it is a form of the Heb verb *ʾwš,* "to give"; the second, that it represents the noun *ʾîš,* "man"; and the third, that it derives from a verbal element corresponding to the more common *yēš,* " (he) exists" (Schoors 1972: 8; McCarter *2 Samuel* 86). It is commonly assumed that the second element, *baʿal,* "lord," is an epithet for Yahweh, rather than a reference to the Canaanite deity Baal.

The battle of Gilboa, in which Saul unsuccessfully attempted to capture the city-state of Beth-Shean, ended with most of the Saulide royal house decimated. Saul and his three eldest sons, Jonathan, Abinadab, and Malchishua, were killed. Only the youngest son of Ahinoam, Eshbaal, and two sons born

to Saul by his concubine Rizpah, Armoni and Mephibaal, remained alive as male offspring of the former king; they could be considered as immediate dynastic candidates to succeed Saul to the throne. In addition, an infant grandson born to Jonathan and five grandsons borne by Merab, Saul's eldest daughter, were available as possible candidates for the throne.

Abner, the general of the Saulide army and Saul's cousin, managed to survive the battle and sent the surviving troops to Mahanaim (modern Telul edh-Dhahab el-Garbi) in Transjordan. He then escorted Eshbaal from an undisclosed location in Cisjordan, probably the Saulide capital, across the Jordan to Mahanaim, where he was acclaimed king by the troops (2 Sam 2:8). The army was used on other occasions to represent a quorum of the Israelite citizenry for purposes of coronation (1 Kgs 16:16; 2 Kgs 11:4–12).

According to the accession formula in 2 Sam 2:10, Eshbaal was 40 years old when he began to reign; and he ruled for two years. It is likely that the reported age at accession is a round figure meant to imply maturity rather than a precise age. Even so, the figure is almost certainly inaccurate. Eshbaal's absence from the battle of Gilboa, requiring Abner to detour probably to the capital to retrieve him so that he could be crowned king by the surviving troops who were in Mahanaim, strongly implies that Eshbaal was under 20—the legal age for military service (Num 26:2, 4)—at his accession. His youth tends to be confirmed by other considerations. Jonathan, the eldest of Saul's sons and heir-elect, appears to have only been in his twenties when he died, as indicated by his having a single infant child at the time of his death. As the youngest son of Ahinoam, Eshbaal could not have been 40 when crowned. In addition, Eshbaal's failure to produce an heir during his two-year reign, before his premature death, also suggests a youthful age at the time of his accession.

It is commonly assumed that Mahanaim served as the capital of Israel throughout Eshbaal's reign and that the Philistines' victory at Gilboa led to their regaining political hegemony over Saul's Cisjordanian holdings (e.g., Ewald 1853: 144; Soggin 1975: 36–37; Miller and Hayes *HAIJ*, 146–47). However, neither of these ideas is explicitly supported by textual evidence. Abner's dispatching of the remaining troops to Mahanaim immediately after the defeat at Gilboa may have been determined more by his desire to secure this strategic site than by the Philistines' presumed overrunning of Cisjordan in the aftermath of Saul's defeat. Mahanaim controlled access to the iron-rich Ajlun region (*HGB*, 273), and Abner may have been primarily concerned with maintaining Saulide control over this vital resource. In view of the probable loss of a large portion of the Israelite army in the Jezreel valley, Mahanaim would have become a prime target for both the Ammonites and the Philistines.

The list of Eshbaal's districts in 2 Sam 2:9 tends to refute the assumed large-scale Philistine seizure of Saulide land in Cisjordan. During his brief two years on the throne, Eshbaal was able to control Benjamin, Ephraim, Jezreel, and the Asherites in Cisjordan, in addition to Saulide territory in Gilead. It seems unlikely that he would have been able to recapture such extensive territories from the Philistines in such a brief period, especially since a sizable portion of his career is reported to have been preoccupied with war against David (2 Sam 3:1). The historicity of the claim that the Philistines seized Israelite settlements "on the other side of the valley," i.e., the N side of the Jezreel or Beth-Shean valley immediately after Saul's death at Gilboa (1 Sam 31:7; 1 Chr 10:7) is now open to question in light of the recent archaeological survey work in SW Galilee. No settlements were found that could be dated to the period of Saul (Gal 1982: 80). It seems that this comment is literary embellishment intended to emphasize Saul's crushing defeat. The presumed widespread Philistine occupation of Israelite land in the wake of Saul's death does not appear to have historical foundation.

The suggestion that there was a 5.5-year interregnum prior to Eshbaal's coronation, during which Abner was engaged in regaining lost Israelite territory from the Philistines and rebuilding the Israelite army, can also be dismissed as unlikely (Ewald 1853: 144–45; Soggin 1975: 37). The idea is derived from 2 Sam 2:11, where it is reported that David's reign over the house of Judah from Hebron lasted 7.5 years, while Eshbaal's reign was only 2 years. It presupposes that David only became king in Hebron at Saul's death, which is consistent with the larger narrative portrayal of Saul as king over all the territory associated with the twelve tribes constituting premonarchic Israel but which may derive from the ideology of the biblical

writer rather than reflect the historical situation. The narrative evidence for Saul's firm control over most of the territory of Judah is ambiguous. There is no unequivocal basis for rejecting David's establishment of Judah as a rival state to Israel during the last 5.5 years of Saul's reign.

The site of Eshbaal's capital is not specified in tradition, but it is not necessary to assume that he remained at Mahanaim after his coronation. Having secured continued control over the iron ore near Mahanaim, it is likely that Eshbaal would have returned to the established Cisjordanian capital so that he could regulate affairs of state in the heart of his state. The account of the representative battle that took place at Gibeon immediately after Eshbaal's coronation (2 Sam 2:12–32) may hint that the latter site was the capital and that Eshbaal returned in the wake of David's unsuccessful attempt to take control over it. No reason is given for David's sending his general Joab with troops to Gibeon. The action would be understandable, however, had Gibeon been the Saulide capital.

Eshbaal's removal to Mahanaim to be crowned by the remaining troops would have left the capital temporarily vulnerable to outside attack, and David appears to have attempted to take advantage of this situation. Abner apparently realized the danger and quickly sent a contingent to guard Gibeon after the coronation, only to find David's men already there, ready for a challenge. The issue under dispute would have been who was to control the newly forged state of Israel by controlling its capital: David or Eshbaal. The use of representative combat (2 Sam 2:12–16) (Sukenik 1948; Eissfeldt 1951) indicates that neither side wanted to destroy the city; each wanted to use it as the continuing seat of power. Although the battle was a draw, with all 24 representatives left dead and even though Eshbaal is said to have lost more men in the fighting that ensued than David (2 Sam 2:30–31), the ultimate result was victory for Eshbaal, who maintained Saulide control over the city, thwarting David's challenge. It seems warranted to conclude that Eshbaal would have returned to Gibeon in the aftermath of the withdrawal of David's troops to claim his rightful place on the throne of Israel's capital.

Eshbaal's youth and inexperience would have led him to rely heavily on his uncle Abner's judgment and leadership as general of the Israelite army; and Abner seems to have decided to attempt to take direct control of the throne for himself, perhaps in collusion with David (see ABNER). As Saul's cousin and a proven military leader within Israel, Abner would have been able to garner support for his ambitions from portions of the Israelite populace and particularly from the army. His overt move to depose Eshbaal is reported to have been made by his taking over control of Saul's former harem (2 Sam 3:7). Possession of the royal harem was a symbol of kingship in the ANE. Eshbaal, clearly aware of the political overtones of Abner's move, is said merely to have rebuked his uncle (2 Sam 3:8) but apparently was able to quash the attempted takeover. It was in the wake of his failure to gain the throne that Abner met an untimely death at the hands of Joab, the commander of David's army, during a visit to David at Hebron (2 Sam 3:22–30).

David's request that Eshbaal return Michal, his elder sister who is reported to have been married to David briefly during Saul's reign (2 Sam 3:18), would have taken place after Abner's death. David is reported to have requested Michal's return in his earlier private negotiations with Abner (2 Sam 3:13). His renewed interest in Michal seems to have been sparked by the possibility that he could claim as Saul's son-in-law to be a legitimate dynastic candidate for the throne of Israel through the practice of optative affiliation (Morgenstern 1929: 97). David's public demand that Eshbaal return Michal would appear to have been a declaration of his intentions to challenge Eshbaal's possession of the Saulide throne. Perhaps he was aware of growing discontent with the inexperienced king among the Israelite citizenry; and with Abner conveniently out of the way, David, the former Israelite army commander and son-in-law to the king, became an attractive alternative.

Soon after Abner's death, Eshbaal was assassinated by two of his own raiding captains, Baanah and Rechab, from Beeroth. The men slipped into the palace, slew and beheaded Eshbaal while he was napping, and then took his head to David at Hebron (2 Sam 4:5–7). The parenthetical comment in vv 2–3 tends to imply that the two captains were working on their own out of revenge for Saul's attempt to remove the Gibeonites from within the boundaries of Israel (2 Sam 21:1–2). One wonders, however, if this is not a deliberate attempt to disassociate the assassins from David, who may have plotted the murder to eliminate Eshbaal permanently from the throne after his unexpected success in thwarting Abner's

initial, bloodless attempt to gain the throne. The men's immediate delivery of Eshbaal's head to David might imply his collusion in the murder (2 Sam 4:8); and David could have purposely recruited the two men because of their background, to be able to have blood revenge appear to be the primary motive for the murder (VanderKam 1980). With both Eshbaal and Abner dead, David had a clear path to gaining the throne of Israel himself two years after his unsuccessful bid in the event at Gibeon.

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**ESHBAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾešbān* (אֶשְׁבָּן)]. A clan name in the genealogical clan list of Seir the Horite. This person appears in Gen 36:26 as well as the matching genealogy in 1 Chr 1:41 as second of four sons of the clan chief DISHON and is thus considered the grandson of Seir. These elaborate genealogies may reflect tribal alliances or territories within the Edom region rather than actual blood kinship. For discussion of the Horite clans, see JAAKAN.

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**ESHCOL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾeškōl* (אֶשְׁכֹּל)]. A brother of Aner and Mamre, who were allies of Abram (Gen 14:13, 24; see ANER). Eshcol is a personification of the place name *naḥal ʾeškōl,* "valley of grapes" (Num 13:23, 24; 32:9; Deut 1:24) near Hebron in the same way as the name of Mamre, another locality near Hebron, was used as a man's name in the same vv of Genesis 14. See also MAMRE.

MICHAEL C. ASTOUR

**ESHCOL** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾeškōl* (אֶשְׁכֹּל)]. Name of a valley in the vicinity of Hebron from which the Israelite spies brought back a cluster of grapes so large that two men were required to carry it between them on a pole (Num 13:22–24). The text claims that the valley received its name Eshcol ("cluster") from this remarkable cluster. The area around Hebron, especially to the N, is well suited to viticulture, and its importance to the economy of that region continues even into modern times. Two other texts also refer to the valley of Eshcol in connection with this espionage mission (Num 32:9 and Deut 1:24). Eshcol, together with Aner and Mamre, also occurs as a personal name in Gen 14:13, 24; but since Eshcol and Mamre, at least, were place names from the immediate vicinity of Hebron, one should probably understand their significance here as personifications of the place names.

WESLEY I. TOEWS

**ESHEK** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿēšeq* (עֵשֶׁק)]. A Benjaminite, a descendant of King Saul according to the genealogy in 1 Chr 8:39. The name Eshek is unique to this person and its etymology is unclear. (Rudolph [*Chronicles* HAT, 80]; Noth [*IPN*, 254] find the translations "oppression," "a forced groan" unacceptable.) This might explain why different names are found in the LXX (Codex Vaticanus, *asēl;* Codex Alexandrinus, *eselek;* Gk minuscules *esēl*). Eshek appears in the very last section of the genealogy of Benjamin in chap. 8; he is lacking in the Benjaminite genealogy in chap. 9, which is generally parallel to 1 Chr 8 (see AHAZ #1). 1 Chr 8:39–40 are concerned with the military prowess and the numerous progeny of the clan of the Benjaminites; this is related to the tradition of Benjaminite warriors in 1 Chr 12:1–7 and broadly parallels the list of David's warriors in 1 Chr 11:10–47 (Ackroyd, *Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah* TBC, 43). However, the traditions in 1 Chr 8:39–40 are largely independent of 1 Chr 12:1–8

(except for Eliphelet in 8:39, who might possibly be identified with Pelet in 12:3); and it is best to see 1 Chr 8:39–40 as an independent genealogy of a subbranch of the Benjaminites which was tacked on as an appendix or conclusion to the Benjaminite genealogy.
MARC Z. BRETTLER

**ESHTAOL** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾeštāʾôl* (אֶשְׁתָּאוֹל)]. ESHTAOLITE. A town in the E part of the territory of Dan (Josh 19:41). Along with Zorah, Eshtaol comprised the core area of Danite settlement in the Judean foothills. It is this area which forms the backdrop for the activities of Samson (Judg 13:25), and it is from this area that the Danites sallied forth to conquer Laish (Judges 18). Subsequently, Eshtaol was considered Judahite territory (Josh 15:33; 1 Chr 2:53 [Heb *ʾeštāʾulî*]), settled by Eshtaolites of the Calebite clan of Kiriath-jearim. It has been identified with Khirbet Deir Shubeib (M.R. 148134), near the village of Ishwa (M.R. 151132), which retains elements of the ancient name (Kallai *HGB,* 368).

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RAPHAEL GREENBERG

**ESHTEMOA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾeštĕmoʿa* (אֶשְׁתְּמֹעַ)].

**1.** The son of Ishbah listed in the genealogy of Caleb (1 Chr 4:17). This figure is otherwise unknown.

**2.** A Maacathite, the grandson of Hodiah listed in the genealogy of Caleb (1 Chr 4:19). This figure is otherwise unknown. See also ESHTEMOA (PLACE).
JEFFRIES M. HAMILTON

**ESHTEMOA** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾeštĕmōaʿ* (אֶשְׁתְּמֹעַ)]. Fourth Levitical city in the Judah/Simeon list (Josh 21:14; 1 Chr 6:42—Eng6:57). Outside the Levitical city references Eshtemoa is mentioned in two other texts in the OT. The first is in Josh 15:50, where Eshtemoa is one of the cities in the hill country allotted to Judah. The second occurrence is in 1 Sam 30:28, when Eshtemoa, like Jattir, received some of the booty from David after his defeat of the Amalekites and return to Ziklag. There are no references to Eshtemoa outside the Bible.

This biblical city has been identified with es-Samʿ (M.R. 156089), 8 km NE of Khirbet ʿAttir and 14 km SW of Hebron in the hill country of Judah. It is 10 km from the modern town of Zahariyeh. Today the modern village of Eshtemoaʿ covers the ancient occupation. Es-Samʿ lies on top of a hill at the edge of a mountain which rises to the S. To the N and E deep ravines isolate the village from surrounding neighbors. Because of its location in the hill country, es-Samʿ provides the people with an adequate defense. Important to this village are the roads and valleys that make up the communication network in the hill country (Peterson 1977: 500–58). One of the longitudinal roads runs the entire length of the country from Shechem to Hebron. At Hebron this road forks into two branches; the E branch turns from Hebron and passes Juttah and modern Eshtemoaʿ and then descends into the Negeb towards Arad. At es-Samʿ a wadi flows just to the N of the town and there are several cisterns dotting the landscape near modern Eshtemoaʿ.

The first to identify es-Samʿ with biblical Eshtemoa was Robinson (1841: 626–27), and his identification has never been contested. Most of the archaeological interest at es-Samʿ has centered around the 4th-century synagogue, but in 1928 the Inspectors from the Palestine Department of Antiquities started to make frequent visits to es-Samʿ. The pottery identified was predominantly Roman and Byzantine, but Iron Age, Greek, and Cypriot potsherds were also found, and several test-shafts foundation trenches were dug. In 1971 Yeivin carried out further repairs on the synagogue. During his work he found two vessels dated to the 9th–8th century B.C. There can be no doubt that this small village in the hill country of Judah is the biblical city of Eshtemoa.

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JOHN L. PETERSON

**ESHTON** (PERSON) [Heb ›*eštôn* (אֶשְׁתּוֹן)]. A descendant of Judah, the son of Mehir, and father of Bethrapha (1 Chr 4:11, 12). His ancestry is traced to a certain Chelub, which many, on the basis of the LXX, suspect is a variant of Caleb. Nothing concerning Eshton is otherwise known.
H. C. LO

**ESLI** (PERSON) [Gk *Esli* (Ἐσλι)]. The father of Nahum and son of Naggai, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:25). D omits Esli, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 in Luke 3:23–31. Esli appears as Gk *hesli,* occasionally with *-ei* ending, in many mss and versions. The name Esli occurs nowhere else in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, and falls within a list of 17 otherwise unknown descendants of David's son Nathan (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 500). See also ELIAKIM. Kuhn (1923: 211) also notes a number of possible variant Hebrew and Greek forms of Esli in 2 Kings 22:3; 1 Chr 34:8; Gen 46:24; Num 26:48; 1 Chr 7:13; Num 26:48; 1 Chr 12:4. But as Kuhn admits, there is no exact form of Gk *esli.* With no textual variants for Esli and Eliakim to support confusion of the two, Kuhn's theory has little plausibility.

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STANLEY E. PORTER

**ESSENE GATE.** In his famous description of the walls of Jerusalem, Josephus describes the course of the oldest ("the first") wall to the S of the Hippicus Tower: "Beginning at the same point in the other direction, facing west, it descended past the place called Bethso to the Gate of the Essenes *(Essēnōn pylēn)* and thereafter facing south, extended above the fountain of Siloam" (*JW* 5.145). To mark variations in the course of the "first" wall, the Jewish historian names respectively two or three nearby places (cf. *JW* 5.144–45). For this reason it is possible to locate the Essene Gate quite unequivocally (Riesner fc.): it was located at the point where the "first wall" altered its N-S course to an E-W orientation and near an area called Bethso.

Because of this information early 19th-century investigators usually looked for the Essene Gate on the SW hill of the ancient city of Jerusalem (e.g., Conder 1879), which has been called "Zion" at least since the beginning of the 2d century C.E. (Riesner *ARNW* fc.) and which today lies beyond the Turkish city wall. In 1894 on the property of the Gobat School (today the American Institute for Holyland Studies), F. J. Bliss discovered a gate with several superimposed thresholds, which he originally identified as the Essene Gate (1895: 12). He later attributed the entire gate to the Byzantine period but thought in spite of this that the Essene Gate had stood at this place or nearby (1898: 16–20, 322–24). The excavation was soon filled in, but since then almost all topographers have searched for the Essene Gate on this SW hillside (e.g., Dalman 1930: 86–87; Simons 1952: 278–81; Vincent and Stève 1954: 65). An exception was M. Avi-Yonah (1956: 307), who like E. Robinson (1841: 473–74) identified the Essene Gate with the Dung Gate (Neh 2:13; 3:13–14; 12:31). Consequently, he looked for it near Shiloah, a location which conflicts completely with the description of Josephus.

The dimensions used in the Roman construction caused A. Strobel to doubt the Byzantine dating of the underlying gate threshold (1974: 356–58). In 1977 B. Pixner again exposed the gate discovered by Bliss (1981: 5–7); and in 1979 ongoing, systematic excavations resumed (Pixner, Chen, and Margalit fc.). A few results have by now become certain: (1) the wall in which the gate is located belongs to the Hasmonean period; (2) an even older (preexilic?) wall lies below it; (3) the gate was built into the existing wall for the first time in the early Herodian period as an afterthought; (4) in the time of the late Roman Aelia Capitolina this gate took the shape of a simple gateway; and (5) in the Byzantine period a very weak

wall was erected on top of the Hasmonean wall, and the gate itself was repaired. These five considerations conclusively refute the earlier view of Kenyon (1974: 199–203), already abandoned by her for other reasons, that the SW hill along with the traditional room of "the Last Supper" *(coenaculum)* was not included in the city wall until the reign of Herod Agrippa I, 41–44 C.E. (1967: 155–62). The most recent view of Yadin (1985: 180–82), in contrast to his earlier opinion (1975: 90–91) which sought the Essene Gate in the middle of the Western Wall rather than at its SW corner (1985: 180–82), also has proved to be unnecessary. A gate found by M. Broshi near the SW corner of the present-day city wall (1977: 12) derives presumably from the late Roman period (Pixner, Chen, and Margalit fc.).

During the Herodian phase the Essene Gate, accessible only to pedestrians, was possibly located at an inconvenient place above the steep incline of the Hinnom Valley. Numerous investigators believe (e.g., Vincent and Stève 1954: 65, 69–71; Michel and Bauernfeind 1963: 246) that the Essene Gate bears the name of an Essene settlement in the immediate vicinity. The archaeological data support the assumption that this quarter was erected at the beginning of the reign of Herod the Great (39–34 B.C.E.), who, according to Josephus, had a friendly attitude toward the Essenes (*Ant* 15.371–78). For the duration of his reign the monastic settlement at Qumran remained abandoned, a circumstance that would also support the possibility of an Essene settlement in the holy city (Pixner 1981: 3–5; Riesner 1985: 69–70). The Gk designation *Bethso* in Josephus also points to an Essene quarter located in the immediate neighborhood of the Essene Gate. Only in the *Temple Scroll* from Qumran is there a parallel to this name, specifically in the prescription for the construction of latrines (11QTemple 46:13–16). This evidence confirms the earlier view based on the Aramaic that the original place name was *beth so'a* (Dalman 1930: 86). Also in favor of locating the Jerusalem Essene quarter in this area are the ritual pools both inside and outside the wall (1QM 7:6–7; cf. Deut 23:13–15) as well as the *Copper Scroll*'s treasures caches nos. 1–18 (3Q15 1:1–4, 5). All of this evidence fits the SW hillside (Pixner 1983: 342–47).

The assumption of an Essene quarter at this place is especially interesting, because a trustworthy topographical tradition locates the first assembly center of the early Christian community in Jerusalem and the room of Jesus' Last Supper quite near this area (Riesner 1985: 64–69; *ARNW* fc.). The similarity of certain early Christian rules of conduct (Acts 1–6) to those of Qumran has always attracted attention and might be explained by the conversion of some Essenes (cf. Acts 2:5 ff.; 6:7) to a new messianic belief. Besides other consequences these recent archaeological discoveries could shed light on the chronology of Jesus' last Passover meal (Ruckstuhl 1985) and the shared communal life of the early Christian community (Capper 1986).

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TRANS. PHILLIP R. CALLAWAY

**ESSENES.** A Jewish sect which is known to have flourished from the mid-2d century B.C.E. to the time of the First Jewish Revolt against Rome (66–70 C.E.). They are described by a number of Greek and Latin authors, of whom the most important are the Jewish writers Philo and Josephus and the Roman Pliny (see *HJP* 2:555–74). The site of Qumran is widely believed to have been an Essene settlement, and the Dead Sea Scrolls are thought to have once constituted an Essene library. See also QUMRAN; DEAD SEA SCROLLS.

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**A. Etymology**

The name of the sect is variously given as *Essaioi* (Philo) or *Essēnoi* (Josephus, Dio, Hippolytus) in Greek, *Esseni* in Latin (Pliny). Epiphanius mentions both *Essēnoi,* which he identifies as a Samaritan sect, and *Ossaioi* or *Ossēnoi* from the vicinity of the Dead Sea (*Adv. Haer.* 19.1–4). The etymology of the name remains an enigma although several proposals have been put forward. Philo suggested that it was derived from the Gk *hosiotēs,* "holiness" (*Quod Omn* 75). Josephus seems to imply a pun on *semnotēs,* "sanctity" (*JW* 2.8.2 §119). Most scholars have assumed that the name is of Semitic origin, like Pharisee and Sadducee. The more popular suggestions include the following.

(a) The word *Essenes* could be derived from the Aram *ḥsyʾ* (pl. *ḥsyn* or *ḥsyyʾ*), "pious," the equivalent of the Heb *ḥasîd.* This would suggest a connection between the Essenes and the *ḥasîdîm (asidaioi)* mentioned in 1 Macc 2:42; 7:12–13 and 2 Macc 14:6, but this idea is open to the objection that *ḥsyʾ* is never used in this sense in Jewish Aramaic.

(b) The Aramaic *ʾsyyʾ,* "healers" has been proposed especially by Vermes. Philo says that they were "therapeutae of God" (*Quod Omn* 75) and describes another community called Therapeutae *(Vita Cont),*

but he understands the word in the sense of religious service rather than healing. It is not apparent that healing was such a dominant interest of the Essenes that they would derive their name from it.

(c) The Hebrew verb *ʿśh*, "do" yields a participial form *ʿōśin* in rabbinic Hebrew. It has been suggested that this might be an abbreviation for "Doers of the Law" or some such phrase (Goranson 1984). This form suggests the name *Ossēnoi* given by Epiphanius, but the word is too general and is not related to the Essenes by specific evidence.

(d) The word *ḥsh*, "to trust" is likewise only of general relevance. Other suggestions, such as *ḥzzy*ʾ, "seers" or *ḥšyy*ʾ, "silent ones" are likewise inconclusive.

It should be noted, however, that the name Essene is only attested in Greek and Latin, and hence the possibility of a Greek derivation deserves serious consideration. Two possibilities deserve mention.

(a) Josephus (*Ant* 3.7.5 §163–71) uses the word *essēn* for the high priest's breastplate (Heb *ḥošen*) and says that the word signifies *logion*, "oracle." He adds that God foreshadowed victory in battle by means of the shining of the 12 stones, which the high priest wore upon his breast stitched into the *essēn;* hence the signification "oracle." The *essēn* ceased to shine about 200 years before the time of Josephus, i.e., in the late 2d century B.C.E. We will see below that Josephus attributed to some Essenes the ability to foretell future events. He does not, however, say that they used the *essēn,* or that their name was derived from it. A composition dealing with the shining of the *ḥošen* has now been found at Qumran (Strugnell fc.). It was not necessarily composed there, however, and it does not prove that the community attached any more importance to the *ḥošen* than did Josephus. An association of the name Essene with the priestly *essēn* is an intriguing possibility, but no more.

(b) The term *essēnas* is attested as a designation for functionaries in the cult of Artemis at Ephesus, who had to observe an ascetic lifestyle while in office (Paus. 8.13.1; Jones 1985: 97; Kampen 1986: 61–81). We will see that the accounts of the Essenes in Philo and Josephus were written for hellenized readers and were assimilated to Hellenistic models to some degree. Nonetheless, the cult of Artemis at Ephesus seems a rather remote model for the identification of the Jewish sect.

**B. The Sources**

Philo provides two descriptions of the Essenes, in *Quod Omn* 75–91 and *Hypothetica* 11.1–18. There is considerable overlap between these accounts. Philo does not claim to have firsthand knowledge of the Essenes, and he is evidently dependent on a source or sources. Further, he portrays the Therapeutae in *Vita Cont* as people who bear some similarity to the Essenes but are located in Egypt and lead a less active life.

The most extensive account of the Essenes is preserved by Josephus (*JW* 2.8.2–13 §119–161). A parallel to this account is found in the *Philosophoumena,* which is attributed to Hippolytus (*Haer*. 9.18.2–28.2). Many scholars have held that Hippolytus is dependent on Josephus, but Morton Smith has shown decisively that this is not so. Some of the differences between the two accounts are due to confusion on the part of Hippolytus (he identifies the Essenes with the Zealots) or to editorial censure (he deleted apparent references to sun worship). Hippolytus' account of Essene eschatology, however, may well include authentic information which is omitted by Josephus. Some minor differences between the two accounts can be explained by positing a common source which was originally in Hebrew (Smith 1958: 290–91). Josephus confirms most of the points mentioned by Philo but goes into greater detail. Another, shorter, account is provided by Josephus in *Ant* 18.1.5 §18–22. He also refers to individual Essenes at several points (*JW* 2.20.4 §566–68; 3.2.1 §9–12; *Ant* 15.10.5 §371–79) and once to the "Essene Gate" in Jerusalem (*JW* 5.4.2 §142–45).

Despite Josephus' claim that he personally made trial of the three major sects (*Life* 9–11), he can never have been a member of the Essenes. He claims to have undertaken the three courses at age 16, then spent three years with Bannus in the wilderness, and returned to Jerusalem at age 19. He evidently then did not have time to complete even the initial year of the Essene process of admission. With the possible exception of the testimony to their endurance in the war against Rome (*JW* 2.8.10 §151–52), his knowledge of the Essenes was based on sources. These sources were probably available to him in

hellenized form. Both Josephus and Hippolytus make comparisons with Pythagoras and with the Greek conception of the isles of the blest.

The most important notice by a pagan author is that of Pliny the Elder, in his *Natural History* (5.15.73), which was completed in 77 C.E. Pliny had probably been in Palestine with Vespasian in 68 C.E. He speaks of the Essenes in the present tense, but his information was probably gathered before 70. He mentions them in the context of a topographical survey of Judea and locates them on the W bank of the Dead Sea between Jericho and En-gedi (En-gedi is said to be "below" them; this should be understood as southward, in view of the direction in which the description moves). Pliny's one-sentence description of the Essenes confirms some aspects of the accounts in Josephus and Philo, but he exaggerates their rejection of worldly goods when he says that they live "without money" and also the duration of the sect as through "thousands of centuries."

Except for the enigmatic (probably confused) notice in Epiphanius which we have mentioned in connection with the etymology, the other ancient notices (Synes. *Dio* 3.2; Heges. *Hypomnemata, Apos. Con.* 6.6.1–8; Jerome, *vir. ill.* 11 and *adversus Jovinianum* 2.14) add nothing of significance to the 1st-century sources. (All these and some later witnesses are conveniently collected by Adam and Burchard; note also the Syriac account of Dionysios Bar Salibi discussed by Brock.)

**C. Description of the Sect**

The classical sources are primarily concerned with the customs of the sect. Josephus also provides some information about its organization and discipline. We are given relatively little account of doctrines and beliefs.

**1. Location and Extent.** Both Philo and Josephus say that the Essenes were spread throughout the country. Philo says that they lived in villages and avoided the iniquitous cities; Josephus, on the contrary, says that many lived in each city, but they had none of their own. The discrepancy here may be due to an idealizing tendency in Philo. Pliny, as we have noted, located the Essenes by the Dead Sea. Dio, as reported by Synesius, repeats this location but may depend on Pliny. Epiphanius says the Essenes were from Samaria but puts the *Ossaioi* in the vicinity of the Dead Sea. In view of Pliny's notice, we should assume that there was a major settlement by the Dead Sea; but evidently Essenes were not confined to one location. Both Philo and Josephus give their number as "more than four thousand." This figure was presumably derived from a common source which must have been extant in the early 1st century C.E.

**2. Organization.** Josephus introduces the Essenes as one of three Jewish "philosophies." They are listed among the *haireseis* (whence heresies) of the Jews by Hegesippus and Epiphanius. (Josephus refers to the *hairetistai* of each philosophy—i.e., those who choose to follow it.) The modern term *sect* is influenced by the Christian usage and has the disadvantage of implying a normative orthodoxy, which is anachronistic for Judaism in the era before 70 C.E. Nonetheless, *sect* is accepted as a more appropriate label for the Essenes than for the Pharisees or Sadducees, since it is clear from Josephus that they had a distinct organization with clear procedures for admission and expulsion and also that they were at variance with the Jerusalem temple, which was the focal point of Judaism at the time. We have as yet no better term than *sect* to describe this organization.

The procedures for admission are described by Josephus *JW* 2.8.7 §137–42). For the first year the postulant was required to follow the way of life but remain outside the community. After this there was a further probationary period of two years before final admission. Upon admission "tremendous oaths" were required. These included promises to "forever hate the unjust and fight the battle of the just," to be loyal to those in authority, to conceal nothing from other members, and to guard their secrets, including their books and the names of the angels. There was also provision for expulsion, which had dire consequences, because the expelled person was still prevented by oaths from partaking of common food.

The sectarian way of life was characterized by some form of communal property. According to Josephus (*JW* 2.8.4 §122) "the individual's possessions join the common stock and all, like brothers, enjoy a single patrimony." Philo comments that "they stand almost alone in the whole of mankind in that they have become moneyless and landless by deliberate action" (*Quod Omn* 77). Pliny states that they live "without money." All three 1st-century witnesses also attest the celibacy of the sect. Josephus says that

they shun marriage but do not condemn it in principle (*JW* 2.8.2 §120–21) but also informs us of a second order of Essenes that practiced marriage (2.8.13 §160–61). Philo declares categorically that "no Essene takes a wife" (*Hypothetica* 11.14) and is apparently unaware of exceptions. Pliny says that they live "without any woman" and renounce sex. He marvels that a community in which no one was born could still perpetuate itself through generations. Philo gives as a reason for celibacy that marriage was perceived as a threat to communal life.

Much of the lifestyle of the sect follows from the requirements of communal living. Josephus emphasizes the hospitality extended to sectarians from other communities. Avoidance of wealth and distinction led to rejection of oil (which was also considered defiling) and to extreme frugality in dress (*JW* 2.8.4 §123–27). The cohesion of the community was ensured by strict obedience and deference to elders (*JW* 2.8.9 §146) and by a well-defined hierarchical order (2.8.10 §150). Both Philo and Josephus mention the rejection of slavery (*Quod Omn* 79; *Ant* 18.1.5 §21). Philo suggests that they also avoided weapons or at least refrained from making them (*Quod Omn* 78), but Josephus reports that they carried weapons on their journeys for self-defense (*JW* 2.8.4 §125). A figure called John the Essene appears as an officer in the war against Rome (*JW* 3.2.1 §9–12; 2.20.4 §566–68).

**3. Religious Practices.** The attitude of the Essenes to animal sacrifice and temple worship has been a matter of much controversy. Philo says that they worshipped God "not by offering sacrifices but by resolving to sanctify their minds" (*Quod Omn* 75). This would seem to imply a rejection of sacrifice in principle, but it may mean only that sacrifice was not central to their piety. The testimony of Josephus is confused by textual variation. The Gk mss say that they "send votive offerings to the temple, but perform their sacrifices employing a different ritual of purification. For this reason they are barred from those precincts of the temple that are frequented by all the people and perform their sacrifices by themselves" (*Ant* 18.1.5 §19). The *Epitome* (an abbreviation of the *Antiquities* which is thought to date from the 10th century) and the Latin translation of Cassiodorus read a negative: "they do *not* perform their sacrifices." (Cassiodorus, however, only says that they did not sacrifice in the temple; see Black 1961: 40.) From this evidence it would seem that the Essenes were excluded from the official temple cult. However, the evidence could be interpreted to mean that they still offered sacrifice, either in a special part of the temple area or elsewhere, on their own.

The preoccupation of the Essenes with purity is evident in many of their practices, including celibacy and avoidance of oil (see above). Josephus mentions their ritual baths in cold water (*JW* 2.8.4 §129), notes that novices were allowed to share a purer kind of holy water after their year of postulancy (2.8.7 §138), and mentions that if a senior member of the community was touched by a junior, he had to take a bath "as after contact with an alien" (2.8.10 §150). He also reports their custom of burying their excrement (so as not to offend the rays of the deity) and of avoiding bowel movements on the Sabbath (2.8.9 §148). Even those expelled from the community were apparently still bound by purity regulations (2.8.8 §143–44).

Perhaps the most distinctive custom noted by Josephus is the custom of praying towards the sun before dawn "as if entreating him to rise" (*JW* 2.8.5 §128). They are said to pray "towards" *(eis)* not "to" *(pros)* the sun and so should probably not be regarded as sun worshippers. Nonetheless, the practice is surprising in a Jewish context and is reminiscent of the custom condemned in Ezek 8:16. The parallel passage in Hippolytus makes no reference to the sun, a fact which is probably due to editorial intervention.

A more conventional aspect of the Essences' piety is their devotion to the law. They are said to hold Moses in reverence second only to God (*JW* 2.8.9 §145) and to display an extraordinary interest in the writings of the ancients (2.8.6 §136). Philo claims that the exposition of the law at the sabbath services was allegorical (*Quod Omn* 82), but his description of the Essene assembly does not differ greatly from his account of the assembly of the Therapeutae in the *Vita Cont* (75–78) or of the Jewish people in *Hypothetica* (7).

Finally, the common meals of the community had religious significance. Josephus comments that, after their ritual bath, "pure now themselves, they repair to the refectory as to some sacred shrine" (*JW* 2.8.5 §129). The meal is ritualized by the prayers of a priest both before and after. Philo mentions the common meals as factors which further the unity of the members (*Quod Omn* 86; *Hypothetica* 11.5); but in his

description of the related group, the Therapeutae, he dwells at length on the meal, which he calls a "sacred symposium" (or banquet) (*Vita Cont* 71).

**4. Religious Beliefs.** The 1st-century accounts of the Essenes are primarily concerned with the practices of the sect. Philo gives us scarcely any information about their beliefs but he does state that they believed that the godhead is the cause of all good things and nothing bad (*Quod Omn* 84). This belief may imply a dualistic view of the universe. The main account of the beliefs of the sect is found in Josephus (*JW* 2.8.11 §154–58), and there is some additional information in *Ant* 18 and in Hippolytus.

Josephus clearly asserts that the Essenes believed in the immortality of the soul and regarded the body as a prison house (compare *Ant* 18.1.5 §18). He compares their idea of the abode of the virtuous souls to the Greek isles of the blest and the murky dungeon of the wicked to Hades. The parallel account in Hippolytus, however, goes beyond this and says that they also believed in the resurrection of the body. The sojourn of the soul in the "isles of the blest" is "until the judgment," which would be followed by the *ekpyrosis,* or universal conflagration. Some have suspected that the reference to resurrection is intended to bring the Essenes into line with Christian teaching, but it is by no means clear that Hippolytus would have wanted to make a Jewish sect look like an anticipation of Christianity. The account in *Ant* 18.1.5 §18 emphasizes the determinism of the sect: they are wont "to leave everything in the hands of God."

Josephus and Hippolytus say that some of the Essenes professed to foretell the future. Josephus elsewhere relates incidents involving three different Essene prophets (*JW* 1.3.5 §78–80; 2.7.3 §111–13; and *Ant* 15.10.5 §373–79). In each case the prophecy concerns the fortunes of a king: in the first case, Judas the Essene predicted the murder of Antigonus (about 104 B.C.E.); in the second, an Essene named Simon interpreted a dream of Archelaus (about 6 C.E.); and in the third, Menahem foretold the kingship of Herod and earned the despot's respect for the Essenes. In Hippolytus the notice about prophecy follows immediately on the reference to the final judgment and may have apocalyptic overtones. Josephus also notes their interest in medicinal roots and the properties of stones (*JW* 2.8.6 §136).

Hippolytus also ascribes to the Essenes a fanatic aversion to idols, an inclination to kill the uncircumcised, and an unwillingness to recognize any lord except God. Throughout this passage, however, he appears to have confused the Essenes with the Zealots or Sicarii. Despite this militant portrayal Hippolytus says that they swore not to hate anyone—in sharp contrast to the oath in Josephus which promises always to hate the wicked. It is possible that Hippolytus has introduced some elements of Christian morality into the text in this instance.

**D. Correlation with the Qumran Scrolls**

The identification of the sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls as the Essenes rests on two primary considerations: the location of the Essene settlement according to Pliny and the descriptions of the process of admission both in Josephus and in the Qumran *Rule of the Community* (1QS).

**1. Location.** Pliny located the Essene settlement between Jericho and En-gedi (assuming that "below" means "to the South of" in accordance with the direction in which the description is moving). The only oasis between Jericho and En-gedi, is the Ain Feshka oasis, at the N end of which stands Qumran (M.R. 193127). The excavations at Qumran have shown that there was a settlement at the site from the mid-2d century B.C.E. to the time of the Roman conquest (except for an interruption immediately before the turn of the era). The period of occupation at Qumran corresponds well to the period within which the Essenes are mentioned in Josephus. Since there is no other known site which would fit the location given by Pliny, it is reasonable to conclude that he was in fact referring to Qumran. See also QUMRAN.

Prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the ruins at Qumran were thought to be part of a military fort. This theory has recently been revived by Golb (1985), who points out that Qumran was violently destroyed and so had presumably been defended. The standard Essene interpretation, however, can account for the military adaptation of the site, whether by the sect itself or by Jewish revolutionaries, in the face of the Roman threat. On the other hand, the "military fort" theory leaves us with no identification for the site mentioned by Pliny. The assumption that Qumran was an Essene settlement remains the most economical way to account for the evidence.

**2. Admission Procedures.** The second basic argument rests on the correspondence between 1QS and the description of the Essenes in Josephus. Evidently 1QS is the rule for a distinct community. See COMMUNITY, RULE OF THE (1QS). It is simpler to suppose that this community was located at Qumran, rather than at some other unknown location. The correspondences with the description of the Essenes, then, further confirm the identification of the site. These correspondences are not complete or without problems; but, nonetheless, they are impressive.

The most striking point of analogy between 1QS and the account in Josephus concerns the procedures for admission to the sect. According to 1QS 6:14–23 the candidate is first examined by the overseer, at the head of "the Many" or main body of the community. If he is accepted, he still cannot touch the "Purification of the Many" or mingle his property with that of the community for a year. At the end of this year, his property is handed over to the overseer; but he cannot partake of the drink of the congregation for another year. This account initially seems to posit a two-year, rather than three-year, candidacy. In Josephus' account, however, the first year was spent outside the community. The initial examination by the overseer in 1QS 6 may in fact mark the end of such a postulancy. In Josephus' account the candidate is allowed to share "the purer kind of holy water" after the year as a postulant. If this corresponds to the "Purification of the Many," as seems likely, then there is a discrepancy between the two accounts: either 1QS envisages only a two-year candidacy or it places this stage of admission after the second year of three. The general similarity between the two procedures remains impressive, however, especially since we have no parallels for such a multiyear process of admission elsewhere in ancient Judaism. The discrepancy is most simply attributed to a misunderstanding on the part of Josephus' source, but it is also possible that it reflects a change in practice at some point in the history of the Essenes.

**3. Communal Property.** Both Philo and Josephus emphasize the sharing of possessions in the Essene community. Some passages in 1QS have a similar theme: "All the volunteers that cling to his truth shall bring all their understanding and powers and possessions into the community of God" (1:11). Again, when a candidate has completed one year in the community, "his property and also his wages shall be handed over to the overseer of the revenues of the Many; but it shall be inscribed to his credit, and shall not be spent to the profit of the Many" (6:18–20). This latter passage does not clarify whether private ownership persists after full admission to the community. The *Rule,* however, presupposes some form of private property, since it requires that a member reimburse the community for damage to the communal property (1QS 7:6).

Some scholars (e.g., Rabin 1957) have seen here a significant discrepancy between the Essenes and the sect of the scroll, since the classical accounts insist that "the individual's possessions join the common stock and all, like brothers, enjoy a single patrimony" (*JW* 2.8.3 §122). Yet the similarity is more striking than the difference. Philo and Hippolytus mention the treasurer (Philo, *Hypothetica,* 11.10) or overseer (Hippolytus, *Haer.* 9.20.2, *proestōta*) who handles the community finances. The common meals, which are attested in the Gk sources and 1QS 6, required common funds. It is easy to see how the existence of a common treasury could have been perceived by a Gk ethnographer to imply a rejection of private property. Even the Gk term *anamemigmenon,* "mingled," which is used by Josephus (*JW* 2.8.3 §122) for the communal pooling of funds, may well be a translation of the Heb *hitʿareb* (1QS 6:17; see Black 1961: 33–36). Rabin argues that *hitʿareb* in 1QS means "to do business," as in 1QS 9:8 it is used of dealings with outsiders. This interpretation does not account for the role of the overseer in 1QS 6.

The role of the common treasury is further restricted in the *Damascus Document* (CD). There "the rule of the Many to provide for all their needs" specifies: "The wage of at least two days a month, this is what they shall pay into the hands of the overseer and the judges. They shall set apart a portion of this sum for orphans, and with the other they shall support the hand of the poor …" (CD 14:12–14). The remainder is presumably retained as private property. This, however, is part of the rule for the "camps," for those who live throughout Israel rather than in a monastic settlement. There is no such specification of the amount of the contribution in 1QS. The Gk account of communal property among the Essenes is more likely to have been derived from the regulations reflected in 1QS than from the rule for the camps in CD.

**4. Celibacy.** Abstention from marriage and sexual activity was one of the hallmarks of the Essenes according to Philo, Josephus, and even Pliny. While Philo says flatly that "no Essene marries" (*Hypothetica* 11.14), Josephus adds, in an epilogue to his account, that there is a second order of Essenes which differs in this regard (*JW* 2.8.13 §160–61) and says that even the celibates do not condemn marriage in principle (2.8.2 §121). (The notice in the Syriac author Dionysios bar Salibi [cited by Charlesworth 1980: 216] that the Essenes did not approach their wives again after they had become pregnant, is evidently based on a misunderstanding of Josephus.) The scrolls never mention a prohibition of marriage, but 1QS does not mention the subject at all and makes no provision for women in the community. In contrast, the rule for the camps in CD assumes marriage and family life; and the "Rule for the End of Days" (the so-called "Annex to the Community Rule," 1QSa) provides for sexual relations when a man has reached 20 years of age, which is late by rabbinic standards. Here again the variation probably lies between the two orders of Essenes. Thus 1QS is at least compatible with the celibate life described in the Gk sources, while CD and 1QSa can only pertain to the second order of Essenes. The bones of a few women and children have been found on the periphery of the cemetery at Qumran. Their presence may be explained by the hypothesis that Qumran served as a center for Essenes from other locations, and so these women may not have lived there. While the Qumran evidence on this matter gives no positive support to the identification as an Essene settlement, it can be reconciled with this identification. (See further Vermes 1981: 108; de Vaux 1973: 128–29.)

**5. Relation to the Temple.** We have seen already that the evidence of Josephus is ambiguous, but at least it shows clearly that the Essenes were at variance with the rituals usually practiced in the Jerusalem temple. In 1QS there is silence on this issue (as there is in Josephus' main account in *JW* 2 and in the parallel in Hippolytus). The information in CD is also ambiguous, but can be reconciled with the data in Josephus. In CD 6:11–13 we read that "none of those who have entered the covenant shall enter the sanctuary to kindle his altar in vain." This passage, like *Ant* 18.1.5 §18–19, is open to different interpretations but at least implies dissent from the official temple ritual. The ambiguity lies in the phrase *in vain*: it may be that sacrifice was permitted if the proper (sectarian) regulations were observed, or it may be that all access to the temple was prohibited. The archaeological evidence from Qumran has not clarified this situation. Carefully buried animal bones have been found; some scholars have taken these as evidence for the practice of sacrifice at Qumran (e.g., Cross 1961: 102), but others suppose that they were the remains of religious meals which had been ritually buried (de Vaux 1973: 14). A number of passages in 1QS speak of the life of the community as a substitute for the sacrificial cult (5:6; 8:3; 9:4). While this does not necessarily exclude the practice of sacrifice, it shows how the ritual could have been dispensed with. Josephus' statement that the Essenes sent offerings to the temple would seem to be in accordance with the situation envisaged in CD 11:19: "let there be sent to the altar of holocaust neither offering nor incense nor wood by the hand of a man defiled by any defilement whatsoever, permitting him thus to render the altar unclean …" Presumably offerings could be sent if the bearer was not defiled.

**6. Religious Beliefs and Ideas.** Josephus' statement that the Essenes are wont to leave everything in the hands of God (*Ant* 18.1.5) accords well with the deterministic theology of the scrolls (e.g., 1QS 3:15: "from the God of Knowledge comes all that is and shall be, and before they were, he established all their design …"). The main doctrinal issue in the Gk sources, however, is the immortality of the soul, which is mentioned in both *JW* 2 and *Ant* 18. There has been considerable debate as to whether this belief is attested in the scrolls, or even whether some more Semitic conception of an afterlife underlies Josephus' hellenized formulation. The problem concerns the rather vague formulation of personal eschatology in the scrolls. In 1QS 3:7–8 the visitation of all who walk in the spirit of life "consists of healing and abundance of bliss, with length of days and fruitfulness and all blessings without end, and eternal joy in perpetual life and the glorious crown and garment of honor in everlasting light." The language of this passage is reminiscent of the Psalms (e.g., Ps 16:11: "thou dost show me the path of life; in thy presence there is fullness of joy") or of Proverbs (e.g., Prov 8:35: "he who finds me finds life and obtains favor from the Lord"), which are not usually thought to imply a belief in an afterlife. In 1QS, however, the lot of the Children of Light is contrasted with that of the Sons of Darkness. The visitation of the latter "consists of

an abundance of blows administered by all the Angels of Destruction in the everlasting Pit by the furious wrath of the God of vengeance, of unending dread and shame without end, and of the disgrace of destruction by the fire of the region of darkness" (1QS 4:12–13). Since this passage clearly implies punishment after death for the wicked, it is hardly conceivable that the "eternal life" of the righteous does not also extend beyond the grave. The "eternal life" of the community certainly involved present participation in the eschatological state, as can be seen from the *Hodayot* (Thanksgiving Hymns), but it also extended beyond death. (Compare also the contrast between the fates of the wicked and the righteous in CD 2:5–6 and 3:20. See further Nickelsburg 1972: 156–67.) This conception could well have been translated into Greek, though not quite accurately, as the immortality of the soul.

Hippolytus further claims that the Essenes believed in bodily resurrection, a final judgment, and universal conflagration (*Haer*. 9.27). A few passages in the *Hodayot* have been interpreted as references to resurrection: 1QH 6:34, "they that lay in the dust have raised up a banner"; 1QH, 11:12 "that this vermin that is man may be raised from the dust to [thy] secret [of truth]." Other scholars, more plausibly, take these passages as references to the present state of the community. Thus 1QS does not clearly speak of resurrection; it simply does not specify whether or not the body will participate in eternal life. Since the scrolls do not make the typical Greek distinction of soul and body, it is likely that they had in mind some conception of a "spiritual body" such as Paul has in 1 Cor 15:44. Here again we can see how an outsider might have construed this, inaccurately, as resurrection of the body. It is also possible that Hippolytus changed his source at this point, under the influence of his own Christian beliefs (see further Nickelsburg 1972: 146–69).

The final conflagration, in contrast, is strikingly illustrated in the description of the torrents of Belial in 1QH 3:29–36. In this case at least, the scrolls seem to support the account preserved in Hippolytus.

**7. Further Correlations.** There are several other points where the scrolls (esp. 1QS) correspond to the Gk sources (see Beall 1988). These include *ritual bathing* (*JW* 2.8.4 §129; 2.8.7 §138; 1QS 3:4, 9; 5:13); the *common meal* (*JW* 2.8.5 §131–32; *Quod Omn* 86; *Hypothetica* 11:5; 1QS 6:5); *study of the law* (*JW* 2.8.6 §137; 2.8.9 §145; *Quod Omn* 80; 1QS 6:6); the *prohibition of spitting* (*JW* 2.8.9 §147; 1QS 7:13); the requirement of *oaths upon admission* (*JW* 2.8.7 §139; 1QS 5:7–8); the *demand to hate the unjust as well as support the just (JW* 2.8.7 §139; 1QS 1:9–10); and to *conceal nothing from the members of the sect* but *divulge none of their secrets to others* (*JW* 2.8.7 §141; 1QS 9:17–19). In some cases we can speak of "verbal reminiscences in Josephus of theological clichés in the Qumran texts" (Cross 1961: 96): the use of the verb "hate" with reference to the unjust, the term "mingle" *(hitʿareb, anamignusthai)* with reference to the finances of the community, and the description of the dark netherworld, where the wicked are punished.

Some other points which are not noted in the *Rule of the Community* are otherwise supported by discoveries from Qumran. Philo's statement that the Essenes supported themselves by labor on the land and by crafts is supported by the archaeological evidence from Qumran and nearby Ain Feshka (de Vaux 1973: 60–87). The fact that the secrets of the sect include the names of angels (*JW* 2.8.7 §142) accords well with the general prominence of angels in the scrolls. The biblical commentaries or Pesharim may provide some basis for Philo's assertion that they interpret their writings "through symbols" or allegorically, although Philo's understanding of allegory is very different from that at Qumran. The discovery of horoscopes at Qumran (4Q186) may be of relevance to the Essene interest in predicting the future. A very obscure fragment, the so-called *4QTherapeia,* has been adduced as evidence of the Essene interest in superstitious medicine, but that interpretation has been decisively refuted (Naveh 1986).

**8. Discrepancies.** Apart from the problems noted above relating to the practices of the sect, the most significant discrepancy is that the scrolls provide considerable information about the self-understanding and beliefs of the sect which has no parallel in the Gk sources. Josephus mentions that a priest says grace at meals but otherwise does not hint at the prominence of priests in the community. The theology of the *Rule of the Community* is dominated by the dualistic opposition of Light and Darkness, which will endure until the final judgment. This dualism is never explicit in the Gk sources. It may be implied in Philo's

statement that they held the divinity responsible only for good things (*Quod Omn*, 84), while the Essene reverence for the sun is highly appropriate for self-styled "Children of Light."

Yet there is no doubt that the Greek accounts proceed from an understanding of the sect very different from what we find in the scrolls. In broad terms the contrast is between Hellenistic mysticism on the one hand and priestly apocalypticism on the other. In the light of the scrolls, the asceticism of the sect can be seen to arise from a strict adherence to levitical purity, intensified by the conviction that the end of days was at hand. The reference to a final conflagration in Hippolytus suggests that some apocalyptic motifs may have been dropped by Josephus and Philo. Basically, however, the difference between the two portrayals must be attributed to the fact that the Greek accounts, and their immediate sources, were written for Greek readers and that they adapted their material accordingly. As Morton Smith has observed (1958: 290–91), the common source of Josephus and Hippolytus was already a document of Greek ethnography. Some of the material—references to messiahs or to a final war between the forces of Light and Darkness—may have seemed too hostile for gentile readers, or the Hellenistic writer may simply have failed to appreciate the importance of some sectarian beliefs which could not be assimilated to Greek models. Despite the differences the parallels between Josephus' source and 1QS are far closer than those with any other known document.

The discrepancies between the Greek sources and the scrolls, significant though they are, are outweighed by the similarities. The correspondence of geographic location and the extensive similarity of community structure make overwhelmingly probable the identification of Qumran, and of the *Rule of the Community*, as "Essene."

**E. History of the Sect**

The Essenes appear in Josephus' account from the mid-2d century B.C.E. to the time of the war against Rome. He gives no explanation of their origin; except that he notes their difference from the ritual of the temple; and we might infer that this had some bearing on their separation from the rest of Judaism. Attempts to fill out the history of the Essenes are based primarily on evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls and the archaeology of Qumran. Here we are concerned only with those points at which the Greek and Latin evidence has some bearing on historical reconstruction. There are three such points: (a) the early formation of the sect, (b) the interruption in its sojourn at Qumran, and (c) its survival after 70 C.E.

**1. Early Formation.** It is evident from the *Damascus Document* (CD) that the sect had some history prior to the settlement at Qumran. On the most widely accepted interpretation of CD 1, the sect arose in the early 2d century B.C.E. ("390 years" after the fall of Jerusalem, granted that the number is not exact). (On the alternative interpretation, which pushes the origin of the sect back into the Babylonian Exile, see the discussion of CD in DEAD SEA SCROLLS.) There was then a 20-year period of uncertainty which ended with the arrival of the "Teacher of Righteousness." Subsequently there was a split in the movement, when some people "departed from the way" and "turned back" with the "Man of Lies." The settlement at Qumran is usually thought to have been initiated by the Teacher, but the evidence on this point is not clear.

The Greek evidence is relevant to this early history at two points. The first concerns the designation of pre-Qumranic material as "Essene." The name, as used in the Greek sources, refers to an organized form of communal life. The designation is most fully warranted when we have a full community rule as in 1QS. It is probably warranted with reference to the "new covenant" of CD, which was probably formed before the arrival of the Teacher. It does not, however, seem to be warranted in the case of pre-Qumran pseudepigraphic works such as the early Enochic writings and *Jubilees*. While this material reflects incipient sectarian movements, which may have been forebears in some sense of the Essenes, it lacks reference to the distinct community structures which are a hallmark of the Essenes.

A second point concerns the split in the early Essene movement. We know from Josephus that there were two orders of Essenes. The evidence of CD, which makes special provision for "those who live in camps," is compatible with this information. Neither the Greek nor the Hebrew evidence, however, suggests that the distinction of two orders was the result of a schism. In CD, those who live in camps are clearly regarded as part of the Teacher's movement, while the followers of the "Man of Lies" are not. The

suggestion that "non-Qumran Essenes" were those who refused to follow the Teacher (Murphy-O'Connor 1974: 235–36) and so were in opposition to Qumran, is not supported by the evidence.

**2. Interruption of the Qumran Settlement.** Two major developments in the history of the Qumran settlement are known from the archaeology of the site. The first was the expansion of the settlement in the time of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.), presumably to accommodate an influx of new converts. This development has been associated with the persecution of the Pharisees by Alexander Jannaeus reported by Josephus (*JW* 1.4.6 §96–98; *Ant* 13.14.2 §380–83) but is not reflected in the accounts of the Essenes.

The second major development was the destruction of the site and its subsequent abandonment in the reign of Herod. The destruction of the site has been variously attributed to an earthquake (which is known to have happened in 31 B.C.E.) or to the Parthian invasion of 40–39 B.C.E. (see de Vaux 1973: 20–24). We do not know where the community lived while the site was vacant. Since Josephus tells us that Herod held the Essenes in high respect (*Ant* 15.10.5 §378), the question has been raised "should we think of the Essenes as retreating to Jericho and living beside the magnificent Herodian structures that have recently been excavated and restored?" (Charlesworth 1980: 227). In view of the general asceticism of the Essenes, this question should almost certainly be answered in the negative.

**3. Survival after 70 C.E.** The majority of the Essenes lived at sites other than Qumran. (Philo and Josephus say that there were about 4000 Essenes; the capacity of Qumran was about 200.) It is therefore a priori unlikely that the destruction of Qumran would have brought the sect to an end, but it is possible that the sect dissolved in the general turmoil of the war against Rome. Evidence for the persistence of the Essenes after 70 C.E. is hard to find. The accounts of Josephus and Hippolytus were written in the present tense but they were based on older sources. Pliny's information was probably gathered before 70 C.E. Epiphanius, who preserves some distinctive material, claims to rely on a tradition *(he eis hemas elthousa paradosis)* the origin of which is unknown. Alleged theological and thematic influences on Syriac Christianity (Charlesworth 1980: 231) do not require the continued existence of the sect. The suggestion of Vermes (1975: 28) that a passage in *Midrash Rabbah* 36 be translated to say that Rabbi Meir visited the Essenes and found no copy of Esther among them is intriguing in view of the absence of Esther at Qumran but is very slender evidence for the continued existence of the Essenes. (The usual translation says he visited Asia Minor.) In short, while it is certainly possible that the Essenes continued to exist after the 1st century, we lack firm evidence to confirm that they did.

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**ESTHER, ADDITIONS TO.** The "Additions to Esther" consist of six extended passages (107 verses) in the Greek version/s which have no counterpart in the traditional Hebrew text. Regarded by both Jews and Protestants as apocryphal, i.e., noncanonical, these Additions (= Adds) never appear in Jewish Bibles; and if printed in Protestant Bibles, they usually appear, along with other apocryphal books, between the two Testaments or after them. By contrast, Roman Catholics since the Council of Trent (1546) have regarded these Additions as authoritative and have called them "deuterocanonical"; and following Jerome's practice in the Vulgate (A.D. 405), Catholic Bibles usually print these six Adds immediately after the canonical text, numbering them as chaps. 11–16.

Designated by a variety of numbering systems, the Adds consist of the following: Mordecai's dream (Add A 1–11) and the discovery of a plot against the king (Add A 12–17); the royal edict dictated by Haman, announcing a pogrom against the Jews (Add B 1–7); the prayers of Mordecai (Add C 1–11) and Esther (Add C 12–30); a description of Esther's going before the king unsummoned (Add D 1–16); the royal edict dictated by Mordecai, counteracting the edict written by Haman (Add E 1–24); and the interpretation of Mordecai's dream (Add F 1–10) along with the colophon to the Greek version (F 11). These Adds differ from the canonical Esther—as well as from one another—in purpose (i.e., effect), content, and style.

There is one other "addition" in the Greek text which must be mentioned here: God himself. The word or his name occurs over fifty times, mostly in the deuterocanonical sections but sometimes even in the canonical sections (see below). This is in sharp contrast to the Hebrew text where God is not mentioned at all, a fact that has prompted much debate. (On this problem as well as other matters relating to the Hebrew version of Esther, see ESTHER, BOOK OF.

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**A. Summary**

**1. Add A 1–11 (=Vg 11:2–12).** The Greek version of the book of Esther begins *before* the description of Ahasuerus' banquet (the scene that begins the Hebrew version), recounting that, on New Year's Day in the 2d year of the reign of Artaxerxes the Great, Mordecai ben Jair, a prominent Jew serving in the royal court at Susa, had a dream in which he saw the earth full of cries and chaos. Two great dragons were readying themselves for battle while the pagan nations prepared to war against the righteous nation. Surrounded by darkness and filled with fear, the righteous nation cried out to God. And from their crying there arose a mighty river; then light and sun appeared. Finally, the humble were exalted and devoured the eminent. Realizing that this dream was a portent of what God intended to do, Mordecai puzzled over it all day.

**2. Add A 12–16 (=Vg 12:1–6).** Also placed before the banquet scene and also set on New Year's Day in the 2d year of Artaxerxes, these verses recount how Mordecai, while in the royal court that evening, overheard Gabatha and Thara, the king's bodyguards, plotting against Artaxerxes. Mordecai promptly informed the king; and after the culprits were executed, Mordecai's good deed was duly recorded; he was also ordered to serve in the king's court and received certain other rewards for his service. But Mordecai's "betrayal" of the eunuchs also earned him the enmity of Haman, son of Hammedatha, a Bougaion who was also the king's favorite, who decided to destroy not only Mordecai but his people as well.

**3. Add B 1–7 (=Vg 13:1–7).** This florid and rhetorical Add, appearing between what would be verses 13 and 14 of chap. 3 of the MT, transcribes the royal edict dictated by Haman. In it, the Persian king in effect says the following: "Having conquered the whole world (but not out of any power-madness but always with gentle restraint), I was resolved to make the lives of my subjects untroubled by civilizing the land, making all travel safe, and restoring the peace. When I asked Haman, my second in command and an adviser of balanced judgment and consistent kindness, how this might be accomplished, he informed us that there is scattered throughout the empire a certain people whose own laws make them hostile to everyone else and who ignore the royal ordinances and frustrate our noble plans. Realizing that this people, alone, are always acting only in their own interests and are frustrating the good that I would do, and threatening the general welfare of the empire, I do hereby authorize their total and complete destruction—including their women and children—on Adar 13 of the present year. With all of them killed in one day, our government will then be secure and our future untroubled."

**4. Add C 1–11 (=Vg 13:8–18).** Assured that Esther would intercede for her people, Mordecai left the King's Gate (4:17 of the MT). In the Greek verses immediately following, it is recounted that Mordecai prayed to God, in effect saying: "Lord, king and creator of the universe, not out of insolence or vanity did I refuse to bow down to Haman. For Israel's sake I would have kissed the soles of his feet, but I will bow down only to you, my Lord. God of Abraham, spare your people, your heritage whom you ransomed from Egypt. Turn our mourning into feasting. Lord, don't stifle the voices of those who praise you!" Meanwhile all Israel was also crying out in fear of the impending implementation of the edict dictated by Haman (Add B).

**5. Add C 12–30 (=Vg 14:1–9).** Terrified at the prospect of approaching the king unsummoned, Esther put on mourning clothes, covered her head with ashes and dung, and prayed, in effect saying: "My Lord and only king, help me who am alone as I risk my life. I have always heard that you treated your inheritance Israel just as you had promised. But when we sinned and extolled the gods of our enemies, you handed us over to them. Not satisfied with our enslavement, they now are resolved to nullify your promises to us by destroying both the temple and us. Lord, don't relinquish your scepter! Frustrate their plot and make an example of Haman. Lord, give me courage! Make me persuasive before the 'lion' and make him hate our enemy and his supporters. You know that I detest the pomp of the wicked and the bed of the uncircumcised. As for the royal turban I wear at court, I loathe it like a menstruous rag! I have not dined at Haman's table or partied or drunk the royal libations. God of Abraham, I have always delighted only in you. Save us from the wicked—and, Lord, protect me from my fears!"

**6. Add D 1–16 (=Vg 15:4–19).** This Add, an expansion of 5:1–2 of the MT, reports that on the third day, when Esther's prayers were finished, she dressed in her finest outfit and, with one maiden preceding her and another carrying her train, she finally stood before the king—radiant, regal, but unsummoned. But when the king turned livid at the sight of her, she turned pale and keeled over on her maid. God instantly changed the king's rage to gentleness so that Artaxerxes leaped from his throne and, gathering her up in his arms, assured her that everything would be all right. "My lord," she said to the king, "I saw you like an angel of God, and I was upset." As she sagged with relief, the king and his court continued to reassure her. The Greek then follows the MT (5:3–8:12), recounting how Esther asked that the king and Haman come to her dinner, how the second dinner culminated with the execution of Haman, and how the king authorized Mordecai to issue a pro-Jewish edict to counterbalance Haman's earlier anti-Jewish edict.

**7. Add E 1–24 (=Vg 16:1–24).** These verses transcribe in diffuse and florid style the edict that Mordecai dictated. It begins with Artaxerxes greeting his governors and all his subjects throughout the empire. He then goes on to say, in effect: "Some arrogant men, excessively honored by overly generous benefactors, scheme even against their own benefactors. Puffed up by flattery, they hope to escape the evil-hating justice of the omniscient God. Occasionally these malicious scoundrels through their guile and persuasiveness mislead even the most well-intentioned and highest officials. A case in point is Haman, son of Hammedatha, a Macedonian without a drop of Persian blood or goodness in him, who was not only treated as a guest but was even addressed in public as 'our father' and was ranked second only to the king himself. In his arrogance, Haman schemed to rob us of both kingdom and life. He tried to destroy not only Mordecai, benefactor of the king, and Queen Esther, but their people as well. Then he would have had the hegemony pass from the Persians to the Macedonians! We now know that the Jews maligned and consigned to destruction by Haman are not criminals but are governed by the most just laws and are sons of the most high and living God who has always directed the fortunes of our empire. Therefore, ignore the royal decree sent by Haman, for he as well as his family are now hanging from Susa's gates! Post copies of this dispatch in every public place. Also, allow the Jews to follow their own customs—and support them on Adar 12. (The omnipotent God had determined that day to be a joyful one for his chosen people, not a day of destruction; moreover, henceforward that day shall be celebrated by you and by those Persians sympathetic to them.) Any city or province not acting in accordance with the present edict shall be so devastated by fire and spear that it will be forever avoided by both man and beast!"

**8. Add F 1–10 (=Vg 10:4–13).** This Add, which immediately follows the conclusion (10:3) of the MT, hearkens back to the scene with which the Greek version began. In these verses, the Greek version draws to conclusion with Mordecai realizing that all this had been God's doing. In his earlier dream, the "river" symbolized Esther; the "two dragons" were he and Haman; and the "nations" represented the heathen world who would have annihilated the nation of Israel. The Lord himself had saved his people and done all these things. God had made two lots, one for his people and the second for all the other nations; and at the appointed time of trial he acquitted Israel, his inheritance. Therefore, all Israel should joyfully celebrate Adar 14 and 15 for all time.

**9. Add F 11 (=Vg 11:1).** This additional verse is a colophon, which literally reads: "In the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, Dositheus, who said he was a priest and a Levite, and his son Ptolemy brought the above book of Purim, which they said was authentic and had been translated by Lysimachus, son of Ptolemy, a member of the Jerusalem community."

The preceding summary has been unusually detailed for three reasons: (1) to provide data enabling us to see how the Adds are frequently inconsistent with or even contradictory to the canonical sections of Esther; (2) to underscore the explicitly religious character of the Adds; and (3) to show how the Adds help to alter dramatically the character and "purpose" (i.e., effect) of the Greek version of Esther. Each of these matters will be treated in detail at some point below.

**B. Canonicity of Esther and Its Adds**

In the Hebrew version of Esther, the Persian king is mentioned 190 times in 167 verses; but the God of Israel not once. Nor are there mentioned in the MT such distinctive practices and concepts as prayer, *kašrût,* election, law, Jerusalem, temple, or divine intervention (in fact, fasting is the only religious

practice mentioned [Esth 4:16 and 9:31]). These glaring omissions undoubtedly contributed to the difficulties the book had in gaining canonicity among both Jews and Christians. For as late as the 4th century A.D. some Jews were still denying the book canonical status, as were a number of Eastern Church Fathers as late as the 9th century (for further details, see ESTHER, BOOK OF).

Just as the canonicity of the Hebrew version of Esther had long been debated by both Jews and Christians, so the canonical status of the Adds has also been a matter of dispute. With respect to the Adds, Esther's questionable canonical status was both their cause and an effect: on the one hand, the book's contested canonical status made it possible for editors to tamper with the text by creating the Adds; and on the other hand, the introduction of explicitly religious Adds improved the book's odds of gaining canonicity, at least among some of its critics.

Although Jerome had removed the Adds from their logical positions in the LXX and had relegated them to the end of his Latin translation, further negative judgment on the Adds *per se* was not raised for the next thousand years.

Then in the 16th century, during the period of the Protestant and Roman Catholic Reformations, Protestants, following Luther's lead, looked upon the Adds as apocryphal while Roman Catholics called them "deuterocanonical." Speaking of his church's doctrinal position concerning the Adds, the Roman Catholic biblical scholar Soubigou (1952: 581–82, 597) maintained that, while a Roman Catholic scholar must accept as doctrinally true *the inspiration* of the Adds, he need not subscribe to the view that they were an original part of the Esther story, the distinction here being that the provenance and original language of the Adds are matters for literary and linguistic analysis, not doctrinal pronouncement.

**C. Secondary Character of the Adds**

There can be no doubt that the Adds are properly called "additions," for both the internal and external evidence confirm this. As for the external evidence, none of the standard translations regularly based on the Hebrew text has them, i.e., neither the Talmud, Targums, nor the Syriac has these particular Adds. Nor are these Adds found in Aquila, Theodotion, or Symmachus, these being 2d century A.D. Greek translations based upon the current Heb text (Roberts 1951: 120–27). The so-called "ancient" Heb version of Adds A and C in *Sefer Josippon* is actually a product of the Middle Ages and is based upon the LXX (Moore 1977: 154).

By contrast, those ancient versions universally recognized as being based upon the LXX (i.e., the OL, Coptic [i.e., Sahidic], the Ethiopic) *do* have these Adds. The Latin Vulgate, which Jerome (340?–420) based upon the Hebrew, also has these Adds; but in a note after Esth 10:3 of his Latin translation Jerome said that these Adds were not in the current Hebrew text.

Earlier, Origen (185?–?254) had reported in *Epistle to Africanus* 3 that neither the royal edicts by Haman and Mordecai (Adds B and E) nor the prayers of Mordecai and Esther (Add C) appeared in the Hebrew text of his day. Whether Adds A, D, and F did exist at that time is unknown; after all, to conclude that A and F did exist because they were not expressly mentioned as being absent is an argument based on silence.

**1. Inconsistencies.** The intrusive or secondary character of these Adds is also attested by their inconsistencies with the MT. Admittedly, some of the inconsistencies are relatively unimportant.

While in A 1 *et passim* the king is named Artaxerxes, his name in the MT is *ʾḥšwrwš* (i.e., Xerxes). In A 2, Mordecai is described as "a prominent man who served in the king's court"; yet not until 8:2 of the MT can he be so described, albeit he must have had some prior standing to have been identified in 2:21 of the MT as an official (literally, "one who sat at the King's Gate"), unless, as some scholars argue, A 2's characterization of him as one "who served in the king's court" represents an inner-Greek corruption (i.e., Gk *pulē,* "gate," was early misread as Greek *aulē,* "court").

Haman is identified in A 17 as a "Bougaion," which is evidently a term of reproach (Moore 1977: 178), while in 3:1 and 9:24 of the MT he is called an "Agagite." The description of him as a "Macedonian" in E 10 is also a term of reproach, the claim of E 14 notwithstanding (i.e., that Haman had intended to deliver the kingdom into the hands of the Macedonians).

The king's laudatory characterization of himself and his glowing description of Haman in B 2–3 and 6 cannot be considered inconsistent with what is found in the MT. After all, the edict was composed by Haman, who would naturally have spoken favorably about the king; and as Soubigou noted, "The eulogy of Haman was by Haman" (1952: 680).

Esther's concern for the temple and altar at Jerusalem (C 20), her abhorrence at being married to a gentile (C 26), her loathing of all things worldly and courtly (C 25–27), her strict observance of dietary laws (C 28) are not even hinted at in the MT. If anything, one would infer from 2:9 of the MT that at Susa Esther did not observe *kašrût.* The mention in D 2 and 7 of two maids accompanying Esther finds no counterpart in the MT.

Whether the date of Mordecai's dream (i.e., the 2d year of Artaxerxes' reign) contradicts 1:1 of the MT depends upon two things: (1) whether Haman's discovery of the plot by Gabatha and Tharra happened the day after the dream or at some later date; and (2) whether their plot is the same as the plot of Bigtan and Teresh, which, according to the MT, occurred in the 7th year of the king. Fuller (1888: 373) regarded them as separate plots; but the A-Text (see below), Josephus, and the OL report only one.

**2. Contradictions.** It is, however, the contradictions between the apocryphal and the canonical sections of Esther that prove that the Adds are interpolations. According to Add A 1 and 11–16, Mordecai discovered the plot against the king in Artaxerxes' 2d year (7th year in 2:1 of the MT); he himself informed the king of the plot (in 2:22 of the MT, Esther did so in his name); and Mordecai was immediately rewarded (cf. 6:1–11 of the MT, where Haman was not rewarded until the king's 12th year [3:7]). According to A 17, Haman's hostility toward Mordecai was based upon the latter's informing on the two conspirators against the king; but in the MT it was because Mordecai had refused to bow down to Haman and because Mordecai was a Jew while Haman was an Amalekite (Esth 3:1, 5–6).

What in the MT had been essentially a plot involving court rivalry (3:1–4), intrigue (3:8–9), and long-standing hostility between Jews and Amalekites (3:1, 10, 13; 5:13; 6:13) becomes, implicitly in Mordecai's dream and explicitly in the narrative, an antagonism between Israel and *all* the rest of the world. What was portrayed in the MT as a pogrom in the Persian Empire became in the Greek version a cosmic struggle between the Jews and everyone else.

While saying nothing in his prayer about Haman's ethnic background (i.e., that Haman was either a "Bougaion" [A 17], a "Macedonian" [E 107], or an Amalekite), Mordecai explained his defiance of Haman by maintaining that he could bow down to *any* mortal but reserved that honor exclusively for the Lord, an explanation which is in sharp variance with that in 3:2–6 of the MT.

In 5:1–2 of the MT the king received the unsummoned Queen Esther most cordially, and she displayed no outward signs of fear or anxiety; but in Add D the king was initially so infuriated at the sight of her (D 7a) that she lost her nerve and fainted (D 7b). Fortunately God miraculously changed the king's mood (D 8); but even though the king was very solicitous and reassured Esther of her safety (D 8–11), she had been so upset that she sagged with relief (D 16).

In E 10 it was Haman's intention to hand the Persian kingdom over to the Macedonians that prompted him to mislead the king and to try to destroy Mordecai and the Jews, not his personal rivalry with Mordecai or his ethnic hatred of the Jews.

In the MT, Haman was hanged on the gallows at his own home (Esth 7:9); a year later his ten sons were killed in Susa (9:6) and were exposed on the gallows the following day (9:13–14). But according to A 18, Haman and all his family were promptly executed and their bodies hanged on the gates of Susa at the time of his downfall.

Finally, Add F makes explicit what was implicit in Add A, namely, that the conflict was a universal and cosmic struggle between Jews and *all* the rest of the world (F 5–9).

While the account in the Hebrew is an intelligible and consistent whole, the contradictions and inconsistencies of the Adds clearly argue for their intrusive and secondary nature. Moreover, virtually all modern scholars agree that at least two of the Adds, B and E (see below), are not translations but original Greek compositions.

**D. Greek Version/s of Esther**

Before more is said about the Adds, a few words should be said about the Greek translations of Esther.

**1. The B-Text.** Apart from a few Hebraisms which are probably later "corrections" (Moore 1977: 162), the LXX (or B-Text) of Esther is a "literary" translation, in the sense that it has very few readings that remind its reader that it is a translation (but see Esth 3:7; 6:13; 8:9; and 9:28 of the LXX). Ironically, while the Greek text of Esther is noted for its Additions, in point of fact it has even more "omissions," there being scarcely a verse where the translator has not omitted a word, phrase, or clause of the Hebrew version (Moore 1965: 23–54). Totally uninterested in creating a mechanical one-for-one translation of the Hebrew, the Greek translator was evidently content to proceed verse by verse, rendering the sense of each verse but omitting repetitious material. (That his Hebrew text was much like the MT is highly probable but impossible to prove, the oldest Hebrew ms of Esther dating to no earlier than the 11th century A.D.)

**2. Colophon to the B-Text** The LXX of Esther is unique in the Jewish Bible for having its own authentic colophon (Bickermann 1944: 329–57), i.e., an inscription at the end of a ms telling about when, where, and by whom it was produced. While the latest possible date for the Gk translation of Esther is ca A.D. 93 (i.e., the date when the Gk version of Esther was paraphrased by Josephus in *Ant.*), the actual date is a century or two earlier. Assuming that the information in the colophon is correct (i.e., that Esther was translated in the 4th year of the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra), we can say that the probable date is either A.D. 114 (Fuerst 1972: 168; Moore 1977: 161, 150–52; *HJP²* 3/2, 719) or 77 B.C. (Bickermann 1944: 346–47; Nickelsburg 1981: 173; Collins 1983: 87).**3. The A-Text.** In 1883 Lagarde published what he called the lucianic recension (or A-text) of Esther. Whatever else this eclectic text was, it was certainly not the Lucianic recension of Esther. Rather, Lagarde's text represented a separate Greek translation of a Heb text which was quite different, at points, from both the MT and the Hebrew text presupposed by the LXX (so Moore 1967: 521–28; Cook 1969: 369–76; but see also Tov 1982). Important though the A-Text is for reconstructing the earliest form of the Esther story, it is of little value for the Additions, since as the Adds were borrowed from the B-Text (Clines 1984: 72–92). For further information on the Greek translations of Esther, see ESTHER, BOOK OF.

**E. Original Languages of the Adds**

All six Adds were supplied after the completion of the canonical book of Esther. The growing consensus (*HJP²*, 3/2, 718–19) is that Adds A, C,fi180 **3. The A-Text.** In 1883 Lagarde published what he called the Lucianic recension (or A-Text) of Esther. Whatever else this eclectic text was, it was certainly not the Lucianic recension of Esther. Rather, Lagarde's text represented a separate Greek translation of a Heb text which was quite different, at points, from both the MT and the Hebrew text presupposed by the LXX (so Moore 1967: 521–28; Cook 1969: 369–76; but see also Tov 1982). Important though the A-Text is for reconstructing the earliest form of the Esther story, it is of little value for the Additions, since as the Adds were borrowed from the B-Text (Clines 1984: 72–92). For further information on the Greek translations of Esther, see ESTHER, BOOK OF.

**E. Original Languages of the Adds**

All six Adds were supplied after the completion of the canonical book of Esther. The growing consensus (*HJP²*, 3/2, 718–19) is that Adds A, C, D, and F were originally composed in either Hebrew or Aramaic, and that they were added to the canonical Heb text prior to the latter's being translated into Greek, and that Adds B and E (the edicts dictated by Haman and Mordecai) were originally composed in Greek and were added sometime after the completion of the Greek translation.

**1. Adds B and E.** With the exception of Schildenberger (1941: 76), who argued that the royal edicts of Haman and Mordecai (Adds B and E) represent the actual edicts sent to Greek-speaking people in accordance with Esth 3:12 and 8:9, virtually all scholars regard Adds B and E as Greek in origin. Add B is so diffuse and rhetorical, so bombastic and convoluted in its literary style that anyone familiar with Greek and Hebrew literature can scarcely doubt that it is Greek in origin. Its literary style stands in sharp contrast to the simple, straightforward style of both the canonical sections and Adds A, C, D, and F. Add B is so reminiscent of Ptolemy Philopator's letter in *3 Macc.* 3:12–29 (see Motzo 1924: 272–90), the latter being Greek in origin (Emmett, *APOT* 1: 155–62), that Barucq (*Judith, Esther* JB, 84) maintained that Philapator's letter is a "Hellenistic imitation of Esther." But a case can be made for saying the

reverse, that Add E was inspired by *3 Macc.* (Moore 1977: 195–97; but see *HJP²* 3/2, 720, n. 336). Although the 1 and 2 Targums of Esther (i.e., Aramaic translations dating to no earlier than the 8th century A.D.) offer Aramaic texts of Haman's edict, there is no justification for seeing either the Greek or Aramaic version of Add B as being dependent upon the other (Moore 1977: 195; *HJP²* 3/2, 720). In any event, Add B is a cleverly constructed piece of propaganda, feeding as it does upon men's fear and greed, even though, in contrast to Esth 3:13 of the MT, there is no mention of the possibility of looting Jewish property.

If anything, the Greek of Add E is even more rhetorical and florid than Add B. While it is likely that both had the same author, it is unlikely that it was the same person who did the Greek translation of the Hebrew text (see below). The basic message of Add E (i.e., "allow the Jews to follow their own customs" [E 19]) would have been most appealing to Jews of the Diaspora.

**2. Adds A, C, D, and F.** That Adds A, C, D, and F were originally composed in a Semitic language was first proposed by Torrey (1944: 1–40), although as far back as 1890 Jacob (p. 257) had shown that another 50-word addition to Esth 4:17 in the OL presupposed a now lost Greek passage which, in turn, was based on either a Hebrew or Aramaic text (Moore 1977: 202). Unfortunately, Torrey offered only two readings to support his view of an Aramaic original for the Adds: (1) the B-Text's *charitōn meston* ("full of graciousness") in D 14 presupposed the Aram *mlʾ rʿtʾ*, since the A-Text (see below) has in the corresponding place *metron idrōtos*("a measure of sweat"), the *r* in the Aramaic script easily being confused with the *d;* and (2) the B-Text in C 7 has *en hyperēphania* ("out of arrogance") while the A-Text has *en peirasmō* ("in rivalry"), both renderings being legitimate translations of the same Aramaic word, *bʾithnassāʾah* (Torrey 1944: 8).

Other evidence of a Semitic *Vorlage* is, admittedly, of a much "softer" character. For example, Ehrlich (1955: 69–74) argues that Mordecai's dream in Add A seems to have biblical and Palestinian rather than Egyptian or Mesopotamian imagery, and had either a Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage,* the dream's typology as well as its Hebraisms reflecting a strong influence from Joseph's dream in Genesis 37. And, if one regards the colophon to Esther in F 11 as authentic, then, coming as it does *after* Mordecai's interpretation of his dream, it presupposes the inclusion of Add F, and hence of Add A, in the Hebrew text translated by Lysimachus, the LXX translator of the Hebrew text according to the colophon (Moore 1977: 244–52).

Most persuasive of all, however, are the findings of Martin (1975: 65–72). Using a statistical analysis of syntax developed earlier for distinguishing between translation-Greek and original-Greek, Martin (1974) concluded that Adds B and E were originally composed in Greek; Adds A, C, and D are translations of a Semitic *Vorlage;* and that Add F is either original Greek or a very free translation of a Semitic text.

**F. Purpose/s of the Adds**

It is virtually impossible to know the intent of the author/s of the Adds, although Nickelsburg (1981: 175) has argued that the Adds were made on analogy of *3 Maccabees* and were intended to substitute the feast of Purim for the festival commemorating the Jews' deliverance from death in the hippodrome. The purpose of the Adds may better be inferred from the effect they have on their readers, although this too can vary from reader to reader. At the very least, the Adds seem to accomplish one of two things: either they compensate for what some readers have called the "religious deficiencies" of the MT by supplying "the religious element that is so conspicuously absent from the Hebrew edition" (Paton, *Esther* ICC, 44–45); or, as more and more scholars are now suggesting, the Adds make explicit in the Greek Esther what is only implicit in the Hebrew version. That is, the Hebrew version of Esther *is* a religious, not a secular, story; God may not be mentioned in the Hebrew text and he may not be onstage with the spotlight focusing on him, but he is clearly in the wings, directing the story and its actors (Cohen 1974: 87–94; Loader 1978: 417–21; Berg 1979: 173–87). For a discussion of the reasons for the absence of religious elements in the Hebrew Esther, see ESTHER, BOOK OF.

In any event, God is quite evident in the Greek Esther, mostly in the Adds but occasionally even in the canonical sections. In the B-Text, he is mentioned in 2:20 ("to fear God and obey his commandments"); 4:8 ("to call upon the Lord"); 6:1 ("and the Lord drove the sleep from the king that night"); and 6:13 ("for God is with him"). In addition, the A-Text also mentions him in 4:14 ("but God shall be their help and

salvation"); 4:16 ("propose a service and earnestly beg God"); and 7:2 ("Esther was uneasy about speaking because the enemy was right in front of her, but God gave her the courage for the challenge").

Certainly the Adds provide the opportunity for their respective authors to express their own particular theological views. All the Adds, but especially A and F (i.e., the dream and its interpretation) emphasize God's providential care for his people Israel; Adds A and F, along with Add C, also express a strong anti-gentile attitude (e.g., A 6, C 26–28, and F 5, 8). But then Add C (i.e., the prayers of Mordecai and Esther) also attests to the efficacy of prayer, the concern for *kašrût* in food and marriage (C 26–28), and the importance of the cult and temple at Jerusalem (C 20). Add D, which is the real climax of the Greek Esther (Brownlee 1966: 161–85), describes the miraculous intervention of God on behalf of Queen Esther. That, together with the LXX's downplaying of the establishment of Purim in Esth 8:13–9:32 (Moore 1977: 241–43), shifts the emphasis in the LXX away from the establishment of the Purim festival to God's miraculous and saving acts (see D 8, 6:1; 7:2 of the A-Text; and F 1, 6, 9).

Even though God is not mentioned in Add B, its Greek author used the occasion for describing some of the causes and effects of anti-Semitism. Haman's edict represents a clever piece of propaganda which, feeding as it does on the fears and greed of men (B 4–6), also well illustrates the scapegoat mechanism. By contrast, in Add E, God is mentioned four times: E 4 ("the evil-hating justice of God"); E 16 ("[Jews] are sons of the living God"); E 17 ("an appropriate sentence which the omnipotent God promptly passed on him"); and E 21 ("For the omnipotent God has made this a day of joy for his chosen people").

The Adds have other effects beside making the story explicitly religious. The 16 verses of Add D, which describe Esther's unannounced audience with the king, are far more dramatic and detailed than the corresponding verses in the MT (Esth 5:1–2), and the same can be said for the edicts in Adds B and E in comparison to Esth 3:13 and 8:10–12 of the MT. Then too, whatever the intent of their respective authors, one of the effects of Adds B, D, and E is to "strengthen the trustworthiness" of the story (Bardtke 1973: 18), the logic here being that in antiquity many a naive reader would have concluded that " 'they' would not have written all this if it had not been true."

Recently, Clines (1984), taking the position that the author of the "Proto-Masoretic" story (pp. 115–38) edited out all of the religious elements in the "Pre-Masoretic" story (pp. 93–114), has argued, with some justice, that "the primary effect of the LXX expansions as a whole is … to *assimilate the book of Esther to a scriptural norm,* especially as found in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel" (p. 169). But although Clines maintains that a "transformation of [the book's] canonical shape had the effect of affirming its canonical status" (p. 174), the simple fact is that the Esther story, *with the Adds* (i.e., the Greek version) as well as *without the Adds* (i.e., the MT), had difficulty in attaining canonical status.

The presence of the Adds in the Greek version may help to explain the change in the book's title. Whereas the Heb version is frequently referred to by Jews as the "Megillah" (=Heb for "scroll"), Christians, who from the beginning read the Esther story with the Adds (i.e., the LXX or Latin), called it "Esther." It is the Adds—especially Esther's prayer in C 12–30 and her obviously courageous performance in D 1–16—that increase her stature in the Greek vis-à-vis the Hebrew version, although even in the MT she plays a more dominant role vis-à-vis Mordecai than is generally recognized (Jones 1977: 171–81).

**G. Dates of the Adds**

It is reasonably certain that the Adds were not composed all at the same time or by the same person. The latest possible date for Adds B, C, D, and E is A.D. 93, because they were paraphrased by Josephus in *Ant.* (Whether Adds A and F existed then but were omitted by him because they were irrelevant to his theme [so *HJP²* 3/2, 719] or because he feared that their anti-gentile character might offend his gentile readers is unknown.) Actually, however, those Adds which were originally in Hebrew or Aramaic would have been translated into Greek by Lysimachus in either 114 or 77 B.C. In terms of the literary style and theology of the Adds, not to mention their anti-gentile spirit, there is little reason not to regard the Adds as dating to the 2d and/or 1st centuries B.C. Nor need every Add have been created all of a piece. For example, the fact that Josephus and the OL, both of which were based upon the Greek, lack A 12–17 and C 17–23 indicates that these particular sections were not present in the Greek text used by their translators. As for Adds B

and E (the edicts dictated by Haman and Mordecai), they would not have been composed until, at the very least, the appearance of the Greek translation of Esther. In any event, all six Adds *did* exist by the time of Origen (185?–?254).

**H. Provenance and Authorship**

Adds B and E (the edicts) were composed by the same person, their style and point of view of subject matter clearly indicating this (Schildenberger 1941: 20). But whoever their author was, he was certainly not Lysimachus of the colophon (but so Torrey 1944: 20); for one can scarcely imagine a stylist so enamored with producing the pseudoclassical style of Adds B and E being content, let alone able, to translate the rest of the book of Esther as simply and unpretentiously as Lysimachus had done (*HJP²* 3/2, 719). But while the distinctive Greek character of Adds B and E may argue for their having originated in some sophisticated Greek Jewish center such as Alexandria (or "in many parts of the Mediterranean diaspora" [*HJP²* 3/2, 720]), there is no reason to think that the remaining Adds had any other provenance than Palestine. Certainly the theological content of the Adds, not to mention the anti-gentile spirit of Adds A and F, is quite compatible with Palestinian Judaism as found in such books as Daniel, Judith, and the sectarian literature of the Dead Sea community at Qumran. Collins (1983: 88), with some justification, characterizes the Greek Esther as "Hasmonean propaganda."

**I. Critical Editions**

The Greek Esther is fortunate in being one of the very few texts appearing in both the Cambridge (OTG 3/1) and the Göttingen (Hanhart 1966) critical editions of the LXX. While English translations of the B-Text of Esther are easily found, the only translation of the entire A-Text in any language is in Clines (1984: 215–48). Jerome's Latin Vg also has a critical edition of itself (*Libri Hester et Job,* Rome, 1951). Unfortunately, there is no critical edition of the OL, Coptic, or the Ethiopic versions.

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**ESTHER, BOOK OF.** This OT book, which is part of the Writings (the third and final major section of the Hebrew Bible), takes its title from the name of its heroine, Esther (Heb ʾ*str*). Her name is of uncertain origin, it being derived either from the Akk *ištar* (Jensen 1892: 70), the Babylonian goddess of love, or the Persian *stara,* "star," or possibly a postulated Median **astra,* "myrtle" (Yahuda 1946: 174–78). The book is frequently referred to by Jews as *Megillat Esther,* "The Scroll of Esther." The LXX calls the book *Esthēr*; the Vg, *Hester.* The book claims to give the historical origins for Purim, a Jewish festival celebrated on the 14th and 15th of the month of Adar (i.e., the 12th month of the Babylonian calendar and corresponding to March-April).

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### A. Summary of Content

One day during a lavish stag party in the courtyard at Susa, Xerxes (=Ahasuerus), king of the Persian Empire, commanded Queen Vashti to put on her finest clothes and come there so that he might show her off to his guests. When she refused, the king was furious. On the advice of one of his seven princely advisers, Memucan, who regarded Vashti's conduct as a personal insult to the king as well as a general threat to the men of the realm whose wives might follow her haughty example, King Xerxes issued an edict on the spot: Vashti was hereby stripped of her rank; a successor was to be sought; and all women throughout the empire were to show their husbands proper respect. Like all royal edicts, this decree was irrevocable (chap. 1).

Soon afterward, King Xerxes launched an empire-wide search for a new queen. Among the bevy of beauties brought to his bed (but only after a year-long beauty treatment) was Esther (or Hadassah), daughter of Abihail, the niece and adopted daughter of Mordecai the Jew. A beautiful and shapely maiden, Esther was not only the favorite of Hegai, the eunuch in charge of the harem, but was also the most popular candidate in the palace. Not surprisingly, Xerxes chose her as his queen.

Some time after this, Mordecai learned of a palace plot to assassinate the king. He told Esther, who in turn informed the king in Mordecai's name, without, however, revealing her own Jewish identity. But though it was officially recorded in the daily record that Mordecai the Jew had saved the king's life, Mordecai went unrewarded at the time (chap. 2).

Later on, Mordecai refused to bow down to the king's new prime minister, Haman, son of Hammedatha. Once Haman was made aware of Mordecai's blatant disrespect for him, he decided to destroy not only Mordecai but all his people as well. To that end, and by simply identifying the Jews to Xerxes as "a certain people," Haman tried to persuade the king to approve a pogrom against them, insisting that they were a major obstacle to the realization of the king's plans for his empire. Moreover, the king was also persuaded by Haman's offer of 10,000 silver talents for permission to carry out his proposal, so Xerxes granted Haman permission to institute the pogrom. Not only did the king permit Haman himself to dictate the decree but he even let him issue it in the king's name and seal it with the royal signet. Thus an edict was sent throughout the empire, declaring that on the 13th day of the month of Adar all Jews—including women and children—were to be wiped out and all their possessions plundered (chap. 3).

As soon as Mordecai learned of the edict, he tore his clothes in an expression of grief and put on sackcloth and ashes as an act of mourning. Arriving at the King's Gate, Mordecai had Esther's trusted servant, Hathach, give her the full particulars, urging her to go to Xerxes and intercede for her people. At first Esther demurred, arguing that anyone who approached the king unsummoned could be executed on the spot and, to make matters worse, for the past month she had not been in the king's favor. But after Mordecai had pointed out that either way (in the pogrom or by approaching the king) she might be killed and that perhaps she had come to her present position for just such a purpose as saving her people, Esther relented and agreed to appear before the king. To increase her chances for success, she insisted that all the Jews in Susa, herself included, observe a strenuous three-day fast, after which she would appear before Xerxes, unsummoned but looking her regal best (chap. 4).

Three days later, when Esther approached the throne, the king received her most cordially and assured her that virtually any wish of hers would be granted. But instead of interceding for her people, Esther simply invited him, along with Haman, to attend a dinner for the three of them in her own quarters.

At the party Xerxes, who was in the mood to grant Esther any request and who said as much, was asked only one thing: that the three of them have dinner again the next day, at which time she would ask the king her favor.

Haman left the dinner elated, flattered by the special attention he had just received and enjoying the prospect of another such party the next day. But his joy quickly turned to rage when he saw Mordecai the Jew sitting at the King's Gate and acting as if nothing terrible had happened to him or his people—and still refusing to bow down to him! Haman kept his feelings under control until he got home, whereupon he boasted to his wife Zeresh and his friends about all his accomplishments and honors, including the queen's inviting him to intimate parties two days in a row. But none of that, he confided to them, really meant anything to him when he was reminded of that insufferable Mordecai. When they suggested that he build a gallows outside his home and ask the king for permission to hang Mordecai on it, the idea struck him as the most appropriate course of action. He ordered the gallows constructed and resolved to speak to the king about the matter the next morning (chap. 5).

That night, because Xerxes could not sleep, he had the daily record read aloud. When the entry containing Mordecai's discovery of the plot against the king was read, Xerxes realized that absolutely nothing had been done for Mordecai in appreciation. The king then asked Haman, who just happened to be in the outer court, exactly how a king should treat a man he especially wanted to honor. Haman, assuming that he was the intended recipient of the honor, advised that the honoree be given a royal robe and allowed to ride on the king's horse while one of the high-ranking officials went before him throughout the city, crying, "This is what is done for the man whom the king especially wants to honor." Haman was, of course, appalled to learn that Mordecai, whose death he had just come to request, was the intended recipient and that he, Haman, would be that high-ranking official doing the honors.

Later that day, after Haman had returned home and was seeking solace, he described to his wife and friends the whole wretched experience as well as the mortification he felt at leading Mordecai around through the city. They all cautioned Haman that, if Mordecai really was Jewish, then Haman would never get the better of him. The discussion was interrupted by the arrival of those sent to escort Haman to Esther's private party (chap. 6).

If Haman thought his defeats were behind him and only pleasures lay ahead, he was deadly wrong. During the party Xerxes asked for the third time in two days what Esther's request was, promising her that he would grant it. Realizing that it was now or never, Esther begged for her life and that of her people. Asked who her enemy was, she identified Haman as the one who had abused his power and betrayed the king's friendship. So surprised and incensed was the king that he bolted from the room, only to return a minute or two later to find Haman "touching" the queen, begging for his life. Haman was sentenced to death on the spot; and when one of the eunuchs told the king about the gallows Haman had constructed for Mordecai, the king ordered that Haman himself be hanged on it (chap. 7).

Haman's estate was given to Esther, who in turn presented it to Mordecai; the king further rewarded Mordecai by appointing him Haman's successor. Because Haman's edict instituting the pogrom against the Jews on the 13th of Adar could not be revoked, the king did the next best thing: he allowed Mordecai to dictate a new edict, issued in the king's name and sealed with the royal signet, granting the Jews the right to defend themselves on the 13th of Adar and encouraging everyone to support them. Mordecai had copies of this new edict sent throughout the empire, hoping that it would counteract the potential evil of Haman's edict. Although many pagans, including public officials, began siding with the Jews, and some of them became proselytes, not all the enemies of the Jews were deterred by it (chap. 8).

When the fateful day arrived, the enemies of the Jews were still so numerous that the Jews killed 500 men in Susa and 75,000 throughout the empire. However, they did no looting, in spite of the fact that they had permssion to do so. So it was that the next day, the 14th of Adar, Jews throughout the empire celebrated their victory with feasting and the exchange of gifts. But in Susa itself the enemies of the Jews were still so strong that Esther had to get further permission from the king for the Jews to fight there the next day (the 14th) and to expose the corpses of Haman's ten sons on the city walls. Fighting on the 14th, the Jews in Susa killed 300 more of the enemy and so celebrated their victory on the 15th, a day later than the rest of the Jews.

Later on, Mordecai wrote to all the Jews, commanding them to continue to observe Purim (the holiday being named after the *pûr*, or "lot," cast by Haman to determine the propitious day for the pogrom) on the 14th and 15th of Adar. They were to be regarded as days of salvation and deliverance, and they were to be observed with feasting and joy.

Still later, Esther, using her authority as queen to reinforce Mordecai's letter, urged all the Jews to observe forever both days of Purim (chap. 9). With Mordecai as Xerxes' prime minister, the Persian Empire prospered; Mordecai himself increased in power and influence throughout the empire and was held in great esteem by his own people (chap. 10).

**B. Preliminary Assessment**

As the summary above indicates, the plot is relatively simple and believable, its denouement sudden. The story, in the Hebrew at least, is most effectively told.

**1. The Book's Purpose.** As the story of Esther currently stands in the MT, its author was primarily concerned with telling a story which would provide the "historical" basis for the festival of Purim, *both* days of it (9:16–19, 20–22, 26–28, 31).

**2. Contradictory Assessments.** The establishment of Purim being the *raison d'être* of the book, the author's emphasis was more on plot and color than on personality or character. In fact, with the exception of Xerxes, who emerges as a hard-drinking, extravagant, and somewhat careless monarch with a nasty temper, all of the major characters seem rather two-dimensional. Neither Vashti nor Zeresh is a believable life-and-blood individual; they are merely tools the author uses to construct his story. Haman has no great stature or humanity, no redeeming qualities that enable the reader to identify with him or to pity him. The wisdom and goodness of Mordecai as well as the courage of Esther are asserted by the author more than

proven. Beautiful and brave, Esther in the Hebrew account, in contrast to the Greek version (see below), seems to be a Jewish nationalist whose Jewishness is more a fact of birth than of religious conviction (4:16–17 notwithstanding). To say all this, however, is in no way to deny that the story is well told, its great popularity among Jews down through the ages certainly being proof of that.

Nonetheless, the book has had its strong detractors almost from the time of its composition down to the present. In antiquity, a number of Jews and Christians contested its canonicity (see below). From the period of the Middle Ages, the pronouncement of Luther (*WA* 3: 302) stands out:

> I am so hostile to this book [2 Maccabees] and Esther that I could wish that they did not exist at all; for they judaize too greatly and have much pagan impropriety.

Twentieth-century scholars have also been quite critical of the book's moral tone. Paton, who has written the most detailed and comprehensive Esther commentary in English, concluded that "There is not one noble character in the book … Morally, Est. falls far below the general level of the OT, and even of the Apocrypha" (*Esther* ICC, 96). Other scholars have been almost as severe, claiming that Vashti, the deposed queen, was the only honorable person in the entire story. Scholar and rabbi Sandmel confessed that he "should not be grieved if the Book of Esther were somehow dropped out of Scripture" (1972: 44) while the Israeli Ben-Chorin actually advocated that Jews abandon both the book and its holiday, arguing that "Both festival and the book are unworthy of a people which is disposed to bring about its national and moral regeneration under prodigious sacrifice" (1938: 5). All this and much more has been said about a biblical book which the great Jewish scholar Maimonides (1135–1204) ranked as second only to the Pentateuch itself.

**C. Canonicity**

Both Jews and Christians have been contesting Esther's canonicity almost from the very beginning.

**1. Among Jews.** Evidently the book was not used by the Jewish Dead Sea community at Qumran (ca. 150 B.C.E.–68 C.E.), for no trace of it—alone of all the books of the Jewish canon—has been found there; nor was the festival of Purim a part of the Essene liturgical calendar. To be sure, Josephus (*AgAp* 1.38–41) said that the Jewish canon contained 22 books; but, unfortunately, he did not enumerate them. In any event, there is not a shred of evidence that the book of Esther was canonized by the Academy of Jabneh (i.e., Council of Jamnia) ca. 90 C.E. As Orlinsky (1974: 274) has noted, when the rabbis of the 2d century C.E. justified Purim as a day of eating and rejoicing, they cited as their authority *Megillat Taanit* (dating to the 1st century C.E.), not the book of Esther (8:15–17); only after the book had entered the canon did the rabbis cite it as an authority for observing Purim as a festival. While Zeitlin (1972) would date the book's canonization to the Academy of Ousha, ca. 140 C.E. (i.e., soon after the Bar Kokhba catastrophe) and Orlinsky (1974) not until around 200 C.E., it should be noted that as late as the 3d or possibly even the 4th century C.E. some rabbis still did not regard the book of Esther as "defiling the hands," i.e., canonical; for in the Babylonian Talmud (*Meg.* 7a) we read that

> Rab Judah said in the name of Samuel: (the scroll of) Esther does not make the hands unclean. Are we to infer from this that Samuel was of the opinion that Esther was not composed under the inspiration of the holy spirit? How can this be, seeing that Samuel has said that Esther was composed under the inspiration of the holy spirit?—It was composed to be recited (by heart), but not to be written.

Rabbi Samuel ben Judah and Rab Judah date to the 3d century C.E.; and we read in *Sanh.* 2 that

> Levi ben Samuel and Rabbi Huna ben Ḥiyya were repairing the mantles of the Scrolls of Rabbi Judah's College. On coming to the Scroll of Esther, they remarked, "O, this Scroll of Esther does not require a mantle." Thereupon he reproved them, "this too savours of irreverence."

Rabbis Levi and Huna belonged to either the 3d or the 4th century C.E. Whatever the reasons may have been for Jews in antiquity having reservations about Esther's canonicity, the simple fact is that they did.

**2. Among Christians.** At first, Christians were no more unanimous about the canonical status of Esther than were Jews, although on this particular issue the division was more along geopolitical lines: in the Western Church Esther was nearly always regarded as canonical while in the Eastern churches very often it was not, especially in the area of Anatolia and Syria. The book, for instance, was denied canonical status by Melito of Sardis (fl. ca. 167), Athanasius (295–373), Gregory of Nazianzus (329–390) in

Cappadocia, Theodore of Mopsuestia (350?–428) in Cilicia, and others. However, it was regarded as canonical by such Eastern Church Fathers as Origen (185?–254), Epiphanius (315–403), bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386), and John of Damascus (675–745). The book was also accepted as canonical by the Laodicene Canons (343–381), the Apostolic Canons (ca. 380), and the Synod of Trullo (692) at Constantinople. Thus, Amphilochius (d. 394), bishop of Iconium, said it best when he observed that Esther was "accepted only by some."

By contrast, Western Fathers and councils nearly always regarded Esther as canonical. Although Clement of Rome (30?–99) alluded to Judith and Esther as examples of brave and godly women (*1 Clem.* 55), that does not necessarily mean that he regarded the book itself as canonical; but the book was so regarded by Hilary (315–367), Ruffinus (345–410), Augustine (354–430), Innocent I (401–417), and others, as well as by the councils of Hippo in 393 and of Carthage in 397.

Even so, the book was not particularly popular among the Church Fathers, for even their casual references to it are quite rare. Interestingly enough, the three earliest Christian references to Esther are made in conjunction with Judith, the latter being a book which had never enjoyed canonical status among Jews (*1 Clem.* 55, Clem. *Str.* 4.19, and the *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* [ca. 380]). A Christian commentary was not written on the whole book until Rhabanus Maurus' work in 836.

The question of the canonicity of the Greek Additions to Esther (i.e., the six extended passages consisting of 107 verses which have no counterpart in the Hebrew text) was not a matter of debate among Christians until the period of the Reformation in the 16th century. Ultimately, Protestants followed the lead of Luther and called the Additions "apocryphal"; with the result that, *if* the Additions were printed in a Protestant Bible, they were usually placed between the OT and NT. The Roman Catholic Church continued the millennium-long practice of not discriminating against the Additions, and as the result of the decrees of the Council of Trent in 1546, Roman Catholics called the Additions "deuterocanonical" and, after the practice of Jerome, printed them immediately after the canonical version of Esther.

**D. Reasons for Ancient Opposition to the Book**

Scholars disagree as to why so many Jews and Christians in antiquity rejected the book of Esther. Some argue that it was because of what the book lacked; others, because of what it contained.

**1. Its "Deficiencies."** Those critical of the book have often observed that its most conspicuous absence is any reference to God. Whereas the Persian king is referred to one way or another 190 times in 167 verses, the Lord God of Israel is not mentioned once. Apart from fasting (4:16 and 9:31), there is no mention of such basic OT themes and institutions as the law, dietary regulations, covenant, election, prayer, the temple, Jerusalem, sacrifice, and the like (however, all these features *are* explicitly mentioned in the Greek version of Esther, mostly in the deuterocanonical sections [see below]).

The absence of any mention of the temple or sacrifice is perhaps understandable; after all, since the Deuteronomic Reformation of 621 B.C.E. sacrifices could be performed only in the temple at Jerusalem, some 800 miles W of Susa. But to have absolutely no mention of the law, covenant, election, or *kašrût* (i.e., permitted or kosher foods) is rather curious. Most significant of all, given the life-threatening situation confronting both Esther (4:8, 11, 16) and her people (3:13–14), one would certainly have expected *some mention* of prayer.

On only one point do all scholars agree, namely, the absence of all these religious elements was no accident. But how can their absence be explained? Probably a distinction should be made between the absence of God's name and that of those ideas and practices so distinctive of biblical Judaism.

With respect to the absence of God's name in Esther, the crucial question is whether it has always been absent from the Hebrew version or was deliberately edited out later. While there can be no certainty on this matter, the likelihood is that God was explicitly mentioned in an earlier stage of the story (see below) and was subsequently edited out. Even in the MT's present form Esther is a religious book, in that certain religious concepts are presupposed, though not explicitly mentioned: the concept of Providence (4:14; 5:1–6), the efficacy of fasting (4:16) and, by implication, of prayer (4:16). In Esther, the God of the Jews is not seen or heard onstage but is surely standing in the wings, following the play and arranging the props for a successful resolution of the play.

A number of scholars have maintained that God's name as well as all the other overtly religious elements in Esther were absent from the Hebrew text because of the joyous, almost abandoned way in which some Jews celebrated Purim. The Mishnah, for instance, says that Jews celebrating Purim are to drink until they are unable to distinguish between "Blessed is Mordecai" and "Cursed is Haman" (*Meg.* 7b). Thus the joyous and carefree way in which Purim was to be celebrated required that distinctly religious elements not be present in the story, lest they be accidentally profaned by overly enthusiastic or inebriated Jews hearing the story read aloud.

While the Mishnaic ruling may be the reason for no mention of the Deity in the present form of the MT, it probably does not suffice to explain the omission of *all* the other religious elements as well. Talmon (1963: 426) may have offered a more persuasive explanation for the latter phenomenon, i.e., Esther is a "*historicized wisdom tale* … an enactment of standard 'Wisdom' motifs," and the characters in Esther are the typical stereotypes found in Wisdom Literature. Just as the usual elements of Jewish piety (e.g., the observance of dietary laws, belief in sacrifice and the covenant, and, most important of all, faith in the immanent God who answers personal prayers and who intervenes in Jewish history) are virtually ignored in such Wisdom books as Proverbs, Job, and Qoheleth, so these "religious" ideas and practices were ignored by the final author of the MT version.

Gordis (1981: 375) would explain the absence of any reference to God as well as of Judaic beliefs, practices, and concerns by his hypothesis that the book of Esther represents a heretofore unrecognized biblical genre, to wit:

> *A Jewish author undertook to write his book in the form of a chronicle of the Persian court, written by a gentile scribe.* A Jew of the eastern Diaspora … writes the book as if it were an excerpt from the official chronicles of "the kings of Media and Persia" (10:2).

Gordis' thirteen points supporting his thesis are sometimes strained and usually better and more easily explained by less dramatic hypotheses (Moore 1985: 167–68).

Berg (1979; 1980) has offered one such hypothesis. Agreeing with the view of Kaufmann *(KRI)* that the biblical *Weltanschauung* knows a dual causality behind events, Berg (1979: 178) maintains that

> The narrator believed in a hidden causality behind the surface of human history, both concealing and governing the order and significance of events … Because Yahweh's control of history is neither overt nor easily discerned in everyday events, the determination of the shape and dualism of history shifts to human beings. This understanding explains the narrator's emphasis upon individual responsibility for the successful outcome of events. It further provides the logic behind Mordecai's words to Esther in 4:13–14, where he calls upon her to save her people.

Working independently of Berg, Loader (1978: 417–21) arrived at similar conclusions. In his view, "The Book of Esther should be read as a story of God's intervention on behalf of his people, but also as a story of human wisdom and initiative. This is shown by the Exodus model and other religious suggestions … which are purposely veiled" (421). The theory of structural-developmental psychology is used by Miller (1980: 145–48) to justify Loader's view that Esther has different levels of meaning.

Last but not least, certain Judaic virtues are also almost totally absent from the book of Esther, especially virtues such as kindness, mercy, and forgiveness. Many students of Esther have remained largely unconvinced by scholarly efforts to soften or rationalize away such things as Esther's unwillingness to spare the life of Haman when he begged her (6:7), her requests both for an additional day to kill more of her enemies in Susa (9:13) and for permission to expose to public view the ten sons of Haman who had been killed the day before (9:13–14), and the storyteller's reporting with approval that "The Jews defeated all their enemies, slaughtering and annihilating them [500 in Susa and 75,000 elsewhere], and treating their enemies as they pleased" (9:5).

Certainly the most troubling passage is 8:11. Gordis (1976: 49–53) would see it not as representing permission for the Jews to do to others what others would do to them but as an actual quoting of Haman's original edict, i.e., "By these letters the king permitted the Jews in every city to gather and defend themselves, to destroy, kill, and wipe out every armed force of a people or a province attacking 'them, their children and their wives, with all their goods as booty.' " This ingenious interpretation is probably

not correct; for not only is the traditional interpretation in harmony with the "blood and guts" spirit of the rest of the book of Esther, but Gordis' interpretation does violence to the principle of peripety (Radday 1973; Fox 1983), i.e., the unexpected reversal of affairs, which is so much a part of the book's literary structure from 2:10 (Berg 1979: 110–11) on to the end of the book (cf. 2:10, 20 and 4:17; 3:1 and 10:3; 3:10 and 8:2a; 3:12 and 8:9–10a; 3:13 and 8:10b–12; and 3:14 and 8:13).

To be sure, there are a number of passages and scenes in the book which provide some "comic relief" (Jones 1977). While the humor is sometimes quite obvious (e.g., the king's absurd conduct and ridiculous edict in chap. 1), other times it is more subtle, being in the form of irony (e.g., contrast 1:17–19 and 5:1–2, 8; 6:11–12 and 3:2 and 8:1–2; 5:14 and 7:9–10). Jones has clearly seen all this, although he overstates his case by saying that, with the repetition in 9:12 of the reported fatalities in 9:6, "The effect is almost slapstick" (1977: 180).

In any event, while some of these troublesome passages reflecting a vengeful or vindictive spirit may not reflect reality (see below) but are merely the result of literary considerations, for many readers they still constitute a distasteful part of the book.

**2. Its Questionable Contents.** As noted above, Esther's many Jewish and Christian critics in antiquity may have been offended by the book's contents. Some, for instance, may have resented, as some of its modern readers certainly have (Anderson 1950: 32–37), the book's vengeful, bloodthirsty, and chauvinistic spirit, although, in this respect, Esther seems no worse than some other biblical books, notably Judges and Nahum. But the fact remains that in Esther intrigue, deceit, hatred, murder, and revenge abound, regardless of whether the spotlight is on Haman, Esther, or Mordecai. An even more damning indictment of the book may have been that its story was simply regarded as untrue (see below).

**3. The Possible Pagan Origins of Purim.** Esther's canonical status may have been opposed by those Jews and Christians who viewed the book as a defense for a Jewish festival which was actually pagan in origin. The festival's very name, Purim (9:26), which is a Hebraized form of the Babylonian *pûru*, meaning "lot," and secondarily, "fate" (Lewy 1939: 17–24), suggests a non-Jewish origin for the festival. However, most scholars regard 3:7 (where the *pûr*, "lot," is cast) as secondary and not an original part of the Esther story (Clines 1984: 53), although some scholars like Cohen (1974) regard it as quite central to the story. Certainly a pagan origin for Purim would also help to explain the "secular" way in which it was to be celebrated, i.e., with uninhibited and even inebriated behavior (cf. above *Meg.* 7b). Then too, a pagan origin for the festival would also help to explain the absence of various religious elements in the story.

Given the fact of the festival having a Babylonian name, we should not be surprised to learn that many scholars have looked in the direction of Babylon for the origin of the festival. In the 1890s Zimmern (1891) and Jensen (1892) equated Esther and Mordecai with the Babylonian deities Ishtar and Marduk, and Haman and Vashti with the Elamite gods Humman and Mashti. Since then, various Babylonian myths and festivals have been suggested as the prototype for Purim, including the Gilgamesh Epic, the *Enuma Elish*, the Tammuz-Ishtar myth, and the Zagmuk Feast (Paton *Esther* ICC, 87–94).

More recently, scholars have again looked in the direction of Persia for the festival's prototype, although as far back as 1887 Lagarde had suggested that Purim was a Jewish transformation of Farvardigan, the Zoroastrian Festival of the Dead, which was celebrated at the end of the Persian year.

Especially on the basis of his analysis of names and epithets in the Greek texts of Esther, Lewy (1939) suggested that the book of Esther had nothing at all to do with any plots against Jews but rather with dangers confronting Mardukians (i.e., Babylonian worshippers of Marduk at Susa) at the hands of worshippers of the god Mithra, possibly during the Persian festival of Farvardigan (celebrated at the end of the year, from the 11th to the 15th of Adar) in the days of Artaxerxes II (404–358 B.C.E.). Vashti's dethronement and Esther's subsequent elevation to queenship actually reflect the dethronement of the Elamite Mashti by the Babylonian goddess Ishtar. Lewy maintains that the Jews adopted both the Babylonized Farvardigan festival and some Babylonian legends associated with it.

The beginning of the Persian year has also been suggested as providing the pagan origins for Purim by Gaster (1950) and Ringgren (1956), who took certain phenomenological similarities between Purim and various Persian New Year festivals as the basis of their theories.

But even more recently scholars are again looking to Palestine for the origin of the festival. Lebram (1972), for instance, views the Esther-Mordecai story as being originally two separate and unrelated tales: (1) the older Persian Esther legend in which a Jewish girl is instrumental in saving her people, and (2) a more recent *Palestinian* narrative featuring Mordecai and Haman.

Herst (1973) also views the Esther story as being unhistorical and as having a Palestinian origin. Purim, Herst argues, is an adaptation of the Jewish holiday known as "the Day of Nicanor," a festival celebrating Judas Maccabee's defeat of the Syrian general Nicanor in 161 B.C.E. (cf. 1 Macc 7:26–49 and 2 Macc 14:12–15:36); John Hyrcanus I (135–104 B.C.E.) tried to replace the Day of Nicanor with another February-March festival called Purim, the latter a Babylonian-Persian saga involving Elamite and Babylonian deities. With Herst's mention of Babylonian and Elamite deities we have come full circle.

Although scholars have looked everywhere for the origins of Purim—Greece and Palestine (Paton *Esther* ICC, 77–84), Babylon, Persia, Elam, and the like—they have proven little about the origins of the festival, in part because of the inadequacies of our present sources but also because of the nature of holidays and festivals; that is, holidays are neither constant nor permanent in either form or content.

**4. Its Lack of Historicity.** A number of the scholars just mentioned reject the historicity of the Esther story. In fact, rare is the 20th-century scholar who accepts the story at face value, Hoschander (1923), Schildenberger (1941), and Barucq (*Judith, Esther* JB) being the most prominent exceptions who come to mind. At first glance, such a situation might be surprising, especially given the fact that there is nothing miraculous or supernatural in the Esther story that might "offend" the modern reader. On the face of it, the story seems true enough. Apart from the supposed irrevocability of the Persian law (1:19), which certainly seems inflexible and crippling to good government and which has no extrabiblical support (but see Dan 6:8, 9, 12, 15) and perhaps the battle fatalities of the enemy for the 13th of Adar (75,000 in 9:16), nothing in the story seems improbable, let alone unbelievable.

Moreover, much of what the ancient author says about the character of Xerxes/Ahasuerus, the only indisputably historical figure in the book, is compatible with what we know from other nonbiblical literary and archaeological sources. Also, the ancient author was aware of various actual practices and institutions of Persian government, including seven princely advisers to the king (1:14), the very efficient postal system of the Persian Empire (3:13; 8:10), the recording and rewarding of the king's "benefactors" (2:23; 6:8), as well as such Persian customs as the observance of "lucky days" (3:7), royal horses with crowns (6:8), and people eating while reclining on couches (6:8). Furthermore, the writer includes a number of Persian words in the text: *prtmym,* "nobles" (1:3); *bytn,* "kiosk" (1:5); *krps,* "cotton" (1:6); *dt,* "law" (1:8); *ktr,* "turban" (1:11); *ptšgn,* "decree" (1:20); *gnzym,* "treasury" (3:9); *ptsgn,* "copy" (3:14); and *ʾḥštrnym,* "royal horses" (8:10).

Then too, "Mordecai" was a name of several historical persons, including one Mardukâ, an accountant who was a member of an inspection tour from Susa as mentioned in an undated text coming probably from either the last years of Darius (522–486 B.C.E.) or the first years of Xerxes (Ungnad 1940–41: 244; 1942–43: 219). Pharshandatha, the name of one of Haman's sons (9:7), is also an authentic 5th-century B.C.E. name which occurs on a Persian cylinder seal in the Aramaic script as *Pršndt* (Millard 1977; 1982: 152). Even though none of the other names in the story has been definitely authenticated by extrabiblical sources, most of them seem to be Iranian in origin; certainly none of them is Greek.

But, taken together, the evidence outlined above provides, at best, only proof of the author's familiarity with Persian history, customs, vocabulary and names—all of which he could have become familiar with by reading such available Greek works as Herodotus' *History,* written during the second half of the 5th century B.C.E., or Berossus' *Babylonica* (ca. 270 B.C.E.). In other words, these Persian elements in Esther do not necessarily establish the essential historicity of the story itself, especially since there is evidence to the contrary.

It is, for example, improbable that a king would have given a lavish feast for leaders lasting 180 days (1:1–3), or that his queen would have disobeyed a royal command given in public (1:12), or that a royal edict would have been sent throughout the entire empire for the "man of the house" to be boss in his own home (1:22), or that non-Persians would have been appointed to the all-important post of prime minister (3:1; 8:2; 10:3), or that the royal edicts would have been sent out in every language of the empire rather than in Aramaic, the official language of the Achaemenid empire (1:22; 3:12; 8:9), or that royal permission would have been granted (a full year ahead of time!) for an entire people to be plundered and annihilated (3:8–15), or that a king would have sanctioned fighting within his own palace complex when neither side was a personal threat to himself (9:11–15).

More serious against the book's historicity is the fact that some of the statistics in Esther are incorrect: Persian satrapies numbered 20, not 127 (1:1); if Mordecai had been part of Nebuchadnezzar's deportation of 597 B.C.E. (so 2:6), then he and, especially, Esther would have been far too old to have accomplished everything attributed to them in the days of Xerxes (486–465 B.C.E.), i.e., some hundred years after the deportation. According to Herodotus, Amestris was queen between the 7th and 12th years of Xerxes (compare Esth 2:16 and 3:7 with Herodotus 3.84) and Persian queens had to come from one of the seven noble Persian families, a custom which would have automatically ruled out an insignificant Jewish woman.

While some of these "improbabilities" can be regarded as simply literary embellishment which can easily be dismissed without discrediting the essential historicity of the story, others cannot, notably the matters concerning the irrevocability of a royal edict, the appointment of two non-Persians as prime ministers, the name and "race" of Xerxes' queen, and on at least two occasions the abandonment of Aramaic as the official language of the Achaemenid empire. Although such anachronisms and errors of fact bother many informed modern readers, it is unknown whether they bothered ancient readers as well, and so could have constituted another strong objection to the book's inclusion in the Jewish canon. If the Purim festival was already suspected by some of them as being a pagan celebration in origin, then that fact would have created further misgivings as to the historicity of the Jewish account.

Archaeological studies (Oppenheim 1965; Albright 1974; Moore 1975; Millard 1977; 1982: 152; and Hallo 1983: 19–24), while shedding much valuable light on the background and setting of the book of Esther, have, unfortunately, done nothing to confirm the book's historicity. On the positive side, however, the splendid photographs and diagrams in Ghirshman (1964: 129–277) provide the interested reader with marvelous insights into the magnificent setting for the Esther story.

**E. Genre**

If the book of Esther is not a historical account, then what is it? As we have already seen, a variety of answers have been offered. Some scholars have regarded the book as the historicization of either a myth (Zimmern, Jensen, and Herst) or a Wisdom tale (Talmon), while others have described it as pure fiction (Gunkel, Pfeiffer), and still others as a conflation of several folk tales, parts of which may be historically true (Lewy, Ringgren, Bardtke, Dommershausen, and Lebram).

Cazelles (1961: 17–29) pointed out the phenomenon of "two-ness" (e.g., two banquets [1:3, 5]; two lists of 7 names [1:10, 14], the one list apparently being the reverse order of the other [Duchesne-Guillemin 1953: 105–8]; the "second house" [2:14]; the "second" contingent of virginal candidates [2:19]; Esther's two dinners [5:5; 7:1]; Haman's two discussions with Zeresh and his friends [5:14; 6:13]; and Esther's twice risking her life by appearing, unsummoned, before the king [5:2; 8:3]. Cazelles suggested that this two-ness was the result of the conflation of two texts: (1) a "liturgical" one, centering on Esther, the provinces, and non-Jews near the time of a new year, namely, a bacchanalian type of Persian *Sakaea* (Paton *Esther* ICC, 92–93); and (2) a "historical" text, centering on Mordecai, court intrigues, and a persecution of Susian Jews.

Instead of two stories, Bardtke (*Esther* KAT$^2$, 248–52) argued for the conflation of three separate and independent tales: (1) the Vashti story, possibly an apocryphal harem tale; (2) the story of Mordecai, with its court intrigues, jealousies, and persecution of Jews in Susa; and (3) the story of Esther, featuring a Jewish woman who, after becoming a favorite of a Persian king, saved her people from some persecution

or destruction. These three tales, as well as many others, were to be found, Bardtke hypothesized, in "a Jewish midrashic source" such as, perhaps, the *Annals of the Kings of Media and Persia* (Esth 10:2). In perfectly good faith and innocence, the author of Esther, maintained Bardtke, identified the "Esther" of the one story with the "Hadassah" (2:7) of the Mordecai story. Such an identification is certainly justified *if,* as Yahuda (1946: 174–78) has argued, our heroine's two names, *ʾstr* and *hdsh,* both mean "myrtle," *ʾstr* being a Hebrew transliteration of a Medic **astra,* "myrtle." On the basis of literary analysis of Esther, Dommershausen (1968: 15–16) also supported the ancient author's use of several sources.

The author of the book of Esther may not have mentioned the God of Israel but was clearly familiar with some biblical books that did. Scholars have seen Esther's style, content, or even its plot as having been strongly influenced by other biblical books.

Almost a hundred years ago Rosenthal (1895; 1897) established that certain phrases and details in the book of Esther had been influenced by the Joseph narrative (e.g., compare Gen 40:22 and Esth 1:3; Gen 39:10 and Esth 3:4; Gen 41:37 and Esth 1:21; Gen 41:35 and Esth 2:3; Gen 41:42 and Esth 3:10; 8:2). Esther's dependence on the Joseph narrative in terms of much larger, clearly discernible literary and thematic units *(Gattungsformular)* has been more recently argued by Gan (1961–62: 144–49) and, especially, by Meinhold (1976: 72–93). Taking a clue perhaps from Humphreys, who viewed the tales of Daniel (Daniel 1–6) and Esther as "expressing the possibility of a rewarding and creative life in a foreign court and in the same moment of the possibility of service and devoted loyalty to one's people and religious identity" (1973: 216), Meinhold viewed the Joseph and Esther stories as "diaspora novellas," which provided models for a general lifestyle, or mode of life, for Jews living in the pagan environment of the Diaspora. However, according to Meinhold, the differences between the Esther and Joseph narratives are more than just the result of the two stories having different settings of time and place (i.e., Egypt in the Second Intermediate Period versus the Achaemenid period of Persia): whereas God saved Joseph (Gen 39:2–5, 21–23; 41:16–43:51), Esther and the Jews saved themselves. Thus, the book of Esther has a secularized, intellectual outlook. Meinhold also maintains that the festival legend of Purim was not originally a part of the Esther story (for a fair and reasonable critique of Meinhold, see Berg [1979: 33–36]).

An entirely different tack has been taken by Gerleman (*Esther* BKAT), who wrote an entire commentary on Esther with the central thesis that Esther's plot, its characterizations, and its major as well as minor "details of fact" were deliberately patterned after the Exodus narrative:

> All the essential features of the Esther narrative are already there in Exodus 1–12: the foreign court, the mortal threat, the deliverance, the revenge, the triumph, and the establishment of a festival (p. 11).

According to Gerleman, because Moses was adopted (Exod 2:9) and had kept his racial identity a secret while in Pharaoh's house (Exod 2:6–10), had at first been unwilling to act on behalf of his people (Exod 3:11; 4:1, 10), and had to appear before Pharaoh several times (Exod 7:14–12:28) before the Egyptian enemies perished in great numbers (Exod 12:29–30; 14:27–28), only to find himself still later opposed by the Amalekites (Exod 17:8–16), so comparable things *had to happen* in the book of Esther. According to Gerleman, Esther is not a godless or profane book; rather, it represents a pronounced and conscious de-sacralization and de-theologizing of a salvation *(heilsgeschichtlich)* tradition (p. 23).

Although the Esther story may very well have been somewhat influenced by the Exodus story—in fact, what ancient Jewish writer could have completely escaped all conscious and unconscious influences of it—the Exodus influence seems neither controlling nor overriding (Berg 1979: 6–8). Andrews (1975: 25–28) seems to be one of the few scholars subscribing to Gerleman's thesis, and even he has some reservations.

**F. Syntax, Style, and Structure**

More important than the influences of other biblical books on the author of Esther was the author's own perceptions of what and how something should be said to make a more interesting story. Because he was not restricted to describing accurately an actual historical event, the author could give his imagination full rein, allowing literary and dramatic interests to determine his use of the sources and the shaping of the narrative.

Paton's judgment (*Esther* ICC, 62) that Esther's style is "awkward and laboured" is much too harsh. After all, the plot was cleverly constructed, with clear attention given to increasing the reader's interest and suspense. The author used to good effect such things as emphatic word order, direct address, and short, to-the-point sentences. Repetitiveness, which is one of the literary weaknesses of the book, is also one of its strengths; for the frequent occurrence of identical or synonymous words, phrases, and clauses increases the story's clarity and unity. Thus, parallel phrases and parenthetical expressions are not so much doublets or interpolations as the author's way of increasing the clarity of his story.

Striedl (1937) showed that Esther's syntactical features were characteristic of classical Hebrew, especially of such later books as Chronicles (there are many Persian words and Aramaic formations in Esther, but no Greek words). The word order of its sentences is more characteristic of Aramaic than of classical Hebrew, i.e., subject-verb-object, and the author's preference for the imperfect tense (160 times in 167 verses) may be an effort at archaizing (Striedl 1937: 74), but it also adds life and flow to the narrative (Dommershausen 1968: 138–43). To be sure, the Hebrew vocabulary of Esther is not at all rich or varied: in 167 verses of the book, *mlk* ("king/rule") occurs over 250 times; *ʿśh* ("to do/make") 87 times; *ntn* ("give") and *dbr* ("word/thing/to speak") some 40 times each; and *bwʾ* ("to come") 35 times. Nonetheless, the book's popularity down through the ages among Hebrew-reading Jews is eloquent testimony to its literary stature.

Whereas Striedl was evidently content to describe sentence structure, Dommershausen (1968) tried to show the specific literary functions and psychological effect of the syntax, emphasizing such poetic features as alliteration, assonance, parallelism, hendiadys, hyperbole, and chiastic constructions. Utilizing the analytical tools of *Formgeschichte*, Dommershausen also isolated much larger component parts or types (*Gattungen*) sometimes to quite good effect, as in his calling 1:10–22 "Wisdom Narrative" and 6:1–14 "Narrative with Wisdom Speech." In other instances, however, his assignment of a *Gattung* helps little: giving something a "label" does not always explain it.

While Esther's chiastic constructions and especially its "synthetic linear progressions" (i.e., the transformation of the same term from a negative to a positive meaning [e.g., *ʾbl* in 4:3 to that of 9:22, or of *pršt* in 4:7 to that of 10:2]) do serve to bind 9:20–10:3, the so-called "appendix of Esther," to all that precedes it (Jones 1978), there is no reason why a "later editor," one imbued with Esther 1–8, could not have written it (Clines 1984: 50–63). Clearly 9:29–32 is the product of just such a later editor (Loewenstamm 1971: 117–24).

A most penetrating rhetorical analysis of Esther has been made by Berg (1979) who, like Dommershausen, has been primarily concerned with analyzing the book's larger component parts. Berg has shown that Esther's dominant motifs of banquets, kingship, and obedience/disobedience create the book's themes, namely, the Theme of Power, the Theme of Loyalty to God and Israel, and the Themes of the Inviolability of the Jewish People and Reversal (pp. 3–121). Berg has, it would appear, successfully demonstrated that, *as the book of Esther currently stands,* feasting (and its auxiliary motif of fasting) is the primary motif of Esther and is found throughout the entire book: there are two separate banquets at the beginning of the story (1:5, 9), two in the middle (5:5; 7:1), and two at the end (9:17–18, 20–22); and fasting is enjoined upon the Jews, both early (4:16) and late (9:31). (This does not necessarily mean, however, that the Esther story was originally a festival legend, only that one of its later editors made it that way [see below].) Equally acute is Berg's view (1979: 106–13) that Esther's literary structure is ordered according to the principle of peripety, i.e., the unexpected reversal of affairs.

**G. The "Original" Form of Esther**

By combing various methods of analysis—text criticism, source criticism, redaction criticism, and literary criticism—Clines (1984) has offered, in the present writer's judgment, a most convincing case for the evolution of the "original" Esther and Mordecai stories to their present forms in the MT and LXX.

Building upon the seminal work of Torrey (1944) and many other scholars, Clines argues that the present book of Esther has evolved through five major stages. What were probably *two originally distinct and separate stories*—i.e., a court conflict/deliverance tale concerning a "Mordecai" and a success/deliverance tale concerning an "Esther"—(stage one) were successfully combined in *The Pre-*

*Masoretic Story* (stage two). It was also at this stage that another separate tale, the Vashti story (= Esther 1) was added. But although the God of Israel was mentioned at this stage of the narrative's evolution (i.e., in what corresponds to 4:14, 16; 6:11, 13; and 7:3 of MT), "The inclusion of the Mordecai story within the Esther story—or, we might prefer to say, the conception of an Esther story of national deliverance which also included the Mordecai story of personal deliverance and success—tended to emphasize all the more the role of the coincidental" (Clines 1984: 151). The text of this Pre-Masoretic story is best reflected in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Greek A-Text (see below), ending at 8:17 (=8:2 of MT) and excluding the six major Additions.

*The Proto-Masoretic Story* (stage three) introduced the concept of the irrevocability of Persian law (=1:19 and 8:8 of the MT), with all that that involved, and the discovery of the conspiracy of the two eunuchs (=2:21–23 of MT), with its ramifications. It was at this stage of the story's evolution that—for reasons that can only be speculated on—an editor removed the so-called "religious elements" from the story. Clines (pp. 153–54), dissatisfied with the various explanations offered by other scholars for the deletion of the religious elements, maintains that.

> It is not so much the absence of the name of God from the book as the presence in it of critical coincidences working for the good of the Jewish people that defines its theological position. I would identify two primary elements in the book's theological statement: (i) the providence of God is to be relied on to reverse the ill-fortunes of Israel; (ii) divine action and human initiatives are complementary and both indispensable for success or "salvation."

*The Masoretic Story* (stage four) took its shape by the addition of three distinct appendices: (1) *9:1–19,* which made the story more realistic and bloody and, at the same time, "demilitarized" it to the point where the significance of the Esther story lies in the joyous celebration to which it gave birth; (2) *9:20–32,* which linked the celebration of the story's events with the traditional festivals of the Jewish year (it was at this stage of the story's evolution that the name of the festival, Purim [9:26], occurred in the story for the first time); and (3) *10:1–3,* which moved "in a quite different direction from the liturgically and religious oriented letters of Mordecai and Esther. Here the issue that is addressed is the significance of the Esther story for Jewish life under foreign rule" (Clines 1984: 167). The fifth and final stage, *The Septuagint Story,* especially with its six Additions, "represents a more thorough and substantial reworking of the story than any [preceding] version" (p. 168); and its primary effect is "to *assimilate the book of Esther to a scriptural norm,* especially as found in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel" (p. 169).

Owing to limitations of space, the preceding description of Clines' hypothesis is admittedly brief and oversimplified; but in the judgment of the present writer it has much to commend itself and, at the very least, is certainly headed in the right direction, especially because it takes seriously the evidence in the Greek A-Text and B-Text.

**H. Date(s) for the Book's Composition**

If Clines' analysis of the evolution of the book of Esther is essentially correct, then one can distinguish, at best, only two dates: (1) the book's *terminus a quo,* or earliest date; and (2) its *terminus ad quem,* or latest date.

The latest possible date for the book is 94 C.E., that being the date of *Jewish Antiquities,* in which Josephus paraphrased the LXX version, including Additions B, C, D, and E. However, if the colophon to Esther (i.e., F 11) is authentic and accurate, which is most likely the case (Moore *Daniel, Esther ... Additions* AB, 250–52), then the lowest date for the Greek translation of Esther is either 78 B.C.E. or, more likely, 114 B.C.E., either of which moves the date of the MT back into the 2d century B.C.E.

On the basis of the presence of "Elamite" names and the fact that in Esther the *apadana,* or reception hall, and the court were on the same tell rather than on separate ones, Stiehl (1956: 203–13) would pinpoint the composition date of the MT to between 165 and 140 B.C.E., this being the only time since the Achaemenid period when such a situation had existed. Needless to say, these "Elamite" names could just as easily have been part of the earlier Persian materials; moreover, Esther's topographical details concerning the king's palace are ultimately nondescript.

Most scholars would put the "final" form of the MT prior to the Maccabean period (167–135 B.C.E.), the latter being a time when antagonism toward gentiles ran high among Jews, a situation that does not exist in the MT of Esther. Berg (1979: 170) is certainly correct in saying that

> The scroll displays a generally positive attitude toward foreign masters. Its antagonism is directed specifically against those who seek to harm Jews, and this antagonism cannot be extended to include the Persian administration.

The total absence of Greek words in the MT strongly argues against a Hellenistic date for the "final" form of the MT, unless, as Berg suggests (1979: 170–71), the absence of Greek reflects the author's efforts at archaizing. Then too, the Hebrew of Esther has almost nothing in common with the 2d-century Hebrew at Qumran but is most like that of the Chronicler, which is now being dated to ca. 400 B.C.E. Thus, just as the Daniel stories (Daniel 1–6) probably go back to the 4th century B.C.E. while the visions (Daniel 7–12) date from the 2d century B.C.E., so the "first" edition of Esther probably goes back to the late 4th century B.C.E. (i.e., the late Persian period) while the "final" edition of the MT appeared in the early Hellenistic period. In any event, Esther's not unsympathetic attitude toward a gentile king suggests that it is older than the book of Daniel, which was written in a time when the Jewish people had a most negative attitude toward gentile kings.

Perhaps a word should be said here about putting Esther in the late Persian period. Haman's characterization of the Jewish people as being "scattered, yet unassimilated, among the peoples throughout the provinces of your kingdom" (3:8) certainly fits less well in the early or even the middle Persian period, although here one must keep ever in mind that this verse or other verses could actually be later materials inserted into older narrative. Nonetheless, a late Persian period for the "original" of the Esther story seems a reasonable estimate.

## I. Ancient Versions

**1. Greek Versions.** The LXX, or B-Text, of Esther is strikingly different from the Hebrew text (i.e., the MT) in two ways. In the first place, there are six extended sections (107 verses) in the Gk text which have no counterpart in the MT. These Additions (Adds) differ from one another—as well as from the canonical sections of Esther—in length, purpose, content, and style. Add A describes Mordecai's dream (A 1–10) and his discovery of a plot against *Artaxerxes*, the king's name throughout the Gk version (A 11–17). Add B is the royal edict dictated by Haman, announcing the pogrom against the Jews (B 1–7). Add C contains the prayers of Mordecai (C 1–11) and Esther (C 12–30). Add D describes Esther's unannounced audience with Artaxerxes (D 1–16). Add E is the royal edict, designed and dictated by Mordecai to counteract the effects of Haman's edict (E 1–24). Add F provides the interpretation of Mordecai's dream (F 1–10) and the colophon to the Gk version (F 11).

The most striking addition in the Gk text, at least from a theological point of view, is of course specific reference to God. The word "God" or God's name occurs over 50 times in the Gk text, primarily in the deuterocanonical sections (but see 2:20; 4:8; 6:1, 13). The general effect of these various types of additions is to make the Gk version of Esther more explicitly religious than the Hebrew, this in spite of the fact that in the LXX the establishment of the festival of Purim is actually deemphasized. For further details on this and other matters relating to the Gk version, see ESTHER, ADDITIONS TO.

Second, there are many "omissions" in the canonical sections; in fact, there is scarcely a verse where the text does not omit a word, phrase, or clause of the MT. Evidently its Gk translator, disliking the frequent repetitions and redundancies of his Hebrew text, deliberately chose to omit many of them. Thus the Gk translator proceeded to translate verse by verse the content but not the exact wording of his Semitic text. Apart from a few Hebraisms which may very well be later "corrections" in the direction of the MT, the translation is literary, with very few places that are so labored or unclear as to remind its reader that it is a translation. The B-Text is thus free rather than literal, sometimes to the point of being quite paraphrastic.

There is another Gk text that should be mentioned here: the A-Text or, as it has been frequently called since the days of Lagarde (1883), the "Lucianic recension." While it is highly probable that the six Additions of the A-Text were borrowed from the B-Text (Clines 1984: 71–92), the relationship of the canonical sections of the A-Text to the B-Text has been much debated, with the majority, including Tov

(1982: 169–86), calling the canonical part of the A-Text a recension (i.e., a revision of the LXX), others regarding it as a separate and independent Gk translation of a different Semitic text (Torrey 1944; Moore 1967; *Daniel, Esther … Additions* AB; Cook 1969; Clines 1984: 71–92). For an English translation of all of the A-Text, see Clines 1984: 217–48.

**2. Other Ancient Versions.** For Esther, as for other books of the Bible, the OL, the Coptic (actually the Sahidic dialect), and the Ethiopic versions are translations of the LXX. By contrast, the Syriac and Jerome's Latin Vulgate are based on the Hebrew text and are quite faithful to it, although, given Jerome's claim to having translated his Hebrew text with great fidelity, the Vulgate is not nearly as close to the MT as one would have expected. Sometimes, in fact, Jerome's translation of the canonical sections is quite paraphrastic; and his translation of the Additions, which he held in lesser esteem because they were not present in his Hebrew text, is even more free.

Esther's two *targumim* (Aramaic translations dating no earlier than the 8th century C.E.) are faithful to the MT but also include so much haggadic material that 1 Targum is more than twice as long as the MT, and 2 Targum is twice as long as 1 Targum, with the end result that they tell us much about Talmudic and post-Talmud Judaism but little about Esther. Unfortunately, "critical" or scientific editions exist only for the Greek (*OTG* 3/1; Hanhart 1966) and the Latin (*Libri Hester et Job,* Rome 1951). The end result of all this is that the ancient versions are of far less help in establishing the "original" or even the "final" form of Esther than is the case for many other biblical books.

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CAREY A. MOORE

**ET-TWEIN** (PLACE). See ABU ET-TWEIN, KHIRBET.

**ETA.** The fifth letter of the Greek alphabet.

**ETAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿêṭām* (עֵיטָם)]. One of the descendants of Judah (1 Chr 4:3). He is probably also to be associated with the Judean town of the same name (2 Chr 11:6). See ETAM (PLACE).

**ETAM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿêṭām* (עֵיטָם)]. Two places in the Hebrew Bible.

**1.** Town in the N hill country of Judah, listed among the cities fortified by Rehoboam near the beginning of his reign (2 Chr 11:6). An examination of the list of cities fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr 11:5–12) shows that they form a logical and fairly consistent defensive line on the W, S, and E frontiers of Rehoboam's domains, supplemented by additional fortresses at key road junctions (Aharoni *LBHG*, 290–94). This strongly suggests that the editor of Chronicles had access to some sort of official military document delineating the defenses of the kingdom of Judah. The LXX includes Etam in the list of Judean towns within the vicinity of Bethlehem which it inserts after Josh 15:59. Whether this inserted unit represents part of the original list accidentally deleted from the MT or whether it is a later editorial addition based on an independent tradition remains uncertain. Etam also appears as the name of a descendant of Judah in 1 Chr 4:3. The fact that several other nearby places appear in this genealogical summary under the guise of personal names (e.g. Tekoa and Bethlehem) suggests that in this context the name of a town is being used as a metaphor for the kinship ties of its founders. Josephus (*Ant* 18.3.2)

indicates that Etam was located approximately 8 Roman miles S of Jerusalem, near the aqueduct built by Pilate to supplement the water supply of Jerusalem. He also states (*Ant* 8.7.3) that Solomon often retreated to Etam when he wished to escape the hustle and bustle of his capital. The description of Etam as being located near Bethlehem, and its connection with the water supply of Jerusalem, has led most scholars to look for ancient Etam in the vicinity of modern Ain Atan, a powerful spring whose name may reflect that of the ancient town. The most suitable site in the vicinity is Khirbet el-Khokh, which stands on a ridge overlooking the spring (Aharoni *LBHG*, 301). It is located about 3.5 km SW of Bethlehem near the modern village of Artas in the vicinity of the traditional Pools of Solomon (M.R. 166121). This Judean town should not be confused with the Rock of Etam, retreat of Samson during his conflict with the Philistines (Judg 15:8–11).

**2.** Village occupied by the descendants of Simeon (1 Chr 4:32). It appears in the list of Simeonite villages included by the editor of 1 Chronicles in his treatment of various aspects of tribal genealogy (1 Chr 4:24–43). The differences between this list and that of Josh 19:1–9 seem to be merely editorial in nature, suggesting that both are derived from a single document describing the territory of Simeon sometime early in the period of the monarchy, presumably before Simeon was consolidated with the tribe of Judah (*1 Chronicles* AB, 25–31). The omission of Etam in Joshua 19 is most probably a simple scribal error. The location of this ancient settlement is unknown, although it presumably lay somewhere within the transition zone between S Judea and the N Negeb. As with its northern namesake, it should not be confused with the Rock of Etam mentioned in the book of Judges.

WADE R. KOTTER

**ETAM, ROCK OF** (PLACE) [Heb *sela‹ ʿêṭām* (סֶלַע עֵיטָם)]. A place to which Samson retired after smiting the Philistines, pursuant to their burning his wife and father-in-law (Judg 15:8). While he was staying in a cave at the Rock of Etam, men of Judah came to Samson in order to deliver him to their Philistine oppressors (Judg 15:11). While the site has not been identified with any certainty, ʿAraq Ismaʿin on the N slope of the Sorek Valley near Zorah (M.R. 148131) is the strongest candidate (Gold *IDB* 2: 153; Kallai *EncMiqr* 6: 187); it was most probably not near either of the two cities named ETAM.

CARL S. EHRLICH

**ETH-KAZIN** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿittâ qāṣîn* (עִתָּה קָצִין)]. Town on the E border of the territory of Zebulun, between Gath-hepher on the S and Rimmon on the N (Josh 19:13). The site of Eth-kazin, or, after the LXX, Ir-kazin (Gk *polis Katesem*)—"the citadel of the commander"—has not been identified.

RAPHAEL GREENBERG

**ETHAM** (PLACE) [Heb *›ētām* (אֵתָם)]. According to Exod 13:20 and Num 33:6–7 the first station on the Exodus route of the Israelites after leaving Succoth. Both citations are accompanied by the comment "on the edge of the wilderness." Num 33:8 mentions three days of wandering in the "desert of Etham." No further information is given concerning the topography. The contextual position of the toponym and its commentary have been associated by M. Noth (*Exodus* ATD, 86; *Numeri* ATD, 210f.) with the work of J (Exod 13:20) and later redactions (Num 33:6–8). It seems more probable, however, that a late Pentateuchal redactor should be responsible for all citations of Etham showing a rather limited insight into the topographical situation of the E Delta (Weimar 1985: 264f.).

Assuming a geographical entity, several attempts have been made to identify and localize the toponym. The literary comment seems to imply only a short distance to the Delta. So Noth argues for a localization within the water area N of *es-suwes* (Suez). Naville (1888: 28) proposed identifying the name with *jdm* in *Egyptian* texts, a toponym, however, which is identical with biblical Edom. The connection with the Egyptian word *ḫtm*, "fortress," which is originally Semitic, leads to some of the Egyptian E fortresses of which Sile (today El-Qantara) is the most important (cf. the well-known illustration on the N wall of the Great Hypostyl of Karnak temple; Papyrus Anastasi 1.27.2 (?); Anastasi 3.6.5; 6.20.1). Other fortresses

named *ḫtm* are mentioned in Papyrus Anastasi 1.27.4 (certainly identical with a station along the Way of Horus; cf. Fischer-Elfert 1986: 233), in Anastasi 6.55.60.61 (a fortress named after Merneptah at Tjeku; cf. Sukkoth), and in Anastasi 6.69 (possibly one of the fortified watering places between the Nile and the Red Sea; cf. Caminos 1954: 298). The main objection against this equation may be the phonetic difference between Egyptian *ḫ* and Heb *ʾalep* (cf. Cazelles 1955: 359). Another suggestion, discussed by Cazelles (1955: 359f.) is to combine Etham with "dwelling of the lion" as a name for a watering place along the Way of Horus: Etham being made up of the Sumerian ideogram É for "house," and *Tam* for the shortened form of the god's name Atum represented occasionally by a lion. This thesis remains problematic because Sumerian ideograms are not otherwise attested in biblical names. It seems better to take Etham as a toponym representing only a special variant of the well-known Pithom, which means "House of Atum," assuming *ʾētām* as the equivalent of a fuller writing of the god's name attested in the form *j3tm* of the 21st Dynasty (Görg 1990). Etham then should be a shortened form without the element *pr* as is the case with the toponym *raʿamsēs* (Rameses) in relation to its fuller Egyptian counterpart *Pr-Rmssw*, "House of Rameses." The meaning " (house of) Atum" and the identification with Pithom fit the well-founded literary assumption of late redactional information about Etham.

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M. GÖRG

**ETHAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾêtān* (אֵיתָן)]. **1.** The son of Zerah, Judah's second son by his daughter-in-law Tamar (1 Chr 2:6; Gen 38:30). Ethan was the father of Azariah (1 Chr 2:8). In the MT, 1 Chr 2:8 reads: "The sons of Ethan"; however, only one name is mentioned.

**2.** A wise man whose wisdom was surpassed by Solomon's (1 Kgs 5:11—Eng4:31). Ethan is called the Ezrahite *(ʾezrāḥî)*, and he is associated with Heman, Calcol, and Darda, "the sons of Mahol." These three individuals also were wise men whom Solomon surpassed in wisdom. In 1 Chr 2:6 they are called the sons of Zerah. W. F. Albright (*ARI*, 122) believed that the word "Ezrahite" did not refer to a family name but to the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Canaan and that "the sons of Mahol" referred to a guild of temple musicians. This view seems to be confirmed by the superscription of Psalms 88 and 89 where Ethan and Heman are called "Ezrahite." The LXX renders the word "Ezrahite" in both psalms as "Israelites." These wise men were not Israelites, but because they were associated with the music in the temple they were given place in the levitical genealogies. Heman was included in the family of Kohath, Asaph in the family of Gershon, and Ethan in the family of Merari.

**3.** A Gershonite who was the son of Zimmah and the father of Adaiah (1 Chr 6:26–27—Eng6:41–42). Ethan was an ancestor of Asaph. Asaph was one of the leaders of the three groups of levitical singers who ministered before the ark of the Lord (1 Chr 15:16–17).

**4.** The son of Kishi, a Levite from the family of Merari (1 Chr 6:29—Eng6:44). In 1 Chr 15:17 the name of Ethan's father was Kushaiah. According to the Chronicler, when David organized the levitical singers and the musicians in the house of the Lord, they were organized into three groups led by Heman, a Kohathite, by Asaph, a Gershonite, and by Ethan, a Merarite (1 Chr 6:16–33—Eng6:31–48). In 1 Chr 16:41–42 and 25:1–3, Jeduthun replaced Ethan as one of the singers in the temple. This replacement has led Corney (*IDB* 2: 809) and many other scholars to identify Ethan with Jeduthun.

There seems to be a relationship among these four individuals. According to Cheyne (*EncBib*, 1411–12), during the reorganization of the guilds of singers in the postexilic community, three assumptions guided the thinking of the religious leaders of Israel: (1) that the founders of the guilds were Israelites, (2) that they were singers, and (3) that they were contemporaries of David. Thus the Chronicler made every

one of these three singers a contemporary of David by adding names to their genealogies and by making them Levites.
CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

**ETHANIM** [Heb *ʾêtānîm* (אֵיתָנִים)]. The seventh month of the Canaanite calendar, roughly corresponding to September and October.

**ETHANUS** (PERSON) [Lat *Ethanus*]. One of the five scribes whom Ezra was instructed to take with him when restoring the Scriptures (2 Esdr 14:24). Myers (*1 and 2 Esdras* AB) renders the scribe's name as Elkanah, following the Syriac, which reads *hlqnʾ*. See DABRIA for further discussion.
JIN HEE HAN

**ETHBAAL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾetbaʿal* (אֶתְבַּעַל)]. King of Tyre, father of Jezebel who married Ahab, king of Israel (1 Kgs 16:31). After the kingdom of Tyre had grown to include the port city of Sidon, Sidon became a general name for the people of the area, hence the designation "king of the Sidonians" in the biblical text. Josephus, drawing his information from the historian Menander, states that Ithobalus, an alternate form of the name Ethbaal, was a priest of Astarte who gained the throne by assassinating Pheles, king of Tyre (*AgAp.* 1.18). He ruled for thirty-two years (887–856 B.C.) and is said to have built two cities: Botrys in Phoenicia and Auza in Libya (*Ant* 8.13.2). Under his rule Phoenician commercial activities were expanded. The effects of a year-long drought which occurred during his reign were also felt in Israel (cf. 1 Kings 17). (See Gray *Kings* OTL; Jones *1 Kings* NCBC.)

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PAULINE A. VIVIANO

**ETHER** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿeter* (עֶתֶר)]. The name of two places in the Hebrew Bible.

1. Town situated in the Shephelah, or lowlands, of Judah (Josh 15:42), within the same district as Libnah and Mareshah. The only reference to this settlement occurs in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). It is commonly identified with Khirbet el-Ater (Aharoni *LBHG*, 376), located approximately 1.5 km W of Beit Jibrin (M.R. 138113).

2. Town situated in the transition zone between S Judea and the N Negeb. The only reference to this settlement occurs in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Simeon (Josh 19:7). It is omitted from the parallel list of Simeonite towns in 1 Chr 4:28–32, as well as the more remotely related list of S Judean towns in Josh 15:26–32. The differences between the lists in Joshua 19 and 1 Chronicles are mostly scribal in nature, suggesting that they stem from a single document describing the territory of Simeon sometime early in the period of the monarchy, presumably before Simeon was consolidated with the tribe of Judah (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 25–31). The differences between these lists and that of Joshua 15 are more difficult to explain unless they reflect the political and demographic adjustments made necessary by the consolidation process (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 436–37). The location of the ancient settlement is uncertain, although the ancient name may be reflected at Khirbet Attir (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 438), located approximately 13 km N of Beer-sheba. It is possible that Athach in 1 Sam 30:30 is a faulty reading for Ether, with the *reš* at the end of the word being mistaken for a final *kap*.
WADE R. KOTTER

**ETHICS.** This entry consists of two articles, one covering ethics in the OT and one covering ethics in the NT.

### *OLD TESTAMENT*

The corpus of ethics of the OT is found in the Pentateuch (=Heb *Torah*). The Hebrew term *tôrâ* originally meant "teaching," "instruction," and "direction" and not "law" as it is translated into English. Torah refers to both the teaching and the content of God's revelation to humanity. What is revealed is a whole way of life lived in accordance with the will of God, not just observance of a set of laws largely of

a ritual character. Thus the statutes, precepts, and ordinances in the Torah were intended to act as guidelines on how the Israelites could mold their lives in their ritual, cultic, social, moral, and economic practices to be in conformity with the will of God. Because these statutes and ordinances were strictly enforced, the term *tôrâ* assumed the erroneous meaning "law." The Israelites believed that God created the world with a divine purpose and that he disclosed his will when he elected them and made a covenant with them at Sinai. As their Lord, judge, and king (Isa 33:32), they believed that God demanded that humans strictly obey his divine laws which were summarized in the Decalogue (Heb *haddĕbārîm*). Moreover, they were to teach the statutes, precepts, and ordinances to their children not by word of mouth but by exemplary observance (Deut 6:1–4).

Several factors influenced the Israelites to arrive at this monotheistic moral position. Firstly, they regarded Yahweh as the Creator of the heavens and the earth (Gen 1:1; Exod 19:4–5; Ps 8; Isa 43:5). The Priestly account of creation unequivocally states that when God created the universe, followed by the creatures and humankind, it was good (Gen 1:1–2:4a). According to the Yahwist's version, evil came because of humankind's refusal to regulate life according to the commandment of the Creator (Gen 2:4a–27). Underlying the doing of the will of God is the doctrine of divine retribution based on the inviolable principle of *mišpāṭ*, "justice" (Miller 1982: 134). Divine retribution is the means by which God, the holy one of Israel, rewards people according to their just deserts. Thus God punishes people who transgress his commandments and also rewards those who obey them.

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## A. God, the Universal Judge

The Israelites based their moral law on the premise that God, the judge of all the earth, Heb *šôpēṭ kōl hā*ʿ*āreṣ* (Gen 18:25; Judg 11:27), was their king (Isa 33:32). To the Israelites, religion, worship, and praxis were inseparable from their cultural behavior. Life was lived according to religious prescriptions. Because of the persistence of evil, God chose (Heb *yd*ʿ) Abraham in order that he might charge (Heb *yĕṣawweh*) his children and subsequent generations to observe the way of the Lord (Heb *derek Yahweh,* Gen 18:19). The way of the Lord refers to the quality of life which the Israelites must live and which reflects God's justice and righteousness (Heb *mišpāṭ ûṣĕdāqâ*). If Abraham and his household followed the way of the Lord, then Yahweh would fulfill the promise which he had made earlier (Gen 12:2; 15:1). The belief in divine retribution is quite discernible in the J narratives (e.g., Gen 2:16–17). The dialogue between God and Abraham on the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 18:16–33) is elucidated by the principle of divine retribution. The extent of the cry (Heb *ṣa*ʿ*ăqāh*) coming from Sodom and Gomorrah was so great that the Yahwist depicts God personally going to investigate the cities' wickedness in order that he might mete out an appropriate punishment (Gen 18:21). Yahweh as king was also regarded as the guardian of justice because it was he who determined what was good and evil (Gen 3:5, 22). In accordance with his justice (Heb *mišpāṭ*), God could neither do wrong nor violate his role as the guardian of justice by treating the righteous and the wicked alike (Gen 18:25; cf. Num 16:22). The dialogue on Sodom is meant to underscore the fact that God would not miscarry justice on account of the righteous few living in the midst of the wicked majority should he decide to burn the city (Gen 18:32). At any rate, at no place in the dialogue is it implied that the righteous, by their righteousness, would save the wicked in spite of their wickedness (Ezek 14:14, 20). The narrative does not show us how Yahweh would have meted out retribution to Sodom had there been as few as ten righteous citizens living in the midst of the wicked (Gen 18:32). The fact that Yahweh destroyed Sodom is indicative of the fact that there was no righteous person among the city dwellers. It should not be overlooked that Lot with his household was a sojourner (Heb *gēr*) in Sodom (Gen 13:12b–13). According to the Torah, sojourners enjoyed limited civil rights which did not accord them full citizenship status of the land or city in which they lived (Speiser *Genesis* AB, 90, 139). This law must have been shared by the people of the ANE, judging by the Sodomites' surprise that Lot, who had come to their city to sojourn, should then try to act like a judge to them (Gen 19:9). This same reason demonstrates how Yahweh practiced justice by removing the sojourners, namely, Lot and his household, before annihilating the city with a conflagration (Gen 19:24–29; cf. Num 16:26–33).

An examination of the OT and of extrabiblical literature confirms that humankind regarded the deity as the source and guardian of justice. The juxtaposition of the merciful God, the Creator of the universe, by whose covenant Israel became the chosen nation, with the Israelites' endless cycles of sin and rebellion, elucidates the ethics of the OT (2 Kgs 17:15; Jer 6:19). The belief in the universal God, the Creator, was used by Deutero-Isaiah to rekindle the exiles' waning faith in Yahweh. He stressed that God, the holy one of Israel, was also their king and Creator (Isa 43:15). Against this affirmation Deutero-Isaiah went on to demonstrate to the dispirited Israelites that the God who led their ancestors during the Exodus from Egypt would lead them from the Babylonian captivity back to Zion (Isa 43:5–7). Several psalms also show how, whenever the Israelites were confronting life's predicaments, they cried to God for help, basing their wavering faith on the superiority and mercies of their God, the Creator of the world (Pss 8:1–8; 24:1–6; 42:2; 33:6–9; 89:11–12a; 100:3; 136:69).

## B. Universalism of Ethics

It follows that, since God was the Creator of the universe, his divine rule should be regarded as universal. God's laws and statutes were therefore relevant to Israel as well as to people of other nations (cf. Lev 20:23). Amos was the first classical prophet to proclaim God's oracles against the people of Israel and the pagan nations which surrounded them (Amos 1:2–2:16). He shocked the Israelites by telling them that they were like the Ethiopians (Amos 9:7a). In the same way that God had brought the Israelites

from the land of Egypt, he had also brought the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir (Amos 9:7b).

**1. Universalism of Moral Law.** It was the underlying belief in the universalism of God, the Creator, which influenced the Israelites to believe that God had decreed a universal moral law which all the nations of the world were expected to obey (Wright 1950: 52). It was because of their disregard of that law that God was forced to destroy Sodom and Gomorrah. Because God was the universal judge, (Heb *šôpēṭ kōl hā*ʾ*āreṣ* (Gen 18:25), he could use the Assyrians as his agents to mete out punishment to the Israelites (Isa 10:5–6). But because the Assyrians were also wicked, God would, later on, punish them for their iniquities (Isa 10:12). In this light, God could address Cyrus as his anointed (Heb *mĕšiaḥ*), "whose right hand I have grasped, to subdue nations …" (Isa 45:1). Understanding ethics of the OT against the backdrop of the universal sovereignty of God helps to highlight the impact of the covenant which Yahweh made with Israel. God had chosen Israel for a special mission: to be a light to the nations (Isa 49:6), that is, to show them the way of the Lord.

**2. God's Universal Justice.** The idea of regarding the deity as the source of justice is not unique to Israel. An examination of Mesopotamian and Egyptian texts yields some evidence which indicates that justice issued from the deity. Speiser correctly observed that the correlation between merit and fate was not a question which the Yahwist was the first to broach (*Genesis* AB, 35). Commenting on Gen 18:25, he pointed out that the basic issue was only one aspect of the theme of the suffering just, which Mesopotamian literature wrestled with as early as the Old Babylonian period. That ethical norms were expected even in a civilization where Yahweh was not worshipped is evidenced by the Mesopotamian gods Kittum, "right," "justice," "jurisprudence," and Mēšarum, "fairness," "equity" (Ringgren 1947: 47–55). These deities were the personification of ethical abstract concepts of justice and equity. The Babylonians regarded Shamash as the ultimate god of justice. A bilingual hymn in both Sumerian and Akkadian (Meek, *BA* 6: 1ff.) reads as follows:

> O Shamash, when you come forth from the shining heavens,
> May Right stand at your right side,
> May Righteousness stand at your left side.

The Egyptians also presumed that bliss in the land came only after the goddess *m3*ʿ*t* (=Maat, "truth," "righteousness," "right") had successfully repressed all the wicked people and the evil which they caused. The absence of evil and wickedness would create a state of peace and joy for the righteous. A eulogy of the Egyptian king Merneptah (*ANET*, 378) reads:

> All ye righteous: Come that ye may see
> Right [*maat*] has driven out lying,
> Evildoers have fallen (upon) their faces,
> The water stands and is not dried up,
> The Nile lifts up, days are long
> Nights have hours … The gods are satisfied … *in* laughter and wonder.

These two poems are a sample of several ANE texts which demonstrate that the people of other nations regarded as pagans were, in general, reflecting on the theme of evil and justice, regardless of their religion or the time in which they lived. Various literatures of the ANE exhibit a critical attitude toward the way justice was being executed by the nobles or by the kings and also by the gods (ANET, 438–41). The main difference between these ethical teachings and those found in the Bible lies in Israel's emphasis on the holiness of God and the covenant which he graciously made with human beings.

### C. Covenant and Ethics

**1. The Treaty Formula in the ANE.** It was common practice among the nations of the ANE to make covenants with each other. The covenants in the form of treaties were of two types: (1) the parity treaty was made between monarchs of equal status who therefore exchanged mutual stipulations; whereas (2) the suzerainty treaty was graciously offered by a superior monarch to an inferior. See COVENANT. In the latter treaty, the superior king, as suzerain, stipulated his conditions to his vassal, the inferior ruler and his nation. In return for their loyalty and tribute, the suzerain would protect his vassal against enemy

attack. However, should the vassal breach the stipulations of the covenant, then the suzerain would withdraw his military protection and might also punish the rebelling vassal by an invasion.

**2. The Sinaitic Covenant and OT Ethics.** The Hittite treaty formula illuminates the covenants which God made with Noah (Gen 9:8–17), with Abraham (Gen 15:1–21), with Israel at Sinai (Exod 20:20–23), and with David (2 Sam 7:1–16). Although the Sinaitic covenant is formulated according to the suzerainty treaty, there are fundamental differences. In the covenant between Yahweh and Israel, Yahweh graciously and without obligation made a covenant with the Israelites, freely adopting them as his own people (Exod 19:4–5). The Covenant Code (Exod 20:22–23:33) which God commanded the Israelites to observe specified two types of relationships. The vertical relationship required that the Israelites remain faithful to God and obey his law (Exod 20:3). The horizontal relationship was intended to promote peace among the Israelites by eliminating causes of friction among them. Just as in the Hittite suzerain-vassal treaty, the nations in a covenant relationship with the suzerain were forbidden to engage in hostilities against one another, similarly the people of Israel were prohibited by the covenant stipulations from being unjust to one another (Amos 2:6–16). The same stipulations applied to the neighboring nations such as Edom (Amos 1:11–15), Moab (Amos 2:1–3), and Tyre (Amos 1:9–10), who were covenanted with Israel during the reign of David. The worship of God would be rendered worthless if the Israelites failed to live in harmony with one another (Amos 5:21–24). They were expected to show justice to the powerless: the poor, widows, orphans, slaves, and the resident aliens (Deut 24:19–22; Job 29:12–20). Although Yahweh as Creator was not obligated in any way to make a covenant with Israel, once he made it he was bound by it in the same way the Hittite suzerain kings were bound by the covenants they made with their vassals.

It is significant that all covenants are based on the principle of retribution. In a Hittite suzerainty treaty, fulfillment of the stipulations was rewarded by a defense alliance of the parties concerned. Serious consequences followed a breach of the covenant stipulations. Similarly, Yahweh would bless the Israelites if they observed the laws, statutes, and precepts summarized in the Decalogue (Exod 20:1–17). But if the Israelites transgressed the law God would punish them (Josh 24:19–20).

Loyalty to God is by Israel's own free choice and not made by Yahweh's compulsion (Josh 24:14–15; 1 Kgs 18:21–24). The rationale for choosing Yahweh is based on the fact that he is the God who acts in history and who has shown by his choice of Israel, as well as by his promises and blessings to the patriarchs of Israel, that his might is unequaled by any other deity. His might was demonstrated by his victory over Pharaoh and by his leading the Israelites from Egyptian bondage to freedom in Canaan (Deut 6:22–25; cf. 11:3–12). The Israelites could therefore trust God because it is he alone who can perform great signs and wonders (Deut 4:34): the other gods are nothing (Isa 41:29; 44:9). God would continue to protect the people of Israel if only they remained loyal to him (Lev 20:22). It should be realized that keeping the covenant was of great benefit to the Israelites and was not in any way beneficial to God. This is what makes God's covenant with Israel unique in the ANE. The fact that these laws were useful for harmonious relationships among the Israelites themselves explains why, when giving the commandments (Heb *haddĕbārîm;* Exod 20:1–17), God did not have to justify the reason for the decrees. The exclusive worship of Yahweh was a unitive factor among the tribes of Israel and his decrees promoted harmony (Heb *šālôm*) among the people.

**3. The Deuteronomistic Formula of Retribution.** According to the Deuteronomist, God's blessings and curses were thought to relate directly to Israel's obedience and disobedience to the law as stipulated in the covenant (Deut 28:1). God administers justice in historical events. The books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings were reformulated to illustrate how God administered justice to Israel and to the nations in historical events. It is God alone who directs and controls the course of history (Wright 1950: 49). It is significant that the same formula is implied in the Sumerian Job in which a wealthy man, who considered himself righteous and wise, attributed his good fortune to be consequent upon the fear of the gods. The OT Job "repudiated not only a simplistic Deuteronomistic view of the historical process in which the mighty acts of God are transparent and history's theme is a simple one of blessing or curse, the way of life or the way of death" (*CHME,* 344). The lesson to be learned from Job's ordeal is that it is not always clear to humans how God administers justice. The most important thing that humans can do, in

sickness or in health, or in facing any of life's predicaments, is to pray for the experience of God's sustaining presence and for a lucid vision of his majesty (Job 42:5–6).

**D. The Mighty Acts of God**

God's absolute claim for the Israelites' loyalty was not based solely on the covenant which he had made with them. It was because the mighty acts which he had performed for the Israelites testified to his sovereignty compared to that of the other gods of the surrounding nations which were idols and not gods (1 Kgs 18:24–30, 39; cf. John 14:11). To the Israelites there was no God like Yahweh, who was transcendent and looked far down upon the heavens and the earth (Ps 113:4–9). It was because the Lord wrought some great works during the process of Israel's redemption from Egypt, followed by God's leadership through the wilderness as well as the conquest of the Canaanite nations, that he had convincingly proved himself to be no match to the idol gods (Isa 44:6–17; cf. Ps 111:6). The redeeming acts of the God who made a covenant with Israel were later embellished with mythical motifs. Israel's crossing of the Reed Sea (Heb *yam sûp,* Exod 15:1–18) became the central event in Israel's history because the event was now associated with the cultic festival of the spring New Year (*CHME,* 123). Being the God who revealed himself through historical events, unusual events convinced the Israelites that indeed God was the Lord: for example, the victories of the Persian king Cyrus which led to Israel's liberation from Babylon (Isa 45:1–8; 47:1–4).

**1. Mythicization of God's Acts.** A close examination of Exod 15:1–18 highlights the significance of the Exodus in the history and religion of Israel. The poem opens with a vivid description of the combat between Yahweh, the Divine Warrior, and his enemies, the Egyptians, who were self-assured of victory (Exod 15:9). This historical event of the Exodus was later mythicized. God's might at the Reed Sea was later seen as God's splitting (Heb *bqʿ*) of the inimical sea which was threatening the entire nation of Israel (Neh 9:11). God was no longer seen as dividing the sea by natural forces but, like Marduk, who split Tiamat in the *Enuma elish* to ensure the survival of the gods, God also split the sea to ensure the survival of the Israelites. To assure them that their God was always the same in spite of the vicissitudes of their political fortunes, mythic elements were added to their cultus (Job 41:1; Ps 74:14). This process assured the Israelites of Yahweh's consistent might throughout all generations. To reinforce the Israelites' faith in Yahweh, the only God, all mythical victories were deliberately attributed to him (Isa 27:1). Whenever the Israelites faced any form of oppression or predicament, they appealed to God, who had demonstrated his unsurpassed might diachronically by stunning victories over mythical and terrible dragons (Isa 51:9–11).

**2. Futility of Idols.** Israel was often driven through fear to worship idol gods. Yahweh's injunction, "Fear not" (Isa 44:2), was based on the mighty acts of God, the first and the last (Isa 44:6). The creation and worship of idols which could neither speak nor hear was therefore a foolish act on the part of Israel (1 Kgs 18:26–29). Idols were nothing (Heb *tōhû*) and they profited nothing (Isa 40:18–20). To be convinced, the Israelites were called upon to compare Yahweh with the gods of the other nations and then make up their minds as to which deity was supported by tangible evidence of his might and was worthy of their allegiance (Isa 44:7–9).

**E. OT Ethics Based on the God Who Acts**

According to the Yahwist, God was distinguished from the gods of the other nations in that he was not an idol which had no voice and made no sound (1 Kgs 18:26b; 29b). Israel's God was adored for his unique achievements such as the creation of the world and his redemption of Israel, which was announced in advance (Exod 3:19–22; cf. Isa 44:7). Unlike the lifeless idol gods of the other nations, God revealed himself through historical events because it was he who set history in motion by the creation of the universe and by calling Abraham, Israel's first patriarch, and by promising him and his progeny the land of Canaan (Gen 12:1; 15:1–2). This firm belief in the God whose acts influenced the Israelites to regard him as their king (Isa 33:22) and *judge* (Heb *šôpēṭ*) (Gen 18:25; Judg 11:27), and to be bound by the covenant which they had accepted freely (Exod 19:8; cf. Josh 24:22). The Israelites thus chose to follow Yahweh and promised to observe his law to earn his blessings in this world. But accepting the law also meant that God would punish them for transgressing the law. Israel's ethical norms were therefore

believed to issue from the holy God, the Creator and Lord of the universe, who created the world with a divine purpose.

**F. God's Holiness**

The Israelites regarded God as holy (Isa 41:4; 43:14). This means that they recognized him as the purest and highest standard of holiness and justice. This is evidenced by the use of the word "holy" (Heb *qādôš*) and its derivatives over 600 times. With reference to humans, the word "holy" refers to a perfect moral standard. Because they were his covenanted people, the Israelites were therefore required to be holy. The divine injunction was "… be holy because I the Lord your God am holy" (Lev 19:2; cf. Matt 5:48). It is this exhortation which clarifies the rationale behind the whole so-called Holiness Code (Leviticus 17–26). The Israelites would be holy like God if they were righteous and just. Emphasis in the worship of God is laid on actions and not words. By contrast, the gods of the other nations, for example, the goddess Maat of Egypt as well as the gods Kittum and Mēšarum of Mesopotamia, were hypostases of ethical concepts. They were idols and not God. These and many other gods were believed to be motivated by appeasement and by outward show of piety. OT ethics, on the other hand, aimed at changing the heart, that is, the motives of the Israelites, by teaching them to observe the covenant law. Consequently, God was not going to accept or bless those who rendered sacrifices, performed acts of worship, or brought gifts unless their intentions and attitudes conformed to his holiness (Gen 4:5–7; Amos 5:21–24; cf. Matt 5:24). In 1 Sam 16:7, it is clearly stated, and this was repeated by the classical prophets, that what God required of the Israelites was a broken spirit, a broken and contrite heart (Ps 51:17). An outward show of piety would never be accepted as a substitute for holiness (Isa 1:11–18; Jer 7:21–23; Hos 6:6; Mic 6:6–8).

**G. OT Ethics and Sexual Conduct**

NW Semitic religious practices regarded the divine love-making as a solemn act. It therefore behooved the Canaanites to imitate the gods Baal and Asherah by practicing temple prostitution in order to maintain the seasonal cycle. Yahweh, who is asexual, prescribed Israel's worship, which was clearly not to be associated with temple prostitution. In Deut 23:17 sacred prostitution was unequivocally denied a place in Israel's worship. In the worship of Israel, cultic prostitution was regarded in the same way as sexual promiscuity with harlots (Heb *zûnôt*). Not only was that wrong in itself, but even the money earned through acts of prostitution would not be acceptable as payment for a vow to the Lord (Deut 23:18). Prostitution, in general, was punishable by death. So also were a series of other types of promiscuous and incestuous sexual acts. While the women were severely punished for promiscuity, it seems as though men were condoned for being lured by lewd women (Gen 38:12–26; Joshua 2). However, prostitution was shunned and this is why the classical prophets referred to Israel's apostasy as harlotry (Hosea 1–3; Ezekiel 16; 23).

**1. Sex with Animals.** The Israelites were admonished not to engage in sex with animals (Exod 22:19; Lev 20:16; Deut 27:21). The question regarding this wayward sexual behavior is not to be judged by modern moral and legal standards, which consider a sexual offense to be one that involves sex with an unconsenting partner or that hurts someone in the process. In the religion of Israel, the criterion for deciding the sinfulness of these sexual acts was whether they were in accordance with the holiness of God. To discourage the proliferation of such promiscuous acts, the parties involved were to be stoned in order to purge Israel of such evil and its memory. Stoning the animal, obviously an unconsenting victim, was meant to underscore the gravity of the punishment and to deter potential sexual sinners from committing such a shameful offense. Sin committed in a corporate community, like that of Israel, was regarded as infectious. This explains why people contaminated with sin were to be eliminated from society only by stoning or shooting (Exod 19:13).

**2. Sanctity of Marital Sex.** The Priestly account in Gen 1:26–27 affirms that God created humankind, male and female, in his own image. God blessed sexuality as a means by which humankind could multiply and fill the earth (Gen 1:28). Unlike animals, marriage among humans was a sacred rite. The Yahwist presents the man whom God created as being lonely in the Garden of Eden in spite of the presence of animals of all kinds (Gen 1:18–20). It was for this reason that God formed a woman and presented her to the man, who exclaimed in joyful amazement: "Bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh

…" (Gen 2:23). The two became one flesh again in marriage. This explains why extramarital sex or sex with animals was regarded as being against the holy law of God and was severely punished.

**3. Sanctity of Family.** The religion of Israel regarded the family as sacred, having been ordained by God at the creation of the world. Regulations were instituted in the name of God to maintain the sanctity and stability of the family. Sexual relations which would cruelly hurt the feelings of a member of the family were punishable by death. In Lev 20:10, the man caught committing adultery with a neighbor's wife would be put to death. The woman who acted as an accomplice to the crime would also be put to death (Deut 22:22). Incest with one's father's wife was prohibited under penalty of death because it violated the very foundation of the family (Lev 20:11). Similarly, sexual intercourse with a daughter-in-law was prohibited (Lev 20:12). The same law prohibited incestuous acts with a sister regardless of whether she was the daughter of the father by another wife or the daughter of the mother by another man prior to the parents' present marriage (Lev 20:17). It can be assumed that prohibition against sexual relations with a woman during her menstrual period was originally made for hygienic reasons (Lev 20:18) and also to observe the sacredness of blood (Lev 17:12–14). At any rate, all the sexual laws were intended to prevent incidents which would create family feuds and would lead up to the disintegration of the family unit.

**H. Law Concerning Aliens**

There were two types of aliens in Israel: the sojourner and the prisoner of war. Both of them were protected under the Torah.

**1. A Sojourner.** The OT does not clearly tell how a person became a sojourner (Heb *gēr*). Economic and political reasons could force one to leave one's land of birth to be a resident alien in another country (Ruth 1:1). In search of pasture for his animals, Lot and his household became sojourners in Sodom (Gen 13:11; cf. 19:9). To avoid famine in Canaan, the Israelites became sojourners in Egypt (Gen 46:2–7). A sojourner, according to the Torah, had some citizenship rights, though they were limited. Sojourners were protected by law and had recourse to the seat of judgment (Deut 1:16). The law reminded the Israelites to protect the rights of the sojourner in their midst because they were always to remember that they too had been sojourners in Egypt (Exod 22:21; cf. Deut 10:18–19; 24:17–22). By his compassion God redeemed the Israelites who were being oppressed while sojourning in Egypt. Similarly, the Israelites were required to show compassion toward sojourners. At all events, Yahweh, the Creator of the heavens and the earth, would always intervene on the side of the disadvantaged in the event of a miscarriage of justice by those in authority (Deut 24:15b; Ps 82:1–8).

**2. Religious Status of a Sojourner.** While sojourners were dwelling among the Israelites, they were expected to observe all the ritual laws and cultic practices of the Israelites. Some laws to be observed related to sexual behavior (Lev 18:26) and to strict observance of the sabbath rest (Exod 20:10; Deut 5:14). The sojourner was to offer an acceptable sacrifice at the door of the tent of meeting in exactly the same way as the Israelites (Lev 17:8–9). Just like the Israelites, the sojourner was forbidden to eat a beast or bird with its blood (Lev 17:12–14), which Yahweh had forbidden. If the sojourners were allowed to practice their own religious customs, they would influence the Israelites to practice pagan worship (cf. 1 Kgs 11:1–4).

**3. Legal Protection of a Sojourner.** Because sojourner did not have full citizenship rights, they were prone to exploitation by unscrupulous and usurious people. The sojourners were therefore at the risk of losing whatever little they had, a situation which would end in their selling themselves to the rich Israelites in order to earn a living (Lev 25:45). Otherwise nothing limited a stranger from amassing property to the point where he could even acquire an Israelite (Lev 25:47). When sojourners were few in number, it was easy to control them and to monitor their movements. The problem confronting the Israelites was what to do with a whole nation defeated in battle.

**4. Law of the Ban *(ḥerem).*** The fear of being impacted by pagan religious practices forced the Israelites to observe strictly the law of the ban. This law was attributed to God, who was believed to be directly leading the Israelites in holy war against the Canaanite nations, which did not observe the holy law of God. For this reason all those conquered in battle were to be killed and all their property destroyed

(Josh 7:7, 10–13; 1 Sam 15:3). For reasons of security and religion, the Israelites practiced the ban in order to curtail the number of strangers living grudgingly in their midst. Concerning a distant nation, the Israelites could offer peace terms which could lead to coexistence. If a nation refused the terms and waged war, the Israelites would besiege that nation and after conquering it kill all the males; the women and the movable property would be taken as booty (Deut 20:10–15). This exception to the law of the *ḥerem* was necessary for reasons of security and economy. If a distant nation accepted the Israelites' peace terms, its population would immediately become Israelites' laborers (Deut 20:11). By the nation's intransigent behavior, it had exhibited that it was a potential danger to Israel's security. Military operations against such a nation benefited the Israelites in that they would possess all the fruit trees, women, and livestock (Deut 20:19). This military leniency was not extended to the Canaanites, Perizzites, Hittites, Jebusites, Hivites, or Amorites for religious reasons. Conducting their well-organized religious practices in the midst of the Israelites, these nations would be a serious threat to Yahwism (Deut 20:16–18). To preserve the purity of Yahwism, the Israelites interpreted the law of the *ḥerem* as a divine command to annihilate these nations. They were not to save anything that breathed among the Canaanites (Deut 20:16; cf. Josh 10:40; 11:11). A close examination of the process of the conquest of Canaan reveals that this narrative reflects Deuteronomistic exaggeration to underscore the benefits of obeying the commandments of Yahweh. The Israelites regarded other nations and their idol gods as enemies of Yahweh. For this reason the Israelites were not shocked by the callous cruelty they exhibited by killing men and women, young and old, ox and sheep, camel and ass (1 Sam 15:3; Josh 11:40). The goal was to preserve the exclusive purity of the worship of Yahweh.

**I. Ethics and the King's Justice**

**1. Justice in the ANE.** In the ANE the gods Shamash and Enlil were regarded as the gods of justice. They appointed kings to act as their representatives in the administration of justice (*ANET*, 159; 164). Among their important responsibilities was to act as guardians of justice especially as it related to the poor, the widow, the orphan, the alien, and the oppressed people (Whitelam 1979: 17–19). This explains why King Urukagina of Lagash reported to his god that, at his accession to the throne, he immediately enforced justice and equity (Akk *mēšerum ukinātum*) by declaring a general amnesty for the poor and by rescinding social and economic constraints which were oppressing the common people and driving them into poverty. In Israel a general amnesty was declared every seven years, during the period referred to as the year of solemn rest (Heb *šĕnat šabbātôn;* Lev 25:5). This was a year of the dropping of debts and obligations (Heb *šĕnat haššĕmittâ;* Deut 15:9). Debtors and slaves were freed and had a new lease on life. The sabbatical year also required that land tilled for six years be left fallow during the seventh year. The plot with its fruit trees and vines reverted to God, who repossessed it for the common good of all the people and animals. For this reason, harvesting the yield of fallow land was prohibited by law. But sojourners, widows, orphans, and the poor in general were free to take the food as long as they did not hoard any for future consumption. In Ugaritic literature, the Kirta epic provides a good example of the role of the king as the guardian of the rights of the disadvantaged, that is, the downtrodden, the widow, and the orphan (*CTA* 16.6.45–57; cf. 2 Sam 15:1–4).

**2. Administration of Justice in Israel.** The Israelites, like the people of Mesopotamia, regarded Yahweh as the God of justice (Heb *mišpāṭ;* Gen 18:25). The earthly judges (Heb *šôpĕṭîm*) and kings were appointed by and answerable to him (Deut 1:16, 17). This is the reason why King Solomon prayed to God for wisdom (Heb *ḥokmāh*) to rule *(špṭ)* the nation of Israel (1 Kgs 3:19). At any rate, God remained the judge *par excellence,* the *šôpēṭ kōl hā-āreṣ* (Gen 18:25) to whom the oppressed people could directly call whenever they were confronted with injustice (Judg 11:27; Ps 82:8; cf. Gen 16:5). Kings were regarded as Yahweh's representatives and their chief role was to administer justice in the land as his deputies (2 Sam 8:15; cf. 1 Kgs 3:28).

**3. Justice and the Rights of the Poor.** As in Mesopotamia and Ugarit, kings of Israel were responsible for safeguarding the rights of the poor, the widow, the orphan, and the sojourner (Ps 72:1–4). There are many instances in the OT where these classes of people are mentioned with reference to justice. In Exod 22:21–27, the people of Israel are strongly warned against wronging strangers and the poor in general. If

the poor and the strangers were oppressed and they in turn cried *(ṣ‹q)* to God, the compassionate king of Israel, he would listen and mete out retribution to the oppressors (cf. Deut 10:18; 14:29; 16:11; Ps 146:9; Isa 1:17; etc.). In Ps 82:1–8, God is portrayed as taking the radical step of deposing the gods (i.e., rulers) from their divine and immortal status to that of humans because of their dereliction of judicial duty as it applied to the poor, the widow, and the orphan. OT ethics aimed at an egalitarian society where every Israelite was compassionate enough to care for those in need. When there was a complete breakdown of justice, the Israelites expected God to intervene directly and restore peace and justice (Ps 82:8). Because Yahweh, the holy one of Israel, was their Lord, it behooved the Israelites to reflect Yahweh's righteousness by being just (Deut 1:16–17).

**J. The Teaching of OT Ethics**

Several classes of people were entrusted with the responsibility of teaching ethical norms to the people, beginning with the children.

**1. Parents as Moral Teachers.** OT ethics was to begin at home, where the parents were expected to teach the Torah to their children (Deut 6:1–4). This is the reason why Yahweh had chosen (Heb *yd‹*) Abraham so that he might charge (Heb *yĕṣawweh*) his children and his household to carry out the way of the Lord (Gen 18:17–19). The Torah was to be taught not by word only but by practice and example (Deut 6:1–19). The children, after observing their parents' diligent observance of the law, would be provoked to ask the question: "What is the meaning of the testimonies and the statutes and the ordinances which the Lord our God has commanded you?" That is the time when the children are ready to listen and learn to observe the statutes, ordinances, and precepts prescribed in the Torah (Deut 6:17, 20–25). The major reason for Yahweh's displeasure with Eli was that he had failed to teach his children the right ethical standards (1 Sam 3:12–24). Several instructions in the book of Proverbs reveal that parents played a vital role in the teaching of children (Proverbs 2–8). The role parents played in the teaching of the Torah emphasizes the reason why the family unit was considered to be ordained by God at the creation of the universe and why its preservation was to be guaranteed.

**2. Judges and the Torah.** During the time of the tribal league, the Deuteronomistic Historian attributes the administration of justice and the teaching of the Torah to the so-called judges (Judg 2:17–19). Deborah, who is presented as both a prophetess (Heb *nĕbî›â*) and judge, is portrayed as moving about Israel deciding (Heb *špṭ*) cases. Samuel, who was also a judge, priest, and prophet, moved in a circuit between Ramah, Gilgal, and Mizpah judging *(špṭ)* cases (1 Sam 7:15–17). The judges *(šôpĕṭîm)* served as governors, administrators of justice, and teachers of the Torah. This explains why, during their tenure of office, the Israelites lived according to the will of God and worshipped God alone. Apostasy followed the death or absence of the judge (Judg 2:18–19).

**3. Ethical Teaching of the Sages.** The sages taught the proper way of conduct to the children of aristocratic families for pay. Their teaching was based on wisdom acquired by education and confirmed by observation and experience (Job 8:8–10; cf. Eccl 7:5; 9:17–18). The sages, like the Deuteronomist who came after them, believed that Yahweh's retribution was administered according to discernible rules. A person's behavior brought with it God's reward or punishment in this world (Job 8:3–6). The key to success was summed up in the proverb: "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge …" (Prov 1:8). In Matthew's gospel it was explicitly stated that those who seek God's rule and his righteousness first would have all their material needs satisfied (Matt 6:33). OT ethics is clearly theocentric.

**4. Priests and Ritual Law.** The priests as well as the prophets supervised and gave advice on matters concerning the sacrifices and other ritual acts of worship which were performed in the holy places (1 Sam 9:12; cf. 2:27–30).

**5. Classical Prophets and Ethical Conduct.** The classical prophets interpreted the Torah in a radically new way. Basing their message on the one universal God who directed historical events, the classical prophets, beginning with Amos and Hosea, emphasized several attributes of Yahweh which had not been previously stressed. Worship and ritual acts which were performed by people who were devoid of justice were not acceptable to the holy God of Israel (Amos 5:21–24; Mic 6:6–8). Unless the Israelites practiced righteousness (Heb *ṣĕdāqâ*) and good neighborliness among themselves as a covenant community, God

would punish them for their iniquities (Amos 2:6–8). True worship of Yahweh demanded a change of heart in those who believed in the holy God (Jer 31:33). This would be evidenced by their showing justice toward the poor, who were being crushed economically by the unscrupulous rich (Amos 4:1–3). Whereas, according to the sages, luxury indicated God's favorable retribution and poverty his punishment for sin (Job 8:1–22), the classical prophets turned the tables and indicated that God was not with the rich but was on the side of the poor and the oppressed (Jer 22:16; Ezek 16:49). See also POOR, POVERTY (OT). The prophets also confronted the Israelites who were constantly transgressing against the covenant, exhausting Yahweh's kindness (Heb *ḥésed;* Hos 3:1–5). But because the people of Israel had forgotten what the Lord their God had done for them (Hos 11:3), Yahweh had no choice but to punish them (Hos 11:5–6). The people of Israel could avoid the punishment of God by returning to him (Hos 14:1–2; cf. Amos 5:4–6). For further discussion, see *ROTT*.

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## *NEW TESTAMENT*

In the NT, morality finds its setting in religion. The concept of NT ethics, as well as ethics in general, can be variously defined and must be analyzed in several areas.

A. Definitions of Ethics
B. Sources of NT Ethics
C. Approaches to NT Ethics
    1. Christian "Code"
    2. Universal Principles
    3. Encounter with the Living God
    4. Contextual Response in Love
D. Jesus and the Synoptic Gospels
    1. Jesus' Preaching of the Kingdom
    2. Mark: Suffering Discipleship
    3. Matthew: Jesus' Higher Righteousness
    4. Luke: Forgiveness and Compassion
E. Exhortation in the Pauline Tradition
F. Themes in NT Exhortation
    1. Worship
    2. Relationships within the Community
    3. Sharing Wealth
    4. Sexual Morality
    5. Love of Enemies
    6. Relationship to the World

### A. Definitions of Ethics

The philosopher Aristotle insisted that ethics, the study of correct human action, was a form of "practical knowledge." Its intention was to enable persons to conduct their lives and those of their communities well by choosing actions appropriate to the specific circumstances at hand on the basis of

reasoned deliberation (*Eth. Nic.* 1.3.1095ab; 2.1.1103b27–29). Stoic and Epicurean philosophers from the NT period argued that the study of philosophy developed moral character by converting individuals from lives dominated by passions and false desires to lives of self-control: "Certainly it teaches one to be above extravagance; it trains one to have a sense of shame, and to control one's tongue, and it produces discipline, order and courtesy, and in general what is fitting in action and bearing" (Musonius Rufus, *That Kings Should Also Study Philosophy* Fr. 8; Malherbe 1986: 31).

In the Hebrew Scriptures the Torah defines how persons should conduct themselves as members of a people living in covenant with God (Exod 20:1–24:8; Deut 10:10–30:20). The prosperity of the nation in the land which Yahweh would give them is seen as a blessing for wholehearted devotion to the Lord and faithful obedience to the commandments and ordinances of the Torah. Justice is not discovered through the reasoned deliberation of morally serious persons as in Aristotle. Rather justice is found through the efforts of persons and the community to enact "what the Lord requires" as made known through the Torah (Isa 1:12–17; Mic 6:8). Job 31 describes the actions of an individual who is just.

The philosophical tradition would agree with the biblical view that the law which establishes a community is its basic expression of justice. Law understood in the broad sense as all that a community of persons holds to be good shapes the habits of individuals so that they will act justly. Both traditions agree that virtuous action is the only way in which humans can attain happiness and well-being. Both traditions see that for the most part human beings do not live and act justly. A conversion is required. The Hebrew prophetic tradition addressed its summons to repentance and renewal to Israel. Failure to live according to the covenant stipulations, though attributed to the actions of individuals, is a failure that touches the whole people. It represents breaking an obligation owed to God. God rightly punishes the people by removing their prosperity or allowing Israel to fall to her enemies. However, punishment is moderated by God's faithful love for the people who should repent and return to the Lord (Hos 11:1–14:9).

Both the imperative to "do justice" as a religious obligation, a way of living in relationship to God, and the call for communal repentance and reform are lacking in the philosophic tradition. Though the philosopher may address kings and persons from the local aristocracy, whose behavior has an impact on the lives of all persons subject to them, the philosophic appeal is made to individuals. Philosophers spoke of themselves as "physicians" of the soul which must be governed by reason rather than passions and false opinion. Since the "hardships" of the philosophic life lead most people to return to their old ways of living, the philosopher constantly exhorts people to virtue: "… never deserting his post of duty, but always honoring and promoting virtue and sobriety and trying to lead all people thereto, partly by persuading and exhorting, partly by abusing and reproaching, in the hope that he may thereby rescue somebody from following low desires and intemperance" (Dio Chrys., *Or.* 77/78.38; Malberbe 1987: 56).

Jews who lived in cities where the education, government, and culture were shaped by Greek thought and institutions often sought to show that their tradition embodied the best of the ethical insights of Greek thought. Writers emphasized aspects of the Torah most likely to win a hearing from sympathetic gentiles: (a) the superiority of monotheism to pagan idolatry; and (b) the high standard of sexual morality among Jews, including opposition to homosexuality, adultery, rape, abortion, and the exposure of children. Jews avoid all forms of divination and astrology; are free from greed and generous in aiding the poor, "fulfilling the word of the great God, the hymn of the Law, for the Heavenly One gave the earth in common to all" (*Sib. Or.* 3.218–47). A counterpart to the Stoic ideal of the "passionless" soul could be found in the single-minded person: "the single-minded person does not covet gold; does not overreach his neighbor; does not long for many luxuries; does not delight in varied clothing; does not desire to live a long life but only waits for the will of God" (*T. Iss.* 4.2–6).

While the formative traditions of the Greek polis and the Hebrew covenant presumed stable, homogeneous communities that would "approve" a single vision of justice, the upheavals of the Hellenistic and Roman periods had fractured the established communities. Persons migrated to cities in which they were outsiders or, like the Jews of Alexandria, formed an organized political minority *(politeuma)* within a city-state *(polis).* Jewish attempts to attain citizenship in the polis were rejected and even led to episodes of violence. The famous Stoic philosopher Epictetus (ca. 55–135 C.E.) had been the

slave of Nero's freedman and secretary. Banished from Rome with other philosophers in 89 C.E., he took up residence in Nicopolis, where he spent the rest of his life teaching Stoic philosophy.

The philosophic response to this social upheaval was to emphasize the "wise person" as a "universal citizen," one who transcends the accidents of birth or fate. Freedom lies within reach if one learns to control the mind and the passions; "And how shall I free myself?—Have you not heard many times that you ought to eradicate desire utterly; direct your aversion to things that lie within the sphere of the moral purpose, and those only; that you ought to give up everything, your body, your property, your reputation, your books, turmoil from office, freedom from office? For if once you swerve aside from your course, you are a slave, you are a subject" (Epict., *Diss.* 4.4.33). The tension evident in Epictetus' definition of freedom between individual self-sufficiency and a life of involvement in public affairs was resolved by those philosophers, like the Epicureans, who advocated withdrawal from public and civic life. Epicureans formed structured communities of "friends" who admonished and supported one another. Their opponents insisted that virtue required willingness to participate in public affairs. Quietism and withdrawal are simply marks of "low status" and "cowardice," not virtue.

Philo of Alexandria pictured Moses as one of the great lawgivers of humanity (*Vita Mos.* 2.12–20). But Philo's allegorical interpretations of the Law transformed the universal validity of Mosaic lawgiving from the external realm of public affairs to the internal one of education for the soul. Just as the "wise person" of Stoic philosophy lived in harmony with the eternal law of nature, so Mosaic law guides the soul to a life of reason in harmony with universal law. Then, drawing upon Platonic tradition, Philo argued that the soul is capable of attaining a vision of God (*Vita Mos.* 1.48; 75–76; *Praem* 24–56).

The turmoil of the 2d century B.C.E. in Palestine produced a different form of "withdrawal" among some Jews, withdrawal into sectarian groups which sought to purify both themselves and a land defiled by foreign occupation, customs, and ideas. The Essene writings discovered at Qumran have provided a fascinating glimpse into the life of a sectarian group which also had adherents in Egypt. Philo treats the Essenes as examples of the superior virtue mediated by Moses (*Quod Omn.* 75–91). Their own community rules and books of biblical interpretation show us a community of the "new covenant" which sought perfect obedience to the will of God: "All those who freely devote themselves to his truth shall bring all their knowledge, powers and possessions into the Community of God, that they may purify their knowledge in the truth of God's precepts and order their powers according to his ways of perfection and all their possessions according to his righteous counsel" (1 QS 1: 11–13).

The Essene writings picture the world and the struggle for moral perfection in apocalyptic terms. God has permitted the world to be torn apart in the conflict between powers of light and darkness. But this dualism is part of God's hidden plan in which God knows those who will become "children of light": "The Master shall instruct all the children of light and shall teach them the nature of all the children of humanity according to the kind of spirit which they possess, the signs identifying their works during their lifetime, their visitation for chastisement, and the time of their reward. From the God of knowledge comes all that is and shall be. Before ever they existed, he established their whole design, and when as ordained for them, they came into being, it is in accord with his glorious design that they fulfil their work. The laws of all things are unchanging in his hands, and he provides them with all their needs. He has created humanity to govern the world, and has appointed for them two spirits in which to walk until the time of his visitation: the spirits of truth and falsehood. Those born of truth spring from a fountain of light, but those born of falsehood spring from a source of darkness. All the children of righteousness are ruled by the Prince of Light and walk in the ways of light; but all the children of falsehood are ruled by the Angel of Darkness and walk in the ways of darkness" (1QS 3:13–21).

This conflict between light and darkness will soon be brought to its end at the judgment. Consequently, persons are called to separate themselves from others who are walking in darkness: "They shall separate from the congregation of people of falsehood and shall unite with respect to the Law and possessions, under the authority of the sons of Zadok, the Priests who keep the Covenant, and of the multitude of persons of the community who hold fast to the Covenant" (1QS 5:1–3). Isaiah's summons to prepare a path for the Lord in the wilderness was being realized in this community: "This (the path) is the study of

the Torah which he commanded by the hand of Moses, that they may do all that has been revealed from age to age, and as the prophets have revealed by his Holy Spirit" (1QS 8:12–17). Despite their withdrawal to create a new community of obedience, purity, and holiness, the lists of virtues and vices found in the community rule might be shared with any moral teacher of the time: "spirit of humility, patience, abundant charity, unending goodness, understanding, intelligence … greed, slackness and pride, falseness and deceit, cruelty and abundant evil, ill-temper and much folly and brazen insolence, abominable deeds in a spirit of lust and ways of lewdness in the service of uncleanness, a blaspheming tongue, blindness of eye and dullness of ear, stiffness of neck and heaviness of heart …" (1QS 4:3–11).

Such lists indicate there was widespread agreement about the type of behavior that was considered "good" even between groups which disagreed about how persons came to lead a virtuous life. The Essene requires life in a strictly ordered community devoted to study of the Torah. The philosopher requires a life of reasoned analysis and self-control. For the Essene, the urgent imperative behind the moral ordering of human life lies in the impending judgment by God. For the philosopher, however, the moral life itself renders a person like the gods: "Therefore as God, through the possession of these virtues, is unconquered by pleasure or greed; is superior to desire or envy, and jealousy; is high-minded, beneficent and kindly (for such is our conception of God), so also a human being in the image of Him, when living in accord with nature, should be thought of as being like Him, and being like Him, being enviable; and, being enviable, he would forthwith be happy, for we envy none but the happy" (Musonius Rufus, Fr. 17; Meeks 1986: 47).

A sense of cultural agreement about the norms of ethical behavior can be grounded in the Stoic view of "reason as operative in nature" or in the Jewish vision of all creation existing under the sovereign rule of God. Such agreement makes it possible for preachers from one school to appeal to common views accepted by their hearers and even to adopt ethical arguments from other groups. The combination of a Platonic view of the soul's progress toward a vision of the divine and an ethic that is shaped by a Stoic understanding of reason and the passions such as we find in Philo is not uncommon in this period. Christians presume that their decent behavior will influence outsiders (1 Pet 2:12). Conscience enforced common moral norms by castigating the wicked with inward pain (Wis 17:11; *T. Reu.* 4:2–4). The self-scrutiny that was part of an education in the moral life might intensify the warnings of conscience. Philo treats the Sabbath rest as an occasion for such self-analysis: "… a seventh day holy, abstaining from other work that has to do with earning a living, and giving their time the one sole object of philosophy with a view to the improvement of character and submission to the scrutiny of conscience. Conscience, established in the soul like a judge, is never abashed in administering reproofs, sometimes employing sharper threats, sometimes gentler admonitions, to guard against a similar lapse in the future, when the misconduct seemed unintentional and the result of want of caution" (*Op.* 128). Paul can argue that the harsh accusations of their "weak conscience" might cause Christians eating meat that has been used in an idol sacrifice to lose their new faith, even though eating such meat in a nonritual context is not an offense against the Lord (1 Cor 8:1–13).

**B. Sources of NT Ethics**

The NT does not have to create legal or ethical structures to guide the lives of persons. We do not find in its pages a legal interpreter and community founder like the Essene Teacher of Righteousness. Nor do we find there a philosophic rendering of the Torah as in Philo. We are not told how to govern cities or what sort of education is required if the soul is to progress in virtue. However, most of the NT is concerned with ethical exhortation. Its readers are being admonished to live in a way that will be pleasing to a God who stands in judgment on human activity (Matt 7:24–27; 1 Thess 1:10; 3:12–4:1). Conversion to Christianity can be described in terms of the moral reform and conquest of passions advocated by philosophers (1 Pet 4:2–5).

Since the God who judges human conduct is the one who has spoken through the Scriptures, they remain a guide to how human conduct is evaluated by God even though the Christian community is not devoted to Torah observance (Matt 5:17–20; Jas 2:8–13). Its stories served as *exempla* in ethical exhortation (1 Cor 10:1–13; Heb 12:14–17; 1 Pet 3:5–6). The Synoptic Gospels represent Jesus' conflicts

with the Pharisees over interpreting the Law as reflecting a higher standard of obedience to God's will than that made possible through the interpretations of the Law advocated by the scribes and Pharisees (Mark 7:1–13; 10:2–12). In some instances, such as the critique of the Pharisees for "manipulating" the Torah to adjust to human concerns rather than the will of God, Jesus' remarks parallel those of the Essenes, who also argue that the immediacy of God's judgment requires a higher standard of human obedience. However, neither Jesus nor his disciples engage in the sustained study and interpretation of the Law which form the basis of that radical obedience among the Essenes.

Unlike the scribes and Pharisees, who gathered students around interpretation of the Torah, Jesus summons disciples from the populace at large (Mark 1:16–20; 2:13–14). His preaching is directed to the people as a whole rather than to persons who will become specialists in the Torah. He uses parables and proverbial sayings (Luke 6:39, 40) which are similar to the use of parable and proverb in Jewish wisdom traditions (Luke 14:34–35 and Job 6:6). Sayings about worthless servants were frequently used in exhortation (Luke 17:7–10 and *m. Abot* 1:3: "Be not like slaves that serve the master for the sake of receiving a bounty; be like slaves that serve the master not for the sake of receiving a bounty but let the fear of heaven be upon you"; and maxims on the treatment of servants such as Sir 33:24, 31). Some of Jesus' sayings have the pragmatic character of wisdom exhortations which seek to instruct one on how to get along in the conflicts with others that make up human life (Sir 8:2; Matt 5:25–26).

Other parables and sayings carry the overtones of apocalyptic warning. The present generation must repent before God's judgment comes. Yet most people will remain deluded by evil and fail to respond to the prophetic warning. Instead they malign God's messengers (Matt 11:16–19, 20–24; 12:33–37, 38–42). Just as the Hebrew prophets castigated the priests for leading people away from justice and bringing certain condemnation on the nation (Jer 5:30–31), Jesus contends with the Pharisees, who are pictured as "blind guides" (Matt 15:10–13). God uproots the unfaithful vine (Isa 5:1–7) or throws out the wicked vineyard tenants who hope to profit by rejecting God's messengers (Matt 21:33–44). Divine judgment plays a role in ethical exhortation in the NT. Faithful Christians are assured of reward or vindication for their suffering when the Lord comes (1 Thess 4:13–18; Phil 3:8–11; 1 Pet 1:3–9; Rev 6:9–11; 21:1–8). They are exhorted to continue lives of virtue, worship of God, and mutual love in view of the coming judgment (1 Thess 5:1–24; Phil 3:12–21; 1 Cor 7:25–31; Eph 5:6–20; Heb 10:19–31; 12:14–29; Rev 2:1–3:22). Those who remain under the domination of sin or who have been enemies of the Christian message will be condemned at the judgment (e.g., 1 Thess 2:14–16; Rom 1:18–2:16; Phil 3:18–19; Jas 5:1–7; Rev 19:1–4, 11–21; 20:11–15).

Jewish apocalyptic writing also contributed to the picture of human bondage to sin and the renewing activity of God's spirit necessary to break free of an evil age that appears in the NT. *1 Enoch* 6–36 contains mythic traditions which appear to have developed in the last two centuries B.C.E. Evil came to dominate the world when the fallen angels of Genesis 6 seduced human women. The angels taught them magical, medicinal, and cosmetic arts that led to deception. They are the cause of passion and sexual immorality. The offspring of this polluted union, the giants of Genesis 6, are the cause of bloodshed, violence, and oppression. Until God eradicates the offspring of this evil from the earth, righteousness and truth cannot flourish (*1 En.* 10:8–22). The whole earth is corrupted and suffers the effects of sin (Rom 8:19–25). The righteous see their suffering as part of the experience of living in a world dominated by sin. When the Lord has cleansed and purified the earth, human toil and anguish will come to an end. A time of abundant harvest will ensue: "And in those days the whole earth will be worked in righteousness … and every seed that is sown on her, one measure will yield a thousand. And you cleanse the earth from all injustice, and from all defilement and from all oppression, and from all sin and from all iniquity … And all the children of the people will become righteous, and all nations shall worship and bless me; … And the earth shall be cleansed from all pollutions and from all sin and from all plague, and from all suffering; and it shall not happen again that I shall send [these] upon the earth" (*1 En.* 10:17–22).

The moral problem of living in such a world is encouraging the righteous minority to persevere. Life may be described as a choice between two spirits (as in the passage from 1QS 3 above) or as a choice between walking in one of the two ways, righteousness or wickedness, life or death (*1 En.* 94:1–5; Matt

7:13–14; Rom 8:1–8). Woes against the wicked and blessings pronounced on the righteous serve to consolidate such teaching (*1 En.* 94:6–9; 96:1–97:10; 98:9–99:2, 11–16). The apocalyptic view of evil, its demonic embodiment and the cosmic dimensions of its corruption, carries with it two convictions about the possibilities for establishing justice. First, in the world as it exists righteous persons will always be a minority whose lives seem irrational to the wicked. Even the righteous could not persevere without God's help. Second, cleansing the earth of injustice requires God's intervention. The righteous may establish sectarian groups in which they are able to pursue justice, but no human efforts can overcome the pervasive effects of evil. Apocalypses frequently presume that the "last days" in which the addresses are living will be characterized by particularly violent outbursts of evil aimed at destroying the righteous (*1 En.* 100:1–6; Mark 13:5–8, 14–23; Rev 13:11–18). The disorder of the world is too great for human reasoning to advance any claims to discovering the truth (*1 Enoch* 42; Rom 1:18–31).

When the NT adopts the rhetorical forms and content of Greco-Roman philosophical ethic, it does so within the framework of biblical and apocalyptic images of salvation which negate a central claim of the philosopher-preacher. Human reason properly schooled by philosophic conversion is not the source of happiness, justice, or truth. The "renewal of mind" (Rom 12:2) which makes Christian ethical exhortation possible comes through God's saving activity.

However, the general moral consensus of the Greco-Roman world does enable NT writers to draw on ethical material from popular philosophic preaching. For some, the gospel picture of Jesus accompanied by a band of disciples as he wandered from town to town preaching his message would easily be assimilated to that of wandering Cynic philosophers. Paul also makes use of Cynic themes in picturing his own missionary efforts. Like Paul, itinerant philosophers could well emerge from the artisan class, who abandoned their trades to take up the philosopher's cloak. The philosopher is "God's gift" to awaken humanity. A true philosopher will speak boldly even when afflicted rather than flatter the audience. A philosopher might warn the audience of the hardships faced in adopting the philosophic life. The Cynics were well known for their opposition to the conventions of a society which cares only for its own pleasures and remains blind to the pains which stem from their pursuit (1 Thess 2:1–12; Malherbe 1987).

Other elements in early Christian preaching would have reminded the audience of Epicurean circles. Christians formed small groups which met in private households, spoke of one another in affective terminology (more usually with kinship terms like "brother" and "sister" than the Epicurean "friends"), and engaged in mutual exhortation. Paul also commends a quietist withdrawal from the world of public affairs (1 Thess 4:11–12). Paul may have been sufficiently sensitive to the criticisms of philosophic withdrawal to insist that the Christians whose "retirement" involved continuing their trades would gain the respect of outsiders. Instead of using Epicurus' description of the philosopher as "self-taught," Paul has apparently coined the neologism "taught-by-God" (1 Thess 4:9; Malherbe 1987: 96–106).

Other elements of form and content found in the NT have counterparts in popular philosophic literature. Philosophers of all schools write epistles which advise addressees on moral topics. Lists of virtues and vices as well as summaries of philosophic teaching and collections of gnomic sayings are common forms of instruction. Similar to the short philosophic saying *(gnome)*, the *chreia* was an instructive anecdote illustrating the teaching of a particular philosopher. Many of the controversy stories in the gospels can be assimilated to this pattern (Luke 12:13–14; 17:20–21; 21:1–4). The summaries of the duties of members of the household, "household codes" (Ger *Haustafeln*), in Col 3:18–4:1, Eph 5:21–6:4, and 1 Pet 2:18–3:7, are comparable to philosophic descriptions of a person's duties: "… how a man must bear himself in his relations with the gods, with his parents, with his elders, with the laws, with strangers … that one ought to reverence the gods, to honor one's parents, to respect one's elders, to be obedient to the laws, to yield to those in authority, to love one's friends, to be chaste with women, to be affectionate with children, and not to be overbearing with slaves" (Plutarch, *On The Education of Children* 7DE; Malherbe 1986: 31). Philosophic exhortation frequently dealt at length with duties toward relatives, diverse responsibilities of men and women in the household, and the management of households generally (Malherbe 1986: 96–104). See also HOUSEHOLD CODES; HAUSTAFELN.

The diatribe style of popular philosophic instruction appears in Paul's letters and in James. Supposed questions or interjections of a questioner (1 Cor 15:35; Rom 4:1; 6:1; 9:19; Jas 2:18) serve to advance the argument. Ironic or satirical remarks also form part of the dialogue style of such preaching (1 Cor 4:8; 2 Cor 11:1; Gal 5:12); or the author may point to common assumptions which the audience should accept (Rom 6:16; 1 Cor 3:16; 6:15; 9:24). Some scholars have even argued that Paul shaped entire letters according to the conventions of Hellenistic rhetoric. Galatians has been described as an "apologetic letter" (Betz, *Galatians* Hermeneia, 14–28); Philemon as an intercessory epistle (Stowers 1986: 51–57; 155).

**C. Approaches to NT Ethics**

The NT draws upon the diverse resources of its cultural context. Its ethical exhortation cannot be described as the formal development of a particular line of biblical tradition such as a school of legal interpretation. Nor does it fit the mold of a philosophic teacher who expounds the doctrines of a particular school as did Epictetus. Outside the gospels, the teachings of Jesus are only occasionally introduced as explicit warrants for particular actions. The authors of the epistles and Revelation did not present themselves as disciples building upon the teaching of Jesus. Most of the ethical material in the NT has parallels in other writings of the period. The content of NT ethical teaching cannot be described as innovative; nor do NT authors claim uniqueness for their teaching.

Ethical exhortation in the NT fits the pattern of "occasional" treatment of particular themes that is typical of ethical teaching as we find it in the prophets, Wisdom Literature, Jewish apocalyptic as well as philosophic moralists. Unlike the latter, NT writers do not engage in extensive rational arguments for the positions that are advanced on particular issues. Warrants for a given statement may include Scripture, common opinion, usual practice, or the exemplary behavior of Jesus or Paul. Diversity in its sources, lack of systematization in its argument, and ambiguity about the weight attached to the warrants for concrete ethical recommendations make the NT difficult to use as the basis for a synthesis of Christian moral philosophy. A descriptive approach to NT ethics traces the sources, particular themes, and dominant perspectives of individual NT writers or schools. One may also attempt to trace recurring themes in several strands of the NT. Both approaches will be followed in this article.

Most NT writings presume that God's salvation in Jesus makes it possible for those addressed to lead lives worthy of the Lord. They also presume that individuals are members of Christian communities in which mutual exhortation takes place. Ethics is not pursued as an independent topic whose conclusions must recommend themselves to persons who are not part of a religious association which worships God and acknowledges Jesus as Lord. Since NT writers share a soteriological conviction that the decisive salvation humans expect from God has already been realized in Jesus, their rendering of apocalyptic motifs includes the view that the domination of evil powers over the cosmos has already been shattered by the exaltation of the risen Lord to God's throne (Phil 2:6–11; Rev 1:5–20). Matt 28:16–20 invokes the authority of the exalted Lord as the basis for a universal preaching of his teaching. The NT claims general applicability for its ethical exhortation on the basis of what God has done in Jesus, not on the basis of the particular examples of moral teaching used to describe what "walking in the Spirit" or "entering the kingdom of God" requires of persons and communities.

Since NT exhortation follows upon God's eschatological salvation in Christ, its demands upon human action presume that those addressed have been freed from bondage to sin, slavery to passions, and the other handicaps which mar human life in the "present evil age." Its writers do not calculate their advice on the basis of what "weak" and "corrupted" humans might be asked to achieve. Forgiveness of sin has already set persons in a new relationship with God. They are expected to achieve a life which expresses that reality. At the same time, the ongoing process of communal exhortation, forgiveness, and reconciliation (Matt 18:15–35; Gal 6:1–5; Rom 12:14–18; 14:10–15:13; Jas 4:11–12; 5:16, 19–20) shows that transformation of persons presented a continuing process of moral conversion. Early Christians were no more able to generate immediate and stable adhesion to virtue than their philosopher counterparts. However, their religious understanding of salvation and divine judgment provided a more pressing call addressed to a wider range of persons than one finds among those converted to the philosophic life of virtue.

Attempts to divorce NT ethics from its context and the particularity of its treatment of ethical topics usually result in generalities which fail to describe the data. Four approaches to systematizing NT ethics are commonly attempted (Longenecker 1984).

**1. Christian "Code."** The NT contains passages which are prescriptive, such as the command to love God and neighbor (Mark 12:29–31), to honor one's parents (Mark 7:10), or to reject divorce (Mark 10:7–8). One cannot object that such demands are "too difficult," since God's will establishes the norms for human obedience. This approach would make the task of NT ethics one of formulating other commands and ordinances which ought to govern the lives of Christians. However, the NT writers never treat prescriptive statements as part of a legal code that is to be elaborated, interpreted, and reapplied. Such involvement with "the Law" seems to be rendered inappropriate by the conviction that Christians live from a standard of righteousness that exceeds anything which could be formulated in legal terms (Matt 5:20; Gal 5:22–23).

**2. Universal Principles.** The NT contains passages which claim to summarize all that is required by the Law in terms of love and mercy (Matt 5:43–48; 22:34–40; John 13:34–35; Gal 5:14; Jas 2:8). It also affirms an equality of treatment for all persons based on their status as children of God, who loves all equally (Matt 5:43–48; 18:10–14; Luke 15:1–2, 11–32; 1 Cor 8:11–12; Rom 14:1–11). No one is excluded from God's salvation. Jesus' fellowship with sinners and other marginal persons demonstrates the universality of God's love. Such passages are then used to advance general principles which are said to be the normative core of a Christian ethic: (a) God's love for all persons as the basis of their human dignity and equality; (b) the "unity" of all persons as brothers and sisters before God; (c) the claim which all persons have to our love, assistance, and concern. Liberation theologies, which often begin with the image of God as liberator of the oppressed in Exodus, advocate a reading of the "love command" as an option for the liberation of the poor and oppressed.

The various versions of a "universal principles" approach assume that the "specifics" of NT exhortation merely exemplify the general principles. Only the latter translate into binding obligations for Christian action today. In order to maintain the specifically religious context of NT ethics, this approach has to involve the "motivating power" of its appeal to God. Otherwise its principles are indistinguishable from a philosophic humanism or a liberation praxis based on critical philosophy.

**3. Encounter with the Living God.** NT exhortation flows from a conviction that salvation has been given to humans. God's forgiving word is prior to the moral efforts of human beings, all of whom stand in need of God's righteousness in Christ (Rom 3:9–21). Therefore it is not possible to formalize NT ethics in particular rules or principles. The Christian life of love and service represents a response to the love and forgiveness received in the saving encounter with God. God's free gift of righteousness is matched by an equally free giving of oneself in service and love (Gal 5:1–14; Rom 6:1–14). While this approach preserves the religious emphasis of the NT on conversion and God's free gift of salvation, it negates the obvious need of Christian communities for concrete expressions of what the Lord requires of human beings.

**4. Contextual Response in Love.** Ethical exhortation in the NT is primarily concerned with relationships between persons. The basic characteristics of such relationships are described in terms of love, reconciliation, humility, placing the needs of another above one's own interests (Phil 2:1–5; Col 3:5–14; Acts 4:32–37). Exhortations to love, service, overcoming hostile behavior and words, impartiality, and the like in the NT epistles are all ways of discerning what the example of God's love in Christ requires for a specific situation. Christians today should emphasize building up communities in which such relationships are the norm. But specific actions cannot be mandated in advance. Christians must discern the appropriate, loving response in each particular context. This approach emphasizes the communal concerns of NT ethics and the self-sacrificing character of love. As such, it challenges the modern preoccupation with individuals asserting their rights in competition with the claims of other individuals. However, if the NT contains only "tactical examples" of how Christians responded in love in the past, then love remains indeterminate. It is not clear how Christians might respond to situations in which none of the options can be described as the expression of love.

**D. Jesus and the Synoptic Gospels**

The moral urgency of NT exhortation follows from the religious conviction that in Jesus God's eschatological act of salvation has begun. The teaching of Jesus was not preserved as an ethical or legal system. It served as an indication of what is required of those who would be Jesus' disciples, persons who acknowledge the risen Jesus as Lord and anticipate their own participation in that exaltation at the judgment (Matt 19:28–30; Phil 3:20–21; Rev 3:21–22). Before the mission to the gentiles created the form of Christianity which would dominate the movement, household communities of the Greco-Roman cities, Jesus' movement would have been viewed as a Jewish sect devoted to the renewal of Israel and claiming the risen Jesus as God's Messiah. Jesus had summoned persons to repent in light of the impending reign of God (Mark 1:15). Repentance implied breaking with the status quo of the everyday world of human behavior. Without a radical change in one's orientation, a person could not be saved (Luke 13:3–5). As the Synoptics incorporate traditions of Jesus' sayings and deeds into a narrative of his life, they also adapt this tradition of radical discipleship to the settings of largely gentile communities in a Greco-Roman milieu. (John does not preserve any ethical teaching of Jesus except the command to mutual love and service among members of the group; e.g., John 13:12–16, 34–35.)

**1. Jesus' Preaching of the Kingdom.** Jesus proclaimed that the power of God's reign was already breaking into human experience (Matt 12:28; Luke 17:20). His exorcisms are a manifestation of the liberating power of God overthrowing that of Satan (Mark 3:27; Luke 10:18; 11:20). Jesus' seed parables announce the time of unexpected, "toil-free" harvest and rejoicing that marks God's salvation (Mark 4:3–9, 26–29, 30–32; compare *1 En.* 10:17–22 above). Unlike many Jewish apocalypses, Jesus' preaching does not envisage a "gap" between his ministry and the manifestation of God's rule (Mark 9:1; Luke 10:18) which would lead the "righteous" to speculate about "when" the end would come (Mark 13:22; Luke 17:20). Joyous reception of the reign of God (Matt 13:44–46) makes righteousness more than an effort against the evils of a world doomed to destruction. Jesus' disciples are to live as persons who experience the renewing power of God. Forgiveness and mercy are characteristics of God's power and its expression in the ministry of Jesus to those who are marginalized and oppressed. Forgiveness becomes a standard of the disciple's own standing before God (Matt 6:14–15; 7:1–2; 18:21–22, 23–34).

From this perspective, Jesus criticizes his contemporaries' Torah interpretation. The rules and distinctions associated with applying the Torah to the activities of persons, such as what constitutes permitted activity on the Sabbath (Mark 3:1–6), valid grounds for divorce (Matt 19:3–10), purity or impurity in food preparation (Mark 7:2–8), a binding oath (Matt 5:33–37), products on which one must pay tithes (Matt 23:23–24) or required provision for aging parents (7:9–13), are all so many diversions from the radical conversion of heart which expresses itself in realizing the true intention of the Torah (Matt 5:21–48; Mark 7:20–23). A number of Jesus' sayings and parables reject the economic arrangements of debt repayment which kept the tenant farmers obligated to wealthy landlords or those from whom they had to buy grain and which made it possible for the creditors to avoid the Torah's own provisions for debt relief and return of land to those whom God had settled there (Leviticus 25; the steward in Luke 16:1–8 provides a negative example of "the system"). One is to lend without demanding repayment (Matt 5:42). Forgiving debts is a condition of receiving God's forgiveness (Matt 6:12; 18:23–34). Jesus' preaching does not attack the Torah as God's expression of justice. It condemns the application and manipulation of the Torah to make it fit the conditions of a world marred by sin.

Other sayings of Jesus represent the radical nature of discipleship by asking people to break with customs which all societies hold sacrosanct, such as the obligation to bury one's parents (Luke 9:59–60). The usual requirements of hospitality to a guest (Luke 10:38–42) and even family ties themselves (Mark 3:31–35) may be suspended in light of the reign of God. The gospels also express the negative or incredulous response of disciples to Jesus' demands. Disciples are reassured that they can put aside anxieties about day-to-day sustenance and rely on God to provide (Matt 6:11, 25–34; 10:16–31). The possibility of such a life depends upon God's power, not upon calculation of human potential (Matt 19:10–11, 16–30).

Many of these sayings suggest that one can only be a disciple of Jesus by breaking with all the normal preoccupations and relationships of society. Such behavior makes Jesus and his band of followers appear much like the Cynic preachers encountered in the Greco-Roman cities (Mark 6:8–11). Some exegetes presume that the earliest Jesus movement represented a symbiosis of radical, itinerant preachers and sympathetic peasant villagers who gave them shelter and responded to their message of God's coming renewal but did not become wandering disciples (Theissen 1978). Others think that the gospel writers created a picture of Jesus as wandering teacher by assimilating the traditions handed down about Jesus to the Cynic model. The relationship between itinerant Christian preachers and those to whom they preached as well as the obligations of villager disciples remain unrecoverable (see Meeks 1986: 106–8). Exegetes committed to uncovering the warrants for liberation theology in the Jesus movements insist that it is the "renunciation" which has been added "from above" by later tradition. Jesus and his disciples emerge from a disenfranchised peasantry in which possible homelessness, hunger, debt servitude, abusive treatment by social superiors whether Jews or Romans, were all part of the crushing realities of life. They might be imprisoned and embittered by the attitudes engendered by their experience (Matt 20:1–15), but they are not implicated in the system (Horsley and Hanson 1985; Schottroff and Stegemann 1986).

**2. Mark: Suffering Discipleship.** Mark emphasizes Jesus' summons to discipleship (1:16–20; 2:14; 3:13; 8:34; 10:52). The shape of discipleship emerges as the reader learns that the Jesus who appeared as an authoritative teacher (1:27–28; 2:10) and miracle worker (1:32–34; 4:41) has come to suffer and serve (8:31–33). Discipleship requires that Jesus' followers show the same willingness to suffer (8:34–38). References to suffering (Mark 13:9–13) and the need to persevere in times of tribulation (Mark 4:17) suggest that discipleship patterned on the cross emerges from a community which is endangered by persecution. Those attracted by the powerful teaching and miracles of Jesus must learn the harsh lessons of suffering. As the narrative progresses, Jesus' closest disciples prove fearful and hardhearted (4:40; 6:50–51; 8:32–33; 9:32; 10:32; 14:50; 16:8a), while he carries out his entire ministry under the hostile eye of authorities who are seeking to destroy him (3:6; 8:15; 12:13; 14:1–2). Judas' betrayal plays into their hands (14:10–11), but it also enables Jesus to accomplish his mission, offering his life as "ransom for many" (10:45).

Mark 13:5–6, 21–22 warns Christians against responding to the sufferings they experience (13:9–13) by following prophetic figures who might claim Jesus' name or authority. Mark may have in view the prophetic figures active in the turmoil of the Jewish revolt against Rome (66–70 C.E.). The only route to "greatness" lies in suffering as Jesus has done. Power and greatness as exercised by rulers of the nations are rejected (10:35–44). Herod's execution of John the Baptist serves as advance warning of what one might expect from earthly kings (6:17–29). Along with rejection of the desire for power in social terms, Christians are also exhorted to adopt the place of those who count for nothing in Jesus' world, children (10:13–16). The story of the rich man serves as a sad lesson that wealth may keep even a good person from renouncing self to enter the reign of God (10:17–27). Had the rich man been willing to renounce his possession, he would have been able to enter the community of disciples (10:28–31).

**3. Matthew: Jesus' Higher Righteousness.** Matthew includes the most famous epitome of Jesus' teaching, the Sermon on the Mount (5:1–7:29). The risen Lord commands his disciples to carry this teaching to the nations (28:16–20) and thus removes the earlier restriction of Jesus' ministry to seeking and saving the "lost sheep" of the house of Israel (10:5–6). The gospel has to make its case for Jesus' "greater righteousness" (5:20) on several fronts. Some have adopted an "antinomian" stand. For these deceptive prophets Christianity is a matter of miraculous powers and confessing the name of Jesus without leading a life that bears "fruit" in one's actions (7:15–23). Consequently, Jesus' coming in judgment will mean sorting out the chaff and wheat that have grown up together within the Christian community (13:36–43; 22:11–14). Others are overly influenced by the teachings and practices of the Pharisees and may even be seeking to establish a form of "Christian Pharisee" within the Church. Matthew counters that threat by intensifying the traditional tensions between Jesus and the Pharisees into bitter accusations against the Jewish teachers for being hypocrites, who only seek to place heavy burdens on the backs of the people and to advance their own honor and glory (6:1–6, 16–18; 23:1–36).

Matthew carefully avoids the dangers of Christian Pharisaism by insisting that Jesus' "yoke" (an expression used of obedience to the Torah) is a light burden (11:28–30). It focuses on what really counts in the Torah: justice, mercy, and faithfulness (23:23). The Christian who follows Jesus' righteousness recognizes that it comes from the "suffering servant" who bears the spirit of God in order to make God's justice victorious among the nations (12:15–21).

The Sermon on the Mount begins with a series of beatitudes (5:3–12). Wisdom traditions used the form "Happy are …" to designate the blessings which could be expected by wise and pious persons in life (Psalm 1). Apocalyptic writers contrasted the punishments awaiting the wicked who prosper in this life with the reversal of fortunes that judgment would bring to the righteous (as in Luke 6:20–26). Here the beatitudes express both the situation and the character of Jesus' true disciples. "Poor in spirit" suggests the *ʿanawîm,* "lowly ones," of Hebrew piety (5:3). Mourning, hungering and thirsting for righteousness, and even persecution on its account (vv 4, 6, 10) can also describe the righteous who seek to do God's will in an evil age. Other beatitudes suggest more active traits of character which Matthew may have formulated with Scripture passages in view: mercy (Mic 6:8); meekness (= humility; Ps 37:11); purity of heart (= single-minded devotion to God, not hypocritical; Ps 24:3–4); peacemaking (Ps 34:14; also the effect of God's salvation, Zech 9:9–10). Matt 5:11–12 warns disciples that they must expect to be reviled and persecuted for Jesus' sake. Thus the beatitudes are not simply ethical traits that anyone might cultivate. They represent a new community of discipleship that is coming into being through Jesus.

Matt 5:13–16 makes it clear that the faithfulness of that community is not an indifferent matter. As a light to the nations (Isa 9:1–2), the community continues Jesus' mission. Its exemplary conduct is responsible for bringing the world to acknowledge God. Matt 5:17–20 sets the agenda for what follows. Jesus will make possible a righteousness that does not negate the Torah but brings it to its completion. The epitome of this righteousness which is to follow has been shaped by antitheses and contrasts which indicate the superiority of Christian discipleship to the obedience taught by the scribes and Pharisees. The antitheses which follow do not imply that Jesus rejects the Torah or the formal practices of piety such as prayer, fasting, and almsgiving. Nor do the sayings which follow establish a new Christian legalism. They specify what single-minded devotion to God implies by using concrete examples that contrast acceptable but "old" forms of righteousness with the new discipleship.

Matt 5:21–48 expresses the contrast by gathering sayings of Jesus together in six antitheses. Christians not only avoid murder, they reject anger and hostile words; seek reconciliation with persons they have offended as more important than an act of sacrifice; and adopt the prudent policy of settling disputes before they come into courts (vv 21–26). Christians not only avoid adultery, they root out the lusts of eye and body which provoke it (vv 27–30). Christians will not avail themselves of the Torah's permission for husbands to divorce their wives except in the extreme case of a marriage which involves sexual immorality (vv 31–32). Christians do not require that their word be backed up by the legal apparatus of oaths (vv 33–36). Even more remarkable, Christians do not seek to protect themselves against abuse by others even when the Law permits them some recourse (vv 38–42). Their extraordinary behavior expresses the love which God shows toward all, since it implies loving enemies as well as friends (vv 43–48).

Matt 6:1–18 turns from "love of neighbor," now expanded to love of enemy, to "love of God" as it is expressed in the fundamental expressions of piety: prayer, almsgiving, and fasting. Here the element of "higher righteousness" finds expression in the distinction between behavior which is seen and applauded by others and that which is known only to the individual and God. But Christians are also reminded of two other attributes of their relationship to God which have a bearing on their general conduct. Trust in God to provide the bread needed for one's survival (6:11) makes it possible to overcome the anxieties about material goods which can destroy the life of discipleship (6:19–21, 24, 25–34; 7:7–11). The mercy and forgiveness which disciples expect from God require that they show the same mercy to others (6:12, 14–15; 7:1–5). This emphasis on mercy makes it clear that the holiness required of the Christian community does not require that it become a harsh, perfectionist group, which punishes transgressions. Matt 18:10–35 explains how transgression and forgiveness are to operate within the Church. Only those

who are unwilling to accept exhortation and correction from the community are excluded. Otherwise, unlimited forgiveness is the norm. The golden rule (7:12) serves as a conclusion to the section on righteousness. The final section (7:13–27) warns of divisions within the Church, even among those who claim to be teachers. The wise person keeps Jesus' word.

The emphasis on witness to the world (Matt 5:11–16) makes it clear that the "perfection" by which Christians are called to imitate their heavenly Father (5:48) is not simply an individual matter. Nor is it simply oriented toward escaping condemnation in the judgment. This "higher righteousness" has to be proclaimed among the nations. The community itself is the sign of its message about God's righteousness. The parable of the Sheep and the Goats (Matt 25:31–46) suggests that the standard of righteousness expressed in the gospel is ultimately binding on the nations. Some exegetes think that the sufferers aided by the just are identical with the persecuted Christian minority as in Matt 10:40–42. The nations may not be converted by Jesus' preaching, but they will be judged by their response to those who preach God's word. Traditionally, this passage is seen as establishing the basic requirements of social justice for all people. Response to the need of those who are weak and suffering, a response that forgets all distinctions, is the foundation of God's justice. It is not even necessary that the "just" recognize Christ in those they serve.

**4. Luke: Forgiveness and Compassion.** The canticles in the Lucan infancy narrative (1:46–55, 68–79; 2:14, 29–32) as well as Jesus' opening sermon (4:16–22) announce that the time of God's salvation is at hand. Salvation is to extend from Jerusalem to the nations. The experience of salvation is frequently presented in the rejoicing of repentant sinners who find forgiveness (5:8; 15:1–6; 19:1–9). God declares the sinner who acknowledges his sin righteous over the Pharisee who takes pride in his piety (18:9–14). Jesus even carries out this ministry of calling sinners back to God while on the cross (23:39–43).

The stories of the early Church in Acts provide a model for the type of Christian community Luke envisages. There we find Christianity established in the households of wealthy patrons in different cities. Such persons are not poor or hungry. Though the apostles suffer persecution for preaching, their local patrons only do so occasionally (Jason in Thessalonica, Acts 17:5). The lesson which these persons must learn is one of compassion and generosity, since they are called upon to support the weak and poor members of the community (Acts 4:32–5:11). Some resistance to the early Christian mission stems from its interference with money earned from idolatrous religious activities (Acts 16:19; 19:23–25). Not surprisingly, Luke 16:14–15 identifies excessive love of money as the primary vice of Jesus' Pharisee opponents. The dramatic parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (16:19–30) illustrates the fate which awaits the wealthy who do not give alms to the poor at their doorstep. Paul tells the Ephesian elders that Christians are to work to meet not only their own needs but those of others (Acts 20:34–35).

When Luke describes forgiveness and love of enemies, he emphasizes compassion as the attitude which motivates persons. Those who love their enemies exemplify God's mercy (6:35–36). Compassion motivates the father to welcome back the prodigal son with joy (15:20). Compassion also moves the Good Samaritan to care for the Jew who had been beaten even though the two groups were deadly enemies (10:33). Christians are expected to act like the Samaritan (10:37).

Luke sets the emergence of the Christian movement on the stage of "world history." Jesus represents true peace in contrast to the promises of the emperor Augustus (2:1, 14). The activities of its apostles are public and well known to governing officials (Acts 26:26). Both Jesus and the apostles are tried before Jewish and Roman officials where, despite abusive treatment suffered by all prisoners, they often find a more sympathetic hearing than their enemies anticipate (23:13–16; Acts 5:34–42; 24:22–23; 25:13–27; 26:28–32). In other cases, the Lord rescues the apostle from his enemies (Acts 12:6–11; 16:25–39).

Luke's narrative includes the violent and capricious elements of Roman administration: beatings before courts, lengthy imprisonment even when the magistrate is persuaded of an individual's innocence, the sharp difference in treatment of subject peoples and Roman citizens, expectation of bribes for favorable judgment, pressuring judges by the local aristocracy. But the Roman trials in Luke-Acts are more ordered and protective of the apostles than the proceedings of Jewish officials or local magistrates. Therefore, scholars have suggested that Luke has a political perspective which is different from the apocalyptic

perspective of passages like Mark 13:9 or 1 Thess 2:14–16 where trial before Jewish and gentile authorities shows their hostility to God. In the apocalyptic perspective, the persecuted anticipate the destruction of such enemies. Luke's narrative suggests that Christianity can coexist within the Roman order. That order may even protect Christians from more abusive exercise of power by local officials incensed at Christian preaching. At the same time, Christians are apparently loyal to the regime. Jesus' parents comply with a census aimed at establishing Judea's subordination through direct Roman rule and taxation (2:1–5). Paul's inherited Roman citizenship, and hence superiority to both his accusers and some of his captors, is emphasized in Acts (16:37–39; 22:25–29; 23:27; 25:10–12, 21, 25; 26:32).

**E. Exhortation in the Pauline Tradition**

For Paul the ethical life of Christians expresses their new identity as persons who are "in Christ," able to walk in the Spirit (Gal 5:25; Rom 8:1–14). Exhortations to be holy, blameless, pleasing to God (1 Thess 3:13; 4:27; 5:23; 1 Cor 1:8; 7:34; 2 Cor 7:1; Phil 1:9–11; 2:15–16) show the importance of shaping the moral life of local communities. This concern was hardly unique to the Pauline mission since it is evident in the exhortation of 1 Peter and James as well. 1 Thess 4:1–12 contains a brief description of holiness which is similar to that of 1 Pet 1:14–22 and 2:11–12. Both authors presume that conversion to Christianity implied adopting a style of moral life in contrast with the individual's past life as a pagan. This life requires holiness, freedom from sexual immorality, and mutual love. It ackowledges God as the judge of all human action. Both agree that such behavior should commend the respect of outsiders.

Love and nonretaliation in the face of such hostility is common (1 Cor 4:12b–13a; Rom 12:14–18; 1 Thess 5:15; 1 Pet 3:9). Christ can be invoked as the model for the disciple's willingness to endure such suffering (2 Cor 4:8–10; 1 Thess 1:6; 1 Pet 2:18–24; 3:13–18; 4:13–14). The expectation attached to such behavior is not that individuals will actually be martyred but that they will come through the suffering sustained by God's power. Such patient endurance may also ameliorate the hostility and suspicion of the persecutor. In situations where Christians are not being persecuted or abused by masters, love may include meeting physical needs of the enemy or outsider (Rom 12:20; 1 Thess 5:15). It extends to the heart of Christians by insisting that not only do they accept hostility without retaliation, even in the verbal form of cursing, but that they actually speak a word of blessing. Christians seek to "convert" their enemies by active concern for their welfare.

This posture of love, nonretaliation, and willing subjection to authority, which is evident in the "household codes" of the NT, formed a fixed topic in early Christian exhortation. Parallels between Romans and 1 Peter indicate that it was widespread. 1 Pet 2:13–3:12 incorporates "household code" material into the series: (a) Christians show respect for all governing authorities including the emperor (2:13–17); (b) Christian slaves are submissive even to cruel masters (2:18–25); (c) Christian wives are to win over their husbands by submissiveness and moderate dress and behavior (3:1–7); (d) Christians are to love one another (3:8); (e) Christians bless those who revile or persecute them (3:9–12). Romans picks up three of these themes: (a) Christians are willing subjects of governing authorities even when subjection involves taxation (13:1–7); (b) Christians love one another (12:9–13, 15–16); (c) Christians love their enemies (12:14, 17–21). Exhortations to Christian wives and slaves to be obedient to those who rule over them appear in Colossians and Ephesians. Christian women are told to dress and behave modestly in 1 Tim 2:9–11.

Comparison with popular philosophic preaching shows these themes to be conventional. The good order of society is maintained by submission and obedience of inferiors to their superiors. Women are to dress and behave modestly, managing affairs within the household while their husbands devote themselves to public business. Such advice was even given by women Pythagorean writers: "The temperate, freeborn woman must live with her legal husband adorned with modesty, clad in neat simple white dress … For the woman who strives for virtue must not have her heart set on expensive clothing but on the management of her household … a husband's wishes ought to be an unwritten law to an orderly wife, and she should live by them" (Malherbe 1986: 83). When the Stoic, Musonius Rufus (ca. A.D. 30–101), defends the thesis that women who study philosophy will become just, courageous, and more suitable to govern their households and aid their husbands, he has to answer the charge that such study will only turn women into

quarrelsome imitators of men: "some will say that women who associate with philosophers are bound to be arrogant … in that abandoning their own households and turning to the company of men they practice speeches, talk like sophists … I should not expect women who study philosophy to shirk their appointed tasks any more than men, but I maintain that their discussions should be conducted for the sake of their practical application" (Musonius Rufus, Fr. 3; Malherbe 1986: 134). Christians clearly adopted the same measures to answer objections to the place of women in their groups: women are more devoted to their appointed roles; instruction of women must involve practical exhortation; women are not permitted to "abandon their households" for the male practices of public teaching and dispute (1 Cor 14:33b–36).

Although the standards of Christian behavior represent a conventional understanding of "good order," the Pauline epistles suggest that they are not simply demonstrations of Christian philosophy. There appear to have been persons who insisted that the new life of walking in the Spirit gave Christians the freedom to break with social conventions. Paul's own preaching that Christians become righteous in Christ and not through the Law could have provided fuel for such efforts (Rom 6:15–23). Some exegetes suggest that the Galatians sought to adopt a form of Christian "Jewishness," with circumcision as its sign, to avoid possible abuses of Christian freedom. Paul's own example of "celibacy" would also suggest a radical rather than a conventional approach. Philosophers concerned for the good order of society, like Musonius, insisted that persons have a duty to marry and raise children. The children are future citizens and the households are necessary to the good of the larger society. The Cynics, on the other hand, argued against marriage. It only binds a person to false values, slavery to sexual pleasure, seeking to please a mate, worrying about money and the like.

1 Corinthians 7 suggests that some Christians even sought to dissolve their marriages. Paul defends marriage as an appropriate expression of sexuality, unlike frequenting the prostitutes of the city, which corrupts a body that should be holy to God (1 Cor 6:12–20). But Paul also defends the superiority of his own style of life for those who can follow it since it permits complete devotion to the Lord. When Paul returned the slave Onesimus to his master, Paul argued that Philemon should receive Onesimus as his "brother in the Lord." He certainly implied that the legal penalties against the runaway should be waived and may even have expected Philemon to free the slave or return him to Paul's mission. But 1 Cor 7:20–24 adopts a more conservative view. Slaves and free persons may be equal as Christians, but the Christian slave should not agitate to change his or her social status. Women have clearly been involved in the mission from the beginning, sometimes with their husbands and sometimes as individuals. They are patrons of communities which meet in their homes and are also involved in preaching the message to others (Rom 16:1–16; Phil 4:2–3; Acts 16:14–15; 18:1–4). However, Paul insists that those who are prophets in the assembly dress in ways which reflect the conventions of a created distinction between male and female rather than their unity in Christ (1 Cor 11:2–16). Exegetes have suggested that the elaborate regulations limiting those who can be enrolled as "widows" (1 Tim 5:3–16) are aimed at curbing the tendency of women to follow Paul's advice and not remarry (1 Cor 7:34–35, 38–40). The requirements for public leaders of the community, "bishops and deacons" (1 Tim 3:1–13), show concern for the acceptability of Christians in the eyes of their neighbors. Propriety is the norm.

Exegetes are divided over the significance of eschatological language in shaping Paul's solutions to specific ethical problems. Obedience to political authority is commanded (Rom 13:1–7). But Paul also asserts that that authority is temporary, the day of the Lord is at hand (13:11–14). Remaining unmarried allows one to devote oneself to the Lord without other concerns. Besides, the time which remains is very short (1 Cor 7:29–31). Both married and unmarried are to conduct themselves with a detachment that is born of the "time" in which they live. Christian freedom and detachment appear to be born of the conviction that one lives between God's salvation in Christ, which permits one to walk in the Spirit now, and the coming of God's judgment, which will overthrow all the structures of the world as we know it. The possibility of living in a way that is free from bondage to sin and passion now is grounded in the Spirit. So are the relationships of mutual love, self-sacrifice, and harmony that are the signs of the Spirit's work in building the Christian community. This new reality makes it possible for Christians to live in holiness without reintroducing the Law and the practices which set Jews apart from the pagan world that

surrounded them. But Paul's eschatology also has a conservative side. He often rejects radical attempts to change social conventions.

However, Paul does not always favor the status quo. Although the details of the conflict are difficult to reconstruct (Achtemeier 1987), Gal 2:11–14 alludes to an instance in which Paul opposed an accommodation to Jewish food rules by Peter, Barnabas, and other Christians at Antioch. An earlier meeting in Jerusalem had permitted Paul and others to convert gentiles without imposing any Jewish stipulations on the converts (Gal 2:1–10). If the emissaries from James were insisting that table fellowship between Jewish and gentile Christians required that the latter observe the minimal rules reflected in the "apostolic decree" (Acts 15:19–21), then Peter and the others who concurred may have felt this change to be an accommodation to conventional behavior, not an affirmation that the Law is necessary for salvation. Paul's violent reaction makes their withdrawal from table fellowship with those who would not accept the requirements a theological issue. They are not only going back on the earlier agreement about gentile churches, they are denying that Christ is the source of righteousness for all, Jew and gentile.

Elsewhere Paul is quite willing to insist that Christians moderate their freedom to the needs of "weaker" persons. One should refrain from eating idol meat if doing so would scandalize the conscience of a weaker person (1 Cor 8:7–13; 10:23–32). One should avoid disputes over matters like food. Paul would even become a vegetarian if another's faith were at stake (Rom 14:1–15:6). Paul's freedom includes adapting his behavior to whatever will serve to bring others to Christ. He is willing to live like a Jew or like a gentile (1 Cor 9:20). It is clear that Paul had to contend with persons who wanted to introduce the requirements of circumcision, food rules, and Jewish holidays into the gentile churches (Gal 5:2–3, 11–12; 6:12; Phil 3:2–19). Paul's failure to win the Antioch church to his side in the earlier dispute, as well as his uncertain relationships with the Jewish Christian leadership at Jerusalem, served the purposes of his opponents.

Paul's refusal to accommodate conventional behavior in the case of Jewish and gentile Christians emerges from what he sees as a threat to the gospel message. The Torah, even in some minimalist form, is understood to be the principle of salvation, of a right relationship with God, in the Jewish community. But the gospel insists that righteousness is God's gift in Christ which is given to Jew and gentile alike. Paul wishes that his fellow Jews would discover that righteousness (Rom 10:1–4). Any suggestion that requirements of the Torah be imposed on gentile Christians, even for the sake of fellowship with their Jewish brothers and sisters, compromises Paul's message. Some exegetes suggest that this case serves as an analogy for other situations in which Christians find themselves obligated to break with the established views of "good order." When the acceptance of slavery or the exclusion of women from public leadership in the community becomes a scandal to preaching the gospel that all persons have been made righteous before God in Christ, then Christians must demand to support the status quo.

**F. Themes in NT Exhortation**

Christian life requires obedience to the will of God. Conversion and new life "in Christ" presumes that limits to human action expressed in phrases like "bondage to sin" and "hardness of heart" no longer apply. One does not calculate the likely success of a course of action against the probability that others will be dishonest, abusive, fail to return what is borrowed, or the like. One does not accept the view that what corresponds to the will of God can be specified in concrete, legal form so that what the Law permits defines what is "good" human behavior. The Law is made for those who still live under the domination of sin and hardheartedness (Matt 19:8; Rom 7:7–25; Gal 5:18–24; 1 Tim 1:8–11). Nor is the good defined by philosophical arguments about how humans should govern themselves, their households and cities in order to achieve happiness. Such rational constructions of self and world stand under God's judgment. Christian allegiance to them is tempered by the recognition that they are not the source of justice, salvation, or happiness. They are merely the structures of a transitory world, which many NT authors suggest has already been condemned in God's eyes.

Although it is not possible to systematize the ethical exhortation one finds in the NT, some topics recur in different contexts. Christians from different traditions would have recognized that such topics are essential to the new life of holiness. Common themes include: (1) worship; (2) harmonious relationships

within the community, including mutual encouragement and support; (3) sharing wealth; (4) sexual morality; (5) love of enemies and active concern for outsiders; (6) relationship to the larger world and its values.

**1. Worship.** The obligation to worship God forms the first part of the Decalog as well as the first part of the double love command (Mark 12:28–34). Biblical ethics are not motivated by appeal to human reason or self-interest. Justice, mercy, etc., follow from the person's devotion to God. For gentiles, conversion to Christianity required abandoning the gods and goddesses of family, city, trade association, and empire for the one God. Ethical life can also be characterized as obedience to Jesus, the exalted Son of God. In addition to the obligation to worship God alone, we also find exhortations to participate in communal forms of worship (Eph 5:18–20; Phil 4:6; Col 3:16–17; 1 Thess 5:17–21; 1 Tim 2:1–8; Heb 10:25; 1 Pet 4:7). In some cases tensions within the community created by social divisions of rich and poor or the "divisions" in individual endowment with spiritual gifts require affirmation that all persons in the community are equal before God. Signs of status and divisions between members of the community corrupt its identity (1 Cor 11:17–14:40; Jas 2:1–13).

**2. Relationships within the Community.** NT writers spend a great deal of time addressing the problems of relationships between Christians. The gospel sayings about mutual forgiveness, reconciliation, and authority as service rather than "lording it over subordinates" already point to such concerns. Vice lists frequently point to anger, envy, malice, conceit, drunkenness, quarreling, and other sins of speech which also corrupt the love which is to exist between Christians (Rom 13:13; Gal 5:19–21; Eph 4:25–32; Col 5:9–10; Jas 3:1–18). Positive forms of speech include the mutual exhortation to virtue which was an ongoing part of Christian life (1 Thess 5:14). The peaceable ordering of the community requires respect and even financial support for those who are its leaders (1 Thess 5:15; Gal 6:6; 1 Tim 5:17–20).

Christian leaders must also be reminded of their obligations toward others in the community. They must not "despise" persons who may have strayed (Matt 18:10–14). They must treat those whom they instruct with appropriate respect (Gal 6:1–5; 1 Tim 5:1–2; 1 Pet 5:1–4). Christians in general must learn to avoid judging and condemning the conduct of others, since God will be the judge of all conduct (Matt 7:1–5; Rom 14:10–12; Jas 4:12). Humility reflects a willingness to consider others and their needs before one's own (Phil 2:1–5; Jas 1:9). These various examples of relationships between Christians also include the material obligations of Christians to aid those who are poor and afflicted (Jas 1:27), as well as the hospitality which traveling Christians might expect from other communities (Rom 12:13; Phlm 22; Rom 16:1–2). Such actions represent the concrete shape which commands to "love one another" could take in early Christian churches.

**3. Sharing Wealth.** Though the Jesus movement may have emerged among the rural peasantry which looked on local notables, wealthy landowners, and the aristocracy of Herodian and Roman circles from below, many NT authors presume that their audience includes Christians with sufficient wealth to dispose of it for the good of others in the community. They can be required to cancel debts, to invite the poor rather than wealthy friends to banquets, to provide assets for the community to use in supporting its poor and widows, and to provide the place for the community to meet as well as the food for the Lord's Supper. Such persons might also provide material support for Christian missionaries both in the form of money and perhaps persons to assist the apostle as the Philippians did for Paul (Phil 4:10–20). Though Paul also provided for his needs by laboring at his trade, he acknowledges that Jesus' saying that missionaries should be supported by those among whom they preached (Matt 10:9–11) was generally followed by other apostles (1 Cor 9:1–14).

1 Tim 5:4, 16 prohibits enrolling widows who have children, grandchildren, or other family able to support them. This rule suggests that there may have been some who abused the charity of the community. A similar difficulty must lie behind reports of a dispute between Hebrew and Greek-speaking widows over their distribution in Acts 6:1–6, which Luke treats as the origin of the office of deacon in the Church. Paul's refusal to demand money from those among whom he was actively working (1 Thess 2:8–9; 1 Cor 9:12b–18) led to conflict and suspicion about his ministry in Corinth. Though Paul apparently

adopts the view of one group of Cynics that the harsh life of the laborer and refusal to depend on others is a mark of freedom, the Corinthians knew that Paul had received aid from other churches. He was also soliciting contributions from his gentile churches for the poor in Jerusalem (1 Cor 16:1–4). The exact accusations made against Paul are unclear (2 Cor 11:7–11; 12:13–18), but they involved some form of deceit in handling money or representing his financial dealings. Paul claims that his freedom from local support sets him apart from other missionaries, who have made abusive demands for support (2 Cor 11:12, 19–20).

Gal 2:10 claims that the collection for the poor at Jerusalem was part of the agreement Paul had reached with James and the others about the gentile mission. 2 Cor 8:1–9:15 contains appeals for those in Corinth and Achaia to contribute to this collection. Apparently the instructions in 1 Cor 16:1–4 had not been sufficient to complete the process. Paul endeavors to "shame" the addressees by reminding them of the great generosity of the much poorer churches in Macedonia. He also assures them that Titus and other unnamed Christians are going to accompany the collection to Jerusalem. They can testify that the funds are used for their stated purpose (8:19–24). This appeal does not mention the former agreement. Instead, Paul uses a more general topos: those to whom God has given material wealth have an obligation to be generous. Such service is reciprocated by the prayers of those who receive the aid. Concern for reciprocity in giving and receiving was fundamental to the ethos of the ancient world. Luke 14:12–14 argues that Christian charity breaks with the normal patterns of obligation. Normally the recipient was under obligation to his or her wealthy patron to render any services required, or, if the gift were from a social equal, to repay in kind at an unspecified future time. Both Paul and Luke present Christian charity as the obligation of the wealthy to God. As such, it does not create the reciprocal obligations that society attached to such exchanges. Since such gifts are really "to God," a superior, the giver remains under obligation to give. Repayment can only be anticipated from God's side. Rom 15:25–33 anticipates Paul's trip to Rome with the collection with some foreboding. There the rationale for the collection is again inserted into Paul's understanding of his mission among the gentiles. It reflects the debt which gentile Christians owe those at Jerusalem for the spiritual blessings that they have received.

Two elements stand out from the ethos of the ancient world in connection with the collection. First, it establishes the principle that one might have material obligations to aid the poor in a community that is not connected to one's own by any of the usual ties of kinship or ethnic origins. Second, it exemplifies the challenge which Christianity posed to the usual understanding of gift giving and exchange. Gifts to individuals created obligations which might link families together for generations. Gifts to religious cult groups, trade associations, or cities created an obligation for the group to provide appropriate honors for the donor: such as a statue, inscription, or titular honors. By insisting that gifts of wealth are really "owed" to God, the Christian community deprived its wealthy patrons of the possibility of obligating the poor members of a community in return for benefits received.

**4. Sexual Morality.** Jews frequently associated the idolatry of pagans with sexual immorality. Artistic representations in the baths and houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum show that any form of sexual act between humans as well as acts between humans and animals were regularly depicted. Prostitutes were frequently attached to the baths. Since the baths were used by both sexes, such open displays of diverse sexual acts cannot have been limited to "men only." Though philosopher moralists might have argued against submitting to sexual passion and insist that sex was only appropriate for begetting legitimate children, the sexual mores of the Greco-Roman city were almost as open as the slogan Paul attributes to the erring Corinthians: "All things are permitted." Restrictions came into play only where the legitimacy of a man's offspring was threatened or where marriage or sexual liaisons violated class lines. A woman who had sex with her slave might be condemned to death. A patroness who sought to marry her freedman was to be prevented from doing so by the court. Other liaisons between freedwomen and slaves were denounced, though not necessarily punished. Freeborn women who cohabited with another's slave against the owner's consent were reduced to slavery. But a daughter still under her father's control was only denounced for union with a slave. Otherwise the parent would suffer for an act of his child.

Within this social context, both Jews and Christians insist that holiness requires a much different standard of sexual morality (Rom 1:24–27). Prohibitions against incest were more extensive than in Roman society. These prohibitions may be the reference of the general word *proneia*, "sexual immorality," in the exception made to Jesus' prohibition of divorce (Matt 5:32). The Essenes claimed that unchastity, wealth, and defiling the sanctuary were the three nets by which Satan traps humans (CD 4:12b–5:14a). Unchastity includes divorcing one's wife and marrying one's niece, which the author argues is equivalent to the explicit prohibition against marrying one's aunt (Lev 18:15). Other versions of the divorce prohibition circulated without the exception (1 Cor 7:10–11). The exception in Matthew's version may be intended to permit new converts to Christianity to dissolve marriages that fell within the forbidden degrees of kinship. Early Christians also adopted the Jewish prohibitions against homosexuality and bestiality, though neither appears outside vice lists. Paul does not envisage the possibility of a Christian spouse separating from a pagan who is willing to continue the marriage, but he does permit Christians whose pagan spouses have divorced them to remarry if they choose.

Since marriage was a contractual agreement that could be dissolved if either party were willing to incur whatever stipulations were stated in the original document, opposition to divorce on religious grounds, whether by sectarian Jews like the Essenes or by Christians, probably struck many persons as peculiar. Paul's primary opposition to divorce in 1 Corinthians 7 comes in conflict over religious motivations, not social or legal customs. The main problems are being created by Christians who think that holiness demands that they refrain from sex altogether (1 Cor 7:1). They wish to divorce, to abstain from sex in marriage, or to avoid contracting a promised marriage in order to realize this ideal. Paul answers by insisting that lifelong marriage to one person is the legitimate expression of human sexuality. It does not subject the individual to the imprisoning passions of lust that are evident in the widespread "sexual immorality" which Christians have been told to flee.

**5. Love of Enemies.** Love of enemies takes on an important place in early Christian exhortation because Christians frequently found themselves objects of suspicion, persecution, or mockery. Christians who were in a subordinate position to a non-Christian, such as wives or slaves, were particularly vulnerable, since they had little recourse against abusive treatment. But other Christians were also told to reject any form of legal or even verbal retaliation against enemies. Instead, the "enemy" should meet with words of blessing and even kind treatment. Those who remain enemies will suffer God's judgment (Rom 12:19–20). But the general motivation for kind treatment does not seem to be vindictive pleasure in God's wrath. Rather, kindness to an enemy may win the person over. It also demonstrates the superiority of Christians to their enemies, since they are not implicated in the anger or the hostility of the relationship (Rom 12:21). They refuse to be persons who "return evil for evil" (1 Thess 5:15; 1 Pet 3:9; Rom 12:17).

**6. Relationship to the World.** Christians are in an ambiguous position over against the social world in which they live. Conversion has separated them from the normal religious ties to family, trade association, and city that constitute an ongoing part of life. Their break with old associates and patterns of behavior might lead to scorn or even persecution (1 Pet 4:1–5). They are exhorted to reject values and behavior common in the world around them (Rom 12:2). Yet Christians do not withdraw into an isolated sect. They seek to live "peaceably" or "quietly" within that society (Rom 12:18). Doing so apparently involved demonstrating by one's conduct that generally accepted standards of "good" and "honorable" behavior were practiced among Christians (Rom 12:13; Phil 4:8). Their own practice of doing good to others extended beyond group boundaries (Gal 6:10; 1 Thess 4:15).

Negotiating the inevitable tension between radical renewal which challenges the given realities of the world and accommodation to generally accepted views of good behavior was clearly a problem in NT churches. Resolution of particular instances depended upon the discernment, persuasive or prophetic power of individual Christian teachers and communities. The apocalyptic radicalism of Revelation, for example, posed a prophetic challenge to accommodation in the churches of Asia Minor. Rome is not a power whose order can be accepted, even provisionally, as "good." She is the end-time incarnation of Satan, the great beast, the whore of Babylon who drinks the blood of subject nations, including Christ and faithful martyrs (11:7; 13:1–10; 17).

Christians are warned of "harlotry," possibly participating in religious ceremonies sponsored by the trade guilds of their cities (2:6, 15). Citizens in these cities eagerly supported the cult of Augustan emperors. Revelation warns that the "beast" will compel all the peoples on earth to worship it (13:4, 8, 12; 14:9, 11; 20:4). The wealth of the Laodiceans is condemned by Christ (3:17). The *Sibylline Oracles* (3:350–55; 4:145–48; 8:11–92) castigate Rome for bleeding the provinces of Asia of their wealth and even enslaving its populace. Revelation depicts the collapse of the arrogant Roman Empire (17:4; 18:1–16). Faced with such a mammoth incarnation of evil, the prophet requires that Christians withdraw from participation in the life of the flourishing cities of Asia Minor. The "mark of the beast" is depicted as a parody of Christian sealing of the elect (7:1–8). If the "mark" refers to the imperial image on coinage, then the only way in which Christians could avoid it would be to withdraw from economic activity which involved use of Roman currency (14:9–11).

Other forms of withdrawal may be indicated in praise for the "virgin" martyrs, who are permitted to share in the first resurrection when Jesus reigns on earth (14:1–5; 20:4). Some exegetes have linked this idea of ascetic purity with the author's use of "priests" for Christians (1:6; 5:10). The Essenes extended rules for priestly holiness to all members of their sect, which had also favored celibacy in some of its groups, and withdrawal from the rest of Judaism, which limited one's economic transactions with those who did not belong to the sect. Only God's heavenly forces can destroy the imperial beast which has polluted and corrupted the world. Faithful Christians must divorce themselves from any entanglements with the beast and endure suffering until the end. When they have triumphed, they will share the glorious exaltation of the Lamb. This demand for loyalty rejects the benign coexistence between Christians and the larger socioeconomic world that Paul, Luke, and even the suffering Christians of 1 Peter think is possible. Lydia would hardly be allowed to pursue her trade as seller of purple cloth (Acts 16:4) in Thyatria if John has his way. Indeed, such "lukewarm" Christians are objects of particular scorn (3:16). For Revelation this extreme form of discipleship is the only way in which Christians can defend the truth which they alone know: Christ is the Lord of the kings of the earth (Rev 1:5)—a claim which all NT ethics seeks to express.

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PHEME PERKINS

**ETHIOPIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Aithiopia* (Αἰθιοπια)]. ETHIOPIAN. The place name "Ethiopia" (possibly meaning "land of the people of burnt faces," i.e., dark skin; cf. Jer 13:23) appears, as such, only once in the Bible (Acts 8:27), but in the LXX it usually translates the Heb *kūš* (Cush), a name which appears several dozen times in the OT. "Ethiopian" (Gr *Aithiops*) similarly translates *kūšī/kūšīt* (pl. *kūšīm*). The only exceptions are the few instances when the Hebrew words are treated as proper names and transliterated as "Cush" (LXX *chous,* e.g., Gen 10:6–8=1 Chr 1:8–10) or "Cushite" (LXX *chousi,* e.g., 2 Sam 18:21–32).

In Egyptian texts Cush (or Kush) appears as a country to the S of Egypt, inhabited by non-Egyptians. See also KUSH (PLACE). The N border of Cush during Egypt's early dynasties lay between the first and second cataracts of the Nile but by the time of the OT had been pushed as far S as the fourth cataract. Cush extended deep into east-central Africa, but its S boundaries were never sharply delineated. From the

Roman period onward the region was commonly known as Nubia and apparently comprised much of what today are the Sudan and Ethiopia (also known as Abyssinia). Cush was most easily reached from the Levant by way of the Red Sea or the W coast of the Arabian peninsula. Although Egypt and other nations traded with the region during the biblical period, obtaining from it spices, incense, ivory, rhinoceros horns, ebony, topaz (Job 28:19), gold, slaves, and other commodities, relatively little is known about the history of the country during that time.

**A. Geography and Ethnology**

Cush occupied a portion of E Africa that was at least as large as the Arabian peninsula. It had widely diverse geographical regions, the characteristics of which have largely persisted to the present day. The N region consists largely of arid steppeland, which gives way in the SW to the Sudd, a vast, virtually impenetrable swamp through which flows the White Nile. To the SE, rising above a torrid coast, is a vast massif with elevations averaging some 7,000–8,000 ft (4,400–5,000 m), where the climate is equable and the land generally arable, with sufficient rain in the winter to produce good crops. Two major sources of the Nile, the Takkaze and the Blue Nile, rise in these highlands, and farther to the S are other rivers.

The migrations of the peoples who inhabited ancient Cush cannot be fully traced, but from an early time there was considerable ethnic diversity. The population of the N portion was, as it is today, predominantly negroid. The Ethiopian highlands probably were inhabited in the 2d millennium B.C. by a local "Cushite" populace which, according to implications in the eponymous ethnic list in Genesis, may also have occupied parts of the W coast of the Arabian peninsula (Gen 10:6–8). During the 1st millennium B.C. there was considerable migration into Ethiopia by Semites from the Arabian peninsula, who made an impact on the languages and other aspects of culture of the highlands (Ullendorff 1973: 45–50). The Ethiopians of this region tend to be tall and slender with dark skin (cf. Isa 18:2), thin lips, and aquiline noses, some of which features are akin to those of the inhabitants of Arabia.

**B. In the OT and Intertestamental Literature**

Although geographically distant from Palestine, Cush was known to the Israelites not only because of its commercial activity, which was already under way by the time of Solomon in the 10th century B.C. and continued in subsequent centuries, but also because some Cushites frequented Palestine or even settled there. Individual Cushites are occasionally mentioned as having linked their lives with those of Hebrews. A Cushite was among the servants of King David (2 Sam 18:21–32). Jeremiah was released from imprisonment at the behest of one Ebed-Melech, a Cushite (described as a "eunuch," whether in fact or *pro forma*) who held a responsible position in the household of King Zedekiah of Judah (Jer 38:7–13; 39:15–18). Two other OT persons bear the name "Cushi" (Jer 36:14; Zeph 1:1), but their association with the country of Cush, if any, is unknown. Regarding Moses' "Cushite" wife (Num 12:1), see below.

The OT writers knew of the geographical proximity of Cush to Egypt, and in their literature often paired the two countries (e.g., Isa 20:3–4; Ezek 29:10; 30:4; cf. Dan 11:43; Nah 3:9; and Ps 68:31). Occasionally they mention details about the region, but inasmuch as their knowledge came largely from hearsay or conventional geographical conceptions it is not surprising that information was sometimes imprecise. Gen 2:13 asserts that a primeval river, Gihon, flows around the land (cf. Jub 8:15, 23 and the LXX of Jer 2:18). Isa 18:1 speaks more plausibly of the "rivers of Cush" (cf. Zeph 3:10) and notes that the region beyond these rivers (though presumably still within Cush) sent ambassadors down the Nile "in vessels of papyrus"—a statement that may reflect knowledge that the inhabitants of parts of Cush constructed boats from bundled stalks of papyrus. The same passage also refers to Cush in obscure words that the KJV translates as "land of wings on both sides" and the RSV translates as "land of whirring wings," but which may mean "land of shadows on both sides," that is, a region where, because of S Cush's location near the equator, shadows fall on one side of an object during the summer and on the other in the winter—a phenomenon noted by ancient Greek writers. In Esth 1:1 and 8:9, Cush is named as the W extremity of the Persian Empire. Several OT passages show knowledge of a region to the S of Cush, probably located in present-day Somaliland, which the Egyptians called "Punt" and the OT writers "Put" (e.g., Jer 46:9; Ezek 30:5; Nah 3:9). It is possible that in some OT passages Punt was understood to include a part of the coastal region E of Cush.

During the late 8th and early 7th centuries B.C. Egypt was briefly dominated by a Cushite dynasty which figured considerably in Hebrew history. 2 Kgs 17:4 mentions the attempt of Hoshea, the last ruler of the N kingdom of Israel, to ally himself with "So, king of Egypt," i.e., Sebichus (Shebitku), a pharaoh of the 25th Dynasty. In Isa 20:3–4 Assyria's invasion of Egypt toward the end of the 8th century is treated as an attack on both Egypt and Cush (cf. Nah 3:8–9). Around 689 B.C. Egypt mounted a military campaign in Palestine against the Assyrians. In recording that venture 2 Kgs 19:9 (= Isa 37:9) identifies by name the leader of the Egyptian army, Tirhakah (Eg *Taharqa*), and dubs him "King of Cush."

In view of these circumstances it is not surprising that for some time following the Ethiopian dynasty's control of Egypt, and perhaps even from as early as ca. 750 B.C., "Cush" was sometimes used as a virtual synonym for "Egypt." Amos 9:7 mentions Cushites in a context evocative of the Hebrew exodus, in which case the term may be equivalent to "Egyptians." The references to Cush and Cushites in Zeph 2:12 and 3:10 may similarly allude to Egypt. 2 Chr 14:9–13, a story describing an invasion by an otherwise unknown "Zerah the Ethiopian" that is ostensibly set in the time of King Asa of Judah (913–873 B.C.), is not present in the corresponding account in 2 Kings, and possibly was a postexilic addition to the text; if it is historical, it may originally have alluded to an Egyptian, or possibly Arab, attack made at a later time than Asa's reign, perhaps around the time of the Ethiopian rule of Egypt.

The story of the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon's court (1 Kgs 10:1–13) has long been cherished in Ethiopian religion and national tradition (see Hubbard 1957), but the location of Sheba (i.e., the kingdom of Saba) was more likely on the W side of the Arabian peninsula than in Cush (see Ullendorff 1988: 131–45). The association between the Sabeans and the Cushites is not entirely unwarranted, however, and sometimes appears in the OT (e.g., Isa 43:3 and 45:14). A few OT passages seem to link Cushites closely with Arabs of the NW Arabian peninsula, the Negev or Edom. The statement that Moses' wife was a Cushite woman (Num 12:1) is hard to reconcile with the tradition that Zipporah was a Midianite (Exod 2:15b–22) unless "Cushite" is an error for "Cushanite" and therefore is synonymous with "Midianite" (cf. the linking of "Cushan" and "Midian" in Hab 3:7). 2 Chr 21:16–17 briefly narrates an otherwise unknown invasion (not found in the corresponding passage in 2 Kings) made into Judah during the reign of Jehoram (849–843 B.C.) by "the Philistines and the Arabs who are near the Cushites."

The relevance of Ethiopia for the understanding of the OT goes beyond the biblical references to Cush. It has been noted (e.g., Ullendorff 1988) that even into the 20th century the inhabitants of the Ethiopian highlands preserved concepts and practices evocative of the ancient Hebrew culture. Not only have town life, agriculture, and animal husbandry in that region long been broadly evocative of the world of the OT, but details of culture are also sometimes similar, such as an Ethiopian aristocrat's riding on a donkey as a symbol of rank. For centuries the Falashas of Ethiopia have regarded themselves as true Israelites, and Ethiopian Christians also have rites and customs which have affinities with the religion of Israel, among which are the celebration of the Sabbath on the seventh day of the week, the reckoning of the day as commencing at sunset, adherence to preexilic Israelite festivals, and the use of apotropaic devices similar to Hebraic ones (Ullendorff 1988: 2–3, 73130). Such elements in Ethiopian culture have been suspected to have their origin in a community of Jewish merchants or expatriates that was established in Ethiopia during the OT period, perhaps before the Exile.

### C. In the NT

Ethiopia, as such, is not mentioned in the NT. The only reference to an Ethiopian is in the story of Philip's baptism of an unnamed Ethiopian who is "a eunuch, a minister of Candace the queen of the Ethiopians, in charge of all her treasure," who had just completed a visit to Jerusalem to worship (Acts 8:27). Although the statement bristles with difficulties, there is no doubt about the fact that Ethiopia (both in the broader and narrower use of that term) had ready contact with Palestine in the 1st century A.D., and that Jerusalem occasionally would be visited by Ethiopians influenced by the Hebrew religion.

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**ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH.** Acts 8:26–40 narrates the story of the Ethiopian eunuch who is converted to Christian faith through the agency of the deacon Philip. In addition to the intriguing presentation of the character himself, the story is significant for the questions it has raised regarding the tradition that may stand behind it and for the role it plays in the larger framework of Luke-Acts.

Luke describes the character in some detail: "And behold, an Ethiopian, a eunuch, a minister of Candace the queen of the Ethiopians …" (Acts 8:27 RSV). The geographical name "Ethiopian" would signal to Luke's audience that this man was from territories south of Egypt. Since he is also identified as an official of Candace, 1st-century readers would connect him specifically with the kingdom of Meroe, the queens of which traditionally were called "Candace." A late 1st century B.C. military campaign against Meroe, a scientific expedition into the same kingdom in A.D. 62, and another military campaign (planned but not executed) during the reign of Nero would have made Ethiopia a place of contemporary interest. Greek writers had long demonstrated a curiosity about and appreciation of Ethiopians, as is evidenced in Homer's reference to Ethiopians as the "farthermost of men" (*Od.* 1.22–23) and in Herodotus' description of Ethiopians as the tallest and most handsome of all peoples (3.17–20). Luke's audience would have seen in the Ethiopian a positive figure, perhaps one to whom even an element of mystery would be attached because of his distant homeland.

What has puzzled interpreters is that Luke identifies this particular Ethiopian as a eunuch, which means that he cannot have been a proselyte to Judaism (cf. Deut 23:1 and Joseph. *Ant* 4.290–91), despite the fact that he has been to Jerusalem to worship and is reading from a scroll of Isaiah as he travels (8:27–38). Narrating the conversion of a presumed gentile at this point introduces an anomaly into Luke's story, since Luke later portrays Cornelius as the first gentile convert (10:1–11:18). Interestingly, Luke himself does not comment on the restrictions about converting eunuchs, which may suggest that Luke is less interested in that feature of the story than he is in some others. For example, eunuchs frequently held places of respect and trust in Eastern courts, as does this one, and the identification of this figure as a eunuch may simply reinforce the reader's impression that he is an unusual person, a person who has come from the "end of the world"—at least from the end of Luke's world.

Within the story, the Ethiopian's actions underscore this portrayal of him as an intriguing, romantic, even exotic personage. Luke initially explains that the Ethiopian has been to Jerusalem to worship and is in the process of returning home when he encounters Philip. Since there are indications that gentiles worshipped in the temple in Jerusalem, and since both Ethiopians and eunuchs seem to have been regarded as especially interested in religious matters, this feature of the story serves to underscore the readiness of the Ethiopian for the events that follow. By contrast with Philip, who responds almost passively to the instructions given him by the Spirit and the questions asked him by the Ethiopian, the Ethiopian takes an active role in his own conversion. (See CONVERSION.) He invites Philip to join him in his chariot (v 31); he asks Philip for interpretation of the scroll he has been reading (v 34); he actively seeks baptism (v 36); and he goes on his way rejoicing (v 39).

Particularly because this story appears to contradict the presentation of Cornelius as the first gentile convert, scholars have been eager to determine the history of the story itself; i.e., where the story originated and what happened to it during its transmission. Several positions have been argued, with the following among the most prominent: (1) the story originated in an experience of Philip, who had prophetic and spiritual gifts like those of his daughters (see Acts 21:8–9), and who passed the story along to Luke; (2) the story did come from Philip, but originally it concerned the conversion of the first gentile, and Luke altered the story in order to preserve the role of Peter as the apostle involved in the first conversion of a gentile; and (3) the origin of the story has been lost in legendary elements that are typical of early Christian legends about the conversions of prominent individuals. No real consensus has emerged about the origin of this story. In fact, the very difficulty of deciding among these positions indicates the degree to which Luke's sources remain hidden.

At least as important as the question of the history that stands behind the account is the question of its place within the scheme of Luke-Acts. In Acts 1:8, the Risen Lord announces that his apostles will be his witnesses "in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth." Just prior to the story of the Ethiopian and Philip, persecution forces believers out of Jerusalem and into "the region of Judea and Samaria" (8:1), where Philip preaches among the Samaritans. The Ethiopian, coming as he does from the "end of the earth," stands at the threshold of the worldwide mission as yet another announcement of that mission (Ps 68:31). He prefigures Cornelius and the attending change in the Church's understanding of its mission (cf. Acts 10:34, 11:18). His own eagerness to hear Philip and his subsequent request for baptism symbolically convey Luke's understanding of the willingness of the gentile world to receive the gospel of Jesus Christ. Small wonder that early Church writers pass along a tradition that the Ethiopian returned to his own country and preached the gospel there (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.2.13–14; Iren. *Haer.* 3.12.8).

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BEVERLY ROBERTS GAVENTA

**ETHIOPIC LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (ETHIOPIC).

**ETHIOPIC VERSIONS.** See VERSIONS, ANCIENT (ETHIOPIC).

**ETHNAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾetnān* (אֶתְנָן)]. Son of Asshur (1 Chr 4:7). Nothing is otherwise known about him. It is possible that the name may actually be the name of a town, and it is often identified with Ithnan, a city in S Judah (Josh 15:23).

H. C. LO

**ETHNARCH** [Gk *Ethnarchēs* (Ἐθναρχης)]. See PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (ROMAN ADMINISTRATION).

**ETHNI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾetnî* (אֶתְנִי)]. A Levite, ancestor of Asaph the musician (1 Chr 6:26—Eng6:41). The name Ethni is found only once in a genealogical list of levitical singers which attempts to trace ancestry back to the time of David. The list is secondary, perhaps based upon the preceding list (1 Chr 6:1–15—Eng6:16–30). The name may be equivalent to Jeatherai in 1 Chr 6:6—Eng6:21. Noth (*IPN*, 171) suggested that Ethni is a shortened form of Ethnan.

TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**EUBULUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Euboulos* (Εὐβουλος)]. A Christian who was with Paul (2 Tim 4:21) during the imprisonment from which 2 Timothy purportedly was written. While that confinement is usually assumed to have been in Rome, Dibelius and Conzelmann, for example, argue that Caesarea also might well have been the place of composition envisioned by the author of 2 Timothy (*Pastoral Epistles,* Hermeneia, 126–27). Eubulus sends greetings to Timothy along with Pudens, Linus, Claudia, and others. Since Eubulus was a rather common Greek name, one often found in papyri and inscriptions, one suspects he was a gentile by birth.

A person named Eubulus—identified as one of the presbyters in the Corinthian community—is also mentioned in the letter from the Corinthians to Paul in the Acts of Paul (8.1.1), where Eubulus, along with others, send greetings to Paul. While the author of the apocryphal Acts may have known and used the Pastoral Epistles, it is also possible that both independently relied upon the same oral traditions and thus contain complementary information about Eubulus (see the discussion in MacDonald 1983: 65–66). At the same time, however, the commonality of Eubulus' name cautions against a solid identification of Paul's prison companion with the Corinthian presbyter.

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FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

**EUGNOSTOS AND THE SOPHIA OF JESUS CHRIST.** *Eugnostos* and *The Sophia of Jesus Christ* are closely related gnostic tractates. Most of the didactic portions of *Eugnostos* (which constitute its bulk) are found on the lips of Christ in *Soph. Jes. Chr.* For this reason, it is appropriate to consider them together. Both tractates occur in the Nag Hammadi library: *Eugnostos* is found twice, in significantly different versions, in Codices III and V; *Soph. Jes. Chr.* is found only in Codex III. However, another copy has been preserved, outside the Nag Hammadi library, in Papyrus Berolinensis 8502. All copies are written in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, although other dialectal influences are occasionally found. In addition, a fragment of *Soph. Jes. Chr.* in Greek (the language of composition) was discovered at Oxyrhynchus (P. Oxy. 1081). The number of preserved copies, and the evidence for two major recensions of *Eugnostos*, suggest wide usage and popularity.

The major portion of *Eugnostos* has the form of a religio-philosophical controversy discourse. The distinctive structure of this widely used literary genre was as follows: announcement of theme; position(s) of opponents; refutation of opponents; presentation of one's own position (for another example, see Ptolemaeus' *Letter to Flora*). This discourse is framed by a letter format from an otherwise unknown religious teacher named Eugnostos. (It has been suggested that he was the scribe of the colophon of *The Gospel of the Egyptians* [NHC III,*2*], who is also named Eugnostos [Doresse 1960: 160], but that seems unlikely, since the tractate *Eugnostos* is undoubtedly to be dated considerably earlier than the time of the copyist of *Gos. Eg.*) The letter is directed to "those who are his" (Codex III *Eugnostos* only; in Codex V *Eugnostos*, the section is mostly in lacuna). Although "his" may refer to Eugnostos, it could also designate a deity. In Codex III *Eugnostos*, Eugnostos is given the honorific title "The Blessed," perhaps indicating the belief that he had died.

The discourse portion of *Eugnostos* is divided into two parts. (In what follows, references are to the Codex III version unless otherwise noted.) Part I (70.3–85.9) consists of a description of the "true" nature of that portion of the cosmos beyond the visible sphere. The writer of *Eugnostos* believed that the invisible realities were mirrored (albeit imperfectly) in the visible world, and that by examining it, with the help of a divine principle called Thought (Gk *ennoia*), those higher realities could be known (III,74.13–19 and *Eugnostos*-V, par.).

The invisible world is understood to have originated with a being who himself has no origin, because he is eternal and unbegotten. He is the source of every mental power (73.8–11). Subsequent realities come into being through various means: self-mirroring, spiritual sexual activity by various male-female pairs, and direct creation. These realities establish the patterns for "our aeon" and the various aspects of it having to do with time (83.20–84.10). In the process of the coming into being of these realities, a special group is produced, consisting of those subsequently to be embodied as gnostics (75.12–23).

The shorter Part II (85.9–90.3) depicts the highest level of the visible cosmos, called "chaos." Although three aeons are spoken of at the beginning, the first two are largely ignored and the description focuses on the third, named "assembly" (86.15–87.8). From it come divine beings and structures, as well as the patterns for the remainder of the cosmos. At its conclusion, *Eugnostos* looks forward to the appearance of one who will interpret (V,*1*) or simply repeat (III,*3*) the teachings of the tractate.

Names given three of the major divine beings (Immortal Man; Son of Man, also called Adam; and Son of Son of Man, also called Savior) appear to refer in a partly veiled way to the sequence God, Adam, and Seth in Genesis 1–5. If that is correct, the tractate should be considered early Sethian gnostic in its present form. (There is reason to think that the names were added to an earlier speculative document.)

*Eugnostos* probably originated in Egypt. There is a reference in the text to "the 360 days of the year" (84.4–5), which was a calendrical concept only current in Egypt during the time when *Eugnostos* was probably composed. Although various suggestions have been made about evidence of Christian influence in the composition of *Eugnostos* (Wilson 1968: 115–16; Tardieu 1984: 66), none has been convincing and *Eugnostos* is generally considered non-Christian, except for what appears to have been a late modification of the concluding prophecy in Codex III *Eugnostos.* Influence of a speculative type of Judaism (perhaps

the same as the early Sethianism mentioned above) is to be found in both parts of *Eugnostos.* Also, there is numerological speculation in Part I, which may indicate Neopythagorean influence.

One other influence should be noted; namely, that of Egyptian religious thought. The sequential pattern of deities in Part I seems to be a reflection of a similar pattern developed in the Theban theology of the New Kingdom (1551–1070 B.C.E.). That pattern—an initial being without a consort, who produces another consort-less being, who in turn creates a group of sexually paired divinities whose sole function is to create other divinities directly involved in the world-creating process—was unique to Egyptian religion. Its use in *Eugnostos* may have influenced later gnostic speculative developments; e.g., compare the description of the highest being in Eugnostos with those in the probably later *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,*1;* III,*1;* IV,*1;* and BG *2*) and *Tripartite Tractate* (NHC I,5) (Parrott 1987: 91–92).

As to the date of *Eugnostos*, these observations point to sometime in the 1st century C.E. A recent suggestion that it be dated in the latter part of the 2d century is not well supported (Tardieu 1984: 66).

*Soph. Jes. Chr.* has the form of a postresurrection revelation dialogue between Christ and his male and female followers. Although it is said that all the disciples, as well as the women followers of Jesus, are present, the only ones who are named and who participate in the dialogue are Philip, Matthew, Thomas, Bartholomew, and Mary. These seem to have been given a special status, here and elsewhere, as recipients of distinctive gnostic revelations from Christ (Parrott 1986).

*Eugnostos* was probably a source for *Soph. Jes. Chr.* rather than the other way around (Krause 1964). It seems likely that the writer of *Soph. Jes. Chr.* wanted to attract non-Christian gnostics, who would have known and perhaps revered *Eugnostos*, to a version of Gnosticism that placed Christ at the center, as revealer and savior. Christ, depicted speaking the words of *Eugnostos*, would have been understood as fulfilling the concluding prophecy of *Eugnostos* In the non-*Eugnostos* material in *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, of which there is a significant amount, Christ is also emphasized. There, he is seen as revealer and as the one whose triumph over the wicked powers opened the way for his followers to do the same.

Typical gnostic themes also found in the non-*Eugnostos* material, although in somewhat abbreviated form, are the wicked creator god Yaldabaoth, the fall of Sophia, the evil of sex, and the ultimate difference between those with pure knowledge and those with defective knowledge.

*Soph. Jes. Chr.* should probably be dated early in the 2d century. This is suggested by the reason discussed above for its composition, the fact that references to the controversy with orthodoxy are missing, and the lack of any clear signs of the gnostic systems of the mid-2d century C.E. Earlier suggestions that *Soph. Jes. Chr.* should be dated late in the 2d or 3d centuries overlooked these considerations (Till and Schenke 1972: 56; Puech in *NTApocr* 1: 248).

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**EUMENES** (PERSON) [Gk *Eumenēs* (Εὐμενης)]. Eumenes II Soter, son of Attalus I and brother of Attalus II, king of Pergamum (197–159 B.C.; 1 Macc 8:8). He was given vast territories in Asia Minor by the Romans after the defeat of Antiochus III (the Great). In the year Eumenes began to reign, Antiochus III began the reconquest of former lands of the Seleucid empire. Many of the cities under the control of

Pergamum were lost. Through political negotiations and military alliance. Eumenes convinced Rome that Antiochus was a threat to Roman control in Asia Minor and that war should be declared. After Antiochus was defeated decisively at the battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.), Rome rewarded Eumenes with vast holdings, making him the most powerful ruler in Asia Minor. In the period 180–170 B.C., Eumenes rebuilt the city of Pergamum, erecting many shrines including the Great Altar of Zeus mentioned in Rev 2:13. Following the death of Seleucus IV in 175 B.C., Eumenes formed an alliance with Antiochus IV in order to undercut the former alliance between the Seleucid and Macedonian empires. Following Antiochus IV's death, Eumenes supported the pretender Alexander Balas against the claims to the throne of Demetrius. As a result of these alliances, Rome feared that Eumenes' power was becoming too great. Therefore, before his death Eumenes was stripped of many of the honors bestowed by Rome in spite of the fact that he remained a loyal ally of Rome unto the end.

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**EUNICE** (PERSON) [Gk *Eunikē* (Εὐνικη)]. A resident of the city of Lystra in Lycaonia where she, her mother Lois, and her son Timothy were apparently converted by Paul and Barnabas on their journey together into Asia Minor (2 Tim 1:5; Acts 16:1). Timothy eventually became one of Paul's most significant helpers.

The writer of 2 Timothy describes Timothy's faith as "a faith that dwelt first in your grandmother Lois and your mother Eunice" (1:5). Thus he seems to be aware of a tradition that their conversion preceded Timothy's. Later in the letter Timothy is reminded that "from childhood you have been acquainted with the sacred writings which are able to instruct you for salvation through faith in Jesus Christ" (3:15). Perhaps this text is intended to refer to Eunice and Lois as Timothy's earliest teachers. While there is no reason to think that the author of 2 Timothy was incorrect about the names of Eunice and Lois and that they were converted before Timothy, the idea that he had been taught the Scriptures from childhood, thus implying an orthodox upbringing by Eunice and Lois, may be a development of Christian legend (Dibelius and Conzelmann *Pastoral Epistles* Hermeneia, 98). Information in Acts 16:3 indicates that Timothy was uncircumcised, i.e., in reality the product of "a lax Judaism" (Haenchen *Acts* MeyerK, 478).

From Acts 16:1, which states that Timothy was "the son of a Jewish woman who was a believer; but his father was a Greek," it becomes evident that Eunice was a Jewess who had married a gentile and later had become Christian. Since no interference from Timothy's father is noted when Paul decides to circumcise Timothy, some have assumed that he must have been dead. Accordingly, a few manuscripts (generally considered secondary) refer to Eunice as a widow in 16:1.

The marital situation of Eunice and Paul's circumcision of Timothy have caused ongoing debate over whether her children were considered Jewish or gentile. As a Jewess married to a gentile, Eunice's marriage would have been looked upon unfavorably by Jews. Many commentators observe, however, that her offspring would have been considered Jewish because they had a Jewish mother. Yet it has been questioned whether that matrilineal principle was actually in effect in Eunice's day and milieu. The suggestion has been made that in fact "lineage was matrilineal when it was matrilocal. When the Israelite woman moved abroad to join her Gentile husband, her children were considered Gentile" (Cohen 1986: 266). But a response has countered that matrilineal emphasis could very well have been operative in Eunice's situation (Bryan 1988: 294).

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**EUNUCH.** See PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (POSTEXILIC JUDEAN OFFICIALS).

**EUNUCH, ETHIOPIAN.** See ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH.

**EUODIA** (PERSON) [Gk *Euodias* (Εὐοδιας)]. A Christian at Philippi who, in company with Syntyche, is described by Paul as having "labored side by side" with him in the gospel along with Clement and other coworkers (Phil 4:2–3). Euodia and Syntyche are mentioned in Philippians because of a disagreement between them which Paul had become aware of, probably via EPAPHRODITUS (cf. 2:25).

The identity of these two quarreling parties, whose Greek names are in the feminine gender, as they also appear in numerous inscriptions, has been questioned on various accounts. One theory claims that Syntyche ought to be spelled as the masculine Syntyches, and that "he" was actually the jailer at Philippi (cf. Acts 16) and the husband of Euodia. But the Greek feminine plural pronouns ›*autais* and *haitines* in Phil 4:3, which can only refer back to Euodia and Syntyche, require that both names belong to women. Another view, advanced by the Tübingen school, interpreted Euodia and Syntyche not as individuals but as symbols for Jewish and gentile Christians respectively. This approach viewed the person called Syzygus in 4:3, often rendered "true yokefellow," instead as "the unifier," i.e., as being in reality Peter, who was called to mediate between the Jewish and gentile factions within the Church. But Paul hardly seems given to writing with such obscure symbolism. Another theory concerning the identity of Euodia and Syntyche is that one or the other of the two women was in fact the LYDIA of Acts 16, her name there being an adjective indicating her place of origin, i.e., "the Lydian." The important role played by Lydia in the founding of the church at Philippi lends some support to this hypothesis.

The quarrel between Euodia and Syntyche which prompted Paul's reference to them must have had ramifications for the entire Philippian community or it would hardly have been mentioned in a letter to the whole Church. Thus Paul's concern for these women reflects their importance in the group, probably due to leadership roles as deacons or leaders of house churches. This accords with the Acts 16 account where women are prominent among the original core of Philippian believers. While the content of Euodia's and Syntyche's quarrel is left unspecified, one suspects it was related to matters of church leadership as they exercised it. In any case, Paul urges the two to be reconciled in the Lord, emphatically repeating the phrase "I entreat" (Gk *parakalō*) to each (4:2). He asks them to be of one mind in Christ.

To help bring about the reconciliation of Euodia and Syntyche, Paul calls for the intervention of someone referred to simply as "true yokefellow" (Gk *gnēsie syzyge*). In addressing this latter person, Paul states that Euodia and Syntyche had "labored side by side" (Gk *sunathlein*) on behalf of the gospel with Clement, the other fellow workers (Gk *sunergoi*), and himself. It has been argued that the term Gk *sunathlein,* also used by Paul in Phil 1:27, where it implies resisting external opposition, bears the same nuance of confronting an outside force in 4:3, i.e., it "suggests strife, danger, opposition, courage, memorable loyalty, not leadership, ministry, preaching, presiding" (Malinowski 1985: 62). Malinowski uses this observation to argue that Euodia and Syntyche thus could not have had leadership roles in the Philippian community. But this analysis overlooks the very noticeable singling out of these women for mention which necessarily accords them a distinction. Further, the theory fails to consider that Euodia's and Syntyche's "laboring side by side" (if indeed it be restricted to facing external opposition) was probably carried on precisely in their being strong leaders or preachers—hence the seriousness of their quarrel for the church of Philippi.

Paul, by reminding the mediator "true yokefellow" of Euodia's and Syntyche's collaboration with him, indicates respect for their work; thus, they are not to be degraded for their disagreements, but recognized as esteemed members of Paul's team (Hawthorne *Philippians* WBC, 180). Nor does there appear to be any reason to assume, retrojecting the roles of later deaconesses onto Euodia and Syntyche, that the two labored for the spread of the gospel only among women. Rather, as the text implies, in Paul's eyes they were obviously his co-workers, equal in importance and role to Clement and the other co-workers. Paul reminds the Philippians that the names of each of these workers are "in the book of life" (4:3), i.e., Euodia, Syntyche, and the others are indeed God's faithful servants.

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**EUPATOR** (PERSON) [Gk *Eupatōr* (Εὐπατωρ)]. See ANTIOCHUS (PERSON).

**EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE BIBLE.** See BIBLE, EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE.

**EUPOLEMUS.** A Jewish historian who flourished in Palestine in the mid-2d century B.C.E. He wrote a work in Greek entitled *Concerning the Kings in Judea*, of which five brief fragments have been preserved. Other works entitled *Concerning the Prophecy of Elijah* and *On the Jews of Assyria* are also mentioned in connection with Eupolemus, but for convincing reasons are not now attributed to him.

He is confidently identified as the Eupolemus who was a member of the priestly family Accos and sent as an ambassador to Rome by Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc 8:17; 2 Macc 4:11; Josephus *JW* 12.10.6 §415–16).

The major source for the Eupolemus fragments is Eusebius *Praep. Evang.*, Book 9. In certain instances, however, the earlier testimony of Clement of Alexandria *(Str.)* provides an alternate (Frg. 1) or abridged (Frg. 2) version of fragments preserved in Eusebius; and in one case (Frg. 5) Clement preserves an additional fragment not mentioned by Eusebius. Both Clement and Eusebius attribute their knowledge and use of Eupolemus to the pagan author Alexander Polyhistor (ca. 112–30 B.C.E.), who in his work *Concerning the Jews* had quoted portions of Eupolemus' work.

The contents of the fragments may be briefly summarized. Frg. 1 (*Str.* 1.23.153.4; *Praep. Evang.* 9.26.1) briefly portrays Moses as the "first wise man" and cultural benefactor responsible for originating the alphabet and recording laws. Frg. 2 (*Str.* 1.21.130.3; *Praep. Evang.* 9.30.1–34.18), the longest of the fragments (over 200 lines of Greek text), concentrates on David and especially Solomon, and provides a quite detailed, and in some respects unique, account of the preparation and building of the temple. One remarkable feature is the set of letters between Solomon and Souron (Hiram), king of Tyre, based on 1 Kgs 5:2–6 and 2 Chr 2:2–9, and the similarly constructed apocryphal correspondence with Vaphres, king of Egypt. Frg. 3 (*Praep. Evang.* 9.34.20) briefly mentions Solomon's enormous wealth and length of reign. Frg. 4 (*Praep. Evang.* 9.39.1–5) rehearses events from the life of Jeremiah during the reign of "Jonacheim" and mentions the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. Frg. 5 (*Str.* 1.21.141.4–5) calculates the length of time from Adam and the Exodus respectively until the reign of Demetrius I Soter (162–150 B.C.E.). Typical of such chronographical summaries, this fragment has some problematic features that have prompted textual emendations. Yet its mention of "the 5th year of the reign of Demetrius" makes it fairly certain to date Eupolemus' work ca. 158/7 B.C.E.

The fragments reflect use of both the LXX and MT, thus suggesting a bilingual author. The form of his syntax and use of language suggest that Hebrew or Aramaic was his first, Greek his second language. Nevertheless, he is skilled in the use of the latter and the fragments reflect knowledge, and perhaps direct use, of Greek sources, such as Ctesias and Herodotus.

While he has made careful use of the biblical text, he also exhibits considerable independence from it. He frequently incorporates nonbiblical traditions into his account of the biblical story (Moses as inventor of the alphabet and legislation: the Solomon-Vaphres correspondence). There are numerous alterations and contradictions of the biblical text (the expanded measurements of the temple; David identified as Saul's son; the vastly extended territories over which David and Solomon reigned). The fragments also exhibit numerous geographical, chronological, and grammatical anachronisms. Territorial divisions of the Maccabean period are read back into the period of the monarchy. Certain features of Eupolemus' description of Solomon's temple appear to be drawn from the temple of Zerubbabel.

The tone of the fragments is nationalistic and encomiastic. Typical of the Hellenistic historiographical tradition in which such authors as Manetho and Berossus wrote to glorify their national history and tradition, Eupolemus recounts the biblical story proudly and magnifies the accomplishments of biblical characters. He presents Moses as cultural benefactor of other nations, David and Solomon as international

figures reigning over greatly expanded territories. Solomon is more than a peer to his counterparts Souron and Vaphres, he is their superior. The temple of Solomon is fabulously appointed.

It does not appear that Eupolemus is theologically narrow. He reports without demur Solomon's giving Souron a golden pillar that was erected in the temple of Zeus at Tyre. Polemic against pagan worship is absent from the fragments. Yet in Solomon's correspondence with Souron and Vaphres, Eupolemus proclaims the "Most High God," and has the pagan kings acknowledge "so great a God" and the Creator God.

Eupolemus' work is best understood within the historical and cultural context of Maccabean Palestine. His preoccupation with the temple may be seen not only as a reflection of his priestly background but may also be related to the purification and rededication of the temple following the Maccabean war. The latter can be seen as an appropriate context for producing such a lavish description of the temple. Moreover, newly established independence and the hopes of the Hasmonean kings might well have become the occasion for recalling the earlier glory of the monarchy and embellishing it in the process. Expansionist policies might be served well by recalling the territorial expansions of David and Solomon, however exaggerated. Noting their willingness to deal with Egyptian and Syrian kings could also combat isolationist tendencies while promoting expansionist policies.

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**EUPOLEMUS, PSEUDO-.** A designation used to identify two fragments about Abraham preserved by Eusebius in *Praep. Evang.*, Bk. 9, both of which are taken from an earlier work *Concerning the Jews* by the pagan author Alexander Polyhistor (ca. 112–30 B.C.E.).

The term "Pseudo-Eupolemus" is used as a designation for these fragments because Eusebius attributes the first of them to the Jewish historian Eupolemus. Since Freudenthal (1874–75: 82–103), it has been widely held that, because of important differences in content and outlook between this fragment and the five other fragments generally attributed to Eupolemus, it, along with the second, unattributed fragment, should be attributed to someone else, an anonymous author, probably a Samaritan, commonly designated Pseudo-Eupolemus. Recently, however, a strong case has been made for attributing the first fragment to the historian Eupolemus (Doran, *OTP* 2: 873–76), and for seeing the second fragment as a collection of traditions unattributable to any single person (Walter 1976: 137–38).

Even though it may not be possible to identify with certainty the author of these two fragments, it is nevertheless possible to establish some limits for their dating. Since they were originally preserved by Alexander Polyhistor, they obviously must have been written prior to the mid-1st century B.C.E. There is some evidence of dependence (in the first fragment) on *Berossus Babyloniaca* (ca. 293–292 B.C.E.). Thus, the fragments are to be dated sometime between the early 2d and mid-1st century B.C.E. Since they appear to presuppose the existence of the temple at Mt. Gerizim, which was destroyed by the Hasmoneans in 132 B.C.E., a date in the first half of the 2d century B.C.E. is generally favored.

Frg. 1 (*Praep. Evang.* 9.17.1–9) is said by Polyhistor to come from a work by Eupolemus entitled *Concerning the Jews of Assyria*, but the accuracy of the title has been disputed and therefore emended to simply *Concerning the Jews.* If it is to be attributed to the historian Eupolemus, it would appear to come from another work besides *Concerning the Kings in Judea.* The fragment, which consists of approximately 50 lines of Greek text, treats (in slightly rearranged order) events recorded in Genesis 6–14: the postdiluvian founding of Babylon by the giants, their building of the tower (of Babel), and its

destruction by God; Abraham's Babylonian origins, his migration to Phoenicia (Canaan), his military exploits (against the Armenians!), his hero's welcome at "the temple Argarizin" (Mt. Gerizim), his receiving gifts from Melchizedek, his migration to Egypt. Frg. 2 (*Praep. Evang.* 9.18.2), consisting of about 10 lines attributed to "anonymous works," in certain respects represents a condensed version of Frg 1: Abraham's lineage traced to the Babylonian giants, his migration first to Phoenicia, then to Egypt. It only alludes to the Flood, however, and omits reference to the destruction of the tower.

In both fragments Abraham is portrayed in heroic terms as a sage of noble descent, pious servant of God, friend of kings, benevolent warrior, and cultural benefactor. Especially emphasized is his mastery of the "movements of the sun and moon," and his role in transmitting this "Chaldean science" to the Phoenicians and Egyptians. Indeed, he (along with Enoch!) is credited with the discovery of astrology.

The fragments reflect clear dependence on the LXX and possible use of the MT. They are especially characterized, however, by the inclusion of nonbiblical traditions, both haggadic (giants as builders of Babel, the destruction of the tower of Babel, Pharaoh's inability to have sexual intercourse with Sarah, Enoch as master of heavenly lore) and pagan mythological traditions drawn from Babylonian and Greek sources (the use of Babylonian chronology in tracing Cush and Mizraim back to Kronos, identification of Atlas and Enoch, attributing the building of the tower of Babel to Belus).

Of particular significance is the mention in Frg. 1 of Abraham's being "received as a guest by the city at the temple Argarizin, which is interpreted as 'mountain of the Most High.' " This prominence given to Mt. Gerizim as the site where Abraham received Melchizedek is one of the primary reasons for attributing the fragment to a Samaritan author. It was especially difficult to reconcile this primacy given to Mt. Gerizim as a sacred shrine with the primacy given in the genuine Eupolemus fragments (esp. Frg. 2) to the Jerusalem temple. Accordingly, two separate authors were proposed to represent these theologically polar viewpoints (Freudenthal 1874–75: 85–86). In addition, the conspicuous willingness to embellish the biblical account with pagan mythological traditions has been seen as a type of syncretism thought to characterize Samaritans. The attention given to Phoenicians within the fragments may also reflect a Samaritan bias since Samaritans appear to have been identified as "Sidonians of Shechem" (Josephus *Ant* 11.8.6 §344; 12.5.5 §§257–64; so Collins 1983: 38, 55).

In spite of the continued debate about the authorship of these fragments, they remain important primary sources for the study of Samaritan traditions in the Hellenistic period. Their dependence on the LXX, like the Eupolemus fragments, makes them a useful source in tracing development and use of the LXX. The generous blending of pagan mythological traditions with biblical traditions provides a usual barometer for measuring degrees and kinds of Hellenization. The probable dependence on Berossus provides another concrete instance of Jewish or Samaritan incorporation of identifiable pagan traditions. The interpretive treatment of Abraham and Enoch within these fragments bears close resemblance to traditions in other noncanonical writings, such as the *Genesis Apocryphon, Jubilees, 1 Enoch*.

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**EUREGETES.** See BENEFACTOR.

**EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA** (PERSON). Late 3d/early 4th-century Christian historian, biblical scholar, and theologian; the "Father of Church History." Born ca. A.D. 260, he was bishop of Caesarea, the administrative capital of Roman Palestine, from ca. 313 until his death, May 30, 339. Regarded by his contemporaries as the greatest Christian scholar of his time, he wrote a history of Christianity covering

the first three centuries (his *Historia Ecclesiastica* or *Church History*) and a *Life of Constantine* celebrating the Christianization of the Roman Empire; compiled in a *Chronicle* a detailed comparative chronology of biblical, ANE, Greek, and Roman history; made the most successful early systematic study of gospel parallels (the *Evangelical* or *Eusebian Canons*); and wrote other works on biblical geography *(Onomasticon),* the pagan divine man motif *(Contra Hieroclem),* the interpretation of Scripture *(Prophetic Eclogues, Demonstratio Evangelica, Commentary on Isaiah, Commentary on the Psalms, Gospel Questions and Solutions),* martyrology *(Martyrs of Palestine),* various theological issues *(Praeparatio Evangelica, Theophany, Contra Marcellum, De Ecclesiastica Theologia, On Easter),* and other topics (the *Panegyric to Constantine* and *Treatise on the Church of the Holy Sepulcher,* important to the history of church-state relations, are contained in chaps. 1–10 and 11–18 respectively of his *De laudibus Constantini*).

He was born ca. A.D. 260, probably in Caesarea, where he seems to have spent his entire life. The assessment of Eusebius' life and character has changed markedly with the establishment of more accurate dates for the various editions of his *Church History* (Grant 1980; Barnes 1981; Chesnut 1986). He lived the first forty years or so of his life during the Great Peace of the Church, when Christianity could be practiced openly. He developed his massive scholarship as a research librarian in the large library—of 30,000 volumes, according to one ancient source—assembled by the wealthy presbyter Pamphilus in Caesarea in honor of the Christian teacher Origen. Eusebius was often identified simply as Eusebius Pamphili [Gk *Eusebios ho tou pamphilou*], "Pamphilus' Eusebius."

Richard Laqueur began the modern debate over the date and nature of the first edition of the *Church History* in 1929 by pointing out that the reference in the preface (*Hist. Eccl.* 1.1.2) to the Great Persecution under Diocletian in 303 had to be a later editorial redaction. It now seems clear that the first edition was not only written before 303, but that most of Bks. 1–7 represents unchanged text from that edition (Barnes 1981: 145–46, 346, n.10; Chesnut 1986: 116–21). Eusebius was still a research librarian in Pamphilus' library. There was no Constantine in that first edition, no Christian emperor, no triumph of the cross at the battle of the Milvian bridge. Eusebius at that time believed in religious pluralism and argued for tolerance for all religions in the Roman Empire. He nowhere sanctioned coercion or persecution of pagans, or of those regarded as heretics, and proclaimed that the gospel would ultimately triumph by the pure preaching and teaching of its truth.

He was often strongly antimilitaristic: soldiers were decried as "men stained with blood and with countless murders for the sake of children and fatherland and that sort of thing" (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.pref.3; cf. 7.15.4). His recitation of the legend of the Thundering Legion (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.5.1–7) has been cited to show that he did not disapprove of Christians serving in the military, but here he was simply following his practice of incorporating in his history all the early Christian traditions he could find, and this was too well known a locus to omit. The usual point of this legend in its earliest Christian form was to show that Christians could aid the empire by praying for it as well as they could if large numbers of them had been willing to serve in its legions. In spite of the evidence that there were some few Christians in the Roman army during the first three centuries, Christians were regularly accused by the pagans of being unpatriotic in their more general unwillingness to fight in the legions. As he was finishing the first edition, Eusebius did, however, come across Dionysius of Alexandria's account of a group of Christians who had successfully used violent resistance on one occasion to drive off persecuting Roman soldiers (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.40.4–9). But this does not seem to have moved him to suggest that other Christians follow their example, either in the first edition of the *Church History* or in the second.

The beginning of the Great Persecution on February 23, 303, produced eight years of almost constant attack on Christians in the East. Eusebius' patron Pamphilus was tortured and sentenced to prison on November 5, 307, and eventually martyred on February 16, 310 (Eus. *Mart. Pal.* [both recensions] 7.3–6 and 11.1–5; Barnes 1981: 152–54). The reigning bishop of Caesarea denied the faith at some point during this strife-filled eight years and the Christian flock of that city was left leaderless for the remainder of the persecution (Eusebius as a matter of principle refused to record how he fell, the length of time Caesarea was without a bishop, or even the man's name; see Lawlor and Oulton 1928: vol. 2, 263; Chesnut 1986:

122). But then in 312 Constantine defeated his rival Maxentius at the battle of the Milvian bridge and became sole ruler of the western half of the Roman Empire. At Milan in early 313, Constantine met with the pagan Licinius, who now ruled the entire eastern half, and obtained an agreement that persecution of Christians would be halted all over the empire.

At about the same time Eusebius, the quiet research scholar, was made bishop of Caesarea and found himself confronted with the task of renewing the spirit of a scattered and demoralized flock, living under the pagan emperor Licinius, who had been temporarily persuaded to give toleration to them. It is important to note that Eusebius was never Constantine's "court bishop," even though most of the literature written prior to the 1980s tends to portray him that way—he did not come under Constantine's direct rule until 324, when he himself was in his sixties.

The second edition of the *Church History,* written ca. 313, portrayed Constantine calling upon "God who is in heaven" (the Christian god? or the sun god Apollo/Mithras/Sol Invictus whose vision Constantine claimed he had seen in 310?) and praying for Jesus Christ (identified as the Platonic "Logos" of the "Heavenly God") to be his "ally" or "fellow fighter" (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 9.9.2). The pagan emperor Licinius was honored equally with Constantine for his "understanding and piety" (*Hist. Eccl.* 9.9.1). Eusebius seems to have felt it safer to depict Constantine in language ambiguous enough to fit either a real Christian convert or simply a Platonic sun-worshipper (Plutarch, *To an Uneducated Ruler* 781f–782a) who was willing to ally himself with the Christians in the same way in which the emperor Philip the Arabian had done back in the mid-3d century (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.34, 6.36.3, and 6.39.1).

Constantine defeated Licinius and took over the eastern half of the Roman Empire in 324, but Eusebius was not willing to regard him unambiguously as a believing Christian until eleven years later, in 335, when Eusebius himself was already in his seventies (Chesnut 1986: 135). Even then Eusebius was no more a servile tool of a Roman emperor than was Athanasius or Ambrose. His goal was always to control the ruling emperor in matters affecting the Christian community and to avoid being controlled by him. Public flattery was sometimes the best method—one that Ambrose of Milan also used on occasion.

At the Council of Nicaea in 325, Eusebius subscribed to the conciliar decision, though with hesitation. But afterward, in an effort to undo the council's supporters, he managed to topple Eustathius, the patriarch of Antioch, in 330, and Athanasius, the patriarch of Alexandria, in 336. Eusebius is therefore often said to have been an "Arian." He would, however, better be described more as a defender of Origen's radical trinitarian and christological teaching, rather than as a supporter *per se* of Arius' version of the old, conservative, 2d-century angel christology, for there were many passages in Eusebius' hero Origen which could not fit the *homoousios* doctrine either.

Constantine died on May 22, 337, and Eusebius almost immediately began his *Life of Constantine.* He had essentially finished it before his own death two years later, when he was almost eighty. It was not a "biography," except perhaps in terms of the Platonizing theory of biography that one sees in Plutarch (*Life of Pericles* 1–2). It was instead a political manifesto cast in a form similar in ways to the medieval "Mirror of Princes." It was directed at Constantine's three sons, who now jointly ruled the empire. The message was simple: the throne must be kept in Christian hands and the idol temples, whose followers had so recently carried out the bloodthirsty massacre of helpless Christians, should be closed down permanently. Constantine was portrayed both in Hellenistic style as the philosopher-king who was the saving image of the Logos on earth (*Vita C.* 1.5; *De laud.* 1–2) and in more Hebraic fashion as the great eschatological Warrior of God. The surprising new "Warrior of God" motif—unknown in earlier Christian writings, even Eusebius' own—was one that would appear again and again in the Middle Ages, from the religious self-understanding of monarchs like St. Louis of France to the ethos of the Arthurian legends (Chesnut 1986: 140–74).

Eusebius developed a complex philosophy and theology of history which stood as the only significant alternative in both the ancient and medieval worlds to Augustine's predestinarianism and determinism—without sacrificing a profound understanding of human fallenness and the role of the nonrational. He should not be linked with the theological conservatives of his period, for he was a rather radical Origenist, who upheld the Origenistic doctrine of preexistence of souls and applied his vast knowledge of the history

of Greek philosophy to theological problems. He argued for human free will against classical Greek fatalism and contemporary astrology and gnosticism, but also believed that a divine providence controlled the "accidents" of history (*ta symbebēkota,* an Aristotelian term, *Ph.* 2.5.197a). Hence God's providence determined even the affairs of emperors and kings. As a radical Origenist, he rejected the apocalyptic idea of a future millennial kingdom of Christ on earth in favor of a more Platonic concept of immortal life in some supercosmic realm. But he also believed that this present cosmos would come to a cataclysmic end at some point several generations (or at most several centuries) after his own time. In a kind of "expanded eschatology" the events of the apocalyptic end times were spread out over hundreds of years. The Pax Romana which began under the emperor Augustus was identified by Eusebius with the eschatological kingdom of peace (Isa 2:1–4; Mic 4:1–4), while the emperor Constantine and his descendants were "the saints of the Most High" (Dan 7:18), the eschatological rulers who were to govern Rome, the fourth kingdom (Dan 2:31–45), until the final tribulation, when the world would be destroyed and the last judgment held.

Eusebius' *Church History* was the first full-length continuous narrative history written by a Christian. Nothing truly comparable to it had been created before, for Hegesippus' *Memoirs* (completed between A.D. 175 and 189) seems to have been, from the surviving fragments, an anecdotal, basically antignostic work, nonchronological in organization. Sextus Julius Africanus' *Chronographies* (completed ca. A.D. 221) seems also, from the fragments we still possess, not to have been a true narrative history but an attempt to establish dates, with only rare sections of historical commentary, for the primary purpose of calculating when the end of the world would come. (Having convinced himself that Daniel and other biblical texts proved that the millennium would arrive in what would be the 500th year after the birth of Christ and the 6000th year after the creation of the world, he wished to turn this into a date in his own Roman calendrical system.)

Eusebius' *Church History* was true, continuous historical narrative, chronologically told, unlike either Hegesippus or Africanus; its influence over the following thousand years or more made it one of the four or five most important seminal works in the history of Western historiography. It relates the history of Christianity from the time of Jesus to the early 4th century, and is in fact the only such account which we possess of that 300-year period. He "picked from the flowered meadows" of early Church history (*Hist. Eccl.* 1.1.4) a host of extended quotations from ancient writers, many of which would otherwise be lost to us, and included them at appropriate points in his *Church History.* He cites almost 250 passages in all, from Papias, Hegesippus, Quadratus, the Legend of Abgar, Clement of Alexandria's lost work the *Hypotyposes,* and many other sources. Nearly half of this material is preserved in Eusebius alone.

Eusebius also preserves traditions about the early Christian community in Jerusalem, early Syriac Christianity, and the Ebonites; and about individuals such as the evangelists Matthew and Mark, James the brother of the Lord, Simon Magus, Valentinus, and Marcion. Some of the earlier traditions contain legendary or improbable material but can still be used, with the help of modern critical methods, to aid in putting together reconstructions of early Christian history. Robert M. Grant's *Eusebius as Church Historian* (1980) now gives a full analysis of some of the most important passages. Eusebius further records information about the development of the NT canon: which books were used by the earliest orthodox writers, which were read publicly in orthodox churches, and which were disputed (e.g., *Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.24–25; 3.3; 3.16; 3.24.2; 3.24.17–18; and 3.25). His detailed discussions are at least as important as, if not more so than, the early canonical lists.

Based on the studies of Grant and Barnes (see also Chesnut 1986: 125), the various editions of the *Church History* can be reconstructed as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| | *First edition:* |
| before the beginning of persecution in 303 | Most of the Books 1–7, excluding the preface at the beginning of the history at least in its present form, but going at least as far as the present *Hist. Eccl.* 7.30.22a and probably including also *Hist. Eccl.* 7.31 and *Hist. Eccl.* 7.32.5–21. Nothing past that point could be first edition material. |

| | |
|---|---|
| | *Second edition:* |
| | Books 1–7. |
| ca. 313 | An eighth book incorporating the entire short recension of what is now called the *Martyrs of Palestine.* |
| | Book 9. |
| | *Third edition:* |
| ca. 315 | Books 1–10.7 (including the present book 8, newly written to replace the older eighth book). |
| ca. 325 | *Fourth edition:* |
| | Books 1–10 (with any older material favorable to Licinius altered or removed). |
| | *A minor additional reediting:* |
| ca. 326 | Removal of any reference to the name of Constantine's son Crispus (executed by his father in 326). |

Grant gives a full account of editorial changes which Eusebius made within previously existing sections—for example, a two- or perhaps even three-stage change in Eusebius' attitude toward the book of Revelation and Papias (Grant 1980: 130–36).

In another work by Eusebius, the *Chronicle,* he established thousands of ancient dates to produce a comparative chronology of ANE, Greek, Roman, and biblical history. It survives in a Latin version by Jerome and in an Armenian version. Unlike the critically naive *Chronographies* of his 3d-century predecessor Julius Africanus, who had thought he could discover the precise year in which the world was created, Eusebius explicitly stated that there was no way of dating anything in the OT, even approximately, prior to the time of Abraham. His *Chronicle* contains material, such as Manetho's Egyptian king list, which was of inestimable value in our own modern period for reconstructing the history of the ANE, and also valuable dates and other information on secular Greek and Roman history. The *Eusebian Canons,* still printed in standard critical texts of the NT, were invented by Eusebius as a means of indicating parallel passages in the gospels. His use of this device shows that he clearly recognized—though it was not safe to state it explicitly in his period—that one cannot set up a detailed chronology of the period of Jesus' active ministry. He also produced an *Onomasticon,* a work on biblical place names, giving geographical locations of some 600 towns, historical sites, districts, mountains, and rivers, and connecting them with contemporary Roman place names. It is still of great importance to Palestinian archaeologists for the data it gives. It his *Onomasticon* and *Chronicle,* Eusebius was also attempting, at the theological level, to create the sense of a *Christian* space and time for Roman Palestine (Groh 1986).

In *Against Hierocles,* Eusebius argued that Jesus, rather than the pagan philosopher and miracle worker Apollonius of Tyana, had been the true *theios anēr* or divine man. In Origenist fashion, Eusebius asserted that Jesus was a man who was truly divine because his human soul possessed the full unfallen vision of God, and that his profound effect on other human beings demonstrated his divinity.

After years of neglect, Eusebius is now increasingly being recognized as a major Christian thinker, who gave a serious alternative to the Augustinian theology of history, and who furnished a fascinating example in his own forty-year career (290s–339) of Christianity's transition from a persecuted, nonmilitaristic minority to upholders of the combined ecclesiastical, governmental, and military establishment created by the 4th-century Christian emperors.

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**EUTYCHUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Eutychos* (Εὐτυχος)]. A young boy who, while listening to Paul in Troas, went to sleep and fell from an upstairs window (Acts 20:9). The story indicates that he was "taken up dead" (not "as dead"). Paul is said to have "bent over him" and embraced him and then said, "Do not be alarmed, for his life is in him." Whether or not the boy was actually dead is impossible to determine. Although the story is told as if he were dead, Paul's words, "his life is in him," may be understood as implying he was not actually dead. However one may resolve this ambiguity, the story appears to be attributing to Paul the ability to bring the dead boy back to life as Elijah and Elisha did in a similar manner. Paul's actions resemble the OT incidents involving Elijah and Elisha stretching themselves out over children in order the bring life back to them (1 Kgs 17:21; 2 Kgs 4:34–35).
FRANK E. WHEELER

**EVANGELIST.** See MINISTRY IN THE EARLY CHURCH.

**EVE** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥawwâ* (חַוָּה)]. Eve, the first woman, is an enigmatic figure. Apart from Genesis 2–4, she is mentioned very rarely in biblical material and yet she has played an important part in theological discussion and debate over gender roles in society throughout the postbiblical period (Pagels 1988). The origins of both the name and the figure have been the subject of wide-ranging scholarly debate.

**A. The Name "Eve"**

The woman in the garden of Eden story (Gen 2:4b–3:24) is given the name *ḥawwâ,* "Eve," in Gen 3:20. This verse sits awkwardly in the text and many scholars assume a different recension of the story is used here from that in Gen 2:23 where she is called *ʾiššâ,* "woman." Such a doublet could, however, arise from the oral tradition behind the narrative. The origin of the name *ḥawwâ* is uncertain. In the story the woman is called *ḥawwâ* because she is the "mother of all living *(ḥay)."* This suggests a derivation from the root *ḥyh,* "to live," but no immediate connection can be sustained. J's etymology is based solely on a wordplay. Note that the LXX translates *ḥawwâ* by *zōē,* "life," in 3:20. Evidence from Ugaritic and Phoenician suggest another ancient word "to live," *ḥwy* from which *ḥawwâ* could be derived. If this is the case, then the name itself is either borrowed or is an ancient traditional name.

The expression "mother of all living" has suggested to some a connection between Eve and various ANE mother goddesses. The Akkadian goddess Mami is called *bēlet kala ilī,* " mistress of all the gods," and *baniat awīlūti,* "creatress of humanity" (*Atrahasis* 1. 188–260). Ugaritic texts refer to Asherah as *qnyt.ʾilm,* "creatress of the gods," and *mšnqt.ʾilm,* "nurse of the gods," in her role as mother goddess. A Carthaginian devotional text (*KAI* 89) dated to the 3d or 2d century B.C.E. contains the word *ḥwt,* which could be related to Hebrew *ḥawwâ.* It begins *rbt ḥwt ʾlt mlkt. ḥwt* could be the name of a female deity or an epithet of a goddess, possibly Asherah or Tannit. These two divine names can be identified as referring to the one figure. Of all the goddesses, she is most frequently given the titles *rbt,* "lady," and *ʾlt,* "goddess." If *ḥwt* is derived from a word for "life" or "to live" it is a fitting epithet for the mother

goddess. These points suggest that the name given to the woman in Gen 3:20 could be a derivative of a title for the Canaanite mother goddess or at least an allusion to her.

Some scholars have pointed to the similarity of the name *ḥawwâ* to the Aramaic word *ḥewyā*, "serpent." In early Aramaic the word for "serpent" appears to be *ḥwh.* They have proposed that *ḥawwâ* was originally the name of an underworld goddess or that in an earlier version of Genesis 3 Eve and the serpent were identical. While this is conjectural, the possible connection of *ḥawwâ* to a word for "serpent" should not be overlooked. There is some tentative evidence suggesting a connection between the mother goddess Asherah/Tannit and serpents although the exact nature of the connection remains obscure. Both are strongly associated with fertility themes.

From this discussion it could be suggested that the name *ḥawwâ* in Gen 3:20 is meant to allude to the great goddess Asherah. The designation of Eve as the "mother of all living," the presence of the motif of fertility, and the associations with the serpent and sacred trees all have possible counterparts in mythic material in which Asherah is mentioned. If such an allusion is intended, then we should note that the circumstances of the Gen 2:4b–3:24 narrative are the exact reversal of what one might expect in a story about the mother goddess. Rather than productivity and fertility, the outcome in the story in Genesis is death, sterility, and hardship (Gen 3:14–19). Even the "mother of all living" is to suffer in childbirth. The interaction between Eve and the serpent, also a symbol of fertility, ultimately leads to death. The man's toil with the ground yields reward only at the price of pain and sweat. Thus Gen 2:4b–3:24 would seem to embrace a polemic against fertility themes of the Canaanite cult. This polemic, however, has been reworked by J so that now it forms part of the background of the story.

**B. Theological Considerations**

In Gen 2:20 it is stated that Eve is created to be an *ʿēzer kĕnegdô,* "a helper fit for him" (RSV). This expression has often been seen to indicate the subordination of Eve to Adam and hence generally of women to men in societal and family life. However, the word *ʿēzer,* "helper," does not imply subordination. It can be used to refer to a superior person or even to God, e.g., Ps 146:5. The phrase *ʿēzer kĕnegdô* is best understood as meaning "a companion corresponding to him." The fact that Eve is created second from one of the man's ribs and that she is tempted and submits first have also been used to argue for either the superiority of men over women or of women over men. The former position has been strongly supported historically in the traditions of Judaism (e.g., *Gen. Rab.* 18.2), Islam (Al-Baghawi, Mishkat al-Masabih), and Christianity. The only references to Eve in the NT, 2 Cor 11:3 and 1 Tim 2:11–15, both develop this line. The argument can be traced to the present day. The latter position, arguing for the superiority of women over men, has been voiced more strongly recently but it had its early proponents, e.g., in the Talmud (*Sanhedrin,* 39a). In either case the arguments depend more on the presuppositions of the interpreters than on what the text of Gen 2:4b–3:24 states explicitly. The text in its original form is concerned about the potential for intimacy in the divine-human relationship and in human relationships in light of the alienation that exists in the world. The subordination of Eve to her husband (Gen 3:16) clearly stands as one of the curses of a broken creation.

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**EVERLASTING GOD.** See NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT.

**EVI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿĕwî* (עֵוִי)]. A king of the Midianites (Num 31:8; Josh 13:21). The root *ʿwy* means "to seek shelter, refuge" in Canaanite and Arabic, and produces the personal names *ʿwy* (Phoenician,

Safaitic, and ancient Syriac), *ʾwyʾbʿl* (Punic), *ʾwʾ* (Ammonite), the tribal name *ʾwym* (Sabaic), and the place names *ʾwm* (Sabaic, the main temple of Maʾrib) and *byt ʾwn* (Heb). The name is therefore well attested in Semitic (Knauf 1988: 89), and need not be explained by Anatolian formatives (Mendenhall 1973: 167).

Historically, the five Midianite kings in Numbers 31 are difficult to deal with. Whereas Albright (1970) assumed that the Midianite war described in this chapter antedates the domestication of the camel (an observation which would now lead into the 3d millennium B.C.; Knauf 1988: 9–10), it is preferable to derive the Midianite "kings" from a list of places forming an itinerary through N Arabia and S Transjordan in the Persian period (Knauf 1988: 166–67). For the localization of Evi, one of the natural strongholds in the Petra area (Baʿjah or Umm al-Biyârah) is suggested.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**EVIL** [Heb *raʿ* (רַע)*, rāʿâ* (רָעָה); Gk *ponēros* (πονηρος)*, ponēria* (πονηρια)*, kakos* (κακος)*, kakia* (κακια)]. The opposite of good and righteous.

**A. The Old Testament**

The concept of evil in the OT has both qualitative and moral categories. Qualitatively, evil is something bad in nature or condition, worthless, corrupt, displeasing, undesirable, or inadequate. Evil is misfortune, particularly injury or threat of injury to life or standing in society. Evil can describe people (Prov 11:21; Ezek 30:12), names or reputations (Deut 22:14, 19; Neh 6:13), temperament (1 Sam 25:3), deep displeasure in someone else's performance (Gen 21:11–12; 28:8), despair (Gen 44:34; Prov 15:15), the distress common to humankind in this life (Gen 47:9; Ps 90:15), the trouble of the age (Eccl 9:12; Jer 17:17–18; Amos 5:13), physical harm (Gen 26:28–29; 2 Sam 12:18), speech (Ps 34:13), and intentions (1 Sam 20:7), situations (Exod 5:19), and land (Num 13:19; 20:5), disease (Deut 7:15), or animals either useless to the cult (Lev 27:10, 12) or dangerous (Gen 37:20, 33; Lev 26:6; Ezek 34:25). God can protect the faithful person or nation from these evils of life (Ps 23:4—LXX 22:4; Jer 29:11).

Evil is also used in a moral and spiritual sense as the designation for immorality and unfaithfulness to the covenant. The origin of evil is the human heart (Prov 6:14; 21:10; Eccl 8:11). Evil describes idolatry and apostasy (Deut 4:25; 1 Kgs 11:6), disobedience to special commands of God (1 Sam 15:19), false prophecy (Deut 13:5), murder (2 Sam 12:9), disobedience to parents (Deut 21:20–21), false witness (Deut 19:18–19), adultery and fornication (Deut 22:21–24), stealing (Gen 44:4; Deut 24:7), the ethical walk (Jer 18:11; 23:22; 25:5), sin in general (Gen 13:13; Ps 51:4), and the inclination of the heart (Gen 6:5; 8:21; Jer 3:17; 7:24; 18:12). These sins are often described as defining good as evil and evil as good (Isa 5:20; Mal 2:17) or seeking evil rather than good (Amos 5:14–15; Mic 3:2). Evil is the opposite of the good and righteous (Gen 2:9; 3:5, 22; Prov 11:21; 12:13).

Evil also describes God's judgment of the individual or nation of Israel for unfaithfulness, particularly to the requirements of covenant and the law of Moses (Deut 31:17–18; Jer 6:19; 18:11). This evil can take the form of the curses of the covenant (Josh 23:15–16), annihilation of a dynasty (1 Kgs 14:10; 21:21, 29) or city (2 Kgs 21:12–13), invading armies (Jer 4:6), wild beasts (Ezek 5:17; 14:21), disease (Deut 28:35, 59), or the sending of an evil spirit (Judg 9:23; 1 Sam 16:14–15). God can also lead out of these evils (Jer 15:21) or, as an outgrowth of his mercy (Exod 32:14) or the repentance of the unfaithful (Jer 18:8; 26:3, 13, 19; Jonah 3:10; 4:2), change his mind about inflicting them. Humankind brings these evils upon itself (Deut 31:17–18; Isa 3:9) and plots them for others (Prov 14:22; Mic 2:1), but God can spare the intended victim (Jer 15:21).

While the nation of Israel was independent and flourishing, while the corporate body was doing well, evil was viewed as the retribution from God upon individuals for sin and breaking of covenant (Judg

2:11–15; 2 Sam 12:9–10; 1 Kgs 2:44). This evil served as a deterrent to pursuing further evil (Deut 19:20; Jer 36:3). The destruction of the nation by noncovenant nations, the divergence of the corporate and the individual emphases in Israel's religion (Jer 31:29–30; Ezek 18:2), the suffering of the righteous (Job 2:3; 30:26), and the prospering of the wicked (Prov 11:21; Eccl 7:15; Jer 12:1–4; Hab 1:2–4; Mal 3:13–15), all presented Israel with the theological dilemma of the preponderance of evil.

Within the confines of its own henotheism and later monotheism, Israel grappled with explaining the relationship of evil to its conception of God. It did not develop a metaphysical dualism in which evil could be explained as the work of demonic powers. Neither did it develop the concept of a capricious God to whom both good and evil could be ascribed. Rather it developed an ethical monotheism. Within this conception a major solution was to look for the justice of God in the eschatological future (Mal 4:1–3—LXX 3:19–21), i.e., to accept the mystery of evil by conceptualizing a creator God with greater freedom to work in ways and for purposes that transcend human understanding (Job 42:2–3).

**B. The New Testament**

In the NT evil is also used in both qualitative and moral senses. Qualitatively, disease (Rev 16:2), fruit (Matt 7:17–18), nonuse of talents (Matt 25:26), an unmerciful servant (Matt 18:32), misfortune (Matt 6:34; Luke 16:25; Acts 28:5), and the present age (Gal 1:4; Eph 5:16; 6:13) can be described as evil.

However, the moral sense predominates in the NT. The evil person is the opposite of the good and righteous person (Matt 5:45; 13:49; 22:10). Evil is the disobedience to God's law, the preaching of Jesus, and the message of the apostles. It can describe human beings (Phil 3:2; 2 Tim 3:13), particularly the Pharisees (Matt 12:34), a faithless generation (Matt 12:39; 16:4), and those deciding against Jesus (2 Thess 3:2; 2 Tim 3:13). It is rooted in the heart (Matt 12:34–35; Mark 7:21–23; Heb 3:12) or eyes (Matt 6:23 par) or the love of money (1 Tim 6:10). It describes the conscience (Heb 10:22), thoughts (Matt 15:19; Jas 2:4), deeds (John 3:19; Rom 7:19), speech (Jas 3:8; 3 John 10), and the works of the world (John 7:7). Evil is clearly incompatible with the new life in Christ (Rom 12:17, 21; Col 3:5; 1 Thess 5:15; 1 Pet 3:9, 11).

God does not tempt with evil (Jas 1:13) but rather rescues from it (2 Thess 3:3; 2 Tim 4:18). However, evil can be ascribed to the EVIL ONE, the Devil (John 17:15; Eph 6:16; 1 John 2:13–14; 5:18). He has the power to lead humankind into evil (Eph 4:27; 1 Tim 3:7; 2 Tim 2:26) but works only under the limitations imposed by God (John 12:31; Rev 12:9; 20:1–3). To some extent evil and theodicy have received an answer in the gospel of the redemption of humankind and nature by Jesus Christ. Christ has won a victory over the Devil (Heb 2:14–15; 1 John 3:8) and ushered in the kingdom of God. Christ's victory over evil will be consummated (1 Cor 15:24–26; Heb 10:12–13) and the Devil's reign ended (Rev 20:2–3, 10). See also *TDNT* 3:469–87; 6: 546–66; *NIDNTT* 1: 561–67.

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**EVIL ONE, THE** [Gk *ho ponēros* (ὁ πονηρος)]. A title for the Devil or Satan. There is no pre-Christian equivalent for this title being applied to the Devil. That the title does in fact refer to the Devil is made clear by Matt 13:19 *(ho ponēros)* = Mark 4:15 *(ho satanas)* = Luke 8:12 *(ho diablos).* The Evil One is a title for the Devil when it is a substantive formed by the definite article and the masculine nominative of the adjective *ponēros* (Matt 13:19; 1 John 2:13–14; 5:18).

It is uncertain whether the Evil One is a title for the Devil or an abstract concept of evil when the genitive *tou ponēros* occurs. The genitive could derive either from the masculine *ho ponēros* or the neuter *ton ponēron.* Although a genitive is used, a title is strongly indicated in John 17:15; Eph 6:16; and 1 John 3:12; 5:19. On analogy with John 8:44, 47, which speaks of the alternative of being of the Devil or of God and contrasts Abel and Cain, the reference in 1 John 3:12 is probably titular. Since *tou ponērou* in 1 John 5:19 is used in parallelism with *tou theou* and in conjunction with *to ponēros* in 5:18, it is also likely to be a title. The titular use of *to ponēros* in 1 John is a strong indication that *tou ponērou* in John 17:15 is used

similarly. On account of the context of spiritual warfare and the preceding specific reference to the Devil in 6:11, *tou ponērou* in Eph 6:16 should also be in this category.

Passages where a decision between *tou ponērou* as a title or an abstract concept is very difficult because the context lends little insight are Matt 5:37; 6:13; 13:38; 2 Thess 3:3. The references to evil in Matt 5:37 and 13:38 are considered to be conceptual, although the reference to the Devil in 13:39 makes this determination for 13:38 quite uncertain. Debate centers here upon Matt 6:13, the conclusion of the Lord's Prayer. The Eastern Church takes it as a title on analogy with Matt 13:19. The Western Church takes it as a neuter reference to evil of the present age and the last days, and this interpretation predominates in current scholarship. Whatever decision is reached on Matt 6:13 is usually reached on its close parallel, 2 Thess 3:3. For further discussion, see *TDNT* 6:558–62; *NIDNTT* 1: 566–67.

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**EVIL-MERODACH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾĕwîl merōdak* (אֱוִיל מְרֹדַךְ)]. Third monarch of the Chaldean dynasty of Babylonia, mentioned in 2 Kgs 25:27 and Jer 52:31. The name in Akk reads *Amēl-Marduk*, "Man of Marduk." In the Gk and Lat the name reads *Ilumarodachus* and *Ulemadar* respectively. This monarch succeeded his father Nebuchadnezzar in October of 562 B.C. and reigned for two years. Unlike his successors Neriglissar and Nabonidus, nothing whatsoever is known of his activities prior to his becoming king. In addition, while a few vase fragments and about 100 contract tablets datable to his reign survive, no text revealing the details of any military campaign he may have conducted has as yet been discovered or published. According to the OT (2 Kgs 25:27–30), the important event of his reign was the release of Jehoiachin, king of Judah, who had been imprisoned by Nebuchadnezzar thirty-seven years earlier.

The later Gk and Lat sources, the rabbinic commentaries, and the Heb *Chronicle* of Jerachmeel provide us with most of our information concerning Evil-merodach's reign. Much of what these sources contain is legendary material. According to *Lev. Rab.* 18:2, high state officials took Evil-merodach and made him king in his father's place. Nebuchadnezzar subsequently threw his son into prison for life, holding him responsible for this act of infidelity. Evil-merodach thus refused the throne the second time it was offered and would only agree to accept it after Nebuchadnezzar's corpse was dragged from its resting place through the streets of Babylon. However, Jerome, in his *Commentary on Isaiah 14:19,* and Jerachmeel, in his *Chronicle,* assert that the leaders of the state would not allow him to become king and instead placed Nebuchadnezzar the Younger on the throne. According to Josephus' *Ant.* and II *Abot de R. Nat.,* Evil-merodach wished to release Jehoiachin from prison because he felt he had been held by his father without cause. After Nebuchadnezzar's body was removed from its resting place, Jehoiachin was immediately set free and given an allowance. The *Babylonica* of Berossus states that Evil-merodach's administration was "arbitrary and licentious," but this statement is completely contradicted by the opinion voiced in the *Bereshit Rabbah.* According to *Esth. Rab.,* Evil-merodach inherited an empty treasury because of Nebuchadnezzar's disposal of his kingdom's wealth before his death. Berossus comments that Evil-merodach's reign ended a short time after the release of Jehoiachin, when he fell victim to a plot and was assassinated by his successor, Neriglissar, "who was also his brother-in-law." Unfortunately, no cuneiform source provides confirmation of these assertions.

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RONALD H. SACK

**EVODIUS, HOMILY OF.** See VIRGIN, ASSUMPTION OF THE.

**EVRON** (M.R. 160266). A prehistoric site near the Mediterranean coast N of Acco. Kibbutz Evron is on a sandstone ridge formed by the accumulation of alternating layers of sand and reddish loams. A few of the soils in the vicinity of Evron contain cultural remains of the Early Paleolithic. These sites, or find-spots, are known as Zinnat, Shikun, Pardes, and the Quarry. In 1949, M. Stekelis dug three test pits in Zinnat. The assemblages since collected in Zinnat and Pardes by kibbutz members were studied by Gilead

and A. Ronen. The Quarry site, discovered in 1969, was excavated by M. Prausnitz and A. Ronen in 1976–77, and again by Ronen in 1985. Shikun site was discovered in 1980 by kibbutz members and studied by A. Ronen. The chronological relationships between these sites is to be considered in light of the geological stratigraphy seen E of the Evron ridge, summarized as follows (from top to bottom):

1. Dark brown to black clay, about 2 m thick. Zinnat and Shikun sites, Upper Acheulian.
2. River pebbles and gravel varying in size, 0.5–2.0 m thick.
3. River clay with calcareous nodules, 2–4 m thick. Pardes find-spot.
4. Yellowish sandy clay layer, 1–2.5 m thick. Mainly at the base are the finds of the Quarry site.
5. Red loam, 1–1.5 m thick.
6. Sandstone, 2–3 m thick.
7. Red loam preserved only in a few thin lenses.
8. Sandstone, 2–3 m thick.
9. Miocene clay.

The sequence—the longest and most complete in the coastal plain of the E Mediterranean—covers the Lower and Middle Pleistocene. Layers 8–5 indicate fluctuations of the sea level which resulted in the alternate depositions of sand and soil. Layers 4–1 indicate a continental, riverine environment, which has attracted humans time and again.

**A. Zinnat and Shikun**

These are similar to each other, with hand axes of Upper Acheulian character, Levallois technique, side scrapers, and denticulates. Bones were not preserved. These assemblages range in date from ca. 80,000–250,000 years ago.

**B. Pardes**

Pardes has yielded a small number of artifacts attributable (although not found in excavation) to the lower part of layer 3. The hand axes are mostly large and ovaloid. The flake industry is too scanty to be indicative. Bone is not preserved.

**C. The Quarry**

The Quarry site is stratigraphically the most ancient human cultural occurrence in the coastal plain of Israel. The lithic assemblage contains small flake tools, not standardized to any particular form. There are borers, denticulates and notches, chopping tools and cores, as well as globular calcareous concretions (hammerstones?), all of small dimensions. Bones are well preserved, apparently due to the reduced environment. The animals consumed included the elephant, hippopotamus, boar, and deer. Several very large and coarsely made hand axes were found in the quarry refuse and seem to have originated in layer 4. They are very large (up to 22 cm long), have irregular edges, and were made with a small number of removals. In our excavation, however, no hand axe has turned up in layer 4. It is thus possible that they really belong to the base of the red loam of layer 3 (and hence are the equivalent of Pardes), or the hand axes may have been concentrated in a small area of layer 4. The age estimate for the lithic and faunal assemblage of the Evron Quarry site (layer 4) is between one half and one million years ago.

These Early Paleolithic sites appear to have been feeding sites, with tool kits assigned for cutting and for marrow extraction of large game animals which were hunted and/or scavenged. The animal bones show abundant cut marks and signs of hammering. All these sites were near a river, which had possibly formed large marshes as a result of the obstructing formation of the Evron ridge. No site shows evidence for the use of fire. Other isolated Early Paleolithic remains have been found in various localities on the E side of the Evron ridge, probably similar to the Evron sites.

AVRAHAM RONEN

**EWE.** See SHEEP, SHEPHERD; ZOOLOGY.

**EX VOTO.** The Latin phrase *ex voto* expresses fulfillment of a vow to make an offering in consideration of some benefit conferred by a deity or extraordinary being. The gifts or dedications *(anathēmata)* that are made in fulfillment of such vows are called votive offerings and are distinguished

from stipulated sacrifices and financial obligations. (See PWSup 14: 964–73; Eitrem and Croon *OCD*, 1132–33; Wachsmuth, *KlPauly* 5: 1355–59; Latte 1960: 46–47.)

A basic feature of Mediterranean and Near Eastern culture is reciprocity. To confer benefits is the primary obligation of deities, heads of state, and all others who would aspire to a reputation for the highest excellence. Conversely, it is expected that the recipient of bounties will make appropriate acknowledgment. To hasten the process, a devotee may assure the deity that if a specific boon is granted the recipient will respond in the manner specified in what is termed the vow. The entire arrangement can be summed in the phrase *do ut des* (I am prepared to give in the hope that you will give).

Homer's epics are replete with the policy. Athene is offered gifts, now by Trojans, now by Greeks, if she will secure for her petitioners safety, victory, or renown (*Il.* 6.86–101, 305–10; 10.284–94; *Od.* 3.375–84). In *Od.* 16.181–85, Telemachos thinks that Odysseus is a deity and promises precious gifts in return for salutary intervention. Similarly, Eteokles, in Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* (264–87), pledges generous requital to the city's protecting deities for their help in the current crisis. Related promises are expressed on stone (Michel 1900: no. 21; *IGR* 1911: no. 1498).

Hope of deliverance from a variety of perils induced citizens in both the private and the public sectors to make vows that were honored in a variety of ways. Gold tripods were a typical commemorative gift by a city-state after a successful military campaign (Diod. Siculus 11.26.7). A statue of victory, such as the Nike of Samothrace, now in the Louvre, was a popular type of war dedication. The sacred precincts of Asclepius became repositories of gifts made by grateful recipients of restored sight and deliverance from a variety of other disabilities. The coasts of Hellas, both of the mainland and the islands, were dotted with shrines erected in gratitude for deliverance from perils of the sea.

During a heated battle between the Etruscans and Samites, the Roman consul Claudius Appius raised his hands to heaven and implored, "Bellona, grant me the victory this day, and a temple shall be yours" (Livy 10.19.17). The consul's spontaneity is in striking contrast to formulations of the Arval Brethren (*CIL* 1902: no. 32363, annotation of no. 2059), which reveal the practice in official Roman quarters to leave nothing to chance in negotiations with deities. Dates and details of petition and response find precise expression. Livy's discussion of criticism concerning C. Flaminius (Livy 22.1.5–7) and of the precautions taken by Publius Licinius (42.49) disclose the monumental importance of vows in Rome's national life. To be *damnatus voti* meant that one was obligated to honor a vow. To such religiosity must be ascribed many of the public spectacles and monuments underwritten by the Roman state. Numerous inscriptions attest how scrupulous people in the private sector were in the fulfillment of their vows (with either the phrase *ex voto posuit* or its synonym *votum solvit* (*ILS* 1892,1902: nos. 2194, 2218, 3014, 3549, 3562, 3964). In a playful mood, Horace reveals his piety by devoting his garments to the deity of the sea after having barely escaped love's shipwreck (*Odes* 1.5.12–16). In another poem, on the noxious charms of Barine (2.8.5–6), Horace sketches a violation of the popular understanding: Barine, the flirt, wantonly violates all canons of religious responsibility by making vows she does not intend to keep. With the air of a divine, Persius (*Satires* 2) preaches against hypocrisy in the making of vows, and Ovid (*Art of Love* 653–54) jocosely sums a world of thought on the subject:

> Bribes work with gods as well as with humanity.
> A share to Jove, and he will bless you, trust me.

Romans, impervious to Plato's earlier disclaimer of the concept (*Rep.* 3.390c), deviated little from the formulation used in Jacob's vow at Bethel (Gen 28:18–22; cf. Psalm 25). The OT portrays a strong sense of obligation, of which the most notorious example is the vow of Jephthah (Judg. 11; Hannah's vow had a happier ending, 1 Sam 1). Ps 66:13–20 offers an exemplary exhibit of the basic rationale in vows, with emphasis on the fact that God's end of the bargain has been kept, thus inviting the psalmist's praise and sacrifice (see also Pss 22:25; 50:14; 61:8; 65:1; 116, esp. vv 12–19; all rendered in the LXX with the formula *apodidōmi euchēn*). Sirach 18:21–22 warns against delaying payment of vows until one is at the point of death. Mal 1:14 pronounces a curse on one who tries to palm off a blemished sacrifice. The composer of Psalm 6 warns God that in Sheol there is no possibility of praise-filled remembrance, and the

*Epistle of Jeremiah* (v 35) states that false deities cannot exact unpaid vows. Prov 7:14 is a bantering application of Lev 7:11–14 by a seductive woman.

The absence from the NT of the formula *apodidōmi euchēn* is striking. Of a different order from *ex voto* performance in the nature of specific gifts are the obligation assumed by one who takes the vow of the Nazirite (Num 6; Acts 21:23–26) and the curse *(anathēma)* pronounced on oneself relative to a deed that is in progress or is to be performed (Mark 14:71; Acts 23:14).

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FREDERICK W. DANKER

**EXACTOR OF TRIBUTE.** See TAXES AND TAXATION.

**EXECRATION AND EXECRATION TEXTS.** The formal cursing of persons deemed undesirable by the Egyptian state, and lying outside direct Egyptian control, a practice attested from the Old Kingdom into the early New Kingdom. The rite involved either figuring the individual in a terra-cotta, stone, or wooden representation (whether inscribed or uninscribed), or writing his name on pottery vessels. The curse formula was undoubtedly then pronounced and the object broken (cf. the rite of "breaking the red pots"; Schott and Sethe 1928; Borchardt 1929). In the Old Kingdom nearly every major pyramid temple reveals fragments of statues of bound foreigners (Nubians or Asiatics), but only one lot of inscribed figurines has come to light. The majority of pertinent inscribed material comes from the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period (Posener 1987). The practice, however, was followed so widely in all periods that it clearly constituted a standing policy of the state, and no inference can therefore be drawn regarding the political or military weakness of Egypt simply from the presence of an Execration Text.

Among those cursed, native Egyptians are common, with Nubian chieftains and their tribes occupying premier position among foreigners. Three lots of texts, however, include sections dealing with W Asia: (1) the Berlin bowls acquired on the market; (2) the Mirgissa bowls from the Nubian fortress of the same name (Vercoutter 1963); and (3) the figurines from Saqqara, now in Cairo and Brussels (Posener 1940). Although the Berlin bowls were at first dated by Sethe to the 11th Dynasty, a close study of the paleography and orthography, as well as the discovery of the Mirgissa group, places them no earlier than the middle of the 12th Dynasty, and perhaps as late as the reigns of Amenemhet III and IV (Mazar 1968: 74f., n. 22; Thompson 1974: 108–113). The Mirgissa text mentions two Nubian chiefs already known from the Berlin bowls. Certain Kushite princes in the Brussels texts are named as sons of a chief who also appears in the Berlin corpus (Posener 1940: 34, 49), suggesting that the Brussels material dates about one or two generations after Berlin, i.e., to the first half of the 13th Dynasty (early 18th century B.C.).

The format of the texts is similar. The Berlin group names the chieftains of some 20 Asiatic places, often two or three names being associated with the same toponym. A comprehensive statement follows, cursing "all Asiatics of …" (several places, some reduplicated from the earlier section), and "their mighty men and their runners (?)" (see *ANET*, 328–29). Among the certain identifications are the land of Shutu, Rehob, ʿArqata, Ashkelon, Byblos, Uzu, Yarimuta, and perhaps Jerusalem. The Brussels texts mention some 62 place names with their chieftains, almost invariably one chieftain to a place. The execration concludes, in similar fashion to that attested on the Berlin bowls, with general entries for "tribes … and grandees," and "all the Asiatics of … (half a dozen places)." Many toponyms are instantly recognizable, including Ashkelon, Migdol, Shechem, Pella, Apheq, Achsaph, Rehob, Hazor Ayl (on), Siryon, Apum (= Damascus), Abel, Acco, ʿArqata, Shimʿon, Ekr (on), Laish, and Beth-shemesh. Both inland and coastal *towns* are mentioned in both texts, but the latter seem to predominate in the generalizing sections. *Regions* mentioned include Damascus and the Beqʿa, the NW Negeb, and S Transjordan. Certain regions, such as the Ephraimite hill country and large sections of Coele-Syria are conspicuous by their absence. The

sequence of names, especially in the Brussels texts, has suggested to some that there is a rational grouping along traveled routes (Yeivin 1959: 156–58).

The significance of this material for Palestinian archaeology and biblical scholarship lies in the light it can shed on the political and social structure of MB Palestine and the alleged age of the patriarchs (see esp. Ward 1961: 141–47; Van Seters 1966: 78–81; Thompson 1974: 98–117). In the sphere of archaeology it has been realized that they can contribute to the debate over the date of the sedentarization attested in the MB I (2000–1800 B.C.; Mazar 1968: 82). It has been argued that the Berlin texts reflect a societal stage in which individual districts were partitioned among a number of chieftains and their clans, thus arguably still in a nonsettled state, while the Brussels texts from ca. 50 years later reveal a situation in which individual toponyms, mostly identifiable with *town* names, are paired with a single princely name, and thus reflect a state of increasing urbanization. This interpretation, which had formerly achieved a certain degree of acceptance, is now widely challenged (Thompson 1974: 113–17; Weinstein 1975: 13); and thus the bearing of the Execration Texts on the social and political history of Palestine remains moot.

The personal names in both sets of texts conform to the W Semitic ("Amorite") onomasticon of the MB II period, devoid of names of clear Hurrian or Aryan derivation (Moran 1957; Goetze, 1958; *APNM*).

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DONALD B. REDFORD


**EXECUTIONER.** See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES.

**EXEGESIS.** The process of careful, analytical study of biblical passages undertaken in order to produce useful interpretations of those passages. Ideally, exegesis involves the analysis of the biblical text in the language of its original or earliest available form, since any translation presents at least a slight barrier to precise definition of the intent of the passage's words. The passage involved may be of virtually any length, subject to the interest of the exegete. The goal of exegesis is to know neither less nor more than the information actually contained in the passage. Exegesis, in other words, places no premium on speculation or inventiveness; novelty in interpretation is not prized. In most circles, exegesis is also part of the theological enterprise, functioning as a basic means of achieving accuracy in interpreting the word of God.

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A. Introduction
B. Process
    1. Text
    2. Translation
    3. Historical Context
    4. Literary Context
    5. Form
    6. Structure
    7. Grammar
    8. Lexical Analysis

9. Biblical Context
10. Theology
11. Secondary Literature
12. Application

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**A. Introduction**

To a considerable degree, the actual task of exegesis involves examining a passage as carefully as possible from as many angles as possible. In practice this means asking of the text all the questions whose answers might give insight into the text's meaning. For convenience, we may group the process of examination into twelve major steps, arranged in an order that lends itself to a logical progression through the entire exegesis process. The steps are interrelated and should not be viewed as independent stages guaranteeing adequate results when followed through once.

An exegesis article or paper (a selective presentation of the results of the process) may be organized in any of several formats, including the verse-by-verse or section-by-section "commentary" style, or according to groupings thought most important by the writer. The proportion of attention one must be prepared to give to any given part of the process may vary with the passage(s), since different passages demand different levels of concentration on issues. In other words, no two written exegeses will look exactly the same since no two passages are exactly the same.

**B. Process**

**1. Text.** A first step in virtually any exegesis is the establishment of the text. By this is meant first determining the length of the passage in terms of its logical beginning and ending point, which must be established with care lest an original author's meaning be distorted by beginning or ending the analysis in what is in fact a midpoint according to the original author's thought. Secondly, establishing the text requires determining to the best degree possible the original wording of the passage. Before the invention of the printing press, accidental miscopies readily accrued to the various manuscripts. Getting back to the original text, insofar as this is possible, involves examining all relevant evidence available and inducing from it the most likely original wording. This involves asking the basic question: "What original wording would best account for the subsequent history of the text?" Among the pieces of evidence employed in this task are the many ancient translations. In the case of the OT, these include the Septuagint (LXX, the Greek OT) and its successive revisions (such as that of Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus, as well as Origen's Hexapla), the Aramaic, the Syriac (Peshitta), the Latin (including the Vulgate), and early Hebrew sources such as the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the case of the NT, textual reconstruction relies largely on comparisons of Greek manuscripts. There are more of them and they are dated comparatively close to the presumed original, as compared to the Hebrew manuscripts of the OT. Manuscripts in such languages as Coptic, Latin, Syriac, Armenian, and Ethiopic are also consulted, though the manuscripts in these languages are not usually considered as important as those in Greek.

Many textual decisions cannot be made on the basis of a mechanistic comparison of ancient manuscripts, however. Textual criticism always involves the exegete's best judgment about what was likely to be the original wording, and this involves becoming so familiar with the book in which the passage is contained, and with its author, that one can reasonably rule out wordings that might seem to be suggested by scanty or faulty manuscript evidence, inconsistent with what the rest of the book or author's works contain. The text is first established tentatively, and reviewed as to its correctness during the remainder of the steps of the exegesis process.

**2. Translation.** Since the languages of the Bible are no longer spoken (modern Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek differ considerably from their ancient counterparts), exegesis invariably involves translating the ancient text (once established) into the desired modern "receptor" language, i.e., the language of the exegete and his or her audience. One measure of the degree to which the exegete has correctly understood the passage is the degree to which he or she can translate it convincingly into a modern language. A so-called literal translation is not necessarily the goal, since literal translations provide wooden, word-for-word representations that do not reflect normal idiomatic speech in the receptor language. Instead, the

goal is a translation so natural and appropriate to the receptor language that the exegete can fairly say that the translated text conveys the same thing to the mind as does the original text.

There are many variables in this part of the process. Poetry can be difficult to translate satisfactorily since some of its impact is contained not in the meaning of its individual words, but in the beauty of how those words are chosen and put together. Poetry inevitably loses some of its effectiveness, therefore, in translation. Since virtually all exegetes rightly attach more importance to meaning than to form, that which is poetry in the original language is routinely—and necessarily—translated into what amounts to prose in the receptor language.

**3. Historical Context.** Investigating and identifying the historical context of a passage is a pivotal step in the exegesis process. Reconstructing this historical context helps provide the exegete with a potentially clearer sense of the meaning of the passage than would otherwise be possible, by providing some of the general knowledge that its original audience(s) relied upon to understand what was said and/or written. There are at least five substeps to this aspect of exegesis. (1) The historical background to the passage must be learned, including whatever can be known of historical events that preceded and in any way may explicate statements contained in the passage. (2) The foreground must also be investigated, so that anything that the passage led to or anticipated is not overlooked. (3) The social setting (in the ancient world) of the topics or assumptions in the passage needs analysis. (4) Any geographical contents or allusions must be explored, so that such specifics, if present in the mind of the writer, may be fully appreciated. (5) The attempt is made to identify as closely as possible the date of the passage's composition, so that its historical context may be fixed with relative precision and its relationship to other datable passages explored as needed.

**4. Literary Context.** This aspect of the exegesis process seeks to understand the implications of the position of a passage within a major division of a biblical book, and within the overall structure of the book itself. What does the passage immediately follow and precede? What does it depend upon that has already been said to the reader, and what does it tell the reader that subsequent passages will reflect in some way? Any passage in any biblical book is either part of a structured progression of information (as in one of the historical books) or a particular instance of a type of literary unit among similar or different types collected in a biblical book (as one psalm in the Psalter). The author or editor of any book has presumably used some sort of criterion for the arrangement of the material as now found (even if that criterion is simple randomness or convenience of grouping according to the order in which the materials came into his or her hand), and any passage can somehow be identified by its contribution to that arrangement and its influence upon it. Conversely, some of the meaning of any statement or passage is derived from its position within a larger document, since meaning is at least partly a function of context.

Included within the process of examining the literary context of a passage are four steps: (1) examination of the literary function (the manner in which it fills in, adds on, begins, completes, or balances the portion and/or book in which it occurs); (2) examination of the placement (how its location within the section, book, division, Testament, and Bible may reveal something about its style, type, purpose, literary integration, function, etc.); (3) analysis of the detail (the degree to which the passage is comprehensive, selective, shaped by a special perspective, etc.); (4) analysis of authorship (whether or not the human author or editor can be identified and thereby his or her meaning and purposes can be further determined by comparison to other material produced by the same or similar author(s) or editor(s). Examination of the authorship will also include observations about any special features of style, vocabulary, motif, theological perspective, and the like—whether or not the passage's human author can be known.

**5. Form.** There are many genres of literature, and any individual piece of literature will necessarily be characteristic of one (or more) of these genres. In the Bible eight major genres predominate: law, historical narrative, gospel (a unique type of historical narrative), illustrative narrative (e.g., parables and allegories), wisdom, prophecy, hymnody, and epistle. Along with these broad delineations of genre there are the two major stylistic determiners: whether the passage is prose or poetry (though some passages are

a mix thereof. Of the basic eight, there are scores of further subdivisions, somewhat subjectively described by scholars, whose distinguishing terminology for the individual forms is not standardized.

After one identifies the broad, general genre in which a passage is to be classified, it is then necessary to determine the specific literary form. For example, if the overall genre is that of a "record" it is necessary to specify which particular form of record is at hand (contract, letter, list, law, cultic ordinance, etc.). Within the form it may also be possible to identify a subtype. If the form is law, the subtype might be apodictic, or unconditional, law (as in the Decalogue), or casuistic law (the paradigmatic case law that predominates in the Pentateuch); a further subform might be criminal law as opposed to civil law; or law with a prescribed penalty as opposed to law without a specific penalty; etc. It is desirable to describe a form as specifically and narrowly as possible without making it one of a kind. A major benefit of form analysis is the opportunity to compare the specific instance under analysis with similar forms. This is lost if the form is defined to such an extent as to become unique. A form is identified by what it holds in common with other comparable passages; unique features, peculiar to the passage, may be present, but these should be noted as ad hoc rather than as characteristic.

Identification of form may lead to a suggestion of life setting. An "individual psalm of thanksgiving," the form of fifteen passages in the OT (mostly in the Psalter) was used by individuals to express their gratitude to God for deliverance from a misery or danger (judging inductively from all the information we have about such psalms). Thus, even when such a psalm is found without an indication of its purpose in the immediate context, we may still postulate the use to which it was put, simply because we can be reasonably confident that such psalms fit certain kinds of "life settings." Overemphasis on life settings is not justified, however. Virtually any form can be reused or adapted for new purposes and in new situations, i.e., secondary or "adapted" settings. For example, a psalm originally designed for worship at the Jerusalem temple in the days of the Israelite monarchy could be used to express joy in God by Christians imprisoned in a Macedonian jail in the Roman era (Acts 16:25).

It is necessary, finally, to analyze the completeness of the form in question, being alert to the possibility of partial or broken forms. A biblical writer need not provide all the features typically associated with a given form; to provide even a single key or characteristic feature of a form may be enough to clue the reader to that form. For example, the Gk verb *eucharistō,* "I thank," may be enough to alert the reader of a NT epistle that its author has begun the transition from the greeting section to the thanksgiving section characteristic of NT era letters. The presence of a vocabulary word like the Heb imperative *hôši*ʿ*ēnî,* "save me," may be enough to suggest to the reader that a psalm may be of the common individual lament type.

Form analysis cannot reliably be used to date passages or to evaluate their historicity. Its primary value is in allowing for comparison with similar forms and for identifying those features of meaning shared by all such forms and thus contained within the particular form in question. For example, it is a rather well-established interpretational rule that parables, with few exceptions, have a single pedagogic aim—in other words, they make a single point. It can then be assumed in the case of any given parable that there will be a single point that the parable intends the reader to grasp, rather than many meanings. Such a conclusion is inherent to the proper interpretation of parables, which share this feature common to their literary form.

**6. Structure.** Although it is often necessary to pay some attention to a passage's structure as part of the process of identifying its form, it is desirable that the structure should be analyzed carefully as a separate step in exegesis, since the structure of a unit of literature is invariably a guide to its logic. Five stages of analysis may be mentioned:

a. Outlining the passage. Simple as it may seem, outlining is a process that helps the exegete represent the major units of information in a passage. For an outline to be useful, it must be a natural outgrowth of the passage, and not an artificial imposition of order on it. Both quantitative (sheer volume of material) and qualitative (significance of the material) factors must be taken into consideration in constructing an outline that represents fairly the import of the various components of the passage. It is normal to outline a passage with three to five major divisions, simply because, as learning theorists have frequently pointed out, the human mind tends to organize material that way. However, there may be many minor divisions, in units as small as individual sentences, clauses, and phrases, which may prove upon analysis to

constitute internal structures important to the passage's meaning. An outline should be as detailed as possible without becoming forced or artificial. Conclusions about overall structure can then be drawn.

b. Pattern analysis. Any passage will be made up of meaningful thought patterns, which may be identified as to their key features (e.g., transitions, resumptions, central or pivotal terms, parallelisms, chiasms, *inclusios,* unique forms of phrase, and other such repetitious or progressive patterns). By design, poetry contains more striking structural patterns, especially repetition, than does prose. It is especially important to identify any structural patterns that are either unexpected or unique in the passage. All patterns, however, must be evaluated and the results interpreted for purposes of further refining one's understanding of the meaning of the passage.

c. Analysis of structure according to descending units of size. It is normally helpful to move from largest to smallest units of structure (from passage to paragraph to sentence/verse to clause to phrase to term to word to sound) and where possible to identify how major or minor a given pattern seems to be in the passage.

d. Minor patterns must be evaluated as to intentionality. A pattern may be accidental rather than purposeful (e.g., the repetition of certain vowel sounds in close proximity to one another, or the repetition of a verbal root in two successive verses) and thus have no intended significance for the meaning of the passage. Major patterns are so obvious that it is hard to doubt that they were intended by the ancient writer/speaker and easily recognized by his or her audience. Minor patterns may be more subjective. One must be careful not to assume that a pattern visible on the printed page of a modern Hebrew or Greek Bible after lengthy analysis would have been noticeable on the page of an ancient manuscript or to the original hearers of a portion of Scripture. Naturally, patterns evident only in translations from the original are irrelevant to accurate exegesis.

e. Poetic structural patterns must be analyzed according to the canons of poetry. This is a special task in itself, yet absolutely necessary in the portions of the Bible that are written in poetry (almost one third of the OT; small portions of the NT). The exegete analyzing poetry must identify the parallelism (couplets, triplets, and occasionally quatrains), the scansion (the metrical pattern or cadence of the poetry), rhyme, assonance, acrostic or chiastic patterns, and metrical formulas (stock phrases employed to meet the demands of metrical patterns in given contexts), and must evaluate the interrelationship of these to the meaning of the passage. For example, Ps 19:1 ("The heavens declare the glory of God/ And the earth shows his handiwork") does not make two different statements; i.e., that God's glory is seen in the sky whereas his handiwork is seen in the earth. Rather, this synonymous parallelism, according to well-attested canons of Hebrew poetry, makes a single essential point, which may be paraphrased as: "The heavens and earth demonstrate God's glorious handiwork." The type of parallelism, in other words, is a factor in the analysis of the meaning, which is the goal of exegesis. Such linguistic devices as epiphora (repetition of final sounds), anaphora (repetition of initial sounds), assonance (repetition or juxtaposition of similar sounds), paronomoasia (play on words), figure etymologica (plays on word roots, often involving names), and other literary devices must be identified, and their use within the passage evaluated so that these factors will be neither ignored nor overemphasized as to their contribution to the meaning.

**7. Grammar.** Since grammar is the logical substructure of language, a correct understanding of grammar is essential to the correct understanding of the logic of statements made in a passage. The exegete must analyze the grammar of the passage under review, in the original, to determine if any grammatical ambiguities or uncertainties exist. It may be the case that a part of the passage is not certain as to its meaning because the interpretation of the grammar is difficult or debatable. Certain kinds of grammatical features are often important clues to meaning, including ellipsis, asyndeton, prostaxis, parataxis, anacolouthon, aposeopesis, and so forth.

Orthographic and morphological analysis can provide important grammatical indices of meaning and sometimes even point toward the date of a passage. Orthography is normally more relevant to Hebrew exegesis than to Greek, since the OT was produced over a much longer period of time, during which Hebrew spelling habits evolved in a discernible manner. As a result, unusual orthographies may sometimes represent genuinely ancient forms preserved by tradition, or even by accident, through

centuries of hand copying of the text. Since Hebrew spelling was partly reflective of dialect, it can even be the case that orthography gives clues as to geographical origin, as in the paronomasia of Amos 8:1–3, whose play between Heb *qyṣ,* "harvest," and *qṣ,* "end," would have been most effective in N Israel, where both words were pronounced *qēṣ* in Amos' day, as opposed to the S (Judah) where the word for harvest was pronounced *qayiṣ* and the word for end pronounced *qēṣ*. Commentators with insufficient knowledge of the grammar of the Bible's original languages may commit a variety of errors, including mistranslation and faulty analysis of logic. Those unaware of the history of pronunciation of Hebrew, for example, sometimes infer the presence of rhyme on the basis of the medieval Masoretic vocalizations when the original pronunciations would have been quite different. Those unfamiliar with the special rules of grammar that apply to Hebrew poetry as opposed to those for prose sometimes misunderstand even the tenses of the verbs in poetic contexts. In NT Greek, likewise, failure to appreciate simple syntactical uses of common words can cause distortions in comprehension, as in the somewhat confusing translation of John 3:16, "For God so loved the world …," better translated "God thus loved the world …" It is highly unlikely that Gk *houtos,* "so," in this context could mean "so" in the usually understood sense of "so much" but highly likely that it means "thus" in the sense of "in this manner" (referring to the manner of God's love as described in John 3:14–15).

**8. Lexical Analysis.** A correct understanding of the meaning of the words and terms of a passage is essential to proper exegesis. It is necessary, first, to attempt to identify for the audience of the exegesis any words or terms whose meanings might not be obvious. Normally one works in descending order from entire clauses, where applicable, to individual words or even parts of words in seeking to provide precise definitions for the terminology. Terms such as proper nouns almost always deserve attention in a full exegesis. Naturally, it is the terminology of the original language that one is after—analyzing words in translation is of limited value.

Eventually it is necessary to attempt to identify the key wordings of the passage—those that are somehow essential or pivotal, or else sufficiently opaque at first reading as to demand exploration. The number of difficult or pivotal words in a passage cannot be predicted in advance; it will be a function of the passage's own uniqueness.

The most important words must be studied carefully, via a process widely known as "word study," by which all the potential meanings of a word or term are considered with the goal of determining which of them applies in the passage at hand. Additionally, any special semantic features must be identified and analyzed as to their meaning for the interpretation of the passage. Such features could include irony, anaphora, epiphora, paronomasia, metonymy, synecdoche, hendiadys, formulae, loan words, and etymological oddities.

The science of semantics, which governs lexical analysis, demands careful effort on the part of the exegete. Naive approaches to defining words are still widespread in the world of biblical studies. The exegete must strive to avoid such common faults as illegitimate totality transfer (thinking that all or any of the potential meanings of a word apply to that word in any passage where it occurs), excessive reliance on etymology (thinking that the original or "root" meaning of a word stays with that word and is part of its meaning in every place it is used), and extracontextualism (finding a meaning for the given term in some usage far removed in time, circumstance, or ethos from the passage at hand and assuming that such a meaning "fits" the term's use in the passage). In all lexical study, it is imperative that the meaning in the present context be given precedence over all other considerations. The fact that a word may be used 99 percent of the time it is found in ancient writings to mean one thing is essentially irrelevant if in the context of the biblical passage under study it is used to mean something else. Any author may choose to use even a common word in an unusual way. Thus the final question must always be "How is it used here?" rather than "How does its use elsewhere tell us what it means here?" The latter question is not always entirely useless; it is, however, always a secondary question in lexical analysis to the question of meaning in the immediate context.

**9. Biblical Context.** By this point in the exegesis process, the exegete must draw together enough of the information provided by the results of the previous steps to begin to focus on the passage as a whole in

terms of its overall "message." To be sure, this is a subjective enterprise to some degree, but it is essential in light of the fact that in any passage the meaning of the whole is different from a mere compilation of findings made about the individual parts. One must move from paying primary attention to the individual features to treating the passage as an entity. How this entity fits into the broader body of truth contained in the Bible as a whole now becomes the focus. The exegete must keep in mind at this stage any essential characteristics, clear implications, or other central observations made as a result of the stages of the exegesis process pursued thus far.

It is necessary now to analyze the use or reuse of the passage elsewhere in Scripture if it or any part of it is quoted or alluded to at another place. How and why the passage is used elsewhere may yield clues as to its meaning or value, and at least how it may have been interpreted within a time and culture much closer to its original composition than our own. Occasionally, an awareness of special circumstances under which it is quoted or alluded to may aid in its interpretation.

Even if a passage is not quoted or alluded to elsewhere in the Bible, one must still analyze its relation to the rest of Scripture, by determining how the passage functions dogmatically in the section, book division, Testament, and Bible (usually in that order) of which it is a part. Here the exegete must ask how the passage or any of its elements compares to other Scriptures that address or relate to the same sorts of issues. In other words, one asks how the passage is similar or dissimilar to its immediate and broader context. This is, of course, a large question, but it must nevertheless be explored, based on one's general knowledge of the content of the Bible.

Finally, the passage's import for understanding other parts of the Bible must be evaluated. The exegete must try to determine if the meaning of any other passage in part hinges on this passage, or if other elements in Scripture help make this passage comprehensible. Interrelationships or dependencies in meaning may well reach across literary or historical categories. It is necessary to determine whether or not the passage deals with issues that are in fact dealt with in the same way, or in a contrasting way, elsewhere in the Bible. An important question to ask in conjunction with this step of the exegesis process is whether or not there is any part of the message of the Bible that would be lost or rendered less complete by the absence of this passage. In effect, answering that question tells us what the passage actually contributes to the Bible.

**10. Theology.** There is a natural continuity from biblical context to theology. Theology is here defined as the systematic study of revealed truth. The exegete will properly be concerned to determine how the passage being studied fits within the whole corpus of revelation, asking to which covenant the passage is directed, its limitations with regard to the progression of covenants in the Bible, the extent of its continuing relevance as an indicator of God's relationship to his creation, or as an indication of God's character, standards, immanence, transcendence, etc. Also, it is necessary to explore the way that the passage might or might not be related to broader theological concerns, and the general theological categories to which the passage contributes (e.g., theology proper, anthropology, Christology, pneumatology, harmatiology, soteriology, ecclesiology, eschatology, etc.). The nature of this contribution (via overt vocabulary, general subject matter, allusion, etc.) must be ascertained. An overdependence upon the vocabulary of the passage must be avoided here, since passages do not always contain terms that by themselves identify the meaning. That is to say, words are not the same as concepts; a passage that illustrates the love of God need not itself mention either of the words "love" or "God."

Beyond the general topics of doctrine that the passage raises or contributes to, it is necessary to identify specific issues (e.g., the problems, blessings, concerns, confidences, ethics, etc.) about which the passage has something to say. If the passage raises complications for certain parts of the theological agenda while clarifying others, this must be evaluated as well.

The theological contribution of the passage must be established as accurately as possible. To what extent does the passage contribute to the solution of any theological issues and how? How major or minor is the passage's contribution, and in what way does the passage conform to the entire system of revealed truth? To what extent is the passage theologically obscure or insoluble? The exegete must be careful in this process not to force the passage into a theological mold; any passage of Scripture has some

contribution to make to theology; but some are much more obviously identified as to their theological orientation than others.

**11. Secondary Literature.** By this stage, the exegete will of necessity have consulted many kinds of books and articles, such as grammars, commentaries, atlases, lexicons, etc. It is important, however, not to limit use of the secondary literature to such ad hoc consultations. A systematic survey of the secondary literature on or directly related to the passage is desirable. Investigating what others have written on the passage is necessary, both to supplement what one may have already concluded, and also to correct anything that a reading of the secondary literature might demonstrate to be wrong.

A convincing exegesis should establish its conclusions both in concert with conclusions reached by some scholars and against conclusions reached by others. At this stage in the process the exegete must revise tentative conclusions reached earlier, if comparison to the work of others demonstrates the need for better analysis of the passage. Making additions and corrections to one's work is a normal part of the process. It is especially valuable to analyze the relative weight that other scholars have given to the various components of the passage. The exegete must attempt to decide if he or she has in fact understood the passage well enough to have weighed the import of the various contents properly relative to one another, and has weighed the importance of the passage's features in a manner that best portrays its meaning.

It is of course the case that passages on which a large amount of scholarship has been published will be somewhat easier to review in this way than passages which have attracted relatively little attention from the scholarly community. Some passages have been the subject of scholarly study only in commentaries, and that not thoroughly. Others have been subjects of investigation in journal articles only with regard to limited aspects of the exegesis process (e.g., the text of the passage, or difficult words therein, but not the full range of exegetical investigation). Nevertheless, the exegete must review the literature as thoroughly as possible and be informed accordingly.

**12. Application.** There is no disagreement among scholars on the purpose of exegesis: to determine the meaning of a passage. However, some exegetes hold that the goal of exegesis is merely the determination of the meaning of a passage to its *original* audience (what the passage once meant), rather than the determination as well of what the passage says to a modern reader who desires to understand its import for his or her life at the present (what the passage means now). Nonetheless, the vast majority of people who study the Bible do so not as an intellectual exercise but as a spiritual one: they are looking for guidance relative to their faith and practice. Pretending that exegesis can be kept more "neutral" or "objective" by avoiding the question of current relevance of a biblical passage is thus a curtailing of activity just before the desired outcome—from the point of view of most readers—is achieved.

Hermeneutics, the science of interpretation, attempts to bridge barriers that would prevent a modern understanding of a biblical text. The standards of this science are variously defined, but important to an accurate interpretation of the passage is a basic hermeneutical rule: a passage cannot mean now what it could not originally have meant. That is, there is no valid modern application of a passage that was not also a potentially valid application of the passage for its original audience. Some applications appropriate to their original audiences may now no longer be valid—for example, if the application was in part directed strictly toward some person or group or situation no longer in existence (e.g., 2 Tim 2:21). On the other hand, the extent to which a passage may have applied to its original audience may not be identical to the extent (greater or lesser) of its application to us (e.g., Exod 27:1–8). It may be noted that the exegete, the person who has developed expertise in the passage, is in the best position to recommend its proper application, as opposed to someone who has not been involved in the process prior to attempting to determine how the passage might apply.

There are seven types of clarification necessary if an application is to be accurate. They are:

(1) Clarification of comparable particulars. Here the exegete identifies those factors, issues, situations, life contexts, etc., that are still sufficiently analogous to that which prevailed at the time of the original composition of the passage as to constitute "comparable" particulars. Some things have changed appreciably from ancient times to modern; some have not. Where the situation of the modern reader is in

essence comparable to the situation of the ancient reader as regards issues addressed in the passage, the modern reader will profit from the same essential application of the passage that the ancient reader would have properly made.

(2) Clarification of the nature of the application. Though the distinction is sometimes artificial, it is useful to ask whether a passage informs its readers or directs them. A passage containing or characterized by imperative, instruction, demand, command, etc., is a passage which in whole or in part may be said to direct the reader. A passage which describes, narrates, praises, etc., may be said to inform. Many passages, of course, do both, and the extent to which this is the case is an important feature of the application of the passage.

(3) Clarification of the areas of application. Here it is faith or action that the exegete is interested in. While these two elements should actually go together in the life of a believer, they are distinct entities and a given passage may concentrate on one more than the other. The extent to which this is observed to be so is a factor in the application process.

(4) Clarification of the audience. At this point the exegete must determine to whom the passage is directed. A delineation must be made as to whether the passage is aimed at personal or corporate application. Is it directed to a person or a group? What sort of person? What sort of group?

(5) Clarification of categories. The actual subject matter of the application must be identified as precisely as possible. A passage about personal piety is quite different from a passage about national deliverance. Location of the subject matter within the various realms of life (social, economic, religious, familiar, financial, etc.) is an appropriate step in specifying the application.

(6) Clarification of the time focus. A passage's focus may be past, present, or future, or a combination of these. Some passages call for an appreciation of what has occurred. Some call for a response to what is occurring. Some call for a preparedness for what will occur on the basis of what has occurred.

(7) Clarification of the limits. An accurate understanding of any piece of literature may require not only a description of what it says, but also some analysis of what it does not say. It may well be necessary, in other words, to obviate any application that a well-intentioned reader might think at first glance is appropriate to the passage, but which in fact the exegete can determine is not. Applications of any passage should be limited as carefully as possible.

Two of the most common tendencies of misapplication are moralizing from narratives and universal personalizing of ad hoc circumstances. Narratives tell what happened and are not designed to provide hidden ethical norms. Nearly all Bible characters do both good and bad things; following their example or learning from the "moral" of the stories about them is risky if not carefully controlled. With regard to universal personalizing, the mentality behind the words "we all have our" is often characteristic of inappropriate reasoning from a single given event mentioned in the Bible to a common "personal" application, as if the reason for the passage's existence is that the same sort of thing mentioned in the passage somehow happens to everyone. Applying the story of Jesus' calming a storm (Mark 4:35–41 and parallels) by averring that "we all have our storms in life …" is an example of the sort of extremely common but erroneous application against which the exegete must set limits.

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**EXEGESIS ON THE SOUL** (NHC II,*6*). A devout gnosticizing early Christian exhortation to otherworldliness composed of narrative, Scripture, and paraenesis. No trace of the presumed Greek original remains except the Coptic translation (Sahidic dialect) on pp. 127–37 of Codex II from the cache of late 4th-century copies of earlier translations found in 1945 at Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt. Based on

its Christian piety (Moon 1983), use of the Bible (Scopello 1985), and affinities with the Valentinian Sophia myth and Alexandrian thought (Sevrin 1983), hypotheses on its origins have ranged from the 2d to 4th centuries in Alexandria.

The narrative (127, 22–129, 5; 131, 13–132, 10.13–15.18–27; 133,10–11.14–15; 133,31–134,3.8–11.25–28) runs as follows. Originally the soul was "alone with the Father … virgin and androgynous in form." The narrative begins "when she fell down into a body and came to this life." Here in this world the life of the soul—personified as a woman, Psyche (the Greek word for soul, feminine gender)—is a sad story: she was raped, abused by one and then another and by still others, deceived, and cast aside, left abandoned with her deformed children. Under compulsion, deceit, and the shame of complicity, she seemed trapped with no escape, but "she perceives the straits she is in" (131,17) and did the proper thing (in paraenetic jargon: "it is fitting"): she sighed and repented, called on the father for deliverance, and was heard and rescued. The father sent from heaven "her man … her brother, the first-born … the bridegroom" (132,7–9). She bathed, prepared for the wedding, perfumed the bridal chamber, and waited for the bridegroom—anxiously, "for she did not know what he looked like; she no longer remembers since the time she fell from her Father's house" (132,19–21). But she did recognize him; she "enjoyed her beloved, and [he also] loved her. And when she had intercourse with him, she got from him the seed that is the life-giving Spirit, so that by him she bears good children …" (133,33–134,3). In this union the soul "received the divine nature from the Father for her rejuvenation, so that she might be restored to the place where originally she had been" (134,8–11).

From the start of the story sexual abuse is the myth's linguistic imagery, but the sense conveyed in the rest of the narrative fixes not on the sexual violation but on sexuality itself. Before "she fell down into a body and came to this life," Psyche "was virgin and androgynous" (hendiadys: virginity [purity] = nonsexual androgyne). In her prayer the wrong she confessed was "I abandoned my house and fled from my maiden's quarters" (128,36–129,1). The afflictions she suffered were not the real defilement but its consequence: "many are the afflictions that have come upon her because she abandoned her house" (129,4–5). The rescue was accomplished by sending from heaven her mate (132,7–10), with whom she was reunited in marriage, thereby reconstituting the asexual androgyne. "So the cleansing of the soul is to regain the [newness] of her former nature …" (131,34–132,1). The narrative makes clear that the soul's fall into bodily existence (abandoning her house) was wrong, but it offers no explanation. That is added in a gloss on Genesis 2: "the woman led astray the man who is her brother" (133,4–9). In structure as well as in substance, the gloss is of central importance; it stands where the several parts of *Exeg. Soul* are tied together, within a complicated composition of didactic instruction and interpretation of Scripture (132,27–133,31) which is placed around the recognition scene (133,10–15).

Scripture is first employed, interrupting the narrative at the soul's prayer of penitence and petition, in a lengthy exegetical composition entitled "On the prostitution of the soul" (129,5–131,13: the image of the unfaithful wife from Jeremiah 3, Hosea 2, and Ezekiel 16 is applied by the Holy Spirit to the prostitution of the soul and interpreted as the soul's defilement by "the domain of the flesh and the perceptible realm and the affairs of the earth"; Paul's command not to associate with prostitutes [1 Corinthians 5,9] is taken as a summons to struggle against evil spiritual powers).

After the story is told, the hortatory section (135,4ff.) twice says what is proper behavior ("It is fitting" 135,4–15; 136,16–27)—sighing, weeping, hating ourselves and this place of deception, repenting with sincerity—and offers assurance that the father hears the penitent. Chains of Scripture (136,25–137,11; 137,11–22) support both points. In the second instance the Scripture quotations also summarize the whole theme of repentance and deliverance, both in terms of narrative. One is from Homer's *Odyssey* (Helen and Odysseus are figures of the soul's perilous journey through this world to her true home) and the other is from Israel's exodus out of Egypt (to prooftext the groveling which is *de rigueur* in *Exeg. Soul* 's piety: "Certainly Israel would not have been visited in the first place, to be brought out of the land of Egypt … if it had not sighed to God and wept …"). There are also single texts from Scripture: at the end of the narrative didactic definitions are coupled with quotations (134,4–5.11–25.29–135,4).

Thus it appears the quotations, like the exhortation, were added to the story and so are not the narrative's source, as some have argued, but sanction its interpretation. The quotations interrupt the story and help give shape to the entire composition: interruption at the exegetical composition, shaping at the end where the whole is recapitulated in terms of the *Odyssey* and the Exodus, and both interruption and shaping at the point where the knots are tied, at the recognition scene where the myth is tied to the Genesis creation account.

*Exeg. Soul* belongs to no single literary genre. It presents topics discussed in philosophical school treatises on the soul from the 2d century C.E.—the nature of the soul, her incarnation, her lot in this life, and eschatology (Festugière 1953). It exhibits a Platonic outline (Plotinus, *Enn.* 6.9.9) found also in Hermetic and pagan gnostic systems. It has points of similarity with Hippolytus' discussion of the Naasene gnostics (*Elenchos* V, 6–7), with what may be a pre-Valentinian form of the Sophia myth (Jonas 1958) found in *The Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,1 and elsewhere), and with other Nag Hammadi codices, such as *Authentic Teaching* (NHC VI,*3:* the spiritual soul, thrown into a body, becomes involved in this life, forgets her origins, then turns against this world, and at her marriage receives from the bridegroom the word which provides her with the true and saving knowledge of her origins) and *The Gospel of Philip* (NHC II,*3:* connects salvation and the bridal chamber). But *Exeg. Soul* is not philosophical argument or pure myth or even novella, despite similarities with the Hellenistic romances of risk and rescue.

*Exeg. Soul* is of interest as an example in Hellenistic Christianity of a Platonizing doctrine of the soul whose dualism was pessimistic enough to turn it gnostic (Sevrin 1983), together with narrative initiatives from the Hellenistic romances, and biblical and Homeric scriptures, all mixed into an exhortation against attachment to this life, which is characterized by suffering, affliction, distress, defilement and by fitting affective clichés (sigh and repent, weep, mourn). It interests some researchers because it may contain a simple—and hence possibly an early—version of the myth of the soul's fall into a body, which is her defilement, and her rescue, i.e., ascent back to the heavenly father.

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**EXILE.** See ISRAEL, HISTORY OF.

**EXODUS, BOOK OF.** The second book of the OT, and the second of the five books of the Torah or Pentateuch.

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A. Title
B. Masoretic Internal Divisions

C. Place within the Torah
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**A. Title**

The common English title Exodus is derived from the Vg *[Liber] Exodus,* which received it from the OL. This, in turn, was inherited from the Gk *exodos,* abbreviated from a fuller *exodos aigyptou,* "The Departure from Egypt." This name, descriptive of the main theme of the book, reflects an ancient Hebrew title current among the Jews of Palestine and Alexandria: *sēper yĕṣî᾽āt miṣrayim,* "The Book of the Departure from Egypt." This title is still preserved in the 10th-century C.E. Ben-Asher MT (Baer and Strack 1879: 57). The Syriac title *mapqanā᾽* is similarly dependent on that tradition.

The Hebrew name was *wĕ᾽ēllê šĕmôt,* "And these (are) the names (of)" (Exod 1:1), after the opening words, popularly shortened to *šĕmôt.* This title was used by Origen (3d century C.E.) and by Eusebius (4th century) in his *Ecclesiastical History* (6.25), transcribed in Greek as *Oualesmōth* as well as in Latin Bibles as *Hebraica veelle semoth.* It is found in *Gen. Rab.* 64.

One other name is *ḥōmeš šēnî,* "the second fifth" (of the Pentateuch) (*Soṭa* 36b).

**B. Masoretic Internal Divisions**

The present division of the books of the Hebrew Bible into chapters is a late innovation. It is Christian in origin and was transferred from the Latin Bible into Hebrew manuscripts by R. Salomon b. Ishmael ca. 1330 C.E. According to this system, Exodus is divided into 40 chapters. The traditional Masoretic divisions only know of lectionary pericopes (sections for reading in synagogue service). The old Palestinian practice of completing the reading of the Torah in three or three and a half years separated Exodus into 29 or 33 weekly sabbath readings *(sĕdārîm),* while the annual system of Babylon that ultimately became universal in Jewish communities features 11 such pericopes.

According to the Masoretic note at the end of several codices, the Hebrew text of Exodus contains 1209 verses, 16,713 words, and 33,539 letters.

**C. Place within the Torah**

The book of Exodus is part of a larger literary unit known as the Torah or Pentateuch. As such, its opening section and subject matter have many points of contact with the preceding book of Genesis, and its final pericope constitutes a transition to the following books of Leviticus and Numbers. The links with Genesis are discernible in the initial verses. Verse 1 cites Gen 46:1, and v 5 is dependent on Gen 46:26–27. The list of tribes in Exod 1:2–4 is drawn from Gen 35:23–26, because that chapter (vv 11–12) contains the divine promises to Jacob:

> Be fertile and increase:
> A nation, yea an assembly of nations,
> Shall descend from you …
> The land that I assigned to Abraham and Isaac
> And to your offspring to come
> Will I assign the land.

Exod 1:7 tacitly affirms that the blessing of fertility has been realized; the fulfillment of the promise of national territory is about to be set in motion. In addition, the references to Joseph in 1:5–6 presuppose a knowledge of his identity and activities (cf. also 3:16 and 13:19 with Gen 50:24–25). Still other instances of dependency on the Genesis narratives lie in the repeated invocation of the divine promises to the three patriarchs (Exod 2:24; 6:3–4, 8; 32:13; 33:1; cf. Gen 12:1–3; 15:5, 7, 18; 17:2; 28:13–14; 46:3; Fishbane 1979: 63–64).

The closing chapters of Exodus that recount the construction and dedication of the tabernacle in the wilderness provide the background and rationale for the main theme of the books of Leviticus and Numbers, which is the ordering of the cultic institutions and religious life of Israel.

**D. Integrity and Chronological Scope**

Notwithstanding these obvious connections with the preceding and following books of the Torah, Exodus possesses an integrity of its own. It is marked off by a prologue and epilogue (1:1–7; 40:36–38), the former registering the migration of the Israelites to Egypt from Canaan, the latter recording the journeyings of the people on their way to Canaan from Egypt. Whereas Genesis concerns itself with the lives of individuals, the second book of the Torah relates to the fortunes of the people as a whole. The phrase "people of Israel" appears here for the first time (Exod 1:9; cf. 3:7). In fact, Exodus may rightly be looked upon as the seminal book of the Hebrew Scriptures in that it features the pivotal events of Israel's history and the fundamental institutions of its culture and religion.

The latest event mentioned in the narrative is the erection of the tabernacle in the wilderness on the new moon of the first month of the second year following the departure from Egypt (Exod 40:1, 17). The other end of the chronological spectrum remains unclear. This is due to the book's silence about the interval between the death of Joseph and the accession of the tyrannical pharaoh, and about the duration of the slavery. On these points there are divergent traditions. A comprehensive figure of 430 years is given in MT Exod 12:40–41, but LXX and Sam. Pent. include in this number also the length of stay in Canaan. According to Gen 15:13, the predetermined period of slavery was to be 400 years, which is said to cover four generations (Gen 15:16). This last tradition coordinates with the genealogy of Moses, who was the great-grandson of Levi, son of Jacob (Exod 6:1, 16, 18, 20) and more or less agrees with the notice that Joseph's great-grandson Jair, together with his sons, participated in Joshua's wars of conquest and the settlement of Canaan (Gen 50:23; Num 32:39–41; Deut 3:14; Josh 13:1; 17:1). The genealogies, therefore, leave room for no more than about a century or so for the entire Egyptian episode.

Moses himself must have been born, of course, after the onset of the Egyptian oppression, and he was eighty years of age at the time of the Exodus (Exod 2:1; 7:7; Deut 34:7). This means that the enslavement of Israel lasted that long at least. On the other hand, it would have required many more generations than two or three for a mere seventy souls and their families to have proliferated to the extent of being regarded as a serious threat to the security of Egypt (Exod 1:5, 7, 9–10). At any rate, 19:1 and 40:17 show that the bulk of the book encompasses a period of just about one year.

**E. Textual Traditions**

Four textual traditions of Exodus can be distinguished. These are the received Hebrew text (MT), the Samaritan Pentateuch, the LXX, and now the tradition represented by 4QpaleoExod$^{M}$.

The Hebrew behind the Greek Exodus seems to have differed from MT more than the other books of the Pentateuch. It also differs from it in arrangement of contents in two main respects: (1) within the Decalog (chap. 20), the order of the commandments in Codex Vaticanus (B) is 7, 8, and 6; (2) while it closely corresponds to MT in chaps. 25–31, there are considerable differences in the parallel account in chaps. 35–40. The section dealing with the ornaments and garments of the priesthood (39:2–31 [MT]), which in MT follows the description of the structure of the tabernacle and its furnishings, is shifted in LXX to head the entire section (36:9–40 [LXX]) within the subsections of that pericope (Swete 1902: 231–36).

The Samaritan text is characterized by a number of major expansions, conflate readings, and interpolations. Thus Exod 18:24 is supplemented by Deut 1:9–18, the tenth commandment in Exod 20:17 has been augmented by citations from Deut 11:29 and 27:2–7, Exod 20:19 has been enlarged by Deut 5:24–27, and Exod 20:22 by excerpts from Deut 5:28–31.

What seems to be the forerunner of this text-type is 4QpaleoExod$^{M}$ from Qumran, which has survived in varying states of preservation. It contains Exod 6:25 to chap. 37. While not identical to the Sam. Pent., it, too, features repetitions, especially in the plague narratives, and also has passages interpolated from Deuteronomy. Another peculiarity is the placing of Exod 30:1–10 in chap. 26. This text displays numerous textual variants from MT, many of them corresponding to the Greek and Samaritan. On the whole, though, it is very close to MT (see Sanderson 1986).

A total of fifteen Hebrew scrolls of Exodus, all fragmentary, were uncovered at Qumran. Thirteen were found in cave 4; two of them are written in the Paleo-Hebrew script. Other fragments were found in cave 1, which feature Exod 16:12–16; 19:24–20:1; 20:25–21:1; 21:4–5, and in the "small caves," that is, in cave 2 that held Exod 1:11–14; 7:1–4; 9:27–29; 11:3–7; 12:32–41; 21:18–20(?); 26:11–13; 30:21 (?); 32:32–34 and another group containing Exod 4:31; 12:26–27 (?); 18:21–22; 21:27–22:2; 22:15–19; 27:17–19; 31:16–17; 19:9; and 34:10; and a third represented by 5:3–5. In cave 7 were found Exod 28:4–6 and v 7 in Greek translation. In addition, fragments of Hebrew Exod 4:28–31; 5:3; and 6:5–11 were preserved at Murabba‘ât.

**F. Contents**

The book is devoted to the events leading up to the Exodus, the circumstances of the Exodus itself, and the experiences in the wilderness that include the covenant at Sinai, the corpus of legislation, and the construction of the tabernacle.

A detailed analysis of the contents demonstrates the varied nature of the material, which may be subsumed under four rubrics as follows:

1. Israel in Egypt (1:1–12:36)
2. Exodus Events (12:37–15:21)
3. Wilderness Wanderings (15:22–18:27)
4. Sinai Experiences (19:1–40:30)

**1. Israel in Egypt. a. Prologue** (1:1–7). An abbreviated recapitulation of Gen 46:1–27; the roster of Jacob's sons, the heads of families, who accompanied their father in the migration to Egypt; together with their households, they number seventy souls in all, including Joseph, who was already there; that entire immigrant generation dies out; the Israelite population increases phenomenally.

**b. Oppression** (1:18–20). A new king arises in Egypt; unmindful of the benefactions that Joseph had bestowed on the land, he perceives the proliferation of the Israelites to be a threat to national security; in order to curb their natural increase he conscripts the people for forced labor on state projects; when this tactic fails to achieve its goal, more severe measures are taken; the range of tasks imposed on the Israelites is greatly expanded; the midwives are ordered to murder all Israelite males at birth; they disregard the decree, whereupon the pharaoh directs that all newborn males are to be thrown into the Nile.

**c. Birth of Moses** (2:1–10). A baby is born to a levitical family and is kept in hiding for three months; when concealment is no longer feasible, the mother places him in a waterproofed basket among the reeds on the bank of the river, and stations his sister to keep watch from a distance; a daughter of the pharaoh comes down, espies the basket and, recognizing the baby to be a Hebrew, takes pity on him; at that moment, the sister approaches and offers to bring a Hebrew wet nurse; unaware, the princess hires the mother of the child, who brings him to the palace when he is sufficiently grown; the princess names him Moses.

**d. Moses' Early Life** (2:11–22). Moses kills an Egyptian who is beating a Hebrew, "one of his kinsmen," and hides the body in the sand; he tries to intervene in a fight between two Hebrews and is rebuked by the offender with a reference to that killing; realizing that his act is no longer secret, and that he is now under sentence of death, Moses flees to the land of Midian; there he saves the shepherdess daughters of the local priest from abuse by the male shepherds; he settles down with Jethro the priest and marries Zipporah, one of his daughters; a son named Gershom is born to the couple.

**e. Conditions in Egypt** (2:23–25). The narrative now returns to conditions in Egypt and notes that the king has died but that the Israelites have gained no relief from their burdens; the time has arrived for God to respond to the outcry of the oppressed.

**f. Call of Moses** (3:1–4:17). Moses, in the wilderness, drives his flock in the vicinity of Horeb, "the mountain of God"; there he witnesses a bush on fire yet remaining unconsumed; his curiosity aroused, he approaches the scene, only to hear a voice ordering him to come no closer and to remove his sandals because he is standing on holy ground; the voice then identifies himself as that of the God of his ancestors, the three patriarchs of Israel; Moses is told that God is about to deliver his people from Egypt and to bring them into the promised land; Moses himself is to be chosen the instrument for this purpose; a long dialogue between God and Moses ensues in which Moses protests his unworthiness and God repeatedly reassures him; a noteworthy feature is that Moses asks for the name of God that the people would recognize; in response he is told, *ʾehyê ʾăšer ʾehyê* (3:14), a phrase whose vagueness has provoked centuries of commentary. Moses is then given the charge to negotiate with the pharaoh for the Israelites to be allowed to undertake a three-day journey into the wilderness in order to worship their God; at the same time, he is forewarned that the monarch will refuse unless coerced into agreeing; God will therefore strike Egypt with various punishments, after which the pharaoh's obstinacy will be broken; the Egyptians will even shower gifts on the departing Israelites.

Moses still hesitates, fearing rejection by his own people; God then teaches him three signs to perform before them so as to ensure his credibility; Moses continues to demur, pleading lack of persuasive eloquence, an excuse dismissed by God, who points out that it is God alone who endows human beings with the faculty of speech. Moses makes one last desperate plea that someone else be chosen to liberate Israel, but he is rebuffed; his brother Aaron is appointed to act as his spokesman to relay God's message to the people and to the pharaoh.

**g. Return to Egypt** (4:18–31). Moses returns to his father-in-law, receives permission to leave, takes his wife and sons, and sets out on the journey back to Egypt; he receives a divine message for the king that, should he refuse to let Israel, God's "firstborn son," leave, he will be punished with the death of his own firstborn son. The narrative is here interrupted by a truncated story about a mysterious incident that occurs on the way at a night encampment. Moses or his son (the text is not clear) suddenly becomes desperately ill. Zipporah perceives the cause to be neglect of the act of circumcision; taking a flint knife, she personally performs the ritual on her son and thereby averts the danger. Continuing the journey, Moses meets up with his brother Aaron and gives him a full report of all that transpired. The two then assemble the elders of Israel, deliver the divine message, perform the validating wonders, and are accepted by the people.

**h. Audience with the Pharaoh** (5:1–6:1). Moses and Aaron have an audience with the pharaoh, who not only summarily rejects their request but even intensifies the burdens placed on the people. The overseers of the laborers remonstrate with the king but to no avail; as they leave the pharaoh's presence, they meet Moses and Aaron and bitterly accuse them of aggravating their unhappy situation; Moses, in turn, protests to God that his own mission has failed, at which the Lord reassures him of eventual fulfillment.

**i. Recommissioning of Moses** (6:2–13). Moses receives a message from the Lord that he has revealed himself to the patriarchs of Israel by the name El Shaddai but has not made himself known to them by his name YHWH. In this capacity he will fulfill the covenant he made with them to give them the land of Canaan. Moses is bidden to bring the people the tidings of redemption and of the forging of a special relationship with God; Moses does so but, demoralized by their sufferings, they do not respond, and Moses once again questions his ability to influence the pharaoh.

**j. Genealogy** (6:14–30). The narrative is again interrupted by a genealogy of the clan heads of the tribes of Reuben, Simeon, and Levi; the last-mentioned is given in greatest detail, leading up to Moses and Aaron; a brief recapitulation of their function and mission concludes the unit and serves to resume the sequence of the narrative.

**k. Another Recapitulation** (7:1–7). The charge of Moses with Aaron as his spokesman is repeated as well as the pronouncement that God will harden Pharaoh's heart, but that the Egyptians will let Israel go free after experiencing extraordinary chastisements.

**l. Sign before the Pharaoh** (7:8–13). Moses and Aaron perform a marvel in the presence of the court; Aaron's rod turns into a serpent; this feat is duplicated by the Egyptian magicians, but Aaron's rod swallows theirs; the pharaoh remains unmoved.

**m. Plagues** (7:14–11:10). The promised chastisements arrive in the form of a concentrated series of disasters. The first nine plagues are a blood-red and foul Nile (7:14–24), an abundance of frogs (7:25–8:11), a heavy infestation of lice (8:12–15), swarms of insects (8:16–28), pestilential diseases that strike the livestock (9:1–7), boils that erupt on man and beast (9:8–12), destructive hail that lashes the land (9:13–35), swarms of locusts (10:1–20), and thick darkness for three days (10:21–23). The pharaoh remains defiant; the final and climactic slaying of the firstborn is foretold.

**n. Passover Regulations** (12:1–28). The month of spring as the New Year; preparations for the Exodus; the setting aside of the lamb; rules for preparing and eating it; the annual commemoration of the Passover; the eating of unleavened bread; rules for slaughtering the paschal lamb; future celebration of the Exodus.

**o. Tenth Plague** (12:29–36). The firstborn of the Egyptians, man and beast are slain. The pharaoh summons Moses and Aaron; the Israelites are allowed to leave; the Egyptians are despoiled.

**2. Exodus Events. a. First Stage** (12:37–13:16). The Israelites march from Raamses to Succoth; about 600,000 adult males, aside from women and children, depart. A "mixed multitude," apparently a motley group of non-Israelites, accompany them. An aspect of the law of the Passover offering is defined; the sacrality of the firstborn is affirmed; the festival of unleavened bread is instituted. The law of the redemption of the firstborn of man and beast is announced.

**b. Second Stage** (13:17–14:31). The indirect route from Egypt to Canaan is deliberately chosen; the bones of Joseph are carried out by Moses; the journey from Succoth to Etham; a pillar of cloud and fire accompany the people; the Egyptians come in pursuit of fleeing Israelites; the safe crossing of the sea by Israel and the drowning of the entire Egyptian force.

**c. Song of Triumph** (15:1–21). Moses leads the people in a song of praise to God; Miriam leads the women in a song with dance and timbrels.

**3. Wilderness Wanderings. a. Shortage of Water** (15:22–27). Three days' trek into the wilderness of Shur, the people are without a supply of water; on arrival at Marah, the waters are found to be bitter. The people complain; Moses intercedes with God, and the waters are miraculously cured. The people journey to Elim, where there are twelve springs and seventy palm trees.

**b. Manna and Quails** (16:1–36). The trek from Elim to the Wilderness of Zin, the people arriving exactly one month after the Exodus. The people suffer hunger and clamor against Moses' leadership. They are providentially supplied with manna and quails. The sabbath law is explicated in relation to the manna.

**c. Shortage of Water at Rephidim** (17:1–7). The trek to Rephidim, where water is scarce, leads to near rebellion against Moses, whom God instructs to strike a rock. Water gushes forth; the site is named Massah and Meribah.

**d. War with Amalek** (17:8–16). Israel is suddenly attacked by the tribe of Amalekites. Moses appoints Joshua to lead the Israelite forces and he drives off the enemy. Moses stations himself on a hill overlooking the scene of battle; Israel prevails when he holds his hands aloft; Aaron and Hur support his hands. The Lord orders Moses to inscribe in a document that he would continually wage war against Amalek. Moses builds an altar at the site.

**e. Jethro and the Founding of the Judiciary** (18:1–27). Jethro visits the Israelite camp and receives a full report of recent events. He expresses consternation at Moses acting as sole magistrate, and advises on the establishment of a standing judiciary, which Moses follows.

**4. Sinai Experiences. a. Preparations for the Theophany** (19:1–25). On the third new moon following the Exodus the people enter the wilderness of Sinai and encamp "facing the mountain"; preparations are made for a communal theophany; the people station themselves at the foot of the mount on the third day.

**b. Theophany** (20:1–21 [18]). God promulgates the Decalog. The people are seized with awe and fear, and ask Moses to mediate the revelation.

**c. Laws Regulating Forms of Worship** (20:22[19]–26[23]).

**d. Book of the Covenant** (21:1–23:33). A complex of laws, civil and criminal, moral and ritual; the judicial laws (21:2–22:17) are overwhelmingly formulated in casuistic style, the moral and ritual (22:18–23:33) are mostly expressed apodictically.

The following are the legal topics: 21:2–11, slavery; vv 12–17, capital offenses; vv 18–27, bodily injuries; vv 28–32, homicidal beasts; vv 33–36, damage to property; 21:37 (—Eng 22:1) to 22:3 (—Eng 22:4), theft of livestock; 22:4–5 (—Eng 22:5–6), damage to crops; vv 6–14 (—Eng 7–15), laws of bailment; vv 15–16 (—Eng 16–17), law of seduction; 22:17 (—Eng 22:18), prohibition of sorcery; v 18 (—Eng 19), bestiality; v 19 (—Eng 20), apostasy; 22:20–26 (—Eng 22:21–27), concern for the disadvantaged of society; 22:27–30 (—Eng 22:28–31), duties to God; 23:1–3, judicial procedure; vv 4–5 restoration of lost property; vv 6–9, impartial justice; vv 10–11, seventh year fallow; v 12, sabbath law; v 13, obedience to God; denial of other gods; vv 14–19, sacred seasons; vv 20–33, hortatory epilogue.

**e. Ratification of the Covenant** (24:1–18). The covenant is affirmed by popular acclamation and is committed to writing. Sacrificial rituals are ordained, with ceremonial sprinkling of the blood of the animal. A public reading of the document. Moses ascends the mountain to receive the two tablets of stone.

**f. Instructions for the Tabernacle** (25:1–31:18). Detailed instructions for the fabrication and equipment of the tabernacle, for the manufacturing of the priestly vestments, and for the consecration of the priests.

**g. Golden Calf** (32:1–34:35). The absence of Moses on the mount causes the people to insist on fashioning a "god," so Aaron makes a golden calf. The covenant has been violated; Moses descends the mountain and smashes the tablets; a slaughter of the guilty ensues. The divine presence in the camp of Israel is endangered. Moses acts as mediator for Israel with God. The covenant is renewed. God warns against the incursion of alien cults into the religion of Israel. A religious calendar is prescribed.

**h. Erection of the Tabernacle** (35:1–40:34). The detailed directions for the construction of the tabernacle are carefully executed; the divine spirit envelops the completed structure.

**i. Epilogue** (40:36–38). Israel's movements toward the promised land are directed and timed by the protecting and sanctifying emblem of the divine presence in the midst of the people.

**G. Nature of the Material**

The book of Exodus can hardly be treated as historiography in the usual sense of the term, for its narrative is characterized by a paucity of historical detail. As noted above, some essential chronological data are lacking. In addition, no pharaoh is designated by name (contrast, e.g., 1 Kgs 11:40; 2 Kgs 23:29), and nothing is related about the upbringing and education of Moses or about the structure of Israelite society in Egypt and the inner life of the community. Although Israel is said to be organized as a confederation of twelve tribes, the histories of the individual tribes have been entirely ignored. In regard to the year's wanderings in the wilderness, only a few highlights are mentioned, and apart from the theophany and Covenant Code and God's benevolent provisioning of his people, they conform to a pattern of Israel's disobedience and rebellion against God. It is clear that the book presupposes a high degree of selectivity, with its focus on theological interpretation and didactic exposition. It is also evident that within these restricted parameters there is a tendency to preserve as many traditions as possible.

The material itself reveals a veritable kaleidoscope of topics and literary genres. The following constitutive elements are discernible: saga (e.g., the birth story of Moses, 2:1–10); fragmented tales that presuppose more extensive knowledge than is recounted (e.g., Zipporah's circumcision of her son in 4:24–26; the mention of Joshua and Hur without further identification in 17:9, 10); episodes that bear a richly poetic flavor (e.g., the theophanies in chaps. 19; 33:19–23); items that possess distinctly poetic form and phraseology (e.g., 3:15; 9:29; 17:16; 19:3,4); hymns (e.g., 15:1–21); paraenetic discourse (e.g., 15:26; 19:3–6), and its related exhortatory promises and threats (e.g., 23:20–33); a corpus of judicial, moral, and ceremonial law (21:1–23:19); itinerary notices (12:37; 13:20; 14:2; 15:22–23, 27; 16:1; 17:1; 19:1–2); genealogical information (1:1–5; 6:14–27); lists (25:1–31:11; 35:4–40:33); a census (30:13–16); chronological notices (7:7; 12:40–41; 19:1; 40:2, 7); ritual, cultic, and ceremonial laws such as circumcision (4:24–26; 12:44, 48–49); the Sabbath (16:5, 22–30; 20:8–11; 23:12: 31:12–17; 34:21: 35:1–

3); the festivals (chap. 12 passim; 13:6–7; 23:14–17; 34:18, 22–25); the consecration and redemption of the firstborn (13:2, 11–15; 22:28–29; 34:19–20); the disposal of the firstfruits (22:28; 23:19; 34:26); and a dietary law (23:19; 34:26).

Irrespective of the great variety of literary types and topics, the work is presented as one long, continuous narrative. It is the sequential narrative mold that imparts a unified quality to the book as it has come down to us. All the varied material is woven into the narrative and becomes an integral part of it. Thus, the laws relating to the paschal lamb, the future annual celebration of the Passover festival, and the redemption of the firstborn are all expounded within the context of the tenth plague (chap. 12; 13:16). The sabbath law is laid out in relation to the story of the manna (chap. 16). The Decalog and the corpus of laws appear in connection with the arrival of the people at Mt. Sinai. They are presented against a background of preparations for a theophany and treated as the product of that theophany, which is depicted as taking place amidst upheavals of nature, themselves described in highly figurative and poetic language (chaps. 19–20). Even the construction of the tabernacle in all its elaborate technical details is narrativized and becomes an extension of the Sinai pericope (chaps. 25–31; 35–40).

**H. Composition**

Modern critical research in the book of Exodus cannot be separated from the investigation of the Pentateuch as a whole (see also TORAH). At the same time the distinctive characteristics of Exodus warrant attention to certain issues peculiar to it.

The diverse literary genres and topics, the apparent doublets, inconsistencies, redundancies, and interpolations, as well as seeming differences in ideological and theological outlook, have inevitably raised questions about the history and growth of this text until it reached its final form.

Scholarly energies have concentrated on the prehistory of the materials, that is, on the identification and isolation of the original building blocks of tradition, on the reconstruction of the setting in the life of Israel that would have generated and preserved the major motifs and themes, on the delineation of the complex process by which the units of tradition have been fused into a coherent whole, and on consideration of the literary artistry that has shaped the work into its final form.

The classical documentary hypothesis originally claimed to identify three distinct narrative strands: J, E, and P, based upon the same distinguishing criteria as were applied to the book of Genesis. While there was no unanimity regarding the precise extent of these documents or their characteristics, and especially concerning the separation of the E source from J, a broad consensus nevertheless emerged in respect of the existence of three basic sources. In addition, Driver (1913: 99ff.; 1918:xvii–xviii) pointed to several passages in Exodus which approximate in style and tone to D. While he admitted that some of these may be explained by assuming D's use of JE, he claimed that a considerable number of phrases and expressions could only have entered the book under the influence of D.

The classical documentary hypothesis has undergone much modification through attempts to subdivide the sources and discover new ones. R. Smend (1912) claimed that J was itself a composite of two originally independent sources which he designated $J^1$ and $J^2$. C. A. Simpson (1948) regarded $J^1$ as preserving the traditions of the southern tribes and as having been written ca. 1000 B.C.E. To this source were added traditions of the Joseph tribes ca. 900 B.C.E. to form $J^2$. Around 700 B.C.E., E reworked this source from a northern viewpoint. Both Volz and Rudolph (1933) had earlier concluded that E was not an independent narrative source and that the material usually designated E comprised a number of individual traditions that were incorporated into J. Rudolph (1938), however, did not agree that P was of the same character.

Several scholars have attempted to isolate hitherto undetected sources. Morgenstern (1927) claimed to have identified Exod 4:24–26 and chaps. 18 and 33–34 as the remnants of a Kenite source (K) which was, to him, the oldest document in the Hexateuch. This had contained a narrative of the relationship between Moses and the Kenites.

Otto Eissfeldt (1922; 1965) also argued for the presence of an additional narrative source to be carved out of J, which he designated L ("lay"). Written between 950 B.C.E. and 850 B.C.E., it is said to be characterized by a lack of concern for cultic matters, a general primitiveness, and a commitment to the

nomadic way of life and to the ideal of the unity of Israel. Fragments of this source were thought to be identifiable in chaps. 1–2; 3:21–22; 4:1–9, 19–26, 30b–31a; 7:15b, $17^{6}$, 20; 12:21–27, 33–39; 13:3–16, 20; chap. 14; 15:20–27; chap. 16; 17:1a, 8–16; 19:2–25; 24:1–2, 9–11, 13a, 14–15a; 32:17, 18, 25–29; 33:3b–4; 34:10–13. In contrast, the rest of J was compiled sometime between 900 and 721 B.C.E.

This theory was modified by G. Fohrer (1968), who, for chaps. 1–15, preferred the designation N (nomadic) in place of L and dated the source to ca. 800 B.C.E., regarding it as a critical reaction to urbanism on the part of a southern Judean writer.

M. Noth (*HPT*, 38–45) postulated the existence of a *Grundlage* (G) or an original document on which both J and E drew. This is said to explain the overlapping material in those documents as well as how variations developed in the course of time. Cross (*CMHE*) postulates an originally oral epic cycle of traditions deriving from the period of the judges, of which both J and E are variant forms. He does not regard P as being an independent narrative but rather the final redaction of the older material which was completed in the 6th century B.C.E. toward the end of the Babylonian exile. This priestly reworking was responsible for the superscriptions, date formulas, itineraries, genealogies, and the priestly legislation.

Rolf Rendtorff (1977) similarly denies the existence of a continuous Priestly narrative source. He goes further in also arguing against an independent, extensive J source, claiming that the various major complexes of tradition developed in isolation from one another in small units. P and J reworked the separate blocks of material. The final redactor, not the Yahwist, was responsible for conjoining the narrative cycles.

The search for the setting in life that inspired and preserved the basic themes of the book of Exodus led von Rad *(PHOE*) and Noth *(HPT*) to look to the dominant role of the cult for an answer. The former maintained that the origin of the material is to be sought in historical creedal confessions that were recited by the worshippers at cult centers on sacred occasions. Deut 25:5–9 provides the model for this practice. Other examples are Deut 6:20–24 and Josh 24:2b–13. These credos embodied three basic themes: the deliverance from Egypt, the conquest of and settlement in the land, and the divine promises to the patriarchs. These historical confessions of faith were recited on the celebration of the Feast of Weeks at Gilgal, Israel's earliest religious center in Canaan (cf. Josh 5:9–10). Since none of the above-cited credos refers to the revelation at Sinai, von Rad concluded that the Sinai covenant theme was originally independent of the confessional complex and originated as a cult legend celebrated on the Feast of Booths, an ancient covenant renewal festival held at the sanctuary at Shechem. This site was an important religious and political center for the tribes of Israel (cf. Josh 24:1). Von Rad further postulated that these credos were originally associated with distinct tribal groups. It was the Yahwist (J) who fused the complexes of tradition, incorporated into them other independent traditions, and furnished them with theological elaborations. He thereby created a continuous narrative which is a theological presentation of Israel's self-understanding.

M. Noth has similarly placed the formation of the traditions and their elaboration in a cultic context. He isolated five discrete and originally independent themes that became central to the faith of Israel: divine promises to the patriarchs, guidance out of Egypt, guidance in the wilderness, revelation at Sinai, and guidance into the arable land of Canaan. The Exodus theme was originally confined to only some of the tribes. It gradually received ever wider circulation until it formed the nucleus of the faith of all Israel. The traditions about Moses were thought by Noth to have been later, secondary themes. In the course of time the themes were supplemented and expanded to be combined in the period of the judges. Whereas their origin was cultic, the impetus for their fusion was primarily political rather than theological. The amphictyonic twelve-tribe confederation meeting on cultic occasions at the central sanctuary provided the stimulus for the merging of the separate traditions that now became the possession of all Israel. This material in its content and arrangement formed the *Grundlage* (G), the common source on which J and E drew. A redactor drew upon E to augment J and this revised document was incorporated into the separate P narrative source.

The foundations of the von Rad-Noth hypothesis have been largely undermined. Powerful arguments against the very existence of the institution of creedal confession have been adduced, and even those who

do not discount it entirely deny its antiquity. Further, the reality of the amphictyony itself has been seriously questioned (*IJH*, 304–8).

A completely different approach to the issues of the composition of Exodus has been pursued by B. S. Childs. To him, not the prehistory of the individual component traditions but the final shape of the book is the decisive factor in its interpretation and theological importance. This is so because there is a continual, dynamic interrelationship between the Scripture and the community of faith and practice that acknowledged the divine authority behind the traditions. The structure of the book is shaped by the role played by this "canonical" literature in the life of that community (*Exodus* OTL; *IOTS*).

**I. Literary Aspects**

Whatever the literary prehistory of Exodus, the book in its final form amply attests to thoughtful design and the deliberate use of narrative art.

The birth story of Moses, for instance, illustrates the point. The pharaoh decrees the destruction of Israel by drowning, but by an ironic reversal of fate it is the Egyptian oppressors who meet disaster by drowning. The reeds (Heb *sûp*) secure and thus save the basket of the infant Moses, and it is the Sea of Reeds (?) (Heb *yām sûp*) that dooms the Egyptians. The daughter of the pharaoh unwittingly rescues the one who will liberate those oppressed by the pharaohs. Without realizing it, she actually pays the infant's mother to nurse her own son. Finally, the princess bestows the name Moses on the baby and it turns out that this can be interpreted to mean in Hebrew ("He who draws out (from the water)." That is, she unwittingly gives him a name that foreshadows his destiny.

The pericope of the ten plagues is set forth in the form of an impressive literary structure. There are three series of three calamities each, with the climactic tenth alone having no grounding in natural phenomena and therefore being wrought by God himself. The first two plagues in each series are forewarned, the third not. Moses is bidden to confront the pharaoh "in the morning" in the first of each series, but there is no time indication in the case of the other two. The instruction given to Moses in the first of each series begins with "Station yourself …" and in the second of each it is, "Go to Pharaoh," while the third is consistently without any such instruction. The entire first series is brought about through the agency of Aaron, the entire third series through the instrumentality of Moses (*EncJud* 13: 606–7; Sarna 1986: 75–77).

Apart from the structural symmetry of the plagues narrative, there is additional evidence of studied literary design in the presentation of the motif of the hardening of Pharaoh's heart. Between chaps. 4 and 14 this occurs exactly twenty times and the cause is equally divided between God and the pharaoh. Ten times the king's obstinacy is declared to be self-willed (Exod 7:13, 14, 22; 8:11, 15, 28; 9:7, 34, 35; 13:5) and ten times it is said to be the product of divine intent (Exod 4:21; 7:3; 9:12; 10:1, 20, 27; 11:10; 14:4, 8, 17).

Another numerical feature, to which Cassuto (1967) has drawn attention is the sevenfold repetition of certain key words for emphasis. This is so of the "midwife, midwives" *měyalledet/měyallědôt* (Exod 1:15–21), the "child" *(hā-yeled)* Moses (2:1–10) and the stem *lbn* (verb and noun), in connection with the brick making (5:7–19). In the first story in the first series of three plague stories, the key term *yĕōr (îm),* "river Nile," is repeated fourteen times (7:14–25), in the first of the second series of three, *ʿārōb,* "swarms of flies," appears seven times (8:16–28—Eng8:20–32), and in the first of the third series *barad,* "hail," is repeated fourteen times (9:18–35; RSV adds an extra "hail" in v 25 for clarity). In addition, there is a sevenfold mention of *ʾarbeh,* "locusts," in the eighth plague (10:1–20). The instructions for eating the paschal lamb (12:1–13) and those enjoining the eating of unleavened bread and prohibiting the eating of leaven (12:15–20) both feature the verb *ʾkl,* "eat," seven times. In addition, there are seven different expressions of redemption in the account of the recommissioning of Moses (6:6–8), and the commandment ordaining the weekly seven-day rest lists seven categories of God's creatures who are to benefit from it (20:10).

Another device is the deliberate chronological displacement of an episode. Such is the case with the account of the visit of Jethro to the camp of Israel (chap. 18). This must have occurred after the revelation at Sinai (not before it, as its present position implies [Ibn Ezra *Exodus* 18: 1; Cassuto 1967: 211]). The

evidence for this is that 18:15 has the people already encamped at "the mountain of God," whereas their arrival there is not recorded until 19:1–2; the burnt offerings (18:20) presuppose the existence of an altar of sacrifice at Sinai, which must be either that mentioned in 24:4 or that of the tabernacle; reference to "the laws and teachings of God" (18:16, 20) is more appropriate following the theophany than before it; the report about the organization of the judiciary in Deut 1:9–17 is immediately followed by the notice of the people's departure from Horeb, implying that the former took place toward the end of the sojourn at Sinai; this is consonant with Num 11:11, 29–32 which testifies to Jethro's presence in the camp in "the second month of the second year after the Exodus," so that the report of Exod 18:27 registering Jethro's departure must be dated after the theophany. The chronological disorder may be explained by the fact that the two distinct but interrelated units that make up chap. 18, vv 1–12 and 13–26, respectively, connect with the themes of the preceding and succeeding narratives. The first contrasts the friendliness of the Midianites/Kenites toward Israel with the treacherous behavior of the Amalekites. This is made explicit in 1 Sam 15:1–6. The second theme provides a transition to the next pericope, the giving of the law.

Another type of seeming disorder is the intersection of the account of the erection of the tabernacle by the episode of the golden calf (32:1–34:35). The anomaly functions as a kind of theological commentary on the incident. The tabernacle with the ark of the covenant as its focal point was meant to be an active extension of the Sinaitic experience into the wilderness wanderings. The golden calf resulted from a popular demand for a material representation of the continued presence of God in the camp of Israel in the wake of Moses' prolonged absence (32:1); a single motivation inspired both the tabernacle and the golden calf. The present arrangement of the two themes draws attention to this and points up the verdict that the first was a legitimate expression of spiritual yearning, the second was wholly incompatible with Israelite montheism (Sarna 1986: 215–20).

**J. Historicity**

The issues involved in determining the literary composition of the book of Exodus, and the variety of theories that they have generated, raise questions as to the reliability of the narrative as a witness to the historicity of the events described. It should be stressed that neither the theocentric nature of the biblical presentation nor the hypothetical lateness of the sources used would necessarily preclude the possibility that they may rest on a sound historical foundation. This is so even though there is a complete absence of any external written documents testifying to Israel's presence and subjugation in Egypt, to her migration from that land, or to her conquest of Canaan and her settlement there. In this situation, archaeological excavation in Israel and neighboring countries would appear to offer the most favorable prospects for resolving the issue. However, both the interpretation of the data and their correlation with the biblical sources have been matters of much scholarly disagreement.

Assuming an Exodus date around the middle of the 13th century B.C.E. (the most widely held date), it is to be noted that the time around 1200 B.C.E. would provide favorable political, social, and material conditions for the appearance of Israel in Canaan. A marked deterioration in LB Age culture is discernible. Successive campaigns by Egyptian kings into Canaan and Syria had greatly weakened the military strength of the region, and Egyptian rule had drained Canaan's resources. The decline of Egyptian authority following the death of Merneptah, internal political fragmentation, and economic instability all contributed to the deterioration. A considerable decrease in the number of settlements in the N part of the mountainous region is apparent, while several towns and cities were violently destroyed, the sites of which were either abandoned or sparsely reoccupied at a lower level of material culture. In contrast, in the early Iron Age, a huge increase in settlements in the central highlands can be attested, an area hitherto very sparsely populated. This new development was facilitated by the increased use of iron tools, by the use of terracing, and by the introduction of lined water cisterns. In the main, the new settlements were unfortified and were grouped together in clusters. The old characteristic city-state system was abandoned, and in the earlier phases of settlement the collared-rim jar and a certain type of four-room house were innovated. What is uncertain is whether or not the transition from LB to early Iron I culture, with all its radical changes, involved cultural discontinuity, and whether or not it was an Israelite invasion from without that was responsible.

The assumption that such was the case is not unreasonable, but it does entail a number of disparities between the biblical record and the archaeological evidence. The cities of Jericho (Joshua 6), Ai (chaps. 7–8), Arad (Num 21:1; 33:40; Josh 12:14), and Hormah (ibid.), all said to have been destroyed in Joshua's invasion, were found to have been unoccupied in the LB. On the other hand, several of the cities found to have been violently destroyed in this general period are listed in Judg 1:27–36 among those not having been captured by the Israelites: Megiddo, Beth-shean, Gezer, and Beth-shemesh. Only Lachish and Hazor were found to have been laid in ruins around 1200 B.C.E. (cf. Joshua 10–11).

The interpretation of the archaeological data has been complicated by the diverse scholarly perceptions of the nature and origin of the Israelite presence in Canaan.

The school of Alt and Noth, ignoring the account of the conquest in Joshua, has argued against a unified Israelite military invasion of the country and in favor of a gradual, largely peaceful infiltration of individual nomadic tribes from outside Canaan into the sparsely populated central hill country. These settled down on the land and eventually organized into a confederation of tribes.

G. E. Mendenhall (1962; 1973) has postulated that toward the close of the LB a sociopolitical peasant uprising against the city-states took place inside Canaan. This was joined by a group of liberated slaves who fled Egypt, led by Moses. This hypothesis has been elaborated by N. K. Gottwald (1979), who sees the origins of Israel in the commingling of a heterogeneous collection of disaffected social elements inside Canaan. These groups rebelled against the entire existing sociopolitical and religious feudal system, gradually retribalized, and developed a new social order along egalitarian lines based on a covenant relationship with YHWH.

None of these theories leaves much room for accommodating the biblical account to history, although a kernel of factuality is conceded. Even this is flatly dismissed by Lemche (1985). Convinced of the late composition of Exodus and of the worthlessness of its traditions for historical research, as well as the original independence of the Sinai pericope, he believes the biblical account of Israel's pre-Davidic history to be entirely fictional and to be of use only for revealing Israel's self-understanding of its past half a millennium after the founding of the monarchy. Basing himself on a specific interpretation of the archaeological data, he argues that as a result of the disintegration of Canaanite culture and the serious crisis that beset the city-states from the 14th century down, exacerbated by the arrival of groups of the Sea Peoples, there occurred a substantial thinning out of the plains and valleys of Canaan and a movement of population eastward to the mountainous regions where an agrarian culture developed ca. 1200 B.C.E. Israel as a nation is said to have first emerged in this area. There was no discontinuity. The ethical aspect of Israelite religion really evolved from the ethical side of Canaanite culture. Lemche asserts that the notion of a covenant played no role in the religious life of Israel before the 6th century B.C.E.

Hardly decisive, though worthy of note, is the fact that the Exodus narratives do contain undeniable Egyptian coloration. The evidence may be summarized as follows:

(1) The descent of the Israelite shepherds into Egypt in the days of Joseph in order to escape famine finds an analogy in Papyrus Anastasi VI, in which a frontier official reports on the passage of Edomite bedouin tribes from Asia into the delta of Egypt "to keep them and their cattle alive" (*ANET*, 259).

(2) The title "pharaoh," uniformly used for the king of Egypt, points to the development that took place during the late 18th Dynasty when the term, meaning "The Great House" and originally applied to the royal palace, came to be employed as a metonymy for the reigning monarch.

(3) The conscription of Israelites for work on state projects (Exod 1:11) correlates with the tradition preserved by Diodorus Siculus (1.56) that Rameses II preferred to conscript foreigners rather than Egyptians for his vast building program.

(4) The Israelites are said to have built the cities of Pithom and Raamses (Exod 1:11). The first is the Egyptian *P (r) ʾItm,* "House of (the god) Atum," and the second is *P (r) Rʿmss,* "House of Rameses," built by Rameses II in the eastern delta of the Nile. Egyptian texts extol the beauty and glory of this city (*ANET*, 470–71; cf. Gen 47:5–6, 11).

(5) The Israelites were also subjected to hard work in the fields (Exod 1:14). The Egyptian text known as the "Satire on the Trades" emphasizes the harsh conditions under which agricultural laborers worked (*ANET*, 433; *AEL* 1: 187–88; 2: 170).

(6) The making of bricks proved to be an especially onerous imposition on the Israelites (Exod 1:14; 5:7–8, 13–14). Alluvial mud supplied by the river Nile and shaped into bricks was the common building material in Egypt, other than for monumental architecture. Ordinary private dwellings as well as administrative buildings were mainly constructed of bricks, and the walls that encircled towns were of brick and often reached a height of about 60 feet. It is estimated that the pyramids of Sesostris III at Dahshur required about 24.5 million bricks. The massive building program of Rameses II would have necessitated the manufacture of enormous quantities of bricks (Spencer 1979). Surviving records from the time of this pharaoh describe how a quota of 2000 bricks was assigned to each of a gang of forty men and how that target was rarely reached (Kitchen 1976). The aforementioned "Satire on the Trades" describes the hardships endured by the brickmaker (*ANET*, 433).

(7) The midwives play a prominent role in the early phase of the oppression (Exod 1:15–21). The craft was evidently held in high esteem in Egypt, for in one Egyptian tale it was practiced by three goddesses (*AEL* 1: 220). The name Shiphrah held by one of the Hebrew midwives has turned up as belonging to an Asiatic woman in a list of slaves attached to an Egyptian household (Albright 1954: 229, no. 233).

(8) Mention of the birth stool (Heb *ʾobnāyîm* [Exod 1:16]) appears to be connected with the Egyptian custom of women experiencing parturition in a crouching or sitting position. The Egyptian hieroglyph for birth is a kneeling woman, and one text explicitly refers to "sitting on bricks like a woman in labor" (*ANET*, 381).

(9) The story of the birth of Moses and his exposure in the Nile (Exod 2:1–10) reflects the widespread motif of the abandoned hero, known from the ANE and the classical world. A local Egyptian analogy exists in the story of the concealment of Horus from Seth.

(10) The name Moses (Exod 2:10) is of Egyptian origin and appears as a frequent element in proper names, usually with the addition of a divine element (cf. Ahmose, Ramose, Ptahmose, Thutmose), and sometimes without it (*EHI*, 329).

(11) Although not explicitly stated, it may be inferred from Exod 2:10 that Moses grew up and was educated in Egyptian court circles. Evidence exists for the presence of foreign students, especially Semites, in the royal schools in the Ramesside period.

(12) The promised land is described for the first time as "a land flowing with milk and honey" (Exod 3:8). This matches the description of the land found in the Egyptian tale of Sinuhe (*ANET*, 18–23), and the Annals of Thutmose III (*ANET*, 237–38; Fensham 1966).

(13) The request of Moses to allow the Israelites a three-day release from their corvée labors in order to celebrate a religious festival (Exod 3:18; 5:1–3; 8:22–25) follows established precedent as attested by extant records kept by supervisors of labor gangs (Erman 1971: 124; Kitchen 1975: 156–57).

(14) The exceptional role of wonder-working in the early Exodus narratives (Exod 4:2–5, 6–9; 7:8–12, 22; 8:3, 14–15) must be viewed in the light of the extraordinary place of magic as an essential part of daily life at all levels of Egyptian society. The feat of turning a rod into a snake finds analogy in the popular tale "King Cheops (Khufu) and the Magicians" (Erman 1966: 36–38). As a matter of fact, the snake as stiff as a rod is still practiced in Egypt and has been well documented in modern times (Mannix 1960: 32). The specific selection of this trick in order to impress both the Israelites and the pharaoh and his court may have been conditioned by the ceremonial insignia of Egyptian monarchs. The rod, or scepter, was emblematic of royalty, power, and authority, and the uraeus, or stylized representation of the sacred cobra, was worn on the forehead by the pharaohs as a symbol of imperial authority.

(15) The turning of water into blood (Exod 4:9; 7:17–22) is mentioned in Egyptian compositions. "The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage" (*ANET*, 441), and the story of "Setne Khamwas and Si-osire" (*AEL* 3: 148) both refer to it.

(16) The ninth plague, darkness (Exod 10:21–23), may be compared with mention of a similar phenomenon in the "Prophecies of Neferti" (*ANET*, 445).

(17) Finally, the ten plagues are described as "judgments on the gods of Egypt" (Exod 12:12; cf. Num 33:4; Jer 46:25), a verdict early interpreted to mean that they were a mockery of Egyptian paganism 12:23–27; 16:1–14; cf. Exod 10:2; *Jub.* 48:5). Some of the plagues can be so explained if taken in a context of Egyptian religious beliefs. The Nile, the vital artery of the land, was personified as the god Hapi, and its annual inundation was regarded as a manifestation of Osiris. The first two plagues centered on the river and could certainly have been understood by the Egyptians as nullifying the powers of these two deities. The plague of frogs could well have been taken as mocking the frog goddess Heqt, who was fancied as assisting women in labor and who was the consort of Khnum, the one who fashioned human beings out of clay. The plague of darkness represented the defeat of the sun god Re, symbol of cosmic order. To the Egyptian mind, it would have evoked the powerful cosmogonic myth in which the monster Apophis, symbolic of darkness and the embodiment of all that is terrible, daily vied for victory over Re.

The cumulative effect of the above data is to demonstrate the narrator's familiarity with Egyptian culture. It does not of itself prove the authenticity of the stories as being actual reflections of a historic circumstance. It does, however, accentuate an unanswered problem that besets the above-cited hypotheses that deny those narratives any objective reality, namely, how and why the Egyptian episode came to be invented, if such was the case. The failure to deal adequately with the issue is particularly acute in light of the Genesis traditions that locate the origins of Abraham neither in Egypt nor in Canaan but in Mesopotamia, and that are consistent in describing the continued associations of all the patriarchs with that region. Moreover, this tradition is also emphasized in the biblical "credos" of Deut 26:5 and Josh 24:2. Another weakness of the radical theories is their lack of convincing explanation for what would be the gratuitous invention and successful transmission century after century of such an inglorious and embarrassing tradition as the slavery in Egypt. Even more perplexing would be how to account for the fact that the Exodus theme managed to leave an indelible impress on the national consciousness to the extent that it became paramount in the religion of Israel, shaped all its basic institutions, and dominated its conception of God. One would also have to explain how a literary fabrication would be repeatedly cited and celebrated in the variegated historical, prophetic, and psalmodic literature (Judg 6:8–9, 13; 1 Sam 12:6, 8; 1 Kgs 8:16, 51; Dan 9:15; Neh 9:9ff.; 2 Chr 7:22; Isa 10:24, 26; 11:15; 51:9–11; 52:4; Jer 2:2, 6–7; 7:21–24; 11:1–8; 34:13; Ezek 20:5–29; Hos 8:13; 9:3; 11:1; 12:14; Amos 9:7; Hag 2:5). Finally, without the cohesive force provided by a shared experience in Egypt and the belief in the covenant between God and Israel, what were the forces at work in welding heterogeneous population groups into a unified nation under central authority, contrary to the entire past historical experience of Canaan?

**K. Religion of Exodus**

The Exodus theme is referred to in the Hebrew Scriptures in one form or another approximately one hundred and twenty times, apart from the primary narrative. This remarkable statistic bears unequivocal testimony to its centrality in the religion of Israel. From this preeminence flow certain consequential conceptions of God, of the relationship between God and Israel, of history, and of the proper ordering of human associations.

The Exodus negates any notion of an otiose deity and asserts the reality of a God who is intimately involved in the life of the world. He is the God of history in the sense that the coming into being of the people of Israel, their enslavement in Egypt, their liberation, and the events connected therewith, are not fortuitous or the result of human endeavors, but the unfolding of the divine plan of history (cf. Gen 15:13–14). The breaking of Egyptian resistance establishes God's absolute hegemony over history. History is the arena of divine activity and is thus endowed with meaning.

A major consequence of this is that the religion of Israel became embedded in a historical matrix. Its major institutions, its religious calendar, its rituals and observances, have all been reinterpreted in terms of the Exodus and emptied of any theological association with the rhythm of nature and the life of the soil (Exod 23:14–15; Lev 23:42–43; Deut 5:15; 16:1–12). Even the dietary laws are given the rationale of the Exodus (Lev 11:45).

God's role as liberator of the enslaved, and his repeated and benevolent provisioning of his people in the wilderness, notwithstanding their fractious ingratitude (Exod 15:22–27; 16; 17:1–7), become the

paradigms for Israel's code of interpersonal relations. That is to say, the Exodus becomes the source of ethical teaching and the wellspring of moral action. God's actions on behalf of Israel must evoke corresponding human concern for the unfortunates of society (Exod 22:20; 23:9; Lev 19:33–34; Deut 5:13–15; 10:17–19; 15:12–15; 23:8; 24:20–22).

Axiomatic if unexplicated is the idea that knowledge of God's qualities and of his demands on Israel can be acquired only insofar as God takes the initiative in revealing them. Two clear statements of Israel's understanding of the divine personality are to be found in Exodus:

> I the Lord your God am an impassioned God, visiting the guilt of the parents upon the children, upon the third and fourth generations of those who reject me, but showing kindness to the thousandth generation of those who love me and keep my commandments. (Exod 20:5–6.)
>
> The Lord! A God compassionate and gracious, slow to anger, abounding in kindness and faithfulness, extending kindness to the thousandth generation, forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin; yet he does not remit all punishment but visits the iniquity of parents upon children and children's children, upon the third and fourth generations. (Exod 34:6–7.)

These descriptions are presented as God's self-revelation, not as the product of speculation or experience. The same idea that, to know God, man must depend on God's self-disclosure is implicit in Moses' request, "Let me know your ways" (Exod 33:13), and it is inherent in the obligations of the covenant set forth in the Decalog, which is portrayed as being the content of a great national theophany. It governs Israel's understanding of law. All the legislative complexes of the Pentateuch are formulated as a series of divine commands to Israel, albeit mediated by Moses.

The most important contribution of Exodus to the religion of Israel is the idea of the covenant itself, not as a figure of speech but as an actual legal circumstance that henceforth governs the relationship between God and Israel. Foretold in Gen 17:7–8, the covenant is recalled in Exod 2:24 and in Exod 6:4–5. The second is associated with the first instance of the covenant formulation that is frequently repeated with variation in the Torah and the Prophets: "I will take you to be my people, and I will be your God" (Exod 6:7; cf. Lev 26:12; Deut 26:17–18; 29:12; 2 Sam 7:24; Jer 7:23; 11:4; 24:7; 30:22, 25; 31:32; Ezek 11:20; 14:11; 36:28; 37:23). The great theophany at Sinai consummates the establishment of this covenant (Exodus 19–20, 24). Thereafter, covenant consciousness suffuses all subsequent developments in Israel's history, which is portrayed as being conditioned by the degree of fidelity or disloyalty to that special relationship with God and all that it entails.

The institution of the Sabbath occupies a significant place in Exodus, exceeding in mention all other sacred times (16:5; 22:30; 20:8–11; 31:12–18; 35:1–3), even though it is connected with creation rather than with the Exodus (20:11; 31:17; cf. Deut 5:15).

Lastly, as Y. Kaufmann has pointed out (*KRI*, 223–42), three fundamental characteristics of biblical religion first appear in Exodus: YHWH as the predominant personal name of the God of Israel (Exod 3:14–15; 6:2); the war against paganism, which finds no mention in Genesis, but which is implicit in the Exodus narratives (5:2; 12:12) and is explicit in the laws (20:3–5; 22:19; 23:24:25, 32–33; 34:11–17); and the institution of apostolic prophecy as first represented by Moses in his mission to both the pharaoh and to Israel.

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NAHUM M. SARNA

**EXODUS, THE.** "Exodus" is simply the Latin form of the Gk term *exodos,* for an exit or "going out"—even today, each passenger who steps out of a Greek motor bus exits from a door marked *exodos.* Regarding the OT, the word applies above all else to the clans of Israel leaving Egypt, to settle back in Canaan whence their ancestors had earlier come. The significance of this particular "going out" derives from two elements in the biblical tradition. It was an escape *from* foreign oppression, and it led *to* the formation of an incipient nation. As the OT writers themselves viewed it, it was a deliverance effected by the power of the Israelites' deity (YHWH, "the LORD" of Eng versions), in accord with whose promises

to their ancestors they were to enter and occupy Canaan. Between these two termini (leaving Egypt; reaching Canaan), biblical tradition has an intermediate phase—the travels and sojourn of the Israelites in the Sinai peninsula and environs. This includes (1) the high point of the giving of the law and covenant and instituting of worship at a portable shrine ("the tabernacle") (see SINAI, MOUNT), and (2) the discipline for disobeying the deity of languishing long years in the wilderness before entering Canaan (see WILDERNESS WANDERINGS).

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**A. Sources**

**1. Exodus 1–19.** The existing book of Exodus hinges at chap. 19. Thus, Exodus 1–19 takes the reader from a point after the death of Joseph through a period in which the Hebrew family grew into a group of clans. Then follows the stirring narrative of Egyptian oppression, the origins of Moses, Israel's future leader, and then the contest with the pharaoh of Egypt, culminating in the Hebrews leaving Egypt through the shifting water bed of the Reed Sea (where their pursuers were swamped), and on into Sinai. Thereafter, Exodus 20–40 presents the making of the covenant between the people and their soveriegn deity, and of the portable shrine that was to be the practical focus of worship of their God in the life of these clans, incipient Israel.

If one were to grant a historical basis for this series of events (see D and E below), then in principle what we now find in the book of Exodus would derive in some measure from earliest Israel's experience of those events. The extent to which the existing book of Exodus may be held to mirror those possible events closely and accurately, or else distantly with later elaboration, is still a question of mere opinion, not of formal proof. For this reason, it is useful and necessary to compare the data in the biblical text with external data from the Egyptian and Near Eastern world in which the whole OT is set. Following 19th-century biblical scholarship, it is still commonplace to divide up the existing narratives, etc., among purely theoretical "documents" (denoted by such sigla as J, E, P, D) variously dated across the 9th–5th centuries B.C. However, if honesty is to be maintained, it should be stated plainly that (in the words of no less a literary critic than Eissfeldt 1965: 240) "the whole of Pentateuchal criticism is a hypothesis …" and not a proven fact. No manuscript evidence of any of these theoretical "source documents" has been found (not even among the Dead Sea Scrolls). External evidence (see D and E below) suggests that the biblical traditions contain much that predates the 9th century B.C., and hence originated and was transmitted long before such documents were composed (if they ever were). For fundamental errors in, and criticism of, these literary methods, see Kitchen 1966: 112–29, whose arguments were opposed by Tigay 1985a: 3ff.; 1985b: 152ff. (though unsuccessfully). Recently a detailed assessment of methodological problems in the "Documentary Hypothesis" has been provided by Whybray 1987: 43–113.

**2. Later Biblical Allusions to the Exodus, and Their Significance.** Such allusions back to the Exodus-event are relatively numerous across the varied span of OT writings. For the reader's convenience, they can be usefully grouped by function and in broad biblical sequences.

**a.** The basic historical reason why Israel should accept and obey YHWH's covenant. In the introduction to the Ten Commandments, both at Sinai and in Moab (Exod 2:20; Deut 5:6), he is their deliverer from slavery in accord with ancient promise (cf. Gen 15:13–14; 48:21; 50:24–25, for what was envisaged). Reminders of Israel's covenant indebtedness to their deliverer from Egypt then recur in the settlement narratives (Jos 24:5–7, 17, covenant renewal at Shechem; cf. Judg 2:1–3, 12; 6:7–10, 13; 1 Sam 10:18–19), under Solomon (1 Kgs 8:51, 53; 9:9 = 2 Chr 7:22), then during the Divided Monarchy, Babylonian exile, and later (cf. Hos 12:9–10, 13; 13:4; Amos 2:10–11; 3:1–2; 9:7, in terms of judgment; Mic 6:3–4; Jer 2:6–7; 7:22–26; 11:3–5, 7; 32:20–23; 34:13). The editor of Kings (2 Kgs 17:7, 36), then others (Ezek 20:5–10; Dan 9:15; Neh 9:9–12) follow out this line. It also appears in the Psalms (78; 80:8; 81:6–7; 105:34–39; 106; 136: 10–16).

**b.** A motivating reason for the Israelites' proper treatment of each other and of strangers, as pointed out by Sarna (1986: 3–5), and at feasts. See Exod 22:21; 23:9; 23:15 (also 34:18); 29:44–46. Likewise in Lev 11:1–45; 18:3; 19:33–34, 36; 22:32–33 (cf. 25:54–55); 23:42–43; 25:36–38, 42; 26:13, 45. Fleetingly, we have only Num 15:40–41 in that book. Contrast Deuteronomy—in the prologue (4:20, 34, 37), as a basis for gratitude (a., above); and motivation, 6:12, 21–23; 7:8; 11:3–4; 13:5, 10; 16:1 (feast), 12; 20:1; 24:18, 22; 26:6–10; 29:22–26. This theme thus extends across all aspects of the Law.

**c.** Knowledge of the Exodus-event as showing the sovereignty of the God of Israel is credited by the Hebrew writers to people in Canaan in Joshua's time (Jos 2:10; 9:9), and to Transjordanians under the judges (Judg 11:13). Cf. also the Balaam episode, Num 22:5, 11; 23:22; 24:8.

**d.** With the passing of time, the Exodus-event was used as an initial dateline (though *not* necessarily numerically) for the Israelites' history—much as the Egyptians would remark that something or other had never been seen "since the founding of the land" or "since the time of the god," in their case. Such "dateline" references occur during the settlement (Judg 19:30—a deed, its like never seen since Israel left Egypt; the beginning of Eli's priestly line, 1 Sam 2:27; the time span of Israel's disobedience, 1 Sam 8:8; and the starting point of Samuel's historical review, 1 Sam 12:6–8). This usage is found associated with the times of David (2 Sam 7:6, 23–24 = 1 Chr 17:5, 21–22), Solomon (1 Kgs 6:1, 480th year; 1 Kgs 8:16 = 2 Chr 6:5), and Manasseh (2 Kgs 21:15). Cf. Jer 16:14–15; 23:7–8; 32:20.

**e.** Allusions to the period of the Exodus occur as a basis for comparison for later events, such as under Saul (1 Sam 15:6; cf. usage in Isa 11:16 and Mic 7:15); and simply as a long past event, as with Solomon (1 Kgs 8:9 = 2 Chr 5:10; 1 Kgs 8:21 = 2 Chr 6:11), Hosea (2:15; 11:1), Haggai (2:5), and the Psalms (114; 135:8, 9).

Thus, throughout early Hebrew history, from the settlement in Canaan (and probably even from Sinai), down to the Babylonian exile and beyond, we find a good number of allusions to the exodus-event, from several viewpoints, regardless of what analysis of the texts may be used. These vantage points include the basic reason for Israel's gratitude and obedience to their deliverer-deity, as good reason for caring for others too easily oppressed, as a basic dateline for commenting on subsequent events, as a point of comparison for significant events to come, and simply as past history. Within the biblical tradition, few other events enjoyed anything like the prominence accorded so pervasively in the work of so many writers, or were deemed of such basic importance for Israel's history.

**B. Modern Opinions about the Exodus-event**

Until well into the 19th century A.D., the prevailing judgment was that the narratives in Exodus 1–19 should be regarded as essentially historical. However, influenced not by any fresh facts but by alien philosophical presuppositions brought in from outside, 19th-century biblical studies tended to reject the overall scheme of history and religious development of early Israel as found in the pages of our existing Bible. Adoption of such philosophically slanted, theoretical schemes has led to widely differing modern estimates of the historicity (from total to zero) of the exodus-event and of the narratives that recount it.

Thus, about a century ago, in his famous article "Israel" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* and subsequently reprinted with his pivotal work, the *Prolegomena* (*WPHI,* 429–30), Wellhausen clearly envisaged the entry into Egypt of a group of Hebrew shepherds and goatherds, eventually enslaved in Egyptian public works in Goshen. Later, at a time of plagues in Egypt, this modest community took secret flight, crossed wind-driven shallow waters (led by Moses), battling with Egyptian chariotry that failed to hold them and were swept off by returning waters. Thus the great architect of conventional literary criticism certainly held to a definite (if limited) Exodus led by Moses.

For several decades opinions have varied around this basis. Bright (*BHI,* 119) considered that "there can really be little doubt that ancestors of Israel had been slaves in Egypt and had escaped in some marvelous way." B. W. Anderson (1978: 43–45) implicitly accepts the reality of an Egyptian oppression and Hebrew exodus: "it is clear that the biblical narratives reflect the sober realities of the political situation. But these realities were interpreted through the eyes of Israelite faith … Only the Hebrews who stood in the circle of Moses experienced the depth of historical meaning that led to the remembering … of these historical traditions." By 1982, D. B. Redford viewed the Exodus narratives as "a post-exilic composition," but regarded as unassailable the following four points: (1) An early and strong reminiscence of pastoralists entering Egypt, one Jacob being an ancestral figure; (2) these incomers multiplied and briefly became "exceedingly influential in Egypt"; (3) then strong antipathy arose between the local Egyptians and these Asiatics; so that (4) the latter withdrew to "the Levantine littoral whence they had emerged" (Redford in Rainey 1987: 150). Subsequently, in 1988, Garbini averred that "it is quite probable that Semitic people first settled in Egypt and then left it, but in this case, it is absolutely impossible to verify the event" (Garbini 1988: 15). More scathing still is Lemche (1988: 109): "the traditions about … the exodus of the Israelites are legendary and epic in nature … There is no real reason even to attempt to find a historical background for the events of the Exodus … There was no massive emigration from Egypt under the eighteenth dynasty or later in the form described in the Old Testament." However, a very different judgment is expressed by Sarna (in Shanks 1988: 52): "Are the Israelite slavery, liberation and conquest as described in the Bible 'proven' in a scientific sense? They are definitely not. Does the assumption of their general historicity provide the most reasonable explanation to account for and accommodate the most facts despite the puzzling complexity of the literary sources? It certainly is."

Opinions in the abstract can settle nothing. Scientifically, the only feasible approach is to compare the content of the Exodus narratives with the available background material from the Egyptian and ANE cultural environment, to see what indications (if any) emerge. Before so doing (D, E, below), the approximate date and location of any "exodus" must be considered.

**C. The Exodus: Time and Place**

**1. Date.** Much disputed for a century or more, a satisfactory solution depends (1) on having fuller information than we currently possess, and (2) on using correctly such data as we do have. The first condition is beyond reach currently, but the second is feasible. No final date can be offered, but some limits can be set.

The "lazy man's solution" is simply to cite the 480 years ostensibly given in 1 Kgs 6:1 from the Exodus to the 4th year of Solomon (ca. 966 B.C.) and so to set the Exodus at ca. 1446 B.C. However, this too simple solution is ruled out by the combined weight of all the other biblical data plus additional information from external data. So the interval from the Exodus comes out not at 480 years but as over 553 years (by three unknown amounts), if we trouble to go carefully through all the known biblical figures for this period. It is evident that the 480 years cannot cover fully the 553 + X years. At best, it could be a selection from them, or else it is a schematic figure (12 × 40 years, or similar). But again, on other evidence to be considered, a date of ca. 1519 B.C. (966+553) and earlier is even less realistic for the Exodus. In Exod 1:11, the Hebrews are building Raamses, whence also they are said to have set out on the Exodus (Exod 12:37); the "land of Rameses" (Gen 47:11) is a reflex of the same name and place. This place is Pi-Ramesse, the east-delta city built by Rameses II (1279–1213 B.C.) (see C.2 below). Thus, the end of the oppression and the start of the Exodus could not precede the accession of this king at the earliest, i.e., not before 1279 B.C. on our present knowledge of Egyptian chronology. That is only a little

more than 300 years before Solomon, not 480 or 553. In ANE terms, the solution is quite straightforward. There were most probably considerable overlaps between contemporary groups of judges in Israel during the settlement period; hence, the 553 + X years totals up all the years of such people, years which in reality were partly overlapping and fitted inside the absolute period of 300 years or so. This early Israelite "intermediate period" between Joshua and the United Monarchy (Saul to Solomon) would in this respect have been exactly like such periods elsewhere in the biblical world. In Egypt, the dynasties of the Second Intermediate Period add up globally to well over 500 years; yet we know that these selfsame 13th–17th Dynasties all fit within a period of not more than about 230 years (in fact, within either 1786–1550 B.C. or 1759–1530 B.C.). Similarly, one might add up the dynasties (Isin, Larsa, etc.) in the Old Babylonian period between the fall of the Ur III Dynasty and the triumph of Hammurapi of Babylon to some 500 years; but they, too, must fit into the approximately 250 years that the interval really covers.

From Egyptian data, a bottom date for the Exodus can also be set. In his 5th year, 1209 B.C., Merneptah (Rameses II's successor) mentions four entities recently subdued in Canaan: Ascalon, Gezer, Yenoam, and Israel; by the hieroglyphic determinatives, clearly three territorial city-states and a people, respectively. The disposition of related reliefs at Karnak would confirm (in conjunction with the "Israel Stela") the location of earliest Israel in that area later known as Ephraim and (W) Manasseh, (see Yurco 1986, which supersedes all previous treatments). Hence, the Exodus, the sojourn in the wilderness, and the entry into Canaan can reasonably be limited to within ca. 1279–1209 B.C., a maximum of 70 years; or if within about 1260–1220 B.C., very nearly 300 years before the 4th year of Solomon (966 B.C.). The other biblical (genealogical) data cluster around this general figure. Thus, we have roughly 300 years/10 generations of high priests down to Zadok (1 Chr 6:3–8). The genealogy of David (5 generations, Ruth 4:18–22) is clearly too short, and is probably "telescoped," i.e., some links are omitted.

Archaeological evidence (though imperfect and unsatisfactory) is not incompatible with these findings. Rameses II invaded Moab, probably sometime within 1275–1260 B.C., including Dibon (Kitchen 1964, for the firsthand data; denial of this by Cross 1988: 58–59, n. 41, is based upon ignorance of the facts and upon errors by Ahituv). Clearly, the Hebrews would have come that way after such an event—"Israel" does not feature among Levantine place names under Rameses II as it did under Merneptah. In Canaan, the drastic destruction of Hazor (level 13) in the later 13th century B.C. (despite misconceptions to the contrary) may well reflect Joshua's exploit. Ai remains an enigma on any view; at Jericho, nearly half a millennium of erosion has long since removed virtually all pertinent evidence. Lachish level 7 fell at this time, but neither its fall nor even level 6 need be credited to the Israelites. (It should not need to be remarked that killing petty kinglets in battle, Josh 12:9–24, is a far cry from demolishing cities.) However all this may be, recent surveys and excavations do seem to indicate clearly that following 1200 B.C. there was a new intensity of settlement (farms, hamlets, villages) in Canaan, particularly and first in the N part that became Ephraim/W Manasseh (see *AIS* 1988). This sudden rise in population could not come from simply nowhere; and the entry of new groups, such as the Israelite clans (ultimately from Egypt) remains by far the most sensible explanation. (However, for an outline of various proposals, and Finkelstein's most recent assessment of the data, see *AIS*, 336–56.)

Returning to the documentary evidence, it must be emphasized that the formulation of the Sinai/Moab covenant (Exodus-Leviticus; Deuteronomy) in its basic framework belongs squarely within the period 1380–1200 B.C. (Kitchen 1989). This excludes an early date for the Exodus/lawgiving (e.g., 1440 B.C.), as Moses could not have used this format over 60 years before it had been invented; nor can the basic covenant be dated any later than the start of the 12th century at latest on analogous grounds. The Habiru of the Amarna Letters are a false trail; as was remarked long ago, the biblical Hebrews may have been Habiru, but not all Habiru are biblical Hebrews. So, in summary, the likeliest date for an exodus of Hebrews from Egypt would at present fall within the middle part of the 13th century B.C.

**2. Location and Route.** The starting point of the Exodus is given as Rameses (Gen 47:11; Exod 12:37; Num 33:3, 5), alternately Raamses (Exod 1:11), in the E delta, it being also the scene of the Hebrew labors at brickmaking (Exod 1:11; 12:37; Num 33:3, 5). Within reach of Raamses, they labored also at Pithom (Exod 1:11). But when the Hebrews traveled out from Rameses, we hear no more of Pithom, but

of Succoth as first stop (Exod 12:37; Num 33:5) on the way E (clearly, Pithom had been bypassed, not being on their direct route). When they first entered the E delta from Canaan, the patriarchal clan had been located in a district named Goshen (Gen 46:28), which the later editor of the Exodus period identified as "the land of Rameses" (Gen 47:11).

Scrutiny of the total available Egyptian sources (Gardiner 1918; supplemented by Kitchen 1990) reveals scores of mentions of places called "Rameses." The vast majority of these refer to Rameses II, a very few to Rameses III, and none to any other Rameses. A handful of these mentions in fact relate to places totally irrelevant to the Exodus—a Rameses settlement over a thousand miles up the Nile in Nubia, and a couple of forts on the West, Libyan margins of the delta. In the E delta, just two such places are definitely attested. One is a fort at the W end of the chain of forts that ran along the N coast of Sinai from Egypt to Canaan: "The Dwelling of the Lion" under Sethos I, renamed "The Dwelling of Rameses" by Rameses II. Recent excavation at Tell Haboua has revealed a massive Ramesside fortress (up to 1000 $m^2$), built over a Middle Kingdom/Hyksos settlement (Abd el-Maqsoud 1988; personal information; Abd el-Maqsoud 1983, and especially 1987). This may well be the site of "The Dwelling."

However, the vast mass of references under Rameses II to Rameses III relate to a major delta capital city, built by Rameses II around the summer palace of his father Sethos I as nucleus, and on the N of the old town of Avaris, used by the Hyksos, but of no importance until the reign of Haremhab, the immediate predecessor of the Ramesside kings. The location of Pi-Ramesse, "Domain of Rameses," the clear original of Hebrew Rameses, was long disputed. Pelusium did not fit; Tanis proved to be an illusion, because all the Ramesside monuments found there (many from Pi-Ramesse) were in fact reused materials, brought from elsewhere by later kings to build the temple of Amun of Tanis in the 21st–22d Dynasties. But a growing series of important finds in the immediate area of Khata'ana-Qantir-Tell-Dab'a by Hamza, Habachi, Adam, Bietak, and Pusch have produced results that correspond remarkably well with the literary and inscriptional sources on Pi-Ramesse, as well as Avaris. See, conveniently, Bietak 1981, and for fuller detail Bietak 1975. It should be noted that the New Kingdom history of Avaris/Pi-Ramesse does not currently precede the reign of Haremhab (ca. 1320 B.C.), and that its main period runs from Rameses II to Rameses VI (ca. 1279–1140 B.C.), after which it rapidly fell into disuse and decay. Biblical mentions of Raamses therefore belong to the late 2d millennium B.C., after which the city and the name fell into total oblivion, being attested in 4th/3d century inscriptions for "shadow-cults" of Amun, hidden away within late Egyptian sanctuaries, at a period when later Jewish tradition proved incapable of accurately locating this city (and others); see Bietak in Rainey 1987, and *LÄ* 5: 128–46.

Succoth is a name widely agreed to be derived from Eg *ṯkw*, Tjeku. The Eg literary sources of the 13th century B.C. clearly show that Tjeku was the name for an area that contained a settlement (also called Tjeku), two forts or keeps, and pools. Statuary found at Tell el-Maskhuta and a stela of Ptolemy II show clearly that Tjeku (and therefore Succoth) should be located at Tell el-Maskhuta in Wadi Tumilat, approximately 22 miles from Pi-Ramesse to its NW.

Pithom (Exod 1:11) is clearly bypassed, and therefore should be sought either N of Pi-Ramesse (where no appropriate site is known), or else somewhere S of Pi-Ramesse and W of Succoth. This option would bring us to Tell er-Retaba, 9 Roman miles W of Succoth/Tjeku. At this W site was a Ramesside cult and temple of the god Atum, who gave his name to Pithom (Pi- (A)tum, "Domain of Atum"); cf. Bietak in Rainey 1987: 168–69; the views of D. B. Redford ("Pithom" in *LÄ* 4: 1054–58) are totally mistaken; cf. Kitchen 1990, besides Bietak. Tell er-Retaba has appropriate Ramesside remains, but nothing much earlier.

Unfortunately, almost nothing at all can be clearly identified among the other place names on the Exodus itinerary. That applies to Etham, certainly not an Eg *Khetem*, "fort," but evidently somewhere near the Bitter Lakes. Here, on the edge of the wilderness, the Hebrews had to turn aside and camp between Migdol, Pi-Hahiroth, and "the sea," before escaping past the wind-driven waters (Exod 14:2, 16–22; Num 33:6–8). The Hebrews would appear to have first turned N, then E by the waters, before finally going off SE into Sinai, and well away from the forbidden "Way of the Philistines" (Exod 13:17), with its chain of Egyptian forts (on which, cf. Oren and T. Dothan in Rainey 1987). Despite occasional

suggestions to the contrary (e.g., Batto 1983, 1984), the so-called "Red Sea" of Exod 10:19–15:22 is best rendered "Sea of Reeds," as part of the Bitter Lakes, the word *ṣup*, "reeds," being clearly derived from Eg *twf*, tjuf. (See also RED SEA.) Migdol is merely a common West Semitic word for a fort or watchtower, and this one cannot therefore be located. Baal-zephon may possibly be the later Tahpanhes/Daphnai at Tell Defenneh, where both Ramesside and later remains have been found. Pi-Hahiroth is unknown, but could be the Eg Pa-hir waters/canal in the Bitter Lakes area (note the form Ha-hiroth in Num 33:8); see details in Kitchen 1975: 428–32.

Once away from Egypt, three routes E confronted the Hebrews. The N one (N Sinai coast) was excluded (Kitchen 1975). The central one across the barren, waterless limestone shield of central Sinai was impracticable (see Bietak in Rainey 1987: 170), and does not fit the conditions given and presupposed in the biblical text. Only the S route, toward the area of Mts. Serbal, Musa, etc., and then NE toward Kadesh-barnea, in any way fits the circumstances (see D below).

**D. The Ancient Cultural Context**

**1. The Phenomenon of an "Exodus."** While biblical writers view Israel's exodus from Egypt as uniquely important in their faith and history, they recognized that other peoples too might exit from one land into another. Amos (9:7) recalls three: Israel from Egypt, the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Arameans from Kir. Little can be said about Kir, but the Philistines certainly entered Canaan (with other Sea Peoples) from across the Aegean; their distinctive pottery is of Aegean inspiration ("sub-Mycenaean").

Like Israel escaping from oppressive Egyptian rule, so in Anatolia in the 15th century B.C., some 14 "lands" and population groups rebelled against the Hittite king and transferred themselves to the land of Isuwa. However, his successor invaded Isuwa and brought these unfortunates back to heel (see Weidner 1923: 5/7). In the 18th century B.C. tribal groups subject to the king of Mari sometimes tried to escape royal control by emigration (see Matthews 1978: 157–58).

**2. Conditions on the Eve of the Exodus. a. Labor in the brickfields.** There the Hebrews saw hard service "with clay mortar and with bricks, all service in the field … with hardship" (Exod 1:14), for the Egyptians "had set over them directors of forced labor, to afflict them with their burdens" (Exod 1:11). More precisely (Exod 5:6–21), we find Egyptian taskmasters supervising gangs of Hebrews led by their own foremen or "officers." This two-tier control by supervisors and gang leaders is well attested in New Kingdom Egypt and earlier (Kitchen 1976: 138, 140–46). The well-known scene of brickmaking in the tomb chapel of the vizier Rekhmire (ca. 1450 B.C.) shows a mixed-race group of laborers (Canaanites, Nubians, Egyptians) making bricks under the eye of Egyptian overseers armed with slim batons, with (apparently) 10 men per overseer. A leather scroll in the Louvre, of Year 5 of Rameses II (ca. 1275 B.C.), lists a series of 40 "stablemasters," or junior taskmasters, each given a production target of 2000 bricks for his gang (other related documents exist; for references see Kitchen 1976).

The Egyptians readily employed foreign captives on building projects during this general period. We find Apiru dragging stone for a temple of Rameses II at Memphis (Caminos 1954: 491), while in Nubia the viceroy Setau rounded up oasis-dwelling Libyans to build the temple of Rameses II at Wadi es-Sebua (Kitchen 1982: 138). The imposition of work quotas (Exod 5:8, 13–14) as in the Louvre scroll just mentioned recurs in the papyri: "Total, 12 building-jobs; … people … are making their quota of bricks daily" (see Caminos 1954: 106). For seeking a religious holiday (cf. below), the Hebrews were punished by having to find their own straw to use in the brick clay, while maintaining production (Exod 5:6–16). The use of straw this way recurs in the papyri. One official laments, "There are no men to make bricks, and no straw hereabouts" (see Caminos 1954: 188). Chaff or straw mixed with the clay provided stronger bricks that kept their shape in drying, a practice still in use (Nims 1950: 24–28). There are chemical reasons behind the phenomenon (Lucas 1962: 48–50). As later biblical references make clear, *ʿārê-hammiskĕnôt,* "cities of storage," contained storage magazines for food products (2 Chr 32:28; cf. 1 Kgs 9:19, supply depots for the military). This would agree with the presence in Pi-Ramesse and elsewhere of military barracks, storage magazines, housing, etc., all of mud brick.

Pharaoh's wrath at Moses' request for time off work (Exodus 5) for the Hebrews to go and worship their God in the desert is no surprise. In the 13th/12th centuries B.C., we have numerous work-attendance documents that detail the absenteeism of the royal workmen in W Thebes. The reasons for absence are fascinating: burying a deceased relative, brewing beer with the boss, or away worshipping one's god (cf. translation of OBM 5634, Kitchen 1982: 196–97; others are cited, Kitchen 1966: 157). The two principal Hebrew midwives, Shiprah and Puah (Exod 1:15), bear genuine West Semitic names (not artificial), attested in earlier Egypt (as loanword) and Ugarit.

**b. Role of Moses—Semites in Egyptian society.** If indeed Moses was brought up at the Egyptian court in the E delta, he would have had plenty of other West-Semitic-speaking colleagues to chat with. Youths from Canaan ("Khor") as well as Nubia served as court attendants and fan bearers (Caminos 1954: 117, 200–1), and many cupbearers or butlers are attested at court during the 15th–12th centuries B.C. (for references see Kitchen in Douglas 1980: 1.423; 2.1026–27). An Egyptian official might boast of his knowledge of Canaanite, rattling off pet phrases (*ANET,* 477 and n. 41). The words *ʾamht, sqt,* "maidens," "strife" (?), are written in early Canaanite script on a potsherd from the Queens' Valley in distant Thebes (*ʾamht,* Albright 1948: 12, n. 33). Under Sethos II, we have mention of foreign children coming into the harem to be given training (Sauneron and Yoyotte 1950: 67–70). The story of Moses being left (and found) in the basket amid the bulrushes (Exod 2:1–10) has often been compared with the tale of Sargon of Agade cast away as a foundling. However, the differences are considerable, as clearly pointed out by Sarna (1986: 29–31). As for royal dealings with West Semites, one son of Rameses II married the daughter of a Canaanite ship's captain, a man called Ben-Anath (Kitchen 1982: 111–12, 253), and upon his eldest daughter (by Queen Istnofret), Rameses II bestowed the good Semitic name Bint-Anath. Thus the position of West Semitic personnel brought up and educated at the Egyptian court (with all that this implies) is nothing extraordinary, and a Moses would simply be one among many such people.

**c. Magic and plagues.** Israel's deliverance from Egypt was the sequel to a series of severe plagues upon Egypt, to break the stubbornness of her king. It began with a contest in arcane skill between Moses and Aaron and Egypt's learned magicians, in which the latter were outclassed (Exod 7:11, 22; 8:7, 18). Rods turned into serpents are reminiscent of a trick known in modern times. If pressure is applied to its neck muscles, the Egyptian cobra can be made immobile (cataleptic) after having been charmed and seized by the neck (Keimer 1947: 16–17 with figs. 14–21).

Written in straight prose, the Exodus account has a sequence of ten plagues (Exod 7:14–12:30), in contrast to the seven plagues alluded to in Pss 78:42–51; 105:28–36. However, besides being later in date, the accounts in the Psalms are generalized and poetic; thus, Exodus should be treated as our primary source. This is comparable with other ANE multiple accounts; e.g., when studying the wars of Thutmose III, we go first to the prosaic Annals at Karnak, and only secondarily to that king's anthological and poetic stelae. In the Exodus narrative, the sequence of the first nine plagues can be shown to be significant, rooted in observable natural phenomena, leading on from one to another. It is the severity of the Exodus plagues and their timing that distinguish them, not their physical nature. The sequence included the river Nile turning into "blood," swarms of frogs, then of mosquitoes; masses of flies, cattle pest, and blains on man and beast; storms (hail, thunder), locusts, and thick darkness, the *khamsin* dust clouds, and the narrative of these—to make sense—has to be taken as a unitary whole (Hort 1957–58, with additional observations by Sarna 1986: 68–73). The tenth plague, the death of the firstborn of Egypt, remains in the realm of miracle. As Sarna notes (77–78), these events are presented in a well-articulated literary format—three series of three plagues each, with the tenth as a climax. To some degree, individual plagues would negate the power or repute of particular Egyptian deities: e.g., the Nile as Hapi, the sun as Re, and so on (Sarna 1986: 79).

**3. The Exodus-event Itself. a. Preliminaries.** Much ink has been spilled over the supposed origins of the Passover rite (Exod 12:1–28)—for example, deriving its usages from spring rites of nomadic origin (Sarna 1986: 85–89). The sober fact remains that *no* extrabiblical original or relevant background for the Passover celebration has so far been discovered; all suggestions about origins are guesswork at present. However, it is by no means unknown in the biblical world for a group of people and their leader to

perform religious rites before embarking on a major expedition, whether of peace or war. In Egypt, propitiatory offerings to the gods preceded the dispatch of expeditions to far distant Punt, both in the 11th Dynasty, ca. 2000 B.C. (*ARE,* 1.210 § 432), and in the 18th Dynasty, ca. 1470 B.C. (*ARE,* 2.104/106 § 252, with 106 note *a*). Ca. 1390 B.C., Thutmose IV offered oblations to Amon in Karnak before warring in Nubia (*ARE,* 2.328 § 827), while Rameses III (ca. 1180 B.C.) was commissioned in Amon's temple before his first Libyan war (Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 4–5). In the Levant, in the Keret tale from Ugarit (14th/13th centuries B.C.), King Keret is enjoined to celebrate offering rites before marching off to Udum to secure his new bride (Gordon 1949: 68–69; *ANET,* 143b; or Gibson 1978: 83–84). None of these is a Passover, but they all exhibit the same principle of a solemn ritual before a great undertaking.

According to the narrative (Exod 11:2–3; 12:35–36), the Egyptians of Rameses and environs gladly gave the departing Israelites whatever they cared to ask for, so long as they cleared out of Egypt—"or else we'll all be dead men" (Exod 12:33). The Egyptians' basic attitude was one of "buying off" the wrath of an offended deity (YHWH of Israel in this case). Sometimes, convinced of a deity's anger against him, an Egyptian would vow a gift or offerings, praying for deliverance or healing. In the mid-13th century B.C., the draftsman Nebre vowed a stela for his son's healing (*ANET,* 381), while the sculptor Qen (while seeking forgiveness) recommended that anyone encountering his stela to the goddess Mertseger-Rennutet should offer her a jug of beer on the 20th day of the 5th month, and so guard against her (Clère 1975: 72–77, esp. 76–77). Others promised to witness to a deity's might (Sadek 1987: 238, 239).

**b. Numbers.** The 430 years since the patriarchs (Exod 12:40–41) if added to a possible Exodus date of ca. 1260–1250 B.C., would put the Hebrew entry into Egypt with Jacob and Joseph at about 1690–1680 B.C., the period just preceding the Hyksos takeover in Egypt (which a Joseph could have lived to see). The patriarchal epoch would then broadly come within about 1900–1650 B.C. Despite much uncritical endorsement of the positions of Thompson (1974) and Van Seters (1975), many of whose arguments are badly flawed, there is good evidence for a specific and distinct such epoch within these general dates (Kitchen 1977: 56–74 with references 142–46). Therefore the 430 years is likely to have been a continuous era (like the Ramesside era of 400 Years of Seth-Nubti), and not added up from overlapping years or schematically obtained, as may be the case with the 480 years of 1 Kgs 6:1.

A statistic of a very different kind is that found in Exod 12:37, where the usual rendering is "600,000 (men) on foot," plus family members. While across the centuries one small clan could reproduce to very considerable numbers, yet the implied scope of 2 million or more total persons has prompted scholars to query this "600,000" translation, as other meanings and uses of *ʾelep* besides "1000" are well attested. Various previous suggestions (from Petrie to Malamat) have been reviewed but found wanting by Sarna (1986: 99). However, a far more thorough and comprehensive study of all biblical "large numbers" by J. W. Wenham (1967: 27–32, in particular) deserves careful consideration. His results would suggest an exodus of perhaps 72,000 overall. His work would indicate about 40,000 able-bodied in Israel in the early settlement (Iron I) period, both E and W of the Jordan. This begins to approach recent estimates of 30,000 to 50,000 people who settled in W Palestine in this period (*AIS,* 330–35).

A much more limited Exodus statistic (14:7) is the squadron of reputedly 600 chariots that Pharaoh sent in pursuit of Israel. It is not impossible when compared with other figures available: supposedly 2500 Hittite chariots at the Battle of Kadesh (1275 B.C.), or in the 15th century B.C. Thutmose III of Egypt capturing 924 Canaanite chariots on one campaign, while Amenophis II took 730 and 1032 such chariots on two further campaigns; 400 years after the Exodus, Ahab of Israel could muster 2000 chariots, according to Assyrian sources (*ANET,* 279). Therefore, the pharaoh's 600 chariots in Exodus represent a strong but moderate force.

**c. Progress.** The initial segment of the Exodus route from Rameses to Succoth was about 22 miles (36 km) at most; if the Hebrews lived on the S of Pi-Ramesse, they would have traveled slightly less. This is compatible with the day's journey over precisely the same ground by slaves fleeing in the reign of Sethos II (Caminos 1954: 255, or *ANET,* 259), or with the 15 miles per day commonly covered by advancing armies (Murnane 1985: Appendix 2) in less of a hurry than those slaves or the Israelites.

The passing of the "Sea of Reeds" was enabled by "a strong east wind" (Exod 14:21), until the returning waters swamped the Egyptian chariots. The lakes of the delta have witnessed such phenomena in much more recent times, as the engineer Aly Bey Shafei discovered when his automobile got stuck in the returning waters while crossing such a lake bed (Shafei 1946: 278, 282, figs. 10, 11).

Safely clear of their pursuers, the Israelites could pause to raise the Song of the Sea (Exodus 15). This splendid poem belongs to the class of triumphal poems particularly well attested during ca. 1500–1150 B.C., especially in Egypt (*ANET*, 373–78; also Gaballa and Kitchen 1969), but also in Assyria with Tukulti-Ninurta I, not to mention the Song of Deborah in Judges 5.

It is sometimes remarked that we have no Egyptian record of an Exodus such as the OT narrates (however interpreted). But several pertinent factors must be borne in mind. Military mishaps (like the loss of a large chariot squadron) are never the subject of triumphal temple inscriptions—Egyptian theology could only be sustained by successes, not failures. The flight of even a large body of slaves would only have been recorded in administrative daybooks and journals, like that excerpted in Sethos II's reign about the flight of two slaves, but over 99 percent of such records for the delta have long since totally perished. A handful of wine-jar labels under Rameses II is all we possess, and they only give vintage dates!

**4. Off into Sinai.** The natural conditions prevalent in Sinai help to determine the route of the Exodus beyond Egypt (see above, sec. C.2 against N and central routes in Sinai). The natural phenomena concerned clearly favor a S route (Beit-Arieh 1988, and for more detail Kitchen in Douglas 1980: 3.1644–45). Initial campsites such as Marah and Elim may have been at springs and oases like Ain Hawarah and Wadi Gharandel. If it means "smeltery" (Wright 1957: 64), Dophkah may reflect some copper-mining site, which would bring us (if not to the Egyptian sites of Wadi el-Maghara or Serabit el-Khadim) to the metalliferous sandstone region of S Sinai. Areas like Wadis Feiran and Refayid could relate to such stopping places as Rephidim, but not with any certainty.

The Israelites twice encountered flights of quail, once each at the Gulfs of Suez (Exod 16:13) and of Aqaba (Num 11:31), these creatures arriving in the evening. These are precisely the areas and time of day overflown by migrating quail in the spring, the season applicable to these two biblical references. For this phenomenon, see Lucas 1938: 58–63, 81 (but overstressing Aqaba in relation to Suez). This, again, reflects the S route; on the N route, quail migration is experienced in the autumn in the mornings, not spring in the evenings. For manna, see Sarna 1986: 116–18.

A further natural feature encountered by the Israelites in the Arabah rift valley probably underlies the dramatic end of the rebellious Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, who were swallowed up by the ground (Num 16:31–34) and struck by "fire from the Lord" (Num 16:35). The rebels appear to have encamped on a mud flat (*kewir*), capped by a triple layer of hard clay, salt, and semisolid mud that covered a deep mud bog, of a kind attested in the Arabah. The change of atmosphere brought by a storm led to the sudden breakup of the upper crust, so that the lightning-struck rebels simply disappeared into the engulfing mud below (Hort 1959: 2–26, esp. 19–26). Given the multiple indications favoring a S route, the mountain of the lawgiving should also be located somewhere in S Sinai—whether at Serbal, Gebel Musa, or another peak, we cannot securely know.

**5. Egyptian Influence Accompanies the Hebrews to Sinai. a. Longing for Egypt's "fleshpots."** More than once, the Hebrews are portrayed as longing for the wealth of food in Egypt (Exod 16:3; Num 11:4–5). They missed "pots of meat," "the fish we ate," the cucumbers, melons, leeks, onions, and garlic. This list echoes the scribal praises of the rich provisions of 13th-century Pi-Ramesse so lyrically described in the Miscellanies (Caminos 1954: 74; see also in part 117, 199–200 and parallels)—fishes, birds, fat cattle for meat, cucumbers, leeks, carobs (or melons?), and much more.

**b. The tabernacle.** Fashioned of gilded wooden frames socketed together and covered with curtains, this structure (we now know) was based directly on long-established Egyptian technology. Precisely these techniques appear with the bedroom suite of Queen Hetepheres ca. 2500 B.C. (Smith 1958: pls. 30A, 34). Similar "tabernacles" appear in tomb paintings as sacred embalming booths in ca. 1800 B.C. Although of different construction, the great tomb shrines of Tutankhamen (ca. 1330 B.C.) were dismountable structures of gold-sheeted wood. Beyond Egypt, near Sinai itself, a curtained and wood-framed

tabernacular structure (but fixed to a stone base) was used for worship at Midianite Timna (Rothenberg 1972: 152, fig. 44) in the 12th century B.C. Thus, we find the tabernacle of Exodus 26 and 36 is not some fantasy dreamed up in the Babylonian Exile or a retrojection of the Solomonic temple, but derives directly from Egyptian Bronze Age techniques unknown to any denizen of the Euphrates six centuries later.

**c. Tabernacle trappings.** This modest shrine (barely 15 feet by 45 feet within its precinct) was to occupy the center of a rectangular camp of the Hebrew tribal groups (Numbers 2). This compares directly with the war tent of Rameses II within its shield-palisaded rectangular camp (for picture, see Kitchen 1982: 55, fig. 18; see also Cross 1947: 55 and n. 17, following Gressmann; and Kitchen 1960: 11). In later epochs things changed; Assyrian camps of this kind were round, not rectangular (for picture, see Saggs 1984: pl. 21A).

The customary Hebrew trumpet was the ram's horn *shofar*. But two long silver trumpets (Num 10:1–7) were specified for tabernacle feasts and to signal the tribes to move onward. The tomb of Tutankhamen (ca. 1330 B.C.) contained a gilded copper or bronze trumpet and a silver trumpet of identical type (see Edwards 1972: item 45). To transport the dismantled tabernacle, the Israelites had ox wagons (Num 7:3)—the term used, *ʿăgālâ,* is that also used for just such desert ox wagons under Rameses IV ca. 1140 B.C. for wilderness transport, but with six spans each of oxen, not just one (*ARE,* 4.227 § 467).

The ark of the covenant was a gilded box carried upon removable gilded poles (Exod 37:1–4). This is a specifically Egyptian usage, as is readily seen from a splendid box on such poles from Tutankhamen's tomb (Millard 1985: 73; for details, see Edwards 1972: item 14). Egyptian sacred barque shrines were also carried on such poles by priests in procession.

**d. Cultic organization.** The twofold division into priests and cult assistants (Levites) was also familiar to the biblical world in the 13th century B.C. and long before. In Egypt one may distinguish between the "lay priests" (*wab,* "pure ones") caring for the mundane duties of the daily cult, and the higher clergy (1st to 4th prophets; "god's fathers") who conducted the innermost rites of the sanctuary (Sauneron 1960: 56, 60–63, 70–72). Even closer in some respects was Hittite usage in having external keepers and internal temple staff (Milgrom 1970). Therefore, in this, Hebrew usage conforms to the 2d millennium B.C.

## E. Evaluation

How, then, shall we regard the Exodus? The foregoing survey indicates the nature of the available background. None of it can prove that the Exodus took place, or as narrated. But it does carry some clear indications. The Egyptian elements suggest a direct knowledge of how Egyptian labor functioned; the magical practices and the plagues are closely tied to specially Egyptian conditions, not readily inventable in exilic Babylon. The Exodus route via Pi-Ramesse and Succoth fits the 13th century B.C., not later centuries. The status of Moses particularly well fits cosmopolitan New Kingdom Egypt in a way unlikely some centuries later. A variety of "cultural baggage" can be found even at Sinai: the very techniques of the tabernacle's structure, its silver trumpets, the portable ark, use of desert oxcarts, etc., all point back directly and immediately to Egypt, and to the late 2d millennium B.C. (as does the form of the Sinai/Moab covenant).

The lack of any explicit Egyptian mention of an Exodus is of no historical import, given its unfavorable role in Egypt, and the near total loss of all relevant records in any case. Various factors favor a S route through Sinai. The sudden increase in settlement in 12th-century Canaan is best explained by an influx of new people (not needfully a military conquest, even if one or two towns fell). The initial mention of Israel on the stela of Merneptah in 1209 B.C. may tell us who many of these new people were. That they had ultimately come from Egypt is not proven but (in light of the long and pervasive biblical tradition and good comparative data) it is by far the most logical and sensible solution.

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**EXORCISM.** See DEMONS.

**EXPURGATIONS OF THE BIBLE.** Measures to mollify biblical references to subjects considered offensive or obscene were taken as early as OT times, and have continued to the present day. See BIBLE, EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE.

**EXTORTION.** See DEBTS.

**EYE PAINT.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**EYELIDS OF MORNING.** See SHAHAR (DEITY).

**EZBAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾezbāy* (אֶזְבָּי)]. Father of Naarai in 1 Chr 11:37 in the list of David's warriors.

In the parallel in 2 Sam 23:35, this warrior is called Paarai the Arbite. See NAARAI. There may be a textual confusion between *nʿry bn ʾzby* (1 Chr 11:37) and *pʿry hʾrby* (2 Sam 23:35). If this is so, then the name would be a gentilic, the Arbite, rather than a personal name. It is possible that it refers to Arab, a city in the mountain regions of Judah (Josh 15:52). In that case, *bn,* "son of," would be an insertion in the text, or possibly a corruption of the initial *he* in *hʾrby* (Rothstein *Chronik* KAT, 218). The various forms found in Gk mss (*azōbai, asbi, asbaēl*) suggest, however, that the LXX knew no form other than *ʾzby,* so if there was any textual corruption it must have taken place very early. It is impossible to determine with any certainty what the original form was (Kittel 1895: 64). See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

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STEPHEN PISANO

**EZBON** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾeṣbôn* (אֶצְבוֹן)]. The name of two men in the OT.

**1.** Fourth in a list of seven sons of Gad, according to one Gadite genealogy (Gen 46:16). According to the Gadite genealogy of Num 26:15–18, Ozni (Heb *ʾoznî*) takes the place of Ezbon, while the other six sons of Gad are maintained in identical order with Gen 46:16. A better reading, with the Syr and Sam. Pent., is *ʾĕsbʿōn.*

**2.** A grandson of Benjamin, first listed among five sons of Bela, according to the shorter Benjaminite genealogy given by the Chronicler (1 Chr 7:7). These five sons of Bela are designated "heads of fathers' houses, mighty warriors." This shorter Benjaminite genealogy (1 Chr 7:6–12) has been thought by some scholars to be mistakenly attributed to Benjamin. Guthrie (*IDB* 2: 203) suggests that the list more likely belongs to Zebulun, a suggestion made on the basis that 1 Chronicles 8 gives a longer and quite different genealogy of Benjamin, while Zebulun is lacking in the genealogies offered by the Chronicler. Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 77) calls attention to this and other features of the shorter list which have caused some scholars to view it as a corrupt genealogy of Zebulun, but he concludes that the names are probable in a Benjaminite context, and that the textual emendations proposed by those who wish to attach the list to Zebulun are "too violent to inspire confidence." Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 53, 59) likewise sees no reason to detach the shorter genealogy from Benjamin, stating that it is found in its "proper place" in the Chronicler's arrangement of tribal genealogies.
SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

**EZEKIEL THE TRAGEDIAN.** In the middle of the 2d century B.C.E. a Jewish playwright, Ezekiel, wrote a drama on the Ezodus, *Exagōgē,* probably in Alexandria (Fraser 1972, 1: 707). If Clement of Alexandria's remark (*Strom.* 1.23.155) that he was a writer of tragedies (plur.) is to be trusted, Ezekiel wrote other plays as well, but only fragments from the *Exagōgē* have been preserved, altogether 269 iambic trimeters. The preservation of these fragments is due to the quotations by both Alexander Polyhistor (who quoted extensively from Ezekiel in his *Peri Ioudaiōn,* written about the middle of the 1st century B.C.E.) and Eusebius of Caesarea (who plundered Alexander's work in his *Praeparatio Evangelica*). Some fragments are also quoted by Clement of Alexandria and Eustathius of Antioch.

The remains of this play are important in at least three respects. First, since almost all of the extensive Greek dramatic literature of the Hellenistic period has been lost and the *Exagōgē* is the only play with considerable portions still extant, it is a valuable source for the study of postclassical drama (showing, for instance, that the unity of time and place that had been maintained by and large in classical drama had been almost completely dropped; Snell 1971a). Second, it is the earliest Jewish play known to us and the only one preserved from antiquity. As such, the drama is a fascinating specimen of what could be achieved when a Hellenized Jew molded biblical material into Greek dramatic forms (Wieneke 1931). Third, although the author primarily followed the LXX version of Exodus, his deviations from it represent an interesting witness to early postbiblical haggadah (Jacobson 1983). He is also the author of the earliest passage containing the idea of an originally human but now divine viceregent or plenipotentiary of God, a concept that was to play a more important role in later esoteric Jewish and Christian circles (van der Horst 1982; 1983; 1984).

As far as we can reconstruct the play, the outline is as follows. In the first scene (vv 1–65) Moses summarizes in a long monologue the events recorded in Exodus 1–2. This is followed by the encounter with Jethro's daughters (with several postbiblical developments, e.g., that Zipporah is identical to the Ethiopian wife of Moses in Num 12:1; see vv 60–62). The second scene (vv 66–89) contains, besides a short dialogue between Zipporah and a certain Chum, another nonbiblical scene, namely a report by Moses about a strange dream or vision he had in which he saw God enthroned on the summit of Mt. Sinai. God beckons him, hands over his regalia to Moses, descends from his throne, and orders Moses to sit upon it, whereupon all heavenly powers prostrate before him. Moses has been given all power in heaven and on earth (cf. Matt 28:18). The third scene (vv 90–174) describes how God commands Moses from the burning bush to lead his people out of Egypt (Exodus 3) and how he removes Moses' doubts by performing the miracles with the rod and the leprous hand (Exodus 4). Subsequently, in a long monologue God enumerates the ten plagues that he will bring upon Egypt (Exodus 7–11; these plagues could, of course, not be put onstage) and gives the rules for the institution of Passover (Exod 12:1–20). In a fourth scene (vv 175–192) Moses repeats these rules before the elders of the people (Exod 12:21–28, with the significant omission of the obligatory circumcision of all participants; a concession to his pagan audience?).

In the fifth scene (vv 193–242) an Egyptian messenger gives an eyewitness account of the complete destruction of the Egyptian army in the Red Sea (Exodus 14, with significant haggadic details, on which see Jacobson 1983: 136–52), which is a striking parallel to Aeschylus' *Persians* where the crushing defeat of the Persian army is reported to the Persian queen, another well-known device for realizing dramatic scenes which were impossible to stage. In the sixth scene (vv 243–269) scouts report to Moses that they have found a paradisiacal place for the encampment (namely Elim, Exod 15:27) and describe at length a marvelous and gigantic bird that they have seen there. Undoubtedly the bird is a phoenix, whose appearance is always a symbol of the inauguration of a new era in history (or salvation history; see van der Horst 1982: 111–12; Jacobson 1983: 157–64). There must have been more acts in the play than the scenes enumerated, especially in view of the great time gap between vv 192 and 193 (scenes 4 and 5), but we do not know how many.

This synthesis of biblical story, postbiblical haggadah, and Greek literary procedures makes the *Exagōgē* into one of the most typical products of Jewish Hellenism. See also *OTP* 2: 803–19.

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**EZEKIEL, APOCRYPHON OF.** The title given to five fragmentary texts which are not found in the canonical Ezekiel (either in the MT or LXX), but which are explicitly attributed to Ezekiel by a number of early Church Fathers. The title itself is drawn from the Epiphanian introduction to the longest fragment: "And also, so that I might not pass over in silence the things mentioned about the resurrection by Ezekiel the prophet *in his own apocryphon*" (*Panarion* 64.70).

The five fragments share themes of repentance, eschatological judgment, and resurrection, but only the fragment preserved by Epiphanius is substantial enough to warrant summary. Epiphanius relates a story of a king who has everyone in his kingdom drafted into the army except for a lame man and a blind man. Shortly thereafter the king prepares a wedding feast for his son (cf. Matt 22:2; Luke 14:16) and invites all those whom he had drafted, snubbing the two crippled men. The two men then plot against the king to despoil his garden, but they quickly realize that they will not be able to carry out the deed until they figure out how to overcome their individual handicaps. Finally they hit upon the solution that the lame man should ride upon the shoulders of the blind man, and together they enter the king's garden. After the wedding feast has broken up, the partygoers notice that the king's garden has been destroyed and they report this fact to the king. The king approaches the blind man and the lame man and questions each one individually about the destruction. Each of the men appeals to his infirmity and claims that he could not have entered the king's garden. After a brief moment the king realizes what must have taken place. He places the lame man on the shoulders of the blind man and examines them together under the lash. The two men then begin to convict one another. The story concludes with the following moral: "In the same way the body is connected to the soul and the soul to the body, to convict (them) of (their) common deeds. And the judgment becomes final for both body and soul, for the works they have done whether good or evil."

Slightly variant versions of the same tale also appear in the rabbinic literature (cf. *b. Sanh.* 91ab; *Lev. Rab.* 4:5; *Mekhilta* of Rabbi Ishmael on Exod 15:1; *Mekhilta* of Rabbi Simeon ben Yochai on Exod 15:1; and Midrash *Tanḥuma* on Lev 4:1), but none are attributed to Ezekiel.

The second fragment is a call to repentance (highly reminiscent of Isa 1:18) in which God promises his people: "If … you turn back to me with a whole heart and say, 'Father,' I will heed you as a holy people." This quotation is preserved in Clement of Rome (*1 Clem.* 8.3), Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* 1.10), and the Coptic *Exegesis on the Soul* from Nag Hammadi (135,30–136,4). Of the three, only Clement of Alexandria explicitly attributes the quotation to Ezekiel, but Clement of Rome implies that he is quoting from an Ezekielic source.

Perhaps the most enigmatic of the quotations, fragment three, is found almost exclusively in the arguments against heretical views on the virgin birth by the Church Fathers. The quoted apocryphal phrase refers to a heifer that is said to have given birth and not given birth, although it should be noted that a shorter form of the saying makes no mention of a heifer and instead simply refers to an unidentified "she." This shorter form is cited by the *Acts of Peter* (chap. 24), Clement of Alexandria (*Str.* 7.16.19), and Tertullian (attributed to the "Academics"; *De Carne Christi* 23). Within the same chapter, Tertullian also

cites the longer form and attributes the saying to Ezekiel (for the longer form, cf. also Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.30; Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa, *Testimonia Adversus Iudaeos* 3).

The fourth fragment is preserved with varying ascriptions in a wide variety of sources. The earliest citation is by Justin Martyr, who attributes the saying to Jesus: "In whatsoever things I overtake you, in these also I will judge" (*Dial.* 47.5). Two later witnesses, Cyprian (*De Mortalitate* 17) and the *Liber Graduum,* also quote the saying as a teaching of Jesus. All the rest of the citations, which extend from the 2d to the 15th centuries, either attribute the saying to God (Clement of Alexandria, *Q.d.s.* 40.2), to God as he speaks through the prophets (Pseudo-Athanasius, *Quaestio ad Antiochum* 36), or to Ezekiel (Evagrius, *Vita Antonii;* John Climacus, *Scala Paradisi* 7).

The fifth fragment speaks of God as shepherd feeding his flock (Israel) on the holy mountain, remaining as near to them as the garment on their skin, and protecting them from harm (cf. Ezek 34:11–16). It is especially important for the study of the *Apocryphon* because it has been identified among the Chester Beatty papyri (4th century C.E.) by means of comparison with a quotation attributed to Ezekiel by Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* 1.9; cf. Bonner 1940). Clement intersperses his quotation with hortatory remarks which are clearly not part of his source; the papyrus parallel does not include any of the asides by Clement, but instead follows the uninterrupted citation. It is clear, therefore, that the papyrus does not represent a copy of *Paedagogus,* but a copy of the Ezekielic source cited by Clement. Additional citations of portions of this fragment can be found in Origen's Homily on Jeremiah (18:9) and in the Manichaean Psalmbook (Psalm 239).

Though the *Apocryphon of Ezekiel* has sometimes led a shadowy existence, it seems clear that the discovery and identification of the Chester Beatty material, along with the explicit introduction by Epiphanius, the citation of four of the five fragments by Clement of Alexandria, and the listing of such a work in the Stichometry of Nicephorus (cf. also the synopsis of Pseudo-Athanasius), provides strong evidence for the existence of an apocryphal work attributed to the prophet Ezekiel. The meager extent of the preserved fragments makes judgments about the *Apocryphon* as a whole difficult. Although preserved for the most part in early Christian texts and reflecting popular early Christian themes, the citations also share significant thematic parallels with the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period; as such, a determination of the character of the *Apocryphon* as a whole is problematic, although, on the basis of the appearance of the story of the lame man and the blind man in both Epiphanius and the rabbinic literature, one would be inclined toward a Jewish origin. The *Apocryphon* must date from no later than 90 C.E. because of the citation by Clement of Rome, but an earliest possible date cannot be determined with any precision. The most likely options for original language are Hebrew and Greek with a slight preference to be given to Hebrew.

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**EZEKIEL, BOOK OF.** The prophet Ezekiel lived during the Babylonian Exile and was active as a prophet from 593 B.C.E. to at least 571. He lived as an exile himself and, according to the label of the book that goes by his name (1:1–2), did all his preaching in Babylonia, probably in the Jewish settlement of Tel-abib on the Kebar canal near the ancient city of Nippur (3:15). According to the information in the label, he was the son of the priest Buzi (1:3), and his name is proper Hebrew, *yĕḥezqʿēl,* meaning "God strengthens (this child)" or possibly, "May God strengthen (this person)." The name, however, is found

only once elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, at 1 Chron 24:16, where also it designates a priest, who probably lived in the century immediately after Ezekiel's own lifetime. It is likely that Ezekiel was among the first group of Jerusalemite citizens deported to Babylon when Nebuchadrezzar conquered the city for the first time in 598 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 24:10–17). Because he was of a priestly family, he probably had a good education, especially in the Law, and his father may even have had some influence in Jerusalem. Ezekiel was married (24:18), but little else is known about him personally except what can be gleaned from hints in the collection of his prophecies. Legend says that he is buried in a tomb at al-Kifl, near the modern town of Ḥilla in Iraq, not far from the site of ancient Babylon. It has been a Jewish shrine of some note.

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A. Major Divisions of the Book
B. Outline of the Book of Ezekiel
C. Literary Structures of Organization
D. Dates in Ezekiel
E. Historical Background
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    1. Dramatic Signs and Symbolic Actions
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L. Message of the Book

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**A. Major Divisions of the Book**

Ezekiel's prophecies, together with various additional materials, were gathered into a book under his name. It joins the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah among the major prophets in the Hebrew canon of Scripture. The book now stands at the end of this series in its proper chronological order, but the Talmud (*B. Bat.* 14b) records that the original order was Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah. Isaiah had been put last so that the message of the major prophets would end with a book full of hope. The change away from this took place in the early Middle Ages. In English Bibles, the book of Lamentations has been inserted between Jeremiah and Ezekiel, after the practice of the LXX.

The book itself is one of the most highly structured among those of the prophets. It is clearly divided into three major sections that reflect different aspects of Ezekiel's ministry. Chaps. 1–24 contain oracles of judgment against Israel; chaps. 25–32 contain oracles delivered against foreign powers; and chaps. 33–48 contain oracles of salvation on behalf of Israel. In intention, the foreign oracles of 25–32 can be included with 33–48 as words of hope, thus creating two equal halves. While there may be individual units within each of these sections that more naturally belong to one of the other sections, the pattern has been organized for a definite purpose: to show that the prophet preached warning and judgment to the

Judeans up until the final catastrophe of 586 B.C.E. when the city fell completely to the Babylonians; and that he preached hope and promise of restoration after that date.

Indeed the contrast between the first part of the book, chaps. 1–24, and the second half, chaps. 25–48, is so pronounced that the ancient historian Josephus reported that Ezekiel left behind "two books," not just one (*Ant* 10.79). This view, however, distorts the internal connection between the parts of the book. As it stands, the program of restoration in the second half dominates the order of the whole. The oracles of judgment help Israel understand why God let the city of Jerusalem fall and the old kingdom end for good; the oracles directed to pagan nations serve as a prelude to the establishment of a new kingdom of Israel by announcing punishment on all who oppress God's people; and the oracles of consolation focus on the new order that God will establish for Israel. This last section has two major movements: (1) a promise of a new exodus and conquest of the land in chaps. 33–39; and (2) a new division of the land and rebuilding of the holy city in chaps. 40–48. In this program, Ezekiel reflects the archetypal pattern found in the foundational book of the conquest story, Joshua.

I. Oracles of Judgment
- A. Label for the Book 1:1–3
- B. The Prophetic Call of Ezekiel
  - 1. The vision of the divine throne 1:1–28
  - 2. The commissioning of the prophet 2:1–3:27
- C. Symbolic Acts and Oracles
  - 1. Three symbolic actions 4:1–5:4
  - 2. Three matching oracles 5:5–7:27
- D. The Vision of the Temple's End
  - 1. The abominations in the city 8:1–9:11
  - 2. God abandons the city 10:1–11:25
- E. Condemnation of Leaders and People
  - 1. Prediction of the coming exile 12:1–28
  - 2. Condemnation of false prophets 13:1–23
  - 3. Idolatry versus righteousness 14:1–23
- F. Allegories and Metaphors of Judgment
  - 1. The allegory of the vinewood 15:1–8
  - 2. The allegory of unfaithful Jerusalem 16:1–63
  - 3. The allegory of the two eagles 17:1–24
  - 4. A case for personal responsibility 18:1–32
  - 5. Two allegorial laments on the king 19:1–14
- G. Final Indictment and Condemnation
  - 1. Israel's history of infidelity 20:1–44
  - 2. The sword oracles 20:45–21:32
  - 3. The blood guilt of Jerusalem 22:1–31
  - 4. The allegory of the two sisters 23:1–49
  - 5. Two signs to mark the end 24:1–27

II. Oracles against Foreign Nations
- A. Oracles against Neighboring States 25:1–17
- B. Oracles against Tyre 26:1–28:19

C. Oracle against Sidon 28:20–26
D. Oracles against Egypt 29:1–32:32
III. Oracles of Restoration
A. The Revitalization of the Land
1. Ezekiel receives a second call 33:1–33
2. The example of the Good Shepherd 34:1–31
3. Oracles against Edom's mountains 35:1–15
4. Blessings on Israel's mountains 36:1–15
5. Divine holiness for Israel 36:16–38
6. The people brought back to life
a. The vision of the dead bones 37:1–14
b. The two sticks rejoined 37:15–28
7. The War against Gog of Magog
a. Gog's attack on God's people 38:1–23
b. The divine victory 39:1–29
B. The New Temple and the New Cult
1. The description of the new temple
a. The outside of the grounds 40:1–47
b. The inside of the temple 40:48–42:20
c. The vision of the divine return 43:1–12
2. The regulation of the cult
a. The altar of sacrifice 43:13–27
b. The priestly ministers 44:1–31
c. The division of the land 45:1–17
d. The regulations of the feasts 45:18–46:24
3. The river coming from the temple 47:1–12
4. The boundaries of the new land
a. National boundaries 47:13–23
b. Portions for each tribe 48:1–29
c. The new Jerusalem 48:30–35

**C. Literary Structures of Organization**

Although the book is divided quite explicitly by means of the distinct contents of each major section, several literary devices are also employed to create a forward movement in the flow of the book. These structural keys were added anciently in the editing process to give a sequential focus that links the judgment oracles to the words of hope as the natural fulfillment of God's purpose all along.

One means is the reuse of the commissioning scene of the prophet to his mission in both chaps. 3 and 33. Both passages employ the same language of the prophet as watchman over Israel, who is held personally responsible to announce the word whether anyone heeds it or not. Both passages also play on the theme of the prophet's dumbness. In chap. 3 God appoints him to the role of warning the people, and then declares Ezekiel will be dumb until the day the city of Jerusalem falls. In chap. 33 the announcement of the city's fall arrives in Babylon and he is released from his dumbness and commanded to speak. It is often argued that the original use of this commission to be a watchman belongs to chap. 33 and its mission of promise, but the watchman theme in other prophetic books is usually associated with words of

warning (Hab 2:6; Jer 6:17; Hos 9:8; cf. Ps 127:1). Only in Isa 21:6 does the watchman look for salvation to come. It seems more natural to assume the watchman motif belongs to Ezekiel's initial call to proclaim judgment and was reinterpreted by the prophet himself after the fall of Jerusalem to apply also to words of salvation. In any case, the device of repeating it before both major divisions in his ministry serves the function of equating the two as different aspects of the same charge from God. This linking purpose is confirmed by the addition of the note in 24:25–27, which predicts at the very end of the oracles of judgment that Ezekiel will soon hear the bad news of Jerusalem's fall and be freed from his speechless state. This note suggests a gap of time will occur and serves as an editorial means of creating space to insert the bloc of oracles against foreign powers at this point.

A second major structuring device for the book as a whole is made up of the series of visions of the divine presence that overwhelm the prophet. The first and most elaborate description of the vision occurs in chap. 1, when Ezekiel is among the exiles in Babylonia and sees God's royal throne come down there. This heads the book and is intended perhaps as a sign of God's presence with those in exile and an assurance that they have not been abandoned, no matter what happens in the days to come. The second vision takes up chaps. 8–11 and involves a formal indictment of Jerusalem for its abominations, especially in the temple precincts, with the consequent departure of the divine presence from the temple and the city. This becomes a sign of the rejection of Jerusalem and its condemnation by God. The third vision of the divine presence stands in chap. 43 and marks the return of God to the newly restored temple precincts to take up residence once again.

**D. Dates in Ezekiel**

The third and most prominent of these structural means is a calculated series of dates which head selected oracles throughout the book. These dates fall into two major types. One is a series of seven dates that head oracles against foreign nations in chaps. 25–32. They are tied to specific political actions on the part of enemy nations which Ezekiel denounced at the time. Six of these head oracles against Egypt. They are almost certainly reliable.

The second series of dates heads major moments in the prophet's preaching career and serves to show that the message he delivered was step by step in line with God's plan as it moved inexorably through judgment, disaster, and then restoration. These also form a series of seven, a favorite number in Ezekiel to show completion and fullness: 1:2–3 and 3:16 mark the prophet's inaugural call; 8:1 indicates the time of the vision of the divine glory in Jerusalem; 20:1 is more problematical but may be tied to the beginnings of rebellion under Zedekiah; 24:1 marks the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem by the Babylonians; 33:21 notes the arrival of the news of the fall and the start of Ezekiel's ministry of promise; 40:1 signals the final vision of the new Jerusalem and its temple. Each date is later than the preceding one in this series, so that their placement gives a strong chronological ordering to the whole book.

One other date occurs, in the first line of the book. It states that Ezekiel had visions of God in the thirtieth year. Since the next line (1:2) says that the throne vision in Babylon took place in the fifth year of King Jehoiachin's captivity, it must be decided whether the initial date is a duplicate of that event from another perspective, or whether it marks a time when all of Ezekiel's words were written down many years later. If it does duplicate the date of 1:2, then it signifies either that the prophet was thirty years old at the time (born therefore in 623–622 B.C.E.), or that it had been thirty years since some important event, perhaps the finding of the lawbook in the temple by Josiah's reformers in 622 (2 Kgs 22:8). If it marks a general date for the composition of the book, it could be also understood in a number of ways: it could refer to 568, thirty years from King Jehoiachin's exile; or to 563, thirty years from Ezekiel's call; or to an uncertain year which marked the thirtieth year of the current Jubilee period (cf. Leviticus 25). It is probable that the dates in 1:1 and 1:2 refer to the same event because both name the Kebar canal. All subsequent references to Ezekiel's initial vision also include mention of the same canal (thus see 3:23; 10:15, 22; 43:3). The following chart illustrates the placing of the fifteen dates:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ezek 1:1 | year 30, month 4, day 5 | July 593 (or 568) |
| Ezek 1:2 | year 5, month?, day 5 | July 593 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ezek 3:16 | year 5, month?, day 5 | July 593 |
| Ezek 8:1 | year 6, month 6, day 5 | Aug–Sept 593 |
| Ezek 20:1 | year 7, month 5, day 10 | July–Aug 591 |
| Ezek 24:1 | year 9, month 10, day 10 | January 588 |
| Ezek 26:1 | year 11, month?, day 1 | Mar to Mar 587–586 |
| Ezek 29:1 | year 10, month 10, day 12 | January 587 |
| Ezek 29:17 | year 27, month 1, day 1 | Mar–April 571 |
| Ezek 30:20 | year 11, month 1, day 7 | Mar–April 587 |
| Ezek 31:1 | year 11, month 3, day 1 | May–June 587 |
| Ezek 32:1 | year 12, month 12, day 1 | Feb–March 585 |
| Ezek 32:17 | year 12, month 12, day 15 | Feb–March585 |
| Ezek 33:21 | year 12, month 10, day 5 | Dec 586–Jan 585 |
| Ezek 41:1 | year 25, month 1, day 10 | Mar–April 573 |

The latest date in the book is found in the oracle against Egypt in 29:17. It seems to be an updated revision of the oracle in 26:7–14 that predicted Nebuchadrezzar would take Tyre. Since that did not happen, Ezekiel received a new word at a late date that the Babylonians could have Egypt instead. Otherwise, each of the two series of seven keeps a chronological order within itself.

**E. Historical Background**

Ezekiel lived through the greatest crisis in ancient Israel's history: the final destruction of Judah and its capital, Jerusalem; the loss of independence in the promised land, exile of all the leading citizens to Babylonia; and the tearing down of the temple and removal of the House of David from kingship (2 Kings 25; Jeremiah 39–41, 52; Lamentations 1–5; 2 Chronicles 36). It was a double tragedy, for each of the losses just listed had both political and theological ramifications for the people, and not only were their physical lives disrupted but their faith was shaken as well.

Since the middle of the 8th century B.C.E., events in Palestine had been determined by the policies of Assyria, the world power of the day. The N kingdom had come under Assyrian domination by the middle of the 9th century and was treated as a vassal state. Rebellion led to its fall in 722 B.C.E., and its territory had been made into a full Assyrian province. The wars surrounding this traumatic loss had brought the S kingdom of Judah into the Assyrian orbit as well (cf. Isaiah 6–8). Its king, Hezekiah, had tried to revolt in 705–701, but failed; and although Judah was not wiped out completely, its next king, Manasseh, remained a faithful servant of Assyria throughout his long reign (2 Kings 18–21).

Manasseh's grandson, Josiah, came to the throne in 640 as an eight-year-old boy. When he came of age to rule in 628, he began a religious reform as well as a political effort to retake the N territories (2 Chronicles 34). The Assyrian empire had become seriously weakened after the death of its last strong king, Assurbanipal, and the Babylonians were building a new empire at its expense. Josiah was succeeding in both his religious and political goals until a foolish attempt to intervene against an Egyptian army going to the aid of Assyria led to his premature death in battle in 609 B.C.E. His son and successor Jehoiakim ended any further religious reform.

In 605 a victory over Egypt brought the Babylonians to power over Judah. Jehoiakim pledged loyalty to Babylon but was soon attempting to rebel and win back Judah's independence. The prophet Jeremiah's ministry was largely carried out in opposition to this political opportunism of Jehoiakim. Jeremiah called for loyalty to the covenant with God and to the covenant treaty with Babylon; he warned that the God of Israel would not stand by a pledge to defend the people if they continued to rebel. Jeremiah's words were only too accurate, and in 598 a Babylonian army sacked the city of Jerusalem and led most of its educated and gifted citizens into exile (2 Kgs 24:1–7). Jehoiakim died during the siege, and the Babylonians took his young son Jehoiachin with them as a captured pledge so that further rebellion would not occur. In his place they named his uncle Zedekiah to rule as regent (2 Kgs 24:8–20). But he, too, in the following years

began plotting to be free, and in a second prolonged attack of three years (588–586), Nebuchadrezzar's army leveled the cities of Judah and finally burned Jerusalem to the ground, taking away whatever remained of value and exiling the rest of its leading citizens in the summer of 586 (see 2 Kings 25; Jeremiah 52). Jeremiah survived this period of horror but disappeared soon after being forcibly taken to Egypt in 583 or so (see Jeremiah 37–45).

**F. Ezekiel's Ministry**

Ezekiel and his family were undoubtedly among the 8000 exiles taken to Babylon after the siege of Jerusalem in 598 (2 Kgs 24:16). How old he was at the time of his call in 593 is uncertain, but he may have been about thirty (if the date in 1:1 indicates the prophet's age). Judging from the contents of the oracles in the book, most of his ministry took place from 593 to 585, during the reign of Zedekiah and through the first days of total devastation. However, an isolated oracle at 29:17 is dated as late as 571, so he may have produced most of his oracles of hope in the decade or so after 585. The book is dated in 1:1 according to the ruling years of Jehoiachin rather than of Zedekiah, suggesting that Ezekiel may have held out hope that the imprisoned king would one day return to rule. The discovery of a Babylonian tablet listing provisions for the support of Jehoiachin as a state prisoner (*ANET,* 308) confirmed what 2 Kgs 25:27–30 already hinted, namely that even the Babylonians considered Zedekiah to be only the regent for the rightful king whom they held.

Ezekiel followed his older contemporary Jeremiah in steadfastly opposing the plans of Zedekiah and his advisers to rebel against Babylon (cf. 12:1–15; 17:1–22; 21:18–32). Although there is never mention of Jeremiah in the book of Ezekiel, there is much similarity of language and viewpoint, indicating Ezekiel's deep debt to Jeremiah's views. Jeremiah was often consulted by the kings and their advisers, and so became politically prominent. Ezekiel, on the other hand, lived only in exile and never dealt with a king. But several times it is noted that the elders of the people came to consult with him (8:1; 14:1–3; 20:1; 33:30–31). These probably represented the governing body of the exilic settlements and thereby provided Ezekiel with a political platform. Since some communication with the homeland seemed to exist (cf. Jeremiah 29; Ezek 33:21), Ezekiel could easily have directed his message to both exiles and those still in Judah, especially in the period of Zedekiah's reign. But the prophet's situation in exile pushed his concern beyond simply demanding loyalty to Babylon as the will of God, toward a new concept of Israel that rejected the ambitions of political leaders in Jerusalem as expressions of the divine will. Instead, he demanded a community marked by faithful religious observance, ethical rigor, and a loyalty to God as the holy one of the universe, whether at home or in exile, whether independent or subjugated.

**G. Questions and Problems about Ezekiel's Ministry**

Commentators have long been troubled about certain seeming inconsistencies between the claims for Ezekiel's historical ministry and the nature of the actual oracles in the book. One major question has centered on the personality of the prophet. There are accounts of great ecstatic visions which seem to seize the prophet (chaps. 1, 8, 10, 37, 40); he speaks of the hand of God grabbing him and moving him physically (37:1), or the spirit of God entering him in power (2:1). He performs symbolic actions which appear impossible or crazed by modern standards, lying on his side for 390 days (4:5), or digging through a wall of his house (12:7), or swallowing a scroll in esctasy (3:23). Many scholars have argued that he received most of his words in a trance (Buttenweiser 1931: 8–18), or showed signs of abnormal parapsychology, or even of an unbalanced mind.

Still others have been troubled by the contrast between the vividness of his descriptions of Jerusalem and his knowledge of what was going on there and the claim that he knew this only through prophetic revelation while in Babylon. Over the last hundred years, several notable scholars have argued that Ezekiel's ministry must have taken place only in Jerusalem, at least for the period from 593 to 586, and the so-called Babylonian locale was an editorial fiction to make the book acceptable later to the exiles (Herntrich 1932; Brownlee *Ezekiel 1–19* WBC). However, in light of the book's unwavering insistence on Ezekiel's location in Babylon, and the strong probability of exchange of messengers between the exiles and the homeland, this seems mostly a forced exercise and has won very little critical support. If Ezekiel was already an adult when sent into exile in 598, he probably knew the Jerusalem scene well, and his

oracular words may well have been fueled by specific incidents reported to the exiles in Tel-abib by an occasional messenger from Jerusalem. And this by no means rules out the further possibility that he had some parapsychic powers to envision events at a distance.

The language of the book has also disturbed modern commentators. It lacks the direct style of earlier oracular forms, and often involves convoluted and elaborated metaphors and even allegories, as well as extensive motivational sections that are unique to this prophet. There are strong similarities in many of the topics covered to the priestly concerns found in the Holiness Code of Leviticus 17–26, and many of the passages seem more like prose lessons than individual prophetic oracles of judgment or hope. In other ways, the language of Ezekiel seems more of a forerunner of the apocalyptic imagery found in the later materials of Zechariah 9–14, Daniel, and such pseudepigraphical works as *1 Enoch* and *4 Ezra.* In literary style, the book of Ezekiel has often been characterized as repetitive or redundant. The complexities of the throne vision in chaps. 1 and 10, e.g., repeat whole phrases and expressions on top of each other. In many passages, too, the prophet seems to mix poetic oracles with long prosaic expansions. In 29:1–16, e.g., a short poetic oracle in vv 3–7 is followed by a longer, seemingly more prosaic addition in vv 8–16. All of these observations about language have generated major controversies over whether the present book represents more the preaching of Ezekiel himself or more a school of priestly redactors and a plethora of glosses and added comments.

**H. History of Critical Interpretation**

Until the turn of the 20th century, Ezekiel escaped the heavy hand dealt to the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah that questioned their unity and their authorship. Because Ezekiel had such explicit indications of an overall plan by means of the vision structures and the series of dates, most commentators were impressed with its literary unity. After 1900, several scholars raised doubts about the complete coherence of the book, pointing to doublets such as in chap. 1, and noting the difference between poetic and prose passages with the suggestion that much of the prose may have been later inserts, while the poetry represented the oral preaching of the prophet.

It was not until Gustav Hölscher, however, in 1924, that a full-scale attack was launched against the traditional confidence that Ezekiel was the major source of the material in the book. He identified only 144 poetic lines out of 1235 as original to the prophet. These were based on ecstatic phenomena common to prophetic types of shamans throughout the world and easily recognized as genuine oral utterances. The remaining 80 percent of the text were later additions, often attempts to explain and make application of the prophet's words to postexilic situations. Soon after, C. C. Torrey (1930) proposed that the whole book was composed in the Seleucid period (3d century B.C.E.) as a fictive account not unlike the slightly later book of Daniel. Millar Burrows (1925) suggested an opposite solution: the book was largely written in an earlier period under King Manasseh in reaction against his idolatrous practices (ca. 650 B.C.E.). J. Smith (1941) moved it even earlier, to a N Israelite writing after the fall of Samaria sometime between 721 and 650. In 1945, Nils Messel returned to a postexilic date, holding that the book was composed after 400 B.C.E. to deal with the same problems faced by Ezra and Nehemiah. Other scholars were equally skeptical in different ways. Numerous commentaries in the 1930s doubted that Ezekiel ever lived in Babylon, or held that at least his Jerusalem prophecies had to have been delivered in Palestine. For a full treatment of this period, see Zimmerli *Ezekiel 1* Hermeneia, 3–9.

After World War II serious efforts were made to link the materials in Ezekiel with the exilic period. The studies of C. G. Howie (1950) and G. Fohrer (1952) and a number of American scholars stressed the stylistic elements, dates, and unique subject matter that situated the core of the book solidly among the problems of the period in which the text claims to have been written. These authors, however, did not return to the position that every word was from the prophet himself but acknowledged many additions and expansions of the text made by others who adapted it to the exilic or, in most cases, the postexilic situation. The prevailing opinion was that the book showed a long history of compilation and editorial activity, with the most skepticism directed toward the bloc of priestly materials in the vision of the new temple and land in chaps. 40–48. Many doubts were also expressed whether the apocalyptic style of

chaps. 38–39 could date to the 6th century. And, in light of the many discrepancies between the LXX and MT, several studies pointed to the expanded character of the Hebrew text.

Walther Zimmerli's massive commentary (2 vols. BK [1969]; ET Hermeneia [1979, 1982]) was the high point of this resurgence of respect for the book of Ezekiel. He carefully traced a core of Ezekiel's words throughout the text and then defined a series of later developments from Ezekiel's "school" of disciples. Thus he differentiated between a substantial *Grundtext* from the prophet and a *Nachinterpretation* from a circle of faithful developers of the prophet's thought. These followers had a strong interest in the same reform that motivated the Priestly editors of the Pentateuch. Elsewhere, Zimmerli provided groundbreaking studies on the genuine oracular style of the prophet (1965). His work can be judged a fine example of a return to the middle in critical scholarship. However, his rigorous use of a form-critical methodology still led him to doubt much of the book came from the prophet, and to be more skeptical than necessary (see Boadt 1981).

Since Zimmerli, proponents can still be found who admit little of the prophet's own thought and attribute most of the book to redactors (Garscha 1974). But the wheel has continued to turn farther toward recovering more of the prophet in the book than even Zimmerli allowed. The studies of Boadt (1980), B. Lang (1981), and M. Greenberg (*Ezekiel 1–20* AB) all work with the literary style and historical setting of the book as a whole. They find a greater unity of viewpoint than do the primarily form-critical scholars, a unity to be closely associated with the prophet's own program of preaching. While all scholars today are deeply in debt to Zimmerli's insights into the editorial process, these literary critics see the editing tied more to the original thought of Ezekiel and not so much to the aims and goals of a later priestly movement of reestablishment after the Exile.

**I. Textual Problems**

The book of Ezekiel has a fair number of difficult words and grammatical forms that suggest faulty transmission and copyist errors through the centuries. But larger questions of the textual reliability of the Hebrew as we now have it are raised by two outside difficulties. One is the irregularity of the LXX Greek version in rendering the Hebrew. In many places the Greek is a shorter and tauter text. Does this suggest expansions at a late date to the MT, at least after the time when the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX was brought to Egypt? A second is the tautological and repetitive nature of the style found in the Hebrew oracles. Does this imply glosses were added to make the message clearer by restating and enlarging the original words of the prophet? Two answers are possible. One is that indeed the Hebrew represents a later and more expanded text than does the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Greek; the other is that the LXX has abbreviated long, difficult, and perhaps boring passages to make them sharper and clearer for a Greek audience outside of Palestine.

Studies have shown that LXX Ezekiel is the work of different translators in different sections. Thus chaps. 1–27 were by one translator, 28–39 by another, and 40–48 by still a third (or perhaps by the same translator who did 1–27). The translators are recognized by their choices of vocabulary; so, e.g., the first translator rendered the city Tyre by *Sor* regularly, the second by *Tyros.* They also rendered the divine title *ʾădōnāy* found throughout Ezekiel differently from section to section. Indeed, older scholarly opinion judged from its irregular translation in LXX that *ʾădōnāy,* "the Lord (God)," was a late addition to the Palestinian text. However, more recent discoveries, such as the remarkable Papyrus 967, show quite different divergences from the Hebrew than does the standard LXX. Pap. 967 fragments now contain nearly all the text of Ezekiel except chaps. 1–11. They reveal that certain passages were left out altogether (12:26–28 and 36:23–38); they also reveal that part of chap. 37 followed chaps. 38–39. G. A. Cooke (*Ezekiel* ICC) gives a thorough chart of the variations between MT and LXX, and judges that in half the cases MT is a more likely original text, and in the other half LXX is. In general, then, it can be said that the Greek witness to the Ezekiel text is not homogeneous but represents its own traditions and reasons for rendering the Hebrew which probably follow principles other than a careful copying of a different *Vorlage* from that used by the Masoretes (see McGregor 1985).

Other versions do not change the story. The Syriac Peshitta largely follows the complete order of the Hebrew though in a freer style. The large scroll of Ezekiel found at Qumran could not be opened, it was in

such poor condition; but the numerous fragments of Ezekiel found in a number of other caves are all close to the MT (see Lust 1986). The Aramaic *Targum of Ezekiel* is closer to being a paraphrase of the original text, but it follows the MT almost line by line. Its additions give good clues to the interpretation of difficult thoughts in Ezekiel in the 5th century C.E. The comparison of the Greek and other versions with the many problems and apparent errors of copying in the MT of Ezekiel, then, has already proved useful in learning the techniques of ancient translation. It has not, however, been able to establish any agreement on a better and shorter text of the book than that found in the present MT. Answers to why Ezekiel is such a convoluted and repetitive text cannot look to the versions for a solution.

**J. Style and Form in Ezekiel**

Many of the doubts expressed about the unity of the book of Ezekiel depend on analyses of the literary style it employs and the conventions it uses, as well as an expectation of consistency in thought. All of these criteria are difficult to establish from the perspectives of a scholarship that is 2500 years later. Modern historico-critical presuppositions, as well as many canons of contemporary literary style, must be put aside. Critical efforts to emend the text on grounds of consistency or style have not met with widespread acceptance, although new attempts are made regularly. Hölscher's conviction that only a tiny portion of the present text stems from the prophet himself was based on the a priori judgment that prophets spoke only in rhythmical poetry. E. Vogt (1981) divided the call vision of Ezekiel in chap. 1 into two separate strands by separating out all repetitions on the supposition that the original must have been simply narrated. Neither of these positions, nor many others over the years, took seriously the observations of still other form critics that the oracular style in Ezekiel and other exilic writings had taken on an expansive and more repetitive style that included not only accusation and announcement of judgment but visions, extensive motivational reflection, and even long descriptions of the reactions of the audience to the prophetic charges (cf. Westermann 1967: 205–8). The modern reader can evaluate the style and originality of Ezekiel only by a careful comparison of the overall usages of the book, by listening to the text and its manner of expression, and by trying to get some grasp on the relationship between text and historical situation.

The book of Ezekiel has many unusual features that mark it off from other prophetic collections. These include special vocabulary and forms of address; connections to priestly and apocalyptic ideas and language; employment of nonprophetic genres in prophetic oracles; revival of ecstatic language to describe prophetic inspiration; and the use of dramatic techniques on a much larger scale than in the earlier books of classical prophecy. In this section, it will be enough to mention many of these features and techniques, and then discuss their ramifications for the composition of the book as a whole under K below.

**1. Dramatic Signs and Symbolic Actions.** Although most prophetic books include some dramatic actions performed by the prophet, Ezekiel uses them regularly. Some are for dramatic effect: God commands Ezekiel to clap his hands and stamp his feet (6:11), and to turn his face toward the people against whom an oracle is directed (6:1; 13:17; 21:2). Other symbolic actions are dramatic occasions which will lead people to ask why Ezekiel is doing them, and this in turn will initiate the oracle that the dramatic action hinted at: he is commanded to groan aloud so people will ask why he is groaning (21:11); he is not to perform the customary mourning customs at the death of his wife so people will wonder (24:17–19); he digs through the wall of his house at night with a backpack on to provide a context for predicting the Exile (12:5). Finally, he acts out long involved dramatizations of his message as a motivation or basis on which to interpret coming events. Thus the series of involved symbolic actions in chaps. 4 and 5, such as lying on his side for 390 days, building brick models of the siege, or cutting his hair into three piles and destroying each differently, are all intended as elaborate explanations or settings for the important series of judgment oracles of impending doom delivered in chaps. 5 to 7. These are close to being parables. They are not to be seen as magical acts, but rather as a form of teaching aid; they have a performative character that makes them a kind of street theater to provoke the people to listen (Lang 1986: 297–316).

**2. Ecstatic Prophecy Forms.** The auto-dramatic focus of Ezekiel in words that are coupled with symbolic actions links him most closely with the preclassical prophets such as Elijah and Elisha, and to details of the Balaam narratives in Numbers 22–24. An expression such as "the hand of the Lord fell upon me" (1:3; 3:22; 33:22; 37:1) is also said of Elijah in 1 Kgs 18:46 and of Elisha in 2 Kgs 3:15. The writing prophets generally avoid the equally ancient imagery of the "spirit of the Lord rushing upon" the prophet, perhaps to distance themselves from the wonder-working reputations of earlier prophecy. But Ezekiel uses it regularly (2:2; 3:12; 8:3; 37:1), largely to indicate divine compulsion to speak or to be moved physically in a trance, much as it occurs in references to Elijah being carried off by the divine spirit in 1 Kgs 18:12 or 2 Kgs 2:16. The power of the spirit to overcome the prophet is also typical of early prophetic accounts in Num 11:17–19; 24:2; 2 Sam 23:2. It is the spirit that also moves the bands of prophets to ecstasy in 1 Sam 10:6, 10; 19:20, 23. It is in the archaizing account of Balaam (Num 22:41; 23:13; 24:1) that we also find the practice of facing toward the object of the prophecy.

Other notes about Ezekiel link him to earlier practices: sitting at home for the elders to visit, also reported of Elisha (2 Kgs 6:32; cf. Ezek 14:1; 20:1; 33:31); acting out his own words as a lesson, said of Elijah (1 Kgs 19:9) and Ahijah (1 Kgs 11:29–30). These seem to indicate that the prophet Ezekiel consciously reinstituted some archaic prophetic signs of divine inspiration and authority, perhaps to bolster faith in the prophetic word when people were doubting its power during the crises of 593–586 (see Jeremiah 23 on this).

**3. Nonprophetic Genres.** The oracles and literary forms in Ezekiel are notable for their diversity and freshness. Although the traditional oracular components of address, accusations, passing of judgment, and the divine messenger formula ("Thus says the Lord") are all recognizably present, they are often combined with parables, proverbial wisdom, legal cases, disputations, and lengthy poems. He delights in using quotations or citations as a starting point for argumentation. He quotes God's word to him to people when they ask about the death of his wife (24:21–24); he quotes the people against themselves in 18:29 and 37:11; and he quotes dialogue with God as a reason for his words in several places (see 9:8–10; 12:23–25). Ezekiel also cites wisdom proverbs as a point of departure (12:22; 16:44; 18:2). He employs poems that were well-known, or else mocked well-known songs, for part of his accusation (cf. 21:9–17; 24:3–5). He develops long diatribe speeches (16:44–52; 22:3–12), legal disputations (33:34–39; 18:1–32), and extended historical recitals (20:3–26). He favors mocking laments over the dead (19:1–14; 26:15–18; 28:11–19; 32:1–16). Most striking, perhaps, is the development of extended allegories and metaphoric parables to make vivid lessons for the audience (15:1–6; 16:1–43; 17:1–22; 27:1–36; 28:12–19; 31:1–18). Many of these forms are artistic masterpieces and betray their origins in Ezekiel's oral preaching. They have a strong rhetorical flavor and are employed in the art of persuading the audience to change their ways of thinking.

**4. Connections to Priestly and Apocalyptic Traditions.** Many passages in Ezekiel show strong priestly concerns. He accuses Israel above all of defiling the sanctuary (5:11), following after other gods (8:7–9), and worshipping idols (14:3–5). The people have made themselves unclean (20:30–31; 22:26; 36:18). This same message underlies the involved allegories of the two sisters in chaps. 16 and 23. The text also has a strong cultic vision of the land. It frequently condemns the mountains of Israel as symbols of the sacred land because the people have defiled it with crimes and abominations (see chaps. 6, 36). The disaster that comes upon them is a result of disobeying the ordinances and commands of the Lord (5:6; 18:1–32; 33:25; and especially the reasons given in 20:1–44 and 22:1–31). While sins against the rights of others are occasionally cited, by far the largest number of offenses are against laws of purity or cultic fidelity to God.

There is a particularly close connection between the concerns of Ezekiel and the legal admonitions of Leviticus 17–26, the so-called "Holiness Code." Since this code is generally understood to have originated in the late preexilic period among Priestly circles, it is possible that Ezekiel was familiar with its general outline, although specific differences suggest that Leviticus 17–26 received its final form only after the time of Ezekiel. They both share a similar vision of a community ordered toward right worship

of God with a clear distinction between the realms of the profane and the holy. This cultic-legal vision takes its ideal shape in the description of the new land and new city of chaps. 40–48.

Many critics have pointed to the use of apocalyptic imagery in Ezekiel 38–39. Often they take this as proof that these must be later insertions into the text. However, most of the language is tied to the ancient imagery of the cosmic battle of the gods in creation which was seen in early Israelite traditions of God as the divine warrior. The appearance of mythological themes of creation, including such major pagan themes as the cosmic tree (chaps. 17, 31) and the chaos monster (chaps. 29, 32), are used to emphasize God's lordship. It is unlikely that Ezekiel should be identified with the later apocalyptic movement; rather, these later developments owe some of their imagery to Ezekiel. Commentators (e.g., Reventlow 1961) have long pointed to the connections between the Holiness Code and the covenant traditions of the autumn festival of New Year, at which the divine kingship over creation was celebrated. Ezekiel may have combined legal and creation language to reestablish the symbol power of the covenant for his day.

**5. Special and Unusual Vocabulary.** Although the text has quite a number of difficult words (e.g., *ʿăbōtîm* in 31:3; *něḥōšet* in 16:36), most of these may be due to scribal copying errors, and a few to the use of Aramaisms. However, they remain few and may well be influenced by the Babylonian context of Ezekiel's ministry, where Aramaic was the lingua franca. More interestingly, the book lacks many key terms found commonly in OT theological language. Ezekiel never uses *yāšār* for the upright person, *ʾāhab* or *rāḥam* for the love of God, *ʾāman* for faithfulness, or *daʿat* for the knowledge of God, all common themes in the preexilic prophets. He also lacks many important words from the language of the Psalms and Deutero-Isaiah: examples include *bārak,* "bless," and *ʾārar,* "curse," *ḥesed* for "covenantal love," *ḥānan* for divine favor, or *ṣāddîq* as a noun for a righteous person. Many other important words dealing with the traditional prophetic attacks on idolatry such as the baals, asherahs, massebot, and the idols are also missing. There is very little of traditional wisdom language, and surprisingly, only one use of the important prophetic-legal term for indictment of the people by God, *rîb* (44:24).

On the other hand, there are 130 words found only in Ezekiel, or overwhelmingly found in this book (e.g., *gillûlîm,* perhaps meaning literally "dung balls," occurs 39 times, but only 9 times elsewhere in the Bible).

Most striking are the few major formulas used throughout the book. "Son of Man" is the form of address from God to the prophet. It is unique to Ezekiel, and underscores his merely mortal status before God who speaks and acts. The prophet may make eloquent words, but they are not his (cf. 33:30–33). The oath formula given by God, "As I live," is also common in Ezekiel, as is the formula for a divine saying, "the oracle of the Lord" (85 times), and the formula for closing a divine saying, "I the Lord have spoken," and the formula for a threat, "Behold, I am against you." What stands out in common among these heavily used words for structuring oracles is their intimate first-person nature. Their constant reuse creates a majestic effect of God speaking, but also emphasizes the direct encounter between God and prophet. These words from the divine side are matched by the introduction of new oracles with the formula, "The word of the Lord came to *me,*" in which the recipient is stated in the first person and not the customary prophetic third person. But by far the most important formula in Ezekiel is the recognition formula, composed of two elements joined together: "that you (or they) may know," and the conclusion, "that I am the Lord." The second half is clearly related to the frequently stated "because I am the Lord," at the end of laws in the Holiness Code (Leviticus 19). It is a formula of divine self-revelation used in a theophany to establish divine authority. The first half also comes from legal proceedings, where it concludes a presentation of evidence on behalf of an accused (as in the case of Joseph's brothers in Gen 42:34). This formula occurs 54 times in Ezekiel and declares God's freedom to act and his decision to act either on behalf of Israel or in judgment against it. The proof that God is indeed active lies in the coming about of the contents of the oracle just pronounced. Thus Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 1* Hermeneia, 37–38) has labeled this key expression a "proof saying."

**6. Artistic Devices.** Ezekiel's language has often been characterized as prosaic, and modern translations often put much of the book in prose form. But this should be questioned. Alliteration, assonance, chiasmus, the breakup of stereotyped expressions, heightened imagery, climactic series, polarity,

intentional repetition and rhetorical euphemism are common. M. Greenberg (*Ezekiel 1–20* AB) has further identified other techniques: the use of panels in which parts are constructed parallel to one another; spiraling techniques in which an oracle moves to a higher or more intense level; and "halving," in which an echoing short oracle follows the main oracle as an afterwave. When combined with other patterns, such as the use of allegorical and mythological language, it would be better to identify the style of most oracles as a kind of artistic prose, what the Germans call *Kunstprosa,* which owes more to poetry than to ordinary narrative or legal prose (see Boadt 1978; 1986). There has been a decided movement in recent study of Ezekiel toward recognizing the literary coherence and powerful effect of its overall message.

**K. Composition of the Book**

Most commentators in this century have argued that much of the book of Ezekiel does not come from the prophet's own preaching but from the work of the redactors. This has been given massive and careful undergirding by the work of Zimmerli in his commentary. However, he himself represents a turn away from the tendency to see almost nothing of the prophet in the present book toward a moderating position that ascribes the majority of the book to Ezekiel himself. Still more recently, several studies have tried to find that all except a few editorial additions stem from the basic message of the prophet. However, arguments for or against claims of redaction hinge on several considerations that must be answered individually. The general "style" of the whole book alone cannot decide the question, since a thorough redaction could as easily leave a striking character on the book as the genius of the prophet would. Since the claim is put forward that many glosses have been added to the text, these need to be evaluated. Historical claims and references need to be situated: Are the dates reliable or are they an artificial device from a later time? Is the style clearly a written style or are there oral indications? Finally, are the main concerns of the book due to postexilic priestly reform or to problems that can most reasonably be attributed to the period from 593 to 571 B.C.E.?

**1. Glosses.** To answer the question of glosses in the text requires defining what one considers a gloss. Both Fohrer (1951) and Zimmerli consider single lines or short sections that seem to be missing from the *Vorlage* of the LXX as arguments for late glosses in the text. But if doubt is cast on the reliability of LXX as a witness to a better and more original text, then the argument collapses. Other phrases and words appear to be either repetitive or editorial linkage between sections. These, too, are often judged as secondary. Fohrer identified 25 percent of his glosses as some form of repetition, either by dittography or clarification. He recognized a further 21 percent as added comments to fill out and complete a thought; 5 percent to be editorial connectors, but a full 43 percent to be later explanations of ideas that were not clear.

Zimmerli's *Nachinterpretation* focuses on the expansions of solid Ezekielan oracles that adapt them to reuse in the postexilic situation. Thus he identified much larger sections that he considered theological reinterpretations from later disciples. Examples include 1:6–10, 14–21; 3:16–21; 7:20–24; 12:13–16; 16:16–23, 26–34, 42–63; 17:22–24; 20:27–29; 23:39–49; 24:25–27; 33:17–20; 36:16–38; 37:25–28; 38:10–23; 43:13–27; 45:1–25; 46:1-24, and several others. When taken as a whole, they amount to a substantial part of the book. And where extensive, such as in chaps. 16 and 36, they eliminate major parts of the conclusion of the oracles. Greenberg, on the other hand, argues strongly against many of these decisions (see, e.g., his treatment of the unity of 17:1–19 and 20–22).

**2. Oral vs. Written Prophecy.** The oracles of the prophet are highly developed artistic productions embedded in a careful overall structuring of the book. This would lend support to the common opinion that much of Ezekiel is the result of literary activity and not oral presentation. Certainly the book of Ezekiel is not a collection of oracles strung together by an editor, but manifests all the signs of having a thorough plan behind its composition. And yet the combination of strong formulaic language for attracting and persuading an audience and the regular use of symbolic actions that accompany oracular speech suggest the opposite, namely that most of the oracles of judgment, at least, were forged in an oral setting. This is confirmed by the constant use of double imperatives, "prophesy … and say" (6:2–3; 13:2; 34:2; 36:1); "declare … say" (22:2–3); "lament … and say" (19:1–2; 27:2–3; 32:2); "proclaim … and prophesy" (20:46; 21:2) which highlight the necessity of speaking out immediately. The vivid connection

of the oracles to particular events occurring in Babylonian or Egyptian campaigns and the specific dating of many of these oracles also argue for oracular utterances delivered on ad hoc occasions. It will be necessary to study more fully the indications in the book that reveal how the oral words of the prophet were edited into literary form that would speak to a later audience and generalize the lesson for them (see Clements 1986: 287–88).

**3. Prophetic Influence on Ezekiel.** By all criteria, Ezekiel stands closest to the book of Jeremiah in content and style. Both prophets introduce themselves into their words, almost to the point of composing autobiographical oracles. Their own personalities play a stronger role in their message than was true of Amos or Hosea or Isaiah. They also engage their hearers much more intensely in debate on issues, working to win them over by disproving all counterarguments. Both prophets are concerned with the question of divine justice to the individual and the relation of personal responsibility to national accountability. Indeed, both prophets counter the same proverb used by the people: "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are on edge" (Jer 31:29; Ezek 18:2). Both prophetic books pioneer the use of the prose oracle style, and both share many rhetorical features, such as repetition of key words (*ḥereb,* "sword," in chaps. 5–7; *yôm,* "day," in chap. 7; *hămôn,* "crowd," in chap. 29; and use of *yārad,* "go down," 15 times in chaps. 31–32; cf. use of *tqʿ,* "to blow the trumpet," in Jer 6:1–12 and of *ʾarez,* "cedar," in 22:6–23), word plays and puns (cf. use of *npl/tpl* in Ezek 13:11–12, *hikratî ʾet-kĕrētîm,* "I will cut off the Cretans," in 25:16, and *beḥŏrābôt baḥereb,* "in the ruins by the sword (will they fall)," in Jer 31:15–22), and summing up important words for added emphasis (e.g., Ezekiel often repeats the reasons for the "recognition formula" a second time, as in 30:25–26; while Jeremiah favors the use of chiastic structure and inclusion to bolster a point by repetition, as in 2:33–37, where the sequence of particles, *mah, gam, gam, lō* is repeated; for further cases, see Lundbom 1975).

Above all, the topics they treat are often nearly identical. Jeremiah is to be a wall against this people, as is Ezekiel (Jer 1:18; Ezek 3:8); Jeremiah condemns the lying spirit of prophecy, as does Ezekiel (Jer 14:14; Ezek 12:24; 13–17); Jeremiah speaks of Judah and Samaria as sisters in infidelity, and Ezekiel expands this into an entire allegory (Jer 3:6–11; Ezek 23:1–27). This last passage is the key example showing that Ezekiel knew Jeremiah and built on his words, molding them in an even more dramatic fashion (Jer 8:1–3, on the desecration of bones, should be compared with the great vision of the bones coming to life in Ezek 37:1–14). It is probable that Ezekiel knew of Jeremiah's words written on the scroll prepared in 605 B.C.E. and then expanded by Baruch (Jeremiah 36). They both framed their message of warning in the years before 586 around a common concern, one in Palestine, the other in exile: "Do not rebel against Babylon, for it is a violation of your covenant bond with the Lord!"

Many scholars identify a school of Deuteronomists active in the early years of the Exile and point to close ties between its message and that of Jeremiah. Links to Ezekiel are much harder to pinpoint, since Ezekiel uses language much closer to the Holiness Code in Leviticus 17–26 (which itself is nearly parallel to Deuteronomic thought). In general, Ezekiel and Deuteronomy share a broad common outlook that understands God's covenantal word as either threat or promise, depending on the people's response. Ezekiel, however, like Jeremiah, was quite pessimistic about any possibility of turning back the divine punishment. Ezekiel may nonetheless depend on Deuteronomy in one important theme, namely that fidelity to God can be done only with all one's heart. This persistent theme in Deuteronomy inspired Ezekiel's reflections on the possibility of a new covenant with a new heart in 11:20; 36:27.

**4. Priestly Connections.** The literary similarities to Leviticus 17–26 have already been noted above. But does Ezekiel depend on the Holiness Code or vice versa? The contacts between the two are numerous, but they are clustered. Ezekiel is undoubtedly familiar with the ideas found in Leviticus 19–20 and 26, but it is harder to find many connections to Leviticus 21–25. What few there are almost all occur in Ezekiel 44–45, which many see as a later expansion. The most extensive parallels are between Leviticus 26 and Ezekiel 4–7 and 34–37. Even on specific laws, however, the two books differ frequently. The Talmud records that this so bothered the early rabbis that Hanina ben Hezekiah stayed up and burned three hundred jars of oil in his lamp at night until he could reconcile Ezekiel with the Pentateuch (*Šabb.* 13b). Unfortunately, his reconciliation has been lost! The best scholarly consensus now is that Ezekiel and

Leviticus 17–26 represent independent uses of the covenant laws proclaimed in the Autumn Feast, and that the final form of Leviticus 17–26 probably represents a slightly later state of growth than does Ezekiel.

**5. Importance of the Date Notices.** Enough chronological information has come to light from neighboring countries to establish a close correlation between the dates in Ezekiel and specific historical events to which the attached oracles seem to refer. A comparative study of the Babylonian and Egyptian chronicles of the period permits the conclusion that all of the dated oracles in the section against foreign nations (chaps. 25–32) stem from particular sermons triggered by known crises and therefore are likely to stem from the prophet himself (see Freedy and Redford 1970: 462–85; Wiseman 1956). The dating style of the book throughout is also similar to contemporary practices in Babylon and elsewhere.

Several other observations can be made about the dates given. Certain themes and predictions could only be made early in the Exile and do not fit a possibility of significant redaction after the restoration of 539 B.C.E. The reunion of Israel and Judah envisioned in chaps. 36–37 did not take place after the Exile but was true during the last years of Josiah. No prince of David regained the throne as chaps. 34 and 36 envision; Egypt never fell to the Babylonians as 29:17–21 promises; the temple portrayed in 40–43 never became the blueprint for the Second Temple of 520, and the schema shows much closer connections to the P ideals of the desert sanctuary and to the Solomonic temple than to any later developments. Nor did Ezekiel's concern for Zadokite priests (44:15) ever become regulation in the postexilic period. Finally, Babylon is never condemned even after the fall of Jerusalem, suggesting that the book of Ezekiel was edited while that nation still held power, i.e., before 539. All in all, the combined dates, historical situation, and the contents of oracles work together to support the position that the major editing of the book as it stands, including the temple vision of chaps. 40–48, was completed well before the end of the Exile.

**6. Ezekiel's School.** Besides the expansions in the text identified by Zimmerli, other scholars have pointed to whole blocs of material that they consider later additions. The two most notable examples are found in the vision of Gog in chaps. 38–39, and in the new temple description of chaps. 40–48. Seen in the larger perspective of the book as a whole, these chapters probably belong to the original level of editing, because the great battle scene and the building of a new temple reflect a primal pattern in Israelite tradition. On the one hand, the frequent use in Ezekiel of mythopoetic language from ANE creation stories argues that these chapters are modeled on the myth of the divine warrior Marduk (or Baal), who conquers the cosmic forces of evil and builds himself a palace as the climax of his victory celebration. On the other, it also fits the Priestly theology of Exodus that sees the great victory of God at the Red Sea climaxed by the building of the sanctuary in the desert.

Scholarship is still divided as to whether the advances that have been made in recent decades in understanding the intricate and purposeful structuring of the book as a whole support claims that the prophet Ezekiel himself had a major role in planning and executing its redaction. Greenberg would say yes; Clements (1986) would say no. B. Childs (*IOTS*) would also say no, although, because he writes from a canonical criticism viewpoint, he would reject a reading of the text that separated any original words of the prophet from later redactional expansions.

One of the major questions facing Ezekiel research for the future will be a clearer identification of exactly what composes a "school" of disciples. It is at least certain that they must have had ties to priestly ideals of a reconstructed community, that they functioned largely in the Exile and therefore do not precisely match the vision of the slightly later Priestly editors of the Pentateuch, and that they worked to produce a literary blueprint built on the oral message of Ezekiel. In all of these concerns, the prophet himself may have played either a minor or a major role.

## L. Message of the Book

Because the book of Ezekiel has aspects of a ministry warning the people of God's impending judgment as well as of later prophecy of God's intention to restore, it contains three separate theological foci. The first is an explanation of what God is doing in bringing about the Exile and rejecting the covenant. The second is a program for what God will do in the future to reestablish the covenant relationship. The third

is the combined meaning of the entire sequence of judgment and restoration as a new way to understand the divine purpose and avoid the failures of the past.

Ezekiel is uncompromising in his condemnation of Israel's infidelity to God. Even though he indicts Israel for numerous sins against justice and right ethical behavior (7:10, 23; 18:7–9; 22:11–12), his stress falls mainly on disloyalty to God. They are sins by which the people defiled themselves and the land when they rejected the God of Israel for other gods. Israel has been rebellious from its first days after the Exodus (chaps. 16; 20; 23) and has never given its heart to God. It profaned the Sabbath (20:12, 24), worshipped on high places (6:13; 20:28), and defiled the sanctuary (23:37–38). Ezekiel can even condemn cultic offenses such as having sexual relations with a woman in her menstrual period in the same sentence as he denounces adultery (18:6). They all equally violate the holiness of God, who has taken possession of this people and this land and put his holy name on it. Ezekiel betrays his priestly outlook in taking this stand. If Israel is to be God's people, then it must tolerate no defilement or infidelity in its midst. But, in fact, the sin of generations had piled up and now brought disaster to Ezekiel's own age.

He wrestles with this question in two major thematic attempts to address the why of responsibility. One is the theme of the watchman that heads both the period of judgment and the period of hope (chaps. 3 and 33). It addresses the frustration of preaching to people who will not listen. His answer is that God has given him the duty to do what he is commanded; the people must assume responsibility for their own actions. Just as God will demand that the prophet act responsibly, so God will treat this generation. The book's second theme is explaining why this generation must pay for the sins of its ancestors; it is found in chaps. 14:12–23; 18:1–32; 33:10–20. He boldly proposes that a generation that obeys God's commands will not suffer for the sins of its ancestors, nor will future generations be spared punishment for their sins because of the goodness of a previous age. God will judge each generation on its own. In light of the pessimism that pervades chaps. 1–24 about reversing the coming punishment of God, we can be sure that Ezekiel did not believe repentance was any longer possible. And yet he proclaims the possibility of repentance for the people (16:54–63; 33:10–16). This ambivalence stems from the complete engagement of the prophet with the fate of his own people. He knows God will forgive, but he sees that they will not accept. This position is fully stated in the call of the prophet in 3:1–11.

In the salvation oracles of chaps. 33–37, the prophet stresses God as life-giver, and above all as the king over Israel. These oracles promise that God will take over the role of shepherd that had been abused by the kings (chap. 34); God will also purify the land, restore its boundaries, and bring the people back from exile (chaps. 36–37). In these passages, the stress falls clearly on the contrast between what Israel had done on its own and the faithfulness of God, who maintains the holiness and glory of his divine name. God will act out of the freedom of his divine power and commitment, and not out of duty to Israel. At the same time, the destruction of Israel has made God seem powerless in the eyes of the pagan nations. They will now discover the divine power when they are destroyed for their arrogance in attacking Israel (chaps. 35; 38–39).

A special aspect of this promise of restoration is the promise of a new heart (11:17–20; 36:26–28). Here Ezekiel clearly takes a stand that it will not be through repentance or recommitment that change will come, but only through the initiative of God transforming Israel. By means of a new heart and a new spirit, they will be enabled to be faithful. Repentance will come after the recognition that God is acting on their behalf, because they will be filled with shame at their past conduct (16:54; 36:32). This new teaching on the part of Ezekiel finds its natural fulfillment in the preparations of a new, purified people and city in chaps. 40–48, climaxed by the divine presence in its midst (43:1–9; 48:35).

The third aspect of the theological message of the book is found in its vision of God's activity in light of the sequence of disaster and salvation. The individual emphases of each half are combined in a single purpose: to renew the faith of Israel in God's credibility at a time when doubt and despair gripped the people in the terrible sequence of the loss of their land, nationhood, kingship, and temple, and their exile from home. Former confidence in the God who would never let Israel fall, based on a naive reading of Isaiah's oracles and the promise of the Davidic covenant in 2 Samuel 7, had led to serious questioning whether the God of Israel had any power at all compared to the gods of Babylon.

Such basic doubt accounts for the enormous stress that Ezekiel places upon the transcendence and majesty of God. The prophet never beholds God directly but only sees the form of the divine glory (1:26); and he speaks reverently not of the Holy One, as does Isaiah, but of the holiness of God's Name (20:39; 36:20; 43:7). For the same reason, he refers constantly to *ʾădōnāy yhwh*, "The Lord Yahweh," using a plural of majesty unique to this book; and to himself as prophet only by the humble "son of man." The use of the recognition formula, "That they shall know I am the Lord," is also calculated to engender new trust in the power of God to act decisively both in judgment and in salvation; against Israel or against any foreign power. Moreover, the expression is borrowed from the traditional cultic proclamation of the awesome power of God to save and deliver the people out of slavery in Egypt that is preserved in the Priestly level of the Pentateuch (Exod 6:6–8; 7:5; 10:1–2; 14:4, 18).

The book of Ezekiel attempts a complete program of reform that would reestablish the covenant in its proper relationship. God would again be overlord of the land and rule from the sacred mountains of Israel. To underscore this, the prophet introduces the theme of the mountains in chaps. 6, 17, 35–36, 38–39, and 40–43. In doing so, he condemns the defiled mountains of Israel, purges them, and then establishes his temple on them. In the process, Ezekiel never refers to the home of the temple as Mt. Zion, in effect rejecting the past theology. The new mountain of the temple in 40–48 is closely connected with careful observation of the priestly laws, and thus becomes instead a new Mt. Sinai. The people, on their part, would be the faithful vassals, who kept their loyalty to God alone and did not betray it for other gods. They would be separated off as a holy people, and nothing profane would defile the tribes in the land. God in turn would protect them and destroy their enemies as an overlord was supposed to do. Thus there is an important place in this scheme for both the oracles against foreign nations and the cosmic war against Gog in chaps. 38–39.

We must look to the cultic rituals for the background of much of this controlling vision. It was in the great feast-day liturgies that God was proclaimed in mythic categories as the victor over chaos, as the divine warrior, and as the king enthroned in the temple. It was a major purpose of the prophet to summon up the ancient convictions of God's power by structuring his message in the ancient mythic patterns. The oracles against nations mockingly allude to certain pagan myths on the divine status of kings to show how God destroys these divine pretensions of the kings of Tyre, Sidon, or Egypt. But the oracles of judgment in chaps. 15–19, with their strong allegorical coloring, also introduce cosmic language about the royal hubris in charges against Zedekiah and the rulers of Jerusalem. The parallel strongly suggests that Judah's royalty had fallen into idolatry by believing these false myths. To restore the power of the Yahweh myth, the prophetic plan then goes on to lay out the oracles of salvation in the pattern discussed above, namely that of the divine warrior who marches to victory from his holy mountain and returns at the end to his holy dwelling to rule (cf. the ancient hymns of Exodus 15; Judges 5; Habakkuk 3). It also follows the pattern of the Exodus-event itself, in which victory at the Red Sea is completed by the triumphal manifestation of God on Mt. Sinai.

Thus the book of Ezekiel proclaims not a god who is powerless to act but rather an awesome God who rightly exercises divine judgment and divine compassion; and who will not abandon the covenant but will rebuild it on an even stronger footing. Thus all will know by concrete evidence in action just who is God and what God will do for this people that obeys the covenant commands. Only then will God be worshipped properly.

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**EZEL** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾezel (אֶזֶל)]. A stone behind which David hid until Jonathan could inform him of King Saul's attitude (1 Sam 20:19); however, its location is unknown. The Hebrew text reads *ʾēṣel hāʾeben hāʾāzel,* "near the stone Ezel," but LXX reads *para to Argab ekeino,* "by that Argab/Ergab." Since Argab means "heap stone" (BDB, p. 918b) in Hebrew, the Gk demonstrative pronoun *ekeino,* "that," corresponds to the *hāʾāzel* of the Heb text. The Gk translation "by that Argab" presupposes the Heb original of LXX as *hāʾargab hallāz* (or *hallāzeh*), "this heap-mound (or cairn)." For this reason some consider *hāʾāzel* as the metathetical spelling of the Heb demonstrative pronoun *hallāz,* "this." The RSV renders this phrase, "beyond yonder stone heap."

Another possible interpretation of this "Ezel" is to seek a relation with the same triconsonantal Aramaic verb *ʾăzal,* "to leave, go." The noun *ʾezel* with the meaning of "leaving or departure" makes good sense in the context: "go, for Yahweh has sent you away" (1 Sam 20:21). Consequently, this phrase would be understood as "the stone of Parting" in the sense of a commemorative stone for the separation of the two intimate friends.
YOSHITAKA KOBAYASHI

**EZEM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿeṣem (עֶצֶם)]. A settlement of the tribe of Simeon (Josh 15:29). The KJV variant, Azem, derives from a Masoretic pausal form in Joshua. Ezem appears twice in Joshua; in 15:29 it is listed as part of the tribe of Judah, and in 19:3 it is a Simeonite settlement. It is also listed as a town in Simeon in 1 Chr 4:29. Since Simeon was assimilated to Judah at an early date, it is recorded under both tribes.

Though the present literary context of the Judean town list is set in the period of Joshua, its original setting was as part of a post-Solomonic administrative division of the S kingdom. The date for the establishment of this system is debated, with suggestions ranging from the early 9th to the late 7th century B.C. Ezem is in the southernmost district of Judah, the Negeb.

The location of Ezem is problematic. It is apparently mentioned on an ostracon from Tell esh-Shariʿa (Oren and Netzer 1974: 265), which may mean seeking the site somewhere to the N of Beer-sheba (M.R. 134072). In the past many commentators have located Ezem at Umm el-ʿAzam, 20 km SE of Beer-sheba (Albright 1924: 154; Simons, *GTTOT,* 144, 178, 183; M.R. 140055), but this may be too far S. Cohen (*IDB* 2: 213) suggested Umm el-ʿAzem, two knolls not far to the N of Beer-sheba. It is possible that Ezem may be the *ʾ-i-ḏ-m-i3* which is the 66th town Shishak claimed to have conquered in his topographic list (Simons 1937: 178, 183).
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**EZER** (PERSON) [Heb *›ēṣer* (אֵצֶר)*; ‹ēzer* (עֵזֶר)*; ‹ezer* (עֶזֶר)]. The name of several men in the OT.

The name *›ēṣer* may come from a root meaning "store up." The *‹ezer* forms may have the meaning "help" (*IDB* 2: 213).

**1.** One of the clan chiefs listed in the genealogy of Seir the Horite in Gen 36:21, 27, 30 and in the matching genealogical clan list in 1 Chr 1:38, 42. He is said to be the sixth son of Seir and the father of BILHAN, ZAAVAN, and AKAN/JAAKAN (Gen 36:27; 1 Chr 1:42a). The kinship terms found in the text may simply reflect alliances or the designation of tribal territories within this region.

**2.** A descendant of Judah in the genealogical clan list in 1 Chr 4:4. Ezer's exact relationship with Judah is unclear since the genealogy is confused, not giving the lineage of each of Judah's sons. Ezer is simply described as the father of HUSHAH. This latter name, like several others in the list (Tekoa, Bethlehem), is the name of a village in the Judahite hill country.

**3.** A member of the tribe of Ephraim mentioned in 1 Chr 7:21. Along with another Ephraimite, ELEAD, Ezer was killed by the men of Gath for raiding the Gathite cattle herds. Raids such as these are not uncommon among tribal peoples wishing to increase their own herds or weaken those of their neighbors (see Judg 6:2–5; 2 Kgs 13:20). It may also be reflective of the tensions which existed between the peoples of the high country and the towns and villages of the Philistine plain.

**4.** The chief of the Gadite warriors who joined David in his stronghold at Ziklag during the time he was outlawed by Saul (1 Chr 12:10—Eng12:9). These men, along with those from several other tribes, represented David's growing political strength and gave him the "mighty and experienced warriors" he needed to form an army corps when he succeeded to the throne of Israel.

**5.** A Levite, a son of Jeshua, who was assigned to repair a section of the wall of Jerusalem during the administration of Nehemiah (Neh 3:19). He is described as the ruler of Mizpah and the section of the wall he was assigned was "opposite the ascent to the armory at the Angle." As a "ruler" his role in the construction probably consisted of providing the funds and the men to do the work.

**6.** One of the priests listed among those who participated in the dedication of the reconstructed walls of Jerusalem in Neh 12:42. They led the people with blaring trumpets and the offering of sacrifices.

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VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

**EZION-GEBER** (PLACE) [Heb *‹eṣyôn geber* (עֶצְיוֹן גֶּבֶר)]. A port city on the S frontier of biblical Israel. The name is recorded in the Hebrew Bible seven times (Num 33:35; 36; Deut 2:8; 1 Kgs 9:26; 22:49; 2 Chr 8:17, 20:36). The former three are written *‹eṣyōn geber* and refer to the camping stations of the Israelites en route to the promised land. The latter four pertain to the S port city of Solomon and Jehoshaphat. While most translations render the name verbatim, the Aram translation of *Tg. Ps. J.* to the first three verses translates the place-name as *kĕrak tarnĕgôlā›,* perhaps in the sense of the "strong citadel." For *‹eṣyôn* KB (1958: 727) suggests the Ar cognate *ġaḍiān* (*Lane* 2269a) while *geber* is left unexplained.

Whether the Pentateuchal *‹eṣyōn geber* is identical with the Judean kings' *‹eṣyôn geber* is a question yet unanswered. No archaeological traces of the former have been uncovered so far and no location during that period has been unearthed. The place name *‹eṣyôn geber* reappears in the history of Israel during the Solomonic era and is mentioned through the reign of Jehoshaphat. Solomon initiated construction of

vessels and shipping on the Gulf of Elath with the Phoenician partners and for this reason he went to Ezion-geber and Jehoshaphat followed suit.

Where is the geographical site of Ezion-geber? The Bible locates it "near Eloth on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom" (1 Kgs 9:26). In the 19th century, Robinson (1856: 169–72) identified it as *ʿAin el-Gõuḍyan* along a small wadi opening into *el ʾArabah.* It was later revised by Phythian-Adams (1933: 137–46) to refer to *el-Meniyyeh.* These earlier identifications have been toppled by three seasons of archaeological excavations of N. Glueck during the years 1938–40, who argued that it should be identified with Tell el-Kheleifeh (M.R. 147884), a suggestion put forth by Frank (1934: 244). The mound lies at about the center of the N coast of the Gulf of Elath (Aqabah) between Aqabah of Jordan at its E end and Elath of Israel at the W end. Glueck's (1940a: 93–104) early explanations have revolved around what seemed then to be the main activities of Tell el-Kheleifeh: construction of seagoing vessels, a large smelting refinery of local copper in furnaces, and industry of tools made out of copper. To support the theory of a metallurgical center at that site, Glueck (1940b: 3–7) argued that remains of extensive sulfuric discoloration due to the smelting activities are evident on the furnace's wall, and copper slags in substantial quantities are found at the site. He unearthed a casemate wall characteristic of the Solomonic construction of buildings and dated the pottery excavated at the mound to the 10th century B.C., parallel to the Solomonic period. Hence, the conclusion that Tell el-Kheleifeh = Ezion-geber. Glueck further inferred that Solomon's commercial prosperity depended largely on exporting ingots of copper produced at Tell el-Kheleifeh, which were shipped abroad from the port city. Moreover, Glueck (1940a: 110; 1940b: 15) asserted that the findings included the burnt relics of a heavy rope industry of the type employed for anchorages and the stretching of the boat's sails. Among other things, he found pitch for caulking the boats, nails made of iron and copper, and fishhooks and spearheads popular among seafarers, which testified that naval construction and maritime activity took place there.

Glueck's identification was hailed by Wright (1957: 132–37), even though he admitted that actual remains of a port were never excavated. Albright (1960: 127–28), who agreed with Glueck that a tremendous metallurgical industry functioned at that site, nevertheless, following opinions of metallurgy experts, was perplexed as to how the production of copper was indeed accomplished.

Glueck's findings were challenged by Rothenberg (1962: 44–56), who refuted the existence of a large metallurgical complex at Tell el-Kheleifeh. He proved indubitably that the room thought to be a furnace room turned out to be a large storehouse and what was considered to be sulfide fumes of copper ores on the walls were the result of a tremendous conflagration. A closer look at the surroundings did not show a significant quantity of slag associated with the production of copper and the flue holes in the so-called furnace room were in fact holes for wooden beams. Even the theory of Glueck (1940a: 93–94) about the strong northern winds blowing in the area essential for smelting refineries was found wanting as a result of Rothenberg's meteorological measuring. Had the builders wanted to take advantage of the strongest winds, a geographical point further to the W should have been located, where the winds are indeed turbulent and effective for a refinery. In sum, Rothenberg questioned the validity of Tell el-Kheleifeh = Ezion-geber.

Glueck (1965b: 15–17) then radically revised some of his previous conclusions. He accepted that the place was primarily a fortified district granary and caravansary, yet he maintained that Tell el-Kheleifeh served as a copper center and that the place was the biblical seaport Ezion-geber. His excavations (1965a: 82–87) revealed five strata of settlements extending from the Solomonic age until the end of the 5th century B.C. when Tell el-Kheleifeh was abandoned and a subsequent Nabatean settlement was located at Aila. Biblical Ezion-geber existed during two of those periods. Period I dates to the Solomonic era. It contained a small center for storage, industry, and commodities which also served the main S seaport of the king, a place probably destroyed by Shishak during the reign of Rehoboam (1 Kgs 14:25–26; 2 Chr 12:2–4).

Indeed, biblical citations from the chronicles of the Judean kings indicate a disproportionately fierce struggle for control of the S Arabah, an area vital to the economy of the kingdom, especially with regard to the valuable trade with Arabia and regions beyond it. It is therefore not surprising that the only

competitors for these routes, the Egyptian kings, did not look favorably at the spread of this trade. Against this backdrop it is possible to explain the military foray of Shishak (ca. 924 B.C.) into the Negeb. List XXXIV of the Great Temple of Amon in Karnak (Simons 1937: 178–87) includes a yet unidentified conquered location *š-b-r-t n g-b-r-y-*, which may be transliterated as *šblt n-gbr (y),* meaning the whirling mass of water *gbr,* suggesting the likelihood of reference to Ezion-geber.

Possible reconstruction at Period II took place during Jehoshaphat's reign and it reveals strengthening of the location with massive double walls and elaborate city gates. While the royal fleet was destroyed by a stormy sea (1 Kgs 22:49) the city may have been destroyed later because of an Edomite rebellion in the middle of the 9th century (2 Kgs 8:20–22; 2 Chr 21:8–10). The name Ezion-geber is not mentioned again in the Bible.

Talmudical sources, however, preserve the tradition that the Sages visited a S town named *ʿsyʾ,* geographically located along a seacoast which Klein (1939: 76, 122) identifies with Ezion-geber. Glueck (*Elath* 1963: 10–11) claimed that Elath (2 Kgs 14:22; 2 Chr 26:2) is the substitute for decimated Ezion-geber and was constructed on top of the mound of the city which was never to be rebuilt. In any event the excavations and findings of Tell el-Kheleifeh (*Elath,* 1963: 19–20) contain the histories both of Ezion-geber and Elath and therefore it is correct to say Tell el-Kheleifeh = Ezion-geber = Elath.

Avigad (*Elath,* 1963: 24) lent support to Glueck's theory when he found an inscribed signet ring which he deciphered as *"LYTM"* i.e., "belonging to Jotham," and described the picture on the ring as either an ignot of copper or a representation of bellows in front of a horned ram. This testified to continued metallurgical performance during a latter period of the Judean King Jotham. Aharoni (*Elath,* 1963: 71–73; 1982: 169, 243, 249–51) while agreeing with the identification of Tell el-Kheleifeh with Ezion-geber, nevertheless disputed the theory of the city as being a copper mining center. He suggests, instead, that it was a fortified depot in a network of citadels securing the land route for commodities exported and imported through the port of this fortified complex. He, like Glueck, suggested that biblical Elath took on the functions of Ezion-geber once the latter ceased to exist.

Glueck's identification of Tell el-Kheleifeh with Ezion-geber was contested again by Mazar (1975: 126–31) on the basis of topographical evidence. He disproved the theory of sea regression in the region of Tell el-Kheleifeh. Furthermore, the shoreline along the location of the mound is sandy, the water is shallow, leaving it unsuitable for small boats, let alone for a substantial trader fleet. Some of the scheduled trips extended for three years, and Ezion-geber, while not built by Solomon, was employed as a naval yard for building a commercial fleet. King Hiram of Tyre supplied the woodcraft, the skilled labor, and the navigational expertise while King Solomon provided manpower and located a safe port for anchorage. The magnitude of the operation required facilities which could not have been provided by the coast of Tell el-Kheleifeh. Furthermore, a recent restudy of Glueck's material by Pratico (1986: 24–35) summarized the following: Tell el-Kheleifeh is post-Solomonic, and the mound, while important by itself, cannot be identified as Ezion-geber.

The search for a natural harbor in the gulf of Elath suggested, therefore, the small island of Jezîrat Farʿôn (recently named Coral Island) as a safe anchorage for boats. Indeed, 19th-century diaries of travelers acknowledged the island as a haven during stormy seas. Robinson (1856: 160–61) described it as oriented from NW to the SE, some 300 yards in length with two hills, one higher than the other, linked by a narrow strip of land. On the island, an Arabian fort was found. It was surrounded with battlements, with two pointed arches often signifying gateways.

Unvanquished by the fleet of Ronald of Chatillon (ca. 1182 C.E.), the fort was identified by the Arabic geographer Abulfeda (ca. 1300), with the former citadel of Aila; however, in his own time it was already in ruins. While touring the place, Robinson also quoted former geographers, Laborde, Rüppell and Wellsted. The latter gave it the name Jezîrat Farʿôn, the "Island of Pharaoh," and described it as the only sheltered place for boats when caught in a stormy sea. He sensed that this was perhaps biblical Ezion-geber.

It should be noted that the only natural anchorage in the N part of the gulf is the harbor on the island, while the modern ports of Elath and Aqabah are of wholly artificial construction.

Mazar's scholarly interest in the island in 1956 (1975: 130), was followed by Rothenberg in collaboration with Aharoni and Hashimshoni (1961: 86–92, 183–89), who mapped the island and established the existence of a small harbor.

Aharoni (1967: 182–83) was inclined to identify the island with Jotbatha, the Pentateuchal camping station listed before Ezion-geber. He relied on the phonetic similarity of biblical Jotbathah, Byzantine Yotabe (according to Procopius' testimony, a small island dominating the sea traffic in the gulf during the Byzantine era), and modern Ṭabeh.

Rothenberg (1967: 212–13), however, on the basis of the ceramics found on the island suggested occupation as early as Iron Age I, and posited that the place must be Ezion-geber. His identification gained credence through underwater archaeological surveys conducted by Linder and Flinder (Rothenberg 1972: 204–7) and a British-Israeli joint expedition in 1968. Flinder (1989: 39–41) concluded that Jezîrat Far›ôn is indeed biblical Ezion-geber. The survey plus the underwater archaeological search shows that Jezîrat Far›ôn had massive navigational installations put in position for heavy maritime traffic. It had a walled island comprised of an outer wall, an inner wall, and transversal walls forming casemate rooms plus towers. He confirmed that the edifice facing the mainland had groundwork similar to the casemate rooms, hence dated before its upper parts. Unique were the underwater archaeological findings which established the existence of an artificial enclosed harbor bordering a sizable natural anchorage, with jetties built out into the water to influence currents opposite the island on the shore of the mainland.

Can we definitively identify the island with Ezion-geber? Solid dating indications are yet to be uncovered. What can be said is that the island's pottery dates to Iron Age I and that the island was utilized as a pharaonic mining anchorage by the Egyptians (Rothenberg 1972: 203). Furthermore, Jezîrat Far›ôn's natural harbor shows man-made technological improvements by yet unknown ancient marine engineers. Comparisons of the structure of the port in the island suggest resemblance to the work done by Phoenician maritime personnel, who were the first to improve natural harbors in the Mediterranean basin.

Tyre, the capital of Hiram, was originally an island (Isa 23:2) upon which man-made jetties and safekeeping walls were built for the protection of sea vessels. (The path built across the water to connect the offshore island to the mainland was a later addition as a result of Alexander the Great's work during 322 B.C.) Leptis magna, founded by the Phoenicians from Sidon in what later became Roman Africa, was an offshore island with an artificial harbor adjoining a natural anchorage with breakwaters opposite the island on the mainland. Accordingly, it is not inconceivable to suggest that the partnership between the Tyrians and the Israelites was a continuation of what took place in the region during the reigns of earlier Egyptian monarchs who employed Giblite-Byblian mariners while embarking on their maritime endeavors along the Red Sea. It is likely that Solomon went to Pharoah's island, Jezîrat Far›ôn, whose name in the Bible is Ezion-geber, and Hiram sent in the navy, his servants, and maritime personnel, along with servants of Solomon (1 Kgs 9:27–28; 2 Chr 8:18).

This partnership is alluded to by Philo of Byblos, who cites the Phoenician historian Sanconiaton who in turn reports that a Phoenician caravan consisting of 800 camels carried timber to the southern port for the construction of the merchant fleet. The sources do not report improvements of anchorage facilities by either of the partners, but Ezion-geber, the point of embarkation for long voyages (1 Kgs 10:22; 2 Chr 9:21), required adequate port facilities for oceangoing boats, and underwater archaeological excavations proved that reconstruction indeed provided the necessary efficiency.

The identification of Ezion-geber with Jezîrat Far›ôn rather than biblical Eloth or Elath is supported by the Bible. The Bible plus the major translations, the LXX and the Vg, view Ezion-geber as separate from Elath or Eloth. The terms "next," "near," or "beside" are inserted between Ezion-geber and Eloth in 1 Kings (9:26) and the *wāw copulativum* joins them in Deuteronomy (2:8) and 2 Chronicles (8:17).

Flinder (1989: 45) further maintains that both sites fulfilled a commercial task for the partners. Ezion-geber, on the island, while adequate for loading and unloading sturdy seagoing vessels, was not equipped to store and disburse the goods. Therefore, it was necessary to transfer the merchandise via smaller seacraft to the mainland, i.e., to Eloth, from where it was distributed through the traditional network of Solomon's far-flung land trading posts.

Geographically, Israel enjoyed the role of an intermediary between adjacent countries. Not only did the Mediterranean seaports of the Solomonic empire offer commercial links with the communities W of the kingdom, but the S port gave Judah the added advantage of being able to control the valuable trade of luxury commodities. This was the exalted moment in Israel's secular history when the Israelites were the only land bridge between the two continents and had various ports serving the Mediterranean clientele, spreading toward the Atlantic Ocean in the occident, and Ezion-geber, which led to the Indian Ocean and farther to the orient.

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MEIR LUBETSKI

**EZORA** (PERSON) [Gk *Ezōra* (Ἐζωρα)]. Progenitor of a family which had six descendants who divorced their foreign wives during Ezra's reform (1 Esdr 9:34). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, "Ezora" does not appear among the names listed in Ezra 10. Omissions such as this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra or Nehemiah. Furthermore, problems associated with dating events and identifying persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**EZRA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿezrā* (עֶזְרָא)]. "Nehemiah and Ezra, the creators of the post-exilic Jewish community in Palestine, are two of the greatest figures in Jewish history"; so concludes a recent (far from conservative) volume (Widengren *IJH,* 538). Does this dictum, even apart from notably putting Ezra in second place, reflect what we really know from history?

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A. Biblical Data
B. Evaluations
C. Conclusions


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**A. Biblical Data**

Ezra 7–10 and Nehemiah 8–12 contain only some twenty passages (mostly a single verse) giving any personal trait, title, or work of Ezra.

1. Only six of these are really "personal." In Ezra 9:3 is his highly emotional but also carefully calculated behavior, tearing his garments and beard, then sitting speechless an hour or more with a crowd waiting for his word. When it comes (9:6) that word is also deeply emotional, but in an oratorical

composition nominally addressed to God and largely made up of biblical phrases. Also a lyric outburst is Ezra 7:27, which could well be an editorial gloss except that it concludes, "I took courage since the hand of my Lord God was upon me"; so also 8:22b. Ezra 10:6 features his night of fasting and mourning. The long speech of Neh 9:6–37, also a lyric cento of biblical echoes, is attributed to Ezra by the Greek text, but rather unexpectedly, and not by the Hebrew at all; and the Greek (2 Esdr 19:38, even more than Neh 9:15) seems to include the speaker as himself guilty of the marriage abuse he deplores.

2. Another six verses give titles, claimed by Saeb (1982: 380) to be our firmest clue to the real Ezra. Chief of these is Ezra 7:12, attributed to Artaxerxes, describing Ezra as "priest and scribe of the law of the God of Heaven" (so also 7:14, 21; in 7:6 Artaxerxes is said to detect God's hand upon Ezra). The biblical author himself presents Ezra (7:6 in third person; as also 8:5; 10; Nehemiah 8) only as a "scribe skilled in the law of Moses," though the preceding genealogy shows him as a descendant of known priests and of "Aaron the high priest."

"Scribe" (Aram *sāpar,* Heb *sōpēr;* probably an equivalent of Akk *šāpiru, AHW* 1172) as attested in Persian royal usage could well mean "an official" (Schaeder 1930: 46) of high or low degree; but in relation to the law of God and Moses it would seem rather "he is a jurist and patron of text-scholars" (Gelin 1960: 24) with an eminent role in promulgating and interpreting or even editing "the Law"—whether "the Pentateuch in its present form" as Myers still firmly and plausibly maintains (*Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, lxxiv; more cautiously Donner 1986: 429), or at any rate the Priestly Source (P) or others.

"The Law," of which Ezra is *sōpēr,* is in Ezra 7:12–26 *dāt,* which in other attested Aramaic cases means rather "the king's edict" (even if here "making the Judeans' law his own"). But in Nehemiah 8 "the Law" is *tôrâ,* which Ezra merely "reads out" (like any priest in a liturgical ceremony; not "promulgates" or "compiles," as Rendtorff 1984: 171 notes; he concludes sweepingly that any relating of Nehemiah 8 to the mandate of Ezra 7 is secondary).

The occasion for the king's edict of Ezra 7 is seen to be the reaction against rebellions precisely in 458 B.C. destabilizing coastal Dor near Jerusalem under Greek and Egyptian influence (Smith 1965: 361; Margalith 1986: 110).

3. A third group of some five passages shows what Ezra actually did do or had a mandate to do. He had a certain freedom not only to dispose of surplus funds but also to supply deficits "out of the king's treasury" (in Beyond the River, Ezra 7:20) up to amounts specified in v 22: a power he is never shown using. Then too (7:25, still in Artaxerxes' words) Ezra can appoint officials to impose the Jewish law on "everybody (Jewish?)" in Beyond the River, with fearful sanctions (hardly "the original Great Synagogue," Ellison 1981: 52).

Quite different are the two passages which show Ezra actually functioning (Cazelles 1982: 224). In Ezra 10:5 he merely implements (as "his duty") the advice of a local culpable official; and in Neh 8:13 "in the presence of Ezra" the people themselves discover and implement the *sukkot* law. The speaker of Neh 10:1 (Greek 2 Esdr 19:38; named as Ezra only in the Greek 19:6) merely states that a new covenant is being made; what follows in Nehemiah 10 is the work of Nehemiah and others, not including Ezra. (Neh 12:26 links Ezra with Nehemiah but as a purely chronological horizon, "in those days.") From the above evidence it may be concluded that "little political activity is ascribed to Ezra" (Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, lxxiv; rather than Gelin 1960: 24, "he too is a manipulator of men, but of a more logical approach than Nehemiah").

**B. Evaluations**

The above personal traits, titles, and real or authorized activities give us all we need in order to know who Ezra really was, "an ultraconservative would say," observes Williamson (*Ezra and Nehemiah* OTG, 69); he himself finds a solid historical kernel even while redimensioning such claims made by others. A historical minimum even smaller is clung to (following Noth [*NCH*]) by Kellermann in Ezra 7:12–26 and 8:26–27 (1967: 458), though he dismisses all the rest of Ezra 8–10 and all of Nehemiah 8–12 as "the Chronicler's midrash"; so, too, In der Smitten (1973).

But in 1986 there appeared a strong scholarly revival of the opinion that Ezra never existed at all, and was invented only in 159 B.C. to be the emblem of a religious reform which turned out to be abortive.

Garbini (1986: 212) traces the history of similar theories from Vernes through Renan and Torrey to Hölscher. The undoubted factual data which they invoke to prove that the Bible does not give us a real Ezra history, chiefly the silence of Sir 49:13 praising Nehemiah, have in fact never been ignored by Ezra scholars. Most notable is the veritable revolution effected by Van Hoonacker's claim that an Ezra *before* Nehemiah as our Bible presents him is unthinkable. His success in imposing an Ezra date in 398 B.C., the 7th year of Artaxerxes II, though not as complete as claimed by Castel (1985: 160) has doubtless contributed to the widely held third alternative of (Albright-)Rudolph, emending 7th to 37th of Artaxerxes I (so Pavlovský 1957).

The existence of a (first-person) "Ezra source" has, since the eminent Rudolph (*Esra und Nehemia* HAT), been held only by "the most conservative, like Kidner and Fensham" (Williamson *Ezra and Nehemiah* OTG, 21; see also Mowinckel 1961; cf. Kidner *Ezra and Nehemiah* TOTC, and Fensham *Ezra and Nehemiah* NICOT). Meanwhile the historical reality of Ezra has suffered also from either of two contrary extremes. On the one hand, rabbinical tradition attributed the veritable creation of Judaism to him (*m. ʾAbot* 1:1). "Ezra and the Torah surpassed in importance the building of the Temple" (*b. Megilla* 16b); "Ezra would have been worthy of receiving the Torah had Moses not preceded him" (R. José, *b. Sanh.* 21b; other citations in Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, lxxii). Doubtless rabbinic acclaim never quite reached the "Son of God and Messiah" claimed in the Quran 9:3 (Uzair, linked by Hirschberg [*EncJud* 6:1107] with Yemenite Jewish traditions; Ellison 1981: 49 does not specify the "traditions making Uzair the place of his burial in Babylonia"). Only Josephus informs us that Ezra died in honored old age in Jerusalem and was magnificently buried there (*Ant* 11.158; Tuland 1966; *Ant* 11.193 more soberly record Nehemiah's death).

At the other extreme were the early Pentateuch critics (less careful than Wellhausen) assigning to Ezra the invention of much "Mosaic" tradition. Though no one of the current interpretations of Ezra's law (as the whole Pentateuch; or P Source or the Holiness Code alone; or Deuteronomy; or lesser biblical-related prescriptions; or some purely civil authority conferred by Artaxerxes) can be categorically excluded, there is still a significant and sound group of critics regarding the "editing and promulgation" of the more ancient Pentateuch traditions as the work of an "Ezra-school."

**C. Conclusions**

The claim of having proved that "Ezra never existed," when looked at more closely turns out to mean rather that hagiographic and ideological features are attached to an individual who may have existed in some much humbler fashion, as in some Acts of the Martyrs or Golden Legends. It is surprising that Garbini does not ask us to consider that he is doing for Ezra precisely what has been done for Daniel, at first with great general scandal but now with almost universal acceptance: transposition of authorship to the Maccabean situation. His thesis is that in 1 Macc 9:54 Alcimus orders an inner Temple wall torn down in order to bring the populace closer to priestly functions; and though the opposition party prevailed ("he was struck by paralysis") the idea had worked itself out into general acceptance by the time of Herod's Temple (Garbini 1986: 227). In evaluating this thesis it would be well to put ourselves into the position of the scholarly and devout exegetes who were first confronted with the notion that Daniel reflects a Maccabean situation; and profit by their example in order to be more judicious and far-seeing in our reaction. In principle we admit the claim that around the vaguely known figure of Ezra (or Daniel, or Jonah, or Esther) were elaborated features intended to justify theologically the piety of a later date. Even Pfeiffer's discussion of Ezra (*IDB* 2: 215), pregnantly "assuming he is a historical figure," notes that in some lines of Jewish tradition his name is considered a variant of Malachi. Also, similarities between 2 Maccabees and 3 Esdras have been studied (Gardner 1986).

If Garbini had posed the question of whether his presumed Maccabean author was rather ornamenting the figure of an Ezra who genuinely existed in the 5th century, he would have noted that this is what almost every scholar admits "the Chronicler" or other compiler to have done. But then he should go on to explain more fully why such a procedure was more likely in the Maccabean period than in the momentous days of the return from Babylon. Instead, he weakens his case by going on to "prove too much," namely that his "Ezra exploits" are verified in the Damascus Rule-Zadokite Document 1:19 and the Qumran

Temple Scroll 35:10–14. We do not object to his claim that "3 Ezra" (the Greek Esdras A) is the earlier form of the story because it is the one which Josephus follows; but neither do we find in it Ezra traits notably different from the twenty we enumerated above.

The four points with which Williamson concludes (*Ezra and Nehemiah* OTG, 69–76) are well worth noting, not only because they do provide in their way a viable underpinning for a realistic portrayal of "the historical Ezra," but also because in their redimensioning of almost every similar project they show that even the "likelier" approaches are still open to further inquiry.

1. That Ezra was a high or stable official of the Persian court is unproved, even by Schaeder's (1930) use of arguments which only an Iranologist can evaluate; "scribe" was taken in subsequent tradition simply as "religious leader," and any civil authority "simply vanishes from view" (apparently toning down even the mild dissent of Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 100 from North 1972).

2. Equally dubious is Koch's (1974) claim of a grandiose "second Moses" who came leading a "sacred Exodus procession" from Babylon to reform not only the Judeans but also the Samaritans.FEzra does not speak ill of the Samaritans as Nehemiah does (Cazelles 1982: 224), and our own sympathies still lie with those who claim that "Ezra's Pentateuch was accepted by the Samaritans" (Cazelles 1954). But this is at best a hypothesis; and it remains true that the Samaritans vilify Ezra, but also that Koch's claim of a "spectacular failure" by Ezra is unproved.

3. What was Ezra really sent from Babylon to do? Clearly he is shown as somehow "in charge" of the Jews who were returning with him from Babylon at that time, and he may well have carried some token gifts from the king. The extent to which he had a mandate to investigate and reform Jewish religious practice remains somewhat mysterious, despite alleged parallels in the Passover Papyrus and the Cyrus Cylinder (*ANET,* 316). Partly at issue is what role in quashing mixed marriages is really to be ascribed to Ezra. Even Ackroyd (1984) exaggerates his "community-building" powers.

4. Ezra's recorded activity lasted only twelve months and was headed toward a bad ending (when last heard of), even if he was not involved in a pre-Nehemiah wall-building such as Ezra 4:12 may perhaps suggest.

The difficulties which Williamson faces under these four heads, and Garbini's too, would largely vanish if we limit ourselves to "what the Bible really says"—not in a fundamentalist or maximalizing way, but considering how human speech actually functions. For one thing, human nature is prone to give any high-placed person a title higher than he really deserves, and to interpret even the titles which he rightfully possesses as implying powers beyond what they really convey. Even the grandiose chancery-language of Artaxerxes' decree (as fondly preserved in Jewish sources) could quite normally mean no more than that Ezra is legitimately at the head of a group of returning exiles intent on law-abidingness—and to that extent in a general way likely to support the existing overlordship, whether or not in relation to Mediterranean coastal uprisings. Ezra at any rate was certainly *not* "the signer of a Concordat" nor even "Persian Under-Secretary for Jewish Affairs."

A second normal functioning of human speech is the proneness of lofty dignitaries to have themselves recorded as saying to humble people, "Any time I can be of help to you, just call on me!" Even taking into account conformity with known Persian usages, what is said about "appointing magistrates to apply strong sanctions" and "drawing upon the king's treasury" (in view of their total nonimplementation in the biblical narrative, as also in the relevant Temple building of Ezra 1:4) may quite literally, i.e., realistically be interpreted merely as a rhetorical expression of the greatness and power of the speaker.

This granted, what remains is not negligible. "Ezra is a genuinely pious individual whose concern for the Law was based on his conviction that it was God's revelation for Israel's welfare" (Hoppe 1986: 285; also Dulin 1986). He had come to observe and to teach, and it is chiefly by these two activities that the Bible shows him as leader of the community. By studying the Law and by listening to what the local Judean community themselves felt ought to be done about their mixed-marriage problems, he understandably earned the gratitude of all subsequent Judaism. The aggrandizement to which this eventually led may be due to trends, already apparent in Sir 49:13, more separatist than Ezra himself would have approved.

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**EZRA, BOOK OF.** See EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOKS OF.

**EZRA, FOURTH BOOK OF.** See ESDRAS, SECOND BOOK OF.

**EZRA, GREEK APOCALYPSE OF.** This work, known only in Greek, was first published in 1866 (von Tischendorf). Only two Greek manuscripts are known to date and both have been utilized in the most recent edition (Wahl 1977). Some emendations have been suggested (von Tischendorf 1866; Stone 1982: 17–18; Wahl 1977). The book has been translated twice into German (Riessler 1928; Müller 1976) and three times into English (Walker 1899; Stone *OTP* 1; Sparks and Shutt 1984). There seems to be no reason to doubt that *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* was composed originally in Greek. It seems to have utilized the Greek version of *4 Ezra* (Violet 1910: l–lix), but that was in existence by the 2d century. It most likely originated sometime during the 1st millennium, as is evident from its literary affinities (see below).

Ezra fasts and prays for the mysteries of God to be revealed to him. In answer to his prayer he is taken to heaven where he intercedes for sinners. Ezra prays again, questioning the righteous of the world and the fate of the sinners, and is informed that Adam's sin was due to Satan. He then argues with God, pleading for mercy on behalf of the Christian people (chaps. 1–2).

Next Ezra petitions for a vision of the day of judgment. The signs of the end and the messianic woes are shown to him (2:26–3:7). He is then taken down to the depths of Tartarus where he sees various sinners being punished. A revelation of the signs of the Antichrist follows. Ezra sees further punishments and is taken to heaven (5:1–7).

At this point a new subject is introduced: the development of the human infant, which highlights Ezra's doubts about the creation of human beings (5:12–14). Miscellaneous revelations about the saints, cosmological matters, and judgment follow. The final part of the book deals with themes discussed in

other Ezra apocalypses: the seer's struggle with the angel for his own soul, God's solace given him in the face of death, and the narrative of his death and burial (chaps. 6–7).

The work is clearly composite, and a number of sources have been distinguished within it (Stone *OTP* 1: 562–63). The descent to Tartarus (4:4–21) is shared with *Vis. Ezra* and formed a common theme of many Byzantine apocalypses (Stone 1982: 6–8; Himmelfarb 1983). There are also three bodies of apocalyptic themes which seem to have been incorporated into the book from various sources: (a) The "hanging punishments" (4:22–25, 5:2–4 [?5–7], 8–11, 24:25 [26?]). This material is connected by theme with the preceding and in broader terms with the ongoing concern of the author for the fate of humans. It is also found in *Vis. Ezra* (Stone 1982: 9–10). (b) The description of the physiognomy of the Antichrist (4:25–43). The same description, dependent on a common source, is found in *Apocalypsis Ioannou* (von Tischendorf 1866: 47–48) and many similar passages occur in later apocalypses (Stone and Strugnell 1979: 27–39). (c) The description of Paradise (5:20–23). In particular, the material from source (a) has been broken up and interwoven with the descent to Tartarus.

It has been suggested that the materials dealing with the tour of hell in *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* and in *Vis. Ezra* "derive from a Christian tour of hell written relatively early in the development of the genre" (Himmelfarb 1983: 167). These two works, together with *Apoc. Sedr.*, have been regarded as independent developments of a common stock of material (Stone 1983: 569), though the independence of *Vis. Ezra* has been questioned (Himmelfarb 1983: 26). The *Ques. Ezra* is a more remote representative of the same material.

The relationship of *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* to *4 Ezra* is quite unmistakable (Sparks and Shutt 1984: 929). In addition to the list of parallels noted above, the very argumentative character of the seer in his discussion with God and the dialogic character of the book are both derived from *4 Ezra* (Stone *OTP* 1: 569; Himmelfarb 1983: 26).

This apocalypse is part of a much broader literature that developed around the figure of Ezra in the Byzantine period. It is particularly closely related to the Greek *Apoc. Sedr.* and the Latin *Vis. Ezra,* and more remotely to the Armenian *Ques. Ezra*. By comparing it with *4 Ezra* we can see something of its possible sources and discern which aspects of *4 Ezra* were of concern to the writers of later apocalypses. Moreover, the complexity of the literary relationships between the various Ezra apocalypses is paralleled in other corpora of writings from this period, such as the Adam Literature.

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**EZRA, QUESTIONS OF.** The *Questions of Ezra* is preserved in two Armenian recensions. The first recension (A) was published by S. Yovsēp‘ianc‘ (1896: 300–3) and translated into English by J. Issaverdens (1900: 505–9). The text is drawn from a *Ritual*, Ms. 570 of the Mechitarist Library in Venice (1208 C.E.). No other copy is known. The second recension (B) occurs in the 4th recension of the Armenian *Menologium.* This text, based on the printed edition of 1730, with readings from a single further manuscript (Oxford Ms. Marsh 438 of the 17th cent.), was published by Stone (1977). Another copy of it had been printed by Dashian, but its relationship to *Ques. Ezra* had not been noted (Dashian 1895: 79–80, from Venice, Mechitarist Ms. 10 of the 16th cent.). Recent English translations of both recensions exist (Stone *OTP* 1: 591–99. The text might be improved by examination of further manuscripts.

Recension B is much shorter than A, but where the two overlap, B often preserves details not in A. There are two physical lacunae in the single manuscript of Recension A, following v 10 and v 40. Conversely, B contains nothing corresponding to vv 11–30 of Recension A.

*Ques. Ezra* opens with a discussion of the fate of the righteous and sinners. Ezra poses questions to the angel about the fate of the wicked and the lot of the soul after death. In Recension B, at this point, a discussion of the aim of creation and the intermediate residences of the wicked is introduced. In Recension A, a fascinating description of the seven steps up to the Divinity then occurs. The role of expiatory prayer in liberating souls from Satan's clutches is discussed, and finally, in Recension B alone, the resurrection and judgment are foretold.

*Ques. Ezra* should be viewed within the larger context of the apocryphal Ezra literature. This includes not just *4 Ezra* (= 2 Esdras), but works such as *Gk. Apoc. Ezra*, Vis. Ezra, and others. The oldest of these works is *4 Ezra*, which clearly has influenced, perhaps inspired, *Ques. Ezra*. The concern for the fate of the souls after death, the question-and-answer form, and the seven levels of the ascent of the soul are all features betraying its connection with *4 Ezra.* The concern for the fate of sinners after death is also prominent in *Gk. Apoc. Ezra*, Vis. Ezra, and *Apoc. Sedr.* The *Ques. Ezra*, however, is not as closely related to these three works as they are to one another.

Connections have been made between *Ques. Ezra* and other Armenian dialogic works which deal with the fate of the soul after death (Sarghissian 1898: 452–82). It is impossible, however, to know whether *Ques. Ezra* was written in Armenian originally or in another language, such as Greek.

The comparison of Recensions A and B indicates that there may have been two source documents. The first was a dialogue between the prophet and an angel about the fate of souls (A, vv 1–10; B, v 4 or its original; A, vv 11–15; B, v 6 or its original; A, vv 31–40; and B, vv 10–14 or its original). The second document (A, vv 16–30) dealt with the ascent of the souls. This section has rather distinctive views and is a pastiche of older sources.

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**EZRA, REVELATION OF.** In a variety of languages of the Christian Orient and of Europe the name of Ezra is found associated with calendrical prognostications. The reason for the connection of such works with the person of Ezra remains unclear, but to some extent at least, his prophetic status, certified for the Middle Ages by *4 Ezra*, must have played a role in this (Stone 1982: 14–16).

The best known work of this type is the *Revelatio Esdrae*, which survives in several Latin manuscripts of the ninth century and later (Mercati 1901: 76). It prognosticates the weather of the seasons, the fertility of the flocks, and the abundance of the crops by the day of the week upon which the calends of January fall. Three versions of the Latin text were edited by Mercati (1901: 77–79), and further copies are known to exist. A modern English translation of the oldest of these has been published by Fiensy (*OTP* 1: 601–4).

The important article by Matter (1982) is replete with essential and thorough information about the Latin *Revelatio Esdrae.* The same text exists in Old French, Provençal, medieval Italian, German, and Czech (Matter 1982: 380–81). In English, the name of the author was later transformed into "Erra Pater" and under this title it saw many printings both in Britain and in North America (Matter 1982: 384–86).

In Greek, three versions are known. The first is a document, extant in two forms, communicating propitious and unpropitious days of the month (von Tischendorf 1866: xiii–xiv; Nau 1907: 14–15). The second resembles the Latin *Revelatio Esdrae* (Nau 1907: 15–16), and it, or some similar writing, is likely to be the ancestor of a Georgian version preserved in a manuscript of the year 949 C.E. (Tarchnišvili 1955:

355). The third Greek document lists the thirty days of the lunar month and the birth or death of assorted biblical personalities. It is variously attributed to Ezra, Aristotle, or said to have been found in a temple in Egypt (Nau 1907: 17–21).

Writings of like character, but with no particular association with Ezra, have been published in Syriac and Ethiopic as well (Grebaut 1913; Charlesworth *OTP* 1:473–80) and doubtless many similar works could be found in a variety of tongues.

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**EZRA, VISION OF.** A pseudepigraphal book written in the name of Ezra. The work is entitled in most manuscripts *visio beati Esdrae,* "Vision of the Blessed Ezra." It opens with a petition by Ezra that he should not fear when seeing the judgment of the sinners (v 1). Ezra is then taken by seven angels to hell. He sees the just passing the fiery gates, which the sinners cannot transverse (vv 4–10) and asks for mercy on them (v 11; this theme is also prominent in *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 1:15, 5:6). Ezra passes the gates and enters Tartarus, which is described in great detail (vv 12–55), far more than the corresponding passage in *Gk. Apoc. Ezra*. He then enters Paradise, led by Michael and Gabriel (v 56). The angels ask him to intercede with God for sinners (vv 60–62), but God replies that humans are justly recompensed (v 64). Ezra then poses a question about intercession that is not answered (v 66). All forms of the text but one conclude at this point. A fourth recension (see Bogaert 1984) contains additional material on the Antichrist (vv 71–80) and on Ezra's argument with the angel concerning the taking of his soul (vv 97–111).

The work survives only in Latin with manuscripts chiefly from the 11th–14th centuries. The text is found in four forms. (1) The shortest is Vatican lat. 3838. Mercati, who first published it, regarded it very highly (1901: 64) and his assessment was accepted by others (e.g., Mueller and Robins *OTP* 1: 582; Sparks and Shutt 1984: 944). (2) A longer form occurs in manuscript L (Linz, Bibliothek der Priesterseminars A I/6—the oldest manuscript, 10th–11th centuries). (3) A third form is found in the *Magnum Legendarium Austriacum* (12th century) and in other Austrian manuscripts. This form of the text was used in the 12th century Vision of Alberich of Setterfrati, one of Dante's sources (Dinzelbacher 1976; Wahl 1977, 22–23). This is also a long form, like L, containing five additional passages, one of which is argued to be later than the 6th century. Dinzelbacher compared these three text forms, and argued for the priority of the Vatican manuscript (1976: 437). (4) A major reassessment is demanded, however, by the publication of the text of Vat. Barberini lat. 2318 (14th–15th century) by Bogaert (1984). This text is most important because it has additional material parallel to *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* and *Apoc. Sedr.* This makes *Vis. Ezra* a fuller text, comparable to both *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* and *Apoc. Sedr*. Bogaert suggests that the Barberini manuscript preserves a somewhat corrupted copy of the oldest form of *Vis. Ezra*. All other text forms, lacking the long ending, are secondary; the best of these is ms L. All the remaining text forms, including the shortest Vatican manuscript, derive from this.

*Vis. Ezra* was apparently originally written in Greek. This has been argued from its close relationship with *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* and *Apoc. Sedr.*, as well as on linguistic grounds. The matter merits some further investigation. The date of the work is uncertain, except to say that it is older than its oldest manuscript, which is of the 10/11th century. Mercati argued that it predates its two sister apocalypses, since it is far less dependent than they on the other Christian apocalypses (1901: 66). It seems, however, that this conclusion must be reassessed in light of the new text form.

On the basis of the previously known texts, although the existence of a relationship with the *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* and *Apoc. Sedr.* is commonly accepted, the exact nature of that relationship has resisted definition.

For example, Mercati saw *Vis. Ezra* at one end of a chain of development, followed in turn by *Apoc. Sedr.* and *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* (1901: 67–68). Himmelfarb regarded it as later than those works (1983: 165). In his study of the new manuscript, Bogaert asserted that this matter will now have to be reexamined (1984). The same is clearly true of the relationship between *Vis. Ezra* and *4 Ezra.*

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M. E. STONE

**EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOKS OF.** The name given to the unit composed of the OT books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

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A. Name
  1. 1 Esdras
  2. 2 Esdras
  3. 3 Esdras
  4. 4 Esdras
B. Canonicity
C. Extent of the Original Work
D. Date and Place of Authorship
E. Text
F. Sources
  1. Ezra 1–6
  2. The Ezra Memoir
  3. The Nehemiah Memoir
  4. Other Sources
G. Composition of Ezra-Nehemiah
  1. Ezra-Nehemiah as Distinct from 1 and 2 Chronicles
  2. Ezra-Nehemiah as Part of the Chronicler's History
H. Historical Problems
  1. Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel
  2. Date of Ezra and Nehemiah
  3. Ezra's Book of the Law
I. Outline of Ezra-Nehemiah
J. The Message of Ezra-Nehemiah
  1. Return from Exile and the Rebuilding of the Temple
  2. The Second Scene in Ezra-Nehemiah
  3. Nehemiah and the Rebuilding of the Walls
  4. Climax of the Work of Ezra and Nehemiah
  5. Final Acts of Nehemiah


———

**A. Name**

The books of Ezra and Nehemiah were originally considered a single literary work called Ezra. Although this work was separated into two books by Origen (3d century C.E.) and Jerome (4th century C.E.), the division does not appear in Hebrew Bibles before the 15th century, and even in modern Hebrew Bibles the *masora finalis* occurs only at the end of the twenty-three chapters of Ezra-Nehemiah. In addition to the canonical book, the following writings carry the name of Ezra (Esdras):

**1. 1 Esdras.** A Greek translation of 2 Chronicles 35–36; Ezra 1–10, and Neh 8:1–13, plus a major addition that is located at 1 Esdr 3:1–5:6 and lacks a counterpart in the Hebrew Bible, dealing with three royal pages, among whom is Zerubbabel, who debated before Darius to determine what is the strongest thing in the world. Zerubbabel won the contest by defending his nomination of "truth." In 1 Esdras the equivalent for Ezra 4:7–24 (1 Esdr 2:15–25) is placed before the supplementary wisdom tale (1 Esdr 3:1–5:6) and before the translation of Ezra 2:1–70 (1 Esdr 5:7–45). The work is also known as 3 Esdras in the Vg, where it appears in an appendix to the NT. The title 1 Esdras is used in the Vg for the canonical Ezra.

**2. 2 Esdras.** The translation of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah in the LXX; a few Greek manuscripts distinguish between Ezra and Nehemiah and call the latter III Esdras. The term 2 Esdras is used in the Vg for the canonical Nehemiah.

**3. 3 Esdras.** The name for 1 Esdras in the Vg.

**4. 4 Esdras.** The name in the Vg for the work called 2 Esdras in English bibles. Chaps. 3–14 are a Jewish apocalyptic work from late in the 1st century of the common era. Chapters 1–2 and 15–16, both Christian additions, are sometimes identified as 2 and 5 Esdras in late Latin manuscripts. Modern scholars usually designate chaps. 1–2 as *5 Ezra*, chaps. 3–14 as *4 Ezra*, and chaps. 15–16 as *6 Ezra.*

**B. Canonicity**

Ezra and Nehemiah consistently appear in all canonical lists of Judaism and of Western Christianity, though they and 1 and 2 Chronicles are lacking in lists of the Syrian church. In the Hebrew canon they are considered part of the Writings. In the Palestinian tradition, followed by Spanish Hebrew Bibles and the Aleppo Codex (10th century C.E.), the Writings begin with Chronicles and end with Ezra-Nehemiah; in the Babylonian Talmud, followed by German and French Hebrew manuscripts and modern printed Hebrew Bibles, the Writings end with Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles (Clines *Ezra Nehemiah Esther* NCBC, 2–3).

**C. Extent of the Original Work**

A principal issue in research on Ezra and Nehemiah is whether the books were once part of a longer Chronicler's history, or whether they formed from the beginning an independent work. The question has not been finally resolved in recent studies (see CHRONICLES, BOOK OF 1–2). The following discussion is presented in terms of diverse authorship.

**D. Date and Place of Authorship**

Because Ezra and Nehemiah recount the rebuilding of the Temple and the work of Ezra and Nehemiah after their return to Judah, it is universally granted that the books were composed in Palestine.

The date for the present shape of the books must be later than the events they recount: the dedication of the Temple in 515 B.C.E., the return of Ezra in 458 B.C.E. (or 398 B.C.E.; see H.2), and the governorship of Nehemiah, 445–433 B.C.E., and his second visit to Jerusalem, no later than 424 B.C.E. How many years elapsed after these dates until the basic shape of the books evolved depends on the compositional theory presupposed. Among recent commentators, Williamson (*Ezra Nehemiah* WBC, xxxvi) dates the final form of the books to about 300; Clines (*Ezra Nehemiah Esther* NCBC, 13–14) puts it "within a few decades" of the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, or about 400 B.C.E. Japhet (1982: 89, n. 55), who notes that the last king mentioned (in 12:26) is Darius II (423–404) or Artaxerxes II (403–359), if Ezra came during his reign, and who believes that the last high priest mentioned, Jaddua, served under these Persian kings, assigns the book to the first quarter of the 4th century.

**E. Text**

The principal textual witnesses, in addition to MT, are both in Greek: 1 Esdras, a paraphrastic rendering of the Hebrew-Aramaic text, and 2 Esdras, the formally equivalent, or literal, translation of Ezra and

Nehemiah in the LXX. The Syriac translation of Ezra-Nehemiah was not originally a part of the Peshitta, and no Targum exists for these books (cf. also Daniel). Little has been preserved from the Old Latin or from Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. 1 Esdras appears to be typologically older than 2 Esdras, and the Semitic text it presupposes is further removed from MT.

In almost seventy cases, a Hebrew or Aramaic expression omitted by 1 Esdras is also omitted by 2 Esdras (see CHRONICLES, BOOK OF 1–2), the Syriac, or, in 2 Chronicles 35 and 36, the corresponding text of the Deuteronomistic History. Nearly a score of conflations in MT can be detected on the basis of 1 Esdras. The use of double translations and hendiadys reveals an attempt to give a full representation of the Vorlage. Many other pluses in 1 Esdras result from bona fide Hebrew-Aramaic readings, some of which may be original readings and not expansions.

MT is mildly expansionistic. The text of 2 Esdras appears to have been edited incompletely toward the *kaige* recension (Klein 1966; on the term, see SEPTUAGINT, D.1.d).

**F. Sources**

**1. Ezra 1–6.** Williamson (1983) isolates the following sources that were available to the editor of Ezra 1–6: *1:2–4,* the decree of Cyrus; *1:9–11,* the inventory of Temple vessels; *2:1–3:1,* the list of those who returned from the Exile; *4:6, 7,* a Hebrew summary of two letters; *4:8–16,* a letter in Aramaic from Rehum to Artaxerxes; *4:17–22,* Artaxerxes' reply, in Aramaic; *5:6–17,* a letter from Tattenai to Darius, in Aramaic; *6:3–12,* Darius' reply, in Aramaic, including an Aramaic copy of the decree of Cyrus in vv 3–5.

The Hebrew copy of the decree of Cyrus (1:2–4) provides for the repatriation of the Jews in addition to the rebuilding of the Temple. Bickerman (1946: 253, 273–75) suggests that these verses are the Hebrew text of a herald's proclamation addressed to the Jews that was also designed to be posted in a public place. A number of scholars, however, argue that the narrator created the account of the decree in 1:2–4 on the basis of 6:3–5 (see Donner 1986: 409). The latter memorandum is almost universally held to be authentic today.

Williamson (*Ezra Nehemiah* WBC, 7) conjectures that the inventory of Temple vessels (1:9–11) was written in Aramaic.

There is no consensus on the original purpose of the list of returnees from the Exile (2:1–3:1). In its present context the list suggests that Zerubbabel replaced Sheshbazzar at an unspecified time. To Williamson (*Ezra Nehemiah* WBC, 31) it is a composite summary of a number of returns to Palestine during the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses. Galling (1951) thought it was drafted to offer proof to the Samarian adversaries (Ezra 5:3, 10) that the Jews had sufficient resources to rebuild the Temple. Hölscher (*Ezra Nehemiah* HSAT, 503–4) understood it as a Persian tax list; Alt (1934: 25–26) interpreted the list as determining the land rights of returning exiles; Albright (1963: 87, 110–11) proposed that it was a census of Judah from the time of Nehemiah. Mowinckel (1964a: 98–99) also believed it was a list of inhabitants of the province of Judah from a little after the time of Nehemiah.

Also controverted is the original location of this pericope within Ezra-Nehemiah. Williamson (29–31) argues extensively that Ezra 2 was copied from Nehemiah 7; hence the editor of Ezra 1–6 already knew the combined account of Ezra and Nehemiah. Noth, Kellermann, and Mowinckel, on the other hand, argue that the list had its original position at Ezra 2 and that its repetition in Nehemiah 7 was made subsequent to the editorial work of the Chronicler.

The two notices at 4:6, 7 summarize letters from Jewish adversaries in the time of Xerxes (4:6) and Artaxerxes (4:7). According to Clines (NCBC, 77), the latter letter was positive in its attitude toward the Jews.

The principal dispute about the letters of Rehum (4:8–16) is whether only the letters themselves were available as sources (so Williamson 1983: 16–23), or whether the correspondence had been woven together into an Aramaic Chronicle prior to its editing by the biblical writer (so Clines, p. 8; Gunneweg 1981: 150). De Vaux (1971) argues convincingly that the edicts of Cyrus and Darius in 6:3–12 are authentic.

**2. The Ezra Memoir.** The account of the activities of Ezra (here, conventionally, called his Memoir; abbreviated EM) contains narratives in the first person (7:27–9:15), as well as in the third person (Ezra

7:1–26; Neh 8, 9:1–5 [partim]). While the first-person narrative probably comes from Ezra himself, it is unclear whether the third-person perspective results from the recasting of Ezra's account by an editor (who was the Chronicler, according to Clines, p. 6) or whether there was an independent third-person source. Koch (1974: 177–78) finds an analogy to the alternation of third-person (7:1–26) and first-person (7:27–9:15) narrative in Egyptian biographical inscriptions; he attributes the return to the third-person perspective in Ezra 10 and Nehemiah 8 to the Chronicler.

The narrative in Nehemiah 8, the canonical text of which makes Ezra and Nehemiah contemporaries, is thought to have dealt originally only with Ezra and to have had an original location between Ezra 8 and Ezra 9 or after Ezra 10 (see G. below). The materials lying behind Neh 9:1–5, though not the present text itself, also seem to have had a different original setting (between Ezra 10:15 and 10:16 according to Williamson; after Ezra 10 according to Rudolph [HAT]). Clines assigns all of Nehemiah 9 to the Ezra Memoir and places it and Nehemiah 8 right after Ezra 8.

Within the Ezra material the following documents can be distinguished:

*7:12–26,* the Firman of Artaxerxes, an Aramaic document giving the Persian king's commission to Ezra. According to In der Smitten and Kellermann, this is virtually the only authentic document dealing with Ezra; the rest of the Ezra materials are assigned by them to the Chronicler or to later redactors. In der Smitten (1973: 11–21) identifies 7:14 and 7:20–24 as secondary, but regards 8:1–14 as material older than the Chronicler. Kellermann (1968b: 56–59) identifies 8:26–27 as possibly coming from a source prior to the Chronicler.

*8:1–14,* the list of those who returned with Ezra.

*10:8–43,* the list of those who had been involved in mixed marriages.

**3. The Nehemiah Memoir.** This first-person, autobiographical narrative (here, conventionally, called his Memoir; abbreviated NM) recounts events in which the author was personally involved. Because the author appeals to God to remember him and hear his prayer (5:19; 13:14, 22, 29, 31; cf. 6:9, 14), it must be considered in its present form as addressed in some sense to God. A number of formal analogies in ancient literature have been proposed (surveyed by Clines, pp. 4–5), among which are royal inscriptions, narrating the king's deeds in the first person, followed by a wish for good fortune and remembrance (Mowinckel); votive inscriptions (Sellin); biographical tomb inscriptions (von Rad); documents submitted for the defense in a lawsuit at the royal court (W. Erbt); reports to the king to safeguard the author from possible recriminations by opponents (M. Haller); and legal appeals to God against one's enemies; prayer of the falsely accused (Kellermann).

Though one or more of these forms may have been employed by Nehemiah, none of the proposals is completely satisfactory. For criticisms of the first five see Kellermann (1967: 76–84) and for criticism of Kellermann see Emerton (1972: 171–85).

The exact places where the NM breaks off and editorial work begins is in some dispute, though rarely is this a major interpretive problem. NM originally included the following passages:

*1:1–7:73a.* Contested passages within this unit include 3:1–32. This list of those involved with rebuilding the wall of Jerusalem and the sections to which they were assigned is usually included in NM (Mowinckel 1964a: 109–16 forms an exception), although there is debate whether Nehemiah himself composed it. Clines speaks of the possibility that it is an editorial addition though he holds it "reasonable" to regard Nehemiah as the original author (NCBC, 149). Williamson (p. 200) argues that Nehemiah himself did not write this chapter because its chronological standpoint is after the completion of the walls, because the account is in the third person, and because of the use of "nobles" for local leaders and a reference to Nehemiah as "their lord," but he sides with Kellermann (1967: 14–17) and others in maintaining that Nehemiah included it in the original NM.

Also contested is 5:14–19 (cf. 13:4–14, 15–22, 23–31). Williamson (xxiv–xxviii) assigns this paragraph to a second edition of NM. See the discussion of 13:4–31 below. 7:5b–72a (—Eng 73a) is the list of those returning from the Exile. This document stems from the early years of the restoration period. Those who include it in NM (e.g., Clines, Williamson) argue that Nehemiah could have used it in his genealogical determination of who was to be translocated to Jerusalem. Kellermann (1967: 23–26) denies the list and

the transitional verses 7:72a (—Eng 73b)–8:1a to both NM and to the Chronicler, assigning them both to a later redactor. He believes the Chronicler himself included this material in Ezra 2:1–3:1a.

*11:1–2.* These verses report the completion of the repopulation of Jerusalem, initiated by Nehemiah in chap. 7, but they are not in the first person and do not even mention Nehemiah. Clines (p. 211) holds that NM must have contained such an account while admitting that the wording may not be that of Nehemiah. Kellermann and Williamson deny the verses to NM.

*12:31–43.* These verses recount the dedication of the wall. Williamson believes that some of these verses stem from an alternate account and that only vv 31–32, 37–40, and 43 were in NM.

*13:4–31.* This description of activities during Nehemiah's second stay in Jerusalem is assigned by Williamson to a second edition of NM (cf. 5:14–19 above). He notes that there is a gap of twelve years between the account of the wall building and the items mentioned in chap. 13 dealing with Nehemiah's second stay in Jerusalem. All but one of the "remember" formulas (5:19; see the first paragraph under F. 3) refer to the later period and specifically to items also mentioned in chap. 10, which is historically later than chap. 13. He proposes that the first edition, written in Aramaic and without the prayers of 1:4–11, 3:36–37(—Eng4:4–5), and 6:14, was a report on Nehemiah's work on the walls composed a year or two after his arrival in Jerusalem. In the second edition, Nehemiah claimed credit for certain activities for which he was not being given adequate credit in the community. The hypothesis of two editions is then used to explain the hybrid character of the document's genre. Kellermann (1967: 56) retains 13:4–31 in the NM though he identifies a number of late glosses (13:ab*b*, 6b, 7b*b*, 10b*b*, 22a, 23b, 24b, 29b*b*).

**4. Other Sources.** Williamson believes that there were a number of documents from the Temple archives that were favorable to the reforms of Nehemiah though they showed less allegiance than the NM to Nehemiah himself. These included, in addition to Neh 3:1–32 and 11:1–2 mentioned above, 10:1, 29–40(—Eng9:38, 10:28–39) (a pledge by the people to live in accord with the law of Moses and touching on many of the issues in the account of Nehemiah's reforms in Nehemiah 13; Clines would add to this source the list of those who signed the pledge, 10:2–28[—Eng10:1–27]); 11:4b–20 (a list of those who settled in Jerusalem); 12:27–43 (this account of the dedication of the walls is a mixture of the archival source and the NM); and 13:1–3 (a narrative of how the people themselves separated out from Israel all those who are of mixed descent; Talmon [*IDBSup,* 326–27] inserts this passage after Neh 9:1).

The materials in 11:21–36 (a list of the settlements of Judah and Benjamin not including Jerusalem) and 12:1–26 (lists of priests and Levites from various periods) were added at a very late time to Ezra-Nehemiah.

**G. Composition of Ezra-Nehemiah**

**1. Ezra-Nehemiah as Distinct from 1 and 2 Chronicles.** The composition of Ezra-Nehemiah consisted of the editing of previously available sources; the process may have taken place in two or more stages. Several recent proposals have been made. Williamson proposes that EM and NM were combined about the year 400 B.C.E into a work that juxtaposed the lives of the two great leaders of the restoration and brought their careers to a climax in Nehemiah 8–10. The editor began with Ezra 7–8, 9–10, part of which he recast from its original, first-person form. This editor was also responsible for moving Nehemiah 8 from its original position after Ezra 8 and Neh 9:1–5 from its original position between Ezra 10:15 and 10:16. In the latter case he recast and expanded 9:1–5 and added to it the prayer in vv 6–37 which was known to him from contemporary liturgical sources (WBC, xxxii). Neh 10:1, 29–40 was added from the Temple archives though the editor expanded it with a list of participants to show the participation of the whole community in the pledge. The editor concluded his presentation with 11:1–2, 4b–20, supplemented with 11:3–4a, a report of the repopulation of Jerusalem, drawn from the temple archives; 12:27–43, a description of the dedication of the walls made up of a combination of materials from NM and the Temple archives; 12:44–47, the editor's own composition dealing with tithes and offerings; 13:1–3, an archival record dealing with separation of the people from foreigners; and 13:4–31, which, together with 5:14–19, had been added to the NM in a second edition. A later hand added 11:21–12:36. Since the last high priest mentioned is Johanan, who served near the end of the 5th century (Jaddua

is dismissed as a later gloss), the materials from Ezra and Nehemiah would have been combined by about 400 B.C.E.

This document, basically Ezra 7:1–Neh 13:31, lay before the editor who put together Ezra 1–6. He worked with the sources identified above and his knowledge of other relevant biblical literature (especially Haggai and Zechariah 1–8) to show that the Jerusalem Temple of his day and its cult were the legitimate successors of preexilic Israel (the comparison of the Second with the First Temple in Ezra 3 is dependent on the books of Chronicles; see Williamson 1983: 26–29). Williamson sees the purpose of Ezra 1–6 as a polemic against the building of the first Samaritan temple on Mount Garizim.

**2. Ezra-Nehemiah as Part of the Chronicler's History.**

F. M. Cross (1975: 13–18) proposed a three-stage development: Chr 1, Chr 2, Chr 3.

Chr 1: [1 Chronicles 1–9], 1 Chronicles 10–2 Chronicles 34, 2 Chronicles 35–Ezra 3:13 (520–515 B.C.E.); thus without material about Ezra or Nehemiah. Originally Cross did not include most of the genealogies in 1 Chronicles 1–9 in Chr 1 (cf. McKenzie 1984: 30, n. 32).

Chr 2: [1 Chronicles 1–9], 1 Chronicles 10–2 Chronicles 34, 2 Chronicles 35:1–36:23; Ezra 1–Nehemiah 8 and the story of Zerubbabel's wisdom and piety now present only in 1 Esdr 3:1–5:6 (450 B.C.E.); thus including the Ezra tradition.

Chr 3: 1–2 Chronicles; Ezra-Nehemiah (400 B.C.E.); Nehemiah tradition added and other editing; wisdom tale about Zerubbabel dropped (1 Esdr 3:1–5:6).

Ulrich Kellermann (1967: 68) concentrated on the Ezra and Nehemiah materials, with little attention to Ezra 1–6. The only Ezra materials available for the Chronicler according to him were 7:12–23, 26, and possibly 8:26–27. The Chronicler supplied most of the rest of the Ezra materials in attempt to portray Ezra as parallel to and even superior to Nehemiah. The passages he assigns to the Ezra and Nehemiah sources, to the Chronicler, and to an even later redaction are laid out in table form in Kellermann (1968b: 56).

Clines (pp. 9–12) assumes that the Chronicler was the editor of Ezra and Nehemiah, although he acknowledges the divergent positions of Williamson and Japhet. He proposes that this editor transposed Nehemiah 8 and 9 from their original location in the EM, the most dramatic change from his sources, in order to emphasize that it was an obedient and repentant community that Nehemiah brought to inhabit Jerusalem (11:1). He believes that the Chronicler composed Neh 12:27–30, 44–47, and 13:1–3, but remains undecided on whether 11:1–3 and 11:13–19 were part of NM. Like Williamson, he assigns 11:20–36 and 12:1–26 to a very late redaction. Unlike Williamson, Clines does not propose an intermediate state in which EM and NM were combined prior to their inclusion in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

## H. Historical Problems

**1. Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel.** According to Ezra, Sheshbazzar was prince (1:8; Hebrew) and governor (5:14; Aramaic) of Judah. Appointed by Cyrus and entrusted with the return of the Temple vessels (1:7–11), he laid the foundation (that is, repaired the platform or podium?) of the Temple (5:14–16).

Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel (Ezra 3:2, 8; 5:2; Neh 12:1), on the other hand, replaced Sheshbazzar, perhaps early in the restoration period (Ezra 2:2), and it was during his tenure that the Temple was founded (Ezra 3:10–12; cf. 5:2).

These data are difficult to harmonize, and they also stand in tension with material outside Ezra-Nehemiah. Though Zerubbabel is also called the son of Shealtiel in Haggai (1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 23), a genealogy in 1 Chr 3:17–24 makes him the son of Shealtiel's younger brother Pedaiah. Perhaps Pedaiah was his physical father and Shealtiel his legal father by Levirate marriage, but this genealogy in any case does make Zerubbabel a descendant of the Davidic line (cf. Hag 2:23; Zech 3:8). The silence about the royal ancestry of Zerubbabel in Ezra may reflect the book's anti-eschatological stance, which was receptive to Persian domination and which had no salvific hope tied to the house of David (Japhet 1982: 75–76). The Bible nowhere identifies the ancestry of Sheshbazzar, and recent studies (Berger 1971) have undermined the proposed identification of him with Shenazzar (1 Chr 3:18), a descendant of David.

Japhet (1982: 96) nevertheless argues for his Davidic origins and deems the silence about this in Ezra-Nehemiah ideological. She even holds that Sheshbazzar may have been a son of Jehoiachin.

Zerubbabel is called "governor" in Haggai (1:1, 14; 2:2, 21), but not in Ezra (but see 2:63 and 6:7; cf. Neh 7:65, 69[—Eng 701]). Albrecht Alt (1934) contended that the use of the "governor" for predecessors of Nehemiah (Neh 5:14–15) was inexact and that Judah was part of the province of Samaria until the coming of Nehemiah in the mid-5th century (cf. McEvenue 1981: 363; contra Smith 1971: 196). It seems difficult to deny, however, that Nehemiah referred to predecessors of his as provincial governors (Clines, 171; Williamson, 242–44; note the anonymous governor referred to in the 5th-century book of Malachi [1:8]). Avigad's attempt (1976: 35; cf. *IDBSup,* 327) to reconstruct a list of such governors of Judah from the 6th–5th centuries is unsuccessful because a number of the names in question are actually the names of potters rather than governors (Cross 1969: 24). It is unclear whether the Hebrew title "prince of Judah" given to Sheshbazzar (Ezra 1:8) is to be equated with the Aramaic term "governor" that is also applied to him (5:14; so Japhet 1982: 97–98) or whether the title "prince of Judah" is merely one of the New Exodus motifs incorporated into the account of the first return (so Williamson WBC, 17–18). In the final analysis, it is almost impossible to decide whether either title is used in the technical sense of a governor of a province of the Persian Empire as early as the time of Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel. Almost all are agreed, of course, that Nehemiah was a governor in the strict sense of the term (for a refutation of the contrary opinion of Robert North, see Klein 1976: 365).

The exact date of the end of Sheshbazzar's tenure and of the beginning of Zerubbabel's is unclear from Ezra. Haggai and Zechariah seem to know of no work on the Temple before the time of Darius I (cf. Ezra 5:2), when the foundations of the Temple were laid (Hag 2:18–19; cf. Ezra 3:10–12). Williamson, who belives that Zerubbabel succeeded Sheshbazzar early in the restoration period, explains the reference to Sheshbazzar founding the Temple (Ezra 5:16) as an exaggeration by the Jews in their letter to the Persian court, designed to show that the decree of Cyrus had not been ignored. He also sees a chronological gap between the building of the altar in Ezra 3:1–6, shortly after the decree of Cyrus and under the leadership of Jeshua and Zerubbabel, and the laying of the foundations in 3:8–13, under the same leadership, in the time of Darius I (cf. 4:4–5; Zech 4:6–10). Halpern believes that Sheshbazzar laid the foundations of the Temple in 538 (he, too, concedes that the claim to uninterrupted activity from 538 on [Ezra 5:16] is hyperbole), and that the building of the altar (3:1–6) and the (renewed) laying of the foundations (3:7–13) were done 18 years later, under Darius I, by Zerubbabel and Jeshua. In his view, Sheshbazzar's preliminary work would have needed to be repeated at the later date. Others lessen the conflict between 3:10–12 and 5:16 by translating the references to the Temple's "foundation" in Ezra 3:10–12 as descriptions of the Temple's being "repaired" (Clines NCBC, 69; Ackroyd *CHJ* 1: 139).

**2. Date of Ezra and Nehemiah.** According to the present text of Ezra-Nehemiah, Ezra came to Jerusalem in 458 B.C.E. (Ezra 7:7–8, the 7th year of Artaxerxes) and Nehemiah in 445 B.C.E. (Neh 1:1; 2:1; 5:14, the 20th year of Artaxerxes). Nehemiah's first stay in Jerusalem lasted 12 years, to 433 B.C.E. (Neh 5:14; 13:6), with a second stay at an unknown time and of unknown duration (but before the end of Artaxerxes' reign in 424). In 445 Ezra read the law at a public ceremony at which Nehemiah was also present (v 9). All of these dates assume that the Artaxerxes to whose reign the chronology of both Ezra and Nehemiah is correlated is Artaxerxes I (465–424). In the case of Nehemiah the correlation seems confirmed by one of the Elephantine papyri (AP 30), which shows that by 407 B.C.E. the Samaritan governor Sanballat, Nehemiah's implacable foe, was an old man whose duties were being handled by his sons Delaiah and Shelemaiah. The papyrus also shows that the high priest in 407 was Johanan, presumably the second successor of Eliashib, the high priest at the time of Nehemiah.

The difficulty with this chronology is threefold (Clines, p. 16). With the exception of Neh 8:9 (the reading of the law) 12:26 (a note correlating Nehemiah and Ezra—in that order—with the high priest Joiakim), and 12:36 (the dedication of the walls), the two men are never mentioned together; they ignore one another completely. Since their powers and responsibilities are so similar, it seems unlikely that they would have played their respective roles in the Jewish community at the same time. Finally, Ezra, who came to implement and teach the law at the direction of Artaxerxes, did not hold the public law-reading

ceremony recounted in Nehemiah 8 until 13 years after his arrival, which seems like an excessively long delay. (For 15 arguments customarily advanced in favor of this traditional date, see Kellermann 1968b: 73–75).

Three alternate modern chronological understandings have attempted to meet these objections. The first (associated with the names of Ackroyd, Bowman, Emerton, Galling, Rowley, von Hoonacker, Widengren and others) understands the Artaxerxes of Ezra to be Artaxerxes II (404–358), with a consequent dating of Ezra to 398. (Kellermann [1968b: 67–71] provides a list of 22 arguments often advanced in favor of this date.) While this solution involves no emendations of the figures given in the Hebrew Bible, it deletes the references which present Ezra and Nehemiah as contemporaries (probably correctly), and assumes (probably incorrectly) that the author who combined the Ezra and Nehemiah materials reversed the historical sequence of the two men despite the fact that Nehemiah antedated Ezra by nearly 50 years. Bright (*BHI*, 399) argues against this chronology because it suggests that Ezra stayed in the room of Jehohanan, the son of Eliashib (Ezra 10:6) even though Johanan (Joannes) had murdered his brother Jesus before 398 according to Josephus. But Josephus' negative interpretation of this event may not be the whole story. Johanan may have killed his brother because he saw in him a would-be usurper (Emerton 1966: 12). In addition, the murder may have happened at a later date (Mowinckel 1964a: 161; Saley [1978: 156–58] dates this incident about 350–340, during the reign of Artaxerxes III!).

A second alternative chronology changes the date of Ezra's arrival to 428 B.C.E. by emending the text of Ezra 7:7–8 to the 37th, instead of the present 7th, year of Artaxerxes. (For a list of 11 positive arguments for this date, see Kellermann 1968b: 75–77). This view, popularized in the United States through the influential history of John Bright (*BHI*, 391–402), is based on a very questionable emendation (Emerton 1966: 18–19) and leaves unexplained why there is so little organic relationship between these contemporary leaders of the postexilic community.

A third alternative leaves the dates of Ezra at 458 and of Nehemiah at 445, but transfers Ezra's public reading of the law to the first year after his arrival in Jerusalem by placing Nehemiah 8 immediately after Ezra 8 (Williamson WBC, 286; Talmon *IDBSup*, 325 includes both Nehemiah 8 and 9 at this position) or immediately after Ezra 10 (cf. Mowinckel 1965: 7–11; Pohlmann 1970: 127–48; cf. 1 Esdras). An editor later moved Nehemiah 8 to its present position in order to create a liturgical sequence of Nehemiah 8, reading of the law; Nehemiah 9, public repentance, and Nehemiah 10, undertaking of a covenant pledge.

According to this reconstruction, Ezra began his journey from Babylon to Jerusalem on month 1, day 1 (Ezra 7:9) or month 1, day 12 (Ezra 8:31) of the 7th year of Artaxerxes (= 458 B.C.E.) and arrived in Jerusalem on month 5, day 1 of the same year (Ezra 7:8–9). If Nehemiah 8 belongs historically after Ezra 8, the public reading of the law took place on month 7, day 1 (Neh 8:2). The public assembly called to deal with the problem of mixed marriages came together on month 9, day 20 (Ezra 10:9) and the commission appointed to resolve this problem completed its work on month 1, day 1 of the 8th year of Artaxerxes (Ezra 10:17). Thus, the activities attributed to Ezra in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah were completed in a single year. It is possible that the return from exile and the attempted, but unsuccessful, rebuilding of the walls, during the reign of Artaxerxes I (Ezra 4:12), is an allusion to the work of Ezra.

Several objections have been raised to this interpretation (these objections and other less serious ones are discussed by Clines, pp. 17–20). According to Ezra 10:1, Ezra found many people in Jerusalem, but it was underpopulated in the time of Nehemiah (Neh 7:4; 11:1–2). We cannot be sure what caused the depletion of population at Nehemiah's time; perhaps there had been some kind of disaster in the intervening period.

A second objection notes that the reforms of Nehemiah (Nehemiah 13) would not have been necessary if Ezra had brought about popular acceptance of the law. But in the 25 years between Ezra's arrival and the end of Nehemiah's first stay in Jerusalem, there would have been ample time for abuses to develop. In addition, Nehemiah seems to be dealing with abuses against an already accepted way of life, thus actually presupposing that Ezra had implemented the requirements of the Torah in daily life.

The wall that Ezra finds in Ezra 9:9 would seem at first to demand a date for his career subsequent to the arrival of Nehemiah, but the term "wall" may be metaphorical (the RSV translates it as "protection")

and in any case the wall is not the city wall reconstructed by Nehemiah, but a wall "in Judea [!] and Jerusalem."

The most serious objection to this chronology involves the difficulty of correlating it to the sequence of contemporary high priests. According to Ezra 10:6, Ezra went to the chamber of Jehohanan the son of Eliashib. If this Jehohanan is the same as the high priest Johanan, grandson of Eliashib, then this incident would have to be dated later than Nehemiah, because Eliashib was clearly the high priest in Nehemiah's time (Neh 3:1, 20–21; 13:4, 7, 28). Three ways out of this difficulty have been pursued. First, Ezra 10:6 does not indicate that Jehohanan and Eliashib were high priests. The names are relatively common, and the relationship of Jehohanan to Eliashib (son-father) is different from that of Johanan to Eliashib in the high priestly line (grandson-grandfather; Neh 12:22, but see 12:23). Secondly, the name Jehohanan may not have been associated with this room until the time of the person who edited the Ezra and Nehemiah materials. It was this editor who called the name of the room according to its contemporary designation and thus reveals only that he lived after the time of Nehemiah, a chronological sequence which is sure in any case.

A third way out of this difficulty is to suppose that the line of high priests found in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah is defective. That line includes Jeshua (high priest at the time of the Temple building), Joiakim, Eliashib, Joiada, Jonathan (=?Johanan; cf. Neh 12:22; Williamson [p. 363] makes Jonathan a nephew of Johanan and his successor), and Jaddua (Neh 12:10–11).

Cross (1975: 10–11, 17), on the supposition that papponomy (the naming of a baby after his grandfather; see Sanballat II in the Samaria Papyri) was used within the high priestly line, conjectures that an Eliashib [I] and a Johanan [I] should be inserted before the Eliashib [II] listed in Neh 12:10 (cf. the list in *IDBSup,* 327). Thus Ezra would have functioned during the high priesthood of Johanan I, and it was to the latter's room that Ezra repaired in Ezra 10:6. The Eliashib who served as high priest during the governorship of Nehemiah must, therefore, be called Eliashib II. Critics of the Cross solution have pointed out that there is no necessary reason to conclude that papponomy was practiced at this point in the high priestly line, that the relationship between Joiakim and Eliashib I that Cross proposes (brothers) is contradicted in Neh 12:10–11, which makes Eliashib I the son of Joiakim, and that the chronological difficulties with the list of the high priests in Neh 12:10–11 and 22–23 are not as severe as Cross implies.

While the correlation between Ezra and the high priestly line remains the greatest difficulty in dating Ezra to 458, one or more of the three solutions above, dealing with the reference to the chamber of Jehohanan son of Eliashib, would still make it possible to retain the traditional early date for Ezra.

Either 458 or 398 is a possible date for the arrival of Ezra, but the former date seems more probable since it agrees with the seqence of Ezra and Nehemiah presupposed in the present text of Ezra 7–Nehemiah 13. Nehemiah's handling of mixed marriages also seems to presuppose the more general solution effected by Ezra and utilizes the type of hermeneutical approach Ezra employed in Ezra 9:1–2 (Williamson, p. xliii). Whichever date is selected, the text of Neh 8:9, suggesting that the men were contemporaries (cf. 12:26) is to be viewed as secondary calculation. It is not impossible, of course, that Ezra could have taken part in the procession at the dedication of the walls (12:36) as a private, if prominent, citizen.

Saley proposed (1978), with great caution, a unique chronology, placing Nehemiah into the time of Artaxerxes II. Like Cross he adds an additional Eliashib and Johanan to the line of high priests and identifies Nehemiah's high priest with Eliashib II. For him, contrary to Cross, this Eliashib served in the 4th century and the opponent of Nehemiah was Sanballat II, who appears elsewhere only in the Samaria Papyri. But the line of high priests he reconstructs would require a number of very long lives since Eliashib II (ca. 380) is only the fourth in succession after Jeshua (ca. 520). In addition, Nehemiah's enemy Sanballat is called the Horonite (2:10, 19), and this lack of a patronymic might suggest that he is the first in his line rather than the second. Nehemiah's other foe, Geshem, is also most easily dated to the 5th century (*IDBSup,* 320). Kellermann (1968b: 87) argues for a date about 448 for Ezra, but his position is weakened by his drastic reduction of material he considers authentic in the Ezra materials. See G.2 above.

**3. Ezra's Book of the Law.** Much attention has been focused on the "book of the law" of which Ezra was a scribe (Ezra 7:6, 12, 21). Artaxerxes sent Ezra to make inquiries on the basis of this law (Ezra 7:14) and to teach it to those who did not know it (Ezra 7:25). The Ezra story concludes with his festive reading from the law (Nehemiah 8). The Bible says nothing about Ezra writing or compiling this book, and the text seems to presuppose that it was already known before Ezra's arrival (cf. Ezra 7:25; but see Koch 1974: 182–83). Since the law is identified as the law of Moses in Ezra 7:6 and Neh 8:1; 13:1, the present text of Ezra-Nehemiah suggests that this law was the Pentateuch.

Numerous modern scholars have shared this opinion (e.g., Wellhausen, H. H. Schaeder, Galling, Mowinckel, and Albright). Others thought the law book of Ezra was only the priestly writing (A. Kuenen, H.-J. Kraus; Vink 1969: 63; for a discussion of the latter see Klein 1976: 367), a more or less undefined group of laws now included in the Pentateuch (e.g., Noth, von Rad, W. Rudolph), or some form of Deuteronomy (e.g., Bowman, Kellermann; the latter [1968a] believes that the P source was only a narrative and did not contain legal materials). Koch (1974: 181) finds no sure trace of D in Ezra's actions.

Most conclude that a law which proved so crucial in the restoration community would not be lost and therefore must be somewhere in the present canon. Texts like Ezra 9:2 seem to allude to Deuteronomy (7:1, 3; 23:3) while Neh 8:14–15 is best construed as an interpretation of Deut 16:15 and Lev 23:33–43. Hence a restriction of the law book to either D material alone or P material is unlikely. Since Ezra-Nehemiah is not explicit about the extent of this law book in any case, one's view of its identity may be colored by one's view of the composition history of the Pentateuch. If the Pentateuch was complete by the time of Ezra, there seems to be no reason to deny that his law book was the Pentateuch in its present form, or something very much like it.

Rendtorff (1984) distinguishes between the law (Heb *dat*), referred to in the Aramaic text of Ezra 7:12–26 and the Torah referred to in Ezra 7:6, 10; 10:3 and extensively in Nehemiah 8. In his view Ezra's law dealt only with legal issues and was given royal sanction in 7:12–26. The law of Nehemiah 8 was the Pentateuch, to be sure, but this narrative reflects only contemporary worship practices, especially the synagogal reading of Scripture, and has nothing to do with the commission of Ezra. He presupposes, therefore, that the law of Ezra has been lost and that the editor of the text (the Chronicler) misunderstood what this law was. Both of these presuppositions seem unlikely.

C. Houtman (1981) notices that there are discrepancies between the laws cited in Ezra (6:18) and Nehemiah (8:14–15; chap. 10; 13:1–3) and the text of the Pentateuch and concludes that Ezra had a law book with a character of its own which has not been transmitted to us. He points to the recently discovered Temple Scroll as an analogous collection. But the Temple Scroll's laws in the first person may not be an adequate analogy and the discrepancies between Ezra-Nehemiah and the Pentateuch may result either from an ancient, less precise manner of citation or from Ezra's interpretation of the ancient laws to meet the needs of his day (Williamson, pp. xxxviii–xxxix; summaries of the history of research in Donner 1986: 428–30; Houtman 1981; Kellermann 1968a; Klein 1976: 366–68).

**I. Outline of Ezra-Nehemiah**

I. Return from Exile and Rebuilding of the Temple (Ezra 1–6)
- A. Cyrus Grants Permission for Jews to Return and Rebuild Temple; Temple Vessels Entrusted to Sheshbazzar (Ezra 1)
- B. A List of Those Who Returned with Zerubbabel from the Captivity (Ezra 2)
- C. Jeshua and Zerubbabel Rebuild Altar in Seventh Month (Ezra 3:1–6)
- D. Foundation of Temple Laid in Second Year of Their Coming to the House of God (Ezra 3:7–13)
- E. Adversaries' Offer to Assist with Temple Refused (Ezra 4:1–3)
- F. Oppostion of People of the Land Prevented Building until Time of Darius (Ezra 4:4–5)
- G. Summary of Accusatory Letter in Time of Ahasuerus (Xerxes) (Ezra 4:6)
- H. Summary of Letter (Against the Jews) in Time of Artaxerxes (Ezra 4:7)
- I. Aramaic Narrative (Ezra 4:8–6:18)
  - 1. The Incident with Rehum and Shimshai (Ezra 4:8–4:24)
    - a. Introduction of Letter of Rehum and Shimshai to Artaxerxes (Ezra 4:8–10)

b. Letter to Artaxerxes Reporting Jewish Rebellion (Ezra 4:11–16)
c. Artaxerxes' Reply Forbidding Rebuilding of City (Ezra 4:17–22)
d. Rehum and Shimshai Make Jews Cease Their Building (Ezra 4:23)
e. Repetitive Resumption Linking to 4:5 (Ezra 4:24)

2. The Incident with Tattenai and Shetharbozenai (Ezra 5:1–6:15)
a. Inquiry about Rebuilding of Temple (Ezra 5:1–5)
b. Introduction of Letter to Darius (Ezra 5:6–7a)
c. Letter of Tattenai and Shetharbozenai to Darius (Ezra 5:7b–17), Including a Jewish Message in vv 11–16
d. Introduction to Reply by Darius (Ezra 6:1–2)
e. Reply by Darius (Ezra 6:3–12), Including a Quotation of Decree by Cyrus in vv 3–5
f. Work on Temple Completed (Ezra 6:13–15)
g. Dedication of Temple (Ezra 6:16–18)

J. Celebration of Passover in Response to Completion of Temple (Ezra 6:19–22)

II. The Initial Work of Ezra (Ezra 7–10)
A. Ezra Returns in Seventh Year of Artaxerxes—Narrative in Third Person (Ezra 7:1–10)
B. Introduction to Artaxerxes' Commission (Ezra 7:11)
C. Commissioning Letter (in Aramaic) (Ezra 7:12–26)
D. First Person Narrative about Ezra (Ezra 7:27–9:15)
1. Doxology (Ezra 7:27–28)
2. List of Those Who Returned with Ezra (Ezra 8:1–14)
3. Ezra's Trip to Jerusalem (Ezra 8:15–36)
4. Crisis Arises over Mixed Marriages (Ezra 9:1–5)
5. Ezra's Prayer (Ezra 9:6–15)
E. Third Person Narrative about Ezra (Ezra 10:1–44)
1. Covenant to Put Away Wives and Children; Assembly on Month 9, Day 20; Commission Appointed on Month 10, Day 1 to Handle the Task; Work Completed on Month 1, Day 1 (Ezra 10:1–17)
2. List of Those Who Put Away Foreign Wives and Children (Ezra 10:18–44)

III. Return of Nehemiah and Rebuilding of Walls of Jerusalem (Neh 1:1–7:72a [—Eng 7:73a])
A. Nehemiah Hears of Wall's Destruction; Offers Confessional Prayer (Nehemiah 1)
B. Artaxerxes Authorizes Nehemiah to Return and Rebuild Wall (Neh 2:1–10)
C. Nocturnal Inspection of Wall (Neh 2:11–15)
D. Nehemiah Invites Jews to Rebuild; Opposed by Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem (Neh 2:16–20)
E. List of Those Who Worked on the Wall (Nehemiah 3)
F. Ridicule by Sanballat and Tobiah; Imprecation by Nehemiah (Neh 3:33–37 [—Eng 4:1–5])
G. People Assigned to Work on Walls and to Guard Duty (Neh 3:38–4:17 [—Eng 4:6–23])
H. Socioeconomic Problems during Wall Building (Neh 5:1–13)
I. Nehemiah's Generosity; His Declination of Governor's Allowance (Neh 5:14–19)
J. Nehemiah Avoids Plots by Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem and by the prophets Shemaiah and Noadiah (Neh 6:1–14)
K. Completion of Wall in 52 Days (25th day of Elul); Further Conflict with Tobiah (Neh 6:15–19)
L. Nehemiah Makes Plans to Repopulate Jerusalem (Neh 7:1–5)
M. A List of Those Who Returned with Zerubbabel from Captivity (Neh 7:6–72a [—Eng 73a] = Ezra 2:1–70)

IV. The Climax of the Work of Ezra and Liturgical Responses (Neh 7:72b [—Eng 7:73b]–Neh 10:40 [—Eng 39])
A. Ezra Publicly Reads Law on Month 7, Day 1 (Neh 7:72b [—Eng 7:73b]–8:12)
B. Celebration of Feast of Booths (Neh 8:13–18)
C. National Mourning on Twenty-Fourth Day (Neh 9:1–5a)

D. Confessional Prayer (by Levites?) (Neh 9:5b–37)
E. A Pledge by the Community to Keep God's Law (Neh 10:1–40 [—Eng 9:38–10:39]; cf. Neh 13:10–31); List of Those Who Signed Pledge (Neh 10:2–28 [—Eng 10:1–27])

V. Further Acts of Nehemiah; Related Matters (Neh 11:1–13:31)
A. People Cast Lots to Increase Population of Jerusalem (Neh 11:1–2)
B. List of Residents in Jerusalem (Neh 11:3–24)
C. List of Other Dwelling Places (Neh 11:25–36)
D. List of Priests and Levites at time of Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Neh 12:1–9)
E. List of High Priests from Jeshua to Jaddua (Neh 12:10–11)
F. List of Priests and Levites from Time of Joiakim (Neh 12:12–26)
G. Dedication of Wall of Jerusalem (Neh 12:27–43)
H. Supervisors of Contributions Appointed (Neh 12:44–47)
I. Separation from Foreigners (Neh 13:1–3)
J. Reforms during Nehemiah's Second Term in Jerusalem (Neh 13:4–31)
1. Misuse of Temple Chambers (Neh 13:4–9)
2. Provisions for Levites (Neh 13:10–14; cf. 10:38–40 [—Eng 37–39])
3. The Sabbath Day (Neh 13:15–22; cf. Neh 10:32 [—Eng 10:31])
4. Intermarriage with Foreigners (Neh 13:23–30a; cf. 10:31 [—Eng 10:30])
5. Duties of Priests and Levites (Neh 13:30b)
6. Wood Offering and First Fruits (Neh 13:31; cf. 10:35–37 [—Eng 10:34–36])

**J. The Message of Ezra-Nehemiah**

In addition to the valuable historical data supplied in Ezra-Nehemiah, the canonical form of these books also conveys an important theological message, which may be summarized as follows (see also the accounts of the canonical form of Ezra-Nehemiah by Childs, Eskenazi, Gunneweg, Williamson):

**1. Return from Exile and the Rebuilding of the Temple.** At the beginning (1:1–3) and end (6:22) of this section, the text asserts that Yahweh had brought about both the return of the exiles to Judah and Jerusalem and the rebuilding of the Temple through the favorable actions of the Persian kings toward Israel. Cyrus' own decree permitted the rebuilding of the Temple and the restoration of its vessels (6:5), and Darius reinforced these privileges and added to them a curse against any who would attempt to countermand them (6:6–12). The Persian authorization to rebuild includes not only the work on the Temple, fostered by Cyrus and Darius, but also, because of the mention of Artaxerxes in 6:14, the rebuilding of the walls as well (the term "house of God" in Ezra-Nehemiah may include both the temple and the refortification of the city).

The book seems to foster a collaborative attitude toward the Persians, or at least a resignation to the status quo (perhaps an argument against the late date for these chapters advocated by Williamson), and this may explain the absence of any reference to the Davidic ancestry of Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel, and the failure to refer to the governors of Judah except in materials drawn from the author's sources, both of which might lead to a more eschatological or revolutionary orientation (Japhet 1982). The work of Cyrus fulfills the prophecy of Jeremiah (1:1), and contemporary prophets like Haggai and Zechariah merely encourage the Temple building (Ezra 5:2; 6:14) without setting forth any additional eschatological promises.

The community in Jerusalem is made up of those who returned from the Exile (2:1–70) and who constitute the true Israel (note the 12 leaders mentioned in 2:2, with Nahamani restored from Neh 7:7 and 1 Esdras). In order to maintain continuity with the great preexilic traditions, the totality of the Temple vessels, captured by Nebuchadnezzar, is returned to Jerusalem through the agency of Sheshbazzar (1:7–11; 5:14–15; 6:5; cf. Ackroyd 1972: 178), and both altar (3:3) and Temple (6:7) are reerected on their former sites. The return from the Exile (1:6) and the rebuilding of the Temple (3:7–13) show similarities to accounts of the first Exodus and the construction of the First Temple respectively. The celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles after the completion of the altar (3:4–5) anticipates the joyful dedication of the Temple (6:16–18) and the equally joyful observation of the Passover a few months thereafter (6:19–22).

The reason for the delay in the completion of the Temple is not blamed on the people's concern for their own comforts (as in Hag 1:4), but on the actions of the enemies of Judah and Benjamin, the people of the land, who persistently opposed the work in Jerusalem and disheartened the people (3:3; 4:1–24) and who later enlisted Artaxerxes I in their efforts to stop the building of the walls (4:21–22). The laying of the foundation for the Temple was a time for rejoicing, but also a time for weeping when the foundation was compared with the First Temple by older members of the community. The great noise produced by these emotions (3:13) was heard by the adversaries, and it spurred them on to a deceptive offer to help with the Temple building. Their opposition in the days of Cyrus (3:1–6) had already prevented further work on the Temple until the time of Darius (3:7–13; see the summary notation in 4:4–5 and *IDBSup,* 322).

**2. The Second Scene in Ezra-Nehemiah.** This scene (Ezra 7–10) is formed by the initial activities of Ezra some 58 years later. Like Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel, he, too, led a group of exiles home (8:1–14; 8:15–34). His lineage is traced back to Aaron, the high priest (7:1–5), and his own attitude toward the law parallels that of Moses (7:10). The authority of the law is underscored by the firman of Artaxerxes (7:12–26), which commanded Ezra to lead Jews to Jerusalem (7:13), deliver gifts offered by the Persian authorities and by the people to the Temple (7:15–18), make inquiry about conformity to the law in Judah and Jerusalem (7:14; 10:16–17), and appoint magistrates and judges to teach the law (7:25; cf. Nehemiah 8). Blenkinsopp finds an analogy to the mission of Ezra in the work of a contemporary Egyptian scribe and priest, Udjahorresne.

After the leaders reported their concern about the problem of mixed marriages (9:1–5), the prayer of Ezra in 9:6–15 made clear that the community was not yet the complete embodiment of Yahweh's will since it was still under bondage to Persian power. Still, Yahweh's love for the community precisely in these circumstances was considered as a sign of his favor and evidence for hope of a little reviving (Ezra 9:8–9). Ezra articulated the people's confession of sin because of their intermarriage with foreigners (9:10–15), a fault deemed doubly shameful because they had sought a link with the surrounding powers from which every generation of the restoration community had experienced hostility. Ezra's prayer and confession were accompanied by public weeping (10:1) and fasting (10:6).

The people echoed Ezra's confession of sin and resolved to correct it (10:1–5), gathered in a mass assembly during inclement weather to express their contribution publicly (10:6–12), and requested the creation of a special commission to carry out the removal of the foreign wives and their children (10:13–17). Within a year of Ezra's departure from Babylon (cf. 7:9 with 10:17), a purified community was created in Jerusalem. (This was in addition to the earlier reestablishment of sacrificial worship and the completion of the Temple, which are the themes of Ezra 1–6).

**3. Nehemiah and the Rebuilding of the Walls.** Nehemiah, too, led exiles home (cf. Sheshbazzar, Zerubbabel, and Ezra). Opposition from Sanballat and his allies was met by Nehemiah's defensive maneuvers (Neh 4:15–17 [—Eng 4:21–23]). He saw through the opponents' plots and their false charges about his desire for the office of king (6:1–14); he prayed for deliverance from them and placed an imprecation upon them (3:36–37 [—Eng 4:4–5]). The nations lost self-esteem when they perceived that the completion of the wall was the work of God (Neh 6:16). Nehemiah's work, then, authorized by Persian authorities (2:6–8; cf. Cyrus and Darius in Ezra 1–6 and Artaxerxes in Ezra 7–10) was ultimately successful: the purified community (Ezra 7–10) completed the building of walls (Neh 6:15) around the holy city (Ezra 1–6). Nehemiah himself corrected abuses in the making of loans and charging of interest (Neh 5:1–13) and generously provided for others at his table with no help from taxes enjoyed by former governors (5:14–19).

After the threefold restoration of the community and city reported in Ezra 1–6, 7–10, and Nehemiah 1–6, Nehemiah decided to remedy the lack of population in the city and resolved to select people for relocation there whose genealogy could be correlated with the list of those who returned at the first with Zerubbabel (7:5, 6–72a [—Eng 73a]), again identifying those who had returned from the Exile as the true Israel.

**4. Climax of the Work of Ezra and Nehemiah.** Before the actual repopulation of Jerusalem the people unanimously requested Ezra to read them the law (Neh 8:1). Instructed by the Levites, and urged on by

them and by Nehemiah and Ezra, the people heard the law with both joy and weeping. Ezra reassured them that the joy of the Lord offers protection against the judgments proclaimed by the law against transgressors (Neh 8:10; Williamson WBC, 292).

The people resolved to study the law (Neh 8:13) just as Ezra had done (Ezra 7:10). On the basis of this study, they held a unique celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles (the booths signified the wilderness wandering and not just harvest booths), unparalleled since the days of Joshua (Neh 8:17). (According to 2 Chronicles, the Passover at the time of Hezekiah was the first of its type since Solomon (30:26) while the Passover at the time of Josiah was without parallel since the days of Samuel [35:18].) The celebration at the time of Ezra also recalls the Tabernacles celebration at the erection of the altar (Ezra 3:4), and the dedication celebration (Ezra 6:16–18) and Passover (Ezra 6:19–22) observed at the completion of the Temple.

According to the present arrangement of the materials, the people next separated themselves from foreigners and confessed their sins and those of their parents (Neh 9:2–3). A speech by the Levites (Neh 9:6; LXX Ezra) rehearses the sinfulness of Israel in the days of the wilderness wandering (9:16–18), during the stay in the land (9:26–30), and including the present generation (9:33) despite Yahweh's repeated benefactions in creation (9:6), in the time of Abraham (9:7–8), in the Exodus from Egypt and the giving of the law on Sinai (9:9–14), in providing food, water, and guidance in the wilderness (9:15, 19–21), in the gift of the land (9:22–25), and in providing rescue and patient warning through the prophets in the land (9:27–30). Even the defeats at the time of the Exile did not bring Yahweh's mercies to an end (9:31).

The confession concludes with an acknowledgment that the present international situation, accepted elsewhere with equanimity in Ezra-Nehemiah, leaves the community in a less than perfect situation: "We are slaves this day … and we are in great distress [9:36–37; cf. Ezra 9:8–9]. It appeals to God not to take this hardship lightly [9:32]."

In chap. 10 of Nehemiah, the community, then, enters into a covenant to walk in God's law and to do all his commandments (10:29 [—Eng 10:28]; cf. Ezra 7:10). The community obligates itself to correct practices in areas that later in the book will require Nehemiah's direct actions: mixed marriages, the Sabbath, the wood offering, firstfruits, Levitical tithes, and proper care of the Temple.

Nehemiah 8–10, therefore, sets forth an ideal picture of the community. Made joyful by the reading of the law, after an initial reaction of grief, they celebrated Tabernacles, confessed their previous sins and God's constant deliverance—and their less than perfect current status. The appropriate sequel to reading the law and offering a confession was a community-wide commitment to keep the prescriptions of the law. McCarthy (1982: 35) saw the emphasis on law as an important factor in giving the covenant renewal rites of Ezra-Nehemiah their different cast from those in the books of Chronicles.

**5. Final Acts of Nehemiah.** The perfected community decided to relocate one of every ten persons from the local towns to Jerusalem, thus carrying out what Nehemiah had begun in Neh 7:1–5. Subsequent lists identify those who lived in Jerusalem (11:3–24) and in the villages (11:25–36) and provide the names of priests, Levites, and high priests at various times of the restoration period (12:1–26). With the city fully repopulated, the author provides an account of the dedication of the city's wall, featuring a double procession in which both Ezra and Nehemiah play a role. The joy at the dedication (12:43) echoes the joy at the reading of the law (Neh 8:12, 17), at the beginning of the rebuilding of the Temple (Ezra 3:12–13), and at its dedication (Ezra 6:16). As at the commencement of the Temple building (Ezra 3:13), the joy at the dedication of the wall was heard at a great distance (Neh 12:43).

After the appointment of supervisors of contributions, following the command and example of David (Neh 12:44–47), and a decision to separate from all foreigners (13:1–3), the rest of the book consists of specific corrections of abuses during Nehemiah's second stay in Jerusalem. He removed the Ammonite Tobiah from a chamber in the Temple (Neh 13:4–9), restored the portions due to the Levites (Neh 13:10–14), reinstituted proper observance of the Sabbath (Neh 13:15–22), remonstrated with those who had married foreign women and whose children could not speak Hebrew (Neh 13:23–27), chased away the son of the high priest who had married the daughter of Nehemiah's arch-rival Sanballat (Neh 13:28–29),

cleansed the community from foreign contamination and established priests and Levites in their duties (Neh 13:30), and provided for the wood offering and firstfruits (Neh 13:31). These reforms are precisely in those areas where the community had undertaken covenantal obligations according to Nehemiah 10.

The line "Remember me, O my God, for good" (Neh 13:31) and similar expressions in Neh 13:14, 22, and 29, whatever their function in the Nehemiah Memoir, call attention in the canonical context to the virtue of Nehemiah, wall-builder and reformer of the community. At the same time, Nehemiah 13 reminds the reader that even the best intentions of the perfect community under ideal leadership (see the ceremonies in Nehemiah 8–10) can fail and the people can lapse into sin. While the people confessed in chap. 9 that God's saving goal for them had not yet been achieved, the final chapter of Nehemiah concedes that the behavior of the restored community, too, is never fully perfected and often in need of reform. The real circumstances in which people live—still under Persian rulership and in imperfection—set limits to the salvation that God gives in fulfilment of his promises. The author leaves unresolved the relationship between the present and the future in the divine plan of salvation (cf. Gunneweg 1981: 161).

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RALPH W. KLEIN

**EZRAHITE** [Heb *ʾezrāḥî* (אֶזְרָחִי)]. Clan or family name of Ethan and Heman, wise men in ancient Israelite literature (1 Kgs 5:11—Eng4:31; Pss 88:1; 89:1). It has also been suggested that "Ezrahites" could be another form of the "sons of Zerah" found in 1 Chr 2:6.

W. F. Albright has proposed that the term "Ezrahite" means "native," that is, Canaanite (*ARI,* 210). In this case, Ethan and Heman would be two pre-Israelite figures renowned for their great wisdom. The writer of Kings incorporates these men as symbols of great wisdom and states that Solomon's wisdom was greater than even these sages from the past.
PHILLIP E. MCMILLION

**EZRI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿezrî* (עֶזְרִי)]. A state official and the son of Chelub. He was one of twelve stewards of royal property appointed by David, and is named in a list of administrative officials (1 Chr 27: 25–31). His specific charge was to oversee the workers in the royal fields (1 Chr 27:26).
RICHARD W. NYSSE

# F

**FABLE.** See FOLKLORE IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST.

**FACE.** The Hebrew *pānîm* is the primary OT word for "face." In its various forms, the word *pānîm* occurs over 2100 times. In Hebrew the word *pānîm* occurs only as a plural, unlike the cognate form in Akkadian, *panū,* which occurs both as a singular and as a plural. The plural is often explained as the plurality of features that make up the face. Like the English word "face," the Hebrew root has both a common noun and a less frequently occurring denominative verb, "to face, turn," *pānāh.* The word *pānîm* can refer to the face of a human, God, an animal, and inaminate objects such as the earth and waters.

Although other Hebrew words are occasionally translated as "face," no other word expresses the range of emotions that could be indicated by *pānîm.* The word *ʿayin,* literally "eye," is translated five times in the RSV as "face." Four times the phrase used is "cover the face *(ʿayin)* of the earth," and once it is the phrase "face to face" *(ʿayin bʿayin).* The word *ʾap,* literally "nose," is translated "face" at least 15 times in RSV. In 14 of these cases, the expression speaks of falling upon the face *(ʾap)* or bowing the face. The one other occurrence of *ʾap* translated as "face" speaks of the sweat of the face.

*Pānîm* is the most common word in the OT for "presence" in a broader sense than just "face." Thus *pānîm* was used in reference to entering or leaving the presence of a king or a superior, or of being in Yahweh's presence. The technical term *lipnê YHWH,* literally, "before or to Yahweh," occurs 225 times in the OT and regularly refers to cultic activity in Yahweh's presence. In a number of uses, *pānîm* becomes synonymous with the person. Thus references to "the angel of his (Yahweh's) presence" and to "the bread of the presence," and even a statement as "My (Yahweh's) presence will go with you, and I will give you rest" refer respectively to Yahweh's own angel, his own personal bread, and his own presence.

As indicated above, the face expressed a full range of emotions to the Hebrews. Thus anger, especially from a feeling of being rejected, was indicated by a fallen face or countenance. A closely related phrase, "to fall on one's face," was a sign of obeisance or homage. The opposite of the fallen face is having one's face lifted or raised. This probably has its origin in the literal lifting the face of one who has fallen on his face. The meaning is acceptance or approval and often implies the granting of a request. When Yahweh lifted his face upon one, it was a sign of blessing.

"To see the face of a king" indicated having an audience or entering his presence directly, and not being permitted to see his face indicated the absence of such an audience. In one unusual phrase the same verb, *rāʾāh,* occurs in a *Hitpaʿel,* with *pānîm* meaning "to look at one another in the face" in the sense of doing battle. Probably in a related usage, the Mesha stela speaks of Chemosh causing Mesha "to see over" all his enemies—giving Mesha victory.

It seems obvious that "seeing Yahweh's face" had much the same meaning, of entering Yahweh's presence directly. However, Hebrew theology had definite problems with the worshiper literally seeing God. Yahweh was not physically visible in the sanctuary, nor even in theophany. In the form the OT text is preserved, it is aniconic—the Hebrews had no images of Yahweh in their sanctuaries. Further, Exod 33:20 clearly states that man cannot see Yahweh or Yahweh's face and live, thus the smoke and cloud of the theophany hid God. Even the *kāb̃d-glory* does not represent the fullness of God and God's presence. It shields the individual from Yahweh's unmediated presence. Deuteronomic theology spoke less of Yahweh or his presence being in the sanctuary, but instead stated that the sanctuary was the place Yahweh caused his name to dwell. Only occasionally does the OT speak of one seeing God's face or seeing God face to face. The more common phrase is the passive *(Nipʿal)* form of "to see" with *pānîm,* literally, "to appear (be seen) before the [face of] Yahweh," a technical term for visiting a sanctuary.

Other phrases that relate closely to an audience with an important person include "seeking the face of" and "entreating the favor of." Both of these phrases are used frequently in reference to Yahweh. Seeking

the face of Yahweh may originally have referred to divination or seeking an oracle. "To entreat the favor of Yahweh" literally meant "to make sweet or appease [the face of] Yahweh." Its meaning is more generally that of seeking favor, as is evident from one occurrence in reference to a man.

When the king, or God, with whom one has an audience recognizes the person, he turns his face toward the person. This is a way of expressing the king's attention and usually his positive response. Turning away the face, or turning the back and not the face, is a lack or attention and response; it is normally a sign of rejection. Hiding the face normally has a similar meaning. When, however, Yahweh hides his face from one's sins, it is a gracious act. Also, one response of mankind to the presence of God is to hide the face, usually out of fear. Strong determination was shown by the phrase "to set the face" or "to set one's face like flint." When Yahweh set his face on one it was usually set against one in judgment.

The face could be either cheerful or sad, or even tearful. The light of one's face represented a bright, beaming, or cheerful face and therefore one's favor. A shining face speaks of a cheerful or joyful person. Thus when Yahweh caused his face to shine on someone or gave the light of his face, it represented Yahweh's joy and, therefore, his blessing.

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**FAIENCE.** See JEWELRY, ANCIENT ISRAELITE.

**FAIR HAVENS** (PLACE) [Gk *Kaloi Limenes* (Καλοι Λιμενες)]. Harbor located along the S coast of Crete near the town of Lasea (Acts 27:8). The harbor (Leekley and Noyes 1975: 91–92) is now identified with a bay E of Cape Littinos. The biblical name means "fair harbor." The ship carrying Paul, during his voyage to Italy, anchored at Fair Havens and supplies were probably obtained from the nearby Lasea, located about five miles to the E (Acts 27:8). The captain of the ship decided not to winter here, despite Paul's warnings, and sailed on to the W into a storm which wrecked the ship (see Smith 1880: 251, 259).

Captain T. A. B. Spratt (1865: 1–6) in 1853 led a Mediterranean survey team to this area and located a church dedicated to Paul on a hill overlooking the bay. This naval officer determined that the harbor would have been unsafe in the winter because of strong winds from the E and SE. Perhaps this is what prompted the captain of Paul's ship to leave the harbor. See Foakes Jackson and Lake 1932: 338.

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**FAITH.** This entry consists of three articles. The first expounds upon the concept of faith as it is expressed in the Old Testament. The second treats the concept in the Hellenistic period, focusing especially on the New Testament. The third article discusses the peculiar NT expression *pistis Christou,* which is often rendered "faith *in* Christ" but may mean "faith *of* Christ."

***OLD TESTAMENT***

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A. Introduction
B. Terminology
C. Biblical Descriptions of Faith
    1. Abraham
    2. David
    3. Prophets
D. Believing and Doing

E. OT Faith in Holistic Perspective
1. Remembrance
2. Faith Confronts Fear

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**A. Introduction**

Faith is a peculiarly Christian concept. While other religious traditions have aspects of what the churches have come to name "faith," none has the specific quality of intellectual assent that distinguishes faith from fidelity. The problem of faith and the central discussion of it arises in the context of the medieval attempts to codify and integrate the Christian experience into the emerging philosophical language of the scholastics. From these attempts there arose a uniquely Western view of faith which finds exquisite expression in the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas Aquinas. "Faith is the act of the intellect when it assents to divine truth under the influence of the will moved by God through grace" (*Summa Theologica* II.II.q2.a.9).

But such a view intellectualized the experience of God and appeared to reduce this inexpressible encounter to a sort of syllogism. In the period of the Reformation it was precisely to this point that Luther and the early reformers came seeking new ways to express it. Luther, of course, appealed to a biblical idea of faith, distinguishing it sharply from this scholastic model.

While there was rich territory to mine in the writings of St. Paul and, indeed, in the Gospels themselves, the notion of faith in the Hebrew Bible was not so clearly articulated as to allow the fullest development of the reformed theology.

The Hebrew Bible, in fact, does not really have a word for faith. The New Testament term which is used to express the idea is *pistis,* which occurs frequently. *Pistis* does translate, or at least approximate, the sense of faith as assent. But *pistis* does not express very well the variety of meanings encompassed in the Hebrew Bible's terminology. The Hebrew terms are much more elastic.

**B. Terminology**

The Hebrew Bible uses the root *ʾmn* to express what we are calling "faith." The verb *ʾamān* occurs in the *Qal, Niphʿal,* and *Hiphʿil* forms. In the *Qal* form it never means "believe" but expresses the basic sense of the root "to sustain, support, carry" (2 Kgs 18:16).

The root occurs in the *Niphʿal* form referring to daughters carried at their mothers' sides (Isa 60:4): it refers to firm places (Isa 22:23); permanent posts in the royal service (1 Sam 2:35; 1 Kgs 11:38); to the people of Israel in perpetuity (Isa 7:9); to a variety of notions all of which have the sense of firmness, stability, confidence (1 Sam 2:35; 3:20; Deut 7:9, 12; Isa 49:7; Jer 42:5; 1 Kgs 8:26; Pss 89:29, 111:7; Neh 9:8).

The root occurs in the *Hiphʿil, heʾemîn,* a significant number of times (52) in the Hebrew Bible. The *Hiphʿil* form often occurs with the prepositions *b* and *l,* and in several instances with subordinate clauses introduced by *kî* (Exod 4:5, 31; Isa 43:10; Job 9:15; Lam 4:12). It is also used in the absolute, without an object. The general sense of the word in the *Hiphʿil* is "to be firmly set in/on something." With the preposition *b* it means to have confidence (1 Sam 29:12), and with the preposition *l* it seems to mean "to hold something to be true," "to believe" (Gen 45:26). Three significant passages occur with the *Hiphʿil.* The first is Gen 15:6, "And [Abraham] believed in Yahweh and He counted it as righteousness in him." Further in Exod 3:1–22, the narrative has a dialogue between Moses and God where Moses noted that if he were sent even at God's command the people would not believe him. Again in Exod 4:28–31 the people are said to "believe" or "not to believe." Another instance of the word coming close to the idea of "belief in" something is in Isa 7:9, the oracle of Isaiah to Ahaz: "If you do not believe you will not endure." In the latter the two nuances (to believe and to be firm) of the meaning are nicely expressed.

In these instances the sense of *trusting* and having confidence is most noticeable. In Isa 43:10–12 the *Hiphʿil* occurs in a context that would readily lend itself to the understanding of faith as "assent." "You are my witness, says the Lord, and my servant whom I have chosen, that you may know and believe in me and understand who I am." Here the intellectual quality seems clear: knowing and believing. A distinction is made in some authors (Pfeiffer 1959: 155) between "profane" and "religious" use of the term "believe."

For example, Gen 45:26, where Jacob refuses to believe the report of his sons that Joseph was indeed alive and in Egypt, would be a "profane" use. But "faith" in the primary sense (that it has in the communities of faith) is faith in God, "not only in his *ʾemet* but all his characteristics and attributes (truth, constancy, goodness, love, justice, holiness, his claims on humanity), in a word, everything that makes God God" (Pfeiffer 1959: 157).

The root also occurs in the nominal forms *ʾemet* and *ʾemunâ,* both meaning "steadfastness," "reliability," and the like, and both are also used for the concept "truth." The word *ʾemet* is translated in the LXX by *pistis, aletheia,* and *dikaiosune,* "because in the biblical context truth is grounded upon the divine faithfulness and the covenant relationship which sets it up" (Torrance 1956: 112).

This brief overview of the etymological situation is intended simply to point out the variety of meanings which are attached in Hebrew to the root *ʾmn.* Even the Greek *pistis* which generally translates the verbal forms is said to be nuanced in its use. One author even goes so far as to say that it "is never used to signify faith in the LXX but always translates the sense of faithfulness" (Torrance 1956: 111).

The classic statement of this remains Martin Buber's *Two Types of Faith* (1951). Buber argues that the differences between the Christian and Jewish religious experience lies primarily in the distinction between *pistis* and *ʾemunâ,* believing in something and fidelity. Buber, of course, approached the question from an existentialist point of view. He was especially concerned with the "objectification" of God in the Christian act of faith.

This distinction can also very clearly be found in the examination of the Hebrew Bible and the models of faith which are present there. The central texts are Gen 15:6 and Hab 2:4. But these two texts need to be seen in the context of the description of faith in the Hebrew Bible.

**C. Biblical Descriptions of Faith**

Faith is described rather than defined in the Hebrew Bible. The description tends to be used in two ways, one where the relationship of Israel to Yahweh is described and the other where the relationship of certain key figures to Yahweh is described. Two models are clear, Abraham and David. One could certainly add others (Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Ruth, Deborah, etc.), but in a sense Abraham and David are paradigmatic for an understanding of faith. The common characteristics of the two are their unswerving loyalty to Yahweh even in the face of what appear to be insurmountable obstacles, and second is the purely gratuitous character of their chosenness.

**1. Abraham.** In a way Abraham best exemplifies the notion of faith in the religion of ancient Israel. Perhaps that is the key role from a purely theological point of view that Abraham plays. The faith story of Abraham is clearly a conflation of varied traditions and so the role of Abraham is not to be seen as some well-delineated historical chronicle. Rather Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph (Isaac plays a very slight part in the history) found and articulate the notion of "relationship" which is at the root of the Yahweh-Israel connection. The stories about them are told almost as "afterthoughts" to this primary notion. They come from the classic traditions, traditions amalgamated over time and first clearly documented in the Davidic-Solomonic monarchy (*CMHE*, 294–95).

Von Rad argues that the oldest statement of faith in the Hebrew Bible is found in Deut 26:5, the "wandering Aramean" story. In that statement he notes: "the events in the saving history up to the conquest were still very simply enumerated as facts in chronological sequence, without any special theological connection being brought out between the patriarchal era and that which followed or between the individual facts themselves generally" (*ROTT* 1: 170). He further argued that the story of the patriarchs was to be seen as a history of "promise and fulfillment" (ibid.). The absence of tradition, cult, priesthood, and calendars, the utter simplicity and unquestioning character of the narrative, he thought, all indicated a developed and conscious theological view, rather than evidence of "primitive religion" in early Israel.

If one examines the story of Abraham from Genesis 12–15 it is most striking that the whole emphasis is on the notion of testing. Leaving aside the gratuitous character of the choosing (to which we will return), what is uppermost in the stories is the sense that this is a test, almost Jobian in its premises. Abraham is given divine instructions without explanations and is expected to fulfill these instructions

unquestioningly. This he does over and over. Despite the hesitancy and ridicule he encounters from his wife and family, he leads them on in response to the demands.

Now the rationale for the response lies surely in the promise. "Leave your own country, your kinsmen, and your father's house, and go to a country that I will show you. I will make you into a great nation. I will bless you and make your name so great that it shall be used in blessings" (Gen 12:1–2). But again the promise is based on a logical impossibility, since Abraham is "old" and since he has no offspring, and since Sarah is barren. The whole idea that this promise represented a real possibility is ludicrous. It may have represented what Johnson said of the second marriage of a friend, "the triumph of hope over experience," but it clearly did not represent a measured response. This same motif of the impossible dream occurs again and again in this narrative, reaching its peak in Gen 18:12 where Sarah laughs.

But the promise is fulfilled in Genesis 21. Only the tale is not finished because, immediately after, Yahweh tests a final time in the story of the binding of Isaac (Genesis 22). Again von Rad writes extensively on this.

> That which happened to Abraham in this story is called in the very first verse a "testing." For in commanding Abraham to offer up Isaac, God apparently destroys his whole continually reiterated promise to Abraham. All the blessings which he had promised to bring about were all bound up with Isaac. The story of the offering up of Isaac goes beyond all the previous trials of Abraham and pushes forward into the realm of faith's extremest experience where God himself rises up as the enemy of his own work with men and hides himself so deeply that for the recipient of the promise only the way of utter forsakenness by God seems to stand open.

(*ROTT* 1: 174)

The story of Abraham contains the notion of promise and fulfillment as von Rad shows. But that aspect is not sufficient, for surely Abraham's relationship with the God whom he worshiped was much more complex than this. Abraham was *tested* and the testing it would seem was not peripheral to but foundational for the relationship.

It might be helpful to consider a further remark of von Rad concerning the patriarchal narratives. "For it is by no means the case that the later Israel simply projected herself and the theological ordering of her life and problems back into the era of the ancestors. Rather she here depicted a relationship to God of a quite peculiar and unique character" (*ROTT* 1: 125).

It would be important to note that it is in this complex of narratives that the Hebrew Bible uses the word "faith" in a sense close to what contemporary theologies mean (Gen 15:6). But as we noted earlier it occurs in this sense only twice in the Hebrew Bible.

**2. David.** The second figure we should consider in the notion of faith in ancient Israel is David. David has, of course, much greater historical data in his stories but, as is evident from the two variants of his origins (1 Samuel 16 and 17), there is considerable legend and lore associated with him. Whatever the purpose of hero stories may have been, it is David's peculiar relationship with Yahweh that interests the writer. Whether David was chosen out of the sons of Jesse by an oracle to Samuel, or emerged as a war hero out of the conflicts with the Philistines, he is established clearly in the court of Saul as a rival to Saul and to his dynasty. It is in this rivalry that the book of Samuel is set, and the reflection on the issues of kingship itself and then on the character of the two first kings, Saul and David, is the theological point of the book.

The story of David cannot be disconnected from the Deuteronomistic History. The whole piece of the Deuteronomistic work and reflection is intimately woven together. And the most astonishing aspect of the story is the utter gratuitousness of the relationship and the way in which "chosenness" supplements "testing" as the central piece of the work.

Once we begin to consider the model of David we are necessarily compelled to examine the notion of covenant as it pertains to the faith of ancient Israel. In a very brief synopsis we ought to note that there are two distinct "covenants" in Israel. See also COVENANT. The Sinai covenant articulates a relationship based on mutual (although as this pertains to Yahweh the term is certainly analogical) obligations and promises: "You shall be my people. I shall be your God" (Exod 19:5). "You only have I known of all the

families of the earth; therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities" (Amos 3:2). The second is an unconditional covenant or a covenant of grant (Weinfeld 1970: 185). The Davidic covenant falls into this latter category. The promises made to David do not depend on David's future responses or those of his descendants. The oath which Yahweh takes on behalf of David is the result of David's *previous* activity. "In other words, it is the ancestor who is the human partner in the covenant" (Levenson 1985: 101).

David's actions are clear enough. He is called. He responds. He serves Yahweh's purpose. He is the agent of historical change in Israel. He is the instrument of God's power against the enemies of Israel. For the Hebrew Bible David is the paradigm of the faithful Israelite. David's fidelity is manifested in his history, by which is meant that David's life history is the model of fidelity. His activities prosper as he obeys the call(s) of Yahweh. His victories over the Philistines contrast sharply with the continuous failure of Saul and his descendants to achieve the goals of the promised land. Of course, one could argue that the events are constructed to prove the claim or that David's political astuteness is mythologized into a religious calling. And from a historical-critical point of view that may very well be. But theologically, or perhaps more correctly, as a lesson in faithful living, David's intense loyalty, his unswerving devotion to the cause of extending the land which God had promised to Abraham, those things make David the paradigm. He listened and obeyed unquestioningly (again in sharp contrast to Saul). So he achieved goals, and the goals he achieved made real the divine promise.

Thus, as in the binding of Isaac, David too was "tested," not so much in specific acts, but in the whole thrust of his life. His life's actions are a response to the call he had received. And, as a result of his fidelity to the call of Yahweh, he is made the bearer of unconditional promises from God.

Thus, in Abraham and in David, the two poles of the life of faith in the Hebrew Bible are illustrated: in Abraham obedience and fidelity, in David chosenness and reward. The Hebrew Bible does not contrast these two as if they represented opposites. Rather in its narrative and its structure it continually illumines now one side, now the other of this model of fidelity.

**3. Prophets.** Another important model of the life of fidelity is the prophet. The prophetic message reflects not primarily an ethical instruction, but rather a call to an ongoing relationship of trust. If one considers the parade example of "faith" in Isa 7:9, where Ahaz's timidity is reprimanded by a reminder of the power of Yahweh (Pfeiffer 1959: 160–62), it is clear that the faith which Ahaz is called to exhibit is not an intellectual act but an act of trust in the action of the God of Israel.

Further, the examples of the prophetic call and mission demonstrate over and over again that what is required is not understanding but trust. The prophet does not seek to understand God's way or God's call to him but seeks to respond to an imperative by acting appropriately. In fact, of course, it is often the case that reason and understanding serve as barriers to responding (Jer 15:10–18).

The opposite of faith in the prophets is not unbelief; it is apostasy, because the faith which is required is not an act of assent but a commitment to a tradition, to a body of received things. The prophetic faith is clearly based in the covenant, especially the Sinai covenant, and expresses itself in *acts* of fidelity, not in creedal formulas. The passage of Jeremiah at the Temple gate (chap. 7) is quite illustrative. The interpretation of this passage as a polemic against temple worship is a complete misunderstanding of the context and scope, indeed the power of the passage. The prophet does not condemn temple or priests, or ritual—quite the opposite. He condemns the contempt of these, the reduction of these "holy things" to mere formulas. He asserts the fundamental necessity of conversion of heart in the act of doing those things which are required, because to do these things without an upright heart is to apostasize and be unfaithful.

In this the prophetic message reflects the Deuteronomistic proposition that faithfulness consists in the acknowledgement and keeping of commandments (*ROTT* 1: 379).

**D. Believing and Doing**

Again, it is important to reiterate the basic idea that faith in the Hebrew Bible is a multifaceted idea which is more clearly exemplified than explained. Perhaps to further illustrate the point we might consider a series of other texts related to the Hebrew notion of faithfulness.

*Mic 6:8*

God has told you what is good
and what is it that the Lord asks of you?
Only to act justly, to love loyalty;
to walk wisely before your God.

Here the notion of fidelity is tied to the actions of the "good" person. This is a classic text for "activist" religion, but, in fact, it really addresses a more fundamental notion: the tight connection between believing and doing.

*Deut 30:1–2*

… If you turn back to him and obey him and obey him heart and soul in all that I command you this day, then the Lord your God will show you compassion and restore your fortunes.

In this passage faith is seen as a response to a command of God. And the reward of faith (a loving relationship to Yahweh) is conditioned on that obedience. So we find the theme of "commanded love" (Moran 1963: 83–87). Obedience is an essential element in the faith relationship. All the "models" of faith were obedient first and foremost.

*Jer 29:10–14*

If you invoke me and pray to me, I will listen to you: when you seek me, you shall find me; if you search with all your heart, I will let you find me … I will restore your fortunes and gather you again from all the nations and all the places to which I have banished you.

There are two important aspects of Hebrew faith in this passage. First, the faithful seek God. They not only wait for God, they actively search for God and for God's purpose. And this search is a total commitment (with *all* your heart). And this search is not an intellectual quest (with all your *heart*). The second point to be noted in the text is the historical consciousness which grounds the relationship. The relationship is not ethereal but real, concrete, earthly (prosperity, return from exile, restoration).

*Ps 103:17–18*

But the Lord's love never fails those who fear him, his righteousness never fails their sons and grandsons who listen to his voice and keep his covenant, who remember his commandments and obey them.

The Psalms, of course, reflect the worship of Israel, and so the theme of the Psalms leads us into the heart of the believer's self-understanding. The notions that stand out here are (a) the *fidelity of God,* (b) the obedience of the follower, and (c) the remembrance of the acts of God.

God's fidelity is foundational. "The words 'faith' and 'to believe' *(he›emin)* do not properly describe a virtue or quality of man, in the sense that virtues such as prudence or courage are ascribed to him, they describe *man taking refuge from his own frailty and instability in God who is firm and steadfast*" (Hebert 1955: 374).

Obedience we have already discussed. So finally there is the notion of remembrance (Heb *zikkārôn*). This important notion identifies the historical and "eschatological" dimensions of the faithful life as a catalytic concept for understanding the faith of the Hebrew Bible. But before discussing this idea and its role in understanding the faith of the Hebrew Bible, it is necessary to recapitulate what has been discussed already.

We have explored the etymological data in the Hebrew Bible from which it should be clear that faith and fidelity are intertwined inextricably in the Hebrew Bible, that is, faith is primarily not an intellectual act but an attitude which encompasses the two-sided sense of the root *›mn:* steadfastness, which addresses the concept of acts of obedience; and trust or confidence, which rests on the notion of God's constancy and fidelity. Moreover, there is a dual sense associated with trust: one aspect touches the notion of hope and future directedness; and the other alludes to the idea of assent, but not assent to a proposition so much as assent to a way of life that is consistent with the claims of God upon the community.

There is an important factor present in all the texts that ought not to be overlooked. That is the sense of faith as residing in a community. It would require another lEngthy article to elaborate on the notion of the individual and the corporate in the Hebrew Bible, but it seems fairly clear that at least in its early phases, or at least in the presentation of its early phases, the faith of Israel was seen primarily as a relationship

between the faithful community and Yahweh. It was not a "conversion" experience that brought individuals to faith. It was their inclusion in the community of Yahweh, the People of the Lord.

It is sometimes argued that the evolution of Israel's religion from the epic narrative to the prophetic interpretation includes the notion of a change in the nature of faith from a community-based to an individually-based idea. Both von Rad and Vischer argued for the origins of Israel's idea of faith in corporate notions. Von Rad saw it emerging from the Holy War ideology, and Vischer saw it coming from the cult. Many have argued that the prophetic faith uncoupled the notion of individual faith from the faith of the community (Pfeiffer 1959: 163). Such evidence as we have gives no clear indication either way. But the intellectual movements of the late biblical period did involve a general development of the notion of individuality, so such a development in the religion of Israel would not be surprising. Moreover, in the late biblical period, after the Maccabean revolt, the whole question of which community represented the faithful Israel necessarily involved the notion of the holiness and fidelity of the members. Apocalyptic ideas of sin, evil, punishment, reward, and the like also influence the notion of faith.

To attempt to identify the chief among all the strands that are interwoven in the notion of Hebrew faith is an awesome task. It may be, also, a fruitless and even deceptive task. Believers and scholars, historians, and the curious all look for the unique and special qualities of Israel's faith. And because the search often begins with the conclusion, the quest is simply confirmation.

Further, the faith of the OT is alive and well in a living community, indeed in a number of living communities of faith. And so there is a history and a course of development that each of the communities keeps, cherishes, studies, and elaborates. So the task of commentary is not uncharted. Indeed, the tasks may be so well charted that there is very little room for comment.

**E. OT Faith in Holistic Perspective**

At the risk of reviving a long debate over biblical theology, it seems appropriate to comment finally on the faith of the OT from a holistic point of view. It is a progressive development that comes from a common and identifiable source, because, whatever the manner of its development, every development claimed continuity with the original.

**1. Remembrance.** It seems that among the many themes and strands thus far explored, one in particular might serve as the central focus of Israel's faith: the idea of "remembrance" (Heb *zikkārôn*). The core of Israel's faith is found now, as it always has been, in the elements of the Seder meal and celebration of Passover. Since the Mosaic period the community of Israel has gathered on the 14th day of Nissan (or the appropriate alternatives in history) to celebrate, to pray, and to remember. The central notion among these three, in the writer's view, is that of remembering.

The notion of remembrance as a central religious concern in the culture of the ANE can be illustrated in the Aramaic inscriptions from Zinjirli, where the king predicates the blessing of God toward his offspring on their fidelity to the remembrance of the king's name and deeds forever (*KAI* 214.21). So much of our knowledge of the culture and religion of the ANE is built precisely on the habit of memorializing. And, as with the Pannamū inscription, remembrance is not a single act of recollection. It is in effect the re-creation of the deed.

"Moses said to the people, 'Keep this day in remembrance, the day you came out of Egypt from the house of slavery, for it was by sheer power that Yahweh brought you out of it' " (Exod 13:3–4).

> For ask now of the days that are past, which were before you, since the day that God created man upon the earth, and ask from one end of heaven to the other, whether such a great thing as this has ever happened or was ever heard of. Did any people ever hear the voice of a god speaking out of the midst of the fire, as you have heard, and still live? Or has any god ever attempted to go and take a nation for himself from the midst of another nation, by trials, by signs, by wonders, and by war, by a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, and by great terrors, according to all that the Lord your God did for you in Egypt before your eyes?
>
> But take care what you do and be on your guard. Do not forget the things your eyes have seen, nor let them slip from your heart all the days of your life; rather—tell them to your children and your children's children.

(Deut 4:9–10)

It is this remembering that is the essence of the faith of Israel. In the stories of Israel's triumphs and its tragedies, through glory, destruction, love, and hate, fidelity and apostasy are the two constant and enduring aspects of Israel's remembrance of Yahweh's deeds. In the retelling of the myth of the fateful night on which the angel of death passed by the Israelite children to destroy Egypt's firstborn, Israel's whole meaning is gathered. So even today, among all the religious ceremonies and cultic acts we experience or learn about, there is no more solemn or sacred night, no more poignant or "pregnant" question than this which the youngest child is to ask: *Why* is this night different from every other night?

**2. Faith Confronts Fear.** At the beginning as now, the question confronts the very nature of faith itself, because faith in the OT, as all faith by its very nature, confronts *fear.* Not just fear, but *the* fear. The fear that limits the possibilities of human life—fear of death, fear of self, fear of the universe. And Israel's faith asserts that the universe of human experience is the domain of human freedom.

When you raise your eyes to heaven, when you see the sun, the moon, the stars, all the array of heaven, do not be tempted to worship them and serve them.

(Deut 4:19–20)

What both enthralls and enslaves human beings is this overpowering sense of being unable to control not just nature, but one's destiny. What the faith of Israel affirms in the Seder and Passover is to place humanity under the power not of nature, or fate, or political, or economic forces, but in the power of the God of Life itself. And so it confirms the ultimate freedom of the believers.

But this freedom was not left abstract. This freedom is founded on a relationship, and this relationship is described in a significant way through the analogy of a covenant. The covenant analogy illustrates the tension between the Creator God and God's creative partner—the human community—and specifically the community of Israel as the chosen instrument of the divine love. And since God declares humanity free and gives over to it the power to create nature anew, and further, since God requires the exercise of this dominion as a condition for ongoing relations, the stage is set for the long drama of conflict between the divine and the human, between this world and the world to come, time and eternity, between moral absolutes and ethical compromise. It is a monumental struggle exquisitely illustrated in the story of Job, who serves as a brilliant metaphor of the faithful models (Moses, Abraham, David) discussed above.

Because the faith of Israel rests on this strange and unique relationship between the believing community and God, it is always difficult and dangerous to try to explain it too carefully. The danger of the covenant analogy is to reduce this creative tension to a somewhat narrow, legalistic idea. It is rather a co-creative union. And the danger of historicizing the faith of Israel is that one fails to Engage the journey that this co-creative union represents. The journey does not deny the history. It simply refuses to absolutize the history. The history of Israel is not past- but future-oriented. God is not bound. God is not predictable except that his *ḥesed* endures. So, wherever hope triumphs over despair (or logic), wherever justice vanquishes injustice, wherever the creative potential of humanity emerges to respond to the needs for life, for love, for the solution to social, political, or economic problems, there the God of Israel is affirmed. God gives existence its completeness.

These triumphs come at a cost, however. The compulsion to seek security gives the *status quo* a legitimacy to challEnge God, since it seeks to answer rather than to ask questions. So the prophetic element emerges as a vital part of the faith of Israel. Prophets reveal the eternal in the temporal, proclaim the future against the present, and make the remembrance of God real.

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## *NEW TESTAMENT*

In the NT "faith" belongs to the terms of self-definition of what is later called "Christianity." It is thus not advisable to determine the NT meaning of "faith" on the basis of a phenomenological investigation. In order to do this, one needs to ascertain the general concept of faith, which can be done only by reference to the history of Christian theology. For this reason, the following article follows the Greek vocabulary closely: however, the investigation of such a central theological category cannot remain purely lexical; much more, it must determine the sense which the word conveys.

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### A. The Word "Faith"

The noun "faith" is the very consistent translation of the Greek word *pistis,* and the verb "to believe" translates the Greek verb *pisteuein.* Other than in the Germanic languages (German: *Glaube* and *glauben;* Scandinavian: *troen* and *troer*), the Romance languages translate the noun and verb using different stems (French: *foi* and *croire*), just as the Latin language consistently rendered *pistis* with *fides* and *pisteuein* with *credere.* Because in the English language "believe" corresponds to "belief" (just as in German *glauben* corresponds to *Glaube*), the noun "faith" goes back to the Latin *fides.*

Just as the Latin translation of the Bible had influenced the language of Western theology, the other ancient translations provided, respectively, precise equivalents for what in the Semitic languages appeared as *ʾmn.* As the result of Bible translations, "faith"/"to believe" came to occupy a central position in the Christian language tradition. Recent translations of the Bible societies, produced for the purpose of missionary activity, often deviate from this straightforward way of translating, so that often a single word does not satisfy the translators. This is not unrelated to the fact that "faith" is not a general phenomenon in all religions; rather, this central meaning was gained first in Christianity. This is clearly related to the Jewish language tradition, which, in addition, Islam took up in its own way. In Buddhism, Hinduism, or other religions unrelated to Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, to inquire as to the meaning of "faith," as it is always interpreted, leads nowhere or at least to the conclusion that "faith" is in no way such a central category as in the religions of the West.

**B. Greek**

The Greek words which come from the root *pist-* have a broad range of meanings, which correspond to belief, confidence, trust, faith/faithfulness (LSJM 1407f.). The noun appears first in Theognis (66, 831, 1137, 1244) with the meaning "confidence," "trustworthiness" (the passage listed in LSJM 1408, Hesiod, *op.* 372, appears only in later manuscripts). The opposite of *pistis* is *apistia* (*Theog.* 1831). The noun and verb have technical meanings in the linguistic fields of law and philosophy.

**1. Legal Usage.** In legal language *pistis* conveys, in addition to the general meaning of "trustworthiness," the special meaning of "guarantee," "trust," or alternatively "argument," "proof," which sense one encounters especially in rhetoric. Frequently it is also connected with an oath. The Latin legal concept *bona fide* can be traced back to the Greek with *kale pistei.* Thus one can show the semantic and etymological closeness of *fides* and *pistis;* yet the two words are not exactly congruent, as the different interpretations of comparing *pistis* and *fides* among Greeks and Romans (Polyb. 20.9f.) showed. This legal linguistic usage approaches the understanding of what is meant in the NT by *pistis,* but only insofar as it plays a role in the Letter to the Hebrews (see D.8 below) and in Philo (see C.5 below) as the *pistis* of Abraham is connected with God's oath. In the Western tradition generally, as it has been mediated by Roman law, "faith" remains a legal concept until the present day.

**2. Philosophical Usage.** More important than the legal linguistic tradition, however, is the philosophical tradition. In the latter one encounters *pistis* in the sense of "faithfulness" with Pittakos (*FVS* 10.3.5.13) and with Thales (*ibid.,* line 4) in a catalog of virtues. Parmenides uses *pistis* first in his theory of knowledge: *pistis alethes* in contrast to *doxai* ("meanings" in the sense of "the true understanding of the essence"; *FVS* 28 B 1.30; cf. *FVS* 28 B 8.28). In Empedocles (*FVS* 31 B 71) *pistis* is, in opposition to "doubt," the understanding of the rightness of an opinion.

Throughout the Pre-Socratics *pistis* could mean the entrance to the knowledge of truth; for Plato, however, it is the highest step of knowledge only in the realm of the visible. It is in fact superior to *eikasia,* the "apprehension by means of images"; for the knowledge of ideas *noesis* ("understanding") or, respectively, *episteme* ("knowledge") is necessary, a level completely opposite to *dianoia* ("thought") (*Resp.* 6.511 D–E; 7.533E–534A). The exact opposite of *pistis* is the sensible world (*Ti.* 27D–28A); suffice it here to say that it does not approach the world of ideas. In opposition to *mathesis* ("learning"), *pistis* can be either true or false (*Grg.* 454D–E). According to Plato, *pistis* succeeds through rhetoric; more importantly, it is the higher art of dialectic which leads to *episteme.*

Differently from Plato, Aristotle applies the meaning of "faithfulness" to *pistis.* In his *Rhetoric,* the different styles of *pisteis* ("arguments") play important roles; this corresponds with the legal linguistic usage (see B.1 above). For Aristotle *pistis* is not the opposite of *episteme;* rather, it is a step on the way to the *mathesis* ("learning") of knowledge, which leads from doxa through *pistis* to *logos.*

In the Stoa, one finds *fides* (= *pistis*?) in a citation from Chrysippus, according to Seneca (*Ben.* 2.31), as a virtue of the wise along with pietas ("piety") and iustitia ("justice"). In his doctrine of knowledge, *pistis* was the opposite of apistia (*SVF* 3.147, no. 548): "confidence" as opposed to "distrust." According to Epictetus and his students, *pistis* meant the "faithfulness" of the wise man in relation to himself (*Diss.*

2.4.1), a virtue certainly among others in which the purpose of life was realized. This corresponds as well to a customary Greek usage of *pistis* as to the Latin usage of *fides*.

As soon as early Christianity makes its claim before philosophy (see E below), a self-definition of "faith" as opposed to the Platonic tradition is dangerous. It would indeed mean that the Christian faith was a priori inferior to philosophical knowledge. In this case, philosophers of the Platonic school would find that Christianity was an intellectual absurdity.

**3. Greek and Hellenistic Religion.** "Faith" as a central category of Greek religious language did not exist. The History-of-Religions school and their follower R. Bultmann freely maintained that "*pistis* became a catchword in those religions which Engaged in propaganda. This did not apply to Christianity alone" (Bultmann, *TDNT* 6:181). The texts given as evidence for this assertion about *pistis,* however, did not use the term *pistis,* or were not unquestionably independent of the usage of Christianity or Judaism. Hence, one cannot postulate that "[a]ll missionary preaching demanded faith in the deity proclaimed by it" (*TDNT* 6:181). We will show that what is meant in early Christianity by "faith" cannot be deduced by a general religious linguistic usage in the Hellenistic period.

Bultmann had suspected such a usage first for the Hellenistic period, and he argued in favor of such a usage in the Classical period (*TDNT* 6:179), so that his conclusion concerned the Greek language generally (see Barth 1982 and von Dobbeler 1987: 283–303, concerning both parts of Bultmann's conclusion). He was, of course, correct that *pistis* and *pisteuein* were not foreign words in Greek. On the other hand, it can be shown in the passages to which Bultmann refers, and in other texts as well, that although *pistis* and pisteuein are encountered in religious texts, they do not form a comprehensive or adequate self-definition of religious groups. In Greek tradition, one can refer here to eusebeia ("piety"); the conviction in favor of the existence of gods was formulated as nomizein theous einai ("to hold that gods exist"). Such terminology is to be found first in early Christianity at a later time (see E below). What was evidence for a special religious use of language can be seen to be a general usage of language: how human beings can believe in or trust the gods, how human words or oracles can be trusted. In contrast, the Christian use of "faith" is exclusive, and its object is God alone. *pistis* and *pisteuein* are nevertheless Greek words and not words foreign to Greek; yet they gained their meanings from the language of Greek-speaking Jews, as it has been taken up in the NT.

**C. Judaism**

Strongly formative for the language of at least the first generations of early Christians was the Greek of Jewish tradition. From Greek-speaking Judaism came not only basic words, but also the framework for basic conceptions. All early Christian authors were influenced by it more or less, and particularly were they influenced by the language and word choice of the LXX. The point of reference for the NT is therefore not the Hebrew Bible as such, but rather Judaism, which for several centuries had taken its place in the Greek world, by way of being open to the Greek world or closed off from it.

**1. LXX.** The LXX translates with unusual consistency the Hebrew words from the root *ʾmn* with Greek words with the root pist-, while otherwise throughout the LXX, Greek words can correspond to a variety of Hebrew words. Most obvious of all is the fact that (em-, kata-) pisteuein translates exclusively (with the single exception of Jer 25:8) the Hebrew verb *ʾmn* in the *Hipʿil* and the *Nipʿal* conjugations. *pistis* translates only the nouns formed from *ʾmn,* including *ʾmth,* which is otherwise translated by aletheia ("truth," including especially 22 times in the Psalms for *ʾemunâ*). This indicates a strong affinity between *ʾmn* and *pist-*, which is conveyed by the meaning of "trust" for both words. This affinity has neither to do with similar uses of these words in religious language, nor with similar uses in legal language, which accounted for the equivalence of the Greek *pistis/pisteuein* and the Latin *fides/credere*.

Although the NT did not quote Isa 7:9, the LXX translation of this verse, Kai ean me pisteusete, oude me synete (*cf.* Vulgate: Si non credideritis non intelligetis; as well as the Syriac translation), "if you do not believe, you will not understand," became important for the later history of theology (see E below). In certain traditions of Greek philosophy, albeit in opposition to Platonism, *pistis* can be seen to be the crucial preliminary stage for knowledge. Irenaeus of Lyons was the first Christian writer to appeal to this verse; he used it to show that Christian faith justifies, which philosophical knowledge does not.

**a. Ecclesiasticus.** Clearly influenced by the language of the LXX was the Greek translation of a book composed originally in Hebrew, the book of Ecclesiasticus, or Jesus ben Sirach. It dates from the second half of the 2d century B.C.E. Here again *ʾmn* is translated by *pist-*, although the compound verb empisteuein is used instead of pisteuein. (Em)pisteuein also translates Hebrew verbs other than *ʾmn.* The ancient wisdom speech includes passages in which *ʾmn* in the *Hipʿil* conjugation appears in the sense of "credulity." While in all parts of the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus (as much of it as we possess), there is no evidence of a connection between *ʾmn (Hipʿil)* or *ʾemunâ* to God or to the Law, the Greek translation speaks of (em)pisteuein kyrio or nomo ("to be faithful to the Lord" or "to be faithful to the Law"); and this Greek usage is traceable to other Hebrew verbs than *ʾmn (Hipʿil)* (35[32]:24; 36[33]:3). There exist other passages, for which no Hebrew text is available to us, where the Greek translation appears to render other Hebrew verbs as well (2:6, 8, 10; 11:21). One can thus see in the Greek translation of Ecclesiasticus that "faith" occupies a central position in the understanding of the relationship to God, whereby the Law is the document of the will of God. The adjective pistos (1:14) becomes a self-designation of those who involved in the Law; Abraham (44:20) and Moses (45:4) become models of "faith."

**b. Wisdom of Solomon.** The tendency observed in the Greek translation of Ecclesiasticus is carried forward in the Wisdom of Solomon, where in 1:2; 12:2; and 16:26 "faith" becomes a designation of the relationship to God, even though in the rest of the book the author follows philosophical language of the Greek tradition.

**c. Later Books.** In later books of the LXX pist- is used as the overall designation of the relationship to God and his Law. This meaning is, however, not limited to the Greek-speaking world, and should not be explained as an adaptation in Greek of previous terminology. Rather, *pistis* became more and more a self-definition of Judaism, from within its own linguistic world, a world enlarged from the outside only in the case of Philo (see C. 5 below).

**2. *4 Maccabees.*** In *4 Maccabees* faith is, above all, the observance of the Law under persecution. Included within pisteuein is the meaning of faith in eternal life (7:19). This "faith" appears in a series with "philosophy" and "virtue" (7:21). Models of faith include Abraham, Daniel, and the three men in the fiery furnace (16:22), along with the mother whose seven sons were put to death (15:24; 17:2). In *4 Maccabees* pist- designates the ability to hold fast to God and his Law.

**3. Qumran.** Written in the Hebrew language without direct contact with the intellectual categories of Greek, the Qumran texts take as the object of "faith" the commandments (1QpHab 2:14), the covenant (2:4), the interpretation of the words of the prophets by the priests (2:6), and the interpretation of the Law by the "teacher of righteousness" (8:1–3). It may well be that this understanding of faith in Judaism was influenced by Deuteronomy (9:23) or, respectively, by the Deuteronomistic tradition (2 Kgs 17:14), as well as by Hab 2:4. The Hebrew text of Hab 2:4a is unclear; 2:4b is to be translated as follows: "the just shall live by his faith" (RSV). This statement is founded upon a declaratory form, wherein life is promised to the just (e.g., Ezek 18:9). In Hab 2:4 faith stands for life, corresponding to the life-promising commandment of God, which is in response to the faithfulness of God, just as the righteousness of the righteous corresponds to the righteousness of God. After the closing of the canon of the Hebrew Bible, the righteousness of the righteous was defined in this way: that they hold fast to the will of God revealed in the Law. Turning to this God means "to come to believe" (Jonah 3:5; Jdt 14:10). See also FAITH (OT).

**4. The Wider Sphere.** That "faith" has become a term of self-definition of Judaism in the times preceding early Christianity, cannot indeed be explained by the encounter of Judaism with the Greek world. This concept developed within a sphere little affected by such an encounter, and the equivalence of pist- and *ʾmn* evidenced in the LXX transferred into the Greek-speaking world. Immediately arose the problem of how such a self-definition could be made understandable in connection with the Greek language.

In the wider sphere of early Jewish Greek literature, pist- is in any case used as, in Greek usage, it refers to "faithfulness" (Pseudo-Hecataeus and Pseudo-Phocylides), "trustworthiness" (Ezekiel the tragic writer), "to trust" (Pseudo-Phocylides). The definition of pist- as a relationship to God is indeed lacking in the *Letter of Aristeas* and in *Joseph and Asenath.* The texts collected in the Corpus Papyrorum

Judaicarum, which displays the everyday use of Greek words, provide only *pistis* and pisteis, respectively, in the sense of legal terminology (*CPJ* 143.17; 146.44; 490.4; 508.5; *cf.* 424.6, 450.31). In the inscriptions of the Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum we find *pistis* once as "faithfulness" (*CIJ* 1451.4); in the same collection the meaning of *fides* appears twice (*CIJ* 72.3; 64.1), along with one occurrence of the meaning vera fides ("reliable pledge," *CIJ* 476.7). The fragments of literary texts, especially Jewish texts, which are contained in papyri and inscriptions, therefore, demonstrate a great restraint in the use of pist- as a self-definition; it is much easier to identify a familiarity with the possibilities of the meanings of words in Greek.

**5. Philo.** Philo of Alexandria is the first theologian known to us who represents his Jewish tradition as *pistis.* He clearly follows the Greek usage which connects *pistis* ("faithfulness") with the oath or employs *pistis* to mean "proof"; yet he also uses the phrases *pisteuein to theo* and *pistis pros theon* ("to believe in God"/"to be faithful to God") as a central part of his representation of the "Mosaic philosophy." In this connection, he attaches great importance to the story of Abraham and especially to the passage Gen 15:6; concerning Moses, he refers not to Exodus 4 but Num 12:7. *pistis to theo* is, throughout, the opposite of putting trust in the creature or in vain reasonings; it is, rather, turning to the one who alone is truth and stands over and above the creature. The interpretation of Gen 15:6 in *Heres* 90–101 is a good example of how Philo understood *pistis* (cf. also *Abr* 262–74). He asks the question of whether pisteuein is worthy of praise. He understands *pistis* to be the most perfect of virtues (91); it was also a virtue in Stoic tradition (see B.2 above), although not the most perfect virtue. *pistis* is not easy to achieve, because of our "mortality, which works upon us to keep our trust (pisteuein) placed in riches and repute and office and friends and health and strEngth and many other things" (92); *pistis* is "to distrust created beings …, and to trust in God, and in him alone, even as he alone is truly worthy of trust" (93). On the second part of Gen 15:6, Philo remarks "that nothing is so just or righteous as to put trust in God alone" (94).

In *Heres* 96–99 Philo explains the journey of Abraham out of Chaldaea (Gen 15:7) as a departure away from apistia. Abraham turned away from his trust in the creature to a trust in the Creator. Abraham thus became the model for conversion to Judaism as the true way to honor God. The way to faith, according to the Aristotelian tradition (see B.2 above) was in mathesis ("learning"); yet a mathesis which did not simply pertain to an investigation of the nature of the world, but a complete transformation: "to put on that surest and most stable quality, faith" (*Conf* 31). In Philo is displayed a self-definition of Judaism as *pistis* under the conditions of Greek philosophical language. Philo obviously cuts himself off from the tradition of the Stoa and to Aristotelianism, though not from Platonic tradition. From his biblical texts he took up *pistis* as a key word and interpreted it in categories which were understandable and plausible in the Greek philosophical tradition. How difficult such an enterprise was can be seen in the fact that no Christian achieved such a synthesis until Clement of Alexandria (see E below).

**6. Josephus.** It is interesting to compare Philo's use of pist- with that of Josephus, even though in the latter's representation of the OT he makes use of the word group pist- only where it could be understandable to Greek readers. This word group is lacking in Josephus' representation of Abraham, just as it is lacking, incidentally, in the writings we possess from other Jewish-Hellenistic authors. The concept which stands for Judaism as a whole is, according to Josephus, eusebeia ("piety"); he peri theou pistis ("the belief concerning God") is only a version of it as teaching (cf. *AgAp* 2.163–171). The meanings of *pistis* which predominate in Josephus are "faithfulness," "pledge(s)," "proof," and he registers his description of OT legal passages in the Greek language, whether or not the LXX had pist- or the Hebrew text had *ʾmn.* Otherwise, just as Philo led Josephus in works written for non-Jews, faith in Josephus is not a self-definition of Judaism; and nowhere is it visible in Josephus' works that "faith" is a phenomenon specific to Judaism.

**D. New Testament**

In the NT, in otherwise theologically quite different writings, pist- predominates as a self-definition of what the essence of the Christian proclamation is. Lexically, one finds first in the NT the connection between *pistis* and pisteuein through the preposition eis, "in," a connection made possible by the interchangeability of eis, "in (to)," and en, "in," in Koiné Greek. Such a dominance was prepared for in

the Greek language of Judaism, which was influenced by the translation of the LXX (see C.4 above); those who, through the Diaspora synagogues, had confidence in this specific language, could well understand what was meant by, and could take offense at, Christianity's frequent use of *pistis* to define itself.

**1. "Faith" and Self-definition.** It is therefore indicative that in the later writings of the NT, e.g., the Pastoral Epistles (see D.5.), the theological language of Christianity relieved itself of ideas originally influenced by Judaism, and went back more strongly to religious ideas traditional in Greek. On the other hand, Christianity understood *pistis* as "faithfulness," yet it also understood dikaiosyne ("righteousness"), corresponding to Greek tradition, all the more in the ethical sense. Since the Christian canon of the Hebrew Bible and the NT passed on *pistis* so strongly as a self-definition of Christianity, the Christian theologians of the 2d and 3d centuries gave up *pistis* not simply in favor of other categories; but they had to take on *pistis*, and in the Latin-speaking world *fides*, as fundamental categories (see E below).

At the beginning of early Christianity, it was not the linguistic usage of Jesus which had formed the language of Christian theology. Rather one can see in the NT a variety of traditions, which at the same time in Judaism had taken up the developed meanings of pist-, and from them formulated concepts of how salvation was accomplished in Jesus. At the beginning there was no unified concept of faith, which was interpreted in different ways; yet early Christianity did have a common self-definition of *pistis*, which referred in different ways to salvation accomplished in Christ.

**2. The Jesus Tradition.** In the Jesus tradition of the Synoptic Gospels, one encounters pist- quite often. A large and obvious block of occurrences of these words is in miracle stories. Since these stories go back to stories of Jesus told by the Church, they will be dealt with separately. There are, however, a series of passages which use pist- partly in the general sense of "trust" (Mark 13:21 and par.); yet partly these passages are to be traced back to the later Church (e.g., Mark 1:15: "believe in the Gospel"). The word group pist- is lacking in the tradition of the parables which can be unquestionably ascribed to Jesus.

Jesus had not encouraged "faith" in and of itself. Such a formulation appears first in Matt 18:6 (it is lacking in Mark 9:42, although many manuscripts add there the words eis eme ["in me"] from Matthew). In the tradition of the words of Jesus there does appear nonetheless the logion on faith able to remove mountains in Mark (11:22–24 [= Matt 21:21f.]. Paul refers to it in 1 Cor 13:2 (*Gos. Thom.* 24 and 106 have it without the motif of faith). In Mark, the conclusion of the story lies in the opposition between faith and doubt; in Q, where Matt 17:20 has the original version (except for the final "and nothing shall be impossible for you") compared with Luke 17:6, the conclusion of the story refers to the discrepancy between faith as little as a mustard seed and its ability to remove mountains. This saying is in accordance with other sayings of Jesus, proclaiming trust in God alone (e.g., Luke 12:22–34; Matt 6:25–34).

**3. Missionary Language.** The missionary language of early Christianity did not take up this linguistic usage of Jesus, yet it did use pist- as a central term in the sense of conversion. It is joined in a minor way to Jewish language, where, in Jonah 3:5; Jdt 14:10; Wis 12:2; and Philo, *Heres* 99, pisteuein in the aorist tense means "to come to believe." As opposed to epistrephein ("to turn toward") or metanoein ("to change one's mind"), which appear as synonymous with pist- (cf. 1 Thess 1:9; Acts 20:21), pist- did not have in Greek the meaning or sense of "conversion." The fact that pisteuein in the aorist, along with *pistis*, appear with this meaning in the NT, is to be explained by the fact that *pistis/pisteuein* was in both Judaism and Christianity a term of self-definition. Paul, for example, reminded his readers in 1 Cor 15:1–11 how they came to faith (episteusate, 1 Cor 15:2, 11). He cites there the words he used to preach the gospel to the Corinthians, and he uses terms of verbal transmission ("to deliver"/"to receive"). The content of this gospel is that Christ died for our sins and that he has been raised on the third day (1 Cor 15:3f.); this content of the gospel is the content of their faith. "To come to believe" means therefore the acceptance of this proclamation. In the letters of Paul noun and verb display a thorough affinity to the Christos-title. This title has a firm position in the tradition taken up by Paul in 1 Cor 15:3b–5, where different interpretations of the death and resurrection of Jesus are compared. The connection of this precise content with pisteuein in the aorist, along with *pistis*, often is not traceable back to Paul himself; Paul, rather, took up already existing early Christian language (cf. Acts 24:24; Col 2:5). Faith has, in this connection, the

meaning of the acceptance of the proclamation of the death and resurrection of Christos as a final salvific event (cf. 1 Thess 4:14; Rom 6:8). The reason why Paul speaks only in 1 Thess 1:8 of faith in God is to be found in the fact that in his tradition, faith had this specific content. One should not suppose that faith in Jesus stood over against faith in God; rather, faith was in God who in the death and resurrection of Christ had accomplished salvation. God is the logical subject of the passively formulated expression concerning the resurrection of Christ. This expression of faith did, of course, set itself over against Judaism; yet it did not proclaim a new God, but the final salvific activity of God. This faith set itself also against paganism, as 1 Thess 1:9–10 shows: the proclamation of the living and true God (in contrast to the idols), along with God's son, whom God raised from the dead and who will deliver us from the wrath to come. The acceptance of this faith meant salvation (1 Thess 5:9–10).

That God achieved salvation is also a theme of NT miracle stories, while in other ancient miracle stories *pistis/pisteuein* often does not occur. Particularly typical is the story of the healing of the epileptic boy, Mark 9:14–29, where faith on the part of the healer, as well as those who seek healing, is a condition for the success of the miracle. The connection of *pistis* with gifts of healing and the working of miracles in 1 Cor 12:9f. shows that *pistis* can mean a special charisma of the healers of the sick. In Acts 9:42; 13:12; and 14:9, faith is indeed the reaction of the observers of the miracle; this corresponds to the linguistic usage of conversion: on the basis of the miracle, faith is present as the act of turning oneself toward the proclamation.

**4. The Letters of Paul.** The linguistic usage presented above is above all to be found in the letters of Paul. For Paul *pistis*, along with pisteuein in the aorist, means conversion to the proclamation of God, who raised Jesus from the dead, a new God for people who were previously pagans, the same God for Jews. With the exception of Rom 3:3 and Gal 5:22, where *pistis* appears with the meaning "faithfulness," *pistis* always means "faith" in this sense; in the connection *pistis Christou* the genitive always designates the content of faith (cf. otherwise the pairing of eis Christon Iesoun episteusamen, "we have believed in Christ Jesus," and *pistis Christou*, "faith in Christ," in Gal 2:16), not the faithfulness of Jesus. Such a conversion Paul describes for himself in Phil 3:4b–11 (cf. Gal 1:11–16) as the turning away from the Law and the turning toward faith. The Law does not lead to the righteousness of God; only faith does. Faith here indeed means salvation, citizenship in heaven (Phil 3:20).

Programmatic is the connection between justification and faith formulated in Rom 3:21–31, where verb and noun appear no less than 9 times. Paul had said in Rom 1:16 that in the gospel the righteousness of God has been revealed unto salvation for everyone who believes. This he takes up again in 3:21, now in contrast to the Law, even though this righteousness of God is demonstrated from the Law and the Prophets. The basis of his argumentation is the christological formula he takes over (3:24–26a), which describes salvation as a renewal of the covenant through the redemption by means of the blood of Christ, which will suffice for the forgiveness of sins. Paul, however, attaches to the end of the formula the result of salvation history, justification by faith in Jesus (3:26b). For this exclusive connection of justification and faith (in Christ) Paul appeals in Romans 4 to the story of Abraham, which indeed comes from the Law in Gen 15:6, where righteousness is reckoned to him because he believed God. The Jewish traditions had always maintained that Abraham had known the Law and kept it (cf. Sir 44:20; *Jub.* 24:11; among other passages), and that Abraham's *pistis* (= faithfulness) had been demonstrated in his readiness to sacrifice his son Isaac (cf. Sir 44:20; 1 Macc 2:52). Against this view, Paul maintains that the Law came 430 years after Abraham, while Jewish tradition since Gen 26:5 had understood Abraham's faith as resting on his observance of the Law. Paul maintained in Rom 4:9 that Gen 15:6 was said before Abraham was circumcised (cf. Gen 17:24). Paul takes as the content of Abraham's faith the belief that God gives life to the dead and calls into being that which is not (Rom 4:17). This was already interpreted as faith in God, who justifies the godless (4:5); at the end of the chapter Paul takes up those who believe in God, who raised Jesus, our Lord, from the dead (4:24).

For Paul, therefore, Abraham becomes the example of conversion, in fact the conversion to the proclamation of God who has achieved salvation in Christ. Paul in this way goes back to Jewish traditions which held Abraham to be the first proselyte (cf. *Jub.* 11:16–24; 12:1–18 among others; above all Philo,

*Heres* 90–101). In Jewish interpretation, Abraham turned at his conversion to the Law, while Paul sets Law and faith as alternatives: Abraham came to faith before he knew the Law. His circumcision was only the "seal of the righteousness by faith" (Rom 4:11). Such an interpretation of Gen 15:6 had been spoken against by the author of the letter of James (see D.9. below). According to Paul, faith is first of all made precise from its content, which achieves salvation; faith is made possible by proclamation (Rom 10:14 f.). Indeed, where *pistis* is used absolutely (cf. especially Gal 3:23–25), without specification of its content, this content is understood: faith in God, who in the death and resurrection of Christ has achieved salvation, outside of the Law. The triad of faith, love, and hope (1 Thess 1:3; 5:8; 1 Cor 13:13; cf. Col 1:4 f.; Eph 1:15–18; Heb 10:22–24) is often put forward by Paul; in 1 Thess 5:8 these three ideas are assigned to the two parts of disarmament in Isa 59:16. Paul explains the triad thetically, not polemically; the triad is not used here as an anti-gnostic attack (Porphyry was the first to understand a way from faith to the knowledge of the truth, to love, to hope, in opposition to the Christian insistence on faith). Paul interprets the triad in Rom 5:1–5 in the sense of his doctrine of justification: justification by faith (5:1), hope in the glory of God (5:2), grounded in the gift of God's love (5:5). The three concepts are therefore fulfilled, according to their content, through justification.

**5. The Deutero-Pauline Letters.** The use of pist- is established in two directions in the Deutero-Pauline letters. On the one hand, proclamation is established as right teaching, as opposed to heretical teaching (cf. Eph 4:5; 1 Tim 4:6); on the other hand *pistis* as "faithfulness" is understood as a virtue which, for example, Timothy should take for his example (cf. 1 Tim 1:5; 2 Tim 1:5, among other places). *pistis* in this double sense is a criterion of opposition to heretics; yet it has otherwise become a central term of self-definition. In its internal usage, however, *pistis* remains a self-definition; although it is especially submerged in the Pastoral letters beneath the Greek terms eusebeia or epiphaneia; otherwise *pistis,* like dikaiosyne, is understood as an ethical concept, corresponding to the tradition of Greek usage.

**6. The Synoptic Gospels. a. Mark.** Mark locates programmatically at the beginning of the activity of Jesus a summary of the proclamation of Jesus (1:15): the nearness of the kingdom of God and the demand for conversion and faith in the gospel. In this demand, the early Christian linguistic usage of conversion is taken up (see D.3 above). Those addressed by this demand are the readers of the gospel, who should put their honest faith in the name of Jesus, as he is presented in the gospel itself (13:21 f.). It is important to note that the proclamation of the nearness of the kingdom of God in 4:1–34 is followed immediately by the story of the stilling of the sea (4:35–41), in which Jesus reproaches his disciples' failure of faith (4:40). For Mark, the kingdom of God has come near only in the word of Jesus, not in the situation of the destruction of the Temple in the Jewish War; faith in the gospel means, therefore, to hold fast to this gospel. Such a faith can remove mountains; Mark 9:14–29 clearly shows that faith, free of doubt, was an obvious problem for the readers of Mark.

**b. Matthew.** Matthew brings into prominence, out of the Sayings Collection Q (Luke 12:28 = Matt 6:30), the usage of oligopistia ("little faith"; Matt 8:26; 14:31; 16:8; 17:20). This usage has parallels in rabbinic terminology. According to Matthew (and by way of contrast with Mark), faith is an attitude which can be quantitatively expressed as smaller or greater. Since Matthew's gospel was written in argument with newly forming Judaism after the Jewish War, pist- cannot display the disagreement with Judaism as a Christian self-definition; such a self-definition lacks the encouragement to belief (= conversion), for example, in Matt 4:17 as compared with its parallel Mark 1:15.

**c. Luke.** Luke, in his two-volume work Luke-Acts, takes over from earlier tradition the meaning of pist- as "conversion." It is obvious that in the speeches of Acts, pist- is encountered, in fact, in the speeches made to Jews (Acts 16:31; 10:43; 13:39; 20:21; 24:24), but not in those made to gentiles (Acts 14:15–17; 17:21–31). Luke also shows, therefore, the difference between the internal linguistic usage and such usage of language which occurred in Judaism without the influence of the outer world. In contrast to Matthew, who defined the Jesus tradition as over against Judaism after the destruction of the Temple, Luke looks back into Judaism from the standpoint of his contemporary Church, which was truly formed by gentile Christians. Unlike the later apologists, however, who entered the battlefield against Greek tradition, Luke revealed himself to be aware of the problem of defining Christianity against its background as *pistis*.

**7. The Johannine Tradition. a. The Gospel of John.** The gospel according to John was written "that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing, you may have life in his name" (20:31). This passage shows that the content of the gospel is understood to be signs, of which Jesus had performed even more than were written in this book (20:30). These "signs" were miracle stories (cf. 2:11, 23; 4:54; 12:37, among other passages). In contrast to the Synoptic Gospels' miracle stories, John's miracle stories lack the motif of faith which saves (cf. D.3 above). Faith is not the entity that makes miracles possible, from the side of the healer or of those who needed the miracle; rather, miracles happen in order to compel Jesus' followers to believe (2:11, 23; 4:54), who quite occasionally do not do so (12:37). John probably took these miracle stories out of a "gospel of signs," of which indeed the first half of the original end of the gospel (as cited above; 20:31a) is to be explained as a summary. This source recounted the miracles of Jesus (partially parallel to the synoptic miracle stories) with the purpose of awakening faith in Jesus. As the miracle worker of these signs, Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; one would believe in him because he had performed the miracle. The church which stands behind this tradition continues this activity of Jesus; the faithful also do miracles, even greater ones than Jesus (14:12).

In the gospel of John this miracle tradition is integrated into a larger connection in which especially the self-interpretation of Jesus is expressed in speeches; these speeches partially take up motifs of the miracle stories. The speeches make possible not only the faith in the miracles of Jesus; the miracle stories are also the proclamation of Jesus, the Christ, the Son of God. Thus faith is not bound to the direct encounter with Jesus (in the gospel of John only the verb pisteuein occurs, not the noun *pistis*). Faith is present on the basis of "witness" or "testimony" (1:7; 3:11, 32f.) and is drawn from the word (2:22), and from the words (5:46 f.; 6:63) which are continued in the word of the disciples (17:20). The sayings in the gospel of John, which are against a linking of faith and sight (20:29; 4:48), refer on the one hand to a continuation of the activity of Jesus in the proclamation of the Church; on the other hand, the content of faith refers to a specifically Johannine christology, which is to be found in the sayings about the sending of the Son (5:24, 38; 6:29; 11:42; 12:44; 17:8, 21) and in the sayings about the relation of the Son to the Father (14:1, 10f.; 16:27, 30f.). The "I am"-sayings of the gospel are taken up in 8:24 and 13:19; they mean that in believing in Jesus, all human hopes for life, truth, bread, etc., find their fulfilment. Just as in Paul (see D.4 above), faith is strongly specified by its content; clearly the content of this faith is not formulated in terms of the death and resurrection of Jesus, but in terms of a christology of God's sending Jesus into the world. Salvation is accomplished in the sending of Jesus; faith, the acceptance of this salvation, means salvation, so that the believer already possesses eternal life (3:15f., 36; 5:24; 6:40, 47; 11:25f.) and no longer comes into judgment (3:16, 18). "To believe" is thus synonymous with "to realize" (6:69); "to realize" (which, like believing, occurs only as the verb, not the noun) means, just as "to believe" does, the acceptance of salvation which has already happened. In taking up the linguistic usage and the intention of his "gospel of signs," John therefore specifies the content of faith with the faith that is connected to salvation.

**b. The Johannine Letters.** The linguistic usage and intention of the gospel of John is taken up in the Johannine letters: faith rests upon evidence (1 John 5:10f.), "to believe" and "to realize" stand side by side (4:16). Inside the Johannine tradition, however, the definition of the content of faith is debated (in 1 John 5:4, one finds indeed the noun *pistis*), whereas in 1 John 5:1–12 it is formulated against every sort of Docetism. The victory over the world has been won because the Son of God "is come in the flesh" (1 John 4:2). The struggle concerning this confession brings hate into the Church, even though love is commanded.

**8. Epistle to the Hebrews.** In Hebrews, pisteuein and *pistis* occur very frequently, although the majority of occurrences are in the stereotyped repetition of the noun in chap. 11. *pistis* which is bound to an object is found only in 6:1: "faith toward God." This occurrence stands in the midst of a list of "principles," in parallel to "repentance from dead works," which indeed recalls the conversion of the addressees of the letter. The use of the verb pisteuein in the aorist with the meaning "to come to faith" (4:3, in opposition to apistia) also takes up this usage. The verb and the noun, however, are not applied in this letter to the widely unfolding christology of the Son, who was appointed as high priest according to

the order of Melchisedek. The single statement of the content of faith (11:6) takes up a Jewish confessional formula: "that he is, and that he is a rewarder of those who seek after him." *Pisteuein* and *pistis* occur especially in the paraenetic parts of the letter; the dogmatic basis of Christianity does not make use of a self-definition as *pistis. Pistis* is in this letter, in contrast to Paul and John, not used in connection with the christological content of faith, but it marks the way which those who belong to the Christ, as Son and High Priest, must follow. The word *pistis* can be seen to stand behind "patience" (hypomone 10:36; 12:1; makrothymia 6:12). *pistis* means above all "perseverance," the holding fast to a promised hope; it is threatened by apistia as the loss of such a hope. This is unfolded in chap. 11. In 10:32–34 the author had reminded his readers of "perseverance"; the reality of the promise is proven by the OT (10:37f.: Isa 26:20 and Hab 2:4; the series is turned about in Hab 2:4). Because of its opposition to shrinking back in cowardice (10:38f., according to Hab 2:4), *pistis* has here the meaning of "perseverance" or "endurance" in view of the hope. In 11:1 follows a defining sentence; the noun hypostasis occurs also in 1:3 and 3:14 and, corresponding to the philosophical linguistic tradition, should be translated with "substance" (not "assurance" as in the RSV): "faith is the substance of things hoped for, the proving of things not seen." This sentence is exemplified through the whole chapter with a long series of examples from the history of Israel. For Christians, this "cloud of witnesses" should mean those who have followed the previously ordained way (12:1); Christ is the model for them as "author and perfector of faith." "Perfector" means that he is the only one who has reached the goal of the way. In Hebrews, one sees also the same conception of faith which is used in Philo of Alexandria (see C.5.) in the Stoic sense (see B.2.), as an attitude; this is in opposition to how faith is meant in Paul and John as the content of belief.

**9. Epistle of James.** Only through the genitive object in 2:1, "of our Lord Jesus Christ in his glory," is faith defined christologically in James. As in Hebrews, faith is above all an attitude; so in 2:1 the readers are warned against partiality, which is not appropriate to faith. Faith is put to the test through temptations, which produces patience. James 1:6 urges the right way to pray, "in faith," which stands in opposition to doubt. The poor are the ones who can be rich in this faith (2:5). In 2:14–26, the theme of "faith and works" is handled with the thesis (2:20) that faith without works is useless (cf. 2:17, 26). This section is obviously polemically oriented, in contrast to the paraenetic character of the rest of the letter; this polemic can only be directed against the theological tradition which emanates from Paul, since Paul first presented the expressed antithesis of faith against works. This can be seen from the fact that James, in his examples from Abraham and Rahab, uses the catchword "justification" (2:21, 24f.), according to which he spoke of deliverance. The Pauline connection, "works of the Law," is lacking; yet the theme of the Law is indeed taken up in 2:8–13, and the addition "of the Law" to "works" can also in the wider transmission of the Pauline doctrine of justification be omitted (Eph 2:9; cf. Titus 3:5, among other passages). In Jas 2:19 the content of faith is given as a monotheistic confession, which even a demon can say. The passages in James given above, outside this polemical section, show that the Pauline definition of faith as holding fast to something is contradicted; the sayings concerning the Law in 2:8–13 intentionally do this. We encounter in James a massive theological debate between two currents which, particularly in their understanding of faith, are diametrically opposed to one another, resulting only in an either/or: in Paul *pistis* is based on the proclamation of the death and resurrection of Christ, resulting in the antithesis of faith *vs.* works of the Law; in James the understanding of *pistis* is as a Christian virtue, resulting in the unacceptability of Paul's thesis.

**E. The Early Church**

The NT writings display throughout different settings of what is meant by the same self-definition of faith. This is partially because of different ways of taking up Jewish language and Jewish tradition, as well as critical dissociations among them. The Church's compilation of a canon of the NT did not result in a unified concept of faith, just as no unified concept of faith was achieved by the Church's connection with the Hebrew Bible through its acceptance of the LXX as the first part of a Christian canon.

The later history of theology was, however, influenced by the canon. Faith was there as a term of self-definition, and every determination of Christian theology will have to refer back to what is said in the

canon about faith. Since Paul, Hebrews, and James all had to supply, for example, an interpretation for the story of Abraham, this was also true of those who taught about faith. One can see first in Augustine the medieval and also the modern theological differentiation between the *fides quae creditur* and the *fides qua creditur*, i.e., the difference between faith as teaching and faith as behavior, which is in a certain way a product of the connection of NT traditions, in which faith is primarily viewed on the basis of its content (Paul, John), along with the tradition found in Hebrews and James, as well as Matthew, in which faith is viewed primarily from its subjective side. Yet this differentiation is not worthy of recognition in the interpretation of biblical writings. In the strictest sense, NT writings were quoted as part of a normative canon first in the second half of the 2d century C.E.

It is in the Apostolic Fathers, however, that one next sees the continuation of the lines of thought which we had observed in the writings which would become the NT canon: the line of Hebrews can be seen to continue in *1 Clement* and the *Shepherd of Hermas;* the line of Paul continues in Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarp, and Justin Martyr in his *Dialog with Trypho.* These two lines converge in the *Epistle of Barnabas.* The combination of different early Christian understandings of faith occurs, however, in the time in which the question of faith of the two sides was yet again asked anew: once in the inner-ecclesial debate with Christian Gnosticism, and again in the new, unfriendly discussion with the Greek philosophical tradition. Indeed if these two new contexts of the question concerning faith were seldom suggested in the NT, and then appear to stand out clearly in the 2d century, then the asking of the question has become more radical, and the categories for the designation of faith in both of these horizons must first be developed. For this reason, solutions cannot be sought close at hand.

In the debate with Gnosticism, faith was dealt with primarily as the inner determination of faith, which is part of a whole complex of relationships with God, the world, and the human being. Clearly, Gnosticism was in no way a unified movement; hence, there was no single terminology developed. Thus it should not be surprising that gnostics spoke in entirely positive terms of faith, in which the traditional Pauline formulas of "salvation through faith" were taken up or in which the term "faith" was used polemically with a newly developed meaning and content; other gnostics, such as the Valentinians, exercised caution with respect to "knowledge" (gnosis), which was used by them as a concept opposed to "faith," a concept which they devalued. The role of *pistis* is obvious in the Sethian *Paraphrase of Shem* (NHC VII,*1*), even though this theme is lacking in the parallel report of Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.19–22, as well as in other reports of the Sethians. Clearly one does not encounter *pistis* in the cosmology with the otherwise well known triad of Light, Darkness, and Mind, which appears in soteriology along with Spirit, pneuma. Since it was related to Light, the demon who became powerful, it led directly to the revelation of Faith. *pistis* finally destroys physis. Pistis is used here as the name of the redeemer, and that is not to be explained by way of the Christian tradition, in which Paul established *pistis* as that which expected the Christos (e.g., Gal 3:23–25). The gnostics could also speak very positively about faith, in terms of faith as something within the human person, which was not obtained by the previous activity of God in Christ. Otherwise it is possible that a devalued sense of faith was meant, e.g., by the Valentinians (according to Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1.6.2), when *pistis* was assigned to the psychichoi, and these persons were identified with the Christians in the Church.

The decisive difference between Gnosticism and the theologians referred to as orthodox was formulated in the "rule of faith" (*kanon tes pisteos = regula fidei*); *pistis,* or *fides,* is there the orthodox position. This rule of faith was not something already formulated in a previous confession, such as a baptismal confession, which could be brought into play against those who deviated from it. It had to be hammered out in a concrete theological debate. It is not surprising that in the very same Church father, the formulation of the *regula fidei* could be, not insignificantly, disagreed with in its actual wording. The point of disagreement with the gnostics was that the Creation was not the work of an alien, evil God, but the work of the father of Jesus Christ. Another point of disagreement was that Christ was susceptible to suffering, and was in fact crucified. In the shadow of this development of the inner-ecclesial debate about faith, there stood also a longstanding dispute with Jews concerning what faith is. Here, as one views Justin's *Dialog with Trypho,* there are indications that these debates did not take place in a purely literary

way. The subject of the debates was in what way, given the foundation already laid down by Paul of the identity of Christian faith with the OT, the Christian faith could claim "faith" as a self-definition of its own, indeed in direct opposition to the Jews.

More radical than the challEnge of Gnosticism to the Christians, the philosophical tradition brought the faith of Christianity into question. In the philosophical tradition, *pistis* had stood since antiquity among the ideas of knowledge. As in the wide circles of Judaism, which were strongly affected by the Greek background surrounding them (see C.4 above), where faith was not understood to be a self-definition, so also the early Christian apologists attempted to justify Christianity in the face of its Greek and Roman background. They used as technical terms of self-definition ideas from the religious and philosophical tradition, which did not include faith.

Particularly obvious is the usage of Melito of Sardis, who used *pistis* throughout as a self-definition for his Christian readers; Justin Martyr also claimed faith for Christianity as a self-definition, denying it to Jews. In both of these apologies, insofar as words with *pist-* are used, the apologists appear embarrassed for their philosophically trained readers. Out of the Platonic tradition, in which *pistis* could mean knowledge only in the realm of the world of appearances, came Celsus' *Alethes Logos* (about 178 C.E.) as an attack on Christianity. He reproached Christianity directly because of its *pistis* character, and he maintained the superiority of philosophical knowledge over simple *pistis* on the part of Christians.

Even before Origen, who took up the debate with Celsus, Clement of Alexandria was preoccupied in the second book of his *Stromata* with the justification of the *pistis* character, as represented by him, against the background of philosophical epistemology. Behind these prepared defenses against philosophers stood controversial debates; yet for Clement and for any similarly trained Christians the problem was also inner-ecclesial. In the following generations, one can see more and more experiments of a Christian philosophy, which were carried out with the aid of philosophical epistemology. The problem was eased for Clement by the fact that in Stoicism *pistis* could be understood quite positively as "confidence," as opposed to "vain reasonings"; thus the problem did not appear here in its full sharpness, as it would in the encounter with the Platonic tradition. Clement defined faith as an "introduction" *(prolepsis)* and as an "assent" *(synkatathesis),* as it developed from Heb 11:1, which he understood to have been written by Paul: "Faith *(pistis),* however, spoken of as terrible by the Greeks, who hold it to be empty and barbaric, is an introduction *(prolepsis)* out of a free decision, an assent *(synkatathesis)* with the fear of God" (*Strom.* 2.8.4). Origen, on the other hand, in opposition to Celsus, relativized the self-definition of faith insofar, in his view, that all other religious and philosophical schools claimed faith. Thus Origen made faith a general idea, and faith no longer meant the exclusive self-definition of Christianity. The translation of Isa 7:9 in the LXX and Vulgate, which made faith the presupposition of knowledge, was not to be found in the NT, and was first used by Irenaeus to specify the relationship between faith and understanding.

In the time in which the NT canon was being formed, Christianity was forced by Gnosticism, by Judaism, and by philosophical traditions, especially Platonism, to deal with its self-definition of faith; it had to make it precise, defend it, and establish it. With roots in Jewish tradition, taken up in different ways by Christianity, faith as a self-definition became the criterion for differences both within Christianity and outside.

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## *"FAITH OF CHRIST"*

The phrase *pistis Christou* (or its equivalent) occurs eight or nine times in the Pauline corpus (Rom 3:22, 26; Gal 2:16 [twice], 20; 3:22 [3:26 in $P^{46}$ et al]; Eph 3:12; Phil 3:9). Grammatically speaking, the genitive *Christou* may be objective or subjective. In the former case, its meaning is: "faith whose object is Christ." Thus most modern translations render it "faith in Christ" although one can question whether "faith *in*" is equivalent to "faith *whose object is.*" In the latter case, its meaning is "faith (fulness) of Christ." A modern translation which accepts this meaning is the Hebrew version of Franz Delitzsch, which renders it "the faith of the Messiah." In recent years a number of studies have concluded that Paul intended to express a subjective genitive.

### A. Arguments in Favor of the Subjective Genitive

The construction of *pistis* followed by the genitive of a person or of a personal pronoun occurs 24 times in the Pauline corpus not counting the places where *pistis Christou* and its equivalent appear. Twenty times this construction refers to the faith of Christians, individually or collectively, one time to the faith (fulness) of God (Rom 3:3), two times to the faith of Abraham (Rom 4:12, 16) and one time to anyone who has his faith reckoned to him for righteousness (Rom 4:5). In all cases the phrase refers to the faith *of* the individual, never to faith *in* the individual. Kittel (1906: 424) observed that after Paul had used the subjective genitive in Rom 3:3 in reference to the "faith of God," and the subjective genitive in 4:16 in

reference to the "faith of Abraham," he would have hopelessly confused his readers unless he intended the same grammatical construction in 3:22, 26 to refer to the "faith of Christ."

A peculiar change of idiom in Gal 2:16 points to the subjective use of the genitive. Paul says that "a man is not justified by the works of the law but through the faith of Jesus Christ, and we believed in Christ Jesus, in order that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the Law." The passage makes a distinction in construction by alternately using the genitive to express the faith *of* Christ and *eis* with the accusative to express man believing *in* Christ. These phrases can hardly mean the same thing; otherwise the sentence is full of redundancies and tautology.

The use of *pistis* in Hellenistic Jewish literature supports the subjective genitive. *pistis* followed by the personal genitive is quite rare; when it does appear it is almost always followed by the nonobjective genitive. Thus *pistis* occurs 23 times in the OT Apocrypha. Twice it is followed by the subjective personal genitive (Sir 46:15; 1 Macc 14:35) but never by the objective personal genitive. In Philo *pistis* occurs 116 times. Twice it is followed by the subjective personal genitive (*Spec Leg* IV 30, 34); never is it followed by the objective genitive. Josephus uses *pistis* 93 times, four times followed by the subjective personal genitive (*Life* 1.84; *AgAp* 2.218; *JW* 3 §6; 6 §330) and one time by the objective genitive (*Ant* 19 §16). This last reference reads: "provides good evidence *(pistin)* of God's power." In this case *pistin* does not refer to the active faith of a person and consequently is unparallel to the construction *pistis Christou.*

From the above statistics one can argue that it was inappropriate to the Hellenistic Jewish mentality to express the object of faith by means of the objective genitive. Though a theoretical case can be made for it, in actual practice it does not occur. Characteristically the writers use the preposition when they wish to express the object of faith. Thus such phrases as *pistis pros ton Theon* frequently occur (*4 Macc.*15:24; Philo *Mut* 201). But never does *pistis* followed by the genitive of person appear with this meaning. Conversely, the genitive of person is used after *pistis* when the construction expresses the subject of the implied action. Thus frequently such phrases occur as *ten pistin tou Simonos* (1 Macc 14:35) and *tou plethous ... pistis* (Joseph. *Vita* 84), each referring to the faith of the person(s) involved.

The early versions of the NT (the Syriac, Latin, and Coptic) make it clear that the early Church understood *pistis Christou* to mean "faith (fulness) of Christ." The evidence is as follows. The Peshitta renders *pistis Christou* as *haymanutha dameshiḥa,* "the faith of Christ" (or the like) in all 9 occurrences in the Pauline corpus. On occasion it uses the anticipatory *He* to express the genitive relationship and in doing so it renders the phrase even more explicitly to mean "the faith *of* Christ." In Gal 2:16, for example, the Syr reads: *demen haimanutheh dameshiḥa neʿdadaq,* "that by his faith, that of the Messiah, we might be justified." There can be no doubt; the translator understood the genitive to be subjective and the meaning of the phrase to be "the faith of Christ." The Syriac, on the other hand, clearly distinguishes this from phrases that mean "believing in Christ." For the latter the Syriac uses the preposition to convey the meaning. Thus in Gal 2:16 it reads: *ʿaph ḥenan beh beyeshu meshiḥa haymen,* "and we believed in him, in Jesus the Messiah." This renders the parallel Greek phrase, *eis Christon Jesoun episteusamen.*

The Vg always renders *pistis Christou* literally *fide Christi,* "the faith of Christ." In addition it always maintains a clear distinction between this phrase and the act of our believing in Christ. It translates the latter *in Christo credimus.* The consistency with which the Latin makes this distinction makes it clear that the Vg translator(s) understood *pistis Christou* as a subjective genitive.

The Sahidic version renders *pistis Iesou Christou* consistently *tpistis n̄iī̄ pex̄x̄,* "the faith of Jesus the Christ." The Sahidic distinguishes this from "faith in Christ Jesus" by rendering the latter *pistis hm̄ pex̄x̄ ī̄ī̄.* Again there can be no doubt; the two concepts were kept distinctly separate by the different renditions in the Sahidic version.

Although an account of all the versions of the Church lies beyond the scope of this survey, it appears that translations of the NT used throughout the Middle Ages understood *pistis Christou* as a subjective genitive. This is true for the Latin Vg, the Sahidic and Bohairic Coptic, and the Peshitta Syriac. During the Reformation period translations both in England and on the continent continued to render the phrase with the meaning of "faith of Christ." Typical examples are: (a) the old Spanish version of Casiodoro de Reine revised by Ciprano de Valera in 1602, which translates without exception *la fe de Cristo;* (b) the

version of John Wycliffe, dating *ca.* 1380, which translates invariably (including Gal 3:26) "the feith of Jhesu Crist"; and (c) the Authorized Version of 1611 which translates the phrase "faith of Christ" (an exception is Rom 3:26).

Although it would have to be proven by an exhaustive study of all NT versions, it appears that Luther was the first in the history of NT translators to render *pistis Christou* as an objective genitive. He consistently (except for Gal 2:20) translated the Greek *Glauben an Christum.* His rendition, which was perhaps influenced by his theology, has become dominate today and is followed by virtually all modern translations (an exception being that of Delitzsch; see above).

**B. Objections to the Subjective Genitive**

It has been argued that elsewhere in the NT, outside the Pauline corpus, *pistis* is occasionally followed by a personal genitive that is nonsubjective. The key passages are Mark 11:22; Acts 3:16; Jas 2:1; Rev 2:13; 14:12. None of these passages, however, uses an unambiguous objective genitive. Each may be understood as employing a subjective genitive or some other nonobjective usage of the genitive. Mark 11:22 may be translated: "Hold on to the assurance of God [who will do for you what you ask]." (Cf. *AgAp* 2 §218, "confirmed by the sure testimony *(pistin)* of God.") Acts 3:16 may be translated: "And by the assurance *(pistei)* of his name, this one whom you see and know, his name has made strong, and the certainty *(pistis)* which [comes] through it [i.e., his name] has given to him this wholeness before you all." The last three passages, Jas 2:1; Rev 2:13; 14:12, can also be understood as employing a nonobjective use of the genitive. In each instance a genitive of author or source may be implied.

Arland Hultgren (1980) has argued that there is a syntactical reason why *pistis Christou* should not be considered a subjective genitive. Whenever Paul uses the *pistis Christou* formulation he never has the article before either noun. Elsewhere when Paul uses *pistis* before a genitive that is clearly subjective he uses the article before *pistis.* Twice the genitive is a noun (Rom 3:3 and 4:12); in other cases it is a pronoun such as *hēmōn* (Rom 1:8, 12; etc.). But the article with *pistis* followed by a pronoun does not provide evidence for Paul's use of *pistis* followed by a noun since, as Williams (1987: 432) correctly pointed out, usually in the NT the anarthrous noun followed by a personal pronoun does not occur. In other words one normally finds *hē pistis hēmōn,* not *pistis hēmōn.* This means that Hultgren has only two examples where articular *pistis* is followed by a subjective genitive noun to set against the *pistis Christou* formula. This is insufficient to prove his point. Furthermore, according to the canon of Apollonius (3d century), if two nouns are united by a genitive the article should occur with both or neither. Paul regularly employs both ways of writing nouns united by a genitive as the following examples show: *tō nomō tēs hamartias* (Rom 7:23), *nomō hamartias* (Rom 7:25); *tō nomō tou Theou* (Rom 7:22), *nomō Theou* (Rom 7:25). These examples suggest that no difference in meaning exists between such forms as *pistis Christou* and a theoretical *hē pistis tou Christou.*

**C. The Meaning of "Faith of Christ"**

A number of interpretations have been given to the *pistis Christou* formula by those who believe it employs a subjective genitive. Herbert (1955: 373–79) explained it as the frailty of man taking refuge in the firmness and faithfulness of Christ. Torrance (1957: 111–14) explained it as both the faith of God and the faith of man being performed by Christ. Taylor (1966: 58–76) believed that for Galatians the phrase referred to the *fidei commissum* of Roman law. According to him it explains in juristic terms how Abraham's inheritance is passed on through Christ to both Jews and Greeks. Goodenough (1967: 57) argued that Christ's faith was "his trusting that the cross would not be the end, and that God would save him from death because God is *pistos,* God is the righteous one who is absolutely supreme in that he is beyond life and death." He further stated that we share Christ's faith when we identify with him. Hays (1983: 174) concluded that Christ's faith "was manifested in his death on the cross, which, as a representative of human faith, brought about redemption and which at the same time manifested the faithfulness of God." He further said that Christians are saved not by their own faith but by participation in Jesus Christ who was a representative figure. Pollard (1982) interpreted the phrase as Christ's own faith in God demonstrated by his obedient life and death. He suggested that Christians participate in this system of faith by believing in God and by obeying him as Christ did.

It is likely that the *pistis Christou* formula, especially when it occurs in Romans and Galatians, relates primarily to the inclusion of the Gentiles. The faith of Christ is the fulfillment of the promise given to Abraham that all the nations will be blessed in him. Christ kept faith (= faith of Christ) with the divine promise by opening the doors to the Gentile nations. For Paul, then, the doctrine of justification by faith is the doctrine that by the faith of Christ God has united Israel and the nations in the present age in order to lead them to faith in God and to accomplish the salvation of mankind.

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**FALCON.** See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

**FALSE APOSTLES** [Gk *pseudapostoloi* (ψευδαποστολοι)]. False apostles are mentioned only in 2 Cor 11:13 within the context of Paul's defense of his apostleship (chaps. 10–13). The term may have been coined by Paul himself as a derogatory refutation of his opponents' claim to be apostles (cf. "false witnesses" *[pseudomartys]* in 1 Cor 15:15 and "false brethren" *[pseudadelphos]* in 2 Cor 11:26). The term aptly summarizes Paul's characterization of his opponents which is antithetical to a true apostle. They preach another Jesus, offer a different spirit, and proclaim a different gospel (11:4). Although claiming to be servants of Christ (10:7; 11:23), they are really servants of Satan disguised as apostles of Christ and servants of righteousness (11:13–15).

Virtually nothing is said about the teaching of the false apostles. Some scholars claim that they are Judaizers because they stressed their Jewish heritage (11:22). Paul's accusation that they are false apostles and his later insinuation that they are false brethren (11:26) recall his characterization of Judaizers in Galatians as false brethren (Gal 2:4). There is some indication that, like the Gnostics, they claim to possess special knowledge (10:5; 11:6).

Only slightly more can be surmised about the character of the false apostles. They are so boastful of their own accomplishments (10:12; 11:12, 18, 21) that Paul ironically refers to them (or the Corinthians appraise them) as "super apostles" (11:5; 12:11). They claim that Paul was weak and their speaking ability superior to his own (10:10; 11:5–6). They challenge Paul's claim that the Corinthian Church was his own field of mission (10:13–18). They were leading the Corinthians away from a sincere devotion to Christ (11:3) for selfish exploitation (11:19–20; cf. 11:9).

The false apostles claim that because Paul accepted financial support from other churches while refusing it from the Corinthians, he did not love them (11:11; 12:13). With this accusation they may have capitalized upon contemporary understanding that by refusing to fulfill patron-client expectations, Paul was affronting the Corinthians' friendship. Perhaps they went so far as to stress that rather than receive their support Paul chose to be a craftsman (tent maker), the most demeaning way an itinerant teacher could make a living.

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**FALSE CHRISTS** [Gk *pseudochristoi* (ψευδοχριστοι)]. The sole NT references to false Christs are parallel sayings of Jesus found in the eschatological discourses of Matthew (24:24) and Mark (13:22). In both contexts Jesus warns his disciples of the appearance of false prophets and false Christs who will show signs and wonders (and also probably teach falsely) for the purpose of deceiving the elect into thinking that his Parousia has arrived (cf. the description of the false prophet in Rev 13:11–18). In a related passage, it is said that these deceivers will even claim, "I am the Christ" and "The time is at hand" (Matt 24:4–5 = Mark 13:5–6 = Luke 21:8). Since the genuine Parousia will be sudden and everywhere visible (Matt 24:27; Mark 13:26), the sign that they are false Christs will be the proclamation of both their followers and false prophets that they reside in a specific hidden location prior to their public appearance, such as the wilderness (where John the Baptist found Jesus) or inner rooms (as if plotting revolution) (Matt 24:26; cf. Mark 13:21).

There is considerable disagreement over whether or not these false Christs are to be equated with the antichrists or the Antichrist mentioned elsewhere in the NT. Stressing their distinction, the false Christs are said to be those who make false claims to be the Messiah, impersonate him, and allow others to proclaim them as such. Stressing their equality, it is argued that the false Christs' very act of impersonating Christ is akin to the antichrists' attempt to usurp his position and pervert his teaching. Like the antichrists, the false Christs are active opponents of Christ, seeking to undo his work and teaching (1 John 2:18, 22; 4:3; 2 John 7), like the supreme Antichrist of the last days (2 Thess 2:1–12; Rev 13:1–10). See also *DNTT* 1: 124–26.

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**FAMILY.** This entry focuses on aspects of family structure in ancient Israel, as well as on the association of household units with early Christianity.

### *OLD TESTAMENT*

An understanding of the nature of the family in the OT is complicated by two factors. One is the historical lEngth of time involved and the changes in cultural and social patterns within that span of time. The other is the range of terminology for kinship relationships, which is often not accurately reflected in English versions of the Bible. The word "family" is used to translate several Hebrew words, none of which means exactly what "family" means in modern, Western usage. In the following survey of the major components and terminology of Israel's kinship system, allowance must be made for variation and changes in the course of history, and for some terminological fluidity.

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A. Terminology
1. *Šēbeṭ/Maṭṭeh* (“Tribe”)
2. *Mišpāḥâ* (“Clan”)
3. *Bêt-ʾāb* (“Father’s House”)
4. Other Kinship Terms
B. Social Functions
1. The *Mišpāḥâ*
2. The *Bêt-ʾāb*
C. Marriage
D. Parents and Children

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**A. Terminology**

Israelite nomenclature is the clearest window into Israelite kinship structure. The search for the guilty person responsible for Israel’s defeat at Ai narrows down from “tribe” *(šēḇeṭ)* to “clan” *(mišpāḥâ)* to “family” *(bêt-ʾāḇ),* and finally to the individual, Achan. These three major social units are then repeated in reverse order when his full name is given: “Achan son of Karmi [patronymic, his own father’s name], son of Zabdi [grandfather and head of his *bêt-ʾāb*], son of Zerah [name of his *mišpāḥâ*], of the tribe of Judah” (Josh 7:16–18). The same three levels of kinship are to be found in many other texts where names are used or selected, e.g., the selection of Saul (1 Sam 10:20f.), and the self-deprecating formulas of Saul (1 Sam 9:21) and Gideon (Judg 6:15): *tribe*, *clan,* and *house*.

**1. *Šēbeṭ/Maṭṭeh* (“Tribe”).** This was the primary unit of social and territorial organization in Israel. The tribes bore the names of the twelve sons of Jacob/Israel, with Joseph divided into Manasseh and Ephraim. Their varied histories are as complex as the history of the emergence and settlement of Israel in Palestine itself. Although, as the nomenclature shows, a person’s tribal identity was important, and in wartime the military levy was on a tribal basis, in terms of practical social impact on ordinary life, the tribe was the least significant of the circles of kinship within which one stood. The secondary and tertiary subdivisions of the social structure were both more socially relevant and also closer to what we could recognize as meaningfully “family” structures.

**2. *Mišpāḥâ* (“Clan”).** This word is awkward to translate. English versions (e.g., RSV) often render it “family,” but this is misleading since the *mišpāḥâ* could comprise quite a large number of families. It was a unit of kinship, but of far wider scope than the English word “family” denotes (except metaphorically). For a subunit of the tribe, the words “clan” and “phratry” are sometimes used (cf. Anderson 1969; *IDBSup*, 519–24). However, in common anthropological and sociological terminology these words usually designate exogamous kinship divisions (i.e., where marriage must take place outside one’s own clan or phratry), whereas the Israelite *mišpāḥâ* was normally (and in some circumstances, statutorily) endogamous, in order to preserve Israel’s system of land tenure (cf. Num 36:1–12). Nevertheless, in spite of this difficulty (fully discussed by Gottwald 1979: 301–5), the word “clan” is perhaps the best available rendering (as in the NIV), since it signifies something smaller than a tribe but larger than a family—precisely its intermediate role in Israel.

The primary nature of the *mišpāḥâ* was a unit of recognizable *kinship.* The clearest evidence of this is in the census lists of Numbers 1 and 26 (cf. Mendenhall 1958), where the sons (in a few cases, the grandsons) of the tribal ancestors (i.e., the sons of Jacob) give their names to the clans of each tribe, as its major subdivisions. It is this kinship factor which lies behind the motive for the supportive and restorative roles of the *mišpāḥâ* in the social and economic spheres (see B.1, below). The tribal and subtribal lists of Numbers 26 would yield a total of about 60 clans in Israel. But it seems certain that there were many more than that, since the numerical size of each would have been very large if limited to 60 clans. In the narratives, some clan names occur which are not recorded in the census lists, and there were probably many more: Saul, for example, was from the Matrite clan (1 Sam 10:21), and David was from the Ephrathite clan (1 Sam 17:12), but neither of these names are found among the clans of Benjamin or Judah in Numbers 26. It also appears that in the process of settlement some place-names became absorbed

into the genealogical structures as clan names, so that some clan names and village or town names became interchangeable (Mic 5:2; 1 Chr 2:5ff.; 4:5). Thus, for example, Shechem, Tirzah, and Hepher, which were Canaanite towns (Genesis 34; Josh 12:17, 24), were included among the clans of Manasseh (Josh 17:26; Num 26:31–33).

This points to the second major feature of the *mišpāḥâ*—its *territorial* identity. The clearest evidence for this is found in the ancient tribal boundary lists purporting to give the tribal portions in the division of the land, in Joshua 13–19. It is repeatedly recorded there that in the division, the tribes were allotted land "according to their clans" (e.g., Josh 13:15, and *passim*; cf. Num 33:54). Within these clan portions, each household also had its patrimonial portion *(naḥălâ),* as is clear from Judg 21:24, but the role of the *mišpāḥâ* in Israel's economic system was very important (see below). So when an Israelite gave his full name, including his house, clan, and tribe, it not only stated his kinship network but practically served as a geographical address as well.

**3. *Bêt-ʾāb* ("Father's House").** This was the third level of the kinship structure of Israel, and the one in which the individual Israelite felt the strongest sense of inclusion, identity, protection, and responsibility. The "father's house" was an extended family, comprising all the descendants of a single living ancestor (the head, *rōʾš-bêt-ʾāb*) in a single lineage, excluding married daughters (who entered their husbands' *bêt-ʾāb* along with their families), male and female slaves and their families, resident laborers, and sometimes resident Levites. Thus, the *bêt-ʾāb* included the head of the house and his wife (or wives), his sons and their wives, his grandsons and their wives, plus any unmarried sons or daughters in the generations below him, along with all the nonrelated dependents. Given the early age of marriage, a head of household could well preside over three generations below his own, so that his house would comprise several nuclear (two-generation) families and (with average fertility even under monogamy) would have been numerically substantial. It is likely that a *bêt-ʾāb* could have comprised some 50–100 persons, residing in a cluster of dwelling units. Thus, Achan was a married man with children, but he was part of the house of Zimri, his grandfather (Josh 7:17f.). Gideon, likewise, though married with teenage sons and servants of his own, lived under the authority and the protection of his father Joash and his house (Judg 6:11, 27, 30f; 8:20). The household of Micah the Ephraimite occupied several dwelling houses and could muster a contingent of men, but they were no match for a superior *mišpāḥâ* (Judg 18:14, 19, 28f.).

The *bêt-ʾāb* in Israel was patrilineal (descent was reckoned through the male line) and patrilocal (the wife left the *bêt-ʾāb* of her father and went to reside within the *bêt-ʾāb* of her husband). Growth would happen by births, acquiring wives for sons, adoptions, attraction of resident workers and craftsmen (*gērîm* and *tšābîm*), and purchase of slaves. Conversely, a *bêt-ʾāb* could shrink even to extinction, through deaths (natural, or unnatural—i.e., war or famine), infertility in general or lack of sons especially (since daughters would marry into other households), and the extremity of selling land and dependents because of debt. Various mechanisms existed to protect households from such attrition or extinction (see below). It is probable that on the death of the head of the household, his sons in the next generation would become heads of their own houses, either dividing the patrimony, or possibly in some cases choosing to live on it together (cf. Deut 25:5).

**4. Other Kinship Terms.** Kinship terms in the Israelite family were simple, the same terms being used both for immediate blood relatives in the family and for wider relationships both vertically and horizontally, on the male side. Thus: *ʾāb,* "father" (and any male ancestor in the same lineage); *ʾēm,* "mother"; *bēn,* "son" (and any male descendant in the same lineage); *bat,* daughter; *ʾaḥ,* "brother" (and any male member of the same *mišpāḥâ*); *ʾāḥōt,* "sister." Since kin was reckoned unilineally through the male, the mother's relatives were not counted genealogically as kin, nor given differentiated generic names (cf. *IDBSup,* 519–24 on different systems of distinguishing kin). Thus, *dōd* and *dōdâ* refer respectively to the paternal uncle (father's brother) and his wife (sometimes father's sister). But although the terminology could be elastic in scope, the relationships themselves within the empirical extended family were carefully regulated. The prohibitions on certain degrees of kinship for marriage purposes (Lev 18:6–18; 20:11–14, 19–21) were not concerned so much with sexual ethics in a general sense, but

with limiting and protecting the permitted sexual liaisons within and between the nuclear units within the extended family, for the sake of its overall stability (see Porter 1967).

**B. Social Functions**

The Israelite capture of Palestine meant the replacement of one social system with a very different one. Palestine before Israel was a city-state culture, with a very stratified social and economic hierarchy, topped by the local kings and their elites, supported by the mass of taxpaying tenant peasants. This power-at-the-top, poverty-at-the-bottom pattern was accurately portrayed and warned against in Samuel's speech to monarchy-seeking Israelites (1 Sam 8:10–18). By contrast, Israel emerged as a social system based on a broad equality of kinship groups, initially without a centralized, elite power base. Even after the establishment of the monarchy (after much resistance, which never really died out), the kinship pattern survived as a potent social reality at local levels of authority and decision making. Many studies have shown that it was within the smaller kinship units, especially the *bêt-ʿāb* and the *mišpāḥâ,* that the individual found his or her identity as a member of the covenant people of Israel, and learned his or her obligations to the society and the God of Israel. The following brief survey of the social roles and functions of the *mišpāḥâ* and the *bêt-ʿāb* will show this familial basis of Israelite society and its significance in its members' theological self-understanding.

**1. The *Mišpāḥâ.* a. Socioeconomic.** The expression "protective association of extended families" (Gottwald 1979: 257ff.) is accurate as a description of the *mišpāḥâ* because its role was primarily protective and restorative for the constituent households. The focus of this role was the figure of the *gōʾēl,* the "kinsman-redeemer." The extent of kinship within which a man could be required to act as *gōʾēl* was bounded by the *mišpāḥâ.* This is clear from the regulations for land redemption by a relative in Leviticus 25:49. The responsibility starts with a brother, moves to uncle, cousin, and then to "any blood relative [lit. "of the flesh of"] in his *mišpāḥâ.*" The range of responsibilities that could fall on the shoulders of a kinsman as a *gōʾēl* was wide and varied.

First, he was supposed to avEnge the murder of a kinsman (Numbers 35). This is obviously a form of deterrent protection of the lives of the personnel of the *mišpāḥâ* (though it could, in extreme circumstances, be counterproductive, as the hypothetical, but presumably realistic, story of 2 Sam 14:4–11 shows).

Second, the *gōʾēl* was supposed to raise a male heir for a deceased relative (Deut 25:5–10). This was a form of emergency marriage (known as "levirate," from Latin, *levir,* brother-in-law) to the widow of an Israelite who had died childless. Its purpose was to preserve his name and patrimony by raising a son who would be counted as the son and heir of the deceased, even though fathered by the kinsman. It appears to have been a less than popular duty, judging by the form of the law. The economic reasons for the reluctance to perform it appear in Ruth 4. The nearer kinsman to Boaz declined to redeem the land of Naomi and Elimelech (deceased) when it turned out he would have to marry Ruth, since any son born to them would inherit the land which he had paid for and would have to maintain throughout the child's minority. Boaz's contrasting willingness to act as *gōʾēl* for both the land and for Ruth is consequently seen as even more praiseworthy. The local residents appropriately pray that he will have more than one son (Perez was a twin, and bore two sons)—the first for an heir to Elimelech, and others as heirs for himself.

Third, land within the *mišpāḥâ* had to be redeemed (Lev 25:23–28). If a kinsman became poor and had to sell part of the land of the *bêt-ʿāb,* it was the duty of a fellow kinsman either to buy it in advance (preemption) or buy it back if sold (redemption—the law has been interpreted both ways and both were possible). It then remained in the hands of the redeemer until the Jubilee year, when it returned to the original *bêt-ʿāb.*

Fourth, the redeemer was supposed to maintain or redeem the person or dependents of a kinsman in debt (Lev 25:35–55). The duties included providing interest-free loans (vv 35ff.), complete maintenance within one's own work force (39ff.), and redemption from bondage if the poor brother or his dependents had sold themselves to an outsider (i.e., outside the *mišpāḥâ,* not necessarily to an ethnic foreigner, vv 47ff.).

From this it is clear that the *mišpāḥâ* existed primarily for the good of the constituent families. There is no evidence that it exercised any separate authority over them, or wielded any economic demands of its own. As Gottwald (1979: 267) notes: "The *mišpāḥāh* stands out as a protective association of families which operated to preserve the minimal conditions for the integrity of each of its member families by extending mutual help as needed to supply male heirs, to keep land, to rescue members from debt slavery, and to avEnge murder. These functions were all restorative in that they were emergency means to restore the normal autonomous basis of a member family, and they were all actions that devolved upon the *mišpāḥāh* only when *bēth-ʾāv* was unable to act on its own behalf."

**b. Military.** The census lists of Numbers 1 and 26, which stress the listing of clans and houses, were explicitly linked to military capacity and the enrollment of the army. The term *ʾelep,* as well as being the numeral "one thousand," also could be used synonymously for *mišpāḥâ,* usually in military contexts. It seems that the *ʾelep* was the "*mišpāḥâ*-at-arms"—i.e., the contingent of soldiers supplied as its quota to the tribal levy. This may have been very ideally 1,000, but in reality was far fewer than that. (Some scholars reckon that this accounts for the impossibly high figures for the army in Numbers 1 and 26: the number of "thousands" may actually be the number of clan units in the tribal quotas.) When Gideon set out to raise an army against the Midianites, he began with his own Abiezrite *mišpāḥâ,* after which he called out the rest of the clans of Manasseh, and only then came the wider appeal to the clans of other neighboring tribes (Judg 6:34ff; 8:2). Jesse's Ephrathite clan's contribution to Saul's army against the Philistines included three out of his eight sons in the *bêt-ʾāb,* and the provisions he sent by young David included ten cheeses for the commander of their *ʾelep* (1 Sam 17:12–19). Thus the obligations of kinship in Israel included not only the socioeconomic restorative role of the *mišpāḥâ,* but also the duty of providing manpower for the army in time of war, and both were regarded as fundamental obligations to Yahweh himself. The Song of Deborah is strong evidence for this sense of mutual obligation and equates the "righteous deeds [i.e., military triumphs] of Yahweh" with the "righteous deeds of his peasant farmers in Israel" (Judg 5:11).

**2. The *Bêt-ʾāb.*** Sociologically the *bêt-ʾāb* was the most important small unit in the nation and for the individual Israelite, man, woman, or child—slave or resident alien—it was the essential locus of personal security within the national covenant relationship with Yahweh (cf. Mendenhall 1960; Wright fc.).

**a. Economic.** The *bêt-ʾāb* was the basic unit of Israel's system of land tenure, each having its own *naḥălâ* (inheritance) of land, and therewith intended to be economically self-sufficient. The intention of Israel's land tenure system, namely that ownership of land should be as widely spread as possible with broad equality over the network of economically viable family units, was embodied in and protected by the principle of *inalienability.* This was the rule that the land should remain in the family to which it had been apportioned, and could not be sold permanently outside the family. It was a rule tenaciously adhered to through Israel's history, as far as the evidence points. The whole OT gives us no single example of an Israelite voluntarily selling land outside his family. Recorded land transfers were either kinship redemption (Jeremiah 32, Ruth), sale by non-Israelites (2 Samuel 24; 1 Kgs 16:24), or nonvoluntary mortgage of land for debt (Neh 5:3). Nor is there any inscriptional evidence from Palestine of Israelite sale and purchase of land, even though there are abundant records of such transactions from Canaanite and surrounding societies. The only legal method by which land in the OT period "changed hands" was by inheritance within the family. Even Ahab recognized this, when faced with Naboth's stand on this principle (1 Kings 21). The means used to circumvent it and the forcible confiscation of Naboth's family land show the grim fulfillment of Samuel's prediction as to what monarchy would entail for the previously economically autonomous families of Israel. In fact royal intrusion into Israel's traditional family land tenure system went back to David himself (see Ben Barak 1981). The case of the daughters of Zelophehad, according to which surviving daughters could inherit land in the absence of sons but must marry within their own *mišpāḥâ,* expresses the principle of inalienability most explicitly (Num 27:1–11; 36:1–12).

It was this inalienability principle which lay behind the duty of redemption within the *mišpāḥâ,* which we have already observed (Lev 25:23). Even more so it was the rationale of the Jubilee institution. One

effect of the exercise of land redemption over a period of time could be that a few better-off households within a *mišpāḥâ* could acquire (by redemption or preemption) the land of more impoverished ones, thus producing a polarization of economic wealth and social power by legal and superficially laudable means. The Jubilee functioned as an override to this potential inequity by requiring that in the fiftieth year (i.e., approximately every other generation), any land that had changed hands within the *mišpāḥâ* through redemption should return to the original *bêt-ʾāb,* along with any dependents who were in bondage for debt. The Jubilee was thus designed to maintain the viability of families on their own land by periodic restoration. It illustrates the point that Israel's economic system was geared—in principle at least, if not in practice—not to the interests of a wealthy elite, but to the economic survival and social health of the lowest socioeconomic units—the extended families on their patriomial land.

**b. Judicial.** Law and the administration of justice were features of life to which the faith of Israel very specifically addressed itself, so much so that it has markedly affected the very shape and substance of the canon of Hebrew scriptures. In this sphere we also find that the *bêt-ʾāb* was of central importance. The role of the family had two dimensions in this matter: internal, domestic jurisdiction, and external, public administration, of justice.

**(1) Internal Jurisdiction.** In certain matters the head of an Israelite household had authority to act judicially without reference to any external civil authority. These included marriage and divorce, matters relating to slaves (except murder or physical injury, Exod 21:20f., 26f.), parental discipline (see Phillips 1973; 1980). This judicial independence of heads of households can be gauged also from the degree of inviolability enjoyed by members of a household under a strong head. They could not simply be seized on suspicion (Deut 24:10f.; Judg 6:30f.; 2 Sam 14:7). Only a "fool" would allow such a thing (Job 5:3f.). The law of the rebellious son (Deut 21:18–21) shows that it was only after internal family action had been persistently flouted that the matter came before the civil elders for public intervention. The *bêt-ʾāb,* therefore, was the primary framework of legal authority within which the Israelite found himself from childhood, and to which he remained subject for a considerable period of his life—even into adulthood and parenthood, while his father was alive. The fifth commandment endows this social fact with all the weight of fundamental covenant obligation to Yahweh.

**(2) The Administration of Justice.** As well as their responsibility for jurisdiction within their own households, the heads of houses acted judicially in the local civic assembly—"the gate." This was probably their major public function as "elders" in the everyday life of the community. The OT never spells out exactly the identity of the elders nor the qualifications for eldership, so there has been room for debate among scholars on the matter. But the most likely view is that they were composed of the senior males from each household—i.e., the *rōʾš-bêt-ʾāb,* who were qualified by their substance—their family and their land (see Wolf 1947; Gordis 1950; McKenzie 1959; Phillips 1970: 17). Job 29, for example, gives a very informative picture of Job's prominent role within the local judicial assembly, which he tragically lost as a result of the loss of his family and substance, described in chap. 30. From this example (which must be true to life, whatever one's view of the historicity of Job himself), it can be seen how disastrous were the results of the loss of land and family. While Israel preserved a social fabric of free, landowning households, the administration of justice by the plurality of local elders would have been potentially healthy and "democratic." But when large numbers of Israelite farmers lost land and dependents, not through sickness but through economic oppression, debt bondage, and dispossession, the results were unavoidably felt in the shift of power in "the gate" in favor of the wealthy few. The combination of economic and judicial corruption was keenly observed and bitterly denounced by the prophets. Obviously not even the judicial reform of Jehoshaphat in the 9th century could halt the process (2 Chr 19:4–11).

**c. Didactic.** A most important aspect of the role of the family in ancient Israel was as the vehicle of continuity for the faith, history, law, and traditions of the nation. The preservation of these "national assets" lay in the hands of the father especially. He was to teach the law of Yahweh to his children, not only as a duty of parenthood, but indeed (in the theology of Deuteronomy) as a condition of his own prolonged enjoyment of the gift of the land (Deut 6:7; 11:19; 32:46f.). Though it is going too far to see

the family as the originating source of Israel's distinctive legal traditions, as Gerstenberger (1965) does, he is right to emphasize the influence of the ancient tribal and patriarchal structure of early Israel on the form and development of Israel's law, and the role of the *bêt-ʾāb* and the *mišpāḥâ* in preserving it.

As well as teaching the law itself, the father was to give explanations to his child concerning particular events, institutions, or memorials. There are five such question-and-answer texts: Exod 12:26f.; 13:14f.; Josh 4:6f., 21–23; and Deut 6:20–24. Soggin (1960) termed these passages "catechetical," in view of the repeated formula "When your son asks you … you shall say …" He regarded them as liturgical in form, which may be so, but that does not exclude the natural locus for such material, i.e., family-level teaching. The examples given offer a catechesis that included events related to the Exodus, the Conquest and gift of the land, and the receiving of the Law—all themes which were at the very heart of Israel's historical faith and relationship with Yahweh. The family's role in preserving both knowledge and understanding of these things was correspondingly crucial.

One of the occasions for this parental catechesis related to the consecration of the firstborn son (and the sacrifice or redemption of all firstborn animals). The texts relating to the human firstborn are Exod 13:2, 12–15; 22:28; 34:1–20; Num 3:11–13; 8:16–18; and 18:15. The rite itself is important as a link between family life in Israel and the national relationship with Yahweh. It had a double significance. First, it seems to have been a symbolic declaration of Israel's complete belonging to Yahweh. The firstborn of Israel had been spared when the firstborn of Egypt had been slain. Hence, those whom God had delivered from death belonged entirely to him (Num 3:13). And since the firstborn, like the firstfruits, represented the whole of which they were the part, this was the basis of the sanctification of the nation as a whole (cf. Jer 2:3). Secondly, it was a declaration of the continuity and permanence of Israel's relationship with God. By claiming the firstborn in each family, God was claiming the whole succeeding generation as his own. The birth of the first son was a very significant event in the life of any family, since it ensured the continuation of the family into the next generation. The consecration of that son to Yahweh symbolically ensured the continuation of the covenant relationship into that generation also. As the psalmists delight to recall, Yahweh is Israel's God "from generation to generation." Like the Passover, to which it is closely related in the text (note the parallelism of the two rites in Exod 13:9 and 16), it is to serve as a constant memorial of the foundational redemptive events of the Exodus. And also like the Passover, it was within the family that this memorial and sign was to be perpetuated.

**d. Covenantal.** From all the above points it can be seen that the family (meaning the *bêt-ʾāb*) was of pivotal importance to Israel's relationship with Yahweh. Its position could be diagrammatically pictured as in Fig. FAM.01 (cf. Wright 1983: 184). First, the family was the basic unit of Israelite kinship and social structure (BD), with important military and judicial functions. Second, it was the basic economic unit of Israel's land tenure (CD), with a wide range of rights, responsibilities, and functions. Third, it was of central importance in the experience and preservation of the covenant relationship with Yahweh (AD).

The social, economic, and theological realms were thus bound together and converged on the focal point of the family. It can be understood how anything which threatened the stability of the socioeconomic structure of the nation (the triangle BCD) would have serious repercussions on the national covenant relationship with Yahweh also, by undermining its roots and soil—the network of free landowning families. From this perspective one can appreciate better the strong concern for the family in the Law and the Prophets. As well as the various institutions designed to protect the family and its economic viability (levirate, inalienability, redemption, Jubilee), there were laws whose severity can best be understood against this familial background. The death penalty for breaking the fifth commandment (honor to parents) and the seventh (adultery) served to protect the family *internally* from the disruption of its domestic authority and its sexual integrity. The eighth (stealing), tenth (coveting a neighbor's house and all that went with it), and prohibitions on the removal of landmarks (boundary encroachment) or kidnapping of persons protected it *externally* from the diminution or total loss of its economic substance.

The importance of the family and its land in the relationship between Israel and Yahweh also illuminates the prominence of the socioeconomic dimension in the prophetic preaching. From the time of Solomon onward, many factors in monarchic Israel militated against the characteristic socioeconomic

structure of earlier Israel with its broad network of economically self-sufficient households, equitable land division, and protective mechanisms. These factors included the political reorganization of the state by Solomon into administrative districts which cut across the older kinship groupings, especially in the N; the acquisition of foreign territories where concepts of land tenure were very different from the inalienable family inheritance structure of Yahwistic Israel; the imposition of taxation and forced levy, which, even when it only included Canaanites, fell heavily on Israelite households which were periodically deprived of working members; and the growth of a wealthy class whose wealth came from Solomon's trade, not from the land, but whose greed led to the intrusion of royal grants and confiscations and the accumulation of large estates at the expense of poorer farmers. The prophets protested against these processes, not merely as the side effects of the wider rejection of Yahweh and his laws, but as an intrinsic threat to the whole covenant relationship itself. If the relationship with Yahweh was so closely bound to the life of the household units and their land, then the social and economic forces which were destroying them would inevitably shatter the nation's relationship with Yahweh also, certainly as it was enjoyed by the members of those households. The familial aspect is apparent, for example, in Isa 5:8–10; Mic 2:1–3, 8f.; 7:5f.

**C. Marriage**

The arrangement of marriage fell within the category of family law in Israel (i.e., as distinct from civil and criminal law, though the distinctions are not as clear-cut as in modern legal categories; see Phillips). Marriages were normally arranged between families, outside the prohibited degrees of kinship in the *bêt-ʾāb* (Leviticus 18 and 20), but usually within the kinship of the *mišpāḥâ*. The latter was obligatory in the case of marrying daughters who, in the absence of sibling brothers, had inherited the land of their father (Numbers 36). Exceptions would have been marriage as the result of prior rape (Exod 22:16f., amended in Deut 22:28f.), and the taking of a wife from captives of war (which was hedged with humanitarian restrictions on mere rapacity, Deut 21:10–14). Marriage with foreigners is recorded (e.g., Gen 26:34; 41:45; Exod 2:21; etc.). For ordinary people, this may sometimes have been the result of economic necessity (e.g., Ruth 1:4); for royalty, a matter of political expediency (e.g., 1 Kgs 11:1ff.; 16:31). The Law, at any rate, disapproved of it (at least, as regards the Canaanite population, Deut 7:3f.) and in postexilic times draconian measures were taken against foreign marriages by Ezra (Ezra 9 and 10) and Nehemiah (Neh 10:30; 13:23–37). Genesis 2:24 and the common prophetic imagery of the exclusive relationship between Israel and Yahweh as sole wife to divine husband shows that monogamy was the ideal. But it is equally clear that polygyny (though not polyandry) was practiced, though the Law (e.g., Deut 21:15–17, and the law governing concubinage, Exod 21:7–11) and some narratives (e.g., Genesis 29 and 30; 1 Sam 1:1–8) are aware of its inherent problems. It seems very likely that an additional wife or concubine was taken primarily for the purpose of acquiring or adding to one's children, that monogamy was probably the general rule among ordinary people (for economic reasons), and that the taking of many wives was purely a symbol of prestige and power (or political alliances) indulged in by royalty, though condemned by Deut 17:14–17.

As in many societies, ancient and modern, the arrangement of a marriage between families involved the exchange of gifts, cementing the relationship not merely between bride and groom but also between their families. This is the context in which to understand the Israelite *môhar*—the money or equivalent given by the bridegroom to the bride's father (Gen 34:12 for Dinah; Exod 22:15f. and Deut 22:28f. for a violated virgin; 1 Sam 18:25, David's exploit for Michal). The common translation, "bride-price" is very misleading in giving rise to the idea that marriage in Israel was solely a matter of *purchase*. (In fact, the etymology and precise meaning of *môhar* is not at all clear, either in the OT or the comparative material which scholars have relied on heavily.) This view, and its oft-repeated correlates, that wives in Israel were chattel property and that adultery was simply a property offense, cannot be supported from a careful study of the laws and narratives about wives in the OT. (Texts concerning daughters or concubines or women in general cannot be used as evidence, though they are often loosely quoted. Daughters were considered a father's property, but that status did not continue after marriage; concubines were purchased slaves; but the status of wives was legally and socially quite distinct.) Nor does this view stand up to the impact of

extensive anthropological and sociological research into societies where such exchanges of money or gifts at the time of marriage still take place and where the practice in no way indicates that marriage is simply purchase (see Thiel 1970). In India, for example, the direction of dowry is the opposite of the OT—that is, it is common practice for the girl's parents to pay large amounts to the bridegroom's family. Scholarly research in this century on the status of women in general and wives in particular in ancient Israel has tended steadily to the consensus that the older view of marriage by purchase and wives as chattels is simply untenable (see Wright fc. chap. 6; Burrows 1938; Mace 1953; Otwell 1977).

Divorce was permitted in ancient Israel. The law of Deut 24:1–4, however, is not so much a law about divorce itself or the conditions on which it might happen (being a matter of family law, divorce cases did not come before the elders and the reasons for divorce in any case were not a matter of civil adjudication: hence the vagueness of the opening phrases of the law on that point). Rather, it is regulating for the protection of the woman in the event of a divorce taking place. First, she must be given a certificate of divorce (so that she could not be accused of adultery if she married again, nor could her second husband be so accused). Secondly, she could not be taken back by the original husband once she had married another (so that she could not be degradingly treated as a sexual object). Though the Law thus permitted divorce, it was not taken lightly in OT faith. Malachi's denunciation of divorce as something Yahweh "hates" (2:13–16) as a form of self-inflicted violence was surpassed only by Jesus himself. The same could be said of the high view of marriage, and the inner springs of thought and desire which threaten it, that are part of the lofty ethical content of Job's self-defense (Job 31:1, 9ff.). Even more inspiring are the portrait of the joys of sexual love and fulfillment in the Song of Songs, and the exalted evaluation of a good wife in Proverbs (31:10–31).

**D. Parents and Children**

It is very evident that children in ancient Israel were regarded as a precious gift from God (e.g., Pss 127; 128). Besides long life, a large family was among the most tangible and desirable of God's blessings. Not only was it the essence of the Abrahamic covenant (Gen 15:5, etc.), a large family was an important element in the blessings that were promised for obedience in the Sinai covenant (Lev 26:9; Deut 28:4). Conversely, barrenness or loss of children were great tragedies.

The authority of parents (both father and mother) and the duty of honor and obedience on the part of children is likewise stressed throughout the OT (e.g. Exod 20:12; 21:15, 17; Deut 21:18–21; 27:16; Proverbs *passim*, but N.B. 20:20; 30:11, 17; metaphorically Isa 1:2; Mal 1:6). In view of the foregoing discussion of the centrality of the family to the national relationship with Yahweh, this emphasis on internal discipline can be more fully appreciated. The security and stability of the family as a whole was valued even more highly than the life of one of its members, as the law of the incorrigible son shows (Deut 21:18–21). (The son in question should not be thought of as merely a mischievous child, but rather as of an age to seriously threaten, by his rebellious behavior, the very substance of the *bêt-ʾāb,* and incapable of being entrusted with an inheritance from it.)

As in the case of the status of wives, however, caution is needed in giving an accurate assessment of the position of children vis-à-vis their parents, especially the father. The view is sometimes expressed that children were the personal property of the father, who, accordingly, had absolute power over them *(patria potestas),* including the right of life and death. The first point is partially correct, with qualifications; the conclusion drawn from it is mistaken.

Several laws do show that a man's children were *legally* regarded as his property with a calculable economic value. In common with other ANE laws, Israelite law protected the child before birth, prescribing that one who injured or destroyed its prenatal life, even accidentally, should pay compensation to the father (Exod 21:22). A daughter had an economic value related to the *môhar* that could be expected at her marriage. Hence, if she were violated while unbetrothed, the offender must compensate the father for the presumed loss of the *môhar* (Exod 22:15f.). Similarly, compensation must be paid to the father of a bride if her husband made accusations about her which could be proved false (Deut 22:13–19). A man could sell his daughter as an *ʾāmâ* (maidservant), sometimes for the purpose of concubinage (Exod 21:7ff.). In circumstances of extreme poverty, parents might be reduced to selling children into bondage,

as working pledges against loans (cf. Neh 5:1–5; 2 Kgs 4:1–7). Thus, children did have a value as property, which could be "realized" in two kinds of circumstance, as far as the legal evidence goes, (i) if they were harmed or "devalued," and (ii) if financial extremity forced parents to use children as "assets."

However, the view that this gave the father absolute power over his children in *any* circumstance must be disputed. It is possible that the father had the legal right of execution over his children in the earliest, patriarchal period, but the evidence is not as strong as sometimes implied. Only Genesis 38:24 is a case of the head of a household passing a death sentence (on a daughter-in-law). Genesis 19:8 and Judges 19:24 describe a father's willingness to sacrifice his daughter's virginity, not the judicial right of life and death. No examples are to be found in the postpatriarchal narratives (Jephthah's daughter was a sacrifice, not an execution; see below). On the contrary, the law of Deut 21:18–21 explicitly limits any such interpretation of *patria potestas* by placing the power of execution of a son in the hands of a court of elders, after due investigation which includes the presence and testimony of the mother as well as the father—probably an added element of protection for a son, in that the consent of both parents was required for the charge to be legally actionable.

Child sacrifice is sometimes said to show the extent of a father's power over his children. Certainly, where it is practiced, it does. But it is decidedly not the same thing as the legal right of execution. The latter is the father's judicial authority over a child legally guilty of an offense. Sacrifice of a (legally) innocent child as a religious or propitiatory rite is a different phenomenon altogether. We have seen that it is very improbable that fathers had the judicial power of life and death over their children. Likewise the majority of scholars would now dissent from the older view that child sacrifice was ever an acceptable, let alone prescribed, feature of Yahwistic religion in Israel. Nevertheless, it happened. But, with the exception of the puzzling story of Jephthah's daughter (Judges 11; cf. also Genesis 22), the incidence of child sacrifice in Israel is limited in time and place: it was mainly concentrated in the reigns of Ahaz (2 Kgs 16:3) and Manasseh (2 Kgs 21:6), in Jerusalem, and survived also in the remnant of the N kingdom after the destruction of Samaria (2 Kgs 17:17). This locates it in the late 7th and early 6th centuries, when Assyrian domination was at its height, and Israel's reversion to pagan practices of all sorts was at its worst. The condemnation of the horrific rite is universal in the Law, the prophets, and the narrative text mentioned above.

Finally, there are several incidents in the OT where a whole family, or especially children, suffer death because of the sin or crime of the father. These have sometimes been understood as showing that in Israel children could be punished along with or instead of guilty parents. This has then been cited as evidence of "corporate personality," or the "primitive mentality" of the Hebrews. Such ideas, however, have been shown to be inadequate and misleading in more recent legal and anthropological research (see Porter 1965; Rogerson 1970; 1978). It must first be pointed out that none of the incidents in any way illustrates normal judicial procedures in Israel (Korah's rebellion, Numbers 16; Achan, Joshua 7; the Gibeonites' revenge on Saul's sons, 2 Sam 21:1–9). They are explicable rather in terms of the solidarity of the family, in cases of serious violation of the covenant or of blood vEngeance. Secondly, the Law itself actually excludes collective or vicarious punishment, in practice and in principle. The law of the goring ox (Exod 21:28–32), by stipulating that the owner of the ox must be dealt with in the same way, whether its victim is an adult or a child, excludes, probably deliberately the common ANE legal principle that for injury to a child the culprit could be punished by injury done to his own child (or even death, e.g., *ANET*, 176, 230). Similarly, in the case of a blow to a pregnant woman causing miscarriage (Exod 21:22f.), the Israelite law provides for compensation, but not the substitution by the offender of one of his own children, as in Middle Assyrian Law A 50 (*ANET*, 184). Such forms of vicarious, substitutionary or collective punishment of children for parents' offenses is ruled out in principle by Deut 24:16. This very law is regarded by the historian of 2 Kgs 14:5f. as the reason for Amaziah's refusal to execute the children of the murderers of Josiah.

Our conclusion must therefore be that while children were certainly subject to the authority of parents, under severe penalty, and while they did count legally as part of the father's property, the social reality

was not as harsh as is sometimes depicted. On the contrary, there is much in the OT to indicate that love, joy, care, and honor were to be found in the Israelite home.

## *NEW TESTAMENT*

### A. Terminology

Two words are used in the NT for family and related concepts. The first is *patria,* which signifies family from the perspective of historical descent, i.e., its lineage. Thus in Luke 2:4, Joseph is of the *patria* of David—his biological lineage, as well as his house, *oikos,* with which it is paired (cf. Luke 1:27). In Acts 3:25 it is used to translate the promise to Abraham that in him all "families" of the earth will be blessed. In Ephesians 3:14 it is linked to the fatherhood of God, which Paul discerns behind all human parentage and lineage.

The second word, *oikos* (plural *oikia*) is much more common and signifies family as household, in much the same way as *bayit* in the OT which this word frequently translates as. In the Greco-Roman world, the *oikos* (Latin, *familia*) was a comparable social unit to the Israelite *bêt-ʾāb.* It included not only blood relatives of the head of the house, but also other dependents—slaves, employees, and that peculiarly Roman phenomenon known as "clients," (i.e., freedmen, friends, and others who looked to the head of the house for patronage, protection, or advancement). *Oikia* could also be used to indicate the property or substance of the household (e.g., Mark 3:23ff.; 10:29f.; 12:40).

### B. Households and the Church

Since the household was a major feature of the Jewish world, and the *oikos* likewise in the Greco-Roman world, it is not surprising that households played a significant role in the growth and character of the early Christian movement. The Jerusalem church worshiped and was instructed *kat'oikon* (Acts 2:46; 5:42; 12:12). The conversion of the entire household of Cornelius (Acts 10) was the first decisive transition of the gospel to the gentiles. Paul's missionary strategy followed suit, as the nucleus of most of his churches consisted of one or several households. Thus, we may note the households of Lydia and the jailer at Philippi (Acts 16:15, 31–34); Stephanas, Crispus, and Gaius at Corinth (Acts 18:8; 1 Cor 1:14–16; 16:15; Rom 16:23); Priscilla and Aquila, as well as Onesiphorus at Ephesus (1 Cor 16:19; 2 Tim 1:16; 4:19); Philemon at Colossae (Philemon 1f.); Nympha at Laodicea (Col 4:15f.); and Aristobolus, Narcissus, and others at Rome (Rom 16:10ff.). In some of these, Paul refers to "the church *(ekklēsia)* which meets in their house *(oikos).*" This could mean that the household itself constituted a church (e.g., all the categories addressed in the "household codes" in Ephesians and Colossians—husband and wife, parents and children, master and slave—would be comprised in a single household), or that it was the nucleus of a wider group of believers who met under its hospitality. At any rate, it is clear that the social nature of early Christianity was markedly centered on household units.

### C. Social Functions

The important social and religious functions of the *bêt-ʾāb* in Israel have been outlined. They could be summarized by saying that the household, for the Israelite, was the place of inclusion, authority, and spiritual continuity (by its role in teaching and preserving the faith and traditions). The same three features are noticeable in the household-church pattern of NT Christianity.

**1. Inclusion.** When Paul describes the new inclusiveness of the gospel in Ephesians 2, he draws heavily on the kinship language of the OT. In Christ, through the cross, gentiles are no longer "para-family" *(paroikos),* that is, no longer "foreigners and aliens" (the equivalent terms to the *gērîm* and *tšābîm,* whose only means of sharing in Israel was to reside within an Israelite household). Rather, they have become "members of God's own household" (a term used to describe Israel), indeed "fellow heirs" (Eph 2:19ff.; 3:6).

Inclusion in the family of God produces strong obligation to one's "kin" in the faith. The social and ethical demands of *koinōnia* (a word with much more practical content than its common translation, "fellowship") are prominent in the NT (Acts 2:42, 44; 4:34; Rom 12:13; 15:26f.; Gal 6:6; 2 Cor 8:4; 9:13; Phil 1:7; 4:15ff.; 1 Tim 6:18; Heb 13:16). The emphasis on sharing, meeting needs, equality, and generosity strongly recalls the economic ethic of the OT and has roots in its household ethos. Thus, the "household of faith" ("family of believers," Gal 6:10, NIV) has priority in the general command to "do

good." And within that, obligations to one's own relatives are strongly reaffirmed (apart from the household codes, cf. also 1 Tim 5:4–8). See also HOUSEHOLD CODES. Of course, the early Christian community also included those for whom natural family ties had been disrupted as a result of their response to the gospel. Foreseen by Micah and commented on by Jesus, this was something for which the early Christian household churches provided compensation. "The way in which the Gospels take up Micah's prophecy of the end-time (Mic 7:6 = Matt 10:35f.; Luke 12:53) indicates that the primitive community had to reckon with the disruption of the family for the sake of the Gospel. Those who take this upon themselves are promised 'now in this time' new 'houses and brothers and sisters and mothers and children' (Mk 10:29f; Matt 19:29; Luke 18:29f). The place of the disrupted family is taken by the family of God, the Christian community" (Goetzmann *NIDNTT* 2: 250).

**2. Authority.** In Israel, authority and leadership, for all practical purposes at local level, lay in the hands of elders, who were almost certainly the senior males from each household. Whether consciously imitating this pattern or not, the early Christian movement entrusted its leadership (under the apostles) to "elders" in each church (always referred to in the plural in the NT), and these seem to have normally been drawn from the functioning heads of households, whose own family life was exemplary (see the guidelines for appointing overseers [*episkopoi*], elders [*presbyteroi*]—probably synonyms—and deacons [*diakonoi*], in 1 Tim 3:2–7, 12; Titus 1:6). It is interesting that women are mentioned as heads of households (e.g., Lydia, Nympha, and Priscilla are always named before their husbands). They are not explicitly called *presbyteroi* of the churches which met in their homes, but it seems not at all improbable that they would have been.

**3. Worship and Teaching.** The Israelite family was the locus of key elements in the continuity of Israel's faith, such as Passover, circumcision, and the teaching of the Law. Similarly in the NT, much of the Church's functioning life took place *kat'oikon,* in homes. This included the preaching of the gospel (Acts 5:42; 20:20); administering baptism (Acts 16:15; 1 Cor 1:16); breaking bread, probably meaning the Lord's Supper (Acts 2:46); and systematic teaching (Acts 20:20). In this last text, Paul recalls that his prolonged teaching ministry in Ephesus was conducted both in public and in homes. And the household codes envisage not only the family-centered nature of the Church, but also the home as the place of Christian education for wives (1 Cor 14:35) and children (Eph 6:4).

Finally, with all this wealth of familial characteristic and their OT background, it is not surprising that the early Christians also took over the metaphorical use of family as a picture for the whole Church. As Israel could be called the *bêt-Yahweh*, "house/family of Yahweh" (Num 12:7; Jer 12:7; Hos 8:1; and Mic 4:2, where the Temple probably stands for the whole land and people of God), so the Church, as the heir and organic continuum of Israel, could be called the *oikos* of God (Eph 2:19; Gal 6:10; Heb 3:2–6; 1 Tim 3:15; 1 Pet 4:17).

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**FAMINE.** The main word used in biblical Hebrew for famine is *rāʿāb.* The same word is used to express the simple idea of hunger. As a noun this word occurs 100 times in the Hebrew Bible. Its verbal cognate *rġb,* "to be hungry," is attested in Ugaritic. The difference between the two main uses of this word depends on the number of persons involved. Hunger is experienced by an individual or small number of persons whereas a famine in biblical thought is a corporate hunger of a larger body of persons. When a famine was particularly severe it was described literally as "heavy" (e.g., Gen 12:10). The Greek term *limos* occurs twelve times in the NT, and a majority of these occurrences refer to famine in the broader sense.

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A. Origin
B. Climatology
C. Historical Famines
D. Famine and Theology

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**A. Origin**

A famine or shortage of food with which to feed the population can develop when the process of production and delivery of food is interrupted anywhere along the chain. Two main types of disruptions bring this about. The first is climatological. In this case the production of food—especially the grain crops—is cut off in its initial growth phase through inadequate rainfall. A significant decrease in the amount of rainfall in the grain-growing areas results in a corresponding shortage in the amount of grain produced. If this is severe or widespread the population may experience a famine of sufficient severity that some persons die from starvation.

Classical biblical examples of famines which resulted from conditions like these include the famines in the times of the patriarchs (Gen 12:10; 26:1; 41:54–57) and the famine in the time of Elijah (1 Kgs 17:1). In ANE texts these conditions were encountered especially during the First Intermediate Period in Egypt (ca. 2150–2000 B.C.E.) from which come an extensive series of inscriptions from local governors who

complained about low Nile river levels and poor crop production, and the need to search upriver and downriver to find grain with which to feed their subjects.

Plant disease or plagues of insects, especially locusts, may accompany drought conditions and worsen a famine by further destruction of crops, or this kind of damage may occur apart from a drought (note Joel 1–2). The 8th-century prophet Amos referred to the fact that plagues of this type had afflicted Israel by his time (Amos 4:9).

The other main type of disruption that can occur in the chain that brings food to human beings results from factors that destabilize the sociopolitical conditions necessary for the production of crops and their delivery to the consumer. An example of this type of famine is that which results from siege warfare. In this case it is the direct aim of the attacking army to produce famine in the besieged city by cutting off its food supply. This aspect of warfare was widely practiced in ancient times.

A detailed description of the effects of a famine that resulted from a siege of Samaria by Ben-hadad of Damascus is narrated in 2 Kgs 6:24–7:20. It became so severe that some residents of the city resorted to cannibalism (6:29). Although the details of the siege of Samaria later by the Assyrians (725–722 B.C.E.) are not specifically mentioned in the biblical text (2 Kgs 18:9–12), it is likely that the royal storehouses there did not have sufficient supplies to withstand such an onslaught. The population of countries attacked like this commonly fled into the walled and fortified cities from the countryside for protection, placing greater stress upon the supplies of food stored there. The severity of the famine in Jerusalem when it was besieged by Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon is described in several texts (2 Kgs 25:3; Lam 2:11–12; 4:9, 10).

Famines caused by siege are well known in extrabiblical sources. It took the Egyptian pharaoh Thutmose III seven months to starve the Canaanite coalition besieged in Megiddo into submission (ca. 1475 B.C.E.; *ANET*, 238). The Assyrian artist who executed Sennacherib's reliefs, which depict the conquest of Judahite Lachish by the Assyrian army, showed some of the animals emerging from the city more emaciated than the captured people, which probably indicates the preferential use of foodstuffs within the besieged city. Josephus provided an extensive description of the horrors of the famine experienced in Jerusalem during its siege by the Romans (*JW* 5.424–38, 571; 6.1–3, 193–213).

Similar conditions were also produced on occasion by internal factors within an ancient country without the invasion of foreign forces. When the central governmental control over a country disintegrated to such an extent that conditions of anarchy and chaos took over, farmers could no longer work their fields effectively, the delivery of the food produced was interrupted, and supplies in central storehouses were emptied and not replaced. This type of thing occurred on two prominent occasions in Egyptian history; at the beginning of the First Intermediate Period (ca. 2200–2100 B.C.E.), and at the beginning of the Third Intermediate Period (ca. 1200–1100 B.C.E.). The disturbed conditions of the former period are vividly illustrated by the description of the Admonitions of Ipuwer (*ANET*, 441–44).

**B. Climatology**

Shifts in climate along marginal and transitional zones in the ANE, between the desert and the sown, directly affected the amount of land available for human occupancy and agricultural use. The riverine societies of Egypt and Mesopotamia were able to circumvent some of these difficulties through the development of irrigation. Ancient Canaan, on the other hand, was more directly dependent upon and vulnerable to the amount of rainfall.

General theory suggests that there are rather wide swings in climate between wet and dry periods that extend over centuries. Superimposed upon this larger pattern are lesser oscillations in rainfall and temperature that occur over shorter periods of time. The most likely time for a serious drought and famine comes at the bottom of the trough during a longer dry period when a short-term downward fluctuation provides an even greater decrease in rainfall. Scientists and historians have employed studies of tree rings, pollens, varves of glaciers, peat-bog stratigraphy, and written and unwritten archaeological sources in an attempt to work out the pattern of fluctuations of the climate of the Near East through ancient times.

The evaluation and integration of the data derived from these different fields of investigation have been complex and sometimes disputed matters. In general it may be said that climatologists have not found any major long-term swings in climatic conditions through the historical period from the beginning of the EB

Age, ca. 3000 B.C.E., to the last pre-Christian centuries in Roman times (Raikes 1967: 52). The period that comes closest to being an exception to this general rule is the intermediate period from the end of the EB Age to the beginning of the MB Age, ca. 2200–2000 B.C.E. (Crown 1972).

It is from this intermediate period that the single largest collection of ancient famine texts has come, those from the nomarchs or local governors of Egypt from the 9th through the 11th Dynasties (Bell 1971). Changes in Egyptian fauna and retarded development of the Nile flood plain confirm the aridity of this period. Elsewhere in the Near East study of the laminated sediments from the Dead Sea indicates that the period from 2300 to 2000 B.C.E. was exceptionally dry, but since that time the climate of Palestine has been rather static (Neev and Emery 1967: 26–30). For the first millennium B.C.E., however, no major shifts away from the customary climate of the Near East have been detected.

**C. Historical Famines**

**1. The Period of the Biblical Patriarchs.** Gen 12:10; 26:1; and 41:54 indicate that famines due to drought occurred in Canaan through three successive generations of biblical patriarchs: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The multiple references to this type of phenomenon suggest that this period as a whole may have been more dry than usual. If the patriarchs are dated somewhere around 2000 B.C.E. approximately, as is commonly the case, something similar can be said for Egypt at the same time.

This is the period from which some 20 Egyptian famine texts have come. The earliest of these is the Admonitions of Ipuwer, which probably dates to the first half of the 22d century (7th–8th Dynasties). The last of these famine texts comes from the time of Sesostris I of the 12th Dynasty, ca. 1950 B.C.E. The distribution of these texts through time indicates that this was a dry period generally, and these were also the conditions experienced by the biblical patriarchs living in nearby Canaan. While the famines of the patriarchs cannot be connected directly to specific famines in Egypt, it can be said that the two periods of relative drought and famine in these two sources correlate well with each other.

During the first and third of the patriarchal famines Abraham and Jacob migrated to Eygpt with their families and followers in order to survive. Thus while Canaan could not survive the crop failure due to lack of rainfall, Egypt was still able to produce some crops through irrigation from the Nile, reduced though it may have been. During the second patriarchal famine Isaac did not migrate to Egypt. Rather he simply moved farther N in Canaan from the Negeb, according to the place-names given for his settlements. In so doing he moved from a zone of lower rainfall to one of higher rainfall, from two inches of annual rainfall to an area of eight inches of annual rainfall, according to modern standards (*Atlas of Israel* 1970: 4/2).

The third and final patriarchal famine had the most far-reaching historical consequences because it involved more than just a temporary sojourn in Egypt. Jacob and his family moved to Egypt and settled there. The prolonged nature of this settlement led to the subjugation of their descendants by the Egyptians during the period known as the Sojourn. The conditions of bondage which they experienced during that period were relieved only when Moses finally led them out of Egypt. Tracing this problem back to its origin, it was a famine in the time of the patriarchs which caused the Eisodus that ultimately required the Exodus for its resolution.

**2. The Late Bronze Age.** There is no specific biblical reference to a famine in the time of the generations of the Exodus, Conquest, and Settlement which may be dated generally in the LB Age (ca. 1500–1200 B.C.E.). There are, however, some indications that drought and famine did occur on occasion in some parts of the Near East during this period. The twenty years of plague for which the Hittite king Mursilis petitioned the storm god for relief in the mid-14th century B.C.E. may have been accompanied by famine (*ANET*, 394–96). The Amarna Letters from the same period tell of ravaged fields and depleted grain supplies due to internecine warfare between the Canaanite city-states. Shipments of grain were sent by Rameses II and Merneptah of Egypt to their treaty partners the Hittites to save them from starvation in the 13th century B.C.E., and these conditions were presumably caused by drought (*ARE* 2: 243–44; Barnett *CAH* 1/2: 360, 369). It has been suggested that drought and famine in the W and central regions of the Mediterranean were either one of or the most important of the conditions which triggered the eastward migration of the Sea Peoples to Syro-Palestine and Egypt (Carpenter 1966: 59–66). This theory is,

however, unproved and disputed. From the same period in biblical history come the threatenings of famine as a curse for violation of the covenant (Lev 26:18–26; Deut 11:17; 28:23–24; 32:24).

**3. The Early Iron Age.** References to famine are more common from the Early Iron Age (ca. 1200–1000 B.C.E.) than from the LB Age, and this may be considered the next dry period after that of the First Intermediate Period. The evidence for this comes from Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Israel. From Egypt come the records of a prolonged period of intermittent labor strikes by the royal tomb cutters. They were not paid their wages of grain because the royal granaries were severely depleted. The strikes extended over the middle half of the 12th century, from the end of the reign of Rameses III to the reign of Rameses X (*CAH* 2: 184–95). These have previously been interpreted as symptoms of political instability due to the lack of a strong central government, but more recent study suggests that drought may also have played a part in them.

Climatological evidence drawn from tree rings, glacier variation, shifts in pollen and vegetation, soil samples, and samples of sediments from lakes and rivers indicates that the period from 1200 to 900 B.C.E. was a warm and dry period in both the Near East and Europe (Neumann and Parpola 1987). Texts of this time from Assyria and Babylonia talk of crop failure, high grain prices, and outbreaks of plague. Repeated incursions of nomads have been attributed primarily to drought and famine in their own areas (Brinkman 1968: 280, 389). Political and military effects from these conditions have been noted in the "dark age" during which Assyria and Babylonia suffered from a reduction in strength and power. Both texts and scientific studies indicate that a wetter and cooler climate returned after 900.

Evidence for similar conditions in the same period in Israel comes from three biblical narratives. The incursions of the Midianites, probably in the 12th century, resemble similar incursions of nomads at the same time in Babylonia. The severe pressure they placed upon food supplies and pastureland in Israel is described in the story of Gideon (Judg 6:2–6, 11). An approximate date in the early 11th century can be derived for the story of Ruth from the genealogy at the end of the book (Ruth 4:21). The experience which ultimately led to the incorporation of Ruth the Moabitess into the line of David's ancestors occurred because of a famine in Judah which drove Naomi and her family into Transjordan in search of food and crops for survival (Ruth 1:1–2). The three-year famine experienced in the time of David (2 Sam 21:1), in the early 10th century, occurred toward the end of this dry period. At the time of the dedication of the temple Solomon appealed for release from any potential future famine through prayer (1 Kgs 8:33–40).

These three biblical famines from the 12th, 11th, and 10th centuries respectively parallel Mesopotamian famines which extrabiblical texts date from ca. 1140 to 940 B.C.E. The Egyptian famine texts of the 12th century document a similar experience in the early part of this period.

**4. The Later Iron Age.** References to a three-year famine in the time of Elijah (1 Kgs 17:1) and a seven-year famine in the time of Elisha (2 Kgs 8:1–3) suggest that the middle of the 9th century B.C.E. may have seen a temporary return to drier conditions. There is no direct extrabiblical textual evidence for this but this is the time in which the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II began to take his army on the road to commence building an empire. In a text dated to 881 B.C.E. he mentions that he brought back to Assyria some of his subjects who had emigrated to the land of Shubru because of famine (Neumann and Parpola 1987: 181).

The occurrence of Elijah's famine in a generally wet period emphasizes its exceptional nature, which is the point that Elijah made (1 Kgs 17:1). The famine mentioned by Amos probably refers to one that occurred after the time of Elijah (Amos 4:6–8). Also coming from this time are references to famines caused by disturbed political conditions, especially siege warfare. The siege of Samaria by Ben-hadad (2 Kgs 6:24–29) and the later famine caused by Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 25:3; Lam 4:7–10) provide examples of this type of development.

**5. The Persian Period.** References to reduced productivity of crops and relative deprivation of the people in Hag 1:6 and 2:16 indicate that 520 B.C.E. and the immediately preceding period was a time of shortage. The description is not one of total crop failure and famine, only one of relative shortage. In their reduced condition, residents of the community of returned exiles were more susceptible to serious problems from such shortages than a well-established and prosperous community. This description of the

people's plight resembles that of the futility curses found in extrabiblical covenant texts from Sefire (*ANET,* 659–61) and Tell Fekheriyeh (Millard and Bordreuil 1982: 138). No descriptions of drought at this time are presently known from extrabiblical sources.

**6. Greco-Roman/Intertestamental Period.** References to famine in sources for the history of Judea from this period are not common, but one example of each major type illustrates that they did occur. A famine from siege warfare is mentioned in 1 Macc 6:48–54 and the parallel account in Josephus (*Ant* 12.378). Beth-zur surrendered to Antiochus V Eupator in 162 B.C.E. because the supplies of food for its defenders were very low; the reason being that the crops had not been harvested that year since it was a Sabbatical Year. Most of the defenders of the temple complex in Jerusalem fled for the same reason, but those who remained were able to reach a truce with Antiochus.

A famine due to drought occurred in the time of Herod the Great according to Josephus (*Ant* 15.299–316). A drought lasting through 25 and 24 B.C.E. created famine conditions and an outbreak of the plague. Domestic animals were destroyed or consumed. With state supplies exhausted Herod stripped his palace of gold and silver in order to purchase grain in Egypt. His generous but careful distribution of the supplies obtained created much goodwill toward him on the part of a previously hostile public.

**7. The NT Period.** Two OT famines are referred to in the NT, those of Joseph (Acts 7:11) and Elijah (Luke 4:25). Only one historical famine in NT times is referred to in NT records, that which was predicted by the prophet Agabus during the reign of Claudius (Acts 11:27–30). Famines in the time of Claudius (41–54 C.E.) are well attested by Roman historians (Suetonius, *Claud.* 18.2; Tacitus, *Ann.* 12.43; Dio Cassius, *Hist.* 40.11; Eusebius, *Chron.*, Yr. of Abraham 2065). Josephus mentions the high prices of grain during this period but notes that notwithstanding the priests did not consume any of the flour to be utilized in the Feast of Unleavened Bread (*Ant* 3.320–21). Queen Helena of Adiabene, a convert to Judaism, bought large supplies of grain from Egypt and distributed them to the needy in Judea (*Ant* 20.101). Christians in Antioch took up a collection for relief for those in Judea at this time, and it was sent to Jerusalem with Paul and Barnabas (Acts 11:29–30). According to the procurators at this time named by Josephus, this famine can be dated between 44 and 48 C.E.

**D. Famine and Theology**

**1. Canaanite Theology.** Baal Hadad was the storm god of the Canaanite pantheon who was in charge of bringing the rains that made the crops grow. In one mythic cycle of the Canaanites, Baal Engaged the god Mot in battle. Mot won the battle and vanquished Baal to his underworld. Then Anat, the consort of Baal, did battle with Mot and won Baal back so that he could take up his activities in the world and the realm of the gods again (*ANET,* 138–41). This myth is commonly interpreted as derived etiologically from the annual cycle of rainy and dry seasons in Syro-Palestine. Drought and famine could result only if this pattern and Baal's absence or inactivity was prolonged beyond the annual cycle. In an epic text the king Danel prayed that Baal would withhold his clouds, dew, and rain for seven years, possibly as a punishment for the murder of his son (*ANET,* 153). Thus the Canaanites saw Baal in control of the factors that brought or relieved drought and famine, and they could petition him for their presence or withdrawal. The contest between Elijah and the prophets of Baal on Mt. Carmel at the end of three years of drought should be seen against this background (1 Kgs 18:23–39).

**2. OT Theology.** In contrast to the Canaanite view, the monotheistic religion of Israel saw Yahweh as the one god in control of all of the forces of nature, including those that brought the fructifying rains. While there was a normal course of nature which he established (Gen 1; 8:22) he could, on occasion, intervene in those regular appointments. This aspect of God's work was especially prominent in the blessings and curses of the covenant (Leviticus 26; Deuteronomy 28). Related to the idea of famine as a covenant curse is the prophetic pronouncement of famine as a judgment upon a covenant-breaking people. Along with threats of the sword and plague, warnings of famine to come through the actions of Nebuchadnezzar's troops became a prominent part of the pronouncements of the late preexilic prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel (Jer 24:10; 27:8–13; 29:17; 34:17; 38:2; Ezek 6:11; 7:15; 12:16). On the other hand, judgments by famine could also call the people to repentance, lest they suffer a more severe fate (Amos 4:6–11). Amos also extended the imagery drawn from literal famine into a description of extended and

unrelieved spiritual hunger, "a famine … for hearing the words of the Lord" (8:11). Solomon acknowledged that relief from famine could come especially through prayer and supplication (1 Kgs 8:37–40).

In other biblical instances the coming of famine is not specifically attributed to divine activity, it is simply noted as a fact of historical occurrence. Even in these instances, however, God could still act on behalf of his righteous people, to preserve them through such trying times (Ps 33:18; 37:19; Prov 10:3). Thus Joseph saw his exile to Egypt before the famine as a providential way through which the preservation of the entire family of Jacob was accomplished (Gen 45:5–7). In a similar way God's servant Elijah was cared for in a special way through the famine which he was sent to announce (1 Kgs 17:1–6).

**3. NT Theology.** Aside from the two historical (Luke 4:25; Acts 7:11) and one contemporary (Acts 11:27–30) famines referred to in the NT, Jesus indicated that famines would occur prior to, and as a sign of, his Parousia at the Eschaton. Jesus also drew the contrast, as Amos had before him, between the relative importance of physical and spiritual bread (Matt 4:4). In the spirit of the OT prophets, Rev 6:8 indicates that famine would play a part in the judgments unleashed when the fourth seal was broken. Famine is also to play a part in the end-time judgment upon spiritual Babylon (Rev 18:8). Finally, conditions are to be established in the coming kingdom of God whereby no human beings will ever have to suffer from hunger and famine again (Rev 7:16; 21:4).

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WILLIAM H. SHEA

**FARA (NORTH), TELL EL-.** See TIRZAH (PLACE).

**FARA (SOUTH), TELL EL-.** See SHARUHEN (PLACE).

**FAST, FASTING.** Fasting is the deliberate, temporary abstention from food for religious reasons. In the biblical material, fasting is total abstention, and is thus to be distinguished both from permanent food restrictions, like those against unclean animals, and also from occasional abstention from certain foods, like meat on Fridays, a practice adopted by the later Christian Church.

At the end of the 19th century, our subject attracted the attention of social anthropologists of religion. They set out to compare fasting practices in many primitive religious cultures in order to construct a general theory of their origin and development (see Westermarck 1907). Some scholars, adopting an individualist perspective, emphasized that fasting produced heightened states of consciousness, resulting in visions and dreams, which were identified as the ground of all religious conceptuality (Tylor 1871: 410). Others, taking a collectivist starting point, treated fasting simply as a rite of preparation for the sacramental eating of holy food, positing that in fasting is to be found the communal origin of religion (Smith, 1894: 434). More recently, modern semantic anthropology has been far less concerned with theories of the origin of religion than with the analysis of cultures as living systems. This approach refuses to isolate fasting from the total complex of purity rules that form the basic categories through which the universe of meaning and the self-identity of any religious group is structured (Neusner 1973: 137–42). The implications of this development for the interpretation of the biblical material have yet to be fully worked out by biblical scholarship.

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A. Terminology

B. Fasting in Ancient Israel

C. Fasting in Intertestamental Judaism

D. Fasting in Early Christianity
E. Fasting in the Jesus Tradition

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**A. Terminology**

The usual Hebrew noun for fasting is *ṣôm;* its cognate verb is *ṣûm.* These occur 14 and 20 times respectively in the Hebrew Bible. Periphrastic alternatives are "to eat no bread" (e.g., 1 Sam 28:20; an idiom reflected in Luke 7:33) and "to afflict oneself" or "to afflict one's soul" *(ʿinnah nepēš),* a technical term for fasting in the Priestly Code. The usual Greek words for fasting are the noun *nēsteia* and its verb *nēsteuo* (formed from a negative prefix and *esthio,* "I eat"). These denote the total abstention from food, whether by necessity or by deliberate choice. The verb may also be extended metaphorically, for instance it means "to hold back from evil or pollution" in the *Gospel of Thomas, logion* 27: "fasting from the world." There are 20 occurrences of the verb in the NT and 8 of the noun, but in three of these the text is uncertain (see below). The adjective *nēstis* occurs only at Mark 8:3 and Matt 15:32 in the involuntary sense "on an empty stomach." Two synonyms occur once each in the NT: *asitia* (Acts 27:21), probably in the natural sense of "hunger," and *tapeinophrosunē,* "humiliation of mind" (Col 2:18), which appears to echo the Semitic periphrasis "affliction of one's soul" and ought therefore to be translated "fasting."

**B. Fasting in Ancient Israel**

The Day of Atonement is the only annual national fast day prescribed in OT Law. Although the legislation was reworked in the exilic period, the rite, with fasting as its central motif, is probably preexilic. The requirement to fast on this day is universal, and its penitential character is underlined by the terminology of "self-affliction" (Lev 16:29, 31; 23:27, 32; Num 29:7). There may have been other liturgical fasts in the early period (see Jer 36:6); and a public fast could be called at special times of penance (1 Sam 14:24). The remaining preexilic references to fasting involve smaller groups or individuals, and are associated with the rites of mourning, personal penance, or the reinforcement of supplicatory prayer (e.g., Ps 35:13; 1 Kgs 21:27; Num 30:13).

The allusions to fasting as a mourning custom in 1 and 2 Samuel deserve special note. David's fast following the deaths of Saul, Jonathan and Abner (2 Sam 1:12; 3:36) is related with approval. But in 2 Sam 12:16 the king is said to have fasted only while the child produced by his illicit affair with Bathsheba was still alive. When it died, David discontinued his fast (2 Sam 12:20). Questioned as to his conduct, he explained: "Now he is dead, why should I fast? Can I bring him back again? I shall go to him, but he will not return to me" (1 Sam 12:23). Hertzberg (*1, 2 Samuel* OTL) suggests that the baby's death was accepted as an atonement for the sin of adultery, so that the usual mourning customs were inapplicable. The incident bears some similarities to the gospel controversy on fasting, in which Jesus is questioned for refusing to fast (Mark 2:18–22) and where, in its immediate sequel (Mark 2:23–28), breach of the Sabbath is justified by an appeal to Davidic precedent.

In the postexilic period, the number of annual public fasts was increased (see Ezra 8:21–23; Neh 9:1). In Zech 8:19 four fast days are specified. These clearly owe their origin to customs established during the Exile, though in later Jewish tradition they were given a wider historical rationale, and the Purim fast (following Esth 4:16) was added to them. Zechariah urges that these fasts be continued on the understanding that they are "seasons of joy and gladness" now that the Temple has been rebuilt. In postexilic prophecy, the need for fasting to be accompanied by sincerity and charity is stressed (e.g., Isa 58:3–9; Joel *passim,* e.g., 2:12–13). These passages use a pun on the words for fast *(ṣôm)* and day *f4(yoÆm),* i.e., the day of the Lord's judgment, a pun which is reflected in the gospel controversy (Mark 2:20 "they will fast on that day").

Fasting may well have been used in ancient Israel as a technique for divination. Moses' 40-day fast on the mountain (Exod 24:28; Deut 9:9–10) was interpreted by the rabbis in this sense (*b. Yoma* 4b.), although in the original story the dominant idea was that of miraculous sustenance (cf. 1 Kgs 19:8). The fasting of Hannah (1 Sam 1:7) may contain a vestige of this practice, since it is linked with a form of ecstatic prayer which could be mistaken for intoxication (1 Sam 1:14).

In later apocalyptic literature the use of fasting as a technique to become more receptive to divine revelation becomes more prominent. While penitence is probably the motivation of fasting in Dan 9:3, the use of fasting as preparation to receive visions cannot be excluded as a subsidiary idea (cf. Dan 10:3) since intertestamental references to this practice abound (e.g., 2 Esdr 5:13; *2 Bar.* 5:7f.; *Ascen.Is.* 2:7– etc.).

E. G. Hirsch (*JEnc* 2: 166) expresses the not uncommon opinion that the relative paucity of references to fasting in the OT proves that asceticism was essentially alien to the outlook of ancient Israel. The tacit assumption underlying this judgment, namely that asceticism always entails a pessimistic worldview and a body-soul dualism, and therefore can only have resulted from hellenizing influence is highly questionable. What the OT evidence indicates is that even before the Greek period, fasting practices were the social and religious norm in several different contexts and for a variety of motivations.

**C. Fasting in Intertestamental Judaism**

The intertestamental period witnessed a marked increase in Jewish asceticism, not only among sectarian groups, but also in popular piety. Fasting as an act of devotion, having value in itself, is commended alongside prayer and almsgiving in Tob 12:8. The book of Judith argues that fasting is rewarded with divine favor (Jdt 4:9), but observes that it should not be used in an attempt to bend the divine will (8:16). The conservative Ben Sira reiterates prophetic warnings against ritualism (Sir 36:26); but the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* make frequent reference to fasting as the hallmark of piety, e.g., *T. Jos.* 3:4: "They that fast for God's sake receive beauty of face" (cf. Dan 1:15 and Matt 6:16–18). According to Josephus, the ascetic practices of the Essene sect included fasting (*JW* 2.8.5). The Dead Sea Scrolls contain no explicit rules concerning community observances apart from the Day of Atonement, but discretionary practice by individuals is probably assumed. The Egyptian Therapeuts, as described by Philo, regularly fasted during the hours of daylight (*Vita Cont* 34). The pious Pharisee, according to Luke 18:12, fasted twice a week. Admittedly, there is some doubt about the accuracy of Luke's presentation, for the twice-weekly fast (on Mondays and Thursdays) cannot certainly be traced to Pharisaism of the pre–70 C.E. period, and when these fasts are referred to in the Mishnah, they are special devotions in time of drought, and not a regular pious devotion (*b. Ta‘an.* 12a; but cf. *Did.* 8:1). Nevertheless, the ascetic tendency of Pharisaism is indisputable, and the rabbinic warnings against the danger of excessive mourning fasts for the destruction of the Temple (*b. Ta‘an.* 57) only serve to underscore the point that asceticism was a customary reaction to such disasters.

In addition to the sects, there were notable individual ascetics during this period, among them Haninah ben Dosa (*b. Ta‘an.* 24b) and John the Baptist (Matt 11:18). The former fasted to increase the efficacy of his charismatic prayer; the latter seems to have wanted, rather, to evoke by his abstemiousness an ideology of wilderness simplicity and dependence upon God. Thus, in the background to the NT one finds widespread approval of voluntary fasting as a mark of religious devotion, as well as the almost spontaneous rise of individual and communal asceticism. "Fasting like a Jew" had become proverbial in the Roman world of the first century (Suet. *Aug.* 76).

**D. Fasting in Early Christianity**

The fasting practice of the early Church closely reflects that of its Jewish milieu. When Christian leaders are commissioned, fasting is the natural adjunct to fervent prayer (Acts 13:2–3 and 14:23). In Luke's infancy story, Anna the prophetess is held up as a paragon of traditional piety that expresses itself in fasting and continual prayer, and as a model for the church order of holy widows (Luke 2:27 cf. Acts 6:1 and 1 Tim 5:5). Similarly, Cornelius the God-fearer is renowned for his prayer and almsgiving (Acts 10:30–31). The textual tradition ($P^{50}$,$A^{2}$,D) quickly supplemented these two acts of piety (prayer and almsgiving, v 31) with a reference to the third, fasting. In the same way, the allusion to prayer in 1 Cor 7:5 attracted a textual addition of fasting in some manuscripts (Codex Sinaiticus, K, L).

Paul mentions "fastings" in his lists of the sufferings of a true apostle. In 2 Cor 6:4–5 it is unclear whether natural hunger or deliberate abstinence is meant; this difficulty hinges on whether one reads the word more closely with the preceding or with the following items. The list in 2 Cor 11:27–28 has already included "hunger and thirst" and so voluntary fasting is probably indicated. When Paul encounters

difficulties regarding food regulations in culturally mixed Christian communities (1 Corinthians 8; Romans 14) it is interesting to note how readily he adopts the ascetic solution.

Exaggerated asceticism evidently caused some problems in the early Church. In Colossians, the error involved "self-humiliation" (2:18). This is probably a Semiticism for fasting, since the practice is coupled with "angel worship," i.e., it was intended to induce visions of angels. In 2:23 the term is further defined as "severity to the body." Despite this, the writer refrains from rejecting asceticism completely; he simply opposes this form of it, which is, in his view, ineffective against the passions of the flesh and involves undue submission to external regulations. Elsewhere, despite the perversions of extremists, "bodily training," *askesis*, is commended as "beneficial up to a point" (1 Tim 4:8).

The Church in the NT period did not reject the pious Jewish practice of fasting. But it had not yet formalized its own discipline, considering it a matter of individual conscience. There is no trace in the NT of the requirement that candidates for baptism should fast (but cf. *Did.* 7:4; Justin *apol.* 61.2) nor is there reference in the NT to a twice-weekly Christian fast in imitation of and rivalry with the rabbinic custom. This first appears in the *Didache* (8:1). It was only during the 2d century that the statutory public fast on Good Friday took root—a practice that seems to have arisen in the wake of the Quartodeciman controversy. The Quartodecimans (see Eus., *Hist. Eccl.* 5.23–25) adopted the anti-Jewish practice of fasting during the feast of Passover and celebrating Easter the following day. When the date of Easter came to be determined independently of the Jewish calendar, always on a Sunday, the conditions were established for the institution of a public Christian fast on the preceding Friday. Eventually, as baptisms were normally celebrated at Easter, partial abstinence during the preceding weeks of preparation began to be observed not only by the candidates, but also by all Church members as an annual Lenten fast of penitence.

**E. Fasting in the Jesus Tradition**

Most of the references to fasting found within the Synoptic Gospels conform to the common pattern of piety indicative of 1st-century Judaism and early Christianity. There is, however, one exception, the fasting controversy in Mark 2:18–22 and parallels which stands out as dissimilar from both backgrounds.

Matthew's version of the longer Temptation narrative (4:2) states that Jesus fasted for forty days in the wilderness. The Moses typology here (cf. Exod 34:28) suggests that deliberate abstinence is meant; the Lukan parallel is more equivocal on the point: "he ate nothing" (Luke 4:2). The shorter Markan scene omits any reference to fasting, and the author's allusion to the "ministry of angels" (Mark 1:13) may even imply that he pictured Jesus receiving heavenly food in the desert. It is, therefore, likely that the motif of a forty-day fast has been introduced into the developing tradition of Jesus' temptation from the post-Easter preconceptions of the Church.

Matthew includes a series of exhortations in the Sermon on the Mount (6:1–18) concerning the three pious duties, which contrast the hypocrisy of outward display with the secret devotion which earns divine approval. Since the Evangelist interrupts the closely parallel structure of the exhortations by inserting the Our Father into the section on prayer, this material is likely to be pre-Matthean (see SERMON ON THE MOUNT/PLAIN). This view is supported by the presence of several Matthean *hapax legomena* in the passage, and also by the tension between its theme of secret devotion and the redactional publicity motif at Matt 5:16, "Let your light shine before men." But, that the tradition is pre-Matthean does not necessarily mean that it goes back to Jesus: for it is in line with conventional Jewish wisdom (cf. e.g., Sir 23:19)—upon which any early Christian preacher could have drawn. The assumption of the passage, that the disciples are to fast in secret, is also contradicted in the later controversy on fasting. The Evangelist seems to be aware of this, for he has slightly altered Mark's wording, so that Jesus can be understood to have rejected only the mourning custom of fasting (Matt 9:15) and not all other kinds. This alteration allows other motivations for fasting (i.e., inward devotion) to be appropriate for Christians, without making the practice a matter of coercion. Matthew's attitude to celibacy (Matt 19:10–12) is closely comparable. Certainly, his church could not have understood fasting as a mourning custom for removal of the bridegroom, for the Risen Christ was still continually present with the community (cf. Matt 28:20).

In the majority of mss at Mark 9:29 a saying of Jesus on exorcism by prayer and fasting appears. Notably, Codex Sinaiticus and B omit the fasting reference. This case is much less clear-cut than that of the two other variants mentioned above, but scribal addition is more likely than scribal omission at this point. The secondary insertion may have arisen from the erroneous supposition that the statement refers to the qualities required of a successful exorcist; in fact, if the shorter form is original, it refers to the qualities required in a successful suppliant for exorcism, and alludes to the hesitancy of the father's supplicatory prayer (cf. Mark 9:24).

The controversy dialogue found in Mark 2:18–22 and its parallels is the only NT text which raises any objection to the propriety of fasting. Its striking dissimilarity from prevailing views both in Judaism and in the early Church may be taken to indicate its substantial authenticity. The passage records that unidentified inquirers asked for an explanation of the difference in fasting practice between the followers of the Baptist and the Pharisees and the followers of Jesus. To the question "Why do your disciples not fast?" he does not reply, as one might expect from Matt 6:6–18, "How do you know they are not fasting; appearances can be deceptive!"; instead, he justifies the disciples' present neglect of fasting practice by analogy with wedding guests who are dispensed from ordinary religious duties during a marriage feast. This opening statement is then qualified: Jesus prophesies that fasting will, nevertheless, become appropriate at some later date, i.e., on the day when "the bridegroom is removed"; and the passage concludes with the two short parables of the old garment and the new wineskins.

The pioneer NT form critics M. Dibelius and R. Bultmann explained this puzzling text by a complex history of transmission, in which the original stance of Jesus against fasting was modified by the post-Easter Church to bring it into line with its own practices (Dibelius 1971: 65; Bultmann 1963: 19, 49). The Church, however, still wished to differentiate itself from Judaism and so made the further addition of the two concluding parables. This analysis faces two major difficulties. First, there is no evidence that the Church in the NT period practiced a memorial fast for the death of Christ; the weekly Friday fast and the annual Good Friday fast are of later origin, as we have seen. Secondly, the retention within the paradigm of an element which radically contradicts its overall message is contrary to the usual form-critical presupposition. For these reasons, a unitary, historical approach to the passage may be preferable. On this view, Jesus rejected fasting as inappropriate to the initial period of his ministry. But his rejection was not unqualified; he predicted that at some later stage "fasting," in the sense of deprivation and persecution, would again become appropriate, and he may have expressed this in language deliberately reminiscent of Joel 2:16. At the same time, in response to those who were ready to criticize both the Baptist for his asceticism and Jesus for his lack of it (cf. Matt 11:16–19), he argued by means of the parables that both lifestyles were justifiable in the context of their different aims. The Baptist's reform movement was concerned to repair the old order, by penitence and fasting (by "shrinking the patch"); whereas a more flexible dispensation was needed ("new wineskins") to accommodate the eschatological joy of the dawning Kingdom.

Whichever analysis of this passage is deemed to be more plausible, the way Jesus distances himself here from the pious practice of fasting, which was as widely esteemed in 1st-century Judaism as it continued to be in early Christianity, is highly distinctive.

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JOHN MUDDIMAN

**FATE, GREEK CONCEPTION OF.** "Fate" in the strict sense may be defined as "the principle, power or agency by which events are unalterably predetermined from eternity" *(OED).* Properly speaking, the concept presupposed some sense of a cosmic unity within which all individual events may be comprehended, as a system of causal chains. However, at the earliest stage of Greek thought, such a notion was not present in any coherent form, and indeed the ultimate implications of the concept were not worked out until after the Classical period by the philosophers of the early Stoa, in particular Chrysippus. The counterpart to the concept of Fate is that of Chance *(Tychē, Fortuna),* another concept which, while always present in Greek thought, attained vast influence in the Hellenistic and later Roman eras. In the case of Fate, all is determined; with Chance, nothing is; but the consequences, from the point of view of the ordinary individual, appeared very much the same.

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A. Lexical Introduction
B. Greek Thought
1. Homer and the Poets
2. Prose Writers
3. The Philosophical Tradition

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**A. Lexical Introduction**

The English word "fate" derives from the Latin *fatum,* past participle of the verb *fari,* "speak," and means "what is uttered (sc. by the gods)"—analogous to the Greek adjective *thesphaton.* The earliest Greek terms for Fate are *moira, aisa,* and *to peprōmenon;* later, and generally in philosophical contexts, the usual term was *heimarmenē.* The etymology of *aisa* is obscure, but probably originally means "one's proper share" (of booty, cogn. with the verb *aiteo,* "ask for one's share"). *Moira* is the noun from *meiromai,* "apportion" (of which *heimarmenē* is the [fem.] past participle), the idea behind it being that of giving every man his due. *Peprōmenon* is the (neuter) past participle of a root **por-,* "provide" (cf. *poros,* "provision"), which conveys a similar notion. The idea of "due portion" is thus firmly rooted in the early Greek concept of Fate.

**B. Greek Thought**

**1. Homer and the Poets.** In early Greek thought, the concept of Fate is pervasive but in a rather loose form. Homer envisages a fated course of life woven for each person at birth (*Il.* 18, 115ff.; 24.525f.; *Od.* 7. 197–98), but this does not seem to result in determinism in any strong sense and there is even the periodic suggestion that one might "go beyond" one's fate (though that is never actually achieved)—a notion expressed by the phrases *hyper aisan* or *hyper moron,* "beyond fate" (*Il.* 16.780; 20.30; 21.517). There is some speculation, also, as to the relation of the decrees of Fate to the will of the gods, and in particular Zeus. Homer presents Zeus in *Iliad,* Books 16 (441ff.) and 22 (179ff.) as contemplating the overthrow of what is fated as a real option (in respect of saving Sarpedon and Hector), and only dissuaded from this by threats of retaliation from his wife Hera. Similarly, Poseidon in the *Odyssey* (5.288ff.) has to recognize that it is Odysseus' *aisa* to escape death at sea and reach home safely, but he does his best to dispose of him nonetheless. But this serves to remind us that Homer is a poet, not a theologian or philosopher.

These concepts, *moira*, *aisa*, and the allied notions of *kēres,* "death spirits," and *daimon*, "divinity" seen as an apportioning force, are susceptible of personification on occasion, both by Homer and later writers (*Il.* 18.535; *Od.* 10.64; 11.61). The Moirai seem originally to have been birth goddesses, balancing the *Kēres.* In Hesiod, we find the three Fates (Moirai) personified, and given names, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, and differentiated roles (*Th.* 211–19). In at least one genealogy (*Th.* 901–6) they are subordinated to Zeus as his daughters by Themis (an abstraction meaning "right order"), but their decrees are still unalterable. In personifying them and linking them closely with the *Kēres,* Hesiod seems to suggest in this passage that they actually pursue evildoers and punish them, but all he can really mean is that evil deeds have their inevitable consequences.

Pindar, like Hesiod, places emphasis on the "moral" role of the Moirai, and their connection with Zeus—though he actually presents them as bringing Themis to be wed to Zeus, rather than as being her offspring (Fr. 30 Bergk). He speaks of Moira both in the singular (*Nem.* 7.57) and in the plural (*Pyth.* 4.145). In this latter passage, he speaks of the Fates "withdrawing in shame" if kinsmen fight. He lays down the general precept, "that which is fated cannot be escaped" (*Pyth.* 12.30).

This basic principle might serve as a keynote for Greek tragedy. The tragedians obviously dwell much on what is fated, often through the medium of a prophecy delivered by one of the gods (usually Apollo), or the agent of a god (a prophet such as Teiresias of Thebes or Calchas, prophet to the Greek army at Troy). A favorite theme, originally of myth, but then of tragedy, is the tracing of the futile efforts of a mortal to evade (and thus nullify) a prophecy—Laius, king of Thebes, and then his son Oedipus, being perhaps the most notable examples (celebrated above all in Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*). A curious feature of Apollo's prophecy in this case, as in certain others, is that it is stated as a conditional ("If you have a son, that son will kill you, and marry his mother"), though we know there is no real choice. A good statement of this occurs near the end of Euripides' *Hippolytus* (1256), where the Chorus is actually commenting on the fulfillment of Theseus' curse on his son, "No refuge is there from Fate and what must be!" (also Aesch. *PV* 511–25; Soph. *Ant.* 133708; Eur. *Or.* 976–81). In one play, however, the *Alcestis* (based on a folktale), Euripides presents the apparent overturning of the "fated" death of Alcestics by the plotting of Apollo (he actually got the Moirai drunk) and the agency of Heracles (who wrestled successfully with Death), but this is most peculiar and probably has something to do with the fact that the *Alcestis* was presented as the fourth play of a tetralogy, in place of a satyr play.

**2. Prose Writers.** The historian Herodotus (ca. 485–425 B.C.E.) has a very vivid sense of Fate, allied with the concept of divine retribution for both human transgressions and overweening human pride. In Book 3.40, King Amasis of Egypt warns Polycrates of Samos against excessive good fortune, "for I know how jealous is the divine nature." In Book 1.91, we find a particularly interesting statement of the relationship between Fate and the gods, in the words of the Delphic priestess to the envoys of King Croesus of Lydia: "It is impossible even for a god to escape his destined fate *(peprōmenē moira)*." But nevertheless she claims that Apollo delayed the capture of Sardis by three years and saved Croesus from death on the pyre. Where that leaves the inevitability of fate is not quite clear, but Herodotus does not appear to see any problem here.

Thucydides, by contrast, is not oppressed by either a sense of fate or of the jealousy of the gods, so he calls for no comment here. In the orators of the 4th century B.C.E., however, we find many examples of a belief in fate. Lysias (ca. 455–380 B.C.E.), at the end of his *Funeral Speech* (78), reflects that "the divinity *(daimon)* to whom has been allotted the charge of our fate is inexorable"—a suitable sentiment, of course, for such an occasion. Demosthenes, in the *De Corona* (205), on the other hand, seeks to make a distinction between one's "fated and natural death" and a death one might take upon oneself for the fatherland. This contrast between fate and free will, while purely rhetorical in this instance, is yet pregnant with significance for later philosophy, and specifically for later Platonism.

**3. The Philosophical Tradition.** When we turn to the philosophical tradition, the technical term for Fate becomes, as we have said, *heimarmenē,* which became falsely linked etymologically by the Stoics with *heirmos*, a "chain" or "series." The first philosopher to whom a concept of Fate can be attributed is Heraclitus of Ephesus (fl. ca. 490 B.C.E.). He is reported by Diogenes Laertius (9.7) as having declared

that all things take place through Fate, but the terminology here, and perhaps the doctrine also, may be a Stoic rationalization of his position. All we can be sure of is that he saw *logos*, which might be rendered "Reason" or "Cosmic Order," as the dominant principle of the universe. He was at any rate a powerful influence on the Stoics, so something in his recorded utterances must have attracted their attention. Parmenides (fl. ca. 480 B.C.E.) employs the term *moira* (Fr. 8.37 D–K), but only in a poetical phrase, to indicate the logical necessity of his concept of the plenitude and immobility of Being.

In Plato, the issue of Fate and Free Will is certainly addressed, but Plato's conclusions are obscured by the mythological and poetic form in which he chooses to present them. The most notable passage is the myth of Er (*Resp.* 10.617Dff.). Here Lachesis, who is presented as the daughter of Necessity *(Anankê),* makes a speech (through a prophet) to the assembled disembodied souls, which attempts to preserve a place for free will while laying down laws of fate. This passage is philosophically problematical, but it was taken in later times as Plato's definitive pronouncement on the subject, so it deserves careful study.

"Souls that live for a day, now is the beginning of another cycle or mortal generation where birth is the beacon of death. No divinity *(daimon)* shall cast lots for you, but you shall choose your own fate *(daimon).* Let him to whom falls the first lot select a life to which he shall cleave of necessity. But Virtue has no master over her, and each shall have more or less of her according as he honors or dishonors her. The blame is his who chooses; God is blameless."

On the one hand, then, one's course of life is determined by one's choice of life in the antenatal distribution of lots, but in fact one's choice, as becomes clear, is itself determined by how one has lived one's previous life. And yet Plato wishes to preserve the autonomy of "virtue," or the rational soul, in determining its future. This was a position clung to by later Platonists such as Albinus (*Didaskalikos,* ch. 26) and Pseudo-Plutarch *(On Fate),* as well as by the Aristotelian Alexander of Aphrodisian *(On Fate),* and later again by Plotinus, in Enneads 3.2–3 *(On Providence).* They tried to restrict the Stoic doctrine of determinism to the physical world and the lower soul (though Alexander is more defiant than the Platonists on that question), while freeing the rational soul from the ineluctable chain of causation.

Aristotle does not contribute anything to the theological problem of Fate, but his discussion of the truth value of statements about the future, and his rejection of the view that they are necessarily true or false, in chap. 9 of the *De Interpretatione,* did provide a stimulus to later Stoic theorizing.

It is only with the Stoics, in particular Zeno (335–263 B.C.E.) and Chrysippus (ca. 280–207 B.C.E.), that Fate as a philosophical problem comes into its own. *Heimarmenē* is now seen as coextensive with the structure of the universe and identical with both Nature and God (who is simply the soul or mind of the universe). This results in a blending of the notion of blind necessity with that of purposive ordering, producing a doctrine which, while apparently depressing in its implications, yet, if assented to, seemed to bring solace to the Stoic philosopher.

Chrysippus' principle that nothing takes place without an antecedent cause seemed to leave no room for anything spontaneous or "unprogrammed," but in fact the Stoics wished to find a place for the exercise of free will and responsibility, difficult though it might seem to do so. Chrysippus recognized that we do in fact make decisions, though such decisions are necessarily "co-fated" with the results that accrue from them. "Free will" is thus at best a subjective phenomenon, but one can decide to assent to the rational structure of the universe, which is God, and that way lies happiness and true freedom. To quote the later Stoic philosopher Seneca (*Ep.* 107, 11), "The Fates lead the willing subject, but drag along the unwilling" (cf. also *SVF* II 974–1007: *On Fate and Free Will*).

Meanwhile, on the popular level, a growing "science" of astrology, given a stimulus from Hellenistic contact with Babylonian star-lore and beliefs, made Fate seem an overpowering force which, however, it was thought possible (illogically) to tamper with through the use of magic.

Not far removed from the thought-world of magic, the movement broadly known as Gnosticism had a distinctive theory of Fate which is of some relevance for Christianity. For the gnostics, *Heimarmené* becomes a technical term for the sphere of existence ruled over by the Demiurge and his agents, and thus by definition a malevolent force, but also one from which the *pneumatikos,* or spiritual man, can escape (Jonas 1958: 156–210).

This has been exclusively a survey of Greek thought. The Romans, in fact, contribute nothing of significance to the concept of Fate, but a number of Latin authors, particularly Cicero in *De Fato, De Divinatione,* and *De Natura Deorum,* and the Stoic philosopher Seneca in his essays and letters, constitute good evidence for Greek philosophical theories.

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**FATHER.** See FAMILY.

**FATHERS, APOSTOLIC.** See APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

**FATHOM.** See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**FAUNA.** See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

**FAYUM FRAGMENT.** The so-called Fayum Fragment is a small scrap of papyrus (3.5 × 4.3 cm.), dating from the 3d century, that partially preserves a version of Jesus' prediction of Peter's denial. The papyrus, discovered in 1885 among a collection of ancient Egyptian documents acquired by Archduke Rainer, is now held by the Austrian National Library (P. Vindob. G 2325; Aland: Ap 13). It carries seven incomplete lines of Greek text consisting of 106 characters. With plausible reconstructions, the text may be translated as follows:

(He said, after)
eating according to custom, "Al[l of you on this]
night will fall away, [according to]
scripture: 'I will strike the [shepherd and the]
sheep will be scattered.' " [When]
Peter said, "Even if all, [yet not I," (Jesus said) "Before]
the cock crows twice [today]
[three times] you will deny me."

In substance this is closely parallel to the narrative given in Mark 14:26–31 = Matt 26:30–35 (cf. Luke 22:31–34), but there are some noteworthy differences. The fragment does not give the statement found in Mark 14:28 = Matt 26:32, "After I am raised up I will go before you to Galilee," which seems intrusive and irrelevant in Mark and Matthew. But even apart from this, the narrative as given in the fragment is considerably more brief (42 words) than the versions of Mark (71 words) or Matthew (76 words). Generally, the style of the fragment is much less literary than the synoptic accounts. The fragment has points of agreement with each of the synoptic accounts, but separately: with Mark it shares the simplicity of Peter's response (14:29) and mentions the cock crowing twice (14:30, absent in Matthew and Luke); with Matthew (26:31) it inserts the phrase "on this night" in Jesus' earlier, general prediction (omitting it in the later specific prediction about Peter, where, however, Matthew retains it [26:34]); with Luke (22:39) it mentions Jesus' following custom (although Luke relates this to going to the Mount of Olives, and the fragment seems to relate it to the eating of the meal). At the same time, the fragment differs appreciably from all the synoptic accounts. The fragment also exhibits some linguistic peculiarities: the formula for the citation of scripture *(kata to graphen)* "according to scripture" is peculiar and not exactly paralleled in the NT; its word for "cock" *(alektruōn)* has another form than the term exclusively used in the NT *(alektōr);* and whereas the synoptic accounts use *phonein* ("to speak") of the crowing of the cock, the fragment uses the onomatopoetic *kokkuzein.*

These observations pose the question of the relationship of the fragment to the Synoptic Gospels. Three alternatives have been considered: (1) that the fragment offers a secondary, somewhat abridged version of the episode, based on the account of Mark and/or Matthew, whether recalled from memory or perhaps drawn from a gospel harmony; (2) that the fragment comes from a primitive gospel document *(Urtext)* on

which Mark depended; (3) that the fragment offers an independent version of the synoptic pericope, and that the larger document of which the fragment is a part was an early gospel, otherwise unknown, composed on the basis of oral tradition. The last explanation has been the most widely held among students of the fragment, and gives the most plausible account of the pattern of similarities and differences between the fragment and the synoptic texts. The absence in the fragment of a reference to resurrection appearances in Galilee is especially telling. This is a Marcan motif (cf. 16:7), and seems to be a secondary element in the pericope: the disciples do not remark on it, and it is beside the point of the narrative. Without it, the incident is tightly coherent. Further, the idiomatic freshness of the fragment's version and its distinctive word usage do not suggest any literary dependence on Mark or on another known gospel. The plausibility of the fragment's having belonged to an independent gospel is enhanced by the modern awareness that many such documents circulated in the early Church, perhaps especially in Egypt. At least some of those that have survived are clearly independent of the canonical Gospels (e.g., the *Gospel of Thomas,* the *Gospel of Peter*). However, any conclusion about the Fayum Fragment must be tentative, owing to its slight scope.

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**FEAR OF ISAAC** [Heb *paḥad yiṣḥāq* (פַּחַד יִצְחָק)]. An ancient title of the divinity used twice in the OT (Gen 31:42, 53, *paḥad ʾābîw yiṣḥāq,* "the Fear of his father Isaac"), uniformly rendered in ancient times and generally in later times as "the fear/terror of Isaac." Some modern scholars have challEnged this interpretation, which they believe conforms poorly to the context, and instead understand "kinsman of Isaac" (Albright *FSAC,* 248; de Vaux in *La Bible de Jérusalem,* but with more nuance in *EHI* 269–71; Anderson *IDB* 2: 260; Stähli *THAT* 2: 411; Schoors 1987). They appeal to the Arabic *faḫiḏ̄* and to the Palmyrene *pḥd* with the sense "tribe, clan, family" (*DISO,* 226). The meaning "kinsman" is not convincing, however, and has been strongly attacked (Hillers 1972; Puech 1984). Arabic *faḫiḏ̄* never refers to "kinsman" as an individual, but always signifies a social group, so that this expression designates at best "the clan of Isaac." This sense is confirmed by the Palmyrene usage of *pḥd,* no more than a straightforward borrowing from the Arabic, to designate exclusively Arab tribes in or around Palmyra. (In Palmyrene the forms *pḥd* and *pḥ (w)z* are employed equally; /z/ and /d/ are two ways of rendering the Arabic /ḏ̄/ and not Aramaic archaisms for transcribing the original /ḏ̄/.)

The first sense of the Arabic *faḫiḏ̄* is "thigh," as in Sabean; the Aramaic *pḥdyn (Tg. Onq.)* and the Syriac *pwḥd'* both signify "testicle(s)" or "thigh" in Job 40:17, and elsewhere "jugular veins," according to lexicographers. *Paḥad* in Job 40:17 must mean "thigh," but this unique usage of the Hebrew word is better understood as an Aramaism in Job, considering the irregularity of a Proto-Semitic development of /ḏ̄/ > /d/ in Hebrew, instead of the expected /z/.

Albright appealed also to Ug *pḫd* in the sense of "flock," but its single occurrence in *ʾimr bpḫd* is not all that clear. If it is related to Akk *puḫâdu,* "lamb" (Hillers 1972: 92), the word is not to be derived from *pḫḏ̄*; but since the sense "lamb" in this passage is hardly satisfying, some scholars have linked it to the Akk *paḫīdu,* "flour." However, the sense of "thigh" is not to be excluded here also (Puech 1984: 359–60 n. 5). Whatever the proper interpretation of Ug *pḫd* is, the meaning "flock," derived from "clan, tribe" in the Arabic, is improbable. This same meaning should not be sought in the plaster inscription of Deir ʿAlla where the word does not in fact appear, not even in II 8, *pḥzy.*

Since the meaning "kinsman" is never attested in Semitic, not even in Arabic, and since the meaning "clan," known only in Arabic, does not make sense in our context, an explanation which refers to the Arabic root *pḫḏ̄* cannot be retained. In fact, on the basis of its construction, the expression *pḥd yṣḥq* must be parallel to *ʾĕlōhê ʾābî/ʾabrahām/nāḥ̃r.* "God of [my] father/Abraham/Nahor," or *ʾăbîr yaʿăqōb,* determinative titles of the God of the patriarchs and, consequently, of their clans; cf. *ʾăbîr yiśrāʾēl* (Isa

1:24; see Alt 1966: 25–30). The phrase cannot be the euphemistic "father's thigh" (= sexual organs) by which Jacob swears (Koch 1980; Malul 1985; 1987) since the formula "put the hand under the thigh" (e.g., Gen 24:9) is missing. There remains, then, the only other root, well known in the sense of "to fear, tremble, be frightened," in the noun form "terror, fright, fear," as the ancient translators understood it (LXX *phobos*). The expression *paḥad yiṣḥāq* cannot signify "refuge of Isaac" without other convincing parallels (Kopf 1959).

The element *paḥad* is not a divine name (as argued by Lemaire 1978); the personal name ZELOPHEHAD (Heb *ṣĕlopĕḥad*), Num 26:33 shows, in its historically more correct Greek vocalization *Salpaad* (Num 26:37), cannot be compared to Akk names such as *Ṣilli-Adad, Ṣilli-Amurru, Ṣilli-bal,* or Heb *bṣl*ʾ*l,* nor understood as "the Parent is [my] refuge" (*HALAT* 3: 872) or "Shadow of *Paḥad*" (Müller 1980: 120; *TWAT* 6: 560; *DBSup* 11: 485–86). It rather means "the [divine] Fear is a/my refuge" (Puech 1984: n. 10); cf. Akk *puluḫti ṣillika* and for the construction compare names whose theophoric element is a kinship term (see *TPNAH,* 40–50). However, this does not permit *paḥad yiṣḥāq* to be translated as "Protector of Isaac" (Westermann *Genesis 27–35* BK, 607), where it is clear that "the god of X" is his protector.

The phrase must mean "Terror/Fear of Isaac," to be understood as a principal attribute of the god of Isaac, whose protective power sows terror among all his enemies. But this objective sense taken in the context of holy war (cf. Gen 35:5) does not exclude the *numen tremendum,* the divine majesty which inspires reverential fear of the sort well attested in ancient rituals (expressed in Akk *puluḫtu û melammu;* see 1 Sam 11:7; 2 Chr 19:7; Ps 36:2; Sir 7:29). It is even probable that the latter entails the former (see Becker 1965: 178–79). The phrase *pḥd yṣḥq* is comparable to *ʾăbîr yaʿqōb,* "the Powerful/Bull of Jacob" (Gen 49:24) an expression originating with regard to Baal, whose animal is the bull (see the Hyksos scarabs with *Yaqub-Baʿal* and *ʾibrd* at Ugarit: "Adad is the Bull" [Puech 1984: 357]). The sense of the word *paḥad* is not always negative: it is sometimes parallel to *yārēʾ,* "to fear" (see Ps 119:120). A protector god such as would inspire reverential fear and terror could be invoked as guarantor for the oath in Gen 31:53, and as the divinity on whom one could count in Gen 31:42. If so, then indeed "the sacred terror is a shelter" (a possible meaning of the name Zelophehad [corrected to *ṣalpaḥad*]). It is noteworthy that Zelophehad son of Hepher son of Gilead (Heb *gilĕʿad*) son of Machir son of Manasseh had only *daughters* (Josh 17:3) and that the story in Gen 31:42–53 for its part involves the *daughters* of Laban and the name *galaʿad/galʿēd.* These two precise points of contact are not due to chance, and it is probable that the name Zelophehad *(ṣalpaḥad)* has some relation to the designation of the God of Isaac, *paḥad yiṣḥāq,* at some point in the tradition.

In conclusion, neither the unattested sense of "kinsman," nor the meaning "clan" nor the euphemistic "thigh" can be upheld. The traditional interpretation of ancient and many modern commentators remains the best by far: "Fear of Isaac."

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**FEINAN, WADI.** Wadi Feinan is cut into the E escarpment of the Wadi Arabah, about halfway between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Aqaba. Its catchment area is the depression of the Wadi el-Ghuweir that divides the Edomite plateau into two halves: el-Jibāl to the N and esh-Sharā to the S. The Wadi Feinan area includes the major concentration of copper ore in the S Levant (Hauptmann et al. 1985: 164–66). Ancient roads connected the area with N Edom (el-Jibāl) via Wadi Ḍānā, and with S Edom (esh-Sharā), via esh-Shawbak.

**A. The Name**

Feinan is primarily the name of a district, not a settlement. It can be explained by means of Arabic *faynān,* "to have long, beautiful hair." Like "Seir" (literally: "the hairy one"), "Feinan" refers to a region according to its vegetation: trees, grass, and reeds. Typologically, the name may go back as far as the 4th or 3d millennia B.C. (Knauf 1987).

In the 13th century B.C., Rameses II might have referred to *pwnw* (that is, **pōnō* from **pānā* from **paynā*) as one of the regions inhabitated by Shasu, "nomads" (Görg 1982). The Feinan region is mentioned twice in the OT (Gen 36:41; Num 33:42–43). In the first passage (Gen 36:41), *Pînōn* was one of the tribes of Edom at the time in which the list (Gen 36:40–43) originated. This list is one of the later lists compiled in Genesis 36. It is dependent on the lists of Gen 36:10–14 and Gen 36:20–28 (Weippert 1971: 443–44). A date at the end of the 6th century B.C., which means after the Neo-Babylonians conquered Edom, is highly likely (Weippert 1971: 456–58). Regardless of whether one translates *ʾallûp* as "tribe" or as "chief" (Weippert 1971: 453–56), Pinon is a tribe of Edom whose name is derived from the name of a region. Tribes in ancient Palestine (and in ancient W Arabia and S Arabia) were primarily regional organizations (de Geus 1976: 124–56). In the same list (Gen 36:40–43), the tribal names Mibzar, Elah, Teman, and Timna also seem to be derived from geographical names. Pinon does not occur in the older lists which were partially the sources for Gen 36:40–43. This indicates that the Feinan region rose to prominence between the time of the compilation of the earlier lists (8th to early 7th centuries B.C.; Knauf and Lenzen 1987: n. 43) and the end of the 6th century B.C. This agrees well with the archaeological evidence (see below). Although a settlement at Khirbet Feinan (M.R. 197004) existed in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., becoming the administrative center of the region and, finally, preserving its name, it is likely that Gen 36:41 refers to the region and/or the tribe rather than to this specific settlement.

The second biblical text (Num 33:42–43) lists *Pûnōn* (variant reading: *Pînōn*) as a road station in the Wadi Arabah. The different forms of the name (Weippert 1971: 433–34) may be explained both graphically (*w* for *y* by scribal error) and linguistically (cf. Egyptian *pwnw,* supra). The itinerary of Num 33:1–49 may date to the Persian period, 5th century B.C. (Hauptmann et al. 1985: 164; Knauf 1987). In the Roman-Byzantine period, this town was called *Phainō* (for the missing *-n,* cf. again the Egyptian reference); for both literary and epigraphical references, cf. Weippert 1971: 696, n. 1637.

**B. History of Exploration**

A. Musil gave the first detailed description of Kh. Feinan and its vicinity (Musil 1907: 293–98). F. Frank and N. Glueck discovered more ancient copper smelting sites to the N of Wadi Feinan (Frank 1934: 221–24; Glueck 1935: 20–34). Ancient mining sites have been described by geologists who worked in the Feinan area in the 1960s (Kind 1966). G. R. D. King surveyed Wadi Arabah during the survey "Late Antique and Early Islamic Sites in Jordan," and covered Wadi Feinan. He may have been the first to discover evidence for Early Bronze Age copper mining and smelting in the region (King 1985: 44–45). Since 1983, the Deutsches Bergbau-Museum, Bochum, has been conducting an archaeometallurgical and mining-archaeological survey in the Wadi Feinan region (Bachmann and Hauptmann 1984; Hauptmann et al. 1985). Archaeological survey work was carried out in 1985 by B. MacDonald and F. Koucky (MacDonald and Koucky 1987), and in 1986 by S. Hart and E. A. Knauf (Hart and Knauf 1986; and cf. Knauf and Lenzen 1987: n. 3).

## C. History of Occupation

The Wadi Feinan region has been continuously occupied since the Late Neolithic period, i.e., from ca. 7000 B.C. onward. Late Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic villages are reported (Raikes 1980; 1985). Intensive copper mining seems to have begun with the EB I period (3200–3000 B.C.); it is possible that mining and metallurgy started earlier in the Feinan area, but sufficient archaeological evidence for this assumption has not yet been presented. Another period of high mining activity was the EB IV (MB I) period, 2200–1900 B.C. Human presence was scarce in the Feinan region during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages (1900–1200 B.C.).

Mining and smelting activities were more frequent in the Iron Age. Although the archaeological evidence for the earlier part of the Iron Age (1200–800 B.C.) is presently unclear (Hart and Knauf 1986), it can be reasonably assumed that from 1200 B.C. onward, if not some fifty or hundred years earlier, the Feinan region became increasingly important for the copper supplies of Syria-Palestine (and maybe even for Egypt; cf. Görg 1982). The troubles in the Aegean world around 1200 B.C. must have cut off Syria-Palestine from its main copper supplier in the Bronze Age: Cyprus (Knauf and Lenzen 1987). Under Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian rule, the Edomites exploited the copper ore deposits of the Feinan region industrially and left approximately 100,000 tons of slag; they must have produced several thousand tons of copper. Edomite (800/700–400 B.C.) smelting sites, with architectural remains, comprise Kh. el-Ghuweibeh, Kh. el-Jāriyeh, Kh. en-Naḥās (M.R. 191010), and Kh. Feinan (all these sites are already described by N. Glueck [1935], who, however, dated the Edomite pottery to the 13th through 9th centuries B.C.; these dates are excluded by recent excavations on the Edomite plateau, cf. Hart 1986). It is likely that Job 28:1–12 describes mining as it took place in the Feinan area in the 6th or 5th century B.C. The references to Edom's "wisdom" (Jer 49:7; Obadiah 8) may allude to the technical skill of the Edomites in mining and processing copper, and may also reflect some envy on the part of their neighbors. Edomite copper smelting seems to have come to an end around 400 B.C. (Knauf and Lenzen 1987).

In the Nabatean period (1st century B.C. through 1st century A.D.), the area housed a number of small, isolated farmsteads. It is impossible to tell from the surface evidence how extensive and how urban the settlement at Kh. Feinan was at this time. The Nabateans did not mine copper in the Feinan area, probably because the ore deposits that could have been processed by the technical means of the Bronze and Iron Ages had been exhausted. It was the Romans who resumed metallurgy in the Feinan region. They mined new types of ore by means of new types of mines, and processed these ores in new types of furnaces (Hauptmann et al. 1985: 185). These activities took place mainly in the late 3d and 4th centuries A.D., another time of crisis and turmoil. Christians were among the slaves and criminals that were sent by the Romans to the furnaces and into the mines of Phaino/Feinan. In *The Martyrs of Palestine,* Eusebius of Caesarea includes a vivid description of the working conditions in Feinan ca. 300 A.D.

In the Byzantine period, Feinan became the seat of a bishopric. Ruins of three churches and some tomb inscriptions have been found which date to the 5th to 7th centuries A.D. Another ecclesiastic building, the so-called "monastery," seems to have been subsequently transformed into a mosque. The latest smelting site known so far belongs to the late Ayyubid/early Mamluk period, 13th century A.D. More discoveries are to be expected in the next few years.

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**FEJJA** (M.R. 141165). A ruined Arab village, today located within the municipal limits of Petah-Tiqvah, about 5 km from Ras el-ʿAin (biblical Aphek/Antipatris). The name Fejja recalls the Gk name of the Hellenistic site Pegai, meaning "the springs." Pegai is first mentioned in the Zenon Papyri (ca. 259 B.C.) as a frontier post between Judea and Samaria, although for topographic reasons it seems more likely that this post was actually located at Ras el-ʿAin, not at Fejja. Mishnaic sources distinguish two places—Mei-Pigah ("Waters of Pegai"; *m. Para* 8:6) and Pigah (*m. Ter.* 1:15). It seems that from the Hellenistic period onward the whole area around Aphek/Antipatris was called Pegai ("The Springs"), and this would explain the persistence of the name in such a remote settlement.

A survey in 1951 showed that the Arab village had been built on formerly uninhabited land, although ancient remains were found scattered in three areas, all in the same vicinity just N of Fejja. Area A, closest to the ruined Arab village, contained a sizable number of MB and Persian sherds. Area B, NW of area A and parallel to the road connecting Petah-Tiqvah with Lod, was covered with small fieldstones and many sherds from the Iron II and Persian periods. In area C, about 100 m NE of area A, the remnants of a wine industry were found sunk into the ground.

Twelve years later trial excavations were conducted in areas A and B. Five short trenches were dug in area A. In trench A-1 were uncovered two settlement levels, but no building remains. The upper settlement dated from MB II–III; the lower one, built on virgin soil, dated from MB I. Trench A-2 yielded similar finds, including two Ghassulian potsherds and a single (bow rim) potsherd belonging to the Wadi Rabah culture. A number of Iron II sherds were also found, and on the surface near A-2 was found a coin of Alexander Jannaeus. In trench B a 60-cm-thick Persian-period stratum was followed by two MB strata, the first belonging to MB II–III and the second (on virgin soil) to MB I. In trench C a stratum was uncovered containing the remains of a Roman settlement, including a Roman coin from the 1st century A.D. Below the Roman stratum was a MB II–III settlement stratum, containing two sections of mud-brick walls with typical sherds of the period on the floor. A MB I stratum was below this level, founded on virgin soil; in its upper part was uncovered the foundations of a stone wall. Trench D was apparently beyond the ancient zone of settlement; the top stratum yielded only a dump of mixed Persian and MB pottery fragments. Beneath it, however, were discovered fragments of a basalt bowl with a rim decorated in a manner typical of the Chalcolithic period.

Area C was found to contain the remains of Roman period wine presses and winery pits. The remnants of three separate installations were uncovered. The first was mostly in ruins, except for part of its mosaic-paved treading floor. The second was also almost completely ruined, except for part of a round winery pit and paved mosaic floor. The third was almost completely preserved, making it possible to clear a section of the floor and the entire square winery pit; the floor was paved with mosaics, and a lead pipe was found running from the treading floor to the pit.

In conclusion, the presence of Wadi Rabah and Ghassulian sherds indicates that somewhere nearby are buried the remains of a Chalcolithic settlement. It appears, however, that the site at Fejja itself was established and reached its zenith mainly during the MB Age, from which time building remains were also found. This MB settlement was no doubt connected with the mother settlement of nearby Ras el-

ʿAin. See ANTIPATRIS (PLACE). The extent of the Iron II settlement was not examined, but it appears to have been limited. In contrast, the Persian stratum (apparently 5th century B.C.) revealed extensive settlement. The lack of Hellenistic remains seems to reinforce the suspicion that Pegai was not here specifically, but more generally within the wider surrounding area. Settlement was renewed at this site in the 1st century A.D. and continued through Byzantine times.

J. KAPLAN

**FELIX** (PERSON) [Gk *Phēlix* (Φηλιξ)]. The procurator of Palestine from A.D. 52–60 who, supposedly "possessing accurate knowledge of the Way" (Acts 24:22), heard Paul's defense shortly after the apostle had been removed from Jerusalem to Caesarea (Acts 23:23–24:27). The little we know about Felix we learn from Josephus and from a number of Roman historians.

Felix, interestingly, was a freed slave of the family of the Roman emperor Claudius. Since his brother, M. Antonius Pallas, was the freed slave (or "freedman") of Claudius' mother, Antonia, this may have been the case with Felix as well. His full name was probably Marcus Antonius Felix (for the problems entailed, cf. Schürer *HJP²* 1: 460 n. 19). We may reasonably suppose that Felix shared his brother's aspirations to royalty through descent from Pallas, son of Evander, and the kings of Arcadia (who were also significant figures in the foundation myths of Rome): these aspirations were even given formal recognition by the Senate under Claudius (Tac. *Ann.* 12.54).

Felix was a particular favorite of Claudius, who appointed him to a command in Palestine, a most unusual post for a freedman (Suet. *Claud.* 28 notes that Claudius had a reputation for giving excessive power to freedmen). However, our sources give conflicting evidence as to the precise nature of his post. It seems that Felix was appointed before A.D. 52 to govern Samaria and Judea, while Ventidius Cumanus governed Galilee. When problems arose, Quadratus, the governor of Syria, punished Cumanus but dealt favorably with Felix, though he was allegedly no less guilty (Tac. *Ann.* 12.54; Josephus' silence and contrary indications are puzzling; Schürer *HJP²* 1: 459 n. 15 tends to reject Tacitus' account). Josephus presents Felix as Cumanus' successor, as he was after the latter's removal; the high priest Jonathan had even called upon Claudius to appoint Felix (*Ant* 20.162).

However, it was during Felix's term as procurator that rebellion firmly took hold in Palestine (*HJP²* 1: 460), so Felix was an obvious candidate for blame. Josephus reports that he paid a large sum to induce the closest friend of Jonathan, the high priest, to arrange for the high priest's murder by *sicarii* (*Ant* 20.162ff.). Jonathan, it is said, had annoyed Felix by repeatedly urging him to be a better governor; yet Felix had evidently taken strong (if not entirely honest, and perhaps even counterproductive) actions to deal with the growing disorder (*Ant* 20.161; *War* 2.252ff.). Indeed, Josephus' account of Felix's suppression of Jewish rioters at Caesarea shows that he tried persuasion before force and that, having made his point, withdrew his troops at Jewish request and referred the matter to Nero (*Ant* 20.177–78; *War* 2.270; cf. *Life* 13). It is against this background of severe and growing disorder that we must understand Felix's detention of Paul (Acts 24: 26–27). Felix's reputation will not have been helped by his slave origins; his "servile nature" seems to be the burden of Tacitus' critique of him (*Hist.* 5.9; cf. Pliny *Ep.* 7.29 on Pallas). However, it must be observed that our sources are unanimous in their hostility toward Felix and it may very well be that their judgment is essentially sound (Schürer *HJP²* 1: 462–66).

Felix was succeeded as procurator of Judea by Porcius Festus in about A.D. 60 (*War* 2.271; *Ant* 20.182; Acts 24:27). Felix's influential brother, Pallas, is said to have saved him from punishment for his maladministration (*Ant* 20.182). As procurator he married DRUSILLA, daughter of Agrippa, after having seduced her away from her husband; she bore him a son, Agrippa, who died during the volcanic eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in A.D. 79 (*Ant* 20.144). She was one of three "queens" whom Felix is said to have married (Suet. *Claud.* 28). The second was granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra—perhaps an otherwise unknown daughter of Juba II and Cleopatra Selene (herself the daughter of Antony and Cleopatra) and thus a member of the royal house of Mauretania. She may also have been called Drusilla (Tac. *Hist.* 5.9). Felix's third royal wife cannot be identified. Inscriptions record persons who might be his descendants (*CIL* 5.34; *BCAR* 1907, 215).

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**FELIX, MINUCIUS** (PERSON). See MINUCIUS FELIX.

**FELLOWSHIP, TABLE.** See TABLE FELLOWSHIP.

**FEMINIST HERMENEUTICS.** Writing a dictionary article on feminist hermeneutics may encourage several misconceptions. It gives the impression that feminist hermeneutics is a finished research product rather than an ongoing process within the context of women's societal and ecclesial struggles for justice and liberation. It also highlights proposed solutions rather than the experiences and questions which have Engendered them. Insofar as this article is qualified by "feminist" and other entries are not marked, for instance, as "masculinist" or "white," readers may assume that an objective discipline and unqualified approach to hermeneutics exists. As long as other contributions do not explicitly articulate the fact that knowledge and scholarship is perspectival, such a misapprehension seems unavoidable. Yet feminist inquiry is not more, but less, ideological because it deliberately articulates its theoretical perspective without pretending to be value-free, positivistic, universal knowledge.

**A. A Delineation of Terms**

Since the expression "feminist" evokes reactions, emotions, and prejudices, it becomes necessary to delineate the ways in which the term is here used in conjunction with hermeneutics.

**1. Feminist/Womanist.** The term "feminist" is commonly used today for describing those who seek to eliminate women's subordination and marginalization. Although women have resisted their subordinate position of exploitation throughout the centuries, the roots of feminism as a social and intellectual movement are found in the European Enlightenment.

a. Although there are diverse articulations of feminism, feminists generally agree in their critique of masculine supremacy and hold that gender roles are socially constructed rather than innate. The "root experience" of feminism is women's realization that cultural "common sense," dominant perspectives, scientific theories, and historical knowledge are androcentric, i.e., male-biased, and therefore not objective but ideological. This breakthrough experience causes not only disillusionment and anger but also a sense of possibility and power.

Feminist analyses often utilize categories such as *patriarchy, androcentrism* or *gender dualism* as synonymous or overlapping concepts. Patriarchy is generally defined as gender dualism or as the domination and control of man over woman. Androcentrism refers to a linguistic structure and theoretical perspective in which man or male represents the human. Western languages such as Hebrew, Greek, German, or English—grammatically masculine languages that function as so-called generic languages—use the terms "male" or "human" as inclusive of "woman" and the pronoun "he" as inclusive of "she." Man is the paradigmatic human, woman is the other.

Masculine and feminine are the two opposite or complementary poles in a binary gender system, which is asymmetric insofar as masculine is the primary and positive pole. Dualistic oppositions such as subject/object, culture/nature, law/chaos, orthodoxy/heresy, and man/woman, legitimate masculine supremacy and feminine inferiority. Franco-feminist criticism therefore has termed this structuring of man as the central reference point "phallocentrism," understanding the phallus as a signifier of sociocultural authority.

The philosophical construction of reason positions elite Western man as the transcendent, universal subject with privileged access to truth and knowledge. The Western construction of reason and rationality has been conceived within the binary structure of male dominance as transcendence of the feminine. Femininity is constituted as an exclusion. In analogy to "woman" and the "feminine" the nature of subordinated and colonialized peoples is projected as the devalued other or the deficit opposite of elite Western man, rationalizing the exclusion of the "others" from the institutions of knowledge and culture.

b. In protest of this ideological construction feminist liberation movements around the globe unmask the universalist essentializing discourse on "Woman" and the colonialized "Other" as the totalizing discourse of the Western Man of Reason. Instead they insist on the specific historical-cultural contexts and subjectivity, as well as on the plurality, of "women."

Women of color consistently maintain that an analysis of women's exploitation and oppression only in terms of gender does not suffice, for it does not comprehend the complex systemic interstructuring of gender, race, class, and culture that determines women's lives. Therefore, feminist hermeneutics must reconceptualize its categories of analysis. It has to distinguish between the categories of *androcentrism* or gender dualism as ideological obfuscations and legitimizations of elite male power on the one hand, and *patriarchy* in the strict sense of the word defined as a complex social system of male domination structured by racism, sexism, classism, and colonialism on the other hand. The system of Western patriarchal ideology was articulated centuries ago by Aristotle and Plato in their attempt to define the democratic *polis*, which restricted full citizenship to Greek, freeborn, propertied, male heads of household. Although cultural and religious patriarchy as a "master-centered" political and cultural system has been modified throughout the centuries its basic structures of domination and ideological legitimization are still operative today.

African-American feminists in religious studies, therefore, have introduced Alice Walker's term "womanist" (i.e., feminist of color) to signal the fact that feminism is more than a political movement and theoretical perspective of white women. When we speak of Africans, Europeans, the poor, minorities, *and* women, we speak as if women do not belong to all the other groups mentioned. Yet the expression "women" includes not just white, elite, Western, middle- or upper-class women, as conventional language suggests, but all women. Whereas feminist scholarship has become skilled in detecting the androcentric language and patriarchal contextualizations of malestream theory and biblical interpretation, it does not always pay attention to its own inoculation with gender stereotypes, white supremacy, class prejudice, and theological confessionalism.

Jewish feminists in turn have pointed out that Christian feminists perpetuate the anti-Semitic discourse of otherness ingrained in Christian identity formation when they uncritically reproduce the anti-Jewish tendencies inscribed in Christian Scriptures and perpetrated by malestream biblical scholarship. This is the case, e.g., when Judaism is blamed for the "death of the Goddess" or when Jesus, the feminist, is set over and against patriarchal Judaism. It also would be the case if this article on "feminist hermeneutics" would be read as giving a descriptive and comprehensive account of feminist biblical hermeneutics as such, although it is written from a Christian but not from a Jewish or Islamic hermeneutical perspective. If feminist interpretation does not wish to continually reproduce its own internalized structures of oppression, it must bring into critical reflection the oppressive patriarchal contextualizations of contemporary discourses and those of the biblical writings themselves.

**2. Feminist/Womanist Hermeneutics.** While women have read the Scriptures throughout the centuries, a feminist/womanist hermeneutics as the theoretical exploration of biblical interpretation in the interest of women is of very recent vintage.

a. When one remembers Miriam, Hulda, Hanna, Mary Prisca, Felicitas, Proba, Macrina, Melania, Hildegard of Bingen, Margret Fell, Antoinette Brown, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Jarena Lee, Katherine Bushnell, Margret Brackenbury Crook, Georgia Harkness, or Else Kähler, it becomes apparent that women have always interpreted the Bible. Moreover, books about Women in the Bible—mostly written by men—as well as studies of prescriptive biblical male texts about women's role and place have been numerous throughout the centuries.

Biblical scholarship *about women* Engages diverse historical, social, anthropological, psychological, or literary models of interpretation without analyzing their androcentric frameworks. In addition, it tends to adopt the scientific posture of "detached" inquiry that eschews feminist politics. Although such scholarship focuses on "women," it reproduces and reinscribes the androcentric-patriarchal dynamics of the text as long as it does not question the androcentric character of biblical texts and reconstructive models.

Only in the context of the women's movement in the last century, and especially in the past twenty years, have feminists begun to explore the implications and possibilities of a biblical interpretation that takes the androcentric or patriarchal character of Scripture into account. This exploration is situated within the context of both the academy and the church. Insofar as feminist analysis seeks to transform

academic as well as ecclesial biblical interpretation, it has a theoretical and practical goal. This praxis-orientation locates feminist hermeneutics in the context of philosophical/theological hermeneutics as well as critical theory and liberation theology.

b. The technical term *hermeneutics* comes from the Greek word hermeneuein/hermeneia and means the practice and theory of interpretation. The expression was first used as a technical term for exegetical handbooks that dealt with philology, grammar, syntax, and style. Today the term *exegesis* is generally used to describe the rules and principles for establishing not only the philological, but also the historical sense, of biblical texts.

*Hermeneutics*, by contrast, explores the dialogical interaction between the text and the contemporary interpreter in which the subject matter of the text or the reference of discourse itself "comes-into-language." It is not simply conveyed by, but manifested in and through, the language of the text. Understanding the meaning of texts emerges from a dialogical process between interpreter and text. This dialogical process presupposes a common pre-understanding of the subject matter of the text, since we cannot comprehend what is totally alien to our own experience and perception.

Biblical interpretation seeks to understand the text and its world as a rhetorical expression in a certain historical situation. Insofar as the interpreter always approaches biblical texts with certain preunderstandings, and from within a definite linguistic-historical tradition, the act of interpretation has to overcome the distance between the world of the text and that of the interpreter in a "fusion of horizons." Interpretation has as its goal to establish agreement to and acceptance of the subject matter of the text. Understanding is achieved when the interpreter appropriates the ways of being human projected by the text. According to Gadamer the authority of the text has nothing to do with blind obedience, but rests on recognition *(Anerkennung),* because the subject matter of the text can be accepted in principle.

c. However, insofar as patriarchal ideology and systemic domination have been passed down through the medium of Christian Scriptures, feminist biblical interpretation does not only seek to understand but also to assess critically the meaning of androcentric texts and their sociopolitical functions. Although I have introduced the nomenclature "feminist hermeneutics" into the theological discussion, I have at the same time maintained that a critical feminist interpretation has to move beyond dialogical hermeneutics. It does not just aim at understanding biblical texts but also Engages in theological critique, evaluation, and transformation of biblical traditions and interpretations from the vantage point of its particular sociopolitical religious location. Not to defend biblical authority but to articulate the theological authority of women is the main task of a critical feminist hermeneutics.

Insofar as hermeneutical theory insists on the linguisticality of all reality and on the sociohistorical conditioning of the act of interpretation, it is useful for womanist/feminist biblical interpretation. However, dialogical hermeneutics does not consider that classic texts and traditions are also a systematically distorted expression of communication under unacknowledged conditions of repression and violence. It therefore is not able to critique the androcentric, male-centered character of Western classics and texts, nor to problematize the patriarchal character of the "world of the text" and of our own. Even Ricoeur's insistence on the restoration of the link between exegesis and hermeneutics as the dialectics between alienating distanziation and appropriating recognition cannot encompass the transformative aims of a critical feminist hermeneutics for liberation, because such a dialectics does not get hold of the "doubled vision" of feminist hermeneutics.

**3. A Critical Feminist Hermeneutics of Liberation.** Feminists/womanists have become conscious of women's conflicting position within two contradictory discourses offered by society. Unconsciously women participate at one and the same time in the specifically "feminine" discourse of submission, inadequacy, inferiority, dependency, and irrational intuition on the one hand and in the "masculine" discourse of subjectivity, self-determination, freedom, justice, and equality on the other hand. If this participation becomes conscious, it allows the feminist/womanist interpreter to become a reader resisting the reifying power of the androcentric text.

a. The theoretical exploration of this contradictory position of women from the vantage point of an emancipatory standpoint makes it possible to "imagine" a *different* interpretation and historical

reconstruction. For change to take place women and other nonpersons must concretely and explicitly claim as their very own those values and visions that Western Man has reserved for himself. Yet they can do so only to the extent that these values and visions foster the liberation of women who suffer from multiple oppressions.

This "doubled vision" of feminism leads to the realization that gender relations are neither natural nor divinely ordained but linguistically and socially constructed in the interest of patriarchal power relations. Androcentric language and texts, literary classics and visual art, works of science, anthropology, sociology, or theology do not describe and comprehend reality. Rather they are ideological constructs that produce the invisibility and marginality of women. Therefore a critical feminist interpretation insists on a *hermeneutics of suspicion* that can unmask the ideological functions of androcentric text and commentary. It does not do so because it assumes a patriarchal conspiracy of the biblical writers and their contemporary interpreters but because when reading grammatically masculine supposedly generic texts women do not, in fact, know whether they are meant or not.

b. The realization that women are socialized into the "feminine discourse" of their culture and thus are ideologically "scripted" and implicated in power relations Engenders the recognition that women suffer also from "a false consciousness." As long as they live in a patriarchal world of oppression, women are never fully "liberated." However, this does not lead feminists to argue that historical agency and knowledge of the world are not possible. Western science, philosophy, and theology have not known the world as it is. Rather they have created it in their own interest and likeness as they wished it to be. Therefore, feminists/womanists insist that it is possible for liberatory discourses to articulate a different historical knowledge and vision of the world.

In order to do so feminist/womanist scholars utilize women's experience of reality and practical activity as a scientific resource and a significant indicator of the reality against which hypotheses are to be tested. A critical feminist version of objectivity recognizes the provisionality and multiplicity of particular knowledges as situated and "embodied" knowledges. Knowledge is not totally relative, however. It is possible from the perspective of the excluded and dominated to give a more adequate account of the "world." In short, womanists/feminists insist that women are "scripted" and at the same time are historical subjects and agents.

Therefore, a critical feminist/womanist hermeneutics seeks to articulate biblical interpretation as a complex process of reading for a cultural-theological praxis of resistance and transformation. To that end it utilizes not only historical and literary-critical methods which focus on the rhetoric of the text in its historical contexts, but also storytelling, bibliodrama, and ritual for creating a "different" feminist imagination.

**B. Approaches and Methods**

In conjunction with feminist literary criticism, critical theory, and historiography, four major hermeneutical strategies have been developed for such a critical process of interpretation.

**1. Texts About Women.** a. In pondering the absence of women's experience and voice from biblical texts and history, a first strategy seeks to recover information about women and to examine what biblical texts teach about women. This analysis usually focuses on "key" women's passages such as Genesis 1–3; the biblical laws with regard to women; or on the Pauline and post-Pauline statements on women's place and role. This selective approach was adopted by Elizabeth Cady Stanton in *The Woman's Bible* and has strongly influenced subsequent interpretations. Its "cutting up and cutting out" method isolates passages about women from their literary and historical contexts and interprets them "out of context."

After having gathered the texts about women, scholars then catalog and systematize these texts and traditions in a dualistic fashion. They isolate positive and negative statements in order to point to the positive biblical tradition about woman. They isolate positive texts about women and the feminine from "texts of terror" that are stories of women's victimization. All statements about woman and feminine imagery about God are cataloged as positive, ambivalent, or negative strands in Hebrew-Jewish and early Christian tradition. Negative elements are found in the Hebrew Bible as well as in the intertestamental and postbiblical writings of Judaism, whereas in the Christian tradition they are seen as limited to the writings

of the Church Fathers. Such a biased classification favoring Christian over and against Jewish tradition Engenders anti-Jewish attitudes and interpretations.

b. A second approach focuses on the women characters in the Bible. From its inception, feminist/womanist interpretation has sought to actualize these stories in role-playing, storytelling, and song. Whereas the retelling of biblical stories in midrash or legend is quite familiar to Jewish and Catholic women, it is often a new avenue of interpretation for Protestant women. Interpretations that focus on the women characters in the androcentric text invite readers to identify positively with the biblical women as the text presents them.

Since popular books on "the women of the Bible" often utilize biblical stories about women for inculcating the values of conservative womanhood, a feminist/womanist interpretation approaches these stories with a *hermeneutics of suspicion.* It critically analyzes not only their history of interpretation but also their function in the overall rhetoric of the biblical text. Such a critical interpretation questions the emotions they evoke and the values and roles they project before it can reimagine and retell them in a feminist/womanist key.

Within the African-American tradition of storytelling R. Weems, e.g., creatively reconstructs the "possible emotions and issues that motivated biblical women in their relation with each other" in order to draw "attention to the parallels between the plight of biblical women and women today." Weems informs her reader that the only way she could "let the women speak for themselves" was to wrestle their stories from the presumably male narrators.

Although it is important to retell the biblical women's stories, it is also necessary to reimagine biblical stories without women characters. In order to break the marginalizing tendencies of the androcentric text feminists/womanists have also to retell in a female voice and womanist perspective those stories that do not explicitly mention women.

c. A third approach seeks to recover works written by women in order to restore critical attention to female voices in the tradition. This work has restored many forgotten or obscured women writers. In early Christian studies scholars have, e.g., argued that the gospels of Mark and John were written by a woman evangelist or that Hebrews as authored by Prisca. Others have pointed out that at least half of the Lukan material on women must be ascribed to a special pre-Lukan source that may have owed its existence to a woman evangelist. While such a suggestion expands our historical-theological imagination, it does not critically explore whether the androcentric text communicates patriarchal values and visions, and if so to what degree. It fails to consider that women also have internalized androcentric stereotypes and therefore can reproduce the patriarchal politics of otherness in their speaking and writing.

d. Historical studies of women in the Bible or that of Jewish, Greek, or Roman women are generally *topological* studies that utilize androcentric texts and archaeological artifacts *about women* as source texts. They understand these sources as descriptive data about women in the biblical worlds and as "windows" to and "mirrors" of women's reality in antiquity. Sourcebooks on women in the Greco-Roman world assemble in English translation literary documents as well as inscriptions and papyri about women's religious activities in Greco-Roman antiquity. However, such source collections are in a certain sense precritical insofar as they obscure that androcentric texts are ideological constructions. They must be utilized with a *hermeneutics of suspicion* and placed within a feminist model of reconstruction.

Recognizing the absence or marginality of women in the androcentric text feminist historians have sought to articulate the problem of how to write women back into history, of how to capture the memory of women's historical experience and contribution. The historian Joan Kelly has succinctly stated the dual goal of women's history as both to restore women to history and to restore our history to women.

Feminist/womanist historical interpretation conceptualizes women's historical agency, resistance, and struggles. Women have made sociocultural contributions and challEnged dominant institutions and values as well as wielded destructive power and collaborated in patriarchal structure.

Feminist/womanist scholars in religion have begun to open up many new areas of research by asking different historical questions that seek to understand the socioreligious life-world of women in antiquity. What do we know about the everyday life of women in Israel, Syria, Greece, Egypt, Asia Minor, or

Rome? How did freeborn women, slave women, wealthy women, or businesswomen live? Could women read and write, what rights did they have, how did they dress, or which powers and influence did they gain through patronage? Or what did it mean for a woman of Corinth to join the Isis cult, the synagogue, or the Christian group? What did imprisonment mean for Junia, or how did Philippian women receive Luke-Acts?

Although many of these questions need still to be addressed and might never be answered, asking these questions has made it possible for instance to rediscover Sarah, the priestess, or to unearth the leadership of women in Judaism as well as in early Christianity, or to locate the household-code texts in Aristotelian political philosophy. However, insofar as such sociohistorical studies do not problematize the descriptive character or the androcentric source text as reflecting sociohistorical reality, the cannot break through the marginalizing ideological tendencies of the androcentric text.

**2. Ideological Inscription and Reception.** Whereas feminist historical interpretation tends to be caught up in the factual, objectivist, and antiquarian paradigm of biblical studies, literary-critical studies insist that we are not able to move beyond the androcentric text to the historical reality of women. They reject a positivist understanding of the biblical text as a transparent medium as reflecting historical reality or as providing historical data and facts.

a. Their first hermeneutical strategy attends to the ideological inscriptions of androcentric dualisms or the politics of gender in cultural and religious texts. The relationship between androcentric text and historical reality cannot be construed as a mirror image but must be decoded as a complex ideological construction. The silences, contradictions, arguments, prescriptions, and projections of the androcentric text as well as its discourses on gender, race, class, or culture must be unraveled as the ideological inscription of the patriarchal politics of otherness.

Feminist literary studies-be they formalist, structuralist, or narratological-carefully show how the androcentric text constructs the politics of gender and feminine representation. By tracing out the binary structures of a text or by focusing on the "feminine" character constructs (e.g., mother, daughter, bride) of biblical narratives, structuralist and deconstructionalist readings run the risk of reinscribing rather than dislodging the dualistic gender politidcs of the text.

By laying out the androcentric bias of the text feminist literary criticism seeks to foster a hermeneutics of resistance to the androcentric politics of the canonical text. Such a feminist literary hermeneutics aims to deconstruct, debunk, and reject the biblbical text. However, by refusing any possibility of a positive retrieval they reinscribe the totalizing dynamics of the androcentric texts that marginalize women and other nonpersons or elminate them altogether from the historical record. Such a hermeneutics relinquishes the heritage of women be it cultural or religious, since not only the Bible but all cultural classics written in adrocentric language contain such an androcentric politics. A critical feminist reading can only break the mold of the sacred androcentric text and its authority over us when it resists the androcentric directives and hierarchially arranged binary opposisitions of the text, when it reads texts against "their androcentric grain."

b. A second strategy of feminist readings shifts the attention from the androcentric text to the reading subject. Feminist reader-reponse criticism makes conscious the complex process of reading androcentric texts as a cultural practice. By showing how our gender affects the way we read, it underlines the importance of the reader's particular sociocultural location. Reading and thinking in an androcentric symbol system forces readers to identify with what is culturally "male." This intensifies women's internalization of a cultural partriarchal system whose misogynist values alienate women from themselves.

The androcentric biblical text derives its seductive "power" from its generic aspirations. For instance, women can read stories about Jesus without giving any significance to the maleness of Jesus. However, theological emphasis on the maleness of Jesus reinforces women's male identification and establishes Christian identity as a male identity in a cultural masculine/feminine contextualization. Focusing on the figure of Jesus, the Son of the Father, when reading the Bible "doubles" women's oppression. Women not only suffer in the act of reading from the alienating division of self against self but also from the

realization that to be female is not to be "divine" or "a son of God." Recognizing these internalizing functions of androcentric Scriptural texts which in the liturgy are proclaimed as "word of God," feminist/womanist theologians have insisted on an inclusive translation of the lectionary.

Women's reading of generic androcentric biblical texts, however, does not always lead with necessity to the reader's masculine identification. Women's reading can deactivate masculine/feminine gender contextualization in favor of an abstract degenderized reading. Empirical studies have documented that so-called generic masculine language ["man," pronoun "he"] is read differently by men and by women. Whereas men connect male images with such language, women do not connect images with the androcentric text but read it in an abstract fashion. This is possible because of the ambiguity of generic masculine language. In the absence of any clear contextual markers a statement such as "all men are created equal" can be understood as generic-inclusive or as masculine-exclusive.

When women recognize their contradictory ideological position in a generic androcentric language system they can become readers resisting the *master-identification* of the androcentric, racist, classist, or colonialist text. However, if this contradiction is not brought into consciousness, it cannot be exploited for change but leads to further self-alienation. For change to take place, women and other nonpersons must concretely and explicitly claim as our very own the human values and visions that the androcentric text ascribes to "generic" man. Yet once readers have become conscious of the oppressive rhetorical functions of androcentric language, they no longer are able to read "generically" but must insist on a feminist/womanist contextualization of interpretation as a liberating practice in the struggle to end patriarchal relations of exploitation that generate "the languages of oppression" and are legitimated by it.

**3. A Critical Rhetorical Paradigm of Historical Reconstruction.** A third approach seeks to overcome the methodological split between historical studies that understand their sources as windows to historical reality and literary-critical studies that tend to reinscribe the binary structures and dualistic constructions of the androcentric text. It does so by analyzing the rhetorical functions of the text as well as by articulating models for historical reconstruction that can displace the dualistic model of the androcentric text. It does not deny but recognizes that androcentric texts are produced in and by particular historical debates and struggles. It seeks to exploit the contradictions inscribed in the text for reconstructing not only the narrative "world of the biblical text" but also the sociohistorical worlds that have made possible the particular world construction of the text.

a. Such a critical feminist reconstruction, therefore, does not heighten the opposition of masculine/feminine inscribed in the androcentric text but seeks to dislodge it by focusing on the text as a rhetorical-historical practice. Androcentric texts produce the marginality and absence of women from historical records by subsuming women under masculine terms. How we read the silences of such unmarked grammatically masculine generic texts and how we fill in their blank spaces depends on their contextualization in historical and present experience.

Grammatically masculine language mentions women specifically only as a special case, as the exception from the rule or as a problem. Whereas grammatically masculine language means both women and men, this is not the case for language referring to women. Moreover, the texts about women are not descriptive of women's historical reality and agency but only indicators of it. They signify the presence of women that is marginalized by the androcentric text. An historically adequate reading of such generic androcentric texts therefore would have to read grammatically masculine biblical texts as inclusive of women and men, unless a case can be made for an exclusive reading.

By tracing the defensive strategies of the androcentric text one can make visible not only what the text marginalizes or excludes but also show how the text shapes what it includes. Androcentric biblical texts tell stories and construct social worlds and symbolic universes that mythologize, reverse, absolutize, and idealize patriarchal differences and in doing so obliterate or marginalize the historical presence of the devalued "others" of their communities.

Androcentric biblical texts and interpretations are not descriptive of objective reality but they are persuasive and prescriptive texts that construct historical reality and its sources. Scholars have selected original manuscript readings, established the original text, translated it into English, and commented on

biblical writings in terms of their own androcentric-patriarchal knowledge of the world. Androcentric tendencies that marginalize women can also be detected in the biblical writers' selection and redaction of traditional materials as well as in the selective canonization of texts. It is also evident in the use of the Bible in liturgy and theological discourse. As androcentric rhetorical texts, biblical texts and their interpretations construct a world in which those whose arguments they oppose become the "deviant others" or are no longer present at all. The categories of orthodoxy and heresy reinscribe such a patriarchal rhetoric.

Biblical texts about women are like the tip of an iceberg indicating what is submerged in historical silence. They have to be read as touchstones of the reality that they repress and construct at the same time. Just as other texts so also are biblical texts sites of competing discourses and rhetorical constructions of the world. We are able to disclose and unravel "the politics of otherness" constructed by the androcentric text, because it is produced by an historical reality in which "the absent others" are present and active.

A feminist/womanist interpretation is able to unmask the politics of the text, because women participate not only in the androcentric discourse of marginalization and subordination but also in the democratic discourse of freedom, self-determination, justice, and equality. Insofar as this "humanistic" discourse has been constituted as elite "male" discourse the reality to which it points is at the same time already realized and still utopian. It has to be imagined *differently.* Such "imagination" is, however, not pure fantasy but historical imagination because it refers to a reality that has been accomplished not only in discourse but also in the practices and struggles of "the subjugated others."

b. The second strategy elaborates models of historical reconstruction that can subvert the androcentric dynamics of the biblical text and its interpretations by focusing on the "reality" that the androcentric text marginalizes and silences. One has to take the texts about women out of their androcentric historical source contexts and reassemble them like mosaic stones in a feminist/womanist model of historical reconstruction that does not recuperate the marginalizing tendencies of the text.

A critical feminist reconstructive model, therefore, aims not only to reconstruct women's history in early Christianity but seeks also a feminist reconstruction of early Christian origins. To that end it cannot limit itself to the canonical texts but must utilize *all* available texts and materials.

Another strategy questions androcentric models of interpretation that interpret early Christian origins, e.g., in terms of the split between the public and private spheres. This model renders women's witness to the resurrection and their leadership in the early Christian movements "unofficial" or distorts it to fit "feminine" cultural roles. Another strategy looks at economic and social status, at domestic and political structures, at legal prescriptions, cultic prohibitions, and religious organizations. However, reconstructions of the social world often uncritically adopt sociological or anthropological models of interpretation without testing them for their androcentric ideological implications.

The strategy of a "negative" mirror image which constructs early Christian women's history in contrast to that of Jewish women or Greco-Roman and Asian women in the first century is not only biased but also methodologically inadequate. Instead, a feminist reconstruction must elaborate emancipatory tendencies in Greco-Roman antiquity that made it possible for the early Christian movements to stand in critical tension to their dominant patriarchal society. It must identify institutional formations that have enabled the active participation of women and other nonpersons.

Finally, a critical feminist/womanist reconstruction does not take the texts indicating the gradual adaptation of the early Christian movement to its dominant patriarchal culture as descriptive of historical reality. Rather it understands them as rhetorical arguments about the patriarchal "politics of submission." They do not reflect "what really happened," but construct prescriptive arguments for what the authors wished would happen. This applies not only to biblical texts but also to those "parallel" texts that are cited for the "depraved status" of Jewish or Greco-Roman women.

In short, in a critical model early Christian history is reconstructed not from the perspective of the "historical winners" but from that of the "silenced" in order to achieve an historically adequate description of the social worlds of early Christian women and men. The objectivity and reliability of scientific historical reconstructions must therefore be assessed in terms of whether and how much they

can make present the historical losers and their arguments, how much they can make visible those who have been made "doubly invisible" in androcentric sources.

Feminist/womanist historiography, therefore, understands itself not as antiquarian science but as Engaged inquiry since it seeks to retrieve women's history as memory and heritage for the present and the future. Insofar as reconstructions of the past are always done in the interest of the present and the future, a critical reconstruction of early Christian history as the history of those who have struggled against hegemonic patriarchal structures seeks to enpower those who today Engage in the struggle to end patriarchy.

**D. Theological Hermeneutics**

Both sides in the often bitter struggles for ecclesial leadership and full citizenship of freeborn women, for emancipation of slave women and men, and for the survival of poor women and their children have invoked biblical authority to legitimate their claims. Consequently, a feminist theological hermeneutics has centered around the question of Scriptural authority.

Several hermeneutical positions have crystallized in confrontation with biblical authority claims. The first rejects the Bible because of its patriarchal character. The Bible is not the word of God but that of elite men justifying their patriarchal interests. The opposite argument insists that the Bible must be "depatriarchalized" because, correctly understood, it fosters the liberation of women. A middle position concedes that the Bible is written by men and rooted in a patriarchal culture but nevertheless maintains that some biblical texts, traditions, or at least the basic core, essence, or central principle of the Bible are liberating and stand in critique of patriarchy.

**1. Biblical Apologetics.** Historically and today the Bible has functioned as a weapon against women in their struggles for access to public speaking, to theological education, or to ordained ministry. In response a Christian feminist apologetics asserts that the Bible, correctly understood, does not prohibit but rather authorizes the equal rights and liberation of women. A feminist hermeneutics therefore has the task to elaborate this correct understanding of the Bible so that its authority can be claimed.

However, insofar as historical-critical scholarship has elaborated the rich diversity and often contradictory character of biblical texts, it has shown that taken as a whole the canon cannot constitute an effective theological norm. Therefore it becomes difficult to sustain the traditional understanding that the canon forms a doctrinal unity which in all its parts possesses equal authority and which in principle rules out theological inconsistencies.

Feminists who feel bound by this understanding of canonical authority propose three different hermeneutical strategies. A *loyalist* hermeneutics argues that biblical texts about women can be explained in terms of a hierarchy of truth. Whereas traditionalists argue that the household code texts require the submission and subordination of women or that Gal 3:28 must be understood in light of them, evangelical feminists hold that Ephesians 5 requires mutual submission and that the injunctions to submission must be judged in light of the canonical authority of Gal 3:28.

A second strategy is *revisionist.* It makes a distinction between historically conditioned texts that speak only to their own time and those texts with authority for all times. For instance, the injunction of 1 Cor 11:2–16 to wear a head covering or a certain hairstyle is seen as time-conditioned whereas Gal 3:28 pronounces the equality of women and men for all times.

A third approach is *compensatory*. It challEnges the overwhelmingly androcentric language and images of the Bible by pointing to the feminine images of God found throughout the sacred writings of Judaism and Christianity. It uncritically embraces the divine female figure of Wisdom or the feminine character of the Holy Spirit in order to legitimate the use of feminine language for God and the Holy Spirit today.

**2. A Feminist Canon.** Recognizing the pervasive androcentric character of biblical texts, other feminists isolate an authoritative essence or central principle that biblically authorizes equal rights and liberation struggles. Such a liberation hermeneutics does not aim to dislodge the authority of the Bible but to reclaim the empowering authority of Scripture over and against conservative, right-wing, biblical antifeminism.

A first strategy seeks to identify an authoritative *canon within the canon,* a central principle or *the* "gospel message." Since it is generally recognized that the Bible is written in androcentric language and rooted in patriarchal cultures, such a normative center of Scripture allows one to claim biblical authority while rejecting the accusation that the Bible is an instrument of oppression. Feminist biblical and liberation theological scholarship has not invented but inherited this search for an authoritative "canon within the canon" from historical-theological exegesis that recognizes the historical contingency and contradictory pluriformity of Scripture but nevertheless maintains the normative unity of the Bible.

Just as male liberation theologians stress God's liberating acts in history or single out the Exodus or Jesus' salvific deeds as "canon within the canon," so feminist liberation theologians have sought to identify God's intention for a mended creation, the prophetic tradition or the prophetic critical principle as the authoritative biblical norm. However, such a strategy reduces the historical particularity and pluriformity of biblical texts to a feminist "canon within the canon" or a liberating formalized principle.

The debate continues in feminist hermeneutics as to whether such a feminist normative criterion must be derived from or at least correlated with the Bible so that Scripture remains the normative foundation of feminist biblical faith and community.

Some would argue that the Bible becomes authoritative in the hermeneutical dialogue between the ancient world that produced the text, the literary world of the text, and the world of the modern reader. Yet such a position rejects any criteria extrinisic to the biblical text for evaluating the diverse, often contradictory biblical voices. Instead it maintains that the Bible contains its own critique. It points, for instance, to the vision of a transformed creation in Isa 11:6–9 as a criterion intrinsic to Scripture. The principle of "no harm"—"they shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain"—is the normative criterion for assessing biblical texts. However, this approach does not critically reflect that it is the interpreter who selects this criterion and thereby gives it normative canonical status.

A second strategy recognizes that a feminist critical norm is not articulated by the biblical text. However, it insists that a *correlation* can be established between the feminist critical norm and that by which the Bible critiques itself and renews its liberating vision over and against corrupting deformations. Such a feminist hermeneutics correlates, for instance, the feminist critical principle of the full humanity of women with the prophetic-messianic critical principle or dynamics by which the Bible critiques itself. However, such a hermeneutics of correlation reduces the particularity and diversity not only of biblical texts but also of feminist articulations to abstract formalized principle and norm. It neglects biblical interpretation as the site of competing discursive practices and struggles.

A third hermeneutical strategy argues that feminists must create as a new textual base a feminist *Third Testament* that canonizes women's experiences of God's presence. Out of their revelatory experiences of agony and victimization, survival, empowerment, and new life women write new canonical stories. Such a proposal recognizes women's experiences of struggle and survival as places of divine presence. Just as the androcentric texts of the First and Second Testaments reflecting male experience, so also the stories rooted in women's experience deserve canonical status. However, such a canonization of women's stories rescribes cultural-theological male-female dualism as canonical dualism. Just like canonized male texts, so also are women's texts embedded and structured by patriarchal culture and religion. Consequently both must be subjected to a process of critical evaluation.

**3. Critical Process of Interpretation.** A critical feminist hermeneutics of liberation therefore abandons the quest for a liberating canonical text and shifts its focus to a discussion of the *process of biblical interpretation* that can grapple with the oppressive as well as the liberating functions of particular biblical texts in women's lives and struggles.

Such a critical process of feminist/womanist interpretation for liberation presupposes feminist conscientization and systemic analysis. Its interpretive process has four key moments. It begins with a *hermeneutics of suspicion* scrutinizing the presuppositions and interests of interpreters, and those of biblical commentators as well as the androcentric strategies of the biblical text itself. A *hermeneutics of historical interpretation and reconstruction* works not only in the interest of historical distanziation but also for an increase in historical imagination. It displaces the androcentric dynamic of the text and its

contexts by recontextualizing the text in a sociopolitical model of reconstruction that can make the subordinated and marginalized "others" visible.

A *hermeneutics of ethical and theological evaluation* assesses the oppressive or liberatory tendencies inscribed in the text as well as the functions of the text in historical and contemporary situations. It insists for theological reasons that Christians stop preaching patriarchal texts as the "word of God," and cease to proclaim the Christian God as legitimating patriarchal oppression. Finally, a *hermeneutics of creative imagination and ritualization* retells biblical stories and celebrates our biblical foresisters in a feminist/womanist key.

Since such a critical process of interpretation aims not just to understand biblical texts but to change biblical religion, it requires a theological reconception of the Bible as a formative root model rather than as a normative archetype of Christian faith and community. As a root model, the Bible informs but does not provide the articulation of criteria for a critical feminist/womanist evaluation of particular in the interest of liberation. Christian identity that is grounded in the Bible as its formative prototype must in ever new readings be deconstructed and reconstructed in terms of a global praxis for the liberation not only of women but of all other nonpersons.

Such a proposal does not abandon the canon as some critics have charged. It also cannot be characterized as extrinsic to the text, insofar as it works with the notion of inspiration. Inspiration is a much broader concept than canonical authority insofar as it is not restricted to the canon but holds that throughout the centuries the whole Church has been inspired and empowered by the Spirit. The NT writings did not become canonical because they were believed to be uniquely inspired; rather they were judged to be inspired because the Church gave them canonical status. Inspiration—the life-giving breath and power of Sophia-Spirit—has not ceased with canonization but is still at work today in the critical discernment of the spirits. It empowers women and others excluded from ecclesial authority to reclaim *as Church* their theological authority of biblical interpretation and spiritual validation.

The "canon within the canon" or the hermeneutics of correlation locates authority formally if not always materially in the Bible, thereby obscuring its own process of finding and selecting theological norms and visions either from the Bible, tradition, doctrine, or contemporary life. In contrast, a critical evaluative hermeneutics makes explicit that it takes its theological authority from the experience of God's liberating presence in today's struggles to end patriarchal relationships of domination. Such divine Presence manifests itself when people acknowledge the oppressive and dehumanizing power of the patriarchal interstructuring of sexism, racism, economic exploitation, and militarist colonialism and when Christians name these destructive systems theologically as structural "sin" and "heresy." For this process of naming we will find many resources in the Bible but also in many other religious, cultural, and intellectual traditions.

Understanding the act of critical reading as a moment in the global praxis for liberation compels a critical feminist hermeneutics to decenter the authority of the androcentric text and to take control of its own readings. It deconstructs the politics of otherness inscribed in the text and our own readings in order to retrieve biblical visions of salvation and well-being in the interest of the present and the future.

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ELISABETH SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA

**FERTILITY CULTS.** As in many ancient cultures, so in the Near East the experience of the numinous was closely associated with natural phenomena. The elements of air, water, earth, and fire were universally recognized as possessing or manifesting divine qualities. As these early cultures developed, the numinous character passed from the natural elements to the constructs of society (temples, priesthoods, kingships, the state [Jacobsen 1971: 163–69]). But in the earliest cultures it is clear that nature and its manifestations dominated.

We have come to use the term "fertile crescent" as a description of the band of arable land from the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates to the Upper Nile region. It is a region in which the struggle between the forces of nature and the human communities which settled there was constant and demanding. In story, legend, and myth the cultures of the crescent recalled and celebrated the growth of their culture and life as a result of or in spite of the primordial elements.

Since the success of agriculture and husbandry was the primary necessity upon which all else depended, it was natural that the earliest societies in the Near East associated the divine with the productivity of the land. In three main loci of Near Eastern culture, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Canaan/Phoenicia, we find the earliest divinities associated with the fertility of the land. The association of the divine with the natural is, by definition, magic. And so, the earliest religions and rituals exhibit the qualities of magic with a strong belief in the effectiveness of symbols, either acts or words, to make things happen. Spells, incantations, extispicy, and necromancy are hallmarks of this early phase of the religions of the fertile crescent.

In ancient Egypt the fertility of the land was most obviously associated with the sun and the flood of the Nile.

> Hail to Thee, O Nile, That Gushest forth from the earth
> And comest to nourish Egypt!
> (*ANET*, 372)

Hail to Thee, Atum … thou carriest to him [Egypt] everything that is thee.
Thou carriest to him everything that will be in them.
(Breasted 1959: 14)

The sun is deified in Re (Atum, Horus, Khepri) and the Nile in Osiris. Osiris is identified not just with the water of the Nile, but specifically he is seen "as a source of fertility, water as a life-giving agency" (Breasted 1959: 20–21). Osiris is the power of life in the earth, the water, the soil, and the products of the earth. The story of Osiris' journey from life to death to renewed life is celebrated in the cult and myths. There is no evidence that the cultic practices of these fertility rites embraced the idea of human sacrifice, nor do we find in Egyptian religion the kinds of orgiastic excess that could mark fertility cults. Breasted notes that in Egypt "the Osiris myth expressed those hopes and aspirations and ideals which were closest to the life and the affections of this great people" (1959: 37).

Another major locus of the culture of the ANE is Mesopotamia. In the muddy silt at the ancient confluence of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers civilization has its origins. Almost all the older authorities on the Near East point to the great contrast between the cultures of Egypt and Mesopotamia. It may be romantic, but even the casual reader can discern the steady and optimistic character of Egyptian life and the much more enigmatic, troubled, and insecure character of life in Mesopotamia. Egypt's fertility did not depend on human initiative or creativity, only human cooperation and labor. But the fertility of Mesopotamia required the exertion of enormous human resources and ingenuity. The land between the rivers needed the constant and vigilant attention of its keepers to prevent its erosion, salinization, or denuding.

The principal focus for the religious experience of fertility in Mesopotamia is found in the god Tammuz (or Dumuzi) and his consort Inanna. The stories of the courtship of Inanna and Dumuzi, their subsequent marriage, his murder at the hands of evil agents of Hades, her lament over him, and his resurrection, comprise the oldest piece of Sumerian religious lore we have. Indeed, Jacobsen writes, "the earliest form of Mesopotamian religion was worship of powers of fertility and yield, of the powers in nature ensuring human survival" (Jacobsen 1976: 26).

The worship of Dumuzi and Inanna was centered on the ritual and cultic reenactment of the story of Dumuzi's death. Clear association is made between the rites and the continued fertility of the land. Just as in Egypt, there is little evidence that human sacrifice was a part of these rituals. But sacred prostitution was clearly a feature of the religion. The central symbol of the presence of the gods, the ziggurat, for example, had as one of its chief components a bridal chamber where the priestess went to "become the bride of the God, and by this mystic marriage to renew the fertility of the soil and the strength of the King's arms" (Smith 1952: 67). Tammuz is the power of fertility inherent in food and is, as such, the object of love but not himself an active lover. He receives love rather than gives it. As Jacobsen writes of Dumuzi/Tammuz:

The cult of Tammuz is thus of a piece, simple and direct throughout. At its center lies numinous experience undergone in specific situations, in the renewal of life and the abundance of the Mesopotamian spring."
(Jacobsen 1971: 101).

Israel's own religious ethos, at least what we know of it in the Bible, eschewed this kind of simple correlation between the divine and the natural: "When you raise your eyes to heaven, when you see the sun, the moon, the stars, and the array of heaven, do not be tempted to worship them and serve them" (Deut 4:19–20).

The most immediate religious expression available to the newly forming nation was the Canaanite cult. The high god of the Canaanite pantheon was El. Associated with him was his son Baal and the son's consort Anath. Asherah and Astarth, two other female gods, are also closely linked. The three ladies are seen in clearly sexual terms, and the stories of them closely associate their sexual prowess and delight with the productivity and wealth of the land.

Baal is the storm god, the bringer of rain and fertility. And even El, who is generally seen as an "inactive" god, is depicted in lusty and prodigious sexual activity. As a matter of fact, "fertility is the

main concern of the Ugaritic myths" (Gordon 1962: 170). This is evident even to the most casual reader. The Ugaritic tales of Aqhat, Keret, and the Baal cycle all devote significant attention to this aspect of the religion.

It is alleged in numerous sources that the western Phoenicians practiced human sacrifice, but there is no mention of it in the texts from Ugarit. The probable survival of human sacrifice at Carthage and in some other Punic cities leads one to suspect that the practice was probably found in the earlier stages of the culture as well (see CANAAN, RELIGION OF; PHOENICIAN RELIGION).

There was a clear revulsion against Canaanite religious practices in the Yahwistic religion of early Israel. It can be seen in numerous injunctions, prescriptions, and stories that either directly or indirectly impugn the practices of the "inhabitants of the land." That the religion of Canaan exercised a strong hold over many Israelites is also clear. It is really only in the prophetic movement and especially in the Elijah and Elisha stories that we get a close glimpse of the scope of the struggle. The Yahwistic religion of Israel came early on to define itself clearly as the opposite of the "way of Canaan."

The simple fact is that fertility cults are very much tied to the status quo. The fertility cult celebrates the cycles of life and death, and sees in them the very essence of the divine: pure, unchanging, timeless, and abstract from the historical. But Israel's religious experience of God as it is articulated in the Hebrew Bible was not based in the phenomena of nature, nor in a vision of an eternal cycle of life. Israel's faithfulness flowed from *events* and showed itself in events. The God Yahweh was the God of history, not because history was a cycle of eternally repeated acts, but just the opposite, because history happened and moved forward to an end. So the God of history is free to act where, when, and if God wills it. The status quo is always, therefore, vulnerable.

Israel denied the validity of any cult which bound its God to the present as if to the eternal. The Lord would be free and so the Lord always stood against the status quo, the predictable. Israel's religion more and more definitively removed the numinous from the natural to the historical, from the accidental to the conscious.

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JOSEPH P. HEALEY

**FESTAL GARMENT/ROBE.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**FESTIVALS, GRECO-ROMAN.** The Greeks named the months of their calendars after important seasonal rituals celebrated for the gods of the city. Called *heortai,* these festivals were organized around communal sacrifices and banquets, and provided regular holidays from civil, business, and agricultural affairs. In Athens there were *heortai* of the city, *heortai* of the local demes, and *heortai* of various groups based on kinship (e.g., *gene*) or common identity (e.g., *orgeones*). In addition to *heortai,* there were many public sacrifices *(thysia)* performed for the gods of the city.

Some festivals, like the *Panathenaia,* included all of the city's residents (men, women, children, resident aliens, and slaves); others, like the *Thesmophoria* for women, were restricted by gender or social status. Some festivals were celebrated in the heart of the city, others, like the *Apatouria* for *Zeus Phratrios* and *Athena Phratria,* were celebrated by local groups (in this case, the *phratries,* male groups based on kinship) throughout Attica. Still others, including great public processions to outlying areas

(e.g., the *Eleusinian Mysteries* to Eleusis, the *Brauronia* to Brauron) or to the city from outlying areas (e.g., the *Dionysia,* from *Eleutherai* on the Boeotian border), served to mark the territory controlled by the city and to acknowledge an originally local ceremony incorporated earlier into the city's calendar.

At Athens there were more than thirty-five *heortai* and public *thysia* celebrated during the year. Some were agricultural festivals. The *Stenia, Thesmophoria, Skira, Haloa,* and *Proerosia* were celebrated in honor of Demeter to guarantee successful grain crops. The *Oschophoria* and *Anthesteria* were festivals of the grapevine and wine, celebrated for Dionysos, the god of wine. Other festivals or public ceremonies, like the *Thargelia* for Apollo or the *Kallynteria* for Athena, were concerned with various forms of ritual purification.

As the city developed, simple festivals organized around public sacrifice became more complex. Processions became more elaborate, public contests were added, and festivals became an opportunity for displays of spectacle, personal achievement, and the political prestige of the city. Athletic and poetic contests were grafted onto the *Panathenaia,* ship races in the *Piraeus* were added to the *Mounichia* for Artemis, and dramatic contests became part of the *Lenaia* and *Dionysia* for Dionysos. During the years of the Athenian Empire in the mid-5th century B.C. the Athenians required their allies and subjects to bring contributions to the Athenian *Panathenaia* and *Dionysia,* and these festivals became public displays of Athenian political success for the representatives of subject cities and for the Athenian city body itself.

All Greek cities participated in the great Panhellenic festivals at the great sanctuaries of Olympia, Nemea, Isthmia, Delphi, and Delos. During the Hellenistic period cities like Samothrace and Magnesia ad Sipylum vied with each other in establishing new Panhellenic festivals in order to increase the wealth of their sanctuaries and to enhance their civic reputations.

Rome's agricultural origin is reflected in the agricultural context of many of the city's festivals (e.g., the *Fordicidia, Vinalia, Robigalia, Floralia,* etc.). While each Greek city had its own calendar of festivals, Roman conquest of Italy led to the standardization of the Roman calendar and consequently of Roman state festivals, the celebration of which implied allegiance to and acceptance of the Roman state. Roman festivals were called *feriae,* "holidays," and were of two kinds: public festivals organized by the city and private festivals celebrated in the family. *Feriae* could include a variety of rituals, but the heart of the ceremony was always a sacrifice to a specific divinity. In addition to the public *feriae*, public games, *ludi*, were regular events recorded in the city's calendar (e.g., the *Ludi Romani* in September).

Some festivals celebrated in the countryside (e.g., the *Compitalia* in January, to mark boundaries between neighboring farms and to provide purification before the spring sowing) had their counterparts in the city (where the *Compitalia* were celebrated in local neighborhoods at points where streets intersected). Other festivals show traces of Rome's early administrative history. The *Fornacalia*, for instance, were celebrated in the meeting places of the Roman *curiae,* located throughout the city, long after the *curiae* ceased to be real instruments of political administration. Still other festivals were celebrated in the temples of the central area of the city and emphasized the unity and common identity of the Roman citizen body.

Some festivals were restricted to certain groups. On March 1 men sacrificed to the god of war, Mars (whose priests, the *Salii,* performed special dances), while their wives celebrated the *Matronalia* for Juno Lucina, a goddess of childbirth. Other festivals for women included the *Veneralia* in April, celebrated by married women, brides, and even prostitutes, for Venus and Fortuna, and the *Matralia* in June, for mothers.

Both Greek and Roman festival calendars could accommodate the addition of new festivals. During the Imperial period, for instance, local festivals in honor of the birthday of the emperor became a regular part of the religious life of the cities of the empire. In spite of the addition of new festivals for new divinities, however, the traditional festivals continued to be celebrated.

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SUSAN GUETTEL COLE

**FESTUS, PORCIUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Phestos* (Φεστος)]. Procurator of Judea (ca. 59–62 C.E.) who heard Paul's case with dispatch and, after consulting with Agrippa II, granted Paul's request to be sent to Rome for trial (Acts 24:27–26:32). Festus is known to us only from Josephus and the Acts of the Apostles.

**A. In Josephus**

Josephus is fundamentally positive in his evaluation of Festus, whom he contrasts sharply with both his predecessor Felix and his successor Albinus (*Ant.* 20.8.9–11 §§182–96; *JW* 2.14.1 §§271–72). When Festus arrived as procurator, the province of Judea was full of bandits *(lestes, sicarii).* In an attempt to restore order, Festus instituted a campaign against this "principal plague of the country." As a consequence, large numbers of bandits were captured, many killed. During his period in office, there was an uprising led by yet another savior figure who had gathered around himself a following; Festus sent troops against them and destroyed them. Josephus reports that after the Jews had constructed a wall in the Jerusalem Temple area to keep Agrippa from spying on Temple proceedings, Festus ordered its removal. At the Jews' entreaty, however, he agreed to allow them first to discuss the matter before Nero. This incident underscores the clearest impression one has of Josephus' portrayal of Festus—namely, his work against extremists and possible insurrection—while also demonstrating his desire to have good relations with the Jewish leadership.

**B. In Luke-Acts**

Porcius Festus inherited the responsibility of deciding Paul's case from Felix, and it is in the ensuing trial processes that the portrayal of Festus in Acts is developed.

Three days after his arrival in Judea, Festus travelled from his headquarters in Caesarea to Jerusalem, ostensibly to establish good relations with the Jewish leadership. During his visit, they raised again the question of Paul. He agreed to reopen the case, but refused to grant their request that Paul be transferred to Jerusalem for the hearing. According to the account in Acts, Festus was at this point nonprejudicial toward Paul, and even left open the possibility of Paul's exoneration. In the ensuing trial, however, Festus reverses himself. In an attempt to ingratiate himself with the Jewish officials, Festus proposes that the venue for the proceedings be shifted to Jerusalem. Festus' impartiality compromised, Paul appeals to Caesar.

In the subsequent narrative, Festus is portrayed as one interested in exonerating himself from any claim of his having mishandled Paul's case. After Paul appealed to Caesar, Festus arranged for Paul a further hearing before Agrippa II and Bernice. In his introduction to the proceedings, Festus presents himself as one who had acted fairly and responsibly in the face of difficult circumstances. His apology also serves to emphasize Paul's innocence: "I found he had done nothing deserving death," Festus asserted (Acts 25:25).

Paul, then, was able to present his defense again, during which Festus concluded Paul was mad. Nevertheless, even if Rome's representative was unable to understand the religious matters at issue between Paul and his Jewish opponents (Acts 25:19–20; 26:24; cf. Haenchen 1971: 672–73, 288), when measured against Roman law, Paul was found free from guilt (Acts 26:32). Because Paul had appealed to Caesar, however, he was sent on to Rome with other prisoners (Acts 27:1).

Sherwin-White has demonstrated the general historical veracity of the report of Paul's trial before Festus in Acts (1963: 48–70). At the same time, we should recognize that theological concerns have been woven into the overall portrait of Festus in Acts by its author. Thus, in addition to the apologetic motifs already noted, we may also draw attention to the significant parallels that exist between the trial of Paul in Acts 25–26 and that of Jesus in Luke 23:1–25 (O'Toole 1984: 68–71).

**C. The Problem of Chronology**

Both Josephus and Acts report that Festus followed Felix as procurator of the province of Judea. When this succession occurred is unclear, however, with a range of dates, from 55 C.E. to 61 C.E., finding support. More certain is the year in which Festus' governance was terminated by his death in office, at which time he was replaced by Albinus. According to Josephus, Jesus, son of Ananias, prophesied against Jerusalem, creating such a stir that he was brought before the procurator, Albinus. Since this happened "four years before the war," we may date the death of Festus and the appointment of Albinus to office in 62 C.E. (Joseph. *JW* 6.5.3 §§300–9; cf. 2.14.1 §§272–76).

Many who support an early date for the appointment of Festus follow Jerome's Latin version of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius. According to this testimony, Festus succeeded Felix in the second year of Nero—that is, 56 C.E. (see the detailed discussion in Ogg 1968: 151–55). However, this datum is rendered improbable by the collusion of evidence gleaned from Josephus and Acts regarding a would-be Jewish savior figure from Egypt. The incident involving this fanatic occurred during the reign of Nero—i.e., sometime after October 54 C.E. (Joseph. *Ant.* 20.8.6 §§169–72; *JW* 2.8.5 §§261–63)—and prior to Paul's arrest in Jerusalem (Acts 21:27–39). Because Paul was arrested approximately at the time of Pentecost (Acts 20:16) at least two years before Felix was recalled (Acts 24:27), the earliest Festus could have taken office would have been 57 C.E. Accordingly, Jerome's version of the Eusebian chronology is undependable.

Others have hoped to fix the date of Festus' appointment with reference to the assistance Felix received upon his recall to Rome by his brother, Pallas. Josephus writes that Felix was saved from disciplinary action under Nero by the intervention of Pallas, who at that time enjoyed favor with Nero (*Ant.* 20.8.9. 182). Since Pallas was removed from his post as financial secretary in 55 C.E. (Tacitus *Ann.* 13.14.1–2), and apparently was never restored to office, some have concluded that Felix must have been succeeded by Festus no later than 55 C.E. Aside from the fact that this chronology compresses the careers of Felix and Paul overmuch, this logic depends on a faulty assumption—namely, that Pallas could not have had influence with Nero subsequent to his dismissal from office. His wealth alone, estimated as high as 400,000,000 sesterces (Dio Classius 62.14.3; cf. Tacitus *Ann.* 12.53), guaranteed his continued power. His extended public favor is evidenced by his receiving the *praetoria insignia* and by the placing of a public monument fixed with a senatorial decree honoring him (Tacitus *Ann.* 12.53; Pliny, *Ep.* 8.6). Moreover, no evidence suggests Pallas left office on bad terms with Nero; rather, the reasons appear political and strategic, not personal. In the end, Nero poisoned Pallas "because he kept his vast riches to himself by a too protracted old age" (Tacitus *Ann.* 14.65). Clearly, then, even after his departure from office, Pallas could have interceded successfully on his brother's behalf.

There is therefore no reason to choose an early date for Festus' appointment, and several factors suggest a later one. Of the approximately ten years (i.e. 52/53–62 C.E.) that must be divided between the periods when Felix and Festus held office, most of this time must have been taken by Felix. Felix had held office "for many years" before Paul was first brought to him for trial (Acts 24:10), and Josephus devotes lengthy sections to the events that happened under Felix (*Ant.* 20.8.5–8 §§160–81; *JW* 2.12.8–13.7 §§247–70). Festus, on the other hand, receives comparatively little notice in Josephus (*Ant.* 20.8.9–11 §§182–96; *JW* 2.14.1 §271). Moreover, the coin issue of the fifth year of Nero may indicate the appointment of Festus prior to October 59 C.E.; indeed, it is more likely that the minting of new coins was the work of an incoming procurator than that of an outgoing one who had already minted a large issue (Reifenberg 1963: 27–28; Smallwood 1976: 269). Finally, in the Armenian version of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, the sending of Festus to succeed Felix is placed in the tenth year of Agrippa II. If Caird is right (*IDB* 1: 599–607), and Eusebius wrongly reckoned Festus' accession from the year 45 C.E. rather than the year 50 C.E., when Agrippa II actually took office, then according to Eusebius' source Festus was appointed procurator in the summer of 59 C.E. We conclude, therefore, that Festus was procurator from 59–62 C.E.

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**FEVER.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**FIBULA.** See JEWELRY, ANCIENT ISRAELITE.

**FIERY SERPENT.** See SERPENT, BRONZE.

**FIG TREE.** See FLORA.

**FILIGREE** [Heb *měšubbaṣîm* (מְשֻׁבָּצִים)]. A decorative treatment involved in the fabrication of ceremonial clothing (Exod 28:20). The Hebrew word is based on the root *šbṣ*, which apparently refers to making a fabric with a design or pattern in it, and is also translated "checker work" in the RSV (as Exod 28:4, 39).

As with many technical terms, the exact nature of this checker work cannot be established. Most of the references to it are in the context of the description of the ephod in the tabernacle texts of Exodus. See also EPHOD (OBJECT). Two symbolic onyx stones, each inscribed with the names of six Israelite tribes, were attached to the ephod. These stones, which were fastened to the ephod's shoulder piece, were secured in settings of gold filigree (Exod 28:11, 13, 20, 25; 39:6, 13, 16, 18). Since the Hebrew word for "settings" indicates something that surrounds or encloses, "filigree" designates golden frames or patches in which the onyx stones were set. Similarly, the stones that were part of the high priest's breastpiece were set in "gold filigree" (Exod 28:20). See also BREASTPIECE.

In addition to these references to the filigree frames or settings for the stones of Aaron's ephod and breastpiece, the coat or tunic *(ketōnet)* worn by the high priest was decorated with small patches or plates ("checker work," Exod 28:4). This detail was not present for the analogous robes worn by the other priests.

The filigree work is thus notable in its association with the garb of the high priest alone, in its role in attaching some of the most important symbolic elements (stones of the ephod and breastpiece) to that garb, and in its being made of gold. These features of the filigree work put it in the category of most holy items, according to the gradation of materials used in the tabernacle and in the fragments of the priesthood (Haran 1979: 158–74). The most elaborate and therefore holiest priestly apparel is for the high priest, who comes closest to Yahweh, the most holy of all. Aaron's clothing conceptually approximates the ritual garments used to clothe statues of the gods in Mesopotamian ritual.

One of the technological features of the richly decorated ceremonial vestments in ancient Mesopotamia was the use of a technique of attaching small metallic bracteates (round, square, or rosette-shaped metal plates) to the fabric (Oppenheim 1949). The various arrangements of these bracteates, particularly the square ones, relieved the monotony of plain fabric not only in terms of color and shape but also in terms of texture. This special and costly treatment of sacred garments may be related to the golden settings specified for the holiest of human apparel in Israel, the high priest's vestments. One human royal figure, a princess, also has sumptuous clothing with these special decorations (Ps 45:14 [—Eng 45:13]). The term rendered "filigree" or "checker work" would thus be more accurately translated "bracteates."

The metallic nature of the biblical bracteates is supported by a verse in 1 Kgs 7:17 describing part of the capitals of JACHIN AND BOAZ, which were made of metal, as being of "checker work."

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**FILLET** [Heb *ḥāsûq* (חָסוּק)]. Sometimes translated "band" or "ring" in other English versions, this word refers to a fitting of the pillars used in the tabernacle court (Exod 27:10–18; 38:10–19) and at its doorway (Exod 36:38). The former were made of silver, and the latter were golden, in keeping with the principle of the material gradation in the fabrication of the tabernacle, whereby objects closer to the inner sanctuary were of increasingly precious materials and more costly workmanship. See also TABERNACLE.

CAROL MEYERS

**FINGER.** See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**FIR TREE.** See FLORA.

**FIRE, PILLAR OF.** See PILLAR OF FIRE AND CLOUD.

**FIREPAN** [Heb *maḥtâ* (מַחְתָּה)]. A receptacle used to carry live coals to or from the altars of both the tabernacle and the Temple. Since it held burning coals, as did censers, it could be used as a censer when incense was sprinkled on the coals. The firepans that were part of the tabernacle's array of altar equipment were made of bronze (Exod 27:3 = 38:3; cf. Num 4:14). A similar listing of utensils for the Temple indicates golden firepans (1 Kgs 7:50; 2 Chr 4:22); but 2 Kgs 29:15 implies that they were bronze, and Jer 52:19 does not specify. The confusion with respect to these Temple vessels may lie in the fact that there were firepans of gold to service the golden incense altar that stood inside the *hêkāl,* the main room of the Temple, and also firepans of bronze to service the bronze courtyard altar, which is not listed in the description of Solomon's Temple but which almost certainly was a part of the courtyard furnishings.

CAROL MEYERS

**FIRST AND LAST.** See ALPHA AND OMEGA.

**FIRST FRUITS** [Heb *bikkûrîm* (בִּכּוּרִים), *rēʾšît* (רֵאשִׁית); Gk *aparche* (ἀπαρχε)]. In the OT, "first fruits" most often is used to refer to a literal portion of the agricultural harvest. Two Hebrew words are rendered "first fruits." The first is *bikkûrîm,* which specifically refers to first-ripe grain and fruit, which was harvested and offered to the Lord according to sacerdotal prescriptions. This term always appears in the masculine plural and it may refer generally to the first produce of the soil (Exod 23:16, 19; 34:26; Num 28:16; Neh 10:35; 13:31) or specifically to wheat (Exod 34:22) or the products of grain (dough, Ezek 44:30, or loaves of bread, Lev 23:17; 23:20), to fruits in general (Num 18:13; Ezek 44:30), to figs (Nah 3:12), or to grapes (Num 13:20); sometimes it simply indicates "early ripe" (Lev 2:14; 2 Kgs 4:42). The second is *reʾšît,* which is usually translated "first" or "beginning" of a series. In a special sense, it can mean "choicest"; the substantive based on this idea is translated "first fruits," with specific reference to processed produce rather than produce in the raw state. This term specifically refers to dough (Num 15:20, 21; Ezek 44:30; Neh 10:38 [37]) or grain (Lev 23:10; Deut 18:4; 2 Chr 31:5), to new wine (Deut 18:4; 2 Chr 31:5), to oil (Deut 18:4; 2 Chr 31:5), to honey (2 Chr 31:5), to "all the produce of the land" (2 Chr 31:5), to "the fruit of every tree" (Neh 10:38), and even to wool (Deut 18:4). In addition to its literal meaning, the word is figuratively applied to Israel, the first fruits of Yahweh's harvest (Jer 2:3). Several times (Exod 23:19; 34:26; Ezek 44:30), the two terms are used together, meaning something like "the first of the first fruits."

Because Yahweh is sovereign and because of his possession of all things, the first issue of man, beast, and soil were considered holy unto the Lord. Provision was made for the redemption of the firstborn of people and animals (Exod 13:2–16; Num 3:12–16). The offerings of first fruits provided the redemption of the harvest. The postexilic Jewish community acknowledged that the priests had to "bring the first fruits of our ground and the first fruits of all the fruit of every tree to the house of the Lord annually, and bring to the house of our God the firstborn of our sons and of our cattle, and the firstborn of our herds and our flocks as it is written in the law" (Neh 10:36, 37—Eng10:35, 36). These offerings were given to the

Lord as a thanksgiving offering and for the support of the priesthood, for the priests received the entirety of the first fruits, except for the cereal offering of Lev 14:14–16.

As a part of the celebration of Passover, Lev 23:10–14 (and Exod 23:16, 19) prescribes the waving of a sheaf of first fruits before Yahweh to acknowledge the dedication of the grain harvest; this was a public ceremony performed on behalf of the nation. This initial sheaf was of barley, for barley ripens earlier than wheat (cf. the Gezer calendar: "His month is barley harvest. His month is wheat-harvest and festival ["festival" refers to Pentecost]"; see further *ANET* 321). Flavius Josephus (*Ant* 3.10.5) affirms that this was indeed a sheaf of barley. No additional harvest work could be accomplished before this ceremony was enacted. The second public occasion involving first fruits occurred seven weeks later, at Pentecost, when the first fruits of the wheat harvest were presented, as specified in Exod 34:22. At this time, "the bread of the first fruits," which was made from the initial wheat harvest, was offered; in Num 28:26, Pentecost is designated "the day of the first fruits."

In addition to these public events, there were individual offerings, offered by the head of each family. Fairly detailed liturgical instructions for these individual offerings of first fruits in the land are given in Deut 26:1–11. The worshiper placed the first fruits in a basket. He then proceeded to the place prescribed by Yahweh, reporting to the officiating priest, "I declare this day to the Lord my God that I have entered the land which the Lord swore to our fathers to give us." At that point, the priest accepted the basket and placed it before the altar. Then the worshiper would avow, "My father was a wandering Aramaean, and he went down to Egypt and sojourned there, few in number; but there he became a great, mighty and populous nation. And the Egyptians treated us harshly and afflicted us, and imposed hard labor on us. Then we cried to the Lord, the God of our fathers, and the Lord heard our voice and saw our affliction and our toil and our oppression; and the Lord brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm and with great terror and with signs and wonders; and He has brought us to this place and has given us this land, a land flowing with milk and honey." It would seem that the worshiper has at some point resumed possession of the basket, for he continues, "And now behold, I have brought the first of the produce of the ground which Thou, O Lord, hast given me." With these words, the worshiper himself presents the basket before the altar and worships with rejoicing.

Whereas OT occurrences of "first fruits" all refer to a literal offering or a portion of the harvest (except for the metaphorical usage in Jer 2:3), the NT usage of *aparche* ("beginning") is exclusively figurative. The figure is based on the agricultural or ritual fact. Just as literal first fruits are a harbinger and sample of the full harvest, the presence of the Holy Spirit with the believer is an indication of that which is to come (Rom 8:23), Christians are the first fruits of God's people (Jas 1:18 and probably 2 Thess 2:13), and those who follow the Lamb are the first fruits to God (Rev 14:4). Just as literal first fruits are first in sequence, Epaenetus is the first fruits of the Christians in Asia, and the household of Stephanus is the first fruits of the Christians in Achaia. Combining the ideas of the harbinger and first in sequence, Christ, in his resurrection, is the "first fruits of those that slept." Just as the ritual called for a heave offering of the "first fruits" of a batch of dough (Num 15:20) and the holiness of the first piece of dough assures the holiness of the entire lump, believing Jews are a sample pointing to a much greater yield (Rom 11:16).

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**FIRSTBORN.** See FAMILY.

**FISH.** See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

**FISH GATE** (PLACE) [Heb *ša῾ar haddāgîm* (שַׁעַר הַדָּגִים)]. A gate of Jerusalem in the northern wall around the Temple Mount. It is first mentioned in connection with Manasseh's refortification program of Jerusalem that included the areas of the Fish Gate, the City of David, and the east side of the city. Subsequently, the Fish Gate and the surrounding area was spoken of by Zephaniah (1:10–11) and by

Nehemiah in his account of the dedicatory procession where the Fish Gate is located in the northern wall to the west of the Tower of Hananel and the Tower of the Hundred (Neh 3:3; 12:38–39).

This gate opened to a ridge that led from Mount Moriah and the Temple enclosure to the Benjamin Plateau to the north. It was via the Beth-horon road and the Benjamin Plateau that merchants from Tyre and the coast brought fish and other imports to Jerusalem. The fish markets that developed inside and outside the wall most likely gave the gate its name (Neh 13:16).

Until the extensive excavations of Jerusalem in the late 1960s, the majority view (Avi-Yonah being an exception, 1954: 242) placed the Fish Gate at the northern end (Simons 1952: 276) or on the northeast bank (Vincent and Steve 1954: 242–43) of the Central or Tyropoeon Valley near the present Damascus Gate. This assumed that this area was within the walled city during the First Temple period. However, Avigad's excavation of areas A (the Broad Wall), X-2 (the Gennath Gate?) and W (the Israelite Tower or the Middle Gate?) have shown that the northern wall of the Israelite city ran from the Corner Gate (near today's Jaffa Gate) east along the southern slopes of the Transversal Valley to the western wall of the Temple enclosure, and did not include the northern end of the Central or Tyropoeon Valley until after the Hasmonean period (possibly during the time of Herod). This archaeological evidence seems to affirm the view that the Fish Gate could not have been in the Tyropoeon Valley but above the valley on the northwest corner (the *Baris*) of the Temple Mount.

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**FISHER OWL.** See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

**FIVE SCROLLS, THE.** See MEGILLOTH.

**FLAX.** See FLORA; DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**FLEA.** See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

**FLEET.** See TRAVEL AND COMMUNICATION (NT).

**FLOCKS.** See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

**FLOGGING.** See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES.

**FLOOD.** A catastrophic deluge recounted in Gen 6–9 and alluded to in other biblical passages. Traditions of a primordial flood existed among a number of ANE civilizations and are a feature of the ethnohistory of many other cultures. The Flood narrative of the Hebrew Bible was elaborated in later versions of the biblical text, and in Jewish and Christian literature and art.

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**A. Archaeological Disconfirmation**

Scholars are agreed that archaeological evidence for a universal flood in the historical past is wanting. The silt layers noticed at Ur and Kish by Woolley and Langdon (and similar silting at Nineveh, Shuruppak, Uruk, and Lagash) are of differing dates, and lack convincing connection with the biblical narrative. Extremely old sites in Palestine, such as Jericho, have revealed no flood deposits. (Aquatic fossils found at mountainous elevations were once seized upon as evidence of a universal flood, but they may be more reasonably explained as resulting from geological upheavals than as evidence of a cataclysmic flood.) Claims that remains of the biblical ark have been found on the 17,000 foot Agri Dagh peak northwest of Lake Van in Turkey (traditional Mt. Ararat) are unconvincing; such claims ignore the text of the Bible, which does not mention a specific mountain but "mountains" (pl.), and are misguided in their certainty that Agri Dagh is the correct location. Carbon 14 dating of the wood allegedly found there dates the samples tested no earlier than A.D. 450, about the time Christian tradition began to center on this mountain. Claims formerly made of living persons who had seen remains of the ark, when examined, prove themselves incredible.

**B. Mesopotamian Flood Stories**

Sixty-eight different peoples are known to have flood legends. Philo of Alexandria and early Christian apologists knew of a Greek flood story in which Deucalion is the hero, and some identified Deucalion with biblical Noah. Berossus, a Babylonian priest of Marduk writing in Greek about 275 B.C., produced an account of a flood whose hero is Xisuthros. Though summarized by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* 9:11–12 [written A.D. 414–15]) from a work by Abydenus, no great attention was paid to the account until the identification by George Smith in 1872 of fragments of a Babylonian flood story touched off great interest because of its similarities to the biblical narrative.

Another, more-recently identified Mesopotamian flood legend is known by the name of its protagonist, Atrahasis. In this legend, the god Enlil decides to bring about a flood because the tumult of humanity is unbearable, disturbing the sleep of the gods. The hero Atrahasis is aided by the god Ea; by the latter's agency, the god Enki alerts Atrahasis to the impending flood and advises him to build a vessel in which he can survive. The vessel is roofed over and made secure with pitch. Atrahasis entered the vessel and shut the door; the storm raged 7 days and nights. The surviving text has not preserved the account of the conclusion of the flood, but after the flood Atrahasis sacrifices and the gods dispute over the outcome.

Better preserved is a later variant of the flood story known from the 11th of 12 clay tablets that together constituted the Epic of Gilgamesh from Ashurbanipal's library (*ANET*, 93–95). The hero, Ut-napishtim, warned in a dream by Ea that the council of the gods—incited by Enlil—is about to destroy the city of Shuruppak with no exception, was instructed to tear down his house and build a vessel. The vessel was a cube 120 cubits in each dimension, of 7 stories with 63 compartments, of unspecified wood presumably made waterproof with pitch.

Rather than warn his neighbors of the danger, Ut-napishtim was instructed to deceive them about the purpose of his boat if they asked him. He was to load into it "the seed of life of all kinds," his family, relations, and skilled craft workers, as well as beasts. They rode out a 7-day storm in which all the gods "cowered like dogs" (XI 115). The vessel came to rest on Mt. Nisir, and 7 days later Ut-napishtim sent out a dove, a swallow, and a raven. The raven did not return. Coming out of his vessel, he offered a sacrifice around which the gods, "having smelled the sweet odor," gathered "like flies" (XI 161). Enlil was angry that any humans had survived but was pacified by the other gods. Eternal life was bestowed on Ut-napishtim and his wife.

The story is known in several versions (Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, and derivative traditions) and the hero has many names (Ut-napishtim, Atrahasis [see *ANET*, 104–5], and Xisuthros). A Sumerian version found at Nippur dates before 2000 B.C., and its hero is Ziusudra (*ANET*, 42–44). A fragment of the epic (though not of the flood portion) was found in 1956 on the slopes of Megiddo, indicating that the story was known in Palestine.

Many attempts have been made to demonstrate a literary dependency of the biblical Flood narrative on Mesopotamian prototypes, but consensus on the matter has not been reached. Claims of direct dependence

have been largely abandoned. Each form of the story has unique elements, and the differences from the biblical story are often more striking than the similarities. The ethical motivation and the monotheism of the biblical story are not elements of the Mesopotamian legends. In the biblical story, after the end of the flood Noah and his family replenish the earth; but Ut-napishtim and his wife are transformed into gods, making them immortal, and thus isolated from the general human condition. The Genesis story attests the mercy and the judgment of the Lord. Its religious interpretation of the cataclysm contrasts with the more obscure message of the Mesopotamian stories.

**C. Biblical Flood Traditions**

**1. Genesis.** The flood (Heb *mabbûl;* Gk *kataklysmos*) narrated in Gen 5:28–9:29 resulted from the Lord's decision to destroy all living creatures because of the great wickedness of man described in the phrases: "every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually" (6:5); "the earth was filled with violence (Heb *ḥamas*)" (6:11); and "all flesh had corrupted their way upon the earth" (6:12). A period of grace of 120 years (6:3) was set.

Noah, the protagonist of the Flood narrative, was a son of Lamech (Gen 5:29; on his name, see NOAH [PERSON]). At the age of 500, Noah became father of Shem, Ham, and Japheth. In the midst of wickedness Noah was a righteous man *(ṣaddiq),* blameless *(tāmîm)* in his generation (6:9), who walked with God (6:9; cf. 5:22–24; note that later figures walk "before" God [Gen 17:1]). Noah's obedience is repeatedly stressed (6:22; 7:5, 9). The evil human heart (6:5) troubles God's heart (6:6).

The biblical narrative of the Flood proceeds as follows. At the Lord's instruction, Noah built an ark (Heb *tēbâ;* Gk *kibotos*) that was 300 × 50 × 30 cubits in size. (Allowing 18 inches for the cubit, the dimensions make a vessel 450 × 75 × 45 feet, with a displacement conjectured to be 43,300 tons.) The word *tēbâ* occurs elsewhere only for the craft in which the baby Moses was set adrift (Exod 2:3). Constructed of *goper* wood (Gen 6:14) and covered with pitch inside and out, the ark had rooms (Heb *qinnîm,* used in a rare sense), a roof (Heb *ṣohar,* used only here in MT, and in later tradition the subject of speculation), a door *(petaḥ),* and was of 3 stories. Two of every sort of animal were taken into the ark together with necessary stores. Noah took 7 pairs (Gen 7:2) of all clean animals.

Noah was 600 years old when, on the 17th day of the 2d month, he took his wife, his 3 sons, their wives, and the animals into the ark. The Lord closed the ark. After 7 days the flood came, with water both from the fountains of the deep (Heb *tehôm*) and the "windows of heaven" (Gen 6:11; cf. 2 Kgs 7:2, 19). The rain fell for 40 days and nights, and the water rose over the mountains to a depth of 15 cubits. Every living thing which had the breath of life died except for those in the ark; but God remembered Noah (8:1), made a wind pass over the earth, and the water abated.

The water was on the earth 150 days, but at the end diminished so that on the 17th day of the 7th month the ark rested (MT uses the verb *nwḥ,* associated with Noah's name) on the "mountains of Ararat" (8:4; cf. 2 Kgs 19:37; Jer 51:27). On the 1st of the 10th month the tops of the mountains were seen. After 40 days, Noah opened the window and sent forth a raven, which went to and fro until the waters were dried up. He then sent a dove, which returned. Seven days later he again sent the dove, and it returned with an olive leaf. On its 3d mission 7 days later the dove did not return.

On the 1st day of the 1st month of Noah's 601st year, the earth was dry, and Noah removed the covering of the ark. On the 27th of the 2d month the Lord ordered Noah out of the ark with the living creatures. Noah built an altar and offered a burnt offering of every clean animal and bird. The Lord smelled the pleasing odor (8:21) and promised never again to destroy every living creature as he had done.

Noah was ordered to multiply and fill the earth. He was promised that animals, birds, and fish would fear him (9:2). Flesh might be eaten, but the blood was prohibited. A reckoning would be required of all blood shed.

God made a covenant with Noah and the animals not to repeat the flood. This covenant is unilateral, initiated by the superior party and not dependent on the inferior party's acceptance or agreement. The sign of the covenant was the bow in the cloud. When God would see the bow in the clouds, he would

remember the covenant (9:14–16). From Noah's sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth, the whole world was peopled.

**2. Other OT Texts.** Outside Genesis, biblical texts advert to a primordial flood and to isolated details of the Genesis narrative. Noah is listed in the 10th generation in genealogies (1 Chr 1:4; cf. Luke 3:36) and is noticed by Ezekiel as an exemplary righteous man who saved his children (Ezek 14:14, 20). The word *mabbûl* occurs outside of Genesis only in Ps 29:10, but the flood motif may be reflected in later sections of the Isaianic prophetic corpus. In the "little apocalypse," the declaration that *Yhwh* will lay waste the earth because the "everlasting covenant" has been violated (Isa 24:1, 4, 5) probably resonates with allusion to a flood narrative; the same is probably true of reference in the same context to the "windows of heaven" being opened and the foundations of the earth trembling (Isa 24:18). Also noteworthy is the motif of a few being preserved by entering their chambers until the divine wrath is past (Isa 26:20–21; note the reference to shed blood in v 21). Flood imagery is also detectable in Isaiah: the deep waters that do not overwhelm (Isa 43:2), and the concept of overflowing wrath (Isa 54:8). In Isaiah is also found a single direct reference to the Noah story: the divine oath not to repeat the Flood becomes the ground of a new oath not to continue the wrath which led to Judah's exile (Isa 54:9). "Great waters" become a figure of the tribulation of the righteous from which only God can save them (Ps 18:16; 65:5–8; 69:1; 89:9; 93:3).

In the Apocrypha, Noah becomes one who married a kinswoman (Tob 4:12). In contrast to the evildoers,

> Noah was found perfect and righteous; in the time of wrath he was taken in exchange; therefore a remnant was left to the earth when the flood came. Everlasting covenants were made with him that all flesh should not be blotted out by a flood (Sir 44:17).

The Wisdom of Solomon declares:

> When the earth was flooded because of him, wisdom again saved it, steering the righteous man by a paltry piece of wood (Wis 10:4).

**3. Greek Versions.** The Greek version of Genesis in LXX incorporated in its translation of the Flood story a variety of hermeneutical and traditional interpretations that reshaped the narrative for its Hellenistic Jewish and Christian readers. LXX varies from MT in chronology; among other differences, Noah remains in the ark 12 full months. The play on Noah's name (Gen 5:29) employs Gk *dianapauein* "give rest," implying Heb *nwḥ* rather than *nḥm,* on which MT's pun depends. The anthropomorphism of God's "repenting" implicit in the MT of Gen 6:6a (Heb *nḥm*) is nuanced by LXX's *enthymeomai* ("take to heart; be angry about").

Rare and uncertain words are variously handled. MT's *qinnîm* is etymologically rendered *nossiai* ("nests"), and the *goper* wood is translated *xyla tetragōna* ("squared wood"). Heb *ṣohar* becomes Gk *episynagōn* ("a gathering together"). "Because of the water" becomes "through *(dia)* the water" (7:7), and the "windows of the heavens" become *katarraktai* "waterfalls" (cf. 4 Kgdms 7:19; Mal 3:10).

In Aquila's translation, Heb *ṣohar* is (erroneously) glossed with Gk *mesēmbrinos* ("noon day"), and *synthēkē* is used for Heb *berith* "covenant" (6:19 [18]; Symmachus also uses *synthēkē*). Symmachus chose *hilasterion* "mercy seat" to render *tēbâ* ("ark"). The *qinnîm* are *kaliai* ("sheds"; Gen 6:15 [14]), and the *ṣohar* is *diaphanēs* ("transparent").

**4. Targumic Renderings.** The Aramaic targums are paraphrastic in nature, avoiding anthropomorphisms and supplying interpretations from rabbinic tradition. The ark is of "cedar wood," the *qinnîm* are "compartments," the *ṣohar* is a "light," the "windows of heaven" (7:11; 8:2) remain windows, and the landing place of the ark is in Cordyene at Mt. Kardu. In *Tg. Ps.-Jon.* the *ṣohar* is a sparkling gem and the "windows of heaven" become "latticed windows" (8:2).

With characteristic desire to avoid anthropomorphism, the Targum Neofiti I explains Noah's name as a consolation for "our evil deeds and from the robbery of our hands, from the curse of the earth …" Regret is before the Lord (6:6). The Targum adds "robbers" to the catalogue of antediluvian corruption (6:11, 13). The ark has a window.

The 7 days Noah spent in the ark prior to the flood were days of mourning for Methuselah (7:10). Instead of shutting Noah in, the Lord protects him in his good mercies (7:16), and at the end of the flood

the Lord "in his good mercies" remembers Noah (8:1), and "a spirit of mercies" passes over the earth. The ark rests on the mountains of Kardun (8:4). Noah opens the door of the ark rather than the window (8:6). The raven makes repeated trips (8:7).

Noah's altar is to the name of the Word of the Lord (8:20). Man is created in "a likeness from before the Lord" (9:6). The covenant is between the Word of the Lord and every living creature (9:16).

**D. Flood Traditions in the Pseudepigrapha**

Whether there was ever a pseudepigraphical book of Noah remains uncertain. No list of pseudepigrapha includes one. The *Book of Jubilees* attributes certain arts and halakic matters to Noah (*Jub.* 10:13–14; 21:10), and the Gk fragment of *T. Levi* 56–57 speaks of "the writings of the Book of Noah concerning the blood." Some scholars have projected that *1 Enoch* 6–11; 60; 65:1–69:25; 106–7 and a few other sections may have come from a Book of Noah; but the case is uncertain. A. Jellinek in his *Bet ha-Midrasch* projected a Hebrew Book of Noah back of fragments he published; however, folklore may be a better explanation of their origin.

The *Genesis Apocryphon* devotes considerable space to Noah. Noah's wife is *bt ʿnwš.* Noah becomes a planter on Mt. Lubar.

Pseudepigraphical writers found a homiletic value in the flood. Noah becomes an example of one who practiced asceticism in early life *(The Book of Adam and Eve/The Cave of Treasures).* The *Sibylline Oracles* furnish, in a sermon of Noah, a list of evil deeds of the guilty: fighting, murdering, and abandoning shame. Noah's contemporaries were tyrants, liars, unbelievers, adulterers, and slanderers (*Sib. Or.* 1:150–98). Numerous sources mention Noah's righteousness (*T. Benj.* 10:6; *Jub.* 4:33; *Book of Adam and Eve* 3:1). The ark is an example of the devout reason beset by the passions (*4 Macc.*15:30–32). *4 Ezra* (3:9–12) cites the pre-flood conditions as a stage of apostasy. Extended surveys of the flood are found in *1 Enoch* 37–71, *Jubilees* 4–5, *Sib. Or.* 1:151–375, and in the *Book of Adam and Eve*.

**E. Hellenistic Jewish Literature**

Philo of Alexandria dealt with the flood on 3 levels: as an event from the past in which Noah participated; as a source of moral lessons to be drawn from the episode; and as an allegory of spiritual realities. The treatments are to be found in *De Abrahamo, De Vita Mosis, Quod Deus immutabilis sit,* and in *Questions et Solutiones in Genesin.* Philo, equating Noah with the Greek hero Deucalion, reflects the concept of a relative righteousness on the part of Noah. He interprets the variation *kyrios* and *theos* in divine names in the Gk narrative as showing the judgment and mercy of God. Philo uses the Noahic material to expound virtues he has otherwise accepted. The allegorical Noah represents a preliminary state, higher than Seth but lower than Abraham, in the advance of any soul to the mystic vision. The flood becomes a flood of human passion bursting forth in wrongdoing; Noah ultimately escapes. The flood is elsewhere a cleansing of the soul. The ark is the body; and in coming out of the ark, Noah escapes from the body to higher things. He then falls back into a foolish deranged condition in his drunkenness. The details of the allegory are technical, repetitious, and inconsistent. Philo expounds the idea that most of the goals of human striving minister only to the body and are unworthy. However, the body must be used until the flood of passion has dried up and the individual comes forth like Noah (presumably to immortality, although Philo is not explicit on this point).

Pseudo-Philo in the *Biblical Antiquities,* written shortly after the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70, reveals little in common with the genuine Philo. He has his own distinctive ideas, such as the notion that "rest" in the name of Noah involves relieving the earth of its wicked inhabitants; the age given for Noah at the birth of his sons; and the eschatological element (with resurrection, final judgment, hell, and the new heaven and earth), which he introduces into the post-flood blessing.

Josephus, claiming that Berossus the Chaldaean, Hieronymus the Egyptian, and Nicolas of Damascus also mention the flood, gives a simple paraphrase of Gk Scripture embellished from pseudepigrapha and folklore (*Ant* 1.3–4). He does not, however, homilize the story. He offers a chronology and tends to give place names which his reader would know. He mentions only one journey for the dove, and he notes that Berossus reports that the ark was yet in Armenia near the mountains of the Cordyaeans and that people carried away bitumen from it. Nicolas called the mountain Baris.

**F. New Testament**

NT writers thought of the days prior to the flood as a time in which life went on in its careless way until the destruction came; it was therefore as a fitting comparison to expected conditions at the time of the second coming (Matt 24:37–39; Luke 17:26, 27). A fall of the angels is echoed in 2 Pet 2:4; Jude 6) but is not specifically connected with the flood narrative. Noah was a preacher of righteousness (2 Pet 2:5) who with 7 others had been saved. His fate and that of his contemporaries illustrate God's rescuing the righteous and his punishment of the wicked. Noah is a model of faith. By faith he built his ark, condemned the world, and became the heir of righteousness (Heb 11:7). God's patience waited in the days of Noah. The flood becomes a typological figure of baptism (1 Pet 3:20, 21). Beyond baptism is newness of life (cf. Rom 6:4).

**G. Rabbinic Sources**

References to Noah and his flood are scant in the Mishna and Tosefta, but are fuller in *t. Sanhedrin*, and in the Midrash *Genesis Rabbah.* The treatment is not a single unified picture, but is a record from diverse periods of various opinions supported by the haggadic method of interpretation (on the interpretative principles involved, see HAGGADAH).

Some sages believed passages like Psalm 1 spoke of the righteousness of Noah and his sons, while Job 21, 24, and 36 expounded the sins of the flood generation. Noah, born circumcised, should have been called *Naḥman* to fit the play on the name in Genesis 5:29. He had neglected the command to multiply until an advanced age because of the wickedness of his generation. Small interest is shown in Noah's wife, but the *Midrash Haggadol* applies the phrase "woman of valor" (Prov 31:10) to her. Much speculation is devoted to what the sins of the flood generation were. Covetousness, licentiousness, whoredom, bestiality, and incest are all alleged. Robbery was thought to have been prevalent; justice was not done and mercy not shown. Even the prayers of the generation were to no avail.

It was debated whether the antediluvians would have a share in the world to come. While some argued that they would not rise or be judged, other rabbis argued that they would stand in the congregation of the wicked at the judgment. For some, the 120 years was a limit on available time to repent; others saw it as a reduction of the life span in general.

Aware that the narrative uses both *Yhwh* and *ʾĕlōhîm* in referring to God, the rabbis homilized. The tetragrammaton signifies the attribute of mercy, and *ʾĕlōhîm* that of judgment. Sin had turned mercy to judgment; therefore *Yhwh* decreed the flood (Gen 6:7). But Noah's feeding the animals turns judgment to mercy; hence, *ʾĕlōhîm* remembers Noah (Gen 8:1).

The rabbis struggled with the fact that God grieved, that the decree of destruction also included the animals, and that Noah was found righteous. While some exalted Noah, there is a tendency toward seeing even in him only a limited righteousness. R. Judah insisted that it was only in comparison with the wicked of his generation that he was righteous, but compared with Moses and Samuel, he would not have been righteous. Noah's faith was considered weak, and R. Johanan asserted that had not the water reached his ankles, he would not have entered the ark. Moses was considered the greater in that he saved his generation, not just his family. However, Noah was the one herald in his generation, calling harshly for repentance.

The proportions of the ark were considered to be normative for actual boat building. There were differences of opinion about the compartments in the ark and the arrangements for its occupants. "Gopher" wood was understood to be some sort of cedar. The *ṣohar* was considered a kind of skylight by some, but others thought of it as a gem which shone in the night. When completed the ark drew 11 cubits of water.

Some teachers argued that suitable foods were provided for each sort of animal; however, one insisted that all had only pressed figs to eat. Only the perfect young specimens of animals were accepted, and those which had been involved in sin were rejected. The *rĕʾîm,* an unusually large animal, was said by R. Nehemiah to have been tied to the outside of the ark.

God shut Noah in as a king might do for a friend he wished to protect when a general execution is decreed. At the onset of the flood the impenitent sought forcible entrance into the ark, but were killed by wild beasts.

Water not only had its ordinary destructive power, but the flood waters were boiling, fitting punishment for the inflamed sensuous behavior of sinners. R. Judah argued that the waters were not level but were 15 cubits anywhere measured. Some authorities argued that Palestine and the Garden of Eden were not covered. Fish were not included in the decree of destruction. Life in the ark was a trying experience; continence was demanded; but Ham, the raven, and the dog were transgressors, and each received a suitable punishment.

The details of the chronology of the flood were a point of debate. The ark landed on Ararat (which is in the mountain range of Cordyene). An argument between Noah and the raven is reported, when Noah was ready to send the raven out. Some were of the opinion that the dove got its olive branch from the land of Palestine; others, from the Garden of Eden. Little concern is shown for what later happened to the ark. One passage assumes that Sennacherib found a plank from it.

As Noah had been commanded to enter the ark, so he remained in it until ordered out. The idea that conjugal relations, suspended aboard the ark, were not immediately resumed by Noah, resulted from a comparison of Gen 8:16, where wives are mentioned apart from husbands, with 8:17, where wives are mentioned with Noah and his sons, and multiplication is alluded to. Instead of obeying, Noah planted a vineyard and suffered shame from his action.

From the number of clean animals, Noah deduced the need to build an altar. Though not as pleasing as the sacrifices later offered by Israel, Noah's sacrifice brought the blessing of God. The bow in the clouds was the response to Noah's lack of faith which demanded a further sign. Noah's covenant would be replaced by Abraham's.

Meat was permitted for food after the flood; but suicide was prohibited. Shedding blood impairs the image of God. Murder, slaughter of the embryo, and strangling were prohibited in keeping with the words of Scripture (*bā·ādām* "within man" Gen 9:6).

**H. Christian Writers**

Early Christian writers assumed the veracity of the flood story but were also influenced by earlier interpretations of the topos in the NT, Philo, and rabbinic traditions. There is little effort in the 2d century at systematic exegesis of the narrative. Righteous Noah serves the writers' moral purposes; he preached repentance and foretold the beginning of a new world (*1 Clem.* 7:6; 9:4). Theophilus of Antioch, Methodius, and Hippolytus all notice Noah's preaching. Justin (*Apol.* 2:5) lists the sins of the flood generation, and *1 Clem.* 9:4 has the animals to enter in concord into the ark.

Justin identifies Noah with the Greek hero Deucalion (*Apol.* 2.7.2), but Theophilus of Antioch, who rejected the value of Greek philosophy, rejected the identification (*Autol.* 2.30–31). Theophilus does indulge in a play on the Gk words *Deute* ("come hither") and *kalein* ("summon") which he alleges to have been used in Noah's preaching; the words permit a fanciful etymology of the name Deucalion.

Gnostics allegorized the 30 cubits of the ark's height to represent their Triacontad (Iren. *Adv. Haer.* 1.18.4) and the 8 persons in the ark to be their Ogdoad (ibid. 1.18.3). The Ophites had Ialdaboath to send the flood but Sophia to save Noah (ibid. 1.30.10). The Sethians had the mother (the power of all powers) to send the flood, but the angels saw to it that Ham and 7 others were saved so that the power of malice did not perish. Contributions to understanding Gnostic treatment of the flood have been made by the *Apocalypse of Adam,* the *Hypostasis of the Archons, Apocryphon of John,* and the *Concept of Our Great Power* from Nag Hammadi. The lower God destroys all flesh in the flood yet quiets his anger and saves Noah (who is called Deucalion; *Apoc. Adam* 79:2–17; 70:7–15). After the flood, Noah divides the earth among his 3 sons that they may serve the creator in slavery (*Apoc. Adam* 72:15–26). The coming Illuminator is to save the souls of those who have gnosis of the eternal God in their hearts and receive a spirit from one of the eternal angels (*Apoc. Adam* 76:8–27). In the *Hypostasis of the Archons* 92:5ff., the Archons decide to destroy man and beast, but the Archon instructs Noah to build a boat and take into it

his children and birds and beasts. Norea (wife of Noah), refused admittance, burns the ark and Noah has to build it again.

According to Marcion's idiosyncratic interpretation of the OT, Noah and other OT heroes rejected Jesus' preaching when he came to Hades, and thereby were lost (Iren. *Adv. Haer.* 1.27.3). Apelles, a disciple of Marcion, questioned how many animals were in the ark, how it would hold them all, and how they were fed (Origen *Hom. in Gen.* 2.2).

Justin, arguing that the law was given to the Jews as an extra burden because of their hardheartedness, insisted that Noah was uncircumcised and did not observe the food laws (*Dial.* 19:4; 46). Christian treatment of the flood is christological, with Christ closing the ark and the *logos* being Noah's pilot. Typology becomes a principal mode of interpretation of the flood. Christ, the cross, baptism, and the faith of Christians are all signified in the narrative (*Dial.* 134, 138, 140), as well as the times of the end (Iren. *Adv. Haer.* 5.29.2). The flood becomes a type of the expected flood of fire (Justin *Apol.* 2.7.2); Noah's blessing on Japheth is interpreted as a promise of the preaching of the Gospel to the gentiles.

Theophilus of Antioch eschewed allegory and expounded the flood as a historical event, stressing its universality and that it would not be repeated (*Autol.* 2.10). The flood is also surveyed by Irenaeus, *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching*.

That Christians found multiple meanings in Scripture is reflected in the spiritual exegesis of the flood after the 2d century. Christological and typological exegesis was carried to absurd lEngths. Chrysostom said, "The story of the deluge was a sacrament *(mysterion)* and its details a figure *(typos)* of things to come" (*PG* 48.1037). Noah was generally seen as a type of Christ, the end of one generation and the beginning of another. For most he was an exemplary righteous man, but Origen and Jerome reflect the midrashic doctrine that Noah was righteous only with respect to his own depraved generation. For Christians, the "rest" *(anapausis)* spoken of by Lamech (Gen 5:29) became a link with the rest promised by Jesus (Matt 11:28–29), making Noah a type of Christ. The ark may be a sepulchre, or its wood may typify the cross, a point which likely comes from the resemblance of the Gk letter *tau* (whose numerical value is 300) to a cross. The "mystery of the wood" becomes a commonplace. The Church is the ark of safety into which one must enter to be saved when the flood prevails. Each detail of the ark is allegorized; diverse animals represent the manifold character of the Church.

The raven is a type of the impure who are sent forth from the Church not to return. Under the influence of the gospel baptismal story, the dove becomes the type of the Holy Spirit, and the olive leaf a symbol of peace. Some find in the 3 trips of the dove a symbol of the Trinity, while others find an allegory of the Spirit abiding with the believer.

## I. Flood Motifs in Art and Iconography

Noah and his ark became a favorite subject in both Jewish and Christian art. The exit from the ark is depicted in a 5th-century synagogue mosaic found at Jerash; and Jewish tombs in Palestine use representations of Noah. Coins from Apamea in Phrygia thought to show Jewish influence depict Noah and his wife with their heads emerging from the ark, pushing back the lid. The ark is a box floating in the water, and Noah in Gk spelling is written across the box. A dove sits on the lid while another with an olive leaf in its claw flies in.

There are 41 paintings in the catacombs and 33 representations on sarcophagi of Noah and his ark. These often show the ark as a box with a lid. The earliest is in the Domitilla catacomb and has the dove flying in the ark. The catacomb of Peter and Marcillinus shows Noah in a box with arms outspread to bring back the dove. The iconography reflects theological beliefs then current. It is not until the 4th century that an effort was made to show the ark from the side depicted as a boat.

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JACK P. LEWIS

**FLORA.** One hundred and twenty-eight different plants are mentioned in the Hebrew Bible and the NT. Certainly this does not constitute a complete inventory of every plant that grew in ancient Palestine. On the other hand, there are today 2,384 plant species in modern Israel, most of which have been introduced in recent centuries. For example, 2 of the more common floral types in modern Israel—the eucalyptus and the opuntia—obviously did not exist there in biblical times and were only recently introduced (from Australia and South America, respectively). This article, however, will discuss only species known or assumed to have existed in ancient Israel.

**A. Plants of the ANE**

It is impossible to obtain a clear picture of the flora of ancient Israel—much less to identify the plants mentioned in the Bible—without also considering the evidence from Israel's neighbors in Egypt and Mesopotamia. In this regard, it is worth noting that one of the earliest systematic studies of plants in the Near East was that of the Greek botanist Theophrastus (ca. 372–287 B.C.), a Peripatetic philosopher and student of Aristotle whose extant writings contain 2 works on the subject (*Caus. Pl.* and *Hist. Pl.*).

**1. Egypt.** Ancient Egypt, like modern Egypt, possessed a rich and diverse flora. The Red Sea desert, the Libyan desert, and the Nile valley each contained distinctive plant types, although cultivated plants were restricted to the Nile valley and delta. Some plant material has been found in tombs and can therefore be readily identified; however, the task of identifying plants that appear in inscriptions and on monuments has been more difficult. The texts name plants, but do not describe them; thus, these ancient names had to be connected with specific plants through linguistic and other studies. Because the hieroglyphic portrayal of plants became increasingly stylized through the centuries, efforts to identify plants on a visual basis must appeal to earlier-depicted forms.

The modern study of Egyptian flora began in 1775 with P. Forsskål, and during the Napoleonic expedition such studies by Delile (1813) connected modern with ancient Egyptian flora. The pioneering work on ancient Egyptian plants is that of Schweinfurth (1887–89), who spent 50 winters in Egypt and eventually identified 200 tomb plants while amassing a vast herbarium in Berlin-Dahlem (which was destroyed during the Second World War). These efforts have been continued by L. Keimer (1967), V. and G. Taeckholm (1973), and R. Germer (1985).

**2. Mesopotamia.** Even though this region is also vital for understanding biblical flora, a comparatively few of its ancient plants have been identified. The study and documentation of modern flora in this area is associated with the works of Boissier (1867–88) and Post (1883–84, 2d ed. 1933). However, it has been especially difficult to work through the varied textual and monumental remains of the many ancient civilizations of this area. The earliest study was that of Bonvaria (1894), and R. C. Thompson (1949) has prepared a dictionary of Assyrian botany. There has also been a recent survey of plants depicted in Assyrian monuments (Bleibtreu 1980), and efforts toward identifying and describing ancient Mesopotamian plants continue in the *Bulletin of Sumerian Agriculture.*

**B. Plants in the Bible**

In addition to the incongruence between the flora of modern Israel and that of ancient Palestine, the identification of plants mentioned in the Bible is complicated by 2 other factors. First, at the popular level, plants native to many other parts of the world have often been given biblical names, sometimes giving the incorrect impression that these plants existed in ancient Israel (see section C below). In fact, many such plants could not survive in the climate and soil of Palestine.

Second, at a much more academic level, the paucity with which biblical plants are described impedes confident identification. Frequently, plants mentioned in the Bible are only given broad and generic

descriptions from which it is difficult to draw accurate conclusions. For example, the Song of Songs (2:1–2) refers to certain spring flowers *(ḥăbaṣelet; šôšannâ)* that may have been akin to tulips, or anemones, or chamomile (tulips and other bulbous plants are known to have existed in the E Mediterranean in antiquity). Often, all we have is simply the name of the plant that exists in the original languages in the biblical texts, as well as in other languages which translate those texts. Obviously, both Jewish and Christian exegetes had to rely upon some more or less reliable oral tradition when identifying, for example, a Hebrew plant name with some Greek or Latin equivalent. The early rabbis particularly displayed an interest in biblical plants (see *m. Zer.* and *j. Talm. Zer.*). But later legends certainly could embellish such traditions, sometimes incorrectly (e.g., the identification of the "forbidden fruit" of Eden with the "apple").

The first book devoted exclusively to biblical botany was that of Levinus Lemmens in 1566, which was translated from the original Latin into English 21 years later by Thomas Newton, who added some supplemental material. The next century and a half saw the publication of a large number of studies, including the important *Hierobotanicon* by Celcius.

The modern systematic study of biblical plants, however, began with F. Hasselquist, a student of Linnaeus, the founder of modern botany. Hasselquist journeyed to Egypt and Palestine in 1747, and was the first naturalist to visit the land and acquire first-hand knowledge of its topography and plant life. P. Forsskål, whose botanical work in 1775 has been mentioned, undertook a similar exploration; he died when his guides abandoned him in the desert. These initial efforts were continued into the 19th century; best among these was the work of J. Smith (1878).

Immanuel Loew (1928) approached the subject differently, reviewing all known data pertaining to biblical plants, whether acquired from modern horticultural research or Jewish and Christian lore. His work not only discussed biblical plants, but also plants in later Jewish literature, particularly the Talmud. The British scholar G. E. Post provided a broad field study of modern plants in Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan. More recent major treatments of the subject include those of A. and H. Moldenke (1952), M. Zohary (1982), and N. Hareuveni (1984). Today, articles on specific biblical flora and specific plants listed in the Bible can be found in any number of encyclopedias.

A number of modern gardens have attempted to recreate biblical flora and to present them to a contemporary audience. In Israel, these include the Biblical Botanical Garden of the Hebrew University (Jerusalem) and the Neot Kedumim (near Tel Aviv). In America, the Denver Botanical Gardens (Colorado) has a Scriptural Garden, and biblical gardens have been created at Rodef Shalom Temple (Pittsburgh) and St. John the Divine Cathedral (New York).

The following presentation attempts to provide a synthesis of the work of a number of scholars, among whom there is frequently disagreement. In only a limited number of instances can we be certain about the identification of a plant named in the Bible. In many instances biblical terms are used so rarely that the plants cannot be identified at all. Also, in many instances the traditions established by the Greek, Aramaic, and Syriac translations are helpful, although sometimes they are misleading.

The following presentation subdivides plants into broad areas (e.g., trees of the forest, fruit and nut trees and shrubs, grains and legumes, vegetables and fruit, etc.). Alphabetically within each subdivision are the common English names of plants that existed in antiquity, followed by the Latin name and genus. Following this is a discussion of the relevant Heb/Gk words alluding to the plants in question, including pertinent data about their appearance and use. See also AGRICULTURE.

### *TREES AND SHRUBS OF THE FOREST*

ACACIA *(Acacia raddiana)* or another variety of acacia is associated with the Heb *śittîm* (Exod 26:15; Num 25:1; Josh 2:1; Isa 41:19; Mic 6:5; see Loew 1928, II: 377; Moldenke 1952: 24). Some modern versions and the KJV do not translate but simply transliterate "shittim." The tree is native to the Mediterranean and the term is used either for the tree (Exod 25:5, 10, ff.) or to designate desert places, mainly along wadis (Num 33:49; Joel 3:18). Four varieties are found in the Sinai. All are topped trees with prickly branches and small compound leaves. Flowers are yellow globular, followed by brown, twisted pods. The portable Tent of Meeting in the desert, as well as the furniture in it, was constructed of

its hard timber. Clamps on mummy coffins, fuel, hand tools, and posts were also made from its wood. The bark was used for tanning leather and its fiber for rope. The flowers, fruit provided fodder. One variety, *A. nilotica* produced gum arabic, widely used in Egyptian medicine for salve preparations.

ALOE: see also Eaglewood in this article.

ALOE *(Aloe vera, succotrina)* is the *aleo* of the NT (John 19:39); while the Eaglewood is the *ʾāhāl* of the Hebrew Bible (Ps 45:8; Prov 7:17; Cant 4:14; see Post 1884: 783; Moldenke 1952: 35; Zohary 1982: 204). The plant is native to Yemen and its extract was imported to ancient Israel; eventually this succulent was grown in Israel. *Aloe vera* produces a bitter juice. It is a small plant with succulent leaves and teeth along the edge. It produces spikes with yellow flowers and grows well in dry areas. *Aloe succotrina* is a similar succulent, but it produces red flowers on a spike and an aromatic juice which is extracted from the leaves. That juice was used for embalming in ancient Egypt and also as incense, perfume, and scented powder. Medicinally it found use as a purgative.

BOX *(Buxus longifolia)* is mentioned 3 times in the Bible (Isa 41:19; 60:13; Ezek 27:6; see Post 1884: 725; Loew 1928, I: 316; Moldenke 1952: 62); the identification of the Heb *tĕʾāśŭr* has been contested and the RSV translates "pine." The box grows in the Galilean hills as a hardy, long-living tree that reaches a height of 20 feet. The leaves of this evergreen are thick and leathery, green above and paler below. Yellow flowers are followed by a papery capsule fruit with small black seeds. The wood was used in ancient times for statuary, flutes, writing tables, combs, and spoons. It is exceptionally hard wood and is as durable as brass. When mixed with lye, the leaves were used for tanning. Other uses were as a hair dye, dried and in a powder to shine the coat of horses.

BRAMBLE or BLACKBERRY *(Rubus species)* is a thorny and prickly plant, identified with the Hebrew *ʾātād* (Gen 50:10, 11; Judg 9:14, 15; Ps 58:9; see Tristram 1884: 293; Loew 1928, III: 175; Moldenke 1952: 206; see also Crown of Thorns). This and other plants may also be identified as the Heb *bārqānim, sirpād, sir,* or *silôn.* This is a prickly climbing plant with a cluster of radiating canes; they are erect at first, then arch downwards. The leaves are finely hairy with 3 to 5 leaflets, and its flowers are white followed by the fruit of black druplets on older shoots. The fruit and young shoots were used as food and a juice was pressed from them. The tannin was used as astringent and tonic to treat dysentery and diarrhea. The leaf was chewed for bleeding gums and placed on burns. The flower and fruit were considered a remedy for venomous bites.

BROOM *(Retama raetam)* has been identified as the Heb *rôtem* (1 Kgs 19:4f; Job 30:3f; see Loew 1928, II: 469; Moldenke 1952: 201; Zohary 1982: 144) which grows principally in desert, hill, and rocky areas in Israel and the neighboring lands. There it is often the only source of shade. Usually it is a bush 4 to 12 feet high with a linear shape; the twigs bear small leaves and white, pea-like, fragrant flowers in spring. The roots are long and reach deep for water. The roots were used for charcoal.

CEDAR OF LEBANON *(Cedrus libani)* has always been identified with the Heb *ʾērez* (Num 24:6; Judg 9:15; 2 Sam 5:11; Isa 2:13; Ezek 17:3; Ps 29:5; Ezra 3:7). Solomon used it to build the temple in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 5:13ff). The large timbers were floated 200 miles down the coast to Jaffa and hauled another 25 miles across land to Jerusalem. With age (up to 3,000 years) the pyramidal form of this tree changes to widespread branches. The wood of this slow-growing tree is durable and fragrant; it takes a fine finish and is fungi resistant. The bluish-green needles are short. Male and female cones grow on separate branches. The wood was used for buildings and boats while the resin and oil were utilized for embalming and perfume.

CROWN OF THORNS *(Ziziphus spina-christi)* is one candidate for the bramble or thorn bushes (Judg 9:14f.; Matt 27:27; John 19:5; Moldenke 1952: 248; Zohary 1982: 154; see also Bramble), Heb *ʾātād.* It has traditionally been associated with the crown of thorns placed upon Jesus' head by the Roman soldiers and was named accordingly by Linneaus. It is common near the Dead Sea. This evergreen reaches up to 30 feet with an oval crown and leathery gray-green leaves. Its yellowish-green flowers bloom in summer. Mature fruit are edible and are marketed.

CYPRESS *(Cupressus sempervirens)* has been identified with *tĕʾāśŭr, bĕrôś,* and *gofer* (Isa 41:19; Eccl 24:13; Sir 50:10; see Loew 1928, III: 26; Moldenke 1952: 89; Zohary 1982: 106; see also Pine and Box).

The RSV usually translates *bĕrôś* as "cypress," but sometimes uses "fir." The cypress is native to Israel. It was one of the trees used by Solomon for building the temple (1 Kgs 5:22; 2 Chr 3:5) and may be the *gofer* of Noah's ark (Gen 6:14). The cypress has often been grown in cemeteries. The tree may have been named after the Island of Cyprus, where the tree was worshipped. This is an evergreen which grows to 80 feet. The small aromatic scale leaves are resinous. The fruit is a globe-shaped brown cone. The cypress has tiny nitrogenous nodules attached to its feeding roots and through them it improves the soil. The wood was used in the ANE for construction, shipbuilding, mummy cases, ancient idols, furniture, lances, musical instruments, doors. (The doors of St. Peter's Church in Rome, built of cypress wood 1,000 years ago, show no signs of decay.) The oil became a cosmetic and found medicinal uses.

FIR: see Cypress.

JUDAS TREE *(Cercis siliquastrum)* may be the tree on which Judas hanged himself (Matt 27:5; see Moldenke 1952: 73). The text mentioned no plant; legend has associated this plant, as well as the *Ficus carica, Populus euphratica,* or *Pistacia terebinthus,* with this story. This tree is native to Israel and the Mediterranean. The redbud is a N American variety of the same tree. The tree grows to 30 feet; it has small leaves and small red flowers whose flame-like colors may have led to the legend of its use by Judas (since they appear to "burn with shame").

JUNIPER, GREEK *(Juniperus phoenicea)* has been identified as the Heb *ʿarʿōr* (Jer 17:5f.; see Post 1884: 748; Loew 1928, III: 33; Zohary 1952: 117). The RSV translates the term as "shrub" while other translations use "heath," although most biblical scholars agree that this cannot refer to the true heath. *Juniperus phoenicea* berries were found in a 3d Dynasty Egyptian grave. The tree is a small pyramidical evergreen shrub with scale-like leathery leaves. Although a conifer, like all junipers, its fruit is not a true cone but a purplish-brown berry. The wood was used for construction. The berries provided flavoring and also a hair dye. Medicinally, the berries were used as a stimulant, expectorant, stomachic, poultice, and treatment for headaches. It was mentioned in more than 80 recipes in the *Ebers Papyrus*.

LAURESTINUS *(Viburnum tinus),* which has otherwise not been identified, may be the Heb *tidhār* (Isa 41:19; 60:13; see Zohary 1952: 112), which the RSV has translated as "plane" tree. Zohary provides this identification partially based on the Aramaic term *murneyon,* which is akin to the Arabic term for this plant. *Laurestinus* grows on Mt. Carmel. It is an evergreen which reaches a height of 10 feet. The flowers are white or pinkish followed by black fruit.

OAK *(Quercus ithaburensis, calliprinos)* is the Heb *ʾēlôn* or *ʾāllôn* (Gen 12:6; 18:1; Deut 11:30; Isa 6:13; Ezek 27:6); there is no agreement about the species, however (Post 1883: 737; Loew 1928, I: 621; Moldenke 1952: 193; Zohary 1982: 108). Some translations use "oak" and "terebinth" interchangeably. Individual specimens grow into mighty trees; oak forests existed in ancient Israel. This deciduous tree reaches a height of 60 feet and an age of 500 years, and it grows well below 1,500 feet. Deep roots enable it to survive fairly dry conditions, and it produces acorns abundantly. Its groves were considered sacred by the Canaanites. The dye produced from the *Coccus ilicis,* a small insect often found on this tree, was widely used; it was chiefly exported from Tyre and therefore called Tyrian crimson. The wood was used in construction and shipbuilding, and as tools. The acorns were used for tanning.

OLEANDER *(Nerium oleander)* is the rose, the Gk *rhododaphne* (Sir 24:14; 2 Esdr 9:26; Loew 1928: 206; Moldenke 1952: 151). It grows along stony riverbanks in Israel and as a shrub can reach a height of 12 feet. The leathery leaves are narrow and glossy. The clusters of white, pink, salmon, or red flowers appear at the top of the branches. All parts of the plant are poisonous. An extract from this plant was used against lice.

PINE, ALLEPO, JERUSALEM *(Pinus halepensis)* is one possible identification for the Heb *bĕrôś* (1 Kgs 5:22; Isa 41:19; Ezek 31:8; Ps 104:17; see Loew 1928, III: 40; Moldenke 1952: 173; Zohary 1982: 114), which has also been translated as "juniper" or "cypress" by RSV. This pine is native to the Mediterranean and large stands remain on Mount Carmel. This is a fast-growing, drought-resistant evergreen up to 80 feet in height, rich in resins. The spreading lower branches die back when overshadowed by the upper branches. It is two-needled, and the flowers are enclosed in short-stalked, woody cones with bean-winged seeds. The wood of this tree was used in Solomon's temple as floorings

and for doors and ceilings. It was utilized for shipbuilding and musical instruments. The bark was used for tanning.

POPLAR *(Populus alba)* provides dense shade. It is the *libneh* which Jacob used to influence the offspring of his flock (Gen 30:37; Loew 1928, III: 338; Zohary 1982: 132). It is a fast-growing tree which thrives near water along with willows. The undersides of the leaves are white. The wood was used for tools, roofing, and timber.

STORAX *(Styrax officinalis)* as the source of stacte, a resin, is associated with the Heb *natap* and *lôt* (Exod 30:34; Sir 24:15; see Post 1883: 518; Loew 1928, III: 388; Moldenke 1952: 224). This is a many-branched, small tree with rounded, shiny leaves, silvery white on the underside. Small, white, bell-shaped flowers bloom in June, followed by globular fruits. The resin, which is produced by old trees, was an ingredient of the holy anointing oil. Medicinally it was used to treat coughs and as an ointment for swellings. It also became an ingredient of perfume.

TAMARISK *(Tamarix pentandra)* is identified with the Heb *ʾeśel* (Tristram 1884: 250; Loew 1928, III: 398; Moldenke 1952: 227), which grows in sandy areas and may have been the source of the biblical manna. Scholars described manna as a sweet secretion of various insects such as *Trabulina mannifera*. The word *manna* may be derived from the Egyptian word *mennu*, "food," or *mâ hûʾ*, Heb for "what is it?" The Arabs called it *mann al samma*, "heavenly bread." Some modern scholars identify the manna as derived from lichen or allied species of plants found in Arabia and Yemen. The tamarisk (Gen 21:33; 1 Sam 22:6; 31:13) is a deciduous tree up to 20 feet in height with small, feathery leaves that excrete salt through special glands. Tamarisks have a high water requirement and may cause desert water resources to dry up. The pink flowers are followed by minute seeds. The wood was used for construction and as charcoal. The bark was used for tanning and the leaves as fodder.

WILLOW *(Salix alba)* or the Euphrates poplar *(Populus euphratica)* is the Heb *ʿărābāh* (Lev 23:40; Job 40:22; Ps 137:2; Isa 15:7; see Post 1884: 741, 744; Loew 1928, III: 322; Moldenke 1952: 216). Both trees grow along streams. Willow boughs are among the 4 species for the Feast of Sukkoth. This deciduous tree has oblong leaves and flowers arranged in catkins, male and female on separate trees. The minute greenish flowers are followed by many-seeded fruits. The wood was used for simple objects like troughs, sieves, tool handles, and small boats. The bark was an ingredient in tanning while the twigs were woven into baskets and twine. The galls on the leaves contained a dye used on veils, while the seeds were fabricated into an inferior grade of lamp wick. All parts of the plant found medicinal uses as well.

### *FRUIT TREES, NUT TREES, AND SHRUBS*

ALMOND *(Amygdalus communis)* is the Heb *šāqēd* or *lŭz* (Gen 43:11; Eccl 12:5; Jer 1:11; see Loew 1928, III: 142; Moldenke 1952: 35; Zohary 1982: 66); the tree is native to the Mediterranean. Almonds are among the first trees to flower in spring. The Heb word means "diligence," and the flowers symbolize the awakening of spring. The *šāqēd* is mentioned 6 times in the Bible, while *lŭz* is sometimes a place name (Gen 28:19). The tree has been found in the Negeb and throughout the land. Almonds grow to 20 feet. Oblong leaves appear after the white or pink flowers bloom. The flower of the almond or of the sage-plant may have been used for the design of the candelabrum of the desert tabernacle. Almonds produce fruit after 5 or 6 years. The nut has been used for food and oil for flavoring. Iron Age remains of this specimen have been found at Bethlehem and at Tell el-Ful (Borowski 1987: 132). The gum found medicinal uses as a skin emollient and a mild laxative. The extract almond-milk was used to lower temperatures. The burned almond shell may have been used for kohl soot, so popular as Egyptian eye paint.

APPLE: see Apricot and Quince.

APRICOT *(Prunus armeniaca)* or the quince *(Cydonia oblanga)* have been identified as the Heb *ṭapuāḥ* (Joel 1:12; Prov 25:11; Cant 2:3ff.; see Loew 1928, III: 155; Moldenke 1952: 184). It is sometimes associated with the "apple" tree, but while domesticated apple trees are now found in Israel, wild specimens are not believed to have grown there in biblical times since it is a tree native to the N hemisphere. Apricots, however, grow in warmer climes and are native to China; they have long been abundant in Israel and most probably were introduced in biblical times. Apricots in Cyprus are still known

as "golden apples." The tree grows to 30 feet with a reddish bark. Pink flowers appear before its heart-shaped leaves. The fruit were consumed as food, fresh or dried, and also produced a beverage. The seed, if chewed for extended periods, is poisonous.

DATE PALM *(Phoenix dactylifera)* is among the very oldest cultivated fruit trees of the ANE, and is associated with Heb *tāmār* (Exod 15:27; Num 33:9; Judg 1:16; Ps 92:13; Cant 7:8; see Post 1883: 813; Loew 1928, II: 306; Moldenke 1952: 169; Zohary 1982: 60). Jericho was known as the "city of palm trees" (2 Chr 28:15), and some women bore the name of this tree, Tamar (Gen 38:6; 2 Sam 13:1; 14:27). Palm leaves are among the 4 species for the Feast of Sukkōth (Lev 23:40). This tall, feather palm can grow to 100 feet, and has large leaves. The white, fragrant flowers are followed by the date fruit. Plants are unisexual. The fruit onset is done by artificial pollination—branches with male flowers are cut off and fixed among bunches of female flowers. Only 1 male tree need be planted for the pollination of 50–100 females. Palms begin to bear when 35 years old and average about 125 pounds of fruit per tree annually. Palms are symbolic of peace and plenty. Iron Age remains have been found at Beersheba and Arad (Borowski 1987: 128). Every part of this tree found a use. The trunk was used for construction, fences, rafts, and fuel. The leaf provided a motif for ornaments of King Solomon's temple (1 Kgs 6:32), and later became an emblem of victory on coins. The leaflets were woven into mats, baskets, untensils, sails, and roof thatch. The fiber was fabricated into rope. Fibers from the base of the leaves were used by the Egyptians for wigs, ropes, matting, baskets, bags, brushes, and brooms. When the fiber was mixed with camel hair it was woven into cloth for caravan tents. The leafless midrib sticks were manufactured into cages, chairs, doors, and palm-stick torches. The fruit was a basic food consumed both fresh or dried, made into honey (over 60 percent sugar content). Many scholars think that the honey mentioned 49 times in the Bible refers to date honey—not the honey derived from bees (which is mentioned only 4 times). Some Arab tribes have subsisted for months on dates and milk alone. The fermented fruit produces alcohol and vinegar. The unripe green date produces a dye, and is a good substance for tanning. The sap of the crown contains a syrup used for wine and as a sweetener. The kernel has long provided animal fodder (especially for toothless camels). Oil may be pressed from it, but the kernel has also been used ornamentally in necklaces.

CITRON *(Citrus medica)* is not native to Palestine, but is believed to be the first of its genus to grow there. By 200 B.C.E. it was used as the "goodly tree," the *ʾetrôg* (Lev 23:40; see Loew 1928, III: 278; Moldenke 1952: 290; Zohary 1982: 123). This is a small evergreen tree with short spines and leathery leaves. The flowers are white inside and purplish outside. The yellow, thick-skinned fruit is fragrant and has a bitter taste. The fruit is one of the 4 species at Feast of Sukkoth: for this purpose, it must have its pistil intact to be kosher. The oil, distilled from the peel, is used as snakebite antidote.

FIG *(Ficus carica)* is the first fruit tree mentioned in the Bible (Gen 3:7) and refers to Heb *tĕʾēnāh* (Num 13:23; Judg 9:10; 2 Kgs 18:31; Prov 27:18; Matt 21:1; Mark 11:13; Rev 6:13; see Post 1884: 729; Loew 1928, I: 224; Moldenke 1952: 104; Zohary 1982: 58). Figs are among the 7 species of Israel (Deut 8:8). They have been found among tomb offerings in dynastic Egypt. In biblical imagery the fig tree symbolizes prosperity and peace (Mic 4:4). The palmately lobed leaves with wavy margins often appear after the fruit develops. The flowers are borne inside the fruit. Pollination is by the female fig wasp, which crawls through a small hole to reach the flowers. The purple, greenish-yellow fruit ripens in 80 to 100 days. Iron Age remains have been found at Beth-shemesh and appear in the Nineveh relief of the siege of Lachish (Borowski 1987: 116). The fruit, fresh or dried, could be made into cakes and wine, and the Assyrians used it as a sweetener. The leaves were woven into baskets, dishes, and umbrellas. Medicinally, the fruit proved an effective laxative and tonic, as well as a poultice. The fruit, pounded into a pulp, was used by King Hezekiah to cure a malignant swelling.

MULBERRY *(Morus nigra)* is a native of Persia and was later cultivated in Israel. The corresponding Gk term *sukaminos* is found only twice (1 Macc 6:34; Luke 17:6; see Moldenke 1952: 108; Zohary 1982: 71). It is of medium size with deciduous, heart-shaped leaves that are stiff and rough. Male catkins and female flower clusters appear before the leaves form. The fruit is black and contains sweet juice; its fruit was eaten fresh or dried and was used to make wine. The root and bark were used as a laxative. The fruit

was used to provoke elephants to fight in 1 Maccabees; this may have been the unripe fruit, which can cause hallucinations, nervous stimulation, and upset stomach. The bark provided tannin.

MYRTLE *(Myrtus communis)* is the *hădas* (Isa 41:19; 55:13; Zech 1:8ff.; see Post 1884: 318; Loew 1928, II: 257; Moldenke 1952: 143; Zohary 1952: 119) which grows on hillsides in Israel. Myrtle is symbolic of peace and divine blessing. The Babylonian term for this plant was also used to designate brides. It has traditionally been used for the Jewish festival of Sukkōth (Neh 8:11). An evergreen bush, it grows to a height of 6 to 8 feet with shiny green leaves. The white flower is followed by a blue-black berry. The wood has been used for walking sticks, furniture, and tool handles. The leaf provided spice, perfume, and bridal wreaths for virgins. The berry was used as an aromatic food flavoring, a wine-like drink, and as a breath sweetener. The oil from its leaf was a carminative.

OLIVE *(Olea Europeae)* has been cultivated for more than 6,000 years. The Heb *zayiṭ* is mentioned more than 50 times in the Bible (Gen 8:11; Deut 28:40; Judg 15:5; 2 Sam 15:30; Ps 128:3; Job 15:33; Rom 11:17; Rev 11:4; see Post 1884: 519; Loew 1928, II: 287; Moldenke 1952: 157; Zohary 1982: 56). Olive oil is symbolic of goodness and purity, and the tree is a symbol of peace and happiness (Hos 14:6). Many references to gardens in Scripture (including Gethsemane) seem to refer to olive groves (Exod 23:11; Josh 24:13; 1 Sam 8:14; Neh 5:11). Trees can continue to bear even after the gnarled trunk is hollow. This slow-growing tree can grow to an age of 1,000 years or more. It is difficult to kill because when the tree is cut down, new sprouts appear from the roots around the old trunk. The willow-like, grey-green leaves are followed by fragrant white flowers. The fruit is reddish-purple to black and has a bitter taste. Olives must be cultivated for 7 years before fruiting, and they reach maturity after 15 to 20 years. A full-sized tree produces 1/2 ton annually. Remains have been found in Israel from the Chalcolithic period onward (Borowski 1987: 117). The wood, which is richly grained, has been used in construction, for ornaments, and household utensils. The oil had sacred uses for anointing and sacrifices and was also utilized for cooking and lighting and as a leather softener. It could serve to ripen sycamore figs. The leaves were fabricated into wreaths and writing material. The bark found medicinal use as a vulnerary and the leaf as an astringent and febrifuge. The oil served as a laxative, and when combined with alcohol it functioned as a skin lubricant. It was also prescribed as an antidote for poison and a vermifuge.

PISTACHIO: see Terebinth.

POMEGRANATE *(Punica granatum)* has been cultivated in Egypt and Palestine from time immemorial. The corresponding Heb *rimôn* is mentioned frequently (Exod 28:33; 1 Sam 14:2; Joel 1:12; Hag 2:19; Cant 4:3; 2 Chron 3:16; see Post 1884: 319; Loew 1928, III: 80; Moldenke 1952: 189), and sometimes served as a proper name for places (Josh 15:32). The pomegranate was among the fruit brought back by spies sent out by Moses (Num 13:23). This is a deciduous shrub with glossy green leaves whose flowers are orange-red. The fruit is red, hard, thick-skinned, crowned with a persistent calyx. It contains many seeds. The flowers, bark, and rind produced a red dye particularly effective with leather. The calyx of the fruit later served as a pattern for the crowns of the Torah, called *rimônîm.* The fruit was used as a motif for the capitals of Solomon's temple (1 Kgs 7:18; Jer 52:22). The hems of the high priest's robes were embroidered with pomegranate designs (Exod 28:33). Iron Age remains have been found at Tell Qiri and Tell Halif (Borowski 1987: 117). The juice was often mingled with wine. The seeds were a symbol of fertility throughout the ANE. The seeds were prescribed medicinally against tapeworm; while the rind served as an astringent, for skin problems and diarrhea. Large doses of rind may, however, cause cramps and vomiting.

QUINCE *(Cydonia oblanga)* was first cultivated in N Persia but soon was found in Israel. It is a candidate for the Heb *ṭapuāḥ* (Joel 1:12; Prov 25:11; Cant 2:3ff.; see Loew 1928, III: 240; see also Apricot). The RSV prefers the translation "apple." The tree reaches a height of 20 feet; it produces rounded leaves, woolly underneath; its flowers are pink, orange, or white. The skin of the pear-shaped acid fruit is covered with fuzz. Its fragrance was highly regarded by the ancients; the fruit served as food and medicinally as an ingredient for skin lotions as well as a vermifuge.

RUSSIAN OLIVE *(Elaeagnus angustifolia)* is sometimes called "wild olive"; it has no botanical relationship to the true olive and is the Heb *ʿēṣ śemen* (1 Kgs 6:23; Isa 41:19; Mic 6:7; see Tristram 1884:

404; Loew 1928, I: 590; Moldenke 1952: 97). This little tree may reach 20 feet. It has small deciduous leaves, greyish-green above and silvery and scaly beneath; the greenish-yellow flowers appear in clusters in the leaf axils. The fruit is bitter, but was used for food and fodder. The wood, hard and fine-grained, was used for carved images. The oil is inferior.

SYCAMORE FIG *(Ficus sycomorus)* identified as the Heb *śiqmāh* (1 Chr 27:28; 2 Chr 9:27; Ps 78:47; Isa 9:10; see Post 1884: 730; Loew 1928, I: 274; Moldenke 1952: 106; Zohary 1982: 68) is similar to the fig tree (*Ficus carica;* see above), but reaches a greater height, up to 60 feet (Luke 19:4). The leaves are evergreen and the tree fruits several times annually; the fruit is inferior in taste and sweetness to the true fig. Amos knew the importance of pricking each fruit at the right stage in its development to make it edible (Amos 7:14). It is pollinated much like the true fig. The wood is light and porous, and was used by Solomon (1 Kgs 10:27; 2 Chr 1:15); it is also found in Egyptian sarcophaguses, mummy coffins, furniture, boxes, and doors. The fruit served as food for the poor. The leaf was used as a dressing for wounds; the fruit was a vermifuge and laxative.

TEREBINTH or PISTACHIO *(Pistacia lentiscus, atlantica)* are among several species of terebinth found in Israel (Post 1883: 206; Loew 1928, I: 190; Moldenke 1952: 177; see also Oak). The tree is not named in the Bible; it is the later Heb *ʾēlāh.* The nut is the Heb *bŏtnim* (Gen 43:11). The pistachio nut tree originated in Central Asia and was introduced to the Holy Land later; it is a deciduous tree up to 30 feet in height. The leaves are compound and are composed of 3 to 5 lanceolate and elliptical leaflets; there are inconspicuous flowers. The small globular stone fruits have an acrid odor of turpentine. Remains of the nut have been found in Iron Age strata at Beersheba and Arad (Borowski 1987: 133). The nut was usually roasted; the galls were an ingredient in dyes and were used for tanning; the gum was prescribed as ointments.

WALNUT *(Juglans regia)* is native to W Asia and has spread to many countries. It is the Heb *ʾĕgôz* (Cant 6:11; see Loew 1928, II: 29; Moldenke 1952: 119; Zohary 1982: 64), though the RSV does not identify it specifically. This is a wide-branched tree with brownish-grey bark. The leaves are coppery brown as they unfold, and are made up of 9 oval leaflets; the flowers appear before the leaves. The male flowers are catkins, the female flowers terminal spikes. The plum-shaped fruit is yellowish-green and contains the nut. The wood found use in construction, shipbuilding, and furniture; the leaves in tanning; the nuts as food. Remains have been found from the Chalcolithic period in Israel (Borowski 1987: 133). The oil was used as a wood polish and for lighting and cooking. The green husk contains a yellow dye; it was utilized cosmetically and medicinally as a laxative. The leaf was prescribed as an astringent.

### *GRAINS AND LEGUMES*

BARLEY *(Hordeum vulgare)* has been grown in Egypt since 5000 B.C.E. The Heb *šaʿărāh* was important in Israel throughout the biblical period (Exod 9:31; Lev 27:16; Deut 8:8; Ruth 1:2; 2 Kgs 4:42; John 6:9; Rev 6:6; see Loew 1928, I: 707; Dalman 1932: 250; Moldenke 1952: 111; Zohary 1982: 76). The grain played a major economic role and was included in the tribute exacted from the Ammonites (2 Chr 27:5). Samples have been found in an Iron I stratum at Afula and in Iron II stratum at Khirbet Abu Tabaq among other sites (Borowski 1987: 92). It is able to survive heat and drought better than any other cereal, and it ripens in a shorter season than wheat. Barley grows to a height of 2 to 3 feet; the whiskery ears nod as they mature. The shallow roots develop faster than wheat, and the leaves are wider than those of many other grains. It was used only once in the sacrificial rituals (Num 5:15). The grain was rarely used alone in bread, but was mixed with millet, spelt, or pea meal. Malt syrup for beer was derived from it; this was particularly important in ancient Egypt where beer was an important drink. The stalk was used as fodder. Necklaces made from barley seed have been found on mummies. The seed was also used medicinally; barley water was prescribed as a demulcent, cooked barley as a poultice. Among numerous other Egyptian medicinal uses was that of a pregnancy test.

BEAN *(Vicia faba)* was mentioned only twice, as Heb *pôl* (2 Sam 17:28; Ezek 4:9; see Loew 1928, II: 481; Dalman 1932, II: 265; Moldenke 1952: 101; Zohary 1982: 84). Carbonized seeds have been found in the Iron I stratum at Afula and from a later period at Lachish (Borowski 1987: 95). It is among the first vegetables harvested in spring. This erect annual grows to 5 feet. The hollow stem is branched mainly in

the upper part. The ovalish leaves are divided into 2 to 6 pairs. The small, white, sweet pea-like flowers are marked with a purple spot, followed by large green pods. Beans were consumed fresh, boiled, dried, or roasted. They were mixed with wheat for flour and were also used as a meat extender. In Egypt they were made into cakes and used both as human food and as animal fodder (the stems were camel fodder).

CAROB *(Ceratonia siliqua)* is found in the coastal plains and the Galilee; it is common throughout the Mediterranean basin. It is often called "St. John's Bread" because in the wilderness John the Baptist ate the pods of this tree. It is the *keration* of the NT (Luke 15:16; see Loew 1928, II: 393; Moldenke 1952: 72; Zohary 1982: 63). Carob beans have been found at the Cave of the Pool in the Roman level (Borowski 1987: 131). The pods were primarily used as animal fodder, but in times of famine humans could also eat them; when ripe the pods are sweet. The seeds of the carob were used as a standard weight and are the source of the term "carat." The carob is an evergreen with rounded top which reaches 30 feet. The small flowers, either yellow or red, are found on the previous year's branches. Pods ripen in spring, and are 6 to 10 inches long and bear small pea-like seeds.

CHICK-PEA *(Cicer arietinum).* The Heb *ḥāmiṣ* (Isa 30:24), which is similar to the Arabic *ḥumus,* may refer to this plant (Loew 1928, II: 411; Dalman 1932, II: 271; Zohary 1982: 83). The RSV translates this simply as "provender." It has been found as early as Pre-Pottery Neolithic B Jericho (Borowski 1987: 96). The plant is a 2-foot-high annual with small leaves and white or reddish flowers followed by a two-seed pod. The peas are consumed fresh, dried, boiled, and roasted or prepared as flour. The plant provides maximum nourishment for a minimum of expenditure with yields up to 1,000 pounds per acre. Humus, a popular dish in the modern Middle East, is made from the peas. The whole plant was used as fodder.

EMMER *(Triticum dicoccum)* is the Heb *kūsêmêt,* for which the RSV prefers "spelt" (Exod 9:32; Isa 28:25; Ezek 4:9; see Loew 1928, I: 767; Moldenke 1952: 231; Dalman 1932, II: 246). It originated in the Israel-Jordan region and has been found in the Chalcolithic site of Horvat Beter and later (Borowski 1987: 91). It was used as porridge and for fodder.

LENTIL *(Lens esculenta, culinaris)* is associated with Heb *ʿădāšāh,* Jacob's pottage (Gen 25:34). This plant grew in fields (2 Sam 17:28; 23:11; see Dalman 1932, II: 264; Moldenke 1952: 128; Zohary 1982: 82) and has been found in Neolithic Jericho (Borowski 1987: 95), in Sumer, and in 12th Dynasty tombs in Egypt. This is a multi-branched annual growing to 18 inches high. The leaves are pinnate; its small white flowers are succeeded by short, flattened pods, each containing 1 or 2 green, greenish-brown, or reddish seeds. Flour for bread and pottage, as well as animal fodder, came from this plant. Medicinally, the seed provided a remedy for constipation, and a hot poultice was prepared for ulcers.

MILLET *(Panicum miliaceum)* is the Heb *dōḥan* (see also Sorghum); it is mentioned only once (Ezek 4:9; see Loew 1928, I: 743; Dalman 1932: II: 260; Moldenke 1952: 166; Zohary 1982: 77) to symbolize the difficult times that were approaching. This inferior grain was used mainly for fodder. It is an annual grass which reaches a height of 2 feet; the leaves are flat and hairy. The flowers and seeds grow in a compound, are branched and have nodding panicles. The Latin name *miliaceum* was an allusion by Linnaeus to its "thousands of seeds," from which we have the word "millimeter." Porridge and bread, as well as an alcoholic beverage, was prepared from this plant.

SORGHUM, GREAT MILLET *(Sorghum bicolor)* is another possibility for the Heb *dōḥan* (Ezek 4:9; see Loew 1928, I: 740; Dalman 1932, II: 258; Zohary 1982: 77). The RSV prefers the translation "millet." It has been cultivated since 2000 B.C.E., though no samples have been found in ancient Israel. The plant grows to 9 feet. The leaves are flat and the panicles are many-branched, producing globular, whitish grain used as flour, syrup, and to prepare alcoholic beverages. Medicinally it was used as a diuretic and as a demulcent.

SPELT: see Emmer.

WHEAT *(Triticum durum)* was a major field crop in Israel throughout the biblical period, associated with Heb *ḥittāh* (Gen 12:10; Job 5:26; Ezek 27:17; Matt 18:6; Mark 2:23; 1 Cor 9:9; Rev 18:13; see Loew 1928, I: 776; Dalman 1932, II: 243; Moldenke 1952: 2312; Zohary 1982: 74). Remains of wheat have been found at Afula in Iron I and at Tell Qiri in Iron II, as well as many other sites (Borowski 1987: 90). Wheat is one of the 7 species of the Holy Land (Deut 8:8). It was used in the sacrificial ritual (1 Chr

21:23), in export trade (1 Kgs 5:11), and was consumed in many different ways (Exod 29:2; Lev 23:14; 2 Kgs 4:42; Ezek 4:9). The Gezer Calendar speaks of its harvest in the 6th agricultural season, which fell in May. The first harvest was a temple offering at Pentecost (Exod 34:22). This annual grass grows to a height of 4 feet. The lower leaves are hairy, usually with 2 ears. The numerous varieties are divided into (a) spring and winter wheat; (b) hard and soft wheat; (c) red and white wheat; and (d) bearded and non-bearded varieties. In biblical times the parched grain was consumed or used as a meal offering; flour for bread as well as starch and beer were prepared from it. The stems were used as fodder, animal bedding, compost, mulch, and fertilizer. They were also woven into hats, baskets, chair seats, and bee-hives. The starch was used medicinally as an emollient.

### *VEGETABLES AND FRUITS*

CUCUMBER: see Muskmelon.

ENDIVE *(Cichorium endivia)* is a candidate for Heb *mărôr* (Exod 12:8; Num 9:11; see Loew 1928, I: 415; Moldenke 1952: 74; Zohary 1982: 100; Dalman 1932, II: 312). This may be an annual or a perennial plant, which produces a dense rosette of leaves. Flower stems reach a height of 3 feet with blue flowers. The leaves were used in a culinary fashion.

GARLIC *(Allium sativum)* is the Heb *śûm* (Num 11:5, 6; see Loew 1928, II: 125; Dalman 1932, II: 276–77; Moldenke 1952: 32; Zohary 1982: 80); it has been grown in Egypt and the Near East since earliest times; remains have been found in the Cave of the Pool (Borowski 1987: 139). This is a hardy perennial with strap-like leaves to 2 feet with tiny sterile, pink flowers. The single bulb is composed of a number of bulblets, called cloves, which are wrapped together in a pinkish-white, papery skin. Garlic was consumed fresh, dried, or powdered, and was fed to the pyramid workers of ancient Egypt. The juice was prescribed to treat intestinal infections, respiratory ailments, snakebites, melancholy, and hypochondria.

GRAPES: see Vine below.

LEEKS *(Allium porrum),* the Heb *ḥāṣîr* (Num 11:5, 6; see Loew 1928, II: 131; Dalman 1932, II: 277; Moldenke 1952: 34; Zohary 1982: 80) may be the true leek or fenugreek *(Trigonella foenum-graecum).* Fenugreek seeds have been found at Tell Halaf in Egypt and an Iron Age sample was found at Lachish in Israel (Borowski 1987: 138). It was one of the foods the Israelites craved in the desert. The Heb *ḥāṣîr* literally means "herbs." It has always been the food of the poor in the Near East and was regarded as the food of humility. Leeks, unlike onions, do not have a bulbous base. The leaves are broad and flat. Leeks are biennial whose white flower appears in the second year in a ball-like cluster. The greens possess the same properties as garlic, but to a lesser degree. The leaf has been used medicinally as a disinfectant.

MUSKMELON *(Cucumis melo)* has been identified as the Heb *qiśû᾽îm* (Num 11:5; Isa 1:8; see Loew 1928, I: 535; Moldenke 1952: 80; Zohary 1982: 86); the wild species was introduced from E Africa (Zohary). It includes forms with long and narrow fruits, resembling the garden cucumber. The cucumber *(C. sativus),* which is the translation of the RSV, is native to S Asia. Muskmelon is an annual with hairy, kidney-shaped leaves. The flowers are yellow. The yellow or green fruit varies in size and shape. Aside from the fruit, the leaves can be eaten raw or steamed. The seeds provide an edible oil. Medicinally it was prescribed as a demulcent, diuretic, and emetic.

ONION *(Allium cepa)* is called the Egyptian onion; it is the Heb *bāṣāl* (Num 11:5; see Loew 1928, II: 125; Dalman 1932, II: 276; Moldenke 1952: 32; Zohary 1982: 80). It is among the more than 500 species of onions, some edible and some ornamental. Onions are represented in many Egyptian tomb paintings, and were found in breasts of mummies, while onion peels were found on ears and eyes of mummies. Onions were considered a necessity for the workers building pyramids. Remains have been found in the caves of Nahal Mishmar in Israel (Borowski 1987: 138). This is a perennial herb whose large bulbs produce hollow leaves, terminating in umbels of pink or white flowers. Aside from its use as a food, the skin of the bulb produced a dye. It was prescribed medicinally as a laxative, vermicide, and antiseptic.

VINE *(Vitis vinifera)* was the first cultivated plant mentioned in the Bible (Gen 9:20). The Heb *gepen* or the large number of other terms connected with its cultivation and use appear hundreds of times (Gen 40:9; Num 13:23; Deut 8:8; Judg 9:12; Jer 2:21; Ezek 15:2; Cant 6:11; Ps 78:47; Matt 9:17; Luke 1:15; John 2:3; Rev 14:8; see Loew 1928, I: 48; Dalman 1932, IV: 291; Moldenke 1952: 239; Zohary 1982:

54). Remains from the 3d millennium have been found at Jericho and Arad (Borowski). The cultivation of vine was mentioned in the Gezer Calendar. It was used as a symbol for Israel (Jer 2:21; Ezek 15:6; Hos 10:1) and of peace and prosperity (1 Kgs 4:25; Mic 4:4). The vine is a fast-growing climbing shrub with long tendrils. The lobed leaves are deciduous. The minute, greenish, clustered flowers are followed by berries. The fruit, grapes, may be consumed fresh or dried into raisins and currants. Its juice may be produced into wine or vinegar. The leaves are edible and the remainder of the plant has been used for fodder and tannin. Wine was used as an anaesthetic and to reduce the anguish of capital punishment.

WATERMELONS *(Citrullus vulgaris)* were grown in Egypt and Israel. This is the Heb *ʾābattîaḥ* (Num 11:5; see Loew 1928, I: 550; Zohary 1982: 85), which the Israelites longed for in the desert. The plant is 90 percent water, and so it is invaluable in the desert. The opened plant was also used for plant propagation. This tropical trailer plant with hairy, deeply lobed leaves produces a yellow flower about 1 inch across. The fruit is often ellipsoidal, 10 inches or more in diameter, with white, yellow, or red flesh. The fruit is eaten raw; the seeds are eaten either raw or roasted. Oil can be pressed from the seeds. Medicinally the fruit was used as an antiseptic, laxative, and vermicidal.

### *SPICES, INCENSE, DRUGS, AND CONDIMENTS*

BALM *(Balanites aegyptiaca)* is the Heb *ṣôrî* (Gen 37:25; Jer 8:22; 46:11; 51:8; see Moldenke 1952: 55) which is native to Egypt. It grew on the hot plains near Jericho and the Dead Sea. The RSV sometimes translates *ṣôrî* as "spices" (1 Kgs 10:10; 2 Kgs 20:13; Isa 39:2) and at other times as "balm" (Ezek 27:17). The plant grows to a height of 12 feet with woolly leaves and thorny branches. The oil of the fruit was used medicinally. Moldenke also suggested identifying the *Pistacia lentiscus* with the *ṣ̌rî* (see Terebinth). The balm tree reaches a height of 3 to 10 feet with leathery leaves and a gummy sap. The fruit was fermented into an alcoholic beverage. It was used as a breath sweetener; medicinally it was prescribed as a stomachic and astringent.

BAY LAUREL *(Laurus nobilis)* or Sweet Bay is the Heb *ʾezraḥ* (Ps 37:35; see Post 1883: 708; Loew 1928, II: 119; Moldenke 1952: 122; Zohary 1982: 120), which the RSV translates "cedar." This tree grows on rocky hillsides. The Romans named it from the word *laudare,* "to praise," for it was thought to be worthy of the highest honors. This is a slow-growing evergreen tree which reaches a height of 40 feet. The leaves are leathery, oblong with wavy edges. Male and female yellow flowers are borne on separate trees. It fruits in the fall and produces a red-blue berry which contains an oily seed. The wood was used for light carpentry. The leaves were used to form wreaths; when dried they became a spice. A perfume was extracted from the fruit. The berry served as a stomachic, astringent, and carminative.

BURNET, THORNY *(Sarcopoterium spinosum)* is the Heb *sîrîm* (Hos 2:6; Eccl 7:6; see Zohary 1982: 156), which the RSV translates as "thorns." This 1-foot-high shrub is densely branched and produces tiny flowers and a small fruit. The leaflets of the plant have been used as a pot-herb.

CAPER BUSH *(Capparis spinosa)* is the *ʾăbiyônāh* (Eccl 12:5; see Post 1883: 106; Loew 1928, I: 322; Zohary 1982: 98), which the RSV translates as "desire." This is a spiny shrub with thick leaves which spreads over rocks much like ivy. The flowers are white or pinkish, open in the evening and wilted by morning. The many-seeded berry hangs on long stalks. The unopened flower bud is pickled as capers; the young fruit were considered an aphrodisiac.

CASSIA *(Cinnamonum cassia)* is the Heb *qiddāh* (Exod 30:24; Ezek 27:19; Ps 45:8; see Loew 1928, II: 113; Moldenke 1952: 75; Zohary 1982: 203) which was imported via the ancient caravan routes; it was considered inferior to true cinnamon. This is a medium-sized tropical tree with leathery leaves native to India and Sri Lanka. The inner bark is used for the spice; incisions are made in the bark, which is then dried. The bark serves as a spice and incense. Sometimes it is used to adulterate pure cinnamon.

CASTOR OIL *(Ricinus communis)* may be associated with the *qîqāy̆n,* the plant which shaded Jonah (4:6ff.; see Post 1883: 727; Dalman 1932, II: 297; Moldenke 1952: 203; Zohary 1982: 193), often translated as "gourd." Seeds have been found in a 6,000-year-old Egyptian tomb. It grows wild in Israel. This tropical shrub may reach 15 feet or more. The hollow, green, red, or violet stems become woody with age. Palmate leaves have veins usually the color of the stem. The male yellow and female pink flowers are arranged in racemes and lack petals. The fruit is a 3-celled capsule covered with prickles.

Each capsule contains 3 smooth, mottled, poisonous seeds. The seed capsules are poisonous; the oil is pressed from the seed. Small seeds are richer in oil than large seeds. The Egyptians used the oil for lighting; they also used it as poultices for headaches and blended it with some fat to stimulate luxurious hair growth and as a base for unguents. It was also utilized as a cream for opthalmic preparations, as an antifungal, and as a laxative.

CHICORY *(Cichorium intybus)* is a candidate for the Heb *mărôr* (Exod 12:8; Num 9:11; see Loew 1928, I: 415; Dalman 1932, II: 312; Moldenke 1952: 74; Zohary 1982: 100) of Passover. This is a perennial which reaches a height of 3 feet with tough stems and long, lobed, basal leaves. The bright blue flowers close at noon. After ripening, the heads close and conceal the fruit. Rain forces the heads to open and to disperse the seeds. The leaf is used as a pot-herb and for fodder; the root is an ingredient in seasoning. The leaves have also been used as a sedative and laxative, while the dried root has been used as a diuretic and tonic.

CINNAMON *(Cinnamonum zeylanicum)* is the Heb *kināmôn* (Exod 30:23; Prov 7:17; Cant 4:14; Rev 18:13; see Loew 1928, II: 116; Moldenke 1952: 76; Zohary 1982: 202). The plant was imported; it is native to Sri Lanka where the evergreen tree may reach 40 feet. Its aromatic green leaves are 5 to 7 inches long. The flowers are white and the fruit is a dark purple berry. Cinnamon is obtained from the inner bark in the shape of quills. The bark provides oil, incense, perfume, and food flavoring. The leaf is used for wreaths.

COLCHICUM *(Colchicum autumnale)* is the Heb *hăbaṣelet* (Isa 35:1; Cant 2:1; see Post 1883: 808; Loew 1928, II: 156) and is mentioned in the Ebers Papyrus of 1550 B.C. as a drug plant. The RSV translates this as "crocus." This poisonous cormus plant has dark-green leaves produced in the spring, followed by purple flowers in the fall. The fruit is a capsule with polished, whitish seeds. The cormus and seed were used as a sedative and cathartic.

CORIANDER *(Coriandrum sativum)* is the Heb *gād;* the seed was mentioned in the desert (Exod 16:31; Num 11:7; see Tristram 1884: 400; Loew 1928, III: 441; Moldenke 1952: 86; Zohary 1982: 92). The plant is an annual 1 to 3 feet in height with leaves deeply incised and umbels of pale mauve flowers. All parts of the plant have a strong odor. The seeds are used for flavoring food and beverages, and also as an ingredient in perfumes. Medicinally the seeds were prescribed as a stimulant and carminative. If eaten in excess, they had the harmful effect of a narcotic.

CUMIN *(Cuminum cyminum)* is the Heb *kamôn,* whose seeds (Isa 28:25, 27; Matt 23:23; see Loew 1928, III: 435; Moldenke 1952: 89; Zohary 1982: 88) have been found in an Egyptian grave of the 18th Dynasty, but not in archaeological excavations in Israel. This is a powerful aromatic, similar to caraway seed but larger, with a disagreeable taste. This annual herb reaches a height of 2 feet. The leaves are divided into a few thread-like segments. Small, white flowers are followed by the small oblong, aromatic fruit. The seeds are mixed with flour in bread; the oil was used medicinally as a disinfectant.

CUMIN, BLACK *(Nigella sativa)* is the Heb *keṣāh* (Isa 28:25, 27; see Moldenke 1952: 152; Zohary 1982: 91); in some versions it has been translated "fitches," and the RSV prefers "dill." Fragments have been found at Tell Goren in Stratum V from the end of the Israelite period (Borowski 1987: 97). This is an annual which grows to a height of 1 foot with fennel-like leaves and white or blue buttercup-like flowers. The fruit is a 5-celled pod with many black, pungent seeds. It is an ingredient for bread and cakes. Medicinally it was used as a vermifuge.

DANDELION *(Taraxacum officinale)* is a candidate for the Heb *marôr* of Passover (Exod 12:8; Num 9:11; see Loew 1928, I: 434; Moldenke 1952: 74). This common perennial has toothed oblong leaves. The yellow flowers open in the sun. The leaves are used as food and fodder, and also medicinally.

DILL *(Anethum graveolons)* is the Gk *anethon* which has long been widely grown as a flavoring herb (Matt 23:23; see Loew 1928, III: 466; Dalman 1932, II: 290; Moldenke 1952: 46; Zohary 1982: 88; see also Cumin, Black). This hardy, low annual produces small yellow flowers and aromatic seed. The seed was used as food flavoring, an aromatic, and a breath sweetener; medicinally, it was prescribed as a carminative.

EAGLEWOOD *(Aquilaria agallocha)* is the Heb *ʾāhāl* (Ps 45:8; Prov 7:17; Cant 4:14; see Loew 1928, III: 411; Moldenke 1952: 47; Zohary 1982: 204; see also Aloe). The tree is native to N India and grows to a height of 120 feet with a trunk 10 feet in circumference. The tree secretes an aromatic resin when old. It was imported to Israel and was used for incense, perfume, embalming, and fumigation.

FRANKINCENSE *(Boswellia sacra)* is the Heb *lĕbônāh,* an important ingredient for incense (Exod 30:34; Lev 2:1; Num 5:15; 1 Chr 9:20; Cant 3:6; Matt 2:11; Rev 18:13; see Loew 1928, I: 312; Moldenke 1952: 56; Zohary 1982: 197). It was imported by caravan from Arabia and E Africa; it did not grow in Israel. Various species of this plant were used. This is a medium-sized shrub with small white or green flowers. The aromatic gum is obtained through incisions from the stem. The gum was used for incense, perfume, holy ointment, and as a fumigant.

GARDEN ROCKET *(Eruca sativa)* is the *ʾôrôt* which was collected as a pot-herb by bedouins and that is the context for *ʾōrōt* (2 Kgs 4:39f.; see Loew 1928, I: 491; Dalman 1932, II: 296; Zohary 1982: 101). It is found in Upper Galilee, the Jordan Valley, and the Dead Sea area. The RSV translates it "herbs." The plant was also called vesper flower, due to its fragrance at night. This is an annual with lower leaves divided into lobes. The flowers are creamy-yellow or white. The seeds were used as a substitute for pepper. The leaf is edible.

HYSSOP, SYRIAN *(Origanum syriacum, aegyptiacum)* is the most likely identification for *ʾēzôb* (Lev 14:6; Num 19:6; 1 Kgs 4:33; Heb 9:19; see Post 1883: 615; Loew 1928, II: 83; Moldenke 1952: 160; Zohary 1982: 96) which was tied into bunches and was used as a brush to sprinkle blood on the doorposts in Egypt (Exod 12:21–22). The Samaritans have continued to use the Syrian hyssop in their Passover ritual. The plant, also known as marjoram, is found in dry places, growing among rocks. Its hairy leaves can absorb liquids. It has no relationship to the *hyssop officinalis* of Europe. This is a strong, multi-stemmed shrub with ovate, hairy, gray leaves. The small white flowers are grouped in spikes. The fruit is a small nutlet. The leaves were used as a spice and medicinally as a tonic, carminative, and digestive aid. It was used for the purification of lepers.

LETTUCE *(Lactuca sativa* var. *longifolia)* is a candidate for the Heb *marôr* of Passover (Exod 12:8; Num 9:11; see Post 1883: 486; Loew 1928, I: 424; Dalman 1932, II: 284; Moldenke 1952: 74). It is a plant picked before it is fully grown. When allowed to mature, lettuce develops a tall stem with alternate leaves and pannicled heads of yellow flowers. The leaf was used as a food and the seed for oil. Lettuce was a symbol of fertility in ancient Egypt and was used for impotency.

MADDER *(Rubia tinctorum)* is only mentioned as the proper name, Puah (Judg 10:1; see Post 1883: 379; Loew 1928, III: 270; Moldenke 1952; Zohary 1982: 191). This is a perennial creeping herb which grows to a height of 4 feet. The leaves grow in whorls of 4 to 6; the flowers are greenish-yellow. Its red berries turn black. The root, about the thickness of a quill, is collected in the third year, freed from its outer covering, and dried. The root was used as a red dye and medicinally as an astringent; the leaves provided fodder.

MALLOW *(Malva sylvestris)* is the Heb *ḥalômut* (Job 6:6, 7; see Loew 1928, II: 227; Zohary 1982: 99), which the RSV translates "purslane." It is an annual herb which grows to a height of 3 feet with lobed leaves. The flowers are rose-purple with darker veins. The fruit, leaf, and seed were used as food. The leaves were prescribed as a demulcent and laxative.

MANDRAKES *(Mandragora officinarum)* are the *dudāʾ* (Gen 30:14ff.; Cant 7:13; see Post 1883: 559; Loew 1928, III: 363; Moldenke 1952: 137; Zohary 1982: 188) found in stony places. The root resembles a human figure, which led to its association with fertility rites. The mandrake is a stemless perennial related to the potato. The dark-green, oblong, wrinkled leaves form a rosette; from this rises a flower stalk bearing a bluish-violet, bell-shaped flower followed by a yellow plum-sized berry. The fruit was used as food; the root possesses narcotic properties for which it was esteemed. The plant is slightly poisonous.

MINT *(Mentha longifolia)* is the Gk *heduosmon* (Matt 23:23; Luke 11:42; see Post 1883: 614; Loew 1928, II: 75; Dalman 1932, II: 291; Moldenke 1952: 139; Zohary 1982: 88) which is fragrant due to its oils. This common plant has been widely used for flavoring. It is a rapidly spreading perennial herb with small, greenish-gray leaves and grows to a height of 2 feet in well-watered areas. The leaves, aside from

flavoring, have been used as a carminative, stimulant, emollient, ingredient for enema, and general pain remedy.

MUSTARD SEED *(Brassica nigra)* is the Gk *sinapi* which grew along the Sea of Galilee and so is appropriate for the parable of Jesus (Matt 13:31; 17:20; Mark 4:31; Luke 13:19; 17:6; see Loew 1928, I: 519; Moldenke 1952: 59; Zohary 1982: 93). This is a plant long cultivated for its flavoring. This annual herb with varieties from 2 to 6 feet in height has leaves which grow at the base of the stem, and it produces a large number of small yellow flowers. The seeds were used for mustard oil, a flavoring.

MYRRH *(Cistus incanus, creticus)* is the Heb *lōt* (Gen 37:25; 43:11; see Post 1883: 115; Moldenke 1952: 77; Zohary 1982: 194). It is not the tropical myrrh, but a resinous substance obtained from these plants. A shrub with hairy green leaves and pink flowers followed by small capsuled fruits, it is widespread in Gilead. The soft, dark-brown or black, gummy exudation is collected by drawing a bunch of leathery thongs through the plant to which the gum sticks, or by combing out goats' beards (to which the gum adheres); it is sold in golden spiral pieces. The stem and leaves were used to prepare perfume and incense, a use which continues in Eastern churches today. Medicinally the extract served as a salve, stimulant, and expectorant.

PURSLANE: see Mallow.

REICHARDIA *(Reichardia tingitana)* is a candidate for the Heb *marôr* eaten at the Passover Seder (Exod 12:8; Num 9:11; see Loew 1928, I: 131; Zohary 1982: 100). The poppy-leaved *Reichardia* is a desert plant. The flowers are yellow with a dark purple base. The leaf was used for seasoning.

RUE *(Ruta chalepensis)* is the Gk *peganon* which has been widely used for flavoring and as an ornamental (Luke 11:42; see Post 1883: 197; Loew 1928, III: 317; Moldenke 1952: 208; Zohary 1982: 90). It is a tough herb which grows under difficult conditions and reaches a height of 2 feet with strong-smelling leaves and yellow flowers. The leaves were used as a condiment. Medicinally prescribed against insect and snakebites.

SORREL *(Rumex acetosella)* is a candidate for the Heb *marôr* of the Passover (Exod 12:8; Num 9:11; see Loew 1928, I: 358; Moldenke 1952: 74). The plant is common throughout the Near East. It is invasive; only a few inches high, it grows to a length of 1 foot in a spreading pattern.

SPIKENARD *(Nardostachys jatamansi)* is the Heb *nerd* (Cant 1:12; Mark 14:3; John 12:3; see Loew 1928, III: 482; Moldenke 1952: 148; Zohary 1982: 205) which was imported from the mountains of India. It is also translated as "nard." This small perennial herb grows at high altitudes. The entire plant may be used for its aromatic oils as cosmetics and perfume. Medicinally it was prescribed as a stimulant.

SUGAR CANE *(Saccharum officinarum)* is a candidate for the Heb *qāneh* (Isa 43:24; see Post 1883: 849; Loew 1928, I: 747; Moldenke 1952: 214; see also Reed, Common; Sweet Flag; Giant Grass; Lemon Grass). It no longer grows wild anywhere in the world, so we are uncertain of its origin. Sugar, a tall grain, requires a tropical climate. The solid-jointed stalks are filled with soft, long fibers. The arching leaves have rough edges. The plume-like tassels contain hundreds of tiny, soft, lavender-to-dark purple flowers. The canes produce a dark brown, slightly acid juice. This juice is extracted and boiled, after the leaves have been removed. Medicinally it was also used as a laxative.

SWEET FLAG *(Acorus calamus)* is another candidate for *qāneh* (Isa 43:24; see Loew 1928, I: 696; Moldenke 1952: 40; see also Sugar Cane; Giant Grass; Lemon Grass; Reed, Common); it has been identified with the sweet cane. This plant grows well near water and reaches a height of 5 feet. The root was used for perfume and medicinally as a stomachic.

WATERCRESS *(Nasturtium officinale)* is another candidate for the Heb *marôr* of Passover (Exod 12:8; Num 9:11; see Loew 1928, I: 510; Dalman 1932, II: 289; Moldenke 1952: 74). This small plant spreads rapidly, and its flowers are abundant.

WORMWOOD *(Artemesia herba-alba)* is the Heb *laʿănāh* (Deut 29:18; Prov 5:4; Jer 9:15; Amos 5:7; Matt 27:34; Rev 8:11; see Post 1883: 440; Loew 1928, I: 379; Moldenke 1952: 48; Zohary 1982: 184). This is a small shrub. Most species of wormwood have grey, fragrant foliage with insignificant fragrant flowers. The leaves are used in beverages and as fodder; medicinally it was prescribed as a tonic, antiseptic, and expectorant.

## *GRASSES*

GIANT GRASS *(Arundo donax)* may be the Heb *qāneh* or *sup* (but see RED SEA) and the Gk *kalamos* (Gen 41:5; Isa 19:6; 35:7; Ezek 40:5; Matt 11:7; Mark 15:19; Luke 7:24; Rev 11:1; see Post 1883: 875; Loew 1928, I: 662; Moldenke 1952: 50; see also Reed, Common; Sugar Cane; Sweet Flag; Lemon Grass). It was also known as the "Persian reed" and is common throughout Israel, particularly near the Dead Sea and the Jordan Valley. It grows to a height of 18 feet with hollow, strong canes 2 to 3 inches in diameter at the base. The plume-like flowers are similar to pampas grass. The canes were used for roofing, arrows, fences, basketry, walking sticks, and flutes. Egyptian beehives were made from these reeds.

LEMON GRASS (Cymbopogon citratus) may have been referred to by the Heb *qāneh* (Exod 30:23; Jer 6:20; Ezek 27:19ff.; see Loew 1928, I: 692; Zohary 1982: 196; see also Sugar Cane; Sweet Flag; Reed, Common; Giant Grass). RSV translates this as "calamus." There are many species of aromatic grasses which were imported and were discovered in Egyptian tombs of the 20th and 21st Dynasties. This tropical perennial grass grows to 6 feet. The spike-like racemes grow in pairs at the ends of short branches. The leaf blade, sheath, and husk produced an oil used for flavoring, cosmetic, and perfume.

## *FLOWERS, DECORATIVE PLANTS*

IVY *(Hedera helix)* is the Gk *kesos* (2 Macc 6:7; see Post 1883: 377; Loew 1928, I: 219; Moldenke 1952: 111; Zohary 1982: 121). Ivy was introduced by the Greeks and reflects their influence during the Maccabean period. It is an evergreen perennial that spreads rapidly with a dense matting of leaves. The plant is now found throughout the world, but is rare in its wild state in Israel.

The spring field flowers of ancient Israel cannot be identified with certainty. We have listed only some of the candidates below. See also Waterlily; Iris, Yellow Flag.

ANEMONE *(Anemone coronaria)* may be the Gk *krinon* (Matt 6:28; Loew 1928, III: 118; Moldenke 1952: 41). The plant develops from rhizomes with the flowers growing on 10-inch stalks. Flowers are usually scarlet though other colors are found.

CHAMOMILE *(Anthemis nobilis, tinctoria)* may be the Heb *śôśān* (Hos 14:5; Sir 39:14; see Post 1883: 430; Loew 1928, I: 375; Moldenke 1952: 41; Zohary 1982: 172). It is a spring flower of the field whose bright colors carpet the countryside. This flower is daisy-like with numerous species found in the area. A spreading perennial, it flowers profusely.

CROWN DAISY *(Chrysanthemum coronarium)* may be the Heb *niṣanîm* (Cant 2:12; James 1:10; see Post 1883: 438; Zohary 1982: 174). The plant blooms profusely in spring, but the flowers also fade swiftly.

CROWFOOT *(Ranunculus asiaticus)* is also a candidate for the Heb *śośān* (Hos 14:5; Sir 39:14; see Post 1883: 38; Loew 1928, III: 124; Zohary 1982: 174). It grows in many areas extending into the semi-desert areas.

LILY *(Lilium candidum)* is yet a third candidate for Heb *śôśān* (1 Kgs 7:26; Cant 2:1; Matt 6:28; Luke 12:27; see Loew 1928, II: 160; Moldenke 1952: 114; Zohary 1982: 176), though there is much scholarly debate. The water lily *(Nymphaea caerulea)* and lotus *(Nymphaea lotus)* are other candidates. As a symbol of fruitfulness, purity, and resurrection, it appears frequently in Christian art as the "Madonna lily." The plant grows from a bulb to a height of 3 feet with large white flowers. Either this variety or *Lilium chalcedonicum,* which produces a showy red flower, may be native to ancient Israel.

NARCISSUS *(Narcissus tazetta)* is yet another candidate for Heb *śôśān* (1 Kgs 7:26; Cant 2:1; Matt 6:28; Luke 12:27; see Loew 1928, II: 203; Moldenke 1952: 147; Zohary 1982: 178). This plant grows throughout the land into the Negeb and blooms profusely in spring. This bulb produces clusters of white flowers with a yellow trumpet.

POPPY *(Papaver rhoeas)* is another candidate for the Heb *niṣānîm* (Cant 2:12; James 1:10; see Post 1883: 50; Loew 1928, II: 363; Zohary 1982: 172). This annual produces beautiful red flowers which close each evening. The opium poppy is somewhat taller with greyish leaves.

SEA DAFFODIL *(Pancratium maritimum)* may also be the Heb *śôśān* (1 Kgs 7:26; Cant 2:2; Matt 6:28; Luke 12:27; see Post 1883: 776; Loew 1928, II: 205; Zohary 1982: 178). This white-flowered bulb

grows along the seashore. The fragrant white flowers are followed by linear leaves; the flowers live one night. The fruit capsules contain many black seeds.

STERNBERGIA *(Sternbergia lutea, clusiana)* may also be the Heb *śôśān* (1 Kgs 7:26; Cant 2:2; Matt 6:28; Luke 12:27; see Post 1883: 775; Moldenke 1952: 117). This bulb produces one-foot leaves and a yellow autumn flower.

TULIP *(Tulipa montana)* may also be the Heb *niṣanîm* (Cant 2:12; James 1:10; see Post 1883: 805; Moldenke 1952: 235; Zohary 1982: 180). The date of the ancient introduction of this plant to the Near East is not known. The bulbs produce single flowers on a stem up to 4–10 inches in height.

### *WATER PLANTS*

CATTAIL *(Typha sp.)* may be the Heb *sup* (Exod 2:3; Isa 19:6; Matt 27:29; Mark 15:19; see Post 1883: 814; Moldenke 1952: 235; Zohary 1982: 136), which the RSV translates as "bullrushes." While it grows in many places, huge colonies grow along the Nile and along fresh and brackish waters, where it reduces soil salinity. This 6-foot perennial has stout stalks crowned by ridged, cylindrical, flowering spikes to 8 feet. Each spike contains hundreds of minute flowers—male flowers above, female flowers below—in the form of bristles without petal or sepal. The fruit is a small, hairy grain. The stalk was woven into articles, chair seats, caulk, sandals, and thatching. The seeds were used as cattle feed; their floss was used as tinder. Cattail was also used for dressing burns.

IRIS, YELLOW FLAG *(Iris pseudacorus)* may be the Heb *śôśānāh* (Hos 14:5; Sir 39:14; 50:8; see Post 1883: 766; Moldenke 1952: 117; see also Flowers and Decorative Plants above); it is translated "lily" by the RSV. This plant grows along waterways and marshes. The beardless water iris is a perennial with large, stout, fibrous roots. The sword-shaped leaves grow to 5 feet; flower stalks rise to 7 feet with yellow flowers.

LOTUS: see WATERLILY.

PAPYRUS *(Cyperus papyrus)* is the Heb *gōme›* (Exod 2:3f.; Isa 18:2; 35:7; Job 8:11; see Post 1883: 830; Loew 1928, I: 559; Moldenke 1952: 92; Zohary 1982: 137). RSV sometimes translates this "papyrus," other times as "bullrushes." Our word "paper" has its origin from the word *papyrus.* In ancient Egypt, the papyrus represented the symbol of Lower Egypt, while the lotus represented Upper Egypt—knotted together the 2 formed the sign of the union under one sceptre. Because the merchants of the Phoenician port of Byblos supplied the Greeks with Egyptian papyrus, which was used as paper, the word "Bible" was derived from that port city. The plant grew in Lake Huleh and in Egyptian swamps. While almost extinct in Egypt, it still grows in the Sudan and Uganda. Papyrus is a perennial with each stem to 10 feet, and umbels of thread-like leaves. The stalks were used to fashion paper, boats, sandals, ropes, wrapping paper, bridges, mats, lamp wicks, sieves, chairs, pillows, boat caulking, baskets, boxes, sails, cloth, and paintbrushes (from frayed stalk ends). The root served as fuel and for carved utensils; the rootstock was chewed for the sweet juice resembling licorice, or it was boiled or baked. The umbels were woven into garlands, and umbel impressions were used on handles of mirrors and other household furnishings. The *Ebers Medical Papyrus* prescribed papyrus in 8 or 9 recipes.

REED, COMMON *(Phragmites communis)* may be the Heb *qāneh* or *›agmôn* (1 Kgs 14:15; Isa 9:14; 58:5; Matt 27:29; see Post 1883: 875; Moldenke 1952: 285; Zohary 1982: 134; see also Sugar Cane; Sweet Flag; Lemon Grass; Giant Grass). It is a bamboo-like, creeping cane growing up to 10 inches high; the woody-jointed stems are hollow. The brownish tassels develop in late summer. The canes served such varied uses as Egyptian sarcophagi, containers for lipsticks and eye shadows (mascara), pens, measuring rods, mats, flutes, walking canes, sandals, thatch, and fuel. The seed was ground into flour. The plant may have provided the motif for Egyptian columns.

RUSH *(Juncus effusus)* is a candidate for the Heb *›oḥu* (Gen 41:2; Job 8:11; see Post 1883: 810; Loew 1928, I: 572; Moldenke 1952: 120; see also Flowering Rush below). The RSV prefers the translation "reed." This is a tufted perennial up to 4 feet in height, bearing soft, pithy, rounded, yellowish-green stems and sheathed with grasslike leaves. The small flowers are greenish or brownish. The stalks were used for fodder, mats, and chair bottoms. Marsh tribes still erect villages on artificial islands built up on

reeds and mud, which are the oldest architectural styles in history. The pith was used as wicks for oil lamps.

RUSH, FLOWERING *(Butomus umbellatus)* is a candidate for the Heb *ʾoḥu* which grows in the Nile as well as in Israel (Gen 41:2; Job 8:11; see Post 1883: 821; Loew 1928, I: 572; Moldenke 1952: 62; see also Rush above); it sometimes grows together with papyrus. RSV prefers the translation "reed." The Heb term comes from an Egyptian word. This is a tall, showy reed plant with rose-colored flowers on terminal umbels. It spreads rapidly along streams and in bogs. The entire plant was used as fodder.

WATERLILY *(Nymphaea caerulea)* and LOTUS *(Nymphaea lotus)* may have been the Heb *śôśān* (1 Kgs 7:19ff.; 2 Chr 4:5; see Post 1883: 48; Loew 1928, II: 280; Moldenke 1952: 154; see also Flowers and Decorative Plants above, also Iris, Yellow Flag). They were depicted on the capitals and decorations in Solomon's temple, and were also known in ancient Egypt. The *N. caerulea* is an aquatic plant that grows well in semi-still water and produces spectacular blue flowers. Medicinally the flowers were used as a headache remedy, while the rhizomes and leaves were prescribed as an enema and liver treatment.

## *FIBERS*

COTTON *(Gossypium herbaceum)* is the Heb *karpas* (Esth 1:5, 6; Loew 1928, II: 235; Dalman 1932, II: 299; Moldenke 1952: 109; Zohary 1982: 79). It was cultivated very early in the Indus valley and Mesopotamia. Cotton is an annual growing up to 8 feet with deeply lobed leaves and yellow or pink flowers. Its fruit is a capsule surrounded by 3 or 4 heart-shaped bracts; these contain several seeds densely covered with long, white, fluffy hairs. The seed produced fiber for thread, cloth, mummy wrappings, lamp wicks, stuffing, and carpets. The seeds were also pressed for cooking oil and fodder, the stalks were used as a fuel and the hulls for fodder; the flower petals were a source of yellow and brown dye. Medicinally, it was used as a surgical dressing.

FLAX (LINEN) *(Linum usitatissimum)* is the Heb *piśtān* (Gen 41:41; Exod 25:4; Lev 6:10; Deut 22:11; 1 Sam 2:18; Isa 42:3; Matt 27:59; Mark 15:46; John 19:40; Rev 18:12; see Post 1883: 181; Loew 1928, II: 208; Dalman 1932, II: 298; Moldenke 1952: 129; Zohary 1982: 78); it is one of the world's oldest textiles, grown extensively in Egypt. It was mentioned in the Gezer Calendar. Seeds have been found at Tell el-Areini in the EB Stratum IV (Borowski 1987: 98). The plant grows to a height of 3 feet, has small narrow leaves and blue flowers with five petals. The fruit is a capsule containing several oleiferous seeds. When flax is grown for fiber, the seeds are sown close together so that stems grow straight, with as few branches as possible. Linen fibers are prepared by retting and scrutching the stems; the stems are soaked in water to separate the tough fibers and soft tissue. After combing, the fibers are spun. The stalks were used for fiber, sails, cloth (Israelite priests wore linen garments), curtains, wicks for lamps, mummy wrappings, cartonnage (linen and papyrus) used for mummy masks, and thread. The seed produced linseed oil, an edible oil when cold-pressed. Medicinally, the seed were prescribed as a demulcent, emollient, and laxative; it was also used as a remedy for burns.

## *DYE*

HENNA *(Lawsonia inermis)* is the Heb *kōper* (Cant 1:14; 4:13; see Post 1883: 320; Loew 1928, II: 218; Dalman 1932, II: 301; Moldenke 1952: 124). It has been discovered in Tutenkhamen's tomb. Henna dye is considered to have religious, utilitarian, mystical, and seductive powers. This shrub reaches a height of 25 feet. The leaves are elliptical, greyish-green. The flowers are white and fragrant, and the fruit is a capsule. The leaves and twigs produce a bright yellow, orange, or red dye used on hair, palms of hands, soles of feet, nails, mummy wrappings, horse tails, and fabrics. The flowers provided an astringent and stimulant.

SAFFLOWER *(Carthamus tinctorius)*, also known as "Bastard Saffron" or "False Saffron," is one possibility for the Heb *karkôm* (Cant 4:14; see Post 1883: 320; Loew 1928, I: 394; Dalman 1932: 300; Moldenke 1952: 87; see also Saffron). It has been used since 2000 B.C.E. in Egypt for dyeing grave-clothes of mummies red and yellow; its flowers also have been found as garlands on mummies. This is an annual plant which reaches a height of 4 feet, its branched, smooth stems becoming woody during the ripening period. The leaves are mostly oblong-lanceolate. The orange-yellow flowers with leafy bracts are

followed by oblong fruits. Aside from the dye, the young shoots were used as food; the seed produced a cooking oil; and the stem was used by the Egyptians for spindles.

SAFFRON *(Crocus sativus)* is a candidate for the Heb *karkôm* (Cant 4:14; see Post 1883: 770; Loew 1928, II: 7; Dalman 1932: 301; Moldenke 1952: 87; Zohary 1982: 206; see also Safflower). A yellow dye is obtained from the stigmas of this crocus. An Egyptian papyrus dated as early as 2000 B.C.E. mentions this plant. It is the world's most expensive spice because it requires the stigmas of 4,300 flowers for 1 ounce of saffron. It is a bulbous plant which blooms in fall; the grassy leaves appear at the same time as the stemless lilac or purple flower. The stigma produced a dye, flavoring, and incense. Many Jews in the Middle Ages were spice merchants; they were called "saffron merchants," and over the ages the yellow color of the spice has been used to mock Jews (cf. the yellow "Star of David" that the Nazis required Jews to wear). Medicinally, the plant was used to prepare tinctures, gastric and intestinal remedies, and a carminative.

### *WEEDS, BRIER, THORNS, BRAMBLES, NOXIOUS PLANTS*

ACANTHUS, SYRIAN *(Acanthus syriacus)* is used in a description of the table on which the Showbreads were displayed (*Letter of Aristeas* 70; see Post 1883: 606; Loew 1928, I: 45; Moldenke 1952: 26; Zohary 1982: 165). This thorny plant produces long spikes and large flowers with spines.

BRAMBLE *(Rubus sanguineus)* is the Heb *ṣinim* (Num 33:55; Prov 22:5; Luke 6:44; see Post 1883: 304; Loew 1928, III: 175; Zohary 1982: 157). RSV translates this simply as "thorns." This evergreen which grows to a height of 25 feet has dense prickly branches. It produces a small flower and edible black berries.

DOVE'S DUNG, STAR OF BETHLEHEM *(Ornithogalum umbellatum)* is the Heb *ḥiryôn* (2 Kgs 6:25; see Post 1883: 801; Loew 1928, I: 601; Moldenke 1952: 162). This plant grows profusely on the hills of Samaria, and the white flowers look like bird droppings. It is a small, bulbous plant with umbels of flowers. The bulbs are poisonous, unless roasted or boiled; then they may be ground into meal.

NETTLE *(Urtica dioica)* grows in abandoned places; it is probably the Heb *ḥarul*, which some botanists consider to refer to any shrub growing in the desert wastelands (Loew 1928, III: 478; Moldenke 1952: 237; Zohary 1982: 162). Because of its sting, the plant was used widely in metaphors (Isa 55:13; Job 30:7; Zeph 2:9). This is a perennial which grows to a height of 2 to 6 feet with dull-green leaves, armed with prickles; the flowers are also green. The leaves of young plants were cooked as a vegetable. A beer and a green dye were also derived from this plant. The dried leaves were used as fodder.

NIGHTSHADE, GRAY *(Solanum incanum)* is the Heb *ḥedêq* (Mic 7:4, 5; Prov 15:19; see Post 1883: 566; Loew 1928, III: 376; Moldenke 1952: 221; Zohary 1982: 164). The RSV prefers the translation "briar" or "thorn." The Hebrew term is akin to the Arabic word for this plant. This multibranched bush is limited to the lower Jordan and Dead Sea areas. It is spiny and gray, its flowers are lilac, and its berries are yellow.

POISON HEMLOCK *(Conium maculatum)* or "wormwood" may be the Heb *rôš* (Deut 32:32; Lam 3:19, 20; Matt 27:33, 34; see Post 1883: 335; Loew 1928, III: 440; Zohary 1982: 186), which is given various translations in the RSV. The Gk name *conium* means "stimulating dizziness". This is an annual or perennial herb found in waste places. The hollow stems are marked with reddish spots. The leaves are pinnately decompound, the leaflets are feathery, and the white flowers grow in umbels. When bruised, the fresh plant has a disagreeable, mousy odor. The leaves and seeds were used as a painkiller. In classical times, a drink prepared from this plant was a standard method for the execution of criminals; Socrates was among those required to drink it.

TARES, DARNEL *(Lolium temulentum)* is the Gk *zizania* (cf. Matt 13:24, 25; see Post 1883: 896; Loew 1928, I: 723; Moldenke 1952: 133; Zohary 1982: 161). It is a troublesome weed since it is very similar to wheat and can only be easily identified when ripe; if harvested and ground together the flour is spoiled. The plant also is host to a poisonous fungus. This annual grass-like weed, which grows to a height of 4 feet, is still widespread in the Near East.

THISTLE *(Scolymus hispanicus, maculatus)* is the Heb *ḥôâḥ* (Isa 34:13; Cant 2:1, 2; Job 31:39, 40; see Post 1883: 474; Moldenke 1952: 153; Zohary 1982: 160). It is a noxious weed which crowds out other plants. This tall annual with its spiny branches produces a bright yellow flower.

THISTLE, GLOBE THYSTLE *(Echinops viscosus),* SYRIAN THISTLE *(Notobasis syriaca),* HOLY THISTLE *(Silybum marianum),* SPANISH THISTLE *(Centaurea iberica)* are all candidates for the Heb *barkānîm* (Judg 8:7f.) and *dārdar* (Gen 3:17, 18; Hosea 10:8; Matt 7:15, 16; see Post 1883: 445, 448, 456, 458; Loew 1928, I: 405, 406, 412; Moldenke 1952: 153, 171; Zohary 1982: 158, 159). These plants grow among shrubs and are common in Samaria and parts of Israel. They are perennials with stout, spiny stems and globular, spiny flowers of various colors.

ZILLA, SPINY *(Zilla spinosa)* may be the Heb *silôn* (Ezek 28:24; see Zohary 1982: 166), which the RSV translates as "briar." This is a spiny desert perennial which grows to a height of 3 feet. It produces a large pink flower. The mature plants tumble through the desert.

A number of plants not mentioned in the Bible and in addition to those listed above have been discovered at archaeological sites. This number will grow as more careful studies are undertaken. Among the plants are bitter vetch *(Vicia ervilia)* and fenugreek *(Trigonela graecum),* as well as the following weeds: *Galium tricorne, Cephalaria syriaca,* and *Echium judaeum* (Borowski 1987: 95, 97, 162).

**C. Plants with Biblical Names**

The practice of naming plants after biblical subjects began early as a pious way of remembering Scripture in daily life. It is manifested in the writings of some Church Fathers, in the Talmud, and in the art of Church and Synagogue from the 3d century onward. This may be seen in the Dura Europos synagogue and others, as well as in the mosaics of the great churchs in Ravenna which depict NT settings with Italian plants. Most medieval and later Christian art used either local (mostly European) flora known to the artist or composite flora (drawn largely from one's imaginative speculation about biblical flora).

Many medieval monasteries had small gardens, where medicinal plants were often grown. However, some attempts to replicate biblical plants were made. Because the monks possessed no first-hand knowledge of biblical flora, they identified local plants which seemed appropriate or resembled some biblical person, object, or motif, and linked it explicitly with the Bible by name. Such identifications have often remained and become part of plant lore. The love of Scripture shared by subsequent generations led to similar identifications by laymen. Usually the source of these links is difficult or impossible to trace with any degree of accuracy. In modern times some hybridizers have continued to provide such designations for plants, continuing this old tradition. A partial list is provided here so that this love for Scripture will not be confused with actual biblical flora.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Aaron's beard | *Hypericum calycinum* | *Hyperiacaceae* |
| Adam and Eve | *Arum Maculatum* | *Araceae* |
| Adam's needle | *Yucca gloriosa* | *Agavacea* |
| Burning bush | *Euonymous compacta* | *Celastraceae* |
| Gilead, balm of | *Populus candicans* | *Salicaceae* |
| Jacob's rod | *Asphodeline lutea* | *Liliaceae* |
| Jericho, rose of | *Anastacia-hierochumtica* | *Crucifera* |
| Jericho, rose of | *Silaginella lepidophylla* | *Selaginellaceae* |
| Jerusalem thorn | *Parkinsonia aculeata* | *Leguminosae Maloides* |
| Joseph's coat | *Amaranthus tricolor* | *Amaranthaceae* |
| Joseph's coat | *Opuntia vulgaris* | *Cactaceae variegata* |
| Joshua tree | *Yucca brevifolia* | *Agavaceae* |
| Moses in the bulrushes | *Tradescantia* | *Commelinaceae* |
| Nile, lily of | *Agapanthus umbellatus* | *Liliaceae* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sharon, rose of | *Hibiscus syriacus* | *Malvaceae* |
| Sodom, apple of | *Solanum carolinense* | *Solanaceae* |

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IRENE JACOB
WALTER JACOB


**FLORILEGIUM** (4QFlor). This set of 27 fragments from Qumran Cave 4 was discovered in 1952 and purchased for the Palestine Archaeology (Rockefeller) Museum. Preliminary editions of the fragments were published by J. M. Allegro (1956: 176–77; 1958: 350–54) before they were fully presented by him labeled as *4Q174* in DJD 5 (1968: 53–57, pls. xix–xx); that edition of the fragments was thoroughly reviewed by J. Strugnell (1970: 220–25), and by G. J. Brooke (1985: 80–278), and is being researched by A. Steudel of Göttingen University.

The fragments of 4QFlor belong to the 1st century C.E. 4QFlor contained at least 5 columns of 19 lines each. Because the fragments include extracts from various biblical books, notably 2 Samuel, Psalms, and Deuteronomy, Allegro entitled them *Florilegium* (anthology). More properly, the whole document or part of it may be generically categorized as Qumran midrash: the quotation and interpretation of the Psalms together are labeled *midrāš* (1:14), and each section of the interpretation of the Psalms is introduced with technical formulae including the word *pēšer;* this enables 4QFlor to be distinguished categorically from the later rabbinic midrashim.

The whole work is constructed in a very organized manner. In the interpretation of the base texts (2 Sam 7:10–14; Pss 1:1; 2:1; and Deut 33:8–11, 12[?], 19–21) supplementary texts are included with formulaic introductions (Exod 15:17 and Amos 9:11 for 2 Samuel 7; Isa 8:11 and Ezek 37:23 for Psalm 1; Dan 12:10 for Psalm 2). These supplementary texts are linked through catchword *(gĕzērâ šāwâ)* to the base text and sometimes to each other. The text-type of these quotations differs slightly from the MT and from all known versions. The citation of Amos 9:11 almost certainly corresponds to the *Vorläge* of the same text as quoted in Acts 15:16; some minor variants in 4QFlor, such as the ambiguous spelling of *swkt*

(Amos 9:11 in 1:12) and the abbreviation of 2 Sam 7:11–14 (1:10–11), may have been introduced for exegetical purposes. There are also allusions to other biblical texts.

Among the Qumran scrolls 4QFlor has some affinity with 4QCatena [a], which contains interpretation of Psalms, especially on the basis of their opening verses, and with 11QMelch, which includes the exegetical use of Isa 8:11 (11QMelch 25). 4QFlor also shares much with CD: both speak of "the Interpreter of the Law" (CD 6:7; 7:18); both use Amos 9:11 (cf. CD 7:16) and Isa 8:11 (cf. CD 8:16 = 19:29); both speak of "the sons of Zadok" and identify them with the chosen ones of Israel; together with some of the pesharim both use the phrase "the latter days." Like 4QFlor frags. 6–7, 4QTest 14–20 cites Deut 33:8–11. The subject of the nature of the Temple means that comparison with 11QTemple especially 29:7–10, is significant.

The interpretation of 2 Samuel 7 underlines the difference between the historical Temple(s) of Israel and that of the future. The exclusive purity of the eschatological Temple (alluding to Deut 23:3–4) is stressed. In addition to the physical Temple, either of the Solomonic or postexilic period (or both), 4QFlor speaks of a sanctuary promised by God, a *miqdāš ʾādām.* Some scholars argue that this refers to a "man-made sanctuary," probably that of Solomon (Schwartz 1979: 88), but most understand it as "a sanctuary of men," and argue that it is a substitute for the eschatological building. But nowhere does 4QFlor deny the hope for the final physical Temple building which God himself will provide, so the "sanctuary of men" is better understood as its anticipation (Brooke 1985: 178–93): a present temporary substitute for the priesthood of the Temple in Jerusalem or some aspect of their practice (Dimant 1986: 184–89).

In this respect, 4QFlor differs from the complete spiritualization of the eschatological Temple mentioned in the NT (e.g., 1 Pet 2:4–8). Yet 4QFlor has similarities with other NT passages. The combination of 2 Samuel 7 and Psalm 2 occurs in Heb 1:5 and may lie behind Acts 13:33–37; in both places the texts are used christologically. 2 Samuel 7, Ezekiel 37, and the figure of Belial occur in both 4QFlor and 2 Cor 6:14–7:1.

Two eschatological figures are mentioned in 4QFlor: the shoot of David and the Interpreter of the Law. The former is universally recognized as the Davidic messiah (cf. 4QpIsa[a] frags. 8–10, line 17; 4QPBless), the latter is widely held to be the priestly messiah of Aaron, though the identification is not confirmed directly in any other place. With its use of 2 Samuel 7, Exodus 15, and Psalm 2, and its explicit Davidic messianism, 4QFlor asserts forcefully that God is king, will rule through his messiah, and receive obeisance through his own divinely ordained cult in which the community responsible for the text no doubt hoped to have a part as priests (Dan 12:10; 4QFlor 2:1–5).

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GEORGE J. BROOKE

**FLUTE.** See MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

**FLY/FLIES.** See ZOOLOGY.

**FOLKLORE IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST.** This article will examine how the concept of "folklore" has been applied to the literature of the ANE.

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A. Terminology

B. Comparative Method

1. Comparison with Ancient Cultures

2. Comparison with Postbiblical Literatures

3. Comparison with Islamic Cultures in the Near East
4. Cross-cultural Comparison
5. Comparison of Forms
6. Morphological Studies
7. Poetic Comparison
C. Ethnographic Method
1. Themes and Figures
2. Genres
3. Transmission of Tradition
D. Folklore and the Biblical Text

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**A. Terminology**

Coined in 1846 by William John Thoms (1803–85) who proposed "folklore" as a substitute for "Popular Antiquities or Popular Literature" (Thoms 1846: 862). In spite of his claim for originality (Duncan 1946: 372), folklore is a translation of the German term *Volkskunde* that Josef Mader (1754–1815) used already in 1787. As in other German compounds—such as *Volkslied* that Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) employed in 1778, and *Volksmärchen* that Johan Karl August Musaus (1735–87) introduced in 1782—at the core of *Volkskunde* is the concept *das Volk*, "the people," that derives from Herder's thought and writings (Simpson 1921; Schütze 1921: 115–30). *Volkskunde* connotes the traditions that peasants and lower classes represent in language, narratives, songs, and sayings. So does folklore. For Thoms folklore refers to "the manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs, of the olden times." In subsequent use the term has expanded its field of reference to include a broader range of verbal, visual, and musical forms, such as tales and legends; myths and riddles; artifacts, whether plain or decorated, religious or secular; and vocal and instrumental music. Similarly, festivals and rituals, the belief system that sanctions them, and the symbols that people use in their celebrations are elements of folklore.

In most current definitions of folklore 2 main features stand out: orality and traditionality (Bauman 1989; cf. Ben-Amos 1971). Consequently, oral tradition is the quintessence of folklore. As such, folklore thrives in nonliterate societies, whereas in literate cultures it functions through interdependence with and interreference to the literacy of the educated groups. While in nonliterate cultures, folklore is traditional ipso facto, the literate classes attribute to it the value of traditionality.

Whenever and by whomever edited, the OT text was prepared to fulfill the role of the central canon in the Israelite society. It embodies the religious and ethical values, beliefs and facts, tales and poems that validated the Israelite leadership. Some of the OT texts could have circulated orally prior to their commitment to writing. Yet that oral tradition contained some additional themes and narratives which conflicted with the canonic religious, political, and ethical doctrines and were therefore excluded from the OT.

Consequently the folklore of the era was relegated to a position of an extracanonic tradition. It was deliberately left out of the text in the transition from oral to literary tradition. Hence while not all folklore was in conflict with the OT text, all that conflicted with it remained only folklore. Occasionally, however, the oral ideas and images were an integral part of the Israelite culture and continued to resonate in the OT in metaphors, allusions, and fragmentary narratives.

The earliest scholarly association between folklore and the Bible occurred in print in 1884 in the title of the book *Bible Folk-Lore: A Study in Comparative Mythology* by James Edwin Thorold Rogers (1823–90). The book applies to the OT a kind of philological analysis that interprets figures and objects as representations of bodies in the solar system, and events as their motions, following the principles proposed by Max Müller (1823–1900). The book was inconsequential in either folklore or biblical studies, though similar interpretations that had been proposed earlier by Ignaz Goldziher (1850–1921) were very influential in biblical studies at the end of the 19th century (Rogerson 1974: 33–44).

By and large, 4 conceptions of the relations between folklore and the OT have prevailed in scholarship.

First is the notion that folklore is the historical antecedent of the OT. Early suggestions of such an idea appeared already in theological writings during the 16th and the 17th centuries (Knight 1975: 39–54). However they reached their clearest formulation during and after the Romantic era, in particular at the later part of the 19th century. Paradoxically, Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918), who most systematically formulated the documentary hypothesis, also stated unambiguously that oral folklore existed before the writing of each of the 4 documents. For him oral folklore preceded literature and history, though it was historically unreliable, formulaic rather than precise, and artistically incohesive. Cognizant of these attributed limitations, indeed because of them, he rejected any possibility of their having any historical and aesthetic value, and appraised the documents in terms of their distance from this oral period. (*WPHI*, 296, 334–35, 336–37, 341).

Second, there is an assumption of evolutionary relations between the oral tradition and the written text. Accordingly, folklore does not simply antedate the biblical text, but also evolves into scripture. This process of literary evolution has distinct principles. Following the propositions made by Robert Lowth (1710–87) and further developed by Herder, the assumption was that poetic forms were primary and oral; in their evolution into a written text they transformed into prose narration and commanded historical credibility. In their oral stage, biblical narratives were episodic, brief, and primitive. Their evolution into biblical literature involved the integration of the tales into complex and cohesive narrative cycles, cast in a refined language. Nevertheless, some of the biblical texts still bear the earmarks of their oral literary origin. Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932) offered the basic formulation of this proposition that was later explored from diverse perspectives (Gunkel 1964, 1987; Knight 1975: 71–176; Rogerson 1978: 69–72; Warner 1979).

The attribution of primitivity to the OT plays a major role in the third view, reducing the OT to folklore, in practice if not in theory. The very comparison of OT themes, motifs, actions, and even laws, to similar narratives and practices found among our "contemporary savages," positions the OT society on the evolutionary stage of early man. Since the same evolutionary approach would regard the monotheism that the OT advocates as a mark of high cultural attainments, the magical practices and savage laws that are in the OT could be but survivals of earlier evolutionary stages. In this scheme it is not literature but mankind that evolves, yet he cannot completely shed beliefs and practices from earlier stages. These prevail and are found throughout the text. The most prominent expositor of this view is J. G. Frazer (1854–1941) who in his *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* (1918) equates folklore with cultural survivals, and interprets the OT itself as being folklore.

Fourth is the view that the OT, as a text that has been formulated in a society of restricted literacy (Haran 1988), contains numerous allusions to, and representations of, ideas and performances of folklore forms in social life. Accordingly, the OT has a documentary value for the reconstruction of the dynamics of folklore of land, the people, and the period. The OT in itself is not folklore, neither as a survival nor as a literary representation of oral forms. Rather it is a written text that has been subject to all the strictures and normative values applicable to writing, yet at the same time reflects the oral society and culture in which it has been formulated. Such a view maintains clear boundaries between orality and literacy, recognizing the qualities and the potentialities of each mode of communication. Yet the very permanence of written text enables it to document oral forms, and refer to their performances. On the basis of these references it is then possible to partially reconstruct the use of folklore in OT life and society. There is no single scholar who has advocated this view; however, it underlies numerous attempts to reconstruct life in the ANE, which respectively and in combinations effected the formulations of different theories and interpretations employed in either the comparative or the ethnographic methods.

**B. Comparative Method**

By analogy and through inference, comparison serves as a method for the reconstruction of folklore in the OT era (Talmon 1978). In each particular case the basic assumptions may vary, depending upon the compared language, literature, culture, or genre and their historic or geographic relations to the OT.

**1. Comparison with Ancient Cultures.** The archaeological discoveries in Nippur, Ras Shamra (Ugarit), and other cities have brought to light literary traditions that parallel themes, figures, and forms of

the OT. Though obviously in one script or another, this literature in the languages of the ANE drew upon oral traditions that were widespread in the region. In part they shared them; in part they knew but did not accept them as their own. These parallel traditions are reflected in the OT to a variable degree, in different ways, and in distinct biblical books and literary forms.

Accounts of the creation of man (Gen 1:26–27) and the flood narrative (Gen 6:9–8:14), for example, occur in Akkadian and Old Babylonian epics and hymns (*ANET*, 68a, 99b–101a; Lambert and Millard 1969; see also Dundes 1988). The deities that have central roles in the pantheon and the epics of Ugarit, such as Baal and E1 (Pope 1955; Oldenburg 1969), have been known to the Israelites. While references to the former occur throughout the OT, the latter is rarely used as a proper name for a deity (*CMHE*, 13–75). Other Canaanite deities and supernatural forces such as Rahab, Yam, Tanin, Leviathan, and the mythical Serpent, all associated with the sea, are mentioned by Isaiah, Job, and in Psalms as forces that God subdued (Rahab: Isa 51:9; 89:11; Job 9:13; 26:12; Yam: Isa 51:10; Ps 74:13; 89:10; Job 7:12; Tanin (im): Gen 1:21; Isa 27:1; 51:9; Ps 74:13; 148:7; Job 7:12; Leviathan: Isa 27:1; Ps 74:14; 104:26; Job 3:8; 40:25; Serpent: Isa 27:1; Job 26:13). The comparative study of these references in Ugaritic epics and the OT text has prompted the suggestion that, by analogy, there could have also existed a Hebrew epic as part of the prebiblical oral tradition (Cassuto 1975: 2.69–109; *CMHE*; Jason 1979). However, so far there is no clear evidence for a text of a Hebrew oral epic, only indications that Canaanite epics and their themes and heroes were known in Israelite society (Conroy 1980; Talmon 1981).

The OT, however, shares other verbal forms with neighboring traditions. Narratives in prose about human beings occur in Egyptian literature (*ANET*, 18–31; Simpson 1972). One of them in particular, "The Tale of Two Brothers," shares central narrative episodes with the OT Joseph story (Redford 1970), and at the same time enjoys worldwide distribution in oral tradition (Aarne and Thompson 1961: type 318 "The Faithless Wife").

Proverbs and fables occur in Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Canaanite literatures (Alster 1974, 1975; Falkowitz 1980; Gordon 1959; Lambert 1960; Lipiński 1983; *ANET*, 405–30; Simpson 1972: 159–79). Since these forms serve as rhetorical devices of persuasion, as they do in the OT (Fontaine 1982; Thompson 1974), whether they appear in catalogue format or in a narrative context, they have been part of the oral tradition of the ANE.

**2. Comparison with Postbiblical Literatures.** The OT includes, in a succinct style, only a fraction of the tales told orally in ancient Israelite society. Many stories have been lost, while others were passed along to successive generations throughout oral transmission. These historic survivals of ancient traditions recurred in the apocrypha and the pseudepigrapha *(OTP*), in the writings of Josephus (Feldman 1984, 1986), and in the interpretations that accompanied the ritualistic reading of the scriptural text in the synagogues (Gerhardsson 1961; Mann 1940). Later rabbis compiled these biblical exegeses into books of midrash. Midrashic literature relates primarily to postbiblical Jewish society. Most of its narratives, metaphors, proverbs, and fables—whether concerning biblical themes and figures (Ginzberg 1909–38) or not—have their particular literary history and thematic transformation, and are grounded in postbiblical religion, literature, languages, and society (Bloch 1954; *DBSup* 5: 1263–81; Heinemann 1974). Since by that time the religious and political conditions of the OT period no longer prevailed, postbiblical narrators were able to verbalize oral traditions that had been deliberately excluded from, or subdued in, the OT. A comparison between the midrashic literature and the OT narratives could uncover some of those traditions, and expose the dynamic folklore concerning (a) the formation of Israelite tradition, (b) the mythology of the ANE, (c) the historic-political narratives, and (d) sub-ethical themes in terms of OT standards.

The formation of the OT tradition has been a selective process, the goal of which has been the establishment of a literary covenant between God and the people of Israel. Consequently, internal conflicts, apparent inconsistencies, and evidence of syncretism have been subdued in the OT, although some have reappeared in the midrash. For example, the biblical narrative of the sacrifice of Isaac (Genesis 22) concludes with the substitution of a ram for the first-born child. In religious law (Exod 13:1,13,15; 34:20; Num 18:15) a similar substitution prevails, sanctified by the Passover narrative. However in

midrashic tradition references to "the blood of Isaac's sacrifice" (*Mek.* R. Ish. 7.12) suggest the existence of an alternative tradition where no substitution occurred (Spiegel 1981: 51–59).

During the biblical period the Canaanites threatened the monotheistic belief that the writers of the OT espoused. Therefore any mention of mythological creatures or deities in the OT has been tendentiously negated or limited to vague metaphors or, at most, casual allusions. However, in the postbiblical period, when the Canaanite religion posed no threat to Judaism, narrators were freer to articulate earlier religious conceptions. For example the references to Leviathan occurs in the prophecy and poetry of the OT (Isa 27:1; Ps 74:14; 104:26; Job 40:25). It is a creature God defeats. In Canaanite myths, Leviathan serves the same role, being overcome by Baal and Anat (*UT* I:1–3; III:35–39; Oldenberg 1969: 33–34). However, the postbiblical literature includes descriptions of the full extent of his monstrosity, might, and wonder (Ginzberg 1909–38: 1.27–28;5.41–43), as it could have been known in the folklore of the OT period.

The historic-political narrative in the OT anachronistically supports the centrality of the Davidistic dynasty, describing its rise and fall. Yet within a society consisting of several tribes vying for a dominant position, there are likely to be rival traditions concerning ruling families. In spite of editorial attempts, some narrative incongruity has survived in the text. For example, Samuel's nativity legend is replete with nouns and verbs that could have generated Saul's rather than Samuel's name (1 Sam 1:17, 20, 27, 28). The word play on Saul's name is indicative that originally the birth story related to the king rather than the prophet. However, only in a late midrash, the confusion comes full circle, when Samuel is described in terms commonly reserved for Saul. The written text thus ensures the supremacy of Samuel, but oral tales—clues to its existence appear in both the biblical text and the midrash—suggest a tradition upholding Saul as the judge-king (Seeligmann 1952: 199–200; cf. Zakovitch 1980).

The ethical standards of the OT writers guided them to exclude bawdy tales. The narration of sexual matters, whenever it occurs, concerns more with political history than with sex. For example, the account of the rape of Tamar (2 Samuel 13) traces the rift between David and Absalom back to its very beginning. However, midrashic literature has been more lax in its ethical standards and more freely records popular narratives, even those that were likely told in the OT period. For example the story of Jael and Sisera appears twice: first as an historical account in prose (Judg 4:14–23), and second in a poetic rendition that alludes to the former version (Judg 5:24–30). However, the poetry hints at more than the prose version narrates, emphasizing by repetition that Sisera fell and laid between Jael's legs (Judg 5:27). Midrashic literature expounds in full the popular sexual imagination to which the OT only suggests but censors (Ginzberg 1909–38: 4.37–38; 6.198; Zakovitch 1981b).

**3. Comparison with Islamic Cultures in the Near East.** Comparisons between the OT and the Islamic societies in the Near East and their folklores have taken 3 directions: (a) The use of oral tradition in nomadic society as a model for its use in OT times. (b) The conception of current Islamic culture and folklore as a survival from antiquity that reflects OT customs, rites, and beliefs. (c) The search for historical survivals of OT folklore in current Islamic culture.

The documentary hypothesis that has dominated biblical research for so many years, introduced into scholarship not only workable paradigms but also complicating paradoxes. According to this hypothesis the formation of the OT took place in postexilic times on the basis of written sources that were prepared in the preexilic period. But such documentation assumed extensive literacy which was not part of the ancient Israelite society. In an attempt to resolve such a paradox Sigmund Mowinckel, and more emphatically Henrik Nyberg proposed that the OT was transmitted orally rather than through literate means; the OT itself is thus regarded as part of the oral tradition of Israelite society and therefore part of its folklore. They based their oral tradition hypothesis on the orality of pre-Islamic and nomadic societies in the Near East. They focused in particular on the prophets, whose texts were created orally while in ecstasy and passed along to successive generations by means of oral transmission.

The debate that ensued (Knight 1975: 215–399) was concerned, among other things, with the validity of the model, rather than its application. That is to say, the exclusiveness of oral transmission in Islamic and pre-Islamic societies is brought into question and, by implication, the oral nature of OT society (van der Ploeg 1947; WidEngren 1948, 1959). These are issues with no clear resolution. First, the documentary

and the oral traditional hypotheses have respectively drawn their evidence from different sources: the Pentateuch, the poetry of the Psalms, and the prophets. Second, in the broad cultural range of the Near East and East Africa, it is possible to find models for either propositions. In Somali, for example, poets compose orally, and their admirers commit their verses to memory for future recitation (Andrzejewski 1964: 44–46), a model that would support the hypothesis of oral tradition. On the other hand, the existence of literacy in a society, restricted as it might be, effects tradition, literature, and education dramatically (Street 1984).

The use of Islamic cultures in the Near East and Arabia as a model for ancient Israelite society began systematically in the 18th century, with an expedition planned by Johann David Michaelis (Rogerson 1974: 3–5; Hansen 1965). While verbal folklore was not the focus of this research, the expedition set to explore, in addition to the fauna and flora of the region, the customs, rituals, and religious practices of the inhabitants. Theoretically Michaelis' approach set the foundation for the reconstruction and interpretation of the culture and folklore of the ancient Israelites on the basis of the assumed conservatism of desert societies, a trend that expanded in subsequent years (Smith 1889; *AncIsr*).

While Islamic society of recent centuries, with all its assumed conservatism, does not necessarily reflect ancient Israelite culture, the Arabs of Palestine have preserved in their folklore elements that have survived transmission through oral tradition during the long history since antiquity. In particular, the geographical features of the land, be they mountains, springs or hills, have served as stable pegs upon which place names and local legends have been attached and preserved (Canaan 1927).

**4. Cross-cultural Comparison.** The rationalism of the enlightenment is the basis of the cross-cultural comparison of the OT. Such a method abrogates the OT from its position as the singular manifestation of monotheistic religious belief, turning it into a text comparable with narratives that are found in the stories of polytheistic religions the world over. Studies such as those of Bauer (1802) involved theological, philosophical, and historical considerations, comparing OT narratives to Greek and Roman, and even Indian and Persian myths (see Hartlich and Sachs 1952: 79–87; Rogerson 1974: 8–9). In later works there was a shift from philological to cultural evolutionary frameworks, and from comparisons with classical, Indian, Islamic, and ancient Semitic mythologies to comparisons with the religions of peoples scholars deemed primitive. In the transition, comparisons based on names and language shifted into comparisons of thoughts and action. Employing the method of comparative mythology as formulated by Max Müller, Goldziher (1877), and Rogers (1884) derived from the names of biblical figures solar, stellar, and climatic meanings, for which they found corroboratory comparisons (Rogerson 1974: 33–44; Yassif 1987: 4–5). The philological cross-cultural comparisons offer an allegorical interpretation of heroes and events, the significance of which resides in cognate words and names in related or unrelated languages. Allegedly, the method exposes meanings that were lost in time through linguistic change, diffusion, and misinterpretation.

The purpose of the cultural evolutionary comparison, on the other hand, is the identification of savage survivals in the OT. In *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* (1918), J. G. Frazer, the champion of this method, compares biblical themes such as the creation of man (Gen 1:26–28; 2:7), the mark of Cain (Gen 4:15), and the flood (Gen 6–8) with similar stories found not only in the Near East and the Classical world, but more significantly among "primitive" tribes in South and North America, Africa, and Asia (see also Gaster 1969). For him, the existence of parallel narratives is a demonstration that the OT teemed with survivals from an earlier stage of the intellectual evolution of man. Frazer conceived of this evolution in 3 stages: magic, religion, and science. As the creation of an individual great mind, the OT represents the religious state of man, but the occurrence of numerous customs, tales, and superstitions that are characteristic of magical thought, as represented by tribal folklore, demonstrates that in large measure the OT itself is a survival of thoughts conceived by the savage mind (see Ackerman 1987: 180–96, 271–77; Rogerson 1978: 46–85; Yassif 1987: 10–11).

**5. Comparison of Forms.** The comparative study of narrative forms, known as form-criticism, is a method designed to infer from the OT text its antecedent oral tradition, and to examine the place of its respective forms in the communal life of ancient Israelite society. Since the OT offers neither complete

oral narrative texts, nor sufficiently detailed descriptions of their oral use, any necessary conclusions must be reached by analogy to themes and forms that are available in other oral cultures. The method hence rests, first, upon the assumption of the universality of oral literary forms and their use, and second, the universality of the principles that govern the transition from oral to written literatures. The major proponent of this method was Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932). He sought to identify the oral forms that preceded the OT through analogy with the narrative genres of European, particularly German, folklore such as myth, legend (*Sage* and *legende*), and folktale *(Märchen).* Myth is a story about deities; the legend is assumed to have historical validity; and the folklore, in contrast, is fictive (Bascom 1965). Gunkel's conception of the narrative context was similarly influenced by the available image of storytelling among European peasants: "In the leisure of a winter evening the family sits about the hearth; the grown people, but more especially the children, listen intently to the beautiful old stories of the dawn of the world, which they have heard so often yet never tire of hearing repeated" (Gunkel 1964: 41). Later Gunkel proposed to conceive of these genres as forms of primitive literature, detectable in the OT with the aid of the epic laws formulated by Axel Olrik (1909).

Accordingly, among the features that distinguish oral narratives are opening and closing formulas, triple repetition of episodes, and the occurrence of only 2 characters in a scene. These as well as the lEngth of the narrative served for Gunkel as a measure for recovering the oral strata in the OT text (Knight 1975: 71–83; Rogerson 1974: 57–65; 1978: 69–72; Warner 1979; Wilcoxen 1974). The inference through comparison of forms, problematic as it is, has been a potent method in the exploration of folklore in the OT, mostly revolving around the traditions of the Pentateuch and the Hexateuch (Hayes 1974). Following Alt (1929), von Rad (1938, 1957) and Noth (1948) consider these traditions to evolve not around family entertainment, but within differentiable cultic circles, either as narratives or ritual recitations. A basic problem, yet unresolved, is the logical possibility of projecting, a posteriori, literary formal concepts that evolved in Europe after the Enlightenment, such as myth (Detienne 1986; Feldman and Richardson 1972; Hartlich and Sachs 1952), legend [*Sage*] (Gerndt 1988), and folktale [*Märchen*] (Fink 1966; Anthony 1981) into the world of the ANE (cf. Ben-Amos 1976).

**6. Morphological Studies.** The morphological method shares a goal with form criticism, namely, the discovery of the types of oral literature that preceded the OT text. However, it differs from it in one fundamental assumption. While form criticism accepts the narrative types as given, the morphological method regards their formal description as a primary analytical goal, the attainment of which is essential before the inception of any other study, either historical or cultural. The morphological study of the folktale emerged within the theoretical paradigm of Russian formalism (Erlich 1965; Steiner 1984). Following some preliminary exploratory essays (Nikiforov 1975), V. Propp (1895–1971) formulated the methodological concepts and procedure for the morphological description of the folktale. Initially his aim was to discover the historical roots of the folktale, but upon embarking upon his project he became aware of the absence of an adequate morphological definition of the folktale. He proposed to describe the folktale as a whole, and thus he considered it as "any [narrative] development proceeding from villainy or a lack, through intermediary functions to marriage" (1968: 92). For descriptive purposes, Propp discerned in the tale distinct analytical units—he termed them "functions"—which are actions predicated upon a specific narrative role that follow each other in a specific sequential order. Repeatable functions that are logically or narratively connected constitute a move. Among the tale's dramatis personae Propp distinguished 7 roles: hero, false hero, villain, dispatcher, donor, helper, and princess.

Propp analyzed morphologically only Russian tales. The application of his method and model to biblical tradition is significant because of 2 reasons. First it demonstrates the occurrence of the folktale morphology already in antiquity; second, the comparative dimension of this approach evidences that other cultures have the same form in their oral traditions. In the OT only David's early biography could be reconstructed to fit the morphological model to the folktale. If David is the hero, Jesse is the dispatcher (1 Sam 17:17–19), Samuel is the donor (1 Sam 17:11–13), Goliath is the villain (1 Sam 17:23), and Michal is the princess whom the hero marries (1 Sam 18:17–23). The sequence of functions approximates Propp's morphology, spanning the entire range of the model up to the hero's difficult task and its

resolution before the marriage (1 Sam 18:25–27) (Jason 1979: 42–43). Other tales fit only a specific sequence of functions such as Jacob's struggle with the angel (Gen 32:23–33) (Barthes 1974; Couffignal 1975; Durand 1977; Greenwood 1985: 41–61; Milne 1988: 125–41); Jacob's biography in Gen 25:19–50:14 (Blenkinsopp 1981), Ruth (Sasson 1979: 200–15); Daniel 1–6 (Milne 1988: 199–262), and the book of Tobit (Blenkinsopp 1981).

Propp's *Morphology* offers not only a formal model for the folktale but also a methodology. Applying the latter and not the former, it has been possible to discern in the OT narrative themes that bear similarity in their formal exposition such as stories of deception (Gen 12:10–20; 20:1–18; 26:1–17), deceptive murders (Judg 3:12–31; 4:17–24); romantic encounters at the well (Gen 24:10–14; 29:1–14; Exod 2:15–21) and tales of miraculous curing (i.e., 1 Kings 17–24; 2 Kgs 4:18–37). The patterned exposition of such themes, which is the earmark of oral narratives, strongly suggests that these narratives circulated orally in ancient Israelite society before they were committed to writing (Culley 1974; 1976: 33–115; Niditch 1987: 23–125; Rofé 1988).

**7. Poetic Comparison.** As a method, comparative poetics could reveal, by analogy, the features of oral literature that the OT text retained. The occurrence in the OT of poetic features that commonly appear in texts that have been recorded from oral singers and narrators is indicative of these texts being rooted in oral performance, or at least its impact upon their literary rendition. In other comparisons with Near Eastern cultures (i.e., van der Ploeg 1947; WidEngren 1959; see also Ong 1982; Goody 1986, 1987), oral tradition is conceived as an ideal and abstract concept. Comparative poetics, on the other hand, draws an analogy between the OT and oral poetry on the basis of recording and analysis of performance-generated texts. In such a comparison 2 features that have become distinctive of oral poetry stand out: (a) formula and (b) parallelism. These 2 poetic features are a function of oral performance and therefore their occurrence in the OT is indicative of the residue in, or the impact on, the OT of poetry that was performed orally in ancient Israelite society in a variety of religious and political contexts.

Originally defined as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express essential ideas" (Parry 1930: 80) the formula has been regarded to be instrumental in the oral composition of poetry. M. Parry (1930) and A. Lord (1960) isolated such formulas in the texts of oral singers in the Balkan, and since they identified similar verbal patterns in the Homeric epics they inferred that Homer was an oral poet. This conclusion stimulated worldwide research (Foley 1985, 1988), confirming the use of formulas by oral poets, and more controversially, reconstructing the oral base of ancient and medieval epics. In a somewhat modified and expanded definition, R. Culley (1967) has applied the concept to the OT, identifying such phrases as "incline your ear to me" (Ps 31:3; 71:2; 102:3) or "hide me in the shadow of your wings" (Ps 17:8; cf. Ps 36:8; 57:2; 63:8) and many others as formulas (Culley 1967: 32–101), and inferring therefore the origins of the Psalms, and other OT parts in which formulas occur, in oral composition (Watters 1976: 2–19).

Word pairs such as "ground/dust" and "ever/all generations" and many others have been recognized as particular formulaic parallelism that the OT shares with Canaanite myths (Avishur 1984; Cassuto 1975: 60–69; Watters 1976: 20–38). The recognition of parallelism as a characteristic of OT poetry is one of the points that marked the inception of modern research in the 18th century (Lowth 1753; Watters 1976: 92–95), and has continued to exert its influence on scholarship (Dahood *Psalms 3* AB, 101–50; Kugel 1981). Modern field research among partial or nonliterate societies increasingly demonstrates that parallelism is a characteristic of oral poetry (Fox 1977, 1988).

Neither formula nor parallelism are the exclusive features of oral poetry; they do occur in written poetry as well (Finnegan 1977; Jakobson 1966; Watters 1976). However their position in oral poetry and ancient recitations of myths that antedate writing indicates that even when they appear in written texts they resonate the oral voice in poetry.

### C. Ethnographic Method

The ethnographic method is descriptive. Its purpose is a reconstruction of the process of folklore communication in OT society. Toward this goal, folklore is conceived not as an aggregate of verbal forms but as an artistic process of communication that is performed in oral culture, in face-to-face situations, in

a society that shares language, themes, symbols, and cultural meanings (Bauman 1977; Bauman and Sherzer 1974; Ben-Amos 1971; Briggs 1988). In order to achieve a descriptive adequacy the ethnographic meaning refrains from comparative analysis with other cultures; while comparisons have illuminated various aspects of folklore, at the same time they introduce into the description either a different cultural system that is not necessarily congruent with the OT society, or a theoretical model that could constrain the description. So far the ethnographic method of folklore cannot claim to be part of a single school in OT research; Gandz (1935) and Eissfeldt (1965: 9–127) have made important contributions in this area, yet both were still historically associated with comparative methodology. At the same time the entire spectrum of OT research provides a foundation for this method. Other directions in OT research purport to reconstruct either the social life and structure or the social and political history of OT society, or to explore the history of Israelite language, literature and religion; by contrast, the method of historical ethnography in folklore aims at reconstructing the themes and forms of folklore, their social conception and function, their uses and users as they manifest themselves in the OT. The OT is admittedly a limited and tendentious text, documenting folklore only partially and doing that from the perspectives of its writers and editors who focused on the central institutions of authority, royalty, priesthood, and law. This limitation is an inherent part of the documentary value of the OT and has to be accounted for in any attempt at historical reconstruction. Furthermore, as a text that has been formulated over a long historical period, some of the ethnographic information that pertains to folklore is relevant to one era and not the other. The possibility of historical changes in folklore during the OT period is significant, yet at the moment cannot be discussed systematically.

Though written, the OT contains traditions on an oral culture. In the accounts of the Patriarchal period, even commercial and legal transactions resorted to eye witnessing or monumental testimony (Gen 21:30–33; 23:10–17; 31:44–52). The first reference to writing is associated with Moses (Exod 17:14; 24:4; 34:27; Deut 31:9–19). However, even in the stories of a later period, monumental testimony was used for historical commemoration (Josh 4:6–7), or in conjunction with writing for legal purposes (Josh 24:25–27).

**1. Themes and Figures.** The hallmarks of folklore in society are thematic repetition and variation, patterned accounts, and recurring allusions to distinct events and figures. When these features characterize a corpus of written literature, there is a greater likelihood that these literary sources draw upon oral sources that were historically available. This approach is applicable to the OT. It is true that the OT text attributes events and characteristics to historically grounded, distinct personalities; yet the recurrence of themes, their patterned presentation, and the allusions that subsequent generations made to them in poetry and prophecy, evidence their circulation in oral tradition and the familiarity of the community with them.

The OT accounts the history of the Israelites as a clan and a people through unfolding stories concerning family matters and magical acts that touch upon basic human needs of nourishment, health, and individual and collective freedom. These themes occur repeatedly. For example, female barrenness, a threat to the family future, has been attributed to Sarah (Gen 16:1), Rachel (29:31), Samson's mother (Judg 13:2–3), and Hannah (1 Sam 1:5). The acts of magical infliction of disease, even death (Exod 7:19–12:30; 2 Kgs 2:24; 5:27), and their opposites, stories about magical nourishment, cure, and revival (1 Kgs 17:17–24; 2 Kgs 4:8–37) have been an integral part of the prophetic narratives. The magical acts that the OT attributed to Moses affected the entire nation, whereas those attributed to Elijah and Elisha affected individuals.

The variability of specific stories, either mythological or historical, is also indicative of their basis in folklore. The creation of Eve, from earth like Adam (Gen 1:27) or from Adam's rib (Gen 2:21–23), represents a basic variation in the mythology of the OT. Among the historical tales, the introduction of the young David to King Saul is subject to two incompatible OT versions. According to the first (1 Sam 16:14–23), David is brought to play the harp before the depressed king, while according to the second he is the hero of the battle against the Philistines (1 Samuel 17). The killing of Goliath itself is attributed to another hero, Elhanan the son of Jaare-oregim, a variation that can reflect either suppressed oral tradition or a scribal error (2 Sam 21:19; 1 Chr 20:5).

Variations in details do not preclude similarity in plot patterns. Some of the morphological studies (see above) have demonstrated that different OT stories of magic and family matters share similar discernible patterns thereby suggesting their basis in oral tradition.

But the themes of oral traditions are not limited to family affairs and concerns with food and health. Rather, throughout the poetry and prophecy of the OT resonates the central historical theme of the Israelites: the exodus and the wandering in the desert. The recurrent references to this subject suggest that this tradition was familiar to all Israelites, particularly since the knowledge of these traditions has been reinforced in the ritual celebration of the Passover ritual.

**2. Genres.** In personal interaction and artistic performances, oral communication is clearly dominant. Verbal communication is a framed activity, conveyed within verbal forms that the members of a culture name, or at least recognize, in terms of their textual features and the social contexts of their performance (Ben-Amos 1976: 215–42). The following are the genres that function in folklore communication.

**a. Poetic Genres.** *Šîr* is the term for the general category of poetry as contrasted with prose. It encompasses songs, either a cappella or with instrumental accompaniment (Amos 6:5), recitation (Judg 5:12), and popular songs or cultic songs (Ps 137:4). In Psalms the term occurs with the generic modifier *mizmôr* (i.e., Ps 30:1; 48:1) which also occurs independently (i.e., Ps 100:1; 110:1). The 2 terms *šîr* and *zmr* partially overlap, and partially relate to each other as the general to the particular: *mizmôr* and *zmr* appear to represent the more melodious subcategory, while *šîr* marks the basic distinction between prose and poetry. *Šîr* is also a category of verbal expression of joy that contrasts with *qînâ,* lamentation (Amos 8:10), though *qînâ* could be a subcategory of *šîr* as well (2 Chr 35:25). Within court and cult organization there were professional singers. In the preexilic period, the OT refers to singers of both genders: *šārîm* and *šār̃t,* who were part of the royal personnel (2 Sam 19:36; cf. Eccl 2:8). Postexilic references mention mainly cultic male singers *měšōrĕrîm* associated with Temple worship (i.e., Ezra 2:41; Neh 12:28). Singing, together with music making and dancing was an integral part of joyous occasions, ranging from the celebration of war victories (1 Sam 18:6–7) to romantic love as represented in Canticles.

A subcategory of *šîr* is *šîrâ.* This form is a commemorative song that commits to verse events of historical significance, in particular the deliverance from a powerful enemy. Thus the "Song of the Sea" (Exod 15:1–19) and David's song (2 Samuel 22; Psalms 18) are both designated in the title as *šîrâ.* The song of Deborah and Barak the son of Abinoam (Judges 5) lacks a generic designation; nevertheless the OT employs the verb *šîr* to describe their performance. In all 3 cases the OT attributes the song and the singing to the leader, even though, in the case of the "Song of the Sea," Miriam is said to have repeated the song in a dance (Exod 15:20–21).

The introduction to the "Song of Moses" (Deut 32:1–43) illuminates a literary rather than oral perception of the genre of *šîrâ.* Before reading the song aloud *(dbr)*—the same verb that preceded David's song—Moses instructed the people to write down his song so that it would serve as a historical monument, a testimony for the covenant between God and the Children of Israel (Deut 31:19–23). From a literary perspective, the *šîrâ* serves the same function as the monument Joshua erected (Josh 24:25–27).

The interchangeability of the verbs *šîr,* sing, and *dbr,* speak, in describing the *šîrâ* mode of performance may be indicative of historical change; the possibilities available for singers simultaneously; or a rhythmic delivery that can be perceived as either singing or speaking (cf. Judg 5:12). In all cases except one, the *šîrâ* is performed by an individual, with possible choral response (Exod 15:1). The exception is the "Song of the Well" (Num 21:17–18). The writer introduces the song with the same formula employed in the opening of the "Song of the Sea" (Exod 15:1), albeit the singer is a collective entity: Israel. Isaiah employs the term, in the construct state, *šîrat,* indicating a further possible extension of its meaning. He refers to a known genre, albeit in a mocking fashion, reversing its meaning from a song of victory to a song of defeat. This occurs in the song to the vineyard that brought forth wild grapes (Isa 5:1–2) and the song of the harlot (Isa 23:15). Isaiah admonishes Tyre, which is compared to a harlot, "Take a harp, go about the city, though harlot long forgotten; make sweet melody, sing many songs, that thou mayest be remembered" (23:16). Possibly by his time the term *šîrâ* referred also to individual recitations

accompanied by musical instruments performed by female singers who were wandering around urban areas (cf. Ezek 33:31–32).

The Heb term, *qînâ* (pl. *qînôt*), lament or funeral dirge, is an oral poetic genre that contrasts socially and thematically with *šîr* and *šîrâ:* it conveys a message of defeat and loss (Amos 8:10). While *kinot* could be recited at any funeral, the OT reports them mostly after death in combat (2 Sam 1:17–25; 3:33–34). The information about the oral *qînâ* is meager and appears to be contradictory. The two complete *qînôt* texts are either literary quotations (2 Sam 1:18) or obvious literary compositions as the acrostic form of Lamentation clearly indicates. Both share a structure in the opening formula and the *leitmotif* phrase that begins with question marker "how?" (Lam 1:1; 2 Sam 1:19, 25, 27). In spite of the literary nature of both *qînôt* they may replicate the oral *qînâ*, inasmuch as David's fragmentary lament for Abner (2 Sam 3:33–34) similarly opens with a question that is the verbal equivalent to "how."

The information about the *qînâ* performance is similarly ambivalent. While Jeremiah refers to women as *qînâ* singers (Jer 9:16), and another text suggests a mixed choral group (2 Chr 35:25), the available texts are attributed to individual males—a king and a prophet. The discrepancy may reflect either historical development or different phases of the funeral ritual: choral singing and individual oration. Only the latter offers significant texts quoted by the OT.

The most prominent of the poetic genres in the OT is "the word of Yahweh" *(dĕbar YHWH),* a term designating prophecy in the preexilic and postexilic periods (i.e., Jer 1:4; Ezek 1:3; Hos 1:1; Joel 1:1; Mic 1:1; Zeph 1:1; Hag 1:1; Zech 1:1), alternating with such terms as *ḥāzôn,* vision (Isa 1:1; Obad 1:1) or *maśśāʾ* (Nah 1:1; Hab 1:1). The term *nĕbûʾâ,* prophecy, is postexilic, occurring in the OT only 3 times (Neh 6:12; 2 Chr 9:29, 15:8). The OT narrators, speakers in the biblical tales, attribute to the speakers of the word of Yahweh the role of a prophet, *nābîʾ*, a term which the prophets themselves rarely proclaim (Jer 1:5) and in fact occasionally deny (Amos 7:14) or even denounce (Zech 13:2–5). The word of Yahweh is a divinely inspired speech, uttered in OT poetic forms, in various degrees of ecstasy, in public places, mostly places of worship. The prophets often Engaged in verbal duels and open debates with each other and other religious personnel (Amos 7:10–17; Jeremiah 28). The OT describes prophetic speaking as a common occurrence in urban public life, though it has retained, and thereby canonized, only the texts of Yahweh-inspired prophets from the 8th century B.C.E. onward. Although occasionally the prophet committed their words of Yahweh to writing (Jer 25:13; 30:2; 36; Nah 1:1), their speeches were an integral part of the public oral poetic discourse revolving around ethical, religious, and political subjects.

**b. Prose Genres.** The paucity of generic terms for prose narratives in the OT may be surprising in light of the rich scholarship of the form criticism school. The debates over definitions and categorization of one OT narrative or another—whether it is a myth, saga, legend, folktale, or novella—rarely incorporate the perception and conception of these tales by the OT narrators and writers. Rather, from their perspectives, as manifested in their textual accounts, the entire narrative of OT history from creation to exile of the king of Judah, is a trustworthy account, the veracity of which cannot be doubted, and which has the same validity as far as their faith is concerned. The story of creation (Gen 1–3), the sacrifice of Isaac (Gen 22), the story of Joseph (Gen 37, 39–50), the accounts of the beginning of the Davidic dynasty (1 Sam 16:2–18:13), and the destruction of the Temple (2 Kgs 25:8–21; 2 Chr 36:15–21), had the same historical-religious validity in ancient Israelite society, regardless of their scholarly classification as either myth, legend, folktale, or saga. In that respect the absence of generic terms is as significant as their abundance in other societies. Furthermore, except for rare cases the OT narrators do not offer a literary, generic metacommentary. There is hardly any report of narrating which would give room for the use of the names by which storytellers refer to the oral literary forms they distinguish.

One exceptional case is the account of the confrontation between the anonymous man of God and King Jeroboam (1 Kgs 13:1–10). The tale has all the earmarks of a miracle tale and a story of an encounter between secular and religious authorities (cf. Rofé 1988). The OT text relates the retelling of these events by the son of an old prophet to his father, employing the term *maʿăśēh.* In postbiblical and medieval Hebrew this lexeme had become a term for a genre that includes tales of this kind. In the present use,

*ma‹ăśēh* could refer either to the acts or to their narration. In other uses *ma‹ăśēh* refers to human or divine craftsmanship, work, or action (Exod 26:36; 28:6,11; 37:19; Josh 29:31; Isa 60:21).

As in the present example, nouns that are predicated upon the verb *spr*, to tell, are likely to be names of oral literary forms. Prominent among these is the term *niplā›t*, wonders, which always occurs in plural form. The term designates both actions and their narration; the former are predicated upon the verb *‹āśāh*, to do (Ps 78:18; 86:10; 98:1), whereas the latter, the generic term, upon the verb *spr*, to tell (Ps 9:2; 26:7; 71:17; 75:2; 105:2; 119:27; 145:5). Most of these usages of *niplā›ôt* appear in Psalms where poetry offers a possibility for commentary upon the narrative tradition and requires terms for references. Occasionally, the same term occurs in the same function elsewhere (Judg 6:13). The term refers to stories about historic, cosmic, and ethical actions of Yahweh, as he reveals himself to his people. The generic terms themselves are indicative of the theological and religious views of ancient Israelite society.

**c. Conversational Genres.** Conversational genres are those forms of oral literature that require the active participation of 2 speakers or those that are interspersed within a conversation or speech making. Among those the *māšāl* appears in the OT to be the most enigmatic. On the one hand it is part of a paradigm consisting of an insult, a taunt, and a curse (Jer 24:9; cf. Deut 28:37; 1 Kgs 9:7; 2 Chr 7:20). On the other hand the form is the epitome of wisdom, as represented in the book of Proverbs. Furthermore, it appears to parallel the riddle (Ezek 17:2; Ps 78:2), but its literary form is either a parable or an epigram. However, this apparent diversity of forms share a unity of use that provides them with a single generic categorization. The *māšāl* is a self-contained proposition that cannot be contradicted by its own terms; hence it represents wisdom. In its appropriate application there is a correspondence between the proposition and the situation to which the *māšāl* is applied, further reaffirming the notion of wisdom. Inappropriate application conveys stupidity (Prov 26:7, 9). The relevance of the proposition to a particular situation can be enigmatic, hence the riddling quality of the *māšāl.* Finally, since the principle of correspondence is the main feature of the *māšāl,* it is possible to establish it between a real situation and either terms in a proposition, or figures in a narrative, that then becomes allegorical.

The *māšāl* speakers are known as *mōšlîm* (Num 21:27) or *mĕmaššēl mĕšālîm* (Ezek 21:5). Referring to his allegory, Ezekiel uses the term in a derogatory sense, but the attribution of 3,000 proverbs to King Solomon is a clear mark of his wisdom (1 Kgs 5:12). While the ability to speak in proverbs and parables could distinguish an individual, in the OT there are several narrative episodes in which figures, known for their other qualities, quote proverbs to resolve situations of conflict. David cites an ancient proverb to diffuse the tension between him and King Saul (1 Sam 24:14), and without offering generic designation Gideon (Judg 8:2), the Midianite chiefs (Judg 8:21), and Ahab (1 Kgs 20:11) employ proverbs during conflicts. A proverb is also used in the story of the anointment of David (1 Sam 16:7), replicating oral discourse. In speech making, orators and prophets use the *māšāl* as either strings of epigrams (Num 23:7–10, 18–24; 24:3–9, 15–24), or as parables (Ezek 17:2–10). As in other societies (Briggs 1988; Fontaine 1982) proverbs serve as quoted speech. Jeremiah (31:29) and Ezekiel (18:2) quote the same proverb, "The fathers ate sour grapes; But it's the children's teeth that rasp," and both choose to dispute the value it conveys. This proverb, as others, has been quoted from a set of culturally available propositions that speakers could apply to various situations. They bear the authority of tradition as the abstract voice of the community, encapsulating cultural values, ideas, and even legal principles for the guidance of social conduct.

In contrast to proverbs that appear in the OT relatively in abundance, the reports about riddles (*ḥîdâ,* pl. *ḥîdôt*) and riddling situations are rather scarce. The Psalmist ascribes to them, along with proverbs, the attribution of antiquity (78:2); but in riddles, novelty is required for the form to have any rhetorical effect. In Proverbs they are conceived as belonging to the same paradigm with proverbs, metaphors, and the words of the wise (Prov 1:6; cf. Hab 2:6). Indeed in use they serve as tests of wit and wisdom (Judg 14:12–18; 2 Kgs 10:1; 2 Chr 9:1). In these cases the riddle context is an exchange between the genders or, as in the case of Samson's wife, her representatives.

Least of all, the OT offers information about humorous texts and behavior. The OT, particularly the book of Proverbs, conveys a negative attitude toward humor and jovial behavior. However, the righteous

condemnation of conviviality is a strong testimony of its central position in social life. Merrymaking was a social affair (Prov 1:22), part of urban life (Prov 29:8) often associated with drinking (Prov 20:1). Individually (Jer 20:7) and collectively (2 Chr 30:10) those who advocated righteous behavior conceived of the reaction toward them as ridicule. They were subject to the people's humorous songs (Lam 3:14), the texts of which have not been preserved.

**3. Transmission of Tradition.** The Israelite oral tradition and literature in OT times were heterogeneous, multigeneric, and multipurpose. They served the needs and goals of several tribes and of different segments of the society. However, the writers and editors of the OT preserved and documented mainly those oral traditions that they perceived to be central to their conception of Israelite religion and history. Similarly in their references to the modes of transmission they continuously referred to the central institution of oral transmission. Stories of defeat and victory were told on the city streets (1 Sam 1:20), at the city gates and on the road (Judg 5:10–11), but the main institution of oral transmission to which there are repeated references is the passing on of cultural heritage from father to son (Exod 12:26; 13:8, 14–15; Deut 6:20–23; Judg 6:13; Ps 44:2; 78:3). Probably there were several informal occasions to pass on traditional knowledge, but the formal situation has been *lêl šĕmûrîm*, night of watching, a term that likely refers to an all-night storytelling. The midrash in the Passover Haggadah about the rabbis telling Exodus stories all night, could be a record of a cultural historical survival which they try to explain through exegesis of the OT text. For the Israelite society the exodus and the Sinai experience, including its narrative and laws, have been the core of the national tradition, and it was transmitted within the family.

## D. Folklore and the Biblical Text

The comparative and the ethnographic methods complement each other in reconstructing the folklore of the OT; neither can be exclusive. Rich as it is, the OT offers only a glimpse into the oral traditions of biblical society. Only a few of the tales, songs, proverbs, and riddles that were an integral part of the ancient Israelite society have survived the sieves of history and literacy. What has remained rarely reflects the changes in folklore within the different historical periods that constitute the OT era. Many themes and characters have been forgotten, leaving their traces in metaphors and allusions. The comparative method, particularly the examination of other cultures in the area, their literatures, languages and religions, supplement and illuminate the narratives, metaphors, and beliefs of the OT and the historic and heroic figures around which the biblical stories revolve.

The relation of an oral theme or form to the OT, whether it is included, omitted, or allusively mentioned, is a function of the very process of canonization through literacy. In their act of committing a text to script, the writers and editors of the OT were motivated by a desire to sanction and commemorate a specific version of a story—to render permanent those texts that serve the writer's ideas, beliefs, and conception of history and nation. Literacy is not value free; hence any examination of the folklore in the OT must also account for the nature of the OT itself as a literary and religious canon.

Stylistically, literacy imposes its own constraints upon oral tradition. The lEngth of a text and its rhetorical features can attest neither to its authenticity nor its antiquity. Short fragments are not necessarily oral and older; longer texts are not essentially literate and younger. Oral tradition has many of the capabilities literature possesses, and literature can imitate many of the qualities of oral performance. The texts that are available to us in the OT do not duplicate precisely the whole range of features of oral tradition for the simple reason that they are in a book. They can only echo the voices of a distant past.

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DAN BEN-AMOS

**FOLLY.** See VIRTUE/VICE LISTS.

**FOOD.** See ZOOLOGY; MEAL CUSTOMS; EATING AND DRINKING.

**FOOTWASHING.** The washing of the feet of guests before a meal seems to have been a sign of welcome in the ANE, as reflected in the Yahwist's account of Abraham and the heavenly visitors in Gen 18:4. But in Exod 30:19 the washing of the feet is required of those who are to come before the presence of God at the Sanctuary. Philo's comments on these passages (*Quaes Gen* IV.5, 60, 88; *Quaes Ex* I.2; *Vit Mos* II.138; *Spec Leg* I.206–7) show that, within the Hellenistic synagogue, footwashing may have been the object of some discussion in connection with its ritual performance. Apparently it was thought that it provided sanctification by the divine spirit, and/or the opening up of the soul to manifestations of the divine. Discussion of the validity of this ceremonial practice seems to have continued for some time in some Christian communities, as reflected in Pap. Oxyrh. 840. This 4th century Christian document tells of a Pharisaic chief priest who challenged Jesus' right to walk on the sacred pavement of the temple "without having bathed yourself and your disciples not having washed their feet." The text goes on to contrast exterior vs. interior washing. For our purpose it is important to note the association made between disciples with washed feet and their right to stand on the pavement of the sacred precinct.

Within the early Christian communities there was an oral tradition about the washing of the disciples' feet on the part of Jesus. Apparently different Christian communities adopted the practice, but gave to its performance different meanings. Within the more ecclesiastically organized communities of the Pastoral Epistles the ritual became something that established the position of "widows" as servants of the community (1 Tim 5:10). The exact circumstances under which widows were supposed to wash the feet of disciples, or the meaning attached to this ritual performance escapes us now due to the lack of further contemporary evidence.

In the more egalitarian Johannine community the ritual seems to have gone through different stages of signification prior to the final redaction of the gospel of John. A form critical analysis of the passage (John 13:4–20) reveals that within the Johannine community the original account consisted of 13:4, 5, and possibly 12–15. These texts set the basic scene of Jesus washing the disciples' feet. The scene itself, however, seems to have been influenced by synoptic sayings of Jesus recorded in Mark 10:42–44 and par. This observation causes some scholars to suggest that the scene may represent a traditional elaboration of the synoptic sayings in narrative form. Verses 12–15, it is to be noticed, do not actually illumine the meaning of the action described in 4, 5. They only establish the *mandatum* that the disciples must follow the example of the Master, and that the one who did the washing was none other than their Master and Lord. That this command is recorded here would indicate that the ritual was part of the liturgical

celebrations of the Johannine community. In this connection it must also be noticed that the washing of the disciples' feet in the context of a communal meal, where Judas the traitor is identified, replaces the institution of the eucharistic elements in the Johannine narrative. This fact argues most strongly for the unusual importance attached to the footwashing in the Johannine community, and is another indication of the community's sectarian characteristics.

Verses 6–11 and 16–20 represent two separate elaborations on the scene done within the Johannine community, since they have the obvious marks of Johannine composition. Verses 6–11 give meaning to the scene by the well-known Johannine technique of a dialogue in which the interlocutor misunderstands. Verses 16–20, on the other hand, are a Johannine compilation of sayings of Jesus with synoptic parallels which begins and ends with "amen, amen" statements. No consensus has been reached among scholars as to which of the two interpretative elaborations on the story was introduced first into the gospel. It is generally agreed, however, that these two interpretative elaborations represent different compositional stages of the gospel, and reflect different circumstances in the life of the community. The structural similarities between the Jesus-Peter dialogue in 13:6–11 with the Jesus-Peter dialogue in 21:15–19 suggests that vv 16–20 may have been the earlier explication of the footwashing ritual, and that vv 6–11 were introduced into the story at the same time when chap. 21 was added to the gospel. If this is the case, vv 6–11 serve to intensify the meaning assigned to the footwashing in 16–20. In their synoptic setting the sayings found in 16–20 set forth the cost of discipleship within the context of persecutions. Moreover John 13:16 is repeated in 15:20 with the addition "if they persecuted me, they will persecute you." It would seem, then, that the disciples' identification with their Lord and Master, actualized by the footwashing ceremony had within the Johannine community a persecution context, since the humility with which the disciples identify themselves is humility unto death. In their synoptic settings these sayings also require of the disciples willingness to face up to death.

Verses 6–11 represent an elaboration of 13:17: "If you know these things, blessed are you if you do them." The Jesus-Peter dialogue contrasts the one who has knowledge of what he is doing with the one who doesn't. It also establishes that being "clean" is the condition for receiving a portion of the inheritance. As 15:3 makes clear cleansing is not achieved by ceremonial purifications (John carries on a polemic against ritual cleansings), but by the abiding words of Jesus. Those who are clean and bear much fruit are those who in total identification with their Master and Lord bear testimony when "their hour" comes.

It may be that to a large degree the exact meaning of the footwashing in the Johannine community is hidden within the inner resonance of the language of the Fourth Gospel. Still enough of the meaning of this highly metaphorical literary piece is open to us to allow us some indication of the significance the community gave to its footwashing ritual.

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HEROLD WEISS

**FOREIGNER.** The OT employs a number of largely synonymous terms to designate the "foreigner," i.e., the person who, in the perspective of the writer or the audience, is irreducibly "other," the non-belonger in some respect: *zār, ben nēkār, nokrî.* In most instances, the connotations attached to these terms are negative, although occasional neutral or even positive usages occur. (The OT's treatment of the "sojourner," the *gēr,* i.e., the non-Israelite who in virtue of his status as a semi-permanent resident in Israel enjoys many protections as well as inclusion in the community's religious life, is quite different.) The OT's references to foreigners may be classified according to the particular sort of otherness/non-belongingness attaching to the persons so designated.

**1.** Particularly in the prophets, the terms cited above designate in generalizing and indeterminate fashion the other nations with whom Israel comes in contact. Frequently, these are cited as the actual or potential devastators or exploiters of Israel (Isa 1:7; 62:8; Jer 5:19; Lam 5:2; Hos 7:9; 8:7; Obad 11) who as such, however, function as Yahweh's punishing agents (Ezek 7:21; 11:9). Israel's involving itself with other nations is reprehensible (Isa 2:6; Jer 2:25; 3:13; Ezek 16:3; 44:7), above all because of the danger of apostasy to "foreign gods." Rather, Israel should separate itself from the nations to the extent possible (Neh 9:2). In the future it is hoped that foreigners' subjugation of Israel will be eliminated (Isa 25:2, 5; Jer 30:18; Joel 4:17), and that Israel itself will attain to domination over foreigners (Isa 60:10; 61:5). In the same line are the legal prescriptions denying to those who are ethnically foreigners various Israelite prerogatives, whether political (Deut 17:15), economic (Deut 15:3; 23:21), or cultic (Exod 12:43; Lev 22:25; Ezek 44:9). On the other hand, a few texts do allow for some degree of participation in Israel's worship by individual well-disposed foreigners (1 Kgs 8:41, 43; Isa 56:3, 6; cf. 66:18–21). Finally, in the prophetic oracles against the nations, "foreigners" are peoples other than—and hostile to—the particular non-Israelite nation (Babel, Tyre, Egypt) against whom a given oracle is addressed (Jer 51:2; Ezek 28:7, 10; 30:12, 31:12).

**2.** In other contexts, the persons designated by the relevant terminology are not necessarily non-Israelites in the ethnic sense. Their "foreignness," for example, consists rather in their not belonging to one's own extended family or household (Deut 25:5; 1 Kgs 3:18; Job 15:19; 19:15; Ps 69:8; 109:11; Qoh 6:2). The non-family member likewise seems to be the person the book of Proverbs has primarily—if not exclusively—in mind when it warns against entanglements with "foreign women," i.e., the wives of other Israelites (Prov 2:16; 5:3, 17, 20; 6:24; 7:5; 22:14; 23:27) or giving surety for "foreigners" (Prov 6:1; 11:15; 20:16; 27:13). Throughout this body of material, the depiction of the persons concerned is largely negative. They represent threats to a family's prosperity, good name, and survival over time. It is best then not to become intimately involved with such "foreigners," above all not with "foreign women" whom Proverbs characterizes as morally deviant (6:23; 23:27) in their advances to men other than their husbands.

In a further intensification of this usage, foreigner-terminology is used to designate the nameless (presumably Israelite) persecutors tormenting the psalmist (Ps 54:3; 144:7, 11). Also to this category pertain the prescriptions of the Priestly tradition prohibiting the arrogation of Levitical and/or Aaronide prerogatives by "foreigners," i.e., Israelites not belonging to the two clerical divisions (Exod 29:33; 30:33; Lev 22:10, 13; Num 1:51; 3:10, 38; 17:5; 18:4, 7—here the term used is always *zār*). These passages attest to a sharp dichotomy within the people of Israel itself as to degrees of holiness and cultic competencies. Finally, in a few instances "foreigner" is simply a circumlocution for the non-self (Job 19:27; Prov 27:2).

**3.** Like the OT, the NT employs a variety of equivalent terms for the "foreigner": *allogenēs, allophulos, xenos, allotrios.* It does not, however, give the same prominence to such terminology as does the OT—primarily because through the work of Christ ethnic-religious divisions within humanity have been, in principle, overcome (see esp. Eph 2:11–21). Reminiscent of the OT, "ethnic" usages are passages where "foreigner" designates those who are not by birth members of the people of Israel (Luke 17:18; Acts 10:28; Eph 2:19; Heb 11:34) or of some other people (Acts 17:21). The faithful of OT times lived on the earth as "foreigners" in exile from their heavenly homeland (Heb 11:9, 13). The duty of hospitality to fellow Christians who are "foreign" in the sense of not being personally known to one is strongly inculcated (Matt 25:35ff.; 3 John 5).

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CHRISTOPHER T. BEGG

**FORERUNNER** [Gk *prodromos* (προδρομος)]. In Greek literature *prodromos* ("forerunner"), used as a noun (the adjective means "running before"), designates someone or something which goes in advance

and normally implies that others are to follow. The term is applied to messEngers, to the front-runner in a race, to advance military parties (especially scouts or guides), and to a kind of picket ship which leads others into port. The military usage seemingly predominates. Northerly winds, preceding the annual summer Mediterranean winds, are called *prodromoi* by Aristotle and Theophrastus. *Prodromos* is used metaphorically of first fruits, specifically, of early figs in Theophrastus (*Hist. Pl.* 5.1.5) and Pliny (*HN* 16.113).

**A. Septuagint**

In the LXX, *prodromos* occurs in Num 13:21; Wis 12:8; and Isa 28:4. It is used twice in the metaphorical sense and translates the Heb *bĕkûrâ.* In Num 13:21, springtime is poetically described as a time of first grapes (lit. "the forerunners of grapes"), while in Isa 28:4 the first-ripened figs (lit. "the forerunner of the fig,"), considered to be delicacies and therefore quickly picked, are used to symbolize the impending attack against Samaria (cf. Nah 3:12, where a similar image is used [with *bĕkûrâ* in the Hebrew, but without the corresponding *prodromos* in the LXX], of the destruction of Nineveh).

The military sense of *prodromos* is exploited in Wis 12:8 where wasps or hornets function as an advance party for God's army. For the sage, this first attack upon the Canaanites (cf. Exod 23:28; Josh 24:12) is seen as a first skirmish and a warning. Thus, time is allowed for repentance before the definitive battle.

**B. Christian Literature**

"Forerunner" is frequently used in Christian literature of John the Baptist, whose image is developed in the synoptic tradition by means of biblical motifs (Isa 40:3–11; Mal 3:1) in such a way that John is considered to be one who prepared the way for Jesus.

However, the NT does not explicitly use the term *prodromos* in reference to the Baptist. The sole occurrence of "forerunner" in the NT is in Heb 6:20. There, used in reference to Jesus, its presence is sometimes deemed to be part of an anti-Baptist polemic.

This unique description of Jesus as a forerunner (Heb 6:20) is one of a series of particular christological epithets found only in Hebrews (e.g., "apostle," Heb 3:1; "perfecter of faith," Heb 12:1). It belongs to a complex of terms (e.g., "pioneer," Heb 2:10; 12:2; "cause of salvation," Heb 5:9) which describe the human Jesus who has completed his journey and who has the capacity to secure a similar status for those who follow him. As such, the forerunner image is part of Hebrews' unique and variegated portrayal of Jesus.

The forerunner notion embodies elements of continuity and of discontinuity. Specifically, the notion of Jesus-forerunner belongs to the author's theopoetic vision of Jesus, the high priest, and serves to differentiate the priesthood of Jesus from the Aaronic priesthood. Only the latter entered into the Holy of Holies, but Jesus enters so that others might follow him into the presence of God. Jesus enters into the inner sanctuary "on our behalf" (Heb 6:20b): the prepositional phrase (*hyper hēmōn*) qualifies the entrance as such; only rarely does the manuscript tradition speak of Jesus as "our forerunner" (*prodromos hēmōn;* e.g., minuscule 489). The idea that Jesus has entered into the sanctuary on our behalf is further developed in Heb 7:18–10:18, where the author expounds upon Jesus functioning as priest on our behalf within the inner sanctuary. Ultimately, the motif of Jesus-forerunner functions as an expression of Christian hope. For further discussion see *TDNT* 8:235 and *ISBE* 2: 337–38.

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RAYMOND F. COLLINS

**FOREST OF EPHRAIM.** See EPHRAIM, FOREST OF.

**FOREST OF LEBANON, HOUSE OF THE** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt ya‹ar hallĕbānôn* ( בֵּית יַעַר הַלְּבָנוֹן)]. Part of Solomon's palace complex (1 Kgs 7:2–5). It was probably a separate building (Heb

*bêt*) not attached to the building whose compartments were the Hall of Pillars, the Hall of the Throne (or Hall of Judgment), and the private living quarters of the royal family (vv 6–8). See also JUDGMENT, HALL OF. The House of the Forest of Lebanon was approximately the size of the temple. Not only is the name of this building quite unusual, but its description is very problematic, containing some Hebrew words (*šĕqupîm; meḥĕzâ*) that cannot be translated with confidence. Its most prominent feature, however, is reasonably clear: the 3 (following; MT reads "four") rows each containing 15 cedar pillars. The 45 pillars aligned in a building 150 feet long by 75 feet wide would mean the 15 pillars in each row had to be spaced no more than 10 feet apart: the net effect was probably of a densely packed forest. Although no similar building has yet been discovered archaeologically, Ussishkin (1973: 92–94) notes a resemblance to the column-building at Altintepe in E Anatolia, a building of the 8th–7th centuries B.C.

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GARY A. HERION

**FORGIVENESS.** Forgiveness is the wiping out of an offense from memory; it can be affected only by the one affronted. Once eradicated, the offense no longer conditions the relationship between the offender and the one affronted, and harmony is restored between the two. The Bible stresses both human forgiveness and divine forgiveness: The latter is the divine act by which the removal of sin and its consequences is effected. This entry consists of 3 articles surveying the concept of forgiveness as it is presented in the OT, in early Judaism, and in the NT.

### *OLD TESTAMENT*

The basic term for forgiveness in the OT is *slḥ,* occurring some 50 times: the verb *sālaḥ* occurs 46 times in the active *Qal* (33) and passive *Nip*ʿ*al* (13). The remaining 4 uses of the root comprise the noun *sĕlîḥâ* (3 times) and the adjective *sallaḥ* (once). The agent effecting forgiveness is the deity: This usage is consistent both for the *Qal,* where the subject of the verb is always God, and for the *Nip*ʿ*al,* which functions as a divine passive (e.g., *wnslḥ lw* = "and it shall be forgiven him [by the deity]"). The verb in the *Qal* takes as object both the person to be forgiven and the sin, expressed by the nouns *ʿāwôn* ("iniquity, guilt") *ḥăṭāʾâ* ("sin"), and *pešaʿ* ("rebellion, transgression").

An appeal to God for forgiveness is a regular feature of intercessory prayer. The first Pentateuchal usage of the verb *slḥ* (Exod 34:9) is in a context of intercessory prayer by Moses, for the sinful behavior of his people. Moses bases his appeal for forgiveness on the creedal statement in Exod 34:6–7 in which the character of God is described and in which his mercy and his willingness to forgive are confessed. (Forgiveness in this text is identified with God's continuing presence with and guidance of the people.) In Num 14:19–20, Moses' appeal ("Forgive the iniquity of this people") is based on the repetition in Num 14:18 of the creedal statement of Exod 34:6–7.

Another appeal to the deity for forgiveness is that of Solomon, in whose Temple prayer the verb *slḥ* occurs 5 times (1 Kgs 8:30, 34, 36, 50 = 2 Chr 6:21, 25, 27, 30, 39). Human repentance ("turning to God" in 1 Kgs 8:33 and "turning from sin" in 8:35) and divine mercy (v 50) are associated with forgiveness in Solomon's prayer; the same linkage of repentance and forgiveness appears in the divine promise to Solomon in 2 Chr 7:14.

In Amos 7:2 the verb *slḥ* is employed in a prophetic intercession for forgiveness. And the noun (*sĕlîḥôt*) is employed in Ezra's penitential prayer in which he appeals for forgiveness in the words of the confessional formula in Exod 34:6–7 and Num 14:18. In Daniel's intercessory prayer for forgiveness of the people, the noun (*sĕlîḥôt*) appears in Dan 9:9, linked with mercy; relying on God's abundant mercy (9:18), Daniel prays, "O Lord, hear! O Lord, forgive!" (9:19).

In addition to these prayers for forgiveness of the people, the *Qal* (active) form of the verb *slḥ* appears 6 times in Jeremiah (5:1, 7; 31:34; 33:8; 36:3, 50:20). In the 2 instances in chap. 5 the possibility of forgiveness is questioned or denied because of the worship of foreign gods (Deut 29:19, 2 Kgs 24:4). In 36:3 forgiveness is a possibility if the people repent ("turn": cf. 1 Kgs 8:33–36). The remaining occurrences in Jeremiah contain the positive divine promise of forgiveness. Similarly Isa 55:7 confesses God as merciful and rich in forgiveness.

There are 4 instances of the root *slḥ* in the Psalter: The verb occurs in Pss 25:11 and 103:3, the adjective *sallāḥ* in Ps 86:5, in a context that echoes Exod 34:6–7 (cf. Ps 86:15), and the noun in Ps 130:4 (note the similarity of Ps 130:3–4 to Amos 7:2). The assurance of forgiveness in the lament of Psalm 130 is countered by a lament which denies the possibility of forgiveness (Lam 3:42).

The remaining instances of active *slḥ* are Num 30:6, 9, 13, which deal with the divine release from sin, and the 2 occurrences in 2 Kgs 5:18 in which Naaman asks for forgiveness for future participation in non-Yahwistic rites. The 13 instances of the passive of *slḥ* (10 in Leviticus and 3 in Numbers) are all part of the priestly legislation regulating the cult. The *Nipʿal* (passive) of *slḥ* (*nislaḥ*) is linked with the verb *kippēr* in the stereotyped expression "The priest shall make atonement/expiation on his behalf and it shall be forgiven him." As mentioned above, *nislaḥ* is a divine passive, and so the agent effecting forgiveness is God, through the intercession of the priest; the passive verb makes the point that forgiveness does not inhere in the priestly rites, but in the action of God. The sins forgiven in these texts are in most cases identified as inadvertent (Lev 4:20, 26, 31, 35; 5:16, 18; Num 15:25, 26, 28). Lev 5:10, 13 (and Lev 5:6, where the passive *nislaḥ* is not used, but the formula abbreviated to "and the priest shall make atonement on his behalf because of his sin") concern sins of omission which are "hidden" (*nʿlm* in Lev 5:2, 3, 4) from the sinner, i.e., which the sinner has forgotten. Only in Lev 5:26 and 19:22 are atonement rites performed and divine forgiveness granted to deliberate sinners.

Synonyms of *slḥ:* In this section will be considered synonyms of *slḥ*, usually metaphorical expressions for the removal of sin that appear either in parallelism with or in contiguity to *slḥ;* the survey will be completed by mentioning usages of these expressions for forgiveness without connection to *slḥ*.

**1.** *nśʾ:* With the nouns *ʿwn* ("iniquity, guilt"), *ḥṭʾh* ("sin"), and/or *pšʿ* ("transgression") as objects, *nśʾ* can mean "to bear (iniquity, sin, transgression)," i.e., to bear away, to remove sin and its effects (including punishment) by taking it away, and thus to forgive or pardon. While the commonest of these expressions *(nśʾ [b] ʿwn)* occurs 35 times in the OT, the concern here will be with 7 occurrences (Exod 34:7; Num 14:18; Pss 32:5, 85:3; Isa 33:24; Hos 14:3; Mic 7:18) where God is the subject of the verb and forgives the sinner by taking away human sin. Several scholars have argued that the nuance of *nśʾ ʿwn* in at least some of these 7 texts (e.g., Exod 34:7, Num 14:18) is not so much "to take away iniquity" but "to bear (i.e., tolerate) iniquity": God forbears to punish, postponing or deferring the consequences of sin. This temporary forbearance or deferment of punishment or retribution is provoked by repentance (2 Kgs 20:16–19; 22:19–20). Noting this possibility, we will accept the more common understanding of this idiom as meaning "forgive iniquity/guilt."

The verb *nśʾ* occurs in connection with *slḥ* in three cases. In Exod 34:7 God's self-description (*nśʾ ʿwn wpšʿ wḥṭʾh:* "taking away iniquity, transgression, and sin") is followed in 34:9 by Moses' plea (*wslḥt lʿwnnw wlḥṭʾtnw:* "forgive our iniquity and sins"). In Num 14:18 a shorter version of the phrase in Exod 34:7 (without *ḥṭʾh,* "sin") is followed in 14:19 by Moses' plea, "forgive the iniquity (*slḥ nʾ lʿwn*) of the people in accord with your great kindness, as you have pardoned (*nśʾth,* "taken [sin] away") this people from Egypt until now." More distantly, Ps 25:11 (*wslḥt lʿwny,* "forgive my iniquity") is matched by v 18 (*wśʾ lkl ḥṭʾ wty,* "take away all my sins").

The texts where *nśʾ* occurs without connection to *slḥ* are Exod 32:32, where Moses intercedes for the removal of the people's sin of constructing the golden calf (and note v 30, where Moses describes his prayer as "making atonement" [*ʾkprh*]). In Ps 99:8, the intercession of Moses, Aaron, and Samuel is directed to a "forgiving God" (*ʾl nśʾ*). Two other instances of intercession for forgiveness are Exod 10:16–17, where Pharaoh confesses his sin and appeals to Moses for forgiveness (*w ʿth śʾ nʾ ḥṭʾty,* "and now take away my sin"), and 1 Sam 15:24–25, where Saul uses the same words in his plea to Samuel for forgiveness. While these last 2 instances might at first sight seem to deal with human forgiveness, Moses and Samuel are acting here not as themselves the bestowers of forgiveness but as intercessors for divine forgiveness (cf. Jer 15:1). In Josh 24:19 the successor of Moses warns the people that God "will not take away their transgressions and sins" (*lʾ yśʾ lpšʿkm wlḥṭʾ wtykm*) if they abandon him for the service of other gods.

Two instances of *nś*› occur in Ps 32: in v 1 the psalmist uses the passive of *nś*› in describing the happiness of the one "whose transgression is taken away" (*nśwy pš*‹), and in v 5 confession of transgression is followed by the assertion "you have taken away the guilt of my sin" (*w*›*th nś*›*th* ‹*wn ḥṭ*›*ty*). Psalm 85:3 employs the same phrase as in Ps 32:5 (*nś*›*t* ‹*wn* ‹*mk,* "you have taken away the guilt of your people") and parallels it with "you have covered all their sin" (*kyst kl ḥṭ*› *tm* ), just as "whose transgression is taken away" in Ps 32:1 is paralleled by *kswy ḥṭ*›*th* ("whose sin is covered").

There are 3 prophetic texts employing *nś*› for the removal of sin. Isa 33:24 promises to the inhabitants of Zion that "their iniquity will be taken away" (*nś*› ‹*wn*). Hos 14:3 is an appeal for repentance in which the prophet urges Israel to return to Yahweh with the prayer "remove all sin" (*kl tś*› ‹*wn*). Mic 7:18 confesses God as "taking away iniquity" (*nś*› ‹*wn*) in a passage reminiscent of Exod 34:6–7. (The three other expressions for forgiveness in the Micah text will be treated below.)

Finally, mention should be made of Lev 16:22, where the scapegoat bears away the iniquity of the people, and Isa 53:12, where the same role is assigned to the servant of Yahweh.

**2.** *rp*›*:* There is one instance of *rp*› ("heal") in parallelism with *slḥ* ("forgive"), a usage that reflects the common biblical view of the connection of sin and sickness (Ps 38:4; John 9:3): Ps 103:3 (*hslḥ lkl* ‹*wnky hrp*› *tḥl*›*yky,* "he forgives all your iniquities; he heals all your diseases"). Perhaps 2 Chr 7:14 can be mentioned here as well; in that text God promises Solomon that, if the people repent, "I will forgive their sin and heal their land" (*w*›*slḥ lḥṭ tm w*›*rp*› ›*t* ›*ṛṣm*).

Other passages where *rp*› occurs without connection to *slḥ* but still probably describes God's removal of sin include Ps 41:5 ("Yahweh, be gracious to me: heal me [*rp*›*h npšy*] for I have sinned against you"). See also Jer 3:22, Isa 57:17–18 (and perhaps Isa 53:5), and more distantly Pss 107:20 and 147:3.

**3.** *l*› *zkr*: God's not remembering sin is once found in parallelism with *slḥ*, in Jer 31:34: "I will forgive their iniquities and their sins I will no longer remember" (*ky* ›*slḥ l*‹*wnm wlḥṭ*›*tm l*› ›*zkr* ‹*wd*). Other texts containing *l*› *zkr* without connection to *slḥ* include Ps 25:7, where "the sins of my youth and my transgressions do not remember" is preceded in v 6 by the positive counterpart "remember your mercy, O Yahweh." The same connection between God's not remembering iniquities and his mercy appears in Ps 79:8. In Isa 43:25 the divine assurance "your sins I will not remember" is balanced by another metaphorical expression for removal of sin ("your transgressions I will erase"), to be treated below. In Isa 64:8 the penitential prayer that God be not angry is completed with "do not forever remember iniquity." Finally, a similar expression may be mentioned here; instead of God's not remembering sin, Ps 32:2 prays, "happy the one to whom Yahweh does not impute iniquity" *(*›*šry* ›*dm l*› *yḥšb yhwh lw* ‹*wn*), an expression in parallelism with "not remember" in 1 Sam 19:20.

**4.** *rḥm:* The connection of divine mercy with forgiveness has been pointed out several times already. In 2 texts it is linked with *slḥ:* 1 Kgs 8:50, where "forgive" (*slḥt*) is followed by "give them mercy" (*wnttm rḥmym*), and Isa 55:7 where "[Yahweh] will show him mercy" (*wyrhmḥw*) is in parallelism with "he is rich in forgiveness" (*ky yrbh lslwḥ*). In Ps 103:12–13 God in his mercy forgives transgressions by putting them far away. In Mic 7:19 divine mercy is connected with 2 unique metaphors for divine forgiveness: God's treading iniquities under foot and God's casting sins into the depths of the sea. These instances of the connection between divine mercy and forgiveness call to mind the similar connection between God's forgiveness and his *ḥesed* (steadfast love), which has the sense of deliverance or forgiveness in the creedal confession in Exod 34:6–7 and the texts dependent upon it (Num 14:18–19; Pss 86:15, 103:8, 145:8; Joel 2:13; Jon 2:4; Neh 9:17).

**5.** *ṭhr:* There is one instance of the parallelism of "forgive" (*slḥ*) and "purify, cleanse" (*ṭhr* [piel]) in Jer 33:8 ("I will purify them of all their iniquities … and I will forgive all their sins"). In Lev 16:30, the Priestly legislation for the Day of Atonement, atonement (*ykpr*) involves purification from all sin. God's purifying his people from iniquity and sin is mentioned in Ezek 36:25, 33; 37:23; the divine refusal to do so is found in Ezek 24:13.

In the great prayer for forgiveness in Psalm 51, *ṭhr* occurs twice, in vv 4 and 9, where God's act of purification is paralleled by *tḥṭ*›*ny* ("decontaminate me, remove sin from me"), a usage that has its origins in the cult (e.g., Num 19:19), and by another cleansing metaphor (*kbs,* "wash"), also employed in Jer 2:22

and 4:14. On the basis of *kbs* as a metaphor for cleansing of sin, some commentators have suggested emending *ykbš* ("tread under foot") in Mic 7:19 to *ykbs* ("wash"); see below.

**6.** *mḥh:* Nowhere connected with *slḥ* but close to the notion of "purify, wash, cleanse" is *mḥh* ("erase, wipe away" [transgression]"), an expression found in Ps 51:3; it occurs as well in Isa 43:25, in parallelism with not remembering sin. The negative counterpart of this expression (i.e., the request that God remember iniquity and not wipe away sin) is found in Ps 109:14. Cf. Isa 44:22, Jer 18:23 (where "wipe away, erase" is in parallelism with *kpr* ["atone, expiate"]) and Neh 3:37 (where it is in parallelism with *ksh* ["cover"]).

**7.** *kpr:* Several passages speak of the removal of sin as "expiation, atonement," a concept drawn originally from the cult. The verb *kippēr* ("expiate, atone") occurs in Jer 18:23 (*kpr ʿl ʿwn,* "expiate, forgive iniquity"), in Ps 79:9 (*kpr ʿl ḥṭ›h,* "forgive sin"); also worthy of note are *kpr pšʿ* ("forgive transgression") in Ps 65:4, and *kpr ʿwn* ("forgive iniquity") in Ps 78:38. Note finally Ezek 16:63, and Isa 27:9 (where the expiation of iniquity [*ykpr ʿwn*] is paralleled by the removal [*hsr*] of sin; cf. Isa 6:7).

**8.** *hʿbyr:* The verb *heʿĕbîr* ("make pass by") is found in several passages (2 Sam 12:13, 24:10; Zech 3:4; Job 7:21; and a related expression in Mic 7:18). With such objects as sin, iniquity, or the like, the verb has been understood as a figurative expression for the divine removal of sin; forgiveness is effected when God "makes (the sin) pass by," i.e., when the sin is put away, at a distance. However, it has also been suggested that the idiom does not merely express metaphorically the removal or the forgiveness of sin; rather, it means that God has transferred one's sin (understood both as act and consequence) to another, i.e., God has made (the consequences of) the sin pass (to another). In this understanding, Nathan in 2 Sam 12:13 does not give to David assurance of divine forgiveness; he declares God's intention to expiate David's sin of adultery by the death of his child. Similarly in 2 Sam 24:10–17 David's sin (the census) is expiated by its transfer to the people, 70,000 of whom die by pestilence. This understanding of the expression is similar to the suggestion recorded above that *nś› (ʿwn)* means the deferral or postponement of the consequences of a sin; God does not acquit the guilty but rather "carries on" the sin from one generation to another, until expiated.

**9.** Infrequent or unique expressions: We can conclude our discussion of forgiveness by noting a number of infrequently occurring expressions. In Ps 103:12 forgiveness is expresssed as "putting (sin) far away, at a distance" (*hrḥyq*). Cf. also Prov 4:24 (where it is paralleled by *hsr,* "remove"), Job 11:14 and 22:23. Another figurative expression is God's "covering" (*ksh*) of sin, in Pss 32:1, 85:3, and Neh 3:37 (in parallelism with *mḥh,* "wipe away"); the expression "do not cover (*w›l tks*) their iniquity" in Neh 3:37 appears in a variant form in Jer 18:23, as "do not expiate (*tkpr*) their iniquity." Twice forgiveness is expressed by God's throwing away (*šlk*); in Isa 38:17 God "casts" sins behind his back, and in Mic 7:19 he "casts" them into the depths of the sea. The image of God treading sin underfoot (*kbš*) occurs only once in the OT (Mic 7:19). While some have suggested emending this unique expression to *kbs* ("wash"), Akkadian parallels adduced by Gordon counsel against this emendation. And finally, equally unique is God's "hiding (*hstyr*) his face" so as not to see sin, as an expression of forgiveness in Ps 51:11.

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## *EARLY JUDAISM*

The study of forgiveness in pre-70 Palestinian Judaism is an unfortunately neglected area of research. Some important insights, however, are subsumed under discussions of redemption (Urbach), salvation (Neusner), and atonement (*ROTT* 1: 262–71; *AncIsr;* Elbogen, Gaster, Safrai).

Jewish scholars, until recently, have tended to read rabbinic ideas back into pre-rabbinic times, and have been insensitive to the vast differences between pre-70 Judaism (or Judaisms) and post-70 Rabbinic Judaism. After 70, when the Temple was burned by the Roman soldiers, the type of Judaism that survived was reshaped so that it could succeed without Temple and cult, and without possession of the land promised as an inheritance. Also, terms and concepts like "forgiveness," "redemption," "faith," "salvation," and "Savior" were defined in western culture as if their only use was the one developed over the centuries in Christianity; hence, their presence and use in pre-70 Judaism was often unperceived.

Christian scholars, under the influence of the NT authors, especially Paul, have frequently disparaged or been blind to the concept of forgiveness in Early Judaism (ca. 250 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.). Historians attempting to understand the rise and success of Christianity, even while trying to correct the excesses of polemics, tended to stress the uniqueness of Jesus and the creative qualities of Paul. The doctrine of the atonement, and the claim that forgiveness was won for all sinners by the passion of Jesus Christ, caused a failure to ask objectively how "forgiveness" was perceived in Early Judaism and what methods were devised to obtain it. All too often pre-70 Judaism was portrayed as legalistic. E. Schürer, the author of the voluminous and major reference work on Judaism "in the time of Jesus" at the end of the 19th century, in a marred attempt to describe accurately the historical climate in pre-70 Palestinian Judaism, claimed the following:

> Such external formalism is, as all can see, very far removed from true piety. The latter certainly might even under such a burden still continue to maintain a bare existence; but when besides this even *prayer* itself, that centre of the religious life, was bound in the fetters of a rigid mechanism, vital piety could scarcely be any longer spoken of (*HJP*[1] 2/2: 115).

The discovery of manuscripts written and used by pre-70 Palestinian Jews, the new perspectives found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and especially a refined interconfessional methodology now cumulatively help us to see more clearly into the vibrant culture of Early Judaism.

An examination of forgiveness in Early Judaism may be organized in numerous ways; here the discussion will be brief, moving from the perception and expression of *need* to the cultic, personal, and national means employed by early Jews to obtain forgiveness from a "Forgiving Father," not a vEngeful demanding judge (all translations are by the author).

*Need.* The early Jews were not sinners, unperceptive of the need for God's forgiveness. The Temple was not destroyed because of a sinning people, as the Jewish author of *2 Baruch* claimed. The generation of Jews who lived just before the destruction of 70 C.E., as Neusner states, "was *not* a sinning generation, but one deeply faithful to the covenant and to the Scripture that set forth its terms, perhaps more so than many who have since condemned it" (Neusner 1975: 25).

Despite the distorted descriptions of Early Judaism caused by the claims that Jews were self-righteously proud of their obedience to God's Law (due to the denigration of "Pharisaism" in the gospels and the misinterpretations of the parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector (Luke 18:9–14). The early Jews themselves stressed a perception of unworthiness and sinfulness (see e.g., Philo, *Vit Mos* 2.147), and frequently claimed that God alone can forgive humans, and render them righteous. Note, for examples, the following:

> And I, if I totter,
> God's mercies (are) my salvation for ever; …
> He has justified me by his true justice
> and by his great goodness he will forgive (*kpr*) all my iniquities. (1QS 11.11–14)
> And I, I know that righteousness (is) not of humankind, and perfection of the way (is) not of an individual. (1QH 4.30)

The early Jews did not claim to be sinless; sinlessness was sometimes attributed to the great biblical heroes of old (Sir 44), especially to Abraham (*Apoc. Ab.*, T. Ab.) and Joseph (*T. 12 P.*). The study of forgiveness in Early Judaism must not be centered on the Heb (*sĕlîḥâ*) and Gk (*aphesis*) nouns for "forgiveness" and verbs "to forgive" (Heb: viz. *kāpar, nāsă, sālaḥ;* Gk: viz. *apoluō, charixomai, aphiēmi*); it must derive from the full, perceptive, and sensitive readings of all pertinent documents. Aseneth, for example, is described as an Egyptian (and former pagan) who knows that the Lord will "forgive me every sin" (*Jos. Asen.* 11:18, cf. 13:11–13; also cf. *4 Ezra* 7:105 and *2 Bar.* 84:10).

Religious Jews throughout Palestine before 70 C.E. memorized and recited daily the *Amidah* or *Tefilah* (18 Benedictions). They probably knew the 6th benediction in a form similar to the one preserved in the early Palestinian (Cairo Geniza) version:

Forgive us, our Father, for we have sinned against you.
Erase and blot out our transgressions from before your eyes,
For you are abundantly compassionate.
Blessed are you, O Lord, Redeemer of Israel.

*Cultic.* The Jews who lived just before the destruction of 70 C.E. inherited cultic traditions, rituals, liturgies, and customs that were approximately 1,000 years old (*ROTT,* 1: 262–71; *AncIsr*). The means for offering gifts, burning incense, bringing agricultural produce, and sacrificing animals (from pigeons to bulls) was elaborate. One of the reasons for offering these up to God is the need to obtain forgiveness; and that entails perception of sin, confession of sin, and the understanding that God desires to and will forgive the sinner seeking forgiveness. Cultic means for forgiveness was centered in the Temple; but it flowed also over into the daily prayers, weekly Sabbath services in synagogues, and the periodic festivals.

*Personal.* Devout Jews in face of the absolute demands of the Torah and especially the Decalogue experienced the need for forgiveness. To seek to be obedient to God, as revealed in the Written and Oral Torah, meant to confess the need for God's help in being obedient to him. Within a century before the destruction of 70 a Palestinian Jew, who was devout and introspective, wrote under the name of Manasseh the following:

> And now I bend the knee of my heart, beseeching you for your forgiveness.
> I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned, and I know my transgressions.
> I earnestly beseech you, forgive me, O Lord, forgive me.
> (*Pr. Man.* 11–13)

*National.* At the beginning of each new year Jews, together as the nation of Israel, and through the priesthood, especially the High Priest, focused at Yom Kippur (The Day of Atonement; see Lev 16:30) on the need for purgation and forgiveness. It is enlightening, and an essential perspective for an understanding of the perception of and need for forgiveness in Early Judaism to comprehend that the nation, the priesthood, *and* the High Priest were acknowledged to be sinful and in need of God's forgiveness. The central purpose of forgiveness was for the benefit of the nation and humankind (see Philo, *Spec Leg* 1.190). The Mishnah does reflect the needs and social setting of 2d century Rabbinic Judaism, generally reliable, in its intent but not wording, is the confession attributed to the High Priest on the Day of Atonement:

> O God, I have committed iniquity, transgressed, and sinned before you, I and my house. O God, forgive (*kpr*) the iniquities and transgressions and sins which I have committed and transgressed and sinned before you, I and my house … (*m. Yoma* 3.8)

See also PRAYER IN EARLY JUDAISM.

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## *NEW TESTAMENT*

The existence of forgiveness takes for granted the fact of human sin as an offense against God's holy law or against another human being; forgiveness is the wiping out of the offense from memory by the one affronted, along with the restoration of harmony. Forgiveness is not simply "the remission of penalties; what is remitted is sin" (Taylor 1948: 3).

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A. Terminology
B. Forgiveness by God
C. Forgiveness by the Son of Man
D. Forgiveness in the Cross
E. Forgive Others as God Forgives You
F. Remission of Sins by the Apostles
G. The "Unpardonable Sin"

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### A. Terminology

The NT and Apostolic Fathers used the word *aphiēmi* ("to forgive") and *aphesis* ("forgiveness," "release"). These terms frequently have the sense of remission of financial debt; they were also used of forgiveness prior to the NT (e.g., Lev 16:26 LXX). But while it is thus hardly likely that the NT authors chose the words to give an economic flavor to God's pardon, Jesus did evoke the picture of release from debt as a metaphor of forgiveness. Another frequent synonym is *charizomai,* which usually takes the meaning "to give (freely)" (always with that meaning in the LXX, but "to show oneself gracious" in *Ep. Arist.* 38: 229; see Conzelmann and Zimmerli *TDNT* 9:389). A number of times in Pauline literature it means "to forgive" (e.g., 2 Cor 2:7, 10; Col 3:13; cf. Luke 7:42–43). Since this the NT application is without precedent, it may have been coined by Paul to denote God's free pardon (Martin 1981: 30; Barth *Ephesians 4–6* AB, 523–24). At any rate, it does not appear in later literature with that meaning except perhaps in Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.45 and Joseph. *Ant* 6, 144. Luke seems to use *apoluō* ("to loose from, dismiss, pardon") in Luke 6:37 as a synonym for *aphiēmi:* "forgive, and you will be forgiven." Matt 18:27 contains the same word used with its financial force: "the lord … forgave him that debt." Apart from this stock of vocabulary, the concept of forgiveness is implicitly present in other passages (e.g., Luke 15:20–24).

### B. Forgiveness by God

The calamity of sin is perhaps the major concern of the NT. Offense against God is defined so broadly that mortals cannot by themselves avoid God's condemnation. So Matt 5:20: "Unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven." Whether they will admit it or not, all find themselves needing to pray "God, be merciful to me a sinner" (Luke 18:13; cf. Rom 2:3–4).

Divine forgiveness is dependent on the loving nature of God. But while offered to all, pardon is not given to all. Impediments to forgiveness include stubborn unrepentance (Mark 4:12), unbelief (implicit in Acts 2:37–38, 40), denial of wrongdoing (1 John 1:8, 10), and refusal to forgive other people (Matt 6:14–15). There is scarce NT support for the universal remission of sins. Rather, forgiveness is the exception to God's wrath which will fall upon all but the pardoned (Kümmel 1973: 41–46).

The parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15:11–32) is a paradigm of the forgiveness of the sinner. One of its main features is the Father's eagerness to restore the one who humbly returns to him. Those whom Jesus receives and forgives are like the prodigal: Whether crushed by illness (Mark 2:3–4) or guilt and

social ostracism (Mark 2:15; John 8:11), those who have felt the yoke of shame can find freedom in God's forgiveness.

"Forgiveness of sins" becomes a synonym of salvation in Lukan literature. The disciples are to preach it (Luke 24:47), and in Acts it is announced to those in need of it (Acts 2:38, 5:31, 10:43, 13:38, 26:18). This forgiveness is offered in the context of initial repentance and conversion to Christ; it is the cleansing which issues from the suffering, death, and resurrection of Christ in accordance with the OT prophets. Forgiveness as a metaphor of conversion is also found in Rom 4:7–8, Eph 1:7, Col 1:14, 2:13, and probably Col 3:13.

In other NT texts, forgiveness is offered to those who are already believers: Jesus taught his disciples daily to pray "forgive us our debts" (Luke—"forgive us our sins"; Marshall *Luke* NICNT, 460–61). So in 1 John 1:7–10, rather than deny their sins, the disciples must confess them to God and be cleansed anew. God is "faithful and just," and forgiveness is part of his nature; but it is based on Christ's atoning sacrifice.

One of the ongoing debates within the Christian Church has been the relation between baptism and forgiveness. The Lukan accounts of the preaching of John the Baptist (Luke 3:3) and Peter (Acts 2:38) contain the urging of baptism "for the forgiveness of sins" (see also Acts 22:16, Rom 6:1–11, 1 Cor 6:11, Col 2:11–12, 1 Pet 3:21). With the overarching importance of baptism in the emerging Catholic Church of the next century, remission of sins and the removal of the taint of original sin came more and more to be associated with the sacrament (Kelley gives an index to the theology of baptism held by the Church Fathers). The spectrum of views on the meaning of baptism and the validity of infant baptism reflect differing approaches to its efficacy in removing sins (Beasley-Murray 1962: 263–305). The Fathers are deeply interested in the issue of postbaptismal sin, and prescribe often rigorous systems of repentance and reconciliation (Redlich 1937: 217–61; Telfer 1959: 46–48); it is also known that some delayed baptism until late in life, so that it would absolve them from all of life's sins.

**C. Forgiveness by the Son of Man**

One of the innovations in the Gospels is Jesus' claim that the Son of Man can forgive sins. The pericope of the healing of the paralytic is the fullest example of this (Matt 9:1–8 = Mark 2:1–12 = Luke 5:17–26): Jesus offers the man divine pardon and heals him "that you may know that the Son of Man has the authority on earth to forgive sins." Marshall has observed that Jesus' ministry was centered on his teaching which called men to repent and believe in the Gospel and to accept its spiritual blessings; he did not wish to perform physical healings which could become incomplete ends in themselves, and thus fail to be seen as symbolic parts of a greater whole (*Luke* NICNT). To be sure, Higgins theorizes that the Church created the saying that "the Son of Man has authority on earth to forgive sins" in order to justify its own practice of forgiving sins. But this skirts the evidence of the NT, which does not confirm that the Church aspired to invest its leaders with the authority to remit sins. Jesus was accused of blasphemy, because he forgave sins committed against God, and not against himself personally.

The point in the Son of Man sayings as presently written is that Jesus himself is the Son of Man on earth, and as such will be the eschatological judge (Matt 25:31–46, Mark 8:38, John 5:22). Thus he is able in advance to pronounce acquittal and to pronounce judgment (Matt 11:20–24 = Luke 10:13–15, among others).

In other passages, Jesus affirms God's forgiveness without directly claiming personal power to forgive: in Luke 7:47, "her sins, which are many, are forgiven"; in Luke 19:9–10, "today salvation has come to this house … For the Son of Man came to seek and to save the lost"; and in John 8:11, "Neither do I condemn you; go and do not sin again."

The Gospels claim for Jesus not a common human ability to forgive others, but the right to speak for God in matters of judgment and forgiveness; if he possesses this delegated authority, then Jesus is neither usurping the divine prerogative nor blaspheming.

While Jesus does not speak often of the atoning sacrifices of the temple, the repentant publican probably refers to his propitiatory sacrifice in Luke 18:13. Otherwise, in some heavily contested sayings he refers to his own death as a ransom (Matt 20:28 = Mark 10:45; Matt 26:28).

**D. Forgiveness in the Cross**

The ancient hope of the OT was for a New Covenant; the prophets were burdened down with Israel's perennial disobedience to the Law of Moses, which led inevitably to God's punishment. The solution would be a covenant in which God forgives and changes his people from within: "For I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more" (Jer 31:34); "I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your uncleannesses, and from all your idols I will cleanse you" (Ezek 36:25; cf. Heb 9:12–14).

The ministry of Jesus brings unprecedented forgiveness of sins. He pardons sins as a part of the inbreaking of the kingdom of God; other kingdom blessings include exorcism, healing, and salvation (see Luke 4:16–21). All of the versions of the Last Supper mention the establishment of the (New) covenant. Matt 26:28 goes so far as to say: "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness (*aphesis*) of sins." That is why the preaching of the Church according to Acts typically contained the promise of God's forgiveness in Christ.

Far from denying the OT demand for blood sacrifice for forgiveness, the NT authors consistently point to Christ as the ultimate sacrifice, and the fulfillment of the Mosaic system (Heb 9:22—"without the shedding of blood there is no forgiveness of sins"). According to Heb 10:12–18, "Christ had offered for all time a single sacrifice for sins" and "by a single offering he has perfected for all time those who are sanctified." Thus, there is no longer any need for the temple cult.

Paul speaks of divine pardon always in terms of God's work in Christ. Even in Ps 32:1–2, Paul finds that sin is forgiven through faith (Rom 4:7–8), and in this age, through faith in the God who raised Jesus from the dead. Justification is God's declaration that the sinner is righteous; the linchpin of this transaction, and that which keeps God's declaration of innocence from being unwarranted, is the atoning death of Jesus: "They are justified by his grace as a gift, through the redemption which is Christ Jesus, whom God put forward as an expiation by his blood, to be received by faith" (Rom 3:24–25).

The consistent witness of the NT authors is that God offers forgiveness, not just because he is merciful, but because of the atonement in the cross. "God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not counting their trespasses against them" (2 Cor 5:19). So, appeal must now be made not simply to God's mercy, but to God's mercy in Christ.

**E. Forgive Others as God Forgives You**

Forgiveness is not merely the end of human anger against an offender; it also effects the renewal of fellowship (Goppelt 1981: 134). The NT consistently teaches that the imperative to forgive one's fellows is based squarely on God's gracious forgiveness: The parable of the unmerciful servant in Matt 18:23–35 is a vivid reproof against those who draw on God's mercy and offer none of their own; indeed, the parable threatens a rekindling of God's anger: "So also my heavenly Father will do to every one of you, if you do not forgive your brother from your heart." Other texts include Matt 5:7, 6:12, 14–15, Matt 18:15–17, 21–22, Luke 6:37, 11:4, 17:3–4, Eph 4:32, Col 3:13, all of Philemon.

When the Christian prays "and forgive us our debts" he or she must also be able to say "as we also have forgiven our debtors" (Matt 6:12). This kind of gracious response to offense undergirds Paul's advice to strong Christians in Gal 6:1–2, who are to offer loving and humble help to those who fall into sin. An unforgiving spirit is the evidence of stubborn pride, which is not the attitude with which to approach to God for mercy. "Forgive and you will be forgiven" (Luke 6:37; also Mark 11:25, Sir 28:2). Jesus is also credited with the instruction that one should not ask for forgiveness if another is angry at him for some cause (Matt 5:23–24). The command to seek reconciliation is given to the offended and to the offender both.

While the NT emphasizes human forgiveness more than the OT, there is a clear line of development from Judaism. The Psalms with their stern imprecations were concerned with those who have sinned against God and the author but have shown no remorse. In that case, the psalmists put forward the choice of siding with evil or siding with God; the righteous choice was to condemn those whom God condemns.

Likewise, in many NT texts, forgiveness is commanded to be given those who regret their offense. This is not far off from contemporary Judaism: "Love one another from the heart, therefore, and if anyone sins

against you, speak to him in peace … If anyone confesses and repents, forgive him" (*T. Gad* 6:3–4). Unlike the NT, it goes on to say that if someone denies his guilt, one should not press the matter; he will come to realize his wrong, and will not do it again. The Lukan version of Jesus' teaching gives this condition: "if your brother sins, rebuke him, and if he repents, forgive him; and if he sins against you 7 times in the day, and turns to you 7 times, and says, 'I repent,' you must forgive him." The Matthean parable of the unmerciful debtor makes the two debtors humbly ask for release from debt. Matt 18:15–17 includes the exhortation to approach the sinning brother to "tell him his fault"; reconciliation comes "if he listens to you."

On the other hand, Jesus' teaching was rich with exhortations to love one's enemies; taking vEngeance is forbidden, as is harboring resentment (Matt 5:39, Luke 6:35; see Rom 12:14–21). The disciple must be forgiving in spirit even if the offender is hardhearted. Again, this ideal is not absent from Judaism; again, *T. Gad* 6:7 provides a parallel: If the offender does not repent at all "forgive him from the heart and leave vEngeance with God." But whatever the parallels, the concept springs into life in Luke 23:34—"Father forgive them; for they know not what they do." Jesus forgiving of his own executioners is mirrored by Stephen (Acts 7:60), and by a number of later victims of Roman persecution.

**F. Remission of Sins by the Apostles**

According to John 20:23, Jesus appeared to 10 of the apostles and promised, "If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained." The Catholic Church has taken this as Scriptural warrant for Auricular Confession and the absolution of sins by a priest (Beasley-Murray *John* WBC, 382–84). Protestant interpreters generally understand the authority to be that of the preaching of the gospel (as in Luke 24:47), or the right to give or withhold baptism. It seems that from earliest times the whole congregation was involved in disciplining and forgiving (Matt 18:17, 1 Cor 5:1–13, 2 Cor 2:5–11, James 5:16, 1 John 5:16), although an authoritative figure may have been involved in giving an official declaration of guilt or pardon (Matt 16:19, 18:18, Acts 5:3–4, 9; 8:20–24; 1 Cor 5:3–4).

**G. The "Unpardonable Sin"**

Later generations of Christians would take Mark 3:28–29 (= Matt 12:31–32 = Luke 12:10) and interpret "speaking against the Son of Man" as sins of ignorance committed by non-Christians, while "blasphemy against the Spirit" was deliberate sin by the baptized (Higgins 1964: 130–31; Marshall *Luke* NICNT, 516–19). Tertullian, following Montanism, taught that the 7 "mortal sins" are unforgivable if committed by Christians (Telfer 1959: 71). Biblically, the sin which will not be forgiven (*aphiēmi*) is "blasphemy against the Spirit" (Matt 12:32 adds: "speaks against the Holy Spirit"). In the accounts of Matthew and Mark, the saying is given when Jesus' opponents credit his exorcism to Beelzebul. In that context, the unpardonable sin is an obstinate rejection of the Spirit's work in God's kingdom, and thus a rejection of God himself. Redlich (1937: 167) interprets the warning and the reference to the possibility of eternal punishment to mean that the unpardonable sin is a life of rejecting the Spirit, and not necessarily a specific act. Similar language is used to speak of a complete rebellion against Christian light in Heb 6:4–8, 10:26–29 (cf. the "mortal sin" in 1 John 5:16).

There is a close parallel to the "unpardonable sin" in *Jub.* 15:34. There is no forgiveness for those who commit the eternal error of not circumcising their sons. The sin is called a "blasphemy" against God in the face of his Law. This passage was current in Jesus' day, and it probably provides the foundation for his counterproposal: It is not the failure to circumcise, but the rejection of the Spirit which constitutes the unpardonable sin. If it is analogous to the traditional sin, thus blasphemy of the Spirit is indeed a perpetual state rather than a single act.

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GARY S. SHOGREN

**FORM CRITICISM.** This entry discusses an important method of biblical study that arose early in the 20th century and that has continued to have a major impact on biblical criticism. The entry consists of 2 articles, one covering how this method has been employed in OT studies, and the other covering how it has been utilized by NT scholars.

## *OLD TESTAMENT*

In the OT, form criticism is a method of study that identifies and classifies the smaller compositional units of biblical texts, and seeks to discover the social setting within which units of these types or literary genres were originally used.

A. History and Development
B. Stages of Form Critical Analysis
1. Form
2. *Gattung*
3. *Sitz im Leben*
4. Form and Function

### A. History and Development

OT form criticism is usually held to have begun with the work of Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932), who wrote major studies of the stories in Genesis (Gunkel 1964) and of the Psalms (Gunkel 1967). Earlier work on the oral literature of other nations formed the basis of Gunkel's work. He was the first to suggest that it was possible to penetrate behind even the earliest-written source material in the Pentateuch to a preliterary stage at which the individual stories were transmitted by word of mouth. Many of them, he suggested, owed their origins to the need to explain particular local customs, institutions, or natural phenomena, and so were *aetiological legends.* For example, the story of Jacob's dream at Bethel (Gen 28:10–17) was originally a legend explaining the existence of a sanctuary there ("Bethel" = "house of El") taken over by the Israelites from the Canaanites. In his study of the Psalms, Gunkel proposed that the present Psalms derived from earlier prototypes which were not (as he believed the present Psalms to be) personal lyric poems, but liturgical texts actually used in the cultic life of Israel. Gunkel's classification of the Psalms into 5 basic types (hymns, communal laments, royal psalms, individual laments, and individual songs of thanksgiving) is the basis of all modern study of the Psalter.

Sigmund Mowinckel developed Gunkel's theories about the Psalms further and simplified them by proposing that many of the Psalms in the present Psalter were themselves cultic texts (Mowinckel 1962). With the aid of comparative material from other Near Eastern cultures he then sought to reconstruct the worship of the preexilic Temple by suggesting occasions on which the Psalms might have been used, adding rubrics to the Psalms to account for the changes of form within a single Psalm (see below) and hypothesizing an annual "Festival of Yahweh's Enthronement" as the setting for many Psalms. Subsequent scholarship has been skeptical of the more speculative parts of Mowinckel's work (see Kraus 1966). For example, it is not clear that all the Psalms can be fitted into a single festival; while many of Mowinckel's suggestions rest more on comparisons with other cultures of the ancient Near East than on form criticism, in any case. But OT scholars have continued to accept the general working hypothesis that form criticism can establish a *Sitz im Leben* (see below) for many Psalms in the worship of preexilic Israel.

Gunkel's work on the Pentateuch led directly into the traditio-historical researches of Martin Noth (1972), and Gerhard von Rad (1966), who accepted the basic premise that the preliterary forms of the stories of the Israelite ancestors could be reconstructed. They tried to show that many of the cycles into which these stories had coalesced, even before being fixed in writing, had their *Sitz im Leben* in the cultic life of the Israelite covenant-league before the monarchy. The demise of Noth's theory of an Israelite

"Amphictyony" has to some extent weakened this position. But most OT scholars still accept the view that the stories in the Pentateuch rest on oral prototypes, and that these prototypes can to some extent be reconstructed, though in some quarters there has been a return to Wellhausen's view that the Pentateuch was a literary document from the beginning. This has been argued particularly by Van Seters (1975) and Schmid (1976).

Form criticism has been particularly fruitful in the study of legal and wisdom material. Albrecht Alt's pioneering work on Israelite law (Alt 1966) established the essential distinction between apodeictic law (commands) and casuistic law (case law), which continues to be widely used, though his assertion that apodeictic or categorical law (of the unconditional kind represented best by the Ten Commandments) was peculiar to Israel has had to be abandoned. Form-critical study of the wisdom literature has made comparison with the wisdom books of other Near Eastern cultures more precise, and perhaps represents the least controversial area of form critical work (see Crenshaw 1981).

In the case of the prophets, form critics were for a long time impressed with the number of primarily cultic forms to be found in prophetic texts, and a number of scholars, notably A. R. Johnson in Britain and H. Graf Reventlow in Germany, argued the case for seeing the great classical prophets as cultic functionaries, at least partly on the strEngth of these similarities (see Johnson 1962; Reventlow 1962). G. Fohrer, however, warned against jumping too readily to this conclusion. He argued (see Fohrer 1961) that prophets could use cultic forms (or forms from any other sphere of Israelite life) because of their high degree of literary skill: it did not follow from this that they were themselves cultic officials. We shall return to this argument (see below under **Form and Function**). This has been widely accepted, and though it does not of course demonstrate that the prophets were *not* cultic functionaries, it does reduce the grounds for believing that they were.

Form criticism is no longer in the center of interest in OT studies, as REDACTION CRITICISM and literary approaches (STRUCTURALISM, semiotics, READER-RESPONSE THEORY) have focused attention on the finished form of the text, rather than on preliterary stages of the text's growth. Nevertheless, form criticism remains an indispensable tool for the historical study of the OT (see Tucker 1971; Koch 1969; Barton 1984).

**B. Stages of Form Critical Analysis**

Whereas "Source Criticism" analyzes books which are the work of several *authors* into their component parts, form criticism is concerned with texts that contain material belonging to different *genres*, whether or not they are by a single author. For example, prophetic books often contain passages belonging to different genres within a single chapter. Thus Isaiah 5 begins (vv 1–7) with a poem which is generically a love song, but then continues with several oracles beginning "Woe to …," which are probably modelled on funeral dirges. In vv 24–5 the text shifts to a proclamation of divine judgment, and in vv 26–30 it concludes with a poetic description of the Assyrian army. To understand this chapter, it is obviously essential first to break it up into its separate parts and then to identify the genre of each.

The word "genre" perhaps suggests to a modern reader the categories of *written* literature (novels, lyric poems, etc.); but many of the genres we can identify in the OT, though now fixed in writing, probably go back to a time of *oral* composition, as Gunkel was among the first to recognize (see above). In any culture where literature is transmitted by word of mouth, different genres have different social contexts: Indeed, this is still true even in our own society of such genres as the sermon, the political speech, and the popular song. In societies such as ancient Israel, many types of utterance were strictly tied to particular settings, and followed highly stereotyped patterns. Consequently it is sometimes possible to learn about the social and religious life of ancient Israel by paying attention to the various oral and literary forms of speech encountered in OT texts. It is a feature of the OT, however, that one genre is often embedded in another. In the example from Isaiah, a poem in the form of a love song is set within the larger context of a collection of oracles, and this collection in turn forms part of a prophetic book. Detailed critical work may be needed before the various genres to be studied can be disentangled. Furthermore, even the term "genre" is too imprecise. Form critics distinguish 2 categories, known by the German terms *Form* and

*Gattung.* Analysis of a text begins by identifying each *Form* within it, grouping them together to identify the *Gattung,* and then asking about the text's *Sitz im Leben* and its function.

**1. Form.** Confusingly, the English word "form" is used to render 2 of these technical terms of German form criticism, *Form* and *Gattung.* The first, the "form" properly so called, is the structure or shape of an individual passage or unit, as in this may be described without regard to the content of the passage. For example, in studying the Psalms we can begin by describing each Psalm in terms of its meter, the number of stanzas or strophes it contains, whether the speaker is singular or plural, whether it is addressed to God or (as in Psalm 37) to the reader, and so on. Formal description at this level is an important method of breaking a text up into its component parts, and is essential in studying the OT because as it now stands the text lacks the kind of section divisions we are familiar with in modern books.

In a prophetic book such as Hosea, for example, a reader who tries to read the text as a coherent and continuous whole is soon frustrated by the lack of overall shape, and begins to feel that the book needs to be broken up into shorter sections. Modern translations indicate such divisions by leaving blank lines, and sometimes by introducing subheadings. The criteria for these divisions are often connected with *formal* features of the text: for example, a change of speaker (e.g., between Hosea 5:15 and 6:1); a new start with a different audience addressed (5:1); a shift from a prediction of judgment (13:16) to an exhortation to repentance, introduced with an imperative (14:1).

In the same way the Psalms sometimes "change gear" in a disconcerting way, but the change can be precisely described in formal terms. Thus in Psalm 118, vv 1–18 are a hymn of praise, but v 19 is a request ("open to me the gates of righteousness"); v 25 a prayer for deliverance ("Save us, we beseech thee, O Lord"); v 26 a blessing ("We bless you from the house of the Lord"); and v 27b perhaps a rubric ("Bind the festal procession with branches up to the horns of the altar") in imperative form. Formal description at this level does not tell us much that is new about the text, but it does help us to analyze it and, in some cases, to understand at a more theoretical level why it is intuitively puzzling.

**2. *Gattung.*** Once a number of passages have been analyzed from a formal point of view, it may be possible to see them as belonging to a general class or genre, and it is for this that the German term *Gattung* is used. Thus there is a large number of Psalms that begin with a call to worship God and go on to extol God's mighty acts (e.g., Psalms 29, 33, 47, 66, 96, 98, 100); there are many laws in the Pentateuch that begin "If a man …" (e.g., Exod 22:1, 5, 7, 10, 14 [Heb 21:37; 22:4, 6, 9, 14]); there are many prophetic oracles that run "Because … therefore thus says the LORD …" (e.g., Isa 7:5–8; 29:13–14; Amos 1:3–5). Having discerned the presence of such repeated structures and phrases, we are justified in concluding that Israel's literature (written or oral) included such stereotyped forms as standard types of which the particular cases we encounter in the OT are examples.

Once scholars are convinced that a passage they have analyzed formally belongs to a more general class, they usually devise a shorthand title for the *Gattung,* and this results in many technical terms. In Psalm-study, common *Gattungen* are the hymn, the lament, and the thanksgiving, all of which may be further subdivided (individual laments, thanksgiving for victory in battle, etc.); legal sections of the Pentateuch yield "apodeictic" and "casuistic" laws (see above); wisdom literature contains proverbs, riddles, fables, and rhetorical questions; and prophetic books are made up of such forms as the oracle of judgment (*Drohwort*), the accusation (*Scheltwort*), the "woe," and the taunt.

There is obviously a danger in inferring the existence of a *Gattung* from very few examples, since it is always possible that a single text is anomalous. If the book of Psalms contained only one "lament," it would be hazardous to say very much about laments in general. Nevertheless, a culture which values tradition more highly than creativity is likely to be very conservative in the way it uses its traditional forms, and so even a few examples of a *Gattung* may give us quite a clear impression of the conventions governing its composition. For instance, the OT records only a few cases of legal procedures, but they are enough to give us some idea of the conventional formulas used in the practice of law—for example, acquittal was probably accomplished by the stereotyped formula "He/she is righteous (*ṣaddiq*)" (see Gen 38:26; Psalm 51:5; Isa 41:26).

Already in moving from *Form* to *Gattung* considerations of content begin to arise. Though form critics have sometimes maintained that form criticism should appeal only to strictly formal features (grammatical, syntactical, and metrical features of the text), most, in practice, regard the subject matter as relevant in establishing the *Gattung* to which a text belongs. In some cases, for example the category "royal psalms," subject matter is expressly the criterion used; more often, however, subject matter is one among a number of factors. Oracles of judgment in the prophets can be identified *both* by formal features (e.g., first person address by God, often with "Thus says the LORD" or "oracle of the LORD" attached) *and* by their distinctive content, concerning the future of Israel or of other nations. This mixture of form and content as criteria for assigning a text to a particular *Gattung* is no different in principle from what happens in classifying modern literature, where to call a work a tragedy, for example, is to say both that it has the formal features of a play—with acts, scenes, dialogue, and so on—and that it has a certain kind of theme and plot.

**3. *Sitz im Leben.*** In saying that a text belongs to a particular *Gattung* we are already saying something about the context in the life of Israel in which the text originated. If a text is a hymn, then people must have sung hymns, and there must have been occasions on which hymns could be sung; if there are laws in the OT, then Israel must have had a legal system of some kind in which these laws were used. The occasion or social setting for a given form is known as its *Sitz im Leben* (German, "setting-in-life"), a term for which no adequate English equivalent exists.

The *Sitz im Leben* must be carefully distinguished from the *historical* occasion that may have led to the production of any particular text. Thus, it is possible that certain Psalms can be dated to a particular period in Israel's history, perhaps even to a space of a few years—Psalm 74, for instance, seems to reflect the situation of Israel in the early years of the Babylonian Exile (6th century B.C.). The *Sitz im Leben* of the Psalm, however, is not the *period*, but whatever context (presumably a liturgical context) it was composed to be used in. In the nature of the case, a *Sitz im Leben* is a general, and in principle repeatable occasion, not a single historical event. In the study of the Psalms, form criticism has been particularly useful, since the Psalms are the clearest case in the OT of texts intended for public use on many repeated occasions. Psalm 74 is rather an exception in being dateable to one particular period. Most of the other lament Psalms are so general in their description of the plight of the worshippers that they could come from almost any period. Indeed, the essential form-critical insight is that the question of their date is in many ways less interesting and important than the question of their intended use as conventional liturgical texts on any and every occasion of public lamentation. (See above for an outline of form-critical work on the Psalms by Gunkel and Mowinckel.)

Although liturgy is one of the clearest examples of the kind of *Sitz im Leben* the form critic can reconstruct, other spheres of Israelite life also had their distinctive forms, and by paying attention to them we can understand many OT texts better, and in turn derive from the texts more information about the spheres concerned. An example already mentioned is the law court. The OT provides only one clear account of proceedings in court, in 1 Kgs 21 (the trial of Naboth), though there are frequent passing allusions to the institution. Form criticism, however, can throw considerably more light on the subject. For example, the prophets frequently use a form in which God (or his prophet) is portrayed as pleading a case in court (e.g., Isa 1:2; Mic 6:1–5)—the so-called *rîb* or controversy form—and they also describe visions of courtroom scenes in the heavenly world which are probably modelled on earthly legal processes (e.g., Zech 3:1–5). From these it is possible to form a fair idea of procedures in the courts: for example, to infer that Israelite courts knew of counsel for the plaintiff and for the defendant, and that cases were heard by a panel of judges. These conclusions in turn help us to understand such passages more clearly—to see that God is cast variously in the role of judge (Zech 3), plaintiff (Isa 1), and defendant (Micah 6), thereby gaining a sharper focus on these important texts.

Other spheres of life which form criticism can illuminate have proved to be education, commercial practice, and the life of the royal court. Interest in recent years in the sociology of ancient Israel will both contribute to and benefit from form-critical studies of OT texts.

**4. Form and Function.** Form criticism of the prophetic books raises some particularly interesting issues. As we have just seen, some of our information about certain spheres of life in Israel—for example, the procedures in law courts—derives from the use of legal forms by the prophets; but this use is at one remove from the primary or original use of legal forms, since the prophets are deliberately adopting forms from a sphere of activity other than their own in order to communicate their message more vividly. Whereas descriptions in the first person of a vision (as in 1 Kgs 22:19–23 or Amos 9:1–4) may be regarded as characteristically prophetic forms, with their *Sitz im Leben* in public prophesying, forms from the law court, the world of the popular singer (Isa 5:1–7), or the priestly call to worship (Amos 4:4) represent a deliberate use (or rather *mis*use) by the prophets of forms from other spheres of life. Amos, in effect, *pretends* to be a priest in order to utter sentiments that no priest would have accepted: that God no longer requires the worship of the sanctuaries. A form-critical study, by showing us the original and proper function of the forms used by the prophets, helps us to see more sharply the originality with which they contradicted the people's expectations.

This does not in any way diminish the historical value of form criticism in elucidating Israelite institutions; for the prophets' words can only have been effective if the forms they used did indeed have a proper sphere of life in which they were completely familiar to people at large. But it does urge us to be cautious in thinking that form criticism can tell us exactly how a given text was actually used in ancient Israel; for clearly it would be illegitimate to argue from Amos 4:4 that the prophet was a priest, or from Isa 5:1–7 that Isaiah was a popular singer, simply because they use forms properly belonging to these spheres. The form of the popular song could not have existed to be exploited by Isaiah if no one in Israel sang songs; but it does not follow from this that any given text which we can classify as belonging to the *Gattung* of the popular song really was used as one, and Isa 5:1–7 provides a clear example of one such text that is transparently *not* a real song.

This has implications also for the form criticism of the Psalms. Once certain genres of text exist, it is always possible for them to be imitated in a purely literary way, or even parodied—and parody is perhaps the best description of the use made of a variety of forms by the great prophets. The fact that a form has a proper or normal function in a particular society must not be allowed to lead us to the hasty conclusion that any given example of the form represents a primary case: It may be a secondary imitation or use of the form for some other purpose.

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JOHN BARTON

## *NEW TESTAMENT*

In NT studies, form criticism may be defined as "a systematic, scientific, historical, and theological methodology for analyzing the forms, and to some extent the content, of the primitive Christian literature, with special reference to the history of the early Christian movement in its reflective and creative theological activities" (Doty 1972: 62). The method developed as a means of analyzing and interpreting

the Synoptic Gospels, but its application broadened during the 1970s and 1980s through the influence of aesthetic and rhetorical criticism.

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A. Traditional Form Criticism
B. Aesthetic Form Criticism
C. Rhetorical Form Criticism
D. Conclusion

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**A. Traditional Form Criticism**

Hermann Gunkel's *Genesis* (1901) [*The Legends of Genesis*] suggested that biblical literature was a product of combined traditions that had circulated orally before they were written down by various writers. Julius Wellhausen's *Das Evangelium Marci* (1903), *Das Evangelium Matthaei* (1904), *Das Evangelium Lucae* (1904), and *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (1905)—building on David Friedrich Strauss's observation in *Das Leben Jesu* (1835–1836) [*The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*] that the Gospels must be compared unit by unit—used Gunkel's insight to break with the traditional explanation of the Gospels as products of written sources and to discuss the Synoptic Gospels as literature written by authors who used oral traditions. Karl Ludwig Schmidt, in *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu* (1919), distinguished the editorial framework, which established a chronological and geographical scheme, from the units ("forms") that had been transmitted orally. He also described a stage between oral transmission and gospel writing in which similar kinds of forms existed in collections.

Martin Dibelius' *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (1919) [*From Tradition to Gospel*] launched form criticism in the NT by differentiating 6 kinds of materials: sermons, paradigms, tales, legends, passion story, and myth. The sermon created the sociological setting (*Sitz im Leben*) for the tradition as a whole and represented for Dibelius the "constructive" base for discussing Synoptic Gospel forms. Paradigms functioned as examples for early Christian preaching and were edifying and religious, not "worldly." Tales (*Novellen*) present "secular" events, motivated by a need for propaganda and a model for Christian miracles. They abound in details and conceal the epiphany of god's messenger. Legends cast a religious hero into a stereotyped mold as a man of piety. They exhibit manifold interests and portray secondary things and persons without clear focus. The passion narrative represents the story of Jesus' death, burial, and resurrection known by all Christians. Myth relates the cosmic significance of a cult hero and leaves few traces outside the baptism, temptation, and transfiguration of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels. The writers of the Gospels worked as compilers or redactors rather than as authors—their contributions were limited to grouping and reworking traditional materials.

Rudolf Bultmann's *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (1921) [*The History of the Synoptic Tradition*] used an "analytical" approach that started with the synoptic texts rather than the Christian sermon. He expanded the aims of form criticism by seeking to determine the original form, secondary additions and forms, and the results for the history of the tradition. As a correlate, Bultmann's concern was to determine the sociological setting at any particular time for each passage under discussion. Bultmann divided the synoptic tradition into "sayings" and "narratives." Under sayings were 2 categories: (a) apophthegms (sayings in a situation), divided into controversy and school dialogues, and into biographical apophthegms; (b) dominical sayings (1 or 2 sentences long), divided into logia, prophetic and apocalyptic words, legal sayings and church rules, "I"-sayings, and similitudes and similar forms. Under narratives were 2 categories: (a) miracle stories (demonstrating Jesus' messianic authority or divine power), divided into miracles of healing (including demon healings) and nature miracles; (b) historical stories and legends (religious and edifying stories arising out of messianic hopes and institutions), divided chronologically: from baptism to triumphal entry, passion narrative, Easter narratives, and infancy narratives.

Vincent Taylor, in *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition* (1933) gave life to form criticism within British scholarship by interweaving it with source criticism. In 2 instances he modified conventional terminology: (a) by using "pronouncement story" for Bultmann's apophthegms and Dibelius' paradigms,

which Eric Fascher, in *Die Formgeschichtliche Methode* (1924), had called *Anekdoten* (anecdotes) and Martin Albertz, in *Die synoptischen Streitgespräche* (1921), had called *Streitgespräche* (conflict dialogues); and (b) by using "stories about Jesus" for narratives previously called legends or myths. In addition, he discussed passion narratives, sayings, parables, and miracle stories.

After the phase in which comprehensive terminology was established for forms in the synoptic tradition, contributions focused on individual forms. C. H. Dodd, in *The Parables of the Kingdom* (1935), and Joachim Jeremias, in *Die Gleichnisse Jesu* (1947) [*The Parables of Jesus*], gave special attention to the parables of Jesus, distinguishing parable from allegory, differentiating eschatology from apocalyptic, and establishing a history of the parables from their authentic form on the lips of Jesus to their theological and christological functions in the Gospels. Ernst Käsemann, in "Sätze heiligen Rechtes im NT" (1954–55) isolated "sentences of holy law," among which Richard A. Edwards identified "eschatological correlatives"—a form which D. Schmidt subsequently called "prophetic correlatives."

H. C. Kee (1977), incorporating work on collections prior to the written Gospels and importing some new terminology, presented a list of gospel forms within Bultmann's earlier two-division scheme. The first division is constituted by the sayings tradition, with 3 subtypes: (a) aphorisms; (b) parables; (c) sayings clusters with topical and formal groupings. The second division is constituted by narrative tradition, with 5 subtypes: (a) anecdotes; (b) aphoristic narratives; (c) wonder stories; (d) legends, consisting of biographical and cultic legends; (e) passion narrative. The use of the terms aphorism and aphoristic narrative reveal the influence of aesthetic criticism on forms in the Gospels (see Crossan 1983).

Since traditional form criticism emerged during a phase when historical issues dominated the discussion of biblical literature, a major issue for debate concerned the historicity of various NT forms. Dibelius and Taylor considered Bultmann's approach too skeptical concerning possible historical reminiscences within many of the forms. Intensifying this concern, Harald Riesenfeld, in *The Gospel Tradition and its Beginnings* (1957), attempted to show that the gospel tradition derived from Jesus himself and that the tradition was passed down carefully as was the rabbinic tradition. Birger Gerhardsson, in *Memory and Manuscript* (1961), tried to support Riesenfeld's thesis through detailed analysis based on rabbinic tradition as a model. Research both by Morton Smith and Jacob Neusner has systematically challenged the use of rabbinic tradition by Riesenfeld and Gerhardsson to argue that historical reminiscence dominates, since rabbinic tradition is even less interested in historical information than the gospel tradition. These concerns, however, have been perpetuated by Heinz Schürmann, who posits a collection of sayings used by disciples of Jesus during Jesus' lifetime, and E. Earle Ellis, who argues that gospel traditions were probably transmitted in written form during Jesus' earthly ministry.

One of the major weaknesses of traditional form criticism has been its reconstruction of underlying oral forms with a scribal method developed for text and source criticism. In other words, form critics have not used data that specialists in oral literature have systematically gathered and analyzed to understand the production and transmission of oral literature. Instead, form critics have attempted to reconstruct oral forms with the same procedures critics use to reconstruct early manuscript readings and early written sources. Thus, at this point in time it is not clear that interpreters ever will be able to get an accurate picture of oral activity in early Christianity. Yet it may be possible, as discussed below, to shed much more light on the symbiotic relation between oral and written composition in early Christianity.

Another weakness has been the absence of detailed work in contemporary literature written in Greek, the language of the NT, to display the dynamic relationships between written and oral composition in Mediterranean society. This has led to an unwillingness to entertain the possibility that early Christians could have used oral speech in conventional situations in which other people spoke in the Mediterranean world. Thus the major situations envisioned have been baptism, eucharist, catechism, and preaching rather than challenge-riposte, argument, performance of witty caricatures, and storytelling. Also, it has led to a one-sided discussion of writing, in which interpreters with a negative view of form criticism have used a model of writing that existed in later rabbinic Judaism, but in which form critics have not used models from Hellenistic education and writing that spread throughout the Mediterranean world in the 3d and 2d centuries B.C.E.

Yet another weakness in form criticism has resulted from the presupposition that the passion stories existed as a uniform narrative within a few years after Jesus' death. This presupposition prevented serious form-critical analysis of units recounting Jesus' arrest, trial, death, and burial. Recently the units in the passion narratives have become a subject of lively analysis and debate, aided substantially by inclusion of the *Gospel of Peter* in the discussion (see Kelber 1976; Mack 1988; Crossan 1988).

Historical debate about traditional form criticism often has detracted from its major contributions to NT research and interpretation. The strEngths of form criticism include: (a) acceptance of significant limitations within historical research; (b) an unwillingness to import extrinsic data about authors into the intrinsic data in a NT document; (c) an intrinsic interest in forms of speech and narrative; (d) a search for a dynamic model to analyze transmission and adaptation of linguistic formulations; (e) an interest in social aspects of literature. These strEngths give form criticism a vitality and importance that has perpetuated it beyond its original literary-historical frame of reference into aesthetic and rhetorical forms of analysis and interpretation.

**B. Aesthetic Form Criticism**

A circle of interpreters in the United States have broadened and reformulated traditional form criticism with aesthetic criticism. To a great extent, these modifications have built on the strEngths of form criticism mentioned above. Aesthetic criticism is especially concerned with dynamics of language, imagery, and modes of perception. Amos N. Wilder, in *The Language of the Gospel* (1964), gave birth to aesthetic form criticism in NT studies with analysis of dialogue, story, parable, and poem. He observed that all the written forms in the NT lie outside the formal categories within the culture of the time. A major reason, he posited, is that the forms in the NT began in oral speech and still lie close to living speech. This means that one must appreciate and illumine special modes of language, newly created expressions and phrases, image, symbol, and myth in these forms. Robert W. Funk (1966, 1982) carried the work forward by interpreting parables as metaphors; by joining form criticism with style criticism to analyze letters; and by inaugurating research groups on parable, pronouncement story, miracle story, letter, and apocalypse in the Society of Biblical Literature. Dan O. Via, Jr. (1967) used an aesthetic-literary approach to analyze 8 narrative parables according to their tragic or comic plot structure and existential mode. William A. Beardslee (1970) joined the ranks with analysis of proverb, gospel, history, and apocalypse. Robert C. Tannehill continued the approach by identifying "the focal instance" and highlighting "the antithetical aphorism" in the Gospels (1975). Then he continued his work with the pronouncement story, which he divided into 6 types: (1) corrections; (2) commendations; (3) objections; (4) quests; (5) inquiries; and (6) descriptions.

John Dominic Crossan has used aesthetic criticism in tandem with traditional form criticism, reconstructing an earlier form with traditional source-, form-, and redaction-critical techniques before applying aesthetic criticism to the reconstructed form. His work has focused on parable, aphorism, and passion narrative.

Aesthetic criticism began with an emphasis on the relation of existing texts to the living voice. Yet attention naturally moved to the written form of the text present to the reader. Thus, most aesthetic form critics are interested in the form on the written page. A notable exception has been Crossan, who reconstructs an earlier text to which he applies aesthetic interpretation.

**C. Rhetorical Form Criticism**

Rhetorical criticism is concerned especially with dynamics among speaker, speech, and audience. When applied to written literature, it focuses on implied authors; narrators and audiences enunciated in literature; and readers. Rhetorical form criticism in NT studies is characterized by interaction with 3 other kinds of analysis and interpretation: (a) aesthetic criticism; (b) traditional form criticism; and (c) social analysis of NT literature. For this reason, rhetorical form criticism in NT studies may function in any one, or a combination, of 3 modes.

One kind of rhetorical form criticism has aesthetic criticism as its frame of reference. Wilder's aesthetic study of forms carried the subtitle *Early Christian Rhetoric*, and Tannehill's work on sayings and pronouncement stories in the Gospels is a type of rhetorical analysis. Likewise, Beardslee's studies of the

proverb focused on their rhetorical function. Thus, some aesthetic form criticism incorporates a type of rhetorical criticism.

Another kind of rhetorical form criticism uses Hellenistic rhetorical treatises, theories, and categories in an environment of traditional form criticism. Hans Dieter Betz gave birth to this kind of criticism by using categories from Hellenistic rhetoric to analyze Pauline letters in a manner akin to traditional form criticism. Subsequently, he moved to the Sermon on the Mount as an epitome of Jesus' teaching. Betz has maintained traditional historical interests in the mode of Bultmann's reconstruction of the history of the tradition, and he has carried traditional form-critical interests into rhetorical analysis that is focused primarily on genre (*Gattung*) and arrangement (*taxis*) in NT literature.

A third kind of rhetorical form criticism uses insights from investigation of Hellenistic rhetorical treatises, theories, and categories with interests that move toward social analysis. Klaus Berger has contributed most comprehensively to form criticism with social interests by his virtually exhaustive analysis of NT forms (1984a; 1984b). He begins with collections of forms that include parables, allegories, maxims, chreiai, and apophthegmata, as well as types of argumentation (e.g., diatribe) and ways of rewriting scripture (e.g., midrash). Then he proceeds to symbouletic (advisory) forms: 27 forms, including various types of parenesis, vice and virtue catalogs, woes, domestic codes, and community rules. Next he discusses epideictic forms (praise or censure): 40 forms, such as acclamations, doxologies, hymns, reports of visions and auditions, travel reports, encomia, and narratives of the suffering and rescue of the righteous. Last he presents dikanic (judicial) forms: 6 forms including apologetic texts and speeches of indictment and accusation. With this classification system, Berger moved away from traditional and aesthetic form criticism—which favors forms that appear to be close to the living voice or to symbolic communication—to rhetorical forms as they function in different social locations for different social purposes. To traditional form critics, therefore, many of Berger's forms appear to be almost formless. The reason is that speech and writing receive their rhetorical form on the basis of their function within a social setting rather than on the basis of a historically or aesthetically conceived situation of creative speech or writing. What may not appear as a striking literary or aesthetic form may, however, be a sufficient and successful form within its conventional social setting.

Contemporaneous with Berger's revisioning of form criticism, various studies of individual forms have produced a circle of NT interpreters Engaged in rhetorical form analysis with an interest in social environments. Stanley K. Stowers' analysis of diatribe as a teaching activity and of letter as communication in particular social locations has played an informative role for this kind of rhetorical form criticism. Analysis of household codes also has played a role, since directions for household management are so obviously social in import (see Stowers 1986; Aune 1988; Malherbe 1988). Rhetorical analysis of Paul's defense speeches in Acts has contributed to this kind of analysis, since the envisioned social location is a court trial, one of the 3 major social environments for speeches discussed by ancient rhetoricians (see Veltman 1978; Long 1983). Studies of the rhetorical chreia are also part of this movement, since they explore the environment of Hellenistic education and argumentation as an aspect of the social location of the Gospels within various early Christian groups (Aune 1988; Mack 1988, 1989; Mack and Robbins 1989; Robbins 1989).

**D. Conclusion**

Form criticism remains a central discipline in NT studies. A major reason is the existence of discrete segments of text with perceptible form in the Synoptic Gospels. Another reason may be that almost every document in the NT displays notable formal features or discrete forms are embedded in it: speeches in Acts; diatribes and household codes in letters; letters themselves; apocalyptic forms of various kinds. Form criticism in NT studies appears to persist beyond the literary-historical framework in which it began. For this reason, it has a significant place in aesthetic criticism in its various forms and in rhetorical criticism in its various forms.

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VERNON K. ROBBINS

**FORNICATION.** See SEX AND SEXUALITY.

**FORTIFICATIONS (LEVANT).** Fortifications are the most important component of an ancient urban settlement, aimed at preventing hostile elements from entering the settlement, as well as serving to demarcate the limits of the city. The impact of new weapons on the shape of a city's fortifications was much less decisive than has been assumed by some scholars. Yadin's attempts to associate the use of a battering ram directly with the appearance of earthen ramparts in the Middle Bronze Age II and with a solid type of city wall in Iron Age II (Yadin 1963) is not supported by the factual evidence (see below). As part of the urban matrix, fortifications share both military and civic functions and their structure usually reflects a compromise between these conflicting roles. For example, the optimal defensive requirements such as maximal width and height of a city wall or depth of its foundations were limited by socioeconomic considerations. Similarly the number of gates in a city could be determined only as a compromise between the contrasting demands of security (a single narrow entrance) and everyday convenience (several wide openings). The history of alterations in shape, structure, and building materials of fortification systems demonstrates the shifts in priorities made by the community within the scope of a military-civic continuum.

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A. Neolithic and Chalcolithic Periods
B. Early Bronze Age
C. Middle Bronze Age
D. Late Bronze Age
E. Iron Age
1. Tenth Century

2. Ninth Century
3. Eighth and Seventh Centuries
4. Fortresses
5. Functional Interpretation

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**A. Neolithic and Chalcolithic Periods**

The surprising appearance in Pre-Pottery Neolithic Jericho of a city wall, built of brick and including a huge round tower predating any other similar example by thousands of years puzzled scholars ever since its discovery. A satisfying solution is finally offered by Bar-Yosef (1986) who interprets the elements not as fortifications but as a retaining wall against floods and a tower for ceremonial purposes.

Only toward the end of the 4th millennium did actual fortifications first appear in the Levant. The concept, if locally developed, could have originated from the enclosure walls of the temenoi of the Ghassulian culture such as those in Tulleilat Ghassul and En-gedi.

**B. Early Bronze Age**

The earliest fortifications so far uncovered in Israel belong to EB I (Kempinski 1987). At Tel ’Erani, in the S coastal plain, a city wall 3.00 m wide, an outer glacis, and 2 towers were exposed in a limited area, contemporary with a public building inside the settlement. From about the same time (late 4th millennium) an elaborate fortification system is found at Habuba Kabira in Syria. It consisted of a city wall 3.40 m wide constructed on the W side of the city in a straight line of about 600 m. Rectangular towers were spaced at regular intervals of 14.00 m and in front of them a thin (0.70 m) outer wall was added. There were 2 city gates of identical plan in the main wall, each with 2 towers and 2 doorways, and an additional outer gate through the outer wall (StrommEnger 1979).

Toward the end of EB I more sites were evidently fortified: Jericho with a 1.1-m-wide city wall and semicircular towers, Tel Shalem protected by 2 parallel walls (inner wall 4.5-m-wide and outer wall 2.80 m), and Aphek with a 2.90-m-wide city wall. The first phase of the fortification systems at Tell el-Far‘ah (north) and ‘Ai is attributed by some scholars to the late EB I and by others to EB II. At Tell el-Far‘ah a 2.20 m city wall is joined to a remarkable city gate. It consists of two huge towers projecting 7 m outward from the wall, each about 8.00 m wide. The towers commanded the 4-m-wide approach-way which narrowed to a 2.00-m entrance. The gate was closed by double doors, as evident from the 2 door sockets found *in situ.* At ‘Ai the first city wall (C), 5.00–5.50 m thick, was built of large stones and strEngthened by semicircular towers. Two narrow (only 1.00 m wide) passages were uncovered but no main gate has been found so far.

In EB II, fortified cities became common all over the Levant (Richard 1987). In addition to the above-mentioned sites, fortified cities were found at Beth-yerah, Megiddo, Taanach, Kh. Makhruk, Dothan, Tel ’Erani, Tel Yarmut, Arad, and Bab edh-Dhra’. A typical feature of most of these sites is the attempt to increase the strEngth of the city walls by making them very thick and by erecting additional parallel walls with fills in between. These cumulative fortification systems of walls and fills reached unusual width (and apparently considerable height): up to 15.00 m at Tell el-Far‘ah, and over 10.00 m at ‘Ai (walls C and B). However, the wall at Arad is only 2.00–2.50-m thick. In some cases, i.e., Megiddo and Jericho, the city wall was constructed in sections about 20.00 m long with narrow gaps of about 0.2 m between them, presumably to prevent the total collapse of the wall during an earthquake.

The cities of EB II are also characterized by the existence of more than one gate (Herzog 1986: 12–23). Each city had at least one large gate (more than 2.00 m wide), like the main gates at Tell el-Far‘ah and Arad, through which fully laden beasts of burden could pass. In addition many cities had several narrow passages, only 0.80 to 1.00 m wide, often called postern gates. This duality reflects the attempts to counterbalance the conflicting military and civilian requirements of very large cities inhabited mostly by agriculturalists. Multiple passages saved the farmers from having to travel a distance of several kilometers in order to reach their fields. Their vulnerability was minimized by making the secondary gates as narrow as possible, so that they could be quickly blocked in an emergency or effectively defended from the top of the ramparts.

Additional efficiency of the system was provided by towers projecting outward from the wall, thus allowing flanking fire. Most common are semicircular towers attached to the wall incorporating a narrow doorway, like those in Arad, built at intervals of 25.00 to 40.00 m. In some cases the towers were rectangular, such as the ones depicted on Narmer's pallette. An interesting innovation is a massive bastion, attached to the city wall at Tel Yarmut, measuring about 25.00 m in lEngth and 13.00 m in width. A similar structure (18.00 by 8.00 m) at Arad dominated the water reservoir inside the city.

At several sites, such as Tell el-Far‘ah (north), Kh. Makhruk, and Jericho, the slopes around the city walls were reinforced by a composition consisting of alternate layers of different kinds of soils, called a glacis. The glacis served to prevent erosion, to force the attacking enemy to climb a slippery ascent, and to make any attempt to undermine the city wall more difficult. The bastion at Tel Yarmut is surrounded by an imposing stone glacis at least 6.00 m wide.

The EB III people exploited the fortifications of the previous period with few alterations. Basically the technique was to increase the width of the former city walls; addition of wall A at ‘Ai created a complex of fortifications 17.00 m wide, and wall 4045A at Megiddo doubled the width to 8.50 m. At Tel Yarmut the fortifications in EB III reached a total width of 36.00 m. Rectangular towers in this phase were a typical feature. The bastions incorporated into the circumference of the city wall became more popular at this time. They were constructed of heavy walls with inner rooms, some of which were narrow stairwells, leading to upper stories. Such bastions are found at Jericho (16.00 by 7.00 m), Tell Hesi (18.00 by 9.00 m) and Ta'anach (10.00 by 10.00 m). In the absence of fortified palaces or acropolises, these bastions also served as power bases for the military elite of the city.

The city gate in stratum XV at Megiddo had a ceremonial rather than a military function. Two wide, straight parallel gateways with stairs led up to the temple area, between 3 rectangular units. Stairs also led down into the city of Beth-yerah between 2 solid towers.

During the EB IV period urban settlements did not exist in Israel, the population being rural or nomadic. However, in Transjordan there were fortifications attributable to this period, specifically at Khirbet Iskander. Here a 2.50-m-wide perimeter wall with reinforced corners and a 2-chambered gate was uncovered (Richard 1987).

**C. Middle Bronze Age**

Fortified cities reappeared in the Middle Bronze Age I, at first along the coastal plain and the internal valleys (Kochavi, Beck and Gophna 1979). Fortification systems included city walls, city gates, towers, glacis, and earthen ramparts. The walls were made of sun-dried bricks above stone foundations with a moderate width of about 2.00 m. In some cases, such as Megiddo and Aphek, the wall was reinforced by pilasters on the outer side. The common use of bricks as the main constructional material stimulated the wide introduction of the glacis, which protected the bottom of the city wall on its outer side and the slope immediately below it. The elaborate MB I glacis at Tel Gerisa is composed of several courses of bricks (up to 13 in one spot) laid on the slope of the mound and covered by a layer of crushed sandstone. This is a clear improvement over the earthen glacis of the EB Age.

In addition to fortified cities built on hills or tells, large settlements surrounded by earthen ramparts were erected outside the tells in the lowlands. These ramparts were built by different techniques: with or without a stone core, with internal box-like brick constructions, or most commonly, with sloping layers of alternating soil types. In not a single case was a city wall found incorporated within the rampart. The absence of a defensive wall means that these earthen ramparts cannot be interpreted as fortifications against military attack. They were not designed to prevent the access of chariots nor could they provide an answer to the battering ram, allegedly introduced at that time. It is more likely that the earthen ramparts were an easy and quickly constructed means of demarcating the city limits of unusually large communities during peaceful times (Herzog 1986a). These communities could erect an earthen rampart within a few months with their own hands, and without the need to invest in professional builders and expensive materials. Such enclosures are known at the huge sites of Qatna and Tell Mardikh in Syria and at Hazor, Yavneh-Yam, Qabri, Tel Dan, and Akko in Israel. They were erected over areas of 20–100 hectares during the MB Age I-II. Incorporation of city gates within the earthen ramparts does not

contradict the demarcation function but rather supports it. The gates were not attached to any city wall; they were merely anchored to the rampart by short walls (as for their function see below).

City gates in the MB I period present several different styles (Herzog 1986; Kempinski 1987a). A gate with an approach-way erected at right angles to the gateway was found at Megiddo Stratum XIII, forming a bent entrance, which was easier to defend than a straight entrance. The stepped approach-way to the gate indicates that only pedestrians or pack animals could enter the city.

A second gate type is found at Tel Akko. It consisted of a gate chamber (8.25 by 7.00 m) with a 10.00-m-long corridor, almost on the same axis. The narrow (1.75 m) entrance and 2 steps in front of the corridor also prevented the use of wagons or chariots.

The long, stepped approach-way leading to the gate at Tel Dan points to similar constraints, but the plan of the gatehouse is different: it is a roughly square building (15.45 by 13.50 m) divided into 4 large rooms, 2 on each side of the gateway. The gate, including the front arches and half-barrel roof (all made of mudbricks), is exceptionally well preserved, due to the fact that it was intentionally and totally buried by the builders of the slightly later earthen rampart. The MB I gate at Dan has a striking resemblance to the 4-room gate type of Iron Age II. See Fig. FOR.01, and Fig. DAN.01.

The 4th type of gate, which developed in Syria (Tell Mardikh) and was introduced into Israel (Yavneh-Yam) in the MB I period, is the 6-pier gate, a type that became dominant in the MB II period. See Fig. FOR.02. City gates in this group are composed of formidable pairs of towers flanking straight gateways, which are narrowed by 3 piers on each side. The thick walls (2.00 m or more) of the towers point to their considerable height, with rooms on several floors. Some of these rooms served as stairwells, others were probably used as barracks for the city guards and storage areas for their equipment and food. The gates of this type had wide, straight entrances (between 2.80 to 4.00 m) and no stairs in the approach-way or gateway. This clearly indicates the usage of wheeled transportation.

Functional interpretation of the 6-pier type of gate is based on the location of the door sockets at both the front and rear ends of the gatehouse (Herzog 1986: 62–66). This proves that the gate passage was closed off by 2 sets of doors, one set towards the exterior of the passage and the other on the city side. The dual-closure system converted the gate into an independent defensive unit, a kind of fort, that was vital in cities enclosed by earthen ramparts without proper city walls. This fort controlled the wheeled transportation in and out of the city and could serve as the only defensible structure for the local elite. In fortified cities, the gate with the dual-closure system may indicate internal social tension and the attempt of the ruling class to protect itself against attack from within the city as well as from without.

City gates of the 6-pier type are known in Syria, in addition to that at Tell Mardikh (14.70 by 22.00 m), at Qatna (36.00 by 29.00 m), Carchemish (25.00 by 18.00 m), and Alalakh (23.00 by 17.00 m), all of which are cities enclosed by earthen ramparts. In Israel such gates are found attached to the earthen enclosures at Yavneh-Yam (25.00 by 18.00 m) and Hazor (20.60 by 16.20 m). They were also adapted for use in walled cities: at Megiddo (18.00 by 10.00 m), Shechem (17.00 by 19.00 m), Gezer (22.00 by 14.00 m), Beth-shemesh (16.50 by 12.40 m), and Tell el-Far‘ah (south; 21.60 by 18.00 m). Bastions incorporated into the city wall, which like the glacis seem to revive a tradition from MB III, are another typical component of MB II fortifications. Bastions of moderate size (10.00 by 5.00 m) are found at Tel Zeror, Tel Poleg, and Megiddo, while large bastions were uncovered at Gezer (26.00 by 16.00 m) and Tell Mardikh (65.00 by 30.00 m).

**D. Late Bronze Age**

The people of the LB Age for the most part reused the fortification systems of the previous period and seldom erected new elements. One of the exceptions is in the newly built city at Tell Abu Hawam with a 2.00-m-wide city wall. Usually, when the former walls were destroyed, cities—Megiddo, for example—were surrounded solely by a belt of houses around the perimeter and not by an independent city wall. It seems that the Egyptian accounts and reliefs referring to captured cities in Canaan relate in many cases to the king’s palace rather than to a fortified city (Herzog 1976: 80; 1986: 73).

In the S coastal plain of Israel a series of forts or “governors’ palaces” evidently served the Egyptian administration in Canaan (Oren 1984). These solid square structures, measuring about 20.00 by 20.00 m,

are found from Tel Mor to Deir el-Balah, in addition to the one at the Egyptian center at Beth-shean. These forts or palaces are usually isolated structures and are not incorporated into any fortification system. This indicates that not only the Canaanites but also their Egyptian overlords refrained from constructing fortified cities, perhaps to prevent their potential use as bases for revolt against Egypt.

**E. Iron Age**

Real fortification systems are absent in Iron Age I. The new settlements of the 12th–11th centuries adapted the principle of a peripheral belt of houses, creating either an enclosed settlement (with an empty central courtyard) like ʾIzbet Sartah Stratum II and Beer-sheba Stratum VII or as a settlement village (with dwellings filling the inner space) like ʿAi and Beth-shemesh.

The earliest city wall seems to be at Ashdod Stratum X belonging to a Philistine city of the late 11th century. The city has a 4.50-m-wide brick wall adjoining a 4-room gate, which is protected by 2 solid towers. At Megiddo Stratum VIA, a simple 2-room gate was incorporated in the belt of dwellings that encircled the city at the time.

Regarding the Iron Age II fortifications, Yadin developed a theory of chronological-typological attribution. He assumed that only casemate walls and 6-room gates were used in the 10th century during the reign of Solomon and that they were without exception replaced by solid walls and 4-room gates in the 9th century during the reign of Ahab (Yadin 1963: 322–24). However, the wide variety of fortification systems observed in every century of Iron Age II disproves Yadin's schematic approach (Herzog 1987).

**1. Tenth Century.** A peripheral belt of houses was still used at Megiddo stratum VA, Gezer Stratum VI and Lachish level V. A casemate city wall unconnected to the dwellings was found at Hazor Stratum X and apparently at En-gev Stratum IV. Casemates integrated with dwellings were attributed to this phase at Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum B3. Simple solid walls encircled the cities at Ashdod Stratum IX, Beer-sheba Stratum V, and eventually at Tel Dan. An offset-inset city wall was built at Megiddo Stratum IVB, while a solid wall with towers protected Lachish Level IV and Gezer. All 3 types of city gates were used in the 10th century. Six-room gates were used at Ashdod Stratum IX, Hazor Stratum X, Gezer Stratum VI, Megiddo Stratum IVB, and Lachish Level IV. See Fig. FOR.03. Four-room gates were used at Beer-sheba Stratum V, Megiddo Stratum IVA, and eventually at Dan. See Fig. FOR.04. Two-room gates were found at Megiddo Stratum VA and at Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum B3. See Fig. FOR.05. Four-room gates were popular also in N Syria dated from the 10th century and onwards and exposed at sites such as Carchemish and Tell Halaf.

**2. Ninth Century.** A casemate city wall integrated with dwellings was built at Beer-sheba Stratum III and casemates filled with earth at Samaria Stratum II and Hazor Stratum VII. A solid wall with towers is found at Tell en-Nasbeh attached to a 4-room city gate at an early stage, and to a 2-room gate in the final stage. A 4-room gate was erected also at Beer-sheba Stratum III.

**3. Eighth and Seventh Centuries.** During this period only solid city walls were constructed. Simple solid walls are found at Jerusalem. Tel Batash Stratum III and Lachish Level II, while a solid wall with towers was built at Hazor Stratum VA. The 6-room city gate reappeared in the 8th century at Tel ʿIra, a 2-room gate was erected at Tell Beit Mirsim Stratum A2 and in the Assyrian city of Megiddo Stratum III. A gate complex in the form of an elaborate fort is represented at Lachish II.

**4. Fortresses.** Military units in Iron Age II were mainly fortresses erected along border or trade lines. While the architects in Judah preferred rectilinear forms at the S end of their kingdom, the round type of fort seems to have been chosen at the E front of the Kingdom of Israel. A sequence of 6 square forts (ca. 50.00 by 50.00 m) dating from the 10th through the 6th centuries B.C.E. was uncovered at Arad. Periods of shorter use (8th to 6th centuries B.C.E.) are ascribed to the rectangular fortresses at Kadesh-barnea (60.00 by 40.00 m) and Horvat ʾUza (51.00 by 42.00 m). All these units had elaborate fortified walls with towers and gates, systems for water supply and storage, and at Arad even a royal temple. Unlike their S counterparts, the circular forts of the N Kingdom—like the one at Khirbet Makhruk—were much smaller, only 19.50 m in diameter (about 300 square m). The small space was filled by 3 concentric walls, leaving room only for a few soldiers and their equipment. They date to the late 10th or 9th centuries B.C.E.

**5. Functional Interpretation.** The diversity of the types of fortifications in Iron Age II as described above proves that no single factor was responsible for all of them. Rather, it seems plausible that the decision as to which type of defensive system was suitable for a certain city was dictated by the general economic conditions of the state, by the role of the city within the hierarchy of the royal administration, and by the location of the city as related to the overall defense lines of the state. These considerations affected the choice between the economical enclosure by a belt of houses, or the casemate wall with its savings in space and construction costs, or the more costly—but much stronger—type of solid city wall. Similarly they influenced the decision between 2-, 4-, or 6-room gates and the use of cheap mudbricks, fieldstones, or ashlar masonry as materials of construction.

Complexity of roles is very clear in city gates which had to serve daily as civilian entrances into the city. Along with the variety of forms, Iron Age II city gates show also uniformity in a basic feature: deep rooms open to their full width onto the passageway. This characteristic is particularly striking in comparison to MB II gates, the rooms of which were closed inside the towers and where only short piers projected into the passageway. Another important difference in the Iron Age is the presence of a single pair of doors closing off the entrance into the city from the outside only, and allowing free access into the gatehouse from the city side. These characteristics indicate that, in contrast to MB II gates, Iron Age gates had civilian functions above and beyond their purely military-defensive role. This conclusion is further supported by several installations in or next to the gates. Large plazas adjoining the gate inside the city that could accommodate large audiences or serve as a market place were found at every site. Water reservoirs outside the gate (such as at Megiddo and Beer-sheba) served mainly caravans and travelers. Ceremonial installations (Megiddo and Dan) testify to cult activities conducted near the gate, and benches built into some of the side rooms (Dan, Gezer, and Beer-sheba) outfitted them for the use of merchants, judges, and prophets.

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ZEEV HERZOG

**FORTUNATUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Phortounatos* (Φορτουνατος)]. A Corinthian Christian who was part of a delegation, along with Stephanas and Achaicus, which traveled from Corinth to see Paul in Ephesus (1 Cor 16:17). The name Fortunatus (Latin meaning "blessed" or "lucky") was common among freedmen and slaves at this time. The reference to the household of Stephanas immediately before the names Fortunatus and Achaicus has been interpreted by some as implying that the latter two were members of that household, and thus were numbered among Paul's first converts in Achaia (16:15). (Such an interpretation is supported by some manuscripts from the Western tradition which read "and Fortunatus and Achaicus" in 16:15; this reading, however, is undoubtedly an assimilation to v 17). Although Fortunatus and Achaicus may belong to Stephanas' household this is not certain because (1) household

members are normally not singled out by name apart from the global reference and (2) the Corinthians would probably send to Paul delegates from more than one household to provide a broader representation of the community.

Upon arriving in Ephesus the three Corinthian members made up, as Paul puts it, for the "lack of you" (*humeteron husterēma*) which he keenly felt (16:17). Was this "lack" the physical absence of the community experienced by Paul (cf. most commentators) or an obligation felt by the Corinthians to labor along with Paul in the mission field (Ollrog 1979: 97–98)? The text does not specify the matter. Paul also remarks that their presence refreshed his spirit (16:18), evidently because they personally renewed the bond between the Apostle and his community and perhaps because they alleviated some of his worries about the local church in Corinth. However, if Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus brought with them the letter with disturbing reports (see 7:1), then Paul still had reason to be concerned about certain incidents in the community.

Finally, Paul exhorts the Corinthians to "recognize these people" (16:18), meaning Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus. This concluding appeal suggests that they were among "Paul's people" at Corinth (cf. 1:12). It may further indicate that they brought 1 Corinthians back with them to the community. See CORINTHIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE.

According to *1 Clement* 65:1 a certain Fortunatus from the Roman church was a messEnger to the Corinthians. This person, however, is probably not to be identified with the one mentioned in 1 Cor 16:17 because there is a difference of 5 to 6 decades between the 2 letters and because the Fortunatus of *1 Clement* was from Rome where this name was common. See STEPHANAS; ACHAICUS.

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**FORUM.** See CITIES (GRECO-ROMAN).

**FORUM OF APPIUS** (PLACE) [Gk *Appiou Phoron* (Ἀππιου Φορον)]. Market town in Latium located along the Appian Way 43 Roman miles (39.5 U.S. miles) S of Rome (*CIL* 10.6824–25). Christians from Rome met Paul here soon after he landed in Italy at the harbor city of Puteoli (Acts 28:15). It was a 1-day journey from Rome for ambitious travelers, although Horace preferred a "lazy" 2-day trip (Hor. *Sat.* 1.5). The town may have been founded at the time of the construction of the road from Rome to Capua in 312 B.C. by Appius Claudius Caecus. The Forum of Appius was located at a strategic point where a canal was located parallel to the highway (PW 2: 242). Many would travel down the canal by night on a boat pulled by a mule while they slept (Str. 5.3.6). Horace vividly describes the irritations he experienced during his trip. He mentions that the Forum of Appius was "crammed with boatmen and stingy tavern-keepers." The poor drinking water of the town made Horace ill and this coupled with the gnats, frogs, and a lazy boatman made Horace's canal journey quite unpleasant (Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.3–6).

JOHN D. WINELAND

**FOUNDATION GATE** (PLACE) [Heb *ša‹ar* (שַׁעַר) *hayĕsôd* (הַיְסוֹד)]. An inner gate of Jerusalem in the N or NW quadrant of an enclosure that surrounded the Temple precincts and the royal residences. Jehoiada the priest stationed troops at this gate as a part of the security arrangements for the coronation of Josiah against his grandmother Athaliah (2 Kgs 11:6; 2 Chr 23:5). These troop deployments were in close proximity to the Temple and the royal residence; this suggests that the Foundation Gate was a gate of an inner perimeter (Avi-Yonah 1954: 240, fig. 1), similar to the Mifqad or Muster Gate on the E side of the Temple (Neh 3:31).

The name "Foundation Gate" is only one of several names that are used to refer to this gate. The earliest account of Josiah's coronation (2 Kgs 11:6) refers to this gate as the Sur Gate (Heb *ša‹ar sûr,* the gate of "turning aside" or "departing") and is translated in the LXX as the "Gate of the Ways." These descriptive names most likely came from the busy intersections near the Fish Gate in the NW corner of the outer defensive perimeter of the city. This exit from the city led to several ridge routes that continued to the

coast, to Ephraim in the N and to Judah and Egypt in the S. The later parallel account in 2 Chr 23:5 refers to the "Foundation Gate" but is called the "Middle Gate" in the LXX. The name "Middle Gate" may allude to the gate being between an inner and outer perimeter. This is consistent with Jeremiah's reference to the princes of Babylon who, after having breached the N outer defenses of Jerusalem, met together at the Middle Gate (suggested by some to be between the Corner Gate and the Temple mount; see Simons 1952: 276 and Avigad 1980: 59) before their penetration of the inner defenses of the city.

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**FOUNTAIN GATE** (PLACE) [Heb *ša*ʿ*ar* (שַׁעַר) *hā*ʿ*ayin* (הָעַיִן)]. A gate of Jerusalem about 85 m (275 feet) SE of the present-day "Pool of Siloam" at the S end of the City of David. The Fountain Gate figures in Nehemiah's nocturnal inspection (2:14), reconstruction (3:15), and dedication (12:37) of the walls of Jerusalem.

"The "Fountain Gate," the "stairs that go down" from the City of David (Neh 3:15; 12:37) and several water canals were excavated by Weill in 1923–24 (1947: 57–96). It was then discovered that the overflow from the Pool of Siloam at the end of Hezekiah's tunnel was channeled outside the E wall of the City of David (Weill 1947: 57–73) with canal IV exiting under the Fountain Gate and apparently giving the gate its name (rather than its association with En-rogel). This canal has been dated to the period of Hezekiah and presumably terminated in a pool (possibly the predecessor of the pool excavated in 1977 by David Adan 1979: 100) outside the Fountain Gate (Ussishkin 1976: 91). The seeming difficulty (according to some scholars) in the order of Nehemiah's account (locating the King's Pool to the N the Fountain Gate) may have been reconciled by the discovery of Adan's pool outside the city wall and to the N of the Fountain Gate just as it is recorded by Nehemiah.

Although the Fountain Gate exited into something of a corridor at the joining of 2 sections of the city wall (at the N end of the wall excavated in 1894–97 by Bliss and Dickie), the Fountain Gate should not be equated with the "Gate between the Two Walls" (2 Kgs 25:4; Jer 39:4; 52:7) which is to be found still further S at the end of the Central or Tyropoeon Valley.

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**FOWL.** See ZOOLOGY.

**FOX.** See ZOOLOGY.

**FRAGMENT, MURATORIAN.** See MURATORIAN FRAGMENT.

**FRANKINCENSE** [Heb *lĕbōnâ* (לְבֹנָה)]. Designates the resin of trees of the genus *Boswellia* of the family *Burseraceae.* At present 2 species of frankincense trees are recognized in S Arabia and N Somalia: *Boswellia sacra Flückiger* in eastern S Yemen (Ḥaḍramaut and Mahra-Land), in the Dhofār-Province of ʿOmān, and in N Somalia; and *Boswellia frereana Birdwood* in N Somalia. According to recent botanical investigations, all Arabian frankincense trees belong to one single species: *Boswellia sacra Flückiger,* also known as *Boswellia Carterii Birdwood.* Only in the middle part of the coastal region of S Arabia, on the island of Socotra, and in N Somalia are rainfall, temperature, and condition of the soil in a harmony which enables the growth of the frankincense tree. The resin which is gathered from the 2 species of the

genus *Boswellia* growing in S Arabia and in Somalia is the most highly valued frankincense and almost the only sort which is put on the market.

Due to its pleasant odor as well as other qualities, frankincense belonged in antiquity together with myrrh in almost all countries of the Near East and the Levant among the most-demanded and most-expensive of spices. Frankincense was not only indispensable for sacrifice in divine worship, but was also burnt at funerals, profane festivities, and in honor of living persons; it was used also to a great extent as *materia medica.* See also INCENSE.

The Hebrew word for frankincense, *lĕbōnâ,* as well as similar words in other ancient Semitic languages have most probably their origin in an Old South Arabic form **libān.* This is not only proved by the Gk loan-words *libanos* and *libanōtos,* but also by the surviving form *libān,* attested in the Arabic dialect of the frankincense region Dhofār and also recorded for other parts of S Arabia, and by various words in different languages of Ethiopia, which likewise can be derived from a S Arabic *libān.* The word *libān* belongs to the Semitic root *lbn* in the meaning "white, to be white" and designates originally "milk-like (resin)," since bright frankincense was most highly esteemed and was considered to be the best.

In Jer 6:20, Sheba is mentioned as the country from which frankincense comes, and in Isa 60:6 we learn that Sabeans imported the valuable resin by camel caravans to Palestine. Behind the description of a procession in Cant 3:6, which is compared to something coming up from the wilderness like a column of smoke perfumed with myrrh, frankincense, and all the fragrant powders of the merchant, lies perhaps the picture of a rich and joyfully expected caravan loaded with spices.

Pure and unmixed frankincense was the essential ingredient of the incense which was used in the worship of the Lord in the Temple (Exod 30:34). The use of frankincense and the holy incense compound for cultic purposes other than those specified in the priestly legislation was forbidden, and any profanation of it was considered a capital crime deserving death (Exod 30:38). When Antiochos IV Epiphanes desecrated the Jewish worship it was felt to be a sacrilege that frankincense was burnt before the doors of the houses and in the streets (1 Macc 1:55). The difficult passage in Isa 66:3 where a memorial offering of frankincense is in parallel to the blessing of an idol might give a hint at the usage of frankincense in the cult of pagan deities.

Frankincense and oil were added to the cereal offering, *minḥâ* (Lev 2:1–2); the priest used to take the fine flour, put on it the oil and frankincense, and then burned it on the altar (Lev 2:15–16). Pure frankincense as fragrant offering was also placed by the priest with each row of the loaves of the bread of the presence before the Holy of Holies (Lev 24:7). Explicitly forbidden, however, was the addition of frankincense to an offering for sin (Lev 5:11) and to an offering of jealousy (Num 5:15). Each kind of *qĕṭōret,* the incense compound, seems to have consisted to a great extent of frankincense. In the Temple of Jerusalem chambers are mentioned in which frankincense was stored (Neh 13:5.9), over which Levites were appointed (1 Chr 9:29). From these passages it can be concluded that the frankincense necessary for the sacrifice could be acquired in the Temple in case the ingredients for the offerings, including frankincense, were not brought by the pilgrims to the Temple, as it is described in Jer 17:26 and 41:5. It is reported (Bar 1:10) that the Jews in Babylon collected money and sent it to Jerusalem to buy sacrifices and frankincense in order to offer it on the altar of the Lord.

The mountain of myrrh and the hill of frankincense which occur together in Cant 4:6 are probably a picture of the two breasts of the beloved one, and in Cant 4:14 frankincense wood is mentioned among the precious and valuable spices enumerated as metaphors of her beauty. In Sir 24:15 the personified wisdom which appears in the cult is compared to various aromata and finally to the vapor of frankincense in the holy tabernacle.

The Wise Men from the east offered to the infant Jesus in Bethlehem gold, frankincense, and myrrh as gifts (Matt 2:11). In Rev 18:13, where the merchants of the earth weep and mourn since the fallen Babylon does not buy their cargo any more, frankincense is also mentioned.

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**FREEDMEN, SYNAGOGUE OF THE** [Gk *synagōgē ton Libertinōn* (συναγωγη τον Λιβερτινων)]. A synagogue in Jerusalem whose members argued with Stephen and then initiated the proceedings which led to his execution (Acts 6:9). The synagogue was named for Jews who had been liberated from slavery. Because the synagogue bore the Latin name *Libertinos* (transliterated into Greek), instead of the Gk *apeleutheros* it seems likely that its members descended from the Jews who had been captured and enslaved by the Roman general Pompey in 63 B.C.E. (Philo *Gaium* 155). The precise ethnic composition of the Synagogue of the Freedmen remains hotly debated because of Luke's vague phrasing of Acts 6:9. Four other groups are mentioned in addition to the freedmen: Cyrenians, Alexandrians, Cilicians, and Asians. Did all of these national groups attend the Synagogue of the Freedmen or did one or more of them have their own separate synagogues in Jerusalem? Any number of synagogues, from 1 to 5, is possible. The syntax of the verse favors two synagogues, one composed of Freedmen, Cyrenians, and Alexandrians and the other composed of Jews from Cilicia and Asia (Robertson 1934: 788). Yet there is no convincing explanation why only Cyrenians and Alexandrians would have attended a synagogue named for freedmen (Lake and Cadbury 1933: 66). Goodspeed (1945: 127–30) solves the difficulty by suggesting that *Libertinōn* is a textual corruption from an original reference to Libyans, *libystinōn.* Because the Armenian version provides the only manuscript support for this reading, his suggestion has not won wide support. Among those who accept "Synagogue of the Freedmen" as the original reading, Bruce (*Acts* NICNT, 133), Haenchen (*Acts* MeyerK, 271), and Conzelmann (*Acts* Hermeneia, 47) all favor the hypothesis that Luke was referring to one synagogue which was attended by Jews from each of the 4 areas mentioned.

Two Jerusalem synagogues described in ancient sources might possibly be identified with the Synagogue of the Freedmen. One was the Synagogue of the Alexandrians, which was purchased by Rabbi Eleazer ben Zadok ca. 100 C.E. (*t. Meq.* 3.6 [224]). The other was a synagogue rebuilt by Theodotus which included a guest house specifically intended for Jews traveling from abroad (*IDB* 4: 480). Without more evidence, however, neither can be positively equated with the Synagogue of the Freedmen.

Luke's theological purpose in the narrative is to show that the members of the Synagogue of the Freedmen could not defeat Stephen in honest debate so they set up false witnesses to testify against him before the Sanhedrin (Acts 6:9–15). Thus, Stephen's arrest and martyrdom paralleled that of Jesus. Furthermore, Luke shows how an initial opposition by Jews from Cyrene, Alexandria, Cilicia, and Asia is overwhelmed by a gospel message carried by Christians from each of these same areas (11:20; 18:24; 9:11; 19:10) (*ISBE* 2: 361). See also SYNAGOGUE.

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**FREEDOM** [Heb *ḥupšâ* (חֻפְשָׁה)*;* Gk *eleutheria* (ἐλευθερια)]. In both the OT and the NT freedom is liberty as opposed to slavery. More importantly, in the NT freedom is achieved through Jesus Christ.

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A. The Old Testament
B. Greek World and Hellenism
C. Ancient Judaism
D. The New Testament
1. Paul
2. The Rest of the NT

**A. The Old Testament**

The OT knows of freedom almost exclusively only as a social state: The free stands in opposition to the slave. Thus the Hebrew terms for "free" and "freedom" *(ḥōr, ḥupšâ, ḥopšî, dĕrôr,* and the verb *ḥāpaš*), which are not witnessed very frequently, often occur in discussions of slavery and manumission (Exod 21:2, 5, 26–27; Lev 19:20; Deut 15:12–18; Jer 34:8–17; Ezek 46:17; Job 3:19). In these texts, mainly *ḥopšî* is used to designate someone merely freed from slavery. The word *ḥōr,* in contrast, is an independent term for the noble (1 Kgs 21:8, 11; Isa 34:12; Jer 27:20; 39:6; Eccl 10:17; Neh 2:16, 4:8, 13, 5:7, 6:17, 7:5, 13:17). Though the redemption of Israel from slavery in Egypt is cited in support for the manumission of Hebrew slaves in the 7th year (Deut 15:15), the OT does not develop a theology of freedom on the basis of the Exodus. Rather, Israel was ransomed in order to be God's servants (Lev 25:42; cf. Deut 6:20–25), and the language used to describe this event is primarily that of "redemption," not of "freedom." On the other hand, the tradition of a year of "freedom" (Lev 25:10) was subject to some theological development (Isa 61:1).

Difficult passages (e.g., Ps 88:6—Eng 88:5; 1 Sam 17:5) and problems of the background and evolution of OT usage are discussed, with reference to the literature, by Lohfink (*TDOT* 5: 114–18).

**B. Greek World and Hellenism**

The further development of "freedom" in Judaism and early Christianity may be understood only when due attention is given to the cardinal role that this concept played in the Greek, Hellenistic, and Roman world. *Eleutheria* (Gk "freedom") first became a central value in connection with Greek resistance to the Persians. Particularly Herodotus's history promoted the understanding of the Persian War as a defense of freedom and law against despotism. Euripides then illustrated through his dramas the personal sacrifice demanded to defend such liberty. The subsequent history of this concept cannot be traced here even in its broadest outlines. Indeed, such summary presentations, especially those by theologians (Schlier *TDNT* 2:487–496, Niederwimmer 1966: 1–68), run the risk of being too sweeping to allow for the details necessary to illustrate exactly how Greek and Roman ideas influenced Judaism and Christianity, and thus they often fall prey to the standard theological bias that portrays Hellenistic thought only as a foil against which the Jewish and Christian tradition gains its contours. It is best here simply to refer to several eloquent and arresting expositions of Greek and Roman freedom (Pohlenz 1966, Nestle 1967, Stylow 1972, and Wirszubski 1950) and to mention only select major points; details pertaining to the influence of Greek ideas on the Jewish and Christian tradition will be included in the following sections.

Though the precise content and implications of *eleutheria* and *libertas* (Latin "freedom") were always subject to discussion in the Greek and Roman world, there was one clear, standard definition of "freedom" at the latest since the time of Aristotle. According to this definition, freedom is equivalent to "doing whatever one wants" (*to ho ti an boulētai tis poiein,* Arist. *Pol.* 5.9.1310a; [*libertas,*] *cuius proprium est sic vivere, ut velis,* "[liberty,] the distinctive characteristic of which is to live precisely as you wish," Cic. *Off.* 1.70; Epict. *Diss.* 4.1.1; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 14.13, 17). That such a definition might lead to conflicts with the law was not overlooked. Rather, this seeming contrariety of freedom and law was discussed ever anew by philosophers, historians, and legal experts (the classic treatments are Hdt. 7.103–4 and Thuc. 2.35–46). Stoic dialectics resolved the debate in a spirit concordant with the rest of the Hellenistic and Roman world when they asserted that since the law (of nature) is good and since no one desires to do what is bad, the only person who is truly free and does what he wants is the one who does what is good and thus follows the law (see, for example, Cic. *Parad.* 34 and Epict. *Diss.* 4.1.1–5, 158). Of course, this clarification did not put an end to the discussions but rather only focused attention even more on the question of what the true law is and how it relates to existing laws. The theory that the true law can be recognized only by the rugged individual in a struggle against vulgar opinions (including laws established merely by humans) was advanced especially by the Cynics. This theory coincided with the rise of the ecumene, in place of the city, as the framework for human life, and a notion of an internal, individualized freedom, dissociated from any particular political system or social standing, became prevalent in the Hellenistic age. The relationship of state structures and freedom did not, however, fail to

attract its own discussion, and "freedom" was frequently employed as the central slogan in political propaganda.

The connection of freedom and God also has a long tradition in the Greek and Roman world and extends back at least to the Persian War, when *eleutherios* (Gk "liberating") became a particularly popular epithet of the gods. This tradition was later adopted by the Romans in their cult of Iuppiter Libertas (see Stylow 1972: 5–8). The notion that piety toward God brings freedom was further developed in Stoicism, where God was closely associated with the true law (Sen. *Vit. Beat.* 15.7; Epict. *Diss.* 1.19.9, 4.1.131, 4.7.17; Max. Tyr. 36.5a), and in more personal religious cults (Apul. *Met.* 11.15).

**C. Ancient Judaism**

In the light of the central position "freedom" assumed in Greek and Roman thought, it is no wonder that Judaism gradually picked up elements of this tradition and molded its own heritage to fit or complement this vibrant stream of thought (compare Heiligenthal's presentation [*TRE* 11: 498–502] with the following).

Philo is perhaps the most eloquent example of this tendency. His *Quod omnis probus liber sit* ("That Every Good Man Is Free") is nothing other than a Stoic tractate on freedom in which the problem of the identity of the true law is resolved by its equation with the Jewish law. Philo elsewhere uses the glorious terms of freedom to describe the Exodus (e.g., *Vita Mos* I.71, 86), something not yet done in the LXX. The connection of freedom and God generally receives great emphasis. The type of freedom that Philo usually intends is the internal freedom of the mind, which God alone can enable (e.g., *Sacr* 127, *Quod Omn* 42, *Conf* 93, *Heres* 124).

Though in the translation of the Hebrew writings the LXX shows little initiative in introducing the concept of freedom (Prov 25:10 LXX) and *aphesis* ("forgiveness") is used in the translation of passages referring to the year of freedom (also in Isa 61:1 LXX), the struggles of the Maccabees are depicted in terms of freedom (1 Macc 14:26; 2 Macc 2:22). Josephus similarly describes the Maccabees as fighters for freedom and projects the contest for liberty not only into the Exodus but also into several other stages of Israel's history. In his portrayal of the first war against Rome, "freedom" is a leitmotiv, and it is not least in this point that Josephus is indebted to Greek and Roman historiography. That the war was actually fought under the slogan of freedom is, however, confirmed by coins from the revolt's second and third years that bear the inscription "freedom of Zion." *JW* 2.13.4 §259 reveals that certain Jews had employed the motto of freedom to connect religious motifs with political insurgence. Similar eschatological and apocalyptic hopes of freedom seem to be reflected in *4 Ezra* 7:96–98, 101, 13:25–26, 29, and the eschatological hope is clearly present in the 10th request of the Eighteen Prayers and in the targum to Lam 2:22. Much closer to the Stoic understanding of (internal) freedom, in contrast, are *4 Macc.*14:2 and *m. ʾAbot* 6:2. As regards the social freedom of Jews, a Hellenistic tradition that ascribed a servile nature to the Jewish people evidently gave rise to an emphasis both on Jewish love of freedom (e.g., Josephus *Ant* 2.13.2 §281) and on the freedom of the Jewish patriarchs (*T. Napht.* 1:10; *B. Qam.* 8:6).

**D. The New Testament**

The NT statements on freedom must be ordered into some relationship to the background sketched above. Research is split between a camp that broadly affirms the Hellenistic origin of the NT remarks and a party that expends itself in denying the so-called "Stoic derivation" of the NT concept of freedom. Each side has its peculiar shortcomings. The Hellenistic explanation has generally failed to trace out the precise lines of Hellenistic influence, and this has fostered its being attacked under the misnomer "Stoic derivation." Those who deny Stoic influence have themselves been unable to produce a coherent, convincing alternative. (A survey of research is offered in the first chapter of Jones's study [1987], the bibliography of which lists a considerable portion of the sizeable literature.)

**1. Paul.** Paul's letters contain the first certain witness to an understanding of Christian faith as freedom. Paul's thought on the subject is habitually discussed in the categories freedom from the law, freedom from sin, and freedom from death (*TDNT* 2:496–502 and *BTNT* 1: 330–52 are largely responsible for this tendency). However, this trifold schema is based less on an examination of the passages on freedom than on the assumption that since law, sin, and death are the main enslaving entities in Paul's thought, freedom

must consist of the inverse of these elements. The texts disclose a different picture. These passages are worth considering in detail, for Paul is by far the most vocal advocate of freedom in the entire Bible. The following will discuss the texts in their most probable chronological order.

The freedom of the Christian is first mentioned in 1 Cor 7:22, a wordplay in which Paul describes the Christian slave as a freedman of the Lord and the Christian freeman as a slave of Christ. The dialectic employed here to comfort the Christian slave (for the order of the assertion could be inversed) is strongly reminiscent of a broad spectrum of Hellenistic statements and discussions that dismissed external social status as decisive for true (internal) freedom (already clearly present in Euripides, e.g., *Fr.* 831 and a standard starting point for Cynic and Stoic discussions of freedom, e.g., Bion in Stob. *Flor.* 3.2.38; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 14, 15; Epict. *Diss.* 4.1; that external freedom was not decisive for salvation was general early Christian tradition; cf. in the NT Gal 3:28; Col 3:11; Eph 6:8; Rev 6:15; 13:16; 19:18). 1 Cor 7:22 imagines (in juristically correct terminology) Christ as the liberator of Christians from slavery to a third party and thus as the slave's patron. The identity of the third party is not explicitly indicated, but in view of the warning not to become slaves of humans in v 23 and in the light of the Cynic and Stoic parallels to the discussion, it is most likely that the third party should be understood as human opinion *(doxa)*, which places great value on external social status. It was precisely for this sort of freedom that the Cynic Diogenes had fought (e.g., *Ep.* 7.1), and there can be no doubt that when Paul speaks of *internal* freedom, he clearly stands under the influence of the great Hellenistic traditions concerning freedom. Parallel to Paul's statement that Christ is the liberator of Christians are similar assertions by Cynics with regard to Diogenes (e.g., Crates Theb. *Ep.* 8; Lucian *Vit. Auct.* 8) and by Epicureans with regard to Epicurus (e.g., Cic. *Tusc.* 1.48; Lucian *Alex.* 47, 61).

The discussion of sanctified meats in 1 Cor 8:1–11:1 presents two distinctive conceptions of freedom. In the excursus, chap. 9, Paul argues that he is free from everyone because he does not accept money for his proclamation. Instead, by preaching free of charge and enslaving himself to all he preserves his integrity and authority in the gospel and can thus win more converts (1 Cor 9:19). Though scholarship has only recently recognized the type of freedom that Paul here has in mind, there are numerous parallels to precisely such a conception of *eleutheria* in the Hellenistic tradition.

Socrates was the most famous example of a teacher who refused to accept payment, and it is noteworthy that Xenophon uses the same words as Paul when describing Socrates' attitude: *eleutheria* ("freedom") and *misthos* ("reward," "payment"); see Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.5–7, *Ap.* 16. Muson. *Fr.* 11 (Hense 59.9–11) witnesses to the survival of this tradition at the time of Paul, and an entire treatise by Lucian, *De mercede conductis potentium familiaribus* (Eng title: "On Salaried Posts in Great Houses"), is devoted precisely to the subject of loss of *eleutheria* through acceptance of a *misthos.* What is particularly striking in 1 Corinthians 9 is the secular nature of Paul's freedom; Here it is not a gift of Christ or God but rather something Paul himself acquires by waiving financial support, even though he knows that Christ had commanded the opposite (1 Cor 9:14).

Paul's attempt to heighten and glorify his freedom by reference to his self-denial is reminiscent of another Hellenistic tradition that stretches back to the plays of Euripides. Euripides had emphasized the need of individual self-sacrifice for preservation of the freedom of the community. Euripides' presentation of this motif had a strong influence on writers of the Hellenistic and Roman eras, and it is doubtless of influence on Paul here, though the precise channels through which these ideas reached Paul still deserve further investigation.

1 Cor 10:29, in contrast, reflects an understanding of freedom that is specifically Christian. Certain Corinthians maintain that they are free to eat sanctified meat (1 Cor 10:29) because Christian faith had convinced them that the gods do not exist (1 Cor 8:4). They thus consider themselves free in contrast not to Jews (i.e., this is not "freedom from the Jewish law") but rather to gentiles who had not yet accommodated this new monotheistic knowledge (1 Cor 8:7). The background for this view of freedom is best found among Cynics, some of whom maintained a monotheistic faith and harshly criticized other religious beliefs as superstition. Cynics were notorious for their indiscriminate eating habits, and at least sometimes they founded this practice in their monotheistic views (Diog. Laert. 6.73) and connected it

with their slogan "freedom" (Porph. *Abst.* 1.42). In other words, it seems that Cynic views influenced certain Corinthians in their understanding of Christian faith and led to an assertive notion of Christian liberty. Since Paul tries to correct this understanding of freedom by introducing a completely different conception of the term (1 Corinthians 9) and since Paul's concept, in contrast to that of certain Corinthians, does not have a clear basis in Christian faith, it is most likely that these Corinthians first introduced the concept of Christian freedom into the discussion with Paul. Paul does not reject this new understanding of Christian faith but rather draws on other Hellenistic concepts of freedom known to him in order to promote an internalized view of freedom (1 Cor 7:22, 9:19, 10:29). Later in the discussion Paul again speaks positively of Christian freedom (2 Cor 3:17) and notably introduces yet another Hellenistic tradition on the topic. Here *eleutheria* is equivalent to *parrhēsia* or freedom to speak forthrightly (see v 12); in Hellenistic writings the two words are frequently synonymous (e.g., Lucian *Demon.* 3, *Peregr.* 18; Philo *Quod Omn* 95).

The observation that none of these views of freedom has anything to do with the conventional schema "freedom from law, sin, and death" sheds new light on Paul's use of the concept of freedom in Galatians. It can no longer be simply presupposed that Paul had preached "freedom from the law" in his initial proclamation to the Galatians (or to any of his other congregations), for such an understanding of *eleutheria* is nowhere reflected in the Corinthian correspondence. Instead, Paul is probably first introducing the term "freedom" into the discussion with the Galatians as he writes the letter. Furthermore, it should be noted that the phrase "freedom from the law" is not witnessed even in this letter. Indeed, when Paul speaks of the upper Jerusalem as free in Gal 4:26, "free" rather means free from corruption (cf. Rom 8:21), and in Gal 5:1 the freedom of the Christian includes at least also freedom from service to the elements. The rhetorical effect that Paul was trying to create by employing "freedom" is most apparent in the political imagery evoked in Gal 2:4. Paul claims "freedom" for his version of the gospel and brands his opponents as spies and enemies of freedom. Since the opponents' goal is to subject the free Christians *to themselves* (Gal 2:4–5), it is clear that Paul is not operating here with a well-defined concept of "freedom from the law." "Freedom" is more probably being employed in accord with the standard Hellenistic definition as "freedom to do what one likes." This meaning fits Gal 5:13, for in this passage the condition of slavery is described as not being able to do what one wishes (Gal 5:17), the inverse of the standard definition of freedom. That freedom carries anti-legalistic overtones in Galatians may be readily admitted, for this aspect had long been associated with the word in Greek and Roman tradition. Nevertheless, Galatians contains no evidence for a sharply defined concept of freedom as "freedom from the (Jewish) law."

In Romans, Paul is much more reserved in his employment of the notion of "freedom." Thus in Rom 6:18–22 words of freedom are strikingly used in an absolutely neutral way to describe both Christian and non-Christian existence; vv 18 and 22 ("having been freed from sin") are counterbalanced by v 20 ("you were free with respect to righteousness"). Rom 7:2–3 finally presents the phrase "free from the law," but the context strongly emphasizes the new bond of the Christian. A comparison of these verses with the marriage regulation of 1 Cor 7:39–40 discloses the actual evolution of the phrase "free from the law" in Paul's writings and thus again provides concrete evidence that this term was not a central concept in Paul's earlier thought. Rom 8:2–4 states that the free Christian will fulfill the law and is thus thoroughly parallel to certain Stoic statements about the relationship of true freedom and the law. The context again witnesses to the standard Hellenistic definition of freedom or its inverse (7:15, 16, 19, 20). Finally, Rom 8:21 transfers freedom totally into the future by reliance on an apocalyptic tradition (freedom from corruption; cf. Gal 4:26 and see the parallels in Jewish apocalyptic mentioned above). Paul's restraint and qualifications in his use of "freedom" in Romans is doubtless owing to his suspicion that the Romans had heard blasphemies of his teaching as libertine (Rom 3:8, 6:1, 15).

**2. The Rest of the NT.** The rest of the NT contains only scattered references to freedom, and thus the adoption of the concept by other NT authors cannot be traced in as much detail as is possible in the case of Paul. Though some scholars have thought that the appearance of the notion of freedom in the other NT writings must be attributed to Pauline influence (so, e.g., Pohlenz 1966: 170), it is much more likely that

the widespread Hellenistic concept of freedom entered the NT not only via Paul's usage but also through several independent channels (cf. the case of some Corinthians, above). It should be noted that precisely the passages that mention freedom have often played a decisive role in the question of the literary influence of Paul on the various NT writings.

1 Pet 2:16 is just such an instance. While this passage might seem to recall Gal 5:13 and 2 Cor 3:15–18, Paul never advances to the paradox that one is free while being a slave of God, whereas this idea is found in other writings (Sen. *Vit. Beat.* 15.7; Apul. *Met.* 11.15; Philo *Quod Omn* 20; Sext. *Sent.* 264b; *Hom. Clem.* 17.12.1). Since 2 Peter knows 1 Peter (see 2 Pet 3:1), the mention of corrupt preachers of freedom in 2 Pet 2:19 has perhaps been influenced by 1 Pet 2:16 (cf. also Rom 8:21). Still, the reality of such corrupt Christians and their promise of freedom seems to have been the major factor leading to the formulation of the verse. The proclamation of these Christians with respect to freedom may well have been affected by certain Pauline passages concerning freedom (see 2 Pet 3:16).

When the Letter of James speaks of the "perfect law of liberty" (Jas 1:25, cf. 2:12), there can be no doubt that Hellenistic ideas about the true law that leads to freedom and that is kept by the truly free human have been of decisive influence, though the author probably received these ideas via other Hellenistic Jewish thinkers. In any event, the notion cannot be adequately explained on the basis of some supposedly pure OT and Jewish background (contra Fabris 1977).

John 8:31–36 reflects at least two different conceptions of freedom. The Jews who have believed in Jesus refer to Abraham as evidence of their freedom (see above under "Ancient Judaism"), while the Johannine Jesus is speaking rather of true freedom (v 36), which consists of not sinning. This last notion of freedom could possibly be a development of Rom 6:18–22 (so, e.g., Weiss 1902: 34 and Pohlenz 1966: 170), but it could also have been independently developed from the Stoic tradition, where the truly free human always does what he wants and thus never "sins" (e.g., Epict. *Diss.* 2.1.23). It is hardly plausible that this passage on freedom ultimately derives from Jesus himself (contra Lindars 1984). Indeed, the contrast of social freedom with another sort of true freedom is strongly reminiscent of the standard progression of Stoic discourses on freedom (e.g., Dio Chrys. *Or.* 15; Philo *Quod Omn* 17–19; Cic. *Parad.* 35; Epict. *Diss.* 4.1).

The pericope on the temple-tax, Matt 17:24–27, apparently arose before the year 70 C.E., but it is unlikely that any part of it goes back to Jesus himself. The reappearance here of the connection of "sons" and "freedom" (cf. John 8:31–39; Gal 4:21; Rom 8:21) is particularly noteworthy. In this case, "free" has the specific meaning of "free from taxation," and the use of the word is to be explained on the basis of Hellenistic and Roman practice in taxation (see, for example, Josephus *Ant* 13.2.3 §15; cf. *HJP*² 2: 93 and the literature mentioned there; cf. also 1 Sam 17:25).

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F. STANLEY JONES

**FRINGE.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**FRIT.** See JEWELRY.

**FROG.** See ZOOLOGY.

**FRONTLETS.** See JEWELRY.

**FRUITS, FIRST.** See FIRST FRUITS.

**FULLER.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**FULLER'S FIELD** (PLACE) [Heb *śĕdēh kôbēs* (שְׂדֵה כוֹבֵס)]. An open area approximately 0.5 km (ca. 1/4 mile) S of Jerusalem near the juncture of the Hinnom and the Kidron Valleys adjoining the former spring, En-rogel (M.R. 172130; Josh 15:7; 18:16; 2 Sam 17:17). Because of the occasional surplus of water from the Spring of Gihon (via the Pool of Siloam) and the available water at En-rogel (presently Bir Ayyub), fullers cleaned and processed shorn wool, hence the name "Fuller's Field."

It is first mentioned (Isa 7:3) in connection with a roadway and a water conduit that passed N to S along the E side of Jerusalem in the Kidron Valley and continued S to the Fuller's Field. It was on this roadway near the water conduit that Isaiah and his son met with Hezekiah (Isa 7:2–4) and where the emissaries of Sennacherib stood as they attempted to intimidate the rulers and people of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 18:17; Isa 36:2). It is this roadway and En-rogel that helps most in establishing the location of the Fuller's Field.

En-rogel, being an important water source for Jerusalem (fullers included), was no doubt the terminus of a well-traveled roadway between it and the city. In addition, En-rogel would have been the preferred and adequate source of water outside of Jerusalem for Sennacherib's troops and emissaries, and at the same time it would have given them access to the rulers and general population of Jerusalem from outside the walls.

Since the 1st century C.E. (Smolar 1983: xvi–xvii), En-rogel has been associated with the Fuller's Field as suggested by the Targums' rendering of En-rogel as the "fountain of the fuller" (*Tg. Ps.–J.*, Josh 15:7; 18:16; see Smolar 1983: 112–13), with Rashi and Kimchi (Josh 15:7) attributing *rōgēl* to the Heb *regel* (meaning foot) "because he (the fuller) treads woolen clothing with his feet."

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DALE C. LIID

**FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS.** See PALESTINIAN FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS.

# G

**GAAL** (PERSON) [Heb *gaʿal* (גַּעַל)]. The son of the Canaanite Ebed and apparently a native of the city of Shechem during the time of Abimelech, the half-Israelite, half-Shechemite son of Gideon (Judg 9:26–42). Abimelech had appealed to the Shechemites for rulership on the basis of his "superior" relationship over the 70 sons of Jerubbaal (Judg 8:31; 9:1; cf. *EHI* 801 for the view that Jerubaal and Gideon are different persons). There is no biblical record of Shechem's conquest by Joshua nor any archaeological evidence of destruction for that period (*EHI* 800), though it was designated as one of the cities of refuge (Josh 20:7). Thus, while the city was substantially Canaanite, Israelites lived in the surrounding area, with perhaps some in the city as well (*EHI* 638–39). Abimelech appointed Zebul as his personal representative to rule over the city while he lived in nearby Arumah. Into this complex and unstable political situation came Gaal, whose name means "beetle" or "dung-beetle" (*IPN* 230; *HALAT* 192). Josephus' use of *gualēs* suggests a Heb *gōʿal.* He is sometimes seen as simply a leader of a mercenary band of ruffians (Reviv 1966: 255), and he identifies himself with the Shechemites (Judg 9:28; cf. *Judges* AB, 177; *Judges* OTL 185). During an agricultural thanksgiving festival for the city's god, Baal-berith ("Baal or Lord of the covenant"), Gaal makes a drunken claim for the city's loyalty based upon his "purer" blood—the exact same ethnically based argument as Abimelech had made earlier!

The nature of the polity of Abimelech's rule and Gaal's challenge of it is a matter of some debate. Judg 9:28 seems to indicate Shechem is a protectorate with Abimelech as an overlord, and Shechem did have a tradition of having no king, like the Gibeonite cities (*EHI* 639, 800). Others take Judg 9:6 to imply the establishment of a monarchy which provoked resentment in Shechem (*Judges* OTL 169). At the most it can be said that Abimelech claimed kingship over Shechem and its environs only (*Judges* AB, 183). Word of Gaal's boast of supremacy over Abimelech reaches Zebul who advises his master to take immediate action. During the confrontation the next morning, Gaal led the Shechemites in battle against Abimelech and was defeated. Zebul subsequently denied Shechem to Gaal as a base to continue his seditious activities.

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KIRK E. LOWERY

**GAASH** (PLACE) [Heb *gaʿaš* (גַּעַשׁ)]. Mountain in the hill country of Ephraim, somewhat S of Timnath–serah (Josh 24:30; otherwise known as Timnath-heres, Judg 2:9). The exact location of the mountain is uncertain but, given its approximate relationship to Timnath-serah, is probably some 20 miles (30 km) SW of Shechem. One of David's 30 bodyguards (Hiddai, 2 Sam 23:30; var. Hurai, 1 Chr 11:32) is said to have come from the "brooks" of the mountain, a region of ravines which would become watercourses in the rainy season. LXXB of Josh 24:30 reads "Gilead" in place of "Gaash," though this variant is clearly in error since Gilead is a district to the E of the Jordan while Ephraim is to the W.

ELMER H. DYCK

**GABAEL** (PERSON) [Gk *Gabaēl* (Γαβαηλ)]. 1. Ancestor of Tobit, described as a member of the tribe of Naphtali and mentioned in the opening genealogy of the book by the same name (Tob 1:1). Appealing to the Hebrew text of Tobit published by Fagius (HF), Simpson (*APOT* 1:202) suggests that Gabael (Heb *gĕbāhʾēl*) might be read Gabriel (Heb *gabrīʾel*). The HF, however, is a free rendering of the story and of late origin (16th century), whereas by contrast the vast majority of the primary and secondary texts support the usual reading (Zimmerman 1958: 35, 44–45). A number of the names attributed to the relatives of Tobit are word plays, anticipating the deliverance from suffering which awaits him (Nickelsburg 1981: 40 n. 37). It may be, therefore, that the choice of the name Gabael, which means "El is

lofty," is likewise intentional and symbolic (McKenzie 1965: 291). Inasmuch as Tobit repeatedly admonishes his son Tobias to honor God, whatever the circumstances, the choice of the name Gabael may be a deliberate attempt to reinforce yet another of the narrative's themes. As more than one writer has noted, the author emphasizes the "transcendent majesty of God" (Pfeiffer 1949: 282–83; Metzger 1957: 37–38; Nickelsburg 1981: 34).

2. A man of Rages, a city in Media, in whose care Tobit left 10 talents of silver (Tob 1:14) and to whom he sent his son Tobias for its recovery (4:1, 20). Described as the brother of Gabrias, Gabael returned the money in sealed bags to the angel Raphael and then attended the wedding feast held for Tobias and Sarah (9:2–5). At the wedding, Gabael is said to have "blessed" the couple (9:6) and, although some Greek manuscripts read "And Tobias blessed his wife," most scholars believe it was Gabael who gave the blessing in the original version of the story (Bückers 1953: 228 and Zimmerman *APOT* 1: 99).

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FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**GABATHA** (PERSON) [Gk *Gabatha* (Γαβαθα)]. Var. BIGTHAN. One of the eunuchs who conspired against King Ahasuerus, according to the Greek Additions to Esther (Add A; 12:1). The name Gabatha appears in the LXX in passages where the MT has BIGTHAN (Esth 2:21; 6:2). The variants Gabbathan and Bagathan (appearing respectively in the Cambridge and the Vulgate) are apparently due to metathesis. The JB considers the identification of Gabatha with Bigthan so normal that the name of Gabatha has been replaced.

JOHN MCKENNA

**GABBAI** (PERSON) [Heb *gabbay* (גַּבַּי)]. Benjaminite and a postexilic resident of Jerusalem, cited along with Sallai in Neh 11:8. The use of the phrase "after him," the absence of a conjunction between the names, and the lack of parallels has suggested to some scholars that the text is corrupt. Those who accept this view argue the text should be amended in order to read "his kinsmen, men of valor" (Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 189–90; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 343). Others argue that the reference to Sallai in 12:20 indicates that the text should read as it stands (Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 184).

FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**GABBATHA** (PLACE) [Gk *Gabbatha* (Γαββαθα)]. The place where Jesus stood before Pilate in Jerusalem (John 19:13). The derivation of the original Aramaic term *Gabbatha,* of which this is a transliteration, is uncertain but it probably means "elevated," and is used only here in the NT. John reveals that the place was well known by both the Aramaic term and a Greek term *(lithostroton)* meaning "stone pavement," each conveying a different perspective of the site. According to John, the judgment seat or tribunal (Gk *bema*), on which the Roman official sat to speak to the people was located here. Matthew says that Pilate "*sat* on the judgment seat" (*bema;* 27:19) when Jesus appeared before him.

It must have been on this same tribunal in Jerusalem that Pilate sat when Jews "surrounded him" and protested his spending sacred money on the construction of an aqueduct (*JW* 2.175). Pilate also stood on a tribunal set up in the stadium in Caesarea and addressed protesting Jews during a demonstration in that city, according to Josephus (*Ant* 18.57; *JW* 2.172;). Paul appeared before the proconsul Gallio at such a tribunal in Corinth (Acts 18:12–17).

The tribunal, called a *rostrum* in Latin, was usually set up in the forum (marketplace) of a Roman city. Examples have been found, among other places, in the forums in Rome, Philippi, Pompeii, Athens, and

Corinth. The location of the one in Jerusalem has been disputed. However, it was most likely situated in the upper forum, adjacent to the E side of the palace of Herod (just S of the modern Jaffa Gate).

Herodian foundations of a large stone podium have been recently found in the Armenian quarter, indicating that the palace of Herod stretched from the Citadel (Jaffa Gate) on the N, along the W modern Turkish wall to its S extremity, which turns E. Thus the podium, on which a stone pavement once stood, was built almost 12 feet higher than the previous Hasmonean building foundations. It was approximately 1,100 feet long N–S, and 200 feet wide E–W. Nothing of the superstructure has been found by M. Broshi who excavated the area.

Philo, a contemporary of Jesus, wrote that Pilate was living in Herod's palace during one of the Jewish feasts (*Gaium* 38). He describes it as "the residence of the prefects." Gessius Florus lived here just before the destruction of the Temple by Titus, beginning in A.D. 66. Florus became prefect in A.D. 64. Mark states that the soldiers "led him (Jesus) outside the palace, which is the praetorium" (15:16). The PRAETORIUM, i.e. residence of the Roman authority, must have been in the Herodian palace, and the large podium Broshi found must have been that on which Jesus stood before Pilate.

The stone pavement beneath the modern Sisters of Zion Convent could not have been the Gabbatha, because the pavement, now determined by archaeologists to have been contemporary with the ceiling vaults of the Struthion pools beneath, was not yet built when the Romans moved their siege machines "through the pools" in A.D. 70 (*JW* 5.467).

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JOHN MCRAY

**GABRIAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Gabrias* (Γαβριας)]. Described as the brother of Gabael in Tob 1:14, but as his father in 4:20. Gabrias is referred to as Gabri in the Sinaiticus text of the Book of Tobit. Comparing the relationship between Huri (1 Chr 5:14) and Ben Hur (1 Kgs 4:8), Zimmerman conjectures that Gabri may have the same relationship to Geber (1 Kgs 4:13). Although possible, however, Zimmerman provides no evidence to suggest that there is anything more than a formal similarity between the 2 names.

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FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**GABRIEL** (ANGEL) [Heb *gabrî·ēl* (גַּבְרִיאֵל)]. Gabriel (whose name means "God is my warrior") is one of two angels named in the Hebrew Bible (Dan 8:16; 9:21), the other being Michael (Dan 10:13, 21; 12:1). Along with Michael, Gabriel regularly figures as one of the 4 archangels (see *1 En.* 9:1; 40:9; 54:6; 71:8; *Apoc. Mos.* 40:2; 1QM 9:14–16; *Num. Rab.* 2:10; etc.). In the book of Daniel, Gabriel is preeminently an angel of eschatological revelation. He is sent to Daniel to explain a vision of "the time appointed for the end" (8:15–26) and again to reveal the hidden meaning of the words of Jeremiah that Daniel is reading (9:20–27). Gabriel is implicitly the angel who appears to Daniel in Daniel 10–12.

Gabriel's functions are more varied in *1 Enoch.* In the Book of the Watchers (*1 Enoch* 1–36) he is listed as "the one of the holy angels who is in charge of paradise and the dragons and the cherubim" (20:2). He is commissioned to destroy the offspring of the rebellious angels and human women (10:9–10). The fruitless petition addressed to Gabriel by the rebels in 10:10 complements the reference (40:6, 9) to Gabriel's association with petition and prayer in the Similitudes (*1 Enoch* 37–71).

In the War Scroll from Qumran (1QM) the names of the 4 archangels, Michael, Gabriel, Sariel, and Raphael, are written on the shields of the 4 towers of the army. The positioning of the 4 archangels around the throne of God or other sacred space has a long subsequent history in both Jewish and Christian tradition (see Milik 1976: 173; Yadin 1962: 239–40).

The gospel according to Luke identifies Gabriel with "the angel of the Lord" (Luke 1:11, 19, 26; cf. Luke 2:9; Acts 5:19; 8:26; 12:7). Gabriel's announcements to Zechariah and to Mary of the births of John and Jesus draws on an ancient tradition (cf. the announcement of the birth of Samson in Judges 13). In the Hebrew Bible, however, the angel of the Lord (Heb *mal*ʿ*ak YHWH*) is never named and in general is not conceived of as a distinct, personal being, but is rather the manifestation of God's presence. See ANGELS.

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CAROL A. NEWSOM

**GAD** (DEITY) [Heb *gad* (גָּד)]. A deity (or spirit) of fortune mentioned in Isa 65:11 as being worshipped, along with Meni (a god of fate or destiny), by apostate Jews, probably in postexilic Judah. The RSV translates Heb *gad* as "Fortune" and *mĕnî* as "Destiny": "you … who set a table for Fortune and fill cups of mixed wine for Destiny." Most likely the setting of a table took place to venerate both deities, as also the filling of cups.

According to the evidence of Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic, *gad* should be understood as "fortune," "good luck." It is used with this appellative meaning in the OT (Gen 30:11 [*kĕtîb*], though some commentators would see here the name of the deity) and in other ANE literature. When *gad* is used as an element in compound names, it is often difficult to determine whether it should be taken in the appellative sense or as the name of the god. The place name Baal-gad (Josh 11:17) could be interpreted as "Lord Gad" or as involving an epithet *(gad)* joined to the divine name Baal. Likewise "Migdal-gad" (Josh 15:37) could be "Tower of Gad" or "Tower of fortune." However, such names as Gaddi (Num 13:11), Gadi (2 Kgs 15:14, 17) and Gaddiel (Num 13:10) are best understood as using *gad* as an appellative (see *RE* 5: 329, 332–33; *TDOT* 2: 383, also for the name Gad [Gen 49:19, 1 Sam 22:5] as possibly representing the appellative meaning).

Certain witness in the OT for a deity Gad comes from Isa 65:11, and from the name Azgad, Heb *ʿazgād* (Ezra 2:12 = Neh 7:17; Ezra 8:12; Neh 10:16—Eng10:15), according to analogy with the Phoenician names *ʿzbʿl,* "Baal is mighty," and *ʿzmlk,* "Malk is mighty." Clear attestation for the divinity Gad also comes from Aramaic, Palmyrenian, and Arabic evidence. There is, however, no corresponding divine name in the pantheons of Assyria or Babylonia. It has been suggested, with some credibility, that the deity Gad, "Fortune," evolved relatively late (perhaps in the 1st millennium B.C.) as a personification of the appellative (and abstract) *gad,* "fortune." Support for this suggestion may come from the pointing in the Hebrew text, which provides *gad* in Isa 65:11 with the definite article (lit. "for *the* Gad"), perhaps indicating that the Masoretes retained an awareness of the "original" appellative meaning of *gad* (i.e., "for the [god of] good fortune"?).

Jewish tradition identified Gad with the planet Jupiter, regarded in Arabic astrology as the star of greater fortune. Yet there is insufficient evidence to establish that the apostates described in Isa 65:11 had such an understanding of Gad. Gad has also been identified with the deity Tyche (Gk *tychē*), "Fortune," mentioned in Gk inscriptions, many of which come from the Hauran. This identification is probably correct: An Aram-Gk bilingual inscription from Palmyra apparently equates Gad and Tyche (however, see *RE*5: 334). A minority of scholars would connect Tyche with another divinity (e.g., Atargatis: *RE*5: 335), and the best-attested reading for the LXX at Isa 65:11 renders "Gad" with *daimoni* (or *daimoniō*), "demon," and "Meni" with *tychē* (for one possible explanation for this reading, see Delitzsch 1969: 484; *SDB* 2: 322). However, in some manuscripts "Gad" is rendered with *tychē,* "Meni" with *daimoni;* the LXX at Gen 30:11 has for the Heb *gad* (used in the appellative sense) *tychē;* and for Isa 65:11 the Vg reads *Qui ponitis Fortunae mensam,* " (You) who place a table for Fortune."

Gad is mentioned frequently in Syriac and later Jewish literature. A Syriac writer of the 5th century mentions that tables were still being set for Gad in his time. This practice of spreading a table laden with food before a deity or deities (usually equated with the Roman *lectisternium*) was common throughout the

ancient world (in the OT, cf. Jer 7:18; in the NT, 1 Cor 10:21). There may be a partial parallel in the worship of Yahweh, the God of Israel, with the provision of the "shewbread" (Lev 24:5–9) set on a special table (Exod 25:23–30; 1 Kgs 7:48). The apostates of Isa 65:11 were looking to Gad, not Yahweh, as the source of well-being and prosperity.

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WALTER A. MAIER III

**GAD** (PERSON) [Heb *gād* (גָּד)]. GADITE. Two persons bear this name in the Hebrew Bible.

1. The son of Jacob, and therefore eponymous ancestor of the tribe of Gad. His mother was Bilhah, Leah's handmaiden (Gen 30:11). The etymology of the name "Gad" is not clear. Although some suggest a derivation from the root *gdd,* "to cut off," most scholars follow the pun of Genesis 30: "Gad" = " (good) fortune." The name Gad is known as a theophoric element in a number of W Semitic personal names. It is not the real name but an adjective, an appelative, "the Fortune," and could be used for a number of gods.

There is not one system of 12 tribes in the OT, but two. The first is mainly a list of patronyms. It is mostly known as "system A" and includes Levi and the tribe of Joseph. The second system, called "B," does not include Levi and has Ephraim and Manasseh in the place of Joseph. This second system is geographical, and it lists tribal areas. This system "B" is older than system "A." (The main texts for system "A" are: Gen 29:31–30:24; 35:23–26; 46:8–25; 49:3–27; Exod 1:2–4; Deut 27:12–14; Ezek 48:31–35; 1 Chr 2:2. For system "B": Num 1:5–15; 2:3–31; 7:12–83; 13:4–15; 26:5–51; Josh 13–19; 21:4–7, 9–39.) In the first system, Gad is usually the 7th son, in the second the 9th tribe. (The different order in Numbers 26 has to do with the placing of the standards in Numbers 2. In this way it was easy to prevent the tribe of Judah coming under the standard of Reuben.)

In trying to locate the exact tribal regions or even their boundaries one encounters several problems. The first is the uncertainty about the identifications of biblical place-names, especially in Transjordan. The second is that those who produce biblical maps tend to harmonize different texts. The third problem is a methodological one. The biblical data on the geographical and historical situations in Transjordan show a wide variation. To what extent can these differences be explained historically? That is to say, do the different texts record different situations in successive periods? Or to what extent do we have to reckon with purely literary procedures, without any basis in a historical reality?

There is a rather broad consensus that the oldest reliable source on the Transjordanian tribes of Gad and Reuben is the core of the city-list in Num 32:33–38. According to Wüst (1975) this core consists of the following 4 cities for Gad: Dibon, Ataroth, Aroer, and Atroth-shophan. The city-names Jaazer, Beth-nimrah, and Beth-haran are later additions that were taken from Joshua 13. The addition of Jogbehah is a harmonization with Judg 8:12. This means that according to the oldest biblical tradition there is a tribe Gad centered around Dibon (cf. the name-form Dibon-gad in Num 33:45). This is a territory N of the river Arnon, its heartland being a fertile plateau with excellent grazing, called "the Mishor" (Josh 13:9, 16; Deut 3:10; 4:43). The oldest text locates Gad therefore to the S of the tribe of Reuben that was centered in the N parts of the Mishor around Heshbon. As will be shown below, the tribe of Gad was forced out of this S position and resettled in towns more to the N.

Many have noticed that of the Transjordanian tribes only Reuben is mentioned in the very old Song of Deborah (Judges 5). Instead of Gad we find "Gilead." It is too simplistic to assume that "Gilead" was just another name for the territory of Gad. To the author of the Song there were obviously two nuclei of Israelite settlement E of the Jordan: Gilead, N and S of the river Jabbok; and the Mishor, called by him after Reuben, S of Gilead but N of the Arnon. In Num 32:29, 30 "the land of Gilead" is used as the general name for the Israelite territories E of the Jordan. It is equivalent to "the land of Canaan." In v 1 the tribal territory of Reuben is called "the land of Jaazer." The absence of Gad can best be explained by assuming that Gad was only later considered as a separate tribe. In the early monarchy, Israelite Transjordan was known as "the land of Gad and Gilead" (1 Sam 13:7; cf. also 2 Sam 24:5).

Gad is mentioned in 2 other old texts: in the "Blessing of Jacob" and in the "Blessing of Moses" (Genesis 49 and Deuteronomy 33, respectively). Zobel has shown that the blessing of Gad belongs to a younger type. A comparison with an animal, for instance, is lacking. On the other hand the condition of the tribe differs in both blessings: In the older one (Genesis 49) the tribe is depicted as threatened; but in Deuteronomy 33 only praise is expressed for Gad—here the tribe is obviously in its prime. The rise of Gad was largely at the cost of the tribe of Reuben. This development becomes visible already in Num 32:34–38. The analysis of this text by Wüst (1975) has shown that the additions to the original document are all situated to the N of the territory of Reuben. These additions are: Jazer, Beth-nimrah, Beth-haran, and Jogbehah.

In the case of the tribe of Gad we have the rare opportunity to supplement biblical tradition with extrabiblical data. The famous stela of king Mesha of Moab (a modern English translation is given in *HAIJ*, 283) gives us valuable information on the historical situation in S Transjordan in the mid-9th century B.C.E. King Mesha introduces himself in line 1 as "the Dibonite," which seems to imply that he was born there. Dibon therefore was already Moabite at the beginning of the 9th century. The homeland of the Moabites lay S of the river Arnon, and Dibon is situated just N of it. Then, in lines 7–8, Mesha informs us that "the men of Gad lived always in the region of Ataroth." "Always" should be understood as "of old," "in living memory," i.e., at least during the last 3 generations. This brings us into the time of Saul and David, in excellent agreement with 1 Samuel 13. Next, king Mesha informs us that the town of Medeba was given back to Moab by its god Chemosh. This former Reubenite town was clearly lost by Israel at an earlier time. After that it was reconquered by king Omri of Israel. But after Omri's death, Mesha had been able to conquer it again. From this we may conclude that the Moabite expansion probably went N along the King's Highway and left the areas W of it—Ataroth—at first untouched. The following cities are counted by Mesha as having been conquered from Israel: Beth-baal-meon, Kiriathaim, Nebo, and Jahaz. All of these are well-known from the Bible. Mesha was the first king of Moab to make Dibon the royal residence. It was also here that the stela was erected. From this stela we see clearly how the border with Israel was pushed northwards.

Pressure came not only from the S, but also from the E. The already famous scroll 4QSam$^{a}$, found near the Dead Sea, has kept a few verses of 1 Samuel 11 that apparently were lost in the MT. This additional text is to be placed before 1 Sam 11:1 (translation F. M. Cross 1980):

> [And Na]hash, king of the Ammonites, sorely oppressed the children of Gad and the children of Reuben, and he gouged out a[ll] their right eyes and struck ter[ror and dread] in Israel. There was not left one among the children of Israel bey[ond] [Jordan who]se right eye was no[t go]uged out by Naha[sh king] of the children of [A]mmon; except seven thousand men [fled from] the children of Ammon and entered [J]abesh-Gilead. About a month later, Nahash the Ammonite went up and besieged Jabesh-[Gilead] and all the men of Jabesh said to Nahash [the Ammonite, "Make] with [us a covenant and we shall become your subjects."] Nahash [the Amonite said t]o [th]em, ["After this fashion will] I make [a covenant with you] …

From the course of history we must conclude that the victories of Saul and David over the Ammonites were decisive: It was not until more than 2 centuries later that Ammon once again became a threat to Israel. David made himself king over Ammon and in 2 Sam 23:26 a hero from Gad and one from Ammon are mentioned side by side.

The list of the Solomonic districts—1 Kgs 4:7–19—describes the land of Israel at the end of the United Monarchy. At the end of the list the 12th district includes "the land of Gilead, the land of Sihon." The use of "Gilead" is suspect because of the geographical order and because Gilead was already treated as the 6th district. (To read only "the land of Gad" with LXX$^{B}$ is probably too simple.) Sihon was the Amorite king of Heshbon (Num 21:21–30). In any case the list does testify to the existence of an Israelite district in S Transjordan at this time.

Deuteronomy, however, locates the tribe of Gad much farther to the N than do the older texts (Deut 3:12, 16; 4:43; 29:7). A number of younger texts associate with the tribe of Gad an itinerary through the Jordan valley southwards. It passes through Zaphon, Succoth, Beth-nimrah, Beth-haran, and Beth-

jeshimoth. This route entered former Reubenite territory at Kiriathaim and joined the King's Highway at Dibon. Again according to Wüst (1975), this itinerary was also known to the redactor of Joshua 13. This document originally listed Israelite cities in Transjordan; a subdivision over tribes was added later. In Joshua 13 the border is drawn between Gad (N) and Reuben (S) at the wadi el-Wâlah. From the Mesha stela we concluded the same borderline. Heshbon remained an Israelite city, probably until 722 B.C.E. Jer 49:1–3 also considers the wadi el-Wâlah as the border with Moab. Jeremiah still connects Heshbon with the tribe of Gad.

Remarkable, however, is Isa 15:2–4; 16:9. It does not seem to disturb the prophet Isaiah that almost all the Moabite towns he enumerates had been Israelite until a few decades before him.

In later, postexilic texts, the location of the tribe of Gad continues to be in the N. We find Gadite cities even mentioned near the river Yarmuk. A Gadite city is also mentioned in the list of Cities of Refuge (Joshua 20). The list of Levitical cities from Joshua 21 ascribes a number of N cities to Gad too, but at the same time also Heshbon, the former Reubenite center. Maybe this can be explained by assuming that Gadite clans withdrew to the N and to the Jordan valley after their original territory was lost.

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C. H. J. DE GEUS

**2.** An Israelite seer (1 Chr 29:29) and prophet (1 Sam 22:5). He was a contemporary of King David, and was significant primarily for his influence in David's life and decisions. Having become the object of Saul's anger, David fled and lodged in the cave of Adullam where his family and many socially distressed persons joined him. After some time Gad counseled David to leave the cave and settle in Judah; David acceded to his counsel (1 Sam 22:5). Later, after David took a census of his increasingly numerous people, Gad offered David a selection of 1 from among 3 punishments for the prideful act; David selected a pestilence in the land as the preferred punishment. While the pestilence raged, Gad instructed David to sacrifice on an altar to be erected on a chosen plot. David again followed the seer's instruction: He purchased the plot, erected the altar, and sacrificed; the pestilence ceased (2 Samuel 24 = 1 Chr 21:1–27). He was later influential, indirectly and posthumously, in a decision by King Hezekiah: When the king cleansed the polluted temple and consecrated it, he ordered the Levitical musicians to serve strictly according to Gad's commandment issued during David's reign and applicable to the situation (2 Chr 29:25). A document entitled *Chronicles,* devoted to the memory of David's rule, might, grandeur, and success, is attributed to him either as its author or editor (1 Chr 29:29–30).

GERALD J. PETTER

## GAD, VALLEY TOWARD (PLACE) [Heb *gād* (גָּד)]. A place where David's census officers

camped after crossing into Transjordan. The KJV, based on the MT of 2 Sam 24:5 *(hannaḥal haggād),* translates this phrase as the "river of Gad." However, the fact that both words in this expression have the definite article suggests that this is an incorrect translation. The RSV and NEB, following Lucian, emend the two Hebrew words in this expression to read *naḥal ʾel-haggadi* and respectively translate the phrase "valley, toward Gad" and "gorge, proceeding toward Gad." Since this river valley is the one in which

Aroer is located, it is probably to be identified with the Arnon. This valley apparently formed the S limit of Israelite expansion in Transjordan.

RANDALL W. YOUNKER

**GADARENES** [Gk *Gadarēnos* (Γαδαρηνος)]. The name of the territory where Jesus cast demons out of 2 men and into a herd of swine (Matt 8:28). See also GERASENES. This area is associated with the site of Gadara, modern Umm Qeis (M.R. 214229), located near the N border of Jordan, about 10 km SE of the S tip of the Lake of Tiberias, on a flat plateau which is aligned in an E–W direction at an altitude of 350 m above sea level. On the N, steep slopes descend to the Yarmuk valley, on the W is the Jordan valley, and to the S is the Wadi el-ʿArab. In and near the modern village lie the ruins of the ancient city, which was first associated with Gadara by U. J. Seetzen in 1806. Its arrangement and size were adapted to the local topography.

In 1886, G. Schumacher was commissioned to undertake a surface survey of Umm Qeis, mainly in the upper city, which at that time was uninhabited. After a long interruption, several separate campaigns have been conducted at the site: The excavation of a late bath in the NW part of the village, whose mosaic floor and inscription were published by U. Lux (1966) and S. Mittmann (1966) respectively; the cleaning of a (probably) Late Roman tomb in the same vicinity, published by B. De Vries (1973); and the uncovering of an extensive, subterranean mausoleum within the ancient city limits (unpublished). In 1974 a second surface survey was carried out, and its site plan recorded the architectural remains of the ancient city over an area ca. 1,600 m long with a maximum width of 450 m, superceding Schumacher's 1886 plan of the upper city. The necropolises located all around the ancient city limits could not be taken into account.

Between 1976 and 1980, excavations were conducted under the direction of Ute Wagner-Lux, and later with S. Holm-Nielsen who joined the expedition in 1977. Several fields between the upper and lower cities, the so-called terrace, and in the lower city were excavated. The results of these excavations are briefly presented in the remainder of this article. See Fig. GAD.01.

*Field I* is situated in the central part of the terrace. The expedition unearthed the foundations of a square building (measuring ca. 23.5 × 23.1 m) with an octagonal interior, built over a floor from the Roman period which was composed of limestone slabs. The doors were on the W and E sides of the building. Two shaft tombs (0.52 × 1.72 m and 0.6 × 1.74 m) were found in the floor of the NE apse in front of a basalt sarcophagus. At the horizontal apex of the SE apse, which had been separated by chancel screens from the octagonal interior, a hexagonal basalt column 0.74 m high (a reliquary stand?) was discovered. In the interior, a corridor surrounds a central octagon, which is entered from the N and formerly was demarcated with chancel screens. On the E side of the central octagon was a semicircular, stepped installation oriented to the E, and just W of the latter, a shaft tomb with a stone ossuary or reliquary (?) (ca. 1.2 × 0.5 × 0.4 m). The floor of the building was overlaid with small, stone tiles assembled to form various geometric patterns in hues of black, slate blue, yellow, red, and white. All the excavation data indicate that this square building corresponds to a church of the central-plan type. It was erected at the beginning of the 6th century A.D. largely from reused material and was destroyed in the 8th century by an earthquake. From the courtyard, three doorways gave access to the *decumanus maximus.*

*Field II* was excavated by the Danish team in 4 campaigns from 1977 to 1983. Its focus was a public bath located about 50 m W of the church and skirted on the N by the E–W oriented *decumanus maximus.* The main building was 30 m wide and 50 m long. It had been built on a steep slope, with its northernmost room cut partly into the rock and its S end supported by 2 large, vaulted rooms founded on bedrock. Skirted by another E–W street, the S facade of the building at its original height of about 14 m, must have been an impressive sight. Including the auxiliary rooms or corridors on the E and W as well as some on the N, the edifice covered an area of about 2,300 square m. From the auxiliary rooms, the hot bathrooms were heated through underground furnaces so that hot air circulated under the floors *(hypokaustikon),* which were supported by pillars made mainly of basalt but also of tiles. The temperature needed for the different rooms was further regulated by chimneys and hot-air pipes *(tubulus)* along the walls. It is estimated that 10 furnaces were employed when the 8-room bath was fully functional. Olive wood and

olive seeds were used as fuel, and water was supplied by the main aqueduct carrying water to Gadara from the far NE. The various rooms known from the classical Roman public bath were represented: dressing room *(apodyterium),* cold-water room *(frigidarium),* lukewarm room *(tepidarium),* hot-water room *(calderium),* dry hot-air room *(sudatorium),* and possibly also a room for massage and anointment *(unctorium).* The open courtyard for gymnastic exercises *(palaestra)* does not seem to have been included in the construction, however, perhaps because by this time it was no longer a normal feature of public baths.

Three main periods are discernible in the history of the bath. The first was terminated by a destruction possibly caused by an earthquake, around A.D. 400. In the second period, the building continued as a bath, but on a slightly reduced scale. The S wall had partly collapsed and was not re-erected. The southernmost room, originally the most luxurious of all the rooms, was abandoned as a bathroom and from then on served only as a stoke room for a new and much smaller, semi-circular hot-bath basin, which was built against the arched passage to the neighboring room on the N. Some of the other doorways in the building were narrowed and the heating system reduced. This gradual change may reflect the beginning of an economic decline at Gadara. Sometime in the first half of the 7th century A.D., the use of the building as a bath came to an end, and in the third period it was used for habitation and perhaps also for industrial purposes on a smaller scale. Whether this development had anything to do with the Islamic conquest is uncertain, but the finds, especially in the smaller rooms on the W, clearly attest an Umayyad presence. A semicircular niche in the S wall of Room VII seems to have been turned into an Islamic prayer niche *(mihrab).* The structure was ultimately destroyed by the great earthquake of A.D. 746 at the end of the Umayyad era.

SVEND HOLM-NIELSEN

*Field III* is located at the N end of a street that branches southward at right angles from the *decumanus maximus,* running to the W of and below the terrace, and leading along a row of consecutive rooms with vaulted ceilings but broken-off facades to the W theater. In this field the W face of the entrance at the N side of the terrace, as well as the adjacent vaulted room extending to the S, were exposed. The reconstruction of the facades on the series of consecutive rooms was facilitated by the recovery of various architectural pieces. In addition, a water system was identified both under the Roman street and, in its later phases, breaking through the pavement.

*Fields IV and V* were in a 34 m length of the E–W oriented *decumanus maximus,* which was excavated at about the midpoint of the ancient urban area. The average width of the street between the N and S stylobates of the column rows measured 12.55 m, and the average width of the sidewalks was 3 m. The reuse of building stones for the street pavement suggests a secondary process of road formation, probably a renovation during the Byzantine period.

*Field VI* is situated in the W zone of the ruins at the remains of a hippodrome. Three soundings were made in order to examine the structure more closely, but without obtaining further results.

Although Gadara played a role as a member of the Decapolis only from the time of Pompey (64/63 B.C.), the known history of the city nevertheless reaches well back into the Hellenistic period. According to the ceramic finds from the 1974 surface survey, Gadara must have had an even older, pre-Hellenistic predecessor; however, no clarifying section could be cut at a suitable place during the excavations.

Gadara was made famous primarily because of its scholars: Menippus (3d century B.C.), Meleager (first half of the 1st century B.C.), Philodemus (first half of the 1st century B.C.), Theodorus, teacher of the emperor Tiberius (end of the 1st century B.C.), Oneomaus (2d century A.D.), and Apsines (3d century A.D.). The establishment of Christianity at Gadara must have occurred very early (as the participation of Bishop Sabinus in the Council of Nicea in A.D. 325 notably attests), though doubtless not without a struggle (witness the martyrdom of the deacon Zacchaeus in A.D. 303). Subsequently Christianity became the dominant religion throughout the Near East, resulting in the emergence of important Christian centers with proportionately major church structures, such as Bosra, Zor῾a, Jerash, and Madeba. On the basis of the excavation of its central-plan church, Gadara joined these cities, with their analogous central-plan churches, as a center of equal rank.

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S.H.-N.
U.W.-L.
K.J.H.V.

**GADDI** (PERSON) [Gk *Gaddi* (Γαδδι)]. Nickname of John, the eldest among the 5 sons of Mattathias (1 Macc 2:2). As with all his brothers, 1 Maccabees mentions his nickname. We do not know to what purpose these nicknames are mentioned nor when or why they originated. It is assumed that they were given to Mattathias' sons at their birth, and were aimed to distinguish their bearers, especially because their proper names were very common at that period. Gaddi may be drawn from Heb *Gad*, which means (good) fortune. It may also be a name (cf. Num 13:11), but this is less acceptable since the other brothers carry what are evidently nicknames, and not second names. See MACCABEE.

John the Gaddi did not distinguish himself in the Maccabean rebellion and is mentioned only once as a commander of a convoy, sent for shelter to the Nabateans, but ambushed on its way. In the ensuing battle or in captivity, John was killed (1 Macc 9:35–38). This event took place some time after the fall of Judah Maccabeus in 160 B.C.E. See JOHN (PERSON).

URIEL RAPPAPORT

**GADDIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *gaddiʾēl* (גַּדִּיאֵל)]. The name is a compound of the Hebrew words *gad* and *ʾel* ("God"). The root meaning of GAD is "luck" or "good fortune" (cf. Gen 30:11). In Isa 65:11 it represents the name of a deity which personified "fortune." Thus, the most likely meaning of Gaddiel is something like "God is my good fortune."

The personal name Gaddiel is found only in Numbers 13:12. The son of SODI, Gaddiel represented the tribe of Zebulun among the 12 men Moses sent from the wilderness of Paran (Num 12:16) to spy out the land of Canaan. Though not the head of the tribe of Zebulun (Num 1:9; 7:24), he was one of its leading princes (Num 13:2, 3). His selection was doubtless based upon his suitability for the mission to be carried out. For further discussion, see Gray *Numbers* ICC.

JON PAULIEN

**GADI** (PERSON) [Heb *gādî* (גָּדִי)]. The father of Menahem king of Israel and the assassin of Shallum ben Jabesh (2 Kgs 15:14, 17). Nothing is known about him apart from these 2 references. The name ending has suggested to some scholars that it refers not to his father's name, but to Menahem's place of origin, the tribal territory of Gad on the E side of the Jordan River. However, that Gadi is a personal name is supported by its appearance as such in several sources. The name is found in a slightly different form in

Num 11:13 as "Gaddi" [Heb *gāddî*], in the Samarian Ostraca (6, 16–18, 30) as "Gaddiyo" [Heb *gdyw*], possibly an abbreviation for "Gaddiyahu" (*TSSI* 1: 8–11), and in the Arad Inscriptions (71, 72) as "Gadi" or "Gaddiel" and as a possible diminutive, "Gada" [Heb *gdʾ*] (*AI*, 95–96). Recently published Hebrew seal impressions from the 7th century B.C.E. (Avigad 1986: 39–41) have confirmed that Gadi is an abbreviation for Gaddiyahu. Seal impressions 23, 24 and 26 mention "Shahar ben Gad[d]iyahu" [Heb *šḥr bn gdyhw*]. Obviously referring to the same person is seal impression 25, which reads "To Shahar son of Gadi" [Heb *šḥr bn gdy*].

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T. R. HOBBS

**GAHAM** (PERSON) [Heb *gaḥam* (גַּחַם)]. Second son of Nahor, Abraham's brother, by the concubine Reumah (Gen. 22:24). The assumption that Nahor's 12 sons were the fathers of as many tribes appears to be groundless since most of their names, as Gaham, never occur again in Scripture. The name "Gaham" most probably means "flame" or "bright blaze."

JOEL C. SLAYTON

**GAHAR** (PERSON) [Heb *gaḥar* (גַּחַר)]. Head of a family of *nĕtînîm* (temple servants) (see NETHINIM) which is listed among those exiles returning from Babylon to Jerusalem and Judah (Ezra 2:47 = Neh 7:49; 1 Esdr 5:30 [ *geddour* reading Heb *gdwd* instead of *gḥr*]). Noth (*IPN*, 229) places the name among those emphasizing spiritual/intellectual qualities and derives it from Ar *jaḥirun* "weak (or humble) of spirit (or intellect)." Koehler (1940: 37), pointing to the lack of such emphases in Hebrew names, derives it from the Ar *jaḥara,* similar to *jaḥrāh* "year with little rain," which he understood as describing one "born at a time of little rain." Loewenstamm (*EncMiqr* 2: 475), discounting these proposed Arabic etymologies for lack of supporting examples, holds that the interpretation of the name remains vague. Zadok (1980: 112) likewise agrees to the unsatisfactory nature of these etymologies as well as those he derives from Mishnaic Hebrew by citing Jastrow (1926: 237b, 233b): *gîḥôr* "red-spotted"; *gĕḥārîm* (or *gehārîm*) and *gĕḥîrîm* from *gaḥar* or *gahar* "projection, jetty." Zadok nevertheless includes the name with those which are "both Hebrew (or a late type) and Aramaic."

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RODNEY H. SHEARER

**GAI** (PLACE) [Heb *gayʾ* (גַּיְא)]. A place toward which the Philistines fled after the death of Goliath (1 Sam 17:52). Although it has been translated as "the valley" (KJV; see also Rainey 1975: 69*–70* who identifies "the valley" with the Elah Valley), this translation appears unlikely owing to the absence of the definite article. The syntax of the verse would seem to indicate that Gai is to be understood as a proper noun. However, on the basis of the LXX "Gath" most modern scholarship views Gai as a Heb scribal error for Gath (M.R. 135123; see Driver 1890: 114; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 286, 290; RSV). This argument is strengthened by the pairing of Gai and Ekron as the destinations of Philistine flight in the first half of v 52 in the MT, and the pairing of Gath and Ekron in the second.

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CARL S. EHRLICH

**GAIUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Gaios* (Γαιος)]. 1. A Corinthian Christian mentioned after Crispus and before the household of Stephanas as one of the few people baptized by Paul during his stay in Corinth in the

early 50s (1 Cor 1:14). Being baptized by Paul, it is reasonable to assume that Gaius was partial to Paul's position in the disputes among the divisive Corinthians. It is most probable that he is the same Gaius who served as host to Paul and to "the whole church" at Corinth in the late 50s (Rom 16:23), since Paul was apparently in Corinth when he wrote Romans. In Rom 16:23, Gaius sends greetings from his residence in Corinth to the church in Rome, implying that he may have known personally some of the Roman Christians. His Latin name and his financial position suggest that he belonged to the class of Roman freedmen who had come to Corinth and had apparently prospered economically. He was at least a person of sufficient wealth to host the whole Corinthian church, which must have been quite large judging from Acts 18:10 and from the names of the Corinthians that are known.

Because Rom 16:23 names Gaius as Paul's host and because Acts 18:7 states that when Paul left the synagogue in Corinth he went next door to the house of the god-fearer Titius Justus, some have held that Gaius may be identified with Titius Justus, whose full name would then be Gaius Titius Justus. According to a tradition reported by Origen (*comm. in Rom.* 10.41). Gaius became the first bishop of Thessalonica. See JUSTUS.

2. A Macedonian who was a traveling companion of Paul and who along with Aristarchus was present with Paul in Ephesus at the confrontation with Demetrius and the silversmiths (Acts 19:29). Gaius and Aristarchus were dragged by the rioters into the theater, probably to be questioned concerning Paul's activities. They apparently were freed shortly after the town clerk had defused the scene (Acts 19:35–41). Then it is probable that Gaius along with Aristarchus joined Paul when he departed for Macedonia and Greece (cf. 20:1–2).

3. One of the 7 people named in Acts who accompanied Paul from Corinth to Troas as he journeyed toward Jerusalem with the collection (Acts 20:4). This Gaius may also have been one of the brethren referred to in 2 Cor 8:18–22, previously sent to Corinth by Paul. The text of Acts 20:4, which reads Gk *Gaios Derbaios,* is usually taken to mean Gaius "from Derbe." However, it is also possible that he was not from Derbe since *Derbaios* could refer to Timothy who is also mentioned in 20:4 (cf. 16:1); thus the text could be read as listing Gaius as one of the Thessalonians, along with Aristarchus and Secundus. If so, it could be argued that this Gaius, being a Macedonian and being with Aristarchus, is to be identified with Gaius #2 above. The question whether Gaius was actually from Derbe has also been raised on textual grounds since the Western text (D) reads *Douberios* (instead of *Derbaios*), which like Thessalonica is also a Macedonian town. This reading, too, would support an identity of Gaius #3 with Gaius #2. According to the late 4th century *Apos. Con.* (7.46) Gaius (from Derbe) was made the first Bishop of Pergamum in Asia Minor. However, the historicity of this information, due to its late date of composition, is highly questionable.

4. The personal recipient of the canonical letter 3 John (v 1) and a person who had showed hospitality to the Johannine "brothers" (vv 5–6). Because he provided hospitality, Gaius must have been a wealthy Christian whose means, home, and social status enabled him to play such a role. The recipients of Gaius' hospitality were itinerant missionaries who adhered to the Presbyter (also translated Elder), the author of 3 John. The Presbyter favors the leadership of Gaius, referred to affectionately as beloved (v 1), to that of Diotrephes, the head of a house church who refused hospitality to the Johannine "brothers." Whether Gaius himself belonged to the house church in which Diotrephes liked "to put himself first (among them)" (v 9), or was part of another, is unclear. The use of the singular, "the church," in vv 9–10, suggests that Gaius was a member of the house church controlled by Diotrephes. Other evidence seems to indicate that Gaius and his circle of "friends" (v 15) were not dominated by Diotrephes: Gaius had been able to offer hospitality without being expelled by Diotrephes; "among them" in v 9 excludes Gaius; and the singular, "the church," may have a more general reference, thus including the various house churches in the area. Also, if Gaius was unaware of the earlier letter sent to the church of Diotrephes (v 9), this is a further argument that the two were part of different groups since the Presbyter has to tell Gaius about this letter (Brown *The Epistles of John* 729, 731). Finally, it is unclear whether Gaius was a member or the head of a house church. There is no evidence that he had any special authority by virtue of his hospitality beyond that of being able to accept or to exclude traveling missionaries.

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JOHN GILLMAN

**GALAL** (PERSON) [Heb *gālāl* (גָּלָל)]. The name of 2 persons mentioned in Nehemiah and Chronicles. The name possibly means "turtle" (*1PN,* 230).

1. An ancestor of one of the Levites who returned to Jerusalem following the Babylonian exile (1 Chr 9:16, Neh 11:17). Galal is presented as a descendant of Jeduthun who was head of one of the 3 families of Levitical singers appointed by David (1 Chr 16:42, 25:1–8). Galal and his descendants probably continued to function as Levitical singers.

2. One of the Levites who returned from Babylonian exile to Jerusalem (1 Chr 9:15). According to the text, Galal was a descendant of Asaph who was the head of another of the 3 families of Levitical singers appointed by David (1 Chr 15:16–17, 25:1–8) and the author of several psalms (Pss 50, 73–83). Thus Galal most likely served as a Levitical singer himself. Galal is not mentioned in the parallel passage in Nehemiah (Neh 11:15–18), but Bowman (*Ezra and Nehemiah* IB, 777) suggested that Gilalai (Neh 12:36) who was a trumpeter might have been Galal. Although the names and professions are similar, there is no conclusive evidence that Galal and Gilalai were the same person.

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**GALATIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Galatia* (Γαλατια)]. GALATIANS. The name applied to a region of central Asia Minor (modern Turkey) which was occupied or controlled by Celtic immigrants of European origin known as Galatians. The geographical definition of this region varied widely at different periods. The Galatians crossed into Asia Minor in 278/77 B.C. and after raiding the prosperous W regions in the 270s were restricted to the arid steppes of central Anatolia stretching about 150 kms E and W of modern Ankara, henceforth known as Galatia. Raids against the cities of the W continued during the 3d century B.C., but Galatian power was much curtailed first by Attalus I of Pergammon between 240 and 230 B.C. They retained their independence and enjoyed a resurgence in the 1st century B.C. when their leaders proved to be stalwart allies of Rome in the wars against Mithridates VI of Pontus (95–63 B.C.). They were rewarded with important territorial grants by Cn. Pompeius and M. Antonius between 63 and 36 B.C. At the time of the Battle of Actium (31 B.C.) and the beginning of the principate of the emperor Augustus, a single Galatian ruler, Amyntas, controlled the whole of central Turkey and his kingdom even reached the Mediterranean. Other Galatians controlled territory in NE Anatolia, the old Pontic kingdom of Mithridates. During this period the Galatians retained much of their traditional Celtic culture: they spoke a Celtic dialect which survived in rural areas at least until the 4th century A.D.; Celtic personal and place names are widely attested; and they had a distinctive Celtic form of religious and political organization. They were renowned warriors and prized mercenaries whose outlandish appearance, great physical stature, and barbarian ways struck terror into their enemies, but they were insufficiently disciplined to prevail over the armies of the Hellenistic kingdoms or Roman legions (Stähelin 1907; Ramsay 1899: 1–102).

Around 25 B.C. the entire kingdom of Amyntas was annexed to the Roman Empire to form the province of Galatia. At this date the province included the original area of Galatian settlement around Ankara; ancient Ancyra, which was henceforward the chief provincial city; the steppic central Anatolian plateau of East Phrygia and Lycaonia; the mixed Pisido-Phrygian area around Pisidian Antioch and Apollonia; the mountainous tribal region of Isauria and Pisidia; and the Pamphylian plain. This vast and diverse area was further enlarged between 6 B.C. and A.D. 64 by the addition of Paphlagonia to the N and the Pontic regions to the NE. Between A.D. 70 and 114 it was joined under a single Roman governor with Cappadocia and Armenia Minor to form a central and E Anatolian province which reached as far as the river Euphrates (Sherk 1980).

During the first 150 years of direct Roman administration autonomous city states with large adjacent territories were created over most of the province except for Cappadocia. For instance in N Galatia the Celtic tribal peoples were constituted into the cities of Pessinus, Ancyra, and Tavium during Augustus'

principate. At the same time, 13 Roman colonies, each inhabited by an elite of discharged Roman veterans, were founded mainly in the S of the province, including 3 cities evangelized by St. Paul on his first missionary journey, Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra (Levick 1967; Mitchell 1980). During this period the province was generally governed by a Roman senator of consular rank with experience of important military commands behind him. Garrison legions were stationed in the S of the province around Pisidian Antioch under Augustus, and along the E frontier of the empire, the upper Euphrates, from the 70s A.D. until late antiquity (Mitchell 1976; Mitford 1980). A major Roman highway, the *via Sebaste*, was built before 6 B.C. linking most of the major colonies of the S part of the province and helping to secure Roman domination over the intransigent native tribesmen of the Taurus mountains; the Roman roads of the N part of the province were constructed for the first time in the 70s and 80s A.D., as part of the program to fortify and garrison the Euphrates frontier (Magie 1950, 1: 566–92). As a result, many of the cities of the N, in particular Ancyra, witnessed a spectacular growth in military traffic.

After A.D. 114 the E part of Asia Minor, including Cappadocia, Armenia Minor and most of Pontus, was made into a separate province under a consular governor, while central Anatolia was reserved for separate administration by a junior praetorian senator (Sherk 1954). Although the province of Galatia thereby reverted to relative insignificance in Roman political-military thinking, it enjoyed considerable prosperity. Much of the rural central plateau was divided into great estates owned by the emperor, members of the senatorial aristocracy, or civic dignitaries; it was inhabited by a peasantry which developed a thriving mixed agricultural economy alongside the rearing of livestock, which had hitherto been typical of the area. The cities meanwhile, benefitting from this rural prosperity, were adorned with fine public buildings in the Greco-Roman tradition and displayed many of the characteristics of cultural life which was the hallmark of civilization under the high Roman Empire. While the urban elites acquired the trappings of Hellenic sophistication, the indigenous population of the countryside retained its native culture. Not only Galatian but other local languages such as Phrygian, Pisidian, and Lycaonian were spoken under the empire (Holl 1908); there was worship of a bewildering diversity of native deities, principally Zeus, the Phrygian Mother of the Gods, and the Anatolian moon god Mên.

Within the boundaries of the Roman province of Galatia there is little reliable evidence for Judaism or Christianity in the 1st and 2d centuries A.D. Except for the passages in Acts which refer to synagogues at Pisidian Antioch (13:14) and Iconium (14:1), Jews are hardly attested in any of the cities before the 4th century. There were, however, important Jewish communities to the W, above all in Phrygia at Apamea and Acmonia (*HJP²* 3/1: 27–32). Moreover, inscriptions of N Galatia from the 3d to the 6th centuries do indicate small Jewish communities in rural districts (*RECAM* 2: 133, 141, 2096, 508–11). There is only one unambiguous reference to Christians in a Galatian city before A.D. 200, to Montanists in Ancyra (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 5.16); the evangelization of the apostolic period, therefore, left few traces. It is likely that Christian communities became larger and more influential in the second half of the 3d century, at least in certain cities (Harnack 1915, 2: 184–226). By the mid-4th century, however, Christianity seems to have become the religion of the majority of the inhabitants, as was more obviously the case in neighboring Cappadocia. The Galatian city of Laodice Catacecaumene was then a noted heretical center (Calder 1923).

The references in the NT to Galatia, Galatians, and to cities in the province have given rise to contentious dispute. The central problem concerns the recipient of Paul's epistle to the Galatians. The letter is addressed "to the churches of Galatia" (Gal 1:2; 1 Cor 16:1) and the recipients are apostrophised as "foolish Galatians" (Gal 3:1). Do the churches belong to the cities of Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, which Paul had visited according to Acts (the so-called South Galatian Theory); to the cities of Celtic N Galatia, Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium (the North Galatian Theory); or to the cities of the whole province? The most authoritative champion of the South Galatian Theory was the great explorer of Asia Minor, W. M. Ramsay, and although the North Galatian Theory still finds many supporters, his work should long ago have put the matter beyond dispute (Ramsay *HDB* 2:81–89; 1899).

There is no evidence in Acts or any non-testamentary source that Paul ever evangelized the cities of N Galatia by any means. In so far as the gospel was taken here in the early years of the church, the

evangelist was the author of 1 Peter, who addressed the Jews of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, and Asia (1 Pet 1:1). Paul did not visit N Galatia. The book of Acts relates that he passed through a region called Phrygia and the Galatic country after leaving Derbe and Lystra, as a stage in a journey that led through Mysia to Troas (Acts 16:6). This cannot have been Galatia, which lay some 200 km NE of any natural route between Lystra and Mysia in NW Asia Minor. The phrase is naturally understood as denoting the country of Phrygia Paroreius which lay on either side of Sultan Dağ, the mountain range that divided Pisidian Antioch from Iconium, an area that was ethnically Phrygian but which was divided between the Roman provinces of Asia and Galatia.

A later passage in Acts describing Paul's third journey states that he crossed these same regions, the Galatic country and Phrygia, before coming to Ephesus (Acts 18: 22–23; 19:1). Again, this route can only have intersected the first one in the region of Phrygia Paroreius, not conceivably in N Galatia, which would have involved a huge detour for any traveller between Syrian Antioch and Ephesus. The Pontic bishop Asterius of Amasea in the later 4th century A.D. rightly understood this passage to refer to Lycaonia and Phrygia, not to Galatia in the ethnic sense. In the mid 1st century A.D. it was normal to refer to the whole province and not just the Celtic region as Galatia (Eutropius 7.10; *Inscriptionos Latinae Selectae* 9499; *IG* Rom. 3.263). It is proper therefore, for Luke to speak of non-Celtic parts of the province as Galatian country, and in the 1st century A.D. it was as natural to refer to the churches of Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe as churches of Galatia as it was to call that of Corinth a church of Achaea (1 Cor 1:1).

No weight should be placed on Paul's reference to the foolish Galatians. Certainly this would not be a natural mode of address to the inhabitants of cities which had few if any Celtic inhabitants, but that is precisely the point. It is part of Paul's reproach to his correspondents that he equates them with the barbarous and unsophisticated people who had given their name to the province and who, throughout antiquity, had a quite independent reputation for simplemindedness. The epistle, therefore, was certainly addressed to the Galatian churches where Paul had preached in the S of the province, and should be interpreted in conjunction with the account of his mission to them in Acts, not treated as a letter addressed to communities in N Galatia, with whom he had no other attested dealings.

The churches of Galatia, therefore, were established in the S part of the province, at Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe in the course of Paul's first missionary journey. Although he was to revisit them twice they appear not to have flourished, and Christianity made no further significant progress in the region before the 3d century A.D.

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**GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.** A letter to the church at Galatia by the apostle Paul, now found as the ninth book of the NT canon.

A. Text
B. Author
C. Address
D. Date and Place of Origin
E. Galatians and the *Corpus Paulinum*
F. Literary Analysis
G. Galatians as a Historical Document
    1. Paul's Own Early History
    2. The History of the Early Church
    3. The Anti-Pauline Opponents
H. Galatians as a Theological Document
I. Literary Influence of Galatians

**A. Text**

Among the extant letters of the Apostle Paul, his letter to the churches of Galatia is the fourth in the present CANON (NT), but the first in Marcion's (Harnack 1924: 40*–79*). The canonical lists, however, do not reflect the actual historical chronology. Textually, we do not possess the Gk original, and the early history of transmission is unknown. The reconstruction of the text, presented by the critical editions of NovTG[27] and *The Greek New Testament* (1983), is as close an approximation to the original as possible, given present knowledge (see TEXTUAL CRITICISM [NT]). J. C. O'Neill's (1972) attempt to follow the example of Marcion by eliminating approximately one third as later glosses and interpolations remains unconvincing.

**B. Author**

The preface names Paul (1:1) as the author of the letter. This fact is confirmed by the literary form and style, argumentative methods, and theological content, as well as by the tradition, which never doubted it. Pauline authorship was denied by some scholars in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but their arguments are insufficient. Since in the original the postscript was handwritten by Paul (6:11), the remainder of the letter must have been written by an amanuensis, a fact which complicates authorship technically but not substantially (Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 1).

**C. Address**

The letter is addressed to "the churches of Galatia" (1:2; cf. 3:1). The location of this area called Galatia has been discussed extensively but without definitive result. Most likely the location is central Anatolia, where wandering Celtic tribes settled after 278/277 B.C.E. (the "North Galatian" or "territory hypothesis"). Less likely is the "South Galatian" or "province hypothesis," which assumes that Paul meant the Roman *provincia Galatia*, established in 25 B.C.E. This included Galatia as well as some areas to the south (Pisidia, Lycaonia, and Pamphylia) which can be connected with Paul's first missionary campaign, according to Acts 13–14. Yet the information contained in Galatians and Acts cannot be harmonized. Acts 13–14 does not mention Galatia as all. In 16:8 and 18:23, a "Galatian country" is mentioned, but no mission is described. Also, the inhabitants of Pisidia and Lycaonia were not called "Galatians." Whether the itineraries of Acts are historically reliable in that they report all of Paul's campaigns accurately is another unsolved problem. Although no archaeological traces seem to be left, central Anatolia is the most likely location of the churches of Galatia (see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 1–5).

**D. Date and Place of Origin**

The Galatian letter can be dated only approximately, since no unambiguous evidence exists. Scholars have argued in favor of both early and late dates in relation to the other Pauline letters (see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 9–12). Theologically Galatians reflects positions closer to 1 Thessalonians, while Romans, Paul's last extant letter, shows development and revision at important points. Hence, an earlier date is more probable (Vielhauer 1975: 79–81, 110–11: 52–54/55 C.E.; Jewett 1979: 103: 53 C.E.).

The letter provides no clues as to its place of origin. The Marcionite Prologues (for the text see Harnack 1924: 127*–28*) state that it was sent from Ephesus, but the *subscriptio* contained in some manuscripts of Galatians names Rome as the place from which it was sent. Scholars have argued in favor of Ephesus, Macedonia, and Corinth; but these are no more than possibilities (see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 12).

**E. Galatians and the *Corpus Paulinum***

Among the authentic Pauline letters, Galatians holds a peculiar position. While all the others are addressed to churches in Macedonia, Greece, and Rome, only Galatians has survived from what must have been at one time a larger correspondence with churches in Asia Minor (unless Romans 16 was originally addressed to Ephesus). The reasons for its survival, however, are unknown, as is the early history of transmission and edition of the Pauline corpus (see Gamble 1975: 403–18; Aland 1979: 302–50). Galatians shows no awareness of or links with the churches of Macedonia and Greece, or with any of the other letters. The literary genre and composition of Galatians have much in common with Romans. Both are apologies; but while Galatians is short and confrontational, representing the beginning of a controversy, Romans is conciliatory and greatly expanded, showing an advanced stage of debate in which Paul defends his theology as a whole by elaborate arguments reformulating and even revising positions taken in Galatians. While Galatians is unaware of the Corinthian crisis, Romans acknowledges it. Because of the theology of the Spirit, Galatians is closer theologically to the early letter of 1 Thessalonians which, however, is not concerned with Jewish-Christian adversaries; in this regard, Galatians has parallels in Phil 3:2–21; 2 Cor 10:1–13:10; Rom 16:17–20.

**F. Literary Analysis**

The literary analysis proposed by Betz (*Galatians* Hermeneia, 14–25) assumes Galatians to be of the "apologetic" letter type including other epistolary and rhetorical features. The letter frame consists of an epistolary prescript (1:1–5) naming the sender and co-senders (*superscriptio,* 1:1–2a) and the addressees (*adscriptio,* 1:2b) and a conclusion with an expanded salutation (*salutatio,* 1:3–4) and doxology (1:5). The epistolary postscript (6:11–18), handwritten in the original (6:11), sharpens the points Paul wishes to make in the letter and concludes with a blessing (6:18).

The body of the letter (1:6–6:10) is a compositional unit containing the typical features of a defense speech. The *exordium* ("introduction," 1:6–10) confronts the readers with the statement of the cause for the letter—their impending shift from Paul to his opponents (1:6–7)—along with a conditional curse (1:8–9). The *narratio* ("statement of facts," 1:11–2:14) defines the nature of Paul's apostleship (1:12) and narrates the history of his previous apostolic work (1:13–2:14) in three sections. The first section deals with the beginnings of his life as a Jew (1:13–14), his vocation (1:15–16a), and his early mission (1:16b–24). The main point here is to underscore his independence from the authorities of the church at Jerusalem. The second section (2:1–10) treats the conference in Jerusalem, where the mission of Paul and Barnabas was recognized. The third section (2:11–14) recounts the conflict between Paul and Cephas at Antioch and the subsequent separation from Barnabas. As Paul formulates it, Cephas' dilemma (2:14) is precisely that which the Galatians must face. The *propositio* ("proposition," 2:15–21) sets forth the points of agreement (2:15–16) and disagreement (2:17–18), an exposition 2:19–20), and a refutation (2:21). The *probatio* ("proofs," 3:1–4:31) presents the major arguments justifying Paul's theological position. The first proof (3:1–5) is one of undeniable evidence: the Galatians have received the Spirit on the basis of their faith, not of their observance of the Torah. The second proof (3:6–14) uses the example of Abraham (Gen 15:6; 12:3; 18:18) and other testimonies from Scripture (Deut 27:26, Hab 2:4, Lev 18:5, Deut 21:23) to demonstrate that those who are believers are the "sons of Abraham" and the heirs of the promise. The third argument (3:15–18) introduces an analogous example from the secular law of inheritance. Chapter 3:19–25 is a disgression on the Jewish Torah. The fourth proof (3:26–4:11) is an argument from Christian tradition, using baptismal (3:26–28) and christological (4:4–6) formulae. The fifth proof (4:12–20) uses topics from friendship and speaks about Paul's relations with the Galatians, both past and present. The sixth proof (4:21–31) consists of an allegory of Sarah and Hagar. The *exhortatio* ("exhortation," 5:1–6:10; differently Merk 1969: 83–104; Hübner 1984a: 67, n. 65; Hübner *TRE* 14:6) is made up of three sections:

a warning against the acceptance of the Jewish Torah (5:1–12), a warning against the corruption of the "flesh" (5:13–24), and recommendations in the form of ethical maxims (5:25–6:10).

The *peroratio* ("peroration," 6:11–18) is identical with the epistolary postscript and sums up the main concerns of the letter. A sharp polemic against the opponents (6:12–13) is followed by a restatement of Paul's own position (6:14) and his "canon" (6:15). The conclusion consists of a conditional blessing (6:16) juxtaposed with a conditional curse (1:8–9), an appeal (6:17), and a benediction (6:18). The rhetoric of the letter is, on the whole, of the judicial type (*genus iudiciale*), but the element of dissuasion is also present (*genus deliberativum*). The two genres co-relate here as they do in other texts. In addition, Galatians contains features of a "magical" letter, in that the reaction of the readers to the letter will activate either the conditional curse (1:8–9) or the blessing (6:16; see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 25, 32–33).

**G. Galatians as a Historical Document**

Galatians is an historical document of the first order, without which the earliest history of the Church would be even more obscure than it unfortunately is. To be sure, Paul's accounts are to a certain extent biased in that Paul does not provide a full account of the history but only certain data and episodes that are important for his self-defense. Information is recoverable in mainly three areas.

**1. Paul's Own Early History.** It was Paul's conviction that he was set aside from birth (1:15) and then called when God had decided that the time had come to proclaim the gospel to the gentiles (1:16). Speaking of his time before conversion, he names his strict Jewish orthodoxy and zeal in persecuting the Church (1:13–14, 23–24). His early mission work was done in Arabia and Damascus, independently from the Jerusalem authorities (1:16–17). His first visit to Jerusalem occurred three years later (1:8), when he first visited with Cephas (Peter) and James, the brother of Jesus. Then there was more mission work in Syria and Cilicia (1:21). The apostle remained unknown to the churches of Judea (1:22–24; but cf. Acts 9:26–30) until his second visit to Jerusalem "after fourteen years."

**2. The History of the Early Church.** Information related to the history of the early Church is comparatively rich although it is extremely brief. When the mission spread to Palestine and Syria at a very early date, there was apparently no regulation concerning areas or ethnic identities. Opposition arose over the practice of making converts from gentiles without subjecting them to either the Torah covenant or circumcision. This dispute led to the conference at Jerusalem (2:1–10), where three parties came together: Paul, Barnabas, and Titus as delegates of the gentile mission; James, Cephas, and John as the "pillars" of the Jerusalem church (2:9); and the anti-Pauline opposition, called "the false brothers" (2:4). The last group demanded circumcision and observance of the Torah for gentile as well as for Jewish Christians. Agreement was reached by two parties at the expense of the third. The gentile Titus took part in the conference and returned uncircumcised (2:3). Paul cites from what may be the formal agreement (2:7–9). The stipulation recognizes one God and one church, but the mission was divided into two thrusts. Cephas was put in charge of the "apostolate of the circumcision," while Paul was appointed as the leader of the gentile mission. As a token of gratitude (2 Cor 9:6–15, Rom 15:27), Paul pledged a financial collection for the poor of the Jerusalem church (2:10; see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 103; *2 Corinthians 8 and 9* Hermeneia, 169). The final episode concerns the conflict at Antioch between Paul and Cephas (2:11–14; see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 103–12; Kieffer 1982; Dunn 1983: 3–57; Hübner *TRE* 14:9–11). At issue was whether Jewish Christians could have table fellowship with gentile Christians without the former violating their Jewish purity laws (*koinophagia*, "consumption of unclean food"). The question was, what must take precedence, Christian fellowship or Jewish purity laws? Paul took the side of the gentile Christians, defending their religious standing in faith and salvation; but Cephas, Barnabas, and others were persuaded by "the men from James" to withdraw. The dispute was not resolved but resulted in the separation of Paul from the other Jewish Christians present; a further result was the current crisis in Galatia which precipitated Paul's letter.

**3. The Anti-Pauline Opponents.** Also of great importance is what the apostle has to say about the anti-Pauline opponents, whose agitation he traces back to the Jerusalem conference (2:4). As he sees it, the present crisis was caused by intruders who had almost persuaded the Galatians that their salvation

depended upon their acceptance of Torah and circumcision (1:6–7; 5:1–12; 6:12–13). The question of who the intruders were is still a matter of controversy. The traditional view stated by the Marcionite Prologues identifies the opponents as "false apostles" who had reverted to Torah and circumcision (Harnack 1924: 127*–28*; 37–38). Called Judaists or Judaizers (Gal 2:14; Ignatius, *Mag.* 10.3). they were seen as Jewish Christians who erroneously prescribed Torah and circumcision for all Christians. Rediscovery and reconstruction of Jewish Christianity by 19th- and 20th-century historians, however, brought to light a far more complicated picture (see Lüdemann 1983b for the history of research and bibliography). This picture is reflected by a number of hypotheses. Lütgert (1919) assumed that Paul fought on two fronts, against law-observant Judaists and against libertine enthusiasts ("pneumatics"); the evidence for the latter, however, came largely from 1 Corinthians. Schmithals (for bibliography, see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia 7, n. 46; Schmithals 1983a: 27–58; 1983b: 111–13) took the opponents to be Jewish-Christian gnostics who for magical reasons were interested in Jewish rituals but not in the Torah as a whole. Other scholars opted for other syncretistic combinations of Christian, Jewish, gentile, and gnostic elements. Galatians, however, shows no evidence of gnosticism, and one must not supply it from other Pauline letters or later sources. At present, there is a growing consensus that Paul's opponents were rival Jewish-Christian missionaries opposed to the Pauline mission. For them, the Christian Church was an extension of the Jewish religion, so that joining the Church required conversion to Judaism with mandatory observance of the Torah and submission to circumcision. Jewett (1970–71: 198–212) pointed out their connection with Palestinian Judaism, both Christian and non-Christian. A further question is whether James (2:12) was in fact behind the agitators (see Lüdemann 1983a: 64–66). Betz (*Galatians* Hermeneia, 5–9) sees them in connection with the early history of the Galatian churches: following an initial phase of spiritual enthusiasm, the Galatians had increasing problems with the "flesh," at which point the anti-Paulinists impressed them with the cultic and moral security provided by the Torah covenant.

**H. Galatians as a Theological Document**

Galatians testifies to the first radical questioning of Paul's gospel and theological views by his own churches, a challenge the apostle met by his first systematic apology. This apology involved not only his message but also his apostolic office and mission work as a whole. The apostle was not defending himself for the first time. His report on the conference at Jerusalem (2:1–10) implies that he had had to justify his preaching and mission to the gentiles before, and especially at the conference. Similarly the account of the Antioch incident (2:11–14) suggests fierce debates in which Paul had to defend his position. One should not, however, assume that the arguments on these earlier occasions were quite the same as those he presents in Galatians. This particular apology was worked out to meet the Galatian crisis; other apologies employing different arguments were sent to Corinth (CORINTHIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE). Compared with Galatians, Romans shows more similarity but also considerable expansion and reworking. However, Galatians does not represent a transition theology rendered obsolete by Romans (so Hübner *TRE* 14: 9–8, 11). Paul's theology and its relation to the letters has yet to be described by scholarship. Galatians, in this respect, is important for several reasons.

First, it contains Paul's line of argument as he justifies his preaching of the gospel to the gentiles and their acceptance into the church without Torah and circumcision. The theological legitimacy of this message and mission was questioned first by his Jewish-Christian adversaries and then by the Galatians themselves. In the section of the "proofs" (*probatio,* 3:1–4:31), Paul argues from experience, history, and theology. He reminds the Galatians that they have received the gift of the Holy Spirit not on the basis of "works of the law" but by faith (3:1–5). He then demonstrates by exegesis of scripture (3:6–4:31) what he calls "the truth of the gospel" (2:5, 14), specifically "the gospel of the uncircumcision" (2:7). In the "statement of facts" (*narratio,* 1:11–2:14), Paul demonstrates that his preaching has always been consistent and in correspondence with the history of the Church, while his opponents have been acting disruptively and inconsistently. In the "exhortation" (*exhortatio,* 1:1–6:10), the apostle recommends that continued reliance on the Spirit (5:25; 6:8–9) will enable the churches to deal effectively with the problems of ethical conduct that have arisen in their midst (6:1). Such reliance on the Spirit is declared

sufficient even to the extent that it enables them to fulfill the demands of the law of God apart from the Jewish Torah (5:14; 6:2).

Second, the arguments reveal that Paul can draw on a wide variety of conceptual, scriptural, and doctrinal resources. As in 1 Thessalonians, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is fundamental. New in Galatians is the doctrine of justification by faith juxtaposed to justification "by works of the law" (2:15–16, 18–21; 3:6–25; 5:4–5). Two questions arise in connection with the doctrine of justification by faith. Did Paul work out the doctrine of justification by faith in response to his Galatian opponents (so Strecker 1976: 481)? Or did he argue the doctrine before, at Jerusalem or Antioch (see Hübner *TRE* 14: 8)? Certainly the doctrine was shared by Jewish Christianity apart from Paul, but it was the apostle who fully realized the doctrinal implication (see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 115–19). Accordingly, all Christians, including those of Jewish origin, are granted justification before God by faith in Jesus Christ (2:15–16). Therefore, christology and soteriology are of principal importance, while the Jewish Torah is devaluated (3:19–20). Christ's death on the cross as a voluntary sacrifice has redemptive efficacy (1:4; 2:19–21; 3:1; 4:4–6; 5:11; 6:12, 14, 17). It is the source of Christian freedom (2:4; 5:1, 13; cf. 3:28; 4:21–31).

The preaching of the kerygma of "Christ crucified" (3:1), accompanied by the gift of the Spirit (3:2–5, 14; 4:6, 29; 5:5, 16, 17, 18, 22, 25; 6:1, 8), leads to baptism (3:27). In this ritual, the Christian is made partaker and beneficiary of redemption; together with other Christians the baptized is henceforth "in Christ" (3:26–28; 1:22; 2:4, 17; 3:14; 5:6) and a member of the Christian church (1:2, 13, 22). The gift of the Spirit continues to serve in enabling the Christian "to walk in the Spirit" (5:16, 25) and to bring the "fruit of the Spirit," the Christian virtues (5:22–23). Living a life thus endowed and assisted by the Spirit, the Christian community awaits the eschatological judgment (5:5; 6:7–9).

## I. Literary Influence of Galatians

The literary influence of Galatians must be distinguished from that of Paul's theology or later Pauline controversies (see on the whole Lindemann 1979; Lüdemann 1983a). In the NT, only Romans shows clear literary and theological relations with the Galatian letter (see Hübner *TRE* 14: 11). Acts refers to events told of also in Galatians but without knowledge of the letter. The epistle of James has polemics against Paul's theology, but whether it alludes to the letter of Galatians remains unclear. In the 2d century, Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 46–47) could describe Jewish Christianity without reference to Paul's letters. The *Grundschrift* (or "basic writing") of the Pseudo-Clementines, however, seems to aim at Galatians in its anti-Pauline polemics (see Lüdemann 1983a: 248–52). Marcion appears to be the first to appropriate Galatians and its theology. Removing from it what he regarded as judaizing interpolations (see Harnack 1924: 67*–79*), he "reconstituted" the "original" letter and placed it at the beginning of his *Apostolikon.* Marcion seems to have influenced Mani (216–276/274 C.E.) and some of his disciples who valued Galatians highly (see Betz 1986). In the 4th century, the unknown author of the so-called Ambrosiaster commentary shows an astonishing understanding of the letter, an understanding matched only by the commentaries of Martin Luther, especially that of 1535 (for bibliography see Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 36–37).

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**GALBANUM.** See PERFUMES AND SPICES.

**GALEED** (PLACE) [Heb *gal-ʿēd* (גַּלְעֵד)]. The Hebrew name that Jacob gave the heap of stones that served as a witness to the covenant he had made with Laban (Gen 31:44–54). Laban named the heap in Aramaic JEGAR-SAHADUTHA; both names mean the same: "heap of witness" (in Heb *gal* means "heap" and *ʿēd* means "witness"). Verse 45 narrates that Jacob set up a single stone as a massebah (cf. Gen 28:18), probably serving the same purpose. One suggestion is that v 45 is from the E source of the Pentateuch while v 47 is from the J source. Skinner (*Genesis* ICC, 401) and Simpson (*IB* 1: 716) have suggested that originally the cairn or stele either was a god or was the home of a god. Hence Galeed may have been the name of a god, as the god Salem is reflected in Jerusalem. Note, however, that the inanimate is often called as witness to covenant making (cf. Josh 24:27) perhaps reflecting a naturalizing or historicizing of the ancient gods who normally served as witness to a covenant, or perhaps reflecting an animation or anthropomorphizing of nature, since Israel had (at least later) only one God.

Von Rad (*Genesis* OTL, rev 1972: 313) sees v 53 (J) as speaking of two gods, the God of Abraham and the God of Nahor, but this could also be one deity. In v 50 (the Elohist? ca. 750 B.C.), God is the witness, which Skinner sees as an advance over the primitive witness of an inanimate object (J; ca. 950 B.C.). However, one may not be amiss here to see a touch of humor in the ancient mind when a god or symbol of a god is changed into a pile of rocks.

One may also note (v 52) that the Galeed was a boundary marker between the two peoples of Israel and Aram. The implication is a peace treaty or a nonaggression pact, since neither is to pass the marker "for harm." However, the covenant meal (vv 46, 54) implies active protection of one another rather than

simple "hands off" each other's territory. The Galeed then becomes a witness to others of the mutual protection agreement between the two neighbors.

Verse 50 introduces yet another dimension of the covenant. Marriages of the ancient world were often political alliances; thus Jacob was prohibited from other marriages that might endanger the covenant with Laban, and/or the Aramaeans.

Some have suggested the Galeed was a witness of peace in the time of the writers (ca. 950–750) but von Rad proposed that it reflects a very old boundary agreement from a time of fairly peaceful contact, perhaps when both groups were still nomadic. Both J and E use the occasion to explain a well-known landmark in Gilead. The "Galeed" has been seen by some interpreters as an etymology of Gilead. The "Galeed" has been seen by some interpreters as an etymology of Gilead, the name of the country, and a later great-great-grandson of Jacob. Gen 31:21, 23, and 25 all refer to "Gilead," perhaps building up to this etymology from *gal ʿēd* (Keil and Delitzsch n.d.: 300).

At one time, some scholars suggested Galeed was the mountain range of Gilead and that Laban and Jacob were giants (Rephaim?), but as Skinner (*Genesis* ICC, 401) pointed out, there is no support for this in the text. This same "naming" of Gilead has been related to Josh 22:34. The term *gal ʿēd* does not appear there, but some would restore it to the text. Joshua 22 tells the story of the 21/2 tribes of Transjordan, who returned after the conquest was complete. At the Jordan, they built an altar, which upset the other tribes, but the builders explained it as an altar of witness.

The exact location of the *gal ʿed* is unknown, but Skinner, Gehman (1970: 625), and others note Kh. Jel ʿad on Jebel Jel ʿad, S of the Jabbok N of es-Salt, as one suggestion. Keil and Delitzsch (n.d.: 300) reject this because Gilead is a much broader term, but especially because it refers to the area N of the Jabbok. They and others note that Jacob moved from N to S and did not cross the Jabbok until later (Gen 32–33). Others do not think the narrative reflects a consistent line of travel and note that nomads following their flocks do not necessarily move in a straight line. Jacob may have been in the area for some time before Esau arrived. Still others take all the stories as fiction and aetiologies to explain such things as the heap of stones.

Both (*NHI*, 158–159) dates the stories after the encounter between the Ammonites and Gileadites under Jephthah. "A group of Aramaeans settled for a time S of the Jabbok immediately to the E of the land of Gilead." Here they come in contact with the Gileadites. It was a peaceful contact and the boundary—the *gal ʿēd*—marked their frontier. They were, however, in the area of the expanding Ammonites who occupied Gilead, a settlement on "Mount Gilead" from which the whole district took its name. It was this occupation which brought the defensive action led by Jephthah, which drove out the Ammonites and saved the area for its Ephraimite inhabitants. See EPHRAIM, FOREST OF.

Roland de Vaux (*EHI*, 170–71, 573) also thought the stories concerned two peoples, the Aramaeans and Israelites, though Aramaean was a more general term that included Ammonites. The *gal ʿēd* was set up as a boundary between them on Mt. Gilead and explained the name of the latter. Gilead is used in the earlier and narrower sense of S of the Jabbok in the region of, and the boundary to the E of, Jebel Jel ʿad. The frontier separated the two peoples in the time of the Judges, particularly the time of Jephthah. Finally, we note that the Aramaic name seems natural in the mouth of Laban, biblically part of the Aramaic tradition. Millard notes (*NBD*, 402) that documents of the earlier 2d millennium show a great mixture of ethnic groups in N Mesopotamia. It is quite possible some Aramaeans were included among them and that their dialect had been adopted by other Semitic groups. The Aramaic, of course, would also be "natural" with Noth's theory.

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**GALILEANS.** Discussion of the ethnic strands among the inhabitants of Galilee in Hellenistic-Roman times has often centered on an understanding of Isa 8:23. In that oracle of salvation the three newly established provinces of the Assyrians in the north—the Way of the Sea, the Land of Zebulun and

Naphtali, and Galilee of the Gentiles—are promised deliverance from their oppressor. Whatever the precise meaning of the expression *galil haggoyim*—circle or region—it can scarcely mean that the territory later to be known as Galilee was totally populated by non-Israelites in the wake of the Assyrian conquest (Alt, *KlSchr* 1). Yet, this has been the dominant understanding, so that when the phrase is echoed at 1 Macc 5:15—*galilaia allophylon*—it is assumed that Galilee in early Hellenistic times was populated for the most part by people of non-Israelite stock, with only a tiny minority of Jews living there. However, apart from other considerations (see GALILEE), there seems to have been an implicit understanding by the Hasmoneans that the region was part of traditional Jewish territory, and this influenced their approach to the region, including the forced circumcision of the Itureans who had infiltrated into upper Galilee and the Gaulan (Jones 1933). The fact that archaeological surveys suggest that the population of Galilee increased considerably in the early Hasmonean period (Meyers et al 1978) does not seriously challenge this assumption, since "internal colonization" ensured that the best lands in the conquered territories were distributed to Hasmonean sympathizers from Jerusalem.

The name "Galilean," though primarily geographic in connotation, often carries with it other associations—cultural, social and religious—both in ancient sources and modern discussions. The purpose here is to focus primarily on the religious affiliations and attitudes of the Galileans. (For the cultural and social dimensions, though intimately interwoven with religious issues, see GALILEE [HELLENISTIC-ROMAN]). One cannot view these matters in isolation, however. If, for example, the Galileans of the 1st century B.C.E. were largely forced converts to Judaism, would that fact influence our perception of their alleged religious laxity when judged by the standards of later Jerusalem orthodoxy? If Galileans lived in conditions of social and economic deprivation, would this predispose us to view them as apocalyptically motivated revolutionaries (Lohmeyer 1936)?

The Galileans are mentioned in lists of Jewish sects by two early Christian writers, Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 80.2) and Hegesippus (Eusebius *Eccl Hist* 4.22.7), but no information is given on their distinctive beliefs and practices, except that, with the others, they were "opposed to the tribe of Judah and the Christ." In addition, Galileans are mentioned by Epictetus (Arrian, *Dissert.* 4.7.6) and in a letter of Simeon bar Cosiba (Bar Kokhba) from Wadi Murabbaat, but both may be references to Jewish Christians of the 2d century rather than to a Jewish sect of earlier times.

The number of sects listed by Justin Martyr and Hegesippus (as well as in a third similar list in Epiphanius, which does not mention the Galileans) is 7, and this is suspicious. Therefore we are largely dependent on Josephus and the NT for our information on the Galileans, while being conscious of the fact that these literary sources are themselves also the product of religious propaganda which may not convey a correct picture of the total complexity of the situation (Vale 1987). By far the greatest number of references occur in Josephus' writings—82 in all, distributed as follows: 46 in *Life*, 20 in *JW*, 15 in *Ant*, and 1 in *AgAp*. These may be compared with the NT figures, where apart from the adjectival usage in regard to an individual (Jesus, Peter, or Judas, Matt 26:69; 14:70; Luke 22:59; 23:6; Acts 5:37), the plural *galilaioi* occurs only 6 times in all. Of these 2 refer to the followers of Jesus (Acts 1:11; 2:7), 3 to certain Galileans who had been put to death by Pilate on the occasion of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (Luke 13:1.2.3), and 1 to the inhabitants of the region generally who are said to have received Jesus in contrast to the *Ioudaioi* who rejected him (John 4:45).

It has been proposed, particularly on the basis of Josephus' *Life*, that "Galilean" does not have a geographical connotation, but refers rather to a party of revolutionaries against Rome who were so designated by the Jerusalem leadership opposed to the revolt (Zeitlin 1976: 193). This party is further linked to the Fourth Philosophy of Josephus, whose founder in 6 C.E. was Judas the Galilean (*Ant* 18.23–25), and the members of which have been identified with Josephus' *lestai* who were responsible for the first revolt (Hengel 1976: 57–60).

The theory of the Galileans constituting a revolutionary party with no geographical connotations attached to the name can be easily dismissed on a closer examination of all the references in Josephus' *Life* (Armenti 1981). In that work the Galileans are constantly distinguished from the inhabitants of the chief cities of Galilee (Sepphoris and Tiberias) with whom they have a generally hostile relationship

(Freyne 1980b). They are equally distinguished from the brigands who operate in the border regions of upper Galilee, in the district of Ptolemais or in the Great Plain (*Life* 77f, 105–11, 126–31, 145, 175, 206). Since these various and separate bands of brigands do not operate in favor of the Galileans, they can scarcely be described as social brigands (Horsley 1979; Freyne 1988b). Allowing for the self-apologia operative in *Life* (Cohen 1979) it can still be said with a fair degree of confidence that the picture of the Galileans emerging in this work—namely, that of a confused peasantry, but with deep-seated attachment to Jerusalem and its representative, Josephus, and not at all intent on revolution—is in its general outline quite plausible (Freyne 1987).

That does not deny that some Galileans were fired by the religious nationalism of the period. As well as the impending struggle with Rome, there were also the tensions with the residents of the surrounding cities and the Jewish inhabitants of the land which seem to have flared up with particular intensity just prior to the First Jewish Revolt. These tensions inevitably engendered increased religious fervor as a way of establishing separate Jewish identity, as is exemplified in the case of the Jewish inhabitants of Caesarea Philippi, who were prepared to pay exorbitant prices to John of Gischala for oil produced from olives grown within the land (*Life* 74f). John, a moderate turned rebel (Rappaport 1982; 1983), emerged in Jerusalem at the head of a company *(syntagma)* of Galileans, (*JW* 4.558), and we hear also of some Galileans who joined the leader of the radicals of Tiberias, Jesus son of Sapphias, in destroying Herod's palace, ostensibly because of the animal representations in violation of strict Jewish observance of the second commandment (*Life* 66). There is also the rather surprising case of the inhabitants of Tarichaeae refusing to allow refugee noblemen to remain in their city unless they underwent circumcision (*Life* 112f).

These examples of particular manifestations of Galilean fervor at the time of the First Jewish Revolt cannot be detached from their geographical setting, but neither can they be made to signify a radical party of Galileans, much less a whole province whose inhabitants were fired with religio-nationalist aspirations. It is not easy to assess the extent to which any of the special halachic developments associated with the parties during the Second Temple period had any impact on Galileans. Such essentials of Jewish life as Sabbath (*Ant* 13.347) and observance of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem (Luke 2:41; 13:1) are assumed in literary sources, though archaeological evidence for synagogues from the pre-70 period is meager (Levine 1986).

The gospel of Mark mentions scribes and Pharisees coming from Jerusalem in order to discredit the native Galilean teacher/healer, Jesus (Mark 3:22; 7:21); some local Pharisees are also presumed in the gospel narratives. Luke speaks of "teachers of the law" *(nomodidaskaloi)* from every village of Galilee (5:17), but if he means Pharisaic scribes this can hardly be an accurate description of the situation in Jesus' day or before 70 C.E. The Galileans of the gospels are enthusiastic about Jesus' healing activity, whereas his teaching appears to have been directed to a more intimate band of traveling companions/disciples. The Fourth Gospel generalizes this picture by declaring that the Galileans received (that is, accepted) Jesus in a way that the inhabitants of Judea did not (John 4:3, 43–45), even though it is not possible to restrict the use of the term *Ioudaioi* to a purely geographic reference to Judeans (cf. John 6:52; Ashton 1985; Bassler 1981). Yet the stance of James, the brother of the Lord, on issues such as the dietary laws (Gal 2:10), and even the vacillation of Peter on such matters, indicates that not all Galileans were automatically open to a more liberal understanding of their faith as proposed by Jesus, especially in regard to relations with gentiles.

On several occasions the suggestion has been made that the enthusiastic crowds of the gospel narratives may be representative of post-Resurrection Galilean Christianity (Elliot-Binns 1956; Lohmeyer 1936; Meeks 1966). However, there is little evidence elsewhere of any substantial attachment to Jesus in his homeland after his death. Luke makes a passing reference to a mission in Galilee (Acts 9:31), but this seems to have been prompted by his missionary schema rather than by any hard evidence. Apart from an obscure sect of the Nazoreans, which Epiphanius locates in Transjordan, and the passing references to Galileans already alluded to in Epictetus and the Wadi Murabbaat letter, there is little evidence in later sources for a form of Christianity that remained directly rooted in Galilee. In these circumstances it seems better to apply the term "Galilean Christianity" only to the later, post-Constantinian situation.

We read about only a few other Galilean teachers in addition to Jesus of Nazareth in the literary sources. Judas the Galilean, the founder of the Fourth Philosophy, is described as a *sophistes,* teacher (*JW* 2.118). Eleazar, a Galilean teacher, is to be found at Adiabne, advocating circumcision for the royal family, despite the political implications of such an act (*Ant* 20.43). Yose, the Galilean, is known to us from the Jamnian stratum of the Mishnah's redaction, but there is nothing in the traditions ascribed to him that would link them specifically with Galilee or a Galilean viewpoint (Lightstone 1980). Significantly, all three seem to have operated outside the region.

Even when the scribal schools moved N after the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–35 C.E.), rabbinic control of Jewish life in Galilee was not absolute. This emerges both from a study of the rabbinic documents emanating from the Galilean schools (namely, Mishnah/Tosefta and Yerushalmi) and from the archaeological remains of the great Galilean synagogues (Neusner 1983a; 1983b; Meyers and Strange 1981), in which the Targumin (the Aramaic paraphrases of the Scriptures) were read. School and synagogue became the two independent but related centers around which Jewish religious life was to develop, and while there would appear to be no fundamental conflict concerning the nature of Israel and its responsibility between the rabbinic viewpoint and that reflected in the Targumin, some tensions can be detected between the two spheres of influence which these two bodies of writings represent (e.g., the matter of representational art and the different areas of jurisdiction of rabbinic and nonrabbinic courts). Thus, the divisions of an earlier age—in terms of the religious life of the ordinary Jews and the more-intensified programs associated with the various parties—continued to find expression in the religious life of the Jews of Galilee, long after the destruction of the Jerusalem temple and the disappearance of the parties associated with it (Goodman 1983: 93–174).

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**GALILEE.** The northernmost region of the land of Israel. Culturally and historically it is characterized by its close proximity to the coastal cultures of Canaan-Phoenicia on the W and NW and to the inland Syrian-Aramaean cultures on the E and NE. The character and culture of Galilee and its neighbors changed and developed with respect to their relative strengths, consequently the political and cultural borders between them fluctuated, and the direction and intensity of their mutual influences varied. To understand the culture and history of Galilee, one must first appreciate the interplay of these forces and cultures.

Since Galilee was geographically distant from Jerusalem, the seat of the Judaean palace, temple, archives, and scribes, events occurring there are rarely mentioned in the Hebrew Bible, and its history is therefore difficult to reconstruct. However, throughout the biblical period, and even after Galilee had become part of the Assyrian empire in 732 B.C.E., the beauty of its countryside—particularly the mountains that skirt it: Carmel, Tabor, Bashan, Hermon, and Lebanon—inspired the prophets and poets; there are references to it in similes and metaphors throughout the poetic books of the Bible (e.g., Cant 4:8–15; 7:5–6; Pss 42:7; 89:13; 133:3; Isa 33:9; 35:2; Jer 46:18; 50:19; Neh 1:4). On the other hand, because Galilee was the location for much of the ministry of Jesus, for the military activity of the Jewish historian Josephus, and for post-70 C.E. Palestinian Judaism, it is mentioned prominently in the NT (especially the Gospels), in the writings of Josephus, and in early rabbinic writings.

## *PREHELLENISTIC GALILEE*


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### A. Geography

**1. Name and Borders.** The name Galilee appears possibly for the first time in Thutmoses III's town list from the 15th cent B.C.E. as *K-r-r* (Simons 1937: list I, no. 80). In the OT the name appears as *gālîl* or *gālîlâ* 7 times (including 1 in corrupted state), once as "the land of Galilee" (1 Kgs 9:11), and twice as "Galilee of the Gentiles/peoples" (Isa 8:23; Josh 12:23 $LXX^{B}$). The name is derived from Heb *gll*, a root associated with circularity, meaning "cylinder" or "rod" (Cant 5:14; Esth 1:6) or, by extension, " (circumscribed) district" (Josh 13:2; Joel 4:4). With the definite article, however, it always refers specifically to the N region (see Fig. GAL.01).

It is not clear whether Galilee is an abbreviation of "Galilee of the peoples" (cf. also 1 Macc 5:15, which may allude only to part of Galilee) or whether "of the peoples" is a later explanatory addition (Alt 1937: 53–54). In either case, the name almost certainly originated as a description of the N mountain region of the land of Israel encircled by valleys, the coastal plain to the W, the Jezreel to the S, the Jordan to the E,

and the Litani to the N. Throughout history, these valleys were usually more densely populated than the central mountain area, often with peoples of diverse character and origin.

The OT references, although few, suggest that Galilee in the Bible coincided with the whole geographical region that the name implies, including "the twenty cities in the land of Galilee" presumably in the coastal plain (1 Kgs 9:11–13); Kadesh in the central mountains (Josh 20:7; 21:32; 1 Chr 6:61); and Ijon and Abel-beth-maachah in the N Jordan valley (2 Kgs 15:29; Alt 1937: 55–56). Zebulun and Naphtali appear as a synonym for "Galilee of the peoples" as a whole (Isa 8:23). From later sources (such as Josephus, the NT, and Talmudic literature) the same geographic picture emerges, although in some cases the surrounding valleys are included in Galilee while in others they are not. On occasion there is similar confusion between Galilee as a geographic region and as a political or administrative province. For instance, the Mishnaic definition of the border between Samaria and Galilee at Kefar 'Otnay (Lejjun; M.R. 167220) (*m. Git.* 7:7) implies the inclusion of the Jezreel Valley in Galilee, as does Josephus' definition of this border at Ginaē (Jenin; M.R. 178207) (*JW* 3.3.4). However, Josephus' definition of the S border of lower Galilee at Exaloth (Iksal; M.R. 180232) (*JW* 3.3.1) would exclude the Jezreel Valley from Galilee. Similarly, by placing Ptolemais/Acco on the "coast of the land of Galilee" (*JW* 2.10.2), Josephus includes the coastal plain within Galilee; yet elsewhere he states that the border of Upper Galilee and "the land of the Tyrians" is Baka (el-Buqeia/Peqein; M.R. 181264) (*JW* 3.3.1), which would exclude not only the coastal plain but also the hills W of Mt. Meron. Josephus' definition of the N border of upper Galilee at Mērōth (Marus; M.R. 208272) is again clearly a political, not a geographical, border (Ilan 1984).

**2. Regional Subdivisions.** In the OT, the subdivision of Galilee is generally according to tribal territories (see Josh 19:10–48). Joshua 11:2, however, suggests that there were also geographic subdivisions: mountain region *(hār),* the "Arabah south *(negeb)* of Chinneroth," the "lowland" *(šĕpēlâ),* and "Naphoth-Dor." The "Shephelah" of Israel is mentioned only one other time in the Bible (Josh 11:16, "the mountain of Israel and its *šĕpēlâ"*). This division is clearly reminiscent of the traditional subdivision of Judah into hill country, Negeb, and Shephelah (Deut 1:7; Josh 10:14; 12:8; Judg 1:9, and esp. Josh 15:20–63); thus a familiar Judaean topography has been attributed superficially to Galilee. Nevertheless several suggestions have been made as to the position of the "lowland" or "Shephelah of Israel" (Josh 11:2, 16), the most recent (Finkelstein 1981) locating it in the W foothills of upper Galilee (i.e., modern S Lebanon).

In later literature, Galilee was subdivided by Josephus into Upper and Lower Galilee (*JW* 3.3.1), whereas the Mishnah divides it into Upper Galilee, Lower Galilee, and the valley (*m. Šeb*. 9:2). The places defining the border, Kefar Ḥananiya (*m. Šeb*. 9:2; Kafr ʿInan; M.R. 189258) and Beer-sheba (*JW* 3.3.1; Kh. Abu esh-Shiba; M.R. 189259) are less than 1 km apart, clearly indicating that upper Galilee began with the steep escarpment N of these 2 sites. Upper and lower Galilee as defined in the Mishnah and by Josephus are strikingly different, upper Galilee having a maximum height of 1,208 m above sea level (Mt. Meron) and lower Galilee a maximum of only 598 m (Mt. Kamon). Height is not all: There are also noticeable differences in morphology, climate, vegetation, and agriculture; consequently modern geographers continue to subdivide Galilee into upper and lower regions.

**3. Topographical Features.** The present morphology of Galilee is mainly the result of faulting and uplifting of tilted blocks of cretaceous rocks associated with the creation of the great Jordan valley rift. The most marked feature of the Galilean landscape is the great escarpment dividing upper from lower Galilee. The highest parts of upper Galilee are at its S extreme near this scarp; gradually it drops off to the N until it reaches the Litani river valley. The Cenomanian and Turonean rock formations exposed in the S of upper Galilee create a rugged landscape, which together with its height makes this one of the most forbidding and isolated regions of the country.

North-south faults in upper Galilee create additional geographical features, primarily the great block of Mt. Meron. The hills W of this block are cut by valleys that flow W to the coastal plain. This W region was the natural hinterland of the coastal plain, whose political centers were Acco and Tyre; when these were politically strong, their E borders extended as far as Mt. Meron. To the E of the Mt. Meron block the

valleys flow S and SE, so that this region was always more open to influences from the S. An interesting and anomalous feature in the E region are the 2 small basaltic plateaus of Dalton and Alma (W of Hazor).

The hills of W lower Galilee consist of a series of blocks tilted by tectonic pressures from the N, consequently the S faces of the blocks are more abrupt escarpments, while the N faces gently slope down to the N, just like the main block of upper Galilee. In E lower Galilee the tectonic pressures were from the reverse direction (from the S), so that the abrupt escarpments face N and the gentle slopes extend S.

The Tosephta (*t. Nida* 3:11; but cf. *b. Nida* 20a) names from N to S the parallel valleys of W lower Galilee: the valley of Beit Ha-kerem; the valley of Sakhni; the Valley of Yoṭbat; and the valley of Ginosar. Also known in Talmudic literature is the valley of Beit Netofa (Klein 1939: 24), and "Yoṭbat" was either the name of its NW part or 1 of its 2 names. The last valley listed in the Tosephta—Ginosar (on the shore of Lake Kinneret)—is not included in lower Galilee according to *m. Šebu*. 9:2, and is there called simply "the valley" (note detailed description in *JW* 3.10.8). Yet another valley apparently S of that of Beit Netofa is called Rimon in *y. Ḥag.* 3: 78d. Of the series of valleys of E Galilee apparently only the name of the northernmost (valley of Arbel) appears in Talmudic literature.

Galilee has the highest annual rainfall of any region of the land of Israel, reaching 1,000 mm in the highest mountains; only in the E region of lower Galilee, where the average annual rainfall is below 400 mm, is there any danger of drought. Consequently, there are several perennial streams and many springs in the region. In the mountains of upper Galilee temperatures reach below freezing point for some period every year, and some snow falls in most years; whereas in the valleys, and particularly in the Jordan valley, the winters are mild and summers hot. These differences allow for a great variety of agricultural crops and for regional variations in harvest times for the same crop or fruit.

A map showing the probable course of ancient routes in Galilee can be drawn based on the location of ancient sites, on the records of ancient military campaigns, and on itineraries and roads of later periods. There were international routes in the Acco coastal plain to the W, in the Jezreel valley to the S, and in the Jordan valley rift to the E of the mountains of Galilee. The main N–S watershed route through the hill country of Judah and Ephraim continued N past Megiddo, ran to the E of Mt. Tabor and of the Beit Netofa valley, and entered upper Galilee near Beer-sheba and Kefar Ḥananiya. Since they were located on the road near where travelers crossed into upper Galilee, it is logical that Josephus and the Mishnah would define the regional subdivision in terms of these 2 towns. This route then continued E of Mt. Meron to Gush Halav and NW to Tyre. A subsidiary of this route branched E to join the Jordan valley road N of Tiberias.

The 3 main E–W routes crossing the Galilean mountains were (from S to N) that associated today with the Way of Hauran from Acco via the Ibelin, Beit Netofa, and Rimon valleys (Oded 1971); the route through the Beit Ha-kerem valley; and the route from Tyre to Dan skirting the N edge of Upper Galilee, possibly associated with the "way of the Sea" (Rainey 1981: 146–48).

**B. The Bronze Ages**

**1. Chalcolithic Period.** Until recently it was suggested that the Ghassulian-Beersheba culture typical of the land of Israel in the Chalcolithic period did not penetrate as far N as Galilee, and that in this region the pottery Neolithic culture continued until it was replaced by the EB cultures (*CAH* 1/1: 530–34). However, recent surveys have recorded some sites with close affinities mainly to the Wadi Rabah culture and others that can be associated with the later Ghassul Beer-sheba cultures (Frankel and Gophna 1980). The presence of Chalcolithic sites on the Dalton basaltic plateau is particularly interesting in light of their close cultural affinities with the Chalcolithic cultures of the Golan Heights (also a region of basaltic rock).

**2. Early Bronze Age.** The early stages of the EB I (Proto-Urban) period were characterized in the N by grey, burnished pottery (Ezdrealdon ware) associated with intensive settlement in the valleys skirting Galilee; few sites were found in the mountains. In the later stages (characterized in this region by "band slip" [or "grain wash"] ware), settlement penetrated into the hills of lower Galilee. It was, however, only in the EB proper (EB II–III)—the period of urbanization—that the mountains of Galilee as a whole (including upper Galilee) were intensively settled (Broshi and Gophna 1983). Over 70 sites of this period are now known in the mountain regions, some of considerable size. The ceramic vessels typical of the

region at this period are jars with everted rims (combed) and large platters, both of fine metallic ware. Also common in the region are seal impressions (Ben-Tor 1978). This first intensive occupation of the Galilean mountain areas came to an abrupt end and did not continue into EB IV, although the circumstances and the exact stage of this break remain a quandary.

In Galilee, as in other parts of the country, the main finds dating to the EB IV period are from burial caves apparently not associated with settlements. However, some small sites have been recorded in SE lower Galilee and in the Jordan and Beth-shean valleys (Zori 1977; Gal 1980), while in upper Galilee the only evidence of actual settlement is in several natural caves. The remarkable finds from the cave at Kedesh would appear to represent a cult center (Tadmor 1978). The ceramic repertoire in Galilee at this time has close affinities to that found in Syrian sites, where urban civilization continued throughout this period; this suggests that during EB IV, Galilee culturally was a peripheral extension of Syria.

**3. Middle Bronze Age.** In the MB III period of re-urbanization large cities were established in the valleys skirting the mountains of Galilee (Broshi and Gophna 1986), and a comparatively large number of them are listed in the Egyptian execration texts (Helck 1962: 49–66). The absence of Megiddo from these texts has been cited as evidence that this city was perhaps an Egyptian administrative center, while the others were at least potential enemies or rebels. The mountain regions of Galilee were less-densely populated in this period. In upper Galilee more sites have been recorded in the E than in the W, perhaps a result of the influence of the great urban center of Hazor.

**4. Late Bronze Age (1550–1200 B.C.E.).** The primary importance of the LB Age for biblical studies is that it is the precursor of the Iron Age, the stage during which the Israelites first emerged in Canaan. The cities of the period were the Canaanite cities of the Bible, and the "princes" of these cities the Canaanite kings mentioned in the Bible.

The archaeological evidence suggests a cultural decline in the LB Age. In sites that have been excavated, many structures from earlier periods (particularly fortifications) continued in use, while many others (such as temples and palaces) were rebuilt with only slight modification. Excavations and surveys show a reduction both in the number and size of settlements. The main centers of population remained in the valleys; but LB sites have been recorded in the mountain areas also: 15 in lower Galilee and 6 in upper Galilee (within modern Israel), fewer sites than in the previous period. There are also several cases of burials from this period which cannot be associated with any settlement (e.g. Hanita, Saphet), presumably evidence of a non-sedentary population.

However, Egyptian New Kingdom records provide us with data from which we can gain insight into the political and social structure and pattern of settlement in the region. The description of military campaigns, the topographical lists, and other documents (such as the El Amarna [EA] archives and Papyrus Anastasi A [*ANET*, 476–78] describing an imaginary journey through the region) allow us to draw up a reliable map of the Canaanite cities (Simons 1937; *ANET*, 242–43; *CTAED*). The locations of many places have been established without doubt, and the fact that others also appear in the description of Israelite tribal territories in Joshua 13–19 enables us at least to define the region in which they are situated.

From the Thutmoses III list, 6 cities in the N Jordan valley have been identified: Laish (#31), Hazor (#32), Chinnereth (#34), Beth-shean (#110), Abel (-beth-maachah) (#92), and Ijon (#95). In the Jezreel valley another 6 cities have been identified: Megiddo (#2), Shimron (#35), Geba-Shumen (#41), Taanach (#42), Ibleam (#43), and Jokneam (#113). In the coastal plain only Acco (#47) can be identified with certainty; however, 4 other cities also listed in the territory of Asher (Josh 19: 25–26) are probably located somewhere in the S section of the Galilean coastal plain—Mishal (#39), Achshaph (#40), Allamelech (#45), and Helkath (#112). In lower Galilee 3 cities have been identified: Adami-Nekeb (#36), Kishion (#37), and Anaharath (#52). Aharoni (*LBHG*, 147–52) has suggested that some sites in upper Galilee can be associated with names on the Thutmoses III list, but these identifications are subject to revision. We learn of additional LB cities from other sources: Hannathon, a city in the portion of Zebulun (Josh 19:14), appears in two Amarna letters (EA 8 and 245), while Shunem in Issachar (Josh 19:18) is mentioned in another (EA 365). Yarmuth in Issachar (Josh 21:29) is mentioned on a Stele of Seti I (*ANET*, 255).

The Amarna letters from the 14th century B.C.E. provide important glimpses into the political and social structure of Galilee at this period. They indicate that the region consisted of city-states whose princes nominally were Egyptian officials; in practice, however, they were vassal monarchs involved in complicated relationships with one another. The ʿApiru mentioned in those letters were social and not ethnic groups, a class outside the law and the urban social structure; their connection with the Hebrews of the Bible remains a moot point. See HABIRU. Letters from some Galilean city-states were found in the Amarna archives, including *Ṣur-ri* (Tyre), *Ak-ka* (Acco), *Ak-ša-pa* (Achshaph), *Ma-gid-da* (Megiddo), *Ta-aḫ-nu-ka* (Taanach), *Ša-am-ḫu-na* (Shimron), and *Ha-ṣu-ra* (Hazor). In addition, we know that Beth-shean was an Egyptian garrison town. The Amarna archives were not retrieved in their entirety, and from earlier documents we know of other cities that were city-states (e.g., Geba-Shumen; *ANET*, 247). However, it is unlikely that there were many more than these, and although there could have been some changes in the political structure, it seems unlikely that all the cities in Thutmoses III list were independent city-states.

From the Amarna letters we learn in considerable detail of the activities of the Galilean princes. Zuratu, prince of Acco, and Indaruta, prince of Achshaph, aided Abdu-Heba of Jerusalem with 50 chariots (EA 366). Twice Rib-Addi of Byblos complained to the king of Egypt that Zuratu of Acco was unjustly receiving preferential treatment (EA 85, 88). The Babylonian king Baranburiash complained to the king of Egypt that one of his caravans had been pillaged at Hannathon in the land of Canaan by Sutatna, the son of Zuratu of Acco, and by Shum-Addi, the son of Balumeh, prince of Shimron (EA 8). Aiab of Ashteroth complained to the king of Egypt that the prince of Hazor had taken 3 of his towns (EA 364), while Abimilki of Tyre complained that the prince of Hazor was allied with Abimilki's enemy, Zimreda of Sidon, and had "joined the ʿApiru" (EA 148). The affairs referred to most frequently in the Amarna letters are those connected with Labayu of Shechem, who, with the help of the ʿApiru, appears to have attempted to expand his influence as far N as Megiddo, as far S as Jerusalem, and as far W as Gezer. He was finally killed under mysterious circumstances in the region of Hannathon on the way to Egypt, but Zuratu of Acco, Biridiya of Megiddo, and Yashdata of Taanach all seem to have been involved in this affair (EA 245).

The picture of Galilee that emerges from the written and archaeological evidence is one of city-states situated in the valleys. Even important towns such as Hannathon and Anaharath (the capture of which is described in detail in the annals of Amenhotep II; *ANET*, 247), both situated on routes crossing lower Galilee, were apparently not city-states in their own right but dependencies of states located in the valleys. From the Labayu affair we learn of a large political organization in the central hill-country around Shechem, and from the letters of Rib-Addi of Byblos (EA 68–137) we learn of a similar organization ("Amurru") further N under the control of ʿAbdi-Ashirta and his son Aziru. The fact that Abimilki of Tyre complains of the activities of the prince of Hazor suggests that their respective territories met somewhere in the mountains of upper Galilee. Abdi-Tirshi of Hazor was the only prince to call himself "king" in a letter to Pharaoh (EA 227), and he was also called this by Abimilki of Tyre (EA 148); it is therefore probable that he ruled large parts of the Galilean hill-country (Alt 1966: 155). The widespread influence of Acco beyond the immediate confines of the coastal plain is suggested by the fact that twice we hear of the prince of Acco being at Hannathon, that the king of Byblos regarded him as a competitor, and that on one occasion he sent aid as far as Jerusalem. Megiddo also seems to have enjoyed such widespread influence.

**C. The Late Bronze–Early Iron Age Transition**

The transition from the LB Age to the Iron Age is undoubtedly the period to be associated with the events portrayed in the books of Joshua, Judges, and the parts of the Pentateuch describing the Exodus and the Israelite entry into the land of Canaan. It was the time in which the Israelites first appear in history. However, the sparsity of extrabiblical (mainly Egyptian) sources, the varying critical interpretations of the biblical texts, and the ever-increasing amount of archaeological data have led different scholars to depict the historical events of the period in extremely different ways. Consequently, although research has reached the stage that the specific biblical texts associated with each site and each

region demanded fresh examination in light of the new archaeological evidence, such an examination can only be intelligible within the wider context of the historical problems of the period in the country as a whole, and of the various historical hypotheses advanced to resolve these problems. See also ISRAEL, HISTORY OF.

Albright and others regarded the very marked archaeological and cultural break characteristic of the end of the LB Age (manifested both in the destruction of the Bronze Age cities and in the very different character of the civilization in the subsequent strata) as evidence corroborating the historicity of the conquest narrative (especially in the book of Joshua). Alt (1966), however, pointed out that the Egyptian New Kingdom evidence shows that the important Canaanite centers were located mainly in the valleys, whereas the biblical evidence reflects the Israelite settlement to have been mainly in the mountains. A similar picture is reflected in the list of cities not captured by the tribes (Josh 1:27–36), usually understood as representing the cities that became part of the kingdom only at the time of David. Those cities are also located in the lowlands, mainly in the Jezreel valley and coastal plain. This settlement pattern, when viewed in terms of the analogy of modern bedouin and other nomadic sedentarization, led Alt and others to conclude that the Israelite settlement was primarily a peaceful infiltration of the largely unsettled mountain regions, corroborating their view that the narratives in the book of Joshua were largely etiological, not historical.

Archaeological research in Galilee in the 1950's brought these two approaches into sharper focus. In 1951–53 Aharoni carried out an archaeological survey in upper Galilee, recording many small hill-country settlements from the first stages of the Iron Age that had not been occupied in the LB Age (Aharoni 1956; 1957). These early Iron Age sites provided, for the first time, archaeological evidence that could be used to support Alt's hypothesis of peaceful infiltration, a hypothesis that previously had been based only on written evidence. Excavations at Hazor in 1955–58, however, demonstrated that the 175-acre LB city (stratum XIII) was utterly destroyed and that the subsequent Iron Age settlement there (stratum XII) was an extremely meager hamlet (Yadin 1972: 108–9, 129–32). For some, this provided striking archaeological confirmation not only of the biblical conquest narrative as a whole, but particularly of the events as described in Joshua 11. Subsequent discussion of the historical interpretation of the evidence from the Hazor excavations and the upper Galilee survey focused primarily on the chronological problem: Did the foundation of the early Iron Age villages in upper Galilee *precede* the destruction of LB Hazor or were they established *after* this destruction (Yadin 1972: 129–32)?

At the same time, other scholars approached the problem of the Israelite "conquest" from a different angle suggesting a completely new approach as to the origins of the Israelite tribes. The picture of social unrest as evidenced in the Amarna letters (e.g., EA 248; 74; 89), and the fact that many aspects of early Iron Age culture were apparently derived from Bronze Age (ceramic, linguistic, and epigraphic) prototypes, led Mendenhall (1962) and later Gottwald (1979) to suggest that people who lived in the early Iron Age villages (such as those discovered in the upper Galilee survey) were not nomads who had come from the far-off desert fringe to settle down, but rather indigenous town-dwellers who had fled from the more densely populated areas controlled by the Canaanite cities into the more remote hill-country area. Finkelstein *(AIS*) has suggested that these villages were created by the sedentarization of pastoralists who previously had existed in symbiosis with the LB urban population but who found it necessary to create self-sufficient farming villages when the urban structures collapsed.

The ever-increasing archaeological evidence is modifying the picture by showing that the LB/Early Iron transition was much more variegated both culturally and chronologically than previously realized. The crucial question regarding the LB cities is the date of their destruction. Inscriptional remains provide rather precise *termini post quem* dates for the destruction of several LB cities. At Aphek/Antipatris the final LB occupation can be dated to early in the reign of Ramesses II (see ANTIPATRIS); at Lachish to that of Ramesses III; and at Megiddo certainly to that of Ramesses III and probably to that of Ramesses VI. These exact dates have led to attempts to reappraise the destruction dates of other LB cities. The destruction of stratum XIII at Hazor previously had been dated to ca. 1200 B.C.E. due to the presence of imported Mycenean IIIb vessels and the absence of those of Mycenean IIIc (Yadin 1972: 108–9).

However, comparison of the locally made pottery with that from the governor's palace at Aphek (which could be precisely dated) led Beck and Kochavi (1985: 33, 38) to suggest that the destruction of Hazor XIII should be dated instead to the beginning of the 13th cent. B.C.E. Thus, present evidence suggests that the LB cities were destroyed over an extended period of 150 years.

Early Iron Age sites similar to those Aharoni identified in Upper Galilee have been reported from more recent surveys in the hill-country regions of W Galilee (Frankel 1983: 222–23; 1986) and lower Galilee (Gal 1982a), as well as in the hill-country regions of Samaria and Judah. Just when these sites were established remains unclear, and although early 13th or even 14th century sherds have been found at one or two sites (Gal 1982a: 86), there is as yet no stratigraphical evidence proving that any of these sites were established earlier than the end of the 13th century B.C.E.

Examination of early Iron Age strata from excavated sites shows these to be far from uniform in character. Hazor stratum XII consists of foundations of huts or tents, cooking and similar installations, and stone lined storage pits (Yadin 1972: 129–20). Megiddo stratum VIb is a small village and Tel Abu Hawam IV a village of well-built square buildings divided into 1 large and 2 small rooms. At Beth-shean V we find temples, albeit different from those of previous strata. The diversity of these sites, all in the valleys of Galilee, suggest a variegated population in the region at this period.

The results of current research permit the following conclusions. The archaeological evidence as a whole suggests that the cultural break between the LB and early Iron periods (i.e., the physical change in size, character, and pattern of settlement that took place at this time) was one of the most marked in the ancient history of the S Levant. Examination of the details, however, indicates that the changes took place over a considerable period and that neither the date of the destruction of the LB cities nor the character of the early Iron Age settlements is uniform. This overall picture—and the discrepancies in details between the archaeological evidence and the biblical narratives (esp. concerning, for example, Arad, Jericho, and Ai)—tend to corroborate the nonhistorical character of some of these narratives. From the historical evidence we know of many agents active in the region during the 14th–12th centuries, among these were the Canaanite city-states themselves, the Egyptians (whose military campaigns are recorded throughout the period), the Sea Peoples, the Israelite tribes, and apparently other tribal groups hinted at in the Bible (Jebusites, Perizzites, Hivites, the biblical Hittites, Amorites, Gibeonites, etc.) of whose history we are almost completely ignorant. The destruction levels and the early Iron Age settlements are evidence of the activity of these diverse agents. Scholars continue to be occupied with the important task of unraveling the specific historical details.

**D. The Settlement of the Galilean Tribes**

**1. Written Evidence. a. Primary Documents.** The Amarna letters provide an overall picture of the political climate prevailing in the country prior to this period. Several specific events mentioned in these documents have been related to the early history of the Galilean tribes, particularly some activities associated with the ʿApiru. The early date of these events (ca. 1350 B.C.E.) and the clear realization that the term ʿApiru designates a social class rather than an ethnic group, however, raises difficulties as to how these may be related to the Israelite tribes.

Historically, not only did the Egyptian armies pass through Canaan in their campaigns against the N Hittite and Mitanni empires; we also know of punitive campaigns that the pharaohs took against Canaan itself, right up to the end of the 19th dynasty. Seti I campaigned in the N, capturing cities in the Jordan valley, the coastal plain, and the mountains of upper Galilee (*LBHG*, 166). Ramesses II also both passed through Galilee on his campaigns against the Hittites, and possibly also carried out punitive campaigns in the region itself (Helck 1962:222). The "Israel stele" of Merneptah, after mentioning 3 cities—Ashkelon, Gezer, and Yanoam (in order from S to N)—mentions "Israel" for the first and only time in Egyptian sources, which could be interpreted as evidence for the presence of a people of this name in the north (*ANET*, 378).

Several references in 19th dynasty texts have been tentatively read as "Asher." If this reading is correct, it would imply the presence of this tribe in the region at an early date. Albright's (1954) reservations should, however, be taken into account. The Onomasticon of Amenope, one of the Egyptian sources

referring to the Sea Peoples, lists 3 of these groups: Sherden (#268), Tjekker (#269), and Pleset ("Philistines," #270; Gardiner 1947: 194–201). The Philistine cities are on the S coastal plain. According to the letter of Wen-Amon (*ANET*, 26), the Tjekker lived further N at Dor in the Carmel coastal plain. Recent archaeological evidence of similar elements at Tel Akko and Tel Keisan (Briend and Humbert 1980: plate 71: 8, 9?; plate 80: 12) have led scholars to suggest that the Onamasticon implies Sherden settlements still further N in the Galilean coastal plain (see ACCO).

**b. Biblical.** The biblical evidence is more extensive but equally problematical. In recent years it has been suggested that the patriarchal traditions recount activities in this period (Mazar 1969; Naaman 1986: 79–84). Since none of those traditions are connected to places in Galilee, and none of the 5 eponyms of the Galilean tribes figure in any significant patriarchal episode, these traditions clearly all originated in the S. Only the genealogy of these 5 eponyms is possibly relevant, although its date and significance are far from clear. Zebulun and Issachar, the eponyms of the 2 southernmost Galilean tribes, were the 2 youngest of Leah's 6 sons (Gen 30:18–21), while those of the 3 northernmost tribes were sons of Jacob's concubines—Asher of Zilpah, and Naphtali and Dan of Bilhah.

On the other hand one of the main conquest stories (Joshua 11) takes place in Galilee, while two of the stories of the book of Judges—Deborah (chaps. 4–5) and Gideon (chap. 7)—take place in the Jezreel valley. The fact that Jabin king of Hazor appears both in Joshua 11 and Judges 4 has led to much controversy. As regards the Song of Deborah, Rabin (1966) has shown that each tribe is there depicted poetically in its traditional geographic setting, so that the historicity of this document as regards the activities of the Israelite tribes at the actual battle is doubtful. In the blessings of Jacob (Gen 40:1–28) and Moses (Deut 33:2–29) there are poetic references to the character, history, and geography of the tribes which cannot be ignored, although the date and significance of these poems are difficult to determine. Although their respective dates are also often uncertain, the genealogical tables (Genesis 36; 46:8–25; Numbers 26; 1 Chronicles 1–9; see *LBHG*, 221–27) provide evidence for connection between tribes, often incorporating geographical and historical elements of undoubted authenticity.

Our knowledge of the tribes is derived primarily from the description of the tribal territories in Joshua 13–19, the longest and most detailed geographical document in the Bible. Although there is considerable difference of opinion as to the origin of this document, there is no doubt that it originates from several different sources. It is generally agreed that one of these sources is a tribal *border description* distinguished by the use of verbs to connect various place names. The description, although not completely uniform in character, delineates a map of the country as a whole with neither intervening gaps nor overlapping territories. Some scholars date this source to the period of the judges (Noth 1935; *LBHG*, 228, 233) while others date it to the United Monarchy (*HGB*; Naaman 1982a).

The second source used in compiling this description of tribal territories was *lists of towns* that usually appear after the border descriptions. These are distinguished by the use of the conjunctive *waw* to connect various place names. These town lists themselves clearly derive from various sources. That of Judah (Josh 15:21–62) originates in administrative lists of the kingdom of Judah, while parts of the town lists of the Galilean tribes derive partly from the cities appearing in Judg 1:27–35 (these always appear in Joshua at the end of the description of the territory of each tribe). It has been suggested that other parts of these lists originated in administrative lists either of the Assyrian province of Magidu (Galilee) (Alt 1927) or of the kingdom of Israel (*LBHG*, 227). The descriptions of the territories of Ephraim and Manasseh lack town lists, and in the description of Asher town list and border description have apparently been interwoven. On the other hand, Simeon, Dan, and Issachar seem to lack border descriptions and are represented only by town lists. The description of the tribal allotments (Joshua 19) does not indicate the N part of the tribe of Dan, including instead a S Dan to depict an historiographic viewpoint prior to the Danites' migration north (Naaman 1986: 46).

The territories of the Galilean tribes, far from Jerusalem, are described more cursorily than those of the S tribes. The latter are described independently of each other, and common borders of adjacent tribes are often described twice; whereas the description of the Galilean tribal territories are integrated one with the other. That of centrally located Zebulun is the first to be described (Josh 19:10–16). Issachar follows (vv

17–23), then the portion of Asher with respect to that of Zebulun (vv 24–31), and finally that of Naphtali with respect to both Zebulun and to Asher (vv 32–39). Also, the borders of Zebulun, Asher, and Naphtali are described in a similar manner. In each case the description begins from a fixed starting point, describing the border in one direction, and then, using the phrase "the border returns" *(wĕšob haggĕbûl),* the description returns to the fixed starting point and continues describing the border in the opposite direction. In spite of the chronological, textual, and geographical problems of Joshua 13–19, this document undoubtedly represents an authentic picture of traditional tribal territories and must be the basis of any attempt to understand early Iron Age Israel.

The lists of Levitic cities (Joshua 21, 1 Chronicles 6) have been regarded as an independent historical source (*LBHG*, 269–73; *HGB*, 379–403); however, recent research suggests that the full list of 48 cities is a literary expansion on a core of 13 cities in Judah (Auld 1979). Further it has been suggested that the expanded list was largely based on the tribal descriptions in Joshua 13–19 (Naaman 1986: 203–27). Consequently, all reconstructions based on these lists should be used with caution, especially those connected to the N regions of the country.

**2. Archaeological Data.** In the valleys skirting the mountains of Galilee a large number of sites have been excavated providing data relevant to the period under discussion: in the *coastal plain,* Tel Abu Hawam, Tel Acco, and Tel Keisan; in the *Jezreel and Beth-shean valleys,* Tel Taanach, Tel Megiddo, Tel Beth-shean, Tel Yokneam, Tel Qashish, Tel Qiri, Afula, Tel Kedesh, and a site near Tel Menorah; and in the *Jordan valley,* Tel Hazor, Tel Dan, and Tel Kinnerot.

Our knowledge of the mountainous areas, however, is based primarily on archaeological surveys. Aharoni's pioneering survey (Aharoni 1956, 1957) recorded intensive Early Iron occupation in the Peqiin Valley and more sparse occupation on the Meron Range to the E. Similar Iron Age sites were identified in the W slopes of the mountains of upper Galilee (Frankel 1983; 1986). Early Iron sites have been recorded in the Nazareth mountains (Gal 1982a), but the period is apparently not represented in the low hills to the E of Mt. Tabor (Gal 1980).

An important aspect of the material culture of the early Iron Age is the marked regional diversity in the ceramic repertoire. This manifests itself primarily in the large storage jar or pithos so typical of the period. Three main types of this vessel have been identified: the collar-rim jar typical of the S regions; the Galilean jar (first published by Aharoni 1957: fig. 4); and the Tyrian jar (published from excavations at Tyre, Bikai 1978: plate 40). The geographical distribution of these pottery types is significant. The S collar-rim jar is found in the mountains only as far N as the Beit Netofa valley; the Galilean type is found in the mountains of upper and lower Galilee; and the Tyrian type has been found at sites along the present Lebanese border. The Tyrian jar has clear affinities to earlier jars from Tyre (Bikai 1978: plate 46), and the Galilean jar has similar affinities to LB jars at Hazor.

Only a few Iron Age sites have been excavated in the mountains. These include the site of Horvat Avot, a small village at which both Tyrian and Galilean vessels were identified; and the site of Sa'sa, where a cult installation was excavated and a kernos found. Of special significance are 2 Iron Age forts that have been excavated: one on Mt. Adir, where early Iron Age pottery from the 11th century B.C.E. has clear Tyrian affinities, and the other, Horvat Rosh Zait, dating to the 9th century B.C.E., with pottery that included fine specimens of Cypro-Phoenician ware with clear Phoenician affinities (Gal 1984). Several other forts from the Iron Age have been identified in surveys: one on the S edge of the peak of Mt. Merom; one on an E spur of Mt. Canaan; one on Mt. Mitzpeh Yamim, one of the S peaks of upper Galilee; and one on Mt. Gamal on a SW spur of upper Galilee facing Acco.

**3. The Galilean Tribes. a. Issachar.** This tribe's allotment is described second in the Joshua 19 list (vv 17–23). Enough place-names there have been clearly identified to determine that the tribal territory consisted of the low, basalt hills SE of Mt. Tabor as well as the E section of the Jezreel valley. Most of the places in the description are connected by the conjunctive *waw,* leading Alt (1927) to suggest that this description was primarily a town list, and that Issachar originally was not included in the border description. Only the N border is described from Mt. Tabor to the Jordan (v 22), and Alt suggested that this was part of the original description of the border of the tribe of Manasseh. Thus, according to Alt, no

allotment was originally assigned to Issachar, and the territory subsequently considered as Issachar's in Joshua 19 originally belonged to Manasseh. Among the Galilean tribes, Issachar is exceptional not only because it is defined almost entirely by means of a town list but also because Judges 1 does not list any towns that Issachar failed to inherit.

The description of the N border of the tribe of Manasseh states that the border "touches on Asher to the north and on Issachar to the east" (Josh 17:11) and the cities described there as being "of Manasseh in Issachar and Asher" are the same cities that Manasseh failed to inherit (Judg 1:27). It has been suggested that Josh 17:11 be understood as meaning that these cities were on the border of the two N tribes (*HGB*, 173), but it may also reflect two different historical situations, one in which the hills in the hinterland of Beth-shean, Ibleam, Taanach, and Megiddo were occupied by the tribes of Asher and Issachar, and a later time in which these were incorporated into the territory of Manasseh.

There is much biblical evidence of close ties between the tribe of Issachar and the territory of Manasseh and Mt. Ephraim. The Bible recounts that "Tola, the son of Puah, the son of Dodo, a man of Issachar, dwelt in Mt. Ephraim" (Judg 10:1). Both Tola and Puah are also listed in genealogies as sons of Issachar (Gen 46:13; 1 Chr 7:1). Shimron the son of Issachar is apparently to be associated with Mt. Shomron, on which the city of Samaria was built (1 Kgs 16:24). Jashub, another son of Issachar (1 Chr 7:1), may be connected to Jashub, a place mentioned in the Samaria Ostraca (*LBHG*, 223, 325).

Issachar is mentioned in the song of Deborah as participating in the battle and described as "on foot in the valley" (Judg 5:15), a clear description of the tribe's home territory. Surprisingly, Issachar is not mentioned in the Gideon story that is set in that tribe's territory (Judges 6–7). In Jacob's blessing (Gen 49:14–15), Issachar is characterized as a corvee-worker through an apparent wordplay on the phrase "a man of hire" (Heb *ʾîš śakar*). In Moses' blessing (Deut 33:18–19) the tribe's close association with Zebulun is expressed through poetic parallelism, and both tribes are associated with a mountain of sacrifice, undoubtedly Mt. Tabor. The territory of Issachar is listed 10th among Solomon's districts (1 Kgs 4:17), and the tribe is rarely mentioned in the Bible in connection with subsequent events.

Egyptian New Kingdom documents describe two incidents occurring within the territory of Issachar. From the Amarna letters we learn that Labayu of Shechem captured Shunem (EA 250) and that its lands were worked by Birdiya of Megiddo with corvee labor (EA 365). On a stele of Seti I from Beth-shean there is reference to a battle with ʿApiru on the mountain of Jarmuth (*ANET*, 20). Both Shunem and Jarmuth are towns of Issachar (Josh 19:18; 21:29; in Josh 19:21 Jarmuth appears corruptly as "Remeth"). On the basis of these sources, Alt (1924) reconstructed the history of the tribe, suggesting that the Amarna episode was evidence of the early settlement of the tribe among the Canaanites and that the tribal name ("man of hire") reveals its status at this early time. The lack of a border description in Joshua 19 was, he suggested, evidence that at the time of the formulation of these borders (in his opinion at the time of the judges) the tribe no longer existed as an independent entity, which explains the absence of Issachar from the Gideon story.

The recent archaeological survey, however, has shown that the hill country of Issachar lacked early Iron Age sites. Gal (1980; 1982b) suggests that the tribe of Issachar originally dwelt in the hills S of the Jezreel valley and that only in the 10th century did it settle in the territory ascribed to it in Joshua 19 (the Jezreel valley together with the hills to its N). This earlier situation would then be reflected in the close connection between Issachar and Manasseh in the biblical tradition and perhaps in the references to Issachar in the description of the territory of Manasseh (Josh 17:10–11).

**b. Zebulun.** In the allotment of Zebulun, the first of the Galilean tribal territories to be described in Joshua 19 (vv 10–16), the distinction between border description and town-list is clear. The starting point is Sarid (Tel Shaddud; M.R. 172229), a vantage point from which all the S border of the tribe can be clearly seen. The border is first described W towards Jokneam (Tel Qamun; M.R. 160230) and then E from Sarid towards Mt. Tabor. It is not clear whether Mt. Tabor is within Zebulun's tribal territory or is perhaps an extra-tribal area, a "holy mountain" at the point where the territories of Zebulun, Issachar, and Naphtali meet (Deut 33:19; Hos 5:1). The border continued from Mt. Tabor N and W through the valley of Beit Netofa to the valley of Iphtahel, identified either with Wadi el-Malik (Nahal Sippori; Dalman

1923: 35) or with the Ibillin valley (Gal 1982a: 104–5). The W border is not described. Nevertheless, the territory of Zebulun is thus a fairly well-defined area geographically, known today as the mountains of Nazareth bordering on the Jezreel valley to the S and the Beit Netofa valley to the N. Paradoxically, in both Jacob's and Moses' blessings there are clear references to Zebulun's connections to the sea coast and maritime activities (Gen 49:13; Deut 33:18–19). This has been regarded as evidence of trading with and political dependence on the Canaanite coastal cities (*NHI,* 79), but there is no reason not to see here a reflection of an actual geopolitical situation, albeit a different one from that portrayed in Joshua 19.

Zebulun is the only one of the Galilean tribal territories that was not one of Solomon's administrative districts. Alt (1913: 14) suggested that Bealot (1 Kgs 4:16) is a corruption of Zebulun (but see Ahlstrom 1979) and that Zebulun was part of the 9th district with Asher, while Kallai *(HGB*) suggests that the close connections of Zebulun with Issachar make it probable that Zebulun was part of the 10th district with Issachar. There are several cases in the OT where "Zebulun and Naphtali" seem to represent Galilee as a whole (Judg 4:6, 10; Isa 8:23 [—Eng 9:1]; Ps 68:28 [—Eng 68:27]), reflecting a situation in later years when these were the dominant Galilean tribes. Yeivin (*EncMiqr* 2: 895–900) followed Alt's premise that Issachar appeared in the Jezreel valley as early as the Amarna period. He explained Zebulun's absence from the N border of Manasseh (Josh 17:11), the close association of Zebulun and Issachar in Moses' blessing (Deut 33:18–19), and the genealogies listing them as brothers of the same mother (Genesis 30; 46) by suggesting that Zebulun was originally part of the tribe of Issachar and only later became independent.

Gal's recent survey of the territories of both tribes (Gal 1980, 1982a) requires a reappraisal of Alt's and Yeivin's conclusions. In contrast to the hill country of Issachar, which lacks early Iron Age sites, the hill country of Zebulun yielded several such sites, including some in which were found sherds of imported vessels dating to the early 13th century. The local ware had affinities to that from regions to the S. The mention of Zebulun's connections to the sea in the blessings of Jacob and Moses reflects a situation later than that portrayed in the territorial divisions in Joshua. At this later time, Asher had declined in importance and Zebulun and Naphtali then appear often representing Galilee as a whole.

**c. Asher.** Asher is the third Galilean tribe to be described (Josh 19:24–31). The reference to the towns of Achzib, Tyre, and Sidon leaves no doubt that this tribe's territory includes the Galilean coastal plain. There is, however, considerable difference of opinion as to the exact extent of the tribal territory to the SE and N. The text consists apparently of alternating sections of border description and town list.

The starting point of the border description is Helkath (in the LXX "from Helkath"). This site has been identified with various places to the SE of the Galilean coastal plain: Khirbet Harbaj (Tel Regev; M.R. 158240; Alt 1929: 38); Tel el-Amar (M.R. 159237; Gal 1982a: 107–8); or Tel Qashish (M.R. 160232; Aharoni 1959: 118–20). The precise location of Helkath would determine the extent to which the low hills in this region (the "Shephelah" of Galilee) belonged to Asher or to Zebulun. Shihor-Libnath is undoubtedly a river, and it has been identified with Nahr el-Zarqa (Nahal Tanninim), thus including Mt. Carmel in the territory of Asher (Grollenberg 1956: map 1; Alt 1927: 69, n. 4). However, analogy (with Josh 19:22, 27, 34) suggests that "touching on Carmel" (v 26) means that Mt. Carmel was outside the tribal area proper and that Shihor-Libnath was the Kishon river. The border then "returns" to the fixed starting point (apparently to Helkath) and then continues in the opposite direction N, touching on Zebulun and the Iphtahel valley "going out towards Cabul to the north" and "reaches greater Sidon and the border returns to Ramah and to the fortified city of Tyre."

It has been suggested that the border actually reached the city of Sidon *(HGB*) but it is more probable that only the border of the Sidonian territory, the Litani river, was intended (*LBHG,* 238; Naaman 1986: 54). The mention of the "fortified city of Tyre" (v 29) shows close affinity to the description of the N border in Joab's census (2 Sam 24:6–7, where MT *tḥtym ḥdšy* [v 7] should be read *tḥt ḥrmn,* "beneath Hermon" [Skehan 1969: 46–47]), which in turn is reminiscent of other references to Israel's N border (Josh 11:8; 13:4–6; Judg 3:3; see Naaman 1982a: 154–55). The border thus skirted a Tyrian coastal enclave S of Tyre. The description terminates with a list of towns clearly based on the same source as

Judg 1:31. The territory of the tribe is then the coastal plain, from Mt. Carmel in the S to the Litani river in the N, excluding the city of Tyre and its environs, but including the low foothills E of the coastal plain.

The list of cities that Asher did not inherit (Judg 1:31) is the longest such list. Three of the cities can be precisely identified (Acco, Sidon, Achzib), while Helbah and Ahlab are almost certainly to be read as Mahalab and identified with Khirbet el-Maḥalib (see MAHALAB). The remaining two, Aphik and Rehob, should probably be sought in the N part of the coastal plain of Acco. It is noteworthy that Achshaph, one of the more important of the Canaanite cities in the region, is not included in the list. Asher is mentioned in connection to the N border of Manasseh (Josh 17:10–11), Dor presumably being the town that Manasseh held "in Asher" (Josh 17:11).

It has been suggested that the place-name Khirbet el-Ḥabay (M.R. 170265) is connected to Jehubbah *(yḥbh)*, a descendant of Asher (1 Chr 7:34), and that the Iron Age site nearby was called *Ḥbh* (Zadok 1988: 45). Similarly, Serah *(śrḥ)*, Asher's daughter (Num 26:26; 1 Chr 7:30), should perhaps be associated with Khirbet Suruḥ (M.R. 175276), near which an Iron Age site has been identified. There are, however, also several clear connections to the S tribes of Benjamin and Ephraim. Beriah appears as a son of Asher, as a son of Ephraim, and as a descendant of Benjamin (Gen 46:17; 1 Chr 7:23; 8:13). Beriah's son Malchiel was father of Birzaith (1 Chr 7:31), almost certainly the modern Bir-Zeit (M.R. 169153). Heber, another son of Beriah, was father of Japhlet (1 Chr 7:32), associated with the border between Benjamin and Ephraim (Josh 16:3). Shual and Shilshah, grandsons of Japhlet's brother Helem (1 Chr 7:35–37), may be associated respectively with "the land of Shual" presumably in Benjamin (1 Sam 13:17) and with "the land of Shalishah" in Mt. Ephraim (1 Sam 9:4).

Asher figures in the Gideon saga (Judg 6:35; 7:23), while in the Song of Deborah Asher is said to have "lingered by the seashore, by its inlets he stayed" (Judg 5:17)—again a clear description of the tribal territory. Asher was the 9th of Solomon's administrative districts (1 Kgs 4:16) and the only one that combines a tribal name with what appears to be that of a city, Bealoth ($^{A}$ Maalot). This anomaly has been explained by seeing Bealoth either as a corruption of Zebulun (Alt 1913: 14; but see Ahlstrom 1979) or as a city (Mazar 1942: map 16) possibly added to Asher to compensate for territory ceded to Tyre (1 Kgs 9:11), and that can perhaps be identified with Me'ilya (M.R. 174269).

In several Egyptian New Kingdom inscriptions the word *i-s-r* has been deciphered. Opinions vary as to whether this refers to the tribe Asher, to Assyria, or to an unidentified place name (see discussion in Gardiner 1947: 191–93; *CTAED*, 73; Albright 1954). The name appears in town lists of Seti I and Ramesses II (Simons 1937: xvii 4, xxv 8). A town by the name of *q-t-i-s-r* ("Gath-Asher"? Aharoni 1957: 65; but see also Helck 1962: 222) is mentioned with Acco in a description of a campaign of Ramesses II (Wreszinski 1935: plate 55a). In papyrus Anastasia A, dated to Ramesses II (*ANET*, 477, and n. 42) a king or tribal chief of *isr* is mentioned in association with a description of a journey through what is undoubtedly the Aruna pass S of Megiddo. In the Onamasticon of Amenope (from the time of Ramesses XI), *isr* is listed between coastal cities of S Canaan and tribes of the Sea Peoples.

In an archaeological survey of the region, a large number of small, early Iron Age sites have been recorded on the W slopes and foothills of the mountains of upper Galilee (Frankel 1983; 1986). These, however, neither reached the edge of the coastal plain nor do they reach the top of the hills; thus there remained an unsettled area between these sites and those discovered by Aharoni (1956; 1957) in the Peqiin valley and further E. This survey showed a difference in the ceramic repertoire between the northernmost sites (along the present Lebanese border) and those further S, the main difference evident in the pithos. Those found at the N sites have affinities to Tyrian pithoi both from Iron and Bronze Ages (Bikai 1978), while those found at the S sites are similar to those found in upper Galilee (Aharoni 1956: fig. 4; 1957: 22, plate 4:4, 5) and have clear affinities to pithoi from LB Hazor.

On the basis of all these sources, certain tentative historical conclusions can be drawn. The list of Canaanite cities in Judge 1:31 show that most of the coastal plain did not come under Israelite control until the period of the monarchy, whereas Assyrian annals (*ANET*, 287) show that already in the 8th century this region was Sidonian. There is no proof as to when the region came under Sidonian control; however, the lack of a Solomonic district of former Canaanite cities in the coastal plain (*NHI*, 213 n. 3)

makes it probable that the incident of "the twenty towns in the land of Galilee, the land of Cabul" (1 Kgs 9:11–14; 2 Chr 8:2) reflects Solomon's surrender of this region. Consequently the coastal plain, the heartland of the territory of Asher as depicted in Joshua 19, was Israelite for little more than a generation, which in turn leads to the conclusion that the small Iron Age sites in the Galilean foothills are evidence as to the character and extent of the tribe of Asher. On the one hand, the close affinities of the Galilean pithos to earlier pottery from the region and its marked differences from S pithoi point to this N tribe's extended cultural development independent of the S tribes; on the other hand, they suggest that its N culture either was derived directly from the previous LB Canaanite culture or coexisted with it for a considerable period.

A question that remains is the significance of the genealogical tables. Asher and the other 3 tribal eponyms listed as sons of Jacob's concubines (Dan, Naphtali, Gad) share another common trait: they are geographically peripheral, which implies that they were politically peripheral was well. The question is whether they were also ethnically peripheral. As for Asher's close connection to Benjamin and Ephraim, the archaeological evidence does not support Asherite families having originated in the S at an early stage. It is possible that, like Dan or Issachar, clans moved N at a later stage. Recently an interesting solution has been suggested (Edelman 1985) connecting this S presence of Asher to the "Ashurite" province of 2 Sam 2:9. However, the most attractive explanation of the connections between Asher and Benjamin and Ephraim is that of Finkelstein (*AIS*, 299, n. 35). Based on an archaeological survey of the Bir-Zeit region yielding Iron Age remains (almost only from Iron II), he suggests that the Asherite family of Beriah did not originate in the S and migrate N but the reverse—they reached the region of Benjamin and Ephraim at a late period, possibly after the capture of Galilee by the Assyrians.

The territory of the tribe of Asher as described in Joshua 19 (the Galilean coastal plain and adjoining foothills) is a geographical region that throughout history has been to a greater or lesser degree an entity separate from the region to the E. At many later periods this was the territory of the cities of Acco and Tyre, and in the LB Age, too, these were the dominant forces in the region (Meyers 1983: 55). It was within this geopolitical territory that the tribe crystallized.

At various historical periods the exact position of the political border between the coastal plain and the mountain region of upper Galilee to the E has varied. The E border of Asher coincides with a rugged region that is difficult to settle and lacks Iron Age settlements; thus it coincides with a sparsely populated region. The pottery with Tyrian affinities found in the N suggests that this region was largely under the influence of Tyre until a late stage, probably until the Davidic expansion. The written sources hint at changes in the S border of the tribal territory also. The fact that it is implied that Dor belonged to or was on the border of Asher (Josh 17:11) and the possible reference to Asher in the same region in Papyrus Anastasi A (*ANET*, 477) perhaps suggest that at an early stage the tribal territory included the Carmel. The S border as designated in Joshua 19 is N of the Carmel (an intermediate stage?), and the blessings of Jacob and Moses imply yet a third stage in which *Zebulun*'s territory reached the sea (see above).

The tribe of Asher, however, in effect never controlled more than the periphery of the well-defined geographic region that was its purported territory. It is perhaps significant that Asher is the only tribe of which it is said that "the Asherite dwelt amongst the Canaanite" without the addition "and they (the Canaanite) became tributaries" (Judg 1:31–32). It was certainly not one of the more important tribes and rarely appears in later episodes.

**d. Naphtali.** The references to the "mountain of Naphtali" (Josh 20:7) and the "land of Naphtali" (1 Kgs 15:20; 2 Kgs 15:29)—terms rarely used in reference to other Galilean tribes—have been taken as evidence that the name was originally a geographic one (*NHI*, 67 and n. 1). Naphtali was the largest of the Galilean tribes and, used either in conjunction with Zebulun (Judg 4:7; Ps 48:28; Isa 8:23) or by itself (Deut 34:2; 1 Kgs 15:20; 2 Kgs 15:29; 2 Chr 34:6), "Naphtali" was often synonymous with "Galilee" itself.

The description of the border of this last Galilean tribe is cursory but clear (Josh 19:33–34). First, the S border is described from Heleph (without doubt a site at the foot of Mt. Tabor; v 33) E to the Jordan (the same border is apparently described in Josh 19:22). Then the border "returns" to the fixed starting point

(Heleph) to describe the W border in the opposite direction northwards. From Aznoth-Tabor the border "went out towards Hukkok and touched on Zebulun to the S and on Asher to the W …" (v 34). The Jordan is clearly the E border, but the N border is not described nor are the important cities on this border (Dan, Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah; cf. 1 Kgs 15:20; 2 Kgs 15:29) included in the list of cities that follows (Josh 19:35–38). Naaman (1986: 46) notes that the tribal territories have been compiled to reflect the situation prior to the Danite migration N. On the basis of biblical descriptions of the N territory that "yet remains to be possessed" (Josh 13:4–6; Judg 3:3) and of a geographical line often mentioned in various biblical episodes (Josh 11:8, 17; 2 Sam 24:6), it is possible to speculate about Naphtali's N border. The joint border with Asher almost certainly extended to the Litani river, and then that of Naphtali followed the river E and N; after the northward bend of the river, the border extended NE to include the valley of Marjayoun (Ijon) and then skirted the foot of Mt. Hermon to the Jordan.

The description of the tribal boundary is followed by a list of towns (Josh 19:35–38). What appears as the first 2 towns (Ziddim and Zer) is apparently a corrupt text (see below). Not all the remaining 14 towns have been identified, but they are clearly listed from S to N. The last 2, Beth-anath and Beth-shemesh, are drawn from the list in Judg 1:33, and their identification remains uncertain.

The reference to "Naphtali on the heights of the field" in the Song of Deborah (Judg 5:18) is again a characterization of the tribe's highland territory. There is, however, no reason to doubt that Barak the son of Abinoam the Naphtalite was the leader in the battle or that Naphtali was the leading tribe in this war. Naphtali also figures in the Gideon epic (Judg 6:35; 7:23) and its territory was the 8th of Solomon's administrative districts (1 Kgs 4:15). In Moses' blessing (Deut 33:23), Naphtali is urged to "possess the west and the south," implying a territorial expansion, although it is unclear whether this refers to the early stages of settlement or rather (as with most of the other blessings) to a later period. It perhaps implies an expansion at the expense of Asher and Issachar, who are rarely mentioned in later biblical episodes.

The group of early Iron Age sites surveyed by Aharoni (1956; 1957) in the Peqiin valley and on Mt. Meron in the territory of Naphtali were explained by him as evidence of early Israelite settlement in the area. However, as in the territory of Asher so in that of Naphtali, strong Tyrian influence can be discerned. On the 1,006-m-high peak of Mt. Adir overlooking its surroundings, a well-built fort from the early Iron Age has been partly excavated and has yielded pottery of high quality with marked Tyrian affinities. Evidence of Tyrian presence in this region is referred to in the list of cities of Naphtali (Josh 19:35), the first words of which should not be read "the fortified cities are Ziddim, Zer, …" but rather "the fortified cities of the Tyrians: Tyre, …" (Heb *ʿry mbṣr ḥṣwrym ṣwr;* cf. Kochavi 1984: 67–68). Kochavi also suggested that the other Iron Age forts situated on peaks in upper Galilee as well as the other early Iron Age sites in this region are all Tyrian, and that the early settlement of Naphtali should be sought only in lower Galilee. However, the exact date and character of the other Iron Age forts has not yet been ascertained; the character of the pottery found at Khirbet el-Tuleil (Tel Harashim; Aharoni 1956: fig. 4) is not Tyrian; and the term Mt. Naphtali (Josh 10:7) clearly suggests an upper Galilee component of the tribe. The LB geopolitical territory in which the tribe of Naphtali settled is that of Hazor, and although the borders are not necessarily identical with those of Hazor, there is every reason to regard the Iron Age sites identified by Aharoni as the early nucleus of the tribe of Naphtali.

The history of Tyre at the end of the LB Age is not clear, but as opposed to the inland region where the Canaanite city-states were replaced by tribal and later national rule, in the coastal region the Canaanite city-state structure continued to exist, in time becoming the flourishing Phoenician kingdoms of the Iron Age. In the early stages of the Iron Age these were clearly dominant in the N, the fort on Mt. Adir probably marking their S border with Naphtali until King David's expansion N to the Litani river reduced Tyre to a small enclave.

**e. Dan in the North.** The detailed biblical description of the migration of part of the tribe of Dan northwards (Judges 18; Josh 19:47) is confirmed both historically and archaeologically. That Laish was the city of Dan's ancient name is confirmed by its appearance both in the Execration Texts and in Thutmoses III's city list. The identification of ancient Dan with Tell el-Qadi is certain: The Arabic name is a translation of the Hebrew name. Eusebius states that a village named Dan was located 4 miles from

Caesarea Phillipi, as is Tell el-Qadi; and recently the name "Dan" has been found in a Gk inscription at the site. Early Iron Age strata have been uncovered in which were found pithoi of the S type (the collar-rim jar) as well as typical Tyrian pithoi, a remarkable illustration of the biblical episode (Biran 1980: 176).

For obvious historiographic reasons (Naaman 1986: 46) only the S territory of Dan is mentioned in the territorial descriptions attributed to the time of Joshua (Joshua 13–19). Moses' blessing hints that the N area occupied by the tribe reached as far as Bashan (Deut 33:22). Over time, Dan in the N was doubtless absorbed into Naphtali; in fact, Dan and Naphtali appear as the 2 sons of Bilhah (Gen 35:25). The complexity of N Danite identity, however, is suggested in the narrative about Huram-abi, "the son of a woman of the daughters of Dan, and his father was a man of Tyre" (2 Chr 2:14); in the 1 Kgs 7:14 parallel his mother is said to have been "a widow of the tribe of Naphtali."

**4. Summary.** The transition from the LB to the Iron Age was characterized by great change but also by much continuity. The continuity manifests itself in language, certain aspects of the ceramic repertoire, and apparently in the geopolitical divisions of the country. The changes are seen in the character and pattern of settlement: in the LB Age, cities were located mainly in the lowlands; in the Iron Age, villages were located mainly in the hill country.

The maps of tribal territories undoubtedly reflect the dynamics of the settlement process. In part the territorial units are a continuation of those from previous periods; but on the other hand the borders *between* the tribes either are the areas of intensive Canaanite settlement or are the courses of important transportation routes. For example, the border between the Galilean tribes in the N and Manasseh, in the S is the Jezreel valley, an area of Canaanite and Philistine settlement apparently until the time of David. Similarly, the border separating Zebulun and Issachar in the S from Naphtali in the N is the Beit Netofa valley through which passes the "Hauran Route" (Oded 1971), a route of intensive LB traffic and settlement. The territory of Zebulun is the mountain area between these two Canaanite regions—the Jezreel valley to its S and the Beit Netofa valley to its N. The tribe of Asher settled in the mountain areas E of the coastal towns Acco and Tyre, while Naphtali settled in those W of Hazor. The border between these 2 tribes coincides with an area of sparse Iron Age settlement, possibly the border of the area under the control of Hazor in the previous period.

The regional diversity in ceramic typology between the Tyrian, Galilean, and southern cultures appear partly to coincide with the tribal territories. The Galilean pithos is apparently not found S of the Jezreel valley, and the southern collar-rim jar is not found N of the Beit Netofa valley (the border separating Zebulun in the S from Asher and Naphtali in the N); thus, both types are found in the territory of Zebulun.

The cultural continuity from the LB to the Iron Age points to close connections between the periods. The continuity from period to period of the regional diversity in the ceramic repertoire such as that of the Tyrian and Galilean Pithoi is particularly significant when contrasted with the presence of the southern collar-rim jar at Dan. The latter is quite understandable in light of the biblical tradition about the migration of the tribe of Dan to the N. The lack of similar southern ceramic forms elsewhere in the mountains of upper Galilee suggests a lack of connections to the S in these areas, whereas the Iron Age ceramic forms there are quite similar to those found there from the previous LB period, suggesting continuity in population.

In attempting to explain the changes, one must assess the overall historical background. This was apparently a time of general turmoil. Egyptian punitive expeditions were undertaken by all the pharaohs, and the capture of cities is recorded. Violent conflict between Canaanite kings as evidenced by the Amarna letters doubtless continued, while the ʿApiru and the Shusu probably also played a disruptive role. The Egyptian annals record the invasions of the Sea Peoples, while the biblical traditions describe the penetration of the Israelite tribes (whose presence is also attested in the Israel Stele of Merneptah). The Bible hints also at the appearance of other tribes and peoples at this time.

The crucial issue, however, remains the chronology of the changes. The present evidence shows that the destruction of the LB cities took place over a period of more than a century from the early 13th to the middle of the 12th century. The date of the beginning of the Iron Age villages remains a matter of

controversy. There is as yet no clear evidence, however, that these existed before the second half of the 13th century.

Therefore we must see the end of the LB Age and the early stages of the Iron Age as contemporaneous. The collapse of the city-states was doubtless the result of a combination of external forces—Egyptians, Sea Peoples, Israelites, and others—and of inner strife between and within the cities themselves. The population of the Iron Age villages in the Galilean hill country was probably variegated, but doubtless included many people who formerly had lived in LB cities before their destruction and abandonment, as well as recent immigrants. The inhabitants of a city the size of Hazor probably later populated many such villages, Hazor's area being at least as great as that of all the known Iron Age sites in the mountains combined.

**E. The Period of Samuel and the United Monarchy**

None of the events the Bible recounts for the period of Samuel and Saul are set in Galilee. The struggles with the Philistines, which was the challenge that led to the consolidation of the tribes and the creation of the Israelite monarchy, took place in the regions bordering on Philistia, primarily in Ephraim and Benjamin.

It has been suggested that the reference to the "Ashurites" in the description of the kingdom Ishbosheth inherited from Saul (2 Sam 2:9) should be read "Asherite" (Alt 1966: 161; *LBHG*, 255), designating the province of Galilee. In no other cases, however, is Asher used to designate Galilee as a whole, and there is no other evidence of Saul being active in this region. Edelman (1985) suggests that the verse refers to a southern Asher. Jezreel (2 Sam 2:9), presumably a region, was part of the kingdom although it is not clear exactly what region was entailed. Beth-shean remained under Philistine control (1 Sam 31:10) as apparently did Megiddo (stratum VI) and the Jezreel valley as a whole. This is probably the explanation for the battle of Gilboa. Saul apparently attempted to gain control over the Jezreel valley in order to enlarge his domain to central Galilee and the Philistines went to war to prevent him; when Saul failed, David inherited the kingdom. There is no doubt, however, that in the time of David not only the mountains of Galilee up to the Litani river but also the surrounding valleys were incorporated into the kingdom.

There is very little evidence about the attitude of the Galilean tribes to the struggle between the houses of Saul and David, or about their attitude to the later struggle between Israel and Judah. However, in later periods there are hints of special relations between Galilee and Judah (see G. below), the story of the wise woman of Abel-beth-maachah and Sheba the son of Bichri being one of these (2 Sam 20:14–22).

The fact that Issachar and Zebulun are sons of Leah and not of Rachel perhaps also symbolizes such a relationship. In genealogical tables in the Bible, the geopolitical elements are no less significance than the historico-genealogical elements. This is demonstrated most strikingly by the Samaria Ostraca as regards the genealogy of Manasseh (*LBHG*, 326, map 29). In the genealogy of the tribal eponyms, Jacob's (Israel's) sons conform to such a geopolitical reality. The sons of Rachel, Joseph (Ephraim and Manasseh) and Benjamin, are the dominant tribes of the N kingdom of Israel, later known as Samaria. The sons of the concubines (Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher) are the peripheral tribes geographically and also politically. The first 4 sons of Leah (Reuben, Simon, Levi, and Judah) are the tribes of the S kingdom of Judah. The fact that Issachar and Zebulun are the last 2 of Leah's sons apparently reflects a geopolitical conception by which these 2 lower Galilean tribes had closer relations to S Judah than with the neighboring region of Israel. The questions that remain are: when did this genealogy finally crystalize, and what specific political situation does it reflect?

As regards Galilee during the Solomonic period, there is evidence both in the Bible and from excavations for Solomon's building activities; there is also evidence for his administrative districts and hints of changes in the political borders during his reign. Megiddo was fortified at this time (1 Kgs 9:15), but there is considerable controversy as to which structures are Solomonic (Ussishkin 1980; Wightman 1985). Hazor stratum X, with its typical 6-chamber gate and casemate wall, was the first city to be built at the site after the destruction of the Canaanite city (stratum XIII), and it is clearly Solomonic. The finds there indicate that Solomon's administration was capable of building a city at the N extreme of his

kingdom, albeit only one-twentieth the size of its Canaanite predecessor. The episode of the 20 cities in the land of Galilee and the land of Cabul (1 Kgs 9:11–14; 2 Chr 8:2) apparently implies Solomon's surrender of taxable land to Hiram king of Tyre, presumably in the coastal plain up to Cabul. It has been suggested that Cabul should be identified with Horvat Rosh-Zayit (M.R. 171253) 2 km NE of the village of Kabul (M.R. 170252). This early Iron Age site was a fortified town in the 10th century, which was superseded by a fort built in the middle of the 9th century (Gal 1984). Gal suggests that the city is the Israelite Cabul and that the fort is Phoenician, built after Solomon relinquished the area to Hiram.

David's administration was apparently based on the tribal structure (1 Chr 27: 16–22; the fact that Asher and Gad are missing is probably a corruption of the text). Solomon's administrative districts, however, were only partly tribal; those districts designated by city names were probably Canaanite regions only recently added to his kingdom (1 Kgs 4:7–20; Alt 1913). The Jezreel, Beth-shean, and part of the Jordan valleys constituted the 5th district designated by the names of cities; Naphtali was the 8th; "Asher and Bealoth" ($LXX^A$ Maalot) the 9th; and Issachar the 10th. Two anomalies appear in the Galilean districts: the absence of Zebulun and the fact that the 9th is the only district apparently comprised of both tribe and city. Alt (1913) suggested that "Bealoth" was a corruption of Zebulun, thus resolving both problems, but for paleographic reasons this has been challenged (Ahlstrom 1979). It has also been suggested that "Bealoth" be read "in Aloth," and that Aloth be identified with Me'ilya (M.R. 174269; cf. Mazar 1942: map 16). That two of Solomon's sons-in-law are listed among the district officers, and that there is no district listed for the Canaanite coastal towns (*NHI*, 213, n. 3), suggests that the administrative list reflects a situation toward the end of Solomon's reign, after territory in Asher had been surrendered to Hiram; thus, in compensation, Aloth would have been added to Asher to help strengthen it. It has also been suggested that Zebulun was incorporated as part of the tenth district of Issachar (*HGB*, 59).

**F. The Divided Monarchy**

For 200 years, from the revolt of Jeroboam (928 B.C.E.) until the capture of Galilee by Tiglath-pileser III (732 B.C.E.), Galilee was part of the N kingdom of Israel. The history of the period was marked by complicated interrelations between Israel and Judah, as well as between both of these and their neighbors (Tyre, Sidon, and Damascus to the N, Moab and Edom to the E, and the Philistine cities to the SW). In the background loomed the evergrowing Assyrian empire, although, in the S, Egypt was comparatively weak.

Five years after the schism ca. 924 B.C.E., Shishak I conducted a military campaign through Israel. The biblical account focuses only on Jerusalem (1 Kgs 14: 25–28; 2 Chr 12: 1–12), but Shishak's inscription at Karnak (Simons 1937: list XXXIX) indicates that the campaign reached as far N as Galilee. Several places in the Jezreel and Beth-shean valleys are listed (Taanach, Shunem, Beth-shean, Hapharaim, Megiddo). A stele of Shishak was found at Megiddo, and Kitchen (1973: 436–37; 447, no. 126) has suggested that the inscription perhaps includes references to campaigns in the N coastal plain and in the N Jordan valley. Opinions differ as to whether Shishak was responsible for the destruction of Megiddo stratum IVa or b (Yadin 1972: 147–164; Aharoni 1972; Ussishkin 1980; Wightman 1985).

About 40 years later, Asa king of Judah made an alliance with Ben-Hadad king of Aram against Baasha king of Israel. Ben Hadad (I) invaded Galilee; captured the 3 border towns, Ijon, Dan, and Abel-beth-maachah (1 Kgs 15: 20); then advanced to capture the Jordan valley ("Chinneroth") and all Galilee ("all the land of Naphtali"). Hazor stratum IX was probably destroyed in this campaign. A short time after this invasion, and probably partly as a result of it, a series of violent political upheavals raised Omri to the throne of Israel (1 Kgs 16:8–22). He and his son Ahab after him carried out a different foreign policy: cooperation with both Judah and Tyre as manifested in marriages with both royal houses (2 Kgs 8:26; 1 Kgs 16:31). However, throughout the Omride dynasty there was continuous struggle with Aram-Damascus. Ben-Hadad (II) seized Samaria, but Israel subsequently defeated Aram at Aphek (1 Kgs 20:26), recently identified with a tell in the valley below Fiq in the Golan (see APHEK). Ahab was killed fighting Aram in Gilead (1 Kg 22:32–38), and the death of his son Joram and Jehu's revolt that displaced the Omride dynasty was also connected to the war against Aram at Ramoth-gilead (2 Kgs 9:14–27).

At the same time, Assyrian influence began to be felt in the region. In Shalmaneser III's description of the battle at Qarqar (853 B.C.E.), both Ahab the Israelite and Hadadezer of Damascus are mentioned.

According to the usual reading, Ahab's army consisted of 2,000 chariots and 10,000 foot soldiers (*ANET*, 279); but it has been recently suggested that this is a scribal error and should be read as 200 chariots (Na'aman 1976: 97–102). The Assyrian campaigns are not mentioned in the Bible, although the alliance with Damascus is perhaps hinted at (1 Kgs 22:1–4; *LBHG*, 305). The description of the Qarqar battle is without doubt one of the factors that has led scholars to regard Ahab as an important monarch (Yadin ascribed Hazor stratum VIII to him). In this stratum, Solomon's city (stratum X) was doubled in size and the water system and storehouses were built. Stratum IVa at Megiddo, with massive wall, water system, and 17 pillard buildings (described as stables), has also been ascribed to Ahab (Yadin 1972: 147–78). There is, however, controversy as to the date of both stratum VIII at Hazor and stratum IVa at Megiddo (Kenyon 1971: 106; but see Kenyon 1975: 167–169; Aharoni 1972), and it is possible that neither should be attributed to Ahab. There is similar controversy as to the function of the pillared buildings, which are probably royal storehouses (Pritchard 1970; Herzog 1973; Na'aman 1981: 142–43).

One of the first events to take place after Jehu's revolt was the campaign of Shalmaneser III (841 B.C.E.), who besieged Damascus and then proceeded to ḫa‹ali Rasi"—the headland, probably the Carmel—to receive tribute from Jehu and from the kings of Tyre and Sidon (*ANET*, 280). The description of Shalmaneser's receipt of tribute on Baali-Rasi (Carmel), combined with the fact that the religious struggle between Tyre and Israel was symbolized by Elijah's sacrificing on Mt. Carmel (1 Kings 18), suggests that this had become the political border between Israel and Phoenicia, although we cannot determine when this border was fixed. The only hint as to a conflict between Israel and Tyre in the written sources is Amos 1:7–10, which presumably refers to a later period. However the violent destruction and abandonment of the fort at Horvat Rosh Zayit (Gal 1984) is evidence of such a conflict in the middle of the 9th century.

The struggle with Aram continued during the reigns of Jehu and his son Jehoahaz, and Hazael king of Aram prevailed over both Israel and Judah (2 Kgs 10:32–34; 12:18; 13:3–4; 22). It was only in the days of Joash the son of Jehoahaz that Israel succeeded in rebuffing the Arameans, the battle once again being fought at Aphek, the gate to Golan (2 Kgs 13:17, 25), and the century-long conflict came to an end. It has been suggested that stratum VII at Hazor was destroyed by Hazael and that from this time on (except for a short interlude) Galilee as a whole was under Aramean rule (Oded 1971: 195–97). The battles described in the Bible, however, took place in Gilead (Ramoth-gilead), in the Golan (Aphek), or in the environs of Samaria and in Judah, and even in the very detailed list in 2 Kgs 10:33 there is no mention of Galilee. The written evidence therefore suggests that the wars between Damascus and Samaria bypassed Galilee. Furthermore, the large degree of continuity at Hazor between strata VIII–V makes it most unlikely that strata VI and V were Aramaean. Several Iron Age forts oriented towards the S and E have been identified in upper Galilee, and although their exact character and date must await excavation these were probably built as a defense against the Aramaean threat.

During the reign of Jeroboam, the son of Jehoash, Israel became a dominant force in the region and succeeded in enlarging its territory N at Aramaean expense (2 Kgs 14: 25–28; Amos 6:14). It was a prophet from lower Galilee, Jonah the son of Amittai from Gath-hepher, who encouraged Jeroboam in his program of territorial expansion. Strata V–VI at Hazor, particularly the citadel with houses of the elite at the W end of the town and the residential quarter in the center, provide evidence of the prosperity enjoyed during this period. Stratum VI was probably destroyed in an earthquake (Amos 1:1; Zech 14:5), and the residential quarter was immediately rebuilt, but with some changes that perhaps hint at attempts to adapt the house plan to that of the popular 4-room house (stratum V; Shiloh 1970).

The Assyrian armies of Tiglath-pileser III appeared in the region attacking Philistia in 734 B.C.E. and capturing Damascus and Galilee in 733–732, turning them into Assyrian provinces (Tadmor 1967). The biblical account enumerates the cities captured by Tiglath-pileser at the N approaches to Galilee (Ijon, Abel-beth-maacah, Janoah, Kedesh, and Hazor) and then sums up "Gilead and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali" (2 Kgs 15:29). Janoah is the only town whose identification is uncertain. Identifications with 2 sites whose names resemble Janoah are problematic since the sites are too far distant from the other towns mentioned; one too far to the SW (*LBHG*, 37a), the other too far to the NW (Rainey 1981). Kaplan

(1978), however, has suggested identifying Janoah at Tel Shoquet, situated between Abel-beth-maachah, Kedesh, and Hazor (as the biblical reference suggests). In the Assyrian annals the names of several other places appear: *Hi-na-tu-na* (Hinatun) and *(Ia)-at-bi-te* (Jotbah) in the Beit Netofa valley, and "Aruma [and] Merom … fortified cities in the land of Omri [situated] on high mountains" presumably in upper Galilee (Tadmor 1967), although some regard these as being in lower Galilee (Na'aman 1986: 119–34). The Assyrian records also enumerate the number of people exiled from some of the cities, providing data useful in estimating the population of Galilee at this time. Tadmor (1967) has pointed out, however, that there is no evidence of the Assyrians settling people in Galilee from other parts of the empire, as was done in Samaria a decade later (*ANET*, 284; 2 Kgs 17: 24).

Excavations at Hazor revealed dramatic evidence of the preparation for the Assyrian attack. Existing residential structures (stratum Vb) were destroyed to allow for additional fortifications (stratum Va), and alternative housing was constructed. The final destruction itself is also evident, and it is even possible to discern from which direction the attack came.

The material culture in the few sites excavated in Galilee from this period shows a marked similarity to that exhibited in contemporaneous Judean sites, among these are the "pillared buildings" (storehouses/stables) and the "4-room houses." On the other hand, there are elements found in various sites both in Galilee and in other parts of N Israel showing affinities to the Phoenician cities to the NW and Syrian cities to the NE. Phoenician influence is particularly marked in the ceramics and the ivories, although one ivory found at Hazor shows Syrian influence and a pillar base found at Dan is similar to one found at Carchemish. The proto-aeolic capitals found at Hazor are markedly different from those found at other sites; they are more naturalistic and lack the typical (frontal) triangle (Shiloh 1979). It has been suggested that this difference is due to their earlier date (Aharoni 1982: 216); however, the capitals from Hazor show marked affinities to capitals appearing in reliefs from the N (Frankfort 1954: fig. 89, pl. 121), and thus their unique character is partly regional, apparently also a result of N influence.

**G. Assyrian and Persian Rule**

The Israelite regions captured by Tiglath-pileser III became Assyrian provinces named after their respective capitals: Dor (*Duru,* the Sharon coastal plain), Gilead (*Galaza,* the region E of the Jordan) and Megiddo (*Magiddu,* presumably Galilee). After Sargon II captured Samaria, the remaining region became a province of that name *(Samerina).* The prophet Isaiah (8:23—Eng9:1) was perhaps referring to these provinces in his description of the future exaltation of "the way of the sea [Dor? but see Rainey 1981], the land beyond the Jordan [Gilead], Galilee of the nations" [Megiddo].

Little is known of Galilee at this period. At Megiddo (stratum III) fine examples of courtyard buildings, clearly part of the administrative capital, were found exhibiting Assyrian characteristics (Amiran and Dunayevsky 1958). This, however, was not the last Iron Age stratum of Megiddo; stratum II consisted only of a fort, and Alt (1938: 90–93) suggested that the capital of Galilee had been moved from Megiddo to Acco. At Hazor (stratum III), however, a fort resembling the Megiddo courtyard buildings was built on the ruins of the Israelite citadel (Yadin 1972: 191–194), and a large and impressive building built below the tell has been identified as an Assyrian palace or residence (Reich 1975). Avi-Yonah (1977: 25) has suggested that this, not Acco, was the capital of Galilee that replaced Megiddo. The fine bronze cup in the shape of an antelope's head found at Kafr Kana is additional evidence of Assyrian presence in Galilee (Frankfort 1954: 103, pl. 118A).

Recent surveys show a marked decline in the size and number of sites during this period (Gal 1982a: 78–79), as opposed to a marked increase in Judah (Kochavi 1972: 85). Also, the ceramics of the N are now stylistically much less similar to that of the S than in previous periods. Nevertheless, there is considerable biblical evidence for ongoing contact between Judah and Galilee during this period, in some ways more than between Galilee and Samaria. At the time of the great Passover, Hezekiah is said to have sent messengers to Ephraim, Manasseh, "and as far as Zebulun." It is then stated that the people ridiculed the messengers, but that a few people from Asher, Manasseh, and Zebulun (but not from Ephraim) came to Jerusalem (2 Chr 30: 10–11). Ephraim's omission could be the result of a later scribal error; it could reflect the truly special relationship between Judah and Galilee; or it could well be a result of the

Chronicler's historiographical preference for Galilee. Also, 2 Kgs 21:19 records that Manasseh, undoubtedly at Hezekiah's initiative, married Meshullameth the daughter of Haruz from Jotbah in lower Galilee (2 Kgs 21:19), identified with either Kh. Shefat (M.R. 176248) or Kerem el-Ras (M.R. 182239).

During Josiah's reign, Judaean influence extended to Megiddo (2 Kgs 23:29) and even farther N (2 Chr 34:6). The fort of Megiddo (stratum II) has been dated to this period. According to 2 Kgs 23:36, one of Josiah's wives was Zebudah the daughter of Pedaiah of Rumah (Kh. el-Rumeh; M.R. 177243), located in the Beit Netofa valley only a few km from the 2 sites proposed for Jotbah, the hometown of Josiah's grandmother. Apart from Athaliah the Israelite princess (2 Kgs 8:26), these 2 queens from lower Galilee are the only queens of Judah known not to come from Judah.

During the Persian period there is considerable archaeological and written evidence for the importance and prosperity of the Phoenician towns on the coast. The main source is the *Periplus* attributed to Scylax of Coryanda, but shown to date to the 4th century B.C.E. and known as pseudo-Scylax (Avi-Yonah 1977: 28–31). The S coastal cities are all described as belonging either to Tyre or Sidon; but Acco and a city to its N (presumably Achzib) were apparently independent, and Acco is known to have been the Persian base for wars against Egypt (Strabo *Geog.* 16.2.25; Diod. 15.41.3). The archaeological evidence shows Acco to have grown immensely at this period (see ACCO), and the population inland also increased. We have no written evidence as to the administrative divisions of the region, but Hazor was probably capital of the province of Galilee during this period also (Avi-Yonah 1977: 28–31).

A fundamental historical question that has aroused much controversy is the character of the population of Galilee culturally and ethnically in the Persian period—more specifically the degree of continuity between the Israelite presence in Galilee in the First Temple period and Jewish Galilee at the end of the Second Temple period. According to one view (Bar-Kochva 1977: 191–94), the Jewish population in Galilee in the Mishnaic period consisted mostly of descendants of Itureans converted during the Hasmonean period and Jews who migrated from Judea later. The main arguments put forward are: the complete lack of any reference to Galilee in the biblical sources of the Second Temple period; the complete lack of archaeological evidence of a specifically "Jewish" character from this period; and the fact that the situation in Galilee at the time of the Hasmonaean revolt as reflected in the written sources would appear to be one of a predominantly Gentile majority and a small Jewish minority (1 Macc 5:21–23). Archaeologically the material culture in Galilee in the Persian period has been defined as Phoenician in character (Stern 1973: 237), and attempts have been made to show that sites important in later Jewish history had no antecedents in the First Temple period (Meyers, Strange, and Groh 1978).

On the other hand, the same written sources have been interpreted as showing the existence of a Jewish population in Galilee before the Hasmonaean conquest (Alt 1939; Stern 1974: 225–26; Fuks 1981). Further, the deep-rooted Jewish traditions of a distinctly Galilean Judaism (already manifested in early Mishnaic texts) could not have arisen over such a short period or developed in a region that had been previously antagonistic. Furthermore, Samaria came under Hasmonaean rule a generation before Galilee; therefore the schism between Judah and Samaria, as well as the close connection between Galilee and Judah only 2 or 3 generations later, can only be explained as originating in characteristic differences between Galilee and Samaria in previous periods.

There is biblical evidence for connections between Israelite elements in Galilee and Judah after the Assyrian conquest (2 Chr 30:10–11; 2 Kgs 21:19; 23:36), and it has been suggested that the cultural difference between Galilee and Samaria had its origins in the fact that the Assyrians settled people from other parts of their empire in Samaria but did not do so in Galilee (Tadmor 1967). The two remaining questions are whether or not there were differences between Galilee and Samaria prior to this, and in which parts of Galilee a Jewish population survived and continued into the Second Temple period.

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## *HELLENISTIC/ROMAN GALILEE*

A. Introduction
B. Administrative History
C. Economic and Social Conditions
D. Cultural Ethos
E. Christian and Jewish Sources

### A. Introduction

As applied to the N part of Israelite, and later Jewish territory, the name Galilee has been interpreted to mean "the circle" or "the district" (Bosen 1985: 13–17). The former would be indicative of the early

Israelite experience, surrounded by Canaanite city-states, and is perhaps echoed in the designation "Galilee of the Gentiles" (Isa 8:23). Whatever about the precise designation, Galilee had become a proper name relatively early, as the repeated description of Kadesh as "a city in Galilee" (Josh 10:7; 21:32; 1 Chr 6:61) indicates. It is, perhaps, significant that the expression "Galilee of the Gentiles" is echoed in the Hellenistic period (1 Macc 5:15) when the predominantly Jewish territory was encircled by Hellenistic city-states.

Josephus gives a detailed description of Jewish Galilee of his own day, defining its boundaries in terms of the surrounding states: On the W lay the regions of Carmel and Ptolemais, with those of Gaba (of the cavalry); Samaria and Scythopolis were to the S; on the E side the territories of Hippos, Gadara, and the Gaulanitis touched the Sea of Galilee; and to the N the territory of Tyre completed the circle (*JW* 3.35–40). There is some scattered evidence, however, also from Josephus, to indicate that the territory had once been more extensive (*Ant* 5.63.89; *JW* 2.188f; 3.25). Both Josephus and the Mishnah agree on distinguishing between upper and lower Galilee, the latter on the basis of altitude and vegetation including a third division, namely the valley of Gennesar (*JW* 3.38f; *m. Šeb* 9.2), but the distinction had also social and cultural implications.

**B. Administrative History**

We are poorly informed about the administrative divisions of Palestine as a whole in the Persian period, and hence there is no definite information on whether Galilee constituted a separate political region at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. As part of Coele-Syria it was at the center of the struggles between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids during the 3d century B.C.E., and several of the campaigns that ensued between the rival Hellenistic monarchs were conducted in the region (*Ant* 12.132; Polybius, *Hist.* V, 62.2; 87.1–7). In the wake of the Hellenistic reform of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the Maccabean brothers were also involved in struggles there. Simon went to Galilee and rescued the Jews who were being harassed by the gentiles, probably only in the region of the Hellenistic coastal cities (1 Macc 5:14–23), and later Jonathan engaged the Syrian general Trypho at Kadesh in Galilee (1 Macc 11:63; 12:47,49). Two of the sons of John Hyrcanus, Antigonus and Alexander Jannaeus, are said to have lived in Galilee, and the former may have conducted a military campaign there (*Ant* 13.304.322). A third son, Aristobulus, had the Itureans, who had infiltrated into Galilee, forcibly circumcised as part of his consolidation of Jewish-controlled territory, though (*HJP²* 2:9), this episode cannot apply to the whole of Galilee (*Ant* 13.318f, on the report of Timagenes, cited by Strabo). At all events the Jewishness of Galilee is recognized by both Pompey and Gabinius, the former making it part of the territory ruled by the ethnarch Hyrcanus II (*Ant* 14.74), and the latter establishing a sanhedrin at Sepphoris as one of 5 such centers for his administrative reorganization of Jewish territory (*Ant* 14.91).

After the long reign of Herod the Great, who as a young man had been governor of Galilee, and who encountered stiff resistance there at the beginning of his reign as king of the Jews (40–37 B.C.E.), the province was again detached from the S and, together with Perea, became part of the territory allotted to Herod's son, Antipas. He ruled as tetrarch (though Mark 6:14 gives him the title *basileus*, king) from 4 B.C.E.–39 C.E., and it was in this period that Sepphoris was restored as the ornament of all Galilee (*Ant* 18.27) and Tiberias founded, probably in the year 19 C.E. (*Ant* 18.36–38). The old kingdom of Herod the Great was briefly restored under his grandson, Agrippa I (41–44 C.E.). Thereafter, Galilee, while clearly retaining some internal administrative separateness (cf. the evidence of Josephus' *Life* at the outbreak of the First Jewish War), appears to have been included in an enlarged province of Judea (*Ant* 20.137; *JW* 2.247; Tac. *Ann.* 12.54), even though Nero granted the cities of Tiberias and Tarichaeae with their territories to Agrippa II (*Ant* 20.159; *JW* 2.252). After the First War this administrative pattern was further developed, with Galilee incorporated into a reorganized province of Judea. However, a policy of increased urbanization was part of the Roman strategy also, especially after the Bar Kokhba revolt, when practically all of lower Galilee came under the administrative control of Sepphoris and Tiberias (Avi-Yonah 1966: 111). Upper Galilee seems to have remained under direct Roman rule, with its village life-style reflected in the later official Roman name for the area, Tetracomia. About the year 400 C.E. there is evidence concerning a Roman province, one of three in Palestine, called Palestina Secunda. This included

Galilee of earlier times, the cities of the Decapolis and the Gaulan, as well as Scythopolis, which served as the capital of this enlarged province (Avi-Yonah 1966: 126).

Galilee, then, is a recognized administrative territory throughout the Hellenistic-Roman period according to the ancient literary sources. We are less well-informed about its internal administration, apart from the city territories, though Josephus speaks of 204 cities and villages when he took over administration of the province in 66 C.E. (*Life* 235). This strongly suggests a rural way of life, even though some of the places not included in the list of chief cities (*Life* 123) such as Tarichaeae (presumably to be identified with Magdala), Gischala, and Gamala (in the Gaulan, though closely linked with Galilee) were, on the basis of other evidence, large and thriving centers, each with such hallmarks of a typical city as walls, a hippodrome, and its own adjoining land (*JW* 2.252.599; *Life* 45.188). In addition, Corazin, Bethsaida, Capernaum (Matt 11:20), and Nain (Lk 7:11) are also designated *poleis* in the gospels. Because of this, it has been suggested (Sherwin-White 1963: 130) that Josephus uses the term "city" to denote a toparchic capital. On that reckoning, there would be 4 such centers in lower Galilee, with upper Galilee—sparsely populated in the early Roman period—constituting a 5th administrative unit in the area (Avi-Yonah 1977: 97f); however, others have argued for as many as 8 toparchic districts in Galilee (Klein 1928: 44–47).

On the basis both of the gospels and Josephus's *Life*, the internal administration of justice, as well as aspects of commercial and political activity, were in the hands of locals, presumably elders, but sometimes designated *hoi protoi ton Galilaion* (Mark 6:21; *Life* 220). This is similar to patterns of organization in other peasant cultures in antiquity, though we also hear of such local officials as the village scribe *(komogrammateus),* the leader of the synagogue *(archisynagogos),* the village chief *(archon),* the market supervisor, *(agoranomos)* and the controller of finances *(epitropos).* Larger centers such as Tiberias, and presumably also Sepphoris, had all the trappings of a *polis* with a *boule* (council), a *demos* (assembly), and an *archon* (a chief magistrate). Collection of taxes and tolls seems to have been highly organized also, presumably dating from Ptolemaic times, when a bureaucratic network, consisting of locals and foreigners, was established throughout the land on lines similar to Egypt, as we learn from the Zenon papyri (Freyne 1980a: 183–93).

**C. Economic and Social Conditions**

Galilean economic and social life was largely based on its rural ethos, though there is some evidence of other industrial activity as well. Josephus extols the fertility of the land, and, therefore, the intensity of agricultural activity (*JW* 3.42f). Elsewhere, he singles out the plain of Gennesar in particular for its fertility and the variety of its foliage based on ideal climatic conditions and a spring (*JW* 3.518). This picture can be substantiated both by archaeological surveys based on aerial photography, which suggest intense cultivation of the slopes and terraces, as well as by inference from modern climatic conditions (Applebaum 1977). Grapes, figs, and olives are repeatedly mentioned in Talmudic sources as stable produce, but wheat and other cereal crops were also grown, especially in the plains of lower Galilee in the Bet Netofah, Bet Kerem, and Saknin valleys, as well as in the plain of Gennesar. We hear of royal granaries in upper Galilee (*Life* 71); the underground silos at Sepphoris, reported in recent archaeological probes (Meyers 1986), may be further evidence of the wheat-growing capacity of lower Galilee.

In addition to its soil and climatic advantages, Galilee was also ideally situated on the commercial routes to take advantage of the increased trade and commerce of the Hellenistic age. It provided a natural hinterland for the Phoenician coastal cities, and the important trade routes that operated from Tyre, Sidon, and Ptolemais were the natural outlets for the caravans of traders who followed the Via Maris. This was the road that lead from the E over Damascus to the Mediterranean; it followed the borders of upper Galilee and Tyre, or branched southwards by the lakefront and crossed the great plain to the coast or S to Egypt. The archaeological evidence from upper Galilee has convinced Meyers and his team that despite the religious conservatism of the region, as displayed for example in the synagogues of the Roman and Byzantine periods, strong trading and other commercial links existed between Tyre and the region (Meyers 1985: 123–25; Hanson 1980). Josephus informs us that the Jewish town of Chabulon, on the

borders of Ptolemais and Galilee, had its houses built in Phoenician style, thus suggesting similar links between lower Galilee and the coast despite the religious differences (*JW* 2:504f).

Apart from agriculture, the main industrial activities that can be documented from archaeological and literary sources and glass and ceramic ware and the salted-fish industry; as the name suggests, the latter had its center at Tarichaeae, even though the gospels make clear that other places along the lakefront, like Bethsaida and Capernaum, were also involved in the industry. According to the Meiron team's archaeological survey, native Galilean fine ware does not appear on any significant scale before the 3d century C.E., though native Galilean bowls with everted lips are found in the 2d century already (Meyers, Strange, and Groh 1978: 10–16). Prior to that, luxury goods would have been the prerogative of a small band of wealthy Herodian aristocracy, whose affluence is exemplified in the wife of Herod's overseer Ptolemy. Her caravan, comprising of 4 mule loads of apparel and other articles, as well as a large pile of silver and 400 pieces of gold was waylaid as it crossed the great plain (*Life* 127).

The emergence of large estates in which the peasants were sharecroppers, lessees, or simple day-laborers, was a particular feature of Hellenistic economic policy in Palestine. This is indicated by the 3d-century B.C.E. Zenon papyri, especially PCZ 59004, which deals with a tour of inspection conducted by Zenon that covered estates at Beth Anath and Kedasa, both inland from Ptolemais, where he and his retinue had disembarked. Other papyri help to complete the picture: they deal with the intensification of production, the provision of a proper water supply, and housing for the tenants (Hengel 1968: 12f). The gospel parables of Jesus which are presumed to reflect Galilean social conditions, do suggest a situation of absentee landlordism (Mark 12:1–10; cf. Qoh 2:4–12), yet the same parables know of family farms and small landowners also (Mark 4:2–9; Matt 21:28–30). We should not assume therefore that all Galilean landowners were holders of large estates, and that the peasantry was totally impoverished and in a condition of quasi serfdom. The evidence from Josephus, as well as other Jewish literature, suggests the opposite, while allowing for the fact that some of the better land was held in estates, but often in the less densely populated areas across the Jordan (*Life* 33). Herod the Great had made allotments of land both in Batanea and in the neighborhood of Gaba, as part of his colonization policy for security reasons, suggesting that small private holdings, rather than large tracts under single ownership, formed the dominant pattern in the area (Freyne 1980a: 156–70). This would have been reinforced by Jewish religious beliefs and continued as the dominant pattern in the post-Bar Kokhba period (Goodman 1983: 27–40).

Since it was the primary resource, social stratification was very much dependent on who did and did not own land. In this regard the gospel parables are also illuminating, since they presume a mixed social world in which the whole spectrum of large landowners, sharecroppers, and day laborers is represented. Debts were a fact of life, it would seem, and one can infer from the exhortations of Jesus about the sharing of goods as well as the blessings of poverty, that the prevailing social attitudes and assumptions were those of a limited goods economy. The basic resource, land, was in short supply, and consequently there was pressure upwards and downwards on the small owner. A bad harvest or some other catastrophe could mean lifelong penury. The poor tended to move to the cities—Josephus mentions the destitute classes at Tiberias (*Life* 66)—and there is evidence also of banditry, mainly along the borders and well away from the main centers of population (*Life* 77f.105–11.126–31). In view of this information it does not seem to be an accurate profile to suggest that Galilean life in Roman times was in a state of extreme social tension due to the impoverished condition of the population at large. In this regard an interesting contrast can be drawn between Galilee and Judea in the strict sense, where, according to Josephus, the emergence of the *sicarii* in the pre-Revolt period is to be seen as a symptom of the alienation of the people of the countryside, due to the hardships of direct Roman rule. The long reign of Herod Antipas, while not being without its own problems for the Galilean populace, would seem to have shielded them from the worst features of an insensitive or venal Roman administration.

While the majority of the Galilean population was, we maintain, of peasant stock—that is, private holders of small holdings—there were undoubtedly some representatives of other classes also within the province in the 1st century C.E. These would have comprised both native gentry—the upper eschelon of

the Herodian court—as well as military officers of various rank. In fact these 3 categories are mentioned as the guests at Herod's birthday (Mark 6:21), and this list corresponds to what we know from other sources also (Hoehner 1972: 102, 119f).

**D. Cultural Ethos**

The current understanding of Judaism's complex interaction with Hellenism as a cultural force, even in Palestine, makes it impossible to continue with stereotypes such as the epithet "Galilee of the Gentiles" might suggest. Galilee was unmistakably Jewish, at least by the time of Pompey's intervention; otherwise it would not have been assigned to the territory of the ethnarch, Hyrcanus. See GALILEANS. The question then is: How did their Jewish loyalty affect the cultural affiliations of the natives, given that they were surrounded by Greek-style city-states and their territories? In discussing such a question it is important to recognize that while cultural affiliation and social stratification are intimately interwoven, allegiance to the values of the larger culture at one level need not necessarily mean their acceptance in other more-intimate areas of life. What, for example, are the assumptions of the Markan narrator about cross-cultural contacts in Galilee when we are informed that a Syrophoenician woman, a Greek, came to a Jewish healer, Jesus, in search of a cure for her child? Furthermore one must distinguish between various periods within the Hellenistic-Roman epoch generally for more intense and active hellenization. Thus the reign of Herod the Great would have to be sharply distinguished from the immediate post-Bar Kokhba situation when emigré Jews from the S found upper Galilee a safe haven in the wake of the collapse of the Second Revolt.

There is widespread acceptance of the fact that Aramaic was the lingus franca of Galilee in the 1st century C.E., but that by itself did not mean cultural isolation; it had been for centuries the international language of the whole Syrian region. Greek, had indeed replaced it as the language of trade and commerce as well as of administration since Alexander's conquests. In Galilee this meant that those who first used Greek would have been non-natives or those who were involved in the bureaucratic structures. Inscriptional evidence suggests that Greek was more common in the region of the lakefront than elsewhere, but even then one has to be cautious in using it as a cultural indicator. In the 1st century Tarichaeae was deeply involved in the international fish industry, we must assume, and it was endowed with a hippodrome; yet its inhabitants refused to accept refugee noblemen from the territory of Agrippa unless they underwent circumcision. Likewise, Tiberias, a city with very strong Herodian associations, had as its governor one Jesus, son of Sapphias, who seems to have been imbued with the xenophobic attitudes of the more nationalistically minded Jews of the period.

These instances may have been exceptions to the rule that the more thoroughly Hellenized Jews, both in terms of outlook and values generally, were to be found in the Herodian cities. Justus of Tiberias, described by Josephus as not unversed in Greek education (*Life* 40) would be typical of such a Jew in the 1st century (Rajak 1973). Even the earlier colonization of lower Galilee by the Hasmoneans would not necessarily have meant that the Jews of lower Galilee were particularly opposed to all aspects of Hellenism. The continuity of material evidence has suggested to the Meiron team that in fact they were quite open to such technical influences, even in supposedly conservative upper Galilee (Meyers 1985). At the same time it must be emphasized that no clear evidence, with the possible exception of the bilingual inscription from Dan (Biran 1981), has so far come to light to suggest syncretistic attitudes among the Jews of Galilee in the religious sphere—even when the late Roman and Byzantine synagogues, such as Hammath Tiberias and Capernaum manifest a combination of pagan and Jewish motifs in their artwork. A recently discovered mosaic of the wine god Dionysus, from Sepphoris, awaits a definitive interpretation (Meyers, Netzer, and Meyers 1987); but it is unlikely to change the profile of Hellenistic influences at this level being confined to the Herodian nobility, even if identification of Yahweh with the wine god may have been a particular temptation for people in the Galilean region generally (Smith 1975; Freyne 1988a).

Other indicators of cultural change such as art and architecture, the presence of various symbols of the Greek way of life—theaters, baths, gymnasia, and the like—are indeed present in the archaeological remains as well as being mentioned in the literary evidence. "Their acceptance was greatest where it did not affect native traditions at all, as with the use of baths, and least where it affected them the most, as

with the insistence on the study of the Greek poets as the basis for education, rather than the Bible" (Goodman 1983: 86). Despite the clear evidence for trading influences with Tyre in upper Galilee, there seems to be reliable indications that it remained culturally more isolated than lower Galilee, as well as being less-densely populated in the early Roman period. On the basis of what we know from elsewhere, some distinction must also be made between the city culture of such places as Sepphoris and Tiberias as well as the larger of Josephus' densely populated villages and the smaller units among the 204 such places which he claims for Galilee. In many of these, the natural conservatism of the peasant way of life would have been resistant not just to the cultural aspects of Hellenism, but even to its technical advantages. Claims to the contrary, often based on meager and disparate evidence, notwithstanding, there seems to be every indication that such resistance, often supported by Jewish religious values, was quite successful.

**E. Christian and Jewish Sources**

Galilee's ongoing significance both in ancient literature and modern scholarship is largely due to its association with Jesus of Nazareth. The different evangelists focus on different aspects of his association with the region. In Mark, Galilee stands in opposition to Jerusalem as the place in which Jesus conducts a successful ministry of healings and exorcisms and where he is to be reunited with his chosen disciples (16:7). Matthew, maintaining the Galilee-Jerusalem tension of Mark, portrays the career of Jesus as messianic and seeks to validate its claims through scriptural allusions (2:21; 4:15–16). Even though he also includes the woes against the Galilean towns for not accepting Jesus' message (11:20–24), he still locates the final meeting of the Risen One with his disciples and their commissioning for a universal mission on a mountain in Galilee, not in Jerusalem, as might have been expected on the basis of prophecy (28:16; Isa 2:2–4). For Luke, Galilee is the place of beginnings (23:5; Acts 10:37) from which the Jesus movement begins its journey that will eventually lead it to the end of the earth through Jerusalem. In John, Galilee functions as a place of refuge (4:1), but also as a place of revelation through signs (2:11; 4:44; 21:2), even though it receives much less narrative space than it does in the Synoptics.

Because of its treatment in the gospel narratives many different suggestions have been made about the importance of Galilee for the early Christians, ranging from the location of the expected Parousia to symbol of the gentile mission of the church (Stemberger in Davies 1974: 409–38). Despite its symbolic role within these narratives, the importance of Jesus' historical association with the region must also be acknowledged, since a genuine memory of an actual ministry there undoubtedly underlies the later treatment of the region as the location for his career (Bauer 1927; Freyne 1988a).

By contrast, Galilee does not feature prominently in the Jewish sources, even though such foundational documents as the Mishnah and the Yerushalmi reached their final redaction in the schools of Galilee and the Palestinian Targum must assuredly have originated in its synagogues. In the Mishnah it functions for the most part as a separate region from Judea for the working out of the implication of various case laws, but with little concern for detail beyond a few references to certain local customs and differences from Judea in weights and measures. This absence of concern for geographic setting matches the Mishnah's neglect of historical particularity in terms of its overall worldview (Neusner 1981). The often-cited dictum of Johanan ben Zakkai about Galilee's neglect of Torah learning would appear to reflect later Galilean neglect of the authoritative claims of the rabbinic schools, even though the impressive synagogue remains that have been uncovered in upper Galilee suggest an active Jewish faith with a prosperous social base. Despite the revolt under Gallus in the mid-4th century C.E., which was centered on Sepphoris (Diocaesarea) and which may have been prompted in part, at least, by increasing Christian claims on Palestine, Jewish and Christian practice would appear to have coexisted side by side in Galilee down to the Arab conquest, a fact to which the archaeological remains of a Christian church and a synagogue side by side in Capernaum bear striking witness down to the present day (Corbo 1975; Tzaferis 1985).

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**GALILEE, SEA OF** (PLACE). The large expanse of water in the Jordan Valley rift which separates Galilee from the Gaulan and Decapolis regions. There is no consistency in the name that is given to it.

**A. Terminology**

In the OT, this lake was called "the sea of Chinnereth" (Heb *yām kinneret,* cf. Heb *kinôr,* "lyre[-shaped]"), and it is mentioned in connection with the N territorial boundary of the early Israelite settlement (Num 34:11; Josh 12:3; 13:27). Josephus, who gives the most detailed description, usually calls it "the lake of Gennesar (itis)" (*JW* 2.573; 3.463, 506, 515–16; *Ant* 5.84; 13.158; 18.28, 36); less frequently he designates it "the lake of Tiberias" (*JW* 3.57; 4.456) or simply "the lake" (*Life* 96, 153, 165, 304, 327). Pliny assumes that the usual name is the "lake of Gennesaret," while observing that some call it " (the lake of) Tarichaeae" from the name of that town on its shore (*Nat. Hist.* 5.71).

These variant designations are easily explained on the basis of local topography, since Josephus does tell us that natives called it the "lake of Genessar" because a place by that name was situated above the NW shore of the lake (cf. 1 Macc 11:67). In all probability this was the oldest name, since it is clearly a grecized version of "the sea of Kinnereth." The other designations—lake of Tiberias or lake of Tarichaeae—obviously stem from Roman times when these were established Herodian centers on the lakefront, each with its own territory.

Of the gospel writers, Luke alone retains the more general usage, speaking of the "lake of Gennesar" (Gk *limnēn Gennēsaret;* 5:1) or "the lake" (5:2; 8:22, 23, 33). Mark and Matthew, on the other hand, never use the term "lake," but speak of the "sea" (Gk *thalassa:* Mark 7 times and Matthew 11 times), each employing the fuller expression "sea of Galilee" (Gk *thalassan teμs Galilaias*) twice (Mark 1:16; 7:31; Matt 4:18; 15:34). John also speaks of the "sea of Galilee" (John 6:1), to which he adds "of Tiberias." Elsewhere in chapter 6 he speaks of the sea 6 times, and in the later addition to the work, chap. 21, we read "the sea of Tiberias" simply or "the sea" (21:1, 7).

Different proposals have been made to explain this rather distinctive usage. In ancient Semitic and Jewish mythology the sea is associated with evil monsters, of whom Yahweh is lord (Job 38:8, 11; Ps 107: 23–25, 28f). This idea would certainly concur with Mark's theological point of view in regard to

Jesus (Mark 4:35–41; 5:13). Furthermore, within Mark's gospel the various sea journeys mediate between the oppositions represented by the Jew/gentile portrayals within the work, which Jesus, Lord of the Deep, reconciles (Struthers-Malbon 1984). Alternatively, the case has been made by Theissen (1976) for seeing the terminology of the gospel writers in the light of local coloring, and the proximity of the traditions about Jesus and the lake to their original setting. In this connection the Heb *yām* can mean either sea or lake (something Jerome had noted against Porphyry who had attempted to discredit the miracles of Jesus). Mark's constant use of *thalassa* (followed by Matthew), would, in this view, be partly reflective of this linguistic background, but would also point to local usage by country people, living close to the lake and with a very restricted view of the world. Luke's constant use of *limnē* bespeaks a greater distance from the local situation and a much wider horizon, which recognizes that the only proper "sea" in the region was the Mediterranean.

**B. Geography**

The lake forms part of the rift that is usually called the Jordan valley. The 3 head-streams that eventually flow together to form the river rise in the foothills of Mt. Hermon (*JW* 3.515; 4.2–3) and enter lake Huleh (Semachonitis). In Josephus' day this was approximately 7 miles long by 4 miles wide, surrounded by marshes. (Today, due to extensive Israeli irrigation, the whole area has been drained.) From there the river descends rapidly—930 feet in a 9 mile stretch—to the lake of Gennesareth. The lake, then, is part of a deep basin surrounded by mountains on both sides, but opening out on its NW shore into the plain of Gennesareth, the fertility of which Josephus so lavishly extols (*JW* 3.516–21).

With his accurate knowledge of Palestinian, and in particular Galilean, topography, Josephus describes the lake in detail. His dimensions, 140 by 40 stadia—that is, 16 by 4.5 miles—differ apparently from modern reckoning, which is 12.5 by 7 miles. It may be that the line of the lakeshore at the N end has receded since Josephus' day, since there seems to be some evidence that the river bed has changed near the point where it flows into the lake, though it could scarcely diverge by as much as 4 miles (Pixner 1985). The width of the lake as proposed by Josephus may have been estimated from Tiberias or Tarichaeae across to the other side, a journey that Josephus must have made more than once (*Life* 153).

Strabo, Pliny, and Josephus all extol the lake as a natural resource: Its waters were fresh and of a pleasant temperature, unlike the Dead Sea; it had clear, sandy beaches rather than swampy marshes, and in particular it was well stocked with fish (*Geog.* 16.2; *Nat. Hist.* 5.15, 71; *JW* 3.506–8). Two of the towns along the lakefront have names associated with the fish industry: Bethsaida and Tarichaeae. It is generally accepted that the latter is the Gk name for Magdala (Migdal Nunija), a change of name which reflects the techniques for the preservation of fish, and is indicative of the technical advances which Hellenism brought to Palestine. Josephus also mentions that a fish resembling the *coracin*, a type of black eel normally associated with the Nile in Egypt, was found in a spring near Capernaum. This could indicate a deliberate policy of developing the fish industry by the early Ptolemaic rulers in Palestine also, since we know that they had a virtual monopoly of that industry in Egypt (Freyne 1980a: 174f). The gospels also mention the fish industry on the lake (Luke 5:1–10; John 21:1–11; Mark 1:16–20; Matt 4:18–22; 17:27), though the parables of Jesus do not reflect this to the same extent as farming and other types of commercial activity (cf. Matt 13:47f).

Partly because of the industry which the lake, as a natural resource, generated, and partly because of its role as a border between Jewish and non-Jewish territories, the lake's surrounding regions appear to have been quite heavily populated on both sides, with some important settlements in Hellenistic and Roman times. These settlements gave to the lake region a more cosmopolitan character well illustrated by the high incidence of Gk inscriptions in this area of Galilee/Gaulan (Meyers et al 1978: 16). This suggests frequent contacts between the Jewish and non-Jewish communities on either side of the lake, which is further substantiated by the similarity of the material culture of lower Galilee/Golan according to the evidence of the archaeological remains (Meyers 1976: 97).

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**GALL (LIVER).** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**GALLIM** (PLACE) [Heb *gallîm* (גַּלִּים)]. 1. A town mentioned as the place of origin of one Palti, the son of Laish, to whom Saul gave his daughter Michal, previously married to David, after David fled from Saul (1 Sam 25:44). Nothing further is known of this site (see McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 400), unless it is the same as the following place.

2. A town located N of Jerusalem (Isa 10:30). It is mentioned by Isaiah in an itinerary of an invading army (Isa 10:27–34). The identity of this invading army approaching Jerusalem from the N has been identified as that of a Syro-Ephraimite coalition in 734–722 B.C.E. (Donner 1964: 30–38). Others identify the assailant as an Assyrian army, either Sargon II in 715 B.C.E. (Wildberger *Jesaja 1–12* BKAT, 427–428) or Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. (Kaiser *Isaiah 1–12* OTL, 150). Each of these suggestions has points of historical difficulty. The suggestion that the foe is the Syro-Ephraimite coalition is countered by the observations that the text is not within Isaiah memoirs of the Syro-Ephraimite War (i.e., Isa 6:1–9:6) and that a coalition army is not mentioned (Wildberger *Jesaja 1–12* BKAT, 427). Both Assyrian proposals run into the difficulty that the route does not coincide with any known Assyrian invasion (Christensen 1976: 387). Christensen (1976: 397–99) prefers to see this text as having been reworked and rendered anonymous with respect to the identity of the invader in order to transform it into an eschatological war oracle in which the foe is the Divine Warrior: God who comes to besiege Jerusalem in judgment.

This town has been identified with Khirbet Kaʿkul (Albright 1924: 139) and Khirbet Erḥa (Donner 1968: 54), but in neither case is the identification certain. Both sites lie immediately N of Jerusalem. The mentioning of Gibeah of Saul in Isa 10:29 makes it likely that this is the same town as that mentioned in 1 Sam 25:44 (above, 1), also connected with Saul.

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**GALLIO** (PERSON) [Gk *Galliōn* (Γαλλιων)]. L. Iunius Gallio Annaeanus, born M. Annaeus Novatus but later adopted by Iunius Gallio, was the oldest son of the rhetor L. Annaeus Seneca Sr. of Corduba (Spain) and a brother of L. Annaeus Jr., the famous politician and author, and of L. Annaeus Mela (Tac. *Ann.* 16.17.3, Stat. *Silv.* 2.7.32). Under Claudius he became proconsul of Achaia, in A.D. 55 consul suffectus (Pliny *HN* 31.62). In A.D. 59 he had to act as compère for Nero at his appearance on the stage (Dio Cass. 61.20.1). He died in A.D. 65 in the aftermath of the Pisonian plot as did his 2 brothers (Dio Cass. 62.65.3), probably by suicide (Eusebius ad annum 64), although the senate had testified to his innocence (Tac. *Ann.* 15.73.3). Famous for his charm, his brother Seneca speaks of him with admiration and love, especially commending his contempt of adulation (Stat. *Silv.* 2.7.32; Sen. *QNat.* 4 praef.10). He shared Seneca's low opinion of Claudius, as is shown by an ironical comment upon the emperor's death by poison (Dio Cass. 61.35.3). Both Seneca and Plinius mention a sea voyage which Gallio chose as an immediate remedy against symptoms of phthisis when he was in Greece (not during his proconsulship as some modern writers wrongly assume) (Sen. *Ep.* 104.1; Pliny *HN* 31.62; Cel. *Med.* 3.22).

Gallio's proconsulship in Achaia becomes a matter of biblical studies because of his encounter with the apostle Paul as narrated in Acts 18:12–17. The story is important for chronological and legal aspects of early Christian history.

**A. Chronology**

The event gives one of the few firm and rather precise starting points for fixing the journeys of Paul within the frame of secular history and so-called absolute chronology. From 1905 on a number of fragments from an inscription at Delphi (in 1967 totalling up to 9) have been published which mention Iunius Gallio as proconsul and friend of Caesar. The text seems to be a letter (to the city of Delphi?) or decree of Claudius and is dated after the 26th acclamation of Claudius as imperator which leads to a date within the first 7 months of the year A.D. 52, probably in spring (Plassart 1967: 377). According to the reconstruction of the text by Plassart (1970: 27–30), which was only slightly modified by Oliver (1971: 239–40) and Hemer (1980: 7), Gallio had reported the depopulation of Delphi; in reaction, the emperor gives orders to encourage new settlers to come to the city. Plassart (1967: 376; 1970: 31) takes the letter to be addressed to an individual (reading the pronoun *se* in line 17) different from Gallio (mentioned in the third person in line 6), probably his successor as proconsul; however, Oliver (1971) questions this reading of line 17 and concludes from the use of the title *anthypatos* in line 6 that Gallio is still holding his office at the time the letter was dispatched. Taking into account that the letter publishes a political decision with antecedents in a report of the proconsul (and beyond), and reckoning in that governors had to take up their provincial residence by May 1st and used to stay in office for 1 year at least, we reach the conclusion that Gallio seems to have been at Corinth in A.D. 51–52, if not longer. The 18 months of Paul's first stay at Corinth (Acts 18:11) must overlap with this period.

More cannot be said from this part of the evidence—contrary to a popular reading of Acts 18:12,18 which dates the event at the beginning of Gallio's proconsulship and shortly before the end of Paul's Corinthian ministry. Acts 18:12 does not say that Gallio had just taken up office, and "many days" in Acts 18:18 does not denote a short time but rather a longer one (Haacker 1972: 253–54; cf. 1 Kgs 2:38–39). The assumption that Paul left Corinth soon after Gallio's arrival as proconsul becomes highly improbable if Orosius (7.6.15–16) is right in dating the expulsion of Jews from Rome (mentioned in Acts 18:2 and Suet. *Claud.* 25.4) in the 9th year of Claudius (i.e., A.D. 49). Aquila and Priscilla, whom Paul met on his arrival at Corinth and whose firm he joined for a while, will have needed some time for leaving Rome at the emperor's command and for resettling and reopening their business at Corinth. All this considered, the proposal of Hemer (1980: 8) that "Paul was in Corinth from autumn 50 to early summer 52" makes good sense.

**B. Legal Aspects**

The encounter of Gallio and Paul is introduced by Luke as a dramatic episode if not the climax of the apostle's conflict with the majority of the Jewish congregation at Corinth (Acts 18:1–11). Unable to accept the Gospel and unwilling to lose the support of semi-pagan sympathizers who responded to Paul's preaching, the Jewish leaders resorted to legal proceedings against the Christian movement. This step runs into the traditional policy of Jewish congregations to secure as much autonomy as possible, especially in religious matters, a fact which reveals the severity of the conflict.

The historicity of the event had been disputed by Juster (1914, 2: 154–55) because of the clumsiness of the charge against Paul but was convincingly defended by Sherwin-White (1963: 99–100) who defines the proposed trial as a case of *cognitio extra ordinem* where the judge was free "to decide whether to accept a novel charge or not" (100). A refusal of unsatisfactory charges was likewise possible in the context of an ordinary *quaestio* where the defendant could be present already at the *delatio nominis* (as Paul was according to Acts 18:12) in order to be asked to plead guilty or not guilty (*PW* 24/1: 755–56). In the case of Paul, however, the judge refused to enter into any preliminary proceedings.

Of course the accusation against Paul did touch problems which could demand legal action, since Corinth was a Roman colony and Roman society did not know religious liberty or toleration in the modern sense of the word (Garnsey 1984; cf. Acts 16:20–1). But apparently the enemies of Paul could not charge him with any break of public law, so that they could only denounce his alleged deviations from rules of worship contained in or deduced from the Law of Moses (Acts 18:13). Gallio's decision interprets the traditional Jewish privilege of religious autonomy as an obligation to settle their internal disputes themselves without disturbing the public or troubling the magistrates. Since Paul is not allowed to defend himself (as he is in later appearances before Roman courts), Gallio's attitude should not be regarded as an

expression of sympathy with the Christian movement. Rather it is indicative of the limits of tolerance towards Jewish congregations in Greco-Roman cities, completely in line with the letter of Claudius to the city of Alexandria (CPJ 153; Smallwood 1976: 248–50) and with his expulsion of Jews from Rome because of their being *assidue tumultuantes* (Suet. *Claud.* 25.4). Tensions within Jewish congregations or between Jewish and pagan inhabitants of Greek cities, however limited in scope, were considered as local disturbances of the *pax Romana,* the pride of the early principate (cf. Acts 19:40). That is why the later trial of Paul in Caesarea was much more dangerous for the apostle, because then he was charged of being "a fomenter of discord among the Jews all over the world" (Acts 24:5, NEB).

The suggestion that the decision of Gallio might be due to an anti-Jewish bias of the proconsul (Elliger 1978: 236–37) is confirmed by the reaction of the public (not the Jews themselves, as some mss read) against one of the Jewish leaders and by Gallio's lack of concern in this outbreak of violence (Acts 18:17).

Gallio's opinion of Jews and Judaism may have been similar to that of his brother Seneca who, according to Augustine (*Civ Dei* 6.11) was speaking of the Jews when he wrote (in *De superstitione*): "The vanquished have given laws to their victors." In *Ep. Mor.* 95.47 Seneca's sentence *"quomodo sint dii colendi solet praecipi"* ("There use to be rules as to how the gods should be worshipped") reminds us of Acts 18:13—but is followed by a criticism of the Jewish custom to light candles on Sabbath.

Paul's own reaction to the Jewish attack on his missionary work was not peaceful either: In 1 Thess (written during Paul's first stay at Corinth) the polemical passage 2:14–16 sounds like a furious postscript to the episode of Acts 18:12–17. Taken together, the 2 passages give an impression of the fierceness of the early conflicts between the Christian movement and traditional Judaism in the first decades of their mutual relations.

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**GAMAD** (PLACE) [Heb *gammād* (גַּמָּד)]. A putative place name found in the lamentation over the Phoenician city of Tyre raised by Ezekiel (27:11). The Heb word *gammādîm* is not attested elsewhere and is of uncertain meaning. The context is metaphorical: Tyre is imaged as a ship whose crew is a collection of allied peoples. Fars (Persia), Lud, and Put are mentioned in v 10 as members of the Tyrian armed forces. Men of Arvad (the island of Aradus 125 miles N of Tyre) and Helech (less certainly a place name) are upon the walls—either the hull of the metaphorical ship or, shedding the imagery, the literal city walls)—and *gammādîm* in the towers (Ezek 27:11).

The occasional confusion of the Heb letters *dalet* and *reš* has led to the reinterpretation of the word as **gōmĕrîm* (see GOMER), to which has been compared Ug *gmrm* (*IDB* 2: 351). But the association with Arvad suggests a Phoenician city (Cooke *Ezekiel* ICC, 300). A site appearing in the topographical lists of Seti I at Karnak as *qmd* or *kmt* (*LBHG*, 166 no. 7) is located between Byblos and Arvad. Simons (who prefers to interpret the biblical word as an appellative noun rather than as a place name; *GTTOT*, 455) is among those who have noted the possibility that the name *qmd* in the Egyptian list may designate *Kumidi*, known from the Amarna letters (EA 116:75; 129:85; 132:49, etc.) and other sources (Simons 1938 XIII/55; XIV/57; XV/20). Ancient Kumidi is identified as Kamid el-Loz N of Mt. Hermon in the Beqaʿ valley of Lebanon between Sidon and Damascus (on the site, see Edzard et al. 1970; Hachman 1970).

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**GAMAEL** (PERSON) [Gk *Gamēlos* (Γαμηλος)]. An alternate form of the name DANIEL.

**GAMALIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *gamlîʾēl* (גַּמְלִיאֵל); Gk *Gamaliēl* (Γαμαλιηλ)]. **1.** Son of Pedahzur and head of the tribe of Manasseh (Num 1:4, 10, 16). He is so designated by God in the address to Moses, in which a census of Israel's congregation in the wilderness of Sinai is commanded (Num 1:1–54). Gamaliel appears again in the next chapter of Numbers (2:20), where the encampment of Israel around the tent of meeting, by tribes organized by leaders, is set out (2:1–34). Within that scheme, Manasseh—gathered at the appropriate standard and led by Gamaliel—is stationed to the W of the tent, next to Ephraim, the leading tribe of the 3 on the W (2:1–2, 18–24). The entire scheme establishes an ideal of both encampment and orderly movement through the wilderness, in which tribes and their leaders are the principle of discipline. Gamaliel is therefore emblematic, with the other leaders, of the structure inherent in Israel's gathering around the divine presence, guarded and maintained by priests and Levites (cf. Num 2:17; 3:1–4, 49).

Gamaliel next appears after Moses has anointed and consecrated the altar and its tabernacle (Num 7:1). The tribal leaders appear with offerings, which the Lord commands Moses to accept on behalf of the Levites (Num 7:2–10). Specifically, the leaders are to bring offerings one each day (v 11), in an order which corresponds to the scheme of encampment in chap. 2. The names of the leaders are given again in chap. 7, which enhances the impression of correspondence with chap. 2. Such differences as there are appear practically insignificant. Eliasaph, leader of Gad, is identified as "son of Deuel" in 7:42 (and 10:20), rather than "son of Reuel" (2:14); the variation is obviously the result of the similarity of the *reš* and *dalet* in the Hebrew alphabet. Similarly, Gamaliel in 7:54 is son of Pedah-Zur, rather than Pedahzur (2:20 cf. also 10:23), although the RSV does not do justice to the distinction. Although the same name is palpably at issue, the separated orthography perhaps brings out its sense, "the rock (that is, God) has ransomed" (cf. GKC, 81; BDB, 804).

There is, however, a significant contrast between Numbers 2 and 7, which makes them appear more complementary than simply similar. The essential issue in chap. 2 is the order of procedure among the 12 tribes. That order is fixed by the sequence encampment: Judah, with Issachar and Zebulun, camps towards sunrise (vv 3–9); Reuben with Simeon and Gad to the S (vv 10–16), the tent of meeting in the midst (v 17); Ephraim with Manasseh and Benjamin to the W (vv 18–24); and Dan with Asher and Naphtali to the N (vv 25–31). The sequence of encampment is also prescribed as the sequence of setting out from camp (vv 17, 34). In chap. 7 the same sequence is maintained, but the emphasis is upon the equality of the tribes, rather than upon precedence among them. Each is said to offer precisely the same offering: a silver plate of 130 shekels; and a silver basin of 70 shekels, both filled with fine flour and oil for a cereal offering; a golden dish of 10 shekels (full of incense); animals for burnt offering (a young bull, a ram, a male lamb of one year); a male goat for sin offering; and peace offerings (2 oxen, 5 rams, 5 male goats, 5

male lambs of one year). Those specifications are repeated for every leader of each tribe, and then the offering of the 12 tribes in aggregate is tallied (vv 84–88). Each tribe therefore takes part equally in the dedication of the altar (v 5), which is why a full day of dedication is allotted to each tribe (v 11). The sequence of tribes and leaders, when applied to encampment and movement, necessarily implies precedence; the same sequence, when applied to dedicatory sacrifice, assures an equality of participation.

The last reference to Gamaliel, and to the other leaders, appears in Numbers 10. The order of march is in accordance with the specifications of chap. 2, except that there is a refinement in respect of the Levites (see vv 17, 21; and 2:17. The issue of priority among the tribes, however, which was implicit in chap. 2, becomes moot in chap. 10: the march is set in motion by the cloud which settles in the wilderness of Paran, not any tribe or leader (10:11, 12; cf. 9:15–23). All of the passages in Numbers which relate to Gamaliel are commonly ascribed to the 'Priestly' source of the Pentateuch (cf. Marsh, Numbers *IB* 2: 140). Whether or not a strictly documentary theory of Pentateuchal origins is to be upheld, it does appear evident that Gamaliel and the other tribal leaders in Numbers 2, 7, and 10 are invoked in order to offer a portrait of how the divine presence dwells in Israel. Sequence, tribal order, and equal offerings of sacrifice are all conveyed as the occasion of God being with his people.

The function of the name Gamaliel in the book of Numbers, then, is less to refer to a definable character than it is to hold the place of the theological motif of God's presence with Israel.

**2.** A Pharisaic member of the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem who was widely respected for his learning in Torah (Acts 5:34). At first glance, the name Gamaliel—now attributed to a rabbi of the 1st century—might seem to function differently in the NT than it did in the OT. He plays a crucial role in the proceedings against the apostles. As a result of Sadducean jealousy at the apostles' reputation for healing, they have been put in jail, only to be released by an angel (vv 12–20). Once the Sanhedrin convenes, their officers eventually track the apostles down in the Temple, and set them before the council (vv 21–27a). The high priest demands to know why the apostles persist, despite prior warning, to teach in Jesus' name; they reply that obedience is owed to God, rather than people, and accuse the Sanhedrin of murdering the savior (vv 27b–32). Condemnation to death at that moment seems certain (v 33), but Gamaliel intervenes and cautions restraint. His standing in the Sanhedrin is assumed to be great, in that he *commands* the apostles to be put outside for a brief time (v 34c). He then urges caution, on the grounds that the movements of Theudas and Judas the Galilean had come to nothing: The apostles also will fail, if their movement is of men (vv 35–38). If their movement is of God, Gamaliel argues that the Sanhedrin would be unable to prevail, and rebellious even to try (v 39). Having been convinced by Gamaliel's arguments, the Sanhedrin releases the apostles with a mere beating, and repeats the old command, not to speak in Jesus' name (v 40, cf. 4:17). The second (and last) mention of Gamaliel occurs in Acts 22:3, within a speech of Paul, in which the apostle claims to have been instructed at the feet of Gamaliel with an exact knowledge of the ancestral law.

Superficially, there is a degree of verisimilitude in Gamaliel's portrait in Acts. The Pharisees in general are described by Josephus as combining a view of fate with that of the freedom of human will, a philosophical compromise which may also be said to animate Gamaliel's position in Acts (cf. *Ant* 13.5.9 §171–73; *JW* 2.8.14 §162–63; Neusner 1987: 279, 282; and Bruce 1982: 68 n. 5). Moreover, Gamaliel himself occupies a position of such prominence in Rabbinica, that his implicit status in Acts appears plausible. *Soṭa* 9.15 has it that "When Rabban Gamaliel the elder died, the glory of the law ceased and purity and abstinence died" (Neusner 1984: 33, 34). In that the interpretation of the Torah (in its fullest sense), keeping purity and maintaining dietary discipline were programmatically typical of Pharisaism (cf. Neusner 1987: 290), Gamaliel appears as a paradigmatic figure within the movement. For that reason, his decision that a Targum of Job was to be buried within a construction of the Temple (*Sabb.* 115a, cf. Neusner 1984: 53–54, cf. 37, 38, 42) was representative of the emerging attitude towards the Targumin among the rabbis: Targum, as the product of a discipline between Bible and Mishnah (cf. *Sipre Deut* 161) was to be orally promulgated (cf. *Meg.* 4.4), and yet disposed of as Scripture when it was written. The rabbinic ambivalence in regard to the medium of the Targumin is what resulted in their consignment to writing at a much later stage.

Gamaliel is also said to have forbidden attempts by husbands to annul divorce proceedings without their wives' knowledge (*Giṭ.* 4.2, cf. Neusner 1984: 34–37), and to have extended, for certain groups, the amount of movement permitted on the Sabbath (*Rosû. Hasû.* 2.5, cf. Neusner 1984: 29, 30). In that all of these matters—Targum, divorce, and keeping Sabbath—were of systemic import within the Pharisaic perspective, Gamaliel's prominence, as reflected in Acts 5:34 and presupposed in 22:3, may be taken as factual, and the position attributed to him is not implausible. Indeed, Neusner discovers a significant degree of corroboration between *Rosû. Hasû.* 2.5 and Acts 5:34. Because the former passage concerns the movement on the Sabbath of witnesses who attested sightings of the sun and moon, they were closely associated with the Temple, where the sacred calendar was declared. The pericope therefore assumes Gamaliel's high standing among the authorities of the Temple, much as Acts 5:34 does (Neusner 1984: 29 cf. also 38–40, 42, 43, 50, 55).

Both passages of Acts, however, manifest characteristics which make their accuracy doubtful. In 5:36–37, Gamaliel refers first to the revolt of Theudas, and then to that of Judas, in an evidently chronological order; as it happens, that seemingly careful presentation precisely inverts the order of events. Even more troubling (from the point of view of the historicity of the entire episode) is the fact that Theudas's revolt is dated in A.D. 44, some 10 years after any plausible dating of the scene in Acts (cf. Cadbury and Lake 1979: 60). It has been suggested that the inversion of chronological order is the result of a elementary misreading of a passage in Josephus (*Ant* 20.5.1–2 §97–104, cf. Foakes Jackson and Lake 1979: 356, 357 and Lüdemann 1984: 34, 35). Two considerations have also cast doubt on the alleged assertion of Paul in 22:3. First, it seems strange that, if Gamaliel in 5:38, 39 counseled restraint in respect of followers of Jesus, his supposed disciple should have persecuted them. Second, even if one were to accept that a statement in Acts should be credited apart from a confirming echo in the Pauline corpus, Paul's lack of sympathy with the rabbinic position in his own writings is striking. Each of these considerations requires to be weighed before the historical value of the statements in Acts can be assessed.

The anachronism of Gamaliel's advice in its reference to Theudas in Acts 5:36, 37, certainly casts doubt on the placement of the episode. The infelicitous sequence, which places Theudas before Judas, greatly strengthens the argument that the speeches of Acts are largely synthetic. Indeed, the reference to Gamaliel in Acts 5:34–39 seems to suit the programmatic purpose of Luke-Acts at least as well as, and probably better than, it accurately reports an episode of history. It has been aptly remarked that there is an irony in having "a respected leader of the Jews" provide the interpretation of the new movement which Gamaliel does: He himself provides the criterion by which the movement centered upon Jesus represented a fulfillment of the promises to God's people (Juel 1984: 66, 99, 117). Were the Pharisees comparatively tolerant of Jesus' followers, and were Gamaliel a reputed, Pharisaic leader, those facts may be all that need be posited in order to explain the composition of Acts 5:34–39.

Just such a picture, of Pharisaic toleration of Jesus's followers (at least relatively speaking), is conveyed in Acts 23:6–9: Hauled before the Sanhedrin (22:30), Paul is able to set Pharisees against Sadducees by means of his claim that he is a Pharisee, and that the Pharisaic belief in resurrection is what has occasioned the charge against him (22:6). The statement attributed to Paul in 22:3, that he was born in Tarsus but brought up and educated in Jerusalem at Gamaliel's feet, suits the apologetic tendency of this section of Acts. Paul has entered the Temple at the suggestion of James, to purify himself and participate in the vow of several other men (Acts 21:23, 24). What was supposed to prove him a keeper of the Torah (v 24), however, failed: The deadly charge is raised that Paul has introduced "Greeks" into the Temple (v 28). The claim in 22:3, then, serves retrospectively, as an answer to the charge of sacrilege, and prospectively, as substantiation of Paul's clever ploy in the hearing of the Sanhedrin. It has also been argued that the style of 22:3 suits the redactional tendency of Luke-Acts (cf. Lüdemann 1984: 39, n. 72).

Indeed, the coherence of Acts 22:3 with the characteristically Lukan portrait of Paul is precisely what most casts doubt on its accuracy. Acts 22:3–21 gives us a Paul who was known from childhood in Jerusalem; the Paul of Galatians claims that his face was unfamiliar in Judea (1:22). Luke's Paul gives an account of his commissioning on the road to Damascus (22:6–11), in a manner strikingly similar to Acts 9:1–9 (cf. also 22:12–21 and 9:10–31), but quite unlike anything Paul has to say on the subject in his

letters. Precisely these observations were aptly described by Knox (1950: 34–40, 114–119) and have increasingly featured in discussions of the relationship between Acts and the Pauline corpus. Knox considered "gravely doubtful" the notion that Paul actually studied with Gamaliel, although he also stopped short of denying it outright (1950: 35).

Knox's restraint at this point was apposite. For all that, there are grave difficulties in reconciling Acts and the Pauline corpus, Paul's Pharisaic background is a matter of agreement between them (cf. Phil 3:5). Gamaliel's relative tolerance of Jesus' followers is, in itself, plausible—and not only in view of the general considerations suggested above. That doughty traditionalist of somewhat later in the century, Eliezer ben Hyranus, was known to have discussed exegesis with such a heretic (cf. *Abod. Zar.* 16b–17a). That Paul should have studied with Gamaliel, and then have failed to mention the fact is indeed perplexing, but not impossible (cf. Knox 1950: 35). The argument that Paul was too distinctive from Gamaliel, in his attitude towards the new movement, to have been his disciple, is not convincing.

First, the material in Acts 5:34–39, upon which the argument is based, has itself been shaped by the apologetic requirements of early Christianity, and so is scarcely a direct representation of the historical Gamaliel. Second, Gamaliel's own son, Simeon, took part in the revolt against Rome which is officially dated from A.D. 66 (cf. Josephus, *Life* 5.38–39 §189–98 and Neusner 1987: 276; compare Neusner 1984: 57). If the son might depart from the father in his attitude toward Rome, the disciple might surely devolve from the master in the less pressing concern of a minor sectarian excess (cf. Bruce 1982: 226).

We cannot say with certainty whether Paul ever visited Jerusalem prior to his famous visit with Cephas (cf. Gal 1:18; and Enslin 1927: 366, 372), or even whether such a visit would have been necessary in order for him to have been known as a Pharisee. In the latter regard, it might be observed that, in Phil 3:5, Paul calls himself a "Pharisee according to law" *(kata nomon).* The qualification might mean nothing more than "by custom," but a sense such as "as to the law" (see RSV) appears more likely. Why should Paul have introduced such a qualification? It appears at least possible that he acknowledged that his Pharisaism was not of the sort which flourished in Jerusalem, where Pharisees had a particular concern for, and influence over, the cult in the Temple (cf. Enslin 1927: 365). That aspect becomes especially apparent in the traditions concerning Gamaliel (cf. Neusner 1984: 23–58). Manifestly, a "Pharisee" living in the Diaspora would need to be of an attenuated variety of Pharisaism, a movement whose focus of interest was the Temple, and the maintenance of purity in the interests of cultic worship.

Paul must specify in Phil 3:5 that he is "from the race *(genos)* of Israel," not from the land of Israel. Hellenistic Judaism (cf. Gal 1:14 and Georgi 1986: 46–49) was his natural milieu and continued to be even after he understood himself to be an apostle. Although considerable effort has long been expended on understanding Paul as a product of "Palestinian" Judaism, the result is only a paradox: How can an alleged product of rabbinic Judaism have seen the Torah as a "work" which earns God's favor when the rabbis understood it as a gracious instrument, designed to convey the living possibility of God's covenant with his freely chosen people (cf. Montefiore 1915: 24–44, 70–73)? Precisely that paradox is an obstacle before any attempt to portray Paul as a rabbi, trained by Gamaliel or any other Pharisee who was active in Jerusalem (cf. Montefiore 1915: 90, 91).

Whether or not Paul actually had contact with Gamaliel at some point or another is impossible to know. The inextricable link between Paul and Jerusalem is a thematic and apologetic concern of Acts (cf. Enslin 1927: 372–75). "Gamaliel" is an emblem of that concern, and—except in very general terms—little historically accurate information is provided by Acts in respect of that rabbi. Comparison with rabbinic sources suggests that Paul should not be seen preeminently as a rabbi in the mode of the Pharisees in Jerusalem (cf. Montefiore 1915: 92–129). He was rather a provincial hanger-on of the movement, who turned a zeal for the Temple and purity into a zeal for the oral law (cf. Gal 1:13, 14 and Acts 22:3), and thereby sowed the seeds of his own conversion.

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BRUCE CHILTON

**GAMMA.** The third letter of the Greek alphabet.

**GAMUL** (PERSON) [Heb *gāmûl* (גָּמוּל)]. A priest who received the 22d position in the priestly order of the Temple during the reign of David (1 Chr 24:17). 1 Chronicles 24 is the only place where Gamul appears in the OT. An evaluation of the historical reliability of his appearance therefore depends entirely on the literary context of 1 Chr 24:1–19. Though generally agreed that the priestly list originated after the exile, its exact date remains debated. Liver (1968: ix, 33–52) associates the 24 course priestly organization to the reforms of Nehemiah, while Williamson (1979: 262–68) assigns it to the late Persian period. Due to genealogical connections between 1 Chr 24:7–18 and the Hasmonean priestly claims, Dequecker (1986: 94–106) dates the list to the Hasmonean era. The stylistic characteristics of the list, however, seem to link the list to the time of the composition of Chronicles (ca. 385 B.C.E.).

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JOHN W. WRIGHT

**GANGRENE.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**GARDEN OF EDEN.** See EDEN, GARDEN OF (PLACE).

**GARDEN OF GOD** (PLACE) [Heb *gan-ʾĕlōhîm* (גַּן־אֱלֹהִים)]. A phrase occurring only in Ezek 28:13 and 31:8–9. The similar phrase *gan-yhwh,* "garden of Yahweh," appears in similies in Gen 13:10 and Isa 51:3. Both phrases indicate a place of great luxury. However, the notion of a divine garden is not restricted to biblical material. References are found throughout ANE literature.

Descriptions of the gardens in ANE literature mention springs, trees possessing divine attributes, and the overall beauty and fertility of the place. The trees on "the cedar mountain, the dwelling of the gods" mentioned in the Gilgamesh Epic, are said to be luxuriant (V.i. 1–9, Assyrian version; *ANET,* 82). No mortal is intended to enter there. In the biblical material, Ezek 31:2–18 compares Pharaoh to a great tree. Verse 9b states that "all the trees of Eden which are in the garden of God" became jealous of the tree which represented Pharaoh. From further description it becomes evident that this tree grows in the divine enclosure.

The divine garden is often the source of life-giving waters that refresh the earth. The land of Dilmun, the most celebrated example of the garden of the gods in Mesopotamian literature, is described in the Sumerian myth called *Enki and Ninhursag.* The land is watered by the "waters of abundance" from the earth which gush forth to fertilize the land (lines 55–64; *ANET,* 38). In Ugaritic myth, the high god El dwells "at the sources of the (two) rivers, in the midst of the (double) deep" (*CTA* 3.5.14–15, etc.). Ezek 47:1–12, Zech 14:1–21, and Joel 4:16–18 all picture life-giving water rushing forth from the sanctuary on Mt. Zion. In the Ezekiel text this water fertilizes even the area of the Dead Sea. Every creature that comes to the stream lives, and its fish are prolific (vv 9–10). Ezekiel is shown two great trees (or forests) growing on its banks (v 7).

Of course, the main feature of the garden of God theme is the presence of the deity. The divine council meets there and decrees of cosmic importance are issued. El's dwelling is also called the *pḫr mʿd,* "appointed assembly" (*CTA* 2.1.19–21). It is to this place that Yamm sends messengers demanding the surrender of Baal (lines 36–38). Also, both Anat and Asherah go to El's dwelling to seek permission for the building of a temple for Baal (*CTA* 3.5.12–17, 4.4.20–24). In Ezek 28:14 the presence of lesser deities in the garden may be reflected in the reference to the "protecting cherub" and to the "fiery stones."

Finally the divine garden is the site where the sexual union of the deities occurs. The marriage of Enki and Ninhursag takes place in Dilmun (*Enki and Ninhursag,* lines 8, 11, and possibly 65–68, 75; see *ANET,* 38–39). In the Ugaritic Baal cycle, El anticipates some sexual activity on the occasion of a visit from his consort Asherah, only to discover that she has come for other reasons (*CTA* 4.4.31–39).

The description of the garden of Eden in Gen 2:4b–3:24 contains many of these motifs. These include the unmediated presence of the deity, the issuing of divine decrees (3:14–19, 22–24), the source of the subterranean life-giving waters which supply the earth (2:6, 10–14), abundant fertility, and trees of supernatural qualities and great beauty (2:9). Eden should not be understood as a garden planted strictly for the habitation of humans. It is essentially Yahweh's garden which humans were invited to enjoy and cultivate. The narrative is therefore concerned with the issue of humankind entering and dwelling within the presence of deity.

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**GAREB** (PERSON) [Heb *gārēb* (גָּרֵב)]. One of the elite group of David's warriors, known as "The Thirty" (2 Sam 23:38 = 1 Chr 11:40). The etymology of the name is uncertain (see *IPN,* 227). He is placed near the end of the official list of warriors in 2 Samuel, a position which is reserved for those of non-Israelite descent (Mazar 1963: 318–19). He is called an Ithrite (*hayyitrî*) in the MT. This is an adjective probably describing the clan with which he was associated. The Ithrite clan is known to have been related to the peoples who dwelled in the area near Kiriath-jearim in Judah and probably was of Hivite origin (Josh 9:17; 1 Chr 2:53). It has been argued that Gareb was not an Ithrite (*hayyitrî*) but a Jattirite *(hayyattīrî)*—a descendant from the town of Jattir, a Levitical city in the hill-country of Debir (Josh 15:48; 21:14; 1 Chr 6:42—Eng6:57) (Elliger 1966: 104–6). There is some evidence that supports this view but it is far from conclusive. See ITHRITE; DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

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STEPHEN G. DEMPSTER

**GAREB** (PLACE) [Heb *gārēb* (גָּרֵב)]. The name of a hill in the vicinity of Jerusalem mentioned in connection with Jeremiah's eschatological vision of the restored and re-sanctified Jerusalem (31:39). It is usually associated with the SW hill today known (erroneously) as "Mt. Zion," situated W of the Tyropoeon Valley and N and E of the Hinnom Valley, a hill that was apparently inside the walls of Jerusalem during the century before its destruction in 586 B.C. In Jeremiah's vision, the sanctity of the city would extend to "the whole valley of the dead bodies and the ashes" (31:40), presumably the Hinnom Valley outside the walls (cf. Jer 7:30–34). However, if sanctity is coterminus with the wall of the city (but it perhaps was not; see Num 35:4–5), then Gareb may have been a hill *opposite* the Hinnom Valley, either W or S of "Mt. Zion." In this case, the city wall envisioned by the prophet would have little, if any,

strategic military value, since the lower contours of the Hinnom Valley would then be situated inside the city.

GARY A. HERION

**GARLIC.** See FLORA.

**GARMITE** [Heb *garmî* (גַּרְמִי)]. Gentilic derived from Gerem (Heb *gerem*), meaning bone or bony (1 Chr 4:19). A man of Judah, Keilah is referred to as "the Garmite."

DAVID C. SMITH

**GAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Gas* (Γας)]. A servant of Solomon who was the progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:34). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, this family does not appear among their lists of returning exiles (see Ezra 2:57; Neh 7:59). Omissions such as this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra or Nehemiah. Furthermore, problems associated with dating events and identifying persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**GATAM** (PERSON) [Heb *gaʿtām* (גַּעְתָּם)]. One of the sons of Eliphaz who stemmed from the marriage between Esau and Adah (Gen 36:11; 1 Chr 1:36). According to Gen 36:16, he was considered to be one of the Edomite "tribal chiefs" *(ʾallūpîm),* i.e., a clan of the Edomite-Esauite tribe Eliphaz. The meaning of the name Gatam (LXX: *Gotom, Goōtam, Gotam;* Vg *Gatham, Gathan*) is uncertain (cf. Arabic *ǧuʿṯumat,* Safaitic *jʿṯm*).

ULRICH HÜBNER

**GATE, CITY.** See CITIES (LEVANT); FORTIFICATIONS (LEVANT).

**GATE BETWEEN THE TWO WALLS** (PLACE) [Heb *šaʿar bên-haḥōmōtayim* ( שַׁעַר בֵּין־הַחֹמֹתַיִם)]. A gate of Jerusalem at the extreme S end of the City of David where the Central and Hinnom Valleys join in close proximity to the King's Garden. It is only called the "Gate Between the Two Walls" in the accounts (2 Kgs 25:4; Jer 39:4; 52:7) of the escape of Zedekiah and members of his army from the forces of Nebuchadnezzar. Jeremiah dramatically broke a clay pot at this gate (19:2; Avi-Yonah 1954: 245) alluding to it as the Potsherd Gate (Heb *saʿar haḥarsô/ût[K]; haḥarsît[Q]*), erroneously translated East Gate in the AV. This gate was later called the Dung Gate (Heb *šaʿar hāʾašpōt*) by Nehemiah (2:13; 3:13, 14; 12:13) and was located some 1,000 cubits (Avi-Yonah 1954: 245) S of the Valley Gate on the W side of the City of David. It was rebuilt by Malchijah, and the gate (or its successor) continued to be used through the Second Temple period (Kenyon 1962: 84).

The yet unanswered question as to how Zedekiah and his men escaped the city under siege may be answered by Kenyon's discovery of an unexplained tunnel complex near and intruding into the area of the Birket el-Hamra. This complex was sealed under 1.25 m of Iron Age II remains and continued "an unknown distance to the SE towards the valley" (Kenyon 1965: 16–17). Evidence of this nature may eventually explain Zedekiah's escape from Jerusalem.

Opinions generally concur as to the location of the Gate Between the Two Walls. An exception is Weill, who proposes the Fountain Gate as the Gate Between the Two Walls because it exits to a 15 m (49 foot) corridor between two massive walls (Weill 1947: 95–96). Others propose that the pool Isaiah identifies as being "between the two walls" (Isa 22:9–11) and the Gate Between the Two Walls share an identity with two parallel walls in the open Central Valley, while Simons believes that the gate received its name for being at the juncture of the two walls which come from the City of David and from the western Hill (Simons 1952: 128).

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**GATE OF THE GUARD** (PLACE) [Heb *ša‹ar* (שַׁעַר) *hammaṭṭârâ* (הַמַּטָּרָה)]. An inner gate of Jerusalem in close proximity to the Court of the Guards and the Royal Palace that most likely gave the royal family, the judiciary, and security personnel access to the sacred Temple precincts.

The Gate of the Guard is mentioned only once (Neh 12:39) as the destination of one of Nehemiah's dedicatory processionals just before they entered the Temple precincts. But functionally, the Gate of the Guard and the "court of the guards" go together, and in the absence of physical evidence there are textual references indicating more precisely where this "gate" and "court of the guard" are located. The texts concerning the "court of the guards" are found in the accounts of Jeremiah's imprisonment in the "court of the guards" (Jer 32:3; 31:1; 37:14–21; 38:6–28; 39:12–18) inside the royal compound (originally built by Solomon, 1 Kgs 7:1–8; 9:15, 24) to the S of the Temple, situated on the former threshing floor of the Jebusites. The royal compound occupied the area at about the present al-Aksa Mosque, N to the stairs (Makam an Nabi) that lead to the platform on which the Dome of the Rock now sits. While the dimensions of Solomon's buildings are known, their arrangement is not certain although they were probably more cloistered (e.g., Avi-Yonah 1973: 13–14, with maps 3.2. 3.3) than those portrayed by Vincent and Steve (1954: 428, fig. 134).

References to Jeremiah's confinement in the court of the guards near the royal residence, his being brought from confinement for a private audience with Zedekiah at the "third entrance of the Temple" (probably the Gate of the Guard of Neh 12:39 as well as the New Gate of Jer 26:10 where the royal judiciary had earlier listened to the people's complaints against Jeremiah), and the abundance of cisterns in this area of the Temple Mount point to a location of the court of the guards, and consequently, the Gate of the Guard between the royal courts and the Temple precincts. The fact that one of Nehemiah's two processionals halted at the Gate of the Guard just prior to the dedicatory liturgy within the Temple enclosure (Neh 12:39) again indicates that the Gate of the Guard was a gate into the sacred Temple enclosure itself as proposed by Avi-Yonah (1954: 240, fig. 1; 1973: 14, with maps 3.2[7], 3.3[9]). There is little to suggest that the Gate of the Guard should be equated, as some have, with the Muster Gate or the Inspection Gate (Neh 3:31; Simons 1952: 340, 342).

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DALE C. LIID

**GATH** (PLACE) [Heb *gat* (גַּת)]. One of the five principal cities of the Philistines. Gath was situated in the Shephelah S of its sister city Ekron (now identified with Tel Miqne) and was the Philistine city in closest proximity to the territory of Judah to the E (1 Sam 17:52). However its exact location is still the subject of scholarly dispute. Early archaeological commentators, including W. F. Albright, favored identification with Tell Sheikh Ahmed el-‹Areini (M.R. 129113), near Araq el-Menshiyeh, located just N of the modern settlement of Kiryat Gat (Albright 1923: 6–12). Interpreting 1 Sam 7:14, which notes the restoration of Israelite territory "from Ekron to Gath," as a note defining Philistine boundaries, Albright looked for the site of Gath to the S, at some distance from Ekron. However, excavations at Tell el-‹Areini (now ironically called Tel Gat) between 1956 and 1961 by S. Yeivin showed that the site was not occupied during the Iron Age I (i.e., the Philistine period [Yeivin 1961; *EAEHL* 1: 89–97]). This led G. E. Wright to suggest an alternative location at Tell esh-Sheri›ah (Tel Sera›; M.R. 119088), even farther S

along the Wadi Gerar at the very edge of the Negeb desert (1966: 80). Excavations there by E. Oren between 1972 and 1976 did recover significant Philistine period remains (*EAEHL* 4: 1059–69).

However, consensus today supports an identification with the more N site of Tell es-Safi (M.R. 135123). This site is located on the S bank of the Wadi Elah, ca. 5 miles NW of Beit Guvrin, and 10 miles to the SE of Tel Miqne/Ekron. Support for such a more N location is based on observations by B. Mazar and H. L. Ginsberg that, rather than suggesting distance between them, the Hebrew text in 1 Sam 7:14 actually indicates the close proximity of Ekron and Gath (Rainey 1975: 68). A close proximity is also reflected in 1 Sam 17:52, and a location in this N region is likewise indicated by the few postbiblical references to Gath (Gitta, Geth) found in the writings of Eusebius and Jerome (Rainey 1975: 64). Two further references to Gath, involving conflicts with Ephraimite (1 Chr 7:20–23) and Benjaminite (1 Chr 8:13) clans, also suggest a N location, but these may refer to a different site otherwise known as Gittaim (Mazar 1954: 228). Until now the only excavations conducted at Tell es-Safi were those by Bliss and Macalister for the PEF in 1899 (Bliss and Macalister 1902). While this early work recovered evidence of Iron Age occupation, including Philistine period vessels, only a very general stratigraphic profile was obtained (*EAEHL* 4: 1024–27). Final confirmation of the site's identification with Gath awaits further field investigation.

For the biblical writers, Gath was considered to be a city of early Canaanite origin where remnants of the Anakim, a race of giants, continued to dwell until after the time of Joshua (Josh 11:22). The huge Philistine champion, Goliath (1 Sam 17:4), was a Gittite, and other giant Philistine warriors also came from Gath (2 Sam 21:19–22). Canaanite backgrounds are further attested by a reference to Gath *(gimti)* in the LB Age Amarna correspondence. In letter 290 (EA 290:9), it is mentioned in relationship to Gezer (Tell Gezer) and to Keilah (a Judean town identified with Khirbet (Qila ca. 12 miles E of Beit Guvrin). Gath is also one of the cities to which the Ark of the Covenant was taken during its sojourn among the Philistines (1 Sam 5:1–12).

The significance of Gath in biblical reference focuses mainly on its association with the early exploits of David. When first expelled from the court of King Saul, David sought refuge with Achish son of Maoch, the king of Gath. In 1 Sam 21:10–15, David flees to the city alone, and when recognized by the men of Gath, feigns madness and is rejected by Achish. This passage and the poetic lament in Psalm 56 (also see Psalm 34) seem to be part of an apologetic tradition regarding David's associations with the Philistines. However, according to 1 Sam 27, David and six hundred of his men and their families are accepted into mercenary service by Achish. Together they reside briefly in Gath and then are settled in Ziklag, a smaller border village (1 Sam 27:6). Through deception, David gains full acceptance by Achish. The service of his mercenary contingent is terminated only by the suspicions and fears of other Philistine overlords during preparations for their final campaign against King Saul at Gilboa (1 Sam 29). It is in connection with David's lament over the death of Jonathan and Saul in 2 Sam 1:20 that the proverb "Tell it not in Gath" first appears. It is repeated in a similar lament context in Mic 1:10.

David's curious association with Achish also helps us understand the later mention of a man of Gath, Ittai and other Gittites among his professional soldiers (2 Sam 15:18–23), and explains his confidence in Obed-edom, another Gittite (2 Sam 6:10), to whom he entrusts the safekeeping of the Ark of the Covenant for three months before its transfer to Jerusalem (2 Sam 6:10–11; 1 Chr 13:13). In 1 Chr 18:1 David's final conquest of Philistia and of "Gath and its towns" is reported. However at this point in the parallel passage in 2 Sam 8:1, the reading of the Hebrew, *meteg ha›ammāh,* is uncertain. The RSV renders it as a place name. It is not clear which of the two texts preserves a correct reading.

In later tradition, Gath is listed among the cities under Judean control that were fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr 11:8), but 2 Kgs 12:18 records that it was taken from Judah by Hazael of Damascus during the reign of Johoash. 2 Chr 26:6 indicates that it was again recovered from Philistine hands during the time of Uzziah. Although Amos 6:2 testifies to its continued characterization as a "Philistine city" well into the early 8th century, no later reference to Gath is made in the prophetic literature, even where lists of Philistine cities otherwise appear (see Amos 1:6–8; Jer 25:20; Zeph 2:4). In 711 B.C., Sargon II of Assyria claims conquest of the city in his campaign against Azuri, the king of Ashdod (*ANET*, 286; also see Isaiah

20). Apart from a few references in later, postbiblical commentaries, this is the latest historical reference to the site.

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JOE D. SEGER

## GATH-HEPHER (PLACE) [Heb *gittâ ḥēper* (גִּתָּה חֵפֶר); *gat haḥēper* (גַּת הַחֵפֶר)]. A town on

the E border of the territory of Zebulun (Josh 19:13). Gath-hepher is recorded in the book of Kings (2 Kgs 14:25) as the birthplace of the prophet Jonah, son of Amittai. Jerome, in his commentary on the book of Jonah, locates Gath-hepher two miles from Sepphoris (M.R. 176239), on the road to Tiberias. The modern village of Mashhad, about four km E of Sepphoris, in fact contains a tomb attributed to Jonah, and the nearby site of Kh. el-Zurraʿa (Tel Gat-hefer) is identified with ancient Gath-hepher. Tel Gat-hefer (M.R. 180238), which measures about 5 hectares at its base and 2.5 hectares at its summit, contains remains of urban settlement of the EB and MB Ages, as well as traces of LB Age settlement. A small Israelite settlement was established on the site in the Iron Age I, followed by a fortified city which was occupied until the Assyrian conquest. Settlement was renewed at the site in the Persian period (Gal 1982: 21).

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## GATH-RIMMON (PLACE) [Heb *gat rimmôn* (גַּת רִמּוֹן)]. The last city listed among the Levitical

cities allocated to the tribe of Dan (Josh 21:24; 1 Chr 6:54[—Eng6:69]). Gath-Rimmon is also mentioned only in the inheritance list of Dan (Josh 19:45). It is generally accepted that in the city list of Dan, Gath-Rimmon is so written in order to distinguish it from other cities with the element Gath, i.e., Gath of the Philistines, Gath-hepher, etc. (*LBHG,* 266). The possible confusion of names because of the lack of specificity is one of the problems confronted when looking at the nonbiblical texts that might have used the name Gath-Rimmon.

Some have suggested that Gath-Rimmon is the city Gath *(knt)* of the Thutmose III city list. When studying the route of Thutmose III this suggestion makes good sense. The towns mentioned in the list are Joppa (62), Gath (63), Lod (64), Ono (65), and Aphek (66). If Gath were identified with Tell es-Safi, then Thutmose's forces would have had to backtrack 45 km; if Gath were associated with Gath-Rimmon, then Thutmose's path would have been on course as the army moved NE from Joppa to Gath-Rimmon and then slightly SE to Lod before going N again to Ono and Aphek. Another reference to Gath-Rimmon is in the Amarna Letters. Mazar (1958: 115–23) and Aharoni (*LBHG*, 149) have identified Giti-rimuni with Gath-Rimmon. Although there is no mention of Gath-Rimmon in Shishak's records, Mazar (1957: 206) has argued that the site was destroyed at the time of Shishak's campaign.

Two cities have been identified with biblical Gath-Rimmon: Tell Abu Zeitun and Tell Jerishe. Abel (*GP* 2: 327) has been a major advocate of the former. Today Tell Abu Zeitun (M.R. 134167) is encompassed by the N section of Tel Aviv in the Bene Berak suburb, surrounded by industry and railroad tracks. It is only 6 km E of the Mediterranean and less than 1 km S of the prominent Yarkon River. The importance of this river cannot be underestimated, since not only is it an excellent water supply for drinking and irrigation, but it also provided transportation toward the Valley of Aijalon. Tell Abu Zeitun is situated on the Plain of Sharon, a plain that is nearly flat and was perhaps forested in antiquity (Isa 33:9). It was one of many ancient towns along the lower valley of the Yarkon, important to the sea and inland trade routes, especially the Via Maris.

Very few geographers other than Abel make reference to Tell Abu Zeitun, although the inspection visits made by the Department of Antiquities in the 1930s are helpful. During these visits sherds from the Arabic, Hellenistic, and Iron Age periods were found (Ory 1932). In 1957 Kaplan (1958: 134) conducted an excavation, publishing pottery from the Persian, Iron I and II, and LB periods. The Levitical City survey team found the same periods represented, except for LB (Peterson 1977: 354–78).

Ever since Mazar in 1951 suggested that biblical Gath-Rimmon be identified with Tell Jerishe (M.R. 132166), most geographers have followed his proposal. Tell Jerishe (sometimes called Napoleon's Hill) is located 3.5 km E of the Mediterranean, only 500 m S of the Yarkon River; the mouth of Wadi Musrara is directly to the NW of the tell. As in the case of Tell Abu Zeitun, one of the important geographical considerations pertaining to Jerishe is the Yarkon River. Along with the other tells on the Yarkon, Tell Jerishe defended the mouth of the river, protecting the land against possible invaders from the sea.

When the inspection visits from the Palestine Department of Antiquities began in 1925, the pottery found on the mound ranged from the EB to the Iron Age, with comparatively good numbers of representative sherds from Intermediate Periods. E. L. Sukenik conducted four seasons of archaeological excavations at Tell Jerishe in 1927, 1934, 1936, 1940. As a result of those excavations he identified MB, LB, and early Iron pottery. He suggested that the site was abandoned during the 10th and 9th centuries never to be occupied again. However, the Levitical City survey team's research does not support Sukenik's conclusion because not only were MB II A, LB, and Iron I sherds found at Jerishe, but also Iron II, Hellenistic, and Islamic (Peterson 1977: 354–78). The Levitical City team found evidence of 12th–11th century occupation, but a gap in the 10th century. There was evidence of occupation in the 9th century and a good collection in the 8th century. Clearly Sukenik's conclusion that the site was abandoned after the 10th or 9th century must be reconsidered. Although the site might not have been fully rebuilt after the destruction by Shishak's campaign, a settlement undoubtedly existed at Tell Jerishe in the 8th century, as is the case at nearby Tell Abu Zeitun.

When one studies both sites it is impossible to make an absolute identification. The sites are very close to each other, only a few meters away from the Yarkon River. The pottery distribution at both sites is nearly identical, and although Tell Jerishe is much larger physically, size certainly cannot be the determining factor. What is important to conclude here is that Gath-Rimmon, whether it was located at Tell Abu Zeitun or Tell Jerishe, was occupied through the 8th century. What possibly happened is that at the end of the 8th century Tell Jerishe was abandoned until the Hellenistic period, during which time Tell Abu Zeitun was occupied.

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**GAULANITIS** (PLACE) [Gk *Gaulanitis* (Γαυλανιτις)]. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods Gaulanitis was the common name for the Golan, a rocky plateau situated immediately E of the Jordan and stretching from the foothills of Mt. Hermon in the N to the Wadi Yarmuk in the SE. See also GOLAN HEIGHTS. Although in earlier years the land was used primarily for pastoral activity and was economically somewhat marginal, in the Roman and Byzantine periods this region flourished and became considerably more important. Increased settlement, coupled with the development of an excellent network

of roads and more efficient exploitation of water resources, made the area viable for agriculture and craft industries as well.

The political and cultural history of the Golan in the Hellenistic and Roman periods is interesting, if at times complex and even confusing. Much of our information comes from Josephus, although recent archaeological surveys and excavations are supplementing our knowledge. Significant advances in our understanding of the area are to be expected in the near future.

At the beginning of the Hellenistic period, the Golan was an independent administrative unit with the rank of a hyparchy. The Seleucids had incorporated the entire Golan into the epiarchy of Gilead, however, during the Maccabean revolt, large areas of the Golan were captured and brought under Hasmonean control, particularly by Alexander Jannaeus. In 83–80 B.C.E., he annexed a large part of the Golan and accomplished the conversion of a considerable number of gentiles to Judaism as well.

When Rome took control of the area in 64 B.C.E., Pompey gave the Golan to Ptolemy, son of Mennaeus, an Iturean ruler. In 20 B.C.E., Augustus granted the land to King Herod under whose leadership a significant amount of development took place.

At Herod's death in 4 B.C.E., the Golan (except for Hippos and Gadera) passed into the hands of Herod's son, the tetrarch Philip. He rebuilt Paneas (Caesarea Phillipi) and made it his capital city. When Philip died in 34 C.E., leaving no heir, his territories were incorporated into the province of Syria. This arrangement lasted for less than three years, because in 37 C.E. the emperor Caligula gave the Golan to King Agrippa I. Although at the death of Agrippa I, the territory reverted briefly to Roman control, but was given to King Agrippa II in 53 C.E. and remained in his control until the first Jewish war against Rome. During the war, heavy fighting took place in the Golan and reached a climax in the heroic stand taken at Gamla, which fell after a seven month siege. At the death of Agrippa II the N regions of the Golan were annexed to Syria, and the S regions to Judea.

Because Josephus is such an important source for this history, the situation in the Golan following the war is less clearly understood. Further clarification will come from archaeological excavations now in their early stages. It seems clear, however, that large numbers of Jews from S regions resettled in the Golan following the Bar Kokhba rebellion. Preliminary excavations confirm the view suggested by the occasional references found in rabbinic literature that these settlers flourished and that the region was prosperous throughout the Middle and Late Roman periods.

It is becoming increasingly clear that there is a cultural as well as topological continuity between the Upper Galilee and the Golan. Inscriptional evidence indicates that the language in primary use was Aramaic, although Greek seems to have been widely known, even in small villages. The architecture, the ceramics, and the other artifacts which are found in archaeological excavations show a similarity which supports this picture of cultural continuity, but which separates the Upper Galilee and the Golan from the more thoroughly Hellenized and urbanized regions of the Lower Galilee and the coastal plain to the S and W.

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**GAULS** [Gk *Galatai* (Γαλαται)]. Var. GALATIANS. Cited in 1 Macc 8:2 as the name of a people who were defeated and brought under subjugation by the Romans and in 2 Macc 8:20 (here usually rendered "Galatians") as opponents of the Macedonians in Babylonia. It was the Romans who gave them the name by which we know them—Gauls [Lat *Galli*]. This Indo-European group from central and S Europe, also known in Greek literature as Celts [Gk *Keltoi*], was among the peoples who invaded Italy and other lands to the S in the 3d century B.C.E. A large number also went to Asia Minor where they settled in the region of Phrygia, later called GALATIA by the Romans.

Both of the above citations require explanation. Is 1 Macc 8:2 a reference to the Roman conquest of its northern invaders in Cisalpine Gaul or to the defeat of the Galatians of Asia Minor in 189 B.C.E. (Schiffman *HBC*, 886)? The chronology of events and the context of 1 Maccabees 8 suggests the former.

Goldstein has shown that the Romans did not yet rule nor extract tribute from the Galatians of Asia Minor (*1 Maccabees* AB, 350–51). The subjugation of Spain in 1 Macc 8:3 suggests the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.E.) which also involved the Gauls of Europe. Since the Galatians of Asia Minor were used by Antiochus the Great (223–187 B.C.E.) in his war with Rome, their mention in v 2 rather than in the description of his defeat in vv 6–8 would be surprising. It is much more difficult to determine whether the Maccabean author is referring to the defeat of the Cisalpine Gauls in 222 B.C.E. or in 190 B.C.E.

Since there is no clear record of a war involving the Gauls (or Galatians) in Babylonia, the specific designation of 2 Macc 8:20 is even harder to determine. Since the Galatians did have quite a reputation as mercenaries and functioned as such for various parties in the battles between the Hellenistic empires, it is reasonable to hypothesize that this citation is a reference to some such conflict (Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 331–34). The Babylonian provenance rules out a number of such instances (cf. Levy 1950). Whether the epitomist was alluding to the battle of Antiochus III (223–187 B.C.E.) with Molon in Media in 220 B.C.E., the victory of Seleucus II Callinicus (246–225 B.C.E.) over his brother Antiochus Hierax (Bar-Kochva 1973), or some other possibility is impossible to determine with any certainty (Habicht *2 Maccabees* JSHRZ, 240–41).

While some variants of 2 Tim 4:10 read *Gallian* (Sinaiticus, Ephraemi, etc.), *Galatian* is more strongly attested. Most commentators understand this to refer to Asia Minor.

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**GAZA** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿazzâ* (עַזָּה); Gk *Gaza* (Γαζα)]. A site in SW Palestine, located on Tell Ḥarube, and the highest point of modern Gaza, covering ca. 55 hectares (M.R. 099101). Gaza lies where the coastal plain is the widest, ca. 25 km, in a very fertile region, rich in wells of sweet water. High sand dunes separate Gaza from the sea, which is about 4–5 km to the W. Gaza lies on the main highway between Africa and Asia. This road is one of the oldest in the world, and has been the military road between Egypt and Asia since the days of the Egyptian New Kingdom; it is called in the Bible "the way of the land of the Philistines" (Exod 13:17). Later it was known as the "Way of the Sea" or *Via Maris* (Isa 8:23—Eng 9:1).

This entry consists of three articles that cover the historical significance of Gaza: one focusing on the pre-Hellenistic OT period, another focusing on the Greco-Roman period, and a third focusing on the Byzantine period.

***PREHELLENISTIC GAZA***

A. The Inscriptional/Textual Evidence
B. Gaza and the Philistines
C. Gaza and Israel/Judah
D. Gaza and the Assyrians
E. Gaza and the Egyptians/Babylonians
F. Gaza and the Persians
G. Gaza and Alexander
H. Archaeological Remains

**A. The Inscriptional/Textual Evidence**

Two ancient reliefs show a town in Palestine which can with great probability be identified as Gaza. The first is from the days of Seti I (*ANEP*, 329), and the second from the days of Sargon II (Botta 1972: pl. 90). In both, the town is extremely well fortified; in the second it is a watchtower next to a high strong wall recalling the passage: "He (= Hezekiah) smote the Philistines as far as Gaza and its territory, from

watchtower to fortified city" (2 Kgs 18:8). Both Arrian (*Hist. of Alex.* 1.2; 25.4–27.7) and Curtius (*Hist. of Alex.* 1.4.6–30) give some descriptions of the locality and the fortifications of Gaza in their books about Alexander the Great. The foundation, however, of Gaza is still obscure. The name appears for the first time in the annals of Thutmose III. At that time (April 25, 1468 B.C.—*ANET,* 235), Gaza was already the property of the Egyptian crown and it became the capital of the Egyptian province *Canaan.* In the records of the 19th and 20th Egyptian Dynasties, Gaza is generally referred to as (the town) *The Canaan,* which clearly demonstrates that Gaza is the town of Canaan, in other words, the capital, which is further evidenced by Taanach-Letter no. 6 (Albright 1944: 24–25) or by the Tell El-Armana Letters nos. 289 and 296 (EA, 289, 296). Egypt's rule over Canaan with Gaza as its capital lasted for more than 400 years (ca. 1550–1150 B.C.).

**B. Gaza and the Philistines**

Already in the reign of Merneptah (1224–1214), the first waves of Sea Peoples menaced Egypt. In the reign of Rameses III (1195–1164), they invaded Palestine in such numbers that even though Pharaoh defeated them, he had to settle them as garrison troops. We know that the Sea Peoples came to Canaan partly in ships from Cyprus, and partly by the land route from Anatolia. These events may be reflected in the oracle of Balaam (Num 24:24): "Ships come from the quarter of Kittim" (i.e. Cyprus). They are even more clearly alluded to in Deut 2:23: "So, too, with the Avvim who dwelt in villages in the vicinity of Gaza: the Caphtorim, who came from Caphtor, wiped them out and settled in their place."

The Philistines (who were one of the Sea Peoples) settled in the SW corner of Canaan and established the confederation of the five Philistine city-states, each under the rule of a lord *(seren).* Since Gaza had once been the capital, it became the leading power among them. This confederation soon came into conflict with another wave of immigrants, the Hebrew tribes. In the book of Joshua, Gaza is mentioned four times (Josh 10:41; 11:22; 13:3; 15:47). Josh 11:22 states that the Anakites disappeared from the land of the Israelites; but some remained in Gaza. Josh 13:2–4, which states that the whole region "from the Shiḥor, which is close to Egypt, to the territory of Ekron on the north …," belonged to "the five lords of the Philistines—the Gazites, the Ashdodites, the Ashkelonites, the Gittites, and the Ekronites …," clearly reflects a tradition which is also preserved in the LXX of Judg 1:18 (contrary to the MT): "And Judah did not capture Gaza …," which is confirmed by Judg 1:19: Judah could not "dispossess the inhabitants of the plain for they had iron chariots." Gaza appears again in the story of Gideon in connection with the raids of the Midianites, who, together with the Amalekites and the Kedemites, would attack the Israelites and destroy "the produce of the land all the way to Gaza" (Judg 6:3–4).

The Philistines appear upon the biblical stage for the first time in the stories about Samson (Judges 13–16), which describes the heavy hand of the Philistines on the Hebrew tribes, especially on Judah and Dan. The leading role played by Gaza among the Philistine towns is revealed in the later stages of Samson's life. The town was well fortified, with a gate and a watchtower (Judg 16:1–3) next to it, and it had a prison (Judg 16:21). But the most important building must have been the temple of Dagon (Judg 16:23–30). It is tempting to surmise that this temple of Dagon was built on the temple of Amon which Rameses III erected (*ANET,* 260–61).

In the wars of the Philistines against Judah and later against Saul, Gaza must have played a part. During the reign of David, the power of the Philistines was much diminished, and this weakness may explain the ease with which "Pharaoh King of Egypt had come up and captured Gezer …" (1 Kgs 9:16).

**C. Gaza and Israel/Judah**

It is possible that the Philistine city-states were later tributary to David and Solomon, and may be implied in a record from the days of Solomon, which says that Solomon's rule extended "from the Euphrates to the land of the Philistines and the boundary of Egypt. They were bringing tribute and were serving Solomon all his life" (1 Kgs 4:21—Eng 5:1). The same statement is repeated almost immediately, that Solomon "controlled the whole region west of the River (= Euphrates), from Tiphsah to Gaza, all the kings west of the River" (1 Kgs 4:24—Eng 5:4). The geographic expression "west of the River" casts some doubt on the authenticity of the source. On the other hand, the inclusion of the territory as far as the

border of Egypt is reaffirmed, which reads: "from the entrance of Hamath [Lebo-hamath] to the Brook of Egypt" (1 Kgs 8:65).

It appears that towards the end of Solomon's reign, or at the beginning of Rehoboam's, the Philistines began to escape Israelite domination and turned their attention toward Egypt, whom they solicited for help against the Hebrew kings. We may assume that at this time the *seren* of Gaza (and the other cities of the Pentapolis) became a king.

In the fifth year of Rehoboam of Judah (ca. 928–911 B.C.) Pharaoh Shishak raided Judah and Israel. According to the place list on the Temple of Amon at Karnak (Kitchen 1973: §§398–415), the starting point of Shishak's campaign into Asia was apparently Gaza. From there one force advanced to the N, and another to the Negeb. On his way home, Shishak must have passed Gaza again; in the last row of the record is the name of Raphia. Since no other Philistine town is mentioned, apparently an understanding existed between Egypt and the Philistines, and in particular between Egypt and Gaza. Apparently Shishak died shortly after the campaign, before he was able to restore Egypt's grip on Asia, and even though his weak successors did not follow up that victorious raid, the enfeebled Judah was no longer a real opponent to Gaza.

The list of towns which Rehoboam fortified (2 Chr 11:5–12) must refer to the period after Shishak's invasion and suggests possible territorial gains for Gaza and her sister towns—as allies of Shishak (?).

Asa's victory over Zerah the Cushite (2 Chr 14:11–14) almost certainly drove them to an alliance with Gaza. Gaza's trade to the S, mainly spices and incense, could only benefit from these new allies.

Later the alliance between Jehoshaphat and the Omrides strengthened Judah's position vis-a-vis her S and SW neighbors (cf. 2 Chr 17:11). Again Gaza and the Arabs cooperated to oppose Judah. It is no surprise that in the reign of Jehoram of Judah, when Judah and its former ally Israel were weakened by Aram, the Philistine city-states, together with the Arabs, sought revenge on Judah (2 Chr 21:16–17). From this point, the trade route from Arabia to Gaza was in the hands of Gaza's friends (2 Kgs 8:20).

The name of *Pa-la-aš-tu* (Philistia) appears in the Assyrian records for the first time about forty years later, in 805/804, when Adad-nirari III of Assyria appeared in the W (*ANET*, 281).

Under Amaziah and his son and coregent Uzziah, Judah regained much of its former power. Amaziah defeated the Edomites and conquered their capital, Petra (2 Kgs 14:7); his son Uzziah conquered their port, Elath (2 Kgs 14:22; 2 Chr 26:2) and subjugated the Philistines, the Arabs, and the Ammonites. These events were certainly in the background of Amos' oracles, which he delivered about 760 B.C. Unfortunately the denunciation of Gaza (Amos 1:6) is extremely difficult to understand. While only Gaza is denounced, the punishment falls on all the Philistine cities: Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron. It seems fair to infer that among the Philistine cities Gaza was at least *prima inter pares.* The book of Amos is the earliest source for the tradition that the Philistines came from Caphtor (Amos 9:7).

**D. Gaza and the Assyrians**

Evil days came upon Gaza in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.). In the tribute list of the year 738 the name of Hanno, king of Gaza, appears (*ANET*, 282). In 734 Tiglath-pileser undertook a special campaign "against Philistia," whose main object was Gaza (*ANET*, 283). Hanno fled (cf. Zech 9:5), the royal family was captured, and a huge tribute was imposed on Gaza, where a "custom station of Assyria" was established (Wiseman 1956: 121).

In contrast, however, to the usual process of annexation by making a conquered state an Assyrian province, neither Gaza nor Tyre was ever incorporated into the Assyrian empire. Hanno was pardoned by Tiglath-pileser and restored to the throne of Gaza, but when Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) came to power, Hanno joined Hamath in rebelling against him. They had the backing of Egypt, but the Egyptian army was defeated at Raphia. Hanno was captured and taken to Assyria in chains, and Gaza again became a vassal city. Gaza remained loyal to Assyria until the reign of Pharaoh Psammetichus I (664–610 B.C.). This Assyrian loyalty made Gaza an enemy of Judah. When King Hezekiah tried to force his W neighbors to join him in the rebellion against Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.), he "overran Philistia as far as Gaza and its border areas, from watchtower to fortified town" (2 Kgs 18:8). After having crushed Hezekiah's rebellion and defeated the Egyptian army which had been called in to help, Sennacherib allocated some of

the border cities of Judah to the Philistine kings who had remained loyal: Mitinti of Ashdod, Padi of Ekron, and Ṣil-Bel of Gaza (Sillibel according to *ANET*, 288). By those grants, Gaza (and her sister states) became "a semi-neutral buffer area between Assyria and Egypt" (Tadmor 1966: 97). Ṣil-Bel ruled a long time and is mentioned in the annals of Sennacherib in 701, in those of Esarhaddon in 677, and in the records of Assurbanipal in 667. Gaza again became the leading city among the Philistine city-states (*ANET*, 291, 294). The name Ṣil-Bel testifies to Gaza's adoption of the usages of the Assyrian overlord.

**E. Gaza and the Egyptians/Babylonians**

After the death of Assurbanipal in 627 B.C.(?), the Assyrian empire declined rapidly, while the Egyptians under Psammetichus I (664–610 B.C.) regained their full independence and tried to restore their hold in W Asia. In 616 B.C., after more than eight hundred years, an Egyptian army appeared again on the banks of the Euphrates, however, this time to support the Assyrians against the aggressions of the rising Babylonian power. Doubtless, by this time Gaza had a new overlord. A hint of Psammetichus' overlordship over Philistia may be found in the prophecy of Zephaniah, since the list of the Philistine city-states proceeds S–N as follows: Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Ekron (Zeph 2:4). This can also be inferred from an inscription, dated to the reign of Psammetichus I, which mentions a king's messenger/commissioner/ambassador Petee-si son (of) Apy in *The Canaan* (= Gaza; see above) (and) in/of Philistia (Aḥituv 1984: 36). There can be no doubt that Gaza was Egypt's vassal in 609, when Neco II (610–595 B.C.) hurried to Harran to help the Assyrians against the attacks of the Babylonians (2 Kgs 23:29 = 2 Chr 35:20).

In that battle (605 B.C.), Nebuchadnezzar (still as crown prince) totally defeated the Egyptian forces near Carchemish, and in the words of the Judean historian: "The king of Egypt did not venture out of his country again, for the king of Babylon had seized all the land that had belonged to the king of Egypt from the Brook of Egypt to the river Euphrates" (2 Kgs 24:7).

In the cup vision (Jer 25:15–26), dated from the 4th year of King Jehoiakim (= 605/604 B.C.), Jeremiah prophesied the downfall of Egypt and of "all the kings of the land of the Philistines" (Jer 25:19–20). The same is repeated in the prophecy in chapter 47. The statement in v 5 that "Baldness (i.e., mourning) has come upon Gaza, Ashkelon is destroyed," probably refers to the fact that in December 604, Nebuchadnezzar conquered Ashkelon and totally destroyed it (Wiseman 1961: 68/69). The editorial heading to Jeremiah 47: "before Pharaoh conquered Gaza" was added by a scribe after 600 B.C., because in December 601, Nebuchadnezzar clashed with Pharaoh Neco in a bloody battle near Migdol (Lipiński 1972). Apparently Neco pursued the beaten Babylon forces and occupied Gaza (Hdt. 2.159).

The *Chronicles of the Chaldaean Kings* records that Nebuchadnezzar returned to Babylon and stayed there the following year to reassemble chariots and horses. Not until December 598 did he feel strong enough to return to the W and subdue the mutiny of his former vassal Jehoiakim (Wiseman 1961: 72–73; 2 Kgs 24:1). It seems probable that when Nebuchadnezzar reappeared in the W, Neco decided to abandon Gaza without a struggle. Records show that some decades later, the king of Gaza was held with other kings in Babylon (*ANET*, 308). It is likely that under Nebuchadnezzar, Gaza became a Babylonian garrison-town as we find it in a record from the reign of Nabonidus (555–539 B.C.) (Langdon 1912: 220–21). By conquering Babylon in October 539, Cyrus became the overlord of Gaza, too.

**F. Gaza and the Persians**

When Cambyses conquered Egypt in 525 B.C. Gaza became the bridge between Persian Asia and Persian Egypt. In 517, Darius visited Egypt and must have stayed in Gaza. Apparently Gaza, which belonged to the Fifth Persian Satrapy, became a strong fortress town for the Persians. At Tell Jemmeh (ca. 10 km S of Gaza) two big buildings and storehouses belonging to the Persian period were excavated; they probably had been built for the Persian troops. Gaza became the staging era for Persian attempts to subdue Egyptian rebellions or (after Egypt had regained her independence) to restore Persian rule in Egypt.

About 450 B.C., Herodotus passed through Gaza, and recorded that the town was almost as large as Sardis (Hdt. 3.5).

In 350 B.C., Egyptian rebels with help from the Spartans, campaigned against Persia and conquered Gaza, and their fleet landed troops in Phoenicia. Thus after nearly 250 years, Egyptian troops again were

operating in Syria. But an insurrection broke out in Egypt, and the Egyptian forces were recalled from Asia.

About the same time, Artaxerxes III Ochus took over the supreme command to reconquer Egypt, and established his base in Gaza. The initial campaign failed, but proved successful several years later.

**G. Gaza and Alexander**

At Issus in 333 B.C., Alexander the Great gained a decisive victory over the Persians, and having conquered Tyre in 332, he appeared with his fleet and army at Gaza—the only city in W Asia to remain loyal to the Persian king. The town had been entrusted to one of the most loyal servants of the king, the eunuch Batis, who was determined to stop Alexander and thus save Egypt for the Persian crown (Arrian *Hist. of Alex.* 2.25.4–2.27.7; Curtius *Hist. of Alex.* 4.6.7–30). It took Alexander two months to conquer the strong-walled city. The fighting was fierce and all the citizens perished with their leader; the women and children were sold into slavery. The town was repopulated by the neighboring tribesmen (Arrian 2.27.7) and was again used as a fortress. The booty must have been enormous—aside from the presents that Alexander sent to his mother and his family, he sent his tutor, Leonidas, 500 talents weight of frankincense and a hundred of myrrh (Plut., *De Alex. fort.* 25.5).

**H. Archaeological Remains**

The material remains from pre-Hellenistic Gaza are meager. Probes have exposed remains of what may have been the wall that surrounded the city when Pharaoh Neco attacked it in the 7th/6th century B.C. (cf. Jer 47:1). An earlier wall has been dated to the middle of the 2d millennium B.C. and Phythian-Adams attributes it to the Philistines. Ceramic wares from the LB (base-ring ware, Cypriot "milk bowls," etc.), Iron Age I (Philistine wares), and some Iron Age II wares have been identified (*EAEHL* 2: 408–17). The series of excavation reports published by William Flinders Petrie, *Ancient Gaza I–IV,* do not pertain to this site, but modern scholarship has since identified that site, known as Tell el-ʿAjjul, as Eusebius' (*Onomast.* 48.19) Beth Aglaim.

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H. J. KATZENSTEIN

## *GAZA IN THE GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD*

Gaza was one of the most important cities of Palestine in ancient times for two main reasons: its role as a major emporium for the lucrative luxury-goods trade from Arabia Felix and the Far East, and its location on the Via Maris leading from Asia Minor and Syria to Egypt. Strategically, it served as a bridgehead for Egyptian rulers who launched campaigns to conquer Palestine and Syria, just as it served as a springboard for conquering Egypt from the N. The city already became an international commercial center under the reign of the Achaemenid Persians (Rappaport 1970: 75), thanks to the political alliance and economic cooperation both with the Persian authorities and with neighboring Arab tribes. With good reason Herodotus (3.5) rated Gaza as no less "a great city" than Sardis in Asia Minor.

**A. Under Alexander the Great**

Gaza was the only city in Palestine which opposed Alexander. Its defense was directed by a local Persian governor called Betis (or Batis) who was assisted with Arab mercenaries (Arrian, 2.25.4; Curtius Rufus, 4.6.7; cf. Jos. *Ant* 11.320). Since Gaza's security needs related chiefly to caravan trade of the Sinai desert and the Negeb of Palestine, it would be reasonable to assume that any such "Arab mercenaries"

hired to protect it had the appropriate military training, namely desert warfare. The explicit mention of Nabataeans in connection with events shortly afterward (312 B.C.E.) reinforces the impression that the Arab mercenaries were Nabataeans or of some closely related tribe.

Alexander besieged the city for two months (August–September 332 B.C.E.) using war machines and digging in the sand underneath the city walls (Stark 1852: 236–244; Kasher 1975: 63–67). He could not leave Gaza unconquered, since it could serve to block him on his return back from Egypt. He was angry with the Gazaeans both for their stubborn resistance and because he sustained personal injury during the siege; he therefore treated them cruelly, their governor Betis in particular. Because this proud man had refused to honor Alexander by kneeling, he was bound by his heals to Alexander's chariot and was dragged around the city, thus sharing a fate similar to that of Hector who was killed by Achilles in the Trojan War. The Gazaeans were sold into slavery and their city was repopulated with people from the vicinity, probably from the loyal Phoenician cities of Palestine. Eventually Gaza was reconstructed and was politically organized as a *polis* by Alexander himself, so as to safeguard his return from Egypt (Arr. 2.25–27; Curtius Rufus, 4.6.7; Diod. Sic. 17.48.7; Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 24).

The conquest of Gaza was also an important step in the realization of Alexander's dream to gain control of the source and markets of perfumes and spices (Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 25.5). From Gaza he sent to Macedonia a cargo of 10 ships loaded with the booty he had captured there, and these ships had to bring back new recruits to fill the ranks of the army which had suffered heavy losses in Gaza (Diod. Sic. 17.49). Josephus reports that at this point Alexander paid his visit to Jerusalem (*Ant* 11.325), but the credibility of this report is still under debate.

Following Alexander's death, Gaza became a focal point in the conflicts between the Diadochi (323–301 B.C.E.). First, it was conquered by Ptolemy I in 320 B.C.E., but already in 315 B.C.E. it fell in the hands of Antigonus Monophthalmus. Later in 312 B.C.E., seizing the opportunity of Antigonus' temporary absence from the Syro-Palestinian arena, Ptolemy I recaptured Gaza after winning a decisive battle over Demetrius Poliorcetes (Antigonus' son). But in 311 B.C.E. Ptolemy I was compelled to abandon Gaza once again because of the speedy return of Antigonus with a huge force. While retreating, he destroyed the fortifications of the city, just as he did to those of Acre, Jaffa and Samaria. In 301 B.C.E. he restored his rule in Gaza following the defeat of Antigonus in the battle of Ipsus (Hengel 1976: 25–33).

**B. Under Ptolemaic Rule**

Gaza was under Ptolemaic rule for a whole century (301–198 B.C.E.) and served as a prosperous and important economic center for trade with Egypt. Its commercial prosperity is well reflected in the Zenon Papyri found in Philadelphia in the Fayûm district of Egypt. Zenon, the chief agent of Apollonius the *Dioketes* (i.e., the Ptolemaic minister of finance), visited Palestine in 260/259 B.C.E. under the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283–246 B.C.E.), and Gaza was one of the most important cities mentioned in his Papyri. The main Palestinian commodities passing through the markets of Gaza were slaves, olive oil, Syrian wheat and other grains, fish, wines, dry fruits, etc. But Gaza's world fame was, of course, as a center of the "Arab trade" dealing with spices and perfumes from Arabia Felix. The Zenon Papyri even mention a Ptolemaic functionary there bearing the title "Officer-in-Charge of Frankincense" (*PSI* 628). The trade activity of the Arab tribes with Gaza branched out to India and the Far East. The main commodities brought from there to Gaza included Indian tree resin, dyes, aromatic essences, ginger, pepper, balsam, persimmon, fragrant creams, vermillion, specially processed wool cloth, precious woods, silk, brocades, and medical drugs (Tcherikover 1937: 9–90; Hengel 1974: 39; Kasher 1975: 68–70).

During the Ptolemaic period Gaza was deeply involved in the "Syrian Wars." In 217 B.C.E. Ptolemy IV Philopator defeated Antiochus III in the famous battle of Raphia (south of Gaza). But in 200 B.C.E. Antiochus was the victor, this time in the battle of Paneas against Ptolemy V Epiphanes (Bar-Kochva 1976: 128–57); and within two years he had destroyed the last pockets of Ptolemaic resistance, including Gaza (Stark 1852: 404–405; Tcherikover 1959: 73–75).

**C. Under Seleucid Rule**

The Hellenization of Gaza probably deepened during the period of Seleucid rule even more, as suggested by the change of its name to Seleucia during the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164

B.C.E.). Later, in the wake of increased internal conflicts and civil wars in Syria, Gaza gradually attained more autonomy as a *polis;* this is well reflected in the city coinage (Rappaport 1970: 78–80). Politically this was mainly manifested in connection with the war between Demetrius II and Tryphon, the legal guardian of young Antiochus VI. At that time (145/44 B.C.E.), Jonathan the Hasmonaean was an ally of Tryphon, while his brother Simon was nominated as the *strategos* of the coastal strip from Tyre to the border of Egypt (1 Macc 11:59). Since Gaza was hostile, the Hasmonaeans attacked the city and burned its suburbs to the ground. Under siege, Gaza sued for peace, which was accepted; however, the Hasmonaeans took some of the city archons as hostages and brought them to Jerusalem (1 Macc 9:61–62; Jos. *Ant* 13.150–53). Thus the plans of Gaza to gain independence went unfulfilled. Moreover, the conquest of Idumaea by John Hyrcanus I (ca. 125 B.C.E.) threatened not only the city's role in trade by disrupting the Idumaean link in the Arabian trade route, but it endangered the very existence of the city's autonomy as a *polis*.

**D. Under the Hasmonaeans**

In 103/102 B.C.E. Gaza was used as a military base from which Ptolemy IX Lathyrus, governor of Ptolemaic Cyprus, prepared to invade Egypt and depose Queen Cleopatra III, his mother (Jos. *Ant* 13.329, 334, 348, 352). Following the failure of this invasion and the death of Queen Cleopatra III (101 B.C.E.), Alexander Jannaeus, the Hasmonaean king, seized the opportunity to conquer Gaza. Ptolemy XI (Alexander I) probably agreed to the conquest in order to have Jannaeus on his side against his rival Ptolemy IX Lathyrus. According to Josephus' report (*Ant* 13.357–64), Jannaeus isolated Gaza from its hinterland by capturing Anthedon in the N and Raphia as well as Rhinocorura (modern El-Arish) in the S. When the city had been cut off from its own port to the W, the Gazaeans desperately appealed to Aretas II the Nabataean king for aid, but their hopes proved to be in vain. Apollodotus, the city commander, mounted a night raid on the Jewish besiegers, but at daybreak the Jews gained the upper hand. The fate of the city itself, however, had not yet been determined. Only after a fight had broken out between Apollodotus and his brother Lysimachus, in which the former met his death, did Jannaeus succeed in breaching the walls of Gaza. Fierce fighting broke out in the city's streets, and when the Gazaeans realized that they had no chance of victory they set their property on fire and many preferred suicide rather than capture by the Jews. Jannaeus did not take pity even on the five hundred members of the city council *(boulé)* who had sought refuge in the local temple of Apollo. After besieging the city for an entire year (probably 100/99 B.C.E. and not 96 B.C.E. as maintained by many scholars), Jannaeus destroyed it and annexed it to his kingdom (Kasher 1988: 144).

Josephus' report was undoubtedly drawn from historical sources hostile to the Hasmonaeans, probably from the writings of Nicolaus of Damascus. The Gazaeans are portrayed sympathetically, while Jannaeus is described as a bloodthirsty tyrant who tricked the Gazaeans into surrendering and then savagely slaughtered them. The story of the city's last hours was written as a real Greek tragedy which aimed to win the readers' sympathy for the Gazaean victims. Undoubtedly, the destruction of the city was significant, as one might expect to happen after an entire year campaign, but there is no basis to believe that Gaza was completely destroyed. The very fact that Josephus himself stated that Antipas, the new governor appointed by Jannaeus over Idumaea and Gaza, "made a league of friendship with the Arabs and the Gazaeans" (*Ant* 14.10) suggests that the city still existed and even acted politically. Moreover, it seems that Jannaeus wanted somehow to soften the bitterness of his conquest by appointing an Idumaean governor who could win the trust of both the Arabs and the Gazaeans, who had enjoyed good relations in the past (Kasher 1988: 146–49).

**E. Under Roman Rule**

Gaza was liberated from the Hasmonaeans in 63 B.C.E. by Pompey. Like other liberated Hellenistic cities in Palestine, Gaza too adopted a "Pompeian calendar" to date years from the time of its liberation and reconstruction (61 B.C.E.) and thus to express its gratitude to Pompey. Later, Gabinius, the governor of Syria, rebuilt Gaza along with its neighboring towns Anthedon and Raphia (Stark 1852: 352; Jones 1971: 256–58; 509–13; *HJP²* 2: 101–102).

In 40 B.C.E. Gaza was assigned to the kingdom of Herod, but Herod could not realize his control on it until 37 B.C.E., when he defeated the last Hasmonaean king Mattathias Antigonus. The next year Herod lost Gaza with other cities and rural districts to Mark Antony, who gave them to Cleopatra VII. In 30 B.C.E. Caesar Augustus returned Gaza to Herod's domain (*Ant* 15.217; *JW* 1.396); however, its autonomy as a Greek *polis* was very limited, because of the direct control of the Herodian governor of Idumaea (*Ant* 15.254). It seems that Herod was suspicious of Gaza because of its close relations with the Nabataeans, his enemies. It is possible, therefore, that he rebuilt the port of Anthedon (then called Agrippias after Marcus Agrippa, Augustus' commander-in-chief) in order to compete with Gaza and to diminish its economic power.

After Herod's death Gaza enjoyed the status of partially autonomous *polis* under the aegis of the Roman governor in Syria (*Ant* 17.320; *JW* 2.97; Rosenberger 1975: 54). In Emperor Claudius' days Gaza was flourishing once again and was even described as an important city (Schürer *HJP²* 2: 102, n. 79). In 66 C.E. Gaza and Anthedon were attacked by Jewish zealotic rebels. Josephus (*JW* 2.460) states that the two cities were totally destroyed, but numismatic evidence indicates that this report was greatly exaggerated (*HJP²* 2: 102). Later, in the days of Vespasian, Gaza was annexed to the province of Judaea, but the reason for this is not known.

Under Hadrian, Gaza merited favored treatment, primarily in the economic sphere. Hadrian honored the city with a personal visit (129/130 C.E.) on his trip throughout the eastern provinces. Not only was the date of this visit imprinted on the city's coins, but it formed the basis for a new local calendar used in conjunction with the "Pompeian calendar" adopted in 61 B.C.E. With the suppression of the Bar-Kokhba Revolt in 135 C.E., many Jewish prisoners were brought to the large slave markets of Gaza, Acre, and Bothnah (near Hebron) to be sold and transported abroad (*J. Avodah Zarah,* I, 39 d; *Bereshith Rabbah,* 47 end; *Chronicon Paschale* [ed. Dindorf], I:474; Hieronymus, *In Jeremiam,* VI 31, *Patrum Latinorum Cursus Completum* [ed. Migne], 24 col. 911 etc.). From Gaza the slaves were apparently brought to Egypt on cargo ships or on foot. Some were sold in Egyptian markets and some were sent further to the west. Taking into account the long enmity between Gaza and the Jews, it seems that the defeat of Bar-Kokhba and the Jewish national disaster were probably cheered by the people of Gaza. It is possible that the city served as an important staging base for Roman troops sent to crush Jewish resistance in the southern parts of Judaea (and in Idumaea in particular). Gaza undoubtedly played an important logistical role as a station between Egypt and Judaea, supplying food, water, equipment, and services to the auxiliary forces coming from the S.

It is not known to what extent the establishment of Provicia Arabia in 106 C.E. affected Gaza. If the economic and trade activities of the Nabataeans indeed diminished, then it would seem that Gaza should have suffered as well. But it seems that this was not the case, at least not under the reign of Hadrian, as indicated above. In later generations, however, the fate of Gaza, for better or for worse, was closely involved with that of the Arab population in the vicinity.

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ARYEH KASHER


## *BYZANTINE GAZA*

During the Byzantine period, Gaza reached the highest level of prosperity and culture of its long history. Supported by a flourishing trade in agricultural produce, in particular the export of high quality wine throughout the Mediterranean and beyond, it developed as the home of a school of rhetoric which attracted students from the entire Byzantine world, as a focus for Christian pilgrimage, and as a city which offered its citizens a comfortable standard of living with lavish public cultural and recreational facilities. The period is illuminated by relatively abundant literary sources, many written in Gaza itself, and by some archaeological evidence.

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A. History of Gaza
B. Civic Administration
C. Population, Trade, and Industry
D. Rhetorical School
E. Buildings and Archaeology

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**A. History of Gaza**

The history of Gaza in the Byzantine period is closely associated with the spread of Christianity in Palestine and with its adoption by the imperial authorities and the cities themselves. In Gaza, the conflict between pagans and Christians was particularly bitter and well documented.

It is not known when Christianity first reached Gaza, but a number of Christians from the city, notably Silvanus, "the bishop of the churches around Gaza," suffered martyrdom under Diocletian (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 8.13). The Christian community in Gaza was very small, and the majority of the citizens remained militantly pagan throughout the next century. In contrast, the people of Gaza's port town, Maioumas, were more receptive to the new faith, and during the reign of Constantine they converted *en masse.* In response to this the emperor granted the town the status of an independent *polis,* renaming it Constantia. The people of Gaza refused to acquiesce in the loss of control over their port, and between 361 and 363 they appealed to the pagan Emperor Julian, who decreed that Maioumas should lose its independence and its new name and revert to its earlier status as "the sea-side part of Gaza." It kept, however, its independent Church administration under its own bishop. Even this did not satisfy the Gazaeans, and attempts were subsequently made to combine the two sees (Sozom., *Hist. Eccl.* 2.5; 5.3; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.38). The bishopric of Maioumas seems to have survived, however, until the 6th century, when it was apparently combined with that of the neighboring town of Anthedon. The intensity and persistence of the struggle over the status of Maioumas suggest that the dispute was not purely religious. There may have been economic factors behind Maioumas' desire for independence and Gaza's insistence to retain control over its port (Glucker 1987: 25–26, 43–44).

Another ecclesiastical dispute occurred in 341, when Asclepas, the bishop of Gaza who founded the "Old Church" just outside the city, was accused by the Arians, at that time in the ascendancy, of Athanasian tendencies and dismissed him from his post. He was subsequently reinstated, following the intervention of Pope Julius and Emperor Constantius (Marc. Diac. *v. Porph.* 20; Socrates *Hist. Eccl.* 2.15, 23; Sozom., *Hist. Eccl.* 3.8).

The first half of the 4th century was also the period of activity of Hilarion, who introduced the monastic way of life into Palestine. He was born in the village of Thavatha, five miles S of Gaza, and after his education in Alexandria he returned to the area and adopted the ascetic life of a hermit in the desert nearby. His growing reputation as a holy man attracted a number of followers, and eventually an organized monastic community developed around him (Jerome, *Vit. Hil.* 2–4; 14).

The reign of Julian was marked in Gaza by an outbreak of mob violence against Christians in which Hilarion's monastery was sacked and destroyed. Hilarion himself was abroad at the time and died later in Cyprus. Eventually his body was brought back and buried in the restored monastery, which became the site of an annual festival. The anti-Christian riots in Gaza, which led to a number of deaths, were suppressed by the provincial governor, who was subsequently dismissed from his post and imprisoned on Julian's orders (Jerome, *Vit. Hil.* 35, 41, 44–47; Sozom., *Hist. Eccl.* 3.14; 5.9).

The official adoption of Christianity came at the end of the 4th century, as a result of the efforts of Porphyry, who was appointed Bishop of Gaza in 394. An eyewitness account of the suppression of paganism in Gaza is available in the biography of Porphyry written by his secretary, Marcus Diaconus. The authenticity of this narrative has sometimes been questioned, but it seems probable that it is essentially genuine, despite some later editing, presumably on doctrinal grounds (Grégoire and Kugener 1930: vii–lxxxix). Since Porphyry's efforts to combat pagan harassment and enlarge his small congregation proved unsuccessful, in 398 he appealed to the Emperor Arcadius, who issued a decree ordering the closure of all the eight public temples in Gaza, except the Marneion, the temple of Gaza's patron deity Marnas, who was a local rain god identified by the Greeks with the Cretan Zeus (Marc. Diac., *v. Porph.* 19–27, 64; Stark 1852: 576–80; Hill 1914: lxxv–lxxvii). Two years later Porphyry traveled to Constantinople and gained the support of the Empress Eudoxia, who finally prevailed upon her husband to grant a decree ordering the destruction of all the temples in Gaza (Marc. Diac., *v. Porph.* 32–34, 37–54). This destruction was carried out in the summer of 402, under the supervision of an imperial official, the civil and military governors of the province, a large body of troops, and with the enthusiastic cooperation of the local Christians. Many of the pagans, however, including most of the richest citizens of Gaza, fled from the city, abandoning their homes (Marc. Diac., *v. Porph.* 57–71). The Marneion was razed and a large church was erected on its site, which was completed and dedicated in 407. It was named the Eudoxiana, after the empress, who had provided funds for the project (Marc. Diac., *v. Porph.* 74–79, 84, 92). From this time onward the Church slowly gained strength and influence in the city.

Almost nothing is known of Gaza during the 5th century. The controversial Monophysite theologian Petrus Iberus was appointed Bishop of Maioumas in 451. He spent many years in exile in Egypt, but eventually returned to Maioumas and was buried there (Raabe 1895). The Emperor Anastasius (491–518) granted a request by the orator and grammarian Timotheus of Gaza on behalf of his fellow-citizens and abolished an oppressive tax (the *demosion chrysargyron*). The people of Gaza expressed their gratitude to the emperor by the erection of a statue and a public encomium (Glucker 1987: 52–53).

Gaza reached the height of its prosperity during the reign of Justinian (527–65). An ambitious building program, involving churches and other public buildings, was carried out at the instigation of Bishop Marcianus, who played a prominent part in the civic administration, with the cooperation of Stephanus, the civil governor of the province, who was a native of Gaza (Glucker 1987: 55–56). One of their first undertakings was the restoration of the city wall, which had fallen into disrepair. Evidence for this reconstruction exists in an inscription erected by the building contractors (Abel 1931b: 94–95; Glucker 1987: 140–41, insc. 33). The orator Choricius speaks eloquently of the fear of enemy attack, conquest, and slavery, which he claims prevailed in the city before the restoration of the wall (Choricius *Laud. Marc.* 1.7), but there is no evidence that the security of Gaza was genuinely threatened. The most serious disturbance in the province at the time, the Samaritan Revolt, took place far to the N and did not affect Gaza. The region was occasionally troubled by bandits who menaced travelers on the roads, or by raiding parties of nomads from across the borders of Arabia or Egypt, but neither bandits nor nomads were capable of posing a serious threat to a large city. Choricius' remarks must, therefore, be regarded as heightened rhetoric, intended to justify a project undertaken primarily for reasons of prestige (Mayerson 1964: 183–88; Isaac 1984: 198–201; Glucker 1987: 55–57).

Gaza seems to have suffered from the terrible plague which spread throughout the entire empire between 540 and 542. Evidence for this consists in three epitaphs dated August 541. Others from the town of Nessana, which had close trading connections with Gaza, date from October and November of the same year (Kirk and Welles 1962: 168, insc. 80; 179–81, insc. 112–14; Glucker 1987: 124–27, insc. 9–11).

In 618/19 Gaza was occupied by the Persians under Chosroes II, as they overran the whole of Palestine and pushed S against Egypt. Nothing is known of Gaza under the Persian occupation, which apparently passed peacefully. The city was returned to Byzantine rule in 629, when the Emperor Heraclius regained control over Palestine.

The Moslem attack on Palestine began in 634. Records of the invasion are confused and inaccurate, but it is clear that Gaza was one of the main objectives of the Arab armies and that some of the earliest battles took place near the city (Mayerson 1964: 156–59; Stratos 1972: 48–50). Gaza was finally occupied by the Moslems under Amr-ibn-el-As in June or July of 637 (Stratos 1972: 78–79). An account of the conquest of the city is extant in the *Passio Sanctorum Sexaginta Martyrum,* a Greek work of uncertain date surviving only in a poor Latin translation, which describes the martyrdom of the troop of soldiers defending Gaza, who were imprisoned and finally executed for their refusal to convert to Islam (Guillou 1957: 396–404). Otherwise, however, the occupation of Gaza was peaceful, and the city continued as the administrative center of the region under the Arab governor (Glucker 1987: 59).

**B. Civic Administration**

The Byzantine sources on Gaza provide a few references to the city's civic administration and magistrates. A lead weight inscribed *Kolonias Gazes epi Herodou Diophantou* indicates that Gaza had been awarded Roman colonial status, probably in the late 3d or early 4th century (Kubitschek 1916: 31–40; Glucker 1987: 77). As a colony, Gaza presumably adopted a Roman municipal constitution, as is suggested by Jerome's reference to a *duumvir* (*Vit. Hil.* 20) and Sozomen's to *strategoi,* the normal Greek equivalent (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.3). There are references to the city council *(bouleuterion)* and councilors *(bouletai)* by Marcus Diaconus (*v. Porph.* 95) and to a *decurio* by Jerome (*Vit. Hil.* 22). A damaged inscription of the 6th century possibly refers to the council *(boulé)* (Glucker 1987: 128–31, insc. 14). A number of Gaza's magistrates are mentioned by Marcus Diaconus: There are three references to the *proteuontes* in terms which make it clear that they were considered the chief officials of the city in his time (*v. Porph.* 25, 27, 95). They were apparently three in number, and are probably to be identified with the *principales* well-known from Byzantine sources, who seem to have formed an inner group of leading members of a city council which directed its administration (Glucker 1987: 80). Marcus also refers to a *demekdikon,* apparently a local term (it has not been found elsewhere) for the *defensor civitatis,* an official whose mandate was to protect the poorer citizens from exploitation, and to the *eirenarchai,* the commanders of the city police (*v. Porph.* 25; Glucker 1987: 79). Several lead weights have been found in Gaza inscribed with the names and title of *agoranomoi,* the supervisors of the city's markets, whose duties included the issue of authorized standard weights (Lifshitz 1976: 168–87; Glucker 1987: 78, 147–54, insc. 42/1–26; 43/1–3). Choricius mentions an *astynomos,* an official responsible for the maintenance of the water supply, public baths, roads, and bridges (*Proc.* 34). But it is clear that by his time the bishop was the most active and influential figure in the city. He did not replace the official magistrates, but tended to take the initiative in public affairs, civic as well as ecclesiastical.

**C. Population, Trade, and Industry**

The population of Gaza was mixed in origin, but by the Byzantine period appears to have been fairly cohesive. Two stories, by Jerome (*Vit. Hil.* 22) and Marcus Diaconus (*v. Porph.* 66–68), suggest that most people spoke Aramaic as their everyday language. Knowledge of Greek was evidently restricted to the upper levels of society, and there are hints that Christianity may have been more easily accepted by the Aramaic-speaking people than by the Hellenized upper class (Glucker 1987: 48–51). A few Talmudic references may suggest the presence of a small Jewish community in Gaza, possibly from the 2d century A.D. onwards. The early 6th century synagogue discovered at Maioumas indicates that there was a prosperous community there at that date. There are also references to Samaritans at Gaza and to colonies of foreign merchants resident in Maioumas (Glucker 1987: 98–102).

By the Byzantine period the spice trade on which Gaza's earlier prosperity had been based had largely dried up, although some trade between Gaza and the Arabian Peninsula continued. It is recorded that in the late 5th century a trader in Indian goods, a native of Aila, passed through Gaza with two giraffes and an elephant to be presented to the emperor Anastasius (Haupt 1869: 2, 15). Arab merchants from Mecca are said to have visited and even settled in Gaza before the Moslem conquest (Meyer 1907: 74; Mayerson 1964: 169–71). But in this period Gaza's economy rested largely on the export of high quality wine, particularly to W Europe. Agriculture in S Palestine was flourishing as a result of the sophisticated water conservation and irrigation techniques developed by the Nabateans, and excavations in a number of

Negeb towns have revealed elaborate wine presses, evidence of wine production on an industrial scale (Mayerson 1962: 211–69; 1985: 75–80). The export of wine from Gaza is first reported in the mid-4th century by the *Totius Orbis Descriptio* (29A), which states: "Ascalon and Gaza … send good wine to the whole region of Syria and Egypt." At the end of the century, according to Marcus Diaconus (*v. Porph.* 58), a colony of Egyptian wine merchants was resident in Maioumas. From the 5th to the early 7th century a number of Latin writers refer to the strength and quality of Gaza's wine (Glucker 1987: 93–94). Pottery identified as amphorae from Gaza has been found on several sites throughout Europe and the Near East (Riley 1975: 27–31). Gaza's wine may have been popularized in the W by the Christian pilgrims who visited the Holy Land in large numbers at that time (Mayerson 1985: 79–80).

Gaza also served as a center for trade in other agricultural produce. The Nessana papyri provide evidence for trade in dates, and cereals, olives, and figs must have been marketed in the same way (Mayerson 1962: 227–29; Kraemer 1958: 175–79). The other Negeb towns and the villages on the coastal plain surrounding Gaza must also have dispatched their produce to the city, both to supply the needs of its large urban population and for export. In return, imported goods could be purchased in Gaza and distributed to the surrounding settlements (Glucker 1987: 94–96).

Little is known of other industries at Gaza. The manufacture of pottery was important, consisting chiefly of amphorae for the transport of wine and other agricultural produce. Stephanus of Byzantium refers to jars from Gaza as *keramoi Gazitoi,* and the term *gazition* also appears in papyri (Steph.Byz., s.v. Gaza; Kraemer 1958: 246–47). Excavations on the site of Maioumas near the coast revealed the remains of a dyeworks containing numerous sherds stained with inorganic dyes, some of which had been imported from Italy and Greece (Ovadiah 1969: 197–98). A mosaic pavement in the synagogue also excavated there bore a dedicatory inscription by two timber merchants. This must have been an essential and profitable trade, wood being in short supply in the arid region around Gaza (Ovadiah 1969: 195; Glucker 1987: 96).

Gaza must also have profited from the many Christian pilgrims who began to visit the city from the late 4th century onwards, apparently attracted by the numerous martyr shrines around the city, including those of Timotheus, Major and Thea in Gaza itself, that of St. Victor on the way to Maioumas, and the tomb of Hilarion two miles to the S. The Church officially encouraged pilgrims: a hostel was included in the plans for the Eudoxiana church and a fund was set up to pay each visitor a day's expenses (Marc. Diac., *v. Porph.* 53, 93). The citizens also encouraged visitors to the town. One of these pilgrims wrote: "Gaza is a magnificent and delightful city; its people are most virtuous, endowed with the utmost generosity and lovers of pilgrims" (Antoninus Placentinus, *Itinerarium* 33; Glucker 1987: 96–98).

**D. Rhetorical School**

Gaza was the home of a famous school of rhetoric, which reached the height of its reputation in the late 5th and early 6th centuries. At that time, it is reported, even Athenians preferred to study rhetoric in Gaza (Aen. Gaz., *Ep.* 18). Members of the school wrote on a wide variety of literary and mythological topics, in verse as well as prose, being strongly influenced by the school of Alexandria and the poet Nonnus. It was also a devoutly Christian school, some of its leading members producing theological as well as literary works, and this may have been a factor in its popularity. An official chair in rhetoric was established in Gaza, involving a salary paid out of public funds. As well as directing rhetorical education in Gaza, its occupant was expected to deliver orations on ceremonial occasions.

Among the leading rhetors from Gaza were Aeneas, who combined Christianity with Neoplatonism in a dialogue, the *Theophrastus,* on the immortality of the soul, and Timotheus, who wrote a lost book on grammar and a treatise on exotic animals in four books of hexametric verse, partly preserved in a prose summary. A few Anacreontic verses by Johannes, a slightly later poet and grammarian, are extant, as is his long hexametric poem describing the wall paintings in a bathhouse in Gaza. Procopius of Gaza (died ca. 526) was one of the leading members of the school with a high reputation throughout the region. Many of his biblical commentaries are extant, as well as a few short speeches and a large collection of letters. He held the chair of rhetoric in Gaza and was succeeded in that post by his pupil Choricius, many

of whose writings have been preserved. Most of these are purely literary in character, but some provide valuable information on Gaza in the first half of the 6th century (Glucker 1987: 51–53).

Public oratory was the most elevated form of entertainment in Byzantine Gaza, and was part of the frequent and elaborate festivals which took place there, some under the patronage of the Church, others, such as the "Day of Roses," evidently survivals from the pagan tradition. Other, perhaps more popular, amusements included mimes, performed in the city's theaters, instrumental and choral concerts, chariot racing, wrestling and athletics (Choricius *Laud. Marc.* 1.83–89; 2.60–69; *Apol. Mim;* Glucker 1987: 54–55).

**E. Buildings and Archaeology**

Gaza is represented on the 6th century mosaic map from Madeba in Jordan. The vignette of the city, only approximately half of which survives, depicts a walled city built on a Roman street plan, with colonnaded main streets running N–S and E–W, leading to gates in the city walls and meeting in a large *forum* in the center (Donner and Cüppers 1977: 158–59). A small domed structure in the middle of the *forum* may be the elaborate clock described by Procopius of Gaza (Diels 1917: 3–39). A semi-circular structure at the SE corner may possibly represent a theater, but is more probably simply a colonnaded courtyard. The SW quarter is filled by one large building, presumably a church, which cannot, however, be positively identified with any of the churches known through literary sources (Glucker 1987: 18–22). Earliest among these churches are the Irene and the Old Church, both probably dating from the first half of the 4th century (Marc. Diac., *v. Porph.* 18, 20), and the Eudoxiana, dedicated in 407 (Marc. Diac., *v. Porph.* 92). Two magnificent churches built in the 6th century are described in detail by Choricius: the church of St. Sergius, completed shortly before 536, and that of St. Stephen the Martyr, dedicated between 536 and 548 (Choricius, *Laud. Marc.* 1; 2; Abel 1931a: 12–27; Downey 1963: 126–139). Choricius also mentions the Church of the Apostles, which was repaired by Bishop Marcianus (*Laud. Marc.* 2.17–18).

Other building projects initiated by Marcianus include additional stoas and a bathhouse (Choricius, *Proc.* 52). The provincial governor Stephanus was responsible for building another bathhouse, the "summer theater" and, possibly, a basilica (Choricius, *Laud. Arat. et Steph.* 55). The private houses of Gaza were built, for the most part, of sun-dried brick and had flat roofs. They apparently adjoined each other closely, as the rooftops provided an escape (in times of danger) from riot (Marc. Diac., *v. Porph.* 21, 96–98).

No archaeological excavations have been carried out within the modern town of Gaza, apart from an exploratory trench dug in 1922, which revealed numerous Roman and Byzantine sherds (Phythian-Adams 1923: 12, 23–24). In 1965, a large and well-preserved mosaic pavement was discovered close to the sea near Gaza. Subsequent excavations in 1967 disclosed the remains of a synagogue measuring 30 × 26 m, divided by four rows of columns into a central nave with two narrower aisles on either side. One mosaic depicts King David as Orpheus playing his lyre to a group of animals; another represents various animals and birds set in medallions formed from vine tendrils. A dedicatory inscription dates the synagogue to A.D. 508/9. Some private houses and a dyeworks were also uncovered. A second season of excavations in 1976 revealed further domestic and industrial installations and substantial fortifications (a stretch of wall or a tower) close to the sea. These findings, mostly dating from the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., have finally settled doubts over the situation of the port town Maioumas (Ovadiah 1969: 193–198; 1977: 176–178; Glucker 1987: 12).

A number of inscriptions from Gaza, mainly Christian epitaphs, were published at the end of the 19th century (Clermont-Ganneau 1896: 379–437). These appear to have come originally from a cemetery near Maioumas, but most were found in secondary use in buildings in Gaza. Additional inscriptions have been discovered subsequently; a full collection has recently been published (Glucker 1987: 115–63).

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**GAZELLE.** See ZOOLOGY.

**GAZEZ** (PERSON) [Heb *gāzēz* (גָּזֵז)]. The name of two persons in the OT. The name possibly means "shearer." It appears in the LXX as *gezoue* and in the Peshitta as *gozan.*

**1.** A son of Caleb by Ephah his concubine (1 Chr 2:46). Gazez, however, may not in fact have been a descendant of Caleb, for some suspect, among them Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 54–55) and Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 40–41), that the genealogy found in 1 Chr 2:42–50a represents a clan other than that of Caleb (compare 1 Chr 4:15). Gazez, as well as other names in this genealogy, appears nowhere else in biblical literature. From whose line Gazez descends is unknown.

**2.** A son of Haran and grandson of Caleb (1 Chr 2:46). This Gazez is apparently a nephew to Gazez son of Caleb by Ephah his concubine.

CRAIG A. EVANS

**GAZZAM** (PERSON) [Heb *gazzām* (גַּזָּם)]. Var. GAZZAN. Head of a family of NETHINIM (temple servants) who are listed as returnees from Babylonian exile under the leadership of Zerubbabel and others (Ezra 2:48 = Neh 7:51 = 1 Esdr 5:31). According to Noth, the name means "bird of prey" or "wasp" (*IPN,* 230). For further discussion see AKKUB.

CHANEY R. BERGDALL

**GEBA** (PLACE) [Heb *geba‘* (גֶּבַע)]. Listed among Benjaminite towns (Josh 18:24) and Levitical cities (Josh 21:17 = 1 Chr 6:60), Geba's original inhabitants were reportedly exiled to Manahath (1 Chr 8:6). Geba is mentioned in such close connection with Gibeah in Judg 20:10, 33; 1 Sam 13:3, 16; and 14:5, and Isa 10:29 that textual emendations in the commentaries are legion; uncertainty exists as to whether the

two toponyms refer to separate sites or are linguistic variants of the same site name. See GIBEAH. The city seems to have figured in a battle which expelled the Philistines from Benjamin (1 Sam 13–14; 2 Sam 5:25), though credit for the victory is variously assigned to Saul, Jonathan, and David. After the division of the kingdom, Asa fortified the site as one of Judah's N outposts on the Israelite border (1 Kgs 15:22 = 2 Chr 16:6). In the late 8th century B.C., an invader from the N reportedly passed by this fortress en route to Jerusalem (Isa 10:29). A hill shrine at Geba was reportedly desecrated during Josiah's reform (2 Kgs 23:8). The city is mentioned during the postexilic period (Ezra 2:26; Neh 7:30; 11:31; and 12:29) and appears to have been regarded as a N limit of Judah into the 4th century B.C. (Zech 14:10).

Since E. Robinson's 1838 expedition (1874: 440–42), Geba has been identified with the modern village of Jaba‹, 9 km NE of Jerusalem (M.R. 175140). The site is located on the brow of a steep hill S of the Wadi es-Swenît directly opposite Mukhmas (see MICHMASH), 2 km to the NE. This location afforded Geba control over a key road which crossed the intervening valley at the Geba/Michmash Pass (1 Sam 13:23; Isa 10:29; Judg 20:33?). Although the site has never been excavated, M. Kochavi's 1968 surface survey (1972: 183) discovered Iron Age and Persian sherds in and near the village.

Regarding Geba's frequent textual confusion with Gibeah, J. M. Miller (1975: 165) proposed that the two names are linguistic variants of the same toponym. P. Arnold (1987: 101–14) suggested that "Gibeah" is the older, Israelite name for the site known in later Judean records as "Geba." The Judean border fortress at Geba was constructed simultaneously with Mizpah ca. 900 B.C. in order to guard the two main highways leading into Judah from Israel, the former at the strategic Geba/Michmash Pass, and the latter along the watershed highway. The term "from Geba to Beer-sheba" (2 Kgs 23:8) thus probably demarcated the limits of the Judean kingdom during monarchical times. Y. Aharoni (1968: 30) proposed that these border fortresses also contained sanctuaries, and that the excavation of Geba might reveal a cultic site corresponding to the shrines discovered at Beer-sheba and Arad.

Geba's identification as a Levitical city probably relates to its post-exilic settlement by priests active in the reconstitution of temple worship in Jerusalem (Neh 12:29).

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PATRICK M. ARNOLD

**GEBAL** (PLACE) [Heb *gĕbāl* (גְּבָל)]. GEBALITES. **1.** A famous ancient Phoenician seaport city, better known today by its Arabic name Jubail (M.R. 210391), situated on the Mediterranean seacoast about 20 miles (32 km) N of Beirut. Since it had a good harbor for small ships it was one of the principal Phoenician seaports long before the development of Tyre and Sidon. Gebal is the earliest Asiatic city mentioned in Egyptian Old Kingdom records. Ancient trade between Egypt and Gebal involved large quantities of papyrus reeds. The Greeks called the city Byblos, meaning "book," because the people of Gebal made paper from the imported reeds. This paper was used to record expense accounts, state correspondence, important documents, and religious texts. The Gebalites (Josh 13:5) were expert stone cutters and masons (1 Kgs 5:18). The inhabitants of the city were also known for their talent in caulking and boat building (Ezek 27:9). Ships built in Gebal sailed between Phoenicia and Egypt carrying cargo of oil for mummification, fancy woods including cedar for mummy cases, etc., and returned with shipments of papyrus reeds, metal wares, gold, and perfumes. These ships also traded throughout the Mediterranean seaports including Cyprus, Tyre, and Sidon.

Gebal was regarded as a holy city. Tradition narrates that the god ›El, identified by the Greeks with Kronos, settled in Gebal at the beginning of time. Archaeological excavations conducted by E. Renan in 1860, P. Montet from 1920–1924, and recent digs of M. Dunand revealed that the site of Gebal was occupied as early as 5000 B.C. Evidence of trade with the Caucasus region, Cyprus, Egypt, Mesopotamia,

and Sudan are noted by the year 3000 B.C. During the Egyptian Old Kingdom (ca. 2700–2200 B.C.), Gebal continued its exportation of oil, leather, wine, and large quantities of wood to Egypt. Sometime before 2100 B.C., five hundred years of peace in Gebal ended with the fall of the Egyptian Old Kingdom and conquest by the Amorites. The Amorites destroyed the city during the conquest, but later rebuilt it. Following the Amorite conquests of Canaan, Phoenicia, and Syria (although there is a shifting concensus that there was not a "conquest"; Richard 1987), peace again came to Gebal and the city enjoyed a new period of prosperity. During this time the city had close cultural ties with W Asia, yet politically it perhaps came under the Egyptian Middle Kingdom control (Albright 1964; however, some see the relation between Byblos and Egypt simply as that of trading partners, Ward 1961; Weinstein 1975).

With the decline of the Middle Kingdom (ca. 1800 B.C.), Egypt lost most of its political outposts in Phoenicia and Syria. At this time the Hyksos moved in and controlled all the area of Palestine, Syria, and the delta region of Egypt. During this period Gebal grew into a large densely populated city and armaments excavated revealed the Hyksos military presence in Gebal. Under the 18th Dyn., the Egyptians drove out the Hyksos sometime after 1600 B.C. and established military control over Gebal and all Phoenicia. During the Amarna era (ca. 1350 B.C.), Egypt's power weakened, and Egyptian strongholds in Phoenicia came under heavy pressure from the Hittites, which resulted in some fifty appeals for help from Rib-Addi of Gebal to Amenhotep IV of Egypt for help (e.g., EA, 137; cf. *ANET*, 483–84), but Egyptian control all along the Phoenician coast declined. Under Rameses II, Egypt restored some control over Phoenicia (ca. 1285 B.C.) but later granted independent status to Gebal (ca. 1200 B.C.). Gebal's subsequent independent spirit resulted in an incident with Egypt (ca. 1100 B.C.) when Wen-Amon, an Egyptian official buying lumber in Gebal, complained about the impolite treatment given him by the king of Gebal (*ANET*, 25–29). See also EGYPTIAN RELATIONS WITH CANAAN.

The people of Gebal thwarted Israel's attempts at conquest (Josh 13:5), enjoying several centuries of independence. During the construction of Solomon's temple at Jerusalem, Gebal sent skilled craftsmen to Israel to assist in its construction (1 Kgs 5:18, 32). In 853 B.C., Gebal, in league with Tyre, fought a successful battle against the Assyrians. The inhabitants of Gebal according to Ezek 27:9, along with its "veteran craftsmen" rendered their services to the city of Tyre. Gebal remained a prosperous city during the subsequent reigns of the Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Muslims.

Archaeological excavations of Gebal reveal some 21 strata of occupation. More significant discoveries include the Amorite temple of Resheph featuring standing obelisks, a Roman theater overlooking the Mediterranean Sea, a large stone Crusader castle, and the late 3d millennium temple of Hathor. Probably one of the most intriguing finds unearthed at Gebal is the sarcophagus of Ahiram, king of Byblos during the 11th century B.C. This sarcophagus is important because it contains one of the oldest Canaanite alphabetic inscriptions, providing a link in the development of the Phoenician alphabet. The inscription includes a curse for anyone attempting to disturb the sarcophagus or the king's remains within (*ANEP*, figs. 456–59).

**2.** A place referred to in Ps 83:8 (—Eng 83:7) SE of the Dead Sea, probably an Edomite territory N of Petra known also as Teman. It is referred to in a 6th century B.C. ostracon found in the excavations at Heshbon. The place is mentioned along with Amalek, Ammon, Moab, and other nations as forming an alliance against Israel. Josephus spoke of Gobolitis as part of Idumea (*Ant* 2.1.2 §6). However, some scholars believe that the Gebal of Ps 83:8 refers to the Phoenician Byblos (Shea 1977).

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RAY LEE ROTH

**GEBER** (PERSON) [Heb *geber* (גֶּבֶר)]. Son of Uri and the officer in charge of one of the twelve administrative districts under Solomon (1 Kgs 4:19). Geber's territory was the land of Gilead. In 1 Kgs 4:13, Ben-geber is listed as in charge of the territory of Ramoth-gilead, and some have taken the reference to Geber as a duplication of this earlier reference (Albright 1925: 26). Another solution is suggested by a reading in the Codex Vaticanus, which has Gad instead of Gilead in 1 Kgs 4:19. This places Geber in charge of S Transjordan and would leave Ben-geber responsible for N Transjordan. See BEN-GEBER.

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**GEBIM** (PLACE) [Heb *gēbîm* (גֵּבִים)]. A town whose inhabitants fled as the Assyrian army marched S toward Jerusalem (Isa 10:31). In the poetic oracle of Isaiah it is placed between Anathoth and Nob, suggesting that it lies somewhere ca. 2–3 miles N and perhaps E of Jerusalem.

GARY A. HERION

**GECKO** (LIZARD). See ZOOLOGY.

**GEDALIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *gĕdalyâ* (גְּדַלְיָה)*; gĕdalyāhû* (גְּדַלְיָהוּ)]. The name *gdlyhw* occurs on a seal found at Lachish (de Vaux 1936; Gibson *TSSI* 1: 64 no. 18). Several individuals listed in the OT bear this name.

1. The son of Pashur, and a functionary in the highest levels of politics in the days of Zedekiah (Jer 38:1–6). In concert with three other Judean leaders: Sephatiah the son of Mattan, Jucal the son of Shelemiah, and Pashur the son of Malchiah, Gedaliah exerted such influence on King Zedekiah that he reluctantly resigned the fate of Jeremiah to these four war lords. Their cogent argument was that the prophet Jeremiah was undermining the national welfare by proclaiming surrender to the Babylonians as the only feasible policy. The prophet and his followers were weakening the will to resist among soldiery and people. This was branded by these war lords as treasonable and disastrous. Accordingly, they urged upon the king the immediate apprehension of Jeremiah and his incarceration in the muddy floor of the cistern of Malchiah, the son of the king.

This incarceration would effectively silence the prophet. This was all they could hope for from Zedekiah since he had a personal interest in the prophet. Nevertheless, the imprisonment of Jeremiah in a foul, muddy cistern base would no doubt be fatal. The power of the quartet of nobles was frankly acknowledged by the king who confessed his inability to withstand their reasonable judgments and their official pressure (Jer 38:5). Ebed-melech who dared to withstand the justice of their plotting against Jeremiah feared for his life.

Gedaliah lived in the tumultuous times when Judah was divided within and stormed at without. As one of the high lords of the royal court, he advocated a fight to the bitter end despite the cost and terror of the program and was diametrically opposed to the seeming utopianism of Jeremiah.

EDWARD R. DALGLISH

2. Son of Ahikam and grandson of Shaphan, who in 587/586 B.C. was appointed by Nebuchadrezzar to govern Judah (2 Kgs 25:22–26; Jer 40:5–41:18). The LXX (Jer 43:25) includes him among those who urged King Jehoiakim not to burn Baruch's scroll, whereas the MT provides Delaiah (36:25). The MT (39:14\v =r[BHS]Je 39:14) first mentions Gedaliah in connection with the prophet Jeremiah's release from captivity after the capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians in 587 B.C. Nebuchadrezzar ordered Nebuzaradan, the commander of his bodyguard, to free Jeremiah and fulfill his wishes. No doubt other citizens who had encouraged submission to Babylon were similarly favored. Jeremiah was handed over to the care of Gedaliah whom Nebuchadrezzar appointed (Heb *pqd*) over those Judaeans who were not deported (2 Kgs 25:22; Jer 40:5). Since Jerusalem was uninhabitable (Lam 2:13), Gedaliah took up

residence at Mizpah. Excavations at Mizpah have disclosed no signs of destruction for this period, in sharp contrast to Jerusalem and the cities of Judah (Albright *FSAC²*, 322).

Gedaliah may have acquired administrative experience under Zedekiah. A seal impression found at Lachish (dating about 600 B.C.) reads, "Belonging to Gedaliah, the one who is over the house," a title designating the chief minister of the king, although Gedaliah is nowhere designated as such in the Bible (Hooke 1935; de Vaux 1936; *TSSI* 1: 24, 64). Good (1979: 580–82; 1983: 110–11) argues that the title has a Ugaritic antecedent (but cf. Loretz 1982: 124–26). Lohfink (1978: 336, 341) suggests that the appointment of Gedaliah resulted from a plot by the Shaphan family, whose prominent members (including presumably Gedaliah) were exiled after the Babylonian capture of Jerusalem in 597 B.C. This family decided to replace the house of David by the house of Shaphan which would listen to Jeremiah rather than to the official temple prophets who were leading to disaster. There is, however, no evidence that Gedaliah actually went to Babylon (Scharbert 1981: 53 n. 56). De Vaux (1936: 102) suggests he may have been Master of the Palace under Zedekiah, an office he perhaps still held when Jerusalem fell to the Babylonians. This would help to explain why he was appointed governor of Judah by Nebuchadrezzar. Gedaliah at first had some success in his efforts at reconstruction. When the commanders of Judaean troops who had escaped the Babylonians reassembled at Mizpah, Gedaliah encouraged them to submit and proceed with harvesting the crops, which they did. Among these were Ishmael son of Nethaniah and Johanan son of Kareah. Judaeans who had fled to Moab, Ammon, Edom, and elsewhere also returned and participated in the abundant harvest (Jer 40:12).

Not all the prominent Judaeans were satisfied with Gedaliah, however. Johanan son of Kareah led a deputation to Mizpah warning Gedaliah of a plot against him. Baalis king of Ammon had persuaded Ishmael son of Nethaniah, a royal prince, to assassinate Gedaliah. Johanan proposed the countermeasure of assassinating Ishmael, thereby preserving the continuing process of reconstruction. Gedaliah, however, failed to heed the warning (Jer 40:13–16) and in the seventh month (October) Ishmael and ten men came to Mizpah and killed Gedaliah along with other Judaeans as well as the Babylonian soldiers stationed there (41:1). The year of Gedaliah's death is not stated, although the context suggests that it was still the year of his appointment (587/586 B.C.). (This fateful day is commemorated in Jewish tradition by the "fast of Gedaliah," held in the seventh month [cf. Zech 7:5; 8:19]. Today it is celebrated on the third day of Tishri.)

Two days after Gedaliah's murder Ishmael killed seventy pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem, and then departed, taking with him the rest of the Judaeans from Mizpah, including the "king's daughters" whom Nebuzaradan had entrusted to Gedaliah (Jer 41:10). The possession of these royal princesses may have constituted a claim to kingship (cf. 2 Sam 16:21). Lohfink (1978: 334) would see here the rationale behind Ishmael's murder of Gedaliah: these symbols of royal authority belonged to the house of David alone. When Johanan heard of Gedaliah's death, he pursued. Ishmael caught up with him at the great pool of Gibeon and rescued those he had captured; however, Ishmael and eight of his men escaped to Ammon. Fearing Babylonian reprisals in the wake of Gedaliah's assassination, Johanan, his commanders, and the people they had rescued fled to Egypt. Near Bethlehem they asked Jeremiah for an oracle as to what they should do. Ten days later the prophet spoke: They were to stay in the land and Yahweh would protect them. The people, however, rejected this oracle and continued on to Egypt, taking Jeremiah with them (42:1–43:7). The effect that these events had on Judah is not altogether clear. In 582/581 B.C. (Jer 52:30), Nebuchadrezzar ordered a third deportation from Judah, perhaps as a reprisal; it is possible that Judah on that occasion lost all separate identity (Bright BHI, 331, 344).

3. A member of the family of Jeduthun, Levitical musicians and singers after the Exile (1 Chr 25:3, 9). Rothstein (*1 Buch der Chronik* KAT, 455) would identify Gedaliah with Jeduthun's son, Galal (Neh 11:17), but the evidence for this view is slight (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 169). Williamson (1979: 255–57) points out that in 1 Chr 25:1–6 David personally organizes the musicians, whereas in vv 7–31 David is not mentioned and the musicians decide their duties by casting lots (v 8). These two lists, furthermore, intend different types of music. In v 7 *šîr* means, "singing," but in vv 1–6 it should be

rendered, "music," that is instrumental harmony. Gedaliah is therefore an instrumentalist according to v 3, but a singer in v 9.

4. One of the descendants of Jeshua the high priest and his brothers, who put away his foreign wife according to the decision of the postexilic community in the time of Ezra (Ezra 10:18). A possible parallel in 1 Esdr 9:19 lists the same brothers, but gives the name Jodan instead of Gedaliah. Fensham (*Ezra-Nehemiah* NICOT, 143) observes that the list of priests who married foreign women is given first, no doubt to show that even the religious leaders had broken the law. The high-priestly family is mentioned right at the beginning to emphasize how deeply the exiles were involved in the matter. At the same time the guilt offering of a ram (v 19) usually refers to an unintentional transgression and should have the same meaning here (cf. Lev 5:14–26).

5. Son of Amariah and grandfather of Zephaniah the prophet (Zeph 1:1). Heller (1971: 104) notes that four ancestors are listed for the prophet, which is exceptional in the OT. He argues that the oldest form of the text contained only one forefather, Cushi. A later redactor understood Cushi as gentilic, "the Cushite," and reprehensible. In the light of Deut 23:7–8, which allows children of third generation pagans to "enter the assembly of the Lord," he added two more ancestors, making Cushi a personal name. Rudolph (*Micha … Zephanja* KAT, 259) shows that this argument is not cogent, for Cushi need not express ethnic descent. It could, for instance, be a nickname for a Judaean. There is no compelling reason for omitting Gedaliah from the text.

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**GEDER** (PLACE) [Heb *geder* (גֶּדֶר)]. GEDERITE. One of the 31 Canaanite cities conquered by the Israelites under Joshua (Josh 12:13). It may have also been the home of David's officer Baal-hanan the Gederite, who was appointed over the olive and sycamore trees in the Shephelah (1 Chr 27:28). Geder belongs to a group of place names formed from the Heb root *gdr* "wall" (e.g., Beth-gader, Gederah, Gederoth, Gederothaim, Gedor). It has been suggested that its vocalization was influenced by the name Gezer in v 12 (Boling *Joshua* AB, 326). Geder's location and identification are disputed. Its proximity to the preceding city in v 13, Debir, could indicate a location in the S Judean foothills, or Shephelah. However, Arad and Hormah, the cities immediately following in v 14, could indicate a location closer to the N Negeb desert. Naʾaman (1980: 138) has sought to identify it with Khirbet Jedur (M.R. 158115) between Bethlehem and Hebron (see GEDOR); while Aharoni (1956: 27; *LBHG,* 231) has suggested emending the otherwise unknown Geder to Gerar on the basis of the frequently attested orthographic confusion between *dalet* and *resû* in Hebrew.

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**GEDERAH** (PLACE) [Heb *gĕdērâ* (גְּדֵרָה)*; gĕdērātî* (גְּדֵרָתִי)]. 1. A town in the Shephelah, the Judean foothills, in the second administrative district of the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:36). It is probably identical with the Gederah where potters, descended from Shelah son of Judah, dwelt in the royal service (1 Chr 4:23). Gederah, whose name means "sheepfold," has been variously identified with Tell Judeideh 2 km N of Beth-Gubrin (M.R. 141115; Albright 1925: 50–51; but see Broshi *EAEHL* 3: 694), Khirbet Judraya in the Elah Valley (Noth *Josua* HAT, 84; but see Kuschke 1971: 299, 312), and Khirbet Jedireh in the Aijalon Valley (Cross and Wright 1956: 215). Recently Galil (1985: 62) has sought Gederah in the vicinity of Latrun. Gederah has also been identified with Kedron, modern Qatra (M.R. 129136), which was fortified by Cendebeus prior to his defeat by John son of Simon Maccabeus (1 Macc 15:39, 41; 16:9; Turner *IDB* 3: 5).

2. The home of Jozabad the Gederathite, one of the Benjaminite warriors who defected to David at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:5—Eng 12:4). It is probably to be sought at Jedireh near Gibeon (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 96).

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**GEDEROTH** (PLACE) [Heb *gĕdērôt* (גְּדֵרוֹת)]. A town in the Shephelah in the third administrative district of the tribe of Judah (Josh 15:41). It lay in the oftentimes disputed border area between Judah and Philistia. After the death of Uzziah/Azariah, who had subjugated the Philistine cities of Ashdod, Gath, and Jabneh (2 Chr 26:6–7), the Philistines were able to reassert themselves against the weak rule of Ahaz. They encroached on the Shephelah and the Negeb of Judah, capturing the towns of Beth-Shemesh, Aijalon, Soco, Timnah, Gimzo, and Gederoth (2 Chr 28:18). The precise relationship of these actions to the Syro-Ephraimite war and the campaigns of Tiglath-pileser III to Palestine (734–732 B.C.E.) remains unclear (Tadmor 1966: 88 n.9). Gederoth's location has been sought at many of the same sites as GEDERAH #1 (*GP* 2: 330; Gold *IDB* 2: 361; Kallai-Kleinmann *EncMiqr* 2: 447–48).

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**GEDEROTHAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *gĕdērōtāyim* (גְּדֵרֹתָיִם)]. A town in the Shephelah in the second district of the tribal inheritance of Judah (Josh 15:36). One of a number of place names derived from the Heb root *gdr* "wall," it follows immediately on another, Gederah. The LXX reading *kai hai epauleis autemu̱s* "and its sheepfolds" would presume a Heb Vorlage *wgdrtyh* instead of the MT *wgdrtym.* The scholarly consensus that the LXX version is to be preferred is given weight by the text's total of 14 cities in the district (v 36), a number which can be arrived at only by deleting one town name from the list in vv 33–36 (Abel *GP* 2: 330). The influence of the dual endings on the first two names in v 36, Shaaraim and Adithaim, was probably a factor in the development of the MT (Boling *Joshua* AB, 380). By following the LXX, one would also restore a play on words in the Hebrew: "Gederah and its *gĕdērōt* ('sheepfolds')."

CARL S. EHRLICH

**GEDOR** (PERSON) [Heb *gĕdôr* (גְּדוֹר)]. A son of Jeiel, the father of Gibeon, by his wife Maacah in the Benjaminite genealogies (1 Chr 8:31; 9:37). Owing to the frequent mixing of geographical, personal and clan names in the biblical genealogies (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 66), the suggestion has been made to

equate this Gedor with the *gdr/d,* possibly a district or suburb of Gibeon, found frequently on the inscribed jar handles from Gibeon/Tell el-Jib (Demsky 1971: 20–23).

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CARL S. EHRLICH

**GEDOR** (PLACE) [Heb *gĕdôr* (גְּדוֹר)]. 1. A town in the hill country of Judah in the district of Beth-zur and Halhul (Josh 15:58). Most scholars identify it with Khirbet Jedur (M.R. 158115), between Bethlehem and Hebron. The site was inhabited as of the LB Age (Ben-Arieh 1981: 115). In 1 Chr 4:4 Penuel is mentioned as the father of Gedor, which may mean that tradition ascribed to him the town's founding.

2. A Calebite town in Judah, founded by Jered son of Mered (1 Chr 4:18). It may be identical with Gedor #1. The mention of Penuel (v 4) and Jered (v 18) as the fathers of Gedor may indicate variant traditions about the founding of the same town or different traditions about two similarly named sites.

3. A town on the outskirts of the tribal territory of Simeon (1 Chr 4:39). Following the LXX *gerara,* this reference to Gedor should be corrected to Gerar (Aharoni 1956: 27).

4. A town in Benjamin from which came two of the defectors from Saul to David at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:8—Eng12:7). Some Hebrew mss record that Joelah and Zebadiah the sons of Jeroham came not *min haggĕdôr* "from [the] Gedor" (MT) but were *min haggĕdûd* "from the troop." The suggestion, however, that the MT consonantal *mn hgdwr* at the end of v 8(7) is a dittography of the following verse's initial *wmn hgdy* "from the Gadites" is probably correct (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 106).

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**GEHAZI** (PERSON) [Heb *gêḥăzî* (גֵּיחֲזִי)]. Servant (Heb *naʿar*) of Elisha, the prophet, in three narrative contexts (2 Kgs 4:12–36; 5:20–27; 8:4–6). Two of these contexts are closely connected serving as a sort of frame around the central story of the cure of Naaman's leprosy and Gehazi's greed and punishment. For the name itself, a dual connotation has been suggested: "valley of vision" or "valley of avarice." The latter suggestion is from the Arabic cognate *jaḥida.*

In the story of the wealthy Shunammite woman (2 Kgs 4:8–37), Gehazi is portrayed as Elisha's faithful messenger and perhaps overzealous protector (v 27). The initial episode involving Gehazi is framed by the repetition of Elisha's summons that he "Call this Shunammite" (2 Kgs 4:12, 36)—a "great woman" who had made special accommodations for Elisha. Having failed in his initial efforts to repay her kindness, Elisha asked Gehazi what should be done. When Gehazi had the insight to recognize the woman's secret desire for a son, Elisha commanded him to "Call her" (v 15) and the birth of the child was foretold. Some years later the child of promise died; and when the woman "caught hold of Elisha's feet" in her grief, Gehazi thrust her away. Elisha then commanded Gehazi to run ahead to Shunem where he was to lay the prophet's staff on the child, perhaps as a symbol of authority to prevent the possible burial before Elisha's arrival. When Elisha had restored the child's life, he again commanded Gehazi to summon the woman. In this narrative Gehazi appears as a willing, efficient, and practical man (Schmitt 1975).

Some years later, Gehazi was discussing the deeds of Elisha with an unnamed king (2 Kgs 8:1–6). While he was speaking about restoring the dead to life, the Shunammite woman and her son appeared seeking the restoration of her property after a sojourn in Philistia. When Gehazi identified her, the king secured her inheritance. Though nothing positive or negative is said of Gehazi here, the narrative elicits tension because of what precedes it.

The story of the cure of Naaman's leprosy (2 Kgs 5:1–27) presents Gehazi as greedy and deceitful, and ultimately cursed with Naaman's leprosy. Elisha's integrity in refusing the gifts of Naaman is contrasted

sharply with the baseness of Gehazi's actions. The glibness with which he lied to Naaman and the coolness with which he subsequently appeared to Elisha suggest that "avaricious" is indeed a character trait. Gehazi's punishment was immediate and fitting: permanent leprosy, extending even to his descendants.

A rabbinic tradition suggests the identification of the four lepers at the gate who discover the mysterious rout of the Syrians (2 Kgs 7:3–8) with Gehazi and his three sons. At first they carried off silver, gold, and clothing and hid them (2 Kgs 7:8). But then, realizing the folly of their greed, they bore the good news to the king's household.

It should be noted that conversation between lepers and others was not forbidden. The leprosy of Gehazi was not necessarily the disease now known as leprosy (Hulse 1975). Moreover, it is possible that the sentence of perpetual leprosy was abrogated by penitence on the part of Gehazi. The judgments of God, though apparently unconditional, are sometimes withdrawn when the judged person repents (cf. 2 Kgs 20:1–11).

If the "servant of the man of God" in 2 Kgs 6:15–17, who is explicitly described as Elisha's "boy" (*naʿar,* v 17) is also to be identified with Gehazi (cf. 2 Kgs 4:43), the other suggested meaning of his name as "valley of vision" becomes relevant. It was Elisha's prayer that opened his eyes so that he could see that "the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha" (v 17). The dominant picture of Gehazi within the biblical narrative, however, is that of avarice. See Bronner 1968: 86–122.

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**GEHENNA** (PLACE) [Lat *Gehenna*]. Valley, currently known as the Wadi er-Rababeh, running S-SW of Jerusalem and also a designation for fiery hell, the opposite of the dominion of God and eternal life. The Lat form is derived from the Gk *geenna.* The Gk is a transcription of the Aram *gêhinnām* whose Heb form is *gê-hinnōm.* The name means "Valley of Hinnom" or its full form "Valley of the son of Hinnom" (see HINNOM VALLEY). Outside of the NT (Matt 5:22) and the OT Apocrypha (2 Esdr 2:29; 7:36 [Lat only]), the Gk *geenna* or the Lat *Gehenna* is not found in any sources, including the LXX, Philo, Josephus, or Gk literature. Further in the RSV, only 2 Esdr 2:29 renders the Latin form of the name as "Gehenna." The other occurrence of the Latin form in 2 Esdr 7:36 and all NT occurrences of the Greek form of the name are rendered in the RSV as "hell."

**A. Old Testament**

The Valley of Hinnom marked the boundary between the inheritance of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin (Josh 15:8; 18:16) and the northern border of Judah after the captivity (Neh 11:30). The valley was the scene of the idolatrous worship of the Canaanite gods Molech and Baal. This worship consisted of sacrificing children by passing them through a fire on Topheth (a high place) and into the hands of the gods (Jer 7:31; 19:4–5; 32:35). These practices were observed during monarchy at least under the reigns of Ahaz and Manasseh who themselves sacrificed their own children (2 Kgs 16:3; 21:6; 2 Chr 28:3; 33:6).

Josiah defiled the site as part of his reform program (2 Kgs 23:10; cf. vv 13–14), but the prophecy of Jeremiah indicates that it probably recurred later in the monarchy. Jeremiah prophesied that it would no longer be called Topheth or the Valley of Hinnom, but the valley of Slaughter because of the numerous Judeans killed and thrown into it by the Babylonians (Jer 7:29–34; 19:1–15).

Recently Bailey (1986: 189–91) has suggested that since altars and cultic places were considered an entrance to the realm of the god they served, and such sites often lent their name to that realm, then Gehenna may have naturally lent its name to the underworld realm of the god Molech who was worshiped there.

**B. Intertestamental Period**

One product of the development of a concept of the afterlife during the Hellenistic Period was the notion of a fiery judgment (*1 En.* 10:13; 48:8–10; 100:7–9; 108:4–7; Jdt 16:17; *2 Bar.* 85:13), a judgment usually in a fiery lake or abyss (*1 En.* 18:9–16; 90:24–27; 103:7–8; *2 En.* 40:12; *2 Bar.* 59:5–12; 1QH 3). The Valley of Hinnom, often referred to simply as "the accursed valley" or "abyss," then came to represent the place of eschatological judgment of the wicked Jews by fire (*1 En.* 26–27; 54:1–6; 56:1–4; 90:24–27).

This association of fiery judgment and Gehenna was once attributed to the influence of the Iranian Avestan doctrine of the ultimate judgment of the wicked in a stream of molten metal (*Yasna* 31.3; 51.9). However, the Zoroastrian molten metal was purgatorial, not penal. Other reasons given for the association are the fact that the Valley of Hinnom was noted for the fires of the Molech cult and later contained the continually burning fires of a refuse dump. Although Gehenna does not have these associations in the OT, the OT is the primary source of the association, particularly the prophecies of Jeremiah regarding the dead bodies of the wicked cast into Gehenna (7:29–34; 19:6–9; 32:35). The prophecies of Isaiah which ironically prophesy the threat of the Topheth readied for Molech himself (30:33), a devouring fire and everlasting burnings, and of a fire that will not be quenched readied for the wicked all contributed to the association (33:14; 66:24; cf. Isa 50:11; Dan 12:2; Mal 4:1).

By at least the 1st century C.E. there emerged a metaphorical understanding of Gehenna as the place of judgment by fire for all wicked everywhere (*Sib. Or.* 1.100–103; 2.283–312). The judgment of the wicked occurred either as a casting of their soul in Gehenna immediately upon death or as a casting of the reunited body and soul into Gehenna after the resurrection and last judgment (2 Esdr 7:26–38; *4 Ezra* 7:26–38; *Ascen. Is.* 4:14–18; cf. *Sib. Or.* 4.179–91). This understanding divorced Gehenna from its geographical location, but retained its fiery nature. Gehenna had become hell itself.

**C. New Testament**

All of the 12 references to Gehenna in the NT are used metaphorically as the place of fiery judgment. With the exception of Jas 3:6, which refers to the tongue being set on fire by Gehenna, all the references are in the Synoptic Gospels as sayings of Jesus (Matt 5:22, 29–30; 10:28; 18:9; 23:15, 33; Mark 9:43, 45, 47; Luke 12:5). Gehenna is preexistent (Matt 25:41) and its fire is reserved for the destruction of the wicked (Matt 5:22; 13:42, 50; 18:9 = Mark 9:43). Its punishment is eternal (Matt 25:41, 46) and the fire will not be quenched (Mark 9:43, 48). Other related NT expressions include judgment, wrath, destruction, Tartarus, fire, and lake of fire and sulphur (Heb 10:27; 2 Pet 2:4; Jude 7; Rev 19:20; 20:10, 14; 21:8). Recently Milikowsky has cogently argued that the comparison of Matt 10:28 = Luke 12:5 and other passages reveals that both 1st century conceptions of Gehenna are found in the NT: Gehenna as a place of judgment for the soul of the wicked immediately after death is Lukan, and Gehenna as the judgment of the wicked in a reunited body and soul after resurrection and judgment is Matthean (1988: 242–44).

Although not describing the torments of Gehenna, Jesus warned his disciples to take all precautions not to fall victim to it. Those who call their brother a fool (Matt 5:22), those who give in to sinful inclinations (Matt 5:29–30 = Mark 9:45, 47; Matt 18:9 = Mark 9:43), and the scribes and Pharisees (Matt 23:15, 33) are liable to Gehenna. A person destined to Gehenna can be designated "a child of Gehenna" (Matt 23:15). Besides being the fate of the wicked (Rev 20:15; 21:8), Gehenna is the fate awaiting the devil and his angels (Matt 25:41; Rev 20:10), the beast and the false prophet (Rev 19:20; 20:10), and death and Hades (Rev 20:13–14).

With the possible exception of Luke 12:5, the NT distinguishes Gehenna from Hades (*NIDNTT* 2: 208–9). Whereas Hades is the provisional place of the ungodly between death, resurrection, and final judgment (cf. Rev 20:13–14 where Hades yields up its dead for judgment and is thrown into the lake of fire at the last judgment), Gehenna is the eternal place of the wicked after final judgment. Hades receives the soul only (Acts 2:27, 31), Gehenna receives both body and soul (Matt 10:28; cf. Luke 12:5). The NT does not describe the torment of Gehenna or portray Satan as the lord of Gehenna. These are later literary accoutrements. (See *TDNT* 1:657–58.)

**D. Rabbinic Literature**

The same extended metaphorical use of Gehenna as the place of judgment of the wicked is found in the Mishnah (*m. Qidd.* 4.14; *m. ʾAbot* 1.5; 5.19, 20), Tosefta (*t. Ber.* 6.15), and Talmud (*b. Rosû. Hasû.* 16b–17a; *b. Ber.* 28b). In rabbinic thought, as early as the 1st century–early 2d century C.E., Gehenna was conceived as both an intermediate place of punishment for the souls of the wicked between death and resurrection to final judgment, and as the place of final judgment of the reunited body and soul of the wicked (*Midr.* Tehillim 31.3).

Most Jews would be spared Gehenna completely, and most of those who do enter it in the intermediate state would be released from it, with the exception of historic reprobates, adulterers, or those who shame or vilify others (*b. Rosû. Hasû.* 16b–17a). It was a fiery purgatory for those Jews whose merits and transgressions balanced one another (*t. Sanh.* 13.3) who would afterward be admitted to Paradise. Often the punishment of Gehenna was restricted to 12 months (*m. ʿEd.* 2.10; *S. ʿOlam Rab.* 3; *b. Qidd* 31b). However, the punishment for Gentiles in Gehenna was eternal. The epithet "child of Gehenna" is used in the Talmud (*b. Rosû. Hasû.* 17b) as it is in Matt 23:15. (See Str-B 4: 1029–1118.)

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**GEMALLI** (PERSON) [Heb *gĕmallî* (גְּמַלִּי)]. The father of AMMIEL, who was sent from the tribe of Dan to spy out the land of Canaan (Num 13:12). The name Gemalli is related to the Hebrew for camel *(gâmâl)*, thus it is often understood to mean "camel owner" or "camel driver" but this is an unlikely appellation for an infant. More likely, the name derives from the basic meaning of the root, "bring to completion," or its extended meaning "do someone good" (cf. Isa 63:7; Ps 13:6; 116:7). Therefore, the name may express the parents' sense of fulfillment ("my completion") or blessing ("my gift of blessing") resulting from the birth of the child. Noth (*IPN* 182) considers Gemalli to be a short form of GAMALIEL ("God is my fulfillment" or "God is my blessing").

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**GEMARA.** Aramaic name for both the Talmud of the Land of Israel (ca. 350–450 C.E.) and the Babylonian Talmud (ca. 550–600 C.E.). These compilations contain a wide variety of supplemental materials organized as a paragraph-by-paragraph commentary on the Mishnah. The term "Gemara" is also used to describe the genre of this literature.

**A. Sources and Literary History**

The Gemara's materials stem from a rather wide range of sources. Some units of discourse clearly circulated independently of their inclusion in either Talmud, accounting for passages that occur nearly verbatim in the Gemara as well as in Midrash compilations (Neusner 1986: 22–25). Others seem to reflect traditional oral formulations of earlier customary law (Lieberman 1931: 216). And some pericopae, especially those narrowly focused on the Mishnah, seem to have been created afresh as part of the Gemara's discussions (Bokser 1980: 471–82).

Recently, scholars have propounded two major theories regarding the literary history behind this diversity of materials. The first distinguishes sources—the rulings and opinions of earlier sages recorded more or less verbatim—from *traditions*—passages corrupted in transmission and so subject to rather convoluted interpretations (Halivni 1968: 8–15). Systematic, detailed attention to textual variants and parallel passages has allowed for recovery of many originally independent sources that lay behind textually difficult portions of the Gemara.

A second literary theory differentiates the Gemara's rulings along chronological lines (Friedman 1978: 283). The basic tenet of this method is that materials attributed to an individual rabbi or sage constitute the earliest layers of the Gemara, while anonymous rulings and sayings, for the most part, are part of the Gemara's later redactional framework. As above, application of this method may allow a glimpse at the Gemara's redactional plan prior to its final edition.

**B. Redactional Plan**

Overall, three patterns may be distinguished in the Gemara's various materials. Each builds in the first place upon the Mishnah's laws, but then as time progresses develops an ever-widening range of interests.

The earliest redacted portions of the Gemara are contained in the tripartite tractate *Neziqin* within the Palestinian (or Jerusalem) Talmud (Lieberman 1931: 5–6). These materials, completed and collected in Caesarea within 150 years of the Mishnah's redaction, set out to demonstrate the continuity and coherence of the Mishnaic law with its earliest interpretation, found in the Tosefta. The simple redactional pattern established here—a passage of the Mishnah, complementary units from the parallel Toseftan tractate, and a brief discussion of the connection between the Mishnah and the Tosefta—serves as the foundation for the work of successive generations.

Over the next 100 years, in the late 4th and early 5th centuries, a second set of materials took shape. Comprising the bulk of the Talmud of the Land of Israel, these portions of the Gemara add general inquiry about the Mishnaic law's relationship to scriptural precedent and prooftext, rabbinic authority, and the special status of Torah. A typical passage opens with Mishnaic and Toseftan materials, to which it appends a comparative discussion of underlying legal principles, and finally topically related, although rather far-removed anthologies (Neusner 1983b: 12–13).

The Babylonian Talmud represents the third and final stage of the Gemara, and presents the fully expounded system of Rabbinic Judaism. The redaction of an average passage unfolds from the legal pericope at hand to more general and abstract themes. Particular emphasis is placed on the dual nature of Torah: the *Oral Torah,* including the Mishnah and the Tosefta, together with their legal theory; the *Written Torah,* especially the Hebrew Bible taken on its own terms as regards to meanings and theological themes. To these the Babylonian Talmud adds discussion of the sage and his doings, which describe the life of Torah central to all later Judaism (Neusner 1986: 10, 213–15).

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**GEMARIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *gĕmaryāhû* (גְּמַרְיָהוּ)]. **1.** The son of Shaphan, and a high-ranking official in the government of King Jehoiakim (609–598 B.C.). Gemariah was one of those who participated in the important events surrounding the public reading of Jeremiah's first written scroll in 604 B.C. (Jeremiah 36). His father Shaphan was one of the most influential persons in Jerusalem during the reign of Josiah, when the lawbook of Moses was found in the temple and the reform came to a grand climax (2 Kgs 22:3–14). In Josiah's government Shaphan was "secretary of state," and it is possible that he was also head of a scribal school in Jerusalem.

Throughout the difficult years preceding the fall of Judah, the Shaphan family maintained close personal ties with Jeremiah (Muilenburg 1970: 227–28, 231). Gemariah's brother, Ahikam, who was also present when the law book was found (2 Kgs 22:12), gave Jeremiah some needed protection following his famous temple sermon and trial of 609 (Jer 26:24). Another brother, Elasah, hand-carried a letter from Jeremiah to the exiles in Babylon following the deportation of 597 (Jer 29:3). Gemariah did not hold the same high office as his father, perhaps because of his family's pro-Babylonian sympathies and the fact that

Jehoiakim was an appointee of Egypt. Nevertheless, he had his own chamber in the temple, and it was there that Baruch made the first public reading of the Jeremiah scroll (Jer 36:10). After this reading Micaiah, Gemariah's son, notified some of the king's ministers who then wanted to hear the scroll themselves. After Baruch read it to them they realized the king would have to be notified, but in anticipation of the king's response they warned Baruch and Jeremiah to hide. Gemariah was present when the scroll was read to the king, and he along with two others unsuccessfully urged the king not to destroy it.

Among a horde of 51 seal impressions discovered in the 587 B.C. destruction level of Jerusalem is one which reads, "Belonging to Gemariah ben Shaphan" (Shiloh 1984: 19–20). The identification of this individual with the Gemariah of Jeremiah 36 appears certain, which then provides striking confirmation of Gemariah's activities during Judah's last days, as well as the authority which he had to seal official documents and other records.

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2. Emissary of Zedekiah to Nebuchadnezzar who helped to carry a letter from Jeremiah to the exiles (Jer 29:3—LXX 36:3). As a "son of Hilkiah," he is not to be confused with Gemariah son of Shaphan mentioned in Jer 36:10–12, 25—LXX 43:10–12, 25 (as does Thompson *Jeremiah* NICOT, 545; cf. Carroll *Jeremiah* OTL, 552). The probability that at least one if not all of Jeremiah's sympathizers, Elasah (who also carried Jeremiah's letter), Ahikam (e.g., 2 Kgs 22:12; Jer 26:24—LXX 33:24), and the other biblical Gemariah, were sons of Shaphan, the scribe of Josiah, lends force to the suggestion that this apparent friend of Jeremiah was also a son of a prominent figure associated with Shaphan and Josiah, namely, Hilkiah, Josiah's high priest (2 Kings 22). It might be, however, that the association is coincidental; the name of Gemariah's father is very common, and the name Gemariah itself, in addition to Gemariah son of Shaphan (Shiloh and Tarler 1986: 204; see above), is attested three and perhaps four times in Israelite onomastica dating to the end of the monarchy (*AI* 31:8; 38:3; Lachish 1:1; Shiloh 1985 80:19[?]) as well as among the later Elephantine papyri (Cowley *CAP* 2:2; 6:18; 8:29; 9:18; 22:2, 121; 34:5; 43:2, 11; Kraeling *BMAP* 2:15; 4:23; 10:20). Gemariah probably means "Yahweh has completed/accomplished."

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**GENEALOGY, GENEALOGIES.** Genealogies are records of a person's or a group's descent from an ancestor or ancestors. Outside of Israel, genealogies appear only rarely in ancient Near Eastern literature and are attested primarily in Mesopotamian king lists and in 2d-millennium texts dealing with the political organization and history of the Amorites. However, the OT contains about 25 genealogies of varying complexity, a fact which suggests that genealogy played an important role in Israelite life and thought.

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A. Introduction: Terminology and Use

B. The Idiom of Genealogy

1. Genealogical Forms

2. Genealogical Functions

C. OT Genealogies in Context

1. Genealogy and Writing

2. Genealogy and Literary Context

## A. Introduction: Terminology and Use

The most frequently attested Heb equivalents of the Eng word "genealogy" are *tôlēdôt* and various verbs and nouns formed from the root *yḥś.* The former of these is derived from the root *yld,* "to bear," and seems to mean literally "the order in which people are born." The word is used prominently by the Priestly Writer (hereafter P) in Genesis to introduce genealogies that are intended to give the book a literary structure (Gen 5:1; 10:1; 11:10; 25:12; 36:1). Outside of Genesis *tôlēdôt* is used to introduce or conclude genealogies (Exod 6:16, 19; 28:10; Num 3:1; 1 Chr 5:7), although not all of the OT genealogies are set off in this way. Because of the word's associations with sequence and progression, it sometimes takes on the extended meaning "story" or "history." In this sense it can be used to introduce narrative passages that are not genealogical in form (Gen 2:4; 6:9; 11:27; 25:19; 37:2). The root *yḥś* is attested only in postexilic texts, where it is most often used in verbal forms to mean "to be enrolled by genealogy," "to be recorded in a genealogy" (1 Chr 5:17; 9:1).

Genealogies are attested in the OT primarily in texts that deal with Israel's early history (Genesis, Exodus) or in literature from the postexilic period (Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah). This fact has led some scholars to conclude that Israel's early interest in kinship ties waned with the rise of the monarchy and was reborn only when the chaos of exile again made membership in a family and a nation an important issue. Although it is true that evidence for the use of genealogies during the monarchy is minimal, it is unlikely that they disappeared completely. Interest in family ties remained strong during the preexilic period, and in some cases old tribal ties continued to be important in spite of royal efforts to disrupt them. In addition, certain groups such as priests, scribes, craftsmen, and even the kings themselves undoubtedly preserved genealogies, and some of these records probably survived to be included in the genealogical collections of the postexilic period.

Scholars generally agree that the OT's attribution of genealogical interest to the early Israelites is not an anachronism but is rooted in the social structure of the groups that formed premonarchical Israel. The narratives that deal with this period all suggest that kinship was a major organizational principle, and for this reason genealogies, which use the idiom of kinship, became an important means of expressing all sorts of social, political, and religious relationships. Because of the persistence of genealogical thinking in Israel's later history, an understanding of the idiom of genealogy is important for an accurate comprehension of the OT examples of the genre.

## B. The Idiom of Genealogy

In societies such as early Israel, where kinship is a basis for organizing the society, the language of genealogy, which has its origins in the need to represent actual kinship ties, is used metaphorically to express other social relationships where real kinship is not involved. In these societies genealogies, usually in oral form, are part of daily life and are known and discussed frequently by the people. The form in which a particular genealogy is related is largely determined by the purpose for which it is being recited or recorded. The genealogy's form and function are related, and this relationship must be understood if the genealogical idiom is to be interpreted correctly.

**1. Genealogical Forms.** The most common genealogical form is the one which replicates a basic nuclear family consisting of two children having the same parents. Such a genealogy will be segmented or branched (the traditional "family tree") and will show the relationship of the two children to a single parent. Genealogies of this sort have both a vertical and a horizontal dimension. Vertically, the genealogy has depth and traces the relationship between two generations. Horizontally, the genealogy has breadth and traces the relationship between siblings by relating them to a common ancestor. Segmented genealogies can theoretically be expanded beyond the nuclear family to include any number of related kin. As more distant kin are included, the depth of the genealogy will increase as the family's common ancestor recedes further into the past. However, in practice segmented genealogies rarely exceed four or five generations in depth, even when the genealogies are in written rather than in oral form (Gen 35:22–26; Num 26:5–51).

Genealogies which are not segmented are normally in linear form. Linear genealogies are simply lists of names connecting an individual to an earlier ancestor by indicating the kinship relationships that tie all of the names together. Genealogies of this sort have only a vertical dimension and are normally of limited depth, although written genealogies sometimes violate this rule (1 Chr 9:10–13). In written genealogies, in particular, the distinction between segmented and linear forms may not be absolute, and the two forms may be mixed (1 Chronicles 6).

When genealogies are reproduced either orally or in writing, they may be given as part of a larger narrative or in the form of a simple list. In the latter case they will have a form such as "X son of Y daughter of Z" or "the sons of W: X, Y, and Z." The genealogies may be given in descending order from parent to child (1 Chr 9:39–44) or in ascending order from child to parent (1 Chr 9:14–16).

All genealogies, whether oral or written, are characterized by fluidity. Where two or more versions of the same genealogy exist, it is usually possible to detect changes in the relationship of names within the genealogy or to note the deletion or addition of names. This sort of fluidity may occur because the names involved are unimportant and thus liable to be forgotten or at least to be poorly remembered. On the other hand, fluidity may be crucial for understanding the genealogies and may indicate significant shifts in social relationships. A number of examples of genealogical fluidity can be found in the OT, but unfortunately the reasons for the phenomenon cannot always be determined. In some cases simple scribal error may be involved (1 Chr 4:39), but in others changes in the social structure may be at the root of the alterations. For example, the variants in the genealogy of Esau (Gen 36:9–14, 15–19; 1 Chr 1:35–36) may reflect the different purposes for which the genealogies were originally created, while changes within the genealogies of the 12 Israelite tribes may reflect political or geographical realignments (Gen 46:9, 12, 17; 1 Chr 7:23).

**2. Genealogical Functions.** In societies that attach great importance to kinship, genealogies have numerous functions, and the idiom of genealogy is used for a variety of purposes. In the case of segmented genealogies, their primary purpose is to express actual kinship relationships between individuals. Such relationships are important in daily life because they are the basis for regulating social interaction, marriage, and inheritance, along with other social rights and obligations. At the level of the family, both the horizontal and vertical dimensions of the genealogy are important. Horizontally, people on the same genealogical level are related to each other as equals, while vertically people are ranked hierarchically according to the level of the genealogy which they occupy. Segmented genealogies are thus both statements of equality and statements of inequality.

However, societies that value and use segmented genealogies to express family relationships tend also to use genealogies metaphorically to indicate the relationships of individuals and groups in other aspects of social life. If a genealogy can be used to relate members of an actual family, then it can also be used to express the political relationships between families that are not actually related to each other. This can be done simply through the creation of a common ancestor, who is considered the parent of all of the people living in the society. In this way, the whole political system can be conceived as one large family and described by using the idiom of genealogy. In the same way, status relationships can be expressed genealogically, and so can economic position, geographical location, or cultic position. In a given society, segmented genealogies being used for differing purposes may exhibit a great deal of variation, for the society's political, economic, and religious configurations may be quite different. In such cases the apparently conflicting genealogies are in fact accurately reflecting the way in which the society sees itself in a particular social sphere.

In contrast to the multiple functions of segmented genealogies, linear genealogies have only one: to ground a claim to power, status, rank, office, or inheritance in an earlier ancestor. Such genealogies are often used by rulers to justify their right to rule and by office-holders of all types to support their claims.

Many of these common genealogical functions have left traces in the OT genealogies, although because these genealogies have been set in new literary contexts it is not always possible to recover their original purposes accurately. The various genealogies of the 12 Israelite tribes probably go back to a time when a kinship system was the actual basis of Israel's political organization, although in the OT tribal equality

may well be more pronounced than it was in reality (Gen 29:31–30:24; 35:16–20, 22–26; 46:8–24; Num 26:5–51; 1 Chr 2:1–2). In addition to using segmented genealogies for internal purposes, the OT also preserves genealogies of other nations and uses them to relate Israel to its neighbors (Gen 10:6–7, 21–31; 22:20–24; 25:1–6, 12–20; 36). An important collection of segmented genealogies functioning religiously can be found in the various levitical and priestly genealogies that govern the relationships of the branches of the priesthood to each other and control access to priestly power (Gen 46:11; Num 26:57–62; Exod 6:16–25; 1 Chr 6:1–81; 9:10–34).

Although most of the OT genealogies are segmented, there are also examples of linear genealogies, and these too illustrate the characteristic function of this genealogical form. There are, for example, traces of royal genealogies that indicate that the kings of Judah justified their right to rule by demonstrating their connection to earlier rulers, and such genealogies may have been used in the postexilic period as well as by pretenders to the Davidic throne (1 Sam 9:1; 14:49–51; 1 Chr 2:3–17; 3:1–24; 8:29–40; Ruth 4:18–22). Other officials also seem to have used linear genealogies to justify their authority (Zeph 1:1), and they are particularly important in postexilic texts dealing with the authority of the priesthood (Ezra 2:59–63; 10:9–44; Neh 13:23–28).

**C. OT Genealogies in Context**

While it is likely that many of the OT genealogies were once in oral form and exhibited the formal and functional characteristics that are common to genealogies used in living societies, it is also important to note that they are now part of a written text. This fact has important interpretive implications not only because writing has a tendency to modify somewhat the formal characteristics of oral genealogies, but also because the literary context of the OT modifies the purposes that the genealogies can serve.

**1. Genealogy and Writing.** When oral genealogies are fixed in writing, they are likely to become less fluid than they were previously. Although conflicting genealogies in the OT suggest that fluidity in written genealogies is not out of the question, writing nevertheless discourages genealogical change. In turn, when genealogies lose their ability to change, they also tend to become less useful for purposes that require such change. This fact is particularly relevant in the case of segmented genealogies, which are often used to mirror the constantly changing shape of the social structure. On the other hand, writing sometimes helps linear genealogies to function more effectively by permitting them to be longer and therefore more impressive and authoritative.

The most important contribution that writing makes to the use of genealogies is that it preserves them in fixed form so that future generations can read them, reuse them, and on occasion elaborate them. The OT contains a number of examples of this process at work. For example, in 1 Chr 1:1–2:2 the Chronicler has extracted P's genealogies from Gen 5; 10; 11:10–26; 25:1–4, 13–16; and 36:4–5, 10–14 and used them to supply a genealogical introduction to the tribal histories in 1 Chronicles 2–9, which themselves draw heavily on genealogical material found elsewhere in the Pentateuch. The genealogies in 1 Chronicles 2–8, whether drawn from earlier biblical texts or from independent sources, have probably been even further elaborated through the insertion of military census lists and geographical records, a process which adds considerably to the text's genealogical complexity.

A prime example of genealogical elaboration of a written text can be seen in P's genealogies in Genesis 5 and 10, where the ages assigned to these early figures seem to reflect some sort of chronological speculation involving crucial dates in Israel's history: the flood, the Exodus from Egypt, the building of Solomon's temple, the Exile, and the edict of Cyrus ending the Exile. Scholars have speculated that this chronology assumes the existence of a world cycle or "Great Year" of 4,000 years, a chronological scheme found elsewhere in antiquity. Whatever the intent of the writer in the MT, chronological speculation clearly continued after the Heb text was fixed, for the figures contained in the LXX and Samaritan Pentateuch seem to reflect a different system. Also reflected in some of the genealogies is numerical speculation designed to locate an important figure in a numerically significant position, usually the seventh position. This sort of activity is particularly clear in Genesis 5, where P has reordered the genealogy from Gen 4:17–22 in order to place Enoch in the seventh slot (Gen 5:18).

**2. Genealogy and Literary Context.** Although the OT genealogies can often be interpreted in their own right, they are also sometimes used for other purposes in the context of a larger narrative. These purposes are often far removed from the genealogies' original functions and sometimes represent a literary reuse of earlier material. The clearest example of this phenomenon is P's use of the formula "these are the genealogies/generations" *(ʾēleh tôlĕdôt),* which appears often at the beginning of narratives and genealogies, particularly in Genesis (Gen 2:4; 5:1; 6:9; 10:1; 11:10, 27; 25:12, 19; 36:1, 4, 9; 37:2; Num 3:1). Although scholars have often suggested that these formulas mark material extracted from an independent genealogical book, it is equally likely that they are literary markers used by P to give structure to the narrative. Taken as a whole, the formulas, and particularly the genealogies that they introduce, highlight the writer's motif of the transmission of Israel's election and blessing through genealogical inheritance from Adam through the Israelite ancestors and finally to the Israelite priesthood.

A similar reuse of genealogical material can be seen in Exod 6:14–25, where P has inserted into the narrative a portion of one of the standard versions of the Israelite tribal genealogy. The genealogical recitation stops with the descendants of Levi and is clearly intended to underline Moses' priestly heritage and thus reinforce his authority over the people, who at this point in the narrative are refusing to listen to their leader. In this case the original genealogy has been truncated in order to serve a very specific narrative function.

Finally, the large collection of genealogies in 1 Chronicles 1–9, many of which presumably had other functions in other locations, has been positioned at the beginning of the Chronicler's account of Israel's history in order to draw an inclusive picture of traditional Israel. It is to this broad understanding of the extent of Israel that the returning exiles are connected in 1 Chronicles 9.

Just as a genealogy can take on new functions as part of a larger narrative, so also a narrative can help to interpret a traditional genealogy. In Gen 29:31–30:24 and 35:16–20 the writer presents a version of Israel's standard tribal genealogy. However, while the standard genealogy normally stresses the equality of the twelve tribes, this genealogical narrative introduces the notion of inequality by assigning Jacob's sons to their respective mothers. Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun are assigned to Leah, and Gad and Asher to her maid Zilpah. Joseph and later Benjamin are assigned to Rachel, and Dan and Naphtali to her maid Bilhah. In the idiom of genealogy the children of maids are clearly of lower status than the children of wives, and among the children of the wives the first-born are superior to younger children. When this genealogical information is combined with earlier narratives indicating Rachel's status as Jacob's favorite wife, then it becomes clear that the writer is presenting a version of the twelve-tribe genealogy that gives primacy to Joseph rather than to Judah, which is usually the case in later versions of the genealogy.

The various ways in which the biblical writers incorporated genealogical material into their work suggests that they understood the idiom of genealogy and were able to use it creatively throughout the biblical period, even though the social structure of Israel changed markedly during that time. This familiarity with genealogical language persisted well beyond the OT period and continued to flourish in later Jewish and Christian debates.

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**GENESIS APOCRYPHON** (1QapGen). One of the first Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran Cave 1 to be discovered and published though some of its very fragmentary columns remain unpublished. It is written in a literary form of Imperial Aramaic that is very similar to the language of Daniel. Both

linguistically and paleographically it has been dated to the last century B.C. or the 1st century A.D. though it may have been composed a little earlier.

The preserved text is a rewriting of the events recorded in Genesis. The first clearly identifiable section is a description of Lamech's reaction to the news that his wife Bitenosh is pregnant (Col. 2). A number of fragments continue with the story of Noah (generally parallel to Genesis 8–9). Then follow the best preserved columns (19–22) which retell Gen 12:8 to 15:4—Abram's going down to Egypt, Pharaoh's infatuation with Sarai, the defeat of the four kings and the promise of descendants. There are a number of events which are added to, or more detailed than, the biblical version: Abram's dream, predicting how Sarai will save his life (and in which he and his wife are symbolized by a cedar and a palm tree); a visit by three Egyptians (one named Hirkanos) to Abram and their subsequent report of Sarai's beauty to Pharaoh; an account of Abram's prayer, the affliction of the Egyptians, and their subsequent healing; and a description of the land to be inherited by Abram's descendants. Stylistically, the Apocryphon may be described as a pseudepigraphon, since events are related in the first person with the patriarchs Lamech, Noah and Abram in turn acting as narrator, though from 22.18 (MT 14:21) to the end of the published text (22.34) the narrative is in the third person. There are also a number of specific details in content which are shared with contemporary literature. Thus, the visit of the Egyptians (when they receive religious instruction from Abram) finds a parallel in Pseudo-Eupolemos. The greatest number of similarities are with *Jubilees.* Both texts, for instance, give the name of Lamech's wife as Bitenosh and specify the mountain where Noah's ark came to rest as Lubar. Nevertheless, the precise relationship between the two texts has not yet been determined. The description of Sarai's beauty is thought to be poetry, an early precursor of the Arabic *wasf* (VanderKam 1979). Some of the non-biblical parts and some of the rephrasing call to mind the later Jewish midrashic texts, but any links are tenuous.

Despite the expansions and the recasting in the first person, the biblical text is still recognizable and has been identified as "an older Palestinian type" (VanderKam 1978: 55). Also, as in 11QtgJob, there are a number of "double translations." It is possible that the Apocryphon is (or had as one of its sources) a Targum of Genesis and hence that it may be a forerunner of the Rabbinic Targumim (Kuiper 1968). However, its closest similarities are with the Peshitta and not with the medieval Targumim. One characteristic of the way in which the text has been rewritten is its anticipation of passages which occur later in the Bible. Thus a number of phrases from the later encounter with Abimelech (Genesis 20) are placed in the narrative of Sarai and Abram in Egypt (Genesis 12).

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**GENESIS, BOOK OF.** Genesis is the first book of the Hebrew Bible. The name of the book is derived from Genesis 2:4a in the Greek translation: "This is the book of the origins *(geneseōs)* of heaven and earth." The book is called Genesis in the Septuagint, whence the name came into the Vulgate and eventually into modern usage. In Jewish tradition the first word of the book serves as its name, thus the book is called *Bĕrēʾšît.* The origin of the name is easier to ascertain than most other aspects of the book, which will be treated under the following headings:

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A. Text
B. Sources
    1. J
    2. E
    3. P

4. The Promises Writer

C. Narrative

1. The Framework: Genealogy
2. The Primeval Cycle
3. The Abraham Cycle
4. The Jacob Cycle
5. The Joseph Narrative

D. The Patriarchs and History

E. The Religion of the Patriarchs

F. Ancient Near Eastern Parallels

1. Cognate Parallels
2. Typological Parallels

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**A. Text**

There are four major textual witnesses to the book of Genesis: the Masoretic text (MT), the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP), the Septuagint (LXX), and the Genesis fragments from Qumran. The latter group comprises our oldest manuscripts but only covers a small proportion of the book (McCarter 1986: 82–88; Davila 1989). In general, the MT is well preserved and reliable, but there are many individual instances where the other versions preserve superior readings (see e.g., index in Tov 1981; frequent examples in McCarter 1986; Davila 1989). An important category of textual variants is the glosses in the MT that are not attested in other major versions; this category of variants shows how the Hebrew text continued to grow even in a conservative scribal tradition (e.g., Gen 14:22: *yahweh* added to *ʾel ʿelyôn* [not in LXX or Syr, SP has *hāʾĕlōhîm*]; Gen 35:7: *ʾēl* added to *bêt-ʾēl* [not in LXX, Vg, or Syr]; see Tov 1981: 307–9).

**B. Sources**

Since the beginnings of source criticism of the Pentateuch in the 17th and 18th centuries there has been much controversy over the sources of Genesis. There are several competing theories today, but the long-established identification of J (the Yahwist), E (the Elohist), and P (the Priestly source) still provides the most plausible model for the composition of Genesis (Friedman 1987; see the overview of Knight 1985). To these three sources some scholars would add the Promises writer, who inserted a series of divine promises into the patriarchal stories of J + E (see below, B.4.). Other scholars would explain the growth of Genesis by a series of editorial expansions of a single source (Rendtorff 1977; Blum 1984) or as wholly composed by a single author (Whybray 1987), but these theories cannot adequately explain the evident inconsistencies in Genesis (see Emerton 1987–88).

**1. J.** The J writer was probably not the first Israelite author to write prose narratives, but adapted the prose styles of his predecessors (among whom were probably the composers of the "ark narrative," the "history of David's rise," and the "court history of David," found in slightly expanded form in 1 and 2 Samuel; see McCarter *I Samuel* AB; *II Samuel* AB) to his task. J retold the stories of the past, from the creation of Adam and Eve through the patriarchs, the Exodus, and beyond, in a single extended narrative. J's style is generally very compressed, as would be necessary for such a large task. It is likely that many of these stories would have been told at much greater length in Israelite oral traditions, as some of the allusions to unknown details and variants would suggest (e.g., Cain's wife, Gen 4:17; the "men of renown," Gen 6:4; Rebekah's message for Jacob to return, Gen 27:45; Jacob's conquest of Shechem, Gen 48:22; Jacob weeping at Penuel, Hos 12:5—Eng12:4). J portrays his human protagonists as bold, complex figures who tend to choose their own destiny (e.g., the first couple, Gen 3:6), sometimes by devious means (e.g., Abraham, Gen 12:11–13; Isaac, Gen 26:7; Rebekah and Jacob, Genesis 27). J's deity is similarly complex; he is shown changing his mind about the desirability of destroying humans (Gen 8:21–22; cf. 6:5–7) and, in a moving scene, takes ethical instruction from Abraham (Gen 18:22–33). Yahweh often has no role in the stories or intervenes only occasionally. This intermittent role of the deity is in marked contrast to the other sources of Genesis, and shows J as, in a sense, one of the least "theological" writers of the Bible, perhaps reflecting a closeness to the folk traditions of Israel.

The J composition is plausibly dated to the early monarchy and appears to reflect Judean interests (Skinner *Genesis* ICC, lvii; Friedman 1987: 61–67). The depictions of a sympathetic side of Esau (= Edom) in J (Gen 27:30–38) and E (Gen 33:4–16) are strong evidence against an exilic or post-exilic date for J (*pace* Van Seters 1975); at this later time Edom was reviled for its part in the sack of Judah (Ps 137:7; Obadiah; cf. Ezek 25:12–14; Isa 34:5–17; 63:1–6; Mal 1:2–4). For other historical indications, see D. below. See also YAHWIST ("J") SOURCE.

**2. E.** The E source is less dominant than J or P in Genesis but has a narrative voice and technique that is often distinct (McEvenue 1975 and 1984) In E's narratives, beginning with Abraham in Genesis 20, the human protagonists are often idealized, with their deceits and ambiguous acts explicity justified (e.g., Abraham's apparent lie about Sarah, Gen 20:11–12 [cf. Gen 12:12–13, J]; Abraham's acquiescence in the expulsion of Hagar, Gen 21:10–13 [cf. Gen 16:6, J]). The human characters often voice their intentions and show strong emotions, displaying a greater "interiority" than in J (McEvenue 1984: 320–21). God's role in the stories is much more pronounced than in J; the events and plots of the stories are often explained as the direct expression of God's will (e.g., God's explanation of Abimelech's innocence, Gen 20:6; God's remarks to Abraham about the explusion of Ishmael, Gen 21:12–13; the narrator's description of the plot of Genesis 22: "God tested Abraham," Gen 22:1; the dream theophany explaining Jacob's success in breeding sheep, Gen 31:10–12 [cf. Gen 30:32–43, J]; Joseph's interpretation of events to his brothers: "God sent me before you to save life," Gen 45:5 [cf. 45:7; 50:20]). E is interested in the piety and probity of his characters; a favored quality is the "fear of God" (attributed to Abraham, Gen 22:12; possibly none in Gerar, Gen 20:11; attributed to Joseph, 42:18; see Wolff 1969), and a proper note of humility is struck when Jacob and Joseph exclaim, "Can I take the place of God" (*hătaḥat ʾĕlōhîm ʾānōkî/ʾānî:* Gen 30:2; 50:19).

The E source occasionally displays northern interests (Jenks 1977; Friedman 1987: 70–83) and may have been composed as an alternative text to J, though strongly influenced by J in style and length of the stories (Friedman 1987: 83–88). Others regard E as an expansion of J rather than an originally separate document (McEvenue 1984: 329–30), and some regard the E source as insufficiently proven (Rendtorff 1977: 82; Westermann 1984–86: 2. 571–72). See also ELOHIST.

**3. P.** To the P source belong two basic types of material in Genesis: narratives and genealogies. Among the narratives are whole texts, such as the creation account in Gen 1:1–2:4a, a version of the flood myth in Genesis 6–9, God's covenant with Abraham in Genesis 17, Abraham's purchase of the cave at Machpelah in Genesis 23, and partial narratives that are appended to J or E texts, such as Rebekah's disgust at Esau's marriages in Gen 27:46–28:9 and various notices of births and burials. Among the genealogical lists are extended sections, such as Genesis 5 or Gen 11:10–27, and also briefer notices that are scattered throughout the narratives. The genealogies and other chronological matter serve to structure the book as a whole. It appears that the P source is best described as a collection of independent narratives (Emerton 1988; Nicholson 1988) *and* as a redactional source (*CMHE*, 301–21; Tengström 1981). It may be that this implies more than one compositional phase for P, perhaps a pre-exilic P writer and an exilic P redactor (Friedman 1981: 44–132).

One of P's chief interests is the relationship between narrative and cult: the practices of Sabbath observance and circumcision are explicitly connected with the narratives of creation (Gen 2:2–3) and God's covenant with Abraham (Gen 17:10–14). On a more subtle level the primeval events in P anticipate the creation of the Jerusalem temple, an institution at the center of Israelite religion. The language in the P creation story anticipates the construction of the tabernacle in Exodus 35–40, which is P's symbol for the Jerusalem temple (Weinfeld 1981; Blenkinsopp 1976: 280–86; Levenson 1988: 77–99). In addition, the chronology of the primeval events also anticipates the construction of the temple: the creation begins the first year, the emergence of the earth from the flood waters also begins a new year (Gen 8:13), the tabernacle is set up on the first of the year (Exod 40:2), all of which foreshadow the sanctification of the temple, which occurred at the (autumn) New Year festival (Blenkinsopp 1976: 283). The symbolic structure of P appears to bring the temple into a close bond with creation and the cosmic order. The

interplay between myth and cult, and the explication of the sacred structure of the cosmos, joining past to present, are dominant concerns for P in Genesis. See also PRIESTLY ("P") SOURCE.

**4. The Promises Writer.** In addition to the three major sources of Genesis (J, E, P) and a few texts of independent provenance (Genesis 14; 49:2–27), some scholars have noted that many of God's promises to the patriarchs belong to a separate compositional stratum (Hoftijzer 1956; Westermann 1980: 95–163; Emerton 1982). There is a common diction and set of themes in the divine promises in Gen 12:2–3; 13:14–17; 18:17–19; 22:15–18; 24:7; 26:3b–5; 28:14; 32:13; and elsewhere. Many of these passages, which occur in both J and E contexts, appear to be intrusive (e.g., Gen 22:15: "the angel of Yahweh called out to Abraham a second time …"). The promises were apparently added to the combined JE text prior to the combination with P, since the promises in the P source are written in characteristic P language but appear to be influenced by the earlier texts (Gen 17:5–8; 28:3–4; 35:11–12). The promises of descendants, land, blessing, etc., bring to the fore some of the implicit and explicit themes of Yahweh's relationship with the patriarchs, and apparently point to the era of the Israelite monarchy as the time of fulfillment of the promises (cf. 1 Kgs 4:20). The Promises writer gives an ethical interpretation to Genesis in Yahweh's explanation of his choice of Abraham: "I have chosen him that he may command his children and his descendants to keep the way of Yahweh by doing what is right and just, so that Yahweh may bring to Abraham what he has promised him" (Gen 18:19). The promises provide a sense of structure and a commentary on the patriarchal narratives. Several of the promises are probably original to the J and E texts (Gen 12:7; 16:11; 18:10, 14; 28:15; also 15:4–5, 18 [source obscure]; see Emerton 1982: 17–23); these formed the basis for the redactional and interpretive activity of the Promises writer. It is instructive to note the differences in theme and diction between the passages from the Promises source and the earlier passages of the blessings given by Isaac (Gen 27:27–28, J) and Jacob (Gen 48:15–16, E; 49:2–27, archaic poetry).

**C. Narrative**

Hermann Gunkel began the modern study of the Genesis narratives with his attention to matters of genre, literary art, and prehistory in Israelite and ancient Near Eastern traditions (*Genesis* HKAT, 1964). Concern with the first and last of these matters ("form-criticism" and "tradition-criticism") has dominated scholarship on Genesis in the decades since (see Knight 1975), in conjunction with recurrent theological interests (e.g., von Rad *Genesis* OTL; Westermann 1984–86) and historical concerns (see D below). In recent years much attention has returned to the literary aspects of Genesis (Fokkelman 1975; Fishbane 1979; Alter 1981; Sternberg 1985). Also in recent years some have drawn on other fields such as anthropology and folklore for new perspectives on the Genesis narratives (Culley 1985: 180–89; Niditch 1987; Oden 1987; Hendel 1987b). At present there is a wide range of approaches to the Genesis narratives, though there is a regrettable tendency for each approach to be practiced in isolation from the others.

**1. The Framework: Genealogy.** Genealogies serve as a framework for Genesis on two complementary levels: redactional and conceptual. The final editor of the book (probably to be identified with the P redactor; see B.3 above) used genealogical lists as a structural framework for Genesis (*CMHE,* 301–21; Tengström 1981). The list begins in Genesis 5 with Adam's immediate line and continues in Genesis 10 and 11:10–27, and then occurs sporadically through the rest of the book, linking the various sections of narrative. The editor prefaces each of these sections with the phrase, "These are the generations of …" *(ʾēlleh tôlĕdôt … ),* a heading that occurs ten times in Genesis. The editor essentially organized the book as a genealogical document, from the generations of heaven and earth (Gen 2:4a) to the genealogical descent of Israel's ancestors.

In addition to this redactional role in defining Genesis as a "book of generations," the genealogies also play a conceptual role. The conceptual function of genealogy is evident throughout Genesis (see Oden 1983; McCarter 1988). The linear genealogy from Adam to Jacob serves to define Israel's relationship to its neighbors and other foreign nations (the descendants of Noah, Gen 9:25–27 and Genesis 10; Moab and Ammon, Gen 19:30–38; Ishmael, Genesis 16; Edom, Gen 25:21–34). The segmented lineage of Jacob's sons serves to define the internal relationships of Israel, clarifying the relationships among the tribes and

affirming the genealogical unity that binds them together as a nation. The idiom of kinship relationships, whether real or ascribed, is a key organization principle in the type of society called a segmentary lineage system, as Israel appears to have been in the era of the tribal league (see Wilson 1984: 30–53). Derived from this social base, the genealogical structure of the Genesis narratives served to define Israelite identity as a function of the kinship relationships of their ancestors. The genealogical framework of the book thus operates as an expression of ethnic, national, and religious self-definition. Many of the narratives are explicitly concerned with the clarity of kinship relationships (e.g, the wife-sister stories, Gen 12:10–20; 20; 26:1–11; the wooing of Rebekah, Genesis 24; the rape of Dinah, Genesis 34; Judah and Tamar, Genesis 38; the elevation of Ephraim, Genesis 48). The genealogical structure is difficult to separate from the individual stories; it appears that the narratives and kinship relationships are organically related, probably reflecting a common emergence in the early centuries of Israelite society (McCarter 1988: 15–19; and D below).

**2. The Primeval Cycle.** The stories of Genesis 1–11, often misleadingly called the "primeval *history*" (see the criticisms of Barr 1976; Hendel 1987a: 14 n. 8), form a loose cycle of stories, organized by the idiom of genealogical descent. The stories are properly termed "myths," that is, "sacred narratives that relate how the world and man came into their present form" (Dundes 1984: 1; cf. Oden 1987: 40–91; Müller 1972). The P sections of the primeval cycle include the creation myth of Gen 1:1–2:4a and a version of the flood in Genesis 6–9. The interplay between myth and cult in these P accounts has been mentioned above. The J section begins with the Garden of Eden and extends through the Tower of Babel.

In these myths we see more explicitly the multiple functions of traditional myth: to explore the transition from creation to the present world and to construct the categories and relationships that sustain a coherent world (see Turner 1968; Dundes 1984; O'Flaherty 1988; Blumenberg 1985). The transgressions in these myths—disobedience (Adam and Eve), fratricide (Cain and Abel), illicit sexual union (Sons of God and Daughters of Men), generalized evil (the flood), familial taboos (curse of Canaan), excessive ambition (Tower of Babel)—serve as narrative catalysts that impel the movement toward the emergence of the present world; they provide the necessary crises for the definition of the proper relationships in the Israelite ethical system. In response to these transgressions Yahweh introduces the qualities and limitations of the present world: from an initial human state of nakedness and innocence come the familiar traits of clothing, mortality, work, the division of labor, a limited lifespan, the multiplicity of societies and languages, etc. The proper ethical relationships are established in this process: between man and woman, brother and brother, father and son, nation and nation, and running through all of these, human and God.

Many views have been advanced in recent years concerning a central theme of the primeval cycle: the increase of human sin and God's grace (von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 24; Clines 1976: 502–3; see the criticisms of Golka 1980), the variety of human sin (Westermann 1984–86: 1. 53), the diminution of the "being" *(Dasein)* of humans (Steck 1971: 544), the irresolvable duality of human and divine (Oden 1981: 30–33), and the proper limits of the human "drive for life" (Fishbane 1979: 37). It may be appropriate to avoid the search for a single meaning and to consider the mythic role of the primeval cycle as a narrative exploration and point of origins for the categories and ethical relationships of ancient Israelite religion.

**3. The Abraham Cycle.** The stories of Abraham form a loosely connected cycle organized around two central themes: Abraham's need for a child and his relationship with Yahweh. These themes concern Abraham's identity as the ancestor of Israel and the founder of Israelite religion. The first theme is sounded in Gen 11:30 with the mention that "Sarai was barren, she had no child." The second theme begins two verses later with Yahweh's command to Abraham to "Go forth" (Gen 12:1). During the course of the Abraham cycle the relationship between Yahweh and Abraham is developed in various ways, with the problem of childlessness as a recurrent theme. The stories that concern Abraham's need for an heir include: the wife-sister stories, in which Sarah's status as Abraham's wife is endangered (Gen 12:10–20, J; Gen 20:1–7, E); the stories of the birth and expulsion of Ishmael (Gen 16:1–15, J; 21:9–21, E); the covenant with Abraham (Genesis 17, P); the announcement that Sarah will bear a son (Gen 18:1–15, J); the birth and circumcision of Isaac (Gen 21:1–8, JEP); and the binding of Isaac (Gen 22:1–19, E). The passages from the Promises writer in the Abraham cycle often concern the promise of descendants; also

the passage in Gen 15:1–6 (source obscure) relates the promise of a son. The story of the wooing of Rebekah continues the concern for proper descendants to the next generation (Genesis 24, J).

Yahweh's relationship with Abraham is defined in the course of the Abraham cycle as that of a personal god who grants him offspring, land, abundance, blessing, and victory in battle. Abraham argues with Yahweh (Gen 18:22–33, J) but is obedient to his command (Gen 22:1–14, E), portraying a dialectic of autonomy and obedience that runs deeply in Israelite religion (Levenson 1988: 149–53). The Abraham cycle presents Abraham as father and religious founder; it defines Israel's claim to the promised land and its relationship with Ammon, Moab, Ishmael, and other peoples; and it depicts the religious bond between Yahweh and the children of Abraham.

**4. The Jacob Cycle.** The stories of Jacob and his family continue some of the main concerns of the Abraham cycle. The themes of the barren wife and the need for an heir recur in Gen 25:21 (Isaac and Rebekah, J) and Gen 29:31–30:24 (Jacob and Rachel, JE), but are minor concerns in comparison with the Abraham cycle. Jacob's relationship with Yahweh is also a subject of interest, particularly in the theophanies at Bethel (Gen 28:10–22, JE; 35:1–15, EP) and Penuel (Gen 32:23–33, E). The kinship with neighboring peoples, particularly Edomites and Arameans, is an important matter, as is the internal relationships among Jacob's children.

The Jacob cycle is primarily a narration of Jacob's life story and adventures, from his early career as a youthful trickster to his later identity as the eponymous ancestor of Israel (Hendel 1987b). Jacob faces a series of adversaries in the course of his career: initially Esau, later Laban, and at Penuel he contends with God. He prevails over his adversaries, both human and divine (as emphasized in Gen 32:29), generally through guile, and thereby wins the family birthright (Gen 25:29–34, J), the blessing of the first-born (Genesis 27, J), abundant flocks (Gen 30:25–31:8, JE), and finally a new name (Gen 32:27–29, E).

Jacob's character is defined through his encounters with adversaries (Hendel 1987b: 101–31). His adversarial relationship with his brother Esau is echoed in Rachel's rivalry with her sister Leah. Rachel, the younger child who becomes Jacob's favored wife, acquires the family gods by deceiving her father (Gen 31:19, 33–35, E), establishing her as a proper counterpart for Jacob, who acquired his father's blessing through deceit (Gen 27:1–29, J; see Hendel 1987b: 94–98). Jacob eventually resolves his relationships with his adversaries: first with Laban (Gen 31:43–54, E), then, curiously, with God (Gen 32:23–33, E), and finally with Esau (Gen 33:1–17, E).

The Jacob cycle traces Jacob's identity in its various aspects: as a trickster, a founder of cult places, a man of blessing, a husband and father, a contender with God, and an eponymous ancestor. Jacob's struggles and the eventual outcome—that he prevails (Gen 32:29)—form an evocative paradigm for Israelite identity.

**5. The Joseph Narrative.** The stories of Joseph have a different narrative pace than the other stories in Genesis; they linger on individual scenes and flow more directly from one episode to another. This is less a story cycle than a single narrative, though the difference may be one of degree rather than kind. Another difference concerns the absence of theophanies and links with cultic sites. It appears that the Joseph narrative continues the J, E, and P sources, though the differences between J and E are less distinct than in previous sections (compare Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 438–42; Redford 1970: 106–86; Schmitt 1980; Westermann 1984–86: 3. 20–22).

Joseph is not presented as a cult founder or patriarch (except as father of Ephraim and Manasseh), but as the favored son of Jacob who ascends to authority over his brothers, as foretold in his dreams (Gen 37:5–11). The ascent of the youngest is a common theme in Israelite traditions (cf. Isaac over Ishmael, Jacob over Esau, Rachel over Leah, Ephraim over Manasseh, Gideon, David). The Joseph narrative traces the rise of this eponymous ancestor and provides a transition to the stories of the Exodus. Joseph's rise is told through a series of encounters with adversaries and benefactors, after each of which he experiences a change in status. Joseph begins as his father's favorite son and attracts the enmity of his brothers. His first transition, from beloved son to foreign slave, occurs after he is cast into a pit and his special garment taken away. As a slave he is the favorite of Potiphar but attracts the desire of Potiphar's wife. His identity is transformed from slave to prisoner as he is cast into prison, again with his garment torn away by his

adversary. The repeated images of Joseph's clothing torn away present a series of symbolic "rites of passage" from one state to another, from beloved son to foreign slave to prisoner. After the cupbearer remembers Joseph's wisdom to Pharaoh, Joseph is released from prison and is dressed in new clothes (Gen 41:14), signaling a new ascent in identity. His success in interpreting Pharaoh's dreams is rewarded by a final ascent in status to Pharaoh's vizier, and is symbolically enacted when Pharaoh has Joseph dressed in fine clothes and jewelry (Gen 41:42). Joseph's rise is followed by his reunion and eventual reconciliation with his brothers. Yet before this occurs Joseph deceives his brothers, as Jacob had deceived his brother (Friedman 1986: 28–30; Niditch 1987: 99–104), and he implicitly threatens the life of the youngest son, Benjamin, by having a divining cup planted in his bag. In a moment of sharp irony, the brothers tear their clothes in anguish over the danger posed to their youngest brother (Gen 44:13), recalling the scene when Israel tore his clothes after the report of Joseph's death (Gen 37:34). Joseph then reveals his identity to his brothers and effects a reconciliation, symbolized in part by giving his brothers new clothes (Gen 45:22). The transformations that occur in the relationships of Joseph, his brothers, and the other major characters, are often accompanied by the granting, taking away, or tearing of clothing, providing a symbolic framework to the narrative. The key scenes in the story are also linked together by the themes of recognition, disguise, and knowledge, as Alter and others have noted (Alter 1981: 159–76; Sternberg 1985: 285–308). The end of the narrative, according to the E source, fulfills God's design: that the lives of the Israelites be saved (Gen 45:5–8, 50:20).

**D. The Patriarchs and History**

The topic of the relationship between history and the patriarchal narratives has been of much interest in recent years (e.g., Van Seters 1975; Thompson 1974; de Pury 1978; de Vaux 1978: 161–266; Dever 1977; Worschech 1983; Malamat *WLSGF* 303–13; McCarter 1988). The confidence of Albright and his colleagues that the "patriarchal period" could be located in the archaeological record of the second millennium B.C.E. has waned in the light of recent criticisms, and research into the historical memory of oral narrative traditions has tempered earlier claims (Culley 1967). If the writers of Genesis were drawing on the oral narrative traditions of their times, as is the most plausible scenario (see F below), then we would expect these traditions to preserve a variety of old historical details—social, economic, and religious customs, names and epithets, vague traces of particular events—but would expect many of the themes and plots to be traditional rather than historical (Vansina 1985; Lord 1972; Finnegan 1970). We would expect most of the historical referents to reflect the times when the stories were told, not the times that they purport to describe. From the limited historical data available to us, it appears that the relationship between history and tradition in the patriarchal narratives fits this general understanding of oral traditional narrative.

The Joseph narrative, though written down no earlier than the early monarchy, reflects in the tribal relationships a time when the Joseph tribes (Ephraim and Manasseh) were dominant. In the era of the Israelite tribal league, prior to the monarchy, Ephraim and Manasseh were the most populous tribes (*AIS*, 324–35) and apparently had a dominant status (cf. the tribal blessings in Gen 49:22–26, Deut 33:13–17). This story thus preserves in its plot a memory of the social relationships of the Israelite tribal league. It is possible that the elevation of Joseph to a position of authority in Egypt also preserves a vague memory of a time when men with West Semitic names ruled Egypt (the Hyksos dynasty, ca. 1670–1570 B.C.E.). The role of Reuben in the E stratum of the Joseph narrative recalls the period of early Israelite history when Reuben was still an important tribe, while the corresponding role of Judah in the J stratum reflects a time after the rise of David when Judah became a dominant power. In the Jacob cycle, the dominance of Jacob over Esau corresponds to the era of the monarchy when Edom was a vassal of Israel, ca. early 10th to mid-9th centuries B.C.E. (the reference in Gen 27:40b to a time when Edom will "break the yoke" of Israel appears to be a prose gloss added to update the poetic blessing; Gunkel *Genesis* HKAT, 314), yet Esau's name, locale, and character are independent of his identification with Edom; thus it is evident that his narrative role predates this period (Gunkel *Genesis* HKAT, xx; 1964: 23–24).

The names of the patriarchs follow normal West Semitic patterns that are found in the 2d and 1st millennia B.C.E., though the conspicuous absence of theophorous elements derived from the name

"Yahweh" lends weight to the supposition that many may be genuinely archaic names. Occasional references in extrabiblical texts may directly relate to the patriarchal traditions. A local Canaanite ruler in the 18th century B.C.E. may have been named *y‹qb-HR* (in Eg transliteration), and it is conceivable that he may have been the precursor of the biblical *ya‹ăqōb,* or Jacob (Kempinski 1988: 45–47). An Egyptian document from the 15th century B.C.E. mentions a Canaanite place named "Jacob-El"; this may also be a sign of the antiquity of the Jacob tradition (*LBHG*, 163; McCarter 1988: 24). An Egyptian document from the late 10th century B.C.E. mentions a place in Judah called the "Field of Abram"; it is likely that this place-name commemorated the biblical patriarch (Breasted 1904–5; *LBHG*, 328–29; McCarter 1988: 239–40 n. 58). The names and social relationships of the Israelite tribes may also shed light on the history of the patriarchal traditions. Some of the names of Jacob's sons may have been originally geographical designations (possibly Naphtali, Asher, Ephraim, Judah, Benjamin; see McCarter 1988: 28) that were personified as the names of tribal ancestors in the narrative traditions.

In general, the ethnic configurations in the narratives and genealogies reflect relations during the tribal league or early monarchy (Mazar 1969; McCarter 1988: 18–19), which was the era of the formation of Israelite identity and, evidently, of the narrative traditions which articulated this identity. There is thus a diversity of historical reference in the patriarchal narratives. Some items, such as the practice of erecting standing stones at sacred sites (Gen 28:18, 35:14) preserve customs that are continuous from Stone Age to Israelite times (Hendel 1987b: 66–67); many social and economic customs are at home during a broad range of the 2d and 1st millennia B.C.E. (Morrison 1983; Frymer-Kensky 1981; Matthews 1981; Selman 1980); while other elements of the stories, such as the prominence of Hebron, Beer-sheba, and Jerusalem, or the ethnic and tribal relationships, reflect a time when Israel had become a nation.

**E. The Religion of the Patriarchs**

Without corroborative evidence it is impossible to tell whether the patriarchs were historical individuals, and thus it is impossible to tell what their religion may have been. It is, however, possible to gain a sense of the religious beliefs and practices that are contained in the patriarchal narratives. Many of the features of patriarchal religion are ordinary traits of Israelite religion, including such religious practices and objects as altars, standing stones, animal sacrifice, circumcision, prayers, and oracles (de Vaux 1978: 282–87; Wenham 1980: 168–70). The sacred places founded by the patriarchs are local Israelite sacred places, reflecting the period before Josiah abolished the local shrines (ca. 622) and, more precisely, a time when these sites (Shechem, Bethel, Hebron, etc.) were prominent, pointing to the period of the tribal league and early monarchy (Mazar 1969: 81).

There is a notable discontinuity from the normal pattern of Israelite religion, however, in the name of the deity worshiped by the patriarchs (Alt 1929; *CMHE*, 44–75; Köckert 1988: 55–114; and, in the early poetry, Freedman 1976: 63–66, 87–98, and 1987). Both the E and P sources preserve a tradition that Yahweh did not reveal his true name to the patriarchs, but was known to them as simply "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob" or "the God of your fathers" (E, see Exod 3:6) or *›ēl sûadday"* (P, see Exod 6:3). The J source does not follow this tradition and tends to call the patriarchal deity Yahweh. The nature of the titles of the patriarchal deity in Genesis lend credence to the E and P tradition of a patriarchal deity that was not yet named Yahweh (on the following, see esp. *CMHE*, 46–60 and Cross *TDOT* 1: 255–60). The titles include *›ēl rō›î* (Gen 16:13), *›ēl ‹ôlām* (Gen 21:33), *›ēl ›ĕlōhê yiśrā›ēl* (Gen 33:20), and *›ēl sûadday*. The god of Melchizedek, king of Salem, is called *›ēl ‹elyôn qōnê šāmayim wā›āreṣ* (Gen 14:19). The word *›ēl* can be read either as a generic noun meaning "god" or as the personal name for a god named "El." The latter meaning clearly holds for the title *›ēl ›ĕlōhê yiśrā›ēl,* literally, "El, the God of Israel." Many of the other divine titles are probably to be understood in the same way as titles of the god El: thus *›ēl ‹ôlām* is probably "El, the Eternal One" or "El, the Ancient One" (or simply "the god of eternity" or "the ancient god"), *›ēl sûadday* is probably "El, the Mountain One" (cf. the Ammonite gods called *šdyn,* probably "the mountain ones" in the Ammonite inscription from Deir ‹Alla; Hackett 1984: 85–89), *›ēl ‹elyôn qōnê šāmayim wā›āreṣ* is "El, the Most High, Creator of Heaven and Earth" (cf. the title "El, Creator of Earth" in Canaanite and other West Semitic texts; Miller 1980),

etc. In much of the Hebrew Bible the name El is an alternate name for Yahweh, but in the tradition followed by E and P it is conceived as an *earlier* name than Yahweh.

The discovery of the Ugaritic tablets from the 14th century B.C.E. and other epigraphic finds has made it clear that in Canaanite religion the high god of the pantheon was named El. Many of the El epithets in Genesis are also attested of other gods in Canaanite, Phoenician, Aramaic, and Ammonite religion. It appears that the biblical tradition according to which a god named El was worshiped in the land of Israel (i.e., Canaan) prior to the settlement of the Israelite tribes is historically accurate, and that the religion of the patriarchs described in Genesis preserves at least some authentic memories of Canaanite religion (*pace* Van Seters 1980). Many of the religious features of the patriarchal narratives would be at home in Canaanite traditions. For example, there are many continuities in the relationship between El and his votaries Danel and Kirta in the Canaanite epics and El and the patriarchs in Genesis (*CMHE*, 182–83; Clifford 1973; Hendel 1987b: 33–67). However, the patriarchal narratives only preserve features of earlier religious practice and belief that are compatible with Israelite religion; thus while there are divine "messengers" *(mal›ākîm)* in Genesis, there is no mention of Baal, Asherah, or other prominent Canaanite gods.

The patriarchs are monotheists (or monolatrists) and practice a form of "personal religion" in which a family enters into a close relationship with a deity, who blesses and protects the family. This type of religion is common in the ancient Near East, and appears to be a substrate of both Canaanite and Israelite religion (Albertz 1978; Vorlander 1975). The title "the God of my father" is often applied to the patron god in personal religion. This personal god has a name (*pace* Alt 1929) and is often one of the major gods of the pantheon. The religion of the patriarchs preserves memories of El as a personal god, and this religious tradition, rooted in pre-Israelite times, was apparently a precursor of Israelite religion, in which Yahweh is both a high god and a personal god.

**F. Ancient Near Eastern Parallels**

There are many parallels in ancient Near Eastern literature to the narrative elements (motifs, episodes, themes, story patterns) in Genesis. Some of these parallels are sufficiently precise to indicate a genetic or historical relationship between the stories, while others may be attributed to general habits of thought or universal storytelling techniques. Often it is difficult to distinguish between these two classes of parallels, which can be termed "cognate" (i.e., genetically related) and "typological" (i.e., not genetically related). Factors such as the degree of cultural contacts and the specificity and complexity of the parallel are important to assess in order to form a proper evaluation. In general it appears that the primary basis for cognate parallels is not a scribal relationship between individual texts but a continuity of the narrative traditions that the texts (and their audiences) presume.

**1. Cognate Parallels.** Motifs belonging to the class of cognate parallels include: the heavenly "ladder" *(sullām)* in Gen 28:12 and the heavenly "ladder" *(simmiltu)* in Babylonian myth (see the Sultantepe version of "Nergal and Ereshkigal," Hendel 1987b: 65); the great dragons *(hattannînīm haggĕdōlîm)* in Gen 1:21 and the Ugaritic dragon *tunnānu* (Day 1985: 74); the "Sons of God" *(bĕnê hā›ĕlōhîm)* in Gen 6:1–4 and the Ugaritic "Sons of God," or more precisely, "Children of El" *(bn ›il)* (Hendel 1987a: 16 n. 16); the cherubim *(kĕrūbîm)* in Gen 3:24 and the Akkadian *kurību* and the frequent representation of mixed-breed guardian creatures in Near Eastern art (Freedman and O'Connor *TWAT* 4:322–34); the "seven years of famine" in Gen 41:27–30 and numerous examples of this motif in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Canaan (McCarter 1988: 26 n. 77); the "spurned wife" motif in Genesis 39 and the Egyptian "Tale of Two Brothers" (Redford 1970: 91–93; Irvin 1977: 185–88).

Some more general concepts or themes that are cognate include: the "garden of God" at the source of the rivers, including the Tigris and Euphrates, in Genesis 2–3 and the abode of Canaanite El at the source of the Tigris and Euphrates (see the Hittite myth "Elkunirsha" and the Ugaritic descriptions of El's abode at "the source of the rivers," Wallace 1985: 76–86); the creation of humans in "the image of God" *(ṣelem ›ĕlōhîm)* in Gen 1:27 and 5:1 and the Egyptian descriptions of the king (and occasionally all humanity) as the "image" of god and the Assyrian descriptions of various kings as the "image" *(ṣalmu)* of a god (Dion *DBSup* 10: 365–403); the lengthy lifespans of the antediluvian patriarchs in Genesis 5 and the lengthy

lifespans of the antediluvian kings in Mesopotamian traditions (see the "Sumerian King List," VanderKam 1984: 23–38); the humans who have knowledge "like the gods (or: like God)" but are denied immortality in Genesis 3 and in Mesopotamian traditions (Adapa and Gilgamesh, see Westermann 1984–86: 1.272; Wallace 1985: 104–5); the creation of the universe by divine word or divine action in Genesis 1 and 2 and numerous Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Phoenician myths (Westermann 1984–86: 1.26–47; Blanquart 1987).

Whole story patterns that are cognate include: the flood stories in Genesis 6–9 and the several Mesopotamian stories of the flood (Westermann 1984–86: 1.398–401; Wenham *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 159–66); and the birth stories of the biblical patriarchs and the Ugaritic birth stories in the Aqhat and Kirta epics (Hendel 1987b: 37–59). The parallels in the flood story extend from the general plot to specific motifs and scenes such as the wisdom and piety of the flood hero, the instructions to build an ark, the sending of birds (or the same bird) three times to determine when the waters have abated, the landing place of the ark on a mountain in Armenia or Kurdistan, the flood hero's sacrifice after departure from the ark, a symbolic reminder of the flood (the rainbow in Genesis, a necklace in Atrahasis), and the ethical reflections of the deity (or deities) after the flood. Several obscure features of the biblical flood stories are illuminated by this history of tradition reaching back to older Mesopotamian myths. Yahweh's apparently unmotivated change of heart after Noah's sacrifice is illuminated by the Mesopotamian scene at a similar point in the myth when the flood hero offers a sacrifice and the starving gods realize that they are dependent on humans for their sustenance. Similarly, the apparent contradiction in Yahweh's decision to destroy *all* humans (Gen 6:7, J; 6:13, P) but to save Noah's family (Gen 6:8, J; 6:14, P) is clarified by the Mesopotamian tradition where there are two major gods in opposition, one of whom (Enlil) decides to destroy all humans, and another god (Enki) who determines to save the flood hero and his family. In the Israelite tradition a single god has taken on both divine roles—destroyer and savior—thus creating an inner tension in his character and a deep ambiguity in the story (cf. Petersen 1976; Müller 1985).

In the Canaanite and Israelite birth stories there is a similar story pattern and set of relationships between the childless father and his god(s). The hero (Daniel [or Danel], Kirta, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob) has a special relationship with the god (El or Yahweh/El), he appeals to the god(s), and El or Yahweh finally blesses the hero and promises him a son. The parallels in narrative themes and plot are accompanied by the common role of El or Yahweh in both narrative traditions as the patron god who bestows blessings and progeny to his favored ones (see D above). The birth stories in the patriarchal narratives appear to be later multiforms of the traditional birth stories of Canaanite epic, though with the differences one would expect in Israelite narrative: there are no prominent gods besides El/Yahweh, and the human heroes are not kings but farmers and herders (Hendel 1987b: 47–48).

The many cognate parallels between Israelite and Near Eastern texts lend credence to the theory that there existed a tradition of oral narrative in Israel that was continuous with other Near Eastern oral narrative traditions (Cross 1983; Wallace 1985; Hendel 1987b). There are some indications of cognate parallels with archaic Greek traditions as well, as in the myth of the destruction of the demigods in Gen 6:1–4 and the Greek tradition that the Trojan War was sent to destroy the mixed offspring of gods and mortal women (see Hesiod's "Catalogue of Women," Hendel 1987a: 18–20; Van Seters 1988: 4–9). The oral narrative traditions that served as the most likely source for these Near Eastern and Mediterranean parallels would have been characterized by a multiformity of stories and motifs, as one generally finds in oral narrative (Culley 1976: 1–68; Lord 1960). It is less likely that these parallels were generated primarily by textual or scribal traditions; it is possible that some Mesopotamian, Canaanite, or Egyptian literary texts were available to Israelite writers, but none have yet been found in Israelite sites, and direct textual influence is rarely discernible in biblical writings (a probable exception is the Egyptian "Instruction of Amenemope" and Prov 22:17–24:22, see McKane *Proverbs* OTL, 369–406).

**2. Typological Parallels.** Ancient Near Eastern parallels that are more likely typological than cognate include: the symbolic contrast of culture and nature in the rivalry between Jacob and Esau and in the Mesopotamian rivalry between Gilgamesh and Enkidu, the Egyptian rivalry between Horus and Seth, and the Phoenician rivalry between Hypsouranios and Ousoos (Hendel 1987b: 111–31); the use of clothing to

symbolize the *rites de passage* in the Joseph narrative (see above, C.5.) and in the Gilgamesh epic (Moran *EncRel* 5: 559); Jacob's mysterious wrestling encounter with God in Gen 32:23–33 and Gilgamesh's dream of a wrestling encounter with his patron god Shamash in the Gilgamesh epic (Hendel 1987b: 103–9). There are many typological parallels from other cultures for stories about tricksters like Jacob (Hendel 1987b: 123, 128–29; Niditch 1987: 95–118), wise heroes like Joseph (Niditch 1987: 110–14), heroes who wrestle with gods (de Pury 1979), primeval floods (Dundes 1988), and many other motifs and themes in Genesis (Frazer 1918; Gaster 1950). There are also typological parallels for the overall structure of the book of Genesis, beginning with myths of origins and extending through the lives of the ancestors, e.g., the Mayan *Popul Vuh* (Pitt-Rivers 1977: 149–50).

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**GENESIS, THE NARRATIVE OF.** This entry consists of two articles surveying certain aspects of the story told in the biblical book of Genesis. The first summarizes the flow of the plot and the story line, while the second examines various literary forms that are found within the story.

### *THE GENESIS NARRATIVE*

The book of Genesis, or the first book of Moses, is known in Jewish tradition by its opening words in Hebrew, *bĕrēʾšît,* "in the beginning." The name Genesis derives from the LXX heading (Gk *Genesis*). Since the middle of the 18th century the great majority of scholars have explained the formation of Genesis, as part of the Pentateuch, by means of the documentary hypothesis, deriving in large part from K. H. Graf (1815–69) and A. Kuenen (1828–92), and given its definitive formulation by J. Wellhausen (1844–1918). All three scholars built on the work of their many predecessors, the earliest of whom were R. Simon (1638–1712), J. Astruc (1684–1766), and J. G. Eichhorn (1752–1827). The Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen hypothesis explained Genesis, and the Pentateuch, as in essence, the result of the juxtaposition of three written accounts of the origin of the human race and Israel known as the Yahwistic (J), Elohistic (E), and Priestly (P) documents. Scholars have subdivided these sources further. Wellhausen's important contribution was to date the Priestly Document to the late exilic or postexilic period. The standard introductions to the OT by Eissfeldt (1965; see also his article in *IDB* 2: 366–80), and Fohrer (1968) provide detailed accounts of the documentary hypothesis (see also TORAH). Though many scholars still follow this hypothesis in substance, it has been subject to thorough examination and penetrating criticism by Volz and Rudolph (1933), Cassuto (1961), Engnell (1969), Schmid (1976), Rendtorff (1977, 1985), Thompson (1987), Whybray (1987).

There has been a long and massive process of formation behind the book of Genesis. It is relatively simple to discern the heavily stylized Priestly tradition and, by and large, a "Yahwistic" storyteller. It is possible to note expansions of compact, self-contained stories, places where passages have been joined together more or less skillfully, and incoherences. There are also theological comments which betray a definite religious bias. In addition, the patriarchal stories are laid down on a set of promises, which reflect to a large extent the situation of land and people between the period of maximum expansion in the early monarchy and the Exile as well as the Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic interests. See also GENESIS, BOOK OF.

It is not known who gave to posterity the final biblical text of Genesis or when this was done, though it can scarcely have been preexilic. But this biblical text with its unity and disunity is the only definitive text that we have. It is this text that the scholar must exegete, always bearing in mind both its final form and its long period in the making.

Genesis may be divided conveniently into three parts: The primeval story, 1:1–11:26; The patriarchal story, 11:27–36:43; The Joseph story, chaps. 37–50. Though the contents of these parts are different and

the types of story have their own characteristics, they are not entirely disparate. One leads into the other until, in the steady expansion of the human race in time and space under the dynamism of the creation blessing (1:28), the people that is to become Israel is in Egypt awaiting God's saving action. The word "story" is used to describe each of the three parts rather than history because history today, though descriptions of it vary, is still much under the influence of the fathers of modern scholarly and documented history—Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886) and Theodore Mommsen (1817–1903)—and rightly so. Von Ranke aimed to present the past "wie es eigentlich gewesen," "as it actually was"; Mommsen pored over centuries of documents relating to Roman history and law with similar interest. For the people of Israel, the book of Genesis, and the whole Pentateuch, is their tradition; this is their past, this has made them what they are, this is what happened.

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**A. The Primeval Story**

The Priestly (P) and Yahwistic (J) accounts of the primeval period may be considered separately, at least as a preliminary step, as each is large and, for the most part, presents an easily definable block.

**1. P Source.** The creation of the universe and its inhabitants, animal and human, is followed by the blessing which is effective in time in the long genealogy of chap. 5. There is no account of sin or transgression or revolt on the part of humankind as a prelude to the flood, but merely the statement that "the earth was corrupt … and … filled with violence" (6:11). This omission makes one hesitate to describe P as a continuous document. God is in complete control of the flood and its effects (7:16; 8:1). The blessing of creation is renewed after the flood (9:1), and an assurance is given to humankind that the order and stability of the universe will remain undisturbed (9:8–17). The extension of the human race in space, stemming from the sons of Noah, is recorded in chap. 10; the progression in time of the descendants of Shem (11:10–26) leads to the father of the family which is to become Israel.

**2. J Source.** The Yahwistic account presents a series of transgressions similar in style and pattern (cf. sections 5 and 6). The man and the woman transgress in chap. 3, and the first child, Cain, son of *hā›ādām,* transgresses in chap. 4. There follows the defiance of Lamech, the father of Jabal and Jubal, the first cattle breeders and metal workers (4:23–24). The transgression of "the sons of God" (6:1–4) is a prelude to the general revolt against God that leads to the flood (6:5–8). Assurance is given after the flood that the order and stability of the universe will remain undisturbed even though the human race remains evil (8:21–22). The revolt continues when Ham dishonors his father (9:20–27), and when "the sons of *hā›ādām*" attempt to burst their limitations (11:1–9).

**3. Creation of the Universe and Its Inhabitants.** The Priestly writer begins with a statement which distinguishes between God and "not God." "In the beginning God created the universe," has become, as it were, the superscription of the Bible. The Hebrew word *bārā›,* create, is used 46 times in the OT, always with God as subject, never with a preposition governing the material out of which God created, and with a variety of objects such as the universe, the human race, something new and wonderful (Isa 48:6–7; 65:17), the people of Israel. "The heavens and the earth" are the equivalent of the cosmos, for which Hebrew has no single word. The sentence in v 1 is of primary importance. It is an affirmation that God is supreme and, of course, alone to be worshipped; but the people of God fell away continually throughout its history and worshipped "not-God." Verse 2 describes "before creation." The Priestly writer speaks out of the ordered universe of his experience, in which day follows night with regularity, season follows season, plants sprout and animals breed at their proper times, and water and land have their proper place. "Before creation" is the opposite of this, namely *tôhû wā bōhû,* "a formless waste or chaos." Darkness was over the deep.

The verse in Genesis describes "before creation" in a language and imagery stamped strongly or faintly by the language and imagery of the ancient Near East. It is "chaos" as opposed to "cosmos." One cannot speak of God creating chaos or formless pre-existent matter; this is a contradiction in terms. "God created" means God created order. This sentiment is expressed in the Isaian passage, "He (God) did not create *(bārā›)* it (the universe) a chaos *(tôhû);* he formed it to be inhabited" (Isa 45:18). The problem of *creatio ex nihilo,* creation out of nothing, is not a problem here; it became one for later generations when Hebrew and Hellenistic culture came together (cf. Wis 11:17; 2 Macc 7:28).

The great Jewish scholar of the Middle Ages, Rashi, Rabbi Solomon, Son of Isaac (d. 1105), read v 1 as a temporal subordinate clause (protasis) in the construct with v 3 (apodosis), and v 2 as a parenthesis: "When God began to create (or In the beginning of God's creating) the heaven and the earth—the earth being unformed and void, with darkness over the surface of the deep and a wind from God sweeping over the water—God said, 'Let there be light'; and there was light" (NJPSV; Orlinsky 1983: 207–9; Speiser *Genesis* AB, 12–73). The NEB joins vv 1 and 2 as protasis and apodosis and reads v 3 as an independent principal sentence: "In the beginning of creation, when God made heaven and earth, the earth was without form and void, with darkness over the face of the abyss, and a mighty wind that swept over the surface of the waters. God said." The NAB is virtually the same. In yet another view the action begins with the 3d part of v 2: "When God began to create …, the earth was …; and the spirit of God was moving over the surface of the waters, and God said …" The writer, it is claimed, goes a step behind creation; v 2c is a circumstantial sentence referring to the creative breath of God which is about to become the creative word (Steck 1981: 236–37). The NIV and JB (1985, 2d ed.) retain the more familiar RSV translation reading vv 1, 2, 3 as three successive main sentences. The question cannot be resolved on grounds of syntax alone. The structure of the chapter as a whole, in particular the eight times repeated "And God said," must be brought into the discussion. The position adopted here is that "And God said" introduces each work of creation after the presentation of chaos according to a pattern.

The word of God in the formula "And God said" (vv 3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 20, 24, 26, [29]) dominates the account of the creation of the ordered universe and its inhabitants. God creates light and order, which are necessary for vegetable, animal, and human life to exist. He does this by his word. The writer stands in the full stream of the tradition of the ANE. "The creative power of the word underlies all Mesopotamian religious literature" (Jacobsen 1976: 15). The creative word is a feature too of the Egyptian theology of

Memphis (Dürr 1938; Koch 1965). The word in the ancient Near East was presented under the image of a natural and cosmic power (Dürr 1938: 21); it came from the mouth of God and was the power that creates and sustains in existence. The word of God in the Bible must be effective, just because it is *God's* word (Pss 33:6; 104:7–9; 147:15–20; Isa 55:10–11). It is no emanation from the divinity, but depends on God's will.

The priestly creation account follows a pattern in vv 3–25. Immediately after the formula, "And God said," followed by the command, and before any action, there is the fulfillment formula, "and it was so." The exceptions in the MT are vv 6–7, where the words follow the action of v 7 rather than the command of v 6, and vv 20–22, where "and it was so," expected at the end of v 20, does not occur at all. In the LXX, however, the fulfillment formula, "and it was so," follows the word of command immediately in each case (vv 3, 6, 9, 11, 15, 20, 24; "and there was light" in v 3, in both MT and LXX, is an equivalent). Whether the LXX imposed the fixed pattern or followed a slightly different Hebrew text, or whether there has been a slight dislocation and an omission in the MT, cannot be decided. It can be stated reasonably that there is the pattern, Word-Formula-Event. God's word effects an event that follows immediately on it and in precise accordance with what is said. There is an inner connection between God's word and the event. God's word is an event. The pattern is there in essence in vv 26–31 where God speaks, creates, blesses, assigns a function, and makes provision for the human race and the animals; the formula "and it was so" is at the end of v 30. A second formula, "And God saw that it was good" (vv 4, 8 [LXX only], 10, 12, 18, 21, 25); v 31 ("very good"), means that the ordered world with its inhabitants, human and animal, was just as it should be as it came from the word of God.

The creation of humankind (Heb *hā›ādām*), begins with the words: "And God said," (v 26), and ends with "and it was so," (v 30). "Let us make" is best understood as a plural of deliberation, though there may be an echo of the heavenly court. The word *hā›ādām* means predominantly humankind, one of the human race; its various meaning groups are all related in some way to the creaturely state of humans; *›ādām* occurs 46 times in Gen 1–11. God creates *hā›ādām* "in our image" (Heb *ṣelem*) and "according to our likeness" (Heb *dĕmût*) (Gen 1:26). In Gen 5:3 (also P), Adam begot a son "in his own likeness" (Heb *biděmûtô*) and "after his image" (Heb *keṣalmo*), the same words used in Gen 1:26. Just as there is something of the father in the son, and there can be communication and response between the two, so there is something of God in *hā›ādām,* and there can be communication and response between them.

The statement about creation in v 27 is best set out in rhythmic form:

So God created man *(bārā› ›et hā›ādām)* in his own image *(ṣelem),*
In the image of God he created *(bārā›)* him,
Male and female he created *(bārā›)* them.

The creation of the human race is the creation of male and female. In v 28 the blessing, in the plural, is given to "them," male and female. To bless is to bestow with the dynamism to increase. The blessing is given to humans and animals alike (v 22), and is natural to them. Both man and woman receive dominion over the world that God has created (v 28). "Dominion is not a license to caprice and tyranny but, in the best sense, a challenge to responsibility and the duty to make right prevail" (Vawter 1977: 59). *Hā›ādām* stands over God's ordered creation (Psalm 8), but with God, the creator of all, as humankind's point of reference.

"The universe (the heavens and the earth) and all its furnishing was completed" (2:1); the verse resumes 1:1. The Priestly writer now links creation formally with the seven-day week and the Israelite sabbath (2:2–3), and with the last words of v 3 echoes 1:1 once again, "because on it he rested from all the work which God created *(›ăšer bārā› ›ĕlōhîm)* and made."

The priestly creation account carries traces of a variety of presentations of creation in the ancient Near East. Besides creation by word and act, there are traces of creation by separation (v 6), by eduction (v 11), and by spontaneous generation (v 20). But the priestly tradition has brought all under the creative word of God, though not at all times smoothly. There are some polemics too in the priestly account. Light is not to be identified with God (vv 3–5) as in Egypt (*ANET,* 365–66, 368); the sun and the moon (their names, *šemeš* and *yārēaḥ* are not used) are not deities (see the warnings in Deut 4:12, 15–20; 17:3; Job 31:31–38;

and the abuses, 2 Kgs 23:5–11), but are described in their functions in an ordered universe (vv 14–18); it is God, not Baal, who gives fertility through God's own blessing. These 35 verses are priestly doctrine, the fruit of centuries of careful theological reflection (von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 63).

"These are the generations (Heb *tôlĕdôt,* or, this is the story) of the heavens and the earth in their being created" (2:4a). The word *tôlĕdôt* means begettings, generations, genealogies; hence, story, descendants, family history. *Tôlĕdôt* is used in Genesis in 2:4a (universe); 5:1 (Adam); 6:9 (Noah); 10:1 (Noah's sons); 11:10 (Shem); 11:27 (Terah); 25:12 (Ishmael); 25:19 (Isaac); 36:1, 9 (Esau); 37:2 (Jacob). This half verse (2:4a) is a link verse from the Priestly tradition. In retrospect, the ordered universe has been created; in prospect, the story of the human race, and of Israel, can run its course in the created universe (Anderson 1977: 160–62).

**4. The Garden and the Transgression (2:4b–3:24).** In the ancient Near East the story of the creation of the human race is a tradition separate from the creation of the universe. The final editor of Genesis has taken one such story, the work of the storytelling Yahwist, and put it immediately after the account of the creation of the universe. Revolt against God follows upon God's ordering of chaos. The story is not cut from whole cloth. The account of the four rivers (2:10–14) is an independent piece of geographical information; the punishments in 3:14–19 are etiological. There are the well-known themes from the ancient Near East of the garden and the tree of life. The grammatical structure of the opening verses, 2:5–8, is similar to the structure of the opening of the Babylonian epic, Enuma Elish: "When YHWH-Elohim made the earth and the heavens, there was not yet … nor was there *ʾādām* … then YHWH-Elohim formed *hāʾādām."* The Babylonian epic begins: "When on high the heaven had not been named, firm ground had not been called by name … no reed hut … no marshland … no gods … then it was that the gods were formed within them" (*ANET*, 60–61). The important difference is that there is no theogony, that is, genealogy of the gods, in Genesis.

The author of 2:4b–3:24 has fashioned a unity, tying the parts together with great skill. *Hāʾādām,* dust from the earth (2:7) is to return to the source whence he came just because that is what he is (3:19); the tree of life, a symbol of immortality in the ancient Near East (2:9), must be protected against man's attempt to reach beyond himself (3:22, 24); the prohibition to eat of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil is at the center of the story (2:16–17; 3:3, 11–12); the experiences of no shame and shame are linked (2:25; 3:7); nearness to God in the garden (2:9, 15) is followed by alienation and expulsion (3:23, 24). The Yahwist has given unity to disparate traditions and motifs.

**a. Making of *hāʾādām* (2:4b–7).** The combined name, *YHWH-ʾĕlōhîm* (2:4a) occurs only in Gen 2–3 (in Exod 9:30 the text is uncertain). It is probably a construction of the Yahwist (or an editor) to mediate the transition from *ʾĕlōhîm* in chap. 1 to YHWH. Man *(hāʾādām)* from the surface dust *(ʿāpār),* of the ground (*ʾădāmâ;* 2:7) is destined to return to the *ʾădāmâ,* because he is *ʿāpār;* the human being is linked inexorably with the ground and is limited; because of this limitation the human being is not immortal; human destiny is from the mother's womb to the womb of mother earth. The human being is a living being (*nepesû ḥayyâ;* 2:7) one with all other living beings (1:20, 21, 24, 30; 2:19; 9:10, 12, 25). In 9:12–14 God makes a covenant with all living beings.

**b. Rivers (2:10–14).** The author incorporates into the text a piece of vague geographical information (2:10–14), saying that the four great rivers, the Indus? *(Pîšôn),* the Nile? *(Gîḥôn),* the Tigris *(Ḥîddeqel),* and the Euphrates *(Pĕrāt),* the sources of the earth's fertility, have their origin in the river in God's garden. Verse 10 is best rendered: "And there is a river going out from Eden to water the garden, and from there it divides into branches and becomes four (separate) streams."

**c. Prohibition (2:15–17).** The prohibition in 2:15–17 is essential to the story of chaps. 2–3 (cf. 3:3, 11–13). There is plenty for the man to eat in the garden. The prohibition does not improve a privation, but tells the man that God the creator, who possesses a will beyond the creature, requires him to live according to the creator's will. The human being is limited; the creature cannot be the creator. The prohibition implies the possibility of the opposite, namely, of the creature acting freely against the creator. The penalty is pronounced in the form of a capital offense. If or when (*bĕyôm* does not mean "on the very day") you do so, then you are guilty of a capital crime (Heb *môt tamût* or *yāmût,* a traditional phrase from

the sanctions in the legal sections of the Pentateuch). Both stories of creation take for granted that work belongs to the nature of *hā›ādām* who is at work before the revolt against God (1:28; 2:15).

**d. Woman (2:18–25).** The man is alone in the garden, and this is not good (2:18). It is not that *YHWH-›ĕlōhîm* forgot to create woman or that God experimented to see if the man could manage alone. Neither is it that God took a wrong track in parading the animals before the man to see if the man could find a partner among them. The man exercises his dominion over the animals by naming them; he then decides himself that there is none among them that can stand before him as his counterpart. The "deep sleep" and the removal of a rib from the man are part of the story. The counterpart is of the same stuff as the man. There is no indication that the counterpart is to be subordinate. "This is one *(zō›t)* at last is bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh; this one *(zō›t)* shall be called woman *(›iššâ)* because this one *(zō›t)* has been taken from man *(›îš)"* (2:23). The author repeats the forceful Hebrew demonstrative pronoun three times; it is this one, distinct from the animals, that is his equal, in whom he is reflected. "Bone of my bone" is a traditional formula of relationship (cf. Gen 29:14; Judg 9:23; 2 Sam 5:1; 19:13–14; in each case the RSV renders the Hebrew "bone" by "flesh and blood"). The word *›iššâ,* woman, taken from *›îš,* man, is a name etiology. The author is expressing the complete oneness of man and woman: their physical and spiritual unity, their mutual belonging as equals, their mutual joy in each other. They are to form their own community of life (2:24), and their relationship is without embarrassment (v 25).

**e. Transgression (3:1–7).** The man and the woman are naked (Heb *‹ărûmmîm*); the serpent is *‹ārûm,* clever. The serpent is a creature of God, "the most clever of all the animals that *YHWH-›ĕlōhîm* had made" (3:1). There is the inexplicable riddle of a creature of God leading another creature of God to transgress God's prohibition. In the modern study of folklore, a talking animal is a trait of the fairy tale or folktale *(Märchen).* The present scene is in the realm of primeval event, before time. The question is not, what does the serpent represent, but what is its function in the story? Its function is to act as antagonist to the woman in a brief dialogue. It disappears from the action as soon as it has enticed the woman to transgress, to be mentioned later as the object of God's curse (3:14–15). The serpent was a symbol of wisdom and magic in Mesopotamia and Egypt. There was the tradition of the bronze serpent in Israel (Num 21:4–9), an object which was worshipped in the temple area and later destroyed by Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18:4). The serpent was familiar in Israel on pottery with serpent decorations on the handles, on cult-stands showing twined serpents, and on an inscribed silver cup from 2250–2000 B.C.E. (*EAEHL* 2.457–58, 477). The serpent was also a symbol of the Canaanite fertility cult, as witnessed by the thousands of cult symbols found in Palestine in the form of figurines of a naked woman with a serpent twined around her neck. Though the serpent in Genesis represents none of these, nor does it represent Satan or human desire or intellectual curiosity or a power of the underworld, nevertheless it is difficult to deny that it would evoke associations, especially with the Canaanite fertility cult, in the minds of the Israelites who listened to the story. See SERPENT (RELIGIOUS SYMBOL).

The serpent exaggerates the divine prohibition (3:2); the woman in reply limits it to the proper object, the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, but builds a fence around it, "you shall not even touch it" (3:3). The serpent's counter is that "you (plural throughout) will be like God (or the gods) knowing good and evil" (3:4). The word *hā›ādām* has been made like God, "little less than *›ĕlōhîm* (God, the heavenly beings?)" (Ps 8:5); now he will be God. Knowledge for the Israelite was not something theoretical, on the plane of mere understanding. It was practical and experiential. The knowledge of good and evil is the knowledge of what is good and evil for *hā›ādām,* with whom these first 11 chapters are concerned. It is a knowledge that concerns humankind in community; the transgression is only completed when the man and the woman have eaten the fruit. To read the text as the seduction of the man by the woman is to read what is not in the text. The man and the woman were aiming to be masters of good and evil, to determine good and evil, to be autonomous and so to determine the course of life without reference to God.

The writer faces that unfathomable riddle which is part of the human race so long as and wherever it exists. There is in the human being that drive to transcend the self by overstepping or bursting the limits within which it is set. There is nothing wrong in the desire itself. The fruit is "good to eat and pleasing to look at." Two normal and good reactions are described. The fruit is also "desirable so as to make one

wise." It is here that the drive to overstep the limits is introduced (Vawter 1977: 79). The relationship of the man and the woman to God is changed by the transgression; hence too their relationship to each other. They are now embarrassed (cf. 2:25). They try to take away their own shame by covering themselves with fig leaves; but they still have to hide themselves from God.

**f. Interrogation (3:8–13).** God's call to the man: "Where are you?" is decisive for understanding the story. The man and the woman are unmasked before God, who alone can take away their guilt. The four questions (3:9–13), call up the prohibition of 2:16–17. Though the man and the woman each try to shift the responsibility, each must remain responsible for the free individual transgression. There is no interrogation of the serpent; neither its motive nor the origin of evil are explained.

**g. Etiologies (3:14–19).** These come from another source or are partly or wholly a construction of the Yahwist. In none of the three punishments is it a case of before and after. There was not a state in which the serpent moved along in a way different from crawling on its belly, in which there was painless childbirth, or when the man did not sweat at his work and thorns and thistles did not grow. The writer speaks out of his own situation in which he knows of the enmity between serpents and humans and of the burdens of life, offering an explanation of the cause, that is, an etiology.

The serpent is cursed. In v 1 the serpent is clever (Heb *ʿārûm*) above all wild creatures; in v 14 it is cursed (Heb *ʾārûr*) above all wild creatures. Neither the woman nor the man is cursed, but the ground is cursed; and the man in his work is involved in the consequences. The woman is considered as wife and mother. In the very relationships where she finds her fulfillment, her dignity, and her joy, she also finds pain, suffering, and subordination. The writer speaks out of his own social situation.

**h. Woman's Name; God's Intervention (3:20–21).** The wife's name is *ḥāwwâ* (Gk *zôē,* "life" 3:20). The blessing of fertility is there. Ben Sirach reflects on the "mother of all the living":

> A great anxiety has God allotted,
> and a heavy yoke to the sons of men;
> from the day one leaves his mother's womb,
> to the day he returns to the mother of all the living.

God makes garments of skins for the man and the woman (3:21), a sign of his care for his creatures. He alone can take away their shame and guilt before each other and before him.

**i. Expulsion (3:22–24).** The story concludes with 3:23. It is the original punishment. From a life of intimacy with God, the man has passed into a state of alienation, and his life is forever bound to the earth. 3:22 and 3:24 are aware of the two trees of 2:9; they form another ending. 3:22 has the form of a brief divine soliloquy (cf. 1:26; 11:6, 7). The man and the woman have sought to be morally autonomous by eating from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Will they now reach for immortality as Gilgamesh did (*ANET*, 96)? But the Adapa myth says: "To him (man) he had given wisdom; eternal life he had not given him" (*ANET*, 101, lines 4–5). "And God expelled the man and at the east of the garden of Eden he stationed cherubim and the flickering flaming sword to guard the way to the tree of life" (3:24; Westermann 1984: 183, 174–75). The cherubim, whose human-beast-bird form varies at different epochs of Mesopotamian civilization, are to protect access to the tree of life.

**5. Synthesis (1:1–3:24).** The story of Gen 2:4b–3:24 is the story of the primeval event. It is beyond history. It is the story of humankind or Everyman. The goal is not to present an ultimate state of the human race which is different from a previous state. The man and the woman are not endowed with supernatural or preternatural powers which they lost. The story reflects on the human being, and the writer speaks again out of his experience. This is what the human being is: created, limited, weak, with that dynamic in-built drive to know, to continue the species, and to reach beyond, and hence to burst its limitations and to be independent of the creator. Such is *hāʾādām* of the writer's experience; such has *hāʾādām* been from the beginning. There is the sequence, to be repeated several times in chaps. 1–11, of limitation, transgression, punishment, saving action—or simply crime and punishment. The story is making a basic statement about the human being which no religious, philosophical, scientific, technical, or medical advance can alter: the human being is never anything else but limited and weak. The story is about the representatives of mankind in the primeval period who, for the writer and his listeners, were

people in history, the first man and the first woman. It is not concerned with hereditary sin as such or with death as punishment for sin. The story must not be read or interpreted in isolation, but with the rest of chaps. 1–11 as one of several stories about *hā›ādām* that follow a definite pattern.

**6. Pattern of Transgression.** There follows on chaps. 2–3 a series of independent stories (4:1–16; 6:5–8 + 8:20–22 with 6:9–22 + 9:1–17; 11:1–9) about *hā›ādām* which have been brought together in a common pattern. *Hā›ādām* "knew" (experienced within proper union) his wife (4:1); God saw that the wickedness of *hā›ādām* was great, he was sorry that he had made *hā›ādām,* and he decided to blot out *hā›ādām* (6:5, 6, 7; the *kôl bāśār,* "all flesh," of 6:12 is the priestly equivalent; it is the human being in all its limitations); the *bĕnê hā›ādām,* the sons of man (11:5) reach for the heavens (in 6:1, see below, *hā›ādām* begins to increase in number on earth). In the story of Cain and Abel, the first children in primeval time, Cain usurps God's right. God has given life (4:1) but Cain takes it; God punishes and, at the same time, protects Cain (4:15). The accusation or interrogation (4:9–12) is very like that in 3:9–13. In 6:5–8 the revolt of *hā›ādām* has reached gigantic proportions; hence the punishment is proportional (see also 6:11–13). God saves through the ark. In the Priestly account, God chooses Noah, a just man (6:9) as the instrument through which he is to exercise his saving justice. The men who build the tower (11:1–9) want to become God, or reach to God, to make a name for themselves but not for God (11:4), by means of technology. The builders, who spoke one language (11:1), did not want to be scattered (11:4). They defied God with the work of their hands and so their language was confused; they were scattered and they did not make a name for themselves. God's saving action appears in the Priestly genealogy that introduces Abraham (11:27) and in the Yahwistic introduction to the patriarchal story (12:1–3) where God's choice, Abraham, is the instrument through whom "all the families of the earth shall bless themselves." With chaps. 2–3, these three stories follow a pattern of limitation, transgression, punishment, saving action.

**7. Further Transgressions (4:23–24; 6:1–4; 9:20–27).** God has reserved vengeance to himself (4:15). Lamech, a direct descendant of Cain (4:17–18) boasts before his wives that he will take vengeance himself (4:23–24), thus usurping the place of God. The four verses which are a preface to the biblical flood story (6:1–4) are not part of the traditional flood material from Mesopotamia. Rather, the writer uses a myth or mythical fragment, probably from Canaanite sources, and adapts it to his own purpose. The myth gave an account of the origin of the giants, the *nĕphîlîm* (Num 13:33; Deut 1:28), and the heroes of old, the *gibbôrîm*. The text as it stands is a "mythological torso" (Gunkel *Genesis* HKAT, lxvi). It is another story about *hā›ādām* as the introductory sentence indicates: "When *hā›ādām* began to multiply on the face of the earth" (6:1). The "sons of God (or the gods)" are clearly celestial beings (Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7; Pss 29:1; 89:6(7); 1 Kgs 22:19). There is a mingling of the human and the divine in an attempt to grasp at immortality in some form or other. Though the story is about primeval events, that is, about the human race in general, it was told and heard in a culture which was familiar with ritual prostitution as a form of contact with the divine. But there is to be no immortality for the created human being. Yahweh intervenes (6:3); God's spirit, which gives the breath of life, will not remain in *›ādām* forever; three generations (3 × 40) shall be the length of a person's days (God's great servant and prophet, Moses, died at 120 years, Deut 34:7). The pattern of crime and punishment is there.

The wickedness of *hā›ādām* (see 8:21 and below) continues after the flood (9:20–27). Ham, a son of Noah, dishonors his father. The brothers Shem and Japheth make amends and do not look on their father's nakedness, for nakedness, in Israel, meant a loss of human respect. Ham is cursed by his father. The names Ham and Canaan are not connected philologically, and the Hamites are not Canaanites. "Ham was the father of Canaan" (9:18b), is a phrase inserted to link a genealogy with a story and is repeated in 9:22. The story itself takes up the genealogical note of 5:29. Drunkenness was just bad manners but not a crime in Israelite society; wine was not the invention of a god, but the result of human industry and not to be feared; it was a gift of God (Ps 104:15). In Canaan, the dutiful son is the one "who takes him (his father) by the hand when he is drunk, carries him when he is sated with wine" (*ANET*, 150, lines 32–33). Ham was not a dutiful son.

**8. Genealogies.** The genealogies from the Yahwistic tradition (e.g. 4:1–2, 17–22, 25–26) are usually annotated and do not simply report generation and ages. Notes on the progress of civilization are added to the short genealogy in 4:20–22: Jabal was the father of those who dwell in tents and have cattle, Jubal was the father of those who play the lyre and harp, Tubal-Cain was the forger of all instruments of bronze and iron. This type of genealogy is continued in 4:25–26. In 4:26b, the writer identifies the God who is invoked in the primeval stories with YHWH, the God of Israel: "then it was begun to call on the name of YHWH."

The names in the genealogy in 4:1, 17–22, 25–26 are the same as those in the Priestly genealogy in chap. 5, though with some variations: Seth and Enoch are interchanged (4:25–26 and 5:3–5, 6–8); the order of Enoch (4:17; 5:21) and Mahalalel/Mehujael (4:18; 5:15) is reversed. Noah of 5:29 belongs to chap. 4, after Lamech, and points forward at the same time to 9:20–27.

The Priestly writer begins his genealogy with the *tôlĕdôt,* "generations," formula in 5:1–3, where he resumes the language of 1:26–27—*bārā᾽,* "he created," *zākār ûněqēbâ,* "male and female," *ṣelem* and *dĕmût,* "image" and "likeness." In 5:4–5 he moves into a pattern which continues into the 10th generation of Noah, with modifications in the cases of Enoch (5:24) and Lamech (5:29). The enumeration of the years to the birth of the son, the name of the son, the generalizations about other sons and daughters, and further enumeration, end with the simple words "and he died" (except for Enoch, 5:24). The death of Noah, following the same pattern, is recorded after the flood in 9:29. Not even the hero of the flood is immortal. This is in contrast to the Mesopotamian flood story in which the hero Utnapishtim and his wife are enrolled among the immortals (*ANET,* 93, Tablet XI, lines 1–7; 95, lines 193–97). As for Enoch, he "walked with God and he was not, for God took him" (5:24). This note has given rise to an extensive intertestamental literature surrounding Enoch. The mystery of the long lifespan of the primeval patriarchs has not yet been solved (Vawter 1977: 103–9; Westermann 1984: 352–54).

The genealogy from Shem, a son of Noah, to Abraham (11:10–26) is modeled on chap. 5 and likewise spans ten generations. It omits "and he died," which is added 8 times by the LXX. The ages of the ancestors of Abraham are high enough, though not as high as in chap. 5. The movement here is from the primeval period into the framework of history.

The genealogies are an essential part of the structure of chaps. 1–11. They portray the blessing of 1:28 and 9:1, 6 working itself out in time. They are an old and independent literary type which have their origin among nomad peoples where the basic sociological unit is the clan or family. The genealogy is the basis of origin and belonging (Johnson 1969; Wilson 1975, 1977; Westermann 1984: 6–18).

**9. Flood (6:5–9:17).** The flood story is set within the framework of the Priestly genealogy (5:1–28, 30–32, and 9:28–29). The analysis presented here supports the view that this block of material is composite in structure. The final editor has left intact the introduction and conclusion of both J and P without any interweaving of texts. The Yahwistic introduction and conclusion are linked neatly: "The Lord saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually" (6:5); *hā᾽ādām* is repeated three times in 6:5a; 6:6a; 6:7a. J is interpreting in 6:5b. The words are taken up in the conclusion: "I will never again curse the ground because of man, even though (*kî,* emphatic concessive) the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth" (8:21). Then follows Yahweh's pledge that henceforth nature will run its regular course (8:22). The Yahwistic account of the flood moves directly from the divine decision to destroy creation to the entrance into the ark (7:1–5). There is no mention of the construction of the ark. The introduction ends with "Noah did all that Yahweh had commanded him" (7:5), as does the priestly introduction (6:22), though with *᾽ĕlōhîm* instead of YHWH. The Yahwistic material in the description of the flood proper is very sparse, no more than 7:7, 10, 12, 16b, 22–23. The flood is caused simply by rain (7:12; 8:2) which fell for forty days and forty nights (7:4, 12). Noah finds out that the flood has ended and the waters have abated by experimentation. He sends out birds (8:6–12, 13b) as did Utnapishtim in the Mesopotamian epic (*ANET,* 95, lines 156–61).

The Priestly account of the flood moves directly from the genealogy (5:32) to the flood (6:9). The earth is corrupt and seething with revolt (6:11–12), and God decides to destroy it. God had blessed creation and seen that it was just as it should be (chap. 1). Now, with no previous mention of transgression or

corruption, the whole world is corrupt. The instructions for building the ark (6:14–16) may be compared with the parallel instructions in the Mesopotamian account (*ANET*, 93, lines 24–31, 50–69). In the introduction, in the description of the flood itself and the abating of the waters, and in the account of the exit from the ark, P enumerates those who were saved with the animals (6:18–21; 7:13–16a; 8:1a, 15–19). There is a detailed chronological framework (7:6, 11, 24; 8:3b, 4, 5a, 5b, 13a, 14), and the flood is described as a return to primeval chaos (7:11; 8:2). The flood gates are open for 150 days. The flood and its effects last a complete solar year (7:11 and 8:15), i.e., twelve lunar months alternating between 29 and 30 days (a 354-day year) plus eleven supplementary days. Throughout the whole account, God is in complete control. The combined account moves to a mighty crescendo: "the waters increased, and bore up the ark" (7:17); "the waters prevailed and increased greatly" (7:18); "and the waters prevailed so mightily" (7:19); "the waters prevailed above the mountains" (7:20); "all flesh died" (7:23); "and the waters prevailed upon the earth a hundred and fifty days" (7:24). There is a pause after the crescendo reaches its height, "But God remembered Noah" (8:1), followed by a decrescendo down to 8:19.

The repetitions in the narrative as a whole, with the J reference first in each case, are: the general corruption (6:5–7 and 6:11–13); the announcement of the flood (7:4 and 6:13, 17); Noah ordered to enter the ark (7:1–3 and 6:18–20); Noah obeys (7:5 and 6:22); Noah enters (7:7 and 7:13); the deluge commences (7:10 and 7:11); the waters rise and lift the ark (7:17 and 7:18); all living things die (7:22–23 and 7:21); the waters subside (8:3a and 8:1a); God's promise (8:21–22 and 9:8–17). In the J account seven pairs of clean and one pair of unclean animals enter the ark (7:2), and it just rains (7:4, 12; 8:2b). In the P account one pair of each species enter the ark (6:9–20; 7:15–16), and the windows of the firmament open and the waters under the earth burst forth (7:11; 8:2a).

In the light of this evidence, it is beyond reasonable doubt that the biblical writers knew the Mesopotamian flood story in some form. In fact, a fragment of the epic from the 15th century, written in Akkadian, was found accidentally at Megiddo.

The Priestly conclusion to the flood story (9:1–17) resumes the blessings of creation (1:22, 28), and gives an assurance that God will henceforth be faithful to his creation. It is in two parts, each framed by an *inclusio:* (1) 9:1–7: "And God blessed Noah and his sons and said to them: Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth" (9:1); "be fruitful and multiply and bring forth abundantly on the earth, and multiply on it" (9:7); and (2) 9:8–17: "Behold I establish my covenant with you" (9:8); "This is the sign of the covenant which I have established between me and all flesh" (9:17). In 9:1–7, living creatures, as well as vegetable matter, are put at human disposal. Blood is taboo, a tradition elaborated in Lev 17:10–14. There was an ancient belief that life resided in the pulsating blood. It is not a question of shedding blood as such, nor of the material, blood, but of blood in so far as and so long as it is the life of an animal. An ancient prohibition against eating blood has been put into the context of the concession to *hā›ādām* to eat flesh. The passage 9:5–6 is best set out in verse form:

v 5 *the blood of your lives* I will *demand*
from every living being will I *demand* it
from *hā›ādām*, from each person, I will *demand* the *life*
of *hā›ādām*
v 6 who sheds the blood of *hā›ādām*
on behalf of *hā›ādām* shall his blood be shed
for God has made *hā›ādām* in his image.

Vengeance belongs to God. The prohibition is against clan vengeance. 9:6 does not give *hā›ādām* the right to take the life of *hā›ādām,* whom God has made in his image. As this image consists in a relationship to God (1:27), murder is a direct affront to God.

9:8–11 describes the covenant, and 9:12–17 describes the sign of the covenant. In the Hebrew text, the word *bĕrît* dominates the passages (9:11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17) where it occurs 7 times. It is already there in 6:18(P). In both contexts it describes a solemn assurance by which God binds himself. There is no quid pro quo. The initiative and the assurance comes from God. The rainbow is the natural sign that the rain has passed; here it is the sign that destruction has passed. God binds himself to the earth (9:13), to Noah

(9:15), and to all living things on earth (9:15, 16, 17). The covenant is an eternal covenant, *bĕrît ʿōlām* (9:16), a typical priestly expression (Gen 17:7, 13, 19; Exod 31:16; Lev 24:8; Num 18:19; 25:13). The goal of the Flood Narrative for the Priestly writer is a solemn assurance by God that he will remain faithful to his creation. The earth is to be populated anew by the descendants of the survivors of the flood (9:18).

**10. Table of Nations (10:1–32).** The table of the nations synthesizes Israel's knowledge of the inhabited world in the period of Solomon in the 10th century B.C.E., and at the same time affirms the unity of the human race and the common stem from which it springs. It is an extraordinary combination of system and lack of system. A Priestly framework embraces two largely self-contained blocks from other (J?) sources.

The Priestly writer introduces the generations, *tôlĕdôt,* or descendants of the sons of Noah—the sons of Japheth (10:2–4), peoples to the north; of Ham (10:6–7), peoples to the south; of Shem (10:22–23), peoples to the east. Each list ends with a summary description of what a nation is: "These are the sons of (Japheth, Ham, Shem) in their lands, each with his own language, by their families, in their nations." The formula is virtually the same each time (10:5, 20, 31). The whole is summed up with a closing formula in 10:32. Only Japheth, Ham, and Shem are personal names, the rest being the names of peoples, countries, or regions.

The first block (10:8–19) is fitted in between 10:7 and 10:20. It elaborates on three of the names mentioned in the P list, Cush, Egypt, and Canaan. After the note on Cush's son, Nimrod (10:8–9), the list is expanded with names of lower Mesopotamian cities (or regions; 10:10), and northern Mesopotamian names (10:11–12). Misraim (Egypt) is the father of eight peoples, each with a Hebrew plural ending (10:13–14). After Canaan's firstborn, Heth, come four Canaanite peoples, Jebusites, Amorites, Gergashites, and Hivites (10:16–17a), and five Phoenician peoples, Arkites, Sinites, Arvadites, Zemanites, and Hamathites (10:17b–18a), and a geographical note on Canaan and seven of its main cities (10:18b–19).

The second block (10:24–30) follows the P list of peoples to the east. Arpachshad (10:24) may well be a people to the east, though in 11:10–13 it is a personal name, as are Shelah and Eber (11:13–15). There is a note on Peleg (10:25), though it is not known to what it refers. The sons of Joktan (10:26–30) are thirteen South Arabian names. Jerusalem had commercial dealings with many of these groups just as it did with most of the Phoenician names.

Israel is but one of these many nations, some of which have made substantial contributions to civilization. If Israel has any claim, it is due not to herself, but to God's election (Deut 7:7–8).

**11. Statement of Genesis 1–11.** The biblical text of Gen 1:1–11:26 is Israel's statement on the universe and the human race. The statement is complete only when both contributions, the Priestly and the Yahwistic, are read together as they stand. The Priestly writer is the systematizer, the Yahwistic writer is the story-teller who recounts the wickedness of *hāʾādām* through stories. The Priestly writer presents God's ordered universe as the theater in which man and woman, made in God's image and likeness, and so with a special relationship to him, are to play out a responsible existence. He records God's blessing (1:28) working itself out in time (5:1–32; 11:10–26) and space (chap. 10). Though he knows that the earth has become corrupt in God's sight (6:11–12), he gives no account of the revolt of *hāʾādām.* However, the Yahwist does give such an account; it is his theme. The writer speaks from the world of experience, the world of revolt of *hāʾādām* against God (chaps. 2–3), of brother against brother (4:1–16), of the race against the creator (6:5–8). God states, "I will blot out *hāʾādām* whom I have created" (6:7). God's order is destroyed by the flood which God sends. The Priestly writer sees it as a return to primeval chaos (7:11; 8:2a). Both writers record a return to the stability and order of creation (8:22; 9:12–16), again effected by God. The primeval blessing is renewed (9:1, 7). But *hāʾādām* remains perverse (8:21). He continues to revolt, now by means of the work of his hands (11:1–9). But God will not abandon his creature of revolt. Such, then, is *hāʾādām;* such has *hāʾādām* always been and will always be.

**B. Patriarchal Story**

The story of the patriarchs may be divided into two parts, (1) the Abraham cycle, 11:27–25:28, and (2) the Jacob-Esau cycle, 25:19–36:43. The figure of Isaac joins the two parts; he is the channel through which the promises made to Abraham (26:3, 5, 24; 28:3–4) pass on to Jacob. This division is not arbitrary, as each part begins with the *tôlĕdôt* formula: "these are the descendants of Terah" (11:27) and "these are the descendants of Isaac, Abraham's son" (25:19), and each resumes a preceding genealogy. The parts are called cycles, i.e. each is a collection of individual stories or traditions about the patriarch which may have had already a certain unity, and which has now been given a final unity and stretched on a rack of promises. Neither part is a modern biography.

**1. Abraham Cycle (11:27–25:18).** These chapters present a portrait of Abraham which is definitive biblically and which has determined all subsequent Jewish and Christian understanding of Abraham up to the Enlightenment. The portraits that come from the Yahwistic or Priestly sources, or from any other sources, are not complete. They are like the preliminary sketches of Leonardo da Vinci or Michelangelo. The faces and figures from the sketches can be seen in the final picture, but they are not the complete picture. The biblical writers, Yahwist, Elohist (?), Priestly, and others, as well as the final editor, did not work from nothing, but from material already at hand which itself had undergone a process of transmission. Each writer or editor was, in varying degrees, a receiver, a transmitter, and a contributor. The final product is not a carefully assembled jigsaw puzzle, but a loosely coherent story, put together from genealogies, lists, enumerative passages, and family stories, into and around which have been woven a variety of motifs: the complaints of childless parents; the promises of a son, of descendants, of land, of assistance; the promise in danger, and the son in danger. The final account is neither mere history, nor mere story, nor mere retrojection. It is coherent narrative in which all three elements coalesce within a theological framework.

**a. Barrenness, Promise of a Son, Fulfillment.** Gen 11:27–32 is the first introduction to the story of the patriarchs. Its purpose is to link them in retrospect with the primeval story and to outline in prospect the framework in which the story of Abraham is to be played out. Abraham the father is also Abraham the son; his father, Terah, belongs to the nations. The elements of the Priestly genealogy (vv 27a–30b) lead into an itinerary (vv 31–32), and are combined with a genealogy at hand to the Yahwist (vv 27b–30), so as to form a literary unity. A typical Yahwistic note on the genealogy sounds the theme of the Abraham cycle: "Now Sarai was barren; she had no child" (11:30). There follows at once a promise of increase and direct descendants (12:1–3). The Yahwist has constructed this second introduction to the story of the patriarchs as a theological transition. To bless is to bestow the dynamism of fertility (Gen 1:27). Immediately the promise, or rather the instrument through which the promise is to be fulfilled, is put in danger (12:10–20 = 20:1–18 = 26:1–11); the repetitions of this story of "the ancestress (or promise) in danger" are best explained as the reworking of 12:10–20 by authors who, respectively, had the narratives in chap. 12 and then chapters 12 and 20 before them (Westermann 1985: 161–68; 318–29; 394–400). The tension between barrenness and fertility has been set up and is resolved only in 21:1–7, when a son is born to Abraham and Sarah. "Sarai's childlessness is the pre-condition for almost all the narratives that follow" (Gunkel *Genesis* HKAT, 162). In chap. 15 Abraham complains to God that he has no heir, but God assures him that "your own son shall be your heir" (15:4b). In 16:1, the absence of an heir, "Now Sarai, Abraham's wife, bore him no children," leads to the Hagar episode (16:1–14). In chap. 17, the Priestly writer heaps the promises together and has God repeat his assurance that Abraham and Sarah shall have their own son (17:15–21). This assurance constitutes the narrative about the visitors to Abraham's tent in 18:1–16a. The promise is put in danger again in 20:1–18, but God intervenes. Finally there is fulfillment with resolution of the tension in 21:1–7. Barrenness, the promise of a son, the absence of a son, the continual assurance, and the fulfillment constitute the Abraham cycle of the biblical text.

**b. Promise of a Son, Descendants, and Land.** The stories, accounts, reports, and episodes in chapters 15–18 are of different origins. Many scholars think that chapter 15 contains the beginning of the Elohistic strand in the Pentateuch and that the editor uses this tradition as the framework into which he has fitted a corresponding Yahwistic account so as to produce a literary unity (Cazelles 1962). Others suggest that the chapter consists of two stories fashioned out of the promises, namely, the promise of a son and

descendants (vv 1–6), and the promise of the land (vv 7–21). They are "fictitious narratives" (*nachgeahmte Erzählungen*, Lohfink 1967). These narratives have been edited into the present context and introduced by "And after these things," an editorial link (cf. Gen 22:1; 22:20; 39:7; 40:1; 48:1).

In chap. 16, a Priestly framework (vv 1[a], 3, 14–16), encloses a Yahwistic narrative (vv 1[a]b–2, 4–14). Chapter 17 is not a narrative, but a literary construction of the Priestly writer, and is entirely theological. The writer reworks traditions at hand to him (12:1–3; 15; 18:1–16a), and accumulates virtually all the promise material into vv 1–22. The writer gathers together in concentrated form the essence of the Abraham story, what is in fact the central point in his conception of the patriarchal story. Hitherto he has given only genealogies and itineraries (11:27, 31–32; 12:4b–5; 13:6, 11b, 12; 16:1a, 3, 15–16). Now he gives his first detailed discourse. The key word, *bĕrît*, "covenant," here solemn assurance, is used 13 times in the passage (vv 1–22), which is framed by "God appeared to Abram" (v 1), and "God went up from Abraham" (v 22); once in the introduction (v 2); 3 times in the promise (vv 3–8); 6 times in the prescription of circumcision (vv 9–14); 3 times in the promise (vv 15–21).

The passage 18:1–16a is another type of narrative in which the promise of a son is given by God under the traditional figure of the unknown traveler(s). Abraham addresses the three wayfarers as "my Lord," *ʾădonāy* (v 3). In v 9a the phrase "they said to him" indicates that the group dialogues with Abraham. When Abraham replies in v 9b, only one of the travelers continues the dialogue, "and he said" (v 10). Then in v 13 one of the travelers is identified in the statement, "YHWH said to Abraham." So after the meal the travelers take over the conversation affirming that a son shall be born to Abraham and Sarah within the year. The promise is again in danger in 20:1–18, but is fulfilled in 21:1–7.

**c. Other Abraham Traditions.** Three other stories about Abraham are added in chaps. 22–24, the theme of each being sounded at the beginning: "God tested Abraham" (22:1); "And Sarah died at Kiriath-arba" (23:2), and so a burial place must be found for her; "Swear … that you … will go to my country and to my kindred, and take a wife for my son Isaac" (24:3–4), so that the promise may be handed on.

The first story (22:1–19) is tied loosely to the material preceding it by the formula, "Now after these things." A story that tells how God tested Abraham to see whether he could give back to God the promised son, freely given to Abraham, is joined with a reassurance of the promises in the language and imagery of 12:3 and 28:14, given a Deuteronomic direction with "because you have done this, and not withheld your son … because you have obeyed my voice" (vv 16b and 18b).

Chapters 23 and 24 are family narratives about death and marriage. The story of the purchase of the family tomb is set in a priestly frame (23:1–2, 19), and may well be the work of the priestly writer. The long narrative about the quest for a wife for Isaac is regarded by many as late, though repetitions like 24:11–14, 15–27, 42–49, and 24:2–8 and 34–42 are common in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey.* Abraham is the chief figure in each of these stories. He is the center of chap. 22, and he initiates the action in chaps. 23 and 24. With the heir now settled in marriage (24:62–67), and with the promise of blessing assured, the Abraham cycle can close. His death, after a life of fulfillment (25:7–10[11]) is prefaced and followed by two genealogies (25:1–6; 25:12–18). Ishmael too has been blessed (17:20[P]; 21:13[J]), and his descendants are accounted for. The promises can now pass through Isaac to Jacob. (The Abraham cycle includes another tradition about Hagar and Ishmael [21:8–21], which has been joined to the account of the birth of Isaac [21:1–7].)

**d. Figure of Lot.** Lot is mentioned in the genealogy of 11:27, and as a member of the company in the itineraries of 11:31; 12:4–5; 13:1–4. A narrative about a dispute between his herdsmen and Abraham's (13:1–12, 18; probably composite) grows out of the itinerary. After Abraham and Lot separate (13:11b), Lot settles in Sodom. The name of the city evokes another tradition about Lot, namely the destruction of Sodom and Lot's role in it, which is anticipated here: "Now the men of Sodom were wicked, great sinners against the Lord" (13:13). The actual events are narrated in chap. 19, an account which is preceded by the dialogue between the Lord and Abraham about the punishment of the innocent with the guilty (18:22–32). This is itself preceded by a theological reflection (of the Yahwist?) in the form of a divine soliloquy which reaffirms that Abraham's descendants will be numerous, but that they must, in Deuteronomic tradition, "keep the way of the Lord by doing righteousness and justice" (18:19b).

**e. Abraham the Warrior-Hero.** The account of Abraham, the warrior-hero, remains an enigma. There is general agreement that it cannot be assigned to either of the traditions J or P, but stands outside them. Some scholars regard it as an authentic account of a historical event, at least in substance (Speiser *Genesis* AB, 103–9). "But this text appears as an erratic block and is more a hindrance than a help to the historian" (de Vaux 1964: 240; *EHI* 216–20, 258–63). Other scholars reject the "historicity" of the chapter (Thompson 1974: 187–95; Van Seters 1975: 296–308). A full history of the interpretation of the chapter may be found in Schatz (1972). Emerton (1971a, b) and Westermann (1985: 187–208) have opened the most satisfactory approach. Verses 1–11 are a self-contained account of a campaign in annalistic style (vv 1, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11; cf. Zakir Stele, *ANET*, 501) into which an account of another campaign (vv 5b–7), and two lists (vv 1–2; 8–9) have been inserted. The account ends in v 11, and no sequence is expected. Verses 12–17 with vv 21–24 are a narrative following the pattern of the hero stories from the period of the judges (compare Gen 14:14–15 with Judg 7:16–19). A narrative from this period has been applied to Abraham so as to exalt the patriarch to the status of a hero and a savior figure. This narrative has been joined to vv 1–11 which have determined the interpretation of the whole. The section about Melchizedek (vv 18–20) forms an independent episode which breaks the continuity between vv 17 and 21; there was probably some sort of story behind them. They reflect sedentary cult in which priest and tithes have their proper place.

**2. Jacob-Esau Cycle.** The Jacob-Esau cycle is nicely dovetailed into the Abraham cycle and continues the family story. The cycle begins with the *tôlĕdôt* formula: "These are the descendants of Isaac, Abraham's son" (25:19–20, 26b). The opening passage, describing the struggle of the twins in Rebekah's womb (25:21–26a), sounds the theme of the cycle, conflict and rivalry—between Jacob and Esau, Jacob and Laban, Rachel and Leah; and the following episode about the pot of red soup (25:27–34; *ʾādōm,* a play on *ʾdm,* "red"; hence the descendants of Esau are the Edomites, "the red ones"), sketches with a couple of strokes the broad outline of the type to which each twin belongs. The Jacob-Esau cycle draws on several blocks of tradition. Two of the blocks, Jacob and Esau-Edom (26:29–34; 27:32–33) and Jacob-Laban (29–31; 29:31–30:24, the sons of Jacob, represent a later stage of the tradition), have a Transjordanian setting, the latter being in NE Syria. Another block is set in central Israel, 28:10–20 and 35:7–14 at Bethel, 33:19–20 at Shechem, and 35:2–4 at Bethel and Shechem. There are two traditions about Jacob's change of name (32:23–33 [—Eng 22–32]) and 35:9–13. Jacob is indeed "a wandering Aramaean" (de Vaux *EHI* 169–85; Blum 1984).

**a. Isaac.** There is a collection of stories about Isaac which have already been told about Abraham. 26:1–11 (= 20:1–18 = 12:10–20) is a story about the ancestress and the promise in danger; 26:17–25 (= 21:25–31) tells of a dispute about wells; 26:26–33 (= 21:22–32) narrates a confrontation between the patriarch and Abimelech. Isaac is a less important figure in the biblical story of the patriarchs; he is the channel through which the promises made to Abraham (26:3, 5, 24; 28:3–4) pass on to Jacob (Israel).

**b. Jacob-Esau Conflict Begins.** The action that causes the conflict between Jacob and Esau begins with the deception of Isaac, who is now old and blind (27:1–40). The character types and the parental preferences, noted in 25:27–28, are resumed in 27:3–4, 11–15, 34. Jacob is quiet and pliable, Esau rough and ready. The matter at issue is the father's blessing (27:4, 12, 25, 27–31, 31–38, 41) which Jacob gains by deception and which, after some decades in Paddan-aram, he gives back in part to Esau to seal their reconciliation (33:11).

The conflict is now in motion, and Esau plans to kill Jacob (27:41–45). Rebekah again initiates the action and urges Jacob to flee to her brother Laban in Haran. But there is another motive for Jacob's journey to the region between the two rivers. Esau has taken Hittite wives (26:34) who are an irritant to Rebekah and Isaac (26:35; 27:46). The one who is to carry the promise, Jacob, must take a wife from the family of the patriarch, Abraham (28:1–5). Isaac blesses Jacob again. There is no mention of the deception. As a consequence Esau, who has already two Canaanite (Hittite) wives, goes to his uncle, Ishmael, Isaac's brother from Abraham and Hagar, and takes another wife (28:6–9).

The first conflict, between Jacob and Esau, is now left, as it were, hanging in the air. It is to be resumed and resolved in chaps. 32–33. As Jacob leaves Canaan, he encounters God, 28:10–20, just as he does

years later when he returns to Canaan, 32:23–33 [—Eng 22–32]). These two key encounters frame the lengthy Jacob-Laban conflict, chaps. 29–31.

**c. Jacob at Bethel.** The biblical text narrates that Jacob "happens upon a place" *(yipgaʿ bammāqôm),* which is a sanctuary, though he himself is not aware that it is a sacred place. He takes a stone from the place and puts it *at* his head as a protection (he is not using the stone as a pillow). In a dream he sees a ramp *(sullām)* or sloping earthworks reaching from the ground to the heavens on which members of the heavenly court (Job 1:6; Gen 32:2–3 [—Eng 1–2]) are going up and coming down. Heaven and earth are joined, and so Jacob knows that the place is holy. Yahweh stands by Jacob (not at the top of the ramp) and repeats the promises of the land and numerous descendants, and adds another, the promise of the divine assistance or presence, "I will be with you"—a promise peculiar to the Jacob-Esau cycle (26:3–24; 28:15 [—Eng 20]; 31:3; 32:10 [—Eng 9]; 46:3; cf. 48:15; 50:24). Jacob now realizes that "Yahweh is in this place" (vv 16–17). He takes the protective stone which he had put at his head, sets it up as a holy stone *(maṣṣēbâ)* and anoints it. It is to be a witness to the event. He calls the place "the house of El (God)" *(bêt-ʾēl).* He makes a vow and promises tithes (vv 20–22).

Most scholars regard the story of Jacob's experience at Bethel as composite. De Pury (1975: 33–35, 173–76) lists 21 scholars with their proposed divisions of the text which they assign in various ways to J, E, and a redactor. Blum (1984: 9–35) rejects all source division of the passage and argues that Gen 28:10–22 comprises a compact self-contained narrative (vv 11–13a, 16–19a) which gives an account of the foundation of a place of worship by the eponymous father of the people; this story has been built into the broader context of the Jacob cycle by the itinerary note (v 10), the divine speech (vv 13a–15) and the account of Jacob's vows (vv 20–22). The narrative begins with v 11 and continues as far as v 13a, "And YHWH stood beside him." It is interrupted by vv 13a–15 and is resumed in v 16 continuing on to v 19, "He called the name of that place Bethel." The passages vv 13a–15 and 20–22, it is argued, take up a number of themes which have nothing to do with the narrative and which presuppose the broader context of the patriarchal story, e.g., the promise of the land (28:13b–14, see 12:7; 13:14–17; 15:7–21; 26:3–4; 28:4; 35:12; 48:3–4), the promise of descendants (28:14, see 13:14–17; 22:17–18; 26:2–5, 24; 28:3–4; 35:11–13; 48:3–4, 16, 19), the formulas "like the dust of the earth" (28:14a, see 13:16) and "by you shall all the families of the earth bless themselves" (28:14b, see 12:3; 18:18; 22:18), the promise of assistance or presence (28:15, see 26:3, 24; 31:3; 46:3). Blum's argument is very cogent.

There was a sanctuary at Luz in ancient Canaanite times which became Bethel (28:19) and, later, an important center of worship in Israel. The place was to play an important role in Israel's history: it was taken by the house of Jacob (Judg 1:22–25); it was a premonarchic sanctuary and place of assembly (Judg 20:18, 26; 21:2; 1 Kgs 7:16); it was linked with the beginnings of prophecy (2 Kgs 2:2–3:23); and it was the chief sanctuary in the N kingdom (Amos 5:5; 7:10–13; Hos 10:5). There was a tradition that linked the patriarch Jacob with Bethel. The final redactor has taken the story that preserves this story tradition about Jacob, joined it with the promises, and added vv 20–22 so as to link the later cultic practices of vow and tithes, proper to sedentary life, to the patriarch and to Bethel, thus binding the story into its present context. The whole is now part of the Jacob-Esau cycle.

**d. Jacob-Laban Conflict.** This is a self-contained conflict narrative in which there is no mention of Esau. The first part (29:1–30) is a combination of two stories, the story of Jacob "the wandering Aramaean" who is looking for a wife and comes to love Rachel (vv 1–14), and the story of Laban, the deceiver (vv 15–30). The second part (30:25–32:54) tells how Jacob outwits Laban (30:25–43), how he leaves Laban's household and outwits him again (31:1–42), and how they are reconciled by making a solemn treaty (32:43–55). God was with Jacob throughout, particularly in the latter episodes (31:11–13, 24, 29, 42).

Just as the self-contained Jacob-Laban conflict has been inserted into the Jacob-Esau conflict, so too has the Rachel-Leah conflict (29:31–30:24) been inserted into the Jacob-Laban conflict. There is a conflict (29:31–30:24) within a conflict (29:1–30 and 30:35–31:54) within a conflict (27:41–45 and chapters 32–33).

The account of the rivalry between Rachel and Leah (29:31–30:24) includes the naming of the twelve children, eleven sons (Benjamin is born later, 35:16–19) and one daughter. The naming seems to be the work of a reviser or editor who gives, as the reason for each name, an action of God in language reminiscent of the Psalms (Westermann 1985: 471–77). The twelve tribes are mentioned in Genesis in chapters 29–30; 35:16–20, 22–28; 46:8–15; 49:1–17. The naming of the children is worked into old narrative material.

Jacob is now ready to return to his own country (30:25). But his departure can only harm Laban who has profited from his twenty years of work (30:25–26). God's blessing has always accompanied Jacob's work (30:30). Jacob now outwits Laban (30:37–43). it is not at all clear what is going on in this old herder's tale. Jacob and Laban finally resolve the conflict with a treaty in which they invoke "the God of Abraham and the God of Nahor, the God of their father" (31:53). The climax of this well-ordered and well-edited chapter comes in v 42: "If the God of my father, the God of Abraham and the Fear of Isaac, had not been on my side, surely you would have sent me away empty-handed. God saw my affliction and the labor of my hands, and rebuked you last night." Laban has learned that might is not right (vv 24, 29, 38–42).

**e. Resolution of the Jacob-Esau Conflict.** These are chapters of meetings and encounters: with an army of heavenly beings (32:2–3 [—Eng 1–2]); with Esau (32:4–9 [—Eng 3–8], 14–22 [—Eng 13–21]; 33:1–17); with God (32:10–13 [—Eng 9–12]); with the "man" at the river Jabbok (32:23–33 [—Eng 22–32]).

Jacob is afraid as he prepares to meet Esau. But God's power appears in the form of *mal›ăkê ›ĕlohîm,* angels (32:2 [—Eng 1]). Jacob had seen the *mal›ăkê ›ĕlohîm* in his dream vision at Bethel (28:12); they are not the *mal›āk YHWH* of 16:7; 21:17; 22:11, 15 who is Yahweh's messenger and is identified with Yahweh; rather, they are members of the heavenly court who represent God's power in 32:2 (—Eng 1) and his holiness in 28:12, the only two passages where the expression occurs. Jacob sends two embassies to Esau (32:4–9 [—Eng 3–8] and 32:14–22 [—Eng 13–21]); between them he prays for God's help (v 12 [—Eng 11]) and frames the petition by reminding God of his promises (vv 10 [—Eng 9] and 13 [—Eng 12]).

**(1) Encounter at the Jabbok.** There is broad agreement that a story or a tradition about a demon that guards access to a ford across the river Jabbok has been associated with or applied to Jacob. The Jabbok, *Nahr-ez-Zerqa* (the blue river), flows into the Jordan from the E side about 40 km N of the Dead Sea through a very steep ravine. After crossing and meeting Esau, Jacob appears next at Succoth (33:17) and Shechem (33:18–19), both to the N of the Jabbok, a sign that the present passage is not of one piece with the rest of the Jacob story.

The biblical story says that a man, *›îš,* wrestles with Jacob all night but is unable to overcome him. Jacob demands that the man bless him, which he does (vv 27, 30 [—Eng 26, 29]). Jacob reveals his own name, and the man changes it: "Your name shall no more be called Jacob, but Israel, because you have striven with God and with men, and have prevailed" (v 29 [—Eng 28]). When the "man" (spirit/demon) "faded on the crowing of the cock" (*Hamlet* 1, 1; cf. v 27 [—Eng 26]), Jacob realizes that he has in some mysterious way, encountered God: "For I have seen God face to face, and yet my life is preserved" (v 31 [—Eng 30]). He calls the place Peni-el (v 31 [—Eng 30]), "face of God" (Penu-el v 32 [—Eng 31]); the former has a better assonance with *pannîm,* face. An etiological piece about a taboo concerning the sinew of the hip has been built into the story (26 [—Eng 25b]), 32–33 [—Eng 31–32]).

There have been many attempts to explain the meaning of the name Israel, *yiśrā›ēl:* it has been derived from *śrh,* to prevail or contend; *śrh,* to fight: *śr›,* to rule; Arabic *waśara* and Ethiopic *sûaraya,* to heal (Thompson 1974: 40–43). More recently Vermes (1975: 12–14) has derived it from *śrr,* to rule, act as a prince, and has traced its later development in Jewish writing. The "man" of Genesis becomes an "angel" in Hos 12:4–5. An encounter with a river demon has become an encounter with God. Hence, Jacob has struggled with God. God has blessed him, and he can now go to his meeting with Esau in the strength of God.

**(2) Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau.** Jacob's ceremonial greeting (vv 1–3, 6–7) is in contrast to Esau's warm advance (vv 4–5). There is no recrimination. Jacob makes a gift to Esau (v 10), thus restoring something of what he had stolen: "accept my gift (*bĕrākâ* blessing) … because God has dealt graciously with me" (v 11). God's favor at work with Jacob is the determining factor. Each, now settled in his own lifestyle, goes his own way (vv 12–17). The biblical story brings them together again to bury Isaac (33:19).

**f. Shechem.** The chapter is in four parts: vv 1–3, the violation of Dinah; vv 4–24, the negotiations; vv 25–29, the attack (with the conclusion in 35:5); vv 30–31, the reaction of Jacob. Two narratives, an older family narrative (a Shechem tradition), and a tribal narrative (a Hamor tradition), have been joined by an editor who made his own contribution to form a third and final narrative.

**g. Bethel Revisited; Death of Isaac.** The account of God's commission to Jacob and his household (35:1–7) refers back to the encounter at Bethel (28:10–20, in 35:1b, 3b, 7b). The writer is bringing the story of Jacob's flight and return to a close. The conclusion of chapter 34 is 35:5; v 6 is an itinerary sentence from P, molded into a unity with v 7 by the redactor. The redactor has arranged the chapter according to a definite plan. The Priestly section is a clearly planned whole, included between two itinerary notes (vv 6 and 27). In v 6, Jacob comes to Bethel; then God appears to him (vv 9–13; v 10 is the Priestly change of name); vv 22b–26 comprise a list of the sons of Jacob; in v 27 Jacob comes to Mamre. Finally in vv 28–29, Isaac dies. The texts that do not belong to P are set into an itinerary (vv 8, 14–15 [P knows nothing of pillars], 16–20, 21–22a); and the itinerary is expanded with notes or brief narratives (vv 8, 17–18, 22a). The editor has prefaced his account with a construction of his own, tying it with 28:10–20. It is important for the family unity that Esau and Jacob bury Isaac (35:29), just as it is that Ishmael and Isaac bury Abraham (25:9).

**h. Descendants of Esau.** The chapter is a redactional unity:

vv 1–14 sons of Esau — names of sons

15–19 chiefs of the sons of Esau — and chiefs are identical

20–28 sons of Seir — names of sons

29–30 chiefs of the sons of Seir — and chiefs are identical

31–39 kings of Edom

40–43 chiefs of Esau (an appendix)

Verses 1–5 are a Priestly construction, introduced by *tôlĕdôt* (v 1). Three Canaanite wives of Esau are named, Adah, Oholibamah, and Basemath. The other wives of Esau are Judith and Basemath (26:34) and Mahalath (28:9). The Edomite king list comes from the period after David's conquest of Edom (2 Sam 8:13b–14). It has been suggested that the list derives most probably from the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 5th century B.C.E. (Knauf 1985).

**C. Patriarchs and Promises**

**1. An Event between God and the Patriarchs.** The promises tell of something that happens between God and the patriarchs, and so are a part of patriarchal religion. God makes the promises directly, without a mediator. Most of the divine addresses in chaps. 12–50 are promises. Promises are constitutive of the narratives of 16:1–14; 18:1–16a; narratives are constructed for the promises (15:1–6, 7–21; Lohfink 1967); the promises are brought together so as to form an address by God (17:1–22; P); they form an independent scene (13:14–17) or episode (12:7; 26:24–25), or are introduced into or linked with narratives (15:13–16; 22:15–18; 26:2–5; 28:2–3; 28:13 [—Eng 14–15]; 35:9–13; 46:3–4); a short promise opens the Abraham cycle (12:1–3), and the Jacob-Esau cycle (26:2–5).

**2. Six Promises.** The promises occur, for the most part, in groups, though occasionally alone. There are broadly speaking, six promises: of a son, of descendants, of divine assistance or presence, of land, of blessing, of covenant.

**a. Promise of a Son.** It occurs alone in chap. 18; in the other cases it is linked with descendants or blessing. This promise is confined to the Abraham cycle and runs right through the biblical text from

11:30 to 21:1–7. It is very probable that it belongs to the oldest part of the patriarchal tradition. It is distinct from the promise of descendants, as 15:1–6 shows, where vv 2–4 promise a son, and v 5 descendants.

**b. Promise of Descendants.** This promise is not found alone but together with the promise of a son (above), of land and blessing (13:14–17; 26:2–5; 28:3–4; 28:13–15; 35:11–13; 48:3–4, 16, 19); of assistance (presence) and blessing (22:17–18; 26:2–5; 26:24–25; 46:3–4); of blessing (13:1–3; 18:18–19; 22:15–18). There are fixed formulas to express the multitude of descendants: "I will multiply" so that they will be as "the stars in the sky" (15:3; 22:17; 26:4), "as the dust of the earth" (13:16; 28:14), "as the sand by the sea" (22:17; 32:13 [—Eng 12]). Abraham will be the father of a multitude of nations (17:5), the ancestor of nations (17:16), the father of a company of peoples (28:3; 35:11; 48:4), and the ancestor of kings (17:6, 16, 20; 35:11; Priestly emphasis). The promise is retrospective; it speaks from the standpoint of the greatest expansion of Israel from the river of Egypt to the great river, the Euphrates.

**c. Promise of Assistance or Presence.** This occurs only in the Jacob story, chapters 26–50 (26:3, 24; 28:15; 31:3; 46:3). It is linked with Jacob's journeys, and so may well go back to the patriarchal (pre-settlement) period. It occurs alone only in 31:3. This promise is not limited to Genesis; rather it is found throughout the OT (Preuss 1968).

**d. Promise of Land.** The promise is made to Abraham (12:7; 13:14–17; 15:7–21) and later to Jacob and his descendants as a renewal of the promise made to Abraham (26:3–4; 28:4; 35:12; 50:24). It is found alone in 12:7; 15:7–21 (24:7), and with the promise of descendants in 13:14–17; 15:11–13; 48:3–4; 28:13–15. The promise in an inchoate form may go back to the nomadic period. The promise of a settled land is dominant in Deuteronomy where it is confirmed by oath on many occasions.

**e. Promise of Blessing.** The Yahwistic writer has formulated a blessing given by Yahweh to Abraham and prefaced it to the patriarchal story. God who commissions Abraham is God who sends him out to effect blessing. Through Abraham, all the families of the earth "will be blessed" or "will bless themselves" or "will acquire blessings for themselves" (12:1–3 [Westermann 1985: 151–52]; cf. 18:18; 22:18; 26:3–4; 28:14). When God blesses, he confers the dynamism to continue one's posterity through time and space (Gen 1:28), a blessing resumed in 35:11. The patriarchs stand under God's blessing.

**f. Promise of a Covenant.** God, *ʾēl sûadday* (P), gives a binding assurance, *bĕrît* (17:7–8), that he will be their God, i.e., the God of Abraham and his descendants.

**3. Promise in History and Tradition.** Each promise has its own history in the tradition. Probably only two, the promise of a son and the promise of assistance or presence "on the way," go back to the pre-settlement period. In the biblical story of Abraham, all the promises are heaped together in the middle of the cycle, chaps. 15–18. The whole is given direction by the promise of blessing at the beginning (12:1–3). The promises, apart from the promise of a son and, probably, the promise of assistance or presence, are the result of experience and reflection; they are projected back into the past and set within a framework of ancient traditions about the patriarchs.

**D. Joseph Story**

**1. Unity or a Composite Story?** Many scholars explain these chapters by means of classical source division as two separate narratives, J and E, each more or less complete. See JOSEPH, SON OF JACOB. Eissfeldt (*IDB* 2: 375–76, 377) and Seebass (1978) maintain that tribal traditions are the basis of the story. Redford (1970) proposes that the chapters are a combination of an original Reuben version with a later Judah version, brought together and worked over by a redactor, both versions having their origin in the period 650–550 B.C.E. Schmitt (1980) reverses the order; the Judah version from the early monarchy is the original version, while the Reuben version comes from the exilic or post-exilic period. Gunkel (1922) and Gressmann (1923) saw a unity in the Joseph story, but neither could free himself from the accepted source division. More recent scholarship generally favors a unity, with variations: Volz and Rudolph (1933), Whybray (1968), Brueggemann (1972), Coats (1976), Donner (1976), Crüsemann (1978), Willi-Plein (1979), Westermann (1986).

**2. Literary Type.** The terminology used to describe the Joseph story shows uncertainty. It has been called a tale, a story *(Sage),* or a *Novelle.* The terms *novelle* (Old French), *novela* (Spanish), *novella*

(Italian), and later *Novelle* (German), have their origin in the Renaissance period to describe certain "romances," longer or shorter, which tell of the exploits of heroes, but there is no general agreement about what precisely they cover (but see Humphreys 1985). The English "novel" is equivalent of the European *Roman,* but the Joseph story is not long or broad enough to come under this category. Von Rad has written that "the Joseph narrative is a didactic wisdom story, which leans heavily on influences emanating from Egypt, not only with regard to its conception of an educational ideal, but also in its fundamental theological ideas" (1966: 300). But the wisdom elements are restricted to chaps. 40–41, and the woman, the wife of Potiphar, in chap. 39 is the spurned woman rather than the seductress against whom the book of Proverbs warns (Prov 2:16–19; 5:1–23; 6:20–25). It is best described, with due caution, as a short story and may be compared with the short stories of Guy de Maupassant (1850–93) or O. Henry (1862–1910), with the difference that the characters and material were at hand to the biblical writer. The biblical writer did not have to create the characters, nor cut the story from whole new cloth. The complete history of the interpretation of the Joseph story is discussed by Ruppert (1965), Westermann (1975: 56–68; 1986: 15–30), Seebass (1978), de Vaux (*EHI* 291–320), Schmitt (1980).

**3. Story in the Broader Sense.** The Joseph story in the broader sense has a Priestly frame (37:1–2 and 50:12–14). It resumes the story of Jacob who has returned to Canaan, buried his father (35:27–28), and settled there (37:1), ending with the account of Jacob's death, and his burial by his sons in accordance with his wishes (50:12–14). The theme of Jacob's death is introduced in 37:35b and runs through to the end (42:48; 44:22, 19; 45:28; 46:30; 47:9, 27–31; 48:1; 49:1, 28b–33). Chapter 38 is not part of the Joseph story, but fills out the story of Jacob's family. The conclusions of the Joseph and Jacob stories are woven together in chaps. 46–50 and additional material and traditions are included, e.g., the list of all the descendants of Israel who went down into Egypt (46:8–27), the account of Joseph's economic measures as viceroy (47:13–26), the tribal sayings (49:3–27), which lie outside both stories, and other details. The purpose of the tribal sayings is to praise or blame (there is an earlier collection of tribal sayings in Judg 5:14–18, and a later and more theological collection in Deut 33). Reuben, Simeon, and Levi are censured; Judah, Dan, Gad, Naphtali, Joseph, and Benjamin are praised; Zebulun, Issachar, and Asher are blessed in varying degrees. There are word plays on the names of Judah, Zebulun, Issachar, Gad, Asher, and Joseph. There are animal metaphors attached to the names of Judah, Issachar, Dan, Naphtali, and Benjamin; and in the very difficult saying about Joseph, there is a tree (plant) metaphor.

**4. Story in the Narrower Sense.** The story of Joseph proper begins in 37:2 and comprises chapters 37; 39–41; 42–45. It is in essence a family story which begins with the shattered peace of Jacob's family (37:4, 11, 18–23, 33–35), and moves through tension to climax and resolution (45:1–15), with the restoration of *šālôm* to the family. The device of the pairs of dreams is introduced in chap. 37 and repeated in chaps. 40–41. The theme of Jacob's death is sounded. Two traditions of how Joseph was disposed of and sold into Egypt are recorded. In one, Reuben is prominent (37:22–24, 29); in the other, Judah (39:1); now it is the Ishmaelites who take him (32:35 and 39:1), now the Midianites (37:28, 36).

Chapters 39–41 form an interlude in the family story; they use two traditional themes: (1) the rise of a young man, his fall due to an injustice, and his restoration to favor; (2) a stranger or a foreigner or a pauper is summoned to answer a question that the wise of the land cannot answer. Joseph must rise to power before he can help his family in need and restore its peace. The account of the attempted seduction of Joseph by Potiphar's wife (39:7–18) resembles the Egyptian story of the Two Brothers (*ANET*, 23–25) so closely that scholars have thought that the biblical writer had direct knowledge of it. Joseph does not solve the riddles of the dreams of the prisoners, chap. 40, or of Pharaoh, chap. 41, by accepted Egyptian methods (*ANET*, 495); rather "the interpretation of dreams belongs to God" (40:8: 41:16, 25, 32, 38, 39). Joseph proposes that Pharaoh appoint "a man discreet and wise *(nābôn wĕ ḥākām)*" to administer the economy of the kingdom (41:33), and Pharaoh appoints Joseph as his vice-regent (41:37–45). As viceroy, Joseph is in a position to help his family which has been driven down to Egypt by the famine. The story of the family continues in 42:1. The regular movement from Canaan to Egypt begins: Canaan to Egypt (42:1–5); Egypt to Canaan (42:26–34); Canaan to Egypt (43:1–15); Egypt to Canaan (45:21–28); Canaan to Egypt (46:1, 6–7; Coats 1976). Israel is now in Egypt definitively. These movements lead gradually

and inexorably through climax to the resolution which restores the *šālôm* of Jacob's family. Joseph's action in 45:1–15, without any recrimination, is an act of forgiveness. With peace and harmony restored in the family, Jacob can die in peace (45:28). The tension has been resolved; the Joseph story has ended.

**5. Theology.** Gen 45:5–8 and 50:17–31 are key theological passages which tie the Joseph story proper with the conclusion of the story in the broader sense. As Joseph speaks words of comfort to his brothers (45:5), he insists that God has been at work throughout (vv 5b, 7a, 8a): "God sent me before you to preserve for you a remnant on earth, and to keep alive for you many survivors." In 50:17–21, the guilt of the brothers is acknowledged specifically. But Joseph will not play God. It is God who has turned their evil to good. God is acting throughout. The theological introit to the story proper (39:1–6, 21–23) emphasizes that "the Lord was with him" (vv 2, 3, 5, 21, 23). Joseph is aware that he is God's instrument: "the interpretation of dreams belongs to God." God is at work as he brings the brothers to recognize their guilt: "What is it that God has done to us?" (42:28), and "God has found out the guilt of your servants" (44:16). There is no personal revelation to Joseph, nor does he receive divine commands, nor engage in or preside over formal worship. There is no "religion of the patriarchs." The passage 46:2–5a, where God appears to Jacob, is not part of the Joseph story, but part of the conclusion of the Jacob story.

**6. Egypt.** There is no parallel to the Joseph story as a whole in extrabiblical literature of the period, though 39:7–18 has a parallel in Egypt. Chapters 39–41 are played out in Egypt. They, and the following chapters, display a favorable attitude to the Egyptians and a general knowledge of court protocol (41:37–45; *ANET*, 248a), of dining customs (43:32), of divination (44:4–5), and of interpretation of dreams. But there is no interest in the great buildings or the general culture of Egypt. Westermann (1986: 29) thinks that the Egyptian traits are indicative of the Solomonic period. Vergote (1959) has argued that the Joseph story reflects much ancient Egyptian regal, social, and economic life. Redford (1970: 187–243) takes up twenty-three elements used to support ancient Egyptian influence and argues that they need reflect only the practices of the middle of the 1st millennium B.C.E. Palestine in general had been trading with Egypt since at least 2000 B.C.E.; remains of temples at Byblos, showing marked Egyptian influence, date from the 19th century; and the Amarna correspondence of the 14th century reveals details of the small Canaanite dependencies. Egyptian influence has left its mark. But the dating of Egyptian traits in the Joseph story comes under the history of the relations between Egypt and Palestine.

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## *LITERARY FORMS IN GENESIS*

Many of the terms used by biblical scholars to designate the literary forms of Genesis (and other books of the OT) were current among students of literature and folklore in the 19th century; they were used to describe types of literature and folktales well known in W European culture. However, only with great caution can they be applied to the writings of a civilization that flourished in a very different setting over twenty-five hundred years ago. The terms have often been overstrained. It is necessary to describe some of them before studying their application to the book of Genesis.

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A. General Literary Terms
1. *Legende* (Legend)
2. *Märchen* (Fairy Tale, Folktale, Tale)
3. Myth
4. Narrative
5. Novella (Short Story)
6. Saga
7. *Sage*
8. Story
B. Literary Terms Applied to Genesis
C. Other Literary Terms Applied to Genesis
D. Fixed Formulas and Genesis

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### A. General Literary Terms

**1. *Legende* (Legend).** Legend has from its beginning expressed a typically Christian concept: the life of a holy person which was to be read to a community for its edification. Rosenfeld (1972: 11–12) describes it as "the imaginative reproduction of the earthly life of holy people … the presupposition of a genuine *Legende* is faith … The meaning and efficacy of the *Legende* is limited to the religious community in which it arose. Because it arose out of faith, it has the form of a naive, simple, uncomplicated account." Miracles are not essential to the legend, but are a regular part of it, being the sign that God is at work in the holy person, thus confirming the person's holiness (OED 1933; Hals 1972; Rosenfeld 1972; Scullion 1984). From the 17th century, legend took on a transferred meaning of an inauthentic or nonhistorical story, especially one handed down by tradition from early times, and popularly regarded as historical (OED). In popular speech today, the legend is a story of dubious veracity about historical persons or events. It is best, in scholarly circles, to restrict legend to its original and well-established hagiographical use.

**2. *Märchen.*** The *Märchen* is a fairy tale, folktale, tale of magic, or simply a tale. A tale is a story, "true or fictitious, drawn up so as to interest or amuse, or to preserve the history of a fact or incident"; again, it is "a mere story as opposed to a narrative of fact" (OED). A *Märchen* or fairy tale is the sort of narrative found in the collections made by the Grimm brothers or in Hans Christian Andersen's books. The *Märchen* is indefinite as to time and place; its characters have generic or stereotyped names; its world is "the beyond" where the "unreal," the preternatural and the supernatural, predominates or has become normal; characters flit from place to place; animals and trees speak; people, fairy-godmothers, merlins appear and disappear; poor young men conquer monsters, confront giants, overcome obstacles, and marry princesses—"and they lived happily ever after." There is a simplicity, playfulness, and lightness of touch in the *Märchen* (Lüthi 1968; 1975; 1976; 1977; 1979).

**3. Myth.** Modern anthropology, sociology, and psychology have made contributions to the study of myth. However, such systems, worked out in European culture in the 20th century, are not to be imposed on the OT. Rather a description of myth for purposes of OT study begins from example. Myth is the sort of thing that is found in collections of ancient Near Eastern texts under the heading of myths and epics (e.g. *ANET*: 3–155) from cultures which have had more or less direct influence on Israel (Barr 1959). These ancient Near Eastern myths are not just symbolic or hazy expressions of truth; they are not metaphoric or poetic expression. They are attempts to express some transcendental truth. Myth is aware of reality, but reaches beyond concrete experience. What is narrated in myth not merely corresponds to reality; it is reality. When Tammuz, an ancient Mesopotamian god of fertility, dies and comes to life again, and vegetation dies and comes to life, the two are not just like each other; they are each other. Myth is not really a literary form, but a way of thinking. One may distinguish myth and *Mythos* (a word used by many German writers): myth is the story itself; *Mythos* is the basic philosophy that underpins it. See MYTH AND MYTHOLOGY.

**4. Narrative.** Narrative is a general term; it is an account of an event, or events, which moves through tension to crisis and resolution (Licht 1978; Alter 1981). Westermann (1984: xii) often uses the word *Geschehensbogen* to describe the movement of a narrative. It is "like the arch of a bridge which spans the whole from beginning to end. Likewise the narrative arch spans an event from beginning to end and makes it into a self-contained whole." The German word may be rendered "narrative span (arch)."

**5. Novella.** The novella (Old French, *novelle,* Spanish, *novela,* Italian, *novella*) is a shorter (i.e. shorter than the novel, *roman*) prose narrative which tells an unusual, though quite credible, happening; it is brief and eschews prolixity. It has been described as a short novel or a longer short story (the latter, a division of the novella, presents an event in concentrated form; it often reflects a particular mood or attitude). The novella has its origins in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance: Boccaccio's (1313?–75) *Decameron,* Marguerite of Valois' (of Navarre, d'Angoulême, 1492–1549) *Heptameron,* Cervantes' (1547–1616) *Noveles ejemplares.* This type of writing developed in both western and eastern Europe, and particularly in the English-speaking world; some of the best known of its masters are: Guy de Maupassant (1850–93), E. T. A. Hoffmann (1776–1822), Alexander Pushkin (1799–1837), O. Henry (1862–1910), Henry James (1843–1916).

**6. Saga.** The word saga is applied to the narrative compositions in prose that were written in Iceland or Norway during the Middle Ages. The events narrated in the Icelandic narratives belong mainly to the period 874–1030; they were written down in the 13th century. It is for the specialists in this area to discuss whether the sagas were handed down in oral tradition and committed to writing in the later period, or were due to a flowering of creative writing in the 12th and 13th centuries. In any case, there is a long period of oral tradition behind them. Einarsson (1957: 133–34) has summarized the composition and style of the sagas, while Ker (1957: 186) has described the content as follows:

> The original matter of the oral traditions, out of which the written Sagas were formed, was naturally very much made up of separate anecdotes, loosely strung together by associations with a district or family. Many of the Sagas are mere loose strings of adventures, or short stories, or idylls, which may easily be detached and remembered out of connection with the rest of the series.

The Icelandic *segja* means to tell; in modern Icelandic *saga* covers the German *Historie* and *Geschichte* (*Historie* is what happened in fact; *Geschichte* is what these events became in the process of their being passed on). Bentzen (1961: 240, n. 3) has noted that the Swedish term "saga," used for the "chimerical fairy-tale," is "not to be confounded with the usage in Danish-Norwegian-Icelandic, where this word denotes a 'history-narrative.' " The events narrated in the Norwegian and Icelandic sagas were *Historie,* that which actually happened; they became famed in *Geschichte.*

**7. *Sage.*** The *Sage* is a popular story, folk story, or simply a story. Though set in the past, often the distant past, it is specific as to place and names of the characters, and is rooted in reality. Though there are devils and ghosts, dwarfs and giants, ogres and spirits, there is a clear distinction between the real and the unreal world, the natural and the supernatural. The *Sage* has usually been worked over by poetic imagination in the process of transmission. It may be long or short. Olrik (1965) has formulated his well-known ten laws of folk narrative from a study of the shorter forms of *Sagen. Sage* has often been translated into English, incorrectly, by "saga" (see above), with which it has nothing to do.

**8. Story.** The OED describes story as a "narrative, true or presumed to be true, relating to important events and celebrated persons of a more or less remote past; a historical relation or anecdote"; and then, under N.5, as "a narrative of real or, more usually, fictitious events, designed for the entertainment of the hearer or reader; a series of traditional or imaginary incidents forming the matter of such a narrative; a tale." It is in this latter sense that story is a general equivalent of the German *Sage* and may be used aptly to describe many narratives, both short and long, in Genesis. The scope of its use is broad.

*Legende* (legend), *Märchen* (tale), Saga (saga), *Sage* (story), Story, are terms which describe different types of narrative. The *Märchen* and the *Sage* differ in a number of important ways (see above), though there are many and inevitable overlappings between the two. The distinction between them is adequate, but not complete. The legend, as described, shares almost nothing with the *Märchen* but much with the *Sage* or folk story. French has but one word to render *Sage* and *Legende,* namely, *légende;* hence the clear and useful distinction is made between *légende populaire* (or *folklorique*) and *légende hagiographique* (Lüthi 1976: 11). In short, *Sage* (German) = *légende* (French) = (folk) story (English).

**B. Literary Terms Applied to Genesis**

**1. Legend.** Biblical scholars, e.g. Fohrer (1968: 90–95), often refer to the Elijah-Elisha cycles of 1–2 Kings as legends. They also use the term "cult legend," i.e. a story or narrative which is attached to a place and sets out "to explain the origins of the sacredness of the place together with the customs which are observed at it," e.g. Jacob at Bethel (Gen 28:10–20). The cult legend "also gives information concerning the origin and history of many details of the cultus … of the various marvellous effects which were produced by the ark of Yahweh" (Eissfeldt 1965: 43–44). But, as Kaiser (1975: 50) has noted, the name cult legend "is not without danger, because it encourages us to transfer the characteristic features of medieval legends of the saints to these narratives." It is better to call the current cult legends "cultic etiologies," and the legends about individuals "hero stories," "prophetic stories," or "hagiographical stories." The only narrative in the patriarchal story that falls under the heading of legend as described above is the story of the testing of Abraham (Gen 22:1–19). His steadfast adherence to God in faith is a model for the people of Israel.

**2. *Märchen.*** The prevalent view of OT exegesis is that there are no *Märchen* in the OT, but that there are *Märchen* motifs (Hermisson 1977: 419: Wilcoxen 1974: 69–71). However, a great number of motifs which Gunkel (1917) claimed to be *Märchen* motifs are simply elements from the world picture current at the time or from myths of the surrounding world (Hermisson 1977: 438; 1985: 312–16), e.g. talking animals (Gen 3:1–7; Num 22:28–30); Moses' staff (Exod 4:2–4); Elijah's mantle (2 Kgs 2:8); Elisha's floating ax-head (2 Kgs 6:3–7). There was no abundance of *Märchen* motifs which would point to a rich *Märchen* tradition in ancient Israel. The *Märchen* is a genre in which God does not appear, or in any case is not central. The wonder is a normal part of the *Märchen* world, but God is neither its source nor its cause. When speaking of OT genres, it is better to drop the word tale (used without qualification) because of its association with the *Märchen*, though some scholars use it regularly (Coats *Genesis* FOTL 1985). *Märchen* is often rendered by fairy tale in English (the title of the collection of the *Märchen* of the Grimm brothers is *Grimm's Fairy Tales*); folktale is perhaps a more acceptable rendering.

**3. Myth.** There are no myths proper to the OT, though mythological language and imagery often occur (e.g. Isa 27:1 [see *ANET*: 137, lines 36–39]; 51:9; Ezek 28:11–19; Amos 9:3; Pss 74:14; 89:11—Eng 10; 93). In Genesis, the prelude to the flood story, the "angelogamy" of 6:1–4, is a "mythological torso" (Gunkel 1910: lxvi). Myth has left its footprint, however faint, on parts of the two creation accounts in Genesis 1–3.

**4. Narrative.** Very many of the *Sagen* or stories or cycles of stories in Genesis may be described as narratives.

**5. Novella.** The only story in Genesis that can be classified as a novella is the Joseph story in the narrower sense—that is, Gen 37; 39–41; 42–45 (Humphreys 1985: 82–96). It may be described too as a (long) short story. Coats (*Genesis* FOTL) classifies other stories in Genesis under the heading of Novella: the story of Lot as a subplot in the Abraham story (11:10–12:9 + 13:1–14:24 + 18:16–19:38), though it is very disjointed with disparate parts; the story of Sarah-Hagar (16:1–21:21), though this is rather a story about Hagar as the secondary wife of Abraham who finds herself in distress because of oppression by Sarah (16:1–14 is reworked in 21:1–21); the solemn assurance by the Lord of a son to Abraham and Sarah (17:1–22; 18:1–15), the reflection (18:16–21) and the theological discussion (18:23–33), the account of the destruction of the cities (19), and the account of the promise in danger a second time (20 though they are very disparate and so scarcely qualify either as separate novellae or as parts of a continuous novella; the story of the search for a bride for Isaac (24), though it is a family narrative; the Rachel-Leah conflict and the Jacob-Laban conflict within which it is set (29:1–32:1—Eng31:55), though it does not compare well with the unity that is the Joseph story (37; 39–41; 42–45); the Judah-Tamar story (38), though it really belongs to the Jacob cycle and is scarcely a novella.

**6. Saga.** Neff (1985: 31–32), attending to Ker's description of saga, suggests that one might speak of the saga of Abraham, 12:1–25:18, and of the saga of Jacob, 25:19–36:43. This is not unreasonable. Coats' proposal to call 1:1–11:9 the Primeval Saga is subject to reservations as the "events described" are on the other side of history. To avoid confusion it seems better to restrict saga to the Nordic classics. The stories about Abraham and Jacob can be suitably called the Abraham Cycle (or story) and the Jacob Cycle (or story).

**7. *Sage.*** The OED (1933, saga. 2), Gibert (1974; 1979: 179–94), Van Seters (1975: 131, n. 19) and Scullion (1984: 327–29) have pointed out the error of translating *Sage* by saga, and McCarthy has written that "the failure to understand that German *Sage* means "folktale" or the like and has nothing to do with English "saga" or the Icelandic original has misled generations and deprived form-criticism of a valuable word" (1981: 9). Coats (*Genesis* FOTL, 5–7, and passim) and Neff (1985: 19–25) have seen the problem, but have not met with complete success in their use of the terms *Sage* and saga. Coats (*Genesis* FOTL, 7–8; 1985: 63–70) prefers to translate *Sage* by tale; the present article prefers story.

**8. Story.** Story is a general term which embraces large blocks of narrative as well as short narratives of 10–15 verses. The large blocks are the primeval story (1:1–11:26), the patriarchal story (11:17–36:43), which may be subdivided into the Abraham cycle (story; 11:27–25:18), and the Jacob-Esau cycle (or story; 25:19–36:43), and the Joseph story (37; 39–45), plus the two conclusions (chaps. 46–50). In the

primeval story, distinct units from various traditions have been brought together to form Israel's statement on the world and on human beings. It is not a closely knit "long short story," but it has sufficient coherence, given by the final editor, to be called a story in the looser sense; it is a series of traditional or imaginary incidents on the other side of history. The loose unity, but essential coherence, of the two blocks that form the patriarchal narrative is enough to allow them to be called stories. The Joseph story in the more restricted sense (chaps. 37; 39–45) is well described as a "long short story," though some scholars prefer the term novella (Coats 1985; Humphreys 1985).

The types of stories within these blocks must be considered in the context in which they are preserved. Many of them have had an independent history, perhaps even a long one, before they took their present form in the biblical text, so that it cannot be presumed that they circulated exactly in the form that they have in the OT.

Stories, which form parts of the primeval story, are 2:4b–3:24; 4:1–16; 11:1–9. The first is a literary composition put together from various sources or traditions and edited into a well-bound unity, though the joins are clear. The stories of the first brothers and of the tower are just that, *"Sagen."* All three stories follow a pattern. The same basic pattern is there in the flood story which must be reckoned a genuine, though composite, narrative as it moves to climax (7:17–24) and resolution (8:1–5).

The long patriarchal story (or cycles) contains many stories. The concise "Ancestress in Danger" (12:10–20), set within the framework of an itinerary (12:9 and 13:1), is considered by many scholars (Van Seters 1975: 169; Westermann 1984: 162) to exemplify in essence Olrik's "Epic Laws of Folk Narrative." The second version of this episode (20:1–18) is not a story or legend in the strict sense, but rather a theological development (Coats *Genesis* FOTL, 149–51), while the third version (26:1–16) is more a story stretched over the promise of blessing made to Abraham (vv 2–5). The dispute between the herdsmen of Abraham and Lot is an episode in the life of the family in the broad sense, and scarcely a story. The Abraham, Sarah, Hagar story (16:1–16) is a story of family strife in the context of Sarah's barrenness. In 18:1–16, the promise of a son constitutes the narrative; the tradition of a visit by strangers or unknown divine messengers to announce the coming of the son, sets the stage for the announcement. The story of Lot and Sodom and Gomorrah (19:1–29) is a narrative of destruction and rescue, and has been likened to the story of the flood in the primeval era (Westermann 1985: 297). The long narrative of the quest for a bride for Isaac (24:1–67) has been classified as a novella, and more specifically, an example-story to show the ideal model for future generations (Coats *Genesis* FOTL, 166–70). But this longest narrative in the patriarchal story is rather a family story about a search for a bride (vv 3–4 and 67) with a clear and transparent structure, commission (vv 1–9), execution (vv 10–60), resolution (v 67); the middle section makes use of the traditional literary device of repetition, well known in messenger stories (vv 11–14, 15–21, 42–49; Westermann 1985: 282–83). The Shechem narrative (34:1–31) is a tribal story composed from three parts.

**C. Other Literary Terms Applied to Genesis**

**1. Dialogue.** Two passages in the patriarchal stories are dialogues: Abraham and the Lord before Sodom (18:22–23), and Abraham and the Hitties at the sale of the cave in the field at Machpelah (23:1–20). The former discusses a theological problem; the latter, within a Priestly frame (vv 1–2, 19), describes a process of bargaining, not unlike that which goes on in the Middle East today (Scullion 1982/83: 54). Van Seters (1975: 98–100) explains the narrative from the pattern followed in certain neo-Babylonian documents known as "dialogue contracts," which de Vaux (1978: 256) also mentions as a possible parallel. However, the "dialogue documents" begin with a title, "tablet of"; then follows in direct discourse the offer made by the legal advocate: "A went to B and spoke as follows." There is no further bargaining. The reply of the second party is recorded in the third person in stylized form. But in Genesis 23 there is a protracted dialogue; the only legal formula is "the current merchant's rate" (v 16), and the only legal procedure is the presence of witness (vv 17–18). The parallel is weak. The assurance given to Abraham of a son and land in 15:1–21 is not a dialogue; Abraham's two utterances in vv 3–4, 8 are no more than the occasion for a divine speech; the assurances follow from a prophetic oracle of salvation, "Fear not," found about sixty times in a theological sense in the OT, especially in Deutero-Isaiah (e.g. Isa

41:10, 13, 14; 43:1, 5; 44:2; 54:4). The dialogues between Joseph and (1) Potiphar's wife, (2) the prisoners, and (3) Pharaoh, do not follow any particular pattern.

**2. Divine Speech.** The divine speeches of 9:8–17 and 17:1–22, which give assurance of a *bĕrît,* covenant (the word is used 7 times and 13 times respectively), are both from the priestly tradition. In the former, Noah does not speak; in the latter Abraham falls on his face twice (vv 3, 17) and makes two brief interventions (vv 17b, 18). Before the dialogue that precedes the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, there is a divine soliloquy (19:17–21) which is perhaps composite.

**3. Etiology.** An etiology is a narrative whose purpose is to explain the origin of a custom, an event, a name, a geographical formation, an object, a shrine. There are no etiologies of any length in Genesis, but there are many (popular) name etiologies: 2:23 (woman); 3:20 (Eve); 4:25 (Seth); 16:13–14 (God who sees); 19:22 (Zoar); 19:37, 38 (Moab, Ammon); 21:31 (Beer-sheba); 26:20b (Esek), 21b (Sitnah), 22 (Rehoboth), Ge 26:33 (Shibnah); 28:16–17 (Bethel); 31:47–49 (Jegar-sahadutha, Galeed, Mizpah); 32:3b (—Eng 2b; Mahanaim, a word play); 50:11 (Abel-Mizraim). Some scholars (von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 411; Coats *Genesis* FOTL, 298–300; Westermann 1986: 173) understand the account of Joseph's economic measures (47:13–16) as a tax etiology, i.e. a story to explain a particular method of taxing in Egypt.

**4. Genealogies.** In chaps. 1–11, the genealogies are a constitutive part and form an essential framework.
Priestly sources (P): 5:1–32 Adam, through Seth to Noah
6:9–10; 7:28–29 Noah and sons
10:1–7, 20, 22, 23, 31, 32 generations of sons of Noah
11:10–26 Noah, through Shem to Abraham
11:27a, 31–32 Terah's life cycle.
The Priestly genealogies trace an unbroken line from Adam to Abraham. Everything that happens in the patriarchal story springs from them. They are monotonous, systematized, and present sober succession without elaboration. Genealogy and narrative stand far apart. They record "the continuous event of generation following generation" (Westermann 1984: 16). They preserve (1) a constant—the same sentences recur, begetting, lifespan, more offspring, age, death (chap. 5; chap. 11 is a little different), and (2) a variable—names and numbers. Yahwist source (J): In the Yahwistic genealogies, genealogy and narrative are closely linked and the form is flexible. Notes are added: (1) names are explained (4:1b, 25b; 5:29; 10:25b); (2) the progress of civilization is recorded (4:2, 17b, 20b–22; 5:29; 9:20; 10:8–9); (3) the expansion of the race is noted (9:19b; 10:18b, 25b); (4) there are geographical descriptions (10:10–12, 19, 20); (5) there are songs and proverbial sayings (4:22–23; 5:29; 10:9b); (6) the invocation of YHWH is projected back to the beginnings (4:26).

The genealogies of chaps. 1–11 are a witness to the effects of God's blessing.

Genealogies frame the Abraham cycle (11:27–32 [with itinerary information]; 25:1–6 [an *ad hoc* creation]; 25:7–11[P]); and the Jacob cycle (25:19–20[P]; 35:8, 16–20[J?], 22b–26[P], 28–29[P]).

Wilson (1977: 11–55) has demonstrated the importance of genealogies and their setting in life for non-writing peoples, to which the genealogies of the patriarchal stories bear a close resemblance, and that the OT genealogies cannot be understood apart from their oral prehistory. They serve to specify the position of an individual in the community and form, so to speak, the family coordinates. They have their origin in tribal life and did not arise out of mere historical or antiquarian interest.

From the point of view of form, the genealogies may be classified as linear or segmented (Wilson 1977: 18–20, 196–97), the latter giving the relation to each other of the members of a group:

| Linear | Segmented |
|---|---|
| 5:1–32; 9:28–29 | 10:1–32 |
| 11:10–26; 11:27–32 | 25:12–16 (segmented of one generation) |
| 22:20–24; 25:7–11 | 36 |
| 36:9–14 | |

The genealogy of Esau in chap. 36 is a "collection of Edomite and political information, most of which is presented in genealogical form" (Wilson 1977: 167).

**5. Itinerary.** The itinerary is a literary genre which stems from the nomadic or interant lifestyle. It reflects the process of movement from place to place. The patriarchal itineraries are not mere constructions (Davies 1974: 80–81); patriarchal tradition knows of an immigration of Abraham into Palestine. The itinerary form comprises: (1) information about the route, (2) the place of departure, (3) the place of arrival, (4) brief notes about events on the way (Westermann 1985: 56–58, 62). Itineraries run quietly through chaps. 12–25. Typical examples are: 11:31–32: Terah took … went forth from Ur … to go to the land of Canaan … came to Haran … settled there … died; 12:4–9: Abraham took … set forth to go to the land of Canaan … came to Canaan … passed through to the oak of Moreh … built an altar … moved to the east of Bethel … built an altar … journeyed further to the Negeb; 12:9–13:1: Abraham went from the Negeb … arrived in Egypt … event there … went up from Egypt; 20:1: Abraham journeyed toward the Negeb … dwelt … sojourned in Gerar; 22:19: all returned to Beer-sheba; hence, they must have started from there. Add to these 26:1–6.

The motif of flight-return enters the itineraries of chaps. 27–33. Gen 28:10 and 29:1 are itinerary notes with an episode on the way in between. There are fixed itinerary formulas and data in 33:16–17, 18–19. In chap. 35, there is the departure from Shechem (vv 1, 3, [5]) and the arrival at Bethel (v 6); then come the two episodes on the way, the building of an altar (v 7), and the death of Deborah, Rebekah's nurse (v 8). There follows the departure from Bethel (v 16), the episode on the way, Rebekah's death as she gives birth to Benjamin (vv 16b–20), the stop beyond Migdal-Eder (v 21), and the arrival at Mamre. In 36:1–8, an itinerary is joined to a genealogy: Esau took (v 6a) … and went, (v 6c) … and dwelt in the hill country of Seir (v 8). There is a concluding note, "Esau is Seir," (v 8b). Finally, Anah "found hot springs," (v 24b), quite likely on a journey.

**6. *Hieros Logos* (Cult Legend).** This is a formula, or the sacred words of a story, which is attached to a place and sets out to explain the origin of the sacredness of the place together with the customs which are observed at it. Jacob's experience at Bethel (28:10–20) is usually considered to be a cult legend (but see the preceding article, 28:10–20), as is the purchase of land at Shechem (33:18–20), which concludes with "there he erected an altar and called it El-Elohe-Israel," God, the God of Israel. The same is said of 35:1–7, where Jacob's family puts away all foreign emblems and he erects an altar at the place which he names El-bethel. In 35:9–15, Jacob sets up and anoints a pillar at Bethel. Three of these episodes, all of them "on the way," concern Bethel which became an important shrine in Israel.

**7. Lists.** A list is a serial document. There is the list of the names of the sons of Jacob (35:22b–26), of Esau's wives (with genealogy; 36:1–6), of the names of the chiefs of the sons of Esau (36:15–19, 40–43), of the Edomite kings (Wilson 1977: 167–98). Gen 36:9–14, 20–36 are lists/genealogies, as is 46:8–27, the enumeration of the descendants of Israel who went down into Egypt. There is a list of peoples whom it was important to know about (15:19–21), and a list of 16 places or personal names in the genealogy of 25:1–6.

**8. Reports.** This is a genre that communicates events for the sake of the record and without developing a narrative: (1) birth reports (4:25–26, Seth and Enosh; 21:1–7, Isaac; 26:19–26, Jacob and Esau); (2) death reports (23:1–2,19, Sarah; 25:7–11, Abraham; 25:17–18, Ishmael; 35:16–20, Rebekah; 35:27–29, Isaac; 47:28–31; 49:1,29–33, Jacob; 50:22–26, Joseph); (3) various: a marriage report (19:30–38; 36:1–5); a report of Esau's move (36:6–8); an adoption report (48:1–12); and a blessing report (48:15–16, 19,20a).

The Priestly creation account has been described, with reservations, as a report (Coats *Genesis* FOTL, 47), as a narrative, at least as a point of departure (again with reservations; Westermann 1984: 80), and as a document that sets out priestly doctrine (von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 63). The account, however, is unique in form and does not fit into any generic literary category. It is a solemn and stylized statement of the priestly teaching that creation proceeds immediately from the word of God which is itself event. The best parallels to the creation account of chap. 1 are Psalm 104 (a hymn of descriptive praise) and Psalm 136 (the great Hallel, a litany of praise to God for his action of creation and redemption). The flood story

(6:13–8:19) is a composite narrative set within disparate theological reflections (6:5–8; 6:11–12 and 8:20–22; 9:1–17), rather than a report.

**D. Fixed Formulas and Genesis**

Gunkel (1906: 109; Rollmann 1981: 184), after careful study of the biblical texts, arrived at a description of a literary type *(Gattung):* it must exhibit, (1) a common store of ideas and attitudes, (2) a clear and constant form of speech, and (3) a setting in life from which alone the content and form can be understood. This description applies better to the shorter sayings, formulas, and episodes rather than to the longer episodes or stories. The following are the main fixed, short formulas that occur in Genesis.

*Accusation: mah zo›t ‹āśît,* "what is this you have done," or a very similar formula, or a formula with *lāmmâ,* "why": 3:13; 4:10; 12:18–19; 20:9; 26:10; 29:25; 31:26, 30; 43:6; 44:15. It formulates a direct accusation of a misdemeanor.

*Blessing:* The verb *bārak,* "bless," is used as an imperative or a jussive: 1:28; 9:1–2, 27–28; 12:2–3; 22:18; 26:1–3; 27:27–29; 28:3–4, 14; 32:28–29 (—Eng 27–28); 46:1–5a; 48:13–20.

*Call to attention:* The word *hinneh,* "behold, here I am," or the like, 22:1, 7, 11; the particle draws attention.

*Covenant formula:* "I shall be your God, and you shall be my people." The formula, typical of Jeremiah, is expanded and varied in 9:8–17; 17:10.

*Curse: ›ārûr,* cursed, specifying person and content: 3:14–19; 4:11–12; 9:25; 27:29b.

*Dirge:* a lament over a misfortune: 37:35; 42:36; 43:14.

*Farewell speech:* An old man is to die; he expresses resignation, exacts a promise or oath, or gives a commission: 24:2–4; 46:30; 47:29–31; 48:11, 21–22; 49:29–32.

*Narrative link:* the phrases *›aḥar haddĕbārîm hā›ēlleh,* "After these things …," or *wayĕhi ›aher …* "Now it happened after …"; a formula connecting otherwise noncontinuous pieces: 15:1; 22:1, 20; 39:7; 40:1.

*Self-revelation (or self-identification):* God or a person identifies himself; *›ānōkî, ›ănî,* "I" plus a noun: 15:1, 7; 17:1; 24:34; 26:24; 27:19; 28:13; 31:13; 35:11–12; 45:3, 4; 46:3.

*Tôlĕdôt:* Scholars are not in agreement about the translation of *tôlĕdôt* (Wilson 1977: 158, n. 57; Tengström 1982). Suggestions are: generations, successions, descendants, family history, genealogy. In Genesis the formula occurs in "These *(›ēlleh)* are the *tôlĕdôt* of" or "This *(zeh)* is the book *(sēper)* of the *tôlĕdôt* of" (once, 5:1): 2:4a (heavens and earth); 5:1 (Adam); 6:9 (Noah); 10:1 (sons of Noah); 11:10 (Shem); 11:27 (Terah); 25:12 (Ishmael); 36:1 (Esau-Edom); 36:9 (Esau); 37:2 (Jacob).

*Transition formula:* "Now it happened at that time," *wayĕhî bā›ēt hahiw›,* 21:22; 38:1, "Now it happened at the end of (after)," *wayĕhî miqqēṣ,* 4:3; 8:6; 41:1.

*Word of YHWH:* "The word of YHWH came to Abram," *hāyāh dĕbār YHWH ›el* (15:1); this is a common expression for prophetic revelation, but occurs only here in Genesis. It is frequent in narrative texts in Samuel-Kings: 1 Sam 15:10; 2 Sam 7:4; 1 Kgs 12:22; 16:1; 17:2, 8, etc.

The pioneering work in the study of literary forms in the OT, and in the book of Genesis in particular, was done by Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932). He not only made use of the results of Near Eastern archaeology, but also applied the methods of comparative literature to the study of the OT. Gunkel based his study of literary types on the assumption that the rhetorical forms and literary types in OT times were more fixed than they are in modern times and, as it were, imposed themselves on the writer. If a poet or writer or cultic official wished to speak on a certain theme or in a particular situation, then he did so in a certain way. Forms and formulas became highly stylized. Now there is much truth in this insight which was a major contribution to the study of the Bible. But literary forms and form criticism are tools for the understanding of the Bible and not tyrannical masters. Naturally there were exaggerations in the use of this newfound tool.

One must be aware of the literary type of a whole book as well as of its component parts, large and small (see the preceding article). One must be aware also that fixed formulas are often used in different circumstances. For example, it has been well argued that the formula "fear not" *(›al tīrâ)* is a key component in the language of war, in particular the Holy War (Conrad 1985). But it is an exaggeration to

say that every time the phrase is used it is in the context of war or evokes associations with war. In Gen 15:1, the Lord addresses Abraham, "Fear not, Abraham, I am your shield." To say that Abraham is addressed as a warrior because he has taken part in a battle in the previous chapter (14:14–16), and the root of the word "shield" *(māgēn)* is used as a verb in 14:20b *(miggēn),* is to strain the exegesis of the text. A birth formula, "Behold, you are with child and shall bear a son; you shall call his name Ishmael," occurs in 16:11 and in other places in the OT (Gen 17:11; Judg 13:3–5; Isa 7:14; 1 Kgs 13:2; 1 Chr 22:9) as well as in the NT (Luke 1:31), but always with slight variations. The form has not imposed itself as if it were a straitjacket.

There is no such thing as a "pure" literary form, that is, a form that appears always word for word without variation. But there is a definite pattern according to which certain forms of speech are pronounced, e.g. the oracle of salvation (Westermann 1987).

A literary form is not something that one can choose or not choose to adopt. One writes or speaks in some form and there is no form which is not stylization. The whole person is expressed through the form. It is not partly person, partly form. The style is the person. We must not equate the style merely with kinds of embellishments, with terseness, prolixity, continued metaphor, insistent parallelism. It is not possible to separate completely form from content. Any attempts to give precedence to the message must be very delicate when the work is of any degree of sophistication. A literary form is not like the skin of an orange which one peels off to get at what really matters. In brief, then, it is neither the form nor the content that prevails. The meaning of the text emerges from a fine blending of both. And the person who speaks or writes, and the situation out of which the speech or writing comes, will regularly modify the form.

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JOHN J. SCULLION

**GENEVA BIBLE.** The Geneva Bible is the translation made by the Marian exiles in Geneva and issued in 1560 by Rouland Hall at the expense of the English Church in Geneva. The preface describes the work as requiring "two yeres and more day and night." William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, and Thomas Samson, influenced by the issuing of Pagninus' Latin Bible as well as by Oliveton's French, and the Italian version, corrected Tyndale's text by Beza's Latin NT. The OT is based on the Great Bible corrected from Hebrew and Greek compared with the Latin text of Leo Juda. The NT revised Whittingham's Testament of 1557.

The Geneva Bible (Herbert 1968: No. 107; all number references hereafter refer to Herbert 1968) printed in Roman letter borrowed the innovation of printing the verses within the chapters as separate paragraphs from Whittingham's NT. Words not in Greek, but necessary for English, were in italics. There were long prologues, chapter summaries, and copious marginal notes. There were woodcuts like those used in a French Bible published in Geneva the same year. The size was small quarto (28 × 20 cm).

Geneva Bibles printed after 1587 have a NT revised by Laurence Thomson who was secretary to Sir Francis Walsingham, and those after 1599 have the notes on the Apocalypse done by Junius, making three types of Geneva Bibles in all.

John Bodley received a patent for the exclusive right of printing the revision in England for seven years; Archbishop Parker in 1565 requested that a twelve year extension of Bodley's patent be granted. However, no Geneva Bibles were printed in England until after the death of Parker in 1575. The Barker family retained the printing rights for 130 years, when it passed to the Baskets for sixty years, and they sold it to John Eyre of Landford Wilts. The Geneva was the first Bible in English, printed in Scotland in 1579.

Though never authorized and never needing it, the Geneva Bible proved to be extremely popular. Between 1550 and 1644 there were an estimated one hundred and forty editions of the Bible and the NT. After 1611 when it could no longer be printed in England, editions printed in Amsterdam and Dort gave the date 1599 and the name of Christopher Barker as printer. It is estimated by Butterworth (1941: 231) that nineteen percent of the wording of the King James is due to the Geneva. It influenced the translators of the King James version in their revision more than any other English version.

Though the rendering had earlier appeared in Wycliffe, in Caxton's *Golden Legend,* and in Coverdale, the Geneva is known as the "Breeches Bible" from its translation of the clothing of Adam and Eve in Gen 3:7. While it has commonly been said that the Geneva was the Bible of the home in the Elizabethan period and the Bishops' was the Bible of the Church, there were many exceptions. There were quarto printings of the Bishops' Bibles and folio printings of the Geneva. Churchwarden's accounts of the period record the purchase of Geneva Bibles for some parishes. Even after the making of the Bishops' Bible, Andrews, Dillingham, and Overall continued using the Geneva in their sermons. The Geneva was used by William Shakespeare in his later plays and by John Bunyan. While it is known that the Puritans favored the Geneva, that it alone was allowed on the Mayflower seems disproved by John Alden's King James Version (on display at Pilgrim Hall in Plymouth, Massachusetts).

The notes of the Geneva are Calvinistic and anti-Catholic and are equal to a running commentary. In Junius' notes the images of the Apocalypse are applied to the church of Rome. Though popular with the people, the notes were described by Archbishop Parker as "prejudicall notis which might have ben also well spared." The Geneva was decried by King James at the Hampton Court Conference as the worst of all the translations, and its notes described as "partiall, untrue, seditious, and favouring too much of daungerous, and trayterous conceites." Nevertheless, there were printings of the King James Bible with Geneva notes in 1642 (No. 564), 1649 (No. 620), 1679 (Nos. 742, 743), 1863 (No. 782), 1708 (No. 987), and 1715 (No. 936).

Selections from the Geneva were used in the *Soldier's Pocket Bible* of 1643 (No. 677). The Geneva was reprinted in facsimile by Bagster in 1842 (No. 1846), and the text in the *English Hexapla* of 1841 (No. 1840) and by Luther A. Weigle in his *The New Testament Octapla* in 1962. The text of Psalms was printed in the *Hexaplar Psalter* of 1911 (No. 2173) and the text of Genesis included in Weigle's *Genesis Octapla* of 1965. The Geneva Bible was again reissued in a facsimile reprint in 1969 by the University of Wisconsin Press. The making and influence of the Geneva Bible is the subject of a multivolume (in 1988 twenty volumes) study by Lewis Lupton.

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**GENITALIA.** The Bible often employs euphemism when referring to the male and female sex organs. See BIBLE, EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE.

**GENIZAH, CAIRO.** See DAMASCUS RULE.

**GENNAEUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Gennaios* (Γενναιος)]. Father of Apollonius, one of the five military governors of a district of Syria in the time of Antiochus V, 164–162 B.C.E. (2 Macc 12:2). The father of Apollonius is mentioned to distinguish him from another Apollonius, son of Menestheus, mentioned earlier (2 Macc 4:21). The five local governors would not let the Jews live quietly and in peace to go about their farming (2 Macc 12:1–2). It is not clear from the text whether the governors had orders or permission for the central government to oppress the Jews. This passage has no parallel in 1 Maccabees, but it may have been derived from a common source (Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 432). The Jews did fight with neighboring peoples (1 Maccabees 5), but this reference seems to say that they fought with local Macedonian officials.

BETTY JANE LILLIE

**GENNESARET** (PLACE) [Gk *Gennesaret* (Γεννεσαρετ)]. **1.** A plain thirty stadia long and 20 stadia wide (3.5 × 1.5 miles) on the NW side of the Sea of Galilee between ancient Tiberias and Capernaum (*Ant* 3.521). As part of the rift valley, the plain is located 200 m (660 ft.) below sea level. Apparently, one of three branches of the Via Maris passed through the plain linking Megiddo and the coast with Hazor,

Syria, and Mesopotamia (Negev 1972: 327); local roads connected it to important cities such as Sepphoris. The area is associated with Chinnereth of Jewish tradition (Deut 3:17; Josh 11:2; 12:3; 19:35).

Much of the early activity of Jesus and the Jesus movement apparently took place in or near this area. According to gospel tradition, Jesus and his disciples were blown off their journey to Bethsaida and landed instead in the region of Gennesaret (Matt 14:34=Mark 6:53). A variant from D reads Gk *Genesar*. The basaltic red soil carried by three brooks, Nahal Ammud, Nahal Zalmon, and Nahal Arbel, made the plain fertile and allowed the growth of a variety of species including walnut, palm-trees, figs, and olives (*Ant* 3.515–18). According to Theophrastus, papyrus was planted and harvested by Egyptians near the lake (*HP* 4.8.4). Strabo mentions that balsam plants, a major export item, grew around the Lake, no doubt in this area (16.2.16). Hengel argues that the Romans may have extended balsam production to Galilee in order to increase profits (Hengel 1974: 45). The region was heavily populated during the Greco-Roman period and included the major urban centers of Tiberias and Tarichaeae/Magdala as well as the large village of Capernaum on its northern boundary.

**2.** City overlooking the fertile plain whose name became associated with the plain and the Sea of Galilee; see CHINNERETH.

**3.** An alternate name for the Sea of Galilee (Luke 5:1; 1 Macc 11:67).

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**GENRE.** See FORM CRITICISM.

**GENTILES, COURT OF THE.** A portion of Herod's temple square open to Jews and gentiles. An enclosure or barrier (Gk *druphaktos;* Heb *soreg*) surrounded the inner sanctuary beyond which gentiles were forbidden to go. Tablets written in Greek and Latin were apparently placed at thirteen entrances on the low parapet that marked the boundary to the area specifically reserved for Jews; the tablets warned non-Jews not to enter (Joseph. *JW* 5.5.3; 6.2.4; *Ant* 17.11.5; cf. *m. Mid.* 2.1–3). Two tablets with a Greek inscription have been found, a complete one in 1871 (Clermont-Ganneau) and a fragment in 1935 (Iliffe). The complete one reads "No foreigner is to enter within the forecourt and the balustrade around the sanctuary. Whoever is caught will have himself to blame for his subsequent death" (Schürer *HJP²* 2:222, n. 85; cf. 285, n. 57). In Acts, Paul was accused of taking a gentile, Trophimus the Ephesian, into the temple, presumably meaning that they passed from the court of gentiles through the enclosure (Acts 21:28–29). Around the court's perimeter were porticoes; it was probably in one of these porticoes that, according to gospel tradition, Jesus overturned the money changers' tables (Matt 21:12; Mark 11:14; Luke 19:45; John 2:15). Josephus reports that Samaritans (ca. 6–9 C.E.) secretly scattered human bones in some of the porticoes and temple area, no doubt referring to this large area (*Ant* 18.30). The total area of the temple court could comfortably hold 75,000 people (Meyers and Strange 1981: 52).

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**GENUBATH** (PERSON) [Heb *gĕnubat* (גְּנֻבַת)]. Son of Hadad, an Edomite of the royal house who found favor in Egypt where he took refuge when David conquered Edom (1 Kgs 11:20). Genubath's mother is the sister of the queen, Tahpenes. That Genubath is weaned by the queen and raised with the sons of Pharaoh indicates the high esteem in which his father was held in Egypt. The name Genubath may be of N Arabic origin *(gnb)* or stem from an Egyptian name *(qnbt).*

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PAULINE A. VIVIANO

**GEOGRAPHY AND THE BIBLE.** This entry consists of two very different types of articles. The first article surveys not only the physical geology and geomorphology of Palestine, but also the human geography, including land use and settlement patterns characteristic of the land. The second article examines how, in antiquity, biblical and early Jewish writers themselves configured the world and Israel's geographical relationship to it.

## *GEOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE*

Geography is a spatial science which seeks to explain location and distributions on the earth's surface. Palestine expresses this geographical tradition rather well. For example, the region is located 31 degrees N of the equator. At such latitudes desert and Mediterranean climates converge. Palestine is also approximately midway between the Nile and Tigris/Euphrates River basins indicating a sense of centrality and geopolitical consequences between great civilizations of the past which emerged to the W and the E. These basic patterns, to a high degree, have directed human occupance and cultural activity of the diverse landscape.

The discipline of geography is also viewed as a bridge between social and physical sciences. The task of geographers is to interpret the meeting and the interrelationships between natural history and cultural history (Sauer 1972: 1–2). That is, they seek out interrelationships between land, humans, and time. The landscape is often dictated by geological forces and the structure of the earth's rocks in the subsurface. The physical forces such as weather and climate over eons of time break down the exposed rock to create soil and prepare the way for erosion by water. Such geological and climatically controlled processes and events began millions of years ago.

Superimposed on the geologic and climatic mosaic of Palestine is the much more recent imprint of people. Palestine is a long settled region and its peoples are heirs to old and culturally diverse civilizations. With each new skill humans seized opportunities and resources to improve their well-being. Human groups benefited from the natural resources such as springs for water, topography with defensive advantage, and lowland soils which could be cultivated with ease. Geography may be viewed as human ecology since interactions between human and physical processes do occur. Humans are not set apart from the natural landscape but are participants or even motivators in its changes. Since the recession of the glaciers which began some 20,000 years ago the most significant modifier of the landscape has been people—not physical processes. Within the short span of occupance the geography of Palestine has been transformed from a physical entity to a culturally modified environment.

In the brief survey of the geography of Palestine which follows, the physical elements including its geology, geomorphology, climate, soils, and water resources are discussed. This overview is followed by the human geography through biblical times. Included are subsections on land use, settlement patterns, rural and urban settings, and road networks.

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A. A Geographic Perspective of Palestine
B. Physical Character
    1. Geology
    2. Geologic Structures and Plate Tectonics
    3. Geomorphology
        a. The Coastal Plain
        b. The Hill Country
        c. The Dead Sea Rift
        d. Transjordan
        e. The Negeb
        f. The Sinai Peninsula
    4. Climatic Setting of Palestine
        a. Weather and Climate

b. Controls of Weather and Climate
c. Water Requirements
d. Climatic Variability and Settlement
5. Soil Types and Salinity
6. Water Resources and Water Systems

C. Human Geography
1. Characteristics of Land Use in Palestine
2. Settlement Patterns
3. Settlements and Topographic Settings
4. Landscape Modification
5. Agriculture
6. Towns
7. Road Network

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**A. A Geographic Perspective of Palestine**

Since ancient times Jerusalem was portrayed as the *omphalos,* that is, the earth's navel, from which order was established and diffused to "those who dwell at the earth's farthest bounds" (Ps 65:8). The preeminence of Palestine and particularly Jerusalem was cartographically expressed on O and T maps. The Cottonian map, a 10th-century Anglo-Saxon predecessor to the traditional O and T maps which followed, depicts Europe to the left, Africa to the right and the Middle East and Asia at the top (i.e., east) (Elster 1970). The "O" of the map was represented by a universal ocean which circles the land masses. The "T" represented the Red Sea to the right and the Black Sea to the left. These two seas joined the Mediterranean Sea at approximate right angles which in turn, vertically bisected the map. The intent was, of course, to geographically highlight the importance of the Holy Land. When the map was oriented, E was naturally to the "top" of the map where it, figuratively speaking, belonged.

Although T and O maps are geographically expressions of the past they do illustrate the theological significance of the Holy Land. Other maps also reveal salient geographical characteristics about Palestine. The region is situated midway between the Nile and the Tigris and Euphrates River basins which were centers of exceptional civilizations. The routes which led from Asia to Africa and Europe funneled through the narrow sliver of arable land called the Fertile Crescent which terminated in Palestine.

In terms of geology, natural vegetation, and climate, Palestine is a meeting place. It is here that several crustal plates of the earth are pushing, pulling, and sliding past one another. The end product of these global subsurface forces are contorted land forms and inland seas created in the region which are manifested in the earthquakes and recent volcanic activity recorded in the exposed rocks.

Palestine is a botanical boundary where three major natural vegetation zones meet: Mediterranean, Saharo-Sindian and Irano-Turanian. Trees and xerophytic shrubs of the Mediterranean zone contrast sharply with the sparse plant cover of the arid Saharo-Sindian zone. The Irano-Turanian zone is an intermediate grass steppe land forming a transition between the other two zones. A combination of climatic conditions for plant growth as well as modification or deforestation of the vegetation due to long human occupance has left little of the original cover.

The land is also a place where arid and wet climates meet. Parod in Galilee annually receives 1,000 mm of precipitation whereas the Negeb 450 km to the south receives almost none. The boundary between the desert and the wetter zone is elusive and flexible which is illustrated by the repeated shifts of human settlements over time.

The region was a meeting place of tillers and urban dwells. Semblance of urban status appeared with Jericho in the 6th millennium B.C. The site covered an area of 32 hectares and was protected by a stone wall.

Curiously, the coastal plain and its shoreline were less significant to the people of Palestine than to others in the Mediterranean Basin such as the Phoenicians, Greeks, and Romans. The occupants were oriented toward the land not the sea. The land was a meeting place for farmers and nomads. The farmers

preferred stability and lived in secure villages whereas the nomads tended to the needs of their flocks. In both cases water was key to their economic pursuits. During periods of ample water supply both prospered.

**B. Physical Character**

**1. Geology.** Although the geology of Palestine and the Sinai, in terms of rock types, structures and history is complex, it is significant in terms of land forms, water resources, and human occupation of the landscape. The rocks which make up the region may be broadly divided into three sequential types. See Figs. GEO.01 and GEO.02. The oldest rocks are of Precambrian age which chronologically are followed by a prolonged record of sedimentary deposits. The youngest earth materials are the most recent deposits occupying the lowlands.

The most ancient rocks are some two to three billion years in age (Precambrian) and with the exception of the Sinai are of limited exposure. The rocks were derived from magmas which cooled in the subsurface to form calc-alkaine and alkaine magmatic rocks. These igneous rocks went through repeated folding to form high mountains in the S part of the region. The Sinai Peninsula, Arabia, E Egypt and the Sudan form the geologic core of the Middle East which is referred to as the Arabo-Nubian Massif. Over the millions of years the region was fractured and split by earthquakes. The ruptured zones were filled with younger crystalline rock and volcanic deposits which locally metamorphosed the existing rock. Today, the only aerially significant Precambrian exposures N of the Sinai occur NE of the Gulf of Elat.

The Precambrian Era was followed by Paleozoic, Meszoic and, most recently, the Cenozoic Eras which covered a span of 0.5 billion years. This period of geologic time was generally characterized by deposits of sedimentary rocks. The land mass rose and subsided many times causing repeated inundations and subsequent exposures by the ocean which geologists refer to as the Tethys. During a period of drowning by the Tethys Sea, marine deposits, primarily carbonates, were laid down as muds which gradually hardened into sedimentary strata. Limestone, chalk, marl, dolomite, and flint were the common depositional products. The limestones frequently were composed of marine fossils such as foraminifera and coral. When the land was exposed during the regression of the sea, terrestrial deposits such as sandstone and gravels were deposited and lithified. The widespread Nubian sandstones in Palestine and the Sinai are evidence of the terrestrial regime in the region.

On the basis of the geology, eight transgressions of the sea took place: five during the Paleozoic Era and three during the Mesozoic Era. The geographical distribution of the marine and terrestrial rocks reveal that the Transjordan to the E experienced greater periods of subaerial deposition. In contrast the Cisjordan to the W and N is predominantly characterized by marine deposits, suggesting that this region was submerged for a longer period of time and regression of the sea was a sporadic intermittent event.

The present era of geologic time (Quaternary Era) has witnessed terrestrial deposition in basins along the Mediterranean Sea and the trough from the Sea of Galilee (Lake Kinneret) southward beyond the Dead Sea to the Gulf of Aqaba. During the Early Quaternary, more familiar features such as sand dunes along the shoreline, loess of the N Negeb and red sands of the coastal plain were deposited by winds. Also the Terra Rossa of the hills of Judea (e.g., Hebron Hills, Bethel Hills) and the marls in the Jordan Valley were deposited during this time.

Although the glaciers of the “Ice Age” did not directly effect Palestine, the accompanying Pleistocene climatic change did. With its onset, cooler climatic conditions occurred between 600,000 and 30,000 years ago and are referred to as pluvials. The lower evaporation rates coupled with a probable increase in precipitation created lakes and wetlands in valleys and more intensive weathering of the exposed rocks. Streams with higher discharges carved canyons and deposited coarse debris in valley bottoms. Additional deposits included the Lissan marls of the Jordan Valley and a volcanic episode which poured lavas onto the Golan, E Galilee and Basan in Transjordan.

**2. Geologic Structures and Plate Tectonics.** During the long periods of geologic time, marine and terrestrial deposition dominated the scene. However, skeletal clues suggest mountain building occurred during Precambrian time. More recently, however, the more salient geologic structures were formed. During the middle Cenozoic Era (Lower Miocene Epoch), the region from Spain to the Middle East and

beyond experienced a principal mountain building event which is continuing. Referred to as the Alpine-Himalayan revolution, simple folds were created in the sedimentary rocks of Palestine. Earthquakes accompanied the displacement of the land which were manifested as faults outlining the linear depression of the Jordan Valley. Over time, the rift deepened and tributary valleys formed. The rift valley which is one of the most outstanding geologic features on the surface of the earth is clearly visible as a linear trough occupied by the Sea of Galilee, the Jordan River, and the Dead Sea, and continuing southward to Elat, a total distance of some 360 km.

In overview, the structural changes occurring in Palestine are related to the concept of plate tectonics. The earth's crust is composed of several plates, like broken slabs of ice on a lake. Along their margins, the crustal plates are converging, diverging, or sliding laterally past each other. Since motion is occurring along the edges of the plates, earthquakes due to faulting, vulcanism and related geological displacements such as mountain building commonly take place along relatively narrow zones. A boundary separating the Arabo-Nubian Plate from the African Plate is located in the Red Sea where separation of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula is occurring. The plate boundary extends into the Gulf of Elat and farther N, creating the Dead Sea Rift. The plate boundary has the appropriate geological characteristics: volcanic activity, earthquakes and displacement of the earth's crust.

Seismological stations have been in place in the Middle East only since the 1930s. Therefore the seismic activity is historically not well documented. In spite of this, noninstrumental and instrumental observations indicate that between 1900 and 1980 over 50 earthquakes occurred adjacent to the Dead Sea Rift (Aryeh 1985). The seismic activity along the fault system is the result of the relative movement of the African and Arabo-Nubian plates which on the average have been one-half to one cm per year. Bowen and Jux (1987: 159) believe the total displacement was 105 km since the end of Mesozoic time.

Recent investigations (Neev et al. 1987) based in part on Landsat satellite pictures suggest that vertical displacements are actively occurring along the E Mediterranean shoreline. Faulting has uplifted the land whereas the Mediterranean basin off the coast of Palestine has been submerged as blocks of the ocean crust subsided. "The sea looked and fled, Jordan turned back. The mountains skipped like rams, the hills like lambs" (Ps 114:3–4), poetically describes the geological instability of the region.

**3. Geomorphology.** The present-day topographic expression of Palestine began to evolve with the withdrawal of the Mesozoic seas and the Cenozoic uplifts and faulting. Orni and Efrat (1971) recognized six geomorphological provinces. See Fig. GEO.03. These are: the coastal plain; the hill country; the Dead Sea Rift and its branches; the Transjordan; the Negeb; and the Sinai Peninsula to the S and SW.

**a. The Coastal Plain.** The coastal plain of the Palestine is a rather straight depositional surface extending along the Mediterranean shore. Topographically, the region is characterized by beaches and sand dunes occasionally interspersed with wetlands. There appears to be two source areas for the sediment. Currents moving northward supply quartzic sand-size particles to the shoreline from the Nile River. It has been suggested (Orni and Efrat 1971) that during the Pleistocene pluvials, which corresponded to periods of lower sea levels, the Nile River transported coarse sands from the Abyssinian highlands to the sea, which were then moved by coastal currents to the Palestinian coast. An alternative or supplemental source of sand is Wadi el-Arish which drains most of the Sinai and debouches into the Mediterranean 80 km W of Gaza. The siliceous sands are clearly derived from non-carbonate sources and are thus not local sediments. The deposits N of Haifa, however, are essentially composed of calcium carbonate and are derived locally from the weathered rocks of the interior of Palestine.

Much of the shoreline has precipitous rock cliffs 10 to 40 m high suggesting that the coast is erosional in nature. Sandstone outcrops locally called "kurkar ridges" parallel the shoreline. Kurkar are thought to be sand dunes deposited during the Pleistocene and cemented by calcareous solutions. However, recent investigations (Neev et al. 1987: 4–5) suggest that fault activity and earthquakes may account for the position and trends of the kurkar ridges.

**b. The Hill Country.** The hill country occupies most of the country between the coastal plain to the W and Jordan to the E. The hills were formed during the relatively recent Alpine-Himalayan mountain building period and are landforms of the Cenozoic age. With the exception of lower Galilee where

volcanic basalts cover the surface, the rocks are sedimentary carbonates and include limestones, chalk, marl, and dolomite.

Morphologically, the hills in the S (Judea) tread in a general north-south direction. Breaching and erosion has exposed the interior of some of these features, thus forming anticlinal valleys with interior drainage. Northward in Samaria over a distance of 50 km, three northeast–southwest ridges paralleled one another to form Mount Carmel in the NW, the Irron Hills in the center and the Tevez Hills in the SE. Structurally, the ridges are anticlines separated by two downward synclinal valleys. The subregion to the N is abruptly terminated by faults set at approximate right angles to the Jordan Valley, making the lineation of the ridges less clear.

The geomorphic picture in the hills of Galilee is less clear because folding was complicated by faulting. It has been suggested (Orni and Efrat 1971: 74) that an anticlinal ridge striking N/S is paralleled by secondary folds on its flanks similar to the hill country to the S. However, faulting across the strike of the folds created tilted blocks. An additional element adding to the complexity of the topography was the more recent volcanic activity which has produced basalt plateaus. In summary, the topography consists of isolated narrow ridges, elevated plateaus, and dissected valleys and basins.

**c. The Dead Sea Rift.** The most striking topographical feature in Palestine is the elongated valley created by rifting between the Cisjordan and Transjordan. The rift is the N sector of a plate boundary which extends southward into the Red Sea. A branch of the rift extends into E Africa which is occupied by well known lakes such as Lake Tanganyika and Lake Rudolf of the African Rift Valley. In Palestine the width of the rift varies from 5 to 25 km. Three lakes occupy the rift. From N to S these are Lake Hula (el. +70 m), Sea of Galilee (el. –209 m) and the Dead Sea (el. –395 m). Both Lake Hula and the Sea of Galilee were created by lava dams which impounded the drainage to the S. Prior to the 1950s Lake Hula, which was a basin colonized with papyrus and other marsh plants, was converted to fertile farmland (Fisher 1978: 414). The difference in elevation between the rift floor and adjacent upland is explained in part by vertical faulting which intensified during Late Cenozoic time. However great thicknesses of sediment have also contributed to the subsidence of the rift. On the basis of geophysical evidence, (Orni and Efrat 1971) 7000 m of alluvium overlie the bedrock in the Dead Sea area. The river readjusted its gradient as the water level of the Dead Sea oscillated. During higher lake levels the Jordan River meandered within its valley depositing alluvium (Kallner and Rosenau 1939). As the level of the Dead Sea fell, the river incised the valley bottom, creating a lower floodplain and abandoning the formerly deposited older and higher surfaces which now stand as river terraces.

**d. Transjordan.** Transjordan includes the region east of the Dead Sea Rift. Geologically, in most areas, the Transjordan is the continuation of the hill country W of the rift. Its W boundary is sharply delineated by escarpments which face W, whereas the E slope has a gradual transitional zone to the Syrian Desert. With the exception of Cenozoic volcanics in the Golan region, most of the Transjordan is composed of uplifted carbonate rocks of Mesozoic age. The uplift was greater to the W adjacent to the rift. Thus the plateau surface dips gently eastward. The uplift of the plateau was gentle enough to allow the rivers in the Transjordan to cut downward and maintain their westward flowing courses. High, stream-eroded cuestas set perpendicular to the rift are well displayed E of the Dead Sea Rift. The most striking cuesta, Ras en-Naqb, has a local relief of 300 to 400 m. In front of the cuestas, prominent sedimentary hills mainly composed of Nubian sandstones have remained exposed. Where river dissection has been extreme, large alluvial fans have been deposited at the base of these escarpments.

**e. The Negeb.** The Negeb occupies an area of about 12,000 $km^2$ (4,600 $mi^2$). On the map, this geomorphic region has a shape of a near-isosoles triangle with its apex at the port city of Elat. Its remote location from the Mediterranean presents an area of extreme aridity. Geomorphologically the Negeb has a great diversity of land forms particularly from E to W. The E sector of the Negeb is well defined by the Arabah Valley which is the S most extension of the Dead Sea Rift. The rift valley averages 60 km in width. In spite of the aridity, flash flooding is rare but geomorphically significant in the Arabah Valley. Extensive alluvial fans derived from flood events have been deposited along the floor of the rift valley.

North and east of Elat the Arabo-Nubian Massif with its ancient crystalline rocks forms a rugged landscape. The Precambrian crystalline and metamorphic rocks break down rapidly, creating vertical fractures often resulting in high angle slopes. Flanking the Massif is the Paran Plateau. This surface attains elevations of 600 m and gently dips to the NW where it intersects the Arabah Valley at an elevation of 100 m. Most of the plateau is flat indicating that the carbonate bedrock has not been severely deformed over time. Wadi Paran exhibits a dendritic drainage pattern and has a channel width of up to three km, indicating that high river discharge conditions occasionally occur.

Midway between Elat and the Mediterranean, in the central Negeb, is a region of hills (Negeb Hills) commonly exceeding elevations of 1,000 m. Compressional forces on the strata during the Cenozoic Era created ridges and valleys generally conforming to anticlines and synclines. Comparatively little secondary deformation occurred to distort these primary structures. The anticlinal structures are in some localities breached, forming valleys within the anticlines. Makhtesh Qatan and Makhtesh Ramon are outstanding examples of these structural landforms.

Between the Negeb hills and the Mediterranean lies a plain centered on Beer-sheba. Compared to the E Negeb, this plain is a low subdued surface ranging in elevation from 50 m in the W to 500 m in the E. During early Cenozoic time the sea penetrated the region forming a shallow estuary in which chalk (calcium carbonate) precipitated. With the sea's regression the exposed area was blanketed with loess soil deposited by the wind. Sand dunes extending northward from the Sinai contribute to the landscape diversity of this area.

**f. The Sinai Peninsula.** On a map, the Sinai Peninsula has two outstanding attributes. It is some three times (60,000 $km^2$) the size of Israel prior to the Six Day War, and it has a long coastline encompassing much of its triangular shape. Sinai may be subdivided into four geomorphic subareas: the high mountains in the S; the a-Tih Plateau; the Northern Plain; and the coastal plain. Considering the size and the variability of rock types, the drainage network of the peninsula forms a rather simple pattern. Contrary to drainage patterns commonly observed in arid regions, very little of the peninsula drains inward. About two-thirds of the Sinai is drained northward by Wadi el-Arish which has a length of 250 km. This clearly suggests that higher topography occurs in the S. In the S area short wadis with steep gradients radiate from the uplands and debouch into the Gulf of Suez and Elat.

The mountain block of the S is composed of granites, porphyries as well as metamorphic rocks, and is part of the Arabo-Nubian Massif. The highest elevations of any geographic region discussed are located here. Gebil Umm Shaumer and Gebil Eth Shari are 2586 and 2438 m above mean sea level, respectively. This Precambrian surface is crossed by numerous lineaments. N of the ancient crystalline complex the Nubian sandstones are exposed forming a crescent-shaped band of rock which lies uncomfortably above the Precambrian basement.

The a-Tih Plateau is composed of resistant limestones and carbonates and represents about 60 percent of the peninsula's land area. Since the carbonate rocks do not weather as rapidly as the softer Nubian sandstones they have been preserved as well defined topographical ridges. Several elevations exceed 1,000 m (e.g., Ras al-Ganeina, 1,626 m). To the N elevations are usually less than 400 m. The carbonates, although resistant, have been deeply dissected by N flowing drainage.

The a-Tih Plateau merges with the Northern Plain which is, in general, relatively flat. However, isolated, elongated ridges oriented NE-SW appear as a continuation of fold structures noted in the Negeb. The ridges occur as two sets parallel to one another, and attain elevations of several hundred meters. Jebel Yiallaq, which is the highest ridge, has an elevation of 1,094 m. The floor of the Northern Plain is occupied by sand dunes which are crescent-shaped and are composed of quartz sand. Over large areas they are oriented in parallel chains.

The coastal plain along the Mediterranean Sea is 230 km in length. An outstanding feature of the shoreline is a barrier spit which has enclosed a lagoon, Sabkhat el-Bardawil. The linear barrier is skewed eastward suggesting that the sediment source is to the W. It has been suggested that the Nile River supplies sediments to the shoreline of Palestine indicating that the longshore currents are from the W. The coastal zone of the Sinai joins the coastal plain of Palestine to form a northward sweeping arc.

**4. Climatic Setting of Palestine. a. Weather and Climate.** The day to day condition of the atmosphere, including air temperature, precipitation, and air pressure, is referred to as weather. With each passing hour these elements, which are interdependent, change. However the change in the weather in Palestine from one day to the next is not as great as that experienced in Europe or N North America. The average condition of the atmosphere, on a monthly basis for example, may be referred to as climate. Since climate is based on statistical averages over the year, variability from one year to the next is modest at best.

At the midlatitudes of the earth we most often think of seasonality in terms of temperature. Winters in North America and Europe are cold or cool whereas summers are hot or warm. Although temperature contrast in Palestine does occur, particularly in the interior of the region, it would be more appropriate to consider seasonality in terms of wet and dry seasons. Baly (1987: 21–23) not only recognizes a distinct wet and dry season, but two transitional seasons (from September 1 to mid-October and from mid-April to the end of May) each lasting about six weeks. Precipitation in terms of quantity, the period of occurrence, and its geographical distribution is perhaps the most significant physical element in directing human activity on the landscape of Palestine.

**b. Controls of Weather and Climate.** A combination of atmospheric, marine, and topographic factors provide the essential controls of the climate of Palestine. Much of Palestine has a modified Mediterranean climate with increasing aridity eastward and southward. The more salient climatic controls are outlined below.

The region is located between 30 and 33 degrees N latitude. During the period of high sun (summer) a subtropical high air pressure mass over N Africa expands. This condition creates hot and dry conditions over the Mediterranean basin. The wet season occurs when low pressure storm tracks over Europe are displaced more southward during the winter months. During this season, cyclonic storms move eastward through to the Mediterranean. Precipitation occurs mainly in the form of showers caused by the unstable air of the intruding cold fronts.

The precipitation bearing winds move from W to E in Palestine. However, the mountains and hills strike in a N–S alignment. As the unstable air rises over the topographical barriers, orographic precipitation occurs on the windward slopes of the hills. As the winds descend along the lee slopes in the interior, the air expands and is drier, bringing less precipitation to the interior of the region.

The proximity to the Mediterranean Sea plays a role in temperature modification. Air with higher humidity results in lower annual temperature ranges. The temperature contrast between summer and winter along the coastal plain of Palestine is 13 C degrees (Levi 1985: 20–21). However, in the isolated desert of the SE which is the lee side of hills, the difference in temperature between summer and winter is 18 degrees C (Levi 1985: 20–21).

**c. Water Requirements.** While precipitation data express the total intake of water in a given area, they do not reflect the amounts of needed or available water to sustain specified natural vegetation or agriculture. The amount of available moisture in a given area is determined by precipitation and by evaporation which is expressed as a water budget. Aridity is in a sense, the amount of moisture evaporated rather than the amount precipitated, and may be expressed as a mean annual potential evapotranspiration rate. Cressey (1960: 107–11) determined that the highest mean annual potential evapotranspiration occurs in the Dead Sea, an area of negative water balance or where potential evapotranspiration exceeds precipitation. More equitable conditions occur in the highlands in the N part of the region where altitudes are higher, temperatures are cooler, and precipitation is 1,000 mm annually.

**d. Climatic Variability and Settlement.** Climatic change in the E Mediterranean and specifically in Palestine continues to be researched. Although several approaches to the question are used, such as paleobotany and geoarchaeology (Hopkins 1985: 101), satisfactory conclusions are still evasive. Fisher (1978: 72–73) suggests the long continuity of human activity in the Middle East implies only modest if any environmental change. He notes that the distribution of trade routes and settlements in the interior have maintained their unchanging geography for hundreds of years. Butzer (1957), after sifting through a diversity of information, came up with the same general conclusions with minor stipulations. Conversely

Vita-Finz (1969) examined river terrace deposits in several sites around the Mediterranean which suggested wetter climatic conditions during the post-Roman period.

The geographical pattern of aridity may in part, contribute to an understanding of human settlement in Palestine. Early village settlements occurred towards the end of the Natufian period (mid–late 9th millennium B.C.). The locations and associated artifacts revealed that the sites were next to permanent water sources (Miller 1980: 33). Throughout the centuries sites in upland regions appear to have had a relatively stable population compared to lowland sites. In the lowlands however, human occupance shifted with the geographic extent of aridity. The temporal pattern of the distribution of settlement in the Negeb broadly defined by Schechter and Galai (1977: 263), on the basis of Butzer's data (1957), is as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 6000 B.C. | Settlements mostly in the Dead Sea Rift (Arabah Valley) with several in Negeb S of Dead Sea and Beer-sheba. |
| 5000 to 4000 B.C. | Previous settlements abandoned; settlement does not occur S of Dead Sea; settlements in oasis N of Dead Sea and agriculturally favorable lands further N. |
| 3500 to 3000 B.C. | Settlement again encroaches S mostly on loess areas around Beer-sheba; again abandoned about 3000 B.C. |

The changing pattern of settlement, abandonment, and resettlement particularly in the S, may be due to recurring patterns of aridity. Amiran (1953) after examining more recent population pulsations (1875 to 1953) suggested that in the E (Dead Sea Rift) the line of aridity and settlement are relatively inflexible. Here desert conditions are largely a result of rain shadow conditions, and a broad zone of precipitation variability is lacking. Along the S in the Negeb proper, landforms are more subdued and the line of aridity is more flexible in part because rain shadow conditions do not occur. Here the belt of fluctuation is about 100 km wide compared to some five km for the E. To be sure, the security of the Negeb has played a role in human settlement. However, an alternative possibility may be the variable width of the arid zone in this region. As aridity expanded in the S, settlements were abandoned and as aridity lessened settlements increased. See also PALESTINE, CLIMATE OF.

**5. Soil Types and Salinity.** Although often overlooked, soil is one of the most vital biophysical resources of a region. Without it, agriculture is impossible and livestock herding is marginal at best. It has been suggested (Raikes 1966: 72) that Neolithic settlement at Beidha favored sites near fertile retentive soil rather than near water. It is a resource which has been intensely used and misused over time. Several factors are responsible for soil development. These include climate, parent material, or rock type upon which the soil forms, vegetation and microorganisms, slope and time. In general, climatic conditions and parent material are the two most significant factors in soil formation.

On the basis of climate and topography, Reifenberg (1947) delineated Palestine into four regions, and identified alluvial soils, Terra Rossa soils, and Mediterranean Steppe soils as the most significant in terms of agriculture. More recently, Dan and Koyumdjisky (1963) recognized soil types on the basis of three terrain types: a coastal region; a mountain and hill country; and thirdly, a valley, plains, and plateau regions. Each terrain type was further subdivided with regard to moisture conditions and parent material.

The coastal zone is composed primarily of sandy deposits. In the N where higher moisture conditions prevail, non-calcic brown soil is found. Further S in the semiarid regions, reddish chestnut soils occur. In the arid zone proper, calcareous coarse textured burezems (arid brown soils) have developed.

The hill country to the W is underlain by hard limestones, softer marls, and other carbonate rocks of Cenozoic age. Terra Rossa soils have developed on the harder carbonates with Brown Rendzinas on the marls. With increasing aridity to the SW, calcareous desert-steppe lithosols predominate.

The soils in valleys, plains, and plateaus are derived from sediments of varying consistency which have been broken down by weathering processes. In the moist areas, dark colored Grumusols are most common. In arid areas such as the Dead Sea Rift, soils referred to as hammadas predominate. These soils are characterized by hardened surface covers underlain by finer material, often with saline layers. Because

of the high evaporation rates water moves up through the soil. As the water evaporates, carbonates remain behind which cement the alluvial surface and form a calachie or calcrete surface.

Lithosols cover a large portion of the S Sinai which is composed of ancient igneous and metamorphic rocks (Beaumont et al. 1976: 42–44). Limestone Lithic Ermolithosols cover the central third of the Sinai. These soils are immature, thinly weathered, products of limestone bedrock.

Salinity is a common problem in many soil types of Palestine. Climate, soil texture, and depth to ground water are some factors which contribute to the problem (Dan and Koyumdjisky 1987). Well drained sandy soils are non-saline because their coarse texture permits salts to be leached. The salinity of soils in hill areas depends upon the rock type which is normally at or near the surface. Shallow soils such as Terra Rossas and Brown Rendzinas which are sited on harder rocks are more leached and less saline than soils formed on softer calcareous rocks. Soils with the highest salinity have been salinized by ground water and occur in poorly drained areas such as the lower Jordan Valley. Within a regional perspective, the least saline soils are in the N and W sectors of Palestine. Soils with moderately to extremely high salinities occur on the S and E frontiers where negative water balances occur.

**6. Water Resources and Water Systems.** In Palestine, a reliable source of water is a prerequisite for human survival and sustained economic activity. Nomadic migration patterns are often dictated by the seasonal occurrence and distribution of water in arid and semi-arid regions. Agriculture, including the types of crops and period of planting and harvesting was directed by precipitation. This was more pronounced during Natufian time in the Judean Hills, Galilee and Mt. Carmel where the wet (winter) and dry (summer) seasons display more regularity than in S Palestine.

Another significant aspect of water was its aesthetic value. It was a resource which was cherished during biblical times. Gardens were familiar landscape elements in Palestine (Semple 1931: 481) especially after Babylonian captivity when a new concept of horticulture was introduced. What could be more pleasant and serene than “gardens of flowers and fruit trees with pools of water therein” (Qoh 2:5–6) to greet a traveler? To such green retreats, water lent its beauty or it might serve for a bath as inferred from the stories of Bathsheba (2 Sam 11:2–3) and the deutero-canonical story Susanna. The recreation and refuge value, especially on hot summer days must have been a significant dimension of life in Palestine.

Orni and Efrat (1971: 441) estimated that an average annual total of 6,000 million $m^3$ of precipitation falls within the drainage area of Palestine. Additionally another 10,000 million $m^3$ is contributed by valleys draining into Israel. Of the total, 60 to 70 percent is evaporated or lost through evapotranspiration by vegetation and another 5 percent runs off to the Mediterranean Sea, Red Sea, and Dead Sea. The remainder percolates into the soil and rocks. Even here, however, a percentage finds it way to the seas. Therefore ground water and to a lesser degree surface runoff are the two practical sources of available water.

Ground water is defined as water contained in void spaces of underground strata which are either bedrock, unconsolidated sediments, or soil. The water is originally precipitated at the ground surface and infiltrates downward into the underlying strata referred to as aquifers. If the water encounters impermeable rock it accumulates and produces a hydrostatic pressure. Since strata are often inclined, the water slowly flows down a gravitational slope of the aquifer.

In Palestine, aquifers occur in bedrock as well as in alluvial sediments. The most productive aquifers are in sedimentary rocks, not the igneous rocks because of more pore space—hence higher water holding capacity. The most significant aquifers are those chalks, limestones, and sandstones of Cretaceous and more recent Cenozoic periods (United Nations 1982) which form the hill country E of the coastal plain.

In N Palestine ground water is replenished by precipitation on the exposed and tilted rock outcrops of the various sedimentary aquifers and is thus being annually resupplied. In the Negeb, Sinai, and Arabah regions ground water is replenished only by infiltration due to intermittent thunderstorms or flash floods. Here, most of the ground water is fossil water which infiltrated into the reservoirs in the geologic past (probably Pleistocene time) when pluvial conditions existed. Therefore, water resources are not being replenished in the arid regions, a condition which has recently encouraged the Israeli government to

undertake the National Water Carrier project (Beaumont et al. 1988: 101–5) to transfer water from the N (Galilee) for irrigation projects in the S (Negeb).

Alluvial aquifers occur along gravel floored valleys. Here, rivers bifurcate and water rapidly percolates into the unconsolidated sediments. Most of these aquifers are less extensive and productive than the deeper rock aquifers. However, they are recharged by high discharging streams in spring and early summer. Most streams conduct water only after a rain and are thus ephemeral or dry riverbeds most of the time. A few streams are perennial due to year around flow which is modest at best during the dry summer months (e.g., Yargon, Nahal, Hadera).

Considering the role of water in every day life during biblical times, its relationship to regional settlement geography is yet to be detailed. In earlier times, Neolithic inhabitants in the upper Jordan Valley apparently had as a prerequisite to settlement, the presence of a perennial spring and good bottom land for agriculture (Anati 1963: 229). Water distribution and reliability dictated settlement in the N as well as in the S. A map of the distribution of springs (Schmorak and Goldschmidt 1970: v/2) reveals that springs with the highest water discharge occur on the carbonate hills (Cenomanian or Upper Cretaceous limestone, dolomite or marls) or along significant faults. Springs on the coastal plain and Negeb are not as abundant. This geographical distribution may have a significant factor for settlement favoring the highlands over the coastal plains.

A number of water systems and methods were used to procure water for the day to day domestic and economic needs of the inhabitants. Included are ephermal and perennial wadis, springs, tunnels, and aqueducts. Kedar (1957a; 1957b) has outlined the utilization of water resources at Shivitah in the Negeb, which was inhabitated between the 2d century B.C. to about the 8th century A.D. The entire economy of the agricultural village was based on the collection and storage of runoff from episodic rainfall. The ancient fields which totalled 7,945 dunams (10 dunams equal one hectare; 4 dunams equal one acre), were located in wadi beds and demarcated by dams or were located on adjacent channel banks. The wadi was the main source of water which was channeled down the gradient of the floodplain. A supplementary source was runoff derived from adjacent mountain slopes which was channeled onto the cultivated fields. A third source was runoff collected in cisterns and storage near the agricultural plots.

The numerous place names in Palestine beginning with *En* or *Ain* meaning "spring," point to the water supply as the determining factor in locating a town or village such as En-gedi on the west side of the Dead Sea. The geology especially in the N favors the occurrence of springs. Limestone which has been fractured and tilted, and adequate annual precipitation provides a textbook setting for springs.

Springs occur where an aquifer is exposed and ground water flows onto the ground surface. The discharge may be a mere trickle or several liters per second. Undoubtedly springs were the focus of agricultural settlements which in many instances gradually evolved to urban centers. There was a preference of spring water for irrigation because it was cool and fresh, and because it brought no weed seed to the fields (Semple 1931: 439) as did water from streams. Also, wells dug near the coast of the Mediterranean or the Dead Sea were likely to yield brackish water. Initial occupance of Jerusalem was at Gihon (Ain Umm el Daraj), a spring which could provide 20 liters of water per person per day for 10,000 people (Wilkinson 1974: 33). Although the spring was difficult to defend against attack its productivity value outweighed the risk.

Larger, more permanent urban settlements came to rely upon external water sources to assure their water supply. While each dwelling had a cistern to store rain water from its own roof, the city provided public pools or reservoirs (Semple 1931: 563). Pools functioned as settling basins and were often linked with public baths that were often surrounded by porticos for lounging. The elaborate Pool of Siloam in Jerusalem, for example, had four such porticos.

Issar (1976) identified the technical evolution of the water supply to Jerusalem from natural springs to reservoirs. The improved procurement of water first began by enlarging and cleaning the water bearing rock layers of soil and rock debris. Over time the Gihon spring outside the city was connected to the Siloam spring. As the city expanded, the land was covered with buildings and the spring eventually dried up. Supplementary water sources included rain collecting pools in valleys above the city (Wilkinson

1974: 39–45) which improved the supply. Ben Sira boasts of the achievements of Simon the high priest (died ca. 198 B.C.): "In his days a cistern for water was quarried out, a reservoir like the sea in circumference" (Sir 50:3). The larger catchment areas were approximately one $km^2$. The collected rainwater was transported to Jerusalem via aqueducts and tunnels in most cases.

An alternative water supply system favored by the Romans was the aqueduct which transported water overland. The coastal city of Caesarea Maritima was supplied by two aqueducts (Mayerson 1986), referred to as the high level and low level aqueducts. The high level aqueduct supplied water from two springs some 8 km NE of the port town. The low level aqueduct took its water from the Zerga River some 5 km N of Caesarea. The system as described by Olami and Pelag (1977) included shafts and tunnels, and was built and improved upon into the Byzantine era. In Caesarea there was a decided preference for external water sources rather than local wells. Perhaps saltwater intrusion, the lack of bedrock outcrops, and steep runoff slopes on the coastal plain forced the inhabitants to seek reliable and adequate water supplies beyond the local terrain.

**C. Human Geography**

How the earth's surface is utilized by people is within the sphere of land use. With improved mapping techniques and monthly monitoring of terrain with aircraft and satellites the analysis of land has been the concern of diverse disciplines including geology, forestry, and urban and regional planners. Using the land also means modifying the land to serve one's needs. The changes in Palestine have significantly altered the natural landscape.

**1. Characteristics of Land Use in Palestine.** The land use of Palestine has unique characteristics and fundamental geographical traits. Here, modification of the natural landscape was initiated rather early. Whereas in the early stages humans lived in caves, by 35,000 B.C. they moved into more open environments. Hunting and fishing camps, now recognized as Natufian in age occupied sites along river banks and lakes as well as in hunting areas of the Negeb. Hunting and fishing were supplemented by some type of plant food since grinding stones and mortars as well as reaping knives were common artifacts of habitation sites. (Wagstaff 1985: 33). Near En Gav on the Sea of Galilee the discovery of a basalt mortar and pestle suggests that grains had been introduced by this time. The utilization of the land over the millennia implies that the distribution of natural vegetation is a mute topic except perhaps in deserts or remote highland reaches. It has been suggested (Baly 1987: 30) that by the early Bronze Age (ca. 2400 B.C.) the forests of the highlands were being harvested for timber.

A second land use characteristic is an abandonment and reoccupation rather than an evolving land utilization pattern. Domestication and farm villages were well established in Palestine by 6000 B.C. However, there is a 1,500 year gap following this time, suggesting abandonment (Wagstaff 1985: 38). The reason for the change is not clear. Emigration by the population to districts further N or the return to a seminomadic life involving pastoralism are possible explanations (Mellaart 1975: 68). During the Crusades, Palestine and the Transjordan appeared prosperous. However, during the period 1500 to 1880 while Europe was experiencing a renaissance, devastation and desertion dominated the Palestinian landscape. In fact, the only apparent area which saw a population density increase during this time was a coastal strip of the Mediterranean S of Tyre (Hütteroth 1969).

A third characteristic of the regional land use is the intimate association between people and the physical attributes of the land. Frick (1985: 119–22) reviewed Webley's (1972) concept of settlement and concluded that the distribution of archaeological sites of agrarian land use societies in Galilee are positively correlated with soil types. The most arable soils are the Terra Rossa, Mediterranean brown, and alluvial soils. More importantly, archaeological sites with long settlement chronologies are associated with a diversity of soil types rather than with only one type of soil. Diversity of soils provided a diversity of crops which minimized the risk of crop failure. To be sure, other physical and economic factors have been important but the significance of the soil has been a keystone to land use. Early settlements (of Natufian Age), of course, occurred on the coastal plain and Judean areas. However, there was a shift in preference for the Judean Hills, Galilee, and the highlands of Mt. Carmel. Although the sites are located on Terra Rossa or basaltic soils, the attractiveness of the highlands may have been the natural presence of

wild edible vegetation (Hassan 1977). Likely candidates are two-row barley *(Hordeum spontaneum)* and emmer wheat *(Triticum dicoctoides).* Initially, natural stands of these cereals represented a natural vegetation resource not unlike preferred soil types or the location of natural freshwater springs.

Finally, immigration is a valued source of innovation and the diffusion of ideas, as the recent agricultural changes in Palestine indicate. This characteristic underscores the significance of a cultural rather than a physical attribute in the development of the landscape. It may also make it quite clear that the physical attributes of the landscape such as soil and climate do not completely dictate habitation and land use patterns.

Both hills and arid lands attracted settlement and provided a livelihood. Agricultural terraces were probably in use by the MB I period. Their utilization provided a more efficient means of coping with the undulating topography of the highlands of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee and made agriculture possible (de Geus 1975: 70). A second cultural land use innovation was the management of water. Miller (1980: 331–32) suggests that irrigation may have been practiced in Jericho in the Pre-pottery Neolithic A settlement (late 9th to 8th millennium B.C.) within the rain shadow of the highlands. Between the 2d century B.C. and the 7th century A.D., periodic, yet elaborate irrigation networks were established around Ovdat (Aboda) in the Negeb. These examples suggest that the land use characteristics of Palestine were a product of physical resources and cultural innovation.

**2. Settlement Patterns.** The location of settlement is determined by a variety of physical and cultural factors. Hostile environmental elements such as topography, lack of water, or poor drainage tend to be unattractive. Conversely, gentler slopes, springs with reliable flow throughout the year, and arable lands encourage settlement. Amiran (1953: 194–95) recognized contrasting viabilities between towns on the coastal plains and those on the highlands. All important highland towns of today have historical anticedence and are centuries old (Cressey 1960: 487). These settlements have had uninterrupted histories presumably because of their relatively defensible geography. In contrast, settlements on the coastal plains have experienced vacillating periods of growth and periods of demise as the political environment changed. Whenever conditions deteriorated, settlement in the coastal plain became marginal whereas highland settlements maintained or perhaps gained in importance.

The shifting of settlements was not only altitudinal between the coastal plain and adjacent hills but lateral as well. Gophna and Portugali (1988) examined the settlement geography from the "Ghassulian" Chalcolithic to the end of the MB from 4000 B.C. to 1600 B.C., a span of 2,400 years. Based on the location and size of archaeological sites, the core of Chalcolithic settlement was in S (Irano-Turanian S) Palestine and the peripheral zone was in the S sector of the plain. In contrast, the primary area of settlement during the MB was in the N or central part of the plain. A lateral settlement reversal had occurred on the plain. As noted elsewhere, prior lateral shifts due to the shifting boundary of aridity also occurred particularly in S Palestine.

The above analyses reveal the ephemeral nature of settlement in Palestine. Many analyses of settlement patterns, whether ancient or modern, underscore the disproportionately high frequency of abandoned sites. At the beginning of the 20th century there were 329 active villages in Galilee and 460 ruined sites (Schwobel 1904: 96). Randall (1955: 117–18), noting that in 1944 there were 1,051 inhabitated sites compared to 2,048 abandoned sites and 223 temporarily occupied sites, suggests that a possible explanation for the fluid settlement pattern is the location of Palestine between the more sedentary Mediterranean culture and the nomadic character of the Middle Eastern desert occupants.

The concern for safety in border areas to the S and E has been a potent factor in settlement patterns over time, as well as the demographic character of towns. Bedouin raids had created repeated occupation and abandonment of border settlements. The village of edh-Dhahitiyeh, the southernmost village on the road between Hebron and Beer-sheba in S Palestine, experienced several periods of occupation and decadence.

Albright (1943: 158–59) identified four periods of occupation ranging from 200 to 600 years between the 23rd century B.C. through 1277 A.D. Between each period of active settlement a hiatus occurred. Amiran (1953: 69) found a similar pattern of use and abandonment of this settlement which has continued up to the present day.

The number and size of border settlements were affected by raiding parties. The demographics of border villages suggest they were larger but fewer in number and had more land under cultivation. A comparison of village population of the Hebron area and Jerusalem to the N supports this view. In 1931, four percent of the villages in the Jerusalem area had 2,000 people (Amiran 1953: 71). Also 85 percent of the Hebron villages managed 10,000 to 25,000 dunam (1 dunam = 0.247 acres). In the Jerusalem area only 20 percent of the villages maintained a similar sized area. The border settlements were essentially a coalescence of many small villages which promoted security. During more peaceful conditions an increase occurred in the number of villages.

Periods of stability may be viewed not only in political terms but in physical conditions as well. The S and E border of Palestine (i.e., the Negeb and Transjordan) are what J. Gottmann referred to as the "pioneer fringe" of Palestine. As the term implies, the pioneer fringe is a region of marginal resources, especially physical. The frontier settlements discussed above are located in the pioneer fringe, a zone of unreliable precipitation. During periods of extended aridity, the security of villages and cropland are stressed by nomadic pastoral populations. If irrigation systems are not in place, villages, particularly larger villages, may have to be abandoned.

To summarize, settlement characteristics of Palestine present contrasting histories in the highlands and the coastal plains. The mountain villages feature more continuity and stability in spite of perhaps less favorable local physical circumstances such as agricultural land use and water resources. Such sites are less difficult to defend against aggressors. Amiran (1953: 193) suggests many mountain villages have had a continued occupancy dating back to the 2d millennium B.C., reflecting continued well-being and secure physical and social environment. The coastal plain villages experienced periods of instability causing periodic deterioration and a decrease in importance. During periods of economic well-being, however, the coastal towns did emerge as more economically viable population centers.

**3. Settlements and Topographic Settings.** Palestine offers a wide variety of topography and climatic regions for settlement. Contrary to a basic geographic concept, in Palestine the flatter coastal plains were not always favored for settlement compared to the hill country to the E (Karmon 1956). Historically, with irrigation extending southward the pioneer fringe has been pushed farther into the Negeb and the opportunity for settlement in more marginal lands has improved especially within the past few decades. However, as discussed above the extension of the fringe occurred many times in the past, and the present is, in essence, a reflection of the past.

In spite of the 20th-century cultural innovations, relationships between settlements and topography are evident. Amiran (1970: 11/2) noted in detail the topographical siting of settlements. Four morphologic settings are identified with several adaptations. Settlements may be in valleys, either on the floor or on an adjacent terrace or slope. A hilltop or acropolis-type site occupies ground which is as high as possible. In this second category villages on low hilltops are included. A third type of setting is a spur or an elongated ridge. In terms of elevation, it is located between valleys and mountain tops. Settlements located on extensive flat ground is a fourth topographic setting.

The location of each setting has distinct advantages. Valley bottoms normally have deep soil and the best agricultural land in an area. Many of the larger basins and valleys originated through faulting. Such breaks created ground water springs such as Ramah in lower Galilee. Hill-top settlements and those on ridges have an obvious advantage with regard to security. The mountains and hills of Nazareth consist of semipervious chalk and marl. Through weathering, a substantial soil cover evolved and extended up the mountain slopes attracting settlers to higher elevations. Flat land normally ideal for agriculture may be susceptible to inundations following prolonged winter rains. Furthermore, settlements on flat plains also pose security problems. The location of an Arab village on flat, exposed ground, was not common. The deposition of extensive sand dunes, poor drainage, the lack of natural harbors (Karmon 1956: 35), and invading forces have made permanent and prolonged coastal plain settlements less tenable. Today however, the coastal plain is the area of the largest concentration of urban population (Amiran 1961) and has the largest number of towns. Jerusalem, located in the hills, was the primary city of Palestine for

many centuries. However, since 1930 Tel Aviv on the coastal plain became the region's primary urban center.

**4. Landscape Modification.** Even a casual view of Palestine would quickly reveal the lack of natural landscape or a landscape which has been completely modified by people. Isolated exceptions may perhaps locally exist in the Negeb or in the Transjordan. Landscape changes are particularly pronounced in areas of poor drainage and in what had been forested areas. It is generally agreed that prevalent scrub vegetation is a degraded relict of the original wooded cover. Forest degradation probably began by Neolithic time and continued into the present century. When the armies of Judah and Israel invaded Moab "they felled all the good trees; till only its stones were left" (2 Kgs 3:25). Excavations at Jericho suggest serious sheet erosion resulted from forest clearing during the EB (2600–2300 B.C.) (Baly 1974: 116). Indeed as early as the MB the forested slopes were replaced with terraces to hold the soil and retard erosion. Perhaps due to the severity of deforestation in Palestine, timber was imported from present-day Lebanon (Mikesell 1969: 18). About 950 B.C., Solomon requested from the king of Tyre "as you dealt with David my father and sent him cedar to build himself a house to dwell in, so deal with me" (2 Chr 2:2—Eng2:3).

A second modification of the natural landscape has been the drainage of swamps and marshes. Wetlands were viewed with tribulation and apprehension. The kurkar ridges paralleling the coastline have impeded the drainage from the adjacent uplands creating marshy lands. In earlier days the coastal plain was generally malarial, difficult to cross and lacking in stone for building. When Napoleon invaded Palestine the French army elected to take roads farther inland to avoid the wetlands of the Plain of Sharon (Amiran 1953: 198). The Hula Valley located N along the Rift Valley was another wetland area plagued with mosquitos as well as severe winter flooding and occasional Bedouin attacks. Wetlands were viewed as unfavorable natural habitats to be avoided rather than managed. Certainly, place names such as Crocodile River did not encourage settlement. In spite of the negative historical connotations associated with wetlands, the agricultural potential was realized early in this century. The land was flat and compatible to mechanized farming, and both subsurface water and drainage techniques were available. Thus, large drainage projects transformed the wetlands to agricultural land.

A third significant landscape transition has been a redistribution of water resources. Water retention and storage occurred in very early times but irrigation techniques developed and greatly improved in the Roman and Byzantine periods. These innovations are discussed elsewhere in detail (see above B.6).

**5. Agriculture.** The primary purpose of the physical landscape modification such as the clearing of the land, was directed towards farming. By 7000 B.C. emmer wheat *(Triticum dicocoides)* displayed morphological signs of domestication in Palestine. Farming villages became more numerous and spread beyond the limits of the present-day permanent dry-farming zone. The exploitation of seasonal flood waters and the construction of temporary dams may have been utilized at an early date (Miller 1980).

The Chalcolithic Period (ca. 4000–3000 B.C.) was a time of canals and dam construction. Crops of the 4th millennium included wheat, barley, durra millet, flax as well as familiar Mediterranean products such as olives, figs and grapes (Whyte 1965: 99). By the so-called Patriarchal Period in the 18th century B.C. agriculture must have attained a high standard. Canaanite settlements during the Early and Middle Iron Age (1200–586 B.C.) were mostly situated on foothills adjacent to fertile plains where springs and wells provided the necessary water. With few exceptions, the mountainous regions were not occupied by a sedentary population before the arrival of the Israelites (Whyte 1965: 99). A strong administration safeguarded the flourishing agricultural community and protected it against nomadic raids.

Farming was the keystone of Israelite society. The three major feasts—the feast of unleavened bread (April), the feast of harvest (May), and the feast of ingathering at the end of the year (i.e., the grape harvest) were all feasts related to farming (Exod 23:14–17). These feasts represent principal products of Palestine farming. The natural grasslands were replaced with fields of wheat and barley, the scrub woodlands with the vine and olives on the preexisting highland forests (Baly 1987: 30). The olive, wheat, and grape are traditional Mediterranean crops so vital to the Israelites that settlement occurred only where all three could be cultivated. Other common products included dates, figs, cucumbers, mint, cummin,

almonds, and pomegranates (Baly 1987: 31–32). Sheep, goats, donkeys and camels were common livestock of the time.

The life of the Palestinian agriculturalist was difficult. The weather conditions to which shepherds were exposed displayed extremes. "By day the heat consumed me and the cold by night, and my sleep fled from my eyes" (Gen 31:40). Crops were threatened by locusts (Amos 7:1; Joel 1:2–10), hail (Ps 78:47), or by droughts and mildew (Hag 2:17). Constantly, the threat of famine due to droughts or the aftermath of an invading army was likely on the mind of the farmers in Palestine (2 Kgs 6:24–29; Jer 14:2–6).

Early farming was fundamentally directed to producing a mixture of products. Such mixed farming guaranteed the agriculturalist a harvest during inclement times as well as during good times. Essentially, this rather uncomplicated activity occurred until the recent period except when settlements were abandoned. See AGRICULTURE.

**6. Towns.** Although urban settlements were reasonably well established in Palestine at least since the Early Bronze Age (ca. 3000 B.C.), an increase in settlements occurred during the 4th millennium, perhaps encouraged by canal and dam construction. Wagstaff (1985: 99) suggests this was followed by some concentration of population, the prelude to the emergence of "fortified cities with high walls, gates, and bars" (Deut 3:5) which, by the 2d millennium, became widespread.

Trade and commerce, albeit on a local scale at first, formed a principal economic function of towns. Farmers from surrounding areas brought products to sell and trade. On a more externalized scale in towns such as Hebron and Beer-sheba, hill-farming produce was exchanged for the goods of nomadic herders (Orni and Efrat 1971: 309).

Another function of towns was related to the administrative and political control of a region. Town residents often included regional landlords, nomadic chiefs, and religious and administrative officials. Solomon (ca. 961–922 B.C.) established "cities for his chariots, and cities for his horsemen" (1 Kgs 9:17–19) in his kingdom. Towns, the vestiges of which are often flat-topped hills or tells, physically encompassed a small area with relatively high densities. Several thousand inhabitants lived within a few hectares. Two important populous cities, Hazor and Jerusalem, barely covered 7 hectares (Orni and Efrat 1971: 315). The compactness within such towns was a result of the need to concentrate the human resources on the defense of the walled town. Space between dwellings was wide enough to allow passage of a donkey, and houses were integrated with the town wall (Josh 2:15).

**7. Road Network.** Although agriculture was the main activity in Palestine during biblical times, roads were a significant cultural feature in the landscape which allowed movement and trade from one place to another. Ancient roads were simple tracks, muddy in winter, dusty in summer, and often poorly maintained. Road construction was limited to removing boulders and levelling the surface—"build up, build up the highway, clear it of stone" (Isa 62:10)—not much more.

For an illustration of the distinct road pattern in Palestine during biblical times see ROADS AND HIGHWAYS (PRE-ROMAN). Two geographical factors emphasize the character of the road network in Palestine. In a geopolitical context, the region is situated midway between the two great river valleys in the Middle East. Both Egypt and Mesopotamia were centers of political influence. These powers often met in Palestine, mostly in strife, and the control of the road network was of strategic importance (Orni and Efrat 1971: 197).

In a physical context, the road network today generally follows the pattern established in the past. The network was dictated by topography and rock type. The coastal plain, hill country, and Dead Sea Rift which make up the main elements of the landscape are all oriented in an approximate N–S direction. Likewise, the principal flow of traffic was N–S in Palestine. In the hill country W of the Dead Sea Rift, folded ridges composed of soft porous chalk of upper Mesozoic age (Senonian chalk) are aligned N–S and favored for roads. The Senonian chalk has been worn down by pedestrians and vehicles into a hard smooth surface devoid of cumbersome boulders and with good drainage. Baly (1974: 22) notes that passes along the hills of Carmel all trace the narrow Senonian outcrops, and many N towns (e.g., Tirzah, Samaria) are sited at junctions of similar valleys.

Topographic controls also directed road patterns in the lowlands. In spite of the favorable topography of the Plain of Sharon the vitally important *Via Maris* connecting Egypt and the N Levant was located to the E on higher ground to avoid winter flooding which could inundate sections of the road for many days or even weeks. An equally important prerequisite was the availability of water for man and animals along the routes. Thus the roads had to go where springs and wells were to be found.

Roads along both sides of the Dead Sea Rift paralleled faults and rock exposures where numerous springs provided water for travelers. Some 2,000 years ago qanats tapped underground water in the Arabah valley (Issar 1985: 107) S of the Dead Sea for travelers and local users.

Two roads of interregional significance are "the way of the sea" (Isa 9:1) or *Via Maris,* and the King's Highway (Aharoni 1967: 39–57). The *Via Maris* was used during all historic periods by travelers including messengers, caravans, and armies. Coming eastward out of Egypt, the road paralleled the Mediterranean Sea, then continued northward along the Plain of Sharon. Here it turned northeastward and transversed the highlands to Damascus and along the Fertile Crescent to Mesopotamia. The King's Highway diverged from Damascus and ran southward along the length of the highlands of Transjordan E of the rift valley to the port of Elat. During the Israelite Monarchy the road provided an artery of commerce with Arabia (Aharoni 1967: 52).

Intraregional roads which joined various regions of Palestine generally were oriented E-W joining the main N-S road network. Contrary to this general pattern is the Hill Road which runs along the divide from Beer-sheba northward through Hebron and Jerusalem to Shechem. From Shechem it branches E and W. In overview, the complexity and density of the network in the uplands is greater than the areas to the S and W as well as the coastal plain, suggesting the traditional center of commerce and economic activity was in the central region.

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C. NICHOLAS RAPHAEL

## *EARLY JEWISH GEOGRAPHY*

Authors of the biblical texts and early Jewish literature described their conceptions of the configuration of the world and the land of Israel in various ways. These descriptions often reflect the political and religious ideologies of the writers and their times.

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A. Mental Maps and Models
B. Geographical Texts
C. "Maps" of the World
    1. Early Hebrew Cosmology
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    4. *Jubilees*
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D. "Maps" of the Holy Land
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    3. *Genesis Apocryphon*

4. Targumim
5. Rabbinic Definitions

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**A. Mental Maps and Models**

Much has been written about early Jewish concepts of time and history, and less has been written about early Jewish concepts of space and spatial organization, yet the latter topic is as important as the former for an understanding of the early Jewish mentality and worldview. Human beings appear to have a fundamental need to project order onto the space in which they live and move: they process spatial data received through the senses, relating one element to another and abstracting a mental map or model which functions as a constant frame of reference for all their activities (Gould and White 1986). Spatial data may be ordered in a variety of ways. Religious categories provide an old and powerful ordering system. Mountains, rivers, even countries, may be marked off as "holy," and maps constructed on a grid of holy places. *Degrees* of holiness may also function to differentiate space: e.g. a simple model of the world is generated by the notion that the Land of Israel is holy in contrast to the rest of the world; Jerusalem is holier than the rest of the Land; the Temple precinct in Jerusalem is holier than the rest of Jerusalem; and the holy of holies in the Temple is holier than the rest of the Temple. Geographers have become increasingly interested in these mental maps. They are less tied than they used to be to the idea that the only "real" map is one that results from careful surveying and mathematical projection. Geography is in part a behavioral science and geographers find it useful to project mental maps onto paper. Such maps, when compared with scientifically mapped space, may help to explain geographical data, e.g. population distribution or communication patterns (Abler and Adams 1971). Early Jewish geographical texts should be seen basically as exercises in cognitive mapping: they represent attempts to impose order on the chaos of spatial perception. The early Jews themselves probably occasionally drew out their own mental maps and models. The fact that none of these survive is not an irreparable loss. If we have sufficiently detailed verbal descriptions, which convey clear visual images (whether or not they were accompanied originally by drawn maps), we can translate these onto paper and compare them with "real" geographical space. It is important in this exercise not to denigrate too readily early geographical images, or to make too sharp a distinction between theological/mythological cartography on the one hand and real/scientific cartography on the other. *All* maps arguably express a worldview, some more explicitly than others. Even modern scientific maps, however objectively based on measurement and mathematics, are not always value-free, but can easily become the vehicles of ideology and propaganda.

**B. Geographical Texts**

The foundations of early Jewish geography lie in the Bible. Following Aharoni (1967: 73–83) the geographical texts of the Hebrew Bible may be classified according to their origin and function into three types: territorial administrative lists; itineraries of expeditions and conquests; historical geographical descriptions.

Territorial administrative lists are texts which, however used now in the biblical narrative, originated in the government and administration of ancient Israel. They are official documents which by their nature must directly reflect geographical reality. Two subtypes are involved: (a) boundary texts, probably derived from treaties between states and tribes (e.g. Num 34:1–12; Josh 15:1–12; 16:1–8; 17:7–9; 18:11–20; 19:10–14, 26–27, 29, 33–34); and (b) town lists, probably based on cadastral and population censuses (e.g. Josh 15:21–61; 18:21–27). Boundary texts and town lists differ in their representation of geographical space. In the case of the former, a series of border points is enumerated in consecutive geographical order. In the case of the latter, while points listed together probably belong to the same region, the principle of ordering may take into account other factors, e.g. town size.

As with territorial administrative lists, itineraries of expeditions and conquests directly reflect geographical reality. The ordering of the points is determined by the movement of the army or the caravan on the ground, but this may not always be dictated by simple topographical factors. Accounts of military campaigns or of expeditions were carefully preserved in royal or personal archives in the ancient world. They were of practical importance, since it might be necessary in the future to retrace the journey.

Material possibly derived from such itineraries is preserved in 1 Kgs 15:20; 2 Kgs 15:29; 2 Chr 13:19; 26:6; 28:18. Noteworthy is the very ancient campaign itinerary in Gen 14:1–24.

Historical geographical descriptions, unlike texts in the other two categories, do not serve any obvious practical or administrative purpose. To that extent they can be seen as "pure" geography. However, as representations of geographical reality they have a serious drawback: in some cases they appear to have originated in attempts to organize the scattered geographical data contained in earlier narrative traditions, so they reflect first and foremost the world of the text, and only indirectly external geographical space. A number of them deal with such remote and inaccessible regions that they cannot be based on the firsthand experience of their compilers. Texts obviously belonging to this category are Gen 2:10–14 (the Rivers of Paradise) and Gen 10:1–31 (the Table of the Nations). Aharoni (1967: 76) also includes the roster of conquered Canaanite kings in Josh 12:1–24, and, controversially, the wilderness itinerary in Num 33:5–49 (see further Davies 1979).

These three categories apply equally well to most post-biblical Jewish geographical texts. The Bible played a central role in early Jewish education and scholarship, and much geographical information was conveyed in the form of commentary on the biblical geographical texts. Note, e.g., *Genesis Apocryphon*'s detailed and geographically well informed interpretation of Abram's campaign in Genesis 14 (1QapGen 21:23–22:26; see further Alexander 1988: 105–107). The Table of the Nations (Genesis 10) and the Borders of the Land of Israel (Numbers 34) were the basic "maps" of early Judaism, continually re-edited to meet changing historical circumstances. A geographical literature per se, comparable in any sense to the writings of Eratosthenes, Ptolemy or even to Pseudo-Aristotle, *De Mundo,* does not exist in early Judaism. The most comparable are early medieval texts such as *Midraš Konen* or *Seder Rabba› diBěre›šit,* which belong to the rabbinic cosmographical *(ma‹ăśēh bĕrē›šît)* tradition (Sed 1981). In these works theological ordering is so powerful that the images of the world have been virtually distorted out of any relation to geographical reality.

**C. "Maps" of the World**

**1. Early Hebrew Cosmology.** The cosmographical references scattered throughout the Hebrew Bible imply a remarkably consistent picture of the world. The universe is divided into three levels: the heavens above, the earth beneath, and the primeval waters and Sheol (the abode of the dead) under the earth (cf. Exod 20:4). The surface of the earth is of limited extent: if one travels in any direction one will come, sooner or later, to its edges or boundaries—the *qaṣwê ›ereṣ* (Ps 48:11; 65:6) or *qĕṣôt hā›āreṣ* (Isa 40:28; Job 28:24). Although the expression "the ends of the earth" is often used vaguely in the sense of "distant lands" its original, literal meaning was not entirely lost (Stadelmann 1970: 134–35). The sky too has its outer boundaries (the *qĕṣōt haššāmayîm,* Jer 49:36; Ps 19:6), beyond which lies perpetual darkness (Job 26:10). The plane of the habitable earth was probably conceived of as a roughly circular disc. This notion, widespread in antiquity, would have initially been suggested by observation of the horizon. Several passages in the Hebrew Bible refer to the circle of the horizon: Job 26:10, "He has drawn a circle upon the face of the waters at the boundary between light and darkness"; Prov 8:27, "When he established the heavens I was there, when he drew a circle upon the face of the deep" (cf. *ḥûg šāmayîm* ["circle of the heavens"] in Job 22:7 = *ḥûg hā›āreṣ* ["circle of the earth"] in Isa 40:22). The basic circularity of the earth may also be implied by the description of Jerusalem in a late passage in Ezekiel as the *ṭabbûr hā›āreṣ* (Ezek 38:12). The meaning of *ṭabbûr* here has been much disputed, but according to one early tradition it refers to the "*navel* [i.e., center] of the earth." The Septuagint translates it by *omphalos,* "navel." Cf. the Aramaic *ṭibbûr,* "navel, umbilicus." The surface of the earth is divided into seas and dry land; the dry land contains numerous topographical features—mountains, deserts, valleys, rivers, and springs which were apparently thought of as welling up from the waters under the earth (cf. Gen 7:11).

The ancient Hebrews divided the earth into four regions which were named according to two main systems. The first system related them to the observer's body. The observer was imagined as facing east: E was then "front" (*qedem:* Gen 2:8); N was "left" (*śĕmō›l:* Gen 14:15); W was "behind" (*›āḥôr:* Job 23:8); and S was "right" (*yāmîn/têmān:* 1 Sam 23:24; Job 39:26). The second system named the cardinal points of the compass primarily in relation to the movement of the sun. E was the "place of sunrise"

(*mizraḥ haššemeš/mizrāḥ*: Num 21:11; Isa 41:2) or the "place of the going out" *(môṣā᾽)* of the sun (Ps 75:7); W the "place of the setting" (*ma᾽ărāb:* Isa 45:6) of the sun, or the "place of the going in of the sun" (*mĕbô᾽* haššemeš: Deut 11:30). The etymologies of the remaining two points on this system—*dārôm,* "south" (Job 37:17) and *ṣāpôn,* "north" (Jer 26:26)—are uncertain.

**2. The Rivers of Paradise.** The purpose of the description of the rivers of paradise in Gen 2:10–14 is to locate the Garden of Eden in which, according to the second account of creation, God placed the first parents of the human race. Most of the geographical names in this passage occur elsewhere in the Bible and some can be identified with reasonable certainty. The "map" described should not, therefore, be dismissed as fictional: it records a serious attempt to locate the Garden of Eden in real geographical space. The Garden of Eden is sited at the headwaters of four great rivers, the Pishon, the Giḥon, the Ḥiddeqel and the Perat. The "Perat" is unquestionably the Euphrates, and the "Ḥiddeqel" the Tigris. Since the enumeration of the rivers seems to be from E to W, the remaining two rivers must lie E of the Tigris. The Giḥon may be the Diyala (the land of Cush through which it runs being the territory of the Kassites: Akkadian *Kaššu = Kuššu* in the Nuzi texts), and the Pishon may be the Karkheh which flows out of the Zagros Mountains (Speiser 1959). These four rivers are said to diverge from a common source in the Garden which God planted in Eden (Gen 2:8)—the latter, apparently, being the broad area in which the Garden lies. See Fig. GEO.04. The alignment of the rivers is generally N-S, so the Garden of Eden must be located somewhere in the region of Armenia. The reference to Eden being "in the east" (Gen 2:8) should not be taken (as in later Jewish tradition) to mean that it lay on the E edge of the world. Rather it indicates a position E of where the author of Gen 2:10–14 lived.

Josephus (*Ant* 1.37–39) provides the only reasonably coherent post-biblical Jewish account of the rivers of paradise. He identifies the Pishon as the Ganges (the "land of Havilah" = India). The Giḥon is the Nile, presumably because the land of Cush, through which it flows, is taken in its normal biblical sense of Ethiopia. The other two rivers are the Tigris and the Euphrates. Josephus seems to imply that all four of these rivers originate in the waters of the Ocean, which he describes as "the one river which encircles the whole earth," and that this one river (Ocean) originates in the Garden of Eden, which he probably located in the extreme E of the world. Other early Jewish texts also identify the Giḥon as the Nile (1QapGen 21:15 and LXX to Jer 2:18; cf. Ecclus 24:27). The Palestinian Targumim to Gen 2:11 (Codex Neofiti 1 and Pseudo-Jonathan) equate Havilah with India, though they do not go so far as to say which Indian river is the Pishon. Later rabbinic tradition maintained that the Pishon was the Nile. This view seems to have been based on deriving *pîšôn* from *pištān,* "flax" (an etymology proposed in *Gen.Rab.* 16:2, without mentioning the Nile). The Pishon is so called, writes Rashi, "because it grows flax, for it is said with regard to Egypt, 'The workers in combed flax will be in despair' (Isa 19:9)" (see also Saadya's Arabic translation and Naḥmanides to Gen 2:11).

**3. The Table of Nations.** The Table of Nations in Genesis 10 gives the most comprehensive biblical account of the inhabited world. As it stands, the text combines both Priestly (P) and Yahwistic (J) material, the former being found in vv 1a, 2–7, 20, 22–23, 31–32, the latter in vv 1b, 8–19, 21, 24–30. Note the contradictions: according to P the Lydians are descended from Shem (v 22), but according to J they are descended from Ham (v 13); according to P Havilah is descended from Ham (v 7), but according to J he is descended from Shem (v 29). The P-source, which appears to be intact, forms the highly regular, stylized framework of the Table. Its compiler uses the principle of genealogy (derived from family and tribal history) to organize certain geographical data, viz., the nations of the world known to him. He arranges them in families, relates them in terms of descent from common ancestors, or from each other, and, by tracing them back to Noah's three sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth, integrates them into the narrative of sacred history. See Fig. GEO.05. Though the organizing principle appears to stress ethnicity (note v 20, "by their families, their languages, their lands, and their nations"; cf. vv 5, 31), it is political realities that are often reflected in the Table. Thus the Canaanites, despite being for the most part ethnically Semites are said to be descended from Ham, not Shem (v 6), presumably because the land of Canaan was regarded by the compiler of the P-Table as related politically to Egypt, one of Ham's other

sons. Similar political considerations (now rather obscure) may explain the curious descent of Lud (= Lydia) and Elam from Shem (v 22).

The P-Table probably originated in the 7th century B.C.E. Its geographical horizon extends from the Black Sea in the N to Nubia in the S; from the Iranian plateau in the E to Spain in the W. There is, however, nothing on the P-Table itself to locate the various nations on the earth's surface, to relate them to the reader's own position in space, or to orientate him geographically. It is assumed he already knows where at least some of them live. Von Rad (*Genesis* OTL, 139) speculates that the Table may have been accompanied originally by a drawn map, and notes that "the final form of this Priestly table may be contemporaneous with Anaximander's map of the world" (Anaximander of Miletus [ca. 610–540 B.C.E.] was, according to Eratosthenes [in Strabo *Geog.* I 1.11], the first Greek to produce a world map). This is very uncertain. However, the fact remains that in order to tie the genealogical schema down to geographical reality the reader must already know at a minimum where some of the nations in each of the three main groups are located relative to his own position in space. If he has this information he can then very roughly locate the other nations by assuming that the closer the nations are on the genealogical tree the closer they will be on the ground. A genealogical tree as a geographical device cannot cope as well as a drawn map with spatial relationships, but it can show, in a way that a primitive map cannot, the political, linguistic, and cultural connections between peoples.

A redactor filled out the P-Table of Nations with material drawn from a J-Table. The J-Table, which was older than the P-Table and probably more restricted in geographical horizon, presumably originally covered all three sons of Noah. Only fragments of it now survive in Genesis 10; nothing remains of its account of Japheth's offspring. The purpose of these J additions is broadly to link the P-Table more directly with Israel's history. The redactor uses the J-source to relate two peoples to the Table—the Babylonians and the Philistines—who played a major role in the sacred history. The Nimrod traditions (vv 8–12) deal with the Babylonians; the additional information about Egypt's descendants (vv 13–14) deals with the Philistines. The redactor also uses the J-source to rectify the rather startling fact that Israel's relation to the P-Table is unclear. The J-version indicates that he is descended from Arpachshad through Eber (vv 24–30). Unlike the P-Table, the J-Table does to some extent attempt to tie the genealogical schema to geographical space: note vv 19 and 30.

**4. *Jubilees.*** The Table of the Nations formed the basic "world map" of the Jews in the biblical and postbiblical periods, and it was constantly reinterpreted to fit the changing state of their geographical knowledge. The assumption was that, being Scripture, the Table must be an accurate and comprehensive picture of the world. As the political scene shifted and new peoples came within the Jewish horizon, they were related to the Table. It was inconceivable that they should not be there somewhere (the view that the Table of the Nations is a comprehensive account of the nations of the world was held by Christians as well as Jews, right down to modern times. After America was discovered a debate raged as to whether or not the American Indians were "Adamites," and if they were, how they could be linked to Genesis 10 [Bickerman 1952: passim and esp. 77]).

If we exclude its simple reuse in 1 Chr 1:4–27, the earliest and most significant interpretation of Genesis 10 is in *Jubilees* 8–10. *Jubilees* (which dates from the mid 2d century B.C.E.) attempts to project the genealogy of Genesis 10 onto a standard world map of its day. It has been suggested that the author of *Jubilees* actually drew a map, but (as often happens with complex diagrams in manuscripts) it has not survived. Whether he did or did not, he unquestionably had an image of the world that can be expressed in the form of a map (Hölscher 1949; Alexander 1982). His description of the N coastline of the Mediterranean (9:11–12), with its three "tongues" or bays (the Aegean, Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas), illustrates how sharply he visualized the world. *Jubilees'* "map" is basically the old Ionian world map accommodated to the Bible. It envisages the inhabited world as a roughly circular land mass surrounded by ocean. The center of the world—its "navel" *(omphalos)*—is Zion, not Delphi, as on the Ionian maps. A N-S median runs through Zion and Sinai; an E-W median through the Straits of Gibraltar, Zion and the Garden of Eden. The map is orientated with E at the top. The three continents of the Ionian geographers—Europe, Asia and Libya (= Africa)—are correlated with the three sons of Noah: Japheth = Europe; Shem

= Asia; Ham = Libya. This is shown by the fact that the boundaries between the territories of the three sons correspond precisely to the boundaries between the three continents according to one school of Ionian geography. Between Europe/Japheth and Asia/Shem, the River Tina (= Tanais, i.e. the Don) marks the boundary; between Asia/Shem and Libya/Ham it is the River Giḥon (i.e. the Nile); between Europe/Japheth and Libya/Ham it is the Straits of Gibraltar. Having established this correlation the author of *Jubilees* then distributes the sons of Shem, Ham, and Japheth appropriately across their respective continents. See Fig. GEO.06.

The *Jubilees mappa mundi* is more than a piece of disinterested cartography which tries to reconcile the Bible with the science of its day. Like many other maps, it is a political statement. *Jubilees* stresses that the division of the world after the flood was solemnly agreed to by the sons of Noah: "So Noah divided their lands among their sons in the presence of their father Noah; and he bound them all by an oath, putting a curse on anyone that tried to seize what had not fallen to him by lot. And they all said, So be it, So be it, for themselves and their sons for ever" (Jub 9:14). *Jubilees* notes that, according to his neat schema of continents, two nations were out of place on the map. Madai, not liking his allotted territory in the N-W of Europe, *negotiated* with Elam, Asshur and Arpachshad to be allowed to settle within the patrimony of Shem (10:35). Canaan also did not take up his allotted portion, which was in N Africa. Instead he *violently* seized "the land of Lebanon as far as the river of Egypt," which was within the patrimony of Shem, and was roundly cursed by his father and brothers for so doing (10:27–34). That land had been allotted to Arpachshad, the ancestor of Abraham (9:4). *Jubilees*' aim in all this is, presumably, to prove that the Jews have an ancient right to settle in the "land of Canaan" (it was the Canaanites, not themselves, who were usurpers), and to justify the territorial expansion of the Hasmonaean state. It has also been suggested that it is significant that the *Jubilees* map excludes Javan (the Greeks) from the middle east. They do not appear to be assigned territory even in Asia Minor, which is given as the patrimony of Lud, son of Shem (9:6, 10). This could be seen as an attack on Greek political hegemony and settlement in the Middle East (Schmidt 1988: 26f).

The *Jubilees* world map is the earliest example of a type of world map that, despite the advances of scientific geographers such as Eratosthenes and Ptolemy, predominated in European culture down almost to the time of Columbus. Its essential features are reproduced in a series of Christian T-O maps, such as Richard of Haldingham's famous and elaborate Hereford Map (ca. 1290 C.E.) (Bagrow and Skelton 1964; Almagià and Destombes 1964). It is unclear whether the Christian T-O maps go back to the lost drawing of the *Jubilees* map, or whether they are derived from the written text of *Jubilees* alone. *Jubilees* was certainly known to some Christian authors in its Greek translation, and it seems to have influenced the patristic *Diamerismos* literature, which is concerned with dividing up the world among the sons of Noah (von Gutschmid 1894; Bauer 1906).

**5. Josephus.** Josephus' detailed interpretation of the Table of the Nations in *Ant* 1.122–47 resembles *Jubilees*' in a number of ways—e.g. Josephus, like *Jubilees*, outlines first the broad territories of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, before dealing in detail with their descendants (Franxman 1979: 101). However, in two important respects Josephus differs from *Jubilees.* First, he does not follow *Jubilees*' schema of correlating the three sons of Noah with the three Ionian continents. He tends to describe dispassionately the world as it is, not prescribe for how it should be. Thus he appears to see nothing wrong with the fact that Japheth's and Ham's sons spill over into Asia (*Ant* 1.122,130). Nor is there any hint of the accusation that Canaan usurped the land in which historically he settled, nor any attempt to exclude the Greeks from Asia Minor: Iauanos (= Javan) is identified as "Ionia and all the Greeks" (*Ant* 1.124), and Iauanos' son Tharsos (= Tarshish) is located in Cilicia (*Ant* 1.127). Second, Josephus has an essentially toponymical approach to the Table of the Nations. He is primarily concerned with discovering the modern equivalents of the biblical names, not with locating the various peoples and places on the surface of the earth. He seems to assume that once he has told the reader the modern equivalent the reader will be able to use his own knowledge to put the term in question on the map. *Jubilees*, by way of contrast, is primarily concerned with locating the biblical nations on the world map. It uses only the biblical names, and it

seems to assume that once they are located on the map the reader will be able to work out the modern equivalents.

Toponymy dominates Josephus' exposition, and in a number of interesting asides he makes clear the principles on which is identifications were made. He divides the names on the biblical Table of the Nations into three groups: (1) Names which refer to peoples or places which were destroyed long ago by natural disasters or wars and which, consequently, no longer have any equivalent in Josephus' world (*Ant* 1.137,139). (2) Names which have been heavily corrupted or changed. Josephus blames the Greeks for altering or replacing ancient names: *Ant* 1.125, "Theires [= Tiras] called those whom he ruled Theirians, but the Greeks changed the name to Thracians"; *Ant* 1.138, "Amathus founded Amathus which the inhabitants to this day call Amathe, though the Macedonians renamed it Epiphaneia after one of Alexander's successors." (3) Names which have been preserved essentially unchanged, so that identification is not problematic (*Ant* 1.131, 132). Identification of a name on the Table of Nations basically depends on whether the modern equivalent resembles in some recognizable way the ancient name. Such similarity may be either direct or indirect. In the former case the modern name directly reflects the ancient: e.g. *Ant* 1.124, biblical *Madaioi* [Madai] = modern *Medoi.* In the latter case the ancient name survives, not in the modern name itself, but in something connected with it. Josephus speaks of this link between the original name and the modern equivalent as a "sign" *(sēmeîon):* e.g. *Ant* 1.125, "The Meschenians, founded by Meschos [= Meschech], are today called Cappadocians, but a clear trace *(sēmeîon)* of their ancient designation survives; for they still have a city of the name of Mazaca, indicating to the expert that such was formerly the name of the whole race." Josephus' principles of toponymy are standard for the Greek historians and antiquarians. They also explain many of the identifications of biblical peoples and places found in rabbinic and in other early Jewish texts.

**6. Other Catalogues of Nations.** Pseudo-Philo, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* 4:1–10 (1st century C.E.) gives a version of the biblical Table of Nations notable for its profusion of exotic names. It lists numerous descendants of the sons of Noah not mentioned in the Bible. Most of the names are unintelligible. If they ever had any real geographical reference, it must be assumed that they have become hopelessly garbled in the transmission of the text from Hebrew, through Greek, into its present Latin form.

Acts 2:9–11 catalogues the nations residing in Jerusalem when the Spirit was poured out at Pentecost. It is puzzling how this short list of nations can be taken as representing "every nation under heaven" (Acts 2:5). One solution proposes that an astrological schema correlating the various nations of the world with the signs of the zodiac (cf. the 4th century C.E. *Rudiments of Paulus Alexandrinus*) lies behind the list. The list is comprehensive because it gives one nation for each of the twelve signs of the zodiac (Weinstock 1948; Metzger 1980). However, if the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost is seen in Acts as a reversal of God's confusion of tongues after the Flood (Gen 11:7), then the catalogue of nations is most obviously related to Genesis 10. The brief list in Acts is only an allusion to the longer Table in Genesis. Acts' geographical horizon is fairly limited: it stretches from Persia in the E to Italy in the W, from the Black Sea in the N to Egypt in the S.

Later Jewish literature contains various interpretations of the Table of Nations. *Genesis Rabba* (redacted 4th century C.E.) is most concrete and geographical in its commentary on the N nations, the sons of Japheth (*Gen.Rab.* 37:1–8). The Jerusalem Talmud (redacted ca. 400 C.E.), commenting on *m. Meg.* 1.8, "Scripture may be written in any language," discusses the languages of the world in terms of a commentary on the Table of Nations (*j. Meg.* 71b). The Babylonian Talmud (redacted ca. 500 C.E.) presents an exposition of the Table of Nations in order to answer the question, "From where do we know that the Persians are derived from Japheth?" Three recensions of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch, Codex Neofiti 1, Fragmentary Targum, and Pseudo-Jonathan (redacted between 4th and 8th centuries C.E.) offer numerous identifications of the names on the Table of Nations. Targum 1 Chronicles 1 contains also many equivalents, drawn mainly from the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch (Alexander 1974: 72ff.). Saadya's Arabic version of the Pentateuch (10th century C.E.) reproduces many of the Targumic equivalents, but introduces some of its own which involve an adjustment of the Table to

his historico-geographical horizon. *Seper Josippon* (10th century C.E.) opens with a very detailed exposition of the sons of Japheth on the Table of Nations as a preface to its account of the antiquities of Italy and the rise of Rome (the Romans are said to be descended from the Kittim mentioned in Gen 10:4). It is quite common in medieval chronicles to begin with a *Diamerismos* (Flusser 1980: 1, 3; cf. 2, 98ff.). Josippon displays a detailed knowledge of early medieval Europe: it refers to the Franks, Bretons, Hungarians, Saxons, Russians, Lombards, Danes and Slavs. Its horizon is consonant with a geographical standpoint for its author in Italy. Rabbinic literature often refers to the 70 (or sometimes 72) nations/languages of the world, without going into detail as to who they are. This figure is derived from counting the names on the Table of Nations (Ginzberg 1968: 194 n. 72).

**7. *1 Enoch.*** *1 Enoch,* the bulk of which can be dated no later than the end of the 1st century C.E., is a thesaurus of early Jewish lore on astronomy, meteorology, botany and geography. Two passages are important for its image of the world: *1 Enoch* 76–77 and *1 Enoch* 17–36. The Ethiopic manuscripts are in considerable confusion, and even with the help of the Aramaic fragments from Qumran, it is extremely difficult to reduce the text to order, or project its cosmographical ideas in the form of a map. Grelot (1958) and Milik (1976: 15–19, 34–41), however, have derived maps from the data of the text which, despite being highly speculative in parts, appear basically to be valid. Enoch's geography is often referred to as "mythological" (Grelot 1958), or even as "mystical" (Neugebauer 1985: 407), because it is full of fantasy, but such descriptions should not disguise the fact that *1 Enoch* has a model of the world which is meant to organize phenomena and explain how they work. Parts of that model are clearly visualized and must have constituted for their author(s), a *mental,* if not a *drawn* map.

**a. *1 Enoch* 76–77.** *1 En.* 76:1–14 describes a wind-rose, consisting of twelve winds (four bringing prosperity and eight disaster) that blow from twelve points of the compass. The rose is orientated with E at the top: note how N is said to be on the left and S on the right (76:2). The winds are imagined as blowing into the world through twelve gates spaced at regular intervals round the world's rim. Chapter 76 apportions three of these gates to each of the four quarters of the world; chap. 77 opens with an explanation of the names of these four quarters, which it enumerates in a clockwise direction—E, S, W, N (77:1–3a). Two of its explanations convey cosmographical information. "North" *(ṣippûnā᾽)* is so called because "in it all the heavenly bodies hide [*ṣāpĕnîn*], gather, go round and proceed to the E of the heavens." The idea is that the heavenly bodies after setting in the W go round the N rim of the world (presumably behind the N mountains) to rise again in the E. "South" *(dārômā᾽)* is so called "because the Great One dwells *(dā᾽ēr rabbā᾽)* there." If the allusion here is to Sinai, as many suppose, then it suggests that *1 En.* 77 locates the Mountain of God in the S quarter of the world, whereas *1 En.* 17–36 appears to locate in the NW. *1 En.* 77 next divides the earth into three parts: the 1st part is for human habitation, the 2d is for seas and rivers, and the 3d is for deserts and for the Paradise of righteousness (77:3b). Milik (1976: 15) is probably correct in seeing these three parts as concentric circles: the 1st, the *oikoumenē,* is in the center; the 2d is the encircling Ocean; the 3d is the wasteland beyond the Ocean, in which Paradise is located. Milik's restoration of the Aramaic text so that it refers to seven regions in this transoceanic zone (one of them Paradise), though bold, may well be correct (Milik 1976: 15). The remainder of *1 En.* 77 (vv 4–8) gives a highly schematic description of the *oikoumenē.* It mentions the Great Sea (= the Mediterranean) and the Red Sea (= the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and the present-day Red Sea). These were probably envisaged as great bays protruding from the surrounding Ocean into the circular *oikoumenē. 1 En.* 77 refers, without any toponymical detail, to the seven highest mountains, the seven greatest rivers, and the seven largest islands of the world. The mountains are not located, though their tops are said to be covered with snow (77:4). They are probably to be found among the ten mountains listed on the *Jubilees* map. One of them may be Hermon, the "Mountain of Snow" (Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Num 34:11; *Sifre Num* §131). Another may be Sinai. Three of the rivers can be located with reasonable certainty. The two flowing from the N into the Red Sea must be the Tigris and Euphrates. The one flowing from the W into the Great Sea is presumably the Nile. The westerly alignment of the Nile is found in some Greek geographers. "The remaining four rivers," says *1 En.* 77:7, "come from the N side towards the sea, two to the Red Sea, and two empty into the Great Sea." This second mention of the Red

Sea is rather puzzling: why not simply say at 77:6, "*four* of them come from the N and shed their waters into the Red Sea?" *1 En.* 77:7 is best taken as a description of four rivers in the N half of the world, counterbalancing the three in the S half (77:5–6). If this is so, then "Red Sea" at 77:7 has possibly displaced the name of a N sea, e.g. the Black Sea (= Sea of Me'at on the *Jubilees* map). The two rivers flowing into the Black Sea might be the Don (= the Tina of *Jubilees*) and the Danube. The two flowing from the N into the Great Sea could be any of the major rivers debouching into the Mediterranean on its N shores. As for the seven islands, five are said to be in the Great Sea and two "on land" (77:8). The former statement makes obvious sense: the *Jubilees* map probably had five major islands in the Mediterranean. The latter statement is problematic. The text may originally have read "two in the Red Sea." The reference might be to Bahrain, the Dilmun of the Babylonians.

**b. *1 Enoch* 17–36.** Despite some differences, *1 Enoch* 17–36 appears to presuppose a similar image of the world to that in *1 Enoch* 76–77: the habitable earth is a circular landmass surrounded by Ocean, beyond which lies a region of outer darkness and chaos. The earth is described in terms of a series of journeys which Enoch makes in the company of angelic guides. First he travels to the W (17–25), then back to the center of the world (Jerusalem) (26–27), then eastwards to the end of the world (28–32). Finally, he goes around the extremities of the world in an anticlockwise direction, starting in the E and ending in the S (33–36). Because these journeys are so much concerned with the outer rim of the world (they include a visit to the underworld), the descriptions tend to involve fantastic features which cannot easily be related to real geographical space. The W is covered in greatest detail, partly because it is described twice over (once in 17–19, and again in 21–25). Some have supposed that this double description implies two separate journeys. It is more likely, however, that parallel accounts of the same journey have been combined. Notable features located in the W are: (a) the Mountain mf God, with its summit shaped like a throne. This is "the throne on which the great Holy One sits … when he descends to the earth in blessing" (25:3; cf. 18:8). (b) The River of Fire flowing into Ocean (17:5). The reference here could be to the Greek Pyriphlegethon, or to the River of Fire in Dan 7:10, or to both. The heavenly bodies, when they set in the W, replenish their fires from this fiery river (23:4). (c) The storehouses of winds, thunder, lightning and other meteorological phenomena, and the chambers of the stars and other heavenly bodies (17:3). (d) Sheol, with its four hollows for different categories of souls. The description of the "middle of the earth" (26–27), as Milik has shown, fits well the topography of the Jerusalem area (Milik 1976: 36). He has also argued that the journey to the E through the spice-lands (28–31) reflects real topographical knowledge (Milik 1958). The most notable feature in the E of the world is Paradise. *1 En.* 32:2–3 appears to locate the Paradise of righteousness in the region of outer darkness beyond the encircling Ocean, on the NE edge of the world.

Some have detected Greek influence on *1 Enoch*'s image of the world (notably in the description of the W in *1 Enoch* 17–36). The major influence, however, appears to have been Babylonian. Grelot (1958: 64–66) and Milik (1976: 17) compare the famous Babylonian *mappa mundi* in the British Museum (the copy of which dates from around 600 B.C.E.). The Greek influence on the *Jubilees* map is unmistakable, and in general (though their accounts of the *oikoumenē* are compatible) the "spirit" of the *Jubilees* map is very different from that in *1 Enoch.* It is possible that these two texts represent two broad "schools" of early Jewish geography—the one oriental, looking for inspiration to the old centers of learning in the E; the other Hellenistic, receptive of the new ideas coming from the W.

**D. "Maps" of the Holy Land**

**1. The Short Biblical Boundary Texts.** The short boundary texts in the Bible define the Land by using a small number of salient border points. According to the most basic formula the Land extends "from X to Y." The simplest and best known example of this formula is 2 Sam 24:2, "from Dan to Beer-sheba." Note also Gen 15:18, "from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates;" Num 13:21, "from the desert of Zin to Rehob, near Lebo-Hamath." These two-point definitions all appear to be on a N-S axis. Certain four-point definitions add a second axis for greater precision: e.g., Exod 23:31, "from the Red Sea *(yam sûp)* to the Sea of the Philistines, and from the desert [in the south] to the Euphrates;" Deut 11:24, "from the desert [in the S] to [emending to *wĕ'ad*] the Lebanon, from the river, the river Euphrates, to the

Hinder Sea [= the Mediterranean].” One would expect the second axis to be roughly E-W, but this does not appear to be the case, unless geographical reality has been very severely distorted. Genesis 10:19 offers a curious three-point definition of the Land: “The border of the Canaanite was from Sidon as you go towards Gerar as far as Gaza, (and) as you go toward Sodom [omit: and Gomorrah and Admah and Zeboiim] as far as Lasha.” To make sense of this it must be assumed that Gerar lay *beyond* Gaza and Sodom *beyond* Lasha as one moves S from Sidon. The Sidon-Gerar line is marked off at Gaza, and the Sidon-Sodom line at Lasha. The Land is defined by the Sidon-Gaza-Lasha triangle. See Fig. GEO.07. Ezekiel 47:15–20 contains a further elaboration of the “from X to Y” formula. It envisages the Land basically as a rectangle with four sides (N, E, S, W). The rectangle is defined by four corner points: NE corner = Hazar-enon; SE corner = Tamar; SW corner = the mouth of the Brook of Egypt (= Wadi el-Arish), where it enters the Great Sea; NW corner = a point on the coast of the Great Sea opposite Lebo-Hamath. The picture is complicated a little, and greater precision attained, by introducing a number of intermediate border points and geographical features, between the primary corner points.

**2. The Biblical Borders of the Land of Canaan.** Numbers 34:3–12, which purports to be a definition of the land of Canaan given by God to Moses on the eve of the Conquest, offers the most detailed biblical delineation of the Land. It enumerates a series of border points, starting at the SE extremity of the Dead Sea and going round in a clockwise direction (S-W-N-E) back to the starting point. The S boundary of the Land corresponds with the S boundary of the allotment of the tribe of Judah as defined in Josh 15:1–4 (cf. Ezek 47:15–20; 48:1, 28). Comparison of these texts reveals that while the border points are constant, the connecting verbs and phrases differ. This suggests that the linking elements are secondary, and that the source of this description of the boundaries of Canaan, which may have been a late 13th century B.C.E. document in Egyptian or Akkadian defining the Egyptian district of Canaan (Aharoni 1967: 68f.), contained simply a list of border points connected by “and.” It is unclear whether the different connecting verbs used—the border “shall turn” *(wĕnāsab),* “go out” *(wĕyāṣā᾽),* “cross over” *(wĕʿābar),* “go up” *(wĕʿālāh),* “go down” *(wĕyārad)*—have any precise geographical significance. The fact that one such verb—*tā᾽ar* “to turn”—is used in the Hebrew Bible only in the delineations of the tribal allotments in Joshua (e.g. Josh 15:9) suggests it was a technical term in border descriptions. These connecting elements probably go back to the original redactors who incorporated the lists into the biblical narrative. Their general purpose was to indicate clearly that one had to imagine a continuous line drawn through the points mentioned. It was necessary to stress this in the case of the tribal allotments in order to distinguish the border delineations from the town lists for the various tribes. The points enumerated on the town lists are *not* to be imagined as points on a continuous line.

The borders of Canaan as defined in Num 34:3–12, form the framework of two other geographical texts in the Hebrew Bible: (1) the definitions of the tribal allotments in Josh 15–19; and (2) the description of the land that remained to be conquered in Josh 13:1–7. Both these documents seem to presuppose Num 34:3–12: the areas they define fit quite snugly into the area defined there. The description of the land that remains is constructed on the basic formula: “all the land/districts of X, from *p* to *q*.” Both documents are best seen as coming from the period of the Judges. They represent, not the territory actually occupied by the Israelites then but the territory to which they laid claim, via “the land of Canaan in its full extent” (Num 34:2), as it had been defined earlier under Egyptian administration. The originals of these texts were probably documents preserved at Shiloh, the covenant center of the tribes. (For a discussion of the historical problems associated with tribal allotments and related texts see Alt 1953; Noth 1935; and Kallai 1986.)

**3. *Genesis Apocryphon.*** *Genesis Apocryphon* (early 1st century B.C.E.) gives two accounts of the borders of the land of Israel. The first is based on God’s command to Abram in Gen 13:14f. to view the promised land: “The next day I [Abram] climbed to the top of Ramath Ḥaṣor, and I viewed the land from this height, from the River of Egypt to Lebanon and Senir, and from the Great Sea to Ḥauran, and all the land of Gebal as far as Qadesh, and all the great desert which is E of Ḥauran and Senir as far as the Euphrates” (1QapGen 21:10–12). This is clearly based on the biblical Nile-to-Euphrates type of short boundary description, but the author has blocked in skillfully some of the main geographical features

between the N and S extremities of the land. *Genesis Apocryphon*'s second account of the borders is based on God's command to Abram in Gen 13:17, "Arise, walk through the Land in the length of it and in the breadth of it, for to you will I give it." In 1QapGen 21:15–19 Abram walks round the outer edges of his patrimony in a symbolic act of claiming it as his own. He starts out from the River Giḥon (= the Nile), moves northward along the shore of the Mediterranean till he comes to the Mount of the Bull *(ṭûr tôrāʾ)* = the Taurus Mountains which some Greek geographers envisaged as a spine of mountains running W-E across N Syria. He turns eastward along the Taurus range until he comes to the Euphrates. He then follows the course of the Euphrates in a southerly direction down to the "Red Sea" *(yammāʾ śimmôqāʾ),* the Erythrean Sea of the Greeks, i.e., the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. He turns westward and proceeds until he reaches the tongue of the "Reed Sea" *(yam sûp)* "which goes out from the Red Sea" = the present-day Red Sea. He follows this till he comes back to his starting point at the Nile. *Genesis Apocryphon*'s image of the Land is very coherent and easily related to geographical reality. Its "map" corresponds very closely to the corresponding section of the *Jubilees* "map," and may be based on it. Neither at Gen 13:14f. nor at Gen 13:17 does the underlying biblical text mention any geographical names. 1QapGen has derived its names from both the short and the long boundary descriptions of the land. It is notable that it takes the maximal definition of the borders, as indicated in some of the short boundary texts. This suggests that it took the short texts as primary and accommodated the longer texts to them.

**4. The Targumim.** Three recensions of the Palestinian Targum (= PT)—Codex Neofiti 1, Fragmentary Targum, and Pseudo-Jonathan—identify many of the places mentioned in the definition of the borders of the land of Israel in Num 34:3–12. All the texts represent the same tradition and give the same picture, but Ps-J has the fullest account and identifies virtually every name which is not self-evident. The base stratum of the PT to Numbers 34 gives a broad Nile-to-Euphrates definition of the borders of the Land. An addition at Num 34:12, found only in Ps-J, uses four of the points from the complete border list to summarize the Targumic picture: "Reqem Geʿa [= Petra] in the south; Taurus Amanus in the north; the Great Sea in the west; the Salt Sea in the east." The PT definition agrees well with 1QapGen's borders and probably reflects pre-70 tradition. Like 1QapGen the PT has harmonized the long and short boundary texts of the Bible, using the latter as the framework for its identifications.

Num 34:13–15 makes it clear that the borders defined in Num 34:3–12 relate to the territory of only nine and a half tribes. Although the two and a half tribes that settled E of the Jordan are mentioned, the Bible at this point does not attempt to define their territory. PT rectifies this omission by constructing a border definition for the two and a half tribes similar to that contained in Num 34:3–12. Codex Neofiti 1 and Fragmentary Targum insert this definition at Num 34:15. Pseudo-Jonathan inserts most of it at the same point, but scatters part of it confusingly through its definition of the borders of the nine and a half tribes. Thus PT offers a comprehensive account of the territories of all *twelve* tribes, of the whole land of Israel. It derives its border points for the two and a half tribes from Num 32:33–42, Deut 3:1–17, and similar texts which describe the allotments of the two and a half tribes. Certain elements in the Targumic definition of the two and a half tribes appear to be related to the Tannaitic Boundary List (see below). It is probable that an attempt was made to rework the very broad Targumic boundaries of the Land to make them conform to the narrower rabbinic definition. This has resulted in some geographical incoherence in the Targumic texts.

The PT at Num 34:6, exploiting the redundant *ûgĕbûl* ["and (the) border (thereof)"] in the biblical text, defines the territorial waters of the land of Israel: "For the western border you shall have the Great Sea, Ocean, and the border thereof, that is the waters of creation, with the primaeval waters that are in the midst of it" (Ps-J). The sense appears to be that the Targum carries the territorial waters of the Land all the way westwards to the Ocean (i.e. the Atlantic!). The text goes on to claim the "airspace" (*ʾbyr* = Greek *aēr*) above this territory as part of the land of Israel.

**5. Rabbinic Definitions.** Prompted by the need to decide what towns and regions were subject to the "commandments pertaining to the Land," such as tithes and the sabbatical year, rabbinic literature gives a number of definitions of the borders of the land of Israel. Rabbinic thinking on the borders of Israel

changed as rabbinic halakhah became more accepted by the Jewish communities of Palestine. The earliest traditions use very simple formulae, which set the borders very wide and follow basically the Nile-to-Euphrates short boundary texts of the Bible. Gradually, however, the formulae become fuller and more precise, and the territory defined as land of Israel more restricted and realistic.

**a. The "Taurus Amanus" Formula.** This, the earliest border definition, states that "all that runs from Taurus Amanus and inwards is the Land of Israel; from Taurus Amanus and outwards is outside the Land" (*t. Ter.* 2:12; *t. Ḥall.* 2:11; *y. Ḥall.* 60a; *y. S²eb.* 32d). "Taurus Amanus" (with which the PT identifies "Mt. Hor" in Num 34:7) refers to the range of mountains just N of Antioch on the Orontes, so this formula includes the Syria within the Land.

**b. The "Three Regions Formula:"** *"There are three regions with regard to the* Seventh Year Produce: All that they occupied who came from Babylon, *from the Land of Israel as far as Kezib,* Seventh Year Produce may not be eaten nor may the soil be cultivated; all that they occupied who came up from Egypt, *from Kezib as far as the River and Amanah,* Seventh Year Produce may be eaten, but the soil may not be cultivated; *from the River and from Amanah outwards* [reading *laḥûṣ* for *lipĕnîm*], Seventh Year Produce may be eaten and the soil cultivated" (*m. Šeb.* 6:1). The basic formula is indicated by italics. A glossator has supposed, wrongly, that Kezib marks the N limit of the land occupied by those who returned from Babylon, and the Amanus-Euphrates line the N limit of the land occupied by those who came up from Egypt, at the time of the Conquest (perhaps he is thinking in the latter case of the borders of David's kingdom). Contrast *m. Ḥall.* 4.8 where this gloss is absent. With this formula, Syria does not qualify as the land of Israel in the full sense of the term. Its status is weakening, but it is still not wholly outside the Land.

**c. Judah ben Ilai's Boundary Formula.** "Reqem and the country east of Reqem count as the east; Ashkelon and the country south of Ashkelon count as the south; Acco and the country north of Acco count as the north" (*m. Giṭ.* 1:2). The western border is not stated here but emerges at *j. Ḥall.* 60a (cf. *t. Ḥall.* 2.11; *t. Ter.* 2:12; *j. S²eb.* 36d; *b. Giṭ.* 8a): "As for the islands that are in the sea, you are to imagine a line drawn from Taurus Amanus [emend to "Kaphluria"; see below] to Naḥal Miṣraim [here = Wadi el-Arish]. From the line inward is the Land of Israel; from the line and outward is outside the Land." R. Judah says: All that is opposite the Land of Israel belongs to the Land of Israel, as it is written, "And for the western border, you shall have the Great Sea, and the border thereof: this shall be your western border" (Num 34:6). As for the status of the islands that are on the sides, you are to imagine a line drawn from Kaphluria to Ocean, and from Naḥal Miṣraim to Ocean. From the line and inwards is the Land of Israel; from the line and outward is outside the Land. The definition, though still schematic, is more precise than the other formulae. The Land is now defined on all four sides, and Syria is quite definitely excluded. See Fig. GEO.08. The definition of territorial waters on the W is noteworthy. Rabbi Judah's ideas here correspond to those found in the PT to Num 34:6.

**d. The Tannaitic Boundary List.** This, the most complex and complete definition of the Boundaries of the land in rabbinic literature, is extant in five main recensions: (1) *Sifre Deut.* §51; (2) *t. Šeb.* 4:11, Codex Vienna; (3) *t. Šeb.* 4:11, Codex Erfurt; (4) *j. Šeb.* 36c; (5) lines 13–18 of the 7th century synagogue inscription from Tel-Reḥov near Beth-shean (Sussmann 1973–74). The borders are defined basically in the manner of Numbers 34: a series of border points is given, going around (like Numbers 34) in a clockwise direction, and the border is constructed by joining the points up with lines. The area included is similar to that marked off in Judah ben Ilai's formula, and Syria is definitely outside the Land (see further Klein 1928, Neaman 1978, and Sussmann 1975–76).

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**GEOMETRY.** See MATHEMATICS, ALGEBRA, AND GEOMETRY.

**GEORGIAN VERSIONS.** See VERSIONS, ANCIENT (GEORGIAN).

**GER** [Heb *gēr* (גֵּר)]. See SOJOURNER.

**GERA** (PERSON) [Heb *gērāʾ* (גֵּרָא)]. Although Gera is a common NW Semitic name (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 373), in the Bible the name is restricted to members of the tribe of Benjamin. Aside from the patronymic Gera which appears in prose accounts (see nos. 5 & 6 below), the identity of the other Geras is bound up in the genealogical tree of Benjamin. In two similar lists of sons (Gen 46:21 = *Jub.* 44:25; Num 26:38–41—LXX 26:42–45), Gera appears only in Gen 46:21, as the fourth of ten sons of Benjamin. However, according to the scheme of the LXX, the ten sons are spread over a three-generational genealogy, which includes: Benjamin (ρ) Bela (ρ) Gera (ρ) Ard. Interestingly, whereas Gera is lacking in Num 26:38–41, this two-generational genealogy of five sons of Benjamin ascribes Bela as father of Ard (and Naaman).

Within the Chronicler's framework of genealogies (1 Chronicles 1–9), the name appears three times in but one of the two multigenerational Benjamin genealogies (1 Chr 7:6–12; 1 Chr 8:1–40). According to

MT, Benjamin's firstborn son, Bela, is father of two Geras (1 Chr 8:3, 5), and Ehud is the father of another Gera who is father of Uzza and Ahihud (1 Chr 8:7). The sequence of generations is similar in the LXX of Gen 46:21, and in the MT and the LXX of Num 26:38–41 (—LXX 26:42–45) and 1 Chr 8:1–7; Gera, Ard (or Addar), and Naaman appear in each list. The problem of having two sons of Bela named Gera is solved variously. Based on the repetition of the name, and its absence in the Syriac text, the second occurrence can be regarded as no more than a dittography. Another suggestion is that the MT *wĕgērā› wa›ăbîhûd* ("Gera, Abihud") in v 3 should be read *wĕgērā› wa›ăbî ›ēhûd* "and Gera, that is, the father of Ehud" (Rudolf *Chronikbücher* HAT, 76; Williamson *1, 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 83; Baker 1980: 133). This would distinguish the first Gera from the second, and following Rudolf's reconstruction of vv 3–7 (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 76), the second Gera would be a son of Ehud. The third Gera, along with Naaman and Ahijah in v 7, would then be a repeat occurrence of the second Gera (with Naaman and Ahoah, vv 4–5). This identification assumes that MT *wĕgērā› ȟ› heglām* means "and Gera, he is the one who carried them into exile" (Williamson *1 & 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 84) or its negative, based on the emended text *lô› heglūm* "however, Naaman and Ahijah and Gera did not lead anyone into exile" (Rudolf *Chronikbücher* HAT, 76). Another possibility is to treat the *ȟ›* in v 7 like the "waw explicativum" of v 3, as does the RSV "and Gera, that is, Heglam." Following the logic that the three Geras are distinguished by other associations or identifying features, we find one Gera, the son of Ehud, and another Gera, who was also named Heglam. If Heglam is not taken as a personal name, then it is taken as a verb and this Gera is linked with the relocation of the tribe from Geba to Manahath. Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 125) argues that this movement need not be understood as violent, and that the period of the judges is a likely date for this event (see also Williamson *1 & 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 83–84). The Chronicler's seemingly convoluted genealogy of Bela may be treated as a straightforward family lineage including Bela (ρ) Gera (ρ) Ehud (ρ) Gera, and it is easy to see that Gen 46:16 and Num 26:38–41 utilize the same names, but in different ways.

**1.** The fourth of Benjamin's ten sons (Gen 46:21; see also *Jub.* 44:25). See the foregoing discussion for a treatment of the differences between the MT and the LXX genealogies here.

**2.** The second son of Bela and grandson of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:3). In 1 Chr 7:6–12, where Bela is one of Benjamin's three sons, Gera is not among the five named sons of Bela. If we accept the translation "Gera, that is, the father of Ehud" (1 Chr 8:3, see discussion above), this Gera could perhaps be identified with Gera no. 4 below.

**3.** The seventh son of Bela and grandson of Benjamin according to the MT of 1 Chr 8:5. As discussed above, textual considerations lead us either to delete this occurrence, or to identify this Gera as the son of Ehud, and therefore the great-grandson of Bela.

**4.** A son of Ehud the Benjaminite, and father of Uzza and Ahihud (1 Chr 8:7). He may either be identified with Gera no. 3 above, or simply as another Gera who was also called Heglam (see discussion above).

**5.** The father of Ehud the judge (Judg 3:15). This is perhaps also asserted in 1 Chr 8:3 (see Gera no. 2 above). Whether "father of Ehud" (Heb *›ābî ›ēhûd*) should be regarded as a clan designation (Boling *Judges* AB, 86) or a direct statement of parentage (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 373) is not clear.

**6.** A Benjaminite, a member of Saul's family and father of Shimei, the man who pronounced a curse on King David during the revolt of Absalom (2 Sam 16:5; 19:16—MT 19:17; 19:19; 1 Kgs 2:8). Shimei is repeatedly identified as coming from Bahurim, a Benjaminite town, which presumably was the home of Gera. Since Saul's clan is identified as Matrite in 1 Sam 10:27, it is best not to understand "son of Gera" as the designation of Shimei's clan (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 373).

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**GERAH** [Heb *gērâ* (גֵּרָה)]. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**GERAR** (PLACE) [Heb *gĕrār* (גְּרָר)]. A town in the W Negeb which is associated with the lives of the Patriarchs. In the Table of Nations, Gerar is used as a geographical landmark for the S border of Canaan

(Gen 10:19), probably because of its proximity to, and political association with, Gaza. Gerar figured prominently in the lives of Abraham and Isaac, who settled here at the invitation of its king, Abimelech (Genesis 20, 26). The reference to Philistine Gerar reflects a situation during the early Iron Age when the region known as "Negeb of the Cretans" was under the political patronage of Gaza and later of Philistine Gath. During the period of the monarchy (Hezekiah?), families of Simeon settled here and the land of Gerar became part of their tribal inheritance (1 Chr 4:39–41; assuming "Gedor" of the MT [and RSV] should read "Gerar" according to the LXX). Following the invasion of S Judah by Zerah the Ethiopian, the Egyptian military expedition was defeated by King Asa and pursued "as far as Gerar" resulting in the destruction of all the cities around (2 Chr 14:9–15). Gerar is not mentioned in extrabiblical sources (Gerar in 2 Macc 13:24 appears to be another site; cf. Goldstein, *2 Macc* AB, 468–69). In the Roman-Byzantine period the name Gerar is preserved in the imperial estate *Saltus Gerariticus* and a monastery was established in the "brook of Gerar." According to Eusebius (*Onomast.* 60.7), it was located 25 roman miles S of Eleutheropolis (Beit Govrin), making the identification of Gerar with Tel Haror (M.R. 112087) most likely.

**A. Site and Identification**

Tel Haror is located on the N bank of Nahal Gerar about 20 km W of Beer-sheba and near the main road from Gaza to Beer-sheba. The ancient mound comprised a lower tel or trapezoidal-shaped compound that covers about 40 acres and descends to the deep gorge of Nahal Gerar. In the NE corner rises the 4 acre, oval-shaped, upper tel which is 130 m above sea level and ca. 10 m above the surface of the lower tel.

Earlier identifications of Haror with cities in the territory of Simeon, relied upon assumptions that the site was uninhabited prior to the Iron Age. Surface surveys by D. Allon and Y. Aharoni (1954) in the 1950s indicated, however, that Tel Haror has been inhabited during the Bronze and Iron Ages, and this enhanced its identification with the Canaanite-Philistine Gerar, the city of Abimelech. Mazar (1974: 123, 136; 1975: 114) maintained that Gerar was not a city, but the name of a region to be equated with the Roman-Byzantine imperial domain *Saltus Gerariticus.*

**B. Excavations**

Five seasons of excavations (1982–88) at Tel Haror under the direction of E. D. Oren indicated that the site has been occupied since the Chalcolithic period. The major periods of occupation were (all dates B.C.E.):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Iron Age IIB–Persian | 8th–4th centuries | Areas D, E, G, K |
| Iron Age I | 12th–11th centuries | Areas B, D, K, L |
| LB II | 15th–14th centuries | Areas K, L |
| MB II–III | 18th–16th centuries | Areas B, K, L |

**1. Middle and Late Bronze Ages.** Surveys and excavations demonstrated that Tel Haror was one of the largest MB settlement sites in S Canaan, covering an area of ca. 40 acres. Preliminary investigations ascertained that the city was fortified by an elaborate system of earthen ramparts and defense walls like the fortification systems at neighboring Tell el-Ajjul and Tell el-Fara (S).

Excavations in area K yielded the architectural remains of a well-preserved temple complex. In the NW section of area K a thick mudbrick wall on stone foundations enclosed a spacious open courtyard and various structures and installations. A small chamber was built against the enclosure wall and included a number of low benches, niches, and stands for offerings. Nearby stood a partition wall with niched recesses and a mudbrick block that served as an offering table or altar, as well as some cup marks around it. Two refuse pits (*favissae*) were encountered just outside the enclosure wall. The floor was covered by a thick layer of ashes and charcoal, animal bones, and broken cult vessels. Around the altar were hearths, ash pockets, and large collections of animal bones and pottery vessels, implying that certain ceremonies such as burning of offerings were performed in this part of the temple. The ceramics included many miniature (votive) vessels, decorated stands topped with wide bowls, and vessels applied with bull heads and snakes. See Fig. GER.01. The collection of animal bones is represented largely by sheep and goats (50 percent) and birds (44 percent) though a few dog puppies were also recorded. The study of animal

bones supports the conclusion that sacrificial slaughter, mainly of young sheep and goats, took place in the temple area. Excavations under this building exposed some architectural remains of what seems to have been an earlier MB II cult building. The temple site at Tel Haror was abandoned, but not destroyed, in the late MB.

The evidence retrieved thus far indicates that the LB settlement was considerably smaller than that of the MB, totaling no more than a few acres. The LB site was restricted to area L in the NE corner of the lower tel and overlooking the springs of Nahal Gerar. It is represented by at least four phases of occupation that overlie perhaps the disused MB fortification system. The uppermost remains, including thick walls and a large pebbled courtyard, probably belonged to a patrician house or a small fort that guarded the nearby springs. Tell el-Ajjul provides a close analogy whereby the enormous MB city shrank in the succeeding LB to a single palace or citadel structure. Area L yielded an exceptionally rich assemblage of imported Cypriote ceramics. Also, a refuse pit that was dug into the remains of the MB temple in area K produced among other LB finds, fragments of cult vessels that perhaps originated from a cult place nearby.

**2. Iron Age and Persian Period.** The early Iron Age settlement at Tel Haror, perhaps the "city" of Philistine, is on the NW corner of the lower tel and covers an area of about one acre in area B. The four strata of occupation were built over the remains of the MB settlement. The eroded remains of the uppermost stratum of the late 11th century B.C.E. belong to a fortified settlement enclosed by a 6 m thick mudbrick wall, complete with structural compartments. Earlier occupational strata in the 12th–11th centuries B.C.E. included sections of structures, plastered floors, a stone-lined grain silo, and refuse pits. The ceramic assemblage included masses of early and late types of beautifully decorated Philistine pottery. One of the 11th-century refuse pits produced a large collection of scrap iron tools and vessels, implying some processing of iron implements. The rich early Iron Age settlement at Tel Haror testifies to the dynamic eastward expansion of Philistine culture from the S coast into the Judean Shephelah.

Excavations on the upper tel uncovered impressive evidence of a well organized town with its elaborate fortifications and carefully designed public architecture. The fortification system—rampart, defense wall, and glacis—determined the overall shape of the upper tel.

The defense wall was exposed for some 60 m; it is 4 m thick, plastered on both faces and preserved about 4 m in height. In area D a massive tower projects from the wall and a complimentary buttress was added inside against it. Nearby, a massive mudbrick platform, over 150 $m^2$, was constructed probably to support a corner tower.

A trench was cut in area E to examine the fortification system and establish the sequence of construction. The system was founded on massive earth and *kurkar* ramparts and anchored by a belt of large *kurkar* fieldstones which was topped by thick deposits of ash and brick material. The mudbrick wall was then erected in a foundation trench on top of the rampart and its base was supported by an enormous mass of bricks, brick material, and soil. Against the city wall was built a glacis which was faced with *kurkar* stones affixed in, and coated with, gray clay. The glacis underwent a major repair, perhaps during the last phase of the Iron Age city. Systematic excavations inside the walled area encountered a series of floors, fill material, and buildings that were constructed against the city wall. The earliest floor abutting the wall and on top of the earthen rampart is associated with characteristically 8th-century ceramic types. The major destruction phase which was on one of the upper floors dates to the 7th century B.C.E. above which were remains of the Persian period. It is thus evident that this enormous defense system was constructed in the late Iron Age, ca. 8th century B.C.E. and destroyed in a great conflagration in the 7th century B.C.E.

Excavations in area G uncovered a complex of public buildings-storehouses with symmetrically disposed long halled units that were constructed against the defense wall and erected on mudbrick platforms. At some stage in the late Iron Age the fortification system and buildings inside underwent a major renovation that involved raising the floors some 2 m, blocking the windows and entrances to accommodate a tremendous fill, as well as adding new sections of glacis. The town was destroyed in a major conflagration that was evident in the upper floors of the storehouses. The storehouses yielded large

collections of artifacts including a broken clay weight inscribed in ink with the letters *pym,* and a storage jar inscribed with the word *lbgd* ("belonging to Bagad") alongside an Egyptian *ankh* sign and the hieratic number "8" incised four times. The development of Tel Haror was part of an overall military and economic organization of the Assyrian administration in S Philistia and on the border of Egypt. Evidently the well-planned fortified town was established as an administrative center in the late 8th century B.C.E. (Sargon II?) and destroyed in the second half of the 7th century B.C.E., apparently by an Egyptian military expedition of the Saite kings.

Following the destruction of the fortified Iron Age town, the site was occupied during the Persian period in the 5th–4th centuries B.C.E. by one or two phases of settlement which are represented in area G by a large building, paved floors, as well as grain and refuse pits. One of the probe squares in area K yielded a badly preserved burial associated with Egyptian pottery and a Greek fibula. The settlement at Tel Haror falls in line with the densely populated map of the W Negeb in the Persian period.

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**GERASENES** [Gk *Gerasēnos* (Γερασηνος)]. The name of people in whose country Jesus encountered two demoniacs (cf. Matt 8:28), and where he exorcised the demons, allowing them to enter a herd of about 2,000 pigs which "rushed down the steep bank into the sea and were drowned" (Luke 8:26; Mark 5:1). The location of this miracle is disputed in the NT manuscripts. The best current Greek text (Nestle-Aland, 26th edition) reads Gadara in the text of Matthew but Gerasa in the texts of Mark and Luke. See also GADARENES. All three texts have variant readings which contain the other two alternatives (Gergesa is added as a third). Part of the reason for the confusion is that all three words are spelled similarly in Greek and there are three locations on the E side of the Jordan that may be identified by these names. The name "Gerasenes" is to be associated with the modern city of Jerash, located in Transjordan, 22 miles N of Amman. Josephus located it on the E borders of Peraea (*JW* 3.3.3) and its present identification is based on several inscriptions found in Jerash which refer to its inhabitants as "formerly the Gerasenes." The modern Arabic name is similar to the ancient one, which it perpetuates. Coins and inscriptions allude to it as "the city of the Antiochenes on the River Chrysorrhoas, formerly of the people of Gerasa …" The name Antioch, which it wore for a time, was given in honor of either Antiochus III or IV, after Transjordan was taken from Egypt by the Syrian Seleucids.

Archaeological remains indicate that a settlement of some kind stood here in the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages. However, the NT city, whose walls enclosed about 200 acres, stood from Hellenistic times on its present location. Situated on the international N-S King's Highway, it was one of the most important cities E of the Jordan River. The Romans included it among the ten cities of the E frontier which were organized into a DECAPOLIS.

Gerasa, modern Jerash, can hardly be the location of the miracle story because it is 37 miles SE of the Sea of Galilee—too much of a run for the pigs. Gadara, which is to be identified with modern Um Qeis, is also too far away, 5 miles SE of the sea. This leaves Gergesa, modern El Koursi, on the E bank of the sea as the only reasonable possibility, if any credence is to be given to the geographical statements of the gospels. The fact that this is stated to have happened in the "country" or "territory" of these cities cannot mitigate the clear assertion that the pigs ran down a *steep cliff* into the sea. The only place fitting this description on the entire E side of the sea ("the other side" according to Matthew and Luke) is adjacent to El Kursi.

Eusebius, in the 4th century, located the event here: "Gergesa where the Lord healed the demons. A village is even now situated on the mountain beside the sea of Tiberias into which also the swine were

cast headlong." (*Onomast.* 74.13; author's translation). Nothing has been found at Gerasa which would indicate early Christian interest in the city as a holy place. However, at El Kursi, a lavish church was built in the 5th century, which was found in 1970 and has been excavated. It contained beautiful mosaic floors, indicating considerable expenditure and thus a site of some importance. According to Cyril of Scythopolis, St. Saba visited the holy places across the Sea of Galilee in A.D. 491 and prayed in the church at Chorsia (Koursi).

Halfway up the steep hill behind the monastic compound containing the church is a two-part building containing a small mosaic paved chapel with an apse in one part and the base of a tower-like structure in the other. The latter structure encloses a huge boulder, 22 feet high, which it may have been erected to preserve. V. Tzaferis, the excavator, thinks the memorial tower and chapel, as well as the monastery compound below, were constructed in the late 5th or early 6th century to mark the spot as the place of the miracle.

Although Gerasa cannot have been the place of this story, it is interesting in its own right. According to an early tradition, Alexander the Great founded the Hellenistic city for his veterans. An inscription mentions Macedonians among the earliest settlers of the city. It was captured by Alexander Jannaeus around 85 B.C. (*JW* 1.4.8), and subsequently taken by Pompey for the Romans in 63 B.C. About this time it was included in the Decapolis as a city-state. During the first revolt against Rome (A.D. 66–70), this city, along with others in Syria, was sacked by Jews in retaliation for the Roman massacre of Jews at Caesarea Maritima (*JW* 2.18.1) but was later brutally retaken by order of Vespasian (*JW* 4.9.1).

By about A.D. 75, the city was arranged on the Hippodamian plan, with its streets running in checkerboard fashion. Portions of the main N-S street and two main E-W streets are still well preserved. The 1st century A.D. also saw the construction of the unusual, elliptically shaped forum, built in Ionic style and opening to the S. The *Cardo Maximus* (N-S street) ran N out of it. A 3000 seat theater was constructed sometime after the mid-1st century, just inside the S walls of the city. A later inscription (Domitian) was found at the front of the stage. A Temple of Zeus Olympius was built between A.D. 22 and 43 next to the S theater. Outside the S city walls a hippodrome was constructed, either in the 1st or 2d century, which was 800 ft long and would seat 15,000 spectators.

Gerasa reached its zenith in the 2d century, when colonnades were added to the main streets and perhaps the tetrapylons as well. The *Cardo Maximus* was named the Via Antoniniana after the Antonine Emperors of the time. The walls of the city in the imperial period were 10 ft thick and embraced a two-mile circle with a diameter of 3,500 ft. A triumphal arch was erected 1300 ft S of the city, dated by an inscription to A.D. 130, when Hadrian visited the city. The N tetrapylon, built at the intersection of the *Cardo Maximus* and the N *Cardo Decumanus,* was constructed under the Severans. Around A.D. 150, the huge Temple of Artemis was constructed on the W side of the main street, in the heart of the city. The temple was built on a podium, entered from the E, and was surrounded by columns—11 E and W, and 6 N and S. Another smaller theater was built in the N part of the city, between A.D. 162 and 165, and a large bath complex was erected about the same time just E of the N theater. A thousand-seat festival theater, built to celebrate a special Syrian gala in honor of Artemis, was put up less than a half-mile N of the city walls in the Severan period.

Gerasa was graced with many Christian churches in the Byzantine Period, most of them in the 6th century (Church of Procopius, of Saints Peter and Paul, of Saint John the Baptist, of Saint George, of Damian, and the "Synagogue Church," which had remains of a synagogue beneath it). Earlier churches were constructed as well: the 5th century (Church of the Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs), and the oldest church in Gerasa, the Cathedral, built around A.D. 400. The latter stood just W of the *Cardo Maximus* on the S side of the Artemis Temple. The Church of Bishop Genesius was built in A.D. 611.

Gerasa was first discovered in 1806 by U. J. Seetzen and subsequently explored by J. L. Burkhardt in 1812, J. Buckingham in 1816, G. Schumacher and others between 1871 and 1902, and O. Puchstein in 1902. From 1925 till 1956, extensive excavation and restoration was carried out by numerous British and American archaeologists including G. Horsfield, J. W. Crowfoot, C. S. Fisher, N. Glueck, and L. Harding.

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**GERGESITE** [Gk *Gergesaios* (Γεργεσαιος)]. See GIRGASHITE.

**GERISA, TEL** (M.R. 132166). A large mound (2.6 hectares) located on a *kurkar* hill at the fork of the Yarkon and Aijalon Rivers. Because of its location, it was very likely the major harbor of the central coastal plain during the Bronze and Iron Ages. The site was first excavated by E. L. Sukenik, who conducted five seasons over a period of 25 years (between 1927–1951). The name of the site was adopted from a nearby Arab village, Jerisheh.

Excavations, directed by Z. Herzog, were renewed in 1981, and so far, four seasons have been conducted (1981–83, 1986).

The site was apparently first occupied in the EB III, but the only remains encountered are scattered sherds in later fills; the excavations since have not yet reached the lower levels.

The MB remains present a more complex stratigraphic picture than was assumed by Sukenik (and published by S. Geva), who attributed them solely to the MB II. Not one, but three fortification systems were identified in the renewed excavations, dating to the MB I–II.

The lowest MB I wall is 1.70 m wide. A thick layer of debris containing bricks from collapsed walls and burnt destruction material is deposited against its inner face, but the floor has not yet been reached. A second floor was laid over this debris.

The second MB I wall (2.20 m wide) was erected on a higher level, about 0.90 m further inside the city. Two floors abutted its inner face, while on the outer side a formidable glacis covered the slope of the mound. At this spot the glacis was composed of about a dozen sloping brick layers, coated with a covering of crushed *kurkar*.

The third fortification system, unearthed just below the surface, was a 3-m-wide brick wall. A series of large rooms and courtyards were constructed against this wall in Middle Bronze Age II.

The high elevation of this sector of the site indicates that it accommodated the socio-political elite of the city, who built and rebuilt their royal palaces throughout the MB. A decline in LB I is apparent from the small size of the rooms of this period and the poor standard of their construction (Stratum AII). No later building remains are preserved at this spot, but there are two phases of pits (for storage or refuse) from LB II and Iron Age I.

Evidence for LB occupation came mainly from Area C at the center of the mound, where a monumental brick-walled structure with stone pavement was erected. Political and administrative functions may have been transferred to this part of the city, perhaps because it was closer to the city gate (not yet uncovered). In the area S of the conjectured gate location, an open space with a white plastered paving is interpreted as the local marketplace. This function is inferred from the relatively large quantities of imported pottery, scarabs, and weights found on and around the pavement. Since there were no later occupational levels in this sector, the LB remains suffered from continuous erosion and plowing.

In Iron Age I, there were two separate settlements, one at the N and one at the S end of the mound. The N one seems to have been of shorter duration, since two phases of occupation in stone and brick houses were followed by two phases of pits, probably used to store grains. These could have been harvested from cultivation of most of the mound by the settlers of the contemporary small village at the S end.

The settlement at the S end was excavated by Sukenik, and much of the data is lost. In the renewed excavations, the remains of two houses were found nearby. Both were partitioned internally by rows of wooden columns, whose stone bases were preserved; both had been destroyed by fire. The rich ceramic assemblage collected from the houses indicates that this was a small village of the Philistines, contemporary with the larger Philistine settlement at neighboring Tel Qasile.

The final Iron Age occupation was a small farmstead of the 10th century B.C.E. on the SW end of the mound, followed by two millennia of desertion.

In addition to trade, probably much of it maritime, the economy of the site was supported by cultivation of the fertile land in the Yarkon valley, animal husbandry, fishing and limited hunting.

The poor remains of Iron Age II do not support the identification of Tel Gerisa with the Levitical city of Gath-rimmon (Josh 21:24; 1 Chr 6:69), as some have suggested (cf. Aharoni, *LBHG,* 434).

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ZE'EV HERZOG

**GERIZIM, MOUNT** (PLACE) [Heb *har gĕrizzîm* (הַר גְּרִזִים)]. A place known today as Jebel et-Tor (M.R. 176179) located just SW of the ancient city of Shechem. It lies on the S side of the Nablus valley, with Mt. Ebal standing opposite it on the N. Its valley became an important E-W pass and road. The summit's elevation reaches 2,849 ft, 228 ft less than Mt. Ebal. The mountain is made up of three summits. The Samaritan high place (still in use), a Muslim weli, the Christian ruins of the Theotokos church, and other fortification remains from the time of Emperor Justinian lay on the highest peak. It overlooks the nearby N-S highway, which gave it an important strategic position. Early in Mt. Gerizim's history it was the site of Abram's first altar after arriving in Canaan from Mesopotamia (Gen 12:6) and Jacob's well lies NE in the valley (Gen 33:18–20; John 4:5, 6).

Mt. Gerizim holds religious importance even though it is only mentioned directly four times (John 4:20–21 referred to it as "this mountain"). Deut 11:29 and 27:12, as well as Josh 8:33 show the liturgical significance assigned this location. The texts tell of the huge mass of Israelites who assembled on the sides of Mts. Gerizim and Ebal, with the ark of the covenant and the levitical caretakers between them in the valley. There the law was read and the blessings and curses were announced. Moses specified Mt. Gerizim as the spot for the declaration of blessings and Mt. Ebal for the curses.

In Judg 9:7, Jotham broadcasted his unusual parable from an uncertain location on the mountain. Some have proposed that the Tananir ruins is this spot, with its projecting crag recognized as a natural platform. Archaeological excavations in this area found what is thought to be a temple from various phases of the MB Age (Boling, *Judges* AB, 172).

Interestingly, Judg 9:37 has a reference to Mt. Gerizim described as in the Heb *tabbur hā·āreṣ,* which may be translated as "center of the land." The LXX renders it as *omphalos tēs gēs,* "navel of the earth," giving the phrase more significance. It reveals the "axis mundi" of the territory that surrounds it. The mountain is understood to be a connection between heaven and earth, therefore consecrating the area for those who live and worship near it. This idea is widespread coming from the Mesopotamia conceptualization, also found in Iranian, Greek, Roman, and even Chinese thought.

Josephus (*Ant* 11.8.2, 4) tells of the construction of the Samaritan temple on top the mountain by Sanballat, at the time of the great confrontation between the Jews and Samaritans. This division eventually led to the destruction of the Samaritan temple in 128 B.C. by John Hyrcanus, the Jewish King (*Ant* 13.9.1; *War* 1.2.6).

The writer of 2 Macc (5:23; 6:2) mentions both the Jerusalem temple and Samaritan temple as spots of desecration in a context that reveals no hostility and may in fact give the Samaritan temple some legitimacy (Goldstein, *2 Maccabees* AB, 261). The temple on Mt. Gerizim was renamed for Zeus, the patron of strangers, by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in the 2d century B.C.; the text of 2 Macc 6:2 recounts that Mt. Gerizim's inhabitants requested the renaming. Although there is some controversy about this text, Josephus (*Ant* 11.5.5 §§257–64) presents the petition from the Samaritans for exemption from persecution and the renaming of their temple on Mt. Gerizim.

It may have been that to some of the Jews and the Samaritans the renaming was inconsequential. Naming it after Zeus may have been considered justified by using the common usage of the name, that of "God." The deity's residence "Olympios" related to the ethereal location of heaven. Also, the understanding of the appellative "Xenios" as only the "protector of the rights of strangers" gave the community an acceptable arrangement with the Greeks (Goldstein, *2 Maccabees* AB, 272–74).

Another indication of the Samaritan's casual attitude with respect to the renaming was that the alternate form of Zeus was Gk *Zēna* (Josephus, *Ant* 11.2.2) and Gk *Xenos* (stranger) had a Heb equivalent *gēr;* the combination of *gēr* and *zēna* would reflect the name of the mountain, Gerizim.

Around 70 A.D., 11,600 Samaritans were slaughtered on top of the mountain when the Romans surrounded and finally attacked the mount (*JW* 3.7.32). In the 2d century A.D. the Emperor Hadrian rebuilt the temple of Zeus over the Samaritan ruins. During the 5th century A.D. the Christian emperor Zeno forced out the Samaritans from their sacred mountain and built a church dedicated to Mary as the mother of God. The Samaritans retaliated and destroyed the church, but later the emperor Justinian reconstructed and fortified it (ca. 530). Finally, the Arab invasion of the 7th century A.D. totally demolished the structure.

The archaeological evidence includes the ruins of Justinian's octagonal Theotokos church, excavated by A. M. Schneider in 1928. R. J. Bull of Drew University uncovered the remains of the temple of Zeus, including an inscription "to Zeus Olympius" at the N slope in 1964 and 1966. A massive structure, it measured 14 by 20 m and had a monumental stairway leading up to the temple. Under this temple were found the remains of a Hellenistic structure that is thought to be the temple that the Maccabean revolt destroyed. It was constructed of unhewn stone and mud mortar resting on bedrock.

To this day, the Samaritan community near Nablus supports a synagogue and continues to celebrate the annual feasts on Mt. Gerizim.

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**GERON** [Gk *Gerōn* (Γερων)]. See SENATOR.

**GERSHOM** (PERSON) [Heb *gēršōm* (גֵּרְשֹׁם)*; geršôn* (גֶּרְשׁוֹן)]. Var. GERSHON. GERSHOMITE.

1. The son of Moses and Zipporah (Exod 2:22). Gershom's birth serves as an etymological reminder of Moses' sojourn in Midian and his favorable relations with Ruel, a priest of Midian, and his daughter, Zipporah (Exod 2:15b–22). Gershom does not appear again by name in the Pentateuch outside of this reference, commonly assigned to the "Yahwist" stratum of the Pentateuchal tradition. The Yahwistic stratum also records Zipporah's ad hoc circumcision of her son, unnamed but presumably Gershom, in order to save Moses' life from the murderous intent of Yahweh (Exod 4:24–26). Gershom seems ultimately to reflect a Levitical family associated with the priesthood and shrine at Dan (Judg 18:30). Therefore, Gershom represents "the only instance of a demonstrable element of distinctively northern tradition in the Pentateuchal narrative" (Noth *HPT*, 184). 1 Chronicles adapts Gershom and his family within the Levitical genealogical structure for the operation of the Jerusalem Temple (1 Chr 23:15–16), and even retrojects a son of Gershom, Shebuel, into the time of David as the prince (*nagîd*) over the Temple treasuries (1 Chr 26:24).

2. A son of Levi and the father of one of the three Levitical families (1 Chr 6:1—Eng6:16). Chronicles usually replaces "Gershon" from the Levitical lists in the Pentateuch (e.g., Gen 46:11; Exod 6:16) with "Gershom." Thus, Gershom becomes one of the three sons of Levi (1 Chr 6:1—Eng6:16) and his family receives thirteen cities for their occupation (1 Chr 6:47—Eng6:62). Gershomites even are appointed to Levitical roles in the operation of the Temple (1 Chr 23:7). Yet the Chronicles also recognizes the Levitical standing of "Gershonites" (e.g., 1 Chr 26:21; 2 Chr 29:12). This confusion has produced several explanations. The LXX of Chronicles translated Gershom as Gedson (Gk *gedson*), the same name that Gershon received in the Greek Pentateuch. Where this equivalence was made difficult by the context in Chronicles, the LXX altered the translation of Gershom further (e.g., Parosom Gk *parosōm,* 1 Chr 23:7). Modern scholars have interpreted this inconsistency as evidence for secondary additions to the lists of Chronicles (*Chronicles* HAT, 51–57). The slight variation between Gershom and Gershon, as well as the clear identity of the two names within the narrative of Chronicles, may simply reflect onomastic variation at the time of the composition of Chronicles. See GERSHON.

3. A descendant of Phineas who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezra 8:2). Gershom occupies the first position in the list of those who accompanied Ezra in his return to Jerusalem. Significantly, he

receives the first position in the list, even before the descendants of Judah's royal line (Ezra 8:2b–3). His priestly lineage via the family of Phineas may explain this fact. Gershom, therefore, was a distant relative of Ezra, who himself traced his priestly heritage through Phineas (Ezra 7:5). The list in which Gershom appears seems to provide an authentic source from the time of Ezra's return (*Ezra Nehemiah* WBC, 108–10), although important dissent from this view has existed (Mowinkel 1964: 118–22).

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JOHN W. WRIGHT

**GERSHON** (PERSON) [Heb *geršôn* (גֵּרְשׁוֹן)]. Var. GERSHOM. GERSHONITE. First son of Levi or the Levitic clan of which he is the eponymous ancestor (Gen 46:11; Exod 6:16; Num 3:17). Chronicles sometimes calls him GERSHOM (1 Chr 6:1, 2, 5, 28, 47, 56; 15:7). The origin of these names is somewhat obscure. The Bible suggests that the latter form was parsed as *gēr šām,* "a sojourner there" (Exod 2:22; Judg 17:7), but this is probably popular etymology. The root is ostensibly *grš* plus the suffix *ôn/ôm* (GKC §85t, u). Noth (*IPN*, 38, 223) points out that in Arabic *jaras (un)* means "bell," but this is without example as a name, and *grš* is not known to have this sense in Hebrew. The root seems rather to be *grš,* "expel," which might form a clan name meaning "the Exile" (perhaps hinted at in Exod 2:22). There is also a noun *gereš* (Deut 33:14), which by context must mean approximately "harvest, produce," the connection to *grš* perhaps being "that which comes forth"; this could form a regional name, perhaps. A final possibility is that Gershom is the original, Gershon having arisen by assimilation with the many *-ôn* suffixed nouns, and that the root is *gšm* plus infixed *resh* (GKC §85w). That root, attested in the name of Geshem/Gashmu the king of Kedar (Neh 2:19; 6:1, 6; see Dumbrell 1971 on an extra-biblical allusion), means "body" or perhaps "big." The name *grsûn* may also be attested in Punic (Slouschz 1942: 348).

According to the Zadokite genealogies of P and Chronicles, Gershon is the first of the three Levitic clans Gershon, Kohath and Merari (Gen 46:11; Exod 6:16; Num 3:17; 26:57; 1 Chr 5:27—Eng6:1; 6:1—Eng6:16; 23:6). Gershon is divided into the clans Libni/Ladan and Shimei (Exod 6:17; Num 3:18, 21; 1 Chr 6:2—Eng6:17; 23:7; 1 Chr 6:27–28—Eng6:42–43) anomalously and perhaps erroneously makes Shimei the son of Jahath the son of Gershom. In the desert, the Gershonites are entrusted with two wagons (Num 7:7) for transporting the textile and skin components of the tabernacle (Num 3:25–26; 4:24–26) under the supervision of the family of Aaron, in particular Ithamar (Num 4:27–28). The number of male Gershonites is 7,500 (Num 3:22), 2,630 between the ages of thirty and fifty (Num 4:40). They camp on the E side of the tabernacle (Num 3:23). The prince of Gershon is Eliasaph the son of Lael (Num 3:24).

The register of Levitical cities, probably dating from the 8th century (Peterson 1977, Boling *Joshua* AB, 492–97), is imperfectly preserved in Joshua 21 and 1 Chronicles 6. The Gershonites are assigned to Golan and Ashtharoth in Transjordanian Manasseh; Kishion/Kedesh, Daberath, Jarmuth/Ramoth and Ein Gannim/Anem in Issachar; Mishal/Mashal, Abdon, Helkath/Hukok and Rehob in Asher; and Kedesh of Galilee; Hammoth Dor/Hammon and Kartan/Kiriathaim in Naphtali (Josh 21:28–32; 1 Chr 6:56–61—Eng6:71–76).

The Chronicler says that Jehiel the Ladanite of the clan of Gershon (1 Chr 26:21; 29:8) supervised the collection of (precious? dressed?) stones donated in David's reign in preparation for Solomon's building the temple. In this period two hundred Gershonites were led by Joel (1 Chr 15:7; cf. 23:8; 26:22). Chronicles also mentions one Joah, the son of Zimmah and Eden (probably to be read Iddo as in 1 Chr 6:6—Eng6:21 or Adaiah as in 1 Chr 6:26—Eng6:41) the son of Joah, Levites who participated in Hezekiah's purification of the temple (2 Chr 29:12).

What are we to make of the similarity of the names Gershon and Gershom? In Chronicles, especially chap. 6, the two are confused. Biblical clan and personal names often appear in more than one lineage, a situation which reflects varying social and political alignments. It might seem, therefore, that some of the clan of Gershon/m claimed Mosaic descent while others did not.

A further, more speculative, analysis is possible, however. To those who assign a major role to an early Mosaic priesthood, terming it Mushite (Cross *CMHE*, 195–215), it is a problem that the Zadokite genealogies make Mushi the last of the grandsons of Levi, i.e., the least significant, detaching him from Moses, the son of Amram, the son of Kohath. Presumably the displacement of Mushi would be the result of polemic, while the hero Moses graces the genealogy of Aaron. By identifying Mushites and Gershonites, Halpern (1974; 1976) restores this house to its place of pride, since Gershon is the first of the Levitic clans. It remains puzzling, however, that P would demote Mushi but not Gershon and leave Gershom as Moses' son. Perhaps we see a compromise: Gershonites who renounced Mosaic descent were given priority in the Levitic genealogy (but note the preeminence of Kohath in Num 4:34–45; 1 Chr 15:5–7; 2 Chr 29:12), while Gershom and Mushi were allocated less distinguished places in the genealogy.

If Gershom and Gershon were one, there were Gershonite priests at Dan (Judg 18:30), in addition to the cities listed above. Halpern (1974) notes that the tribal territories assigned under Solomon to Gershon were on the border, subject to Aramean depredations or annexation by Phoenicia, since three or four Gershonite cities were in the Cabul (1 Kgs 9:10–13). Such an assignment would, by Halpern's theory, be in effect a banishment of rivals as the houses of Zadok and David consolidated their position. And it would seem the strategy worked: Gershonites had little role in Judah, despite their prominence in Israel at Dan. After the Exile, we do not hear of their participation in the Restoration.

Much uncertainty remains, but the position of Gershon in the Levitic genealogy and Gershom's status as the elder son of Moses surely reflect the crucial role of this clan in early Israel.

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WILLIAM H. PROPP

**GERUTH-CHIMHAM** (PLACE) [Heb *gērût* (גֵּרוּת) *kimhām* (כִּמְהָם)]. Name of a location near Bethlehem (Jer 41:17). It is mentioned as the stopping place of Johanan son of Kareah and his force, when fleeing to Egypt after the assassination of Gedaliah, a Babylonian appointed ruler of Judah. The name probably derives from the person, Chimham (note Heb Q *kimhām,* K *kĕmôhām*), who was honored by David in the place of Barzillai the Gileadite (2 Sam 19:38—Eng19:37). See CHIMHAM. Since Chimham received a royal pension (1 Kgs 2:7), it has been inferred that he also received a portion of land from David's patrimony in Bethlehem, which became known as Geruth-Chimham. The word "Geruth" is a *hapax legomenon,* and probably means "habitation," "fief," or "lodging place." This rare word caused different understandings in the versions. It is read as a name in the LXX (A = "land of Beiroth" *gei Beirōth;* B = *Gabeirōth* [Heb letters *gbrt*]). It is read as "threshing floors" [Heb *gornôt*] in the Syriac and "sheep-folds" [*gidrôt*] by Aquila and Josephus (*Ant* 10.9.5).

STEPHEN G. DEMPSTER

**GESHAN** (PERSON) [Heb *gêšān* (גֵּישָׁן)]. Son of Jahdai, apparently of the family of Caleb (1 Chr 2:47). The name probably means "firm" or "strong." In the LXX it appears as *gērsōm.* How Jahdai relates to Caleb is not clear. Perhaps he is a descendant of Caleb, perhaps even a concubine of Caleb. On the difficulties of the genealogy in 1 Chr 2:42–50a see Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC. The name Geshan occurs nowhere else in biblical literature.

CRAIG A. EVANS

**GESHEM** (PERSON) [Heb *gešem* (גֶּשֶׁם)]. The "Arabian" who opposed Nehemiah's plans for rebuilding the Jerusalem wall (Neh 2:19). The gentilic following his name (*hāʿarbî* "the Arabian")

indicated his position of authority under Persian rule, specifically, the region over which he had governance. Sanballat and Tobiah, the governors of Samaria and Ammon, joined him in his opposition, and the three derided Nehemiah's project (2:19) and repeatedly asked to meet with him while conspiring to do him harm (Neh 6:1–4). When these ploys failed, Sanballat threatened to tell the king that Geshem believed rebellious intentions to underlie Nehemiah's reconstruction (Neh 6:6). Obviously, Geshem was a figure of substantial influence if quoting him before the Persian king bore such weight.

Gashmu, a more original form of the Hebraized name Geshem, appears in Neh 6:6 (RSV Geshem, Heb *gašmû*). The meaning may be "big man" or "important man" (cf. the common Arabic verb *jasuma,* "be large").

From Nabataean, Safaitic, Thamudic, and Lihyanite epigraphic evidence, we know this name to be widely attested in the Arabian region of N Arabia. There are two inscriptions which are believed to refer to the Geshem of the Bible. The more important of these, a 5th-century Aramaic inscription on a silver vessel found at Tell el-Maskhuta in Lower Egypt, refers to "Qaynu, the son of Gashmu, the king of Kedar" (Dumbrell 1971), a powerful people who appear preeminent among the Arabian groups of the time. The second, a contemporary Lihyanite inscription found at el-ʿUla (biblical Dedan) also mentions Geshem (Rabinowitz 1956) and another Gashmu appears in a 3d-century Lihyanite king list.

Geshem was likely a Kedarite ruler and a figure of authority for neighboring peoples. Although somewhat overseen by the Persian Empire, his influence extended S and E from Judah and W across the Sinai into Egypt.

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NORA A. WILLIAMS

**GESHUR** (PLACE) [Heb *gešûr* (גְּשׁוּר)]. GESHURITE. A small, semi-independent kingdom left unconquered W of the half-tribe of Manasseh in the Bashan (Deut 3:14; Josh 12:5; 13:11). According to Mazar (1986) Geshur is identical to the "Land of Ga<su>ru" mentioned in a letter from El-Amarna (EA, 256). It seems that Ga<su>ri was, in the 14th century B.C.E., a league of seven cities bordering the kingdom of Pihilu (Pehal—Hellenistic–Roman Pella) and the kingdom of As-tar-ti (Ashtaroth) in Bashan, found on the S and E of Geshur respectively. In EA 256: 18 two cities at the border between Geshur and Pihilu were taken by Pihilu: Ha-iu-ni that was identified at ʿAyun in the S Golan Heights (Schumacher 1888: 97; Albright 1943: 14; also mentioned as ʿAyin in the description of the border of Canaan [Num 34:11] and as ʾAyyanu in the Execration Texts, E18; also ʿIyyon in the territory of Hippos-Susita [*t. Šeb.* 4.10]); and Ia-bi-li-ma identified with Abel—classical Abila S of the Yarmuk River (Schürer, *HJP²* 2, 136; also mentioned in the Execration Texts E43).

It seems likely that the land of Geshur is therefore the geographical-administrative unit forming the S part of the Golan Heights: that is the territory of Hippos in Hellenistic–Roman times, surviving into Ottoman and recent times as Nahia Jaulan Gharbi (Hütteroth and Abdulfatah 1977: 196–97) and as Zawiyah Ghurbiyeh/Fiq (Schumacher 1888: 10).

This area covers some 350 km$^2$ of the most fertile part of the Golan Heights abounding in rich soils and springs. Its natural and administrative borders are: Nahal Samakh in the N, Nahal Yarmouk in the S, Nahal Raqqad in the E, and the Sea of Galilee in the W.

According to the archaeological surveys conducted in the Golan Heights since 1967 (Epstein and Gutman 1972; Maʿoz 1986), this area is the heartland of the settlement in the Bronze and Iron Ages in the Golan. Some of the seven Geshurite cities mentioned in EA 256 can now be identified with sites in the area: *U-du-mu* with ʿEin Umm el-Adam (Epstein and Gutman 1972: 290, No. 105), the town itself is probably buried under the modern village of Kfar Haruv. *A-du-ri* may be tentatively located at tell Abu Mdwawar in Nahal Samakh (Epstein and Gutman 1972: 290, No. 170). *A-ra-ru* at the tell above ʿEin el Hariri (Epstein and Gutman 1972: 290, No. 109). *Me-es-qi* may be identified with Mashrafawi/Shukayyif, S of N Kanaf, an impressive tell surrounded by a Cyclopean Wall occupied from the MB through all

periods to modern times (Epstein and Gutman 1972: 290, No. 137). *Ma-ag-da-li* is one of the MB-LB sites close to Mejdeliyah (Schumacher 1888: 134) such as Bjuriyye (Epstein and Gutman 1972: No. 135) or el-Qusayyibe (Epstein and Gutman 1972: 290, No. 130). *He-ni-a-na-bi* seems to be Tell Nab above a spring (ein-Nab; Epstein and Gutman 1972: No. 162; Schumacher 1888: 134; Albright 1943: 14) and *Za-ar-qi* may perhaps be the tell above ʿein et-Taruq (Epstein and Gutman 1972: No. 177; where Mazar 1986: 116 n. 14 places Heni-anabi).

The archaeological survey has located some twenty-seven sites occupied in the MB II, 8 in the LB, and 18 in the Iron Age I. These sites seem to represent the occupational history of the Land of Geshur. As in other regions of Canaan, there is a marked decline in the settlement density from the MB towards the LB with a revival of occupation in the early Iron Age I (the 11th century B.C.E.).

Geshur remained independent within the Israelite conquered territories. Ruled by a dynasty of kings, the names of two of whom are known, Ammihud (Ammihur, *kethib*) and his son Talmai. Both names seem to be of Hurrite origin. David made an alliance with Geshur by marrying Maacah, daughter of Talmai, who became the mother of Absalom (2 Sam 3:3). While the kingdom (?) of Maacah, located presumably N of Geshur, joined forces with Aram Damascus against David (2 Sam 10:6; 1 Chr 19:7), it was to Geshur that Absalom fled after killing Amnon (2 Sam 13:37; 14:23). Later during the reign of Solomon, Geshur became subordinate to the kingdom of Israel.

After the division of the Israelite united kingdom, Geshur joined Aram in raiding the area of Manasseh in the Bashan, called Argob, capturing the cities of Jair from the Israelites (1 Chr 2:22–23; around 886 B.C.E. Mazar 1986: 121). Geshur seems later to have been incorporated into the kingdom of Aram Damascus (mid–9th century B.C.E.) with the reorganization of the latter (cf. 1 Kgs 20:2–4).

The battle between Ahab and Ben-hadad II (ca. 852 B.C.E.) took place on Geshur territory, close to the city called Aphek (1 Kgs 20:26–30). Aphek was recently located on a small tell in Nahal En-Gev (W. Fiq), 1 km W of Fiq. "Tell Aphek" is 2–3 dunams in size and is surrounded by walls. The site produced ceramic evidence of occupation from the EB IV–MB I period through MB II, LB, and Iron Age to the Hellenistic period.

Geshur shared the fate of the capture of Aram Damascus in 734 B.C.E. by Tiglath-pileser III (2 Kgs 16:29). The archaeological surveys show an occupational gap following the Conquest during the later Iron Age and Persian period throughout the Golan Heights.

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ZVI U. MAOZ

## GESHUR BNOT YAACOV. See JISR BANAT YAʿAQUB.

## GESHURITES [Heb *gĕšûrî* (גְּשׁוּרִי)]. **1.** The inhabitants of an area SE of Philistia, between Philistia and Sinai (Josh 13:2). When Joshua was aged and the wars of the occupation of Canaan were subsiding, they were yet unsubdued; Israel had not yet possessed the area they inhabited. When David fled from Saul and resided in Philistia by permission of Achish, he executed forays against the Geshurites and despoiled them thoroughly (1 Sam 27:8–9).

**2.** The inhabitants of a district, Geshur, bounded by Gilead on the S, Bashan on the E, and Mt. Hermon on the N (Josh 13:11). They were Arameans who, with the Maacathites, remained Israel's neighbors on Israel's NE extremity. The reciprocal relationship between the Israelites and the Geshurites appears to have been ambivalent. When the Israelites occupied Canaan they neither expelled nor subdued the

Geshurites, and Josh 13:13 suggests the Geshurites may have not only remained as a neighbor on Israel's border but may have intermingled with the Israelites. Whatever the relationship was between the Israelites and the Geshurites, it included periods of hostility. When Manasseh settled E of the Jordan, the judge, Jair, a Manassite leader, captured prominent Geshurite cities and numerous towns (Deut 3:14; Josh 13:30; Num 32:41). The Geshurites, in turn, recaptured some of those cities (1 Chr 2:22–23), a feat which must have evinced impressive military force and occasioned intense conflict. One of David's wives, Maacah, was a Geshurite, a daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur. This marriage certainly presupposed, included, or entailed some treaty between Talmai and David, and thus between the Geshurites and the Israelites. David's union with Maacah produced Absalom who was thus part Geshurite by blood if not by nationality. The Geshurites became Absalom's host when he fled from Israel after killing his brother Amnon (2 Sam 13:37–39).

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**GETHER** (PERSON) [Heb *geter* (גֶּתֶר)]. According to the Table of Nations (Gen 10:23), Gether is the son of Aram, the forefather of the Arameans or Syrians, who himself was the son of Shem, son of Noah. He and his descendants are thus Semitic. The corresponding genealogy in 1 Chr 1:17 places Gether as a son of Shem and brother of Aram. This is probably due to a simple copying error by an early scribe. His eye slipped from the first to the second of two lines which ended with the same word, "Aram," leading to the loss of the original line "the sons of Aram (are)" which is still found in Genesis. Little else is known about the identity or geographical location of Gether, although the association with Aram would suggest an Aramean city.

DAVID W. BAKER

**GETHSEMANE** (PLACE) [Gk *Gethsēmani* (Γεθσημανι)]. Garden located E of the Kidron Valley from Jerusalem (John 18:1), on the slopes of the Mount of Olives (Matt 26:30; Luke 22:39). Jesus often went to Gethsemane in order to rest, pray, and find fellowship with his disciples (Luke 21:37, 22:39; John 18:2). After celebrating the Passover with his disciples for the last time, Jesus went to pray in Gethsemane, where he was later betrayed by Judas Iscariot (Matt 26:36–56; Mark 14:32–52; Luke 22:39–53; John 18:1–12).

The name Gethsemane derives from Hebrew and Aramaic words for "oil press." Presumably Gethsemane consisted of an olive orchard and an oil press to squeeze oil from the olives, both of which were common on the Mount of Olives. Matthew and Mark depict Gethsemane as a parcel of land (*chorion*) on the Mount of Olives (Matt 26:30; Mark 14:32). Luke does not mention Gethsemane, implying that the events of Matthew and Mark occurred at a place (*topos*) on the mount itself (Luke 22:39). Only John describes it as a garden or enclosure (*kepos*), though he does not refer to Gethsemane by name (John 18:1). It may have been a walled garden since John describes Jesus and the disciples as having entered it. From John's account we derive the traditional name of the "garden of Gethsemane." The garden must have been fairly large because Jesus led Peter, James, and John away from the rest of the disciples (Matt 26:36–38; Mark 14:32–34), and later Jesus withdrew further in order to pray alone (Matt 26:39; Mark 14:35).

In Gethsemane, Jesus warned his disciples several times to watch and pray against entering into temptation (Matt 26:41; Mark 14:38; Luke 22:40, 46). Jesus understood his own agonizing time of prayer as a time of temptation from completing the sacrificial will of God (Matt 26:42; Mark 14:36; Luke 22:40, 46). He prayed three times for deliverance (Mark 14:32–42). Some ancient manuscripts of Luke include the physical account of how Jesus' sweat became like great drops of blood falling down upon the ground (Luke 22:44). Jesus won the spiritual battle and faithfully met his betrayer in the garden (John 18:1–11). Some now consider the garden of Gethsemane sacred because it represents the location of Jesus' obedience to God and self-sacrificial love. Reminiscent of Gethsemane, Heb 5:7–8 reflects upon the

prayers and supplications Jesus made with loud cries and tears. As a result of his godly fear and obedience, Jesus was made perfect and became the source of eternal salvation to all who obey him.

Today four rival locations claim to be the authentic site of Gethsemane, though none can trace their authenticity prior to the 4th century. Although scholars doubt the accuracy of traditions which try to locate Gethsemane, all admit that the real site cannot be far from one of the traditional ones. In general, Gethsemane was located on the hillside of the Mount of Olives above the road between Jerusalem and Bethany. The traditional Latin (Roman Catholic) site lies nearest the roadway and contains olive trees hundreds of years old, carefully preserved by Franciscans. Despite claims to the contrary, the olive trees do not date back to the time of Jesus. Even if the trees could have lived that long, Josephus records that the Roman Titus cut down all of the trees in the vicinity during the seige of Jerusalem (see *JW* 6.1 §1). Other traditional sites of Gethsemane are maintained by Russian, Armenian, and Greek Orthodox church authorities.

Early Christians conceived of Gethsemane as analogous to the garden of Eden in the divine plan for human redemption. The sinful actions of the first Adam are contrasted with the prayerful obedience of the second Adam—Jesus Christ. Other Christians claim that Jesus' example in Gethsemane gave rise to the custom of kneeling for prayer (Luke 22:41).

DONALD A. D. THORSEN

**GEUEL** (PERSON) [Heb *gĕ›û›ēl* (גְּאוּאֵל)]. One of the twelve individuals sent from Kadesh in the wilderness of Paran to spy out the land of Canaan (Num 13:15). Referred to only in this list of scouts, Geuel was the son of Machi and a representative of the tribe of Gad. He is numbered among the ten who returned from their adventure with a negative report. In translating *gĕ›û›ēl* (possibly "majesty of God"), the LXX reads *Goudiēl.* Although attempts have been made to preserve this rendering on the basis of various original forms, *Goudiēl* appears more suitably as a transliteration of the Heb *gaddî›ēl* in Num 13:10.

TERRY L. BRENSINGER

**GEZER** (PLACE) [Heb *gezer* (גֶּזֶר)]. A site in the foothills of the Judean range. The king of Gezer is said to have participated with the S coalition of cities against the incursions of the Israelites (Josh 10:33). While Joshua is described as having killed the king of Gezer (Josh 10:33; 12:12), the Israelites were unable to capture the city and it remained in Canaanite hands (Josh 16:10; Judg 1:29). The biblical texts hint that the Philistines later occupied the site (2 Sam 5:25) corroborating the finds of the archaeological excavations. Gezer finally came into the orbit of Israelite rule when the Egyptian pharaoh conquered the city and gave it to Solomon upon Solomon's marriage to his daughter (1 Kgs 9:16). Afterward Solomon fortified the city along with special projects at Jerusalem, Hazor, and Megiddo (1 Kgs 9:15–17).

Ancient Gezer has been located at Tell Jezer (Tell el-Jazari), a 33-acre mound 5 miles SSE of Ramleh (M.R. 142140), since C. Clermont-Ganneau first made the identification in 1870. Gezer is situated about 750 feet above sea level, on the last of the foothills of the Judean range where it slopes down to meet the N Shephelah. It guards one of the most important crossroads in ancient Palestine, where the trunk road leading to Jerusalem and sites in the hills branches off from the *Via Maris* at the approach of the Valley of Aijalon. It is mentioned not only in the Bible, but in several Egyptian and Assyrian texts (see Lance 1967; Ross 1967; and Dever fc.).

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A. History of Excavations
B. Results of Excavations
   1. Chalcolithic Period
   2. Early Bronze Age
   3. Middle Bronze Age
   4. Late Bronze Age
   5. Iron Age

6. Persian Period
7. Hellenistic Period
8. Herodian Period
9. Byzantine to Modern Periods

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**A. History of Excavations**

The first excavations at Gezer were conducted between 1902 and 1909 by R. A. S. Macalister for the Palestine Exploration Fund, and the findings were published in three substantial volumes as *The Excavation of Gezer* (1912). Although his notion of stratification was primitive—even judged by the standards of the day—he was able to recognize as many as eight strata (cf. the twenty-six strata of the Hebrew Union College excavations). The pottery was grouped according to seven general periods, some covering as much as eight hundred years: "Pre-Semitic," "First" through "Fourth Semitic," "Hellenistic," and "Roman–Byzantine." The remaining material was published by categories rather than by chronological periods—all the burials together, all the domestic architecture, all the cult objects, all the metal and lithic objects—and scarcely a single item can be related to the general strata, let alone to specific buildings.

What was to have been the beginning of a second series of excavations was sponsored at Gezer by the Palestine Exploration Fund in the summer of 1934 under the direction of A. Rowe (1934). Bedrock was reached in a short time, however, and the excavations were abandoned. G. E. Wright attempted a history of Gezer in 1937, but he was forced by the inadequacy of the published material to confine himself to an article on some of the earliest periods. In 1964, Wright initiated a new ten-year project at Gezer, sponsored by the Hebrew Union College Biblical and Archaeological School (now the Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology) in Jerusalem and supported chiefly by grants from the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, with some assistance from the Harvard Semitic Museum. The project was directed in 1964–65 by Wright (thereafter, he was advisor), from 1966–1971 by W. G. Dever (again in 1984); and in 1972–74 by J. D. Seger. Gezer was the largest and longest-running American excavation of the time in Israel, and pioneered many of the stratigraphic and interdisciplinary methods in widespread use today, as well as the exclusive use of student volunteers for labor.

**B. Results of Excavations**

The following brief reconstruction uses the latest excavations as a framework, but it incorporates the earlier excavations as well as the literary sources where these can be utilized (for semipopular summaries see Dever 1967; fc.; Dever et al. 1971).

**1. Chalcolithic Period.** The earliest occupation in stratum XXVI is represented by Macalister's "Cream Ware," which was found in crevices in the bedrock and was evidently deposited by primitive campsites. More of the material was recovered in the latest excavations in field I, again from hearths and thin deposits on the surface of the bedrock. Both the ceramic and the lithic industries are similar to those of the Ghassul-Beersheba horizon and are to be dated toward the end of the Chalcolithic period, about 3400–3300 B.C.

**2. Early Bronze Age.** The beginning of the EB is fairly well represented, although domestic occupation was not substantial, and there is no evidence that the site was fortified at this time. Most of the EB material published by Macalister (mixed in his "Pre-Semitic" and "First Semitic" periods) came from the "Troglodyte Dwellings"—caves in bedrock that were initially used for habitation and storage and were later reused as burial places. The recent excavations cleared another of these enlarged and modified caves in the rock, Cave I.3A, from which came a variety of store-jars filled with grain, some stone vessels, and several grindstones and other implements (Seger 1989). We may designate this stratum XXV, belonging to EB IA, about 3300–3100 B.C.

EB II (about 3100–2650 B.C.) is represented by rather meager evidence, principally in fields I and V, with their unimpressive domestic constructions. There are at least two building periods (str. XXIV–XXIII), and if most of the elements of the town plan of Macalister's "First Semitic" belong here, as seems likely, occupation may well have spread over most of the mound. However, the pottery and small objects

of this period from the latest excavations were scant and rather poor, as they were from Macalister's excavations. Further evidence for the relative obscurity of Gezer in EB II is the fact that among the large, strategically located sites known from this period, it is the only one which remained unfortified. Whether the site was destroyed or simply deserted, occupation seems to have come to an end by EB IIIA at the latest. The gap in occupation continues throughout EB IV ca. 2400–2000 B.C.

**3. Middle Bronze Age.** It was in the MB that Gezer enjoyed its greatest expansion and prosperity, with the main developments already underway before the end of MB I (str. XXI, about 1900 B.C.). Although the city was not yet fortified, fairly elaborate domestic installations were found in field VI on the acropolis. Houses and courtyards were well planned and constructed, with fine plaster floors. Rock-hewn cisterns were filled by runoff water carried from catchment areas by plastered and stone-capped drains. A partly subterranean granary was extremely well built, with substantial stone foundations, a mudbrick superstructure, and walls and floors sealed against moisture and rodents by a thick coat of plaster. Cist tombs of this period were found by Macalister, and there were also several intramural infant jar burials found by the recent excavations (Dever et al. 1986).

Gezer reached the zenith of its power in the MB II–III periods (ca. 1800–1500 B.C., str. XXI–XVIII). To this phase belong the first fortifications of the city (str. XIX–XVIII). Macalister traced the "Inner Wall" for nearly 450 yards, or one-third of the way around the mound. Eight rectangular towers were located by Macalister and one by Rowe in 1934, so the wall may have had twenty-five or more such towers. The only known gate is Macalister's "South Gate," a typical three-entryway MB city gate, reexcavated as field IV. On the W, it is flanked by Tower 5017, a citadel fifty-three feet wide and the largest single-phase MB defense work known in Syria–Palestine. See Fig. GEZ.01. The wall itself was constructed of large, roughly-dressed stones, some of them almost cyclopean, with a mudbrick superstructure. It averaged 12–14 feet in width and is still preserved as much as 15 feet in height. It was set into a deep foundation trench reaching almost to bedrock. Pottery from this trench as well as from associated structures dates the Inner Wall in both its phases to the MB III period, ca. 1650–1500 B.C. Outside the wall is Glacis 8012, made up of alternating, closely packed fills of debris from the mound and freshly quarried chalk, topped with a thick plaster coating. It sloped up for about 35 feet at a 30 degree angle, leveling off in places to form a horizontal platform before abutting the "Inner Wall" (Dever et al. 1970; 1974).

Another piece of monumental architecture belonging to this period (str. XIX–XVII) is the famous "High Place" discovered by Macalister. See Fig. GEZ.02. It consists of a row of ten monoliths, some over 10-feet high, erected in a N–S line just inside the "Inner Wall" in the north-central area of the mound. To the W of the alignment is a large stone block, perhaps a basin or a socket for a now-missing monolith. The surface over the area is plastered and is surrounded by a low stone curb wall. Macalister dated the main installation to his "Second Semitic" period (MB–LB) and compared it with later biblical "high places," interpreting the steles as typical Canaanite *ʾasherôth* and construing burial jars in the vicinity (now known to be earlier) as evidence for child sacrifice. While most of Macalister's theories must now be discarded as fanciful, renewed investigation of the "High Place" in 1968 (field V) demonstrated that it was constructed in MB III, with a possible reuse phase in the LB. A cultic interpretation still seems best, perhaps in connection with the covenant renewal ceremony of a tribal or city–state league (cf. Exod 24:1–11; Dever 1973).

Domestic structures of MB II–III show continuity with MB I levels, especially in field VI, where there is an unbroken sequence. The prosperity and artistic development of the period is attested by several rich tombs found by Macalister, especially Tomb 28 with its alabasters, scarabs, and gold jewelry.

The MB city was brought to an end by a destruction that left three feet or more of burned bricks in every field investigated. Along the inner face of the city wall, just W of the "South Gate," there was found a row of hovels and storerooms containing quantities of grain-filled store-jars and other vessels, crushed under an accumulation of burned beams, ashes, fallen mudbricks, and debris from the collapsed wall. Imported Monochrome and local Bichrome, as well as other transitional MB–LB pottery, suggest a date as late as possible for this destruction. Provisionally, it may be correlated with the first campaign of Thutmose III

(ca. 1482 B.C.), when he claims to have destroyed Gezer in his well-known inscription on the walls of the Temple of Amon at Karnak (Dever et al. 1970; 1974).

**4. Late Bronze Age.** Apart from a few hints in Macalister's material, the LB IA (early 15th century B.C.) is scarcely represented, so a partial desertion may have taken place following the Thutmose III destruction. Stratum XVII of LB IB (late 15th century) is also poorly known, except for Cave I.10A of field I, cut into the bedrock outside the "Inner Wall." Most of the several dozen burials deposited in the lower level of this cave during a generation or so show signs of advanced arthritis, probably from stoop labor, which may be an indication of the hardships of life during this period. However, imported Cypriot pottery, Egyptian glass, alabaster, ivory vessels, and a unique terra-cotta sarcophagus of Mycenaean inspiration, all indicate international trade (Seger 1989).

A renascence was underway by the beginning of LB IIA, undoubtedly associated with the well-known Amarna period when Palestine was under Egyptian domination. Stratum XVI, which should provide the context for the ten known Amarna letters from Gezer (Lance 1967; Ross 1967) was exposed extensively only in field VI, where unfortunately it had been almost entirely disturbed by later pits. Mere hints were preserved of what must once have been an impressive material culture. "Palace 14120" had walls as much as 6 feet thick that were exceptionally well constructed. Thick plaster surfaces ran across floors and outdoor courtyards and sealed stone-capped drains. Among the small objects were quantities of Egyptian imports, especially fragments of Amarna Age faience bowls, glass beads, faience pendants, scarabs, fragments of gold foil, and a statuette base bearing the name of "Sobek-nefru-ankh." Local objects included a clay crucible for copper smelting and a perfectly preserved bronze serpent about 6 inches long (Dever et al. 1986).

To this period, in all likelihood, belongs the construction and first-phase use of the "Outer Wall," which Macalister traced for some 1300 yards, or four-fifths of the way around the perimeter of the mound (attributed to his "Third Semitic" period, or roughly our LB Age). It supplanted the ruined MB "Inner Wall," following a line farther down the slopes and enclosing perhaps one-fourth more area, particularly on the NW. See Fig. GEZ.01. In most places, the wall was set into a deep trench reaching bedrock and destroying the earlier *glacis.* It averaged 12–14 feet in width and is still preserved as much as 15 feet high. A rather crude *glacis* was added to the exterior. The gateway has not been located, but it almost certainly lies below the Solomonic Gate on the S slopes (field III). If our date is correct, this city wall is unique in being the country's only defense system *originally* constructed in the LB and not reused from an earlier period (Dever 1986 and references there to other views).

It has been suggested that Macalister's Water Tunnel (see Fig. GEZ.01) may have been dug in this period, but the shaft was cut off from its context by Macalister and cannot now be dated. It may belong instead, like those at Hazor, Megiddo, and Gibeon, to the Iron Age II.

The LB IIB period may have witnessed something of a decline at Gezer, as elsewhere in the post-Amarna age. No large-scale destruction had taken place at the end of stratum XVI, but some disturbance may be evident in the fact that in both fields I and VI almost no element of the architecture survived to be reused in stratum XV, and the rather unimpressive buildings which succeeded were built on a new orientation.

The end of stratum XV toward the late 13th century B.C. presents a problem. In field II, domestic occupation was interrupted by a destruction that left quantities of smashed pottery and other objects lying about a heavily burned courtyard. It would be tempting to relate this to the destruction claimed by Pharaoh Merneptah on the famous "Israel Stele," about 1210 B.C.; among Macalister's finds was a pectoral bearing the cartouche of Merneptah. Stratum XIV is attested only by a partial hiatus, marked by extensive trenching. These may explain the curious fact that nowhere did the excavations encounter a real destruction accompanying the arrival of the Philistines or "Sea Peoples" in the early 12th century B.C. The site may already have been partially destroyed and deserted. An alternative would be to attribute the disturbance to an Israelite destruction and brief occupation, but the literary tradition in the Bible is explicit that Gezer was not taken in the conquest (Josh 16:10; Judg 1:29).

**5. Iron Age.** Early Iron I, or the Philistine period at Gezer, is especially well attested, with strata XIII–XI all belonging to this horizon. On the acropolis several subphases are characteristic of the energetic but stormy cultural history of the era. Although there is continuity in basic architectural elements, and certainly in the typical local painted pottery, no less than three major destructions are evident. In the first, sometime in the early 12th century, a large public granary was destroyed and then rebuilt. After the second destruction in the mid-12th century, it was abandoned, and the adjacent threshing floor was converted into an area of fine private houses. Two large courtyard houses on the upper terrace have been excavated. Both were destroyed by fire toward the end of the 12th century, then rebuilt, destroyed again, and finally rebuilt very poorly, before being abandoned in the mid-11th century B.C. Elsewhere, in fields I and II, two or three Philistine phases are also evident, though with less dramatic demarcations. Macalister's Tombs 9 Upper, 58 Upper, and 59 Upper may all be ascribed to this period. The pottery of this horizon, particularly in the 12th century, is a mixture of local traditions of the degenerate LB Age, plus the sudden appearance of the characteristic Philistine Bichrome wares. The distinctive Philistine painted wares are relatively scarce (perhaps less than 5 percent), and they decline in both number and quality toward the end of the period (Dever et al. 1986).

In fields II and VI, two ephemeral "post-Philistine/pre-Solomonic" phases were discerned, strata X–IX (late 11th–mid-10th centuries B.C.). These phases were marked by a distinctive pottery that was no longer painted but was merely treated with an unburnished, thin, red slip, especially on small bowls. The architecture following the Philistine strata was poor. Everywhere they were investigated, these levels came to an end in a violent destruction, which may be correlated with the campaigns of the Egyptian pharaoh who according to 1 Kgs 9:15–17 had "captured Gezer and burnt it with fire" before ceding it to Solomon, probably around 950 B.C. (It has been suggested that this pharaoh was Siamun, of the ill-fated 21st Dyn., but this is uncertain on present evidence; cf. Lance 1967).

The first Israelite level is stratum VIII, to which belongs Macalister's "Maccabean Castle." This structure, only partially excavated, was first recognized by Y. Yadin (1958) as a typical Solomonic four-entryway city gate, almost identical to those previously published from Megiddo and Hazor. The recent excavations in field III have fully confirmed the date and have filled in many details concerning the plan and construction. See Fig. GEZ.01. The inner gate was exceptionally well built, with foundations in the guardrooms going some 6–8 feet below the surface and with fine ashlar masonry at the jambs. Plastered benches skirted the three walls of each of the inner chambers, a feature considered so essential that each time floor levels were raised the benches were also raised and replastered. Roofs over these inner chambers are indicated by a plastered downspout drain at the rear corner of the gate structure. Shortly after its construction about the mid-10th century B.C., the gate was altered by the raising of the street level and the addition of a large drain, over 3-feet wide, running down the middle of the street and under the threshold. An outer two-entryway gate and short stretch of wall connecting with the "Outer Wall" were recleared in 1984 (Dever 1986).

The casemate wall connected with the upper gate has been investigated in field II as well, and it is also Solomonic in date. See Fig. GEZ.01. In all probability, the towers of ashlar masonry, which Macalister demonstrated as being an addition to the "Outer Wall," are of this period. Apparently, Solomon simply repaired and reused the LB fortifications wherever possible, adding his own distinctive type of city wall and gateway only in the area where we conjecture that the ruined LB gate had been situated, connecting the gate with the casemate wall upslope and the reused "Outer Wall" downslope (Dever 1986). See Fig. GEZ.01. The 1984 season revealed part of a large barracks/administrative complex just to the W of the upper gate, "Palace 10,000," perhaps comparable to "Palace 6000" at Megiddo (Dever 1985, 1986).

The domestic architecture of stratum VIII was unimpressive, indicating perhaps that Gezer under Solomonic control was little more than a token administrative center. In field VI, large ashlars identical to those in the gate were found in secondary use in a citadel wall of about the Assyrian period—virtually all that survives here of the post-Philistine period—so it is possible that there was a Solomonic fortress or palace on the acropolis. No tombs were found in the recent excavations, but Tombs 84–85 Middle, 96, and 138 of Macalister's excavations have good mid-10th century material. The pottery is typical of the

period, with the red-slipped wares of the previous period now hand-burnished. Among the small objects, one may note a small limestone incense altar inscribed with a stick figure who resembles the Canaanite storm god Ba‹al, with an uplifted arm grasping a bundle of lightning bolts.

A destruction, particularly heavy in the vicinity of the gateway, brought stratum VIII to an end in the late-10th century B.C. This was probably the work of Shishak about 924 B.C., as part of his well-known raid in Palestine (cf. 1 Kgs 14:25).

Macalister's arbitrary selection and publication of the material of the Iron Age II (mixed in his "Fourth Semitic" period) had led most scholars, including Albright, to assume that the site was virtually abandoned in the 9th–7th centuries B.C. However, Macalister's Tombs 28, 31, 84–85 Upper, and 142 certainly belong to Iron Age II, and the "gap" has been closed by strata VII–V of the recent excavations. Nevertheless, it is evident that occupation was rather sparse, and the site seems to have declined in importance following the Shishak destruction.

In stratum VII (9th century B.C.), the Solomonic gate was rebuilt as a three-entryway gate, identical to that of Megiddo IV-A. Field VII produced several fine pillared-courtyard houses of strata VII–VI. The gate survived until stratum VI was destroyed, probably by Tiglath-pileser III in the Assyrian campaigns of 734/33 B.C., which are depicted in a well-known relief found long ago at Nimrud (Calah). "Palace 8,000," above the ruins of "Palace 10,000" W of the upper gate, was also destroyed at this time. A chamber of the adjacent casemate wall was filled with destruction debris, including iron arrowheads (Dever 1985). Domestic levels elsewhere were also brought to an end, these in a conflagration that has left dramatic evidence in field II.

Stratum V (7th century B.C.) is of little importance, except that it provides a context for Macalister's Neo-Asyrian tablets and the several royal-stamped jar handles found. Although little evidence survives, the gate apparently was converted at this time into a two-entryway gate like that of Megiddo III. Shortly after, it was destroyed so badly, probably in the Babylonian invasion of the 6th century, that it was never rebuilt as a chambered gate. In fields II and VIII, stratum V domestic levels were also found badly destroyed. In the casemate of the city wall in field II, there was found a quantity of smashed pottery, some of the sherds marked by firebrands, and a spill of calcined limestone.

**6. Persian Period.** A gap follows the end of stratum V, which stratum IV of the Persian period (5th–4th centuries) only partially fills. Macalister's "Philistine Tombs," with their rich deposits of silver vessels, belong here. The recent excavations produced very scant material, although typical Persian pottery was found in small quantities in stratum IV. Otherwise, only a few pits and some flimsy walls of the Persian period survive.

**7. Hellenistic Period.** Strata III–II are Hellenistic, spanning the 3d and nearly all of the 2d centuries B.C. but representing for the most part the Maccabean era, as the literary sources lead one to expect (esp. 1–2 Maccabees). From the Ptolemaic period, to which stratum III seems to belong, there is little material from the recent excavations, although Macalister's *Yehûd* and *Yerushalayim* stamp impressions attest to occupation. Somewhat later, the gate in field III was rebuilt, perhaps by the Syrian general Bacchides. For the Hasmonaean period, a fairly extensive exposure in fields II and VII has produced several fine courtyard houses. From the ruins of the last phase came a coin of Demetrius II (ca. 144 B.C.). In fills beneath the floors was a coin of Antiochus VII (ca. 138–129 B.C.). Rhodian jar handles, lead weights, and a mass of iron tools were also found. The gate of field III was rather hastily repaired, the threshold being narrowed nearly a meter, and only parts of the interior structure reused (Macalister's "Maccabean Castle"). It seems certain that the "Outer Wall" was retrenched and reused, Macalister's semicircular bastions being added around the towers at this time. With the destruction of stratum II sometime toward the end of the 2d century B.C., Gezer's long history as an important city in Palestine came to a virtual end.

**8. Herodian Period.** Stratum I belongs to about the Herodian era (late 1st century B.C.–1st century A.D.), as shown by material from both the earlier and the more recent excavations. The site was virtually deserted, and most of the known material comes from Macalister's *kokhim* tombs in the vicinity. The well-known Gezer boundary inscriptions, found in an arc some distance from the mound, are further evidence that in the Herodian period Gezer was no longer an independent city but merely part of a large

private estate, thinly occupied and no longer of consequence. The owner or administrator, whose Greek name "Alkios" is given on the inscriptions, may have been Jewish, but that is uncertain. Macalister's "Syrian Bath" probably belongs to this period and may be a *mikveh.*

**9. Byzantine to Modern Periods.** The only later material consists of tombs excavated by Macalister, most of which are Byzantine (4th–6th centuries A.D.), and faint traces of occupation in the vicinity of the mound. Two coins attributed to Chosroes II (about A.D. 614–628) attest to the era of the Persian conquest in 7th century A.D. Gezer was identified by Clermont-Ganneau with *Mont Gisart* of the Crusaders, but this identification is without supporting evidence. A few coins and some vessels of the Mameluke period in reused Byzantine tombs are evidence of an occupation in the 13th century A.D. A small *wêli* (Muslim shrine of a holy man) was built on the acropolis in the 16th century but is now destroyed, as is the modern village of Abu Shusheh on the W slopes, which was founded in the late 18th or early 19th century. Nearby, Kibbutz Gezer perpetuates the name.

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**GHASSUL, TULEILAT EL-** (M.R. 207135). Tuleilat, the diminutive plural form of Arabic "tell," describes a series of small low mounds in the lower Jordan Valley, mounds once covered with a thick growth of a brushwood plant from which a washing (Ghassul) soda was extracted. The name literally means "the small hills of the washing soda plant."

The site is situated at the NE corner of the Dead Sea, approximately 5 km to the E of the river Jordan and between 290 and 300 m below sea level. In modern times the area is hot (summer temperatures often in excess of 50° C [ca. 120° F]) and dry; but with recent irrigation from the East Valley Canal the soil has proven suitable for market garden produce.

The ancient settlement was large, about 20 hectares, and, at the time of its initial settlement, founded on sandbars in the midst of slow moving fresh water. This swampy environment supported a luxuriant natural growth of sedge, alder, reeds, and mosses (Webley 1969).

The importance of Tuleilat (or often Teleilat) Ghassul was first recognized by Pere Mallon of the Pontifical Biblical Institute and excavations were conducted on two occasions; initially from 1929–1938 (Mallon, Koeppel, and Neuville 1934; Koeppel, et al. 1940) and again in 1960 under the direction of Robert North (North 1961). In 1967, a further series of excavations were instituted; however, the program was interrupted by the war of 1967, but it resumed in four more seasons between 1975 and 1978 (Hennessy 1969; 1982).

The stratification of the site has been complicated by the action of successive earthquakes, some which undoubtedly account for the destruction of the prehistoric settlements; but more recent seismic activity since the Chalcolithic period has continued to split the site, a result which has been accentuated by the soft, sandy base of the ancient settlement.

There are about 5.6 m of accumulated settlement remains, representing almost 1000 years of occupation. Carbon 14 analyses suggest an original Late Neolithic settlement at about 4600 B.C. and a final desertion of the Chalcolithic town ca. 3600 B.C. Both figures are Libby half-life and uncalibrated.

The initial Neolithic occupation consisted of half-sunken rounded houses or pits. Evidence of the settlement was found at the bottom of areas A and E and the dwellings were dug into natural sand. The flaked-stone industry and ceramics of these first settlers are similar to those of Jericho Pottery Neolithic A and B.

Above the Neolithic settlement in area A there is about 5 m of deposit containing eight major building phases, separated from each other by camp floors. Throughout the deposit the architecture is uniform. The buildings appear to be domestic and consist of large rectangular rooms with dimensions up to 15 × 5 m, though the average is somewhat less.

The normal method of construction was a single foundation course of heavy river stones, probably from the nearby Wadi Djarafa, and a superstructure of mudbrick. The bricks were bun-shaped, about 25–30 cm in diameter, sun-dried, and were laid in a mud mortar. Entrance to the building was through a single doorway, usually in one of the long sides. Roofs appear to have been pitched and constructed of reeds and a mud capping over a heavy timber frame. In some of the larger buildings central timber posts appear to have been used to support the roof.

Floors were usually of packed mud or earth, though pebble floors were sometimes used and occasionally finished with a coating of thick lime plaster. The same plaster was used to line inner-wall surfaces and the faces of pits and silos cut into house and courtyard floors.

In many instances the plaster-coated walls were painted with scenes of geometric and naturalistic patterns. The wide variety of colors, red, green, black, white, and yellow, in varying shades, appear to have been mineral based. Walls were recoated and painted; in some instances more than twenty replasterings have been counted. The painted buildings occur in all phases of the rectangular architecture. One of the earliest was lifted and conserved. It shows a human procession of richly garbed figures approaching what appears to be a building—perhaps the cult center of area E. A comparable construction appears in the background of the famous "star fresco" found in 1933 (Mallon, Koeppel, and Neuville 1934: 135–40). Stone-lined hearths and storage pits were found both inside houses and in courtyards.

Two of the rectangular buildings (area E) were enclosed by a mudbrick wall on stone foundations. Although the E and S sides of the enclosure wall had been eroded, the general plan immediately calls to mind the cult area at En Gedi, and the contents of the two buildings at Ghassul supports the suggestion that the area was a cult center.

No adult human skeletons have been found; but well-preserved remains of newly born children are quite common beneath the floors of houses. They occur in a corner of the room, either inside jars or covered by large pithos sherds, and may be evidence of foundation sacrifices.

Throughout the occupation of Ghassul, the economy appears to have been based on agriculture and pastoralism, though some hunting is evidenced.

In brief, the archaeological significance of an sequence at the site is as follows:

1. The site was a large one, without any real evidence of technological specialization in any area of the settlement. The only isolated region appears to have been the sanctuary area.
2. There is no evidence of any temporal significance to the various mounds—all areas tested show the same general sequence.
3. The site was occupied for about 1000 years, ca. 4600–3600 B.C. There is strong evidence in some areas that at least one building phase had been eroded from the top of the site.
4. The basic culture assemblage shows changes throughout the 1000 years of occupation, but nothing which could not be explained as simple internal change or development.

The changes which do take place in the 1000 year history of Tuleilat Ghassul are most clearly seen in the ceramic industry. In general terms, the changes were in shape and decoration; the fabric and firing of the pottery remained fairly uniform.

Buff wares tend to be more common in the earlier strata, but even there the majority of the pottery is red to gray ware with gritty inclusions, but well-fired. A notable feature of the developed Ghassulian ceramics is the technological skill of its manufacture. Many sherds show evidence of having been taken to a point of vitrification and held there. No wasters have been found on the site, and it is presumed that the firing took place outside the settlement area, probably nearer the foothills of the E range where timber for the kilns could have been more readily available (see Fig. GHA.01).

However, three major periods can be seen in the ceramic phases. In phase 1, the earliest pottery (cf. Hennessy 1982: fig. 2) belonging to the period of the sunken round houses and earliest rectangular architecture, had simple and plain rims, with shallow bowls and jars; the ware was dark-faced and coarse, but with a notable percentage of buff clays. The surfaces occasionally had matte red slips (burnishing was rare) or were grass wiped, textured, incised, or with stabbed decoration. Painted decoration was extremely rare and when it did occur it was limited to a red band painted around the rim of shallow bowls. The bases were usually flat and often splayed, but ring bases did occur; round-weave mat impressions are clear on the bases.

The middle phase 2 (cf. Hennessy 1977: figs. 7–8) was represented by an elaboration of rim shapes and the common appearance of the cornet with a uniform hard-fired red to gray ware (buff wares were less common). The appearance of simple geometric painted ornamentation became more common, but was still rare; chevrons, solid triangles, and loops also occur; mat impressions change from a round weave to a square weave.

In the upper levels (cf. Hennessy 1977: figs. 5–6) the wares were often smear washed and painted; the cornet became more common and lighter and was commonly decorated. A large variety of deep and shallow bowls, jars, and jugs with the common appearance of small multiple lug handles appeared.

Distinctions within the flaked-stone industry are less well marked, apart from a solid Neolithic content in the earliest phases, where there are: (1) blades with broad denticulation—but also fine denticulates; (2) notched blades; (3) serial flaked blades.

These three elements disappear with the appearance of rectangular architecture. Axes, chisels, points, burins, steep and flat scrapers (round or fan) are common in all periods, and chisels tend to become longer and more slender as time advances. Certainly, on our evidence, hollow ground and polished cutting edges are a late feature.

There is no obsidian and all flaked stonework was on local chert and flint. A number of blanks were found and a knapper’s workshop in area A demonstrates that the flaked-stone industry was a local one. Arrowheads, with or without tangs, do occur.

As yet, the study of the faunal and floral evidence is incomplete, but from observations in the course of excavation, there appears to be no major change. Varieties of wheat, barley, peas, olives, and flax are common and often found in large storage jars. Remains of pig, goat, sheep, deer, and cattle are present at all levels. The suggestion of a mixed pastoral, agricultural, and hunting economy would suit the evidence at Tuleilat Ghassul well.

A developing metal industry is attested in the upper levels (Mallon, Koeppel, and Neuville 1934: 75–77) and malachite was traded for beads—presumably with the area of the Wadi Feinan to the S of the Dead Sea.

The bone and ground-stone industries remained uniform throughout the site.

The $C^{14}$ dates, the Neolithic flaked-stone types, and the earliest pottery would certainly suggest connections with the Pottery Neolithic cultures of Jericho and the upper phases at Ard Tlaili, Middle and Late Neolithic Byblos, and the S Neolithic sites of the Beqaʿ, but nowhere, so far, are the connections sufficiently close to allow one to fit the earliest Ghassul sequence into a certain slot in the Late Neolithic/Early Chalcolithic cultures of the Levant.

Most of the normally accepted criteria for Late Neolithic—burnished wares, bow rims, herringbone incisions, and burnished red-on-cream wares are either missing or rare in the lower levels at Ghassul.

With a few notable exceptions (javelin and projectile heads and tanged arrowheads), the flaked-stone industry is close to those Late Neolithic and Early Chalcolithic sites mentioned above, and right from the

beginning, chisels are a dominant feature. They occur by the hundreds and fit well into Copeland/Perrot's suggestion of an increased dependence on wood and woodwork from the beginning of the Middle Neolithic.

At the other end of the scale, the relationship with the Beer-sheba sites are fairly clear; but there are a few points we should note. Cornets, which have an early origin at Ghassul are more common than they are on the W sites. On the other hand, churns which are comparatively common on the W sites are rare at Ghassul. The smeared-washed wares of Ghassul are again comparatively rare outside Ghassul.

It seems that the relationships between the W sites and Ghassul, are confined to those features which are common at Ghassul only in phases A and B, the very final stages of occupation at the site.

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JOHN B. HENNESSEY

**GHAZZA, KHIRBET.** See ʿUZA, HORVAT.

**GHOSH** (PLACE). See ABU GHOSH (M.R. 160134).

**GHOST.** See MAGIC (OT).

**GHRAREH** (M.R. 191956). Ghrareh is an Edomite site of the 7th–6th centuries B.C. It has not thus far been equated with any biblical site.

Ghrareh is located in S Edom at the head of the Wadi Delaghah, one of the few practical routes to the Wadi Arabah and the W from this point on the plateau. It is situated on a projecting spur which slopes steeply to the N, W, and S and is approximately one km from the nearest source of water—the perennial spring at ʿAin Reseis.

Ghrareh was first discovered by the Edom Survey Project in 1984 (Hart and Falkner 1985). It was sounded during the 1985 season (Hart 1987a and 1987b) and in 1986 a full season of excavation was undertaken (Hart 1988). The top of the hill is enclosed by a substantial defensive stone wall, part of which may have been of casemate construction. In the center of the enclosure (area A) is a single courtyard house with a cistern and associated structures attached to the S. The main gate to the fortress was not found but was probably located at the E end of the site which has suffered badly from Nabatean stone-robbing and recent ploughing. It would appear from surface remains that most of the enclosure was open or contained makeshift structures.

The central building (area A) is built of the local limestone using large blocks (up to 1.5 m long) with some snecking. Bedrock, with plaster in places to smooth out irregularities, forms the only floor. In plan the building consists of a central courtyard divided by a line of pillars. Rooms adjoin to the W and S. On the N side there is no room but rather a "verandah" raised on overlaid stones. Towers occupy the corners of the building and project on either side of the front doorway (the E).

Pottery is standard Edomite 7th–6th centuries B.C. with many parallels in the Buseirah and Tawilan corpora.

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STEPHEN HART

**GIAH** (PLACE) [Heb *gîaḥ* (גִּיחַ)]. An unknown site close to which Joab and Abishai rallied supportive Benjaminites in their pursuit of Abner (2 Sam 2:24). The text is difficult, if not corrupt. Neither the name Giah nor the hill of Ammah, which it is said to be near, are otherwise attested. LXX reads Gai, a transliteration of *gay*ʿ (meaning valley), but that does not help us since, by itself, it is also completely unknown as the name of a particular place. The identity of the location is further complicated by the fact that the men are said to have been moving towards the desert of Gibeon. Since Gibeon is not in a wilderness or desert region, we are probably justified in accepting S. R. Driver's (*NHT*, 244) suggestion that Geba be read in place of Gibeon. Geba stands near the desert region leading down to Jericho. While the exact location of the site is indeterminate, we can say with some assurance that it is in the tribal district of Benjamin.
ELMER H. DYCK

**GIANTS, GIGANTISM.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**GIBBAR** (PERSON) [Heb *gibbār* (גִּבָּר)]. Name of a family returning to Palestine with Zerubbabel shortly after 538 B.C.E., the end of the Babylonian exile. Ezra 2:20 includes the "sons of Gibbar" in a list of the "men of the people of Israel" (Ezra 2:2b–35), distinguishing them from the priests, Levites, and temple-servants. Since the parallel list of returning exiles in Neh 7:7b–38 records the "sons of Gibeon" (7:25) in the place corresponding to the Gibbar entry in the Ezra 2 list, it has been conjectured that Gibbar is a corruption of the place-name Gibeon. This idea is further strengthened by the observation that many other place-names begin to appear in the Ezra 2 list, especially in 2:21–35 (immediately after the Gibbar entry). However, there is no additional evidence to support any connection between Gibbar and Gibeon; it is also uncertain as to which form is the more original.
STEVEN R. SWANSON

**GIBBETHON** (PLACE) [Heb *gibbĕtôn* (גִּבְּתוֹן)]. A Levitical city belonging to the tribe of Dan (Josh 21:23). In the parallel list in 1 Chronicles, Gibbethon is omitted. Gibbethon was assigned to the tribe of Dan as a part of its inheritance (Josh 19:44) before the tribe migrated to the N. The city is also mentioned in two narratives concerning the Philistines and Israel. Baasha made a conspiracy against Nadab, king of Israel, and killed him while his army was attacking Gibbethon (1 Kgs 15:27). Some twenty-six years later, when Elah, son of Baasha, and all his descendants were assassinated by Zimri, Gibbethon belonged to the Philistines. Zimri had not taken into consideration his rival to the throne, Omri, who was proclaimed king over Israel by his troops. Omri's army encamped against Gibbethon, and when Zimri saw that the city had been taken by Omri, he went into the citadel of the king's house, set it on fire, and died in the blaze (1 Kgs 16:15–18). These two events point out the importance of this city on the W edge of the Judean hills (*LBHG*, 45).

Outside the Bible, Gibbethon appears in two major campaign lists. Thutmose III led an important campaign into Palestine and secured a decisive victory in 1468 B.C.; one of the cities on his city list (#103) is identified as Gibbethon (*LBHG*, 151). The second extrabiblical reference to Gibbethon appears in the description of the campaign of Sargon II against Azuri (713 B.C.) and Iamani (712 B.C.), kings of Ashdod (Tadmor 1958). Although this battle is reported in 2 Kgs 17:3–6 and Isaiah 20, Gibbethon is not mentioned there. When Sargon's army invaded Palestine, he conquered Gath, Ekron, and Gibbethon on the way to capturing Ashdod and establishing it as part of an Assyrian province.

Two sites have been associated with biblical Gibbethon. The first, Tell Malat (M.R. 137140), was first proposed by von Rad (1933: 30–42). Tell Malat is located near the E boundary of the coastal plain only 20 km E of the Mediterranean, 5 km SE of Rehovot and 7 km S of Ramla. Tell Gezer sits boldly and alone on the horizon to its E. When looking at Gezer from Tell Malat one is impressed by the size of Gezer and by the close proximity that would almost certainly force a close relationship between the two sites. Surveys and trial probes at Tell Malat have yielded EB, MB II, LB, Iron I, Iron II, Persian, Roman, Byzantine, and Arabic artifacts. During the Iron II period there was a strong concentration of 9th/8th century occupation.

The second proposed site for Gibbethon is Ras Abu Hamid (M.R. 139145), located 3 km SE of Ramla and 6 km NW of Gezer. The tell is a low, oblong mound lying in the fertile coastal plain, situated at the fork of the old and new roads to Jerusalem. Like Tell Malat, Ras Abu Hamid is on the E branch of the Via Maris, which in itself would emphasize the special importance of the site, particularly in its relationship to Gezer. In 1951 a group of Mazar's students conducted a survey of the Dan region. As a result of this survey, Kallai suggested that Ras Abu Hamid be identified with Gibbethon. Prior to the survey in 1951, the early geographers who visited Ras Abu Hamid identified Iron I, Iron II, Roman (2d and 3d centuries), Byzantine, and Arab periods. Mazar's students confirmed this occupational history that the early geographers had indicated and noted Persian remains as well. Missing from all reports was evidence of LB occupation which, of course, raises questions about the Thutmose III campaign.

The most important factor in determining which tell should be associated with Gibbethon is the reference in 1 Kgs 16:17–18. Here Gibbethon is referred to as a fortified city and citadel. Ras Abu Hamid is not fortified and does not have a citadel. On the other hand, Tell Malat is a prominent fortified tell, dominating the whole region. When one looks at the history of biblical Gibbethon, including the records of Sargon, it must be concluded that biblical Gibbethon is more likely to be identified with Tell Malat.

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JOHN L. PETERSON

**GIBEA** (PERSON) [Heb *gib‹ā›* (גִּבְעָא)]. Son of Sheva and grandson of Caleb's concubine Maacah (1 Chr 2:49, cf. v 48). The name probably means "highlander." In the LXX it appears as *gaibaa.* There is some speculation (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 42) that this name might relate to the place name Gibeah (see Josh 15:57). It is possible that other names in the genealogy of 1 Chr 2:42–50a may also refer to cities.

CRAIG A. EVANS

**GIBEAH** (PLACE) [Heb *gib‹ah* (גִּבְעָה)]. Four places in the Hebrew Bible use this name, which simply means "hill."

**1.** A town listed in a group of ten cities in the hill country of Judah (Josh 15:57) and among the cities belonging to the sons of Caleb (1 Chr 2:49). Each list associates Gibeah of Judah with towns in the region S of Hebron, otherwise its precise location is unknown.

**2.** Ephraimite burial place of Eleazar, son of Aaron (Josh 24:33). It is unclear whether the Hebrew here indicates an appellative ("in a hill") or a proper toponym ("in Gibeah"). If the reference indicates a city, the lack of additional biblical information makes its location impossible to determine. Eusebius mentions a "Geba" in Ephraim five miles N of Gophna (Jifna). Suggested modern candidates for this site have included Jibia (M.R. 165156), 5 km NW of Bir Zeit, and et-Tell (M.R. 174158), 1 km S of Sinjil.

**3.** The MT toponym "Gibeath-Kiriath" (LXX: "Gibeath-Jearim") in the Benjaminite town-list (Josh 18:28) is probably a textually truncated form of an original "hill of Kiriath-Jearim" (Miller 1975: 147–50), a site known from 1 Sam 7:1–2 and 2 Sam 6:2–4 as the resting place of the ark of the covenant until it was removed to Jerusalem by David. Kiriath-Jearim is commonly identified with modern Deir el-Azhar (M.R. 159135), near Abu Ghosh, and its "hill" was probably a "high place" in this vicinity.

**4.** An important city in Benjamin whose name appears in a wide variety of forms; e.g., "Gibeah" (Judg 19:13), "Gibeah which belongs to Benjamin" (Judg 19:14), "Gibeah of Benjamin" (1 Sam 13:2), "Gibeah of the Benjaminites" (2 Sam 23:9), "Gibeah of Saul" (Isa 10:29), "Gibeah of God" (1 Sam 10:5), and possibly "Geba" (1 Sam 13:3).

The location and modern identification of Gibeah is a long-disputed issue. In 1841, E. Robinson first proposed that "Gibeah" and "Geba" were variant toponyms referring to the same city which once existed at the site of modern Jabaʿ (M.R. 175140), 9 km NE of Jerusalem. See Fig. GIB.01. Later, Robinson emended this opinion on the basis of Judg 19:13, which supposedly located a distinct city of Gibeah on the watershed highway between Jerusalem and Ramah (er-Ram). Robinson therefore chose the prominent hill of Tell el-Ful, 5 km N of Jerusalem, as the site of ancient Gibeah, while he continued to identify Jabaʿ as Geba (1841: 6.440–42). Yet scholarly debate over Gibeah's location continued until W. F. Albright's excavations at Tell el-Fûl in 1922–23 and 1933 revealed early Iron Age remains, which were associated with the "Gibeah" of Judg 19–20, and the foundations of an Iron Age tower, which Albright identified as the fortress of Saul (1 Sam 11–15), the first king of Israel (1924: 7–17; 1933: 6–12). Most scholars found these connections conclusive, and virtually every biblical atlas thereafter has identified Tell el-Ful as Gibeah.

However, P. Lapp's excavations at Tell el-Fûl in 1964, which ostensibly refined and confirmed Albright's hypothesis (1965: 2–10), actually tended to raise new questions about Tell el-Fûl. First, the remains from the so-called Iron I (Judg 19–20) village were meager and of questionable provenance (Franken 1963: 82), while "Saul's Fortress" (the base of a tower) could not be dated more precisely than ca. 1025–950 B.C., which includes the reigns of David and Solomon. Secondly, Lapp shifted Tell el-Fûl's Iron II occupation to the "late 7th–early 6th century B.C. horizon rather than the 8th–7th century B.C.E." (1965: 3) which implies that the site was unoccupied at precisely the time in the late 8th century B.C. when "Gibeah" clearly appears in the oracles of the contemporary prophets Hosea (5:8) and Isaiah (10:29).

In view of these discrepancies, J. M. Miller's literary-critical studies suggested that Robinson's original placement of Gibeah/Geba at Jabaʿ was probably correct (1975: 151–62). Such an identification is consonant with biblical information which consistently associates Gibeah closely with the area near the Geba/Michmash Pass (Arnold 1987: 101–8). A preliminary archaeological survey of Jabaʿ (Kochavi 1972: 183) indicated Iron Age and Persian remains at the site, though more precise archaeological investigations are needed.

If it was located at Jabaʿ, ancient Gibeah was perched high on a hill above a deep, cave-pocked canyon (Wadi es-Swenit) on the N fringes of Benjaminite territory. Judges 20 contains vestiges of a tradition which described an elaborate ambush of the city by neighboring Ephraimite warriors who sprang out of hiding-places in the Geba Pass and massacred Gibeah's civilians after its defenders had been lured from the city. The surviving Gibeahite soldiers then reportedly fled to the nearby "Pomegranate Rock" (see RIMMON) where they remained four months (Judg 20:47). This tradition behind the presently edited text probably reflects historical intertribal conflicts between Benjamin and Ephraim early in Israel's history; the editorial additions to the chapter rendered the event as a pan-tribal attack on Gibeah by the entire cultic confederacy of united Israel.

The putative cause of the Gibeah massacre, the rape-murder of a Levite's wife (Judg 19), is apparently a later fictional literary addition to the tradition for the purposes of legitimizing Ephraim's participation in the slaughter.

Gibeah is also prominent in stories relating the rise of Saul as king of Israel. 1 Sam 9–14 seems to contain an ancient pro-Saul narrative, now rearranged and edited (Miller 1974), which once described

how young Saul was sent on a mysterious mission to "Gibeah of God" (10:5; see GIBEATH-ELOHIM) where he struck down a Philistine official (13:4). The Philistines responded by fortifying neighboring Michmash while Saul established his base across the valley in the village of Gibeah (13:15), or in the nearby "Pomegranate" cave (14:2) in the valley itself (see MIGRON).

The original conclusion to this Saul narrative seems to have been replaced by a Judean narrative in 14:1–46 (Blenkinsopp 1964) which describes how Jonathan single-handedly defeated the Philistines at Michmash from his base at "Geba," probably a later Judean toponym for the site known in earlier Benjaminite lore as "Gibeah." This narrative probably arose in pro-Davidic circles intending to discredit Saul's accomplishments (Arnold 1987: 184–218).

The successful expulsion of the Philistines from the Benjaminite hill country enabled Saul to establish his headquarters at the city, so that it acquired the epithet "Gibeah of Saul" (1 Sam 11:4; 15:34; 2 Sam 21:6; Isa 10:29). There is no evidence that Gibeah served as Israel's "capital" in the modern sense, but only as Saul's base-camp for his campaigns against surrounding enemies (1 Sam 22:6; 23:19). Yet Gibeah evidently remained the home of Saul's progeny after his death, for seven Saulides were executed there by Gibeonites at the behest of David (2 Sam 21:6), ostensibly in atonement for an otherwise unrecorded massacre at Gibeon.

After the mention of David's hero "Ittai, son of Ribai of Gibeah" (2 Sam 23:29 = 1 Chr 11:31), references to Gibeah disappear permanently from Judean literature (except for the archaism in Isa 10:29). Anti-Saulide hostility may have occasioned a slight change in the city's name: according to 1 Kgs 15:22, King Asa of Judah constructed new border fortresses at Mizpah (Tell en-Naṣbeh) and "Geba"—modern Jabaʿ. After this period, references to "Geba" in Judean literature exist through the post-exilic era. See GEBA.

The last references to Gibeah both seem to refer to the same event: the Syro-Ephraimite invasion of Judah, ca. 735 B.C. Around this time, the Israelite prophet Hosea warned the N Benjaminite cities of Gibeah, Ramah, and Beth-aven of an imminent attack (5:8). Hosea seems to have regarded this approaching invasion of Judah as symptomatic of Israel's treachery "since the days of Gibeah" (9:9; 10:9), a probable allusion to the tradition of Ephraim's ancient ambush of Gibeah contained in Judges 20.

Shortly after Hosea's warnings, the Judean prophet Isaiah described the actual Syro-Ephraimite invasion force as it passed through Aiath and Michmash and crossed the Geba Pass, causing "Gibeah of Saul" to flee (10:27–29); the prophet probably uses the old term as a poetic archaism for the border fortress of Geba.

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PATRICK M. ARNOLD

**GIBEATH-ELOHIM** (PLACE) [Heb *gibʿat* (גִּבְעַת) *hāʾĕlōhîm* (הָאֱלֹהִים)]. A site, meaning "hill of God," in the Benjaminite hill country to which Samuel directed Saul in fulfillment of a third prophetic sign confirming his anointment as prince over Israel (1 Sam 10:5). The Hebrew place name, in conjunction with the report of Saul's predicted prophetic rapture in the company of celebrating prophets, indicates that the site was a cultic "high place." Evidently the shrine was temporarily under occupation in

Saul's time, since a Philistine *neṣib* (perhaps meaning "governor" or "garrison") is explicitly mentioned at this location.

Since the toponym Gibeath-elohim occurs only in 10:5, most scholars agree that the site was not a completely distinct city in Benjamin, but was an alternate name, or perhaps a special precinct, associated with some well-known city. A. Demsky suggested that "the hill of God" was actually the famous shrine at Gibeon, the most likely city in Benjamin to have been occupied by Philistines (1973: 27–28). This theory is undermined not only by the lack of textual evidence to point to such a conclusion, but also by the absence of any Philistine remains from the el-Jib excavations. See GIBEON. Similar problems plague W. F. Albright's proposal to find Gibeath-elohim at Burj Beitin (1924: 28–43).

Several textual clues suggest that Gibeath-elohim ought to be identified with Gibeah/Geba of Benjamin. Samuel's third prediction that Saul would undergo prophetic rapture on reaching Gibeath-elohim (10:5) appears to be fulfilled in 10:10 when he is reported to have reached ecstacy on arrival at "Gibeah." Though Samuel ordered Saul then "to do whatever his hand found to do," the story presently lacks any fulfillment of this command. J. M. Miller, therefore, proposed that the original Saul folktale once described how Saul then struck down the Philistine *neṣib* in Gibeah (cf. 13:4), thus precipitating the Hebrew revolt (1974: 157–63). A later Judean gloss, however, also credited Jonathan with the same deed in Geba (13:3), the Judean toponym for Gibeah. This report probably arose in Davidic circles with the intention of eclipsing Saul's responsibility for leading the revolt against the Philistines (Arnold 1987: 73–77).

Gibeath-elohim should, therefore, be regarded as the cultic name for the "high place" in or near Gibeah/Geba of Benjamin, located at modern Jaba‹ (M.R. 175140) 9 km NE of Jerusalem. No excavations have yet been undertaken at this site.

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PATRICK M. ARNOLD

## GIBEATH-HAARALOTH (PLACE) [Heb *gib‹at hā‹ărālôt* (גִּבְעַת הָעֲרָלוֹת)]. A place within

the tribal territory of Benjamin near Gilgal, where the Israelites were circumcised after crossing the Jordan River (Josh 5:3). The name literally means "hill of the foreskins." The KJV understood the reference to the place *gib‹at* in the list of Benjaminite towns (Josh 18:28) also to be a reference to Gibeath-haaraloth, although RSV understands it as a reference to Gibeah. Because the location of Gilgal is unknown, the location of Gibeath-haaraloth is unknown; both may have been campsites rather than inhabited towns (see Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 185, 192).

Two aspects of the narrative are interesting. The first is the reference to the primitive flint knives used in the ceremony (Josh 5:3), reflecting the antiquity of the custom of circumcision. The second is the fact that this circumcision is, in fact, a *second* circumcision or *re*-circumcision (5:2; see Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 188–89, 193–94, for a discussion of this enigmatic passage).

Bright (*IB* 2: 573) considered Gibeath-haaraloth to be a spot where in later years the Israelite rite of circumcision was carried out in relation to the great shrine at Gilgal. Boling, however, sees it as a pre-Yahwist name associated with one of the little tells near Kh. el-Mefjir (M.R. 193143), 1.2 miles NE of Jericho. It may have been associated with a pagan ritual of circumcision—a rite of passage for marriage or war—before the Israelites took it over and reformed it along more orthodox Yahwist lines (*Joshua* AB, 189). Because circumcision in time became, along with Passover, one of the main features of continuing Jewish faith, the circumcision at Gibeath-haaraloth—symbolizing entrance into the Promised Land and into the covenant with Yahweh as well as purification for Holy War and conquest—is much more important than its single reference in the text would suggest.

HENRY O. THOMPSON

**GIBEON** (PLACE) [Heb *gib‹ôn* (גִּבְעוֹן)]. An important city of Benjamin, now identified with modern el-Jib (M.R. 167139), 8 km NW of Jerusalem. See Fig. GIB.01. The village is located on a small limestone hill surrounded by agricultural fields at an altitude of some 750 m above sea level. Eight nearby springs provide an abundant water supply.

**A. History**

The earliest narrative involving Gibeon (Josh 9:3–10:15) relates that Joshua's invading army was tricked into a solemn peace treaty with Gibeon's Hivite people, who had disguised themselves as foreigners requiring Israel's protection. As punishment for this successful ruse, the Gibeonites were reportedly forced to become "wood-cutters and water-carriers" for the Israelites, who, for their part, felt contractually obliged to rescue Gibeon from a retaliatory attack by five neighboring kingdoms. In the ensuing battle, Joshua's warriors drove the Canaanites from Gibeon down into the Beth-horon Valley while God "hurled huge hailstones from heaven" (cf. Isa 28:21) on them as the sun and moon stood still in their courses.

This famous story probably preserves etiological traditions explaining the historical subservient relationship of the Hivite citizens of Gibeon to the Israelites, an arrangement which may have been ratified at one point in some form of a vassal treaty—cf. 2 Sam 21:2 (Blenkinsopp 1972: 32–36). However, the present literary placement of these traditions in the account of Joshua's invasion of Canaan is problematic for biblical historians, since archaeologists have found no occupational remains at Gibeon in the LB Age in which the conquest stories are set; only a few burials from this period were uncovered (Pritchard 1961: 22–23).

Archaeological remains at el-Jib show that Gibeon was reconstructed in the early Iron Age (1200–900 B.C.); the city is mentioned prominently in narratives relating to the rise and establishment of the Israelite monarchy, which occurred during this period. Some scholars (e.g., Blenkinsopp 1974: 1–7) have proposed that Saul established his capital city at Gibeon after the successful Hebrew uprising against the Philistines. Textual support for this argument (the occasional confusion of the toponyms "Gibeon" and "Gibeah") is rather weak. Moreover, 2 Sam 21:1 reports that Saul, in violation of the Joshua treaty, massacred the Gibeonites during his reign. This report might simply indicate that Saul attempted at one point to eliminate Gibeon as an ethnic Hivite enclave lodged in the midst of his growing Israelite kingdom.

David's forces under Joab reportedly defeated Abner's Saulide warriors at "the pool of Gibeon" in what appears to have been a ritual military contest (2 Sam 2:12–17; 3:30). This "pool" undoubtedly refers to the impressive water system uncovered at el-Jib during recent archaeological excavations (Pritchard 1962: 64–74; Cole 1980: 21–29). See Fig. GIB.02. The bottom of the main cistern, a rock-hewn shaft 11.3 m in diameter and 10.6 m deep, is connected to a groundwater chamber by a 13.7 m sloping tunnel. See Fig. GIB.03. Constructed in the late 12th or early 11th century B.C., this pool apparently remained in use until the early 6th century B.C., when it was again mentioned in the Bible (Jer 41:12). The slaughter of Abner's forces there in the early 10th century caused the area around the pool thereafter to be called the "Field of Blades" (2 Sam 2:16).

Gibeon again witnessed bloodshed as Joab murdered the renegade Amasa there at the "great stone" (2 Sam 20:8–13). This term again suggests ritual battle, since it seemingly refers to a kind of massive cultic rock that is occasionally found in Palestine. No such object has yet been uncovered at el-Jib, for only a small portion the site has been excavated.

The account of the Gibeonites' execution of seven descendants of Saul (2 Sam 21:1–9) attributes a three-year famine in David's reign to Saul's otherwise unrecorded slaughter of Gibeonites. Supposedly in retribution for this massacre, David allowed the men of Gibeon to kill Saul's progeny at Gibeah (LXX: Gibeon). This narrative apparently literarily justifies David's attempt to exterminate the surviving Saulide claimants to the throne of Israel (except Mephibosheth, kept in virtual house arrest in Jerusalem). In any

case, the story underscores the impression that the Gibeonites were somehow considered a legally protected ethnic group within Israel.

Gibeon achieved prominence as a cultic site during this early monarchical period. 1 Chr 16:39; 21:29; and 2 Chr 1:3, 13, respectively, place the Tabernacle of Moses and the Tent of Meeting at Gibeon during David's reign. Though these objects are often regarded as imaginary or as late cultic projections into the past, their location at Gibeon seems to signify its holiness in this era. 1 Kgs 3:4–5 (= 2 Chr 1:5–13) similarly places Solomon's famous inaugural dream at the Gibeon high place, at which the king reportedly sacrificed 1000 whole offerings at the altar.

The fact that no sanctuary was excavated at el-Jib has led some commentators to speculate that the high place might have existed, not in Gibeon itself, but atop towering Nebi Samwil, nearly 2 km S of el-Jib. In this view, Gibeon took its name from the impressive nearby "hill," while its populace served as "wood-cutters and water-carriers" for the famous hill shrine (Blenkinsopp 1972: 7).

This important sanctuary, and its cultic personnel, might also explain Gibeon's inclusion in the list of the Levitical cities (Josh 21:17). Though set in Joshua's time, this document is widely regarded as a list of Levitical priestly communities dating to monarchic or even post-exilic times which was artificially placed within the Conquest narratives. Similarly, Gibeon's mention in the list of towns granted by Joshua to the tribe of Benjamin (Josh 18:25) probably derives from official town-list documents of the Judean monarchy or even the Persian colonial administration.

Egyptian Pharaoh Sheshonk I (biblical Shishak—cf. 1 Kgs 14:25) included Gibeon in a list of cities either visited or captured in his late 10th century B.C. campaign into Palestine (*ANET,* 242). This entry is the earliest extrabiblical reference to Gibeon.

Gibeon is not mentioned again in the biblical narrative until the events surrounding the fall of Jerusalem to Babylonian forces in 586 B.C. The prophet Jeremiah's antagonist, Hananiah, who mistakenly assured Jerusalem of safety from attack, hailed from Gibeon (Jer 28:1). After the Babylonian invasion, Gibeon again became the site of bloody combat. The loyal Johanan unsuccessfully attacked Ishmael, Gedaliah's assassin, at the "great pool" of Gibeon (Jer 41:12). Ishmael managed to escape.

Post-exilic references to Gibeon are decidedly more mundane than the earlier stories about the city. Neh 7:25 reports that 95 Gibeonites accompanied those returning to Judah from exile in Babylon; many of these may have assisted in the repairs to the city wall of Jerusalem reported in Neh 3:7. The genealogies in 1 Chr 8:29 (cf. 9:35) also may have originated during the Persian era.

Gibeon was to figure one final time in historical events of the biblical period. Josephus reports that, in the course of the Roman attempt to quell the Jewish Revolt, a force under General Cestius Gallus ascended the Beth-horon Valley from the coastal plain in October of 66 A.D. and camped for the night at Gibeon. The army then continued unmolested the next day in its drive toward the capital city of Jerusalem (*JW* 2.19.1).

**B. Site Identification**

E. Robinson was the first modern scholar to present reasons for identifying Gibeon with el-Jib (1874: 455). Robinson argued that the site of el-Jib not only matched biblical topographical descriptions, but that the modern Arabic name of the village preserved the Hebrew toponym from antiquity as well. Robinson's identification was widely accepted by scholars throughout the ensuing decades. The few remaining scholarly doubts regarding this identification were allayed after J. B. Pritchard's excavations at el-Jib in 1956, 1957, 1959, and 1960. Included among the finds were thirty-one jar handles inscribed with the name "Gibeon" (*gb*ʿ*n*) in ancient Hebrew script (Cross 1962: 18–23).

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PATRICK M. ARNOLD

**GIDDALTI** (PERSON) [Heb *giddaltî* (גִּדַּלְתִּי)]. One of the fourteen sons of Heman who were appointed to prophesy with musical instruments under the direction of their father and the king (1 Chr 25:4). Giddalti received the twenty-second lot cast to determine duties (1 Chr 25:29). The name has the form of a *Pi*ʿ*el* perf. verb, "I have magnified." Scholars have long suggested that the final nine names in 1 Chr 25:4 can be read as a liturgical prayer. For a reconstruction and translation of the prayer, a summary of interpretative possibilities, and bibliography, see ELIATHAH.
J. CLINTON MCCANN, JR.

**GIDDEL** (PERSON) [Heb *giddēl* (גִּדֵּל)]. The name of two individuals present in the postexilic writings.

**1.** A temple servant who was the progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:47 = Neh 7:49). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, this family does not appear in the parallel passage 1 Esdr 5:30. Instead the name Cathua appears in that sequence. Such differences raise questions about the sources of and literary relationships among 1 Esdras, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

**2.** A servant of Solomon who was the progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:56 = Neh 7:58 = 1 Esdr 5:33). Although the NEB follows a portion of the manuscript tradition in its use of the textual variant "Isdael" for translating 1 Esdr 5:33, Hanhart (1974) prefers "Giddel" (Gk *giddel*) in his critical edition of 1 Esdras.

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MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**GIDEON** (PERSON) [Heb *gidʿôn* (גִּדְעוֹן)]. One of the great tribal leaders in the era of the book of Judges (chaps. 6–8). He is also called Jerubbaʿal, for which a popular etymology is given in 6:25–32 (see below). Although his story is told at length, Gideon is not said to have "judged" (Heb *špṭ*) Israel, unlike most of the worthies in the book. Nor is it directly claimed by narrator or compiler that he "saved" (Heb *yšʿ*) Israel, as is claimed for several others: Othniel, Ehud, Shamgar, and Tola. What did Gideon do?

He was remembered for mobilizing a force which at last put an end to annual raids at harvest time, from across the Jordan into the broad Jezreel–Esdraelon plain and down the coast. The raiders were camel-riding Midianites and other "Easterners." There were also, concurrently, the annual plunderings by Cisjordan nomads (Amalekites).

Gideon was also remembered for having an exceptional penchant for oracle-seeking and divinatory inquiry, but with finally unhappy results.

It is not clear that the Midianites in these stories are merely direct descendants from the Midianite power center of the N Hejaz in the era of Moses and the wilderness wanderings, since domesticated camels were not generally known in the area until ca. 1200 B.C.E. The stories may reflect a recent wave of Midianite immigration down the N–S desert routes, which introduced the military use of domesticated camels (most likely from E Anatolia) to both Hejaz and the wider biblical scene (Mendenhall 1973: 163–73). These domesticated camels made possible vastly extended patterns of seasonal transhumance, as well as long distance raids from oases in the eastern desert. If, as generally concluded, the stories relate to the early- or mid-11th century B.C.E., we may have events contemporary with the Edomite King Hadad's victory over Midian in S Transjordan (Gen 26:35).

While the raiding in Gideon's day extended as far S as the coastal town of Gaza, the major threat was posed for Manasseh and Ephraim.

The Israelite settlements of Manasseh and Ephraim were mostly concentrated in the Cisjordan hill country, where inhabitants lived in unwalled villages, subsisting mainly by terrace farming and small cattle husbandry (*IDBSup*, 11–13; Stager 1985). Scattered settlements out in the fertile plain of Jezreel were confronted with a new and unprecedented form of terror (Judg 6:2–6). It is difficult to imagine a more serious plight for village farmers who do not have the protection of standing armies, which early Israelites had repudiated precisely because of the high economic and social cost of such protection. The Midianites were like "a plague of locusts" (6:5; 7:12), causing harassed farmers to hide in caves or retreat to high country, leaving fields unguarded.

According to the narrative, there was also an inner-Israelite threat. The name Gideon means, roughly, "hewer, slasher, hacker." He was son of Joash (a Yahwist name), whose clan or regional village association, within the territory of Manasseh, was Abiezer. Joash and family lived at Ophrah (probably at or near ʿAffuleh, a very exposed position out in the center of Jezreel valley). Joash was apostate, being the proprietor of a cult place at Ophrah where there was a sacred tree and where worship honored Baal. The place was also known for its Asherah. Thus was posed the inner threat to Israelite integrity and unity, "gods of the Amorites" ("westerners") as specified in 6:10.

The narrative of Gideon's career begins with a visit from Yahweh's recruiting angel. Like Abraham in Genesis 18, Gideon entertained God unawares. Unlike those who have fled, young Gideon is at home in Ophrah threshing wheat, not with oxen and sledge on an open elevation, but in the cramped space of a wine press, for fear of discovery by Midianites. Responding modestly to the messenger's announcement of a commission, couched in terms of Gideon's physical prowess, Gideon is partly reassured by the declaration that God is, in truth, with him—a clear echo of the call of Moses in Exodus 3 (Boling *Judges* AB, 128–37). Yet Gideon holds out for an authenticating sign, while hastening to meet the obligation of hospitality to the stranger. He prepares a banquet which becomes a sacrificial offering when the messenger, who has been resting in the shade of the sacred tree, brings forth fire from the rock (cf. the angelic audience with Samson's parents in chap. 13). Gideon promptly builds an altar and names it: Yahweh shalom.

The story which comes next, where Yahweh speaks directly to Gideon (6:25–32), accounts differently for an altar which Gideon built at Ophrah. It also accounts for more, but it was necessary to learn first about Gideon's recruitment. In this story Gideon receives Yahweh's instructions to dismantle his father's altar, chop down the Asherah, replace them with an altar to Yahweh, and sacrifice to Yahweh his father's finest bull (Emerton 1978). He does this, but for fear of family and townsfolk, he does it under the cover of darkness. When the townsmen discover what has happened and demand the life of Gideon, Joash comes to his son's defense, having decided it will be better to let Baal, if he is a god, defend himself. With this account of his activity as reformer, the narrator legitimates by means of popular etymology the name Jerubbaʿal: "Let Baal Prosecute" (6:25–32).

The recently excavated 12th century "Bull Site," in the territory of Manasseh, may (Mazar 1983) or may not (Coogan 1987) have been Israelite. In any case it illustrates religious options which continued to be available after the reformation of Israel, in the post-Moses era.

Similarly, original significance of the element *baʿal* (semantic core "lord" or "master") in the name Jerubbaʿal is unclear. There are other examples of Israelites bearing names compounded with *baʿal,* presumably in reference to Yahweh, with no clear indication of religious syncretism. Within this narrative, however, given the description of Joash's place, the issue is Yahwism versus the old style fertility cult, in the productive plain of Jezreel. The story explains how Gideon the Yahwist reformer could properly wear a *baʿal* name. On the other hand, it was the manner in which he carried out the reform, and other deeds in the stories which follow, which earned for him the nickname "Hacker."

Gideon's reluctance and insistence upon divine assurance beforehand is also the theme of the fleece-test story. Gideon holds out for a private miracle and God complies (6:36–40).

The roles are reversed in the next two units. In the first, "the spirit of Yahweh clothed Gideon" (6:34), with the result that he rallies from the tribes of Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali (in addition to his own Manasseh) an army far too large for the occasion. Yahweh thus resorts to his own form of testing, so that all those who are afraid of war are allowed to go home. The force is reduced to a mere three hundred Abiezrites, those who lapped water like dogs. Is there any special significance to the way they drank? Does it imply some association or allusion to the clan of Caleb ("Dog")? It is most often interpreted as showing how Yahweh intentionally chose the less alert (7:2–8) to magnify the proportions of Yahweh's achievement in activating Gideon and the three hundred. It appears that two cycles of Gideon stories, one remembering Gideon with three hundred Abiezrites and the other involving those tribes whose claims and interests impinged directly on the Jezreel plain, have been brought together by a compiler to make a theological point.

A new set of orders next instructs Gideon to conduct a nighttime reconnaissance, from which Gideon learns that Yahweh has already inspired adequate fear of Gideon in the Midianite camp. There follows the sound and light demonstration—clay storage jars breaking to reveal blazing torches all around the camp. Terrified Midianites, unable to distinguish between friend and foe, slay many of their own before taking scattered flight with Gideon's force in pursuit (7:1–22).

At the beginning of chap. 7, the leader is introduced as Jerubba‹al$^{w}$ and the identity promptly clarified, "really Gideon" (7:1, again in a concluding framework verse, 8:35). Otherwise, in chaps. 7–8 the nickname is used exclusively, except in 8:29 and 35. Those verses, in turn, belong to a connective with the story of Abimelech in chap. 9, which identifies Jotham repeatedly (9:2, 5, 16, 19) as son of Jerubba‹al$^{w}$ (the name is Jerubba‹al also in 1 Sam 2:11, but *yerubbešet* in 2 Sam 11:21).

While it is possible that the names Gideon and Jerubba‹al should be interpreted as belonging originally to different individuals, it is more likely that two or more streams of tradition, each favoring one name or the other, have contributed to one continuous but sometimes disjointed story (Emerton 1976). There are other indications that this is so.

The story line continues with Gideon sending messengers throughout Ephraim, whose territory opposite the mouth of the Jabbok is in the path of Midianite retreat. Troops from Ephraim capture two Midianite princes, Oreb ("Raven") and Zeeb ("Wolf"), at sites where their execution fixed the names of Oreb's Rock and Zeeb's Winepress. Taking the heads of Oreb and Zeeb as evidence, the Ephraimites continue E and catch up with Gideon in Transjordan. They complain to Gideon about not being included in the initial muster, but are pacified by Gideon's admission that their achievement is the greater (7:24–8:3).

In the next narrative unit (8:4–28), Gideon is prowling the E Jordan valley in search of two Midianite Kings, Zebah and Zalmunna. To the towns of Succoth (probably Tell Deir ‹Alla) and Penuel (Tulul edh-Dhahab?), when they refuse to provision his troops, Gideon promises retaliatory vengeance. Place names appearing in the description of the pursuit (Karkor, Nobah, Jogbehah) suggest that the Midianites were headed for the protective reaches of the vast Wadi Sirhan in the E desert. Not all of them made it to safety. When Zebah and Zalmunna are captured and interrogated by Gideon, we learn that Gideon has been using the people's militia in pursuit of private blood vengeance (8:19). Is that why Succoth and Penuel were not persuaded to provide supplies and so, subsequently, were destroyed by Gideon? Is that also, perhaps, why, in telling the exploits of this one who was in fact a savior of Israel, Gideon is severely caricatured?

While the narrative's interest lies primarily in theological and characterological matters, there is nothing implausible about the deployment and strategy, reconnaissance and timing, pursuit and search in chaps. 7 and 8. These have been lauded by military experts as admirably credible (Malamat 1953).

The final story in the sequence recounts Israelites' appeal to Gideon to be the one who will "rule" (Heb *mšl*) over them. Without using the *mlk* words, it looks nonetheless like an offer of dynastic kingship. Gideon properly declines, where Yahweh is acknowledged sovereign, while requesting instead that the troops give him all the gold rings that they had taken as booty. With the gold he makes an ephod, an object of hallucinatory aid in oracle-seeking (cf. story of Micah in Judges 17). That is, while piously declining the right to "rule," he eagerly accepted the power of oracular authority. The result was that "all

Israel played the harlot" at Gideon's ephod, with dire consequences for Gideon's family (8:22–28). It is entirely possible, but not demonstrable, that at some point Gideon did bear the title of *melek* ("King"), in view of the name that he gave to the son of his Shechemite concubine: Abimelech, "My Father is King."

According to the compiler, Gideon's legacy to Israel was "forty years" (meaning perhaps "a generation") of "quiet," undisturbed by Midianite and other raiders from Transjordan. It was no doubt thanks to Gideon that "the day of Midian" became a standard way of saying "Israelite victory" (Isa 9:4 [Heb 9:3]; cf. Ps 83:11 [Heb 83:12] and Isa 10:26). Much later, Gideon is named in a NT roster of worthies who through faith had "conquered kingdoms" (Heb 11:32).

Gideon's wealth and prominence are also recalled in the tradition of his many wives and seventy sons, "his own offspring." The number seventy, which includes neither Jotham nor Abimelech, probably reflects a combination of genealogical and political relationship. There was a sonship which could be acquired by negotiation and demonstration of loyalty. Thus, at Gideon's death there would be a dissipation of leadership; this formed the basis for Abimelech's pursuit of kingship at Shechem, liquidation of the seventy, and Jotham's denunciation in Judges 9.

Gideon's career belongs to the mid-12th century, to judge from the massive destruction level at Shechem in Iron I, which is surely to be correlated with the Abimelech story.

Thus, Gideon/Jerubba‹al was a military deliverer who, perhaps, for a period became "King" over a segment of the Israelite populace. Holding out for the exercise of highest authority, with or without the old labels, he had settled for something short of commendable faith in the view of the storytellers and their compilers.

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**GIDEONI** (PERSON) [Heb *gid‹ōnî* (גִּדְעֹנִי)]. Father of the chief (*nāśî›*, Num 2:22) Abidan of the tribe of Benjamin. Each of the five references to Gideoni in the OT occurs in a tribal list where his mark of distinction is his status as the father of Abidan. Under the leadership of Gideoni's son Abidan, the tribe of Benjamin participated in the census of Israelite men able to go to war conducted by Moses (Num 1:11, 36–37), presented its offerings on the ninth day of the twelve-day celebration of the dedication of the altar (Num 7:60, 65), took its proper place on the W side of the tabernacle in the Israelite camp (Num 2:22), and assumed its position in the order of march at the Israelites' departure from Mt. Sinai (Num 10:24). The name Gideoni may mean: (1) "one with a disabled hand" (Noth *IPN*, 227), (2) "a youth" (*HALAT* 173), or (3) "one who cuts down trees" (*IDB* 4: 395).

DALE F. LAUNDERVILLE

**GIDOM** (PLACE) [Heb *gid‹ōm* (גִּדְעֹם)]. According to the RSV (Judg 20:45), the name of a place near the rock of Rimmon where the Israelites slew the last two thousand Benjaminites (more likely the last "two contingents [Heb *›alpayim*] of men") in the civil war that followed the rape of the Levite's concubine (Judges 19–20, esp. 20:4). The context suggests that Gidom was located in the wilderness E of Gibeah, although it is possible that the phrase *‹ad gid‹ōm* does not delimit the geographical extent of this final battle ("as far as Gidom") but rather its duration ("until they had been cut down"), reading *gid‹ōm* as an infinitive construct with a 3 masc. pl. suffix (so NEB and Boling, *Joshua* AB).

GARY A. HERION

**GIFTS, SPIRITUAL** [Gk *pneumatika* (πνευματικα), *charismata* (χαρισματα)]. Special gifts bestowed by God on individual members of the Christian community for the edification of the whole community.

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A. Background
B. Lexical Matters
C. Paul
1. The Service of the Church
2. The Assembly

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**A. Background**

Biblical religion witnesses to the activity of the divine spirit (whether in the OT as *rûaḥ Yahweh* or in the NT as the HOLY SPIRIT) which infuses the human person in worship, service, and religious ecstasy. Examples in the OT range from the visitation of *ruaḥ* upon characters as diverse as Samson, Saul, Micah, and Ezekiel (Judg 14:6, 19; 1 Sam 10:10; Mic 3:8; Ezek 1:2) to the cultivating of natural skills and abilities in the case of Bezalel (Exod 35:30, 31) and the oracles of the prophets and sages of Israel (Wis 7:25–27; 9:17). The possession of "spiritual gifts," however, looks forward to the messianic age when Isa 11:2 was to be fulfilled and the spirit of Yahweh was believed to rest upon and endue God's anointed one. The latter event is associated with Jesus' baptism and ministry (according to the multistrand NT tradition, e.g., Luke 4:18–19) and epitomized in Acts 2:22; 10:38. After Pentecost, the birth of the Church was attested by apostolic "signs of power" as a mark of the new age of messianic fulfillment which had arrived with the exaltation of Jesus the Messiah and the gift of the divine Spirit (Acts 2:17–39). One phrase which sums up the manifestation of the Spirit in the experience of NT Christians is "spiritual gifts," and the setting of the term in the new age, as part of the conquering, newborn elation the first believers felt, is an important factor in its understanding.

**B. Lexical Matters**

The general sense of the term "spiritual gifts" covers all endowments of the Spirit found in Christian experience and designed to be of service to the Church. Two Greek words are used in the NT: *pneumatika* (employed in the sense of "spiritual gifts" in e.g., 1 Cor 14:1, 12; and most likely 2:13; 12:1 and best translated with Sullivan as "gifts of inspiration") and *charismata* which is the more important term, found only in the Pauline corpus (sixteen times) and 1 Pet 4:10. *Charisma* means literally a "gift-in-grace," deriving from *charis,* "grace." At the heart of the word is God's free favor which rules out all notion of merit (Rom 4:4) or reward (Rom 6:23). It is, therefore, a term suited to express God's initiative in restoring humankind to wholeness and harmony with the divine purpose and could stand as a synonym for "eternal life," the supreme *charisma* (Rom 5:15; 6:23; 11:29). Paul's ministry is closely bound with the experience of this gift-in-grace (2 Cor 1:11), an idea found also in 1 Pet 4:10 where *charisma* is one of service which speaks and embodies the word of "grace." The intimate association of God's grace which justifies the godless (Rom 4:5) with *charisma* is emphasized by Käsemann who regards Paul's teaching on "spiritual gifts" as "the projection into ecclesiology of the doctrine of Justification by faith" (Käsemann 1964: 75–76).

*Charisma,* then, is bound up with *charis.* This link is attested in Philo (*leg All* III.78) but the use of *charisma* is rare, not found in non-Christian Greek writers or Josephus. The LXX evidence is uncertain (Sir 7:33 has *charis* in one manuscript tradition with *charisma* in Codex S; 38:30 has *to chrisma* with *charisma* as a textual variant in Codex B*). Theodotion uses *charisma* once to render the Heb *ḥesed,* covenant love (Ps 30[31]: 22[21]). The NT data have to be considered on their own, without much assistance from parallel sources; and the lexical distribution shows that both *pneumatika* and *charismata* are words preeminently belonging to the Pauline vocabulary.

**C. Paul**

From the wording of 1 Cor 12:1–11 it is clear that the issue of "manifestations of spirit" was a heated topic at Corinth. Paul pays tribute to the rich—if exotic—endowments of spiritual life found in that congregation (1 Cor 1:7). Evidently, the Corinthians had inquired of Paul how these gifts were to be exercised; hence the formula "I would not have you ignorant" (12:1) is meant to address the phenomena of enthusiasm and ecstatic utterances that were prominent features of Corinthian church life. The question raised has to do with *ta pneumatika,* best taken in the neuter sense of gifts exercised in public worship. Paul concedes that such signs of enthusiastic "spirit-power" (*pneumatika* may well be the Corinthians' own designation, conceded in 1 Cor 14:12; Schulz 1976: 454–56) are expressions of the Spirit's activity, but he proceeds to set them within a larger framework of God's *charismata,* a broader term referring to all manifestations of God's favor, finding particular and concrete expression in service of whatever kind. In so doing Paul has introduced a new set of criteria for evaluating spiritual gifts by setting them in an order of precedence and importance, and thereby he has corrected the Corinthians' value judgments.

**1. The Service of the Church.** "Spiritual gifts" *(charismata)* in the wider application which Paul prefers relates to the service of the Church and is set within the apostolic teaching of Christian calling. The chief criterion is not the display of some supernatural or paranormal activity but the use that is made of it. "The criterion of a genuine charisma lies not in the mere fact of its existence but in the use to which it is put" (Käsemann 1964: 71). Specifically, this implies that Christians recognize the *charisma* as the Lord's gift-in-grace, and employ it as a way of expressing obedience to his call and requirement. Seen in this total way, many facets of life are brought under the rubric of *charismata* (Rom 12:6). The Pauline categories are (a) kerygmatic, the means by which the Gospel is proclaimed and applied by apostles, prophets, evangelists, and teachers (1 Cor 12:28–31; 14:3–5, 29–32; cf. Eph 4:11; 1 Tim 4:14; 2 Tim 1:6 for later development into "office"); (b) diaconal, gifts of service (1 Cor 12:5: "acts of service") involving deacons, deaconesses, administrators, those who give assistance to others in distress, including almsgiving, hospitality, and care of the sick and widows (Rom 12:7–8, 13; 1 Cor 12:28; Phil 1:1; cf. 1 Tim 5:9–10, 16–17; Titus 1:8); (c) miracle-working and healing ministries covered by the term in 1 Cor 12:6 which takes in the role of those who practice healing with prayer, laying on of hands and exorcism (1 Cor 12:10, 28); (d) the endurance of suffering for the Gospel's sake (2 Cor 1:5–7; 4:7–12; 12:9–10; Col 1:24–25; and especially Phil 1:27–30 where both apostle and congregation are "gifted" [1:29] with the privilege of suffering on behalf of Christ); (e) special vocational giftedness which includes such general references as Rom 1:11 ("some spiritual gift"); 1 Cor 1:7 ("you do not lack and *charisma*") and more particular callings like that of celibacy or self-restraint within the married state (1 Cor 7:7). The fact that Paul can regard such abstinence from sex as a concession and as applicable for only a limited time (7:5) suggests that the *charisma* of continence within marriage is a special case and may not be available to those who practice normal marital relations. His eye is possibly on an unusual Corinthian practice of sexless marriage (1 Cor 7:36–38).

It is evident that Paul as himself an apostle of Christ (Rom 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1) appealed to the witness of his "mighty works" (Rom 15:17–20) as tokens of divine power which accompanied his ministry, though he is careful to hedge about these statements by never appealing to such signs as validating proofs and by qualifying his assertions with his stress on "Christ working through him" (Rom 15:18). In a polemical passage (2 Cor 12:11–13), he insists that what counted for him was fidelity to his apostolic call, not the "signs, wonders and miracles" which his opponents evidently laid claim to (2 Cor 12:12). Also to be considered here is Paul's own ecstatic or transcendental experience as "a man in Christ" (2 Cor 12:1–10). He was the recipient of "visions and revelations" and heard heavenly messages (12:4) which may be the same as what he elsewhere (1 Cor 2:9-10) refers to an unmediated contact with God by the Spirit. The "journey to paradise" motif (2 Cor 12:2) is based on Jewish apocalyptic idiom (Revelation 4) which is mentioned in connection with favored Jewish heroes and holy people who were raptured to God's presence. In view of the special nature of this "mystical" experience for Paul—he summoned it from the past over fourteen years ago (2 Cor 12:2)—it is significant that he never built his case for apostolic authority on what was seen and heard, and has set the experience within a double frame (2 Cor 11:30–33 the flight from Damascus as he was lowered in a basket; 2 Cor 12:7–10 the dialogue with the Lord who

did not grant his request for the removal of his thorn in the flesh) that emphasizes vividly his frailty and continuing weaknesses. His critics at Corinth charge him with being deficient in spiritual ecstasies (2 Cor 10:10; 13:9). In reply Paul makes it clear that such dissociative experiences as he has known (2 Cor 5:13; 1 Cor 14:18) have not brought him nearer to God than at other times. They have been marked by an intimacy too precious to reveal, and too exceptional for any case of apostolic validation to be built upon them. Paul gloried in his weakness. The failure on the part of the Corinthians to appreciate this led to serious consequence. As Lang (1986: 18) puts it, overrating the *charismata* misled the Corinthians into devaluing the cross of Christ.

**2. The Assembly.** Because of problems within the Corinthian community and in particular its services of worship Paul devotes considerable attention to spiritual gifts in a liturgical setting. In the section of 1 Cor 7:7 "each person has his *charisma* from God," Paul elaborates the rule expressed as to each person his or her own gift. Each person in the assembly is gifted with some *charisma,* though not all have the same gift. The setting here is seen in the dialogue-analogy of 12:14–21 (reflecting the unity of the human anatomy): the foot has no reason to object that because it is not the hand it is not part of the body; conversely the eye must not say to the hand, I have no need of you. God has designed the ecclesial body to be one, yet composed of many members (12:12, 20, 27). He has fashioned *charismata* to express unity-in-diversity, with no division within the body (12:25: *schisma* looks back to 1 Cor 1:10), no rivalry between the parts since all the members share a common life-in-the-Spirit (12:12, 13), and no justifiable sense of superiority since the stronger parts (those gifted with a more active faith based on "knowledge" and "wisdom," 12:8–9) have need of the weaker elements in the Church (those possessing only limited endowment). In fact, there should be a mutual interchange (12:25) and a complementarity based on the way all the *charismata* cohere to fit with the divine scheme (12:18).

The fact that the Spirit imparts *charismata* "as he determines" (12:11) and each gifted part of the ecclesial body is to occupy a place "as God chooses" (12:18) sounds the death knell to inordinate pride on the one side, and low self-esteem on the other. All the members have a special *charisma,* but one does not have all the *charismata;* and some *charismata* are not universally available (12:29–30; these rhetorical questions expect the answer no).

The second criterion laid down by Paul is that all the *charismata* serve one purpose, stated as the "good of all" (2 Cor 12:7). This axiom will be elaborated in chap. 14 where the apostolic directive is that all the gifts on display in congregational assembly should be directed to the upbuilding *(oikodomē)* of the entire company (14:5, 12, 26). In the list of nine gifts in 12:4–10 a representative number are itemized, probably in descending order of Pauline evaluation. There are three groups, each with a distinctive aim: (a) pedagogical ministries in the utterances of "wisdom" and "knowledge" twin capacities highly prized at Corinth and needing to be brought under the control of the Spirit lest they should minister to pride and speculation (1 Cor 8:1), and reliance on a private gnosis which benefits only the possessor. "Wisdom of this age" (1 Cor 1:20–25; 2:5–6; 3:19) does not serve to build up the congregation; but wisdom as a God-given insight into divine mysteries (2:7: cf. Eph 3:10–11; Col 1:9) does; (b) supernatural powers exemplified in deeds of faith, miracle-working abilities, and effective healings (12:9, 28, 30) suggest the presence of divine activity in relation to human weakness, sickness, and distress, though the Paul of Acts (Acts 14:8–10; 16:16–18; 19:11–12; 28:3–6, 7–10) is given a reputation as a wonderworker that is only marginally represented in the epistles (by contrast 2 Cor 12:1–10; cf. 2 Tim 4:20). (c) gifts of communication are expressed in the following terms—prophecy linked to the ability to evaluate the inspired utterances (of the prophets? 1 Cor 14:29–31); glossolalic speech, often simply called "tongues" (1 Cor 12:10, 28; 12:30; 13:1, 8; 14:5–6, 22–23, 39) or a "tongue" (14:2, 4, 9, 13–14, 26–27), best understood as an ecstatic cry or type of prayer-speech thought to articulate the language of heaven (*T. Job* 48–50) as a vehicle of praise and communication. So, because Paul will have the "tongue" express meaning for others and not simply serve to build up the glossolalic (14:2, 4a), he insists on the need for "interpretation of tongues" (1 Cor 12:10; 14:26), and the presence of an "interpreter" (14:28) who will exercise this *charisma* (12:30; 14:5, 13, 27). Only thus—in Paul's pastoral counsel—will the church be edified and worship be brought under the aegis of the rational in tandem with the affective. See 1 Cor 14:6

for Paul's preference for the more noetic gifts of "revelation" (uncovering the will of God for his people perhaps as directives and commands); "knowledge" of God's salvific plan in all its ramifications for the Church; "prophecy," inspired utterances which, unlike glossolalia, are marked by intelligibility and comprehensibility in the minds of the hearers; and "teaching," perhaps scriptural expositions based on the OT. Glossolalia, on the other hand, is to be understood as "speaking" and "praying" when the mind is inactive (14:14). For Paul this is less desirable on the ground that the congregation is not built up by this exercise (14:11); rather the individual glossolalic serves only to build up himself (14:4). Prophecy, to the contrary, involves the interplay of spirit and mind, and aims to edify the hearers, whether one's fellow-believers (14:3, 16–17) or outsiders (14:24–26).

This last reference introduces yet another criterion for the right and profitable use of *charismata* in the Pauline churches. It may be stated as a concern for good order and seemly behavior among the worshippers not only because other types of corporate practice—such as the confusion of all speaking in a strange tongue (14:11) or all speaking together—lead to disarray (1 Cor 14:17–28) but because Paul looks to the character of God as setting the standard. He is not a God of disorder but of peace (harmony) (14:32), and any tendency that promotes the abandonment of control and produces the onset of uninhibited and unrestrained outpourings in glossolalic speech suggests that the worshippers are "possessed" by a demonic spirit (14:23). Thereby, they betray the nature of worship under the lordship of Christ (12:1–3). So the apostolic call is to permit glossolalia, with the necessary safeguards; to give priority to intelligible prophecy and revelation (14:30); and above all to promote good order and decorous conduct (14:40).

Another way of putting these three criteria—the unity to be safeguarded amid competing interests at Corinth, the concern for upbuilding of the entire company at worship, and the restraints needed to retain a semblance of good order—is to make love the indispensable accompaniment of whatever *charismata* are found in the Church. "Love" *(agapē)* is not one of the *charismata;* it is rather the Spirit's fruit (Gal 5:22). As such, it is the test of all the *charismata,* for if love is absent, all the gifts, however valued and heroic they may appear, lose their value (1 Cor 13:1–3). Only love, best defined as a determination to seek and apply the interests of God in other people, can act to ensure that the true meaning of a spiritual gift may be properly achieved. That implies that its function is controlled and channeled along those lines which promote the intention of God whose nature for Paul as for the other NT writers is most adequately described as love. Even gifts that Paul otherwise would applaud, such as "knowledge" and "prophecy," have their true function within a relationship of love; and even so they are limited to this age, in Paul's eschatology (1 Cor 13:8–13). Love which is as eternal as God's nature endures.

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**GIHON** (PLACE) [Heb *gîḥôn* (גִּיחוֹן)]. The name of two sources of water; though it is possible that they are not independent of one another.

**1.** According to three connected communications, an important spring in Jerusalem, presented as the place where Solomon is said to have been anointed king (cf. 1 Kgs 1:33, 38, 45). The communication about a sacred tent from which the priest Zadok took the horn of oil for anointing (1:39) leads to the suggestion that the sacred ark had its place at the spring. There is no reason, however, to identify the tent for the ark pitched by David (2 Sam 6:17) with an institute outside the walls and never qualified as a sanctuary elsewhere. So the historical value may be doubtful. If instead of Gihon a better-known

sanctuary (such as Gibeon) had been named here originally (Görg 1967: 129, but cf. Schmitt 1972: 191–93) or if the communication about the tent is based on a metaphorical use of the term *ʾōhel* meaning a temple building in Jerusalem (Rupprecht 1977: 84) or on a literary interpolation (Langlamet 1981: 88), is open to further discussions. According to 2 Chr 32:30, the spring had been blocked by king Hezekiah, who channeled the water down to the W side of the city. This information would be sustained if the so-called Inscription of Siloam (now in Istanbul) would refer to Hezekiah's activity giving a report about the last phase of the work possibly connected with the defense system against the Assyrians (but see Shiloh 1984: 23 who claims for a difference between an earlier "Siloam Channel" and "Hezekiah's Tunnel").

King Manasseh is said to have rebuilt an outer wall W of the spring (2 Chr 33:14), a communication without parallel within the report about Manasseh's reign in 2 Kings 21, and therefore of limited historical value.

Archaeological work at the spring of Gihon, now identical with ʿEn Sittī Maryam (Arabic ʿEn Umm ed-Dereğ), leads to identifying the spring as the "basic factor in the existence of the earliest Jerusalem" (Kenyon 1974: 39). The spring itself, "quite different in hydrological character from the ordinary sources on other sites, which generally are fed by regular sources or by the water table" (Shiloh 1984: 23), had been accessible by a shaft from the higher slope of the hill. This shaft, first identified by Warren in 1867 and reexamined by Vincent in 1911, has been regarded by Kenyon as the earliest access used for military purposes already by the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Jerusalem. According to Shiloh (1984: 24) Warren's Shaft belongs together with the "Siloam Tunnel" to a water system from the 10th–9th century B.C. connecting "the northern part of the city of David (and perhaps even its citadel) with the water source." The entrance area excavated in 1984 under the direction of Shiloh is now part of the "City of David Archaeological Garden."

**2.** According to Gen 2:13 the second mentioned river of the four headwaters separated from the main stream watering the paradise of Eden. The river is said to wind through the entire land of Cush. For identifying the water many attempts had been made (see Westermann *Genesis* BKAT, 297f.) The equation with the Nile River sustained by the African Cush (Ethiopia) and by translation in Jer 2:18 (LXX) lacks philological evidence, as is the attempt to identify the Gihon with the Nubian (Sudanese) part of the Nile. Further proposals regarding the later named Tigris and Euphrates point to a Mesopotamian river running to one of these main streams (cf. Lemaire 1981); but there is no name comparable with Gihon under the well-documented Mesopotamian geographical names. So should it be the best solution to identify the Gihon with the above-cited watering as the most important river for Jerusalem, and Zion itself as the center of the world (cf. Eising *TWAT* 1: 1010). Moreover, if the Pishon should be the Nile in mythical connection with the extending primordial ocean (cf. Görg 1987: 11–13), Gihon may be the next important river from the view of a Judean author being well acquainted with Egyptian ideas of primordial waterings. The so-called geography of the paradise offers a kind of cartography, setting Jerusalem into the midst of the world and regarding Cush as a country in the S encircled by the river, possibly an allusion to the special contact of Jerusalem under Hezekiah to the Egyptian neighbor dominated by the 25th (Ethiopian) Dynasty.

This view may be strengthened by considering the prophetic vision of a spring gushing forth from under the Temple (cf. Ezekiel 47) as a utopic description of a river growing up to a stream of universal relevance. Such an aspect may correspond to the metaphorical reception of the Gihon together with the other rivers of paradise and the Jordan River by Sirach (24:23–33) in order to praise the growing of the Torah (cf. Eising *TWAT* 1: 1011).

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M. GÖRG

**GIL‘ADI, KEFAR.** See KEFAR GIL‘ADI.

**GILALAI** (PERSON) [Heb *gilălay* (גִּלֲלַי)]. The son of a priest who participated in the Great Procession as one of the musicians during the dedication of the Wall of Jerusalem (Neh 12:36). He lived during the time of Ezra and Nehemiah in the 5th century B.C.
GARY C. AUGUSTIN

**GILBOA, MOUNT** (PLACE) [Heb *gilbōa‘* (גִּלְבֹּעַ)]. One of a pair of mountains overlooking the Valley of Jezreel. The other is the Hill of Moreh. It was in this area that Saul fought the Philistines in the battle in which he lost his life. (1 Sam 31:1, 8; 1 Chr 10:1, 8). The Philistines gathered for battle at Shunem (M.R. 181223 modern Sôlem on the S slope of Mount Gilboa [McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 420]), while the Israelites mustered at Gilboa (1 Sam 28:4, the latter perhaps with reference to a town rather than the mountain as a whole since the MT lacks the full name "*Mount* Gilboa" at this point, cf. 1 Sam 31:1; so Reed *IDB* 2: 396). Mount Gilboa is modern Jebel Fuqu‘ah, in the hills to the W of the Jordan valley midway between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea.

The difficulty in the account of the battle of Gilboa (1 Samuel 28–31 and its aftermath in 2 Samuel 1) has to do with the order of the narrative. As many commentators have noted (Driver *Samuel* ICC, 213–14; Hertzberg *1 and 2 Samuel* OTL, 217; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 422–23), 1 Samuel 28, which begins the account of the battle, appears to be interrupted by chaps. 29–30, which narrate David's rescue of Ziklag and his defeat of the Amalekites. In 1 Sam 29:1 the Philistines are said to be gathering at Aphek, which is N of the gathering-place (Shunem) mentioned in 1 Sam 28:4 and so logically prior to Shunem according to what would be their normal line of march (Driver *Samuel* ICC, 213–14; cf. Koizumi 1976: 63–64 who also reads the order of events this way). 1 Samuel 28 (the story of Saul and the witch of Endor on the evening of the battle of Gilboa) flows more naturally into 1 Samuel 31 (the account of the battle itself). Similarly, 1 Samuel 27 (David in the service of the Philistine Achish) flows naturally into 1 Samuel 29–30 (David released from Achish's service and the rescue of Ziklag). It is likely then that in terms of the order of events, 1 Samuel 29–30 are displaced.

Additionally, Samuel's speech (as a ghost) in 1 Sam 28:17–18 reminds the reader of Saul's failure to destroy the defeated Amalekites (1 Samuel 15), an episode which the prophetic editor of the books of Samuel understands as leading to YHWH's rejection of Saul. This material is likely an interjection which prepares the way for the story of David's defeat of the Amalekites at Ziklag (McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 422–23).

The other references to Mount Gilboa refer back to the battle in which Saul dies (i.e., 2 Sam 1:6, 21; 2 Sam 21:12).

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**GILEAD** (PERSON) [Heb *gil‘ād* (גִּלְעָד)]. Three individuals in the Hebrew Bible bear this name.

1. The son of Machir and grandson of Manasseh (Num 26:29; 36:1; 2 Chr 2:21 ul 23is six sons, whose descendants became significant tribal clans, were Iezer (Abiezer in Josh 17:2), Helek, Asriel, Shechem, Shemida, and Hepher (Num 26:30–32; Josh 17:2). The Manassite genealogy in 1 Chr 7:14–19 also names Gilead as the son of Machir but presents the other family relations in a way that is substantially different from that in Numbers 26. The text of 1 Chronicles 7 is corrupt at this point, and a number of different proposals have been made to correct it (Albright 1925: 28; Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 68–71; Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 110–12).

Elsewhere, Gilead's name is used to designate his descendants or their land as a whole (cf. Judg 5:17; 10:18; 1 Sam 13:7; 2 Sam 2:9), and it is often difficult to know which is intended. According to the folk etymology in Gen 31:47–48, "Gilead" derives from "Galeed" (*gal ʿēd,* "mound of witness") and originally designated the pile of stones that commemorated Jacob's covenant with Laban (Gen 31:43–50). A more recent suggestion, though, proposes that the name "Gilead" originally meant "rugged country" (cf. Ar *jalîd,* "rough," "rugged"), describing the terrain of Gilead in contrast to Bashan (Cohen *IDB* 2: 397).

2. The father of Jephthah, who lived in the land of Gilead and begot his famous son by a prostitute (Judg 11:1–2). Gilead had other sons by his wife, and these sons expelled Jephthah from the family home in order to keep the inheritance for themselves.

3. A Gadite mentioned only in 1 Chr 5:14. He was an ancestor of Abihail, the father of the eleven (or ten; see SHAPHAT) sons listed in 1 Chr 5:12–13. Neither Gilead nor the others named in the Chronicler's genealogy for Gad (1 Chr 5:11–17) appear in other lists of Gadites (Gen 46:16; Num 26:15–18; 1 Chr 12:9–16—Eng12:12–15) or elsewhere in the Bible.

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**GILEAD** (PLACE) [Heb *gilʿād* (גִּלְעָד)]. GILEADITE. An area on the E side of the Jordan River that became part of the Israelite inheritance.

**A. Etymology and Usage**

The name *gilʿād* is difficult to explain both as regards etymology and original usage. It is established in the OT forty-seven times as indeterminate and fifty-three times as determinate. The OT derivation of the word is found in Gen 31:48, from *galʿed* "witness cairn," reminiscent of popular etymology. The name survives in Arabic in the form *gelʿad.* It has been considered that the word incorporates a consonantal dissimilation. The root should be *gʿd,* meaning "curly (of hair), difficult (of terrain)." Since there are parallel examples of naming an area after the nature of the ground and Gilead was also forested (2 Sam cf. Jer 22:6), the meanings correspond to the structure of the landscape E of the Jordan. The word is both masculine and feminine. The indeterminate form has mostly the character of a *nomen gentile* or *nomen tribus* instead of the appellative designation of an area, but this is not always the case (cf. 1 Chr 2:21, 23; 7:14; and Josh 17:1).

Outside the OT the word is found in Ugaritic, Text 170 as a *nomen loci,* in Text 301 as a personal name, and in a royal Assyrian inscription from Nimrud, K 2649/III R 10, 2 "the town of *ga-al-ʾa-a- (za),"* possibly identical with Ramoth-gilead.

Whatever usage the name Gilead may have in the OT—as *heros eponymos* of a tribe (Num 26:29; Judg 11:1) to whom Machir was the father (Josh 17:1; 1 Chr 2:21, 23; 7:14), as the designation of a "tribe" (Judg 5:17; Hos 6:8), or as the name of a territory (Gen 37:25)—it is always connected with the region to the E of the Jordan. The inhabitants are often called Gileadites (Num 26:30; Judg 12:4–5).

**B. Geography**

In its widest extent Gilead covers the area from the Arnon in the S to Bashan in the N. The N limit is very vaguely expressed in the OT. The Yarmuk is never mentioned. To the E, the area is bounded by the desert. The Jordan in the W has never played the role of a historical border but is more of ideological character (Josh 22:19). The Jordan has several fords and although the valley is very deep, on both sides of the Jordan is an easily traversable plain several kilometers wide extending N from the Dead Sea. The Jordan River meanders from the Sea of Galilee (ca. 212 m below sea level) to the Dead Sea (ca. 394 m below sea level). The Jordan Valley is cut by numerous wadis which empty into the Jordan or the Dead Sea. The most outstanding wadis are Yarmuk, el-Jabes, Nahr ez-Zerqa, and the Jabbok in the N and wadis Kufrein, Wala, Mojib, and the Arnon in the S. Nahr ez-Zerqa is the main divider of Gilead and is regarded as the border of the Ammonites (Deut 3:16; Josh 12:2). N of this wadi, the landscape rises sharply to a height of nearly 1500 m forming the Ajlun mountains. The hill country S of the Jabbok is called Belqa

and continues to the area just E of the Dead Sea with the Abarim summits including Mt. Nebo and Mt. Pisgah, which form the W limit of the plains of Moab (also named Mishor in the OT). A general description of the area is found in Deut 2:36–37. Sometimes the designation "half of Gilead" is used both of the area N of the Jabbok (Josh 12:5; 13:31) and S of the same cleft (Deut 3:12; Josh 12:2). This designation could have its origin in the topography or in the early history. Gilead together with Bashan is said to have been governed by two Amorite kings, Sihon in the S and Og in the N (Num 21; etc).

One topographical designation in the OT is *har gilʿād* (Cant 4:1) or *har haggilʿād* (Gen 31:21, 25; Deut 3:12; Judg 7:3) which refers to the mountain district of Gilead, otherwise *ʾereṣ gilʿad* (five times) and *ʾereṣ haggilʿad* (ten times), "the land of Gilead," are used. "The cities of Gilead" (mentioned in Num 32:3, 26; Deut 3:12; Josh 13:25; and Judg 12:7) refers to the cities of Reuben and Gad. Havvoth-jair is placed in N Gilead according to Num 32:41 and Judg 10:4 (cf. Deut 3:4). Very few city names occur in the N, but lists count several cities in the S (Num 32:3, 34–38; Josh 13:16–20; Isa 15–16). Most of the same names are also found on the Moabite stone.

One of the products which made Gilead famous and reappears in the book of Jeremiah (8:22; 46:11), was balm, a drug which was evidently exported to Egypt (Gen 37:25). According to Pliny (*HN* 12.117) balm was very rare and in the days of Alexander the Great only a spoonful of balm could be collected on a summer day. Vespasian took balm plants to Rome and Pompey boasts of carrying them in his triumph (Pliny *HN*, 12.111).

From the Dead Sea bitumen or asphalt was brought and used as insulation or packing material, e.g. in tombs (Tell es-Saʿidiyeh).

**C. History**

Gilead is mentioned for the first time in Gen 31:23 in relation to Jacob's settlement with Laban in the mountains of Gilead. Ideologically it is not by mere accident that Jacob consents to a contract with Laban in this area. We are told about a treaty which tends to show Jacob as the dominant party. He succeeded in shaking off the Aramean yoke, would have another settlement with his brother Esau/Edom, and after his enigmatic wrestling at the ford of the Jabbok, the name Israel was given to him (Gen 32:29). Jacob, *heros eponymos* of the N kingdom, thus legitimated the area on the other side of the Jordan as Israelite property. When conquering Gilead, Moses had to defeat the two Amorite kings, Sihon and Og, who together governed all Gilead and Bashan (Deut 4:47–49). The tribes of Reuben and Gad asked for and got their inheritances in the S, (cf. Num 32 and Josh 13) and the E branch of Manasseh settled in the N. The E Jordan Valley fell to Gad.

The history of Machir is enigmatic. He is named "the father of Gilead" (Num 26:29; Josh 17:1). Machir took Gilead (Num 32:39) and Moses gave him Gilead (Deut 3:15). Machir was certainly a Cisjordanian tribe (Judg 5:14) until he settled in the E. There are also other sub-clans as Jair and Nobah. Gilead as a tribal name is mentioned together with Reuben in Judg 5:17 and seems to represent the N part of the area. These tribes did not take part in the Cisjordanian war. There was marked dissension between the Israelite groups in the W and in the E. Ephraim's impatience over the statements of independence among the Gileadites under Jephthah (Judg 12:1–6), points to a W self-confidence of domination over Gilead. The ideological and tribal connection between E and W also involved the question of political power.

Saul built up his kingdom by winning loyalty in the E by rescuing Jabesh-gilead (1 Sam 11) when the city was besieged by the Ammonites. And from Gilead he could then attack the Philistines in the W. After Saul's death, his son, Ishbaal, tried to create a center of power in Mahanaim to reconquer the Cisjordan (2 Sam 2). It failed as the history worked for David. When the latter had taken "the reins of the land" in the W (2 Sam 8:1), he established his hegemony over the area E of the Jordan, and through his victories over the Arameans and the Ammonites he got definite control of Gilead, where David himself had to retreat when his son Absalom revolted against him (2 Sam 15–18).

The reasons for the severe battles for sovereignty over Gilead were not only militarily strategic, but also commercially so. When David broke the power of the Philistines in Cisjordan and signed a treaty with Hiram of Tyre, he controlled the W trade route between Egypt and Damascus, the *Via Maris*, and by his take-over of Gilead he was in a position to control trade along the King's Highway (Numbers 21). The

census which concludes 2 Samuel and which forms the epilogue to David's powerful reign includes the land E of the Jordan, which Israel had claimed since the period of the Conquest.

For Solomon, Gilead was a matter of domestic politics (1 Kgs 4:7–19) and three of his administrative districts covered Transjordan. The information on Solomon's building projects (1 Kgs 9:15–22) does not mention a single town in the E but there are indications that copper was refined in the Jordan Valley (1 Kgs 7:46).

After the division of Solomon's empire, Gilead in its widest aspect was joined to the N kingdom although Rehoboam was of Ammonite blood on his mother's side (1 Kgs 14:31). It is possible to discern in Jeroboam's activities a strategic tendency in the organization of the new N kingdom. He fortified Shechem and Tirzah in the W and Penuel in the area of the Jabbok. It may have been an ideological complement to Mahanaim in line with the revival of the Bethel cult (Gen 32:24–32). Shoshonq's invasion of Palestine (1 Kgs 14:25–26), yields in the Karnak inscription reference to at least four towns, Adama, Succoth (?), Penuel, and Mahanaim, which were pillaged in the E, on which the OT is silent.

During the divided kingdom, control of Gilead was an essential element in the policy of the N Israelite kings. But they had to fight the Arameans in the N, especially at Ramoth-gilead and the Moabites in the S. The effort of the Omride kings to keep a strong hand on Gilead may be regarded in terms of economic policy. The state of tension between E and W which sometimes arose became the demise of King Jehu. He was killed by Shallum, the son of Jabesh, a Gileadite (2 Kgs 15:10). Israel's chances of freeing itself from the Arameans depended on Assyria and Adad-nirari III who finally crushed Aram, who had "threshed Gilead with threshing sledges of iron" (Amos 1:3).

Jehoash and Jeroboam II recovered all the region, but Israel's star began to wane during the later years of Jeroboam's reign and after him there was one palace revolution after another. Pekahiah was murdered by Pekah who was supported by the Gileadites (2 Kgs 15:25). Pekah also entered a coalition with Rezin of Damascus and according to 2 Kgs 16:6, a campaign materialized E of the Jordan in which the Arameans forced their way through Gilead as far S as Elath. Pekah was then overthrown by a pro-Assyrian phalanx led by Hoshea. Gilead became just an Assyrian province (Isa 8:23 as conquered by Tiglath-pileser (2 Kgs 15:29). We do not know if Josiah had any special interest in Gilead. Ishmael, the murderer of Gedaliah, had support from the Ammonite king Baalis and he was possibly the last important usurper from the E (Jer 41).

In the OT, the history of Gilead is written from a Cisjordanian point of view. Since the tribes Reuben, Gad, and half-of-Manasseh (and with them related clans) are said to have settled there, the land of Gilead was regarded as a part of the land of Israel. Gad is mentioned in the Mesha Inscription, but in the so-called P ideology, Gilead is excluded and the river Jordan is regarded as frontier (Num 34:12; Ezek 47:18) and in Josh 22:19, Transjordan is considered unclean (cf. Num 32). There were three Levitical cities E of the Jordan (Deut 4:41–43). Psalms 60 and 108 speak of Gilead as belonging to God's patrimony and in the prophetic talk of restoration, Gilead is specially mentioned (Jer 50:19; Mic 7:14; Zech 10:10; Ob 19).

**D. Archaeology**

The warm climate of the Jordan Valley gave possibilities for very early civilizations and Jericho, together with Beidha, had communities more than 10,000 years ago. Archaeological surveys show that humans lived there from the beginning of the Old Stone Age around 450,000 years ago. Remains of a Neolithic culture are also found in the Wadi Yarmuk. Excavations have been carried out since 1930 at Tuleilat el-Ghassul where remains from an outstanding Chalcolithic culture have been found. Houses were decorated with painted frescoes in polychrome. Some of the hundreds of dolmens spread over the area seem to have been erected in this period. The EB is represented, and at Bab ed-Dhra in the Lisan a very extensive cemetery from this period has been found. No major MB sites have been excavated so far, but the typical fortification of the period, the *glacis*, has been found. The theory that Transjordan was a nomadic area between 1900–1300 B.C. can no longer be accepted. Surveys and excavations show that the area continued to flourish during the LB (1550–1200 B.C.). Sites as Tabaqat Fahil (Pella), Deir Alla, Tell el-Mazar, Tell es-Sa‹idiyeh, Madaba, Jalul, etc. and cave tombs in the Baq‹ah Valley show a large wealth of objects and pottery typical for this period. The Square Temple at the Amman airport is dated to the LB

as is possibly the building found at El Mabrak. The first written records appear now at Tell Deir Alla and at Balu‹a.

During the Iron Age (1200–586 B.C.), Gilead was governed sometimes by the Israelites, sometimes by the Arameans, and sometimes by the Ammonites and the Moabites. Architectural remains from several sites indicate that the Iron Age cultures E of the Jordan attained a high degree of prosperity. There were large cities, well planned with magnificent water installations. Finds of glass beads of very high iron content (50 percent) in burial caves in the Baq‹ah Valley suggest an iron industry in the area already in Iron Age IA (ca. 1200–1050 B.C.). There are iron mines in the Ajlun area. Numerous megalithic forts were positioned along the trade routes. Several inscriptions and ostraca provide many interesting details of the history. The Moabite Stone, found in 1868 at Dhiban, gives the E opinion of the Israelite hegemony in the area N of the Arnon in the 9th century B.C. At Tell Deir Alla was found (in 1967) a remarkable inscription on cement. On paleographic grounds, it is dated to the 8th century B.C. and tells about the nightly visions of "the seer of the gods, Balaam, Beor's son" (cf. Num 22–24).

At Tell Mazar in the Jordan Valley ostraca have been found, which date to the 7th–6th century B.C. Hebrew, and especially Ammonite, influences are evident in the texts (cf. the inscriptions from Tell Siran, the Amman Citadel, and the Amman Theatre). From the Persian period (ca. 539–332 B.C.), little is known except that citadels were built along the routes (Tell es-Sa‹idiyeh). The Hellenistic period (ca. 332–63 B.C.) offers especially one place of biblical interest, namely Araq el-Emir situated W of Amman. There the Tobiad family resided until Hyrcanos was overwhelmed by the Seleucids in ca. 175 B.C. A great Qasr surrounded by an artificial moat was built, and in a short inscription on stone the square letters of the Hebrew alphabet appear for the first time (ca. 190 B.C.).

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M. OTTOSSON

## GILEAD, BALM OF. See BALM.

## GILGAL (PLACE) [Heb *gilgāl* (גִּלְגָּל)]. A common place name in the OT. In all but two cases (Josh 5:9; Josh 12:23), it is prefixed with the definite article *(haggilgāl),* or the definite article and preposition (*baggigāl,* as in Josh 4:19). The name appears to mean "circle (of stones)," apparently based on a duplication of the root *gll* "to roll" or "roll away." The MT refers to at least three, and perhaps as many as five, distinct locations by this name.

**1.** A place near Jericho where the Israelites established their first encampment after crossing the Jordan River (Josh 4:19). As a memorial of passing over the Jordan on dry land, the Israelites set up at Gilgal twelve stones taken out of the dry river bed (Josh 4:20). It was here that the generation born during the wilderness wanderings was circumcised (Josh 5:2–9). The connection of the name Gilgal with the verb

form “I have rolled away” *(gallôtî)* is perhaps better seen as a word play rather than a folk etymology. The Israelites celebrated their first Passover in the promised land at Gilgal (Josh 5:10–11), at the conclusion of which the provision of manna ceased (Josh 5:12). During their encampment at Gilgal, the Israelites were approached by emissaries of Gibeon, who “tricked” them into agreeing to a nonaggression pact (Josh 9:6). In fulfillment of this agreement, the Israelites used Gilgal as a base for their attack on the anti-Gibeonite coalition (Josh 10:6–7, 9, 15), and it was to Gilgal that they returned after their victorious sweep through S Canaan (Josh 10:43). It was also here that Joshua granted Hebron to Caleb as a reward for faithfulness during the wilderness wanderings (Josh 14:6). The allotment of tribal territories recorded in Joshua 15–19 is also implicitly associated with Gilgal. Judg 2:1 records the movement of the angel of the Lord from Gilgal, where he had previously appeared to Joshua (Josh 5:13–15), to BOCHIM apparently signaling a downturn in Gilgal’s significance. It is possible that this downturn resulted from the capture of Gilgal by the Moabites, for it is in the vicinity of Gilgal (Judg 3:19) that EHUD assassinates Eglon, king of Moab.

In the time of Samuel, Gilgal appears to have undergone a renaissance, becoming an important cultic center. It was one of the three places where Samuel sat during his yearly judicial cycle (1 Sam 7:16). Following their initial encounter, Samuel asked SAUL to await him at Gilgal (1 Sam 10:8). It is here that Samuel makes Saul king (1 Sam 11:14–15), and here where Saul rallied the Israelites after Jonathan’s victory over the Philistine garrison at GEBA (1 Sam 13:3–4). Impatient because Samuel was late, Saul presumptuously made burnt offerings at Gilgal, resulting in a stinging rebuke from Samuel (1 Sam 14:8–15). That such offerings were considered appropriate at Gilgal under certain circumstances is demonstrated by the reference to peace offerings performed when Saul was made king (1 Sam 11:15). After his victory over the Amalekites, Saul met Samuel at Gilgal (1 Sam 15:12–13), where his failure to destroy the flocks of the Amalekites called forth another rebuke from Samuel (1 Sam 15:22–30), resulting in Saul’s rejection as king. Saul’s unacceptable excuse, that he was saving the flocks for sacrifice at Gilgal, is further indication of the cultic significance of the site at this time. A few years later, the men of Judah gathered at Gilgal to greet David on his return from exile following the death of Absalom (2 Sam 19:15).

Gilgal fades into obscurity until the 8th century, when in the thought and words of Amos and Hosea it becomes a symbol of apostacy. In the book of Amos, Gilgal appears in parallel with Bethel as a symbol of transgression and illegitimate sacrifice (Amos 4:4), and the people are encouraged to seek Yahweh instead of Bethel and Gilgal (Amos 5:5). Hosea warns the sons of Ephraim against entering into Gilgal (Hos 4:15), tells them that they have been rejected because of the evil they have done in Gilgal (Hos 9:15), and informs them that sacrifices in Gilgal are useless (Hos 12:11). Only Micah presents a positive image of Gilgal when, as part of Yahweh’s legal case against his people because of their violation of the covenant, he asks them to “remember what happened from Shittim to Gilgal” (Mic 6:5).

Some scholars (e.g., Kraus 1951) have argued that the description in Joshua 3–6 of the events surrounding the crossing of the river Jordan reflect an annual cultic celebration in which these events were reenacted. This is a provocative, but also highly speculative, theory. It is difficult to believe that such a celebration would have been entirely ignored in other portions of the OT, especially if it were associated with one of the other major feasts of the cultic calendar.

The only OT clue to the exact location of ancient Gilgal occurs in Josh 4:19, where it is located “on the east border of Jericho,” meaning, of course, the territory of Jericho and not the city itself. Although Tell en-Nitla, about 3.5 km E of Jericho, seems to provide the best fit for this description, excavations have yielded no evidence for occupation before the Byzantine period (Muilenberg 1955: 19–20). Two more promising candidates are to be found in the vicinity of Khirbet Mefjir (M.R. 193143), about 3 km NE of Jericho. Archaeological soundings at one of these sites, a little N of Khirbet el-Mefjir, yielded characteristic Iron Age pottery (Muilenberg 1955), while work at the other site, slightly W of Khirbet el-Mefjir, left the question unanswered (Bennett 1972; Landes 1975). Although it seems quite possible that ancient Gilgal is to be found somewhere nearby, its exact location remains enigmatic.

**2.** A location in the S hill country of Samaria, near Bethel. It was here that Elijah and Elisha began their final journey to Transjordan (2 Kgs 2:1). Although some have identified this place with Gilgal near

Jericho, the context clearly refers to a location from which one "went down" to Bethel (2 Kgs 2:2). This seems to indicate a place higher in altitude and perhaps to the N of Bethel. It has most commonly been identified with modern Jiljulieh (Muilenberg *IDB* 2: 398), which occupies the summit of a hill approximately 12 km N of Bethel (M.R. 171159). Despite the clear reflection of the ancient name, it is not yet known whether the site was occupied during the Iron Age. It is possible that the miracle in which Elisha purified a bowl of accidentally poisoned pottage (2 Kgs 4:38–41) is to be associated with this hill country Gilgal, although it could just as well be connected with Gilgal near Jericho.

**3.** A station on the N border of the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:7). Alt (1953) has persuasively argued that the border list of Joshua 15 is derived from an ancient legal document delineating the territorial claims of the tribes during the period of the Judges. In the parallel passage (Josh 18:17) describing the S border of Benjamin, the name Geliloth appears in place of Gilgal. Given the fact that both words are derived from the same root *(gll),* these are obviously variants referring to the same border station. There are no objective criteria that allow us to choose one variant over the other. Although some scholars have sought to identify this border point with Gilgal near Jericho, the context clearly indicates a location much closer to the ascent of Adummim, convincingly identified with a ridge approximately half-way on the road between Jerusalem and Jericho whose red color is reflected in its modern Arabic name, Talat ed-Damm (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 367–68). The nearby ruins at Khan el-Ahmar (M.R. 181133), traditional location of the Inn of the Good Samaritan, have often been identified with the ancient border station. However, recent archaeological survey has produced no evidence of Iron Age occupation at Khan el-Ahmar, leading to a suggestion to identify ancient Gilgal/Geliloth with Araq ed-Deir (M.R. 180133), an area of ruins approximately 1.5 km W of Khan el-Ahmar where some indication of Iron Age occupation has been found (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 367).

**4.** In the MT, the list of kings defeated by Joshua includes reference to a "king of Goiim at Gilgal" (Josh 12:23). The RSV, following the LXX, reads Galilee in place of Gilgal. This suggests a possible identification with the Galilean site of Haroseth-ha-goiim mentioned as the home of Sisera in Judg 4:2. However, if we prefer to follow the MT, then we must assume the existence of a Canaanite city by the name of Gilgal. Unfortunately, clues to its location are minimal. If we assume that the list of defeated kings proceeds in geographical order, which is not entirely untenable, the king of Gilgal's appearance between Dor and Tirzah suggests a location somewhere on the E edge of Sharon Plain. If this is acceptable, then the ancient name may well be preserved in the modern town of Jiljuliyeh (*GP,* 327), approximately 5 km N of Aphek (M.R. 145173).

**5.** The reference to Gilgal in Deut 11:30 remains enigmatic. The preceding verse gives the distinct impression that reference is being made to a location somewhere in the vicinity of Mount Ebal and Mount Gerazim, that is, near ancient Shechem. This is further strengthened by the reference to the Oak of Moreh, which Gen 12:6 clearly locates at Shechem. Thus, it seems that an as yet unidentified location somewhere in the vicinity of Shechem also bore the name Gilgal. Perhaps this is the same Gilgal as that known to Elijah and Elisha (see #2 above). However, many scholars feel that the overall context of this verse, referring as it does to entrance into the promised land, requires that Gilgal near Jericho (#1 above) be the point of reference. One provocative idea relates these verses in Deuteronomy to a rabbinic tradition suggesting that the Israelites utilized artificial heaps of stone as replicas of Ebal and Gerazim as part of a cultic celebration at the more famous Gilgal (Brownlee *ISBE* 2: 471).

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**GILGAL** (PREHISTORIC SITES). Six prehistoric sites were uncovered in 1973–74 on a low ridge and in a flat valley nearby, which were formed by the lisan bed in the lower Jordan Valley about 12 km N of Jericho. This ridge stands on the E part of the Salabiya Valley and is 220 m below sea level. Three sites were found on the ridge: Gilgal I (Pre-Pottery Neolithic A), and Gilgal II and VI (attributed to the Natufian Culture). In the valley are sites III and IV which are PPNA and site V, also attributed to the Natufian. In the past they may have been one unit while in a later period erosion activity cut the ridge and separated most of the sites by gullies.

This entire area lies between the Irano-Turanian and the Saudi Arabia plant belt with around 150 mm of rain, very mild winters and very hot summers. Only in Natufian times did humans arrive in this area, when the salty lisan lake which covered most of the Jordan Valley dried and a sweet water spring was exposed. Traces of a large deep swamp were also left on the W side of the Gilgal ridge. The PPNA people followed the Natufian people in this area, making the span of human occupation in this area ca. 9000–7600 B.C.E. Beyond this period, very little is known about the exploitation of the area. The water sources probably ran out, and it has remained barren and neglected almost until modern times.

A section has been dug in most of the sites mentioned, but only in Gilgal I has systematic excavation continued since 1974. The site is about 3–4 dunams and is located on the ridge and its W slope. On the surface, traces of stone walls of about 15 oval structures were seen, some of which have been examined. Although very close to the surface, the house floors were still very rich in finds. On most of the house floors which were white, a flat stone with cup-holes was found, sometimes along with a grinding stone. The arrowheads were of El Khiam points type with some variations; there also were long sickle blades, borers and a few axes, all made from flint. Polished axes were made of limestone and basalt and there were also upper grinding stones and some polishers from basalt.

In the heart of the site, almost on top of the ridge, a wide section was dug and two major levels have been identified. Level 1, (the upper one) has lighter soil material, similar to mudbrick, and the lower Level 2, has walls of dark grayish soil. The lowest house uncovered (No. 11) is ovoid, its daub walls remain to a height of 50 cms. The house floor was laid on a very compact pebble foundation; similar pebbles were seen on sites III and IV. This house contained large quantities of carbonized seeds of oats and barley and a handful of acorns and pistachioes, which were probably stored in small containers. In a different corner of the same house some very significant objects were found, such as three human figurines made of clay (perhaps burnt), and a bird figurine carved from limestone, as well as large pieces of asphalt that had coated baskets, which still bore the basketry and showed quite high quality craftmanship. Another human figurine carved from limestone and carrying signs of a skirt was found on a floor of building No. 10. The combination of the store of seeds and the above-mentioned objects indicates a new symbolic thought and behavior of the people of that time.

The economy of the people was based on gathering wild plants and hunting, mainly birds, fowl, crabs and gazelles. The carbon dating taken from the seeds yielded dates ranging from 7900–7800 B.C.E.

The rich finds in the Jordan Valley sites correspond to the specific environment and location of this area: the spring environment which allowed special exploitation, the relatively short distance to the Dead Sea, a source of asphalt, which was so frequently used by these people. The clayish soil was conducive to varied usages—for use in bricks, and later on for pottery.

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TAMAR NOY

**GILGAMESH EPIC.** A masterpiece of ANE literature, the Gilgamesh Epic (GE) is composed in Akkadian. It features the adventures of Gilgamesh, a king said to rule the S Mesopotamian city of Uruk

around 2600 B.C.E. Since Gilgamesh has left us no contemporaneous monuments, scholars debate whether he really existed. Gilgamesh's exploits in the GE, however, are mostly beyond historical evaluation. In other traditions and in omen literature, Gilgamesh is invoked as a mighty builder, but also as an infernal deity.

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A. Sources
B. Versions
C. Contents of Two Versions
D. Gilgamesh and Biblical Studies

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**A. Sources**

The GE is a long narrative with multiple episodes, allocated to at least 10, but no more than 12 tablets, each averaging about 300 lines (an afternoon's listening). One native tradition simply refers to the series by its opening line, "He who saw all." Sources for the epic's various episodes may have circulated in Sumerian as early as the Ur III Dynasty (2100–2000 B.C.E.). Written or copied as much as half a millennium after the fall of Ur, these narratives may well be the products of learned Semitic scribes. Of the following self-contained Sumerian compositions, the first three have echoes within the GE: Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living; Gilgamesh and the Bull of Heaven; Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld; Gilgamesh and Agga; The Death of Gilgamesh. A Sumerian flood story which does not feature Gilgamesh is eventually redrafted for inclusion in the GE.

**B. Versions**

We do not yet know when and how the independent narratives about Gilgamesh were first woven into a whole; a very late tradition, which is beyond present confirmation, has assigned the composition of the epic to a Gilgamesh contemporary, a diviner named Sin-leqi-unninni. By the LB Age, Gilgamesh's adventures had come into full vogue in the Near East so that major Mesopotamian sites continue to yield GE copies and fragments (some as yet unpublished). Emar in Upper Syria and Megiddo in Canaan have contributed Akkadian fragments as has Hattusûasû, capital of the Hittite empire. Additionally, Hattusûasû has produced Hittite and Hurrian adaptations of Gilgamesh's exploits.

Because no complete edition of the epic has survived from a single site, scholarship has created a composite using tablets originally belonging to diverse renditions (or recensions) of two major versions of the GE: one stemming from the latter half of the Old Babylonian (OB) period (1750–1600 B.C.E.), the other influenced by Neo-Assyrian (NA) scholarship (750–612 B.C.E.), but refined over the next four centuries. A third edition, of which we have but fragments, may have been completed during the Middle Babylonian (MB) period (around 1250 B.C.E.). Some scholars attribute one of the later versions to the legendary Sin-leqi-unninni. The various versions of the GE share major characters as well as specific episodes. They differ appreciably, however, in how they begin or end, and in the way they manipulate individual scenes. They also diverge in their perspectives on life, their controlling metaphors, and the themes which give integrity to the whole narrative. A comparison may be made with the various editions of the Tristan narratives which shared characters and episodes, but addressed differing audiences.

**C. Contents of Two Versions**

The NA version of the GE opens with the poet's invocation and "argument" about a man who has seen and accomplished everything possible; who has learned much from common experience as well as from hidden sources (the netherworld?); who has knowledge of a pre-diluvian past inaccessible to ordinary mortals; who chooses to record everything about his exhausting journey. Nothing of the tale, therefore, is invented, and lest anyone doubts its authenticity or accuracy, the poet takes the audience on a tour of Uruk. The listeners draw closer to its walls, enter its Eanna temple, and inspect the fortifications built by the protagonist. They are guided to a corner where, upon extracting a lapis lazuli tablet from a copper box, they can read a most beautiful hymn to the hero, Gilgamesh: an awesome king, offspring of the goddess Ninsun and of the mighty Lugalbanda. This hymn, in fact, inaugurates the OB version of the GE.

Nothing in ancient literature matches the generative and integrative powers of this poem, as it prepares the audience to expect the extraordinary: deeds eliciting pain and suffering, but also conferring illumination and wisdom, abound, and mysteries about the Flood and the Netherworld are resolved. The poet's exercise is not just pedagogic, however, for in disclosing Gilgamesh's ultimate achievement—the building of Uruk's defenses—is within human ability, the poet accords the audience a standard by which to measure Gilgamesh's triumphs or failures and instills in it an ironic vision by which to evaluate flaws when he acts beyond human capacity.

The tale quickly establishes its setting, opening on an obstreperous king who will not grant his urban subjects their dignity. Upon appeal, the gods ask Aruru to produce a "double"—the Akkadian here is difficult—of Gilgamesh, equally aggressive, so that the two can absorb each other's energy. Aruru, however, creates a double of the god Anu, thereby changing the future of that relationship. Enkidu's formation reverses the virtues of cultured folk: he cannot groom, feeds like animals, and prefers their company. Enkidu, therefore, compares to Gilgamesh, not in physical stature (although the OB version is literal here), but in his ability to thwart nonurban dwellers who live by snaring animals. A frustrated hunter solicits Gilgamesh who sends a harlot to tame Enkidu. The NA is psychological in recounting the ensuing transformation. Even after a week of mating, Enkidu establishes no emotional bonds with the woman. When he eventually discovers his humanity, sexuality is not the teacher; rather, the human odor he absorbs frightens the animals into abandoning him to the lass's comfort. The harlot moves him from his now empty world to that of Gilgamesh. There, the goddess Ninsun readies her son Gilgamesh for Enkidu's arrival by interpreting powerfully foretelling dreams.

In the OB version, however, the animals' rejection does not cause Enkidu's illumination, instead, the harlot becomes maternal and pedagogic immediately after their sexual bout. She shares her clothing with Enkidu and leads him, "like a child," to a gathering of shepherds. The scene turns comic as Enkidu serially reverses those habits which separate him from humankind, making him hunt what he once protected. In the OB the role of Ninsun is minimized as a shorter dream sequence is placed before the harlot comes to Enkidu.

The story in tablet 2 is carried best by the OB version. Enkidu enters Uruk and blocks Gilgamesh's entrance into the nuptial hall (where presumably Gilgamesh is abusing his power). The two lock into a terrible fight from which Gilgamesh emerges victorious. However, recognizing each other's strength, they become fast friends.

Tablet 3 is likewise damaged, but much less so in the OB than in the NA version. Gilgamesh seeks glory beyond Uruk, despite Enkidu's premonitions about sinister ends. The NA retains Ninsun's maternal role: she frets over her son's restlessness, places him under the protection of the Sun-god Shamash, and binds Enkidu to his service. The OB, however, focuses on Gilgamesh's plans and, in a remarkable passage, has Gilgamesh admit to human limitations, "Who my friend can scale heaven? Only the gods live forever under the sun. As for mankind, numbered are their days; whatever they achieve is but wind." Gilgamesh's aspirations are not yet beyond human achievements, for although he expects to die battling Huwawa (NA: Humbaba), his deed will long be remembered. In this version, as the town forges powerful weapons for the heroes, it is Gilgamesh who seeks Shamash's help.

The struggle against Humbaba/Huwawa occupies two badly preserved tablets. The 4th tablet of the NA version finds Gilgamesh and Enkidu quickly reaching their destination ("the distance of a month and fifteen day they *traversed* in three days") and egging each other to enter their foe's lair. Tablet 5 is set within the Cedar Forest, which in the OB version includes Mt. Hermon and the Lebanon. The two receive cautionary dreams which they perversely misinterpret. Humbaba attacks and is nearly victorious. Shamash interferes, and the monster begs for mercy. Enkidu, however, urges Humbaba's death, which comes after a brief gap. OB fragments, however, credit Enkidu with the mortal blow and have him discover the secret dwelling of the gods.

Successful beyond their wildest hopes, the heroes acquire perilous hubris. In Tablet 6, known almost completely from NA sources, Ishtar, the divine manifestation of human passions, wants to grant Gilgamesh her favor. He refuses her, but is needlessly insulting as he uses coarse language to catalog her

previous indulgences. Angry, Ishtar forces the god Anu to release his bull against the two heroes. Gilgamesh is matador to Enkidu as picador as they dispatch the animal and further anger Ishtar by misusing its carcass. The tablet ends brilliantly, with another of Enkidu's premonitions, "[In my dream,] my friend, why are the great gods in council?"

The gods are in council—we learn from tablet 7—to punish the insolent pair. Shamash directs their anger toward Enkidu and, as he lay dying, the poet arrests the narrative to reflect on the human condition. Enkidu curses first the harlot, then the hunter who brought him to such an end, imposing upon them a life of want and misery. Upon Shamash's interference, however, Enkidu recants, converting his words into blessings. Tablet 7 continues the NA poet's assimilation of other myths. Enkidu has enough breath to report on the Netherworld, resorting to a vocabulary duplicated in Ishtar's descent to the Netherworld.

Preparing to bury his friend, Gilgamesh reconsiders his former perspective on life. He now protests a death which comes suddenly, stealthily, and prematurely. As tablet 8 (NA) obsessively rehearses Gilgamesh's outrage, the epic emulates Gilgamesh's overheated mind; it turns surrealistic, favoring marvelous settings and fantastic characters.

Disheveled and wasting away, Gilgamesh embodies his friend's unpromising beginnings. He roams the countryside, seeking Utnapishtim. Tablet 9 (NA) intimates that Gilgamesh's wanderings are also inward. Gilgamesh begs for a dream, but in a cryptic scene whose ambiguity and centrality evoke Jacob's Jabbok struggle, Gilgamesh rises to battle unknown enemies (his own fears?). It is conceivable that the epic's remaining activities are but one night's hallucinations.

Gilgamesh arrives at Mashu, twin-mountain fulcrum for Heaven, Earth, and Netherworld whose deadly guardians, scorpion-creatures, direct him to Utnapishtim through an immense, pitch-dark tunnel. At its end, Gilgamesh finds a garden of precious stones. The OB version, apparently lacking these details, has a scene not available to the NA wherein Shamash discourages Gilgamesh's foolish search for immortality.

Of the OB tablet 10, we have but two scenes. In one, Siduri, the gods' tavern keeper, delivers Akkadian literature's most quoted verses ("Gilgamesh, whither rovest thou? …" In the other, Gilgamesh meets Surshanabi who can ferry him to Utnapishtim. Henceforth, we lose track of the OB version and can only guess how it ends. That Gilgamesh meets Utnapishtim is certain; that the latter dissuades him from his impossible goal is also certain; how he does so, however, is unknown.

Tablet 10 of the NA cultivates the comic. Siduri bolts her door, thinking Gilgamesh a murderer. Appropriating threats Ishtar used to summon the Bull of Heaven (above, tablet 6), Gilgamesh threatens Siduri. She regretfully guides him toward a boatman (here called Urshanabi) who can cross him to Utnapishtim. The cryptic violence of tablet 9 is replayed, but this time Gilgamesh destroys implements ("Stone items") necessary for crossing the Water of Death. Gilgamesh uses easily decaying substitutes which can leave him stranded at immortal Utnapishtim's island. "The distance of a month and fifteen day" is effected in three days (see tablet 4, and the two carry on a powerful dialogue wherein Utnapishtim affirms truths the OB assigns to Siduri.

Stunned by Utnapishtim's unheroic bearing, Gilgamesh can hope to similarly realize immortality. Utnapishtim, however, stifles Gilgamesh's expectations; his own translation to eternal life proves to be exceptional in circumstance, for the gods will no longer send a devastating flood against humanity. The flood episode, adapted for inclusion into the GE from the NA (rather than the OB) *Atrahasis,* crowns the NA 11th tablet and fulfills the poet's introductory promise to divulge impossible knowledge.

Gilgamesh's commonplace evaluation of the heroic also proves superficial. Albeit ordinary looking, the divinized Utnapishtim needs no sleep and cleverly proves that it is otherwise for the mortal Gilgamesh who needs a seven-day slumber. As Utnapishtim entrusts to Urshanabi Gilgamesh's preparation for reentry into the human world, the poet brilliantly replays steps Enkidu had taken toward civilization. The two steer their boat toward that direction.

The OB version of the GE, which probably had no flood story to tell, may well have ended on this or on a similar proof of Gilgamesh's mortality. The NA rendition, however, shifts suddenly into another test scene. Gilgamesh is summoned back and told of a rejuvenating plant, deep in the waters. He retrieves it, but fearing its powers Gilgamesh decides to test it first on an elderly person from Uruk. When a snake

eats the plant and sheds its skin, Gilgamesh recognizes the loss of opportunity. Sadder but wiser, Gilgamesh returns home, accompanied by Urshanabi. The epic wheels upon itself as Gilgamesh quotes the poem's paean to Uruk's mighty structure and in assuming the poet's voice, Gilgamesh breaks out from his narrative confines to guide all those searching his autobiography for wisdom.

Gilgamesh discovers his limitations as a mortal. His fears of death, however, may yet be with him. The NA version, therefore, closely reproduces in its 12th tablet portions of Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld, a Sumerian tale which may be linked to the cult of Gilgamesh as an infernal deity. Gilgamesh interviews the ghost of Enkidu, who amplifies on themes delivered already in tablet 7: Men with many sons, who die in bed or in battle and who retain the love of bereaved are more likely to find peace in the beyond. Enkidu's instructions may thus give comfort to Gilgamesh, freeing him from morbid anxiety about death.

**D. Gilgamesh and Biblical Studies**

When first published, the GE's flood narrative shocked Europe no less than any of Darwin's theories, for it placed into question the uniqueness and authenticity of the Hebrew experience. Links between the GE and Hebrew Scripture are more responsibly evaluated nowadays than during previous generations when Gilgamesh was grist for the *Babel/Bibel* controversy. While scholars still compare the flood accounts in the GE and in Genesis, there is an appreciation that both have adapted traditional narratives to suit their own contexts. Moreover, scholars now generally avoid making judgmental contrasts among the accounts (e.g., which one has a better blueprint for a seaworthy ark or communicates a more spiritual description of the deity). There is also continuing interest in the harlot scene, since it reminds us of Adam's loss of innocence. The GE is often mined for its information on death and the afterlife whenever similar topics are entertained for the Hebrew world.

The most useful studies of the GE and the Hebrew Bible develop from recognition that even in its fragmentary shape the GE is a superb literary accomplishment whose artistry is worthy of comparison with the most accomplished pages of Scripture; that resolving how the GE's versions achieved their intricate structures can enhance our understanding of Hebrew narrative techniques; that so rich a storehouse of words, characters, metaphors, themes, and scenes can only make us better aware of the heritage the Hebrews could adopt, adapt, or even reject.

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J. M. SASSON

**GILOH** (PLACE) [Heb *gilo* (גִּלֹה)]. Var. GILO. GILONITE. One of eleven towns in the hill country of Judah, located in the general vicinity of Debir (Josh 15:51). It was also the hometown of Ahithophel, one of David's counselors (2 Sam 15:12; 23:34) who played a key role in Absalom's revolt against David. The town is often identified with Khirbet Jala, about 5 miles N-NW of Hebron, an identification that is problematic in that it locates Giloh more in the vicinity of Beth-zur (Josh 15:58) than of Debir (15:49; *IDB* 2: 399). It is more likely to be found somewhere S and W of Hebron near Kh. Rabud (M.R. 151093). See *MBA*, map 130.

GARY A. HERION

**GILOH** (M.R. 167126). An Iron Age site located in (and named after) a S suburb of modern Jerusalem, on the W side of the watershed and main road leading from Jerusalem to Hebron. Excavations at the site, directed by A. Mazar between 1978–82, revealed an Iron Age I village, which may be identified as one of the earliest Israelite settlement sites in the region of Jerusalem.

The site covers about 2 acres and is situated on top of a high summit, overlooking the Valley of Rephaim on the N, and Bethlehem on the S.The summit is rocky and no water sources or fertile land are nearby. The village was established on bedrock early in the 12th century B.C. and existed for only a short time. It was probably abandoned before the end of the 12th century.

The S part of the site was protected by a defensive wall. Inside, the area was divided by long walls into several units. One unit contained a large animal pen. The building technique was very rough and the walls were uneven and poorly constructed. The house contained a courtyard divided by rough stone pillars into roofed and unroofed areas. A rectangular room and two square rooms bordered the yard on two sides. This house is one of the earliest examples of a "pillared building" (including the "Four Room House") which became common during the entire Iron Age.

In the N end of the site a foundation of a square tower was revealed, measuring 11.7 × 11.7 m. Its foundation was well built of large stones. This might have been a fortified tower, a feature unknown in other settlement sites of this period.

The finds in the excavation are typical of the settlements in the mountain region—few pottery types were in use, mainly large "collar rim" pithoi, smaller portable jars, cooking pots, and a few other undecorated bowls and kraters. A bronze spearhead of well-known Canaanite shape was found, which probably originated in a Canaanite workshop. This site is one of the few excavated sites which may throw light on Israelite material culture in its earliest phases. The village apparently accommodated only a few families who lived mainly on animal breeding and some agriculture. It was abandoned sometime during the period of the Judges, probably because its location did not allow further development into an agricultural village.

In the 8th or 7th century B.C., a square tower (ca. 10 × 10 m) was constructed on the site. Its walls were 2 m thick, and it was probably a tall and massive structure. It probably served as a watchtower, part of a system of similar small forts which protected the approaches to Jerusalem. It could have played a role in the system of forts used to transfer fire signals to Jerusalem. See also ABU ET-TWEIN, KHIRBET.

The site may tentatively be identified with Baal Perazim, where David defeated the Philistines in the battle at the Valley of Rephaim (2 Sam 5:20; 1 Chr 14:11). Though the settlement village probably was not reoccupied during the time of David, the name may have been preserved from the earlier period. The reference to "Mount Perazim" in Isa 28:21 may refer to the same ridge, where in Isaiah's time the watchtower may have been in use.

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AMIHAY MAZAR

**GIMEL.** The third letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

**GIMZO** (PLACE) [Heb *gimzô* (גִּמְזוֹ)]. A town in the Shephelah captured by the Philistines from Judah around the time of the Syro-Ephraimite war (ca. 734 B.C.E., see Thompson 1982, esp. pp. 104–114; 2 Chr 28:18). Presumably the town had originally come under Judean control at the time of Uzziah's incursions into Philistine territory (2 Chr 26:6–7; but see Rainey 1983: 15 who believes that Gimzo had originally been in Israel's territory). Taking advantage of Judah's weak position in the face of political and military pressure from Aram and Israel, the Edomites and the Philistines sought to reextend their borders at Judah's expense (2 Chr 28:17–18). The Philistines encroached upon the Negeb and the Shephelah, capturing the towns of Beth-Shemesh, Aijalon, Gederoth, Soco, Timnah, and Gimzo. Most would identify the site of Gimzo with modern Gimzo (Jimzu; M.R. 145148) in the Aijalon Valley, 3 miles SE of Lod (Lydda) and 4 miles E of Ramla (see *GP* 2: 338; *LBHG*, 435). Doermann (1987: 142, 144) however has suggested locating Gimzo at Tel Hesi (Tell el-Hesi; M.R. 124106) in the Philistine coastal plain. At a later period, Gimzo was known as the home of Rabbi Nahum.

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CARL S. EHRLICH

**GINATH** (PERSON) [Heb *gînat* (גִּינַת)]. Father of Tibni, whose claim to the Israelite throne was supported by half of the people over against that of Omri (1 Kgs 16:21–22). The feminine ending of Ginath suggests that the term is the name of a tribe or place-name, but in 1 Kings it refers to a person. (See Gray *Kings* OTL; Jones Vol.1 of *Kings* NCBC; Noth *IPN*, 240.)
PAULINE A. VIVIANO

**GINNETHON** (PERSON) [Heb *ginnĕtôn* (גִּנְּתוֹן)]. **1.** A priest and signatory to the covenant established by Ezra (Neh 10:6).

**2.** Head of a priestly family serving during the reign of Joiakim (Neh 12:16). If, as some argue however, it is an ancestral name, then both references may be to the same family (Ward *IDB* 2: 399).
FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**GIRDLE.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**GIRGASHITE** [Heb *girgāšî* (גִּרְגָּשִׁי)]. One of the peoples comprising the Canaanites, who descended from Noah's son Ham (Gen 10:15–16; 1 Chr 1:13–14). They were indigenous to the land when Joshua led the Israelites across the Jordan River in the Conquest, along with the Amorites, Canaanites, Hittites, Hivites (missing from Neh 9:8), Jebusites, and Perizzites (Deut 7:1; Josh 3:10; 24:11; Neh 9:8).

Reference to a similar name, *grgsû* and *bn grgsû* "son of Grgs," has been found in the Ugaritic texts (*UT* 3:381, no. 619), showing that the name form existed in Canaanite territory early in the period of the Israelites. Two suggested identifications have been made, but neither is convincing. A location in Asia Minor, based on Karkisa in Hittite and *ḳrḳs* in Egyptian texts, places the people too far N. An identification with the Gergesenes (Gerasenes, Gadarenes; Matt 8:28; Mark 5:1; Luke 8:26, 37), who were in Transjordan, places them on the wrong side of the Jordan River, since Israel is explicitly said to have encountered them on the W side of the Jordan (Josh 24:11).
DAVID W. BAKER

**GIRZITES** [Heb *girzî* (גִּרְזִי)]. One of the peoples against which David and his troops ventured forth from their base at Ziklag (1 Sam 27:8). Mentioned along with the Geshurites and the Amalekites, their area of settlement would have been somewhere in the region between Philistia and Egypt (see Edelman 1988: 254). However, the scholarly consensus is that the Girzites, unknown from any other source, most probably did not exist. Already the MT corrected the Ketib reading *girzî* to the Qere reading *gizrî* "Gezrites," meaning inhabitants of Gezer. Gezer, however, lies much too far to the N to fit the context of this passage. Evidence from the LXX would indicate that the MT reading either represents a conflate text presenting two variants in Geshurites and Girzites/Gezrites (Driver *NHT*, 211; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 413) or is a result of a dittography of Geshurites (Aharoni *EncMiqr* 2: 554).

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CARL S. EHRLICH

**GISCALA** (M.R. 191270). The Greek name of a site located some 5 km N off Meiron in Upper Galilee. Its fame is due in part to the reputation of John ben Levi of Giscala who became an important leader of the First Jewish War against Rome in 68 C.E. (Josephus, *Life* 70–76; *JW* 2.590–92) and who challenged Josephus' command in Galilee. Its Arabic name is el-Jish (= Heb Gush Halav). The site, in the wadi E of the contemporary village, attracted the attention of modern explorers such as Renan, Wilson, Conder and Kitchener, Guérin, and Kohl and Watzinger. Medieval visitors probably visited the archaeological ruins in the upper village where sepulchral remains were known and some remains of

synagogues were believed to exist. The relationship between the upper and lower cities is not clear but the two quarters apparently existed side by side since antiquity.

The only archaeological work that has been conducted at the site has focused on two tomb complexes in the upper city (Makhouly 1938; Vitto and Edelstein 1974) and the synagogue in the lower city (Meyers, Strange, Meyers 1979). The tombs and rather large monumental structure resembling a mausoleum date to the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods. The simple tomb gives some evidence of being Christian while the mausoleum seems to be Jewish largely due to the absence of Christian decoration. In neither the upper or lower cities have any significant remains of the time of John of Giscala been found, though there is abundant ceramic material of the 1st century in both places. A similar problem is posed by the Mishnaic reference which says that Gush Halav was fortified in the time of Joshua (*ʿArak* 9.6); limited sherds of the early Iron Age have been found, but nothing at all that might be construed as walls. Although Jerome twice mentions that Paul the Apostle was born in Gush Halav, there is no data whatsoever to support or contradict such a notion.

Major excavations in the lower synagogue site were undertaken in 1977–78, and the chronological results of these excavations may be summarized as follows: the building history of the synagogues consisted of Period I (ca. 250–306 C.E., Middle to Late Roman), Period II (ca. 306–363 C.E., Late Roman), Period III (ca. 363–460 C.E., Byzantine 1), and Period IV (ca. 460–551 C.E., Byzantine 2a). Other periods represented at the site are: the LB–Iron Age I, Iron Age II, Hellenistic 1–2, Early Roman, Byzantine 2b, and the Early and Late Arabic periods. The extraordinary feature of this site is that the large accumulation of debris occurred without the creation of a tell or artificial mound above ground. All of the pre-synagogue materials, however, give evidence of an important village in late First Temple times and throughout the Second Temple period (515 B.C.E. to 70 C.E.) and the century and a half after the destruction of the temple.

The synagogue that was erected in the mid-3d century is a basilical structure with two rows of four columns running N-S, dividing the internal space of the building into a central nave and two side aisles. The dimensions of this internal space are 13.75 m long and 10.6–11.00 m wide. The only monumental entrance to the building lies in the center of the S, ashlar wall which is oriented toward Jerusalem. Another entrance may be located in the NW corner at the top of a small stairway in a small corridor. The underside of the lintel which adorns the entryway in the S wall is decorated with an eagle. In addition, the rectangular building is surrounded by a corridor or storage area on the W, a gallery or additional seating area on the N, and one or more rooms on the E, thereby extending the overall space to 17.5 m N-S, by 17.5–18.00 m E-W. The German team of Kohl and Watzinger (1916) which surveyed the site in 1905 was unable to locate the interior walls on the E and W, hence their ground plan reveals a nearly square building.

A relatively large *bema*—a platform on which Scripture was read—rectangular and finely executed, on the SW section of the S facade wall may be associated with the Period I building. It appears to have been badly damaged in the earthquake of 306 C.E., but a similar, less elegant one, is executed for the Period II building.

The devastation created by the 306 earthquake led to other changes in the building also. A floor of white mosaic was laid at this time and possibly one or more of the rooms on the NE were added. The first column in the SE row of columns was reerected at this time and donated by Jose bar Nahum. Either after 306 or just after the 363 earthquake the heart-shaped columns associated with the gallery on the N were added. Benches along the three sides, N, E, and W, were used for limited seating. In general, people sat on the floors.

The floor plan of the Period III and IV building remained the same except for the *bema* which was rebuilt after 363 in a smaller, far more modest fashion in the same spot on the SW S wall. There was a slow deterioration in the building that culminated in the mid-6th century when the building and site began to decline. The change in fortune of the building may in general be related to the decline in fortunes of Jews in Palestine on the eve of the Persian and Moslem conquests.

Some scholars have suggested, however, that not all the ancient inhabitants of Gush Halav were Jewish and that the settlement in the upper city might have been Christian or Jewish–Christian and the one in the wadi, Jewish (Saunders 1977). Whatever the reasons, both synagogue and site were in major decline by the end of the Byzantine era and only patches of settlement remained for the newcomers of the 7th century.

The Gush Halav synagogues are important also because they present an unusual series of basilicas that do not adhere to the older view of the evolution of Galilean synagogues (see SYNAGOGUE) but instead demonstrate the inventiveness of local architects adapting to local conditions. Sacred orientation toward Jerusalem, the holy city, remains the most distinctive aspect of the synagogues at Gush Halav and the S wall, the only one executed in fine ashlar masonry, is fitting testimony to that dominant idea. Despite pressures from many quarters and increasing legislation which limited the mobility of Jews in the empire, the existence of such a grand building over so long a period attests to the tenacity of Jews and their ability to persevere in difficult times.

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ERIC M. MEYERS

**GISHPA** (PERSON) [Heb *gišpāʾ* (גִּשְׁפָּא)]. An overseer of the Nethinim, the temple officers (Neh 11:21). It has been noted (BDB, 177–78) that Gishpa may be a corruption of Hasupha. Myer (*Ezra, Nehemiah* AB) suggests this verse was a late edition and is dubious of a parallel between Gishpa and Hasupha. His argument notes that Ziha, another overseer, is used in all three passages listing the Nethinim (Ezra 2:43; Neh 7:46; 11:21), but Gishpa is only found in Neh 11:21. See NETHINIM.

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**GITTAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *gittāyîm* (גִּתָּיִם)]. Town in which the Canaanite population of Beeroth took permanent refuge for reasons unstated (2 Sam 4:3). It may be that as members of the Gibeonite federation (Josh 9:17) the people of Beeroth had also become victims of Saul's hostilities against the Gibeonites (2 Sam 21:2; Blenkinsopp 1972: 8–9, 100). In Neh 11:33, Gittaim appears in the list of towns inhabited by the Benjaminites during the period of the restoration. The meaning of Gittaim is "Double Gath" or "Double Winepress." Considering Gittaim's historical association with the Benjaminites, one could possibly identify it with the town of Gath which in 1 Chr 8:13 appears to be near Benjaminite territory at Aijalon, and in 1 Chr 7:21, near Ephraimite territory. This Gath must not be confused with Gath of the Philistine pentapolis (1 Sam 5:8). Perhaps Gittaim may be located at Ras Abu Ḥumeid (M.R. 140145).

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**GIZONITE** [Heb *gizônî* (גִּזֹנִי)]. A gentilic adjective applied to Hashem, one of the Mighty Men of David (1 Chr 11:34). See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS. By comparison with similar usage elsewhere (e.g., 2 Sam 15:12, "Ahithophel the Gilonite … from his city Giloh") this should refer to a place named "Gizo";

but such a place is unknown in the Bible. The parallel passage in MT of 2 Sam 23:32 omits this word, reading only the proper name, Jashen.

Many scholars propose a geographical solution to the problem: some follow Elliger's (1935: 31, 53) conjecture and read "Gimzo," a place situated SE of Lydda (2 Chr 28:18), near Shaalbim, the previous place mentioned in this list (1 Chr 11:33). Ben Zbi (1948: 606), however, considered Gimzo as too far W to be the origin of one of David's Mighty Men; and since it was not mentioned in the list of Solomon's cities (1 Kgs 4:9) he conjectured "Beit Jiz, southwest of Latrun"; but this site lacks confirmation.

Textual variants abound in the LXX for Hashem and its parallel in 2 Sam 23:32. The Lucianic texts of the LXX clarify 2 Sam 23:32 by adding *ho gounai,* reflecting Heb *haggûnî* (Num 26:48), "the Gunite." For 1 Chr 11:34 LXX reads *Osom ho Gennouni,* probably reflecting a proposed Heb, **hāšēm haggĕnûnî,* "Hashem the Gunite." Text-critical study of important variant readings thus points to "Gunite" as the best reading. Linguistic study, however, suggests that Heb *hgwny* is more likely to have derived from *hgzny* than the reverse; thus the difficult term "Gizonite" might be the older reading (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 492–93).

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**GLACIS.** See FORTIFICATIONS (LEVANT).

**GLAD TIDINGS.** The starting point for a discussion of "glad tidings" must be the KJV, for this translation established the phrase as one way to speak of the proclamation of the Gospel. "To declare, bring, or show glad tidings" occurs four times in the KJV: Luke 1:19; 8:1; Acts 13:32; Rom 10:15. In each instance the phrase translates the verb *euangelizomai.* Closely related to this phrase is the expression "to bring good tidings," which translates both *euangelizomai* (e.g., Luke 2:10) and Heb *bāśar* (e.g., 2 Sam 4:10; Isa 40:9; 52:7). The significance of the words "glad (good) tidings" for the study of proclamation in the biblical tradition far exceeds their presence as a translation in the KJV, however. "Glad (good) tidings" explicitly locates the rootage of proclamation in the announcement of (good) news.

The earliest uses in the Hebrew Bible of the verb *bāśar* (regularly translated in the LXX as *euangelizomai*) concern the announcement of battle results. The word *bāśar* is used to announce news of defeat (1 Sam 4:17), but primarily announces news of victory (1 Sam 31:9). The most concentrated and dramatic cluster of *baśar* is in 2 Samuel 18, where David awaits news from the battlefront about the fate of Absalom and his revolt. This scene is rich with irony, all of which hinges upon the announcement and reception of news (18:19, 20, 25, 26, 27, 31). This densely textured narrative conveys the power inherent in the announcement of news, for it is only in the moment of the announcement of the tidings from the battlefront that Absalom's death becomes real for David.

The word *bāśar* is given a cultic function in its use in the Psalms. In Pss 40:10 and 96:2 *bāśar* is used to announce Yahweh's salvation and sovereignty. In Psalm 40 the announcement is made to the "great congregation"; in Psalm 96 to "the nations." The shift from battlefield to cult is important. The announcement of news is linked to Israel's identity and vocation as the people of Yahweh.

The most important development in the use of *bāśar* in the Hebrew Bible occurs in Second Isaiah. In Second Isaiah, *bāśar* becomes a distinctively theological term (*TDNT* 2:708). In Isa 40:9; 41:27; and 52:7 *bāśar* is used to announce the beginning of God's reign and a time of eschatological newness. What is most significant about the use of *bāśar* in Second Isaiah, however, is not simply the content that is announced, but that the words of the announcement itself make God's new reign a reality for those who hear. That is, the announcement, the "tidings," are themselves the consolation for which Israel yearns. This highly intentional theological use of *bāśar* continues in Third Isaiah (Isa 60:6; 61:1) where the word that is announced clearly is an embodiment of comfort and salvation.

In pre-Christian Greek literature (apart from the LXX), the verb *euangelizomai* can be traced as far back as the writings of Aristophanes (*Eq.* 643). As in the Hebrew Bible, the verb is used primarily to announce news. The announcement of news ranges from victory in battle (Plut. *Pomp.* 66) to the birth of a child

(Theophr. *Char.* 17.7) to the death of an acquaintance (Heliod. 2.10). *Euangelizomai* takes on a religious significance in the Greek literature (*TDNT* 2:711) when it is paired with *sōtēria* and *eutuchēma* or *eutuchia* (e.g. Heliod. 10.1f.). The pairing with *sōtēria* has parallels in the NT, but the pairing with *eutuchia* is foreign to NT usage.

The NT notion of good news (glad tidings) builds directly upon the theological developments in Second and Third Isaiah. Paul's use of Isa 52:7 in Rom 10:15 is a good example. Paul uses Isa 52:7 to depict the role of the preacher, the one who announces glad tidings, in leading people to faith in Jesus Christ. The spoken word is itself a critical element in the inbreaking of God's new age. See Stuhlmacher 1968: 109–206.

In Isaiah and the NT, the word that announces glad tidings is not simply a vehicle for conveying important news. Rather, the word itself is now the news. The spoken word of the announcement makes God present and life new. To hear the spoken announcement of glad tidings is to participate in the offer of salvation.

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**GLAPHYRA** (PERSON). Two women named Glaphyra appear in the record of Cappadocian and then Judean dynastic politics late in the 1st century B.C. The second married two Judean princes and a N African king, leaving a line of well-known descendants, active in the later house of Herod.

1. The first Glaphyra attracted the attention of Antony as an *hetaera,* "courtesan." The story went that her beauty led Antony to bestow the kingdom of Cappadocia on her son, Archelaus. Whatever the truth of the matter, King Archelaus ruled for 50 years after this (Dio Cass. 49.32.3; App. *BCiv* 5.7). Martial could not resist a scurrilous reference to this (*Spect.* 11.20.3).

2. The second Glaphyra (*PIR²* G 176) was the granddaughter of #1 above, and daughter of Archelaus, perhaps by an Armenian princess, because her own son is later described by Augustus (*Res Gestae* 27) as "from the royal house of the Armenians." Glaphyra herself claimed descent from Darius the Great of Persia (*JW* 1.476) and this claim could be made by a descendant of the Armenian dynasty.

Glaphyra's first marriage took her to Judea where she wed Herod's son Alexander about 18 B.C. She soon found trouble, partly through the beauty she had inherited from her grandmother, for Herod himself felt a passion "difficult to control" toward her. This annoyed Herod's sister Salome, as did Glaphyra's behavior toward Salome's daughter Bernice, who had married Aristobulus, brother of Glaphyra's husband. Glaphyra left no doubt that she perceived herself superior to Bernice and in fact to all the other ladies at court, of whom she considered herself "mistress" (*despotis*) on the grounds of more noble descent (*Ant* 16.11, 193, 206; *JW* 1.476).

Glaphyra's popularity worsened as her father began to intervene in Judean domestic politics, even to the point of assisting Herod's two sons against his wishes. In 7 or 6 B.C., Herod finally executed Glaphyra's husband and returned the woman with her dowry to King Archelaus.

Glaphyra then went in marriage to King Juba (*PIR²* J 65) of Mauretania. The marriage is attested not only by Josephus but also by an inscription in Athens calling her "Queen Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus and wife of Juba." It soon ended, however, apparently in divorce; Josephus (*JW* 2.115) mistakenly regards her as widowed, but Juba ruled on until at least A.D. 23, subsequently married to Cleopatra Selene, daughter of the famous Cleopatra VII of Egypt.

Glaphyra's life ended strangely. She married another son of Herod, Herodes Archelaus (*PIR²* A 1025). He had become so enamored of her that he divorced his wife, Mariamme (*PIR* M 204), despite the fact that marriage to his brother's wife transgressed Jewish law (Jos. *Ant* 17.341). Once more at the Judean court, Glaphyra had a dream in which her first husband, Alexander, reproached her for the marriage to Juba and especially for this third marriage to his brother, calling it "unfitting" and "shameless." Glaphyra reported the dream and then died shortly afterward.

She left an important legacy. To Alexander she had borne two sons. One became the later King Tigranes V (*PIR* T 149) of Armenia, installed there by Romans relying on his claims through her of local descent.

A second son, Alexander (*PIR²* A 499), sired another King of Armenia, Tigranes VI (*PIR* T 150), who attempted to rule there from A.D. 60 to 62. He in turn left a son, King Alexander (*PIR²* A 500 = J 136), who became under Vespasian the final king in Cilicia. (For details on all of the above, see Sullivan ANRW 2/7/2: 1161–66; PW 7: 1381).

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**GLASSY SEA.** See SEA OF GLASS, GLASSY SEA.

**GLEANING.** See HARVESTS, HARVESTING; AGRICULTURE.

**GLOSSES, TEXTUAL.** Additions of extraneous notations or comments to a text made by a scribe or copyist. Glosses are generally brief, consisting of one or two words, a short phrase, or even a sentence. They may be made deliberately by a scribe who added his own notations or comments, or those found in the margins of his exemplar or other sources, in order to clarify an ambiguous text. In other cases, they may have been added by a scribe or copyist who believed that a marginal notation from the exemplar was an omission from the original text which he then corrected in his own copy. It is also possible that such additions were made inadvertently by a copyist who accidentally incorporated marginal notations or comments from his exemplar into the text.

General discussions of glosses appear in text-critical handbooks including Metzger (1968: 27), Deist (1978: 44–46), Würthwein (1979: 110), Weingreen (*IDBSup,* 437–38; 1982: 79–90), and McCarter (1986: 32–36). Examples of explanatory or exegetical glosses in the MT include Gen 7:6, where *mayim,* "water," has been added to explain the rare *mabbûl,* "flood," (McCarter 1986: 32–33) or Zeph 1:3 where *wĕhammakšēlôt ʾet hārĕšāʿîm,* "and those who cause the wicked to stumble," was added to redirect a universal condemnation against all the earth to those responsible for wickedness. Glosses also preserve variant readings as in 1 Sam 12:13 where two relative clauses concerning the choice of Saul as king, *ʾăšer bĕḥartem,* "whom you chose," and *ʾăšer šĕʾeltem,* "whom you requested," preserve alternative readings with differing views of the party responsible for Saul's selection (Weingreen 1982: 84–85). An example of the interjection of a scribe's assent to the sentiments of a passage appears in Isa 40:7 where *ʾākēn ḥāṣîr hāʿām,* "indeed the people is grass," is clearly intrusive in its context (Deist 1978: 45).

Although glosses have played a very influential role in the interpretation of biblical texts throughout the history of modern critical scholarship, there has been relatively little systematic study of the phenomenon. The earliest stages of scholarship focused on variant readings in manuscripts and versions as the primary means for identifying glosses in order to eliminate them and thereby recover the "original" text. Waterman's early attempt (1937) to define secure criteria for identifying glosses when no manuscript evidence was available to validate the identification is likewise based on an interest in recovering the original text. His criteria concentrates on inconsistencies in the text and includes disruptions of grammar, incongruity of ideas, and the extraneous nature of a statement, the elimination of which would not damage the context.

Fohrer's groundbreaking study of the glosses in Ezekiel (1951) produced the first systematic classification of the phenomenon in the Hebrew Bible. In addition to his identification of six basic categories of glosses, an important aspect of his study is his attempt to describe the means by which glosses might enter a text based on the principles of rabbinic exegesis.

The most comprehensive study to date is that by G. R. Driver (1957) who attempts to define principles for recognizing glosses, to classify them according to their characteristic signs or forms, and to identify the purposes which they are intended to serve. Driver's study establishes various characteristic marks of glosses including Hebrew pronouns (*hă-, hălōʾ*), Aramaisms, syntactical and grammatical disruptions, and

disruptions of meter or rhythm. The most important criteria, however, is the absence of the suspected word or phrase from the older versions. Their primary purpose is to obviate difficulties, such as interpreting unknown or obscure words and sentence constructions. Other purposes include presenting variant readings or parallel passages, explaining historical allusions, enhancing or mitigating the force of the original text, expressing feelings or theological opinions, and inserting liturgical features such as the enigmatic *selâ* found in many psalms.

Weingreen's studies (1957; 1963; 1964; 1976; 1982; *IDBSup*, 436–38) have added several important refinements to scholarly understanding of the phenomenon. For one, he emphasizes the rabbinical character of glosses insofar as they represent an early form of biblical interpretation which stands at the beginning of the evolution of rabbinic interpretation. At the same time, he is careful to distinguish glosses from editorial additions. Editorial additions are deliberate insertions made by a scribe (Heb *sōpēr*) and are intended to be an integral part of the text. Glosses are the result of the activity of a copyist (Heb *liblār*) who copies extraneous words or phrases, either deliberately or inadvertently, from the margins of his exemplar into the Biblical text. Consequently, the identifying characteristics of glosses include their intrusive nature, their succinctness, and their clarifying function. It is doubtful whether glosses and editorial additions can be separated so neatly, but Weingreen's work does emphasize the need to consider the interpretative function of glosses and their place in the development of Jewish biblical interpretation.

With the increasing interest in the interpretative character of glosses, it is clear that the phenomenon must be considered in relation to recent advances in canonical hermeneutics, text critical methodology, and the interpretative character of other scribal practices (e.g., Masoretic notations and treatises, Qere/Ketib, Tiqqune Soferim, Scholia, etc.), which focus on the variety of text traditions and their function and interpretation within their respective communities (Sanders 1979). Consequently, a systematic reinvestigation of the phenomenon of glosses will be necessary to define the generic character of glosses and their function in text transmission and interpretation.

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**GLUTTONY.** See VIRTUE/VICE LISTS.

**GNAT.** See ZOOLOGY.

**GNOSTICISM.** The term "gnosticism" (from the Gk word for "knowledge," *gnōsis*) was first used in the 18th century to refer to a current in the religious life of late antiquity which had direct bearing on the development of the belief and practice of the early church. The term has traditionally functioned in a pejorative sense.

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A. Definition and Nature

B. Sources: Primary and Secondary

C. History of Research

D. History of Gnosticism

1. Origins
2. Early Gnostic "Schools" and Systems
3. Great Gnostic "Schools" and Systems of the 2d Century
4. Later Developments

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**A. Definition and Nature**

The term "gnosis," referring to a phenomenon from the early church and its religious and philosophical contexts, was introduced into a broad array of modern academic disciplines by church historians, especially those in the field of NT scholarship. Early Christian writers already used the term as a general name for various social groups which were not content with orthodox practices and beliefs otherwise widely accepted. The first certain early Christian reference to the term, and this in an orthodox text, is 1 Tim 6:20. In reflecting on the theological problem of the origin, development, and continued existence of evil, these gnostic groups were at odds with developing orthodoxy. Radical dualism was a prime factor in the gnostic conceptual framework. Dualistic views were already found, to varying degrees, in Platonism and in Iranian and Zoroastrian religious thought, and by the Hellenistic period had entered into early Judaism as is evidenced by various writings from Qumran and in a broad array of apocalyptic texts. Such polarizing concepts provided a philosophical and religious solution to the human predicament, including the experience of difficult political situations which were believed to have had their ultimate origin in prehistory (*Urzeit*) when the cosmos was first created. The experience of the conquered peoples of the Near East enabled them to perceive such ultimate issues behind the tumultuous political events from the time of Alexander the Great (d. 323 B.C.E.) and later with the political occupation of the East by the Romans.

To be sure, such a dualistic view was not new, but it was conceived by the gnostics in a unique fashion. Beginning with the Genesis account of creation and the element of belief in an absolute, transcendent God, many strove to attain and develop the knowledge (*gnōsis*) that this world is the product of a foolish creator (demiurge) who set to work without the permission of the highest and therefore "Unknown" God. This foolish creator was assisted in the creation process by a lower angel or planetary being. In order to put an end to the monstrous process of physical (nonspiritual) creation, the highest God had only one choice: to avail himself of cunning countermoves which he initiated among human beings, understood to be the apex of the physical creation. Without the knowledge or consent of the foolish creator, the highest God provided humankind with an otherworldly, divine substance variously called "spirit," "soul," and "spark." This substance enabled humanity (called the ideal Adam) to see through the monstrous physical work of the lower creator and to perceive as the true goal of humanity a return to the spiritual realm of the highest God, which was often depicted as the "Kingdom of Light."

In the gnostic view, the end (*telos*) of history was the ultimate dissolution of the cosmos and the return of the human "sparks of light" to the Kingdom of Light. The knowledge (*gnōsis*) of these cosmological and anthropological connections is, of course, a special and supernatural knowledge which is mediated to the gnostics ("the knowers") through special revelation. This revelation was made available either through various messengers, who acted on the instructions of the highest God, or through the traditional form of the myth, the sacred narrative which recounted the events which occurred in the primitive period when the mistake of the physical creation first took place, events which were understood to be the ultimate causes for the problematic present state of humanity.

The gnostics understood themselves to be the elite "chosen people" who, in distinction from the "worldly-minded," were able to perceive the delicate connection between world (cosmology), humanity (anthropology), and salvation (soteriology). The goal of gnostic teaching was that with the help of insight (*gnōsis*), the elect could be freed from the fetters of this world (spirit from matter, light from darkness) and so return to their true home in the Kingdom of Light—for that alone is the meaning of "salvation." It is not a matter of deliverance from sin and guilt, as in orthodoxy, but of the freeing of the spirit from matter (*hyle*), in particular, the material human body. In the course of time, gnostics developed a coherent conceptual framework from both their myths and their practice in behavior and cultus. Their mythology

consisted of an "exegetical protest" against the older and widely accepted traditions. This involved a reinterpretation of the older traditions in a manner which was opposed to their original sense. The field of practice, on the other hand, included both their prevalent, world-rejecting ascetic ethos and a curtailing (at least an ideologically-demanded curtailing) of traditional sacramental ritual in favor of a salvation achieved only through insight (*gnōsis*). The supposed libertine traits, which arose from the ascetic desire to overcome the world, are as yet attested only in biased heresiological reports and not in the writings of actual gnostics. Their critical attitude towards traditional sacramental ritual may have included the continuation, reinterpretation, or reestablishing of even older cultic ceremonies. It is to be emphasized that Gnosis was not devoid of cult. That the gnostic "community" was established in the loose social structure of a "school of doctrine" or a "mystery club," with at most only a rudimentary hierarchical organization (the Manichaeans were exceptions) was formally derived from the ancient social mode of the philosophical or religious association.

**B. Sources: Primary and Secondary**

Up to modern times, very little original source material was available. Quotations found in the heresiologists comprised no more than fifty or sixty pages. The so-called *Corpus Hermeticum*, the origin of which is still largely unexplained, contains a few Greek tractates whose tenor is gnostic, even if they have been strongly influenced by Hellenistic–Egyptian (Alexandrian) traits. An example is the first text in the collection, which has been known in Europe since the 15th century as *Poimandres* (Shepherd of Men). The only extensive original works were two Coptic manuscripts brought to England in the 18th century but not published until the end of the 19th. They contain the so-called *Pistis Sophia* (Faith [and] Wisdom), the *Two Books of Jeu*, and four fragmentary texts. Another gnostic Coptic codex was discovered in 1896 by the Berlin church historian C. Schmidt (Papyrus Berolinensis 8502), first published in 1955 and which contains, among other things, two writings which are essential to research on gnosis: the *Apocryphon of John* and the *Sophia Jesu Christi*. Finally, to the texts which claim to be gnostic belong the *Odes of Solomon* (Coptic and Syriac) and the so-called *Song of the Pearl* (= *Hymn of the Pearl* or *Hymn of the Soul*) from the apocryphal *Acts of the Apostle Thomas.* The most extensive amount of gnostic literature has been transmitted through the small baptismal community of the Mandaeans, still located in the region of the lower Tigris and Euphrates rivers and in Iranian Karun (Khuzistan). However, this continuing community has only become known in detail since the end of the 19th century. See MANDAEISM.

A decisive event was the discovery in 1945 of thirteen Coptic gnostic books called the Nag Hammadi codices in upper Egypt near the modern village of Nag Hammadi. See NAG HAMMADI (CODICES). This discovery is one of the most extensive manuscript finds of recent times. The long and difficult process of editing, translating into modern languages (English, German, and French), and commenting began very early in the case of Nag Hammadi texts which were available to individuals (J. Doresse, H.-C. Puech, A. Böhlig, M. Krause, J. Leipoldt, P. Nagel, H.-M. Schenke). Diglot editions are now appearing in Coptic-English and Coptic-French. (For a useful English translation of all texts, see *NHL*.)

The great significance of these new primary sources is readily apparent. Even if until now no precise explanation has been given to how this collection came to be and in what circles particular writings were handed down, the greatest part is still of gnostic origin—at least 40 of 51 writings. In any case, the entire complex seems to have been collected and used by Christian gnostics. From the documents, which were in book form and between leather covers for protection, we can establish that the place where they were found is not far from the place where they were originally prepared in antiquity, that is, in the area of the Egyptian monastic settlements of Chenoboskion: Diospolis Magna (Thebes) and Parva. We can also establish that the age of the documents' preparation, as evidenced by palaeography and the somewhat datable cartonnage (scrap paper used to stiffen the leather bindings), dates them to no earlier than the middle of the 4th century C.E.

In the Nag Hammadi texts, we have a collection of writings made by heretical monks, against whom were directed the orthodox polemics from Alexandria, the spiritual center of orthodox Egyptian Christianity at the time. The common and dominant ascetic and encratic character of the texts makes this thesis even more tenable. Upper Egypt was a very frequent place of refuge for heretical groups, such as

the Manichaeans, and also the location of the Coptic language dialect regularly known as "the heretics' dialect" (*Ketzerdialekt*). After Alexandria lost some of its importance under Roman rule, the native cultural life moved to Middle and Upper (i.e., S) Egypt. Evidence for this diffusion is provided not only by the discoveries of gnostic and Manichaean texts but also of classical Greek texts in the same area (e.g., Menander). The Neoplatonist Plotinus (d. ca. 270 C.E.) also comes from Upper Egypt.

Thus the collection of original gnostic texts has been considerably broadened and scholarship has taken the initiative provided by the new materials. Since the texts are almost all translations from Greek originals, though several ultimately derive from Syriac originals, the time of composition, naturally, can be estimated to be earlier than the date when the texts were prepared. On the whole, the composition of the majority of the writings is now dated to the 2d and 3d centuries, and the literary sources of some may date to the 1st century.

Apart from their basically gnostic content, the Nag Hammadi texts are not uniform in their approach but can be organized according to several categories established by the heresiologists. They present us with a rather broad spectrum of gnostic positions. Aside from the Hermetic and decidedly Valentinian texts, the so-called "Barbelognostic" and "Sethian" schools are most prominent. The multiplicity of gnostic modes of thought and action are very clear, and so researchers are provided with the primary materials needed to reconstruct the nature, diversity, and development of gnostic systems of belief and practice.

It is of great importance that the discovery presents us with both Christian and non-Christian gnostic writings. The latter have been occasionally edited, but only secondarily, by Christian editors. That is, the writings confirm the independence of gnostic from Christian writers, and so corroborate the thesis of the non-Christian origin of gnostic teaching. At the same time, a strong connection with Jewish traditions, especially apocalyptic and extrabiblical, is visible. Thus, the view frequently advocated earlier, that Gnosis germinated on the margins of early Judaism, can no longer be easily dismissed.

On the other hand, in the intertwining of gnostic and early-Christian ideas in the Christian-gnostic texts we can now see the principal background for the polemic of the church's heresiologists. They apparently recognized the real danger that a foreign conceptual world might initiate a popular abandonment of orthodox Christianity. Nevertheless, the gnostics, as creative theologians in their own right, often contributed to Christological, trinitarian, and cosmological teachings. They were occasionally the first to raise such problems for discussion, and they caused the larger church to take a stand on a variety of subjects. Their activity in this regard was of positive value for the development of Christian doctrine. In addition, the new texts occasionally display the role of Greek philosophy in gnostic conceptions, and they also help with the question of the role of Gnosis in the formation of Neoplatonism. Thus, the discovery of the Nag Hammadi codices has already provided us with many new insights and has set an unexpectedly rich agenda for future research on Gnosis.

Before the discovery of the Nag Hammadi texts in 1945, the Church Fathers of the 2d to the 4th centuries provided, naturally in polemical guise, several reports including abstracts from actual gnostic texts (e.g., the *Book of Baruch* by Justin the Gnostic, the *Great Exposition* ascribed to Simon Magus, the *Naassene Homily* and the *Letter to Flora* by Ptolemy). Among these Church Fathers are Justin Martyr (d. ca. 165), Irenaeus of Lyons (ca. 140–200), Hippolytus of Rome (d. ca. 235), Tertullian (ca. 150–223/5), Clement of Alexandria (ca. 140/150–211/215), Origen (d. ca. 253/54), and Epiphanius of Salamis (315–403).

The difficulties in using the heresiological literature are twofold. The first difficulty is the biased heresiological point of view, for they saw in gnostic teaching only deviations from pure teaching, deviations which were spawned by the devil. The second difficulty is based in the interdependence of the gnostic sources, since the later gnostic authors naturally developed the gnostic conceptions they had received, but rarely added to them more than a few new bits of information. Moreover, the heresiologists had different theories about the historical origin of Gnosis, and these theories determined the way they presented the gnostic materials. Justin and Irenaeus prefer an origin from Judaism, and Hippolytus and Clement prefer an origin from Greek philosophy, while Epiphanius tries to trace back, in a purely schematic way (according to the *Song of Songs* 6:8), eighty heresies to Greek and Jewish schools or sects.

In spite of all this, scholarly research in the 19th century (esp. F. C. Baur and A. von Harnack) could construct an objective image of Gnosticism, even if primary sources were limited and the traditional heresiological perspective dominated.

**C. History of Research**

The increase in new original sources has fundamentally altered the state of research in the last few decades. As a result, older notions must and should be abandoned. Together with progress in the critical analysis of sources has come a change in the formulation of questions, which above all had been introduced by the groundbreaking Religionsgeschichtliche Schule (History of Religions School) of Protestant historial theology in Germany at the turn of the century (W. Bousset, H. Gunkel, W. Wrede). This state of affairs reveals another aspect of historiography—the conditioned viewpoint of the investigator. In the 19th century, the gnostic sects were still widely seen as early Christian heresies. Scholarly accounts were influenced by the polemical rhetoric and bias of the Church Fathers, who were responsible for creating such a view. All this changed, however, with the approach adopted by the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule. Church-historical research, as it had been conducted (above all by the influential A. von Harnack), was replaced by religio-historical research as practiced by W. Bousset and R. Reitzenstein. A regional perspective was replaced by one more universal, a theological perspective by a religio-historical perspective. This change in perspective extended even further. Questions were formulated so as to include the new sociological or social scientific, economic, and social-historical approaches, in an attempt to place Gnosis in the context of the ideological history of the Hellenistic world and late antiquity. Gnosis was seen as a part of a broader religio-philosophical protest movement—as a manifestation of the dissolution of the classical world view—and as a fragmentary attempt to master social, political, and ideological complexes by opposing dualities such as "lower and higher," between East and West (Rome), as was done by other religions. The inclusion of Gnosis in a universal, ecumenical compass strongly shapes present research, at least to the extent that that research is devoted to more than the necessary processing and analysis of sources.

**D. History of Gnosticism**

**1. Origins.** According to the view of the Church Fathers, the gnostic movement was introduced by the devil "who hates what is good, as the enemy of truth, ever most hostile to man's salvation, turned all his devices against the church" (Eusebius of Caesarea). The head of the deceivers was Simon Magus (i.e., "the Sorcerer") known from Acts 8 in the NT. Most of the heresiologists considered Simon as the first gnostic, the founder of the sect or heresy (cf. Justin, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Epiphanius). His disciple Menander then distributed the gnostic teaching to Saturninus of Antioch and Basilides of Alexandria. With the help of this lineage, the beginning and expansion of Gnosticism was explained for centuries in the orthodox ecclesiastical tradition.

It is very difficult to write the history of Gnosis since we still do not have a text from a gnostic writer which can be considered an attempt at history writing. Only from a careful analysis of the sources themselves, and the relations of the gnostic schools to other movements, can we reconstruct parts of that history. Most of it, especially the beginnings, are still shrouded in legend.

There is no doubt that the cultural and religious-historical background of Gnosis is closely tied to Judaism, Iran, and the Hellenistic tradition. The area of Syria and Palestine was its home. Many of the writings can be understood as interpretations or paraphrases of the Jewish scriptures (in spite of the polemic against the traditional meaning of those texts). Various figures of the OT (Adam, Seth, Cain, Shem, Enosh, and Noah) function as ancestors, revealers or saviors. The Jewish idea of one God can be presupposed behind the gnostic "Unknown God" (*agnōstos* theos) but clothed in Greek terms; the same is true for the gnostic demiurge (often called a "fool" or, by name, *Saklas*) who is the devaluated creator depicted in Genesis.

Two early Jewish traditions must be mentioned to understand gnostic origins: the apocalyptic and the sapiential (wisdom) tradition. Both are linked together by various threads. The apocalyptic (traced back to the 2d century B.C.E.) is characterized by the belief in the end of the world with God's intervention in favor of the elect. The world view is dominated by a dualistic pessimism with the teaching of two ages

(*aeons*). The present age, governed by the devil and his powers, is bound to perish and will be followed by the future age of salvation. Only the man, who "knows himself" to be truly pious, will be saved by God. Apocalyptic is esoteric, revealed wisdom, and the resulting "knowledge" has a direct relation to redemption, because cognition or wisdom is the basis for future salvation. Apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings are the main types of apocalyptic literature, and which are continued in gnostic texts, sometimes with clear literary links to the nongnostic apocalyptic classics. Figures like the Adamites and other forefathers of Judaism played a leading role in this type of literature. The same is true for the use of the interpretation of the biblical tradition in gnosticizing allegorical exegesis.

The soteriological concept of "knowledge" also appears in the Dead Sea Scrolls (Qumran), especially in the hymns, where a cosmological dualism of two spirits (or angels) of light and darkness who rule the world is part of that teaching. The pious one lives as a stranger in an evil world ruled by the devil. The "God of knowledge" had created the world but his power is momentarily limited by the "God of ignorance" and his minions. The same idea appears in late Jewish Wisdom Literature, where the female figure called "Wisdom" (*Sophia, Ḥokhmah*) is not only connected with God and his Law (as a means of creation and for the guidance of Israel) but she also has a redeeming function: the "knowledge" and wisdom of the law guarantee salvation, so that in Gnosticism "knowledge" is saving knowledge. The idea of the "disappointed wisdom" who returns from earth to heaven because error and foolishness worked against her is well known (*1 Enoch* 42). In Jewish philosophical skepticism, the pessimism about the world dominates the whole view of mankind (cf. Ecclesiastes, ca. 200 B.C.E.). For the despairing pious it is difficult to recognize any meaning or purpose in the world: there is no longer a fixed order of existence. Chance and fate rule the world. Man, the world, and God are irreparably separated, as the gnostic interpretation of Genesis 1–3 attests. Possibly this "tragic view of life" (G. von Rad) is the background for the origin of the anticosmic world view of Gnosis and its distinction between the "creator God," who is responsible for the existence of the evil cosmos, and the "God beyond," who is the source and final goal of his sparks of light.

Two other influences can be mentioned which were important for the origins of Gnosis: the Persian (Iranian) Zoroastrian traditions and Greek Hellenistic traditions. Both can be discovered centuries before the rise of Christianity in the language, literature, religion, and art of the Syrian-Palestinian era. Zoroastrian elements are to be found in Jewish apocalyptic traditions: the idea of the eschatological judgment, the resurrection of the dead, the coherent scheme of successive world periods (ages), the ascent of the soul, and, above all, the constant dualism. Surely the Iranian dualism of the two principles was decisively altered in that it was transformed into a substantial contrast of matter (body) and spirit (soul), as was typical in gnostic thought. The Hellenistic influence on the ancient Near Eastern world from the time of Alexander the Great (d. 323 B.C.E.) was of equally great ideological importance, Without the presupposition of Greek language and philosophy, Gnosis is unthinkable. The gnostic systems of the 2d century C.E., which flourished in Alexandria, were influenced by the development of Middle-Platonism especially concerning the problem of the transition from the single divine unity (*theos*) to the infinite diversity of the world (*cosmos*) in the sense of an evolution downwards from spirit (*pneuma*) to matter (*hyle*), resulting in an alienation of the spirit itself. There are a series of themes which Gnosis and contemporary philosophy shared: God and the soul, the "Unknown God," the creation of the cosmos, the origin of evil, and the descent and return of the soul (or spirit). The well-known Platonic duality between spirit and matter, soul and body, God and world, had a significant impact on the development of Gnosis. There are some witnesses for the existence of non-Christian Hellenistic-Oriental literature which are closely connected with the beginnings of Gnosis: the *Hermetic Corpus*, which originated in Egypt, and the "Mysteriosophies" or theologies of the oriental cults (*Naassene Homily*; but the contribution of Orphism is still unclear).

In addition to the ideological and religious factors associated with the Hellenistic climate of syncretism (the spiritualization of ancient religious or cultic practices) and the rise of individualism and esoterism (in contrast to the older religions of the polis with their societal concerns), another important factor in the rise of Gnosis was the economic and social conditions in the urban centers of the Hellenistic Near East.

Gnosis was not only connected with the reaction of the orient against the perceived Greek and Roman imperialism and exploitation, but it was also associated with the protest against the social and political situation of the lower classes in oriental communities. As an urban religious phenomenon, Gnosis was part of the social protest movement on the level of religious ideology (mythology). It represented a new ideology which offered a support to the individual, even a certain democratized connection to God through the idea of a divine spark in every human. This provided assistance towards the self-recognition of any individual who had become conscious of his or her autonomy and independence from any worldly ties, including official religions. The world (*kosmos*) was seen as an area of disorder not ruled by reason (*logos*) as in Greek philosophical thought. Here Gnosis was very different from other religions of this period. Its soteriology was closely linked to a strict attitude of world denial, which is the most radical of its kind in all antiquity. Thus, the modern theory is partly correct which insists that behind this position stands the non-priestly intellectualism of the laity of Jewish provenance, who lost their active function in official political matters. This fits very well into the image of the skeptical wisdom tradition which played an important part in the shaping of Gnostic thought.

**2. Early Gnostic "Schools" and Systems.** As we have seen, Simon Magus (ca. 50 C.E.) was considered the originator of Gnosis by the heresiologists. In Acts 8:9–25 he is described not as a real gnostic, but as a magician who seduced people in Samaria and whom his followers called "The Great Power of God." Not until Justin Martyr (d. ca. 165) was Simon said to have had a female partner Helena, also called "First Thought" (Ennoia). Irenaeus (ca. 180) later reported a complete gnostic system for the Simonians, which focused on the redemption of the "First Thought" (represented by Helena) from her captivity in the human material body. It seems that Simon was believed to be a kind of gnostic redeemer and revealer. Further information is given by Hippolytus (*Haer* 6.9–18) with his excerpt from the alleged Simonian treatise "The Great Exposition" (*Apophasis Megale*) which was probably a philosophical interpretation of sayings attributed to Simon by his school in the 2d century. Later Christian literature brings legendary tales about Simon, his school, and his opposition to the Apostle Peter (*Acts of Peter, The Pseudo-Clementines, Epistula Apostolorum*). Very close to the supposed teaching of the Simonian Gnosis stands the Nag Hammadi text *Exegesis on the Soul* (NHC II,*6*) which is marked by the fundamental gnostic idea of the fall and redemption of the soul.

If it is correct to call Gnosis a non-Christian movement from its origin, then we may be able to discover early relations with Christian traditions before the end of the 1st century C.E. An important feature was the appropriation of the figure of Jesus in the gnostic concept of soteriology in which a historical person was inserted into the gnostic framework of redemption. The first witnesses for this so-called docetic Christology are names like Satornilos (Satorninus) and Cerinthus (ca. 120/130 C.E.). But the testimony of the NT provides more glimpses of the connections between the early-Christian and early-gnostic traditions and communities. The process which is reflected in some of the NT writers is twofold: the Christianizing of Gnosis and the gnosticizing of early Christianity. The result of both events before the middle of the 2d century is the rise of an orthodox canonical Christianity on the one hand and the elimination of Gnosis as a heresy on the other. At the beginning of this process stands Paul in 1 and 2 Corinthians; the deutero-Pauline traditions in Colossians, Ephesians, and the Pastoral Epistles; and diverse texts such as Hebrews, Jude, 2 Peter (the latest book of the NT: ca. 140), and the extant letters of Ignatius of Antioch (d. ca. 110–117) and Polycarp of Smyrna (d. ca. 165). The Revelation of John (ca. 95) mentions the gnostic sect called the Nicolaitans in Asia Minor (Rev 2:6, 15).

A special case is the four Johannine writings (John, 1–3 John) which probably originated in Syria about 100–110 C.E. Here we have an understanding of Gnosis that had been adapted to Christian tradition and that can be seen as an early and unique type of Christian Gnosis. Some of its features include dualistic terminology, Christ as a heavenly messenger who brings division within humanity, "knowing" is synonymous with "believing," spiritualized or realized eschatology, and the community as the redeemer's "own ones."

**3. Great Gnostic "Schools" and Systems of the 2d Century.** The main centers of Gnosis in the 1st century had been Syria and Asia Minor. In the 2d century they were Alexandria (Egypt) and Rome. The

question is still open whether there existed only one "system" of early Gnosticism or several at the same time, as we find in the 2d century. A certain plurality, adapting to local situations and traditions, seems to have existed from the beginning. But within this plurality one finds an interest in the same topics such as cosmology, soteriology, Christology, eschatology, and ethics. Certain basic ideas were elaborated at an early date and by the 1st century were already formulated into discrete theological systems. Among these were ideas such as the "Unknown God," the female counterpart of God called Sophia (Wisdom), the demiurge with the planets (Hebdomad) and creative powers, the fall of the divine soul or spirit into the world and the human body of Adam (as the first man), the sending of heavenly figures (e.g., Seth or Baruch) or abstract entities (Sophia, Ennoia, Logos) to rescue the divine spirit (as part of God) from the matter, the "ascent of the soul," the destruction of the cosmos, and, at the practical level, the personal discipline of distancing oneself (*enkrateia*) from the world.

The 2d century is the period of the great gnostic systems and the flourishing of Gnosticism (this term is assigned to this period in particular). The first significant teacher of Gnosticism is Basilides, who was active under the emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius (117–161 C.E.). He lived in Alexandria (Egypt) and published several writings, a gnostic composition of the gospel, and exegesis (*Exegetica*) in twenty-four books, and psalms. Only fragments of them have been preserved; also lost is the "Refutation of Basilides" by Agrippa Castor. The school of Basilides was, after his death, handed over to his disciple or "son" Isidore, who also wrote several books, of which three are known but not preserved ("On the Grown Soul," "Ethica," "Expositions of the Prophet Parchor"). The system of Basilides is not easily reconstructed because the primary sources are very fragmentary. From the heresiologists we have two very different reports about Basilides' system: a dualistic version (Iren. *Adv. haer.* 1.24) and a monistic and more Greek philosophical interpretation (Hipp. *Haer.* 7.20–27). It is possible that the system, as Hippolytus describes it, is a fair description of a later stage of Basilides' system, but it may derive from Hippolytus' own misunderstanding or reinterpretation. According to Irenaeus and the few authentic extant fragments (patristic quotes), Basilides taught an emanation of beings and angels from the "Unbegotten Father," at first six spiritual powers which formed the Pleroma: mind (*nous*) or Christ (*Christos*), word (*logos*), prudence (*phronesis*), wisdom (*sophia*), and power (*dynamis*). From the last of these six emanated 365 angelic beings in an unbroken, descending process, each creating a "heaven" as its habitat. These 365 heavens correspond to the world year or "aeon." The lowest class of the powers was led by the demiurgic God of the Jews called Abrasax (= 365) who created the physical world (*kosmos*) and men. In order to rescue men from the tyranny of this demiurge, the "Father" or "Unknown God" sent his Christ-Nous, who appeared in the divinely adopted human being Jesus of Nazareth. Simon of Cyrene, not Jesus, was crucified, so that the Christ-Nous could escape and return to the Father without the knowledge of the evil powers. Only the soul, never the devalued physical human body, is the object of gnostic soteriology. The "faithful" or "pneumatics" are alien to both the cosmos and humankind, as they are of supernatural origin. The accepted mode of behavior is the ascetic life, and only sins committed "involuntarily and in ignorance" will be forgiven.

Although Marcion of Sinope (d. ca. 154–160) was not strictly a gnostic theologian, his significance in early Christianity is best understood in relation to gnostic thought. According to Irenaeus, Marcion had contact with a Syrian gnostic teacher named Cerdo (in Rome ca. 136–142) and his famous disciple Apelles, and later joined gnostic circles in Alexandria. Apart from Marcion's great importance on the development of the NT canon, the later development of Pauline theology, and the foundation of a "heretic" church as well, he is part of the history of Gnosis in the 2d century. The supposed absolute separation between the Jewish God of Law and the gracious Christian God of salvation and love is not only an extreme interpretation of the Pauline theology, but reminds one of the gnostic antithesis between the foolish creator (demiurge) and the "Unknown God." The Jewish God of creation in Marcion's system corresponds fully to the foolish creator God of the gnostics, despite the fact that the latter was understood to be related to the highest being (God) as a fallen product of the spiritual universe (pleroma), which is not the case in the system of Marcion.

Marcion's exegetical protest against the OT, his negative valuation of the world and matter, and the ascetic consequences which he drew from that belief, are very much in agreement with gnostic attitudes. Different, however, was Marcion's belief that man is totally corrupt, not only in body but also in soul. To him salvation means a transformation of the soul (which is not a fallen, divine element as in Gnosticism).

The last great school of Gnosticism can also be dated to the first half of the 2d century. Its founder was a Christian teacher named Valentinus (died ca. 160–175). Very little is known about his life. He was probably born in Egypt and educated in Alexandria where he converted to Christianity (apparently in a gnostic form). About 140 he went to Rome and was active there for many years, involved in church affairs and founding an influential school. As in the case of Basilides, only few fragments of his work have been preserved: most of these are sermons, hymns, and letters. His teaching was spread in this form as well as by oral instruction. Only one theological treatise is attributed to him: *On the Three Natures* (the *Tripartite Tractate* of the Nag Hammadi Library [= NHC I, 5] is not identical with this work, although it is related to the later Valentinian school). Divine revelation, it is said, had been the origin of the teaching of Valentinus. It may be that this tradition is one of the reasons that the original and complete system of Valentinus has not been preserved. No fewer than six more or less complete reports of the Valentinian system are to be found in the heresiological sources. No doubt there existed a basic doctrine behind them. Fundamental is the idea of emanation from the primordial beginning: the divine "depth" (*bythos*). The pleroma consists of at least thirty aeons arranged in fifteen pairs and called with different names. Most important are only the two first tetrads, which bear the following names: "primal-depth" (*bythos*) and "thought" (*ennoia*), also called "grace" (*charis*) and "silence" (*sige*); then "mind" (*nous*) or the "only begotten" (*monogenes*) and "truth" (*aletheia*); next comes "word" (*logos*) and "life" (*zoe*); then "man" (*anthropos*) and "church" (*ekklesia*). The last aeon is named "wisdom" (*sophia*), which plays an essential role in the process of the creation of the physical world by its "ignorance" or "error." The events in the pleroma have consequences for all that exists outside of it. In order to pacify the pleroma disturbed by the fall of Sophia, the two aeons "Christ" and "Holy Spirit" are created, and it is "Christ" who brings the unbridled Sophia back to the harmony of the pleroma. The passionate desire (*enthymesis*) of the restored Sophia is separated from her to the regions outside of the pleroma, and becomes the "lower Sophia" or Achamoth (Heb "wisdom"). To remove the "sufferings" of this lower Sophia, "Jesus Soter" is brought forth by all aeons of the pleroma. He put her "affects" in order through "gnosis," but her "passions" are separated and become the elements of the future creation of the cosmos. The psychic elements are the origin of the demiurge, who with his powers resides in the "place of the midst," that is, between the "Ogdoad" or Achamoth and the material world (earth). The spiritual elements consist of the "seed of light" (*pneuma*) and represent the pneumatics. The material world, including man, is created out of material and psychic substances.

The system of Valentinus is marked by an original combination of former gnostic speculations (especially of the so-called "Barbelo-Gnostic" systems, as in the *Apocryphon of John*) and Greek platonic philosophy; Valentinianism is therefore often characterized as the apex of Gnosticism before Manichaeism (which first developed in the mid-3d century). The Valentinian school was the most influential and the greatest of Gnosticism. Some of Valentinus' disciples were distinguished intellectuals, vehemently attacked by the Church Fathers. The division of Valentinianism into two different schools, which they themselves called the "Anatolian" (Oriental) centered in Alexandria, and "Italian" (Western) centered in Rome, was a significant development. The difference between them centered on christological issues. The Oriental school was active in Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor, the old places of Gnosis. To it belonged the well-known gnostic Marcus, who changed the system of his teacher Valentinus into "numerical speculations" and "letter mysticism," and who practiced special cultic ceremonies; and Theodotus, some of whose writings have been transmitted in a fragmentary form by Clement of Alexandria. The "Italian School" was dominant in Rome and was especially opposed by Irenaeus of Lyons (Gaul). Its representatives included Ptolemy, whose system is reported in the polemic of Irenaeus; and Heracleon, who wrote the first commentary on the Gospel of John, used by Origen and Clement.

Evidence for the existence of the Valentinian Gnosis also comes from the 3d to the 5th century, particularly from the area of Egypt, Syria, and N Mesopotamia.

**4. Later Developments.** Strictly speaking, the productive period of western Gnosis ends with Valentinus and his school. Later gnostics and their works had nothing essentially new to contribute to the development of Gnosis. Writings like *Pistis Sophia, The Two Books of Jeu,* and parts of the Hermetic corpus and the Nag Hammadi library belong to this late period. Epiphanius reported on some sects (e.g., Archontics and Borborians) which belong to the later period of Gnosticism.

The aftereffect of Gnosis—and also of organized Gnosticism—is part of the religious history of late antiquity and the Middle Ages, and also of the history of philosophy into the modern period. Already the German classicist J. G. Herder saw in Gnosis the first religious philosophy in Christendom, and he realized that the shaping of Christian theology since the 2d century is unintelligible apart from questions raised by gnostics. The theological agendas of orthodox thinkers like Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Lactanius, and Augustine (himself a convert from gnostic Manichaeism) were largely determined by issues introduced by their gnostic opponents. Questions concerning cosmology, creation, and salvation, and christological issues concerning the divine Savior Christ in relation to both God and to the human Jesus of Nazareth, and the relations between presumed antitheses such as faith and knowledge, death and resurrection, body and spirit, good and evil, tradition and interpretation—all are themes upon which the gnostics elaborated and, because they often diverged far from the consensus of Christian tradition, provoked an intense response.

The heresiologists not only evaluate gnostic concepts negatively through various attempts to discourage acceptance of gnostic belief and practice, but also reflect gnostic concepts positively by their response to those tendencies in their own alternative programs. More than just the ideology of the gnostics was influential, for in practical social matters the foundations of the gnostic community were of existential importance for the development of the Orthodox Church. This is seen, for example, in the organized community structure of authority (the episcopal system), the exclusion of women from community leadership (especially advocated by Tertullian), and the integration of the laity into the legal and hierarchical institution of a state church.

The Church almost never escaped from the "gnostic danger." As the gnostic systems of the 2d and 3d centuries lost their influence, there arose in Mesopotamia the first gnostic world-religion: Manichaeism. Even today this geographical region, the ancient seed-bed of Gnosis, remains the home of the only remaining gnostic community, the Mandaeans (see MANDAEISM). Gnosis, Manichaeism and Hermeticism have also had significant influential aftereffects in the history of Islamic heresies (Shi‹ite extremism). In the same way gnostic ideas extended into the Christian Middle Ages (Bogumils and Albigensians), into the history of world-rejecting mystical groups (e.g., kabbalism), and up to modern theosophical and anthroposophical occultic movements.

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KURT RUDOLPH

**GOAH** (PLACE) [Heb *gō‹ātâ* (גֹּעָתָה)]. An area in the vicinity of Jerusalem mentioned in connection with Jeremiah's eschatological vision of the restored and resanctified Jerusalem (31:39). Its location is unknown, although the context of the biblical passage suggests that it was likely S and E of GAREB, but presumably still N of the Hinnom valley and W of the Kidron valley. In Jeremiah's vision, the sanctity of the city would extend to include (presumably) the Hinnom valley and certainly the Kidron valley; thus it is possible that Goah was opposite one or the other of the valleys. The RSV form of the name, "Goah," reflects a reconstruction of the name in its absolute form, without the locative *-â* and the feminine construct *-t-*.
GARY A. HERION

**GOAT, GOATHERD.** Goats are cloven-hoofed ruminants, usually with hollow horns that sweep backwards, although some may have corkscrew or scimitar horns. They are gregarious, strong, and surefooted creatures. The domestic goat (*Capra hircus mambrica*) is thought to have derived from the wild goat (*C. aegagrus*) of W Asia. The Hebrew names used for goat do not define the various species; the general Semitic word and most frequently used in the OT is *‹ēz* (Akk *enzu*, Ar *‹anz*, Syr *‹ezzā;* Gen 15:9; 27:9, 16). Another common name *śā‹îr* ("shaggy," "hairy one"), appearing many times, is a he-goat (Gen 37:31; Lev 4:28; 16:10; Ezek 43:22), but occurs in certain passages as a demonic figure, translated "satyrs"/"devils" (Lev 17:7; 2 Chr 11:15; Isa 13:21; 34:14). The *‹attûd* (Akk *atūdu*) also refers to rams or he-goats (Gen 31:10, 12). The *gĕdî* is a young goat, a kid (Gen 27:9; Judg 6:19). Both *ṣapîr,* found in later

OT material (2 Chr 29:21; Dan 8:5, 8, 21; Ezra 8:35), and *tayisû* (Gen 30:35; Prov 30:31) mean he-goat. The *ʾaggô* appears only once (Deut 14:5) and has been translated as "wild goat" or "ibex," but the identification is questionable. The *zemer* also is found only in Deut 14:5 and has been identified as the aoudad or Barbary sheep, or the mouflon wild sheep. The word has been translated "chamois," but this animal was apparently never a native of Palestine. The horns of the *zemer* were possibly used for musical instruments. The *yāʿēl* (1 Sam 24:3—Eng 24:2; Psalm 104:18; Job 39:1) is translated "wild goat" (*C. Sinaitica*), or was possibly the Nubian ibex (*C. ibex nubiana*).

Like the sheep, the goat was widespread and valuable in ANE society, and is presumably included under the general OT term for "flocks" (*ṣōʾn,* Gen 4:2, 4; 12:16; 13:5; Exod 10:9; Ps 144:13; Job 1:3; 42:12). Jacob's gift of over 530 animals to Esau included "two hundred she-goats and twenty he-goats" (Gen 32:14); Nabal possessed a thousand goats (1 Sam 25:2, 3), and Jehoshaphat received tribute of "seventy-seven-hundred he-goats" (2 Chr 17:11). The goat was domesticated by the 7th millennium B.C. and was kept mainly for its milk (Deut 32:14; Prov 27:27; Bodenheimer 1960: 209). As food, the goat was permitted by the Torah (Lev 7:23; Deut 14:4), in fact, the meat of a kid was highly prized (Gen 27:9; Judg 15:1; 1 Sam 16:20; Luke 15:29). David's encampment at Ein Gedi ("fountain of the goats") likely provided his men with ample food as well as a choice hiding place (1 Sam 24:1—Eng 23:29). The wool of the various species produced different kinds of cloths, some coarse and rough, but others provided superior mohair and cashmere garments (cf. 1 Sam 19:13; Jonah 3:6; Heb 11:37). Because of its toughness and resistance to heat and water the hair was used to make tents, such as the present-day bedouins' tents (cf. Cant 1:5), and also twine. The curtains of the Tabernacle were made of goat's hair (Exod 26:7; Cant 1:5). The hair was generally black (Cant 1:5), but spotted and speckled colors were also known (Gen 30:32). The skins were used to make leather, and of great importance was their use as "bags" for the storage and transportation of liquids such as wine, oil, water, and milk (Gen 21:14; Josh 9:4, 13; Judg 4:19; 1 Sam 1:24; Ps 119:83; Mark 2:22; Luke 5:37–39).

The goat is listed early in the OT as an acceptable sacrifice (Gen 15:9). The animal was equal to the sheep for the Passover, and was included under the common term for "lamb" (*śeh;* Exod 12:5). The various offerings enumerated in Leviticus include the goat (Lev 1:10; 3:12; 4:22–24, 27, 28; cf. Num 15:24, 27; Lev 5:6; 9:3, 15). At the presentation of first fruits there was a prohibition against "seething a kid in its mother's milk" (Exod 23:19; 34:26; Deut 14:21), an injunction either against some Canaanite rite, or possibly, a cruelty (Gaster 1950: 423; cf. Lev 22:28; Deut 22:6; cf. Bodenheimer 1960: 214–15; Keel 1980). Two goats were selected for the Day of Atonement ritual: one for a sin offering and the other consigned "to/for Azazel" (Lev 16:6–26); Azazel was either the goat on which sins were carried into the wilderness ("scapegoat"), the wilderness itself, or a desert demon.

The nature of the goat lent itself to symbolism, but in comparison to sheep imagery, the number of metaphorical references in the Bible is limited. Goats are destructive to cultivated areas, and with their beetling brow and thrust-out lower lip they could easily represent power and belligerence. The common word for goat (*ʿēz*) is derived from *ʿāzaz,* "to be strong." Their overbearing temper and aggressiveness required the shepherd to keep close watch over the flocks so that the sheep would not be harmed. Israel's leadership is compared to he-goats who have harassed the sheep and the reason given was the absence of a shepherd to watch over them (Zech 10:3). In the judgment against evil shepherds God is said to "judge between sheep and sheep, rams and he-goats" (Ezek 34:17). The "leaders of the earth" in Sheol are symbolized as he-goats (Isa 14:9). Israel is told to go out from Babylonian exile "as he-goats before the flock" (Jer 50:8). In Proverbs the he-goat is given regal status (30:29–31). Israel's army is compared to "two little flocks of goats" (1 Kgs 20:27). Alexander the Great is described as a he-goat with a conspicuous horn between his eyes (Dan 8:5, 8, 21; cf. 8:23). Because of the dark and silky color of the goat, a maiden's flowing hair is likened to a flock trailing down Mount Gilead (Cant 4:1; 6:5).

The use of the goat was widespread in the art of Mesopotamia. Numerous figurines, plaques, clay models, and glyptic objects show that the animal was used for many different motifs: a serpent lying across a goat's back with its head between the horns is novel, but a common scene is that of one or two goats rearing on a sacred tree which grows out of a mountain (see Van Buren 1930: 171–76; Buchanan

and Hallo 1981: *passim*; Frankfort 1954: pls. 28, 29, 67, 68, 192; Keel 1980: 72, 96, 104, 115). The ibex is common in glyptic art, and in Mesopotamian literature symbolized the sweet underground water (see Jacobsen 1976: 111). Goat and rams horns were a frequent motif in the Asian steppes and the goat was a popular symbol for royalty in ancient Persia.

In the OT the goatherd is not distinguished from the usual term for shepherd (*rō‹eh*). Both sheep and goats were normally herded in the same flock. In the Song of Songs the shepherdess is spoken of as one who shepherded her kids (Cant 1:8).

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**GOB** (PLACE) [Heb *gôb* (גֹּוב)]. The site of two battles against the Philistines during the reign of David (2 Sam 21:18, 19). Gob appears twice in a series of four episodes in which heroes from David's ranks defeated Philistine champions (2 Sam 21:15–22). During the first encounter at Gob, Sibbecai slew Saph (v 18), while during the second, Elhanan killed Goliath (v 19; but see the parallel in 1 Chr 20:5, in which Elhanan is alleged to have killed Lahmi the brother of Goliath). Gob does not appear in the parallel account in 1 Chr 20:4–8. In Chronicles, Gezer is presented as the site of the encounter between Sibbecai and Saph (v 4, where the latter name is given as Sippai), while there is no place mentioned as the site of the encounter between Elhanan and Lahmi (v 5). Scholars have been divided on the place of Gob in the biblical traditions. Following a suggestion by Wellhausen, Eissfeldt (1943: 120–22) emended the name of the site of the first of the four episodes from Nob to Gob (2 Sam 21:16), thus having three of the four episodes take place at Gob. Then, basing himself on the variant "Gezer" in 1 Chr 20:5, he located the site of Gob in the vicinity of Gezer, identifying Gob with Gibbethon (M.R. 137140; identified with Tell el-Melat, 4 km from Gezer), known as a point of conflict between the Philistines and Israel in the late 10th and early 9th centuries B.C.E. (1 Kgs 15:27; 16:15; see also Smith *Samuel* ICC, 377–78 and Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 141 who support the primacy of the reading "Gob" as against Gezer in 2 Sam 21:18 on the basis of its being the more difficult reading, and on an assumption that the Chronicler substituted the familiar name Gezer for the unfamiliar Gob). Opposed to this view is that of McCarter (*II Samuel* AB, 447–50), who accepts the reading "Gob" only in the account of Elhanan's battle with Goliath (2 Sam 21:19). In 2 Sam 21:18, McCarter follows 1 Chr 20:4 in placing the battle at Gezer. In doing this, he finds some support in the Lucianic version of the name in question, *gazeth.* He explains both the MT "Gob" and the LXX Codex Vaticanus variant "Gath" as anticipatory of vv 19 and 20, respectively (see Myers *II Chronicles* AB, 141 in support of Gezer in 1 Chr 20:4).

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**GOD.** This entry consists of two articles, one covering God in the OT, and the other covering God in the NT. See related entries: DRAGON AND SEA, GOD'S CONFLICT WITH; IMAGE OF GOD (OT); KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN; NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT; SON OF GOD; WILL OF GOD IN THE OT; WORD OF GOD; WORKS OF GOD; WRATH OF GOD.

## *GOD IN THE OT*

There is no treatise on God in the OT, no equivalent of the tract *De Deo Uno* (concerning the one God) of medieval and classical theology, no discussion of the "idea of God." The existence of God is taken for granted. The Psalmist proclaims: "The fool says in his heart, 'There is no God' " (Pss 14:1; 53:2—Eng 53:1). The God of the OT is a God whom one experiences. One believes in God; one reflects on the present situation, on what led to it, on the distant past, and one knows that God is at work in this process. The OT writers do not prove the existence of God scientifically for the modern scientist, philosopher, or historian. They know from experience that God exists. They reflect and are convinced that God initiates, sustains, and governs the universe, and that he directs history. They do not know an inert God.

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H. Conclusion


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### A. Toward One God

The Hebrew Bible and its final expression of a one God is the end result of a struggle for God that has been long and complicated: "The Bible probably should not be thought of as a monotheistic book but as monotheizing literature. There is no serious treatise in it arguing monotheism philosophically. But every bit of it monotheizes—more or less well" (Sanders 1984: 51). This process of monotheizing came to an official end with the editing and crystallization in writing of the record of the struggle for the one God. The Chronicler and the book of Daniel in its present form represent the last stage. Those who followed strictly the first commandment (Exod 20:2–6; Deut 5:6–10) and the *Shema* (Deut 6:4–9) were a minority. The religious history of Israel is the story of constant falling away from the one God. Yet the one, exclusive, and only God is the center of true Israelite religion.

**1. The Struggle for One God.** The Hebrew Bible was some eight hundred years in the making and bears many a print, faint and firm, of Israel's struggle with the Canaanite religion and its pantheon with which it lived side by side. There are many stages in the process that lead to the monotheism of Deutero-

Isaiah. The journey was not along a straight path. But the God of the Hebrew Bible is ultimately a one and only God; there is no God beside him.

God in popular Judean or Israelite religion is not necessarily the God of the definitive Hebrew Bible, though this "popular God" is important for understanding the process of refinement. One can speak of two religions in Israel: (1) the official one, concerned with the one God and his law, represented by the priests and prophets, refined, speaking a language that the people do not know, and (2) the popular one, crass, ignorant, with emphasis on the periphery and with practices outside official control. The official or minority religion is expressed in the Priestly writing, Deuteronomy, the Deuteronomistic history, the positive proclamation of the prophets, and the Psalmists; the popular attitude is reflected in much of Samuel-Kings, the prohibitions of Deuteronomy, and the polemics of the prophets. The people, common folk and high officials alike, substituted Canaanite gods and worship for the one true God. Hosea, for example, gives a compendium of two centuries of false worship: "they have turned to raisin cakes" (3:1); "they have played the harlot" (4:11–14; 9:1); "they turn to Baal" (7:16); "with silver and gold they made idols … a workman made it, it is not God" (8:4–5); "Ephraim has multiplied altars for sinning" (8:11); "Israel has forgotten his Maker" (8:14); "Ephraim … incurred guilt through Baal and died" (13:1). Polytheism and forms of idolatry became virtually official both in the N (2 Kgs 17:7–18) and in the S (2 Kgs 18:4—the bronze serpent; 2 Kgs 21:1–16—Manasseh). God, who had brought the people out of Egypt, had been pushed aside. The idols of the majority had, on the popular level, prevailed over the one true God of the minority. The people had forgotten that it is YHWH, not Baal, who blesses, that is, gives fertility and prosperity to humans, animals, and the fields (cf. Jer 14:22).

**2. Dtn-Dtr and One God.** The God of Israel is a jealous God, *ʾēl qannāʾ,* who tolerates no other (cf. Exod 20:5; Deut 5:9; Deut 4:24; 6:15; 9:7b–10:11). He has an exclusive claim on Israel, though other peoples may go their way: "for all the peoples walk each in the name of its god, but we will walk in the name of the Lord our God for ever and ever" (Mic 4:5). But a stiff-necked people (Exod 32:9; 33:3, 5, etc.) murmured against its God (Exod 16:2; Num 11:2; 12:1; 14:2, 26, etc.) through forty years in the wilderness even to the edge of the promised land, so that the anger of the Lord blazed up against them (Exod 32:11; Num 11:10, 33, etc.). These traditions provided material for the Deuteronomic and Deuteronomistic writers. These writers contemplate Israel encamped on the threshold of the promised land, led there from Egypt by the one God, and put under obligation to him alone: "YHWH is your God, YHWH is one" (Deut 6:4). Because he is unique and has led the people from Egypt, he can command love and demand that the people serve him with an undivided heart (*kôl lēb*), with their lives even unto death (*kôl nepeš*), and with all their possessions (*kôl mĕʾod;* Deut 6:5). The God of Deuteronomy is the God of the first precept of the Decalog. God's blessing will continue to be effective both in increase of descendants and in prosperity in the land. But it is now conditional on adherence to the one God and his commandments (Deut 31:15–20). The Deuteronomic Code imposes at the least a strict monolatry.

The Deuteronomist is even stricter. God is both near and remote, merciful and demanding: "For what great nation is there that has a god so near to it as the Lord our God is to us whenever we call upon him?" (Deut 4:6); "For this commandment which I command you this day is not too hard for you, neither is it far off … but the word is very near you; it is in your mouth and in your heart, so that you can do it" (Deut 30:11–14). The people must not confuse their God with "the sun and the moon and the stars and all the host of heaven" (Deut 4:19). God controls these celestial bodies, but he is not in them, just as he is not immanent in the forces of nature. To stress the uniqueness of God and the uniqueness of Israel's calling by God, the Deuteronomist, through the person of Moses, looks back into the mystery of creation: "For ask now of the days that are past, which were before you, since the day that God created man upon the earth, and ask from one end of the heaven to the other, whether such a great thing as this has ever happened or was ever heard of. Did any people ever hear the voice of a god speaking out of the midst of a fire, as you have heard, and still live?" (Deut 4:32–33). The reason for God's action is that "he loved your fathers and chose their children after them" (Deut 4:37). And the consequence?: "Be sure to take to heart that the Lord is God in heaven and on earth below; there is no other. You shall keep his statutes and his commandments which I give you today" (Deut 4:39–40). Love of God and the keeping of his

commandments are inseparable correlatives in Deuteronomy. Because God is the people's rescuer, he can command this love; because "to the Lord your God belong heaven and the heaven of heavens, the earth and all that is in it" (Deut 10:14). He can require of the people "to love him, to serve the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul, and to keep the commandments and statutes of the Lord" (Deut 10:12–13). A key theme of the Deuteronomistic History and theology is sounded in 1:8: "*I* have laid the land open before you." It is God and he alone who has accomplished everything. He alone has brought the people to this stage of their history as they stand between promise and fulfillment. Deut 1:6–3:29 is not just historical retrospect. It is preached history which demands that the people learn from what their God has done.

The story of the people of Israel, as the Deuteronomist interprets history, is the story of the violation of the first commandment by the worship of "foreign gods." The standard statements in Judges formulate this theological interpretation of history (2:11–19; 3:7–11; 10:6–16). God is said to be angry: "So the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel" (Judg 2:20). The whole history of the people under the monarchy was a continual falling away from God so that the Deuteronomist could say at the demise of the N kingdom that "the Lord was very angry with Israel, and removed them out of his sight; none was left but the tribe of Judah only" (2 Kgs 17:18). But Judah fared no better in the end: "for because of the anger of the Lord it came to the point in Jerusalem and Judah that he cast them out from his presence" (2 Kgs 24:20).

**3. The One God.** It is Deutero-Isaiah who expresses most clearly that Israel's God is one and unique, in short, monotheism in the strict sense. There are twelve verses in particular where this prophet asserts the uniqueness of Israel's God (45:14–25): "God is with you only, there is no other" (v 14a); YHWH … *he* is God" (v 18a); "I, YHWH, and there is no other" (v 18d); "I YHWH" (v 19c); "Was it not I, YHWH, and there is no other God besides me" (v 21c); "none apart from me" (v 21d); "for I am God *(ʾēl)* and there is no other" (v 22b); "only in YHWH" (v 24a); "in YHWH" (v 25). These nine monotheistic assertions have a cumulative effect. With them is found also the word "save," which occurs six times as a noun/participle or a verb. "Save" does not have here the overtones of the Christian theology of the NT. It is rendered better by "rescue," or an equivalent: "God of Israel; rescuer" (v 15); "Israel is rescued by YHWH with a rescue that is forever" (v 17); the pagans invoke "a god who does not rescue" (v 20c); YHWH is a "god who delivers and rescues" (v 21d); the pagans are invited to "turn to me and be rescued" (v 22a). YHWH will vindicate his people in the eyes of their enemies, who will be brought to acknowledge that it is the God of Israel who acts.

The God of Israel is immeasurable and unteachable (40:12–17), incomparable (40:18; 46:5, 9); he stretches out the heavens (40:21–22; 42:5; 44:24; cf. Ps 104:2b); he is apart, the holy one of Israel (41:14, 16, 20; 43:15; 45:11; 48:4; 49:7); he is with his people (41:10; 43:2); he brings joy, comfort, and assurance (51:3, 6, 8, 11, 16; 52:10, 12; cf. also 41:8–13, 14–16; 43:1–4, 5–7; 44:1–5). It is "I" who act "that people may see and know, may consider and understand together, that the hand of the Lord has done this, the Holy One of Israel has created it" (41:20). There are, therefore, no other "gods." To speak of them is to speak either of nothing or of the ineffective work of human hands (40:19–20; 41:6–7; 41:23–24, 29; 42:17; 43:10; 44:9–20; 46:1–13; 48:5). In the middle of the 6th century B.C.E., Deutero-Isaiah has proclaimed monotheism in its fullness.

**B. God Ever Active**

**1. God Who Creates and Blesses.** The Hebrew Bible begins with a clear distinction between God and "not-God," between creator and created. "In the beginning God." The writer presupposes creation and God as creator and has no need to prove it. Creation by God is simply accepted. It is not an article of faith, as in the Christian creeds, inasmuch as it was never contested. The history of the theology of creation in Israel is another matter (cf. Westermann 1978: 1–10; Saggs 1978: 30–63; Anderson 1984; Day 1985: 1–62). The Bible stands under God and his creative word which dominates the priestly recitation of creation. The refrain, "and God said," occurs eight times in Gen 1:3–27. There is the word, the formula of command, and the event. God's word is fulfilled in an event immediately following it and in precise accordance with what is said. There is an inner connection between God's word and the event. God's

word *is* event. What God has said must come to pass. "By the word of the Lord the heavens were made, and all their host by the breath of his mouth" (Ps 33:6). We read the same in Ps 147:15–20 as well as in the concluding passage of Deutero-Isaiah:

> For as the rain and the snow come down from heaven,
> and return not thither but water the earth,
> making it bring forth and sprout
> giving seed to the sower and bread to the eater,
> so shall my word be that goes forth from my mouth;
> it shall not return to me empty,
> but it shall accomplish that which I purpose
> and prosper in the thing for which I sent it (Isa 55:10–11).

Creation by word has a long history in the ancient Near East. "The creative power of the word underlies all Mesopotamian religious literature" (Jacobsen 1976: 15; cf. Dürr 1938; Koch 1965). The word of God often appears under the image of a natural and cosmic power through which the voice of God comes; it is the power that creates and maintains in existence. Psalm 29 repeats *qôl YHWH*, "the voice of YHWH," seven times; it may be rendered as well by "the word of YHWH."

The priestly writer introduces God who was there before creation: "from everlasting to everlasting thou art God" (Pss 90:2; 93:2), God who speaks and whose word must issue into event, God who acts and whose action must issue into order. For the priestly writer, as for Deutero-Isaiah, to conceive of God as one who creates chaos or preexisting unordered matter is to conceive strict nonsense; for both writer and prophet, creation and chaos are incompatible: "For thus says the Lord, who created the heavens—he is God! who formed the earth and made it—he established it; he did not create it a chaos (*tôhû*), he formed it to be inhabited!" (Isa 45:18; cf. Psalm 136). The God who creates is, in Deutero-Isaiah, also the God who redeems. He redeems or rescues precisely because he is creator, the word to create (*bārāʾ*), used only with God as subject in the OT (49 times), occurs 17 times in Deutero-Isaiah (40:26, 28; 41:20; 42:5; 43:1, 7, 15; 45:7 (twice), 8, 13, 18 (twice); 48:7; 54:16 (twice). God, the creator and sustainer, is the theme of Psalm 104 (linked closely with Genesis 1) and of the hymns of the praise of the creator which are the basis of Job 9:5–14; 26:5–14).

The God who creates is the God who blesses. He blesses all living creatures, animal and human (Gen 1:22, 28), so commanding them to exercise the dynamism to reproduce and increase conferred on them in their being created. The blessing is effective through time, in the genealogy of Genesis 5 (it is renewed after the flood, Gen 9:1, 7), and in space, in the spread of the human race over the earth through Noah's sons (Genesis 10), and in the line through Shem that leads to Abraham. The formula of Gen 1:28 and 9:1, 7, is taken up again in 35:11 when the promise is confirmed to Jacob. "Blessing is a continuing activity of God that is either present or not present" (Westermann 1978: 4).

**2. God Who Calls the Fathers.** Blessing stands at the head of the story of the patriarchs and permeates it: "Now YHWH said to Abram: Go your way from your land and your kindred and your father's house to the land that I will show you. And I will make you a great people, and I will bless you, and I will make your name great, so that you will be a blessing. I will bless those who bless you, and him who despises you, I will curse. And so all the clans of the earth shall find blessing through you" (Gen 12:1–3). The writer looks back from the period of the later monarchy on the history of his people and links history with God's unseen action of blessing. The blessing achieves its effect in history in descendants beyond counting: "if one can count the dust of the earth, your descendants also can be counted" (Gen 13:16; 28:13); "look toward heaven and count the stars, if you are able to number them" (Gen 15:4; 22:16; 25:3); "I will greatly multiply your seed" (Gen 16:10; 17:2, 19; 22:16; 26:3, 24). The descendants will be as the "sand which is on the seashore" (Gen 22:16). Abraham and Jacob are God's instruments by which "all the clans of the earth shall find blessing" (Gen 12:3; 22:18; 28:14). "The significant place of the call of Abraham simply serves to underscore the point being made here. The popular understanding of the God of the Bible often conceives of the deity as a God of love and wrath, a God of mercy and judgment, as these were the two parts of the character of God or the two sides of the divine activity and purpose. The

call of Abraham helps to make clear that the God of biblical faith, in contrast to such a popular notion, is clearly bent toward blessing and mercy toward human creatures. Judgment takes place when the loving purposes of a compassionate God are thwarted or opposed. But the divine way and purpose are not any less loving or set for blessing. When Yahweh sent Abraham out, it was to bring about blessing, not curse. That is the good report which the Bible transmits to each generation" (Miller 1984: 475).

**3. God Who Rescues. a. From Egypt.** The reflective theologians of Israel saw God's blessing at work among his people in Egypt (Exod 1:7). It is the effect of the blessing that gives rise to the oppression (Exod 1:8–14). God is a God who responds. He saw, he knew, he remembered his assurance (*bĕrît*) given to the patriarchs, and he intervened (Exod 2:25; 3:15–17). The God who rescues or delivers or saves is identified with the God of the fathers (Exod 3:1–6; 6:2–8). He is described as "the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage" (Exod 20:2; Deut 5:6). This became Israel's confession of faith (Deut 6:20–25; 26:5–9; Josh 24:2–13).

Who is this God who rescues? He is symbolized by the bush which burns but is not consumed (Exod 3:2). He is there, ever active, indestructible. He says *ʾehyeh ʿimmāk,* "I will be with you" (Exod 3:12); his name is *ʾehyeh ʾăšer ʾehyeh,* "I am who I am"; and he instructs Moses to say *ʾehyeh* (I am) has sent you" (Exod 3:14). The God who rescues is the God who, as in the patriarchal stories, acts when, where, and how he will. It was this God, YHWH, who, in the belief of Israel, was the God of the beginnings; so that it was him, YHWH, whom people invoked in the primeval period (Gen 4:26). He cannot be contained by image, shrine, or territory. He is always present (Exod 33:12–16). The presence may be symbolized "by day in a pillar of cloud to lead them along the way, and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light" (Exod 13:21); "but … you cannot see my face; for man shall not see me and live" (Exod 33:20), even though the elders "saw the God of Israel" (Exod 24:10), under imagery, and "the Lord used to speak to Moses face to face, as a man speaks to his friend" (Exod 33:11), that is, intimately.

The theme of deliverance, expressed vividly in the poetic climax of Exodus 15, became the confessional tradition of Israel. When in the 6th century, the creator God used Cyrus the Persian as his instrument in a second rescue, the appropriate language and imagery was at hand to the prophet of the exile (Isa 44:24–27; 44:28–45:5; 45:6–7).

**b. From Babylon.** The Deuteronomistic Historian-theologian interpreted the destruction of Samaria and Jerusalem and Israel's half-century of captivity in Babylon as a punishment inflicted by God for constant infidelity to him during the period of the monarchy (2 Kgs 17:7–41; 21:1–16; 24:1–7). This same God now leads his people back to Jerusalem. Deutero-Isaiah sees God at work in the victories of Cyrus (41:2–4; 41:25; 44:22–45:7; 45:12–13). Cyrus made Media a Persian satrapy in 556; in 547 he swept across Asia Minor to defeat Croesus of Lydia; in 546 he attacked Babylon; in 539 he overcame it. But, for the theologian of the Exile, he was God's instrument. Cyrus is God's shepherd (44:28) and God's anointed (45:1). All these events have taken place because "I am the Lord, who made all things" (44:24); "I am the Lord, there is no other; besides me, there is no God" (45:5); "I form light and create darkness, I make weal and create woe, I am the Lord who does all these things" (45:7). The cry "I am He," "I am YHWH," rings through Deutero-Isaiah (e.g., 41:4; 43:13, 15; 45:3–7, 8; 48:12; 49:23–24; 51:16). The creator God works wonders in the desert (40:3–5; 41:18–19; 44:3–4; 49:11). Because he is the creator, he is the Lord of the universe and the Lord of history. Because he is the creator, he is also the rescuer. The proclamation: "I am YHWH," (44:24b), is introduced by two qualifying active participles, "who redeems you and who fashions you" (44:24a), and is followed by nine more active participles describing YHWH in act (44:24b–28). In all, YHWH is described by eleven active participles—redeeming, fashioning, making, stretching out, spreading out, frustrating, turning back, confirming, saying (3 times).

**4. God and the Prophetic Word.** The prophets of Israel do not discuss the subject of God, nor do they have something of their own to say about God (cf. Zimmerli 1976). They claim that God comes to word through their words and that God's word is irresistible: "The lion has roared, who will not fear? The Lord has spoken, who can but prophesy?"; "the Lord took me from following the flock, and the Lord said to me, 'Go, prophesy to my people Israel' " (Amos 3:8; 7:15). God is active in the call of the prophet (cf. Isaiah 6; Jeremiah 1; Ezek 2:1–3). The phrases "oracle of the Lord" (*nĕʾum* YHWH), "thus says the Lord"

(*kô ʾāmār YHWH*), and "the word of the Lord came to me" (*wayĕhi dĕbar YHWH ʾĕlay*), make it clear that the prophet does not speak *about* God. God sends his prophet, is involved in the life of the prophet, and moves into history through the prophet. But God transcends the prophet and his proclamations, and is not constrained within the framework of his interventions through the prophet.

It is through the prophets that God denounces both houses of Israel (Amos 2:2–4; Isa 8:14). God accuses Israel of social injustice through Amos and Micah, of defection to strange gods through Hosea and Jeremiah, of violation of the sanctity of God by political intrigue through Isaiah, of violation of the sabbath through Ezekiel. Doom is decreed. But punishment is always preceded by God's warning and offer of mercy (Amos 4:1–12; 5:4–7, 15; 7:8; 8:2; Isa 5:25; 9:11[Eng 12], 16[Eng 17], 20[Eng 21]; 10:4; 14:32; 28:16–17; 30:18; Ezek 20:5–26). The prophets, under God, leave open the possibility of a "remainder." It is God himself who will renew the people internally (Jer 31:31–34; Ezek 36:24–32) and breathe new life into dead bones (Ezekiel 36).

Ezekiel 25–32 contain a series of "oracles against the nations (cf. Isaiah 13–23; Jeremiah 46–51; Obadiah). The oracles are introduced by the standard formulas, "the word of the Lord came to me," "thus says the Lord God"; then come the details of the punishment followed by the purpose or the result. Nineteen times in Ezekiel the purpose or result is "you (they) will know that I am the Lord" (*kî ʾănî YHWH*, 25:5, 7, 11, 14, 17; 26:6; 28:22b, 23b, 24, 26; 29:6a, 9, 16, 21; 30:8, 19, 25, 26; 35:15). God, through his chastisement proclaimed in the word of the prophet, brings knowledge of himself at work in history.

**C. God and Prayer**

God is readily accessible in prayer. Any member of the community can approach God anywhere and at any time and speak freely. Abraham approaches God and talks with him (Gen 15:1–6; 19:22–33); Moses speaks to God "face to face" (Exod 33:11); Hannah responds with her "Magnificat" when God answers her prayer; Hezekiah laments before God in his illness (Isa 38:9–20); Job argues with God throughout the book; Jeremiah confronts God (11:18–23; 12:1–6; 15:10–12, 15–21; 17:12–18; 18:18–23; 20:7–18).

**1. God and the Psalmists.** The Psalter brings together what is essential in the prayer of Israel. God of the psalms is God who is ever at work. He is addressed as the one who has acted in the remote or immediate past, or is now acting. The psalmist calls on other worshippers, even on enemies and pagans, to acknowledge God's action and to respond by making it known.

**a. God and the Lament.** About one fifth of the psalms are personal laments (Psalms 3; 4; 5; 7; 10; 17; 22; 25; 26; 28; 31; 39; 42; 43; 54; 55; 56; 57; 59; 61; 64; 69; 70; 71; 77; 120; 140; 142; add the "penitential psalms," Psalms 6; 32; 38; 51; 102; 130; 143). There are also communal laments (Psalms 12; 44; 58; 60; 80; 83; 85; 94; 123; 126). The individual calls on God in distress; God delivers him; so the psalmist calls for praise, that is, for acknowledgment of God's action (e.g., Psalms 18; 30; 40; 66:13–20). The psalmist, who is in distress, recognizes that God has responded, that the petition has been heard; so he declares God's praise, e.g., Ps 40:9–10:

> I have told the glad news of deliverance,
> in the great congregation;
> lo, I have not restrained my lips,
> as thou knowest, O Lord.
> I have not hid thy saving help within my heart,
> I have spoken of thy faithfulness and thy salvation;
> I have not concealed thy steadfast love and thy faithfulness
> from the great congregation.

**b. God and Praise.** Praise is a response to God's action. A typical response to God's action is: "O give thanks to (praise) the Lord, for he is good," or a close equivalent (e.g., Psalms 18:3, 49; 30:1, 4, 12; 34:1, 3; 52:9; 66:20; 107:1, 8, 15, 21; 116:19; 118:1, 26; 138:1, 2).

**c. God at Work.** The psalmist not only declares God's praise, acknowledges that God has acted, but also describes God at work. Psalm 103 begins and ends with a call to praise or bless (vv 1–2, 20–22). The opening call is followed by six active participles describing "God in act"—"who forgives … who heals …

who redeems … who crowns … who satisfies … who works" (vv 5–9); he is at work in this ordered world (vv 10–26); he gives life to all living creatures (vv 27–30). Hence, may the glory of the Lord (*kābôd* YHWH) endure forever. God's *kābôd* is created order (cf. Isa 6:3c: "the fullness of all the earth is his glory") and his life-giving power which effects this order. Psalm 147 describes God in act with six active participles in vv 1–6, five in vv 7–11, and five in vv 12–20; a number of verbs (in the imperfect) are used to express continuous action (cf. Job 9:5–14; 26:5–14).

**d. God of Steadfast Love.** God of the psalms, like the God of Moses (Exod 34:6–7) is the God of steadfast love (*ḥesed*). The word occurs in some fifty psalms, in a number of them several times (e.g., 59:11[Eng 10], 17[Eng 16], 18[Eng 17]; 89:2[Eng 1], 3[Eng 2], 15[Eng 14], 25[Eng 24], 29[Eng 28], 34[Eng 33], 50[Eng 49]; 106:1, 7, 45; 107:1, 8, 21, 31; 118:1–4, 29; 119:41, 64, 76, 88, 124, 149, 159). In every verse of Psalm 136, the response is "for his steadfast love is forever" (*kî lĕ ʿôlām ḥasdô*). The steadfast love covers creation, rescue, and covenant fidelity.

**2. God Inexhaustible.** The psalmists describe God in many ways, God hears the cry of the distressed (6:9–10[Eng 8–9]; 17:6; 28:6; 66:19–20) and rescues him from Sheol, the Pit, or the grave (16:10; 30:4; 49:16[Eng 15]; 86:13; 99:11 139:8); he delivers the petitioner from his enemies (18:49[Eng 48]; 35:9–10; 40:18[Eng 17]; 59:2–3[Eng 1–2]); he judges (6:11[Eng 10]; 7:7[Eng 6], 9[Eng 8], 12[Eng 11]; 9:8–9[Eng 7–8]; 94:2; 96:13; 98:9); he is king (10:16; 24:7–10; 29:10[forever, *lĕ ʿôlām*]; 43:4[Eng 4]; 47:8; 93:1; 95:3; 96:10; 97:1; 99:1; 145:1; 146:10). God is a rock, a fortress, and a refuge (18:3[Eng 2], 32[Eng 31], 47[Eng 46]; 27:1; 28:1; 31:4[Eng 3]; 61:3[Eng 2]; 62:3[Eng 2], 7–8[Eng 6–7]; 71:3; 78:35; 89:27[Eng 26]; 91:2). God is a shield (3:4[Eng 3]; 7:11[10]; 28:7; 84:10[Eng 9]; 144:2), and the one in whom the petitioner has confidence (4; 55:24[Eng 23]; 56:4–5[Eng 3–4], 12[Eng 11]). God hides people in his presence and shelters them (31:21[Eng 20]; 32:7; 91:1). God loves and prospers the law-abiding just one (1; 11:7; 15:2; 37:30–31; 112) and raises the poor (72:12; 113:7). God rises up in the assembly of the gods (29:1–2; 77:14[Eng 13]; 82:1; 89:6–9[Eng 5–8]; 95:3; 96:4; 97:7; 148:2). God is the Lord of history (77:20–21[Eng 19–20]; 78; 81:11[Eng 10]; 105). God is incomparable (77:14[Eng 13]; 113:5–60), incomprehensible, all-knowing, all-seeing (139; 147:5). God is all this because he is the creator (8:4[Eng 3]; 19 24:2; 33:6–7; 90:2; 95:6; 96:10; 100:3; 102:26; 103:14; 104; 136; 138:8; 147:4; 148:5). He is also described as creator in the imagery of the mythological struggle at the beginning (74:13–17; 89:10–12[Eng 9–11]). God is he "who made heaven and earth" (96:5; 115:15; 121:2; 124:8; 134:3; 144:6).

**D. God Mysterious**

Israel had to learn how mysterious, unteachable, and beyond manipulation was its God.

**1. God beyond Human Measure.** The psalmists know that God does not judge according to a strict pattern. God is "merciful and gracious, slow to anger and abounding in merciful love … he does not deal with us according to our sins, nor requite us according to our iniquities" (Psalm 103:10; cf. Psalm 130:3; Exod 34:6–7). God does not act as humans do. Hosea recalls Israel's long history of infidelity to God (11:1–9). But, despite centuries of disloyalty, God will not destroy Ephraim "for I am God and not man, the Holy One in your midst, and I will not come to destroy" (11:9). When David had displeased God by holding a census of the people (2 Samuel 24), the prophet Gad offered him three choices of punishment, three years of famine in the land, or three months in flight before his enemies, or three days of pestilence in the land. David answered: "I am in great distress; let us fall into the hands of the Lord, for his mercy is great; but let me not fall into the hands of man" (2 Sam 24:14).

**2. God Unteachable.** One of the elements of the "common theology" of the ANE (cf. Smith 1952) that Israel shared with her neighbors was that the "high god" rewards and punishes according to a strict pattern. The previous paragraph has shown that the true Israel did not accept this standard theology. Jeremiah and Job explicitly contest it. Jeremiah does so in his "confessions" (11:18–23; 12:1–11; 15:10–12, 15–21; 17:12–18; 18:18–23; 20:7–18). The beginning of his private debate with God may be rendered: "Just you are YHWH; even so I will argue with you; yes, there are cases I would like to discuss with you. Why do the wicked prosper?" (12:1). God replies in two proverbs (12:5–6). God does not solve the tension between belief and reason for Jeremiah. He demands that Jeremiah renounce any ultimate insight into the "why" of life and that he give himself in complete trust to the will of God, known only by

faith. Jeremiah admits his own shortcomings (15:17, 19); he almost accuses God of being untrustworthy (15:18), and lays against God the charge of deception (20:7–12). But he finally accepts the "Lord of hosts who tries the righteous, who sees the heart and the mind" (20:12), though at the same time calling for vengeance on his and God's enemies" (11:20; 15:15; 20:12b). Job contests this traditional teaching on retribution through forty chapters. But God directs the drama (1–2; 42:7–9). God will teach Job, not Job God. God's honor is at stake. Will Job, the just one, blaspheme him? Eliphaz (15:17–19) and Bildad (8:8–10; 18:2–21) go back to the testimony of the ancients and to traditional theology to insist that Job must have done wrong. Job protests his innocence. The friends persist with the standard answers. Job wrestles with God: "Though I am innocent, I cannot answer him; I must appeal for mercy to my accuser" (9:15). He tells his disputants that their so-called orthodox theology is worthless and false to God (13:2–12). They want to lock God within a system. Then God speaks to Job out of the tempest. His power and wisdom have organized the ordered cosmos out of the primeval chaos; how, then, can Job know and teach him? (38:4–7). If Job cannot master and tame the mythical monsters, Leviathan and Behemoth, whom YHWH vanquished, how can he master God? (cf. Day 1985: 62–87, esp. 86–87). Job acknowledges that he has not understood and that God is beyond him (40:3–5). He has now really experienced God. He now knows that God cannot be encapsulated in a formula. At the end of his struggle, Job confesses:

> I know that thou canst do all things,
> and that no purpose of thine can be thwarted.
> Who is this that hides counsel without knowledge?
> Therefore I have uttered what I did not understand,
> things too wonderful for me, which I did not know (42:2–3).

God does not give a solution. He does not intervene as another contestant or as a *deus ex machina* in a Euripidean drama. He is above all this. He speaks as God, not as one among humans. The solution lies hidden in him.

The problem of the just who suffer had been raised in the case of the total destruction of Sodom (Gen 18:22–33). Abraham asks the Lord: "Will you really sweep away the just with the wicked?" (v 23b). The OT was aware both of the solidarity of the community in guilt" (Gen 20:9; Exod 34:7; Josh 7; Deut 21:1–9) and of the responsibility of the individual (Deut 24:16; Jer 31:29–30; Ezekiel 18). Abraham does not "pray for" Sodom so that God may avert his wrath, nor does he bargain with God. Abraham raises the question of the justice of "the judge of all the earth" (v 25b). The judge insists that the innocent are not to perish: "For the sake of ten I will not destroy it" (v 32b). But it seems that there are no just people in Sodom. The problem of the justice of God is not fully solved. It remains part of the mystery of God.

**3. God beyond Images.** It was an abomination in Israel to make any image of YHWH (Exod 20:4–6 = Deut 5:8–10) who is intangible and unseeable (Exod 33:19–22; cf. Gunneweg 1984). An early tradition did away with "foreign gods" (Gen 35:1–5). Images, though not of the Lord, had been tolerated as part of the official cult (2 Kgs 18:4; 23:4–14). Israel's revulsion for images of the divinity is expressed in its extreme form by Deutero-Isaiah (44:9–20; cf. end of A.3). Israel was not to have representations of God as did her neighbors. God cannot be confined to an image or even represented by one. God cannot be confined even within the temple. Solomon prayed on the occasion of the dedication of the temple: "But will God indeed dwell on earth? Behold, heaven and the highest heaven cannot contain thee; how much less this house which I have built?" (1 Kgs 8:27). Further, the Israelite must not try to manipulate God by magic: "there shall not be found among you anyone … who practices divination, a soothsayer or augur, or a sorcerer, or a charmer, or a medium, or a wizard, or a necromancer" (Deut 18:10–11; cf. Lev 19:31; 1 Sam 28:7–19; Isa 8:19). The God of Israel is beyond any manipulation.

**E. God King and Warrior**

Israel, united and divided, was a monarchy for four-and-a-half centuries. The cult of YHWH was conducted in the temple built by the king. It was natural, then, that YHWH and king be linked. The cry, "Marduk is (has become) king," had been echoing for centuries in Mesopotamia. The cry "El is king," "Baal is (shall become) king," was echoing in Canaan where Israel lived. Baal had battled with the monster Yam (the sea); he had conquered; his temple was built; he had become king. But no, proclaimed

Israel in polemic. It is YHWH, the God of Israel, who is king, not El or Baal. YHWH conquered and shattered the heads of the mythical monster, Leviathan or Rahab, at creation (Psalms 74:12–17; 89:10–15[Eng 9–14]). He repulsed and tamed the revolting, primeval rivers (*něhārôt*), and so is king (Psalm 93:1, 4–5). Let the sea (*yam*) and the unruly waters (*něhārôt*) roar as they will, YHWH is king over all (Psalm 98:6–8). "YHWH sits enthroned over the flood (*mabbûl*) forever" (Psalm 29:10). YHWH is master of the foundations of the earth, the deep (*těhôm*), and the waters (*mayyîm*) (Psalm 104:6). He is the king of glory "who founded the earth upon the seas (*yammim*), and established it upon the rivers (*něhārôt*)," and is now enthroned in the temple on Zion (Psalms 24; 46:4; cf. 1 Sam 4:4). He is enthroned forever (Ps 102:12). The mythical language is part of Israel's Canaanite heritage.

Deutero-Isaiah recognizes YHWH as "the creator of Israel, your king" (43:15), as he links the battle against the waters with the Exodus, old and new (43:15–16; 44:24; 45:11–13; 54:5). The messenger who announces the good tidings of release to Zion proclaims that "your God is king" (52:7), that is, God has rescued and triumphed. The song of Moses had already celebrated YHWH's victory at the Red Sea as the victory of a king: "YHWH is king forever and ever" (Exod 15:18). Finally, on the day of the Lord, "YHWH will become king over all the earth" (Zech 14:9). "… the day of the Lord is the epiphany of the divine King; here the battle against chaos is ultimately waged against Leviathan, the Serpent, the Dragon, and Death. Cosmic evil is conquered once and for all" (Mettinger 1985: 33; cf. Isa 25:8; 27:1).

YHWH, the God of Israel, is described as a man of war (*ʾîš milḥāmāh,* Exod 15:3). In one graphic passage Deutero-Isaiah says that "the Lord goes forth like a mighty man, like a man of war he stirs up his fury; he cries out, he shouts aloud, he shows himself mighty against his foes" (Isa 32:13). YHWH is consulted about war (2 Sam 5:19, 23; 1 Kgs 22:5, 7–8). YHWH declares war (Exod 17:16; Num 31:3). YHWH walks in the camp (Deut 23:14) and "he can bring us safe whether we are few or many" (1 Sam 14:6; cf. Judges 6). The war cry is often "the battle is YHWH's" (e.g. 1 Sam 17:47), and the cry in the middle of the battle is "the Lord has delivered them into your hands (e.g., Judg 3:28; 7:15; 1 Sam 7:8). The ram's horn sounded in battle is the symbol of YHWH's voice (e.g., Num 10:9). YHWH alone wins the victory (Josh 10:10; Judg 4:15; 2 Sam 5:24). The holy war ideology was shared with Israel's neighbors, and war between them and Israel was a contest between their gods (e.g., 2 Kgs 3:21–27). The immediate postexilic prophets draw on the imagery and ideology of the divine warrior to describe God's intervention to bring about the ideal eschatological age (Isa 59:15b–20; 63:1–6; 63:19b–64:1 [Eng 64:1–3]; Zech 9:1–17; 10:1–12; 14:4).

**F. God and Wisdom**

The Deuteronomist urges the people to obey God's ordinances and statutes, for "that will be your wisdom and understanding in the sight of the peoples, who, when they hear all these statutes will say, 'Surely this nation is a wise and understanding people (*ʿam ḥākām wĕnābôn*)' " (Deut 4:6). That is, the people will be acting in the best tradition of wisdom. The experience of God that the wisdom writings presuppose is called "the fear of God." The wisdom school (teacher[s]) of Proverbs explains this wisdom: "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge" (Prov 1:7); "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and the knowledge of the Holy One is insight" (Prov 9:19). About one seventh of the sayings in the Solomonic sections of Proverbs (10:1–22:16; 25–29) have a religious flavor. The fear of the Lord is a source of confidence and "fountain of life" (14:26–27); it is "instruction in wisdom" (15:33); it "leads to life" (19:33). God is the one who has supreme dominion, "many are the plans in the mind of man, but it is the purpose of the Lord that will be" (19:21; 20:24). Decision is wholly with God (16:33); man proposes, but God disposes (16:1–9). God made the eye and the ear (20:12); God created poverty and riches (22:2); "evil men do not understand justice, but those who seek the Lord understand it completely" (28:5). The wisdom tradition urges its disciples to search for the fear of the Lord (2:1–5) and for true religious wisdom (3:1–2). This wisdom (*ḥokmâh*), this fear of the Lord, is awe and reverence before God who creates and orders. The fear of the Lord and the knowledge of God are equated (2:5). Knowledge for the Israelite is an experience of the innermost being. It is God who possesses this wisdom. He founded the earth by his wisdom (3:19), and wisdom has always been his (8:22–31). Proverbs identifies the creator, the source of wisdom, with YHWH, the God of Israel.

### G. God the Restorer

The Chronicler inherited the theology of infidelity and retribution of the Deuteronomist, the theology of God's steadfast love (*ḥesed*) and covenant loyalty, and the theology of God the rescuer who is the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. He is concerned with the law, the lawgiver, and the land. Ezra accepts the law again and looks to the reestablishment of the people of God. God, in his steadfast love, has restored his people using the Persian kings as his instruments (Ezra 7:27–29). God, who is just, has both punished and preserved his people (Ezra 9:10–15). The restoration belongs to God alone. The promise of the land is renewed, the temple is restored, and God dwells again with his people. As God has acted in the past, so will he act in the future. The God of the Chronicler is one; he is the God of the past and the future, and the God who makes himself known in the present in the law of the temple.

### H. Conclusion

God of the Hebrew Bible is God who is forever active. God is always present and can be found anywhere, but cannot be trapped, manipulated, or reduced to human dimensions. The OT experience of God is the experience of some eight hundred years. In the traditions of the ancestors of Israel, the patriarchs worshipped one God; they were concerned with one God, and no other appears. They may have identified their one God with El of Canaan. But God was one, though of many titles: El Elyon (God, the most high), El Qoneh (God, the creator), El Roi (God, the [one] seeing me?), El Olam (God, the eternal), El Bet-el (God, [the one of] Bethel), El Elohe Yisrael (God, the God of [the patriarch] Israel), Anoki hā El (I am God himself), El Shadday (God, the steppe one). This was at least monolatry. The Exodus reflects a view of one God, identified with the God of the patriarchs, who intervenes as a God who rescues and takes vengeance, who is a God of war and a warrior. During the periods of the settlement and the monarchy, the one God was confused in the popular mind with the gods of Canaan. Even "official" religion, that is, religion under royal aegis, joined in the confusion. The Deuteronomic tradition called for order. The Deuteronomist(s) was even stricter. Monolatry, implied monotheism, and the monotheizing struggle, crystallized in the explicit monotheism of Deutero-Isaiah. YHWH, the God of Israel, alone existed; other "gods" or "divinities" simply did not exist. Israel had arrived at the strict monotheism of Judaism. But throughout this long struggle, and despite popular aberrations, Israel was always sure that it was dealing with the same God.

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JOHN J. SCULLION

## *GOD IN THE NT*

The heart of the NT message is the proclamation of what God has accomplished through Jesus Christ. The focus of these documents is therefore predominantly Christological, but not to the exclusion of theological concepts. To be sure, Jesus' own preaching was verifiably God-centered, but a doctrine of God is no longer the thematic center in the NT nor in the early Christian preaching that lies behind it. Nevertheless, this doctrine is always and everywhere the NT's most fundamental presupposition, for statements about God form the matrix of the Christian message, conditioning what is said about Jesus, providing warrants for ethical appeals and warnings, and structuring the concepts of church, salvation, and history.

From this matrix a NT doctrine of God, a list of divine attributes and essences, can be formulated, though such an approach runs the risk of masking the diversity of theological emphases found within the various books. The fundamental understanding of God that emerges in the NT, however, is in direct continuity with OT theology, especially as this was interpreted by later Judaism. Nevertheless, though familiar OT concepts are sustained, they acquire in their new setting a characteristically Christian focus. God is one, and there is likewise one Lord, Jesus Christ; one church, his body; one Spirit; and, in later texts, one doctrine about Christ. God is the creator and giver of life, who has raised Jesus from the dead and who will give resurrection life to all who believe. God is the sovereign ruler, whose strength is paradoxically revealed in the weakness of the cross. God is the righteous judge, whose impartiality extends to both Jews and Gentiles and who will set things right for the faithful in the age to come. God is the loving father, who supremely demonstrated that love in the sending of Jesus Christ, the Son.

Although some passages in the Johannine corpus describe God in terms of abstractions like spirit (John 4:24), light (1 John 1:5), and love (1 John 4:8), and other NT writings use the philosophical language of eternality (Rom 16:26), invisibility (1 Tim 1:17), and immortality (Rom 1:23; 1 Tim 1:17; 6:16), God is encountered in the NT primarily as a personal force, occasionally an anthropomorphized (Luke 11:20) and anthropopathized (Rom 1:18; 2 Pet 3:9) force. Moreover, because the God of the NT is characteristically conceived and addressed as Father, this experience of the divine takes on a very intimate character as well as an overwhelmingly masculine one. The several OT texts that describe God in terms of female imagery (Deut 32:18; Isa 42:14; 49:15; 66:12–13; Psalm 22:9–10) are reduced in the NT to a single Lukan parable that likens the joy in heaven over a repentant sinner to the rejoicing of a woman who has found a lost coin (Luke 15:8–10).

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A. Jesus' Proclamation of God
B. God in the Preaching of the Early Church
C. The NT Concept of God
    1. The One God
    2. The Creator and Giver of Life
    3. The Sovereign Power of God
    4. The Righteous Judge
    5. The Loving Father

D. Trinitarian Formulations

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**A. Jesus' Proclamation of God**

Jesus' understanding of God, insofar as it can be reconstructed from the gospel accounts, stands in strong continuity with OT thought, particularly that of the prophetic literature. God is creator, king, and judge, whose holy will, though not fully captured by the Law, is certainly not antithetical to it, and whose love for all creation is reflected in, but not limited to, God's covenant love for Israel. Two features, however, emerge from this background as particularly characteristic of Jesus' preaching and particularly evocative of his concept of God: his proclamation of the imminence of the kingdom of God and his use of *ʾabbā* (father) in prayer to God.

In proclaiming the apocalyptic message of the imminent coming of the kingdom of God, Jesus implies certain attributes of God. Insofar as the kingdom is presented as the end of historical development, yet as an event that cannot be influenced by any human plan, God is proclaimed as the One who is outside human history, who is above this history, and who stands in judgment over it. Thus God's power, sovereignty, and especially God's absolute transcendence are strongly affirmed.

Yet Jesus also addresses God as Father (*abba*), a title that is found in Judaism and Greco–Roman religions, but not in the familiar form or with the prominence it finds in the prayers of Jesus. This form of address suggests a different understanding of God. A sense of intimacy is conveyed, a relationship characterized by simplicity and rapport, but also one that, in view of the rigid patriarchal structure of Palestinian society, was not without elements of reverence and obedience.

These two aspects of Jesus' message stand in creative and somewhat corrective tension. The God of the kingdom sets before the world the radical demands of the kingdom, yet the God who demands and who will judge is also the Father who can be appealed to in prayer with familial intimacy. Conversely, this intimate form of address is guarded by the kingdom language against any interpretation that would dissolve the divinity into merely a subjective experience.

**B. God in the Preaching of the Early Church**

In the earliest preaching of the Church, insofar as it is recoverable from certain hymnic and creedal statements embedded in the letters of the NT, Jesus' message about God and the coming kingdom has already been transformed into a message about Jesus. To be sure, in the preaching to gentiles (as opposed to the preaching made to Jews) an important component was the proclamation of the one true God (1 Thess 1:9–10; 1 Cor 8:6; Eph 4:4–6; cf. 1 Tim 2:5), since conversion to Christianity meant for many of them also conversion from idolatry. The central feature of this preaching, however, was the message of Jesus' death and resurrection, yet even this message contained a strong theological statement: Jesus has been raised from the dead and it is God who has done this. Sometimes indicated merely by the passive voice (1 Cor 15:4; Rom 8:34), but more often explicitly stated (Rom 4:24; 1 Pet 1:21; Acts 2:24), this claim involves more than a Christianized instance of the fundamental faith in the God who makes the dead to live (2 Kgs 5:7), more even than the proclamation that this eschatological activity is now breaking into the world. God is confessed as having raised Jesus from the dead, yet Jesus was crucified because of his understanding and proclamation of God. In this context the resurrection is not only a demonstration of God's life-giving power, but more concretely a vindication of Jesus and his message about God. Since Jesus was crucified as the Messiah, the eschatological salvation bringer in whom the promises of God are fulfilled, the resurrection also confirms him in this role and indirectly confirms God as a fulfiller of promises. Finally, insofar as this early preaching retained Jesus' call to repentance (cf. 1 Thess 1:9–10), it also retained his vision of the transcendent God who will judge the earth, but who, as the loving Father, offers pardon to all sinners.

**C. The NT Concept of God**

That God is good, wise, powerful, just, blessed, holy, and merciful the NT writers do not for a moment doubt. Nor, however, do the OT writers or, for the most part, the pagan writers of this period. Documentation for these and other attributes is as easy to come by in the NT as in the OT. In what

follows it is not the mere presence of these affirmations that will be discussed, but the way in which some of these familiar attributes acquire special nuance and specific application in their NT contexts.

**1. The One God.** Statements of faith in the one God (1 Cor 8:4–6; Eph 4:6; 1 Tim 2:5; Rom 3:30; Jas 2:19), the only God (Rom 16:27; 1 Tim 1:17; 6:15; Jude 25; John 17:3), the God from whom all things derive (Rom 11:36; Heb 2:10; 1 Cor 8:6; Rev 4:11) permeate the NT, and their presence guarantees continuity with the OT and its fundamental proclamation of practical (Deut 5:7) and theoretical (Deut 4:35) monotheism. Even within the Greek tradition the affirmation of one God, though often only a syncretistic formula, had become during the Hellenistic period something of a commonplace. Thus, except in the Johannine corpus, where explicit affirmations of Jesus' equality with God (John 5:18; 10:30) made the issue problematical, most statements of monotheism in the NT are cited, not as a point of dispute, but as a common foundation upon which to build more exclusively Christian claims.

To be sure, insistence on faith in one God did not preclude belief in the existence of lesser powers (Jas 2:19; 1 Cor 8:5). Whether they be termed demons (Jas 2:19; 1 Cor 10:20), elemental spirits of the universe (Gal 4:3), principalities and powers (Rom 8:38; Col 1:16), or, more metaphorically, the belly (Phil 3:19) or mammon (Matt 6:24), their presence and power were considered a real and constant threat to Christians. Yet at the same time they were not comparable to the reality and power of the true and living God and thus not a challenge to monotheistic faith. Rejection of these "powers" was, of course, a necessary component of conversion to the true God (1 Thess 1:9; Acts 14:15; 17:29–30; 19:26), but the primary emphasis of the polemic against them was not to refute their reality (which was generally assumed) but to point out the moral consequence of submission to their inferior power, for the NT followed the OT in its assumption that idolatry led inevitably to moral decay (Rom 1:18–32; Eph 4:17–24; 1 Pet 4:3).

This concern with ethical monotheism is also found in the gospel tradition, especially in the Gospel of Mark, which places strong emphasis on the affirmation of one God. In Mark 12:28–34, Jesus responds to a question about the greatest commandment by quoting the *Shĕmaʿ* (Deut 6:4–5), thus affirming the primacy of monotheistic faith: "Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God, the Lord is one; and you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind, and with all your strength." Yet the fullness of this quotation, with its emphasis on total devotion to God, and the addition of a "second like it," love of neighbor as oneself, draws out the ethical consequence of faith in the one God. Again in Mark 10:18–19 this idea is stressed, for the affirmation of God's unique goodness ("No one is good but God alone") is immediately followed by a list of ethical imperatives that derive from the uniquely good God. The monotheistic confession was thus taken very seriously in Mark, not because there was a pervasive rational challenge to it, but because its ethical implications were so serious. Dedication to the one God was demonstrated by living out God's ethical demands.

Monotheism was also seen to have Christological implications. In Mark 10:17–22, the confession of "God alone" is coupled with Jesus' command to "follow me," suggesting that faith in one God and following Jesus are compatible and even complementary (see 2:7–12). In Matt 23:9–10, the uniqueness of God, the "one Father," is paralleled by the uniqueness of Jesus, the "one master" who stands in contrast to the multiplicity of earthly masters. This point is also emphasized in 1 Tim 2:5–6, where the contrast is between one God—one Mediator and the multiplicity of gods and mediators suggested by gnostic theogony. Finally, Paul's complex argument in Gal 3:15–20 contrasts the one God and one (messianic) offspring with the multiplicity suggested by the Law and its mediators.

Ecclesiological conclusions are also drawn from the fundamental premise of one God. In 1 Cor 8:4–13, Paul's thought moves directly from the idea of the existence of one God and one Lord (in contrast to the multiplicity of "so-called" gods and lords) to the communal and social consequences of this. Since the Church owes its communal existence and thus its allegiance to the one God and one Lord, it must show this monotheistic allegiance and maintain this unified existence by exercising concern for the weaker members of the community. In Rom 3:29–30, Paul uses God's oneness as a warrant for the primacy of faith over Law and for the consequent unity of Jews and gentiles in the Church. This concept receives liturgical amplification in Eph 4:1–6, where the admonition to the Church to maintain unity is backed up

by a reference to the theological unity that sustains it. Here in the context of competing winds of doctrine (4:14), the one-God affirmation has exploded into a multiplicity of monads: one body, one Spirit, one hope, one Lord, one faith, and one baptism. In the Pastoral Epistles the competing doctrines seem to pose an even greater threat, for the rhetoric has taken on a more aggressive tone. Here the gnostic challenge to Christian monotheistic faith has led to an insistence that only one doctrine preserves the truth of this faith, the doctrine transmitted carefully by the Church (1 Tim 1:3; 4:6–10). In addition to these specific applications, acclamation of the only God is a standard component of hymnic and doxological passages (Jude 25; 1 Tim 1:17; 6:15–16; Rom 16:27), where it contributes more indirectly to the contextual argument.

This fundamental monotheistic faith is challenged, but not seriously compromised, by Christological developments within the early Church. Many of the functions of God—creative (1 Cor 8:6; John 1:3), ruling (1 Cor 15:24–25), and judicial (1 Cor 4:4–5)—and a number of divine epithets, including the title "Lord," are transferred to Jesus. He is the image of God (Col 1:15), bears the very stamp of God's nature (Heb 1:3), and in a few texts, some more ambiguous than others, he is even hailed as God (Rom 9:5 [disputed]; Titus 2:13 [disputed]; John 1:1; 20:28). Yet Paul insists that Jesus resisted the temptation to grasp equality with God (Phil 2:6) and affirms that in spite of the divine authority of the risen Christ, which includes dominion over "every rule and every authority and power" (1 Cor 15:24), he will ultimately deliver this dominion back to God, including dominion over himself, in order "that God may be everything to every one" (v 28). Thus Paul insists that Jesus' divine authority, though tremendous, is nevertheless partial and temporary, while God's power and deity are eternal (Rom 1:20). Even in the Fourth Gospel, where assertions of the unity of Father and Son abound (10:30; 14:10; 17:11, 21), the point is emphasized that this oneness is that of agent and sender (5:19–30; 6:38–40), a oneness of will and function that allows the agent-son to reveal the sender-father (12:44–50; 14:9) without compromising God's primacy (14:28).

**2. The Creator and Giver of Life.** The NT writings stand in firm continuity with the OT when they acknowledge God as the living God in contrast with idols, which may represent active, though subordinate, powers but are themselves lifeless forms (1 Thess 1:9; Acts 14:15; Rom 1:23). The living God, the immortal, imperishable God, also stands in contrast to, and thus as the hope for, mortal and perishable humanity (1 Tim 1:15–17; 4:10; John 6:57; Rev 7:2–3). Thus, God is affirmed in both OT and NT as the One who lives and who gives life. In the NT, however, this affirmation acquires a distinctly Christological focus.

In general, God's creative activity is presupposed rather than argued in the NT, and thus references to it appear as simple allusions or in formulaic contexts (Mark 13:19; Rom 11:36; Eph 3:9; 1 Tim 6:13). This concept receives, however, particular prominence in the prayers (e.g., 4:24) and speeches (14:15–17; 17:22–31) of the book of Acts. While the prayers refer to God's creative power as part of an affirmation of absolute divine sovereignty, the speeches to the gentiles (pagans) show more proselytizing intent as they portray a God whose self-revelation through the created order is available to all. Indeed, one of the most sustained theological statements in the NT, the Areopagus speech in Acts 17:22–31, develops this idea at great length, drawing from it not only the usual (but here muted) condemnation of idolatry but also the somewhat surprising link with a pantheistic formula ("in him we live and move and have our being") as well as the more usual call to repentance (vv 30–31). The motif is also prominent in the book of Revelation, where the repeated emphasis on God "who created heaven and what is in it, the earth and what is in it, and the sea and what is in it" (10:6; cf. 4:11; 14:7) sets the stage for the later description of God's creation of a new heaven and a new earth (Rev 21:1–22:5).

The historical situation often influenced the application in quite specific ways. In Colossians, for example, God's creative activity, effected through Christ, is strongly emphasized in order to counteract an ascetic, world-denying piety. The author of 1 Peter, on the other hand, addresses a situation of persecution by stressing the faithfulness of the Creator (4:19), thereby establishing the hope that God will faithfully reward those who suffer through the "fiery ordeal" (v 12). The most widely developed idea, however, is that one should respond to God, the creator and giver of life, with an attitude of thanksgiving for the gift

(1 Cor 4:7). Though this idea is often presented in connection with food, especially in the context of ascetic or Jewish dietary restrictions (1 Tim 4:3–5; Rom 14:5–23; 1 Cor 10:23–30, for which 8:6 serves as the premise), Paul develops fully its theological implications in the opening chaps. of Romans. There the fundamental failure of the gentiles to render thanks to their creator, who has been clearly revealed through nature, results in their total condemnation: "Therefore they are without excuse" (Rom 1:20–21). This pattern continues to influence the subsequent argument, where justification itself is defined as a gift (3:24; 5:15–17), which evokes (Rom 6:17–18; 7:25; 1 Cor 1:4; 1 Thess 2:13), or should evoke (1 Cor 14:16–17; 1 Thess 5:18), an attitude of profound thanksgiving.

Though general statements about God's creative activity are fairly widespread, because of the resurrection faith that forms the heart of the NT message, it is God's power to restore life to the dead that is the actual center of attention. This idea of God's power over death and life is found, of course, in the OT as well, where it takes many forms, ranging from literal affirmations of God's ability to resurrect the dead (Dan 12:2; Isa 26:19) to more metaphorical references to the ability to restore the fortunes of the afflicted individual (1 Sam 2:7–8) or the oppressed nation (Deut 32:34–42). So fundamental is this aspect of God's power that the ability "to kill and make alive" becomes synonymous with the concept of divinity (2 Kgs 5:7). This same equation of life-giving power with divinity surfaces in a number of NT passages (Heb 11:19; Rom 4:17; 2 Cor 1:9; Mark 12:18–27), but it receives perhaps the fullest development in John 5, where its Christological implications are explored.

According to John 5, part of Jesus' defense against the charge of "making himself equal with God" (v 18) is to assert that his power is derivative, not autonomous, for it is "only what he sees the Father doing … that the Son does likewise" (v 19). As the first and primary example of what the Father does, the evangelist cites the power over life and death (v 21), a power now transferred to the Son. The Son therefore has life in himself (v 26) and this power is actualized for the believer in the present (v 24) and in the future (v 25) by hearing and heeding the voice of Jesus.

This emphasis on the words of Jesus as the locus of life, effected through a transfer of divine power from Father to Son, is particularly characteristic of John's gospel. Elsewhere it is the specific instance of God's resurrection of Jesus from the dead that shapes theological reflection on this issue. In Acts, for example, God's resurrection of Jesus is presented as the fulfillment of the fundamental promises and hopes of Israel (Acts 24:14–15; 26:6–8). With its strong emphasis on salvation history, this book equates the rejection of the Christian message of Jesus' resurrection with the rejection of the central hope of Pharisaic Judaism, and the Jews who do so are presented as denying their own belief. Faith in God as the giver of life is here equivalent to faith in the resurrection of Jesus, and denial of the one is denial of the other.

The resurrection of Jesus not only gives confirmation and concrete shape to God's fundamental, life-giving nature and power, it also serves as the basis of the Christians' hope for their own resurrection, as Paul makes abundantly clear in his first letter to the Corinthians: "If Christ is preached as raised from the dead, how can some of you say that there is no resurrection of the dead?" (15:12). Paul also cites God's resurrection of Jesus from the dead as the basis for ethical admonitions about the attitude toward the body, which will be raised as a member of Christ (1 Cor 6:14); as the warrant for hope in the life-giving power of the indwelling Spirit (Rom 8:11) or hope in the face of tribulation (2 Cor 4:14); as the paradigm and theological basis of his own conversion from persecutor to apostle (Gal 1:1, 13–16); and as the theological premise for the central concept of the justification of the ungodly (Rom 4:16–17). In this last passage God's creative and resurrectional powers, two aspects of the same animating potentiality, coalesce once again when the justification of the ungodly is equated both with giving life to the dead and with calling into existence things that do not exist. The appeal to Jesus' resurrection as a specific instance of God's life-giving power is retained in post-Pauline writings, but the context becomes one of general benediction (Heb 13:20; 1 Pet 1:3) and the applications lose their Pauline concreteness.

In many of these citations of God's past resurrection of Jesus, the emphasis has shifted from the hope for a future reduplication of this event for the believer to a more metaphorical application to their lives in the present. This shift is most pronounced in baptismal contexts, where participation in the death and

resurrection of Jesus yields new birth (1 Pet 1:3), new creation (2 Cor 5:17), new life (Rom 6:4; Col 2:12–13; Eph 2:1), even a new "man" (Eph 2:15) for the believer. Thus God's life-giving power, demonstrated in the resurrection of Jesus, is proclaimed to be effective here and now within the community, even in the evangelistic activity of the community (2 Cor 2:14–16; 2 Tim 1:10; John 5:24). In the more narrative context of the Gospels, this inbreaking of God's life-giving power into the present is suggested by the miracles, for even healings and exorcisms, not to mention resuscitations, are often presented as life-restoring acts (Mark 3:1–5; 5:1–20; 5:35–42; 9:26–27).

**3. The Sovereign Power of God.** When NT doxologies ascribe power and glory and might to God (Eph 3:20–21; 1 Pet 4:11; 5:11; Jude 25; Rev 5:13), they affirm traits absolutely inherent to the nature of divinity (see Rom 1:20). Epithets reflecting these attributes thus naturally accrue to God elsewhere: Almighty (Rev 1:8), Lord of Hosts (Rom 9:29; Jas 5:4), the Most High (Luke 1:32, 35, 76; Mark 5:7; Luke 8:28), the Sovereign (1 Tim 6:15; Rev 6:10), the Mighty One (Luke 1:49), Power (Mark 14:62), Majesty (Heb 1:3), King of ages or kings (1 Tim 1:17; 6:15; Rev 15:3), Lord of lords (1 Tim 6:15), Lord of the earth (Rev 11:4) or of heaven and earth (Matt 11:25). An overwhelming impression of power is often conveyed, especially in Ephesians and Colossians, by piling up attributive phrases and descriptive adjectives (Eph 1:19; Col 1:11). It is, however, the various applications of this concept of sovereign power, not its mere presence, that give shape to the NT concept of God.

The NT gospels, in harmony with the Jewish and Greek traditions, affirm that all things are possible to God. Though infrequently cited, this motif does appear at important nodes of the gospel story. Thus in Luke it serves as a warrant for the miracle of the virgin birth (1:37), while in all three Synoptic Gospels, with their characteristic message that the last shall be first and the first last, it offers assurance that even the first, now become last, are not beyond salvation (Mark 10:27; Matt 19:26; Luke 18:27). Mark alone includes this motif as part of the Gethsemane prayer: "Abba, father, all things are possible to thee; remove this cup from me; yet not what I will, but what thou wilt" (Mark 14:36). In this Markan form, the prayer, which serves as the immediate introduction to the passion narrative, implies that subsequent events could have turned out differently, and thus that the death on the cross was the result of God's plan, not God's weakness. (This important point is lost with Matthew's more tentative form, "if it be possible," and Luke's shift of emphasis to volition, "if thou art willing.") Most characteristic, however, is the transferred application of this concept. If all things are possible with God, then all things are possible to those who believe (Mark 9:23; 11:22–24; Matt 17:20). The NT, however, is far more interested in God's power in the context of salvation history than in an absolute sense. Thus, more emphasis is placed on God's ability to fulfill promises.

The fulfillment of God's promise to Abraham, the leitmotif of the book of Genesis and the overarching and unifying theme of the Pentateuch and Hexateuch, figures prominently in some NT passages as well. The author of Hebrews, for example, refers to this ancient promise and to "the unchangeable character of (God's) purpose" in order to strengthen the faltering faith of his readers (6:13–20). "It is impossible," he insists, "that God should prove false" so "we have this (promise) as a sure and steadfast anchor of the soul." In similar fashion, but without a reference to Abraham, Paul closes a petition to God with a reference to the conviction that grounds hope and motivates prayer: "He who calls you is faithful, and he will do it" (1 Thess 5:24). Elsewhere Paul, like the author of Hebrews, reflects on the promise to Abraham, but he shifts the emphasis somewhat from God's steadfastness (which is nevertheless still a prominent idea) to the nature of Abraham's faith (Romans 4). Here Abraham's unwavering confidence in the promise (v 20), his absolute conviction "that God was able to do what he had promised" (v 21), becomes a paradigm for Christian faith in the new promise that Jesus "was put to death for our transgressions and raised for our iniquities" (v 25).

The opening thanksgiving of Ephesians evolves into an eloquent discourse on the firm purpose of God's will, but the reference point is no longer historical (Abraham), but cosmic (1:3–14). Established before the foundation of the world, God's will for cosmic unity is realized in the "fulness of time," a period and a unity already experienced in the Church but with full consummation yet to come (see also Eph 3:4–6). A similar theological presupposition but a different concern motivates the author of Acts, who takes pains to

emphasize that the death of Jesus, indeed the entire history of salvation, was no historical accident or theological tragedy, but in full accord with the definite plan, foreknowledge, and "counsel" of God (2:23; 4:28; 5:38–39; 13:36).

With only a slight shift of emphasis, the conviction that events occur according to the plan of God leads to the conviction that events are predestined by God, an idea that surfaces repeatedly and with diverse application in the NT. Not just Ephesians but other documents as well assume that events, especially the Christ event, follow a timetable established by God (Acts 1:7; Mark 13:32; Gal 4:2–4; 1 Pet 1:20). Even the fates of various individuals and groups have been ordained by God. This strongly predestinarian concept surfaces most prominently in documents written during times of persecution, where it serves as a source of solace and hope to those who are suffering (1 Pet 1:2; 2:8; Rev 13:8; 17:8; John 6:37, 44, 65; 17:6). The classical text for this doctrine, however, is Romans 9–11, where the situation is not one of persecution but of reflection on the mystery of God's plan of salvation as reflected in the pattern of missionary success. At a time of great tension between the Jewish and gentile elements within the Church and with the gentiles in the ascendancy, Paul reflects on the theme expressed in 9:6 and 11:1: "Has God rejected his people?" The answer is couched in terms of double predestination, with the two groups serving as instruments (or vessels) of God's will. Yet the emphasis here is not on predestination per se, but on God's power, faithfulness, and autonomy of purpose. The current gentile prominence, Paul asserts, is not a sign of injustice, unfaithfulness, or partiality, but is consistent with God's will and part of a larger plan to effect mercy upon all (11:32).

As the preceding examples show, God's power was rarely conceived as an abstract quality in the NT. Rather, it served in various ways as the foundation for petitions, the basis for hope, or the source of consolation. In all these applications there is implied or explicit opposition to God's power, opposition over which God will prevail. Sometimes this opposition is personified as Satan (Matt 4:1 and par.; Luke 8:12; 1 Thess 2:18) or Beelzebul (Matt 10:25; 12:24 and par.) or identified with the serpent of Genesis and the dragon of primordial chaos (Rev 12:3–17; 20:2). Other texts define God's opposition in terms of titles like the Ruler of This World (John 12:31; 14:30; cf. 2 Cor 4:4; 1 Cor 2:12), the Destroyer (1 Cor 10:10), the Evil One (Matt 6:13; 2 Thess 3:3; 1 John 2:13), or the Antichrist (1 John 2:18–22; 2 John 7), or describe it more abstractly as principalities and powers (1 Cor 15:24–27; Eph 1:21–22; 1 Pet 3:22) or simply as sin (Rom 5:21; 6:12–23). In every case, however, the point is strongly made that God will prevail over this opposition at the end. This eschatological component of God's power is familiar from Jewish apocalyptic, but in the NT this confidence in the final victory is linked to what God has already accomplished in Jesus. First the exorcisms (Mark 3:21–27 and par.) and then the resurrection (1 Cor 15:20–26; Eph 1:20–23; 1 Pet 3:21–22) were viewed as proof that the power of opposition had already been broken.

If one aspect of the NT message is that God will overcome all opposition in a final manifestation of divine power, another important component of that message is that this power is now, in this age, often paradoxically revealed in weakness. It is in Paul's letters to Corinth, a congregation predisposed to boasting over powerful manifestations of the Spirit, that this idea is most eloquently developed in terms of the theological implications of the crucifixion. The apparent weakness and folly of the message of the cross (1:18–25), which is mirrored by the weakness of the Christian community at Corinth (1:26–31) and of the apostle himself (2:1–5), leave no doubt that the effectiveness of the Christian mission rests "not in the wisdom of men but in the power of God" (2:5; cf. 2 Cor 4:7–12; 6:3–10; 11:21–12:10).

The paradox of the cross (strength revealed in weakness) exists, of course, only in this age. In the future age or the heavenly world, what appears now as paradox will appear then in the form of reversal. What now exists in the guise of weakness, whether the crucified Christ, the apostle, or the individual Christian or Christian community, will then appear in glory (2 Cor 13:4; 1 Cor 4:1–5; 15:43). This reversal theme, inseparable from the very heart of the Christian message of the crucifixion and resurrection, is also a strong feature of some sayings attributed to Jesus. Briefly summarized in the eschatological inversion formula, "many that are first will be last, and the last first" (Mark 10:31; Matt 19:30; 20:16; Luke 13:30), it appears in many guises throughout the synoptic tradition but most prominently perhaps in Luke. First

announced there in the Magnificat (1:51–53), the theme of the exaltation of the humble reappears in the opening scene of Jesus' ministry (4:18), in the Lukan form of the Beatitudes (6:20–26), and in the parables of Luke 14–16. In the speeches of Acts a different form of the same motif appears. There the focus is on the inversion inherent in Jesus' crucifixion and resurrection, not the promised exaltation of the socially deprived, with the emphasis placed on the responsible agents, not on the inversion itself: "This Jesus … *you* crucified and killed by the hands of lawless men. But God raised him up" (2:23–24, 36; 4:10).

The NT speaks not only of an eschatological reversal of power, but also of an earlier transfer of power from God to Christ and from Christ to the disciples. The first transferral pattern is particularly prominent in the Fourth Gospel (John 5:20, 27; 10:18; 17:2; cf. Matt 11:27), while the second characterizes the various commissioning scenes in the gospels (Mark 3:15; 6:7; Matt 10:1; Luke 10:19; John 17:22) and seems to have influenced Paul's sense of apostolic authority (see, e.g., Rom 15:18–21; 1 Cor 4:19–20; 5:3–5; 2 Cor 12:11–12). Christians experience this transferred power in various ways. The Corinthians experienced it as wisdom (1 Cor 3:18–20) and knowledge (1 Cor 8:1) and Paul counters with the argument that it is authentically experienced as power in weakness or the power of endurance (2 Cor 4:7–12; cf. Mark 13:11–13). In the Fourth Gospel power seems to be internalized and identified with the indwelling presence of God (John 14–16). More widespread, especially in Acts, is the conviction that God's power is dramatically experienced as spiritual gifts or the working of signs and miracles (Mark 16:17–18; Acts 2:22; 8:9–13; 2 Cor 12:12; Gal 3:5), or more pragmatically in the success of the Christian mission (1 Cor 3:5–9; Acts, passim). Paul can even speak of the gospel message itself (Rom 1:16; 1 Thess 1:5) and the boldness of its promulgators (1 Thess 2:2; 2 Cor 3:4–6; 10:3–4) as the effective locus of the power of God.

**4. The Righteous Judge.** God has created the world, God rules the world in sovereign power, and ultimately God will judge the world. Though the actual eschatological judgment has, according to many NT texts, been transferred to Christ (Acts 10:42; 17:31; 1 Cor 4:5; 2 Tim 4:1; John 5:22), the notion of God's cosmic judicial authority remains axiomatic (Heb 10:30; 11:6; Rom 3:6; Jas 4:12; 2 Tim 4:8). Threatening references to the Day of Judgment dramatically underscore the negative implications of this authority for the unbelieving world (Matt 10:15; 11:24; 12:41–42; Heb 10:26–27), but its positive side actually receives greater theological development, for the Day of Judgment reveals not only God's wrath (Rom 2:18), but also God's intrinsic justice and righteousness. While it is affirmed that all of God's actions are manifestations of this justice (Rev 15:3–4; cf. 16:7), it is in the eschatological judgment that this justice is fully and finally revealed and thus it is in discussions of this judgment that various aspects of God's justice are most fully explored.

The absolute and universal character of divine justice demands, for example, that God show no partiality in his judgment. In Col 3:25 and Eph 6:9 this idea serves to warn various social classes not to let the false expectation of privileged treatment erode their ethical behavior, though Colossians presupposes that it is the lower classes that expect this treatment (in accord with the principle of eschatological inversion), while the opposite is true in Ephesians. In Romans, Paul addresses ethnic groups, not social classes, and declares the fundamental dichotomy between Jew and Greek overcome through God's judicial impartiality (2:6–11). This impartiality manifests itself not only in judgment but also in grace (3:22; cf. Acts 10:34–35), though it sometimes receives a Christological rather than a theological grounding (Rom 10:12; Gal 3:28).

Righteous judgment demands not only an impartial judge but also a full disclosure of evidence, and it is thus presupposed that God sees in secret (Matt 6:4, 6, 18; Rom 2:15–16), knows the innermost purposes of the heart (1 Cor 4:5; Luke 16:15; Acts 15:8; 1 Thess 2:4), and brings all one's deeds to light (1 Cor 3:13; John 3:19–21). Because of this, retribution can be meted out fully and justly in accordance with deeds (Rom 2:6; 1 Cor 3:8–15; 2 Cor 5:10; 11:15; 1 Pet 1:17; Rev 20:12; Matt 16:27; Eph 6:8; 2 Tim 4:14). Often the principle of measure-for-measure retribution is cited to underscore the absolute justice of divine retribution. Reward and punishment are not simply appropriate to, but in exact accordance with,

one's actions. The punishment, it is affirmed, perfectly fits the crime (Matt 7:2; 26:52; Rev 13:10; 2 Cor 9:6; Jas 2:13; 2 Thess 1:5–7).

This widespread attestation of a final judgment on the basis of deeds generates some tension with the equally widespread emphasis on God's grace, particularly within the Pauline tradition. Paul, however, presents righteousness not only as a juridical attribute of God (Rom 1:17; 3:21), but also as a gift from God (Rom 3:22; Phil 3:9), available through the atoning and reconciling power of the cross to all who believe. In this context, righteousness reflects God's saving activity and rests on the decisive thing that has been accomplished in Christ. Yet it also looks forward to a final consummation, and in this sense remains a hope that embraces the judgment to come (Rom 5:9, 17–19). Thus, the expectation of a final judgment remains firm, but equally firm is the hope that God's righteousness, revealed in Christ and received by faith, will prove to be a power of obedience that will deliver the believer in the final judgment.

Like Paul, the Fourth Gospel retains a complex lawsuit motif with God presiding as judge. But whereas Paul remained highly optimistic about the outcome of this judgment for Christians, even while leaving open the final verdict (1 Cor 3:12–15; 4:3–5), the Fourth Gospel finds judgment already effected at the moment of response to Jesus and to his word (John 3:18–19), with a heavy predestinarian and somewhat pessimistic flavor to the discussion of who is "of the truth" (18:37; cf. 6:65; 10:14, 27). Included in the Johannine community are many false disciples (1 John 2:18–19; cf. John 8:31–38), whose identification and separation will be accomplished by a final judgment (John 12:48; 1 John 2:28–29). Other NT books also assert that participation in the community of faith does not provide certitude of salvation, and the concept of divine justice and judgment, once again appearing as a threat, evokes a demand for righteousness and repentance among the faithful, with more pessimism than Paul evinced about the final verdict (Heb 2:1; 12:25–29; Matt 7:21–23; 13:47–50; 1 Tim 5:24; 2 Tim 2:20–21).

**5. The Loving Father.** Though very characteristic of the NT, references to God as Father are not unique to it. Zeus, for example, was hailed by the Greeks as the Father of gods and men, and many of the general affirmations of divine fatherhood in the NT are very close to this use of the term to designate God as the physical cause of the world and all that is in it (1 Cor 8:6; Jas 1:17; Eph 3:14–15; cf. Acts 17:28). While some metaphorical uses of the term suggest that God is the ultimate or original manifestation of a particular quality (Father of mercies in 2 Cor 1:3; Father of glory in Eph 1:17), the specifically Christian usage centers on the concept of God as the Father of Jesus. This messianic application is prepared for by 2 Sam 7:14, which asserts that Israel's anointed king will be God's "son" (cf. Psalm 2:7), but its remarkable prominence in the NT was probably encouraged by Jesus' own use of *ʾabbā* (father) in prayer. References to "my father" or (in John) "the father" are pervasive in the Gospels while the phrase "Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" occurs in the NT letters as a formulaic part of benedictions and thanksgivings (Rom 15:6; 2 Cor 1:3; Eph 1:3; Col 1:3). This father-language suggests a clear distinction between God and Jesus, but at the same time a close relationship that is enhanced in the gospel of John by frequent use of the adjective *monogenēs* to suggest the uniqueness of Jesus' sonship (John 1:14, 18; 3:16, 18; 1 John 4:9). An important corollary of the father-son relationship is that, because of the loving intimacy of this relationship (John 3:35; Mark 1:11; Col 1:13), each one is supremely able to reveal the other. The Father's revelation of the Son is associated primarily with the cosmic aspects of the baptism (Mark 1:11; Matt 3:17), transfiguration (Mark 9:7), resurrection appearances (Acts 10:40; Gal 1:16), and parousia (2 Thess 1:7; 1 Cor 1:7; 1 Tim 6:14–15; 1 Pet 1:7, 13). The Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, emphasizes that God is revealed in the encounter with Jesus (John 1:18; 12:45; 14:9; cf. Matt 11:25–27 and Luke 10:21–22) while Paul speaks of this revelation as occurring in the proclamation of the message about Jesus (Rom 1:17; 2 Cor 4:5–6).

God, however, is not only the Father of Jesus but also the Father of all believers. This concept of God as the "father" of a specific group has its roots in the OT concept of election, though the actual kinship terminology surfaced only occasionally in that context (Exod 4:22; Hos 11:1). In the NT, however, it is all-pervasive, from the "Our Father" of the Lord's Prayer to absolute references to the Father in letter openings and benedictions. Paul describes the relationship of believers to God in terms of adoption (Gal

4:4–7; Rom 8:23), a metaphor that marks the contrast between former and present status. The Johannine literature prefers the concept of begetting (1 John 2:29; 3:9–10; 4:7; cf. John 3:3–9), thereby placing the emphasis on the fact that the Christian's new origin is in God.

As Father, God can be a disciplinarian (Heb 12:7), but God's primary parental qualities are love (1 John 3:1; 2 Thess 2:16; Eph 2:4; Rom 8:38–39) and compassion (Matt 6:25–32; 10:29–31). Through the reconciling power of the cross, God's fatherly love embraces even sinners (Rom 5:8; Eph 2:11–18; cf. Luke 15:11–32), an idea that is constitutive and characteristic of the new covenant. God's offspring, moreover, should imitate the Father's love, and thus Christians are called to remember the mercy extended to them and to show the same magnanimous love to others, thereby revealing themselves as true children of God (Matt 5:9; 5:44–48; Luke 6:35–36; Eph 4:31–5:2).

**D. Trinitarian Formulations**

One does not find in the NT the trinitarian paradox of the coexistence of the Father, Son, and Spirit within a divine unity, the mystery of the three in one, yet one does find there the data that serve as the foundation of this later dogmatic formulation. Though each member of the triad has its own identity, each is also and most frequently identified in relation to the others. The Spirit appears in some texts as the autonomous agent of prophecy (Acts 1:16; Heb 3:7); the vehicle of sanctification (Rom 15:16; 1 Pet 1:2), moral integrity (Rom 8:4; Gal 5:16–25), and intercession (Rom 8:27); the sign of God's acceptance (Acts 15:8; Gal 3:2); and a guarantee of future salvation (Rom 5:3–5; 2 Cor 5:5). It is also, however, clearly designated as the Spirit of God (1 Cor 2:11–12; Rom 8:9–17), the Spirit sent by God that represents in some sense God's active and indwelling presence. Yet, the Spirit is also called the Spirit of Christ, and there is a remarkable degree of fluidity in these two designations (Rom 8:9). In this guise the Spirit is sent by God as Christ's successor (John 14:16), as his witness (John 15:26; cf. Mark 13:11), and as evidence of his exaltation (Acts 2:32–33).

Likewise Jesus, while possessing his own identity as the prophet from Nazareth (Luke 24:19), is clearly placed in the intimate relation of sonship with God, who sent and commissioned him (John 3:34), attested to him (Acts 2:22), dwelt in him (2 Cor 5:19; John 17:21), vindicated and exalted him (Phil 2:9; Acts 5:31), and will through him judge the world (Acts 17:31). On the other hand, Jesus was conceived by the Holy Spirit (Luke 1:35; Matt 1:20), received the Spirit at baptism (Mark 1:10), and was resurrected "according to the Spirit" (Rom 1:4) or "in the Spirit" (1 Tim 3:16).

Though all of these texts point to an intimate relationship of God, Christ, and the Holy Spirit, a formal triadic coordination of the three is found in only a few places. Pair-wise coordination is more frequent. God and Christ, for example, often appear in parallel construction (John 14:1; Rom 1:7; Rev 5:13) as do, somewhat less frequently, Christ and the Spirit (1 Cor 6:11; Rom 15:30; Heb 10:29). The baptismal commission in Matt 28:19 and the apostolic benediction in 2 Cor 13:14 are the clearest examples of triadic coordination, though other texts of somewhat looser formulation (1 Cor 12:4–6; Jude 20–21; 1 Pet 1:2; Rev 1:4–7) probably reveal its influence. Even these texts, however, do not formalize the relationship as that of one in three, but assert somewhat more simply that the work of the three is the same work, whether it is perceived in terms of the creative and ruling power of the universe, the crucified and vindicated messiah, or the religious experience of the community.

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**GOD MOST HIGH.** See NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT; MOST HIGH.

**GOEL HADDAM** [Heb *gō᾽ēl haddam* (גֹּאֵל הַדָּם)]. See BLOOD, AVENGER OF.

**GOG** (PERSON) [Heb *gôg* (גּוֹג)]. **1.** A Reubenite, descended from Joel (1 Chr 5:4). Gog is second in the list of the sons, or descendants, of Joel. The list may represent a line of Reubenite chieftains (Ackroyd *Chronicles Ezra Nehemiah* TBC, 36). The name appears after Shemaiah and before Shimei. Others in the list include Micah, Reaiah, Baal, and Beerah, who was taken into exile by the Assyrians. As the text does not state Joel's relation to Reuben, and since the use of "son" in Hebrew is somewhat broader than in English, it is impossible to pinpoint Gog's temporal setting. The list ends with the Exile, but the name Baal may point to the presence of an older tradition (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 36–37). Apparently Gog was a member of the clans of seminomadic herdsmen who roamed the desert frontier E of Gilead, from Moab to the Euphrates (1 Chr 5:9–10). LXX has *Goug,* while Syriac renders the name *dw᾽g* (Doeg). Noth (*IPN* 223) traces the name to Akkadian *gāgu,* meaning a "valuable gold object" (cf. CAD 5: 9 and *HALAT* 1: 174).

**2.** Chief prince of Meshech and Tubal, from the land of Magog (Ezek 38:2). See GOG AND MAGOG; MESHECH; TUBAL. In Ezekiel 38–39 God draws Gog out of Magog, with a large army. In later years he will advance against Israel from the far N (Ezek 38:8–15), thereby incurring God's wrath. God will judge him and his hordes with military and natural disasters (Ezek 38:18–22). Gog and the invading army will fall and be buried in Israel (Ezek 39:4–5, 11–15). In all of this God intends to vindicate his holiness before the nations (Ezek 38:16) that they might know that he is Yahweh (Ezek 38:21; 39:6, 22). The display of God's glory and judgment is linked with the restoration of Israel to a right relation with their Maker (Ezek 39:25–29).

Attempts to identify Gog have included proposals of connections with (1) Gyges, King of Lydia (*Gugu* of Ashurbanipal's records); (2) *Gaga,* a name in the Amarna correspondence for the nations of the N; (3) Gaga, a god from Ras Shamra writings; (4) a historical figure, especially Alexander; and (5) mythological sources, with Gog being a representation of the evil forces of darkness which range themselves against Yahweh and his people. None of these identifications has been demonstrated with certainty. Apparently, the name of Gog was derived from accounts of campaigns of N nations and in "some way unknown to us has come to be the name given to their commander-in-chief" (Eichrodt *Ezekiel* OTL, 522; cf. *IDB* 2: 436–37; Taylor *Ezekiel* TOTC, 244; *HALAT* 1: 174–75). What Gog symbolizes is clearer. He is the archetypal enemy from the N, the head of the forces of evil that rise against God and his people (Beasley-Murray *Revelation* NCBC, 297; Caird *Revelation* HNTC, 256).

**3.** A name, which, along with Magog, describes the nations of the earth (Rev 20:8). In Ezekiel Gog was the leader and Magog his land, while in Revelation both represent nations. As in Ezekiel vast hordes gather and are supernaturally destroyed. Satan deceives these evil nations and gathers them in great numbers for battle against Israel. Fire from heaven finally consumes these peoples and God triumphs (Beasley-Murray *Revelation* NCBC, 297; Caird *Revelation* HNTC, 256–57; *ISBE* 2: 519–20).
KENNETH H. CUFFEY

**GOG AND MAGOG** [Heb *gôg* (גּוֹג) and *magôg* (מַגּוֹג)]. Names of a ruler, Gog, and his land, Magog, in the Bible. Gog is the leader, in Ezekiel 38 and 39, of an invading army from "the uttermost parts of the north" who will attack Israel "in the latter years." See GOG (PERSON) and MAGOG

(PERSON). In language similar to that found in later apocalyptic writings, Ezekiel describes God's complete devastation of Gog and his forces upon the mountains of Israel. The defeat of Gog will serve as a vindication of God's holiness and a demonstration of God's might. God's victory will make plain to all the nations of the earth that the people of Israel had been sent into Babylonian captivity because of their sinfulness and not because of God's weakness or unconcern. Now God has restored them to their own land and will protect them.

Various attempts have been made to explain the origin of the name Gog. Some scholars have looked for a historical figure as the source of the term. Among the many suggestions which have been proposed, the most convincing historical referent is the 7th-century B.C.E Lydian king Gyges. Other scholars have explained the name mythologically, derived from the Sumerian word for darkness or from the name of the Akkadian god Gaga.

Ezekiel has likely combined earlier traditions which spoke of an enemy from the north who would bring destruction to the Israelites (cf. Jer 1:13–15; 4:6) with the prophecy of Isaiah that God would destroy the enemies of Israel upon the mountains (Isa 14:24). These prophecies, which for Ezekiel are still unfulfilled, will take place "in the latter days" when God's salvation of Israel will become evident to all the nations. Ezekiel has borrowed the name of Gyges of Lydia to describe this mysterious enemy of God, partly because Gyges had a reputation as a powerful king from the N. In the Ezekiel oracles the figure of Gog has assumed mythical proportions (Wevers *Ezekiel* NCBC; Zimmerli *Ezekiel* Vol. 2 Hermeneia).

The word Magog, likely derived from an Akkadian term meaning "the land of Gyges (Gog)," occurs also in Gen 10:2 in the "Table of Nations." In Genesis and Ezekiel, Magog is grouped with Meshech and Tubal, regions in Asia Minor. For Ezekiel, Magog is simply the mysterious land of Gog located somewhere far to the N of Israel (*TDOT* 2: 419–25).

The author of the book of Revelation uses the Gog and Magog imagery to describe the final attack of the evil forces against the people of God following the millennial reign of Christ (Rev 20:8). Whereas in Ezekiel Gog is a person and Magog is a territory, in Revelation both Gog and Magog have become the names of evil nations. Both terms also appear in rabbinic writings in descriptions of eschatological events.

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**GOIIM** (PLACE) [Heb *gôyîm* (גּוֹיִם)]. Ostensibly the kingdom of Tidal, one of the allies of Chedorlaomer and the "king of Goiim" (Gen 14:1, 9). Heb *gôyîm* means "nations." See NATIONS. QL Gen Apocryphon XXI:23–24 glossed *td‹l mlk gwym* by *dy hw› byn nhryn* "who was between the rivers" (i.e., in Mesopotamia). LXX, the Targums, and Vg rendered *gôyîm* by one of the equivalent terms in the respective languages. The old rapprochement of Goiim with cuneiform *Guti* or *Quti,* a people in the Zagros Mountains, by H. Rawlinson (ap. E. Schrader 1883: 137), was based only on a remote assonance. As long as Tidal (Tudḫula of the "Chedorlaomer texts," cf. CHEDORLAOMER, sec. B) was identified with the Hittite Tudḫâliyaš, it was logical to interpret "the nations" as the various ethnic groups of Anatolia, comparable to the "Islands of the Nations" of Gen 10:5. But if the plausible equation, by Tadmor (*EncMiqr* 8: 435–6), of Tidal (Tudḫula) with Sennacherib is accepted, then "the nations" should be understood as the vast conglomerate of peoples in the Assyrian empire. The compiler of Genesis 14 may have been acquainted with the titles and self-praising epithets of Neo-Assyrian kings; cf., e.g., in the annals of Assurnasirpal: "the Sun of all peoples" and "who has brought under his sway the totality of all peoples" (*ARAB* I, §437) or, even closer: "Shalmaneser (III), king of all peoples, lord, priest of Assur, mighty king, king of all four regions, Sun of all peoples, despot of all lands" (*ARAB* I, §556).

A king of Goiim in Gilgal appears in the list of the kings vanquished by Joshua in the Heb text of Josh 12:23. (codd. Vaticanus and Alexandrinus) has here *gōim* (var. *geei*) *tēs galilaias,* which makes better sense in view of *gālīl hag-gôyîm* "Galilee (lit. 'district') of nations" in Isa 8:23—Eng 9:1—and the Galilean city HAROSHETH-HAGOIIM in Judg 4:2. the LXX reading has been accepted in RSV.

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**GOLAN** (PLACE) [Heb *gôlān* (גּוֹלָן)]. A city of Manasseh in Bashan, the northernmost of the three Cities of Refuge E of the Jordan river (Deut 4:43; Josh 20:8). It is also a Levitical city assigned to the sons of Gershon (Josh 21:27; 1 Chr 6:71). A place by this name is mentioned by Eusebius as "a large village," and in the Talmudic literature the toponym Gavlana is also known in reference to Bashan/Batanea. Scholars tend to identify the town of Golan with Sahem el-Joulan (M.R. 238243), which lies on the E bank of the river el-ʿAllan.

In addition to the town Golan there exists a district of this name, which was known to Josephus as Gaulanitis. The district Golan lies W of Sahem el-Joulan. Therefore, some scholars have suggested reevaluating this identification and seeking the town of Golan within the boundaries of this region. Others have suggested retaining this identification and explaining it as political deviations that separated the town from its district.

It has been suggested that the region of Golan was apparently formed when the city Golan may have become the capital of the land of Geshur as a result of the Geshurite and the Aramean conquest of the sixty cities in the region of Argob in Bashan during 886 B.C.E. (2 Chr 2:23). This annexed territory was then named after the newly captured city of Golan.

Other scholars maintain that the district Gaulanitis was formed during the 3d century B.C.E., due to the Ptolemaic administrative rearrangement of their estates. According to this theory, the large Assyro-Persian jurisdictional region of Carnaim was split into two zones, Batanea and Gaulanitis. This view, which is based primarily on the suffix *itis* common to Ptolemaic Egyptian districts, was rejected by other scholars on the grounds that there were insufficient 3d century B.C.E. settlements in the Golan to justify the split. They propose, instead, that the administrative district was established only by the beginning of the 1st century B.C.E. as a result of the Alexander Jannaeus campaign. The boundaries of the newly formed region embraced the territory from Mt. Hermon in the N to the Yarmuk river in the S, where it met the district of Gileaditis; it remained intact for a period of 18 years (81–63 B.C.E.). This region included the town of Golan and was named after it as a biblical reminiscent. After Pompey's campaign during 63 B.C.E. the Golan district was reduced in size due to territorial grants bestowed to Hippos in the S and to Phoenicia and the Ituraean estates in the N. The town of Golan was appended to the district of Batanea, which was formed during this transaction. This state of affairs remained all through the Roman and Byzantine periods.

Josephus speaks of the subdivision of Gaulanitis into Superior and Inferior. Many scholars postulate that these terms refer, respectively, to N and S, which correspond to the subdivision terms of Upper and Lower Galilee. However, other scholars claim that, unlike Galilee, these subdivision terms of Gaulanitis should correspond, respectively, to E and W. Since the Golan constituted, during the period of Josephus, the section of 20 km by 25 km between the jurisdictional territory of the city of Caesarea Paneas in the N and that of the city of Hippos in the S, the subdivision terminology conforms with the different elevations between E and W. The Golan is a basalt plateau which inclines from N–NE, where it rises to an average altitude of 900 m above sea level, to the S–SW, where it declines to an altitude of 200 m below sea level. Gaulanitis Superior is, therefore, at the E–NE corner, and Gaulanitis Inferior is the section near the Sea of Galilee. At the NE corner there is an inactive chain of volcanic cones whose activities in the past created thick basalt layers resulting in rocky terrain that was inadequate for intensive agriculture. This type of environment was suitable mainly for grazing land and pasture. The modern term Golan Heights refers to the region extending from the foothills of Mt. Hermon to the Yarmuk valley in the S, the Jordan river in the W, and the valley ʿAllan in the E. The Golan region today is much larger than that during the Roman period.

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**GOLAN HEIGHTS.** The modern name for the Transjordanian plateau just E of the Sea of Galilee. The etymology of the name Golan is unclear; it could derive from *gwl* "round," *glh* "pit or pool," or *gbl* in the sense of "stone fence-border."

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## A. Geographical Background

The Golan Heights is a modern geographical division. The name does not appear in this sense before the late 19th century C.E. (Schumacher 1888). The Golan Heights is the northwesternmost part of Transjordan, extending from the Yarmuk gorge in the S to the slopes of Mt. Hermon in the N. On the W, it borders the Jordan Rift with the Huleh basin and the Sea of Galilee. Its E border is the Raqad river, beyond which lies the Bashan (Batanea) and Jeidur (Trachona). The Golan Heights is a volcanic plateau that slopes from 900 m above sea level in the NE to 250 m above sea level in the S and to 200 m below sea level in the area NE of the Sea of Galilee. In the N and S sections of the W plateau, steep slopes descend toward the Huleh and the Sea of Galilee, while the central section slopes gradually toward the Jordan river and the Bethsaida valley. On the E part of the plateau, volcanic cinder cones project from the surface (1100–1200 m); in the S, however, the ancient volcanoes have eroded to low-lying hills. The streams that flow on the plateau are very shallow, almost invisible, and are called Massil, but as they near the Jordan Rift they deepen and descend through waterfalls into deep canyons. In the S Golan, the wadis that drain into the Sea of Galilee and the Yarmuk gorge have carved wide basins. The basalt rock, which covers most of the surface of the Golan Heights, originated in a series of volcanic eruptions dating from 3.7 to 0.14 million years B.P. (Mor 1986).

The NE terrain is covered by relatively young basalt, the "Golan Formation" (0.35–0.14 M.Y.B.P.), that has eroded to red and brown Mediterranean soils. In the NW and central parts of the Golan Heights is the

older “Ortal Formation” (1.61–0.74 M.Y.B.P.), mostly covered by shallow Grumosol and Protogrumosol soils. Noteworthy is the “Dalwe member” of the Ortal Formation, eroded into large boulders, the raw material of the “megalithic architecture” abounding in the Golan. In the S Golan Heights is the oldest “cover basalt” (3.7–2.8 M.Y.B.P.), overlain by deep and fertile Grumosol soils. On the slopes and river basins of S Golan, sedimentary rocks, older than the basalt (up to 4.5 M.Y.), are exposed, mainly cretaceous and chalk rocks of the Miocene and Middle Pliocene ages. These are covered by colluvial/alluvial soils and rendzina.

The climate of the Golan Heights is Mediterranean, and the annual precipitation ranges from 350 mm in the S to 1200 mm in the NE. In ancient times the Golan was covered by Mediterranean forests that still survive in some nature reserves. In the N and above the 500-m elevation were forests of the evergreen oaks and worm oaks (*Quercus calliprinus* and *Q. boissieri*). In central Golan, open, parklike forests of Tabor oak (*Q. ithaburensis*) with rich pastures exist, while on the slopes and river basins of S Golan, a savanna of *Ziziphus (Z. spina Christi)* covers the area.

An understanding of the road system of the Golan Heights is important, as it impinges on the settlement pattern throughout the periods. Entrance from the N and S is blocked by the Mt. Hermon massif and the river Yarmuk, respectively, forcing all crossing roads to align along an E–W axis. Other natural obstacles such as the Huleh basin, the Jordan gorge, and the Sea of Galilee on the W, and the volcanic mountain chains and the Raqad canyon on the E, allow access to the Golan only in a few places. The four main routes, therefore, connect E and W from Damascus and the Bashan to the Mediterranean ports of Acre, Tyre, and Sidon. In the N, an important highway leads from Tyre through Banias (Paneas) to Damascus. In the center, the *Via Maris* passes from Acre (or from the S along the Jordan valley) through the Jisr Banat Ya‹aqub Bridge to Quneitra and hence to Damascus. A less important road connects the Galilee and the Golan from Capernaum through Bethsaida to Seleucia and Hushniyye in the central Golan. In the S, the road from Beth-shan through Zemakh climbs the Golan in several ascents to the Fiq/Rafid thoroughfare and E to the Bashan.

From a geographical point of view, supported by the settlement and political history of the area, the Golan Heights can be divided into three parts. This division has affected the settlement patterns, history, cultural characteristics, and administrative divisions of the area in most periods. The “south,” from Wadi Shbeib-Samakh in the N to the Yarmuk gorge in the S, is a level fertile plain called by the Arabs “Ard el-Kamh” (Schumacher 1888: 20), i.e., the “land of grain,” and it is the main agricultural zone of the Golan. The “south” is further subdivided into the cover basalt plateau and the sedimentary slopes of river basins. This part of the Golan Heights was continuously inhabited with no significant gaps in the occupational sequence.

The “center” extends from Wadi Samakh in the S to a N boundary line that starts at the S edge of the Huleh lake and extends E through Nahal Shelef, N of Kfar Naffah, and through Mt. Shifon and Tell Khari‘a (8 km S of Quneitra) to meet Nahal Raqad. This area, mostly on Dalwe and Mueisseh basalt, is called by Schumacher (1888: 13) “Stony Jaulan” and is indeed rough and suitable mainly for grazing as its Arabic local name—Belad er-Rabi (“land of pasture”)—testifies. The central region is also subdivided into E (“upper”) and W (“lower”) areas. The W part has an abundance of streams and springs which allows limited agriculture, including cereals in small plots and, especially, olive groves. This area has been inhabited in most archaeological periods, although with many gaps in the sequence; it was densely settled in the Roman-Byzantine period. The E part of central Golan lacks arable soils and water sources. The parts that were not thickly forested were very sparsely settled in Roman-Byzantine times by herders and horse-breeding farmers.

The “north,” from Nahal Shelef in the S to Nahal Sa‹ar and Mt. Hermon in the N, is mostly covered by young basalts and volcanoes, with almost no arable soils. The abundance of rain causes rapid soil erosion and encourages thick oak forests. The N is subdivided into several zones, some more suitable for human habitation than others. The westernmost zone, on the slopes toward the Huleh valley, has soils and some springs, and was always sparsely settled with only a handful of EB and Iron Age I sites. The central zone is covered by the “Ein Zivan” basalt member and is devoid of soils, springs, and any ancient sites; it is

still thickly covered by forest. The easternmost zone has small arable plains between the volcanic mountains; lack of water sources, however, permitted only a few settlements (EB, Iron Age, and Hellenistic-Roman). In terms of settlement potential, the Golan Heights are divided therefore into three different regions: the fertile S, the pastureland in the center, and the forested N, each with its own environment and cultural characteristics.

**B. History of Exploration and Excavations**

Although the Golan was described by early-19th-century travelers, the first systematic survey in the area was carried out in the 1880's by G. Schumacher (Schumacher 1886; 1888). Schumacher described the geography, flora, and population and provided a detailed description of some 150 settlements and ruins. The majority of these, however, date to the Roman-Byzantine period. The only pre-Roman remains he noted were the numerous dolmens (recorded in a dozen fields), interpreting them as tombs of ancient bedouin. In subsequent surveys, he collected sherds at some sites which he dated to the Bronze Age. During the French Mandate Period and under the Syrian government, only Roman tombs which were unearthed during construction works were recorded. In 1967, a systematic survey was conducted by two teams headed by C. Epstein and S. Gutman (Epstein and Gutman 1972). For the first time, pre-Hellenistic sites were identified by surface sherding or by "megalithic" masonry style. The 1967–68 survey recorded sites from the Paleolithic period through the Iron Age. Since 1969, surveys conducted by C. Epstein, M. Hartal, S. Barlev, and Z. Ma‹oz have added scores of sites dating from early periods and have provided much environmental and archaeological data. The first excavations were conducted at Roman-Byzantine sites such as Jukhader, Qasrin, and Gamla by Urman and Gutman, as well as at some 30 dolmens, dating to the EB IV, which were explored and excavated by C. Epstein from 1969 to 1973. Epstein also excavated several Chalcolithic settlements in 1973–86. Subsequent to the discovery of Tel Soreg in S Golan, which D. Ben-Ami has suggested was biblical Aphek, extensive archaeological excavations were begun at the site by M. Kochavi. Additional seasons of research in the vicinity by Kochavi exposed a round fortress at Tel Hadar (Sheikh Hader), dating from the 12th century B.C.E., that was destroyed by a heavy fire in the beginning of the 11th century, and an EB enclosure at Mitham Leviah (Lawiyye; Kochavi 1989: 6–11). Excavations and surveys are currently being carried out and will no doubt contribute to a broader and deeper understanding of the nature and patterns of settlement in the area.

**C. Archaeological Finds and History**

**1. Paleolithic to Neolithic Periods.** The earliest human remains unearthed in the Golan date to the Upper Paleolithic period. At Berekhat Ram (E of Mas‹ada), a paleosol layer containing flints and basalt implements from the Acheulian culture, sandwiched between two lava flows, indicates that the Golan was inhabited over a quarter of a million years ago. Surface surveys have revealed several other sites that belong to the Acheulian horizon. The Mousterian culture is represented in an open-air site at Biq‹at Quneitra (Goren-Inbar 1989) and a few other small workshops (approximately 50,000 Y.B.P.).

The site of Moujhaya in the S Golan (excavated by A. Gofer) is a large site belonging to the Neolithic period. Other scattered sites have yielded Neolithic tools—flint axes, arrowheads, and other implements.

**2. Chalcolithic Period.** In 1973, a Chalcolithic site dating from the 5th–4th millennium B.C.E. was first exposed in the Golan. The Chalcolithic culture appeared in the Golan after a long gap, since no remains of the Pottery Neolithic or Wadi Rabah culture have been found (Epstein 1978b). Between 1973 and 1988, excavations and trial excavations were carried out at 15 sites, exposing domestic buildings and a unique material culture, but one with affinities to the Chalcolithic material culture found in other areas of Israel and Jordan. Extensive surveys have discovered many additional sites, some of which have been excavated, and no doubt more sites will yet be revealed.

So far 25 Chalcolithic sites have been found, mainly in the central Golan (Epstein 1986: 34–35). They are located on Dalwe basalt, on the more gentle slopes, and mainly at an altitude between 445 and 555 m above sea level. They tend to be adjacent to wadis or springs in regions with about 600 mm precipitation per annum. The extensive pasturelands and the wetter parts of the central Golan were exploited in the Chalcolithic period for crop cultivation. The environment was suited for a population whose economy was based on cattle grazing and agriculture.

All the sites are unwalled and spread over a large area. There are villages of between 15 and 40 houses, as well as some smaller hamlets and individual farms. On some sites, the houses are built in two parallel rows with adjacent houses sharing a sidewall. Some villages flank both sides of the wadis with houses opposite one another. On three sites, well-constructed storage bins were found. Some sites are located next to seasonal riverbeds, with perennial streams some distance from the sites.

All the houses have a broad-room house plan with basalt walls constructed of dry masonry. The average size of a house is 15 m × 6 m. The long walls are orientated E–W, the general direction of the slopes, and the entrance is from the S. Floors are part paved, part bedrock, and there is sometimes a bench at the base of the long walls. The houses have internal walls, either forming a long narrow back room or smaller side rooms. The internal divisions must have facilitated the roofing, which seems to have covered the whole area of the house.

All the Chalcolithic sites have a large variety of ceramic, basalt, and flint vessels, showing affinities to the finds at Chalcolithic sites in other regions, but with many features unique to the Golan. Many vessels are decorated with bands of rope impressions, incisions, and pierced decorations. The vessels are handmade, but with some use of a handwheel evident on the upper part of the larger vessels. The local red clay of volcanic origin contains many grits, including basalt chips. Particularly noteworthy is the large number of pithoi for the storage of grain. Other vessels include jugs, bowls, hole-mouth jars, spouted jars, bowls with fenestrated pedestals (“incense-burners”), and loom-weights for weaving wool. There are significantly few vessels for everyday use, such as cups and cooking bowls.

In the volcanic Golan, basalt vessels are commonplace, the repertoire including bowls, basins, kraters, grinding stones, and mortised stones. Basalt tools, including agricultural implements, hammers, hoes, weights, and hoe-weights, also occur. The flint implements include many types characteristic of the period, including axes, scrapers, awls, fan-scrapers, and sickle blades. In addition, worthy of note are perforated implements of laminated flint cut into piriform and round shapes, found mainly in the N (Epstein and Noy 1988).

A unique feature of the Golan Chalcolithic culture is the basalt pillar figures, of which over 50 examples are known (Epstein 1982; 1988). Many were excavated in reliable house contexts or discovered within Chalcolithic sites. The pillar figures are cylindrical, the top of each forming a shallow offering bowl. Most have facial features with a protruding nose, others are horned, and some have a goatee beard. It is generally agreed that the pillar figures have cultic significance, and since they were placed in houses, it is assumed that they played a part in the fertility cult. The horned and bearded figures were probably associated with fertility in the herds, and those without horns probably with the general concept of life, fertility, and abundance in both man and crops.

A small quantity of seeds has been found at the sites, including peas, lentils, and bak‹a. The charred remains of domestic wheat (*Triticum dicoccum*) were found in a storage bin, but the most widespread organic remains are olive pits. Moreover, 90 percent of some 30 samples of burnt wood remains examined are olive. Few animal bones were found in the houses, but those remains include goat and sheep teeth, with a few cow bones and teeth of wild boar and ass. No human bones or burials can be related to this period.

There is no evidence to suggest that the Chalcolithic period in the Golan ended violently. It is unclear why the inhabitants left their villages, abandoning their large storage vessels and heavy equipment, including their house gods. Perhaps a prolonged drought resulted in the deterioration of the economic base. On the basis of the lack of changes and developments in the houses and pottery vessels, it appears that the culture was a single phase, lasting 200–300 years. Calibrated $C^{14}$ dates of charred wood provide a date of 4140±150 B.C.E.; and burned wheat grains provide a calibrated date of 3800±100 B.C.E.

**3. Early Bronze Age.** The available archaeological evidence suggests an occupational gap after the Chalcolithic period in most of the Golan. In the S Golan, however, are three EB I sites; they are adjacent to the Yarmuk river and Nahal Meizar. At the site on the bank of the Yarmuk, building remains and pottery characteristic of the EB I were revealed in a trial excavation (Epstein 1985c), and the site appears to have been extensive.

Our knowledge of the EB II occupation is based mainly on the material from surveys (Epstein and Gutman 1972; Hartal 1989). From this period, 42 sites have been found throughout the Golan: 7 in the S, 12 in the center, 17 in the N, and 6 more at the foot of Mt. Hermon. The sites include settlements and large enclosures (Heb *mitham*). At the fortified settlements (e.g., Za‘arta in the N and Zalabeh in the central Golan), sections of fortification walls and building remains are extant. Other sites have building remains, but thus far no evidence of enclosing walls (e.g., Seleucia and Gamla in the central Golan and at Kh. Huttiyye in the S). The enclosure sites have massive fortifications, which sometimes incorporate natural elements, such as rocks, cliffs, and abysses overhanging wadis. The sites of Mitham Yitzhaki in the central Golan and Mitham Leviah and Mitham Bardawil in the S are protected by steep precipices. Other enclosures erected in areas without natural fortifications are surrounded on all four sides by solid fortifications, as at Sha‘abniah and Es-Sur in the central Golan.

Excavations have recently been carried out at Mitham Leviah (Lawiyye; Kochavi 1989). The site is located on an elongated spur overlooking Nahal Kanaf to the N and Nahal Samakh to the S, and is protected by steep precipices on the N, S, and W. A long, high heap of stones separates the enclosure from the plateau on the E, and two similar stone heaps run across the center of the site and close to the W end. Excavation of the central heap exposed a substantial stone wall, 4 m thick. A section excavated on the W has exposed rectangular houses with stone walls from the EB III together with KHIRBET KERAK WARE found in situ. Pottery from the EB IA, EB IB, EB II, and EB IV was also found in this area, indicating habitational continuity at the site. At the other enclosure sites ceramic material dating to the EB II has also been found. Es-Sur is attributed to the same period on the basis of similarity of construction of its walls. Mitham Bardawil, however, produced only a few EB II sherds, but an abundance of sherds from EB IV, perhaps attesting to its construction or reoccupation in the latter period. It is clear that the enclosures sometimes incorporated buildings, as at Mitham Leviah and es-Sur, but the function of the enclosures has not yet been clarified. They may either have been fortified areas, occupied by the unsettled local pastoralist population and their flocks in times of danger, or walled cities.

An unusual and unique site of the EB II is RUJM EL-HIRI, situated on a plateau, through which flows Nahal Daliyyot (Kochavi 1989; Zohar 1989). This massive construction of huge, unworked basalt stones is similar to the enclosures, but in other respects is unique. The site consists of a huge central tumulus, measuring 20–25 m in diameter and 7 m high, surrounded by four concentric walls, the outer of which is 155 m in diameter, and is interrupted in two places by entryways. So far no stratigraphic sequences have been found to help date the site, although a small trial excavation has been conducted (which did yield a few EB II and Iron Age I sherds). The function of the site has also not yet been established, but it is likely that the site was a ceremonial center with symbolic significance for certain social groups.

Only recently has evidence been found to indicate that settlements continued into the EB III in the Golan; these include Gamla and Mitham Leviah (Kochavi 1989: 6). The nature of this period, the pattern of settlement, and the causes leading to the termination of the period, however, cannot yet be established.

**4. Early Bronze Age IV (ca. 2350–1950 B.C.E.).** At the end of the 3d millennium, there was a significant change in the settlement pattern of the Golan. No occupation sites have been located in the N and central Golan. In the S, eight sites have been identified, of which three are burial sites. It seems that during this period pastoralists, whose origins have not yet been fully established, moved through the N and central Golan and did not construct any permanent settlements. On the other hand, they erected hundreds of burials in the form of dolmens, standing in groups, and sometimes concentrated together in “dolmen fields” (Epstein 1985a). So far over 30 dolmens have been excavated at various sites, and many others have been surveyed. The dolmens may be dated by the earliest finds exposed on their floors, which are funerary goods accompanying secondary burials and date to the end of the 3d and beginning of the 2d millennium B.C.E.

The typical Golan dolmen is not the picturesque trilithic “stone table,” consisting of two stone uprights with a third horizontal stone laid on top, as is suggested by the ancient Bretonic word. The typical dolmens are small, rectangular, or sometimes trapezoid burial chambers, measuring ca. 1.5 m × 3.5 m, with an entrance on one of the short sides. They are built of unworked basalt stones, with monolithic slabs

as the lower walls, balanced by smaller stones, and with paved floors. The roofs are of large stones rising in step form from the narrow sides to the center, with a single stone on top, forming a domed ceiling inside the chamber. The dolmens are usually surrounded by an oval stone heap, or tumulus, supported at the bottom by a circular wall; in many cases only the top roof-stone is visible, while in others the dolmen is completely hidden beneath the tumulus. See DOLMEN.

The earliest finds from the dolmens date from the EB IV and include jars, spouted jars, a bottle, pedestal lamps, and round, handleless cooking pots. The metal finds are mainly of copper and include a long pin with a bent head, pins with points at both ends, a bracelet and ring, and weapons, such as a dagger, a socketed spear, and leaf-shaped blades. These ceramic and metal types have clear parallels in assemblages from burials of this period from N Israel and Syria (e.g., Megiddo and Ugarit). Several dolmens were later reused for burials, both in ancient and modern times.

It is important to emphasize that it was the volcanic nature of the Golan that made possible the construction of dolmens. Great effort and technical knowledge were required for the construction of the graves, indicating the importance accorded to the subject of burial by people who otherwise apparently had no permanent dwellings.

**5. Middle Bronze and Late Bronze Ages.** Following the EB IV, there seems to have been an occupation gap in the Golan of about 150 years—no MB I settlements have been found. The only finds are a few pottery vessels, found in a dolmen in secondary use, which are characteristic of the transition between the MB I and MB II, with parallels in graves at Ginossar, Hazor, Dan, and other sites in the N (Epstein 1985a).

The beginning of the MB II witnesses the resettlement of the Golan. About 40 sites, including graves, have been found, mostly identified in surveys (Epstein and Gutman 1972; Hartal 1989), and occasionally examined in small trial excavations. The large number of sites parallels the increased number of MB II sites throughout Palestine. In the N and central Golan there are very few settlements—11 in the N and only 4 in the center, few of which have left substantial architectural remains. In contrast, about 25 sites are concentrated in the S Golan, probably because of the possibility of hewing impervious wells for water storage out of the limestone rock. These often-fortified settlements were established at strategic locations on the high plateau between the Sea of Galilee and Nahal Raqad, and were apparently used for defense and to control trade routes; a particularly large concentration of sites stood on the slopes overlying Nahal Samakh and its tributaries. The main tell sites include et-Tell in the Bethsaida valley; Masharfawi in Nahal Kanaf (surrounded by a cyclopean wall); Fakhuri, el-Mudowarah, and Hutiyye in the Samakh basin; Tell ed-Dahab (wall remains), and others. Only 14 of these sites continued to be occupied in the LB period. In addition to the tell sites, there are small forts, such as site No. 151 in Nahal Samakh, which measures 20 m × 24 m and includes a fortification wall, in which there are small rooms, and two square towers. Other sites are burial caves with many funerary goods. Most of the information on the sites is based on survey work rather than on excavations; thus, not many details on the nature of the settlements are available.

The ceramic repertoire is varied, typical of other sites from this period in Palestine. Noteworthy are the large storage jars of coarse clay, decorated with bands of zigzags—short combed or incised lines—similar to those found at Hazor and other sites in the N of the country.

In the LB, the number of sites in the Golan decreased by half. Most of the sites overlie MB sites and continued into the Israelite period, particularly in the S Golan, where half the sites are located. At Tel Madawwar, no LB settlement was found between the MB and Israelite levels, but a grave complex with complete LB vessels was found at the foot of the site. An additional burial complex was found in a cave at the foot of Tel Soreg, identified with Aphek of the Golan, but it has not yet been excavated (Kochavi 1989: 7). The ruins of Tel Soreg indicate continuity of settlement from the MB II and the LB II into the Israelite period.

Characteristic of the LB pottery in the Golan, particularly in the S, are storage jars of light coarse clay, decorated with a red-painted geometric pattern. Noteworthy of the finds is a bichrome fragment decorated with a bird ravaging a fish. In some assemblages, including a late dolmen burial site in the central Golan,

imported Cypriot ware was found; and in another dolmen a typical figurine of a woman with a Hathor wig was found. To the end of the LB should be attributed finds from a late dolmen burial, including a pilgrim flask sherd and some bronze arrowheads.

The historical evidence for the MB and LB must rely on Egyptian records. There are no references from the first half of the 2d millennium that can be shown to relate directly to the Golan. From the 14th century are extant letters from El-Amarna (Amenhotep IV) that throw some light on the region. In EA 364, the ruler of Ashtartu complains to Pharaoh that the ruler of Hazor took three cities from him. It is clear that the kingdom of Ashtartu bordered on the kingdom of Hazor. The area of controversy was probably in the central Golan, or perhaps the NW Bashan (Ma‹oz 1986: 145–46), and was probably related to a struggle for control over the trade routes. Another letter, EA 256, sent by the prince of Pihilu (Pella) to the Egyptian governor, describes a conflict between the prince of Pihilu and his ally, the prince of Ashtartu, on the one hand and the land of *Ga-ri* on the other (*ANET*, 486). It appears that the two cities of *URU Ha-iu-ni* and *URU Ia-bi-li-ma* were captured from the prince of Pihilu by the cities of the land of *Ga-ri.* Albright (1943) identified the former city with Kh. el-‹Ayun, in S Golan, and the latter with Tel Abil, in the Yarmuk river bed. Other cities in the letter were also identified by Albright and later scholars in the S Golan. Mazar subsequently proposed that the land of *Ga-ri, KUR Ga-ri* should be restored as *Ga- (su)-ri,* that is the biblical Geshur (Mazar 1986a). Apparently the land of Geshur existed as a political unit in the S Golan from at least the 14th century B.C.E.

Maacah, the entity bordering Geshur (Josh 12:5; 13:11), is alluded to even earlier in the Egyptian Execration Texts as a tribal name (E 62) and a place name (E 37; Ahituv *CTAED*, 132). It is presumed to lie N of Geshur, in N Golan, extending to the Huleh valley and S Beq‹a valley. Its location is based on the identification of Abel-beth-maacah (2 Sam 20:15; 2 Kgs 15:29) with Tell Abil, S of Metual. Maacah may have been the southernmost of the Amorite tribes of the Lebanon Beq‹a.

**6. Iron Age (the Israelite Period).** Following the decline in population in the LB, there was a renewed spread of population in the Iron Age. Many MB sites were reoccupied in the Iron Age. Most of our information is from surveys (Epstein and Gutman 1972; Hartal 1989), which have revealed more than 52 sites (22 in the N, 10 in the center, and 20 in the S). They include small settlements, forts, and dolmens reused for burials. Among the sites established for the first time in this period are fortresses and fortified settlements, erected at strategic locations, such as Tel Dover at the entrance to the Yarmuk, Kh. Dajajiyye at the W entrance to Nahal Samakh, ‹En Gev and Tel Hadar, both on the E bank of the Sea of Galilee, and Tell Abu Zeitun and "Mezad Yehonatan" (Tannuriyye) on the Golan plateau. Excavations yielding Iron Age strata have been carried out at ‹En-Gev, Tel Soreg, Tel Hadar, Kh. Kanaf, Qasrin, "Mezad Yehonatan," Tell Abu Zeitun, and Bab el-Hawa.

At ‹En-Gev, five Iron Age strata were exposed (Mazar et al. 1964). Limited probes, at the S and N edges, revealed a sequence of fortifications. The earliest (stratum V) was a solid wall 1.85 m wide, followed by a fortification system which consisted of a casemate wall (stratum IV), similar to those unearthed at Hazor and Megiddo, and the erection of a citadel (ca. 60 m × 60 m) at the N end of the site. The construction of stratum IV is attributed to Solomon. In stratum III (9th century B.C.E.), an offsets/insets wall, 5 m thick, was built beyond which was an alley and a courtyard building. This stratum was destroyed by a conflagration. Stratum II (838–790 B.C.E. followed the same building layout, while in stratum I (790–732 B.C.E.), the site was unfortified and a public building (perhaps a fort) was built in the N. The ceramic repertoire included red-slipped burnished bowls similar to the "Samaria type," cooking-pots with triangular rims, jugs, a store-jar, hole-mouth jars, and lamps. The stone objects included basalt pestles, a tripod bowl, an "incense bowl," and a votive axe of nephrite. Especially important is an ostracon inscribed in Aramaic: *lsqy›* (ca. 850 B.C.E.), probably a dignitary title such as "cupbearer" of an official at the site.

At Tel Hadar (i.e., Sheikh Khadr; Kochavi 1989: 9–11), a substantial round fort (ca. 70 m in diameter) was exposed from the Iron Age I, surrounded by two fortification walls and a gate. The building served as a granary, as indicated by the plan, the pottery, and charred grain remains, and was destroyed in a fire at

the end of the 11th century B.C.E. After a gap, the site was reoccupied in the 9th–8th centuries B.C.E., with the floors of the new houses overlying the old walls. It was eventually abandoned.

A similar round or ovoid fort, some 70 m across, was partially exposed at Tell Abu Zeitun, on the upper plateau of S Golan. The outer face of the wall was well preserved, and its pottery derives from the Iron Age I.

At Tel Soreg (Kochavi 1989: 6–9), a small tell in Nahal ʿEn Gev, a fortified settlement from the 9th–8th centuries B.C.E. was exposed, including a fortification wall, a large building, and a series of dwellings.

At "Mezad Yehonatan," C. Epstein (1984: 5–6) excavated another fort dating to the Iron Age I. The fort, located on the upper tributary of W. Tannuriyye in E-central Golan, is square (26 m × 26 m). Its walls are preserved (ca. 3 m high in 3–7 courses) and were built of an inner vertical wall (1.7 m thick), abutted on the outside by a sloping stone glacis. The gate was on the E, and measured 2.45 m wide and 2.65 m deep; a pair of pilasters on the inside restricted its passage. The tomb of a Roman soldier, buried with his iron sword, was also found.

In NE Golan, M. Hartal excavated Bab el-Hawa, an Iron Age II structure reoccupied in the Byzantine period. The exposed section includes a rough semicircular wall, 0.8 m thick and ca. 8 m across, with beaten earth floors laid on bedrock. The nature of the structure is unclear.

Below a Hellenistic fort at Khirbet Kanaf, a small section of a stone floor was exposed on which rested pottery of the 10th century B.C.E. The exposure at Qasrin was very limited—the site produced no Iron Age architecture, only hearths near the spring, which may attest to the activity of nomads (Maʿoz and Killebrew 1985).

The historical evidence for the Israelite period is to be found in the Bible—the books of Joshua, Samuel, and Chronicles (Pitard 1987). During the 10th century B.C.E., the area came under the control of the United Monarchy, and later the N kingdom of Israel. Transjordan was occupied by the Israelite tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half-Manasseh, and in the N by the Aramean tribes of Geshur and Maacah. The major powers in Syria were the Aramean kingdoms of Zobah and Damascus. The first three centuries of the 1st millennium are characterized by the ongoing struggle for control between the Israelite and Aramean kingdoms.

The book of Joshua indicates that the regions of Geshur and Maacah were not conquered by the Israelites at the time of the Conquest (Josh 12:5). While the borders of these kingdoms are not defined specifically, Geshur was located in the S Golan and Maacah in the N. According to 2 Sam 8:3–6, David defeated Hadadezer, the king of Zobah, and his ally Aram-Damascus, and placed garrisons in Damascus. The area under the control of Solomon (1 Kgs 9:18) reached Tadmor and Hamath and would have included Geshur and Maacah in the Golan. Geshur became a political ally with David, as indicated by the marriage pact between David and the daughter of Talmai, the king of Geshur. Maacah, on the other hand, took part in a coalition led by Hadadezer of Damascus against David, together with the children of Ammon, Aram Zobah, Rehob, and Tob (2 Sam 10:6–19). The Aramean coalition was defeated in battle and became subservient to David (Pitard 1987: 93). Maacah seems to have disappeared shortly afterwards as an independent entity, but Geshur continued to exist and, together with Damascus, exploited Israel's weakness in being unable to wrest Bashan from their control.

During the reign of Solomon, Rezon established a new independent dynasty at Damascus (1 Kgs 11:23–25; Pitard 1987: 96–97). His grandson, Ben-hadad, campaigned against Baasha, the king of Israel around 886 B.C.E. (Mazar 1986b; Pitard 1987: 107–14). "And Ben-hadad … sent the commanders of his armies against the cities of Israel, and conquered Ijon, Dan, Abel-beth-maacah, and all Chinneroth, with all the land of Naphtali" (1 Kgs 15:20). This campaign led, according to Mazar, to the destruction of several cities, including the Israelite stratum IV site at ʿEn-Gev, and the establishment of an Aramean fort at the site (Mazar et al. 1964: 44). On the basis of 1 Chr 2:23 ("But Geshur and Aram took from them Havvoth-jair, Kenath and its villages"), Mazar assumes that Geshur annexed the W part of the Argob region in Bashan.

Another series of clashes between Israel and Damascus, with a decisive battle at Aphek in S Golan, is recorded in 1 Kgs 20:1–43. The name of the "king of Israel" in this cycle of stories (1 Kings 20 and 22) is

Ahab, but it has been suggested that the event took place later, in the days of Joash of the dynasty of Jehu (Pitard 1987: 114–25). Israel, seriously weakened by the bloody purge that followed Jehu's seizure of the throne (2 Kings 10), fell victim to the expansionist policy of Hazael, king of Damascus. In 2 Kgs 10:32–33, it is recorded: "In those days the Lord began to cut off parts of Israel. Hazael defeated them throughout the territory of Israel: from the Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer, which is by the valley of the Arnon, that is Gilead and Bashan." After the death of Jehu, ca. 814 B.C.E., in the reign of Jehoahaz, Hazael seems to have expanded even to the W of the Jordan (2 Kgs 13:22; 12:17–18) and subdued Israel. Revival seems to have come only in the reign of Joash, after the death of Hazael, at the beginning of the 9th century B.C.E. (Pitard 1987: 161–70). In a series of battles, lasting some five years, Hazael's son, Ben-hadad (Bir-Hadad III), was first repulsed in battle close to the Israelite capital at Samaria (2 Kgs 6:24–27), after which he reorganized his army and perhaps also his administration by reducing his vassal states, including Geshur, to provinces (1 Kgs 20:24). A second battle, in which Ben-hadad was defeated, was fought near Succoth in Transjordan (1 Kgs 20:1–21). The third and final battle occurred near Aphek (1 Kgs 20:24–43); this site has been identified recently with Tel Soreg in S Golan (1 km W of Fiq; Ma‹oz 1986: 139). In the ensuing period, the territory of the Golan probably remained in Israel's hands (2 Kgs 14:25) and was only finally annexed to the Assyrian empire, together with the rest of N Israel, by Tiglath-pileser III following his conquest of the area in 732 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 15:29; Pitard 1987: 186–89).

**D. Golan in the Bashan**

The OT town of Golan was the northernmost of the Cities of Refuge, assigned by Moses in Transjordan, allotted to Manasseh (Deut 4:43; Josh 20:8). It was situated in the territory of the half-tribe of Manasseh that settled in Bashan in the former kingdom of Og (Deut 3:13). It was also a Levitical city assigned to the Gershonites, one of the families of the Levites (Josh 21:27; 1 Chr 6:56). As a Levitical city, it presumably served as the cult and administrative center of the Israelite settlement in Transjordan N of the Yarmuk river during the United Kingdom period.

The identification of the site has been much contested from antiquity to modern times, for the name Golan was retained in two different areas: firstly, in the place name Gaulon in Batanea in the Rmman province of Arabia E of Nahr er-Ruqqad (Eus. *Onomast.* 64.6), and secondly, in the name of the territory Gaulanitis, adjacent to Galilee on the E of the upper Jordan River. Thus, while Eusebius in the early 4th century C.E. equated biblical Golan with the LXX village Gaulon in Batanea, rabbinic sources looked for Golan within Gaulanitis. The Jerusalem Targum to Deut 4:43 equates Golan with Dabra, probably Dabura in central W Golan Heights. A Geniza fragment of Midrash Tanhuma equates Golan with Sluqiyye (Ginsburg 1928: 112), a fortress mentioned by Josephus in Gaulanitis (*Ant* 13.393; *JW* 4.3), identified at "Tell Sluqiyye" (Schumacher 1888: 237; Epstein and Gutman 1972: 271). Both references in the rabbinic sources, however, clearly testify that the rabbis had no knowledge of a place by this name within Gaulanitis. In modern research, Schumacher (1886: 91–99) was first to identify Golan with Sahm el-Jolan (M.R. 238243). His identification was followed by that of many scholars (e.g., Abel, *GP* 2, 338–39). Helck (1962: 129) suggested that Sahm el-Jolan is the place of Alunnu of the Thutmose III city list at Karnak (I:27a; Ahituv *CTAED*, 58–59) and Hlunni of EA 197:14; this name survived at nearby Nahr el-‹Allan.

Albright (1943: 9; 1946: 57) preferred to look for Golan within modern Jaulan, W of Nahal Raqad, but could not specify a location. Loewenstam (*EncBib*, 458) followed Albright and suggested that the site should be N of the territory of Geshur, i.e., in N Golan in the territory of Aram Maacah. Oded (1968: 45–46) suggested an identification with ‹En-Gev, whose stratigraphy (Mazar et al. 1964) is similar to Ramoth-gilead (Tell Ramid), another city of refuge and Levitical center. According to Oded, Geshur extended in the N only to the ‹En-Gev/Fiq line, the boundary of the Israelite settlement. Ilan (1971: 50–51) returned to the ancient rabbinic suggestions and combined both references mentioned above to identify Daburah with both Golan and Seleucia. This suggestion is untenable since it is based on two erroneous rabbinic ideas (Bar-Kochva 1976: 62). Furthermore, the latter site has produced no evidence of occupation prior to the Roman period. Urman (1985: 22) suggested an identification for Golan at Tell el-

Jukhadar, an important MB II/Iron Age I site in the SE Golan (Epstein and Gutman 1972: 276). He has not, however, produced any evidence for this proposal, and the area in which the last-mentioned site is found seems to be included in the land of Geshur and, therefore, cannot be Golan. The original identification at Sahm el-Jolan is still to be preferred for the following reasons: (1) Golan must be within the Bashan, the area settled by the Israelites, a center probably replacing Ashtaroth, capital city of Og, only 6 km to the NE (the Israelite settlement area did not extend W of Nahal Raqad, beyond which lay Geshur and Maacah in the Golan Heights); (2) the place Gaulane captured by Jannaeus in 81 B.C.E. (*Ant* 13.393) was seemingly situated en route between Dion (Tell el-ʿAshari; Schurer, *HJP²* 2, 148–49), on the E Yarmuk, and Seleucia and Gamala in the central Golan Heights, a location that fits Sahm el-Jolan; (3) the name Gavlan is also alluded to in rabbinic sources as an estate of R. Judah Hanasi (*Šeb.* 6.1), elsewhere connected to Batanea (*Maʿas. S².* 4.1); a place by the name Gavlan, with a synagogue is referred to in the early 4th century C.E. (*Meg.* 73d; Klein 1911: 12); (4) a large village by the name Gaulon, with a territory by the same name in Batanea is mentioned in the early 4th century C.E. by Eusebius (*Onomast.* 64.6); the NW border of the province of Arabia, that included Batanea, bordered on Nahal Raqad, beyond which lay Palaestina (Sartre 1982: 69; Maʿoz 1986: 57); (5) a similar name, perhaps somewhat corrupted, *Goʿlaʾnia,* is listed in Arabia in the 6th century C.E. (Georgius 1890: 1079). It seems likely that all the above references point to one and the same place, Golan in the Bashan. The name thus survived from the biblical period throughout the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine times to the Ottoman period and present-day Sahm el-Jolan.

The site was described by Schumacher (1886: 91–99) as a large basalt village. The only ancient remain he mentions is a Roman mausoleum. Subsequently, two Greek inscriptions from the late Roman period were found. The reckoning in these inscriptions is to the era of Bostra in 106 C.E. (Brunnow and Domazewski 1909: 270).

The village is ca. 700 m × 200 m, lying on flat ground (440 m above sea level) on the E bank of the shallow Wadi Shafil, a tributary of Nahal el-ʿAllan. The water of two springs, called ʿEin es-Safuqiya, is brought to the village by a channel. The site is situated in the middle of a very fertile plateau of deep soils developed on the "cover basalt," the product of a volcanic eruption 3.8 million years B.P. (Mor 1986: 2). Annual precipitation is ca. 300 mm, and the area is known for its rich grain crops. No pre-Roman remains have yet been reported for Sahm el-Jolan, but the site has not been properly surveyed, and early occupation levels may be still buried below the village or at an unknown nearby site. This area of S Bashan (en-Nugra), however, abounds in Bronze Age sites (Albright 1925; Braemer 1984: 221 for further references). See also GOLAN (PLACE).

**E. Gaulanitis/Gaulane**

Gaulanitis was an administrative unit within the kingdom of Herod and his descendants Philip, Agrippa I, and Agrippa II. Josephus mentions Gaulanitis as distinct from the other units in the Golan Heights, such as Hippos and the estates of Lysanias and Zenodorus, and later from the territory of Paneas and Oulatha in the Province of Phoenicia (cf. *Ant* 16.215–17, 354; 17.189, 319; etc.). From *JW* 3.37, it is evident that Gaulanitis bordered Galilee on the E along with Hippos. The unit must, therefore, be located in the central Golan Heights within modern Jaulan. The four cities referred to by Josephus in this division—Gamala, Seleucia, Soganae, and Julias—are all identified within the central Golan (Maʿoz 1986). This administrative unit seems to have survived into early Ottoman times in the division called "Nahia Butayha" (Hutteroth and Abdulfatah 1977: 195–96). Its borders are Nahal Neshef in the N (beyond which lay Paneas), Nahal Raqad in the E (beyond which was Batanea in Arabia), Nahal Samakh in the S (beyond which lay Hippos), and the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee in the W. See also GAULANITIS (PLACE).

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ZVI MAOZ

**GOLDEN CALF.** The Golden Calf (*ʿēgel zāhāb,* 1 Kgs 12:28) or molten calf (*ʿēgel massēkâ,* Exod 32:4) appears only a few times in the Hebrew Bible, but it has come to epitomize the vilest kind of apostasy committed by the ancient Israelites. The worship of this calf is seen as a clear, unequivocal

rejection of the proper worship of Yahweh in favor of an image of either Yahweh or a foreign deity. Such worship practices are uniformly condemned by the ancient writers.

There is little confusion about the nature of a calf *(ʿēgel).* It is a young male bovine, the counterpart of a heifer *(ʿeglâ),* a young female cow. The nature of a golden calf *(ʿēgel zāhāb)* is likewise fairly clear. It is an image of a young bull made from gold. The nature of that image and its construction is defined by the phrase often used interchangeably with the golden calf—the molten calf *(ʿēgel massēkâ).* The word "molten" in Hebrew *(massēkâ)* is from the root *nsk,* which means "to pour out." From that verb is derived the nominal form of the word, which has two senses: (1) to pour out a libation or drink offering (Exod 30:9; 1 Chr 11:18; Joel 1:9) or (2) to pour out liquid metal to make a "molten image" (Num 35:52; 2 Chr 28:2; Isa 42:17). It is in this latter sense that the word is used in this study. It is also in this latter sense that the word carries a negative connotation and is usually the subject of condemnation (Deut 27:15; Isa 30:22).

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A. Occurrences in Scripture
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**A. Occurrences in Scripture**

The idea of a molten calf or golden calf appears in the Hebrew Bible in four major and several minor places, a few times in the intertestamental literature, and in the NT in only one place.

**1. Hebrew Bible.** The most famous occurrence is in Exodus 32. In this account of the events at Mt. Sinai, the people, impatient for the return of Moses from up on the mountain, agitate for the construction of some gods they can worship. Aaron obliges their request by collecting gold from the people and "creating" (see discussion below) a molten calf, of which it is said, "These are your gods, O Israel, who brought you up out of the Land of Egypt" (Exod 32:4). As a result of this action and after an altar has been erected to this calf, the anger of Yahweh and Moses erupts, and Moses descends from the mountain to correct the situation. He "destroys" (see discussion below) the calf (v 20), accuses Aaron of complicity in the apostasy (vv 21, 25, 35), an accusation Aaron seeks to sidestep (vv 22–24), and asks the sons of Levi to kill those who participated in the apostasy (vv 26–28).

A second major reference to the golden calf is in Deut 9:13–21. In a passage which talks of the stubbornness and sinfulness of the people (v 13), Moses intercedes with Yahweh to save the people from Yahweh's wrath. It was the making of a molten calf (v 16) which provoked Yahweh's anger against the people in general and against Aaron in particular (v 20). It is Moses' forty days of prostration and fasting, his prayers, and his destruction of the calf which saved the people and Aaron (vv 18, 20, 21).

Another passage which includes the golden calf is 1 Kings 11–12. Following Solomon's sins (1 Kgs 11:1–8), Yahweh becomes angry at Solomon (vv 9–13), and through the prophet Ahijah, Yahweh splits the kingdom in two parts, the N (Israel) and the S (Judah). The ruler of the N kingdom is Jeroboam I (922–901 B.C.E.) who is given ten tribes by Yahweh (11:31). Jeroboam is then concerned about his people going to Jerusalem in Judah for worship and, as a consequence, being influenced by the southern perspective (12:26). Thus he builds two temple sites, at Dan and Bethel, and places a "golden calf" at each site (12:28–29). As in Exodus 32, these calves are said to be "your gods, O Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt" (12:28). Furthermore, Jeroboam selects priests who are *not* Levites (12:31) to serve at these temples. All of these activities in the north are soundly condemned (12:30; 13:33–34; 14:7–11) by the Deuteronomistic Historian, the southern writer and redactor of this material.

The fourth major reference to the golden calf is in the book of Hosea. One of the many sins of the north which the prophet Hosea condemns is the apostasy of the people. Among the various apostasies he rails against is the worship of the calf (Hos 8:5; 10:5–6). This sin is compounded by the making of molten images and the practice of sacrificing to these images, which are apparently in the shape of calves (13:2) and made of gold and silver (8:4).

There are other minor references to the golden calf or molten calf. In 2 Kgs 10:31, Jehu, king of Israel (842–815 B.C.E.), is condemned because he did not turn away from the sins of Jeroboam, who made the golden calves at Dan and Bethel (2 Kgs 10:29). Later in 2 Kings, when the Deuteronomistic Historian is explaining the fall of the north, he lists the many sins which led to that fall, one of which was making "molten images of two calves" (17:16).

A similar perspective is found in the postexilic material of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. In 2 Chronicles 11 and 13 the Chronicler discusses the division of the country immediately after the death of Solomon. He points out how Rehoboam, the king of Judah, opened his doors to the Levites (2 Chr 11:13), unlike Jeroboam, the king of Israel, who rejected the Levites as priests (v 14) and chose his own priests to worship the "calves" (v 15). These "calves" are clearly a reference to the detested golden calves. A comparable view is present in 2 Chronicles 13, where Abijah, king of Judah, is speaking against the Israelites who had followed Jeroboam in making the golden calves (13:8) and had driven out the "sons of Aaron and the Levites" who were priests (vv 9–10). In Nehemiah 9, Ezra utters a long confession which rehearses the history of the people and cites several of their sinful acts. Among the sins which are enumerated are the making of a "molten calf" and the proclaiming of it as "your God who brought you up out of Egypt" (9:18). Note that in this telling of the story, God is singular, not plural as in Exod 32:4 and 1 Kgs 12:28. Perhaps for the writer of Nehemiah, the sin of idolatry was bad enough without also the intimation of polytheism (see Isa 42:17).

The last minor reference to the calf is found in Psalm 106. The theme of this psalm is the constant mercy of God in spite of the sinfulness of the people. The apostasy reported in Exodus 32 is retold in v 19, using poetic parallelism that associates "calf" with "molten image":

> They made a calf in Horeb
> and worshipped a molten image.

**2. Intertestamental Literature.** There is a brief reference to the golden calf in the apocryphal book of Tobit. In recounting his history of true faithfulness to Yahweh, Tobit mentions that the rest of his house of Naphtali did not worship in Jerusalem, but sacrificed "to the calf Baal" (Tob 1:5). In the *Lives of the Prophets* in the Pseudepigrapha, it is said that when Elisha was born in Gilgal, the golden calf, presumably at Bethel, bellowed so loudly that it could be heard in Jerusalem. A priest interpreted this bellowing as a sign that a prophet had been born who would destroy the "carved images and molten idols" (*Liv. Pro.* 22:1–2).

Finally, in the pseudepigraphical work *Pseudo-Philo,* there are two references to the golden calf. One is a brief allusion to the tribe of Caleb confessing their desire to "make the calf that they made in the wilderness" (*Ps-Philo* 25:9). The second reference is an entire chapter devoted to retelling the story of the golden calf (*Ps-Philo* 12). In this account Aaron pleads with the people to be patient while waiting for Moses' return (12:2), but because he fears the people, Aaron gives in and collects the gold for the calf. However, it is "they," the men, who cast the golden earrings into the fire where the earrings were fashioned into the molten calf. (v 3). There is no intimation at all that Aaron had a hand in creating the calf.

**3. New Testament.** In Acts 7, Stephen preaches about the past history of his Jewish community. When he focuses on the period of Moses, he mentions the people's refusal to obey God (v 39). This rejection of God is manifested in the people's request to Aaron to "make for us gods to go before us" (v 40). Then they make a calf and offer sacrifice to it (v 41). As a consequence, God turns away from them (v 42).

**B. Issues Regarding the Calf**

There are several issues associated with these "golden calf" references which need further consideration. One issue is the construction of the calf. Who made it and how was it made? Closely tied to

the former question is the matter of Aaron's association with the calf. A second issue is the procedure for the destruction of the calf. Finally, there is the question of who or what the calf represents.

**1. Construction of the Calf.** The crux of the difficulty in understanding the construction of the golden calf is found in Exod 32:4, 24. Part of the problem is the conflict between Aaron as the creator of the calf (v 4) and the calf as self-created (v 24). The remainder of the problem is in trying to decipher the actual process by which the calf was constructed (vv 4, 8, 20, 24, 35). It is clear that v 4 indicated that Aaron brought the calf into existence. He both collected the gold (vv 2–3) and somehow created the molten calf (v 4). This seems to be confirmed by v 35, which speaks of the calf that Aaron made *(ʿāšāh).* When one turns to v 24, a different picture is painted. In his defense before Moses, Aaron suggests that the creation of the calf was not his doing. He only collected the gold and threw it into the fire. The calf somehow emerged from the fire on its own accord, self-created.

One solution to this confusion as to Aaron's role in the creation of the calf is to understand Exodus 32 as the product of several authors or sources (see Perdue 1972: 237–38; Lewy 1959). Thus v 4 and v 24 would be from different authors. Some suggest that the source of v 4 (and v 35) would be the earlier, anti-Aaron tradition of the Elohist, and v 24 would be from the later, pro-Aaron tradition, probably the Priestly writer. The secondary insertion of v 24 would then be trying to put the best face possible on a difficult situation for Aaron.

Another solution is to see vv 4 and 24 as coming from the same source (e.g., Loewenstamm 1967: 483; 1975: 330–36). With this kind of analysis, one is forced to explain the apparent contradiction in Aaron's action by appealing to the veracity of the story itself. While accepting Aaron's denial of his complicity, one could affirm that Aaron "made" the calf by casting the gold into the fire with the subsequent emergence of the calf by itself.

The too quick rejection of the results of literary analysis, which suggests that at least two authors were involved in the production of Exodus 32, and the contortions often necessary to preserve the story as unified, make the single-author approach hard to accept. Accepting a multiple authorship of the story fits with the general literary analysis of the Pentateuch and with other literary texts in which Aaron's role is at best ambivalent (see Numbers 12; Deuteronomy 9).

The discussion of who made the molten calf carries over into the issue of how it was made (see Perdue 1972). Here the focus is on Exod 32:4. In this verse, Aaron "takes" *(wayyîqqaḥ),* presumably, the gold which the people had brought to him. He then "fashions" *(wayyāṣar)* it with a "tool" *(baḥereṭ)* and makes it *(wayyaʿăśēhû)* a molten calf *(ʿēgel massēkâ).* The difficulty arises when one seeks to understand how the calf can be both molten (i.e., a cast object) and fashioned with a tool (i.e., an engraved or carved object). The frequent assumption is that the calf cannot be subject to both seemingly incompatible processes of creation. That in turn raises questions about the appropriate understanding of the MT and has brought forth various suggestions, including some which would emend the MT. The pivotal point in the argument is the understanding of *wayyāṣar ʾōtô baḥereṭ,* often translated as "he shaped it with an engraving tool." For those who advocate the single authorship of Exodus 32, or who want to preserve an entirely positive and innocent image of Aaron, this translation is problematical since it implicates Aaron in the creation of the calf. The usual mechanism for avoiding this problem is a reinterpretation of *ḥereṭ,* "engraving tool," as *ḥārīṭ,* "bag" or "cloak" (Gevirtz 1984; Noth 1959). The next step is to see *wayyāṣar* as coming from the root *ṣrr,* meaning "to bind," rather than *ṣwr,* "to fashion." Thus, the passage would be translated as "he bound it (the gold) in a bag (or cloak)," which eases Aaron's complicity in the creation of the calf. Alternatively, it has been argued that ancient languages and translation traditions saw *ḥrṭ* as being a "casting mold" (Perdue 1972: 245). Thus, the understanding is that Aaron "fashioned it in a casting mold," which removes the engraving versus molding conflict.

Thus there are four possible interpretations of Exod 32:4: Aaron bound the gold in a bag; he bound it in a cloak; he fashioned it in a casting mold; and he fashioned it with a graving tool. The first two suggestions are normally accompanied by a required emendation of the text and often seem to be influenced in part by the desire to maintain the sanctity of Aaron. The third possibility requires no emendations, but the linguistic basis for the reading is not as evident as one would like. Finally, the fourth

possibility leaves in place the conflict between engraving and molding. However, Isa 8:1 seems clearly to understand *ḥrṭ* as "engraving tool," and the possibility of a molded image being finished by engraving is not out of the question. The only complication would be the inverted sequence of finishing the calf before it is molded, but such reversals are not unknown in the Hebrew Bible (cf. Gen 49:27; Isa 14:17).

**2. Destruction of the Calf.** Reports of the destruction of the golden calf are found in Exod 32:20 and Deut 9:21. The concerns are how the calf, if it is made of gold, could be burned, crushed, ground, scattered, and drunk in water, and whether there are any liturgical or ritual connotations to this process of destruction (see discussions in Begg 1985; Fensham 1966; Loewenstamm 1962; 1967; 1975; Perdue 1972). The obvious problem in burning a golden object has often been noted, and there are two solutions which have tried to preserve the literalness of the text. One solution is to suggest that the calf sat on a wooden pedestal, and thus it was the pedestal which was burned. Another proposal is to understand the calf as being made of wood plated with gold. Neither of these possibilities is particularly attractive, for neither has any textual evidence to support it, and neither seems to account for the sense of outrage which precipitated the calf's destruction.

It seems much more likely that some kind of symbolic or ritual destruction was envisioned by the authors. One source that is examined for such symbolic action is the Baʿal-ʿAnat Cycle from Ugarit, which describes the destruction of Môt by ʿAnat (*KTU* 1. 6:II:31–36). She burns, grinds, and scatters Môt, perhaps in the sea. This seems to be a good parallel to Exod 32:20 and Deut 9:21, and scholars have thus argued for a dependence of the Israelite tradition upon the earlier Ugaritic material. Such dependence would thus suggest that a literal understanding is not warranted. However, the parallel with the Ugaritic texts may not be as clear or strong as is often intimated. On the one hand, the Ugaritic story may have more to do with the treatment and processing of grain than the destruction of a god. On the other hand, the specific terminology used in the Baʿal-ʿAnat account is not as closely paralleled in Exod 32:20 and Deut 9:21 as one might expect or hope.

Nevertheless this idea of a ritual destruction of an enemy or a foreign deity is still quite plausible, since appropriate parallels can be found within the Hebrew text itself. One only has to look at the actions of Josiah in 2 Kgs 23:6 to find a striking parallel (see also Deut 7:5; 12:3; 2 Kgs 23:4, 15; 2 Chr 15:16). Thus a ritual annihilation of a non-Yahwistic god seems to be the implication of the passage in Exod 32:20.

**3. Identity of the Calf.** The identity of the golden calf is a most intriguing yet difficult issue. The suggestions for the identity of the calf have been far-ranging, but generally these suggestions cluster into two categories: the calf represents worship of a deity outside of the "normal" Israelite tradition; or the calf represents the worship of an idol from within the Israelite tradition. In either case, the tradents condemn the practice of worshiping this golden calf. In the first category, the condemnation is a consequence of the worship of a deity other than Yahweh, such as Sîn or Baʿal. In the second category, the condemnation is for the construction and worship of an idol, even though that idol may have been intended to symbolize Yahweh or was somehow associated with Yahweh.

One suggestion which falls into the second category is the identification of Moses with the calf (Sasson 1968; see also Coats 1987). This argument relies upon three observations. The first concerns the reason for the construction of the calf. It is a result of Moses' extended absence, and in that absence a desire to replace him arises. Hence the calf is made. The second observation is the identification of Moses as "the man who brought us up out of the land of Egypt" (Exod 32:1) and the calf as "your gods, O Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt" (v 4). Because of this parallel identification, the calf is seen as a substitution for Moses, who has disappeared. The third argument is that Moses develops horns and is thus again to be identified with the calf. Moses having horns is based on the contention that Exod 34:29, 30 should be translated as "the skin of his face became horned" (or developed horns), not as "his face shone." Thus, the worship of the golden calf is the worship *in absentia* by the waiting Israelites of their venerated leader—Moses.

Also in the second category is the argument that the calf represents Yahweh, or at least a place or stand for Yahweh (Coats 1987; Kapelrud *TDOT* 1:42–44). That it represents Yahweh is based, in part, on the

iconography of the bull in the ANE. The bull is often seen as a symbol of strength and virility, both of which were desired characteristics for the god Yahweh. In addition, there are several biblical references which could be used to identify Yahweh as a bull. In Gen 49:24; Ps 132:2, 5; and Isa 49:26; 60:16, "Yahweh" is in poetic parallelism with "the mighty one of Jacob." Similarly, "Yahweh" is parallel with "the mighty one of Israel" in Isa 1:24. The replacement of "mighty one" for "bull" depends on the fact that both understandings are legitimately derived from the same Hebrew root, *ʾbr*. Furthermore, it is usually thought that *ʾābîr* ("bull") was changed to *ʾabbîr* ("mighty one") by the Massoretes, by simply altering the pointing (adding a dagesh to the *bet*), in order to remove any undesired association of Yahweh with a bull. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that "bull" is a legitimate understanding of *ʾbr* in Hebrew (Isa 34:7; Ps 50:13) and that "bull" can be associated with a deity (Jer 46:15; Ps 22:13—Eng22:12).

An alternate way to associate the calf with Yahweh is to argue that the calf is really a stand or pedestal for Yahweh (Eissfeldt 1940–41; for summary of arguments see Bailey 1971: 97–105). Again, ANE iconography is appealed to for this understanding, since gods are often displayed standing on the back of animals, including bulls (see *ANEP*, 170, 179–81; Negbi 1976: 21–23). These bulls were not the gods themselves, but symbols of the attributes of the gods. Hints of this idea of a god standing or sitting upon an animal are found in the Hebrew Bible. In 2 Sam 22:11, Yahweh is described as riding on a cherub, and some descriptions of the ark indicate that it has cherubim and is a seat for Yahweh (Exod 25:17–22; Lev 16:2).

Following this line of argument then provides an understanding of Jeroboam's action in 1 Kings 12. He was not starting the worship of another deity in the construction of the golden calves. Rather, he was setting up an alternative symbol to the ark, to represent the presence of Yahweh and to provide a place for Yahweh to sit upon the bull at Dan and Bethel as he would sit upon the ark in Jerusalem (see Aberbach and Smolar 1967: 134–35). The difficulty with this line of argument is that there is no indication in the Bible that the bull was seen as a pedestal for Yahweh.

The alternative to seeing the calf as something representing Yahweh is to see it as representing some other god. Two frequently suggested identifications are ʾEl and Baʿal. ʾEl is frequently labeled "the bull" in Ugaritic materials, signifying the strength and fertility of ʾEl (*KTU* 1.4 II:10; 1.3 III:29). In a similar way, Baʿal is thought to be represented by a bull (see Tob 1:5), in part because after intercourse with ʿAnat, a steer is born (*KTU* 1.10 II:26–III:4).

The argument for an association of the calf with some member of the Ugaritic pantheon is reinforced by the claim that Exod 32:18 should be read as "sound of ʿAnat" (*qôl ʿanāt*) rather than the "sound of singing"*(qôl ʿannôt),* (See discussions in Edelman 1966; Sasson 1973: 157; Whybray 1967.) This would introduce another Ugaritic deity to the account. However, this alteration of the MT has no textual support and is thus not widely accepted.

Another suggestion is that the calf represents the moon god Sîn (see discussions in Bailey 1971; Key 1965; see also Lewy 1945–46). This argument is buttressed by many pieces of evidence. One is that in general the bull in the ANE, particularly in Sumerian and Akkadian traditions, represents the moon god, and this is also true for the god Sîn. This probably reflects the association of the crescent moon with the horns of the bull. The existence of the moon cult of Sîn is widespread and manifests itself in such names as Naram-Sîn and Rim-Sîn. Within the biblical material, it is argued that the name of Abraham's father, Terah, is derived from a term referring to the moon, that Laban, derived from a word meaning "white," is also associated with the moon, and that the name Sinai may be associated with the god Sîn. A second element of the argument concerns the fact that the Patriarchs come from and through territories associated with the worship of Sîn. Sîn is present at Ur, the city of origin of Abraham. In addition, Haran, a stop on the patriarchal journey, was a prominent cultic center for the worship of the moon god. Thus, the Patriarchs could not have avoided contact with the worship of Sîn. Finally, there is the archaeological evidence from the city of Hazor in N Israel. In a Late Bronze (LB) Age temple at the site, there were found a seated figurine with a crescent moon on his chest and a stele which had a crescent symbol above two up-reaching hands (see Yadin 1970: 216–17, 223). It appears that worship of the moon god was present in Palestine at this time.

The reference to the stele and figurine at Hazor brings to the fore a final consideration in regard to the identification of the calf—the archaeological evidence. As indicated earlier, there are many examples of the calf or bull in ANE iconography. Sometimes the bulls have gods standing on their backs (see *ANEP*, 170, 179–81; Negbi 1976: 21–23). However, there is also evidence that the bulls themselves were understood to be gods or symbols of gods which were to be worshipped. This was seen in the literary evidence from Ugarit (see above), where Baʿal, ʾEl, and ʿAnat are represented as bulls, and from Sumerian and Akkadian texts (see above), where Sîn appears as a calf. Beyond the literary evidence is the discovery of bulls at such sites as Byblos, Ugarit, Hazor, Tell Halaf, and Carchemish (see Mazar 1982; Moorey 1971). Some of these finds are from the early 2d millennium; however many are from LB or Iron Age contexts. In addition, there is the discovery of a bull at an unnamed cultic site near Shiloh in Palestine which is clearly from the Iron Age (Mazar 1982). Hence the association of the bull or calf with a deity is found in the same time frame as that of the ancient Israelites and within the geographical limits of Palestine. One must therefore conclude that the writers of the Hebrew Bible knew of the traditions of calf worship, which explains not only the references to such worship in the Hebrew Bible but perhaps also the antipathy toward the practice by the tradents of the Hebrew Bible.

None of these suggestions for the identity of the calf can be held with absolute certainty. Rather, the discussion must be in the realm of probabilities. The argument for the calf being Moses is intriguing but unlikely, since the worship of a statue representing a human seems out of character with the ancient traditions, and the argument that Moses grew horns is based on one of several possible renderings of the text. The argument that the calf was a stand lacks any textual support and depends on the possible parallel with the ark. The association with Baʿal or ʾEl is certainly possible if for no other reasons than the close geographical association of Ugarit and ancient Israel and the many examples of syncretism between their religion and culture. Furthermore, the animosity toward Baʿal in the Hebrew Bible may be reflected in the strong reaction against the construction of the calf. Finally, the association with Sîn has the widest collection of evidence, from names, iconography, proximity to the cult, and archaeological evidence of the presence of the moon cult in Israel. Indeed the reference in Josh 24:14 to "gods beyond the river" may reflect a call for the rejection of a god such as Sîn.

Regardless of the identity of the calf, it is clear that its presence struck a discordant note to the biblical tradents. Nothing good could be said about the calf or its worshipers, and it represented something seen as quite contrary to the appropriate worship of Yahweh.

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**GOLDEN GATE.** See BEAUTIFUL GATE (PLACE).

**GOLDEN RULE.** Since the 18th century the "Golden Rule" has commonly designated the ethical maxim, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you," attributed to Jesus by Matthew (7:12) and Luke (6:31). The descriptive terminology is thus quite modern, but it had an antecedent in the expression, "Golden Law," used of the maxim as early as 1674.

**A. Reciprocal Morality**

Similar kinds of statements, focusing on a morality of reciprocity, are to be found in various cultures. One of the oldest such sayings is attributed to Maeandrus by Herodotus: "I will not myself do that which I account blameworthy in my neighbor" (Hdt.3.142; cf. 7.136: "I will not do that which I blame in you"). Similarly, Thales, when asked how men might live most virtuously and most justly, is reported to have replied: "If we never do ourselves what we blame in others" (Diog. Laert. 1 [Thales].9). An early positive formulation of the principle is found in Isocrates: "You should be such in your dealings with others as you expect me to be in my dealings with you" (*Nicoles* 61).

A negative formulation tends to predominate, particularly in Eastern cultures, where it is variously found among the Confucians, Buddhists, and Zoroastrians. For example, to Tzu Kung's question—"Is there any one word that can serve as a principle for the conduct of life?"—Confucius is reputed to have answered: "Perhaps the word 'reciprocity'; do not do to others what you would not want others to do to you" (*Analects* 15.23). On the other hand, a later source (16th century) identifies "Treat others as thou wouldst be treated thyself" as a traditional saying.

**B. Jewish Sayings**

Within the Jewish tradition, various formulations of the Golden Rule are found from about 200 B.C. Bartsch (1984) suggests that the oldest Jewish reference to the Golden Rule is in the *Letter of Aristeas* (of uncertain date somewhere between 200 B.C. and A.D. 33). There, the king's question—"What is the teaching of wisdom?"—received the response, "As you wish that no evil should befall you, but to be a partaker of all good things, so you should act on the same principle towards your subjects and offenders" (*Let. Aris.* 207). Other commentators, however, compare the Golden Rule to Lev 19:18 and Deut 15:13, and find early Jewish formulations in Tob 4:15, "And what you hate, do not do to anyone," and Sir 31:15, "Judge your neighbor's feelings by your own."

A positive version of the principle is found in *2 Enoch* 61:1, "Just as a man asks (something) for his own soul from God, so let him do to every living soul" (cf. *T. Naph.* 8:4, 6). In the Mishnah, "Let the honor of thy fellow be dear to thee as thine own" is attributed to R. Eliezer (*m. ʿAbot* 2: 10). The Palestinian targum on Lev 19:18 reads, "so that you don't do to him (your neighbor) what you yourself hate." According to a frequently cited rabbinic tradition, Hillel was once asked to recite the entire Torah by a heathen, who offered to become a proselyte if Hillel could make the recitation while the prospective convert stood on one foot. The wise Hillel simply responded: "What is hateful to you, do not to your neighbor: that is the whole Torah, while the rest is commentary thereof; go and learn it" (*b.Šabb.* 31a).

The wide diffusion of sayings such as these makes it difficult to accept as demonstrated R. G. Hammerton-Kelly's claim (*IDBSup,* 369–70) that the Golden Rule is the product of Greek popular morality, formulated by the sophists (5th century) and taken over by Jewish thought in the Hellenistic period. The Golden Rule is a typical and traditional epitome of popular wisdom.

**C. Jesus' Saying**

Some authors contrast Matthew and Luke's positive formulation of Jesus' saying with the negative formulation in much Jewish literature. Hence, they conclude that the Golden Rule, as expressed in the gospels, represents an authentic utterance of the historical Jesus. However, there seems to be no compelling reason to ascribe the gospel logion to the historical Jesus, even if it be likely that Jesus did summarize the Jewish law in some manner.

Because of the use of the imperative in the gospel saying, Bultmann (1963) and Dibelius (1971) have specifically identified its genre as an exhortation. The positive formulation of the Jesuanic logion was echoed, in early Christianity, by *1 Clem.* 13:2, which cites it as part of a catena of citations, and by Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* 4.17), who argued that Jesus' positively formulated utterance (= Luke 6:31) implied its negatively formulated counterpart. In contrast, the *Didache,* however, offered a negative formulation, without specifically ascribing it to Jesus, i.e., "Whatever you [in the singular] wish not be done to you, do not do to another" (*Did.* 1:7–9). A negative version of the Rule, "Whatever you would not have done to you, do not do to another," is also found in the Western text of the Apostolic decree and its accompanying letter (Acts 15:20; 29 in D, 323, 945, 1739, 1891, and a few other ancient mss). Finally, a negative version of the logion, hardly different from the common Jewish formulation, is ascribed to Jesus by the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas:* "Do not do what you hate" (*Gos. Thom.* 6).

The Golden Rule found in Matthew and Luke has been taken over from the Q source, whose version of the logion was most likely "So what you wish that others would do to you, do so to them as well." Both Matthew and Luke incorporate the saying in a programmatic sermon attributed to Jesus (Matthew's Sermon on the Mount; Luke's Sermon on the Plain). That is also its most likely context in the Q source, where it likely came before an exhortation on neighborly love (Matt 5:44; Luke 6:27).

**D. Matthew**

Each of the evangelists has edited the traditional logion and placed it in a different location within the sermon. Matthew is fond of summaries, and his version of the Golden Rule clearly functions as a summary within the Sermon on the Mount. "So" (*oun,* therefore), "whatever" (*panta,* literally "all"), and "for this is the law and the prophets" (*houtos gar estin ho nomos kai hoi prophētai*), Matthew's three editorial additions to the Q material, clearly indicate his summarizing use of the utterance.

On the literary level, while recognizing that *oun* clearly links the logion to what precedes it, exegetes are divided among themselves as to the unit of the Sermon which Matthew intends to summarize and conclude at Matt 7:12. While there are some who identify a unit beginning at 7:1 or 6:19, the better opinion seems to be that the unit begins at 5:17. The "law and the prophets," a Matthean refrain (5:17; 7:12c; 22:40), brackets and unifies the disparate material gathered together in 5:17–7:12.

On the level of the evangelist's thought, the Golden Rule epitomizes the righteousness of those who are to enter the Kingdom of Heaven (Matt 5:20) and sets the stage for the warnings which follow (7:13–27). The recurrence of the law and prophets motif, Matthew's interpretive addition to the Golden Rule (7:12c), in 22:40, confirms Matthew's use of the Golden Rule as a summary norm for the Christian way of life. In Matt 22:40 the evangelist also summarizes the ethical demands addressed to the disciples of Jesus. For Matthew, the Golden Rule is not simply one ethical norm among others; it is a succinct expression of the life to be lived by those who follow Jesus' teachings.

Bultmann (1963) noted that the isolated logion has the form of a profane *masûal* (metaphorical speech) which gives moral expression to a "naive egoism." Matthew's use and interpretation of the utterance are, however, to be otherwise understood. The use of "whatever" (*panta,* "all"), a Matthean expression (6:33; cf. 13:46; 18:25), provides the Golden Rule with a quantitative and comprehensive dimension. The positive formulation and the appearance of "do" in the active voice *(poieō)* in both the protasis and the apodosis (12a, 12b; cf. *Did.* 1:2 and the Western tradition's version of Acts 15:20, 29, where the more passive *ginomai* appears in the apodosis) impart an active nuance to Matthew's use of the Golden Rule. This active dimension corresponds to Matthew's understanding of the Christian life expressed elsewhere in his work (e.g. his more active version of the Beatitudes (Matt 5:3–10; cf. 21:35–46).

Although it sets standards of conduct in terms of one's desire for oneself, Matthew's version of the Golden Rule—located as it is within his Sermon and summarizing the Christian life as it does—in no wise proposes a self-centered motivation for behavior. After the Matthean exposition on the Law, Christian living, and prayer and worship, key features of the new righteousness, the Golden Rule functions as an exhortation to an active way of life.

**E. Luke**

In Luke's Sermon on the Plain, the Golden Rule (Luke 6:31) is directed to the people of God, prefigured by the circle of Jesus' disciples. The setting in Luke, where it appears in the midst of a series of exhortations on love, is apparently more natural than the setting in Matthew, but many authors ascribe this more natural setting to Luke's editorial work. As an isolated logion assumed into a collection of sayings, Luke's Golden Rule does not so much function as an epitome as it does as a specific moral exhortation: "Also, treat others as you want them to treat you". This is in contrast not only with Matthew (cf. Luke's "and as," *kai kathōs;* Matthew's "so whatever," *panta oun hosa*), but also with extrabiblical usage (cf. the responses of Confucius, Thales, and Hillel).

Luke has directed particular attention to the idea of reciprocity implied by the adage. He has accentuated the notion of reciprocity by an editorial addition to the Q logion. "So" *(homoios)* is a Lukan term (Luke 3:11; 5:10, 33; 6:31; 10:32, 37; 13:3; 16:25; 17:28, 31; 22:36; but only three times in Matthew and twice in Mark) that provides a qualitative dimension to the Lukan Golden Rule (cf. Matthew's quantitative *panta*, "all"). With the addition of vv 32–34, Luke immediately modifies the Golden Rule's inherent notion of reciprocity. The Lukan Jesus can endorse traditional wisdom, but he exhorts his disciples to a way of life that transcends mere reciprocity. Love of self is neither the norm nor the final word.

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**GOLGOTHA** (PLACE) [Gk *Golgotha* (Γολγοθα)]. The place in Jerusalem where, according to the Gospels, the Passion of Jesus ended with his burial in a new tomb which lay in a nearby garden (John 19:17–42).

**A. Biblical Information**

From the gospels, the location is clearly defined with reference to the city of Jerusalem: (1) the site was known by its Hebrew name, *gwlgwlt›,* transliterated into Greek as *golgotha,* which was translated *Kraniou Topon* ("Place of the Skull") and *Calvariae locum* in the Vulgate (John 19:17–18; Luke 23:33; Mark 15:22; Matt 27:33); (2) the site was outside one of the city gates, but not far from it (Heb 12:12); the Fourth Gospel stresses that many Jews read the inscription on the cross "because the place was near the city" (John 19:20); (3) at the site of Golgotha there was a garden containing a new tomb (cf. John 19:41; 20:15, which implies the existence of a garden with the mention of a gardener); (4) the owner of the new tomb was Joseph of Arimathea (Matt 27:59–60); (5) the tomb was cut into the rock and the entrance closed with a large stone in the shape of a millstone (Matt 27:59–60; Mark 16:3–5; Luke 23:53; 24:2). The tomb appears to have been of the arcosolium type rather than *kôkîm.* See BURIALS (ANCIENT JEWISH). In John 20:12, the angels were seated at Jesus' head and feet when he lay on the burial platform. The evangelist's description of the angels would be impossible in a tomb of the *kôkîm* (or oblong oven) type, while it would be quite natural in an arcosolium tomb.

**B. Location**

The Christian tradition since the early days of the Church has always recognized Golgotha in that place now located within the confines of the Anastasis Church. Beginning in 1961, archaeological excavations and underground explorations have been conducted in the area of the Anastasis, commonly known today as the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre. At the same time, the adjoining area of Muristan has also been investigated (e.g., Kenyon 1974; Lux 1972).

The ancient tradition and the recent archaeological discoveries must be compared with the biblical data to establish whether the oldest tradition is valid and the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre is indeed the authentic site of Golgotha. It must be noted that after the death of Jesus, the area of Golgotha was included within the Jerusalem city walls by Herod Agrippa I (A.D. 40–44.) After Jerusalem had been destroyed in A.D. 135, the new city, "Colonia Aelia Capitolina," was rebuilt further to the north, so that the site of Golgotha ended up in the center of the city. According to the historical sources (Eusebius *Vita C.*; Jerome *Ep. Paul.*), the site of Golgotha was buried under the vast landfill of the Capitolium (pagan temple) of Aelia. The new Roman city is clearly outlined in the famous Madeba Map of the 6th century A.D.); however, in place of the Capitolium stands the Constantinian Anastasis. The changes effected as a result of the establishment of the Roman city can still be seen today in the Old City, explaining how the site of Golgotha came to be in the center of the city.

**C. Results of Archaeology**

What was the site of Golgotha like at the time of the Passion of Christ? The information provided by the gospels finds good support in the results of recent archaeological research (e.g., Corbo 1981–82: Vol. 1) The excavations undertaken from 1961 to 1980 at the site of Golgotha yield the following data:

(1) No dwellings of any kind belonging to a time prior to the end of the 1st century A.D. were found at the site.

(2) From the 7th century B.C. onwards, the saddle of Mt. Gareb, where Golgotha was later situated, contained a great quarry of malaky (royal) stone. Obvious and sure indications of this quarry were found throughout the area which underlies the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre and in the adjacent Muristan area.

(3) When the quarrying was discontinued in the 1st century B.C., the pit was reclaimed for cultivation. Topsoil and scattered stone chips were thrown back into the pit. The result was a garden with levels corresponding roughly to the floor of the present basilica, *ca.* 10 m below the contour line (760 m above sea level) of the original saddle of the slope of the hill.

(4) Since the pit was turned into a garden, it had vertical walls of stone at its outer edges, especially its W and S sides. At least two tombs were cut into the W walls of the rock: that of the arcosolium type (the tomb of Jesus) and the one commonly known as the tomb of Joseph, with burial sites of the *kôkîm* (or oven) type. The vertical wall on the S flank rose above the garden like a kind of spur, so that its E and S flanks remained connected to the original saddle of the hill. This rocky spur, including the garden below, was called Golgotha.

(5) The garden, along with the rock escarpments of Golgotha and the tombs, underwent two great alterations after the resurrection of Jesus. First, with the construction of Aelia Capitolina, the garden and the rocky escarpments were buried beneath a vast landfill that raised the levels of the garden to the level of the remaining saddle of the mountain, thus creating a large platform. The Capitolium was then constructed on this platform, above the tomb of Jesus. The structure had three chambers with a statue of Jupiter in the central one. The rocky spur of Golgotha, now buried in the landfill, then became the foundation for a marble statue of Venus. Our source for this information is Jerome in his letter to Paulinus. The testimony of Eusebius (*Vita C.* 26) concerning the Hadrianic temple above the garden of Golgotha is more vague, because it speaks in general terms of a cult of Venus ("… building a dark recess for an unchaste deity, Aphrodite …"). Recent excavations have yielded many Hadrianic remains of the *temenos* of the Capitolium's foundations (Corbo 1981–82: 1.33–37; 2. Table 28; 3. Photos 1–3, 5, 14, 15, 17, 30, 31, 34, 44, 45, 50, 51, 53, 88–90, 118–20). The rediscovery of remains of Hadrianic construction on the site of the garden of Golgotha is a most certain criterion for the authenticity of this site.

The second alteration, according to information provided by Macarios, bishop of the mother church in Jerusalem, was the work of Constantine the Great, who, in A.D. 325, had the Capitolium and the *temenos* torn down and the landfill removed. In this process, the garden of Golgotha, with its two monuments of the Passion (the tomb of Jesus and the hill of Golgotha) was discovered: on the S side, the rocky spur of Golgotha itself reemerged, while in the W, the rocky escarpments of the saddle containing the two tombs were rediscovered.

In order to isolate the arcosolium-type tomb of Jesus, the rocky flanks to the W and N were subsequently cut away. This re-landscaping was undertaken to make way for the construction of both the Anastasis around the tomb of Jesus and the patriarch's house for the bishop of Jerusalem. In addition, the two remaining sides (E and S) were now also trimmed down and squared off, resulting in a type of four-sided pillar open to the sky (see Corbo 1981–82, 2: fig. 41). Thus, with the renovations of Constantine, the geography of the hill of Golgotha and of the garden was radically altered, differing appreciably from its appearance at the time of the Passion.

When thus isolated, the rock of Golgotha now faced the S and E wings of the Constantinian triportico and stood across from the walls of the grandiose basilica of the Martyrium. This basilica, according to the later account of the 4th-century pilgrimage of Egeria, was given Golgotha's proper name, Martyrium, or "place of witness": "… therefore it is called Martyrium because it is in Golgotha" (Maraval 1982: 272). See Fig. GOL.01.

The building complex which Constantine then erected to honor the memory of the Passion has now been excavated and can be reconstructed (Corbo 1981–82, 1:39–137; 2: tables 10, 11, 14, 16–19, 21, 23, 24, etc.; 3). This complex includes (from the W) the Anastasis (with the clergy residence to its N), the Triportico, the basilica (Martyrium), and the E court with its main entrance facing the Cardo Maximus (the city's principle N–S artery).

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**GOLIATH** (PERSON) [Heb *golyat* (גָּלְיַת)]. The Philistine champion slain in single combat with David (1 Samuel 17. In one of the most familiar passages from the Hebrew Bible, the Philistines and the Israelites were encamped facing each other across the Elah valley during Saul's reign (vv 1–3). Each day for forty days Goliath of Gath, a Philistine warrior of great stature, went forth and challenged the Israelite host (vv 4–11, 16). Finally, the inexperienced youth David, armed only with his shepherd's staff and a slingshot, met Goliath's challenge (vv 24–40). After hurling invectives at each other, the unmatched foes approached each other to do battle (vv 41–48). A well-slung stone by David felled the Philistine, after which David cut off his head and (in an apparent anachronism) brought it to Jerusalem (vv 49–51a, 54). At the death of their champion (Heb *ʾîš habbēnayim* [vv 4, 23] or *gibbôr* [v 51]; about the former term, see de Vaux [1971: 124–25] and McCarter [*1 Samuel* AB, 290–91]), the Philistines fled; the day belonged to Israel (vv 51b–53). From later passages, it can be inferred that David subsequently devoted Goliath's sword to the sanctuary at Nob (1 Sam 21:10—Eng 21:9; 22:10; see also Josephus, *Ant* 6.192, 244).

In the MT, Goliath's height is given as "six cubits and a span" (1 Sam 17:4), which would be about nine feet and nine inches, a true giant. However, LXX Codex Vaticanus and the Lucianic recension, as well as 4QSam[a] and Josephus (*Ant* 6.171) all give Goliath's height as "four cubits and a span," about six feet and nine inches. Since the expected tendency would be to exaggerate the height of David's opponent, the latter reading, according to which Goliath would still be a giant (albeit among men), is to be preferred (see McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 286). Parallells to the single combat between two parties to determine the outcome of a larger conflict have been identified in the *Iliad* (Paris and Menelaus in Book 3, Hector and Ajax in Book 7), in the Egyptian Story of Sinuhe (de Vaux 1971: 129; but see Hoffner 1968: 220–21), in the Hittite Apology of Hattushilish III (Hoffner 1968: 221–25), and in the Hebrew Bible (2 Sam 2:12–17, in which the battle is between two groups of soldiers equal in number). According to Galling (1966: 153–67), Goliath's armor and armaments, including a helmet, a breastplate of scales, a shield, a scimitar, a

javelin, and greaves, cannot be viewed as evidence of his Aegean origin. His arms were an eclectic lot, listed in detail as a literary device to emphasize his stature as a warrior. The name "Goliath" is most frequently derived from the Lydian/Luwian *Alyattes* (Albright 1975: 513). Although the Philistine warrior in 1 Samuel 17 is named Goliath, that name only appears twice in the chapter (vv 4 and 23), both times in contexts which would suggest that the name is a later addition to the story. In the rest of 1 Samuel 17, David's opponent is simply referred to anonymously as "the/that Philistine" (cf. 1 Sam 19:5). In addition, 2 Sam 21:19 attributes the killing of Goliath to a certain ELHANAN (see 1 Chr 20:5). Although attempts have been made to equate Elhanan and David, either as personal name and title (von Pákozdy 1956: 257–59) or as given name and throne name (Honeyman 1948: 23–24), it seems most likely that details of Elhanan's battle with Goliath, including the name Goliath and the comparison of the shaft of his spear to a weaver's heddle-rod (about which see Yadin 1955: 58–69), were transferred to David and became part of the legend of his battle with a Philistine champion at a very early stage. See also DAVID (PERSON).

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**GOMER** (PERSON) [Heb *gōmer* (גֹּמֶר)]. The name of two people in the OT.

**1.** Oldest son of Japheth and grandson of Noah who was the father of Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah (Gen 10:2; 1 Chr 1:6). In the 6th century B.C., the Bible pictures Gomer's descendants as being allied with those of Togarmah in support of Magog, Meshech, and Tubal, brothers of Gomer in the early genealogies. They are to be defeated as part of God's judgment on Gog, king of Magog (Ezek 38:2–6). These peoples are probably to be identified with the CIMMERIANS (Akk *qimmiraia;* Gk *kimmerioi*). These were Indo-Europeans from the Ukraine in south Russia, forced out of their homeland by the descending Scythians. They, themselves, advanced upon the Urartians in the region of Lake Van in the 8th century B.C., and also threatened the Assyrians. Pushing W into Asia Minor, the Cimmerians conquered Gordion and its Phrygian king Midas (676 B.C.). They then defeated Gyges of Lydia at his capital, Sardis (644 B.C.). Some of the Cimmerians apparently settled in Cappadocia, which was called Gomir by the later Arameans. Defeated by the Assyrians in the mid-7th century B.C., the Cimmerians intermarried with their neighbors and disappeared from history in the 6th century B.C.

**2.** The daughter of Diblaim who, although she was a prostitute, married Hosea at God's command (Hos 1:2–3). She seems to have continued her unfaithfulness after marriage. She bore three children in the marriage, but only the first is explicitly stated to be Hosea's (1:3; cf. 1:6, 8), allowing for the possibility that the fathers were different. Expelled from her husband's house because of her continued sin (Hosea 2), she is ultimately readmitted (Hosea 3). The marriage, children's names, separation, and restoration are all mentioned in order to graphically portray Israel's adulterous wandering from her "husband," Yahweh, whom she had married at Mt. Sinai, had been separated from in the Exile, and had been restored to under Ezra and Nehemiah.

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**GOMORRAH** (PLACE). See SODOM AND GOMORRAH (PLACES).

**GOOD** (NT). In modern English versions of the NT, "good" appears as a translation of *agathos, kalos,* and *chrēstos.* In the Greek text, each of these terms, with their cognates, has specific nuances. The

nuances vary somewhat from one NT author to another, as does the preference for one term or another. In the whole of the NT, *agathos* appears 107 times, *kalos* 104 times, and *chrēstos* 7 times.

**A. The Synoptics**

*Agathos* denotes the significance or excellence of a person or a thing, frequently in the moral sense. In the Synoptics it is used often by Matthew (16x) and Luke (17x), and much less often by Mark (4x). Three of the Markan usages are in a dialogue between a (rich young) man and Jesus: " 'Good teacher, what must I do to inherit eternal life?' And Jesus said to him, 'Why do you call me good? No one is good but God alone' " (Mark 10:17–18). Jesus' response does not so much deny the goodness of Jesus himself as it emphasizes the goodness of God. In this way, the Markan Jesus recapitulates traditional biblical teaching about the goodness of God, a teaching likewise reflected in the *qal wahomer* argumentation (a rabbinic argument from the lesser to the greater of Matt 7:11 (= Luke 7:13). According to Mark, God's goodness is manifest in his giving the gift of eternal life.

The Markan dialogue, found also in Luke 18:19, is slightly modified by Matthew who presents the interrogation as focusing on an ethical good to be achieved as a condition for entrance into eternal life. While most commentators view Jesus' response, "One there is who is good" (Matt 19:17), as a paraphrase of the Markan statement about the goodness of God, Cope (1976: 111–20), followed by Murray (1986), has argued that Matthew has made a statement about the goodness of the Law (cf. *ʾAbot* 6:3). Matthew's emphasis upon the ethical good (Matt 19:16–17) is congruous with Matthew's general ethical interests and his consistent antithetical use of "good," *agathos,* and "evil," *ponēros* (Matt 5:45; 7:11, 17–18; 12:34–35; 20:15 [literally, "Is your eye evil because I am good?"]; 22:10; 25:21–26). Matthew frequently contrasts good and evil persons (Matt 5:45; 12:34–35; 20:15; 22:10; 25:21–26; cf. Matt 12:35).

The Q statements of Matt 7:11 (= Luke 7:13) and 7:18 (= Luke 6:43) reflect an understanding of good as that which is useful. Usefulness seems to be the dominant connotation of *agathos* in the Lukan use of the term, especially in those passages, proper to Luke, where the plural is used in the sense of "useful things" or "possessions" (Luke 1:53; 12:18–19; 16:25). When Luke wants to emphasize the ethical connotation of "good," he uses another adjective in apposition; thus, "honest" *(kalos)* in Luke 8:15 and "righteous" *(dikaios)* in Luke 23:50.

A passage in the triple tradition, "Is it lawful on the sabbath to do good *(agathon poiēsai)* or to do harm, to save life or to kill?" (Mark 3:4; par. Matt 12:12; Luke 6:9) points to the basic interchangeability of *agathos* and *kalos* within the Synoptic tradition. Whereas Mark uses the pronominal adjective *agathon* and Luke the compound verb *agathopoieō* ("to do good"; cf. Luke 6:33, 35), Matthew employs the adverb derived from *kalos.* That both *agathos* and *kalos* are contrasted with "evil" *(ponēros),* that Matthew writes of both a good *(agathos)* and a sound *(kalos)* tree (Matt 7:17, 18; 12:33), and that Matthew and Luke use *agathos* and *kalos* in parallel sayings (Matt 7:18; Luke 6:43) also point to the essential synonymity of the two terms in Synoptic usage.

Particularly significant is the Synoptics' use of *kalos* (Matthew 21×; Mark 11×; Luke 9×) in ethical exhortation. The term abounds in the parables and other examples of figurative language, e.g., the good fruit (Matt 3:10), good soil (13:8), good seed (13:38), fine pearls (13:45), etc. The common formula, "it is good" (*kalon estin;* cf. Matt 17:4, par. Mark 9:5; Luke 9:33) is frequently used in Synoptic paraenesis, especially in Mark (9:42) with the sense of "it is better to." The good fruit, a metaphor attributed to both John the Baptist and Jesus (Matt 3:10; 7:17 and par.), apparently refers to conduct which Matthew describes as "good works" (Matt 5:16). Christians are expected to do "good works." These, however, are to draw attention not to Christians themselves but to the good Father in heaven.

**B. John**

In the Fourth Gospel, Jesus' activity is described as a "good work," a formula which draws attention to the Father as the source of Jesus' work (John 10:32–33). This theological use of *kalos* derives from the same biblical roots as the Synoptics' emphasis on the goodness of God. The Fourth Gospel also attests to speculation about the goodness of Jesus (*agathos,* John 1:46; 7:12), that is, whether the Father is ultimately the source of his behavior. The idea of Jesus as the good shepherd is particular to the Fourth Gospel (John 10:11 [2×], 14). The metaphor has little to do with later and popular romantic ideas about

Jesus; rather, the image underscores and highlights the uniqueness of Jesus. Ethical connotations are not absent from the "good deeds" *(agatha)* of John 5:29 and the "good work" *(kalon ergon)* of John 10:33, notwithstanding the more profound issue involved in the latter expression.

**C. Paul and the Deutero-Pauline Literature**

Among the NT authors it is Paul who seems most to have reflected on the nature of goodness. The paraenesis of 1 Thessalonians includes the injunction "to do good to one another and to all" (1 Thess 5:15). In some ways, Paul seems to have used *agathos* and *kalos* interchangeably (cf. Rom 7:18, 21). In Romans, where *agathos* occurs most often (21×) in the NT, Paul reflects on the goodness of God and the good that humans strive to accomplish. The diatribe of Rom 2:1–11, addressed to the presumedly upright, recalls the biblical conception of God's goodness, manifest in the gift of eternal life. It warns that God's goodness *(chrēstotēs)* is not construed as a reluctance to punish; glory, honor, immortality, and peace are given only to those who truly do good (Rom 2:7, 11). Rom 7:7–25 reiterates rabbinic teaching about the goodness of the law, but states that the power of sin uses the law to entice people to sin. Thus, humans do not accomplish the good that they intend. Elsewhere, Paul includes goodness among the fruit of the Spirit (Gal 5:22); from the power of the Spirit comes the goodness of humans (Rom 15:14). Paul, then, views goodness in a cosmic perspective and considers the goodness that accrues to humans to be the result of God's empowering gift.

The Deutero-Pauline literature seeks to actualize the Pauline tradition. Eph 2:7 looks to the manifestation of God's goodness *(chrēstotēs)* among us, mediated through Jesus Christ, in the age to come. In contrast, the very creation of God is good (1 Tim 4:4), and Titus (3:4) views the earthly presence of Jesus as a manifestation of divine goodness. Peculiar to the Pastoral Epistles is the use of "good works" *(kala erga)* as a summary description of the Christian life (1 Tim 6:18; Titus 2:7, 14; 3:8, 14). The implication is that Christians are expected to live according to the predominant moral norms of the times; in fact, according to a rather bourgeois ethic. (For further discussion, see *TDNT* 1:10–18; 2: 536–56; Käsemann *Romans* HNT.)

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RAYMOND F. COLLINS

**GOOSE.** See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

**GOPHER WOOD.** See FLORA.

**GORGIAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Gorgias* (Γοργιας)]. General in the Seleucid army, known only through his activity against the Jewish rebels under Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc 3:38; 2 Macc 8:9). He was one of the commanders of the Seleucid forces in the battle of Emmaus, and was considered to be a professional in military affairs. It was probably Gorgias' initiative to chase Judas into the mountains and to deprive him of the possibility of dictating the place and timing of the battle (1 Macc 4:1). Nevertheless Gorgias' tactics failed in the face of Judas' superior strategy.

Gorgias, in all probability the same person in both 1 and 2 Maccabees, is featured also in the battles, which took place later on the S borders of Judea. He is fighting in conjunction with the Idumeans and in the region of Jamnia, and is assumed to be a governor of Idumea. Gorgias was victorious in a battle at Jamnia against Jewish commanders, who disobeyed Judas' commands (1 Macc 5:59; cf. 2 Macc 10:14–17).

Gorgias is mentioned as governor of Idumea in 2 Macc 12:32. He was conducting battle against Judas at the neighborhood of Marissa, and was forced to retreat to that city (2 Macc 12:32–35; cf. 1 Macc. 5:65–68, where Gorgias is not mentioned).

In summary, Gorgias seems to have been a professional soldier and an able commander in the Seleucid army, though Judas surpassed him by far.

URIEL RAPPAPORT

**GORTYNA** (PLACE) [Gk *Gortynas* (Γορτυνας)]. Second most powerful city in Crete during the Hellenistic period, located near the sea on the river Letheus in south-central Crete (1 Macc 15:23). Gortyna was an ancient city and, according to Homer, was famous for its walls (*Il.* 2.645). Strabo notes that it was second only to Cnossus in power and vied with it for control over Crete (*Geog.*, 10.4.11). Gortyna's legal code (5th century B.C.E.) has been of considerable importance to the study of ancient Greek jurisprudence since its discovery in 1884 at *hagioi deka* by Federico Halbherr and Ernst Fabricus (Kohler and Ziebarth 1912: iii–viii). In 1 Macc 15:23, Gortyna is listed as one of the recipients of a letter from the Roman consul Lucius recommending support for the high priest Simon and his fellow Jews in their quest for independence. Lucius further requests extradition for any Jew fleeing from Simon and taking refuge in those cities to which his letter was sent. The letter from Lucius was addressed to cities which would have had trade relations with Judea and, with the presence of a Jewish commercial community, would have been a possible haven for opponents of Simon's rule. This was certainly the case for Cyrene and Rhodes and seems plausible for other cities in the list as well, including Gortyna. That Gortyna was the only Cretan city in the list, and one that was near the sea, suggests that Gortyna was the chief commercial outpost for Judean interests in Crete.

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**GOSHEN** (PLACE) [Heb *gošen* (גֹּשֶׁן)]. Region in the eastern Egyptian Delta where the Hebrews lived during their stay in Egypt. Though some authorities argue otherwise (e.g., North 1967: 83), this is a place distinct from (1) Goshen on the S border of the land said to have been occupied by Joshua (Josh 10:41) and (2) Goshen in the hill country of Judah (Josh 15:5). In both latter cases, the LXX renders the spelling *Gosom*, suggesting that this tradition considered them to be localities other than the Goshen in Egypt.

When Jacob and his family migrated to Egypt due to a famine in Canaan, they settled in "the land of Goshen," which provided the necessary pasturage for their flocks (Gen 46:28–34; 47:1–10). The Egyptian pharaoh granted permission for their stay and appointed members of Jacob's family as overseers of royal possessions, presumably animal herds, since it was as shepherds that the Hebrews had presented themselves (Gen 46:33–34; 47:6). The family prospered in Goshen, and its descendants still lived there at the time of the Exodus (Exod 8:18; 9:26).

There has been a long debate over the precise location of the Egyptian Goshen. In the LXX, Goshen in Egypt is rendered as *Gesem* or *Gesem Arabia* (Gen 45:10; 46:34). *Arabia* was used by Herodotus to refer to the area from the Nile to the Red Sea and, more specifically, by Pliny and Ptolemy the Geographer to designate the 20th Lower Egyptian nome, or administrative district (Helck 1975: 197–98). This nome, attested first in Egyptian texts of the 8th century B.C.E., lay on the border of the eastern Delta in the region of modern Fâqûs and Saft el-Hinna. Fâqûs is ancient Phacusa, which, according to Ptolemy, was the capital of the Arabian nome, and Saft el-Hinna preserves the ancient name *Pr-Spdw*, "Domain of (the god) Sopdu," the Egyptian term for the 20th Lower Egyptian nome. Support for this has been seen in a place name, generally read *Gsm.t*, found in the geographical lists of the Ptolemaic temples at Edfu and Dendera and on a Ptolemaic shrine from Saft el-Hinna itself. *Gsm.t* has been equated with the LXX *Gesem (Arabia)*, providing internal Egyptian evidence for the location of the biblical Goshen at the latter site. However, there are two philological difficulties: the reading *Gsm.t* for the Egyptian geographical

term is not at all certain (Vergote 1959: 184–86), and Greek *Gesem* cannot be derived from the older Hebrew *gosûen.*

An alternative has been suggested by Rabinowitz (1956: 5) who believes that the place name *Gesem* reflects the name of Geshem, a N Arabian ruler of the mid 5th century B.C.E., mentioned on a silver bowl found at Tell el-Maskhûta in the Wadi Tumilat. This man Geshem, the same "Geshem the Arabian" who was the adversary of Nehemiah (Neh 2:19; 6:1–2, 6), was a Persian official whose influence reached as far as the E Delta. His fame was such that that region came to be designated by his name. The "land of *Gesem (Arabia)*" in the LXX would thus refer to a well-known personage—"land of Geshem (of Arabia)"—and this would be more likely to have been understood by the Jewish audience of the time. This theory does away with both the questionable Egyptian evidence and the lack of any philological connection between the Hebrew and Greek terms.

The precise location of *gosûen* of the Hebrew text remains problematic. The basic requirement for Jacob and his family was pasturage for their herds; the general region of the E Delta fits this admirably. Egyptian texts speak of other Canaanites moving into that area for precisely this reason, and their presence was carefully recorded in official frontier journals. The biblical references clearly indicate that the Hebrews settled *within* Egypt, and the story of Moses in the bulrushes (Exod 2:3–9) shows they lived along the Nile in proximity to the royal family and its official residence. Furthermore, the phrase "in the land of Goshen" of the P-source is replaced in the J-source by "in the land of Ramesses" (Gen 47:11). Hebrew tradition evidently considered "Goshen" and "Ramesses" to be the same place, bringing into focus the claim that the Hebrews engaged in building activities at the cities of Ramesses and Pithom (Exod 1:11).

The city called *Pr-Rʿmssw-mry-ʾImn,* "Domain of Ramesses, beloved of Amon," or sometimes simply "Ramesses," was the royal residence city of the Empire built on the site of the old Hyksos capital Avaris (Bietak *LÄ* 5:128–46). There is little doubt that it is to this city that the biblical narrative refers. While founded earlier than the period of Ramesses II, the royal residence city came to be associated mostly with him; hence its name. Over the past decades, the city has been identified with many Delta sites, though it now seems certain that it was located at Tell ed-Dabʿa/Qantîr, 7 km N of modern Fâqûs, thus within the region later designated as *Arabia*, the 20th Lower Egyptian nome.

Pithom—*Pr-ʾItm,* "Domain of (the god) Atum"—has traditionally been identified with Tell el-Maskhûta in the Wadi Tumilat. New excavations at this site, however, show that the town was not actually founded until the late 7th century B.C.E. Uphill's suggestion (1968–69) that Pithom was rather located at Heliopolis near Cairo is much more plausible.

The evidence at hand suggests that the biblical "land of Goshen" was located in the E Egyptian Delta in the general region of modern Fâqûs, Saft el-Hinna, and Tell ed-Dabʿa/Qantîr. In Egyptian, this region was known as the "Domain of Sopdu," the 20th Lower Egyptian nome; classical writers referred to it as *Arabia.* The translators of the LXX, apparently modernizing the narrative for a contemporary audience, substituted *Gesem (Arabia)* for the original Hebrew *gosûen.* There is no known Egyptian equivalent for either the Greek or the Hebrew term.

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**GOSPEL GENRE.** "Gospel" as a designation for genre refers to a variety of early Christian writings both inside and outside the canon. The term is not used in this sense in the NT, and the present superscriptions of the four canonical gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John did not form part of the original manuscripts. Although these writings are commonly referred to as "gospel" as an indication of genre, this practice probably originated in the 2d century C.E. (cf. *Did.* 15.3–4; *2 Clem.* 8.5;

*Mart. Pol.* 4.1) and was only established by the 4th century. Several writings outside the canon, some of a totally different content and text type, came to be known as "gospels." It is normally argued that noncanonical gospels were called "gospels" in view of the titles given to canonical "gospels." Thus, according to some scholars, the noncanonical gospels are apocryphal and therefore fictional and inferior. The question of "gospel" as genre is often, in view of this, restricted to the text type of the four canonical gospels. It is not correct to make canonical versus noncanonical *a priori* a norm for the discussion of the gospel genre. On the other hand, there seems to be sufficient reason to regard the canonical gospels as a distinct class of texts.

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A. Can One Speak of a Gospel Genre?
    1. Canonical Gospels
    2. Noncanonical Gospels
B. Gospel, a Unique Genre?
    1. An Evolutionary Model
    2. Analogical Explanations
C. What Then Is the Gospel Genre?

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**A. Can One Speak of a Gospel Genre?**

Genre can be described either by comparison of generic types and subtypes (for example, drama, epic, lyric, novel, biography, sonnet, and so on) or in terms of the organization of the material in a given text (for example, narrative, argument, exposition, description, and listing). Until recently, discussions about the gospel genre were restricted to the first method of classification of texts, and the gospel genre was regarded as *sui generis*; that is, unique. On the other hand it is clear that the canonical gospels are narratives and thus comparable to other narrative texts of antiquity. Not all "gospels," however, are narratives; nor do they all share the same features. This gives rise to the question of whether one can speak of a gospel genre?

**1. Canonical Gospels.** It is maintained in many circles that the author of the gospel of Mark created a unique genre in writing his gospel. By making use of oral and written sources he created a text of exceptional character. It is regarded as a passion narrative with a long introduction. Some scholars assert that, contrary to the other gospels, Mark's gospel does not only contain preaching *(kerygma)* but that it *is* also *kerygma.* It is maintained that, in comparison to the other canonical gospels, Mark's gospel is unique. Matthew made use of Mark in the compilation of his gospel but laid far more stress on the teaching of Jesus. The gospel of Matthew is a composition of halachic and apocalyptic discourses in a narrative framework. John's gospel is a composition of *semeia* (signs) and revelatory speeches, and Luke wrote a *vita* (life), or history, of Jesus. According to this view, Mark's gospel is the only true "gospel." This makes it hardly possible to speak of a gospel genre. It is clear, however, that the foregoing argument is based on the idea that Mark's gospel is unique and that it presents a different genre because it is regarded as *kerygma.* This view does not account for the fact that all four gospels are narratives, albeit narratives of which the character and arrangement of material are in many respects different. Once the narrative character of the gospels is taken seriously, there seems to be little reason to argue that they are not of the same genre.

**2. Noncanonical Gospels.** Neither from the point of view of literary character nor from the perspective of content is it possible to regard as of the same genre all the noncanonical texts which are called gospels. These texts include collections of sayings of Jesus, infancy and miracle stories, post-Resurrection discussions between the risen Lord and his disciples, speculative dialogues, meditations, and theological and ethical treatises. The corpus of gospel texts originating from the 2d century and later has been expanded by the discovery of the "gospels" of Nag Hammadi. Although there is often a very clear relationship between the NT and these texts (cf. *Gospel of Thomas* and the hypothetical sayings collection of Q), the differences in genre are obvious. In view of these and other noncanonical texts, however, some scholars argue that one should broaden the definition of "gospel genre" by including independent sayings

collections, revelatory speeches, aretalogies (stories of miracle workers), and narratives such as the canonical gospels. This would make "gospel genre" a contradiction in terms, since no genre could consist of such dissimilar text types. It might be possible to trace back to the canonical and precanonical gospel traditions the origin of the different texts which now belong to the so-called gospel-literature, but that does not mean that all of them should therefore belong to the same literary genre as the canonical gospels. The *Gospel of Thomas,* for example, is clearly not a narrative. The *Gospel of Mary* and the *Gospel of Philip* are also not related to the same genre, even though they have material in common with the canonical gospels. The canonical gospels are narratives about the life, deeds, and words of Jesus, while most of the noncanonical narrative gospels are narratives about an aspect of his life.

In view of the great variety of texts that are called "gospels," it seems necessary not to confuse the term *gospel genre* with the name *gospel,* which has been given to texts of different genre. The canonical gospels are narratives, and in this regard it would be possible to speak of a subgenre of narrative as gospel genre.

**B. Gospel, a Unique Genre?**

In view of the language and style of the gospels, it has been argued that it is impossible to compare them to literary texts from the Hellenistic and Semitic world of the same period or earlier. The gospels are folk literature, it is argued, and therefore should not be compared with contemporary literary texts. Because Justin and Papias, for example, incorrectly regarded the gospels as literature of the same quality as contemporary Hellenistic and Semitic texts, they compared the gospels with these writings. It is for apologetic purposes that Justin (*1 Apol.* 66.3) calls the gospels *apomnemoneumata,* that is "memoirs" (of the Apostles). He probably wanted his readers to believe that the gospels were of the same quality as the Hellenistic memoir literature (cf. Xenophon's *Mem.*). According to some scholars, there seems to be no reason to believe this. Papias' remarks about the literary character of Matthew and Mark are in no way more credible (cf. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.15). In the light of this, the question arose as to whether there is any text type of antiquity which has the same genre characteristics as the gospels. The answers given to the question are basically of two kinds: On the one hand, the gospel genre is explained in terms of an evolutionary model; on the other, it is explained in terms of analogy.

**1. An Evolutionary Model.** The evolutionary model has dominated discussions about the gospel genre for the greater part of the 20th century. This was the result of the rise of form criticism as a tool in biblical criticism. Convinced by the idea that the gospels were folk literature and not biographies, as some maintained, some scholars asserted that the gospels developed from cult legends and narratives, or the basic outline of the Christian *kerygma.* The early Christians were storytellers, and they used the stories of and about Jesus for cultic purposes. Mark collected some of these traditions and wrote a gospel. Except for other folk literature, there are no parallels to the gospel genre which Mark created. This form has no literary genealogy. Through a process of development which was influenced by the emphasis on the death and resurrection of Jesus, on missionary activities of the early Church, and on its eschatological expectations, these traditions grew or developed into the gospel form. Mark, the first person to write a gospel, was more of a collector than an author. Within the evolutionary model, various solutions have been given to the problem of gospel genre. All of these solutions are related to the idea of evolution of the gospel material and its form.

In the first place, some postulate that the gospel genre is the end product of a process of development of the primitive *kerygma,* which proclaimed the passion, death, and resurrection of the incarnated Lord (cf. 1 Cor 15:1–17). The gospel genre presents the final phase in the evolution of this early Christian *kerygma.* A form of literature which is *sui generis* developed from the cult legend about the death and resurrection of Jesus. According to this view, the absence of biographical detail about the birth, education, development of personality, background, and character of Jesus is explained by the fact that the gospel originated from this cult legend and not from the life story (biography) of Jesus. The gospel genre evolved from the traditional core of beliefs of the Christian community without any literary concerns. One should therefore not be surprised that the gospel genre has no literary parallels. Contrary to biographical

literature, the contents of the gospel text focus on the passion and resurrection of Christ. A gospel is in this view *kerygma*—the *kerygma* about the Passion with an extended introductory narrative.

Closely related to the previous explanation of the uniqueness of the gospel form is the theory of an original outline or framework from which the gospel genre developed. The framework serves as the basic structure or skeleton for the gospel material. For example, it can be found in Mark 1:14–15 and Acts 10:34–43. Traditional material, which included more than material about the death and resurrection of Christ, was inserted into this framework. It also contained the idea of fulfilled Scripture and the return of the Lord. Other scholars found other frameworks (such as the so-called Hellenistic myth in Phil 2:6–11 or the Hellenistic-Jewish-Christian credo in Rom 1:3–4) that form the base into which other traditions were inserted. In this way a unique literary form, the gospel genre, evolved out of a kernel of cult beliefs.

Although it was an individual person who wrote down the traditional material in the form of a gospel, the creative power behind the gospel genre was the primitive Church as a cultic community. In this argument, the individual as author is replaced by a collective group that was responsible for the origin of the literary form. According to this view there is no place for the creativity of the mind of an individual author. It is only since the rise of redaction criticism that more attention has been given to the individual editors of the different gospels and that the idea of the gospel as a unique literary form without parallel in contemporary literature has come to be questioned. Although the idea of the development of the *kerygma* explains the growth of tradition, it cannot explain the characteristics of genre. There are only a limited number of ways in which any communication—that is, any text—can be arranged, and the organization of material in a text determines its genre. In the light of this, many attempts have been made to determine the place of the gospels in the history of literature and to explain the text type "gospel."

**2. Analogical Explanations.** Before the rise of form criticism, it was customary to compare the gospels with the Hellenistic *vitae* (ancient biographies) and memoir literature like the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon, Arrian's *Epictetus,* and Philostratus' *Life of Appolonius of Tyana.* In recent years the search for literary parallels of the gospel genre was reopened, and scholars made fresh attempts to find possible parallels either in Hellenistic or in Semitic literature. In the search of an ancient genre which could have served as a model for the first author of a gospel, analogies of many different types of texts have been found in ancient literature. In addition to the Hellenistic *vitae* and memoirs of the rulers and philosophers, other kinds of texts have been taken into account, such as aretalogical biographies, tragedy, tragicomedy, and Socratic discourses. From the Semitic point of view, the gospels have been compared with apocalypses, the legend of Ahikar, Exodus, the book of Jonah, a Passover Haggadah, Midrashim, and the Mishnah. What is remarkable about these comparisons is that most of them were based on an explanation of the gospel genre derived by form criticism and not on their own merit.

The gospels have been associated with biographies in various ways during the past. In recent years the conviction has grown that the gospels reveal features of ancient biographies. Recognizing the differences between the gospels and ancient biographies, as well as the diversity in the different types of biography of the ancient Greco-Roman and Semitic worlds, a growing number of scholars maintain that biography is the only generic text type with which the gospel genre can be compared. Taking into account the objections raised against the comparison, it nevertheless appears that although the gospels fall short in literary style and language usage, they are nothing less than biographies. It has been argued, for example, that the gospel genre comes closest to the type of biography in which the purpose is to praise a person by accentuating his life, works, and teachings. This type of biography is called *encomium,* or "laudatory biography," and examples of it can be found in the writings of Polybius (cf. *Hist.* 10.21.8), Cicero (*Fam.*5.13.3), Lucian (*Hist. conscr.* 7), Cornelius Nepos (*Pelopidas* 16.1.1), and—according to this view—also in the gospel genre. Closely related to this view is the search for aretalogical biographies in the Greco-Roman world as possible models for the gospel genre. From a Semitic perspective, the gospel genre has been compared with the "biography of a righteous person" found in the Prophets. The purpose of such a biography is to portray paradigmatically the suffering of a righteous person. Jesus is portrayed in such a manner in the gospel of Mark, which served as a model for the other evangelists when they wrote their gospels.

In all these studies it is not so much a particular biography, which served as an analogy for the first author of a gospel, that is emphasized as it is the generic type of text—or more specifically a story—about the life, works, and teachings of a person. In the analogical approach, the uniqueness of the gospel genre as genre is denied in view of the features this text type shares with other texts of the same generic kind.

**C. What Then Is the Gospel Genre?**

In conclusion, the question of the gospel genre is complicated enormously by the general confusion surrounding genre in literary criticism and by the role which the origin and growth of the gospel materials play in discussions about the matter. If it is granted that genre can be described in terms of the organization of material in a given text and by comparison between generic types, it is clear that all four canonical gospels are narratives and that they reveal features of ancient biographies despite the fact that they are not of the same literary standard. In view of this it would be possible, for the sake of convenience, to speak of a subtype of narrative as gospel genre. Based on these assumptions, it is unnecessary to regard the so-called gospel genre as *sui generis.* The question of who wrote the first gospel is immaterial to the question of how to define the gospel genre. The first is a historical problem; the second is a literary one.

The implication of defining the genre of the gospels as a subtype of narrative is that very few so-called noncanonical "gospels" would qualify to be called "gospels" simply because they are not narratives.

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WILLEM S. VORSTER

**GOSPEL HARMONY.** See HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

**GOSPELS, APOCRYPHAL.** Apart from the four gospels, which by tradition have been passed down to the Church as part of the canonical NT corpus, early Christianity produced a number of other writings that also might legitimately be called "gospels." Like the canonical gospels, all of these apocryphal gospels claim in some manner to transmit the words and/or deeds of Jesus. Unlike the canonical gospels, they come in a variety of different literary forms, from a simple collection of sayings such as the *Gospel of Thomas* to the complex series of speeches and discourses that make up a work such as the *Dialogue of the Savior.* They also derive from a variety of different periods within the development of early Christianity, from the 1st century to the 4th, or even later. See THOMAS, GOSPEL OF, and DIALOGUE OF THE SAVIOR.

The plethora of forms presenting themselves under the titular designation "gospel," together with the fact that not all early Christian works claiming to offer the reader an account of the words or deeds of Jesus actually call themselves "gospels," naturally raises the question, What is a "gospel"? The question has received much discussion, yet with little in the way of agreement. The variety of forms to be found among the apocryphal gospels make it clear that the term "gospel" should not be used to refer to a particular genre, such as the quasi-biographical genre shared by the four canonical gospels, but rather to a larger body of literature, which itself encompasses a multiplicity of forms and genres. Accordingly, scholars have gradually come to use the following or similar categories when discussing the variety of apocryphal gospels known to have existed in antiquity.

**A. Sayings Gospels**

The *Gospel of Thomas,* a collection of sayings, all of which are attributed to Jesus, is the single example of this genre known to have survived antiquity. How many other such "sayings" gospels were assembled by early Christians is not known. Most scholars today accept the hypothesis that the authors of Matthew and Luke made use of such a gospel in the composition their respective narrative gospels. Several

attempts to reconstruct this gospel, commonly referred to as "Q" (for the German *Quelle,* or "source"), based upon a comparison of the material shared by both Matthew and Luke, have collectively resulted in a relatively clear understanding of its content and theology.

**B. Revelation Dialogues and Discourses**

One of the most popular ways to package Jesuanic traditions in the early Church was to create the literary fiction of a dialogue between Jesus and a prominent figure of early Christianity, in which various sayings of Jesus could be presented as his answers to specific questions posed by the imaginary interlocutor. It is common in such dialogues for the individual sayings to have been combined to form extensive speeches or discourses, which are then placed on the lips of Jesus.

The revelation dialogue or discourse was a versatile genre, serving the needs of the early Church with great utility. Through it, collections of simple sayings could be transformed into expositions of secret, revealed knowledge *(gnosis),* as is illustrated by the *Dialogue of the Savior* or the *Book of Thomas the Contender.* See THOMAS THE CONTENDER (NHC II,*7*). It was also a medium through which originally pre- or non-Christian religious ideas could be introduced into the Christian sphere (thus the *Sophia of Jesus Christ,* the *Second Treatise on the Great Seth,* the *Pistis Sophia,* or perhaps the *Trimorphic Protennoia*). It could also provide an opportunity to clarify or elaborate on points in earlier traditions. (Thus the *Gospel of Bartholomew* offers instruction on such matters as Christ's descent into Hades, the departure of souls, and the annunciation of Mary.) It could also be used to lend authority to innovative interpretations of Church practices, such as the sacraments (so the *Gospel of Philip*). In fact, innovation was probably the key to the success and popularity of the revelation dialogue. The setting is often a post-Resurrection dialogue between the risen Lord and a disciple. Therefore, the genre lends itself well to the introduction of the novel or innovative expression, because the new material could be presented as something left undisclosed by Jesus during his lifetime, only to be revealed privately to a privileged few after the resurrection. Eventually, revelation dialogue or discourse probably became its own undoing. Pagels has argued that the innovation allowed by the very notion that Jesus continued to appear to select persons after his death and reveal secret knowledge to them soon became cumbersome to an emerging Church seeking to establish some parameters around its traditions, and develop some consistent lines of authoritative leadership (Pagels 1978: 415–30).

**C. Narrative Gospels**

There are a number of apocryphal gospels, which, like the canonical gospels, present the tradition in quasi-biographical, narrative form. Many only survive in a state so fragmentary that identification is no longer possible. This is the case with P. Oxy. 840, P. Oxy. 1224, P. Cairensis 10,735, and the so-called Fayyum Fragment. The fragments of P. Egerton 2 are somewhat more extensive, but still do not allow positive identification. Others, such as the *Gospel of the Nazoraeans, Gospel of the Hebrews,* or *Gospel of the Ebionites,* survive only through snippets cited by various early Christian authors. Of those that survive more or less intact, a number focus on the events surrounding Jesus' passion, death, and resurrection: the *Gospel of Peter,* the *Gospel of Gamaliel,* and the *Gospel of Nicodemus (Acts of Pilate).* There are also gospels focusing on the legends of Jesus' childhood, among them the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* and the *Protevangelium of James.*

**D. Treatises**

Finally, there are two documents which carry the designation "gospel" in their titles, but which rightly could only be called treatises or tractates. The *Gospel of the Egyptians* is a Sethian gnostic treatise which incorporates Christian elements into its structure. The *Gospel of Truth* is a gnostic tractate narrating cosmic history from the point of view of the Valentinian school. Neither of these reports the words or deeds of Jesus, and may perhaps even stretch the use of the term "gospel" to its limit.

**E. Sources**

English translations or summaries of many of the apocryphal gospels may be found in *The Apocryphal New Testament* (James 1924) or in Edgar Hennecke and Wilhelm Schneemelcher's *New Testament Apocrypha* (1963), an English translation of the fourth edition (1959) of their German collection *Neutestamentliche Apocryphen.* The latter has recently appeared in a new German edition (1987), and a

new edition of James' collection is currently being prepared by J. K. Elliott. A new four-volume collection of apocryphal texts is also currently in production. Many of the gospels referred to above come from a hoard of texts discovered in 1945 at a site near Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt. English translations of these are to be found in *The Nag Hammadi Library* (Robinson 1988).

Critical editions of a number of apocryphal gospels are also available. For many years Tischendorf's *Evangelia apocrypha,* published originally in 1853 and reissued in 1966, has been the standard critical edition for those preserved in Greek. Critical editions of the Nag Hammadi texts have appeared in the series Nag Hammadi Studies. Critical editions of all of the Nag Hammadi codices are currently in production or imminently forthcoming in this series. Carl Schmidt's text of the *Pistis Sophia* has been published in the same series, as has his text of the *Books of Jeu* from the Bruce Codex. The entire text of BG 8502, which contains the *Gospel of Mary,* the *Apocryphon of John,* and the *Sophia of Jesus Christ,* was published originally by Walter Till in 1955 and reissued in a revised edition by Hans-Martin Schenke in 1972. The texts pertinent to the reconstruction of the Synoptic Sayings Source (Q) have been published by John Kloppenborg (1987). A new fragment of P. Egerton 2 has been published by Michael Gronewald (1987) and should thus be added to the fragment originally published by Bell and Skeat (1935). For critical texts of other apocryphal gospels and fragments, one should consult the appropriate sections of Hennecke and Schneemelcher's *New Testament Apocrypha.*

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STEPHEN J. PATTERSON

**GOSPELS, LITTLE APOCALYPSE IN THE.** The expression "little apocalypse" is ambiguous. Commonly, it has been used to denote the eschatological discourse in Mark 13 and its parallels in Matthew 24 and Luke 21. For centuries Matthew was the most widely read of the four gospels, so people usually turned to Matthew 24–25 to see what Jesus taught about the end of the age. Since the 19th century the general acceptance of the priority of Mark, however, has led to the concentration of attention on the Markan version of the discourse.

The interpretation of the chapter took a decisive turn with the publication of Colani's work (1864) on Jesus and the messianic beliefs of his time. Colani's study of the Gospels led him to believe that Jesus rejected the eschatological views of his contemporaries and replaced them with a belief in the organic

development of the kingdom of God. Mark 13, by contrast, shows many similarities to Jewish apocalyptic thought, which Colani affirmed Jesus could not have shared. Noticing that the three synoptic versions of the discourse end at v 31 of Mark's account, Colani concluded that Jesus' real answer to the disciples' question in v 3 is given in v 32: God only knows the answer to their question! Accordingly, the intervening passage (vv 5–31) is judged to be an interpolation. Its likeness to Jewish apocalypticism led Colani to describe it as a "little apocalypse" and to postulate that it originated in the Jewish Christian Church.

This hypothesis was immediately taken up by Colani's contemporary, Carl Weizsäcker (1864), and developed in a significant manner. Colani had divided the discourse into three scenes: vv 5–8, the birthpangs; 9–13, the tribulation; and 14–31, the end. Weizsäcker, however, noted that some sayings in the discourse appeared to be authentic words of Jesus, such as the parable of the fig tree in vv 28–29. This raised the problem of the limits of the apocalyptic source of the discourse. Weizsäcker solved it by stressing the threefold division proposed by Colani: The three scenes consisted originally of vv 7–8, 14–20, and 24–27; to these Mark added an introduction concerning false prophets (v 6), repeated between the second and third groups (vv 21–23) warnings about persecution of the disciples (vv 9–13), and added a largely parabolic epilogue (vv 28–37). It is this delimitation of the apocalyptic source of the discourse which is customarily denoted by the expression "little apocalypse." Weizsäcker's definition of it has been accepted by a majority of critical commentators on the Synoptic Gospels, and is elaborated at length by Brandenburger (1984), the latest exponent of Mark 13.

The accord of the commentators has by no means been shared by all writers on the eschatological teaching of Jesus. An examination of the discussions reveals a high degree of subjectivity in the analyses of the "little apocalypse." Moffatt (1918: 207–9), for example, affirmed: "The contours of the apocalypse are unmistakable; it parts as a whole from the context and forms an intelligible unity," but no one appears to have accepted his own analysis, namely, vv 5–8, 14–27. Some scholars have proposed a fourfold instead of a threefold division of the source; Wendling divided it thus: vv 7–8; 9a, 12; 13b–20a; 24–27 (1908: 155–57). He was followed in a slightly simplified version by Hölscher (1933: 196–97) and by Bultmann (1957: 129), who extended it to include vv 7–8; 12; 14–22; 24–27, 30, and 32. Grayson (1974: 371–87) proposed a quite different division: vv 7, 9, 11, 14–16, 18, 21, and 23. Hartman (1966: 235–41), in an original and significant study, modified the main line of analysis by proposing the source as vv 5b–8, 12–16, 19–22, and 24–27 and interpreting it as a midrash on the apocalyptic visions of Daniel. Hahn (1975: 240–46) extended the source by defining it as vv 7–8, (9–13) 14–22, and 24–31. It will be observed that Hahn has omitted only v 23 from the proposed source vv 7–31. In this he was followed by Pesch, who renounced his earlier adherence to the customary definition of the little apocalypse (1968: 207–18) and added to Hahn's analysis of the source vv 3–5, so omitting from the discourse of vv 3–31 only vv 6 and 23 (Mark *HTKNT*, 266–67).

It was inevitable that someone should at length propose that the entire chapter was taken over from an early apocalypse. Such was the view of Bishop Barnes (1947: 136–37). It was equally inevitable that others should reduce the compass of the source. More than one writer has limited it to vv 14–20 (Goodspeed 1950: 186–88). Holtzmann (1904: 456–57) actually reduced it to vv 14–18. Since vv 15–16 are manifestly from a tradition of the words of Jesus (they occur in Luke 17–31), the term "little" is very appropriate to such an apocalypse. Indeed, it is a misnomer for such a fragment. In the history of endeavors to reconstruct the apocalyptic source of Mark 13, not only has every statement of the chapter been included in it but everyone has been omitted from it as well. The fragmentary nature of the suggested apocalypse and the uncertainty of the links that are thought to bind its elements make it apparent that it is no "intelligible unity," as Moffatt thought. This was acknowledged by W. G. Kümmel (1956: 98), who affirmed, "There is no possibility of establishing an original *literary* sequence between the conjectured components of this apocalypse, so that the hypothesis of a connected apocalyptic basis for this chapter is hardly sufficiently well founded."

It is further to be noted that there are contacts between almost all the contents of Mark 13, including the apocalypse as generally defined, and the teaching of Jesus attested elsewhere in the gospel. The prophecy

of the doom of the temple in vv 1–2 is in harmony with warnings of Jesus in Luke 13:1–5, Matt 23:34–39 = Luke 20:49–51, 13:34–35 and closely related to Luke 19:41–44. Verses 5–6 and 21–22 are as plainly related to the Q saying Matt 24:26 = Luke 17:23. The phenomena of wars, earthquakes, famines, and plagues in vv 7–8 are traditional elements in prophetic and apocalyptic representations of the last times and are particularly close to the "four sore judgments" described by Ezekiel (Ezek 14:12–23). Associated in human experience, they are harmonious with the presuppositions that lie behind the prophecies of Jerusalem's doom, namely the lordship of God over history manifested in his judgments. Verses 9 and 11 form a single sentence in Luke 12:11–12, and v 10 indicates the reason for the persecution, namely the preaching of the gospel of the kingdom. Verse 12 has its parallel in Matt 10:34–36 = Luke 12:51–53 and illustrates the reason for Mark's v 13a. The "abomination of desolation" of v 14 is an apocalyptic symbol well known to the Jews, taken from the book of Daniel. Originally it denoted an idolatrous and blasphemous object in the temple of Jerusalem, but significantly its first mention in Daniel (9:27) is set in a prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem and its sanctuary, which is the reason for its citation here. The use of the expression makes the prophecy of the temple's destruction in v 2 an eschatological phenomenon; it is the day of the Lord on Jerusalem and its people. This is the reason for the adducing of vv 15–16; they presuppose a threat of war from which one must flee. The saying is reproduced in Luke 17:31, but its earlier explanation is in Mark's context. So also vv 16–17 assume the necessity of urgent flight before a threatening army. Verse 19 cites Dan 12:1 and again harkens back to the situation of v 14, characterizing it as an eschatological "tribulation," which the Lord will shorten for the sake of the elect (v 20).

The substance of vv 24–27 finds parallels in the synoptic representations of the Parousia of the Son of Man (Mark 14:62). When it is recognized that v 22 is linked with v 6, and that v 23 is an isolated saying placed here by Mark, we then perceive an earlier connection between vv 21 and 24 and others following: the alleged secret manifestation of the hidden messiah is contrasted with the revelation of the Son of Man in his Parousia, and that is precisely the purpose of Luke 17:23–24. The theophanic language of the OT prophets in vv 24–25 serves to represent the Parousia of the Christ in v 26 as a theophany, a concept which is already contained in the description of the coming of the Son of Man on the clouds with great power and glory, as in Dan 7:13–14 and Mark 14:62. Such a concept is uniquely Christian; it does not appear in any Jewish apocalyptic work, not even in *1 Enoch* (there is no depiction of the *coming* of the Son of Man in that work). The parable of the fig tree (vv 28–29) is significant as embodying the basic notion of the discourse that events in history can serve as signs of the kingdom of God, a view emphasized by Jesus in Luke 12:54–55 (Matt 11:20–24 = Luke 10:13–15). The language of v 30 is reminiscent of that in Matt 23:26 = Luke 20:51; these latter parallels indicate the original reference of v 30, namely to the day of the Lord on the ancient people of God in the not distant future.

It is evident, accordingly, that the discourse is replete with reminiscences of the tradition of Jesus' words. There is no conclusive evidence that a *single* strand of tradition can be separated as distinct in thought, form, and language from the rest of the chapter as its basis. The reference to *language* is important. Whereas Perrin (1963: 131–32) sought to show that the vocabulary of Mark 13:5–27 is less characteristic of Mark than that in vv 28–37, Lambrecht (1967: 65–260), by his exhaustive analytical study of the discourse, was led to conclude that every sentence in the chapter bears the stamp of Mark. This does not indicate that Mark composed the discourse *ex nihilo;* rather it shows that he treated the material of the Jesus tradition in Mark 13 as he has elsewhere in his gospel.

It is well known that certain elements of Mark's gospel tradition had already been brought together before he incorporated them in his gospel. This is evident in the controversy narratives (Mark 2:1–3:6) and the parables collection (4:1–32). So it is likely that elements of chapter 13 had earlier been grouped together. In all probability this happened in the primitive Christian catechesis, which preserved the traditions of the instruction of Jesus. In the catechesis, eschatological teaching commonly occurs at the end of collections of sayings of Jesus (cf. the little discourse of Mark 8:27–9:1 and the Matthaean discourse, chaps. 5–7, 10, 13, 18, and 24–25). Apart from any tradition which Mark had received concerning instruction Jesus gave in his last week in Jerusalem, it was natural that Mark's account of the

Lord's ministry should conclude with a summary of the teaching of Jesus on the last things. The elements of his teaching will have circulated as disparate items at first, as did most of Jesus' teaching, but signs of early groupings of the sayings may be discerned.

1. *Sayings on the distress of Israel* center above all in vv 14 and 19, and were obviously linked in the tradition with v 2. In due time vv 14–15 and 17–18 were added to vv 14 and 19, and finally v 20.

2. *Sayings on the distress of the Church* are to be observed in vv 9 and 11. Two factors will have caused v 10 to be associated with them: the witnessing activity of the disciples, which was prime cause of their persecution, and the setting of the Church's mission in an eschatological perspective. Verses 12 and 13a became conjoined through the same motive, as also v 13b.

3. *Sayings on pseudo-messiahs and the true Messiah,* vv 21, 24–26. As we have seen, the contrast between the Jewish notion of the secret appearance of the Messiah and the Christian hope of the Parousia of the Son of Man is here set forth. The reference to false messiahs in v 21 attracted the related sayings of vv 6 and 22. The connection between vv 26 and 27 must have been early, as evidenced by 1 Thess 4:16–17 (based on a "word of the Lord").

4. *Sayings on the Parousia and watchfulness,* vv 26–27 and 34–36. It is noteworthy that 1 Thess 4:15–5:11 reflects the thought of Mark 13:24–27, 33–36, so indicating that the theme was current in the catechesis which circulated in the primitive churches.

While these related elements of the catechesis were clearly known in the early period of the Church's life, we cannot assume that they existed in the form of a connected discourse. Mark's disposition of the elements of the discourse indicates the likelihood that he himself brought together the varied eschatological traditions and fashioned them into a unity in light of the situation and needs of the churches he served. If, as is likely, Mark wrote after the Jewish war with the Romans had begun, eschatological anticipation would have been at a high peak, both in Palestine and among Christians in the outer world, for Jewish believers were in many churches throughout the Diaspora, and eschatological expectations would have been stirred everywhere by the events in Israel's land. The same would have applied in the period immediately after the fall of Jerusalem and the terrible fate of its people. There would have been an urgent desire to know what Jesus had said about these events and the end of the age. Mark had good reason to warn Christians against false prophets and messiahs (they were active in his time!) to encourage his fellow believers in faithful ministry and conduct and to inspire them to continue in faith and hope in Christ. This situation would have provided the necessary impulse to gather into one collection the sayings in the tradition of the judgment of Israel, the vocation of the Church, the coming of the Lord, and the call to maintain alertness of spirit.

The chapter as a whole naturally divides itself into four sections: (1) vv 1–4, Introduction—prophecy of the temple's doom and the disciples' question; (2) vv 5–23, the Tribulation of Israel and of the Church; (3) vv 24–27, the Parousia of the Son of Man and the Gathering of the People of God; and (4) vv 28–37, the Times of Fulfillment and Exhortations to Watchfulness.

If sayings on the four topics of Mark 13 had already been linked in the catechetical tradition, at least some of these groupings would have been known to Luke and Matthew, quite apart from Mark's ordering of them in his discourse (1 Thessalonians 4–5 and 2 Thessalonians 2 suggest that Paul was acquainted with various elements of them). Both Matthew and Luke show evidence of various records of sayings in the discourse. On the least estimate, Luke appears to have combined with Mark's record different forms of sayings at his disposal, notably in Luke 21:20–24 and 25–28, while in 21:34–36 he provides an altogether different ending of the discourse from that in Mark 13:33–37. Formidable arguments (Hartman 1966: 226–35; Gaston 1970: 355–65) can be adduced for Luke's possessing an independent form of the discourse, to which he added features of the Markan version. Most scholars, however, consider that Luke followed Mark's outline and incorporated other materials available to him from the catechetical collection. Luke's chief concern in the discourse was to clarify the distinction between events that concerned Israel and those that concerned the wider world in light of the catastrophe that happened to Israel and its people. Contrary to popular opinion, Luke in no way implies a long delay in the coming of the Lord, not even in Luke 21:24; in the NT era the "times of the gentiles," i.e., of gentile domination over

Israel, were viewed as lasting for a limited time. So in Dan 7:25 (the source of the idea) the expression "time, times, and half a time" in that passage corresponds with a usage among Jews, where three and a half is a limited number; in eschatological contexts it is applied to a restricted period of suffering (cf. Luke 4:25 and Jas 5:17 with 1 Kgs 18:1). Luke 21:24 is consonant with the general near-expectation of NT writers regarding the coming of the Lord.

Matthew's interest in the discourse is similar to that of Luke's. It is expressed in his wording of the disciples question in Matt 24:3; they ask first, "When will this be?" (i.e., the time of the destruction of the temple), and then question the time of "your coming [Parousia] and the consummation of the age." This latter issue is Matthew's major concern, and it is seen in his replacement of Mark's brief conclusion of the discourse (Mark 13:33–37) with the lengthy addition of material from the Q-Apocalypse of Luke 17:22–37, together with that in Luke 12:39–46 and the three parables of Matthew 25. This additional teaching is longer than Mark's entire discourse. It all relates to the coming of the Lord and inculcates the lesson of "watching" or preparedness for the Lord's coming. It is noteworthy that the term *Parousia* occurs in this passage alone in the four gospels (with vv 33, 27, and 29 replacing other expressions in his sources). So also, only Matthew in the NT speaks of "the sign of the Son of Man" in the heavens heralding the *Parousia;* it is a reminiscence and adaptation of the "standard" to which the Jews are expected to rally at the sounding of the trumpet for their deliverance and entry into the kingdom of God, a destiny extended to the nations in Isa 11:10 (see also Isa 18:3, and note the Tenth of the Eighteen Benedictions used by the Jews throughout the centuries: "Sound the great trumpet for our liberty, set up the standard to gather our outcasts, and gather us from the four corners of the earth").

Finally, it is important to note that each version of the eschatological discourse in the Synoptic Gospels is marked by an emphasis on ethical exhortation, expressed especially in the call to be watchful, and for continuance in faith and endurance in Christian action. The apocalyptic element in the discourse is equally evident, for the most characteristic feature of apocalyptic thought is precisely the Lordship of God over history and its end in the kingdom of God. But the parenetic emphasis, present in the discourse from its beginning to its end, is unique among apocalyptic writings. This accords with the general emphasis of Jesus' teaching on the kingdom of God, namely the proclamation of redemptive ethical eschatology and redemptive eschatological ethics.

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**GOTHIC VERSIONS.** See VERSIONS, ANCIENT (GOTHIC).

**GOTHOLIAH** (PERSON) [Gk *Gotholias* (Γοθολιας)]. An alternate form of the name ATHALIAH.

**GOTHONIEL** (PERSON) [Gk *Gothoniēl* (Γοθονιηλ)]. Father of Chabris, one of the elders of Bethuliah (Jdt 6:15). The name in its Greek form appears only in the book of Judith, but is probably a translation of the Hebrew name Othniel (Heb *ʿotnîʾēl; gamma* replacing *ʿayin*). Othniel in the OT was the brother of Caleb and the first judge of Israel (Josh 15:17; Judg 1:13; 3:9; 3:11; 1 Chr 4:13; 27:15). Although the two figures are certainly not to be identified, it is possible that the author derived the name Gothoniel from the well-known figure Othniel.

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**GOURDS.** See FLORA.

**GOVERNOR.** See PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (POSTEXILIC JUDEAN OFFICIALS); PROCURATOR.

**GRACE.** This entry consists of two articles, one focusing upon the concept of grace as it is expressed in the Hebrew Bible, and the other focusing upon the notion of grace in the New Testament. See also LOVE.

## *OLD TESTAMENT*

Grace is the favor of God to human beings. The subject of grace in the OT is too vast for comprehensive treatment. Since creation, the redemption and election of Israel, and the gift of the law are all acts of divine favor, a full treatment of grace would have to examine these primal gracious acts of God and much else in the OT (cf. Hals 1980 for an example of such treatment). The present discussion shall be limited to a consideration of three terms for grace that come together in the confession of Exod 34:6 and in the echoes and reflexes of this confession elsewhere in the OT.

The divine self-revelation to Moses in Exod 33:19–34:9 includes the creedal statement of Yahweh as "God compassionate *(ʾēl raḥûm)* and gracious *(wĕḥannûn),* patient and abundant in love *(ḥesed)* and fidelity (i.e., constant, reliable love)." The two adjectives *raḥûm* and *ḥannûn,* and related forms derived from the same root, and the noun *ḥesed* all contribute to the meaning of grace in the OT.

The creedal affirmation of Exod 34:6 is quoted once more in the Pentateuch (Num 14:18), where Moses appeals for divine forgiveness of the people on the basis of God's self-revelation in Exod 34:6. It is quoted three times in the Psalter (Pss 86:15; 103:8; 145:8) and alluded to in abbreviated form twice more (Pss 111:4; 116:5). Ps 112:4 is ambiguous, in that "gracious and compassionate *(ḥannûn wĕraḥûm)* and righteous" seem to refer to the just human being; however, Dahood in his commentary understands the formula as referring rather to the deity (*Psalms 100–150* AB). In the prophetic literature, the confessional formula of Exod 34:6 is quoted twice (Joel 2:13; Jonah 4:2). It is quoted in Neh 9:17 (cf. Neh 9:31) and alluded to in 2 Chr 30:9. A previously unnoticed allusion to the confession occurs in Ps 77:9–10, where the poet in distress calls into question the self-revelatory affirmation: "Has his love *(ḥsdw)* ceased forever? Has his promise failed forever? Has God *(ʾēl)* forgotten to be gracious *(ḥnwt)?* Has he shut up his compassion *(rḥmyw)* in anger?" In this text the three affirmations about God in Exod 34:6 are recalled and questioned; and in both Exodus and the psalm, God is addressed by the divine name El.

The first term to be considered is the root *ḥnn* (grace), which occurs about 200 times in the OT. Derivatives of the root include the verb *ḥānan* ("be gracious to, act graciously toward"), the nouns *ḥēn, tĕḥinnâ, taḥănûnîm,* and *ḥănînâ,* and the adjective *ḥannûn.* The verb *ḥanan* (78 occurrences) means "be gracious, show favor to" in the basic (qal) form, and "seek favor" in the reflexive (hithpael) form. Of the 55 uses of the qal verb, 30 occur in the Psalter: of these, there are 15 instances of the imperative *ḥonnēnî* ("Be gracious to me!") in prayers for divine favor: Pss 4:2; 6:3; 9:14; 25:16; 26:11; 27:7; 30:11; 31:10; 41:5, 11; 51:3; 56:2; 86:3, 16; 119:29; and 132. Note also Pss 123:3 ("Be gracious to us") and 67:2 ("May Yahweh be gracious to us").

The noun *ḥēn* ("grace, favor") occurs 69 times; a frequent occurrence is in such expressions as *māṣā› ḥēn bĕ‹ênê* ("find favor in the eyes of"), which serves as the passive of *ḥnn* ("find favor" = "be favored"), and *nātan ḥēn bĕ‹ênê* ("give favor in the eyes of"). The idiom "find grace, favor in the sight of (someone)" refers to the positive disposition of the one acting graciously and granting favor, a disposition which is manifested in the bright, happy countenance of the one granting favor. In Num 6:25, "May Yahweh make his face shine on you" is followed by a form of the verb *ḥnn* ("and may he be gracious to you"). Without *ḥnn,* there are a number of similar expressions denoting joy or happiness in speaking of the light of one's face; the light of Yahweh's face, his gracious benevolence, is referred to in Pss 4:7; 31:17; 44:4; 67:2; 80:4, 20; and 89:16. The prayer "Turn to me and be gracious to me!" (Pss 25:16; 86:16; 119:132) asks God to turn his bright happy countenance toward the person praying, a gesture which indicates that God is favorably disposed toward the petitioner. The opposite sentiment of divine wrath or anger is shown by God's hiding his face: cf. Pss 27:7 ("Be gracious to me") and v 9 ("Do not hide your face from me") and 30:8 ("When you hide your face from me, I am terrified") and v 11 ("Be gracious to me").

The nouns *tĕḥinnâ* (25 occurrences) and *taḥănûnîm* (18 occurrences) mean "supplication, prayer for favor"; there is also a single occurrence of another nominal form *ḥănînâ* (Jer 16:13), where "I will not show (lit. "give") you favor" is equivalent to "give favor, show kindness" *(nātan ḥēn),* an expression occurring 7 times (Gen 39:21; Exod 3:21; 11:3; 12:36; Ps 84:12; Prov 3:34; 13:15. With the exception of Prov 13:15, all the other cases have God as subject).

The adjective *ḥannûn* ("gracious") occurs 13 times: in Exod 34:6 and the passages which quote or allude to this creedal statement (listed above), and in Exod 22:26. With the possible exception of Ps 112:4 (mentioned above), *ḥannûn* is only used of the deity.

In both human-human relationships and human-divine relationships, *ḥen* ("grace") in the OT involves a positive disposition of someone toward another (cf. NAB translation of Gen 39:21; Exod 3:21; 11:3; 12:36). It is an undeserved gift or favor, which can be requested, which is freely and unilaterally given and not coerced, and which can be withheld. Grace is characteristically a favor for a specific occasion given to an inferior by a superior, a person in authority (e.g., a king: 1 Sam 16:2; 27:5; 2 Sam 14:22; 16:4; 1 Kgs 11:19; a royal official: Gen 47:25; Yahweh: Exod 22:26). This uncoerced and unilateral favor is more than a disposition of passive benevolence on the part of God. It is *action* that is requested, God's action in aiding the poor, delivering the oppressed and the mortally ill (Exod 22:24–26; Pss 9:14; 30:11; 31:10), and forgiving sin (Pss 41:5; 51:3; 103:8–10) after repentance (Isa 30:19; Joel 2:13).

The second term to be considered is the noun *ḥesed.* While no English translation captures the full content of this term, the standard renderings include "kindness," "steadfast love," "covenant love," and the like. *Ḥesed* occurs twice in the confessional formula in Exod 34:6–7: in v 6 the expression is *rab-ḥesed we›ĕmet,* "abundant in *ḥesed* and fidelity" (a hendiadys more accurately translated "abundant in reliable, unfailing *ḥesed"*); and in v 7 where the expression is *nōṣēr ḥesed lā›ălāpîm,* "keeping *ḥesed* for thousands."

*Ḥesed* occurs some 245 times in the OT, of which slightly more than half (127) are found in the Psalter. As a characteristic of the deity, it occurs in such phrases as (1) "the *ḥesed* (or pl. *ḥasdê,* "acts of *ḥesed"*) of Yahweh" (1 Sam 20:14; Pss 33:15; 89:2; 103:17; 107:43; Isa 63:7; Lam 3:22); (2) "the *ḥesed* of Elohim" (2 Sam 9:3; Ps 52:10); (3) "the *ḥesed* of El" (Ps 52:3); and (4) "the *ḥesed* of Elyon" (Ps 21:8). God is further described as "abundant in *ḥesed"* in Pss 5:8; 69:14; 106:5; Isa 63:9; Lam 3:32; and Neh

13:22. Since such passages all concern the attitude and activity of God toward humankind, they can be understood to speak of divine grace.

The meaning of *ḥesed* has been illuminated by the important study of Sakenfeld (1978). Building upon and refining previous work, this author lists the following characteristics in her definition of *ḥesed:* (1) *ḥesed* is an action rather than simply an attitude or a psychological state, and the action involved is usually one of deliverance or protection; (2) an act of *ḥesed* is based upon and performed in an existing relationship, either explicit or implicit; (3) *ḥesed* is an action requested or expected of someone who is situationally or circumstantially superior to another who lacks power or resources to perform the desired action; (4) *ḥesed* is extralegal and cannot be coerced; the situationally superior party cannot be compelled to act and remains free not to perform the needed act of *ḥesed;* and (5) *ḥesed* is an act which fulfills an essential need that the person in need cannot meet, and for which there is no alternative source of assistance.

The concept of *ḥesed* describes a human-human relationship, and the responsibilities incurred in such a relationship. When used to describe the divine-human relationship, *ḥesed* can appropriately be considered a word for grace, i.e., God's free and uncoerced action for individuals or for the whole people, in a situation of grave need, when God is appealed to as the only source of assistance.

As a word describing God's gracious activity toward and assistance for his people, *ḥesed* is part of the vocabulary of covenant in Israelite religious thought. See also COVENANT. In the Mosaic conditional covenant, which stresses human obedience as the basis for a continuing relationship with the deity, God's *ḥesed,* involving deliverance and forgiveness for the undeserving, operates even in the context of a broken relationship. Where human sin and rebellion have ended Israel's relationship to God, all that the people can expect is destruction, annihilation; when Israel experiences not divine wrath but God's surprising and unexpected deliverance and preservation of the community, and divine forgiveness, Israel experiences the *ḥesed* of God. While human *ḥesed* depends upon an unbroken relationship in good repair between the superior and inferior parties, divine *ḥesed* is God's gracious and unexpected decision to restore and repair the broken relationship. In the other covenant form operative in God's unconditional commitment to Israel's patriarchs and kings, God's relationship with the human covenant partner is based on the divine promise alone, and thus is not subject to negation because of human failure. Thus *ḥesed* includes both undeserved deliverance (in the context of the Sinai covenant) and promised divine fidelity (in the context of the royal covenant).

While *ḥēn* and *ḥesed* as divine characteristics can both be understood as grace (cf. Gen 39:21 where both terms are used), they are distinguishable. *Ḥesed* involves freely given and essential assistance by a circumstantially superior or dominant party to an individual or a group in need; it is responsible action *within an existing relationship. Ḥēn* also involves a freely given benefit by a superior party to an inferior, but there is *no previous existing relationship* between the two parties.

The final element of the tripartite confession of Exod 34:6 is the description of God as "merciful" *(raḥûm).* This term too finds a place in the OT conception of grace, as is indicated by the passages which link divine mercy to the two other words for grace, *ḥēn (ḥnn)* and *ḥesed.* There are 13 occurrences of the adjective *raḥûm,* in 11 of which it is paired with *ḥannûn* ("gracious"), and all of which refer to God (with the possible exception of Ps 112:4; see above). Only twice is *raḥûm* used of God without *ḥannûn* (Deut 4:31; Ps 78:38). Other forms of the root *rḥm* linked with *ḥnn* comprise Exod 33:19; 2 Kgs 13:23; Isa 27:11; 30:18; and Ps 102:14. Even more frequently is *rḥm* linked with *ḥesed,* especially in the Psalter (Pss 25:6; 40:12; 51:3; 69:17; 77:10; 103:4; 106:45–46). Other texts which link *rḥm* with *ḥesed* outside the Psalter include Isa 54:7, 8, 10; 63:7, 15; Jer 16:5; Hos 2:21; Zech 7:9; and Lam 3:22, 32.

In both secular and theological usages, *rḥm* involves the movement of a superior to an inferior, of the powerful to the weak, provoked by love or pity on the part of the superior and need on the part of the inferior. When used to describe the relationship of God to human beings, such divine compassion or mercy is an appropriate part of Israel's lexicon for grace.

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## *NEW TESTAMENT*

Grace is love demonstrated by giving; in the gospel, grace is unmerited divine favor, arising in the mind of God and bestowed on his people. It is often considered with regard to its beneficial effects.

### A. Terminology

The common OT terms for God's favorable disposition are *ḥesed* and *ḥēn,* usually meaning "mercy" and "favor" (Smith 1956: 33–55). The NT writers prefer to use "grace" *(charis).* It appears most commonly in Acts and the epistles (except 1 John); in the Synoptic Gospels, only in Luke ("favor," in 1:30; 2:40, 52; also see John 1:14, 16, 17). Besides "grace," *charis* may also be rendered as "gracious" (Luke 4:22; Col 4:6), "gracious work" (2 Cor 8:6, 7, 19), "favor" (2 Cor 8:4), "credit" (Luke 6:32, 33, 34), "thank" (Luke 17:9); "as a gift" (Rom 4:4), "pleasure" (2 Cor 1:15), "blessing" (2 Cor 9:8), and "approved" (1 Pet 2:19).

The NT writers can also use *charis* in a distinctively Christian way, to describe the loving inclination in Christ (*TDNT* 9:391). Thus "grace" is a central term in Pauline soteriology and important in the vocabulary of Acts, Hebrews, and 1 Peter.

### B. Grace as Divine Help and Empowerment

Grace can mean loving help to an individual or to people. Thus, a Christian's speech "may impart grace to those who hear" (Eph 4:29). The term *charis* is thus translated as "gracious work" in 2 Cor 8:6, 7, 19. It is not here a technical term for the Jerusalem Collection (contra *TDNT* 9:393), but rather a description of unusual generosity.

Grace is most often God's general blessings toward people. For example, God's grace enabled the Macedonians to donate to the Collection despite their own trials (2 Cor 8:1), and enabled the Corinthians to do the same (9:14). In this they will emulate Jesus' gracious condescension (8:9).

God's grace comes to those who are in need and humbly approach God for help. Thus both Jas 4:6 and 1 Pet 5:5 reach back to Prov 3:34: "God opposes the proud, but gives grace to the humble." God's grace brings enablement to the helpless, especially the poor and persecuted. Paul had to learn that "my grace is sufficient for you, for my power is made perfect in weakness" (2 Cor 12:9; see Heb 4:16; 1 Pet 5:10). God's grace includes help in preaching the gospel and in enduring persecution (see Acts 4:33; Phil 1:7).

### C. Grace as God's Saving Benevolence in Christ

Grace frequently denotes God's giving of himself in Christ in order to effect salvation for the undeserving. Because of the close connection of grace with God's work, the former is at times used as a sign for the latter. In Acts the phrase "word of grace" is the gospel of Christ (Acts 14:3; 20:32). Believers are urged to "continue in the grace of God" (13:43). In 1 Pet 5:12 the author testifies that his message is "the true grace of God" (cf. Gal 1:6; Col 1:6). In Acts 11:23 "grace" is a metonymy for the results of salvation—"When he came and saw the grace of God [in the new converts], he was glad."

Bultmann (*BTNT* 1: 288–89) understands grace not as the personal quality of a giving God, but as the event of salvation. He wishes to demythologize what he regards as the anthropomorphism of God's grace and wrath, but the NT writers clearly viewed grace and wrath as inclinations within the mind of God rather than as soteriological events alone. The picture of a loving Father is never far behind the word "grace" (see Eph 1:6–7). In context, divine grace is described in more detail: "But God, who is rich in

mercy, out of the great love with which he loved us …" (Eph 2:4; also 1 Tim 1:14; Titus 2:11; Heb 2:9; 10:29).

It was commonplace for the early Christians to trace their salvation directly to the grace of God in Christ. For Paul in particular, a right standing with God was wholly of grace. God's grace is extended where the gospel is preached and received (2 Cor 4:15; 6:1). Paul is therefore a steward of God's grace in Eph 3:2, preaching the gospel and declaring God's good favor to more and more people.

In Rom 3:24, sinners "are justified by his grace as a gift, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus." God's grace is needed to the extent that sin is present, that is, universally (Rom 5:20–21; see 1 Tim 1:15–16). "Grace" in Romans 5–6 is a shorthand both for the gospel and for the liberty with which the Christian serves God apart from the Law (see Rom 5:2, 15, 17; 6:1, 14, 15).

Eph 2:8–9 exemplifies the Pauline emphasis on the incompatibility of a system of works with salvation by God's grace: "For by grace you have been saved through faith; and this is not your own doing, it is the gift of God—not of works, lest any man should boast." Grace is "not something proceeding from himself or from his own nature, or from his own will or effort, but something 'wholly other,' which proceeds from God and is 'exhibited' on the cross of Christ (Rom 3:25–26)" (Whitley 1932: 43–44).

The author of Acts likewise values saving grace. At the Jerusalem Council, Peter refuses to place gentiles under the Mosaic law: "But we believe that we shall be saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus, just as they will" (Acts 15:11; cf. Acts 18:27; 20:24).

Salvation by grace is used as a foil to merit by the Law in several important passages. John uses "grace" to describe the Logos in John 1:14–18: the Word is "full of grace and truth," we have received from him "grace upon grace." John contrasts Jesus and Moses by saying that "the law was given through Moses; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ."

Paul was deeply concerned with salvation by God's grace as opposed to salvation in any way merited by works: by definition, grace must be undeserved. He states in Rom 4:16 that "that is why it depends on faith, in order that the promise may rest on grace …" For the apostle, justification by faith safeguards the pure reality of saving grace: "I do not nullify the grace of God; for if justification were through the law, then Christ died to no purpose" (Gal 2:21). Paul's opponents warned that salvation by grace alone would lead inevitably to licentiousness; Jude 4 seems to indicate that that might have been one of the perversions of the gospel. But Paul knows that saving grace also means that Christians may find power to live holy lives apart from legalistic structures: "For sin will have no dominion over you, since you are not under law but under grace" (Rom 6:14; see also 6:15; 2 Tim 1:9). A striking parallel to the Pauline emphasis (e.g., in 1 Cor 8:8) is found in Heb 13:9, where the author warns his readers: "Do not be led away by diverse and strange teachings; for it is well that the heart be strengthened by grace, not by foods, which have not benefited their adherents."

In Gal 5:4 Paul tells certain Christians that they have "fallen away from grace." Like the Jews of Rom 10:3, the Galatians "who would be justified by the law" are turning their backs on justification by faith, which to Paul is falling from salvation by grace. In trying to merit the undeserved, they are giving affront to a giving God.

The contrast between salvation wholly by grace and salvation through works is illustrated by divine election. In Rom 11:5–6 Paul states that "there is a remnant, chosen by grace. But if it is by grace, it is no longer on the basis of works; otherwise, grace would no longer be grace." In the apostle's mind, grace is found not only in justification by faith; it also means that those whom God elects are chosen without regard to their religious zeal. Saving faith is also regarded as a gift of God: in Eph 2:9 the whole process of salvation through faith is a gift of grace; Acts 18:27 refers to Christians as "those who through grace had believed" (see also Acts 13:48; 16:14).

In 1 Peter, Peter twice (1:10, 13) speaks of grace as the eschatological revelation of God's saving grace. This certainly does not restrict divine grace to the future, since the author views the whole of the Christian message as grace (5:10, 12). Within the NT, grace as eschatological glory seems to be limited to 1 Peter 1; but note *Did.* 10.6: "May grace come and may this world pass away."

"Grace" is commonly connected with the preaching of the Word. In the NT, however, it is not explicitly used in connection with the sacraments, as is often the case in later theology.

**D. Grace as Special Endowment for Ministry**

Both *charis* and *charisma* are used in the NT to refer to extraordinary divine empowerment for ministry. While *charisma* already had the meaning of "gift" in Hellenistic literature, the NT authors may have used the term of spiritual gifts with a conscious allusion to God's grace in Christ.

Paul received "grace and apostleship," meaning that apostleship was a gracious gift (as in Rom 12:3; 15:15; 1 Cor 3:10 [in the Greek]; 1 Cor 15:10; 2 Cor 1:12; Gal 2:9; Eph 3:7–8). Apostleship is but one of the *charismata,* and 1 Cor 1:4 in context confirms that all the spiritual gifts are divine "graces." Paul says the same thing in Rom 12:6: "Having gifts that differ according to the grace given to us, let us use them" (cf. Eph 4:7). In 1 Pet 4:10, similar vocabulary is used: "As each has received a gift *(charisma),* employ it for one another, as good stewards of God's varied grace." Grace is given to Christians in the form of *charismata,* with which they may edify the Church and thus act as channels of God's goodness and care.

**E. Grace in Salutations and Benedictions**

The importance of God's grace can be seen in passages such as Acts 14:26; 15:40; 20:32, in which believers (in the first two instances, departing missionaries) are commended to God's grace at parting. "Grace" is also used in the salutation and benediction of every letter of the Pauline corpus, 1 and 2 Peter, Revelation, and *1 Clement.* It is found in the closing words of Hebrews and 2 John, but is not used either to begin or close James, 1 and 3 John, and Jude. Grace is often linked with other words, such as "peace" or "mercy," as in the Pauline "Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ" (so 2 Cor 1:3), or in 1 Peter 1:2: "May grace and peace be multiplied to you."

The use of "grace" as a greeting probably derived from the use of the cognate *charein* ("greetings") in Hellenistic epistles (as in Acts 15:23; Jas 1:1). The change from "greetings" to "grace and peace" may have been Paul's own invention (Moffatt 1932: 135–55), although other NT writers also use that convention.

**F. Grace in the Theology of the Christian Church**

The doctrine of grace came to its fullest exposition in the theology of Augustine. He rejected Pelagianism, the contemporary movement which stressed the freedom of the will and the natural human ability to serve God. Augustine countered that the fall of Adam ensures that no individual is able to turn to God, much less obey him. Thus all of salvation must flow from God's grace. Even the decision to receive salvation arises from God's call, in which grace to believe is given. God's grace is prerequisite to any true movement toward God. As a later heterodox reaction to Augustinianism, semi-Pelagianism taught that the beginning of faith and perseverance were to be regarded as the fruits of the human will.

For the late medieval Church, grace was an effluence rather than a divine disposition. Thomas Aquinas could define it as a substance which was infused in people through the sacraments. Infused grace enabled Christians to produce good works, which would lead to God's forgiveness.

The Reformation brought about a revival of Augustinian theology, finding its expression in the slogan *sola gratia:* salvation is of God's gracious inclination toward us from beginning to end, and does not depend on works nor Church nor sacrament. It has its beginning in the gracious election of some to salvation, without regard to merit or spiritual inclination, and leading to the gift of regeneration. Calvin in particular dismissed the medieval view of grace as "magic" (*Institutes* 4.14.14–17).

The Council of Trent rejected the Reformers' understanding of grace. Prevenient grace and free will could lead one to initial faith in Christ and baptism. Through the sacrament, grace would be given to start the process of justification and holy living.

The theology of grace has received much attention in the 20th century, particularly in the theology of Karl Barth (see Berkhouwer 1956).

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**GRANARY.** See AGRICULTURE.

**GRANULATION.** See JEWELRY, ANCIENT ISRAELITE.

**GRAPES.** See FLORA.

**GRASS.** See FLORA.

**GRASSHOPPER.** See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

**GRATING** [Heb *mikbar* (מִכְבַּר)]. A bronze mesh that apparently covered the upper part of the bronze altar of burnt offerings that stood in the courtyard of the Tabernacle (Exod 27:4; 35:16; 38:4, 5, 30; 39:39). This mesh was placed under the ledge of the altar, which seems to have been just beneath the rim. Its four corners were fitted with rings to hold the poles by which the altar could be transported. Despite the information provided by the text, the exact appearance, location, and function of the grating cannot be understood.

CAROL MEYERS

**GRAVEN IMAGE.** "Graven image" normally translates the Hebrew *pesel* or *pāsîl.* Etymologically, both words are related to the verb *pāsal,* "to hew or carve" (e.g., Exod 34:1; 1 Kgs 5:21 [—Eng 5:18]), and in some instances (e.g., Deut 27:15) *pesel* seems to refer to a carved image in contrast to one made by casting molten metal *(massēkâ, nesek, nāsîk).* In other instances this distinction between the words is not maintained, and Isa 40:19 and 44:10 indicate that a *pesel* could be cast *(nāsak).* Other words for images such as *semel* and *ʿāṣāb* probably refer to similar kinds of images.

These images were occasionally made of stone (Hab 2:19) or wood (Isa 40:20; 45:20), and stone statues of deities, sometimes life-size, are known from elsewhere in the ancient Near East. Often they were made of wood carved into the shape of the deity, overlaid with gold and silver, and then fastened to a base (Hab 2:18–19; Isa 30:22; 40:19–20; Jer 10:3–5). Texts from Egypt and Mesopotamia describe similarly made cult statues of deities. Such statues were an important focus of worship in both Egypt and Mesopotamia, and texts like 1 Sam 5:2–5; Deut 7:5, 25; and 2 Sam 5:21 (cf. 1 Chr 14:12) make it clear that they were also used by the Canaanites.

While cult statues were generally life-size, their appearance probably varied considerably depending on the material from which they were made and the resources available for creating the statue. Some, described in Egyptian and Mesopotamian literature, were covered with silver, gold, and precious stones and were spectacularly attired; others probably were made of wood and stone and were much less impressive. Some images may have consisted of little more than a consecrated stone or piece of wood. The real significance of images for those outside Israel lay not in appearance but in function. The life of the god was thought to reside in the statue, and the deity was considered actually present in the image. Other statues, usually smaller in size, were used as votive offerings and for protective and magical purposes.

The use of such images was strictly forbidden by biblical law. However, the context in which the prohibition occurs in the Ten Commandments (Exod 20:2–6; Deut 5:6–10) suggests that its primary focus was to forbid images used in worship rather than to prohibit artistic expression. Figures of cherubim (Exod 26:1, 31; 1 Kgs 6:23–28; 2 Chr 3:7) and other artistic representations (1 Kgs 7:25, 29, 36; Jer 52:20) were used in the tabernacle and the temple. For further discussion and bibliography, see IDOL, IDOLATRY.

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**GREAT ASSEMBLY.** The Great Assembly (Heb *kĕneset haggĕdôlâ,* often mistranslated as the Great Synagogue) is first mentioned in *m. ʾAbot* 1:1 (written about 250 C.E.), where it is placed in the chain of tradents who handed down the oral torah from Moses to the post-70 rabbis. Its position in this chain between the "prophets" and the five "pairs" (see ZUGOTH) indicates that it belongs to the

postexilic period, sometime before the collapse of the Maccabean dynasty. In fact, it is the only institution *ʾAbot* mentions that could have existed during the first 200 or 300 years after the return to Jerusalem.

Rabbinic literature depicts the Great Assembly as an important and authoritative body that legislated significant changes for Judaism. Later rabbis held that it established the festival of Purim (*b. Meg.* 2a) and wrote the books of Ezekiel, Esther, Daniel, and the twelve prophets (*b. B. Bat.* 15a). The rabbis also held that the Assembly played a major role in creating the liturgy used in the rabbinic period, attributing to them the Eighteen Benedictions (*b. Meg.* 17b), *Kiddush* and *Habdalah* (*b. Ber.* 33a) as well as other prayers and benedictions.

Only one member of the Great Assembly is ever mentioned by name: Simeon the Just. According to *ʾAbot,* he was "one of the last survivors of the great assembly." Scholars have attempted to identify him with Simeon I (310–291 B.C.E.), Simeon II (219–199 B.C.E.) and Simeon the Maccabee. While the case for Simeon II appears strongest, none of the identifications is by any means certain.

In fact, the historicity and nature of the Great Assembly are a matter of scholarly debate—one which has engendered little agreement, even on elementary questions. The most significant information, often ignored, is the lack of contemporary evidence for this institution; the first mention of the Great Assembly comes some 400 to 600 years after it supposedly existed and in documents not known for their interest in history. Furthermore, *ʾAbot* and the rest of rabbinic literature depict the Assembly as a permanent institution, but several passages (e.g., *y. Ber.* 1:6; *y. Ber.* 7:3; *Midr.* Ps. 19) reveal that the rabbis connect it to the one-time general meeting depicted in Neh 8–10. The concept of the Great Assembly thus appeared first among the rabbis of the 1st or 2d century C.E., and they or their successors tied it to the Nehemiah story. It is unlikely that the Great Assembly ever was a historical institution as portrayed in rabbinic literature.

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**GREAT BIBLE, THE.** Henry VIII, seeking a Bible free from undesirable interpretations, permitted Thomas Cromwell, his Vicar-General, to proceed with the preparation of what came to be called the Great Bible. Cromwell, securing permission from the King of France, appointed Richard Grafton and Eduard Whitechurch to do the printing in Paris because of the superior paper and workmanship available there. Though Miles Coverdale's translation of the Bible had been out only two years, he was persuaded to prepare the new text. Coverdale and Grafton wrote Cromwell from Paris in June of 1538 of their progress.

Coverdale used Matthew's Bible (1537), Sebastian Münster's Latin text of the Old Testament (1534–35), Erasmus' Latin Bible (1516, 1519, 1522, 1517), and perhaps the Complutensian Polyglot (1521). Because of the patronage Cromwell gave, the Bible is sometimes called "Cromwell's Bible."

A printing of 2,000 copies was planned, but relations with France worsened so that by December of 1538 Coverdale wrote Cromwell of the political danger. The Inquisition arrested the printer, Francis Regnault, and seized all the stock; however, the correctors escaped with some sheets. Four vats of the sheets, escaping from the fire, were sold to a haberdasher, and after repurchase by the British reached England safely. After extended negotiations, the press, type, and printers were brought to England, and the Bible was finally finished in 1539 (Herbert 1968: No 46).

Named from its size of fifteen inches in height, the Great Bible had a woodcut title page, formerly erroneously ascribed to Holbein, which shows Henry VIII with Cranmer and Cromwell distributing Bibles to the people, who cry "Vivat rex!" and "God save the King!" There are numerous woodcut borders and initials scattered through the book.

An edition in 1540 had a preface by Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, which is why it is known as "Cranmer's Bible." This preface was frequently also printed in later Bibles of other types. The title page of 1540 carried the words "This is the Bible appointed to be read in Churches." By the end of 1541 there had been a total of seven editions with an estimated 20,000 copies. These editions were the subject of a study by Francis Fry in 1865.

The text used the paragraphs of Stephen Langton, had no verses, but used A, B, and C down the margins to mark sections. Words derived from the Latin Bible but not represented in the original languages were printed in small type. The order of books in the New Testament is that of Erasmus (later used in the KJV), not that of Luther. The Lord's Prayer read "Forgive us our dettes …" rather than "trespasses," which Tyndale had used.

Coverdale had planned a set of annotations for the end of the Bible, and he inserted a pointing hand at appropriate places in the text, but the notes were never approved and never appeared.

The royal Injunctions of 1538 had ordered that by a certain date every parish was to have a Bible of "the largest volume in English" to be set up to be read. The Great Bible sold for ten shillings unbound and twelve shillings bound and clasped. Churchwardens' accounts of the period enter the cost for "half a Bible," which means the parish paid half and the clergy half. Because the book was often chained to the reading stand, as books of the period in libraries were often chained to prevent theft, it has been called "the chained Bible." Six copies were set up in St. Paul's in London, and crowds gathered to hear the reading, making it necessary for the Bishop of London to forbid reading during the sermon.

An effort in 1542 to revise the Great Bible to make it more like the Latin failed, for the bishops to whom parts were allotted had no real desire for the planned revision. No Bibles were printed in England during Henry's reign after 1541. In 1543 Bibles with the name of Tyndale were proscribed, and in 1546 Coverdale's name was included in the prohibition. After Henry's death, in the six and a half years of Edward VI's reign (1547–1553), there were twenty-four printings of the NT and sixteen of the entire Bible of various sorts. Under Mary (1553–1558), no Bibles were published in England. Rogers and Cranmer, who had played a role in Bible translation, were martyred (1555, 1556). With the accession of Elizabeth (1558), Bibles were printed again, with the Great Bible printed in 1561 (No. 110), 1562 (No. 117), 1566 (Nos. 119, 120), and 1668 (No. 122).

The Great Bible was used as the basis for the revision done by Matthew Parker, which came to be known as the Bishops' Bible. The Bishops' Bible immediately displaced the Great Bible, of which the last printing was in 1569; however, the Great Bible Psalms had become a lasting part of the Book of Common Prayer, and they were inserted in Bishops' Bibles after 1572. Butterworth (1941: 231) estimated that thirteen percent of the wording of the King James version of the Bible is due to Coverdale's work, including the Great Bible.

The text of the NT was reprinted in Bagster's *English Hexapla* in 1841 and in Weigle's *The New Testament Octapla* in 1962. Its Psalms are in the *Hexaplar Psalter* of 1911, and its Genesis is in Weigle's *Genesis Octapla* in 1965.

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**GREAT COMMISSION, THE.** The pericope specifically known as "the Great Commission" is Matt 28:18–20, but the post-Resurrection narratives in the Gospels and Acts record other directives (Mark 16:15; Luke 24:47–49; John 20:21–23; Acts 1:8) as well that the risen Lord gave His church (Matt 16:18) to obey "to the close of the age" (Matt 28:20). Each account makes distinctive, but complementary, contributions to the Commission that has fueled the spread of Christianity to the present time (Peters 1972: 174–98; Warren 1976).

Of the various passages, Mark 16:15, located in the longer ending of the second gospel, is likely not original. However, this section of Mark was quoted by Irenaeus and Hippolytus in the latter 2d and early 3d centuries A.D. Also, the wording "Go into all the world and preach the gospel to the whole creation" (Mark 16:15) is strikingly similar to the Pauline statements that "the gospel … has been preached to every creature under heaven" (Col 1:23) and "in the whole world" (Col 1:6). Thus, a mandate for universal

proclamation of the gospel message is understood in the NT and early church history, completely apart from a decision on Mark 16:15.

The Commission statement in John's gospel reads, "As the Father has sent me, even so I send you" (20:21). The emphasis is on continuation of Jesus' earthly ministry through the disciples (vv 19, 20). The Son came to fulfill a redemptive mission from the Father (3:16). Now, following the Johannine account of the death and burial of Jesus (19:17–42) and the glorious resurrection (20:1–9), the offer of forgiveness of sins (v 23) is sent forth (v 21) in the power of the Holy Spirit (v 22).

The version of Christ's commission in Luke also mentions forgiveness and more precisely describes the geographical "sending": "Repentance and forgiveness of sins will be preached in his name to all nations, beginning at Jerusalem" (24:47). The combining of repentance and forgiveness looks ahead to Peter's sermon at Pentecost (Acts 2:38). The stated scope of Paul's apostolic mission is "all nations" (Rom 1:5; 16:26), and he declares that he has proclaimed the gospel "from Jerusalem all the way around to Illyricum" (Rom 15:19). Thus, there seems to be a consciousness of the Lukan Commission at an early stage.

Luke's message is repeated in Acts 1:8, which picks up the themes of being "witnesses" from Luke 24:48 and of "power" from 24:49. It also states the same geographic starting point as seen in Luke 24:47 (i.e., Jerusalem). In well-known words which generally prefigure the development of Acts, Jesus says, "You will receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the end of the earth" (Acts 1:8). These words come immediately before the Ascension (v 9), thus accentuating their implications.

The specific "Great Commission" is in Matt 28:18–20. In the light of the resurrection (28:1–7), the triumphant Lord asserts universal authority (v 18) and commands a universal age-long strategy (vv 19–20; O'Brien 1978: 256–67). While the background, structure, function, and theology of this section has recently been widely debated (Brooks 1981: 2–18; Hubbard 1974; Kingsbury 1974: 573–84; Friedrich 1983: 137–83), the general thrust is clear. In his public ministry Jesus had called "disciples" (Gk *mathētai; TDNT* 4:390–461; Wilkins 1988) from the masses as He went about proclaiming the gospel of the kingdom and teaching (Matt 4:17–5:2). Now He directs His closest disciples (Matt 28:16) to "Go … and make disciples (*mathēteuō*) of all nations" (v 19). This represents a shift from Jesus' focus on Israel seen in Matt 10:5–6 and 15:24 (Brown 1980: 193–221).

While the worldwide *goal* of the Great Commission is equivalent to Luke 24:47 and Acts 1:8, the sequential *procedure* is unique to the Matthean statement: "going" (Gk *poreuthentes*) for the purpose of evangelism and making disciples (Matt 28:19); baptizing those who respond to the gospel (v 19); and teaching those new disciples what Christ had commanded (v 20; Luter 1980: 269–70). Further, in words recalling the "Emmanuel" promise in Matt 1:23, Christ promises His ongoing presence in the Great Commission process (v 20), which will only be fulfilled at the time of the Parousia (Matt 24:14).

The beginning of the outworking of the Great Commission is seen in the activities of the generation that received it. Peter's procedure at Pentecost was evangelistic preaching, then baptism and teaching (Acts 2:41–42). The approach of Paul seen in Acts 14:21–23 is evangelism in order to "make disciples" (the only use of *mathēteuō* outside Matthew), then instructing the disciples *(mathētai)* and organizing them into churches. Such examples imply that the apostles understood that Christ's church (Matt 16:18) was to be built up by making disciples of all nations throughout the age (Matt 28:19–20).

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**GREAT POWER, CONCEPT OF.** See CONCEPT OF GREAT POWER (NHC VI,*4*).

**GREAT SEA** (PLACE) [Heb *hayyām haggādôl* (הַיָּם הַגָּדוֹל)]. A geographical designation for the sea located W of the Promised Land (Num 34:6–7; Josh 1:4; 9:1; 15:47; 23:4; Ezek 47:15, 19, 20; 48:20). The Egyptians referred to it as *W3ḏ-wr,* the "Great Green," a term connoting a sea in general, but particularly the sea known today as the Mediterranean. Assyrian kings, whose armies reached the sea, called it *ṯmtu rabîtu,* the "Great Sea." The Aramaic translation, the LXX, and the Vulgate followed suit. The *Genesis Apocryphon,* however, added a modifier. When delineating the W boundary of the land promised to Abraham, it called the sea to the west, *ym› rb› dn dy mlḥ›,* the "Great Sea of Salt" (1QapGen 21). This sea is designated as "great" to distinguish it from the inland "Sea of Salt," a characterization found later in Jewish sources of the Middle Ages (Maimonides, Arabic commentary on *m. Kelim* 15:1).

The Targum recognizes the existence of two "Great Seas," one in the W and one in the S or SE (*Tg. Ket.* Ps 72:8). Since there was more than one great sea known to the ancients, a further distinction was made. The chronicles of the Assyrian kings show that the royal scribes described the Mediterranean as *tam-ṯ rabî-tu ša šul-mu* $^{d}$*šam-ši* ("the Great Sea which is in the west"), differentiating it from the *tam-ṯ rabî-tu ša na-paḫ* $^{d}$*šam-ši* ("the Great Sea which is in the East"). Similarly, when drawing territorial boundaries of the biblical land, the Hebrews used the term *hayyām haggādôl* in conjunction with another word or phrase which signified the W, such as *hayyām haggādôl mĕbô› haššāmeš,* "the Great Sea where the sun sets" (Jos 1:4; 23:4), or *yām,* literally, "sea," but figuratively, in most instances, "west" (Num 34:6; cf. Ps 107:3 where *yām* signifies "south").

The ancient Near Eastern people gave designations to parts of the Great Sea, especially to its Syro-Palestinian shores. Although not mentioned in Scriptures, Egyptian sources employ the term *p3ywm ʿ3 n Ḫ3rw,* "the Great Sea of Ḫuru$^{w}$ (Gardiner 1932: 61–76), which refers to the Great Sea of Ḫuru-land (= Syria-Palestine). The name is drawn from an ethnic group, Ḫurrians, which inhabited Syro-Palestine long before the appearance of the Israelite tribes (Gen 14:6; Deut 2:12). The biblical text preserves another ethnological term, "Sea of the Philistines" (Exod 23:31), located along the Palestinian shoreline, most probably in the vicinity of Philistine settlements. In the same vein, the Sea of Joppa is the part of the Great Sea named after the port city prominent from the pre-biblical era through the post-biblical period. Ancient Israel regarded this port city as the main outlet to the Great Sea for goods as well as for travelers even before it came under direct Jewish control in 143 B.C.E. (1 Chr 2:15; Ezra 3:7; Jonah 1:3; see also *Let. Aris.* 115; Strab. *Geo* 16 2.28).

Designations of parts of the Great Sea by names of independent seaports or ethnic groups raised the question of the jurisdiction of the city or the people over the territorial waters adjacent to the land. While not discussed in Scriptures, the issue concerned the postbiblical Jewish sages. They argued that the W border, for the purposes of Jewish law, did not end with the seacoast of the Great Sea but incorporated that part of it that extended due W between the S and N borders of Israel. The minimalists' approach included under Jewish jurisdiction only segments of the east Mediterranean along the coast. The maximalists' view encompassed a major part of the Great Sea, placing not only the sea but also the islands under the jurisdiction of the Promised Land (*b. Giṭ* 8a), a theory which runs parallel to the Roman conception of the Mediterranean Sea as *mare nostrum.*

The Israelites, contrary to their stereotype of landlubbers, were not only farmers but were also participants in maritime enterprises taking place in the Great Sea to the W and the Great Sea to the SE.

A major preoccupation of the conquering Israelites was their attempt to control the seacoast which stretched from Gaza in the S to Sidon in the N. Coalitions of powerful western kings along *hôp hayyām haggādôl* (Josh 9:1), an *hapax leqomenon* referring to the "shore of the Great Sea," joined forces to

prevent the advancing tribes of Israel from dominating the coastal strip. The alliance was defeated and the Israelites were able to occupy the coast, albeit only sections of it (Josh 11:8; Boling *Joshua* AB, 308; Judg 1:27, 30–32; Boling *Judges* AB, 60). The efforts to control the seacoast were continued by the conquering tribes who achieved dominance over the central part of it, except for the famous harbor town of Dor (Josh 17:11; Boling *Joshua* AB, 306; Judg 1:27).

The possession of large sections of the coastal region permitted participation in marine trade and provided direct access to marts in foreign lands. According to biblical evidence, no less than three tribes—Zebulon, Dan, and Asher—were involved in maritime activities (Gen 49:13; Judg 5:17; see also Yadin 1965: 42–55).

Recent maritime archaeological surveys reveal numerous harbors and havens along the ancient Mediterranean coast of Israel, suggesting considerable sea trade (Linder and Leenhardt 1964: 47–51; Raban 1984: 241–53). Later, when the Philistines gained control over the S coast, the Hebrews found another sea outlet. King Solomon exploited the geographical position of Ancient Israel as a land bridge between the two Great Seas and entered into a commercial partnership with the Phoenicians, which overcame geographical barriers for both. For the Hebrews, it opened up the sea-lanes on the Mediterranean, and for the Phoenicians, it allowed access to the lucrative sea trade from the east (1 Sam 5:11; 1 Kgs 5:15–26; 9:11–14; 26–28; 10:11; 22; 2 Chr 2:2–15; 5:17–18; 9:21; see also Menander apud *AgAp* 1.120; 126).

When the monarchy was divided and the tribes could no longer regain possession of the coastal strip, the maritime ventures on the Great Sea were severely curtailed (Gordon 1963: 31). There was, however, a full-blown revival of maritime activity during the Maccabean period (See MEDITERRANEAN SEA). As an integral component of the Mediterranean society (Gordon 1963: 20–22), the Hebrews always strove to achieve an outlet to the Great Sea. Whenever the goal was realized, they set sail and engaged in all aspects of maritime activities.

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**GREECE** (PLACE) [Gk *hē Hellas* (ἡ Ἑλλας)]. The lower part of the Balkan peninsula which protrudes southward from the continent of Europe, between Italy and Turkey (Acts 20:2).

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A. Geographical Location
B. Terminology
C. Early Civilization (before 2000 B.C.)
D. Migrations and Language (ca. 2600–1000 B.C.)
E. Minoan Civilization (ca. 2000–1400 B.C.)
F. Mycenaean Civilization (ca. 1450–1200 B.C.)
G. The Dark Age (ca. 1200–800 B.C.)
H. The Archaic Age (ca. 800–500 B.C.)
I. The Classical Period (ca. 500–338 B.C.)
J. The Hellenistic Period (338–146 B.C.)

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**A. Geographical Location**

The major part of the country of Greece is located between 20 and 25 degrees east longitude and between 36 and 40 degrees north latitude. However, there are more than 2,000 Greek islands, 151 of

which are inhabited, which extend to the coast of Turkey, where colonists of ancient Greece established themselves in Aeolia and Ionia.

**B. Terminology**

The name Greece *(Hellas)* was brought into the main part of the country by an invading tribe of *Hellēnes.* According to Aristotle, they came from Epirus in NW Greece; more specifically, the area around Dodona, which they called *Hellas.* The name was later applied to the entire country. Greece is mentioned only once by name in the New Testament (Acts 20:2), where it refers only to Achaia (S Greece) as opposed to Macedonia in the N (v 3). Most modern translations of the Hebrew Bible render the term JAVAN as Greece (e.g., Dan 8:21; 10:20; 11:2; Zech 9:13). Javan is mentioned among the distant (gentile) nations in Isa 66:19; Ezek 27:13). The name was apparently derived from Javan, the fourth son of Noah's son Japheth (Gen 10:2, 4; 1 Chr 1:5, 7). Greeks are referred to in Joel 3:6.

In NT times, subsequent to the extensive Hellenization of the ancient world by Alexander the Great, the term Greek became somewhat of a cultural designation, referring to anyone who accepted Greek culture and spoke the language. The Jews who came to worship at the Passover feast and asked to see Jesus are called "Greeks" *(hellēnes)* by John, meaning they were from the Diaspora (John 12:20). Luke calls them "Hellenists" (*hellēnistōn,* Acts 6:1). Ancient Greek manuscripts sometimes confuse or equate the two terms (Acts 9:29). Luke probably reserves the term "Greeks" for non-Jews who worship the one true God (Acts 14:1; 16:1, 3; 17:4, 12; 19:17), also calling them Godfearers (13:16, 26; 16:14; 18:7), and designates as "Gentiles" those who were polytheistic pagans (4:25, 27; 9:15; 18:6; etc.). Jews in Jerusalem felt that anyone who had not become a proselyte was a gentile, even if he was a Godfearer like Cornelius (Acts 11:1, 18).

**C. Early Civilization (before 2000 B.C.)**

There are no written documents concerning Greece prior to the *Iliad* of Homer, around 800 B.C. We rely, therefore, largely on archaeological discovery and philology for information about the prehistoric period. From a study of the language we learn that a non-Indo-European people lived in Greece before the arrival of Indo-European Greek-speaking tribes. The former seem to have come from Armenia and the latter from south Russia.

Agricultural and pastoral seafaring nomads settled in Crete, Cyprus, and the Cyclades early in the Neolithic Period, around the close of the 4th millennium B.C. In the Early Bronze Period (ca. 2600–2000 B.C. for Crete), migrants from Asia Minor settled in Crete and the Cyclades. Skeletons show that they were long-headed and narrow-faced people, rather short in stature; the men averaged five feet and two inches and the women four feet and eleven inches. These are regarded as the first Minoans, who settled in Crete and were later named after Minos, a famous king of Crete.

Extensive trade developed between Cyprus and Babylonia, testified to by the discovery of many Babylonian cylinder seals in Early Bronze settlements in Cyprus. Trade also flourished between the Cyclades and Asia Minor. Undoubtedly prompted by this trade, the pictographic form of writing was replaced around 1600 by a linear script, called Linear A, which has never been deciphered. It was widely used throughout Crete. It was written from right to left and probably did not represent the Greek language. It may have belonged to the period prior to the Indo-European settlements.

**D. Migrations and Language (ca. 2600–1000 B.C.)**

The first Greek-speaking people in the southern Balkan Peninsula arrived in Macedonia, Thessaly, and Epirus sometime after 2600 B.C. and developed, probably due to the extreme mountainous nature of the country, their several different dialects. About 1900 B.C., people who spoke Ionic, the oldest dialect of Greek, moved into Boeotia, Corinthia, and Argolis.

About 1600 B.C., the largest migration of Greek-speaking people entered Greece, speaking the Achaean groups of dialects—the Aeolic branch in E Greece and the Arcadian branch in the Peloponnese. The development of the epic Greek language began at that time, when these two branches were the main dialects of the Greek world. Those who spoke the Ionic dialect were driven southward into Attica by the Aeolic-speaking branch. The Dorians brought their dialect into S Greece, when they overthrew the Mycenaeans around 1200. About 1000 B.C., Ionians migrated to W Asia Minor and settled along its S

coast. Homer and Hesiod wrote primarily in Ionic. The people of Athens were part of this Ionic-speaking tribe in Attica, and by the Classical Period, on the mainland, Ionic was spoken in Attica alone. Aeolic-speaking Greeks also migrated to the W coast of Asia Minor, settling in the area immediately N of Ionia. The youngest stratum of dialect is Attic, which underlay the amalgamated Koine (common) Greek in which the New Testament was written.

**E. Minoan Civilization (ca. 2000–1400 B.C.)**

The Minoan civilization reached its zenith from 1600 to 1400 B.C. Excavated settlements show a highly developed society with two-story houses which contained bathrooms, lavatories, halls, and interior staircases. Frescoes and statues show the men wearing a codpiece, a tight belt, and occasionally a short kilt. Women wore a skirt, a tight belt, and sometimes a low corset, leaving the breasts exposed. Both sexes were slender and wore their hair long. The men were beardless. Both sexes participated in public functions, especially sports such as the popular somersaulting over the backs of charging longhorn bulls (bull-leaping). Dancing girls were frequently portrayed on the walls of the palace at Knossos in N Crete, excavated by Sir Arthur Evans in A.D. 1900. The chief deity of this devoutly religious civilization was female. The Mother Goddess of Anatolia may be the source of this deity, but this is uncertain.

The major palaces of Crete were destroyed around 1400 B.C. when the Minoan civilization came to an end. The causes are not known, but several have been suggested as possible: (1) the mid-15th-century volcanic explosion that destroyed Thera (Santorini), which some identify with ancient Atlantis; (2) civil war on Crete; (3) pirate activity of the kind that later destroyed Troy and Mycenae and attacked Egypt; (4) an invasion of the Mycenaeans.

**F. Mycenaean Civilization (ca. 1450–1200 B.C.)**

Around 1450 B.C., Mycenaean expressions permeated the palace at Knossos. Michael Ventris deciphered the script, Linear B, recognizing the language as a primitive form of Greek (Chadwick 1958). It seems to have developed at Crete for commercial reasons in order to communicate in the Mycenaean language (which previously had existed only orally), having been brought to Crete from the mainland of Greece. Evidence indicates that the Mycenaeans never used Linear B for anything except accounts, inventories, and the like. No examples of continuous prose exist, and what is known of the system makes it unlikely that it was suitable for such communication. The script continued to be used on the mainland, after the destruction of Crete, until about 1200 B.C.

The mainland had been settled about the same time as the islands, around 3000 B.C., in the regions of Thessaly, Phocis, and Boeotia. These settlers came from the hinterland of Asia Minor as well as from the N. The S portion of Greece entered the Bronze Age (ca. 2600 to 1900 B.C. for the mainland) sooner than did the N. The Middle Bronze Age (ca. 1900 to 1600 B.C.) saw the invasion of central and S Greece, including the Peloponnese, by Greek-speaking people from the N. This culture, which entered Greece with violent destruction, developed significantly and from 1600 to 1450 prevailed in Boeotia and Argolis. In the latter district, the city of Mycenae was first excavated in 1874 by Heinrich Schliemann, who found the first evidence of this culture, and it was therefore dubbed Mycenaean.

Excavations by Sir Arthur Evans and others have shown that the Mycenaeans and the Minoans were two distinct cultures. The Mycenaeans, unlike the Minoans, were a taller, warlike people, who buried their dead in lavish shaft graves and used gold in abundance. However, the Mycenaeans were influenced by Minoan culture from Crete while retaining their own. This is seen especially in their pottery, jewelry, religious symbolism, and association with a cult of the Mother Goddess. Excavations by Schliemann at Mycenae and Troy have given historical credibility to the geographical and historical background of Homer's *Iliad.*

**G. The Dark Age (ca. 1200–800 B.C.)**

Mycenaean civilization was destroyed about 1200 B.C. in a way not yet known. It may have been an invasion of Dorians from the N. Civilization devolved into barbarism, and all cultural advance stopped—seal engraving, fresco painting, faience making, ivory carving, working with stone, etc. No documents in any language have been found in Greece during this period; Linear B ceased to exist. It was a time of general disruption in the Mediterranean. Troy fell to a Mycenaean coalition which itself was almost

immediately destroyed, perhaps by Dorians. Sea Peoples (probably Philistines) attempted an invasion of Egypt. The Hittites were conquered by the Phrygians. Lydia was overrun and Cyprus plundered. Tarsus (in Asia Minor), Ugarit (in Syria), and Sidon (in Lebanon) were burned.

**H. The Archaic Age (ca. 800–500 B.C.)**

During this period significant changes took place in Greece. Sometime in the early part of the period the Phoenician alphabet was adopted, and a complete system of vowels developed. Writing was virtually rediscovered, making possible the production of Greek literature. The topography of the land, characterized by many isolated valleys, which contributed to the perpetuation of various dialects, also fostered the rise of the city-state (the *polis*). These independent cities were never able to be absorbed into a single political entity until the time of Philip of Macedon. For its citizens, the city was the state, and every member of the *polis* was also a member by birth of both a tribe (the larger unit) and a brotherhood (primarily a religious association which observed festivals).

During the early part of this period, the Olympic Games were founded. Subsequent Greek calendars were based on the Olympiads, the four-year intervals between games. The games provided one of the few times when Greeks transcended local loyalties and interests and came together to honor Zeus. Only men participated in the games, which also banned women spectators in the early years.

Trade between Greece and the east increased during these centuries, while colonization of S Italy took place. Greek settlements were also made in the N Aegean, on the shores of the Black Sea, and along the N coast of Africa. Aristocratic landowners maintained control of the society and conducted warfare during the early years of the period. Sometime after the mid-7th century, the aristocratic type of rule was replaced by that of tyrants (from both the aristocracy and the people), who took control of city-states by the use of bands of armed followers. Some of these were good for the people, but most were not. The latter are responsible for the negative connotation of the word in subsequent history.

The first temples built of stone in Greece date to around the end of the 7th century. In the following century, they were built throughout the Mediterranean world. These temples were not places of worship but residences of the gods, and by the 6th century they ceased to satisfy the religious needs of the worshipers, who created a new form of expression, the Mystery Religions, or secret cults, which centered on Dionysus, Demeter, and Orpheus. These maintained their popularity until well after the NT period.

The Archaic Age witnessed the creation of lyric poetry, which probed the depths of human emotions, but almost no Greek music has survived. Scientific and philosophical speculation also developed during this time. Military defense was enhanced by the construction of substantial city walls, while harbors and public buildings of various kinds were built to intensify commercial activity.

Although Greece had been divided into many city-states in the 6th century, the history of the 5th century was predominantly the history of two of these—Athens and Sparta. This is partially because these two cities were the two major forces in preventing Persian control of Greece. Nevertheless, each represented a completely different approach to Greek culture at the time.

Sparta consisted of a group of five neighboring unwalled villages, rather than a walled city. It evidently had been settled by Dorians, who took the area in Mycenaean times. A totalitarian regime governed Sparta, emphasizing military preparedness and resisting any kind of social change. Sparta's laws forbade foreign travel by its citizens, discouraged foreign visitors, and prohibited coined money. This eliminated foreign trade, of course. A system of communal living developed, unlike anything known elsewhere in Greece. Although they were expected to marry by age 30, the sexes continued to live in segregated areas, the young men sleeping in military club dormitories for years later. Clandestine evening rendezvous with wives were routine, of course. Spartan women became more socially independent in such a society, developing a reputation for sexual aggressiveness and lesbianism. Children belonged to the state, and if not perfect at birth were "exposed" (thrown out to die). At age 12 a boy was taken into military service and left home forever to live with other young men. Girls also received some physical education. Homosexuality was common in such segregated circumstances.

This system gave Sparta the best army in Greece from about 550 to 350 B.C., an army created to defend and preserve its own way of life, not to make military conquests. The cost of such security was the surrender of individualism to the interests of the state, somewhat along the lines of modern communism.

Athens, by contrast, developed a system of laws in the 6th century that modernized the old system of the city. Solon, himself an aristocrat who was chosen by the city as a virtual benevolent tyrant to renovate its laws, abrogated the old Draconian code, which had been produced by the aristocracy. In its place he made sweeping reforms and instituted what became the basis of a democracy. Changes in the judicial system were accompanied by the transference of more power to representatives of the people.

At the time that democracy was emerging in Greece, a challenge to its existence was developing further east. By 550 B.C. the Persian king Cyrus had overthrown the king of Media, whose brother-in-law Croesus, king of Lydia, then marched against Cyrus but was defeated in 546 B.C. Ionia and Aeolia, the Greek colonies in W Asia Minor, had backed the loser and were placed under the rule of tyrants, who were answerable to the Persian satrap at Sardis. After the death of Cyrus, his son Cambyses conquered Egypt, and the Greeks found themselves bordering the greatest empire the world had ever known.

Ionia revolted in 499 B.C., and the war that followed was recorded by Herodotus, a native of Ionia, who wrote his history of the Persian Wars in the Ionic dialect during the 5th century. Ionia failed, and its greatest city, Miletus, the pride of the Greek world, was evacuated; its inhabitants were resettled in the east. Darius had taken the Persian throne in 522 B.C. and now decided to take the mainland of Greece. He sent an expedition there in 492, which failed when the Persian fleet was destroyed in a storm off Mt. Athos. Two years later, in 490, he sent another force which landed at Marathon, but it was also unsuccessful. More than 6,000 Persians were killed at Marathon, compared to only 192 Athenians. The Persians withdrew by sea and sailed against Athens. However, the Athenian troops made a marathon march to Athens, arriving there in twenty-six days, before the Persians could prepare for a battle. The Persians then left without attempting a landing.

The Athenians commissioned Themistocles to build a navy, anticipating another Persian attack eventually. The fleet numbered 200 ships and was ready when Xerxes, the son of Darius, invaded Greece in 480 B.C. to avenge the loss at Marathon. The force, which Herodotus says numbered 1,700,000, was too large to move by sea, and so it marched from Sardis in Asia Minor, across the Dardanelles on a pontoon bridge, and then down the coast of Greece, while the navy sailed just off shore.

Leonidas, a Spartan king who was assisting Athens, met the Persians at a narrow pass on the coast called Thermopylae (about 50 yards wide at the time, though wider now). Seeing the hopelessness of the situation, Leonidas sent the largest part of his force back to Athens, and with the remainder of his troops fought a delaying battle to allow Athens time to prepare for the Persian invasion. A treacherous local Greek guide took a Persian contingent through the mountains, allowing them to outflank Leonidas and his men, all of whom were killed. However, the Persian fleet lost 400 ships in a gale at Artemision off the N end of Euboea and 200 more around the S end of the island.

Meanwhile, the citizens of Athens had been given enough time to evacuate the city and move to the island of Salamis, where they would rely on the navy of Themistocles to defend them. The Greek navy, consisting of about 300 ships, destroyed much of the remaining Persian fleet in the straits of Salamis between the island and the mainland. After sacking Athens, Xerxes returned to Sardis and left a large force to finish conquering the mainland. However, the Spartans met them with a force of 38,000 hoplite soldiers at Plataea in SW Boeotia and defeated them. The year was 479 B.C. The Greek fleet crossed the Aegean sea, caught what remained of the Persian fleet ashore in Mycale, between Miletus and Ephesus, and burned it.

**I. The Classical Period (ca. 500–338 B.C.)**

Although Sparta had been a trusted ally of Athens during the Persian Wars, rivalry soon developed between them, eventually producing a conflict that lasted from 460 to 404 B.C.

In 478–477 B.C. in addition to maintaining the alliance she had with Sparta, Athens proceeded to create another alliance with all her allies around the perimeter of the Aegean, and functioned as the unquestioned leader of this new Delian League, which met on the sacred island of Delos. A treasury to fund the league

was established on the island in the temple of Apollo and Artemis. Although Sparta, which never liked outside involvement, was happy for Athens to have allies who would fight with her, and thus free Sparta from the task, she eventually came to resent the encroaching control of Athens over the entire Delian League. Sparta was gradually losing her position as leader of the city-states, while Athens was gradually enhancing her position.

The tension peaked when Sparta called upon Athens to help her with an internal crisis, a revolt of her serfs, who were called helots. Athenian forces did so poorly that the Spartans contemptuously dismissed them, preferring to fight without their weak assistance. Athens thereupon broke her alliance with Sparta and made one about 464 B.C. with Sparta's enemy Argos, which lay between Athens and Sparta.

A major factor in the gradual transformation of leadership from Sparta to Athens was the evolution of the methodology of warfare in Greece. Sparta's unique and well-disciplined army had made her the supreme power in Greece for a long time. However, after the defeat of the Persians by the navy of Athens, it became increasingly clear to everyone that Greece's future lay in its navy. Furthermore, Athens was much more involved in naval matters than Sparta because of its leadership of the Delian League, which involved the Aegean islands and the coast of Asia Minor. In this way, Athens inevitably assumed the leadership once held by Sparta.

In addition to these factors, there was also the rise of democracy in Athens, made possible by economic and political conditions that did not and could not exist in Sparta's militaristic configuration. Pericles, a dedicated Athenian aristocrat who hungered for democracy, eventually persuaded the leaders of Athens in 462–461 B.C. to pass a series of laws that eliminated the last remnants of the old aristocratic constitution and instated full democracy.

According to Thucydides, the Athenians were exacting and harsh, eventually losing their popularity as the leaders of the Delian League but maintaining their control by force. Thus, the Delian League became an Athenian empire. After minor conflicts with Corinth and Aegina, Athens built the "Long Walls" between herself and the newly constructed port at Piraeus. She also supported an Egyptian revolt against Persia, which ended in disaster for the Greek fleet, which was completely destroyed in 454. Athens now shifted her policy from an intensive involvement with the League to preoccupation with mainland defense. The League's treasury was moved from Delos to the Acropolis in Athens for safety.

By 449 B.C., Athens and Persia realized that further conflict was unprofitable for both and reached a compromise. Athens abandoned Cyprus, and Ionia became a demilitarized zone. Due to the inability of Athens to defend her interests in the Aegean, her allies lost confidence in her leadership and revolted, provoked by the decision of Pericles to use League money to rebuild the temples in Athens which Xerxes had burned. In 450 B.C., Spartan commanders brought a large Peloponnesian army to Eleusis on the W outskirts of Athens, but they were bribed by Pericles with money from the League treasury and took the army home. Athens and Sparta made a thirty-year nonaggression pact in 445 B.C., agreeing not to interfere with each other's allies, and Athens moved toward even greater exclusiveness, having already passed a law requiring Athenian parentage on both sides for citizenship.

It was in the years after the Persian Wars that Greek culture matured into what is now called Classical Greece. During these years, Pericles was the undisputed majority leader of the Assembly in Athens, which was the governing body of the city, but he was not a head of state. Democracy was at work here. The Council of the Five Hundred, which advised the Assembly, was composed of fifty men from each of the ten tribes, and its members were selected annually by the casting of lots. Lobbyists arose among the business classes to see that their interests were not overshadowed by the wealthy. They were called demagogues (i.e., "leaders of the people") and were the first professional politicians. They were, of course, not liked by the gentry, but were an essential part of the working democracy. Any person, regardless of class, could speak before the Assembly.

Even though Athens and Sparta had made a thirty-year peace pact, there was constant anxiety between them because of the desire of Sparta to remain culturally introverted and her fear that the extroverted Athens would eventually stir up Sparta's allies against her. War between them was inevitable, according to Thucydides, because of the "growth of Athenian power and the fear which this caused in Sparta."

Within a decade the Peloponnesian War (434–404 B.C.) broke out. Sparta prevailed in the war against Athens, at the conclusion of which Athens was forced to surrender and Sparta tore down the "Long Walls" of Athens as well as the fortifications of her harbor city, Piraeus. The Athenian empire was dissolved, and Athens was forced to become an ally of Sparta.

The Classical Period was a time of the extraordinary burgeoning of the Greek genius, the blossoming of the human spirit. This era saw the work of Herodotus, who wrote about the war between Greece and Persia in such an analytical way as to become the "Father of History" and probably of cultural anthropology as well. He created the discipline of history by not only investigating and recording what happened but also attempting to determine why. During this time, Thucydides penned his account of the Peloponnesian War, one of the greatest histories ever written, though not in the modern sense of the term. His analysis of events carried him into a philosophical quest for underlying realities and universal principles that transcend modern history writing. Xenophon also wrote, through the eyes of a farmer and soldier, about the world as he saw it.

The Classical Age saw the great poets and playwrights of both tragedy and comedy. Tragedy originated in the religious drama connected with the worship of Dionysus. This is reflected in the works of Aeschylus through the recurring themes of religion and politics. The ancient world, of course, was basically theistic and theocentric, unlike the pragmatic atheism and cultural hedonism that prevails in much of modern society. Of the ninety plays Aeschylus is said to have written, only seven survive. Sophocles, his contemporary, reportedly wrote 120 plays, of which only seven also are extant.

Whereas Aeschylus and Sophocles left the issue of human suffering and justice in the mysterious realm of divine fate, a younger tragedian named Euripides dealt with an emerging national sense of justice that predicated some element of personal responsibility. Law courts in Athens were now proceeding on the assumption that guilt could not adequately be accounted for by blaming an invidious cosmic system. Euripides departed from his predecessors' preoccupation with mythology and concerned himself more with the human drama. In Euripides' plays, even the gods were called to account for conduct unbecoming to a deity. Nineteen of the some ninety plays he is said to have written survive. The great writers of comedy during the period included Aristophanes and Menander, who brought a new sense of meaning to theater by both creating new material and parodying some of the tragedies.

The theaters in which these plays were originally performed were made of wood, but during the Classical Period stone theaters began to be erected. The Dionysus theater, the oldest theater in Greece, was located at the foot of the Acropolis in Athens. It was rebuilt in stone during the time of Alexander the Great by the Attic statesman Lycurgus (ca. 330 B.C.). Greek drama had reached its zenith by the 5th century B.C., with the works of the above-mentioned authors, and extant theaters reflect alterations required by developments in dramatic activity over two hundred years. All the surviving theaters—e.g., at Epidarus, Corinth, Dodona, and Philippi—were built or renovated later than the composition of the plays that were performed in them. We know most about those constructed in the 4th century and later. Creative writing for the theater ceased after the 5th century, and attention was centered on the alteration of facilities.

An equal emphasis was placed on the construction of temples during this period, which saw the erection of monumental structures, such as those still standing in Athens today. The Theseion (Temple of Hephaistos and Athena), built in the Greek Agora in 449, began the period of reconstruction following the Persian Peace, which had been executed that year. On the Acropolis, the Parthenon (Temple of Athena) was erected from 447 to 438 B.C., the Temple of Athena Nike from 427 to 424, and the Erectheion (Temple of Athena and Poseidon) some time after 395.

Some of the greatest Greek sculpture was produced during this period, one of the most significant pieces being that of the colossal bronze statue of Athena Promachos by Pheidias, which was finished in 458 B.C. and stood forty paces inside the monumental entrance to the Acropolis. Another huge chryselephantine statue of Athena by Pheidias was completed in the Parthenon in 432 B.C.

Both Socrates and Plato were products of the Classical Period. Their contribution to human thought is foundational for much of the subsequent intellectual history of the Western world. Aristotle, the pupil of

Plato, became the tutor of Alexander the Great in his youth. The type of Greek culture that Alexander spread throughout his empire was learned at the feet of this teacher, whose thought continues to influence human history.

**J. The Hellenistic Period (338–146 B.C.)**

In the closing years of the Classical Period, Athens, Sparta, and Thebes had all exhausted themselves trying to build empires. By 360 B.C., the balance of power politics had left Greece without a leader. The time was ripe for the emergence of a powerful unifying force. That force emerged in the person of Philip II, who became king of Macedon in 359. Macedonia was a poor and divided country when he became its ruler, but within twenty-one years he ruled the entire Balkan Peninsula. He captured the gold fields at Philippi and bought mercenary soldiers to build an army. Among those available were 10,000 Greek mercenaries who had fought with the Persian king Cyrus in 401 in an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow Artaxerxes. When Cyrus was killed, rather than surrender they elected new generals who led them out of Mesopotamia, north to the Black Sea, and eventually home to Greece. One of these generals was Xenophon, who tells the whole story in his *Anabasis* ("Long March").

While Demosthenes, the golden orator of Athens, was warning the Athenians about the rising power in Macedonia, Philip was building his army. In one of the decisive battles of history, the Macedonians defeated Athens and Thebes, the Macedonian cavalry being brilliantly led by Philip's son Alexander. The year was 338 B.C. Two years later Philip was assassinated, and Alexander was quickly elected to succeed his father in 336.

Alexander was only twenty when he came to power; he was referred to contemptuously by Demosthenes as "the boy." Alexander immediately secured his borders and put down a revolt in Thebes, razing it to the ground. He later regretted the atrocity. However, the lesson was sufficiently clear to everyone, and by it he cowed all of Greece. He was elected, like Philip, "General of the Hellenes" at Corinth. Alexander's favorite author was Homer, and he tended to identify himself with Achilles and the spirit of the great heroes about whom Homer wrote. He thus resisted pressure by his officers to marry and provide an heir in case he should die in battle. There was little need to concern himself with affairs at home when there were worlds to conquer.

In 334 B.C., Alexander moved eastward against Persia, meeting its army at the Granicus River in N Mysia of Asia Minor. Commanding 40,000 soldiers, he defeated the Persians, but was almost killed himself. Asia Minor was his. He moved further eastward to Syria, where he met the Persian king Darius III at the Issus pass and defeated him in 333. Darius panicked and fled toward Persia, his wife and family having been captured by the Greeks. Moving south along the Levant, Alexander took the city of Tyre after a lengthy siege. The inhabitants had fled to an offshore island, and Alexander had no boats. So he took the ruins of the destroyed city and built a causeway to the island, making it forever a peninsula. Continuing southward, Alexander entered Egypt, which he "liberated" from Persian control and where he was appropriately treated as a hero. Here he built the first of his many cities named Alexandria, at the mouth of the Nile. The new city replaced Tyre as the chief port in the E Mediterranean.

Alexander refused an attempt by Darius to ransom his family and, heading east again, met the Persian army in 331 B.C. at Gaugamela, a city in Assyria on the Tigris River, 200 miles N of Baghdad. Defeating Darius again, Alexander rested his troops in Babylon for a while and then moved on southeast to conquer Susa and Persepolis. In the latter city, he burned the palace of Xerxes, the Persian king who had burned Athens. The treasury of the Persians fell into his hands, and after Darius was deposed and murdered by his own satraps in Bactria for incompetence, Alexander declared himself a successor of the Achaemenid dynasty of Persian kings and embarked on a conquest of the eastern parts of the empire.

After three years of hard battle, Alexander reached the Indus River valley in W India and planned to go on to the Ganges, but his exhausted army refused to go any farther. So he returned to Babylon and reorganized his empire. He planned to have a link by sea with India, to circumnavigate Arabia, and possibly to conquer the western Mediterranean, but his plans were terminated by his death in Babylon. He succumbed after having lain ill with a fever for ten days. He died June 13, 323 B.C., at the age of thirty-two.

Alexander left no legitimate heir of Greek blood; his army was unwilling to accept the son, Alexander IV, whom he had sired through the barbarian Roxane. His feebleminded half-brother, Philip III Arrhidaeus, was equally unacceptable. The first line of contenders for the throne, his senior commanders, either died or were killed. All his blood relatives were killed as well, including his son Alexander, Roxane, his mother Olympias, and his brother. A second group of contenders divided the empire among themselves, and after some conflict power was massed in three centers. Ptolemy consolidated control of Egypt, and from him arose the Ptolemies who governed Egypt until the last of them, Cleopatra, died. Antigonus II Gonatas (son of the Alexander's general Antigonus the One-eyed) took control of Macedonia and Greece, and established the Antigonid dynasty. Seleucus took the eastern satrapies in Mesopotamia, as well as Syria and parts of Asia Minor. The Seleucids established their dynasty in Antioch of Syria and ruled from there until Pompey took the area for Rome in 64 B.C.

After a considerable effort in putting down an attempt by the Macedonian rulers to regain a dominant position in Greece, an attempt which included aiding Carthage against Rome in the Punic Wars, the Roman general Mummius decimated the Macedonian army at the battle of Pydna in 168. In 148 B.C. a Roman army annexed Macedonia as a province, and in 146 another Roman army defeated the Achaean League and took S Greece. This time Mummius made an example of Corinth by slaughtering the men, enslaving the women and children, and razing the city. It would not be rebuilt for a hundred years. Greece was now firmly in the control of Rome.

During the time of the NT, Greece consisted of two large provinces: Macedonia in the N and Achaia in the S. The central section of the country was subdivided into two smaller geographical but not political districts: Epirus on the W and Thessaly on the E. A major road, the Egnatian Way, was built from Apollonia and Dyrrhachium on the W coast, cross Macedonia, through Thessalonica and Philippi to Asia. Paul traveled the road when he brought Christianity to Greece from Asia Minor. Good roads and maritime service connected the N and S parts of the country.

Macedonia had several ports on the E coast, including Neapolis, Methone, Aliki (for Pydna), and Dion. On the W coast Apollonia was served by the harbor at Aulona, and others existed along the coast as well. Achaia was accessible by sea through numerous ports along the E coast, and Athens could be reached through ports in Glifada, Phaleron, and Piraeus. The W coast of Achaia was served by several harbors, including those at Actium and Nicopolis. On the Peloponnese, there were good harbors at Lechaion and Cenchrea, which allowed Corinth to develop into a large international city. Lechaion provided access to Italy and Europe through the Corinthian Gulf, while Cenchrea supplied an outlet eastward through the Saronic Gulf to Asia. Greece was a great maritime nation, but her sailors, unlike the Phoenicians, were not necessarily great navigators, since they were almost never out of sight of one of the more than 2,000 islands in the Aegean. Most of the important cities in Greece were built on the Aegean side of the country.

Undoubtedly the greatest contribution Greece made to the world relative to biblical studies was the spread of Hellenism throughout the Mediterranean world. The Greek language was the *lingua franca* of the empire from the time of Alexander to Constantine, replacing the Aramaic tongue used by the Persians. The Jews had translated the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek as early as the 3d century B.C. in Alexandria, and most of the Apocrypha was written in that language. Most Christians used the Greek Bible rather than the Hebrew one, because even Jewish Christians would not have been fluent in Hebrew. That is, after all, why the Septuagint was produced. All the books of the NT were apparently composed in Greek, as the more than 6,000 preserved manuscripts and pieces of manuscript testify. No ancient manuscript of a NT book has been found in Aramaic, although patristic sources state that portions of it existed in Aramaic. Greece played a vital role during that "fullness of time" (Gal 4:4), when Christianity was introduced into the world.

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**GREEK LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (GREEK).

**GREEK VERSIONS.** See SEPTUAGINT; and VERSIONS, ANCIENT (GREEK).

**GRIESBACH HYPOTHESIS.** See TWO-GOSPEL HYPOTHESIS.

**GRIFFON.** See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

**GUARANTEE.** See DEPOSIT.

**GUARD, COURT OF THE** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥăṣar* (חֲצַר) *hammaṭṭārâ* (הַמַּטָּרָה)]. A place within the palace complex where prisoners were confined. However, all biblical references to this place are in the book of Jeremiah, and attest to the dire circumstances at the time of the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem. Jeremiah, who was confined there (32:8, 12; 33:1; 37:21; 38:6, 13, 28; 39:14–15), nevertheless seems to have enjoyed some freedom of movement. It is possible that the court in question was only being used temporarily to house (mostly political) prisoners during times of political crisis (cf. the house of Jonathan the secretary, which was also being used to detain prisoners at the time, 37:20).
GARY A. HERION

**GUARD, GATE OF THE.** See GATE OF THE GUARD (PLACE).

**GUARD, PRAETORIAN.** See PRAETORIAN GUARD.

**GULL.** See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

**GUNI** (PERSON) [Heb *gûnî* (גּוּנִי)]. GUNITES. 1. The second of Naphtali's four sons (Gen 46:24; 1 Chr 7:13), who went into Egypt with him (Gen 46:8, 26–27), and whose family emerged as a substantial clan within the tribe by the time of the Exodus and Moses' census in the wilderness (Num 26:48). The name may be cognate with the Arabic term *jūnun,* which refers to a variety of bird (*IPN*, 230).

2. A Gadite who was the father of Abdiel and the grandfather of Ahi (1 Chr 5:15). What is not clear, however, is the connection between these three men and the other Gadites listed in 1 Chronicles 5. It may be that the three were the ancestors of Buz and his descendants (vv 12–14) and that textual corruption is responsible for the break between vv 14 and 15. It is also possible, however, that this three-name component of the Gadite genealogy is unrelated to the other names. At any rate, neither Guni nor the other Gadites in the genealogy (1 Chr 5:11–17) appear in other lists of Gadites (Gen 46:16; Num 26:15–18; 1 Chr 12:9–16—Eng12:8–15).

3. One of David's mighty men named JASHEN (Heb *yāšēn*), who is listed in 2 Samuel 23 with the others who constituted "the three" and "the thirty," may be associated with the name "Guni." Although the MT of 2 Sam 23:32 reads "the sons of Jashen," scholars have long favored emending the text by dropping out "the sons of" *(bĕnê),* arguing that the expression results from dittography after the preceding word that ends in *-bōnî.* Furthermore, since many LXX mss of 2 Sam 23:32 and its parallel in 1 Chr 12:34 call Jashen a Gunite (*ho gouni* or some variant of this spelling), it has been suggested that the MT be emended to "Jashen the Gunite." Driver (*NHT,* 371) and Elliger (1935: 53–54), however, argued that since the Gunites of Naphtali were too far removed from David in his early days in Judah, the text should be emended to "Jashen of Gimzo." According to 2 Chr 28:18, the town of Gimzo was much closer to David's native country, only a few miles SE of Lydda/Lod. McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB, 492), however, has suggested that the text be emended to "Jashen the Gizonite," following the "Gizonite" reading of the MT of 1 Chr 11:34. In spite of the LXX's support for reading "the Gunite," McCarter believes that earlier scribes or translators confused two Hebrew letters (*zayin* and *waw*).

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M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**GUR** (PLACE) [Heb *gûr* (גּוּר)]. The name of the ascent located by (near) Ibleam where Ahaziah, king of Judah, was fatally wounded by Jehu (2 Kgs 9:27). On the analogy of Josh 10:10, it seems likely that the ascent was named after a neighboring site.

Ahaziah was fleeing S from Jezreel toward Samaria and Jerusalem. This road, leading SW to modern Jenin (the natural pass from the Jezreel valley into the Dothan valley and the Samaria mountains), is called the “road of Beth-Haggan.” Knowing well the local topography, Jehu ordered the attack on Ahaziah “in the ascent of Gur, which is by Ibleam.” This geographical note leaves no doubt that Gur should be located near Ibleam, well identified at Kh. Belameh (M.R. 177205), a large mound located ca. 2 km S of Beth-Haggan (modern Jenin). Eusebius also indicates that a place named Gur is located near Ibleam (*Onomast.* 72: 23–24).

Zertal has suggested identifying Gur with Kh. en-Najjar (M.R. 178205), a fortified tell of 32 dunam in area, located in the high, E side of the deep Wadi Belameh, where both the ancient and the modern roads passed. Topographically, this is the only pass between Beth-Haggan (and the Jezreel valley) and the Samaria mountains. The road there is narrow and hard, and the biblical description “ascent” (Heb *ma‘ăleh*) fits well the topographical conditions. Just as Kh. Belameh controls the pass from the W, Kh. en-Najjar controls it from the E. Gur is probably preserved in the 15th century B.C. Taanach letter no. 2, line 5, as Gur-ra, the place where Akhiyami informed Rewassa that “he was ambushed,” confirming that the ascent of Gur was a good place for planning an ambush. Biridiyah, prince of Megiddo, attested in the Amarna letters, is also mentioned in this Taanach letter, indicating that the arena of the letter is the S part of the Jezreel valley.

According to the transcription rules, the Arabic term *Najjar* may well preserve the name “Gur” (the addition of n- prefixes is not unusual). Kh. Najjar was founded in the Chalcolithic period, but Zertal (fc.) tends to date the fortifications to EB I–II. After a probable abandonment, the site was resettled in MB II, continuing into the LB Iron II periods. Thus, all relevant periods for the identification of “Gur-ra” and “Gur” are represented.

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ADAM ZERTAL

**GURBAAL** (PLACE) [Heb *gur-ba‘al* (גֻּר־בַּעַל)]. A small Arab town, against which Uzziah, king of Judah, received divine assistance (2 Chr 26:7). The LXX and Vulgate translations’ “rock of Baal” suggest an original reading of *ṣûr ba‘al* (Heb) or *tur ba‘al* (Aram). Its association in the text with Meunim (Mehunim) indicates a location to the E, probably somewhere in Edom. It has been suggested that Jebel Nebi Harun, near Petra, may have been the rock of Baal, since this location appears always to have had a sanctuary on its summit. Another suggestion equates Gurbaal with the *Kr-b‘r* of the Egyptian town lists. The precise location of this latter site is unknown at present.
RANDALL W. YOUNKER

**GUSH HALAV.** See GISCALA (M.R. 191270).

**GYMNASIUM.** See EDUCATION (GRECO-ROMAN).

# H

**H.** The abbreviation used by biblical scholars to represent the Holiness Code in pentateuchal source criticism. See HOLINESS CODE.

**HA-ELEPH** (PLACE) [Heb *hā›elep* (הָאֶלֶף)]. A Benjaminite town listed between Zela and Jerusalem (Josh 18: 28). The name is problematic. LXX$^{B}$ omits the name altogether; and LXX$^{A}$ conflates it with Zela, reading *Sēlaleph.* On identification, see ZELA (PLACE).
GARY A. HERION

**HAAHASHTARI** (PERSON) [Heb *hā›ăḥaštārî* (הָאַחַשְׁתָּרִי)]. The eponymous ancestor of a family of Judah known as the "Ahashtarites" (1 Chr 4:6, cf. Noth *IPN*, 236). The genealogy traces Haahashtari's lineage back to Ashhur, the father of Tekoa through his wife Naarah. Immediately preceding the Ahashtarites in the list are three sons of Ashhur and Naarah: Ahuzzam, Hepher, and Temeni. Whether the Ahashtarites are descended from one of these three or represent a line through a fourth son is unclear. A derivation of the name from a Persian root *ḫšaça,* meaning "kingdom," "power," "rule" has been sought (*HALAT* 1: 36; cf. Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 28). That the name is a corruption of *hā›ašḥûrî,* the "Ashhurites," and describes the preceding names (*ISBE* [1939] 2: 1311) is unnecessary. This emendation lacks manuscript support. Further, the name of the family may have been derived from a name in an intervening generation between Ashhur and the families of the Ahashtarites that were in existence at the time of the list's compilation.
KENNETH H. CUFFEY

**HABAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥŏbayyâ* (חֲבַיָּה)]. Var. HOBAIAH. The head of a family of priests which is listed among those exiles of uncertain descent returning from Babylon to Jerusalem and Judah (Ezra 2:61 = Neh 7:63; 1 Esdr 5:38). This priestly family, along with two others, was excluded, at least temporarily, from the priesthood as being unclean for lack of documentation of their priestly lineage. The name is theophoric and derives from the Heb root *ḥb* which means "withdraw," "hide." The *Qal* impv., *ḥăbî,* is used in Isa 26:20 thus suggesting that this name was formed with the imperative, not an unusual occurrence, according to Albright (1928: 234), in hypocoristic formations. Since the Heb root *ḥb›,* which in the causative means "hide," is used in the sense of "protect" elsewhere (Josh 6:17, 25; 1 Kgs 18:4, 13; Isa 49:2), the name, which Noth (*IPN*, 178) understands as "Yahweh has hidden," could also mean "Yahweh has protected" or "Protect, O Yahweh." The several Greek transliterations of this name account for the variety of its spelling in translation: Ezra—*hobaia* (A), *labeia* (B), *ōdouia* (Luc); Neh—*hebeia* (A, B), *abia* (S, Luc); 1 Esdr—*hobbeia* (B), *obdia* (A), *ōdouia* (Luc).

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RODNEY H. SHEARER

**HABAKKUK, BOOK OF.** The eighth book of the Minor Prophets. Medieval and early modern exegetes derived the name from the Hebrew root *ḥbq,* "to embrace." Most modern scholars follow Noth (*IPN*, 231), who derives it from Akk *ḫabbaqūqū/ḫambaqūqū,* which refers to a type of garden plant (*AHW* 1: 304).

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A. The Prophet
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1. The Book as a Whole

2. The Pronouncement of Habakkuk
3. The Prayer of Habakkuk

D. Significance in Later Jewish and Christian Tradition

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## A. The Prophet

The book of Habakkuk provides little information concerning the identity and historical background of the prophet on whom it is based. He is identified simply as "Habakkuk the prophet" in 1:1 and 3:1 with no indication of his lineage, provenance, or dates. Consequently, a number of apocryphal traditions concerning Habakkuk appear in postbiblical literature. The apocryphal Bel and the Dragon (2d century B.C.E.) portrays him as a contemporary of Daniel during the Babylonian exile and identifies him as "Habakkuk, the son of Jesus, of the tribe of Levi" (Bel 1:1 = LXX Dan 14:1). The pseudepigraphic *Lives of the Prophets* (1st century C.E.) follows this dating but identifies him as a member of the tribe of Simeon (*Life of Habakkuk* 1–9). The midrashic historical treatise *Seder ʿOlam Rabbah* (2d–3d century C.E.) places him in the reign of Manasseh (*S. ʿOlam Rab.* 20). Clement of Alexandria (2d–3d century C.E.) identifies him as a contemporary of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, but he also states that Jonah and Habakkuk are contemporaries of Daniel (*Str.* 1:21). Finally, the medieval kabbalistic commentary *Sefer ha-Zohar* (ca. 1300 C.E.) identifies him as the son of the Shunammite woman saved by the prophet Elisha (*Zohar* 1:7; 2:44–45).

Although most modern scholars reject these traditions as the product of later legend, the absence of personal information about Habakkuk continues to confound attempts to identify his historical background. A wide range of dates have been proposed, from Sennacherib's invasion of Judah in the late 8th century (Betteridge 1903) to Alexander the Great's conquest of the Near East in the 4th century (Duhm 1906; Torrey 1935). On the basis of Hab 1:6, which mentions the establishment of the Chaldeans, most contemporary scholars maintain that Habakkuk lived during the rise of the Neo-Babylonian Empire in the latter part of the 7th century, from the latter years of Josiah (640–609) to the reign of Jehoiakim (609–598) or perhaps Jehoiachin (598). A recent study by Haak (1986) maintains that Habakkuk was a pro-Babylonian supporter of King Jehoahaz, who was removed from the Judean throne and exiled to Egypt by Pharaoh Neco in 609. It should be kept in mind, however, that decisions concerning Habakkuk's dates and the relation of his message to the historical events of his time are dependent on a literary assessment of the book and the identification of several key references including the "righteous" (1:4, 13; 2:4), the "wicked" (1:4, 13; 3:13), the subject of the "woe" oracles (2:6–20), and the Chaldeans (1:6). These issues will be discussed below.

The question of the prophet's vocation is likewise dependent on the assessment of the book's literary genre. Many scholars follow Mowinckel (1921–24: 3. 27–29), who argued that Habakkuk was a temple cult prophet on the basis of the liturgical forms found in the book (cf. Sellin KAT [1930]; Eaton TBC [1961]; Watts CBC [1975]; Széles ITC [1987]). This view is supported by Jeremias (1970: 103–7), who notes the parallels between Habakkuk's watch station (2:1) and those of the postexilic Levites and priests in the Temple (Neh 13:30; 2 Chr 7:6; 8:14; 35:2; cf. Isa 21:8) as well as the temple context of the terms *nābîʾ*, "prophet," *maśśāʾ*, "pronouncement" (RSV 'oracle'), and *ḥāzâ*, "to see" (i.e., have a vision). A dissenting view sees Habakkuk as a visionary prophet without cultic connections (Rudolph KAT [1975]; Jöcken 1977). Others stress his wisdom background (Gowan 1968, 1976; Uffenheimer 1987) or his concern as an individual with the troubling events of his day (Keller CAT [1971]; 1973). Finally, a number of scholars note his connections with the Isaiah tradition (Brownlee 1971; Janzen 1982; Peckham 1986).

## B. Text and Versions

The text of Habakkuk presents scholars with a number of problematic readings, not only because of the difficulties presented by the MT, but also because of the many variant readings found in ancient manuscripts and versions. Consequently, many scholars consider the MT of Habakkuk to be quite corrupt (e.g., Delcor 1961: 399). Earlier scholars generally assumed that these manuscripts and versions represented variant Hebrew originals and corrected the MT accordingly (Lachmann 1932; Good 1958).

Recent advances in text-critical methodology which emphasize the interpretative character and intent of many text witnesses call this judgment into question (Sanders 1979). At present the issue is divided; some studies show great confidence in the MT (e.g., Haak 1986), whereas others rely heavily on textual emendation (e.g., Hiebert 1986).

A critical edition of the MT appears in *BHS*. This edition contains notes concerning the various medieval Masoretic mss and other textual versions. In addition to the Masoretic mss, the principal Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic text witnesses are as follows:

The Habakkuk Pesher from Qumran (1QpHab) (Burrows, Trever, and Brownlee 1950; Trever 1972) dates to the 1st century B.C.E. and contains the text of Habakkuk 1–2 together with a commentary that interprets Habakkuk in relation to the early history of the Qumran sect. The text was thoroughly studied by Brownlee (1959), who examined over 160 variants from the MT. Most were minor orthographic, grammatical, and spelling changes or Aramaicisms which had crept into the text. There were a number of substantial changes, however, including *wyśm* for *wĕ, āšēm,* "guilty men," in 1:11; *ḥrbw* for *ḥermô,* "his net," in 1:17; *hwn wbgd* for *hayyayin bôgēd* (RSV: "wine is treacherous") in 2:5; *mwʿdyhm* for *mĕʿôrêhem,* "their shame," in 2:15.

The Scroll of the Minor Prophets from Wâdī Murabbaʿat (*Mur* 88) dates to the 2d century C.E., some decades after the fixing of the Textus Receptus. Within its text of the Minor Prophets, it contains Hab 1:3–2:11 and 2:18–3:19. Apart from orthographic changes, there are a few variant readings or corrections. Most notable is the substitution of *zrmw mym ʿbwt* from Ps 77:18 for *zerem mayim ʿābār* ("the raging waters swept on") in Hab 3:10.

The LXX and other Greek versions (Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus) are represented in a critical edition (by J. Ziegler 1943) of the Greek text together with notes on the various readings found in the manuscripts. Cothenet (*DBSup* 45: 793) notes that its variations from the MT are due to a number of causes: variant consonantal texts, revocalized consonantal texts, and attempts at reinterpreting the text.

The Greek Scroll of the Minor Prophets from Naḥal Ḥever (8 Ḥev XIIgr) was apparently hidden during the Bar Kokhba revolt against Rome (Barthélemy 1963). The text contains Hab 1:5–11; 1:14–2:8; 2:13–20; 3:9–15. Barthélemy (1963: 144–57) attributes this text to Jonathan ben Uzziel, known in Greek as Theodotion (1st century C.E.). It represents a revision of the LXX made in Judea, based on a Hebrew consonantal text which is nearly identical to the MT.

The Barberini Greek version of Habakkuk 3 appears in six medieval manuscripts dating from the 8th to the 13th century (Good 1958, 1959). It does not correspond to any other known Greek version; but it appears to have a close relationship with the Coptic versions, especially the Achmimic. It has affinities with North African Latin texts, the Palestinian Syriac version, and the Peshitta. It is a free translation which employs paraphrase and is deliberately exegetical. Good (1959: 28–30) maintains that this translation was made for liturgical purposes. Its provenance is Alexandria, and it dates to the early 2d century C.E. at the latest.

Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Prophets, an Aramaic version, presupposes a Proto-MT Hebrew text (Sperber 1962). It is contemporary with Targum Onqelos but preserves traditions from the Palestinian Targum. Brownlee (1956) has noted the affinities between the interpretations found in this Targum and those of 1QpHab.

Critical editions of the Peshitta (Peshitta Institute 1980; cf. Gelston 1987) and the Vulgate (Weber 1975) have also been published.

**C. Literary Issues and Authorship**

The history of critical scholarship on Habakkuk through the mid-1970s has been exhaustively surveyed and evaluated by Jöcken (*Habakkuk* BBB). Van der Wal (1988) has published a complete bibliography of works through 1987.

**1. The Book as a Whole.** Most scholars maintain that the book of Habakkuk contains three major literary units: a dialogue between the prophet and God in 1:1–2:4/5; a section containing a series of woe oracles in 2:5/6–20; and a psalm in chap. 3 (Childs *IOTS*, 448). This view raises problems, however, in that there is little agreement concerning the interrelationship of these units. An alternative proposal

(Széles *Habakkuk, Zephaniah* ITC; Sweeney *HBC*, fc.) maintains that the book of Habakkuk comprises two distinct sections: Habakkuk 1–2, the Pronouncement *(maśśāʾ)* of Habakkuk, and Habakkuk 3, the Prayer *(tĕpillâ)* of Habakkuk. These sections are demarcated formally by their respective superscriptions in 1:1 and 3:1; the technical terms in 3:1, 3, 9, 13, 19, which identify Habakkuk 3 as a psalm; the distinctive mythological background of Habakkuk 3; and their respective generic characters.

The distinctive characteristics of the sections that comprise Habakkuk, however they are defined, together with the literary tensions within and between them, have raised the question of literary integrity and authorship. Many critics followed the lead of Stade (1884), who argued that 2:9–20 and chap. 3 were later additions, in arguing that Habakkuk did not constitute a unified, coherent literary work (Jöcken 1977: 116–240 surveys the history of scholarship). Under the influence of form-critical studies of the Psalms, chiefly by Mowinckel (1921–24) and Gunkel (1933), and the lexical study of Habakkuk by Humbert (1944), scholars have currently reached a consensus that although the book was probably not entirely written by a single author (contra Eissfeldt 1965 and Brownlee 1971), its present form constitutes a coherent literary unity (Jöcken 1977: 241–519). In this respect a number of scholars see the book as a liturgical or cultic composition (Mowinckel; Sellin KAT; Humbert 1944; Elliger ATD; Nielsen 1953; Eaton TBC; Jeremias 1970; Watts CBC; Haak 1986; Széles ITC) or a prophetic imitation of a cultic liturgy (Fohrer 1985). Others see it as a composition which is concerned with the prophet's visionary experience (Rudolph KAT; Janzen 1982; Peckham 1986). A third view maintains that the book is organized around the question of theodicy (Keller 1973; Gowan 1976; Bratcher 1984; Otto 1985; Gunneweg 1986; Sweeney *HBC*, fc). Consequently, there is no consensus as to the nature of the final form of the book.

**2. The Pronouncement of Habakkuk.** In the present form of the book, the superscription in 1:1 identifies chaps. 1–2 as "The Pronouncement which Habakkuk the prophet saw." The Hebrew term *maśśāʾ,* "pronouncement," "burden," refers to a type of prophetic oracle, but its precise meaning has been an enigma. A recent investigation by Weis (1986) demonstrates that *maśśāʾ* refers to a specific type of prophetic discourse that attempts to explain the manner in which God's intention will be manifested in human affairs. It is generally based on a vision or other revelatory experience and is spoken by a prophet in response to a particular situation in human events. An alternative view maintains that these chapters are an expanded form of the complaint genre (Haak 1986).

The pronouncement contains four major sections. Hab 1:2–4 is a complaint by the prophet to God concerning the oppression of the "righteous" by the "wicked." Neither party is identified. Hab 1:5–11 is God's response to this complaint, announcing the coming threat of the Chaldeans. Hab 1:12–17 is a second complaint by the prophet to God concerning the oppressive nature of the Chaldeans. Hab 2:1–20 constitutes the prophet's report of God's second response in Hab 2:1–4 together with his explanation of the meaning of God's response in Hab 2:5–20.

The Pronouncement of Habakkuk raises three major problems which have been the subject of scholarly discussion. The first concerns the identity of the "righteous" *(ṣaddîq)* and the "wicked" *(rāšāʿ)* in 1:4, 13, and 2:4 and the role of the Chaldeans mentioned in 1:6. Most scholars maintain that the purpose of the Chaldeans is to punish the "wicked" oppressors of the "righteous" mentioned in 1:2–4. Two possibilities have been put forward for understanding this oppression. The first identifies the "wicked" as an external enemy which is threatening righteous Judah. Assyria, Egypt (Bič 1968), Chaldea (Wellhausen 1892; Sellin KAT), Greece (Duhm 1906; Torrey 1935), or an unidentified enemy (Horst HAT [1956]) have all been proposed. The second possibility identifies the oppression as a reference to an inner Judean conflict in which a "wicked" party is opposed to a "righteous" group. Scholars who hold this view argue that the language used to describe oppression in 1:2–4 refers to internal social tensions and identify the "wicked" very generally as the wicked in Judean society (Gowan 1976; Achtemeier *Nahum-Malachi* IBC; Gunneweg 1986) or specifically either as those who allowed the Josianic reform to lapse (Janzen 1982; Johnson 1985) or King Jehoiakim and his supporters (Ward *Habakkuk* ICC; Humbert 1944; Nielsen 1953; Rudolph KAT). Others argue that the prophet's complaint was originally directed against a Judean group but was later reapplied against Chaldea in light of historical experience (Jeremias 1970; Otto 1985;

Peckham 1986; Haak 1986). Elliger (ATD) maintains that the book was originally directed against Egypt but was later reapplied against Chaldea.

Because each of these identifications presents problems, there is no consensus on the issue. A recent study by Johnson (1985) may resolve the impasse. The primary issue is to explain why Chaldea is used to correct oppression in 1:5–11 but then becomes the oppressor in 1:12–17. Johnson notes that 1:5–11 does not portray Chaldea in a positive light. He therefore concludes that the establishment of Chaldea should not be viewed as a solution to the oppression described in 1:2–4. Hab 1:5–11 does not therefore solve the old problem of theodicy but constitutes a heightened form of the complaint in 1:2–4 concerning the Chaldean oppression. Not only does this view resolve the difficulties of the text, it explains the reference to the treachery of the Chaldeans in 1:13 (cf. 2:5) in light of the long history of alliance between Judah and Babylon from the time of Hezekiah and King Josiah's death in battle supporting Babylonian interests.

The second problem concerns the meaning of Hab 2:4 and the relation of 2:1–4 to its context. Scholars generally view 2:1–4 in relation to the preceding dialogue between Habakkuk and God and maintain that 2:1–4 is God's response to Habakkuk's second complaint in 1:12–17. The prophet describes his waiting for the divine response in 2:1 and reports that response in 2:2–4, where he is instructed to write his vision clearly on tablets (Holt 1964) and to wait for its fulfillment.

Scholars agree that Hab 2:4 contains the core of God's answer to Habakkuk, but there is no consensus as to its meaning because of its grammatical and lexical problems. The verse reads, "Behold, he whose soul is not upright in him shall fail [a correction of MT 'is puffed up'] but the righteous shall live by his faith [or 'faithfulness']" (RSV). Emerton's study of the issue (1977) summarizes the problems of the first half of the verse. First, the translation of the Hebrew verb *ʿuppĕlâ* as "is puffed up" lacks support in the versions and appears nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible. Second, the antecedents of the pronouns "he" and "him" are not clear. Third, although the portrayal of a conceited and unjust (puffed up) figure in v 4a contrasts well with the righteous *(ṣaddîq)* of v 4b, there is no antithesis to the statement that the righteous shall live. These problems have prompted scholars to advance numerous textual emendations and interpretations (e.g., van der Woude 1966, 1970; Emerton 1977; Janzen 1980; Scott 1985), but none has gained general acceptance.

The text can be understood without resort to emendation. Hab 2:4 must be understood in relation to 2:5–20, which describes the downfall of an unsated oppressor because of excessive greed (cf. Schreiner 1974; Humbert 1944: 150–51; van der Woude 1966: 367). The vocabulary and syntax of 2:4 contrast the instability and impending fall of an arrogant oppressor with the righteous victim who will survive; the "wicked" oppressor is Chaldea and the "righteous" victim is Judah.

The third major problem presented by Habakkuk 1–2 concerns the identity of the oppressor presupposed by the woe oracles of 2:5–20. Because the crimes specified in these oracles are localized, some scholars suggest that the woes were originally directed against an internal Judean group, such as the ruling class of Jerusalem (Otto 1977; Jeremias 1970), before being reapplied against Chaldea by later editors (cf. Jer 22:13–23, where Jeremiah condemns Jehoiakim for such crimes). Others maintain that Chaldea was the intended subject of these oracles (Janzen 1982; Peckham 1986). In this respect it is important to recognize Coggins' observation (1982) that Habakkuk may represent a different prophetic tradition from that of Jeremiah. Prophets are known for using local imagery to condemn international crimes (e.g., Amos 1:3, 11, 13; Isa 10:14; Nah 3:5–7). Furthermore, statements in the woe oracles suggest an international situation, such as the references to peoples and nations (vv 6a, 8a, 10b, 13b), the earth, humankind, and the sea (vv 8b, 14, 17b), and the violence of Lebanon (v 17a). A supporting example is Nebuchadnezzar's report that he took Lebanon from an unnamed ruler and transported its wood back to Babylon to build a palace for the ruler of heaven and earth (*ANET*, 307). Such an act well suits the crimes mentioned in these oracles, which speak of extortion and plundering nations (vv 6b–8), unjust gain used to protect one's house (vv 9–11), bloodshed to build a city (vv 12–14), and the rape of a land (vv 15–17). The prophet concludes by stating that the oppressor will fall by its idolatry (vv 18–20), which corresponds to the Chaldeans' crime in 1:11 and 1:16 (cf. 2:13a).

**3. The Prayer of Habakkuk.** Habakkuk 3 begins with the superscription, "The Prayer of Habakkuk the Prophet concerning *šigyōnôt."* The term *šigāyôn,* which has been associated with the Akk *šegû*, "song of lament" (Mowinckel 1921–24: 4.7; rejected by Seux 1981; see also MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS) also appears in Psalm 7, a Psalm of Lament. This superscription, the technical music notations in 3:3, 9, 13, 19, and the situation of distress presupposed in the psalm have prompted many scholars to argue that Habakkuk 3 is a cultic song of lament sung as part of the temple liturgy (Sellin; Nielsen 1953; Eaton 1964; Margulis 1970). On the basis of its mythic themes of divine combat against the forces of cosmic chaos (cf. Cassuto 1975; Irwin 1942, 1956), others view it as a song of triumph (Albright 1950) or a song of victory (Hiebert 1986). Although many of these studies presuppose that the psalm was originally an oral composition because of its affinity with Ugaritic prosody (e.g., Albright 1950), Floyd (1980) disputes this view. Finally, a number of scholars have noted its associations with other theophanic texts in the Bible as well as a relationship between its framing verses (3:2, 16) and the reference to Habakkuk's vision in 2:1–4. Consequently, they define it as a vision report (Fohrer 1985) which contains a description of a theophany (Jeremias 1965; Rudolph; Achtemeier IBC).

In its present form the prayer in vv 2–19a is a petition addressed by the psalmist to God to manifest divine power in the world in order to deliver the land from invaders (v 16). It includes an introductory section (v 2), which petitions God to manifest divine acts in the world (cf. 1:5), and a concluding section (vv 16–19a), which expresses the psalmist's confidence that God will answer the petition. These sections bracket a description of a theophany in vv 3–15, which consists of two parts (cf. Jeremias 1965). Verses 3–6 describe the deity's approach, and verses 7–15 depict God's victory over the enemy in mythological terms. The theophany expresses the psalmist's confidence that God will deliver the land (v 13), demonstrating the steadfast faith of the righteous in 2:4. Instructions to the choirmaster in v 19b follow the psalm.

Because of its distinctive character many early scholars argued that Habakkuk 3 was an independent psalm that was originally not a part of the book of Habakkuk (Stade 1884; Wellhausen 1892; Nowack HAT [1897]; Marti KHC [1904]). Although the absence of Habakkuk 3 from 1QpHab might lend support to this view (Taylor *IB,* 974), most scholars maintain that this is irrelevant (Eissfeldt 1965; Fohrer 1985) because the reasons for its omission are unclear (Brownlee 1971). Contemporary scholars have identified a number of reasons for associating Habakkuk 3 with Habakkuk 1–2, including the same general theme that God will bring the oppression of the people to an end; similarity of language, particularly the references to the "wicked" *(rāšāʿ)* in 3:13 and 1:4, 13; and the relationship between 3:2, 16, which indicate that the psalmist is waiting for God to bring about deliverance, and 2:1–5, which instruct the prophet to wait for the fulfillment of the vision (Eissfeldt 1965; Fohrer 1985). Others maintain that the unity of the book is to be found in its cultic character. This argument is based on the correspondence of the vocabulary of Habakkuk 1–2 and Habakkuk 3 with cultic psalms (Humbert 1944) or the association of the genres of lament/complaint and response in Habakkuk 1–2 with the liturgical character of Habakkuk 3 (Mowinckel 1921–24 vol. 3; Sellin; Eaton). Consequently, most scholars view the book as a unity. A number of contemporary scholars maintain that Habakkuk was the author of the psalm (Eissfeldt 1965; Fohrer 1985; Brownlee 1971; Rudolph). Hiebert (1986) employs textual and motif considerations, together with evidence pertaining to the Kuntillet Ajrud inscriptions, to argue that the psalm was composed in the premonarchic period and later added to Habakkuk 1–2. Although the question of authorship cannot be settled decisively for lack of an adequate text base (cf. Peckham 1986), it is clear that in the context of the book as a whole Habakkuk 3 functions as a corroborating conclusion which responds to the issues raised in Habakkuk 1–2. The poem expresses confidence that the vision mentioned in 2:1–4 will be fulfilled and that God's righteousness will be vindicated with the deliverance of the people from oppression.

**D. Significance in Later Jewish and Christian Tradition**

The book of Habakkuk has played an important role in both Jewish (Baumgartner 1885; Coleman 1964–65) and Christian (Cothenet *DBSup* 45: 791–811) traditions. As noted above, Habakkuk 1–2 served as the basis of a commentary which interpreted the text in relation to the early history of the Qumran

community. In the NT, Hab 2:4 serves as the major textual basis for the doctrine of "justification by faith" in Rom 1:17; Gal 3:11; and Heb 10:38–39 (Sanders 1959; Feuillet 1959–60; Strobel 1964; Fitzmyer, 1981). The Talmudic Rabbi Simlai likewise identified Hab 2:4 as a summary of all 613 commandments of the Torah (*b. Mak.* 23b–24a). In Jewish tradition Habakkuk 3 is understood as a description of the revelation at Sinai and is read as the Haphtarah section for the second day of the Festival of Shavuot, which commemorates the revelation of the Torah at Sinai (*b. Meg.* 31a).

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**HABAZZINIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥăbaṣṣinyâ* (חֲבַצִּנְיָה)]. The grandfather of the Rechabites who were tested by Jeremiah (Jer 35:3). Habazziniah's grandson Jaazaniah and his household are taken by Jeremiah to the Jerusalem temple. They are offered wine but citing the command of their ancestor Jonadab (2 Kgs 10:10–15) refuse to drink it (Jer 35:6–7). While the narrative in Jeremiah 35 concerns Habazziniah's grandson's generation, Habazziniah is likely included to underscore the continuity of the Rechabite tradition and family. In Jeremiah 35 the faithfulness of the Rechabites to Yahweh for many generations is contrasted with King Jehoiakim's failure to heed Yahweh's word in Jeremiah 36. Thus the Rechabites are promised descendants (Jer 35:18) while Jehoiakim is warned "he shall have none to sit upon the throne of David" (Jer 36:30). The Rechabites were noted for their zealous devotion to Yahweh, and this is perhaps reflected in the *yāh* endings of the three names in Jer 35:3—Jaazaniah, Jeremiah, and Habazziniah (Orelli 1889: 264). A variety of connections have been suggested between Habazziniah and the Akk *ḫabāṣu* ('the Lord has made me abundant'), though how this bears upon the text is not clear. Alternatively, it may mean "Yahweh has made me joyful" (*TPNAH,* 96, 178).

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**ḪABIRU, ḪAPIRU.** Often considered to be the Akkadian equivalent of Heb *ʿibrî.* See HEBREW.

**A. The Identity of the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru***

Ever since this Akkadian expression was first recognized in A.D. 1888, viz., in the Amarna Letters written by Abdi-Ḫepa of Jerusalem around 1375 B.C. (EA 286–90; Greenberg 1955: 47–49) scholars have

discussed the significance of the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* for the origin of the Israelites. In this discussion the etymology of the word has played a significant part since it was soon recognized that a W Semitic word must lie behind the Akkadian expression. In Akkadian cuneiform writing the consonant *ḫ* represents at least three different W Semitic gutturals (notably *ḥ, ḫ,* and *ʿ*), and it was therefore proposed that the *ḫabiru* mentioned in Abdi-Ḫepa's letters were Israelite tribesmen who were then forcing their way into Palestine in the course of the Israelite conquest. The fact that these *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* (or *ʿabiru/ʿapiru*) were only mentioned by the king of Jerusalem was, however, considered a serious obstacle to this identification, because—according to the OT—Jerusalem was not attacked by the Israelites until the early days of King David, ca. 1000 B.C.

Only when the German orientalist Hugo Winckler succeeded in A.D. 1895 in identifying the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* of Abdi-ḫepa's letters with the SA.GAZ people, who figure far more frequently in the Amarna Letters, did scholars in general incline to accept the identification of the *ḫabiru* with the Hebrews (Loretz 1984: 60). This seemingly obvious identification was soon challenged by other discoveries which showed that the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* were present in sources from all over the ANE in the 2d millennium B.C. Especially when they appeared in the Hittite archives from Boghazköy (Ḫattušaš) it became doubtful whether they could in fact be identical with the early Israelites. Evidently the expression covered an ethnic entity which could not be equated with the forefathers of the Israelites in a simple way. The confirmation that it was necessary to disassociate the problem of the *ḫabiru* from the early history of the Israelites first became apparent in Egyptian sources and later in Ugaritic documents, which made it clear that the second consonant should most properly be read *p* instead of *b*; the same also proved that the first consonant actually was an *ʿ* (in Eg *ʿpr.w,* in Ug *ʿpr*). Doubt also arose as to the ethnic content of the expression, especially because of the German Egyptologist Wilhelm Spiegelberg (1907: 618–20), who believed that the term designated a social group of some sort. According to Spiegelberg the term was most properly applied to nomads who lived on the fringe of the Syrian desert (including the Proto-Israelites).

Today the mainly social content of the expression is only occasionally disputed (e.g., by de Vaux 1968), but the interpretation of its social content has changed, most notably thanks to Benno Landsberger, who showed that the expression *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* should actually be translated "fugitives" or even "refugees" (in Bottéro 1954: 160–61). That such an understanding lies near at hand is confirmed by the Sumerian equivalent of *ḫabiru/ḫapiru,* SA.GAZ (variant spellings SAG.GAZ, or simply GAZ), as this Sumerogram is in fact merely a transcription of the Akk *šaggašum,* "murderer." Moreover, SAG.GAZ is occasionally, in the Akkadian lexicographical lists translated as *ḫabbatum* "brigand." Today most orientalists consider that the expression *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* encompassed fugitives who had left their own states either to live as refugees in other parts of the Near East or outlaws who subsisted as brigands out of reach of the authorities of the states (Bottéro 1980).

**B. The Etymology of *ḫabiru/ḫapiru***

The etymology of the expression has never been fully explained; nor has the discussion about the correct spelling of the word ever ceased. The Semitic root on which the expression is based may be either *ʿbr* or *ʿpr* depending on the correct reading of the second consonant. If the term should actually be read *ḫabiru* then the most obvious etymological explanation must be that it is a derivation from the verbal root *ʿbr* meaning "to pass by," "trespass" (e.g., a border, a river, or the like), a meaning which would suit the notion of the *ḫabiru* as fugitives/refugees excellently. If the correct rendering of the Akkadian cuneiform is *ḫapiru,* a derivation from the noun *ʿpr* meaning "dust" or "clay" would be likely; and *ʿapiru* might then have been a popular way of designating people of low social standing. Both Egyptian and Ugaritic evidence seems to favor a rendering of the cuneiform syllabic writing *(ḫa-bi/pí-ru)* by *ʿapiru.* However, as several scholars have maintained, none of these sources is conclusive. The Egyptian writers in particular were inconsistent as to the rendering of the Semitic labials *b* and *p,* and also the Ugaritic writers seem to have been uncertain how to render the same labials (Weippert 1971: 76–79). The evidence in favor of the rendering *ḫabiru* proposed by Jean Bottéro (*RLA* 4/1:22) is perhaps more rewarding. Some of it dates from the Middle Babylonian period and includes a series of occurrences where the word is spelled *ḫa-bir-a-a* (*ḫabirāyu,* cf. Greenberg 1955: 78; cf., however, also Borger 1958: 126). Another part comes

from the Hittite archives where the cuneiform sign *bi* always seems to represent a *bi* and never a *pí* (according to Bottéro *RLA* 4/1:22). Whether Bottéro's conclusions are fully justifiable is, however, still under debate. Therefore, although the rendering of the cuneiform writing as *ḫabiru* seems most likely at the moment, we cannot exclude the reading *ḫapiru.*

**C. The Sources for the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru***

The total number of occurrences of the word *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* in the ANE documents is today just above 250 (total listing until ca. A.D. 1970 in *RLA* 4/1:15–21, supplemented and corrected by Bottéro 1980: 211 [no. 2]; English translation of most passages in Greenberg 1955). Practically all examples belong to the 2d millennium B.C. although there are certain indications that the expression was not totally unknown before that date. The latest occurrences are from Egyptian sources (from the reign of Rameses IV, ca. 1166–1160 B.C.) although a few literary texts from the 1st millennium mention the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* (Bottéro 1954: 136–43; Greenberg 1955: 54–55). As a social and political force the *ḫabiru* seem to have disappeared just before the end of the 2d millennium B.C. The geographic distribution of the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* covers most of the Near East, from Anatolia in the N, Egypt in the S, and W Iran (Susa) to the E. The *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* were found all along the Fertile Crescent, from Palestine to Sumer.

The oldest sources which for practical reasons tell us anything about the status of the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* come from Kaniš, the Assyrian trading station in Anatolia (19th century B.C.) and from the Sumerian area during the Neo-Sumerian epoch. Whereas doubt may be cast over the last mentioned examples (the Sumerogram SA.GAZ is always used, although the spelling may differ), the evidence from Anatolia at the beginning of the 2d millennium B.C. is more promising. The information we gain from this is, however, not totally in accordance with later sources, because the persons named *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* here may at the same time be called *awīlu,* that is "Sir," "Mr." The derogatory content of the expression is conspicuous because the persons called *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* are at that time in jail, although in possession of sufficient funds to pay for their own release. Finally, these persons were members of the staff of the palace. More important is, on the other hand, that so far it has not been possible to decide whether they were foreigners in this Old Assyrian society or belonged to the local population.

During the following era, the Old Babylonian period, the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* are mentioned more often. There is some indication of these people being employed as mercenaries in the pay of the state administration, whereas in the archival reports from the royal palace of Mari we are confronted with the first known examples of *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* as outlaws or brigands. One document mentions that they had even conquered a city belonging to the kingdom of Mari and caused serious trouble there (Greenberg 1955: 18). The documents from Mari and elsewhere also show that the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* were considered a highly mobile population element.

The evidence of the presence of the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* becomes far more extensive in the LB Age, during the second half of the 2d millennium B.C. The centers of gravity of this documentation are Nuzi, in NE Mesopotamia (15th century B.C.); Alalakh (15th century B.C.) and Ugarit, two coastal states in N Syria; Ḫattušaš (Boghazköy) in Anatolia; and Palestine and Lebanon as documented by the Amarna Letters (beginning of the 14th century B.C.). Most evidence originates in official state archives; only at Nuzi are private references to the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* frequent. At Nuzi the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* are most often mentioned in private contracts according to which persons called *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* bind themselves to the service of Nuzi citizens. The documents in question show that the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* were not themselves citizens of Nuzi but foreigners without any juridical rights at Nuzi. By binding themselves through these service contracts they obtained a sort of social security so long as they remained in the service of a citizen of Nuzi. The analogy between these contracts and the OT law of the Hebrew slave (Exod 21:2–11) seems obvious (see HEBREW).

In Alalakh the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* are normally mentioned in administrative documents listing persons of foreign origin. These foreigners seem to have been kept apart from the ordinary population of this state, maybe as servants of the royal palace administration (Greenberg 1955: 19–22). One inscription from Alalakh, however, shows that the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* also operated as bands of brigands or outlaws outside the control of the state. In the autobiography of King Idrimi we are told how the young Idrimi during his exile

lived for seven years among *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* out of reach of the authorities from whom he had escaped (*ANET*, 557–58). The same distinction between *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* as foreigners in the service of the state and *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* as outlaws is apparent in the sources from Ugarit and Ḫattušaš. Most important is, however, a passage in a treaty between the king of Ugarit and his overlord, the Hittite king, according to which the two monarchs promise to extradite citizens who have deserted their own state to seek refuge in territories known as *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* land. Such entries in the political treaties become quite frequent in this period; the phenomenon testifies to a growing concern because of the increasing number of persons who chose to live as *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* (Liverani 1965; cf. also, for the connection between *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* and the fugitives in Akk *munnabtu*, Buccellati 1977).

Most important, however, are the testimonies as to the activities of the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* in the Amarna Letters, although the evaluation of the content of the expression *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* is subject to discussion. Generally two different hypotheses as to the content of the expression in the Amarna Letters prevail. The first (and more popular) maintains that their situation was not much different from their situation elsewhere in the ANE. The second argues that the mentioning of the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* in the Amarna Letters does not normally indicate a sociological phenomenon, but that it is just as often used in an exclusively pejorative sense to denote opponents of the official community, that is, the Egyptian suzerainty (thus Mendenhall 1973: 122–35; Liverani 1979). In favor of the first option is the fact that the occurrence of the term *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* is unevenly distributed over the Palestinian/Lebanese area. It is seemingly concentrated in areas in or close to the mountains, the most obvious *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* territory (cf. below), whereas the number of sources mentioning the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* becomes more restricted in other places. This distribution indicates that the expression was not just a derogatory term in the Amarna age but reflected a real social problem of the Palestinian and Lebanese societies. In favor of the second option is the fact that persons styled *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* in the Amarna Letters are in general neither foreigners nor fugitives, but heads of states or citizens of states. When a king of one of the Palestinian petty states calls his neighbor king a *ḫabiru/ḫapiru*, it is certainly not because this other king has left his country to become a *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* but because he is considered by his fellow king to be a public enemy. When we hear that the citizens of a certain city have joined the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* and given their city over to them, this does not necessarily mean that they themselves have become *ḫabiru* or that they have in a physical sense left their city at the mercy of the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru.* It simply means that the rulers or the citizens of the neighboring city-states look upon them as enemies. That we cannot exclude the second possibility is proven by an Amarna Letter in which even the Egyptian governor residing at Hazor is accused of making alliances with the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru.* On the other hand, although this second hypothesis about the content of the expression in the Amarna Letters certainly limits the amount of actual references to the activities of the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* people properly speaking, the derogatory use may be considered indirect evidence of the importance of the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* phenomenon as such. If there had not been a considerable element of these people, the derogatory use of the expression itself would have been meaningless.

Perhaps the Amarna Letters cannot be taken to prove that gangs of *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* as well as *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* fugitives roamed Palestine proper. Their presence is, however, proved by an Egyptian inscription from the end of the 14th century B.C., which mentions an Egyptian campaign against some *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* living in the mountainous area around Beth-shan in Palestine (translation *ANET*, 255; cf. Albright 1952). In the Egyptian sources the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* from Syria/Palestine are, however, mentioned as early as during the reign of Amenophis II (ca. 1440 B.C.), when they appear alongside the *ḫurri* people (i.e., the settled population of Asia) and the *šasu* nomads in a list counting the prisoners of a Palestinian campaign led by this pharaoh (*ANET*, 247). According to Egyptian documents mentioning the presence of *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* in Egypt proper, they seem to have been employed by the Egyptians as an unskilled labor force, used among other things for work on public building projects.

**D. Factors Behind the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* Movement**

Although it is impossible to present a detailed history of the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru*, it should, nevertheless, be possible to delineate some of the conditions which contributed to the development of the phenomenon during the 2d millennium and to indicate some general reasons both for the seemingly increasing

importance of the phenomenon especially in the LB Age and for its disappearance at the beginning of the Iron Age.

The etymology of the word is W Semitic and points toward an origin among the W Semitic- or Amorite-speaking population of the ANE, although the phenomenon as such was in no way confined to the areas inhabited by this population. Nor would it be correct to think that the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* were generally of W Semitic origin. To the contrary, the available evidence shows that a variety of ethnic groups could be listed under this heading in any society of that time, as was the case at Alalakh, where the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* groups encompassed foreigners bearing W Semitic as well as Ḫurrian names. Accordingly, the expression must already at an early date have been separated from any specific ethnic background and become a purely social designation. Since the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* whose names are preserved in the source material are always considered foreigners in the societies where they lived and where they were excluded from normal civil rights, they were obviously intruders who had arrived from some other parts of the region. Though their presence was noted, their status in the society was invariably low; they were almost slaves, as at Nuzi, or else they were employed by the state as unskilled laborers or ordinary mercenaries. Finally, their affinity to groups of outlaws outside the control of the political centers of that period is evident from the fact that they shared their name or designation with the brigands. Therefore both the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* living in state societies and *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* living on their own as outlaws must be seen as representatives of one and the same general social phenomenon, that is, they were refugees or fugitives who had left their own country to find a way of survival in other parts of the Near East.

The reasons for this wave of fugitives, which, according to the available sources, seems to have increased in force during the MB and especially the LB, may have varied, and it may be futile to attempt any easy explanation. However, such a factor as debt—resulting in regular debt slavery—may have induced many impoverished peasants of the ancient states to find a living out of reach of the authorities who were going to enslave them as debtors. The actual extent of such conditions which led to the enslavement of presumably a considerable part of (especially) the rural populace may only be surmised. On the other hand, the practice, common in the Old Babylonian period, of issuing at regular intervals royal grants which annulled debt as well as debt slavery and which released mortgages on landed property (see esp. Kraus 1958; Finkelstein 1961), demonstrates that the problem was very real. Such measures, however, may not have continued beyond the period of the Amorite dynasty in Babylonia proper; and edicts of that kind may not have been issued in other places, at least not to the same extent as in Mesopotamia proper (Lemche 1979). The burden of debt may have increased because of the growing centralization of the state administration, especially in the LB, when the so-called "palatinate" type of states developed into a despotic system with ever-diminishing rights of the ordinary population (on this system Liverani 1974 and 1975). It may be an indication of the juridical organization of this type of state that no law codices have survived from those regions of W Asia where, seemingly, the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* movement grew to unprecedented dimensions in the LB Age, because all juridical power was vested in the centralized state authorities symbolized by the person of the king residing in his palace.

Two additional factors contributed to the development of the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* movement. First of all, the region was subdivided into numerous petty states which evidently facilitated the possibility of escaping the authorities in one's own state. Second, and more important for the refugees who decided to live as outlaws, was the extent of territories especially suitable for the life of such brigands, that is, territories which could in no way be controlled by the tiny forces of the petty states of the area. Such territories were normally to be found in the mountains or in the steppes between the desert and the cultivated areas (on this see Rowton 1965: 375–87 and 1967; cf. also Rowton 1976). The extent of the movement and the problems which it caused transpire from a series of international treaties trying to regulate the traffic of the refugees by impeding their freedom in states other than their own. The reciprocity of the extradition of the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* between states testifies to a deeply felt concern because of the movement of the refugees. The acme of these endeavours on the part of the communities is the paragraphs included in the great international treaty between Egypt and Ḫatti at the beginning of the 13th century B.C. (*ANET*, 199–203; cf. Liverani 1965).

Irrespective of whether this sketch of the development of the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* movement is true or not, the movement lost its impetus after the breakdown of the palatinate system at the end of the LB; and although the problem of refugees and fugitives has always been endemic to the Near East, the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* disappeared. One may only guess at the specific reasons, but the possibility exists that the ideological foundation of the new states which arose during the Iron Age, not least in W Asia, promoted a better understanding of social responsibility among the leading class, since many of the states were founded on the basis of former tribal societies. It may be that the egalitarian ideology of these tribal societies lived on, although it cannot be assumed that debt slavery disappeared in the Iron Age. To the contrary, debt slavery was very much in evidence; but it was perhaps softened by an ideology which proclaimed brotherhood among all members of the new states (on the egalitarianism of the Iron Age using Israel as an example see Gottwald 1979; cf., however, also Lemche 1985: 202–44, including criticisms of Gottwald for not distinguishing between ideology and real life).

In conclusion it must be maintained that after 1000 B.C. no reference to the activities of the *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* is known. References to *ḫabiru* in later sources are literary reflections of the past.

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NIELS PETER LEMCHE

**HABOR** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥābôr* (חָבוֹר)]. A river along which the Assyrians resettled some of the N Israelites after they had captured Samaria in 721 B.C. (2 Kgs 17:6; 18:11; cf. 1 Chr 5:26). The Habor was a tributary of the Euphrates river, attested in Assyrian sources as *ḫabŭr;* today it still retains the name al-Khābûr. The biblical designation of the Habor as "the river of Gozan" was apparently unique to the Israelites. Assyrian documents recovered at Gozan (Akk *Guzana*, modern Tell Halaf on the Khābŭr at the Turkish-Syrian border) contain some Israelite personal names which undoubtedly belonged to some of the exiles deported there from Samaria (see Cogan and Tadmor *2 Kings* AB, 197).

The "upper Habor" originates E of the Euphrates in the mountainous region of SE Turkey and flows SE into Syria. This "upper Habor" region (above Al-Hasakah [36°29′N; 40°54′E]) is within the 10-inch rainfall line; the agricultural fertility of this region (as well as its cultural vitality) is attested by the plethora of still-unexcavated mounds. Below Al-Hasakah the Habor flows due S where it joins the Euphrates at Buṣayrah (35°09′N; 40°26′E), about 60 miles upriver from Mari. This "lower Habor" region is within the 4-inch rainfall line, meaning that it was better suited for sustaining pastoral rather than agricultural activities. In the Old Babylonian period (esp. ca. 1900–1700 B.C.) numerous tribal groups considered the steppe-land bounded by the Habor, Balikh, and Euphrates rivers to be their territory. The Benē Sim'al tribes apparently pastured their flocks more along the upper Habor; the Yaminite tribes, which were actually quite wide-ranging, apparently centered their pastoral activities more to the S (along the Balikh and Euphrates rivers); the tribes of Khana (centered around Terqa) seem to have pastured their flocks more along the lower Habor as far SE as Mari (*CAH*$^3$ 2/1: 24–27).
GARY A. HERION

**HACALIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥăkalyâ* (חֲכַלְיָה)]. The father of Nehemiah (Neh 1:1), Hacaliah is mentioned only here and in Neh 10:2—Eng10:1. It is often suggested that the name means "Wait for Yahweh," but the use of an imperative form runs counter to the way in which Hebrew proper names are usually formed (Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* NCBC, 124; Cohen *IDB* 2: 507; *TPNAH*, 125–26), and the root *ḥkl* has no attested verbal form in biblical Hebrew (*TPNAH*, 125). Apart from a brief reference to family sepulchers (Neh 2:3, 5), which may suggest a certain measure of wealth or social standing, nothing else is known about Nehemiah's father or his family (Brockington, 124).
FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**HACHILAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥăkîlâ* (חֲכִילָה)]. A hill in the Judean hill country where David found refuge from Saul (1 Sam 23:19; 26:1) and on which Saul encamped in his pursuit of David (1 Sam 26:3). Located on the hill of Hachilah (1 Sam 23:19) was HORESH, a site in the Wilderness of Ziph (1 Sam 23:15), and its strongholds. While the hill of Hachilah remains unidentified, the association of Horesh with Khirbet Khoreisa (*IDB* 2: 644) perhaps provides a clue. Accounts in the OT locate it "south of Jeshimon" (1 Sam 23:19), "east of Jeshimon" (1 Sam 26:1), and "beside the road on the east of Jeshimon" (1 Sam 26:3).
LAMOINE F. DEVRIES

**HACHMONI** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥakmônî* (חַכְמוֹנִי)]. HACHMONITE. Since this name ends with *î*, which frequently occurs as a formal element indicating a gentilic name, it is possible in both passages in which the name occurs to read either a personal name, "Hachmoni," or a gentilic name, "a Hachmonite."

**1.** The father or ancestor of Jashobeam, one of David's champions (1 Chr 11:10–47, v 11; = 2 Sam 23:8–39, see v 8, where the variant Tahchemonite occurs). Here the name has generally been read as a gentilic designation with reference to some unidentified place or people: "son of a Hachmonite" or simply, "a Hachmonite" (Noth *IPN*, 232). If "Tahchemonite" is a corruption for "the Hachmonite" (Driver *NHT*, 364), then the form in 2 Samuel also supports reading with the gentilic name. Also, apparently the same Jashobeam, as well as 11 other men from this passage, is mentioned again in 1 Chr 27:2–15, where he is designated as the "son of Zabdiel" (v 2), a name, which formally cannot be other than a personal name. Caution, however, must be exercised before attempting to harmonize these two passages and reaching the conclusion that Jashobeam both was the son of Zabdiel and was a Hachmonite. Differences between the two lists in 1 Chronicles suggest that the composition of neither was dependent upon the other (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 174). Further, there appears to be a convention in these lists of using personal names in the formula "a son of (personal name)" and gentilic references in the formula "the (gentilic name)." Note that the discrepancies to this rule found in the parallel text in 2 Sam 23:8–39 are resolved in Chronicles (see Hebrew texts: 2 Sam 23:11 and 1 Chr 11:27; 23:34 and the

possible parallel 11:36; 23:30 and 11:31; 23:36 and 11:38). Also, two other names ending in *i* occur in the Chronicles text in the "son of" formula. The interpretation of the first, "the son of HAGRI" (v 38) may be open to debate; however, the second, "the son of SHIMRI" (v 45), designates a personal name, since the text goes on to mention his brother and give his gentilic reference, "JOHA his brother, the TIZITE." Given this convention, it appears that the author of our text understood Hachmoni to be a personal name for the father or ancestor of Jashobeam.

**2.** The father or ancestor of Jehiel, an official of the court who served as a counselor or tutor to David's sons (1 Chr 27:32). This name, if derived from *ḥkm,* "to be wise," would have an appropriate symbolic value (i.e., "Jehiel the son of 'the wise one' ") and raises the issue of the name being an artificial construction. Again, although it is possible to read this phrase as "son of a Hachmonite," the author appears to have followed the convention mentioned above and to have understood Hachmoni to be a personal name.

RODNEY K. DUKE

**HADAD** (DEITY) [Heb *hădad* (הֲדַד)]. The ancient Semitic storm god, the deity of rain, lightning (his weapon), and thunder (his voice). "Hadad" perhaps means "thunderer" (cf. Heb *hêdād,* "shout"). His name was Hadad among the Amorites and Arameans, Adad among the Mesopotamians, and Haddu among the Canaanites. He is the god Baal, well-known from the Ras Shamra texts and the OT. Hadad/Haddu was most probably the proper name of Baal ("Baal" means "lord," a word used to designate the deity, as a title for other gods, and in secular contexts). Hadad also was known as Ramman or Rimmon (2 Kgs 5:18).

The name Hadad may have been brought E to Mesopotamia by the Amorites toward the end of the 3d millennium B.C. Among the Mesopotamians Hadad/Adad was revered as the god who gave the life-sustaining rains but feared as the one sending storms causing destruction and loss of life. He was a god of oracles and divination (so, too, at Aleppo in Syria). The Assyrians in particular venerated him also as a war divinity.

Among the W Semites the dominant characterization of Hadad/Haddu, as seen especially in the Ras Shamra texts (and as reflected in the OT), was as the storm god who was the fertility deity par excellence. Baal-Haddu sent the all-important, fertilizing rains; he overcame the dark forces of chaos and death.

This divinity, when he is mentioned in the OT, is never designated as "Hadad" ("Baal" is used), with one possible exception ("Hadad-rimmon" of Zech 12:11). However, "Hadad" does appear as a theophoric element in OT personal names. Since Hadad was the chief deity of the Arameans of Syria, a number of kings from this area had the name Ben-hadad (Aram Bir-hadad), "son of Hadad" (e.g., 1 Kgs 15:18 [cf. the name Tabrimmon, "Rimmon/Ramman is good"]; 2 Kgs 13:3). An Aramean king of Zobah, defeated by David, was named Hadadezer, "Hadad is help" (e.g., 2 Sam 8:3, 5; 10:16, 19; 1 Chr 18:3). A prince of Hamath had the name Hadoram, "Hadad is high/exalted" (1 Chr 18:10; see also Gen 10:27; and 2 Chr 10:18). "Hadad" occurs by itself as a personal name (e.g., 1 Kgs 11:14; 1 Chr 1:30, 46–47, 50–51), which is probably an abbreviation of a compound or sentence name containing "Hadad" as theophoric element.

Concerning iconography, the bull was the symbolic animal of Hadad. The god himself is depicted in certain representations as wearing a headpiece with horns protruding from the front and grasping the thunderbolt.

The worship of Hadad persisted into the Hellenistic era and beyond. Lucian (or Pseudo-Lucian), giving his own eyewitness description of the religion of Hierapolis in his *The Syrian Goddess* (2d century A.D.), identifies "Zeus" as the consort of the Syrian goddess (Atargatis). It is generally agreed that this Zeus is actually Hadad.

See also BAAL (DEITY); HADADRIMMON (DEITY); RIMMON (DEITY); UGARIT (TEXTS AND LITERATURE).

WALTER A. MAIER III

**HADAD** (PERSON) [Heb *hădad* (הֲדַד);*ḥădad* (חֲדַד)]. Var. HADAR. In addition to being the name of one of the sons of Ishmael (Heb *ḥădad*), Hadad (Heb *hădad*) is also the personal name of three rulers of Edom, only two of which are attested in the Edomite King List (Gen 36:31–39). Opinions vary as far as the date of the Edomite King List is concerned. Suggestions range from the 11th century B.C. (Weippert 1982: 155), through the 8th to 6th centuries B.C. (Bennett 1983: 16), to the 6th–5th centuries B.C. (Knauf 1985). Scholars tend to agree, however, that the succession scheme of this list is artificial and that, in all likelihood, the rulers listed in it were contemporaries (Bartlett 1972: 27; Weippert 1982: 155).

As a personal name, Hadad is only attested for Edom, ancient S Arabia (*hdd*$^{m}$ CIS IV 55) and ancient N Arabia (Safaitic and South Safaitic *hdd*, to be vocalized *Hadād, Hudaid,* or *Haddād* according to the Classical Arabic; Knauf 1985: 246). According to these parallels it is not necessary to assume that Hadad is a hypocoristic name containing the name of the Syrian weather god, Hadad, without a predicative element. Certainly, however, Hadad, both as a name of a deity and of a person, conveys the same basic meaning: "The one who smashes."

**1.** The eighth son of Ishmael (Gen 25:15). The MT here and in the parallel 1 Chr 1:30 reads *ḥădad,* while other mss read *hdd* and *ḥdr*. See also HADAR (PERSON).

**2.** The son of Bedad and fifth ruler of the Edomite King List (Gen 36:35f. = 1 Chr 1:46f.). For the name of his father, one may compare *bd* and *bd*›*l* in Safaitic and Thamudic, Thamudic *bddt*, and Classical Arabic *Budaid*. This Hadad is said to have defeated Midian in the country of Moab. The historical value of this statement is doubtful; it may derive from an unjustified synchronism with the major judges of Israel in their present order, which made Hadad I contemporary with Gideon (Knauf 1985: 251f.). The name of his "capital" (a village, tower/castle, or encampment?), Avith, may reflect an Arabic **Ghuwaith*. The place is not yet identified (Knauf 1985: 250).

**3.** The eighth ruler of the Edomite King List (1 Chr 1:50f.). In the Gen 36:39 parallel the RSV translates HADAR, following MT *hădar*. His filiation is not recorded; instead, the name of his wife (Mehetabel) is given. This could indicate that he was a man of no family who owed his status to a marriage into the Edomite nobility. His "capital", Pau (Arabic **Faghw?*), remains unidentified (Knauf 1985: 250).

**4.** The adversary of Solomon (1 Kgs 11:14–22). The biblical narrative presents a number of problems: it is unclear what kind of "kingly stock" existed in Edom when David conquered the country (that is, probably the N part of what later became the Edomite state); and it is unclear how successful Hadad III was in organizing Edom against its occupation by Israel (Bartlett 1976). There was no "united monarchy" in Edom prior to the end of the 9th century B.C. (Bartlett 1972). That the name of the father of this Hadad remained unrecorded, too, indicates that his lineage was unknown to the biblical author. Remarkably, no name of a ruler of Edom is given in the account of David's subjugation of this country (2 Sam 8:14). It can be doubted, however, that Solomon would be overly concerned about the revolt of Hadad; Israel, at that time, was probably content to control the communication lines to Elath/Ezion Geber on the gulf of Aqaba, and had no interest in a permanent occupation of the Edomite plateau (and probably also lacked the means to do so). The basic outlines of the story of Hadad III, however, need not be questioned. He was a member of the Edomite nobility and fled from the Israelite onslaught to Egypt via Midian (NW Arabia), crossed the gulf of Aqaba and the Sinai peninsula via Pharan (Wâdī Feiran), and found political asylum in Egypt, where he was kept and taken care of as a potential card to play off against Israel when it would suit Egypt. At the same time the Israelite rebel, Jeroboam, was similarly treated by Egypt (1 Kgs 11:40).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**HADADEZER** (PERSON) [Heb *hădad-ezer* (הֲדַדְעֶזֶר)]. Aramean king defeated by David as reported in 2 Sam 8:3, 5 (= 1 Chr 18:3, 5); and 10:16 (= 1 Chr 19:16). According to the 2 Samuel 8 passage he was the son of REHOB, king of ZOBAH, located N of Damascus. In the 2 Samuel 10 passage his territory is unnamed. 1 Kgs 11:23 mentions him as king of Zobah from Davidic on through Solomonic times.

The exact location of the territory controlled by Hadadezer is not certain. While 2 Sam 8:3 and 1 Kgs 11:23 designate him as king of Zobah, which is generally located N of Damascus, 2 Sam 10:16 describes him as controlling the Aramean territory "beyond the river (i.e., the Euphrates)" (Malamat 1958), which suggests territory E of the Ammonite range and not N of Syria.

In the unit preceding 2 Sam 10:16 there is mention of Arameans from Beth-rehob and Arameans from Zobah functioning as mercenaries for the Ammonites. Though Hadadezer is not mentioned in this unit while there is in the unit mention of other kings, it would appear that an Aramean Empire controlled Syrian and Mesopotamian territory.

There is also a question as to the number of times Hadadezer and David met in battle. While on the surface the narratives of 2 Sam 8:3–8; 10:6–15, 16–19 suggest three such occasions, there is much disagreement as to whether the references to these battles between David and Hadadezer are to the same or different battles, and if the latter, as to the sequence in which they occurred.

First, the description of the battle in 2 Sam 10:16–19 ends with the claim that the Arameans thereby became subject to David. Since this is also the result of the battle described in 2 Samuel 8, other scholars argue that these are references to the same battle (Wellhausen 1891; Ackroyd 1981; Soggin 1984).

On the other hand, according to the 2 Samuel 8 account Hadadezer and his army are totally defeated and his territory subjugated. In the 2 Samuel 10 account, however, there is no sense that he is leader of a vassal state under Davidic control. Rather the state of affairs appears to be that his territory is independent of any foreign control and that he commands large mercenary troops. Thus the question arises as to how he could be so soundly defeated in chap. 8 and so independent in chap. 10. For this reason some scholars argue that the battle in 2 Samuel 10 must have preceded that in 2 Samuel 8 (Bright *BHI*; McCarter *2 Samuel* AB; Noth *NHI*).

Finally in the 2 Samuel 10 accounts as noted above Hadadezer is not mentioned in the unit which describes the coalition of Arameans hired by the Ammonites to attack David (2 Sam 10:6b–15 [= 1 Chr 19:6–15]). Rather his name appears in a subsequent unit (2 Sam 10:16–19a [= 1 Chr 19:16–19a]), where his army appears to be in battle along with other Arameans against David. Interestingly, there is no mention at all of Ammonites in this unit. This is surprising since the battle described there is used as the basis for an etiology on the break in the military relationship between the Ammonites and Arameans. Thus the question arises as to whether these war stories in chap. 10 relate to a two-stage operation or to totally different wars.

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RANDALL C. BAILEY

**HADADRIMMON** (DEITY) [Heb *hădad-rimmôn* (הֲדַד־רִמּוֹן)]. The ancient Semitic storm god. Zech 12:11 states that in the future there will be great mourning in Jerusalem, "as great as the mourning for Hadadrimmon in the plain of Megiddo" (RSV). Hadad is the god Baal (well known from the Ras Shamra texts and the OT), "Hadad" probably being the proper name (perhaps meaning "thunderer") of Baal ("lord"). "Rimmon" is an epithet of Hadad (Adad in Mesopotamia); the Akk form is Ram (m)an. It

has been suggested that Heb Rimmon *(rimmôn),* which is identical to the Heb word for "pomegranate," is a deliberate mispointing of an original Ram (m)an, *ram (m)ān* (or something similar), to disparage the deity. This epithet Rimmon/Ramman is best understood as "thunderer" (cf. Akk *ramāmu,* "to roar," hence, "to thunder"). Accordingly, the name Hadadrimmon means "Hadad is Rimmon" or "Hadad is the thunderer." Hadad, or Rimmon/Ramman, was the chief deity of the Arameans of Syria, and his worship there is mentioned in 2 Kgs 5:18 (cf. the name Tabrimmon, "Rimmon/Ramman is good," in 1 Kgs 15:18).

Concerning the mourning referred to in Zech 12:11, there are two main positions seen in the scholarly literature (for other interpretations of the passage, see the summaries of Baldwin *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi* TOTC, 192–93 and Smith *Micah–Malachi* WBC, 278–79). The first, and older position, is that the verse should be translated, "the mourning *of* Hadadrimmon," Hadadrimmon being regarded as a village or town (named after the deity) in the plain of Megiddo. Reference is made to Jerome, who said that this Hadadrimmon was a town called in his day Maximianopolis, SE of Megiddo, close to Jezreel and Taanach (and later identified by some scholars with a village named Rummaneh). The lamentation "of Hadadrimmon," which took place in the village and/or throughout Judah, was, it is explained, for the good king Josiah (see 2 Chr 35:20–25, esp. v 25), because Hadadrimmon was the location either of Josiah's being mortally wounded or of his death. However, that this village actually existed is uncertain; that it was the spot of Josiah's being wounded by the archers is even more questionable. As to where the king died, 2 Chr 35:24 indicates he expired in Jerusalem (cf. 2 Kgs 23:29–30, to be understood as saying "Neco" fatally wounded Josiah, who was brought "dying" from Megiddo to Jerusalem?).

The second main position, preferable to the first, is that Zech 12:11 speaks about mourning rites for the deity Hadadrimmon. Devotees of the god believed that it was he who sent the rains necessary for abundant crops and the preservation of life. Conceivably this mourning took place at times of drought, when rain from Hadad would be sorely missed. Comparison can be made to the Baal cycle in the Ugaritic literature, which describes the mourning of El (the head of the pantheon) and Anath (Baal's consort) when Baal dies (later Baal revives), and a subsequent struggle between Baal and Death, which neither combatant wins. One should also note Ezek 8:14, which depicts annual, ritual mourning for the Mesopotamian fertility deity Tammuz (Dumuzi). Lamentation for Hadadrimmon is mentioned in Zech 12:11 as a point of comparison since it would have been a (or the) striking example from the ANE milieu of bitter mourning shared by many people. This grief would have been particularly intense in the broad, fertile plain of Megiddo, a choice agricultural area. See also BAAL (DEITY); HADAD (DEITY); RIMMON (DEITY); UGARIT (TEXTS AND LITERATURE).

WALTER A. MAIER III

**HADAR** (PERSON) [Heb *hădar* (הֲדַר)]. Var. HADAD. A masculine name found in the OT.

1. The eighth ruler listed on the Edomite King List (Gen 36:39). In the 1 Chr 1:50–51 parallel the MT reads *hădad.* See HADAD (PERSON).

2. The Syriac version and the Bomberg (Venice) edition (1524–25), followed by the KJV, read *ḥădar* as the name of the eighth son of Ishmael in Gen 25:15. The RSV here and the 1 Chr 1:30 parallel read Hadad. He is said to have dwelt with his brothers in the region from Havilah to Shur, in the area of the Sinai and NW coast of Arabia. The names of six of these brothers are mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions from the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.E., but Hadar is one of four names which do not appear elsewhere.

VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

**HADASHAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥădāšâ* (חֲדָשָׁה)]. Town situated in the Shephelah, or lowland, of Judah (Josh 15:37), within the same district as Lachish. This settlement, the name of which perhaps means "new town," is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). It may be the same place as Adasa, which 1 Macc 7:40–45 identifies as the location of the victory of Judas Maccabeus over Nicanor. Although a general location somewhere between Lachish and Gath is called for by the context, no suitable candidate for the ancient town has been identified.

WADE R. KOTTER

**HADASSAH** (PERSON) [Heb *hădassâ* (הֲדַסָּה)]. The name given to Esther when she is first introduced by the narrator of the book of Esther (2:7). He tells us that Mordecai, a Jew resident in Susa, was "raising Hadassah, that is Esther, his (i.e., Mordecai's) niece." The most natural understanding of this appositive construction is that her given name was Hadassah, but she subsequently became more commonly known by the name Esther. In this interpretation Hadassah would be her Hebrew name (the view adopted by the Targum, see Paton *Esther* ICC, 170; Moore *Esther* AB, 20), belonging to that class of male and female names in the OT drawn from the names of plants. "Hadassah" would be the feminine form of *hădas,* "myrtle" (cf. Isa 49:19; 55:13; Neh 8:15; see Noth *IPN,* 230–31). An earlier view held that the book of Esther was historicized Babylonian mythology in which "Esther" is Ishtar, the Babylonian goddess of love; and hence "Hadassah" was the Hebrew form of Akk *ḫadaššatu,* "bride," an epithet of Ishtar (Jensen 1892: 209; cf. Paton, 88). Such an etymology is belied not only by the fact that this view of the book is today given no credence, but also by the fact that it is highly improbable that Akk *ḫ* would be rendered by Heb *h*, i.e., Akk *ḫădaššatu* would appear in Hebrew as *ḥădassâ* (with *ḥet*), not *hădassāh* (with *he*).

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FREDERIC W. BUSH

**HADES, HELL.** The Greek word Hades *(hądēs)* is sometimes, but misleadingly, translated "hell" in English versions of the NT. It refers to the place of the dead but not necessarily to a place of torment for the wicked dead. In Greek religious thought Hades was the god of the underworld; but more commonly the term referred to his realm, the underworld, where the shades or the souls of the dead led a shadowy existence, hardly conscious and without memory of their former life. In early times it seems Hades was usually conceived as a place of sadness and gloom (but not punishment) indiscriminately for all the dead. However, as early as Homer the notion existed that some individuals experienced endless punishment in Hades, and later, especially through the influence of Orphic-Pythagorean ideas, belief in postmortem rewards and punishments in Hades became common. While Greek ideas about the afterlife probably did not influence the origins of Jewish expectations of retribution after death, later Jewish writers sometimes incorporated particular terms and concepts from the Greek and Roman Hades into their own pictures of the afterlife.

The old Hebrew concept of the place of the dead, most often called Sheol *(šĕʿôl)* in the Hebrew Bible, corresponded quite closely to the Greek Hades. Both were versions of the common ancient view of the underworld. Like the old Greek Hades, Sheol in the Hebrew Bible is the common fate of all the dead, a place of darkness and gloom, where the shades lead an unenviable, fading existence. In the LXX therefore Sheol is usually translated as Hades, and the Greek term was naturally and commonly used by Jews writing in Greek. This Jewish usage explains the ten NT occurrences of the word *Hades.*

The rise of Jewish belief in resurrection and eternal life had a significant impact on ideas about Sheol/Hades. Resurrection was understood as God's eschatological act of bringing the dead from Hades back to life. Probably the earliest, simplest idea was that the shades will return from Hades to bodily life. Sometimes they were expected to be raised as spirits to dwell with the angels in heaven. According to a more dichotomous view of human nature, the soul will be brought from Hades, the body raised from the grave, and body and soul reunited in resurrection. Whichever view of resurrection was adopted, Hades became the *temporary* abode of the dead, between death and the general resurrection at the end of the age; but there was not *necessarily* any other change in the understanding of Hades.

In most early Jewish literature Hades or Sheol remains the place to which all the dead go (2 Macc 6:23; *1 En.* 102:5; 103:7; *Sib. Or.* 1:81–84; *Ps.-Phoc.*112–113; *2 Bar.* 23:4; *T. Ab.* A 8:9; 19:7) and is very nearly synonymous with death (Wis 1:12–16; 16:13; *S. Sol.* 16:2; Rev 6:8; 20:13), as well as actually synonymous with other OT terms for the place of the dead ("the earth," "the dust," Abaddon: *1 En.* 51:3; 4 Ezra 7:32; *Ps.-Philo* 3:10; *2 Bar.* 42:8; 50:2). At the resurrection Hades will return what has been entrusted to it (*1 En.* 51:3; 4 Ezra 4:42; 7:32; *2 Bar.* 42:8; 50:2; *Ps.-Philo* 3:10; 33:3; cf. Rev 20:13)—a

notion which expresses God's sovereignty over Hades (cf. 1 Sam 2:6; Tob 13:2; Wis 16:13). The dead have been temporarily entrusted by God to the safekeeping of Hades; at the resurrection he will demand them back. Thereafter death will no longer happen, and so the mouth of Hades will be sealed so that it can no longer receive the dead (*2 Bar.* 21:23; *Ps.-Philo* 33:3), or, in an alternative image, Death and Hades will be thrown into the lake of fire (Rev 20:14). Thus Hades retains its close association with death and is not confused with the place of eternal torment for the wicked after the day of judgment, which was usually known as Gehenna. Even when Hades is portrayed as the fate for which the wicked are heading, in contrast to the eternal life to which the righteous are destined, the traditional characteristics of the place of the dead—darkness and destruction—are often in mind (*Pss. Sol.* 14:9–10; 15:10, 13; 16:2; *Jub.* 7:29; 22:22).

However, the picture of Hades was affected by the expectation of resurrection and eternal destiny in a further way. The notion of resurrection was connected with that of the judgment of the dead. At the day of judgment, the righteous will receive the reward of eternal life and the wicked the judgment of eternal destruction or eternal torment. This ultimate distinction between the righteous and the wicked was often held to be anticipated during the temporary abode of the dead in Hades. The earliest example is *1 Enoch* 22, where Enoch is shown four "hollow places" in which four different classes of the dead are kept until the day of judgment. The early character of this concept is shown by the fact that one of the two classes of the wicked, those who have already been punished for their sins in this life, will apparently be neither rewarded nor punished on the day of judgment, whereas sinners who have not been punished in this life will then receive their judgment. But for all classes Hades is essentially a place of waiting for judgment: the righteous are refreshed with a spring of water while they await the joys of paradise, but the wicked are not said to be punished. They are simply held in detention awaiting trial and condemnation. In later conceptions the classes of the dead are reduced to two. The places where they wait came to be called the chambers or treasuries of the souls (*Ps.-Philo* 32:13; *2 Bar.* 21:33; 30:1; 4 Ezra 4:35, 41; 7:32, 80, 85, 95, 101, 121; cf. *Ps.-Philo* 15:5: "chambers of darkness" for the wicked; *Ps.-Philo* 21:9: "the secret dwelling places of souls"; the terminology of chambers may derive from Isa 26:20; cf. *1 Clem.* 50:3).

In the extended account of the intermediate state in 4 Ezra 7:75–101, it is explained that after death the souls of the dead have seven days of freedom, during which they see the rewards awaiting the righteous and the torments awaiting the wicked. The wicked are therefore sad in anticipation, and the righteous rejoice in anticipation of the destiny awaiting them, but the rewards and punishments themselves are reserved for the last day. After the seven days the righteous enter their chambers, where they rest in quietness, guarded by angels (7:85, 95). In this account the wicked do not have chambers at all but continue to wander around in tormented awareness of their doom (7:80, 93).

The idea that the eternal punishment of the wicked has already begun in Hades, even before the last judgment, begins to be found occasionally in Jewish literature of the NT period. In this case Hades sometimes becomes the scene not only of darkness and gloom, but also of fire (cf. Sir 21:9–10), which had traditionally been reserved for the torment of the wicked in Gehenna after the last judgment. (*1 En.* 63:10 seems to be an exceptional case where Sheol itself is the scene of final punishment in fire after the last judgment; cf. perhaps 103:7–8.) Thus in the surviving fragments of *Jannes and Jambres* we seem to have the first instance of the many stories (later popular in Christianity) in which someone is brought back temporarily from Hades in order to warn the living of the fate of the wicked (it is this possibility which is requested and refused in Luke 16:27–31). The Egyptian magician Jannes explains to his brother that he is being punished in the fires of the underworld. In the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* Hades is equated with the abyss (6:15; 7:9; 9:2), and the seer sees in it the sea of fire and other forms of punishment for the wicked (6:1–2; 10:3–14). (However, neither of these works is certainly of pre-Christian Jewish origin.) Josephus claims that the Pharisees believed there are postmortem rewards and punishments "under the earth" (*Ant* 18.14).

In a final development Hades sometimes becomes exclusively the place of punishment for the wicked, while the righteous go at death to paradise or heaven. This may be the case in the *Apoc. Zeph.* However, we should not expect too much consistency in eschatological concepts. Older images often survive

alongside later developments. Thus the *Testament of Abraham* (Recension A) clearly refers to Hades as the fate of all the dead (8:9; 19:7); but it is not easy to reconcile this with its account of the separation of the souls, who at death go through two distinct gates, one leading to eternal punishment and the other to paradise (11), which is located in heaven (20:12, 14). In Jesus' story of the rich man and Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31), which reflects popular conceptions of the afterlife, it seems that only the rich man goes to Hades (though this is not entirely clear), where he is tormented in fire, while Lazarus goes to "Abraham's bosom" in paradise (cf. *T. Ab.* A 20:14). The two locations are within sight of each other (cf. 4 Ezra 7:85, 93); but this need not imply that both are in the underworld, since even after the last judgment paradise and Gehenna are said to be within sight of each other (4 Ezra 7:36–38; *1 En.* 108:14–15; *Apoc. El.* 5:27–28).

Other NT references to Hades also reflect Jewish usage. In Acts 2:27, 31, which directly reflect OT usage, Hades is the abode of all the dead before the resurrection. Also directly dependent on OT usage is Matt 11:23 = Luke 10:15 (cf. Isa 14:13–15). The image in Rev 20:13 is a traditional apocalyptic one (*1 En.* 51:3; *4 Ezra* 4:42; 7:32; *2 Bar.* 42:8; 50:2; *Ps.-Philo* 3:10; 33:3), while the personification of Hades, along with death, there and in Rev 6:8, derives from OT usage continued by later writers (for death and Sheol both personified, see Ps 49:14; Isa 28:15; Hos 13:14).

The gates of Hades (Matt 16:18) are traditional. Both the Babylonian Underworld and the Greek Hades had gates, but the image more immediately reflects the OT (Isa 38:10; cf. "gates of death" in Job 38:17; Ps 9:14; 107:18) and later Jewish writings (Wis 16:13; 3 Macc. 5:51; *So. Sol.* 16:2; cf. *Ap. Pet.* 4:3). The gates of Hades keep the dead imprisoned in its realm. Only God can open them (cf. Wis 16:13; *Ap. Pet.* 4:3, which probably reflects a Jewish description of resurrection; Ps 107:16 may have been interpreted in this way). Whatever the precise meaning of Matt 16:18, its reference must be not to the powers of evil, but to the power of Hades to hold the dead in death. A related image is that of the keys of Hades (Rev 1:18), which open its gates (cf. *2 En.* 42:1): the risen Christ, victorious over death, has acquired the divine power to release from the realm of death (cf. also *b. Sanh.* 113a). For bibliography see DESCENT TO THE UNDERWORLD.

RICHARD BAUCKHAM

**HADID** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥādîd* (חָדִיד)]. Town in the territory of Benjamin. Scholars maintain that Hadid is already mentioned in the Thutmose III town list, no. 76 "*h (u)dit (i)*" (*h-d-t*), after a place in the Shephelah and before a place in the Sharon. Hadid is also mentioned as one of a cluster of towns, the two others of which are Lod (Lydda) and Ono, to which the Babylonian exiles returned (Ezra 2:33; Neh 7:37; 11:34). From this text one may infer that Hadid was settled during the First Temple period, in the time when the tribe of Benjamin expanded W, perhaps during the reign of Josiah. See also Alt 1925: 11–15.

Hadid had strategic significance during the Hasmonean period, after Jonathan had fortified Jerusalem. Simeon, who encamped near Hadid, had fortified the town and installed gates during the Trypho's campaign (1 Macc 12:38; 13:13). In a clash near Hadid, Alexander Jannaeus was defeated by the Nabatean king, Aretas III, who invaded Judea (*Ant* 13.392). Later Vespasian conquered it and built a camp there (*JW* 4.486). According to the Mishnah, Hadid was among the cities surrounded by walls since the times of Joshua (*m. ʿArak.* 9:6). See also Abel 1926, 35: 218; Boree 1930: 29.

Josephus describes the city as being situated on a mountain overlooking the plains of Judea (*Ant* 13.203). Eusebius locates it E of Lydda (*Onomast.* 24:24; see also Beyer 1933: 233). It also appears on the Madeba Map (no. 59; Yeivin 1954: 149) and is mentioned by the Jewish traveler Astori Haparchi ca. 1322. The city is identified with a mound named al-Haditha, 6 km E of Lod. Archaeological surveys there yielded sherds of pottery dating from the LB and Iron Ages (Alt 1928: 71). A mosaic pavement with Nilotic scenes, dating from the 6th century C.E., was discovered there in 1940. See also Noth *Joshua* HAT, 93; *Historical Encyl. of Palestine* 2: 248 (in Hebrew).

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RAMI ARAV

**HADLAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥadlāy* (חַדְלָי)]. The father of Amasa, one of the leaders of the tribe of Ephraim during the time of Pekah, ruler of the N kingdom, Israel (2 Chr 28:12). This patronymic could also refer to the extended family of Hadlai, rather than to the biological father of Amasa. The name belongs to a class of nontheological Semitic personal names having to do with the body (Noth *IPN*, 226). The precise determination of the meaning of the name is an illustration of the history of the Hebrew language. There are two meanings to the Heb root *ḥdl*, either "to stop," "forbear" or "to be fat," "successful" (*HALAT*, 280–81). The lack of a close semantic connection between the two meanings may be explained by the fact that the earliest form of the Semitic language from which Hebrew later developed had two closely related consonants, the voiceless, fricative, pharyngeal *ḥ* and the voiceless, fricative, velar *ẖ*. Hebrew used the one letter *ḥet* to represent both sounds (Moscati et al. 1969: 38, 41). Thus there are two roots represented with two separate meanings; and, according to Kutscher (1984: 18), they were pronounced by the ancient Hebrews differently from each other. Of the two choices Hadlai probably means "fat one" *(ḥdl)* rather than "forbearer" *(ḥdl)*, since fat is also used metaphorically in Hebrew to mean "successful" and a personal name is most likely to be complimentary or hopeful.

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KIRK E. LOWERY

**HADORAM** (PERSON) [Heb *hădôrām* (הֲדוֹרָם)*; hădorām*]. **1.** A son of Joktan (Gen 10:27; 1 Chr 1:21) and hence the name of a S Arabian locality or of the tribe residing in it. E. Glaser (1980: 434) juxtaposed the biblical *hădôrām* and Yemenite *Dauram.* Epigraphically *dwrm* is attested in two Old Sabean inscriptions, RES 3945,15 from Ṣirwāḥ and CIS IV 603b,12 from Našq in the Jauf. In the first text it is listed along with several towns which the Sabean king Karib›il Watar (probably in the 7th century B.C.) incorporated into his realm. The context of the other places mentioned in both inscriptions suggests that *dwrm* is to be identified with *Dauram* at the upper part of the Wâdī Ḍahr about 16 km NW of Ṣan‹ā›. Probably because of its strategically important location, al-Hamdānī in the 10th century A.D. refers to *Dauram* as a pre-Islamic fortress of the Wâdī Ḍahr (1979: 123). The ruins of the ancient town are situated on the flat-topped mountain Ṭayba bordering on the SW part of the fertile valley, which still bears the name *Dauram* today. A clan name (*ḏ*)*dwrm*, which could be read (*Ḏū-*) *Dauram*, i.e., " (he of) *Dauram*," is attested in two votive inscriptions which are kept in the Museum of Aden (AM 840 = NAM 418,2; AM 343,1.3); both inscriptions had been dedicated to the Sabean god Almaqah in two different temples in the region of the oasis of Mārib. The reason why the name *Dôrām* is not attested in the biblical text, as one might expect, assuming that *Dauram* and *hădôrām* are to be identified, may be that the Arabian name was adapted to the NW Semitic name *hădôrām* borne by two different persons in the OT (see #2 and #3 below). The identification of *hădôrām* with the *Ahl al-Hadara*, a designation used by the inhabitants of Oman for certain bedouin tribes, was proposed by B. Thomas (1932: 48) and was taken over by Koehler-Baumgartner (*HALAT*, 229). This equation is, however, unacceptable, because the correct form is *Ahl al-Ḥadara* with the literal meaning "tribes of the down country." Likewise to be rejected because of the

inaccurate correspondence of the consonants is the identification of biblical *hădôrām* with the tribe of the *Ḥaḍūr* (A. von Kremer 1866: 25), whose name survives in the *miḫlāf Ḥaḍūr* to the W of Ṣan‹ā›.

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**2.** Son of Tou, king of Hamath, who was sent by Tou with gifts to thank King David for defeating their mutual adversary Hadadezer (1 Chr 18:9–10; MT *hădôrām;* LXX *hidouraam*). The Israelite form of the name, Joram (Heb *yôrām;* an abbreviated form of "Jehoram"), is used in the parallel account (2 Sam 8:9–10; note LXX reads *ieddouran* here, and *Ant* 7.5.4 reads *adōramon*), replacing the theophoric element Hadad ("Hadad is exalted") with Jehu ("Yahweh is exalted"). According to Malamat (1963: 6–7) this is a second (diplomatic?) name taken by Hadoram and reflects Israel's influence in Hamath, which had been at least geographically part of the Hittite Empire (see also Malamat 1958: 101; McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 244, 250). Thus, rather than assuming there is a textual corruption and emending Joram to Hadoram in 2 Sam 8:10, both names can be considered authentic references to the son of Tou.

**3.** The taskmaster under Rehoboam who was stoned to death by the enraged Israelites, who heard Rehoboam vow to increase their burden of forced labor (2 Chr 10:18; MT *hădorām;* LXX *adōniram;* but Codex Alexandrinus reads *adōram; Ant* 8.8.3 reads *adōramos*). Various spellings of the name create some confusion about the identity of Hadoram. The parallel account spells his name Adoram (1 Kgs 12:18; MT ›*ădorām;* LXX *adōniram;* but Codex Vaticanus reads *aram*). The person responsible for forced labor under Solomon was named Adoniram, the son of Abda (1 Kgs 4:6; 5:28—Eng5:14; MT ›*ădonîrām;* LXX *adōniram*), and previously under David was named Adoram (2 Sam 20:24; MT ›*ădorām;* LXX *adōniram*). It is reasonable to assume that the person in charge of forced labor could have remained in office from the time of David until the beginning of the reign of Rehoboam. Based on the shared office and similar spellings of their names, Hadoram can be identified with Adoniram and Adoram, as the LXX already did by standardizing the spelling to Adoniram. His brutal death stands as a symbol of the break between the N (Israel) and the S (Judah), and foreshadows the turmoil yet to come in their history.

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**HADRACH** (PLACE) [Heb *hadrāk* (הַדְרָךְ)]. A place, probably an Aramean city-state, located in N Syria on the Orontes river S of Hamath and N of Damascus. The city may be identified with the present day Tell Āfis, located about 20 miles (45 km) SW of Aleppo. It is mentioned only once by Zechariah along with Damascus and Hamath in connection with a prophecy concerning "the cities of Aram" (Zech 9:1), which were enemies of Israel. In 1908 the stele of Zakir, king of Hamath and Lu‹ash (ca. 800 B.C.), was discovered here. Zakir had withstood a siege of Hadrach by an Aramean coalition led by Ben-hadad III. Tiglath-pileser III named Hadrach in his annals as one of the "19 districts of Hamath" that had allied to support Azariah of Judah (742 B.C.) and was later made an Assyrian province. Zech 9:1–6 may be the record of an unsuccessful revolt by Hadrach against Sargon II (720 B.C.).

RAY L. ROTH

**HADRIAN** (EMPEROR). Hadrian, who became emperor on 11 August 117, was born in Rome of a family whose ancestors, originally Italian colonists, had long been resident at Italica (near Seville) in Spain. After his father's death in 85, he was brought to Rome under the guardianship of the future emperor Trajan (to whom he was related) and the future praetorian prefect Attianus. The link with Trajan was further strengthened in 100 when he married Vibia Sabina, also an imperial relative. His official

career began late in Domitian's reign with military service in Germany and Moesia and progressed rapidly once Trajan became emperor. He took part in the first Dacian War, commanded a legion (*1 Minervia*) in the second, governed Pannonia in 107, became consul in 108 (when only 32), held a number of priesthoods, and, toward the end of the reign, was appointed governor of Syria. At the time of Trajan's death, Hadrian was designated to his second consulship, which he held in 118. His support in the imperial court was widespread, but not universal; and while his popularity with Trajan (and especially with his wife Plotina) is well attested, neither he nor anyone else received any of the honors usually granted to heirs apparent. However, on the day after Trajan's death at Selinus in Cilicia (8 August 117), a letter of adoption, allegedly written by Trajan, reached Hadrian at Antioch, followed on the eleventh by the news of Trajan's death. The same day, the troops proclaimed him emperor.

Despite the controversial circumstances surrounding his accession, the Senate immediately voted him the usual imperial powers; but he never managed to establish a successful relationship with that body, mainly because of the initial decision (which may not have been his) to execute four of Trajan's leading generals. They were accused of planning Hadrian's assassination, found guilty, and promptly executed. Possibly they had opposed his decision to abandon some of Trajan's E conquests. But the damage was done; and, when he reached Rome, he had to strive to attain some degree of popularity: he was obliged to dismiss Attianus, now prefect (responsibility for the executions was assigned to him); to distribute largess to the people on three occasions by January 119; to cancel debts; and to provide expensive gladiatorial displays. Yet his efforts were not without success. Throughout his reign of 21 years, he was away from Rome for about 12 (121–125; 128–134); and no serious attempts were made to take advantage of these absences. On the other hand, he was never popular with the Senate.

He worked hard. For him it was an emperor's duty to familiarize himself with the entire empire. So "he personally viewed and investigated absolutely everything" (Dio Cass. 69.9.1). He visited armies everywhere, drilled the soldiers himself, lived as they did (Dio Cass. 69.9.3), and even published an assessment of their efficiency (*CIL* VIII 2532, 18042: N Africa, July 128). But he did not limit himself to military matters; for he seems to have regarded it as his responsibility to become aware of a province's problems, to inspect its administration, to attend official and religious festivals—and, as well, to indulge in hunting and sight-seeing. The emperor was no longer a remote or vague figure.

Hadrian withdrew from some of the newly acquired provinces (e.g., those beyond the Euphrates) and consolidated Rome's gains in others (e.g., Dacia). Almost certainly his reasons were economic. He sought prosperity and security for the empire through a policy that was essentially defensive; and, in the main, he was successful, though there were uprisings on the lower Danube, in Britain, in Mauretania, and in Judea. But the most outstanding example of his policy, without parallel in Roman times, was seen in Britain, where, on the Tyne-Solway line to which Trajan had already withdrawn, Hadrian erected a massive wall some 70 miles long, more than half of it in stone. It was at least 15 feet high and 7.5 feet thick, with a deep ditch in front and substantial earthworks behind. As well, there were 16 garrison forts, a fortlet every mile, and a turret every third of a mile. Consistent with this was the considerably less expensive timber barrier linking the Rhine and the Danube.

He had least success in dealing with the Jews. Severe riots had occurred in Jewish areas throughout the east toward the end of Trajan's reign (Dio Cass. 68.32.1–2), and they continued under Hadrian until 119 (*Annee Epigraphique* 1928, Nos. 1 and 2). Later his insistence on having a shrine in Jerusalem dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus and built on the site of the temple resulted in the revolt of 132–135, led by Bar Kokhba and ruthlessly suppressed by Hadrian (Dio Cass. 69.12.1–14.3). As a consequence, "From that time on, the entire race has been forbidden to set foot anywhere in the neighborhood of Jerusalem" (Eutropius *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.6). His policy toward Christianity was, like Trajan's, one of toleration, as is evident from his much-discussed letter in 122/123 to the proconsul of Asia, Minicius Fundanus: Christians would be punished only "if someone prosecutes them and proves them guilty of any illegality" (Eutropius *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.9).

In administration his aim was consolidation and centralization rather than innovation, as has sometimes been argued. Leading bureaucrats were now almost always equestrians and not freedmen. Attempts were

made to improve control of the empire's finances, but whether they were introduced by Hadrian or Trajan is uncertain; and similarly with the development of a pay and career structure for equestrian officials. Again, legal reforms were introduced, soldiers' conditions improved, and their weapons standardized. In essence he tried to systematize existing practices rather than introduce new ones.

Hadrian was enlightened and intelligent, taking an active part in the empire's literary and cultural life. His architectural achievements included the villa at Tivoli, the mausoleum in Rome, and the rebuilding of the Pantheon. He was, nonetheless, an autocrat; and in 136, he executed his only relatives, his 90-year-old brother-in-law, Julius Ursus Servianus, and his grandson Pedanius Fuscus Salinator, then adopted one of the consuls for 136, Ceionius Commodus, who took the name L. Aelius Caesar. But when he died on 31 December 137, Hadrian chose another senator, Aurelius Fulvus (later the emperor Antoninus Pius), who was required to adopt both Aelius' son (later the emperor Commodus) and the grandson of another senator, Annius Verus (later Marcus Aurelius). On 10 July 138 Hadrian died at Baiae and was buried in his mausoleum. The Senate still detested him and deified him only at the insistence of Antoninus Pius.

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**HAGAB** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥāgāb* (חָגָב)]. A temple servant who was the progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:46 = 1 Esdr 5:30). The omission of Hagab in the parallel text in Nehemiah 7 appears to be a result of haplography, due to the similarity of the name Hagabah in Ezra 2:45 = Neh 7:48 = 1 Esdr 5:29 (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 26). Differences such as this raise questions about the sources of and literary relationships among 1 Esdras, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**HAGABAH** (PERSON) [Heb *hăgābâ* (הֲגָבָה)]. Head of a family of Nethinim (temple servants) who are listed as returnees from Babylonian exile under the leadership of Zerubbabel and others (Ezra 2:45 = Neh 7:48 = 1 Esdr 5:29). For further discussion, see AKKUB.

CHANEY R. BERGDALL

**HAGAR** (PERSON) [Heb *hāgār* (הָגָר)]. According to Genesis 16; 21:8–21; 25:12, Hagar was the handmaiden of Sarah (Gen 16:1) with whom Abraham fathered his son Ishmael. See also ISHMAEL (PERSON); ISHMAELITES. Genesis 16 is a short story of high literary standing: human attempts to implement the divine promise (Gen 15:4) prove counterproductive; they lead to the anarchy of the desert (Gen 16:12). When the promised child, Isaac, finally is born, it is against human expectations (Gen 18:10–15; 21:6–7). From Gen 16:15–16 (usually attributed to the P source), the author of Gen 21:8–21 must have concluded that Hagar had returned to Abraham's house in order to give birth to Ishmael; accordingly, his story of Hagar's expulsion aims at bringing Ishmael back to the desert, where he belongs (Thompson 1987: 89–97; Knauf 1989: 16–35). As a sophisticated theological construct, the stories Genesis 16 and 21 do not necessarily reflect oral traditions about Hagar (and Ishmael) except for a general knowledge that Ishmael was the name of a bedouin tribe (or tribes; Gen 16:12; 20:20–21) and that Hagar was the legendary ancestress of the Ishmaelites (see below).

Hagar's Egyptian nationality (Gen 16:1; 21:9, 21; 25:12) is a literary device to connect the story in Genesis 16 with Gen 12:10–20 (cf. Gen 12:16). If the first story about Hagar was written at the time of Hezekiah, Hagar's nationality may veil the author's opposition to Hezekiah's foreign policy (cf. Isa 30:1–5; 31:1–5; Görg 1986).

As a female personal name, Hagar is well attested in ancient Arabia (Palmyrene and Safaitic *hgr*, Nabatean *hgrw*; to be distinguished from the male name *Hâjir* in Arabic, Minaean, and Nabatean; Knauf 1989: 52, n. 253). The name can be explained by Sabean and Ethiopic *hagar*, "town, city" (from an original meaning "the splendid" or "the nourishing"?); it is unlikely that there is any connection with *hajara*, "to emigrate," in more recent Arabian languages.

Just as Ishmael represents a large N Arabian tribal confederacy of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. (see ISHMAELITES), so also can his mother be expected to have been of similar importance and antiquity. Therefore Ishmael's mother, Hagar, should not be connected with the Hagrites, a relatively small Syrian and N Arabian tribe of the Persian and Hellenistic periods, attested in 1 Chr 5:19 and in Greek and Roman geographers (Knauf 1989: 49–53; and see also HAGRITES).

A cuneiform inscription found on Bahrain and dating to the second half of the 2d millennium B.C. mentions "the palace of Rimum, servant of (the god) Inzak, the one of *A-gar-rum*" (Butz 1983). Hagar is then mentioned as a country and/or people by Darius I in an Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription from Susa (Roaf 1974: 135). The name, spelled *hgrw*, is accompanied by a representation of a typical Hagrean, whose hairdress distinguishes him from the central Arabian bedouin. This ethnographic feature suggests that Darius' "Hagar" refers to the E Arabian country and not to a central Arabian tribe (Knauf 1989: 144–45). In the 3d century B.C. a king of Hagar issued his own coins; at the same time, trade between Hagar, the Minaeans, and the Nabateans flourished. As D. T. Potts has most convincingly shown, Hagar is nothing else but the Gk *Gerrha* and can be identified with the present ruins of Tâj (Potts 1984). Both Christian and Muslim authors used "Hagar" for E Arabia well into the Middle Ages (Knauf 1989: 54).

The available documentation, in spite of a gap between the LB Age and the Persian period, is more likely to connect Ishmael's mother with Hagar in E Arabia than with another Hagar (of which there is no lack, given the meaning of the word in Old S Arabic). For the prophet Jeremiah there were only two political entities in Arabia (with the exception of the caravan cities of NW Arabia): the Qedarites (see KEDAR), surviving from the Ishmaelite confederation, and Buz, which was the designation of E Arabia current in the 7th century B.C. See BUZ (PLACE).

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**HAGGADAH.** A noun derived from the Hebrew root *ngd*, "to show," "to announce," "to tell," "to testify" (Jastrow 1903: 871). In contemporary scholarship the word (also spelled *aggadah*) carries several meanings: (1) nonlegal material in rabbinic literature (*EncJud* 2: 354; 6: 141; Moore 1927: 161; Cohen 1975: 24); (2) narrative, story, legend, folktale, fairy tale, or the like (*EncJud* 2: 356; 6:141; Bacher 1892: 408); (3) biblical exegesis or an amplification of the Bible (*EncJud* 2: 354, 358–59; 6:410–11; Bacher 1892: 418); (4) discourses which are assumed to have followed the Torah readings in the ancient synagogues (*EncJud* 2: 358–59; Cohen 1975: 26); and (5) one segment of midrash, distinguishing between legal exegesis (halakic midrash) and nonlegal exegesis (haggadic midrash; *EncJud* 2: 354; 6:141; Cohen 1975: 25; *HJP²* 2: 346; Bacher 1892: 425; Vermes 1961: 1–8).

Approaching the meaning of Haggadah from the point of view of its role in rabbinic culture, several scholars underscore the fact that Haggadah was not authoritative, while the Halakah (legal discourse) was binding (*EncJud* 2: 354; Moore 1927: 162; Cohen 1975: 24; *HJP²* 2: 497). Therefore Haggadah is much more imaginative, freewheeling, and varied than Halakah (*EncJud* 2: 354–59; Cohen 1975: 25; *HJP²* 2: 346, 353–54, 497; Slomovic 1988: 65). Haggadah is often described as that segment of rabbinic literature which (1) deals with morals, ethics, and daily life; (2) provides the motivation and the will to follow

YHWH and to perform his commandments; (3) includes the discussions of YHWH's attributes; or (4) contains words of comfort (Halivni 1986: 509; *EncJud* 2: 355–56, 360–62; 6: 141; Moore 1927: 161–62; Cohen 1975: 25; *HJP²* 2: 346; Halivni 1986: 509).

These varied meanings of Haggadah also appear in the rabbinic texts. In Mishnah *Ned.* 4:3 Haggadah probably refers to a nonlegal biblical exegesis. In Sipre Numbers the word conveys the sense of (1) tales and events, or (2) biblical exegesis (Kosovsky 1973: 1280). A review of the references to Haggadah in the concordance to the Babylonian Talmud reveals that Haggadah carries the meaning of (1) utterance, (2) giving evidence or testimony, (3) biblical exegesis, or (4) the nonlegal segment of rabbinic thought. Haggadah is set in opposition to (1) *ḥokmâ*, wisdom, (2) *šĕmû›ôt,* oral legal teachings, and (3) Halakah, law. The Talmud refers to books of Haggadah; however, their content is unknown, except for one which reportedly contained discussions of the laws concerning the execution of a gentile and another which included biblical terms and the ways in which they were to be treated in exegesis. References to books of Haggadah appear, even though there is a ruling that such collections should not be written down (Kasowski 1971: 1024–25).

Contrary to much speculation it seems likely that Haggadah did not derive solely from biblical exegesis (*EncJud* 2: 356; Moore 1927: 161–62). Also, the non-halakic nature of Haggadah has been exaggerated (*EncJud* 2: 359). There is a Jewish tendency to classify and categorize the phenomena in the world (Cooper 1987), and the distinction between Haggadah and Halakah probably results from this inclination. The difference between Halakah and Haggadah is artificial and perhaps too precise, and it may merely be literary convention for expressing a supposed binary division of rabbinic thought. The sages to whom Haggadah, in its variety of meanings, is attributed also are rabbis to whom halakic statements are assigned (*EncJud* 2: 363). Furthermore, the theological presuppositions which stand behind the Halakah—there is one God, who created the world according to a plan, who revealed that plan to Israel, and who will reward or punish Israel and all humankind commensurate with their adherence to that plan—also serve as the underpinning for the haggadic texts. Many haggadic passages serve to illustrate halakic statements, and there appear to be instances in which general halakic rules are derived from haggadic pericopes. While Halakah teaches by enumerating rules and principles, Haggadah enlightens by means of stories and examples (Safrai 1987: 127). The latter appeals to human imagination, while the former results from strict adherence to the intellectual processes. In expressing the complementary nature of Halakah and Haggadah, Bialik stated that "Halakhah is the crystallization, the highest quintessence of aggadah, while aggadah is the refinement of halakhah" (*EncJud* 2: 354). Cohen writes that Halakah "… stands for the rigid authority of the law, for the absolute importance of theory, the law and theory which the Haggadah illustrates by public opinion and the dicta of common-sense morality" (1975: 25).

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**HAGGAI, BOOK OF.** The tenth book in the Masoretic ordering of the Book of the Twelve (or Minor Prophets). It contains oracles alluding to the harsh socio-economic conditions that dominated the tiny province of Yehud (Judah) during the reign of Darius I. Two factors had influenced Judean identity at this time: the Persian mandate to rebuild the temple, and the dyarchic structure of governor and high priest approved by the Persian authorities. The temple still lay in ruins when Haggai began to prophesy on 29 August 520 B.C.E. (Hag 1:1); but enormous progress had been made by the time he concluded his brief ministry, some three and a half months later, on 18 December 520 (Hag 2:10, 20). The book of Haggai itself provides vivid testimony to the effect of the prophet's words on the people as they began the task of rebuilding the temple (Hag 1:12–13), supplementing the cursory notes provided by Ezra (5:1; 6:14).

Because Haggai's ministry overlapped with that of Zechariah and since Zechariah presupposed that temple work had already recommenced, the decision to rebuild the temple, which dates back to the first return in 538 (Ezra 1:8–16; 3:6–4:4), was evidently reactivated as the result of Haggai's eloquent exhortations. Haggai was greatly concerned with the reluctance of the Judeans to respond to the Persian mandate to rebuild the temple. In urging them to begin reconstruction, he also supported the pattern of high priestly and gubernatorial joint rule as permitted by the authorities in Ecbatana (Hag 1:1). Zechariah's subsequent focus on the meaning and symbolism of the temple as a legitimate expression of the new dyarchy that accompanied it complements Haggai's program.

**A. Dyarchic Pattern of Rule in Judah**

Although Haggai's utterances were for the most part addressed to the whole community of Judeans, many of whom had only recently returned from Babylon (Hag 1:12; 2:2), it is clear that his words were directed mainly toward the two leaders, Zerubbabel, the Davidic governor, and Joshua, the high priest. The province of Yehud no longer had a Davidic king; and Zerubbabel, the governor, was officially in charge of the liaison in all matters requiring Persian attention. Joshua held an office of ecclesiastical authority that had clearly been upgraded in the restoration (see Zech 3:1ff.). The priesthood in the early postexilic period began to assume much of the internal political, economic, and judicial administration that previously had resided with the royal house, although the presence of the Davidic scion Zerubbabel as the governor of Yehud encouraged occasional eschatological outbursts that focused on the future role of the Davidide (Hag 2:21–23; Zech 4:6b–10a). These future-oriented oracles suggest a belief among the Judeans that this dyarchic pattern was only temporary. The lineage of Joshua, however, was no less impressive than Zerubbabel's, though from a Persian perspective such an arrangement was permanent except in case of rebellion, when any kind of home rule would be removed. Persia's motives in appointing both a Davidic governor and a legitimate priestly officer thus cannot be divorced from political purposes: establishing a loyal following in Yehud that would guarantee control of the major roadways that skirted the Mediterranean and that gave Persia access to the W portion of its far-flung empire.

**B. Literary Considerations**

The book of Haggai may be divided into two major parts containing five literary subunits. The first part, Restoration of the Temple (1:1–15), consists of two subunits: "Prophetic call to work on the temple" (1:1–11) and "Response of the leaders and people" (1:12–15a). The second part, Oracles of Encouragement (2:1–23), is divided into three subunits: "Assurance of God's presence" (1:15b–2:9), "Priestly ruling with prophetic interpretation" (2:10–19), and "Future hope" (2:20–23). Each of the units is associated with one of the five chronological notations in the book, indicating the separate moments in the second year of the reign of Darius when certain prophetic materials emerged. Although there is an integrity to each subunit with respect to content, there is also a continuity and flow from beginning to end, which gives the book a sense of unity and a vivid rhetorical style.

Although Haggai and Zechariah each have their distinct style and message, there are many literary similarities and connections between the two chapters of Haggai and Zechariah 7–8. Some 18 correspondences in literary form and language may be isolated for these four chapters (Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8* AB, xlix), indicating that Haggai and Zechariah 7–8 form an envelope construction tying together the elements of a composite work, Haggai–Zechariah 1–8. Because it makes

no reference to the rededication of the temple in 516 or 515 B.C.E., this composite work probably was finished well in advance of that event. The latest date mentioned in either Haggai or First Zechariah is 7 December 518 (Zech 7:1). Hence, the compilation of the composite work, probably intended to be presented at the temple rededication, would have been completed between 518 and 516–15.

The following is a list of the chronological data in the book of Haggai and First Zechariah:

Chronological Data in Haggai–Zechariah 1–8

| Passage No. | Passage | Year of Darius | Month | Day | Date of New Moon | Equivalent Date B.C.E. | Date No. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Hag 1:1 | 2nd | 6th | 1st | 29 Aug. | 29 Aug. 520 | 1 |
| 2 | Hag 1:15 | 2nd | 6th | 24th | 29 Aug. | 21 Sept. 520 | 2 |
| 3 | Hag 2:1 | 2nd[a] | 7th | 21st | 27 Sept. | 17 Oct. 520 | 3 |
| 4 | Hag 2:10[b] | 2nd | 9th | 24th | 25 Nov. | 18 Dec. 520 | 4 |
| 5 | Hag 2:20 | 2nd | 9th | 24th | 25 Nov. | 18 Dec. 520 | 4 |
| 6 | Zech 1:1[c] | 2nd | 8th | —[d] | 27 Oct. | Oct. (Nov.) 520 | 5 |
| 7 | Zech 1:7 | 2nd | 11th | 24th | 23 Jan. | 15 Feb. 519 | 6 |
| 8 | Zech 7:1 | 4th | 9th | 4th | 4 Dec. | 7 Dec. 518 | 7 |

[a]The year appears at the end of the preceding date, Hag 1:15.
[b]This date is repeated, without the year, in 2:18 as a summary of the 2:10–18 section.
[c]This date breaks the sequence, being earlier than the previous two dates in Haggai.
[d]The formula omits this day.

The date formulas in Haggai, unlike comparable material in Kings, Chronicles, or other prophets, are tied to the realm of a foreign power. As such, they indicate the extent to which Judean policies and thinking were geared towards Persia. They also suggest prophetic awareness of the imminent conclusion of the 70 year period of desolation referred to in Jeremiah (Jer 25:11–12; 29:10). Reckoned from the destruction of the First Temple in 587–586, the approaching year 517–516 apparently signaled a new era for Judah. This careful reckoning of dates is unique in prophecy and accentuates Haggai's views regarding Yahweh's purposeful control over history. The date formulas, which mirror each other by virtue of the chiastic arrangement of year–day–month language, also constitute another literary device by which the overall unity of Haggai and First Zechariah is established.

**1. Prophetic Call to Work on the Temple (1:1–11).** Because of the adverse economic and political conditions in Judah at the time, the prophet was acutely aware of the disparity between present conditions and future hope. Temple language and ideology are utilized in trying to convince the populace to build God's house (1:8, 14). Haggai succeeded in rousing the spirit of Yahweh in the two leaders who, together with the people of Judah, rebuilt the temple. By providing centralized management for the limited resources to which the leadership had access, the temple became the cornerstone of the new administrative organization. In the first literary unit (1:1–11), the word "house" is used for God's dwelling in vv 2, 4, 8, and twice in 9, and for individual households in vv 4 and 9. This repetition highlights the contrast and the connection between the personal welfare of the people and the plight of the temple.

**2. Response of the Leaders and People (1:12–15a).** Haggai uses a clear and powerful argument to advance his case: the difficult circumstances of the present and the misfortunes of the past are directly related to the neglect of the temple, which represents God's presence in the community. The only escape from such a predicament lay in rebuilding the temple. Only then could appropriate blessings flow and the just rewards of human labor be realized, according to the promise of the covenant.

The description of the positive Judean response to this exhortation ends with a date formula (1:15), which gives the day and the month (21 September) of the year 520 B.C.E., Darius' second regnal year, less than a month after Haggai's initial address on 29 August (1:1). The people had wasted little time in beginning the temple project. The several weeks involved may have been the time required for

community deliberation, although that deliberation may have been immediate. The decision was made, materials were secured, and the preliminary work on the temple site began immediately.

**3. Assurance of God's Presence (1:15b–2:9).** The next date (in 2:1) is built upon the regnal year given in 1:15b, indicating that within a month (17 October) enough progress had already been made on the building so that the people could already compare it to the preexilic one. Thus, after less than a month, Haggai had once again spoken in the name of Yahweh.

As in the previous section, he addressed the civil leader Zerubbabel, the priestly leader Joshua, and the people (2:2). These three are then each commanded to "take courage" for the task at hand (vv 3–5), although the terminology used for the third group is altered ("all the remnant of the people" becomes "people of the land"). The full listing of the prophet's audience twice in this section emphasizes once more the prophetic role as intermediary between God and the people.

The dual concerns of this oracle of reassurance—economic well-being and political structure—come together in its final statement; "in this place I will grant well-being" (2:9). The well-being for which the people yearn will become available to them, but not only to them. In the future time, when all the nations recognize Yahweh's universal rule, those nations too will achieve well-being. The power of Yahweh as universal ruler will not be exploitative. In contrast to human emperors, Yahweh will establish universal plenty. This eschatological vision accords Yahweh the position of king. It is Yahweh's house (the temple) that is to be exalted with treasures, and Yahweh will give his blessings from there. The temple is a symbol of divine kingship, and no political king shares Yahweh's rule. The eschatological imagery of this passage, like that of Isa 2:2, is surely derived from the short-lived zenith of the Israelite empire under David and Solomon, when glory and wealth filled Jerusalem (1 Kings 4 and 10). But even that empire was a God-given structure in its Deuteronomistic formulation, and so its ideal replication in the future naturally shifts the focus to God's kingship.

**4. Priestly Ruling with Prophetic Discourse (2:10–19).** The arcane priestly language and the agricultural terminology of 2:10–19 are linked to the specificities of the prophet's immediate situation, making this passage in Haggai more difficult than most for the modern reader to comprehend. No passage, however, is more indicative of the transformation of prophecy itself than this. A complex priestly ruling has become the vehicle for conveying the message that work on the temple is related to the fortunes of the people. The prophet utilizes the ruling to expand on its meaning in God's design. Although this passage ends with an oracle (indicating Haggai's prophetic role), the situation involves priestly decisions and reveals the authoritative position of the priesthood even prior to the completion of the Second Temple.

The heart of the priestly ruling itself concerned the concepts of sanctity and defilement. Haggai asserted that sanctity is nontransferable but that defilement is; or rather, that sanctity can be transmitted only through direct contact with a sacred substance or person and not via a third party or object, whereas contamination can be transmitted both directly and indirectly. This distinction reveals something about the nature of holiness and purity, and about their opposites, defilement and impurity. Because these categories have contrasting properties, sanctity, which surrounds God, is much more difficult to contract than is uncleanness, which is apparently very contagious.

The sequence of conditions set forth in 2:15–19 amplifies Haggai's assertions of 2:14—that the sacrifices offered prior to the restoration of God's house were not acceptable. God's favor was not forthcoming because the people were tainted by sinful behavior, which had inevitably caused the pervasive impurity. Before temple restoration began, the people were experiencing economic deprivation; but now, however, God is offering them material blessings (2:19). God's power to do so is implicit in the dramatic change of fortunes. By drawing attention to God's power being used in the present for economic purposes, the stage was set for Haggai's final oracle, which portrayed Yahweh's exercise of power in the future and in the political realm.

**5. Future Hope and Zerubbabel (2:20–23).** This oracle, like the preceding one, was delivered on the 24th day of the 9th month (18 December 520). This time, however, Haggai's audience consisted of a single individual, Zerubbabel. Although a royal figure (as the final verse of the oracle makes clear),

Zerubbabel is addressed as governor and his Davidic lineage is downplayed by the omission of his patronymic. This private oracle is addressed to a civil leader who, along with the high priest, shared the ceremonial aspects of temple refoundation. That event marked a restoration of the high priestly role that had been associated with tabernacle and temple in the Pentateuch and in Ezekiel's visions; but what implications did it have for the monarchic role? The rebuilding of the temple meant the reestablishing of the kingship of God, and not of man.

The eschatological idea evoked by the temple restoration appears in terms of political imagery: a political ruler such as had existed in the days of Israel's greatest grandeur would once again appear on the world scene. Yet there would be a difference. David as royal prototype first had to conquer many lands before establishing imperial domination. In contrast, this oracle asserts that Jerusalem's future universal role will be inaugurated first by God's overthrowing foreign kingdoms (2:22). Yahweh will assume the military tasks essential to the overthrow of lands that do not acknowledge his sovereignty. The Davidic model of a human warrior king is absent. Only divine intervention can bring about the universal kingdom. Because it is Yahweh who will one day overthrow the powers that dominate the world, it is Yahweh whose sovereignty will be established. The role of a Davidide cannot be the same as it was in the past. Having overturned the world order, Yahweh will then reign with the Davidide as his "servant" and his "signet." These two terms relegate the Davidide to a vice-regency, a participant in God's administration of the nations of the world, but not the initiator or leader in that task. The oracle is not only eschatological but also theocratic.

The monarchic potential contained in the figure of a Davidide has thus been made a component of theocratic rule; he is an instrument of Yahweh's dominion and not a political monarch of an independent kingdom. The accession of a Davidide to a special relationship with Yahweh in the future signifies the centrality of Jerusalem but not of a monarchy. Rather than being a "messianic" figure, an active participant in the struggle to bring about the new age, he will be a token earthly symbol of divine sovereignty.

The mention of Zerubbabel by name has occasioned all manner of speculation about political developments in Yehud. Did the Judeans perhaps expect Zerubbabel's status to change abruptly from governor to king? Does this oracle reveal stirrings of nationalism or even of rebellion against Persian rule? The answer to these questions, in the light of the preceding discussion, is negative. Zerubbabel is governor now, and his future role could only be a subsidiary one in a theocratic scheme. The naming of Zerubbabel is secondary to the choosing of Zion, which is the place where the locus of universal well-being will be established. That Zerubbabel's name appears in this eschatological vision testifies to Haggai's intense awareness of Judean uncertainty about rebuilding a temple without also restoring the palace; it does not testify to an expectation of some change in Yehud's status from Persian province to independent kingdom. The Jerusalem temple and priestly establishment had always accompanied, and indeed had legitimized, a royal house. That royal house was not ignored during this period of rebuilding, as Haggai's oracles indicate. The prophet deeply believed that the rebuilding of the temple accompanied the return of Yahweh's power as an active presence in the world. Could the overthrow of nations and the universal rule of Yahweh with his Davidic assistant be far behind? It is no wonder that with such a view of the temple, Haggai's words display a sense of imminence.

Subsequent generations felt that the eschatological force of this last oracle was weakened by its specific reference to a particular Davidic descendant who came and went without any noticeable change in world history. At the same time, pinpointing Haggai's utterance in this crucial transition period in Judean history has merit of another kind: it links the present moment, concretized by Zerubbabel's name, with the future. It inserts a contemporary figure into the age when God's benign and universal rule will prevail. Haggai, by using a living individual in his future vision, bridges the gap between present and future. Although he does not make the future imminent, he presents a view of time in which eschatology is not distinguished from history. Haggai's oracles inspired the rebuilding of the temple; and his words of encouragement ensured that the Judean restoration would begin in a framework that was true to its ancient heritage, with both priest and prophet as contributors to the organization of the affairs of the people of Israel.

(For bibliography see Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8* AB, lxxiii–xcv. See also Peterson, *Haggai and Zechariah* OTL.)
CAROL MEYERS
ERIC M. MEYERS

**HAGGEDOLIM** (PERSON) [Heb *haggĕdôlîm* (הַגְּדוֹלִים)]. Presumably the father of Zabdiel, a priest and contemporary of Nehemiah (Neh 11:14 RSV, NEB, AB). His supposed son, Zabdiel, is described as an overseer of the priests then engaged in the work of the house of God. "Haggedolim," however, as a personal name is very suspect, as it structurally appears to be a Hebrew masculine plural adjective used substantively, meaning "great ones" *[gĕdôlîm]*, prefaced by a definite article "the." Accordingly, BHS has proposed reducing the present word to its masculine singular counterpart *haggādôl,* "the great one," seeing in the present text's final two Hebrew consonants a case of mistaken dittography with the immediately succeeding Hebrew word in the next verse [*ûmin,* Neh 11:15]. As a consequence, Zabdiel may then be viewed as a person of high priestly descent, i.e., the son of the great (= high) priest (cf. the *terminus technicus* for "high priest," *hakkōhēn haggādôl* in Nehemiah [3:1; 3:20] and elsewhere [Lev 21:10]). Katzenstein believes that the title *(hak-)kōhēn (hā-)rō›š* was the title of the chief priest in the time of the First Temple with the title *kōhēn gādôl* appearing only after its destruction. See Katzenstein 1962: 377–78, nn. 3, 4. The strong likelihood that we are not dealing here with a personal name is further strengthened by the LXX, where the end of the verse is omitted in the major mss; and in those remaining LXX mss which do have some addition one reads "son of (one of) one of the great men" *[huios tōn megalōn]*). Compare also the Vg's "son of the mighty ones" *[filius potentium]* and the KJV's "and their overseer was Zabdiel, the son of one of the great men." In closing, one may note the absence of the name Haggedolim as well as any reference whatsoever to Zabdiel as overseer in Neh 11:14's own synoptic parallel, 1 Chr 9:13.

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ROGER W. UITTI

**HAGGI** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥaggî* (חַגִּי)]. A son of Gad, grandson of Zilpah and Jacob, and ancestral head of the Haggites. His name is entered second among the seven sons of Gad mentioned in the list of the descendants of Israel that went to Egypt (Gen 46:16; so also *Jub.* 44:20). In the census reported in Numbers 26, he is again the second mentioned of the seven descendants of Gad whose names were adopted as clan names (Num 26:15—LXX 26:24).
RICHARD W. NYSSE

**HAGGIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥaggiyâ* (חַגִּיָּה)]. A Levite, a descendant of Merari and father of Asaiah (1 Chr 6:15—Eng6:30). Noth (*IPN*, 222) argued that the last portion of the name is hypocoristic, not theophoric, so instead of meaning "Feast of Yah" it would mean "Born on a feast day."
TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**HAGGITH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥaggît* (חַגִּית)]. A wife of David and mother of Adonijah (2 Sam 3:4 = 1 Chr 3:2). Haggith is the fourth wife/mother mentioned in two lists of David's sons born in Hebron (2 Sam 3:2–5 = 1 Chr 3:1–3). Her name also appears in the epithet "son of Haggith" as a designation for Adonijah (1 Kgs 1:5, 11; 2:13). Used three times, the phrase alerts the reader to the rivalry between Solomon/Bathsheba and Adonijah/Haggith.

The list of wives and sons in 2 Sam 3:2–5 serves both a genealogical and literary function. 2 Sam 3:1 notes that David grew "stronger and stronger," while his enemy Saul grew "weaker and weaker." This general statement about David's strength is made specific by the genealogical list in vv 2–5. The increase of David's strength is mirrored in the increase of his wives (i.e., Haggith) and sons. See also DAVID; ITHREAM.

LINDA S. SCHEARING

**HAGRI** (PERSON) [Heb *hagrî* (הַגְרִי)]. According to 1 Chr 11:38 Hagri was the father of Mibhar, one of David's mighty men. In place of "the son of Hagri," the parallel passage at 2 Sam 23:36 reads "Bani the Gadite," indicating textual confusion between *bn hgry* (1 Chr 11:38) and *bny hgdy* (2 Sam 23:36). For a discussion of the variant forms see MIBHAR.

STEPHEN PISANO

**HAGRITES** [Heb *hagrî* (הַגְרִי)]. Name of a pastoralist tribe residing in the region E of Gilead during the period of the early Monarchy. In the time of King Saul, the tribe of Reuben, assisted by the other Transjordanian tribes of Gad and Manasseh, subjected the Hagrites and took control of their territory "until the [Assyrian] exile" (1 Chr 5:10, 19–22). Since the Hagrites are listed with other Transjordanian enemies of Israel during the preexilic period—Edom, the Ismaelites, and Moab (Ps 83:7—Eng 83:7)—it appears that the hostilities continued even afterwards. King David later seems to have won the loyalty of at least some of the tribe, as Jaziz the Hagrite was given oversight of the royal flocks in the organization of his kingdom (1 Chr 27:30).

Since this information is derived entirely from later traditions, it has been suspected that it reflects the later Transjordanian ethnography at the time of the Chronicler in the postexilic or Persian period (Knauf 1985: 49–52). The earlier sources of Samuel and Kings are silent in regard to the Hagrites (cf. 1 Sam 15:4–7). The account of the Chronicler also contains some exaggerations and anachronisms that create suspicion the Hagrite material is a fabrication, e.g., the numbers provided for the booty and captives taken in the campaign seem incredible (1 Chr 5:21); the mention of Jetur (= Ituraeans?), Naphish, and Nodab with the Hagrites (5:19) appears to be a tradition no "earlier than the 8th century B.C."(Eph'al 1982: 239). However, there is a possible reference to the Hagrites in the roster of David's soldiers from an earlier source (2 Sam 23:8–39). In v 36, the name of "Igal the son of Nathan" is followed by the phrase "of Zobah, Bani the Gadite" (MT *mṣbh bny hgdy*). This may be a corruption of the reading "Igal son of Nathan, the commander of the army of the Hagrites" *(rb ṣb' bny hgry),* as suggested by McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB, 493–94). The proposed emendation agrees both with the context and the parallel passage of 1 Chr 11:37, "Mibhar the son of Hagri" (*mbḥr bn hgry*, MT 11:38; but cf. LXX and Knauf 1985: 49, n. 235). This phrase also appears in a context with other foreign soldiers (2 Sam 23:36–39) who served in David's professional army at Jerusalem (Na'aman 1988). The putative Hagrite may be another one of the mercenaries recruited during David's Transjordanian conquests. It is then possible that the references to the Hagrites in the Chronicler preserve an older tradition stemming from the early Monarchy, not a postexilic addition. Nevertheless, any ethnographic relationship of the Hagrites to Hagar and the Ismaelites is uncertain (Gen 16:15–16); and they definitely should be disassociated from the later *Agraioi/Agraei* mentioned by the Greek and Latin geographers (Str. 16.4.2 [767C]; Ptol. *Geog.* V.19.2; and Plin. *NH* VI.159–61). The latter are probably the inhabitants of Hofuf-Thaj located in the al-Hasa oasis in NW Arabia, on the Persian Gulf (Potts 1984: 111–12).

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DAVID F. GRAF

**HAIRNET.** Hairnets, sometimes even made of gold, were worn by women in Palestine during the Roman period. See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**HAKKATAN** (PERSON) [Heb *haqqatan* (הַקַּתָּן)]. A descendant of Azgad and the father of the returning exile Johanan. Johanan returned under Ezra with 110 other descendants of Azgad (Ezra 8:12 = 1 Esdr 8:38). Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 111) suggests that the list of twelve in Ezra 8 is indicative of the author's theology that the remnant is the true heir of Israel. According to the table in Ezra 2:12, 1222 other descendants of Azgad (Neh 7:17 reads 2322) had returned earlier to the land under Zerubbabel.

GARY S. SHOGREN

**HAKKOZ** (PERSON) [Heb *haqqôṣ* (הַקּוֹץ)]. Var. KOZ; ACCOS. **1.** A Judahite, the father of Anub and Zobedah (1 Chr 4:8). Koz' abrupt entry into the Judahite genealogy in 1 Chr 4:8 may have resulted from the accidental or intentional omission of the name at the end of v 7 (Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 107). Scholars currently tend to argue that Koz represents an actual preexilic person whose name was embedded in a source that the Chronicler employed (Weinberg 1981: 104). This view diverges from an earlier generation which argued that Koz and his compatriots of 1 Chr 4:5–8 originated at an artificial construct, formed from postexilic familial names (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 32–33).

**2.** A priest who received the seventh position in the priestly order of the temple during the reign of David (1 Chr 24:10). An evaluation of the historical reliability of his existence in the time of David depends ultimately on the literary context of 1 Chr 24:1–19. Though there is general agreement that the priestly list originated after the Exile, its exact date remains debated. J. Liver (1968: ix, 29–32) associates the 24-course priestly organization to the reforms of Nehemiah, while H. G. M. Williamson (1979: 262–68) assigns it to the late Persian period. Because of genealogical connections between 1 Chr 24:7–18 and the Hasmonean priestly claims, L. Dequecker (1986: 94–106) dates the list to the Hasmonean era. The stylistic characteristics of the list, however, seem to link the list to the time of the composition of Chronicles. Whatever the exact date of the composition of the list, Hakkoz does not seem to represent an individual from the time of David. The Chronicler may have transformed the name of an important postexilic family into the name of an individual for his priestly list in 1 Chronicles 24.

**3.** A prominent postexilic family, who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:61 = Neh 7:63 = 1 Esdr 5:38). Upon their return to Jerusalem the family of Hakkoz were not able to produce the necessary genealogical records to prove their priestly lineage (Ezra 2:62 = Neh 7:64 = 1 Esdr 5:39). They thus had to wait upon the outcome of the casting of the Urim and Thummim. The outcome of this process is unknown. Only 1 Chr 24:10 suggests that the family may have been permitted to enter the priestly ranks. Other references to the family do not regard the family as priestly; nevertheless, they did obtain a certain degree of social prominence. A member of this family, Meremoth, constructed a section of Jerusalem's wall during Nehemiah's refortification of the city (Neh 3:21). The family seems to have retained its prominence well into the Hellenistic era. A certain Eupolemus, "the son of John, from [the family of] Accos," served as a special Judean ambassador to Rome in order to solicit Roman aid against the Syrians during the Maccabean War (1 Macc 8:17).

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JOHN W. WRIGHT

**HAKUPHA** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥăqûpā᾽* (חֲקוּפָא)]. Head of a family of Nethinim (temple servants) who are listed as returnees from Babylonian exile under the leadership of Zerubbabel and others (Ezra 2:51 = Neh 7:53 = 1 Esdr 5:31). For further discussion see AKKUB.

CHANEY R. BERGDALL

**HALAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥălaḥ* (חֲלַח)]. 2 Kgs 17:1–6 narrates Israel's revolt against Assyria and the Assyrian conquest of Israel. In v 3 the Assyrian king is Shalmaneser V (727–722); but the capture of Israel's capital, Samaria, is historically credited to his brother, the Assyrian monarch, Sargon II (721–705). Isa 20:1 refers to the conquests of Sargon. According to Sargon's archives he captured Samaria and deported 27,290 people (*ANET,* 284). According to 2 Kgs 17:6, "He carried the Israelites away to Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and on the Habor, … and in the cities of the Medes." 2 Kgs 18:9 states that Shalmaneser captured Samaria after a three-year siege and in v 11, "the king of Assyria carried the Israelites away to Assyria, and put them in Halah …" In 1 Chr 5:26 we read that the two tribes of Reuben and Gad and half of the tribe of Manasseh in the Transjordanian region (Gilead) were deported by Pul (his personal name), better known by his throne name, Tiglath-pileser (745–727), "to Halah, Habor, Hara, and the river Gozan …" In 2 Kgs 15:29 this same king had captured Gilead, Galilee, etc. and deported the people to Assyria. Obadiah 20 says "the exiles in Halah who are of the people of Israel shall possess Phoenicia as far as Zaraphath" (RSV emending Heb *haḥēl-hazzeh,* "this army," to *Halah*). While it is unclear exactly who deported them to Halah, the site seems distinct from Habor (the city or river), Hara, and Media. The LXX considered Halah a river, possibly the Balikh, which flows from Haran to the Euphrates 100 miles W of the Khabur. The Balikh, Khabur, and Media combination would have the sense of geographic spread, i.e., Sargon spread the Israelites across the N part of the Assyrian Empire.

However, the exact location of Halah is still debated. Gehman (1970: 358) calls Halah a district to which captives of the ten tribes, i.e., not just those of the city of Samaria, were taken as exiles. This combines the exiles of Pul and Sargon and assumes the ten tribes were still distinct entities. Gehman identifies Halah with the later Chalchitis (Ptolemy 5.18.4) in Mesopotamia near Gozan (the later Gausanitis—Tell Halaf on the river bank) in the basin of the Habor or Khābûr river. Another source says Ptolemy's Chalkitis [sic] is near Gozan, on the Balikh river. Halah has also been identified as Akkadian Halahhu on the W bank of the Tigris near the mouth of the Lower Zab river S of the capital of Ashur, 70 miles S of Nineveh, 250 miles from the Balikh, which is W of Ashur and Nineveh (Gray *Kings* OTL, $^{2}$1970: 644). Millard (1980: 602) identifies Halah with the Assyrian site of Halahhu, both a town and a district NE of Nineveh. Sennacherib's inscriptions refer to a gate of Nineveh named "the gate of the land of Halahhi." Halakku has been located near Kirkuk, 9 miles E of Nuzi, and 60 miles E of Ashur. An unidentified Halhu is related to Strabo's Calachene, a plain of N Assyria, E of the Tigris. There is a Chalonitis in Pliny and Strabo, NE of Assyria (cf. Millard), called Halah by Syrians. Halah has also been identified with Assyrian Kalah, biblical Calah (Gen 10:11), Nimrud, 18 miles S of Nineveh. Hilakku has been identified with Cilicia (Turkey). Pinches (*ISBE* 2: 1321–22 [1939 ed]) lists these various identifications, but considers all more or less improbable for philological reasons except Assyrian *Halahhu,* which (except for the doubling and the case ending) is the same as Halah, letter for letter. It is mentioned in *Western Asia Inscriptions* (2, pl. 53, 1. 35), between Arrapha (Arrapachitis) and Rasappu (Reseph). Tablet K. 123 calls it *mat Halahhi,* "the land of Halahhu." It apparently included the towns of Se-bise, Se-irrisi, and Lu-ammu[ti?], which were centers for the Assyrian government. The first quote implies that Halah was near or in Gausanitis and had chief towns of these names. Of the eight personal names in K. 123, five are Assyrian; and the remainder are Syrian rather than Israelite.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**HALAK, MOUNT** (PLACE) [Heb *hāhār* (הָהָר) *heḥālāk* (הֶחָלָק)]. A mountain in the central Negeb, the identity of which is uncertain. It is sometimes thought to be the same as Jebel Halaq on the NW side of the Wâdī Marra, N of ʿAbdeh. The Bible describes it in fair detail. It is probably located close to the ascent of Akrabbim (Num 34:4; Josh 15:3). It is a range in between the Wilderness of Zin and the wooded slopes of Seir (Josh 11:17). The ancient towns of Tamar, at the S tip of the Salt Sea (Ezek 47:18–

19), and Kadesh-barnea flanked it on either side. It formed the boundary of Judah and Edom (Josh 15:1) and indicated the S limits of the land conquered by Joshua (Josh 11:17; 12:7). The Deuteronomistic History, by its reference to Mount Halak, stresses an important theological point. The Lord, just as he promised to Moses (Josh 1:3; 11:23) and the fathers (Josh 1:6; 21:43), gave to Israel the whole land, Mount Halak being a prominent landmark in the wilderness in the S.

PAUL BENJAMIN

**HALAKAH.** A noun derived from the Hebrew root *hlk* (הלך). "to walk." It is usually translated as "law" and denotes a specific ruling, a legal statement or discussion, the general category of legal material, or that portion of rabbinic literature which is not Haggadah. Halakah focuses on activity, specifically that activity in which primarily Jews should be engaged in personal, social, national, and international relationships, as well as in all other practices and observances of Judaism (*EncJud* 7: 1156; Safrai 1987: 121–22; Finkelstein 1975: 261; Ginzberg 1970a: 166).

Moore believed that "Jewish ethics are impressed upon the Halakah as well as expressed in the Haggadah" (1927: 141). However, the Halakah is not independent of the ethical categories of Judaism, and it "expresses" Jewish ethics as much as does the Haggadah (Ginzberg 1970a). In theory at least, there was no hierarchical ranking among matters which we today might label as ethical laws, civil laws, or ritual laws because all of them play the same essential role in God's design of the universe (*m. ʾAbot* 2:1; *j. Qidd.* 1:1). Based on their reading of Genesis, the rabbis believed that God created a highly structured and ordered world and that the Torah, with its laws, commandments, proscriptions, and prohibitions provided the blueprint of this order (*Midr. Gen. Rab.* 1:1). It was the task of all Jews to study the Torah, so that they might understand God's plan and ascertain what they were expected to do in order to align themselves with the cosmic and social order God had designed. Because properly observing the entire Halakah was viewed as being essential to life on earth, the study of Torah in its broadest sense became the primary religious activity of rabbinic Judaism (Viviano 1978).

It has often been said that the Halakah is a set of rigid rules or commandments which were imposed upon the Jewish people by God (Moore 1927) or, in a pejorative sense, by the rabbis (Schürer *HJP²* 1:69; 2 §25, iii). While the rabbis would agree that God is the ultimate source of the Halakah, they did not view the commandments or the Halakah as an imposition: "Beloved are the Israelites, for God has encompassed them with commandments: Phylacteries on head and arm, fringes on their garments, *mezuzot* on their doors" (*b. Men.* 43b).

The Halakah, however, developed as much from within the life of the Jewish community as it did within the rabbinic academies. Local customs frequently took on the force of Halakah (*EncJud* 7: 1160; Safrai 1987: 121, 128, 175–77; Zeitlin 1975: 294, 305). If the majority of the people could not follow a particular law or if its implementation would cause a substantial loss, it was rejected (*b. B. Bat.* 60b; *b. Moʿed Qat.* 2a; *EncJud* 7: 1159; Safrai 1987: 125, 132; Zeitlin 1975: 305, 311). Because the laws were given to the Jews so that they might live by them, almost any specific rule could be abrogated in a time of emergency (*Sipra* 86b and parallels; *Mek.* Ish. on Exod 31:16). If there were uncertainty about a specific practice, one need only to observe how the common people acted in order to discover what was acceptable (Safrai 1987: 177–79; Zeitlin 1975: 290).

From the rabbinic point of view, the major source of the Halakah was the written Torah, the first five books of the Hebrew Bible—Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. The importance of the written Torah is illustrated by the fact that laws designated as *dĕʾôraytâ,* "from the Torah," were viewed as superior to those which were *dĕrabbānān,* "from our rabbis" (*EncJud* 7: 1157–59). Alongside the written Torah was the oral Torah, the most important part of which is its legal as against its nonlegal portions.

It is likely that the designation of something as part of the oral Torah did not necessarily mean that it was created or transmitted orally; rather, it denoted that part of the Halakah which was not explicitly contained in the written Torah (Brüll 1876: 5–6). Some held that the injunctions in the "Prophets" and the "Writings" were the earliest portions of the oral Torah (*EncJud* 7: 1157). In any event part of the Halakah

in the oral Torah derives directly from interpretations of Scripture, by whatever definition (*EncJud* 7: 1158). Many consider biblical exegesis to be the earliest source of the Halakah in the oral Torah, but the arguments over the origin of biblical exegesis, midrash, continue today. Some hold that biblical exegesis was the original route by which postbiblical Halakah was created, while others claim that biblical exegesis postdates the non-exegetical statements of law contained in the Mishnah, considered by many to be the first written compilation of the oral Torah (Lauterbach 1951; Halivni 1986: 38–65; Safrai 1987: 153–55).

Another view of the oral Torah argues that it contains legal materials which were transmitted orally from God through Moses, Joshua, the elders, the Prophets, the men of the Great Assembly, and the rabbis (*m. ʾAbot* 1:1). While these materials supplement, complement, and complete the material in the written Torah, they are not considered to be the product of actual biblical exegesis. A number of legal injunctions from the oral Torah are designated as "torah given to Moses at Sinai." These may be ancient traditions for which there is no scriptural support or at the most very faint support, but which are considered to be of equal authority with those which are specifically mentioned in the Torah (*EncJud* 7: 1158; Safrai 1987: 183). Some legal traditions are said to derive from "the words of the scribes" (*EncJud* 7: 1158–59), but this is an ambiguous phrase, for "scribes" existed throughout late antiquity, and their exact activity is unknown (*EncJud* 7: 1160; Safrai 1987: 128, 175–76; Zeitlin 1975: 305; Saldarini 1988: 241–76; Bickerman 1962: 54–71). Decrees and ordinances also serve as sources for acceptable activity (Ginzberg 1970b: 79; Safrai 1987: 128, 163; Zeitlin 1975: 302–4). In addition, case law and precedent also form an important source for legal decisions (Safrai 1987: 164, 178–79). It appears that most of the legal traditions derive from individual sages and discussions within rabbinic academies, not from formal national institutions, such as the Sanhedrin or court, *bêt dîn* (Safrai 1987: 168; Neusner 1981). A large number of these traditions have little or no support in the Bible; for example, we read that "the rules about the Sabbath, festival-offerings, and sacrilege are as mountains hanging by a hair, for Scripture is scanty and the rules are many" (*m. Hag.* 1:8; Safrai 1987: 155–56). Halakot may deal with practical matters or may be totally abstract and theoretical; however, seldom is this distinction made clear in the rabbinic documents. While the statements of Halakah are essential elements within the oral Torah, the methods by which the injunctions were to be derived are also carefully delineated and are also viewed as part of the oral Torah (*EncJud* 7: 1158; Safrai 1987: 153–55; Halivni 1986). Judaism seems to favor justificatory law, so that the reasons given for a specific Halakah were frequently assessed and debated (Halivni 1986).

Because Judaism does not have a hierarchal structure of authority, in principle each sage and each court has equal authority, so that the pronouncements of all sages are theoretically of equal value. For this reason, the rabbinic legal discussions are characterized by differences of opinions, disputes, and debates (Safrai 1987: 168–75; Neusner 1971). However, the rabbinic documents do contain some guidelines concerning which sage is more authoritative on a particular subject (*EncJud* 7: 1164). Similarly, the rulings of one court may supersede the rulings of another only if it is composed of sages of superior intellect and ability (*EncJud* 7: 1159).

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**HALAKHIC LETTER FROM QUMRAN.** See MIQSAT MAʿASE HATORAH (4QMMT).

**HALAM, KHIRBET EL-.** See ARUBBOTH (PLACE).

**HALHUL** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥalḥûl* (חַלְחוּל)]. Town situated in the N-central hill country of Judah (Josh 15:58), within the same district as Beth-zur. This settlement is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). During Roman times this town was known as Alulus. Josephus records that the Idumeans assembled here in A.D. 68 (*JW* 4.9 §6). The ancient name is preserved at modern Halhul, located approximately 6 km N of Hebron (M.R. 160109). The ruins of the ancient town are surely located here or in the immediate vicinity.
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**HALI** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥălî* (חֲלִי)]. The second town listed in the description of the territory of the tribe of Asher (Josh 19:25). As such, it is to be sought in the S section of the tribal territory. Abel (*GP*, 2: 341) suggested it be identified with Tell el-Aly (M.R. 160235), which, however, is a natural hill and not an ancient ruin. Aharoni (*LBHG*, 377) proposed Khirbet Ras ʿAli (Tel ʿAlil; M.R. 164241) on a spur close to the coastal plain, S of the Naḥal Sipori gorge. This site was occupied during the EB and LB periods and during the first stages of the Iron Age. Gal (1982: 22, 107) has suggested that Ras ʿAli retains the ancient name but that the actual location of biblical Hali was at a site on the other side of the gorge (Tel ʿAlil West; M.R. 164242), which shows evidence of having been occupied from the 10th to 8th centuries B.C.E. and again in the Persian period. If this identification and those of Beten with Tell al-Far and of Achsaph with Tell el-Harbaj (Aharoni *LBHG*, 371) are correct, then these three places listed in Josh 19:25 are located in the same vicinity and appear in the text in geographic order, but from N to S.

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**HALICARNASSUS** (PLACE) [Gk *Alikarnassos* (Ἀλικαρνασσος)]. The principal city of Caria in Asia Minor located on the coast opposite Cos on the N bank of the Sinus Ceramicus (37° 02’ N; 27° 26’ E). The ancient city had two ports protected by a small island called Zephyrion (or Arconnesus). The historians Herodotus and Dionysius and the elegiac poet Heraclitus came from the city of Halicarnassus. It was also the site of the famed tomb of King Mausolus. The city is mentioned in passing as a recipient of a letter from Lucius in support of the Jews (1 Macc 15:23).

Halicarnassus was probably established prior to 2200 B.C.E. by an unknown tribe belonging to a language family the most vivid testimony of which was the -ssos/-nthos place name suffixes scattered throughout W Anatolia and parts of Greece. Halicarnassus was later populated by Mycenaeans (compare with Strabo 14.2.6). A continuity of the pottery at Halicarnassus from the close of the Bronze Age through the Greek Dark Ages appears to suggest that the site was continuously occupied by the same people during a period otherwise marked by population shifts and political upheaval.

During the Dark Ages the city was revitalized by Dorians and Ionians from Troezen in the Argolis (Strabo 8.6.14; and 14.2.6; Vitr. 2.8; Paus. 2.30; and Hdt. 7.99). Later epitaphial evidence shows that the city had a mixed population of Greeks and Carians who apparently used the Ionic dialect as their official language (see Meiggs and Lewis 1969: no. 32). Halicarnassus was part of a six-state Dorian confederation but was expelled from the league because a champion athlete from the city supposedly refused to dedicate a victory tripod to Triopian Apollo, the god in whose honor the games were held (Hdt. 1.144).

In the 6th century B.C.E. a citizen by the name of Lygdamis (I) usurped authority in Halicarnassus and was succeeded by his daughter Artemisia (I). Artemisia (I) supplied five ships to the Persian fleet and fought valiantly at the Battle of Salamis (see Hdt. 7.99; 8.88; 8.93; and an interesting tradition about her

death in Ptolemy Hephaestion 190). Artemisia (I) transmitted the rule to her son Lygdamis (II). Herodotus opposed Lygdamis (II) and was exiled to Samos during his reign. Lygdamis (II) later ordered the execution of the historian's uncle, the epic poet Panyassis. Herodotus, however, returned to lead a conspiracy which drove the tyrant from power. Shortly after this, the city came under Athenian control for a brief time (Thuc. 2.9; and 8.42).

In the early 4th century the Carian cities were subjugated by Hecatomnus from Mylasia (395–377 B.C.E.). Hecatomnus had three sons, Mausolus, Hidrieus, and Pixodaruq, and two daughters, Artemisia and Ada, who married their two older brothers. Mausolus succeeded his father and changed his capital to Halicarnassus. When Mausolus died in 353 B.C.E., he was buried in an elaborate tomb that was completed by his wife and successor Artemisia (II).

The so-called Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world, was rediscovered by C. T. Newton in 1857 using descriptions found in Vitruvius and Pliny the Elder. Some architectural and sculptural fragments are now housed at the British Museum. Pliny described the tomb as a circular structure 140 feet high and 410 feet in circumference. It was surrounded by 36 columns and covered by a pyramidal dome. According to Vitruvius the tomb was behind the agora, which was situated along the seashore. Still further away from the agora behind the tomb was a temple of Mars. The agora was flanked by the palace of Mausolus and the temples of Venus and Mercury.

Artemisia (II) was succeeded by Hidrieus, who died without leaving an heir. The crown passed to Hidrieus' wife, Ada, who was deposed by her youngest brother Pixodarus with the assistance of Orontobates, a Persian satrap and son-in-law of Pixodarus. Alexander the Great laid siege to Halicarnassus; defeated Memnon, the Persian general who was defending the city; and restored Ada to authority. Halicarnassus was later rebuilt and six towns were annexed to it as compensation for its losses (Pliny 6.29). The city suffered again during the Mithradatic War but was restored to its former prosperity by Cicero's brother Quintus (Cicero, *QFr* 1.8).

A number of Jews lived in Halicarnassus, and in the year 139 B.C.E. a letter was written by the Roman Senate on their behalf (1 Macc 15:23). A decree was issued in the 1st century B.C.E. granting the Jews of Halicarnassus the freedom to worship and to construct a "place of prayer" near the seaside, according to their ancestral customs (Jos. *Ant* 14.10.23).

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## HALIF, TELL (M.R. 137087). A site on the N fringe of the Negeb, between Beer-sheba and Lachish.

### A. Identification

Tell Halif (Tell Khuweilifeh) has been identified with biblical Ziklag, the city ceded to David by the Philistines (1 Sam 27:6–7). This suggestion was first made by M. Abel in 1938 on the basis of its proximity to Horvat Rimmon (Khirbet Umm er-Rammamin), which lies less than 1 km to the S (Abel, *GP* 2, 318). Already in the 19th century, C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener had identified this latter site with biblical En-rimmon. Both sites are mentioned in the territorial lists of Judah in Josh 15:31–32 and as part of the inheritance of the tribe of Simeon in Josh 19:5–7.

Tell Halif has also been identified with the later Byzantine settlement called Tilla. According to the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius, two large Jewish villages, Tilla and Rimmon, were located just 16 miles S of Beit Guvrin, which places them exactly in the Halif area.

More recently E. Oren has suggested that Tell Sera', on the Philistine plain 18 km W of Tell Halif, is Ziklag (Oren 1982). At the same time A. Kloner has argued that Tell Halif was the original site of Rimmon, its name having been taken and preserved at nearby Horvat Rimmon by the first Roman-Byzantine reoccupants of the area in the 2d century A.D. (Kloner 1980).

### B. Location

Tell Halif is a prominent mound in the easternmost part of the high Shephelah at the N fringe of the Negeb. It faces the Hebron mountains to the E and overlooks the plain of Philistia to the W. Modern Kibbutz Lahav is located on its SE shoulder. The mound lies in a marginal and potentially erratic

subsistence zone but occupies a strategic position astride the westernmost ridge of the Judean foothills. Its position commands the main S route from Egypt and the Mediterranean coast eastward into the Hebron area.

**C. Excavations**

Serious investigations at and around Tell Halif began only in the 1950s following the establishment of Kibbutz Lahav. Initial efforts included informal survey work and intermittent salvage operations (Biran and Gophna 1970; Gophna 1972; Seger 1972; and Alon 1974).

In 1975 the Lahav Research Project, a private consortium of American scholars and institutions, was formed by Joe D. Seger to undertake an integrated study of the region focused on excavation of the ancient remains at Tell Halif. During Phase I, through 1980, five major seasons of field investigations were conducted (see Seger 1984a; Seger and Borowski 1977). Phase II work was initiated in 1983 (see Jacobs 1984). From the start excavation efforts were accompanied by complementary investigations of the region surrounding Lahav, its ancient environments and human ecology, as well as by an ethnographic study of the area's more recent bedouin and village Arab occupants. Primary excavation work has been concentrated in three major fields on the mound summit (Fields I–III), with satellite projects in Cave Complex A, just below Field I, and on Sites 101 and 301 of the lower town area to the NE. In addition, an intensive site survey of the region within a 10-km radius of the site is being undertaken.

**D. History of Settlement**

Researches in the Lahav area have documented a long history of habitation stretching from the Chalcolithic period in the late 4th millennium B.C. to modern times (see Table 1). The earliest settlement was on the NE terrace (Sites 101 and 301), where Chalcolithic and EB I occupants lived in open villages. During the EB II the settlement shifted onto the higher ridge to the W, and a well-fortified town was established overlooking both the E valley and the W coastal plain. Four substantial strata of EB II and III remains have been identified with a history roughly coterminous with the Old Kingdom period in Egypt. Excavated remains in Field I include major Stratum XV fortification walls with an outlying glacis. The site suffered a major destruction ca. 2550 B.C. after which occupation resumed and continued until ca. 2300 B.C. From this time and until the very end of the MB in the mid-2d millennium, the tell was abandoned.

However, following the 16th century B.C. Egyptian resurgence under the early 18th Dyn. pharaohs and the associated destruction of Stratum D occupation at Tell Beit Mirsim, located just 8 km to the N, settlement at Halif resumed. During the LB I reoccupation included the construction of a substantial "residency" type Egyptian house suggesting that the area was firmly under Egyptian control. Analysis of faunal remains from associated Stratum X remains in Field I shows a frequent occurrence *equus assinus* (donkey), suggesting that Halif may have served as a trading outpost or way station during this time. Following a major destruction at ca. 1400 B.C., the residency house was partially reconstructed and reused during the Amarna age; but during the LB IIB (Stratum VIII) the area of the house was completely transformed into a storage facility with a succession of stone-lined pits.

Table 1

TELL HALIF—MAJOR STRATA

| *Stratum* | *Period* | *Date* |
|---|---|---|
| I | Modern Arab | A.D.1800–1948 |
| II | Islamic-Crusader | A.D. 700–1500 |
| III (Site 66) | Roman-Byzantine | A.D. 100–600 |
| (gap) | Early Roman | 100 B.C.–A.D. 100 |
| IV | Hellenistic | 300–100 B.C. |
| V | Persian | 500–300 B.C. |
| (gap) | Late Iron II | 650–500 B.C. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| VIA | Iron II | 700–650 B.C. |
| ——————— destruction | | |
| VIB (Site 72) | Iron II | 900–700 B.C. |
| VII | Iron I | 1200–900 B.C. |
| VIII | LB IIB | 1300–1200 B.C. |
| IX | LB IIA | 1400–1300 B.C. |
| ——————— destruction | | |
| X | LB IB | 1475–1400 B.C. |
| XI | LB IA | 1550–1475 B.C. |
| (gap) | MB II | 1850–1550 B.C. |
| (gap) | EB IV | 2300–1850 B.C. |
| XII | EB III | 2400–2300 B.C. |
| XIII | EB III | 2450–2400 B.C. |
| XIV | EB III | 2550–2450 B.C. |
| ——————— destruction | | |
| XV | EB II–III | 2650–2550 B.C. |
| XVI (Site 101, 301) | EB I–II | 3200–2650 B.C. |
| XVI (Site 101, 301) | Chalcolithic | 3500–3200 B.C. |

Aside from the abandonment of use of the storage area in Field I, only minor shifts in domestic architecture document the Stratum VIII–VII transition to the Iron Age I period in the early 12th century. In general, traces of 12th and 11th century occupation are limited. However, continuity through the period is indicated; and late 11th century settlement is inferred from the presence of degenerate-style Philistine potsherds and other late Philistine period artifacts. While the site clearly was not a major Philistine center, evidence, nonetheless, indicates that it was within the orbit of Philistine influences during the period of David's exile just before 1000 B.C. and thus may in fact have been Ziklag (see Seger 1984a).

During the 10th century and continuing into the Iron Age II period after 900 B.C., the site once more enjoyed an era of growth and expansion and was developed as one of Judah's frontier outposts. Perhaps as early as the reign of Jehoshaphat (874–849 B.C.), the mound was massively refortified with substantial walls and by an outlying glacis paved with a flagstone surface. The 9th–8th century is well marked on the mound by Stratum VIB occupation and by an extensive cemetery on the Site 72 hillside to the S. In both Fields II and III substantial late 8th-century domestic remains were found sealed by a massive destruction of the city. This has been associated with the 701 campaign of the Assyrian king Sennacherib against S Judah and Lachish. Iron Age II occupation was resumed by squatters for a brief time in the early 7th century, but by 650 B.C. the site was completely abandoned and remained so until the Persian period after 500 B.C.

In the 5th century the E summit of the mound was again resettled. The remains of a substantial Stratum V building that probably served as a barracks or storage facility for a Persian military outpost were excavated in Field II. Above the Persian building two occupation phases of a subsequent Hellenistic domestic structure were found. A Ptolemaic coin from below its final-phase surface indicates that this Hellenistic occupation persisted at least into the late 3d century.

During the early Roman period between 100 B.C. and A.D. 100, the site once more lay abandoned. However, a dramatic recovery took place following the Roman destruction of Jerusalem and especially in the wake of the Second Jewish Revolt under Bar Kokhba in the 2d century A.D. Both Halif (Tilla) and nearby Horvat Rimmon (En-rimmon) were resettled. At Halif substantial remains of this occupation are found both on the mound and down its NE slopes on Site 101, and the occupation is documented also by presses and other installations throughout the surrounding countryside.

Site 101 continued to be occupied well into the early Islamic period. During the time of the Crusades, in A.D. 1192, a significant battle between Saladin and Richard the Lion Hearted took place at Beer Bustan, the area's main well just below the tell to the NW. In the 18th and early 19th century the site developed into the bedouin and village Arab market settlement of Khuweilifeh, which provides the Arabic name for the site.

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**HALL OF JUDGMENT.** See JUDGMENT, HALL OF.

**HALL OF PILLARS.** See JUDGMENT, HALL OF.

**HALL OF THE THRONE.** See JUDGMENT, HALL OF.

**HALL OF TYRANNUS.** See TYRANNUS (PERSON).

**HALLEL.** A designation for a small grouping of psalms. The word comes from the Heb verb *hālal,* "to praise," since many of the psalms contain the phrase "Praise the Lord!" It has been variously used to describe the following psalm groups: 104–106, 111–118, 120–136, and 146–150.

Israel used the Hallel Psalms regularly in her three great feasts: Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles. Hallel Psalms 113–118 are called the "Egyptian Hallel"; in part, they recount the saving deeds of Yahweh from the time of the Exodus from Egypt under the leadership of Moses (to whom the authorship of these psalms was traditionally attributed). They were sung or recited at these feasts, the later Feast of Dedication (or Lights, the modern holiday Hanukkah), and the New Moon assemblies. They were not used at the more solemn occasions of the New Year and the Day of Atonement, where confession and self-examination predominated.

The celebration of Passover particularly utilized the Hallel Psalms 113–118. Jewish pilgrims sang these psalms on their way to Jerusalem. Bowman (1962: 743) relates that Psalm 118 was sung responsively by pilgrims and the Levites as the former approached to enter the temple and worship. The popular response to Jesus' entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday was the ritual welcome accorded to all pilgrims.

Jewish families sang Psalms 113–114 before the Seder meal and 115–118 afterward. In the Synoptic Gospels (Matt 26:17–29 [= Mark 14:12–25; Luke 22:7–20]), Jesus and his disciples ate a Seder (Passover) meal and sang a hymn before departing for the Mount of Olives (Matt 26:30). Thus, in all likelihood, they sang all or parts of Psalms 115–118 (or, less probably, Psalms 135–36).

The "Great Hallel" was identified with Psalms 120–136, 135–136, or 136 alone. It contains Israel's praise for Yahweh's provisions in the past and present. Along with Psalms 146–150, it was used in the daily morning service of the synagogue. See also PSALMS, BOOK OF.

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**HALLELUJAH.** See PSALMS, BOOK OF.

**HALLOHESH** (PERSON) [Heb *hallôḥēš* (הַלּוֹחֵשׁ)]. The father of Shallum, ruler over half the district of Jerusalem, and one of those who, with his daughters, assisted in making repairs to the city wall (Neh 3:12). Hallohesh is also described as one of the chiefs of the people and a signatory to the covenant established by Ezra (10:24).
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**HAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥām* (חָם)]. The name of the second son of Noah, and the brother of Shem and Japheth. The name appears 17 times in the Bible (Gen 5:32; 6:10; 7:13; 9:18 (twice), 22; 10:1, 6, 20; 14:5; 1 Chr 1:4, 8; 4:40; Pss 78:51; 105:23, 27; 106:22). It is either etymologically related to the word *ḥm*, "warm," "hot" (from *ḥmm*, "to become warm, hot"), or derived from the Egyptian Keme, "the black land" (a name for ancient Egypt). In support of the former, the descendants of Ham appropriately occupy the warmer or hotter lands of the S regions of the ancient world. In support of the latter, the name Ham is used in some of the later psalms in apposition to Egypt (78:51; 105:23, 27; 106:22).

**A. Biblical Data**

Ham's sons are Cush, Misraim, Put, and Canaan. The descendants of three of these—the Cushites (Ethiopians), the Egyptians, and the Canaanites—and their respective lands are mentioned hundreds of times throughout the Bible. The fourth son Put—Libya according to some, the Horn of Africa according to others—and his descendants figure less prominently. According to the biblical ethnographic conceptions, the descendants of Ham occupy chiefly the lands to the S and W of Israel. Some of his descendants, however, may have controlled part of Asia (cf. 10:6–20).

Ham is one of Noah's three sons who joined him in the Ark and thereby escaped the Flood (6:9, 13; 9:1–18). It was he who reported to his brothers that Noah, who had become a tender of vineyards after the Flood, was drunk and naked. His brothers walked carefully backward and covered their father (9:22–23). The disgrace of a drunken father, according to Ugaritic epic poetry, was a crime; and "looking upon the nakedness" of one's father, mother, or closest relatives was prohibited in Israelite tradition (Lev 18:7–19; 20:11–21).

Related to this episode, Ham is also distinguished as being the father of Canaan (9:18, 22) whom Noah, after he woke up from his drunken sleep, condemned to servitude (9:20–27) and after whom the land of Israel was named (9:18; 11:31; 13:12; 17:8). The text reads, "And Noah awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger son had done to him. And he said, 'Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants [or, the bottom-ranked servant] shall he become to his brothers …' " (9:24–25). This statement has been misinterpreted by medieval Jewish, Christian, and Muslim theologians, transferring the curse of Canaan on to Ham. Such an interpretation has no basis in the biblical text or in early Jewish thought. According to one postbiblical Jewish oral tradition (see B below), Canaan was actually Noah's *fourth* and youngest son—hence, he was Ham's brother, not his son. This and such phrases as "his younger son" and "to his brothers" in Gen 9:24–25 (the passage concerning Canaan) have led some exegetes to theorize that there was an earlier story separate from the flood story, with another list of Noah's sons as Shem, Japheth, Ham, and Canaan, and that a later tradition harmonized the two stories, making Ham the father of Canaan.

**B. Later Jewish Tradition**

Very few references are made to Ham in the so-called Apocrypha or Pseudepigrapha, or in the literature of Qumran (*Jub.* 4:33; 8:10, 22–24; *L. A. B.* 1:22; 4:6; *T. Sim.* 6:4; *T. Isaac* 3:15). The most important references are found in the book of *Jubilees.* According to one of these, it was Ham who, together with his other sons Cush and Misraim, cursed his son Canaan, because Canaan violated the divine ordinance of land distribution and usurped the dwelling and inheritance of the children of Israel, the land of Canaan (*Jub.* 10:28–34). According to another the land given to Ham is hot, to Japheth cold, to Shem neither hot nor cold (18:12–30). See Fig. GEO.05.

The first world empire, the building of cities, and particularly the building of the Tower of Babel are attributed to Ham's grandson Nimrod, the son of Cush (*b. Ḥul.* 89a and *ʿAbod. Zar.* 53b; *Pirqe R. El.* 24; cf. also *3 Enoch* 1; *L. A. B.* 4:6–8; 5:1). According to a 13th-century ethical work called *Sefer ha-Yashar*

(Noah 22), Ham stole from Noah the garments which God had originally made for Adam and Eve and which had been in the possession of Enoch and Methuselah and gave them to Nimrod. The quasi-Jewish Hellenistic *Sibylline Oracles,* in which the sons of Noah are given the names of Greek gods (3:110–15), and the gnostic Sethian *Apocalypse of Adam* (V, 5 72:17; 73:14, 25; 74:11; 76:134) mention Ham in the context of the division of the world and empires among the sons of Noah.

Few biblical stories are as enigmatic as Noah's curse of one of his descendants, popularly but erroneously known as "the Curse of Ham." Some later Jewish traditions speak about the punishment of Ham personally (Tanhuma Noah 13) or his immediate family (*Pesiq. R.* 21:22 [ed. Friedmann]) on account of "his sin." That Ham committed a sin is not questioned (*b. Sanh.* 70a; 108b). The expression "sin of Ham" is also found once in *Jubilees* (22:21). But the popular expression "curse of Ham" is found neither in biblical nor postbiblical Jewish literature.

Most later Jewish sources make it clear that Canaan, not Ham, suffered the curse (*Bek.* 13a; *Qidd.* 7a; 67b; *Lev. Rab.* 17:5; *Midr.* Tadshe 17; etc.). In their speculation as to why Canaan was cursed instead of the guilty Ham, some rabbis went as far as to assert that God wanted to spare the other members of his family which naturally included Cush, Misraim, and Put (*Midr.* Ha-Gaggdol Bereshith, Noah 25). Others, however, not content with this answer alone, chose to speculate that Noah, stopped by Ham from having a fourth son, in accordance with the law of retaliation cursed Canaan, his fourth son (*Gen. Rab.* 36:5–7). Still others, not being satisfied with this answer, propose the syllogism that since God had already bestowed a blessing upon Ham (Gen 9:1) and since a blessing cannot be retracted nor can a curse be substituted in its place, Noah put the curse on his grandson. None of these explanations seeming adequate, others suggest that not Ham but Canaan himself must have been the real culprit, ascribing to him varieties of sins which he might have committed against Noah—whether it was seeing and reporting Noah's nakedness or being involved in a disgraceful act of castration or sexual assault against Noah (cf. also *Gen. Rab.* 36:5–7; *Tanhuma* (Buber) 49–50; *Tanhuma* Noah 13–15; *b. Sanh.* 70a and *Pesaḥ* 113b; *Targum Jonathan; Genesis Apocryphon* 19:13).

It is not until the Middle Ages that the curse of Canaan became attributed directly to Ham by Jewish, Muslim, and Christian writers equally (see, e.g., Saadia Gaon, *Perush Rabbenu Saadia Gaon al ha-Torah* [ed. Y. Gafah, p. 21]; Rashi on Kiddushin 22b, *sade niqneth;* cf. also Benjamin of Tudeal, the 12th-century traveler, who speaks about the sons of Ham being black slaves [*Maasot Benyamin* or *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela,* 1625]).

**C. Christian Tradition**

Early Christian exegesis was not kind to Ham. Augustine called him the "wicked brother," and said that "Ham (that is hot) who as the middle son of Noah, and as it were, separated himself from both, and remained between, neither belonging to the first family of Israel nor to the fullness of the gentiles, what does he signify but the tribe of heretics, hot with the spirit, not of patience, but of impatience, with which the breasts of heretics are wont to blaze, and with which they disturb the peace of the saints?" (*City of God,* Book 16: 2). Elsewhere he compared Ham with Cain.

Chrysostom likewise spoke about the sons of Noah who received good reports because they loved their father "whereas the other was cursed because he had no love for his father" *(Homilies on I Thess 4).* According to Clement of Rome, *"Tertia decima generatione cum ex tribus filiis suae ex maledicto conditionem servitutis induxit"* (*Recognitiones,* Book 1, 30; cf. also *Cave of Treasures,* fol. 19b [Budge's edition, p. 121]).

The objective of the early Christian theologians was primarily exegetical exposition, wrong as it may be, for homiletic purposes. Beyond that, they did not propound the slavery of African people on the ground that they are descendants of Ham. On the other hand, their rationalization of the biblical curse of Canaan, especially in the medieval period, contributed to the later justification of slavery and colonialism: the "Curse of Ham" was coined and the punishment transferred from Canaan and his descendants to Ham's whole family systematically (see, e.g., Jobson's *The Golden Trade* [1623], ed. C. Kingsley [Teignmouth, 1904], 65ff.; cf. also Pernal 1940).

**D. Islamic Tradition**

Ham is not mentioned by name in the Quran but is alluded to as the unbelieving son who refused to follow his father at the time of the Flood and who consequently drowned (11:44[42]–49[47]). Extra- and post-Quranic Islamic traditions are acquainted with the biblical story of Gen 9:18–27 concerning the curse of Ham's son, Canaan, and with later Jewish and Christian legends. Muslim historians repeat versions of a certain spurious Jewish haggadic tradition that Ham's sin was carnal relations in the Ark; and they add to his offense an assault against his father; they claim that, although born white, he turned black as a result of his father's curse.

According to al-Tabari Jesus brought Ham back to life. Ham related episodes of life in the Ark and the end of the Flood to the apostles. Al-Tabari meliorates the fate of Ham—although he was reduced to servitude, his brothers were lenient. The historian al-Masude, a contemporary of Saadia Gaon writing in the first part of the 10th century, obstinately misrepresents Gen 9:25 quoting it: "And he said, 'Cursed be Ham …' "

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**HAM** (PLACE) [Heb *hām* (חָם)]. In Gen 14:5 the locality at which CHEDORLAOMER and his allies defeated the Zuzim. It is listed between Ashteroth-karnaim (in Bashan) and Shaveh-kiriathaim (in Moab). Ancient interpreters were uncertain about its location. The Qumran text 1QapGen 21:29, which has *zwmzmy*› instead of Zuzim, accordingly replaced Ham with ‹*mn.* The LXX, *Tg. Neof.,* and Vg understood *bhm* of the Heb text as *bāhem* "among them" (i.e., among the Rephaim), rather than *bĕ-hām,* "in Ham." The *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Ps.-J.* rendered Ham by *hmt*› (Hemtā or Hamettā), as though they knew of a place so named in the appropriate region. But no such toponym appears in the Talmudic literature, unless it is a deliberate alteration of *ḥammeṯa dĕ-pĕḥal*, a place with hot springs near Pella in Transjordan mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud. Ham is believed to appear as *hum* in the Palestine List of Thutmose III, No. 118; but its place in the enumeration provides no clues as to the area of its location. It has been suggested that Ham was identical with the small mound (37 × 34 m at the top) at the modern village of Hām, 5.5 km S-SW of the city of Irbid in N Jordan. See BETH-ARBEL. The surface survey of the mound by N. Glueck revealed great numbers of medieval and Roman sherds, a considerable number of Iron Age I–II sherds, a small quantity of EB I–II sherds, but no MB and LB sherds. Unless excavations prove differently, this gap in the occupation of the site excludes its identity with Hum of Thutmose III's list, though not necessarily with Ham of Genesis 14. A. Bergman (1934: 176) thought to have discovered another mention of Ham in the Bible by emending *ḥwtyhm* (*ḥawwōṯêhem*, "their villages") in Num 32:41 to *ḥwt-hm* (*ḥawwōt-hām,* "the villages of Ham") as the earlier name of Havvoth-Jair. However, the biblical passages on the latter disagree about their location (in Bashan or in Gilead); and in any case Tell Hām was too insignificant a site to have given its name to a cluster of 30 or 60 fortified cities.

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**HAMAN** (PERSON) [Heb *hāmān* (הָמָן)]. A nobleman, promoted to the rank of vizier by King Ahasuerus, and mortal enemy of the Jews in the book of Esther. After being made vizier by the king, Haman became enraged at Mordecai, who ministered at the king's gate, for not obeying a royal command to bow down and show proper respect to Haman (Esth 3:2–5). Haman decided therefore not only to eradicate Mordecai but also every Jew in the realm (3:6). He convinced the king that the Jews were disobedient to his rule and deserved to be eliminated (3:7–11). He received the authority to send out a decree ordering the elimination of all Jews and the confiscation of their property (3:12–14). In the

meantime he built a gallows especially for Mordecai and was planning to ask the king's permission to hang him from it (5:9–14). This plan, however, was foiled when Queen Esther turned Ahasuerus against Haman at the second of two feasts she had prepared for the two men. When Haman accidentally fell on Esther's couch pleading for mercy, Ahasuerus thought he was trying to assault her. Thus he had him hanged from the same gallows that Haman had prepared for Mordecai (7:5–10).

This story portrays Haman as the adversary par excellence of the Jews. The MT tradition links him with AGAG, the ancient king of the Amalekites, who were enemies of the Hebrews (Esth 3:1, 10; 8:3, 5; 9:10, 24; cf. 1 Samuel 15; Num 24:7; Exod 17:8–16; Deut 25:17–19). Moreover, Mordecai is portrayed as a relative of King Saul, who was in turn the enemy of Agag, Haman's ancestor (Esth 2:5; 1 Sam 9:1–2). Thus the ancient conflict between Israel and Amalek is portrayed as continuing in the contest between Mordecai and Haman (McKane 1961; Clines 1984: 14–15; Berg 1979: 66–67). This interpretation of the person of Haman is continued by Josephus, the Targums of Esther, as well as the Talmud. These sources consistently describe Haman as a descendant of Amalek (Paton *Esther* ICC, 194–95; Thornton 1986; Moore *Esther* AB, 35). The LXX treats the figure of Haman in a similar way. He is never described as an Agagite but rather as either a "Bugaean" (Gk *Bougaios;* cf. LXX 3:1; 9:10; A:17), perhaps a reference to a famous friend of Alexander the Great, or as a "Macedonian" (Gk *ho Makedōn;* cf. LXX 9:24). Either way Haman would be seen as a hated Greek by later Jewish audiences who still remembered the atrocities of Greek rule (Moore 35–36; Clines 1984: 44).

This does not mean that Haman was a purely fictitious character. The name *agag* may be derived from *agazi*, a Mesopotamian tribe mentioned in Sargon's annals (Paton, 69–70). (Although it is difficult to explain how the final *g* in Heb *agag* has shifted to *z* in Akk *agazi*.) In addition, *hāmān* may be a Persian name derived from Old Persian *hamanā,* "illustrious," or perhaps *homa,* "a sacred drink." Several link it with *omanes,* a Persian name mentioned by Greek authors (Paton, 69; Moore, 35). Moreover, the ten sons of Haman (Esth 9:7–10) also appear to have genuine Persian names (Clines 1984: 323; Gehman 1924: 327–28). What we seem to have then in the character of Haman is a historical figure whose lineage has been reshaped and reinterpreted by the various traditions in a symbolic way (Clines 1984: 293).

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**HAMATH** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥămāt* (חֲמָת)]. HAMATHITES. A city in Syria, the S border of which often became part of the formula for the N idealized border of Israel (cf. 1 Kgs 8:65; 1 Chr 13:5). The city was an object of the Assyrian conquest (Isa 36:19), and some of its inhabitants were exiled and settled in Israel (2 Kgs 17:24). The site has a long history, from early prehistoric through modern times. It was known as *Ematu* in the Ebla texts, and in the Syro-Hittite (Luwian) hieroglyphic inscriptions it is called *Amatu.* During the classical period its name was *Epiphaneia Syriae* or *Epiphaneia ad Orontem.* The non-classical name is thought to mean the "warm place" or "fortress." The modern name of the site is Hama.

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A. Location and Excavations
B. Results of the Excavations
1. Prehistoric Finds
2. Early Bronze Age
3. Middle and Late Bronze Ages
4. Iron Age
5. Hellenistic Hamath
6. Roman Period

## A. Location and Excavations

Hamath is situated in central Syria (M.R. 312503) where the main road from the N first crosses the river al-ʿĀsī, the ancient Orontes, 214 km N of Damascus. The river flows through the town from SE to NW, in the form of an S. The greater and older part of the town lies on the left bank and is dominated by the Citadel Mound, ca. 45 m high and ca. 400 × 300 m. From 1931 through 1938 the site was excavated by a Danish expedition, which opened a total area of 18,000 $m^2$, to a depth varying between 4 and 29 m. In addition, 48 smaller excavations were made in the modern town and a few in the neighborhood. The excavations on the Citadel Mound revealed a long series of cultural layers, numbered from the top, M marking the earliest, those of the Neolithic period, 6th millennium B.C., and A, the top layers containing remains from the Middle Ages.

## B. Results of the Excavations

**1. Prehistoric Finds.** The earliest signs of human presence in the area are the so-called pebble tools from the Pluvial A period corresponding to the earliest two glacial periods of Europe, Günz and Mindel; they were found by Dutch geologists at Šarya in the E outskirts of Ḥamā. Somewhat later, from the First Interpluvial, the Second Interglacial period of Europe, are artifacts of Acheulean and Levalloisian types collected near Ḥamā. Seven Neolithic layers were distinguished on the tell, bearing witness of a culture related to that in the ʿAmq at the lower Orontes.

In Chalcolithic times, in layer L (ca. the 5th and most of the 4th millennium B.C.), there was a strong cultural influence from N Mesopotamia, probably because of intensive barter. This layer, however, also comprised obsidian from Asia Minor. In layer L 3 Ḥalāfian pottery appeared together with local imitations of pottery from Samarra. At the end of the 5th millennium, the influence from the SE was stronger, as is shown by a local variety of the ʿUbaiḍ ware. Houses at that time often had one large room with a hearth in the middle. The dead were buried under the floors. Board-shaped idols and animal figures of clay indicate the emergence of artistic development, as do stamp seals of stone or clay with incised geometric patterns. Some of the seals must have been personal identification marks like those of Mesopotamia in the 4th millennium, when the first attempts of writing developed. About 3300 B.C. full urbanization was a reality in Syria.

**2. Early Bronze Age.** The K layers belong to the earliest Bronze Age. Already in K 10, the potter's wheel appeared; and a terrace wall may be part of a true town wall; but houses were soon constructed beyond it. Seals and figurines of Mesopotamian types and primitive local sculptures have been discovered. About 2600 B.C. more primitive tribes from Asia Minor made their way into central Syria as inferred from a new, mottled reddish or yellow and black, polished pottery, the so-called KHIRBET KERAK WARE; at Ḥamā it turned up in K 5, from which period dates also the earliest-found casting mold for bronze tools. Interments under the houses became rarer; and a large space was reserved for round structures, which were probably grain silos.

Layer K 1 had signs of a destruction, which was followed by a rebuilding in J 8. Layer J is the fully developed EB. Apparently burials no longer occurred in the town, which had become a densely built-up area with narrow streets or alleys. From K to J the pottery did not change very much, but a tall goblet was the leading characteristic all through J 8–1, and "Goblet" or "Chalice Culture" has become a popular denomination of this period's Syrian civilization. In J 5 a spade-like rope-traction ard was used for tilling the ground, but soon the ard-plough gained predominance. Botanical finds indicate cultivation of barley, wheat, probably emmer, horsebean, lentil, a plant with seeds resembling peas, wine, cherry, and olive. Oil lamps were flat bowls with pinched rims to produce a spout for the wick. The wheeled carriage, and perhaps the horse, were known. Husbandry comprised at least donkeys, oxen, sheep, goats, pigs, and dogs. The town of J 5 suffered a violent destruction followed by a slow decadence in J 4–1. The J 5 pottery corresponds completely to that in the destruction layer of Ebla, modern Tell Mardikh, the center of a wealthy kingdom which reached its highest peak in the 24th century B.C. Evidently the same catastrophe hit both sites in the 23rd century, probably a consequence of the Akkadian conquest of N Syria; the date is confirmed by a $C^{14}$ analysis of material from Hamath.

**3. Middle and Late Bronze Ages.** Nomads from the N part of the Euphrates valley, in Akkadian named "Amurru," (i.e., "West"), caused much trouble in Syria about 2000 B.C. In the 19th century these so-called Amorites established their own states, and the finds in H 5 actually present a new picture. In the middle of the town, enormous cylindrical grain silos were constructed; the dead were buried in rock-cut chambers outside the urban area; and the ceramic repertoire was simple and monochrome with combed or ropelike patterns and with a carinated bowl as the leading type. Between the MB layer H and the LB layer G, no real difference in culture can be proved; but H 1 showed signs of a great destruction, perhaps caused by the Hittites, who invaded N Syria ca. 1375 B.C. At that time the frontier of the Egyptian Empire was only about 50 km S of Hamath, the Bronze Age name of which, *Ematu,* may be identical with the *Imat* or *Amata* of Egyptian texts. Sherds of imported Cypriot and Mycenaean vases date the layers of the G period to the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. Some buildings were more spacious and had corridor-like storerooms resembling those of palaces elsewhere. However, the LB town may have been administratively subject to the neighboring, more wealthy city of Qatna.

**4. Iron Age.** According to the Bible the king of Hamath, Toi, sent his son, Joram, with gifts and congratulations after David had defeated Hadadezer, ca. 975 B.C. (2 Sam 8:9–10; cf. 1 Chr 18:9–10). Solomon, however, is said to have built fortresses and grain stores in part of Hamath's territory (2 Chr 8:4); Jeroboam II also is said to have defeated Hamath (2 Kgs 14:28). Nevertheless, the Assyrian records reveal that in 853–845 B.C. the Hamathite king, Urhilina, played an important role in the great coalition which for a time was able to stop the Assyrian advances toward the W. Stone blocks with Luwian inscriptions in Syro-Hittite hieroglyphs found at Ḥamā in the 19th century refer to Urhilina's renewal of a temple dedicated to Ba‹alat and to his son, Uratamis, fortifying the town; the temple had been somewhat neglected under Urhilina's father, Paritas, and under his anonymous grandfather. In the first half of the 8th century B.C., under King Zakkur, from whom a victory stele inscribed in Aramaic is kept in Paris, Hamath apparently reached its greatest power, dominating most of Syria from the Amanus to the Lebanon and from the Mediterranean to the desert. But in 738 ‹Enel of Hamath was forced to surrender 19 provinces to the Assyrians, i.e., the coast and the N part of the Orontes valley. In 720 a usurper, Iaubi›di, perhaps of Palestinian origin, tried to regain the lost territory but was defeated and killed; and a number of the inhabitants were deported and the whole country incorporated in the Assyrian Empire.

The remains of biblical Hamath were discovered in the so-called Syro-Hittite or Early Iron Age layers F 2–1 and E 2–1 and are supplemented by the cemeteries found outside the mound. In the troubled times around 1200 B.C., several profound changes took place. A new burial rite, that of urn fields with cremation, was introduced; weapons and tools of iron appeared among which was the cut-and-thrust sword. The fibula replaced the dress pin, and the pottery developed new shapes and patterns in a "geometric" style showing influence from the Mycenaean culture in Greece and Cyprus.

The Royal Quarter was found on the SE part of the mound. See Fig. HAM.01. Its ruins, called Buildings I–IV, spread over an area of at least 160 × 160 m around an open central space with a small sanctuary. Toward the SE was a towered gate (I); toward the NE a temple, probably that of Ba‹alat (III); in the W, a small gate (IV) led to the other quarters of the town; and to the S was a palace (II). The palace had a large reception hall, many storerooms, and an upper story, which seems to have been the royal residence. The entrances to the buildings were guarded by lion sculptures half in relief, and the front of the palace was guarded by colossi in the round. The fittings of the central sanctuary comprised a huge stone basin and two stone altars, one of which had the shape of an empty throne with armrests representing sphinxes. The basin and the throne obviously correspond to the Copper Sea and the cherubim-borne mercy seat in the contemporary temple of Jerusalem. A relief stele of ca. 900 B.C. was reused as a threshold in the supposed Ba‹alat temple. The front of the stele has a representation of a seated god served by a smaller person, most likely the king; below this is a monster with two lion heads and the body of an eagle, a creature which in Mesopotamia was the symbol of the war god Ningirsu. The storerooms of the palace contained jars for grain, wine, and oil, and included tools, weapons, horse trappings, and much more. A foundation document with the impression of a cylinder seal in the style of the first half of the 8th century was found under the E wing of the palace, and in front of the building were bricks with incised Aramaic inscriptions

mentioning the *major domus* Adanlaram. Scanty remains of clay tablets inscribed in cuneiform writing, ritual texts, and a letter to king Uratamis were discovered in the temple.

Among the funerary offerings the most spectacular are a gold-plated bronze statuette of a seated god with beard and horns and an ivory goblet with a handle in the shape of a wild goat.

Other fine works of art were found in a small palace, Building V, in the SW part of the town (e.g., ivory reliefs from furniture, which seem to be local products). Several cylinder and stamp seals were brought to light, both in the cemeteries and in the town, including reused items, and sealings, among which was one with the name of Adanlaram. The cremation burials ceased about 700 B.C., and everywhere in the town indisputable signs of the Assyrian ravages were visible. The buildings perished in a conflagration which was so vehement that even some basalt sculptures and bowls partly melted. After the catastrophe most of the site was abandoned; but the literary sources report that Hamath still existed in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C.; and they are corroborated by a few remains from that period, now labeled E/D.

**5. Hellenistic Hamath.** Under the Seleucids the town revived and was named Epiphaneia, presumably after Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who reigned from 175 to 164 B.C. The excavations have shown that all over the mound a new settlement was laid out according to a rectangular plan with the streets orientated N-S and E-W. The coins found under the constructions date from the 3d and 2d centuries B.C. and thus confirm the attribution to the monarch. In the middle of the mound, a large ruin was transformed into a podium measuring ca. 20 × 20 m, which may have supported the principal sanctuary. Most of the names scratched or painted on pottery were Greek; only a few were Semitic. No doubt, Epiphaneia was almost completely included in the European cultural sphere; but it was a small and rather insignificant provincial town.

**6. Roman Period.** In 64 B.C. the Romans conquered Syria, and in 52–50 and 40 B.C. the Parthians invaded the country. But a coin hoard dated to the first half of the century betrays nothing of these events. During the Roman domination the town gradually expanded into the valley, where remains of a 3d-century A.D. temple are preserved in the present Great Mosque. In the 4th or 5th century A.D. it was transformed into a church, rebuilt in the 6th century; and recent finds nearer to the mound (under the Greek Orthodox cathedral and Episcopal residence) indicate the existence of another large church with mosaic floors (ca. A.D. 415); the earliest local bishop known was Mauritius about 325.

Probably large waterwheels similar to the present *nawaʿīr* or norias (which a tradition attributes to the Romans) were a dominant feature in the town's physiognomy, as they were in neighboring Apameia, where one was represented in a mosaic. Roman tombs were discovered in the rocks to the W. In the largest one, of the 2d century A.D., funerary plaster masks, limestone busts, and statues portray the deceased. Although of modest local workmanship, they are closely related to those found in the cemeteries of the important caravan town Palmyra. That the tomb was still used in the Christian period is established by the inscriptions and crosses on the walls. A few marble sculptures have survived in the town, hidden away by a faithful pagan worshipper. Two of them are busts of the Greco-Egyptian god Serapis, respectively a copy and a variant of Bryaxis's famous colossal cult statue from the 4th century B.C. in Alexandria. Compared with biblical Hamath, the Greco-Roman town marked both a step backward insofar as it had lost the characteristics of a capital in an independent state and an advance since it profited from participation in the culture of a world empire. The care of the central government is shown by the fact that a fortification wall was built under Constantine the Great, or more likely Justinian the Great, to avert the danger of Sassanian attacks.

After the Muslim conquest in A.D. 636, the ancient name of the town was resurrected.

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MARIE-LOUISE BUHL

**HAMATH, ENTRANCE OF** (PLACE) [Heb *lĕbō‘* (לְבֹא) *ḥămat* (חֲמַת)]. A geographic location in modern Syria which is specifically mentioned as a part of the N boundary for the land promised to Israel (Num 34:7–9; Josh 13:5; Ezek 47:16). The land of HAMATH, with which Lebo-Hamath is associated, was well-known and may explain the function of Lebo-Hamath as a boundary marker. However, Lebo-Hamath itself may also have been well-known (*RLA* 6: 410).

The question of the exact location of Labo-Hamath has not been decisively answered. Some propose that the whole phrase *lĕbō‘ ḥămat* must be taken together as the name of a city. Riblah has been one possible site because of the association of Lebo-Hamath with Zedad and Hazar-enan (see Num 34:7–9). More strongly supported, however, is modern Lebweh, located below Riblah at the source of the Orontes river (attested in Assyrian texts as *La-da/ab-‘u-u*). Lebo occurs in some Egyptian inscriptions (*rwbj* in the Execration Texts, *la-bi-‘u* in the syllabic orthography of the New Kingdom) in reference to a city S of Hamath in the Lebanon valley, corresponding to modern Lebweh.

Others (including RSV) analyze *lĕbō‘ ḥămat* as a construct noun phrase. The infinitive *lĕbō‘*, "to enter," "to approach," is taken together with the place name Hamath, specifying a particular geographic area of Hamath. Three suggestions have been given for the location of a possible area known as Lebo-Hamath. The Orontes valley, between Antioch and Seleucia, is one proposal. Also, an area near Wâdī Nahr el-Barid has been suggested. These first two ideas, however, are not well substantiated. More likely is the last notion of the lower part of the valley of Coele-Syria between the Lebanon and the Anti-lebanon mountains (see Josh 13:5; Judg 3:3; Num 13:21; see also CANAAN).
TOM F. WEI

**HAMATH-ZOBAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥămāt ṣôbâ* (חֲמָת צוֹבָה)]. A compound place name found only once in the Bible (2 Chr 8:3). It occurs in an account of Solomon's fortification program throughout his empire (8:1–10). Verses 3–4 briefly state that Solomon captured Hamath-zobah in a military expedition and went on to fortify the great Syrian oasis of Tadmor and to build store cities in Hamath. These events are not mentioned in 1 Kgs 9:10–22, the passage that is roughly parallel to 2 Chr 8:1–10.

The exact referent of this name is not clear. Some scholars identify the name with the combined regions of the ancient states of Hamath and Zobah, suggesting that the Chronicler is using Persian period (i.e., his contemporary) terminology for that area, since during the Persian period Zobah was part of the province

of Hamath (Noth 1937: 45–47; Myers *2 Chronicles* AB, 47–48). Others, however, propose that Hamath-zobah was the name of a city in the kingdom of Zobah. Eissfeldt (1975: 592–93) suggested that it was the capital of Zobah, a city quite distinct from the Hamath which was capital of the state of Hamath. Lewy (1944: 443–54) also viewed it as a city of Zobah and identified it with Baalbek/Heliopolis in Lebanon.

Another proposal has been made by Y. Aharoni (*LBHG,* 319, n. 54), who noted that the major manuscripts of the LXX read *Baisōba* instead of Hamath-zobah in 2 Chr 8:3. Arguing that the Greek reading represents Heb *Beth-zobah,* he proposed that the Greek reflects the original text, that the current Hebrew reading is the result of a scribal error, and that the town referred to here had no connection with the name Hamath.

Unfortunately, little certainty can be reached on these matters, although a few comments are worth making. The wording of 2 Chr 8:3 slightly favors the interpretation of Hamath-zobah as a city name, since similar occurrences of the verb "to go" in the sense of a military campaign normally appear in accounts of attacks against cities (cf. Judg 9:1; 1 Kgs 22:6 = 2 Chr 18:5; 1 Kgs 22:15 = 2 Chr 18:14). But even assuming that it is a city name, no further evidence is available which would allow one to determine whether the Hebrew or the Greek text preserves the name more accurately.

The question of the historical accuracy of this account of a military campaign by Solomon is also unsettled. The differing opinions on this passage are largely based on the varying evaluations of the historical reliability of Chronicles as a whole and particularly of the material in Chronicles that is not found in Kings. Those who generally accept the assertion in 1 Kgs 5:1(—Eng4:21) that Solomon controlled the Levant as far N as the Euphrates usually assume some historical accuracy for the account of the campaign against Hamath-zobah (e.g., Eissfeldt 1975: 592–93; Malamat 1963: 7; Aharoni, *LBHG,* 319, n. 54). Others (e.g., Miller and Hayes, *HAIJ,* 197–98, 208–10) are much more skeptical about the extent of Solomon's empire in the N in general and about this passage in particular, arguing that the account occurs in the middle of a passage (8:2–4) that seems to be a serious distortion of what is found in 1 Kgs 9:10–18. In 1 Kgs 9:10–14 Solomon gives 20 cities to King Hiram of Tyre, while in 2 Chr 8:2 Hiram gives the cities to Solomon. 1 Kgs 9:15–18 makes no reference to Hamath at all and mentions Tamar, a small town in Judah, instead of Tadmor, the great oasis city in Syria referred to in 2 Chr 8:4. On the issue of the historical reliability of Chronicles, see CHRONICLES, BOOK OF.

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WAYNE T. PITARD

**HAMID** (PLACE). See ABU HAMID, TELL.

**HAMMATH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥammat* (חַמַּת)]. Apparently a descendant of Hur, son of Caleb; and also the father of the Rechabites (1 Chr 2:55). It is possible that this Hammath is to be identified with the city of Hammath in Naphtali (Josh 19:35, where LXX A reads *hamatha,* but B reads *hamath*). In 1 Chr 2:55, however, the LXX reads *mesēma.* Talmon (1960) suspects that here *ḥmt* should be understood as "family-in-law." Apparently this is the idea that underlies the NEB: "These were Kenites who were connected by marriage with the ancestor of the Rechabites." The entire passage (1 Chr 2:42–50a, 50b–55) is problematic (see Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 42–43).

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CRAIG A. EVANS

**HAMMATH** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥammat* (חַמַּת)]. Var. HAMMOTH-DOR; HAMMON. One of the fortified cities of the tribe of Naphtali (Josh 19:35). Aharoni has suggested that Hammath was #34 in the hypothetical original list of Levitical cities on which the Joshua 21 and 1 Chronicles 6 lists were based

(*LBHG*, 304), although in those lists it appears in its variant forms HAMMOTH-DOR (Josh 21:32) and HAMMON (1 Chr 6:61—Eng6:76). The name Hammath—and that of its variants—means "hot springs," and at least since the time of Josephus (who referred to it as Emmaus) the place was renowned for its healing power (*Ant* 18.2.3 §36; *JW* 4.1.3 §11). Hammath was apparently well-known in the early rabbinic period, and it is referred to numerous times in Jewish writings of that period. These writings make it clear that Hammath was a suburb just outside Tiberias, the site of a major Jewish academy (*Talm.* Meg. 2.2; *t.* ʿ*Erub.* 7.2, 146); consequently, ancient Hammath/Hammoth-Dor/Hammon can be confidently identified with Hammam Tabariyeh (M.R. 201241), a hot springs 3 km S of Tiberias on the W shore of the Sea of Galilee. Apparently the hot springs provided a sufficiently stable economic base to enable the town to last well beyond the abolition of the Jewish Patriarchate in A.D. 429. See also TIBERIAS (PLACE).

Excavations there, however, have thus far failed to yield Iron Age remains (see *EAEHL* 4: 1178–84). In 1921 Slouschz excavated a synagogue about 500 m N of the city's S wall, which has since been dated to the 4th century A.D. A contemporaneous cemetery was found nearby. In the early 1960s M. Dothan excavated a portion of the city wall and one of its towers, which were dated to the Byzantine period (although they apparently rested on the remains of earlier fortifications). Coins indicate that the site was occupied at least as early as the 1st century B.C. Dothan's excavations near the hot springs themselves uncovered three occupation levels. In the lowest (level III, early 2d century A.D.?) was found the remains of a public building the function of which is unknown. Above it, in levels IIB, IIA, IB, and IA, were found the remains of a synagogue that went through four successive construction phases between the 4th and the mid-8th centuries A.D. Among the finds associated with the level IIA synagogue (4th century A.D.) were important Greek and Aramaic inscriptions and well-preserved mosaics (of the Torah shrine and the zodiac) exemplifying superb Hellenistic-Roman artistic style.

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**HAMMEDATHA** (PERSON) [Heb *hammĕdātāʾ* (הַמְּדָתָא)]. The father of Haman. He is mentioned in several places in the book of Esther (3:1, 10; 8:5; 9:10, 24) as well as in the Additions to Esther contained in the LXX (Add Esth 12:6; 16:10, 17). He is never spoken of apart from being the father of Haman and as such has no independent existence as a character in the Esther story. Nothing further is known about him, but he appears to have a bona fide Persian name. A contemporary Aramaic ritual text found at Persepolis contains a proper name that could be the Aramaic equivalent to his name, spelled ʾ*mdt.* In addition, in the Persepolis fortification tablets this name or one like it appears to be spelled out in cuneiform writing as *ha-ma-da-da* (Millard 1977: 484). Millard suggests that the Persian name from which these names are derived would be *amadāta,* "strongly made" (1977: 484). Other suggested Persian etymologies include *hāma-dāta,* "given by (the god) *Hāma,"* or *mâh-dāta,* "given by the moon." On the other hand, some see this name as a variant form of the name Haman (Paton *Esther* ICC, 69).

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JOHN M. WIEBE

**HAMMOLECHETH** (PERSON) [Heb *hammōleket* (הַמֹּלֶכֶת)]. A Manassite mother of three, who is mentioned only in 1 Chr 7:18. Her name means "she who reigns" and may have originally served as a divine title. The form of the name in the LXX, *Malecheth,* reflects the translator's interpretation of the initial *ha* in Hammolecheth as the Hebrew article. Ishhod, Abiezer, and Mahlah were her children. While all three are usually regarded as sons, the last name may be a feminine form and so designate a daughter (cf. Josh 17:3). Morgenstern (1931: 58), however, has suggested that *hammōleket* was not a proper noun at all but simply indicated the authoritative position that the woman held in one of the clans of Manasseh.

In this way it preserves evidence of the matriarchate in Israel. This suggestion, though, has won little support, and most continue to regard *hammōleket* as a proper noun. (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 70)

Two problems arise in the passage that introduces Hammolecheth. The first concerns the designation of her as "his sister." The preceding verse contains the name of five men, the last of whom is Manasseh. While the antecedent of "his" therefore is by no means certain, most interpreters have favored Gilead (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 50). In this case Hammolecheth's father would have been Machir and her grandfather Manasseh.

Additional problems arise in connection with Hammolecheth's children. While genealogies in the Hebrew Bible usually trace ancestry from father to son, in this case the husband of Hammolecheth is unnamed. The reason for this is not obvious. Moreover, Joshua 17 lists Abiezer and Mahlah, the second and third of Hammolecheth's children, as the first son of Gilead (17:2) and the first daughter of Zelophahad (17:3) respectively. This may reflect multiple uses of the same names, or it may indicate confusion in the genealogical tradition. Finally, Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 152) have suggested that Shemida (1 Chr 7:19), who is not related to the rest of the genealogy of Manasseh in 1 Chronicles 7, was the fourth son of Hammolecheth. This proposal has found little support among other interpreters. See SHEMIDA.

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M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**HAMMON** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥammôn* (חַמּוֹן)]. Var. HAMMATH; HAMMOTH-DOR (?). **1.** A town in the territory of Asher (Josh 19:28). The portion of the list in which Hammon occurs seems to refer to cities in the N area of the tribe, much of which today is in Lebanon. While some scholars (*GTTOT*, 191; *HGB*, 432) doubt that the city was located on the coast, the site is generally identified with Khirbet Umm el-Awamid (M.R. 164281) in the Wâdī el-Hamul near the spring of En-Hamul. Both the name of the wadi and the name of the spring suggest the preservation of the name Hammon.

Two Hellenistic period Phoenician inscriptions support this identification (*TSSI* 3: 188–121); one was excavated at Umm el-Awamid, and a second was purchased nearby, and both refer to an *ʾl ḥmn*, which can be read as "god of Hammon" and to the *bʿl ḥmn*, "the citizens of Hammon." While the inscriptions are not conclusive given their Hellenistic date, on balance, the names of the spring and wadi, combined with the inscriptions, support the identification of Umm el-Awamid with Hammon.

**2.** A town in the tribal territory of Naphtali assigned to the Gershomite clan of the Levites as a Levitical city (1 Chr 6:61—Eng6:76). Another list of Levitical cities is preserved in Joshua 21, where in v 32 Hammon is replaced by Hammath-dor. Most researchers have concluded that the two OT lists of Levitical cities were derived from a single original, which dated to the time of the United Monarchy (Albright 1945: 49–55). Aharoni (*LBHG*, 304) has suggested that both Hammon and Hammath-dor developed because of scribal errors from an original Hammath, which is located at modern Hammam Tabariyeh (M.R. 201241), springs to the S of modern Tiberias. See also HAMMATH (PLACE). Albright (1945: 55) argued that both Hammon and Hammath-dor were independent toponyms but suggested a location for neither.

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MELVIN HUNT

**HAMMOTH-DOR** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥammōt* (חַמֹּת) *dōʾr*]. Var. HAMMATH; HAMMON. A town in the tribe of Naphtali which, along with its pasture lands, was set aside for the Levites (Josh 21:32). In 1 Chr 6:61—Eng6:76, the second city in the parallel list is Hammon *(ḥammōn).* Albright (1945: 64) has argued that Hammoth-dor and Hammon are different cities and should not be understood to be the same. He based his argument on the readings of Joshua 21, observing that although the LXX offers variant readings, a comparison shows that the original text is preserved in the Greek. Albright's position has not

been widely accepted. Aharoni (*LBHG*, 105) argued that Hammoth-dor and Hammon are an example of a "double list" and that the differences in the list may be interpreted as a variation on the same name. In his listing of the Levitical cities, he maintains the 34th city is Hammoth-dor/Hammon while Dor (unidentified in either Joshua 21 or 1 Chronicles 6) is the 35th city in the supposed original list. A problem with that reconstruction arises from the fact that there is no record of any city named Dor in Naphtali. Van Beek (*IDB* 2: 517) suggested that this Levitical city is almost certainly known as Hammon in 1 Chr 6:61—Eng6:76 and Hammoth-dor in Josh 21:32. Hammoth-dor appears once outside the Levitical city listing as Hammath *(ḥammat)* in the allotment to Naphtali in Josh 19:35. Hammon is mentioned only in the list in 1 Chronicles 6. Outside the OT it is possible that the Hamath mentioned in the papyrus Anastasi I, a document from the time of Rameses II, is Hammath on the Sea of Galilee, i.e., Hammath-Dor. See also Thomas 1934: 147–48.

Hammoth-dor has been identified as Hamman Tabariyeh (M.R. 201241), a hot spring just S of Tiberias on the W shore of the Sea of Galilee (Dothan 1962: 153–54). It is located on a trade route that starts at Hazor and goes along the W coast of the Sea of Galilee. From there it goes into the Rift valley extending S to the Red Sea. A secondary route breaks off from this trade route a few km S of Hamman Tabariyeh. That road goes past Mt. Tabor on its way to Acco. Hammoth-dor is famous for its hot baths that date back to the period of the Second Temple; however, one of the problems of identifying Hamman Tabariyeh with Hammath is that there are no remains there earlier than the Roman period. Albright (1926: 26–27) argued that a Bronze Age town at the hot springs of Tiberias is not likely. He suggested that Hammath was probably on Iron Age foundations since there was no trace of a mound near the site. Because there are no early remains at Hamman Tabariyeh, its identification with biblical Hammoth-dor must be questioned. Just N of Tiberias is a site called Tell Raqqat. Peterson (1977: 95) in his survey has suggested this identification, and Boling (1985: 24) has accepted his proposal. At Tell Raqqat there is evidence that the site was occupied from the Early Bronze to Iron II inclusively. See also *EncJud* 7: 1242–44; 12: 818–21.

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JOHN L. PETERSON

**HAMMUEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥammûʾēl* (חַמּוּאֵל)]. A descendant of Simeon (1 Chr 4:26). The various genealogies for Simeon differ in the number of sons attributed to Simeon. Gen 46:10 and Exod 6:15 list six and comment that Shaul (the last listed) was born to a Canaanite mother. Num 26:12–13 and 1 Chr 4:24–27 list only five, omiting Ohad and the comment on Shaul's mother. In 1 Chr 4:24–27 Simeon's line is traced seven generations beyond him through Shaul with only one name given for each generation and usually without notation on their activities. Hammuel is named the fifth generation descendant. He is not otherwise known. His grandson Shimei, however, did draw the notice that he outdistanced his unnamed siblings in producing offspring, 26 sons and 6 daughters; but none is named; and the genealogy ends with Shimei.

In 1 Chr 4:26 the LXX reads *amouēl,* suggesting a Hebrew spelling with only one *mem.* Such a spelling is commonly present in the versions outside the MT for Hamul, a son of Perez (Gen 46:12; Num 26:21; 1 Chr 2:5).

RICHARD W. NYSSE

**HAMMURAPI** (PERSON). The sixth and best attested of 11 kings in the so-called First Dynasty of Babylon (also known as Hammurabi), whose extensive collection of laws provides numerous correspondences with biblical law. During his 43-year reign the city of Babylon for the first time rose to

prominence as the hub of a short-lived but extensive empire, which declined after his death. Although each of the 42 years following his accession year is identified sequentially with an event considered significant (building projects, pious royal donations to temples, wars), like other events in the early 2d millennium B.C. the absolute dates of Hammurapi remain uncertain. Astronomical data narrow the likely date for Hammurapi's first year to the years 1848 or 1792 or 1736 (the so-called high, middle, and low chronology respectively).

**A. The First Dynasty of Babylon**

Hammurapi is part of a wave of rulers in S Mesopotamia who began to appear at this time bearing Amorite names; some of the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon who preceded Hammurapi still bore Akkadian names; but beginning with Hammurapi all of the rulers of this dynasty after him had Amorite names. The Amorites had long before begun to infiltrate the urban centers of Mesopotamia, and the reign of Hammurapi marks the apex of this culture shift. The tribal origins of Hammurapi's dynasty were not forgotten when the Amorites became thoroughly urbanized and ultimately wielded the scepter of the kingdom (see Finkelstein 1966), a situation with some similarity to Israel's tradition of a transfer from a tribal hegemony to a monarchic state. During the 300 years which passed from the founder of the First Dynasty of Babylon (Sumuabum) to the last king (Samsuditana), no king reigned longer than Hammurapi. The five kings of Babylon in the 100 years which preceded Hammurapi give little evidence of ambitions beyond the confines of the city-state of Babylon itself, and they may indeed have often been vassals of more powerful neighbors. Hammurapi's father and predecessor, Sin-muballiṭ, seems to have begun the inertia of expansion which his son brought to fruition. But Hammurapi's son and successor, Samsuiluna, already began to experience the consequences of an overextended empire confronted with numerous enemies (among them the Kassites—who eventually would rule Babylonia—and other foes formerly fought by Hammurapi). The decline which followed Hammurapi climaxed 155 years later in the reign of the final king (Samsuditana), who saw the dynasty brought to an end by a Hittite invasion.

**B. Military Expansion**

Before Hammurapi consolidated all of Mesopotamia under the dominion of Babylon, the balance of power was succinctly portrayed in a letter written by a contemporary who noted that "there is no king who is mighty by himself." The writer proceeds to clarify this generalization by identifying five primary coalitions: 10 to 15 kings follow Hammurapi of Babylon, a like number of kings each following Rim-Sin of Larsa, Ibal-pi-el of Eshnunna, and Amut-pi-el of Qatana, while Yarim-Lim of Yamhad stands out with 20 kings following him (*ANET*, 628). This balance began to shift when, according to Hammurapi's 30th-year date formula, he fought and protected his borders against Elam, Assyria, Gutium, Eshnunna, and Malgium; the following year he defeated Rim-Sin of Larsa. In order to defeat Rim-Sin, Hammurapi exploited the combined power of the above-noted royal coalitions by soliciting military support from the kings of Mari and Eshnunna (*ARM* 2. 33). Kings with foresight advised, "Don't provide the man of Babylon with auxiliary troops!" (*ARM* 6. 27); for Hammurapi eventually turned against even those to whom he once turned for help, a notable case being the king of Mari, who had commemorated his assistance in his own year date formula: "The year Zimri-Lim went to the aid of Babylon."

The year following Rim-Sin's defeat began an eight-year period of persistent attacks by Hammurapi to the N, beginning with his defeat of the armies of Eshnunna, Assyria, and Gutium. This N campaign was repeated in the following year when he this time defeated Mari and Malgu, returning two years later to demolish their walls. The 37th-, 38th-, and 39th-year date formulas record Hammurapi's victories against his foes to the N.

**C. Administration of the Kingdom**

Hammurapi's rule was not exclusively preoccupied with military exploits, for the 18 middle years of his 42 year reign (his 12th through 29th date formulas) are exclusively identified by domestic activities. The incorporation of S Mesopotamian cities into a single political unit under the leadership of Babylon was perceived as the legitimate continuation of an old tradition where the kingship of Sumer and Akkad was transferred from city to city. Not only does Hammurapi style himself the king of Sumer and Akkad, but in the prologue and epilogue to his collection of laws he appears as the one who benevolently restored the

land's prosperity following a period of decline: "the Shepherd … who gathers the scattered people of Isin … who causes justice to appear … who causes the light to shine for the land of Sumer and Akkad, … I uprooted the enemies above and below, I extinguished strife, I promoted the welfare of the land, … I tolerated no trouble-makers … that the strong might not oppress the weak, to guide properly the orphan and the widow." Such imagery is related to that later employed by Israel's prophets in their descriptions of Yahweh's future restoration and gathering of his scattered people.

In addition to Hammurapi's official inscriptions, which are designed typically to publicize his regal grandeur to observers and future generations, eyewitness accounts of Hammurapi in action in his court in Babylon have been preserved, providing candid glimpses into the behavior of a Babylonian monarch. We have preserved the claims of a man who insists that "whatever subject occupies Hammurapi's mind, he always sends me word and wherever he is I go to him so that whatever troubles him he can tell me" (*ARM* 2. 31); and several such encounters are preserved (e.g., *ARM* 2. 21, 22, 24, 25). Hammurapi is represented by these sources as actively involved in all affairs of his kingdom, easily approachable, and hardly aloof. Another witness testifies that when Amorite messengers from the N once received an audience with Hammurapi, an inequality in gifts of garments on this occasion was perceived as an insult. Hammurapi was reported to have replied curtly to the messengers as he insisted on his absolute sovereignty: "You always cause trouble for me. Now you are harassing my palace about garments. I clothe those whom I wish; and if I don't wish, I don't provide garments!" (*ARM* 2. 76). Hammurapi is heard elsewhere imperiously insulting visiting dignitaries: "I'll return the Elamite messengers to their lord without escort!" (*ARM* 2. 73). On the other hand, Hammurapi's vassal rulers of what is now Tell-Rimah received a report from their son, who notes: "I reached Babylon safely and have seen the king Hammurapi in a good mood" (Dalley et al. 1976: 135).

Some of the correspondence in which Hammurapi was an active communicator is preserved. Of his international correspondence, there remains evidence of letters passing between Babylon and Mari (*ARM* 2. 33–34, 51–54, 67–68) and reputed quotes from correspondence between Hammurapi and Rim-Sin of Larsa (*ARM* 2. 72). Scores of letters from Hammurapi himself are also preserved in the archives of two of Hammurapi's administrators in Larsa toward the end of his reign, and these documents are helpful in discerning the structure of Babylonian society and Hammurapi's remarkably active role in the maintenance of the kingdom (*AbB* 2, 4, 9).

There is also a letter which gives a hint as to the eventual demise of Hammurapi. His son Samsuiluna wrote a letter now in our possession in which he notes: "The king my father i[s ill (?)] … I have taken [my seat] on the throne of [my father's] house" (*ANET*, 627). He proceeds to relate how he has canceled debts in the land, a typical action of monarchs when they began their reigns.

The reign of Hammurapi, with its expanding horizons for Babylon, facilitated the enhancement of enriched cultural and cosmopolitan dimensions in Babylonian society. The flourishing of scribal activity is evident not only in the numerous administrative documents from this period, but also in the quantity of OB literary texts (themselves already heirs to a long tradition), which were to set the standard for future literary activity into the 1st millennium B.C.

**D. Hammurapi and the Bible**

Hammurapi's original significance for biblical studies derived from two facts. First was the discovery in 1901 of a corpus of laws which was promulgated by Hammurapi (*ANET*, 163–80). The 8-foot-high diorite stele (now in the Louvre) originally containing 282 laws was discovered not in Babylon (where it was erected by Hammurapi) but in Susa, where it had been taken as booty by the Elamites, who raided Babylon six centuries after the time of Hammurapi (many of the laws were effaced from the stone by the Elamites). In addition to that discovery, numerous copies and fragments of these laws have been found at other sites throughout Mesopotamia; and the stone was copied by scribes even down into the first millennium B.C. The portrait of Hammurapi on the stele depicts the deity Shamash granting to Hammurapi the symbols of justice (scepter and ring), appropriately corresponding to the content of the stone, which relates the laws which Hammurapi promulgated.

The relevance for society in general of the collection and standardization of Hammurapi's laws is perplexing. Prices, fines, and penalties do not always correspond with actual data from the same period; and records of actual court cases do not cite the collection of laws as a basis or rationale for adjudication. This is a problem similar to that which confronts the biblical scholar with regard to the antiquity of the civil laws in Exodus and Deuteronomy which were often ignored in narratives (e.g., Deut 24:16; Josh 7:24–25; 2 Sam 21:1–9; cf. 1 Kgs 21:1 with 2 Kgs 9:26). Likewise, the Laws of Hammurapi and the laws in the Pentateuch are incomplete and leave many subjects untreated. It is likely that Hammurapi's laws are to be understood as part of his amalgamation of diverse traditions in a newly unified domain, and he is therefore not to be pictured as an innovator of new legislation. Hammurapi was not the first patron of an edition of laws, for he stands in a tradition of legal editors as is seen in smaller and less well-preserved law collections sponsored by kings before the time of Hammurapi. A continuity among legal collections makes it clear that even the internal arrangement of laws was not haphazard but followed certain conceptual patterns, a feature which seems to be reflected in biblical law as well (Kaufman 1987).

In the epilogue of his laws, the public nature of this collection is underscored by an appeal to their non-elitist, universal availability to all: "Let any oppressed man who has a cause come into the presence of the statue of me, the king of justice, and then read carefully my inscribed stele, and give heed to my precious words; and may my stele make the case clear to him; may he understand his cause; may he set his mind at ease!" Only a minority could read the cuneiform inscription, making the appeal itself an exaggerated one. But the old tribal justice once achieved by recourse to tribal leaders was compromised by the reality of an extensive kingdom where, although Hammurapi continued to involve himself in mundane affairs to an amazing degree, a vast administration and bureaucracy stifled the active involvement of the king in every legal dispute. Such stone steles inscribed with laws distributed throughout the kingdom functioned as Hammurapi's surrogates—if not in fact, at least symbolically—in asserting a non-arbitrary and coherent stability to the justice administered by the kingdom's bureaucrats.

The format of engraving legal norms in stone finds an echo in Deuteronomy (5:22; 9:9–11; 10:3), where the laws given to Moses at Mt. Sinai are depicted as also being engraved in stone. Words in stone are not subject to easy manipulation, and the explicit words of Hammurapi's epilogue clarify the permanence which the medium presumes: "In the days to come, for all time, let the king who appears in the land observe the words of justice which I wrote on my stele; let him not alter the law of the land which I enacted." Numerous curses are inscribed for the person who "has abolished the law which I enacted, has distorted my words, has altered my statutes."

The second significance of Hammurapi for biblical studies lies in a now abandoned proposal that the biblical Amraphel from Shinar (appearing in a story about Abraham in Gen 14:1, 9) was the famous Hammurapi of the First Dynasty of Babylon. Although Shinar is defensible as a designation for Babylon, the Hebrew form of the name Amraphel seems to presuppose a name of Amorite background such as ʾAmar-pi-ʾel or Emudbal (Schatz 1972).

The name Hammurapi is not unusual, being attested elsewhere not only of other kings (e.g., of kings of Yamhad, Hana, or Kurda also in the early second millennium B.C.) but also of nonroyal figures. In the 13th century B.C., the last king of Ugarit of whom we have information bears the same name as well. The spellings of these names presume an initial element *ʿammu,* "paternal uncle" and a second element *rapiʾ,* "healer" or "hale," pointing to a name which signifies that the deceased divinized kinsman is the one who invigorates (perhaps bearing some connection to the Rephaim).

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SAMUEL A. MEIER

**HAMON-GOG** (PLACE) [Heb *hamôn-gôg* (הֲמוֹן־גּוֹג)]. The name, translated as "the multitude of Gog," of a valley described in Ezek 39:11, 15. Of uncertain location, Hamon-Gog was prophesied as a place for the massive burial of Gog, chief prince of Meshech and Tubal, and the multitudes that followed him. See also GOG (PERSON). Verse 11 reports that the extensive burial would deter traveling through this pass, even though it would also be called the "valley of Oberim" ("travelers"), perhaps a reference to a well-traveled highway or suggesting a connection with the Abarim mountain range of Num 33:47, located in NW of Moab, NE of the Dead Sea. Mt. Nebo is the dominant feature in this portion of land.
JEFFREY K. LOTT

**HAMONAH** (PLACE) [Heb *hămônâ* (הֲמוֹנָה)]. The name of the city in the valley in Ezek 39:16 where the armies of Gog will be buried after their destruction. This is the only occurrence of the name, and its location is unknown.

The name derives from the noun *hmôn,* "sound," "murmur," "roar," "crown," "abundance," from *hmh,* "murmur," "growl," "roar," "be boisterous," i.e., the roaring of a crowd, multitude (BDB, 242). The LXX has *Poluandrion,* "multitude" and uses the same term for Hamon-Gog (Ezek 39:11, 15) and as generic for multitude (Ezek 39:11; Jer 2:23; 19:2, 6). BDB (242) notes the reading as dubious, as does Kittel *(BHK),* for *wĕgam šem-ʿîr hămônâ,* literally "and also the name of the city Hamonah." RSV says the city is there (taking *šem,* "name," as *sûam,* "there") while KJV supplies "shall be," i.e., will be built to commemorate the defeat, or a current city's name will be changed to Hamonah. Eichrodt (*Ezekiel* ET, OTL, 517–18) leaves the phrase out of the text, translates vv 11 and 15 as "the valley of the pomp of Gog," and footnotes v 16, "MT: 'And also the name of one city is Hamona' (i.e. pomp); and archaeological note, explaining the name of a city, Hamona, by the 'pomp of God.' "

The city is in the valley of the Travelers, called the valley of Hamon-gog, E of the sea (39:11). May (*IB* 6:28) interprets "sea" as the Dead Sea. The Hebrew for "travelers" is repointed by some following the Coptic version to read Abarim (*haʿăbārîm* for *hāʿōbĕrîm*), i.e., the mountains of Abarim, which included Mt. Nebo, N of Wâdī Zerqa Maʿin (Nahaliel; Num 27:12; 33:47–48; Deut 32:49) above the NE corner of the Dead Sea. One notes that the troops will die on the mountains of Israel (39:4); and God is quoted as saying, "I will give to Gog a place for burial in Israel." The people of Israel will spend seven months burying the dead (39:12). All this suggests the valley and its city are in Israel, i.e., Cisjordan. There were, of course, times when Israel controlled the Nebo area, which was also controlled by the Ammonites at times, though it seems most often to have been part of Moab. Thus it seems more natural to interpret "sea" as Mediterranean Sea and the burial and the city as in Israel proper, with the cleansing of the land meaning burial, and not removal of the bodies to another land.

Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 2* Hermeneia, 291–93, 317–19) also sees v 16a as an obvious addition. He translates v 11 as Oberim (?) valley, but acknowledges the reading Abarim. "Sea" may then mean Dead Sea, but he notes that this is not Israel. The sea may be the Mediterranean or the Sea of Galilee. The former might suggest the valley of Jezreel, while the latter might indicate the valley of the Wanderers, the Wâdī Fejjas, as cited by several scholars. Beth-shan, Megiddo, and Emmaus (Ammaoun in 1 Macc 3:40) have been suggested as the city that will be renamed Hamonah. He notes the identifications "remain in the realm of free speculation." For his own speculation Zimmerli raises a question about the loose assonance between the valley of Hamonah ("hordes") and the valley of Hinnom. This associates the valley of abomination with Gog. "That an etymological etiology is intended here is in any case probable."

Of course, the entire context in Ezekiel is metaphoric and symbolic, or legendary to use Eichrodt's phrase (*Ezekiel* ET, OTL, 529); so it may not be a literal city or place at all. The term "multitude" is a common metaphor as is another valley in the famous line in Joel 4:14 [—Eng 3:14], "Multitudes, multitudes in the valley of decision."

HENRY O. THOMPSON

**HAMOR** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥămôr* (חֲמוֹר)]. The father of Shechem (Gen 33:19). When Jacob returned from Paddan-aram, he purchased from the sons of Hamor a piece of land, upon which he erected an altar (33:19–20). Presumably the sale happened in the presence of the representatives of the place (cf. chap. 23). Joseph was later buried there at Shechem (Josh 24:32) when his remains were removed from Egypt to Canaan. Stephen jumbled two stories when he said that "Jacob and our fathers" were buried at Shechem in a plot bought by Abraham from the sons of Hamor (Acts 7:16). Actually Jacob was buried at Machpelah in a plot bought by Abraham from the "sons of Heth" (Gen 50:13).

Hamor's son Shechem raped Jacob's daughter Dinah (34:2). At Shechem's request, Hamor, without mentioning the violation, asked for Dinah to be given in marriage to his son (vv 4–8). Both agreed to the condition of circumcision, only to be killed in that weakened state by Simeon and Levi three days later out of revenge (vv 13–29).

Hamor was the prince or chief of the region around the city (v 2) However, the textual tradition appears confused about whether the tribe of which Hamor was head was Hivite (MT) or Horite (LXX)—cf. Josh 9:7; also note Gen 36:2, 20. These terms seem to overlap to some extent, a circumstance which was historically grounded in contacts between the two groups to the N of Canaan proper (Boling *Joshua* AB, 251, 264–65; Blenkinsopp 1971: 275, esp. n. 38). The Hamor clan remained dominant at Shechem into the time of the judges. According to Judg 9:28, depending on how one understands the passage, either Abimelech and his deputy were put in office by the Hamorite aristocracy or the Shechemites were being urged back to traditional ways—viz., those of serving the "men of Hamor." Since the name Hamor means " (he-)ass," the MB practice among Amorites at the W Mesopotamian city-state Mari of ratifying a treaty by sacrificing an ass comes to mind. Some (e.g., Albright *ARI,* 113; Willesen 1954: 216–17) have supposed that the expression, "sons of the ass/Hamor," applied to the Shechemites several times, might have designated "members of a confederacy." Others (e.g., Kidner *Genesis* TOTC, 173; Davidson *Genesis 12–50* CBC, 191) have objected that although sacredness of the animal may account for the name, Hamor was an individual.

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EDWIN C. HOSTETTER

**HAMRAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥamrān* (חַמְרָן)]. Var. HEMDAN. A clan name mentioned in the genealogy of Seir the Horite in 1 Chr 1:41. Hamran is listed as the first of four sons of DISHON, son of Anah, and he is therefore a great-grandson of Seir. The name Hamran, which appears as "Amran" in the KJV, is found only in 1 Chr 1:41; but it is equivalent to HEMDAN (the Gk Lucian and Alexandrinus form) also found in the parallel genealogical clan list in Gen 36:26. For discussion of the Horite clans, see JAAKAN.

VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

**HAMUL** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥāmûl* (חָמוּל)]. The younger son of Perez (Gen 46:12; 1 Chr 2:5), one of the twin sons of Judah and Tamar (Gen 37:27–30). His name appears as Hamuel in the Samaritan Pentateuch and in the LXX, in which case it means "God protects" (*TPNAH,* 138). In the record of Jacob's family, Jacob's children and grandchildren are listed by families, according to their mother and order of birth (Gen 46:8–27). Hamul was the grandson of Jacob and Leah by their fourth son, Judah (Gen 46:12). None of Hamul's descendants is mentioned in the OT although the descendants of his brother Hezron are fully given (1 Chr 2:5–24). Hamul was the head of the family of the Hamulites (Num 26:21). The name may mean "spared" (*IDB* 2: 519).

CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

**HAMUTAL** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥămûṭal* (חֲמוּטַל)]. Daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah; wife of King Josiah; and mother of Johoahaz and Zedekiah, kings of Judah (2 Kgs 23:31; K *ḥămîṭal,* Q *ḥămṭal* in 2 Kgs 24:18 and Jer 52:1). The name of this individual perhaps means "my father-in-law is protection" (*HALAT*, 313b) or "my father-in-law is the dew" (*BDB,* 327b); if *waw/yod* expresses the vocative (see Dahood 1977: 218; 1978: 190), it may mean "become warm, O Dew."

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ROBERT ALTHANN

**HANA** (PERSON) [Gk *Anan* (Ἀνανν)]. Var. HANAN. A temple servant who was the progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:30) and clearly a variant of HANAN (Heb *ḥānān*) in Ezra 2:46 = Neh 7:49.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**HANAMEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥănam*ʾ*ēl* (חֲנַמְאֵל)]. The son of Jeremiah's uncle Shallum (Jer 32:6, 8, 9) and the cousin whose field at Anathoth the prophet purchases. This incident, widely held to be authentic, occurred during the Babylonian invasion of Jerusalem (587 B.C.E.) while Jeremiah was imprisoned. Included in that part of the book of Jeremiah known as the "Book of Consolation" (Jeremiah 30–33), the purchase of Hanamel's field expresses hope for Yahweh's restoration of Judah following the Exile: "Houses and fields and vineyards shall again be bought in this land" (Jer 32:15). The purchase of Hanamel's field occurs according to the right of redemption (Lev 25:25); so the event has been of particular interest because the detail of the text provides a glimpse into the social, economic, and legal practices of ancient Israel. It is widely held (*TPNAH*, 82) that Hanamel's name derives from *hnn* ʾ*l,* "God is gracious," though how this bears upon Jer 32:6–15 is uncertain.

JOHN M. BRACKE

**HANAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥānān* (חָנָן)]. Var. HANA. The name of nine men in the Hebrew Bible.

Hanan is a shortened form of names such as Elhanan, "God is gracious," and Johanan or Hananiah, "YHWH is gracious." The root *ḥnn,* "to be gracious," is a common element in many biblical and extrabiblical Hebrew names from various periods (*IPN*, 187; Shiloh 1986: 29; Avigad 1986: 57–58, 74, 97; *TPNAH,* 345); the shortened form Hanan, however, is only known from late preexilic (Jer 35:4; Avigad 1986: 58) through postexilic sources. The name's prominence in the postexilic period suggests that the returnees were either thankful to God, who had restored them to Zion, or were hoping that God would soon complete the promised ideal restoration.

**1.** According to Jer 35:4 Jeremiah brought the Rechabites to "the chamber of the sons of *[bĕnê]* Hanan the son of Igdaliah, the man of God" in the Jerusalem temple. This Hanan is never mentioned elsewhere. The plural *bĕnê,* "sons of," is odd, especially since temple chambers are usually occupied by a single person. Carrol (*Jeremiah* OTL, 652) has suggested that *bĕnê* is being used as a technical term for a guild member and the verse refers to "the prophetic guild of Hanan … the prophet." A similar use of *bĕnê* plus a personal name for guild members is attested to in the names of psalmists' guilds, as in "the sons of Korah" (e.g., Psalm 42), namely, members of the Korahite guild. Thus Jeremiah brought the Rechabites to the chamber of a prophetic guild at the temple, probably since he thought they might be sympathetic to the anti-Jerusalem component of this prophecy (v 17). Several LXX mss read a longer form for the name Hanan; there are several similar cases within the MT where the full and abbreviated names of the same person alternate (*TPNAH*, 150–52).

**2.** One of the families of the NETHINIM, "temple servants," which returned from the Exile according to the lists in Ezra 2:46 and Nehemiah 7:49, which are almost identical. The list of returnees is probably composite and its original purpose and date remain uncertain (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 28–32;

Blenkinsopp *Ezra Nehemiah* OTL, 83). According to the tradition of Josh 9:23 and 27, the temple servants were non-Israelite in origin; and this explains the many non-Israelite names in the temple servant list (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 36; Blenkinsopp, 90). In this case it is possible that Hanan should not be interpreted as an abbreviation of a specifically Israelite name like Yohanan but should be connected to the name Hanan, which was commonly used by other Semitic peoples (*HALAT*, 321), and to seals of probable Ammonite or Edomite origin which use the names Hananel and Elhanan (*TPNAH*, 345).

**3.** A prominent Levite who played a role in the reforms of Ezra according to Neh 8:7 and 10:11—Eng10:10. Nehemiah 8:7 describes the public reading of the Torah by Ezra on the first day of the seventh month at the Water Gate in Jerusalem (Neh 7:72 [—Eng 7:73–8:8]). Hanan is listed as one of the 13 Levites who instructed the people in the meaning of the Torah. The MT reads *wĕhalwiyyîm*, "and the Levites," possibly suggesting that 13 people plus the Levites participated; however, *wĕhalwiyyîm* should either be emended with the LXX to *halwiyyîm* (BHS; Blenkinsopp, 284), or the *waw* should be understood explicatively. The exact role of these Levites remains unclear because of the unique technical vocabulary in v 8 (Fishbane 1985: 108–9), but the connection of the Levites to teaching or to liturgical reading and singing is consistent with what we know elsewhere of their role in the postexilic community (Cody 1969: 187–90). In Neh 10:11 (—Eng 10:10), Hanan appears on a list of Levites in vv 10–14 (—Eng 9–13) among the signers of the *ʾămānâ,* "compact," on the 24th of the first month (Neh 9:1). There is approximately a 50 percent overlap between the list of Levites in Neh 8:7 and 10:10–14 (—Eng 10:9–13); this might suggest that the list in Nehemiah 10 is largely artificial (Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 325–30), or it might suggest that the Hanan of 8:7 should probably be identified with that of 10:11 and indicates that Hanan was among the more important Levites of the period.

**4 and 5.** Two people listed in Neh 10:23 and 27 (—Eng 10:22 and 26), in a list of "the chiefs of the people" (vv 10:15–28—Eng10:14–27). Both the list as a whole and the appearance of Hanan twice on the list may be problematic. In v 27—Eng 26 the Peshitta reads Hanani for Hanan, and Rudolph (*Esra und Nehemia* HAT, 172; so BHS) would change one of the Hanan's to Hanani. This is not compelling; this list is a compilation of various lists, and the doubling of Hanani probably reflects two separate Hananis in the author's source material. Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 325–30; and Blenkinsopp, 313) have shown persuasively that much of this list is an artificial creation since it incorporates lists known elsewhere in Nehemiah. In that case the overlap between the list of Levites in vv 10–14 (—Eng 9–13) and the list of chiefs in 15–28 (—Eng 14–27) should be pointed out (Bani in vv 10 [—Eng 9] and 15 [—Eng 14]; Hodayah in 10, 14, and 19 [—Eng 9, 13, and 18]; possibly Binui [10—Eng 9] = Buni [16—Eng 15]; and Hashaviah [11—Eng 10] = Hasub [24—Eng 23] or Hashabiah [26—Eng 25]), in which case the name(s) Hanan might have been borrowed from the levitical list to the list of chiefs. Thus it remains unclear how many, or indeed if any, people named Hanan were actually among the chiefs of the people who signed the compact.

**6.** Son of Zaccur, son of Mattaniah, one of the four people entrusted with the proper distribution of tithes upon Nehemiah's return from his visit to Persia according to Neh 13:13. The verse states that these four distributed tithes "to their brethren." This suggests that this Hanan was a Levite; perhaps he could be identified with the Hanan of 8:7 and 10:11. Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 388) and Blenkinsopp (356) suggest that this Hanan's grandfather, Mattaniah, should be identified with the Mattaniah the precentor mentioned in 11:17 and 12:35. This is possibly supported by the inclusion of Hanan's grandfather's name (Mattaniah) in Neh 13:13, since these name lists in Nehemiah sometimes give genealogical information to connect someone to a well-known ancestor (e.g., 12:35).

**7.** According to 1 Chr 8:23 a Benjaminite, the son of Shashak (v 25); Hanan among the clans who resided in Jerusalem (v 28). It is not clear how this entire section of the Benjaminite genealogy should be related to the rest of the chapter and when this Hanan supposedly lived (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 82–83). The presence of the names Anthothijah and Penuel in vv 24–25, which are related to geographic locations, suggests that one of the functions of this genealogy is to relate clans living in various places (Demsky 1971; see ALEMETH and MOZA). In this case Hanan here might be related to the town Beth-hanan mentioned in 1 Kgs 4:9.

**8.** According to 1 Chr 8:38 and 9:44 one of the six sons of Azel, son of Moza, a descendant of Benjamin and Saul. Hanan's name within this list is a bit odd, since it is the only hypocorism among the six children. Given the tendency of v 36 in this genealogy to connect clans through geographic locations (Demsky 1971; see ALEMETH), this Hanan might be related to the Beth-hanan mentioned in 1 Kgs 4:9. The genealogy in chap. 9 ends with Hanan, while that in chap. 8 contains additional information (see ESHEK). On the repetition of the genealogy in chaps. 8 and 9, see AHAZ (PERSON) #1.

**9.** Son of Maacah and one of the warriors of David (Mazar 1963) according to 1 Chr 11:43. The list of David's warriors in 1 Chr 11:26–47 is derived from various sources; the first section (until the middle of v 41) is derived from 2 Sam 23:24–39. The second part differs in form from the first and probably reflects an additional preexilic source that was available to the Chronicler (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 103–4). If it were a fabrication, it would probably follow the previous section's style more closely. The purpose of 1 Chronicles 11 is to glorify David by showing the extent of the military power that supported him, thus reinforcing the divine promise to David (see 1 Chr 11:10); this idea probably motivated the chapter's editor to go beyond his usual source and to find additional lists of David's warriors.

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## HANANEL, TOWER OF (PLACE) [Heb *migdal hănan·ēl* (מִגְדַּל הֲנַנְאֵל)]. A tower in the N

part of exilic and postexilic Jerusalem, mentioned in Jer 31:38; Zech 14:10; Neh 3:1; and 12:39. The tower's exact location is not certain. The fullest information for locating the tower comes from the topographical details in Nehemiah 2, 3, and 12. These passages indicate that the tower was at the NW corner of the wall surrounding the Temple Mount. Neh 3:1 specifies the tower as the farthest point in Nehemiah's restored wall to be consecrated by the high priest (or, following Williamson, to be boarded). It has been proposed that this tower, together with the Tower of the One Hundred, guarded the NW approach to the Temple Mount. Possibly they flanked the Fish Gate (Avi-Yonah 1954: 240–42). These towers were perhaps related to the temple's fortress mentioned in Neh 2:8 (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 204). The later citadel of 1 Macc 13:52 and the Antonia Fortress of Herod may correspond to the Tower of Hananel (Avi-Yonah 1954: 242) or mark the spot on which it had stood earlier. Zech 14:10 has led some to suppose that the Tower of Hananel was a prominent landmark for the N boundary of the city at that time (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 204).

It is striking that the Tower of Hananel appears in texts that stress the completion of some important, at times eschatological, event. In Jer 31:38–40 the reference to the Tower of Hananel appears at the climactic conclusion of the Book of Consolation (Jer 30:1–31:40). Here, in the last of three oracles about the coming days, Jeremiah speaks of the full restoration of the city for all time. The Tower of Hananel is one of several landmarks indicating the large scope of the restoration. Could the references in Neh 3:1 and 12:29 allude to this promise in Jeremiah? In Zechariah the Tower of Hananel also appears at a concluding section, in a sequence of proclamations concerning the coming Day of the Lord (Zech 14:1). Here nature itself will be transformed (Zech 14:6). God's kingship will be manifest (Zech 14:9), and Jerusalem will be literally elevated. The Tower of Hananel marks the N limit of this newly elevated and secure Jerusalem. Such references suggest that the Tower of Hananel represented more than a stronghold and a recognizable landmark. It may have become a symbol for a fulfillment of certain eschatological hopes (Eskenazi 1988: 85–86).

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**HANANI** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥănānî* (חֲנָנִי)]. The name of five individuals in the Hebrew Bible. The name is a shortened form of Hananiah, which means "YHWH has taken pity" (Noth *IPN*, 187).

**1.** The father of the prophet Jehu (1 Kgs 16:1, 7; 2 Chr 19:2; 20:34 [LXX *anani*]) and a seer during the reign of Asa (2 Chr 16:7). The Deuteronomistic Historian records only Jehu's prophecy against Baasha, king of Israel (900–877 B.C.E.). That Hanani is consistently named as Jehu's father might indicate either that Hanani was a well-known figure, thus helping to identify Jehu, or that "Jehu son of Hanani" is to be clearly distinguished from "Jehu son of Jehoshaphat" (2 Kgs 9:2). The Chronicler records a prophecy by Hanani himself against King Asa of Judah (913–873 B.C.E.) in the 36th year of his reign (2 Chr 16:1–10). This story is theologically motivated and follows the tradition of later prophets, e.g., Isaiah 7 and Zech 4:6 (Myers *2 Chronicles* AB, 94). Hanani's prophecy also shows the lessons of Asa's downfall just as Azariah's sermon in 15:2–7 explains the good years of his reign (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 274). The Chronicler goes on to relate two prophecies of his son Jehu against Jehoshaphat of Judah (873–849 B.C.E.). The dates of these prophecies do not preclude the possibility that all the accounts are based on authentic memories of historical persons and their activity.

**2.** A postexilic family of levitical singers within the Heman group (1 Chr 25:4, 25 [LXX *ananias*]). 1 Chronicles 25 describes the selection of 288 Levites from the families of Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman, who were to "prophesy with lyres, with harps, and with cymbals" (v 1). (The Chronicler seems to have replaced the cultic prophets with Levites [Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 171; see 2 Chronicles 20, and compare 2 Kgs 23:2 with 2 Chr 34:30].) Lots were cast to determine the specific duties of each family. The 18th lot fell to the family of Hanani, but the text does not specify what duty was assigned to them. Although the Chronicler alleges a random selection process, the lots seem to fall in a regular pattern based on the order of names listed in vv 1–6. Myers believes the names listed in v 4b (of which Hanani is one) are actually incipits of hymns interpreted by the Chronicler as personal names, filling out the needed number for the 24 lots (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 172–73). Williamson asserts that these five families were named, "perhaps playfully, after the openings of Psalms which they were regularly accustomed to sing" (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 167). In either case it seems likely that this "personal name" was originally a word in the opening line of a psalm.

**3.** A member of the priestly family of Immer and one of the returned exiles who was required by Ezra to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:20 [LXX *anani*] = 1 Esdr 9:21 [LXX *ananias*]). Hanani was a member of a family from which a group of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:37; Neh 7:40). For further discussion, see BEDEIAH.

**4.** A brother of Nehemiah who brought news to Nehemiah of Jerusalem's state of disrepair (Neh 1:2 [ *anani*]; 7:2 [ *anania*]). While the word "brother" (ʾaḥ) has a broad meaning within Nehemiah's memoirs, this is the only use of the term referring to a specific individual; so we can assume that Hanani was Nehemiah's blood brother. Noting the seemingly casual conversation between Nehemiah and Hanani, Fensham suggests that Hanani was merely on a family visit to Susa (*Ezra Nehemiah* NICOT, 151). Alternatively, Myers raises the discussion that Hanani was part of a delegation sent directly to Artaxerxes in order to bypass unfriendly Samaritans who had blocked attempts at rebuilding Jerusalem (*Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 94–95). Neh 7:2 shows that Hanani held a position of power in Jerusalem under Nehemiah's governorship as one of two people responsible for opening and closing the gates during a time of political tension. (It is possible that "Hananiah" is in apposition with "Hanani my brother," but note "I said to them" in v 3.) Much has been made of a possible identification of Hanani with an individual named in the edict of Arsames to Elephantine. However, the reading of the name is questionable, and the probable reconstruction is "Hananiah" (Sachau 1911: pl. 4). Thus our knowledge of Hanani is limited to Nehemiah's memoirs.

**5.** A postexilic musician who assisted in the ceremony rededicating the newly reconstructed walls of Jerusalem (Neh 12:36). Neh 12:27–43 lists the persons who accompanied Ezra in a circumambulation of the walls of Jerusalem in a dedicatory service; however, the LXX omits Hanani and the five names preceding his, and there are other differences from the Hebrew text. Hanani is listed as a trumpeter who "went to the right" (12:31) around the wall while another group of celebrants "went to the left" (12:38). The inclusion of rituals of purification (v 30) underscores the importance of this rite. It is possible that this is the same Hanani mentioned in Ezra 10:20 or Nehemiah's own brother (Neh 1:2). However, Hanani was a popular name in the postexilic community (in addition to the above texts, note 1 Chr 25:4); and the missions of Ezra and Nehemiah may have been separated by several decades; therefore such an identification seems unlikely.

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**HANANIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥănanyāhû* (חֲנַנְיָהוּ); *ḥănanyâ* (חֲנַנְיָה)]. Eleven individuals in the Hebrew Bible bear this name, which means "Yahu is gracious" (Noth *IPN*, 187). The name is found three times in the Gibeon inscriptions (#'s 22, 32, 51. See *TSSI* 1: 56). It also occurs in a 2d-century A.D. fragment, probably from the Herodium (Puech 1980: 121 [line 5], 125).

**1.** Commander of a military unit under King Uzziah of Judah (2 Chr 26:11).

**2.** Father of the Zedekiah, who was a high official under King Jehoiakim and who was among those who listened to the scroll of Jeremiah's oracles being read by Baruch (Jer 36:12).

**3.** Son of Azzur, a false prophet from Gibeon who contradicted the prophet Jeremiah's warning that Judah should continue to accept the rule of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon (Jeremiah 28; cf. chap. 27). In the fourth year of the reign of Zedekiah, king of Judah (594/593 B.C.), in the fifth month, Hananiah declared publicly in the temple that Yahweh had broken Babylon's yoke and that within two years the exiles of 597 B.C., including King Jehoiachin, would return (28:1–4). This optimistic view is probably to be understood in relation to the plans of Judah and her neighbors to rebel against Nebuchadrezzar. The moment might have seemed opportune for in 595/594 B.C. Nebuchadrezzar had to deal with a revolt in Babylon, which he rather quickly suppressed (Wiseman 1956: 36–37). Hopes may also have been pinned on the accession in 594 B.C. of a new pharaoh in Egypt, Psamtik (Gk Psammetichus), who might restore Judah's former boundaries (*BHI*, 328). The division between pro-Babylonian and pro-Egyptian parties will in any case have ensured continual ferment, which the royal government, weakened by the deportations and torn in different directions, will have been unable to control.

In 594/593 B.C. ambassadors from Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon came to Jerusalem, perhaps at Zedekiah's instigation. Jeremiah warned them to accept Babylonian rule. According to the MT (Jer 27:2–3) Yahweh tells the prophet to put on yokes and send them to the kings as a sign that they should submit. Jeremiah himself is still wearing the yoke when Hananiah meets him in the temple, and he replies to Hananiah that prophets who prophesy good fortune can be judged authentic spokesmen of Yahweh only when their words are fulfilled (28:6–9; cf. Deut 18:21–22). In a symbolic action Hananiah then takes off the wooden yoke Jeremiah wears around his neck and breaks it, reiterating his prophecy (vv 10–11). After an interval Yahweh informs Jeremiah that he has placed an iron yoke on the neck of Nebuchadrezzar's subjects, that is one that cannot be broken. Jeremiah then tells Hananiah that he has been misleading the people and preaching rebellion against Yahweh. For this he will die (cf. Deut 18:20), a prophecy that was fulfilled that same year in the seventh month (vv 12–17; cf. Ezek 11:1–13).

**4.** Father of Shelemiah and grandfather of Irijah, the sentry who arrested Jeremiah at the Benjamin Gate on the grounds that he was deserting to the Babylonians when the prophet was about to leave Jerusalem for Anathoth during a break in Nebuchadrezzar's siege of the city (Jer 37:13). (For a discussion of the spelling of Nebuchadrezzar, see NEBUCHADNEZZAR.)

**5.** A son of Zerubbabel and descendant of David (1 Chr 3:19, 21), perhaps born ca. 545 B.C. (Myers *1 Chronicles* 21).

**6.** A postexilic person of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:24).

**7.** A descendant of Heman (1 Chr 25:4, 23), a postexilic member of a family of temple singers established by David (v 1).

**8.** Member of the family of Bebai; he put away his foreign wife in the time of Ezra (Ezra 10:28; 1 Esdr 9:29).

**9.** A perfumer who helped renovate the walls of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh 3:8).

**10.** Son of Shelemiah and among those who repaired the walls of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh 3:30).

**11.** Governor of the castle, whom Nehemiah put in charge of Jerusalem (Neh 7:2). The Hebrew of the verse could mean "my brother Hanani, that is Hananiah, the governor of the castle." "Hanani" is a short form of "Hananiah."

**12.** A head of the people who signed Ezra's covenant (Neh 10:23; cf. McCarthy 1982: 34).

**13.** The head of the priestly family of Jeremiah in the time of the high priest Joiakim (Neh 12:12). He was a trumpeter at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (v 41).

**14.** Ancestor of a Levite family which returned from the Exile with Ezra (1 Esdr 8:48; cf. Ezra 8:19).

**15.** One of the four young men of the tribe of Judah who figure in the stories of the book of Daniel (1:6–7, 11, 19; 2:17) and the Alexandrian additions (see also 1 Macc 2:59). The chief of the eunuchs gave him the name Shadrach.

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**HANDBREADTH.** See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**HANDPIKE.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

**HANDS, LAYING ON OF.** The laying on of hands is a ritual gesture attested in both the OT and the NT.

### *OLD TESTAMENT*

The laying on of hands is a gesture which, in the context of sacrifice, shows ritual attribution of a sacrificial animal to the one performing the gesture, or which, in a nonsacrificial context, demonstrates who the object of ritual action is.

The majority of examples of this gesture is found in the Priestly literature (P) described with the Hebrew verb *sāmak,* "lean on," "support." Outside of P the gesture is found only twice: in 2 Chr 29:23 with *sāmak* and in Gen 48:14, 17, 18 described by the verbs *śîm* and *šît* (both meaning "place," "put"). It has been thought that the verb *sāmak* indicates a form of the gesture where pressure is applied to the recipient (*m. Beṣa* 2:4; *m. Ḥag.* 2:2–3; Daube 1956: 225), as opposed to the gesture with *śîm/šît,* which would not entail pressure. But this distinction in the form is hard to sustain on the meager evidence. The verb *sāmak* in the Priestly writings may be only idiomatic and not indicate that pressure was applied.

The instances occurring with the verb *sāmak* can be sorted out into two categories distinguished by context of the rite, its physical form, and its meaning (Wright 1986):

(A) The majority of the cases of the gesture occurs in the context of sacrifice. Here the one who brings an offering (and only this person, not someone else in the person's behalf; cf. *m. Menaḥ.* 9:9) puts *one* hand on the head of the animal being offered (cf. Lev 1:4; 3:2, 8, 13; 4:4, 24, 29, 33). If a group of people perform the gesture together, they presumably each lay one hand on the head of the animal (Exod 29:10, 15, 19; Lev 4:15; 8:14, 18, 22; Num 8:12; 2 Chr 29:23).

This one-handed form of the gesture in sacrifices is best explained as ritually attributing the animal to the offerer; it indicates that the entire sacrificial rite pertains to him or her, even though others (priests and other auxiliaries) participate in making the offering later in the rite. This interpretation is confirmed by the fact that it makes sense of the lack of the gesture with birds and cereal offerings (Lev 1:14–17; 2; 5:7–13).

These offerings are small and can be carried by the offerer in the hands. The simple presentation of these offerings is sufficient ritually to attribute them to the offerer; no hand placement is therefore necessary.

Other interpretations of the gesture in sacrifice, such as viewing the rite as the means of transferring the offerer's evil, personality, or emotion to the animal and through which the animal serves as the offerer's substitute (suffering punishment vicariously) or as a vehicle for carrying the personality or emotion to God, do not easily fit every case of sacrificial hand placement and do not explain the lack of the gesture with birds and cereal offerings.

The hand placement on the Levites in Num 8:10 is to be understood under the principle of attribution just explained (note that the surrounding terminology is sacrificial in nature). By this gesture the Israelites show that the Levites are their "offering" to God and that benefits from the Levites' service will accrue to them.

From a comparative perspective Hittite ritual has a hand placement gesture very similar in form and meaning to the gesture in biblical sacrifice. This rite occurs most frequently in contexts of sacrifice or offering. It is performed by placing one hand on or at a distance from some offering material (e.g., bread, cheese, wine, meats, a live animal). And it ritually attributes the offering material to the one performing the rite. This allows other persons to distribute the offering material while the credit goes to the one who placed the hand.

(B) Three cases of the gesture in the Bible described with *sāmak* are nonsacrificial and appear to be performed with *two* hands, rather than one (Peter 1977; Janowski [1982] is more cautious in his assessment of the evidence). The clearest example is Lev 16:21. Here the text explicitly prescribes that Aaron place his two hands on the head of the scapegoat. (Note that the scapegoat is not a sacrifice; it is merely a bearer of impurity.) The other two cases are less clear in regard to how many hands are used. In Num 27:18 God tells Moses to place his hand (singular) on Joshua's head and set him apart as the new leader of Israel. In the fulfillment section (v 23), however, Moses places both his hands on Joshua's head (note that the parallel text, Deut 34:9, has the plural). The LXX reads a plural in both cases (though the Samaritan reads a singular in both cases). The final example is ambiguous. Witnesses of blasphemy are to place their hands on the head of a blasphemer before he is stoned (Lev 24:14). Since the subject of the action is plural, it is impossible to determine from the text how many hands were used.

A conclusion from the foregoing evidence is difficult and can only be tentative. Numbers 27, despite the conflict between prescription and fulfillment, indicates that two hands could be used in the ritual of succession. Hence it and Leviticus 16 provide two examples of a two-handed gesture outside of sacrifice. The ambiguous example in Leviticus 24, since it is also outside the context of sacrifice, may also be intended to occur with two hands.

Proceeding under the hypothesis that these three examples all use a two-handed form of the gesture, it is possible that a single meaning fits all of them. The meaning that suits all of them is *demonstrating* who or what is the focus of the ritual action. This is evident in three key texts. (1) The rite in Leviticus 24 is the means the witnesses have of demonstrating who the guilty party is, thereby confirming their testimony and emphasizing their responsibility in the death of the blasphemer. This meaning is suggested by the parallel action of witnesses in Deut 13:10; 17:7; and the hand placement gesture in Susanna 34. The interpretation that by this gesture the witnesses transfer the pollution of blasphemy that has attached to them back to the blasphemer is not supported by the what is known about impurities elsewhere in the priestly writings of the Bible. (2) In Leviticus 16 Aaron demonstrates what object is the recipient of the sins of the people. The rite here is not strictly a means of transfer; sins do not travel through Aaron's arms to the goat. It merely points out where the sins confessed by Aaron are to alight. (3) In Numbers 27 the rite demonstrates who Moses' successor will be. Again here, in view of the preceding examples, authority is not passed through Moses' arms to Joshua. Moses by the gesture merely points out who the recipient of his authority is and demonstrates to the community that Joshua is his legal successor.

Finally, hand placement in Gen 48:14–18, described with *śîm* and *šît*, can be understood like the last three examples as a means of designating who the recipients of blessing are. A gesture related to hand placement for blessing is Aaron's stretching of his hands out over the people in Num 9:22.

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## *NEW TESTAMENT*

"Laying on of hands" is regularly the translation of the Gk phrases *(epi-)tithenai tas cheiras (epi)* and *epithesis tōn cheirōn,* which depend on the Heb *sāmak yad ʿal,* "to press or lean the hand on," or *šît (śîm) yad ʿal,* "to place the hand on." This Greek terminology is rather set, although Mark interchanges *epitithenai tas cheiras* and *haptesthai* (cf. Mark 7:32–35; 8:22–26; 10:13–16; cf. 16:18); and *cheirotonein* (Acts 14:23) should be viewed as part of this verbal pattern. The OT application of laying on of hands is followed in the NT, except that there is no sacrificial use and that the association with healings and with baptism and the Holy Spirit is added. Thus in the NT laying on of hands relates to healing, blessings, baptism and the Spirit, and assignment to a given task. There are underlying unifying characteristics. The context is always religious, as the frequent mention of prayer demonstrates; and obviously the laying on of hands is a symbolic action. Yet in each instance something is achieved (Adler 1951: 63, 67–68).

In the OT and rabbinic tradition the laying on of hands is never associated with healing (cf. 1QapGen 20:28–29), and surely this gesture is not an essential part of miracles (*TDNT* 9:428, 431). According to Mark and Luke, Jesus did heal through the laying on of hands (Mark 5:23; 6:5; 7:32; 8:22–26; Luke 4:40; 13:13); and so did Christians (Mark 16:18) like Ananias (Acts 9:12, 17) and Paul (Acts 28:8; New 1933: 137–38). Of course, healing is communicated through this laying on of hands.

Jesus also blessed children through the laying on of hands (Mark 10:13–16 and parallels). The passage views children as having the correct attitude for reception into the kingdom. Luke 24:50, "and lifting up his hands he blessed them *(kai eparas tas cheiras autou eulogēsen autous),*" should be noted here, although the Greek is not that of "laying on of hands."

In Acts laying on of hands is related to the reception of baptism and the Holy Spirit. Acts 19:5–6 state this most clearly. In a scene reminiscent of Pentecost, Paul laid hands on those who had received only John's baptism and were now baptized in Jesus' name, and the Holy Spirit came upon them, and they spoke with tongues and prophesied. According to Acts 9:17 through Ananias' laying on of hands Paul not only regains his sight but is filled with the Holy Spirit. Acts 8:16–19, likewise, report the reception of the Holy Spirit through the laying on of hands. However, Luke in this passage is less interested in distinguishing the laying on of hands and the reception of the Spirit from baptism in the name of the Lord Jesus than in stressing the significance of the Church in Jerusalem's (and, hence, God's) approval of what has happened in Samaria (O'Toole 1980: 860–62). Finally, most scholars understand Heb 6:2 in terms of the laying on of hands connected with baptism (Parratt 1969: 211; cf. Attridge *Hebrews* Hermeneia).

Jesus himself did not ordain the apostles through the laying on of hands, nor is Matthias through the laying on of hands assigned Judas' place among the Twelve. However, in the NT, ordination is associated with the laying on of hands and should probably be linked to the ordination of rabbis, the evidence for which comes from the second half of the 1st century. Daube (1956: 229–33; but see *TRE* 14: 418–20) holds that the rabbis confined *sāmak yad ʿal,* "to press or lean the hand on," to the sacrificial cult and to the ordination of a rabbi. Whether Daube is correct or not, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that the ordination of rabbis originated earlier than A.D. 50, with the development of the scribes as a specific group (*m. Sanh.* 1:3; *t. Sanh.* 1:1; *TDNT* 9:429). But Christian ordination would also include recognition of apostolic authority and be accompanied by prayer (Knoch 1983b: 232).

Of the passages to be considered here, Acts 13:3 is really more of a commissioning of Barnabas and Paul for the task to which the Holy Spirit has called them, than an ordination (Barrett 1985: 51). Although it is difficult to uncover the historical background, most scholars hold that Acts 6:6 (cf. Num 8:10; 27:15–23) is an ordination (*TRE* 14: 418). For Vanhoye (Vanhoye and Crouzel 1982: 730) Acts 6:1–6 provide indications of how ministries were established in the Church. The passage distinguishes between ecclesial

authority and "the multitude of the disciples." The Twelve call the meeting and explain what seems good to do and why. The assembly agrees, holds an election, and presents those elected to the Twelve, who confer on them their ministry through prayer and the imposition of hands. But some scholars feel that all the disciples laid hands on the Seven.

Paul and Barnabas, with prayer and fasting, appointed *(cheirotonein)* elders in Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch (Acts 14:21–23; *TDNT* 9:437). Other passages refer to Timothy's ordination. According to 1 Tim 4:14 (cf. 1:18) Timothy is not to neglect the gift given him by the prophetic utterance when the council of elders laid their hands on him, while 2 Tim 1:6 again records the gift of God, but through the laying on of Paul's hands. Whether one sees a contradiction between these verses, or a "fiction" in the second (*TRE* 14: 420), or simply explains that Paul along with the council of elders could have ordained Timothy depends in part on the date given the Pastorals. On the other hand, Daube's (1956: 244–46) proposed translation of *meta epitheseōs tōn cheirōn tou presbyteriou* (1 Tim 4:14) as "ordination to the eldership" is not justified because it does not respect the context or the genitive case of *tou presbyteriou.* However, Timothy's ordination is designated a grace or a gift (Knoch 1983a: 160); and prophecy played a part in his being chosen for this ministry.

In 1 Tim 5:22 Paul advises Timothy not to be hasty in the laying on of hands. Since the context (vv 17–21) considers Timothy's treatment of elders and since the "laying on of hands" parallels 1 Tim 4:14 and 2 Tim 1:6, the author is speaking of Timothy's ordination of elders (Grelot 1983: 225).

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**HANES** (PLACE) [Heb *hānēs* (חָנֵס)]. In Isa 30:1 the prophet condemns the rebellious people who seek protection from pharaoh (Shabaka of the 25th Dyn.). That protection will turn to shame, and v 4 notes "for though his officials are at Zoan and his envoys reach Hanes, every one comes to shame." Gold (1965: 857) notes this is an embassy sent to Egypt ca. 703 B.C. seeking support for Hezekiah's rebellion against Assyria (others see these as pharaoh's envoys). Gold identifies Hanes with Anusi, 80 km S of Memphis (at the S end of the delta), probably Heracleopolis, ca. 100 km S of Cairo. The site is known as Ahnas el-Medina, just S of the Fayyum, on the W bank of the Nile. Kyle (*ISBE* 2: 1335 [1939 ed]) says it was a large city on an island between the Nile and Bahr Yuseph (a branch of the Nile that leads into the Fayyum), opposite the modern town of Beni Suef. Simons (*GTTOT*, 440) describes it as on the right bank of the Bahr Jusuf and W of Beni Suef. Lambdin (*IDB* 2: 522) derived the Hebrew from Eg *Hwt-nn-nsw,* "the House of the royal child." Simons says its ancient Egyptian name *(h)nni* continued in Anysis (Herodotus) and as Khininshi in the annals of Ashurbanipal (ca. 668–631/627). The name now survives in the Coptic *ahnas* or *ahnasijeh el-medinah.* Its local name *ahnasijeh umm el-kiman* means "of the heaps of

ruins," a reflection of the extensive remains of the ancient city. It is also the Egyptian Hunensuten, abridged Hunensu and Arabic Ahmeysa.

The Greeks identified the local deity, the ram-headed Herishef, with Hercules and called the city Heracleopolis, the city of Heracles. This was Heracleopolis Magna. Besides being the capital of the 20th nome of Upper Egypt, Hanes was the home of the 22d Dyn. (ca. 935–735 B.C.) and remained a city of great importance. In the reign of Psammetichus I (ca. 663–609, 26th Dyn.), Hanes was the center of government for Upper Egypt. Griffith (*HDB*, 363) noted that in the 25th–26th Dyn. (ca. 715–600 B.C.) the standard silver of Egypt was that of the treasury of Harshafe. Shabaka, the Ethiopian, established the 25th Dyn. in 715 and wiped out the short-lived Saitic Dyn. and their Delta state. While Isaiah's oracle says Judean efforts at alliance with Egypt were useless, Scott (*IB* 5: 330) notes the reasonableness of it. The Ethiopian Dynasty had come N to Middle Egypt in Hanes and controlled Lower Egypt as well. Thus it might very well be strong enough to defeat Assyria. But it was not.

Hanes has also been identified with Heracleopolis Parva in the E delta in Lower Egypt. Spiegelberg derived such a site from Herodotus' (2.166.137) reference to Anysis in the delta (Kitchen *NBD*, 452–53). Griffith (363) says the LXX translators did not recognize the name of the city in Isa 30:4, so they tried to translate the word. There is a wide divergence of readings but "in vain," *hinnam*, seems to have been read instead of Hanes. One translation is "for there are in Tanis (Zoan) princes, wicked messengers." Kitchen suggested "mansion of the king" as the name of pharaoh's palace in Zoan/Tanis itself. The Aramaic Targum of Isaiah has Tahpanes, the Egyptian fortress on Egypt's E frontier, near Zoan, in the N delta. Kyle notes Dumichen's view that the hieroglypic name of Tahpanes is Hens. This could have influenced the Targum translation. He thought the plain meaning of Isa 30:4 points to a city in the delta nearer to Jerusalem than Tanis. Kitchen sees v 4 as a parallelism so that the second line refers to the first, either as the mansion of the king noted above, or as Heracleopolis Parva. But this is not necessary if the intent of v 4 is to show how far the embassy traveled in contrast to how little good it did.

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**HANGING.** See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES.

**HANGINGS** [Heb *qelāʿîm* (קְלָעִים)]. Fabrics that were part of the construction of the tabernacle court as described in the books of Exodus and Numbers (Exod 27:9–18; 35:17; 38:9–18; 39:40; Num 3:26; 4:26). The tabernacle was situated inside an enclosure measuring 50 × 100 cubits. This court was demarcated by a series of five-cubit-high (ca. 7.5 ft) pillars: 20 pillars on the two long sides, 10 pillars on the W end, and 6 on the E end. The fewer number on the E is the result of the 20-cubit-wide (ca. 30 ft) gate to the courtyard at that end. The gate had its separate fabric "screen" (RSV; also called "hangings" in the KJV). See also TABERNACLE.

The hangings were evidently stretched or draped from the pillars that marked the perimeter of the courtyard (Exod 27:9–18; 38:9–18). They thereby formed the courtyard walls, extending a total distance of 280 cubits (ca. 420 ft). Like the "walls" of the tabernacle itself, the hangings were fabric and thus part of the movability associated with all components of the tabernacle, which was a portable shrine. The hangings were among the tabernacle's components carried by the levitical family of Gershon (Num 3:26; 4:26).

The nature of the fabric from which they were made, along with their position as the outer boundary of the tabernacle precincts, makes the hangings the least sacred among the various furnishings and construction materials (fabrics and planks or pillars) that constituted the tabernacle complex. These materials exhibit a range of quality and workmanship, from ornate and costly to plain and less costly. The gradations correspond to levels of sanctity, with the richest items, and the ones most complicated to craft, being the most sacred.

The hangings were made of "fine twined linen," which was a much simpler fabric than the multicolored and mixed linen and wool weaves, some with decorative embroidery, that characterized other tabernacle fabrics. Four levels of complexity and thus of sanctity can be identified for the cloth used in the tabernacle (Haran 1978: 167); and the hangings belong to the fourth, or least elaborate, level. The only other fabrics described in the tabernacle texts of Exodus that are like those of the hangings are the four basic undergarments worn by all the priests. The word for the linen fabric of the hangings and the priestly garb is *šēš,* which is probably an Egyptianism and should be considered evidence of very early literary material, perhaps going back to an Egyptian environment, preserved in the priestly writings (Hurvitz 1967).

Two other Hebrew words are translated "hangings" in the RSV. One (*bāttîm,* 2 Kgs 23:7) apparently refers to woven garments or drapings made for the Asherah that stood in the temple in Jerusalem at the time of Josiah's reform. The other (*tĕkēlet,* "blue hangings," Esth 1:6) is a word for some sort of blue fabric that, along with white cotton material, was stretched on marble pillars in the garden of the Persian king Ahasuerus.

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**ḤANINA BEN-DOSA.** There are more rabbinic references to Rabbi Ḥanina ben-Dosa than to Ḥoni and Ḥilkiah. He was from Galilee and lived during the middle of the 1st century C.E.; he was thus a near contemporary of Jesus of Nazareth. A pupil of Joḥanan ben Zakkai, he was a Tannaitic sage of the first generation, and was revered as a wise teacher (*b. Ber.* 34a; *Pirqe R. El.* 204–5; *y. Ber.* 4, 5, 6; *b. Ber.* 34b). He is quoted in the Mishnah: "R. Ḥanina b. Dosa said, 'He whose fear of sin precedes his wisdom, his wisdom endures; but he whose wisdom precedes his fear of sin, his wisdom does not endure …' " (*m. ʾAbot* 3:10). He was righteous, denied being a prophet, and was probably an ascetic. A voice from heaven is reputed to have commended his devotion and self-sacrifice (*b. Taʿan.* 24b–25a; *b. B. Bat.* 74b; *b. Ber.* 17b): "The whole world is sustained for the sake of my son Ḥanina (Heb *ḥnyn bny*), and Ḥanina my son *(bny)* has to subsist on a *qab* of carobs from one sabbath evening to the next sabbath evening" (*b. Ber.* 17b). He was a wonder-worker, and like Ḥoni and Ḥilkiah he was able to cause rain to fall (*b. Taʿan.* 24b). Like Jesus of Nazareth he was famous for his healing miracles. He is alleged to have healed not only R. Gamaliel's son but also R. Joḥanan ben Zakkai's son (*b. Ber.* 34b).

Like Ḥoni and Jesus of Nazareth, Ḥanina's life was embellished with legends (*Midr.* Rab. Qoh.; y. Dem. 1:22a; *t. Ber.* 3). His empty oven fills miraculously with bread; he sees his goats return home with bears on their horns and extends the beams of a neighbor's house (*b. Taʿan.* 25a).

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**HANNAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥannâ* (חַנָּה)]. The first, and doubtless the favorite, of the two wives of Elkanah (cf. 1 Sam 1:2, 5). Barren for many years, Hannah may have prompted Elkanah to take a second wife (a similar rationale explains the actions of Sarai, Gen 16:2; Rachel, 30:3; Leah, 30:9). To be infertile was the ultimate tragedy for a married woman, since only by bearing a son to her husband could she provide a means of perpetuating his name and securing the orderly transfer of his estate upon his death (cf. e.g., 11:30; 15:2–4; 16:1–2; 17:15–16; 21:1–2; 25:5).

Hannah's shrewish rival, Peninnah, became the mother of many children and made constant fun of Hannah, apparently unaware that her infertility was caused by the Lord (1 Sam 1:5–6; cf. similarly Gen 15:3; 16:2; 20:18; 30:2). So merciless and continuous was the provocation that Hannah not only often wept and refused to eat but also became "resentful" (1 Sam 1:8; literally, had a "bad/angry heart"; for the

only other precise parallel cf. Deut 15:10, where the same phrase means "grudging[ly]"). On such occasions Elkanah would attempt to console her with the thought that he was better for her than ten sons.

But Hannah refused to resign herself to a life of barrenness, and her sadness and "bitterness of soul" led her to pray and make a vow to the Lord (1 Sam 1:10–11). While at Shiloh on one of her family's annual pilgrimages (probably to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles; cf. Judg 21:19–21), she promised that if God would give her a son, she would give the child back to him as a perpetual Nazirite (1 Sam 1:11). Although the term *Nazirite* does not appear in the account, it is clearly presupposed (as demonstrated by 4QSam[a]; the Hebrew text of Sir 46:13; Jos. *Ant* 5.10.3 §347; and *m. Nazir* 9:5).

Eli, priest at Shiloh, observed Hannah moving her lips as she prayed silently, and he misinterpreted her action as a display of drunkenness. It is understandable that he should do so, since prayer in the ancient world was almost always audible (cf. e.g., Dan 6:10–11; Pss 3:4; 4:1; 6:9; etc.) and excessive drinking was a common accompaniment of festal occasions (including especially the Feast of Tabernacles; *AncIsr*: 496).

But Hannah justly protested that she had not been drinking; on the contrary, she had been pouring out her soul (1 Sam 1:15) to the Lord, a vivid figure of speech for praying earnestly (Pss 42:4; 62:8; Lam 2:19) to him. Her explanation satisfied Eli, who expressed his hope that God would grant her request. Sensing divine assurance in Eli's response, Hannah broke her self-imposed fast and in due course returned, expectantly, with Elkanah to their hometown. There the Lord "remembered" her (1 Sam 1:19)—as she had asked him to (1:11)—and enabled her to conceive and eventually bear a son to her husband. She named the boy Samuel.

After Samuel's birth Hannah decided not to make the annual pilgrimage to Shiloh until he was weaned so that, on her next trip, she could leave him there to serve the Lord for the rest of his life. Since the breast-feeding of a child lasted for two or three years in the ancient world (2 Macc 7:27), Samuel would have been considered old enough to spend an extended period of time away from home after his weaning. Accompanied by a three-year-old bull to be sacrificed to the Lord, Elkanah and his family made what was to be their most fateful journey to Shiloh. There Hannah affirmed to Eli that she was the woman whom he had first met a few years earlier; there she introduced him to Samuel as the son whom God had given to her; and there, as she had promised, she gave her son back to the Giver.

Although 1 Sam 2:1–10, the so-called Song of Hannah, may have originated as a royal song of triumph (Willis 1973) at the Shiloh sanctuary in connection with Israel's victory over an enemy, such songs would then have been taught to worshippers. This one would have perhaps become a personal favorite of Hannah and would have been used by her to express her gratitude and praise to God as well as her "victory" over Peninnah (see esp. 2:10, where Hannah declares that the Lord will "thunder against" all who oppose him, just as Peninnah's intention had been to "irritate"—literally, "thunder against"—Hannah; 1:6). The first three lines of 2:8 are almost identical to Ps 113:7–8a. If Psalm 113 is later than Hannah's song, the psalmist has added an exquisite touch in the light of Hannah's situation: "[The Lord] settles the barren woman in her home / as a happy mother of children" (113:9; cf. also the mention in 1 Sam 2:21 of additional children later born to Hannah). Since the Song of Hannah is commonly dated to the 11th or 10th century B.C. on the basis of stylistic phenomena as well as the divine names and titles it contains (cf. e.g., Freedman 1976: 55, 96), there would seem to be no compelling reason to deny that Hannah's song is contemporary with her.

Appearing near the beginning of 1 Samuel, its closest parallel in the OT is the Song of David (2 Samuel 22), which appears near the end of 2 Samuel. These two remarkably similar hymns frame the main contents of the books and remind us that the two books were originally one. Both songs begin by using "horn" as a figure of speech for "strength," by referring to God as the "Rock," and by reflecting on divine deliverance (1 Sam 2:1–2; 2 Sam 22:2–3). Both end by paralleling "his king" with "his anointed" (1 Sam 2:10; 2 Sam 22:51).

Hannah's song is generally conceded to have provided the main inspiration for Mary's *Magnificat* (Luke 1:46–55). The two hymns, both commemorating miraculous pregnancies, begin similarly; and certain themes in the Song of Hannah recur in the *Magnificat* (cf. 1 Sam 2:4, 7–8 with Luke 1:52; 1 Sam

2:5 with Luke 1:53). These two songs and their contexts have in turn influenced the *Protevangelium of James,* a 2d-century A.D. pseudepigraphic work that tells the story of Mary's elderly parents' prayers for a child. The old woman vows that the child will be "a gift to the Lord my God" (cf. 1 Sam 1:11). Mary is born in response to the prayers, and at the age of three she is presented by her parents to the priests in the temple at Jerusalem. Mary's aged mother is named Anna, the same as that of Samuel's aged mother, Hannah (see JAMES, PROTEVANGELIUM OF).

As for the name Hannah itself (*ḥannâ,* "Grace/Gracious"), it is found only in 1 Samuel 1–2 in the OT. But a Hebrew seal from the Lachish area dating to ca. 725–675 B.C. displays the name *ḥnh* (Bartlett 1976: 59–61). And in the NT, Luke 2:36–37 mentions an aged widow named Hannah. Unfortunately, the KJV spelling "Anna" in that verse has become conventional. In any case the NT Hannah is called a prophetess—as, coincidentally, is the OT Hannah in Jewish tradition as enshrined in the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel as well as in *Meg.* 14a.

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**HANNATHON** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥannātōn* (חַנָּתֹן)]. A city on the N boundary of the territory of Zebulun (Josh 19:14). Situated on the Darb el-Hawarneh—the major highway connecting the Hauran and N Transjordan with coastal Palestine—Hannathon was one of the major Canaanite centers of the lower Galilee (Oded 1971). The town figures in two of the Amarna Letters, that of the king of Babylon (EA 8), who describes the robbing of a Babylonian caravan near Hannathon by the kings of Shim‹on and Acre, and that of Biridiya, king of Megiddo, who tells of the release of Labayu of Shechem at Hannathon, following the payment of a ransom or bribe to Zurata, king of Acre, who was to escort him to the custody of the pharaoh. Hannathon appears once more in the extrabiblical record in the annals of Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria who, in 733/732 B.C.E., campaigned in N Palestine. Hannathon, along with several other Galilean towns, fell to the Assyrians during this campaign (*ANET,* 283; cf. 2 Kgs 15:29).

Tel Hannaton (Tell Badawiya; M.R. 174243) is a large site (5 hectares) which dominates the SW part of the Bet Netofa valley. Systematic surveys of the site (Gal 1982: 24) have revealed evidence of settlements in the Chalcolithic period, the EB, MB, and LB, the Iron Age I, and in the 10th–8th centuries B.C.E. Traces of several fortification lines are visible on the site.

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RAPHAEL GREENBERG

**HANNIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥannî›ēl* (חַנִיאֵל)]. Two persons mentioned in the Hebrew Bible have this name. The name Hanniel has been explained variously but is derived in one case from the root *ḥnn,* "to be gracious," "to show favor." This produces a meaning "god has been gracious." One suggestion (*EncMiqr* 3: 215–16) is that Hanniel is similar in form to Hanniba‹al, a name known from Punic (Benz 1972: 313) and which came into Latin as Hannibal. Another explanation of the name uses the root *ḥen,* "favor," "pity," as a noun and would suggest that "god is *ḥen* [pity]" or that "god is my *ḥini* [my pity-taker]."

Note that the Samaritan reads *ḥana›el* and that similar names occur in the Samaria ostraca and the Elephantine documents.

**1.** The son of Ephod and the member of the tribe of Manasseh selected to oversee the distribution of the land of Canaan (Num 34:23).

**2.** The father of a clan from the tribe of Asher (1 Chr 7:39).

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**HANOCH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥănōk* (חֲנֹךְ)*; ḥănôk* (חֲנוֹךְ)]. HANOCHITES. **1.** Third son of Midian (Gen 25:4). For the meaning of the name, see ENOCH, which shares the same Heb spelling *(ḥănôk).* As with the other offspring of Keturah and Abraham, this "grandson's" name may have been related to an Arabian town or oasis on the international trade routes (Eph'al 1982: 231–33, 240), perhaps even the city Cain named after his son Enoch (Gen 4:17; Winnett 1970: 192–93).

**2.** First son of Reuben (Gen 46:9) and ancestor of the Hanochites (Num 26:5). The proximity of Reuben's tribal area to Midian may suggest a relationship between the peoples represented by the two Hanochs (Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 352).

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**HANUKKAH.** See DEDICATION, FEAST OF.

**HANUN** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥānûn* (חָנוּן)]. A personal name formed from the *Qal* passive participle of the root *ḥnn* meaning "favored." The implied source of favor is a deity (*IPN,* 169, n. 4; 187).

**1.** An Ammonite king, the son of Nahash (2 Sam 10:1–4; 1 Chr 19:1–4) and brother of Shobi (2 Sam 17:27). Hanun was a contemporary of David's, and is reported to have succeeded to the throne upon his father's death (2 Sam 10:1; 1 Chr 19:1). Following usual dynastic principles, he would have been the eldest son of Nahash. Upon the advice of his court, Hanun was to have rebuffed and humiliated David's envoys, who were sent to reaffirm the preexisting alliance between Israel and Ammon, which needed the ratification of the new king. Some were suspicious that David's messengers had been sent as spies to scout out the capital city's weaknesses in preparation for its capture (2 Sam 10:2–4; 1 Chr 19:2–4). The reference to loyal behavior *(ḥesed)* in v 2 designates the mutual relationship of rights and duties between allies (Glueck 1967: 46–47) and is frequently used in parity and vassal treaties. War was to have ensued as a result of Hanun's failure to ratify a new treaty, with an eventual victory by David's troops (2 Sam 10:6–12:31; 2 Chr 19:6–20:3). The historical reliability of the biblical account is questionable since the Israelite historiographer would not have been privy to the private consultations at the Ammonite court; nevertheless, the narrative would seem to be based on a reliable tradition about Ammon's refusal to continue treaty relations with Israel at Hanun's succession.

After the capture of the capital city of Rabbath Ammon, David is reported to have donned the crown of the king or the national god Milcom (O'Ceallaigh 1962), thereby signaling his assumption of direct control over Ammon. He was to have put the Ammonites to labor with saws, and iron picks, and axes (2 Sam 12:31; 2 Chr 20:3). According to tradition then Ammon lost its ally status soon after Hanun's accession to the throne; and Hanun was deposed. It is commonly argued that David took personal control of the throne of Ammon, joining it to Israel and Judah through a personal union, but assigning it a lower status (i.e., Alt *KlSchr,* 70; Noth *NHI,* 194; Bright *BHI,* 198; Herrmann *HHI,* 157–58). Two alternate views have been suggested. According to one, Ammon was made a vassal state (Soggin 1985: 59). According to the other, it was directly incorporated into the Davidic state, with a governor in charge (Ahlström fc.).

The subsequent report in 2 Sam 17:27 concerning Shobi ben Nahash indicates that after the capture of Rabbath Ammon, David reinstated a member of its ruling family to serve as titular head of state. Shobi was another son of Nahash, evidently a younger brother of Hanun's. His office tenure tends to rule out the general view that David became king in Ammon, unless he ruled only briefly and then decided to step down in favor of a new arrangement involving Shobi. Nor is it likely that David would have appointed a

member of the former royal family to be a governor in annexed Ammonite territory; he would have served as a rallying point for rebellion by the local population in a bid to reestablish statehood. It is most likely that Shobi was set on the Ammonite throne personally by David, to be a loyal vassal, sometime after Hanun's deposition. David may have given Shobi his throne name, which means "captive." Shobi's status as a vassal is strongly implied by both his name and by his offering aid to his distressed overlord during Absalom's rebellion, demonstrating his resolve not to side with the overlord's enemy, following common vassal treaty requirements (McCarthy 1963: 182, 191, 194, 200). Even if one would choose to dismiss the reference in 2 Sam 17:27 about the aid supplied by the three Transjordanian vassals as fictional elaboration aimed at stressing David's legitimacy and status as king even in exile, the names of the three individuals depicted may well derive from official Davidic court records that indicated their status as vassals to David.

**2.** A member of the postexilic community who participated in the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah (Neh 3:13, 30). He appears to have worked on two different sections of the project, with different cohorts, as did a number of other individuals. In one assignment he worked alongside the inhabitants of the town of Zanoah to rebuild the Valley Gate, on the W side of the settlement, near the present-day Jaffa Gate (Burrows 1934: 129, 134–36; Simons 1952: 124–27), restoring its masonry, doors, bolts, and bars. In addition, the group repaired a segment of the old wall that ran S from the Valley Gate for about 1000 cubits, or 1500 ft, to the Dung Gate. Since this was a comparatively large section of wall and the only one the length of which is specified in the entire account of the wall rebuilding in chap. 3, it is suggested either that Hanun and the Zanoahites represented a large work force or that most of the wall was still standing and required only nominal repairs (Keil 1873: 197; Batten *Ezra, Nehemiah* ICC, 214; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 207). When the Neo-Babylonians destroyed the city in 587/586 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 15:4–10), they probably would not have broken down the entire wall, an act which would have been unnecessarily time-consuming. Instead, they probably would have breached at intervals segments of the wall that remained after the direct assault. Only certain segments would have required rebuilding from the foundation level. Hanun worked on another segment with Hananiah ben Shelemiah N of the Horse Gate, just S of the area where the temple servants and merchants resided.

Debate continues over whether or not the two Hanuns in vv 13 and 30 are a single individual or two separate people (i.e., Batten, 214; Keil 1873: 193; Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 119). Hanun appears in v 13 without a patronymic or hometown identification, which has led some to conclude that he was a chief, ruler, or another inhabitant of Zanoah, the home of the group with which he was working (i.e., Batten, 214; Keil 1873: 183). In v 30 Hanun is identified as the sixth son of Zalaph. Because it is very unusual to denote birth order in a patronymic, it has been suggested that the consonants of the Hebrew word "sixth" *(hššy)* may have once represented Hanun's hometown (Guthe 1901: 44): Hanun, the son of Zalaph, the "… ite."

In favor of identifying the two Hanuns is the reference in v 30 to the work constituting a "second section," which implies that one or both of the individuals had already completed a section elsewhere (pace Burrows 1934: 127–28). There are seven instances where the text refers to work representing a second section. Of those occurrences, details of both sets of constructions are given for Meremoth, son of Uriah, son of Hakkoz; the Tekoites; and Binnui/Bavvai, son of Henedad; while details are lacking for the first repair work completed by Malchijah, son of Harim, and Hasshub, son of Pahath-Moab; Ezer son of Jeshua; and Baruch son of Zabbai. Possible details about the first work assignments completed by both Hanun and his companion Hananiah may be provided in vv 8 and 13 respectively if one is willing to identify the individuals without patronymics with their namesakes with patronymics. It seems likely that the report of rebuilding in chap. 3, which follows a sequential arrangement for the entire circumference of the city, has been based on actual records of the repair process but has been simplified and pieced together from a nonsequential list for narrative flow and easy audience understanding (Myers, 112–13; contrast Williamson, 199–200). Work on many sections was almost certainly undertaken simultaneously, to speed completion of the project. It is possible that the first assignment Hanun completed was the one at the

Horse Gate, so that his name was listed with patronymic in the records in this first occurrence and that he was listed by first name only under the second entry.

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**HAPAX LEGOMENA.** Words (other than proper names) which occur only once in the Bible. This originally Greek term, which means "once said," was first used by Alexandrian grammarians in the 3d century B.C.E. to mark unique terms in classic Greek works.

Rare biblical words have attracted attention for centuries, usually because they are believed more difficult to understand or more susceptible to scribal confusion than other words. However, the criteria used to identify such words have differed according to the varied concerns of those who study them. The Masoretes marked many phrases and spellings found only once in the Hebrew Bible with the letter *lamed,* as an abbreviation for the Aramaic word *lêtaʿ* ("there is no other"), presumably to warn scribes that, although unusual, these forms were not mistakes.

As is common in the early stages of linguistic study, medieval Jewish Bible scholars were particularly aware of difficult words, drawing special attention to those they described as having "nothing similar" (Heb *dômeh*). The 12th-century Spaniard Abraham ibn Ezra was especially fond of pointing out linguistic rarities, identifying such words with a variety of phrases, including "it has no mother or father" and "it is one, and there is no second," which Jewish tradition had used to describe God, often in anti-Christian contexts.

Whereas the Masoretes were concerned with avoiding scribal error, the medievals' concern was more linguistic. Committed to the accuracy of the traditional Hebrew text, they recognized that the Bible did not preserve all of ancient Hebrew. As a result, words which occurred only a limited number of times seemed particularly difficult to understand. Whereas some interpreters, such as the 10th-century Spanish lexicographer Menahem ibn Saruq, chose to rely on biblical context alone, his near-contemporary, the philosopher and exegete Saʿadia Gaon, proposed that one could use rabbinic literature as a source for additional attestations of such terms. His list of 90 (though the title of his work refers to only 70) words for which this approach was useful thus anticipates modern scholarship's reliance on cognate literatures where the biblical evidence is insufficient. However, Saʿadia's motive was not academic. Concerned with the Karaite movement's claim that Judaism should rely on the Bible alone, he saw such words as demonstrating the need for rabbinic literature.

Although the widening horizons of modern biblical scholarship have provided a host of new resources, the problem with hapax legomena is still generally perceived as resulting from the limited evidence available for their interpretation. This etymological focus is particularly apparent in the importance ascribed to a subcategory which I. Casanowicz (*JEnc* 6: 226–28) called "absolute" hapax legomena, those words which not only occur only once in the Bible, but are also unrelated to any other words found there. The fact that published lists differ as to which words belong in this class demonstrates inconsistency as to how the definition should be applied. One reason for this is uncertainty as to whether to include words which occur several times, but in only one context (for example, a single verse or a passage repeated verbatim in two different parts of the Bible). Although in itself a relatively minor disagreement, this reflects differing assumptions as to the significance of certain words being rare and disagreement as to their difficulty.

Scholars usually seek ways to link rare words with more common terms so as to make them less difficult to understand. In earlier times this often involved showing that certain pairs of consonants can interchange or that the order of letters can be reversed so that seemingly rare words can be correlated with more common terms. Arguing that unique words are incorrect, perhaps because of scribal errors resulting from their unfamiliarity, modern scholars have sometimes proposed textual emendations, preferably on the basis of some sort of credible evidence. Others accept the likely accuracy of the text, seeing such words as an accidental result of the Bible's relatively small size, the limited number of topics which it contains, and the paucity of surviving texts in ancient Hebrew. To compensate for the limited information available within the Bible itself, they have followed Sa‹adia's lead in seeking evidence from other Semitic languages. During the Middle Ages the resources available for this approach, which can be traced back to antiquity, were extended beyond Aramaic and rabbinic literature to include Arabic and sometimes even unrelated languages, such as Berber and Greek. With the wealth of additional resources now available, modern scholars have found Akkadian and Ugaritic texts particularly valuable.

Noting that related words can have different meanings in different languages, H. Cohen (1978) has urged caution in the use of such materials. To avoid mistakes, he suggests that cognates must appear in at least one context that is identical with that of their biblical counterparts before information about one should be used to illuminate the meaning of the other. Although intellectually appealing, this method has proven possible in only a handful of cases.

An alternative approach looks upon hapax legomena as a statistical rather than a philological phenomenon. Numerous studies of word frequency have shown that about half of any work's vocabulary is likely to occur only once. The comparable proportion for the Hebrew Bible is closer to one-third. There are several possible explanations for this relative paucity. One is that because the Bible is substantially larger than the other texts studied, it offers more opportunities for words to recur. The nature of Hebrew grammar, in which different meanings can be generated by conjugating the same verbal root according to different patterns, may also play a role. In any event such evidence raises serious questions for those who have questioned the biblical text's reliability because of the supposedly large number of hapax legomena it contains.

A word's frequency is dependent on the nature of the text in which it occurs. For example, animal names are less likely to be found in military passages than in those devoted to farming. Words which are rare in the Bible may not therefore have been difficult for ancient readers or listeners. However, statisticians have also demonstrated that certain words are inherently more common than others. This is supported by the fact that the Bible's hapax legomena occur significantly more often in poetic passages than in prose, a result of poets' preference for less ordinary words as well as of the parallelism characteristic of biblical poetry, which relies heavily on synonyms. The concentration of uncommon words is also a function of style; some authors use a more esoteric vocabulary than others. One can find variation even within individual books. For example, God's speeches in the book of Job include markedly more rare words than those of other characters, a phenomenon which can be paralleled in the literatures of other traditions.

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**HAPHARAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥapārayim* (חֲפָרַיִם)]. A town located in the territory of the tribe of Issachar, mentioned only in Josh 19:19. Yeivin (1957: 590) equated Hapharaim with both Number 53 *(ʿpr wr)* and Number 54 *(ʿpr šri)* in the List of Thutmose III at Karnak. However, Kallai (*HGB*, 422) has noted that the Egyptians did not usually confuse the letters *ḥet* and *ʿayin* and that therefore the names in the Thutmose III list are not to be associated with Hapharaim. The toponym had also been connected with Number 18 *(ḥprm)* in the Conquest List of Shishak I at Karnak (see *ANET*, 242), which, while linguistically acceptable, is rejected by many researchers Aharoni (*LBHG*, 327) who believe the site Shishak mentioned was located E of the Jordan river.

Hapharaim is sometimes located (*RAB*, 146) at Khirbet el-Farriyeh (M.R. 160226), based in part on the similarity of the ancient and modern names. However, this site, located NW of Megiddo, is far outside the territorial boundaries of Issachar determined by the other sites in the passage. Albright (1926: 227–28) suggested the location of Hapharaim at the village of et-Ṭaiyibeh (M.R. 192223). While superficially the name is not similar, by the Islamic period Hapharaim had changed to a root of *ʿpr*, (*HGB*, 423), which has negative connotations in Arabic, resulting in the substitution of a "good" *(ṭyb)* name. Albright's identification has been generally accepted, although Kallai (*HGB*, 203) has noted that Afula (M.R. 177223) remains another possibility.

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MELVIN HUNT

**HAPIRU.** See HABIRU, HAPIRU.

**HAPPIZZEZ** (PERSON) [Heb *happiṣṣēṣ* (הַפִּצֵּץ)]. A priest who received the 18th position in the priestly order of the temple during David's reign (1 Chr 24:15). 1 Chronicles 24 is the only place where Happizzez appears in the OT. It seems highly unlikely that he was a historical priest contemporaneous with David. Instead, Happizzez may represent a familial name, a clan located at Beth-pazzez (Josh 19:21). An evaluation of the historical reliability of his appearance, however, depends ultimately on the literary context of 1 Chr 24:1–19. For questions regarding the date of this list of priests, see HAKKOZ. See BETH-PAZZEZ.

JOHN W. WRIGHT

**HAR HARIF** (M.R. 107989). A set of prehistoric sites located at the highest elevations of the central Negeb highlands adjacent to Sinai, ca. 900–1000 m above sea level. It was first investigated by an expedition under the direction of A. E. Marks from 1969 through 1974. More extensive excavations were conducted by A. N. Goring-Morris and A. Gopher in 1980 and 1981.

This area, at the S boundary of the Irano-Turanian vegetation zone, contained relatively abundant plant and animal food resources during the Late and Terminal Pleistocene and so provided an attractive focus for local hunter-gatherer bands. Various open-air campsites of Upper Paleolithic and Epipaleolithic groups (especially of the local "Ramonian" industry) have been investigated on the loess-covered plateau. These camps usually comprise limited (20–150 $m^2$) scatters of flint artifacts in which organic materials have not been preserved and presumably represent ephemeral hunting camps.

A large Natufian site complex of the 10th millennium B.C., Rosh Horesha, is located in an adjacent shallow valley; extending over at least 4 dunams, it is the southernmost Natufian base camp known in the Negeb. Many bedrock mortars in the vicinity indicate that plant resources (probably pistachio nuts, but perhaps also barley) were major staples in addition to meat from hunted prey. The associated lithic assemblage was abundant.

The Epipaleolithic Harifian industry is named after a series of sites found on Har Harif, the best documented of which are Abu Salem and Ramat Harif. These sites, well dated by $C^{14}$ determinations to the second half of the 9th millennium B.C., apparently represent the summer base camps of a local group.

These camps, each extending over ca. 600 $m^2$, comprise no more than three or four separate (family?), semi-subterranean, circular dwellings up to 3 m in diameter and a few additional smaller structures, such that there would have been no more than 30 occupants. The economy was based upon vegetal resources, processed on grinding slabs (barley? or other cereals) and by pounding with mortars and pestles, as well as upon hunting (especially gazelle, ibex, and wild goat), seemingly with the newly developed bow and arrow. An abundant flint industry (more than 5000 tools and 80,000 pieces of waste in one structure alone) is distinctive but reminiscent of the preceding Natufian. Exotic ornamental elements are quite common, especially sea shells, most from the Red Sea (as opposed to the Mediterranean orientation at Rosh Horesha), turquoise beads, malachite, and other rare minerals.

During the winter months the Harifians apparently separated into smaller (family?) units and moved to nearby lower regions, especially the dune fields of N Sinai and the W Negeb, where small transient campsites without architectural remains have been documented, and perhaps also E to the shelter of the Maktesh Ramon.

This transhumant Harifian adaptation was disrupted by increasing desiccation, leading to the virtual abandonment of the Negeb during the first half of the 8th millennium B.C. The region was only subsequently reoccupied some 1000 years later at Abu Salem, where the remains of a Pre-Pottery Neolithic B campsite with a few small structures were found.

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**HAR-HERES** (PLACE) [Heb *har-ḥeres* (הַר־חֶרֶס)]. The toponym Har-heres, which means "scurfy mountain(s)," appears in the OT only in Judg 1:35. It was the name of a mountain range on the E or SE edge of the valley of Aijalon (cf. Josh 10:12), in the transition zone between the mountains and the hill country. In certain periods there may have been a settlement on the mountainside. In any case a site on the S slope of the bare hills running NW about 2 miles SE of Yalo bears the name *ḥirbet ḥirša;* another, on the W slope of a range slightly farther S is called *ḥirbet ḥarsīs*. It is reasonable to assume that one of these names preserves the OT toponym Har-heres.

Judg 1:35 mentions Har-heres in conjnction with Aijalon (Yalo) and Shaalbim (Selbiṭ), which are clearly villages; in the past the toponym has likewise been understood as the name of a village. It has usually been interpreted as a variant of the familiar Beth-shemesh (Tell er-Rumeileh near En-shems), since Heb *ḥeres,* like *sûemesû,* can also mean "sun" (cf. Job 9:7). This identification is contradicted, however, by the initial element *har,* which in the OT always means "mountain (range)." The apparent exception in Josh 15:10, where Har-jearim is equated with the village Chesalon, is based on a mistaken secondary identification: Chesalon was located on the N slope of Har-jearim. Furthermore, the LXX of

Judg 1:35 translates *har* as *oros,* whereas it always transliterates the names of villages (e.g., *baithsamys* for Beth-shemesh).

According to Judg 1:34–35 Har-heres, like the nearby villages of Aijalon and Shaalbim, remained in the hands of the Amorites when the small band of Danites tried to enter the fertile valley of Aijalon before migrating to Laish (Judg 18:27–29) from their encampment at Kiriath-jearim (Judg 18:12). The house of Joseph, more precisely the tribe of Ephraim, considered this territory as part of its sphere of influence and finally acquired sovereignty over it.

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K.-D. SCHUNCK
TRANS. DAVID E. GREEN

**HARA** (PLACE) [Heb *hārāʾ* (הָרָא)]. A place of exile for some of the Israelites or at least the people of the capital city of Samaria. The word means "mountain" or "highland." It is omitted in LXX A B and Syr. In 1 Chr 5:26 Hara is listed with Hala, Habor, and the river Gozan, as the place of exile by Assyrian King Pul (his personal name) or Tilgath-pileser (more accurately, Tiglath-pileser III, his throne name, 745–727 B.C.). In 2 Kgs 17:6 and 18:11 the RSV records that the king took the people of Samaria (the city) to Assyria and put them in Halah; on the Habor, the river of Gozan; and in the *cities* of the Medes. Instead of Hara, Heb has "cities of Media." The LXX has "mountains of Media." Perhaps Hara is a corruption of *har,* "mountain," or *haʿir,* "city." Gozan (Ptolemy's Gauzanitis, modern Tell Halaf) is in N Mesopotamia. Curtis (*Chronicles* ICC) claimed it was a district, the Assyrian *Gu-za-na.* The Habor is the modern river Khābûr, the ancient Chaboras, which rises in Karabjab Dagh (ancient Mons Masius), runs for 200 miles through the Gozan district, and empties into the Euphrates SE of the modern town of ed-Deir, which some identify as Hara. Some suggest that Hara should be read Hara on the Balikh 100 miles to the W. Others understand Hara as a local designation of Mons Masius. But a similar attraction is found in the mountain district E of the Tigris river. Arabs called these highlands El Gebal "the Mountain." It is less likely, but possible, that Hara is a corruption of Harhar, a Median city conquered by Sargon and colonized by him with captives from other countries. Tobit (1:14–15) communicated with fellow Jews in Media (Bowman *IDB* 2: 523–24), lending some support to a location in Media. Many commentators see "mountains" or "cities" as original with the Chronicler, mistaking the term for a place called Hara. However, Keil (n.d.: 111) suggested the Chronicler was drawing on a separate authority. *Cities* is a more general term while Hara is the specific name of the district (El Jebel) in Aramaic, for Heb *har,* "mountain" a name which he knew through his separate authority. It is a name which could only have been handed down by the exiles who lived there. Keil identified Halah with Strabo's Calachene, E of the Tigris near Adiabene, N of Nineveh on the Armenian frontier. The Habor is not the Chaboras in Mesopotamia, but a district in N Assyria where Jakut mentions there is both a mountain Chaboras on the Assyria-Media frontier and a river Khābûr Chasaniae, which starts near the Upper Zab, near Amadijeh, and enters the Tigris below Jezirah. Thus Halah, Habor, and Hara are E and N of the Assyrian capital, further removed from Israel than the upper Euphrates and further removed as troublemakers for the Assyrian occupation of Israel.

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**HARADAH** (PLACE) [Heb *harādâ* (הָרָדָה)]. The ninth encampment of the Israelites after leaving the Wilderness of Sinai as listed in Num 33:24–25, placed between Mt. Sepher and Makheloth. The name, which means "fear," "trembling," or "anxiety," gives no clue as to its possible location, though it may

suggest a place where the Israelites met some misfortune (compare this with Kibroth-hattaavah, in Num 11:4–6 and 31–35, where a story relates the origin of a similar name). Suggested locations for this site include the Wâdī Lussan (*GP*, 215; M.R. 085985) and Jebel ʿAradeh (Palmer 1872: 253, 419; M.R. 099843). For a discussion of the location of any of the places associated with the journey of the Israelites from Egypt through Sinai see DOPHKAH.

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**HARAN** (PERSON) [Heb *hārān* (הָרָן)*; ḥārān* (חָרָן)]. **1.** Son of Terah; brother of Abram and Nahor; and father of Lot, Milcah, and Iscah (Gen 11:27–29). Haran died in Ur of the Chaldeans while his father was still alive. Haran as a personal name is to be distinguished from Haran, the place name (Heb *ḥārān*). The personal name is composed of two elements: *hr,* the Hebrew word for "mountain"; and a W Semitic suffix which appears on proper names *-ānu/i/a* (Sivan 1984: 97–98). (For another use of the *-ān* ending in personal names of Genesis 1–11, see KENAN.) In personal names from Mari and Alalakh, the spellings *ḫa-ri-* and *ḫa-ru-* occur, but their relation to the *hr* element is not certain (cf. Sivan 1984: 222; but Huffmon *APNM*, 204). Such an element has not been recognized in Amorite; and the only example of the W Semitic noun, *hr,* in cuneiform, appears in a gloss in an Amarna Letter from Byblos (EA text 74, line 20), where it occurs in a geminate form *ḫa-ar-ri.* More certain is the initial element in both the later Phoenician personal name, *hr-bʿl* (Benz *PNPPI*, 303), and the Israelite personal name, *hryhw*, from Gibeon (Pritchard 1962: 119).

**2.** A son of Shimei, of the sons of Gershon, of the tribe of Levi (1 Chr 23:9).

**3.** Son of Caleb and his concubine, Ephah; brother of Moza and Gazez; and father of Gazez (1 Chr 2:46).

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RICHARD S. HESS

**HARAN** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥārān* (חָרָן)]. The place to which Terah and his family (including Abram) migrated from Ur and where the descendants of Abram's brother Nahor dwelt and Terah died (Gen 11:31, 32).

**A. Name and Location**

The Sumerian word KASKAL, which Akkadians read as *ḫarrānu,* "road," was adapted as the name of the city of Haran. The determinative signs URU or KUR attached before the name of the city of Haran indicated it either as (1) city (or town, or village), or (2) country (or land, or region). The Akkadian city name *Ḫarrānu* was transcribed into Hebrew as *Ḥārān.* The Babylonian and Assyrian word *ḫarrānu* as a feminine noun (rarely as masculine word) denoted (1) "highway," "road," "path"; (2) "trip," "journey," "travel"; (3) "business trip"; (4) "caravan"; (5) "business venture"; (6) "business capital"; (7) "military campaign," "expedition," "raid"; (8) "expeditionary force," "army"; (9) "corvée work"; (10) "service unit" from the OAkk period onwards. The city of Haran, probably located at the "junction of trade routes," was named after the crossroads.

Some consider that this city, Haran, was named after Terah's son Haran (Gen 11:26–28), but the Hebrew spelling of the names is different. Since Haran was born at Ur and died there before the migration of the Terahide family from Ur, it is inconceivable that the city of Haran was named after him.

Haran may be identified with Padan (Gen 48:7). The Akk *padānu* and *paddānu* both mean "road" (like *ḫarrānu*) and "the biliary ducts of the liver." The expression Padan Aram appears more often than the simple Padan but only ten times in Genesis. Some consider the expression "the field of Aram" (Hos

12:12) as the Hebrew translation of Padan Aram. However, most probably the expression "the field of Aram" may be another way of referring to the plain between two rivers (either Euphrates and Tigris or Euphrates and Khābûr) corresponding to the name Aram-naharaim. In the Targumic Aramaic the word *paddĕnā*› means "yoke," "span of oxen." The Akk *paddānu* "road," and the Aram *paddĕnā*› "span of oxen," share the common idea of "spanning two regions," for the road is considered as the bridge between two or more regions.

Haran is situated about 100 km N from the confluence of the Euphrates and the Balikh (a tributary of the Upper Euphrates) and 80 km E of the city of Carchemish on the winding upper Euphrates river. It is located at the confluence of the wadis which join the Balikh in winter, also at 80 km W of the city of Guzana or Gozan (Tell Halaf) and halfway between Guzana and Carchemish on the E-W road which links Nineveh on the Tigris and the E Mediterranean countries, at the point where the N-S route along the Balikh crosses.

"The city of Nahor" in Gen 24:10, mentioned as the place where Rebekah's parents lived, may be identified with "Nakhur," which is often mentioned in the Mari tablets as well as in the Middle Assyrian documents of the 7th century B.C. According to Albright it is located below Haran in the Balikh valley, judging from the name of a town Til-Nakhiri, "the Mound of Nakhur," in the above documents (*FSAC* 115, 236–237). It was probably another town, different from the city of Haran, but still in the Haran district. In Assyrian documents we see more names of towns similar to the names of the people in Terah's family: e.g., Til-Turakhi, "Mound of Terah," probably also located on the S Balikh like Til-Nakhiri, and Serugi "Serug," modern Seruj, some 55 km W of Haran.

**B. History**

The OA Cappadocian tablets (Kültepe texts), business letters and legal documents of Assyrian merchants (working in the E portion of Asia Minor in the 19th and 18th century B.C.), and an itinerary and a letter addressed to Yasmah-Adad (the Assyrian viceroy at Mari of the OB period belonging to the 18th century B.C.) mention Haran as an important crossroads. The main temple, È-ḫULḫUL, at Haran was a center for the worship of Sin, the Mesopotamian moon-god.

The Israelite's confession that "my father was a wandering Aramean" (Deut 26:5) suggests that their ancestors were either Aramean nomadic people or non-Semitic nomadic people who came to live in an Aramean environment in the Haran district. Terah and his family genealogically belonged to the Hebrew (or perhaps ʻApiru), who are the descendants of Eber in Gen 10:21, 25; but they had a close association with Arameans before or after coming to Aram-naharaim "Aram of two rivers (= Mesopotamia)." Terah and his family settled there for a considerably long time, so that Abraham could call the Haran region "my country" (Gen 24:4).

At the time of Terah and Abram, the culture of the people of NW Mesopotamia, in the region around Haran, was a mixture of Hurrian and Amorite elements on a Sumero-Akkadian foundation defined and illustrated by the Cappadocian tablets, the Mari documents, the Code of Hammurapi, the OB letters from Babylon, and the Nuzi tablets of the 15th century B.C. There is no positive evidence for defining the time of the earlier migration from Ur of the Chaldees to Haran. Moreover, the Chaldeans during the patriarchal periods seem to be rather nomadic raiders (Job 1:17) who lived near Haran or Edom; so the traditional site of Ur in S Mesopotamia may be reexamined as some seek the location near Haran; but the place is not identified yet.

After Terah's death Abraham migrated from Haran to Canaan when he was 75 years old (Gen 12:4–5), but the family of Nahor remained there, and his wife Milcah bore 8 children: Uz, Buz, Kemuel, Chesed, Hazo, Pildash, Jidlaph, and Bethuel (Gen 22:20–22). Eliezer brought Rebekah, daughter of Bethuel, from there (Genesis 24); and later Jacob fled there to live with Laban; there he married Laban's two daughters, Leah and Rachel; and there his 11 children were born.

At the time of Hammurapi (1728–1686 B.C.) Haran was under an Amorite king, Asdi-takim. The alliance between this king of Haran and the kings of Zalmaqum and sheikhs and elders of the Benjaminites (mentioned in one of the Mari Letters), was concluded in the temple of the moon-god at Haran. In the MA period Adad-nirari I (1307–1275 B.C.) fortified the citadel of Haran, and Tiglath-pileser

I (1115–1077 B.C.) embellished the temple É.ḪULḪUL of the moon-god. Because of its rebellion the city of Haran was destroyed by Asshur-dan III in 763 B.C., which event Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) mentioned to intimidate Jerusalem (2 Kgs 19:12; Isa 37:12). The city was restored by Sargon II (721–705 B.C.), and the temple was repaired by Esarhaddon (675 B.C.) and by Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.). A letter to Ashurbanipal says that Esarhaddon "saw in the region of Harran a temple of cedarwood. Therein the god Sin was leaning on a staff, with two crowns on his head" (*ANET*, 450). After the fall of Nineveh (612 B.C.), Haran became the last capital of the NA Empire until its capture by the Babylonians in 609 B.C. The NB Empire restored the temple of the moon-god at Haran and appointed Nabonidus' mother as the high priestess of the temple. In the book of Ezekiel, Haran is mentioned as one of the famous commercial cities trading with Tyre (Ezek 27:23), but after then the city existed without particular relation to the biblical account until several centuries after the NT period when it fell into ruin. For further discussion, see *EncJud* 7: 1328–30; *NBD*, 504.

YOSHITAKA KOBAYASHI

**HARARITE** [Heb *hahărārî* (הַהֲרָרִי)]. A gentilic adjective describing the location or clan from which a number of David's mighty men came (2 Sam 23:11, 33). Most scholars feel that the adjective designates a location, although it has not been identified with certainty. On the basis of the appearance of the term *A-ra-ri* in the Amarna Letters, it has been identified with either a town in the S district of Judah near Hebron (Elliger *KlSchr*, 98) or the biblical Aroer in the Negeb (Albright 1943: 14). Others have argued that the location is in the Shephelah, since a Hararite led a battle against the Philistines (2 Sam 23:11–12; *HDB* 2: 301). This assumes that the battle was fought near the border of Philistia and Israel and also that the Hararite's place of origin was in the same general area. Perhaps the simplest explanation is that of Gesenius, who argues that Hararite means "mountain dweller" (Heb *har* = mountain) (*BDB*, 251).

Three of David's mighty warriors were Hararites, one belonging to the group distinguished as "The Three" and two to the one known as "The Thirty." Shammah was a member of the former group. His father, Agee, was known as a Hararite (2 Sam 23:11; Heb *hārārî* is a contraction for *hahărārî*), and presumably he was too. Shammah played an important role in defeating the Philistines in a significant battle. The other two members were Shammah's son, Jonathan (reading with LXX: *huios* in 1 Chr 11:34; cf. LXX in 2 Sam 23:33), and Ahiam, whose father, Sharar (1 Chr 11:35 = *śākār*), is called the Hararite (Heb *hā‧rārî* in 2 Sam 23:33 is a variant of *hahărārî*). See also DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

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STEPHEN G. DEMPSTER

**HARBONA** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥarbônâ* (חַרְבוֹנָה)*; ḥarbônā‧* (חַרְבוֹנָא)]. See MEHUMAN (PERSON).

**HARE.** See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

**HAREPH** (PERSON) [Heb *harep* (הַרֶף)]. Son of Hur and "father of Beth-gader" (1 Chr 2:51). Beth-gader is a town, not a person. Hareph possibly means "autumn" or "maturity" (or "to scorn"). In the LXX it appears as *hari[e]m.* Reflecting the uncertainties of the textual tradition, the Peshitta reads "Abi, who was born in Gader" (see also the KJV). The name Hareph occurs in a fragment of a Calebite genealogy that the Chronicler (or the tradition before him) has broken up (1 Chr 2:18–20, 24, 50b–55; 4:4b). This name occurs nowhere else in biblical literature, and the town of which this person was supposedly the father is unidentified. Most interpreters think that it was in the vicinity of Bethlehem, a town which Salma, another son of Hur, also supposedly founded (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 42).

CRAIG A. EVANS

**HARHAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥarĕhăyâ* (חַרְהַיָּה)]. The father of Uzziel, one of those who worked on the wall of Jerusalem following the return from Babylonian exile (Neh 3:8). See UZZIEL. Since the root and meaning of the name are unknown (BDB, 354) and the word as it stands creates an awkward phrase, an emendation to *ḥeber* has been proposed, in which case this would be no proper name. The emendation would alter the phrase to "Uzziel, a son (member) of the guild of the goldsmiths" (cf. *IDB* 2: 525). Clines (*Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 153) finds the proposed emendation attractive, since it would account for the plural form "goldsmiths." One hindrance in accepting the emendation is that in this same verse Hananiah is identified as "a son of the perfumers" and in 3:32 Malchijah is named as "a son of the goldsmiths," in both cases without the word *guild* being interjected.
MICHAEL L. RUFFIN

**HARHAS** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥarḥas* (חַרְחַס)]. Var. HASRAH. Grandfather of Shallum, husband of the prophetess Huldah (2 Kgs 22:14). The name is unusual and may have resulted from metathesis. In the parallel text in 2 Chr 34:22, Shallum's grandfather is *Ḥasrâ,* which may be the proper form of the name.
PAULINE A. VIVIANO

**HARHUR** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥarḥûr* (חַרְחוּר)]. The name of a family of temple servants (Nethinim) who returned to Palestine with Zerubbabel shortly after 538 B.C.E., the end of the Babylonian exile. The name appears in Ezra 2:51 in the phrase "the sons of Harhur," where the temple servants are distinguished from the people of Israel, the priests, and the Levites. The parallel passage Neh 7:46–56 also lists "the sons of Harhur" (Neh 7:53).

In another parallel passage, 1 Esdr 5:29–32, it appears that the names Asur and Pharakim have replaced Harhur (1 Esdr 5:31). However, there are a sufficient number of discrepancies between the Ezra-Nehemiah and 1 Esdras lists to suggest that the absence of Harhur is not due to an intentional replacement; there is no known connection between Harhur and these other names which would occasion the suggested substitution.
STEVEN R. SWANSON

**HARIF, HAR.** See HAR HARIF (M.R. 107989).

**HARIM** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥārim* (חָרִם)], Var. ANNAN; REHUM. **1.** Name of one of the 24 divisions of the priests in the time of David (1 Chr 24:8). Although the Chronicler attributes this division of the priests to David, most scholars regard the list as reflecting priestly organization from a later time, with estimates ranging from the late preexilic period (Myers *1 Chronicles* 165–66) to ca. 300 B.C. (Williamson 1979: 251–68). See 3 below.

**2.** Name of a family of priests in the postexilic period who are listed as returnees from Babylonian exile under the leadership of Zerubbabel and others (Ezra 2:39 = Neh 7:42 = 1 Esdr 5:25). Some from this family married foreign wives and later agreed to divorce them in response to Ezra's reform (Ezra 10:21). In both of these contexts, Harim is one of four priestly families listed. For discussion of the list in Ezra 2, see AKKUB.

**3.** Name of one of the priestly divisions in the postexilic period (Neh 12:15), whose representative signed the covenant document of Nehemiah in Neh 10:6—Eng10:5. In both of these contexts, Harim is one of more than 20 priestly names listed. The virtual identity between the priestly divisions of Neh 12:12–21 and Neh 12:1–7 indicates that REHUM (Neh 12:3) is a variant of Harim caused by the transposition of the first two consonants. The priestly lists in Ezra 2:36–39; 10:18–22; Neh 10:3–9—Eng10:2–8; 12:1–7, 12:21; and 1 Chr 24:7–19 provide evidence for tracing the development of 24 priestly divisions in the postexilic period. (See Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* 196; Kidner *Ezra-Nehemiah* TOTC, 122; Clines *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* NCBC, 223–24; Williamson *Ezra-Nehemiah* WBC, 359–61.)

Many do not regard the list and covenant of Nehemiah 10 as belonging originally in this context. Williamson (*Ezra-Nehemiah* WBC, 325–30) surveys various views about the origins of this list. He concludes that it was compiled from other lists in Ezra and Nehemiah in order to be attached to the terms of an agreement drawn up by Nehemiah following his reforms of Nehemiah 13. This document was then kept in the temple archives until being inserted into its present position. (See also Clines, 199–200; Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 174–75; Jepsen 1954: 87–106.)

**4.** Name of a family of laypeople who are listed as returnees from Babylonian exile under the leadership of Zerubbabel and others (Ezra 2:32 = Neh 7:35). The presence of Harim in a section with many geographic names (Ezra 2:21–35) raises the possibility that this family's name was derived from a place rather than a person. (See Batten *Ezra and Nehemiah* ICC, 81; *IB* 3: 581; Williamson *Ezra-Nehemiah* WBC, 33–34.) Some from this family married foreign wives and later agreed to divorce them in response to Ezra's reform (Ezra 10:31 = 1 Esdr 9:32). 1 Esdras gives ANNAN as the name of the family, which could be the personal name by which it was known.

A member of this family assisted Nehemiah in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem (Neh 3:11). That the list of builders is a partial one is evident from the reference in this verse (and also vv 19, 20, 30) to a "second section" without any previous notation of a first section (compare 3:4 and 21; 3:5 and 27). There is widespread agreement that the list came from independent archives, perhaps in the temple, and was incorporated into the Nehemiah memoirs by Nehemiah himself or by some other editor. (See Batten, 206–7; Clines, 149; Williamson *Ezra-Nehemiah* WBC, 199–202.)

The leader of this clan affixed the family name to the covenant document of Nehemiah in Neh 10:28—Eng10:27.

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CHANEY R. BERGDALL

**HARIPH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥārîp* (חָרִיף)]. The head of an important Judahite family who returned after the Exile (Neh 7:24). He was one of those who sealed the covenant of reform (Neh 10:20—Eng10:19), and the men of his family are said to have numbered 112 (Neh 7:24; cf. 1 Esdr 5:16).

There appears to be some confusion among the OT versions of the list of returnees. In Ezra 2:18 the name Jorah corresponds to Hariph. 1 Esdr 5:16 variants read Arseiphoureth (Gk *arsiphouris;* cf. *hariphou*). In each case the family is recorded as numbering 112 "sons." The name Hariph may have some connection with the gentilic (RSV Haruphite) of 1 Chr 12:6 (Heb K *hărîpî,* Q *hărûpî*). A possibly related name is known from Ugarit (Ug *ḫrpn*).

NORA A. WILLIAMS

**HARMON** (PLACE) [Heb *harmôn* (הַרְמוֹן)). A place to which the leading women of Samaria are to be carried away (Amos 4:3). All efforts to discover the place named in only this one text have failed. Many modern scholars will repoint the word to read Hermon (Wolff *Joel, Amos* Hermeneia, 207). Mt. Hermon lies beyond Bashan (famed for the cattle used to characterize the apparently voluptuous women of 4:1), far to the N of Israel in the general direction of Damascus, but by virtue of its great height is easily seen from most higher elevations within Israel. To be cast here, it may be argued, is but another way of saying that they will be deported by enemies from the N. This argument is much more convincing that those suggesting other place names like the mountain of Remmon (LXX), the mountains of Armenia (Targums), or such specific places as the palace (KJV) or dunghill (NEB), and certainly more than those that would turn the place into an otherwise unknown goddess by the name Rimmonah. See also Harper *Amos and Hosea* ICC.

ELMER H. DYCK

**HARMONY OF GOSPELS.** A gospel harmony is a narrative life of Jesus constructed by combining or otherwise harmonizing the four different canonical gospel accounts of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. A gospel harmony rests on the proposition that the four canonical gospels are in fundamental or absolute substantive agreement *(consensus evangelistarum)* in their presentation of the life of Jesus.

The earliest known gospel harmony is that of Tatian, who wrote his *Diatessaron* in the latter part of the 2d century (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.29.6). Many of the basic questions associated with the text remain in dispute, including the original language (Greek or Syriac), its place of composition (Rome or E Syria), and the sources Tatian used (simply the four canonical gospels or an additional noncanonical source). Attempts to settle these and other issues have been hampered by the fact that Tatian's text survives in but one small Greek fragment (Kraeling 1935). Most of our knowledge of the text comes from the partially preserved Syriac text in Ephrem's *Commentary on the Diatessaron* (ed. Leloir), and various later translations and versions, including texts in Armenian, Arabic, Middle Persian, Old Latin, and Italian (for a concise listing of the relevant manuscripts, see Wünsch *TRE* 10, 628–29).

Though Tatian's *Diatessaron* continued to be translated, summarized, or otherwise adapted for popular readership (so, for example, the *Gesta Christi* of John Hus, or the medieval Jesus epic *Heliand*), no new gospel harmony seems to have appeared before the 15th century, when the reformer Johannes Gerson wrote his *Monotessaron.* Gerson's method was to follow the narrative outline of John, inserting harmonized versions of synoptic pericopes into contexts which he thought to be appropriate (Wünsch 1983: 15–20). Gerson's work marks the beginning of a period in which this genre enjoyed immense popularity. The next two centuries saw the publication of over 40 different gospel harmonies, including those of Lucinius (1525), Beringer (1526), Alber (1532), Osiander (1537), Jansen (1549), and perhaps the most ambitious effort within the genre, the *Harmonia evangelica,* begun by Chemnitz but finished and published by P. Leyser and J. Gerhard between 1593 and 1652. Chemnitz' plan, like that of Gerson, was to follow the outline of John, filling in the interstices with harmonized versions of synoptic pericopes. Thus each chapter begins with an explanation of the relative placement of each pericope. This is followed by the parallel gospel texts themselves, in both Greek and Latin, then a harmonized version of the text with explanatory notes to the harmonization, and finally a commentary upon the particular section under consideration (Wünsch *TRE* 10, 633–34).

The popularity of gospel harmonies continued for another century, but with the Enlightenment and the advent of more critical approaches to the life of Jesus, the scholarly energy required to produce a work on the level of the *Harmonia evangelica* was channeled to newer methods of reconstructing the life of Jesus that were not so intent upon producing accounts in absolute literal conformity with the canonical texts.

In the modern period the comparative function performed by gospel harmonies was taken up by various gospel synopses, which present the canonical gospels in parallel columns or lines but do not necessarily presume the dogmatic position that all four gospel accounts must be in substantive agreement. The most popular of these has been the *Synopsis Quattuor Evageliorum* compiled by the German scholar Kurt Aland. It presents the three Synoptic Gospels in parallel columns, as well as the Johannine parallels where such exist. The basic plan of the Aland synopsis is based upon the Markan order, including the longer sections in which Matthew and Luke create their own order as detours within this overall framework. Robert Funk's *New Gospel Parallels,* on the other hand, seeks to arrange the material in such a way that preserves the narrative sequence of each of the primary texts. It thus presents each of the gospels (including John and several extracanonical texts) consecutively, first Matthew in its entirety, with parallels from other gospel texts given in parallel vertical columns located to the right of the primary text, then Mark in its entirety with parallels, then Luke, and so forth. The result is a longer, more repetitious work, but one which may prove more useful for persons interested in a more literary-critical approach to the gospels.

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STEPHEN J. PATTERSON

**HARNEPHER** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥarneper* (חַרְנֶפֶר)]. A descendant of Asher, known only from the segmented genealogy of Asher in 1 Chr 7:30–40. The name appears in v 36 as a son of Zophah, as a fifth-generation descendant of the eponymous tribal ancestor Asher. Although the genealogy suggests that Harnepher was a person, other names in the list, such as Shual, Zophah, Japhlet, and Shelesh/Shilshah, are known from their appearances elsewhere in the Bible to have been clan names and/or geographic designations. The summary in v 40 would seem to indicate that the names used to create the genealogy were derived from administrative lists used for purposes of army conscription and possibly also taxation. Accordingly, the names probably represent clans, villages, or regions associated with clans rather than historical individuals. The entire Asherite genealogy in 1 Chronicles 7 reflects groups living in the Asherite enclave in S Mt. Ephraim, not those inhabiting the Galilean territory of Asher (Edelman 1988; see ASHER; ASHURITES).

Harnepher is an Egyptian name meaning " (the deity) Horus is good." According to the legend of the winged disk written on the walls of the temple of Horus at Edfu, Horus was the champion of the sun-god Ra and was symbolized in the winged solar disk. Thus he was especially associated with war and the conquest of foreign enemies. Pharaoh was believed to be Horus incarnate and as such became Ra's champion whenever he undertook military campaigns (Watterson 1984: 107).

The most plausible explanation for the appearance of an Egyptian name in an administrative list that would have been derived from Judahite archival records is that Harnepher represents an Egyptian military garrison that was built within Judahite territory sometime during the brief period of Egyptian domination of Palestine under Psammetichus I and his successor, Neco II (Edelman 1988: 19). 2 Kgs 23:33–35 indicates that Judah was a vassal to Neco II; and as overlord, the pharaoh would have been free to establish garrisons within Judahite territory in S Mt. Ephraim to secure his interests. Judah's vassal status may already have been established during Psammethicus' reign (Miller and Hayes *HAIJ,* 388–90, 402). The underlying administrative list that included Harnepher as a part of the Judahite taxation/military conscription base therefore can probably be dated within the last four decades of Judah's existence as an independent state, ca. 630–587 B.C.E., during the reign of Josiah or one of his successors.

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

**HARNESS.** See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

**HAROD** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥărod* (חֲרֹד)]. **1.** The name of the spring by which Gideon made his camp before his battle against the Midianites (Judg 7:1). The name of the spring means "trembling," which is related to the first test to which Gideon subjected his men. It was at the spring that Gideon conducted his final test, excusing those who knelt down to drink. Traditionally, the spring is identified with that which flows today at Ain Jalud (M.R. 184217). At this site Gideon's camp would have overlooked the Midianites, who camped below the hill of Moreh.

**2.** The hometown of two of David's mighty men, Shammah and Elika (2 Sam 23:25). In this instance Harod should be understood as a town, not a physical feature. Given David's links with the S, most scholars (McCarter, *2 Samuel* AB, 497; *GTTOT,* 338) have suggested Khirbet el-Haredan (M.R. 178126), a few km SE of Jerusalem, as the location of this Harod. The question is complicated by the parallel list of

the mighty men of David's army in 1 Chr 11:27, where Shammoth of Haror replaces Shammah and where Elika is dropped entirely. However, the final *reš* in Haror may be easily emended to *dalet;* however, it remains possible that Harod and Haror are distinct toponyms.
MELVIN HUNT

**HAROEH** (PERSON) [Heb *hārō‹eh* (הָרֹאֶה)]. Son of Shobal, founder of Kiriath-jearim (1 Chr 2:52).

Haroeh means "the seer." Although the LXX apparently supports this reading *(haraa),* Curtis and Noth, followed by others (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 55; Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 38), believe that the original reading was Reaiah [Heb *rĕ‹āyāh*], as in 1 Chr 4:2. This is likely the case. The Peshitta also attests the corrupt state of the textual tradition (compare the KJV). 1 Chr 2:50b–55 is probably a fragment of a Calebite genealogy that the Chronicler (or the tradition before him) has broken up (see 1 Chr 2:18–20, 24; 4:4b). Reaiah probably means "vision of the Lord." Although the name occurs elsewhere in biblical literature (Ezra 2:47; Neh 7:50), nothing is known of this Reaiah, the son of Shobal.
CRAIG A. EVANS

**HAROSHETH-HAGOIIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥărošet* (חֲרֹשֶׁת) *haggōyim* (הַגּוֹיִם)]. The place where Sisera, the army commander of Jabin of Hazor, dwelt; the place from which his chariots went forth before the battle at Mt. Tabor; and the place toward which they fled after their defeat (Judg 4:2, 13, 16). The precise location of this site has never been established. Indeed, serious questions have been raised whether Harosheth-Hagoiim was a town at all. The LXX translates the term as "forests of the nations"; so Maisler (1953: 83) and Aharoni (*LBHG*, 221–23) have argued that, like the term *gĕlîl haggôyim* "Galilee of the nations," it refers to a forested region of N Israel which Sisera "ruled" (an alternative translation of the verb *yšb b*) on behalf of Jabin, controlling the seminomadic Israelite inhabitants (see GOIIM). This explanation, while superficially plausible, requires a chronological reversal of the battles of Deborah and Barak with those of Joshua and overlooks the statements (Judg 4:13–16) that Sisera marshaled his forces at Harosheth-Hagoiim and fled there after the battle.

However, it remains puzzling why Harosheth-Hagoiim is mentioned only here in all the ancient sources available to us, if in fact it was an important power in antiquity. Attempts to link Harosheth-Hagoiim with the *Muḫrashti* of the Amarna archives (Boling, *Judges* 94) are not convincing. Proposed identifications with Khirbet el-Haritiyye (M.R. 161236) and Tell Amr/Tel Geva Shemen (M.R. 159237) (*GTTOT*, 288; *RAB*, 147) are not supported by the archaeological evidence from the sites.

Recent archaeological studies (Gonen 1984; Oren 1984) have shown that beginning in the LB and continuing into Iron I, urban activity in Palestine declined, while Egyptian influence as far N as Beth-shan remained strong. It seems unlikely that the remaining Iron I Canaanite strongholds, although they were strong enough to resist the Israelites, retained the economic or social capacity to field major chariot forces on their own. Yet the OT makes no explicit reference to Egyptian activity in Palestine during the period of the judges. It may be possible that the dilemma posed by the enigmatic Harosheth-Hagoiim is an oblique reference to an Egyptian presence in the Jezreel valley.

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MELVIN HUNT

**HARP.** See MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

**HARSHA** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥaršā‹* (חַרְשָׁא)]. Var. CHAREA. A temple servant who was the progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:52 = Neh 7:54). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, the name of this family's

ancestor appears as "Charea" (Gk *Charea*) in 1 Esdr 5:32. Differences such as this raise questions about the sources of and literary relationships among 1 Esdras, Ezra, and Nehemiah.
MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**HARSHA, TEL.** See TEL-HARSHA (PLACE).

**HART.** See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

**HARUM** (PERSON) [Heb *hārûm* (הָרוּם)]. A Judahite, the father of Aharhel and ancestor of the families of Aharhel (1 Chr 4:8; cf. Noth *IPN,* 241). Harum was apparently descended from Koz. Rudolph (*Chronicles* HAT, 30) concluded that the text is in disorder—since the line of Aharhel is traced back to Koz, how could the family also be descended from Harum? This objection is ungrounded, however, as Koz did not father the families *(mišpĕḥôt)* of Aharhel in one generation. In genealogies the concepts of *father* and *son* are used to refer to descent over varying numbers of generations. Harum, then, might have been a prominent descendant of Koz in the line which gave rise to the families of Aharhel. The Greek has *Iarim*.
KENNETH H. CUFFEY

**HARUMAPH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥărûmap* (חֲרוּמָף)]. The father of Jedaiah, one of those who worked on the wall of Jerusalem following the return from Babylonian exile (Neh 3:10). See JEDAIAH. Batten (*Ezra and Nehemiah* ICC, 212) notes the suggestion of Bertholet (*Esra und Nehemia* KHC, 100) that the name means "with a split nose" but maintains that it would have been a nickname. This translation sees the name as a combination of *ḥāram* and *ʾp.* Lev 21:19 provides an example of *ḥāram* being used to describe a facial disfiguration.
MICHAEL L. RUFFIN

**HARUPHITE** [Heb K *ḥărîpî* (חֲרִיפִי), Q *ḥărûpî* (חֲרוּפִי)]. A descriptive adjective designating either the ethnic or family affiliation of Shephatiah, one of the ambidextrous warriors from the tribe of Benjamin who joined David during the period of his fleeing from Saul (1 Chr 12:6—Eng12:5). The term probably designates an otherwise unknown locality, but it could be associated with the Calebite clan of Hareph (1 Chr 2:51) or the clan of Hariph (Neh 7:24; 10:20—Eng10:19). The Chronicler has doubled the list of warriors who supported David (1 Chr 11:41b–12:40) beyond what was contained in the parallel narrative (2 Sam 23:8–39 = 1 Chr 11:10–41a); the source for these additional lists can only be a matter of conjecture. The long list reflects his concern to show "all Israel" united in support for David, a characteristic theme of the Chronicler's history. Within the immediate context (1 Chr 12:1–8—Eng12:1–7) the Chronicler is concerned to show the support David enjoyed among Saul's kinsmen before Saul's death; the 23 Benjaminite warriors named here joined David while he was at Ziklag, the Philistine city given to David by Achish, king of Gath (1 Chr 12:1; 1 Sam 27:6). Ambidexterity or left-handedness among Benjaminites is also noted in Judg 3:15; 20:16.

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RAYMOND B. DILLARD

**HARVESTS, HARVESTING** [Heb *qāṣîr* (קָצִיר)]. Harvesting (ingathering) is the culmination of the agricultural cycle followed immediately by the processing of crops and fruit into foodstuffs such as grain, wine, oil, and dried fruit. In a good year the season of ingathering was time for merrymaking (Judg 9:27; Isa 9:3; 16:9–10; Ps 126:5). A good agricultural year would have been one in which one ingathering activity did not end before another started (Amos 9:13).

The Gezer calendar, an ancient record of agricultural activities, designates five periods totaling seven months for ingathering activities, beginning with the harvesting of cereals. The first period, *yrḥ qṣr śʿrym* (a month of harvesting barley), is named in the Bible *qĕṣîr śĕʿorîm* (Ruth 2:23) and lasted from the spring

equinox in mid-March to mid-April. This was followed by *yrḥ qṣr wkl* (a month of harvesting [wheat] and measuring [grain for taxes]) ending at the autumnal equinox in mid-May and mentioned in the Bible as *qĕṣîr ḥiṭṭîm* (Gen 30:14; Judg 15:1). The time of cereal harvesting, referred to in the Bible as *qāṣîr* (Gen 8:22; Exod 34:21), opened with the festival of *pesaḥ/maṣṣôt* (Passover/Unleavened Bread) and ended with the festival of *šābuʿôt* (Weeks). These two periods of harvesting cereals were followed by *dayiš* (Lev 26:5), threshing and winnowing to separate the grain from the chaff.

Cereals were harvested during a hot period—an activity well described in Ruth 2. The ripe crops were either pulled out whole by hand or cut with a sickle (*maggāl* [Jer 50:16; Joel 4:13] or *ḥermēš* [Deut 16:9; 23:26—Eng 23:25]). At times, only the top of the stalk was cut, leaving the rest of the plant standing in the field for grazing animals. At other times, when straw was needed, more of the stalk was cut. Sickles were made either of segments of sharp flint chips attached with some adhesive to a bone or wooden frame or were made of metal (bronze, iron) with a wooden handle. The stalks were bound into sheaves and transported to the threshing floor for threshing and winnowing. From there the clean grain was transferred for storage in specially constructed pits or other facilities where it was stored in jars.

According to the Gezer calendar the two periods of cereal harvest were followed by a third period, *yrḥw zmr* (two months of grape harvesting [and wine making]), from mid-May to mid-July, mentioned in the Bible as *bāsîr* (Lev 26:5; Isa 24:13). The fourth period in the Gezer calendar, *yrḥ qṣ* (a month of [ingathering] summer fruit), extended into August and is referred to simply as *qayiṣ* in the Bible (Jer 40:10, 12; Amos 8:1–2). This was followed by *yrḥw ʾsp* (two months of ingathering [olives and pressing oil]), referred to as *ʾāsîp* in the Bible (Exod 23:16; 34:22). If it is correct that the Gezer calendar is a product of the N, then this period lasted there for two months, while in Judah it lasted only one month. The agricultural year closed with the autumn festival of *ʾāsîp/sukkôt* (Booths, or Tabernacles).

Part of these latter harvest periods entailed the processing and storage of the harvest produce. Thus wine making was part of grape harvesting. Because of the nature of grapes that disallows their transport over long distances, most winepresses were hewed in bedrock near the vineyard (Isa 5:2). After treading the grapes, the wine makers stored the juice in jars, which were kept in a cool place for fermentation. Dried fruits such as raisins, dates, and figs were made by simply placing them in the sun. When ready, they were pressed into cakes or strung on a string to facilitate storage and transport. Olive oil was produced by first crushing the olives by mortar and pestle and then placing them in wicker baskets on top of a collection basin with pressure applied from on top. The beam press, invented in the Iron II period, made oil pressing a profitable venture. The oil was then placed in jars for storage and transport.

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ODED BOROWSKI

**HASADIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥăsadyâ* (חֲסַדְיָה)]. The name of two men in the Bible. It means "God is kind" (*TPNAH,* 76, 161).

**1.** The sixth son of ZERUBBABEL, mentioned in 1 Chr 3:20. Hasadiah is part of a distinct list of Zerubbabel's offspring contained in v 20. Verse 19 lists his first two sons and a daughter. The distinctness of the list of *five* sons in v 20 is reinforced by the "tally" number, five, at the end of the verse. It is possible that the first three children listed in v 19 were born in Babylon and the following five in Palestine after the return, thus two lists (see Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 57).

**2.** The son of Hilkiah and the ancestor of Baruch, the son of Neriah and scribe of the prophet Jeremiah mentioned in Baruch 1:1.

RUSSELL FULLER

**HASHABIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥašăbĕyâ* (חַשַּׁבְיָה)]. Var. ASIBIAS. **1.** The ancestor of Ethan, the Levite musician under David (1 Chr 6:30—Eng6:45); he was a descendant of Merari, son of Levi (called Asebi in the).

**2.** A Levite, the son of Jeduthun (1 Chr 25:3). 1 Chronicles records that David established 24 divisions of singers for the worship of the Lord, headed by the 24 sons of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun. Hashabiah with his sons and brothers, 12 men in all, received the 12th lot (1 Chr 25:19). He was also the ancestor of Shemaiah (1 Chr 9:14; Neh 11:15).

**3.** A prominent Hebronite ruler. At the time of David's death, he with his brothers ("men of ability") was ruling Israel W of Jordan on behalf of King David and on behalf of the cult in Jerusalem (1 Chr 26:30).

**4.** A leader of the tribe of Levi at time of David's death (1 Chr 27:17). He was the son of Kemuel (ms B reads "the son of Samuel").

**5.** A chief of the Levites during the reign of Josiah. He and other leading Levites gathered and turned over to the other Levites lambs, kids, and bulls for the Great Passover under Josiah (2 Chr 35:9). In 1 Esdr 1:9 he and his fellows are called "captains over a thousand."

**6.** A leading priest in the time of Ezra, he is usually linked with Sherebiah (Ezra 8:19, 24; 1 Esdr 8:54—AV Assanias, NEB Assamias). He later set his seal on the renewal of the covenant (Ezra 10:11). Neh 3:17 lists a Hashabiah, the ruler of half the district of Keilah, who with his fellow Levites repaired part of the wall of Jerusalem. This individual is likely the same prominent Levite mentioned in 1 Esdr 8:48—Eng8:48; and Neh 12:24.

**7.** An Israelite descended from Parosh who returned from Exile and put away his foreign wife under Ezra (1 Esdr 9:26; Ezra 10:25, an emendation of Malchijah based on the LXX reading). His name is spelled Asibias or Asabeias in 1 Esdr 9:26.

**8.** An Asaphite, the ancestor of Uzzi. Uzzi was the overseer of the Levites in Jerusalem during the time of Nehemiah (Neh 11:22).

**9.** The head of the priestly house of Hilkiah (Neh 12:21) under the high priest Joiakim, the son of Jeshua, who officiated after the return from Exile.

GARY S. SHOGREN

**HASHABNAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥăšabnâ* (חֲשַׁבְנָה)]. One of the chiefs of the people and a signatory to the covenant established by Ezra (Neh 10:26—Eng10:25). An attenuated form of Hashabneiah, the name probably means "Yahweh has taken account of (me)" (Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* NCBC, 182).

FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**HASHABNEIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥăšabnĕyâ* (חֲשַׁבְנְיָה)]. **1.** A man known only through association with his son Hattush (Neh 3:10). Hattush helped rebuild the walls of Jerusalem during the time of Nehemiah.

**2.** A Levite (Neh 9:5) who participated in the ceremonies preceding the "sealing" of the new covenant (Neh 9:38). These ceremonies included both communal confession and worship. According to Neh 9:5 Hashabneiah and other selected Levites called the assembly to join in a liturgical blessing of Yahweh prior to Ezra's prayer.

In Neh 9:5 the Syriac reads Hashabiah. Such a reading suggests that Hashabneiah might be identical with a certain Hashabiah mentioned elsewhere during this time (Ezra 8:19, 24; Neh 10:12—Eng10:11; 11:22; 12:24).

TERRY L. BRENSINGER

**HASHBADDANAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥašbaddānâ* (חַשְׁבַּדְּנָה)]. One of the men who stood on Ezra's left during the great public reading of the Law (Neh 8:4). Hashbaddanah was not designated as a Levite; his position at this event suggests that he was an influential or representative member of the Israelite laity.

TERRY L. BRENSINGER

**HASHEM** (PERSON) [Heb *hāšēm* (הָשֵׁם)]. One of David's mighty men of war (1 Chr 11:34) named in a list of warriors which the Chronicler adapted from 2 Sam 23:32. This earlier text, however, contains a slightly altered spelling of the name: JASHEN (Heb *yāšēn*). Mazar (1986: 95, n. 49) considers both these forms "to be corruptions of *ḥšm,* a name which appears in the genealogies of both Dan and Benjamin." Most scholars agree that "sons" (Heb *bĕnê*) should be omitted from the MT of 1 Chr 11:34 (and 2 Sam 23:32) as dittography, since it simply repeats the final consonants of the preceding word (Heb *hs῾lbny*). Moreover, LXX (Lucianic) omits "sons of" here, simply reading (Gk *iassai*) (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 492). However, LXX codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus interpret the Heb *bĕnê* of 1 Chr 11:34 as a personal name, Gk *bennaias,* possibly from the Heb root *bny (h),* which may reflect the omission of the appellative "son of" (Heb *bn*) in the hypothetical line Heb **bny bn hšm,* "Bani son of Hashem." Perhaps the list originally read "Jashen," as one of David's mighty men who supported his reign, beginning in Hebron and the Judean region.

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JOHN C. ENDRES

**HASHMONAH** (PLACE) [Heb *hašmonâ* (הַשְׁמָנָה)]. The 14th encampment of the Israelites, after leaving the Wilderness of Sinai, as listed in Num 33:29–30, where it is placed between Mithkah and Moseroth. The meaning of the site's name is unknown and does not contribute to determining its location. Suggestions advanced for its location include Qeseimeh on the Wâdī el-Hashim (Abel *GP*, 215; Simons *GTTOT*, 255–56; M.R. 099008), though the area NW of Kadesh-barnea has also been suggested (Palmer 1872: 419–20; M.R. 145025). Palmer (419–20) also suggested identifying it with the Heshmon of the Negeb of Judah in Josh 15:27.

For a discussion of the location of any of the places associated with the journey of the Israelites from Egypt through Sinai, see DOPHKAH.

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JEFFREY R. ZORN

**HASHUBAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥăšūbâ* (חֲשֻׁבָה)]. The third son of ZERUBBABEL. Hashubah appears in 1 Chr 3:20 at the head of the second group of Zerubbabel's children, who may have been born in Palestine (see Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 57). The name is based on the root *ḥšb* which means "to value," "consider," "think." Hashubah thus means "consideration." Note the related verbal element Hashub from the same root, which occurs frequently in names in levitical families in the postexilic period (e.g., HASHABIAH). Names formed on this root are frequent in Nehemiah and Chronicles. Newman (*IDB* 2: 536) considers Hashub a shortened form of the theophoric name Hashubyah—"Yah (weh) has considered." It is likely that Hashubah should also be related to these names.

The *BHS* suggests that *ḥăšūbâ* may be a corrupt rendering of *῾aḥărê šûbô,* "after his return," meaning that the children of Zerubbabel in v 20 are "after his return," to Palestine, and that Hashubah is not one of them. If Hashubah is a name, then the *BHS* indicates that the form is doubtful and proposes *ḥăšābâ,* following the LXX$^{A}$ *Aseba*.

RUSSELL FULLER

**HASHUM** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥašum* (חָשֻׁם)]. A postexilic name present throughout Ezra, Nehemiah, and 1 Esdras, whose occurrences suggest the identification of two separate individuals.

**1.** The progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:19 = Neh 7:22). His name is missing in the parallel account in 1 Esdr 5:17. He may be the same Hashum whose descendants divorced their foreign wives during Ezra's reform (Ezra 10:33; 1 Esdr 9:33 [Gk *asom*]).

**2.** The above instances of Hashum as an eponym suggest that it is another individual who participated in the assembly of the returned exiles when Ezra read the law of Moses to the people (Neh 8:4). In the parallel account of 1 Esdr 9:44, Lothsubus (Gk *Lōthasoubos*) occurs in place of Hashum. It also seems probable that the same Hashum present at the reading of the law subsequently signed the pledge to keep the law (Neh 10:19—Eng10:18). The difficulties in identifying individuals such as Hashum and his family raise questions about the sources of and literary relationships among Ezra, Nehemiah, and 1 Esdras.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**HASIDEANS** [Gk *Asidaioi* (Ἀσιδαιοι)]. The name of a group of pious Jews noted for their loyalty to the Torah, some of whom united with the priest Mattathias and his sons in their resistance to the practices of the Seleucid rulers of Judah (1 Macc 2:42). The event which precipitated their joining Mattathias was the slaughter of a thousand Jews who had hidden in caves outside Jerusalem so they could practice their faith and who refused to fight on the Sabbath (even when attacked) for fear of breaking the law (2:29–38). Mattathias offered them a new principle, namely, that defensive action in the face of death was allowable, even on the Sabbath (2:41).

The importance of the Hasideans to the Maccabean Revolt can be seen in the report of the aspiring high priest Alcimus, who exaggerated their role by telling Demetrius I Soter (Seleucid ruler 162–150 B.C.E.) that the Hasideans, with Judas as their leader, had carried out the Jewish Revolt (2 Macc 14:6). Demetrius named Alcimus high priest and sent him along with Bacchides, the new governor of the area W of the Euphrates, with instructions to take vengeance on Israel for revolting. Perhaps the Hasideans were willing to accept Alcimus as high priest because he was an Aaronite, or perhaps they simply misread the political situation, thinking the time was right to get good terms. Either way they believed Alcimus when he promised them safe conduct for a conference and stood in the forefront of a group of scribes who sued for peace. Their trust proved ill founded, for Alcimus killed 60 of their number (1 Macc 7:12–16). They hastily returned to Judas to continue the war.

The origin of the Hasideans is obscure. The name derived from the Heb word *ḥăsîdîm*, usually translated "saints" (e.g., 1 Chr 6:41) or "faithful ones" (e.g., 1 Sam 2:9), which appears frequently in the OT, especially in the book of Psalms (e.g., Pss 30:5—Eng 30:4; 31:14—Eng 31:23; 37:28; 50:5; 52:11—Eng 52:9; 97:10; 149:1, 5, 9). Scholars agree that the Hasideans as a group preceded their withdrawal to the caves in the wilderness outside Jerusalem (1 Macc 2:29), even though the term does not appear in earlier literature as a designation for a particular group. Beckwith (1982: 17–22) hypothesizes that the movement originated ca. 330 B.C.E. in a Proto-Pharisaic reaction against the marriage of Manasses, brother of the high priest Jaddua, to a Samaritan princess, when a lay revolt forced Jaddua to remove his brother from office. A subsequent revolt in 251 resulted in the addition to the Hasideans of a priestly group, which eventually separated into Essenes and Sadducees (Beckwith, 41–42).

In any case the Hasideans formed a recognizable group at the time of the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes. The name Hasidean does not appear subsequently as a title for a group. Instead, during the time Jonathan was the high priest, one finds mention of three distinct groups: Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes (see Jos. *Ant* 13.6.9 §171). Scholars are divided about which group descended from the Hasideans. Older scholars saw the Hasideans as the forerunners of the Pharisees, but never writers, acquainted with the Dead Sea Scrolls, often see the Essenes as their descendants (see Milik 1959: 80). Hengel (1974: 1.224–28) thinks both groups derived from the Hasideans, while Beckwith argues (41) that all three parties originated in a common movement against the negligence of the common people as well as the overt syncretism of the Hellenists.

Most writers agree that the split among the Hasideans occurred because of a dispute over the legitimacy of Jonathan's claims to the office of high priest. This dispute apparently stands behind the negative tone

of 1 Macc 7:12–17, whose author sided with Jonathan against the Hasideans, whom he considered naive for trusting Alcimus. Modern scholars often conclude from this passage that the Hasideans were only concerned with religious law and not Jewish nationalism, but that conclusion overlooks the partisan nature of the passage, the political nature of the split among the parties involved, and the lengthy involvement of the Hasideans in the Maccabean Revolt.

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PAUL L. REDDITT

**HASIDIM** [Gk *Asidaioi* (Ἀσιδαιοι)]. The name of a group of participants in the Maccabean Revolt mentioned in 1 Macc 2:42; 7:14; and 2 Macc 14:6 (RSV "Hasideans"). The Greek appellation is a transliteration of the Hebrew *ḥăsîdîm* (Hasidim) or the Aramaic *ḥasîdayyā᾽*. While the name is rooted in the use of the term *ḥasîd* in the Hebrew Scriptures it is doubtful that Ps 149:1 or other references to *ḥăsîdîm* in the Psalms should be used as evidence of the group mentioned in 1 and 2 Maccabees. The appearance of the name in Gk transliteration does suggest that at least the translator of 1 Maccabees and the author of 2 Maccabees understood the term as a proper noun; hence any argument that claims these references merely allude to pious Jews in general must be rejected.

Any serious study of the Hasideans in antiquity must begin with an examination of the three passages in Maccabees where they receive mention (Davies 1977: 128; Collins 1977: 201–5). On the basis of a literary analysis, it has been demonstrated that the Hasideans of 1 Macc 2:42 are not the same persons as those who fled to the desert seeking righteousness and justice in 1 Macc 2:29. This connection has sometimes been used as evidence of the ascetic nature of the Hasideans, thereby providing justification for the hypothesis that the Essenes are one of the groups which arose out of the Hasideans (Black 1961: 16). The Hasideans in 1 Macc 2:42 are rather included as part of a description of the growth of the Hasmonean movement that begins with v 39 and ends with v 48, the major subject of which is Mattathias and his friends. The Hasideans are included with others who join this popular revolt.

In 1 Macc 2:42 the Hasideans are described as a *synagōgē* (company) which consisted of "mighty warriors of Israel, every one who offered himself willingly for the law." While the Gk *ischyroi dynamei* is almost certainly a translation of the Heb *gibborê ḥayil,* it is not as clear that the RSV "warriors" is the proper translation. It is just as possible that this phrase should be translated "mighty men," with the author of this text wishing to point out that these Hasideans were a group of leading citizens of Judea who joined the forces of Mattathias in revolt. This company of leading citizens was devoted to that law which in 1 Macc 1:41–50 Antiochus IV had ordered the Jews to forget. Among the activities prohibited by the king were circumcision as well as the sacrifices and festivals which constituted the temple cult.

The purpose of the story concerning the Hasideans in 1 Macc 7:12–18 is to discount their significance. While Judas Maccabeus refuses to listen to the "peaceable but treacherous words" (7:10) sent by the messengers of Bacchides because they are accompanied by a large force, the Hasideans are prepared to negotiate, presumably in order to avert the catastrophe that Bacchides could perpetrate. Since this governor and friend of the king is accompanied by Alcimus, "a priest of the line of Aaron," the company of Hasideans, here said to be scribes, thinks that they can be trusted in negotiations. Bacchides swears an oath to them, "We will not seek to injure you or your friends." When the Hasideans trust him, he seizes 60 of them and kills them in one day. Having already invoked in 1 Macc 1:37 and 3:45 images of the gentile pollution and destruction of the sanctuary through allusions to Ps 79:1–3, the author of the Hasmonean history, citing Ps 79:2b–3 as Scripture, equates the Hasideans with those leaders of Jerusalem who in 1 Macc 1:30 believed the peaceable words of Antiochus IV's tax collector, who "suddenly fell upon the city, dealt it a severe blow, and destroyed many people in Israel." This historian wishes to discount the influence of this company of leading citizens, whom he calls scribes, by portraying them as naive. According to the Hasmonean historian, their viewpoint did not provide a credible basis for the future

development of the Jewish state. This means that any simplistic presentation of the Hasideans as either pacifists who deviated from their basic ideology in 1 Macc 2:42 or as the religious wing of the revolution that broke ranks with the Hasmoneans when their religious objectives had been accomplished does not find support in these sources.

In 2 Macc 14:6 the Hasideans are described as a seditious group led by Judas Maccabeus. Since these charges are placed in the mouth of Alcimus, who wishes to be appointed to the high priesthood by Demetrius, the epitomist of this history is probably making positive statements about Judas and the Hasideans in a negative way (Doran 1981: 68–70). Since Judas is the hero of this work, which emphasizes his piety and his purity, we can see that the Hasideans are incorporated into the work to augment that portrait. His leadership of that body is meant to provide further evidence of Judas' pious persona.

While this group has frequently been considered to be the forerunner of both the Essenes and the Pharisees, there is no evidence in these references to support the Essene connection, even though those who in 1 Macc 2:29 flee to the desert in search of righteousness and justice could be from such a group. There is, furthermore, no evidence in these references which would support a hypothesis that the Hasideans were the authors of apocalyptic literature (cf. Plüger 1968: 8; Hengel 1974: 1.80, 175–80). The treatment of the Hasideans in this work does coincide with what we would expect the attitude of a Hasmonean historian to be toward the Pharisees.

In Talmudic literature there are also references to *ḥăsîdîm* (Hasidim) as well as to individuals who are designated *ḥasîd,* such as Honi and Hillel. Resolution of the extensive debate over whether any of these references applies to the body mentioned in 1 and 2 Maccabees should begin with an analysis of the passages which refer to the *ḥăsîdîm hāriʾšonîm* (the "early" or "first" Hasidim). An examination of *m. Ber.* 5:1; *t. B. Qam.* 2:6; *b. Nid.* 38ab; *b. Ned.* 10a; and *B. Menah.* 40b–41a shows that this group was used in the Talmudic tradition as example rather than as evidence of a divergent legal tradition (cf. Safrai 1977, 1985). The examples cited from these early Hasidim could reflect the way of life of a group of the Maccabean period prior to the formation of some of the major legal traditions. In Talmudic literature other stories concerning individuals designated as *hasîd* were added to the traditions concerning these early Hasidim.

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JOHN KAMPEN

**HASMONEAN DYNASTY.** A family of high priests and kings descended from Mattathias, the father of JUDAS MACCABEUS. They were prominent in Judea from 165 until 37 B.C. and controlled it as rulers between 142 B.C. and 63 B.C. The name derives, according to Josephus, from that of the great-grandfather of Mattathias, in Gk *Asamōnaios* (*Ant* 12.263); and its original version, in Hebrew or Aramaic, is now generally held to reflect a place name, either Heshmon or Hashmonah. The name does not appear in the books of the Maccabees, but it is used several times in Josephus in slightly varying forms (*Ant* 14.490; 16.187; 20.189; 20.238; *Life* 4); and it is also found in Talmudic literature (*m. Mid.* 1:6; *b. Sabb.* 21b). The emergence of a name for the dynasty drawn from that of an early progenitor may be due to Hellenistic influence. The family belonged to the priestly course of Joarib (= Jehoiarib, 1 Chr

24:7; Joiarib, Neh 11:10), originated in Jerusalem, but had settled before the time of Mattathias in Modein, near Lydda (1 Macc 2:1).

Under the Hasmoneans, Judea became, in the period of Seleucid decline and before the rise of Rome, an independent power with a considerable influence on the politics of the region; her dimensions equaled those of the kingdom of David. The impact of their national experience under the Hasmoneans continued for the Jews through the classical era, and, indeed, far beyond. However, long-term stability was not secured. Externally, her geographic position made Palestine vulnerable; internally, the conflict between profane and sacred values was ever present; and major religious and political differences opened up within the community. The formation of parties and sects within Judaism is a major feature of the Hasmonean period; and although this made the period fruitful in cultural and religious terms, politically it was often deeply troubled. There were significant elements which found the hardening authority, the wealth, the sacrilegious habits and perhaps the Hellenizing style of the Hasmoneans wholly unacceptable. In the end the ruling family, too, fell prey to conflict and brought civil strife upon the nation.

The basis of Hasmonean ascendancy lay in Mattathias' act of rebellion in 167 B.C. against the anti-Jewish decrees of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, when the old man resisted the demand by an officer of Antiochus IV for pagan sacrifice at Modein and then escaped to the hills with his five sons. By the time of Mattathias' death in the next year, the family had drawn all the rebels to itself and organized resistance throughout the country. The military successes of Judas (the "Maccabee"), whose increasingly well-organized fighting force overcame several Syrian armies before meeting defeat, and his reoccupation and rededication of the temple in 165 B.C. made him and his surviving brothers the unchallenged leaders of the majority of the nation, apart from the Hellenists (see Fig. HAS.01). *See also* MACCABEAN REVOLT.

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A. The Powers and Titles of the Hasmoneans
1. The Emergence of the Dynasty
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**A. The Powers and Titles of the Hasmoneans**

**1. The Emergence of the Dynasty.** No official title is associated with Judas Maccabeus. The death-bed instructions ascribed to Mattathias have him declare Judas, in biblical style, to be the people's commander who would fight their battles for them; and another son, Simon, was to act as adviser. In fact, it is obvious that Judas' overall responsibility for the nation took on both military and political aspects: he appointed "leaders of the people, commanders of thousands, of hundreds, of fifties and of tens" (1 Macc 3:55); and after 164 B.C. he organized the priests to serve in the rededicated temple service. Yet in the documents from 2 Maccabees which record the dealings of Lysias, Antiochus IV's viceroy, after the king's death (chap. 11), there is no acknowledgement of Judas at all. Perhaps it was this very absence of formal position which led Josephus to the belief that Judas actually became high priest on the death of the Seleucid nominee, Alcimus (*Ant* 12.415, 419, 434). Yet this is not only unsupported by 1 Maccabees,

where Alcimus is shown to have died *after* Judas (1 Macc 9:54–56), but contradicts Josephus' own statements elsewhere that the high priesthood was vacant for seven years at the end of Alcimus' tenure (*Ant* 20.237; *Life* 4). In any case Judas himself was killed in battle within a year.

Judas had been the third of Mattathias' five sons (1 Macc 2:4–5); the survivors put the youngest, Jonathan, in charge of rescuing the situation after Judas' death and defeat at Eleasa in 161–160 B.C. Jonathan, now, was to be "our ruler and commander and to fight our battles for us" (1 Macc 9:30). The decision to continue the struggle, with the ultimate aim of ousting both the Seleucid general Bacchides and the Jewish Hellenizers who still held Jerusalem, was entirely in the spirit of Judas' activities since 164. The new element in the position of the leader was the registering of a popular vote in his favor. Jonathan, though tried and tested in war, was an instinctive politician just as Judas had been a natural general, and the younger brother may well have seen the value of securing a popular mandate by way of substitute for Judas' charisma.

When, around 155 B.C., the Syrian general Bacchides came to terms with Jonathan, Jerusalem remained with the Hellenizers; yet Jonathan was not prevented from establishing himself at Michmash, a small place N of the city; there he "began to judge the people" (1 Macc 9:73). This probably amounts to recognition by the Seleucid monarch Demetrius I of a local fiefdom. Subsequent developments were startlingly rapid. Jonathan had fully grasped what opportunities the moment held for fishing in the troubled Seleucid waters to enhance his own position; the continuing rivalries among the Seleucids led them to vie with one another in offering privileges to Jonathan. The Hasmoneans' influence in Judea was evidently now such that Jonathan could deliver better support than could the "Hellenizers," and Demetrius was especially in need of troops. Once authorized to raise a proper army, Jonathan was able, in 152, to occupy and fortify Jerusalem, though the Akra (which we should understand therefore to have been a sealed-off section of the city rather than a mere fort) was still in the hands of Hellenizers and Seleucids. It remained for Jonathan's supreme position in Jerusalem and in the country to be signaled with the high priesthood. During the disturbances of the 20 years before Jonathan, there had been either Hellenizing high priests or none, and the appointment of one of the rebel Maccabeus brothers was a momentous development. After the death of Demetrius, Jonathan received further grants, notably the position of provincial governor *(meridarch).* Thus, the Maccabees, once the most unremitting of rebels, became willing dependents of one Seleucid after another, governing Judea by their favor.

Jonathan was careful also to look further afield, sending ambassadors to Rome to renew the friendship and alliance between Jews and Romans originally negotiated through Judas' envoys. Jonathan's ambassadors also gave expression to Judea's new self-consciousness as a Hellenistic state by visiting Sparta and securing letters that claimed kinship and ancient ties between the two peoples (see 1 Macc 12:1–23).

**2. Simon.** The work done by Jonathan made possible a formal declaration of independence under his successor, Simon (nicknamed Thassis). Here the history of the Hasmoneans as a dynasty may be said to begin. In the year 142, as 1 Macc 13:41–42 has it, "The yoke of the gentiles was taken away from Israel. And the people began to write on their records and their contacts, 'in the first year of Simon, the great high priest, general, and leader of the Jews.' " Simon had taken over directly from his elder brother and had been drawn into a similar course of action—a show of strength, followed by well-judged diplomatic feelers. Even before his brother's death, Trypho, a pretender to the Seleucid throne, had invaded Palestine from the NW. Negotiation with the usurping Trypho's rival, Demetrius II, had been the obvious move. From him, it would appear, came by letter the offer of peace, immunity from tribute, and remission of taxes or of tax arrears (it is not clear which). Simon's high priesthood was implicitly recognized by Demetrius; it may or may not have been a Seleucid grant in the first place. The freedom from tribute, in any case, now marked the autonomous status of Judea; it possessed a symbolic significance well captured in Josephus' accounts (*JW* 1.53; *Ant* 13.211). The announcement of the new chronological era was a statement of this, even if the era does not seem to have survived as a lasting basis of reckoning.

Simon was an excellent propagandist. He imprinted his achievement on the public mind with festival and ceremony. The literary record, which derives at least in part from a history of Simon's son and

successor, John Hyrcanus, is tinged with flattery. Therefore, while Simon's achievement was an important one, the situation in Judea was by no means yet wholly resolved. Given the unsettled state of the Seleucid monarchy, Demetrius II's declaration did not guarantee the abandonment of future claims; it was not until the death of Antiochus VII Sidetes (in 129 B.C.) that claims to Jerusalem and the demand for tribute were finally abandoned. We may even doubt whether all the promises made to Simon actually bore fruit; for the right to issue coins, granted to him in a letter from Antiochus VII, after Demetrius II's imprisonment in 140/139 (1 Macc 15:6), seems never to have been exercised at all. There is a telling absence of any coinage of Simon's from the archaeological record.

What Simon accomplished was to impose his authority on the whole country and on Jerusalem as its capital. An early move, made in 141 B.C., was therefore to secure the surrender of the surviving garrison from the Akra, the city's Hellenistic base, which was probably on the W hill, though its location is still uncertain. From there, "They had sallied forth and polluted the precinct of the Temple" (Avigad 1984: 64–65). Since Jonathan had sealed off the zone with a wall, in an attempt to starve it out, his successor's task was to manage the expulsion. Choruses, hymns, and instruments as well as the traditional waving of palm branches accompanied the grand entry; and an annual festival was declared to commemorate the historic moment. The Hellenists as a faction were never heard of again. The reconstruction and walling of the city, begun by Jonathan, could now be pushed on (1 Macc 10:10–11; 13:10); and we should probably ascribe to Simon the inclusion, for the first time since the days of the First Temple, of the W hill as a living area within the city and of much of the completed circumference of the so-called "first wall." The planning of a spacious capital, its expansion over a difficult site, and the building of the wall are the enterprises of a self-confident ruler with substantial resources.

The year 140 saw another great moment: the assembled people declared Simon high priest, commander and ethnarch—head of the nation—of the Jews, "forever, until a trustworthy prophet shall arise" (1 Macc 14:41). The amalgam of powers was not new, but the change lay in the manner of their conferment; they were now internally sanctioned, and external approval was not deemed necessary. The Parthian invasion of Iran under Mithradates I probably emboldened the Jews to assert themselves, and it is possible that by the time of the people's decree Demetrius II was already in Parthian captivity. Simon's powers were as monarchic as the purple robe and gold clasp which he was to wear, even though the title king was avoided. His orders were not to be opposed, assemblies were not to be convened without his consent, all on pain of punishment if disobeyed; the unanimity of the popular decision was emphasized. On this Simon's position ultimately rested. It was endorsed by the new king, Antiochus VII, in a letter of 138 B.C. but not shaken by that king's rapid volte-face, his demands for the return of the Jerusalem citadal and other towns or else for the payment of tribute on them, or by his threat of war (1 Macc 15:2–9, 26–35).

The form of rule set up by the decree for Simon drew on traditional Jewish conceptions. Nonetheless, the people of Hasmonean Jerusalem were sufficiently influenced by the prevailing style in public affairs to have their declaration inscribed in bronze, just as a Greek city might do, and to display it in no less a place than the temple precinct and also in its treasury. The new Jewish state was thus visibly Hellenistic in at least some of its public forms. The mores of the ruler were also affected by this spirit, as is revealed by the manner of his death: the aged Simon was to be murdered within five years of the decree, together with two of his sons, as he feasted and drank in a fortress near Jericho. The assassin was his son-in-law, the wealthy and interestingly named Ptolemy, son of Abubus (Aboub), who was commander of the plain of Jericho (1 Macc 16:11) and had sought to involve other army officers in his conspiracy. This man does not appear to have been a Jew (*Ant* 13.234–5); and on the failure of his attempt to gain the support of Antiochus VII for his coup, he fled to the court of a local dynast, Zenon Cotylas of the partly Hellenized city of Philadelphia (Amman).

**3. John Hyrcanus.** John Hyrcanus, Simon's third son, who had already been governor of the important fortified town of Gezer, assumed the high priesthood on his father's death. This suggests that the latter post was designated as hereditary by the "forever" of Simon's investitute decree; and John was presumably already high priest when he sacrificed before setting out to attack Ptolemy. However, Josephus (*Ant* 13.230) does not clarify the mechanism of succession.

There would always be uneasiness and often contention surrounding the definition of Hasmonean sovereignty. The Jews more often than not nursed doubts about the fitness of any man's holding power of a kingly type. We may point to various ways in which Hyrcanus' rule was hedged about or challenged. Yet, in the first place, we should stress the very real importance of a 31-year tenure (135–104 B.C.), followed by an accepted dynastic succession. John is described as the nation's secular authority as well as the high priest; and his regime is named an *arche,* or "rule." Under John too we see an independent coinage, albeit limited to bronze; it is now established that these are the first coins to be minted by any Hasmonean. While Tyrian silver was confirmed in its role as the principal major currency in the area, filling the gap left by the Seleucid withdrawal, everyday needs were henceforward supplied by successive large issues of aniconic *pĕrûtôt,* their craftsmanship varying in precision and quality. Hyrcanus' coins carry two types of formulas, both written in an archaizing paleo-Hebrew script which visibly evoked the days of the First Temple. One group has "Johanan the high priest and the council (or community, Heb *ḥeber*) of the Jews" and another group has "Johanan the high priest head of the *ḥeber* of the Jews." Their relative dating is uncertain, but it may be reasonable on historical grounds to posit an initial reluctance by John to take on any title beyond the traditional high priesthood, followed later by the emergence of a cautious formula, which still gave the assembled people a high visibility in its wording. This caution, did not, however, prove sufficient to curb the strictures of the more punctilious religious elements.

**4. Alexander Jannaeus.** The political style of the later Hasmoneans acquired, in due course, further Hellenistic traits. Jannaeus called himself king, as well as high priest, in a juxtaposition quite unsanctioned by Jewish tradition; and he feasted in public with his concubines in a manner perhaps not totally alien to David and Solomon, but quite unacceptable in the Jewish high priesthood (*Ant* 13.380). The testamentary choice of his widow, Salome Alexandra, as successor, in preference to either of his sons, may also reflect Hellenistic influence.

Jannaeus was the next after Hyrcanus to issue a major coinage. He was less conservative, using Greek and Aramaic as well as Hebrew, and, on some types, openly advertising his kingship, either in words or with the star and diadem symbols. On his Hebrew coins, he gave his Hebrew name, Jonathan, rather than Alexander; and there were others on which he employed Hyrcanus' form of legend, referring only to the high priesthood and to the Jewish *ḥeber.* A group of overstruck coins, where "Jonathan the high priest and the *ḥeber* of the Jews" obliterates the earlier text on the obverse, is plausibly associated with the major crisis surrounding the Pharisees which occurred in his middle years (Meshorer 1982). The Greek and Aramaic coinage, on the other hand, may well have been designed largely with the king's non-Jewish subjects in view, and first and foremost, for his mercenary soldiers. An undated lead issue and the light weight of most of Jannaeus' coins have been related to difficulties in meeting the troops' requirements for payment during the major campaigns (Ariel 1982).

**B. The Hasmoneans as Conquerors**

Simon's end in a soldiers' conspiracy had revealed, among other things, how the military base of Maccabean authority, far from diminishing with the end of the struggle for survival, had become institutionalized. Almost to the end the dynasty would remain a warrior dynasty. Peace was something to hope for; but even then, it was the security born of victory that was spoken of. Under Simon, it was said "each man sat under his own vine and under his own fig tree. The enemies in those days left their land and the enemy kings were crushed" (1 Macc 14:12–13). The dynasty's chronicler (as 1 Maccabees may fairly be dubbed) speaks with pride of the young men's appearance in their dazzling uniforms, and leaves us in no doubt that the regime's ideology contained a strong dose of militarism.

The largest territorial gains were to be made under Simon's successors. But the map had already changed significantly before the death of Simon. The Jewish entity of the Persian and early Hellenistic periods might be described as a small temple state. Now, with a strong army and enlarged aspirations, it had outgrown that model. Defensive needs had shaded imperceptibly into aggressive or punitive policies.

From the beginning the war against the Seleucids brought with it enmity with those local gentiles who lived beside the Jews, both within and outside Judea. The culmination came after Jonathan's kidnapping, when the surrounding peoples are said to have been enchanted with the possibility of destroying Judaism

root and branch (1 Macc 12:53). The Maccabean wars are seen at this point quite simply as a struggle against the heathen; and it is impossible to distinguish in the leaders' activities between the vision of a holy and cleansing war, conceived of in biblical terms, and the real strategic need to weaken a threatening force. We can at any rate be sure that not all the local tribes were unfriendly during this period, for the Nabatean Arabs across the Jordan gave the Maccabees useful information more than once.

**1. Jonathan.** Jonathan's campaigns were undoubtedly well conceived and skillfully executed (see 1 Maccabees 10–11). Attacking the coastal strip, in the name first of Alexander Balas and then of Trypho, he mounted ferocious assaults on cities that did not open their gates, such as Ashdod, Joppa, and Gaza; though Askalon, which did, was unharmed. The Philistine city of Ekron with its territory came to Jonathan by way of reward. Other lasting results of his activities were the permanent garrisoning of Beth-zur, on Judea's S line, the area's last remaining Seleucid fortress apart from the Akra in Jerusalem; and, to the N, the gain by royal grants of three districts which had previously been reckoned part of Samaria. Moreover, quite apart from acquisition, Jonathan's geographic and economic horizons were expanded by far-flung campaigns against Demetrius II, which took him through the northernmost part of Galilee and into Lebanon.

**2. Simon.** It was left to Simon, as one of his first acts, permanently to settle Jews in Joppa, expelling the "idolatrous" inhabitants (1 Macc 13:11), or at any rate some part of them. This secured for his state a dependable outlet to the sea, as was amply appreciated at (or near) the time (cf. 1 Macc 12:43–48). Gezer (= Gazara), strategically placed at the edge of the Judean foothills and controlling Jerusalem's access to Joppa, was treated in the same way as that city (1 Macc 13:43–48). Recent archaeological information to emerge from Gezer suggests that occupation was abandoned around 100 B.C. (Reich and Geva 1981). The same pattern was revealed with the excavation of Beth-zur, similarly a town fortified by the Seleucids and taken over by the Maccabees, where there are signs of vigorous growth under Jonathan and Simon, with settlement spreading outside the old walls, but soon afterwards coming to an end altogether.

The territorial claims of Jonathan and Simon did not go untested. As soon as the new king, Antiochus VII, had disposed of the usurper Trypho, Simon's assistance became less important to him than the restoration of his lost revenues and of his authority in Palestine. His general, Cendebeus, was told to regain possession of the coastal strip and to attack Judea from Jamnia (1 Macc 15:38–40). Josephus, who is here independent of 1 Maccabees, has the commander under instruction also to seize the person of Simon (*Ant* 13.225). Simon is said to have put 20,000 men into the field and to have held the day.

**3. John Hyrcanus.** Simon's success against Cendebeus prompted Antiochus to invade and ravage the country; he then laid Jerusalem under the strongest of blockades (*JW* 1.61; *Ant* 13.236–46). Both Josephus and a parallel account in the Greek historian Diodorus (which contains a notably hostile account of the Jewish cult) indicate that Sidetes terminated the siege in an unexpected and generous manner, with conduct very different from that of Epiphanes some 30 years earlier. No garrison was installed in Jerusalem; only a symbolic section of wall was taken down; and Joppa, Gazara, and the other cities held by Simon were made subject to tribute, but not removed from Jewish control. Hyrcanus, who, according to Josephus (*JW* 1.61; *Ant* 13.249), had equipped himself with funds by rifling David's tomb, soon afterward set off with his army to accompany Sidetes into Parthia, where he was treated with courtesy. The collapse of the expedition, Sidetes' death in battle, the Seleucid abandonment of Iran, and the renewal of wars within the Seleucid dynasty finally left the Jewish king a free agent. It is on record that the payment of tribute now ceased permanently (*Ant* 13.273).

At the very moment, however, when the Hasmoneans' dependence upon the Seleucids came to an end, a rising power was looking with intensified interest toward Judea. A senatorial decree cited out of context in Josephus' *Antiquities* suggests that Antiochus Sidetes' abrupt withdrawal from Jerusalem was encouraged by a behind-the-scenes move of the Roman Senate (Rajak 1981). The possibility of a Seleucid revival at this stage will hardly have been welcome to Rome; and the document, responding to the complaints of a Jewish embassy about Antiochus' seizure of various territories in contravention of a previous decree, reiterates Rome's long-standing friendship and alliance with the Jews. It is the

diplomatic activity accompanying this statement which will have had the desired effect, delivering a stiff warning to Antiochus.

Judas' famous treaty of 161 B.C. (there is no reason to doubt its historicity) had been renewed and widely publicized under Jonathan and again under Simon. During Hyrcanus' period of rule, there were altogether three reassertions of the relationship. It is probable that in the early days no more than a token gesture, based upon a limited conception of her advantage, had been intended by Rome; but by the 130s her interest in the E was much greater. And for the time being she could look indulgently on what the Hasmoneans were doing. This phase lasted until the end of Hyrcanus' rule, after which we hear of no more renewals (Rappaport 1968).

The extension of Jewish territory was vigorously pursued under Hyrcanus; and the dynasty's military capacity grew, especially after he introduced the practice of hiring foreign mercenaries. Nonetheless, it is important to point out that, of all the rulers, only Jannaeus pursued patently aggressive policies. Hyrcanus, to be sure, paved the way; but his activities were restricted to carefully judged campaigns with limited targets; and there were long periods when he was not at war.

Josephus gives a résumé of Hyrcanus' early wars, beginning in 129 B.C.: "As soon as he had heard of the death of Antiochus [Sidetes], Hyrcanus marched out against the cities of Syria, expecting to find them devoid of soldiers and of anyone able to rescue them, which was indeed the case" (*Ant* 13.254). This sweeping sentence heralds several important conquests (*Ant* 13.255–58): the capture of Medeba in Moab (S Jordan), together with the neighboring town of Samoga (or Samega); the Samaritan city of Shechem and the shrine on Mt. Gerizim; and, lastly, the Idumean cities of Adora and Marisa, to the S of Judea. The Idumeans are said to have accepted circumcision and adopted the Jewish law in order to retain their homeland.

Toward the end of his life, Hyrcanus returned to the Samaritan region; this time two of his sons laid siege to the Hellenized city of Samaria (*Ant* 13.275–83). The siege lasted a year; but neither the Samaritan population, nor Antiochus IX (Cyzicenus) who came to their aid, nor the two generals whom he later left behind there, nor even the troops supplied to Antiochus by Ptolemy Lathyrus could shake off Hyrcanus. In the end he effaced the whole settlement by the method, if this can be believed, of undermining its foundations. Scythopolis, the Greek city situated at the key point where the valley of Jezreel meets the Jordan valley, was taken immediately afterward. According to Josephus (*JW* 1.66) the city was razed to the ground and its inhabitants reduced to slavery, a rare case of enslavement being mentioned as a consequence of Hasmonean seizure.

The precise motivation behind these different campaigns is for the most part lost to us. To increase his resources may well have been a priority for Hyrcanus, given on the one hand, the agriculturally unproductive character of his homeland and, on the other, the demands of a new aristocracy in an enlarged city. Trading interests might help to explain the conflict with the Nabateans, formerly a friendly people, since they had long operated by controlling the roads, and Medeba was situated on the King's Highway, the great trade route which skirted the desert and linked the Red Sea with Damascus. The Samaritans had cut Judea off on the N, as the Idumeans had done on the S.

Hyrcanus' treatment of conquered territory followed, for the most part, the unremitting severity learned by his family through bitter necessity during their early struggles. Special vindictiveness was reserved for the Samaritans of Shechem. The book of *Jubilees,* thought by some to belong to this period (Mendels 1987), highlights the biblical story of the rape of Dinah and of her brothers' brutal punishment of the Shechemites; this interpretation of the text may well have been meant to justify Hyrcanus' treatment of Samaria/Shechem.

It is often asserted that destruction and expulsion were the preordained lot of all those who would not convert and that Hyrcanus (and equally his successor, Jannaeus) were seeking to secure for the entirety of their holdings a purely Jewish occupation. But our evidence does not justify this extreme view. The Judaization of Edom had its own special story. In the light of indications in the ancient narratives that this transformation was at least partly voluntary and of the attachment of the Idumeans to the Jewish cause at the time of the great revolt of A.D. 66–74, a certain affinity between the Jews and a significant element

within Idumea seems probable. Unfortunately, we cannot know what caused the removal to Egypt of a community of persons with obvious Idumean names revealed to us in papyri (Rappaport 1977).

**4. Aristobulus.** During the single year of his rule, Aristobulus managed one enterprise. The outcome in this case too was the circumcision of at least a part of a defeated people, this time, the Ituraeans of the N, who were ordered to become Jewish or to move (*Ant* 13.318). This policy was perhaps determined by the preexistence of a Jewish population in upper Galilee. Strabo, the Greek writer whom Josephus mentions by name at this point, actually praises Aristobulus for having served his nation well by its enlargement.

**5. Alexander Jannaeus.** Jannaeus overran numerous towns in the course of a stormy career, with dramatic advances and equally dramatic setbacks. He has gone down in history as the destroyer of Greek cities, as a ruthless opponent of paganism and indeed of Hellenism. Josephus, however, lists the conquered cities as ones belonging to Syrians, Idumeans, and Phoenicians (*Ant* 13: 395). What is involved is, simply, the achievement of Hasmonean control over the remaining parts of Palestine and over its surroundings—the coastal strip, Idumea, Samaria, Carmel, the Perea, Gaulanitis (the Golan), and Moab. Certainly, recalcitrant cities were not spared brutality: Josephus (*JW* 1.87) speaks of Jannaeus' reducing Gaza, Raphia, and Anthedon to servitude. But this brutality was matched by that of the other side and seems to have been more a means of reducing opposition or punishing the obdurate than a bid to Judaize whole populations by the sword. So, for example, Amathus in S Jordan was demolished because its ruler, Theodorus, would not meet Jannaeus in combat. Only in the case of the Transjordanian city of Pella do we hear that Jannaeus' troops wrecked the city because the inhabitants rejected the customs of the Jews (*Ant* 13.397). That vague phrase may be taken as referring to an attempt formally to transfer political control to a Jewish element. In general, ancient (and modern) allegations about the root and branch destruction of Greek cities by Jannaeus must be viewed as exaggerated, since many of those mentioned rapidly revived (Kasher 1988a: 133–62), while the context of those statements in Josephus shows that they originated in the propaganda surrounding the subsequent refoundation of the cities by Pompey and Gabinius: Pompey, the new Alexander, was to arrive as the savior of the "Greeks" of Syria and of Palestine.

The wars of King Alexander Jannaeus were dominated by pragmatic rather than by religious considerations. The coastal strip and the E bank of the Jordan, from Moab to the Golan, were now the central areas of attention: here his predecessors had established a limited foothold. The determining factor of the advance was a complex interaction, scarcely avoidable, with other rising powers in the region. With this came, perhaps, the lure of new commercial possibilities.

Thus, Jannaeus' opening venture was a major assault on the important port of Ptolemais (Akko). This went well, until it was cut short by the intervention from Cyprus of the deposed Egyptian king, Ptolemy Lathyrus. Jannaeus reached an accommodation with Lathyrus, which, in turn, was soon nullified by Jannaeus' own double-dealing: he was caught in secret negotiations with Lathyrus' mother, now ruling as Queen Cleopatra III (*Ant* 13.324–37). Lathyrus went on to inflict two major defeats on Jannaeus, one in the lower Galilee and one in the Jordan valley and then to invade Judea. Only Cleopatra's military intervention halted his advance. In Josephus' narrative Jannaeus' initial assault on Akko remains unexplained; but it is not improbable that Lathyrus had already before nursed hopes of using the city as a springboard into Palestine and thence back to his own kingdom, while Jannaeus, for his part, had seen the advantages of gratifying Cleopatra by forestalling her son (Stern 1981).

Lathyrus was eventually, though as it turned out temporarily, deflected by Cleopatra; and some time before her death in 101 B.C., she signed a treaty with Jannaeus at Scythopolis (*Ant* 13.355). That observers were struck by the queen's subsequent disengagement from the affairs of Palestine is revealed by a story in Josephus which tells how a prominent Egyptian Jew in her army flatly refused to cooperate with her unless she undertook to leave the Jews alone. Whatever her real considerations, her decision was an invitation to Jannaeus to move in and onward; and in the succeeding years he took not only the towns of the tyrants, but also, notably, Gadara, which was becoming a genuine center of Greek culture, and Gaza. The latter was the key to the S sector of the coastal strip; it was also an established ally and outlet of the Nabateans, whose trade was threatened by Jannaeus, not only at Gaza, but also, and perhaps more so, by

his activities across the Jordan. During some eight or nine years the Nabateans, with the help of the Seleucid monarch, Demetrius III, fought with unexpected tenacity to retain their sphere of influence; and in battle they inflicted a serious defeat on the Hasmoneans deep inside Judea. But in the last years of his reign (83–76 B.C.), Jannaeus was able to redress the balance, so that he finished master of most of what lay between the Golan (in the N) and Moab (in the S), including such places of importance as Gerasa, and Gamala, and, as already mentioned, Pella. The country was secured by a network of virtually impregnable fortresses, of which Josephus names three: Hyrcania, Alexandreion, and Machaerus, all of them overlooking Transjordanian territory (*Ant* 13.417).

The new areas were an integral part of the kingdom which on his death the king bequeathed to his widow and successor, Salome Alexandra. The queen retained her husband's kingdom intact during her nine years of rule (76–67 B.C.), and she substantially increased the army; but Judea's power across the Jordan was to prove short-lived and to be replaced almost immediately by a very different arrangement, the group of cities founded or refounded by Pompey, which together became known as the Decapolis. The mixed character of these places had probably persisted throughout, and the enhanced Jewish presence of the Hasmonean period will have served in equal measure to Hellenize the Jews and to Judaize the region.

**C. Opposition to the Hasmoneans**

The Hasmoneans may have acted on behalf of the people, but this did not mean that they were acceptable to all. The shifting patterns of support and opposition to the ruling house are now in large part lost to us. We are, however, able, by combining with caution reports in Josephus, recollections in the Talmudic literature, and allusions in the Qumran texts to form some impression of the connections between various groupings and political events. Overall, the emergence of a military monarchy was bound to have social and religious repercussions in a tightly knit society, as Judea had been. The formation of sects which dissociated themselves to a greater or a lesser extent from other Jews, begun under the impact of earlier pressures, was undoubtedly accelerated by the political changes of this period.

It is in connection with the rule of Jonathan that Josephus first mentions the three major divisions, which he calls *haireseis* (sects) or "philosophies," that were in existence "at this time"—the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes; he then offers a brief account of them (*Ant* 13.171–73). We may take it therefore that Josephus' view, derived perhaps from tradition, was that these groupings had come into their own during the early Hasmonean period; and this is wholly plausible. It is a pity that the author then goes on to describe the bone of contention between them in terms which have nothing to do with the context from which they emerged, because he has chosen at this point to focus on what might interest his Greek readers, that is to say, differences of philosophical standpoint.

**1. The Essenes.** We are fortunate that the evidence from Qumran bears witness to a more direct (though enigmatically expressed) response to contemporary affairs, on the part, at least, of the community which possessed the scrolls that were found in the caves near that site. In the present state of research there are few who still deny the identification of this community as a branch of the Essene sect (see ESSENES). The specifically sectarian documents found in the Qumran library (which include, in fact, some of the best known of all the Dead Sea Scrolls) energetically castigate the sect's enemies and emphatically justify its members' withdrawal from the main body of the nation. None of the encoded allusions to persons, times, or places is unequivocal. But among the many reconstructions that have been made, some have a fair degree of probability (Vermes 1981).

Three hundred and ninety years after the Exile to Babylon, a "plant root," sprung from "Aaron and Israel," made it their purpose to cast off the iniquity around them in what they perceived as an "age of wrath." After they had groped "like blind men" for 20 years (the round number looks like a symbolic one), the drama began to unfold with the appearance of the "Teacher of Righteousness," a certain priest who made them understand the nature of the gulf between themselves and that "congregation of traitors" which was firmly set in its unacceptable ways. By this time the public evils had greatly increased, under the influence of a "scoffer," who dealt in lies, abolished the moral boundaries, and misled the people by detaching them from the traditions of their forefathers, thus calling forth on them all the curses contained in the covenant. His followers, "seekers of smooth things," turned on the righteous few, persecuting and

killing them. If we are also to attach to the Teacher of Righteousness the hymns of thanksgiving *(Hōdāyôt)* from the somewhat damaged *Hymn Scroll* (1QH), then it emerges that his own former friends and companions had been among those who rebelled. There was one powerful persecutor, a "Wicked Priest," who, though "called by the name of truth when he first arose," had betrayed God and defiled himself and the cult out of greed and pride so as to "build a city of vanity with blood" and to rob the poor of their possessions. He had in the end been put to death by his enemies. The elect saw themselves not only as guardians of the Law, but as priests, "sons of Zadok," who were ultimately to protect the temple from the utter defilement which those in charge had wrought in it. However, they had been driven for a period into exile, described again, it would seem, symbolically, as located in Damascus. There they lived a life based upon the new covenant, interpreting the Law punctiliously, in its ritual and its compassionate requirements. Living in perfect purity, they had to remain separate from the community and, especially, to avoid all contact with the temple cult as it existed. They looked forward to the imminent punishment of the traitors and rebels and to their own salvation.

It has been observed that the date of 390 years from the Exile, even if we take it as an approximation accommodated to traditional reckonings, takes us to the beginning of the Hellenizing crisis, early in the 2d century. The withdrawal to "Damascus"—that is to say, perhaps, to Qumran and similar places beside the Dead Sea—would seem, then, to happen at about the time of the Hellenistic reform in Jerusalem. An identification of the Wicked Priest with Jonathan the Hasmonean, who did indeed die at the hands of his gentile enemies, is plausible. The archaeological evidence offered by the community's installations at Qumran cannot confirm this chronology but is consistent with it to the extent of revealing one stratum which precedes that of the Hyrcanus-Jannaeus era. That there is no known historical personage with whom we can identify the Teacher of Righteousness is not wholly surprising: the bitter quarrels which were all-important to the history of the sect had no real claim to attention in the Hasmonean record; and both Teacher and followers had conveniently taken themselves out of sight of Jerusalem, probably without causing much disruption to public life. This should not, of course, stand in the way of our recognizing the historical importance of their action.

The sect's abhorrence of the ruling house did not come to an end with the withdrawal from Jerusalem; but when the Commentary on Nahum (4Q169) points the finger at a peculiarly cruel ruler, seemingly Jannaeus, who is dubbed "the furious young lion," it is made clear that the lion's prey consisted not, now, of the Qumran sectaries, but, instead, of the "seekers of smooth things," reasonably interpreted as the Pharisees. The damaged text seems to suggest that the crucifixion of the seekers by the king, by way of reprisal, shocked the sect, and added a new note of revulsion to their long-standing criticism of the Hasmoneans for the familiar vices of accumulating wealth, abusing power, and polluting all that was holy. It is noteworthy that, even from their exile, these Essenes kept an eye on Jerusalem; indeed, the Nahum Commentary's public awareness extends to a unique reference to the doings of a King Antiochus (apparently Epiphanes) and a King Demetrius (most likely Jannaeus' adversary, Demetrius III). In this respect, the sectaries cannot be described as disengaged. Nor did the sad fate of the "seekers of smooth things" under Jannaeus (if indeed he was the culprit) reduce any of the sectaries' animus against that group.

The *Temple Scroll* (11QT) presents the temple legislation from the Pentateuch with a number of additions, and within this context it finds room for a theory of Jewish kingship (Hengel, Charlesworth, and Mendels 1986). Here a Bible-based reaction to the Hasmonean style of rule stands out plainly (the document is most usually dated, from its description of the Jewish monarch, to the period of Hyrcanus): the king must be Jewish; he must not have many horses; he must not make war in Egypt; he must not be polygamous; he must not acquire much silver and gold; his army must consist of Godfearers and is to protect him against foreigners; he must make all decisions in consultation with a council of 12 Israelites, 12 priests, and 22 Levites; he must marry a Jewish wife; his conduct in war must follow certain set patterns and must be preceded by a consultation by the high priest of the Urim and Thummim. The conclusion is a resounding warning, the contemporary meaning of which is undeniable: "The king whose heart and eyes have gone astray from my commandments shall never have one to sit on the throne of his

fathers, for I will cut off his posterity forever so that it shall no more rule over Israel. But if he walk after my rules and keep my commandments and do that which is correct and good before me, no heir to the throne of the kingdom of Israel shall be cut off from among his sons forever" (col. 59).

**2. The Pharisees.** The nature of the other major groupings within Judaism and their relation to political developments is in some ways even more elusive. But it is clear that unlike the Essenes, the Pharisees did not turn their backs on Jerusalem, to criticize from afar; and there is great interest in the picture in Josephus of their regular involvement in direct opposition to the rulers. It is understandable, in the light of this opposition, that their influence should have spread through society. Josephus claims that by his day they had won wide popularity among the people and that their scholarly interpretations, as embodied in an oral law supplementing the Torah, dominated public practice. Throughout the Hasmonean period that influence was in the making.

The dynasty, whose authority would always depend on its beginnings as Israel's savior, showed understandable reluctance to break irrevocably with those who stood for piety and purity. Hyrcanus was in his early days a pupil and favorite of the Pharisees (*Ant* 13.289). His quarrel with them is couched in an anecdote which figures also in the Talmud (*b. Qidd.* 66a). The core of this story is the Pharisaic demand that Hyrcanus give up the high priesthood and retain only the temporal leadership. The underlying reason for the demand could be that the two functions had traditionally been separated or else that the Hasmonean house lacked the correct, Zadokite descent, or, again, that Hyrcanus outward-looking activities were polluting the temple. Josephus reports drastic results: Hyrcanus canceled the Pharisees' religious ordinances (to which he had evidently accorded binding force), punished their followers, and took up with the Sadducees. Josephus, furthermore, believed that the breach was never healed. Yet the hazy recollections of this ruler in Talmudic literature are favorable, and Josephus himself proceeds to sum him up as a man both fortunate and charismatic. It may well be that the image of special spirituality was one adopted by Hyrcanus to counter Pharisaic disapproval and that the historian reflects this projection when he says that Hyrcanus was honored by God in three separate ways: with the leadership, with the high priesthood, and with a prophet's power to make predictions (*Ant* 13.300). This last ability was exemplified in an episode, found in both Josephus (*Ant* 13.282) and Talmudic texts, which tells how Hyrcanus was busy about his high priestly duties when a voice from above *(bat-qôl)* brought him the news of his sons' victory over Antiochus Cyzicenus. While all three of Hyrcanus' roles are neatly united in this tale, the religious capacity has pride of place.

With Alexander Jannaeus the conflicts intensified greatly and gave rise to mass slaughter and to civil war. This time not the Pharisees but the Jewish masses in general are given as the king's opponents, and the reconstruction which puts the Pharisees at the forefront of the reaction rests on no more than a plausible conjecture. The Talmudic accounts of the flight of Simeon ben Shetah, one of the leading scholars of the era, may go some way to confirm that Jannaeus' quarrel was primarily with elements rigorous about the law, both written and oral, as we know the Pharisees to have been, and to show that politics and religion were not distinguishable spheres of activity (Efron 1987: 176–90). At this time objections seem, once again, to have been directed at the Hasmonean tenure of the high priesthood; in addition, since one popular outburst was the pelting of the king with the citrons carried at the Festival of Tabernacles, there would appear also to have been controversies about his holy day observances. For the rest it is hard for us to envisage how the slaughter of 6000 citizens could follow from the pelting, or what could have been the character of the ensuing troubles in which, between about 90 B.C. and 85 B.C., 50,000 people perished, while their surviving associates had to seek the protection of King Demetrius III (Eukairos). Six thousand of his subjects apparently changed sides twice before Jannaeus took his most appalling revenge of all, crucifying 800 of them in public and massacring their wives and children while, it was said, he feasted openly with his concubines. That this act sent ripples even to Qumran is hardly surprising. Josephus' assurance that the king, having disposed of all the troublemakers, "reigned thereafter in complete tranquility" (*Ant* 13.383), is not wholly believable, though he did recover somewhat from the military setbacks which also accompanied his middle years and which, no doubt, had been partly a consequence of the uprising within his own borders.

Yet even the dreadful deeds described by Josephus did not finally rupture the link between the Pharisees and the dynasty. Jannaeus, with striking pragmatism, concluded from his own extensive experience that the Pharisees were now a power in the land, without whom one could not govern securely. He allegedly left his widow and successor, the queen Salome Alexandra, with the instructions to placate them and to share power with them in the future (*Ant* 13.400–404). These concessions made them prepared, apparently, to go so far as honoring the corpse of Jannaeus.

**D. The End of the Hasmoneans**

During Alexandra's nine-year rule, the Pharisees are said by Josephus to have come to dominate public life. Talmudic tradition remembered the reign with affection, valuing it especially as the heyday of Simon, son of Shetah. But the Pharisees became, in their turn, objects of public resentment. Elements hostile to them rallied to the side of Alexandra's younger son, Aristobulus; and during her last illness they organized themselves to take over the country. His supporters included much of the priesthood (*Ant* 14.24); and it was that show of violence which persuaded the elder brother, Hyrcanus, formally to cede the throne to the younger shortly after the queen's death. However, under the impact of the Roman presence in the area and of his Idumean adviser, Antipater (the father of Herod the Great), Hyrcanus' claim was soon revived and was eventually endorsed by Pompey when he arrived.

We cannot judge which sector of the population it was that presented itself to Pompey at Damascus in the spring of 63 B.C. and requested the restoration of the traditional system of rule under a high priest (*Ant* 14.41). Josephus describes this as the view of the "nation." Whatever the case, the sad day had arrived when these people preferred to deal with Rome rather than with either of the aspiring Hasmonean rulers. Those hopes in a solution from the outside very rapidly faded, however, once Pompey had wrested the Temple Mount from the forces of Aristobulus after a three month siege, had marched into the holy of holies, had imposed Roman tribute, and had taken many into slavery. Some of the *Psalms of Solomon* express the horror of the pious at that act of desecration, voicing the feelings of those people who had been repelled, like the Qumran settlers, by the greed, lawlessness, and arrogance of their own leaders. Here, too, we read of some who had at first welcomed Pompey, the invader from the west, "a man alien to our race" (*Pss. Sol.* 2:1–2).

This was the end of the Hasmoneans as a ruling dynasty. The sequel is known to us almost entirely from book 14 of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities.* Aristobulus was taken to Rome as a prisoner, to be displayed in Pompey's triumph. Hyrcanus was allowed to remain as high priest and receive the title "ethnarch." Between 57 and 55 B.C. the reduced entity of Judea was divided by Gabinius, the Roman proconsul of Syria, into five administrative and fiscal districts. During this period several revolts were organized, either by Aristobulus or by one or more of his sons, who seemed to have little difficulty in escaping from their Roman captivity; but these were fielded, on behalf of Rome, by Hyrcanus with his increasingly energetic minister, Antipater. A further rebellion, under Pitholaus, was crushed by Cassius, in 51 B.C.

During the 40s the upheavals in Roman politics consigned Judea to constant instability, for the civil wars were fought out largely in the E. Julius Caesar, maneuvering against Pompey, released Aristobulus and perhaps hoped to reinstate him; but Aristobulus' sudden death necessitated a rapprochment between the dictator and the party of Hyrcanus, which now included Antipater's sons, the younger of whom was Herod. Hyrcanus' ethnarchy and high priesthood were confirmed. This state of affairs did not change during the ascendancy of Marc Antony, though Antipater himself was killed in disturbances.

But the Parthian invasion of Rome's E provinces in 40 B.C., which brought a Parthian army into Jerusalem, again reversed the situation. Hyrcanus was taken prisoner and had his ear mutilated to disqualify him from the high priesthood, while Herod fled to Rome. Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, was installed as king; and the Hasmonean dynasty was for a brief moment revived. He issued coins with Greek on the reverse and Hebrew on the obverse, styling himself, in Greek, King Antigonus, and, in Hebrew, Mattathias the high priest. One issue makes mention in the Hebrew also of the community *(ḥeber)* of the Jews. The iconography is associated with the temple. Syria was torn between Romans and Parthians during the next three years, allowing Herod to engage in the reconquest of Palestine with Roman support. In 37 B.C. Jerusalem fell to Herod together with Sosius, the Roman general; and

Antigonus was beheaded at Antioch on the orders of Antony. Earlier in the year, Herod had married Mariamne (Mariamme I), granddaughter of Aristobulus (through her father) as well as of Hyrcanus (through her mother), thus uniting and also superseding the two branches of the Hasmonean dynasty. Mariamne's death at the hands of her jealous husband occurred in 29 B.C., and the two sons of this marriage, Alexander and Aristobulus, fell under suspicion and were executed in the year 7 B.C.

That the dynasty was remembered with admiration by at least some sections of the Jewish aristocracy is shown by the pride with which the historian Josephus speaks of his Hasmonean ancestry in the introduction to his autobiography, a work published as late as the A.D. 90s (*Life* 2).

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TESSA RAJAK

**HASRAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥasrā* (חַסְרָ)]. Var. HARHAS. **1.** Grandfather of Shallum, the husband of Huldah the prophetess (2 Chr 34:22 [ *chellēs*]). Harhas, a variant form of the name, appears in the parallel text of 2 Kgs 22:14.

**2.** A temple servant who was the progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:31 [Gk *Asara*]). He may be the same "keeper of the wardrobe" mentioned in 2 Chr 34:22 (= 2 Kgs 22:14). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, the family of Hasrah does not appear among their lists of returning exiles (see Ezra 2:49; Neh 7:52). Omissions such as this raise questions about the sources of and the literary relationship among 1 Esdras, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

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**HASSENUAH** (PERSON) [Heb *hassĕnû᾽â* (הַסְּנוּאָה)]. The father of Judah, a Benjaminite and second in command over postexilic Jerusalem (Neh 11:9). In a related list Hassenuah is also described as the father of Hodaviah (1 Chr 9:7), but some scholars have argued that the record in 1 Chronicles has been corrupted (Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 171).

FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**HASSHUB** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥaššûb* (חַשּׁוּב)]. The name of several different persons mentioned in the OT.

**1.** The father of Shemalah, one of 284 Levites who agreed to settle in postexilic Jerusalem (Neh 11:15). His name appears in the parallel account in 1 Chr 9:14. According to the latter account he was a member of the Merari clan, but Nehemiah omits this information. This, like other differences in the two lists, suggests that there is no direct literary relationship between the two lists (contra Kellermann 1966: 208–27; and Mowinckel 1964: 146–47). Some, however, have conjectured that both writers were dependent upon common archival materials (Schneider *Esra und Nehemia* HSAT, 42–43; Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* NCBC, 187; cf. Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 185). In any event the differences at this point between the accounts provide no further evidence of use in resolving the problem. The name may be a shortened form of the name, *hšbyh,* meaning "Yahweh has considered" (*IDB* 2: 536).

**2.** The name of two men given responsibilities in the rebuilding of postexilic Jerusalem (Neh 3:11, 23). The first, described as the son of Pahath-moab, was charged with responsibility for rebuilding the wall "as far as" or, perhaps, "by" the Furnace Tower. (On the ambiguities of the Hebrew at this point, see Ehrlich 1914: 190; and Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 197.) He may have already been responsible for reconstruction of other parts of the wall, since the writer describes this as the second section for which he (along with others) was responsible (Brockington, 138). The second Hasshub was charged with responsibility for rebuilding the wall in front of the dwelling he shared with someone named Benjamin (v 23). It is possible that the two men are actually one with two assignments, but it is impossible to be certain (*IDB* 2: 536).

**3.** A leader of the people and a signatory to the covenant established by Ezra (Neh 10:24).

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FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**HASSOPHERETH** (PERSON) [Heb *hassōperet* (הַסֹּפֶרֶת)]. The form in Ezra 2:55 for Sophereth. It is also the RSV rendering of the Gk *Assaphiōth* in 1 Esdr 5:33. See SOPHERETH (PERSON).

**HASUPHA** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥăśûpā᾽* (חֲשׁוּפָא)]. A temple servant who was the progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:43 = Neh 7:46 = 1 Esdr 5:29).

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**HAT.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**HATHACH** (PERSON) [Heb *hătāk* (הֲתָךְ)]. One of the eunuchs of King Ahasuerus appointed to attend to Queen Esther (Esth 4:5–12). Distressed with Mordecai's behavior when he learned of Haman's decree against the Jews in the empire, Esther sent her eunuch for some explanation. Mordecai returned her servant with a request urging the queen to go to the king and intercede for her people. Thus the Jews were delivered from Haman's plots against them. The deliverance was compared in the Targum to that of Daniel (Grossfeld 1984), and evidently some think that Hatach is called Daniel by the rabbi (Moore, *Esther* AB, 98). It has been claimed that the eunuch may have been a Jew (Haupt 1982), but his name has been assigned Persian origins meaning "the Good One" (*hataka* is *hat* plus *ka;* Gehman 1924) or "courier."

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JOHN MCKENNA

**HATHATH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥătat* (חֲתַת)]. A Judahite, the son of Othniel and grandson of Kenaz (1 Chr 4:13). Hathath's name appears in a list of descendants or relatives of Caleb (1 Chr 4:11–13). The exact nature of his relationship to Caleb remains unclear. 1 Chr 4:15 apparently traces back from Kenaz to ELAH to Caleb, making Hathath at least Caleb's great-great-grandson. Yet Josh 15:17 refers to "Othniel, the son of Kenaz, the brother of Caleb" (cf. Judg 1:13), thus indicating that Hathath is Caleb's grandnephew (assuming that "the brother of Caleb" describes Kenaz and not Othniel). One could simply posit the existence of separate traditions. However, Myers (*1 Chronicles* 26) suggests that a transposition of the "sons of Kenaz" with ʾ*lh* (not as a name, "Elah," ʾ*ēlâ,* but the demonstrative pronoun, "these," ʾ*ēlleh*) may have occurred in 1 Chr 4:15, with the original text reading "these were the sons of Kenaz." However, this only accounts for the latter of the two occurrences of Elah in the verse. It is also possible that the name Kenaz was given to two people in the clan over a period of several generations, thus meaning that Caleb's grandson Kenaz, the son of Elah, was the grandnephew of another Kenaz, the brother of Caleb and grandfather of Hathath. The name probably meant "weakness," "weakling" (Noth *IPN*, 227; cf. *HALAT* for etymology). Both $G^L$ and Vg insert a Meonothai as Hathath's brother (1 Chr 4:13).

KENNETH H. CUFFEY

**HATIPHA** (PERSON) [Heb *hăṭîpāʾ* (הֲטִיפָא)]. A temple servant who was the progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:54 = Neh 7:56 = 1 Esdr 5:32).

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**HATITA** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥăṭîṭāʾ* (חֲטִיטָא)]. A gatekeeper at the temple who was the progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:42 = Neh 7:45 = 1 Esdr 5:28).

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**HATTIL** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥaṭṭîl* (חַטִּיל)]. A servant of Solomon who was the progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:57 [LXX *atil*] = Neh 7:59 [LXX *etēl*] = 1 Esdr 5:34 [LXX *agia*]).

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**HATTUSH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥaṭṭûš* (חַטּוּשׁ)]. **1.** The son of Shemaiah and a descendant of Zerubbabel who is mentioned in the list of exilic and postexilic descendants of David in 1 Chr 3:22. If, as seems likely, the phrase; "… sons of Shemaiah …" is to be deleted as a dittography in v 22 (see Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 58), then Shemaiah becomes the first son of Shecaniah and Hattush is his second son. The root *ḥṭš* is otherwise unattested in biblical Hebrew.

**2.** A descendant of David who accompanied Ezra on his return to Jerusalem (Ezra 8:2). The text of Ezra 8:2 is a disturbed reading; "… of the sons of David, Hattush, of the sons of Shecaniah, of the sons of …" The superior reading is preserved in $LXX^A$ of 1 Esdr 8:29, which reads, "Hattush the son of Shecaniah." This reading agrees with the corrected text of 1 Chr 3:22, which deletes the phrase "sons of Shemaiah" in MT, and makes Hattush the second son of Shecaniah. It is uncertain whether the Hattush mentioned in Ezra 8:2 is identical to (1), because of the uncertainty of the date of Ezra's mission as well as the disturbed text of both Ezra 8:2 and 1 Chr 3:22; but it is quite possible.

**3.** The son of Hashabneiah (Heb *ḥăšabnĕyāh*), a man of Jerusalem who repaired a part of the walls under Nehemiah (Neh 9:5).

**4.** One of the priests who put his seal to the covenant of the postexilic community recorded in Nehemiah 10. He may be identical to the Hattush mentioned in Neh 12:2 who returned to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel and Jeshua.

RUSSELL FULLER

**HATULA** (M.R. 148137). A Natufian and Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (PPNA) site in the Shephelah near Latrun monastery. The site of Hatula is located on the S bank of Naḥal Nahshon close to its entrance to the plain of Aijalon. Its name is derived from the ruins of Hatula on a hill ca. 2.5 km to the E. The prehistoric remains are embedded in a brown alluvium covering an old river terrace 15 m above the present bed. The remains occupy an E-W orientation some 100 × 25 m along the lower edge of the rocky slope bodering the valley.

The site was discovered by Father Claude of Latrun monastery and was excavated during six seasons from 1980 by M. Lechevallier and A. Ronen. It contains two layers: Natufian and PPNA. The excavations have concentrated on the upper, PPNA layer, of which some 80 $m^2$ were uncovered. The underlying Natufian was reached in limited test pits which exposed approximately 10 $m^2$.

**A. The Natufian**

The Natufian remains occupy the lower half of the deposits covering the terrace, about 1 m of dark brown silty clay with small stones or calcareous fragments, with few stones larger than 3 cm. The archaeological remains are sparsely distributed in the entire thickness of the layer; but a major concentration exists at the bottom, near the calcareous crust *(nari)* which constitutes the local bedrock. Here is a rich living floor, 10 cm thick, with abundant flint industry and animal bones. A considerable length of time separated the Natufian and PPNA settlements, during which the site was unoccupied. The top of the Natufian bed served as the foundation of the Neolithic settlement; hence at this point the remains of the two periods may have mixed, with no way to distinguish them.

Among the lithics, flakes constitute some 66 percent of the knapping products, blades/bladelets form ca. 25 percent, and the remainder are cores and waste products. The cores are rather small; a good number among them were prepared by breaking a nodule into halves or quarters. The scarcity of nodules at the site indicates that prepared cores were imported from a flint source, probably from one of the conglomerates along the Nahshon river. Chief among the retouched tools are the microliths (57 percent), with lunates largely dominating. At Hatula, borers (ca. 9 percent) are the most numerous among all known Natufian sites. The borers have especially delicate, needlelike tips generally placed at an angle. Similar borers become very numerous in the PPNA. Other tools include retouched blades and flakes, grattoirs, burins, truncations, and a small number of sickle blades with sheen (0.2 percent). The size and shape of the lunates indicate a Late Natufian phase.

Nonlithic artifacts include a bone sickle fragment with a groove 2.5 mm deep, a few bone awls (one with a pierced end), and a few pieces of ornament: beads, perforated seashell, and dentalium.

No structures or stone mortars have yet been discovered in the Natufian phase of Hatula. One burial, a female ca. 12 years old, without accompanying objects may belong to either the Natufian or Neolithic.

Table 1
Major Tool Types of Hatula (%)

| | *Natufian* (N = 517) | *Khiamian* (N = 705) | *Sultanian* (N = 610) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Grattoirs | 1.7 | 2.1 | 1.3 |
| Burins | 6.3 | 2.5 | 2.9 |
| Borers | 8.7 | 17.4 | 28.6 |
| Backed blades | 1.9 | 0.1 | 0.6 |
| Truncatures | 2.9 | 2.6 | 2.6 |
| Denticulates & Notches | 5.4 | 2.6 | 3.6 |
| Sickle blades | 0.19 | 1.4 | 1.8 |
| Retouched pieces | 13.0 | 18.8 | 27.9 |
| Backed bladelets | 22.0 | 8.8 | 9.1 |
| Geometric Microliths | 35.3 | 36.1 | 7.2 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| El Khiam Points | —— | 3.1 | 4.2 |
| Celts | —— | —— | 0.8 |

**B. The Neolithic**

The layer of Neolithic remains is about 1 m thick and differs clearly from the underlying one. It is soft, of light brown color with white pockets. It is rich in stones of various sizes, dominated by those of 5–10 cm in diameter. Many of the stones are broken river pebbles, in our opinion, man-made breaks. The composition of the Neolithic layer and its structure closely resemble the deposits of a tell and likewise denote a strong anthropogenic influence. The upper part of the Neolithic layer was eroded, as indicated by the large number of artifacts found on the surface and by several Neolithic burials, which were originally dug to a certain depth but were found almost at surface level.

Two structures were unearthed in the Neolithic layer. Both are oval and were dug to form a shallow depression in the underlying sediment. One of the oval structures measures ca. 4 × 3 m. The depression was filled by a fine, loess-like yellow sediment, which seems to have been imported. In the yellow sediment were numerous concretions, yellow or orange in color, perhaps the remains of bricks or plaster from the roof or walls of this apparently adobe structure. The oval structure was subsequently (perhaps after a fire) filled with a 30-cm-thick, gray, ashy, soft sediment. In it a concentration of broken pebbles and numerous faunal remains was found.

The second structure measures ca. 5.5 × 4 m and was dug about 50 cm into the underlying deposit. The outer wall had a stone base, made of large cobbles in the S end and smaller ones in the rest of the periphery. The entrance, 1.4 m wide, was in the center of the E wall. The N end of the structure suffered from erosion. About 1 m W of this stone structure was a depression filled with a yellow deposit overlain by a gray, ashy layer rich in large bone fragments, similar to the situation described in the former structure. This depression was only partly excavated. Its precise relation to the stone structure is unclear—perhaps it was an adjacent working area (butchery or kitchen?).

Inside the stone structure and in the space separating the two depressions were numerous grinding implements, mortars and pestles made of limestone or basalt. The mortars and lithic concentrations indicate at least two superimposed floors.

The lithics are very similar to the Natufian ones, both in types and technique of manufacture. The major technical components—flakes, blade/bladelets, cores and waste—are represented in similar ratios to the Natufian series. The main differences are the presence of newly introduced El-Khiam arrowheads or points, the introduction of celts, and the considerable augmentation of borers (from 9 to 29 percent).

After the microliths (45 percent) borers constitute the most numerous tool type in the Neolithic of Hatula (29 percent). They are the same types as the Natufian ones. The El-Khiam points (4 percent) were made on carefully selected, thin blades with a width closely ranging around 10 mm. The notches which separate the stem from the top have a standard size around 5.5 mm. The butt is truncated, frequently concave. The presence of numerous El-Khiam points determines this assemblage as Khiamian. However, a few celts were also found at Hatula, specially located in the stone structure, an arrangement which gives a local Sultanian aspect to the industry. It remains to establish the precise chronological relationship between the “Sultanian” stone structure and the “Khiamian” adobe structure; this will determine whether these lithic facies denote functional or chronological differences.

Bone tools, mainly awls, are of the same type, but more abundant than in the Natufian. There are fine greenstone beads, with biconical perforations exceeding 40 mm in length. A few perforated seashell and dentalium beads are present here, as in the Natufian. Mortars and pestles are numerous in the Neolithic. The mortars are large slabs (ca. 30 × 30 × 20 cm) with a ca. 10-cm-deep depression and a diameter of 10 cm. The pestles are 10–15 cm long, with one end rounded and the other flat; the latter was held in the hand.

Four Neolithic inhumations were uncovered, all in flexed position. Only one had an accompanying object: a round, perforated, limestone bead near the chest.

Natufian fauna is largely dominated by gazelle (95 percent). Wild cattle and wild boar come next as food resources, followed by a few hares and sea fishes. Possibly mole rats and reptiles were also consumed, since several of these remains were charred; and test excavations failed to reveal mole rat and reptile bones outside the occupied area. Few carnivore remains were found in Hatula (fox and cat). Dog remains were not found, but their presence may be inferred from the small bones which were corroded in a way typical of a partial digestion by a dog. Isolated examples of deer, badger, polecat, and hedgehog were also present. A large quantity of birds, including aquatic species which require year-round water, completes the faunal remains.

The Neolithic has a faunal composition similar to that of the Natufian but with a decreasing role of gazelle and an increase of fish and fowl in the diet.

**C. Summary**

The open-air site of Hatula was a permanent, or semipermanent, village during the Late Natufian (ca. 12,000 years ago) and PPNA (9500 years ago). The almost total reliance on gazelle as staple food in the Natufian indicates highly specialized hunting strategies, if not a form of seasonal control. The situation changed in the Neolithic when the gazelle population seems to have diminished, with a correspondingly greater dependence on smaller game, mostly birds and fish. In many ways the PPNA material culture seems a direct continuation of the Natufian—an "Epi-Natufian." The scarcity of forest-dweller game and the presence of such humidity lovers as polecat, badger, and ducks constitute somewhat contradictory evidence, implying a large treeless country with a nearby lake or marsh. But we should remember that at this stage man was capable of altering his environment, and our evidence does not necessarily reflect solely natural conditions.

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MONIQUE LECHEVALLIER

**HAUSTAFELN.** The German word *Haustafeln* ("tables of household rules") is a technical term used to designate lists of duties for members of a household. These lists were widely used in antiquity as part of the moral instruction given to individuals in regard to proper behavior toward the gods, the state, friends, fellow members of the household, and others. Examples of the lists, which vary widely in form and function, occur in the "unwritten laws" of popular Greek ethics (e.g., Aesch. *Supp.* 701–9; ps-Arist. *Rh. Al.* 1421b 37–40; ps-Isoc. *Demonicus* 16; Lycurg. *Leoc.* 15; Xen. *Mem.* 4.4.18–24), philosophical traditions (e.g., Cic. *Off.* 1.17.58; 3.15.63; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 4.91; DL 7.108, 119–20; 8.22–23; Epict. *Diss.* 2.10.1–23; 14.8; 17.31; Hierocles *apud* Stob. [cf. Malherbe 1986: 85–104]; Hor. *Ars P.* 312–16; ps-Plut. *De liberis educandis* 7E; Sen. *Ep.* 94.1), Hellenistic Judaism (Joseph. *AgAp* 2.190–210; Philo *Dec* 165–67; *Deo* 17, 19; *Hypo* 7.3, 14; *Post* 181; ps-Phocylides *Gnom.* 175–227), and early Christian literature.

The earliest, most complete Christian examples are Eph 5:21–6:9; Col 3:18–4:1; and 1 Pet 2:13–3:12. The principal interest of these NT *Haustafeln* is in the relationships between husbands and wives, parents and children, and masters and slaves. Wives are exhorted to be submissive to their husbands (Eph 5:22–24, 33; Col 3:18; 1 Pet 3:1, 5–6), children to be obedient to their parents (Eph 6:1–3; Col 3:20), and slaves to be subject to their masters (Eph 6:5–8; Col 3:22–25; 1 Pet 2:18–25). Husbands (Eph 5:25–33; Col 3:19; 1 Pet 3:7), fathers (Eph 6:4; Col 3:21), and masters (Eph 6:9; Col 4:1) are exhorted to be considerate and just and not to abuse the power of their dominant position. Later material that belongs to this tradition of instruction or is related to it includes 1 Tim 2:1–2, 8–15; 5:1–8; 6:1–2; Titus 2:1–10; 3:1–2; *1 Clem.* 1:3; 21:6–9; *Ign. Pol.* 4:1–6:1; Pol. *Phil.* 4:2–6:3; *Did.* 4:9–11; and *Barn.* 19:5–7. Some of the preceding texts (such as Pol. *Phil.* 4:2–6:3) are frequently called *Gemeindetafeln* ("tables of church rules") because they include instructions for groups within the church, "the household of God" (1 Tim 3:15).

Scholarly debate has centered on the issue of the origin and function of these lists of social duties. Whereas early research on the NT *Haustafeln* sought their origin in Stoicism (Weidinger 1928; Dibelius *Kolosser, Epheser, and Philemon* HNT, 48–50), Hellenistic Judaism (Crouch 1972), or even early Christianity itself (Schroeder 1959), recent studies derive them principally from the Hellenistic discussion of the topic "concerning household management" *(peri oikonomias),* especially as outlined by Aristotle

(*Pol.* 1.1253b 1–14; cf. also *Eth. Nic.* 8.1160b, 23–1161a, 10) and developed by the Peripatetics and Neo-Pythagoreans (Lührmann 1975, 1980; Thraede 1977a, 1977b, 1980; Balch 1981, 1988). The function of the NT household codes is highly debated. Dibelius (48), for example, argues that the *Haustafeln* are parenetic in function and that they were adopted by early Christians when the hope for an imminent parousia began to wane. Crouch, on the other hand, argues that the Christian *Haustafel* reflects the nomistic tendencies of Deutero-Pauline Christianity and that it was formed to deal with the problem of social unrest within the Church occasioned by the egalitarian actions of women and slaves; it functioned therefore to combat the threat "to the stability of both the Church and the social order" (1972: 151). Elliott (1981: 208–20; 1986) contends that the *Haustafel* in 1 Peter is part of a sectarian strategy to foster the distinctive identity and solidarity of the Christian community as the household of God over against a hostile world that it still hopes to convert; that is, the code has an internal integrative function within the Church as well as an external missionary goal. Balch (1981, 1986), by contrast, maintains that the domestic code in 1 Peter represents an apologetic response to outsiders' criticisms that Christianity was socially irresponsible and domestically disruptive; the Petrine *Haustafel* encourages the Church's integration into Greco-Roman society by promoting the adoption of certain values of that culture. Balch's position is bolstered by the fact that the *Haustafeln* in Philo and Josephus have a similar apologetic function (cf. also Malherbe 1983: 50–53; 1989: 17).

Historically, the appearance of the *Haustafeln* in 1st-century Christianity reflects the theological conviction that the new life in Christ is to be lived within the framework of existing natural and social orders (Dahl 1965: 69). Modern Western society, however, differs markedly from the Greco-Roman culture that the household codes presuppose. These differences raise acute hermeneutical questions about the *Haustafeln* and their present theological relevance, especially in regard to the codes' acceptance of slavery as an institution (Laub 1982: 83–98) and their espousal of women's subordinate position (Schüssler Fiorenza 1984: 65–92; cf. also Müller 1983). In this regard it is important to interpret each of the *Haustafeln* individually; some of the codes do not simply assume the authority of the paterfamilias but also criticize aspects of it. For example, the *Haustafel* in 1 Peter rejects the ancient tradition that a wife was to fear her husband and acknowledge only his gods. In this tradition a wife was guilty of insubordination if she adopted a religion other than her husband's. 1 Peter (3:1–6) rejects these ideas, exhorting wives to maintain their Christian faith and not to be intimidated by their husbands (cf. Balch 1984). See also HOUSEHOLD CODES.

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JOHN T. FITZGERALD

**HAVILAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥawîlâ* (חַוִילָה)]. Two individuals with this name, whose identities are closely associated with the place which bears this name, appear in the Bible. See also HAVILAH (PLACE).

**1.** A son of Cush listed in the so-called Table of Nations (Gen 10:7; 1 Chr 1:9).

**2.** A son of Joktan listed in the so-called Table of Nations (Gen 10:29; 1 Chr 1:23).

Havilah is the biblical form of the name of the large and old tribal federation of *Ḫaulān* in SW Arabia, which is divided into two or three branches. The identification originates from Niebuhr (1772: 292f.), who associated Ḫaulān to the SE of Ṣanʿāʾ with Havilah, the son of Joktan, and Ḫaulān to the W of Ṣaʿda with Havilah, the son of Cush. He found it remarkable that two tribal districts in different regions of Yemen have the same name and are also mentioned twice in the Table of Nations (Gen 10:7, 29).

Two tribal groups of Ḫaulān continue to exist today. The E (or S) branch are the Ḫaulān al-ʿĀliya or Ḫaulān al-Ṭiyāl, the territory of which extends from the E of Ṣanʿāʾ over Tanʿim to Ṣirwāḥ and into the Wâdī Ḏana just before reaching the oasis of Mārib. The N branch is the federation of the Ḫaulān bin ʿAmr or Ḫaulān Quḍāʿa, the territory of which lies to the NW of Ṣaʿda. The Ḫaulān were probably originally one single tribe, the territory of which was later separated when the Minaean realm arose and the Ḥāšid and Bakīl invaded the Yemenite highland and settled there. Place names in the region of these two tribes still indicate the former presence of the Ḫaulān. Also, in other parts of Yemen, dispersed groups of the Ḫaulān are encountered at a later date.

The earliest epigraphic attestation of Ḫaulān is to be found in the Old Sabean record of the ruler Karibʾil Watar, set up at Ṣirwāḥ, RES 3946,3, where vassals of a certain Yaʿṯuq of Ḫaulān *(ʾdm yʿṯq ḏḫwln ḏyrrt)* are mentioned. In the Minaean inscription M 247 = RES 3022,2 from Barāqiš from the time about 340–330 B.C., the donors of the text give thanks to their gods for having saved them and their possessions from the raids which Sabaʾ and Ḫaulān undertook against them on the caravan route between Maʿīn and Ragmatum (Nagrān). Also in the Qatabanian inscription RES 4274,1 a member of Ḫaulān *(ḏḫwln)* is attested as a person who makes a dedication to the goddess Aṯirat.

In the Sabean inscriptions from the time of the kings of Sabaʾ and Ḏū-Raydān there are numerous references to Ḫaulān, which can be subdivided into three different groups. The E branch is the tribe which settles around Ṣirwāḥ and is called the tribe Ḫaulān Ḫaḍilim (*šʿbn ḫwln ḫḍlm;* e.g., Iryānī 28,1); through common leaders it is closely connected with the tribe of Ṣirwāḥ and Hainān (*šʿbn ṣrwḥ whwln ḫḍlm whynn;* e.g., Fakhri 3,2). In the genealogy of the N Ḫaulān around Ṣaʿda, which in Islamic times are the Ḫaulān bin ʿAmr, the older name Banū Ǧudād or al-Aǧdūd is still quoted by al-Hamdānī (1965: 143–45). In the inscriptions these are the tribe Ḫaulān Gudādim (*šʿbn ḫwln gddm;* Ja 577,8) or the tribe Ḫaulān Gudādān (*šʿbn ḫwln gddn;* Umm Lailà 1,1–2) or the groups of Ḫaulān ʾAgdūdān (*ʿšr ḫwln ʾgddn;* Ja

658,13); the largeness of Ḫaulān is sometimes expressed by the plural *ʾšʿbn* placed in front of the name ("the tribes of Ḫaulān;" Ja 601,10) or by the designation "the tribes and groups of Ḫaulān Gudādim" (*ʾšʿb wʿšr ḫwln gddm;* Ja 616,12); their territory is the land of Ḫaulān Gudādim (*ʾrḍ ḫwln gddm;* Ja 2109,4) or Ḫaulān Gudādān (*ʾrḍ ḫwln gddn;* Ja 601,5) respectively, or the land of Ḫaulān ʾAgdūdān (*ʾrḍ ḫwln ʾgddn;* Ja 658,10). Once the term Ḫaulān Gudādatān (*ḫwln gddtn;* Ja 671,5) is found. In pre-Islamic times there existed in SE Yemen around the town of Waʿlān in the ancient district of Radmān a further branch of Ḫaulān, which is often attested in the inscriptions of the 2d and 3d centuries A.D., namely, the tribe of Radmān and Ḫaulān, the leaders of which came from the clan Maʿāhir and D̲ū-Ḫaulān (*bn mʿhr wd̲ḫwln qyl rdmn wḫwln;* e.g., RES 3958,1–2). See also HAVILAH (PLACE).

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**HAVILAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥăwîlâ* (חֲוִילָה)]. The rich land surrounded by the river Pishon according to the story of the Garden of Eden (Gen 2:11). Its richness derives from the gold, resin bdellium, and onyx stones present there. All three of these products point to S Arabia as the location of Havilah, since S Arabia is the homeland of valuable resins and precious stones. According to Pliny (*HN* 12.23), the tree which yields bdellium also grows in Arabia, and the resin from *Commiphora mukul,* Arabic *muql,* is up to now a Yemenite product (cf. Schopen 1983: 176f.). Onyx (Arabic *ǧazʿ*) is found at all times in various places in Yemen; and among the sorts which were usually named after the places where they were found, there was also a "Ḫaulānite onyx" (al-Hamdānī 1884: 202–3). Among the gold mines of the Arabian peninsula, the mine of ʿAšam in the region of the Quḍāʿa is attested, the gold of which is red and excellent; also attested are the mines of al-Qufāʿa in the land of Ḫaulān, which yield gold of a superior quality (cf. al-Hamdānī 1968: 138–41). J. Halévy reports that, as an eyewitness in 1870 in Ṣirwāḥ in Ḫaulān, he saw Arabs washing gold and noted that gold was found in small grains in the sand and in the river bed (1872: 54). Since in Old South Arabic *dhb* does not only mean gold but also a type of incense, it is possible that *zāhāb ṭōb* in Gen 2:12 does not refer to "good gold" but rather to a fragrant resin (cf. de Langhe 1959: 493).

In Gen 25:18 *ḥăwîlâ,* which by the Israelites might have been connected with Heb *ḥôl,* "sand," designates presumably the SE desert border of the region where the Ishmaelites settled. From this fact and from the reference to the *Chaulotaîoi* by Eratosthenes (Strabo, *Geog.* 16.4.2), H. von Wissmann (1970: 905–80, esp. 947–54) concluded that there must have existed a colonial Sabean Ḫaulān in NW Arabia along the incense road before or perhaps still during the Minaean period in the oasis of Dedan. Probably this N Arabian *ḥăwîlâ* is to be distinguished from the S Arabian Ḫaulān and perhaps to be compared with the tribe of *ḥwlt,* which is repeatedly mentioned in the Safaitic inscriptions and which might be identified with the *Avalitae* of Pliny (*HN* 6.157) and the later Arabian tribe of *Ḥawāla.* Possibly the old biblical name of this region survives in the name of the N Arabian town of Ḥāʾil (cf. Knauf 1985: 64). The borders of the Ishmaelites in Gen 25:18 with the local destination *ḥăwîlâ* have also been taken over in 1 Sam 15:7 and transferred to the Amalekites.

It should also be noted that other less convincing identification of *ḥăwîlâ* have been proposed, e.g., in the central Arabian Yamāma, in NE Arabia at the Persian Gulf, or even with *Avalitēs* (*Periplus maris Erythraei* 7; Ptolemy, *Geog.* 4.7.10), the later Zaylaʿ at the NE African coast. For further bibliography, see Westermann (1984: 214–15).

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**HAVVOTH-JAIR** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥawwōt* (חַוֹּת) *yāʾîr* (יָאִיר)]. A region E of the Sea of Galilee comprising a group of Amorite cities granted by Moses to the half-tribe of Manasseh. The name Havvoth-jair occurs in six OT passages (Num 32:41; Deut 3:14; Josh 13:30; Judg 10:4; 1 Kgs 4:13; 1 Chr 2:23). The noun *ḥawwâ,* "village" (?), is found only in the six passages listed above and in all but one (Num 32:41) of its six occurrences only in the phrase *ḥawwōt yāʾîr,* "Havvoth-jair." The lexical isolation of the phrase places its Israelite origin in question.

The name has been appropriated in Hebrew by means of conflicting etiologies. The two pentateuchal instances of Havvoth-jair incorporate an etiology which derives the toponym from the capture of these villages by *yāʾîr ben-mĕnaššê,* "Jair the son of Manasseh" (Num 32:41; cf. "the Manassite," Deut 3:14 [RSV]), in the course of the Israelite acquisition of land E of the Jordan. The etiology interprets *ḥawwōt yāʾîr* as "villages of [the person] Jair." A similar etiology (Judg 10:4) attaches the name to a Gileadite judge named Jair (on the text see Boling 1966: 295–96).

Just as the etiologies of the name differ, so also the number of cities included in the region, and its geographic associations, are variously given in the biblical texts. The etiologic narratives in the Pentateuch (Num 32:33; Deut 3:10–11, 13) and the topographic list in Joshua (13:30) associate Havvoth-jair with the kingdom of Og, the realm of which encompassed BASHAN. Deuteronomy (3:13–14) and the Deuteronomistic tradition (1 Kgs 4:13) further specify that the Bashan region overlapped "the whole region *(ḥebel)* of Argob" (Deut 3:4). The *ḥebel ʾargōb,* "region of Argob," is specified as the area captured by Jair and renamed eponymously (Deut 3:14). *See also* ARGOB (PLACE).

The Deuteronomistic traditions (Deut 3:13–14; Josh 13:30; 1 Kgs 4:13) agree that 60 cities comprised the region called Havvoth-jair, whereas Judg 10:4 presumes 30 cities, associated with the 30 sons of the judge Jair (the political significance of the kinship language is stressed by Boling *Judges* 188). The Chronicler allots 23 cities to Jair (1 Chr 2:23); the cities of Havvoth-jair together with KENATH and its dependencies total 60 cities *(ʿîr)* taken by Geshur and Aram. The Solomonic administrative district centered at Ramoth-gilead included Havvoth-jair (1 Kgs 4:13), and 1 Chr 2:22 places the cities "in the land of Gilead." In the etiologic narratives Havvoth-jair seems to be distinguished from Gilead (see Aharoni *LBHG,* 209).

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**HAWK.** See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

**HAZAEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥăzāʾēl* (חֲזָאֵל)]. Powerful king of Aram-Damascus between ca. 842–800 B.C.E., remembered by the Israelites as one of their most brutal enemies. Hazael is known from biblical and Assyrian sources, from an inscribed ivory fragment found at Arslan Tash (among booty seized by the Assyrians) which refers to him as "our lord, Hazael," and from a cylinder seal found at Aššur which mentions booty taken from Mallaḫu, one of his royal cities.

Hazael was a usurper to the throne of Aram. 2 Kgs 8:7–15 portrays him as a high official in the royal court who, after being told by the prophet Elisha that he was to become king of Aram, murdered the ailing king Ben-hadad and seized the throne. The annals of Shalmaneser III also indicate Hazael's status, calling him "the son of a nobody," i.e., a usurper. There is some question concerning the identity of the king that

Hazael assassinated, and it is likely that the latter's name was Hadad-ʿizr, rather than Ben-hadad (see BEN-HADAD).

Following his seizure of the throne, Hazael began a campaign of aggression against Israel that was to characterize his entire reign. Before 841 B.C.E. Hazael and Joram of Israel were in conflict in Gilead (2 Kgs 8:28–29), and it was during these hostilities near Ramoth-Gilead that Joram was wounded and that Jehu began his revolution that resulted in the overthrow of the Omride dynasty (2 Kings 9).

The years between 841 and 836 were a period of serious trouble for Aram and Hazael. The powerful Syro-Palestinian coalition headed by Aram and Hamath, which had held back the advances of the Assyrian army of Shalmaneser III four times between 853 and 845, fell apart shortly after Hazael came to power. Hamath apparently made a separate peace with Shalmaneser, and the other partners appear to have pulled away from the alliance as well, leaving Aram alone to face the attack when Shalmaneser returned to Syria in 841. Hazael met the Assyrian army at Mt. Senir but was defeated. He withdrew into Damascus, which Shalmaneser besieged briefly but did not capture, although he devastated the orchards and farmland in the Damascus oasis. The Assyrians returned in 837 and perhaps also in 836 (cf. Pitard 1987: 149–50), but Aram held its own in these battles as well. After 836 Assyrian pressure abated; and Hazael recovered very quickly, turning his attention to the conquest of his S neighbors.

Biblical accounts indicate the extent of Hazael's attacks on Israel and Philistia. It appears that he annexed Israelite holdings E of the Jordan (2 Kgs 10:32–33) and decimated Israel's army, almost certainly making Israel into a vassal state. He also attacked Philistia (2 Kgs 12:17; 13:22 LXX) and Judah (2 Kgs 12:17–18), both of which also appear to have become vassals. There is no information on his relations with Ammon, Moab, and Edom; but it is likely that they too came under his sway. Although some scholars have suggested that Hazael was also able to subdue the major states in central and N Syria, there is actually no evidence of this. But the empire which he built in S Syria and Palestine was significant enough to make Aram-Damascus one of the leading states, and perhaps the dominant political power, of Syria during this period.

Few explicit details are known of the latter part of Hazael's reign besides the fact that he continued to dominate Israel through both Jehu's and Joahaz' reigns. Some scholars have identified the king of Aram called Marʾi in the inscriptions of Adad-nirari III (ca. 810–783 B.C.E.) with Hazael. These inscriptions describe Adad-nirari's attack on Damascus, which resulted in the surrender of Marʾi and the payment of a large tribute to the Assyrians. This campaign against Damascus, however, appears to have taken place in 796 B.C.E., some years after the death of Hazael, so that Marʾishould be identified with Hazael's son, Ben-hadad. Hazael appears to have died toward the end of the 9th century, in the last years of the reign of Joahaz of Israel (2 Kgs 13:22).

Hazael was one of the two most powerful kings of Aram-Damascus (along with Hadad-ʿizr, who ruled just before him), and he had a substantial impact on Israelite history. Israel's vivid memories of his harsh treatment of their people are well illustrated in the story of Elisha's fateful meeting with him (see esp. 2 Kgs 8:12).

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**HAZAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥăzāyâ* (חֲזָיָה)]. The father of Colhozeh and an ancestor of Maaseiah, a descendant of Judah, and a provincial leader who agreed to settle in Jerusalem (Neh 11:5). Although a shortened or corrupt form of Maaseiah (i.e., Asaiah) is mentioned in the parallel list found in 1 Chronicles 9 (cf. v 5), Hazaiah is not. This, like other differences in the two lists, suggests that there is no direct literary relationship between the two lists (contra Kellermann 1966: 208–27; and Mowinckel 1964: 146–47). Some, however, have conjectured that both writers were dependent upon common archival materials

(Schneider *Esra und Nehemia* HSAT, 42–43; Brockington, *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* NCBC, 187; cf. Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 185). In any event the presence of Hazaiah in the list provides no further evidence of use in resolving the problem. Apart from the probable significance of the name itself ("Yahweh has seen"), nothing is known about this Judean patriarch (Brockington, 188).

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**HAZAR-ENAN** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥăṣar* (חֲצַר) *ʿênān* (עֵינָן)]. Var. HAZAR-ENON. The northernmost town on the idealized border of the promised land (Num 34:9–10). As such it also figures in Ezekiel's eschatological vision of the boundaries of the restored Israel, and Ezekiel confirms its location in the vicinity of "the entrance to Hamath" (Ezek 47:17–18; 48:1). Some scholars (*IDB* 2: 538) identify it with the modern village of Hadr (M.R. 228299) at the foot of Mt. Hermon 11 miles E-NE of Dan. However, Aharoni (*LBHG*, 73, 486, see map 4) and Simons (*GTTOT*, 283f.) identify it with the important desert oasis of Qayatein (M.R. 360402), about 70 miles NE of Damascus and 60 miles E of Lebo-Hamath (modern Lebwe). The differences between the two identifications are significant. The latter identification envisions an idealized Israelite territory about 80 percent larger than what it would be if Hazar-enan were identified with Hadr (see also *MBA*, map 50).

GARY A. HERION

**HAZAR-GADDAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥăṣar gaddâ* (חֲצַר גַּדָּה)]. A town in the tribal territory of Judah (Josh 15:27). Its location is unknown.

**HAZAR-SHUAL** (PLACE) [Heb *hăṣar* (הֲצַר) *šuʿāl* (שֻׁעָל)]. A settlement of the tribe of Simeon. Hazar-shual appears in Josh 15:28, where it is listed as part of the tribe of Judah, and in Josh 19:3, where it is a Simeonite settlement. It is also listed as a town in Simeon in 1 Chr 4:28. Since Simeon assimilated to Judah at an early date, it is recorded under both tribes. Though the present literary context of the Judean town list is set in the period of Joshua, its original setting was as part of a post-Solomonic administrative division of the S kingdom. The date for the establishment of this system is debated, with suggestions ranging from the early 9th to the late 7th centuries B.C. Hazar-shual is in the southernmost district of Judah, the Negeb. It is also included in the list of settlements S of Jerusalem occupied by the exiles returning from Babylon in Neh 11:27.

The location of Hazar-shual is problematic. Its name, "the enclosure of the fox," is of no help in locating it. Hazar-shual occupies the same position in all three lists, between Moladah and Baalah/Balah/Bilhah (the latter three being variant spellings for the same site). This places it in the vicinity of Beer-sheba. Abel placed it at Khirbet el-Watan 4 km E of Beer-sheba (*GP*, 89.344; M.R. 137071), though Aharoni believes this site to be Moladah (*LBHG*, 410).

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**HAZAR-SUSAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥăṣar ssâ* (חֲצַר שְׂסָה)]. Var. HAZAR-SUSIM. A settlement of the tribe of Simeon. Hazar-susah appears once in Joshua (19:5), where it is listed as being one of the settlements occupied by the tribe of Simeon in the aftermath of the Conquest. 1 Chr 4:31 has the variant Hazar-susim. Since the tribe of Simeon was assimilated to that of Judah at an early date and most of the

Simeonite towns are listed again clearly in the record of the Judean settlements in Josh 15:21–32, an explanation for its absence there is necessary.

In 19:5–6a the text reads: Ziklag, Beth-marcaboth, Hazar-susah, Beth-lebaoth; the parallel passage in 15:31–32a has: Ziklag, Madmannah, Sansannah, Lebaoth. Since these short sections of the list begin and end with the same towns (Lebaoth being a variant for Beth-lebaoth), it is very likely that the towns in between are also to be equated. An explanation for this difference is that Sansannah is the earlier name for the site. The name Hazar-susah, meaning "the enclosure of the mare," may have been given to it under Solomon, who is known to have trafficked in chariots and horses (1 Kgs 10:28–29).

If the equation of Hazar-susah and Sansannah is accepted, the older name for the site may be preserved at Khirbet esh-Shamsaniyat (Abel *GP*, 447; Aharoni *LBHG*, 439), 16 km NW of Beer-sheba (M.R. 140083), though commentators who do not accept this identification locate it at Sbalat Abu Susein (M.R. 103074), 4 km to the E of Tell el Farah (Abel, 344; Albright 1924: 158). Aharoni reconstructs, with some plausibility, [Hazar]-susah on Ostracon 32 from Arad (*AI*, 60).

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**HAZARMAVETH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥăṣarmāwet* (חֲצַרְמָוֶת)]. A son of Joktan (Gen 10:26; 1 Chr 1:20) and hence the name of a S Arabian tribe (*šʿbn/ḥḍrmwt:* Ja 643,6) and of the country Ḥaḍramaut (*ʾrḍ/ḥḍrmwt:* YM 349,5) inhabited by it. The S Arabian genealogies, too, follow the biblical tradition in making Ḥaḍramaut a person and a son of Qaḥṭān, the ancestor of all S Arabs (al-Hamdānī 1954, 1:51–52). On the other hand, however, taking into account the political situation of pre-Islamic Arabia, a younger Ḥaḍramaut as brother of Ḥimyar and son of Sabaʾ is inserted in the genealogy of Sabaʾ the younger one (al-Hamdānī 1954, 2: 105). In the Old South Arabic inscriptions of Ḥaḍramitic dialect, the name is always written in the form *ḥḍrmt* (e.g., RES 2693,1), likewise in Minaean (RES 2775,1; etc.); in the Sabean texts, however, it is mainly written *ḥḍrmwt* (CIS IV 540,65; etc.), rarely *ḥḍrmt* (e.g., BR-M.Bayḥān 5,7). Both forms occur also in Qatabanian (*ḥḍrmt* in the older text RES 4932,4; *ḥḍrmwt* in the late text RES 4336,3); once also the form *ḥḍrmtm* is found (in CIS IV 547,5 from Haram).

The pronunciation of the name in the country itself continues up to the present day in Ḥaḍramūt or Ḥaḍramōt respectively; this is in accordance with the forms of the name transmitted by Greek and Latin authors: *hadramuta* in Theophrast (*Hist. Pl.* 9.4.2), *chatramōtitai* in Strabo (*Geog.* 16.4.2), *Chatramotitae* and *Atramitae* in Pliny (*Nat. hist.* 6.154f.), *chatramōnitai* and *hadramitai* in Ptolemy (*Geog.* 6.7.25 and 10), *haṭramitai* in Uranios (*Arabica* III), and *chatramōtai* in Stephanos of Byzanz (*Ethnika* 689,12). In Arabic the name is, apart from dialectal variants, vocalized *Ḥaḍramaut*, which might also have been the pronunciation of the Sabean form *ḥḍrmwt.* This form has certainly been influenced by the popular etymology of the name as "abode of death," a new interpretation which arose from legends widespread in antiquity and deterring from the frankincense-growing region, since according to some records "this place was fearfully unhealthy and always fatal to those who work there" (*Periplus maris Erythraei* 29). Hebrew, too, followed this popular new interpretation, whereby **ḥăṣarmôt* postulated by the LXX *asarmoth* became *ḥăṣarmāwet* in the MT (cf. a parallel alteration of the vocalization of *ṣalmūt,* "darkness," to *ṣalmāwet,* "shadow of death"). A satisfying etymology of *ḥaḍramūt/ḥaḍramōt* could hitherto not be given; it is, however, certain, that *-ūt/-ōt* must be considered a suffix which occurs quite frequently in the toponymy of SE Arabia. The form of the relative adjective (Arabic *nisbah*) is in Sabean in the singular *ḥḍrmyn* (BR-Yanbug 47bis,2), which is equivalent to Arabic *al-Ḥaḍramī,* "the one from Ḥaḍramaut;" in the plural *ʾḥḍrn, ʾAḥḍūrān* (YM 390,7; etc.), and *ḥḍrmn* (CIS IV 140,5) are equivalent to Arabic *al-Ḥaḍārim.*

According to present-day usage the name Ḥaḍramaut, strictly speaking, designates the deeply incised valley which is approximately 170 km away from the S Arabian coast and extends from the confluence of the Wâdī Kasr until just E of the town of Tarīm. In the most comprehensive sense, however, as the name

also was understood in antiquity, Ḥaḍramaut comprises the plateau and the coastal strip in the S of the large valley and in the W the catchment area of the tributary valleys of the Wâdī Ḥaḍramaut to the old capital Shabwa. In the N it included the range of mountains running into the large central Arabian desert, and in the E the region around the Wâdī Masīla, the continuation of Wâdī Ḥaḍramaut, as far as the country of the Mahra. While in the Old South Arabic inscriptions that whole region of the ancient kingdom of Ḥaḍramaut is designated as Ḥaḍramaut, the Wâdī Ḥaḍramaut properly speaking is called, at least in the Sabean inscriptions, *srrn, Sarīrān* (e.g., Iryānī 32,37f.: *kl/hgr/ḥḍrmwt/wsrrn,* "all towns of Ḥaḍramaut and Sarīrān").

Hardly anything is known about the earliest history of Ḥaḍramaut; numerous prehistoric findings, however, indicate that ancient settlements existed in the wadis, in which artificial irrigation may have been used as early as the end of the 2d millennium B.C. A dense population is to be assumed for the Wâdī Ḥaḍramaut and its tributary valleys, for the Wâdī Gurdān and Wâdī Maifa‹a as well as for the capital Shabwa and for the seaport Qana›. Special importance was due to Ḥaḍramaut because of the possession of the frankincense-producing regions, which especially lay in present-day Dhofār, the ancient Sa›kalān, from where the valuable resin was brought either by an overland route or by sea via Qana› to Shabwa, where the proper incense road to the Mediterranean Sea started.

The first attestation of Ḥaḍramaut is to be found in the Old Sabean inscription RES 3945,12f., a record of Karib›il Watar, probably from the 7th century B.C., in which the Ḥaḍramite king Yada‹›il is mentioned as ally of the Sabean king. When in the 4th century B.C. the Minaeans started to control the caravan route to the N the king of Ḥaḍramaut had become (probably because of commercial interests) a confederate of Ma‹īn, as the Minaean inscription M 30 (= RES 2775) testifies. The Ḥaḍramitic inscription RES 2687, which had been engraved on the wall barrier of al-Binā› at the communication road between the harbor Qana› and the capital Shabwa toward the end of the 1st century B.C., gives account of the efforts which Ḥaḍramaut made at that time to defend its territory against the Himyarites, who had gained ground on the S coast. Otherwise the local inscriptions give us only scanty information about the political history of Ḥaḍramaut. The Ḥaḍramite kingdom reached its largest expansion after it had annexed the remaining parts of the former Qatabān in the W in the second half of the 2d century A.D. The following period is marked by continuous warfare and hostilities with the Sabeans and Himyarites, in the course of which in the first quarter of the 3d century the Sabean king Ša‹irum Autar even succeeded in capturing the Ḥaḍramite capital Shabwa. Toward the end of the 3d century, the Himyarite king Šammar Yuhar‹iš conquered Ḥaḍramaut and united S Arabia to a large realm; henceforth he and his successors also bore the designation "king of Ḥaḍramaut" in their titles. Efforts of indigenous princes in the following decades to regain the independence of Ḥaḍramaut met with failure.

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W. W. MÜLLER

**HAZAZON-TAMAR** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥaṣăṣōn* ( חֲצָצֹן)*tāmār* (תָּמָר)]. In Gen 14:7 the locality at which the Amorites were defeated by Chedorlaomer and his allies. (See below on its mention in 2 Chr 20:2.) In the intinerary of those kings, it stands between "Enmishpat" (that is, Kadesh) and the valley of

Siddim (that is, "the Salt Sea"). This should be compared with the tracing of the S border of the future land of Israel in Ezek 47:19–19; and 48:28: the E boundary, which runs along the Jordan and the Eastern Sea (Dead Sea), ends at Tamar, thence it turns to the waters of Meribath-kadesh and to the Great Sea, forming the S boundary of the land. This points to the identity of Hazazon-Tamar with Tamar, as believed, among others, by Aharoni (*LBHG*, 140, 142), who had located it at ʿAin Ḥuṣb, 32 km (20 miles) S -SW of the southernmost point of the Dead Sea (Aharoni 1963; *LBHG*, 55, 70). The author of Genesis 14, following his predilection for composite place names, called the site *ḥaṣăṣōn tāmār,* "the pebbly terrain of Tamar" (Borée 1968: 89, § 23:12).

2 Chr 20:2, in a different connection identified Hazazon-Tamar with En-gedi, an oasis on the W shore of the Dead Sea, about halfway between its N and S points. This identification was probably caused by an association of *tāmār,* "date palm," with the renowned palm groves at En-gedi. It was followed by *Tg. Onq.*, which rendered Hazazon-tamar by *ʿēn-gĕdî,* and by *Tg. Neof.*, which has *ʿn gdy tmry*, "En-gedi of the palms." But En-gedi lies too far N from the line of the march as understood by the author of Genesis 14.

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**HAZER-HATTICON** (PLACE) [Heb *hāṣēr hattîkôn* (חָצֵר הַתִּיכוֹן)]. The NE corner of Ezekiel's ideal boundary of Israel, located in the Hauran (Ezek 47:16). The unusual form coupled with the context of the passage has suggested to several scholars that this is another name for "Hazar-enon," (Ezek 47:17). Aharoni identifies the latter site with Qaryatein (M.R. 360402), a desert oasis E of Zedad (*LBHG*, 73).

RANDALL W. YOUNKER

**HAZEROTH** (PLACE) [Heb *hăṣērôt* (חֲצֵרוֹת)]. The book of Numbers records the departure of Israel from Mt. Sinai (chaps. 1–10), the journey from Sinai to Kadesh (chaps. 10–21), and the journey from there to Transjordan (21–36). The Israelites were led by the ark and the pillar of cloud. At Taberah, they complained about their misfortunes (11:1–3). Then chap. 11 records the strong craving of the people for meat. The wind brought quail for them to eat, and they were struck with a great plague. The dead were buried at a place called Kibroth-hattavah, "Graves of Craving" (11:34). This has been identified with Rueiss el-Ebeirig. From there they journeyed on to Hazeroth and remained there (11:35). It was at Hazeroth that Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses (chap. 12) because he had married a Cushite woman; and they asked if God's word was limited to Moses, claiming it came through themselves as well. Miriam got leprosy, but Aaron pleaded with Moses to pray for her. Moses did pray and Miriam was healed. After that the people traveled to the Wilderness of Paran (12:16), from which Moses sent spies to reconnoiter the land of Canaan in preparation for an invasion. Numbers 33 lists many stopping places. After Hazeroth (33:17) Israel traveled to Rithmah (site unknown), Rimmon-perez (possibly Naqb el-Biyar, W of Aqaba), Ezion-geber (v 35), and Kadesh (v 36).

If Mt. Sinai is in the S end of the Sinai peninsula (Jebel Musa) and if the Wilderness of Paran stretches from the Gulf of Aqaba NW into the N center of the peninsula, one would expect Hazeroth to be on the E side of the peninsula, where it is located by Wright and Filson (*WHAB*, 40, map V). They show Kadesh-barnea in the Wilderness of Zin, N-NW of Aqaba, ancient Ezion-geber, though Deut 1:19–23 says the spies were sent from Kadesh-barnea and Num 13:26 says they returned to Kadesh in Paran (Num 33:36 mentions Zin instead of Paran). Hazeroth is also listed in Deut 1:1, between Laban and Dizahab, both locations unknown. Hazeroth is usually identified with ʿAin el-Khadra or Hudra (Abel *GP* 2: 214), 35 km NE of Jebel Musa (Simons, *GTTOT*, 255–56). The identification was first suggested by Burckhardt, favorably entertained by Robinson (1856: 151), defended by Palmer (1872: 213–17), and adopted by others (Gray *Numbers* ICC, 119–20). Earlier, Keil and Delitzsch (n.d., 3: 74–75) noted the identification, Hazeroth = Bir et-Themmed, based on the hypothesis that the Israelites went from Sinai to Canaan by the

most direct route, through the desert from the Wâdī es-Sheikh into the Wâdī ez-Zuranuk. Gray cautions that identification based on the similarity of the names is inadequate. Hazeroth simply means enclosures, parks, settlements, courts, or villages. Aharoni (*LBHG,* 109) says courts are especially typical of the Negeb.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**HAZIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥăzî֯ēl* (חֲזִיאֵל)]. A Gershonite Levite, presumably the son of Shimei and the brother of Shelomoth and Haran (1 Chr 23:6–7, 9a). Yet, oddly enough, when the four sons of Shimei are listed in the very next verse (1 Chr 23:10), Haziel and his two brothers are not among them. What is more, Haziel and his two brothers are curiously encaptioned as "the heads of the fathers' houses of Ladan" (1 Chr 23:9b), the latter clearly Shimei's brother (1 Chr 23:7; 26:21), although elsewhere the name Libni enters the picture (Exod 6:17; Num 3:18, 21; 1 Chr 6:2—Eng6:17). Possibly the Shimei of 1 Chr 23:7, 10 and the Shimei of 1 Chr 23:9 are not the same person (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 161). However, the caption itself in 1 Chr 23:9b may be a secondary gloss inserted to escape the difficulty raised by the twofold reference to Shimei. In this view the second Shimei of 1 Chr 23:10 is to be interpreted as a textual error for the once original name "Shelomoth," as the name "Jahath" (1 Chr 23:10–11) reoccurs as a son of Shelomoth in 1 Chr 24:22, although unfortunately this time from the line of Kohath through Izhar (see 1 Chr 6:3—Eng6:18) and not from Gershon (Curtis *Chronicles* ICC, 264). On the other hand, the name Shimei earlier in 1 Chr 23:9a may represent a scribal error for one of the three sons of Ladan given in 1 Chr 23:8, justifying then the presence and current position of the aforementioned caption in 1 Chr 23:9b. In this regard, interestingly, the NEB regards the whole of the problematic phrase "The sons of Shimei: Shelemoth, Haziel, and Haran, three" as corrupt enough to be omitted completely. Still, the LXX traditions retain the name Haziel, in its present location, as either *(e)i (e)iel* or *aziel;* and so does the Vg, in the name Ozihel. If authentic to its position, the name Haziel refers to one of the Gershonite levitical courses (1 Chr 23:7–11) important to the postexilic situation. The Chronicler or possibly even a later redactor wished to attribute the origin and assignment of these postexilic courses, among others, to the authority and initiation of King David (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 228, 231).

ROGER W. UITTI

**HAZO** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥăzô* (חֲזוֹ)]. A son of Nahor by Milcah (Gen 22:20–22). More precisely he was the fifth of eight from the union of Milcah and Nahor, although the latter had others from a concubine. Hazo was also a nephew of Abraham, who was a brother of Nahor. Hazo was possibly the eponym of a Nahorite family or clan. The genealogy of which he is part shows an Aramean band of 12 whose home territory was in the area NE of the Jordan and who apparently belonged to "Nahor" as a summarizing generic term (von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 245). Thus a league of 12 Aramean tribes is introduced, just as 25:13–16 lists 12 Ishmaelite tribes and Jacob/Israel becomes the father of 12 tribes in 35:23–26. While "Hazo" was a personal name and while it cannot be proven that it was the name of a place or region as well (Westermann 1985: 368), some believe it should probably be identified with the mountainous, uninviting region of Hazu in N Arabia. An inscription of Esarhaddon's Arabian campaign describes *Ḫaž* as hill country consisting of bluish *sangilmud*-stone and extending over a space of 20 miles (*RA* 1: 440). The region of Hazu is the coastal district of al-Ḥasā, located opposite the island of Bahrain (Simons *GTTOT,* 15).

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EDWIN C. HOSTETTER

**HAZOR** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥāṣôr* (חָצוֹר)]. **1.** A fortified town in N Galilee at the SW corner of the Huleh plain and N of the Sea of Galilee (M.R. 203269). Hazor stood at the crossroads of the main trade routes from Sidon to Beth-shan and from Damascus to Megiddo. It thus occupied the most strategic position in the region.

This strategic position is indicated by the prominence which Hazor receives in the story of the settlement of the land. Joshua 11 describes the "northern campaign" of Joshua, provoked by the coalition of the N cities under the leadership of Jabin, the king of Hazor, to oppose the Israelites. Hazor is said to be "the head of all those kingdoms" (Josh 11:10) and is destroyed by Joshua, the only one of the N cities said to receive such retribution (Josh 11:13). Hazor appears in the list of conquered cities (Josh 12:19) and is assigned to the tribe of Naphtali (Josh 19:36).

Hazor resurfaces as a source of trouble for Israel in Judges 4, where "Jabin, king of Canaan" threatens Israel by means of his army led by Sisera (Judg 4:2, 17). This threat was overcome by the prophetess and judge, DEBORAH, and her military counterpart, BARAK. This episode is recounted by Samuel in his farewell address to the nation (see 1 Sam 12:9). On the difficulties posed by the presence of Jabin in both the Joshua and Judges accounts, see JABIN.

Later Hazor is refortified by Solomon (1 Kgs 9:15) and is destroyed by Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria ca. 733 B.C.E. during the reign of Pekah (2 Kgs 15:29). Finally, the Maccabean warrior, Jonathan, defeated the Seleucid governor Demetrius II on the "plains of Hazor" (1 Macc 11:67).

The ruins of Hazor at modern Tell el-Qedah were first excavated by J. Garstang in 1928 and more thoroughly under the leadership of Y. Yadin over the course of several seasons from 1955 to 1969. The site is comprised of two areas: a mound of about 25 acres and a large area next to it of about 170 acres, the latter enclosed by steep slopes and earthworks. The large enclosed area was destroyed in the 13th century B.C.E., about the time of the Israelite settlement (and never reoccupied), as was the mound next to it. On the debate about the identity of the ones who caused this destruction, see Gray 1966 and the articles by Yadin (who attributes the destruction to the Israelites), Fritz 1973 (who attributes the destruction to the Sea Peoples), and Aharoni 1970 (who believes the destruction reflects the events of Deborah, Barak, Jabin, and Sisera). The excavations at Hazor have also unveiled on the smaller mound building projects which date from the time of Solomon. On the dates of the various layers of settlement at Hazor, see conveniently the chart at Yadin 1976: 495. See also QEDAH, TELL EL-.

**2.** Another Hazor is mentioned in an oracle by Jeremiah (Jer 49:28–33), though it was apparently located in the desert. Nothing further is known about this Hazor.

**3.** Josh 15:23–25 mention several towns with the name "Hazor" in the Negeb region. Nothing further is known about these locations.

**4.** The returnees from the Exile are said to have settled in a "Hazor" in the tribal region of Benjamin (Neh 11:33). This is the only mention of such a location, and nothing further is known about it.

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JEFFRIES M. HAMILTON

**HAZOR-HADATTAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥāṣôr* (חָצוֹר)*ḥādattâ* (חָדַתָּה)]. A settlement of the tribe of Judah. Hazor-hadattah is only mentioned once, in Josh 15:25, where it is listed among the settlements occupied by Judah in the aftermath of the Conquest. Though the present literary context of the Judean town list is set in the period of Joshua, its original setting was as part of a post-Solomonic administrative division of the S kingdom. The date for the establishment of this system is debated, with suggestions ranging from the early 9th to the late 7th centuries B.C. Hazor-Hadattah is in the southernmost district of Judah, the Negeb.

The location of Hazor-hadattah is problematic. In the list it is placed between Bealoth and Kerioth-hezron. The second element of the name may be Aramaic for "new," and Hazor-hadattah would mean "New Hazor." Kerioth-hezron is qualified by "that is, Hazor." It seems that the author intended to make clear that he was referring to two towns in the same region with similar names. Even if this suggestion is correct, it does not explain why an Aramaic word was used in the town's name. Abel suggested a location in the region of el-Hudeira, 11.5 km NE of Arad (*GP*, 345; M.R. 170086). Eusebius placed it near Ashkelon, but this is too far to the W (*Onomast.* 20:4).

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JEFFREY R. ZORN

**HAZOROTH** (PLACE). See HAZEROTH (PLACE).

**HAZZELELPONI** (PERSON) [Heb *haṣṣĕlelpônî* (הַצְּלֶלְפּוֹנִי)]. A woman listed in the genealogy of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr 4:3). She was the sister of Jezreel, Ishma, and Idbash. The LXX identifies Etam as their father ("these are the sons of Etam," *houtoi huioi Aitam*), while MT begins the verse with the statement "these are the father (singular) of Etam" *(wĕ›ēlleh ›ăbî ‹ētām).* Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 28) suggests that something has fallen out between "these" and "the father of Etam." Whatever was originally there provided the name(s) of the ancestor(s) of the people living at Etam to parallel the mention of Penuel, "the father of Gedor," and Ezer, "the father of Hushah" in v 4. Myers identifies Gedor, Hushah, and Etam as places in the vicinity of Bethlehem (cf. the designation of their father as "Hur, the first-born of Ephrathah, the father of Bethlehem" in v 4). Were this the case, Etam would not necessarily have been the father of Hazzelelponi (possibly a brother?). The *BHS* proposes that Hazzelelponi does not represent a name, but rather the letters are a garbled rendering of a gloss on the sequence of the names of the two wives in vv 5b and 6–7 (MT: *wĕšēm ›āḥôtām haṣṣĕlelpônî*; proposed: *hūṣṣab lipnê šēm ›āḥôtāh*). However, this is not likely in that it lacks manuscript support, requires changing the consonants and word order, and is too distant from the text of vv 6–7. Her name is missing entirely from the Syriac versions. Evidently the text of 1 Chr 4:3 has suffered some corruption Noth (*IPN*, 241).

The name probably means "he shades my face," incorporating the *Hip‹il* of *ṣll* and *pānîm* (*HALAT* 244). The Vg has *Asalelphuni*.

KENNETH H. CUFFEY

**HE.** The fifth letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

**HEAD COVERING.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**HEADDRESS.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**HEALING.** See MEDICINE AND HEALING.

**HEALING, GIFTS OF** [Gk *charismata iamatōn* (ἰαματων)]. Literally rendered, "gifts of healings," *charismata iamatōn* occurs three times in the NT, 1 Cor 12:9, 28, 30. The phenomenon is indicated by other terms elsewhere in Paul and in the NT.

**A. Pauline References**

**1. The Corinthian Context.** The noun used here for "healing," *iama,* is not used elsewhere in the NT. No reason has been advanced for understanding anything other than the usual meaning of the Gk word: healing, physical cure (BAGD 368). The other noun used in the NT for healing, *iasis,* also occurs only

three times, in Luke 13:32 and in Acts 4:22 and 4:30, where the Lukan contexts illustrate the meaning with the miraculous physical restorations of the stooped woman (Luke 13:10–17), the dropsical man (Luke 14:1–6), and the lame beggar (Acts 3:1–10, the referent of 4:22 and model for 4:30, picking up on the "wonders and signs" motif of 2:19, 22, 43). Given Paul's association of *charismata* with *charis* (the grace of God; see Koenig 1972: 48–70), *charismata iamatōn* are precisely experienced as gifts of God, not simply as human abilities.

The peculiar double plural form of Paul's phrase, "gifts of healings," might suggest that he refers to the repeated phenomena of physical cures rather than an enduring personal gift for healing. However, since his point is that different persons have been given different gifts for the good of the community, the implication is that certain Christians have been given the special capacity to mediate physical cures on a regular basis. Hence *charismata iamatōn* is a stock phrase referring to a charism parallel to the eight other *charismata* (see 1:7; 7:7; 12:4, 31) or *pneumatika* ("spiritual gifts"; 12:1; 14:1) listed by Paul in 1 Cor 12:8–10, or to the seven others listed (twice) at vv 28–31, or to the seven listed at Rom 12:6–8 (there described as *charismata* deriving from the *charis* ["favor"] "bestowed upon each of us"). Unlike glossolalia or prophecy (see 1 Corinthians 14), the gift of healing is simply alluded to as a fact of Christian life, and it never becomes a focus of Paul's pastoral concern.

**2. Other Pauline References to the Gift.** Scholars (see Gatzweiler 1961; Furnish *2 Corinthians* AB, 555–56) have recognized similar references to the experience of the gifts of healing in Pauline communities in Gal 3:5, Rom 15:19, and 2 Cor 12:12. As in 1 Corinthians 12, these contexts understand the healings as the work of the Spirit of God.

**B. Non-Pauline References**

**1. Luke-Acts.** Although all strata of the gospel tradition (Q, Mark, Matthew, Luke, John) witness to healing as a component of the activity of Jesus, it is Luke who comes closest to Paul in presenting that healing activity as a divine gift, as, for example, in 4:14–44, where Jesus' ministry is interpreted as an expression of divine endowment of the Spirit. When the verb *iaomai* ("I heal") is first used of Jesus, it is to say that "the power of the Lord [God] was with him to heal" (5:17). This Lukan interpretation of Jesus' healing as a kind of prophetic gift is most explicit at Acts 10:38, where the healing work is an effect of divine anointing with the Holy Spirit and power. Luke also understands healings in the ministry of the disciples according to the same model of prophetic gift. The healing activities of both Jesus and his disciples are called "signs and wonders" (Acts 2:19, 22, 43; 4:30; 5:12; 6:8; 14:3; 15:12), a stock OT phrase recalling the signs and wonders accompanying the first exodus (Acts 7:36; see Exod 7:3; Deut 4:34; 6:22; 26:8).

**2. Hebrews.** This letter summarizes Christian experience of God in language resonating with both Paul and Luke: "… God also bore witness by signs and wonders and various miracles *[dynameis]* and by gifts [*merismoi*, lit. "distributions"] of the Holy Spirit" (Heb 2:4).

**3. James.** James 5:14–16 is notable in that it describes prayer for physical healing without implying that it is a "charismatic" gift given to certain individuals. Rather it is occasioned by community prayer led by elders.

**C. Contemporary Approaches**

NT accounts of Jesus' healing activity and the gift of healing in the Christian community have been approached in a variety of ways in modern scholarship: in continuity with OT traditions of divine healing (e.g., Richardson 1941, Fuller 1963, and Brown 1971); from the historical perspective (van der Loos 1965, Kee 1986); form-critically (e.g., Achtemeier 1970, 1972); from the history-of-religious perspective (Smith 1971, Tiede 1972, Kee 1973 and 1986, Hull 1974); in continuity with later church history (Kelsey 1973); from the redaction-critical perspective (e.g., Held 1963 and Achtemeier 1975); as narratives with symbolic dimensions (Hamm 1986); and, increasingly, from the perspectives of the various social sciences (McCasland 1951, Hollenback 1981, Theissen 1983, and Pilch 1988).

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M. DENNIS HAMM

**HEAVE OFFERING.** See SACRIFICE AND SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS.

**HEAVEN** [Heb *šāmayim* (שָׁמַיִם); Gk *ouranos* (οὐρανος)]. In the Bible the word "heaven" is used to describe both a physical part of the universe and the dwelling place of God. In Hebrew the word for heaven is plural; the LXX usually translates the Hebrew word by a singular noun. In the NT both the singular and plural forms occur with no difference in meaning.

**A. Heaven as a Physical Reality**

In the Hebrew Bible "heaven" is sometimes used as a synonym for "firmament" (Heb *rāqîaʿ*) to describe the dome-shaped covering over the earth that separated the heavenly waters above from the earthly waters beneath (Gen 1:6–8; Ps 148:4). Heaven, or the firmament, was thought to be supported by pillars (Job 26:11) and had foundations (2 Sam 22:8) and windows. When the windows of heaven were opened, the waters above the firmament fell upon the earth as rain (Gen 7:11; 8:2; Isa 24:18). Through these windows God also poured out blessings upon the earth (Mal 3:10). The birds fly across the firmament (Gen 1:20; Deut 4:17) and the sun, moon, and stars were set in the firmament (Gen 1:14–18).

Whereas the firmament referred specifically to the canopy covering the earth, heaven often had a broader meaning, referring to all that was above the earth, including the firmament. Rain, snow, hail, and thunder come from heaven (Exod 9:22–35; Isa 55:10; Josh 10:11; Rev 11:19). Heaven contained the storehouses of the winds, the snow, and the hail (Job 37:9; 38:22; Ps 135:7; Jer 10:13).

Heaven is also a place for signs. God placed the rainbow in the heavens as a sign to Noah of the covenant which God made with him (Gen 9:12–17). God's power is displayed in the signs and wonders which are performed in heaven and on earth (Dan 6:27). Signs in the heavens also portend God's judgment on the earth, particularly the eschatological judgment (Joel 2:30–31; Matt 24:30; Luke 21:11, 25; Acts 2:19; Rev 15:1).

The phrase "heaven and earth" was used to denote the entire universe, the totality of God's creation (Gen 1:1; Deut 4:26; Ps 121:2; 146:6; Mark 13:31; Acts 17:24). Because heaven is a part of the created order, it too suffers the judgment of God. The heavens are shaken by the anger of God (2 Sam 22:8); the sun and moon will be darkened (Amos 8:9; Jer 4:23, 28; Isa 51:6; Mark 13:24–26; Rev 8:12); heaven and earth will pass away (Matt 24:35; Luke 16:17; 2 Pet 3:10; Rev 21:1). Eschatological hope envisioned a new heaven and earth (Isa 65:17; 66:22; 2 Pet 3:13; Rev 21:1).

**B. Heaven as the Dwelling Place of God**

Whereas the Israelites could speak of God as dwelling on Mount Sinai (Deut 33:2; Ps 68:17), in the temple (1 Kgs 8:12–13; Ps 68:17–18; Ezek 43:7), or in Zion (Ps 74:2; Isa 8:18; Joel 3:17, 21), the

supreme abode of God was in heaven. In the heavenly palace or temple is God's throne, from which God reigns as king over heaven and earth (Isa 6:1; Ps 11:4). Heaven is God's throne and the earth God's footstool (Isa 66:1). From heaven, "above the circle of the earth," God looks down upon the earth, where the people appear as grasshoppers (Isa 40:22; Ps 102:19).

To describe God as dwelling in heaven is to recognize the transcendence of God, God's separateness from the created order. At times, some individuals within Israel wondered if the clouds of heaven shielded the earth from God; God was shut up in the heavens. Eliphaz accuses Job of thinking, "Is not God high in the heavens? See the highest stars, how lofty they are! Therefore you say, 'What does God know? Can he judge through the deep darkness? Thick clouds enwrap him, so that he does not see, and he walks on the vault of heaven' " (Job 22:12–14; cf. Lam 3:44). The author of Isa 64:1 calls on God to "rend the heavens and come down" in order to make God's power known.

Even the vast expanse of heaven, however, is not large enough to contain God (1 Kgs 8:27). The "God of heaven" (2 Chr 36:23; Ezra 1:2; Jonah 1:9) is also the God of earth, who on occasions was described as coming down from heaven to visit the earth (Gen 11:5, 7; Exod 19:18; Isa 64:3). Moreover, even with the belief in Yahweh's transcendence, Israel always saw God as one who was involved in the world which God had created. The whole history of God's dealing with the people of Israel and Judah demonstrated God's activity in the world. God dwelt not only in heaven, but also among God's people (Exod 29:45–46; 1 Kgs 6:13; Zech 2:10–11). The NT, which also speaks of God as residing in heaven (Matt 5:16; 6:9; Mark 11:25; Rev 3:12; 4:2), likewise emphasizes the presence of God in the world, with special emphasis given to God's dwelling in the Church, God's temple (1 Cor 3:16; Eph 2:21–22).

Since heaven is the abode of God, heaven is also the source and locus of salvation. The bread which fed the Israelites in the wilderness came from heaven (Exod 16:4). Blessings upon God's people come from heaven (Gen 49:25; Deut 33:13). Elijah is taken up into heaven in a whirlwind (2 Kgs 2:11). When the idea of life after death developed within Judaism, the location of such existence was often situated in heaven with God (*T. Ab.* 11:10; 2 Esdras 7; cf. Dan 12:2–3). The idea of heaven as the place of eternal reward for the faithful is well attested in the NT, which describes heaven as having many rooms (John 14:2), as containing the believer's eternal house (2 Cor 5:1–10), and as being the location of the believer's commonwealth (Phil 3:20; see also Heb 11:16; Rev 11:12).

Postexilic Jewish literature manifests an intense curiosity about the contents of heaven. Various writings describe heavenly visions or journeys of revered individuals such as Enoch, Abraham, and Baruch *(1 Enoch, 2 Enoch, Testament of Abraham, 3 Baruch).* The topography of heaven, the inhabitants of heaven, the places of judgment, as well as other heavenly secrets are revealed to these persons. Many of these writings describe heaven as containing various levels, referred to as different heavens. The most popular number of heavens was seven. (Compare Paul's statement in 2 Cor 12:2 concerning the third heaven.) The various heavens contain not only the throne room of God, paradise (the intermediate reward for the righteous), and the eternal abode of the righteous, but in many cases one or more of the heavens also contain the places of punishment for the wicked.

Certain non-canonical Christian writings also contain elaborate descriptions of heaven (*The Apocalypse of Peter, The Apocalypse of Paul, The Ascension of Isaiah* 6–11). In the NT book of Revelation, John of Patmos describes his vision of God seated on the heavenly throne surrounded by various members of the heavenly court (Revelation 4–5). John's description of the New Jerusalem, which comes "down out of heaven from God" (Rev 21:1–22:5), has been the source for many later popular ideas about heaven.

MITCHELL G. REDDISH

**HEAVEN, ASCENT TO.** The motif of the journey to heaven is a vitally important phenomenon of ancient Mediterranean religions. There are five figures in the Bible who, according to standard Jewish and Christian interpretation, are reported to have ascended to heaven: Enoch (Gen 5:24); Elijah (2 Kgs 2:1–12); Jesus (Luke 24:51; Acts 1:9); Paul (2 Cor 12:2–4); and John (Rev 4:1). There are also four related accounts in which individuals behold the throne, or heavenly court, of Yahweh: Moses, Aaron, and the elders of Israel (Exod 24:9–11); Micaiah (1 Kgs 22:19–23); Isaiah (Isa 6:1–13); and Ezekiel (Ezekiel 1,

10). Finally, there is the scene in which an otherwise unidentified "son of man" comes before the throne of God in an apocalyptic vision of Daniel (Dan 7:11–14). The notion that mortals enter into, or behold, the realm of the immortal God (or gods) undergoes various complicated developments from the earlier ANE periods into the Hellenistic period. It is closely related to a number of other topics such as the descent or journey to the underworld of the dead (see DESCENT TO THE UNDERWORLD), the heavenly destiny of the immortal soul, the apotheosis or divinization of selected mortals (rulers, philosophers, divine men), and aspects of Greco-Roman, Jewish, and Christian mysticism. Sorting through this complex conceptual web and trying to understand these biblical texts with their contexts and complicated traditional development has occupied historians of ancient religions for the past 150 years (Bousset 1901; *ANRW* 23: 1333–94).

The motif of the heavenly journey can be divided into four basic types or categories, based upon the fundamental purpose or outcome of the ascent as reported in a given text. Generally speaking, the first two categories are more characteristic of the ANE or archaic period, which would include most texts of the Hebrew Bible (OT). The latter two categories are more typical of the Hellenistic period, which reflects the perspective of the NT.

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A. Ascent as an Invasion of Heaven
B. Ascent to Receive Revelation
C. Ascent to Immortal Heavenly Life
D. Ascent as a Foretaste of the Heavenly World

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**A. Ascent as an Invasion of Heaven**

In the cosmology reflected throughout most of the Hebrew Bible, mortal humankind belongs on earth, not in heaven, and at death descends below to the netherworld known as Sheol. Psalm 115 expresses this succinctly:

> The heaven's are the LORD's heavens,
> but the earth he has given to the sons of men.The dead do not praise the LORD,
> nor do any that go down into silence.
> But we will bless the LORD
> from this time forth and for evermore.

Generally speaking, just as there is no coming back from the dead, there is no idea or expectation that humans can go to heaven, a place reserved for God and his angelic attendants. This means that any report of a human being ascending to heaven would be seen as not only extraordinary, but often even as an intrusion or invasion of the divine realm. In an Akkadian text, Adapa, the son of Ea, attempts to ascend to heaven to obtain eternal life but is cast back down to earth (*ANET*, 101–3). A somewhat similar story is told of Etana, one of the legendary rulers of the Sumerian dynasty of Kish (*ANET*, 114–18). A direct protest against such an ascent is found in Isa 14:12–20 (compare Ezek 28:11–19). There the prideful King of Babylon, who wants to ascend to heaven and become like God, is cast down to the netherworld of worms and maggots (v 11). The ironic language of Prov 30:2–4 (compare Job 26; 38:1–42:6), though not a tale of ascent, emphasizes the contrast between the human and divine realms. A similar idea lies behind Deut 29:29 and 30:11–14. There is no need for one to ascend to heaven to learn the "secret things" which belong to God (compare Sir 3:21–22). Lucian's tale, *Icaromenippus*, though from the Roman imperial period, typifies this understanding of ascent to heaven as an invasion of the realm of the gods.

The accounts of Enoch and Elijah are best understood in this context. First and foremost, they are extraordinary. The normal fate, even of great heroes of the Hebrew Bible such as Abraham, Moses, and David, is death or "rest" in Sheol (Gen 25:7–9; Deut 34:6; 1 Kgs 2:10, cf Acts 2:29–34). Furthermore, both texts, particularly the one about Enoch, are ambiguous. Gen 5:24, from the P source, in lieu of recording Enoch's death, simply says "Enoch walked with God; and he was not, for God took him." The text does not say where he was taken. Though the bulk of later Jewish and Christian tradition understood this text as an ascent to heaven (*OTP* 1: 3–315; Tabor 1989), this was not universally the case (compare

Heb 11:5, 13–16). The author might have had in mind a journey "beyond," to some special region on this earth (e.g., "Isles of the Blessed"), as in the cases of Gilgamesh's Utnapishtim or Menelaus in Homer. Such might also be the case with Elijah. Though it is clear he is taken from the earthly scene in a chariot of fire that rises to heaven like a whirlwind, the author might well have had in mind his removal or "retirement" to some remote area. If so, "heaven" in this text is equivalent to "sky," and the author does not intend to imply that Elijah joined Yahweh as an immortal in the heavenly court. This appears to be the understanding of the Chronicler, who reports that much later, Jehoram, king of Judah, receives a letter written by Elijah (2 Chr 21:12–15).

**B. Ascent to Receive Revelation**

This type of ascent involves a "round trip" from earth to heaven and back again, or some visionary experience of the heavenly court from which one returns to normal experience (ascent/descent). In contrast to the previous type, the journey or experience is appraised most positively. The earth, not heaven, is still understood as the proper human place, so that the ascent remains a "visit," though not an intrusion, into the divine realm.

The complex literary traditions surrounding the ascent of Moses on Mount Sinai, now found in Exodus 24, though not explicitly referring to a journey to heaven, are closely related to this category. Moses (or alternatively Moses, Aaron, and the seventy elders), in ascending the mountain, enter the presence of God, the realm of the divine. He is given revelation in the form of heavenly tablets, then descends back to the mortal realm. Though he is not explicitly deified or enthroned, he becomes a semi-divine figure, eating and drinking in the divine presence and returning from the mountain with his face transformed like an immortal (Exod 24:11; 34:29–30). In later interpretation this was understood as full deification (see Philo, *vita Mos* 2.290–91; *virt.* 73–75; *Ezekiel the Tragedian* 668–82). The prophetic call of Isaiah is a further example of this same pattern (Isa 6:1–3). Since there is no specific reference to Isaiah being "taken up," this is a "visionary ascent," though the distinction between the two types is not always clear (see 2 Cor 12:2–4). He sees "The LORD sitting on a throne, high and lifted up …" (v 1). He is then given a message with a corresponding prophetic commission. As a mortal, he is out of place in the divine realm; he cries out "Woe is me! For I am lost; for I am a man of unclean lips … for my eyes have seen the King, the LORD of hosts!" (v 5). The throne visions of Ezekiel (Ezekiel 1, 10) should be compared here, as well as the scene before the throne of the "Ancient of Days" in Dan 7:14 where a "son of man" is given cosmic rulership over all nations. Micaiah's vision of the heavenly court also belongs under this category (1 Kgs 22:19–23). In all these texts the ascent or vision of the heavenly throne serves as a way of claiming the highest and most direct heavenly authority for the message. Such experiences are clearly evaluated as more noteworthy than the epiphany of an angelic messenger or receipt of a prophetic "word of the LORD."

Widengren (1950) has traced this motif of royal or prophetic enthronement (ascent, initiation into heavenly secrets, receipt of a divine commission) into later Jewish traditions involving kingship, prophetic commissions, and the revelation of secret heavenly lore. This understanding of ascent dominates one of the oldest sections of *1 Enoch*, the Book of the Watchers (chaps. 1–36). The legendary figure Enoch is taken through the heavenly realms and shown cosmic secrets, even appearing before God's lofty throne. The Greek version of the *Testament of Levi* (2d century B.C.E.) draws upon the ascent motif in a similar way, as does the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve* (1st century C.E.) and the *Apocalypse of Abraham.* In each of these texts the ascent to heaven functions as a vehicle of revelation, offering divine authority to the cosmological and eschatological lore the authors were expounding.

The closest non-Jewish, or Greek, parallel to this notion of ascent is probably Parmenides' *prooemium*, which survives in only a few fragments (Taran 1965). He tells of being taken in a chariot through the gate leading to daylight, where he is received and addressed by a goddess. On the whole, for Greeks in the archaic period, revelations came through epiphanies, oracles, dreams, omens, and signs of various sorts, not by being taken before the throne of Zeus. The fair number of Jewish (and Jewish-Christian) texts which make use of the ascent to heaven motif as a means of legitimating rival claims of revelation and authority is likely due to the polemics and party politics that characterized the Second Temple period. It

became a characteristic way, in the Hellenistic period, of claiming "archaic" authority of the highest order, equal to a Enoch or Moses, for one's vision of things.

**C. Ascent to Immortal Heavenly Life**

This type of ascent to heaven is final or "one way": a mortal obtains immortality, or release from mortal conditions, through a permanent ascent to the heavenly realms. Broadly, there are two overlapping ideas involved here, both of which have been extensively investigated: first, that a hero, ruler, or extraordinary individual has obtained immortal heavenly existence (Farnell 1921; Guthrie 1950; Bieler 1935–36; Smith 1971; Gallagher 1982); and second, the more general idea that the souls of humankind, bound by mortal conditions, can obtain release to immortal heavenly life (Rhode 1925; Bousset 1901; Burkert 1985). The second is not merely a later democratization of the first; rather, the two exist side by side throughout the Hellenistic period. While they are distinct from one another, both are related to a fundamental shift in the perception of the proper human place. Increasingly in this period one encounters the notion that humans actually belong in heaven, with life on earth seen as either a "fall" or temporary subjection to mortal powers (Nilsson 1969: 96–185; *EncBrit* 8: 749–51).

The only candidates for such immortalization in the Hebrew Bible are Enoch and Elijah, though, as noted above, both texts are ambiguous. As early as the Maccabean period (2d century B.C.E.) Daniel speaks of the righteous dead being resurrected and "shining like the stars forever and ever," having obtained immortality (12:3). A similar notion is found in the Wisdom of Solomon, where the "souls of the righteous" are promised immortal life (3:1–9). Gradually, in Jewish and Christian texts of the Hellenistic period, the older idea of the dead reposing in Sheol forever is replaced with either a notion of the resurrection of the dead or the immortality of the soul or some combination of the two (Nickelsburg 1972). Both ideas involve the notion of a final ascent to heaven.

The NT reflects this Hellenistic perspective in which mortals can obtain heavenly immortality. Matthew 13:43, reflecting the language and influence of Daniel, asserts that "the righteous will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father." Eternal life is promised to the righteous throughout the NT corpus (Mark 9:42–48; Q [Matt 10:32–33=Luke 12:8]; Matt 25:46; Acts 13:48; John 3:16; 14:1–3; Rom 6:23; Col 3:1–4; 1 Tim 1:16; Heb 12:22–23; Jas 1:12; 1 Pet 1:4; 2 Pet 1:4; 1 John 5:11; Jude 21; Rev 20). In most cases this involves ascent to heaven and life before the throne of God (1 Thess 4:13–18; Rev 7:9–17). According to the NT, the righteous of the OT, such as Abraham, Moses, and the prophets, are included in this promised resurrection to immortal heavenly life (Hebrews 11).

In the NT the ascent of Jesus to heaven is the paradigm for all those righteous mortals who follow. Just as he was raised from the dead, made immortal, and ascended to the Father, so will followers experience the same at his return (John 14:1–3; 1 Cor 15:20–28; Rom 8:29–30). The state of the righteous souls who have died prior to the time of the end and the resurrection and ascent to heaven is not always clear. Paul seems to prefer the metaphor of "sleep," which parallels the Hebrew Bible notion of Sheol (1 Thess 4:13; 5:10; 1 Cor 15:18–20). But in two places he might imply that these "souls" or "spirits" depart immediately at death and ascend to the presence of Christ in heaven (Phil 1: 21–24; 2 Cor 5:1–10). In Revelation the "souls of the martyrs" are pictured as under the altar, presumably in heaven, longing for their time of vindication (6:9–11). In distinction to both of these views, the story of the rich man and the beggar Lazarus, unique to Luke, pictures the Hadean world of the dead, which is below, not above, as a place in which rewards and punishments are already being experienced prior to the final resurrection and judgment (Luke 16:19–31). This latter text is more in keeping with other Jewish materials of the period which see the "dead" as conscious, but in the Hadean world below, awaiting the resurrection and last judgment (cf. Rev 20:11–15). There is no uniform NT view of the "state of the dead."

Surprisingly, an actual narrative account of the ascent of Jesus to heaven occurs only in Luke (24:51, but see textual variants; Acts 1:9). It is assumed in Matthew and Mark and spoken of in John (20:17) and Paul (Rom 8:34). A similar resurrection from the dead followed by bodily ascension to heaven is prophesied for the "two witnesses" in the book of Revelation (11:7–12). They are God's final prophets before the return of Christ and the last judgment.

The contrast between the NT and the Hebrew Bible regarding this expectation of ascent to heaven could not be more striking. Other than the doubtful examples of Enoch and Elijah, it is not until the book of Daniel, which is perhaps the latest text in the canon of the Hebrew Bible, that one finds any reference to mortals ascending to heavenly life (some would include Isa 26:19; Job 14:14–16 is a longing, not an affirmation). The NT is fully a part of the process of Hellenization in which notions of resurrection from the dead, immortality of the soul, and ascent to heaven were the norm rather than the exception.

**D. Ascent as a Foretaste of the Heavenly World**

This type of ascent involves a journey or "visit" to heaven which functions as a foretaste or anticipation of a final or permanent ascent to heavenly life. Though related to the second category, ascent to receive revelation, it is fundamentally different. For example, when Isaiah is taken before God's throne, though he receives a commission and experiences the glories of the heavenly world, there is no idea that he will return to that realm. He remains a mortal who dies and descends to Sheol with all the other dead.

The earliest example of this notion of ascent is in the Similitudes of Enoch (*1 Enoch* 37–71), probably dating from the 1st century B.C.E. In chapter 39 Enoch relates how he was taken to heaven. The experience transforms him (39:14) and he is told that he will later ascend to heaven permanently and receive glory and immortal heavenly life (chaps. 70–71). *2 Enoch* (Slavonic) also reflects a similar pattern. Enoch's journey through the seven heavens, which lasts 60 days (chaps. 1–20), is followed by a return to earth. The experience transforms him and functions in anticipation of his final translation to heaven. Christians later took up and elaborated this understanding of ascent from such Jewish models, as seen in texts such as the *Ascension of Isaiah*.

In the NT we have the striking firsthand account of Paul's own experience of ascent to Paradise (2 Cor 12:2–4). This text provides evidence for the actual "practice" of ascent to heaven in Jewish-Christian circles during this period, in contrast to a purely literary motif adopted to lend heavenly authority to a text. Obviously Paul's experience functions as a highly privileged foretaste of the heavenly glorification which he expected at the return of Christ (Tabor 1986).

There are definite links from the language and ideas of these Jewish texts from Second Temples times and the testimony of Paul to and the Tannaitic and Amoraic *Merkabah* (and later *Hekhalot*) traditions (Scholem 1960; Gruenwald 1980; Halperin 1980).

There are also examples of this type of ascent to heaven in non-Jewish/Christian materials. Perhaps the clearest is Cicero's report of the "Dream of Scipio Africanus" in his *Republic* (6. 9–26). The text was highly influential and functions as a kind of universal declaration of the gospel of astral immortality (Luck 1985). Scipio travels to the heavenly world above and returns with a revelation that all humans are immortal souls, trapped in mortal bodies, but potentially destined for heavenly life above. The gnostic text *Poimandres,* found in the *Corpus Hermeticum,* also fits this category of ascent. There is also an important text in the *Greek Magical Papyri,* mistakenly called the "Mithras Liturgy" (*PGM* 4. 624–750). It provides the initiate who desires to ascend to heaven with an actual guide for making the journey with all its dangers and potentials. There are Jewish texts such as *Hekhalot Rabbati* which have strong parallels with such magical materials, showing that we are dealing here with an international phenomenon of late antiquity (Smith 1963). It is also likely that the rites of initiation into certain of the so-called "mystery religions," such as that of Isis, involved such proleptic experiences of ascent to heaven (see Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11, and discussion of Tabor 1986: 89–92).

It is noteworthy that Paul's testimony in 2 Cor 12:2–4 remains our only firsthand autobiographical account of such an experience from the Second Temple period.

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JAMES D. TABOR

**HEAVEN, NEW.** See NEW EARTH, NEW HEAVEN.

**HEAVEN, QUEEN OF.** See QUEEN OF HEAVEN (DEITY).

**HEBER** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥeber* (חֶבֶר)]. **1.** A son of Beriah, grandson of Asher, and ancestral head of the Heberites (Gen 46:17; Num 26:45; 1 Chr 7:31–32). Heber and his brother Malchiel are listed in the genealogies of Asher in Gen 46:17, Num 26:44–46—LXX 26:28–30, and 1 Chr 7:30–39. These lists vary in the number of sons of Asher mentioned, but all of them mention his daughter Serah and trace the next generation only through Beriah. Heber is not otherwise known, but apparently he was an important figure in the history of the tribe of Asher. In 1 Chr 7:30–39, which may have been drawn from a military census (Williamson *1 & 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 82), both Heber and Malchiel are listed as the sons of Beriah and grandsons of Asher, but the genealogy of Asher is continued only through Heber. Heber has three sons, Japhlet, Shomer, and Hotham, and a daughter, Shua. Grandchildren of Heber are listed for each of his sons: three sons through Japhlet (v 33), four sons through Shemer (= Shomer, v 34), and four sons through Helem (= Hotham, v 35). Heber's line is not traced further through Japhlet and Shermer/Shomer, but it is continued at least into a third generation of descendants through Zophah (vv 36–37), one of the four sons of Helem/Hotham, and perhaps even into a fourth generation if Ithran, one of eleven sons of Zophah, is the same as Jether (v 38), who has three sons. In 1 Chr 7:40 the summary statement on the descendants of Asher indicates considerable military importance, but there is no indication if this was true for all the generations listed or only some.

**2.** The Kenite ("smith") husband of Jael, and thus a descendant of Hobab (Jethro), the father-in-law of Moses (Judg 4:11). According to Judg 4:11, Heber had separated from the main group of the Kenites who were in the south (Judg 1:16) and moved his household to the "Oak in Zaanannim" near Kedesh (perhaps to be distinguished from the Kedesh of v 10). Judg 4:17 notes that while there he allied himself with Jabin, the king of Hazor, who had been harassing Israel for twenty years (Judg 4:3). Significantly, Jael is not mentioned in the reporting of either the movement or the alliance. Elsewhere in Judges 4–5, Heber is regularly subordinate to Jael, if he is mentioned at all ("Jael, wife of Heber" in 4:17, 21; 5:24, and simply "Jael" in 4:18, 22, and 5:6). From the viewpoint of Judges 4, Jael is treasonous to her husband, but in Judges 5 the narrator portrays Heber's actions as treasonous to Israel. As the battle unfolded, Sisera, Jabin's general, retreated to an allied household, but Jael's loyalties were elsewhere. She lavished attention on Sisera, providing milk when he asked for water, but, once asleep, she killed him inside her/Heber's tent. The narrator condemns Heber through silence, but in Deborah's song, where she is ironically termed the wife of Heber the Kenite, Jael is twice called blessed (Judg 5:24).

**3.** The father of Socoh, son of Mered and grandson of Ezrah the Judahite (1 Chr 4:18). This segment of the Judahites is not connected to the larger genealogy (1 Chr 4:1–20). Ezrah's father is not stated and the genealogy is extended only one generation beyond Heber. 1 Chr 4:17 mentions that Mered had married an Egyptian (Bithiah) who bore three children, and v 18 begins, "And his Judahite wife." The pronoun presumably refers to Mered. The Judahite wife is unnamed, but she bore three children: Jered, Heber, and Jekuthiel. The textual difficulty of having no subject in v 17 for "and she conceived" (Heb *wattahar*) may be solved by transposing v 18b to follow v 17a as in the RSV (Williamson *1–2 Chronicles* NCBC, 60).

**4.** The fourth of seven sons of Elpaal the Benjaminite. This Heber is mentioned only 1 Chr 8:17. His connection through his father Elpaal to the larger group is not clear, for the relationship of the Elpaal in vv 17–18 to the Elpaal of vv 11–12 is ambiguous. This segment of the Chronicler's genealogies appears to start with Shaharaim in 1 Chr 8:8. Shaharaim married Hushim, Baara, and Hodesh and divorced the first two, and from the union of Shaharaim and Hushim came Abitub and Elpaal (v 11). The genealogy continues through Elpaal, but the number of his sons is not entirely clear. Verse 12 lists Eber, Misham, and Shemed, and v 13 mentions Beriah and Shema, but their connection to Elpaal is interrupted by comments on Shemed's enterprises at the end of v 12. Presumably Beriah and Shema are to be included among the sons of Elpaal, for all the other names in the context are attached to a parent. The ambiguity is, however, compounded in subsequent verses, for offspring are listed for Beriah (14–16), Elpaal (17–18, where Heber is listed), and Shimei (= Shema, 19–21). On this basis some commentators (see Williamson, *1–2 Chronicles* NCBC, 84–85) would insert Elpaal in v 13 between the references to Beriah and Shema, thus assuming that Elpaal named one of his sons Elpaal and that the total number of sons was six. In short, Heber's grandfather is not known clearly.

RICHARD W. NYSSE

**HEBREW** [Heb *ʿibrî* (עִבְרִי)]. In English, generally synonymous with "Jew," but in the Hebrew Bible it mostly designates members of the Israelite nation.

The use of this expression is confined to certain parts of the OT, the story of Joseph (Genesis 37–50), the history of Israel in Egypt (Exodus 1–15), and 1 Samuel. Apart from these major narrative compositions the Hebrews are mentioned in a few other passages, notably in Gen 14:13, where Abraham is called a Hebrew; in the Book of the Covenant, Exod 21:2–11, which regulates the service of Hebrews who had been enslaved; and in texts dependent on this law (Deut 15:12; Jer 34:8–20; see Lemche 1976: 43–45, 51–53). Finally, in Jonah 1:9 the prophet describes himself as a Hebrew who has run away from his country. The last mentioned example is the only one where a person describes himself as a Hebrew, in all other instances they are described as such by other peoples, in the story of Joseph and in Exodus by the Egyptians, in 1 Samuel by the Philistines.

The etymology of the expression is not yet totally clear (see proposals in Loretz 1984: 235–48) and the possible derivation from the Akkadian expression *ḫabiru/ḫapiru,* thought to mean a population element of fugitives and outlaws, remains a subject of discussion. See HABIRU, HAPIRU. This discussion about the connection between Hebrews and *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* is, however, fundamental for understanding the ethnic term "Hebrew" in the OT. If this derivation is correct, it would hardly be reasonable to deny the significance of the more general ḫabiru/ḫapiru-movement in the ANE in the 2d millennium B.C. for the population processes in Palestine and adjacent areas which led to the formation of the Israelite society in the early Iron Age, just before 1000 B.C. (against Loretz 1984; cf. already Mendenhall 1962, and 1973: 122–41). Therefore the rise of the Israelite nation cannot be separated from the social upheavals during the Late Bronze Age, of which the ḫabiru/ḫapiru-movement is evidence. According to this view we shall have to reckon with a considerable element of ḫabiru/ḫapiru in Late Bronze Age Palestinian society as one of the single major factors behind the emergence of Israel.

Since the expression *ḫabiru/ḫapiru* evidently covers a social phenomenon, whereas Hebrew in the OT, with perhaps one exception (Exod 21:2–11, the law concerning Hebrew slaves), always stands for members of the Israelite people, a certain shift of meaning has taken place. It is, however, interesting to note how some aspects of the former social meaning of the expression have survived almost everywhere

in the OT where the expression is used (Lemche 1979; see also Na›aman 1986). Thus in the story of Joseph and in Exodus, the word "Hebrew" is always used to refer to the Israelite refugees in Egypt, in contradistinction to the local population or authorities, and in 1 Samuel only the Philistines speak about Hebrews, normally in a derogatory sense, to indicate runaway slaves or renegades (David, who is considered to have deserted his own master, King Saul, is thus styled by his Philistine superiors in 1 Sam 29:3). Even in such late texts as Gen 14:23 and Jonah 1:9, relicts of the former sociological meaning of the expression may be supposed to be behind the present usage.

Irrespective of the relative age of those texts in the OT which mention the Hebrews, it is therefore true to maintain that the OT usage is based on an old and historical tradition. On the other hand, it is hardly possible to argue that all instances are postexilic, or that the use of the expression also derives from such a late period as maintained by O. Loretz (1984: 271–75). First and foremost, in the postexilic and pre-Hellenistic periods, "Hebrew" was never understood as a general term denoting ordinary Israelites or Jews. Moreover, in Exod 21:2–11 we have a testimony of the survival in Israel of an age-long societal connection; here two distinct terms are used which in the Late Bronze Age indicated two different though interrelated social categories (the ḫabiru/ḫapiru and the ḫupšu [Heb *ḥopšî*] respectively, i.e., "peasants" according to general opinion [a variant interpretation is mentioned by Lemche 1975: 139–42, "copyholders," or simply "clients"]). These distinctions disappear completely from Near Eastern documents after the collapse of the Bronze Age social system.

Only in the Greco-Roman tradition did Gk *Ebraios* become the ordinary way of indicating Jews, and thereafter this tradition was taken over by the Christian Church and became a general way of designing members of the Jewish people. The three passages using the term Hebrew in the NT (2 Cor 11:22; Phil 3:5; Acts 6:1) do not enlarge the meaning of the expression. In 2 Corinthians and Philippians, Paul calls himself a Hebrew, thus indicating that he is a Hebrew-speaking Jew in contrast to those Jews whose language is Greek, or perhaps he wanted to distinguish between himself as a Jew and the Gentiles. In Acts the expression is applied to characterize the so-called Jewish Christian congregation.

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NIELS PETER LEMCHE

**HEBREW LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (HEBREW).

**HEBREW NARRATIVE.** See NARRATIVE, HEBREW.

**HEBREW SCRIPTS.** The study of the alphabetic scripts used to write the Hebrew language is a specialized field of palaeography, the study of ancient writing. To prevent confusion and to establish a common terminology, the definitions proposed by F. M. Cross (1961b: 189–90, nn. 4–5) have been adopted.

*Hebrew script* refers to the original Hebrew letter forms derived from the Phoenician alphabet and used throughout the First Temple Period. *Palaeo-Hebrew script* refers to the continued use of the Hebrew script after the loss of national sovereignty and in particular to the revived official use of the Palaeo-Hebrew script first noted in the late Persian period and continued into the Second Temple Period. Its last documented use is on the coins of the Bar Kokhba Revolt or the Second Jewish War against Rome (A.D. 132–135). However, Palaeo-Hebrew script survives until this day in the collateral branch known as the Samaritan script. *Jewish script* refers to the national script which developed from the Persian Aramaic script employed for official use throughout the Persian empire. This Jewish script is still used today.

**A. Hebrew Script**

The surviving examples of the Hebrew script were inscribed on durable materials such as stone, gems used for seals, jar handles, or clay bullae impressed by seals or written on ostraca with a carbon or iron salt ink. At present there is only one example of Hebrew script written on papyrus, found at the Wadi Murabba‘ât. It is dated on the basis of palaeographic evidence to the mid-7th century B.C.

Some of the more important inscriptions include the Gezer Stone, the Siloam Inscription, and the tomb of the Royal Steward. The Gezer Stone is an agricultural calendar from the 10th century B.C. inscribed on limestone. It lists the months of the year by the tasks to be performed in that time period. The Siloam Inscription (late 8th century B.C.) records the joining of the tunnel of the aqueduct dug by Hezekiah to provide water for Jerusalem in the event of siege. The tomb inscription of the Royal Steward is from the same period and records the plea of the Steward to would-be grave robbers to leave his tomb alone as it contained no treasures, but simply the bones of him and his handmaiden.

Several collections of invoices or letters written on ostraca provide a base of evidence upon which palaeographic research depends. These include the Samaria Ostraca (8th century B.C.), the Arad Ostraca (8th to 6th century B.C.), and the Lachish Ostraca (6th century B.C.).

**B. Palaeo-Hebrew Script**

Aside from the discoveries in the caves of the Judean Desert, the bulk of surviving Palaeo-Hebrew inscriptions are found on stone, ostraca, and most extensively on the coins of the Hasmonaean rulers (circa 100–37 B.C.), the First Jewish War against Rome (A.D. 66–70), and the Second Jewish War against Rome (A.D. 132–135).

The importance of the manuscripts found at Qumran (the Dead Sea Scrolls) for the study of the biblical text, not to mention the history, culture, politics, and religion of Judea in 1st century B.C. and 1st century A.D., would be hard to overstate. This is especially true for the field of palaeography. Aside from manuscripts written exclusively in Palaeo-Hebrew Script or in Jewish Script, a number of manuscripts written in both Palaeo-Hebrew and Jewish Script have provided palaeographers with a key for developing a relative chronology for the evolution and use of the Palaeo-Hebrew script found in the manuscripts and in the nationalistic coinage of the Hasmonaean rulers and that of the leaders of the First and Second Jewish Wars against Rome.

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MARK D. MCLEAN

**HEBREW VERSION OF MATTHEW.** See MATTHEW, HEBREW VERSION OF.

**HEBREWS, EPISTLE TO THE.** This product of the mature early Christian movement offers an impressive attempt to revitalize commitment to Christ through an imaginative reinterpretation of traditional Christological affirmations which undergirds an appeal to continued fidelity.

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A. Authorship
B. Date
C. Addressees
D. Genre Structure, and Style
    1. Genre
    2. Structure
    3. Style
E. The Aim of Hebrews
F. The Christology of Hebrews
    1. The Eternal and Exalted Son
    2. The Suffering Son
    3. The High Priest
    4. The High Priest's Sacrifice
G. The Soteriology of Hebrews
H. The Use of Scripture
I. Hebrews and First-Century Religion
    1. Hebrews and Philo
    2. Hebrews and Qumran
    3. Hebrews and Gnosticism
    4. Hebrews and the New Testament
J. Canonization
K. Conclusion

———

**A. Authorship**

Although Hebrews is included in the Pauline corpus and was part of that corpus in its earliest attested form ($P^{46}$), it is certainly not a work of the apostle. This fact was recognized, largely on stylistic grounds, even in antiquity. Some patristic authors defended the traditional Pauline attribution with theories of scribal assistants such as Clement of Rome or Luke, but such hypotheses do not do justice to the very un-Pauline treatment of key themes, particularly those of law and faith. Numerous alternative candidates for authorship have been proposed. The most prominent have been Barnabas, to whom Tertullian assigned the work; Apollos, defended by Luther and many moderns; Priscilla, suggested by von Harnack; Epaphras; and Silas. Arguments for none are decisive, and Origen's judgment that "God only knows" who composed the work is sound.

**B. Date**

The latest possible date of composition is provided by the virtual citation of portions of Hebrews in *1 Clement,* conventionally dated to around 95 C.E. The earliest possible date is more difficult to determine. Several data suggest that a date prior to 60 C.E. is most unlikely. The author describes himself as among those who have received the message of salvation at second hand (2:3). His addressees have been

believers for a considerable time (5:12). They have previously experienced persecution, reproach, and imprisonment (10:32–34). All of this indicates that some time has elapsed since their initial conversion (6:4).

Within the broad range of the years 60–95 C.E., various conjectures have been made about a more precise dating. References to the Jewish sacrificial cult in the present tense (9:6–10; 10:1–4), along with the lack of any mention of the destruction of the temple, have been taken as evidence of a date prior to 70 C.E., when the Jerusalem temple was destroyed. This argument, however, is inconclusive, since our author is not at all concerned with the Herodian temple. Rather, he deals with the desert tabernacle and argues exegetically from biblical data. Moreover, authors writing after 70 C.E., such as Josephus, Clement of Rome, and the compilers of the Mishnah, often refer to the temple as a present reality.

Attempts have been made to date the work by identifying the persecution mentioned. Thus, if the addressees were in Rome, the references to affliction and material loss (10:32–34), coupled with the remark that the addressees have not yet "resisted unto blood" (12:4), could indicate a date between the expulsion of Jews and Jewish Christians from Rome under Claudius and the bloody persecution under Nero. Yet even if the hypothesis of a Roman destination is accepted, the text could have been aimed at a segment of the community which did not bear the full brunt of Nero's persecution.

Attempts have also been made to date the work on the basis of its position within the development of early Christian doctrine. Unambiguous evidence for post-apostolic, "early Catholic" doctrinal or organizational principles are, however, lacking. Hence only a general time frame, from 60 to 90 C.E. can, with any degree of certainty, be determined as the date for Hebrews.

**C. Addressees**

The work itself gives no explicit indication of its intended readers. The title "To the Hebrews" is probably a later conjecture. The implication of that title, that the work was addressed to Jewish Christians, has often been defended, but that position is by no means certain. The extensive reliance upon the OT and the elaborate exegetical arguments which characterize the work indicate something about the author's background, but need say little about the addressees. Pauline letters such as Galatians or 1 Corinthians are certainly addressed to predominantly Gentile congregations but make extensive use of the OT and employ subtle exegesis. A major reason for assuming a Jewish-Christian readership is the assessment of the problem which the author addresses, but the judgment that the work is an apology for Christianity designed to prevent a relapse to Judaism is dubious.

The location of the addressees is also problematic. Many ancient and some modern commentators have assumed that the intended recipients were in Jerusalem. Others have argued for Corinth, Asia Minor (particularly the Lycus valley), and Rome. The only relevant internal datum is the final greeting to the addressees by "those from Italy" (13:24). The phrase is commonly taken to mean that Italians living away from home send greetings to their place of origin. The phrase could, however, mean that "those of Italy," i.e., Italians at home, send their greetings someplace else. The former construal is somewhat more natural. Moreover, there are other indications of a connection with Rome, particularly the citation by *1 Clement* and a series of close parallels in theme and vocabulary with 1 Peter which was probably written from Rome (1 Pet 5:13). It is likely then that Hebrews was sent to the Roman Christian community or a segment of it by someone familiar with that community's theological traditions.

**D. Genre, Structure, and Style**

**1. Genre.** The literary riddle of Hebrews arises from the fact that it concludes in standard epistolary form (13:22–25) but lacks any epistolary introduction with greetings and indications of sender or recipients. Various attempts to explain this anomaly have been proposed, including the accidental loss or intentional deletion of the prescript or the secondary addition of the conclusion. Either alteration could have been occasioned by a desire to make Hebrews suitable for inclusion in the Pauline letter corpus. Deletion of the prescript could have eliminated embarrassing evidence of non-Pauline authorship. An added conclusion with its reference to a Timothy (13:23) could, on the other hand, have suggested Pauline authorship. Such hypotheses are, however, unconvincing. The elaborately structured rhetorical prologue (1:1–3) makes a suitable beginning to the work, and the casual reference to Timothy is too subtle a device

for a pseudepigraphist. If this Timothy is indeed Paul's companion and collaborator, the reference indicates some loose connection between the author and the Pauline circle. The concluding greetings may well be an addition made by the author, in order to render his text suitable as an address to a distant congregation, but suspicions about the integrity of Hebrews, and especially of chap. 13, are unfounded.

In those concluding remarks the work is described as a "word of exhortation" (13:22). This designation aptly describes the bulk of the text and suggests that the most appropriate generic identification is a homily. This homily, with its regular alternation between expository argument and exhortation, includes well-defined segments which probably exemplify homiletic patterns and may be based upon independent sermons. Chaps. 3 and 4 provide a good instance. An introduction (3:1–6) announces the major theme to be treated. A scriptural text from Psalm 95 is cited (3:7–11). Expository comments follow, culminating in an exhortation (3:12–4:11). A rhetorical flourish on God's word rounds off the treatment (4:12–13). Precisely the same pattern is evident in chapters 8–10. An introduction (8:1–6) articulates a basic opposition between the "heavenly" and the "earthly" which will dominate what follows. A lengthy citation of Jer 31:31–34 suggests other important thematic oppositions. The themes enunciated in the introduction and citation are explored and carefully interwoven (9:1–10:10). A concluding flourish triumphantly summarizes the basic affirmation of the sermonette (10:11–18) while recalling the quotation from Jeremiah. In each case the text continues with a formula indicating what the author and addressees "have" (4:14; 10:19–21), which in turn serves as the basis for further hortatory remarks (4:14–16; 10:22–25). Other less well-defined units of scriptural exposition (2:5–18; 7:1–28; 12:1–13) replicate major elements in this homiletic pattern.

**2. Structure.** Analyzing the overall structure of the text is made difficult by the elaborate foreshadowing and interconnecting devices which the author uses and various proposals highlight one or another of these literary techniques. The following outline attempts to convey some of the work's complexity while suggesting the function of its various segments:

1:1–4: Exordium

I. 1:5–2:18 Christ exalted and humiliated, a suitable High Priest
- A. 1:5–14 Christ exalted above the angels
- B. 2:1–4 Paraenetic interlude: hold fast
- C. 2:5–18 Christ the savior, a faithful and merciful High Priest

II. 3:1–5:10 Christ faithful and merciful
- A. 3:1–4:13 A homily on faith
  - i. 3:1–6 Introduction: the faithful Christ and Moses
  - ii. 3:7–11 Citation of scripture: the faithless generation
  - iii. 3:12–4:11 Exposition
    - a. 3:12–19 The failure of faithlessness
    - b. 4:1–5 The nature of the promised "rest"
    - c. 4:6–11 Faithfully enter the rest "today"
  - iv. 4:12–13 Concluding flourish: God's powerful word
- B. 4:14–5:10 Christ the merciful High Priest
  - i. 4:14–16 Paraenetic prelude: hold fast and approach
  - ii. 5:1–5 The characteristics of high priests
  - iii. 5:6–10 Christ as High Priest "According to the Order of Melchizedek"

III. 5:11–10:25 The difficult discourse
- A. 5:11–6:20 Paraenetic prelude
  - i. 5:11–6:3 Progress to "maturity"
  - ii. 6:4–12 Warning and consolation
    - a. 6:4–8 The danger of failure
    - b. 6:9–12 Hopeful assurance
  - iii. 6:13–20 God's oath: a sure ground of hope
- B. 7:1–28 Christ and Mekchizedek

i. 7:1–3 Introduction and scriptural citation
ii. 7:4–25 Exposition
a. 7:4–10 Melchizedek superior to the Levites
b. 7:11–19 The new priest and the new order
c. 7:20–25 The priesthood confirmed with an oath
iii. 7:26–28 Concluding flourish on the eternal High Priest
C. 8:1–10:18 An exegetical homily on Christ's sacrificial act
i. 8:1–6 Introduction: earthly and heavenly sanctuaries
ii. 8:7–13 Citation of scripture: a new, interior covenant
iii. 9:1–10:10 Thematic exposition
a. 9:1–10 The old, earthly sacrifice
b. 9:11–14 The new, heavenly sacrifice
c. 9:15–22 The new covenant and its sacrifice
d. 9:23–28 The new, heavenly unique sacrifice
e. 10:1–10 The new, earthly-heavenly sacrifice
iv. 10:11–18 Concluding flourish on Christ's sacrifice
D. 10:19–25 Paraenetic applocation: have faith, hope and charity
IV. 10:26–12:13 Exhortation to faithful endurance
A. 10:26–38 Paraenetic prelude
i. 10:26–31 A new warning against failure
ii. 10:32–38 Recollection of faithful endurance
B. 11:1–40 An ecomium on faith
i. 11:1–2 Introductory definition
ii. 11:2–7 Faith from creation to Noah
iii. 11:8–22 The faith of the patriarchs
a. 11:8–12 The faith of Abraham and Sarah
b. 11:13–16 Faith's goal: a heavenly home
c. 11:7–22 The faith of Isaac, Jacob and Joseph
iv. 11:23–30 The faith of Moses and followers
v. 11:31–38 The faith of prophets and martyrs
vi. 11:39–40 Summary: faith perfected in Christians
C. 12:1–13 A homily on faithful endurance
i. 12:1–3 Jesus, the inaugurator and perfecter of faith's race
ii. 12:4–6 Citaton of scripture
iii. 12:7–11 Suffering as discipline
iv. 12:12–13 Brace for the race
V. 12:14–13:21 Concluding exhortations
A. 12:14–17 Paraenetic prelude: a final warning against failure
B. 12:18–29 The serious, but encuraging situation
i. 12:18–24 Not Sinai, but a Heavenly Zion
ii. 12:25–29 An unshakable Kingdom
C. 13:1–21 The life of the covenant
i. 13:1–6 Mutual responsibilities
ii. 13:7–19 The implication of Christ's sacrifice
13:20–25 Concluding benediction and greetings

**3. Style.** Within this carefully structured work the author deploys an abundance of rhetorical fitures, including alliteration (1:1; 2:1–4; 4:16; 10:11, 34; 11:17; 12:21); anaphora (chap. 11); antithesis (7:18–20; 7:23–24; 7:28; 10:11–12); assonance (1:1–3; 6:20; 10:26; 12:90); asyndeton (6:3; 7:26; 12:25); chiasm (2:8–9; 2:18; 4:16; 7:23–24; 10:38–39; 12:19); ellipse (7:19; 12:25); hendiadys (2:21; 5:2; 8:5; 12:18); hyperbaton (12:25); isocolon (1:3; 6:3; 7:26); litotes (4:15; 6:10; 7:20; 9:7); and paronomasia (9:16–18;

13:2). Various metaphors, derived from the standard rhetorical repertoire, grace the discourse. These include images taken from the sphere of education (5:12–14); agriculture (6:7–8; 12:11); seafaring (6:9; cf. 2:1); law (2:3–4; cf. also 6:16; 7:12, 22, 9:16–17); athletics (5:14; 12:1–3, 11–13); and sacrifice (4:12–13). Common rhetorical formulas of citation (2:6) and transition (5:11; 11:32) are used. Inferential particles, "for," "wherefore," "therefore," and "hence," are exceedingly common and lend a veneer of consequential argumentation, although the author operates more on the level of symbolic and verbal association than on that of logic.

The pace of the discourse is modulated, and there is a harmonious balance between lapidary, sometimes sententious phrases (2:16; 3:19; 4:9; 7:19; 9:16; 10:4, 18, 31; 11:1; 12:29; 13:1, 8); series of staccato questions (3:16–18) or exempla (chap. 11); and complex periods (1:1–4; 2:2–4, 8–9, 14–15; 5:7–10; 7:1–3; 9:6–10; 10:19–25; 12:1–2). The author deploys an extensive vocabulary, including a large number of terms (150, excluding proper names) not found elsewhere in the NT and many others (92) which appear in only one other text. Our author avoids monotony in his exhortations, where he alternates between hortatory subjunctives (4:1, 11, 14, 16; 6:1; 10:22–24; 12:1, 28; 13:13, 15) and imperatives (3:12, 13; 10:32, 35; 12:3, 7, 12, 14, 25; 13:1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 6, 17, 18, 24). The general tone of the discourse is similarly variegated, ranging from the solemnity of festive, quasi-poetic passages (4:8–9; 7:11–12; 10:2), to the playfulness of suggestive exegesis (7:9–10; 9:16–17).

**E. The Aim of Hebrews**

This subtle and elusive text has been construed in a variety of ways. Many of these construals focus on one or another element of the text to the exclusion of others and reconstruct the problem being addressed on the basis of a partial and selective reading of the data. A prominent feature of Hebrews is its frequent comparative arguments which contrast Christ or aspects of the dispensation which he inaugurated to individuals or institutions of the old covenant. Thus Christ as Son is shown to be "better" than the angels (1:5–14), Moses (3:1–6), Aaron (5:1–10), and the Levitical priests (7:1–28). His sacrifice is better than the sacrifices of the old sanctuary (9:1–14) and the covenant which he inaugurated is better than the first (8:7–13; 9:15–22; 12:24). Such comparisons have often been seen as the heart of the work, which would then be construed as a polemical or apologetic tract arguing for the superiority of Christianity to Judaism, its "fleshly ordinances" (7:18; 9:10), and its "diverse and strange teaching" (13:9). The major problem with this construal is that it ignores the parenetic sections of the text which evidence little, if any, concern with the attractions of traditional Judaism. The problem addressed would thus seem to be in inner-Christian one.

The expository sections of Hebrews have been construed to provide evidence for various doctrinal problems. The insistence on a high Christology (1:3; 7:3; 13:8) might suggest that the addressees had too "low" a view of Christ, and an inadequate comprehension of his heavenly, mediatorial role. Yet Hebrews insists quite as strongly on the genuine humanity of Christ (2:6–18; 5:7–8). One could argue with equal plausibility that Hebrews attempts to correct too "high" a Christology. All such attempts to find a doctrinal problem behind Hebrews, which distantly reflect patristic use of Hebrews in Christological controversies, are equally unconvincing and rely on tendentious and one-sided interpretations of the work's doctrinal affirmations.

The same may be said of attempts to see Hebrews dealing with a sacramental problem. There are in the work vague references to baptism (6:4; 10:22) and even more vague allusions to the eucharist (13:10). Despite such meager material, allegorical readings of the discussion of Christ's sacrifice (9:11–10:10) have suggested that the author is advancing an apologetic interpretation of the eucharist. At the same time, the insistence on the unique quality of Christ's sacrifice (7:27; 9:26–28; 10:12) and the metaphorical use of cultic categories (13:15) have been construed as anti-sacramental polemic. These construals, which mirror debates about the Mass in the post-Reformation period, again find little support in the extensive parenetical sections of the work, and these sections must be considered in assessing its overall aims.

The parenetic sections contain a few rather general bits of information about the addressees and a series of interconnected exhortations which suggest what the author, at least, thought their problems to be. It is clear that they had undergone persecution (10:32–34) and likely that similar persecution was continuing

or threatening (13:3). A major aim of Hebrews is to strengthen a community of believers in Christ in the face of opposition. This is certainly the major function of the exposition on faith in the final chapters. Faith is closely linked with "endurance" (10:36–39; 12:1–3). The catalogue of those who exemplified this virtue highlights the alienation which they experienced (11:9, 13–16, 26), culminates in a graphic description of the sufferings they endured (11:35–38), and prepares for the final dramatic portrait of Jesus as the martyr who inaugurated and perfected faith by his endurance (12:1–3). On the basis of this strand of Hebrews it might be fair to characterize the work not as the first *adversus Judaeos* tract but as the first exhortation to martyrdom.

Another datum on the addressees provided by the author's parenetic remarks is the notice that some members of the community addressed have withdrawn from fellowship (10:25; cf. 3:12). The extent and precise causes of such disaffection are not indicated, and it may well be that the author was not fully informed about them. Several elements in his parenesis, in addition to the external fact of persecution, suggest influences which may have been at work. The author's insistence on the assurance of a coming judgment (2:2–3; 6:8; 10:25, 29–31; 12:18–24, 26–29) and on the final revelation of Christ's lordship (2:8; 10:13) might indicate a weakening of faith due to the delay of the parousia. If this is indeed part of the perceived problem, it is addressed obliquely and indirectly. Other remarks by the author suggest that he is attempting to deal with a disaffection which has more diffuse roots. He thus refers to a potential neglect of the message of salvation (2:3) and, perhaps with a certain irony, argues that the addressees have through the course of time become sluggish or dull (5:11; 6:12). If such remarks reflect the actual situation of the addressees, a major element of their perceived problem would be the diminishing of the initial ardor of their Christian commitment. Such growing disaffection would be readily comprehensible in a community which had for some time accepted Jesus as the Christ, but was subject to external pressure and the disappointment of their first hopes.

Whatever the precise causes of the problem confronted by the author and whatever his perception of that problem, he is engaged in Hebrews in an attempt to revitalize the faith of his addressees and put their commitment on a more solid footing. To this end he deploys several parenetic devices, both negative and positive. On the one hand he issues a series of severe warnings, illustrating the dire consequences of apostasy (6:4–6; 10:26–31; 12:15–17; cf. 13:19–19; 4:11). These passages, which are regularly balanced by more positive, hopeful sentiments, are not so much condemnation of what has taken place as they are hypothetical sketches of where the community's tendencies could lead.

The more positive exhortations revolve around two related poles. On the one hand the author urges his addressees to "hold on," in particular to their "confession" (3:6, 14; 10:23; cf. 2:1). On the other, he urges movement, an approach either to the ultimately reliable source of support (4:16; 6:18–20; 10:19–22); to a deeper apprehension of their own faith (6:1); or to the "external" realm, where faith will be manifested in suffering (13:13). Characteristic of such faith will be both hope (3:6; 6:11; 7:19; 10:23) and a "boldness of speech" exercised before God and humanity (3:6; 4:16; 10:19, 35).

Although understanding the parenetic program of Hebrews is essential to comprehending the work's aims, the exhortations ought not to be seen in isolation. The author does not simply admonish his addressees and encourage them to a firmer commitment. He also attempts to secure that commitment through a deepened understanding of the person and work of the one who makes faith possible.

**F. The Christology of Hebrews**

**1. The Eternal and Exalted Son.** Woven into the first five chapters of Hebrews are several strands of Christological tradition which stand in some tension with one another. These strands probably reflect beliefs of the community addressed and constitute what the author refers to as its "confession" (3:1; 4:14; 10:23), that is, the faith which it professed in a variety of liturgical forms and settings. In the exordium there is a clear statement of a "high" Christology. Christ is affirmed to be the eternal Son, the agent of God's creative and sustaining activity and the final bearer of his word (1:1–4). These affirmations, like other high Christologies of the early Church, utilize imagery of the Wisdom tradition. That derivation is even clearer here than elsewhere in the NT, since the images of "effulgence" and "imprint" (1:3) are ultimately derived from Wis 7:25. Our author is probably not directly dependent on that work, but rather

cites a modified form of an early Christian hymn. The forcefully stated high Christology is not confined to the exordium but is reflected at several points in the course of the text (7:3; 13:8). Nonetheless it is not the focal point of the Christology of Hebrews.

Immediately following the exordium stands another, probably traditional block of material with a different Christological perspective. In 1:5–13 is found a catena or florilegium of scriptural citations, the original function of which was probably to celebrate the exaltation of Christ and his "session at the right hand" (Ps 110:1, Heb 1:13). How our author reconciled the eternality of the Son with his eschatological "begetting" (Ps 2:7, Heb 1:5) is unclear. It is likely that he interprets the exaltationist language of the catena in terms of the three-stage Christology of the exordium, but his concern is not to systematize and render coherent such diverse traditions. Rather, his effort is to make all these traditions more vital. As they stand, the Christological statements of the exordium and the catena together highlight the heavenly status of Christ.

**2. The Suffering Son.** The next block of Christological material (2:10–18) derives from yet other sources. Here Christ is presented as the leader of a new humanity who blazes the way for his brethren, with whom he shares "blood and flesh" (2:14), to the heavenly glory to which God has destined them (2:10). He accomplishes this through undertaking suffering and death, whereby he defeats the satanic forces who control death and make it fearsome (2:10, 14–15). The imagery of combat with the powers of hell and liberation of their captives is rooted in widespread classical myths of heroic deliverers. This imagery was adapted by Hellenistic Jews and appropriated by early Christians. As in the case of the other Christological patterns of the first two chapters, Hebrews will not further exploit the details of this imagery. In the perspective of the whole work this pericope serves to balance the affirmations of the exordium and the catena and to highlight the humanity of Christ. This focus is made clear by the introductory exegesis of Ps 8:5–7 (Heb 2:6–9), which may originally have been part of the traditional catena of chap. 1. Its language of "man" and "Son of man" could have evoked in antiquity, as in the history of exegesis, numerous Christological affirmations. For our author it serves to emphasize that the one who was Son from the first and who is exalted at God's right hand is a human being, whose exalted status results from the fact that he was "for a little while made lower than the angels."

**3. The High Priest.** At the conclusion of chap. 2 the author introduces a new Christological element. The eternal, exalted Son who suffered is, because of that suffering, a "merciful and faithful high priest" (2:17). This is the first intimation of the Christological category which will dominate the central expository section of Hebrews. As a title for Christ, it is unique to Hebrews among the writings of the NT. It is, however, unlikely that it was invented by the author. Scattered references to Christ as high priest in later Christian literature may attest to a traditional use. In Judaism there was widespread speculation on angelic figures who exercised priestly functions in the heavenly sanctuary. This speculative tradition, which also underlies Philo's elaborate allegories of the high priest and his presentation of the Logos as chief intermediary between God and humankind, was probably adopted in some Christian circles as a way of portraying Christ's role as heavenly intercessor. The title of high priest first deployed in Hebrews 2:17 is probably rooted in such a Christian appropriation of Jewish tradition. The image of Christ as heavenly intercessor (4:16; 7:25) reflects that traditional usage. The author builds his Christological exposition on this basis, but his treatment of Christ's priesthood is not confined to the dimensions of the traditional title.

The next development of the high priest motif (5:5–10) highlights the human suffering and resultant exaltation of Christ. At this point yet another Christological strand is interwoven. Here the author cites another verse from one of the traditional exaltation texts, Ps 110:4, the use of which verse is unattested elsewhere in the NT or in other early Christian literature not dependent on Hebrews. This verse, with its reference to a priesthood "after the order of Melchizedek," forms the basis for the exposition of chap. 7. Its citation here, however, raises the question of when Christ became high priest. The problem is analogous to that of the differing Christological perspectives of chaps. 1 and 2 and is to be resolved in a similar fashion. The author has inherited a tradition of Christ as high priest which focuses on Christ's heavenly status. The citation from Psalm 110 gives expression to that understanding of Christ's priesthood. For the author, however, the decisive priestly act is a very earthly one; hence Christ's

priesthood is not confined to heaven. The tradition will undergo modification in the course of the exposition, and that modification begins here (5:7–10) with its graphic portrait of the human Christ at prayer, a portrait inspired not by accounts of the agony in Gethsemane, but by the language of the psalms developed in Hellenistic Jewish circles.

The next stage in the Christological development is the explanation in chap. 7 of what it means to be a high priest "according to the order of Melchizedek." The chapter interprets data from Psalm 110 and the only other scriptural reference to Melchizedek. Gen 14:17–20, and argues that Christ, as a priest of this order, is eternal and hence superior to Levitical priests. Only such an eternal or heavenly priest can provide "perfection" (7:11). The chapter may be influenced by the widespread speculation on the mysterious Melchizedek found in various sources, including Qumran fragments (11QMelch), apocrypha *(2 Enoch)*, Philo, and Gnostic sources (NHC IX,1 *Melchizedek: Pistis Sophia*), but Hebrews is restrained and limited in its use of the figure.

**4. The High Priest's Sacrifice.** The climax of the Christological development occurs in the complex exposition of the nature of Christ's "once for all self sacrifice" (7:27) which occupies chaps. 8–10. Here the death of Christ, which had often been understood as an atoning sacrifice, is presented as analogous to a specific sacrifice, that of the high priest on Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement). Employing categories which probably derive from popular Platonism used to interpret Jewish cultic institutions, the author presents Christ as effecting real atonement for sin by entering "through the spirit" (9:14) into the realm of the "true" and "heavenly" or ultimately real (8:2; 9:11–12; 9:23–24) where God himself is present. This imagery does not stand uninterpreted but is ultimately taken to be a symbolic expression of the conformity of Christ to God's will (10:5–10). The "heavenly" act is paradoxically, an earthly one, done in a body (10:10), but is heavenly because of its intentionality.

The model of the Yom Kippur ritual is dominant in chaps. 8–10, but it is not the only device used to interpret Christ's sacrificial death. His sacrifice is also seen to be a covenant-inaugurating event (9:15–22), which fulfills the prediction of a new covenant made by Jeremiah (8:7–13; 10:16–17). The value of the victim guarantees the effective forgiveness promised under the covenant (8:12; 9:14; 10:17), while the disposition which makes Christ's sacrifice effective fulfills the promise of a new interior covenant (8:10; 10:10; 10:16). Furthermore, because Christ's death inaugurates a new covenant, it has direct implications for the behavior of members of that covenant who are called upon to follow Christ's exemplary self-sacrifice through their fidelity (12:1–3). Thus the Christological exposition is intimately related to the parenetic program of Hebrews.

**G. The Soteriology of Hebrews**

No other topic receives as much attention in the expository sections of Hebrews as does Christology. Other elements of early Christian belief are suggestively presented in images derived from the OT as they had been developed in Hellenistic Judaism, apocalyptic literature, and early Christian traditions.

The ultimate result of Christ's work is "salvation" (1:14; 2:3, 10; 5:9; 6:9; 9:28). This consists, negatively, of preservation from the fearful judgment (10:29–31) which will be manifested on the "day" (10:25) when heaven and earth will be removed (1:12; 12:26–28) by the God who is a "consuming fire" (12:29). More positively, salvation is a process of obtaining or inheriting God's "promises" (4:1; 6:17; 9:15; 10:36), which are to be fully realized in the "world to come" (2:5) when Christ's victory is complete (1:13; 2:8; 10:13), but can already be "tasted" now (6:5) in the "time of correction" (9:10). Such a foretaste is experienced in the life of the new covenant, where worshippers have their consciences cleansed (9:14; 10:2), experience "sanctification" (10:10) and thus, at least in a preliminary way, attain "perfection" (10:14). Yet as Christ's own perfection through suffering (5:8–9) was a process which culminated only in his exaltation (2:9), so the perfection of his followers is fully realized only when they too are led to glory (2:10). The nature and the goal of the salvific process find expression in the evocative image of the wandering people of God, aliens and sojourners on earth who seek for a "heavenly homeland" (11:13–16), a heavenly "city" founded by God himself (11:10); 12:22–24). That goal is further described with the image of "rest" (3:11; 4:3–6, 11), a designation derived from biblical accounts of Canaan, but widely interpreted in Jewish texts (*4 Ezra;* Philo) and Christian and Gnostic sources as an

image of the heavenly realm or state which is the goal of the saved. The author's exegesis of Psalm 95 (4:3–10) offers a similar interpretation and equates the rest, which believers are promised, with a share in God's own festive sabbatical repose.

**H. The Use of Scripture**

The text with which the author works is clearly a form of the LXX. This is abundantly clear in the cases where his version differs markedly from the MT, and those differences are due to obvious translation errors or alternative readings attested in the LXX, such as "body" for "ears" in Ps 40:7 (Heb 10:5) or "staff" for "bed" in Gen 47:31 (Heb 11:21). In many cases the OT version cited in Hebrews does not correspond exactly to any extant witness to the LXX. This may be due to loose citation (cf. the varying citations of Jer 31:33–34 at 8:10–12 and 10:16–17), intentional alteration by the author (Ps 21:23 at 2:12 and Ps 95:7–11 at 3:9–10), or an otherwise unattested LXX text. Evidence for use of a Hebrew text is slender at best.

As consideration of Hebrews' Christology and soteriology indicates, the OT and its interpretation play a major role in developing the doctrinal perspectives of the work. The theoretical basis for that importance resides in the estimation of scripture as the word of God (1:1; 4:12–13) or of his holy spirit (3:7; 10:15). As such it has decisive significance for the contemporary listener (3:13; 4:7; 12:5–7). The key to understanding that word is the recognition that the God who spoke through the prophets has spoken eschatologically in his Son (1:2; 2:3). As for most other early Christians, the experience of and belief in Christ is the matrix within which the author's hermeneutic develops. Yet within that general framework, Hebrews displays remarkable boldness, subtlety, and technical sophistication in handling OT passages.

The Christological referent of scripture is clear in the traditional catena of 1:5–13, where common proof texts such as Ps 2:7 and 110:1 are taken not as addresses to an Israelite king but as divine oracles directed at Christ. The same principle underlies the application of the other, less common citations in the catena. A rather different Christological presupposition is evident in the citations from psalms and prophets at 2:12–13 and 10:5–10, where words of scripture are set on the lips of Jesus to give expression to fundamental aspects of his mission. These citations in fact are the only "sayings of Jesus" recorded in Hebrews. While the Jesus of "blood and flesh" (2:14), of the tribe of Judah (7:14), is of prime importance, traditions of his teaching play no explicit role. The conceit used here of attributing OT passages to Christ is not confined to Hebrews, but appears also in synoptic materials, particularly in the passion narratives. There is no explict development of a theory that Christ himself inspired the writers of the OT or that he spoke through them. Such theories, found in the second century, are rooted in elements of texts such as Hebrews, with its pre-existence Christology and attribution of OT texts to Christ.

Application of OT passages to Christ or to the contemporary situation usually involves taking them out of their original literary or historical contexts and construing them within a framework of the author's own devising (Ps 8:5–7 at 2:6–8; Ps 110:4 at 7:21; Ps 40:7–9 at 10:5–7). Yet occasionally the assumed original context plays a part in interpretation (3:7; 7:10).

Many texts are simply cited and given an interpretation from their new context in this discourse. For others, the author pays special attention to the vocabulary and syntax of the passage and argues exegetically. Thus in treating Ps 8:5–7, he exploits ambiguity to find a new referent for the "man" involved (2:8–9). In explicating the meaning of "rest" in Psalm 95, he employs the technique of "inference by analogy," utilizing Gen 2:2 (Heb 4:4–5); the argument, incidentally, works only on the basis of the Greek texts. In indicating the significance of Ps 110:4 and its references to Melchizedek, he again argues through appeal to another text (Gen 14:17–20) which is initially explicated both through etymology (7:2b, 3a) and through an argument from silence (7:3b). Comparative and a fortiori arguments are common (1:4; 2:2–3; 7:22; 8:6; 9:14; 12:9–11). An important exegetical device is the discovery and resolution of oppositions either in scriptural texts or implied by them. Thus the promise of a new priesthood after the order of Melchizedek implies the rejection of the Levitical priesthood and its laws (7:11–12). The antithesis between eternal sacrifice and interior conformity to God's will is evident in Ps 40:7–9, and the enunciation of the latter is taken to be a principle which abrogates the former (10:8–9).

The complex exposition of Jeremiah 31 in chaps. 8–10 is based in part on the oppositions between new and old, interior and external suggested by the citation from the prophet.

In addition to explicit citations of and exegetical arguments from scriptural texts, Hebrews frequently makes allusive use of scripture. This is most obvious in the case of Psalm 110, which surfaces throughout the text (1:13; 5:6; 8:1; 10:12; 12:2). The lengthy encomium on faith (chap. 11) has few actual citations but is throughout based on OT narratives and their legendary elaborations. The word of exhortation which is Hebrews is above all an attempt to make the word of God "living, active, and sharper than any two-edged sword" (4:12).

## I. Hebrews and First-Century Religion

Numerous attempts have been made to understand Hebrews and its peculiar conceptuality on the basis of its affinities with various religious traditions, particularly within Judaism. The author has been seen as a disciple or opponent of Philo and the sort of sophisticated Hellenistic Judaism which he represents, as a thoroughgoing apocalyptist, and as an interpreter utilizing gnostic patterns of thought to make Christianity comprehensible in a Hellenistic environment. Each of these appraisals can find evidence within the discourse which points in the appropriate direction. None, however, provides a satisfactory overall evaluation of Hebrews.

**1. Hebrews and Philo.** Hebrews does share with Philo not only his Greek Bible but also a number of exegetical concerns, perspectives, and traditions. Most interesting and least noticed of these commonalities is the way in which the author uses cultic images to symbolize both ontological and psychological elements (chaps. 8–10). Another telling indication of affinity with Philo are certain halachic or legal positions, mentioned only in passing in Hebrews. Such, for example, is the remark that the high priest must offer daily sacrifice for himself and the people (7:27; cf. Philo, *Spec Leg* 1.131). Insofar as philosophical presuppositions affect the argument of Hebrews, here too the author displays some affinities with Philo and his Platonic interpretation of Judaism. Hebrews, however, is at most a distant cousin of Philo. The philosophical elements of this text are much more superficial and unsystematic than anything in Philo. In his handling of Scripture, the author of Hebrews does not represent the same degree of consistent and complex allegorization found in Philo. He does not try to develop, nor does he presuppose, the same elaborate theology or anthropology as does the Jewish philosopher and exegete. What most distinguishes him from Philo is the seriousness with which he treats eschatology, a subject which Philo generally avoids.

**2. Hebrews and Qumran.** The eschatological dimensions of Hebrews have often been taken as evidence of a relationship between the author and Jewish apocalyptists, especially the Essenes of Qumran. Other elements in his discourse point in this direction, including the eschatological presuppositions of some of his exegesis of the OT (1:2) and his priestly Messianism, which has some remote parallels in the doctrine of the two Messiahs at Qumran (1QS 9:11; 1QSa 2:12–15). Yet here again the parallels are often superficial. Hebrews' hermeneutics cannot simply be reduced to a Christianized version of the Qumran pesher, nor is the text's Christology merely a unified and baptized version of the expectation of the two Messiahs. Its roots are more complex and its elaboration more subtle. While Hebrews does maintain a lively eschatological expectation, it differs from that of Jewish apocalypticism in general and Qumran literature in particular in several important respects. Like most early Christians, the author understands the decisive eschatological event to have occurred already in the death and exaltation of Christ. As a result of that event salvation is understood not only as a future reality with cosmic or political dimensions, but as a process under way in the present as Christians, through faith, hope, and charity (10:22–24), follow the "new and living way" to God's presence opened by Christ (10:19–21). The primary implications of this eschatology are a life of prayer, service, and suffering in an alien world (13:13–16), rather than anxious withdrawal in expectation of final vindication.

**3. Hebrews and Gnosticism.** There are obvious dualisms in the work, an eschatological dualism of the two ages (2:5; 6:5) and the more metaphysical dualism of flesh and spirit (7:16; 9:9–10) which is connected with the dualism of earth and heaven (8:5; 9:11; 11:13–16). Such sharp contrasts have been taken as evidence of the author's gnostic background. To do so is to construe Gnosticism in far too broad

a sense. In such passages the author displays his acceptance of various common elements of 1st-century Jewish and Christian cosmology. He is not, however, radically anti-cosmic in his perspectives as is classical Gnosticism. Neither does his Christology, even at its most mythic (2:10–16), have gnostic roots. What affinities there are between Hebrews and Gnosticism result from their common heritage in the Hellenistic Judaism of the 1st century.

Attempts to anchor the author of Hebrews in one or another strand of 1st-century religious history are generally unsatisfactory because they fail to recognize that the work is fundamentally the product of a Jewish-Christian rhetor, an individual who draws freely on a broad spectrum of legends, theological and philosophical patterns, scriptural interpretations, liturgical formulas, and oratorical commonplaces. He reshapes many of these and combines them in an imaginative way, not in order to effect a new systematic synthesis on any doctrinal issue, nor to reproduce in Christian terms the conceptual scheme of another religious tradition, but to affect the heart and will of his addressees.

**4. Hebrews and the New Testament.** This homilist displays affinities with many of his Christian contemporaries, but as he is not simply a representative of some general religious tradition, neither is he easily classified within the spectrum of the 1st-century Church. We have noted a possible indication of relationship with the Pauline circle, but the author is hardly a member of a Pauline "school" as were the authors of Ephesians, Colossians, or the Pastoral Epistles. Unlike those texts, there is no appeal in Hebrews, either explicitly or through the device of pseudepigraphy, to the authority of the Apostle to the gentiles. Nor is there any intellectual indebtedness. The priestly Christology of Hebrews is quite different from anything in Paul. Like Paul, our author criticizes the Law (7:16–19), but on quite different grounds. For Paul the Law is either temporally limited (Gal 3:15–29) or an instrument of sin (Rom 6:20). For Hebrews the Law, conceived primarily in cultic terms, is simply ineffective. Like Paul, our author requires faith in order to attain salvation, but faith is not, as in Paul, the acceptance of God's gracious gift of righteousness (Rom 3:21–31) attained through the "faith of Jesus Christ" (Gal 2:16), but the hopeful fidelity which enables those who "participate in a heavenly calling" (3:1) to endure as Christ did (12:1–3). While faith in Hebrews has a Christological content expressed in the maintenance of the "confession," it is, more clearly than in Paul, an imitation of the faith imputed to Christ himself. If the author of Hebrews is indeed in the Pauline circle, he is a very independent member of that circle.

There are parallels between Hebrews and certain deutero-Pauline texts. The author of Colossians addressed a community in which some ill-defined objectionable belief or practice involving angels was at work (Col 2:18). Many scholars have found a similar problem behind the argument about Christ's superiority to angels in chap. 1 of Hebrews. Yet nothing in the hortatory portions of Hebrews suggests a problem of this sort in the community addressed. The argument of the first chapter is best understood as an expansion of the common imagery of Christ's exaltation, designed to highlight his heavenly status.

With Johannine Christianity Hebrews shares only the most general features. Attempts have been made to find the sources of Hebrews' Christology in the Fourth Gospel's overall conception of Christ as the mysterious revealer is far removed from Hebrews' high priest.

Many of the closest links to any other NT document are found in 1 Peter, another message of "exhortation" (5:12). Its Christology also combines traditions of the exaltation based on Psalm 110 (3:22) with an understanding of Christ's death as an atoning sacrifice (1:2, 19; 2:12–15) which cleanses conscience (3:16) and provides access to God (3:18). Hebrews (13:20) and 1 Peter (2:25; 5:5) also share the image of Christ as shepherd. The soteriological framework is also similar. Salvation for 1 Peter is the eschatological (4:7) attainment of a promised heavenly inheritance (1:4–5) which involves the glorification (1:11; 4:13; 5:4) of Christians. That glorification is to be attained through faithful endurance (1:6–9; 2:20), sharing the sufferings of Christ (4:13) and bearing the reproach of being Christian (4:14; Heb 11:26). The life of faith is also seen to involve many of the same particular virtues represented in Hebrews, including hospitality (4:9; Heb 13:2) and submission to authority (5:5; Heb 13:7, 17). Further parallels could be cited, but these suffice to show the extensive common tradition shared by both texts. While Hebrews is distinctive within the NT, it is clearly rooted in Christian traditions and in particular the traditions at home in the Roman community.

### J. Canonization

Hebrews was accepted as Pauline in the Greek east, particularly among the Alexandrians (Pantaenus, Clement of Alexandria, and Eusebius) from the 2d century on. In the west, doubts about Pauline authorship, expressed by Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Irenaeus, contributed to a general neglect of the text in the first three centuries, and it is not mentioned in the Canon Muratori. By the end of the 4th century, however, the Pauline authorship and authoritative, canonical status of Hebrews became generally recognized in both east (Athanasius) and west (Lucifer of Cagliari, Prisicllian, and Ambrose). Jerome and Augustine both recognized that there had been doubts about the status and authorship of the text in the west; but primarily on the authority of the eastern tradition, they acknowledged Pauline authorship and accepted Hebrews as authoritative. That status remained unchallenged until the Reformation, when doubts were again expressed about Pauline authorship by Erasmus, Luther, and Calvin, but by that time the canonical status of the work was secure.

### K. Conclusion

Despite its many enigmas and idiosyncrasies and a conceptuality and style of argument which is quite foreign to modern sensibilities, Hebrews is an elegant, sophisticated, and indeed powerful presentation of the Christian message. It is perhaps the most self-consciously rhetorical discourse of the NT and its unknown author one of the most imaginative figures of the early Church.

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HAROLD W. ATTRIDGE

**HEBREWS, GOSPEL OF THE.** The title ascribed in antiquity to at least one and probably two Jewish-Christian narrative gospels that are extant in fragmentary form in a few quotations preserved in early church writings. Because of the scantiness of the citations and the uncertainty of their patristic source attributions, assessing these fragments is one of the most vexing problems in the study of early

Christian literature. Determining the precise number of these gospels, identifying which fragments may plausibly belong to which text(s), appraising the nature and extent of those texts, and establishing the relationship of one gospel to another are extremely problematic tasks that continue to challenge scholars.

Jerome has preserved the most numerous references to and apparent quotations of *Gos. Heb.* In a series of writings that date from 386–415 C.E., he repeatedly maintained the view that there was only one Jewish-Christian gospel in existence, assigning all quotations known to him to this one document. When referring to this document Jerome regularly used variants of the title *Gos. Heb.*, which he regarded as the original "Hebrew" or Aramaic Gospel of Matthew. However, critical scholarship has determined that Jerome almost certainly never saw an actual copy of this document but most likely knew of its existence from citations he had taken from other early Christian writers. Moreover, it is quite certain that Jerome never translated such a gospel into Greek and Latin, as he avers, for he misquotes certain texts that he allegedly had translated and assigns to this gospel several pericopes whose wording and construction are manifestly impossible in a Semitic language. Thus, in spite of himself, Jerome attests to the existence both of a Greek *Gos. Heb.* and another Jewish-Christian gospel, one which appears to be closely related to or identical with an expanded version of Matthew's Gospel that was translated from Greek into Aramaic or Syriac. This expanded version of Matthew is customarily referred to today as the *Gospel of the Nazoreans*, a document whose original title is unknown but which seems to have been used since the 2d century C.E. by the Nazoreans, a group of Jewish Christians in W Syria. Although it is extremely difficult to identify with confidence which patristic quotations may belong to which gospel, it is not possible to assign all of the extant quotations to only one text. In fact there can be no doubt that another, completely different Jewish-Christian gospel was in circulation in the early Church, for Epiphanius (late in the 4th century) has preserved a few quotations of the so-called *Gospel of the Ebionites*, a harmony, composed in Greek, of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke (and, probably, the Gospel of Mark as well). Therefore, the testimony of Jerome notwithstanding, there were at least two and most likely three Jewish-Christian narrative gospels in antiquity, one of which was composed in Greek and entitled *Gos. Heb.*

Although the existence of *Gos. Heb.* is not in question, identifying its fragments and appraising its character remains difficult. In quoting the sources of this gospel, early Church writers repeatedly cited those texts incorrectly, attributed quotations to the wrong gospels, and interpreted what they did record in a biased manner. Jerome, for example, only exacerbates the confusion when he introduces a quotation that he alone has preserved as follows: "In the Gospel which the Nazoreans and Ebionites use, which we have recently translated from Hebrew into Greek, and which is called by most people the original (Gospel) of Matthew …" (*Comm. in Matt. 2*). Mistakes such as this have led to countless difficulties in our attempts to isolate and verify the gospel(s) in which these fragments belong. Nevertheless, if one distinguishes the fragments on the basis of their original language of composition, their form and content, their relationship to the gospels of the NT, and the groups said to have used a particular gospel, one can reconstruct a number of sayings and stories which may plausibly be ascribed to *Gos. Heb.* The discussion that follows is based on such a reconstruction, though it must remain tentative pending the discovery of new manuscripts.

*Gos. Heb.* is a syncretistic, Jewish-Christian document, composed in Greek, which presents traditions of Jesus' preexistence and coming into the world, his baptism and temptation, some of his sayings, and a resurrection appearance to his brother, James the Just. This is the Jewish-Christian gospel most frequently mentioned by name in the early Church; it is also the only one whose original title has been transmitted from antiquity. The title seems to indicate the identity of the group who used this gospel, and suggests that this was the gospel of predominantly Greek-speaking Jewish Christians. *Gos. Heb.* appears to have no connection with the so-called *Gospel of the Nazoreans* or *Gospel of the Ebionites*, for it displays no kinship with the Gospel of Matthew. It is instructive to note that the earliest and most important witnesses to the text of *Gos. Heb.* come from quotations in the writings of persons who lived in Alexandria, Egypt.

Although Eusebius (early in the 4th century) reports that Papias of Hierapolis (ca. 100–150 C.E.) expounded a story contained in *Gos. Heb.* (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.17), the absence of any citations of *Gos. Heb.* in the extant writings of Papias does not permit this reference to be used as a witness to the existence of

the text. The first certain attestation of *Gos. Heb.* by name is documented in the late 2d century by Hegesippus (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.22.8), whose extracts from the text are no longer preserved. Eusebius lists this gospel among the "spurious" writings rejected by some members of the Church (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.25.5), though he does not quote from the text. If the reference to a *Gos. Heb.* in the recently discovered *Commentary on the Psalms* by Didymus the Blind (in the mid to late 4th century) can be properly assigned to our text and not to some other Jewish-Christian gospel, then Didymus provides additional testimony of an acquaintance with this gospel in Alexandrian circles. Fragmentary quotations are preserved in the writings of Clement of Alexandria (late in the 2d century), Origen (early in the 3d century), and, apparently, Cyril of Jerusalem (in the mid 3d century). Jerome (ca. 400 C.E.) also preserves several fragments, most if not all of which he probably reproduced from the writings of Origen. The extent of *Gos. Heb.* is no longer known. According to the list of "canonical" and "apocryphal" books drawn up by Nicephorus (Patriarch of Constantinople, 806–818 C.E.), *Gos. Heb.* contained 2200 lines, only 300 fewer than Matthew.

The report of a resurrection appearance of Jesus to his brother, James the Just (Jerome *De vir. inl.* 2), indicates the position of authority assigned to James in *Gos. Heb.* James was regarded as a leading figure of the Jewish-Christian church in Jerusalem (Gal 1:19; 2:9, 12; Acts 12:17; 15:13; 21:18), one of those named in Paul's list of persons accredited for having seen a vision of the risen Jesus (1 Cor 15:7). According to the account in *Gos. Heb.*, James was the first witness of the resurrection and thus its principal guarantor. He is so distinguished that he is said even to have taken part in the Last Supper of Jesus. The esteem in which James is held in this gospel may be used to locate the authority and secure the identity of the tradition of those communities which appealed to him as their leader.

The accounts of Jesus' preexistence and coming (Cyr. H. *Discourse on Mary Theotokos* 12a), baptism (Jerome *Comm. in Isa. 4*), and temptation (Origen *Jo.* 2.12.87) are abbreviated mythological narratives. They presuppose a myth of the descent of divine Wisdom, embodying herself definitively in a representative of the human race for the revelation and redemption of humankind (Sir 24:7; Wis 7:27). If it is proper to correlate those narratives with the most prominent saying in *Gos. Heb.* (Clem. *str.* 2.9.45.5; 5.14.96.3), then this gospel announces that Wisdom's "rest" can be found in Jesus and attained by those who seek her (Sir 6:28; 51:27; Wis 8:16). The fact that a variant of this saying is also preserved in the *Gospel of Thomas* (saying 2) indicates that it was a tradition at home in Egypt as well as in Syria. The other two sayings ascribed to *Gos. Heb.* (Jerome *Comm. in Eph. 3*; *Comm. in Ezek. 6*) permit the suggestion that a majority of the sayings in this gospel had the same parenetic character as those in the synoptic gospels.

The extant fragments of *Gos. Heb.* display no dependence on the NT or other early Christian literature. Unfortunately there is no way to determine the (in)dependent status of those portions of the text that are no longer preserved. The earliest possible date of the composition of *Gos. Heb.* would be in the middle of the 1st century, when sayings of and stories about Jesus began to be produced and collected in written form. The latest possible date would be the middle of the 2d century, shortly before the first recorded reference to this gospel by Hegesippus and attested quotations of it by Clement and Origen. Based on the parallels in the morphology of the tradition, an earlier date of composition seems more likely than a later one. Identifying the provenance of *Gos. Heb.* is difficult, though external attestations make Egypt an attractive option. For further discussion see *ANRW* 2/25/5: 3997–4033.

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RON CAMERON

**HEBRON** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥebrôn* (חֶבְרוֹן)]. HEBRONITE. Of the seventy-two references to "Hebron" in the OT (there are none in the NT) and one in the Apocrypha (1 Macc 5:65), nine refer to a person rather than a place. The related patronymic "Hebronite(s)" [Heb *ḥebrônî*] appears six times.

**1.** The third son of Kohath and grandson of Levi (Exod 6:18; Num 3:19; 1 Chr 5:28,6:3—Eng6:2,18; 1 Chr 23:12. Hebron was the brother of Amram, Izhar, and Uzziel, and the uncle of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. Hebron's son Eliel, with eighty of his brethren, is numbered among the levitical families summoned by David to arrange for the transfer of the ark to Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:9). Four Hebronite family heads, of which Jeriah was chief, appear in the series of chapters in Chronicles (1 Chronicles 23–27) which ascribe to David's ingenuity the levitical patterns in place in the postexilic period (1 Chr 23:19; 24:23; 26:31). There it is reported how the Hebronites Hashabiah and his brethren were given the oversight of Israel west of the Jordan "for all the work of the Lord and for the service of the king" (1 Chr 26:30). In David's last year as king a search was presumably conducted to find more Hebronites, and a sizable number were found in the levitical city of Jazer in Gilead (Josh 21:39; 1 Chr 6:66—Eng6:81; 26:31; 29:27). David is said to have appointed Jerijah (variant of Jeriah above) and his number to have supervision over the tribes settled in Transjordan "for everything pertaining to God and for the affairs of the king" (1 Chr 26:32). Especially noteworthy here is the Chronicler's witness to a broader definition of and function of Kohathite Levites than the usual more sacral activities performed within the temple complex.

**2.** A Judahite, the son of Mareshah and grandson of Caleb (1 Chr 2:42 RSV). This manner of entry presupposes the adoption by the RSV of the textual emendation "Mareshah" [Heb *mārēšâ*] supplied from the second half of the verse, with the LXX *[marisa],* in place of the name "Mesha" *[mêšā‘]* in the MT, which reads literally: "And the sons of Caleb, the brother of Jerahmeel, were Mesha his firstborn—he was the father of Ziph—and the sons of Mareshah, the father of Hebron." The phrase "the father of" may actually refer to the founding of the cities Ziph and Hebron, as the NEB so interprets it (cf. also the use of the same phrase with respect to Ashhur, Shobal, Salma, and Hareph in the same context in 1 Chr 2:24; 2:50–52). There was indeed a nearby city by the name of Ziph (Josh 15:55), and the link between Caleb and the city of Hebron is well attested (Josh 14:13; 15:13; Judg 1:20). However, the "Hebron" in the very next verse (1 Chr 2:43) who is ascribed four sons (Korah, Tappuah, Rekem, and Shema) appears to be a person. Still another reconstruction of the text of 1 Chr 2:42 has been to make Caleb the father of "Mesha his firstborn son who was the father of Ziph whose son was Mareshah the father of Hebron" (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 11). By this more conjectural reconstruction, Hebron, while still the son of Mareshah, becomes the grandson of Ziph and the great-great-grandson of Caleb.
ROGER W. UITTI

**HEBRON** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥebrôn* (חֶבְרוֹן)]. An important city located on the crest (ca. 3350 ft. elev.) of the Judean mountain ridge ca. 19 mi. SSE of Jerusalem and ca. 23 mi. NE of Beer-sheba.

The ancient site (M.R. 159103) is strategically located on Jebel er-Rumeidah near where two routes coming from the Shephelah in the W, one via Lachish up the Adoraim ridge, and another following the Nahal Guvrin and ascending a ridge, intersect with the main N-S ridge route connecting Jerusalem and points N with Beer-sheba in the S. Another route leaves Hebron to the SE passing Carmel and Maon and then descending to Arad, the administrative center in the W Negeb.

The Canaanite city, which was built seven years prior to the establishment of Zoan (Gk. Tanis) in Egypt (Num 13:22), is also called Kiriath-arba (Gen 23:2, etc.) possibly after a notable ancestor of the Anakim (Josh 14:15; 15:13). Another suggested etymology assumes four villages connected with the city, hence, "City-of-Four" (Heb ʾ*arba*, "four") (see Josh 15:54; 2 Sam 2:3). Kiriath-Arba was both the earlier as well as a later name for Hebron (see Neh 11:25).

Abraham lived in the vicinity for some time and eventually purchased a cave at Machpelah in the valley below in order to bury Sarah (Genesis 23). Later Abraham himself was buried there in the cave (Gen 25:9–10), as was Isaac (Gen 35:27–29).

Hebron was one of the cities which the twelve Israelites spies reconnoitered in Num 13:22. The biblical narrative indicates that the area just to the N of Hebron, the valley of Eshcol, was extraordinarily lush and fertile. Later, Hebron, under the leadership of king Hoham, joined a coalition of Amorite cities from the Shephelah and hill country headed by Adonizedek, king of Jerusalem. This coalition was formed against the Gibeonites, who had entered into an alliance with Israel after the fall of Ai (Josh 9–10). Under siege, the people of Gibeon invoked their treaty with Joshua and in response Israel marched all night, 3360 ft., up from Gilgal (Khirbet el-Mafjar?), surprising this Amorite coalition and routing them down the other side of the mountain by way of Beth Horon to the valley of Aijalon and beyond. In the aftermath of the battle of Aijalon, Hebron was conquered by Joshua (10:36–37). Joshua then deeded the city to his fellow veteran spy, Caleb (Josh 14:13). However, the city was later assigned to the Kohathites, who were Aaronic priests, as a levitical city (21:11–13) and designated a city of refuge (20:7; 21:13).

During Saul's reign, the people of Hebron were sympathetic toward David, who had cultivated a relationship with them (1 Sam 30:26–31). After Saul's death, the Lord instructed David to establish his rule in Hebron (2 Sam 2:1ff) where David reigned as king of Judah for seven and a half years (2:11; 5:5). By the end of that period David had proven his ability to consolidate the twelve tribes behind him. As a result the people of the northern tribes came to David at Hebron along with their tribal elders, and David was anointed king over all twelve of the tribes (5:1–4; 1 Chr 11:1–3). After this, David moved his capital to a more "neutral" site on the border of Benjamin: Jerusalem, a city which he had captured from the Jebusites and therefore called "the city of David" (5:7–12; 1 Chr 11:4–9).

Some years later, David's rebellious son Absalom established his base at Hebron and from there attempted a coup d'état and claimed the throne (2 Samuel 15).

The strategic location of Hebron is indicated yet again in 2 Chr 11:5–12, which reports that Rehoboam, concerned with protecting the southern flank, fortified a number of cities to the S and W of Jerusalem, including the administrative center, Hebron.

After the fall of Jerusalem to Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C., the Edomites (or Idumeans) extended their control almost to Beth-Zur, some 5 miles N of Hebron (1 Macc 24:33). After the return from Exile in Babylon, Jews moved back into many of the towns of Judah, then a Persian province, as well as Hebron and other towns in Idumea (Neh 11:25). By the end of the second century B.C. the Hasmoneans had conquered Idumea, including Hebron (1 Macc 5:65), and Judaized it (Josephus, *Ant* 13.257–58) and named Antipater, who would be Herod the Great's grandfather, as governor.

On recommendation from Mark Antony, the Roman senate named the Idumean, Herod, "king of the Jews." Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.) built the beautiful enclosure which surrounds the cave of Machpelah to this day. This enclosure, or "haram," as it is called in Arabic, is of special interest because its architectural features, such as its large ashlar masonry (the largest stone is more than 24 ft long) and its pilasters, as well as its architectural proportions are almost identical to Herod's "haram" at the Temple Mount in Jerusalem (Vincent and Mackay 1923). The church structure on the "haram" over the caves was built during the Byzantine period.

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**HECATAEUS, PSEUDO-.** The designation used to refer to one or more Jewish authors who are thought to have written pseudepigraphs attributed to the pagan author Hecataeus of Abdera.

Hecataeus of Abdera was a Hellenistic ethnographic historian who flourished around the time of Ptolemy I Soter (ca. 300 B.C.E.). He is credited with having written the grammatical work *On the Poetry of Homer and Hesiod,* as well as two ethnographic works, *On the Hyperboreans,* and *On the Egyptians.* Substantial portions of this last work are preserved in Diodorus Siculus' *World History* (Book 1). In other sections preserved by Diodorus (Book 40), Hecataeus treats various aspects of Jewish history and culture, including the emigration from Egypt and certain features of the Mosaic law. The treatment is remarkably accurate and generally positive in its assessment. It is also notable for containing the first documented reference to Moses in pagan literature.

It is widely believed that this material treating the Jews is from the hand of the pagan author Hecataeus. The major point of dispute has been whether it should be attributed to an earlier pagan author, the geographer Hecataeus of Miletus (ca. 500 B.C.E.), a position favored by Photius (9th century). This view, however, has not won acceptance, and consequently this material is reliably attributed to Hecataeus of Abdera.

In addition to these passages, however, there are other passages treating Jewish topics that are also attributed to Hecataeus but whose authenticity is disputed. Essentially, two such works are mentioned in ancient sources: *On the Jews* and *On Abraham (and the Egyptians).* Whether these were formal titles of the works or merely phrases describing their contents is not clear; probably the former.

A work devoted exclusively to the Jews, perhaps entitled *On the Jews,* attributed to Hecataeus of Abdera is first mentioned by Josephus (*AgAp* 1.22 §§183; 1.23 §214; cf. §205; later repeated in Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* 9.4.1) and later attested (perhaps independently) by Origen (*Cel.* 1.15). Clement possibly alludes to the work when he mentions "Hecataeus who composed histories …" (*Strom.* 5.14.113.1).

The content of this work is generally thought to be reflected in two passages from Josephus: *AgAp* 1.22 §§184–204 (portions of which are repeated in Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* 9.4.2–9) and *AgAp* 2.4 §§42–43 (extended by some scholars through §47).

In the first passage Josephus summarizes portions of the work and provides excerpts. He tells us that Hecataeus flourished in the time of Alexander the Great and Ptolemy I Soter and wrote a book devoted entirely to the Jews. Among the items selected from Hecataeus' account by Josephus are the following: the emigration of the Jews to Egypt after the battle of Gaza in 312 B.C.E.; an account of an elderly (high) priest Ezechias, otherwise unattested, who promotes emigration to Egypt as a good policy; the Jews' tenacious fidelity to their laws in the face of resistance and persecution, illustrated by specific examples from the time of Alexander; the populousness and population shifts resulting from the Jews' deportation to Babylon and subsequent migrations to Egypt and Phoenicia; a geographical description of Judea, Jerusalem, and the temple; the Jews' participation in the military campaigns of Alexander and his successors; and the account of Mosollamus, a shrewd Jewish archer, who bests a pagan diviner.

In the second passage (which Josephus attributes to Hecataeus without identifying the title of the work), Hecataeus is said to have reported that Alexander the Great gave the Jews the district of Samaria free of tribute in appreciation of their faithful service to him. This occurrence is not mentioned elsewhere.

Josephus also attributes to Hecataeus what appears to have been a separate work devoted to Abraham (*Ant* 1.2 §159; this passage is also repeated in Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* 9.16.3). Clement seems to refer (independently) to the same work, although he provides a longer title: *According to Abraham and the Egyptians* (*Strom.* 5.14.113.1; also repeated in Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* 13.13.40).

While Josephus only refers to the work, Clement provides an excerpt: a poetic passage attributed to Sophocles in which he confesses faith in the one true Creator God and concedes the error of idol worship and pagan sacrifice.

Besides the aforementioned references to actual works written by Hecataeus, there are other references that mention the figure Hecataeus, and his treatment of Jewish topics, yet without reference to a particular work, most notably *Let. Aris.* 31 (also quoted in Josephus *Ant* 12.4 §38 and Eusebius *Praep. Evang.*

8.3.3). Although ambiguous, this passage suggests that Hecataeus recognized the sacred character of the biblical writings and perhaps used this to account for the failure of other Greek authors to refer to them.

Assessments of the Pseudo-Hecataeus corpus (i.e., these several references to Hecataeus of Abdera, works attributed to him, and the summaries and excerpts from these works) have been numerous and widely divergent.

One point in which there is widespread agreement, however, is the pseudonymity of *On Abraham.* There is substantial agreement among scholars that such a work attributed to Hecataeus did exist in antiquity, but that it was written by a Jewish author. The author is variously designated as Pseudo-Hecataeus (*FrGrHist;* Collins 1983: 42–43, 137–41), Pseudo-Hecataeus II (Walter JSHRZ 1/2: 144–60), and Pseudo-Hecataeus III (Wacholder 1974: 263–73). Though only brief fragments survive, it certainly contained a pseudonymous poetic text attributed to Sophocles, and perhaps similar texts attributed to other Greek poets. Given the prominence of Hecataeus of Abdera, and the undisputed fact that he dealt with Jewish topics, the motivation for a Jewish author to write under his name is clear. Because of the brevity of the fragments, it is very difficult to suggest a date and provenance for this work. It is only known for certain that it predates Josephus, though it may have originated as early as the 1st century B.C.E.

If scholars are generally agreed about the pseudonymity of *On Abraham,* there is widespread disagreement about the authenticity of the statements summarized or quoted from *On the Jews.*

On the one hand, there is a well-established tradition of interpretation that finds it impossible to attribute these statements to the pagan author Hecataeus of Abdera. Even in antiquity, questions about the authenticity of the Hecataeus fragments were raised. According to Origen (*Cel.* 1.15), Herennius Philo found it difficult to believe that a pagan author could speak so positively about the Jews. Similar doubts continued into the modern period and led scholars to argue that *On the Jews* is a pseudonymous work written by Jewish author best designated Pseudo-Hecataeus. Among the reasons for seeing the work as pseudonymous are alleged anachronisms, including references to Jewish martyrdom, to the high priest Ezechias, to the practice of paying tithes to priests, and to Alexander's transfer of the district of Samaria to Jews. In various ways these have been seen to reflect a setting in the mid-2d century B.C.E. or later. Many modern scholars favor this view.

On the other hand, however, those defending the authenticity of the fragments insist that the evidence is ambiguous. Those who see no difficulty in attributing these passages to the pagan Hecataeus insist that there is no reason, in principle, that Jewish martyrdom could not have occurred during the late 4th and early 3d century, even if not with the frequency that it did during the Maccabean period. Moreover, certain numismatic evidence has been cited that points to the existence of a Jewish high priest named Hezekiah at a much earlier period. It is also argued that the precise details about the administration of the tithing system are not altogether clear. Certain other references that seem unlikely for a pagan author to make, e.g., the passage praising Jews for destroying pagan temples, are explained as later redactions by a Jewish author. Scholars who defend the passages as authentically Hecataean include Lewy, Tcherikover, Gager, Stern, Doran, and Collins.

Those who dispute the authenticity of the fragments and attribute *On the Jews* to a Jewish author have made several proposals concerning its authorship. One position sees a distinction in content, tone, and seriousness between *On the Jews* and *On Abraham.* The former work belongs to the genre of encomiastic ethnography and was probably written by a Palestinian Jewish priest who emigrated to Egypt in the aftermath of Antiochus IV Epiphanes' arrival in Palestine in 170–168 B.C.E. The references to Ezechias are regarded as thinly veiled references to Onias IV, who established the temple at Leontopolis. This is the work alluded to in *Let. Aris.* 31 and should be dated prior to the mid-2d century B.C.E.

This position is further refined by Walter, who attributes the work to a Jewish author whom he designates Pseudo-Hecataeus I. Walter sees no connection, however, between this work and the reference in *Let. Aris.* 31. Instead, he regards the latter as likely based on Hecataeus' *On the Egyptians.* Because of the probable anachronistic references in the surviving excerpts of *On the Jews,* Walter dates Pseudo-

Hecataeus I towards the end of the 2d century B.C.E. The attention given to the Ptolemies leads him to propose an Alexandrian provenance for the work.

A further refinement is proposed by Wacholder (1974), who thinks the references in Josephus ordinarily attributed to a single work point to two separate works: an earlier work *On the Jews* written toward the end of the 4th century B.C.E. by Pseudo-Hecataeus I, a Jewish priest from Jerusalem, and a second work by a Jewish author whom he designates Pseudo-Hecataeus II, written sometime after *Let. Aris.* yet prior to Josephus (see further *HJP²* 3/1: 671–77).

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**HEGAI** (PERSON) [Heb *hēgay* (הֵגַי); *hēgeʾ* (הֵגֶא)]. A eunuch in charge of one of the harems of king Ahasuerus (Esth 2:3, 8, 15). His specific office, "the keeper of the women" (Heb *šômēr hannāšîm*), entailed the supervision of a harem of virgin girls within the royal palace, in order to prepare them for eventual marriage to Ahasuerus as concubines. Their preparation consisted of a proper diet and continual bathings in aromatic substances (Esth 2:9–14). These bathings are said to have gone on for a full year (Esth 2:9–12), but this detail may be a satirical exaggeration on the part of the author. When Esther and the other virgins who were selected as possible replacements for the deposed queen Vashti were sent to Susa, they were placed in Hegay's care (Esth 2:8). Esther immediately became his favorite, and she received special treatment as well as advice on how to please the king (Esth 2:9, 15). The Heb *hēgay/hēgeʾ* appears to be a rendering of a Persian proper name derived from either the Sanskrit root, *āga,* meaning "eunuch," or Bactrian, *hugāo,* "one possessing beautiful cows," or perhaps Avestan, *haēk,* "the sprinkler" (Gehman 1924: 326 and Paton *Esther* ICC, 69). This name has been falsely equated by some to the contemporary name of *hēgias,* cited in Herodotus (9.33) and Ctesias (*Persians* 24) (Gehman 1924: 326 and Paton, 69). Herodotus was referring to a Greek who was an enemy of Persia at the battle of Platea while Ctesias wrote of an Ephesian military officer of Ahasuerus. In both cases this name appears to be Greek and not Persian, and in any case the two sources mentioned are not making reference to the same *hēgay* of the book of Esther.

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**HEGEMONIDES** (PERSON) [Gk *Hēgemonidēs* (Ἡγεμονιδης)]. In 2 Macc 13:24 Hegemonides is left as governor over the area of Judea and its environs by Antiochus V Eupator (164–162 B.C.E.) as he rushes off to Ptolemais on the way to quell the revolt of Philip in Antioch. The absence of other uses of this term has caused many scholars to question whether it was the name of an actual person or even a proper noun (PW 14: 2598; Abel 1949: 456). It now seems quite probable that inscriptions from Dyme in Achaia on a monument to Antiochus IV, Queen Laodice, and the son Antiochus erected by *Hagēmonidas,* son of Zephorus, are a reference to the same person (Habicht 1958). The rare name on these inscriptions, dated between 170 and 164 B.C.E., suggests he was in a military position, perhaps a commander of Greek mercenaries, in Achaia prior to his appointment as governor in 162 B.C.E.

The area over which he was appointed as governor continues to be a matter of debate. While Ptolemais is readily identifiable as the biblical Acco, the land of the Gerrhenes *(tōn gerrēnōn)* is not as simple. While most commentators, following Grimm (1853: 191), propose Gerar in the Sinai SE of Gaza as the

site, Abel points to Gerrha near Pelusium (1949: 456), and Goldstein suggests an area called Gerrha in the valley of Lebanon, later called Chalkis (*II Maccabees* AB, 468–69).

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**HEGESIPPUS** (PERSON) [Gk *hēgēsippos* (ἡγησιππος)]. A 2d-century Christian writer (b. before A.D. 130; d. between 180 and 192). Author of a work in five books (surviving only in fragments) entitled *Hypomnēmata ekklēsiastikōn praxeōn,* "Memoirs of the Acts of the Church," completed when Eleutherus was bishop of Rome (between 175 and 189). He set down oral traditions about the early 1st century Jerusalem Christian community and the earliest gnostic heretics, along with observations about other ecclesiastical matters down to his own time. He referred to Hadrian's favorite Antinous (d. 130) as someone who had lived during his own lifetime (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.8.2). The *Chronicon Pascale* says Hegesippus died during the reign of Commodus, that is, between 180 and 192 (Telfer 1960). At some time between ca. 154, when Anicetus became bishop of Rome, and the death of Eleutherus in 189, he traveled by sea to Rome—via Corinth, indicating that his home must have been in the E end of the Mediterranean world—and his *Memoirs* were completed at some time after this trip.

The actual passage in Hegesippus describing the visit (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.22.3) is ambiguous as to the time and length of the stay in Rome. The 4th century church historian Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 4.11.7) interpreted it to mean that he came during the reign of Anicetus (ca. 154–166) and remained until that of Eleutherus (175–189), making a quite extended residency in the capital, but the odd construction of the passage could well mean instead that Hegesippus simply visited Rome briefly when Anicetus was bishop, took notes on the succession up to that point, then added the names of Soter and Eleutherus years later, after he had returned home and was preparing his final draft. Yet another interpretation of the peculiar syntax could be that Hegesippus had come and gone during the bishopric of Eleutherus, who had supplied information orally about his predecessors Anicetus and Soter, but that he wished his readers to know that obtaining an accurate list of the names of the earlier bishops had required independent research. The unanswerable question is whether Hegesippus's stay in Rome occurred during the time of Justin Martyr (fl. ca. 155–165), or Irenaeus (fl. ca. 177–190), or both.

The complete work survived in several Greek monasteries as late as the 16th–17th centuries, but only fragments exist today, nearly all preserved in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Church History* (see especially the quotations and paraphrases in Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.4–18, parts of 3.5.2–3, 3.11.1–12.1, 3.16.1, 3.20.1–6, 3.32.1–8, 4.8.2, and 4.22. 1–9).

Although some have attempted to call Hegesippus, rather than Eusebius of Caesarea, the Father of Church History, his work does not seem likely to have been a true continuous historical narrative. The account of the death of James the brother of the Lord, for example, was in the fifth and last book, far too late for a genuinely chronological presentation. Since *ekklēsiastikos* at that time frequently meant "orthodox" as opposed to heretical, the title of Hegesippus's work could equally well be translated as "Memoranda" or "Notes" (Turner 1918; Telfer 1960) "on an Orthodox Acts," with the target of attack being the various apocryphal acts of the apostles which began appearing in the 2d century (cf. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.22.9). Eusebius regarded it basically as a work defending "the orthodox kerygma" against heretical interpretations (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.7.15–8.2), both those of the apocryphal acts and those of the early gnostic theologians, from Simon to Marcion and Valentinus (*Hist. Eccl.* 4.22.5). A fragment of the *Memoirs* found in Photius seems clearly antignostic (Telfer 1960).

Hegesippus had access to certain traditions deriving from the early Jerusalem church. He described the death of James the brother of the Lord (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.4–18) and said that the Jerusalem community decided that the next leader of their church also had to be a blood relative of Jesus—Simon, the son of Joseph's brother Clopas, eventually being chosen (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.11–12, 4.22.4). Two grandsons of

Jesus' brother Judas also played important roles (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.20.1–6, 3.32.5–6). This suggests something like a Muslim caliphate in its conception (Stauffer 1952 gives Jewish and Roman antecedents for the dynastic approach), but Hegesippus in addition seems to have stressed that these leaders were not only related to Jesus but also, by that fact, were of the line of David (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.12, 3.20.1–2, 3.32.3–4). These early "bishops" of Jerusalem seem therefore to have been regarded as the Davidic dynasty of the end time. The oral traditions which Hegesippus recorded described the central kerygma preached by these kinsmen of the Lord: Jesus was the Messiah and the Son of Man, who would return to establish his earthly kingdom at the apocalyptic end of this world (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.10, 2.23.13, 3.20.4).

Hegesippus was the first Christian historiographer to introduce the (usually pernicious) notion of the fall of the church from its apostolic purity at a particular point in its history. In his case, he chose the death of the last blood relatives of Jesus during the reign of Trajan. Until then, he said, "they called the church virgin, for it had not been corrupted" (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.22.4, 3.32.7). Later theologians and church historians have dated the ravishing of the "pure and uncorrupted virgin" to the rise of *Frühkatholizismus,* the triumph of Constantine, or (in Pope Leo XIII's *Aeterni Patris*) to the Protestant Reformation.

Eusebius believed that Hegesippus was a convert from Judaism, because of his knowledge of Hebrew and Syriac and of the unwritten Jewish tradition, and because of his use of the Gospel according to the Hebrews (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.22.8). He might instead have been brought up in a kind of traditional E Mediterranean Christianity of still slightly Jewish slant, though certainly not the sort represented by the Judaizers whom Paul combatted, for he acknowledged the teachings of the church of Corinth and of Rome as identical to his own in all true essentials (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.22.1–3) and Eusebius regarded him as totally orthodox (*Hist. Eccl.* 4.7.15–8.2). He also used the LXX rather than the Hebrew text for the prophecy of James's martyrdom (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.15; Telfer 1960). Hegesippus did however describe the Sadducees, Pharisees, Samaritans, Essenes, and so on as those "among the children of Israel" who opposed "the tribe of Judah and the Messiah" (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.22.7), indicating that his version of Christianity preserved a strong sense of Jewish identity—members quite specifically of the tribe of Judah, who had been led originally by a Davidic episcopacy.

The passage preserved in Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.22.3 has drawn much discussion. Hegesippus said that while in Rome, "*diadochēn epoiēsamēn* [literally, 'I made a succession'] until Anicetus, whose deacon was Eleutherus; Soter *diadechetai* ['succeeded'] Anicetus, and after him came Eleutherus." The older scholarship interpreted this to mean simply that Hegesippus researched and drew up a list of all the bishops of Rome, from Peter to Eleutherus. The more modern scholarship points out that "succession" in that context referred to continuity of teaching and identity of doctrines (Turner 1918). That Hegesippus put this in the form of a list of "bishops" in chronological order seems likely, however, given his treatment of the early Jerusalem church, so the older scholarship had a point, but it would be anachronistic to regard this as having been intended by him as a sacramental guarantee of an "apostolic succession" of ordination to the priesthood and the episcopacy. When pagan philosophers represented continuity of teaching by listing the noted leaders of a philosophical school in a chronological "succession" list, the issue was not sacramental efficacy but an attempt to show that the same philosophical positions had continued to be held through the entire history of that school.

The fragments of Hegesippus are important, in spite of the fact that he wrote fairly late in the second century, because he seems to represent contact with an oral or written tradition and a conservative Christian community that preserved many archaic features going back to the first century.

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**HEGESIPPUS, PSEUDO-.** The name given the anonymous author of a Latin account of the Jewish revolt against Rome in 66–73. Ambrose is most commonly assumed to be the author, but the arguments are not convincing. The title and author's name are missing from the earliest extant mss. (6th century), but internal evidence suggests a date of composition of ca. 370 C.E. and the probability that the author was a bilingual Antiochene, perhaps Evagrius, the translator of Athanasius' *Vita Antonii* and close friend of Jerome. His history, which seems to have been originally titled *De excidio Hierosolymitano,* relies heavily on Josephus without being a mere translation. The author also draws information from Livy, Suetonius, Tacitus, and other appropriate Greek and Roman sources to produce what E. M. Sanford called "substantially an independent book." In five books instead of Josephus' seven, it was often cited as a co-equal authority with Josephus in the Middle Ages, which read Josephus in Rufinus' translation. It contains apocryphal material about Peter, including some Simon Magus narratives and an early version of the "Quo vadis?" story (*De excid.* 3.2). The text of this story differs so dramatically from Ambrose's account (*Ser. contra Auxent.* 13) that the two could not have been written by the same author. This apocryphal material led to the association of this work with the Hegesippus (mentioned by Eusebius) who wrote a history of the Church in the mid-2d century.

The author's main purpose is to show that God had withdrawn his favor from the Jews and that the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. was irreversible, the *supremum excidium* (this perhaps prompted by Julian the Apostate's abortive effort to rebuild the temple in 363). In his prologue, which is original and bears no resemblance to that of Josephus, he announces his intention to make "clear to the whole world—and this is an indication of the depravity of the race—that they brought their misfortunes on themselves." This theme reflects the 4th century church's claim to be the new Israel, heir to the OT promises. It is echoed in Ambrose, Jerome, John Chrysostom, and other Christian authors of the period.

Pseudo-Hegesippus supports his reinterpretation of history with biblical proof-texts. In 400 pages of printed text there are over 270 biblical quotations or allusions, some in the most unlikely or inappropriate places. In a speech put in the mouth of Titus as he besieged Jerusalem, there are allusions to Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac and Jephthah's sacrifice of his daughter (*De excid.* 4.41,2). In his speech urging the Jews not to begin the rebellion, Herod Agrippa reminds them to "let what is owed to Caesar be paid to Caesar" (2.9,1). Josephus, in his role as a character in the story, also quotes the NT when he urges his comrades not to commit suicide (3.17).

At other points the author makes additions to the biblical accounts. He refers (5.32) to Naboth as a prophet, a view shared by Jerome (*Comment. in Matt.* 21.35) and Ambrose (*Expos. in Lucam* 9.25). He also heightens the shame of Herodias' marriage to Herod Antipas by noting that she was carrying the child of her first husband Philip, Herod's brother, at the time (2.5,3). No other patristic source makes that claim.

These citations provide some insight into the thinking of the 4th century church and also a long-neglected textual witness. Comparison with the pre-Vulgate texts reveals that pseudo-Hegesippus' biblical quotations follow no single version. Since, as his use of Josephus demonstrates, he was capable of translating Greek, it seems most likely that he was working from a Greek text and not an early Latin version. His biblical citations could thus be considered a version in themselves, one dating from about the time Jerome was beginning the Vulgate. From Jerome's own writings (*Ep.* 5.3; *De vir. illus.* 125; *Vita Malchi* prol.) it is clear that he was in frequent and close contact with Evagrius at this time, even staying in his home for a while. Further study of pseudo-Hegesippus is needed to identify him; if he should prove to be Evagrius, comparison of his biblical citations with the Vulgate text could also prove illuminating.

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**HEGLAM** (PERSON) [Heb *heglām* (הֶגְלָם)]. A proper name equated with Gera in the RSV (1 Chr 8:7). Of the modern biblical translations only the RSV recognizes this verbal form as a proper name. Beck (*IDB* 2: 577–78) seemingly incorrectly identifies *heglām* as an "… alternative for the hypocoristic name Gera." The *Hip‹il* perfect form plus pronominal suffix can mean "caused them to be removed" or "carried them away into exile." The verbal form is used with *hu (w)›* in the MT following a listing of three sons of Ehud in 1 Chr 8:7, Naaman, Ahijah, and Gera. These three sons are described as heads of families of the ones residing in Geba (8:6). They are given credit in this obscure reference, with Gera receiving chief emphasis, of deporting a group of Benjaminites from Geba to Manahath (8:6–7). Geba was one of the levitical cities of Benjamin as mentioned in Josh 21:17; 1 Chr 6:60; and Josh 18:24. It was located between Ai and Jerusalem some 6 miles NNE of the city of David close to Judah's N boundary. The city was an important site in the conflicts with the Philistines. The traditional site of Manahath is considered to be Malah, some 3 miles SW of Jerusalem (1 Chr 2:52–54).

The text is obviously difficult at this point. Scholars are divided as to whom, what, and where is actually being referred in vv 6–7 of 1 Chronicles 8. Slotki (1952: 47–48) suggests that perhaps Ehud is the subject of the verb *heglām* with the three sons as the objects. Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 60) speaks of the verses as defying explanation, but calls them a possible "garbled" version of the tradition reflected in Judges 20. Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 79) considers that it is a reference to a movement of a portion of the Benjamin tribe to a site in Edom (1 Chr 1:40) in the postexilic period. Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 83) points out that even though the sections of the Benjaminite genealogy move toward the postexilic time frame, not all material present must hail from this later period. Bartel (1969: 24–27) sees the narrative as being compressed and referring to the Benjaminites forcing indigenous inhabitants of Geba to relocate to Manahath in Judah (cf. 1 Chr. 2:52–54). Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 127) suggests that a better translation of the verbal form *heglām* is "to emigrate." He states that this removes the difficulty of the exiler not being properly identified. He further suggests that the problem of period and circumstance remain at best obscure. However, he does suggest a possibility associated with Ehud, son of Gera, in Judg 3:12–4:11 in which action is taken against the Moabites. Braun feels that an event in the period of the Judges is the likely reference. This seems to be a situation in which one is forced to choose between a variety of speculative offerings. Given the current available options it may seem best to consider an emigration of some 9 miles from Geba to Malah associated with some military campaign at a time before the exile and likely as early as the period of the Judges.

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G. EDWIN HARMON

**ḤEGRA** (26°47'N; 38°14'E). An ancient Nabatean settlement of the Roman era located in the Ḥijāz of Saudi Arabia. It is mentioned only rarely by classical authors, who locate it in the territory of the Nabatean king Obodas III on the Red Sea coast (Strabo 16.4.24 [782]); associate it with the Laeanitae, i.e., the Liḥyanites of Dedan (Pliny, *HN* 6.156), and in Arabia Felix (Ptolemy, *Geog.* 6.7.29). The site is identified with the ruins just S of the village of Madā›in Ṣāliḥ about 15 km N of al-‹Ula (Dedan) and 110 km SW of Tayma›. It is generally assumed that a nearby port of similar name to the inland ruins once

existed on the Red Sea coast, but it has never been located. During the late 19th century, the ruins were visited by C. M. Doughty, J. Euting, and C. Huber.

Recent surveys of the site have provided additional evidence of the history of the area (Winnett and Reed, *ARNA*, 42–53; Parr, Harding, and Dayton 1972), but the definitive study of the monuments and inscriptions of the settlement remains that of Jaussen and Savignac (1909; 1914). The only possible mention of the site in the Bible is Paul's reference to Hagar as representing "Mount Sinai in Arabia" (Gal 4:25); this has been interpreted as a cryptic allusion to the Nabatean settlement of Ḥegra (Gese 1967), but the proposal is not convincing (see Davies 1972).

The settlement remains unexcavated, and its ruins are disappointing, with only a few traces of the city walls and towers barely visible. Far more impressive is the spectacular necropolis surrounding the settlement, which rivals even that of Petra. It consists of some 79 tombs cut into the adjacent mountains, 31 of which have inscriptions dating from A.D. 1 to A.D. 75. They reveal the names and professions of their owners, most of whom represent a civic and military elite. Attempts to arrange the various types of tombs in a chronological scheme from the simple to the complex are defied by the information contained in the dedication inscriptions about their construction. The names of the artisans and stonecutters are mentioned in 16 of the inscriptions; most of them are members of a single family, that of ʿAbdʿObodat, which also possibly operated at Petra and Wadi Ramm (Schmidt-Colinet 1983). This artisan family's repertoire included different types of styled facades to satisfy the demands of the individuals who commissioned them; the elaborate and ornated types are reflections of social status and are contemporary with the simpler types. The architectural style of the facades has been associated with that of Ptolemaic Alexandria (Schmidt-Colinet 1980; McKenzie and Phippen 1987).

The first appearance of the village in ancient sources is in connection with the Arabian expedition of Aelius Gallus' Roman expedition in 26/25 B.C. The Roman enterprise was supported by 1000 Nabatean troops and 500 Jews. A Nabatean official named Syllaeus, the ambitious chancellor *(epitropos)* of the Nabatean king Obodas II (30–9 B.C.), served as guide for the forces that accompanied the Roman commander. After the disastrous campaign, the forces stopped at the port of Egra, located within the territory of Obodas' kingdom (Strabo 16.4.22–24). Later, at the death of the Nabatean king in 9 B.C., Syllaeus seized control of Nabatea with the approval of the Roman emperor Augustus. The challenge of his rule by Herod the Great's envoy, Nicolaus of Damascus, and the opposing Nabatean claimant, Aretas (IV), saw his prompt removal. It recently has been conjectured that Syllaeus was from the Ḥijāz and even owned property at Ḥegra. The single uncompleted facade of Qasr al-Bint at Ḥegra also has been associated with him, its unfinished state being explained by his execution in Rome in 6 B.C. (Schmidt-Colinet 1987: 147). If correct, this would make it earlier than any of the tombs dated by inscriptions, but the hypothesis is dependent on a chain of assumptions lacking any explicit evidence.

There is a unique Nabatean coin inscribed with the name *ḥgrʾ* evidently referring to the city. It has the head of a long-haired Aretas IV on the obverse, and a bell-like object with a handle on the reverse, just above the inscription. The coin has been interpreted as a commemoration issue for the founding of the city (Meshorer 1975: 53–54, no. 87). It is possible that Aretas IV developed the site in conjunction with the harbor village of the same name. Earlier evidence for the settlement is minimal (Parr, Harding, and Dayton 1972: 23). The cosmopolitan atmosphere of the settlement is reflected in inscriptions from the site by inhabitants from Aela (Aqaba), perhaps Edom (JS no. 138), Petra (no. 152), Moab (386), and S Syria (no. 226). One of the tombs (A8) is also for a Jew (no. 4 = CIS II, 219), and a sundial found at the settlement also dating from the 1st century A.D. is inscribed *mnsʾ br nṯn,* "Mannaseh son of Nathan" (Healey 1989). The Diwan sanctuary or cultic center in the Siq of Jabal Ithlib at Ḥegra contains graffiti petitioning the Nabatean gods of Dushara and Allāt, and also the Edomite Qos, and the Syrian deity Shaiʾ al-Qaum; there is also a reference to "Aʿara, god of Rabbel, who is in Boṣra," the city in the Ḥaurān that later became the capital of the Arabian province. Since the settlement is located on the incense route, Ḥegra was originally interpreted as a commercial entrepôt, but recently emphasis has been placed on its strategic importance as a military frontier settlement on the S borders of Nabatea (Negev 1976; Bowsher 1986).

During the accession year of the Nabatean king Rabbel II (A.D. 71–106), a rebellion against the royal house of Petra was led by Damasī, one of the scions of a prominent family at Ḥegra. The tribes of the Ḥaurān known from Safaitic inscriptions and probably former subjects of the Nabatean realm also supported the rebel cause (Winnett 1973). Both his father, Rabib›el, and uncle, Ġanimū, the sons of a Damasippos, served as governors of Ḥegra and are known from inscriptions near Jauf (Dumat al-Jandal) in the Wadi Ṣirḥan (J. Milik and Starcky in Winnett and Reed *ARNA,* 142), explaining perhaps the N support for the rebel Damasī. The revolt appears to have been precipitated when Malikū, the younger brother of Damasī, was appointed governor of Ḥegra (JS no. 34) instead of him. The phrase "he who brought life and deliverance to his people" in the royal titulary of Rabbel II perhaps refers to the quelling of the rebellion by the young monarch.

After A.D. 75, Ḥegra falls into obscurity. Its fate after the Roman annexation of Nabatea in A.D. 106 is equally difficult to determine. The hypothesis of R. Dussaud that Ḥegra was the center of a truncated Nabatean kingdom under the rule of a putative dynast named Malichus III, the son of Rabbel II, must now be rejected on the basis of new documentary evidence (Graf 1988: 176–77). The family of Damasippos continued to dwell at the Ḥegra until at least the 2d century A.D. Rabbinic sources appear to refer to the site in conjunction with Petra.

In the 2d and early 3d century, Roman auxilia—the *ala Gaetulorum* and an *ala dromedariorum*—and even a detachment of the Arabian legion of the *III Cyrenaica* served in the region. It is generally assumed that the settlement was abandoned during Diocletian's reorganization of the E frontier, but it is possible that it was never formally annexed after the Roman acquisition of Nabatea (Graf 1988). The silence about the Ḥijāz in official Roman documents such as the Peutinger Table and *Notitia Dignitatum* is noteworthy. The last datable Nabatean inscription indicates that Ḥegra was ruled by a man named ‹Adnon, whose brother ruled Tayma›, descendants perhaps of a Jewish family (Stiehl 1970). Islamic sources provides the reason for the change in the name of the site to "Ṣāliḥ's villages." The Quran indicates that it was the Thamud who carved their houses out of the rock at the site. Other Arab sources characterized them as an idolatrous and rebellious people who rejected the prophet Ṣāliḥ, even slaying the camel he had conjured from the adjacent rocks to convince them of his divine mission. God then is said to have sent an earthquake to destroy the town and its inhabitants (Vidal 1971: 366). The ruins have never been excavated, but the Saudi Arabian Department of Antiquities has conducted several recent surveys of the environs and sponsored a preservation project for the ruins.

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**HEIFER.** A young cow, primarily one which has not given birth to a calf. This term is the usual translation of Hebrew *ʿeglâ* and occasionally of *pārâ.* A more precise translation of *ʿeglâ* would be "young cow," since an *ʿeglâ* may be a three year old animal (Gen 15:9) and may even be producing milk (so apparently in Isa 7:21–22; see Z. Zevit 1976: 384). Also, though contexts of certain passages suggest that *pārâ* may be translated "heifer," it should be kept in mind that this term indicates generally an adult female bovine (see R. Peter 1975).

The term *ʿeglâ* is found is several contexts in the OT.

(1) Young cows appear in agricultural contexts in capacities of plowing, threshing, and producing milk. Most of the instances in this category are metaphorical. Samson's party guests found out his riddle by "plowing with [his] young cow" (Jud 14:18). Babylon "gamboled like a young cow treading grain" when it spoiled Jerusalem (Jer 50:11). Ephraim was a trained young cow that "loved to thresh" (Hos 10:11). According to Isa 7:21–22, a young cow and two flock animals are to provide an abundance of milk.

(2) Young cows appear in various ritual contexts. Samuel was to take a young cow for a sacrifice at which David would be anointed king (1 Sam 16:2).

This type of animal is used in more unique ritual situations. Abraham divides a three year old young cow, along with other animals, in a covenant ceremony (Gen 15:9). A torch, probably representing God, passes between the pieces of the animals to establish the covenant with the patriarch.

In Deut 21:1–9 a unworked young cow is brought to a perennially flowing wadi where it is killed in a rite to remove pollution caused by a murder in which the culprit is not known. The killing of the cow has been interpreted as a sacrifice to the victim's ghost or underworld powers, the symbolic execution of the murderer, the representation of the penalty of the elders will suffer if their testimony that they had no part in the murder is false (cf. vv. 3–4, 6–8), the means of preventing the animal beset with guilt and pollution from returning to the community, or a reenactment of the murder which transfers blood pollution to an uninhabited area. The latter interpretation is preferable (see Wright 1987: 387–403; also Zevit 1976).

Also in a ritual context the term in the plural is used of bovine idols at Bethel (Hos 10:5).

(3) In miscellaneous contexts, "young cow" is found as a metaphor for Egypt (Jer 46:20). It is found as a constituent in the geographical name Eglath-shelishiyah (Isa 15:5; Jer 48:34; see EGLATH-SHELISHIYAH). Eglah was also the name of one of David's wives (2 Sam 3:5; 1 Chr 3:3).

The term *pārâ* has been construed occasionally as "heifer": (1) Many translate *pārâ ădummâ* in Num 9:2 (cf. vv. 5, 6, 9, 10) as "red heifer" rather than "red cow" because the context requiring an unworked animal suggests that the animal was young. Cf. the AV, RSV, JB and Greek.

(2) *Pārâ* in Hos 4:16, which compares Israel to a rebellious cow, has also been taken as "heifer" or "young cow" (see the translations mentioned above). This translation may be ultimately due to the influence of Hos 10:11 where Ephraim is metaphorically called a "young cow" *(ʿeglâ).*

(3) The LXX translates *pārôt* in Amos 4:1 as *damaleis* "young cows" or "heifers."

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**HEIFER, RED.** The animal slaughtered and burned to make ashes for purifying persons and objects from pollution by human corpses (Num 19). Though the context requiring an unworked animal for the rite implies that the animal is young (a "heifer"; cf. LXX *damalis*), the Heb. term *pārâ ădummâ* (v 2) literally means "Red Cow" (see HEIFER).

The rite of the Red Cow, found among the Priestly regulations of the Pentateuch, is unique in the OT. The legislation in Num 19:2–10, presented in terms of a revelation to Moses and Aaron, prescribes that the Israelites provide a perfect, unblemished red cow which has not been agriculturally worked. The cow is given to Eleazar, a priest, and Aaron's son who is next in line to become high priest, who takes it outside the camp. An anonymous slaughterer kills the animal under Eleazar's supervision. Eleazar then

takes some of the blood and sprinkles it seven times in the direction of the front of the tent of meeting. An anonymous person, probably the same person who did the slaughtering, then burns the entire cow under Eleazar's supervision. When this is being done the priest throws cedar wood, hyssop, and scarlet thread into the fire. Finally, a pure person (this is someone other than the priest and the slaughterer/burner, since these are now impure; see below) then gathers the resulting ashes and stores them in a pure place outside the camp.

A main problem surrounding this rite is whether it is to be considered a sacrifice or an act of ritual slaughtering distinct from sacrifice. Certain features indicate that it is sacrificial. First, it is in fact called a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* (vv 9, 17), that is, a purgation sacrifice (otherwise known as a "sin offering"). Also, the sacrificial nature of the rite is underscored by the supervision and involvement of the priest Eleazar. His sprinkling of blood seven times toward the tent, which appears to be the means of initiating the ritual and consecrating the animal and its blood, particularly emphasizes the sacrificial nature of the ritual. Furthermore, the requirement of a female animal fits well with the requirement elsewhere that a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* of a lay individual be a female (Lev 4:28, 32; 5:6; Num 6:14; 15:27; the Red Cow, though provided by the community, is for lay individuals).

But though this evidence indicates that the rite is theoretically a sacrifice, other details show that it is very exceptional as such. Instead of being slaughtered at the altar at the sanctuary, the cow is killed outside the camp, apparently without an altar, in direct contradiction to general Priestly law (cf. Lev 17). The qualifications that the cow be perfect and unblemished are found in sacrificial rules (cf. Lev 22:17–25), but the additional qualification that it should not have had a yoke placed on it is not. This is found in cases which are not properly sacrifices (Deut 21:3; 1 Sam 6:7; Deut 15:19 has a similar requirement perhaps limited to firstborn sacrificial animals). That the cow is totally burnt is reminiscent of the total burning of a burnt offering (Lev 1:6–9, 12–13) or of the incineration of *ḥaṭṭāʾt* carcasses, whose blood is used in the Tent (Exod 29:14; Lev 4:11; 8:17; 9:11; 16:27, note the similarity of the list of parts here to that in Num 19:5; see also Lev 6:23; 10:18). But on second inspection it is really quite different. The burning of the holocaust is the means of making the offering, and the burning of *ḥaṭṭāʾt* carcasses is for the purpose of disposing of a impure sanctum. In Numbers the burning of the cow serves to provide ashes which will then later be used; it is not a means of offering or disposal. Finally the use of cedar, hyssop, and scarlet material is not found in sacrifice. The only other place where these three elements appear together is in the nonsacrificial rite for purification from scale disease (*ṣāraʿat;* see LEPROSY) in Lev 14:5–7, 51–52. There they are used as an instrument for applying purifying liquid, not burned, as in Numbers 19. These items certainly had symbolic meaning, but that meaning is unrecoverable (see Wefing 1981: 350 and Milgrom [1981] for explanation of these irregularities).

The goal of this unusual sacrificial procedure is to provide ashes for purifying persons and things from corpse contamination. Corpse contamination is one of the major impurities in the Priestly system of impurities. Persons or objects so polluted are impure for seven days and can pollute other persons and objects of a profane or common (i.e., nonholy) nature. See UNCLEAN AND CLEAN (OT). To purify from corpse contamination, the ashes obtained from the Red Cow rite are mixed with spring water (*mayim ḥayyîm;* Num 19:17). This water-ash mixture is called in vv 9, 13, 20, 21 *mê (han)niddâ* "water for purgation." See WATER FOR IMPURITY. A pure person dips hyssop in the water and sprinkles it on the corpse-contaminated persons or objects (v 18) once on third day of the period of impurity and again on the seventh day (v 19). In addition to sprinkling with the water for purgation, persons need to bathe and launder (in regular water) on the seventh day, and wait for evening, when they become pure (v 19). Noteworthy is the fact that Numbers 19 prescribes no seventh day ablutions for corpse contaminated objects that correspond to the laundering and bathing of people. Priestly legislation regularly has parallel purification procedures for persons and objects. This gap in the prescriptions was sensed by later editors who consequently supplemented the law with Num 31:19–24 to provide the missing ablutions. According to this passage, objects that can endure fire (such as those of metal) are to be passed through fire. Other objects that cannot endure fire (organic items) are simply immersed in water (see Wright 1985).

One of the most striking things about the rite of the Red Cow and the ashes is that while they lead to the purification of those polluted by a corpse, they pollute pure people who participate in the preparing of the ashes or who touch the ashes or the water for purgation. The priest who supervises the burning of the cow is impure for one day and needs to launder and bathe (v 7). The one who burns the cow and the one who gathers its ashes are similarly impure (vv 8, 10). One who sprinkles the water for purgation or one who otherwise touches it becomes impure for one day (v 21). This paradox is explained by character of the Red Cow rite as a *ḥaṭṭā᾽t* (see above). The purpose of other *ḥaṭṭā᾽t* sacrifices is to purify; their blood is applied to various sancta in order to remove impurity from those sancta. The *ḥaṭṭā᾽t* carcass and blood as a result become impure, even to the extent that they can pollute other persons and things (cf. Lev 6:20–21; 16:28). This explains the impurity of the Red Cow and its ashes. As a *ḥaṭṭā᾽t* sacrifice it is impure and can pollute others (here it does so prospectively, before actual use in purification), but as an agent of purification it can purify those who are corpse contaminated (see Milgrom 1981).

Recent discussion has focused on the nature of the rite before its incorporation in the Priestly legislation in its final form. S. Wefing (1981) has argued mainly through a literary critical approach that originally the rite was a non-Israelite burnt offering. This was eventually incorporated into Israelite liturgy, not as a legitimate sacrifice, but as a sort of ordeal inveighing against pagan sacrifice. The *mê (han)niddâ*, which were added at this stage, were perhaps like the drinks for ordeal in Num 5:17–24 and Exod 32:20. Finally, late in the exilic period, the rite received its present form. The *mê (han)niddâ* lost their significance of ordeal and came to mean simply "water against impurity" or "water for purification." J. Milgrom argues from a more traditio-historical point of view that an earlier, non-Israelite, purgation rite for corpse defilement was taken over into the Priestly corpus and assimilated, as much as it could be, to its sacrificial system, particularly to that of the *ḥaṭṭā᾽t* sacrifice. In this assimilation of the Red Cow rite to the *ḥaṭṭā᾽t* scheme there was also a move made to reduce somewhat the strength of corpse contamination: according to Numbers 19 the impure person needs no first-day ablutions (contrast the scale diseased person's rite in Lev 14:8); the corpse-defiled person does not need to leave the camp (cf. a different law in Num 5:2–3); and no sacrifice is required (contrast Num 6:9–12; Ezek 44:25–27).

Later Jewish tradition devoted two tractates of the Mishnah to the issues of this ritual (*Para*, Oholot). The Temple Scroll developed the laws of corpse contamination in cols 49:5–50:19. For discussion of the Red Cow in postbiblical traditions, see Bowman 1958.

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**HEILSGESCHICTE.** See THEOLOGY (BIBLICAL), HISTORY OF.

**HEIR.** See FAMILY.

**HELAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥel᾽â* (חֶלְאָה)]. One of two wives of Ashhur, listed in the family line of Judah (1 Chr 4:5, 7). Ashhur is identified as the ancestor of the people of Tekoa (v 5). Helah bore him Zereth, Izhar, and Ethnan (v 7). The other wife of Ashhur was Naarah. Her sons are listed in 4:6. In 1 Chr 4:5, Helah is named first, while in 4:6–7, Naarah's sons are recorded before Helah's (a chiastic arrangement).

Both wives' names are omitted in the Syriac of v 5. The name Helah apparently means "necklace." Noth (*IPN* 223; cf. *HALAT* 2: 302) points to *ḥălî* (pl. *ḥălā᾽îm*) and *ḥelyâ*, both of which refer to ornaments. See HAZZELELPONI regarding a proposed reading (in the *BHS* apparatus) of the end of v 3 as a gloss on the sequence of the names in vv 5–7.

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**HELAM** (PLACE) [Heb *hêlām* (הֵילָם)]. A town in Transjordan ca. 40 miles E of the Sea of Galilee.

In 2 Sam 10:1–10 we read that King David sent messengers to Hanun, king of the Ammonites, to comfort Hanun when his father Nahash died. Hanun insulted David's messengers. In preparation for war, Hanun hired Syrian mercenaries from Beth-rehob, Zobah, Maacah, and Tob. The Israelites under Joab defeated them all (vv 6–14). The Syrians regrouped. Hadadezer, king of Zobah (8:3), brought other Syrians from beyond the Euphrates and came to Helam (10:16). David and his troops went to Helam (v 17) and fought the Syrians. The army commander Shobach was struck and died and the Syrians were again defeated. They made peace with Israel and became subject (tribute payers?) to Israel. The same story is told in 1 Chronicles 19, but there is no mention of Helam. McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB, 269) notes Thenius' view of the Heb *hylm* as meaning "their army" (cf. Vulgate), but the LXX, Syr and Targ render it as a proper noun identical with *hl›mh* in v. 17. McCarter understands chapter 10 as a unit, though other commentators separate the Ammonites from the Aramaean wars and the vv 6–14 battle from the Helam battle. These views do not seem to affect the identification of Helam. Helam appears also in the LXX of Ezek 47:16 and 48:1 (Gk *Eliam*), but not in the Hebrew. In Ezekiel, the site is between Damascus and Hamath, not far from Hadadezer's main cities, Tebah and Berothai (2 Sam 8:8), from which David had taken large quantities of bronze as war loot. Hoffmann identified Helam with Haleb, the city of Aleppo (Smith *Samuel* ICC, 316). Ewald connected it with Alamatha on the Euphrates as in Ptolemy's *Geography* 5.15 (Keil and Delitzsch, n.d.: 380). Ottosson (1969: 207) claims the Arameans would not have been threatened unless Helam was in Aramean territory. But McCarter (p. 273) and others consider this too far N. Shobach was invading Israelite territory or planning to, rather than waiting for David to come to Aramean territory.

The town of Alema, modern Alma, NE of Der›a in the plain of Hauran on the S border of Syria in N Transjordan is mentioned in 1 Macc 5:26, 35. Judas Maccabeus burned it after having liberated its Jewish prisoners. McCarter notes that in the Greek, Alema is preceded by *en*, "in," rather than *eis*, "at," which appears with the preceding places. The other places are "in" Helam, i.e., Helam is the name of a district in which the battle took place, rather than the actual siege of a city. The preceding site of Bosor is identified with Busr el-Hariri, 45 mi east of the Sea of Galilee. From an earlier date, the city name appears as *Hl›m* in the Egyptian Execration texts from ca. 1850 B.C., on a figurine now in Brussels (Albright 1941: 33).

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**HELBAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥelbâ* (חֶלְבָּה)]. One of the towns from which the tribe of Asher failed to drive the Canaanite inhabitants (Judg 1:31). Earlier in the same verse the town of Ahlab is mentioned, and many scholars (*GP* 2:67; Boling, *Judges* AB, 455) argue that Helbah is either a dittographic error for or a variant spelling of Ahlab, the *Maḫalliba* of Sennacherib, which they locate at Kh. el-Mahalib (M.R. 172303). See AHLAB (PLACE).

Kallai argues that Helbah is an independent location, which he links with the *mēḥebel* of Josh 19:29 (RSV "Mahalab"), also mentioned in a description of the territory of Asher (*HGB*, 222). He argues that the initial *mem* of *mēḥebel* is really the preposition "from," so that the two names (Helbah and *Hebel) share the same consonants. On balance, it seems more probable that Helbah, Ahlab, and *mēḥebel* are all variants of the same name. See also MAHALAB (PLACE).

MELVIN HUNT

**HELBON** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥelbôn* (חֶלְבּוֹן)]. A place mentioned in Ezekiel's lamentation over Tyre (Ezek 27:18). According to Ezekiel, Damascus traded wine from Helbon (as well as wool, and wine from Uzal) for Tyrian merchandise. There is almost universal agreement that this place is to be identified with

modern Helbûn, located 11 miles N of Damascus (33°38'N; 36°15'E), an area where even today viticulture plays a prominent role in the local economy. Contemporaneous with Ezekiel, a Babylonian text indicates that Nebuchadnezzar had a predeliction for the wine from *mât helbûnim* (*ISBE* 2: 676). Strabo, in discussing the customs of the Persian kings (*Geog.* 15.3.22), notes how they adopted a fondness for "Chalymonian wine from Syria." The Gk *chalumōnion* perhaps reflects the original Semitic *ḥlbwn* (note the *b*/*m* interchange).
GARY A. HERION

**HELDAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥelday* (חֶלְדַּי)]. Var. HELEB; HELED. **1.** One of twelve commanders supervising monthly courses of 24,000 men in the armed service of the king (1 Chr 27:1–15), Heldai was in charge of the course of the twelfth month (v 15). A Netophathite, that is, one from the town of Netophah in the hill country of Judah (1 Chr 2:54; Ezra 2:21–22), he is said to be "of Othniel," probably a reference to a family name, possibly descendants of the deliverer of the Israelites in Judg 3:7–11. This list of commanders and their functions is possibly a construct of its composer, since (a) no such monthly, conscripted, civilian army is mentioned elsewhere during David's reign; (b) the large figure of 288,000 men seems improbable; and (c) one of the commanders, Asahel (v 7), was dead before David had rule over all Israel (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 174–75). However, the author/redactor's thesis, that David made preparations for the proper ongoing cultic and national life of Israel, as illustrated throughout chapters 23–27, draws on the fact that David took a census (cf. vv 23–24; chap 21) which could have been utilized for designing a monthly plan of conscription, a plan which would have been analogous to Solomon's monthly courses for his provision (1 Kgs 4:7–19).

Because the names of the other eleven commanders appear again in the list of David's champions in 1 Chr 11:10–47 (= 2 Sam 23:8–39), it is probable that this Heldai is to be equated with Heled of 1 Chr 11:30 and Heleb of 2 Sam 23:29 and, therefore, was a member of this select class of warriors directly attached to the king for special assignments. ("Heldai" can be explained as an Aramized form of "Heled," while the name "Heleb" is probably a textual variant which arose because of the similarity of "b" *[bet]* with "d" *[dalet]* in the old Hebrew script; Meyers *Haggai and Zechariah* AB, 340).

**2.** A returned Babylonian exile who, according to an oracle to the prophet Zechariah, was to participate with the prophet in the symbolic crowning of the priest Joshua, a representative of a Messianic figure who would build the temple and rule upon the throne (Zech 6:9–15; vv 10 and 14). Due to the difficult language of the text, it is unclear if Heldai, along with Tobijah and Jedaiah, was to be taken along by Zechariah as a witness to this prophetic gesture (Mitchell *Haggai* ICC, 183–85) or if he was one from whom silver and gold were to be received in order to make the crowns which were used (Meyers *Haggai* AB, 337–38). The latter interpretation, which makes sense of the passage's stylistic difficulties rather than emending the text as the former interpretation does, is to be preferred. Reading with the latter interpretation, Heldai still probably functioned as a witness to the prophetic act, since the crown placed in the temple is to serve as a reminder to him and the others (v 14). Verse 14 in the Hebrew text has the name *ḥēlem,* "Helem," rather than Heldai. However, because of the presence again of Tobijah and Jedaiah, it is evident that "Helem" is either another name for Heldai or a spelling that arose due to textual corruption (see the variations for Heldai in 1. above). In the LXX, perhaps because of the symbolic nature of Zechariah's act, these names were read as appellatives.

Heldai is probably a secular name taken from the animal realm, meaning "mole" (*IPN*, 230).
RODNEY K. DUKE

**HELEB** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥēleb* (חֵלֶב)]. See HELDAI (PERSON).

**HELECH** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥêlēk* (חֵילֶךְ)]. Ezekiel 27 records an oracle against the city of Tyre, and in the oracle are references to foreign nationalities in Tyre's army—men from Persia, Lud, and Put, and men of Arvad (the island of Aradus, 125 miles N of Tyre) and Helech. These are usually taken to be foreign

mercenaries, hired by Tyre to defend the city—"mercenaries from every country and allegiance to guard her walls and towers" says Eichrodt (*Ezekiel,* ET, OTL, 1970: 386) with some hyperbole. The RSV translates Helech as a place name, while LXX, Syriac, KJV, and ASV translate "thine army" from Heb *ḥyl,* "strength," "army" with the final letter understood as the feminine form of the pronoun "you" (Keil n.d.: 384; Eichrodt *Ezekiel,* ET, OTL, 1970: 379; Zimmerli 1983: 46). Simons' (*GTTOT,* 455) preference is that Ezekiel did not refer to a geographical or topographical name. Helech, like the Gamad or men of Gamad of v 11b in parallel, is also more like an appellative noun. With support from the LXX and Syriac and only a slight change in text, one can translate "the men of Arvad were your army (*ḥêlēk,* cf. v. 10) on your walls round about and watchmen (*šômrîm* instead of *gammādîm*) on your towers." In contrast to Simons, Cooke (*Ezekiel* ICC, 300) thinks a proper noun is necessary.

If Helech is a place, it is probably the Assyrian *Hilakku,* the original "Cilicia" N of the Taurus mountains in SE Asia Minor, today's Turkey. These Cilicians were noted for their warlike character and would fit as mercenaries of Tyre. Hilakku is found in the records of Shalmaneser III (858–824). The Cilicians were conquered ca. 720 by Sargon II (721–705). The area revolted against Sennacherib in 696 and also against Esarhaddon (680–669), but ca. 668/7 they sent tribute to Assurbanipal (Mellink, *IDB* 2: 578).

The name appears later on coins of Tarsus in the 4th century. Cooke (*Ezekiel* ICC, 300) credits Halevy with the Helek/Hilakku identification, but thinks "the context implies a town nearer to Phoenicia." He notes Cornill's suggestion of Hethlon (Ezek 47:15; 48:1) near Hamath. Simons claimed the identification of *ḥêlēk* as Chalcis is only a guess based on assonance. Chalcis ad Belum (near Qinnesrin, SW of Aleppo) as well as Chalcis ad Libanum in the Syrian Beqaʿ (now ʿAngarr) are suggested sites, but they are too late in origin for this recognition in Ezekiel.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**HELED** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥēled* (חֵלֶד)]. See HELDAI (PERSON).

**HELEK** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥēleq* (חֶלֶק)]. HELEKITES. In Num 26:30 (RSV) Helek translates *ḥēleq,* which there appears as the name of a person, a son of Gilead (son of Machir, son of Manasseh). In Josh 17:2 (RSV), part of a description of the allotment of land to the tribe of Manasseh, Helek translates the phrase *bĕnê ḥēleq* ("children of Helek"), which is described in the text as a "clan" (*mišpāḥâ,* RSV "family"). In Joshua Helek is not identified as a son of Gilead but is a part of the tribe of Manasseh independent of Gilead.

In Num 26:30 Helek is named as part of a listing of the "sons of Joseph according to their families" (Num 26:28–37), and is specifically associated with a clan group of the same name (RSV: "the family of the Helekites" *[mišpaḥat haḥelqî]*). OT genealogies, such as that underlying the census report in Numbers 26, are often descriptions of the relations among social and ethnic groups under the guise of individual kinship relations. Perhaps then none of the references to Helek should be thought of as referring to an individual of that name, but rather to a clan group described as an individual to meet the needs of genealogical form.

This view is supported by the occurrence of the name Helek in five of the SamOstr (Reisner, Fisher, and Lyon 1924: 229–40). In these records Helek is not the name of a person. It is either the name of a clan, or, as Naʿaman (1986: 159) asserts, the name of an administrative district, albeit derived from an earlier clan name.

According to Boling (*Joshua* AB, 406–15), Joshua 17 places Helek among the clans of Manasseh located W of the Jordan. The Samaria Ostraca are widely seen to point to a location west of the Jordan for Helek (e.g., *LBHG,* 315–27). Num 26:30, on the other hand, by associating Helek with Gilead, suggests a location east of the Jordan. That Helek was located west of the Jordan is widely accepted, however. The

genealogy in Numbers is usually explained as a result of literary development of the genealogical texts (Noth *Numbers* OTL, 206–207), or a combination of literary development and changes in the societal relations mirrored in the genealogies (*LBHG*, 222).

Although Helek in the OT probably refers to a group, not an individual, the use of Helek as a personal name in ancient Israel is attested on three bullae (clay document seals) from late 7th or early 6th century B.C.E. Judah (Avigad 1986: 56, 73, 96). As a personal name it is probably a shortened form of the theophoric name Hilkiyahu (HILKIAH).

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RICHARD D. WEIS

**HELEM** (PERSON) [Heb *hēlem* (חֵלֶם)]. **1.** An Asherite, the father of Zophah, Imna, Shelesh, and Amal (1 Chr 7:35). BHS suggests that the MT of 1 Chr 7:35a "and the son of Helem his brother" should be amended to read "and the sons of Hotham his brother." The context (1 Chr 7:32–35) and some textual witnesses (several medieval Heb mss, LXX Lucian recension, Vg) support this significant change, which, incidentally, is adopted totally by the NEB but only partially by the RSV (no name change). With the acceptance of this proposed textual emendation, "Helem" of 1 Chr 7:35 becomes the same person as "Hotham" in 1 Chr 7:32. See HOTHAM. In some early editions of the RSV (1952/53) the name was erroneously printed as "Heler."

**2.** An exile who returned from Babylon (MT Zech 6:14), also called Heldai (RSV, Zech 6:10, 14; see n. i). See HELDAI. He was one of at least three prime donors from whom the prophet Zechariah took silver and gold, either to make a "crown" for Joshua, the postexilic high priest (RSV), or perhaps more originally for Zerubbabel, the governor of Judah and descendant of the house of David (see ZERUBBABEL), whose name was then subsequently expunged in the face of political realities (see also NEB 1 Chr 6:11, n. g). Still, as the present MT reads the noun in the plural, "crowns," perhaps even the idea of two crowns, a silver crown for Joshua and a gold crown for Zerubbabel, should be seriously entertained (Cohen 1957: 292). To be sure, Zech 4:1–6a, and 10b–14, if not also 6:12–13, envision the postexilic community as reconstituted under a dual leadership, an idea still fully present in the later Essene Jewish community uncovered at Khirbet Qumran. In MT Zech 6:10 Heldai, Tobijah, and Jedaiah contribute the metals which were then taken to the house of Josiah, the son of Zephaniah; in MT Zech 6:14, when the same persons are noted again, two of the former names turn out differently, viz., as "Helem and Hen (=Josiah), the son of Zephaniah." Nevertheless, since both these variants, Hen and Helem, are shorter than their counterparts in 6:10, the suggestion has been made to understand the names Helem and Hen as nicknames rather than as inexplicable textual deviations (Petersen *Haggai and Zechariah* OTL, 278). Oddly, in the LXX, though, except for the name Josiah, there is no mention of any proper names in this context whatsoever. The citation of the name Helem and the other names in the text has served to document for posterity the wholesome participation of those newly returned from exile in the important work of postexilic cultic reconstruction and in the recognition of the validity of Zechariah's own ministry and word of promise. In this vein, one recent interpreter of Zech 6:9–15 has gone so far as to view the making and placing of a crown on Joshua's head and then in the temple as one comprehensive prophetic symbolic action: in her view, the three returnees from Babylon were taken as witnesses to the house of Josiah where the precious metals were fashioned into a single "double-ringed" royal tiara, which prior to its being deposited in the rebuilt temple was placed symbolically upon Joshua's head as a temporary "stand-in" for the longed-for Branch from the house of David who would come one day to wear it (Achtemeier *Nahum-Malachi* IBC, 130–32).

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ROGER W. UITTI

**HELENA** (PERSON). Flavia Iulia Helena (*CIL* VI 1134) is said to have been born, probably in the year 248, in a place called Drepanum in Bithynia (Proc. *Aedif.* 5. 2, 1–5), renamed after her death Helenopolis (*Chron. Pasch.* 527). She was of humble origin (Eutropius, *Brev.* 10. 2; Zosimus, *Hist. Nova* 2.8.2) and may have been working as a serving girl at an inn (Ambrosius, *De Obitu Theodosii*, 42) when Constantius Chlorus met her. The difference in their social status was probably the reason that there is no unequivocal evidence of a formal marriage. Of their union was born, in 273, the future emperor Constantine the Great. Their relationship probably came to an end in 289, when, for political reasons, Constantius married Theodora, daughter of the Augustus Maximian. From 289 until Constantine's rise to power in 306 the sources are silent about Helena. From about the year 306 she lived as a *nobilissima femina* (*RIC* VII, 493–94) at or in the neighborhood of Constantine's court. Her first residence was in all likelihood the northern capital of the Empire, Trier. The vast corpus of medieval legends seems to go back to an early tradition attesting the connection between Helena and Trier (Ewig 1956–58; Linder 1975: 84–93). Frescoes found on a ceiling underneath the cathedral of Trier after the Second World War, in a part of the imperial palace known as the *domus Helenae,* allows a similar inference (Weber 1984). One of the paintings is in fact a portrait of Helena herself. Some time after Constantine's victory over Maxentius (312) Helena moved to Rome, where she lived in the *Palatium Sessorianum* in the SE part of the city. This palace, including its neighboring extramural territory, the *fundus Laurentus* (*Lib. Pont.* 1, 183, Deichmann and Tschira 1957: 66–81), was her personal property. Inscriptions (*CIL* VI 1134; *CIL* VI 1135; *CIL* VI 1136) found near the *Palatium* provide evidence for Helena's presence and activities in Rome. One inscription of special interest states that Helena had *thermae* repaired which had been damaged by fire (*CIL* VI 1136).

Following her son, Helena acquired an interest in the Christian faith and was converted by Constantine (Eus. *Vita C.* 3. 47). She was sympathetic to Arianism (Athanasius, *Hist. Ar.* 4. 1–2). Literary sources are not the only proof of her conversion: the transformation of one of the rooms of the *Palatium Sessorianum* into a chapel in the 320s is another strong indication (Krautheimer 1967: 130). This *basilica Heleniana quae dicitur Sessorium* (*Lib. Pont.* 1. 196) later became known as S. Croce in Gerusalemme. When Constantine had become sole ruler after his victory over Licinius in 324, he bestowed on his mother the title *Augusta* (*RIC* VII, 45, 69). By doing this he made her one of the most important and prestigious women of the Empire. After Fausta's murder by her imperial husband (326), Helena became the most influential woman at Constantine's court. In the same year she undertook a journey to the eastern provinces of the Empire. Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, informs us well about her activities in Palestine (*Vita C.* 3. 42–47). Her travels through the Holy Land are represented by Eusebius as a pilgrimage. He is full of praise for her piety and her charity. She gave lavishly to cities, to certain groups of soldiery, and to the naked and the helpless poor: obviously she could spend as much money from the public treasury as she thought fit. She naturally donated large amounts of money to the churches she frequented, even to those in the tiniest places. Prisoners and forced laborers in the mines were freed at her orders, and exiles were recalled. She is most famous for the dedication of two churches in the Holy Land, the Church of Nativity in Bethlehem, built over the very cave where Christ was born, and the Church of Ascension on the Mount of Olives. At the end of the year 327 or early in 328, shortly after her return from the Holy Land, Helena died, at the age of about eighty years, in the presence of her son, probably in Nicomedia (Eus. *Vita C.* 3. 46). Accompanied by a large military escort her corpse was transported to Rome, where she was buried in a porphyry sarcophagus (now in the Vatican Museum) in a mausoleum at the Via Labicana not far from her palace in Rome (Eus. *Vita C.* 3. 47; Deichmann and Tschira 1957).

Whereas the historical evidence for Helena is scanty, the legendary data are abundant. Already at the end of the 4th century and in the first half of the 5th century several versions of a legend had emerged in which the discovery of the true Cross was ascribed to Helena. The legend probably originated in Jerusalem. Since the 340s at least the Cross was venerated there, and parts of it had already been distributed over the world (Frolow 1961: 155–65), but its discovery was not attributed to anybody until in 395 Ambrosius mentioned Helena as the finder of the Cross. Shortly afterward the legend is recorded by several other Latin writers (Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl.* 10.7–8; Paulinus of Nola, *Epist.* 31. 4–6; Sulpicius

Severus, *Chron.* 2. 33–34) and some time later by Greek church-historians (Theodoretus, *Hist. Eccl.* 7.18; Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 1.17; Sozomenus, *Hist. Eccl.* 2.1).

A divine vision urges Helena to go to Jerusalem in search of the Cross. A sign from heaven shows her the place where the Cross is buried. Excavations at Golgotha result in the discovery of three crosses: that of Christ and those of the two criminals. The *titulus*, reading in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew: "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews," which Pontius Pilatus had attached to Jesus' cross (John 19: 19–20) is also found, but it had become detached from the Cross. The three crosses lie in a heap, and it is impossible to identify the true one. Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, inspired by a divine message, helps to reveal which is Christ's Cross. By bringing the crosses into contact with a dead or dying person the true Cross is identified. The touch of two of these crosses has no effect, but on the contact with the third cross the person is healed/resurrected. This is a miracle that could be performed only with the true Cross. Later on Helena also found the nails by which Christ had been fixed to the Cross. She sent them to Constantine to be used in a diadem and a bridle and so fulfilled Zacharias' prophecy (Zacharias 14:20). This is briefly the main version of the legend of Helena, as told by the various Latin and Greek authors.

Another version, transmitted in Syriac, Greek, and Latin, introduces a Jew called Judas who, with some initial reluctance, helps Helena to find the Cross and the nails. Impressed by the power of the Christian God, Judas is converted and adopts the name Cyriacus. Eventually he is to become a bishop of Jerusalem and dies a martyr's death in the reign of Julian the Apostate (Straubinger 1912: 1–81). This version became very popular in the Middle Ages.

A third version of the legend of the discovery of the Cross, the so-called Protonike legend, is of Syrian origin. It was inserted in the Edessan *Doctrina Addai* but continued also to circulate independently or in connection with the Judas-Cyriacus version. It relates events that are supposed to have taken place in the 1st century A.D. In this version the Cross was found by Protonike, wife of the emperor Claudius (Nestle 1889; Lipsius 1880: 67–92). Although Helena does not figure in this version, there are such striking similarities between the two legends that the legend of Protonike should be regarded as a derivative of that of Helena.

The attribution to Helena of the discovery of the Cross has made her one of the most famous women of early Christianity. Her journey to Palestine served as a model for future pilgrims (Hunt 1984: 49) and the legends of her devotion provided an example for many a Byzantine empress. The Church canonized her for her pious deeds. Her commemoration is on August 18.

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JAN W. DRIJVERS

**HELEPH** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥēlep* (חֵלֶף)]. The first place mentioned in the description of the territory of Naphtali (Josh 19:33). Both the LXX rendering of the name (Gk *meeleph*) and the explanation in the Talmud (*j. Meg.* 1:1, 70a) imply that the prefixed *mem* is part of the name. The context, however, shows that this *mem* has its usual meaning (MT *mēḥēlep,* "from Heleph"), and that Heleph is the starting point of Naphtali's S border, which is described E from the Mt. Tabor area to the Jordan (while Aznoth-Tabor is

the starting point of the W border described from Mt. Tabor northward). Saarisalo (1927: 98, 122) has suggested identifying Heleph with Kh. ʿIrbadah (M.R. 189236) 4 km NW of Mt. Tabor. Pottery of the 9th–8th centuries B.C.E. has been found at the site (Gal 1982: 19), situated at the point where the E-W route, "Darb el-Hawarneh" (Oded 1971), meets the main N-S route, often called the "Way of the Sea." Located close to this site is Kh. et-Tuggar, which contains remains of caravanseries from Turkish and earlier periods.

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RAFAEL FRANKEL

**HELEZ** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥeleṣ* (חֶלֶץ)]. **1.** One of David's champions, a select class of warriors directly attached to the king for special assignments, named in the parallel lists of 2 Sam 23:8–39 (v 26) and 1 Chr 11:10–47 (v 27). Although of high repute, he is distinguished from the more elite warriors (vv 8–23 and 11–25, respectively) listed before his grouping. In 2 Sam 23:26 he is called a Paltite, often assumed to refer to Beth-pelet in the Negeb of Judah (*NHT,* 369), whereas in 1 Chr 11:27 he, as well as Ahijah (v 36), is designated a Pelonite, either a gentilic name with an unidentified referent or a textual corruption.

The same Helez appears to be mentioned in a list of commanders found in 1 Chr 27:1–15 (v 10), since this list mentions eleven other mighty men found in 1 Chr 11:10–47. (However, here Helez, "the Pelonite," is also said to be "of the sons of Ephraim," a designation which would conflict with the interpretation that Helez of 2 Sam 23:26 is from Beth-pelet in Judah.) These commanders were each in charge of a monthly course of 24,000 men in the armed service of the king; Helez being in charge of the seventh month. This list of commanders and their functions is possibly a construct of its composer, since (a) no such monthly, conscripted civilian army is mentioned elsewhere during David's reign; (b) the large figure of 288,000 men is improbable; and (c) one of the commanders, Asahel (v 7) was dead before David had rule over all Israel (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 174–75). However, the thesis that David made preparations for the proper ongoing cultic and national life of Israel, as illustrated throughout chap. 23–27, draws on the fact that David took a census (cf. vv 23–24; chap 21) which could have been utilized for designing a monthly plan of conscription, a plan which would have been analogous to Solomon's monthly courses for his provision (1 Kgs 4:7–19).

**2.** The son of Azariah and father of Eleasah, occurring in the diverse genealogical material of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr 2:3–4:23; 2:39) in the introductory lists and genealogies of the books of Chronicles (1 Chronicles 1–9).

Helez is possibly an abbreviated form, missing a theophoric element, for, "Yahweh has drawn out *(Qal)* / delivered *(Piʿel)"* as in the extrabiblical *ḥlṣyhw* (*TPNAH,* 94) or the Phoenician *ḥlṣbʿl,* "Baal has drawn out" (*IPN,* 180).

RODNEY K. DUKE

**HELI** (PERSON) [Gk *Hēli* (Ἡλι)]. The father of Joseph and son of Matthat, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:23). D omits Heli, substituting a genealogy adopted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. Heli (some mss and versions read Gk *ēli,* as well as an *-ei* ending), as the father of Joseph, occurs nowhere else in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, as a relative of Jesus, although the name is found elsewhere in the OT as Gk *ēli* and Heb *ʿly* (1 Sam 1:3 etc.) (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 500). Kuhn (1923: 208–209, 211) argues that two seemingly parallel lists of names—Luke 3:23–36 (Jesus to Mattathias) and 3:29–31 (Joshua/Jesus to Mattatha)—were originally identical, the first perhaps reflecting a Hebrew context and the second, in an Aramaic context, tracing Mary's line of descent (since it does not mention Joseph as Jesus' father). Heli in the first list corresponds to Eliezer in the second list. Kuhn posits that Eliezer perhaps is derived from Heli appearing as Heb *zrʿ ʿly,* meaning "of the seed of Eli," but later

misunderstood and corrupted to Heb *ʾly ʿzr,* with the result that Eli was named as an ancestor of Jesus in both lines. Few scholars have found this suggestion plausible. Strack and Billerbeck (Str-B 2:155; cf. Kuhn 1923: 209–10 n. 1) cite a Miriam the daughter of Eli in *j. Hag.* 2:77d, 50, who could have been identified with Mary, Jesus' mother, making Eli Joseph's father-in-law. But this is rightly rejected (see also Marshall *Luke* NIGTC, 162). More attention has been directed toward harmonizing Matthat as the father of Heli in Luke 3:23–24 with Matthan as the father of Jacob in Matt 1:15. See MATTHAT #2 for discussion. A few late mss include "of Jacob" after Joseph and before "of Heli" in Luke 3:23.

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**HELIODORUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Hēliodōros* (Ἡλιοδωρος)]. According to 2 Maccabees 3, Heliodorus, an official of the Seleucid court, was sent by Seleucus IV Philopater to confiscate funds from the Temple in Jerusalem. Simon, the administrator of the Temple, conspired with the Seleucid governor of Coele Syria and Phoenicia, Apollonius, to convince Seleucus to seek funds deposited in the Temple. While in the Temple treasury, Heliodorus encounters an apparition in the form of a rider wearing golden armor on a horse and two youths who strike Heliodorus repeatedly. Heliodorus is saved by the prayers of the high priest Onias III. Admonished by the reappearance of the two youths to show gratitude for his life, Heliodorus offers sacrifice to God and returns to Seleucus with news of the power of the Jewish God. Appian mentions Heliodorus as an officer of the Syrian court who masterminded the conspiracy to assassinate Seleucus and install himself as king (*Sur* 45). In Appian's history Heliodorus' conspiracy is thwarted by Eumenes and Attalus, who make Antiochus Epiphanes king. With respect to the account of 2 Maccabees 3, Bickerman identified two separate versions which were merged (1939: 21–35). Version A contains the story of the horse and rider (vv 24–25) and version B includes the account of the two youths who flog Heliodorus (vv 26–28). *4 Macc*3:19–4:14 roughly parallels Bickerman's version A although it is not Heliodorus but Apollonius who enters the Temple and is attacked by several figures on horseback. It is noteworthy that the account in 2 Maccabees 3 deems Heliodorus' attempted appropriation of Temple funds reprehensible, but not his presence in the Temple. Zeitlin noted that as *4 Macc.* 3:11 relates that Apollonius collapsed in the Court of the Gentiles (which did not exist), the author of *4 Maccabees* was more sensitive to the issue of the defilement of the Temple, whereas 2 Maccabees focuses on the attempted theft (1954: 122, n. 12 and 126, no. 27). Goldstein suggests that the Temple treasury was located on the Temple mount but was not part of the complex forbidden to gentiles (*II Maccabees* AB, 209). This thesis is supported by Josephus, who indicates that the outer court of the Temple was open to all individuals, including foreigners (*AgAp* 2.103). That Heliodorus offered sacrifice to God was also not unknown. Josephus records that Alexander the Great also made sacrifice (*Ant.* 11.8.5 §336). It is possible that as Heliodorus was contemplating a political coup, he found it politic to curry favor with the Jewish high priest.

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**HELIOPOLIS** (PLACE) [Heb *bêt šemeš* (בֵּית שֶׁמֶשׁ)]. A city of Egypt mentioned by Jeremiah in an oracle of doom directed against the Egyptians (Jer 43:13). The Hebrew here (lit. "house of the sun [which is in the land of Egypt]") clearly echoes the Gk form *Heliopolis,* "city of Helios (the sun)," so called from the worship of solar deities peculiar to the city. In Egyptian the town was called *Iwnw,* "pillar town," a form reflected in Akk *Āna,* Coptic *Ōn,* and Heb *ʾôn/ʾāwen* (Ezek 30:17), which LXX renders *Helioupoleus*). The ancient city is now identified with Tell Hisn in Matariyeh, a N suburb of Cairo. See also SUN, CITY OF THE.

Heliopolis was the metropolis of the 13th nome of Lower Egypt, occupied as early as predynastic times (Debono 1954), with extensive building operations carried out throughout the Old Kingdom. Although never a center of political power, the local high priesthood ("the greatest of seers") became influential early in the Old Kingdom and maintained itself throughout most of Egyptian history (Moursi 1972; Daressy 1916). The principal deity was Re-harakhty (*RÄR*, 269), but Atum figured more prominently in Heliopolitan theology (Myśliwiec 1978). Attached to the figure of Atum were the "Nine" (Ennead), i.e., Atum himself and the eight deities descended from him, the whole providing both the framework of solar creation and the mythological genealogy of the king. By the end of the 4th Dyn. Pharaoh had become "son of Re," and the theology of Heliopolis had involved itself in the legitimation of kingship (Anthes 1954; 1959). In the Pyramid Texts (see *AEL* I: 29–50) of the late 5th through 8th Dynasties (ca. 2450–2180 B.C.) the dominance of the cult of Re was complete (Faulkner 1969), and (at one level) its antipathy to Osiris and his cycle most marked (Griffiths 1980: 99–107). This theological importance of the town and its gods continued through the Middle Kingdom when the solar cult was clearly the informing principle behind the Coffin Texts. Likewise in the fields of art and architecture, style, repertoire, and construction techniques seem to have owed a great deal to Heliopolitan prototypes (Gasse 1981).

During the 2d millennium B.C. royal construction was lavished upon the site. Senwosret I rebuilt the temple of Re-Harakhty and contributed an obelisk and a palace (El-Banna 1981). Whether the Hyksos built the earthen embankment there is a moot point (Kemp, *AESH*, 157) but they certainly continued the worship of Re. Under Thutmose III two obelisks (now in London and New York) were erected, the enclosure wall was restored, and various gates were added (Radwan 1981); Amenophis II and Thutmose IV contributed some decoration, and Amenophis III erected a temple to Horus (Bakry 1967). Akhenaten built a temple called *Wts-itn* ("Elevating the Sun disc") somewhere on the site (Habachi, 1971). The Ramesside kings built extensively at Heliopolis: temples (Sety I, Rameses II, Merenptah, Rameses III, and Rameses IV; see Saleh 1981–83; Bakry 1967), chapels for Mnevis (Rameses II, Rameses VII), royal mortuary installations (Rameses IX), and storehouses (Rameses III). During the 20th Dyn. the city reached its apogee in material wealth, owning 12,963 chattels, 45,544 head of cattle, 64 plantations, over 100,000 acres of farmland, and 103 Egyptian towns.

Geography dictated that Heliopolis' main orientation should be S towards Kher-aha (modern Fustat), whence proceeded the Heliopolis canal which passed W of the town. The topography of the site itself centers upon the main enclosure, 1100 × 475 m. The principal and most ancient temple belonged to the sun-god Re (-Harakhty) and was associated with an artificial mound of sand and a sacred lake. Adjacent thereto stood the "Mansion of the *benben*-stone" (a truncated obelisk sacred to the sun-god; *KG*, 380) focusing upon a monumental staircase and window for viewing the sun. Of equal antiquity, and particularly concerned with the legitimation of kingship (Anthes 1959: 192–93; Griffiths 1980: 178–9), was the "Great Mansion," or the "Mansion of the Prince," associated with the creator Atum (El-Banna 1985: 149–63; Mysliwiec 1978). Here stood the *išd*-tree, on the leaves of which the king's name and annals were inscribed (Redford 1986: 82), while acacia and willow trees were also revered in their own shrines. On the N side of the site stood some sort of installation dedicated to the "Souls of Heliopolis," divine manifestations of the powers of the place, while on the S, west of the canal, was the temple of Saosis and Hathor, mistress of Hetpet. Sacred animals associated with the solar cults and worshipped at Heliopolis included the phoenix, *bnw*, revered in the "Mansion of the Phoenix," and the black bull Mnevis, "Re's replica, who elevates Truth to Atum" (Myśliwiec 1978, I: 33ff, 78–79). The latter possessed a formal burial ground NE of the city.

Throughout the New Kingdom, Heliopolis occupied a prominent place in the theology of kingship. Kings were considered the image of the sun-god on earth. The coronation was supposed to take place at Heliopolis, and the well-known motif of Atum affixing the crown in the presence of the *išd*-tree is of Heliopolitan inspiration (Myśliwiec, 1980). Princes might enjoy appointment as high priest of Re, while kings could assume the appellative "Heliopolitan ruler" in imitation of Atum (Myśliwiec 1978, II: 99).

Heliopolis suffered in the foreign invasions of the 20th Dyn., and before the close of the New Kingdom it had already begun to decline (Osing 1983). At the end of the 20th Dyn. (ca. 1080 B.C.) are reports of

lawless acts perpetrated by the inhabitants (Caminos 1977). Although Osorkon I (ca. 900 B.C.) lavished gifts on its temples, a century later Heliopolis had sunk to a mere dependency of neighboring Athribis as an appendage of the crown prince. With the visit of Piankhy in the late 8th century, the fortunes and reputation of Heliopolis revived, and the Saite period (664–525 B.C.) marked its last brief restoration, a period contemporaneous with the oracles of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. It was then that the priests of Heliopolis gained a reputation for intellectual and "scientific" pursuits (cf. Strabo xvii.1.29). Solon is supposed to have studied under Psenophis of Heliopolis (Plut. *Sol.* 113) and Pythagoras with an Oinouphis from the same town. The tradition to which Strabo and Apion fell heir made Moses a priest of Heliopolis (Redford 1986: 284–88), and the same late prominence of the city may account for its presence in the Pentateuch (Gen 41:45, 50; 46:20; Exod 1:11 [LXX]).

Strabo found Heliopolis mostly deserted in his day (1st cent. B.C.), the temples in ruins and only a few priests performing the cult (xvii.1.27–29). Allusions in Chaeremon and Plutarch, both 1st cent. A.D., undoubtedly derive from earlier sources. In 640 A.D. Heliopolis was the site of one of the decisive battles in the Islamic conquest of Egypt.

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**HELIOS** (DEITY). Although the Gk sun-god *(Helios)* was not one of the great Olympian deities, it rose by way of the history and politics of religion to become, as the focus of a philosophical theology, an imperial god. In this latter form lies its significance for Judaism and Christianity.

**A. Classical Greece**

The sun was the object of only marginal veneration by Greeks, although the sun enjoyed respect as a symbol of life. Socrates is said to have called upon the sun each morning (Plato *Symp.* 220d). Metaphorically the sun often represents life, and death represents the sun's departure; injustice is brought by the sun into "the light of day." The seasons, day and night, and nature all originate from the sun. Love, happiness, and freedom can be referred to as "sun." Goodness and truth are related to it. The Greeks were aware that the sun was the object of worship by non-Greeks, i.e., the barbarians (Plato *Leg.*, 10.887 e; *Cra.* 397c). As a deity the sun-god functioned for the Greeks primarily as a witness to oaths (Hom. *Il.* 11.30; *Od.* 5. 184) and as a patron of justice and law (already characteristic of the sun-god in the ancient East). The sun's universal presence promises protection and security. Offerings made as part of an oath were accompanied by prayer to Zeus, the sun, the waters, and the earth (Hom. *Il.* 3.268ff.) and Zeus, the earth, and the sun were frequently addressed in this context. For Aeschylus, the sun is the witness to the trials of Prometheus (*PV* 5.88ff.). Yet another function of the sun-god was healing, especially for

blindness. The sun was the god of the vision given at birth; at the same time, the sun could send blindness as a penalty.

The cult of Helios was centered especially in Rhodes, where the sun-god (Helios) was considered the "Lord of the Island" (Pindar *Isthm.* 7). A temple to the sun was found there, and "sun-festivals" (Gk *Aleieia* or *Aleia*), with games, competitions, sacrifices, and processions, were celebrated. The Colossus of Rhodes was the sun. Additional cult centers are known to have been located in Laconia, Argolis, Elis, Athens (as god of oaths), Apollonia (Illyria), and Crete. In Corinth the sun was considered the main deity of the fortress, which was known as the City of the Sun and minted coins showing the sun-god as a charioteer driving four horses. The kiss of the hand, prostration, and sacrifices of white sheep and horses were cultic acts associated with the sun cult.

The legends and myths associated with the sun-god are largely of late origin. The deity's father was said to have been the Titan Hyperion (but also Zeus and Hephaestus); his mother was the Titan Theia or Europhaessa; his sister was Selene (the Moon). His spouse was variously given as Perse, Antiope, and Selene (!); his lover as Leukothea, Clytia; his children as Selene (!), Eos (Dawn), and Circe (according to Homer). The sacred sheep and cattle of the sun were known already to Homer (*Od.* 1.8–9; 11.108ff.; 12.127ff., 260ff.) In late antiquity the Phoenix legend was linked to the sun (cf. *1 Clem.* 25). In literature and art the sun-god is initially portrayed as a "wanderer" (Homer), then as riding on a chariot drawn by horses. Originally symbolized by the sun-disk above his head, the Sun was later identified by a wreath of rays (from about the 5th century B.C. until the end of the ancient world). Because, possibly under Egyptian influence, the sun's nightly journey from the west back to the east was portrayed as taking place in a ship (in the form of a kettle or chalice), a boat or a bowl also served as an emblem for Helios.

**B. Hellenistic Era and Late Antiquity.**

The late antique sun cult had its antecedents in the Hellenistic era. Both foreign, oriental sun-worship and astrological teachings, on the one hand, and new philosophical ideas (especially in Stoicism), on the other, contributed to the emergence of the sun-god (Helios) as a universal deity (Aion). The ancient image of the sun owed much to these, above all his being considered equal to other deities, especially Apollo (himself an oriental sun-god), Pluto, Dionysos (through Orphism), and the oriental deities Sarapis and Mithras. Cleanthes (331/30–232/31 B.C.) was the first to mention the sun as the director (Gk *Hegemon*) of the cosmos (cf. Diog. Laert. 7.139). In this way the sun became the highest principle, the prime source for the world of matter and spirit (cf. Poseidonios and Pliny). Helios originated as a fiery substance, the intellect *(nus)* and soul of the cosmos from which all human souls have arisen like rays of the sun. This "theologia solaris" had monotheistic tendencies (in the utopian sun-state of Jambulos only the sun was worshipped) but remained primarily on the level of philosophy and theology until, probably through the Julian calendar reform carried out by Augustus (46 B.C.), it became a cultic religion (according to Nilsson 1933). The sun-god then began to play a larger role in popular religion. This is indicated by magical texts, which cite a number of hymns to the sun that illustrate the "syncretistic" spirit of the cult (*PGM* [ed. Preisendanz] 1.315–25 [Betz 11]; 3.198–229 [Betz 23–24]; 4.436–61 [Betz 46]; 4.939–48 [Betz 56–57]; 4.1957–89 [Betz 72]; 8.74–81 [Betz 47]). The public role of sun-worship was augmented by the expansive penetration of the Syrian-Arabic sun cult (especially Bel of Emesa) that was firmly established in Rome by the Severan dynasty (193–235). The final step was the creation of the imperial cult of the *Sol Invictus* by Aurelian in 274. The calendar firmly established the festival of the *dies natalis Solis invicti* (Dec. 25) in the Roman Empire.

A variety of evidence for growing veneration of the sun since the 1st and 2d centuries can be cited: Plutarch considered Apollo/Helios as the highest god; Apollonius of Tyana (1st century) prayed regularly to Helios; Mesomedes, one of Hadrian's freedmen, composed hymns to the sun; the Hermetic writings, drawing on ancient Egyptian tradition, are familiar with the sun as the ruling director of the world (especially Tractate XVI); Helios and Apollo dominate the well known novel "Aithiopica" of Heliodorus (3d century), the son of a priest of the sun-god from Emesa (Homs). The 31st Homeric hymn, probably also dating from this period, is dedicated to the sun-god and concludes with the petition, "Hail to you, Lord! Freely bestow on me substance that cheers the heart." The Orphic hymn to the sun (no. 8) is also

probably best understood as coming from this period. In it the sun-god is addressed as lord of light, life, and the seasons and as the cosmic, all-encompassing eye of justice, "immortal Zeus," "Lord of the World," and "Light of Life" (ed. and trans. A. Athanassakis).

The time was ripe for the identification of other gods with the sun, a sort of "solarization" of the Pantheon. In this process Apollo and Dionysos followed the path already taken by the Egyptian deity Sarapis and the pseudo-Iranian god Mithras. The Roman emperors began to add "New Sun" to their titles, beginning with Caligula (37–41), then Nero (54–68), who had a statue to the sun placed in front of his palace and minted the first coins carrying an image of the emperor crowned by rays of the sun. Caracalla (211–17) and Elagabalus (218–22) were called *Helioi.* All of this pointed to the victory of the *Sol invictus* as the focal point of the political imperial ideology as described above. Emperor Julian (360–63) was a firm adherent of the sun cult, as his famous speech to "King Sun" (*Or.* 4) makes clear. The monotheistic trend in Julian owed something to both resistance to and influence by Christian ideas. The sun is the highest being, binding the invisible (intellectual) and visible world together, and has salvific significance as the creator of humans and the refuge of souls that originated from him.

The 4th and 5th centuries brought what was probably the height of the solar religion. The late- or neoplatonic philosophy owed as much to it as did the (heathen) emperors. In his *Saturnalia* (1.17–23), Macrobius (ca. 400) developed a monotheistic teaching on the sun-god that had a pantheistic tint: Helios/Apollos is not only the supreme Lord, power, and inner mover of the intellectual and material world, but he is also linked to all the old and new gods. Such neoplatonists as Libanius, Iamblichus, and Proclus (who wrote a hymn to the sun-god) were likewise taken in by this sun cult, as were most of the contemporary intellectuals. Indeed, Christianity in the west understood its *Soter Christus* as *Sol Salutis* and, in contrast to the Greek east, retained the sun-day of the ancient solar calendar. Churches were thus oriented toward the east in a manner corresponding to the Helios temples. What was being lost in the sun cult, however, was restored by the new religion: a more popular orientation, which was missing in the politically abstract sun theology.

**C. Judaism**

The so-called OT (in the form of the LXX) refers to apostasy into worship of the sun (LXX: *Helios*), e.g. Deut 4:19, 17:3; Ezek 8:16; 2 Kgs 23:5 (Baal = *Helios*), but uses the word "sun" solely metaphorically or symbolically. God is not directly described as sun, but his eyes are brighter than the sun (Sir 23:28) and his throne is like the sun (Ps 89[88]:37). God's wisdom *(Sophia)* is greater than the sun (Wis 7:92). God established the sun and thus brought light into being (1 Kgs 8:12; Ps 18[19]:5, 73[74]:16; Gen 1:3–4). With God's help Joshua was able to interrupt the sun's journey (Josh 10:12–13). Sun and moon (Selene) are called upon to praise God in Dan 3:62 (LXX). In Mal 3:20 (LXX) the promise of salvation to God's people is called the "sun of righteousness" (*helios dikaiosyne;* see also Isa 30:26).

This situation helps explain why a mosaic with the sun and the planets has been found in the 3d-century synagogue at Hammath-Tiberius (Levine 1982: 8, 66). If this is to be interpreted as an indication of how Judaism, at least in terms of art, could not ignore the sun cult, then an even earlier indication of the way the sun had entered the terminology of a Greek-speaking and -thinking Jew of this era is found in Philo of Alexandria (1st century). Philo gives the sun the title "Great King" (*Op* 56), corresponding to contemporary royal ideology and portrays it as the center of the planets (*Heres* 222–23) as found on the aforementioned mosaic. The "flaming sword" of Gen 3:24 in one instance is interpreted allegorically as applying to the revolution of the heavens, in another instance is applied to the sun (*Cher* 21–25). Philo even goes beyond the scriptures to compare God, the Lord *(Hegemon)* of the world, with the sun (*Somn.* I.87), whose rays go forth to enlighten humans (*Somn.* I.112–14). In the same way that God separated light from darkness, so the sun creates day and night. Allegorically the Bible is placed in the service of the solar theology by describing human understanding *(nus),* sense-perception *(aisthesis),* and also the "Word" *(logos)* of God" as sun (*Cher.* 1.77–86, commenting on Gen 28:11, 32:31; 19:23–24). It is not suprising then that Philo ascribes a sort of sun-worship to the Therapeutae (*Vita Cont* 89]. Josephus writes similarly of the Essenes (*JW* 2.8.5). Finally, an entire Greek prayer to the sun-god (Helios) is included in the magical "Book of Secrets" (*Sefer ha-Razim* 99–100).

**D. Christianity**

Early Christian writings, like the OT, make no mention of sun-worship. "Sun" is used metaphorically, allegorically, or symbolically for "light" and "brightness" (Rev 12:1, 19:7). Here it is the natural sun that is playing a role. The end of the world brings with it the extinguishing of the sun (Acts 2:20; Rev 6:12; Mark 13:24; and elsewhere). In the New Jerusalem no sun will be needed (Rev 21:23, 22:5; *Ep. Barn.* 15:5). Christ is the Light of the World (John 8:12), but his divine appearance is brighter than the sun (Acts 26:13, cf. *Ep. Barn.* 5:10; Matt 17:3). The star of Bethlehem is also brighter than the sun (*Ign. Eph.* 19:2). The righteous shall shine like the sun (Matt 13:43), i.e., they will be transformed into light (cf. Matt 17:3 on Christ).

The Apostolic writings and those of the Church Fathers emphasize the createdness of the heavenly bodies (cf. *1 Clem.* 20:3). The sun's divinity is denied on the basis of scripture and reason (*LPGL*, 605–606). In metaphors and allegories "sun" is a favored word, used figuratively for the most diverse matters of early Christian faith: for God himself; for the Trinity (the sun and its rays as a proof of the unity of the Trinity); for the "Father," the "Son" (with reference to Mal 3:20 and/or 4:2), and the "Holy Spirit"; for the Church (as proof of her endurance); for Mary and the apostles; and for spiritual life in general. The passion of Christ is interpreted as sunset, the resurrection as dawn. Christ is the *sol salutis*, the sun of salvation, who takes up the ancient sun piety and returns it to its "natural" foundations. In Christianity the Helios cult has been overcome, although this does not mean that the pagan role of the sun does not from time to time reappear (in astrology, magic, alchemy). It survives in our planetary week and the eastward orientation of many churches even today.

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**HELKAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥelqāy* (חֶלְקָי)]. A priest who is of the House of Meraioth in the days of the High Priest Joiakim, son of Jeshua (Neh 12:15). The name means "My portion is Yahu" and perhaps is contracted from *ḥelqāyyâhū.*

GARY C. AUGUSTIN

**HELKATH** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥelqāt* (חֶלְקַת)]. The third city in the tribe of Asher given to the Levites. In Josh 21:31 the name of the city is *ḥelqāt,* but that name does not appear in the parallel 1 Chr 6 list.

Instead, the third city given to the Levites in Asher is *ḥûqōq* (6:60) (—Eng 6:75). There is no other reference to Hukok in the OT. Albright (1945: 71) explains the two readings by maintaining there was confusion in the consonantal text which later also occurred in the vocalization. Besides occurring in the Levitical city list, Helkath also appears in the Joshua allotment list to Asher (19:25). The first extrabiblical reference to Helkath is in the Thutmose III list of towns. Helkath *ḫ-r-q-t* is 112 on the topographical list of conquered cities on the temple wall at Karnak. There is no agreement concerning the identification of Helkath, although it is usually associated with either Tell el-Qassis or Tell el-Harbaj.

Tell el-Qassis (M.R. 160232) has been identified as Helkath by Aharoni (1959: 151) and most recently by Boling (*Joshua* AB, 494). It is located on an outlying spur of the Galilean foothills at the extreme NW end of the Esdraelon Plain. The Kishon flows through a narrow corridor just E of Qassis into the Plain of Acco. At Qassis, the river is a small stream, but throughout history it has provided a life support for the Esdraelon Plain. Tell el-Qassis is located on a significant trade route between Acco and Jokneam/Megiddo/Taanach/Beth-shan. This trunk road is important in Palestinian geography, for nowhere is the land higher than 110 m above sea level, and the slopes are gradual. The importance of this pass cannot be overemphasized in the history of ancient Israel.

The 19th century geographer M. V. Guérin (1880: Map) did not visit Tell el-Qassis, but he identified "Tell el Kasis" on his map. Robinson (1874: 114) makes only passing reference to "Tell Kusis" as it stood in relationship to Tell esh-Shemmâm. The first geographer to write of his experiences at Qassis was G. A. Smith (1899: 380–81). Smith was intrigued by the location of "Tell el Kasis" in the Plain of Esdraelon and carefully described its history.

Numerous surveys, soundings, and excavations have been conducted at Tell el-Qassis. A long occupational history has been reconstructed starting in the EB and extending to the Arabic period. Periods in evidence at Tell el-Qassis include EB, MB, LB, Iron I, Iron II, Hellenistic, Roman/Byzantine, and Arabic. The Yokneam Regional Project (Ben-Tor et al. 1981: 137–64) has found evidence of EB I, EB III (when the entire site was occupied), MB, Iron Age I, Iron Age II, Persian, and Hellenistic periods. The pottery that became the corpus of the Levitical city survey contained EB, LB, Iron I, Iron II, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Arabic sherds.

The alternative identification for Helkath is Tell el-Harbaj (M.R. 158240). This site has been identified as the Levitical city Helkath by Alt (1929: 39), Abel (*GP* 2: 66), and Wright (*WHAB*, 128). Harbaj is located on a tributary which joins the Kishon 2 km to the W of the tell. It is just N of the narrow corridor separating the Plain of Acco and Plain of Esdraelon. It stood on one of the major roads in ancient Israel, the route from Egypt towards Acco, which followed the inland route around Carmel. Although the Plain of Acco was important as a major trade route, the forces which controlled it belonged to Galilee. The tell lies near the S border of the Plain of Acco, some 18 km S of the ancient harbor at Acco.

Harbaj is a low mound that has a gentle uniform slope rising decidedly on all sides from the relatively flat valley floor. One of the first geographers to visit the tell was Guérin in 1875. In 1922, Garstang directed an excavation at Tell el-Harbaj, in which he found only Bronze Age occupation (1922: 10–14). In a brief campaign in 1923, Garstang (1924: 45–46) found some Neolithic and early Iron Age material. In the 1930s many surface surveys were conducted at el-Harbaj, but the only pottery identified was from the Iron and Medieval Ages.

The next survey was conducted by the Levitical City Survey in 1971 (Peterson 1977: 37–55). They found pottery from the 10th–7th centuries, Hellenistic, Roman, and Arabic periods. Although Tell el-Harbaj has been identified by some as biblical Harosheth, the geographical evidence points to Harbaj as biblical Helkath. The fact that Harbaj is one of the most southern tells in the Plain of Acco, located just N of the pass connecting the Plain of Acco with the Esdraelon Plain, supports its identification as a Levitical city in the tribe of Asher.

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**HELKATH-HAZZURIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥelqat haṣṣūrîm* (חֶלְקַת הַצֻּרִים)]. The name of a piece of ground close to the pool of Gibeon where soldiers of David and Ishbosheth, twelve representative warriors from each side, met and fought in one-to-one combat. Abner, commander of Saul's army, said to Joab, "Now let the young men arise and make sport before us." And Joab, general of the army of David, consented to it. If it really meant "making sport," they really were "treacherous" combatants (as translated in LXX). If it was a delegate combat, like that of David and Goliath, it was certainly not the cause célèbre. The battle continued because neither side won the combat.

This place name is found in 2 Sam 2:16, but its meaning is unclear and problematic because there are many interpretations for it, even if there is a story of etymological derivation. Young translated this GN as the "field of rocks," but its meaning is unlikely to be "field of rocks" because it is difficult to seek the reason why "the rocks" are related to the story of this one-to-one group combat. Some see a possibility of " (sharp) rocks" in the sense of "flint (knives)," but *haṣṣūrîm* probably does not mean "flint"; the Hebrew word for "flint" is regularly *ḥallāmîš* (Deut 8:15; 32:13; Ps 114:8; Isa 50:7). Even if *ṣōr,* "sharp stone" (Exod 4:25), which Zipporah used for the traditional circumcision may actually be "flint stone knife," the twenty-four warriors of Joab and Abner probably did not use such flint knives because they were good for cutting, but not so much for thrusting or piercing the human body. It is doubtful that they all used flint knives as daggers at the time of David because they are easily broken.

Some see the possibility to translate "field of (sword)-edges," but this interpretation is also less likely. The common word for the sword-edge is *peh,* literally "mouth."

A slight change of a vowel makes a translation of "the place of opposers" or "the portion of adversaries" *(ḥelqat haṣṣārîm).* By an emendation of a consonant *ḥelqat haṣṣiddîm* offers another plausible interpretation "the place of the sides." The LXX translation "the portion of the treacherous ones" and the Syriac transcription *ḥaqlat-ṣadan* suggest the original Hebrew as *ḥelqat haṣṣādîm* "the field of the hunters," but it is difficult to find the meaning of "treacherousness" in "hunting."
YOSHITAKA KOBAYASHI

**HELL.** See HADES, HELL; and GEHENNA.

**HELLENISM.** From its first usage, the term "Hellenism" has meant a variety of things generally pertaining to Greek culture and its impact on the non-Greek world after the conquests of Alexander the Great (ca. 333–323 B.C.). The Judeans were not immune to this impact, and consequently Hellenism had some impact upon Jewish religion.

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**A. The Concept and Its Definition**

The concept of Hellenism originated in modern historiography; it must be distinguished from its usage in antiquity *(hellenismós).* The modern historiographical concept has its own history since Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) identified the "Hellenists" of Acts 6:1 as Jews who used Greek as the language in their synagogue. Similarly, Claudius Salmasius (1588–1653) called the language of the Greek Bible *lingua hellenistica* (see Laqueur 1925; Momigliano 1977: 307–323). Taking his clues from J. G. Herder (1744–1803) and J. G. Hamann (1730–1788), J. G. Droysen (1808–1884) made the term "Hellenism" *(Hellenismus)* a historiographical technical term to designate an epoch ranging from Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.E.) to Roman Imperial rule (ca. 30 B.C.E.). Droysen understood Hellenism to be the mixture of the world of Greece with that of the Orient, a mixture that became the preparation for Christianity. Julius Kaerst (1857–1930), on the other hand, emphasized the expansion of Greek culture in the Mediterranean as a phenomenon of intellectual history *(Geistesgeschichte).* Richard Laqueur (1881–1959) took Hellenism to be the transformation of the ethnic-national culture of Greece into a universal culture and civilization. According to him, "hellenistic man" transcended the traditions of his people: "hellenistic man" became the bearer and promoter of a world culture believed to be identical with progress. As a program of cultural expansion Hellenism held the potential for new cultural creativity as well as for deep-seated conflicts with the older national cultures.

In the late 20th century, scholarship turned from grand concepts to specialized research. The work of M. Rostovtzeff was devoted to the developments of social history. Carl Schneider's informative but problematic survey (1967–69) treated the history of culture (see the critical review by Murray, 1969). Imaginative overviews were contributed by Toynbee (1959) and Adorno (1977). Whereas the standard work of Will (1966–1967) is concerned with political history, other scholars focused their attention on special areas such as the history of culture, art, philosophy, and religion (see Bickerman 1976–85; 1985a; Grimal 1968; Préaux 1978; Long and Sedley 1987, with bibliography).

Present research is especially interested in the explorations of the history of Hellenistic religion and, closely connected with it, that of Hellenistic philosophy. Based on the foundational studies by Hermann Usener (1834–1905), Albrecht Dieterich (1866–1908), and Richard Reitzenstein (1861–1931), this research has produced a wealth of publications (see the monograph series RVV, EPRO, and also *ANRW*). For Hellenistic religions no up-to-date survey exists, after the comprehensive works by Prümm (1954) and Nilsson (1974) have become outdated. The steady increase in textual materials and artifacts attributable to excavations makes it difficult to stay abreast of the advancements of scholarship (see for American scholarship Danker [1988, with bibliography]; for journal articles, reports, surveys, and lexica especially, PW, *KlPauly*, RAC [with its supplements and *JAC*], *ANRW*, and the bibliographies in *Gnomon* and *L'Années philologiques*).

**B. In the OT/Hebrew Bible**

The problem of Hellenism in regard to the OT/Hebrew Bible must be distinguished from the NT. By far the largest part of the OT is pre-Hellenistic in origin and character; it is written in Hebrew or Aramaic. Confrontation with Hellenism, however, had occurred even before the final formation of the canon. Reflections of this encounter with Hellenism can be seen in linguistic, redactional, and thematic phenomena.

**1. Greek Translations.** The Greek translations of the LXX originated over a considerable period of time, contrary to the legend contained in the *Epistle of Aristeas* (see *HJP*² 3/1: 677–87), according to which the whole translation of the Hebrew Bible was accomplished by 72 translators in 72 days. It was known even at the time of the *Epistle of Aristeas* (see sections 312–16) that such a translation carried with it the dangers of illegitimate Hellenization. The fact is that at numerous places the LXX is not merely a

translation of the Hebrew or Aramaic text, but a transformation into Gk language and thought. Only later translators such as AQUILA, SYMMACHUS, and THEODOTION were concerned with a systematic approach to close literal rendering (see Goshen-Gottstein 1983; *HJP²* 3/1: 142–49, 470–504; Tov, *ANRW* 2/20/1: 121–89).

**2. Hellenistic Influences.** Presently scholarship is divided on the question to what extent Hellenistic influences have determined the *composition* and *redaction* of OT literature (see Smith 1971). At any rate, from the beginning the intellectual and religious confrontation between Judaism and Hellenism has led to the composition or revision of entire books. This literary confrontation begins with the book of Daniel and includes the entire corpus of the Apocrypha and the Hellenistic-Jewish literature.

**3. Confrontation with Hellenism.** Thematically, the confrontation with Hellenism can be seen from the preferred literary genres. These include the proverbial collections (see PROVERBS, BOOK OF; ECCLESIASTES, BOOK OF; WISDOM OF BEN-SIRA; SOLOMON, WISDOM OF), the apocalyptic literature, and historiographical works (Hengel 1974; 1976; Momigliano 1975; 1977; Nickelsburg 1981; Kaiser 1982; Collins 1983; *HJP²*; *ANRW* 2/20/1–2; Hoffmann 1988).

Present scholarship has frequently discussed the possibility of Hellenistic influences, especially those of Gk philosophy, but these discussions have often been hampered by conceptional limitations such as merely external takeover of terms or doctrines. While such takeovers can be identified, the confrontation with Hellenistic ideas went much deeper and found foremost expression indirectly in allusions and theological counterproposals.

A classic example of this debate has been the investigation of the Wisdom of Solomon, esp. 2:1–20; 7:1–6; 13–15, as the studies by Larcher (1969; 1983–85), Reese (1970), Gilbert (1978), Georgi (1980), and Winston (*Wisdom of Solomon* AB) have shown. The differences between these scholars can to a large extent be explained from their differing methodological presuppositions (see also the careful account of the evidence in Theiler 1982: 2.283–85). The increased interest in the individuality of authors is characteristically Hellenistic also (see, e.g., Braun 1973 on Qoheleth; Stadelmann 1980 on Ben Sirach).

A further phase of development was initiated in Hellenistic-Jewish literature, when the "hebraic peripatetic" Aristobulus (see ARISTOBULUS) attempted to harmonize the holy scriptures with Gk philosophy; he was indeed convinced that the Gk philosophers depended on the "philosophy of the Hebrews" (Aristobulus, Fragment 3, preserved in Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 13.12.1–2; see Walter 1964; Hengel 1974; *HJP²* 3/1: 579–87; Droge 1989).

**4. Subsequent Literary History.** The presence of the OT in the post-OT literature (see APOCRYPHA and PSEUDEPIGRAPHA) and in the NT literature (see below, section C) must be seen in the light of these general presuppositions as well as in accordance with the theological ideas of the individual authors of those writings. On the whole it can be said that the post-OT literature, including the NT, does *not* presuppose the closing of the canon, although its authority is acknowledged. Quotations and other references to the OT in the later literature represent a complicated and very diverse phenomenon. There are not only explicit quotations, but also a broad stream of traditions drawn upon in written and oral form (e.g., traditions of proverbs and maxims, stories, liturgical materials). This literature has its original purpose to a large degree in the debates with Hellenism about the question of the Jewish religion.

Consequently, the presence of the OT in the NT is not a direct but a mediated one: it is mediated through the Judaism at the time of Jesus and the early Church. Although the NT interprets OT passages differently and not uniformly, the authority of the OT is in principle acknowledged. This acknowledgment can be stated in formulaic expressions such as "the law and the prophets" (Matt 5:17; 7:12; etc.) or by the concept of "Scripture" *(graphē).* References to the OT in the NT include explicit quotations (see NEW TESTAMENT, OT QUOTATIONS IN) and a very diversified stream of doctrinal and liturgical traditions. The quotations are always according to the LXX, although the text often differs from the LXX versions known to us. The Heb text is declared binding only in Matt 5:16 (= Luke 16:17), coming from an early layer of tradition showing Christian confrontation with Hellenism (see below, section C.3.b.). Hellenistic as it certainly is, the NT uses the OT as a tool in the debates with Hellenism as it pertains to issues of theological thought, religious and ethical practice, and general cultural customs and behavior.

**C. In the NT**

**1. Application of the Concept.** When the concept of Hellenism is applied to the NT, several aspects should be distinguished. In regard to the historical epoch, the NT is as such Hellenistic. Droysen's interpretation of Hellenism as mixture should be applied first to Judaism in the Hellenistic environment (see Tcherikover; Hengel). Early Christianity, however, was not simply an extension of Hellenistic Judaism. Granting that there was high degree of continuity, the NT was the product of a new mixture. On the other side, the NT itself proved to be a powerful agent furthering the expansion of Hellenism. Thus all NT authors were Hellenistic people as Laqueur had characterized them. The expansion of Christianity, however, could not simply ride on the waves of an expanding world culture. As Momigliano put it (1975: 10–11):

> What accentuates the peculiar physiognomy of Hellenistic civilization is the special role two foreign groups—Jews and Romans—came to play in it. The Jews basically remained convinced of the superiority of their beliefs and ways of life and fought for them. Yet they continuously compared their own ideas with Greek ideas, made propaganda for their own beliefs, absorbing many Greek notions and customs in the process—and ultimately found themselves involved in that general confrontation of Greek and Jewish values which we call Christianity. The Romans never took their intellectual relations with Hellenism so seriously. They acted from a position of power and effortlessly preserved a strong feeling of their own identity and superiority. They paid the Greeks to teach them their wisdom and often did not have to pay because they were their slaves.

Christianity thus became the intellectual and spiritual battleground on which the confrontation between Judaism and Hellenism was fought with unprecedented intensity. In the NT the earliest and most decisive phase of this confrontation had become literature. The texts are documents indicating not only the beginning of a long historical struggle but also containing the main principles, goals, and limits which determined the Christian transformation of Hellenism and the formation of a new European culture as well as the history of Christianity.

**2. The History of Research. a. The Language.** The language of the NT was the primary reason that the study of Hellenism was connected with the NT from the very beginning. This peculiar language became the first object of scholarship, that is, the grammar, the idioms, and the lexicology of the so-called *koinē.* Of special importance were the works of Adolf Deissmann (1866–1937).

The most important NT grammars in use today are those by Radermacher (1925) and Blass, Debrunner, and Rehkopf (BDR). *A Greek-English Lexicon to the New Testament* has found international recognition. The monumental *TDNT* was started by G. Kittel in 1933 and completed by G. Friedrich in 1979. Despite its unevenness and tendentiousness, this lexicon has proved to be an irreplaceable source of information. The *EWNT*, edited by H. Balz and G. Schneider (1979, 1981, 1983), and C. Spicq's *Notes de lexicographie néotestamentaire* (Fribourg and Göttingen, 1978–1982) are to be used as supplements to Bauer's *Lexicon* and the *TDNT*.

**b. The Observations Literature.** In the 17th and 18th centuries an entire literature often called "observations literature" was devoted to investigating the relations between Hellenism and the NT. These studies, following the example of the great Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), collected parallel passages from Greek and Latin literature for the illumination of NT texts (see Delling 1963; van Unnik 1973–83, 2: 194–214). The most important work of this genre is the critical edition of the NT, supplied with a vast collection of parallel materials, by J. J. Wettstein (1693–1754), published in 1751–52. References to classical parallels began in the NT itself (Acts 17:28; 5:29; 26:14; 1 Cor 15:33). Comparative studies and the interpretation of parallels was a concern also throughout the patristic period, but it was the era of encyclopedias that was characterized by systematic attempts at collection. At the time of Wettstein a similar work by G. D. Kypke (1755) appeared. Older contributions were collected in the seven volumes of the *Critici Sacri* 1660 (excerpts from Laurentius Valla, Desiderius Erasmus, Joseph Justus Scaliger, Isaac Casaubonus, Hugo Grotius, and others). In the 19th century there was only one more work of this kind, *Spermaticós Logos* by Edmund Spiess, in 1871.

**c. Paul's Rhetoric.** For the question of the relationship between the NT and Hellenism, investigations of the rhetoric of the Apostle Paul played a major role. This question was discussed by Paul himself in his confrontations with his Corinthian adversaries (see Betz 1972; 1985; 1986), but commentators have taken the matter up continuously until modern times.

In antiquity, Augustine commented on Paul's rhetoric in his *De doctrina Christiana* (4.31–47), and in the Reformation period it was Melanchthon (see Betz, *Galatians* Hermeneia, 14). In the 18th century, systematic studies appeared, e.g., Karl Ludwig Bauer (1782) and Herman Johan Royaard's Utrecht dissertation (1818; for references see Betz, *2 Corinthians 8–9* Hermeneia, 129–130; 1986: 16–21); in the 19th century this type of study ceased. The end of the century, however, witnessed the strange controversy between the philologist E. Norden (1868–1941) and the NT scholar G. Heinrici (1844–1915). Heinrici, who knew his classical authors well, has pointed to a wealth of classical parallels in his commentary on 2 Corinthians (1887), which Norden sharply attacked (1898), a standard work still today. Norden's aim was to put the Apostle Paul into Judaism, which he described as "unhellenic" and "educationally impoverished." Norden's pathetic and resentful attack, quite in conformity with the Zeitgeist, became influential in NT circles. This fact was not altered by Heinrici's rebuttal, well documented and convincing, in the 2d edition of his commentary (*2 Corinthians* Meyer, 436–58). Norden had found little support among other scholars and tried to amend things (Norden 1898: 3–4 of the supplement). The subsequent investigations by J. Weiss (1863–1914) and R. Bultmann (1884–1976), later also of H. Windisch (1881–1935) finally refuted Norden, but the question is still alive today (see Betz 1986; Schmeller 1987).

**d. The Corpus Hellenisticum.** The study of the relationships between Hellenism and early Christianity became the objective of the international research project of the Corpus Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti. This project was first suggested by Heinrici shortly before his death in 1915. In the course of the century the project has undergone vast changes in method and outlook attributable to shifts in scholarship generally. While the project is still being continued, its objective is being pursued in many other forms as well (see Betz, *TRE* 15: 23–24; see also CORPUS HELLENISTICUM NOVI TESTAMENTI). In principle, there is no longer any question about the necessity of this research. The NT and other early Christian literature cannot be interpreted in a scholarly justifiable way unless it is understood in its relationships with the language, literature, religion, culture, and civilization of its Hellenistic (including the Jewish) environment.

The problems, however, which make this research so difficult, should not be underestimated. The fields of study relevant to the enterprise have expanded since World War II in unprecedented measures; simultaneously the methods have become extremely diversified and refined, not only in NT studies but in the study of antiquity as a whole. All this has occurred at a time when theological education has seriously deteriorated in quality, so that there are fewer and fewer researchers qualified for the tasks at hand. Therefore the number of workers in this vineyard is small while the tasks are many. Moreover, the idea held at earlier times that NT scholars should merely exploit the results of scholarship in the fields of classical antiquity has to be given up. Rather, NT scholars have to make genuine contributions to these fields, and they have to learn to collaborate with scholars in the fields of classical antiquity. This collaboration, which had led to the great scholarly production in the 18th and 19th centuries, has in fact been resumed, and the first benefits have become apparent.

Another idea to be shelved is that of the mechanical gathering of raw data. Rather, the data to be collected must be studied in the contexts of larger phenomena and problems, within which the NT literature will then be seen in its specific contours. Given these presuppositions, the assembling of data and their interpretation continue to present exciting challenges to NT scholarship. These investigations of course form the foundations for the problems of hermeneutics in the contemporary situation.

**3. Early Christianity and Hellenism. a. The Languages of the Early Christians.** The primary characteristic for Hellenism is the language; secondarily it is the way of life, education, and ethos mediated through that language. Typical is the description of a Hellenized Jew in Josephus (*AgAp* 1.180), by way of a quotation from Clearchus of Soli: "He was a Greek not only by his language but also by his

soul." With regard to its language, the NT is certainly Greek. By contrast, earlier hypotheses, according to which parts of the NT were taken to be translations from the Hebrew or Aramaic, have not been substantiated. Even in view of peculiar linguistic phenomena in NT Greek, Semitic influences are difficult to prove and less frequent than one would expect (see Fitzmyer 1979). Influences of a Semitic background are also difficult to distinguish from peculiarities of *koinē* Greek attributable to regional dialect. And the Latinisms, stemming from the language of the military, the law-courts and commerce, are signs of Hellenization.

One of the most intractable problems is that of determining which language was spoken by the early Christians. For the NT, even in its oldest layers of tradition, it is taken for granted that Jesus and his disciples spoke Greek in their daily life. Whether this assumption is merely naiveté on the part of the NT writers or whether it conforms to actual facts is no longer discernible. Among the NT authors it is only the Gk historian Luke who is interested in the language problem. According to him, Paul spoke Greek with the Roman authorities (Acts 21:37) but Hebrew with the people of Jerusalem (Acts 21:40; 22:2). Even the heavenly voice occurring to Paul (Acts 26:14) was in Hebrew. The Church, however, is, thanks to the gift of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:8–11), pluralistic in its use of languages. This view is the result of Luke's interests as a Christian Hellenist.

The evidence coming from the NT and from extra-NT sources reveals that in 1st-century Palestine, while Aramaic was still the preferred language, Greek was also widely used, not only in the Hellenized cities but also among farmers and craftsmen in the countryside. The knowledge and use of Hebrew was clearly on the retreat and limited to smaller circles (see Lieberman 1962; 1965; Sevenster 1968; Rabin 1976; Mussies 1976: 1040–64; Fitzmyer 1979; *HJP²* 2: 20–28, 74–80).

In regard to the NT, two special problems must be faced. First, did Jesus of Nazareth speak only Aramaic, or did he speak Greek as well? In view of the fact that Greek was widely spoken in Palestine at the time, its knowledge cannot be denied to Jesus, who came from the bilingual area of Galilee (see Freyne 1988: 171–72). Such knowledge must not, however, be confused with one's preference in daily life. If Jesus taught in Aramaic or in mishnaic Hebrew, which has been assumed but cannot be proved, his teachings must have been translated into Greek even at the earliest level of the tradition (see Barr 1970; Jeremias 1971: 1–37; Rabin 1976: 1036–39; *HJP²* 2: 79–80). The second main problem is, which language did the so-called Hellenists in Acts speak (Acts 6:1; 9:29; 11:20)? Most likely these Hellenists were Hellenized and therefore Greek-speaking Jews. Does that mean that they spoke only Greek? Such a conclusion would be hard to prove (see Fitzmyer 1979: 36–37; Hengel 1983: 3–11).

**b. The Conflict with Hellenism.** If the NT is a Hellenistic document with regard to its language, the question remains whether it is Hellenistic also according to its "soul." To a certain degree this question is one of definition, and one of whose definition it is. The definition given in Ps.-Clementine *Homilies* 11.6 (a Greek is everyone who does not observe the Torah, no matter whether he or she is of Jewish or Greek origin) merely reflects the particular situation of Jewish Christianity. The question raised in the NT as the decisive issue however, is what it really means to observe the Torah.

**(1) Judaism in the NT Period.** In the NT period, Judaism consisted of a large variety of different groups and movements of a partly political and partly religious nature. All of these groups and movements took positions with regard to Hellenism, whereby the range of possibilities was considerable. Whereas, e.g., Philo of Alexandria went as far as he could in accommodating himself to Hellenism, the Qumran sect tried to isolate itself from it. Between these extremes many different compromises existed. The question of the limits of Jewish accommodation was raised, but no unanimous answer was given. See HERESY AND ORTHODOXY IN THE NT.

**(2) The Jesus Movement.** The movement initiated by Jesus of Nazareth was anti-Hellenistic. So much at least seems to be clear in spite of the dearth of reliable data. Even the little we know about John the Baptist suggests his anti-Hellenistic tendencies. His opposition against Herod Antipas, his death as a martyr, and his messianic-apocalyptic message were reactions against Hellenization of Judaism. The ritual of baptism, the origin of which has not yet been sufficiently clarified, served as a means of demarcation between faithful Jews and those whose religion had been corrupted as a result of Hellenism. On the

whole, the historical Jesus appears to have shared the anti-Hellenistic sentiments of his mentor. In the eyes of Jesus, Hellenism was represented in Palestine by the Roman occupation and by the Jewish authorities imposed on the Jews by Rome. Although the Christian gospel writers who were Hellenists themselves have done their best to tone down these anti-Hellenistic sentiments, Jesus' rejectionist attitudes are clearly stated in the tradition (see, e.g., Mark 12:15–22 and parallels, and the Passion Narratives as a whole). Jesus' rejection of the Hellenized Jewish authorities is well attested in old source materials (e.g., Mark 8:15; 12:13; Luke 13:31–33). Jesus' critique of other Jewish movements follows tendencies of John the Baptist and other anti-Hellenistic movements (see, e.g., Matt 11:2–19; the laments over the towns of Galilee [Matt 11:20–23] and over Jerusalem [Matt 23:37–38]). The fact that Jesus was crucified as a messianic revolutionary is a sure indication of his anti-Roman and thus anti-Hellenistic attitude (on the inscription on the cross, see Mark 15:26 and parallels; John 19:19–22; Blinzler 1969: 367–68; Sanders 1985: 294–318). The gospel writers, however, have correctly maintained that Jesus did not see himself as a militant revolutionist (see Cullmann 1970; Hengel 1971). He probably reacted to the external superiority of the Roman power by the conviction of his religious and moral superiority as a Jew. He may have avoided contacts with Gentiles whenever possible. The title of Messiah when applied to Jesus in the gospels is always the result of Christian interpretation and accompanied by a rejection of political and military ambitions and expectations (see Luke 24:19–27; John 6:14–15; and the Passion Narratives entirely).

**(3) The Origin of Hellenistic Christianity.** The question then arises: how, given this anti-Hellenistic attitude of Jesus, could Hellenistic Christianity have come into existence? Historically, it is improbable that Jesus himself had initiated the opening toward the Gentiles, although the gospel writers suggest it (see Mark 7:24–30 and parallels; Matt 8:5–13 and parallels; Luke 10:30–38; 17:16; John 4:4–26, 39–40; 8:48). While these suggestions reflect later retrospective construction, the sources themselves indicate that the early Christian mission to the Gentiles was a new phase in the history of the Church. This new mission, however, had some connection with the historical Jesus. His openness toward the *am hā-āreṣ* and the so-called "sinners and tax collectors" (Matt 11:19 and parallels; see Braun 1969, 2: 18–23, 38 n. 1; *TDNT* 8: 103–105; *EWNT* 3: 835–38) seems to have prepared the mission toward the non-Jewish world. This corresponds also with Jesus' anti-Pharisaic understanding of the Torah. His rejection of asceticism, his reinterpretation of purity concepts (see esp. Mark 7:15) and sabbath observances, and his rejection of esotericism and ritual formalism will have made it easier for his disciples to establish relations with non-Jews. If Jesus' understanding of the Torah could be interpreted by his disciples partly as intensification and partly as relaxation, the roots for both interpretations should be seen in his teaching and conduct.

The sources also reveal that the mission to the Gentiles was not the result of careful planning, but it was characterized by erratic developments and confusion, while planning occurred mostly in hindsight. For the transition to Gentile Christianity, the fringe areas of Galilee, Decapolis, Samaria, Syria, and Nabatea (Arabia) seem to have played an important role (Acts 1:8; 2:9–11). There is also the question whether in these areas Jews were always clearly distinguished from non-Jews. Moreover, the sources mention again and again the role of military personnel (Mark 15:39–40 and parallels; Matt 8:5–13; Acts 10:1–2; etc). Whatever the role of the "Hellenists" (Acts 6:1; 9:29; 11:20), it must have been an important one (see Hengel 1983: 1–29; Schneider 1979: 215–40). They were most likely Greek-speaking Jews from the Diaspora who had settled in Jerusalem and had joined (in their entirety?) the Christian Church. The fact that they were forced out of the city (Acts 8:1–3) is evidence that they were Hellenized. Stephen's speech (Acts 6:13–14; 7:1–53), even if not historical, may at least provide the general contours of their views. Caution is, however, needed in view of the tendency of Acts to attribute to the "Hellenists" all of the mission to the Gentiles. Hengel's hypothesis that the "Hellenists" were responsible for the translation of Jesus' message into Greek has no support in the sources (Hengel 1983: 26–29).

**(4) The Gentile-Christian Mission.** The Christian mission to the Gentiles must be seen in connection with the phenomenon of missionary religions typical of Hellenism. Especially, non-Christian religions such as those of Isis and Osiris or Mithras deliberately set out to gather devotees and build worldwide

reputation. Membership in "world religions" based on voluntary association became customary alongside participation in local, ethnic, and national cults. In Judaism especially the Hellenistic Diaspora carried out its mission among non-Jews. In conjunction with it, an entire propaganda literature developed which applied the commonplace of the superior "wisdom of the barbarians" to Judaism and offered it as the religion that fits best the conditions of the Hellenistic world (see *HJP²* 3/1: 150–76). This mission also resulted in a transformation of Judaism itself. By emphasizing monotheism, law, ethics, and eschatology, this literature accommodated itself and responded to demands made by Gk philosophers for the reformation of religion. While the conversations with Gk philosophy occurred mostly indirectly, Hellenistic Jewish wisdom was most sympathetic to the Socratic, the middle-Platonic, and the Stoic traditions. By contrast, Epicureanism was almost unanimously rejected. Compared with Diaspora Judaism, Palestinian Judaism joined the proselyte movement only hesitantly; later it became more and more anti-Hellenistic and isolationistic. The tensions thus arising between the different branches of Judaism also entered into early Christianity, which at the early stages of its history was connected with the proselyte movement. The gentile Christian mission was therefore mostly a matter of the Diaspora (Acts 2:11; 6:5; 13:43). The mission kerygma (1 Thess 1:9–10) addressed in particular the so-called "god-fearers" (Acts 13:43, 50; 16:14; etc.; see *TDNT* 6:727–44; *HJP²* 3/1: 162–76).

In Palestinian Jewish Christianity the mission to the gentiles remained disputed. No doubt its critics could appeal to the example of Jesus himself (cf. Matt 15:24; 23:15). On the other hand, the Jewish missionaries going to the Gentiles referred to experiences of miracles and ecstatic enthusiasm, experiences the problems of which would soon become manifest.

The inner Christian tensions can be seen in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5:3–7:27; see SERMON ON THE MOUNT), a source from the middle of the 1st century C.E. reflecting Jewish-Christian theology. In the Sermon, the gentile world is presented negatively, and assimilation is rejected (5:47; 6:7, 32). Law-free gentile Christianity is repudiated (5:17; 7:21–23). At the time, however, a separation between the Jesus movement and gentile Christianity is not yet seen as an ecclesiological problem, but only the threat to the salvation of the Gentiles is underscored.

The conference at Jerusalem (Gal 2:1–10; Acts 15) presupposes, on the one hand, a deepening of the conflict but, on the other hand, the recognition of the unity of the church as a demand implicit in the gospel itself. The conflict reached the point of crisis when Jewish-Christian particularists insisted on Torah and circumcision as Jewish (and Christian) symbols of identity. By contrast the gentile Christians defended the missionary kerygma, faith in Jesus Christ, baptism, and the new Christian ethos as sufficient for salvation. The basic question was whether the purpose of the mission to the Gentiles was their incorporation as converts into Judaism or whether gentile Christianity possessed their own status due to the salvation in Christ. The particularists must have designated as evils of Hellenization precisely those achievements which the Gentiles were so proud of. On the other hand, the gentile Christians rejected the demands of the Jewish rigorists as forms of judaization. Faced with this threat of split, the idea of the unity of the church, taken apparently to be the consequence of monotheism (Gal 2:8), proved to be the antidote and led to the division of only the mission fields, not the Church itself. Barnabas and Paul were sent to the Gentiles, Peter to the Jews—this was the formula negotiated in Jerusalem (Gal 2:8–9; cf. the mission instruction Matt 10:5–6; also Betz, *Galatians* Hermeneia, 97–101).

Clearly, dividing the mission fields was a compromise. Paul interpreted it in the sense that the gentile mission was in principle recognized as legitimate and that only for reasons of ethnic sensitivity a special status was granted to the Jews. The result was that gentile Christianity was finally separated from Judaism. The particularist party, called "false brothers" by Paul (Gal 2:4), refused to support the compromise. The so-called "pillars" (James, Peter, and John), however, attempted to steer a kind of middle course, the duration of which was short. Jewish Christianity had to make a choice between Judaism and gentile Christianity (called by Paul the "Israel of God" [Gal 6:17]). The choice became final during the famous Antioch episode (Gal 2:11–14). This inner Christian conflict continued throughout the history of the ancient Church as the opposition between the Catholic Church and Jewish-Christian "heresies" (see Lüdemann 1983).

**(5) Pauline Christianity.** After the conflict with Peter in Antioch (Gal 2:11–14; see *Galatians* Hermeneia, 103–112) Paul became the key figure in gentile Christianity, the "apostle of the Gentiles" (Rom 11:13; see Lüdemann 1984). Paul's background was the Hellenistic-Jewish diaspora. According to Acts, he inherited from his ancestors the citizenship of Tarsus in Cilicia (Acts 9:11, 30; 11:25; 21:39; 22:3; see *HJP²* 3/1: 33–34). The *cognomen* Paulos, most probably given him at birth (cf. Acts 7:58; 8:1, 3 etc.) points to the family's civic pride and consciousness which no doubt expressed itself also in giving young Paul a respectable education. *Religiously*, however, the family as well as Paul himself must have belonged to those who were opposed to a Hellenizing of the Jewish religion, the so-called "Hebrews" (Phil 3:5–6; Gal 1:14; Acts 22:3; 26:6). The claim, however, that he studied at Jerusalem under Gamaliel (Acts 22:3; 26:4; see *HJP²* 2: 367–68) and that he had a knowledge of Hebrew (Acts 21:40; 22:2; 26:14) cannot be sustained. The extant letters of the apostle do not contain signs of a knowledge of Hebrew; the occurrence of loanwords such as *abba*, *maranatha*, etc., cannot be used as evidence for the knowledge of Hebrew (a similar situation exists for Philo of Alexandria, while that of Josephus is different (see *HJP²* 2: 80; 3/1: 479, n. 27; 3/2: 873–74). These loanwords came to Paul through the liturgy and tradition of early Christianity. It should also be remembered that we possess practically no information about the cultural milieu and educational facilities of diaspora Pharisees.

In his pre-Christian period, Paul's "zeal" was concerned about the strict observance of the Torah (Phil 3:5–6; Gal 1:14; 5:3; Acts 22:3; 23:6); it thus was directed against Hellenizing tendencies to abolish the Torah. Because early Christian communities had opened themselves up to these Hellenizing tendencies, Paul persecuted them (Gal 1:13, 23; Phil 3:6; 1 Cor 15:9; Acts 8:3; 9:1–2; 22:4–5, 19; 26:10–11; see *HJP²* 3/1: 119). His persecution seems to have been limited to the law-free diaspora Christianity (at Damascus, Acts 9:2; 22:5; 26:12, 20) and it did not extend to the law-abiding Christians in Judea (differently Acts 8:1–3; 22:19–20; 26:10–11). Paul's so-called "conversion" (Gal 1:15–16; 1 Cor 9:1; 15:8; see *Galatians* Hermeneia, 62–72) also fundamentally changed his attitude toward Hellenization. From the anti-Hellenistic Pharisees Paul turned to the Hellenizing Jewish Christians of the Diaspora. Even his descriptions of his conversion and vocation as a missionary to the Gentiles are characteristically Hellenistic; the same is true in the somewhat different accounts in Acts 9:3–29; 22:3–21; 26:9–20. Further interpretations of his experience by Paul himself employ concepts characteristic of Hellenistic mystery cults (e.g., Phil 3:7–11; 2 Cor 4:4–6). Yet Paul did not simply embrace Hellenism while ignoring the problems. Rather, his own theology was shaped by confrontations with Christian developments which in his view were illegitimate forms of Hellenization. The decisive points of these debates are reflected in Paul's letters, in which he argues against opponents of various persuasions, some of them at least based on misinterpretations of his own message.

In the eyes of his Jewish-Christian rivals and opponents Paul was doubtless an apostate. See HERESY AND ORTHODOXY IN THE NT. In fact, Paul himself had to struggle hard to steer his churches away from becoming "paganized." Paganizing tendencies were carried on by people who took Paul's message and pushed it further toward extreme Hellenization, which would in the final analysis destroy the very gospel he was preaching. The struggle proved difficult because in its nascent state the formation of gentile Christian identity possessed no firm and agreed standards yet. Paul himself did not enter into these controversies with his ideas completely worked out, but his theology took shape gradually as he attempted to come to grips with ever-changing new experiences and oppositional viewpoints. See PAUL. Unquestionably the greatest challenge for Paul resulted from his founding of the church in Corinth. In Corinth he had succeeded in carrying the Christian mission to the cultured and wealthy citizens of this prosperous and cosmopolitan city. Their acceptance of the gospel went hand in hand with their consistent assimilating it to and melting it in with Hellenistic religiosity. Thus, baptism and eucharist became transformed in analogy to Hellenistic mystery rituals (1 Cor 1:13–17; 15:29; 11:17–34). The traditional Jewish-Christian ethos was replaced by the big-city lifestyle. Besides material wealth, the congregation enjoyed a plethora of spiritual gifts (1 Cor 1:5; 2 Cor 8:7–9; 9:11; see Betz 1986). Ecstatic and enthusiastic experiences provided a new set of values. The relationship between Christianity and other religions was regulated in the spirit of Hellenistic enlightenment and polytheistic practice (1 Cor 8:1–

11:1). In regard to morality there seems to have been an attitude of "live and let live": libertinism was tolerated (1 Corinthians 5–6) just as was radical asceticism (1 Corinthians 7) . Setting aside the older ethical catalogs (1 Cor 5:9–11; 6:9–10; 2 Cor 12:20; see *Galatians* Hermeneia, 281–88) was justified by appealing to the notion of "freedom" (1 Cor 7:21–22; 9:1–23; 10:29; 2 Cor 3:17): where there is freedom, "everything is permitted to me" (1 Cor 6:12; 10:23). The basic assumption for this "freedom" was of course that liberation from the old religions was taken to mean also the end of the myth of the last judgment (1 Cor 6:9; 15:12, 50).

The fact that factions existed in the community (1 Cor 1:10–17; 3:3–23) shows, however, that extreme Hellenization of the Christian faith was not acceptable to all members. The center of the problem was the conflict between the older Jewish-Christian heritage and the newly forming Hellenistic-Christian identity.

The significance of Paul for the question of Hellenism was that he was the first to understand the problems raised by the Corinthians in their deeper theological dimensions and that he had the courage to face those problems. He felt confronted by the alternatives of either integrating the new Corinthian experiences and insights into a conception of Christian existence and lifestyle, or having to witness the disintegration of the churches founded by him. The Corinthian letters are the literary fixation of this profound encounter with the central issues of Hellenistic religiosity and morality. These letters testify to the emergence of Paul's theology (at least prior to Romans).

Paul addresses the Corinthians programmatically as Greeks (1 Cor 1:22). As Greeks they are accustomed and indeed expected to ask for "wisdom." What does the gospel yield in terms of wisdom? His answer is that a rich intellectual inventory (1 Cor 1:5) is not by itself wisdom, but that it is first of all important to distinguish the "wisdom of this world," which is no wisdom at all but folly, from the "wisdom of God," which to the superficial appears as folly. Real wisdom, and that is indeed what the "wisdom of God" is, becomes evident in its application to the concrete problems of life. The argument for this claim is carried through in 1 Corinthians. Its main thrust is to convince the Corinthians that *agapē* is the foundation and content of the Christian faith and as such, true wisdom, which is able to stand the tests of daily life (1 Cor 8:1, 13:1–13; 14:1–5; etc.). Paul does not identify himself with any of the Corinthian parties, but by taking up the major Corinthian problems case after case he demonstrates in what way Christian love is also the wisdom of God. An entire course of education can be seen to run through the letters of 1 and 2 Corinthians, a course that passes through tumultuous confrontations before it is resolved and reconciliation is achieved. The completion of the collection for the church of Jerusalem (1 Cor 16:1–4; 2 Corinthians 8 and 9; Rom 15:25–32) plays a major role in these developments (see Betz, *2 Corinthians 8–9,* Hermeneia).

**(6) Paul's Opponents.** As one would expect, Paul's opponents spread the accusation that he not only abolished the law but also negated the reality of sin (Rom 3:5–8:31; 6:1; Matt 5:17; 7:21–23). Behind this defamation is again the claim of illegitimate Hellenization and indeed "paganization": as a result of Paul's teaching, gentile Christianity would be doomed to fall back into paganism and would, as unredeemed, again be juxtaposed to Judaism. Paul confronted these objections in his letter to the Romans. He began his defense of his gospel (Rom 1:16–17) with an incisive critique of Hellenistic religion, culture, and morality (1:18–32) as well as of non-Christian Judaism (2:1–29), in order then to turn to the unfolding of the notion of a "true Judaism," which he had introduced already in Gal 6:17. In this argument Christianity is shown to be the universal church, in which the law is not abolished (7:12) and sin is not negated (7:13–25), but in which the world is defeated (8:31–39). In chapters 9–11 Paul demonstrates that the church is not opposed to but rooted in Judaism, and that both will find their eschatological fulfillment through God's grace and mercy.

**(7) Developments After Paul.** The conflicts concerning Hellenization in the Deutero-Pauline Epistles and the Pastoral Epistles continued after Paul. In these letters the debates about Hellenism coincide with those about heresy versus orthodoxy. Each of these texts discusses in its own way the problems of accommodation to and separation from Hellenism.

**(8) The Gospels and the Book of Acts.** The Gospels and the book of Acts originated in connection with the problem of how best to communicate the life and teaching of Jesus as well as the beginnings of

the church to the Hellenistically oriented. In this literature the christology of Jesus as "divine man," contained already in the pre-synoptic miracle-story tradition, was reinterpreted in accordance with the theology of the evangelists (see Betz, *RAC* 12: 234–312). In the Gospel of Mark the teachings, miracles, and crucifixion of Jesus are presented as a "mystery" (Mark 4:11), a concept familiar to Hellenistic religious thinking. The Gospel of Matthew combines the gentile Christian Gospel of Mark with traditions derived from older Jewish Christianity. The Gospel of John debates the issues of Hellenism in its confrontation with Gnosticism. In the Gospel of Luke and the book of Acts the author recommends Christianity as the religion best suited for the Hellenistic world.

**4. The NT Becoming Literature.** Part of the phenomenon of Hellenism as it applies to the NT is the way in which it became literature. This process can be studied in the NT itself, but investigations have long been hampered by outdated ideas and concepts. Most important in this regard is the application of the category of literature to the NT (see Aune 1987; 1988). For a long time scholarship was influenced by Franz Overbeck's distinction between Christian "primitive literature" *(christliche Urliteratur)* and patristic literature, with only the latter to be properly called "literature." This concept of literature, the history and problems of which have yet to be studied adequately, has shaped subsequent NT scholarship, especially form criticism, redaction criticism, and genre research. Even the recent comprehensive history of early Christian literature by Vielhauer (1975) is based on Overbeck.

In regard to the epistolary literature, the distinction between "real letter" and "artistic, literary letter" (which has been common since Adolf Deissmann) is no longer usable (see Doty 1973; Aune 1988: 85–105; Malherbe 1988). The authentic letters of Paul include Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, and Philemon; in the case of Romans, 2 Corinthians, and Philippians, many scholars assume combinations of fragments by later redactors. The interpretation of Paul's letter writing in the context of ancient epistolography and rhetoric is still in its beginning stages, but detailed analyses have been presented by Betz (*Galatians* Hermeneia; *2 Corinthians 8–9* Hermeneia) and others that demonstrate formal composition in accordance with Gk epistolography and rhetoric (see also Hübner 1984; Aune 1987: 158–225). The pseudepigraphical letters include 2 Thessalonians, Colossians, Ephesians, the Pastoral Epistles, Hebrews, the Catholic Epistles, and the letters contained in Acts 15:23–29 and Rev 2:1–3:22. 2 Thessalonians, Colossians, and Ephesians imitate Paul's letter writing and therefore presuppose that his letters have become literary prototypes. (See Holland 1987 on 2 Thessalonians and Donelson 1986 on the Pastoral Epistles.)

The Gospels were interpreted in terms of ancient literature first by K. L. Schmidt, M. Dibelius, and R. Bultmann, but their main interest was directed toward the smaller literary forms; redaction criticism later focused on the overarching work of the gospel writers. Recent attention shows renewed interest in the question of the gospel as literary genre (see Aune 1987: 17–76; 1988: 107–26; Talbert 1977; 1988: 53–73 with bibliography). It was Dibelius' aim to interpret the book of Acts as part of ancient literature. He was followed by many others, so that today scholarship agrees that the author of Luke-Acts must be regarded as one of the major historians of the Hellenistic age, along with Polybius, Plutarch, Josephus, and Tacitus. The book of Revelation has also been studied in terms of its literary nature, composition, and genre. (For the state of this research and bibliography see Collins 1983; Hellholm 1989).

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HANS DIETER BETZ

**HELLENISTIC SYNAGOGAL PRAYERS.** See PRAYERS, HELLENISTIC SYNAGOGAL.

**HELLENISTS** [Gk *hellēnistai* (ἑλληνισταιˆ)]. The term used in Acts (6:1; 9:29) to designate Jews living in Jerusalem but originally connected with Diaspora Judaism and characterized by the use of Greek as their principle language, especially for worship and scripture.

The traditional understanding of the Hellenists as Greek-speaking Jews is first found in Chrysostom (*Hom. 14 in Acts* 6:1 and *Hom. 21 in Acts* 9:29). This has been expanded in recent years to an understanding of them as Diaspora Jews, acculturated in the Greek language, who returned to live in Jerusalem, forming their own synagogues and community relationships. There remained a degree of separation from Aramaic-speaking Jews even though the boundaries were not rigid, as some Greek-speaking Jews may have known Aramaic, and Aramaic-speaking Jews almost certainly knew some Greek. Some of these Jews, returning with a sense of awe for their ancestral customs, had staunchly conservative attitudes toward the Law and Temple, e.g., Acts 6:8–9 and 9:29. Others experienced dissonance between Diaspora theological emphases and the ethos of Palestinian legal observance and the Temple cult. They may have found Christian preaching attractive. Some of these Greek-speaking Jews were converted along with Jews who spoke Aramaic, perhaps as early as Pentecost, forming parallel Christian worshipping communities that reflected the distinctions known in the larger Jewish community.

That Luke understood the term in this manner seems certain. The Seven (6:5), usually taken to be representatives of the Hellenists, are Jewish Christians (Hengel 1983: 6). When dispersed (11:19) the Hellenists preach at first only to Jews. The conversion of the gentile Cornelius (Acts 10), is a unique event which is the precedent for the conversion of all gentiles (Acts 15). For Luke the Hellenists in Acts

6:1 are Christian Jews, while in 9:29 they represent the larger group of Diaspora Jews who have not converted.

Since *hellēnistēs* does not occur in any extant literature before Acts and does not occur again with regularity outside of literature influenced by Acts, until the 3d century it is the context of Acts which must be the primary determinant in establishing its meaning. But what can be gleaned from the etymological derivation of the term appears to confirm the meaning "Greek-speaking." *Hellēnistēs* is formed from the verb *hellēnizō,* which usually means "speak Greek" (Hengel 1983: 9). But it must be recognized that most verbs derived from national names mean to live by that group's national customs; e.g., *Ioudâzō,* "live by Jewish customs," Gal 2:14.

It seems historically implausible that there could have been a gentile segment of the Christian community in Jerusalem at this early date large enough to have caused problems with daily food rations or to have been in a position to attempt to kill Paul (9:29). Luke's theology does not in this case obscure a different historical reality.

There are three main dissenting opinions. Cadbury (1933: 59–74) argued that the Hellenists were gentiles. Most of his points have been answered above, except for the variant reading at 11:20. Here *hellēnistas,* the majority reading, clearly means "Greeks." Thus most commentators and versions adopt the minority reading *hellēnas.* But it is possible that a scribe, having gotten used to Luke's uncommon *hellēnistēs,* repeated it here when the original read *hellēnas,* "Greeks" (Hengel 1983: 8). If the majority reading is original it may still attest to the meaning "speak Greek," but with a variable racial connotation which must be taken from the context. Blackman (1937: 524–25) argued that the Hellenists were proselytes, but in the list of the Seven only Nicolaus is designated as such. Others have argued that the Hellenists represent a syncretistic fringe group in Judaism, but this fails to account for the archconservatism of Stephen's (6:9) and Paul's (9:29) opponents.

It is important that in the consensus of recent scholarship the Hellenists of Acts 6:1 acquire an immense significance in the development of the early Church. Robin Scroggs (1968: 177) has termed their community "the mother of Western Christianity." Of course Palestine had been subject to a process of Hellenization at least since its conquest by Alexander. But the local persistence of Aramaic as the primary language of acculturation means that it is still useful to distinguish between a Palestinian sphere and the larger Hellenistic world. Thus it is now thought that it was this community of Christian Hellenists who accelerated the transferal of the Jesus tradition from Aramaic into Greek, who helped bring Christian theology fully into the realm of Greek thought freed from Aramaic pre-acculturation, who were instrumental in moving Christianity from its Palestinian setting into the urban culture of the larger Empire, who first saw the implications of Jesus' resurrection for a Law-free Gospel for the gentiles (and for Jews), and who were the bridge between Jesus and Paul. These Christian Hellenists were the founders of Christian mission outside Palestine, and a theological tradition capable of articulating a gospel for the Greco-Roman world.

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THOMAS W. MARTIN

**HELMET.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

**HELON** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥēlōn* (חֵלֹן)]. The father of the chief (*nāśî*, Num 2:7) Eliab of the tribe of Zebulon. Of the five times that Helon is mentioned in the OT, each occurs in a tribal list where his mark of distinction is his status as the father of Eliab. Under the leadership of Helon's son Eliab, the tribe of

Zebulon participated in the census of Israelite fighting men carried out by Moses (Num 1:9, 30–31), presented its offerings on the third day of the twelve-day celebration of the dedication of the altar (Num 7:24, 29), took its proper place on the E side of the tabernacle in the Israelite camp (Num 2:7), and assumed its position in the order of march at the Israelites' departure from Mt. Sinai (Num 10:16). The name "Helon" means "the strong one," which appears simply to refer to the bodily strength of the one bearing the name (*IPN*, 225).

DALE F. LAUNDERVILLE

**HEM.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**HEMAN** (PERSON) [Heb *hêmān* (הֵימָן)]. Var. HOMAM. The name of three men in the OT.

**1.** A clan name in the genealogy of Seir the Horite mentioned in Gen 36:22. If Heman is read here, then his origin would be among the clans of the earliest known inhabitants of this region of Seir (Edom). However, this reading of the name appears in the RSV, GNB, and Douay versions. The MT, KJV, NEB, NAB, and many others read, more correctly, Hemam *(hêmām),* who is identified in the Horite genealogy as a son of Lotan. The name "Hemam" only appears in Gen 36:22; however, in the parallel genealogical list of 1 Chr 1:39, the name is written Homam. Unlike the clans of Israel, the Horite clans did not permanently inherit a dwelling place. They were ultimately dispossessed from the land of Seir (Edom) by the encroaching "sons of Esau" (Deut 2:12–22). This conquest is paired in the text with the conquest of Canaan by the Israelite tribes.

**2.** One of the three sons of Mahol in 1 Kgs 5:11 (Eng 4:31). This designation may not reflect family relationship, but rather serve as a title, "sons of the dance" (compare "daughters of music" in Eccl 12:4), reflecting their role in the temple worship. Heman, and his brothers Calcol and Darda, plus Ethan the Ezrahite, were proverbial wisemen of Israel. The unsurpassed wisdom of king Solomon was demonstrated by comparison with that of the sages of the east, of Egypt, and of these four men. In the Judahite genealogical list of 1 Chr 2:6 these four are described as the sons of Zerah. This connection may be the result of the Chronicler identifying the name Zerah with Ezrahite in the superscriptions to Psalms 88 and 89.

**3.** A son of Joel in the genealogical list of the temple guild in 1 Chr 6:18–32 (Eng 6:33–38). Twenty-two generations of this family are traced through the Levite tribe. Such attention to detail added authority to their leadership in the Second Temple period as well as providing a sense of continuity of service back to the origins of the covenant with God. In 1 Chr 15:16–17, David instructed the "chiefs of the Levites" to appoint musicians to perform during religious celebrations. It is noted that Heman the son of Joel was so appointed, and in 6:19 he is said, along with Asaph and Ethan, to be among those who "sound bronze cymbals." In 1 Chr 16:41–42, Heman and Jeduthun are described as sounding trumpets and cymbals in accompaniment to sacred songs. Similarly, 2 Chr 5:12 describes a grand procession taking the ark of the covenant into the temple accompanied by ranks of priests and the levitical singers and musicians including Heman, Jeduthun, and Asaph.

An expanded role for Heman and the other musicians is found in 1 Chr 25:1. Here they are said to "prophesy with lyres, with harps, and with cymbals" (compare Elisha's use of a musician in 2 Kgs 3:15). This role as prophet is further enhanced in 25:5 where Heman is described as the "king's seer" (see the parenthetical insertion regarding "the seer" in 1 Sam 9:9 and the designation of Gad as the "visionary of David in 2 Sam 24:11). It may be that originally the guild of musicians associated with Heman, Asaph, and Jeduthun began as a prophetic group and later was absorbed into the corps of temple musicians. However, Wilson (1980: 294) suggests that the Chronicler recognized prophecy as a regular part of the Levites' cultic role. "Visionaries" were thus not to be assigned to just one period of Israelite history.

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**HEMDAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥemdān* (חֶמְדָּן)]. Var. HAMRAN. A son of Dishon (Gen 36:26; 1 Chr 1:41), which makes him a grandson of "Seir, the Horite" (Gen 36:20). See also HORITES. The genealogical list Gen 36:20–28 belongs to the most ancient traditions in Genesis 36 (Weippert 1971). Together with Gen 36:10–14, the list describes the Edomite tribal system in the 7th century B.C. (Knauf 1989: 10–11, n. 45, 61–63). The name is attested in Sabaic (Harding 1971: 200) and Arabic (*Ḥamdân;* Littmann 1921: 9). It can be interpreted as "object of desire" (cf. Dan 11:37). In 1 Chr 1:41, *ḥmdn* is misspelled as *ḥmrn,* a name that occurs in Safaitic and Qatabanian (Harding 1971: 201).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**HEMORRHAGE.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**HEMORRHOIDS.** See BIBLE, EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE; SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**HEMP.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**HENA** (PLACE) [Heb *hēnaʿ* (הֵנַע)]. Assyria under Shalmaneser V (726–722) and Sargon II (721–705) conquered Samaria and took tribute from Judah's king Ahaz (733–727). Hezekiah (727–698) continued the tribute, but when Sargon died, Hezekiah rebelled against Assyria. The Assyrian King Sennacherib (704–681) attacked Judah and captured many cities (2 Kgs 18:13). He sent three Assyrian officials to confer with the leaders of Judah. One, the Rabshakeh, argued that the situation was hopeless. To illustrate his point, he asked (v 34), "Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpad? Where are the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivvah?" The officials returned to Sennacherib, who sent them back with another message, including the words of 19:13, "Where is the king of Hamath, the king of Arpad, the king of the city of Sepharvaim, the king of Hena, or the king of Ivvah?" The story is repeated in Isa 36–37 where 37:13 records the same question of 2 Kgs 19:13. These were apparently places the Assyrians had conquered and the city gods had been unable to save them; the city kings were gone, presumably dead. Hena may have been in upper Mesopotamia, judging by the listing with Hamath (modern Hama, on the Orontes River, 120 miles N of Damascus), Arpad (Arfad, Tell Rif'at, 19 miles N of Aleppo), Sepharvaim (Ezek 47:16, Sibraim between Hamath and Damascus, near Homs; but Astour, *IDBSup,* 807, suggests Saparda in Media). Simons (*GTTOT,* 367) says the site is unknown.

The name simply means "low land." Scholars have pointed out that Hena and Ivvah do not appear in Isa 36:19, a parallel to or a repetition of 2 Kgs 18:34. After the question about the gods of Sepharvaim is the question, "Have they delivered Samaria out of my hand?" Hena and Ivvah do not appear in a somewhat similar list in 2 Kgs 17:24, which says the king of Assyria brought colonists (exiles) from Babylon, Cutha, Avva, Hamath, and Sepharvaim. This has led some scholars to claim that Hena and Ivvah are not geographical places at all. Astour claims there are no traces of toponyms of Hena and Ivvah anywhere in the ancient Near East. The "names" are due to dittography in the original phrase about the perverse king of the Sapardians. Gray (*Kings* OTL, $^{2}$1970: 677) omits the *hēnaʿ wĕʿiwwâ* of MT with the Greek (BL) and Isaiah 36. The Targum takes them as the *HipʿilofnuaʿandPiʿelofʿawa,* meaning "He sent them wandering and caused them to stray." Symmachus in the parallel passage in Isa 37:13 reads "displaced and humiliated them," reading *ʿinna* for MT *ʿiwwâ.* G (L) and L read *wĕʾayyēh ʾĕlōhê ʾereṣ šōmrôn,* "and where are the gods of the land of Samaria," which is suggested by the immediate sequel. A reference to Samaria is natural after its recent fall rather than a reference to more distant places. Gray (p. 684) translated v 34, "Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpad? Where are the gods of Sibraim and where

were the gods of the land of Samaria that they should deliver Samaria from my hand?" The gods of these Syrian peoples could not be expected to deliver Samaria; hence Lucian's reading "where are the gods of Samaria?" is demanded before the final phrase (unless, of course, Hena and Ivvah are actual places). In 2 Kgs 19:13, Gray (p. 686) omits *sĕparwāyim hēna‹ wĕ‹iwwâ* as a mere echo of 18:34.

Earlier Cheyne (*EncBib* 2: 2016) claimed Hena and Ivvah were imaginary names. "Underlying this is a witty editorial suggestion that the existence of cities called *hn‹* and *‹wh* respectively has passed out of mind (cf Ps 9:6[7]), for [Hena and Ivah] clearly means 'he has driven away and overturned' (so Tg, Sym)." He would drop Hena out of the text. Hommel (1898: 330–31) though that these were divine names. Hena is the Arabic star-name al-han‹a, and Ivvah is al-‹awwa, the 6th and 13th stations of the moon. Delitzsch (1877: 97) noted also that if Hena and Ivvah are words, the phrase means "he has taken away and overthrown," but he thought they were the names of cities whose location is unknown. Hena is hardly the well-known Avatho on the Euphrates as Gesenius, Niebuhr, and others supposed. Gehman (1970: 378) noted the common identification with Anah on the Euphrates at 42° E longitude. Ivvah (2 Kgs 18:34; 19:13 RSV) may be the same as Avva in 2 Kgs 17:24, which was a town and has been identified with Tell Kafr 'Aya on the Orontes, SW of Homs. Thus Hena would be in the same vicinity, i.e., somewhere near Damascus, an area familiar to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Thus the Rabshakeh's analogy makes sense—Jerusalem will be destroyed; her God will not help her; her king will be killed—just like Hena and these cities near Damascus, whose fate was already known to the people of Jerusalem.

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**HENADAD** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥēnādād* (חֲנָדָד)]. This name means literally, "the grace of Hadad,"

Hadad being the West Semitic storm-god (cf. Benhadad of Syria). Similar names are found in Ugaritic, such as *ḥnb‹l,* "the grace of Baal," and *ḥnil,* "the grace of El." Henadad was the patronym of a family group among the Levites. The "sons of Henadad," i.e., members of this family group, were among those charged with overseeing the repairs of the house of the Lord (Ezra 3:9). Henadad, mentioned in connection with the restoration of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh 3:18, 24; cf. also Ezra 3:9), and with the sealing of Nehemiah's covenant (Neh 10:10—Eng10:9), was of this same family group.

D. G. SCHLEY

**HENNA.** See PERFUMES AND SPICES; FLORA.

**HEPHER** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥēper* (חֵפֶר)]. HEPHERITES. Three people in the OT bear this name. The

noun is probably related to the West Semitic root *ḥpr,* meaning "to dig, search for" (cf. Ar *ḥafara,* Aram *ḥĕpar*), hence *ḥēper* would refer to something dug, such as a well. In post-biblical Hebrew *ḥēper* refers to "grave digging," an obvious later restriction to one kind of hole (cf. Jastrow 1903: 493 for references).

**1.** The head of the clan (properly Heb *mišpaḥâ,* which is midway between a family and a clan) of the Hepherites (Heb *haḥeprî*) in the tribe of Manasseh. He is also identified as the father of Zelophehad, whose daughters were given their father's inheritance in the absence of a male heir (see Num 26:32, 33; 27:1; 17:2, 3). See HEPHER (PLACE).

**2.** One of the sons of Naarah, a clan of Judah (1 Chr 4:6).

**3.** One of the mighty men (Heb *gibbôrîm*) of David in 1 Chr 11:36. Note that the parallel passage in 2 Samuel 23 differs in some respects from the Chronicler's list, including omitting any mention of Hepher. Some textual corruption of either or both passages is possible (cf. the discussion in Hertzberg *I and II Samuel* OTL, 402–408; Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 101–4), although it also seems possible that the two lists come from different sources representing the composition of David's mighty men at different times.

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**HEPHER** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥēper* (חֵפֶר)]. A town located in the tribal territory of Manasseh, first appearing alongside Tappuah in the list of defeated Canaanite kings (Josh 12:17). Hence, the editor of the book of Joshua testifies that Hepher was a Canaanite city-state. But the credibility and dating of this list has been questioned and debated by different scholars (Noth 1935; Aharoni 1976). Most scholars place the origin of the list within the context of the Iron I period, but Fritz (1969) has suggested a date in the United Monarchy. The appearance of the sites in the list in pairs, usually in the same geographic vicinity, and the identification of Tappuah in the Manassite territory in the central mountain region may serve as a preliminary guideline for locating the city of Hepher nearby. The term "the land of Hepher," which appears in the Solomonic district list (1 Kgs 4:10), apparently refers to a geographic definition of the area of jurisdiction of a Canaanite city-state. In this sense the Hebrew term *ʾereṣ* (land) is similar to the Akkadian term *mat,* which also appears as a definition for the territorial area of cities, families, and tribes. The Bible contains some examples of this term, in reference to Canaanite cities: "the land of Shechem" (Gen 34:1–2; 10:21); "the land of Tappuah" (Josh 17:8); "the land of Cabul" (Josh 19:27; 1 Kgs 9:13).

These two references define Hepher as a city-state, a description typical of the LB period. Its location should be sought within the bounds of the 3d Solomonic district, of which "the land of Hepher" is a part. According to Albright (1925), the district belonged to the Manassite inheritance in the hill country. However, Alt (1932) and Aharoni (1976) placed it in the Sharon plain of the coastal region. Following this latter placement Mazar suggested identifying Hepher with Tel Ifshar (M.R. 141197) in the central Sharon, while Alt suggested that Arubboth, the capital of the district, was located at Tel Assawir (M.R. 151210) in the N part of the same plain. From the outset these identifications presented great difficulties: Tel Ifshar is a small site, unfit to have been a Canaanite city-state; and Tell Assawir contained no remains from the 10th century. Another problem with placing the 3d district in the Sharon plain is the fact that the territories of the granddaughters of Hepher—the daughters of Zelophehad, according to the genealogical lists—were located in the NE of the Manasseh hill country; thus the "land of Hepher," if in the Sharon, is too far W from his "granddaughter's" allotments.

In 1978 a detailed archaeological survey of the Manassite allotment W of the Jordan was begun. With the identification of Arubboth at Kh. el-Hamam (M.R. 163201) near the Dothan valley, it became apparent that Hepher and the "land of Hepher" should be sought in the hill-country nucleus of Manasseh. As a result of the survey, Zertal (1984) suggested a new identification for the city-state of Hepher at Tell el-Muhaffar (M.R. 170205), located at the N fringes of the Dothan valley. The survey established that settlement on this large tel, which lies upon a good water source and near the international route which connected the coast and the valley of Jezreel (cf. Gen 37:25; *ANET,* 235), began during the EB I–II period. The settlement dwindled during the MB and LB periods, but an additional flourishing of the settlement was during the Iron I–II periods.

The name of the fortified tell was also well preserved. In the British PEF maps, the site is named Umm el-Haffeh, whereas in later maps it appears with its full name, Mu-Haffar. The rarity of the root *ḥpr/ḥfr* in the lexicon of Palestinian place-names supports the idea that the original name was preserved in the above. Therefore it seems that the original territory of the "land of Hepher" included the area of the Dothan valley, originally the area belonging to the Canaanite city-state of Hepher.

In the genealogical lists of Manasseh (Josh 17:2), the Canaanite Hepher appears as the son of Manasseh, along with Shechem, Shemida, Helek, Asriel, and Abiezer. See HEPHER (PERSON). The list continues with Zelophedad, son of Hepher, and his daughters: Milka, Mahla, Hogla, Noah, and Tirza. The Samaria Ostraca indicate that all these were subdivisions within Manassite territory; therefore, the term "the land of Hepher" during the Israelite settlement period apparently expanded to include all the territories in the NE area of Manasseh, from Wadi Fariʿah and S of it to the Gilboa range in the N, including the E valleys of the Shechem Sincline. Lemaire (1977) and others have suggested identifying these areas as the

territories of the daughters of Zelophohad. The archaeological survey conducted by Zertal showed that the earliest Iron I settlements in Manasseh were located in the desert fringe and the E valleys near the Jordan. This conclusion is based upon the presence of the early cooking pot type A, which is dated to the 14–13th centuries B.C.E., from which developed the later "Israelite" cooking pot type B, typical to the 12–11th centuries B.C.E.

In light of the results of the survey, Zertal suggested identifying the territory of Tirzah at Wadi Fari‹ah, of Mahlah in Wadi Malih, of Milcah in the Sanur Valley (10 miles N of Nablus) of Hoglah in the vicinity of Yasid (M.R. 176189), and of Noah possibly in the Zebabde valley (7 miles N of Tirzah; already suggested by Lemaire). This division appropriately defines the final development of the term "the land of Hepher" during the period of the United Monarchy, as it appears in the Solomonic district list.

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**HEPHZIBAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥepṣî-bāh* (חֶפְצִי־בָהּ)]. Mother of Manasseh, king of Judah (2 Kgs 21:1). Hephzibah's name occurs in her son's regnal formula in 2 Kings but is omitted from the parallel account in 2 Chr 33:1. She is the only queen mother for whom no information is given concerning either her father or her place of origin. Her name, which means "my delight is in her," appears in Isa 62:4 as a symbolic name for the restored Zion. See also MANASSEH, KING OF JUDAH; QUEEN.

LINDA S. SCHEARING

**HEPTAPEGON** (M.R. 200251). A term (Gk *Heptapegon*), which specifically refers to several still-existing springs near the NW bank of Lake Kinneret. These springs flow between the foot of the hills of the Mount of Beatitudes and the bank of the lake in a rocky area that is situated 2 miles to the SW of Talhum-Capernaum and on the NE side of Tell ‹Oreimeh (i.e., the ancient city of Kinneret, from which the name of the lake is derived). Between Tell ‹Oreimeh and the springs, Wadi Jamus widens out, forming a small plain.

The name "Heptapegon," which means "seven fountains," does not occur in the writings of the NT and is attested only beginning from the 9th century, although the name is implied in the Latin texts of the 4th century *(Septem Fontes).* The Arabic pronunciation et-Tabgha derives directly from "Heptapegon," where *hep* has been changed into *et* by assimilation with the following consonant, and *tapegon* is contracted to *tabgha* with the normal shift of *p* to *b;* the *a* ending probably derives from the plural feminine substantive *heptapegai* instead of from the neuter singular of the substantive adjective *heptapegon.* The Arabic name et-Tabgha, or simply TABGHA is still in use, along with the modern Hebrew name ‹Ein Sheba, and is a safe assurance of the identification of the site.

According to Josephus, the spring (*pege* in the singular) was commonly called Capernaum ("the inhabitants call it Capernaum": *JW* 3.519). This designation, the most ancient, is explained by the fact that Capernaum was in the 1st century A.D. the installation closest to the springs. It is also recorded in the Middle Ages that the limited area around the springs was called Tabula (cf., the Florentine map of the 13th century).

**A. Research and Excavations**

Many travelers and topographers of the past century, in their impassioned research on Capernaum, have stopped at et-Tabgha and have described in particular the springs and the hydraulic installations connnected with them, ignoring, however, the existence of the sacred Christian buildings. The systematic

excavations since 1932 have revealed the presence of three churches built by the Byzantines in memory of three important events of the gospel accounts—the multiplication of loaves and fishes (Matt 14:13–21), the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5:1–11), and the appearance of the resurrected Jesus (John 21:1–24).

The three sanctuaries were constructed in the late 4th century and were of modest proportions. Toward the end of the 5th century the little Church of the Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes was replaced by a much larger church which had mosaic pavements with scenes of exceptional artistic merit. The mosaic of the Chapel of the Sermon on the Mount was also partially remodeled. With the Persian invasion at the beginning of the 7th century, the Church of the Multiplication and the Church of the Sermon on the Mount fell gradually into ruins, and only the rustic little chapel on the traditional site of the appearance of the resurrected Jesus remained functional until the period of the Crusades.

**B. The Heptapegon at the Time of the Gospels**

The Heptapegon is of interest to biblical scholars because the site was near, and directly dependent upon Capernaum, "the city of Jesus" (Matt 9:1), and because the Christian communities located at this place the three important events mentioned above. The reliability of these traditions cannot be quickly dismissed, especially after the recent excavations of Capernaum have indicated both the uninterrupted presence there of a strong community of Jewish Christians in the first centuries of the Christian era, and their pronounced interest for the preservation of traditions. Furthermore, archaeological research, and especially that of 1968, not only has uncovered in the limited area of the springs certain elements consonant with the topographical data in the gospel accounts, but it has helped further to re-create the physical environment.

One thing is clear: in the area of the springs of et-Tabgha, there has never been a village, much less an urban center, in spite of what some explorers of the last century have suggested. According to them the Heptapegon was at the time of Jesus an industrial suburb of Capernaum, or even the place of Bethsaida of Galilee. Only in one place have some silos been found excavated in the rock presupposing a farmhouse. Although the initial date of its construction escapes us, it must date before the 2d century A.D. In addition, the Heptapegon was separate from the urban centers: between the Heptapegon and the entrance of the Jordan river at the N of the lake, the only village was Capernaum, two miles away from the Heptapegon, while along the W shore of the lake there existed no installations between the Heptapegon and Magdala (with the possible exception of Tell Hunud where, however, the pottery gathered on the surface does not predate the 3d century A.D.).

Besides being a "solitary" place, the Heptapegon consists of a vast area of land that is completely rocky and inadequate for agriculture but much more adapted for an assembly of a great multitude. The rocks on the surface were exploited, beginning in the 2d century A.D., as a source of white limestone, much more precious than the basalt which is abundant in the area of the lake. The small plain however, along the Wadi Jamus, to the W of the springs, lent itself well to cultivation. It is to this arable area that the pilgrims refer to when they spoke of a level field where many olives and palms grew.

At the time of the Jesus, the abundant springwater flowed in the lake and was utilized only in part to irrigate the fertile valley of Ginnosar through canals which now are very difficult to locate. These waters still attract a great quantity of fish so that the shores of the lake between the Heptapegon and Capernaum are the richest for fishermen. Only in the 4th century A.D. was a more rational and efficient system of irrigation created: several springs in fact were channeled into gigantic cisterns from which canals carried the water in various directions. In more recent times the springwater has been used to propel many mills, some of which have remained in use until as recently as fifty years ago.

The Heptapegon, although it is a solitary place and for the most part rocky, was easily accessible both by the lake it bordered and by land, since it was crossed by a very important imperial road; this road passed from Beth-shan to Damascus, turning from Tell ʿOreimeh toward et-Tabgha. This road was still functional in the 4th century and is recorded by the pilgrim Eteria.

All evidence seems to corroborate the events of the gospels and the ancient Christian tradition which located them in the restricted area of the Heptapegon.

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STANISLAO LOFFREDA

**HERAKLES** (DEITY). The most popular and the most complex of the ancient Greek heroes, Herakles (a theophorous name meaning "glory of Hera") was reportedly the son of Zeus and the mortal woman Alcmene. Herakles was prominent in four areas of Greek and Roman culture: folklore, cult, art, and literature. He is mentioned several times in the oldest extant Greek compositions, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (Galinsky 1972: 9–22). Archaeologists have discovered artistic representations of his exploits which date to the 8th century B.C. According to Nilsson (1932: 187–220), the Herakles cycle (along with the other major Greek mythological cycles) can be traced back to the Mycenaean period (ca. 1550–1150 B.C.). Iconographic evidence from the ANE, dating as far back as the 3d millennium B.C., provides evidence for the popularity of such Herakles-like figures as Ninurta, the son of the storm god Enlil (Burkert 1979: 80–83). A hero with club, bow, and lionskin (the traditional costume of the Greek Herakles, which appears after ca. 650 B.C.) is depicted on Sumerian cylinder seals. Burkert traces the figure of Herakles back even further to a neolithic and EB age figure who is not primarily a warrior fighting other warriors but rather a "master of animals" (Burkert 1979: 83–98). According to the *interpretatio Graeca* ("Greek interpretation") which prevailed from the 5th century B.C., in which certain barbarian deities were seen as Greek gods under various aliases, Herakles was identified with the Tyrian god Melgart, whose worship spread to the Decapolis, Cyprus, Egypt, and Carthage (Herodotus 2.44; 2 Macc 4:19; Joseph. *AgAp* 1.118–19; *Ant* 8.146; Arr. *Anab.* 2.16.1–8; Arist. *Or.* 40.10; cf. Teixidor 1977: 34–35). At Palmyra, Herakles was identified with the Mesopotamian ruler of the dead Nergal (Seyrig 1945). In one of the surviving fragments of Cleodemus or Malchus (Holladay 1983: 245–59), possibly a Jew or a convert to Judaism, the author claims that two of the sons of Abraham by Keturah, Aphran and Apher, joined Herakles to fight Antaeus in Libya, one of Herakles traditional *parerga* (Diod. Sic. 4.17.4–5). Herakles later married the daughter of Aphran, who bore a son named Diodorus.

Herakles differed from other Greek heroes (such as Perseus, Theseus, Odysseus, Oedipus, and Amphiaraus) in that he had no tomb which might serve as a center for his cult. This feature was quite unusual, since the Greek term *heros* (usually simply transliterated into English as "hero") was a term for a mortal who received worship at his tomb as a local earth deity after death. In part the widespread popularity of Herakles was due to the fact that his worship was not localized by not being limited to the site of a tomb. Despite the fact that he had particular associations with Tiryns and Thebes, neither city ever claimed to possess his remains.

The worship of Herakles had two quite different forms, each characterized by a distinctive sacrificial protocol (Guthrie 1950: 229–31). In some places he was honored as a hero, while at other places he was worshipped as an Olympic god (Herodotus 2.44). Pindar combined these two perceptions by describing Herakles as a "hero-god" (*Nem.* 3.22), by which he meant a hero who had become an Olympic deity as a reward for his labors. The dual nature of Herakles is also reflected in a famous passage in *Odyssey* 11.601f., where Odysseus sees, during his tour of Hades, "the phantom of mighty Herakles; but he himself is with the immortal gods." Another reason for Herakles' enormous popularity was the fact that he was a mortal who through his own striving had become a god, thereby breaking the barrier between mortality and immortality so rigidly maintained in ancient Greek religious thought (Guthrie 1950: 239).

The most extensive ancient syntheses of Herakles legends are found in Diodorus Siculus 4.8–53 and Apollodorus 2.4.5–2.8.5. These and other ancient mythographers divided the adventures of Herakles into three categories. First came the Twelve Labors (Brommer 1986), the so-called canonical tasks assigned to Herakles by king Eurystheus of Tiryns (to purify him for killing his wife Megara and her children during

an insane rampage), which can be subdivided geographically into a *Peloponesian group* (of six): (1) The Nemean Lion, (2) The Lernaean Hydra, (3) The Erymanthian Boar, (4) The Ceryneian Hind, (5) The Stymphalian Birds, and (6) The Stables of Augeas; an *eastern group* (of three): (7) The Cretan Bull, (8) The Thracian Horses (Mares of Diomedes), and (9) The Girdle of Hippolyta; and a *western group* (of three): (10) The Cattle of Geryon, (11) The Apples of Hesperides, and (12) Cerberus (descent and return from Hades).

Second came the *Parerga*, or "subsidiary activities," the so-called "noncanonical" adventures, some of which punctuate the Twelve Labors; others were narrated after the completion of the Twelve Labor, but all were considered incidental to them (Brommer 1984).

Third came military expeditions during which Herakles both conquered and civilized the world. It was this final type of activity which made Herakles popular as a paradigm of the king and victorious conqueror with whom many Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors and generals identified.

These three types of adventures were framed by stories of Herakles' birth and youth on the one hand and death by self-immolation on the other. Shortly after Zeus had impregnated Alcmene disguised as her husband (compressing three nights into one), Amphitryon himself arrived home and also had sexual relations with Alcmene. Consequently she bore twins, Alcides (the original name of Herakles), son of Zeus, and Iphicles, son of Amphitryon. Hera, a patron of Eurystheus and adversary of Herakles, sent a serpent to destroy the infant Herakles, but the infant hero strangled it. By the 5th century B.C., Herakles' labors were understood allegorically, and as tasks which he took on voluntarily. In line with this understanding Prodicus (a contemporary of Socrates) lectured on the allegory of Herakles' Choice (Xenophon 2.1.34), presented as a testing or temptation scene. Two women, personifications of Vice and Virtue, appeared to Herakles. The former tried to persuade him to follow the easy road of ease and pleasure, while the latter urged him to take the rough road of hardship and struggle. Herakles chose the latter, and so became an example for Stoics and Cynics, as well as others. Herakles' death was the result of a tragic accident. His wife Deianira gave him a garment which had been anointed with the blood of the dying centaur Nessus. Though she thought the blood was an aphrodisiac, in reality it was a poison. Suffering greatly, Herakles had a funeral pyre constructed on Mount Oeta. According to the version of the myth in Apollodorus (2.7.7; trans. Simpson), "While the pyre was burning a cloud is said to have enveloped Heracles and to have raised him up to heaven with a crash thunder. Thenceforth he was immortal" (cf. Sen. *Her. O.* 1966–69).

Samson (as a theophorous name meaning "man of the sun"), an Israelite leader with superhuman strength, performed many fantastic feats, many of which have parallels in Greek and Mesopotamian legends of figures like Herakles, Ninurta, and Gilgamesh. In a series of articles, O. Margalith has argued that the Biblical figure of Samson is associated with a pastiche of adventures drawn from a LB Age cycle of Herakles legends as well as other Greek mythical themes and motifs (1986a; 1986b; 1987). The Herakles legends, he argues, were mediated to the Israelites by their Philistine neighbors. Samson's slaying of a lion barehanded to win the favor of a maiden (Judg 14:5–9), for example, is a motif missing from the ancient Near East but common in Greek folklore (Margalith 1987). The birth story of Samson in Judg 13:2–24 consists of three motifs common in Greek myth: a barren mother, the intervention of a supernatural being, and a miraculous birth (Margalith 1986b). Some of Margalith's parallels are weak, such as his contention that the sacrifice of Samson's parents in Judg 13:15–20, in which they supposedly see Samson's divine father ascend to heaven in flames, was influenced by the story of Herakles' fiery apotheosis on Mount Oeta (Margalith 1986b). Augustine provides evidence that early Christians also connected Samson with Herakles (*Civ. Dei* 18.19), and Samson is depicted as Herakles in the frescoes of the Via Latina catacomb (Simon 1981: 86–96; Malherbe *RAC* 14: 581–83).

Early Christians recognized parallels between Herakles and Jesus but considered the former to be based on the imitation of the latter (Just. *1 Apol.* 21.1; *Dial.* 69.3; Or. *Cels.* 3.22, 42). Several modern scholars have noted the striking similarities between the legends of Herakles (and other Greek heroes) and the life of Jesus as presented in the canonical Gospels (surveys in Simon 1955: 49–74 and Malherbe *RAC* 14: 568–72). Pfister (1937) proposed that the author of the "Urevangelium," from which the Synoptic

Gospels were derived (in itself an improbable hypothesis), was heavily influenced by a Cynic-Stoic life of Herakles. Pfister's proposal received a devastating critique by Rose (1938), who nevertheless conceded that the legendary features of the Gospels (virgin birth, miracles, resurrection, ascension) in many cases were influenced by ancient conceptions of the divine hero or divine man. Toynbee listed twenty-four parallels between Herakles and Christ (1939: 465–76), yet suggested that the influence of the former upon the latter was through "folk memory."

There is evidence which suggests the possible influence of Herakles imagery on the formation of aspects of the Christology of Hebrews (Aune 1990). Though Jesus was the Son of God, he learned obedience through suffering (Heb 5:8) and provides an example for Christians (Heb 12:3–4). Similarly Aelius Aristides heard a divine voice exhorting him "to endure the present circumstances, since Herakles also endured his, although he was the son of Zeus" (*Or.* 40.22; trans. Behr), and others considered Herakles' divine sonship as a metaphor referring to his "education" in toil and suffering (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 2.78; Epict. 2.16.14). Since Jesus has passed through the heavens and experienced human weakness, he is able to help those who pray to him (Heb 4:14–16). Similarly Dio Chrysostom is critical of the many common people "who pray to him [Herakles] that they may not themselves suffer—to him who in his labours suffered exceedingly great" (*Or.* 40.16; LCL trans. with modifications). Both Jesus (Heb 5:8–9; 10:5–10) and Herakles (*DL* 6.2; Diod. Sic. 4.11.1; Epict. 2.16.44) are hailed as examples of obedience to their divine fathers. Finally, just as Jesus' heavenly enthronement is achieved through his suffering and death (Heb 2:9; 12:2), so the apotheosis of Herakles is seen as the consequence of his life of obedience, suffering, and virtue (Lucian *Deor. conc.* 6; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.40). These and other parallels suggest that the author of Hebrews thought that many of the functions of Herakles as a Hellenistic savior figure were even more applicable to the mission and achievement of Jesus. See also HERCULES (DEITY).

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D. E. AUNE

**HERBS.** See FLORA.

**HERCULES** (DEITY) [Gk *Hēraklēs* (Ἡρακλης)]. The Greek figure who is honored in quadrennial games at Tyre to which Jason in 2 Macc 4:19–20 sends a delegation with three hundred drachmas of silver to offer sacrifices in the opening ceremonies. While the Greek term *pentaetērikou* literally would mean quinquennial, an inclusive method of counting was employed (Goldstein *II Maccabees* AB, 232). Known in Greek texts as "Heracles," Hercules is the Roman name given to this figure regarded in Greek literature as both hero and god. See also HERAKLES (DEITY). Heracles cults were spread throughout

almost all the Greek world (Burkert 1985: 208–211). Both Strabo (16.2.23) and Arrian (2.16.2; 2.24.5; 3.6.1) give ample attestation to the major importance of this cult at Tyre. By the time of Herodotus (2.44) this Greek divinity is already connected with the Phoenician god Melqart.

While the wording of the account varies considerably in the manuscripts, the essential elements of the event remain the same. The 300 drachmas of silver mentioned in the story were a sufficient amount to buy an ox for sacrifice (Habicht *2 Makkabäerbuch* JSHRZ, 218), so later Latin and Syriac versions which read "3,300" reflect the inflation rate (Goldstein, 233). Goldstein is probably correct to argue that Jason viewed the sacrifice as a non-religious "admission fee" (pp. 232–33). Jason sent the envoys because King Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.E.) was present and to establish Jerusalem's reputation as a Hellenistic city. In this chapter on the conflict over the Hellenization of Jerusalem, the envoys of Jason are used as an example of Jewish resistance to its religious demands. The Jewish delegation has some qualms about offering a sacrifice to a Greek god; they use the money given them for the purchase of an offering to pay for the construction of galleys *(triēreōn)* for the king instead. There is no indication that this decision presented a problem for the Hellenistic officials in Tyre.

Josephus (*Ant* 1.240–41) notes that Cleodemus Malchus in his history of the Jews says that the sons of Abraham aided Heracles in his battle against Libya, and that Heracles later married Abraham's granddaughter. From Menander he gets the information that Hiram, King of Tyre, erected new temples to Heracles (*Ant* 8.146, *AgAp* 1.118–19). Megasthenes is cited as arguing that the accomplishments of Nebuchadnezzar were greater than those of Heracles (*Ant* 10.227, *AgAp* 1.144).

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**HERDSMAN** [Heb *nōqēd* (נֹקֵד)]. A term that denotes the work of shepherding small cattle (sheep and goats), and possibly specified the care of a choice breed of sheep. The Ar *naqad* refers to a species of small sheep producing abundant wool, and the shepherd of this animal was a *naqqad*. The Akk *nāqidu* was used of shepherds of cattle, sheep, and goats, and even of mankind; sometimes the term was used of the overseers of herdsmen. The word *nōqēd* is used twice in the OT: "King Mesha of Moab was a sheep breeder" (*nōqēd;* 2 Kgs 3:4) and Amos was "among the shepherds *(nōqĕdîm)* of Tekoa" (Amos 1:1). As a *nōqēd* Mesha operated a profitable business; his annual tribute to the king of Israel was 100,000 lambs and the wool of 100,000 rams (2 Kgs 3:4). The care of such large numbers of sheep would have required many shepherds serving under Mesha. At Ugarit the *nqd* was a known functionary appearing in lists with priests and others of the nobility, and he presumably held an official position (*ANET*, 141b; see *UT*, 78, 447). The Ugaritic material raises the question of whether Amos should be regarded as different from the ordinary shepherd, as more like Mesha, a prosperous businessman. He may have occupied a professional status under the king or the temple which obligated him to supply them with flocks, to pay taxes, or even to fulfill a military role; he would have also enjoyed certain privileges that came with employment by the royal house (Hammershaimb 1970: 17–18; Cutler and Macdonald 1977: 25–27; Craigie 1982: 30–33). It has also been proposed that the title *nōqēd* as applied to Amos meant he held a position as some kind of cult functionary, even a hepatoscoper (see Bic 1951; cf. Murtonen 1952).

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JACK W. VANCIL

**HERES, ASCENT OF** (PLACE) [Heb *maʿălēh* (מַעֲלֵה)*heḥāres* (הֶחָרֵס)]. The place E of the Jordan River by which Gideon returned from capturing the Midianite kings Zebah and Zalmunna (Judg

8:13). The text is problematic. First the presence of the definite article before *ḥeres* argues against Heres being a proper last name, but perhaps the word "sun" (BDB, 357); thus Gideon returned from the battle "before the sun arose" (although *maʿălēh* is not the normal word to indicate the path of the sun). Second, both Aquila and Symmachus presuppose *millĕmaʿlâ hĕhārîm*, "from up on top of the mountains."
GARY A. HERION

**HERESH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥereš* (חֶרֶשׁ)]. A Levite who lived in Jerusalem after the return from Babylonian exile (1 Chr 9:15). Heresh is listed in 1 Chr 9:15 as a descendant of Asaph, the head of one of the three families of levitical singers appointed by David (1 Chr 15:16–17, 25:1–8) and the author of several Psalms (Psalms 50, 73–83). Heresh probably followed in his ancestor's footsteps as a levitical singer. The parallel passage in Nehemiah (11:15–18) does not list Heresh but does indicate that other descendants of Asaph lived in Jerusalem at that time (11:17). Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 136) has suggested that the author of 1 Chronicles 9 may have had access to other traditions than did the author of Nehemiah; or he may have updated the list in Nehemiah 11 by adding the names of prominent families of his own day.
ROBERT C. DUNSTON

**HERESY AND ORTHODOXY IN THE NT.** The issue of whether or not particular religious expressions conformed to established norms and/or doctrines was certainly important within early Judaism and early Christianity. However, it is important to note that at early stages "established norms" by definition did not exist. For early Judaism of the Greco-Roman period, diversity was prevalent, with various forms of Judaisms each understanding themselves to be the true successor to biblical "Israel." See JUDAISM (GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD).

The origins of Christianity are bound up with theological controversies surrounding true and false doctrine, controversies occurring first within Judaism and subsequently within Christianity. The NT as a literary manifestation is the result of these debates. See CANON (NT). Debates about true and false doctrine are thus presupposed in the NT, although the recorded material is only a cross-section of what must have occurred in the real life of the early Church.

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A. Concept and Terminology
B. History
  1. John the Baptist
  2. Jesus of Nazareth
  3. Paul and his Opponents
C. Literature
  1. The Sermon on the Mount
  2. The Letters of Paul
  3. Pauline Pseudepigrapha
  4. The Gospels
  5. The Book of Revelation


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**A. Concept and Terminology**

Complementary to orthodoxy, the concept of heresy includes authoritative doctrines both theoretical (interpretations of Scripture; theology) and practical (rituals, ethics, organization) in content. The decision about what should be accepted as orthodox or rejected as heretical depended to a large extent on the viewpoint of the respective author(s) of a given text, that is, on doctrinal presuppositions and traditions as well as on concrete situations. The traditional definition of heresy as an arbitrary deviation by a minority from a doctrinal norm represented and safeguarded institutionally by a majority cannot be applied to primitive Christianity, a caveat correctly recognized in 1934 by Walter Bauer (Bauer 1971; see *TRE* 5:

317–19). The facts, however, are considerably more complicated than Bauer had presupposed and cannot be abstracted into one formula or rule.

The notion of heresy in the Christian sense of the word did not exist at the beginning; its gradual inception and development can be seen in the NT. Acts knows the notion of *hairesis* ("party," "sect") in the neutral sense, used by and derived from the Greek philosophical schools (see Glucker 1978: 166–225). According to Acts, the Jewish religious parties of the Sadducees (5:17) and the Pharisees (15:5; 26:5) are to be classified under this name. For the Jews in Acts, the Christian movement is nothing but another *hairesis* (24:5, 14; 28:22). Paul is shown to have changed parties from the Pharisees (26:5) to the "Nazoraeans" (24:14; 28:22). In the eyes of the Jews, the term *hairesis* takes on the connotation of "heresy" (24:5); but for the author of Acts, the early Church was "orthodox" in both Christian and Jewish terms. In the letters of Paul, the use of the terminology vacillates between the two meanings "heresy" and "schism," and he thereby introduces these terms into early Christian language and thought: *hairesis* points to divisive parties within the congregations, but at times it can also mean "heresy" (Gal 5:20; 1 Cor 11:18–19). In the post-apostolic period, the word always designates "heresy," in opposition to the "right" doctrine advocated by the author of the text (Titus 3:10; 2 Pet 2:1; Ign *Eph.* 6:2; Ign *Trall.* 6:1; *1 Clem.* 14:2; etc.). See *EWNT* 1: 96–97; *TRE* 14: 313–318; *RAC* 13: 248–97; *TDNT* 1:180–85.

**B. History**

**1. John the Baptist.** Although there is little reliable information, the movement of John the Baptist apparently originated from debates in Judaism on true and false doctrine pertaining to the very essence of the Jewish religion. The phenomenology of John the Baptist, his message of repentence *(tĕšbâ)*, and his ritual of baptism had their origin and purpose in a return to "true" Judaism, not simply in political opposition to the ruling authorities. When Jesus had himself baptized by John (Mark 1:9–11 and par.), the act itself was a confession by Jesus that he had accepted John's message as orthodox in the Jewish sense. At some point (after the arrest and death of the Baptist), Jesus proceeded on his own (Mark 1:14; 6:17–29) and called disciples, among whom were former disciples of John. Since Jesus' own message and conduct were, despite a large degree of agreement, considerably different from John's, debates over the issues must have ensued. Such debates may also have been the reason why not all of John's disciples jointed Jesus: in fact, the Baptist's movement continued to exist parallel to and in competition with Christianity. This competition is reflected in the NT, where differences between the Christian conduct and doctrines and those of the Baptists's followers are settled (Mark 1:7–8 par.; Mark 2:18–22 par.; Acts 13:24–25; 19:1–7), or where literary sources and traditions from the Baptist's own movement are taken over and integrated into the gospels (Matthew 1–2; Luke 1; John 1). Thus was John the Baptist given the place as a legitimate forerunner of Jesus.

**2. Jesus of Nazareth.** From the beginning, the appearance of Jesus was a matter of controversy. Jesus was a self-conscious and conscientious Jew. His understanding of the Torah and of God's will and activity was in his view orthodox, but in the eyes of his opponents it was heretical (Braun 1969). Jesus' preaching of repentence (Mark 1:14–15 par.) was directed against other practices of Torah obedience ("pseudo-orthodoxy") and, by implication, against an erroneous understanding of the Jewish religion as such (see Matt 21:28–31; Luke 13:1–5). Jesus' critique focused on the teaching of the scribes and Pharisees, whereas other Jewish movements received little attention. This rather one-sided approach seems to imply that Jesus agreed with much of what those whom he attacked espoused. In his critique against current practices of Temple worship, he largely shared the view of the Qumran sect; yet contrary to Qumran and other rigorists in Judaism, Jesus held a positive view of the religion of the ordinary Jewish person. The controversies over Jesus seem to have targeted his combination of Torah observance and love of neighbor (see Mark 12:28–34 par.), an emphasis resulting in the different positions he took on cultic purity, observance of the Sabbath, prayer, marriage, and possessions. Moreover, on this basis he also strongly opposed the summary expulsion of the so-called tax collectors and sinners (Mark 2:15–16; Matt 11:19 par.; Luke 15:1–2, 18:9–14) as well as of the prostitutes (Matt 21:31–32; cf. Luke 15:30).

The condemnation of Jesus as a heretic by other Jewish parties is not reported by the earliest layers of the synoptic tradition. The accusation, however, that John the Baptist was possessed by a demon (Matt

11:18–19) was also turned against Jesus. Statements such as "he has the Beelzebul" or "through the prince of the demons he expels the (lower) demons" (Mark 3:22 par.; Matt 10:25; cf. Mark 11:27–33 par.) classify Jesus as a magician and thus initiate a kind of "negative christology" that has its advocates even in the present (see Smith 1978; Betz, *RAC* 12: 235–36, 251).

That Jesus was regarded to be a heretic is reflected first in Jewish-Christian sources or layers of NT tradition; the accusation apparently stems from a developed christology and soteriology. The Jewish-Christian Sermon on the Mount defends the theology of Jesus against the charge of apostasy (Matt 5:17–20; 7:21–23). In the synoptic controversy stories, Jesus appears in debates with opposing Pharisees, each charging the other with heresy (see Bultmann 1968: 39–55). The confession of Jesus as Messiah and Son of God (Mark 14:61–62 par.; Matt 22:41–46 par.) is, in the eyes of his opponents, evidence of heresy not only on the part of the Church but also on Jesus' part (see the summary in John 7–8). It is in these traditions that we first encounter the explanation that Jesus was crucified because he was a heretic (Mark 14:63–64 par.; John 10:33; 19:7; cf. Acts 7:54–60). This explanation also justified the expulsion of the Christians from the Synagogue (John 9:22; 12:42; 16:2).

**3. Paul and his Opponents.** Paul began as an orthodox Pharisee (Phil 3:5; Acts 23:6; 26:5; cf. Gal 1:13–14) who persecuted early Christian groups for their heresy (Gal 1:13, 23; 1 Cor 15:9; Phil 3:6; Acts 8:3; 9:1, 21; 22:4, 19; 26:10–11). See PAUL. Subsequent to his vision of Christ (Gal 1:16; 1 Cor 9:1; 15:8), Paul joined a Jewish-Christian community; soon, however, he and his gospel free of the law became suspect in the eyes of more conservative Jewish-Christians. Yet Paul and Barnabas succeeded at the Conference at Jerusalem (Gal 2:1–10) in clearing themselves from suspicion and obtaining approval of the so-called "pillars" of the Jerusalem church, although a conservative minority (the so-called "false brothers") remained among the opposition (Betz, *Galatians* Hermeneia, 81–103; Dunn 1982; Lüdemann 1980–83, vol. 2). In other words, the inner-Jewish problem of heresy and orthodoxy had become an inner-Christian problem.

The Conflict at Antioch (Gal 2:11–14; see *Galatians* Hermeneia, 103–12; Kieffer 1982; Dunn 1983; Holtz 1986) indicates that the dilemma of the Jewish Christians associated with Paul and Peter surrounded the necessity to decide between orthodoxy in the Jewish sense or orthodoxy in the Christian sense. The majority at Antioch decided against Paul, and, as a result, those Jewish Christians who so decided declared him a heretic. The inevitable resultant split in the Church remained associated with Paul's name. Later Jewish Christianity persisted in a somewhat stereotyped anti-Paulinism (see Lüdemann 1980–83, vol. 2), but the main Church (*Grosskirche*) secured Paul's orthodoxy (see Lindemann 1979), in particular by publishing his letters.

**C. Literature**

**1. The Sermon on the Mount.** The Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5:3–7:27) originated in Jewish Christianity and presents the teachings of Jesus in the form of an epitome. Sayings of Jesus are critically selected and arranged so as to ward off the accusation that they reflect what is believed to be gentile Christian heresy. The teaching of Jesus is defended as orthodox in the Jewish sense (5:17–20; 7:12). See SERMON ON THE MOUNT/PLAIN.

**2. The Letters of Paul.** The letters of Paul owe their existence to the threat of heresy in his churches. The letters presuppose a situational context in which debates occurred on appropriate and inappropriate Christian doctrine and conduct. In all his letters Paul struggles against suspicion and actual accusations of heresy to prevent his churches from drifting into heresy and to defend his theology and conduct as right. Paul himself is therefore responsible for initiating what later became orthodox Paulinism.

In Galatians, the apostle defends himself and his gospel against competing Jewish-Christian missionaries who have tried with astonishing success to persuade the Galatians that his message and status are inferior. His apology before the Galatians is the first known attempt to demonstrate the orthodoxy of the Pauline gospel in the Christian sense of the term (see *Galatians,* Hermeneia).

In Romans, Paul presents this defense again in a much expanded and changed form. These changes apparently stem from a number of factors: anti-Pauline propaganda in Rome (Rom 3:5–8, 31; 6:1–2), internal discussions among both Paul's collaborators and other Christian communities about Paul's

theological positions, the fact that Paul addressed a church which he did not found and which subscribed to non-Pauline theological ideas, and the forthcoming journey to Jerusalem to deliver the collection for the poor. As Paul had indicated in Gal 6:16 ("the Israel of God"), for him, orthodoxy in both the Christian and the Jewish sense are one and the same; this assumption he points out in greater detail in Rom 2:17–29. Non-Christian Judaism, however, must not simply be written off as a loss; the apostle presents coexistence between the two religions as the new challenge for the Church (especially Romans 9–11) to demonstrate its own orthodoxy.

The letters to the Corinthians present an apparently confusing situation. In 1 Corinthians, Paul reacts to the problems in the Church caused by party factions (1 Cor 1:10; 11:18; 12:25). There can be little doubt that the parties named have had their own theological outlook, but not much can be inferred concerning their peculiar theologies. Paul assumes a mediating position, identifying himself with none of the parties, not even the Pauline party. It should no longer be denied that some of the theological tendencies of the parties tend toward Gnosticism.

The letter fragments assembled in 2 Corinthians indicate a conflict markedly inflamed since the writing of 1 Corinthians. The issue has shifted from party factionalism to alleged inadequacies on the part of Paul and his apostolate. In all probability the anti-Pauline opposition in 2 Corinthians has been reinforced, or even taken over, by other adversaries who have invaded the Corinthian church (see Georgi 1986), and these adversaries may have contributed a new assessment of Paul's alleged inadequacies (2 Cor 10:10; 11:6; 12:1–10). The apostle defends himself without success in a first apology, fragments of which are extant in 2 Cor 2:14–6:13; 7:2–4. A second apology, replete with irony and satire (2 Cor 10:1–13:10), connected with a visit from Titus, changes the Corinthians' mind.

A letter of reconciliation (2 Cor 1:1–2:13; 7:5–16; 13:11–13) follows the second apology. Here Paul expresses his joy over the resolution of the conflict and justifies his taking a hard line in the previous letter. The letter fragments 2 Corinthians 8 and 9, designed to reorganize the financial collection for Jerusalem which had collapsed because of the crisis, followed the reconciliation (see Betz, *2 Corinthians 8–9* Hermeneia). 2 Cor 6:14–7:1 is an interpolated fragment of non-Pauline origin and is anti-Pauline in tendency; it is a succinct statement of a theology Paul's opponents might have held (see Betz 1973). Apparently the redactor of the letter corpus of 2 Corinthians, who seems to represent a Pauline orthodoxy of a later time, took the fragment 6:14–7:1 as Pauline, thereby reflecting the decline in perception regarding the finer points of the apostle's theology. Similar developments must be assumed for the collection of the letter fragments in Philippians (see Köster 1961–62).

**3. Pauline Pseudepigrapha.** Continued battles against heretics and the establishing of a Pauline orthodoxy was the preoccupation and goal of Paul's disciples who authored the pseudepigraphical letters of Colossians, Ephesians, 2 Thessalonians, and the Pastorals (1 and 2 Timothy, Titus). This literature is at the same time distinguished by new developments and new confrontations in theology and Church life.

Colossians develops Paul's concept of the Church as the body of Christ into a speculative cosmology in order to refute as heretical a cult of astral mysteries which called itself "philosophy" (Col 2:8). Also involved in a debate with heretics (Eph 4:14–19), Ephesians emphasized the historical and cosmic nature of the universal Church; here the epistle reveals points of contact with Acts, from which it otherwise differs fundamentally. 2 Thessalonians is a commentary on 1 Thessalonians in epistolary form; its author reinterprets the authentic letter of 1 Thessalonians in terms of a later Paulinism committed to an apocalyptic time schedule and opposed to rival Paulinists perhaps inspired by Gnosticism (see Holland 1987). In second-generation Christianity, Christian apocalypticism, once the product of heretical developments seen from the perspective of non-Christian Judaism, became an important weapon used by the Church against the threat of Gnosticism. Evidence for this development is found in later writings of the NT, especially in 2 Peter and in Epistles of John.

**4. The Gospels.** Each in its own way, the Synoptic Gospels are the products of early Christian debates about heresy and orthodoxy. At least this much can be said, although precise information is extremely limited. The Gospel of Mark combines in a work of intriguing literary quality heterogeneous traditions and sources showing incipient heretical tendencies, interpreting them to fashion a new statement of

Christian orthodoxy, entitled "the gospel" (see Weeden 1968; on the titles, see Hengel 1984). The Gospel of Matthew preserves the traditions of an older Jewish Christianity and secures their orthodoxy by embedding them in an ecumenical theology (Matt 28:18–20). The Gospel of John contains evidence of diverse controversies about orthodox and heretical interpretations of the Jesus tradition and the Christian faith. What these debates were we can only guess from the texts, just as the beginning of the Johannine church, from which this gospel came, remains obscure because of lack of information. Conflicts with the Jews, however, as well as with gnostic tendencies, and points of contact with other early Christian church branches can still be recognized. Perhaps the redactor of the Fourth Gospel is identical with the author of the First Epistle of John, an antidocetic polemic identifying and refuting heretical points of doctrine (see especially 1 John 2:18–27; 4:1–5); 2 John 7; 3 John 9–10). The Gospel of Luke, together with the Acts of the Apostles, is marked by strong apologetic tendencies. According to Luke, the beginning period of the Church was free from heresies, presumably in contrast to the situation in his time.

**5. The Book of Revelation.** The Apocalypse of John takes issue against heretics at several points (Rev 2:6, 9, 14–15, 20–24; 3:9), but concrete information concerning these heresies (Nicolaitans, the prophetess Jezebel, the "synagogue of Satan") is almost completely lacking. As an apocalyptic book, the Apocalypse of John is itself the product of conflicts with Jewish apocalypticism and perhaps Gnosticism. In later Church history the Revelation of John became the preferred text for new apocalyptic movements inside as well as outside the established institutions of Christianity.

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**HERETH** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥāret* (חָרֶת)]. Hereth is mentioned only once in the Bible, as the forested place to which the fugitive David goes after he departs the stronghold of Moab on the advice of Gad the prophet. This occurs as David is leaving his parents in Moab, out of harm's way, as he flees from Saul. One version of the LXX renders the place as *sareik.* Its site is unknown, though some (*IDB* 2: 583 and McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 357) propose modern Kharas as the location of Hereth. This identification is strengthened by the fact that subsequent events in the narrative occur at the town of Keilah, where David defeats the Philistines and is pursued by Saul (1 Sam 23:1–13). Keilah is identified with modern Khirbet Qîlā (McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 370), which is near Kharas (*IDB* 2: 583). In any case, David's removal to Hereth in Judah at the urging of Gad can be taken as a divine reassurance that David is under the protection of YHWH even in the heart of Saul's Judah (so Hertzberg *1 and 2 Samuel* OTL, 185).
JEFFRIES M. HAMILTON

**HERITAGE.** See FAMILY.

**HERMAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Hermas* (Ἑρμας)]. A Roman Christian who received greetings from Paul in Romans 16:14. He was probably a gentile Christian (Lampe *StadtrChr,* 58) because Paul usually made specific mention of persons in the list of Romans 16 who were Jewish-Christian "kins (wo)men" (Rom 16: 7, 11, 21). The latter term is absent from his other letters, but in Romans, after chaps. 9–11 (cf. 9:3), Paul shows interest in emphasizing Christians' ties to Israel. It therefore can be assumed that he applied and omitted the label "kins (wo)man" purposefully in Romans 16. (The only exception is Aquila at the beginning of the list; so many other characteristics were reported about him that his Jewish background was passed over. See also MARY (PERSON) #7 and RUFUS.)

A member of a Roman house-church, Hermas, and four other members were quoted by name, while the other participants in the house-church were mentioned only generally as "brethren who are with them." The five persons therefore may have played leading roles in the house-church. The name "Hermas" occurs only six times according to the epigraphical and literary sources from the city of Rome (Lampe *StadtrChr,* 139–41). Since the name was not common there, it probably indicates that Hermas had immigrated to Rome.
PETER LAMPE

**HERMAS' THE SHEPHERD.** The early Christian document *Hermas,* or *Shepherd of Hermas,* was known to the early Church Fathers. The Muratorian canon, a list of canonical books from about the 3d century, says Hermas was written by the brother of Pius, Bishop of Rome, about 140–154. Despite much speculation, the author remains unknown. It was written in Rome and involves the Roman church. The document was composed over a longer period of time. Visions I–IV were composed during a threatened persecution, probably under Trajan (the Clement of 8:3 could be Clement of Rome). Vision V–Similitude VIII and Similitude X were written perhaps by the same author to describe repentance to Christians who were wavering. Similitude IX was written to unify the entire work and to threaten those

who had been disloyal. This last phase must have occurred before Irenaeus (ca. 175). A preferred date would be 140. On the basis of this internal analysis multiple authorship seems necessary (Giet 1963), though the work could have been composed by one person over a long period of time (Joly 1958).

There are no complete Greek texts of Hermas. The great 4th-century manuscript of the Greek Bible, Codex Sinaiticus, contains only the first fourth of Hermas (to 31:6). Codex Athous, a 15th-century copy, lacks 107:3–114:5, while Papyrus 129, a 3d-century papyrus at the University of Michigan, contains most of the Similitudes (51:8–82:1). When all the texts are put together, 107:3–114:5 is still missing and must be supplied by the Latin text in the Vulgate.

Hermas consists of five Visions, twelve Mandates, and ten Similitudes. In the first Vision, Hermas has a desire for a certain woman, Rhoda, and then is accosted by an elderly woman (the Church) about his sin. In the second Vision, Hermas receives a revelation in the form of a book. When the meaning of writing is revealed to Hermas, he learns repentance is possible. Hermas sees the Church as a tower in the third Vision. The tower is built on a foundation of apostles, bishops, teachers, and deacons, though a variety of stones reflects the diversity of the Church. The fourth Vision takes the form of an apocalypse in which the Church is threatened by an unusual beast which foreshadows a great tribulation. The first four visions involve the elect lady as the revelator. In the fifth vision a shepherd appears to Hermas in order to introduce the Mandates and Similitudes. This vision introduces the work entitled "Shepherd." All of the visions are written in the form of a Jewish apocalypse, with the presence of a revelator, a mysterious revelation and explanation, and an unworthy or foolish recipient.

The twelve Mandates consist of admonitions regarding faith, innocence, truthfulness, chastity, repentance, patience, ill temper, self-control, doublemindedness, grief, cheerfulness, and evil desire. The Mandates take the form of a Jewish-Hellenistic homily, with a revelator (the Shepherd), the diminutivized recipient (Hermas), a commandment, a homily on the commandment, and appropriate blessings and curses.

The ten Similitudes are analogies or parables with similar concerns. The Similitudes build analogies on two cities, trees, vineyards, shepherds, sticks, mountains, a tower, and a garment. The parables are unlike the NT parables. They resemble more those of *Enoch:* the revelator tells a parable, the recipient asks for an explanation, and the revelator responds with an interpretation.

Hermas reflects a local type concern for morality much like the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Didache.* Like them, Hermas contains a Two-Way theology (36–39), though his system depends on two angels rather than two impulses (36:1) and he stresses self-control more than right choice. As in other Two-Way systems doublemindedness *(dipsuchia)* and doubt are the primary sins (39:1–12).

From the beginning Hermas was caught in a struggle over repentance. Hermas speaks for the possibility of one postbaptismal repentance. Even within the document some argue against any repentance for the Christian (31:1), while others count on the continuing mercy of God (43:4). Hermas holds to both—a strict morality with a merciful God (31:2–7).

The christology of Hermas has often been called adoptionist (see chap. 59). There is little christological reflection in the book. Most NT christological functions are performed by angels or the Holy Spirit (12:1; 25:2). The complete dwelling of the Spirit in the Son so pleased God that the Son was taken as a divine partner (59:5–7).

The *Shepherd of Hermas* paints a remarkable picture of the 2d-century church at Rome (Osiek 1983). We find among the Christians good and evil, faith and hypocrisy, wealth and poverty—all the qualities of everyday Christian life. The Church is not in danger, but it has reached certain interior accommodations. In addition to postbaptismal repentance, for example, in the parable of the elm and the vine (Similitude II) the elm tree, representing the wealthy of the congregation, gives financial support to the congregation, while the vine, supported by the elm, represents the poor, who pray for the congregation.

The form of Visions, Mandates, and Similitudes share much with similar Jewish material, yet direct use of either Hebrew Scriptures or NT can only be lightly attested. Many of the analogies, such as the garment, the willow, the elm and vine, and the empty jars, have no biblical counterpart. A number of

significant details, such as the elderly woman of Vision II, or the virgins of Similitude IX, come from the Greco-Roman milieu.

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**HERMENEUTICS.** In the most general terms, hermeneutics can be described as the "art of understanding." Used in its narrower sense, hermeneutics can refer to the method and techniques used to interpret written texts. In a wider sense, it can refer to the conditions which make understanding possible and even to the process of understanding as a whole. In theology, it is usually used in contrast to exegesis—the former is understood as the theory, the latter as the practice of interpretation.

The etymology of the term "hermeneutics" is uncertain. The verbs "say" and "speak" seem to convey the basic connotations. It is contained in the name of Hermes, who in Greek mythology acts as the messenger and spokesman of the gods. He is seen as the inventor of speech and writing, and from this association a variety of meanings developed. The most important of these are "speech" as the faculty of logical formulation and articulate expression, "translation" as the ability to channel meaning from one medium or context to another, and "commentary" as the clarification of the obscure or unfamiliar.

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A. General and Specific Hermeneutics
B. Development of Biblical Hermeneutics
C. Elements of an Effective Hermeneutic for Biblical Texts
D. The Hermeneutical Process

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**A. General and Specific Hermeneutics**

Hermeneutics as a general philosophical enterprise should be distinguished from specialized forms like legal and theological hermeneutics, which were designed to interpret a specific corpus of texts or to meet a special need. General hermeneutics traces its origins back to antiquity. In his *Peri hermeneias* (On interpretation), Aristotle deals with the logic of statements. This approach, which treats hermeneutical problems as belonging to the domain of logic, dominated the sporadic treatment of the subject up to the 18th century. It was only with the work of Schleiermacher that a truly general hermeneutics emerged.

Instead of concentrating on technical rules governing the interpretation of texts, Schleiermacher shifted the focus to the preconditions which make understanding possible. Misunderstanding is a universal problem which threatens all forms of communication and therefore calls for a general hermeneutical theory. The root cause for misunderstanding lies in the individuality of the writer or reader. Although language presupposes shared conventions between persons, the unique experience of the individual cannot be expressed adequately through this medium. The receiver therefore needs help to reproduce the meaning of the sender in his or her own consciousness. The task of hermeneutics is to provide this help. Schleiermacher distinguishes between grammatical and technical (or psychological) interpretation. The former is only a preparatory step for the latter, which represents understanding in the full sense of the word.

The idea of a general hermeneutics for all forms of communication was taken a step further by Dilthey when he applied it to the phenomenon of history. Understanding has to do not only with linguistic communication, but with historical consciousness. Both the possibility and problems of understanding are rooted in this consciousness. On the one hand it provides a link with the past, on the other hand it causes an experience of alienation. Understanding requires a conscious effort to overcome this historical distance. The interpreter must transpose himself or herself out of the present time frame to that of the past.

Understanding is a *Nacherleben* (re-experience) of an original *Erlebnis* (experience). The re-experience is never identical with the original, but it is co-determined by the interpreter's own historical horizon. Nonetheless through historical consciousness the interpreter has access to the past as expressed in the tradition and cultural manifestations of the past. The text to be interpreted is not only that of linguistic communication, but of the whole of humanity's cultural heritage in which is contained the interpretive experience of the past. To interpret this heritage, the social and human sciences require a distinctive method—that of *Verstehen* (understanding) in contrast to *Erklären* (explaining), the method of the natural sciences.

The horizon of hermeneutics is expanded further by Heidegger. For Schleiermacher the focus is still on the individual and problems related to interpersonal communication. Dilthey takes it a step further by introducing an epistemological perspective and includes history and tradition as part of his reflection in an effort to explore the hermeneutical dimensions of historical consciousness. For Heidegger the hermeneutical problem is even more encompassing and fundamental; it is essentially ontological in nature. Interpretation is the modus in which reality appears; it is constitutive for being itself. A person's existence comes into being by an act of interpretation. Reality is the text which is to be interpreted and this reality includes a person's own existence. The hallmark of the interpretation process is historicity, which is ongoing in nature. In this historical context, Heidegger develops his concept of the hermeneutical circle. To begin with, interpretation never starts with a clean slate. The interpreter brings a certain pre-understanding to the process. This pre-understanding is challenged when new possibilities for existence are exposed through the event of understanding, which leads to a modification or revision of the interpreter's self-understanding. Finally, the modified understanding becomes the new pre-understanding in the next phase of the process. In conjunction with the hermeneutical circle, Heidegger posits that the communication of existential possibilities through language is fundamental to human existence. Consequently the notion of language as the house of being is developed. The attempt to understand, to discover possibilities for existence, is therefore one of the driving forces behind human history.

From its traditional meaning as the technical rules governing interpretation, the scope of hermeneutics has thus widened to include communicative, epistemological, and finally ontological dimensions. To mark this transition, "hermeneutics" is sometimes reserved for the narrower meaning, while "hermeneutic" is used to indicate the wider sense of the term.

For Gadamer, the insight of Heidegger that propositional truth should be counterpoised with a different kind of truth, that of disclosure, has important consequences. Hermeneutics cannot be only a question of method, striving for objectively secured knowledge, but must open up a dialogical process through which possibilities for existence are acknowledged. Thus a dialogue unfolds between present and past, between text and interpreter, each with its own horizon. The goal of interpretation is the fusion of these horizons; the medium through which this takes place is language. Language is not an objectification of thought but that which speaks to us. In this sense our very existence is linguistic. The implication is that the interpreter always finds himself or herself in the stream of tradition, for here past and present are constantly fused. Tradition and the related concept of "effective history" thus represent important aspects of Gadamer's hermeneutics.

Habermas and Apel's critique of Gadamer starts at this point. For them Gadamer's uncritical acceptance of tradition as authoritative and his ontological understanding of language obscure the fact that language may be used as medium of domination. They develop a "critical hermeneutics" based on the experience of manipulation and propaganda and fed by a suspicion regarding the truth claims of tradition. The aim is to reveal the suppressed interests underlying the apparent normal interaction with the past. Hermeneutics thereby becomes a social science in the form of a critique of ideology.

In the dispute between philosophical and critical hermeneutics, the mediating role of Ricoeur is of special significance. In drawing together hermeneutics, phenomenology, and structuralism, he displays his ability to mediate between what at first sight seem to be mutually exclusive approaches. But through his theory of the conflict of interpretations, Ricoeur demonstrates that hermeneutical philosophy, more directed toward understanding the past and its significance for the present, and critical hermeneutics, more

directed toward the future and changing the present, are both one-sided when maintained as absolute positions. In directing his attention to biblical hermeneutics, Ricoeur develops a hermeneutic which grafts an existential interpretation on a structural analysis. He demonstrates how an analysis of the narrative by means of the metaphorical process can open up the world in front of the text.

In close association with the ideas of Gadamer and Ricoeur, Tracy designs his interpretation theory for Christian theology by reemphasizing the underlying hermeneutical nature of Christian theological articulation. At the same time he demonstrates the need for a special hermeneutics for the interpretation of biblical material.

Apart from understanding as a universal problem and hermeneutics as a general theory, a particular hermeneutics may become necessary, depending on the nature of the material to be interpreted and the purpose for which it is done. The revival of interest in Roman law during the 12th century led to the development of a special hermeneutics of jurisprudence, continued in its contemporary form as the interpretation of statutes. Likewise the need for a special hermeneutics for the interpretation of biblical texts was soon recognized which led to various attempts to establish a sacred or biblical hermeneutics in contrast to a profane or secular hermeneutics. But the difference does not lie in different methods and techniques required for biblical texts, but rather in the specific nature of these texts and the interpretative community in which they are read. General and particular hermeneutics have always influenced each other and continue to do so. Major shifts in general hermeneutics are always reflected in specialist applications. For its part, biblical hermeneutics has also been responsible for important developments in general hermeneutics.

**B. Development of Biblical Hermeneutics**

Insofar as biblical texts form part of a dynamic communication process, their essential hermeneutical nature is undeniable. Interpretation is essential to discerning the will of God. Numerous examples from the origin, collection, and preservation of these documents attest to this need. Individuals (e.g., Moses and the prophets) and even a whole class of people (scribes in postexilic Israel) act as interpreters of God's will. The temptation story is a classic example of a hermeneutical debate. According to Luke, Jesus' first public appearance begins with an interpretation of Isaiah 61 (Luke 4:21)—a style which characterizes the rest of his ministry (cf. the antitheses in the Sermon on the Mount, the parables, the discourses). Paul's mission to the gentiles is in essence a reinterpretation of the gospel in a Hellenistic context. Apocalyptic literature reveals the same hermeneutical tendencies. In a broader sense, the NT can be understood as an interpretation of the OT.

Even after the formation of the canon, the need for interpretation continued. The early Church drew on its Jewish heritage, using the techniques of proof texts, typology, and allegory. While a grammatical-historical approach was favored in Antioch, allegory thrived in the environment of Alexandria, where Origen continued the hermeneutical tradition of Philo. The ensuing plurality of meaning eventually required some kind of norm or authority to distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable interpretations. For Tertullian, this authority was vested in the church and more specifically in the doctrine of the rule of faith *(regula fidei).* In the process, exegesis was subordinated to dogma and lost its critical function. Consequently, no hermeneutical innovation of significance took place during the Middle Ages.

The Reformation represented a fundamental change in hermeneutical thinking. Luther's insistence that the Bible should first of all be understood as the living word (Lat *viva vox*) of God, in which Christ himself is present, reintroduced the existential dimension of the text. The Bible is not a historical document in the first place, but a text for preaching. Philological and historical research should serve this end. The Bible's central theme is Christ, and from this perspective the rest of Scripture is to be interpreted. Hermeneutics is more than rules or techniques; it concerns the problem of understanding as a whole. Luther's position had two important consequences: multiplicity of meaning is replaced by the central scopus of the text, and the priority of the Word over against any other authority is confirmed.

If tradition and ecclesiastical authority no longer serve as controlling forces in the interpretation process, heavy responsibility is placed on exegesis itself. The Reformation, therefore, also marks the beginning of

intense hermeneutical and exegetical activity which has shaped subsequent hermeneutical developments. The post-Reformation era is characterized by at least four consequences which are related to the historical, existential, structural, and pragmatic aspects of the interpretation process.

The emphasis on the independence and priority of exegesis in relation to dogma and tradition had two different results. It led to an attempt to strengthen scriptural authority by the doctrine of verbal inspiration, but, it also resulted in the discovery of the historically determined nature of the Bible. The second development was influenced decisively by the Enlightenment spirit of emancipation and the emerging rationalism of the post-Reformation era. A critical attitude toward all forms of (external) authority was made possible by the discovery of the historical and therefore relative nature of these institutions. The implication was that the Bible should also be read as a historical document. Thus began the long tradition of historical criticism, which appeared subsequently in various forms: text criticism, form criticism, historical background studies, redaction criticism. The basis for all these methods is the genetic principle: the idea that insight into the origins and development of a phenomenon contains the key to its understanding.

In the course of the 19th century, the relativizing effect of historical criticism was countered by the idealistic view of a universal spirit and unchanging ethical values underlying the fluctuations of history. This made it possible to pursue rigorous historical criticism and also to preserve the universal ethical message contained in the biblical texts. On the hermeneutical level, the result was the dichotomy between "scientific" and "practical" exegesis which characterized liberal theology at the turn of the century. This position was challenged only when Schweitzer again emphasized the unmistakable eschatological nature of biblical texts.

The existential dimension of biblical hermeneutics became prominent through the development of dialectical theology, first by Barth and then more extensively by Bultmann and his pupils. The devastating effect of World War I (1914–18) was a severe blow to the spirit of liberal optimism in Europe. A search for existential meaning followed, which in the churches resulted in a crisis for preaching. Barth's theology is an attempt to meet this challenge. With his concept of a "theological exegesis" his goal was to bridge the division between scientific and practical exegesis and to regain the supposed unity of biblical interpretation. From the perspective of the incarnation, the Bible is to be understood as the unity of God's and man's word. Historical exegesis is therefore unavoidable, but should serve the better understanding of the real subject matter of the text, Jesus Christ. Completely objective exegesis is impossible, and real understanding requires the interpreter's personal input.

At this point, Bultmann is in agreement with Barth—exegesis without presuppositions is an illusion. Bultmann therefore takes up Dilthey's suggestion of a special hermeneutics for the human sciences in order to include the subjective element in hermeneutical reflection. Thus the biblical text is the result of an existential encounter between God and man, and the subsequent interpretation of the text is aimed at making a similar encounter possible in the present. Bultmann's whole hermeneutical program is motivated by the need to communicate the *kerygma*, the existential message of the NT, to a modern audience. In doing so he develops a remarkable dialectic between the historical and existential dimensions of the text. The existential encounter inherent in the *kerygma* cannot be objectified in any full sense of the word. The written text represents only an incomplete rendering. This opens the possibility for Bultmann to apply the full range of historical-critical operations on the text without endangering its essential *kerygma*. The latter rests on the fact *(Dass)* of Jesus' life, not on its historical details *(Was)*.

Fuchs and Ebeling further refined Bultmann's hermeneutical program, especially with regard to the existential analysis of the text. Trivial questions will render only trivial information. In terms of Heidegger's existentialia, the real questions to be put to the text are those in which the very existence of the reader is put on line. Only in this way can the self-understanding *(Selbstverständnis)* of the reader be challenged. Thus the hermeneutical circle is set in motion, which eventually leads to a new self-understanding.

Advances in linguistic and literary theory during the seventies focused attention on the structural dimension of biblical hermeneutics. A seminal influence in this context was the work of the early 20th-

century Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, but Russian formalism, the school of Prague, French structuralism, and various other streams contributed to this development as well. In fact, the formative influences are so diverse that it would be misleading to talk of structuralism as a unified movement. Semiotics, the science of signs, did achieve a greater degree of coherence by distinguishing three dimensions of the communication process in terms of the relationship between signs: (1) syntactics (relation between sign and sign), (2) semantics (relation between sign and reference), (3) and pragmatics (relation between sign, reference, and action).

For the interpretation of biblical texts, several basic concepts of the structural approach are of special significance. First and foremost is the insistence on the autonomy of texts as analytical objects. In reaction to historicism, which views texts as the product of historical forces and explains them in terms of their origins, they should be understood as autonomous structures in their own right. A text constitutes a self-contained unit, and its different parts should be explained in terms of their relation to each other and not in terms of some external cause or authority. Second, the emphasis is on synchronic rather than diachronic relations. It is not the history of the text which holds the key to its meaning but the relations of the textual elements as they stand. Furthermore the author's intention cannot be used as some external criterion for evaluating the interpretation; it is discernible only in the text. The need is therefore for a "text-immanent" exegesis which takes the text seriously as a network of relations. Third, the structure of the text and techniques for its analysis become an important consideration. Different types can be distinguished: linguistic, literary, narrative, discursive, rhetorical, or thematic structures, each requiring its own form of analysis. The structural approach is therefore a conscious effort to eliminate subject, history, and intentionality as factors in the interpretation of texts.

Finally, in recent hermeneutical reflection, the pragmatic aspect of texts has gained in importance. Various factors contributed to this development. Speech act theory focused attention on the effect of verbal communication. Similarly, the revival of rhetorical criticism is directly linked to an interest in the persuasive potential of biblical material. Up to this point the role and situation of the receiver hardly formed part of hermeneutical reflection. But the advance of reader theories in literature and the appearance of contextual theologies (black, liberation, feminist), made it imperative to include the context of reception in any effective hermeneutical design. Deconstruction and post-modern theories pose a challenge to the structural and new critical concept of the autonomy of the text and attempt to move beyond what is seen as the foundationalism of reader studies and the modernist position.

**C. Elements of an Effective Hermeneutic for Biblical Texts**

If hermeneutics is taken in its wider sense, that is, not merely as the formal rules controlling the practice of exegesis, but as something concerned with the total process of understanding, biblical hermeneutics can only be developed as part of an encompassing theory of communication. Because interpretation in this case is mainly directed to written texts, such an overall theory must of necessity include an adequate text theory.

In its most basic form, communication can be described as the relationship between sender, message, and receiver (SENDER (ρ) MESSAGE (ρ) RECEIVER). This basic model can be expanded in various directions to provide for the different functions of language and for the full spectrum factors determining the communication process (Gülich and Raible 1977; Plett 1975).

Although communication takes place via different channels (visual, auditive, intuitive), in the case of biblical texts the medium is the written word. As such, the text represents the solidification of a preceding communication event. It is the deposit of a prior encounter between sender (e.g., Moses or Jesus) and receiver (e.g., Israel or the disciples). In the process of becoming a written text, the message may pass through various stages (oral tradition, pre-literary forms), but the text represents also the first stage in the process of reinterpretation. The latter has as its aim a new communication event, this time between text and contemporary receiver. The challenge of interpretation is the fusion of the horizons (Gadamer) of sender and receiver. In the case of biblical texts, the original sender is no longer present and interpretation becomes the interaction between text (and its horizon) and receiver. See Fig. HER.01.

The text therefore forms the meeting point of two axes (Hernadi 1976): the rhetorical axis of communication, which reflects the diachronic movement from sender to receiver via implied author and implied reader, and the mimetic axis of representation, which reflects the synchronic selection from the available reservoir of signs and codes to form a "world"—that of the sender, text, or receiver. See Fig. HER.02.

In terms of this greatly simplified outline, it is possible to locate the main elements of the hermeneutical process. The multiplicity of methods currently available for biblical exegesis is confusing and can tempt the interpreter to focus on method(s) rather than on the dynamics of the process of understanding. When the full scope of the problem (including its "ontological" dimensions) is taken as the point of departure, it becomes possible to classify methods in terms of the specific aspect they address and to select the most suitable method in each case.

The historical aspect of the problem has mainly to do with the relationship between sender and message. From this important area of research a number of specialized techniques evolved. Background studies *(Zeitgeschichte)* focus on the historical environment from which the text emerged. FORM CRITICISM assumes an oral tradition behind the written text and is interested in its transition from the pre-literary form to the literary form. SOURCE CRITICISM studies the relationship between individual texts in a wider literary context and their dependence on sources. REDACTION CRITICISM proceeds from the assumption that the individual authors of biblical books had a strong influence on their eventual form and analyzes the composition of these texts from the perspective of the final redactor. TEXTUAL CRITICISM is a specialized and technical discipline aimed at restoring the presumed original form of the text as accurately as possible. Questions of authorship, the history of individual books, and the formation of the canon all have to do with the historical aspect of the relationship between sender and message. See CANONICAL CRITICISM, REDACTION CRITICISM, RHETORIC AND RHETORICAL CRITICISM, and STRUCTURALISM.

The structural component is concerned with the message itself, understood as an autonomous and self-contained entity, without taking the relation with sender and receiver into consideration. Also, structural features are constitutive at both the micro- and macro-level. Several types of synchronic analysis have been developed for biblical material, usually adapted from linguistic and literary theory. At the linguistic level, discourse analysis is used to reveal detail of the surface structure of the text; syntactic and semantic markers play an important part in this respect. On the literary level, stylistic features offer a clue to the communicative intention of the text. These may include metaphors, rhetorical devices, and point of view, but also narrative and theological structures.

The pragmatic dimension deals with the relationship between message and receiver. Speech act theory focuses on the desired effect of an utterance. Closely related is the growing recognition of the rhetorical nature of biblical texts and their persuasive power. Interest in the reader led to the development of reader response studies—both as a theoretical endeavor and as a form of empirical research. Awareness of the context of the receiver is an important key in the analysis of contextual theologies (black, liberation, feminist). Recognition of the creative input of the reader has relativized the objective status of the text, especially in post-modern thought. It is believed that all statements about the text depend on a prior reading of the text; consequently, the relationship between experience and thought is again a focal point in hermeneutical reflection.

**D. The Hermeneutical Process**

In practice, the text mediates between two events of understanding: the one which produced the text and the one flowing from interaction with the text. When dealing with biblical material, a variety of considerations are important.

First, the present reader is not the first reader or even one intended to read the text. In most cases, the reader is dealing with an "enriched text." Jesus' command to Levi, "Follow me!" (Luke 5:26), is not merely repeated by the evangelist, but enriched by Levi's response, Jesus' comments, and a description of the context. This enriched text (and not merely the original command) becomes the text for interpretation.

In the extended history of the biblical tradition, more than one enrichment is possible, as the Abraham story in its many versions illustrates.

Second, clarity concerning the purpose and the context in which reading takes place is important. While the text can be read to gather linguistic data or to study literary features, the *kerygmatic* or proclaiming nature of the text presupposes a new event of understanding as the ultimate goal of reading. Although a variety of audiences are possible, it is the interpretive community of believers which constitutes the context of such a reading.

Third, although what we understand as a text is dependent on a prior reading of the text, thus making it impossible to speak of the objective status of the text in absolute terms, the text does function as a separate entity within the interpretation process. The horizon of the text forms the counterpoint of the horizon of the reader and the tension between the two opens the possibility of a new understanding.

Fourth, because the original authors of biblical texts are no longer participants in the process, the interpretive interaction takes place between text and (present) reader, thus making the text the natural point of departure for the subsequent hermeneutical process.

The text is thus both the end of the process of text production and the beginning of the process of interpretation. In its written form, it is the static record of a preceding event of understanding, and its text-immanent features are important clues for its interpretation. An analysis of the surface structure makes it possible to discern the syntactic arrangement and cohesion and the way in which the smaller units combine to form the macrostructure of the text. Syntactic analysis also provides the basis for discovering the literary features of the text and its narrative or argumentative structure. In this way, the distinctive "world" of the text comes into view, with its own "sociology," its own point of view, representative of a specific set of beliefs. This world is not an imitation, but an interpretation of reality—with important implications for the mediating function of the text.

However, the text is a self-contained entity only up to a certain point. It inevitably points beyond itself, to its past and to its future. The syntagmatic relationships between signs in the text have semantic implications, that is, implications for the relationship between these signs and to what they refer. Reference may be text-immanent, linking internal elements with each other, or text-external, pointing to realities outside the text. As a whole, this referential capacity highlights the historical dimension of the text.

Biblical texts are historical in a double sense, though. They are historical documents in their own right, with their own history of composition, tradition, and preservation. But they also refer to specific historical events, for example, in the history of Israel, the life of Jesus, or the ministry of Paul. For an adequate understanding of the text, analysis of its structure has to be complemented by the historical study of the world behind the text. For this task, the full range of historical methods is at the disposal of the interpreter. Not all methods are relevant for all texts or parts thereof, and the nature of a specific segment will determine the appropriate method(s).

Finally, the text refers to the world in front of itself. The contribution from the structural and historical dimensions converge at this point to activate the pragmatic potential of the text. Understanding the original speech event is the prerequisite for its appropriation in the contemporary situation. Rhetorical analysis and speech act theory are important tools to reveal the persuasive strategies used by the author. The concept of the implied reader sharpens the eye for directions given on all levels for the realization of the text. But not only is the reader as textual construct at stake, the interpreter has to take the real receptor and his or her existential situation into account. It is in this context that the world of the text plays a mediating role. What the text offers is an alternative way to look at reality, a "proposed world," a world which "we may inhabit" (Ricoeur). Thus the self-understanding of the reader is challenged. Between the horizon of the text and that of the reader a creative tension develops which calls for the affirmation of the status quo or for the openness and courage to accept a new self-understanding.

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BERNARD C. LATEGAN

**HERMENEUTICS, EARLY RABBINIC.** The early rabbis inherited a long tradition of scriptural interpretation beginning in the Bible itself (Kugel and Greer 1986: 11–106). Following biblical precedent, they continued to interpret Scripture for the needs of their communities, particularly following the destruction of the Jerusalem temple and its levitical cult in 70 C.E. Interpretation included oral traditions passed down from generation to generation about the meaning of a verse or the particular way in which to carry out a biblical command. At the same time there was an active tradition of scriptural exegesis based on hermeneutic norms, many of which could be inferred from the Bible.

Rabbinic traditions as early as the 3d century present both types of scriptural exegesis as being known to Hillel the Elder before the destruction of Jerusalem. In a disagreement with the elders of Batayra he uses both exegetic norms and relies on the tradition of his teachers (*t. Sanh.* 7, end; intro. to *Sipra*; t. Pesah. 4; *y. Pesah.* 33a; ›*Abot R. Nat.* A. 37). The versions of this tale attribute to Hillel from three to seven hermeneutic devices.

Other rabbinic texts from the 3d century and later attribute more extensive hermeneutic norms to the two Jabnean (viz. late 1st to early 2d century) masters Rabbi Akiba and Rabbi Ishmael. Akiba's methods

seem to be more far reaching, and although not organized in a given list, include the principle of exclusion and inclusion (e.g. *m. Šebu.* 3.5; *Midr.* Gen. Rab. 1.14, 53.15) learned from his teacher Naḥum of Gimzo. Akiba is also presumed to make inferences from juxtapositions of scriptural verses (*Sipre* 131) and doublets in the Bible (*m. Soṭa* 5.1).

Rabbi Ishmael's hermeneutic norms (Heb *mîddôt* = Aram *mĕkîlatā* = Gk *kanones*, "measures") have been collected in a list of thirteen devices (intro. to *Sipra*, *Mek.* Rabbi Šimʿon ben Yoḥai to Exod 21:1; for a full exposition see *EncJud* 8:366–72). Examples of some of the devices on Rabbi Ishmael's list include inference from minor to major, the construction of analogous sets based on one or two verses, and the resolution of scriptural contradictions by the introduction of a third verse to tilt the balance.

The differences between these sages' methods may be explained in part by a generally different hermeneutic outlook toward the Bible. Akiba apparently perceived Scripture as a code which hermeneutic rules could crack. Thus Scripture could be atomized into constituent words or even individual letters, and doublets could be profitably exploited for interpretation since the divine authority of the text could tolerate such unusual exegeses. Rabbi Ishmael disagreed, tersely stating his principle that the Torah speaks in human discourse (*Sipre* 112).

Rabbi Ishmael's list of hermeneutic norms also discloses that he, his colleagues, and his predecessors were comfortable using some of the hermeneutic devices known to the Greco-Roman rhetorical schools (Lieberman 1950; Daube 1949). Whether these norms were directly borrowed from the Hellenistic schools or only the organizing principles of the rhetors were used to canonize already existent rabbinic devices is still open to question. It is not surprising, however, that in rabbinic circles which perceived and presented themselves as Hellenistic "schools" such norms would have found a home.

All of the hermeneutic rules discussed thus far pertain to inferring halakic (behavioral) rules from Scripture. The rabbis also engaged in aggadic (nonbehavioral) exegesis aimed at the exposition of the narrative text as well as for didactic, ethical, and moral purposes. This hermeneutic involved a much broader range of midrashic techniques which were freely employed given the non-binding nature of aggada. A medieval collation of techniques, attributed to the 2d-century sage Rabbi Eliezer, son of Rabbi Yose the Galilean, lists from thirty-two to thirty-six such norms, depending on the manuscript (see the edition of H. Enelow [1933]). These rules include patently Hellenistic devices such as *notarikon* (which assumes a word is really shorthand for other words). Elaborate codes may be employed for the sake of aggadic exegesis (e.g., *ʾatbaš,* which presumes substitution of letters of the alphabet for one another while interpreting), and in rabbinic circles puns were a favorite means of deriving a homiletical message from Scripture.

As time went on and the rabbinic communities grew ever farther from the cultic religion outlined in the Bible, in some places hermeneutical technique became more and more radical. Where early rabbis knew that their interpretations were on a continuum with the apparent meaning of Scripture, some later rabbis seemed startled to learn that Scripture cannot lose its plain *(pĕšat)* sense (*b. Šabb.* 63a). It seems that hermeneutic allegorization *(dĕraš)* had pushed the interpretation of text so far that any original sense of Scripture was obliterated. This parallels certain tensions regarding scriptural interpretation found in the Church (Visotzky 1988). In the rabbinic community, a reaction to this extreme was an uneasy marriage of two kinds of hermeneutics. Contextual and consentual meaning *(pĕšat)* now coexisted with readings of Scripture that solely served the halakic and aggadic needs of the community *(dĕraš).* This dual hermeneutic of Scripture kept faith with a long tradition of a given understanding of a biblical text while affording an elasticity to interpretation which allowed that text to speak afresh to every generation of rabbinic Jews.

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**HERMES** (DEITY). The Hellenic deity identified by the Romans with Mercury, he was born on Mt. Cyllene in Arcadia, the son of Zeus and the Titan nymph Maia. Such was the lineage myth conferred on the anthropomorphic Hermes.

His actual origins were far more humble, for he began his divine career as the power of spirit residing in the roadside cairn, the stone heap, or *herma,* which served throughout Greece as a marker of boundaries, entrances, and graves. He then arose from the rocks that held him fast and came to surmount them in the form of a herm, a stone pillar endowed with an erect phallus and a bearded head. The Athenians especially worshipped him in this form and were filled with consternation when his herms, which stood at the entrances to both temples and houses, were ominously mutilated in 415 B.C., virtually on the eve of the departure of the great armada that would be annihilated in its attempt to conquer Sicilian Syracuse.

Long before this, however, popular imagination, magnificently assisted by art and literature, particularly the Homeric poems, had released Hermes from the stone heap and transformed him into one of the Olympians, though he lacked the grandeur of the others and was commonly their servant. By the time his new configuration was complete, he had become the inventor of the lyre (see the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*), Zeus' envoy (see, e.g., *Od.* 1.32–95, 5.28–148, *Prometheus Bound* 941–1093), the deity responsible for conducting the souls of the dead to Hades (see, e.g., *Od.* 24.1–204), and the patron of travelers, herdsmen, merchants, and servants. He was also a clever trickster with an amoral strain to his character, and he granted his patronage to thieves and perjurers (see, e.g., *Od.* 19.392–98); in fact, perhaps his most famous mythological exploit, recounted in the Homeric hymn in his honor, was his theft of his half-brother Apollo's cattle on the very day of his birth.

There is a single reference to Hermes in the NT at Acts 14:8–18, where the inhabitants of Lystra respond to Paul's healing of the cripple by identifying him with Hermes and Barnabas with Zeus. Two factors account for these particular identifications: the story that Zeus and Hermes once appeared in the region of Lystra "in the likeness of men" (Acts 14:11), to bestow blessings on the hospitable Philemon and his wife Baucis (see Ov. *Met.* 8.611–724); and the fact that by this time Hermes had become the patron of eloquence, for the Lystrians noted that Paul "was the chief speaker" (Acts 14:12).

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**HERMES** (PERSON) [Gk *Hermēs* (Ἑρμης)]. A Roman Christian who received greetings from Paul in Rom 16:14. He was probably a gentile Christian (Lampe *StadtrChr*, 58), because Paul usually mentioned specifically if persons in the list of Romans 16 were Jewish-Christian "kins (wo)men" (Rom 16:7, 11, 21). While the latter term is absent in his other letters, Paul, in Romans, after chaps. 9–11 (cf. 9:3), was interested in emphasizing Christians' ties to Israel. It therefore can be assumed that he applied and omitted the label "kins (wo)man" purposefully in Romans 16. (The only exception is Aquila at the beginning of the list; so many other characteristics were reported about him that his Jewish background was passed over. See also MARY (PERSON) #7 and RUFUS.) A member of a Roman house-church, Hermes was quoted by name, as were four other members, while other participants were mentioned only generally as "brethren who are with them." The five persons therefore may have played leading roles in the house-church. Hermes' Greek name indicates that he probably was a slave or freedman. As the inscriptions in the city of Rome show, Greek names were mostly carried by (freed) slaves; "Hermes" was even preferred for slaves (see Lampe *StadtrChr* 142, 144–45, 152–53).

PETER LAMPE

**HERMES TRISMEGISTOS.** The name of a Greco-Egyptian deity influential from Late Antiquity through the Middle Ages. The syncretistic nature of the god is apparent from the name: Hermes, Greek god of eloquence and science, was identified with his Egyptian counterpart Thot, who contributed the epithet "thrice-greatest" (Gk *trismegistos*).

**A. Hermetic Literature**

Hermes Trismegistos is best known because of his association with the so-called Hermetic literature, in particular the Corpus Hermeticum (abbreviated *CH*). The Corpus Hermeticum is a collection of 17 philosophical/theological tractates written in Greek probably between the 2d and 5th centuries C.E., and most are ascribed to Hermes Trismegistos. The Latin (Pseudo-Apuleius) *Asclepius* (an apocalypse attributed to the god Asclepius), the Hermetic fragments assembled by Ioannes Stobaeus (5th century), and Hermetic texts recently discovered at Nag Hammadi are usually studied alongside the Corpus Hermeticum under the categories of philosophical or religious Hermetism. In addition, numerous references to and excerpts from Hermetic works, many of which are no longer extant, are found in the Church Fathers. All these texts are of interest to biblical studies because they provide a window onto the religious and philosophical milieu of Late Antiquity, and thus partly reflect the religious world in which the NT and other early Christian literature arose.

The earliest known manuscript of the Corpus Hermeticum (tractates 1–14) probably goes back to the 11th century and was brought from Macedonia to Cosimo de Medici in Florence, who asked Marcilio Ficino to prepare a Latin translation (1463). The reasons for the tractates' being collected together, as well as questions about their provenance, are still largely unresolved. The best critical edition of the entire corpus, along with the Latin *Asclepius* and the Stobaeus fragments, is by A. D. Nock and A.-J. Festugière (1945–1954). The older edition by Walter Scott (1924–1936) contains highly speculative textual reconstructions, but it is still useful because of its notes and an introduction to the history of textual transmission. Jean-Pierre Mahé (1978) has published a critical edition of the Coptic Hermetic texts found at Nag Hammadi.

**B. Date and Provenance of the Corpus Hermeticum**

Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614) was the first scholar to recognize that the Corpus Hermeticum did not pre-date Plato, as Ficino and other 16th century scholars had believed, but rather dated from the first centuries of the common era (Scott 1924–36, 1: 31–34). This understanding reversed Ficino's view that the doctrines of Plato and even of Moses had derived from these teachings of Hermes Trismegistos. Subsequently the corpus came to be understood as a mixture of later Platonic, Stoic, Neo-Pythagorean, and some Jewish ideas. Scholars have almost unanimously accepted a 2d- to 5th-century dating as the time when most of the tractates in their present forms took shape, while the Hermetic traditions they contain are assumed to have older roots in Greco-Egyptian syncretism. This dating is given credence by references in the early Church Fathers Athenagoras (ca. 180), Tertullian (ca. 200), and Cyprian (ca. 250) to Hermes Trismegistos as an ancient teacher of wisdom. While it is unclear whether these writers know specific documents attributed to Hermes, the early 4th-century writer Lactantius quotes from such writings; some of his references may be to our "Corpus Hermeticum," while others are to presumably lost works.

The religious and philosophical ideas contained in the tractates can be described as an amalgam of the Greek philosophical schools which is given an Egyptian dress, or alternatively as Hellenized Egyptian religion in a Greek philosophical garb. Thus, the works reflect the adaptation of Greek philosophy to late Egyptian religious thought, and they therefore reflect the influence of Egyptian gods and cults. One difficult question is whether the tractates are the products of a functioning cultic community or school. *CH* I *(Poimandres)* hints at the life of a worshipping community in chapter 29, while Arnobius' *Adv. Nat.* 2.13 (late 3d century) speaks of "those who follow Mercury" (Hermes; see Grese 1979: 40–43). While each tractate has a distinctive message, the similarity in terminology and thought among the tractates probably does indicate a number of authors with a common religious and philosophical outlook.

**C. Points of Contact with Early Christian Literature**

The affinities of the Corpus Hermeticum with Pauline and Johannine literature, as well as with Christian and non-Christian gnostic sources, are striking. Speculative cosmologies, various types of dualism, the devaluation of the empirical world, the idea of the body as evil, individual salvation, the *Urmensch* myth, sacraments, and revelation dialogues, to name only the most obvious, all constitute points of contact. See GNOSTICISM. Verbal parallels abound, as God is identified as "light and life" (*CH* 1.12 and 13.18–19; John 1:4, 9), and the theme of *CH* 13 is "rebirth" (*paliggenesia,* John 3:3, Titus 3:5, and 1 Pet 1:23). Although there is no direct mention of Christianity in the Corpus Hermeticum, there may be points at which the Hermetic authors are taking deliberately anti-Christian positions (Büchli 1986): death does not enter the world on account of sin (*CH* 1.20; Rom 5:12), and "it is impossible for the incorporeal (God) to become manifest in a body" (*CH* 4.9).

The relationships between Hermetic and early Christian thought have been studied by C. F. G. Heinrici (1918), Richard Reitzenstein (1904), C. H. Dodd (1935; 1953) and William Grese (1979), among others. The general consensus is that there are few, if any, literary dependencies either way, but that some early Christian (especially Johannine) texts and the Hermetic texts are representative of a common religious milieu. Parallels are also found between the Hermetica and the 2d-century Christian work the *Shepherd of Hermas*.

While each treatise is characterized by its own particular concerns, the main point of the Hermetic texts generally is to provide a way for human salvation from the empirical world. The empirical world is viewed as the result of developments due to tragic errors on the part of divine beings in the primordial past (especially *Poimandres* and *Kore Kosmou,* Stobaeus Fragment 23). Acquiring knowledge about this past and the resultant human predicament is the essential step toward salvation (Betz 1966). Unlike some forms of Gnosticism, the Hermetica do not attribute the empirical world to an evil creator god in opposition to the Highest God. In some of the tractates, the created world is even pronounced good; only human involvement with matter, the result of tragic error without evil intent, created the situation which requires salvation (*CH* 1.12–15; *CH* 13; *Kore Kosmou*). According to *Poimandres,* the individual must recognize the divine element within himself or herself; such recognition leads to ultimate divinization. *CH* 4 calls for a dipping (baptism) into the "basin of mind" (Gk: *nous*) sent down from heaven, and *CH* 13 takes the reader through a complete regeneration and rebirth of the individual which are necessary for true understanding and salvation to take place. The disclosure of knowledge about the nature of the universe and salvation occurs in the form of a dialogue in most of the tractates. Usually Hermes is the hierophant (*CH* 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, and *Asclepius*), and Hermes' son Tat (Eg. Thot) or Asclepius serves as the receiver of the knowledge. In *CH* 1, the instruction proceeds directly from the highest God to an unnamed recipient. In *CH* 9, God himself imparts knowledge to Hermes, and in *CH* 16 and 17, Tat and Asclepius take over the role of instructor. *CH* 7 and 18 have no role assignments. While influences of Greek philosophical speculation can readily be seen in the Hermetica, some scholars have also argued for Jewish influences, particularly B. Pearson (1981) and, earlier, C. H. Dodd (1935), who argued that the cosmogony of *Poimandres* utilized the Genesis account. For an understanding of the religious world of Late Antiquity, including Gnosticism and early Christianity, especially Johannine Christianity, the Hermetica are an invaluable resource. See further *EncRel* 6: 287–93; *ANRW* 2/17/4: 2240–81.

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**HERMOGENES** (PERSON) [Gk *Hermogenēs* (Ἑρμογενης)]. Hermogenes, along with Phygelus, is singled out for mention in 2 Tim 1:15 as being among "all (those) in Asia" who had turned away from Paul, presumably because of or during his imprisonment. A contrast is drawn between these Asians and another, Onesiphorus of Ephesus, who upon arrival in Rome had found Paul and "was not ashamed of (his) chains" (1:16). The contrast implies that Hermogenes and Phygelus indeed were ashamed of Paul's incarceration, but what their turning away meant (total apostasy? desertion of Paul?) or what it led to is hard to assess. Dibelius and Conzelmann (*The Pastoral Epistles,* Hermeneia, 106) judge that the phrase "all … turned away from me," because it is compartively mild terminology, should not be taken to imply apostasy. But Fee (*1 and 2 Timothy, Titus* GNC, 186) counters that the same wording argues for a rejection of the gospel since "it means that they have abandoned their loyalty to Paul … [and] for him that would mean they have also abandoned his gospel, since that is about the only way one could desert the apostle."

Also difficult to interpret are the "all … in Asia." It is hardly likely that the phrase is meant to imply that every Asian Christian had defected. Perhaps it means a number of Asians had come to Rome and all but Onesiphorus had deserted Paul. Or perhaps the reference is to a great wave of defections in Asia even among Paul's friends, including Hermogenes and Phygelus. It has also been suggested that the desertion had to do with the refusal of certain Asians to go to Rome to help Paul as Onesiphorus had done. In any case, Hermogenes and Phygelus are portrayed by the author of 2 Timothy as having deeply disappointed the Apostle, and their case functions as a warning to Timothy to be ashamed neither of the Lord nor of his prisoner Paul (1:8).

The issue may be raised as to whether characters in the Pastoral Epistles such as Hermogenes and Phygelus are merely fictitious creations of the deutero-Pauline authorship who function to combat various heresies. While that possibility ought not too readily be dismissed, the very intentions of the Pastoral writer(s), presumed to be Paul, argue that those referred to could well be historical persons known from the Pauline tradition. Also, the appearance of some of the same characters in apocryphal literature about Paul, insofar as that literature may be independent of the Pastorals, likewise suggests at least some historical basis for such persons.

Hermogenes, for example, is also mentioned in the apocryphal *Acts of Paul* (3.1, 4, 12–16). He and Demas travel with Paul from Antioch to Iconium. According to these Acts, they "were full of hypocrisy and flattered Paul as if they loved him" (3.1). The same text identifies Hermogenes as a coppersmith, depicting Hermogenes and Demas as turning against the apocryphal Paul's teaching on celibacy and the future resurrection. Both teach that resurrection "has already taken place in the children whom we have, and … we are risen again in that we have come to know the true God" (*Acts Paul 3.14*).

If the *Acts of Paul* is primarily an elaboration on 2 Timothy, as has often been supposed (MacDonald 1983: 62–64), then the apocryphal Hermogenes and Demas could be judged a conflation of such texts as 2 Tim 1:15; 2:17–18, 4:10. But if, as is more likely (MacDonald 1983: 65–66), the apocryphal writer drew independently from the same oral traditions as did the Pastorals, then the *Acts of Paul* may supply a piece of information lost to 2 Timothy, namely that the Hermogenes (and Phygelus) of 2 Tim 1:15, as well as Demas in 2 Tim 4:10, broke with Paul in a dispute concerning the resurrection.

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**HERMON, MOUNT** (PLACE) [Heb *har hermôn* (הַר הֶרְמוֹן)]. A mountain mentioned in the Bible as marking the N border of the territory conquered by Moses and Joshua E of the Jordan river (Josh 11:17; 12:1, 4–5), and the N border of the half tribe of Manasseh (1 Chr 5:23). Mt. Hermon is located above the valley of Lebanon (Josh 11:17) and above the land of Mispeh or the valley of Mispeh, where Joshua chased the kings of the Canaanites in the battle of the waters of Merom (Josh 11:1–8). Prior to the Israelite conquest, it was mentioned as the place where the Hivite resided (Judg 3:3, Hurites according to the LXX), under the reign of Og king of Bashan (Josh 12:4, 5), Sihon king of the Amorite (Josh 13:10, 11), and the Gebalites (Josh 13:5).

The toponym Hermon derives from *hrm*, which in many Semitic languages means a ban, taboo or consecrated (*al-Haram* means in Arabic a sacred enclosure). ANE beliefs associated high peaks and mountains with the dwelling places of gods. Hittite and biblical records support the use of Hermon as a dwelling place of gods. Muršiliš II (1344–1320 B.C.E.) called to witness his peace treaty with the Amorite Duppi-Tessub, the gods of *Sariyana*, a synonym for Hermon (KBO. V, #9, *ANET*, 205). The Bible mentions the mountain, along with other places, where the name of God is rejoiced (Ps 89:12). Ritual centers were located at the foot of Hermon: Baal-gad (Baal of the Oracle?) in the valley of Lebanon under Mt. Hermon (Josh 11:17), and Baal-hermon (1 Chr 5:23).

The Hermon is praised for its dew, which flows over the mountains of Zion (Ps 133:3). It was known for its lions and leopards (Cant), as well as for its cypresses (Ezek 27:5). It is mentioned in reference to the might of God (Ps 29:6), to other high mountains (Ps 89:13), and to the Jordan river (Ps 42:7).

The term "Hermon" is not found in ANE texts. It is juxtaposed in the Bible with other toponyms known also from epigraphical records. "Which Hermon the Sidonians call Sirion and the Amorite call Senir" (Deut 3:9). Scholars debate whether all three toponyms refer to the entire Anti-Lebanon range or only to its S spur, known today as Hermon or Jabal ash-Shaykh. The name "S[iri]on" is recorded in the Egyptian Execration texts dating from the 18th century B.C.E. (Helck 1962: 57). However, no MB settlements have been found thus far on this range. Hermon is contrasted to Lebanon in an Ugaritic text: "[Le]banon and its trees, Sirion and its precious cedars" (UH, 51, VI, 18–21; *ANET*, 134), as well as in the Hittite text mentioned above, and a few times in the Bible (Ezek 26:5; Ps 29:6). Mt. Senir, on the other hand, is mentioned once in the Assyrian records. In the campaign of Shalmaneser III to Damascus in 841 B.C.E., Hazael fortified "Mount Senir (Sa-ni-ru), a mountain facing Lebanon," (*LAR*, 672; *ANET*, 280). This obviously refers to the N section of the Anti-Lebanon range, known today as Jabal ash-Sharqi. This identification was also known to Medieval Arab geographers. Ibn Hokal (10th century) maintains that Snir is the source of the river Barada (biblical Pharpar [?] 2 Kgs 5:12), which springs from the mid Anti-Lebanon. The book of *Enoch* contributes to this identification. It tells of an assembly of angels on the top of Mt. Hermon. "They call it Hermon because they vowed and took an oath" to marry human wives (*1 En.* 6:6). Enoch tells of reading and sleeping on the river Dan, "which is southwest of Hermon." He then awakened and went to the angels who gathered "between Lebanon and Senir" (*1 En.* 13:9). It seems, however, that the Bible differs from other sources over the boundaries of Hermon. While the Bible sometimes includes the Anti-Lebanon range within its understanding of Hermon, other sources call the N range Senir, while they leave unnamed the S spur. It is also possible that the names Senir, Sirion, and Hermon are general names pertaining to the entire Anti-Lebanon range, while the name Hermon also relates specifically to the S section. Another name that is associated with the Hermon, or one of its peaks, is śî‹ōn (Deut 4:48).

Josephus does not use the term Hermon, but rather Mount Lebanon (*Ant* 5.3.1). Sirion and Senir, on the other hand, are well documented in the Talmudic literature as places where sacred wine was produced (*b. [Talm.] Sukk.* 12; *Soṭa 48). One phrase states that "Senir and Sirion are among the mountains of the land of Israel" (Ḥul. 60).*

Eusebius relates the toponym Hermon only to the S range and testifies that: "until today the mount in front of Panias and Lebanon is known as Hermon and it is respected by nations as a sanctuary" (*Onomast.* 20.12). Hieronymus comments that "the Hermon is close to Paneas, which formerly was inhabited by the Hivites and the Amorites, from which summer snow was carried to Tyre for indulgence" (Hieron. *De Locis*).

Today the Hermon is identified only with the S spur of the Anti-Lebanon range. It is known by the names Jabal ash-Shaykh, (Arabic, "the mountain of the chieftain") and Jabal al-Thalj (Arabic, "the snow mountain"). In Aramaic translations of the Bible, Hermon is identified as *Tur Talga* ("Mountain of snow"; *Tg. Onq.*, Deut 3:9 and Cant 4:8), because the mountain is covered with snow most of the year.

Mt. Hermon is a large convex block that rises above its surroundings as a result of the Syro-African rift. It extends over 50 km along a NE–SW axis, and is 25 km at its widest point. The Hermon range is mainly Jurassic limestone which leads into Karstic landscape. Its highest peak reaches 2814 m and slopes steeply toward the E. The W slope descends in a series of several terraces, where precipitation (dew, rain, and snow) is more abundant. The Barada brook divides it from the N Anti-Lebanon range. In the E it borders the Damascus tableland, in the S the basalt tableland of the Golan, and in the W the valley of the Senir (Ar Hasbani) and its continuation Wadi al-Taym.

The flora of the Hermon on the W slope is similar to that of the Lebanon mountains. The terrain up to 1440 m is dominated by vines, beyond which are oak trees and bushes. Between 1150 and 1650 m are fruit trees, including plums, cherries, pears, and almonds. For this reason the area is also called "the almond slope," (ʿAqabat el-Loz). There are, in addition, a few types of pines. Above this altitude, bushes and low plants dominate the landscape. The S and E slopes are different. Up to the altitude of 1200 m the vegetation is similar to that of the Galilee and is dominated by Mediterranean forest. From 1200 m to ca. 1900 m the forest becomes thinner. The upper part is covered with low bushes and is mostly bare. Most of the year the peak of the mountain is covered with snow. Until recently it was customary to bring snow to the foothill villages to cool foods and drinks. This custom, which was recorded by Hieronymus, was perhaps followed in biblical times.

The view from the top of the mountain is magnificent and covers a large part of N Israel and Syria. In the S, the view covers the Gilead mountains, the Jordan valley, the Huleh, and the Sea of Galilee. The scene in the W covers the Galilee, the Carmel range, the Mediterranean coast, Tyre, and the mountains of Lebanon. In between are the Litani depression (identified with *Nsn*, in an Egyptian source, according to Aharoni 1958: 295; Papyrus Anastasius I, *ANET*, 477; and identified with Leontis according to Avi-Yonah 1966: map 49) and its river. The view extends from Klaʿat ash-Shaqif through the Biqaʿ valley ("the Valley of Lebanon," Josh 11:17). In the N, the Anti-Lebanon peaks are visible. To the NE, lies Damascus, and to the SE, the Golan and the Bashan.

The summit of the Hermon has three peaks, in the N, E, and SW. On the highest of these peaks, the SW, there are the remains of a temple known as Qasr ʿAntar or Qasr ash-Shabib. The temple contains an enclosure, a large basin carved in rock, and a building that measures 10 by 11 m. A Greek inscription was found that, on behalf of the "Greatest and Holiest God," addresses all those "who had not taken the oath to stay away." Scholars interpret this as an order preventing the uninitiated from reaching the sacred temple. Other scholars refer to the belief of keeping the temple pure from the angels who swore to take human wives. The temple dates from the 1st to the 4th centuries C.E. Surveys yielded a few Iron Age sherds on the summit indicating probable early use. The temple is perhaps mentioned by Hieronymus (*Onomast.* 21.13–14), and by a Jewish traveler in 1624, Rabbi Gershon Berabbi Ĕliezer.

More than twenty temples have been surveyed on Mt. Hermon and its environs. This is an unprecedented number in comparison with other regions of the Phoenician coast. They appear to be the ancient cult sites of the Mt. Hermon population and represent the Canaanite/Phoenician concept of open-air cult centers dedicated, evidently, to the celestial gods. During the 2d century B.C.E., chapels carved out of rock were incorporated within the enclosures. In the 1st century C.E., temples built in Classical style were added to the complex. The pottery collected from these temples shows an affiliation to that

attributed to the Iturean repertoire. The Itureans were the inhabitants of the mountain from the 2d century B.C.E. until the 7th century C.E.

Since Mt. Hermon is juxtaposed with Mt. Tabor (Ps 89:13), biblical exegesis from the medieval period sought to place Hermon next to Tabor. Consequently, the mountain S of Tabor, the hill of Moreh, was called "Hermon Minor" (Burchardus de Monte Sion (1283) in Laurent 147, Baldi 1982: 342).

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RAMI ARAV

**HEROD ANTIPAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Antipas* (Ἀντιπας)]. The son of Herod the Great who, in 4B.C., inherited from his father the territory of Galilee and Perea, which he governed as Tetrarch until A.D. 39. Antipas is named simply "Herod"—not "Antipas" or "Herod Antipas"—in Josephus, in the NT, and on his own coins (Hoehner 1972: 105–106). The NT gospels mention him in two important contexts. First, because his marriage to Herodias (see below) was harshly criticized by John the Baptist (who preached in the Perea area), Antipas had John arrested and beheaded (Matt 14:1–12 = Mark 6:14–28 = Luke 9:7–9; cf. also *Ant* 18.5.2 §§117–119). Second, because he was ruler of Jesus' home province of Galilee, Antipas was given an opportunity to question and ridicule Jesus during his trial before Pontius Pilate (Luke 23:6–12).

Although the Bible says nothing more about Herod Antipas than this (cf. *HJP²* 1: 345–51), the Jewish historian Josephus provides us with some detailed information. Antipas and Archaelaus, Herod's two sons by Malthace, a Samaritan, were raised in Rome (*Ant* 17.20). Although initially he had been favored as the principal beneficiary under Herod's will, Antipas received only prosperous Galilee and Perea under Herod's final will ratified by Augustus in 4 B.C. (see ARCHELAUS). His title, "tetrarch," is attested in inscriptions dedicated in his honor on Cos and Delos, which were erected respectively by a certain Philo and by the Athenian people (*HJP²* 1: 341 n. 1).

In Galilee he rebuilt Sepphoris and surrounded it with strong walls: he re-named it Autocratoris, evidently in honor of the emperor, who in Greek might be called *autocrator.* In Perea he fortified Betharamphtha and re-named it Livias (and subsequently Julius) in honor of Livia, wife of the emperor Augustus (*Ant* 18.27). He also built a new city in Galilee which he named after Augustus' successor, Tiberius, using forced migration to populate it. While Josephus stresses the impiety entailed in the creation of Tiberias, which was founded on the site of tombs (*Ant* 19.36–38; with Schürer *HJP²* 1: 342–343), Antipas could also show considerable respect for Jewish traditions, as when he sympathized with complaints over votive shields which offended many Jews (Philo *Leg. ad Gaium* 38), when he would attend holy feasts at Jerusalem (cf. Luke 23:7), and when he would mint aniconic coins.

Antipas had first been married to the daughter of Aretas, king of neighboring Nabatea. When Antipas divorced her and married HERODIAS, trouble ensued. First, the marriage to Herodias apparently was considered unlawful by some traditionalists, including John the Baptist (Matt 14:4). Herodias was Antipas' niece (daughter of Aristobulus and sister of Agrippa I); in order to marry Antipas, she had first to divorce another uncle (Antipas' half brother), by whom she had had a daughter, Salome. (On the problematic identity of this first husband, see HEROD PHILIP.) Second, Antipas' divorce enraged his former father-in-law, the king of Nabatea; but since a disputed boundary was also at issue, we cannot be entirely sure whether the divorce was a cause or a symptom of the quarrel between the two rulers (*Ant* 18.109–13). Aretas attacked, and in the subsequent battle Antipas' forces were soundly defeated. Antipas appealed to Tiberius for assistance, and the emperor instructed Vitellius, Roman governor of Syria, to capture Aretas dead or alive (*Ant* 18.113–15; see ARETAS). The defeat was all the more serious for

Antipas since some of the Jews considered it to be divine retribution for his execution of John the Baptist (*Ant* 18.116–20).

Vitellius' expedition against Aretas had scarcely begun when Tiberius died on March 16, A.D. 37. Vitellius, probably no great friend of Antipas, halted the campaign and awaited instructions from the new emperor, Gaius; consequently Aretas escaped punishment (*Ant* 18.120–26). Although the chronology is uncertain (Schürer *HJP²* 1: 351), it was about this time that Antipas hosted a feast for Vitellius and Artabanus, king of Parthia, who wished to make peace with the Romans. Antipas wrote to the emperor (whether Tiberius or Gaius) to report this good news, preempting Vitellius' own official report and earning his considerable displeasure (*Ant* 18.101–105).

Josephus implies that a vengeful Vitellius subsequently played a role in Antipas' downfall (*Ant* 18.105); however, Agrippa I's old quarrel with Antipas probably played a more central role in Antipas' decline (*Ant* 18.149–50; see AGRIPPA). Gaius' appointment of Antipas' nephew Agrippa as "king" encouraged Antipas to seek the same title for himself. Allegedly spurred on by his nagging wife Herodias (Agrippa's sister), Antipas sailed to Italy to present this request. But at the same time envoys from Agrippa arrived to denounce Antipas to the emperor, accusing him of treasonous dealings with the discredited Sejanus and now with Artabanus, king of Parthia. Gaius believed these accusations (Antipas could not deny that he had amassed a great quantity of weapons, even though he may well have done so for use against Nabatea, not Rome), and consequently he deposed Antipas and annexed his tetrachy into Agrippa's kingdom. Antipas was exiled to the W (probably to Lyons, although N Spain is also possible). Although Gaius offered to pardon Herodias because she was Agrippa's sister, she chose instead to follow her husband into exile (*Ant* 18.240–55 with Braund 1983: 241–42). It is not known whether Antipas and Herodias had any children.

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DAVID C. BRAUND

**HEROD PHILIP.** A name some scholars have adopted for one of the sons of Herod the Great, who would have been Herodias' first husband and, therefore, father of her daughter Salome. It is important to note that there is no single source attesting to a person by this name, and that the name is a scholarly construction resulting from the combined evidence of two unrelated sources.

The first source is the NT pericope recounting the death of John the Baptist. In Mark 6:17 (= Matt 14:3; cf. Luke 3:19), Herodias' first husband (and presumably the father of Salome) was named "Philip," the brother of Herodias' second husband, Herod (= HEROD ANTIPAS). This "Philip" therefore would have been a son of Herod the Great. The second source is Josephus' account of the quarrel between Herod Antipas and Aretas, king of Petra (*Ant* 18.5.1 §109). In it, Josephus recounts that Herodias' first husband was named "Herod," and that he was the half-brother of Herod Antipas; therefore he was a son of Herod the Great by Mariamme (see also *Ant* 18.6.2 §148). Josephus explicitly identifies him as the father of Salome (*Ant* 18.5.4 §136). By assuming that these two sources refer to the same son of Herod the Great (albeit under different names), some scholars have combined the two and posited the existence of a "Herod Philip."

While some insist that the Gospels and Josephus each accurately preserve a separate element of an original double-name (*ISBE* 2: 695), others feel that the Gospels (particularly Mark) have used the name erroneously. The name "Philip" is omitted in the best mss of Luke 3:19, as it is in codex D and the Latin versions of Matt 14:3. This omission has caused some to argue that Mark confused Herodias' first husband with Philip the Tetrarch, the son of Herod the Great by Cleopatra. See PHILIP (PERSON) #5. The confusion may have resulted from the fact that this Philip was the *husband* (not the father) of Salome, and therefore the *son-in-law* (not the husband) of Herodias (*Ant* 18.5.4 §157). On balance, however, the existence of a "Herod Philip" (and the compatibility of Mark and Josephus) resolves more problems than it creates (Mann *Mark* 296).

GARY A. HERION

**HEROD THE GREAT** (PERSON) [Gk *Hērōdēs* (Ἡρωδης)]. The king who, by arrangement with Rome, ruled Jewish Palestine from 37 B.C.E. to 4 B.C.E. According to the NT (Matt 2:1–19; cf. Luke 1:5), Jesus was born during the reign of this king.

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A. Introduction
B. The Period of Consolidation
C. The Herodian Kingdom at its Peak
1. The Political Dimension
2. Herod's Domestic Policy
3. Herod's Building Program
4. Hellenistic Influence on Herod and in Jerusalem
D. The Last Years
E. Conclusion

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**A. Introduction**

Herod was born in the late 70s B.C.E. into an aristocratic Idumean family that had converted to Judaism a half century earlier, in the reign of John Hyrcanus I. His father, Antipater, was adviser to Hyrcanus II and later held office in his own right when he was appointed *epitropos* (overseer) of Judea in 47 B.C.E. The rise to power of both Antipater and Herod was predicated first and foremost on their unswerving loyalty to Rome. Both father and son were convinced that, following the conquest of Judea by Pompey in 63 B.C.E., nothing could be achieved without the consent and aid of Rome. This principle was inviolable, and it guided their actions under all circumstances and at any price. At the age of 25 Herod was appointed governor of Galilee by his father and gained a reputation as a vigorous ruler by his aggressive campaign against brigands in the area.

By the late 40s, however, Herod's political fortunes took a turn for the worse. The murder of his father in 42 B.C.E. put him on the defensive with regard to Jerusalem's aristocracy. Taking revenge on what it considered a tyrannical usurper, this nobility attempted to have Herod removed through Roman intervention, only to be thwarted by the steadfast loyalty of the Romans to Antipater's memory and Herod's proven abilities. Nevertheless Herod was finally forced to flee Judea in 40 B.C.E. when the Hasmonean Mattathias Antigonus joined with the Parthian invaders to oust both Herod and the Romans. Herod then made his way to Rome, where he was formally crowned King of Judea. He returned to Judea in 39 B.C.E., and in the summer of 37, after a stay of some two years during which Herod and the Romans were pitted against Antigonus and the Parthians, Herod was finally able to claim his kingdom. He proceeded to rule for the next 33 years.

Herod's reign can be divided into three periods. The first was one of consolidation, lasting from 37 to 27 B.C.E. The second, from 27 to 13 B.C.E., was a period of peace and prosperity, marked by Herod's close relationship with Rome and her leaders on the one hand and an ambitious building program on the other. The third period, from 13 to 4 B.C.E., was marked by domestic strife and misunderstandings with Rome, and was capped by Herod's physical and emotional deterioration.

**B. The Period of Consolidation**

Herod's conquest of Jerusalem in 37 did not bring his problems to an end. Inheriting a divided city, he moved swiftly and decisively to thwart all opposition. Forty-five leaders of the pro-Antigonus faction in the city were executed (*Ant* 15 §5) and others were forced into hiding (*Ant* 15 §264). The wealthy were despoiled, and the revenue gained was used to pay Herod's debts to his Roman patrons and his army. Having established ties with one branch of the Hasmonean family through his marriage to Mariamme (Mariamne), grand-daughter of Aristobulus (*JW* 1 §344; *Ant* 14 §467), Herod attempted to cement this relationship further by returning Hyrcanus II from exile in Babylonia and according him an esteemed position (*Ant* 15 §18–21). Josephus claims, however, that Herod's prime motivation for having Hyrcanus

nearby was more out of fear than honor; proximity would allow Herod to control Hyrcanus' whereabouts and, if necessary, eliminate him.

In the years following his ascension, Herod was almost obsessively concerned about the security of his rule. Thus he appointed an old friend, Hananel, a Babylonian, to assume the high priesthood (*Ant* 15 §22–40, 56). Alexandra, daughter of Hyrcanus II and mother of Mariamme, was incensed at the slight to her son, Aristobulus III, who was next in line to assume the duties of high priest. She appealed to Cleopatra, who in turn solicited the aid of Antony; he succeeded in persuading Herod to appoint Aristobulus. Herod agreed reluctantly, with good reason. Little time elapsed before he realized the extent of Aristobulus' popularity and the potential danger he posed (*Ant* 15 §52). Herod ordered the young man drowned in a swimming pool at his Jericho palace (*Ant* 15 §54–56).

Herod's moves to forestall any Jewish uprising are noted by Josephus on a number of occasions. It was for this reason that Antigonus was beheaded in Antioch (*Ant* 15 §8–9) and that the king kept the young Aristobulus homebound despite Antony's request, at one point, for the lad to join him (*Ant* 15 §28–30). Even as late as the year 30, before leaving for a fateful rendezvous with Octavius, Herod executed Hyrcanus II and placed Alexandra in a fortress under guard. He feared that in his absence either of them might foment a rebellion or assert his right to leadership (*Ant* 15 §174–78, 183–86). Similarly, Herod justified the execution of his wife Mariamme two years later, claiming that a popular disturbance might have broken out had she lived (*Ant* 15 §231).

The focus of anti-Herodian sentiment at this time lay close to home. Alexandra, both fearing and detesting the Idumean king, strongly opposed the appointment of Hananel as high priest and became totally distraught upon her son's murder. Herod's suspicion of her intensified, moving him to place her under house arrest. On Cleopatra's advice, Alexandra attempted to flee Jerusalem in a coffin but was apprehended in the act (*Ant* 15 §46–48). Herod was forced to overlook this incident for fear of Cleopatra's possible retaliation (*Ant* 15 §42–49). Alexandra informed Cleopatra of Herod's guilt in the drowning of Aristobulus, leading Antony to summon him to Laodicea. The king, however, succeeded in exonerating himself of all charges (*Ant* 15 §62–67, 74–79).

Cleopatra's association with such anti-Herodian machinations was not fortuitous. She indeed wished to incorporate Judea, S Syria, and Arabia into her kingdom. Despite the fact that Antony resisted her ultimate demands, much as he had refused to respond to her initiatives with regard to Alexandra, Cleopatra was not entirely unsuccessful. She succeeded in gaining the whole coastal region of Phoenicia and Judea ("the cities between the Eleutherus River and Egypt with the exception of Tyre and Sidon"—*Ant* 15 §95). The lucrative palm and balsam groves of the Jericho Plain were also transferred to her, although here she agreed to lease the territory to Herod for 200 talents a year (*Ant* 15 §132).

Despite these intrigues, Herod kept both his kingdom and relations with Rome on an even keel. In 31, three crises of major proportions beset the king—a war, an earthquake, and the defeat of his Roman patron. Charged by Antony and Cleopatra to collect the revenues owed by the Nabatean king, Herod was forced to resort to arms when the former refused to honor his debts. Although Herod was victorious in his first battle near Dion, E of the Jordan, he suffered a serious defeat at Canatha in the Hauran and was forced to disband his army due to heavy losses of men and equipment (*Ant* 15 §108–20). To make matters worse, a disastrous earthquake struck Judea about the same time, claiming, according to Josephus, some 30,000 lives and a considerable loss of cattle (*Ant* 15 §121–22). However, the most decisive event of the year 31 was Antony's defeat at Actium (*Ant* 15 §161–62). Octavius now stood as sole ruler of the Roman Empire. At first glance Herod's previous loyalties and ties to Antony were not the most auspicious credentials for winning the support of the new ruler.

Yet Herod emerged from these crises stronger than ever. Avoiding open warfare for a time, he finally engaged the Nabateans in battle near Amman (Philadelphia) in 31 and twice inflicted heavy casualties on them (*JW* 1 §380–85; *Ant* 15 §147–60). Spurred by this victory, Herod next addressed himself to the post-Actium political situation. It was to his benefit that the Nabatean war had engaged his attention at the time, leaving him no opportunity to dispatch troops in support of Antony. Herod was thereby spared the embarrassment of having actually backed the losing side. On learning of the outcome at Actium he

immediately declared his loyalty to Octavius and demonstrated it by helping prevent gladiators in the service of Antony from joining him in Egypt for a last stand (*JW* 1 §386–92; *Ant* 15 §194–96). Herod in the spring of 30 B.C.E. proceeded to Rhodes, where Octavius had made public his decision to support, wherever possible, existing client kings. He realized that the loyalty shown Antony—who had been the legitimate Roman ruler in the East—was natural and commendable. The main concern of the new emperor (in 27 B.C.E. to be officially so named and given the title "Augustus") was to guarantee efficient, effective, and loyal rulers. As Herod met these qualifications it is not surprising that he was immediately ratified as King of Judea and awarded other honors as well. Soon after, when Augustus was passing through Judea on his way to Egypt for the final battle against Antony, Herod met him at Ptolemais and provided his army with elaborate provisions and gifts, including abundant wine and water for their march across the desert. In a demonstration of munificence designed to win gratitude and support, Herod also gave Octavius 800 talents of silver (*JW* 1 §394–95; *Ant* 15 §187–201).

Octavius received Herod in Egypt after his final victory and awarded him the 400 Gauls who previously had served as Cleopatra's bodyguards. It was then that he restored to Herod the territory confiscated by Cleopatra (Jericho) in addition to the coastal cities of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppa, Strato's Tower, Samaria, and the Transjordanian cities of Gadara and Hippos (*Ant* 15 §217). When Octavius passed through Judea upon his return to Rome, he was once again lavishly received by Herod, who even accompanied him as far as Antioch.

This recognition, in addition to the newly acquired territory, fortified Herod's determination to put to rest the remaining vestiges of domestic opposition. Having already eliminated Hyrcanus II just prior to his journey to Rhodes, Herod then executed Alexandra: the king had fallen ill, and Alexandra, finding this to be a propitious opportunity for insurrection, moved to capture the Jerusalem fortress. Apprised of the situation, and having recovered from his illness, Herod immediately ordered her execution (*Ant* 15 §247–51). A year or so later Herod's sister Salome sought to divorce Costobar who, together with others, was plotting a revolt. She also told Herod that Costobar had provided refuge for his enemy, the Baba family, during the conquest of Jerusalem a decade earlier. Already aware of Costobar's seditious proclivities, Herod now moved quickly to execute him and his companions (*Ant* 15 §253–66).

All this was but a prelude to the most tragic—and, in the long run, the most significant—execution of all. Despite the extraordinary love he felt for his wife, Mariamme, Herod's relationship with her had seriously deteriorated. Precisely owing to his passionate attachment, and dreading the thought that his beloved might be wedded to another, Herod on two separate occasions had ordered her death should he fail to return from a fateful encounter. Mariamme, however, misjudged his intentions and was incensed at such plans. Salome's machinations against her only added fuel to the fire, as did Mariamme's own intemperate remarks and actions vis-à-vis the king. Imbued with a sense of familial superiority because of her Hasmonean lineage, she often treated her husband and sister-in-law with contempt and arrogance. In 29, under the incessant prodding of Salome, Herod finally ordered her execution (*Ant* 15 §222–39).

The murder of Mariamme thrust Herod into a distraught state. He would call out to her, lament her absence, and absentmindedly tell the servants to summon her. Herod sought distraction through banquets, parties, and hunting expeditions, but to no avail. The king became seriously ill with an inflammation and constant pain in the back of the head, and a temporary loss of reason. No medicine seemed to have any effect, and at one point there was fear for his life (*Ant* 15 §240–46).

The specter of Mariamme returned to haunt Herod during the last decade of his life. His sons by her, Alexander and Aristobulus, could not forgive their father for this deed, and the tensions and intrigues in Herod's court became unbearable and ultimately proved disastrous. On a deeper level, Mariamme's fate and the circumstances surrounding it reflected Herod's inability to exercise control over the many and disparate members of his family. Each strove to further his own interests and ambitions and sought ways—with more or less success—to manipulate the king according to his desires. The irony of events was such that Herod's political fortunes were on the rise while his personal life was the scene of much anguish and pain.

**C. The Herodian Kingdom at Its Peak (27–13 B.C.E.)**

**1. The Political Dimension.** By 27 B.C.E., and for the next 14 years, Herod's prosperity and accomplishments were practically unsullied. The territory under his rule continued to expand, there were no wars, and domestic unrest was almost nonexistent. Whatever tensions arose were limited and short-lived and do not seem to have affected the kingdom as a whole.

Herod's ties with Rome remained the backbone of his policy. His successful meetings with Augustus provided a firm basis on which these ties were to develop; as a result, Herod's kingdom was further augmented in 23 with the inclusion of the territories of Trachonitis, Batanea, and the Hauran to the NE. These lands had formerly been under the control of Zenodorus who, aware of the local population's predilection for brigandage, encouraged it to plunder its neighbors, particularly the inhabitants of Damascus, thus enabling him to increase his revenues. When complaints from Damascus reached Octavius (who since 27 was titled Augustus), he ordered Varro, the governor of Syria, to strip Zenodorus of his territories and eliminate the bandits. Augustus subsequently conferred these lands upon Herod in order to prevent similar disruptions in the future. Operating with his customary zeal, Herod abruptly aborted all unlawful acts and restored order to the area (*Ant* 15 §343–48).

Zenodorus, however, refused to accept this demotion and continually attempted to undermine Herod's position. He brought charges against the king and on several occasions encouraged the residents of Gadara to do likewise. On each occasion the Romans rejected these charges out of hand. Three years later, upon Zenodorus' death, Augustus awarded Herod his remaining territory, which included the Golan and Ḥulah areas, including the towns of Ulatha and Panaeas (*Ant* 15 §349–60). Thus, by the year 20 Herod had regained practically all the territory which had once comprised the Hasmonean kingdom, and in some areas much more.

As a sign of his newly acquired status, Herod was recognized as a "friend and ally" (*philos kai symmachos; Ant* 17 §246) as well as "friend of the Romans" (*philorōmaios*—Dittenberger, *OGIS*, no. 414) and "friend of Caesar" (*philokaisar*—Meshorer, *IEJ* 20 [1970]: 97–100). Moreover, Augustus issued a directive to his procurators (i.e., financial officials) in Syria to obtain Herod's authorization for their activities which, if indeed carried out, would have given him extensive power throughout Syria (*Ant* 15 §360). In addition, in as early as 23, Caesar granted Herod the privilege of choosing his successor, requiring only the confirmation of the emperor.

Herod lost no opportunity to express loyalty and gratitude to his Roman patrons. Augustus was undoubtedly impressed with the lavish reception accorded him by Herod before and after his Egyptian campaign against Antony. The Jewish king was again in attendance when Augustus visited Syria in 20 B.C.E., not only to further solidify his friendship with the emperor, but to answer charges brought against him by the people of Gadara. Herod also obtained an appointment for his brother Pheroras as tetrarch of Perea (*Ant* 15 §354–62). On three occasions in subsequent years Herod traveled to Rome in order to visit the emperor.

Herod also forged close personal relations with the second-in-command in Rome, Augustus' son-in-law, Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa. He visited Agrippa at Lesbos (an island off the coast of Asia Minor) during the years 23–21 (*Ant* 15 §350) and on another occasion, in 15 B.C.E., invited Agrippa to visit Judea, where the latter was warmly welcomed by the king and populace at large. Agrippa visited Herod's newly founded cities Sebaste and Caesarea, as well as the Judean desert fortresses of Alexandreion, Herodium, and Hyrcania. His stay in Jerusalem bore special significance, for it was here that he received the acclamation of the people. Agrippa expressed his appreciation by offering a sacrifice at the temple and by feasting the populace (*Ant* 16 §12–14). The following spring Herod joined Agrippa in Asia Minor on an expedition to Crimea. Upon the conclusion of the expedition, Herod accompanied Agrippa throughout much of Asia Minor, distributing gifts and helping those who presented petitions to Agrippa (*Ant* 16 §16–26). Herod also took this opportunity to plead the cases of a number of Jewish communities in Asia Minor.

Within his own realm Herod wielded absolute authority. One method of assuring this support was through an oath of loyalty; on one occasion, dated to about 20 B.C.E. (*Ant* 15 §368–70), he demanded an oath of fidelity to his own rule, on another—during the last years of his reign—to Caesar as well (*Ant* 17

§42). The anniversary of Herod's accession was declared an official holiday (*Ant* 15 §423), and there is some evidence that his non-Jewish subjects erected statues of him in his honor; later on the same was done for the daughters of Agrippa I at Caesarea (*Ant* 19 §357). Herod's royalty is regularly proclaimed on his coins, as is evidenced by the legends "of Herod the King" or simply "Herod the King."

Herod exercised complete control over his realm by dominating all key institutions. No matter was beyond his scrutiny. The highest tribunal (Sanhedrin), whatever its composition and authority in the previous era, was now merely a rubber stamp for the king's wishes. In effect, this judicial body was similar to the privy councils of other Hellenistic kings. Summoned whenever it suited the king, this group consisted primarily, if not exclusively, of Herod, his friends, and his relatives, and it was convened, for example, to condemn Pheroras' wife (*JW* 1 §571) and later Antipater (*Ant* 17 §93). It was before such a council that Herod announced the appointment of Aristobulus III as high priest (*Ant* 15 §41) and reviled Hyrcanus II's alleged treason several years later (*Ant* 15 §173). Following the execution of his sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, Herod convened this body to hear plans for the marriages of his grandchildren. In a speech purportedly delivered on that occasion, Herod personally addressed several members of that body, his brother Pheroras, and his son Antipater (*JW* 1 §556–58).

The high priesthood was another institution manipulated by Herod for his own purposes. Herod realized from the outset that control of this office was crucial for a successful reign, and it is for this reason that he immediately installed his long-time friend Hananel of Babylonia as high priest (*Ant* 15 §22, 40). The rise and fall of Aristobulus III, as already noted, clearly exemplify the threat perceived by Herod if that office were to fall to the hands of a potentially inimicable person. He appointed a series of high priests, several of whom apparently came from Egypt—Jesus, son of Phiabi, and Simon, son of Boethus (*Ant* 15 §320–22). The appointment of relatives to high positions was likewise a Hellenistic practice fully embraced by Herod. Simon was appointed high priest in 23 after Herod fell in love with his daughter, also named Mariamme, and he remained in office almost until Herod's death; Simon's son Joazar succeeded to the high priesthood in the year 4, following a brief ministry of one Matthias, son of Theophilus, a native of Jerusalem (*Ant* 17 §78, 164–67).

The army, too, was tightly controlled by Herod. It was comprised of Jews and non-Jews alike, and although precise information on the composition of his troops is unavailable, it would seem that the pagan element was crucial—if not in numbers, then at least in the importance of their position. The elite troops, those closest to the king and charged with personally protecting him, appear to have been of non-Jewish origin. Between 40 and 37 this foreign element was apparently dominant in the makeup of Herod's troops (*Ant* 14 §394; *JW* 1 §290, 301). Following the battle at Actium, Augustus had presented Herod with 400 Gauls who had served as Cleopatra's bodyguards (*Ant* 15 §217). The cortege at Herod's funeral was headed by his bodyguards, then the Thracians, Germans, and Gauls, and they were followed by the rest of the army (*JW* 1 §672; *Ant* 17 §198). Prominent among Herod's soldiers were those recruited from the cities of Sebaste and Caesarea, who numbered some 3,000 in all.

The expenses involved in maintaining an army and a court as lavish as those of Herod, as well as the need to finance his ambitious building program, required an enormous outlay of money. Herod's sources of income were many and varied. First and foremost he depended on the revenue from taxes, which were certainly levied on agricultural produce and included taxes on public purchases and sales (*Ant* 17 §205). Tax revenue figures mentioned at the deposition of Herod's will approached the not inconsequential sum of 1,000 talents (*Ant* 17 §317–21). Herod himself brought significant personal wealth to the throne, and this was augmented by his despoliation of political enemies. Moreover, his appropriation of Hasmonean property, which included large tracts of land throughout the country, added vast new sources of income. Thus Herod came into possession of fertile lands near Jericho, the coastal plain, and the Jezreel Valley. Furthermore, the vast tracts of land to the NE (Trachonitis, Batanea, the Hauran, and the Golan) were awarded to him by Augustus in 23 and 20 B.C.E. The customs duties derived from his control of lucrative trade routes, Nabatean trade from the Arabian peninsula, and maritime trade through his ports, especially Caesarea, and the revenue accrued from his Cyprus copper mines (*Ant* 16 §128) all provided significant

sources of income. On occasion Herod resorted to less savory means of acquiring money. For example, he once opened the tomb of David and stole some 3,000 talents (*Ant* 16 §179–82).

These sources of revenue undoubtedly operated with relative efficiency during years of peace and tranquility, from the time of the battle of Actium to Herod's death. Broken by only a few skirmishes with the Nabateans, this era allowed the Judean agricultural economy to flourish. The blessings of the *pax Romana* were felt in the country's commerce as well; trade prospered throughout the Mediterranean world and extended as far as Parthia, Arabia, India, and beyond.

Moreover, the peaceful conditions throughout the Roman world strengthened the ties between Judea and the Diaspora. Pilgrimages to the Holy City and donations by Jews everywhere to the temple were of enormous benefit to the Jerusalem economy. Rome protected the rights of Diaspora Jews to send contributions, no matter how substantial, and upon reaching their destination these funds were earmarked for the repair and development of Jerusalem, its walls, and its aqueducts, as well as for ritual purposes.

There were, on occasion, famines and plagues in Judea, and the need to reduce taxes temporarily (*Ant* 15 §365), but such crises appear to have been the exception. The complaints of the citizenry following Herod's death with regard to the enormous tax burdens undoubtedly bear much truth, but we must be careful not to emphasize their significance unduly. Rarely have people, no matter how prosperous, *not* complained about tax measures. However heavily assessed, the population does not seem to have suffered any serious consequences. Despite the devastating wars under Alexander Jannaeus (103–76), the civil war between Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II (67–63), and the cases of rapacity and exploitation during the first years of Roman rule (under Pompey, Crassus, Cassius, and Antony), the Herodian period—for all its royal expenditures and financial pressures—was a distinct improvement over its predecessors. When all is said and done, Herod's reign appears to have brought significant economic prosperity.

**2. Herod's Domestic Policy.** Despite Herod's apparently successful political fortunes throughout much of his reign, the king never felt secure in his position. His sense of insecurity (and here we must be careful not to exaggerate, for most Hellenistic-Roman rulers shared these same apprehensions) stemmed from a number of factors. Since he came from a family which until the not-too-distant past had been entirely outside the Jewish fold, it is understandable that some Jews might have looked askance at Herod's lineage; they might have been upset that an "outsider" assumed the title of king that was historically associated with the Davidic lineage. For others, his ascension was objectionable as it came at the expense of the Hasmonean Dynasty. Moreover, Herod's rule was repugnant to some, owing to his dependence upon and identification with a foreign power, and many were undoubtedly dismayed, if not enraged, by the high-handed methods and cruel tactics employed as Herod rose to power. Undoubtedly much of the resentment toward Antipater in the previous generation was now transferred to Herod. Finally, some Jews were clearly offended by the markedly increased tempo at which Hellenistic customs and practices were being introduced and absorbed into Judea. Although this process had been going on since the time of Alexander the Great (336–323), the extent and intensity of this process in Herodian Judea dramatically increased.

Herod's relations with his non-Jewish population were also problematic. Although of Idumean stock, Herod was considered by the pagans a Jew in all respects. It is difficult to imagine that the pagan population would take kindly to Jewish rule, since tensions between Jewish and non-Jewish segments of the population had become quite exacerbated during the Hasmonean era. When Pompey liberated the pagan cities from Jewish rule, their inhabitants undoubtedly breathed a sigh of relief; now, however, with their reincorporation into Herod's realm, many of the old antagonisms surfaced once again.

In light of this situation, Herod adopted a wide range of measures to assert his control over the native populations. Meetings of citizens were prohibited, as was any kind of mass assembly. Spies were ubiquitous both in the city and in rural areas. Herod is said to have disguised himself and to have mingled with the people in order to assess their attitude toward his rule. Anyone showing objection to his regulations or violating any law was severely punished; this included the death penalty, which was often carried out at Hyrcania (*Ant* 15 §365–68). Attempted assassins of the king were put to death, but only after being tortured. At times whole families were punished for crimes committed by one of its members

(*Ant* 15 §289–90). According to Josephus, the entire network of fortresses, starting with the Antonia in Jerusalem through Sebaste and Caesarea and culminating with Gaba and Heshbon, was intended to provide a bulwark against any possible Jewish uprising. Together these fortress-cities were meant to monitor seditious activity and, if necessary, to suppress any insurrection originating in the main centers of Jewish population, Judea, the Galilee, and Perea.

Herod, however, was far too shrewd a politician to settle for such preventative measures. He actively sought to mollify negative attitudes and win the allegiance and support—if not the love and affection—of his people. On one occasion (ca. 24 B.C.E.) when a particularly severe drought and plague struck the country, Herod moved quickly to relieve the crisis. He converted his personal ornaments into silver and gold coinage and sent the money to Egypt in return for a large shipment of grain. He also helped the aged and infirm by providing bakers to prepare their food. Clothes were distributed to the needy, and when the time came for the harvest, Herod sent tens of thousands of people to the fields at his own expense to help. He likewise distributed grain to the people of Syria, although Josephus makes it clear that the king distributed eight times more grain within his own kingdom. The generosity and timeliness of these benefactions apparently made a profound impression on the populace and did much not only to neutralize existing antagonisms, but also to build up a reservoir of goodwill (*Ant* 15 §299–316).

Around the year 20/19 the crops again failed, and this time Herod remitted one third of the taxes due (*Ant* 15 §365). On his return from visiting Agrippa in 14 B.C.E., Herod jubilantly reported to the people of Jerusalem his triumphs and their good fortune. He then remitted one fourth of their taxes for the previous year (*Ant* 16 §64).

Another way of winning the respect and loyalty of the people was through the popular assemblies called by the king from time to time. These meetings were advantageous to the king in that they enabled him to establish direct communication with his subjects and to win their approval for acts already accomplished or about to be undertaken. We know that such assemblies were convoked at Caesarea, Jerusalem, and Jericho, where Herod announced grandiose plans (such as the building of the temple—*Ant* 15 §380–87), reported on his trips abroad (in 12—*Ant* 16 §132–35), or used the occasion to gain popular support for intended executions, as at the convocation at Caesarea regarding the imminent deaths of his sons, Alexander and Aristobulus (*Ant* 16 §393).

The above measures were aimed at winning the support of the inhabitants of his kingdom generally. Certain undertakings, however, were intended for specific groups. The large populations residing in Sebaste and Caesarea were indebted to the king for the generosity and benefactions bestowed upon their cities. The character and institutions of these urban centers went a long way toward reducing fears that a Jewish king was, by definition, inimicable to pagans and paganism. That Herod succeeded in gaining the loyalty of these local populations is reflected decades later in Caesarea. In a polemic against the Jews there (ca. 60 C.E.) the pagans praised Herod as the founder of their city (*JW* 2 §266).

Moreover, Herod sought to win the loyalties of the pagans in his realm by incorporating them into his administration. As noted, many non-Jews held high positions in his court and army. Finally, Herod strengthened his ties with this sector of the population by closely identifying himself with Roman rule. The close contacts maintained with Augustus and Agrippa, along with the building of temples and other Hellenistic institutions, were designed not only as a general expression of support for Rome, but also as a message to his pagan subjects that Jewish rule could be supportive of local pagan interests and was not necessarily at odds with their way of life.

Herod's relationship to his Jewish subjects was far more complex. In part, it was related to their conception of Jewish political leadership, the roots of its legitimacy and authority, and its relationship to a number of well-established institutions (the council of elders and the high priesthood). For much of the Second Temple period political and religious leadership was epitomized in the figure of the high priest. He was the political spokesman and the central religious figure of his people. This symbiosis reached its peak under the later Hasmoneans when the high priest was also king. On Hasmonean coinage the Hebrew name and the title "high priest" in ancient Hebrew script appeared, as did the ruler's Greek name and the title *basileus*, "king" in Greek.

Herod, however, sought to end the dual nature of Hasmonean leadership. For him, political power was the "be-all and end-all," while religious leadership (of the priestly or non-priestly variety) was of no interest. Whether this was because his unsuitable origins would preclude any chance of holding such a position or whether he simply was not interested in this religious aspect is a moot point. Herod was indeed keen to separate the functions of religion from those of the state, and he left no doubt as to the superior status he accorded the latter.

**3. Herod's Building Program. a. With Rome in Mind.** As was customary among client kings at the time, Herod named buildings and even whole cities in honor of his patrons. The two wings of his Jerusalem palace he called Caesareum and Agrippeum, and around the theater built by him in Jerusalem he placed inscriptions in honor of the emperor (*Ant* 15 §272). In Caesarea Paneion, near the source of the Jordan, Herod erected a temple of white marble in honor of Augustus (*JW* 1 §404). The coastal town of Anthedon was renamed Agrippeum, and Agrippa's name was inscribed on one of the gates of the Jerusalem temple. Moreover, Agrippa was often the namesake of Herod's progeny. Josephus speaks of a complex of buildings erected in the vicinity of Jericho in honor of his two Roman patrons, noting, in addition and perhaps with some exaggeration, that there were few landmarks in all his realm which did not bear tributes to Caesar (*JW* 1 §407).

However, the pièce de résistance of Herod's building projects in honor of the emperor was the construction of two cities he named Sebaste and Caesarea. The former, Herod's first major project, begun in 27 and completed in 25, was built in Samaria, on the site of the ancient Israelite capital. The newly founded city of Sebaste was intended to afford the king a strong measure of security. It was fortified by a wall some two miles in circumference and settled by a contingent of veteran soldiers, local inhabitants, and people brought from the surrounding areas—all told, some 6000 colonists were settled there (*JW* 1 §403; *Ant* 15 §296–98). Situated in the center of the country, about a day's journey from Jerusalem, Sebaste afforded an ideal location for an urban center whose *raison d'être* included security considerations. The carefully selected population was to provide a contingent whose loyalty to the king was unquestionable.

An even more ambitious project initiated by Herod was the building of Caesarea, located on the site of Strato's Tower, the Phoenician colony which had long since fallen into a destitute state. Herod invested enormous sums to construct a magnificent city and an impressive port. The city itself boasted a theater, an amphitheater, a stadium or hippodrome, palaces (including one for Herod and his family), an effective sewage system, and other buildings characteristic of Greco-Roman cities (a forum, a basilica, baths, etc.).

Herod's various tributes to the emperor in numerous cities throughout the empire were not merely expressions of adulation from a client king to his patron. In a deeper sense they expressed Herod's commitment to and identification with the *pax Romana,* the vision of the new world order which Rome was then offering the entire *oikumene.* The list of pagan cities that benefited from his generosity is impressive (*JW* 1 §422–28; *Ant* 15 §326–30; 16 §18–19, 24–26, 146–49). He built baths, fountains, and colonnades in Ascalon, gymnasia in Ptolemais (Acco), Tripoli, and Damascus, and theaters in Damascus and Sidon. In Tyre and Berytus Herod built halls, porticoes, temples, and marketplaces, in Byblos a wall, in Laodicea an aqueduct, and in Antioch he constructed colonnades and laid stone or marble pavement for its main street which, according to Josephus, stretched for some 4 km.

Somewhat further afield, Herod rebuilt, on a grander scale than before, the Pythian temple at Rhodes, which had burned down, and on several occasions he contributed to the shipbuilding industry of the city. Herod is reputed to have built most of the public buildings in Nicopolis, a city founded by Augustus following the battle of Actium, and when visiting Chios he restored the collapsed local basilica. Athens and Sparta could boast of his gifts as well. Josephus claims that in Asia Minor, as in Judea, no district was bereft of some sort of Herodian benefaction. See also HEROD'S BUILDING PROGRAM.

**b. The Private Needs and Pleasure of Herod.** Herod expressed his royal prerogatives liberally through the extensive building activities undertaken for his own pleasure. Foremost among his palaces were those erected in Jerusalem. The Antonia, situated at the NW corner of the Temple Mount, and a much larger

and more sumptuous palace in the Upper City served as Herod's palaces in the city during the first 15 years of his rule.

Josephus informs us that royal palaces existed throughout the country (*Ant* 17 §274). He specifically mentions those in Ascalon (*Ant* 17 §321), Ammatha in Perea (*Ant* 17 §277), Jericho (*Ant* 17 §274), Herodium (*Ant* 17 §323–25), Masada (*JW* 7 §286–94), and perhaps Sepphoris (*Ant* 17 §271). Acts 23:35 notes a palace of Herod in Caesarea.

**c. Herodian Jerusalem: The Temple and the City.** Herod's ambitious building plans were also aimed at winning Jewish support, especially his rebuilding of the temple on a scale and magnitude heretofore unknown. Herod's convocation of a Jerusalem assembly for the purpose of announcing these plans is an indication of the importance he attached to this undertaking (*Ant* 15 §380–425). This is described as his noblest achievement, one which would guarantee his immortality. Herod's plans were ambitious indeed: he intended to double the size of the Temple Mount by extending the artificial podium to the S, W, and N. Only the E portico, associated in popular memory with Solomon, remained more or less untouched. The Temple Mount was to resemble closely other *temenoi* (sacred areas) in the early empire, which were all constructed on a foundation and augmented by an artificial podium surrounded on three sides by porticoes and on the fourth by a large basilica. The temple in these *temenoi* was a free-standing building erected in the center.

The sacred area of the Temple Mount contained a series of courts which only Jews—and only those Jews who were ritually pure—were allowed to enter. The first—called the "women's court"—seems to have been open to all; the second was primarily intended for men, although women bringing sacrifices (for instance, following birth) might also enter; the innermost court was designated exclusively for priests. Here were to be found the main altar, the site for slaughtering sacrifices, and other installations required by the priests for carrying out their daily functions.

The temple building itself was divided into three rooms. The first was an empty porch that was wider than the other two rooms; it had no entrance door. Beyond the porch was the *hêkal*, which contained the *mĕnôrôt* (candelabra), a priestly altar, and a table for the sacred bread. Beyond this was the Holy of Holies, to be entered only by the high priest, and then only on Yom Kippur. Originally, in the days of the First Temple, the Holy Ark and the tablets of the Covenant were kept here, but these were lost following the destruction of the First Temple in 586 B.C.E. Throughout the Second Temple period the Holy of Holies remained empty.

Indeed, the rabbinic saying "whoever has not beheld Herod's building (i.e., the temple) has not seen anything beautiful in his life" (*b. B. Bat.* 4a) attests to the magnitude and magnificence of his enterprise at the Temple Mount. Given the sanctity and centrality of the site to all Jews, it is easy to understand why this was Herod's principal gift to his people; "for he believed that the accomplishment of this task would be the most notable of all the things achieved by him, as indeed it was …" (*Ant* 15 §380). Popular imagination even saw a divine blessing in this undertaking. It was said that throughout the period of construction rain fell only at night so as not to interrupt the work (*Ant* 15 §425; *b. Ta‘an.* 23a).

Herod's building projects extended beyond the Temple Mount and were noticeable throughout all of Jerusalem. It seems likely that the second of the city's three walls was built in Herod's reign, although its date remains problematic. This wall ran from the vicinity of the three towers near Herod's palace to the Antonia fortress, adjacent to the Temple Mount, and probably included the Damascus Gate area (*JW* 5 §146). It enclosed much of the Christian and Muslim quarters of today's Old City, about 60 acres (including the enlarged Temple Mount), and probably contained some 10,000 additional inhabitants within the city walls. The city's population was thus augmented by about 25 percent, bringing it to somewhere in the vicinity of 40,000. These numbers, in themselves somewhat speculative, did not include the many homes built outside the walls (later to be enclosed by the third wall), nor the villages which existed in the Jerusalem environs.

Mention has already been made of Herod's splendid palace situated in the Upper City of Jerusalem and the three towers named after his brother (Phasael), wife (Mariamme), and friend (Hippicus). These towers were reputedly unparalleled in terms of their beauty, strength, and magnitude (*JW* 5 §156–75). Every

Roman city of note boasted a theater, an amphitheater, and a hippodrome, and Herod had these three major entertainment institutions built in Jerusalem as well. The theater was the scene of dramatic and musical presentations, the hippodrome of chariot and horse races, and the amphitheater of gladiatorial spectacles featuring wild animals. Remains of these buildings in Jerusalem have to date eluded archaeologists. See also TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

**4. Hellenistic Influence on Herod and in Jerusalem.** In light of archaeological remains and literary sources, it is evident that Hellenistic influence on Jerusalem was considerable under Herod. The extent and nature of this influence is, however, not entirely clear. Were we to depend only upon Josephus' accounts, the dominant impression would be that circles close to Herod's court were largely Hellenized, while others were unreservedly opposed or even indifferent to this foreign culture. Such a conclusion, however, would be superficial and at best only partially true. Indeed, Herod's court appears to have been very highly Hellenized: his non-Jewish advisers, the almost universal use of Greek names, the Greek education accorded his sons in Rome, and the style of the buildings he constructed are but a few indications of the king's Hellenistic proclivities. Herod's enthusiasm for Hellenistic-Roman culture was second only to his loyalty and faithfulness to the Roman political system.

Yet Herod himself set definite bounds to his adoption of Greek norms. He scrupulously avoided any human or animal representations on the coins he minted, and it seems that he pursued the same strict line in his private life as well: in none of Herod's buildings discovered to date is there any trace of figural representation. Nothing which smacked of idolatrous practices was introduced into Jewish society at the time, and the construction of any temple for the glory of Caesar was carried out for the benefit of the pagan population only. Moreover, Herod was careful regarding intermarriage: whenever a member of his family wished to marry a non-Jewish male, he insisted on circumcision. His sister Salome was unable to dissuade him of this prescription, and he prevented her from marrying the Arab Syllaeus when the latter refused to be circumcised (*Ant* 16 §225). Moreover, Herod's cordial relations with some Pharisees and Essenes and his concern for the Jewish Diaspora communities (whatever his motivations) reflect this fundamental identification and sympathy with Jewish matters.

Just as we must see Herod's Hellenistic proclivities in proper perspective, so too we should be careful not to overemphasize Jewish aversion to Hellenism. Although such aversion is noted on several occasions by Josephus, or, more exactly, by his Jewish sources of information, we do not know how accurate such sources are in this regard. Just as Josephus' primary source, Nicolaus of Damascus, is clearly tendentious in his praise of Herod, so too we may assume that his other sources concerning the Jewish people were biased in the opposite direction. Judging by what actually happened—and not by the evaluation of events related by these sources—we are witness to the emergence of an interesting pattern. The popular reaction of the Jews to the eagle being fixed above the temple gate was indeed violent, but given the general Jewish prohibition regarding figural representation, the placement of an eagle in such a spot was probably as insensitive and as irrational a step as could be imagined (*Ant* 17 §146–63). Herod's decision in this regard was so completely out of step with everything we know of his cautious religious policy that we must ascribe this action to the king's last years, a time when he was far from being in rational control of affairs.

Of equal interest is the response of the people to the major entertainment arenas built by Herod in Jerusalem. After emphasizing the impious non-Jewish nature of this activity, Josephus (or his source) notes that the only reaction involved the dispatch of a delegation which demanded to know if there were figural representations decorating the theater premises. Interestingly enough, no objections were registered concerning the erection of the theater itself, and no grievances were aired against the building of the hippodrome and the amphitheater. In fact, when Herod showed the delegation that there were only trophies of war, and not images, in the theater, everyone laughed at the misunderstanding (*Ant* 15 §267–79). Following the report of these events, Josephus remarks that a few people (ten in all), alarmed and overwrought by the events taking place and by the degree of acculturation in their midst, attempted to assassinate the king (*Ant* 15 §280–91).

The foregoing does not necessarily imply that the people at large liked Herod. As mentioned, we have ample evidence of spies, outlawed meetings, and the building of fortresses to indicate the antipathy of many toward the king or, at the very least, of Herod's fears of such hatred. However, it would be a mistake to attribute this animosity simply to an aversion to Hellenistic practice per se. There were other reasons to dislike Herod on political, economic, and social grounds without assuming that religious-cultural issues constituted the main point of contention. It is not without significance that the delegation to Rome following Herod's death requested annexation to Syria because of the reign of terror and economic hardship imposed upon them (*Ant* 17 §299–314). There were no complaints of religious and cultural crisis, nor was there any demand for the removal of offensive Hellenistic buildings and institutions. The absence of such statements is certainly not because the Romans would have been averse to such requests; in fact, Roman officials, both in Judea and the Diaspora, were invariably sensitive and responsive to Jewish claims of a religious nature. We can only conclude that such issues either did not exist or were not all that critical, at least for the Jews of this delegation.

**D. The Last Years (13–4 B.C.E.)**

The latter years of Herodian rule were ignominious. The intrigues and manipulations initiated by various family members were widespread, and Herod displayed little ability to control this depraved behavior. Such circumstances were not new, just more intensive and extensive than before. As will be recalled, even during Herod's early years the struggles between the Hasmonean (Alexandra and Mariamme) and Idumean (Salome and Cypros) branches of his house were severe and often deadly. However, with the deaths of Mariamme and Alexandra a respite ensued. Mariamme's sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, were too young (about seven years old at the time) to instigate any serious trouble. Yet with their return from Rome ca. 17 B.C.E. the intrigues resumed. At first Herod made it very clear that these young men would enjoy a special status. He himself went to Rome to escort them back to Judea, and he arranged for Alexander to marry Glaphyra, daughter of King Archelaus of Cappadocia, and for Aristobulus to marry Berenice, daughter of his sister Salome (*Ant* 16 §6–11). The handsome appearance and royal carriage of these two young men won them much popularity with the public at large as well as with the army.

However, the brothers carried a heavy burden of antagonism vis-à-vis their father. They left no doubt that they did not forgive those responsible for their mother's death and that in due time they would seek revenge. Moreover, their royal bearing was often interpreted as contempt for others, such behavior serving only to enhance opposition by Salome, Pheroras, and Antipater, Herod's eldest son by Doris. The poison spread by Salome had its effect, and Herod's ambivalence regarding the Hasmonean family again resurfaced. Already by 14–13 he had recalled Antipater, once repudiated, and sent him to Rome to foster ties with imperial circles (*Ant* 16 §66–86). The situation became exacerbated by the brothers' antipathy toward their father and his suspicions of their patricidal plans. By the year 12 he decided to accuse them formally before the emperor in Rome. A reconciliation, however, was effected, but on his return to Jerusalem, Herod informed a popular assembly that he was bequeathing the throne to Antipater, with Alexander and Aristobulus next in line (*Ant* 16 §130–35).

Matters degenerated in the following years, and the brothers' fate was sealed by the discovery of a number of alleged plots to murder the king. Herod believed the evidence presented by Antipater, Salome, and Pheroras, and following a trial in Berytus with the participation of Roman officials, Alexander and Aristobulus were executed in 7 B.C.E.

Removal of the brothers, however, did not put an end to the family's intrigues. The situation at court had become much more complicated even earlier because of friction between the king on the one hand and both Salome and Pheroras on the other. In both cases the issue was marriage: Salome deeply resented the king's decision to prevent her intended marriage to the Arab Syllaeus, when the latter refused to become circumcised, and Pheroras insisted upon marrying a slave girl with whom he was in love, thereby rejecting Herod's request that he marry the king's daughter (*Ant* 16 §188–219).

Herod's domestic problems at this time were further exacerbated by external political crises. Unruly inhabitants of Trachonitis gained refuge with Syllaeus, who then refused to hand them over to Herod.

Thereupon the king marched on the Nabateans, having gained the approval of Saturninus, the Roman governor of Syria, and Syllaeus went to Rome to accuse Herod of unlawful initiation of a war. With Augustus unaware of the circumstances (at least as far as Josephus would have us believe), he reproached Herod and refused to receive his delegation. Only a second embassy, led by Nicolaus of Damascus, managed to have a hearing and duly rectified the situation (*Ant* 16 §271–99).

Following the brothers' demise, Antipater's position as successor appeared unassailable. He strove hard to strengthen his support at Rome and among Roman officials in Syria and drew especially close to Pheroras at home. Salome viewed this relationship with alarm and proceeded to arouse Herod's suspicions against their brother. When Pheroras died, poison that was allegedly intended for the king himself was found, and after an investigation Antipater was implicated, recalled from Rome, put in chains, tried, and condemned (*Ant* 17 §52–145).

By this time Herod had fallen seriously ill. He was moved to make a new will naming Antipas, son of the Samaritan Malthace, his successor (*Ant* 17 §146). News of the king's incurable disease incited two sages, Judah, son of Sariphaeus, and Matthias, son of Margalothus, to provoke their disciples into destroying the eagle erected by the king over a temple gate. The deed was accomplished, but the perpetrators were apprehended and sentenced to death (*Ant* 17 §149–67). Realizing his end was imminent, Herod ordered that upon his death the men whom he had locked up in the Jericho hippodrome should be executed, thus ensuring general mourning at the time of his death (*Ant* 17 §173–75). He ordered Antipater killed and once again altered his will by naming Archelaus, the older son of Malthace, successor to the throne, Antipas tetrarch of the Galilee and Perea, and Philip, son of Cleopatra, tetrarch of Gaulanitis, Trachonitis, Batanaea, and Panaeas (*Ant* 17 §188–90). Finally, in 4 B.C.E., five days after the execution of Antipater, Herod himself succumbed. A solemn prearranged funeral procession, featuring his troops and private bodyguard, accompanied his body from Jericho to Herodium, where he was interred (*Ant* 17 §199).

**E. Conclusion**

To evaluate Herod's life and reign is well nigh impossible. Most primary sources either vilify or extol him. He is described both as a consummate politician and as clumsy and ineffective, as adroit in his use of power and as blindly cruel. Love and hate, strength and weakness, grandiose plans, and petty concerns were all a part of his personality and behavior. There can be no doubt that contemporary attitudes toward Herod were as complex and varied as they are today. Some despised and others respected him; most were probably ambivalent. But above the personal likes and dislikes, Herod offered the Jews an unwavering political policy which advocated cooperation and integration within the *pax Romana*. When conditions led to the collapse of that policy some seventy years after his death, the consequencces proved to be catastrophic and tragic for the Jewish people.

Other general surveys of Herod the Great may be found in *WHJP* ("The Herodian Era"; "Society and Religion in the Second Temple Period"); *HJP²* 1: 287–329; PW 7/2: 1–158; and *CAH* 10: 316–36.

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L. I. LEVINE

**HEROD'S BUILDING PROGRAM.** Herod the Great's building projects in W Palestine constitute the most prominent in the country, for any single specific period or personality. One of the significant characteristics of his projects is their variety—he initiated the construction of towns, fortifications, fortresses, palaces (and palatial fortresses), temples, gymnasia, theaters, stadia,

hippodromes, monuments, harbors, irrigation projects, and other buildings. The building activity virtually never stopped during the years of his reign (37–4 B.C.).

The main sources for our knowledge of these building projects are Josephus' books (mainly *Wars* and *Antiquity*) and archaeological excavations. These sources complement one another to provide an impressive picture.

Herod excelled in choosing the sites for his buildings (e.g., Masada's N palace, the third winter palace at Jericho, and the harbor city of Caesarea). Another characteristic of his projects was the multi-functional design (of which the HERODIUM is the best example). Herod's logical and practical approach, as well as economic factors, influenced this multi-functional strategy. For a map showing locations and distributions of these sites,,See Fig. HER.03.

**A. Building Projects in Jerusalem**

Naturally, most of Herod's important projects were built in his capital, Jerusalem. On the other hand, because of the destruction that occurred during the Roman sack in A.D. 70 and the intensive building activities of later periods, most of these buildings have nearly totally disappeared.

**1. Antonia Fortress.** Herod's first building in the capital was named to honor Mark Antony. Except for minor remains, our knowledge depends mostly on Josephus. Antonia combined a palace and a fortress (controlling the Temple Mount which was just to its S). It was a high square or rectangular building surrounded by steep walls and a moat, and was crowned with four towers, one at each corner, three of the same height, but the SE corner tower was much higher.

**2. The Central Palace.** Situated at the W edge of the upper city, this palace is almost totally missing. Josephus describes it as being encircled with ramparts and towers. While nothing else is known except from Josephus' descriptions, it was probably the biggest and most elaborate of Herod's palaces; it had two huge, elaborate reception halls to entertain hundreds of guests and was named to honor Augustus and Marcus Agrippa. It also included many bedrooms and peristyled courtyards (some of which were rounded) with gardens and fountains.

The three multistoried towers—Phasael, Hippicus, and Mariamne—were all integrated near one another into the city wall N of the central palace (now the site of "The Citadel"). From Josephus' careful descriptions, it is known that these towers ranged from 35–45 m high. All had solid foundations with palatial facilities on top. Only one solid foundation (22 × 18 × 20 m, probably Phasael's) has survived from these unique towers.

**3. Theater and Amphitheater.** Although these are mentioned by Josephus, they have not yet been located.

**4. Fortifications.** Data unearthed in excavations indicate city walls and towers either built or reinforced in Herod's day.

**5. The Temple Mount.** Herod's most prestigious building project was the rebuilding of the Jewish temple in Jerusalem and the enlargement of the sacred temenos around it. Josephus and the Mishna are our main sources concerning the temple itself. The new temple followed the ancient plan but no doubt was more elaborate and perhaps even higher. A major effort was given to the enlargement of the Temple Mount toward the NW, and mainly to the S. Archaeological investigations complement Josephus' description of the various gates, the doubled stoas which surrounded the temenos on three of its sides, and especially the royal basilica (Herod's most monumental building), which adorned the Temple Mount on its S. The royal basilica, no doubt, was built to compensate for Herod's inability, since he was not a priest, to enter the temple itself. The excavations have exposed not only major parts of the W and S walls, but also many details of the adjacent roads, the monumental stairway at the SW corner (Robinson's arch), the Hulda gates on the S, and the adjacent monumental stairways and plaza.

**B. Samaria/Sebaste**

Samaria, the ancient capital of the Israelite kingdom, was rebuilt by Herod to settle veteran soldiers. The prominent building was the Augusteum, the temple built on the acropolis to honor Augustus. Foundations have survived not only of the temple (34 × 24 m), but also of the large forecourt (ca. 82 × 70 m with its surrounding stoas); both are described by Josephus. Herod also built a circling wall (ca. 3.5 km long) with

towers (also described by Josephus), and a large rectangular stadium (about 200 × 60 m) which was surrounded by stoas. See SAMARIA.

**C. Caesarea Maritima**

Caesarea was one of Herod's most important projects and the biggest planned town built by him (replacing the ancient Phoenician "Migdal Straton"). Josephus' detailed description (already partially attested by archaeology) focuses on the harbor as Herod's main effort and achievement.

Most of the harbor was built in the open sea. It was surrounded by massive breakwaters built with huge concrete blocks cast *in situ* in special wooden forms. Six monuments decorated the entrance into the harbor. Walls, towers, and promenades circled the harbor. Only the podium has survived from the temple which Herod built opposite the harbor; this temple was also in honor of Augustus.

The city was well planned, with streets intersecting at right angles, and with impressive underground drainage systems. Both a theater (which is still preserved) and a hippodrome were built to accommodate the games which were held every five years in honor of Augustus.

Herod's palace should probably be identified with the ruins exposed on the promontory W of the theater.

The earliest of the three aqueducts which exist at the site was probably part of Herod's activity. See CAESAREA.

**D. The Desert Fortresses**

In all the desert sites, Herod followed the Hasmoneans, who had been the first to build palatial fortresses. All these projects were described by Josephus (with special attention to Masada and Machaerus).

**1. Masada.** Masada was situated on top of a prominent rocky plateau W of the Dead Sea. It seems that Herod continued to use the buildings, first built by the Hasmoneans (including the nucleus of the Western Palace, the three small palaces, and a few other buildings), but he added many more buildings besides constructing an impressive water system.

The most outstanding building was the Northern Palace, built on three natural rocky terraces. The upper terrace was the dormitory wing; the main structure on the central level was a rounded building, probably a *tholos*-shaped hall; the lower terrace consisted of a square hall surrounded by colonnades and a small bathhouse in the Roman style at its basement. Another much larger bath installation was built close to the Northern Palace. Around the latter was exposed the large storeroom complex built by Herod. The whole mountain was fortified with a casemate wall and towers (intensively used during the first Jewish revolt against the Romans).

Twelve huge cisterns were also built on the NW cliff to store water from the occasional flash floods. At the same time, additional cisterns were built on top of the hill. See MASADA.

**2. Machaerus.** Built to the E of the Dead Sea, Herod's palatial fortress replaced the Hasmonean one. It consisted of walls and towers, dwelling and storage rooms, and a bathhouse in the Roman style. It also included a lower town just outside the summit. See MACHAERUS.

**3. Hyrcania.** This desert fortress which is W of the Dead Sea is virtually unexcavated.

**4. Cypros.** This was a desert fortress W of Jericho built on top of a ruined Hasmonean one. It included many palatial rooms and two bathhouses in the Roman style. Herod built a water channel from the Qelt springs especially to feed this site.

**5. Alexandrium.** The site is located on a high hill W of the Jordan, between Jericho and Beth-shan. Only one peristyled courtyard has been excavated of Herod's royal fortress. This fortress was also built on top of a Hasmonean one.

**E. The Plain of Jericho**

Because of the proximity of Jericho to Jerusalem, and because of the abundance of water and land, as well as the mild climate, Jericho was a favored location for Herod. At "Tulul Abu el-Alayiq," near Wadi Qelt, he followed the Hasmoneans and built in succession three palaces which ultimately were merged to function as one. On another part of the plain, Herod built a unique multipurpose structure, the "Hippodrome."

The first palace was a rectangular building (85 × 45 m) built S of Wadi Qelt. It was initially misinterpreted as a gymnasium by its excavator, but more recent investigations have clarified its function.

The second palace was built later, N of the wadi, on top of the Hasmonean palace which had probably been destroyed in the 31 B.C. earthquake. It had a large entertainment wing (including a swimming pool and a bathhouse in the Roman style), another swimming pool surrounded by gardens, and what appears to have been an elevated wing on top of an artificial mound.

The most outstanding palace was the third one, covering 3 hectares on both sides of the wadi. Its construction implemented Roman techniques, such as *opus reticulatum* stonework. It comprised a large entertainment wing N of the wadi (with a huge triclinium hall 29 × 19 m), and S of the wadi a large exotic formal garden, a huge pool (90 × 70 m), and a round hall (16 m in diameter) built on top of an artificial mound. It seems that the two halls were also named after Augustus and Marcus Agrippa. See JERICHO.

The hippodrome was built about a mile N of the palaces and was a unique combination of a 350 × 85 m racing course, a 70 × 70 m building (perhaps a gymnasium) built on top of an artificial mound, and a theater built on the mound's S slope, facing the course. In the context of the political events near the death of Herod, Josephus refers probably to these structures which were unique in the whole Classical world (*Ant* 17 §161, 194; *JW* 1 §659).

**F. Herodium**

The Herodium was one of the most important sites built by Herod, and the only one to carry his name. Situated about 10 miles S of Jerusalem, in Herod's most crucial battlefield, Herodium was a unique combination of a huge summer palace complex, a district capital, a fortress, a monument, and the royal tomb estate. The 25-hectare site, well planned with one grid system, combined a unique elevated building situated on top of a mountain, and a lavish lower campus.

The mountain fortress had a palace at its center surrounded by walls which were laid out in a circle. Along the walls were four towers, three of which were apsidal, while the fourth was completely round and much higher. This outstanding building was half buried and surrounded by an artificial, cone-shaped mountain.

The lower campus, at the bottom of the mountain, included a huge pool (70 × 46 m) surrounded by gardens, colonnades, and various buildings. These buildings laid in a "rug pattern" included palatial edifices, a large bathhouse in the Roman style, and service facilities. Not far from the pool are remains of a 130 × 60 m building which was probably the campus' main palatial wing.

Although Herod's tomb has yet to be located, it probably existed in the lower campus. Hints of such are a 250 m long "course" (the funeral track?), a monumental building at its end, and a group of beautifully curved stones, characteristic of contemporaneous funerary monuments at Jerusalem. Stones which are reused in a nearby Byzantine church probably came from the facade of the missing tomb monument itself. See HERODIUM.

**G. Other Building Projects**

More building projects are mentioned by Josephus: a harbor at Antedon (S of Gaza); a royal estate at Phasael (N of Jericho) named after Herod's brother; a palace at Beth Haramtha E of the Dead Sea and other fortifications further E at Heshbon; a royal residency, perhaps a governor's palace, at Sepphoris; and two veterans' settlements, one near Mt. Carmel (Geva Haparashim) and the other one E to the Golan (Biethura).

Archaeological evidence exists for a pagan temple at Banias (Panion), situated at one of the sources of the Jordan river. On the other hand, the only complete monument dated to Herod's days (and attributed by all scholars to this king) is the temenos built above the Patriarchs Tombs at Hebron, which was never mentioned by Josephus.

**H. Building Projects Outside Herod's Kingdom**

Josephus speaks of widespread building activity outside Herod's kingdom, not only in nearby places like Ashkelon, Ptolemais (Acco), Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, and Damascus, but also at more remote sites such as Antioch, Rhodes, Chios, and even Nikopolis, in W Greece. Of all of these projects, including theaters, gymnasia, markets, etc., only one (what appears to be a colannaded street in Antioch) has archaeological

attestation. However, these projects manifest Herod's ambition, ability, and political orientation which tried to maintain good relations with various parts of the Roman Empire.

No doubt Herod had a deep understanding for building and architecture. The wide range of original ideas, the buildings' outstanding locations, and the unique combination of functions (such as at Herodium and Jericho's hippodrome) are clear evidence of Herod's personal role in the initiative as well as the implementation of these vast building activities.

EHUD NETZER

**HERODIAN ARMY.** We are relatively well informed about the army of Herod the Great, especially through the *Jewish History* and *Jewish Antiquities* of the historian Josephus, who was writing in the late 1st century A.D. However, our knowledge of the development of the army, its composition, and its tasks remains fragmentary.

First an appreciation of how Herod came to the throne is necessary. He owed his position, as a client-king of the Roman Empire, to his father, Antipater, who, although not a member of the Hasmonean house, the Jewish royal family, had gained real power and positions of influence for his sons through services to great Romans like Julius Caesar. After his father's death in 43 B.C., Herod was driven from Judea by the Parthians in a world stricken by civil war. He went to Rome and through influence had himself appointed king of the Jews. But he had to fight to make his title a reality against his Hasmonean rival, Antigonus. When he arrived in Judea in 39 B.C., his forces already included foreigners as well as his own countrymen, and it was not until 37 B.C. that, with the help of the Roman forces of M. Antonius, Jerusalem was taken and Herod made himself king in fact. From this date Herod enjoyed the support of a legion based at Jerusalem until its withdrawal in 30 B.C.

The military tradition that Herod inherited derived from the world of the successor states of Alexander the Great: Herod's Hasmonean predecessors had used mercenaries—we hear of Greeks, Pisidians and Cilicians—in his armed forces, as well as Jews he could rely on, trained and commanded on the Seleucid model. But Herod had collaborated with Roman officers in the 30s and even commanded Roman troops, and it is likely that he was influenced by these experiences in building up his own army. His professional forces were supplemented when necessary by a popular levy from his own kingdom.

Herod's use of the forces at his disposal in this period is illustrated by the hostilities in which he was embroiled by Cleopatra in 32 B.C. at the time of the outbreak of civil war between Octavian and Antonius. The war was against Malichus, ruler of the Nabatean kingdom. Herod was defeated at Canatha, modern Qanawat in the Jebel Hauran, but successfully crushed an Arab invasion of Judea in 31 B.C. at Philadelphia.

We see here Herod acting within the Hasmonean tradition. Josephus describes Herod's forces simply as "the Jews," who are opposed to "the Arabs." Herod has taken advantage of his prerogative as king to raise an army from his subjects which he is leading against a hostile neighboring kingdom.

After the defeat of Herod's patron, M. Antonius, in 31 B.C., Herod was confirmed in his position as king by Octavian, who took over Antonius' role and increased Herod's territory. A new phase in Herod's reign began as king under the strict supervision of Octavian, who in 27 B.C. took the cognomen Augustus.

His main military duties in this capacity were to keep the peace with his neighbors and refrain from aggression himself. Augustus sternly disapproved of major military action by client-kings unless they had received his permission. He was angered by punitive action taken by Herod against the Nabatean king later in his reign, in 10–9 B.C., even though Herod was severely provoked by incursions into his territory.

Herod, however, was compelled to base his rule on force. This was directed mainly against his own subjects. The kingdom included troublesome areas like Auranitis, the modern Jebel Hauran, and Trachonitis-el Lejah, whose inhabitants resented being forced to live peaceably from agriculture. Herod also had little support either from the Greek cities who disliked being ruled by a Jew or from the Jews, who hated Herod as an Idumean and as an instrument of their oppressors, the Romans. His lack of popularity is emphasized by the plot to assassinate him in the theater, which came to light in 25 B.C.

The army was thus Herod's main means of maintaining his power. After the departure of the Roman legion from Jerusalem, Herod had to rely on a professional army loyal to himself. His troops included his own countrymen, Idumeans, recruits from his own settlements like Sebaste, or from the wild tribes from the NE of his kingdom. A unit of Trachonites took part in the disturbances after Herod's death in 4 B.C. But the best elements of his standing army came from the fighting men of the west. Herod's funeral procession was led by élite corps of Gauls, Thracians and Germans. Early in his reign, Herod's guard had been reinforced by 400 Gauls, formerly Cleopatra's, who were presented to Herod by Octavian.

Among the officers serving in the army were Roman citizens, possibly from Italy. We meet, for example, a Volumnius as military tribune, and Rufus and Gratus in charge of the royal cavalry and infantry, respectively. As large numbers of soldiers who had fought in the civil wars were demobilized, Herod should easily have been able to find suitably qualified recruits to command and train his forces.

How large was Herod's standing army? Precision is impossible. We hear in 4 B.C. of 3,000 Sebastenes going over to the Romans while the bulk of the royal troops joined the rebels. This gives a minimum of 6,000 men. It is tempting to compare with this the garrison of the Roman province under the emperor Vespasian. A legion and the auxilia in the discharge diploma of A.D. 86 suggest a minimum garrison of 9,000 men. Conditions were by then different, but the figures are perhaps helpful in providing a rough idea of the scale of the garrison.

What were the dispositions of the army? Much of it was based in fortresses throughout the kingdom. Because of the distrust and hostility felt toward him by his subjects, Herod had to hold them down harshly and ruthlessly. Strongpoints, as Josephus notes, were built throughout the country so that Herod could find out about, and quickly nip in the bud, any trouble that was brewing. A strong garrison was based at Jerusalem, where Herod rebuilt the citadel dominating the temple early in his reign—its name, Antonia, dates it to before Antonius' demise in 31 B.C.. He also constructed a second citadel in the upper citadel, completed by 29 B.C. Then Josephus, in his survey of Herod's means of controlling his kingdom, mentions major fortresses at Caesarea, Gaba in Galilee, Heshbon-Esbonitis in Perea, and Sebaste-Samaria. Areas of strategic importance were similarly strongly held. We know of a cluster of forts dominating the region E of Jerusalem: Cyprus overlooking Jericho, Herodium 7 miles S, Hyrcania 8 miles SE of Jerusalem, and Alexandrium in the Jordan valley 15 miles N of Jericho. They would all no doubt have contained garrisons and were supplemented by sites like Masada, kept in readiness in case of an emergency.

But Herod did not rely only on his standing army. He followed the practice of Hellenistic kings in building up a reserve army by granting plots of land on condition of military service in time of need. Such a settlement of reservists was established at Heshbon-Esbonitis, E of the Dead Sea. Another body was settled in the fortress at Gabae, N of Mount Carmel. The duty of these colonists was to hold Galilee in check, as they attempted to do later at the time of the rebellion that broke out in A.D. 66. But the most important military settlement was at Samaria, where Herod granted plots of land to six thousand men. He refounded the city and renamed it Sebaste in 27 B.C.: it was a day's march from Jerusalem and was useful for controlling both those in the city and those in the country.

In the unruly NE provinces of his kingdom Herod planted two colonies to police the area after a serious revolt by the inhabitants. The first colony was composed of three thousand Idumeans, fellow countrymen of Herod. The colony was destroyed during a second revolt in 10–9 B.C. The second colony was more unusual. Zamaris, a wealthy Babylonian Jew, migrated from Parthian to Roman territory ca. 10–6 B.C. Herod offered him a permanent home in his kingdom, in Batanea, a region centering on the modern town of Deraa, on very favorable terms. In return for policing the area Zamaris and his followers were granted land free of taxation. Zamaris accepted the offer, built the village of Bathyra, and fortified the area. He was clearly a man of some substance. He came from Babylon with 500 cavalry, all of them horse archers, and a group of 100 relatives. The Babylonian Jews, living in an alien country, out of touch with the Jews of Palestine and dependent on the Herodian house for their favored position, flourished under Herod and remained loyal to the dynasty.

One particular section of Herod's frontier line has been examined with the aid of archaeological evidence. This is in the south, in Idumea. Herodian pottery has been found at seven sites between the mouth of the Zohar valley in the E and Ber Shema (Bersama) in the W. Fortified settlements with Herodian occupation have also been noted, for example, at Arad. On the basis of this evidence, Professor Gichon has argued for a defensive line based on the E–W running valleys of the Besor, Beer-sheba, and Malhata-Zohar. Forts, watchtowers, and fortified settlements gave, it is maintained, depth to this line. However, the interpretation of this evidence is open to some doubt. Josephus does not record any serious incursions into this area during Herod's reign. Indeed, the interests of Herod and the Nabatean king at Petra were similar: both wished to ensure that caravans to and from Arabia journeyed unmolested. The archaeological evidence is thus compatible with small-scale occupation, possibly temporary, involved in the protection of traffic and travelers passing through the region. The fortified settlements in Idumea can then be seen as serving to protect the local inhabitants from the occasional raiding expeditions from the Negeb which were to be expected in the desert borderlands. A substantial presence of Herod's troops in this region thus remains questionable.

The importance to Herod of his armed forces throughout his reign is clear. After receipt of an empty title from the Roman senate at Antonius' urging in 40 B.C., Herod had to make himself king by armed force. His rule was at first buttressed by Antonius' legion, but after 30 B.C., under Augustus' stricter suzerainty, he had to depend on his own resources: most important was his standing army. A large garrison was based at Jerusalem, and other troops garrisoned fortresses strategically placed throughout the kingdom. His grip was strengthened by means of colonies of veterans, loyal subjects, and outsiders like Zamaris. So Herod both protected and held down his difficult and rebellious subjects.

For further reading, see also PW 7/2: 1–158 and *HJP²* 1: 287–324.

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**HERODIAN DYNASTY.** The Herodian "dynasty" properly begins with ANTIPATER, the grandfather of Herod the Great, who won acclaim as Alexander Jannaeus' governor in Idumea around the turn of the 2d century B.C. (*Ant* 14.10). His son, also named Antipater, was an energetic supporter of Hyrcanus II; he was especially skilled at winning and exploiting friendly connections with powerful Romans, from Pompey onward (e.g. *Ant* 14.37). He also helped the Romans in their dealings with the Nabateans; his wife was a Nabatean (*Ant* 14.80–84). The ability to work with Rome was the basis of the success of the Herodian dynasty; Antipater II set this pattern, and it was by and large followed by his descendants. Yet that particular political strategy was fraught with danger, especially when the interests and values of the essentially Greco-Roman culture of the Roman Empire conflicted with Jewish tradition (see Fig. HER.04).

In 48 B.C., when Rome was still caught up in the civil war between Caesar and Pompey which had erupted the year before, Antipater II astutely realigned his loyalties. Caesar was in mortal danger in Alexandria. Antipater, who had hitherto supported the Pompeian cause, judged that that cause was lost now that Pompey was dead; he therefore sought and won the favor of the likely victor by raising troops and bringing them to Caesar's aid (*Ant* 14.127–39). As a reward, Caesar gave Antipater and his family Roman citizenship in 47 B.C.: his full name was now presumably Gaius Julius Antipater. The administration of Judea was put in his hands; Phasael and Herod, his sons, administered Jerusalem and Galilee respectively. The abilities of Herod, who was to become HEROD THE GREAT, were soon obvious (*Ant* 14.140ff.).

In 43 B.C., shortly after the assassination of Caesar, Antipater was poisoned while collecting money for Cassius (*Ant* 14.280ff.). In 40 B.C., with Hyrcanus II captured and Jerusalem in Parthian hands, Herod made his way to Rome, where he was appointed king of Judea by the Roman Senate, thanks to the combined efforts of Antony and Octavian. But it was not until 37 B.C. that Roman forces made it possible

for Herod to enter Jerusalem. Herod's position could only have been uneasy: he had no dynastic claim to rule, and there was some resistance among the Jews toward the establishment of any king at all.

As the Roman world divided in civil warfare once more, with Octavian in the W and Antony in the E, Herod had little choice but to support Antony's cause; his links with Antony were stronger. After Octavian's victory, Herod deftly won his pardon in 30 B.C. Under Octavian (later known as Caesar AUGUSTUS) Herod proceeded to build up his kingdom. His reconstruction projects are especially noted for their elaborate foundations. He also developed a reputation throughout the empire for his generous beneficence. Despite the occasional rift, Herod's relations with the imperial family were notably warm, yet Herod's dealings with non-Jewish communities and his flirtation with Greco-Roman culture won him some displeasure at home. His position became ever more uncomfortable in the latter years of his reign, thanks largely to the opposition of Jewish traditionalists, who abhorred this Idumean king with gentile ways.

Herod's difficulties found expression within his family: he was led to execute a wife, Mariamme I, in 29 B.C., and later, three sons—Alexander and Aristobulus in 7 B.C., and Antipater in 4 B.C. His several and significant changes to his will further indicate the unsettled nature of his last years. He died, some 70 years old, in 4 B.C. Consequent social disorder also points to the extent of problems in Herod's reign.

Augustus was free to enact Herod's will as he saw fit: he divided Herod's property, partly to ensure the future of each of Herod's dependents. The bulk of the kingdom was divided between Herod's three sons—ARCHELAUS, HEROD ANTIPAS, and Philip the Tetrarch (see PHILIP [PERSON] #5). Archelaus, given the title of ethnarch, had the core of Herod's kingdom (Judea), but he could not maintain order and only made himself unpopular in the attempt. He was removed by Augustus in A.D. 6 at the request of his subjects and replaced by a Roman governor. Antipas and Philip each received smaller territories to the N and the title tetrarch, but were more successful in retaining control. Antipas was deposed in A.D. 39 by the emperor Gaius (alias Caligula), largely through the machinations of his nephew and brother-in-law Agrippa, who received his tetrarchy (later AGRIPPA I). Philip died in A.D. 33/4, and ultimately his tetrarchy also passed to Agrippa.

In A.D. 41 Agrippa helped Claudius to power at Rome. A grateful Claudius gave him the province of Judea; thus the original domain of Herod's kingdom was restored for Agrippa. Agrippa had made astute use of the connections he had formed with the imperial family during his youth in Rome. Earlier, Herod had sent his sons to Rome for just this purpose, but they seem to have derived less advantage from their sojourn than did Agrippa. Agrippa used his contacts to protect Jewish interests from the worst excesses of Roman power; he also gained the territory of Chalcis for his brother Herod (of Chalcis).

Upon the death of Agrippa I in A.D. 44, Claudius appointed a Roman governor to his kingdom, since his son (Agrippa II) was considered too young for such a responsibility. The young Agrippa lived at the court of Claudius in Rome until about A.D. 50, when Chalcis became available through the death of his uncle Herod (of Chalcis). In A.D. 53 he received an extended version of Philip's old tetrarchy while exercising certain religious prerogatives in Jerusalem.

Agrippa II owed everything to Rome and seems to have thought that the best future for the Jews lay in acquiescence in Roman rule, which was to be coaxed and tempered rather than thwarted. Together with his sister, BERNICE, Agrippa opposed the Jewish revolt of A.D. 66, first with words and then with arms. Agrippa's royal forces fought beside the Romans to suppress the revolutionaries, who, it must be said, were also fighting among themselves. Such cooperation was the essence of Herodian rule; the book of Acts clearly shows the essentially amicable and everyday dealings of Roman governors with Antipas and Agrippa II. The latter's other sister, DRUSILLA, even married the Roman governor FELIX.

After the revolt had been crushed, Agrippa and Bernice were duly rewarded by the Romans with honors and territory. It was thought that Bernice might even marry into the new imperial family of Rome, the Flavians (A.D. 69–96), but she did not. By the end of the 1st century A.D. Agrippa died. Drusilla's son by Felix had been killed in the volcanic eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in A.D. 79. The rest of the family faded from history, though occasional glimpses survive of possible descendants of the Herodian dynasty (Sullivan *ANRW* 2/8: 344–45 with Braund 1983: 242). (See also *HJP²* 1: 243–454.)

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**HERODIAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Herodias* (Ἡροδιας)]. The daughter of Aristobulus (son of Herod the Great) and Bernice (daughter of Herod the Great's sister, Salome). She was probably born between 9 and 7 B.C., shortly before Aristobulus died in 7 B.C. According to Josephus (*Ant* 17 §14) she was betrothed about 6 B.C. to Herod the Great's son Herod, whose personal name seems to have been Philip. Apparently Herodias bore to her first husband a daughter, whom Josephus says was named Salome (*Ant* 18 §136). While Herod Antipas was visiting the residence of his half-brother Herod Philip, Herodias became interested in Antipas and agreed to divorce Philip for Antipas (*Ant* 18 §110).

Herodias was the niece of Herod Antipas and was nearing her fortieth birthday at the time of her second marriage. This second marriage would have been judged incestuous by the OT laws (Lev 18:13) and definitely forbidden (Lev 20:21; 18:16). It is probable, considering Jesus' close relationship to John the Baptist and the fact that John apparently lost his life for condemning the relationship of Antipas and Herodias, that Jesus made indirect reference to this relationship in his discussion of marriage (Mark 10:12, but especially Matt 19:1–9 [Witherington 1985: 571–76]).

The Synoptic Gospels give attention to the relationship of Antipas to Herodias because of its effect on the Baptist's career and life (Mark 6:17–29; Matt 14:3–12; Luke 3:19–20). Luke explicitly says that John was imprisoned because he criticized the incestuous and unlawful marriage between Herodias and Antipas. Thus, this comment provides a plausible explanation why we find Herodias biding her time, "nursing a grudge against the Baptist and wanting to kill him" (Mark 6:19), and finally forcing Antipas to execute John. It must be remembered that Josephus' version of this affair was written some 60 years later by one who focused on the political rather than the personal aspects of the story. Thus it is not surprising to hear Josephus say that John was executed because Herod perceived him to be a political threat (*Ant* 18 §116–19).

Some believe that the story in Mark 6 (and any parallel) is legendary in character, that it would be unlikely for a Jewish princess like Salome to dance a lascivious dance. Yet elsewhere in Josephus (*JW* 2.2.5) we hear of this same sort of revelry and drinking within the Herodian household, which was thoroughly Hellenized (Windisch 1917: 73–81). Furthermore, the machinations of Herodias in this story are true to form, the Herodian household being infamous for plots to bring about an opponent's downfall. The most probable reading of the text in Mark 6:22 is not "his daughter" but "her daughter," a reading supported by many and varied sorts of manuscripts (Taylor 1966: 314–15). Thus it is unlikely that Mark was ill informed about the actual state of relationships among Herodias, Salome, and Antipas.

The picture of Herodias derived from the Gospels is in fundamental agreement with Josephus. In both works she is seen as a scheming, clever woman who would stop at nothing to achieve her ends (Mark 6:19–29, *Ant* 18 §111, 136). There is also no counterhistorical evidence to suggest that either Mark or Josephus was pursuing some antifeminist agenda in his respective portrayals of Herodias. Indeed, there is some evidence to suggest that Mark was sympathetic to the plight of women in his era (Witherington 1988: 158–66). Notice too the story in *Ant* 18 §240–55, where Herodias is jealous of her brother Agrippa I receiving the title of king and insists on Antipas going to Rome and asking for a similar title, an act which leads to the downfall of Antipas and Herodias, both banished by the Emperor Gaius either to Spain or the Lyons in Gaul (*Ant* 18 §252–53; *JW* 2 §183; there are divergent traditions about their final location).

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BEN WITHERINGTON, III

**HERODION** (PERSON) [Gk *Hērōdiōn* (Ἡρωδιων)]. A Roman Jewish-Christian who received greetings from Paul in Rom 16:11. His name, unique in the Roman Empire at that time, was likely the Greek equivalent of the Lat "Herodian (us)." In the 1st century C.E. this latter name identified former Herodian slaves who had been sold to a second master (in most cases slaves with this type of name were sold to the public or to the household of the emperor), and they usually were freed later (Lampe *StadtrChr*, 67, 68, 148, 153, 296; cf. *CIL* 6: 9005). It is therefore possible that Herodion was an imperial freedman and had Roman citizenship (cf. Phil 4:22; Christians in the emperor's household). As a former Jewish slave of Herod, Herodion probably had immigrated to Rome. Other former Herodian slaves had gone the same way from the east to the capital: the inscription in *CIL* 6: 9005 (1st century C.E.) mentions a former slave of Herod the Great, Coetus Herodianus, who had become an imperial freedman in Rome. The inscription in *CIJ*, no. 173 even proves the existence of a Roman "Synagogue of the Herodians" ([*syna*]*gōgē* [*Hē*]*rodiōn*), which apparently had been founded by several former Jewish Herodian slaves.

It may not be coincidence that just one verse earlier (Rom 16:10), Paul greeted the servants of Aristobulus. Aristobulus was probably a member of the Herodian family; Herodion may therefore have had connections to Aristobulus' household.

The Greek form *Hērōdiōn* was first used by an Alexandrian veterinarian (*Hippiatrica* 82); as far as we know, the name was not used again until the 4th century C.E.

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**HERODIUM** (M.R. 173119). A palace-fortress built by Herod the Great on the site known in Arabic as Jebel el-Fureidis. It is situated 13 km S of Jerusalem, 6 km SE of Bethlehem (N of the biblical Tekoa), on the edge of the Judean desert. No settlement earlier than the days of Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.) is known at the site, which comprises a steep conical artificial mountain into which is integrated a building; to its N are additional substantial ruins (including a huge pool). The final identification of the site as Herodium, following Josephus and Pliny (*JW* 1.13.8 §625; 1.21.10 §419; 1.33.9 §673; *Ant* 14.13.9 §360; 15.9.4 §323–25; 17.8.3 §199; Pliny *HN* 5.14.70) is attributed to E. Robinson, who visited the site in 1838. Herodium was surveyed later by F. de Saulcy, in 1850 and 1863, who excavated a small trench in the center of the large pool in an effort to locate Herod's tomb; by M. V. Guerin in 1868; by C. R. Condor and H. H. Kitchener on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1873, 1881, and 1883; and by C. Schick in 1879. The first excavations at the site were carried on by V. Corbo in four seasons (1962–1967). Corbo exposed a major part of the interior structure which is surrounded by the artificial mountain. Corbo's work was followed by minor additional work by G. Foerster (1969). E. Netzer was the first to excavate Lower Herodium—the ruins below and to the N of the mountain (1972, 1973–78, and 1980–87).

According to Josephus a crucial battle occurred in 40 B.C. at the site where Herod later built the Herodium. The battle was between Herod, son of Antipater (of Edomite origin), who had just escaped from Jerusalem, and Matthias Antigonus (a Hasmonean prince). The event was a result of an agreement between Antigonus and the Parthians (following their occupation of Syria in the same year) to displace John Hyrcanus II and the Romans, who had dominated Judea since 63 B.C.

According to Josephus, during the same flight from Jerusalem, Herod tried to commit suicide after his mother fell under the wheels of her cart. Herod, however, won the battle and managed ultimately to reach Rome, where he was nominated to be the king of Judea.

The two successive events were no doubt traumatic for Herod, and it seems that much before Herodium was actually built (around 23 B.C.), Herod had determined it to be his burial place instead of his capital.

As inferred from Josephus and the archaeological material finds, Herodium served various functions: it was a large, countryside summer palace (his winter palace was at Jericho); it served as a monument to Herod's name, since it is the only site to perpetuate his name (although a second Herodium is mentioned

in *JW* 1.21.10 §419, it cannot be confirmed either from textual or archaeological evidence); it was a monument to the battle which occurred here; it became Herod's burial estate (although his tomb has not yet been found); it was the capital of the toparchy (which Herod probably moved from Beth-zur); and it served as a fortress. The fortress, as inferred from the remains, was only in the mountain and was probably only to secure Herod and his family during their assumed long visits to this substantial palace. Some scholars understand Herodium to be part of the wider range of palatial fortresses. Since there was no water source in the vicinity, Herod built a 6-km water channel from a spring S of Bethlehem; it is documented by Josephus and confirmed by archaeological surveys.

**A. The Mountain Palace-Fortress**

The Mountain Palace-Fortress is bounded by two concentric walls forming a "cylinder" 63 m in diameter. See Fig. HER.05. The space between the two walls, filled today by debris, was originally divided into galleries, each about 5 m high, which were probably used as corridors and for storage. Inside the cylinder, well protected by the surrounding towers and artificial steep slopes, was a luxurious villa. The round space was divided into two equal parts. The W half consisted of dwelling quarters and the E half contained a large peristyle courtyard surrounded by colonnades on three sides. The columns were in the Corinthian style, similar to those found at Masada, Jericho's winter palaces, and Cypros. Semicircular excedras adorned the courtyard on both its narrow sides. The entrance to this inner building was located at the NE corner of the courtyard.

The W half consisted of a large triclinium (10.5 × 15 m; this was used as a synagogue during the first Jewish revolt against the Romans); dormitories on either side of a cross-shaped central corridor; and a bathhouse in the Roman style. The bathhouse included one or two *apoditeria* rooms, a small *frigidarium,* a large *caldarium,* and a small rounded *tepidarium* with a fully preserved cupola, one of the oldest found in the Holy Land. Many of the inner building's rooms had walls covered with frescoes, which depicted only geometrical patterns. The triclinium was originally paved with *opus sectile* tiles, and the bathhouse's rooms were paved with mosaics.

Of the four towers which surrounded the cylinder, the one to the E was round (18.3 m in diameter) and the other three, to the N, W, and S, were semicircular (16.5 m in diameter). The semicircular towers were divided into floors, each having four rooms, which probably served as dwellings for soldiers and servants. Of the E round tower only a massive stone-built structure (about 20 m high) is preserved. Apart from a water cistern and two small cellar-like rooms on its top, it appears to have been completely solid. This tower resembles the so-called "David's tower" in Jerusalem, the only remnant of Herod's three famous towers (named Phasael, Hippicus, and Mariamme) mentioned by Josephus.

The mountain complex was approached by a steep, 6.5 m wide stairway (about 120 m long), in a straight line to the NE of the mountain. Adjacent to the stairway, at the foot of the hill, three large water cisterns were revealed with a total capacity of about 2500 $m^3$.

Once the rounded structure was completed (according to Netzer's reconstruction, the cylinder reached the height of 30 m above the original hill), huge quantities of soil and gravel were dumped around it. Thus the cone-shaped hill was created. The fill covered about $^{2/3}$ of the building (15–20 m above the original height of the hill) but also continued down the slopes for another 20 m.

The Mountain Palace-Fortress combined at the same time three major functions: it was an exotic villa, an outstanding monument to be seen from afar, and a fortress. According to the excavator's reconstruction, the cylinder consisted of a two-level barrel-vaulted foundation, above which were five stories. See Fig. HER.06. It protruded close to 10 m above the steep artificial slopes, thus serving as the fortress's wall. The semicircular towers were either slightly higher or perhaps lower than the cylinder, but the round E tower had probably about five stories above the solid base (an estimated height of about 15 m above the cylinder). It was used, it seems, not only as an observation post, but also to house palatial rooms, from which to enjoy the superb landscape and breezes, which otherwise were hidden by the cylinder inside the inner building.

Scholars have seen the prototype for this unique building in Augustus' mausoleum in Rome. Others postulate the Antonia Fortress (probably Herod's first building project, which was a large palace built in Jerusalem surrounded by four towers).

**B. Lower Herodium**

About 100 m below the Mountain Palace-Fortress, Lower Herodium was built as a complex of buildings and gardens spread over an area of about 15 hectares. See Fig. HER.07. This complex was well planned and had one homogeneous grid system. Large-scale earthworks preceded the construction of the campus, built along both sides of a small valley. It consisted of two major sections: (1) the "large palace" directly below the mountain; and (2) the "pool complex" at the center of the lower site. The pool site had rows of buildings to its S, W, and mainly to its N (all built in a kind of a "rug pattern" design). Another outstanding feature was a long artificial terrace, the "course," measuring 350 × 25 m, which lay N and parallel to the large lower palace.

The "large palace" (its function is postulated) was the largest and most prominent building at Lower Herodium. It was 130 m long and about 55 m wide, and was built on a relatively steep slope. This rectangular building shares the same E–W axis with the Mountain Palace-Fortress. Only the substructure has survived, including remains of two long halls (each about 130 × 5 m) probably used as storage spaces.

The "pool complex" combined a huge rectangular pool (70 × 46 m and 3 m deep) within a garden 125 m long and 105 m wide. In the pool's center are the foundations of a round structure, probably a *tholos*-shaped pavilion. The garden, which encircled the pool, extended 18 m on the N, W, and S, but 60 m on the E. The garden probably was bounded on three sides by colonnades 5–6 m wide which were elevated 1.2–1.5 m above the garden level with access via about 5 steps. Two long halls, at least 9 m wide and 110 m long, lay E and W of the garden. The hall to the W lay behind the W colonnade and the E hall (of which only its substructure has survived) was built next to the wide section of the garden. The purpose of these halls, however, remains unknown. Most of the structures to the S, W, and N of the pool complex remain unexposed. Among the few that are exposed are the central bathhouse, a storage and service wing, and the remains of two luxurious villas.

The "central bathhouse" to the SW of the garden was built in the Roman manner; it was relatively well preserved and included some decorated mosaic floors and frescoed walls. Its *caldarium* measured about 16 × 9 m, twice the size of the ones exposed in the Mountain Palace-Fortress or at Masada. It also included a round heated *laconicum.*

The "service and storage wing," to the NW of the garden, had a long barrel-vaulted hall which collapsed in the middle of the 1st century A.D. An adjacent hall may have been a stable.

The two luxurious villas, situated one beside the other in the area N of the garden, included in each a small Roman style bathhouse. These villas probably served the officers in charge of the local toparchy since Herod had moved the capital to Herodium.

An intriguing group of structures have been exposed in the Lower Herodium S of the pool complex, at the W end of the long "course." The main building is the monumental building (14 × 15 m) which faces the "course." Inside is an elaborate hall (8 × 10 m) surrounded by niches separated by half columns based on pedestals. The hall, which originally had a barrel-vaulted ceiling, had probably five entrances and probably was surmounted with a monumental roof. A long but narrow (reflecting?) pool was found in front of the building.

Evidence of a second monument, which was probably nearby, was found in a group of well-carved and decorated ashlar blocks. These were reused in a Byzantine church, which was exposed just S of the monumental building. Some of these stones belonged to a Doric frieze (in the Roman style) and others carried floral patterns, both often used in Jewish tomb monuments in Judea. The monument that yielded these stones could be the yet-unlocated tomb monument of Herod. Perhaps the long course was built for Herod's funeral procession (as described by Josephus), whereas the monumental building may have been a related triclinium (similar to ones integrated into burial complexes at Petra).

A ceremonial ritual bath with a double entrance was also exposed near the monumental building and could relate to this group of structures. However, only the discovery of Herod's tomb in this vicinity will prove such a hypothesis.

Following the death of Archelaus, Herod's son who ruled over Judea after him, Herodium was controlled for 60 years by the Roman procurators except for a short interval (42–45 A.D.) when Agrippa I was in power.

In 66 A.D., the site was occupied by the Jewish rebels, but probably surrendered a short time after the destruction of Jerusalem (*JW* 7.163). The rebels settled in the Mountain Palace-Fortress and turned its large triclinium into a synagogue similar to the one exposed at Masada.

During the Second Jewish Revolt against the Romans, the site was occupied again by Jewish warriors (the site is mentioned in Bar Kokhba's letters found in the Judean desert caves). These warriors built an intricate and sophisticated system of tunnels into the hill under the palace-fortress.

The site was abandoned until the 5th and 6th centuries, when a Byzantine community settled inside and beside the ruins. Three churches were exposed here during the excavations at Lower Herodium in addition to a chapel exposed by Corbo on the mountain. The site was finally abandoned at the beginning of the Early Arabic Period.

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EHUD NETZER

**HERODOTUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Hērodotos* (Ἡροδοτος)]. Herodotus (b. 484 B.C.) of Halicarnassus was "The father of History," the first important prose writer of Classical Greece. He wrote his famous *History of the Persian Wars* at Athens ca. 445 B.C. He then took part in the colonization of Thurii in southern Italy, where he died and was buried.

Herodotus traveled broadly in the Persian Empire after the Peace of Callias in 449 B.C. He is not only our chief source for Median and Persian history, but also gives us invaluable information about ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Scythia (Yamauchi 1982).

Herodotus was above all a raconteur of entertaining stories. The fact that he himself did not believe an account did not deter him from relating an interesting tale. At times he gives several contradictory stories.

Herodotus' veracity was contested in antiquity by Ctesias and by Plutarch. It was challenged early in the 20th century by scholars who questioned whether Herodotus even visited Egypt or Babylonia (Yamauchi 1966: 10).

Few scholars now doubt that Herodotus visited Egypt (but cf. Armayor in *JARCE* 15: 59–73 for a more cautious assessment), though he does not mention the Sphinx nor the hypostyle hall at Karnak. He does transmit the name of the first pharaoh Menes and the builders of the pyramids at Giza: Cheops (Khufu), Chephren (Khofre), and Mycerinus (Menkaure). He knows very little about the early periods of Egyptian history, but he is our most important source for the 26th Dynasty (6th century B.C.).

With the exception of errors as to the size of the city and the height of the wall, Herodotus' descriptions of the city of Babylon have been remarkably vindicated by the excavations of that city by R. Koldewey from 1899–1917 (Ravn 1942). Herodotus, however, gives us very little information about Babylonian or Assyrian history (Baumgartner 1959). His story about Semiramis may reflect the Assyrian Sammuramat (Thompson 1937) and that about Nitocris may reflect the Assyrian Naqi›a (Lewy 1951).

Herodotus claims that Deioces first unified the Medes. This name corresponds with the Assyrian Daiukku. Herodotus preserves accurately a number of Median and Persian names (Schmitt 1967; 1976). Herodotus' account of the rise of Cyrus can be confirmed by cuneiform texts. See ASTYAGES (PERSON).

His narrative of Cambyses' invasion of Egypt was based on anti-Persian Egyptian sources. His claim that Cambyses stabbed the Apis bull is directly contradicted by a sarcophagus which was dedicated to the Apis by Cambyses.

Herodotus gives us a full account of the accession of Darius and the overthrow of the usurper, Pseudo-Smerdis (3.66–88). He describes Darius' satrapies (3.88–96), his invasion of European Scythia (4.1–142), the Ionian Revolt from 499 to 494 (5.23–6.27), the punitive expedition shipwrecked at Mount Athos in 492 (6.42–44), and the famous battle of Marathon in 490 (6.112–17).

There are some passages in Herodotus which classicists have rejected as entirely fabricated, such as the celebrated "Constitutional Debate" (3.80–88), during which three conspirators discussed the respective merits of three forms of government: (1) Otanes argued for democracy, (2) Megabyzus for oligarchy, and (3) Darius for monarchy. Though these ideas and the mode of presentation are thoroughly Greek (Bringmann 1976), some Iranologists have argued that there may be elements in the passage which go back to Persian traditions (Gschnitzer 1977: 31; Dandamaev 1976: 145, 163; Schmitt 1977: 243–44).

When it comes to the account of the overthrow of the usurper Gaumata/Bardiya/Pseudo-Smerdis by Darius and his six colleagues, Herodotus reveals an impressive correspondence with the information which we can derive from Darius' Behistun Inscription (Wiesehöfer 1978: 96–97). He transmitted with remarkable accuracy all but one of the six names of Darius' colleagues. And even in that one case he gave us a genuine Persian name which may be explained as a later substitution (Schmitt 1977: 243–44). Among those who could have been able to supply Herodotus with such accurate information, passed down in their families, could have been the descendants of the six coconspirators (Wells 1907). Other descendants of these ruling families could have been contacted by Herodotus in western Asia Minor (Drews 1973: 82–83).

Though the correspondence of Herodotus with Darius' Behistun Inscription is undeniable, there are scholars who suspect that Darius was lying and that Herodotus was simply gullible in accepting the king's propaganda. This view was held by Olmstead (1948: 108–9) and has been followed by Dandamaev (1976: 116–21) and Balcer (1987). But despite difficulties in reconciling the Old Persian and the classical sources, the official version remains more credible than revisionist theories (see How and Wells 1912: vol. 1, 393; Altheim and Stiehl 1960: 75–105; Hinz 1979; Frye 1984: 99).

Herodotus grossly exaggerates the size of Xerxes' forces. But archaeological evidences, topographical surveys (Pritchett 1962a; 1963; 1969), and linguistic studies have for the most part vindicated the honesty and credibility of much in Herodotus' account of Xerxes' invasion of Greece in 480, such as his accounts of the battles of Thermopylae (7.205–26), of Salamis (8.78–97), and of Plataea (9.28–75).

The newly discovered Themistocles' Decree contradicts Herodotus on the nature of the evacuation of Athens before Xerxes' advance. In this case scholars are divided as to whether Herodotus or the inscription is more trustworthy. Pritchett (1962b: 43) argues: "Herodotus has in fact been proven to be correct in so many cases where he had earlier been doubted, that when a late document is found which flatly contradicts him, this document has to be considered *a priori* suspect."

Unfortunately for a history of Xerxes, Herodotus provides little information on the king after the battles of 479 B.C. See AHASUERUS (PERSON).

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**HERON.** See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

**HESHBON** (PLACE) [Heb *hešbôn* (חֶשְׁבּוֹן)]. A town on the central plateau E of the Jordan River, mentioned 38 times in the Bible. For geographical and linguistic reasons it is identified with Tell Hesban (M.R. 226134), a mound which rises 895 m above sea level, guarding the NW edge of the rolling Madaba (Moabite) plain where a southern tributary to the Wadi Hesban begins to cut down sharply toward the Jordan River about 25 km to the W. It is about 55 km E of Jerusalem, 20 km SW of Amman, 6 km NE of Mount Nebo, and 185 m higher than ʿAin Hesban, the perennial spring with which it is associated.

Between 1968 and 1976 Andrews University sponsored five seasons of excavation; in 1978 Baptist Bible College (Pennsylvania) continued the excavation of a Byzantine church. These six seasons of archaeological excavation at Tell Hesban did not uncover any remains antedating about 1200 B.C. This poses a problem for the location of Sihon's Amorite capital referred to in Num 21:21–25 (cf. Deut 2:16–37, reiterated in Judg 11:12–28). Evidence of Amorite occupation may not have been found either because it is elsewhere on the site (unlikely) or because its (seminomadic) impermanent nature left no trace to be discovered (most likely). The most extreme options are to consider the biblical account unhistorical or at least anachronistic (now favored by such OT scholars as Miller and Van Seters) or to seek the Amorite capital at another location; e.g., Jalul (a view favored by Horn). Most scholars would identify Tell Hesban with Greco-Roman Esbus, based on coin and milestone evidence coupled with such geographical specifications as required by Ptolemy and Eusebius. If Cross' reading of an Ammonite ostracon found at the site in 1978 is accepted, it as well would support such an identification for Iron Age Heshbon. During this period it was alternately Reubenite, Gadite, Levite, Moabite, and finally Ammonite (Num 32:1–7; Josh 13:15–28; 21:34–40; 1 Chr 6:81; Isaiah 15, 16; Jeremiah 48, 49). Altogether, the Andrews University expedition has reconstructed 19 superimposed strata from the excavated remains, covering a period from about 1200 B.C. to A.D. 1500.

**A. Iron Age Remains**

The Iron Age remains (ca. 1200–500 B.C.) are very fragmentary due to periodic removals of earlier strata on top of the hill by later builders; nevertheless evidence for at least four strata remains. Stratum 19 (12th–11th century) represents probably a small unfortified village dependent on an agrarian-pastoral economy. In its earlier phase its most notable installation was a long (15 m exposed) 3.6 m-deep trench crudely carved out of bedrock on the tell's S shelf. There is no real clue as to its purpose though suggestions have included a moat for defense, storage, or cultic activity, subterranean habitation, or a water channel if not a narrow reservoir itself. In its later phase this installation was filled with soil and into it were built both the cobbled floor of a room and a 2.5 m-wide "filler" wall. An egg-shaped cistern may also be associated with this phase; this produced so many loom weights that we infer the presence of a cottage industry. Stratum 18 (10th century) left no *in situ* remains but its typologically later pottery was found in deep dump layers outside the contemporary settlement on the W slope; it may have been a continuation of the stratum 19 village. Stratum 17 (9th–8th centuries) is also represented by sloping debris layers dumped to the W. During this phase was the initial construction, on the tell's S shelf, of a nearly 2-million-liter-capacity reservoir, 15 m to a side (its thrice-plastered E wall supplemented a bedrock cut with a header-stretcher retaining wall), and 6 m deep. Could this be the pool referred to in Cant 7:4? Though several channels carved out of adjoining bedrock funneled rainwater to the reservoir, its capacity appears to exceed the normal amount of winter rain that would fall on the catchment area; perhaps it was intended that extra water be transported up to the reservoir from below the mound. If so, perhaps this stratum is what is left of Mesha's attempt to fortify his N border with Israel. (The Mesha Stone from the 9th century does not mention Heshbon but since Medeba, Nebo, and Jahaz all came back into Moabite hands at that time, presumably Heshbon did as well. At least by the close of the 8th century and into the 7th, Heshbon appears to be under firm Moabite control, because it figures in both extant recensions of a prophetic oracle against Moab [Isa 15:4; 16:8, 9; and Jer 48:2, 34, 35], where its fields, fruit, and harvest are mentioned. By this time it may have been a steep *tell,* for fugitives stop in its shadow [Jer 48:45].) Stratum 16 (7th–6th century) was the best preserved Iron Age stratum; its remains indicate a general prosperity and that the settlement continued to grow, probably clustered around a fort. A few scattered domestic units came to light on the W slope and the reservoir continued in use—perhaps a part of a way station or supply depot on the King's Highway. It was probably controlled by the Ammonites, to judge from the pottery and several ostraca found in the reservoir fill. (These ostraca have already been important in enlarging a knowledge of the Ammonite dialect and script.) Stratum 16 may have come to a violent end, considering the great quantity of ash in the debris scraped from the abandoned town into the reservoir by the (Maccabean?) rebuilders in the 2d century B.C.

**B. Hellenistic and Roman Remains**

According to the post–Hebrew Bible literary sources (mostly Josephus), the site should have been occupied in the following periods: *Hellenistic* (2d–mid 1st century)—perhaps moving from Ptolemaic/Tobiad control to Maccabean; *Early Roman* (late 1st century B.C.–early 2d century A.D.)—Herodian fortress populated with veterans, later sacked by Jews at the beginning of the Jewish War (A.D. 66); *Late Roman* (2d century)—Ptolemy giving site's exact location; (3d century)—locally mined coins during reign of Elagabalus; (4th century)—Eusebius' *Onomasticon's* site location; and all through this period—milestone finds counted from Esbus along the road down to Livias. This literary evidence was confirmed by excavation. After about a 300-year abandonment of the site, Tell Hesban was reoccupied in the Late Hellenistic period. The remains from the Hellenistic and Roman periods (ca. 200 B.C.–A.D. 365) comprise at least five strata. Stratum 15 (ca. 200–63 B.C.) consisted primarily of a rectangular military fort at the site's summit probably surrounded by the dwellings of dependents, often in association with bell-shaped subterranean store silos. In stratum 14 (ca. 63 B.C.–A.D. 130) Esbus came under the control of Herod the Great, probably as a border fort against the Nabateans. There is abundant evidence for extensive underground dwellings on the mound and characteristic Herodian period family tombs in the cemetery where two such tombs were found sealed by rolling stones. The town of stratum 14 was destroyed by an earthquake so stratum 13 (A.D. 130–ca. 193) contained much new building. A new inn

with an enclosed courtyard S of the fort testifies to the increased traffic past the road junction (*Via Nova* and Esbus-Livias) at which Roman Esbus was located. In stratum 12 (ca. A.D. 193–284) the inn was partially rebuilt and well used. On the acropolis, earlier masonry was incorporated into what has been interpreted as a small temple—perhaps the one depicted on the Elagabalus coin minted for Esbus, a very fine example of which was found at the site in 1973. Access to the temple from the S was by a ramp. Stratum 11 (ca. A.D. 284–365) continued to demonstrate a modest level of prosperity. A porch was added to the temple and a double colonnade built eastward from it. The inn to the S of the acropolis platform was demolished and a wide monumental stairway replaced the earlier earth ramp. The stratum came to an abrupt end with the severe earthquake of A.D. 365.

**C. Byzantine and Early Arab Remains**

Apart from the earthquake the transition from the Roman to the Byzantine periods was a gradual one. The Roman cemetery continued to be used. At least six strata encompass the Byzantine and Early Arab remains at Tell Hesban (A.D. 365–ca. 1000). In stratum 10 (A.D. 365–408) the growing Christian community was apparently significant enough to prevent the rebuilding of the temple that had been destroyed by the earthquake but not quite strong enough to immediately construct a church. In the 4th century, Esbus appeared for the first time as an episcopal seat when Gennadius, its bishop, is mentioned twice in the Acts of the Council of Nicea. Stratum 9 (A.D. 408–551) saw the construction of a slightly asymmetrical basilica-type church on the acropolis (plaster apparently coming from a large subterranean lime kiln to the S). The stratum may have been brought to a close by the earthquake of 551. Again, we know from literary sources that Esbus sent its bishop to the councils of Ephesus (A.D. 431) and Chalcedon (A.D. 457). In addition to reconstruction activity, possibly necessitated by the 551 earthquake, stratum 8 (A.D. 551–614) also witnessed the construction of another basilica-type church with well-preserved mosaic floors to the N of the acropolis. The reconstructed acropolis church had a much less ornate mosaic floor than its predecessor. After the close of stratum 8, probably brought on by the invasion of the Sassanid Persians, stratum 7 remains (A.D. 614–661) are very scant. Occupation seems to have centered S of the acropolis church within the acropolis circumvallation wall. Some correspondence of Pope Martin I (A.D. 649) shows that Esbus was still an important bishopric, however, in the middle of the 7th century. The coming of Islam in the Umayyad period coincided with a slight increase in activity in stratum 6 (A.D. 661–750). A large oven was constructed in the mosaic floor of one of the anterooms of the Late Byzantine acropolis church which by then was probably already in ruins since there is no evidence for an Umayyad destruction. With the move of the center of Islamic rule to the E in the Abbasid period, there was a sharp decline in population in stratum 5 (A.D. 750–ca. 1000). No architectural remains from the period were uncovered so the tell may have been occupied by a seminomadic population before subsequent apparent abandonment. Indeed, after the 7th century, the name Esbus disappears from literary sources, reappearing only centuries later in its Arabic form *Ḥesbân.* Its mention in the Abbasid period by ʿAbu-Djaʿfar Muhammad at-Tabari' (839–923) in reference to Israelite history does not make it clear whether a Jabal Ḥesban (the *tell*?) existed in his time or not.

**D. Ayyubid/Mamluk Remains**

Although a village of no particular significance during the earlier periods of Islamic rule, after a gap in sedentary occupation, Hesban flourished again immediately after the Crusades. The first clear literary reference to Hesban as an inhabited place comes in 1184 in connection with a campaign of Saladin recorded by Beha ed-Din. In the Arabic geographical literature originating from before the time of the Mamluks (ca. 1260–1456), Hesban is not mentioned. By the 14th century, however, it even replaced ʿAmman as the capital of the Belqa' district of central Transjordan and is mentioned by Ibn Fadl Allah al-Umari (1301–1348), Dimishqi (died 1327), Abu el-Feda (died 1331), and several others. Its excavated remains comprise at least three strata (ca. 1200–1456) which were relatively well preserved compared to earlier remains. Stratum 4 (ca. 1200–1260) represents an Ayyubid village's occupational surfaces and terracing around two cisterns on the mound's summit. Stratum 3 (ca. 1260–1400) is characterized by a large number of soil and architectural loci which reflect extensive new Early Mamluk construction activity using the existing Roman-Byzantine ruins as a base: at the tell's summit was an elaborate U-

shaped building complex (including a bathhouse) reached by a stairway from the S. A number of vaulted rooms opened onto a central courtyard created by clearing the debris of the collapsed Byzantine church. Because the postal route from Karak to Damascus passed through the town, these remains may be interpreted as an inn complex to care for travelers and their animals. The mound was surrounded by numerous domestic dwellings and cisterns which covered most of the slopes above terraces used for agriculture. Stratum 2 (ca. 1400–1456) began with a general collapse of the town in the Late Mamluk period (due probably to plague or warfare) and is characterized by gradual abandonment leading, apparently, to the tell's desertion until the late 19th century when stratum 1 marks the gradual return to limited occupation in the Ottoman and modern periods. Several Western travelers and explorers visited Hesban, particularly during the 19th and 20th centuries, from Seetzen in 1806 to Glueck in the early 1930s, many of them recording for posterity what they saw.

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**HESHMON** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥešmôn* (חֶשְׁמוֹן)]. Judging from its position in the list of Negeb settlements assigned to the tribe of Judah (Josh 15:21–29), the town of Heshmon (Josh 15:27) was situated somewhere between Hazargaddah and Beth-pelet in the vicinity of Beer-sheba, though its precise location has not been identified. The name Heshmon is lacking in the LXX's rendering of the list, an omission which some scholars (Boling *Joshua* AB, 379) attribute to haplography, while others (Aharoni *EncMiqr* 3: 316) suggest that the name was a later addition. Heshmon is also missing from the list of Simeonite settlements (Josh 19:2–9), which closely parallels the list of Josh 15:21–29 in many respects (Cross and Wright 1956: 214). The term "Hasmonean," a designation for the Maccabees used by the Mishna, Talmud, and occasionally Josephus, is frequently derived from "Heshmon," but the sources themselves do not confirm such a conjeccture, and other derivations are possible. See HASHMONAH (PLACE).

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**HESHVAN** [Heb *ḥešwān* (חֶשְׁוָן)]. The eighth month of the modern Hebrew calendar, roughly corresponding to October and November, and equivalent to the ancient month of MARCHESHVAN. See CALENDARS.

**HESI, TELL EL-** (M.R. 124106). A site in the S Shephelah whose biblical identification is a matter of dispute. It was, however, essentially the first Palestinian site to be excavated (by William Flinders Petrie in 1890) using a scientific method.

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A. Location and Topography
B. Identification
C. History of Excavations
D. History of Occupation

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**A. Location and Topography**

Tell el-Hesi is located in the SE coastal plain, 23 km from the Mediterranean coast and 26 km NE of Gaza and occupies a cluster of barchan sand dunes on the W bank of the Wadi Hesi (Nahal Shiqma). The site is comprised of a 25-acre, roughly rectangular lower city, with a small acropolis at its NE corner. The base of the acropolis is about 4 acres, while it narrows to only 0.69 acres at its summit. The acropolis, about 150 m above sea level, was originally a sand dune 17 m high. Occupational remains have added 21 m to its height. Three sand dunes form the S border of the lower city, and on the E, W, and N perimeter, the site is bordered by deep wadis.

Hesi's location at the SE limit of the "Philistine Plain" was too far inland to influence the coastal highway, although Hesi was able to control some of the internal road systems, in particular a branch of the *Via Maris* which turned E a short distance N of the site. Its position also allowed Hesi to exert control over the S approaches to the Shephelah. In addition, the site is located at a natural border. Immediately to the S, the semi-arid Negeb region begins. This places Hesi in a location of fluctuating rainfall which makes agricultural production unpredictable.

**B. Identification**

The ancient name of the site is unknown. Conder (1878: 20) was the first to identify Hesi with Lachish. This identification was reinforced by Bliss' discovery, in his 1891 excavations, of an Amarna tablet which mentioned Lachish (1894: 184). It was not until 1924 that Albright rejected the identification of Hesi with Lachish. He pointed out the small size of the site and the fact that its location did not fit Eusebius' placement of Lachish in the Shephelah, seven Roman miles S of Eleutheropolis (Beth Jibrin). Albright concluded (1924: 8) that Hesi was "almost certainly Eglon," a Canaanite city-state conquered by the Israelites (Josh 10:34; 15:39). Excavations at Tell ed-Duweir in the 1930s revealed written materials which confirmed that site's identity as Lachish. The identification of Hesi with Eglon was maintained by Wright (1971). More recently, however, some scholars have argued that Tell Aitun may be identified with Eglon (Rainey *IDBSup*, 252). The biblical accounts locate Eglon in the Shephelah. Hesi's location several km W of these foothills probably disqualifies Hesi as a contender. Hesi's ancient identity remains uncertain.

**C. History of Excavations**

Hesi holds a unique place in the history of Near Eastern archaeology. It was at Hesi, in 1890, that the site's first excavator, Sir Flinders Petrie, developed the foundations of modern archaeological method in applying the principles of stratigraphic excavation and ceramic chronology. For the first time, pottery was used as a chronological indicator based on its stratigraphic location. His publication of the Hesi excavation (1891) was the first to present architecture and ceramics in a sequential manner, to correlate pottery and artifacts with stratigraphy, and to illustrate pottery in section drawings.

Petrie excavated at Hesi for six weeks, and in this short time was able to formulate an occupational history of the site. He identified three major occupational periods: Amorite (ca. 1700 B.C.E.), Phoenician

(1350–850 B.C.E.) and Jewish (ending 450 B.C.E.). His Amorite period can now be identified with the EB Age, his Phoenician with the LB and Iron ages, and his Jewish primarily with the Persian and Hellenistic periods.

Excavations continued in 1891 and 1892 with a new director, Frederick Jones Bliss. His strategy was to excavate a large portion of the site stratigraphically to virgin soil. At the conclusion of his work, Bliss had removed almost one third of the acropolis, and "Bliss' Cut" has remained a distinguishing feature of the site ever since.

Bliss identified eleven layers of architectural features and grouped them into eight strata or "cities." City I belonged to Petrie's Amorite occupation, Cities II, III, and IV to the Phoenician, and Cities V through VIII to the Jewish. Bliss' publication of these "cities" in 1894 was the first attempt to present large-scale architectural remains in a stratigraphic context.

Following an 80-year hiatus, excavations resumed at Hesi in 1970, when the Joint Archaeological Expedition began its work. The expedition carried out eight field seasons (1970, 1971, 1973, 1975, 1977, 1979, 1981, 1983). Its goals were: (1) to investigate in more detail, and with more refined methods, the structures found by Petrie and Bliss; (2) to integrate scientific disciplines for the purpose of achieving a broader data base and interpretive results; and (3) to provide a carefully structured educational experience for participating volunteers. During its eight seasons of excavation, the expedition investigated the acropolis (Field I), its S slope (Field III) and the lower city (Fields II, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, and IX).

**D. History of Occupation**

Excavation has confirmed that the site was occupied almost continuously from the Chalcolithic through the Hellenistic periods. Unstratified Roman pottery was also found. Following a gap of several centuries, the site was again in use during the 16th to 18th and 20th centuries C.E. See the following table.

A. STRATIGRAPHIC CHART FOR FIELD I (ACROPOLIS) AND FIELD III

| *Stratum* | *Date* | *Cultural Period* | *Characteristics* |
|---|---|---|---|
| I | After C.E. 1900 | Modern | Military trenching |
| II | ca. C.E. 1600–1900 | Turkish | Muslim cemetery |
| III | Yet to be determined | Late Arabic | Fragmentary walls and surfaces |
| IV | 4th–3d centuries B.C.E. | Hellenistic | Three phases, Bliss City VIII |
| V | 6th–4th centuries B.C.E. | Persian | Four phases, Bliss City VII |
| VI | 6th century B.C.E. | Iron II | Poor construction of houses |
| VII | 9th–6th centuries B.C.E. | Iron II | Four phases, Bliss City VI |
| VIII | 11th (?) century B.C.E. | Iron I | Probably same phase as Petrie's Pilaster building |
| pre-VIII | 34th–15th centuries B.C.E. | Iron I, Late Bronze, EB III, Chalco | Twelve phases of occupation, unexcavated |

B. STRATIGRAPHIC CHART FOR FIELD VI

| *Phase* | *Date* | *Cultural Period* | *Characteristics* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | After C.E. 1900 | Modern | Military trenching |
| 2 | ca. C.E. 1600–1800 | Turkish | Muslim cemetery |
| 3 | Yet to be determined | Late Arabic | Fragmentary pits and surfaces |
| 4 | 28th or 27th to 24th centuries B.C.E. | EB III (and EB II?) | Five phases, Bliss City I |

**1. Chalcolithic Period.** Evidence indicates that use of the site began during the Chalcolithic Period. Although a good quantity of pottery has been found on the acropolis and in the lower city, stratified remains are confined to two pits at the base of the S slope of the acropolis (Toombs 1974: 31). Probably more Chalcolithic remains exist at the unexcavated base of occupation on the acropolis.

**2. Early Bronze Age.** The EB was the only period when occupation at Hesi covered the entire 25 acres of the site. On the acropolis, remains of seven EB phases were identified and were associated with pottery from EB I and II; EB III pottery was characteristic of the lower city.

Probes by all three excavators in the lower city indicated a shallow depth of domestic occupation. On the S ridge of dunes, the Joint Expedition uncovered the EB city wall in Fields V, VI, and IX and traced it for 82 m along the S and 95 m along the E sides. The wall was about 5 m wide, with towers placed at intervals. One tower found by Bliss in City I (1894: 26) and one found by the Joint Expedition were almost identical in shape and each contained two long chambers connected by a narrow passageway. Along the outer face of the city wall was a deep deposit of water-and-wind-sorted ash with a heavy organic content. At the SE corner of the site, where the city wall turns to the N, a glacislike deposit of crushed limestone was laid against the outer face of the wall and extended to the N for 60 m. Its unusually wide (9 m), horizontal exposure suggests that it served primarily for erosion control. Inside the city wall, remains of domestic and industrial activity were found. Five phases were identified, and all belonged to EB III (Toombs 1983: 35–44; Doermann and Fargo 1985: 13–22).

The EB city wall was constructed of mold-made mud bricks of varying colors and composition. Many of the bricks were made of a humus-filled clay no longer available in the region. Also present in the remains was *Gryaulus piscinarum*, a snail which lives in sluggish streams and swamps. The presence of pistachio in the ash deposits adds to the evidence that the climate at Hesi was noticeably more moist in the EB than it is today.

It is likely that the earliest settlement at Hesi began in late Chalcolithic or EB I and centered on the acropolis. In late EB II–EB III, the population increased and the site expanded to 25 acres. At some point during EB III, Hesi appears to have been abandoned. There is no evidence of destruction. The contents of the ash layers suggest an economy based on the raising of cattle, sheep, and goats, and the production of emmer wheat. There is strong evidence for progressive desiccation which extended northward from Egypt during the EB. This climatic change, coupled with the exhaustion of natural resources to accommodate an increasing population, proved too much of a strain for the environment. As with most other sites in the area, Hesi was abandoned for the rest of the millennium.

**3. Middle Bronze Age.** Following the abandonment during EB III, there is a gap in occupation at Hesi. None of the excavators has found any structural remains of the MB, although occasional MB sherds have been identified. The nearby site of Tell en-Nagila, 5.5 km SSE of Hesi, experienced a period of prosperity during MB II–III, but occupation at Hesi was not resumed.

**4. Late Bronze Age.** Bliss' Cities II, III, and IV contained LB material. Cities II and IV had large public buildings. Of particular note was an Amarna tablet found in City III (1894: 184). The Joint Expedition did not reach the LB levels on the acropolis. During exposure of later strata, three phases of structures containing Late Bronze pottery were encountered. In the lower city, significant quantities of LB sherds were found in Field V, but any associated structures had suffered erosion.

**5. Iron Age I.** The Joint Expedition reached the Iron Age I level (Stratum VIII) only in one probe. Fragments of a wall and floor were covered with destruction debris. The associated pottery was dated to the 11th century (Doermann and Fargo 1985: 8–9). Petrie's "Pilaster Building" is probably to be dated to this stratum (Petrie 1891: 23). This stratum also corresponds to City V of Bliss.

**6. Iron Age II.** A major engineering project was undertaken in the 9th century (Stratum VIId). Portions of a structure had been identified by Petrie as the "Manasseh Wall" and a "long range of chambers." Bliss also had excavated a small portion of this construction in City VI. Stratum VIId was constructed to raise the S half of the acropolis by 6–7 m, to provide a platform on which occupational structures could be built and to defend the site by means of two large mud-brick walls, one at the crest and the other at the base of

the acropolis. This construction surrounded the acropolis on all sides, although erosion has removed much of the E portion. See Fig. HES.01.

The foundation for the entire system was a mud-brick wall, 12 m wide, at the base of the slope. A series of four terraces consolidated the slope. Above the terraces stood the Upper Wall (Petrie's Manasseh Wall; 3 m wide). A chamber and fill system was constructed on the summit. This structure consisted of chambers composed of parallel walls connected by cross walls (see structure A on Fig. HES.01). This system was what Petrie identified as a long range of chambers. The space between the chambers and the area enclosed by the rows of chambers was filled with earth to form a solid platform of walls and fill (Toombs 1983: 25–33; Doermann and Fargo 1985: 1–6).

The structures of the Iron II occupation were built directly on the platform created by the chamber and fill system. The first phase in the 9th century consisted of a large courtyard building. Above this were several smaller structures which belonged to the 8th–6th centuries. A heavy layer of ash and destruction debris covered the 6th-century occupation. Above this was a poorly built mud-brick house (Stratum VI), which probably represents a relatively brief resettlement by a poor population during the time of the Exile. Its transitory nature may explain why this stratum was not identified by Bliss (O'Connell, Rose, and Toombs 1978: 78–80).

The massive constructions of Stratum VIId and VIIc were most likely preparations for Hesi's use as a military outpost. A group of small Iron Age sites extends along the E edge of the coastal plain: Bornat, Areini, Sheqef, Hesi, Quneitirah, and Muleihah. These probably served as the outer perimeter of defense for Lachish and SW Judah. After a number of Egyptian raids, Rehoboam established a new network of outposts to protect the S and W borders of Judah (2 Chr 11:5–12). At this time, the important fortress at Lachish was constructed. This fortress is almost identical in plan to that at Hesi. Rehoboam's defensive system continued in use through the 8th century until it was destroyed during the Assyrian conquest of Judah. In the 7th and 6th centuries, the Hesi occupation was no longer military, but residential and industrial. The Iron II occupation came to an end with a destruction in the 6th century, very probably associated with the Babylonian conquest (Fargo 1987).

**7. Persian Period.** Hesi regained its position as a military/governmental outpost during the Persian period. Once again, a massive building project produced a large platform on which a sizable mud-brick building was placed. The large building served as a small citadel and had casemate walls surrounding a courtyard (Rose and Toombs 1976: 43–46).

In contrast with earlier periods, there was a sizable quantity of imported pottery, in particular Greek wares. There was no evidence of residential dwellings on the acropolis, although there were signs of domestic activities. Characteristic of the Persian occupation were large, deep pits 1 to 2 m wide and equally deep. These pits, probably originally used for grain storage and later for garbage, contained vast quantities of broken pottery, seeds, bones, and a variety of implements and weapons which imply a range of activities (O'Connell and Rose 1980: 77; Toombs 1983: 33–35).

The large quantity of amphorae and transport vessels suggests storage or transport of materials, probably grain grown in the fields around the site. The lack of permanent housing structures may indicate a mobile population. Beginning around 500 B.C.E. and for about a century (a date based on the Attic ceramics), Hesi probably became a semi-permanent depot and storehouse for the Persian military. It may also have been converted temporarily into a staging area and supply dump for Persian military raids into Egypt around 460–455 B.C.E. and 404–401 B.C.E. On the S slope of the acropolis was a small cemetery of the Persian period which contained burials of men, women, and children. This may imply a more permanent population to oversee the grain business. At the end of the 5th century, Persian troops began to focus their attention on areas farther to the N and no longer needed a depot at Hesi. This allowed Egypt to regain control of S Palestine, and in 401 B.C.E. the Persian occupation at Hesi ended (Blakely and Horton 1986; Bennett and Blakely fc.).

**8. Hellenistic Period.** The Hellenistic occupation at Hesi had three phases, all of which were of a domestic nature. Bliss' plan for City VIII was a composite of all three phases. Unusual in this period was the use of stone for walls, as foundations for brick walls, and in a stone-lined drain and basin. In the latest

phase there was little architecture, but instead a large number of pits, full of pottery, artifacts, and faunal and botanical material. Remains of this period were fragmentary, because burials from the Muslim cemetery (Stratum II) had badly disturbed the Hellenistic stratum (Rose and Toombs 1976: 46–47; Rose, Toombs, and O'Connell 1978: 126–28).

**9. Late Arabic Period.** Following the end of the Hellenistic occupation, the summit of the site was roughly leveled, and it may have been used sporadically for agriculture. On the acropolis, there was virtually no evidence for the Roman, Byzantine, or early Arabic periods. A few remains such as pits, hearths, surfaces, and fragmentary walls (Stratum III) apparently belong to the Turkish period and probably were associated with agriculture and stock raising (Rose, Toombs, and O'Connell 1978: 128–29).

**10. Muslim Cemetery.** Bliss had noted the presence of burials immediately below the surface. He identified them as Arab and suggested that they were 200 to 300 years old. This date has been confirmed, and the burials of Stratum II have been dated to about C.E. 1600–1800. The cemetery is located on the acropolis and along the dunes on the S rim of the site. The S dunes were probably used because of the presence of a shrine of a minor Muslim saint. The Joint Expedition excavated over 800 burials. The burials were simple earth graves, and the bottoms of the shafts were sometimes lined with stone slabs. Stone slabs also were used as capstones. The body was placed so that the eyes were directed toward Mecca. There were few grave goods, but some jewelry (Toombs 1985).

**11. Military Trenching.** The most recent use of the site occurred after C.E. 1900. At various times in this century, military confrontations have taken place in the Hesi area. Because of the excellent view of the surrounding area, troops have been stationed at Hesi and have dug trenches and machine gun emplacements (Toombs 1985).

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**ḤET.** The eighth letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

**HETH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥēt* (חֵת)]. A son of Canaan, grandson of Ham and great-grandson of Noah (Gen 10:15; 1 Chr 1:13). His descendants settled in the area of Hebron, in the hill country south of Jerusalem. Early in the 2d millennium, at the time of the death of his wife Sarah, Abraham negotiated the purchase of a cave site for her burial from descendants ("sons") of Heth (Genesis 23). The transaction shows some of the legal procedures of the period. Tradition holds that Abraham himself is also buried there (25:10), as is his grandson Jacob (50:13). Rebekah, Jacob's mother, does not consider these

descendants of Heth suitable for marriage to her son (27:46) because they are not ethnically related to Abraham's immediate family, though her son Esau does marry two of their women (26:34).

These people continued to occupy the land through the Conquest under Joshua and the settlement of Israel (Deut 7:1; Josh 3:10; Judg 3:5). This is evident when Solomon also takes a Hittite wife (1 Kgs 11:1) and David commits adultery with Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah who is called a Hittite (2 Sam 11; 12:9–10). All of the names given, apart possibly from Uriah, are Semitic.

These people are apparently distinct from the larger group of Hittites or *bĕnē ḥēt,* "sons of Heth." These were an Indo-European people who established an empire in Asia Minor in the middle half of the 2d millennium B.C. They continued in international politics as city-states until the 8th century B.C.

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DAVID W. BAKER

**HETHLON** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥetlôn* (חֶתְלוֹן)]. A place mentioned in one of Ezekiel's visions as located on the N boundary of restored Israel (Ezek 47:15; 48:1). Its location was apparently somewhere between the Mediterranean coast and the "entrance of Hamath" at the N end of Lebanon, or it may be identical to the "entrance of Hamath" (Num 34:8; Ezek 47:15 [LXX]; 48:1). Some have identified Hethlon as Heitela, NE of Tripoli on the Lebanon coast; others with ʿAdlûn, along the Lebanon coast halfway between the mouth of the Litani River and Sarepta. Its precise location is not known.

RAY L. ROTH

**HEXAPLA OF ORIGEN, THE.** One of the great achievements of textual criticism, Origen's six-columned presentation of various Gk versions of the OT was begun in Alexandria either in 230 or in 238, and was finished in Caesarea in about 245. Origen's aim was to establish a relationship between the Septuagint (LXX) and Hebrew texts of the OT. His motivation was not purely text-critical, although his writings show that he obviously enjoyed textual study, and he could hardly have got to the end of such an undertaking without an aptitude for it. But he had also a reason of a somewhat different character—he wished to establish for the Church a sound basis in its dialogue with Judaism. As will become clear, the Hexapla showed those passages which were accepted either only by Jews or only by Christians. Origen's approach is set out in his reply to a letter from Julius Africanus (ca. 240). He writes, "I make it my endeavour not to be ignorant of their [LXX's] various readings, lest in my controversies with the Jews I should quote to them what is not found in their copies, and that I may make some use of what is found there, even although it should not be in our Scriptures."

To achieve his aim, Origen brought together all available materials relating to the Hebrew and to the Greek versions. He set out the Hebrew and the various Greek versions in parallel columns. These contained, from left to right:

1. The Hebrew text, in Hebrew characters
2. A transliteration of this into Greek characters
3. The version of Aquila
4. The version of Symmachus
5. The LXX
6. The version of Theodotion (at least in some books, though not in the Psalms or Minor Prophets)

In addition, three other versions were used. These are known as *Quinta, Sexta,* and *Septima.* None of them was complete (*Quinta* contained at least 4 Kingdoms [2 Kings], Job, Psalms, and the Minor Prophets; *Sexta* at least Job, Psalms, the Song of Songs, and Habakkuk). It seems that the terms "Heptapla" and "Octapla" were used to describe portions of the work that contained seven or eight columns, where one or more of the three additional versions was available. There is dispute about the meaning of another term, "Tetrapla." In the past, it has been generally believed that after completing the Hexapla, Origen later compiled a Tetrapla, consisting of columns 3–6 of the larger work. This has been challenged by Orlinsky, who argued that the Hexapla was preceded by an attempt at revision, before

Origen came to possess *Quinta*, *Sexta*, and *Septima*. According to this theory, the Hexapla itself was begun in about 238. The matter is rendered complex by the imprecise and contradictory statements of ancient witnesses, and by the fact that the term "Hexapla" does not seem to have been used by Origen himself.

A fragment of the Hexapla has been found as the lower script of a palimpsest in Milan. It has columns 2–6, the sixth being *Quinta*. Each line has just a couple of words—partly to facilitate comparison between the columns, partly because even the largest parchment leaf can contain only narrow columns when there are so many of them. This palimpsest is quite extensive, containing 35 folios and about 150 verses.

A much smaller fragment, of Psalm 22, was found in the Cairo Genizah. This contains all six columns.

The comparison of the Hebrew and the LXX revealed both additions and omissions in the latter. Origen indicated these by means of the symbols developed by Alexandrian classical scholarship (the Aristarchian symbols). Words in the LXX but not in the Hebrew were embraced by an obelus (£ or ÷) and metobelus (¤ or □). Where the LXX lacked material found in the Hebrew, Origen added it from another version (usually Theodotion), between asterisk ( ) and metobelus. However, such signs are totally absent from the Milan fragments. This has led Kahle to challenge the traditional view that they were used in the Hexapla. In his opinion, Origen used the Hexapla as the basis for a critical edition of the LXX, in which these signs were used. Against this, it has been suggested that by the time the Milan copy was written in the 10th century, the symbols had dropped out of the text.

Kahle also draws attention to the fact that in all columns of the Milan palimpsest, the Divine Name is written with the letters of the Hebrew tetragrammaton. This leads him to conclude that all the manuscripts used by Origen, including those of the LXX, were of Jewish origin.

The effect of the Hexapla on the text of the LXX was not altogether good. Origen believed that the original text of the LXX was the one closest to the Hebrew text of his own day, which he supposed to be itself original (this Hebrew text was very similar to the Masoretic text). Actually, there are many readings where the LXX preserved an older and purer form of the Hebrew text (evidence from Qumran has established some of these). Origen's work tended to hold in low esteem such variants from the current Hebrew text. The study of the Hexapla in its original form would have made the situation clear to a competent scholar. However, copies that were made generally only contained the fifth column. The critical signs cannot have made much sense on their own, and as a consequence were gradually obliterated. The result was a form of the LXX which contained supplementary passages from other versions where it had omitted material found in the Hebrew. Study of the Hexapla, and the recovery of the Aristarchian symbols, is a vital stage in our recovery of the Old Greek, pre-Origenic, text of the LXX.

The Hexapla itself, an enormous compilation of 6,500 or more pages, in a good 15 volumes, stayed in Caesarea. It was never copied in its entirety. Certain eminent scholars took the trouble to consult it—one thinks especially of Pamphilus, Eusebius of Caesarea, and Jerome. The volumes are presumed to have been destroyed with the rest of the library in the Arab invasions of the early 7th century. Our knowledge of it is therefore fragmentary. Manuscripts which preserve the critical symbols are of great importance. The most valuable of these are the manuscripts G (Codex Sarravianus), M (Coislianus), both containing the Pentateuch and some historical books, and 86 and 88 (the Chigi manuscript) of the prophets. There are also highly significant versional materials—the Syro-Hexapla and the Armenian.

Editions of the Hexaplaric remains have been made by Montfaucon (1713), Bahrdt (1769–70), and Frederick Field (1875).

In conclusion, the reader must be warned that the attempt made by this article to achieve clarity may be misleading: there is almost no question which may be asked about the Hexapla that could receive a simple answer. For text see *PG* 11: 41–48.

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D. C. PARKER

**HEZEKIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥizqîyāhû* (חִזְקִיָּהוּ)*; ḥizqîyâ* (חִזְקִיָּה)*; yēḥizqîyāhû* (יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ)*; yĕḥizqîyâ* (יְחִזְקִיָּה)]. The name of three persons in the Hebrew Bible. The root of the name is *ḥzq,* "to be strong, to strengthen."

**1.** King of Judah. See HEZEKIAH KING OF JUDAH.

**2.** The great-great-grandfather of the prophet Zephaniah (Zeph 1:1). Zephaniah prophesied during the brief reign of Amon ca. 640 B.C.E. Assuming 20–25 years per generation, this Hezekiah would have been alive during the latter years of the 8th century B.C.E. Indeed, some have suggested that this ancestor of the prophet was none other than the famous king Hezekiah, and that Zephaniah was therefore of the royal family. See ZEPHANIAH, BOOK OF.

**3.** The older Heb name of the head of a family that returned from Babylonian exile (Ezra 2:16 = Neh 7:21 = 1 Esdr 5:15). This person affixed the family name to the covenant document of Nehemiah (Neh 10:18—Eng10:17). See also ATER (PERSON).

GARY A. HERION

**HEZEKIAH KING OF JUDAH.** Hezekiah was king of Judah ca. 715–687 B.C.E., the son and successor of Ahaz. He came to the throne at the age of 25 and ruled 29 years (2 Kgs 18:2; 2 Chr 29:1). His mother's name was Abi (perhaps a hypocoristic of "Abijah," 2 Chr 29:1), daughter of Zechariah. His name is attested as *Ḥzqyhw* in a seal impression of a royal servant, *Yhwzrḥ* (Hestrin and Dayagi 1974: 27–29) and as *Ḫa-za-qi-a-ú* in the account of the third campaign of Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. (*ANET,* 287–88).

Sources are inconsistent on the date of Hezekiah's accession. In 2 Kgs 18:9–10 the conquest of Samaria (722/1) is recorded as the sixth year of Hezekiah's reign, making his accession 727/6; however, in 2 Kgs 18:13 the mention of Sennacherib's conquest of 701 in Hezekiah's fourteenth year supports an enthronement in 716/5. Much of German scholarship has accepted the earlier date; most others assume the later (*IJH,* 678–83; cf. Hayes and Hooker 1988; Jenkins 1976) which has received independent support (Tadmor 1958: 22–40, 77–100; Hallo 1960: 55). The terminal date of Hezekiah's reign (687/6) is established by a combination of 2 Kgs 19:9, which chronicles a challenge to Sennacherib by Tirhakah of Egypt (ascent: ca. 690/89), and the 29 years of the sources.

Hezekiah's acts fall into two major, interlocking categories: his religious reform and his efforts to gain political independence from Assyria. Historiographically, his reign is noteworthy for the convergence of a variety of biblical sources and diverse extrabiblical evidence often bearing on the same events. Significant data concerning Hezekiah appear in the Deuteronomistic History, the Chronicler, Isaiah, Assyrian annals and reliefs, Israelite epigraphy, and, increasingly, stratigraphy.

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A. Hezekiah's Reform
1. The Deuteronomistic History
2. The Chronicler's Depiction: Conflation or History?

3. The Nehushtan's Omission
B. The Impact of Assyrian Events
C. Archaeology of Hezekiah's Reign
1. Revisions in Stratigraphy
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3. Jerusalem and Related Fortifications
4. Sennacherib's Invasion

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**A. Hezekiah's Reform**

The Chronicler's depiction of Hezekiah's reform (2 Chr 29:1–31:21) departs strikingly in length and detail from the Deuteronomistic History's brief version (2 Kgs 18:4, 16, 22). In both, Hezekiah is depicted as a king who "did right in the eyes of YHWH" and who inaugurated a religious reform which included the removal of the *bāmôt* ("high places" of decentralized worship and sacrifice), the shattering of the sacred pillars *(maṣṣēbôt),* the cutting down of the Asherah, and the refurbishing of the Jerusalem temple (to which 2 Kgs 18:16 gives only passing, backhanded acknowledgement). Chronicles depicts other major details of the reform (Passover celebration and invitation to remnants in the North, establishment of covenant), which are omitted by 2 Kings. On the other hand, the Deuteronomistic History alone (2 Kgs 18:4) credits Hezekiah with destroying the Nehushtan associated with Moses.

**1. The Deuteronomistic History.** The concept of the Deuteronomistic History (DH) first proposed by Noth (*NDH*) was refined by Cross (*CMHE*, 274–89) who suggested two Deuteronomistic editors: a Josianic one, $Dtr^1$; and an exilic one, $Dtr^2$. Subsequently, Smend (1978) and Veijola (1977; cf. 1975) posited new Deuteronomistic redactors, basing their conclusions on internal inconsistencies in the text. Weippert (1983), Peckham (1985a; 1985b), and Provan (1988) place the earliest Deuteronomistic redactor in the period of Hezekiah; Peckham discards a Josianic version entirely. Weippert (1985) adds a Josianic updating of the Hezekian version, thereby revising rather than rejecting Cross' original conclusions. In this Weippert is joined by Provan (1988), who independently confirms McKenzie's Josianic redactor (1985: 171–80). Halpern (1988: esp. 114–16, 134) supports a Hezekian document and seeks to harmonize Weippert and Cross (Halpern and Vanderhooft fc.). A Josianic revision and updating may explain the surprisingly short shrift given by 2 Kings to the reform of Hezekiah: the Josianic redactor may have feared the undermining influence of comparing his patron, Josiah, with Hezekiah's well-meaning but ultimately failed reform (Rosenbaum 1979).

**2. The Chronicler's Depiction: Conflation or History?** For more than a century the tendency of critical scholarship (e.g., *WPHI*, 222) was to dismiss the historicity of the Chronicler's sources (see Japhet 1985 for a summary of the literature). Support for the earlier position repudiating the historicity of preexilic accounts in Chronicles continued to be found in the writings of von Rad (1930) and Noth (*NHI*, 292–93, 296, though Noth [*NHI* 319–20] accepts the Chronicler's sources for his own period) and has recently received support from some scholars who dismiss the work on historiographical grounds (e.g., Welten 1973; Klein 1983; and Williamson, *1–2 Chronicles* NCBC, 15–23) and others who see the Chronicler's motivation as theological (Ackroyd 1967: 509; Gonçalves 1986: 95, 522).

While scholarly opinion is virtually unanimous that the Chronicler used the DH as a source, a wide range of scholars have begun to hold with Albright (1921) that the Chronicler possessed independent, accurate sources which he preserved without substantial amendment. Albright (1950: 62) went further, adding that archaeological evidence had begun to confirm the Chronicler's historical reliability. Authentic data could be found in tendentious as well as neutral stories since the Chronicler did not invent but selected the sources which suited his purposes. Recent surveys based on independent case studies (Halpern 1981: 35–54; Friedman 1980) have added significant evidence to these conclusions.

Because of the striking disproportion between the portrayal of Hezekiah's reform found in Chronicles (three chapters [2 Chr 29:1–33:31] totaling seventy-four verses) and Kings (three verses), the subject provides intriguing data to test the historicity of Chronicles. It is one of the few episodes where Chronicles supplies substantial information which differs in quantity and content from Kings. The

disproportion cannot be dismissed by appeals to differences of viewpoint or emphasis, since although only one chapter of Chronicles (2 Chr 32:1–33) is devoted to Hezekiah's foreign policy (i.e., his rebellion and Sennacherib's response) versus three chapters in the DH (2 Kgs 18:7–20:20), virtually every element claimed by 2 Kings also appears in Chronicles' briefer version.

Sennacherib's invasion was indisputably a catastrophe for Judah and thereby undermined an acknowledged theme of the Chronicler's work (defense of the legitimate claims of the Davidic line; Freedman 1961: 438–41). Therefore, the Chronicler's detailed account of the Assyrian onslaught would be gratuitous if his history were pure invention anyway. Its inclusion would seem to lend support to the Chronicler's historicity regarding Hezekiah.

The Chronicler's history receives further support in its lack of bias in describing Hezekiah's reform itself. Though the priestly Chronicler was certainly committed to the centralization of the priesthood in Jerusalem, he acknowledges a rural priesthood in the time of Hezekiah (e.g., 2 Chr 31:15–19). Alt (*KlSchr* 2: 255–58) held that such a decentralized priesthood is also the accepted view of Deuteronomy and did not end until the centralization of the priesthood by Josiah, whose reform exceeded the Deuteronomic legislation. Thus, in this area, Hezekiah was more faithful to Deuteronomic legislation than Josiah. The fact that the Chronicler presents this point despite its potential for thwarting his own theological commitments to centralization in Jerusalem adds support to the assessment that his presentation is relatively impartial.

**3. The Nehushtan's Omission.** In light of the Chronicler's detailed accounts, the omission of any reference to the destruction of the bronze serpent (Nehushtan) attributed to Moses (Num 21:6–9) is odd. The act appears exclusively in DH (2 Kgs 18:4), which otherwise provides a minimal view of the reform. For this reason, even those scholars who have doubted the reform itself have tended to accept the eradication of the Nehushtan (e.g., Rowley 1961: 425). Similar images have been found at Megiddo, Gezer, Hazor, and Shechem (Joines 1968: 245–56). The reason for Chronicles' omission of the Nehushtan's obliteration may lie in the Mushite (i.e., descendants of Moses)–Aaronide competition identified by Cross (*CMHE*, 195–215) and ultimately won by the Aaronides. The Nehushtan's exclusive association with Moses may have been sufficient cause for the Aaronide Chronicler to delete the material.

**B. The Impact of Assyrian Events**

A precise date of Hezekiah's reform has not been established. It is generally assumed that the reform immediately preceded his rebellion since the reform entailed politically provocative actions such as appeals to the remnants of the exiled northern kingdom and centralization of the cult in Jerusalem (*BHI*, 282). Judah sagaciously avoided the wrath of Sargon II in 714 probably by refusing to participate in the Philistine revolt (Tadmor 1958: 80–84) and eluded his interest again in 710 at the height of the Assyrian king's military successes.

Though the reform fits most logically into the period after Sargon's death in battle in 705, its less provocative elements such as the rededication of the priesthood may have been inaugurated earlier in Hezekiah's reign while Sargon ruled Assyria (cf. 2 Chr 29:3). Even the centralization of the cult with its attendant destruction of local shrines may not have drawn Assyrian ire. This position gains additional credence in light of Cogan's demonstration (1974: 72–77; cf. Spieckermann 1982, for contrast) that religious syncretism was not an element of Assyrian domination. The altar which Ahaz accepted under Tiglath-pileser III (2 Kgs 16:10–18) was not Assyrian. Therefore, religious reform may have been possible for Hezekiah without making a major political statement as has been previously believed (e.g., *BHI*, 282).

While the reform's date is debatable, Hezekiah's rebellion undeniably arose in response to the shift in Assyrian power occasioned by Sargon's death and Sennacherib's assumption. The resulting opportunity for independence ignited revolts throughout the empire. Insurrection flared from Babylon, where Marduk-apal-iddina (Merodach-Baladan, 2 Kgs 20:12–19), a perpetual thorn in the Assyrian side since Sargon's early days, led a temporarily successful uprising, to Egypt, where the invigorating 25th Dynasty offered tempting if unreliable support to potential rebels.

**C. Archaeology of Hezekiah's Reign**

**1. Revisions in Stratigraphy.** Until the 1970s, those scholars who sought to dismiss Hezekiah's reform as fiction (e.g., Rowley 1961: 425) found complementary evidence in the Deuteronomistic sparseness regarding the events and the conclusions of the excavators of the most pertinent Judean sites. Albright's conclusions at Tell Beit Mirsim (1932; 1943: 39–45) attributed Stratum A2 to a 300-year period ending with the beginning of the Babylonian deportations. This schema was followed by Starckey (1937) at Lachish where he equated Stratum III to Tell Beit Mirsim A2 and dated it from Sennacherib's campaign in 701 to the first Babylonian invasion in 597. He placed Stratum II in the slim period between the first and second Babylonian campaigns (598/7–586 B.C.E.). These conclusions tended to dominate Judean stratigraphy in Iron IIC while leaving Sennacherib's successful invasion of 701 unidentified.

O. Tufnell (1953: 55–58), however, who published the major account of Iron Age Lachish, assigned the destruction of Stratum III to 701, thereby evoking a cacophony of criticism (on the scholarly debate, see Rosenbaum 1979: 30–31). She based her conclusions on ceramic analysis, the destruction of Stratum III, and the Assyrian bas-reliefs of Sennacherib's siege of Lachish (*ANEP*, 129–32, 293–94; cf. *ANET*, 288). Subsequent excavations by D. Ussishkin (e.g., 1980; 1982) have vindicated Tufnell. See also LACHISH (PLACE). Further, Y. Aharoni's major revision of Judean stratigraphy (Aharoni and Aharoni 1976), equating the end of Tell Beit Mirsim A2 and Beth Shemesh IIC with Sennacherib's 701 destruction, has now gained wide acceptance. These conclusions have a definite bearing on Hezekiah: artifacts and strata previously associated with Josiah must now be assigned to Hezekiah.

**2. The *lmlk* Stamps.** Significantly, the *lmlk* store jars must now be placed in Hezekiah's reign. Their distribution in the N along Judah's border with Assyrian Samaria and in the W of the country demonstrate careful preparations to counter Sennacherib's likely route of invasion (Naʿaman 1979; 1986). (Naʿaman 1988 forcefully counters a critique of his conclusions by Garfinkel 1988.) Further, they demonstrate a notable degree of royal control of towns and cities which would facilitate Hezekiah's destruction of rural sacrificial sites and his centralization of worship in Jerusalem. See also STAMPS, ROYAL JAR HANDLE.

**3. Jerusalem and Related Fortifications.** The capital city itself yields significant evidence of Hezekiah's preparation. The Siloam tunnel (2 Kgs 20:20; 2 Chr 32:30) with its famous inscription (*ANET*, 321) is the most obvious example, and later studies have documented the tunnel's sophistication. See also SILOAM INSCRIPTION; DAVID, CITY OF (PLACE). Hezekiah also probably began the Broad Wall (Avigad 1983: 49–59). Perhaps most impressive are the increasing data substantiating the expansion of Jerusalem's population under Hezekiah. Broshi (1978) has estimated that a census under Hezekiah would have revealed some 25,000 inhabitants, five times the population under Solomon. Excavations originally undertaken by N. Avigad in 1970 point to an enlargement of the city under Hezekiah, perhaps due to the influx of refugees from the N kingdom in agreement with 2 Chr 30:25. Such an influx may add support to the Chronicler's claim that Hezekiah invited the North to participate in his reestablished Passover ritual.

Excavations suggest that Hezekiah augmented fortifications in preparation for Sennacherib's assault and may have established administrative centers and command posts, which Halpern (fc) calls a " 'hedgehog' defense—a pattern of self-contained, fortified nodes." As part of the process, Hezekiah may have implemented a key element of his reform, destroying local altars (as excavations at Beer-sheba suggest). (Previous, similar conclusions regarding the altar at Arad must now be suspended, since scholarly debate on the subject continues.)

**4. Sennacherib's Invasion.** Despite the considerable preparations made by Hezekiah, the effect of Sennacherib's offensive was catastrophic. After stabilizing his eastern holdings in two initial campaigns, the Assyrian king embarked on a westward campaign which sought to suppress rebels and establish his unchallenged hegemony. The events are well documented in both the Assyrian annals (e.g., *ANET*, 287–88) and in the biblical sources (2 Kgs 18:13–19:37; 2 Chr 32:1–22; Isaiah 36–39). In addition, an echo of Sennacherib's failure to conquer Jerusalem may survive in Herodotus (2: 14–141), whom Josephus (*Ant* 10) followed.

Sennacherib utilized classic Assyrian military techniques to reduce Judah. Though the figure of 200,150 captives and the razing of 46 walled cities has been contested (see *BHI*, 286 n. 49), later scholarship has

increasingly accepted the possible authenticity of the numbers (see Halpern fc. for a summary of the supporting data). Certain facts are uncontested: Sennacherib successfully captured the fortified towns of Judah (2 Kgs 18:13; 2 Chr 32:1), exacted spectacular tribute (2 Kgs 18:14–16), and failed to capture Jerusalem though he walled up Hezekiah "like a caged bird."

The seeming paradox that Hezekiah paid tribute but was never captured raised the possibility that the sources (biblical and Assyrian) refer to two separate invasions with different outcomes (*BHI*, 298–309; Horn 1966). This theory gains fundamental support from a reference to Tirhakah of Egypt, whose anticipated aid is mocked by Sennacherib's Rabshakeh (2 Kgs 19:9). Since Tirhakah did not reach the Egyptian throne until ca. 690 and since he would have been a child in 701, Bright (*BHI*, esp. 299–303) found the two-invasion theory especially persuasive. Subsequent work by Kitchen (1973a: 154–72; 1973b) showed that in 701 Tirhakah was old enough to command, thereby disabling the theory's main defense. Heavy tribute and survival in a well-fortified and well-supplied mountainous capital are not mutually exclusive; they may have been mandatory elements in Hezekiah's quest for Judah's perpetuation.

Recent studies suggest a greater acknowledgement of Hezekiah. His reform (previously doubted as a fictional reading back from Josiah) and his capacity as an administrator and strategist (denied because of erroneous stratigraphy which placed the *lmlk* stamps and considerable building in a later era) have gained acceptance as archaeological data have emerged to lend support. The literary activity of his reign already known through Micah and First Isaiah has been amplified by suggestions of a Hezekian redactor of the DH. Independent verification has also bolstered arguments for the historicity of the Chronicler and his use of sources independent of the DH. The bulk of this evidence suggests that rather than being a mere foreshadowing of Josiah's deeds, Hezekiah's accomplishments may have surpassed those of his great-grandson.

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**HEZION** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥezyôn* (חֶזְיוֹן)]. Grandfather of Ben-Hadad I, king of Syria (1 Kgs 15:18).

Scholars have sometimes identified Hezion with Rezon, who became king of Damascus during the reign of Solomon (1 Kgs 11:23–24), but there is no convincing evidence for this nor does it solve any pressing chronological or historical problem. Formerly, Hezion's name (Aram *ḥazyān*) was sometimes included in the Bir-Hadad Stela, but more recent studies have proposed other readings. If Hezion was himself king of Syria, something implied but not explicitly stated by the biblical text, he probably reigned in the late 10th century B.C.E.

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**HEZIR** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥēzîr* (חֵזִיר)]. The name of two men in the OT. It may mean "swine" (*IPN* 230).

**1.** A priest who received the seventeenth position in the priestly order of the temple during David's reign (1 Chr 24:15). An evaluation of the historical reliability of his existence in the time of David depends largely upon the literary context of 1 Chr 24:1–19. Though generally agreed that the priestly list originated after the Exile, its exact date remains debated. See HAKKOZ (PERSON). The consensus agrees, at any rate, that Hezir represents a name from the postexilic period, rather than an individual who was contemporaneous with David.

**2.** A member of the Judean aristocracy who signed a document that forbid intermarriage between Judeans and other ethnic groups, insured the observation of Sabbath, and provided for the maintenance of the temple and its staff (Neh 10:21—Eng10:20). While some commentators have thought the signees reflect authentic historical persons from the time of Nehemiah (Rudolph *Ezra Nehemiah* 173–75), the names of Neh 10:2–27—Eng10:1–26 seem to represent "an artificial literary compilation, based on other material in Ezra and Neh" (Williamson *Ezra Nehemiah* WBC, 329).

The ultimate source of the name Hezir remains a mystery, as both occurrences appear in artificially constructed lists. It may represent a common familial name from Judah in the late Persian period.

JOHN W. WRIGHT

**HEZRO** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥeṣrô* (חֶצְרוֹ)]. One of the members of "the Thirty," the distinguished group of warriors who fought for David (2 Sam 23:35, Heb *ḥeṣrô; ḥeṣray,* LXX *asarai;* 1 Chr 11:37, Heb *ḥeṣrô*). He is known as the Carmelite, a noun describing his origin, the town of Carmel, seven miles southeast of Hebron in southern Judah. This town produced not only a rich landowner like Nabal, who hated David, but also a poor person like Hezro, who was devoted to him (Elliger 1966: 114–15). It is tempting to think of Hezro as a runaway slave of Nabal who joined David in the wilderness of Judah (1 Sam 25:10–11, cf. 1 Sam 22:2). His name appears toward the end of the list of "the Thirty" in 2 Samuel, an indication that he may have had a lesser rank among the group (McCarter *II Samuel* AB, 501).

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STEPHEN G. DEMPSTER

**HEZRON** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥeṣrôn* (חֶצְרוֹן)]. 1. The third son of Reuben (Gen 46:9; Exod 6:14; 1 Chr 5:3). In the enumeration of the family of Jacob who migrated to Egypt (Gen 46:8–27), Jacob's sons are listed by family, according to their mothers. The family of Reuben was listed first because he was Jacob's and Leah's firstborn. Hezron also was the eponymous head of the family of the Hezronites (Num 26:6). According to Noth (*NHI,* 64), the Hezronite clan of Reuben became the Judean Hezronite clan when the Reubenites, who lived in the vicinity of Judah, were assimilated into the tribe of Judah. In 1 Chr 4:1 the genealogy of Judah may provide some evidence for this assimilation. Hezron appears as the brother of Carmi and both are the sons of Judah, while in Gen 46:9 both are brothers but the sons of Reuben.

2. The son of Perez and the grandson of Judah by his daughter-in-law Tamar (Gen 38:29; 46:12). Hezron is included in the list of the family of Jacob who migrated to Egypt. Hezron and his brother Hamul are counted among the sons of Leah in order to complete the list of seventy people who descended with Jacob to Egypt. Hezron was the eponymous father of the Hezronites, a southern Judean clan (Num 26:6; Josh 15:3).

Hezron was an important clan in Judah. From the descendants of Hezron came the Calebites (1 Chr 2:18–24) and the Jerahmeelites (1 Chr 2:25–33), two great clans in Judah. The family of David came from Hezron through his son Ram (1 Chr 2:10–15; Ruth 4:18–19). Hezron also appears in the genealogy of Christ (Matt 1:3; Luke 3:33).

The genealogy of Hezron found in 1 Chronicles 2 presents serious problems in interpretation (Braun *Chronicles* WBC, 25–35). 1 Chr 2:9 says that Hezron had three sons, Jerahmeel, Ram, and Chelubai. 1 Chr 2:18 states that Caleb was the son of Hezron. Caleb probably was the Chelubai mentioned in 2:9. However, Caleb in another passage is said to be the son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite. According to 1 Chr 2:24 (RSV), the wife of Hezron was Ephrathah. However, the translation in the RSV depends on an emendation of the MT. The KJV translates 1 Chr 2:24 as follows: "And after that Hezron was dead in Caleb-ephratah, then Abiah, Hezron's wife bare him Ashur, the father of Tekoa." If Abiah was Hezron's wife, then the expression "and the wife of Hezron" should be read as a gloss to 1 Chr 2:21 as Williamson (1979: 355) has proposed.

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**HEZRON** (PLACE) [*ḥeṣrôn*]. Station named in the description of the extreme S border of the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:3). This place, whose name seems to mean "enclosure," is located between Kadesh-barnea and Addar. Alt (1953) has persuasively argued that the border list of Joshua 15 is derived from an ancient legal document delineating the territorial claims of the tribes during the period of the judges. The parallel nature of the S border descriptions in Numbers 34 and Joshua 15 suggests that both depend on a single, presumably premonarchical, tradition. It is possible that "Hazar-addar" in Num 34:4 represents a mistaken combination of "Hezron" and "Addar" from Josh 15:3. Ancient Hezron may

perhaps be located at or near Ain Qedeis (Aharoni *LBHG*, 65; M.R. 100999), one of three small wells in the vicinity of the oasis of Ain el-Qudeirat (Kadesh-barnea?). This S border station is not to be confused with Kirioth-Hezron.

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**HIDDAI** (PERSON) [Heb *hidday* (הִדַּי)]. Var. HURAI. At 2 Sam 23:30 Hiddai "of the brooks of Gaash" is listed as one of David's thirty mighty men. In the parallel at 1 Chr 11:32 he is called Hurai. Thenius (*Die Bücher Samuels* KEHAT, 253), Wellhausen (1871: 215), and Smith (*Samuel* ICC, 387f.) preferred this alternate reading as the more original and indeed it is found in Origen's text (Field 1875: 586) as well as in several Greek mss. The OG, however, has *haddai* (attested in mss b o $c_2$ $e_2$) and the original reading of cod. B is *hadaoi,* which was later modified to *hadroi.* The strength of the OG reading, along with the possibility of the confusion of the letters *dalet* and *reš,* suggests that "Hiddai" was the original form.

Hiddai's home, the brooks, or the valleys, of Gaash, would be at the base of Mount Gaash, which is found in the hill country of Ephraim (Josh 24:30; Judg 2:9). Thus in this verse two Ephraimites, Benaiah of Pirathon and Hiddai, are mentioned together (Budde, *Samuel* KHC, 325).

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**HIDDEKEL** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥiddeqel* (חִדֶּקֶל)]. The Hebrew name for one of the four branches of the river which flowed out of the Garden of Eden (Gen 2:14). The etymology of the name can be traced as follows: Sum *Idiglat, Idigna,* Akk *Idiqlat,* Arab and Aram *Diglath,* Pers *Tigra,* Gk *Tigris.* The only other OT occurrence is in Dan 10:4 where some see possible universal connotations, in contrast to limitations tied with the Abrahamic covenant connected with the Euphrates river.

ZDRAVKO STEFANOVIC

**HIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥî᾽ēl* (חִיאֵל)]. A citizen of Bethel who rebuilt Jericho when Ahab reigned as king of Israel (1 Kgs 16:34). It is stated that he laid the foundation of Jericho with Abiram, his eldest son, and the city gates with Segub, his youngest son. The meaning of this statement is not clear. Some suggest that it indicates Hiel used his sons as foundation sacrifices; others take it to mean that Hiel's sons died of natural causes at the time that the city was being rebuilt. Though archaeologists have discovered bodies of infants buried in homes, it is not certain whether these infants were sacrificed to lay the foundation of the home or if they simply died of natural causes and were subsequently buried in the home. Whether Hiel's sons died a natural death or were sacrificed, the incident is taken as the fulfillment of the curse against the rebuilding of Jericho in Josh 6:26.

PAULINE A. VIVIANO

**HIERAPOLIS** (PLACE) [Gk *Hierapolis* (Ἱεραπολις)]. A city in the Lycus valley of SW Phrygia, probably originated as a settlement attached to the sanctuary of the Anatolian mother goddess, worshiped locally under the name Leto.

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A. The Hellenistic City
B. Jewish Settlement
C. The Church of Hierapolis

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**A. The Hellenistic City**

It has commonly been supposed that Hierapolis received its city status from Eumenes II of Pergamum (197–159 B.C.); to his reign belongs the earliest known inscription on the site, recording a decree in honor of his mother Apollonis (*OGIS* 308). But the character of tribal names in a theater inscription points to its being a Seleucid foundation (Kolb 1974: 255–70), dating perhaps from the reign of Antiochus I (281–261 B.C.).

Hierapolis stood on a road which left the main Iconium-Ephesus highway at Laodicea and led NW to Philadelphia, Sardis, and the Hermus valley—the road along which Xerxes marched after leaving Colossae in 481 B.C. (Hdt. 7.31). It looks across to Laodicea from a terrace 300 feet high on the north bank of the Lycus (modern Çürük-su); in the plain beneath the terrace the Lycus flows into the Maeander. Behind the site a hot mineral spring wells up (one of several lime-charged springs in the neighborhood), filling the "sacred pool" and overflowing so as to cover the rocks beneath with white deposits of lime, which give the appearance of a frozen cascade. It is to these formations probably that the Turkish name Pamukkale ("Cotton Castle") is due. The medicinal properties of the hot water attracted visitors in antiquity, as they do today. On coins of Hierapolis, Asklepios and Hygieia feature either separately or together.

Hierapolis honored Apollo as its divine founder *(Apollo Archēgetēs);* the temple of Apollo which is still to be seen is a structure of the 3d century A.D., but an early temple may once have stood on the site, where his oracle was available for consultation. To the S of this temple was a cave, called the Plutonium, which was believed to be an entrance to the underworld. The *galli,* the eunuch-priests of the Magna Mater, were said to be the only living beings not to be asphyxiated by the carbon dioxide generated in the cave. The cave was filled in at the beginning of the 4th century A.D., but has been rediscovered by Italian excavators. W. C. Brice (1978: 226–27) describes his visit in 1950 to a similar cave at Hierapolis which also emitted carbon dioxide.

Hierapolis long maintained its importance as a cult center: Caracalla (A.D. 211–218) conferred on it the title *neōkoros,* "temple warden" (compare the Ephesian pride in the same title, attested in Acts 19:35). But shortly after its foundation it became a commercial center also: in particular, it was noted for the quality of its textile products. Perhaps the local water imparted a special richness or stability to the purple dye which was manufactured there from the juice of the madder root (Strabo 13.4.14). There is epigraphic evidence of a guild of purple dyers; a guild of carpet weavers and "the most august gild of wool washers" are similarly attested (*IGRR* 4.816, 818, 821, 822), all suggesting Hierapolis was a center for textile production.

Hierapolis belonged to the judicial circuit of cities called the Cibyratic *conventus,* from Cibyra, a city between 50 and 60 miles to the S (although from the 1st century B.C. on the central headquarters of the circuit were at Laodicea).

In the history of human thought the city's chief claim to fame lies in its being the birthplace of the Stoic philosopher Epictetus (A.D. ca. 50–117).

The ruined buildings on the site are all Roman; the earthquake which flattened Laodicea in A.D. 60 may also have devastated Hierapolis. The city was constructed on the grid system. One can see sections of the city walls and the main colonnaded street running NW and SE, with a monumental gateway at either end and with other streets crossing it at right angles. Down the center of each street was a channel for the disposal of sewage. Other channels carried water from the springs to various points in the city.

From 1957 onward excavation and restoration work has been carried on by Italian archaeologists, particularly on the temple of Apollo, the agora (notable for the fine locked stone of its arches), the nymphaeum, the Roman baths with gymnasium attached, and especially the theater, overlooking the city and the Lycus valley, with seating accommodation for up to 15,000 persons. The necropolis contains some 1,200 tombs, 300 of which have epitaphs.

**B. Jewish Settlement**

Like other cities of SW Phrygia, Hierapolis had a Jewish community, called a *katoikia,* "colony" (*CIJ* 2.775), from its earliest days as a city. Some members of this community have left epigraphic records,

like the 2d-century A.D. "Marcus Aurelius Alexander, also called Asaph, of the people of the Jews" (*CIJ* 2.776), and Jewish members of some of the craft guilds (*CIJ* 2.777).

**C. The Church of Hierapolis**

There was a Christian group in Hierapolis about A.D. 60 (Col 4:13). It probably came into existence during the missionary campaign of Paul and his associates in proconsular Asia in A.D. 52–55 (Acts 19:10). With the other churches of the Lycus valley, the church of Hierapolis was evidently founded by Paul's colleague Epaphras (Col 1:7; 4:12).

Some time before A.D. 70 the Palestinian Christian leader Philip and his daughters settled in Hierapolis: their tombs were pointed out there toward the end of the 2d century (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.31.2–5; 3.39.9; 5.24.2). Eusebius or his sources show some confusion between Philip of Bethsaida, the apostle, and Philip of Caesarea, the evangelist (Acts 21:8–9); it is not impossible that they were the same person (Hengel 1983: 14). A local inscription (Ramsay 1897: 552) indicates the existence of a church dedicated to "the holy and glorious apostle and divine, Philip." Above the city to the NE, just outside the walls, stands the early-5th-century *martyrion* (monument) of Philip, an octagonal chamber set within a square comprising a series of rectangular chambers.

Papias, bishop of Hierapolis ca. A.D. 125, compiler of five volumes of *Exegeses of the Dominical Oracles* (no longer extant), is an important figure in the history of postapostolic tradition. Irenaeus says Papias was a hearer of "John the disciple of the Lord" (*Haer.* 5.33.4); Eusebius questions this (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.2).

In A.D. 172 a later bishop of Hierapolis, Claudius Apollinaris, addressed a defense of the Christian faith to Marcus Aurelius. This work, with several others ascribed to him, is lost (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.26.1; 4.27.1; 5.5.4; 5.16.1; 5.19.1–2).

The church of Hierapolis was represented at the councils of Nicaea (A.D. 325), Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451). Under Justinian, before the Second Council of Constantinople (553), Hierapolis became a metropolitan see, with jurisdiction over churches in the NW of the province Phrygia Pacatiana.

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**HIEROGLYPHICS.** See LANGUAGES (EGYPTIAN LANGUAGE AND WRITING).

**HIERONYMUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Hierōnymos* (Ἱερωνυμος)]. One of five military governors of the Jews in the time of Antiochus V Eupator, 164–162 B.C.E. (2 Macc 12:2). The five governors have Greek names, which seems to imply that the Jews fought with local Macedonian officials, whereas 1 Maccabees 5 shows that they fought with neighboring peoples. There is no further specific information about Hieronymus himself, but the governors mentioned in the text are designated by the Greek term *strategos.* This term might refer to a commander of any rank from general to commander of a small tactical unit. Here they are set over "local" places, which likely indicates that they are commanders of lesser rank. They would not let the Jews live quietly and in peace, but whether their harassment resulted from orders from the central government or from their own initiative is not known.

BETTY JANE LILLIE

**HIGH PLACE** (Heb *bāmâ* (בָּמָה)). A type of cultic installation in ancient Israel. The precise architecture and purpose of high places has been a subject of considerable disagreement.

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A. History of Interpretation
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## A. History of Interpretation

The traditional interpretation of Heb *bāmâ* (בָּמָה) begins with the Vg's *excelsus,* whence Eng "high place" (conventional since the 1535 Coverdale Bible; cf. Wycliffe's *high things* and Luther's *Höhe*). The LXX, although generally using *hupsēlon,* approached the word very differently (see Daniel 1966: 33–53). The modern era of biblical scholarship inherited this understanding of *bāmâ* as signifying physical elevation, as well as an etymological explanation for it. The word has no known verbal root in Hebrew, but on the basis of the irreducible *qāmes* the hypothetical root **bûm* (cf. *qûm: qāmâ*), meaning "to be high," had been advanced (e.g., Pagninus 1578: 30; GKC 187). Nineteenth-century lexicographers took the newly discovered Akk topographical pl. *bamātu* as cognate to *bāmâ* and defined it accordingly (e.g., Norris 1868: 104; Delitzsch 1896: 177); this datum, in turn, entered Hebrew lexica (e.g., BDB, 119) and biblical encyclopedias (e.g., *JEnc,* 387) as confirmation that *bāmâ* must be a topographical term denoting high ground. This meaning was applied to Ug *bmt* when that word became known in the 1930s (Virolleaud 1932: 136), but almost immediately gave way to Albright's suggestion that *bmt* is an anatomical term comparable to Akk *bamtu,* "back, trunk (of animal or man)" (1934: 120 n. 86). This anatomical sense has rightly been claimed for *bāmâ* in several biblical and extrabiblical passages (Deut 33:29; Isa 14:14; Job 9:8; 1QM 12:10 and 19:3; Sir 9:2 [Heb]) and is cited in current Hebrew lexica as one of the standard meanings of the word (*HALAT*, 130–31; *CHAL*, 42).

The prevailing consensus holds, therefore, that *bāmâ* can refer both to a part of the body ("back," although the exact reference is disputed) and to a part of the landscape (a "high place"). Its Akk cognate evidently shares this semantic duality, but thus far only the anatomical sense is certain in Ugaritic. To reconcile these meanings, a common proto-Semitic ancestor capable of generating both has been posited by Albright: **bahmatu,* the medial *h* having quiesced to produce *ā* in the first syllable in the attested forms. This should have become *ō* in Hebrew (cf. **qahlu* > **qāl* > *qōl*), and suffixed forms of *bāmâ* with an initial *o*-vowel are found in the Qumran literature (1QIsa[a] 14:14; 53:9; 58:14); thus, Albright reasons, the familiar *a* spelling "may be due to dialectal phenomena, *ah* being preserved in some places until after the principle that an accented *ā* became *ō* had ceased to operate" (1957: 245, 256). The *h* is preserved in such derivatives as Heb *bĕhēmâ* ("animal, beast") and Ug *bhmt* ("cattle") in which the anatomical idea has expanded from a bodily part to the entire creature, and obscure Ar *buhmatun* ("mass of rock"), which develops the topographical idea. The basic semantic nexus, however, is high-ness or, in de Vaux's words, "something which stands out in relief from its background" (*AncIsr*, 284).

**1. Etymological Inferences.** Over four-fifths of the some 100 occurrences of *bāmâ* in the MT refer to places where cultic acts were performed, i.e., to cultic installations of some sort. Speculation about the nature of these installations has proceeded from the aforementioned etymological considerations: whatever a bamah might be, it must somehow exhibit high-ness because that is the root meaning of the word. As Hirsch observed in 1904, "the only point in doubt is whether the bamah originally received its name from the circumstance that it was located on a towering elevation or from the possible fact that

independently of its location, it was itself a raised construction" (*JEnc*, 387). These alternatives underlie virtually all subsequent efforts to describe or further identify these installations with any specificity. These efforts have produced two basic images: (1) a primitive open-air hilltop precinct, with altars, maṣṣeboth (cultic stones), and asherim (wooden cultic objects; cf. Day 1986), scattered throughout the Palestinian countryside; and (2) some sort of constructed elevation, such as a raised platform or mound. (Albright's view that bamoth were funerary installations [1957: 242–58], a variation of the platform hypothesis, is entirely without foundation: see Barrick 1975.)

Despite its pervasiveness, this etymological approach to the question is methodologically problematic. Etymologizing reveals the past history of a word and its past meaning(s), which may provide clues as to its possible (or even probable) sense in a given text, but "it cannot impose a sense authoritatively upon known usage" (Barr 1961: 158). Known usage of the word *bāmâ* suggests that it refers to built constructions of urban provenance and without a noticeable locational preference for high ground (see below). The few texts that do seem to place them in mountainous locales do not warrant the common presumption that there is a pronounced "biblical tradition that the bamoth were built on hills" (Albright 1957: 249), nor do they justify positing an evolutionary development of the bamah phenomenon itself to explain why some bamoth—virtually all of them, to judge from the biblical record—were in fact not built on hills (e.g., BDB, 119). If, on the other hand, a bamah was an artificial elevation upon which cultic acts were performed, a view much favored in recent scholarship (e.g., *AncIsr*, 284–88; Conrad 1968: 85–100; Haran 1978: 18–25), this should be reflected in the verbs and prepositions used in the texts to locate the worshipper relative to the bamah. But this is not the case. For example, the preposition routinely used in biblical reports of bamah usage is not *ʿal* as one should expect, but *b-*, suggesting *prima facie* that a bamah was something *within* which cultic acts took place. When this most embarrassing incongruity is acknowledged, appeal usually is made to the principle of prepositional "ambiguity" whereby *ʿal* and *b-* could be semantically equivalent (so, e.g., Vaughan 1974: 31). While this is a possibility to be considered (see below), the appeal amounts to circular reasoning since *b-* need be "ambiguous" in these passages only if bamoth were mounds or altars. In both cases, etymologically inspired presuppositions have been imposed onto textual evidence which otherwise would lead the interpreter in a very different direction.

**2. Archaeological Influences.** Vaughan's study (1974) departs from the traditional understanding of the word. From the Akk and Ug materials he deduces that the semantic origin of *bāmâ* is *anatomical* ("rib-cage, chest, back, flank, etc.") and that "there is no idea of *height* inherent in this concept at all" (10; cf. already Vincent 1948: 276). This anatomical sense is applied figuratively in the expression *bomŏtê-ʾāreṣ* (Deut 32:13; Isa 48:14; Amos 4:3; Mic 1:3), lit. "flanks of the land," the topographical nuance being supplied by *ʾeres*. Vaughan sees this phrase as a "stock poetic formula" originating in an ancient theophanic myth and referring to the mountainous terrain astride which Yahweh manifests himself in symbolic possession of the land. The mythological site of the theophany, according to Vaughan, was realized architecturally as a mound or platform which took its name from its mythic prototype (1974: 9, 11–12, 25). That the specialized technical use of the word to designate a cultic installation should have derived from a mythological image is an intriguing possibility, but Vaughan's claim that bamoth were cultic platforms does not hinge on that hypothesis. For him, the consistent semantic factor is the hill-like *shape* of the objects to which the word refers: mythological mountains or cultic platforms representing them; actual mountains (2 Sam 1:19, 25; but the word may carry an anatomical sense here: see e.g., McCarter, *2 Samuel* AB, 74–75); and grave-mounds (Isa 53:9 and Job 27:15 [both emended]) having no connection whatever with either the myth or its cultic symbolism. Implicit in Vaughan's argument is a semantic assumption not unlike the traditional etymological one.

Vaughan's conclusions are heavily influenced by recent archaeological discoveries in the Levant. A number of platformlike structures have come to light over the years and are in need of interpretation (Vaughan 1974: 37–54). A reliance upon archaeological materials is characteristic of 20th-century speculation about the bamah phenomenon. Too often, however, the relevance of these artifacts is presupposed rather than demonstrated, and the burden of proof for a particular understanding of the bamah phenomenon is shifted (as in Vaughan's case) from the texts to the artifacts (cf. Fowler 1982: 210–

11). This too is methodologically questionable. A cultic installation called a "bamah" is known to have existed at all only from references to it in the Hebrew Bible (and in the inscription of the Moabite king Mesha). Archaeology has revealed the context into which those references must be placed if we are to move beyond the heavily theologized and imperfectly controlled literary traditions of the Bible to the actual life of people in biblical times (*WLSGF*, 572–87). But for something known from archaeology to be identified as a "bamah" there must be a demonstrable correspondence between the artifact and the literary descriptions. And, as one reviewer of Vaughan's monograph cautiously observes, "given our present very incomplete knowledge of what a bamah really was and looked like, we need to find an edifice actually labelled 'bamah' before we can be sure" (Ap-Thomas 1975: 107).

**3. Generalizing Tendencies.** Whitney's study (1979) moves in a very different direction. He maintains that "fundamentally *bāmâ* meant 'shrine' and was used of the whole cult complex, which may or may not have contained a platform" (134). Most commentators would agree that the word is such a generic designation in at least some of its occurrences. That the bamoth of the Bible were common Canaanitish cult places is a view omnipresent in the secondary literature. Typically, a categorical distinction is drawn between bamoth—understood as open-air rustic sanctuaries—and more architecturally sophisticated urban temples (e.g., Noth 1966: 177–78; Ringgren 1966: 156–58). The fact that archaeologically known cult places in Syria-Palestine do not conform to such a sharp dichotomy has not lessened the popularity of this view (cf. Schunck 1971: 132–40, and Welten 1972: 19–37; Wright 1971: 17–32). But for Whitney *bāmâ* does not carry any specific architectural or functional connotations; bamoth were "different things in different places at different times" (147). The earliest references may be to cult places located on high ground, but by the late monarchy (whence most of the references come) the word had become an all-purpose label for "local shrines" in general (138). This view also has a wide following and, in fact, underlies the normative reconstruction of Israel's religious history: worship was conducted at "local shrines" throughout the land until the erection of Solomon's temple (cf. 1 Kgs 3:4); thereafter those sanctuaries remained the loci of popular religiosity until their final illegitimation in the reign of Josiah (e.g., *WPHI*, chap. 1). This reconstruction, anticipated already in the Talmud (*Zeb.* 14:4–8), assumes that the orders in Deuteronomy 12 to destroy the cult places "upon the high mountains and upon the hills and under every green tree" (v 2) and to worship only at "the place which Yahweh will choose" (v 5) coincide with Josiah's actions as recorded in 2 Kings 23, specifically the centralization of worship in the temple at Jerusalem and the concomitant elimination of all other sanctuaries in the country. The only non-temple sanctuaries mentioned in 2 Kings 23 are called "bamoth" and, as Whitney points out, more than one type of installation seems to be so identified: small gate shrines, royal chapels dedicated to foreign gods, large public sanctuaries, and rustic local sanctuaries (137–38). Since Josiah's reform was "Deuteronomic," these "bamoth" must be equated with the cult "places" *(hammĕqōmôt)* proscribed in Deuteronomy 12. In at least "Deuteronomistic" vocabulary, therefore, *bāmôt* is synonymous with *mĕqōmôt* as a generalization with distinctly pejorative overtones (see, e.g., *AncIsr*, 288).

This generalizing approach to the question also is methodologically problematic, for it makes the meaning of *bāmâ* in a given passage contingent upon other exegetical judgments which may be neither correct nor germane. For example, the supposed open-air rusticity of a bamah installation stems from a romanticized conception of "primitive" religious practice, buttressed by dubious ethnographical analogies and biblical passages which "though not expressly mentioning any bamah, certainly have the same type of religion in mind" (*AncIsr*, 285). Relevance is assumed, but not demonstrated. Similarly, Israel's religious history *may* have unfolded in the way supposed, or later biblical writers *may* have presented this as an idealization, but it is by no means a certainty and should not be accepted uncritically as the basis for solving all other exegetical puzzles. Reconstructing history of Israelite religion and literature by linking the cult "places" of Deuteronomy 12 with the "bamoth" of 1–2 Kings and then using that reconstruction as the basis for interpreting the "Deuteronomistic" meaning of the word is a circular argument which excludes other exegetical options at the outset; the possibility that a specific architectural or functional type of installation may be referred to even in "Deuteronomistic" passages is not seriously considered (cf. Fowler 1982: 212).

**B. The Biblical Picture**

The OT evidence, meager and fragmentary as it is, does yield a consistent if sketchy picture of those installations called "bamoth" by the ancient writers.

**1. Language Usage.** Bamoth appear to have been man-made installations. They are "built"/*bnh* (1 Kgs 11:7; 14:23; 2 Kgs 17:9; 21:3; 23:13; Jer 7:31; 19:5; 32:35; 2 Chr 33:3, 19; MI 3–4[?]) or "made"/*ʿśh* (Ezek 16:16; 2 Chr 21:11; 28:25; MI 3), "torn down"/*ntṣ* (2 Kgs 23:8, 15; 2 Chr 31:1) or "burned"/*ṣrp* (2 Kgs 23:15). These verbal actions do not suggest ephemeral sacred precincts or crudely augmented natural phenomena. While this does not prove that all bamoth were man-made structures, there is no evidence that any bamah was not.

The verb *ʿlh* (in Qal) is used of bamoth in four biblical passages (1 Sam 9:13, 14, 19; Isa 15:2). This verb can express movement up to a position upon something, and also movement up to something. When upward movement resulting in superimposition is the intended sense, the destination is always subordinated to the verb by means of the preposition *ʿal:* e.g., "You shall not go up upon my altar by steps" (Ex 20:26, and 20 other examples). When *ʿlh* is used of bamoth, however, the subordination is thrice by means of the "accusative" and once by the "terminative" *h.* In none of the 35 other *ʿlh* + accusative constructions does the one "going up" demonstrably conclude his journey upon his destination. In a great many cases superimposition is obviously impossible: e.g., "the king went up (to) the House-of-Yahweh" (2 Kgs 23:2, and 10 other passages with *bayit*). When the nature of the destination will admit superimposition, the passage makes as good or better sense without this nuance. The situation with the 14 other *ʿlh* + terminative constructions is identical. Language usage suggests, therefore, that one does not climb up a bamah (as one would a hill or a stepped altar or platform), but rather climbs up to (and descends from: 1 Sam 9:25; 10:5) a bamah.

When the OT writers speak of bamah worship, they regularly use the verbs *zbḥ* and *qṭr,* plus the preposition *b* (20 occurrences). In each of the 15 other occurrences of these two verbs plus *b-* in the OT, the nature of the prepositional object or the context of the passage or (in most cases) both leave no doubt that the "ritual slaughtering" and "burning of food offerings" (so Edelman 1985) is being done within something. When this activity is conducted upon something, the preposition *ʿal* is always used. There is no evidence of "ambiguity" or semantic overlapping between *b-* and *ʿal* with these two verbs. To interpret *babbāmôt* in these passages as anything other than "in the bamoth" would be completely contrary to attested Hebrew usage.

The preposition *b-* is used of bamoth in three other passages as well: Samuel is expected to preside at a sacrifice to be held *babbāmâ* (1 Sam 9:12), and the Chronicler reports that during David's reign the tabernacle and altar of burnt offerings were *babbāmâ* at Gibeon (1 Chr 16:39–40; 21:29). There is no reason why *b-* should not mean "in" in all three. This is consistent with the use of *bāʾ,* primarily "to enter," in reference to bamoth in 1 Sam 10:13 (although the text is uncertain) and Ezek 20:29, the latter a lame pun purporting to explain the meaning of the term *bāmâ* (cf. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20* AB, 370–71).

On the basis of the biblical writers' use of the term, therefore, it would appear that a bamah is something within which cultic acts were performed—not a piece of cultic furniture (like a platform or altar), but an installation within which cultic furniture could be housed and used. Only Isa 16:12 suggests otherwise: *wĕhāyâ kî-nirʾâ kî-nilʾâ môʾāb ʿal-habbāmâ, ʾbāʾ ʾel-miqdāšô lĕhitpallēl welōʾ yʾkāl.* Assuming that a bamah was a platform or hill, *ʿal-habbāmâ* obviously would mean "upon the bamah." But since this passage is the sole textual basis for that assumption and contradicts the unanimous testimony of the passages just reviewed, its meaning may not be so obvious. The parallelism with *ʾel-miqdāšô* (cf. Amos 7:9) and the well-documented incidence of semantic overlapping (or scribal confusion) between *ʾel* and *ʿal* in biblical Hebrew (e.g., Ps 90:16, also with *rʾh* in *Nipʿal*) suggest that *ʿal* here might actually mean "in" (cf. Isa 28:22) or simply "at."

**2. Location.** The most complete description of a bamah in the OT is given in 1 Sam 9:1–10:16. This one is associated with an unnamed "city" *(ʿîr)* in "the land of Zuph." The present arrangement of the text gives the impression that the installation lay somewhere outside the city wall. Vv 14 and 18a conflict on this point, and commentators have long sought to harmonize the two through an arbitrary emendation of v

14 (recently, e.g., McCarter, *1 Samuel* AB, 169). Recognition that the story as a whole is composed of two distinct strata of material (Schmidt 1970: 53–102; Miller 1974: 157–61; Birch 1976: 29–42; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 185–87) provides a more defensible solution. In v 14 Saul and his servant are "entering into the midst of the city" *(bā‹îm bĕtôk hā‹îr)* and there meet Samuel as he was "coming out" of some unspecified location (presumably his residence) within the city en route "up (to) the bamah"—all exactly as predicted by the girls at the well in v 13. A second version of this encounter is given in vv 12 and 18a: here Samuel is walking on the road up to the city some distance ahead of Saul; the girls point him out, and Saul overtakes him "in the midst of the gate" *(bĕtôk haššā‹ar)* as both men are entering the city. In both accounts the subsequent activity at the bamah would have taken place inside the city wall. The fact that this bamah actually lay somewhere within the city was obscured when the two versions of the story were combined, and Samuel's "coming out" (v 14) juxtaposed with the meeting "in the gate" (v 18)—yet it was recognized by the LXX and 4QSam$^{a}$ which harmonize the two by reading "city" in place of "gate" in v 18a (just the reverse of the usual solution today).

This is by no means an exceptional case. The preponderance of texts which specify the location of bamoth also give them an urban setting. They are said to have been "in" *(b-)* "the cities of Judah" (2 Kgs 23:8; cf. v 5 and 2 Chr 14:4), the city of Gibeon (1 Chr 16:39; 21:29; 2 Chr 1:3, 13), and all the cities of northern Israel (2 Kgs 17:9). Mesha of Moab made a bamah "in Qarhoh," probably the royal quarter or citadel of his capital city (MI. 3). "Bamoth houses" *(bāttê-bāmôt)* were found "in the cities of Samaria" (1 Kgs 13:32; 2 Kgs 17:29; 23:19); "bamoth priests" *(kōhănê-bāmôt)* were stationed "in (the city of) Bethel" (1 Kgs 12:32) and apparently also in "the cities of Judah" (2 Kgs 23:8–9). The bamoth built by Solomon "in the mountain east of Jerusalem" to serve the religious needs of some of his foreign wives (1 Kgs 11:7–8 and 2 Kgs 23:11; cf. 1 Kgs 16:32) and the bamah installation(s) in the Ben Hinnom Valley (Jer 7:31; 19:5; 32:35 [the number is text-critically uncertain]; cf. 2 Kgs 23:10 which, oddly, does not use the term) were certainly part of the cultic life of the capital city, their extramural location probably due to political considerations, and perhaps (especially for the second) the special character of the cultus conducted there (cf. Heider 1985). Ezek 6:3 speaks of the ubiquity of the bamoth, not their specific location (v 6 nonetheless does indicate an urban setting), and so too 2 Chr 21:11.

It is commonly supposed that bamoth are the object of the frequent polemic against worship conducted in the countryside "upon every high hill and under every green tree" (especially Deut 12:2; cf. Holladay 1961). But 2 Kgs 16:4 (= 2 Chr 28:4) argues against the identification: Ahaz is said to have "slaughtered animals and burned food offerings in the bamoth *and* upon the hills and under every green tree." Similarly, 2 Kgs 17:9–11 apparently distinguishes urban bamoth from hilltop installations featuring (only?) maṣṣeboth and asherim (cf. 1 Kgs 14:23 which seems defective; one does not "build"/*bnh* maṣṣeboth and asherim). The firmest evidential basis for the identification is Ezek 20:28–29 where, however, many commentators regard the pun in v 29 as a secondary or tertiary gloss (e.g., Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1* Hermeneia, 412).

**3. Appearance.** The biblical record says little about what a bamah may have looked like or how it was furnished. Since sacrificial activities were conducted there, bamoth would have contained altars of one sort or another (cf. 1 Chr 16:35–40; 21:29). Some undoubtedly also possessed maṣṣeboth and/or asherim. Each bamah undoubtedly was furnished with the special paraphernalia of the cultus conducted there, the details of which are no longer extant.

In terms of architecture, 1 Sam 9:1–10:16 provides a clue. The "sacrifice" to be held "in the bamah" (v 12) is not mentioned further in the story. We are told, however, that "Samuel took Saul and his servant and brought them to the *liškâ*" (v 22a) where a meal was consumed. According to the traditional view, a *liškâ* was a supplementary structure (a shelter or dining hall; cf. LXX, Targ, Vg) not intrinsically part of the bamah phenomenon. Elsewhere, however, the term is used exclusively in reference to architectural components of the temple complex in Jerusalem, "chambers" used to house temple personnel, cultic equipment, and offerings. The Gk version of 1 Sam 1:18b (which may be textually superior to the MT) reports that the "temple" *(hêkāl)* at Shiloh also had a *liškâ*, to which Hannah retired to eat. This associational consistency and functional variety indicate that *liškâ* (possibly a Mediterranean loanword)

may be the technical term for the more utilitarian architectural elements of the category of sanctuary we call "temples"—as illustrated by the Israelite temple complex at Arad, with its cult building, courtyard, and adjoining "chambers" (see Aharoni 1968; Herzog et al. 1984).

The occurrence of the term *liškâ* in 1 Sam 9:1–10:16 suggests that at least this bamah was a sanctuary of some architectural sophistication, not too different in its essentials from the sanctuary complex at Arad or, for that matter, the sanctuary complex in the royal quarter of Jerusalem—which one climbed up to and descended from, within which cultic acts were performed, which possessed *liškōt* (as well as altars, and even an asherah [2 Kgs 23:6]), which was "built" and "burned" (and, although the term is not used, was certainly capable of being "torn down")—which, in fact, meets all the criteria which the ancient writers have given us to identify a bamah.

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**HILEN** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥîlēn* (חִילֵן)]. Var. HOLON. A levitical town in Judah (only slightly to the east of Debir) assigned to the sons of Aaron (1 Chr 6:58). The same place appears as "Holon" in a second list of such towns (Josh 15:51). The difference in spelling could be due either to mechanical error or, as Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 75) suggests, to the likelihood that the Chronicler had access to another (and better preserved?) recension of the list than that preserved in Joshua. This town, along with a number of other towns in the list, probably came under Israelite control during the time of David. The prophet Jeremiah includes a Moabite town by the name of Holon in his oracle against that nation (Jer 48:21).

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**HILKIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥilqîyāhû* (חִלְקִיָּהוּ)]. **1.** A Levite, the son of Amzi, and father of Amaziah (1 Chr 6:30—Eng6:45). He was a descendant of Levi through Merari. His name occurs in the middle of a list justifying Ethan's rightful place as a levitical singer in the time of David. Oddly enough, his name is one among many others (see 1 Chr 6:29–33—Eng6:44–47) not paralleled in the list of Merari's descendants given earlier in 1 Chronicles 6 (see 1 Chr 6:4—Eng6:19; 6:14–15—Eng6:29–30). In view of the fact that one of the unparalleled names, Hashabiah (1 Chr 6:30—Eng6:15), occurs in connection with Ezra's activities (Ezra 8:19, 24; see also 7. below) the second Merari list in 1 Chronicles 6 need not be the literary creation of the Chronicler, but rather a reflection of the levitical guild structure of his own day, whose very legitimacy he was seeking to underscore (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 74).

**2.** A levitical gatekeeper, the second son of Hosah of the sons of Merari (1 Chr 26:11). His name appears in a chapter which attributes to the efforts of King David the elaborate levitical organization at work in a much later age. On the historicity of David's relationship to the Levites, see Hauer 1982: 41–44. It seems David had appointed Hilkiah's father, Hosah, as one of the gatekeepers in the days of the tent of the ark of the covenant in Jerusalem (1 Chr 16:38; 17:1). But in anticipation of the construction of the Solomonic temple, the Chronicler reports how the lot for the keeping of the gate of Shallecheth fell to Hosah and his sons (1 Chr 26:16). This gate was located apparently on the western side of the temple complex (yet cf. LXX B).

**3.** The father of Eliakim (2 Kgs 18:18 = Isa 36:3; 2 Kgs 18:26; 18:37 = Isa 36:22). He was the major-domo during the reign of King Hezekiah. In the oracle of Isa 22:20 it is said that Eliakim ben Hilkiah would succeed the arrogant Shebna as the king's major-domo. Understandably, in 701 B.C., he was one of the officials sent out from Hezekiah to parley with the Assyrian Rabshakeh during the invasion and siege of Jerusalem by King Sennacherib.

**4.** A levitical priest, the father of the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 1:1). Possibly he was a descendant of Abiathar, the last chief priest of the house of Eli, as he resided in the priestly town of Anathoth in the land of Benjamin, whither Abiathar centuries before had been exiled by Solomon (1 Kgs 2:26–27). This possible Shiloh connection may also be noted in Jeremiah's "temple sermon" (Jer 7:12, 14; 26:9).

**5.** A levitical high priest, the son of Shallum, and father of Azariah (III?), and grandfather of Seraiah (1 Chr 5:39–40—Eng6:13–14; 9:11; Ezra 7:1–2). He was active during the reign of King Josiah (2 Kgs 22:4 = 2 Chr 34:9). It was he who found "the Book of the Law" in the temple which helped play a role in Josiah's far-reaching reform movement (2 Kgs 22:8, 10, 12, 14; 23:4, 24; 2 Chr 34:14, 15, 18, 20, 22) and this king's celebration of the Passover (2 Chr 35:8; 1 Esdr 1:8). See JOSIAH (PERSON). Interestingly, in both Neh 11:11 and 1 Chr 9:11 he is called the son of Meshullam (= Shallum?). While 1 Chr 9:11 entitles this Hilkiah the father of Azariah, Neh 11:11 dubs him the father (not the grandfather) of Seraiah. He is also regarded as the progenitor of Ezra the priest (Ezra 7:1; 1 Esdr 8:1; 2 Esdr 1:1). In the apocryphal book of Baruch this same high priest (*chelkios*) is evidenced. Here Hilkiah is described as the son of Shallum, but he is also named as the father of an otherwise unknown priest named Jehoiakim who supposedly was the recipient of a gift of money collected among the exiles and sent to Jerusalem (Bar 1:7).

**6.** The father of Gemariah, the envoy of King Zedekiah to King Nebuchadnezzar (Jer 29:3). While on his mission he carried a letter from the prophet Jeremiah to the Jews in Babylon who had been exiled by Nebuchadnezzar in 597 B.C.

**7.** One of the priests who returned from exile with Zerubbabel and Jeshua in 536 B.C. (Neh 12:7). He is one of twenty-two leaders cited in Neh 12:1–7. As four major phratries are known to have accompanied Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Ezra 2:36–39 = Neh 7:39–42 = 1 Esdr 5:24–25) the mention of these twenty-two leaders here must refer to leaders of subgroupings within the same four larger phratries (Clines *Ezra* NCBC, 223). This Hilkiah became the progenitor of Hashabiah, the head of one of the important priestly

families in the time of Joiakim (Neh 12:21), the high priest who succeeded Jeshua (Neh 12:10) and who became the father of Eliashib, the contemporary of Nehemiah (Neh 3:1).

**8.** A contemporary of Ezra (Neh 8:4). He may be the same person as 7. above. He is named as one of a number of individuals who stood at the right hand of Ezra the priest as he read "the law of God" to the people. The closest that the parallel verse in 1 Esdr 9:43 comes to repeating his name is in its reference to the name Hezekiah [LXX *ezekias*].

**9.** The father of Susanna, Joakim's virtuous wife who was falsely accused of adultery and vindicated by the apocryphal Daniel (Sus v 2).

**10.** A progenitor of Baruch, the son of Neraiah (Bar 1:1). Baruch was the secretary of the prophet Jeremiah (Bar 1:1; Jer 36:4). The name occurs in the very first verse of Baruch, the apocryphal book purported to have been written by Baruch while in Babylonian captivity. The book of Jeremiah seems to support at least the latter part of the full ancestry given in Bar 1:1, when it calls Baruch "the son of Neriah the son of Mahseiah" (Jer 32:12). What is more, the historical Baruch seems to have had a brother by the name of Seraiah who is likewise described as "the son of Neriah, son of Mahseiah" (Jer 51:59). See BARUCH (PERSON) #1.

**11.** The son of Eliab and father of Elijah and grandfather of Ahitub. He is named as an ancestor of the apocryphal Judith, the pious widow who delivered her people from Holofernes (Jdt 8:1).

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**HILKIAH THE HASID.** Abba Ḥilkiah is an obscure Jew. He was "a great Hasid" (*hyh Ḥsyd gdwl; b. Taʿan.* 23a), but that description does not necessarily place him among the Hasidim. He lived in the second half of the 1st century B.C.E., since he was the grandson of Ḥoni Ha-Meaggel. Through the power of prayer he was able, like his famous grandfather, to control the fall of rain. While Ḥoni was asked by crowds to cause the rain to fall, Abba Ḥilkiah once received scholars sent by the rabbis who wanted him to influence God to send rain. He was exceedingly poor and had to seek work as a laborer and to borrow a cloak. It is reported that he performed numerous mysterious acts and had penetrating insight. Although a renowned miracle worker, he is never reported to have performed healing miracles.

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**HILLEL** (PERSON) [Heb *hillēl* (הִלֵּל)]. The father of the Israelite judge Abdon (Judg 12:13, 15).

**HILLEL THE ELDER.** Pharisaic leader of the late 1st century B.C.E., eponym and perhaps founder of the school of Pharisaic rabbinic leaders that ultimately shaped the Jewish tradition.

Precisely on account of the importance that came to be attached to Hillel's name, the task of extracting biographical information from the legends that surround him is extremely difficult. Hillel came to be remembered as the ideal sage (see Urbach 1971: 128), and stories recounting his acts and teachings are sometimes demonstrably didactic rather than historical in origin (Neusner 1971: 286). Even if the facts of the matter therefore cannot always be ascertained, however, the image of Hillel that was created by his successors can be described with some clarity.

Hillel is said to have immigrated as a young adult from Babylonia to Jerusalem (his Davidic ancestry was almost certainly a later invention; see Levi 1895); some traditions describe him as having arrived already possessing great learning (*y. Pesaḥ.* 6:1, 33a; *t. Neg.* 1:16; *Sipra* Tazria 9:16), others place him in the chain of Pharisaic (i.e., Jerusalem) tradition as the disciple of Shemaiah and Abtalyon (e.g., *m. ʾAbot* 1:12; *Ḥag.* 2:2) without reference to any previous teachers. He quickly rose to prominence, and according to tradition after solving a problem concerning the Passover offering that no one else could settle he became the leader *(nāśîʾ)* of the entire movement *(y. Pesaḥ.* 6:1, 33a; *b. Pesaḥ.* 66ab; *t. Pesaḥ.* 4:13). Later generations identified him with other great founders or refounders of the tradition (Moses: *Sipre* Ve-

Zot Ha-Berakhah 357; Ezra: *b. Sukk.* 20a; *Soṭa* 48b); of his successors, only Yoḥanan b. Zakkai and Akiba were considered his equals.

The enactment most commonly associated with Hillel's name is the *pĕrôzbl* (from the Gk *prosboulē*), a procedure whereby creditors could avoid the cancellation of debt every seven years; this innovation is said to have been ordained because lenders would refuse to make loans as the sabbatical year grew closer (*Šeb.* 10.2–4; *Sipre* Reeh 113; see Neusner 1971: 217–23).

Hillel's reported teachings, especially the series of sayings included in the Mishnaic tractate *ʾAbot* ("Ethics of the Fathers") embody a number of fundamental rabbinic conceptions, such as "Do not separate yourself from the community" (2:4), "If I am not for myself who will be for me, but if I am for myself alone what am I?" (1:14), or "Be among the disciples of Aaron, who loved peace and pursued it" (1:12). Similarly, his behavior in numerous situations is portrayed as that of the ideal sage or scholar of Torah: when he could not afford the fee to a public lecture, he hid on the roof of the building and listened through a skylight even though he wound up covered by snow (*b. Yoma* 35b), and when badgered by a would-be convert who would accept Judaism only under impossible conditions he replied, "Do not do to another what you would not wish done to yourself; that is the whole Torah. The rest is commentary; go and study" (*b. Šabb.* 31a).

The earliest known list of rules *(mīddôt)* for proper exegesis of the Torah is attributed to Hillel, though it is nowhere suggested that Hillel actually invented the procedures in question or formulated their enumeration. These procedures appear in the story about the Passover offering already mentioned, and are also listed in his name at *t. Sanh.* 7:11.

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**HIN** [Heb *hîn* (הִין)]. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**HINNOM VALLEY** (PLACE) [Heb *gê hinnôm* (גֵּי הִנֹּם)]. A narrow gorge curving along the W and S sides of Jerusalem. The valley begins near the modern Jaffa Gate as a shallow valley, turns S at the gate for approximately a half mile, and winds to the E, deepening to become a gorge as it reaches the Kidron Valley. Besides the designation "Valley of Hinnom" (Josh 15:8; Neh 11:30), the valley is also referred to as "valley of the son of Hinnom" (*gê ben-hinnôm;* Josh 15:8 [var.]; 18:16; 2 Chr 28:3; 33:6; Jer 7:31–32; 19:2, 6; 32:35; Q in 2 Kgs 23:10), "valley of the sons of Hinnom" (*gê bĕnê-hinnôm;* K in 2 Kgs 23:10), and "the valley" (*haggayʾ;* 2 Chr 26:9; Neh 2:13, 15; 3:13; Jer 2:23; cf. 31:40). These forms of "son" or "sons of" suggest that Hinnom is a personal name.

**A. Hinnom in the Biblical Record**

The Valley of Hinnom was accessed from Jerusalem through the Potsherd Gate (Jer 19:2) and the Valley Gate (Neh 2:13, 15; 3:13). The valley marked the E to W boundary between the tribal holdings of Judah and Benjamin (Josh 15:8; 18:16).

During the Monarchy, the valley was the site of idolatry. It was there that kings Ahaz and Manasseh burned incense and sacrificed their own sons as burnt offerings to Molech (2 Chr 28:3; 33:6). As a reform measure to prevent the Israelites from such practices, Josiah defiled the Topheth, the junction of the Hinnom, Kidron, and Tyropoeon valleys below Siloam near Jerusalem (2 Kgs 23:10).

By the time of Jeremiah the Valley of Hinnom was infamous for Baal worship, so much so that Jeremiah could simply refer to it as "the valley" (Jer 2:23). Jeremiah prophesied that because of judgment for the sacrifice of children in Hinnom, there would be so many dead on the Day of the Lord that the

valley would be renamed the Valley of Slaughter (Jer 7:31–32; 19:5–6). The valley was the N limit of the postexilic settlements of the tribe of Judah (Neh 11:30).

In light of passages which speak of the judgment upon Israel's enemies in a valley near Jerusalem (Isa 30:29–33; 66:24; Joel 3:2, 12, 14) and the worship of underworld deities (Molech) in the Valley of Hinnom, the valley became a fiery place of judgment known by the transliteration "Gehenna." Gehenna was both a place of eschatological judgment in the environs of Jerusalem and an otherworldly place of judgment for the wicked. See GEHENNA (PLACE).

**B. The Location of Hinnom**

The location of the valley has been identified with any of the three valleys outside Jerusalem: the Kidron Valley E of Jerusalem, the Wâdī er-Rabâbi to the W of Jerusalem, and the Tyropoeon Valley which lies in between these two valleys. The identification which emerged at the turn of the century and still enjoys scholarly consensus is the Wâdī er-Rabâbi.

The Kidron Valley was the identification popular with early Christian, Moslem, and Jewish writers. The Kidron probably became a candidate when the location of the Valley of Hinnom was uncertain, but yet associated with fiery judgment. In light of Isa 66:24 which describes a scene of fiery judgment of Israel's enemies visible from the Temple Mount, the Kidron Valley probably was associated with Hinnom because it lies the closest to the Mount. This identification is questionable because the Kidron is never called a *gayʾ* (valley without a winter brook, a gorge), as is Hinnom, but a *naḥal* (a valley with a winter brook, a wadi). Also, the Valley Gate which opened into the Valley of Hinnom did not lie on the E of Jerusalem before the Kidron, but on the W over either the Tyropoeon or Wâdī er-Rabâbi near the present Jaffa Gate.

The Tyropoeon Valley is usually no longer associated with the Valley of Hinnom. During the Monarchy, in the period of Ahaz and Manasseh, the Tyropoeon lay within the walls of Jerusalem and child sacrifice would have been practiced outside the walls of the city. The Wâdī er-Rabâbi is the best identification, fitting the data of Joshua that the Valley of Hinnom ran E and W and lay outside the city walls. According to Joshua, the valley began in En-rogel. If the modern Bîr Ayyûb is correctly identified as En-rogel, then the Wâdī er-Rabâbi which begins there is the Valley of Hinnom.

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**HIRAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥîrâ* (חִירָה)]. The Adullamite mentioned in Genesis 38, the Tamar and Judah interlude of the Joseph story, with whom Judah was staying (Gen 38:1) when he married the Canaanite woman, the daughter of Shua. In vv 12 and 20–23, he is described as Judah's friend who accompanied him to Timnah for sheep shearing, and who was sent by Judah with a kid to pay the prostitute (the disguised Tamar) for her sexual favors and to redeem the pledges (his staff and seal) which Judah had left with her. In these verses, the LXX and Vg call him Judah's shepherd *(poimēn, pastor, opilio)* rather than his friend, which probably resulted from a reading of *rōʿeȟ,* "his shepherd," for *rēʿēȟ,* "his friend." Some scholars have seen Hirah as an elder of a particular tribal group in the Shephelah or as representing a tribal designation.

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**HIRAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥîrām* (חִירָם)]. Var. HURAM, HURAMABI. The name of two persons in the Hebrew Bible, both associated in some way with Tyre.

**1.** A king of Tyre (ca. 969–936 B.C.E.) who was involved in commercial relations with David and Solomon (2 Sam 5:11; 1 Kgs 5:15—Eng5:1). There is some confusion over the spelling of Hiram's name. It is usually found in the form *ḥîrām* (2 Sam 5:11 and 1 Kgs 5, 9 and 10), except in 1 Kgs 5:24—Eng5:10 and 5:32—Eng5:18 where it is spelled *ḥîrôm.* The Chronicler (2 Chr 1:18–2:15—Eng2:1–16) invariably

uses a variant form, *ḥûrām.* Josephus *(Antiquities; Contra Apionem)* uses the form "Hirom" *(Eiromos).* The biblical name Hiram is a shortened version of the Phoenician "Ahiram" *(ʾahiram),* which is found as the name of a king of Byblos on an inscribed sarcophagus at Byblos (ANET, 661).

Our information about Hiram and Tyre during this period is dependent upon the biblical traditions and the Jewish historian Josephus. Katzenstein (1973: 75–115) provides a discussion of some of the problems of interpreting and correlating these sources. According to Josephus (*AgAp* 1.106–11), Tyre kept very detailed chronicles of its internal affairs and foreign relations. Josephus draws upon the biblical account and two other historians, Dius and Menander of Ephesus, using the no longer extant history of Dius (*AgAp* 1.112–15; *Ant* 8.147–49), "an accurate historian of Phoenicia," in outlining the main achievements of Hiram's reign. Dius reportedly credits Hiram with the construction of embankments to level the eastern part of the city, the enlargement of the city, the creation of a causeway to the temple of Zeus (Baal) and the logging of timber from Lebanon for the construction of temples. Dius also reports that Hiram and Solomon used to set riddles for each other as part of a wager: Hiram, it seems, lost a large part of his wealth gambling with Solomon until Abdemun ("Abdemon" in *Ant* 8.149) solved them and recuperated even more money from Solomon, who was unable to solve the riddles he posed. Josephus claims (*AgAp* 1.111) that much of this correspondence was still preserved in the Tyrian archives during his own time. His other source, Menander of Ephesus, adds further information about Hiram (*AgAp* 1.116–121; *Ant* 8.144–460). He reports that Hiram succeeded his father Abibaal *(Abibalos),* lived for fifty-three years and reigned for thirty-four years. Apart from the general building program mentioned by Dius, Menander recounts that Hiram also demolished a number of temples, built shrines to Heracles (Melkart) and Ashtarte, and conducted a successful campaign against Utica for its refusal to pay tribute. The reliability of Josephus' information is difficult to assess without further independent evidence, particularly in light of the apologetic nature of his writings.

The strategic position of Tyre, modern-day Ṣûr ca. 40 km south of Sidon, on the Mediterranean littoral was enhanced by its location on a small island offshore which protected it against siege and contributed to its rise as one of the most important maritime powers in the eastern Mediterranean. The Phoenician colony of Carthage in North Africa was founded in the 9th century B.C.E. along with other trading colonies in Spain. The biblical account of Hiram's relations with David and Solomon, not unnaturally, concentrates on their major commercial activities. Hiram is said to have supplied workmen and raw materials for the palace of David (2 Sam 5:11) shortly after the capture of Jerusalem. Soggin (1984: 56) believes that since Hiram was a contemporary of Solomon any overlap ought to come at the end of David's reign, not the beginning. He is not able to offer a convincing explanation for this reference except to say that the sources were probably confused over the chronology. Garbini (1986: 22–25) also questions the veracity of 2 Sam 5:11 since the biblical chronology would mean that Hiram reigned for a minimum of fifty-four years, which conflicts with Josephus' information on his life and reign. This problem has been noted by McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB, 145–46), who thinks that it is chronologically misplaced and is to be attributed to the Deuteronomist.

The two biblical accounts (1 Kgs 5:15–32—Eng5:1–18 and 2 Chr 1:18–2:15—Eng2:1–16) differ considerably with regard to Solomon's relationship with Hiram. 1 Kgs 5:15 (Eng 5:1) reports that Hiram made the initial contact after Solomon's accession to the throne. He then agreed to Solomon's request for timber and labor for his massive building projects in return for an annual shipment of wheat and oil. The Chronicler (2 Chr 2:1—Eng2:3), however, credits Solomon with initiating the transaction for raw materials and skilled labor necessary for the building of the temple. The wheat, barley, wine, and oil was to be given to the workers rather than sent to Tyre to feed its population. This account appears to have been edited in line with the Chronicler's idealization of Solomon. It is generally concluded that Solomon's temple was designed by Phoenician craftsmen in accord with Syro-Palestinian models (Bright *BHI,* 218), presumably adapted to fit the Israelite milieu.

Kings and Chronicles also report important commercial activities during the reigns of Hiram and Solomon (Peckham 1976). Hiram is said to have supplied Solomon with ships and sailors for the commercial fleet at Ezion-geber on the Red Sea (1 Kgs 9:26–28; 10:11, 22; 2 Chr 8:17–18; 9:10, 21). The

exact details of this commercial relationship and the precise extent of the trade network are not easy to determine. It is not clear whether Solomon or Hiram owned the fleet (1 Kgs 9:26–28; cf. 10:11–12) or whether they combined their ships as part of the commercial operations (1 Kgs 10:22). It seems that this fleet operated along the African and Arabian coasts of the Red Sea, dealing in high-cost and low-bulk luxury items such as gold, silver, ivory, and exotic animals. The location of Ophir and Tarshish are uncertain. Ophir is variably placed in India, Somaliland, and Arabia, while Tarshish is thought to have been in Spain or Cilicia (Dillard *2 Chronicles* WBC, 66, 73). Ophir is mentioned on ostraca from Tell Qasile dating from the 9th or 8th centuries. The Chronicler's reference to Solomon and Hiram's fleet visiting Tarshish (2 Chr 9:21) is usually viewed as a misunderstanding of the term "ships of Tarshish" (1 Kgs 10:22). It is hardly feasible that a fleet would circumnavigate Africa in order to trade in the Mediterranean. This phrase is taken to refer to a particular type or class of ships (Gray *Kings* OTL, 267). The two locations have also been understood to refer to a mythical or symbolic geography indicating that the fleet traded far and wide (Soggin 1984: 78). Israel and Phoenicia sat astride the major overland trade routes between Africa, Asia, and Europe and with the development of maritime activities along the African and Arabian coasts must have been able to fully exploit their strategic position. Hiram's trade relations appear to have been cemented by marriage since Solomon is reported to have married a Sidonian princess (1 Kgs 11:1). Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 1.114) quotes Menander of Pergamum that Hiram's daughter was married to Solomon when Menelaus visited Phoenicia after the capture of Troy.

The report that Solomon ceded twenty cities "in the land of Galilee" to Hiram (1 Kgs 9:10–14) is often interpreted as inferring that his trading operations ran into serious trouble and he was forced by debt or by the need to raise capital to give Hiram these cities (Bright *BHI*, 222; Miller and Hayes *HAIJ*, 216). Donner (1982) has argued that Hiram exploited commercial advantages to the detriment of Solomon's kingdom. Gray (*Kings* OTL, 240) argues that the term *ʿîr*, "city," refers rather to "villages." Their exact location is uncertain. The phrase "the land of Cabul" (cf. Josh 19:27) would suggest the vicinity of Acco. Gray (*Kings* OTL, 241) rejects the popular etymology and understands the term as a passive participle from the Arabic cognate *kabala*, meaning "mortgaged." Josephus (*Ant* 8.141–42) refers to the "land of Chabalon" *(chabalon)* and states that this is the Phoenician for "not pleasing." The Chronicler's version of this episode (2 Chr 8:1–2) presents a different picture in which Solomon rebuilt the cities given to him by Hiram and settled Israelites in them. Once again this would appear to be a reflection of the theological idealization of Solomon in the work of the Chronicler. Willi (1972: 75–78), however, believes that the Chronicler based his report on a text of Kings that was corrupt. Miller and Hayes (*HAIJ*, 216) conclude that Hiram controlled the Mediterranean coast and a large area of the Jezreel Valley by the end of Solomon's reign.

**2.** A skilled craftsman and metalworker responsible for the decoration of Solomon's temple, including the erection of Jachin and Boaz (1 Kgs 7:13–47). He is called Hiram *(hîrām)* in 1 Kgs 7:13, 45, Hirom in 1 Kgs 7:40 *(hîrôm;* LXX *cheiram),* Huram *(hûrām)* in 2 Chr 4:11, and Huramabi *(hûrām-ʾābî)* in 2 Chr 2:13; 4:16. The addition of the element *-ʾabî* may be part of the name or it has been explained as a title, "my master (craftsman)" (Dillard *2 Chronicles* WBC, 20).

The details of his parents are also confused. In 1 Kgs 7:14 he is said to be the son of a Tyrian father and a woman of Naphtali. However, in 2 Chr 2:12 his mother is remembered as a Danite. Dillard (*2 Chronicles* WBC, 4–5) believes that the Chronicler changed Huramabi's descent to that of a Danite in order to draw a parallel with Oholiab and the construction of the tabernacle. The Chronicler draws a parallel between the construction of the temple and the making of the tabernacle by comparing Solomon with Bezalel and Huramabi with Oholiab. The addition of the element *-ʾab* to the end of his name has also been explained as making the parallel with Oholiab more explicit. The timing of the introduction of Huram in the Chronicler's account draws out the parallel further since in 1 Kgs 7:13–47 he is introduced only after the completion of the temple and palace (1 Kgs 6:38–7:1) and is responsible only for the bronze work (1 Kgs 7:13–47). In the Chronicler's account Huram arrives at the very beginning of the building of the temple and is responsible for extensive craftwork corresponding to the timing and range of work carried out by Oholiab on the tabernacle.

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**HIRI, RUJM EL-.** See RUJM EL-HIRI (M.R. 225257).

**HISTORIOGRAPHY.** Because a main component of biblical writings is narrative about past persons and events, "historiography" (the recounting of the past) is a major element in biblical literature. This entry consists of three articles that attempt to put biblical historiography in context. The first explores history writing in the great cultures of Mesopotamia; the second focuses specifically upon Israelite historiography especially as this is attested in the Old Testament; and the third surveys historiography in the Greco-Roman world.

### *MESOPOTAMIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY*

Ancient Mesopotamian civilization was made up of three major peoples, the Sumerians, the Babylonians, and the Assyrians, and the cultural continuity from the Sumerians to the Assyrians and Babylonians is a vital factor in the genius of Mesopotamian civilization and certainly in the attitude of these people toward the passage of time and past events, which is reflected in what are called "historiographical texts." The Babylonians and Assyrians were the cultural heirs of the Sumerians and despite the fact that they spoke a language which was entirely different from the Sumerians their ideas and customs were very much conditioned by the earlier civilization. Since Mesopotamian civilization endured for over 3000 years inevitably some changes did take place and new developments appeared after Sumerian times; nevertheless the innovations in Assyrian and Babylonian times were surprisingly few and limited at least in their view of world events. It is also a fact that although Assyrian and Babylonian civilizations were contemporaneous and had a common heritage, there were some differences in the way they wrote about their past and about the passage of time in general. Babylonian historians were much closer in their views to Sumerian historians than were Assyrians. Assyrian royal scribes were much more concerned with the image of the king and his activity as a warrior whereas Sumerian and Babylonian scribes were more interested in the religious and peaceful activities of their rulers. This fundamental difference comes out very strongly in their writing about the past.

The historiographical texts, with which we are concerned here, form part of what has been called the "stream of tradition," that is, texts which were preserved in Ancient Mesopotamian libraries. There is some evidence of an oral tradition in Sumer, Babylonia, and Assyria in historical times which has survived in later literature about such figures as Semiramis and Ahiqar, and this is an indication that contemporaneous with the official records of past events there were popular tales being passed down in the vernacular. Toward the end of Mesopotamian civilization, just after the conquest of Alexander the Great, a Babylonian priest, Berossos, wrote a history of Babylonia in Greek in order to educate the Greeks about what a real civilization was like, for the Babylonians regarded the Greeks as barbarians with no history or culture.

Let us first describe briefly the various types of historiographical texts and then conclude with a discussion of Mesopotamian ideas of the past. There were three major types of historiographical texts: royal inscriptions, chronographic texts, and historical-literary texts. Royal inscriptions in Sumer, Babylonia, and Assyria were originally written as pious reports by the ruler to a god that he had performed some deed to honor his commitment as representative of the god on earth. This usually involved a building enterprise such as the excavation of an irrigation canal or the construction of a temple. Thus in origin, royal inscriptions were building inscriptions. From this original purpose royal inscriptions

developed into elaborate records of royal achievements written not only as reports to the god but for future peoples to read and admire. In Sumer and Babylonia the chief content of these inscriptions, in addition to the description of the building projects, concerned religious matters. Military events, even in the heyday of the NB Empire, were rarely mentioned. This is in contrast to Assyrian royal inscriptions where the major part of the narrative concerned the military campaigns of the Assyrian kings. In fact in Assyria, a special type of royal inscription, annals, developed; that is, year-by-year accounts of the royal campaigns in chronological sequence.

The term "chronographic texts" covers a wide variety of compositions, most of which could be characterized as either king lists or chronicles. Among the many documents belonging to this general category were the Sumerian King List, the Assyrian King List, various lists of Babylonian kings, and the Babylonian Chronicle series. The feature all of these texts have in common is an attempt to narrate or list information in chronological sequence.

The category "historical-literary texts" is very amorphous and includes a number of compositions which are really unique. Among these were the historical epics, the prophecies (see also APOCALYPSES AND APOCALYPTICISM [AKKADIAN]), and pseudo-autobiographies. The feature which all of these individual texts have in common is that they present a description of historical events in a highly developed literary style.

Now let us turn to Mesopotamian ideas of the past and the passage of time in general as these ideas appear in the compositions described above as well as in some other sources. The most prominent feature is that Sumerians, Babylonians, and Assyrians were intensely interested in their past and conscious that their civilization had a long history. This comes out very strongly at the end of their civilization when Berossus set about the task of educating the Greeks on what an ancient civilization was all about. This fundamental interest in their history was intuitive and in many ways as essential to them as eating or drinking. This is apparent in the Babylonian Chronicle series, which is a series of cuneiform tablets upon which the history of Babylonia in the late period is succinctly described year by year. Inevitably events had to be selected according to what the scribes regarded as "important" and all events revolved around the king of Babylonia. Nevertheless within these restrictions the presentation of events was quite objective and so, for example, the Babylonian chroniclers recorded impassively Babylonian defeats on the battlefield. In other words they simply wanted to record each year the most important events in Babylonian history for the sake of recording them.

Ancient Mesopotamians were not above using history for other purposes, however. Causes could be furthered and ideas disseminated by means of compositions about former times. There are many chronographic texts which were written in order to justify institutions and promote theories. Thus an Assyrian document called the Synchronistic History, a brief description of Assyro-Babylonian relations over several centuries, was written to prove that whenever Babylonia attacked Assyria, Babylonia was in the wrong and lost; this text was written in a period when Assyria in fact was losing on the battlefield to Babylonia and was an attempt to stir up Assyrian morale. In the same vein the Cuthean *Legend of Naram-Sin* was written in the late period to revive interest at the royal court in divination by extispicy, the examination of animal entrails, in contrast to the increasing popularity of divination by astrology.

The ancient Mesopotamian view of the passage of time and of the past in particular is, after several decades of modern scholarship, reasonably clear. To the Sumerian, Assyrian, and Babylonian past, present, and future were all part of one continuous stream of events in heaven and earth. There was a beginning in the distant past but there was no middle or end; gods and men continued *ad infinitum.*

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## *ISRAELITE HISTORIOGRAPHY*

Since the mid–19th century, under the influence of the historicism of Herder and Hegel and in reaction to the empiricism of French and English scholarship, the genre of historiography has been increasingly used to describe biblical narrative. Although throughout the history of its use in biblical scholarship, and in modern usage generally, the term "historiography" often loosely refers to any of the many genres of prose narrative including tale and story, imaginary or real, the ancient and particularly the classical Greek genre of historiography used the term in a much narrower, more restrictive sense. This more distinctive meaning has been maintained also in its present usage, namely, as a specific literary genre relating to critical descriptions and evaluations of past reality and events, in contrast to more fictional varieties of prose.

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### A. Nonbiblical Historiographic Traditions

**1. Hittite Historiography.** An essential aspect of early Hittite historiographical texts is that the truth of statements about historical or mythical time is explicitly maintained or challenged (Cancik 1970: 7–8). The concepts of truth, facticity, and historicity comprise a central pivotal concept in the writing of the annals of Hattusili I and especially of Mursili II (Cancik 1976: 101–84). Similarly, the Babylonian Chronicle (747–539 B.C.), in contrast (for example) to the religiously tendentious Assyrian annals, also seems to hold historicity as a central structural value (Van Seters 1983: 79–80). It is certainly from such annals and chronicles that ancient Near Eastern historiography develops, separate and independent of the epical and literarily fictive narrative traditions.

**2. Greek Historiography.** Within Greek literary traditions, a similar concern for historicity developed among the *logographoi* ("prose writers") who considered their task one of *historía* ("research") seeking to offer a true and correct version of both the traditional past and of mythology. The first to systematically evaluate and criticize traditional Greek folk narrative with logic and rationality was Hecataeus of Miletus, who had a wide personal experience of travel and a considerable knowledge of both geography and ethnography. While much of the work of his successors, including Herodotus, was ethnographic, archival, and antiquarian in nature, the critical task which Hecataeus established with *historía* became the dominant factor in the "scientific" history of Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian War.

Early Greek historiographers, like their ANE counterparts, developed the genre of *historía* in terms of rational critical research and as an evaluative science, in contrast to the more imaginative literary and poetic traditions of epic and mythology. The criterion for this discipline of historiography was historicity: the truth of the events recounted.

In sharp contrast to this extensive historiographical tradition of Greece from the early 5th century B.C. on, and to some extent, even to that of the Hittites of a much earlier age, biblical tradition does not present us with any critical historiographical production prior to the Hellenistic work of Jason of Cyrene, which has been summarized in 2 Maccabees (2 Macc 2:23). Certainly it is most likely that from the time of the Assyrian Empire, the minor political courts of Syria-Palestine, and those of Samaria and Judah among them, maintained the kinds of lists, inscriptions, and annals, and even perhaps court chronicles, which we find in Assyrian and Mesopotamian records. However, such early historical forms we know only by way of later reference (e.g., of Tyre: Josephus *Ant* 7.144–46; 9.283–85; *AgAp* 1.155–57; of Byblos: Philo of Byblos [Attridge and Oden 1986]; of Israel: 1 Kgs 14:19, etc.; of Judah: 1 Kgs 14:29, etc.) and such references may either have been invented, or like perhaps the Books of Jashar (Josh 10:13), of the Wars of Yahweh (Num 21:14), of the Acts of Solomon (1 Kgs 11:41), of the Toledoth of Mankind (Gen 5:1), and of the Law of Moses (Josh 8:31) have been non-historiographical sources for the biblical tradition.

Although it is commonplace today to refer to "the historical books," to Deuteronomistic and even Yahwistic "histories," to "patriarchal biographies" and a "court history" of David, an equivalent of the word "history" does not exist in Hebrew, and a developed genre of historiography is particularly difficult to associate with the kind of prose narratives collected in the Hebrew Bible. Historiography proper seems unlikely to have been part of the Palestinian literary culture prior to the Hellenistic period. Both 2 Maccabees and Josephus stand fully within the tradition of Greek historiography, in striking contrast to Hebrew prose narrative.

The role of historiography in biblical literature is an issue of wide disagreement among biblical scholars. This debate has taken quite distinct but closely interrelated directions. The definition of historiography has been broadened to include a wider range of narrative prose. Dominant examples of this tendency are both the common perception of biblical narrative as an account of Israel's past, ordered chronologically, and the adoption of J. Huizinga's more theoretical definition of history writing as "the intellectual form in which a civilization renders account to itself of its past" (*apud* Van Seters 1983: 1). Such broader views of early Israelite historiography allow many modern scholars to understand the documentary sources of the Pentateuch, the final editions of the "Former Prophets," and the compilations of 1–2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah as historiographies, and to speak of their authors as historians. In this they define a genre and tradition which stands in direct contrast to the genre and traditions of Mesopotamian, Hittite, and Greek historiography (*contra* Van Seters 1983; Hallo 1980).

Closely related to this broadening of the genre of historiography is the understanding of biblical historiography as an intellectual tradition of morally and religiously critical commentary on Israel's past, reflected in the biblical texts. This intellectual tradition, most notably centering on themes of "promise," "covenant," and various forms of "divine providence," has been seen to inform a wide range of literature. In terms of "salvation history," it is seen to form the core of the Pentateuch; especially, for example, of the so-called "Yahwistic theology." It has also strongly influenced both the content and collection of the prophetic books and has been seen as the motivating force behind the formation of the so-called Deuteronomistic History. Similar theological *Tendenz* is recognizable in almost all of Hebrew narrative: in Ruth, Jonah, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The recognition of an ever-recurrent concern for and judgment about Israel's past is so marked in this scholarship that Israel's faith is commonly understood as preeminently a historical faith. This is a theory or philosophy of history, making of biblical historiography not so much a genre as a frame of mind.

These tendencies to understand historiography as playing a decisive role in the form (genre) and content (themes) of biblical tradition have been strongly influenced by two related developments within critical scholarship: The "biblical theology" movement, which until the 1960s understood "salvation history" not as a literary subgenre within the tradition but as a viable historical view about Israel's past, centered the

focus of the Bible's theological content on assumptions about both the historicity and the historiographical intent of the traditions. Similarly, the long-standing efforts of historical-critical scholarship since Wellhausen and Meyer has attempted to reconstruct a criticial modern history of Israel by using biblical narrative as its primary source.

**B. The Content of Biblical Historiography**

**1. Ordered Chronology.** Prose narratives, whether historical or fictional, typically proceed through successive actions or events; that is, they speak chronologically. Both fictional and historical narratives speak from the historical context of the narrator in terms of what has happened, whether real or imagined; that is, they speak of a past. What distinguishes them, and what distinguishes historiography from other narrative genre, is neither their content nor mode of speech, and certainly not such tangential issues as their plausibility and verisimilitude, but rather their referent as perceived by their author. The referent of historiography lies within *a world of the past understood as true and real, and as probable in terms of evidence.* The referent of fictional literature, on the other hand, lies within a *conceptional realm, understood as valid and possible, in terms of the author's own making.* The distinction between the two lies within the intentionality of the authors and in their assumptions regarding the reality of the past of which they write. There is little difficulty in distinguishing historical from fictional literature when the author's intention is clear and explicit. However, such is rarely the case with biblical literature. Moreover, when the received tradition presents itself in large complexes of interrelated units of tradition, extending themselves over enormous reaches of time, the interplay of the motives of multiple authors necessarily precludes any simple or indeed any comprehensive designation of genres based on authorial intention.

**2. Source Criticism.** For most of the last two centuries, the larger tradition complexes, such as the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets, have been understood to contain smaller units of tradition with single narratives and complexes of narratives, as well as extensive narrative frameworks which hold the smaller units together in a more or less continuous chain of narration from the creation story (Genesis 1) to the story of the deportation into Babylon (at the end of 2 Kings). This understanding has led to extensive research into both the history of traditions and into compositional theory. By the end of the first decade of the 20th century, compositional theory was dominated by the Graf-Kuenan-Wellhausen Documentary Hypothesis of source criticism, which understood the formation of the Pentateuch in terms of four chronologically successive parallel strands of tradition. Not only did the Documentary Hypothesis establish a relative chronology for the pentateuchal source documents, but this same framework has served several generations of scholars as a much-needed basis for Israel's intellectual history. The earliest source of the Yahwist ("J") was seen to reflect the Jerusalem court of the united monarchy. The Elohist ("E") was associated with the period of the divided monarchy and the thought-world of the northern kingdom. Deuteronomy ("D") was linked with the Josianic reforms of 2 Kings and was dated to the late 7th century; and the Priestly Document ("P") was tied to the exilic, and ultimately postexilic, period, marking the transition to what Protestant scholarship saw as the legalistic and xenophobic world of Ezra's and Nehemiah's Judaism.

Once the Documentary Hypothesis was firmly in place, not only could the Pentateuch be understood within an historical-critical perspective, but most of the rest of early biblical narrative could be cataloged within associated contexts, forming mutually supportive interpretive matrices of considerable explanatory potential for the entire pre-Hellenistic biblical tradition. Among the least popular implications of Wellhausen's history of pentateuchal thought was the necessary collusion between the historical contexts of his documents and their referents in a now seemingly only literary past. The sources were understood as mere refractions of the world of their authors.

**3. Form Criticism.** It was the work of the historian Eduard Meyer (1896) and the pioneering form-critical work of Herman Gunkel (*Genesis* HKAT$^{3}$) and Hugo Gressmann (1910), concentrating on the orality of the smaller units of tradition within a framework of comparative religion, which finally established for most of the individual Pentateuch narratives a context within ANE and world literature, providing a network of analogies of both content and form. This work became significant in issues of biblical historiography in its implied repudiation of Wellhausen's axiom that the historical context of the

traditions must needs be understood as consonant with their literary fixation. Rather, a substantial oral tradition was seen as responsible for much of the content of Wellhausen's written pentateuchal documents, having had a considerable history prior to their final and secondary written context, perhaps long antedating even the united monarchy of J. The implicitly conservative thrust of this research was not apparent in the early Gunkel or in Gressmann, who both frequently expressed what threatened to become a dominant assumption that Israel's earliest stories had originated as oral folktales and as wholly imaginative works of entertainment. Only over time, it was at first thought, through the influence of the ideological and at times theological and historiographical thrust of a growing literary tradition, had these original folktales become historicized in the manner described by the Documentary Hypothesis. Rather, it was the brilliant and prolific Otto Eissfeldt who, in the Gunkel Festschrift itself, transposed Gunkel's arbitrary assumption about the fictive origination of the tradition, and asserted a historical rootedness of the traditions in terms of such then seemingly pervasive genres as *"Stammessage"* and *"Menschheitserzählungen."* Eissfeldt argued that the referents of the tradition were, in their origin, refractions of the sociopolitical associations of earliest Israel. Historical realities lay at the core of the traditions and gave them their earliest *raison d'être* as historical memories. The pentateuchal traditions had their roots in history. Real events lay behind their narration. However, over time, Eissfeldt admitted, the narratives had undergone a folkloric mutation which often hid this essential historical quality from modern perception. With such arguments, the working assumption was established which formed the basis for an ever-uneasy marriage of source and form criticism: that ultimately historical events lay under the hoary accretions of pentateuchal tradition. It is hardly surprising that Martin Noth in the development of his *Überlieferungsgeschichte* and *Traditionsgeschichte* took for granted that originating tradition was consonant with originating event, allowing Tradition History to become the primary tool of his historical research. Noth also held as a corollary that the mutations which occurred during the process of tradition accumulation inherently reflected comparable historical experiences of the tradent. It is from such assumptions that his confidence in describing a premonarchic period of early Israel, and his belief in the historicity of the peaceful settlement of an original Israel as reflected in the book of Judges, grew. Noth rejected the historicity of most of the patriarchal period only because he could not identify any convincingly coherent tradent which might be identified as the tradition's implicit referent at any time prior to Israel's emergence in Palestine, other than a very undefined association with migratory movements of early West Semitic groups which he referred to as "proto-Aramaeans."

**C. The Form of Biblical Historiography**

**1. Historiographical Genres.** The adoption of Huizinga's definition by biblical scholars (Hallo 1980; Van Seters 1983: 1) understands historiography in essentially fictive categories, placing the early forms of ANE historiography, such as lists, inscriptions, annals, and the like, into the category of mere record-keeping, and preserving the category of historiography for *history interpreted.* Such a definition also ignores the origins of Greek and Hittite historiography specifically as a critical discipline, and blurs the distinctions of a wide variety of literary and narrative genres from etiology to propaganda. The adoption of this understanding of historiography for the biblical traditions is dependent on a perception of the larger blocks of prose narrative as substantially unitary and historiographically motivated productions of literary authors, and denies both the fragmentary nature and the potentially oral and folkloric roots of the smaller units collected within the literary contexts of the larger frameworks. Moreover, while moral, ideological, and theological tendentiousness is a common trait of these larger frameworks which collect Israel's traditions, to understand such literary perspectives in terms of Israel seeking self-understanding not only confuses categories, but also attributes to a peripheral and occasional characteristic of only some historiography the essence of the genre itself. A definition centering on a nation's self-understanding is far more appropriate to ethnography, to genealogies and constitutional narratives, to origin stories, and to much mythology, than it is to historiography.

To define the genre of historiography one must of necessity distinguish in prose narrative traditions a considerable number of discrete formal types: etiologies, traditional tales, fables, parables, legends, myths, *Standesgeschichte, Stammesgeschichte* (tribal histories), genealogical tales, romances,

geographical tales, biographies, constitutional tales, origin stories, ethnographies, and historiographies. One must also distinguish simple from compound tales, and these from various forms of chains of narratives. Similarly, occasional historiographical tales (Genesis 14?) must be sharply distinguished from identifiable historiographic intentionality that has informed the collection and transmission process of the tradition (Exodus 1–15), and both of these must be distinguished from those greater literary works of tradition collection which may or may not have assumed that the tradition sources had reflected a real or only a usable past. When dealing with the biblical tradition on the level of the specific units of the tradition, the genre of historiography is rare. Only very few Hebrew narratives involve historiography at a primary level. This genre is rather most notably present in the larger redactions and the final forms of composition. However, even there, a comprehensive historiographically motivated critical perspective only very occasionally surfaces in biblical literature (Gen 11:26–12:5?) and is nowhere dominant.

**2. Antiquarianism.** Of greater importance is the observation that the redactional techniques of the comprehensive traditions reflect the antiquarian efforts of curiosity and preservation. Such intentionality is specifically inimical to that of historiography. Historians ask the question of historicity and critically distinguish and evaluate their sources. They "understand" history, and therefore at times slip into tendentious ideologies and theologies. The antiquarian on the other hand shows the more ecumenically pluralistic motivations of the librarian: classifying, associating, and arranging a cultural heritage that is greater than the compiler or any single historiographical explanation. So, for example, we notice that in the larger blocks of tradition, narrative development has only the appearance of chronological progression. The progress is rather plot-oriented, as in the Torah story of Exodus 16–23 or most clearly in Abraham's travels from story to story allowing (among other things) Sarah to be an old woman in Genesis 18 and 21 but a young, marriageable beauty in Genesis 20. The recounting of such passages as Genesis 6–9, Exodus 1–12, Exodus 14–15, and especially Exodus 19–21, which collect so many different seemingly disharmonious tale variations is inimical to historiographical narration, for these collections present not accounts (whether critical or uncritical) of what is understood as past events, but rather they narrate variations existing within a tradition, self-consciously rendering *accounts* (not events) past, and in doing so, clearly reflecting the intentionality of our collector and redactor: to preserve what is old. The antiquarian intentionality is both pluralistic and in its own way objective. A similarly non-historiographical motivation is also noticeable in some of the compositional links of the larger redactions. So, for example, the genealogical structure of Genesis encloses this extensive composition through a patterning of such episodes as deathbed scenes, burials, genealogies, introductory and closing formulas, and post-introductory inclusions, as well as by the conjunction of motifs (Exodus 16–17), themes (Genesis 10 and 1:1–9), and parallel narratives (5 genealogies of Esau: Gen 36:1–5, 9–43). Indeed, disjunction is such a common phenomenon in what is only apparently a chronological progression of tradition from Genesis to 2 Kings that one must view this appearance of historical development and change as late and secondary, if not entirely accidental.

This extended tradition is structured very loosely as a succession of heroic biographies: Adam–Cain-Noah-Abraham–Isaac-Jacob-Joseph-Moses-Joshua-Judges-Samuel-Saul–David-Solomon-Kings. This structure, however apparent, clearly stands at a distance from the narratives themselves, and is for the greater part a very secondary ordering of stories which are individually wholly independent of this structure. Genesis–2 Kings is structured as a succession of great periods: Origins-Patriarchs-Exodus-Wilderness-Conquest-Judges-United Monarchy-Divided Monarchy-Destruction. But the existence of such anomalies as conquest stories set in the wilderness and patriarchs such as Judah among the Judges shows this process of structuring to be both secondary and subsequent to the traditions collected. It is extremely difficult to see any historiographical motivation in this collection, or indeed any purpose beyond general classifying or cataloging. The post-compositional and peripheral significance of this progression of texts of necessity excludes this aspect of the tradition from any such self-conscious literary genre as historiography.

**D. Historiography As an Intellectual Tradition**

**1. "Salvation History."** An understanding of the intellectual tradition of judgments or critical commentaries on Israelite tradition reflected in the biblical text has been closely associated with scholarly efforts to trace the history of the formation of the Bible and to identify the ideological and theological biases of the larger compositional sources contained within the various biblical books (Whybray 1976). Central to this discussion has been the elucidation of what was understood to be a particularly biblical view of Israel's past, commonly referred to as *Heilsgeschichte* or "salvation history." This concept of "salvation history" was one of the primary issues on the agenda of the Biblical Theology movement. However, considerable confusion was introduced by its use both to designate the biblical view of history (a form of theologically motivated *Tendenz* in Israel's view of its past) and as a concept of revelation (a view of the history of Israel itself as salvific). In this latter, modern theological sense, the concept today has been largely discredited, because, as a view of history and an affirmation about the past it is open in every way to historical-critical research and can neither be equated with revelation nor seen as an object of faith alone (Gnuse 1989: 23, Barr 1962: 66–69). Moreover, by associating revelation with the events of Israel's history, this tendency of the "biblical theology movement" implicitly rejected the Bible as the foundation of "biblical theology" in understanding the Bible as "revelatory" only to the extent that it recounted the external historical events of the past in which revelation was understood to have occurred (Thompson 1974: 327).

As an understanding of a *biblical* view of history, however, the concept of "salvation history" can be seen to epitomize a significant aspect of ancient Israel's intellectual perception of its tradition. In this perspective, scholarly discussion of "salvation history" has concentrated above all on the identification and description of the theological *Tendenz* of the collectors and redactors of biblical narrative, most notably in the understanding of the Yahwist (of the Pentateuch's Documentary Hypothesis) as a theologian, who developed his narrative about the origins of Israel and of all humanity in a theologically motivated historiographical framework of progression from sin to grace and from promise to fulfillment (von Rad 1948). This interpretation grew out of the understanding of the Yahwist as an historian. Nevertheless, the understanding of the Yahwist as a theologian, and indeed as an independent source of the Pentateuch at all, has undergone serious criticism over the past decade (Rendtorff 1977; Schmid 1976; Blum 1984; Thompson 1987) and continues to be an issue of serious debate today (Van Seters 1987).

Also closely associated with the biblical theology movement's use of the concept of "salvation history" has been an effort to create a special value of Israel's historical understanding as unique in the ANE, in light of the biblical concepts of time, as well as in the understanding of an unparalleled relationship which Israel was seen to have had with its God, who was viewed as guiding Israel's destiny as well as controlling and acting in history. The Israelite concept of time was thought to be dynamic and linear, a fundamentally historiographical perspective in which events occurred, definitely establishing causal chains of unrepeated results through time. In contrast, the ANE understanding of time was described as static and circular, not historiographical but mythical, creating an understanding of the past as ever recurring in the present. Such stereotypes of both ANE and biblical thought have been thoroughly discredited today, and it is now widely recognized that substantial portions of ANE thought understood linear progression of time and established considerable causally oriented historiographies. Moreover, the concept of time as circular is no more characteristic of ANE literature than it is of biblical. Rather, the biblical tradition shares a literary and conceptual mode of typology and analogy. Its writers frequently describe the past and its traditions in terms of *patterns of recurrence*, a technique by which one tradition or event might be seen as a commentary on another, rendering both meaningful. Similarly, the recurrent biblical motif of God guiding Israel, playing an active role in historical events, and controlling world history is a motif in no way unique to Israel, but is a typical description of divine action found throughout ANE historical records, and is a dominant motif from the Assyrian period onward (*AHG*; Cancik 1970; 1976; Saggs 1978; Van Seters 1983).

Finally, it is difficult to maintain an understanding of the motif of "salvation history" in the Pentateuch as an intellectual view of Israel's *past.* Unlike the Deuteronomistic tradition and Chronicles, the Pentateuch is essentially an origin tradition and holds as its primary referent not any Israel of the past so

much as an Israel contemporary with its own self-formation as a tradition of origins, defining Israel's essence and significance as an ethnic community of faith. The motifs of promise and fulfillment are not elements from past history so much as they are assertions meaningful in the tradition's contemporary world (Thompson 1974: 329). As such, the genre of the Pentateuch is not historiographical but rather constitutional narrative, a complex subgenre of etiology, which uses stories and traditions from the past in what is essentially an illustrative and paradigmatic mode.

**2. The Prophetic Tradition.** Central to what might be described as a biblical view of Israel's past is the critical commentary of the prophetic collections and redactions. Illustrating the more-than-a-millennium-old West Semitic tradition of the prophet and seer as a moral and political critic of the government and the populace (Ellermeier 1977), the books of the classical prophets collect many early exilic and preexilic poems and oracles which condemn the governments of Israel, Judah, and neighboring states, as well as their populaces, for a variety of major crimes such as war atrocities, injustices, moral indifference, and cultic hypocrisies. The exilic and postexilic redactions and collections compare these earlier traditions in terms of radical and final judgment—Israel has committed *unforgivable* crimes—condemning the totality of Israel's political and ethnic history as religiously and morally bankrupt. They understand the destruction of the states of Israel and Judah by the Assyrians and Babylonians respectively as a divinely guided punishment. This analysis of the past laid the foundation for a future-oriented religious understanding of divine mercy and forgiveness. This prophetic tradition cast a trajectory toward a new Jerusalem of peace and justice in which Israel would finally carry out the destiny which had been established for it by Yahweh from Israel's earliest beginnings.

Historiographically, the focus of the redactions of the prophetic traditions is not so clearly directed toward the past except insofar as it serves as a justification for the moral and cultic reorientation demanded by the composite tradition in the postexilic world. That the critical judgment involved in this literature relates more to the genres of religious interpretation, ideology, and propaganda (Garbini 1988) than to the sort of criticial judgment normally associated with historiography is indicated in the idealistic and futuristic orientation of the redactions of prophetic collections. Comparable to the pentateuchal narrative's preference for an heroic past to illustrate the meaning of Israel in constitutional etiologies, the exilic and postexilic redactions of Israelite prophecy create a revolutionary future by reference to the failed past as a paradigm of glory shattered.

The intellectual assumption at the core of the West Semitic prophetic traditions (which biblical prophecy continues), is that gods interfere in human affairs and control the political and military events of history, as well as of the cult, of fertility and other aspects of reality. Divinities use their control of events to reward or punish their subjects for good or ill. With the help of this common ANE perspective (Saggs 1978; *AHG*), the redactors of the books of the prophets were able to salvage a religious understanding and continuing identity out of disaster.

The images of Assyria and Babylonia as conquerers subsequently humiliated, Israel's punishment under the wrath and anger of Yahweh, and the role of Cyrus as messiah and savior of a chastised remnant are not historical reflections analyzing what happened in Israel's past so much as they are explanations of piety, illustrative of future demands. This judgment about the past is not drawn from reflection about past events. Rather, the past, in the form of collected tradition, stands both as warning and basis for hope in the future. It is this hope for the future which selected the past remembered.

**3. The Narrative Tradition.** Comparably pious explanations of tradition are found occasionally in the Pentateuch. Fulfillment confirms promises cast yet in the future (Gen 22:17–18 and 28:13b–15); the wilderness-murmuring motif operates as a pattern of Israel's recurrent history (Exod 24:2–8); the self-conscious anachronism of the Passover festival bridges past and present (Exod 12:3, 14, 17, 24, 26, 27). Even more frequently in the collections of the traditions of Joshua–2 Kings, the criticism of Israel for immorality, injustice, and loss of cultic integrity becomes a recurrent leitmotiv. In 2 Kings this critical judgment becomes indistinguishable from the redactional framework itself. The motifs of the divine control of Israel's destiny by Yahweh, of Yahweh's anger at Israel's unfaithfulness and the ever-recurrent need for reform, are didactic and moralizing theological reflections on the traditions from the past. They

echo motifs from many nonbiblical texts, for example the Mesha stele and the Assyrian texts (*AHG,* 106–7), but ideologically they belong to the same exilic and postexilic circles which were responsible for the redactions of the prophetic works. Instead of prophetic oracles, traditional tales and other early traditions are being used as narrative illustrations of ideology and theology (Rogerson 1974: 182–83).

National self-understanding is claimed by some today to be essential to the genre of historiography, and it is a central concern of prophetic and narrative collections in the Hebrew Bible. But this intellectual tradition in its entirety neither presents nor has an abiding interest in history. It deals, rather, with what one might better describe as ethnographic or ethnocentric etiology, those intellectual efforts which created the *ethnos* of Israel, reflecting a literary motivation which is characteristic of Persian-period literary works throughout the ancient world. Historiography proper does not have the goal of self-understanding so much as that of a critical reconstruction or representation of the past, eschewing etiology along with legend and mythology.

The biblical tradition brings together three distinct tendencies which should not be confused with historiography: (a) an understanding of Israel's deity as providential and as determining historical events; (b) a West Semitic prophetic tradition which judges the morality of historical events and is critical of the action of king and state; and (c) the theological and moralizing *Tendenz* of the exilic and postexilic collectors of traditional narrative who applied the prophetic judgments to the events of the tradition.

**E. Collapse of the "Salvation History" and "Bible History" Movements**

After the early 1960s, the biblical theology movement, which had linked understanding of the Bible as a theology of events to an understanding of revelation as history, and thus faith to historicity, collapsed. By the mid-seventies the Documentary Hypothesis and the investigations into the history of biblical narrative traditions had come under increasing attack (Mayes 1973; Van Seters 1975; Rendtdorff 1977; Blum 1984; Whybray 1974), undermining confidence in the ability of modern historiography to re-create Israel's historical past from its traditions. The challenge to the historicity of the patriarchs in the mid-seventies (Thompson 1974; Van Seters 1975) was quickly extended to the remainder of the so-called "historical" books of the Bible (*IJH;* Miller and Hayes 1986), leading to recent efforts to develop a history of Israel—and especially of its earliest beginnings—independently of the biblical tradition (Coote and Whitelam 1987; Ahlstrom fc.; Thompson 1987 and fc.).

The historicity of the greater units and of the larger redactions of the tradition is no longer widely accepted. Rather, historicity is an issue to be tested with each of the primary units of the tradition, not with the larger secondary constructs. A contemporary history of Israel no longer takes its starting point (with the tradition) at some point in the past at which Israel began. Rather, a critical history of Israel takes its starting point from the Israel formed by the tradition: the Israel of the exilic and postexilic periods. In this way modern historiography achieves an independence from the tradition itself.

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THOMAS L. THOMPSON

## *GRECO-ROMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY*

Oral and written literature—epic, lyric, rudiments of drama, even primitive prose—existed in Greek by 550 B.C.E., but accounts of past events and institutions and their intelligible causes and contingent explanations of subsequent and present circumstances were yet to come. Near Eastern histories either did not extend beyond campaign summaries and accession narratives (Persian, Hittite) or were limited to skeletal lists of royal names and regnal dates, when not blatant propaganda and invented fantasy (Assyrian, Egyptian). Rational, critical knowledge of the notable past based on evidence and testimony had no function or audience in largely illiterate and unfree societies.

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A. Greek Origins
B. The Creative Geniuses
C. Hellenistic Historiography
D. Rome from Origins to Early Empire
E. The Later Imperial Period
F. Methodology and Conclusions

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### A. Greek Origins

Greco-Roman historiography arose from an acute sense of life's brevity in an indifferent world. From the earliest 8th-century Homeric meditations on time and the human condition, the only survival of the individual to be hoped for was human recollection and the memorial of literary celebrity. The modern idea of historiography, as practiced in the European tradition, owes its largest debt to the choice of subjects (war and peace, administration of public affairs, growth of a nation, imperialism), the narrative rhetoric, and the analytical categories of two late 5th-century Hellenes and one Italian: Herodotus, Thucydides, and Livy. The Greeks introduced objectivity and verification of facts into historiography, anticipating the modern concept of critical historical research and interpretation.

A survey of ancient historiography can reconstruct the major habits, concerns, ideas, and themes of this discipline, despite the fact that no ancient critic seems to have composed a formal analysis of it and no rigorous definition of historiography emerged. The historical materials have been divided by Felix Jacoby, the most knowledgeable student of Greek historiography, into five categories: genealogy and

mythography, ethnography, chronography, horography or local history, and history proper. Stimuli included familial and local civic pride, the diffusion of literacy, commercial contacts, and military conflicts with foreign peoples both more and less civilized. Certain orientations for these writers followed from a social and economic order in which some free males had the leisure and liberty to reflect on change, human variety, and the challenges faced by a peculiar civilization. Historical discourse ever since has been produced by private individuals in an attempt based on a unique Greek experience to craft meaning and legitimacy in the midst of serial, unvalidated human and natural occurrences.

The Greeks by 700 B.C.E. had learned to write from the Phoenicians and to memorialize in stone from the Egyptians. Anaximander of Miletus (the leading commercial power and colonial mother city in the Aegean) is the first known Greek prose writer (ca. 560). He made a map and wrote up the relevant geography, the basis of later ethnology and history in Ionian lands, the exclusive place of origin of the first historians, the meeting place and battleground of West and East. Fifty years later, Hecataeus of Miletus, a prominent politician under the Persian dispensation, wrote *Genealogies* (family histories often attached to rationalized legends), traveled extensively, and made another map. For this he composed his *Periēgēsis,* a companion ethnology organized by location around the Mediterranean and inland, e.g., the Celts. He referred to distant places and events, although his attempts to explain phenomena seem to have been limited to crude rationalizations. No historical event or events gave focus to Hecataeus' collection of biological curiosities, exotic customs, and sporadic comparative inquiries about past generations. Hecataeus, and later Herodotus, were led to recover the Greek past by their encounters with the oral traditions of the Orient (travels to Egypt, Phoenicia, Scythia, etc.). Hecataeus and Herodotus wrote to disabuse their compatriots of provincial attitudes. Their polemics against popular delusions and received tradition, their groping toward methodical rigor, and their criticisms of their predecessors' inconsistencies and dogmatic beliefs are healthy signs of *historía* or "investigation" from the beginning.

**B. The Creative Geniuses**

Herodotus produced the first systematic narrative of a battle, a campaign, a war, an empire's growth, and comparative political systems. His ethnographies of Greek and many barbarian (e.g., Lydian, Egyptian, Persian, Scythian) societies encompass economies, social customs, and geography as well as marvels and annalistic information. Herodotus incorporates many personal stories from Persian and other "native" informants and quotes from translations of Persian documentary sources. His narratives of decisive historical events in the Aegean basin during the previous century re-create the issues by borrowing the mimetic techniques of earlier genres, particularly Homer's epics but also Attic tragedy and oratory.

The first historian is aware of many of historiography's central problems. He shrewdly discusses the bias, conflicts, and prejudices of sources oral and written, the frequent failure of information to satisfy minimal criteria of probability or human experience, the need to select and omit phenomena (such as myth, theology), and the uses and problems of chronology (2.43–44; 3.122).

The latter half of the *Histories* seeks to explain how and why some Greeks after 500 B.C.E. decided to resist the Achaemenid Empire. That is, Herodotus first leapt, as all historians hence must, from oral tradition and record to explanation, to relations of cause and effect, interpretations of individual and communal behavior, and the significance of choices, acts, and events. Overlapping systems of explanation include occasional references to supernatural causes, but these are few, vague, and subordinated to mundane political and strategic considerations and to observed historical patterns. Herodotus' influential invention, an objective account of the human past in its ordinary and extraordinary but always human dimensions, a story based on empirical evidence and sifted testimony, incorporates into the narrative and speeches an analysis of the significance and effect of those events. He produced a clearer identity for his Hellenic audience and his *Histories* created the essential tool for historical consciousness.

Thucydides offers a narrower yet deeper kind of historiography of war and political conflict. He largely eschews events before his lifetime, he generally ignores the past and present of all states and peoples that played no part in the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.E.), and austerely limits his study to that war, its

real and alleged long- and short-term causes, its battles and their consequences, the imperial administration of Sparta, Persia, and especially Athens.

He lived to see the imposed peace but his account breaks off in 411. Stripped of genealogy, ethnography, local history, biography and anecdote, his *History* retains many dramatic elements including paired, opposing, highly wrought speeches in legislative, battlefield, diplomatic, and judicial assemblies, descriptions of near-disaster (Lesbian genocide, Syracusan defeat), and rhetorically dry but emotionally intense accounts of sea and land battles and other devastating catastrophes such as the Athenian plague.

Thucydides less successfully ascribes motives to leading individuals and even to armies, political factions, and mobs (3.82; 8.1). The acquisition and abuses of political and military power over other states provide a central theme in both his paradigmatic opening essay on past empires and in the body of his text on Athens' experience. Thucydides absolutely excludes the supernatural from his account except insofar as men are motivated by perceptions of divine interference (e.g., the superstitious response to the eclipse at Syracuse in 413 B.C.E.). He expects future events to resemble past and present occurrences, not because of a cyclical metaphysic but because he has seen that humans tend to respond in similar ways to similar problems. Omission, compression, a false psychological omniscience, and a knotty style mar his excellence but cannot trouble the claim of his being the ancient historian who best approaches the 19th century's concept of historiography.

Thucydides criticizes predecessors (Herodotus, Hellanicus, Ion of Chios) for sloppy chronology, false criteria of prosperity and significance (1.10), too easy acceptance of partial, plausible, and traditional reports, and failure to dig into data to discover the decisive causes in national self-interest and charismatic individuals. On the whole, however, he reinforced the criteria of Herodotus' genre rather than redirecting it. His own rigid chronological scheme is ill-suited to any theme other than a narrow one. He has high standards of evidence and does not supply answers when information does not warrant. He endorses certain traditional moral values (e.g., 2.51, 3.82–83) without any moralizing, while neutrally recording their inefficacy in the stress of international power conflicts.

**C. Hellenistic Historiography**

An anonymous writer, known as the Oxyrhynchus historian (from the find spot of the 40-page fragment of his *Histories*), possessed Thucydides' dry but accurate manner of battle description without apparently his psychological skills or interest in political analysis. Xenophon also continued Thucydides' narrative in 7 books down to 362 B.C.E., but different capacities and interests produced a very unlike result. The title of his work, *Hellenica,* implies a comprehensive coverage, not a topic limited in time or theme. Painstaking research comes second to explicit historical moralizing (2.3.56, 7.2.1), propaganda for Panhellenism, and an analysis of character that shows traces of his friend Socrates' influence. Xenophon's work begins and ends in the middle of crises, an indication of his weakness in historical conception and literary architectonics. Chronology, motivation, and causation similarly suffer in an innovative writer for whom history was only a sideline. The *Anabasis,* his journalistic account of the pretender Cyrus' campaign against the Persian king (in which Xenophon participated), provides both a more dependable record and more vivid presentation.

After Thucydides, Greek historiography turned to the exotic and the sensational (Duris' *Hellenica,* Ctesias' fantastic *Persica*), to the emotional scene more fictional than factual and intended to arouse fear and pity (Duris again, Phylarchus' *Histories*), and to a moralistic education in elegant rhetoric that Isocrates conceptualized (Ephorus, Theopompus). These 4th-century historians channeled the main current of ancient historiography for the next half-millennium.

Ephorus of Cyme (405–330 B.C.E.) was first to try to include all Mediterranean history in one work of 30 volumes; his emphasis remained nonetheless Hellenocentric and contemporary. Moral edification by example and platitudes are evident in his fragments. Trivial in his etiologies of war, uncritical of his sources for myth and legend, superficial in political understanding, and derivative at best, he was essentially a synoptic compiler and popularizer. Diodorus the Sicilian composed a 40-volume world history between 60 and 30 B.C.E. He drew from many authors, but Ephorus was his historiographical model as well as a principal authority.

Theopompus of Chios (380–305 B.C.E.) admired Sparta, the Macedonian Philip's strategic policies, and oligarchy, while he railed against Athens, democracy and demagogues, and previous historians. He digressed often and at whim in his 12-volume *Hellenica,* a competitor of Xenophon's. He devoted 58 volumes of *Philippica* to the colossus of the mid–4th century, Philip of Macedon, including Philip's remarkable achievements but also castigating his sexual profligacy, chronic drunkenness, and spending habits. He enjoyed debunking popular views. Moral indignation, inconsistently applied, replaces political analysis. Shocking description, coarse and violent opinions, made his work popular and influential on certain techniques of Hellenistic historiography. Fifth-century confidence in rational analysis, the political process, and human abilities is replaced by emphasis on personality, telling anecdotes, and a fatalistic pessimism.

Histories of individual Greek cities and larger territories were produced in ancient Greece only after Herodotus' general history. They were designed to establish the antiquity and dignity of a Greek community, they presented the rulers and constitutional changes in chronological sequence, and they showed the results of antiquarian research on topography, local myth, monuments, cultic and social customs. The Atthidographers provided a political account in chronical form for Athens, but other subgenres also existed for studying the past of this political, cultural, and intellectual capital. Hellanicus of Lesbos produced at least 12 regional chronicles and ethnological surveys before the earliest and paradigmatic *Atthis,* ca. 400. After 350, nostalgia for former glory produced at least 6 other local chronicles for Athens, several from men holding Athenian priestly office. Antiquarian studies also were valued for the piquancy of their obscure details and implications of former greatness. Craterus of Macedon was unusual in collecting and publishing verbatim primary sources, inscriptions.

Early in the 3d century, two barbarian priests presented improved accounts of their nations' accomplishments to generally uninformed Greeks. Berossus of Babylon transmitted ancient Mesopotamian traditions about the creation and the kings of Babylon; Manetho of Heliopolis then did the same for Egypt. These important compilations of authentic national traditions were later to serve as sources for Jewish and Christian chronographers.

Socrates, the spiritual gadfly, was the first individual in history to have his daily life recorded (ca. 469–399 B.C.E.), but Alexander the Great has forced even historians hostile to hero-worship to acknowledge the power of personality to affect the lives of millions. The revolution wrought in East-West relations, the instant legends, manufactured and natural, the problems of an incomprehensible success and spiritual impact made and make the short-lived Macedonian (356–323 B.C.E.), like Jesus, an insoluble historical enigma.

At least 20 contemporaries wrote accounts of Alexander's life and campaigns. There were hostile pasquinades and encomiastic essays, but after his death 40 years passed before his general and successor as ruler of Egypt, Ptolemy, wrote the first complete narrative. Five full accounts survive today, from the earliest—Diodorus' (300 years later)—to the latest—Arrian's sober military account (450 years later). Alexander's career forced Hellenic historiography to reopen the geographic boundaries of history and raised new questions about historical forces. Also, both sane geographers like Aristobulus and recorders of fantastic beasts and peoples like Onesicritus attached their projects to his deeds. Marvel books and even the genre of the novel resulted from these parahistorical efforts.

Timaeus of Tauromenium in Sicily (355–260 B.C.E.) produced a history in 38 books of the Greek West, Carthage, and Italy (including Rome) down to 264. He tried to synchronize these nations' pasts. Polybius criticizes him severely for the consequences of his inexperience in public affairs, failure to visit battle sites, and naive acceptance of myth and etymological explanations, but he honors him by beginning where his predecessor ended and by often arguing with his method and results. Although Timaeus' work has perished, later Greek historians of Rome owed much to this diligent western Greek pioneer who introduced Rome and the Celts to the historiography of Western Europe. Polybius and Posidonius continued his explorations of primitive and non-European peoples.

Polybius (200–155 B.C.E.) had extensive personal experience of war and politics (39.5). After his efforts for the Achaean league, as an official hostage in Rome and friend of Scipio Aemilianus, he found unusual

opportunities to produce a 40-volume history of the Roman unification of previously separate nations. The Roman conquest required only about 140 years (264–146 B.C.E.); Polybius presents this astonishing feat with unusual impartiality, conscientious topographical research, examination of witnesses, accuracy of narrative detail, study of original documents (3.22, 33; 16.15), and with the presentation of the causes of each particular conflict (12.25E).

Like Herodotus and Thucydides, Polybius begins with a long introduction explaining his plan and providing the background necessary for understanding his chosen events in their proper context. His accounts of war are more perceptive than his analyses of political organizations and success (cf. the etiology of Rome's victories: they were due to the armies, moderation in victory, the constitution, and the attitudes of the ruling class [book 6]). He is critical of many historians and schools for their literary sensationalism, their ignorance of geography and warfare (book 34), their inflated rhetoric and credulity toward myths, and their self-glorification (29.12.3), but most of all for their inadequate grasp of etiological factors. His frequent digressions on theory are polemical and his own practice can differ from his precepts.

Polybius' determined intentions were to train men of public affairs in practical politics (9.1–7; 10.21.2–4) and to enable readers to understand power and its consequences. He felt comfortable with Roman values and political wisdom. *Tyche*, Fortune, appears frequently not so much as a cause but as a convenient non-explanation when no one can have foreseen outcomes. He displays Gibbon's two preconditions for the historian: diligence and accuracy; but his style is dreary.

**D. Rome from Origins to Early Empire**

Roman historiography suffered from the start from the eminence of its senatorial authors and from the dominance of oratorical education over most of its practitioners. Contemporary political issues were retrojected onto remote ages; the desire to glorify one's family made historiography a branch of rhetorical skill; plausibility outweighed evidence, or the frequent absence of any. As Cicero too plainly states, historians were expected to dress up the exploits of their "heroes" (*Fam.* 5.12).

The historians of the Republic patriotically reconstructed the rise of Rome from insignificance to Mediterranean hegemony by friendship, treaty, war, and conquest. But the historiography of the Roman Empire, initiated by Sallust, elaborates a perceived pattern of moral degeneration, the decline of liberty, the extension of autocracy, a long battle more against internal dissolution than external attack (Ammianus 31.5.14).

Roman senators first kept records as officials (e.g., pontifices), to produce a public record of a year's events that mattered to Rome, such as consuls, triumphs, famines, and omens (Gellius 2.28.6, from Cato). They first wrote history as politicians of notable lineage to glorify their own families, and to gain literary repute in the cultural efflorescence that followed the 2d-century conquest of the Greek world. History-writing came late to Rome, and began in the Greek language with Fabius Pictor's ambitious *Annales* retelling the founding of Rome, summarizing the following centuries, and then giving a more detailed yet anecdotal account of the First Punic War. From the few fragments, one can conclude that he wrote in order to explain Rome to the Hellenistic world, and perhaps to educated Carthaginians and Romans. History was an extension of diplomacy as well as of patriotic didacticism: the Romans owed their initial success and recent expansion to perseverance, good faith, and strict moral values. Antiquarians, of whom Varro (115–27 B.C.E.) was to be the greatest, researched the names, origins, and functions of religious rites, the calendar, public places, and state offices. But even Roman antiquarians often had moral improvement in mind.

The elder Cato wrote his Latin *Origines* covering both Rome's legendary history and the imperial expansion from the First Punic War down to nearly the beginning of the Third (264–149 B.C.E.). He provided a prose parallel to the poet Ennius' earlier historical epic.

Cato's 7 volumes were not only didactic and political but also polemical and apologetic. He defended Roman achievements for Romans, as a plebeian senator he stripped the famous political names from Rome's communal victories, and in the last section he used the account of the past to promote his own considerable achievements as a senatorial and military leader. He included his own speeches and

denigrated his political opponents (Livy 34.15.9, 35.25.1; Cic. *De Or.* 1.53). Historiography in the hands of active statesmen naturally showed partisan distortions.

Later writers imaginatively filled in the poorly known epoch between regal Rome and the Punic Wars. Distortion and invention helped to give shape to the void, sometimes to sate antiquarian curiosity about customs and holidays, often, to be sure, to promote a moral and political agenda. Official records were scant, the demand considerable, so the result was more coherent than true. The upheavals of the Gracchan age (145–120 B.C.E.) produced propagandistic accounts by factional leaders, and the next generation produced several senatorial memoirs, for instance, those of Aemilius Scaurus and the dictator Cornelius Sulla. Strictly contemporary accounts and historical monographs (e.g., Sisenna's *Histories* to 78 B.C.E.) become the fashion of the ambitious politician and historian.

Annalists for the distant past are now less prominent persons often at work in their studies remembering what had never happened. Valerius Antias, for example, notorious even in antiquity (Livy 30.19.11, 33.10.8), sought to edify and to entertain connoisseurs of rhetoric—even if this purpose required the invention of speeches and factitious documents. The personal researches of Varro and others were disdained and their results ignored. Cicero, who names most of these writers, judges them chiefly by their style and rhetoric rather than by their mendacity, and this Roman standard, a result of rhetorical education, was all too common.

Cicero's letter to the senatorial historian Lucceius (*Fam.* 5.12 [56 B.C.E.]) requested a history that would celebrate in a dramatic and eulogistic manner his own vicissitudes from his repulse of Catiline to his return from exile. The cajoling purveys a slippery description of Hellenistic-Roman historiography. Later, imperial historians justly feared to offer an honest account of their own times (Livy *Praef.*; Tac. *Hist.* 1.1; Pliny *Ep.* 5.8.12–13).

Julius Caesar (100–44 B.C.E.) wrote not history but elaborate *commentarii, aides-mémoire* of his military campaigns with no political framework or explicit historical introduction or rationale. The year-by-year summaries of the *Gallic* and *Civil Wars* in 10 books constitute a public record, hastily compiled but purposefully slanted, by the commander in the field. As consul, pontifex maximus, orator, and faction leader, Caesar took serious risks in politics, war, and literature, the continuation of politics by other means. The *commentarii* justify his self-aggrandizing and illegal actions. He notoriously speaks of himself in the third person, conveying a tone of passionless objectivity. Suppression, severe compression, and false suggestion elegantly promote a favorable view of the author. The memoirs are covert propaganda; they demonstrate Caesar's skill in war and diplomacy as well as literary subtlety. The aggressive imperialist tone employed to justify war atrocities in the *Gallic Wars* is abandoned for the delicate subject of the *Civil Wars* and Caesar's self-exculpation. In the imperial period, one can compare Augustus' autobiographical yet magisterial *Res Gestae*, cast in bronze and carved in stone around the Mediterranean.

Sallust (85–35 B.C.E.) grew up in Sabine Italy between the Civil Wars. He became a senator but was expelled in 50, joined Caesar, was accused of extortion in Africa, and retired from "public service" to write his historical essays, *Catiline's Conspiracy* and *Jugurtha's War,* and an annalistic History of Rome from 78 to 66 B.C.E. in 5 books, now largely lost.

His theme was the political and moral decline of the senate through venality and incompetence. This prejudice resulted from both his own experience and his sources' bias. His archaistic diction and vengeful rhetoric is highly colored, censorious, pointed, and not unearned. He dislikes popular champions as much as greedy oligarchs. He wrote between Caesar and Augustus when pessimism and cynicism had a warrant as the only realism. Much detail is excised in the service of the dramatic scene, the impressionistic analysis. Tacitus found his corrosive tone congenial, even necessary (*Ann.* 3.30), although Asinius Pollio, who wrote *Histories,* covering 60–42 B.C.E., criticized him and Livy for their stylistic excesses. Sallust crafted the thenceforth canonical presentation of Roman history as a tale of degeneration and breakdown.

Livy (59 B.C.E.–17 C.E.) wrote a history of Rome from the founding of the city to his own day comprising 142 books, of which 34 survive. He conducted almost no independent research and depended on authorities whose accuracy he could judge only by the criterion of their inherent probability. Like other

ancient historians, he had not developed the critical method of source criticism and his own acumen was vulnerable to any plausible invention that fit his presuppositions and didactic purpose of spiritual regeneration. Too often he innocently accepts his predecessors' fabrications. As with many of his forerunners, history turns out to be moral biography; his heroes embody the characteristics that built Rome. Economic, social, and political issues are seen as personal contests, institutions are downplayed. The annalistic framework and the focus on dramatic episodes smother inquiries into structural problems and analysis of intellectual change. Livy is weak on geography, military matters, and factional politics.

Livy met Cicero's criteria of elegant style, dramatic construction, dignified yet graphic presentation, variety of tone, edifying themes with implicit judgments of character. His idealistic patriotism made him uncritical of Roman "manifest destiny" and racial superiority. His history offers magnificent examples and warnings and a record of moral decline from a primitive yet robust simplicity. He explains Rome's unique success as compromise among citizen groups, dedication to the common welfare, plain living, and honest dealings with foreign governments. Heroes such as Scipio are made perfect; bad qualities or ignoble acts are distorted or suppressed. Divinity has only a trivial role compared to Roman virtues such as *fides, clementia,* and *pietas;* his organic central metaphor is *crescere,* Roman growth.

Livy had an antiquarian dimension. He explains the origins of customs, names, particular holy sites. His complete narrative and his scale had no predecessor. His success was immediate and long lasting (cf. Pliny *Ep.* 2.3.8; 6.20), indeed, the model for modern national historiography. One of his pupils was the future emperor Claudius, who wrote in Greek on Etruscan and Carthaginian history and in Latin on events following the civil wars (after 27 B.C.E.; Suet. *Claud.* 41–42).

**E. The Later Imperial Period**

Tacitus (50–120 C.E.) was a Gallic provincial senator, a noted orator, a successful officer of the emperors who lucidly anatomized and deeply disliked the autocratic system that he served. Exigencies of survival under Domitian and after led him to cultivate obliquity (*Hist.* 1.1), an epigrammatic and asymmetrical style, and an elevated and cryptic manner of expression in which the significant meaning is rarely obvious. He minded the experience of the historian Cremutius Cordus, who had been led to suicide in 25 C.E. and whose *Annals* of the Civil Wars had been burnt by the Aediles for their Republican sympathies (*Annals* 4.34). His work stems from the same hostile, pro-Republican, senatorial tradition. Ironic juxtaposition, tendentious emphasis, and malicious insinuation permeate both the *Annals* and the *Histories,* originally 30 books covering 14–96 C.E., the relatively recent Julian and Flavian dynasties of the New Testament epoch.

The psychology of personality attracts the energies of Tacitus, the historian of seemingly all-powerful emperors. His pessimism drives him to reveal the internal political lies and shams of the imperial administration and to indict more often than praise the Roman exploitation of the Mediterranean world (*Hist.* 1.11; *Agr.* 30). His accounts of military strategy and battles are perfunctory, but he does connect the dynastic quarrels, frontier wars, provincial complaints, constitutional changes, and disturbances at Rome. Tacitus tends to present characters in clear categories—the victim, the tyrant, the freedmen opportunists. He provides posterity with examples of morality, acts to avoid and imitate. *Fama* as public reputation, rumor and renown, and *memoria* are his concern (*Ann.* 3.65; 4.35).

Tacitus' demolitionary account of emperors such as Tiberius and Domitian and their propaganda follows from his view that accounts of recent history must witness and memorialize a tale of debasement and ceaseless woe (*Ann.* 4.32; 16.16, 25). Even the record of acts of memorable courage and justifiable prudence further darken the portrait of unlimited power; rare (but significant) are the acknowledgments of the Empire's achievement (*Ann.* 3.55; *Hist.* 1.1; 4.74).

Tacitus' claims to objectivity (e.g., *Ann.* 1.1; *Hist.* 1.1) are puzzling, yet he strove to report names, dates, and events correctly, even if his inveterate psychologism, with its invention of motives and his extreme version of the Roman nostalgic model of degeneration from ancient virtue, colors his partial account of a century of despotism (*Ann.* 4.33). A dramatic focus on Rome and its aristocracy, natural and traditional for a man of his status but still profoundly misleading, could hardly lead to any other result.

His own career's circumspection led him to identify virtue with the bureaucrat Agricola's unostentatious and courageous service to the state, and to write an account of his father-in-law's life and death.

In the 4th century B.C.E., a greater political dependence on individuals rather than on collectives emerged, and the individual became increasingly alienated from communal social and religious values. The spectacle of Alexander had promoted a focus on character and an interest in idiosyncracy digestibly packaged in anecdotes. In Greece biography began as collections of illustrative stories from the lives of influential men (Socrates, Philip); in Rome, it began as accounts of famous ancestors (*laudationes*) and retained that character (see, for example, Plutarch *Cimon* 2.2–5; Tacitus *Agricola*). Chronological arrangement (Plutarch generally; cf. *Alexander* 1) often jostled against topical inventories (Suetonius *Augustus* 9), because ethical concerns outweighed historical. Plutarch's generous "comparisons" of Greeks and Romans (perhaps Varro's innovation) reflect his purpose of describing constructive behavior—deliberate, rational choices—by historical examples. Plutarch rarely chose protagonists to condemn them (*Per.* 1–2; *Tim. Pref.; Demet.* 1), while his contemporary Suetonius, the private secretary of the emperors, elected to emphasize coolly the scandalous facets of his subjects, the Caesars from Julius to Domitian.

Biography was considered a separate genre (Polyb. 10.24; Plut. *Alex.* 1.2), but the northern Italian Cornelius Nepos (100–25 B.C.E.), the Boeotian Plutarch (50–120 C.E.), and the African bureaucrat Suetonius (70–130 C.E.) require mention as reporters of lost historical sources. Furthermore, the generic barrier between history and biography was more permeable than some modern critics have supposed.

In both writers, unique examples of behavior serve to substantiate noble and criminal tendencies. Coherence of character leads Plutarch to suppress or downplay exceptions; Suetonius sacrifices such coherence to the juicy anecdote. Political analysis is largely absent, not safe or even interesting. The problematical *Historia Augusta*—author(s) unknown—constitutes a contradictory and often fraudulent collection of imperial biographies continuing Suetonius from Hadrian to Numerianus (117–284 C.E.). Ancient biography was a kind of moral essay organized to illustrate one man's character, his great and trivial deeds. We get certified heroes and villains. Biography's popularity and influence have often exceeded those of history proper.

Compilers of the imperial age depend more on other compilations than on earlier researchers. In this encyclopaedic and anthologizing epoch, we have, for example, the naive contemporary of Augustus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Roman Antiquities* in 20 books), the compendious and inelegant Appian of Alexandria (*Roman Wars* in 24 books), the rhetorical consul Cassius Dio of Nicaea (*Roman History* in 80 books to 229 C.E.), and the Syrian Herodian (8 books, 180–238 C.E.). Derived from these already secondary sources are epitomators who dutifully record consuls and portents and excerpt crises without fleshing out their material with spiritual causes and context. For examples, consider Florus, and his 4th-century followers Eutropius, Justin, and Aurelius Victor. These authors often present similar summaries of the canonical main events of Roman history rather than intelligently compact the historical vision of Livy or the Gallic "universal" historian Trogus. Their gullibility and erratically sensationalist tendencies, qualities also found in other sometimes parasitic genres such as literary dialogues, biography, and utopian "histories," make them treacherous sources for us, however indispensable.

Lucian of Samosata (115–200 C.E.) wrote a satire on historians of the Parthian War entitled *How to Write History.* The essayist's dogmatic advice is conventional (34–39); the model to imitate is Thucydides; or rather, Thucydides is the stick with which Lucian beats his generation's sloppy research, exotic descriptions, servile imitations, inappropriate emphasis, and adulatory rhetoric (7, 15, 20, 28, 59, 61). In general, Greek nostalgia for the pre-Roman era, Greek ambivalence toward the Roman peace, and flattering treatments of the indecisive Parthian Wars dominate the historiography of the later 2d century.

Flavius Josephus (35–115 C.E.), a Hellenized Pharisee, fought against and for the Roman government of Palestine. Thus both Jews and Romans distrusted him. His *Jewish War* (7 books, 66–73 C.E.) as well as *Against Apion* defends his career and political acts. Josephus had represented Jewish interests in Rome under Nero and, after failing to hold Galilee in the rebellion, he lived in Rome from 70 on. Josephus advocated the Jewish community's accommodation to Hellenistic culture under Roman rule. Resistance to

Rome was hopeless and Jews would do better to suppress nationalism (he blamed the Zealots for the ruin of the Jews) and to enjoy their culture and faith under the invincible Roman peace (*JW* 5.367). The Stoic Posidonius (135–50 B.C.E.) from Syrian Apamea had similarly vindicated Roman imperialism in his *Histories* (52 books).

Josephus' *Jewish War* provides our fullest history of any Roman provincial rebellion (with information from both sides). For once, a subject from the periphery, even a prisoner of war (although a Roman citizen and an intimate flatterer of the Flavians in the years to come), wrote the eyewitness account. Josephus describes the horrible fate of the Jerusalem Jews in detail. He is the first extant historian to present Jewish history from a Jewish point of view in Hellenic terms and in decent Greek; he is also the first to refer to Jesus and his sect (see *Jewish Antiquities,* which draw on Hebrew Scripture and Greek sources; 18.63–64; 20.200). His historiography is largely conventional by Greco-Roman standards ("this was the greatest war of all time"), but his circumstances and the subject justify inclusion here.

Eusebius (260–340 C.E.) of Caesarea, a Christian bishop and confessor to the emperor Constantine, produced a panegyrical biography of his patron, and harmonized pagan and biblical chronologies in the *Chronica.* He wrote the *Ecclesiastical History* (10 books, down to 324 C.E.), the first such history and a model for all his churchly successors. Hellenistic principles of biography and historiography (including the example of Josephus) informed the history of the origin, growth, tribulations, and triumph of Christianity. Martyrdoms, persecutions, battles over doctrine and heresy, and miracles required a new kind of history (8.9), a new subgenre, institutional and "fulfillment" history.

Eusebius may be derivative in his political and military narrational methods, but his record of the Church's development is radically different for its profuse documentation, inclusion of verbatim quotation, and absence of invented speeches. Eusebius made the form and substance of classical historiography accessible to Christian writers, although his work has a slovenly style and little conceptual structure. Like Josephus he uses history to justify faith; unlike his predecessor, he has a sensational success to narrate (10.4.9) rather than a tragic failure to explain. He included Greek and Roman pagan achievements as part of the preparation for the triumph of the Christian Church in the vast lands already, providentially, under Roman control. Conceptually the peoples of the East and their mystery cults have moved from the periphery to the center of Greco-Roman history and historiography.

Ammianus Marcellinus (330–395 C.E.), an Antiochene Greek officer of the military elite (15.5.22; 19.8.6) and a man of wide reading, served under Julian and other commanders in the East and West. Thirty-one books in forceful Latin covered the years 96–378. The extant and more detailed portion, beginning in 353 C.E., records wars with barbarians, internal dynastic struggles, and the rapacious administration of the Empire (16.8.11; 29.1.21; 31.16.9). He hopes the Empire can be salvaged, endorses an indispensable absolutism, and analyzes the internal and external crises of his age.

Ammianus argues for the truth, impartiality, and thoroughness of his account, which he based on personal observation, examination of witnesses, and public records (15.1.1). He disparages historians who criticize selective, ungossipy writers, who strive to include every trivial fort or praetor, or who industriously invent motives (26.1.1). This soldier-historian recognizes the limitations of his accuracy and will not supply false figures (31.5.10).

In an oppressive epoch for writers of any creed he shows unusual humanity, tolerance, and even admiration for both Christianity (22.11.5, 10; 21.16.18) and traditional pagan beliefs (divination: 23.6.25; 30.9.5; cf. the attitudes of Eunapius or Orosius). He digresses into scientific and social topics (14.6.2; 22.15.1). His wide travels and active military career aid his topographical explanations and geographical notices (16.10.14–17; 27.4.2). Ammianus takes fair measure of Julian (25.4) and provides succinct if exaggerated summary epilogues for each emperor, highlighting their characteristic traits of remarkable cunning and violence (e.g., 14.27–8; 30.7.1, 8–9; 31.14.2–7). He proclaims Roman values in an age that justly fears impending chaos, and dislikes the Germans because of the threat they pose to civilization. Nevertheless he forgoes the usual deference to the wisdom of the Roman senate, he criticizes rampant peculation by officials, and he admires valiant and astute enemies. His dependable concern for facts leads him to avoid unjustified generalizations (27.11.1) in an age of dogma, fear, and brutality.

## F. Methodology and Conclusions

Local records, the Homeric epics, and a rationalism critical of mythical tradition gave the preconditions for historical research. The Greek genre is eclectic in its sources and scope, secular and humanistic in purpose. A rational method and a literary genre were constructed by Herodotus to solve a particular historical puzzle and to legitimate his demonstrably eccentric society. History of politics, public administration, and war remained central but sociocultural history emerged already with Herodotus. The best historians limited themselves to an extended narrative of the period within living memory; the preeminence of recent history was a consequence of methodology's failure to produce reliable evidence for earlier periods.

To record with honesty and after determined research the recent past, especially its changes with no norm postulated, to comprehend the rational, continuous, and earthly connections among things, to inform not a dynasty but all those (of the dominant class) who cared to understand contingent but decisive forces in human societies: these were the ancient historian's professed intentions. The impulse varied as of course did the style, the diligence, and perceptivity of the explanations. Some authors delight in the trivial deed revelatory of personality, many have a moral purpose. Some have a theory of historical causation (cyclical, pendular, linear), but rarely is it applied systematically. Sudden change and contingency were explanations more often invoked than gradual evolution and inevitability. The best of the ancient historians express surprise over outcomes, a sense that things could have gone forward differently, and their historical reconstructions preserve that three-dimensional quality.

The superior historians identified problems of time, change and cause, bias, evidence, individual and group interests, culture, nation, myth, and power. They downplayed the gods, giving them at most the job of keeping the show running, not proving their power. They sought to render events intelligible in human, not providential terms. To instruct and to entertain readers with true examples were goals (cf. Pliny *Ep.* 5.8). Their narrative histories of events were not as analytical as ours. The causes of war were not profoundly discussed, success was measured by duration rather than by ethical notions, evidence was inadequately evaluated and sometimes fabricated. Metaphors, models, and ideological assumptions were rarely considered: narrative history did not question the rights of power, the aim of dominion, or slavery.

Writers of history competed less frequently to unearth new material than to extend the scope of political discourse or to delight their audience with drama, passion, and elegant prose. The chief theoretic was rhetoric; the motive of inciting the reader's virtue and condemning vicious behavior tempted writers to persuade unscrupulously more often than to strive for accuracy. Neither Greek nor Roman historians bothered to learn foreign languages in order to search native resources. Quotation of sources was rare, testing their authorities' accuracy occurred to few of them, and the disinterested weighing of conflicting material evidence was uncommon.

Greek ethnic bias did not lead historians to see history as proof of their nation's favor or disfavor before a god or as a fulfillment of divine promises. Greek historians were often from, but no longer of, their city's power elite. Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius all wrote in exile, a political limbo. This reduces parochial favoritism, but not class prejudices. Many Romans deploy history to explain and justify Rome's growth and supremacy. Some subordinate disinterested curiosity to apologetic, polemical, and didactic ends. The great Roman achievement in historiography is the transformation of Greek antiquarian local history in annalistic form into Roman national history. This relocation of focus became the precursor of most modern historiography.

The story of particular men and contingent events has always been insufficiently logical for philosophers and scientists, but the ancient historians did create a beachhead for systematic research into past human activities. Ancient classical historians generally find and leave men in the historical process, responsible for their choices and acts. The genre maintained a recognizable, if profitably fluid, profile for 750 years in Greek hands, for 500 years in Roman.

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DONALD LATEINER

**HISTORY OF JOSEPH.** See JOSEPH, HISTORY OF.

**HITTITE HISTORY.** The Hittites were a people of Indo-European origin who penetrated into Asia Minor probably before or around 2000 B.C. and in the subsequent period became one of the greatest powers of the ANE.

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A. The Name "Hittite"
B. Geography
C. Form of Government
D. Excavations and Discoveries
E. Hittite History
F. Economy
G. Languages
H. Religion
I. Literature
J. Culture

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### A. The Name "Hittite"

The name is derived from the indigenous *ḫatti,* while the modern designation is based on the Hebrew *ḥēt/ḥittī.* In the Old Assyrian texts, *ḫatti* is used as the geographical term for (central) Anatolia and hence is not a gentilic. At that time (19th to 18th century B.C.), *Ḫattuš* was the name of the later Hittite capital, where there was an Assyrian trading post. (In the Hittite language the name of the town becomes an *a*-stem, giving the well-known Ḫattuša.) During the New Kingdom or Empire (from about 1425 to 1180 B.C.), in addition to the expressions "the land" or "the people of [the town of] Ḫattuša," the name Ḫattuša alone was used as a gentilic. From the end of the 2d millennium, Assyrian texts use the term *ḫatti* (Hittite) usually in a pejorative sense—in a way which corresponds to the term *ḥēt/ḥittī* in the later books of the OT.

Numerous passages in the OT refer to Hittites as forming part of or even as actually constituting the original population of Canaan. References to Hittites in the books of the Pentateuch are likely to reflect Canaanite and Hebrew traditions concerning the political reality of the Hittite state during the stage of the Old Hittite kingdom or the initial phase of the Empire period. References in later books (1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, 1 Chronicles) usually refer to the symbiosis of the Neo-Hittite and Aramaic states in more northern regions as well as to individuals stemming from the north. From a Hittitological point of view, Palestine does not belong to those countries which at any given time belonged to the Hittite sphere of influence. However, this does not preclude that in isolated cases persons or even groups may have crossed the borderline which separated the Hittite from the Egyptian sphere of influence. See also HITTITES IN THE OT.

**B. Geography**

The geography of Hittite Asia Minor is still a strongly contested area of Hittitology. In the SE lay Kizzuwatna, which comprised sections of the later Roman provinces of Cilicia and Cappadocia. In the NW, later known as Paphlagonia, lay Palā. In the W and SW of Asia Minor lay Luwiya (from ca. 1400 B.C. onward called Arzawa).

**C. Form of Government**

It has been postulated that an Indo-European trait can be discerned in the character of Hittite kingship, which originally was less absolutist and despotic than elsewhere in the ANE, and in the position of authority held by the *pangus*, or council of able-bodied (?) men. There was a clear relationship between the Hittite queen and the sun goddess of Arinna, the leading female figure of their pantheon, while in a religious text which, as far as its contents are concerned, stems from Old Hittite times, the Hittite king is designated "the governor" of the storm god, the most important male figure in their pantheon. According to Hittite terminology, the Hittite kings "became gods" when they died. It would seem that in the 13th century B.C. the Hittite king and queen were, to an extraordinary degree, assimilated with the gods, whom they appear to have represented on earth and with whom they were perhaps identified after death.

The Hittites formed what was essentially a federatively organized state which during the New Kingdom or Empire was second only to Egypt in the ANE. At first the kingdom manifested certain feudal traits, but gradually it developed into a state ruled by officials.

**D. Excavations and Discoveries**

The existence of the Hittite kingdom during the 2d millennium B.C. and the later continuance of Hittite traditions in the so-called Neo-Hittite states in the region around modern Kayseri, SE Anatolia, and N Syria in the period from 1180 to 700 B.C. have gradually been pieced together as a result of numerous archaeological excavations. In 1834 the earliest surface exploration resulted in the discovery by the Frenchman C. Texier of the extensive ruins of Boghazköy/Boğazkale about 150 km E of Ankara, and the nearby rock sanctuary Yazılıkaya. In 1905 the German Assyriologist H. Winckler first visited the site, and in 1906 regular excavation work began and continued in 1907, 1911, and 1912. After a long hiatus as a consequence of World War I and its aftermath, excavation work was resumed in 1931 by the German prehistorian K. Bittel. The same thing happened in 1952 after World War II, but work finally resumed and is still going on.

From the beginning of the excavations at Boghazköy large numbers of clay tablets were found near the great Temple I in the lower city, at Büyükkale, the citadel, the Palace of the Hittite "Great Kings," and the so-called "House on the Slope." The presence of Akkadian and Sumerian texts among the collections of tablets was very quickly discerned. Soon, too, a tentative reconstruction of the succession of Hittite kings during the period of the New Kingdom (ca. 1425–1180 B.C.) was formulated, and only later did it become clear that the texts are preponderantly of an administrative and religious character. For some periods of Hittite history the texts reveal a surprisingly clear picture of how the upper stratum of the Hittite population lived and worked. Written on clay tablets in an adapted version of the cuneiform writing system used in Mesopotamia, the texts comprise a variety of genres: royal inscriptions, religious documents, diplomatic correspondence, and treaties.

The Hittite hieroglyphic script had been previously rediscovered. This system of writing, typologically affiliated (as a syllabary) with cuneiform script, but with a closer resemblance to pictography in its sign forms, was especially used (beginning in the late 18th and 17th centuries?) for official documents. Numerous seals and seal impressions have been preserved together with longer or shorter texts inscribed on (natural) stone, mostly stemming from the late 14th and 13th centuries B.C. Statements on clay tablets reveal that this type of script was also used for lower administrative purposes within the palace, the temple and the army, and was in these contexts inscribed on wax-covered wooden tablets. The hieroglyphic script and wax as a writing material were presumably used by broader layers of the population, and they continued to be used in the period of the Neo-Hittite states, from about 1180 to 700 B.C. Stone, lead, and probably wood continued in use as writing materials. The first example was discovered in Hama (th) in Syria in 1812 by the Swiss explorer J. L. Burckhardt, was published in 1822, and was rediscovered together with other examples in 1870.

Turkish archaeologists were already closely involved in the earliest excavations at the Hittite capital. A second important site in the central region within the bend in the Halys River, Alaca Höyük (1907, 1935, and 1937–39), was excavated solely by Turkish scholars. German archaeologists sponsored by American institutions excavated Alişar (= Ankuwa?) in 1927–32. Both sites have proved especially important for the earlier periods of Hittite history. However, the main new developments in the field of Hittite archaeology since World War II are without doubt the Turkish excavations in Inandık led by R. Temizer and K. Balkan (1966–68). There they discovered an important Old Hittite temple, an exceptionally important relief vase and a donation deed (published by Balkan in 1973). Since 1973, the Turks have been conducting excavations in Maşat led by T. Özgüç and S. Alp. In Maşat a large palace dating from the beginning of the Empire period was excavated and an important local archive of 125 letters on 94 clay tablets, 16 lists, and 1 oracle text was found. These two excavations filled in sizable lacunae in the archaeological documentation of Ḫattuša, while the letters from Maşat, when finally published, will prove of great historical, linguistic, and paleographical significance. The period in question, the last decades before the accession of Suppiluliumas I (ca. 1350–1325 B.C.), is rather poorly attested in the text collections of the Hittite capital.

During the first stage of the study of the hieroglyphic script and again since 1974 English scholars in particular have been intensely occupied with this Anatolian method of writing. Between 1872 and 1884 and on the basis of the find spots of the hieroglyphic script, W. Wright and A. H. Sayce succeeded in drawing a rough map of the extent of the Hittite New Kingdom or Empire. The find spots are dispersed over a wide area, from the Sipylos inscription near Smyrna (= Izmir) on the west coast, via Boghazköy in the heart of Turkey, and on to Carchemish (= Çerablus) on the Turkish-Syrian border near the Euphrates (after Boghazköy the largest tell in the whole country; English excavations in 1878, 1881, 1911–14, and 1920). The unity of the script was correlated with the textual data on the kingdom of the Hittites in inscriptions of the pharaohs of the Egyptian New Kingdom, of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (1115–1077 B.C.) and the OT.

The discovery of the so-called Arzawa letters in the Archive of Amarna (1887) led to the surmise that in view of the two systems of writing, cuneiform and hieroglyphic, in use there, Boghazköy must have been the capital of the Kingdom of Arzawa. Now Arzawa is known to have been located on the SW coast of Turkey. Only after the work of H. Winckler and the other German and Turkish researchers in Boghazköy and after the deciphering (or rather the analysis) of cuneiform Hittite by the Czech scholar B. Hrozný (1915–17; cuneiform had already been deciphered, so that the script could be read) was it conclusively established that the site represented Ḫattuša, the Hittite capital, and that a new branch of the Indo-European family of languages had been discovered. In 1926 the Swiss scholar E. O. Forrer made available the most important historical text material for both the Old Hittite Kingdom (17th–15th centuries B.C.) and the Empire period (approx. 1425–1180 B.C.). In about 1952 paleographic research began to make headway with the work of the American scholar H. G. Güterbock and the German epigrapher H. Otten. Specific forms of signs much used during the Old Hittite period and the first half of the Empire period

were distinguished as such, making it also possible, therefore, to date more precisely the religious texts of earlier periods, especially those written in the Old and Middle Hittite scripts.

**E. Hittite History**

In a surprisingly quick succession of events, the first three kings of the Old Hittite dynasty of Ḫattuša, Labarnas, Ḫattusilis I, and Mursilis I, succeeded in establishing a realm in Anatolia and later add to it large parts of present-day northern Syria. According to the historical prologue of a legal and administrative edict of the later Hittite king Telepinus, who in this prologue gives a tendentious survey of Old Hittite history up to his time (beginning of the 15th century), Labarnas already held considerable regions in S Turkey. Either Labarnas himself or Ḫattusilis I, his successor (and probably his grandson), must have penetrated far into the NW. Kizzuwatna, reached by way of the famous "Cilician Gate," was probably annexed to the kingdom during the reign of Ḫattusilis I.

It was under this same king that conflict began with Aleppo, the capital of the Yamḫad kingdom in Syria, which at that time was perhaps the most powerful state in W Asia. Yamḫad prevented the Hittites from entering Syria. According to the bilingual (Akkadian and Hittite) annals of Ḫattusilis I (found in 1957), the Hittites attacked the coalition of city-states (which included Emar, Ebla, and Zalpa) from two directions: by the way of Kizzuwatna, specifically that part later known as the Cilician plain (around present-day Adana), and from the N after crossing the Euphrates. It appears from one of the two edicts dating from the end of his reign (but perhaps not of his life), in which Ḫattusilis I probably again appointed a grandson, Mursilis I, as his successor, that Aleppo had not as yet been defeated. The text suggests that this was to be the task of the new, young king when he had attained the age to undertake campaigns independently. This latter detail derives, however, from the second edict, likewise bilingual, dealing with the succession to the throne. During the reign of Ḫattusilis I the Hittites penetrated deep into the Hurrian country in N Mesopotamia. The Hurrians, on their part, invaded Anatolia in the early part of his reign and advanced far into Hittite country.

After capturing Aleppo, Mursilis I undertook the gamble of sending a military expedition to the then weakened Babylon, an event known not only from Hittite sources but also from Akkadian texts. Mursilis I probably joined battle with the Hurrians both before and after the expedition against Babylon, which was carried out with foot soldiers and charioteers and resulted in a temporary occupation of the city. The same period of his reign (about 1600 B.C. according to the "Middle Chronology" or in the second half of the 16th century according to the "Low Chronology") also yielded a number of important texts. These include the Old Hittite version of "The Laws" and several interesting and original historical texts, one of which describes the conflict with Aleppo during his reign and the reign of his predecessor and another text which would seem to be devoted to the conflicts with the Hurrians. It is this latter composition which, in addition to another "contemporary" fragment, alludes to the predatory raid on Babylon. A third text contrasts instances of corruption in official conduct and military action with the description of a meal at court at which sat the "good" dignitaries from the reign of Ḫattusilis I.

This period of prosperity was followed by a long one of decline, attributed by Telepinus to dissent within the royal family concerning the rights of succession and initiated by the murder of Mursilis I by his brother-in-law Hantilis I. About 1425 B.C. a new dynasty arose, perhaps with the transfer of power to a secondary branch of the reigning royal family. The Hurrian names of the new queens (Nikalmati and Asmunikal, but also Taduhepa and Henti) and the originally Hurrian birthnames of a number of its male princes (Manninni, Tulpi-Tešub, and Tasmisarri), two of whom later became kings under traditional Hittite names, strongly suggest connections with Kizzuwatna. Little is known about the period between Telepinus and the New Kingdom or Empire period. Recent archaeological discoveries in the Upper Town of Ḫattuša have confirmed the historical reality of Hantilis II, Zidanza II, and Huzziyas II, whose existence had been doubted by some scholars, and even added a final Old Hittite or Early Empire king, Muwattallis I, whose claims to sovereignty had not yet been recognized by modern scholarship (Houwink ten Cate 1987). At least five and possibly six kings need now be reckoned with; they must have succeeded each other quickly, and certainly did not represent separate generations.

The advancing Gasga nomads of the N must have made their proximity felt, at the latest under Hantilis II, but perhaps already under the reign of Hantilis I. In the course of later centuries they several times threatened or actually attacked Ḫattuša, located dangerously near the north zone. The first incursion was during the reign of Tudḫaliyas II (?), the direct predecessor of Suppiluliumas I (1350–1325 B.C.), when not only the palace of Maşat but also large sections of the capital itself were laid waste. Less than a hundred years later, at the beginning of the 13th century, the threat of the Gasga nomads was likely one of the reasons Muwattallis II removed the royal residence to Tarhuntassa. His successor, Urḫi-Tešub (= Mursilis II) returned the palace to Ḫattuša. Some scholars ascribe the ultimate devastation of Ḫattuša (ca. 1180 B.C.) to the Gasga nomads. A recently found hieroglyphic inscription concerning Suppiluliumas II, the last known Hittite "Great King," may contain information regarding the actual causes for the final disaster.

The beginning of the New Kingdom can be dated to about 1425 B.C. There is uncertainty, however, as to the number and succession of the kings of the first part of this period. A genealogical reconstruction of this first stage reckons with four or five kings belonging to three generations, and provides an historical sequence whereby under Tudḫaliyas I extensive annexations were made: land on the west coast and later Isuwa, East of the Euphrates, and territory around present-day Elaziğ was added to the realm. This king is the same Tudḫaliyas who, according to the later Aleppo treaty, conquered both Aleppo and Mitanni. It would seem that even Wašukanni, the as yet unidentified capital of Mitanni, was held temporarily by the Hittites. In all reconstructions, the reign of Ḫattusilis II, presumably a son and direct successor of Tudḫaliyas I, witnessed the first signs of a decline which became acute during the reign of Arnuwandas I, now assumed to have been the brother-in-law of Ḫattusilis II (Arnuwandas I was married to Asmunikal, the daughter of Tudḫaliyas I and Nikalmati). This rapid decline, which continued during the beginning of the reign of Tudḫaliyas II, led to a situation in which, when the enemies of the kingdom were pressing on all sides, the Hittite king was driven back to the core of his realm, the region around Ḫattuša within the bend of the Halys River. There is evidence that during a later stage of his reign, Tudḫaliyas II was able to recapture Kizzuwatna. But the success of the second attempt to expand the kingdom beyond the frontier of present-day Turkey was of short duration.

It was the third attempt at expansion, during the reign of Suppiluliumas I, that had longer success and resulted in a firmly demarcated sphere of influence. This hegemony was maintained for almost a century and a half. Suppiluliumas I concentrated initially on the consolidation of the kingdom in Anatolia itself; later, during the second stage of his reign, he put an end to the independent existence of the Hurrian kingdom of Mitanni (perhaps with Babylonian assistance) and captured important towns and regions which lay within the sphere of Egyptian influence. The superiority of Suppiluliumas I lay in the combination of cautious diplomatic maneuvering and strong military action at the opportune moment. Ugarit and Amurru were removed practically forever from the Egyptian realm and added to the Hittite Empire. In domestic and foreign affairs he made frequent use of the well-known strategem of dynastic marriage. He arranged the marriages of one sister and of two daughters with vassal princes; he himself married a Babylonian princess before he began his more internationally orientated career; and the widow of the Egyptian pharaoh Tutanhkamen asked him for a son to be her husband and future pharaoh of Egypt. The latter marital project was not, however, realized. The prince Zannanzas was killed *en route*, and this led to new military and political complications.

The administrative consolidation of the new realm was expressed in the installation of two princes, sons of Suppiluliumas I, as viceroys in Aleppo and Carchemish respectively. In particular the dynasty of Carchemish, strategically located at the point where the Assyrian and Hittite spheres of influence adjoined, thereafter played an important role in the governance of the Syrian provinces of the empire. Four generations of kings of Carchemish were contemporaneous with the four generations of Hittite "Great Kings" who ruled the realm after the death of Suppiluliumas I. It is likely that the fifth king of Carchemish, Kuzi-Tešub (recently attested in two seal impressions found at Lidar Höyük [see Hawkins 1988]), outlived the disastrous end of the Hittite Empire. In the second half of the 13th century the city of Tarḫuntassa played an equally important role in the defense against western invaders. The recently

published “Bronze Tablet,” an official copy of a treaty between Tudḫaliyas, the son and successor of Ḫattusilis III, and Kuruntas, son of Muwattallis II, and the later treaty that Tudḫaliyas concluded with his brother Ulmi-Tešub prove that during this period the kings of this SW border province functioned on a par with their contemporary, the king of Carchemish. Both were preceded in rank by the Hittite “Great King” and the heir apparent to the Hittite throne.

The rapprochement with Egypt in the course of the 13th century B.C. undoubtedly took place under Assyrian pressure. The New Kingdom came to an end around 1180 B.C., in the period of the migrations of the so-called “Sea Peoples.” Ḫattuša was captured, plundered, and razed, a fate which—with the likely exception of Carchemish—also befell towns in other parts of the empire. That the “Sea Peoples” should be held responsible for the destruction of the Hittite capital is not thought to be very probable; the Hittite Empire was too much of a continental power and most of the important settlements lay far away from the coast. Disastrous occurrences within Anatolia itself are likely to have played an important role in this downfall.

The Neo-Hittite states in the region around modern Kayseri, SE Anatolia, and N Syria thereafter carried on the Hittite-Luwian traditions for another five centuries. Since the references in the Neo-Hittite hieroglyphic texts to different ethnic components—Luwian and Hurrian, but also Northwest Semitic—are indicative of the continuation of a pattern which already existed in the late 14th and 13th centuries B.C., no large-scale migrations need be assumed. As far as the regions outside of Anatolia proper are concerned, one might also evoke the picture of former colonies outlasting the political existence of their mother country. Recent research has indicated that Neo-Hittite kings in the Malatya region claim descent from a “Great King” of Carchemish named Kuzi-Tešub, who is said to have been their grandfather. If this Kuzi-Tešub turns out to be the king now known to have been fifth in line in our listing of Carchemish rulers, the long-sought piece of evidence for continuity between the Hittite Empire and the Neo-Hittite kingdoms would now have been found (Hawkins 1988: 101–3). In a more general sense, vestiges of the glorious past can be discerned in the continued use of the titulature “Great King, Hero,” not only in Malatya and Carchemish but also in Karahöyük (Elbistan) and in the group of presumably early Neo-Hittite inscriptions found in the W (Karadağ-Kızıldağ southeast of Konya and Burunkaya in the vicinity of Aksaray). In Tabal (the region around Kayseri) the titles were still adhered to in the late 9th and 8th centuries B.C. Also the more general recurrence of famous Hittite king names, Labarnas, Ḫattusilis, Mursilis, Arnuwandas, and Muwattallis, in the whole region for which Neo-Hittite inscriptions are attested suggests a tradition rooted in the older Hittite dynasties.

In the 9th century B.C. the Neo-Hittite states became involved in renewed Assyrian expansion toward the NW. After a short intermediary period in the first half of the 8th century when Urartu was exceptionally powerful, the Neo-Hittite states were gradually, one by one, incorporated into the Assyrian Empire. At that time, from the middle of the 8th century onward, the Phrygians ruled W Anatolia. In the E, Urartu was still an important power. During the last stage of their independent existence, the Neo-Hittite states of SE Turkey endeavored in vain to gain the support of the Phrygians and Urartu against Assyria. In the 7th century there was again unrest and apparently intervention from both the Greeks and Phoenicia. After the fall of the Assyrian Empire, the coastal region of the Mediterranean fell under the political influence of the Neo-Babylonian Empire. The further course of events forms part of the more traditional classical ancient history. All that remains to be said is that Luwian population groups would appear to have continued to exist in broad zones of the S coast and in particular in the lands of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera down into the Hellenistic age.

A number of factors make it difficult to give a broad description of Hittite history. For some periods, however, there is an abundance of historical material, both in volume and in genres. Moreover, the historiography of the Hittites is of a relatively high level. This obtains in particular for the reign of Mursilis II (ca. 1321–1298 B.C.). The earliest example of Hittite historiography, the “Text of Anittas,” recorded for a king of Kaneš/Nesa (near Kültepe in the vicinity of Kayseri) who belonged to a local dynasty and lived approximately seventy-five years before Labarnas, describes lucidly events which may encompass more than one reign, sometimes even long periods. The presentation is seldom exclusively

centered around the main personage, the Hittite king. The achievements of other leaders are fittingly described. Later examples of historiographic texts contain geographical digressions and historical transitions when a change is made to another location or another subject. Letters are cited and sometimes events in the enemy camp are described at length. Often an important opponent is allowed to speak. All this results in an easily readable description of events. Setbacks and defeats are hardly ever mentioned, however, and important omissions are merely ascribed to royal predecessors; these historical texts definitely give a biased account.

The Hittite annals, intended as self-justifying reports to the gods, but also as accounts of personal achievements recorded for the benefit of future successors and probably also for contemporaries of the ruling class, reach a level of sophistication unparalleled in those days. Their notable character as compared with examples from elsewhere in the ANE is probably due to the different administrative structure, by which rights and duties were more evenly spread over a larger number of people.

**F. Economy**

Hittite economy was clearly based on crop and cattle raising, carried on by farmers who were either independent or belonged to one of the two "Great Organizations" (palace and temple), or to the larger unit of a private estate. The limited number of land grant deeds and of cadastral texts shows that an estate or a farm could comprise dispersed parcels of lands. In the so-called land grant deeds (Old Hittite end Early Empire) in which were registered the royal grants of estates, a distinction is made between arable, horticultural, and pasture land. The horticultural land was divided into vineyards and orchards and mention is also made of forestland. The work of cultivation was done by resident families of farmers (also working on their "own" plots) assisted by slaves. It is remarkable that craftsmen are sometimes listed in the descriptions of these estates. The king was undoubtedly the largest landowner. Oxen (used for plowing), cows and goats (for milk), sheep (for wool), and also pigs and donkeys are mentioned. Horses are already referred to in the Cappadocian texts and also in the texts of the Old Kingdom. The art of metalworking (mines were the greatest asset of Anatolia and apparently continued to attract the Assyrian interest) and the manufacture of textiles must have reached a high degree of perfection, as is evidenced by the archaeological finds and the data in the texts.

**G. Languages**

Very soon after Hrozný's "decipherment" (1919), it was noted that no less than eight different languages were represented on the roughly 10,000 clay tablets and fragments of tablets found thus far. Although the obvious interpretation of this phenomenon is that it is the first formal indication of the composite nature of Hittite civilization, it could also indicate that the administrative system was less rigid and monolithic than in other parts of the ANE. Only Hittite, the language of the central region within the bend of the Halys River, Luwian, used in the S and W, and Hurrian, spoken in the SE and especially E of the Euphrates, were still living languages at the time of the New Kingdom. The most remarkable aspect of this phenomenon is, therefore, that the texts and linguistic products of six centuries appear to have been kept in a rather large number of places in the administrative and religious center of the kingdom when the capital was devastated about 1180 B.C. Apparently the Hittites were strongly oriented toward the past. To this must be added that Sumerian and Akkadian were included in the teaching of cuneiform, since practically every written Hittite sentence contains Sumerian and Akkadian logograms. Hence the use of cuneiform script implied at least a passive knowledge of some Sumerian and Akkadian. Recent research has revealed that scribes with Akkadian names were employed at the beginning of the New Kingdom and Hurrian scribes in the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. Moreover, two of the extinct languages, Hattic and Palaic, are mainly found in scattered passages in religious texts called "festival texts" or "festival descriptions" where Hattic and Palaic gods are addressed.

The eighth language attested was in all likelihood extinct as well. It can be detected in the scattered evidence for a form of Indo-Aryan among the numerous Hurrian personal names found not merely in Ḫattuša but in a great number of archives which came to light in a broad northern zone of the ANE. The Hurrians, like the Urartians later, spread out from a region between Lake Van and Lake Urmia and took possession of large tracts of present-day SE Turkey, N Syria, and N Iraq during the final phase of the 3d

and the subsequent first half of the 2d millennium B.C. The Hurrians reached the pinnacle of their political power in the Mittanni Kingdom (16th–14th centuries B.C.). Originally it was thought that among the Hurrians there was an upper stratum of Indo-Aryans who forced their way in from the N at the beginning of the 2d millennium. The data from the collections of texts from Ḫattuša which provided important new clues are the occurrence of a number of Indo-Aryan divine names in a state treaty between Suppiluliumas I and his son-in-law Sattiwaza, at that time vassal king of Mitanni under Hittite sovereignty and protection, and the likewise Indo-Aryan technical terms in the training manual of Kikkulli, the horse trainer from the land of Mitanni. Nowadays the presence of these Indo-Aryan names of gods and persons and these technical terms has been reduced to a minor element in Hurrian studies. See also LANGUAGES (HITTITE).

**H. Religion**

The Hittite texts speak of the "thousand gods" of the Hatti kingdom. In addition to the Indo-European types of divinities (the storm god of heaven and the male sun god of heaven may be compared to Zeus and Helios respectively) and the numerous divine figures derived from the Hattic substratum who retained their Hattic names, many Hurrian deities also occur in the Hittite pantheon, especially from the beginning of the New Kingdom. Within this Hurrian group some, like Enlil and Ea, ultimately go back to Mesopotamia. The beginning of the New Kingdom period also witnessed the introduction of the state cult calendar with the two main festivals of Spring and Autumn, both lasting originally for 35 days or more. During both festivals the king and the queen visited the sanctuaries in the capital and the temples of the most important towns in the vicinity of Ḫattuša. After the "Upper Town" had become the main terrain for archaeological work, no less than 21 additional temples were uncovered. During the course of the Empire period, Hurrian influence increased steadily, and consequently with regard to the 13th century B.C. use is often made of the term *interpretatio hurritica* of the Hittite pantheon, best illustrated in the rock sanctuary Yazılıkaya near the Hittite capital. The hieroglyphs added show that reference is made to Hurrian deities. On the main panel Tešub, leading the procession of gods, and Hepat, leading the goddesses, stand facing each other. They are here apparently identified with the storm god of Hatti and the sun goddess Arinna, the two leading deities of the Hittite pantheon. In the capital itself, both deities shared a double temple, the "Great Temple" located in the "Lower Town" of the old city.

A group of Hittite mythological tales are indigenous to Anatolia, and the Hattic deities figuring in them probably go back to Old Hittite times. Another group is predominantly Hurrian and belongs to the period of the New Kingdom. All of the epic texts (in the introductions and in the colophons, often added to the texts, characterized as "Songs") go back to the Hurrians or to Mesopotamia (presumably through Hurrian mediation; e.g., the Hittite version of the Gilgamesh Epic). A few Northwest Semitic deities and myths also penetrated as far as Ḫattuša. The Hittite royal prayers, particularly the numerous prayers of Mursilis II, are of great historical importance. Most large collections contain many rituals and festival texts. See also ANATOLIA (MYTHOLOGY).

**I. Literature**

It is of importance to realize that the concept of literature is more limited for the 20th-century reader than for the ANE. Hittite literature comprises everything that was deemed worthy of being recorded in writing. The findspots of the tablets are both "archives" and "libraries" (or, for that matter, "scriptoria") in the later usages of these terms. Even a term like "chancellery" might be applied to the collections found at Büyükkale (buildings A, E, and K). Many genres are represented already among the Old Hittite texts. Unrepresented genres—instructions, oracle texts, and royal prayers—may have been disregarded for highly practical reasons. Historiography is the literary genre that was most productive. The scribe's training was based on Mesopotamian texts, which were traditional in this respect (see Beckman 1983). The high esteem attached to the ability to write in cuneiform is evident from the two groups of persons for whom genealogies are available: the kings of the second half of the Empire period and a fairly large number of scribes.

**J. Culture**

The Hittite civilization was manifestly composite. Much was derived or borrowed from the autochthonous Hattic population, particularly in matters of religion, court ceremonies, and iconographic traditions in art. Hurrian influence became significantly evident during the New Kingdom or Empire. The most important achievements of the Hittites in the cultural sphere lie in the field of historiography (compositions on a central theme) and in law. The political talent of the Hittites was great. They have sometimes been characterized as the Romans of the East. Such a comparison can also be made on account of their interests in architecture and warfare in addition to historiography and legal matters. It is also applicable to the way in which they, like the Romans, assimilated and incorporated cultural achievements from their predecessors and from elsewhere. See *CAH* 2/1: 228–55; 659–83; 2/2: 252–73. See also ANATOLIA (HISTORY).

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PHILO H. J. HOUWINK TEN CATE

**HITTITE LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (HITTITE).

**HITTITE RELIGION.** The Hittite royal archives, known since 1907, cover the 18th to the 13th centuries B.C. They constitute one of the richest archives of the ancient Near East, and contain the most religious documents of any archive. These archives are the oldest evidence of an Indo-European language and religion.

**A. Sources**

These documents were written in cuneiform script on clay tablets, following Mesopotamian practice. The majority of the texts are of religious content, containing myths, hymns, and prayers, cultic inventories, divinatory texts, and descriptions of festivals and magic rituals (Laroche 1971: 321–720). The myths indirectly furnish precious facts about the origins of the kingdom (Laroche 1965: 62–176; Gonnet 1987a, fc.); the hymns and the prayers enlighten us as to the specific character of the relationships that existed between the king and the god (Laroche 1964–65; Houwink ten Cate 1969; Lebrun 1980). The prayers contain promises made by the king to a god in exchange for desired divine favors, while detailed descriptions of the festivals (Güterbock 1960; 1969; Darga and Dinçol 1969–70; Singer 1983–84; Popko and Taracha 1988), rituals (Goetze 1938; Otten 1958; Kümmel 1967; 1987; Neu 1970), and the cultic inventories (Brandenstein 1943; Jacob-Rost 1963; Carter 1962; Güterbock 1983), apprise us not only of divinity lists and the organization of cults (Archi 1973b), but also of the juncture of the human universe with the world of deities. Certain of these rituals are closely linked to mythological texts, of which they give a kind of synchronic equivalent; this circumstance permits both the myths as well as the rituals to be understood (Gonnet fc.).

**B. General Characteristics**

If one were to name three general and specific traits of the Hittite religion, one would say that it was characterized by the contractual nature of its relationship between the Hittites and their gods, by the importance played by rituals, and by the role played by the king.

In fact, the Hittite god was less attached to a place than to a cult: one could attract him with the promise of giving him a particularly elaborate cult; a god might leave his sanctuary and the country if his cult was not attended to according to the ritual (through negligence, insufficient offerings, or omissions from the cultic calendar), and might take with him everything necessary for life (Gonnet 1988). This departure would bring catastrophies regarded as divine punishments. Mobility is one of the original characteristics of the Hittite gods, and the strength of the Hittite Empire was directly linked to the number of gods that it was able to attract, appropriate, and hold on to. The Hittite land was not in and of itself sacred; it was so only to the degree that it sheltered numerous gods for each of whom a cult was conducted according to tradition: tradition is the very essence of the sacred.

Among the Hittites, proper conduct of a cult is essentially conforming to an archaic ritual, carefully transcribed on tablets found in libraries by scribes, meticulously faithful to their model: the ritual is a succession of *acts* that ends in a *sacrifice* offered, at a *moment* dictated by the liturgical calendar, to a particular *god.*

The importance of the king in the religion is linked to two facts: the king is the head of the clergy, and he becomes a god at his death. When the son of a king evokes the death of his father, he says: "when my father became a god" and this expression is only used for kings and their queens. Like the gods, dead kings have images that receive offerings (Otten 1951; Gonnet 1987b). It is the same for the queen, the king's wife (Bin-Nun 1975). Although the king, while alive, is only human, he is the "favorite of the gods" (Gonnet 1979: 23–24; 1987a). That is to say, he was elected by the gods to exercise royal power in a country and in a capital—Ḫattuša (Boghazköy)—that had likewise been chosen by them (*KUB* II 2: 42–43: "the gods have allotted the nations, they have established the capital at Ḫattuša for the king to rule there"; *KUB* XXIX 1: 17–18: "it is on me, on the king, that the gods, the Sun and the god of Storms have conferred the country and my house"). One of the major aspects of the royal function is directly linked to the divine election: it is the king himself who, seconded by numerous clergy (Güterbock 1975: 129–32; Gurney 1977: 25–43), enacts the cult on behalf of the gods. He is responsible for the proper execution of the cults, a condition for prosperity; and this fact explains the important role of rituals and more generally of religion in the society.

**C. Deities**

From the beginning, Hittite religion combined two traditions. The one is called Hattic; it was pre-Hittite, non–Indo-European, named for a people located in the Halys River valley; the other was called *nesite,* properly Hittite, from the name of the town of Neša (Kaneš), in Cappadocia. In the course of time, gods of other populations were adopted; those of the Palaites in Paphlagonia and those of the Luwians in the region of Tyane, two Indo-European groups; then a little later, the gods of the Hurrians (a non–Indo-European people of Cilicia/Kizzuwatna; Güterbock 1949; Gurney 1977; Laroche 1980). With all these disparate elements, the Hittites assembled a vast pantheon that they designated as "the thousand Hittite gods." It is in the organization of this pantheon that they left the specific mark of their culture.

In the middle of the 13th century B.C., under the influence of Queen Puduhepa, of Hurrian origin, the Hittite pantheon was founded upon the Hurrian pantheon, which had become official. This pantheon is well known thanks to the rupestral sanctuary of Yazılıkaya (Bittel 1975), located 2 km from Ḫattuša. More than fifty divinities are represented there in relief, wearing above their arm their Horite name written in hieroglyphic Luwian. It is the oldest representation of a pantheon.

A Hittite god was never isolated (Laroche 1967); he was always part of a divine grouping (Laroche 1952) that one honored according to the hierarchical order of the divinities (Puhvel 1984: 129–35). The place where all the gods assembled was above all, Ḫattuša, called "the city of the gods." But other sacred cities, such as Arinna, Nerik, and Zippalanda, (Tischler and Del Monte 1979) were designated as "places of the Assembly and of the Judgement of the gods" (Beckman 1982; Houwink ten Cate 1987). Outside of Ḫattuša, seat of the state pantheon, each Hittite city possessed its own pantheon, comprising gods,

goddesses, mountains, rivers, and springs. In the longest royal prayer known, that of the king Muwattalli (Lebrun 1980: 256–85), there are more than fifty enumerations of provincial pantheons.

The lists of gods are known to us above all from two types of documents: texts that describe the royal offerings during the cults and the festivals, and treaties concluded between the Hittite king and a neighboring country (Weidner 1923; Friedrich 1926–30; Laroche 1980). The difference between these divinity lists is in general slight; they always begin with the sun ($^{d}$UTU) and his group, followed by three groups of gods: the storm god ($^{d}$U/IM) and his circle, the protector gods ($^{d}$KAL) and the group of gods of war ($^{d}$ZABABA). This tripartition recalls the distribution of functions recognized in other civilizations by Georges Dumézil (1966: 68–74; 77), although among the Hittites, the group of war gods is found in the third position. In the lists of royal offerings, before the sun one finds an entity whose nature is still unclear, Tauri (t), a divine concept associated with a tree.

The sun is a complex divinity: when feminine, she can be the solar goddess Arinna, consort of the head of the pantheon, the storm god; or even the solar goddess of the earth (Lelwani), an infernal goddess (Otten 1950). But when the sun is a male god (*Ištanu*) like the Mesopotamian Šamaš, a sort of assimilation takes place between the king and the god (Houwink ten Cate 1987), as the principal royal title, "My Sun" (= My Majesty), indicates. In the Anatolian hieroglyphic system this is represented by a winged solar disk (Laroche 1960 no. 190; Gonnet 1979). Relief number 34 of the Yazĭlĭkaya Sanctuary reflects this ambiguity: the person represented wears a royal costume; he has the royal title "My Sun" above his head but also the name of the sun god above his arm (Bittel 1975: Tafel 22, 1). The Hittite sun seems to be outside the three groups of gods cited above. He floats above these categories, like a guardian angel.

The lists of divinities end with the enumeration of secondary divinities, of which some are only hypostases of the principal divinities mentioned above. The " (favorable) day," deified among the Hittites, often appears at the end of the lists (Otten 1958: 77–78).

**D. The Cult**

Worship was offered to a divine image. This could be a statuette (Puhvel 1984: 313–15), a stele (Darga 1969), or an object symbolizing the god (a rython or statuette in the form of an animal, for example: a bull for the storm god, a deer for the protector gods, a lion for the gods of war).

A god's cult was initiated by a royal decision. It was the king who decided to have the image made, who fixed the date, the place, and the form of the cult, and endowed the temple with houses for the clergy and temple personnel, lands, vineyards, and storehouses for the harvests (*CTH* 81 II: 79–82; Archi and Klengel 1980; Gonnet 1987a: 91, 96). The clergy assisted the king in the celebration of the cult. The priests and priestesses of the temple took care of and prepared the sacrifices. A priest was elected by lot. After his enthronement, he carried the image of the god to the altar of the temple dedicated to him (Gonnet 1985–86). It is necessary to distinguish the clergy proper from the temple personnel, who were responsible for all the necessary elements for the preparation and the execution of the cult: chefs, bakers, cupbearers, potters, singers, instrumentalists, dancers, etc. At the head of the administrative services was the overseer, who managed the goods and furniture of the temple.

The cult took place in a temple or outdoors, in a "pure" place, "in the mountains where there is water." The cult image and the cultic equipment (throne, hearth, portable altar) were transported to the chosen spot where they were set in place on a rock.

As the excavations at Boghazköy have shown (Neve 1975; Klengel 1975), a temple was located in a sacred enclosure in which other buildings have also been found (library, storehouse). A temple could be dedicated to one or two divinities at a time (Güterbock 1975: 127). In the temple, several sacred places received offerings as well as the divine image: the throne (Archi 1966; Starke 1979), the hearth, the altar, the keyhole (symbolizing the door), and the window (Popko 1978).

Most often the cult of the gods was integrated with a seasonal festival that lasted several weeks. The most important festivals were those of autumn and spring. That of autumn, *nuntariyšhaš,* called the "festival of speed," lasted 21 days (*CTH*, 626; Košak 1976). The spring festival, which bore the name of a plant, AN.TAH.ŠUM., numbered 38 days (*CTH*, 604–25; Güterbock 1960; 1964; Gonnet 1981; 1982;

Houwink ten Cate 1986; Popko and Taracha 1988). Both were agrarian festivals. They were centered around the opening (in the spring) and the closing (in the autumn) of the grain jar (Archi 1973a). During the last cultic season, winter, other festivals were celebrated, for example the festival of the winter solstice or that of the New Year (*CTH*, 597–600; Hoffner 1967: 39–41; Carter 1962: 180–83; Neu 1982: 125–27).

The rituals that ended with sacrifices offered to the gods of beverages, bread, and meat (Kammenhuber 1971; Archi 1973b; Rosenkranz 1973) often included the burning of incense; the manipulation of objects pertaining to the throne, the king, and the symbols of power; foot races; horse races; simulated combat (Archi 1978); a banquet (Archi 1979) in which the royal couple and the principal officers of the empire took part; vocal and instrumental music (Kümmel 1973); dances; recitations, and acrobatics. The sequence of these traditional and seemingly very ancient rituals evidently carried significance, but nothing obliges one to think that it was always perceptible during the time of the empire.

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**HITTITE TEXTS AND LITERATURE.** In discussing Hittite texts one must first specify how the term "Hittite" is to be understood. Modern scholars distinguish between two major groups: (1) the Hittite kingdom with its capital at Ḫattuša, modern Bogûazkale (Boghazköy), which existed ca. 1750–1200 B.C., and (2) the Neo-Hittite kingdoms of S Anatolia and N Syria, small city-states which carried on some aspects of the Hittite culture after the central administration at Ḫattuša had collapsed with the destruction of the city. The Hittite kingdom used both a distinctively Hittite cuneiform script and a hieroglyphic script. Cuneiform was used for all types of texts, while the hieroglyphs are restricted primarily to seals and monumental inscriptions. Cuneiform texts have not been found at the Neo-Hittite sites; these kingdoms continued the use only of the hieroglyphic script.

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A. Terminology
B. Types of Texts
1. Historical Texts
2. Administrative Texts
3. Law
4. Lexical Texts
5. Mythological Texts
6. Hymns and Prayers
7. Rituals
8. Divination
9. Festivals
C. Hittite Literature
D. Hieroglyphic Luwian Texts

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**A. Terminology**

The term "Hittite (abbrev. "Hit") text" can be somewhat ambiguous because of the multilingual nature of the corpus. We may include under this rubric not only texts written in Hit, but also those composed or copied down by the Hittites in other languages such as Akkadian (Akk). There are eight languages attested in the corpus of cuneiform tablets at Boghazköy (Gurney 1981: 119–30): (1) Hittite, the Indo-European language of the founders of the Hittite kingdom. The early Hittites borrowed the cuneiform script of Mesopotamia and adapted it to their own language, allowing them to develop their own literary traditions and to translate the literature of other cultures into Hit. The majority of the Ḫattuša archive is written in Hit. (2) Luwian, a related Indo-European language of southern Anatolia. The Luwian of the cuneiform tablets consists of passages within the context of Hit-language ritual texts, usually incantations to be recited in Luwian. Luwian is also the language of the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions. (3) Palaic, another Indo-European language of the Anatolian group, attested only in fragments from the Ḫattuša archives. (4) Akkadian, the Semitic language of Mesopotamia and the language of international correspondence in the Near East of the 2d millennium. The Hittites not only borrowed the cuneiform script of Mesopotamia but also learned to write Akk, using it especially for treaties and letters intended for non-Hit speakers. The influence of the Mesopotamian scribal tradition on early Hittite literature may be seen in the historical texts from the Old Hittite period written in Akk or bilingual Akk and Hit (Güterbock 1964: 108). Texts borrowed from the Mesopotamian tradition, such as omens, epics, and proverbs, also tend to be written in Akk, although they were also frequently translated into Hit. In addition Akk words occur throughout texts written in Hit, used logographically for Hit words. (5)

Sumerian (Sum), the ancient language of Mesopotamia and the first to be written down by the inventors of cuneiform. Sum words occur as logograms throughout Hit texts (as they do in Assyrian and Babylonian texts). Sum also occurs in the Hittite lexical texts, most of which are in three languages: Sum, Akk, and Hit. (6) Hurrian, the language of the Hurrians of northern Mesopotamia and Syria, including the kingdom of Mitanni. An agglutinative language unrelated to any other known language except Urartian, Hurrian occurs at Ḫattuša primarily in passages meant to be recited in rituals, in loan words (especially in divination), and in a few texts written totally in Hurrian, including fragments of the Gilgamesh Epic. The Hurrian material from Boghazköy presently forms the bulk of that language's corpus, as the capital of the Hurrian-speaking kingdom of Mitanni, Waššukanni, has not yet been discovered. (7) The Aryan language of Mitanni's rulers, preserved in some technical terms in a Hurrian-inspired horse training treatise. (8) Hattic, the language of the pre-Hittite inhabitants of Anatolia. This language is preserved only in the Hittite tablets from Ḫattuša. There are some purely Hattic texts, including poetry (Güterbock 1964: 104) as well as Hattic material preserved in bilingual Hattic-Hit texts, and in Hattic passages meant to be recited in rituals and festivals.

The great majority of the Hittite texts come from the capital at Ḫattuša. The Hittites housed their tablets primarily in a large archive in the palace, a major archive in the main temple, and in a building of uncertain function situated on the slope of the acropolis. Additional tablets have been discovered throughout the site of Ḫattuša, especially in the smaller temples.

There are a few Hittite texts extant from areas outside Ḫattuša. From Tell el-Amarna in Egypt comes diplomatic correspondence written in Hit (Hoffner 1980: 283 n. 4). A few tablets from Alalaḫ also are in Hit, and at Ugarit (Ras Shamra) a few Hit texts have been found. The only major archive outside the capital has been found at the Turkish site of Maşat (Hittite Tapikka), a provincial administrative center. Correspondence between Tapikka and Ḫattuša figures prominently in the Maşat archive, although other kinds of texts not specifically related to Maşat's administrative role have been found at the site.

The texts of the Hittite corpus are published in the form of copies made by experienced Hittitologists, who render as exactly as possible the form of the tablet and of each individual sign. Thus scholars all over the world may work with the material without having to travel to the Turkish museums where the actual tablets are housed. Perhaps 30,000 tablets or tablet fragments have been discovered at Boghazköy to this point, of which most of the major texts and perhaps half of the total corpus has been published in copy. A number of Hittite texts in English translation are collected in Pritchard, *ANET*.

**B. Types of Texts**

Hittitologists profit greatly from the comprehensive (when it was published) *Catalogue des Textes Hittites* of Emmanuel Laroche, which categorizes all published texts from the Boghazköy archives. The following sketch of Hittite text genres depends on this fundamental work. For each section the reader may refer to the appropriate category in Laroche for specific bibliography.

**1. Historical Texts.** See Hoffner 1980 for an extensive analysis of Hittite historiography and types of historical texts. The Hittites are to be credited with the earliest known examples of annals, a form of historical writing later used extensively by the Assyrian kings. For the Hittites this type of text is perhaps best exemplified by the various versions of the annals of Muršili II, in which each year of the reign is carefully documented with a record of its campaigns. A unique historical document is the "Political Testament" of Ḫattušili I, a bilingual Akk-Hit text in which the dying king describes to his assembled nobles the provisions for his succession. A series of early texts grouped by Laroche under the title "Palace Chronicle" are anecdotes of events in the royal palace in the early days of the Hittite state.

The "Telepinu Proclamation" is an especially important text for the Old Hittite period. In it the king, Telepinu, describes the period of anarchy characterizing the later Old Hittite era and details new rules for succession to the throne designed to reduce dynastic intrigue. The Hittite king not only records in writing his measures to enhance stability, but includes the historical context in which the need for such a proclamation arose. The Hittite corpus contains other royal edicts or decrees as well. An unusual historical text is the "Apology of Ḫattušili III," in which one of the later Hittite kings justifies his usurping

of the throne from his nephew. As in the case of the Telepinu Proclamation much of the text is historical background to provide the context and reasons for Ḫattušili's actions.

A major type of historical text is the treaty, of which a number have been discovered at Ḫattuša. The best known of these is the treaty between Ḫattušili III and Rameses II of Egypt, of which both versions are extant, one from Ḫattuša and the other from Karnak. Many of the Hittite treaties are in Akk, as one would expect from documents which by their nature are international. Treaties with local, Hit-speaking Anatolian vassals are usually in Hit. Unique among the treaties is a recently discovered tablet made not of clay but of bronze, with the cuneiform signs carefully chiseled into the metal. It is the only bronze cuneiform tablet ever discovered. The text is a treaty between the king at Ḫattuša and a king in the south, at Tarḫuntašša.

One other major category within the historical genre is letters. These are royal letters, written to or by the Hittite kings in correspondence with other great kings of Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt, or with lesser princes. As with the treaties some of the letters are in Akk, some in Hit.

**2. Administrative Texts.** Like the historical text category, a number of different kinds of texts may be grouped under this rubric. One type of administrative text is the land donation, in which the king or king and queen make a grant of land to a subject. Other administrative texts include lists of officials, of personnel, or of towns, and inventories of resources, manufactured goods, or tribute.

The "instructions" form a major group of administrative texts. Each instructions text is a written description, developed by the Hittite bureaucracy, of the duties of various government officials. The instructions are addressed to officials such as the majordomo of the palace, the mayors of provincial towns, the border guards, and temple personnel. They are quite specific, detailing day-to-day duties, overall responsibilities, and the necessity of upright behavior and loyalty to the king in administering his resources.

There are attested from Boghazköy a number of shelf lists or catalogs of tablets, a kind of index system to facilitate finding tablets in the archives. The tablets are described in these catalog texts by author, tablet number if part of a multitablet text, and some descriptive phrase for the tablet by which it may be identified. Thus did the librarians of Ḫattuša organize their archives.

One subset of the administrative texts are the cult inventories, records of the religious resources of the kingdom. These include lists of cult equipment, cult statues, and religious personnel by town, and reflect the importance which the Hittites placed on maintaining local cults in the provinces. The festivals which are to be celebrated for each god are also detailed in these inventories, so that a record is kept not only of each town's cult resources, but also the festivals for which it is responsible.

**3. Law.** The Hittites, like many ANE peoples, had a written set of laws. The Hittite code comprises 200 individual laws; the many copies and versions of these texts show their importance in Hittite culture. The laws are formulated as hypothetical cases of the type "if a man does *x* …" Most punishments are monetary fines, although for some offenses corporal punishment is prescribed.

In addition to this comprehensive codification of the Hittite principles of justice, there are extant several interesting records of actual court cases. The best known of these involves charges brought against GAL-$^{d}$U and his father Ukkura, palace attendants of some responsibility accused of misappropriating palace equipment and livestock. The court recorder has set forth both the charges of the accusers and the attempts of the defendants to defend themselves and explain the disappearance of the articles in question.

**4. Lexical Texts.** There are several series of lexical texts, or vocabularies, from Boghazköy. These texts are normally 3-column tablets, one column each for Sum, Akk, and Hit equivalents, with sometimes a fourth column to indicate the pronunciation of the Sum. They are the ancient version of our foreign-language dictionaries, designed to be used by the scribes for looking up words in foreign languages. This type of text is borrowed from Mesopotamia, where the texts are 2-column lists of Sum and Akk equivalents.

**5. Mythological Texts.** For this genre, see ANATOLIA (MYTHOLOGY).

**6. Hymns and Prayers.** The Hittites wrote down prayers to their gods, of which approximately 14, plus other fragments, have survived. These prayers sometimes include hymns of praise. They are almost

always of royal authorship. Some are addressed to a specific god, some pertain to a particular crisis, and at least one, of Muršili II, addresses all of the gods. They contain elements of praise, confession of sins, and supplication. Perhaps the best known prayers are those of Muršili II petitioning the gods for relief from the plague which was ravaging the Hittite homeland. They are a poignant expression of a monarch's concern for his people as well as his theological speculation on the causes for such a disaster.

**7. Rituals.** The Hittites distinguished between rituals and festivals, a distinction which Hittitologists maintain in their terminology for these texts. Ritual texts record the magical procedures performed by a professional magician, usually designated as a "seer" or an "old woman." Each ritual text identifies the name of the practitioner and his place of origin, what the ritual is intended to cure, and often a list of required ingredients. The magicians are frequently foreigners coming from areas outside the Hittite homeland, especially from Kizzuwatna in southern Anatolia and Arzawa in the west. Rituals were performed on behalf of individuals suffering from various ills such as black magic, impurity, or impotence. Rituals utilize various kinds of sympathetic magic and may or may not involve offerings to invoke the power of the gods.

A particular type of ritual, in Hit *mugawar*, is a kind of attraction magic, designed to draw back to Hatti a god who has disappeared. See ANATOLIA (MYTHOLOGY) for a discussion of the myths that accompany these rituals.

**8. Divination.** Under this heading several distinct text types may be discerned. A number of omen texts are extant, some in Akk, some in Hit, but all borrowed from the Mesopotamian tradition of divination. The texts are records of ominous events in the form of protasis, e.g., "If the moon eclipses …" and apodosis, "Then *x* will occur …" Omens may be astral or lunar, or involve unusual events or malformed births. A major type of omen involves examination of the entrails of animals, again relying on the tradition of extispicy developed in Mesopotamia. A number of liver models, with the omen texts written in Akk (or, rarely, partially in Hit) near the appropriate parts of the organ, have been discovered at Boghazköy.

A distinctively Hittite type of divination text from Boghazköy is the oracle. These texts represent a different approach to divination from the omens. The omen texts record a divination which is not sought, but is rather an observation of unusual phenomena, while Hittite oracles involve a deliberate attempt to learn the will of the gods. The texts describe the process involved, the questions put to the gods, and the answers received. The Hittites employed several methods of oracular investigation, including: (1) "Lot," in which symbolically named objects (lots) moved about among symbolically named locations by a mechanism not yet understood. (2) "Bird," in which the flight of birds, described in bewildering detail in the texts, was interpreted as the response of the gods to the questions put to them. (3) "Snake," in which a water snake was observed swimming about a large basin with symbolically named regions. (4) "Flesh," in which the exta of slaughtered sheep were examined for signs supposed to reveal divine responses.

Matters about which oracles might be consulted to determine the will of the gods included the health of the king, where the king should campaign, or the changing of part of a festival. Since each oracle could only provide a yes or no answer, deciding the will of the gods on questions such as these required a long process of elimination with a correspondingly large number of individual oracles taken to arrive at the answer.

Dreams represent another way in which the Hittites communicated with the divine. In the dream texts the king or queen recorded what he or she had seen in a dream. The texts also record the vows usually made by the person during the visitation of the god in a dream. Some Hittite rituals involve having the client sleep in the presence of the deity (the cult image) to encourage that deity to reveal himself to him in a dream (Hoffner 1987: 282).

**9. Festivals.** The most numerous type of Hittite text is the festival text, that is the texts describing how a particular religious festival was to be performed. Such texts detail the cultic equipment, personnel, and offering materials required for the festival, and provide a detailed account of the various ceremonies and where, when, and how they are to be performed. Some festivals lasted for several days and involved travel by the king and priests to surrounding cult centers outside the capital. From the thousands of festival

tablets discovered at Boghazköy dozens of distinct festivals have been identified, all part of a well-defined religious calendar. Festivals may be devoted to a particular deity or be associated with a certain season of the year.

**C. Hittite Literature**

One cannot draw sharp distinctions in the ancient texts between literary and nonliterary texts, and the question of what among these texts may be considered literature must be left to the individual reader of the Hittite tablets. For a careful consideration of this by a scholar thoroughly familiar with these texts, see Güterbock 1964. The mythological texts are certainly literary compositions, as are the Hattic poems. There is some wisdom literature from this area, showing a mixture of Hittite and Mesopotamian elements. The hymns addressed to the gods may also be seen as literary compositions. Some of the historical documents, such as the story recounting the Hittite siege of the city of Urša, or the palace anecdotes could also be considered literary.

**D. Hieroglyphic Luwian Texts**

The Hittites of the Empire period and the Neo-Hittite states used a hieroglyphic system of writing which includes both logographic and syllabic signs. The language of the hieroglyphs is a dialect of Luwian. The Hittites of the Empire period used the cuneiform and hieroglyphic systems simultaneously, as may be seen on many of their seals, which give the name of the owner in both scripts. The Neo-Hittite states did not use cuneiform, although they did use other writing systems besides the hieroglyphs, as may be seen in the long inscription at Karatepe, a bilingual text in hieroglyphic Luwian and alphabetic Phoenician.

Texts in hieroglyphic Luwian are mostly seals, which give little information beyond the name of the owner, and the monumental inscriptions of kings and princes. The Nişantaş inscription at Ḫattuša, authored by the last Hittite king, Šuppiluliuma II, is the longest hieroglyphic text from the Empire period. It recounts the deeds of the king's predecessor Tudḫaliya IV, but unfortunately its poor state of preservation makes it almost illegible. Hieroglyphic inscriptions often accompany reliefs, as at Yazılıkaya, the rock sanctuary where the figures of the gods are identified by hieroglyphic renderings of their names. There is a rich corpus of Hittite rock reliefs, on orthostats or carved onto living rock, dating from the Empire and Neo-Hittite periods. Many of these reliefs are accompanied by hieroglyphic captions or short inscriptions. Longer inscriptions such as that at Karatepe, a Neo-Hittite site, provide more text and historical information. However, the hieroglyphic corpus does not show the same rich diversity of text genres which makes the Hittite cuneiform archives such a valuable source for so many aspects of Hittite history and culture.

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**HITTITES IN THE OT.** This entry surveys the OT references to "Hittites."

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A. Hebrew Terms for "Hittite"
B. The Hittites in OT History
C. Who Were the Hittites?

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**A. Hebrew Terms for "Hittite"**

Several different Hebrew words or phrases in the OT are usually translated "Hittite" or "Hittites." Occurring only in passages concerning Abraham's purchase of the field and cave in which to bury Sarah, especially Genesis 23, is the phrase *bĕnê Ḥet,* "sons [or children] of Heth." Heth is listed in Gen 10:15 and the parallel passage in 1 Chr 1:13 as one of the sons of Canaan, along with other ethnic groups who consistently occur with the Hittites as peoples of Canaan. The analogous phrase *bĕnôt Ḥet,* "daughters of

Heth," translated "Hittite women" in RSV and NIV, occurs twice in Gen 27:46, describing the native women from whom Rebekah fears Jacob will take a wife. These phrases reflect the patriarchs' perception of the Hittites as early inhabitants of Canaan, "Canaanites" in the broad sense of the term.

The more common Hebrew word used to denote the Hittites, *ḥittî,* is also based on the name Heth and formed with the regular gentilic *yod.* This form always occurs with the definite article and is used in only two distinct ways. One of these is to designate the ethnicity of an individual, for instance Gen 23:10, *ʿEprôn* haḥattî, "Ephron the Hittite." The passage in Genesis 23, in which *ʿEprôn haḥittî* occurs with many examples of *bĕnê Ḥet,* confirms the identification of the children of Heth with the term "Hittite." Four individuals, Ephron, Zohar (Ephron's father), Beeri, and Elon, are identified as Hittites from the time of the patriarchs, while from the time of David two more, Ahimelech and Uriah, are so identified.

The much more common use of the phrase *haḥittî* is in the lists of the peoples of the promised land. This singular form used in a generic sense is translated in the plural, "the Hittites," in most modern versions of the OT. The Hittites usually occur in first or second position in the "standard" list of the seven major peoples of Palestine: the Hittites, Girgashites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites (e.g. Deut 7:1).

Two examples of a feminine singular form *ḥittît* exist in the OT, in analogous passages in Ezekiel 16. In Ezek 16:3 and 16:45, in language full of imagery, Jerusalem is castigated with the charge that its mother was a Hittite. There is one attested example of the form *ḥittiyyot* (1 Kgs 11:1), the plural feminine form. This occurs in a list of the foreign (non-Israelite) women admired by Solomon. These singular and plural forms are regular formations of the feminine based on the gentilic *ḥittî.*

There are also five occurrences of a masculine plural, *ḥittîm.* This form differs from the others in that it is used in widely varying contexts. In Josh 1:4 it occurs in the phrase *ʾereṣ haḥattîm,* "land of the Hittites," in the description of the land promised by God to Moses. In Judg 1:26, we again have the phrase *ʾereṣ haḥattîm* in the story of the man who betrayed Bethel to the Hebrews and then went to the land of the Hittites to found a new city. In 1 Kgs 10:29 and the parallel 2 Chr 1:17 we have *malkê haḥittîm,* "kings of the Hittites," to whom Solomon was exporting chariots and horses. Finally in 2 Kgs 7:6 the Syrians lift their siege of Samaria because they think that the "kings of the Hittites and the kings of Egypt" have been hired by Israel to attack their camp.

The LXX does not consistently follow the Hebrew forms, showing both singular and plural forms for the Hebrew singular *ḥittî.* It does not have the reference to the land of the Hittites in Josh 1:4, and it translates the 2 Kgs 7:6 plural *ḥittîm* with a plural form *chettaiōn.* In Judg 1:26 it reads *chettin,* and in 1 Kgs 10:29 and 2 Chr 1:17 *chettiín,* for the plural *ḥittîm.*

There is of course a people known to us as Hittites from their own rich archaeological and epigraphic record in Asia Minor and north Syria. The Anatolian Hittite kingdom flourished ca. 1650–1200 B.C., while its Neo-Hittite successor states lasted down to the 7th century. These people referred to their kingdom as the land of Ḫatti, and to themselves as the people of Ḫatti. In the Bronze Age the land of Ḫatti is primarily Anatolia, while 1st-millennium Assyrian records refer to north Syria in general as the land of Ḫatti *(māt Ḫatti),* reflecting the presence of the Neo-Hittite states in that area after the fall of the Hittite Empire.

**B. The Hittites in OT History**

The Hittites were settled in Palestine before Abraham arrived, as may be seen from references to them in the patriarchal narrative. When God described to Abraham the land which he was going to give him (Gen 15:20), the Hittites were already settled there. When Sarah died, Abraham was living among the Hittites as a foreigner and bought the field and cave in which to bury her from Ephron the Hittite in the presence of the Hittite community. Later, while Isaac's family was living around Beer-sheba, Esau took two Hittite women as wives. Rebekah's concern that Jacob would also take a wife from the Hittite women was so great that Isaac specifically forbade Jacob to marry a Canaanite woman, where "Canaanite" must be understood in a general sense to include all the inhabitants of the area.

Several centuries later, when the Hebrews returned from Egypt and conquered the land which God had promised to them, the Hittites were still one of a number of local ethnic groups of Palestine. Both in

God's description of the land before they entered it and in the cataloging of the peoples against whom the Israelites fought in the Conquest the Hittites almost invariably occur in the somewhat standardized list of the local inhabitants of the land. When the spies return and make their report at Kadesh Barnea (Num 13:29), they locate the Hittites, Jebusites, and Amorites in the hill country, while other groups live on the coast or in the Negeb. This is corroborated in Josh 11:3, in which the same three peoples plus the Perizzites are described as living in the hill country. That the Hittite territory is in the heart of the promised land which the Israelites are to conquer is made clear in Deut 20:16–18, where God includes them in the list of peoples of the promised land who must be utterly destroyed. They must have been organized politically, as Josh 9:1–2 talks of the coalition of the Canaanite peoples to defend themselves, which included the kings of the Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, etc.

The patriarchs encountered the Hittites around Hebron (Genesis 23) and Beer-sheba (Gen 26:34; 27:46), and most of the evidence as to their location at the time of the Conquest is consistent with that location. The exception to this is Josh 1:4, in which the area around the Euphrates is described as the land of the Hittites. This does not fit with the other references to the Hittites as one of the local peoples of southern Palestine, and probably refers to the Neo-Hittite principalities of northern Syria. After Joshua's death the tribe of Joseph received the assistance of a man who betrayed Bethel to them and then fled to the land of the Hittites and founded a new city. Unfortunately no indication is given of where this land of the Hittites was.

The Israelites never completely conquered the peoples they were supposed to have eradicated, and they thus left themselves open to the ever-present danger of Canaanite influence. The Hittites are one of the Canaanite peoples in the period of the judges whom the Israelites continued to encounter in areas which they had conquered and settled. Judg 3:5–6 specifically indicates that the Hebrews had failed to eradicate the Hittites and had in fact now begun to intermarry with them and adopt Canaanite religions.

This failure of the Hebrews to eliminate the Hittites of Palestine can be seen in the continued contact between Hittites and Hebrews in the period of the monarchy. One of David's comrades while he was being pursued by Saul was Ahimelech the Hittite, whom David trusted sufficiently to ask if he would accompany him into Saul's camp at night (1 Sam 26:6). Ahimelech's Hebrew name is an index of how completely he had been integrated into Hebrew society. The story of David and Uriah the Hittite in 2 Samuel 11–12 indicates the presence of Hittites in Jerusalem. Although Uriah, a Hittite, was sufficiently integrated into Hebrew society to serve in the king's army, marry a Hebrew woman, and be listed among David's mighty men, the distinction between Hebrews and other ethnic groups was still maintained, and his ethnicity was an essential part of his identity.

Under Solomon the Hebrews were still in active contact with the Hittites; they were among the Canaanite women whom that king admired and took in marriage or concubinage (1 Kgs 11:1–2) even though they were one of the peoples with whom marriage had been specifically forbidden by God. They are also listed among the descendants of the early peoples of Canaan whom the Israelites had not exterminated, but who had been made subject and were forced by Solomon to work on his building projects (1 Kgs 9:20–21, 2 Chr 8:7–8).

Two other references to the Hittites in the time of the monarchy reflect a very different relationship between Hebrew and Hittite and must refer to a different people. In 1 Kgs 10:29 (and the parallel 2 Chr 1:17) we learn that Solomon was importing chariots from Egypt and horses from Cilicia, and exporting them to the kings of the Hittites and the Arameans. These Hittites cannot be the same people whom Solomon conscripted for forced labor, but rather a politically independent group of kings. These kings of the Hittites and of the Arameans must be located in the city-states of north Syria, which were Neo-Hittite and/or Aramean. Solomon's geographical location made him an ideal middleman for the shipping of Egyptian chariots to north Syria. However, we must wonder how he could export Cilician horses to the Neo-Hittite states, as they were located between Cilicia and Jerusalem. Did the horses come by sea to Palestine, whence they were then sold to the Neo-Hittite kings?

The Hittites, or at least their reputation, played a major role in the fate of Israel during the divided monarchy. In 2 Kgs 7:6, the Syrians who had been besieging Samaria fled their camp when they thought

they heard the sound of a great army, telling themselves that the king of Israel had hired kings of the Hittites and kings of the Egyptians to attack them. Again this powerful group whose very name can terrorize an army can hardly be the Hittites of Solomon's enslavement, but must rather be the Neo-Hittite kingdoms.

Even in the exilic and postexilic periods, the Hebrews remembered or actually encountered the Hittites in Palestine. In one of Ezekiel's prophecies, he refers to the parentage of Jerusalem: "your mother was a Hittite and your father an Amorite" (Ezek 16:45, 16:3 similar, RSV). When the Hebrews returned from Babylon in the 5th century, Ezra encountered the same crisis of intermarriage with the Hittites that had caused problems for Isaac and Rebekah and for Solomon. In Ezra 9:1–3, Ezra is horrified by the information that the Hebrews have taken as wives the women of all the local tribes of Palestine, including the Hittites. As in the period of the Conquest, this is perceived as disastrous to the religious purity of the Israelites. In Neh 9:8, Nehemiah, in recounting the promises of God to Abraham, describes the land promised to Abraham as that of the Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, etc.

**C. Who Were the Hittites?**

In the biblical references to the Hittites two different groups may be discerned. One is a local people of Palestine, settled in the area around Hebron before Abraham's arrival, the descendants of Canaan through the eponymous ancestor Heth. They lived in the heart of the land promised to the Israelites, so that God had to expressly command the Israelites to destroy them. That they were not eradicated but continued to inhabit southern Palestine, including the area around Jerusalem, may be seen in the references to Hittites in the Hebrew army, as forced labor conscripts, or as possible wives for the Hebrews, all the way through to the return from the Babylonian exile. Almost all of the references of Hittites in the OT fit into this picture of a local Canaanite people never quite eradicated in the Hebrew conquest of Canaan.

There are, however, five references to Hittites which do not fit with this picture (*IDB* 2: 613–14). The reference in Josh 1:4 to the area around the Euphrates as the Hittite country cannot be the Hittites of Hebron, but rather, depending on the dating of the Conquest, either the Hittite Empire's territories in north Syria or the successor Neo-Hittite kingdoms in that region. See Boling, Wright *Joshua* AB, 122–23 for a different view. The reference in Judg 1:26 to the man who after betraying Bethel goes to the "land of the Hittites" could refer to southern Palestine or to north Syria. In view of the use of the phrase *ʾereṣ haḥattîm*, "land of the Hittites," the only other occurrence of this phrase besides the Josh 1:4 passage, it is quite possible that the Neo-Hittite area is meant. Boling *Judges* AB, 59, indirectly implies his understanding of his phrase as the area of the Anatolian-Syrian Hittites.

The references to the "kings of the Hittites" in 1 Kgs 10:29 and 2 Chr 1:17, where they are importing horses and chariots from Solomon, and 2 Kgs 7:6, in which their very name causes the Syrian army to flee, again imply a powerful and wealthy group of kings, not a local Canaanite people who had been reduced by the Conquest and enslaved by Solomon. Again the Neo-Hittite kingdoms fit perfectly; the chronology is right, they were in the same area as the Syrians and thus known to them, and the plural "kings" fits very well with the nature of these states, which were not unified into one polity, but consisted of a number of small kingdoms.

These five references to the Hittites which on the basis of context may be understood as the Hittites of north Syria, that is, the Neo-Hittites, are also the only five occurrences of the plural form *ḥittîm* in the OT. This may mean nothing, but it could be some indication of a distinction made in the text between the Hittites of Palestine, descendants of Heth, and the Hittites of Anatolia and north Syria, the men of Ḫatti.

We must then distinguish between the "sons of Heth" of Palestine and the "men of Ḫatti" of Anatolia and northern Syria (see already *IDB* 2: 614; *POTT*, 213–14; Speiser *Genesis* AB, 169–70). The similarity of "Heth" and "Hatti" may have led to the use of *ḥittî* to refer to both (*POTT*, 214). This is not to say that these two groups called "Hittites" in the OT may not be related ancestrally from some period antedating our earliest records. Nor do we imply that there was never any confusion between the Canaanite Hittites and Hittites of the Anatolian or north Syrian kingdoms who may have migrated into Palestine and settled there. For the period covered by the OT, however, it is clear that the terms usually translated "Hittites" referred to two distinct groups of people.

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**HIVITES** [Heb *ḥiwwî* (חִוִּי)]. In the Table of Nations (Gen 10:17) and the corresponding genealogy in 1 Chr 1:15, the Hivites are descended from Ham, one of the three sons of Noah, through the Canaanites. They are therefore not a Semitic people, in spite of the Semitic names given to certain of them in the Bible (e.g., Gen 36:2). Most often, the Bible mentions these people along with others, that is, the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Canaanites, and Jebusites. They are the indigenous inhabitants of the land promised by God to the Israelites. They were to be dispossessed by Israel under Joshua during the Conquest, to fulfill the promises of land made earlier to the patriarchs (Exod 3:8; 23:23; Josh 9:1; 24:11). Contact with them was strictly forbidden to Israel, who had to put them under the ban lest they lead her astray into the worship of their deities (Deut 20:17). This policy was not adhered to, however (Judg 3:5), since even Solomon was able to exploit the yet undestroyed peoples as conscripted labor in his building projects (1 Kgs 9:20–21). One explanation Scripture gives about why God allowed them to remain was to serve as a training field for the Israelites in the art of warfare, and also as a test to see if Israel would finally obey God's command, presumably by exterminating these predecessors of Israel (Judg 3:3–4).

Israel unwittingly made a pact with the Hivite (LXX "Horite") inhabitants of Gibeon, a village just north of Jerusalem, who through trickery were able to escape the eradication God had decreed (Joshua 9, especially v 7; 11:19). Geographically, the Hivites appear to inhabit the central and N regions of the land, ranging from Gibeon, just N of Jerusalem (Josh 9:7; 11:19), through Shechem, where a Hivite raped Jacob's daughter Dinah (Gen 34:14), up toward Lebanon and Mount Hermon (Josh 11:3; Judg 3:3; 2 Sam 24:7). They also seem to have some contacts in Transjordan (Gen 36:2).

Textual variants occur in several of the biblical passages. In Josh 9:7, the MT reads "Hivite" while the LXX reads "Horite." This variant could arise from a simple misreading of two Hebrew letters, *reš* and *waw*, which are physically similar not only in the later, square script, but also at earlier stages in the development of the Hebrew script. The same process in reverse, with one additional step of scribal error, could be evident in Isa 17:9. There the LXX reads "Hivites" while the MT has *ḥrš,* from a suggested *ḥry,* "Horite" (BHS; Kaiser *Isaiah 13–39* OTL, 80). Within one passage in the MT itself are both variants: a certain Zibeon is designated a Hivite in Gen 36:2 but a Horite in v 20.

Scribal error could account for these discrepancies, though the number seems somewhat high for this to explain all of them adequately. Another, more attractive suggestion, though itself without any objective evidence, is that a historico-geographical shift such as the incursion of a new group into the area of Canaan caused a change of nomenclature. It has been suggested that an original Semitic Horite group, possibly cave dwellers (from the Hebrew *ḥōr,* "cave"; Speiser 1933: 30) living in Edom (Seir, Genesis 36) were displaced by the ethnically distinct, non-Semitic Hurrians, who took over not only territory but also the name Horite. "Horite" could then have referred to two distinct ethnic groups which shared the same territory. "Hivite" could have arisen from a textual error, or more possibly as another designation of the Horites (Westermann 1985: 562) or of a subgroup within them (Speiser 1933: 30).

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DAVID W. BAKER

**HIZKI** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥizqî* (חִזְקִי)]. Son of Elpaal appearing in the extended genealogy of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:17). The name occurs in no other place in this form—Apocrypha or the deuterocanonical literature. The name is possibly a shortened form of the name Hezekiah or Ezekiel and means "my strength is [Yah or El]." The family of Hizki is associated with Ono and Lod according to 8:12. This

association is well preserved in the work of the Chroniclers with other references in Ezra 2:33, Neh 7:37, and 11:35. However, this association proves very interesting since these cities and their surrounding villages are located in the maritime plain in what is traditionally considered to be Danite territory (Adams and Callaway 1965: 55). Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 60) suggests that this location may have been settled by Benjamin during the reign of Rehoboam. He also points out that the names in this section of the genealogy occur in the list of Thutmose III but not in the MT until Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah. Perhaps, since there is so little mention of Dan in 1 Chronicles (2:2; 27:22), the inheritance had probably been absorbed by Judahite and Ephraimite tribes. The fact that Hizki and others associated with Lod and Ono are called "chiefs living in Jerusalem" (v 28) might further reflect a mixing of the tribal groups of Judah and Benjamin from the time of the division of the kingdom. Coggins (*Chronicles* CBC, 54) points out that this mixing resulted in some areas never being fully absorbed into certain tribal holdings. He considers that the reference to "chiefs living in Jerusalem" shows that Jerusalem itself was never fully absorbed into Judah. References making these two entities distinct are abundant and Judg 1:8, 21 show attempts to control the city by both Judahite and Benjaminite groups.

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G. EDWIN HARMON

**HIZKIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥizqîyāhû* (חִזְקִיָּהוּ)]. The second son of Neariah in the list of postexilic descendants of David in 1 Chr 3:23. His name is identical to that of Hezekiah. The name may mean "Yahweh is strength" or some variant (*TPNAH,* 153).

RUSSELL FULLER

**HOBAB** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥōbāb* (חֹבָב)]. A Midianite/Kenite whom Moses asked to guide the Israelites through the wilderness from Mount Sinai to the promised land (Num 10:29–32). Hobab was either Moses' father-in-law or his brother-in-law. In Judg 4:11, Hobab the Kenite is identified as Moses' father-in-law; however, in Num 10:29, Hobab the Midianite is referred to as Moses' brother-in-law while Reuel is mentioned as Moses' father-in-law. Contending that Hobab was Moses' father-in-law, Noth (*Numbers* OTL, 77) claims that the father-son relationship between Reuel and Hobab in Num 10:29 is a later harmonization and that even in the Yahwist's version of Num 10:29 Hobab would have been identified as Moses' father-in-law. Nevertheless, a further difficulty in identifying Hobab as Moses' father-in-law is that Jethro, the priest of Midian, frequently receives this designation (Exod 3:1; 4:18; 18:1–2, 5–6, 12).

Hobab's acceptance of Moses' invitation to guide the Israelites is not recorded in Num 10:29–32. However, evidence that Hobab consented to guide the Israelites may be present in Judg 1:16 which states that the Kenites and Judahites together went up and settled in the wilderness of Judah near Arad. If Hobab was the leader of the Kenites at the time of this concerted action, then he probably forged an alliance between the Kenites and the Judahites (*AIR,* 307). The absence of a response by Hobab in Num 10:29–32 to Moses' invitation to guide the Israelites may be a consequence of the tradition's emphasizing the divine guidance of the Lord from the Ark (Num 10:33–34) and its downplaying of the human guidance which Hobab would have provided. Evidence that the Israelites believed that they received guidance in the wilderness not only from the Lord enthroned on the Ark but also from Hobab may be found in Deut 33:2–3 if Weinfeld's revocalization of v 3a is accepted, reading *ʾap ḥōbāb ʿimām,* "also Hobab was with them," in place of *ʾap ḥōbēb ʿammîm,* "indeed, he loved his people" (*AIR*, 308). So while the Lord's guidance of the Israelites in the wilderness was primary, Hobab provided such guidance on the earthly level.

DALE F. LAUNDERVILLE

**HOBAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥôbâ* (חוֹבָה)]. In Genesis 14, Abraham and Lot separated their herds and flocks. Lot went to the Jordan Valley and camped near Sodom. The area was raided by four kings, perhaps from Mesopotamia (14:1). The kings took loot and apparently captives. Among the latter was Lot

and his goods (v 12). When the news reached Abraham, he gathered his fighting men and pursued the raiders as far as Dan (v 14). He routed the enemy and pursued them then to Hobah, N of Damascus (v 15). Some claim this chapter is not historical, though it is written in historical fashion. One may, therefore, argue that Hobah was not a place at all, but Damascus was and presumably Dan was. So it is possible that Hobah was also. The LXX *Chōba* appears in Gen 14:15 and Judith 4:4; 15:5; and maybe 15:4. The first reference in Judith is a list that includes Samaria, Jericho, Choba, and Jerusalem. This would seem to be a Judean or Israelite site, perhaps el-Marmaleh in the Jordan Valley, 30 miles S of Beth-shan, or el-Mekhubbi between Beth-shan and Tubas. But Abel (*GP* 1: 299) identified it with Hobah in Gen 14:15 (Moore *Judith* AB, 149). In chapter 15, after Judith cut off the head of their general, Holofernes, the enemy army panicked and fled. Uzziah, the chief magistrate of Judith's beseiged city of Bethuliah, sent (v 4) for reinforcements to Chobai (Choba, LXX N), etc. This too would seem to be a Judean or Israelite site. However, in v 5, the Israelites pursued the enemy and cut them down as far as Choba, even beyond Damascus and its border. This sounds more like Gen 14:15 and could, of course, be a conscious repetition of Gen 14:15. But whether it is or not, the description is similar, and no more helpful in locating the site.

There are a number of proposed identifications of Hobah. Genesis describes it on the left of Damascus, i.e., to one facing E, and hence Hobah would be to the N. The additional phrase "on the left of Damascus" has been compared with three other explanatory topographical glosses, Siddim (v 3), Enmishpat (v 7), and the King's Valley (v 17), all of which may be of doubtful value. Wetzstein thought it was Hoba, about 20 hours' journey N of Damascus (Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 267). Another Hoba (or the same?), a spring, is ca. 50 miles N of Damascus, on the road to Palmyra; and yet another Hoba is a village mentioned by Troilo as.25 miles N of Damascus (Keil and Delitzch n.d.: 206). Sellin and others have related Hobah to Ubi or Ube, which appears in the 1850 B.C. Execration Texts (*ANET*, 329) and in the Tell el-Amarna tablets (EA 53; 139:63; 146:12; 189) of the 13th century. Here it is the district around Damascus (Skinner *Genesis* ICC). EA Letter 53 is one from Akizzi of Qatna to the Egyptian pharaoh Amenhotep III which says Ube no longer belongs to my lord (53:23, 27, 28, 37, 57, 59; Mercer 1939: 229). The name also appears in letter 189: reverse 12. Haldar (*IDB* 2: 615) considered Amarna Ube a territory with its capital at Damascus; Damascus is unknown before the 16th century. Thus another town was the center of settlement. He suggests this is represented by the mound of Tell el-Salihiye, ca. 10 miles E of Damascus. It is the largest mound found in the region, which may favor the view that this was the capital in the early periods. Accordingly Hobah was probably the name of this place. It was settled in prehistoric times, and in the Old Babylonian period it was a fortified town.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**HOBAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥŏbayâ* (חֲבַיָה)]. An alternate spelling of *Habaiah* in Neh 7:63. See HABAIAH (PERSON).

**HOD** (PERSON) [Heb *hôd* (הוֹד)]. One of the eleven sons of Zophah in the genealogy of Asher (1 Chr 7:37). Although Hod is placed within the dominant line of the Asherite genealogy (Beriah-Heber-Hotham/Helem-Zophah), this figure appears neither in parallel lists in Numbers 26 and Genesis 46 nor elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible.

Based upon the military terminology used in 1 Chr 7:40, scholars have suggested that the Asherite genealogy reflects military census lists which were organized in genealogical form (for example, Johnson 1969: 64–66). In keeping with this interpretation, the name Hod ("splendor, vigor") may bear a military connotation.

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JULIA M. O'BRIEN

**HODAVIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *hôdawyāhû* (הוֹדַוְיָהוּ), *hôdawyâ* (הוֹדַוְיָה) ]. Var. SUDIAS. **1.** The first of seven sons of Elioenai named in a list of King Solomon's descendants (1 Chr 3:24). The Qere of the MT (Heb *hwdwyhw*) reverses the letters *wy* from the Kethib letter sequence (Heb *hdywhw*); thus, the Massoretes read the long theophoric ending (Heb *-yhw*). The LXX variously renders the Heb form (Gk *hodolia, ōdouia, ōdia,* and *ouadia*), but the NT may have substituted *iōda* (Luke 3:26). See JODA (PERSON). Noth (*IPN*, 194) reconstructs Heb **hôdûyâ* (based on the LXX variant *ōdouia*), and explains the name as the combination of Heb *hwd + yhwh* with a *waw* connector (cf. Heb *hôd lyhwh,* "O give thanks to the Lord," Ps 105:1; etc.). He claims that Heb *hwdwyh,* "Hodaviah," and Heb *hwdyh,* "Hodiah," do not share the same root, yet, as Kuhn notes (1923: 212, n. 1), their forms are frequently confused.

Since Hodaviah is a postexilic descendant of Solomon (ca. 420 B.C.E.), the Heb *-yhw* ending of his name is an exception to the almost exclusive absence of this form in postexilic names (Zevit 1983: 3). The name Hodaviah (Heb *hwdwyh*) occurs once in an extrabiblical source from Palestine (Lachish Ostracon 3 [*ANET* 322], ca. 589 B.C.E.), as well as in documents from Egypt (Elephantine Papyri, ca. 5th century B.C.E.; *CAP* 4, 30–31, 56, 58–59, 70–72, 170). This demonstrates the popular usage of this name by Jews before, during, and after the Exile.

**2.** Head of his father's household within the half-tribe of Manasseh (1 Chr 5:24). Along with his half-tribe and two other tribes, Hodaviah was carried into captivity by "Tilgathpilneser king of Assyria" (Tiglath-pileser III, ca. 744–727 B.C.E.) because his people sinned against God (1 Chr 5:25–26). This historical note, which concludes a list of tribal leaders and settlements, explains what happened to these tribes (1 Chronicles 5).

**3.** A Benjaminite whose grandson Shallu was among the first to live in his ancestral city after returning from exile (1 Chr 9:7). In a parallel list (Neh 11:7), the corresponding name is Joed (Heb *yôʿēd;* LXX *iōad;* cf. Syriac *jwdʿ,* which corresponds to Gk *iōda*). See JODA (PERSON). This occurrence of the abbreviated form of the name Hodaviah (the Heb *-yh* ending is missing) in a postexilic list of returnees (1 Chronicles 9) is predictable based on the absence of the Heb *-yh* ending in postexilic biblical material (see Zevit 1983).

**4.** A Levite forefather of 74 returnees from Babylon (Ezra 2:40; LXX variants include *sodouia* and *ōdouia*). In one parallel list (Neh 7:43), the corresponding name is Heb *hôděwâ,* "Hodevah" (LXX variants include *thoudouia, oudouia,* and *ōdouia*), which is a variant of either *hôdawyâ,* or *hôdîyâ.* See HODIAH (PERSON). The parallel in 1 Esdr 5:26 mentions "Sudias" (Gk *soudiou*), which corresponds to a variant of "Hodaviah" in Ezra 2:40, and likely resulted from a scribal misreading of the Hebrew examplar (see Myers *1 & 2 Esdras* 60). From these parallel lists of returnees it is clear that Hodaviah was an important Levite in the exilic and postexilic community.

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MARK J. FRETZ

**HODESH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥōdeš* (חֹדֶשׁ)]. A wife of Shaharaim, a Benjaminite (1 Chr 8:9).

Shaharaim was one of the Benjaminites who dwelt in Jerusalem (1 Chr 8:28). The Heb word *ḥōdeš* means "new" and thus "Hodesh his wife" might be translated "his new wife" (Meyers *1 Chronicles* AB, 57; see also Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 159–60). "Hodesh" is also the word commonly used for "month" or "new moon."

TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**HODIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *hôdîyâ* (הוֹדִיָה)]. **1.** The husband of the sister of Naham, and ancestor of "Keilah the Garmite and Eshtemoa the Maacathite" (1 Chr 4:19). Since the name Hodiah appears in this misplaced and fragmentary list of names (1 Chr 4:16–20), and his descendants appear nowhere else, it is difficult to identify him. Given the preponderance of female subjects in vv 17–18, and the resemblance of

v 18 (*wĕ›ištô hayhūdîyâ*, "and his Jewish wife") to v 19 (*ûbĕnê ›ēšet hôdîyâ*, "and sons of the wife of Hodiah"), it is possible to emend v 19 to read "and the sons of his Jewish wife" (Rudolf *Chronikbücher* HAT, 34). While this suggestion eliminates the problem of identifying Hodiah by changing the proper name into an adjective, such emendation is not necessary; the name is part of a damaged and incomplete list, and it may have been intelligible in its original context.

**2.** A leader of the Levites who lived in Palestine during the time of Ezra (ca. late 5th century B.C.E.). Within the books of Nehemiah and 1 Esdras Hodiah appears as one of the Levites who explained the Torah to the people when Ezra read it publicly (Neh 8:7 = 1 Esdr 9:48; only the Ethiopic version of the LXX of Neh 8:7 reflects the name *Hudia*, while variants of 1 Esdr 9:48 read either *hautaias* or *ōdouia*). Hodiah also helped lead the people in blessing the Lord after they confessed their sins (Neh 9:5; the LXX generally omits the name, although a few mss read *ōdouias*). In the list of those who pledged to keep the Law with Ezra, there are two Hodiahs listed (Neh 10:10, 14—Eng10:9, 13). Since a patronymic is normally used to distinguish two individuals with the same name, and since neither Hodiah is listed with such, some scholars (Rudolf *Esra und Nehemia* HAT, 172; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 324) emend one of the names to "Hodaviah" (the LXX renders Heb *hôdîyâ* in Neh 10:14—LXX 10:13 variously as *ōdoum, ōdouia,* or *ōdoua;* cf. Ezra 2:40). See HODAVIAH (PERSON). Noth (*IPN*, 194) suggests emending one occurrence to Heb **hôdûyâ* which is not related to the root of "Hodiah" (Heb *hwd*). It is likely that the name Hodiah is used as a personal name, rather than as a gentilic in this list.

**3.** A chief of the people listed with others who pledged to keep the Law (Neh 10:19—Eng10:18). This Hodiah was not a Levite, hence he cannot be identified with Hodiah #2 above.

MARK J. FRETZ

**HOGLAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥoglâ* (חָגְלָה)]. One of the five daughters of Zelophehad son of Hepher of the tribe of Manasseh (Num 26:33; 27:1–11; 36:1–12; Josh 17:3–6; cf. 1 Chr 7:15). The five daughters petitioned to receive legal status as heirs because their father had no sons. Their request to inherit their father's property was judged to be valid. A divine injunction to marry within their father's tribe in order that their inheritance remain in the tribe of Manasseh was given. Hoglah and her sisters followed the divine ruling on their case and married cousins on their father's side. Many have posited a relationship between Zelophehad's daughter Hoglah and the town Beth-hoglah W of the Jordan (Josh 15:6; cf. the Samaria Ostraca 45, 46, 47 and 66 [3876] which refer to Hoglah as a district). Beth-hoglah has been identified with a certain degree of surety as Yaṣid. Lemaire (1972) locates the district of Hoglah N of Shechem, NE of Samaria and S of Noah. Budd (*Numbers* WBC) suggests that the author of Numbers might have transformed the names of towns with feminine endings into the daughters of Zelophehad in order to make the point that women are entitled to inheritance. Others would want to argue that a veritable historical tradition lies behind the present narrative. See MAHLAH (PERSON); MILCAH (PERSON); TIRZAH (PERSON); ZELOPHEHAD (PERSON).

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MARION ANN TAYLOR

**HOHAM** (PERSON) [Heb *hôham* (הוֹהָם)]. The Amorite King of Hebron at the time of Joshua who (along with Piram of Jarmuth, Debir of Eglon, and Japhia of Lachish) joined the coalition led by Adoni-Zedek of Jerusalem against Gibeon, after the Gibeonites had made peace with Joshua (Josh 10:1–5). This coalition was defeated and its five kings were subsequently captured and hanged (10:16–27).

D. G. SCHLEY

**HOLIDAYS.** See CALENDARS.

**HOLINESS.** This entry surveys the subject of "holiness" as it presented in the Hebrew Bible and in the Christian New Testament.

***OLD TESTAMENT***

In the OT, holiness is a positive cultic or moral condition of God, people, things, places, and time. It may be an inherent condition or achieved through ritual means. It is defined on the one hand as that which is consistent with God and his character, and on the other as that which is threatened by impurity. See D.1. and UNCLEAN AND CLEAN (OT). In the Hebrew Bible, the most extensive material about holiness is in the Priestly writings (= P) of the Pentateuch. Hence the discussion below will focus on this corpus, though non-P evidence will be discussed more completely when possible.

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A. Terminology
B. Major Loci and Degrees of Holiness
1. Divine Beings
2. Humans
3. Objects
4. Places
5. Time
6. Miscellaneous
C. Methods of Sanctification and Desanctification
1. Legitimate Sanctification and Desanctification
2. Unintentional or Illegitimate Sanctification and Desanctification
D. Theoretical Concerns
1. Relationship of Holy, Profane, Pure, Impure
2. Sanctification Rituals and Ritual Time
3. Ritual Place

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**A. Terminology**

The main Hebrew root denoting holiness is *qdš,* "to be holy; sanctify," which appears as a verb, noun, and adjective over 850 times (with cognates in Akk, Ar, Aram, Eth, Phoen, Punic, Syr). Other roughly synonymous Heb roots include *bdl,* "to divide" (*Hip*ʿ*il* verb); *ḥnk,* "to dedicate" (*Qal* verb and noun); *ḥrm,* "severely dedicate; put under ban" (*Hip*ʿ*il* verb and noun); *rwm,* "contribute, devote" (*Hip*ʿ*il* verb and noun); *nzr,* "separate, consecrate" (verbs and nouns); ʿ*br,* "devote" (*Hip*ʿ*il* verb). The main Heb antonym is *ḥll,* "profane, desecrate" (verbs, nouns, and adjectives; cognates in Akk, Ar, Aram, and Syr) with the approximate synonyms *g*ʾ*l,* "desecrate" (verbs); *m*ʿ*l,* "betray; commit sacrilege" (*Qal* verb and noun); and the noun *piggûl,* "desecration." See below for discussion of verbs and nouns from these roots. See also UNCLEAN AND CLEAN (OT) for a treatment of terms relating to purity and impurity; Milgrom 1970: 23–24, n. 78; 1976: 16–21, 35–44, 86–89 (and word indexes under the foregoing roots); Haran (1978) under his word index; and Bettenzoli 1979.

**B. Major Loci and Degrees of Holiness**

We will first review the major loci or bearers of holiness as represented mainly in P and secondarily in other OT literature. This review when possible will discuss gradations of holiness which has been a recurring concern of some recent scholarship (e.g., Haran 1978; Milgrom 1970; 1976; 1983b). Miscellaneous carriers of holiness will be discussed in B.6 below.

**1. Divine Beings. a. God.** The P and non-P writings both consider God the ideal manifestation, indeed the source, of holiness. Holiness is not inherent in creation but comes by God's dictates. He sanctifies or sets apart the Sabbath (Gen 2:3; Exod 20:11), Israel and its priests (Exod 29:44; 31:13; Lev 21:8, 15; 22:9, 16; Ezek 20:12; 37:28; cf. also Exod 29:43), classes of creation like the firstborn (Num 3:13; 8:17; cf. also Exod 29:43), and sanctuaries (Exod 29:44; 1 Kgs 9:3, 7; 2 Chr 7:16, 20; 30:8; 36:14). But if he is the source of holiness for creation, creation—specifically his people—must maintain God's holiness and his name's holiness which, in this context, are nearly synonymous with his honor, reputation, and glory. This is mainly a duty of the people's leaders (Lev 10:3; 22:32; Num 20:12–13; 27:14; Deut 32:51). Should the people sin, God or his name becomes desecrated (see sec. C. 2. b.) and his holy spirit, an aspect of his character, is grieved and may abandon them (Isa 63:10, 11; Ps 51:13). In addition to

obedience, people bless, sanctify, and rejoice in God and his name (Isa 29:23; Ps 30:5; 97:12; 99:3, 5, 9; 103:1; 105:3; 106:47; 145:21; 1 Chr 16:10, 35; cf. Ps 22:4; 29:2; 96:9; 1 Chr 16:29; 29:16; 2 Chr 20:21; even divine beings: Isa 6:3). The people, too, are charged to emulate God's holiness by keeping the commandments (Lev 11:44, 45; 19:2; 20:26; cf. 20:26). Inscriptions may declare and recall his sacred character (Exod 28:36; 39:30; Zech 14:20). For his own part God sustains and displays his sanctity through miraculous acts and punishments (Isa 5:16; Ezek 20:41; 28:22, 25; 36:23; 38:16, 23; 39:7, 25–27; Hab 3:3; Ps 111.9; cf. God's "holy arm" in Isa 52:10; Ps 98:1). God, as holy, is above any competitors and is eternal (Exod 15:11; 1 Sam 2:2; Isa 40:25; 57:15; Hos 11:9; Hab 1:12) and is to be the sole object of Israel's devotion (Isa 8:13–14; Ps 33:21; cf. Ezek 11:16; Hos 12:1; Job 6:10; Prov 9:10; 30:3). The title "Holy One of Israel" reflects this supremacy (Isa 1:4; 5:19, 24; 10:20; 12:6; 17:7; 29:19; 30:11, 12, 15; 31:1; 37:23 [= 2 Kgs 19:22]; Isa 41:14, 16, 20; 43:3, 14; 45:11; 47:4; 48:17; 49:7; 54:5; 55:5; 60:9, 14; Jer 50:29; 51:5; Ps 71:22; 78:41; 89:19; cf. Isa 10:17; 29:23; 40:25; 43:15; Ezek 39:7). Paradoxically, this high holiness may make it difficult for people to worship him (Josh 24:19; cf. 1 Sam 6:20). On the holiness of God's word or promise, see Jer 23:9; Ps 105:42.

**b. Lesser Divine Beings.** Subordinate divine beings are also described as holy (Zech 14:5; Ps 16:3; 89:6, 8; Job 5:1; 15:15; Dan 4:10, 14, 20; 8:13; cf. Deut 33:2; some read this as a place-name). From the point of view of Nebuchadnezzar, the spirit of the "holy gods" is in Daniel (Dan 4:5, 6, 15; 5:11; some take this as a plural of majesty for Israel's God).

**2. Humans.** Not discussed here are so-called cultic prostitutes whose Hebrew designation is formed from the root *qdš* (cf. Gen 38:21, 22; Deut 23:18; 1 Kgs 14:24; 15:12; 22:47; 2 Kgs 23:7; Hos 4:14; Job 36:14).

**a. Priests.** In P, there are two classes of priests, high and undistinguished. Several points indicate the high priest has a higher degree of holiness than undistinguished priests. First, he is called a *high* priest (Lev 21:10; Num 35:25, 28). Second, there is only one high priest at a time. Third, the high priest has a more elaborate consecration ritual (Exod 29:5–8, 20–21; Lev 8:7–9, 12, 23–24, 30; see also Exod 28:41; 30:30; 40:13–15; Lev 4:3, 5, 16; 6:15; 21:10, 12; Num 35:25; Ps 133:2 and see sec. D. 2.). Fourth, each high priest is newly consecrated (Exod 29:29; Lev 6:15; 16:32; 21:10, 12; Num 35:25; cf. Num 20:25–28) while the undistinguished priests apparently are not, the initial consecration of Aaron's sons sufficing for all generations to come (Exod 40:15). Fifth, only the high priest can enter the adytum (the most holy place) of the tabernacle (Lev 16:3–4, 11–16) and is designated to perform the regular (Heb *tāmîd*) rites within the shrine (the holy place; Exod 27:20–21; 30:7–8; Lev 24:1–4, 5–8; Num 8:1–3; cf. also Exod 25:37; 30:10; Lev 4:3–12 and 13–21; 16:1–28). Ordinary priests generally officiate in the court at the altar outside the tent sanctuary (cf. Leviticus 1–7, passim) and enter the shrine only to aid the high priest in his duties or to perform other auxiliary work (cf. Exod 27:21; 28:43; 30:19–20; 40:31–32; Lev 10:9; 16:17; Num 4:5–20; see Haran 1978: 205–29). Finally, the high priest has more severe marriage, purity, and mourning restrictions than other priests (Lev 21:1–15; cf. Ezek 44:22).

A less holy class of priests among the descendants of Aaron are those with physical defects. While they are still holy enough to eat most holy offerings, they are prohibited from serving at the altar or in the tent (Lev 21:16–23).

Non-P literature distinguishes between high and undistinguished priests (2 Kgs 22:4, 8; 25:18; Hag 1:1, 12, 14; Zech 3:1, 8; Ezra 7:5; Neh 3:1, 20; 1 Chr 9:11; 2 Chr 19:11; 24:11; 34:9, 14; etc.; cf. Ps 106:16). It also mentions deputy priests (2 Kgs 25:18; Jer 52:24) and elders of the priests (2 Kgs 19:2; Isa 37:2; Jer 19:1) which may, but not certainly, indicate further distinctions in holiness. The Chronicles designate Aaron and his sons as "most holy" (1 Chr 23:13), in apparent contrast to the Levites whom it calls "holy" (2 Chr 23:6; 35:3; see sec. B. 2. d.). The priests' holiness allows them access to the temple, to offer incense, and to attend to and guard the sanctums (1 Sam 7:1; Ezra 8:28; 1 Chr 23:13; 2 Chr 23:6; 26:18). See sec. B. 4. a. and LEVITES AND PRIESTS.

**b. Israelites.** In P, lay Israelites do not share the same holy status as priests. The story of the Korah's rebellion emphasizes this point (cf. Num 16:3, 5, 7). Yet though they are denied priestly holiness attained through inaugural rites and genealogical right, they are charged to achieve another type of holiness: that

which comes by obedience. This obligation is the result of Yahweh's separating them from the other nations and redeeming them from Egypt whereby he became their God. As their God, he enjoins them to be holy as he is holy (Lev 11:44–45; 19:2; 20:7–8, 24–26; 22:32–33; Num 15:40–41; cf. Exod 31:13; Ezek 20:12).

While in P holiness is a responsibility ensuing from God choosing Israel, in Deuteronomy it is the resultant state of God's choosing the Israelites which they must attain. Deuteronomy calls the people holy in the present tense (Deut 7:6; 14:2, 21). In the related P passages only God is called holy in the present, not the people (Lev 11:41, 45; 19:2; 20:26). Deut 26:19 and 28:9 (apparently referring back to JE's statement in Exod 19:6) do not necessarily contradict this. As in P, holiness is connected with observing dietary laws (Deut 14:21; cf. Lev 11:44–45 and [JE's] Exod 22:30). Other passages reflect a notion similar to Deuteronomy's (Isa 63:18; Jer 2:3; Ps 34:10; Ezra 9:2). Those who suffer or survive punishment or have been redeemed are often called holy (Isa 4:3; 6:13; 62:12; Obad 17; Dan 7:18, 21–22, 25, 27; 8:24; 12:7). The people's holiness can also derive from the presence of the sanctuary among them (Ezek 37:28; see also Deut 33:3; Isa 43:28).

**c. Nazirites.** Though, according to P, laypersons cannot share in priestly holiness, they could for a period of time imitate it by taking upon themselves the vow of a Nazirite (Num 6:1–21). Literature outside P describes lifelong Nazirites; presumably a condition of sacredness attached to them, but perhaps not as high (Judg 13:5, 7; 16:17; cf. Amos 2:11–12). By taking this vow, the person (Num 6:8) or specifically the head, is consecrated (vv 5, 11). The Nazirite, like a high priest, is restricted from all corpses (Num 6:7–8; cf. Lev 21:10–12; note the similarity between Num 6:7 and Lev 21:12). Like priests on duty, the Nazirite is not to drink wine or other strong drink (Num 6:3; Judg 13:4–5; 1 Sam 1:11 [LXX]; Amos 2:12; cf. Lev 10:9–10; Ezek 44:21). The mother of the Nazirite Samson was to avoid unclean food like priests (Judg 13:4, 7, 14; cf. Lev 22:8; Ezek 44:31). See sec. D. 2.

**d. Levites and Firstborn Humans.** Firstborn humans are holy: God dedicated them to himself in Egypt (Num 3:13; 8:17; cf. Exod 13:2) and they must be redeemed as is required with other holy items (Num 18:15–16; cf. 3:44–51). From this, one would expect the Levites, the cultic substitutes for the firstborn (Num 3:44–51), to be holy. But P never calls them such, even in the long prescription for their installation (Num 8:5–22; on the elevation rites, see C. 1. a. [1]). That they are restricted from the sanctums shows they have not risen in holiness much above the status of lay Israelites (Num 4:4–20; 18:2–4). If one grants them some degree of holiness, it must be strictly distinguished from that of the priests (cf. Milgrom 1970: 29, n. 103).

In contrast to P, the Chronicler designates the Levites as holy (2 Chr 23:6; 35:3; Milgrom 1970: 71, n. 257). For a possible similar perception of Levites in Ezekiel, see Milgrom 1981: 291–94. In other passages, all firstborn are described as belonging or being devoted to God, which intimates they are holy (Exod 13:12–13; 22:28; 34:19–20; see sec. C. 1. b. [1]).

**e. Prophets.** Only non-P literature speaks of the holiness of prophets, and what it says is meager: Elisha is called a "holy man of God" (2 Kgs 4:9) and God set Jeremiah apart as a prophet (Jer 1:5). The anointing of prophets, understood literally or figuratively, may also imply holiness (1 Kgs 19:16; Isa 61:1; cf. Ps 105:15 = 1 Chr 16:22).

**3. Objects. a. Offerings.** Offerings fall into two main groups, most holy and lesser. Those called most holy (Heb *qōdeš [haq]qŏdāšîm*) are the sin or purgation offering, the reparation offering, and the cereal offering, which includes the bread of presence in the tabernacle (Lev 2:3, 10; 6:10, 18, 22; 7:1, 6; 10:12, 17; 14:13; 21:22; 24:9; Num 18:9). A mark of most holy offerings is that only the priests may eat them (see foregoing references and Lev 6:11) and then only in the sanctuary court (called a "holy place" or the "place of the sanctuary": Lev 6:9, 19; 7:6; 10:13, 17; 24:9; Num 18:10 appears to refer to eating in a *state* of most holiness). The burnt offering, though not called most holy, must be included in this class by analogy (cf. Lev 14:13; cf. the hint in Num 18:9 with the Heb preposition *min*, "from/of"). The priestly consecration offering was probably also considered most holy since priests were to eat it in the sanctuary court (Exod 29:31–34; Lev 8:31–32).

Lesser holy offerings include well-being offerings (Lev 3:1–17; 7:11–36); firstborn of clean animals (Num 18:15–18); the Passover (Exod 12:3–11, 43:50); the produce tithe (see below; Lev 27:30–31; Num 18:25–32); the animal tithe (Lev 27:32–33); items put under "severe dedication" (Heb *ḥērem;* Lev 27:28; Num 18:14); first-ripe produce (Lev 19:24; 23:10–11; Num 18:13); and first-processed products (Lev 2:12; 23:17–20; Num 15:20–21; 18:12). Some passages technically distinguish these from most holy offerings by calling them simply "holy offerings" (Heb *qŏdāšîm:* Lev 21:22; Num 18:9, 11, 19; note the contrast in Lev 10:12–16). Other passages use this term without contrast (Lev 22:2–4, 6–7, 12, 15–16; Num 18:32) as well as the singular Heb *qōdeš* (Lev 12:4; 22:10, 14; 23:20; Num 18:17). But *qōdeš* and *qŏdāšîm* can include most holy offerings (Exod 28:38; Lev 5:15–16; 23:20; Num 5:9–10; 18:8, 10). The related noun *miqdāš* infrequently refers to lesser holy offerings (cf. Num 18:29). Apart from terminology, the fact that these offerings may be eaten by nonpriests outside the sanctuary precincts shows their distinction from most holy offerings. In connection with this, the designation of things under Heb *ḥērem* as most holy (Lev 27:28) is probably to emphasize their irredeemable nature and not to characterize them technically as most holy. That nonpriests may eat or use *ḥērem* shows its lesser holy character (Num 18:14 and context).

A main subdivision of the holiness of lesser holy offerings is perceptible. The Israelites eat only the well-being sacrifice (excluding portions given the priests) and the Passover (Exod 12:1–14; Lev 7:15–18; 19:5–8; 22:29–30). Because of their restriction to the priests' households, there priests and their households (Lev 22:10–13; Num 18:11, 13, 19) are entitled to the breast and right thigh from the well-being offerings (Exod 29:26–28; Lev 7:31–36; 10:14–15; Num 18:11) and all of the other offerings listed above. The portions of the priests' households presumably are more holy than the Israelites' portions. The prohibition that laypersons not eat the priestly portions supports such a valuation (Lev 22:10–16). A subdivision of the holiness of the well-being offering is detectable also. One type, brought for a vow or a freewill offering, may be eaten over two days and the leftover meat destroyed on the third (Lev 7:16–17; 19:6). Another type, the thank offering, may only be eaten on one day (7:15; 22:30). The shorter period for eating suggests a slightly higher degree of holiness for the latter type (note that most holy offerings can only be eaten for one day; cf. Exod 29:34; Lev 8:32; 10:16–20; see Wright 1987: 139). The Passover offering which can only be eaten for one day may have had a degree of holiness similar to that of the thank offering (Exod 12:10; Num 9:12).

Ezekiel labels the cereal, purgation, and reparation offerings most holy (42:13; cf. Ezra 2:63; Neh 7:65; 2 Chr 31:14). The term *qŏdāšîm,* introduced above, is used for offerings that are lesser holy in P (Deut 12:26; 2 Chr 29:33; 31:6, 12; 35:13; and perhaps Ezek 36:38; 1 Chr 26:20), but it is also used for all offerings (Ezek 20:40; 22:8; 26; Neh 10:34; 1 Chr 28:12) and Ezek 44:13 uses this term to refer to most holy offerings. The singular *qōdeš,* "holy thing(s)," may be used of lesser holy offerings as well (Deut 26:13; 1 Chr 23:28; 2 Chr 30:19; cf. Jer 2:3). Sacrificial meat can be called Heb *bĕśar qōdeš,* "holy flesh" (Jer 11:15). In Hag 2:12 it refers to meat of offerings that P calls most holy. The bread of presence at the sanctuary of Nob, which in P is most holy, is called Heb *leḥem qōdeš,* "holy bread," or simply *qōdeš,* "a holy thing" (1 Sam 21:5, 7).

A way to distinguish relative degrees of holiness of offerings outside P may be to determine who received them. For example, in Deuteronomy, officiating priests receive the shoulder, cheeks, and stomach from the "sacrifice" (Heb *zebaḥ;* equivalent to the well-being offering in P; 18:3) and the gifts of agricultural produce and wool (18:4; 26:2–11). Lay Israelites, their households, and nonofficiating Levites receive other portions of *zebaḥ* offerings, the firstborn animal, Passover, tithes, and various contributions at the sanctuary (12:6–7, 11–12, 17–18, 26; 14:22–27; 15:19–20; 16:2–7; cf. 16:10–17). The fatherless, widows, resident aliens, and nonofficating Levites receive the third-year tithe in the Israelite towns (14:28–29; 26:12–15; called *qōdeš* in 26:13). However, exegetical problems cloud the conclusiveness of these observations.

**b. Sanctuary Furniture.** Six pieces of cultic furniture are designated most holy: the ark, the incense altar, lamp stand (or menorah), bread table, the outer or burnt-offering altar, and laver (Exod 29:37; 30:10, 26–29; 40:10; Num 4:4, 19). The base of the laver and the utensils listed for some of these items may also

be most holy, like the main furniture pieces (see Exod 30:26–29; but cf. Exod 40:9–11). The furniture may simply be labeled *qōdeš* (Exod 40:9; Num 3:28, 31, 32; 4:15, 16, 20; 7:9; 18:3, 5) or *miqdāš* (Lev 21:23; Num 10:21; 18:1; perhaps included in 3:38), both meaning "holy object(s); sanctums." An auxiliary to the outer altar is the cover made from the censers of Korah and his rebels (17:2–5—Eng 16:37–40).

Location, materials, lethality, and the cultic importance of the pieces suggest a gradation of holiness, with the ark being the highest, the outer altar and laver being the lowest. The ark is located in the adytum; the table, lamp stand, and incense altar in the shrine; and the burnt-offering altar and laver in the court. The ark, table, lamp stand, and incense altar are all made of pure gold, while the burnt-offering altar and laver are made of copper (Exod 25:11, 17, 24, 31, 36, 39; 27:2; 30:3; 37:2, 6, 11, 17, 22, 23, 24, 26; 38:2, 30). When transported the ark is wrapped in the tabernacle veil, a skin cover, then a completely blue cloth; the table is wrapped in a regular blue cloth, a scarlet cloth, then a skin cover; the lamp and incense altar are wrapped in a regular blue cloth and a skin cover; and the outer altar in a purple cloth, then a skin cover (Num 4:5–14). The gold furniture is lethal by sight to nonpriests (Num 4:18–20) but the copper pieces are not (they are on public display). Lastly, the ark is the most important piece of furniture: it is the place where God manifests himself (Exod 25:22; 30:36; Num 7:89; cf. Exod 29:42) and it may be the sole piece of sanctum which was not to be seen at all (cf. Lev 16:2, 12–13). The holy vessels taken into battle in Num 31:6 probably include the ark and the Urim and Thummim, which again shows the ark's importance.

This furniture appears to be more holy relative to the tent structure's planks, columns, bars, footings, lower cover (Heb *miškān*), and entrance hanging, which are also most holy (cf. Exod 30:26–29). The pieces of furniture are made of or covered with pure gold (see above), while the planks, columns, and bars are covered with plain gold (Exod 26:29, 32, 37; 36:34, 36, 38). The furniture pieces are prohibited to the touch and sight of the Levites on the pain of death; they are carefully wrapped by the priests, while the planks, columns, bars, footings, cover, and entrance hanging are not so lethal, nor are they covered (Num 4:4–20 versus vv 24–28, 31–33). The furniture pieces are carried on the Levites' shoulders while the planks, covers, and other items are transported in wagons (Num 7:7–9).

Outside of P, the ark and other holy furniture are brought to Solomon's new temple (1 Kgs 8:4; 1 Chr 22:19; 2 Chr 5:5; see sec. B. 4. a.). As in P, these articles are guarded and carried by priests and Levites (Ezra 8:24–29; 1 Chr 9:29; 23:32; 2 Chr 35:3). Deutero-Zechariah (Zechariah 9–14) hoped for the time that every vessel in the temple, Jerusalem, and Judah would increase in holiness (14:20–21). In addition to these articles, independent altars, pillars (Heb *maṣṣēbôt*), and other legitimate cult objects would be considered holy.

**c. Priestly Clothing.** All priestly clothing is holy, but that of the high priest has an elevated degree of holiness. First of all, it is more elaborate. Priests wear a fine linen tunic, waistband, headdress, and breeches (Exod 28:40, 42–43; 39:27–28). The high priest wears linen breeches, a tunic with a fancier weave (28:4, 39); a waistband of colored wool and fine linen (28:4, 39; 39:29); a headdress which is designated differently than the regular priest's (Heb *miṣnepet* versus Heb *[paʾărê ham]migbaʿōt;* 28:4, 39; 39:28) and to which was attached an inscribed golden plate (28:36–38; 39:30–31); a robe worn over these items made out of blue wool with golden bells and pomegranates made of colored wool and fine linen (28:4, 31–35; 39:22–26; cf. Haran 1978: 169, n. 44); and on top of all this the ephod made of colored wool, fine linen, and strips of gold, all woven together, with two framed stones inscribed with the names of the Israelite tribes attached to shoulder straps and a pouch—also with stones with the tribal names inscribed—fastened to the ephod and hanging over the chest (28:4, 6–13, 15–30; 39:2–21). The high priest's clothing is also holier because it consisted of a mixture of wool and linen, a holy mixture (see sec. B. 3. f below). It may be considered holier, too, since it is specifically required for working in the shrine (Exod 28:29, 30, 35, 38). Finally, only the high priest's clothing is called Heb *bigdê (haq)qōdeš,* "holy clothing" (Exod 28:2, 4; 29:29; 31:10; 35:19 [cf. v 21]; 39:1 [cf. vv 27–29]; 41; 40:13; the golden plate is called holy in Exod 29:6; Lev 8:9). Aaron's sons' clothing is only categorized thus once (Exod 28:4), but the context shows that the high priest's clothing is mainly in mind.

Two other sets of priestly clothing are prescribed in P. When removing ashes from the burnt-offering altar a priest is to dress in a plain linen robe and plain linen breeches (Lev 6:3–4). These may be utilitarian to prevent soiling of regular priestly clothing while at the same time to befit the holiness of the altar. After the work at the altar the priest puts on other, perhaps profane, clothing to take the ashes to the ash dump. When performing the blood rites in the adytum, shrine, and court on the Day of Atonement the high priest wears a plain linen tunic, breeches, waistband, and headdress (Lev 16:4, 32; called holy). The reason for the simpler plain linen clothing may also have been utilitarian, to prevent the soiling of the regular high priestly clothing with blood, which is sprinkled in abundance in this ceremony.

Ezekiel has the most extensive information about priestly clothing but only speaks, it appears, of that of regular priests. It is completely linen, including a headdress, breeches, and, implicitly, a waistband (44:17–18). A tunic is necessarily included. Hence Ezekiel's clothing is exactly like that of regular priests in P. But in contrast to P, Ezekiel calls this clothing holy (42:14). This designation reflects a conception about the clothing not found in P: it has the power to render laypersons who touch it holy (42:14; 44:19). The only piece of high priestly clothing mentioned outside of P is the ephod. While it sometimes appears to be a garment, it often has a character different than P's ephod (Judg 8:27; 17:5; 18:14–20; 1 Sam 2:18, 28; 14:3; 21:10; 22:18; 23:6, 9; 30:7; 2 Sam 6:14; Hos 3:4; 1 Chr 15:27).

**d. Real Estate.** People may dedicate their houses or inherited land (Lev 27:14–25). Doing so makes them "holy to the Lord," i.e., the property of the sanctuary and priests (v 14). Inherited land which is not redeemed and is sold to another becomes "holy to the Lord" in the jubilee year (v 21). It is then like a field dedicated as Heb *ḥērem* and becomes a priestly holding (cf. v 28).

**e. Money and Precious Metals and Stones.** Money used to redeem land in the foregoing cases is "holy to the Lord" (Lev 27:23). Analogically, all money or precious metals given to the sanctuary would be holy (Exod 25:3; 30:11–16; 35:5, 22, 24; 38:24–26; Lev 5:15, 18; 27:2–8, 12–13, 27, 31; Num 3:44–51; 7:1–88; 18:15–16; 31:48–53). If not used for constructing the tabernacle, these metals would have been kept in the sanctuary and used for maintaining the structure and supporting the priests (cf. Exod 30:16; Num 3:51, 54).

The holiness of dedicated money and booty is well attested outside of P. These items were put into sanctuary treasuries (Josh 6:17, 19, 24; 2 Sam 8:10–12; 1 Kgs 7:51; 15:15; 2 Kgs 12:5–17; 1 Chr 18:9–11; 2 Chr 5:1; 15:18; 2 Chr 24:5–14; cf. Ezra 8:24–29). The accumulated wealth became vast and was a source for maintenance of the temple and priests (2 Kgs 22:3–7; 1 Chr 26:26–28; 2 Chr 34:8–11; cf. Isa 23:18), paying tribute to invaders or allies (1 Kgs 15:17–22; 2 Kgs 12:19; 2 Chr 16:1–6), or spoil for the enemy (1 Kgs 14:25–28; 2 Kgs 14:11–14; 24:13; Jer 15:13; 17:3; Dan 1:2; 2 Chr 12:2–12; 36:18). Cf. Judg 17:3.

Precious stones were also dedicated to the temple treasury (cf. 1 Chr 29:8; 2 Chr 32:27). Perhaps Lam 4:1 has such stones in mind. Also recall that the high priest's clothing incorporated precious stones.

**f. Mixtures.** Certain mixtures are prohibited: cross-breeding animals, plowing with an ox and ass together, sowing a field or vineyard with two different types of seeds, and making or wearing a Heb *ša‹aṭnēz* garment, i.e., one made of wool and linen (Lev 19:19; Deut 22:9–11). The reason seems to be that mixtures are holy (Deut 22:9). This explains in part the holiness of the high priest's clothing and of the fabric wall and hangings of the tabernacle which employ a mixture of wool and linen. Israelites are allowed to use mixtures in one case. They are to wear fringes on the edges or corners of their clothing, normally made of linen, and with a thread of blue, implicitly of wool, attached (Num 15:37–41; Deut 22:12; see Milgrom 1983a; 1983c).

**g. Oil.** Oil used for anointing priests, the tabernacle, and its furniture had a special and restricted composition and was holy (Exod 30:22–33; 37:29; Num 35:25). One would expect this oil to be most holy since it confers a status of most holiness on the sanctuary furniture (cf. the incense below). Oil used on cereal offerings would be most holy as part of the offering (Lev 2:1, 4, 6–7; etc.). The elevated and sprinkled oil in the ritual for purification from Heb *ṣāra‹at* (so-called leprosy) would be holy, but not most holy (Lev 14:12, 15–18, 24–29; see sec. C. 1. a. [1]). The beaten pure oil for the tabernacle lamp

may have had a lesser holy status as a dedicated item (Exod 27:20; Lev 24:2). Outside of P, holy oil is used to anoint kings (1 Kgs 1:39; figuratively, Ps 89:21; see sec. C. 1. a. [1]).

**h. Incense.** Like anointing oil, incense (Heb *qĕṭōret hassamîm*) used on the incense altar and on the Day of Atonement has a unique restricted formula (Exod 30:34–38; cf. Lev 16:12–13). The text calls it "holy" (Exod 30:35, 37), but once calls it "most holy" which is technically more correct (v 36). Relatively less holy, but still most holy, would be the frankincense (Heb *lĕbōnâ*) used on cereal offerings (Lev 2:1–2, 15, etc.). The degree of holiness of plain incense (Heb *qĕṭōret*) offered in censers by priests is unclear (this offering implied in Lev 10:1; Num 7:14, 20, etc.; 16:7, 17–18, 35; 17:5, 11–12—Eng 16:40, 46–47).

**i. Water.** Holy water is mentioned in the ordeal for a woman suspected of committing adultery (Num 5:17; probably taken from the laver). Water libations (1 Sam 7:6; cf. 2 Sam 23:16) and the river flowing from the temple in Ezekiel's vision (Ezek 47:12; cf. Joel 3:18; Zech 14:8) may be considered holy. Spring water for certain rituals (Lev 14:5–6, 50–52; 15:13; Num 19:17) and that of the Jordan (as in 2 Kgs 5:10–14) are probably not to be considered holy.

**4. Places. a. Sanctuaries.** P's wilderness tabernacle is marked off by a linen fence 100 by 50 cubits which forms a court whose entrance faces eastward. In the front half of the court is the open-air altar for burnt offerings. In the back half of the court is the tent structure—30 cubits long, about 10 wide, and 10 high—which is divided into two rooms: a foreroom, the shrine; and a back room, the adytum.

Terminology shows a gradation of different parts of the tabernacle. Technically the adytum is called Heb *qōdeš haqqŏdāšîm,* "the most holy place" and the shrine simply Heb *haqqōdeš,* "the holy place" (Exod 26:33–34; 1 Chr 6:34; cf. Heb *miqdāš haqqōdeš* of the adytum in Lev 16:33). But the entire tent structure could be called "most holy" which indicates its collective holiness is greater than the rest of the sanctuary area (Exod 30:26, 29). Less technically, both rooms could be called *haqqōdeš,* "the holy place" (the adytum: Lev 4:6 [unless this refers to both rooms]; 16:2–3, 16–17, 20, 23, 27; the shrine: 28:29, 35; 29:30; 31:11; Lev 6:23; 10:18 [first occurrence]; Num 4:12; both rooms together: Exod 38:24, 27). The sanctuary area in general or the court could be called *haqqōdeš,* "the holy place" (Exod 28:43; 35:19; 36:1, 3, 4, 6; 39:1, 41; Lev 10:4, 18 [2d occurrence]; Num 8:19; 28:7; see Haran 1978: 171–73; cf. Heb *měqôm haqqōdeš,* "place of the sanctuary" Lev 10:17; 14:13; Heb *šeqel haqqōdeš,* "sanctuary shekel" Exod 30:13, 24; etc.), Heb *(ham)miqdāš,* " (the) holy place/area" (Exod 25:8; Lev 12:4; 19:30; 20:3; 21:12; 26:2; Num 3:38; 19:20; plural in Lev 26:31; cf. Milgrom 1970: 23–24, n. 78), and Heb *māqôm qādôš,* "holy place" (Exod 29:31; Lev 6:9, 19, 20; 7:6; 10:13; 16:24; 24:9; Wright 1987: 232–35).

The distribution of furniture, the extent of access to the different parts of the sanctuary, the materials used in the tabernacle, and anointing rites also display the structure's graded holiness. The ark, the most important piece of furniture, is in the adytum; the incense altar, lamp stand, and bread table are in the shrine; and the burnt-offering altar and laver, the least holy of the most holy furniture, are in the court. Similarly, only the high priest, the holiest of the Israelites, is allowed in the adytum; the high priest aided by regular priests performs daily and weekly rites in the shrine; and the Levites and Israelites, both profane, have access only to the court. Some argue the Israelites were even restricted to the area between the burnt-offering altar and the entrance, which would indicate a subdivision in the court's holiness (Haran 1978: 187–87; Milgrom 1970: 17–18). As for materials, the wall planks of the tabernacle and the columns supporting the veil and the entrance hanging are overlaid or covered with gold (Exod 26:29, 32, 37; 36:24, 36, 38) while the columns holding up the fence of the court and the hanging to the court entrance are covered with silver (27:10–11, 17; 38:10–12, 17, 19). The footings for the planks of the tabernacle and for the columns of the veil are made of silver (26:19, 21, 25, 32; 36:24, 26, 30, 36; 38:27) while those for the columns of the tent entrance, of the sanctuary entrance, and of the perimeter of the court are copper (26:37; 27:10–11, 17; 36:38; 38:10–11, 17, 19, 30–31). The tent structure itself is made of four layers: an elaborate underlayer of costly materials (the Heb *miškān,* "tabernacle"; 26:1–6; 36:8–13), another layer made of simple goat hair (Heb *ʾōhel,* "tent"; 26:7–13; 36:14–18), and a top cover of tanned ram skins, and then one of Heb *tĕḥāšîm* skins (26:14; 36:19; 39:34). The veil and bottom layer of the tabernacle is made of blue, purple, and scarlet wool, and fine linen, with cherubim designs (26:1, 31; 36:8, 35; the listing of materials for the bottom layer may indicate it has more linen than the veil), while

the hangings to the entrances of the tabernacle and court have blue, purple, and scarlet wool, fine linen, and carry designs but not cherubim (26:36; 27:16; 36:37; 38:18). The fence surrounding the entire court is of fine linen (Exod 27:9, 18; 38:9, 16). The clasps holding the two sections of the bottom layer of the tabernacle together are gold (26:6; 36:13), while those of the overlying goat-hair layer are copper (26:11; 36:18). Finally, when the sanctuary is dedicated only the tent structure, the burnt-offering altar, and the laver are anointed; the court itself is not.

Non-P literature mentions cult places and sanctuaries in towns such as Beer-sheba, Bethel, Gibeon, Gilgal, Hebron, Mizpah (of Benjamin), Nob, Ophrah (of Abiezer), Ramah (Ramathaim), Shechem, Shiloh, as well as in undefined places. These cult places would have been considered holy—if not by a particular biblical book or tradition, which may treat them as illegitimate, at least by worshipers there. Solomon's and Ezekiel's temples, whose descriptions are more complete, exhibit degrees of holiness like those of P's tabernacle. The entire area of Solomon's temple, including courts, was called a Heb *miqdāš,* "holy/sanctuary area" (clearly, Ezek 9:6; 23:39; see also Isa 63:18; Jer 17:12; Ezek 5:11; 8:6; 23:38; 24:21; 25:3; Ps 74:7; 78:69; Lam 1:10; 2:7, 20; 1 Chr 22:19; 2 Chr 20:8; 26:18; 29:21; 30:8; perhaps 1 Chr 28:10; cf. Heb. *bêt miqdāš* in 2 Chr 36:17; for the Second Temple: Isa 60:13; Dan 8:11; 9:17; 11:31; Neh 10:40; of other sanctuaries: Exod 15:17; Josh 24:26; Amos 7:9, 13; Ps 96:6). The plural in Jer 51:51 probably refers to sacred areas of the temple (cf. Ezek 7:24; 21:7; Ps 68:36; 73:17). The entire area was also called a Heb *qōdeš,* "holy place" (Ps 74:3; 1 Chr 24:5; 2 Chr 29:5, 7; 35:5; cf. Ps 20:3; 60:8; 63:3; 68:25; 108:8; 134:2; cf. Isa 64:10; Ps 24:3; 1 Chr 29:3; Heb *har haqqōdeš,* "holy mountain" and variants: Isa 56:7; Ezek 20:40; Ps 3:5; 15:1; 43:3; 99:9; cf. Isa 27:13; 65:11; *qōdeš* for the Second Temple: Dan 8:13, 14; 9:26; cf. Isa 62:9). The temple building itself had two main rooms, but with a vestibule added in front. The adytum can be called the "most holy place" (1 Kgs 6:16; 7:50; 8:6; 2 Chr 3:8, 10; 4:22; 5:7; cf. Ps 28:2; Second Temple: Dan 9:24). The shrine can be called the *qōdeš,* "holy place" (1 Kgs 8:8, 10; 2 Chr 5:11). The adytum, overlaid with gold, contains the ark underneath the wings of gold-covered cherubim (1 Kgs 6:20, 27–28, 31–32; 8:6–9); the shrine, also overlaid with gold, contains a gold incense altar, a gold bread table, and gold lamp stands (1 Kgs 6: 21–22, 30, 33–35; 7:48–50); and the court contains a copper altar, a large copper laver, and ten smaller copper lavers (1 Kgs 7:27–39, 43–45; 8:64; on Ahaz's altar: 2 Kgs 16:10–16). The two pillars standing in front of the temple were of copper (1 Kgs 7:13–22). Only priests, not Levites (2 Chr 29:16) nor laypersons (2 Chr 26:16–21), had access to the building (cf. 1 Kgs 8:6, 10–11; see also Ps 93:5; Eccl 8:10; 2 Chr 2:3).

Ezekiel's visionary temple, described in Ezekiel 40–48 (cf. Ezek 20:40; 37:26–28), has a walled-off area 500 cubits square. This entire area is called a *miqdāš,* "holy area" (37:26, 28; 43:21; 44:1, 5, 7–9, 11; 45:3–4; 47:12; 48:8, 10, 21) and a *qōdeš,* "holy place" (45:2). In a relative sense the sanctuary area is holy *(qōdeš)* while the area outside of it is profane (Heb *ḥōl;* see Ezek 42:20). Calling the sanctuary area "most holy" vis-à-vis the rest of the land also reflects its holier status (Ezek 43:12; cf. 45:3). The sanctuary area has an outer and inner court. The latter is called *qōdeš,* "holy place" (Ezek 42:14; 44:27) and perhaps also *miqdāš,* "holy place" (44:15–16; 45:18–19). The inner court contains the burnt-offering altar and the temple building. The temple building has two main rooms: the adytum or most holy place (41:4; simply *qōdeš,* "holy place" in 41:21, 23), and the shrine. It also has a vestibule at the front. The inner court has an implicit higher holiness. Only priests have access to it (44:15–19, 27; cf. 40:44–46; 42:13–14; 46:19–20). Not even the civic leader, the "prince" (Heb *nāśîʾ*), can enter (46:1–3, 8, 12). The Levites have access only to the outer court and gates of the inner court (44:10–14; cf. 40:38–43). Israelites are restricted to the outer court. Uncircumcised foreigners are restricted from the sanctuary area altogether (44:9). Priests, furthermore, are not to wear their official robes in the outer court (42:14; 44:17–19). Most holy offerings are to be eaten in holy chambers adjoining the inner court (42:13; 46:20), while lesser holy offerings are cooked in the outer court (46:21–24). See D. 3.

For foreign sanctuaries, see Isa 16:12; Ezek 28:18. For a temple plan reflecting a more complicated gradation of holiness see the Temple Scroll (11QTemple; Yadin 1983). See also TABERNACLE; TEMPLE, JERUSALEM; TEMPLES AND SANCTUARIES.

**b. Places of Theophany.** Moses was told to remove his shoes on Sinai because the ground was holy (Exod 3:5; cf. Josh 5:15). The mountain's hallowed state was due to God's presence there (Exod 19:9–25; 24:16–17; Deut 4:10–5:29)—it was "God's mountain" (1 Kgs 19:8; cf. vv 8–14). Rules that the people purify themselves for the theophany there (Exod 19:10, 14–15, 22) and not encroach on the mountain's boundaries on the penalty of death (vv 12–13, 17, 21, 23–24) also evidence its sacred character. Milgrom (1970: 44–46) has argued that the mount had a tripartite gradation of holiness similar to that of the tabernacle: the summit where God's presence was and to which only Moses has access, the area below the summit covered by a cloud, and the area below the cloud, the "bottom of the mountain," where the altar was set up (Exod 24:4) and where the people gathered (cf. Ps 68:18).

Other places where God's presence is manifested are implicitly holy, such as Israel's war camp (Deut 23:10–15; cf. Num 5:2–3; 1 Sam 21:6) and the Garden of Eden (Gen 3:8). Tyre, figuratively a man in Eden, lived on the "holy mountain of God" (Ezek 28:14). Places where God or angels appeared to the patriarchs and others, and where they, in consequence, set up altars or pillars, may be considered sacred (e.g., Shechem: Gen 12:6–7; Bethel: 28:10–22; 35:1–5, 9–15; Gideon in Ophrah: Judg 6:20–24).

**c. Land of Israel and Jerusalem.** Though some of the P laws perhaps hint that the land of Israel is holy (Lev 18:25–28; Num 35:33–34), only the non-P literature explicitly calls it or its cities such (Exod 15:13; Isa 64:9; Zech 2:16; Ps 78:54; cf. Zech 14:20–21; Ps 114:2; Ezra 9:8; perhaps Josh 5:15). The Heb term *har haqqōdeš,* "the holy mountain," and its variations often refers to the entire land of Israel (Isa 11:9; 57:13; 65:25; Jer 31:23; Obad 16; Zeph 3:11; cf. Isa 27:13; Joel 2:1; Ps 87:1). Other passages imply the holiness of the land (Josh 22:19; 2 Kgs 5:17; Ezek 4:14; Hos 9:3–4; Amos 7:17; Ps 137:4; Ezra 6:21).

More specifically, the city of Jerusalem is called holy (Isa 48:2; 52:1; Ps 46:5; Dan 9:24; Neh 11:1, 18), and the term *har haqqōdeš:* "the holy mountain" (and variants) can refer particularly to it (Isa 66:20; Joel 4:17; Zech 8:3; Ps 2:6; 48:2; Dan 9:16, 20; 11:45; cf. Isa 27:13; 56:7; 65:11; Joel 2:1). Jeremiah speaks in detail of a promised increase of holiness to be experienced by the city (Jer 31:38–40; cf. Zech 14:20–21). Because of its holiness, the uncircumcised, foreigners, and the defiled would not be found in the city (Isa 52:1; Joel 3:17). On the dedication or sanctification of Jerusalem's walls, see Neh 3:1; 12:27.

**d. Ezekiel's Teruma.** Ezekiel's future map (45:1–8; 48:8–22) has a section of land 25,000 cubits square called the *těrmâ* ("contributed portion," 48:8, 12, 20–21). This *těrmâ* contains three horizontal strips for (1) the priests and sanctuary, (2) the Levites, and (3) the city (i.e., Jerusalem) and its outlying area. The northernmost strip, 25,000 by 10,000 cubits, apparently belongs to the Levites. It is called the Levites' *ʾăḥuzzâ*, "possession" (45:5; 48:22). Adjoining on the south is an area of the same dimensions for the priests with the sanctuary at the center (45:3; 48:10, 21), called *qōdeš qodāšîm*, "most holy" (45:3; 48:12); a *qōdeš,* "holy portion" (45:4; cf. 45:1); a *miqdāš,* "holy area" (45:4); *haměquddāš,* "the dedicated portion" (48:11; but see commentaries), the *těrūmiyyâ,* "special contribution" (48:12); and probably *těrmat haqqōdeš,* "the holy contribution" (48:21b). The levitic and priestly areas together are called *těrûmat haqqōdeš,* "the holy contribution" (45:6–7; 48:10, 18, 20–21a); the "first fruit of the land" which is *qōdeš lyhwh,* "holy to Yahweh" (48:14); and, if emendations are followed, *qōdeš,* "holy portion" (45:1), and *hattěrûmâ … lyhwh,* "the contribution … to Yahweh" (48:9). Bordering the priestly land on the south is the *ʾăḥuzzat hāʿîr*, "possession of the city" (45:6–7; 48:20–21) which is *ḥōl,* "profane" (48:15). Despite some overlap of terminology for the priestly area and the priestly and levitic areas combined, a configuration of degrees of holiness is found: the holiest land with the sanctuary and priests, the lesser holy land with the Levites, and the profane land with the city. That these degrees are not arranged more systematically, e.g., in a concentric order, may be due to geographic and historical realities influencing the vision. That the city lies in a profane area, separated from the sanctuary, is striking in view of other prophetic expectations that Jerusalem would be holy.

**e. Heaven.** As God's dwelling on earth, namely the sanctuary, is holy, so his dwelling in heaven is holy. Various Heb terms are used: *mĕʿôn qodšô/qodšĕkā,* "his/your holy habitation" (Deut 26:15; Jer 25:30; Zech 2:17; Ps 68:6; 2 Chr 30:27); *měrôm qodšô,* "his holy height" (Ps 102:20; a Qumran text has *mĕʿôn*); *šĕmê qodšô,* "his holy heavens" (Ps 20:7); *zĕbûl qodšĕkā,* "your holy elevation" (Isa 63:15); and perhaps *qodšô/qodšî/haqqōdeš,* "his/my/the (heavenly) sanctuary" (Amos 4:2; Ps 60:8; 77:14; 89:36; 108:8;

150:1); *miqdāš,* "holy place" (Ps 68:36; 73:17); and some of the instances of *hêkal qodšô,* "his holy temple" (Jonah 2:5, 8; Mic 1:2; Hab 2:20; Ps 11:4; some refer clearly to the earthly temple: Ps 5:8; 79:1; 138:2; cf. 65:5). See also Isa 57:15, and for God's throne, Ps 47:9.

**5. Time. a. Sabbath.** The OT generally calls the Sabbath sacred and describes or prescribes its sanctification by abstaining from work (Exod 16:23; 20:8; 31:14–15; 35:2; Deut 5:12; Isa 58:13–14; Jer 17:22, 24, 27; Ezek 20:20–21; 44:24; Neh 9:14; 13:22).

**b. Holidays.** P designates certain holidays as Heb *miqrā› qōdeš,* perhaps meaning "declaration of, call for, summoning to holiness" rather than "holy convocation" (cf. Lev 23:2, 4, 37). These days include the first and seventh days of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Exod 12:16; Lev 23:7–8; Num 28:18, 25); the Feast of Weeks day (Lev 23:21; Num 28:26); the first day of the seventh month (Lev 23:24; Num 29:1); the Day of Atonement (Lev 23:27; Num 29:7); the first and eighth days of the Feast of Tabernacles (Lev 23:35, 36; Num 29:12). The phrase *miqrā› qōdeš* is accompanied by a prohibition of work on these days which evidently serves as the means of hallowing these times (cf. the use of the phrase for the Sabbath in Lev 23:3). Observance of ritual requirements at the sanctuary would have also led to the days' sanctification. Degrees of holiness are apparent: the Sabbath and Day of Atonement are the holiest since they require complete rest; other days, designated *miqrā› qōdeš,* are less holy since they require abstinence only from laborious work; and other special days, such as new moons (apart from that in the seventh month), are least holy since they require no abstention (see Milgrom 1970: 80–81, and n. 297). The differences in sacrificial requirements in Leviticus 23 and Numbers 28–29 also imply more minute degrees of holiness.

Festivals were holy periods outside P, too (Ezra 3:5). A specific indication of this is the idiom of "sanctifying" a festival (Isa 30:29; a fast: Joel 1:14; 2:15; a festival for the god Baal: 2 Kgs 10:20). Holy days require abstention from work or unseemly behavior (Neh 8:9–11; Neh 10:32).

**c. Jubilee and Sabbatical Year.** The jubilee year is to be sanctified by not sowing or harvesting (Lev 25:10–12). The sabbatical year is not called holy but the requirement to not sow or harvest would indicate it has a holiness similar to the jubilee (Lev 25:2–7; note the terminology with *šabbāt* and *šabbātôn;* cf. Exod 23:10–11). The restrictions enforcing rest indicate that these periods of time are holy.

**6. Miscellaneous. a. War.** Several passages speak of "sanctifying" or inaugurating war (Jer 6:4; Joel 3:9; Mic 3:5). While the verb may simply mean to "prepare," it may refer to performing preparatory rites, including purification (cf. Jer 22:7; 51:27–28). Like the holiness associated with theophany, it may be the divine presence that makes a war holy.

**b. Covenant.** A covenant can be called holy (Dan 11:28, 30; here meaning Israel's religion) and can be desecrated (Mal 2:10; Ps 55:21; 89:35; Neh 13:29).

**C. Methods of Sanctification and Desanctification**

Since holiness is fraught with danger, the movement into or out of it is of great prescriptive concern. Such movement may be legitimate, or unplanned and illegitimate.

**1. Legitimate Sanctification and Desanctification. a. Sanctification.** Some beings, places, objects, or times are inherently holy (e.g., God, the firstborn) and others become such through the people's proper behavior (e.g., the people through obedience, the Sabbath through cessation of work). Two other means of attaining a holy state require further elucidation: ritual procedures and theophany.

**(1) Ritual Procedures.** Persons or things made holy by special anointing oil (see sec. B. 3. g.) in P include high and common priests and their clothing (Exod 29:7, 21; Lev 8:12, 30) and the tabernacle and the most holy furniture (Exod 29:36; 30:26–29; 40:9–11; Lev 8:10–11; Num 7:1, 10–11, 84, 88). Pouring of oil on *massēbôt,* "pillars," may have consecrated them (Gen 28:18; 31:13; 35:14). The anointing of prophets, if this was really done, may have imparted holiness (see sec. B. 2. e.). Anointing a person recovered from scale disease (Lev 14:10–29), kings (1 Kgs 1:39; cf. Ps 89:21), and shields (2 Sam 1:21; Isa 21:5) did not sanctify them (cf. Ps 110:3).

Offerings often accompany sanctuary dedications (e.g., Exodus 29; Leviticus 8–9; Numbers 7; 1 Kgs 8:5, 62–64; Ezek 43:18–27; 2 Chr 5:6; 7:1–10; 29:20–36). The purgation sacrifice in particular cleanses and sanctifies the outer altar, readying it for ensuing sacrificial activity (Exod 29:36–37; Lev 8:15; Ezek

43:18–22, 25–26) and is used in recurring purgation rites to maintain sanctity (Leviticus 16, esp. v 19 and Ezek 45:18–20). Consecration-offering blood is placed on the priests and sprinkled on them and on their clothing (Exod 29:21; Lev 8:30).

Priests at their consecration donned special clothing (Exod 28:3, 41; 29:1, 5–9; Lev 8:7–9, 13). When Eleazar became high priest, he was dressed in Aaron's clothing (Num 20:25–28). For Ezekiel, the contagious character of priestly clothing may contribute to the priests' holiness (42:14; 44:19; cf. the tassels in sec. B. 3. f.).

Objects may be dedicated by elevating them (literally or symbolically) in the sanctuary. Sanctification is specifically mentioned in the case of the shoulder of the Nazirite's well-being offering with accompanying bread (Num 6:19–20), and the two well-being lambs and the two firstfruits loaves offered on the Feast of Weeks (Lev 23:17–20). Other cases where it is implicit are the breast of the well-being and priestly-consecration offerings (Exod 29:26–27; Lev 7:30, 34; 8:29; 9:21; 10:14–15; Num 6:20; 18:18), thigh and fat of the consecration offering with accompanying bread (Exod 29:22–24; Lev 8:25–27), the thigh of the well-being offering (Lev 9:21; 10:14–15), the reparation offering and log of oil for a recovered *mĕṣōrāʿ* (Lev 14:12, 24), the barley *ʿōmer* (Lev 23:11–15), the cereal offering of a suspected adulteress (Num 5:25), and gold and copper for the sanctuary (Exod 35:22; 38:24, 29). The Levites are "elevated" (Num 8:11, 13, 15, 21) but this does not necessarily make them holy (see sec. B. 2. d., and Milgrom 1983b: 139–70).

A substance presumably increases in holiness when brought in direct or indirect contact with a most holy sanctum. This is implicit in the cases of putting consecration-offering blood on the altar before sprinkling it on the priests and their clothing (Exod 29:21; Lev 8:30), sprinkling oil "before the Lord" before it is placed on a recovered *mĕṣōrāʿ* (Lev 14:16, 27), and sprinkling red cow blood toward the sanctuary (Num 19:4). It is also the case with the portions of most holy offerings, which can communicate holiness apparently only after their blood or initial portions have come in contact with the altar (Lev 6:11, 20; Milgrom 1981; see sec. C. 2. a.).

An offerer may verbally declare something holy or dedicate it by physically setting it apart. This dedication generally occurs outside the sanctuary precincts and includes sacrificial animals (Exod 28:38; Lev 22:2–3, 15; 27:9; cf. 2 Chr 30:24; 35:7–9; not the firstborn in P, Lev 27:26, but cf. Deut 15:19), firstfruits and first-processed materials (Num 15:20; 18:12–13), the tithe (Lev 27:32; cf. Num 18:24–32; Neh 12:47), a house or land (Lev 27:14–16, 18–19, 22), the half-shekel (Exod 30:13–15), building materials (Exod 25:2–3; 35:5, 21, 24; 36:3, 6), booty (Num 31:28–29, 41, 52), and oneself as a Nazirite (Num 6:2–21). See in general Lev 22:12, 15; Num 5:9; 18:8, 11, 19; Deut 12:6, 11, 17; Ezek 20:40; 44:30; 45:13, 16; Mal 3:8; Neh 10:38, 40; 12:44, 47; 13:5; 2 Chr 30:17; 31:10, 12, 14; figuratively, Jer 12:3. Verbal dedication or setting apart in the sanctuary precincts presumably occurs with the breads of the thank offering and the right thigh of the well-being offering (Lev 7:14 and Exod 29:27–28; Lev 7:32, 34; 10:14, 15; Num 6:20). Judg 17:3 and perhaps Prov 20:25 show how verbal dedications are made (see Milgrom 1983b: 159–72).

A special form of dedication is Heb *ḥērem,* "severe dedication; ban." This is found mainly in contexts of war (Josh 6:17–21; 8:26; 10:1, 28, 35, 37, 39, 40; 11:11, 12, 20, 21; etc.) but may apply to one's own property (cf. Lev 27:28, "field of one's inheritance"; cf. v 21). Things placed under *ḥērem* include persons, their buildings, animals, precious objects and metals, and land. Objects, animals, and land so dedicated would be destroyed or become sanctuary property to be used by the priests (Num 18:14; Josh 6:19, 24; Ezek 44:29). Humans would be put to death (Lev 27:29). As with regular dedication, *ḥērem* can take the form of an unconditional declaration or a vow (Num 21:2–3).

**(2) Theophany.** In addition to the cases discussed in sec. B. 4. b., stories about the major sanctuaries describe God's manifestation at the time of dedication: the desert tabernacle (Exod 40:34–35; Num 9:15 and Lev 9:4, 6, 23–24); Solomon's temple (1 Kgs 8:10–11; 2 Chr 5:11–14; cf. the Chronicler's addition in 7:1–3); Ezekiel's temple (43:1–5; cf. 44:1–3; 46:1–3, 8, 12). These theophanies have not only a sanctifying effect but also show that God accepts the structures and their cult. God's presence or appearance at a sanctuary at other times in its existence would have a continuing sanctifying effect.

**b. Desanctification.** The prevailing rule in most cases is: Whatever is not offerable on the altar may be desanctified (Milgrom 1976: 52–53). The two main methods are redemption and ritual. A unique example is in Ezra 2:61–63 (= Neh 7:63–65) where priests are "disqualified" (Heb *wayĕgō'ălû;* the verb carries "the notion of desanctification) and not allowed to eat the most holy offerings.

**(1) Redemption.** Money or, in some cases, another item of equal worth may be paid or given to redeem or purchase a sanctum. The sanctum loses its holiness while the money or other item becomes holy (cf. Lev 27:23). In P, the main method of desanctifying is paying the principal value of an item, assessed by a priest, plus one fifth. This is found in the case of a dedicated or vowed unclean sacrificial animal (Lev 27:11–13), a firstborn unclean animal (vv 26–27; cf. Num 18:15), produce tithe (Lev 27:30–31), a dedicated house (vv 14–15), and a dedicated field of one's inheritance (vv 16–19). A dedicated field of one's inheritance and unredeemed unclean firstborn may be sold at the assessed price, apparently without the added fifth (vv 20–21, 27). Firstborn humans were redeemed at first by being replaced by the Levites, and the extra Israelites and later firstborn were redeemed by paying five shekels (Num 3:44–51; 18:15–16). Outside of P, a firstborn ass, an unclean animal, may be redeemed by a sheep or goat (Exod 13:13; 34:20). Firstborn people must also be redeemed, but no means is prescribed (Exod 13:13; 34:20); perhaps a sacrificial redemption is intended. An object designated as *ḥērem* is not redeemable according to P (Lev 27:29). Jonathan's redemption, if he was under *ḥērem* after eating honey in violation of Saul's oath, could be legitimate since his violation was unintentional (1 Sam 14:24, 27, 45).

**(2) Ritual Procedures.** The removal of a holy portion from a batch desanctifies the rest. The tithe given to the Levites at first is holy (Num 18:32). When they give a tithe of the tithe to the priests, itself called holy (v 29), the remaining nine tenths becomes profane (cf. v 31). The same desanctification process may be seen in the selection of the animal tithe (Lev 27:32), the implicit donation of the fourth-year produce of a new tree to God before personal consumption can begin in the fifth (Lev 19:23–25; cf. Deut 20:6; 28:30; Jer 31:5), and the separation of firstfruits and first-produced materials from a large batch.

Some sanctums are unusable and cannot be redeemed. To prevent desecration they are disposed of or destroyed. The Nazirite's hair and leftover portions of sacrifices are burned (Num 6:18–19 and Exod 12:10; 29:34; Lev 7:17; 10:16–20; 19:6; cf. Lev 7:19). Altar ashes and the crop and plumage of a burnt-offering bird are taken outside the camp to the ash dump (Lev 1:16; 6:3–4). Carcasses of inedible purgation sacrifices are also taken to the ash dump and burned (Exod 29:14; Lev 4:11–12, 21; 6:23; 8:17; 9:11; 16:27; cf. Ezek 43:21). The blood of purgation and other sacrifices is collected or poured at the base of the altar where it will sink into the ground (Exod 29:12; Lev 4:7, 18, 25, 30, 34; 5:9; 8:15; 9:9; cf. Exod 29:16, 20; Lev 1:5, 11: 3:2, 8, 13; 7:2; etc.). Outside of P, persons and things under *ḥērem* are killed and burned, or otherwise destroyed (Deut 13:17; Josh 6:24; 7:15, 25; 8:28; 11:11, 13). Necks of unredeemed firstborn of asses could be broken (Exod 13:13; 34:20; see Wright 1987: 129–59, 284–90).

At the successful completion of their vows Nazirites bring sacrifices which mark their departure from a holy status (Num 6:13–20; see sec. D. 2.). The high priest's bathing in Lev 16:24 may be for desanctification after working in the most holy place of the sanctuary. The washing or disposal of pots in which purgations offerings were cooked may be due to impurity rather than for desanctification (Lev 6:20–21; Wright 1987: 93–113, 129–31).

**2. Unintentional or Illegitimate Sanctification and Desanctification. a. Sanctification.** Four times P says "anyone/thing that touches *x* becomes holy" (Exod 29:37; 30:29; Lev 6:11, 20). The sanctums specified in these verses are the Tent of Meeting, the six most holy pieces of furniture, and the portions of the cereal, reparation, and purgation sacrifices. Objects becoming holy in this way perhaps may be redeemable or become property of the sanctuary and priests. It is arguable whether people are included in this rule (Milgrom 1981; Haran 1978: 179). At any rate, the consequence for contact with the furniture for nonpriests is death (by divine agency; Num 4:15, 19–20; 18:3). The tent structure, however, is not lethal, at least for the Levites, who may touch it (Num 4:24–33). In Ezekiel the priestly clothing and most holy offerings can sanctify persons and objects (42:14; 44:19; 46:20). See also Hag 2:12; 2 Chr 8:11 and perhaps Isa 65:5 (reading a *Pi'el*).

Another form of unplanned and detrimental consecration is *ḥērem* contagion. If a person misappropriates a cult object that is under *ḥērem,* the person acquires that status (Deut 7:25; Josh 6:18; cf. Exod 22:19). A person having this status would be put to death (cf. Achan in Josh 7, esp. v 12; cf. 1 Kgs 20:42).

**b. Desanctification.** It is in the case of illicit desanctification—desecration—that the dramatic character of holiness appears. Such profanation rouses God's destructive ire against malefactors and the community at large. Any impurity threatens the sanctity of any holy place, object, being, or occasion (e.g., Lev 7:19–21; 12:4; 21:1–4, 10–12; Num 6:9–12; 9:6–13). Desecration—making something profane but not necessarily impure—is often implied. It occurs when someone of a profane or even holy status infringes upon what is holy or misuses it. Sanctuaries or holy places are desecrated by encroachment of those unauthorized (Lev 16:2; 21:21, 23; Num 1:51; 3:10, 38; 16:1–35; 17:5—Eng 16:40; 18:7, 22; outside P: Exod 19:12–13, 16, 21–24; Ezek 44:7; 2 Chr 26:16–18 = 2 Kgs 15:5), priests' misdeeds (Exod 28:35, 43; 30:20–21; 40:32; Lev 10:1–6, 9; 21:12; cf. Zeph 3:4); and enemy incursions (outside P: Ezek 7:22, 24; 24:21; 25:3; Ps 74:7; Dan 11:31). Sanctum desecration occurs by mishandling holy furniture (Num 4:15, 20; 18:3; outside P: 1 Sam 6:19; 2 Sam 6:6–7); eating a well-being offering outside its proper time (Lev 7:16–18; 19:7–8); mishandling the tithe (Num 18:32); a layperson eating sacrificial portions of the priestly households (Lev 22:14); substituting sacrificial animals (Lev 27:10, 33); eating sacrificial blood and fat (Lev 7:25–27; 17:10–14); and outside P, working a firstborn ox or shearing a firstborn sheep (Deut 15:19); misappropriating *ḥērem* (Josh 7:1; 22:20; 1 Chr 2:7); and using iron on an altar (Exod 20:25). Priests are profaned by illicit mourning rites and harlot daughters (Lev 21:6, 9), and a high priest's lineage by marrying a prohibited woman (21:15). The people are profaned through harlotry (Lev 19:29), mixed marriages (outside P: Ezra 9:2, 4; 10:2, 6, 10, 19; Neh 13:27, 29; cf. Mal 2:10, 11), and enemy assault (outside P: Ezek 22:16). God or his name are desecrated by various sins: false swearing and breaking an oath (Lev 5:21–26; 19:12; Num 5:6; cf. 30:3; outside P: Ezek 17:20); idolatry and improper worship (Lev 18:21; 20:3; Num 31:16; cf. 25:1; outside P: Josh 22:16, 22, 31; Ezek 13:19; 20:39; Mal 1:7–12; 1 Chr 10:13; 2 Chr 28:2–4, 19, 22–24; 29:6, 19; 33:19); improper priestly impurity (Lev 21:6); not sanctifying God (outside P: Deut 32:51); misuse of sanctums (Lev 22:2; outside P: 2 Chr 26:16–18; cf. Ezek 43:7–8); enslaving freed slaves (non-P: Jer 34:16); sexual sins (non-P: Amos 2:7); general sins (Lev 22:32; 26:40; Num 5:6; outside P: Isa 48:11; Ezek 14:13; 15:8; 18:24; 20:27; 22:26; 39:23, 26; Dan 9:7; Neh 1:8; 1 Chr 9:1; 2 Chr 12:2; 30:7; 36:14); and God's necessary punishment of his people (non-P: Ezek 20:9, 14; 36:20–23; 39:7). The land is profaned by idolatry and enemy attack (non-P: Jer 16:18 and Isa 47:6). Holy occasions are profaned by work (Exod 31:14; outside P: Isa 56:2, 6; Ezek 20:13, 16, 21, 24; 22:8; 23:38; Neh 13:18) and not observing prescriptions (cf. Exod 12:15, 19; Lev 23:29–30; Num 9:13). Covenants and commandments may be profaned by not abiding them (outside P: Mal 2:10; Ps 55:21; 89:32, 35; cf. Ezek 7:21; 28:18).

Desecration carries penalties (these have been fully discussed by Milgrom 1970; 1976). In P, inadvertent profanation, when one does not know of the desecration until after the fact, can be required by restoring the price of the sanctum plus one fifth, and bringing a reparation offering (Lev 5:16–18; cf. 5:20–26; 22:14; Num 5:5–8; Ezra 10:19). For suspected sanctum trespass a reparation offering is brought (Lev 5:17–19; cf. Num 6:12). Even if people do not intend desecration, but are conscious of their act, death may ensue (Num 4:15, 20; 18:3; 2 Sam 6:6–7). Intentional sacrilege is perilous. Only in the case of a false oath, where God's name has been desecrated, does P prescribe rectification procedures (Lev 5:20–26; cf. Num 5:6–8). Death by deity, however, is the usual consequence (described with the Heb *Qal* form *mût*, "die": Exod 28:43; 30:20–21; Lev 10:6, 9; 16:2, 13; 22:9; Num 4:15, 19–20; 17:28; 18:3, 22, 32; or with Heb *kārēt,* "be cut off": Exod 12:15, 19; 31:14; Lev 7:18, 20–21, 25, 27; 17:4, 9–10, 14; 19:8; 20:2–5; 22:3; 23:29–30; Num 4:18; 9:13; 19:13, 20; see Wold 1979). Some cases of sanctum trespass involve execution after judgment or preemptory execution by sanctuary guards to prevent God's fury from being poured out on the community (Exod 19:12–13; 31:14–15; 35:2; Lev 20:2; 24:16; Num 1:51; 3:10, 38; 15:35; 18:7; 2 Chr 23:6–7; cf. Judg 6:25–32; and see the passages in the previous paragraph). It is the

danger inherent in the holy that lies behind fear of the divine presence (Gen 28:17; Exod 20:18–19; 24:11; 33:3, 5, 20; 34:30; Num 17:27–28—Eng 17:12–13; Deut 5:24–27; Judg 6:22–23; 13:22).

**D. Theoretical Concerns**

In addition to the foregoing observations about gradations of holiness, some additional general comments are in order. Much can be said about holiness from a more comprehensive theoretical perspective (see bibliography). Here we discuss the relationship of the conception of purity/impurity to holiness/profaneness and some recent contributions from anthropology and the theoretical study of religion to the understanding of sanctification rituals, sacred time, and ritual place.

**1. Relationship of Holy, Profane, Pure, Impure.** P and Ezekiel expressly view the states of holiness, profaneness, purity, and impurity in terms of two pairs of opposites: pure vs. impure and holy vs. profane (Lev 10:10; 11:47; Ezek 22:26; 42:20; 44:23; cf. 1 Sam 21:5). While it is true that impurity is a state opposed and detrimental to holiness, profaneness is its technical antonym. The presence or lack of a dynamic quality distinguishes the opposites from one another: profaneness is the lack of holiness; and purity is the lack of impurity. Any object, place, or person bears one state from each of the pairs at the same time (time is not called pure or impure). Four states, all of which are legitimate in certain contexts, are possible: profane and pure, profane and impure, holy and pure, and holy and impure. "Profane and pure" is a neutral and basic state since it lacks dynamic elements of holiness and impurity. Most laws that talk about becoming holy or impure assume a person or object starts with this combined state. Being profane and impure is the concern of most purity legislation. "Holy and pure" is the state of most persons, objects, and places considered holy. Only the last, ostensibly contradictory pairing of holiness and impurity demands attention. While this is not an expected or desired state, it is legitimate, even demanded, in cases of purgation offerings. A regular purgation offering removes impurity adhering to sanctums in the sanctuary. That it can pollute others after it is used for purification indicates it has become impure (Lev 16:27–28), but the requirement that it be eaten by the priests or be burned at the pure ash dump where other sanctuary materials are disposed indicates it is holy as well (Lev 6:19–23; see sec. C. 1. b. (2) on disposal). Similarly the scapegoat, part of a purgation offering complex (16:5), becomes impure when loaded with the community's sins while apparently remaining holy (cf. v 26). And the red cow, also a purgation offering (Num 19:9), pollutes those who prepare it (vv 7–8, 10), yet it is still holy as suggested by the rule that the water made from the resulting ash can only be handled by a pure person (v 18).

J. Milgrom recognizes the two pairs of opposites above, but treats them in terms of their dynamic *interactions* and the consequences involved (1970: 1; *Leviticus* AB). He distinguishes between most and lesser holy, assumes that these holy states and the profane state are pure, eliminates the cases where same states would interact with one another, and treats the impure state without regard to whether it is in addition holy or profane. He then posits five interactions: (a) most holy with profane, (b) lesser holy with impure, (c) lesser holy with profane, (d) profane with impure, and (e) most holy with impure. One regularity Milgrom observes is that the interactions of (a), (b), and (e) are illicit and lead to dire consequences while those in (c) and (d) are not necessarily so. Profane Levites who touch, even look at most holy sanctums, are liable to death (Num 4:15, 19–20) and those who pollute a well-being offering (which is lesser holy) are liable to *kārēt,* "cutting off" (Lev 7:19–21), while the profane can legitimately contact what is lesser holy (but not misuse it), and the profane can generally contact what is impure (cf. sec. C. 2). If a spectrum of holiness and impurity strength be set up (most holy—lesser holy—profane—impure) only contact between noncontiguous categories poses a threat. This exhibits the systematic character of P's rules about holiness and purity.

**2. Sanctification Rituals and Ritual Time.** The anthropologist Edmund Leach (1976: 77–93) has developed insights proposed by van Gennep (1960) and has applied them to the priestly consecration ritual in Leviticus 8–9. He argues that many rituals involve a movement in social status and often have a threefold division: (1) rites of separation where the subject is demarcated from his or her surroundings by actual removal or symbolic rites (disrobing-clothing; purification; etc.), (2) a marginal or liminal period—of "social timelessness"—of long or short duration which often continues the subject's separation with prohibitions to be observed and which may be accompanied by rites, and (3) rites of aggregation or

incorporation where persons return to their previous state or, at least, having a new social status, to a state of integration with society. To this scheme he adds a structuralist perspective that ritual is a type of language: not one which communicates in detail like speech, but which communicates more abstractly and generally like art and music. The parts of each ritual derive their meaning in relationship to one another, and a ritual complex derives its meaning in relationship to other complexes. Though not everything he says about the biblical material is acceptable, his approach generates many insights into biblical sanctification rituals. Following Leach's leads, we can offer the following abbreviated analysis of the priestly consecration ceremony and the Nazirite vow and desanctification. These two rites which raise the status of persons are actually quite different and convey thereby different ritual messages.

In the priestly consecration ritual the rites of separation cover almost all of Leviticus 8. Aaron and his sons are brought forward from the congregation, a physical separation (v 6). Though all are washed at first, Aaron is treated differently: he is dressed first (vv 7–9) and uniquely anointed (v 12). Aaron's special treatment, which continues throughout the rite, marks him as holier than his sons. After the sons are dressed and Moses offers sacrifices (vv 13–28), he places blood on Aaron's extremities first, and then on those of his sons (vv 23–24). Later, anointing oil and consecration-offering blood from the altar is sprinkled upon Aaron's clothes and perhaps Aaron, and then on his sons and their clothes (v 30). At this point the rite of separation has come to an end. The initiates now have a holy character (vv 12, 30). As vv 2–6 indicate the congregation has been present during this entire ritual segment. Their presence is not incidental but actually part of the ritual itself. The separation of the priests from the group and the latter's observation signifies or communicates the advancement of the priests' status. The period or rites of marginality or transition immediately ensue: the priests remain in the sanctuary area for seven days (vv 32–36; cf. Exod 29:35b–37). After this week of separation, rites of incorporation begin (Leviticus 9). On the eighth day offerings of the priests and the people are brought (vv 2–6). Though Moses instructs what is to be done, it is Aaron and his sons, not Moses, who now perform the sacrifices (7–20). Aaron, too, blesses the people (v 22). All this reveals the extent and nature of the priests' reintegration. While they can deal again with society, they are not on the same level as they were before. They are now the community's cultic representatives: they are holy. The appearance of God's glory gives closure and sanction to the entire tripartite ritual (v 24; cf. vv 4, 6).

To be compared, and contrasted, is the Nazirite vow and desanctification. The Nazirite period is simply initiated by a vow, a statement of intent (cf. Num 6:2). The "rite" of separation if therefore quite simple in comparison with the priestly ritual. The marginal or transitional period is one of restrictions (vv 3–8). The rite of aggregation consists of bringing offerings (vv 13–20) and cutting the hair (v 18–19). After this the Nazirite "may drink wine" (v 20). The cutting of the hair is a reversal of the initiation of the rite. As opposed to the priestly rites, this brings the person back to the profane status where he or she began. The Nazirite ritual is also private: there is no assembly when the vow is made and apparently none when the offerings are brought at the end. This is one of the great differences between this and the priestly ritual. Though both of them increase the holiness of the subjects, only the sanctification of the priests has broad social significance and relevance.

Leach's model is a temporal one. Ritual complexes such as those of the priests and Nazirite take place over and in time. As Leach notes, these rituals break up social time: they give meaning, direction, and order to an otherwise undifferentiated and homomorphous temporal continuum. There is thus a similarity between the rituals just discussed and the regular holy festival times of Israel. The regular recurrence of Sabbath and holidays also gives definition to Israelite time. These days punctuate it with focal points to which the group orients itself and works toward and from. Such orientation brings social unity and solidarity. Holy days, moreover, are periods of marginality or, better, timelessness, when the everyday is set aside for the unique; they are periods of restriction. If we had enough evidence we might find that these days or times were preceded by rites of separation or inauguration and rites of incorporation or termination which returned the people to regular time, as are found, for example, in postbiblical Judaism for the Sabbath (cf. Lev 25:9–10).

**3. Ritual Place.** Leach also offers a model for understanding ritual space (1976: 81–93). For the human mind, reality consists of the real world and another, metaphysical world where things are the reverse of the real world: gods live there, they are immortal, power which can ultimately be beneficial to humans exists there, etc. Sacred space is where these two worlds are brought into contact with one another through various rituals. Religious specialists, e.g., priests, serve as intermediaries between the two worlds in these places, and purity and other restrictions prevail. For the P material specifically, Leach sees the adytum as symbolic of the other world, the veil being what separates the real from the other world. Inside the rest of the sanctuary area are graded intermediate zones. His model includes the area outside the sanctuary: the camp is the area of "tame culture" and the area outside the camp is that of "wild nature."

While Leach's model explains why sacred space exists functionally, it does not explain why societies have different conceptions of sacred space. Scholars argue that specific ideas about ritual space derive in part from social structure and other social concerns. Recently J. Z. Smith (1987) has applied some of these ideas to the verbal maps of the temple and land in Ezekiel 40–44. He suggests that the social hierarchies of a particular society determine its gradation of ritual space and the access that groups have to its different parts. One may disagree with his interpretation of some of the verses (particularly with the view that the Levites had access to the inner court), but his theoretical ideas are worthy of consideration and development.

To review, in Ezekiel's temple God's residence is the adytum; undistinguished priests have access to the inner court; Levites have access only up to the gates of the inner court; the civil ruler is barred from the inner court but allowed to enter the hall of the east inner gate from the outside; and laypeople have access to the inner court. The supposition is that the more access one has, the higher is one's social rank. This seems a fair supposition; Ezekiel's style in particular substantiates it. The book's gradation is not descriptive but prescriptive; yet not just prescriptive, but revisionist. It is a polemical reformulation of social and religious relationships. The Zadokite priests are exalted while the Levites are demoted and castigated. Civic leaders—kings—are criticized for their breach of purity rules and are restricted in the future from access much beyond laypersons and Levites. Compare the redefinitions in 43:7–9, 19; 44:1–16; 45:8–9; 46:16–18. By changing access to the temple, the prophet is changing the constitution and organization of society.

P's access rules are similar to Ezekiel's: God's place is the adytum; the high priest has access to the adytum; the high priest aided by undistinguished priests has access to the shrine; the priests mainly work in the court and the Levites and people have access only to this area; more specifically, the people may be restricted to the area between the altar and the entrance to the court. (P does not clearly define how a civil ruler would fit in.) P's rules are not polemic like Ezekiel's, but the social tensions underlying them and in part giving rise and justification to them are visible in narratives about Levites vying for power (Numbers 16) or about priests committing sacrilege (Lev 10:1–5). The access laws in P and elsewhere do not just protect the sanctuary from encroachment and sacrilege, they sustain the borders between categories of persons in society. To carry it further, encroachment prohibitions (see C. 2. b.) do not just protect potential encroachers and the community from God's wrath, they protect the group from the confusion of social boundaries and thereby from social dissolution.

Finally, a case of ritual redundancy. Within a ritual corpus, practices and rules often symbolically articulate the same or similar messages of other practices and rules. Such is found with Ezekiel's Teruma (see B. 4. d.). The Teruma, we recall, consists of three portions: the holiest portion in the center where the sanctuary was and where the priests resided, a lesser holy section on the north for the Levites, and a southern profane section containing the city (i.e., Jerusalem). On the east and west of the Teruma was the land of the civic leader (Ezek 45:7–8; 48:21–22). This map repeats the same hierarchical relationships of the temple, with the priests at the top and with Levites and civic leader below them. One refinement is perhaps perceptible. In the temple map, it is difficult to determine whether the civic leader has a greater status than the Levites. If the Teruma is a deciding factor, the Levites seem to have a higher status since they are closer to the sanctuary. But this conclusion is confounded by the facts that the Levites are cultic

officials and hence expected to have some proximity to the sanctuary and that the civic leader, though further from the sanctuary, is given more land.

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DAVID P. WRIGHT


## *NEW TESTAMENT*

In the NT, holiness is an attribute of God that the people of God are urged to reflect in their lives (Luke 1:75; 2 Cor 7:1; Eph 4:24; etc.).

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### A. Introduction

**1. Terminology.** The language of holiness in the NT and other early Christian literature is almost entirely represented by a word family that is rare in Attic Greek: *hagios,* "holy," *hagiazein,* "to make holy," and cognates (possibly derived from the Sanskrit *yaj,* "sacrifice"). The few instances of *hagios* in classical writers occur chiefly among the historians (Herodotus 2.41, 44; Xenophon, *HG* 3.2.19), rhetoricians (Demosthenes, *Ep.* 25.11), philosophers (Plato, *Criti.* 116c; *Cri.* 51a; *Lg.* 729e; 904e; Aristotle, *Mir.* 834$^{b}$ 11), and comedians (Aristophanes, *Av.* 522; *Nu.*, 304). For the historians it is temples or shrines that are holy, while for Demosthenes and Aristophanes it is the rites of the mysteries. In the philosophical tradition oaths (Aristotle) and contracts (Plato, *Lg.* 729e) as well as the moral life (*Lg.* 904e) and fatherland (*Cri.* 51a) count as holy.

Among the Hellenistic writers in which *hagios* occurs Lucian (*Syr. D.* 13) and Appian (*Syr.* 50) may be named. The latter identifies Jerusalem as a holy city.

Greek *hagios* corresponds with *sanctus* in Latin, *ouaab* in Coptic, and *qdš* in Syriac. Other Greek words occasionally express holiness or the related idea of purity (*hosios* in Acts 2:27 and *2 Clem.* 1:3; *hosiotēs* in Eph 4:24 and *1 Clem.* 29:1; *hagnos* in 2 Cor 7:11 and Pol. *Phil.* 5:3; *hagnotēs* in 2 Cor 6.6 and *Herm. Vis.* 3:7; *hieros* in 1 Cor 9:13 and *1 Clem.* 43:1). But their association with Hellenistic religions of the period prevented any widespread use among NT and early Christian authors. Also the preponderance of *hagios* in the LXX as a translation for the Hebrew *qdš,* "holy," made this word group ready at hand for early Christian writers.

It is in the LXX, in fact, that *hagios* developed luxuriantly (ca. 700 occurrences), spawning a full family of cognates: *hagiazein,* "to make holy" (ca. 200 occurrences); *hagiasma,* "holy place" (ca. 64 occurrences); *hagiasmos,* "holiness" (10 occurrences); *hagiastērion,* "holy place" (4 occurrences); *hagiōsynē,* "holiness" (4 occurrences). Lev 19:2, "you shall be holy, for I, the Lord your God, am holy" (cf. 1 Pet 1:16; 1 Thess 4:3); Ps 2:6, "I have set my king on Zion, my holy hill"; and Wis 1:5, "For a holy and disciplined spirit will flee from deceit," illustrate the breadth of usage: ontology and theology, social description, cult, and ethics.

**2. General Definitions.** Schleiermacher (1955: 19–82) and Durkheim (1968: 37) placed the idea of holiness at the center of the study of religion, and since then a variety of biblical and theological disciplines has unfolded its general meaning. For the psychology of religion, holiness is a category of interpretation and valuation which describes the numinous (Otto 1958: 5–8); holiness reveals itself in encounters with a *mysterium tremendum,* evoking feelings of creatureliness, awe, and fascination.

For the phenomenology of religion the holy reveals itself in whatever is not profane (Eliade 1959: 14). It is experienced in hierophanies or manifestations of power (Van der Leeuw 1963 1: 23–36). In principle everything may disclose the holy: time, space, action, word, plant, animal, or person (Eliade 1963: 1–4). For the sociology of religion holiness marks status within a community, maintains boundaries vis-à-vis outsiders, and creates group identity (Hodgson 1986: 65–91). For traditional scholastic philosophy holiness remains a fundamental ontological category, designating what belongs to or is united with God and the divine will.

## B. *Hagios* and Cognates in the NT

**1. Jesus.** To the extent that Jesus' sayings can be distilled from the faith of the early Church and the editorial work of the evangelists, one sees that Jesus rarely, but deliberately, spoke of holiness. The Lord's Prayer invokes the Father with the petition "hallowed [*hagiazesthai*] be thy name" (Matt 6:9, Luke 11:2, *Did.* 8:2). The holiness of God's name, a common motif in Hebrew prayer (Ps. 30:4; 97:12; Tob 3:11), evolved into a powerful symbol and rallying point for Christian life and faith (cf. Luke 1:49; John 17:11; *1 Clem.* 58:1; 64:1; 9:1; *Did.* 10:2). Apart from the Lord's Prayer, the word "holy" turns up in four sayings attributed to Jesus. At Mark 8:38 (cf. Matt 16:27 and Luke 9:26) Jesus speaks of the *hagioi angelloi,* "holy angels," who will accompany the Son of Man upon his return. An important part of Jewish and early Christian faith was the belief in holy angels (Ps 89:7; Zech 14:5; Acts 10:22; *1 Clem.* 39:7; *Herm. Vis.* 2.2.7; 3.4.1–2; *Herm. Sim.* 5.5.3). By the mid–2d century C.E. this concept had grown to include the idea that the just were the holy angels (*Herm. Vis.* 2.2.7; *Herm. Sim.* 9:25; *Mart. Pol.* 2.3) who would return with Jesus (*Did.* 15:7; cf. 1 Thess 3:13).

In another saying (Matt 7:6; cf. *Did.* 9:5 and *Gos. Thom.* 93) Jesus declares, "Do not give dogs what is holy *(to hagion).*" If this meant for Jesus that his mission did not include gentiles, then so too in Matthew. In the *Didache* the saying becomes a rationale for excluding the catechumens from the Eucharist. In each case holiness serves to fix a boundary that restrains the outsider.

In the Synoptic apocalypse only Matthew reports that the desolating sacrilege will stand in the "holy place" *(hagios topos)* or temple (Matt 24:15; cf. Mark 13:14).

And finally, in Matthew's Woes against the Pharisees one reads at 23:17, "What is then greater, the gold or the temple which sanctified *(hagiazein)* the gold?" Presupposed in this saying is the dialectic of holiness (Eliade 1963: 12) or the belief that the holy (temple) can raise ordinary things (gold) to the level of the sacred.

**2. Synoptic Sayings Source.** Apart from the Lord's Prayer there is only one other occurrence of the idea of holiness in the synoptic sayings source: "The devil took him to the holy city, and set him on the pinnacle of the temple" (Matt 4:5; cf. Luke 4:9).

**3. Mark.** In Mark, holiness is twice attributed to a person. Once (Mark 1:24) a demoniac recognizes Jesus as "the holy one of God" *(ho hagios tou theou),* that is, as one removed from the profane order of things for the service of God (cf. Luke 4:34; John 6:69; Exod 22:31; Lev 11:44–45; 19:2; 20:7; 26; 21:6; Num 15:40; 1 Sam 7:1; 1 Esdr 8:58; Hab 3:3; Isa 4:3; Jer 1:5). In the second instance (Mark 6:20; cf. Matt 14:5; Luke 9:7–9) Herod Antipas fears to put John the Baptist to death because he was a righteous and holy *(hagios)* man.

**4. The Special Material in Matthew and Luke.** Apart from the four sayings of Jesus discussed above Matthew's special material refers only once more to holiness. Matt 27:52–53 narrates that upon the death of Jesus "the tombs also were opened, and many bodies of the holy who had fallen asleep were raised, and coming out of the tombs after his resurrection they went into the holy city and appeared to many." Whatever the origin of this tradition, whether in a saying of Jesus (cf. John 5:25) or in Jewish-Christian apocalypticism (cf. Dan 7:18–27), the holy ones became in the course of the 2d century C.E. identified with the Hebrew prophets (*Ign. Phld.* 5:2), thus expanding again already existing conceptions of who constituted the holy ones of the end time.

In Luke's special material holiness is an attribute of God's name or of those set apart for his service. The texts appear only in the infancy narrative (Luke 1:35, 49, 70, 72; 2:23). At the Annunciation Luke writes, for example, that "the child to be born will be called holy [*hagios*]." The view that the summons to holiness takes place through a "calling" *(kalein)* in traditional (cf. Isa 4:3; 35:8; 62:12; *klētē hagia,* "holy assembly": Ex 12:16; Lev 23:2; passim). Mary's hymn of praise, the Magnificat, celebrates God's holy name *(hagion to onoma autou),* and if Ps 110:9 LXX lies behind this verse (Fitzmyer, *Luke* AB, 368), then "holy" is equivalent here to "awe-full" *(phoberon).*

**5. Acts of the Apostles.** The 14 occurrences of *hagios* and cognates in Acts (apart from its use in the "Holy Spirit") reflect conventional Jewish usage. Eight belong to kerygmatic and sermonic material (3:14, 21; 4:27, 30; 7:33; 20:32; 26:10, 18); three to the traditions of Peter in Lydda, Joppa (9:32, 41), and the seacoast city of Caesarea (10:22); and three to the charges raised against Paul (9:13; 21:28) and Stephen (6:13). In Peter's sermon at Solomon's portico Jesus is identified as the holy and righteous one (3:14: *ho hagios kai dikaios;* cf. 4:27, 30; otherwise of John the Baptist at Mark 6:20). Among the earliest christological titles, "the holy and righteous one" and "the holy servant" *(pais)* combine traditional Jewish designations for Moses (Wis 11:1), the Suffering Servant (Isa 53:11), and Elijah (2 Kings 4:9) and apply them to Jesus (Fuller 1965: 48).

In another sermon Peter calls the prophets of old holy (3:21; cf. Luke 1:70), while the charge against Stephen is that he "never ceases to speak words against this holy place" (6:13; cf. Matt 24:15; in ancient Jewish piety a favorite circumlocution of God's name was *hammāqôm* "the place," while the graves of saints in late antiquity were known simply as *ho topos,* "the place" [cf. *1 Clem* 5:7]).

In Paul's farewell discourse at Miletus and in his defense speech before Herod Agrippa II, holiness becomes a category of social and religious identity. Paul commends the assembled Miletians to God and his word, who will give them "the inheritance among all those who are made holy" (20:32). Likewise,

before Agrippa, Paul says that it is "the holy ones" (26:10; cf. 9:13) whom he formerly persecuted, before God called him to preach the gospel to the gentiles so "that they receive a portion among those who are made holy by faith in me" (26:18). Here Paul identifies faith as the social and religious wellspring of holiness.

At Joppa Peter seeks out believers described as the holy ones and the widows (9:41; cf. 9:32), a designation which suggests that while "the holy ones" serves as a blanket designation for "believers," there are also nuances to be considered, since the category of "holy" may from time to time mark a special role or function in early Christianity (cf. Eph 4:11–12; Heb 13:24; Rev 11:18).

**6. Paul.** Of the undisputed letters of Paul, Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, and Philippians begin and end by addressing themselves to Christian communities whose members are designated as holy. Among the disputed letters, Ephesians and Colossians open in this manner. Philemon and the Thessalonian letters do not use this form of opening address, and *hagios* and cognates are completely wanting in Galatians. In Rom 1:7 and 1 Cor 1:2 the addressees are "those called to be holy" *(klētoi hagioi).* According to 1 Cor 1:2 the addressees enjoy this status because they are "made holy in Christ."

For Paul, Jesus incarnates holiness (*hagiasmos;* cf. 1 Cor 1:30). A pre-Pauline formula says that Jesus was designated son of God at his resurrection "according to the Spirit of holiness" (*kata pneuma hagiōsynēs,* Rom 1:4).

At the end of Romans Paul encourages the Church to receive Phoebe the deaconess in a manner "worthy of the holy ones" (16:2), and to "greet Philologus … and all the holy ones" (16:15). Similarly at the end of 1 Corinthians (16:15), 2 Corinthians (13:13), and Philippians (4:21) Paul uses the designation "the holy ones" as an epithet for the faithful.

Within the general designation of all believers as the holy ones there are special usages that derive from Paul's own theological and pastoral concerns. There is first the special status accorded the Jerusalem Church, most visible in the collection for its benefit. Everywhere except in Galatians, where the word "holy" is missing and the collection is a "remembering of the poor," the subscriptions of the gentile churches are earmarked for the holy ones. Paul prays at Rom 15:16 that the Holy Spirit will render holy the gifts of the gentile churches. From Corinth, Paul traveled to Jerusalem "to relieve the holy ones (Rom 15:25)," bringing Macedonia and Achaia's donation "for the poor among the holy ones at Jerusalem" (15:26) in the hope that his ministry to Jerusalem will be acceptable to the holy ones (15:31; cf. 12:13). Similarly, in the Corinthian correspondence Paul appeals on behalf of the holy ones in Jerusalem (1 Cor 16:1; 2 Cor 8:4; 9:1,12). Their vulnerability to economic and political distress gives their status as the impoverished holy ones a special sense of urgency and connects them with the tradition of the pious and persecuted poor of Hebrew scriptures and intertestamental literature (Osiek 1983: 15–24).

Secondly, there is the conception of the eschatological holy ones: those who join Christ at his second coming. Only 1 Thess 3:13 and 2 Thess 1:10 (this latter often reckoned among the disputed letters) articulate this role of the holy ones clearly, although it is assumed in other texts (e.g. 1 Cor 6:2; cf. above on Mark 8:38 and Matt 27:53). 1 Thess 3:13 envisions the holy ones appearing with Jesus at his second coming, at which time their holiness will be completed. At 2 Thess 1:10, it is the holy ones *in whom* Jesus' final glory is encompassed. At the end of time the holy ones will judge the world (1 Cor 6:2). To the extent that the end has already begun for Paul, the holy ones already incur certain obligations within their communities, and this leads to a third special usage, the ethical.

Rom 12:1, "present yourselves as holy and living sacrifices," opens the ethical section of a letter which sets forth the day-to-day dimension of holiness in a series of exhortations on brotherly love, civil obedience, and tolerance (Rom 12:3–15:6). Elsewhere the holy ones serve as arbiters at internecine suits (1 Cor 6:1) and persevere even in marriage with an unbeliever, since "the unbelieving husband is made holy by his wife, and the unbelieving wife by the husband" (1 Cor 7:14). Thanks to the holy marriage partner, the unclean *(akathartos)* children of such a marriage become holy (1 Cor 7:14b). The search for holiness in body and spirit informs the life of the single woman (1 Cor 7:34). At 1 Thess 4:1–12 Paul frames his earliest set of ethical instructions in concepts that derive ultimately from the holiness code of Leviticus 17–26 and from Hellenistic popular philosophy.

Loyalty to moral, doctrinal, and liturgical traditions both precede and deepen the "holiness of the spirit" (2 Thess 2:13–15). The churches of the holy ones are invoked as precedents for the silence of women (1 Cor 14:33). In his discussion of dying and rising with Christ Paul points to righteousness as the ethical and theological ground of holiness: "Yield your members to righteousness for holiness" (Rom 6:19; cf. 6:22). Holiness, Paul boasts, is a benchmark of apostolic life (2 Cor 1:12), and in a section with close ties to the ideology of the Essenes Paul envisions the life of holiness as a wearing down of defilement in order to "make holiness perfect" (2 Cor 7:1).

Fourth, Paul knows that the following are holy: Scripture (Rom 1:2); law and commandment (Rom 7:12); firstfruits, root, and branches (in the allegory of ancient Israel; Rom 11:16); and the temple (1 Cor 3:17). Finally, Christian liturgical and prayer life set off certain traditional rituals as holy. In 1 Cor 6:11 baptism is explicated as a moment of holiness (*hagiazein;* Dinkler 1967: 226–27), while Paul recognizes the holy kiss as a fitting greeting among Christians (Rom 16:16; 1 Cor 16:20; 2 Cor 13:12; 1 Thess 5:26; cf. 1 Pet 5:14; *Gos. Phil. II, 3*:59,5; Asting 1930: 148). The prayers of the holy ones rise up to God on the intercession of the Spirit (Rom 8:27).

**7. The School of St. Paul.** In Colossians, Ephesians, and the Pastorals, holiness has a distinctive trait which lies in its application to the routine life of Christians both individually and corporately. Almost completely lacking are the more specialized usages characteristic of the undisputed letters which associate holiness with eschatology, ritual, and the special position of the Jerusalem church. Col 1:2 and Eph 1:1 address themselves to the holy and faithful ones whose hallmark is the love of the holy ones (Col 1:4; Eph 1:15). To a life without blemish God has set apart (*eklegein* not *kalein*, "to call"; cf. 2 Tim 1:9) his holy ones individually (Eph 1:4) and corporately (Eph 2:21; 5:27; cf. Col 1:22) in order that they will acquire "a share in the inheritance of the holy ones in the light" (Col 1:12; cf. Eph 1:18; Acts 20:32; *Gos. Eg.* III, *2*:51,3). The holiness of the faithful stems from possessing the long-hidden but now-revealed mystery of Christ's presence to the world (Col 1:26; cf. Eph 3:5 [where the mystery is revealed to the holy apostles and prophets] and 3:18). The routinization of holiness is evidenced in Col 3:12 where a conventional list of virtues *(Tugendkatalog)* discloses the ethical duties of "God's chosen ones, holy and beloved." Fornication, impurity, and covetousness belong to the vices which the holy ones avoid (Eph 5:3; cf. 1 Thess 4:1–12). Positively, "the work of ministry, for building up the body of Christ" and "prayer" contribute to the day-to-day agenda of the holy ones (Eph 4:12; 6:18). Lists of household duties *(Haustafel)* further domesticate holiness by lifting up the ideal ancient household, managed by husband and wife in a spirit of love, as an analogy for that love between Christ and the Church which makes the Church holy (Eph 5:26; cf. 1 Cor 7:14). Such lists also provide a strategy through which the "ignoble vessels" in a great household, that is the servants, can become holy and useful (2 Tim 2:21). Even more concretely, a woman is saved by childbearing, if she perseveres in "holiness" (*hagiasmos;* 1 Tim 2:15). Mention should be made, too, of the test with which 1 Tim 5:8–10 discerns the authentic widow. Full of good deeds, a mother of children, hospitable, she has also washed the feet of the holy ones (cf. John 13:4).

Although it is more characteristic of pre-Pauline and Pauline writings to say that holiness creates identity and status in the Church, this idea nonetheless shines faintly through in the self-designation of the author of Ephesians as the "least of all the holy ones" (Eph 3:8). Eph 2:19 belongs here as well: the gentile Christian readers of the letter are no longer "strangers and sojourners" but "fellow citizen with the holy ones and members of the household of God."

**8. Gospel of John.** In the gospel of John there are only five occurrences of "holy" *(hagios)* and its cognates, although in the apocalyptic side of the subsequent school the Revelation of John owes a substantial debt to the concept of holiness. The Father is the foremost bearer of holiness in John. In his high priestly prayer Jesus prays to the Father as "Holy Father" (17: 11; cf. Matt 6:9; Luke 11:2) that he "make them holy in the truth" (17:17; cf. v 19). As the Holy Father sanctifies (or sets apart) through truth, so too Jesus becomes the "Holy One of God" by speaking the "words of eternal life" (John 6:69; cf. Mark 1:24; Luke 4:34; Acts 3:14; 4:27). At John 10:36, Jesus advances the "works of God" which he performs as evidence that God has sanctified him, that is, has set him apart as son of God.

**9. The School of St. John.** Within the Johannine letters only 1 John 2:20 mentions holiness: "You have been anointed by the Holy One." In the Revelation of John, however, there are some twenty-two instances of "holy" and cognates. The most distinctive feature is the belief that the holy ones, along with the apostles and prophets, constitute the martyrs who await in heaven their final vindication.

At the blast of the seventh trumpet (Rev 11:18) the elders announce (cf. Ps 2:1) that the time has come for rewarding "the servants, prophets, and holy ones." The holy ones belong to those against whom the beast raged (13:7) but whose sterling qualities of "endurance and faith" (13:10), that is their ability to "keep the commandments of God" (14:12; cf. John 8:51; 14:15, 21, 23; 15:10; 17:6; 1 John 2:3, 5; 3:22, 24; 5:3) helped them persevere.

The spilling of the third bowl of wrath occasions a heavenly hymn which laments the blood of the holy ones and prophets (16:6). Of the great harlot it is said that she is drunk with the blood of the holy ones and martyrs (17:6). Babylon's doom is sealed because an angel laments that the blood of the prophets and holy ones runs within her walls (18:24). This same angel celebrates the vindication of the "holy ones, apostles, and prophets" (18:20) whose "righteous deeds" *(dikaiōmata)* are symbolized by the linen worn by the Lamb at his marriage (19:8; cf. 22:11; Rom 6:19) and whose prayers are to God as incense (5:8; 8:3, 4). The holy ones participate in the first resurrection (20:6) that opens the thousand-year reign of Christ after which Satan will surround the camp of the holy ones for a time (20:9; cf. Matt 27:52–53).

In Relevation God is the holy one whose heavenly court resounds with the epithet "holy" (4:8; 6:10; cf. *1 Clem.* 34:6). His angels are holy (14:10) as is his city Jerusalem (11:2; 21:2, 10; 22:19).

**10. Hebrews.** Hebrews borrows the idea of holiness from Hellenistic Judaism at a time when Platonism and the Roman destruction of Jerusalem and its temple in 70 C.E. impelled 1st century C.E. Judaism (e.g., Philo) to moralize and idealize the language of the Jewish cult, including the idea of holiness. Hebrews 9 and 10 represent in this regard the classic NT statement of the ideal, heavenly cult over against the earthly one. The earthly sanctuary *(hagion kosmikon)* belongs to the first covenant (9:1; cf. 13:11; *Gos. Phil.* II, *3*:69,15–36), while the heavenly sanctuary is the one into which Christ entered to render his sacrifice (9:10–11; cf. 9:24–25). The high priests of old entered the earthly sanctuary repeatedly in order to "make holy for the purification of the flesh" (9:13), but Christ entered the heavenly sanctuary once, and immolated himself to "purify the conscience" (9:14). Inspired by the prophetic and sapiential criticism of sacrifice, Christ's will was that "we be made holy through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all" (10:10; cf. 10:14; 13:12).

The blood of Jesus, shed for his followers, gives them confidence that they too can enter the same sanctuary (10:19). Sharing in Jesus' heavenly call *(klēsēos epouraniou metochoi;* cf. 2:11), these followers acquire the status of holy associates *(adelphoi hagioi)* of the new apostle and high priest, Jesus Christ (3:1; cf. *1 Clem.* 64:1; *Ign. Phld.* 9:1).

Occasionally the more primitive Christian connotations of holiness stand out. At 6:10 the readers are praised (cf. Rom 12:13) because they have loved the vulnerable holy ones. At 13:24 the author of Hebrews greets two groups, the leaders and the holy ones. Holiness *(hagiasmos)* and peace are the presupposition and goal, respectively, of the moral life (12:14; cf. 1 Thess 5:23). Holiness *(hagiotēs)* represents, too, the crown toward which God's discipline directs his people (12:10).

**11. The Catholic Epistles.** 1 Peter, 2 Peter, and Jude combine traditional Jewish views of holiness (the concept is missing in James) with an ecclesiological emphasis. Echoing the language and levitical sources that Paul drew upon, 1 Peter urges that the holiness of God issue in the holiness of his people (1 Pet 1:15–16; cf. 1 Thess 4:1–12; Lev 11:44 passim), and that they consider themselves a "holy priesthood." The readers are a "holy nation" (1 Pet 2:9; cf. Exod 19:5–6), and are "made holy by the Spirit for obedience to Jesus Christ and for sprinkling with his blood" (1 Pet 1:2; cf. Heb 10:19). In a traditional list of domestic duties, the holy women of old serve as a model for submission within the Christian household (1 Pet 3:5). Persecution calls for "revering as holy the Lord Christ in your heart" (1 Pet 3:15; cf. 1 Thess 3:13; *Ep. Barn.* 6:15). For 2 Peter, holiness is a property of the mountain on which Jesus was transfigured (1:18) and the commandments from which the apostates have turned (2:21). It is also an attribute of the prophets (Christian? Hebrew?) whose predictions have come true (3:2), and the life which Christians lead (3:11).

For Jude the holy ones are those to whom the faith was once entrusted (v 3; cf. v 20). When the Lord returns, his holy myriads will accompany him (v 14).

**C. *Hagios* and Cognates in Early Christian Literature**

Since some noncanonical early Christian literature is older than or contains traditions older than the canonical writings, scholarship increasingly turns to it for illumination of the NT.

**1. Apostolic Fathers.** Among the Apostolic Fathers it is principally in 1 Clement and Hermas that holiness plays a significant role in theology and exhortation. The most notable feature is the appropriation of the category of holiness for purposes of Church order. *1 Clem.* 46:2 exhorts the rebellious Corinthians, "Cling to the holy ones, for those who cling to them will be themselves made holy" (cf. 1 Cor 7:14; *Herm. Vis.* 3.6.2; *Herm. Sim.* VIII. 8.1). God's holy words *(hagioi logoi)* set the course for Christian life and require obedience (*1 Clem.* 13:3; cf. 56:3; on God's holy name cf. 58:1; 64:1; 59:3). God's wisdom chastens those who flaunt the holiness of God (*1 Clem.* 58:1; cf. 39:6). As God's holy portion (*hagia meris;* cf. Col 1:12, Eph 1:18, Acts 20:32), Christians do all holy things (*1 Clem.* 30:1; *ta tou hagiasmou panta*). In the interests of Church order, one prays to God and the holy ones (*1 Clem.* 56:1; angels? heavenly saints? living Christians?; cf. Fischer 1970: 95, n. 332).

The apocalyptic theology of *1 Clem.* 22:8–29:3 teaches that God as the Holy One will return suddenly, and as the Holy of Holies he will step forth from his people (*1 Clem.* 23:5 and 29:3). The traditional common prayer of the Roman liturgy which *1 Clem.* 59:3 quotes reveres God as the Holy One who reposes among his holy people (cf. 34:6).

Familiar associations of holiness also include the designation of the readers as those called to be holy *(klētoi hēgiasmenoi; 1 Clem.* Salutation; cf. Rom 1:7; 1 Cor 1:2) and of Paul's final resting place as the holy place (*1 Clem.* 5:7; cf. Matt 24:15; Acts 7:33; John 14:2). The Scripture is holy (*1 Clem.* 45:2; cf. Rom 7:12), and an ancient creedal formula states that God has sanctified his people through his servant Jesus (*1 Clem.* 59:3; cf. Acts 4:27; 26:18; John 10:36; 17:17, 19; 1 Pet 1:2; 1 Cor 1:2,30; 2 Tim 1:9; Heb 2:11; 10:10; 13:12). Increasingly, however, holiness becomes a property of God's spirit (*1 Clem.* 2:2; 8:1; 13:1 passim).

In Hermas' Mandates, the spirit alone is declared holy (5.1.2–3; 2.5; passim), while Christians evince reverence (*semnotēs;* 4.4.3; 5.2.8; *1 Clem.* 41:1; cf. 1 Tim 2:2; 3:4; Titus 2:7). In the Similitudes, holiness is also a property exclusively of God's spirit (5.6.5; passim) or angels (5.4.4; cf. 9.13.2) except for a single text in which the holy ones are the believers to whom the apostates no longer cleave (*Herm. Sim.* 8.8.1; cf. *Herm* Vis. 3.6.2; cf. *1 Clem.* 46:2). Like the Mandates, the Similitudes prefer reverence *(semnotēs)* to indicate the quality of the Christians' interior life (cf. 5.6.5; 8.3.8).

In the Visions, by contrast, social description, an apocalyptic ecclesiology, and ethics as well as early Christian pneumatology are the frames of reference for holiness. The Church is holy (1.1.6), because God in his wisdom and forethought created it holy (1.3.4; cf. 4.1.3). Individually the members of the Church are holy, both in this life (3.3.3; 8.8.9, 11) and in the next (1.3.2). Holiness especially means separation from sin (3.9.1; cf. 1 Cor 6:11), although—here a new note is sounded in the development of holiness' relationship to sin—postbaptismal sin is forgivable once (2.2.4; cf. 1.1.9) but not twice (2.2.5). The Visions also teach that God (3.2.1) and the angels (3.4.1, 2) are holy.

*Barnabas,* for all its OT citations, allusions, and images, shows little interest in the idea of holiness. In *Barn.* 6:16, the churches of the holy appear in a composite quotation of Ps 31:23 and 107:4 (cf. *Barn.* 14:6), and once the heart is depicted as a holy temple for God (cf. 1 Pet 3:15). Allegorizing Deut 14:6, *Barn.* 10:11 determines that the cloven hoof means that the just live in this age but await the holy time. Teaching the two ways, *Barn.* 19:10 exhorts the readers to search out the holy ones for right counsel (cf. *Did.* 4:2). Only a lengthy section on the correct understanding of the Sabbath appeals regularly to the idea of holiness (15:1, 3, 6, 7).

In the Didache, one traditional saying (cf. Matt 7:6 with *Did.* 9:5) and two traditional prayers (cf. Matt 6:9 with *Did.* 8:2; cf. John 17:11 with *Did.* 10:2) include holiness. At *Did.* 9:5 and 10:2 Jesus' words belong to the ancient Eucharistic ritual and theology of the Church. (Wengst 1984: 28, 81). Older apocalyptic traditions appear at 16:7 where the holy ones return with the Lord at the end of time (cf. 1

Thess 3:13). And finally, the holy ones are those of special rank whom readers should daily seek out (4:2; cf. *Barn.* 19:10).

For Ignatius, holiness is above all a property of God's spirit (*Eph.* 9:1; 18:2). It is also the reward for obedience to bishops (*Eph.* 2:2), Paul's crown for martyrdom (*Eph.* 12:2), and the mark of presbyters (*Magn.* 3:1) and of the Church (*Trall.* salutation). Prophets (*Phld.* 5:2; 9:2) are holy, as well as believing Jews and gentiles (*Smyrn.* 1:2).

The use of holiness in *2 Clement* is restricted to the spirit of God (14:3, 5). There are no instances of holiness in Polycarp's Letter to the Philippians, Diognetus, or Quadratus.

**2. The Apocryphal NT.** The theological and philological opulence of the apocryphal NT make broad statements about the use of holiness risky. Nonetheless some general observations are possible. In the surviving literature of late Jewish Christianity (e.g., *Gospel of the Nazoreans, Gospel of the Hebrews, Gospel of the Ebionites, Protoevangelium of James,* the *Apocryphon of James*) holiness is chiefly the property of God's spirit: *Gos. Heb.* 2 (Cameron 1982: 85); *Gos. Naz.* 15a,b (Cameron 1982: 100); *Gos. Eb.* 4 (Cameron 1982: 105); *Prot. Jas.* 14:2; 19:1; 24:4 (Cameron 1982: 116, 118, 121). The nascent Mariology of *Prot. Jas.* 13:2 and 14:2 teaches that Mary grew up in the holy of holies within the Jerusalem Temple, and that Jesus already at conception was a "holy thing" (11:3; cf. Luke 1:35; Cameron 1982: 115–16).

In the sapiential sayings tradition, the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* reports traditional sayings of Jesus about blaspheming against the Holy Spirit *(appna etouaab)* (logion 44 = Mark 3:28–29 and parallels) as well as against throwing what is holy *(petouaab)* to the dogs (logion 93 = Matt 7:6; *Did.* 9:5).

Within the older portions of the apocryphal Johannine literature ("John's Preaching of the Gospel" from the *Acts John; Ap. John*) the spirit of God is designated as holy (*Acts John* 96 and—in a complex mythological drama typical of Sethian gnosticism—*Ap. John* II,*1*:3, 19; 5, 8; 7, 16 passim). Otherwise God is the holy one (*Acts John* 94) whose will is that holy souls *(psychai hagiai)* be prepared for him (*Acts John* 96; cf. *Ap. John* II, *1*:9,17).

The literature of Christian gnosticism makes varied but incisive use of the concept of holiness, especially in the construction of an elaborate story of creation, fall, and redemption. Taking the Sethian Gnostic literature as representative (without any discussion of its complex literary and ideological history [Turner 1986: 279–312]) one may note that the ineffable high God is holy (*Hyp. Arch.* II,*4*: 92,34; *Melch.* IX,*1*:16,16–18,4). In one text he praises his holy warrior Melchizedek-Jesus (cf. Heb 7:3) for triumphing in the great eschatological battle (*Melch.* IX, *1*:26,2–9; Pearson 1981: 33). God's dwelling place and all the heavenly citizens who dwell within it (thus the pleroma and aeons) are holy (*Ap. John* II,*1*.25:14–15). Naturally, God's spirit is holy as well (*Hyp. Arch* II, *4*:93,6 passim). Through holy books (*Gos. Eg.* III,*2*:69,7,16) and decrees (*Ap. John* II,*1*:19, 19), God signals to the temporarily estranged race of the Sethians their ultimate restoration to him.

Apart from its use in the ontology and mythology of Sethian gnosticism, holiness is part of the self-designation of the Sethians. They spring from a holy seed (*Apoc. Adam* V,*5*:85,30) and are set apart through a holy baptism (*Apoc. Adam* V,*5*:85,25) as a holy race (*Gos. Eg.* III,*2*:68,21; cf. 1 Pet 2:9). They are the holy men of the great light (*Gos. Eg.* III,*2*:51,3; cf. Col 1:12).

**D. Summary**

Distinctive features of the Synoptic use of holiness include its use as a category for describing the awesomeness of God (or his name), and the marking of others (Jesus, John the Baptist, Hebrew prophets, angels) for his service. As a quality of things, actions, time, and place, it plays only a modest role. Holiness in Acts, as in the Synoptic tradition, identifies Jesus as one set apart by God, but it also describes the temple precincts in Jerusalem. The idea that the followers of Jesus share in God's holiness and become the "holy ones" originated according to Acts in earliest Jewish Christianity, but Paul popularized the idea.

Paul used the designation "holy ones" for early Christians in general, although he uses the expression in more particular ways to call attention to the special status of the Jerusalem Church or to speak of those who would accompany the Lord upon his return. The holy life is, for Paul, one in conformity with

established moral and ethical norms of the Hellenistic Jewish world. Paul borrows from contemporary Judaism the view that Temple, Law, Scripture, certain forms of ritual, and God's spirit are holy. In the school of Paul the depth and breadth of the Pauline view of holiness have given way to a more stereotyped use of holiness to describe a preeminent quality of day-to-day Christian life.

In the gospel of John and the subsequent school that formed around it holiness plays a leading role only in the theological life of Revelation, designating especially in the martyrs whose keeping of the commandments constitutes their peculiar form of testimony *(martyria).* In Hebrews, holiness is the paramount quality of the ideal, heavenly world, whose high priest Jesus, by means of a once-and-for-all self-sacrifice, established a new heavenly covenant. The holy ones are those whom the covenant has set apart with a fresh identity and moral purpose. Ecclesiology provides the chief frame of reference for holiness in 1 Peter. 2 Peter and Jude use holiness to describe an important feature of the common life and faith of God's people.

In the Apostolic Fathers holiness is increasingly associated with God's spirit. When the Holy Spirit dwells in believers the interior transformation is described more and more in the language of Hellenistic popular philosophy and ethics. Naturally conceptions of holiness originating in prophetic, levitical, and apocalyptic thought, as well as in early Christian self-understanding, still persist. The apocryphal NT, like the Apostolic Fathers, assigned holiness increasingly to God and his spirit. Although holiness in this sense predominates, other traditional usages such as the social, phenomenological, and psychological persevere.

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ROBERT HODGSON, JR.


**HOLINESS CODE.** The label conventionally assigned to Leviticus 17–26 (*Heiligkeitsgesetz,* and abbreviated as H), generally thought to contain an originally independent legal corpus which was later edited from the perspective of the Priestly School.

A summary of the contents will outline the sections, and thereby the issues of H. Lev 17:1–9 contains two apodictic laws concerning illegitimate sacrifice. Vv 10–12 form a third apodictic law prohibiting the consumption of blood (cf. Deut 12:16, 23–25; 15:23), while vv 13–14 and 15–16 prescribe the proper treatment of the blood of nonsacrificial animals, and the ritual treatment for one who eats an animal carcass. Lev 18:6–23 prohibit a variety of sexual crimes for which vv 1–5 and 24–30 form a parenetic framework. The absence of a prohibition against sexual relations between a man and his daughter (cf. also Lev 20:10–21; Deut 27:20–23) is usually explained as a textual (copyist) error but it may be deliberate (cf. Bassett 1971; Rattray 1987). Chap. 19 contains a variety of texts which illustrate the call to "be holy" (v 2). Chap. 20 prescribes the death penalty for a father who offers his son or daughter to Molek (vv 1–5),

for one who consults a soothsayer (vv 6–8 = v 27), for one who curses his parents (v 9), and for the violation of many of the sexual crimes prohibited in chap. 18 (vv 10–21). Vv 22–26 form a parenetic appeal to obey the law, and v 25 recalls Lev 11:43–45. Chaps. 21–22 contain texts dealing with a variety of concerns related to the priestly office and its conduct. Chap. 23 details a festival calendar (cf. also Exod 23:14–19; 34:22–26; Numbers 28–29; Deut 16:1–16; Ezek 45:21–25). Lev 24:1–9 prescribes the manipulation of certain elements of the Priestly tabernacle, while vv 10–14, 23 form an illustrative narrative for the apodictic law concerning blasphemy (vv 15–16; vv 17–22 are unrelated to this topic though similar in form). Lev 25:1–7 prescribes a fallow year every seventh year (cf. Exod 23:10–11) while vv 8–17, 23–55 treat a variety of topics related to jubilee redemption. (Verses 18–22 do not indicate knowledge of the jubilee year prohibitions of v 11.) After two prohibitions (26:1) and commands (26:2), and based upon obedience and disobedience (cf. Deut 28), Lev 26:3–45 promises rewards and threatens punishments. Lev 26:46 is a subscript, but the extent of the corpus is disputed. Eerdmans (1912: 121) argues for a connection with chap. 25, and Wagner (1974) wishes to relate it to chap. 11, whereas scholarly consensus generally takes it back to chap. 17. The corpus as a whole is often thought to be theologically unified around the notion of holiness (purity, cleanliness, etc.), both of Yahweh and consequently of Israel. See LEVITICUS, BOOK OF.

Among the genres contained in H, one may mention especially the following. The prohibition uses the negative adverb *lô*ʾ plus a 2d person (sing. or pl.) impf. verb to prescribe certain types of behavior which must be avoided, as in Lev 18:8: "The nakedness of your father's wife you must not uncover" (Gerstenberger 1965 defines the genre; see also Richter 1966; Knierim 1989). Apodictic law combines the definition of a crime (using principal or relative syntax) with a prescribed punishment in a singlar sentence: "The man who sleeps with his father's wife … shall surely be executed" (20:11; Liedke 1971: 101–53). Traditiohistorically, prohibitions and apodictic laws are intimately connected, the prohibition constituting the (customary) ethical basis for the penalties prescribed in apodictic form (Schultz 1969). Although it is often thought that the series of ten prohibitions or apodictic laws constitutes an ancient genre, recent research more and more sees such decalogues as late combinations of small groups of laws (Gerstenberger 1965). The casuistic "if you" laws contain a protasis which sets forth a legal situation in the second person followed by its apodosis (19:5–8, 9–10; Gilmer 1975). The priestly Heb *daʿat* is the genre in which professional, priestly knowledge and lore is transmitted (chaps. 21–22; cf. Begrich 1936). The exhortation and admonition appeal to the audience's will and volition in an attempt to persuade or dissuade certain kinds of behaviors; together, the exhortation and admonition constitute a parenesis (Tiffany 1978). Pure casuistic law (the typical form of ancient Near Eastern legislation) is not found in H (though cf. Lev 25:25, 35–37, 47–54); Lev 19:20–22 is a late mixture of the casuistic and apodictic form. See LAW. The name "Holiness Code" was coined by A. Klostermann (1893: 385), though Leviticus 17(18)–26 had already been isolated as a separate unit (e.g., Graf 1866: 75–83; Wellhausen 1963: 149–72). Early research concentrated on the literary-historical identification of the original legislation and later (Priestly and non-Priestly) redaction (Horst 1881; Baentsch 1893; Paton 1894; Bertholet *Leviticus* KHC) and the relationship between H and Ezekiel (Horst 1881; cf. Haran 1979; Zimmerli *Ezekiel 1* Hermeneia, 46–52). Both Eerdmans (1912: 83–87) and Küchler (1929) denied the existence of an independent legal corpus behind these chapters, while Rabast (1948; cf. von Rad 1953) studied the prohibitions in H and Deuteronomy, and Kornfeld (1952) concentrated especially on the laws concerning sexual ethics. Reventlow (1961), using form-critical and traditiohistorical methods, proposed that H is a legal document whose setting from start to finish was the ancient Israelite covenant (renewal) festival. According to Reventlow, much of this material reaches back to the very beginnings of Israel's historical existence, being pre- or non-Israelite in origin. Kilian (1963), using mostly literary-critical methods, attempted to reconstruct the literary process which produced the present shape of the original H (essentially Leviticus 18–25). He concluded that Leviticus 17 is not part of H proper. Feucht (1964) proposed the reconstruction of two corpora which were later combined into H: H 1 (= chaps. 18–23A [= vv 9–22]; Num 15:37–41) and H 2 (chaps. 25–26). At the same time, he considered chaps. 17, 23B (= vv 4–8, 23–37), and 24 to be later additions. Elliger (*Leviticus* HAT) denied the existence of an originally independent legal corpus,

positing instead two main redactional hands ($Ph^1$ and $Ph^3$) with two related supplementary layers ($Ph^2$ and $Ph^4$) which took independent legal texts and brought them into their present literary context (with some textual relocation during this literary process). For Elliger, no independent legal corpus can be detected in this material. Thiel (1969) argued that both a homiletic (originally oral) and a priestly redaction are reflected in H. The later homiletic material presupposes the Deuteronomistic preaching, as its affinity with Ezekiel and its priestly redaction shows. Thiel therefore dates the composition of H to the exilic period. Wagner (1974) rejected the identification of Leviticus 17–26 as a distinct corpus. In its place, Wagner sees several themes treated in Exodus 25–Leviticus 25: (1) the sanctuary, Exodus 25–31; (2) rituals, Leviticus 1–7; (3) cultic impurity, Leviticus 11–22, and (4) calendric concerns, Leviticus 23, 25, for which Leviticus 26 forms the conclusion. Using redaction-critical methods Cholewinski (1976) reconstructed a highly complex composition process involving several compositional strata, some of which involve more than one redactional hand. He too denied the existence of H as an originally independent legal corpus (following Elliger). Knohl (1987) isolates a Holiness School (distinct from the Priestly and Deuteronomistic schools) whose redactional activities are also found in the legislation of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers.

A number of critical issues emerge from the history of research. The most important is the question, does an originally independent legal corpus lie beneath Leviticus 17–26 in its present shape, and if so, what is its date of composition? The arguments in favor of such a view are linguistic, formal, and theological in nature. Linguistically, there are numerous words and phrases which are found only (or mostly) here, and on this basis other texts (notably Exod 31:12–17; Lev 11:1–23, 41–47; Num 15:37–41) are sometimes assigned to the original corpus (Wurster 1884: 123–27; Driver 1913: 59). Formally, the subscription in 26:46 clearly brings a corpus of some kind to a close, and it is often argued on the basis of analogy with Deuteronomy 12 and Exod 20:24–26 that Leviticus 17 is the opening section of the code which 26:46 concludes, though the connection between chap. 17 with chaps. 18–26 is often denied (e.g., Kilian 1963: 176–79). Some scholars hold that 17:2 ("This is what Yahweh commands") constitutes the original superscription for this unit, but this is doubtful. Theologically, the content of some of the legislation appears to contradict other Priestly texts. The date of this originally independent corpus is hotly debated, with pre-Deuteronomic and post-Deuteronomic dates (some as late as the exilic period) finding their advocates. The lack of any structural integrity to the reconstructed corpus, acknowledged by virtually all interpreters, does not bolster the case for this view. Klostermann puts it well: "Lev. 18–26 preserves only fragments of a more comprehensive legislation" (1893: 378). Moreover, assuming the originally independent status of the legislation contained in these chapters, one would expect to find at least one redactional stratum which cuts through or presupposes the existence of an originally independent corpus; but attempts to identify such a layer have not resulted in any consensus. The following formal considerations are not suggestive of an originally independent legal corpus: (1) the plurality of speech report formulae (17:1; 18:1; etc.); (2) the two compliance reports (21:24; 23:44); (3) the repetition of material within the corpus (e.g., 19:3 = 19:30; 19:4, 30 = 26:1–2; 19:5–8 = 22:29–30 [cf. Lev 7:15–18]; 19:9–10 = 23:22; 19:27–28 = 21:5; 19:31 = 20:6; 19:34 = 24:22; 20:6–8 = 20:27; 25:18–19 = 26:4–5). From a historical perspective, the fact that the earliest recoverable literary layer of some of the laws may be relatively old (e.g., chaps. 18, 19), while others are demonstrably post-Deuteronomistic or Priestly (see below) is also problematic for the assumption that an originally independent legal corpus lies beneath this material. Finally, the subscription in 26:46 mentions "laws" (Heb *tôrōt*), but the word *tôrâ* does not appear in Lev 17:1–26:45, though it appears with some frequency in other portions of Leviticus (chaps. 6–7; 11–15). No consensus has as yet been reached, but the arguments against seeing an original independent legal corpus are compelling. Second, the relationship between H and the preaching of the prophet Ezekiel (one part of the larger question of the relationship between Ezekiel and P; cf. Haran 1979) is striking, so much so that earlier interpreters identified the author (Graf 1866: 81–83) or compiler (Horst 1881: 69–95) of H as Ezekiel, though Klostermann (1893: 385–416) argued that Ezekiel's preaching is wholly dependent on H. Some vocabulary is found only (or mostly) in these two corpora (cf. Horst 1881: 72–79). More importantly, Ezekiel appears to know some of the legislation presently contained in H (cf.

especially Ezek 14:1–11; 18:5–17; chap. 20; 22:6–12; 34:25–31). Pfeiffer (1948: 241–46; cf. Zimmerli *Ezekiel 1* Hermeneia, 52) argued that the relationship moves in two directions: Ezekiel knows the legislation while the compiler (to whom Pfeiffer assigned the parenetic sections) knows Ezekiel, and this appears to be the consensus of recent scholarship. The third critical problem concerns the relationship between the (parallel) legislation of H and Deuteronomy 12–26 (Cholewinski 1976; Bettenzoli 1984). (Traditiohistorically, both corpora harken back to the Covenant Code of Exodus 21–23, the oldest legal corpus preserved from ancient Israel.) Thus, Lev 17:1–9 is often thought to presuppose the Deuteronomic demand for cult centralization which here takes the form of the Tent of Meeting. The earliest form of the festival calendar of chap. 23 already appears to be later than Deut 16:1–16 (and closer to Numbers 28–29), while the Sabbatical Year legislation of Lev 25:2–7 presupposes the seven-year cycle of Deut 15:1. The nature of the historical relationship between Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28 (within the context of similar ANE rewards and punishments) remains a subject of dispute.

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HENRY T. C. SUN

**HOLOFERNES** (PERSON) [Gk *Olophérnēs* (Ὀλοφέρνης)]. The arch-enemy of the Jews in the book of Judith. Though ms evidence fluctuates between *holo-* (=Vg) and *olo-*, the latter is clearly original to the

Greek text. Likewise original is *olo-* as opposed to *oro-,* the more correct Persian form of the name. Inscriptional and numismatic evidence from Priene and Knidos of the 2d century B.C. gives both spellings, and literary evidence likewise attests some fluctuation. Polybius (3, 5.2; 32, 10; 33, 6) and Aelian (*Var. Hist.* 2, 41) support *oro-*, while Appian (*Syr. Wars* 47) and Diodorus (31, 19.2–3, 7) read *olo-*. Because of uncertainy in the mss, editions vary on the aspiration of *olo-*.

Second in command to Nebuchadnezzar, "king of Assyria," Holofernes was sent to wreak vengeance on "the entire western region" for failure to obey a royal call to arms against "Arphaxad king of the Medes." The punitive expedition is said to have taken place shortly after the Jews' return from exile. Part of its alleged purpose was the destruction of local cults in order to promote the worship of Nebuchadnezzar.

When Holofernes stood poised to capture the (unknown) Jewish town of Bethulia, the reputed gateway into Judea, with its inhabitants suffering from lack of water and contemplating surrender, Judith, a pious widow, set out for the enemy camp. Armed with piety, beauty, and cunning, she killed the great general, whose severed head was carried to Bethulia as a trophy and hung from its wall.

How the author came by Holofernes as the name for one of the protagonists in his romance is not clear. No general of the historical Nebuchadnezzar is likely to have borne a Persian name. A broad consensus of modern scholarship, however, assigns the book to Maccabean times and sees it as a reflection of Jewish altercations with the Syrian government. Interesting parallels have been noted between the Seleucid general Nicanor (cf. 1 Macc 7:26–49) and Holofernes. Connection with Orofernes, a Cappadocian prince who in 159/58 B.C. usurped the throne with the assistance of Demetrius I Soter of Syria (who sent Nicanor against the Jews), seems not unlikely. The new king lost no time in making himself odious on account of his avarice. Moreover, almost two hundred years earlier (341 B.C.) another Cappadocian prince by the same name had assisted Artaxerxes III Ochus in his reconquest of Egypt. Our author may have fused the two Cappadocian princes as a basis for his Holofernes.

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ALBERT PIETERSMA

**HOLON** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥōlôn* (חֹלוֹן)]. One of the most obscure levitical cities in the Judah/Simeon list. There are numerous textual variations, which present some difficulties when reconstructing the text. The Hebrew name in Josh 21:15 is *ḥōlōn,* while 1 Chr 6:43—Eng6:58 reads *ḥîlēn.* See HILEN (PLACE). Albright (1945: 66) has suggested that the original vocalization was *ḥîlôn* which later became *ḥîlên* by dissimilation, which is closer to the form presented in the MT of the Chronicler. The different LXX texts also show variations in the spelling of the name. These variations indicate that this city was either not well known or not known at all by the copyists of the Scripture. Besides the references to Holon/Hilen in the levitical city lists, the city's name appears in only one other text. Holon was assigned to Judah as one of the villages in the hill country district of Debir (Josh 15:51). There are no references to Holon/Hilen in any ancient nonbiblical texts.

Biblical Holon has been identified with Khirbet ʿAlîn (M.R. 152118) by scholars such as Albright (1924: 10–11) Simons (*GTTOT,* 201) and Wright (*WHAB*, 124). Khirbet ʿAlîn is bordered on the immediate W and NW by a narrow valley, which in turn is separated from a major valley by a fairly broad ridge. To the E the mound slopes gently into a saddle which then rises to another hill, higher than ʿAlîn. S of ʿAlîn there are also mountains directly blocking the view; however, SW of the tell the valley basin continues. Directly to the N are low rolling hills and a wadi; 2 km to the N the high mountains begin. Khirbet ʿAlîn can be described as a mound completely surrounded by hills to the N and S with a valley on the W and, to the E, hills except for the wadi pass. The terrain indicates that the tell was isolated from the normal flow of traffic found on major or secondary roads. See Peterson 1977: 509–16.

At Khirbet ʿAlîn there appears to be virtually no artificial mound resulting from accumulation of habitation debris. Although Guérin (1869: 340) was the first geographer to visit the site, he made no

identification. It was Albright (1924: 11) who first argued for its identification as Holon on philological grounds and the following year he (1925: 9) found Early Iron pottery from the second phase (10th–6th centuries) and Byzantine sherds.

Cross and Wright (1956: 220) reinstituted interest in the identification of biblical Holon with Khirbet ʿAlîn in their boundary and province list study. They pointed out the one serious difficulty of associating ʿAlîn with this biblical city: it had been "displaced" from Province VIII (Beth-zur) into Province V (Debir). However, because of the inexactness of the references to the city there are no other "candidates" for the site on philological grounds in Province VIII. The "movement" that occurred must be one of the reasons why the LXX had such a difficult time with this city. Not only was Holon out of its province, but Khirbet ʿAlîn was an obscure town, very difficult to visit.

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JOHN L. PETERSON

**HOLY OF HOLIES.** See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

**HOLY ONE** [Heb *qādôš* (קָדוֹשׁ)]. A title used in the Hebrew Bible for God. The most frequent use of the title is in the book of Isaiah, where the phrase occurs thirty times as a reference to Yahweh. The term appears also in the writings of some of the other prophets (Hosea, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Habakkuk), in the book of Psalms, and in Job. To speak of God as "the Holy One" is to emphasize God's separateness, God's otherness, God's mystery. This idea is expressed in Hos 11:9 when Yahweh says, "I am God and not man, the Holy One in your midst." Likewise, Deutero-Isaiah reports the words of "Yahweh your God, and of the Holy One of Israel," who says, "My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways" (Isa 55:8). In the NT, Jesus is called the Holy One (Gk *hagios,* Mark 1:24; Luke 4:34; John 6:69; Acts 3:14; Rev 3:7; cf. 1 John 2:20 where "the Holy One" could be God or Jesus).

MITCHELL G. REDDISH

**HOLY PLACE.** See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

**HOLY SEPULCHER, CHURCH OF THE.** The Gospels agree that Jesus was buried in a tomb belonging to Joseph of Arimatheia (Matt 27:57; Luke 23:50–51; John 19:38) and that after his burial the entrance to the tomb was blocked with a stone (Matt 27:60; Mark 15:46; Luke 24:2; John 20:1). Luke explicitly says (23:53) that the tomb was hewn from stone, and Matthew (27:60) and John (19:41) indicate that it was new; Matthew adds that Joseph had meant it for himself. John (19:41–42) states that the tomb was in a garden near the place where Jesus was crucified and that the place of execution was "nigh to the city" (19:20). This was known as the place of the skull (Luke 23:33, translated as Calvary) or in Hebrew, Golgotha (Matt 27:33; Mark 15:22; John 19:17). From the Epistle to the Hebrews it is clear that it was outside the walls of Jerusalem at the time: Jesus suffered "without the gate" (13:12—an analogy is being drawn with the sin offerings made by the priests as in Exodus 29:14).

The site at Jerusalem which has been venerated since at least the reign of Constantine the Great (306–37) as the place of Christ's death on Golgotha-Calvary and his burial in the tomb in the garden is now covered by the Church of the Holy Sepulcher where worship is offered by various Orthodox Churches and by the Roman Catholics. The history of the building is complex. A comprehensive account was given earlier in this century by Fathers Vincent and Abel (1912–26), but restoration work between 1960 and 1980 made possible important archaeological investigations, which have resulted in lectures by Father Coüasnon (1974) and a comprehensive report by Father Corbo (1981). Problems remain in understanding

the history of the buildings, but the excavations suggest nothing on the site at the time of Christ that is incompatible with the gospel stories.

According to the Gospels, Christ was crucified and buried outside the city. Although the Holy Sepulcher is within the present Old City of Jerusalem, it stands on ground which at the time of Christ was outside the walls; the "second wall" of Jerusalem built by Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.) was not supplemented by the "third wall" until the reign of Herod Agrippa (A.D. 41–44). The distinction between the old wall and the outer wall was still apparent to a writer of the mid–4th century A.D. (Cyril H. *Catech.* 14.9). Outside the present Damascus Gate, which stands above a gate in the "third wall," is a cave known as the Garden Tomb, which was identified as the tomb of Christ by the zealous General "Chinese" Gordon during a visit to the city in 1882–83; his reasoning is reproduced by Wilkinson (1978: 198–200). Archaeology has established the chronology of the walls more firmly since the time of Gordon and his identification is no longer credible.

The excavations under the present Church have shown that between the 7th and 1st centuries B.C., the site of the Holy Sepulcher was a quarry for malaky stone. When this was abandoned at the beginning of the Christian era, the area was given over to burials and gardens: "we can picture to ourselves some patches of fertile ground among rocky cliffs" (Corbo 1981: II, plate 67). Two tombs of the period survive at the site, the traditional Tomb of the Lord and that known to the excavators as Tomb 28 (Corbo 1981: I, 31–32). The latter is of the *kokh* type, designed to hold several burials in *kokhim* (ovens) radiating from a central passage. The Tomb of the Lord, now surmounted by an aedicule and severely damaged in 1009, was a cave with a rock-cut bench intended to accommodate a single body. It seems that it originally had, like other tombs of this type, a rock-cut antechamber, destroyed in the 4th century during the process of Christian adornment (Cyril H. *Catech.* 14.9). At the same time the cliff from which the Tomb of the Lord had originally been carved was cut down to ground level to leave it in freestanding splendor. At a stone's throw from the tomb is a rocky eminence, venerated as Golgotha-Calvary, the site of the Crucifixion; this was similarly isolated in the 4th century by having the rock around it cut back. However, parts of the present church do still rest on the cuttings of the quarry (Corbo 1981: III, photo 11, 12, 29, 37, 54–55).

The site remained unbuilt upon until the time of the emperor Hadrian, who in A.D. 135 put down a Jewish revolt, expelled the Jews from their homes, and refounded Jerusalem as a Roman *colonia* named, after himself, Aelia Capitolina (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.6.3; Dio Cass. 69.12–13). The area immediately contiguous to the Holy Sepulcher was laid out as the forum and the site of the sepulcher itself became sacred to Jupiter and Venus (Hieron. *Ep.* 58. 3; Eus. *Vita C.* 3.26 mentions only Aphrodite). The Hadrianic construction involved considerable filling-in of the former quarry, thereby preserving the configuration of the land beneath the temple. Stretches of wall from Hadrian's temple survive, for instance under the Crusader façade of the present church (Corbo 1981: II, plate 68).

Hadrian's temple survived until after the emperor Constantine (306–37) became master of the eastern half of the Roman Empire in 324, when it was replaced by a great church. The earliest surviving reference to Constantine's constructions is made by a pilgrim from Bourdeaux who made a visit in 333; his summary account mentions Golgotha, the tomb a stone's throw from it and the basilica built by Constantine with its font (*Itin. Burdig.* 593.4–594.4). The fullest account is in Eusebius's *Life* of Constantine (3.25–40), which also reproduces a letter of the emperor to Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem (*Vita C.* 3.30–32); this *Life* was left unfinished by Eusebius when he died in 339 and combines the characteristics of a history and a panegyric (Barnes 1981: 265–71). The oration given by Eusebius on the occasion of the dedication of the church in 335 survives in his *Triacontetericus* or *Praise of Constantine* (*l.C.* 11–18). Further evidence comes from the *Catechetical Orations* ascribed to Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, in the third quarter of the 4th century, and from the description of her pilgrimage by Egeria, who spent three years in Jerusalem in the early 380s (*Itin. Egeriae*). The accounts of the Bourdeaux Pilgrim and Egeria have been translated with copious annotation by Wilkinson (1981).

Eusebius describes Constantine's intention as the removal of Hadrian's temple from the traditional site of Christ's death and resurrection (*Vita C.* 3.25–27). It came as a surprise that once the overburden had been removed the "most holy cave" of the Tomb of the Lord was revealed (*Vita C.* 3.28); Eusebius

understands the event as a type of the resurrection itself. The letter of Constantine expresses similar wonder (*Vita C.* 3.29) and gives the bishop facilities to build a magnificent church on the spot (*Vita C.* 3.31–32). It is not possible to look behind Eusebius's narrative at Constantine's intentions. In other places the emperor had temples destroyed simply to eliminate pagan cults (e.g., *Vita C.* 3.54–58), but at the Holy Sepulcher he is said explicitly to have wanted to purify the place which had seen the Resurrection. Though the substantial survival of the tomb was a wonder, there was, Eusebius implies, no difficulty about where to look for it.

Eusebius also describes the visit to the Holy Land of Constantine's mother, the empress Helena, in 326–27, but does not associate her with the Holy Sepulcher; he ascribes to her only two foundations in the Holy Land, those over the "sacred caves" of the Nativity at Bethlehem and at the place of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives (*Vita C.* 3.41–45). See HELENA (PERSON). Egeria in the 380s is the first to associate her with the buildings at the Holy Sepulcher (*Itin. Egeriae* 25.9).

Though he says that Constantine's constructions were "sacred to the Saving Sign" (*l.C.* 9.16), Eusebius does not mention the Invention of the Cross. However the relic of the True Cross was venerated already in the mid–4th century (Cyril H. *Catech.* 10.19) and Egeria describing the kissing of the cross during the Good Friday ceremonies says that it was closely guarded by the clergy because on a previous occasion one of the faithful had bitten off and carried away a mouthful of it. It is not until the end of the 4th century that stories are told associating Helena with the Invention (Gel. Caes. *fr.* 20; Amb. *In ob. Theod.* 46).

By the end of the 4th century there were two principal buildings at the site of the Holy Sepulcher, which came to be known as the Martyrium and the Anastasis. The entrance from the street was from the east; a courtyard gave onto a large five-aisled basilica, the Martyrium. The apse of this basilica was at its west end. Beyond it was a further courtyard from which eight doors led into a rotunda, the Anastasis, in the center of which, surrounded by columns, was the profusely decorated Tomb of the Lord. In the SE corner of the second courtyard rose the stony outcrop of Golgotha-Calvary (Corbo 1981: I, 94–100). The chronology of these buildings raises difficulties. The solemn dedication by many bishops, with costly offerings of gold and silver, at which Eusebius spoke, took place in September 335 (Eus. *Vita C.* 4.43–47). The Martyrium was clearly by this time complete; Eusebius describes the glittering sea of its gilded ceiling (*Vita C.* 3.36). Eusebius mentions also the adornment of the Tomb of the Lord and the highly polished courtyard in front of it (*Vita C.* 3.34–35). Father Coüasnon (1974: 15) suggested that although "the Rotunda over the Tomb was, indeed, part of the original project of Constantine," the lengthy works involved in quarrying the cliffs around the tomb for the blocks from which the rotunda was built meant that it was not completed in the lifetime of Constantine or his biographer. Father Corbo, on the other hand, has argued that there was not only a single program of work but that it was carried out all at one time (1981: I, 51). There is also disagreement between reconstructions of details of the building, such as the half-columns which form a circle around the Tomb of Christ. What is certain is that when Egeria frequented the Holy Sepulcher in 381–84 both the Martyrium and the Anastasis were being used for worship and continued to be the focus of great devotion throughout Late Antiquity.

Liturgy evolved in and around the holy places. Lectures given to catechumens in the middle of the 4th century at the Holy Sepulcher (Cyril H. *Catech.* 4.10) show how the drama of baptism during the Easter vigil fitted into a larger program of observances (19.32–33); they also suggest the deeper levels of meaning to be found in the physical relics which had witnessed the Resurrection: "the Holy Sepulcher is his witness and the stone which lies there to this day" (10.19). Egeria gives a vivid account of the Holy Week ceremonies, and also of the regular worship. She describes the Anastasis in the early morning ablaze with lamps, and the incense offered with prayers and psalms "so that the whole Anastasis basilica is filled with the smell." Then the bishop, standing at the door of the cave, read the story of the Resurrection from the gospel: "at the beginning of the reading the whole assembly groans and laments at what the Lord underwent for us and the way that they weep would move even the hardest heart to tears" (24.9). The Armenian liturgy published by Dom A. Renoux (1969) gives details of what was done in the early 5th century.

Golgotha came to be thought the center of the world (Cyril H. *Catech.* 13.28). Even before Constantine, Christians had come to Palestine "for the purpose of prayer and investigation of the sacred places" (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 6.11.2); subsequently their numbers increased and in the circuit of their visits, the Holy Sepulcher customarily came first (Wilkinson 1976: 95–101). Those who left accounts of their visits include the Bourdeaux Pilgrim of 333; Egeria, an abbess from Spain or Gaul; a pilgrim from Piacenza in Italy of ca. 570; and Arcult, a Gallic bishop whose observations were recorded by Adamnan, Abbot of Iona (died 704). These have all been edited in *Itineraria et alia geographica* (1965), and the last two translated by Wilkinson (1977).

Some visitors came to stay; by the end of the 4th century these included Christians from the Greek east, such as Euthymius from Melitene near the Persian frontier; fashionable Roman ladies such as Melania the Elder and the religious friends of Jerome; and, for eighteen years in the mid–5th century, the empress Eudocia herself. It is typical that Euthymius's first visit was to the True Cross and the Anastasis (Cyril of Scythopolis *Life* of Euthymius 14.1).

From Jerusalem relics spread across the Christian world. Already in the mid–4th century pieces of the True Cross had been "distributed piecemeal to all the world" (Cyril H. *Catech.* 13.4; cf. 4.10; 10.19 and Frolow 1961). Pilgrims took home flasks of oil which had been blessed by being placed against the cross—the oil boiled on contact (*Itin. Antonini Placentini* 20). Some of these flasks survive, and some bear engravings of the Tomb of the Lord; Weitzmann (1974) discusses these and other artifacts he considers to be associated with the holy places. Stories also spread, especially about Constantine and the True Cross; a tale from Egypt has been published, with references to other legends, by Orlandi, Pearson and Drake (1980).

The buildings of the Holy Sepulcher were burnt by the Persians in 614 (Antiochus Strategus 510), but did not suffer irreparable damage. When the Caliph ʿUmar received the surrender of Jerusalem on behalf of the Muslims in 637, the patriarch Sophronius showed him around the Holy Sepulcher. Christians were left in undisturbed possession until 1009 when the eccentric Fatimid Caliph Hakim gave orders to destroy the church and even to dig up its foundations. Demolition was thorough, the Tomb of the Lord was attacked with pickaxes and hammers, but parts of the Anastasis, including walls up to a height of over 30 feet, survived. The Byzantine emperor Constantine IX Monomachus eventually provided funds for restoration of the rotunda, which was completed in 1048, and when the Crusaders occupied Jerusalem in 1099 they added to the east of it a church in the Romanesque style. These buildings substantially survive, though they have been damaged at various times, notably by a fire in 1808. Restoration was carried out under the auspices of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic guardians between 1960 and 1980. Pilgrimage and devotion have also been continuous. Pilgrims from the Christian East came to see a visit to Jerusalem in somewhat of the same way as their Muslim neighbors regarded the Haj, and in the years before the revolution, large numbers of simple pilgrims from Russia journeyed to the holy places. The modern pilgrim will find Wilkinson (1978) a convenient guide.

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OLIVER NICHOLSON

**HOLY SPIRIT.** The manifestation of divine presence and power perceptible especially in prophetic inspiration. The concept was only incidental in late biblical thought, but developed in early Judaism and Christianity to a fundamental dogma. Theological conceptions or teachings concerning the spirit are referred to as *pneumatology.*

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**A. Concept and Occurrence.**

**1. Concept.** The combination of the terms "holy" (Heb *qōdeš* [lit. "holiness"]; Gk *hagios*) and "spirit" (Heb *rûaḥ,* Gk *pneuma*) does not occur in Greek literature, and in the OT only in two historically late texts. The juxtaposition of *rûaḥ* and *qōdeš* is oxymoronic in that a concept of dynamic power beyond human control, *rûaḥ,* has been combined with a word of static character, *qōdeš* (Westermann 1981: 224). The combination becomes a technical expression in Christian usage first through the evangelist Luke and in rabbinic literature.

**2. Occurrence.** The only OT instances of the combination are Isa 63:10, 11; and Ps 51:13. Belonging in the postexilic period, they probably presuppose the foretelling of the gift of the spirit (Ezek 36:26–27), but understand the bestowal of the holy spirit as an individual gift, as do also the following references from the LXX: Ps 142:10; Dan 5:12; 6,4 (Sym); 4:8, 18 (Th); Wis 1:5; 9:17; Sus 45 (Th); Ps Sol 17:37; Sir 48:12. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha likewise contain few instances of the phrase: *Jub.* 1:21 (cf. Ps 51:12, 13); 4 Ezra 14:22; *Ascen.Is.* 5:14 (post-Christian); *Test. Lev.* 18:11. Philo and Josephus do not

attest the combination *pneuma hagion,* but prefer *pneuma theion.* In the pre-NT period it is the scrolls of Qumran which first mention "holy spirit" in this way: 1QS 3:7; 4:20, 21; 8:16; 1QH 7:6; 9:32; 16:2, 3, 12; 18:26; CD 2:12; 5:11; 7:4 and others.

Most NT writings attest the combination *(to) pneuma (to) hagion* or *to hagion pneuma* (both meaning "the holy spirit"). In the earliest NT writings, the letters of Paul (1 Thessalonians, 1–2 Corinthians, Galatians, Romans, Philippians, Philemon), *pneuma hagion* is used only 13 times, as compared with *pneuma* alone, which occurs 113 times. In order to understand Paul's pneumatology, it is primarily the absolute usage (*to pneuma*) or adverbial constructions (*en pneumati*) which must be considered.

In the remaining NT writings likewise, a technical usage of *pneuma hagion* is not yet apparent (see Mark 1:10; cf. Luke 3:22; Matt 3:16; 1 Cor 12:3). Only Luke and John manifest a considered use of the phrase. Luke makes an effort to subsume his broadly developed pneumatology under the expression *to pneuma to hagion,* "the holy spirit." John avoids the phrase *pneuma hagion* in his gospel. Only the Transfigured One imparts the spirit to the community (John 20:22; anticipated in 14:26).

Outside biblical texts, the expression *pneuma hagion* is encountered in the Greek Magical Papyri, which come from the post-NT period (*PGM* 2:69; 3:289; 4:510).

Why, during the NT period, does *pneuma hagion* evolve as a specific element of Christian theology? On the one hand, a borrowing from Qumran usage is probable. On the other hand, it must be noted that in pre-NT times *pneuma* was often qualified in order to clarify a contrast; for instance, in *T. Jud.* 20 "spirit of truth" is contrasted with "spirit of error"; 1QS 3:18–19 contrasts spirits of truth and of blasphemy (cf. *T. Naph.* 10:9 [Heb]). Hence it has been conjectured that *pneuma hagion,* "holy spirit," represents an ethical concept contrasting with *pneuma akatharton,* "unclean spirit" (*TDNT* 6:396).

The use of this concept provides distance, factually and terminologically, from the neutral use of *pneuma* in Greek-Hellenistic usage. The qualifier *hagion* also implies the beginnings of a personal understanding of spirit analogous to the development of conceptions of the holiness of God (Schmidt 1981). Thus *pneuma hagion* may be understood as a relatively new construction emphasizing the transcendence of the spirit in contrast to the Hellenistic notion of immanence (Kremer 1973: 77). The later rabbinate also speaks of *rûaḥ haqqōdeš,* using this construction to link the spirit with the God manifest in the sanctuary (*TRE* 12: 175).

A survey of references to "holy spirit" in the NT reveals that despite its frequent use in Luke–Acts, the concept remains peripheral compared with the absolute use of *pneuma,* "spirit." Not until the post-NT period, and as a result of the formulation of pneumatological dogma in 381 C.E., does the concept of "holy spirit" move to the center of Christian theology.

The interpretation of the biblical understanding of "spirit," therefore, cannot start with the use of the concept "holy spirit" alone, but must also take into account the semantic field of "spirit" in its entirety, including its derivatives and synonyms. Since the biblical authors in their application of the concept borrow from secular usage both linguistically and with respect to content, it is imperative that the history of religions be considered in any attempt to understand the biblical statements.

**B. Secular Greek Usage**

**1. Meaning of the Term.** The Gk noun *pneuma* derives from the verb **pnewo* and denotes air in movement, experienced as wind, breeze, or breath. Even "breath" and "wind" express only a part of the more comprehensive sense of movement implicit in *pneuma.* The concept itself involves a surplus of meaning which must have abetted its spiritualization and metaphorical extension. Contemplation of the animating effect of breathing might have suggested the psychological phenomenon of inspiration (PWSup 14: 387). Notwithstanding such extension, the basic sense of natural energy is retained.

In classical Greek texts the word *pneuma* is used with four discernible meanings: wind, breath, life, and metaphorical extensions of these.

**a. Wind.** From at least the time of Aeschylus and Herodotos, *pneuma* is used as a synonym for *pnoe/pnoie,* used previously by Homer and Hesiod for "wind" and its reduced and refined materiality (Aesch. *PV* 1086: *anemon pneumata;* further evidence in Leisegang 1922: 35).

**b. Breath.** The phenomenon of wind in the macrocosm (the natural world) is paralleled physiologically in the microcosm of the human being by the phenomenon of breathing, which can be discerned and measured according to its strength (Eur. *Or* 277). It can even animate inanimate objects such as wind instruments (Eur. *Bacch.* 128).

**c. Life.** "Spirit" in its connotation of animating power is itself occasionally characterized as life or living being (Aesch. *Pers.* 507: *pneuma biou,* "breath of life"; Polyb. 31.10.4). This is the starting point for the occasional synonymous use of *pneuma* and *psyche,* "breath, life, spirit, soul." But *pneuma* is to be sharply distinguished from *nous,* "mind"; the latter, with its implications of reason, differs practically and theoretically from the dynamic-enthusiastic sense of *pneuma* (Arist. *Metaph.* 11.7 1072b.21).

**d. Metaphorical Uses.** The word *pneuma* is used metaphorically because the phenomena to which it directly refers are invisible but nonetheless perceptible in their effects; this dichotomy generates a surplus of meaning. A distinction should be made, however, between an initial spiritualization and later religious and mythical metaphysics. The word *pneuma* is used to characterize human-to-human relations and political sentiments (Soph. *OC* 611; Aesch. Supp. 29, 30). In Greek *manticism* (divination), *pneuma* is seen as divine breath inspiring enthusiasm; as *hieron pneuma,* "sacred spirit" (Democr. frg. 18); *mantikon pneuma,* "prophetic spirit" (Plut. *De def. or.* 40); *enthousiastikon pneuma,* "inspired spirit" (Strab. 9.3.5). This *pneuma* imparts knowledge of transcendent events to occasional prophets, priests, and artists.

**2. History of the Concept.** The earliest evidence of a religious understanding of *pneuma* is found in connection with the inspiration of the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. The god Apollo fills the priestess with his spirit during the cultic event (Eur. *IA* 760–61). The noun *pneuma,* however, does not occur until the 1st century B.C.E. in the context of the somatic-psychic divination of Pythia via the spirit which rises up into her from the earth and enables her to prophesy (Leisegang 1922: 32–34). This Apollinian inspirational mantic was remarkably popular and appears even in the Greek magical papyri of the post-NT period (*PGM* 289). A characteristic feature of the mantic spirit is the circumvention of the individual's rationality and the ecstatic-enthusiastic possession of the person for a limited time (Cic. *Div.* 1.31, 49; *N.D.* 2.6).

Alongside the mantic use, early Greek philosophy employs the term *pneuma* scientifically. According to Anaximenes, macrocosm and microcosm correspond by means of the correlation guaranteed by the spirit (Anaximen. *Vorsokr.* 13 B 2). *pneuma* moves with the blood through the human veins (Diog. *Apoll. Vorsokr.* 64 B 5). Its seat—here the Sicilian and Hippocratic schools diverge—is either in the heart or in the brain.

Stoicism developed the medical schools' scientific theory of *pneuma* into a comprehensive philosophical theory. Spirit, a sublime material substance superior to the four basic elements, encompasses and permeates the whole cosmos (Chrysipp. *Stoic. SVF* frg. 473; 479; 1027) and is at the same time its rational soul (Zeno *SVF* frg. 88). It is the substance of the godhead and of the individual soul. Spirit represents the god within the human being; indeed, humankind participates in the divine *nous,* "reason" (Seneca *Ep.* 41.2). Here, the distinction between *pneuma* and *nous* upheld by Aristotle is abandoned. In Stoicism, finally, there is frequent evidence of an identification of "spirit" and "god" (Chrysipp. *Stoic. SVF* frag. 310; 913; *TDNT* 6:356).

**C. Spirit in the OT**

**1. Meaning of the Term.** In the OT *rûaḥ* occurs 378 times in Hebrew texts and 11 times in Aramaic passages. Its basic meaning is "wind, moving air," and "breath." Between the latter and the two former there is no strict distinction (Johnson 1964; Lauha 1983: 57–58; *THAT* 2: 727–28). Accordingly, *rûaḥ* may be an onomatopoeic word (Lys 1962: 19–21) connoting the power of wind to move objects. Nominal qualifiers indicate the direction or origin of winds (Jer 13:24; Exod 10:19; Prov 25:23; Ezek 5:10). Verbs reinforce the aspect of its movement (Num 11:31; Ps 103:16) or effect (Isa 7:2; Ps 48:8).

Beyond this essentially physical meaning, *rûaḥ* is used to refer to qualities of human beings, God, and—less frequently—animals and supernatural spirits. Anthropologically (*THAT* 2: 734–42; Wolff 1984: 57–67; Lauha 1983: 57–64), it denotes breath (Jer 2:24; Job 8:2) and psychic states (Ps 76:13; Ezek 3:14). In this context, *rûaḥ* often overlaps *lēb,* "heart, mind" (Josh 2:11; Ezek 21:12). Its intimations of a vitality

that expresses itself dynamically attenuate with time, and this trend continues in postexilic literature even as the term comes to stand for the breath of life which God imparts (Isa 42:5) or creates (Isa 57:16). As intimated in Ezekiel 37 and Isa 57:14–21 (in adumbrations of redemption for the exiled community), the gift of the spirit is understood as analogous to creation. Thus *rûaḥ* came to be understood as a term for life itself (*THAT* 2: 736–37).

In the context of demonology, likewise, the basic dynamic meaning "wind, breath" gradually disappears. Originally the focus was on sudden experiences ("spirit of jealousy" [Num 5:14]; "unclean spirit" [Zech 13:2]; "evil spirit from God" [1 Sam 18:10]), but in Judaism this usage eventually devolves into demonology (Bietenhard 1951).

It is not always possible to distinguish theological from profane usage (Wolff 1984: 57; Lys 1962: 336). It was reasonable to associate *rûaḥ* with God in view of the wind's immateriality on the one hand and its palpable power on the other. Furthermore, *rûaḥ* was understood as a means of divine judgment (Exod 14:21; Jonah 4:8): God commands the wind (Ps 104:4), which accompanies God's self-manifestation (Ezek 1:4) or symbolically heralds God's coming (Jer 4:11; Ezek 17:11–13; Hos 4:19).

**2. History of the Concept.** References to the power of the spirit of God in the OT period occur first with the charismatic judges and ecstatic prophets. Here we seem to be dealing with a temporally limited gift of the spirit for the purpose of executing an extraordinary task (Schunck [1979: 7–30] sees a permanent gift of the spirit). God's spirit touches the charismatic person without human intervention (e.g., a Judge) and he/she in turn inspires a small group of people opposing a large inimical power (Judg 3:10; 11:29; 13:25; 14:6, 9; 15:14; 1 Sam 11:6).

In parallel fashion, early ecstatic prophecy likewise seems to have led to conferral of the spirit to a group (1 Sam 10:10; 19:23). In this context, the reference to the *rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm*, "spirit of God," points to Canaanite origins of ecstatic prophecy (Schmitt 1977: 270). Ecstasy can be induced (1 Sam 10:5–6 mentions music). As far as the oldest strata of tradition indicate, the spirit does not facilitate words or actions, nor is it related to history. The emphasis, rather, is on ecstasy as manifestation of religious inspiration (Westermann 1981: 226–27). In addition to ecstatic prophets, visionaries also appeal to the *rûaḥ Yhwh*, "spirit of the Lord," or the *rûaḥ ʾĕlōhîm*, "spirit of God" (1 Sam 23:2; Num 24:2). Here, as in the Elijah/Elisha tradition, the gift of the spirit appears for the first time as simultaneously dynamic and static (2 Kgs 2:9).

With the exception of Ezekiel, scriptural prophecy of the 8th–7th centuries does not appeal to the spirit of Yahweh (concerning the exceptions Hos 9:7; Mic 3:8; Isa 30:1; 31:3, see *THAT* 2: 747–48). The classical prophet disappears completely behind his task as messenger and is precisely not characterized by proofs of spiritual power. Not until the exilic and postexilic period is prophecy viewed in retrospect as wrought by the spirit (Neh 9:30; Zech 7:12).

The transition from charismatic leadership to kingship changes the perception of the spirit of God. The dynamic aspect gives way to a static understanding of spirit as related to office. The spirit of Yahweh is bestowed (Num 11:25, 29) and rests on the blessed one (2 Kgs 2:15), who is thus filled with the spirit (Deut 34:9). The rite of anointing (1 Sam 16:13, 14) as well as the laying on of hands (Deut 34:1) symbolizes this change of perception. The gift of spirit and blessing become related concepts. The narrative of 1–2 Kings consistently refers to the "spirit of God" only in the context of royal accession or rule, never as an indication of special deeds or words (Westermann 1981: 227). Though it cannot always be determined with certainty whether this static understanding of spirit has been introduced retroactively from a later time, the notion is clearly present in the expectation of the Messiah king. His actions derive solely from the spirit bestowed on him (Isa 11:2; 42:1; 61:1). See MESSIAH. Alongside the gift of the spirit to the Messiah, we find in the exilic and postexilic writings the announcement of the gift of the spirit to the whole people—chiefly in the form of a word of Yahweh. Here, too, the spirit appears as a permanent gift. The verbs employed indicate this by suggesting a substance in liquid form ("pour out" [Ezek 39:29; Joel 3:1, 2]; "be emptied out" [Isa 44:3; 32:15]). According to Ezekiel, the gift of the spirit enables the people to live according to the commandments (36:27); it creates new life (37:5, 14; cf. Gen 2:7; Eccl 12:7). In addition, there is reference to the "gift of prophecy" (Joel 3:1–5), the end of social

inequalities (Joel 3:2 and Jer 31:34), understanding and learning (Isa 29:24), growth in nature (Isa 32:15), peace and community (Isa 32:17), and immediate relation to God (Ezek 39:29).

The LXX translates *rûaḥ* predominantly as *pneuma*. Even though both words originally describe the selfsame reality of moved and moving air, the LXX participates in the completed philosophical extension of the concept. In terms of the history of its impact, the reception of OT statements concerning the spirit concentrates on Ezek 36:26, 27; 37:5–6, 9–10, 14 and Joel 3:1–5, the proof texts for the eschatological gift of the spirit in Judaism and Christianity.

Confronted with the deep depression felt by the exiled community (Ezek 33:10; 37:11), Ezekiel announces over the field of dry bones the gift of the spirit which causes revivification (37:5–6, 14). Whereas Ezek 37:9 suggests the winds from the four points of the compass and 37:5 anthropologically implies the breath, 37:14 unequivocally specifies the "spirit of God" which is given to the dead and animates them. In Ezek 36:26–27a the bestowal of the spirit of God is related to the gift of a new heart (Heb *lēb*) and a new spirit (*rûaḥ*). The gift of the spirit makes Torah obedience possible (36:27b). A subsequent passage (Ezek 39:29) harks back to these statements and at the same time prepares the way for Joel 3:1–5 (Zimmerli *Ezekiel* Hermeneia, 2.321; Wolff *Joel and Amos* Hermeneia, 66).

Joel 3:15 presupposes the traditions of Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah. The interest in establishing historical periods for the eschatological events (2:23b, 25; 3:1, 2, 4—Eng2:28, 29, 31) represents rudiments of apocalyptic thinking. The pouring out of the spirit is the beginning of the day of Yahweh, who passes over converted Israel (2:12, 13). This will be followed by the judgment of the gentiles (4:1–8—Eng3:1–8) and by cosmic signs (3:3–4—Eng2:30–31). The consequences of the pouring out of the spirit are prophetic utterances and dreams and visions. The gift of the spirit—a sign, not the content, of the approaching end of time (Volz 1910: 93–94)—establishes a direct relation to God. In concurrence with Zech 12:10 and Ezek 39:29, Joel 3:1–5 (Eng 2:28–32) locates the expectation of the eschatological community of faith not in the cultic restoration according to Torah but in the prophetic relationship to God manifested in God's immediate call (Wolff *Joel and Amos* Hermeneia, 69).

**D. Spirit in Judaism**

**1. Occurrence. a. Doctrine of the Prophetless Era.** In rabbinic theology, "spirit of God" and "spirit of prophecy" are used almost synonymously (*y. Sanh.* 10; 28b, 51: if no prophets, then, no holy spirit). This synonymity led to the formation of the rabbinic doctrine stating that after the time of the last prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, the spirit abandoned Israel (*t. Soṭa* 13:2ff); or that since the destruction of the First Temple the spirit left Israel and would be absent from the Second Temple (*b. Yoma* 21b; in detail, Schäfer 1972: 89–111). Historically, however, it is the period of the Maccabeans which manifests a relative absence of prophecy (1 Macc 4:46; 9:27), a situation presumed also by primitive Christianity (Acts 2:17–21; John 7:39; Mark 1:8). Pneumatics, prophets, and an awareness of individual spirit endowment are documented, however, for the intertestamental period (Leivestad 1972–73; Foerster 1961–62). Not until the collapse of the Second Temple and the loss of this cultic center as the locus of God's presence, however, did the notion of a prophetless-spiritless era become a possibility. The decisive stimulus for the formation of this dogma lies in the establishment of the canon. Ezra was the last inspired prophet. The normative period for Israel, therefore, is the time governed by the Law, which ends with Ezra (Smend 1984: 13–20; Barton 1986: 105–16).

There are two further motives contributing to the formation of the doctrine: *2 Bar.* 85:3; 1 Macc 4:46; 9:27; and 14:41 already intimate a tripartite historical schema (prophecy at the time of the First Temple, prophetless present, prophecy of the end-time). Since nomism had prevailed, it needed to disclaim the spirit as a present medium of revelation to the point of asserting that prophecy was dormant.

Concepts in Hellenistic and Palestinian Judaism provide the immediate presuppositions for NT pneumatology. In view of the multiple strata of evidence, only an illustrative understanding can be provided here.

**b. Spirit in Philo Judaeus.** Philo represents an exponent of Jewish theology of the Hellenistic synagogue of the Diaspora at Alexandria. In an apologetic proselytizing effort, he attempts to square the Stoic-Platonic theory of *pneuma* with the OT statements in the LXX, or rather, to find the former in the

latter. See PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA. Consonant with Hellenistic Jewish literature, *pneuma,* according to Philo, denotes wind, air, breath, the human spirit, the spirit of God, and supernatural beings (itemization by Isaacs 1976: 150–52). Cosmologically, *pneuma* is the substance which pervades matter and holds it together (*Aet* 125; *Op* 131; *Heres* 242; cf. Wis 1:7). Anthropological reflection repeatedly refers to Gen 2:7. The natural human being had the gift of *nous,* "reason," but it is *geōdēs,* "earthlike," and *phthartos,* "corruptible" (*Leg All* 1: 32, 37). The inspiration of *pneuma theion,* "divine spirit" (*Op* 135, 144), also provided the *nous* (*Gig* 27) and thus distinguishes the human soul from that of the animal. Thus, humankind is allowed to share in the divine spirit. This qualification reveals the dichotomized view of humanity: the human being consists of *pneuma theion,* "divine spirit," and *geōdēs ousia,* "earthlike being" (*Op* 135; *Heres* 55). Nevertheless, Philo's statements containing the tradition-historical and religio-historical disparities are not consistent within themselves. Animistic and dynamistic notions are intermingled. The Philonic notion that *pneuma prophetikon,* "prophetic spirit," represents the highest gift derives from both Hellenistic and OT-Jewish notions of spirit (Wolfson 1948: 2.26). In analogy to the Platonic critique of inspiration manticism, *pneuma theion* facilitates higher insight than does *nous* (*Heres* 265). Moses is the interpreter gifted with *pneuma theion* and serves as Philo's model.

**c. Spirit in the Qumran Texts.** Multiple uses of *rûaḥ* are evident also in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Frequently the referent of *rûaḥ* is "human spirit," and the word can often designate the self or a person's attitude. Theologically *rûaḥ* denotes both evil spirits and the holy spirit of God. It also has the meaning "breath" and, far less frequently, "wind" (see Anderson 1962; Nötscher 1957).

The original traditional material of the Qumran community includes the so-called "doctrine of the two spirits" presented in 1QS 3:13–4:26 as basic doctrine (Lichtenberger 1980: 123–42). It postulates that from the outset human behavior is determined by two kinds of spirits which are appointed by God, the spirits of truth and the spirits of wickedness. *Rûaḥ* thus appears to be the predestined existence of humanity. The sons of righteousness and the sons of wickedness are subject to the domination of those spirits. At present, the sons of light are in danger of perdition (1QS 3:24); only the judgment ordained by God will bring future purification when God will pour out his spirit on a part of humankind and thus cleanse it (1QS 4:20, 21).

The work of God's spirit on humanity takes place in three ways according to the Qumran texts: (1) with the gift of the spirit during creation (1QS 9:12; 1QH 9:32); (2) when initiants become part of the community (1QH 13:19; 16:11; 17:17); (3) in the outpouring of the spirit during the end-time (1QS 4: 18–23). However, there is no causal connection between the bath of purification and the gift of the spirit (O. Betz 1960: 133–34; Schreiner 1965: 176–77). It is in character with the exclusive self-consciousness of the community that it claims the presence of the spirit in its midst (and within at least some individuals; note the formula *rwḥ ʾšr ntth by,* "the spirit which you placed in me" [1QH 12:11; 13:19; 16:11; 17:17, etc.; see Kuhn 1966: 130–36]). A specifically eschatological understanding of the presence of the spirit should not be inferred from this, however. Only the end-time will bring the full outpouring of the spirit (1QS 4:2–23 with reference to Exod 36:25–26).

**d. Spirit in Rabbinism.** A systematic itemization of the particular statements on "holy spirit" in rabbinic literature will schematize the source material. Thus, salient aspects of the rabbinic literature spanning several centuries can be listed together (Goldberg 1969; Schäfer 1972). The construction *rûaḥ haqqōdeš,* lit. "spirit of holiness," implies the divine origin of the spirit. Yet this does not mean that the holy spirit was regarded as a hypostasis distinct from the divine presence (*šĕkînâ*). The holy spirit is a mode of God's self-revelation (Goldberg 1969: 462; *TRE* 12: 174) and is imparted primarily in the sanctuary, the place of God's presence. The high priest has the gift of the spirit qua office (*Lev. Rab.* 21:12; *Yoma* 73). The destruction of the First Temple caused the dormancy of the spirit (*t. Soṭa 13:2ff). In the interim, the bat qôl (lit. "daughter of a voice"; audible divine speech) is a poor substitute. Not until the end-time will the spirit return to the sanctuary (Num. Rab. 15:10) as a national charism (TRE 12:175). Both the Messiah (Gen. Rab. 2:3) and the just will then be spirit bearers. The expectations of salvation follow Ezekiel 36–37 and Joel 3.*

In rabbinic literature there is no systematic theory concerning the spirit's presence. Alongside the official charisma of the high priest, there are gifts of the spirit for good works, study of Torah, and keeping the commandments (Schäfer 1972: 127–34).

**2. Conclusions. a. The Semantic Field.** Under the influence of theological reflection and philosophical speculation, both the Hebrew term *rûaḥ* and the Greek term *pneuma* underwent a semantic development from a concrete, material meaning in everyday language to a metaphysical meaning. The physical sense of the word persisted alongside the new meaning. Thus, *pneuma* is "a word into whose mythical depths everyone has deposited all that fit into his range of ideas, and out of which everyone heard what he could or would, according to the level of his own understanding" (Leisegang 1919: 16). Anthropological and theological use cannot always be strictly distinguished. With Philo, Stoic influence prompted their synonymous use. Thus, the concept of *pneuma* approaches a generic abstraction to which the addition of qualifiers provides specificity. These qualifiers include prepositional expressions (*en pneumati,* "in [the] spirit"), genitival constructions (*to pneuma tou kosmou,* "the spirit of the world"; *to pneuma theou,* "the spirit of God"); coordination of nearly synonymous terms (*pneuma kai dynamis,* "spirit and power"); and antithetical pairs (*pneuma/sarx* "spirit/flesh"; *pneuma/gramma* "spirit/letter"). In the imagination, obvious substances such as water (Sir 24:33; Philo *Op* 135) or fire (frequent in Stoicism; cf. *TDNT* 6:930) were used increasingly alongside wind, because they were able to convey and promote not only the aspect of external and independent power, but also an understanding of spirit as substance within the sacramental act. Given this OT and Greek-Hellenistic history, it is natural that animistic and dynamistic statements are used interchangeably. Even in the NT a conception of a unique and visible manifestation of the spirit in baptism (1 Cor 12:13) is juxtaposed with instances of intervention and empowerment by the spirit for a specific action (Acts 13:4). The exact meaning of *pneuma* in the NT period can be discovered only by observing the larger context.

**b. Anthropology.** The contrast between *sōma,* "body," and *psychē,* "soul," in Hellenistic Judaism was enhanced through the influence of Greek-Hellenistic anthropology. The body is of earthly origin, the soul of heavenly origin. No consistent conceptual differentiation between *nous, psychē,* and *sōma* is evident. In the Greek-Hellenistic arena, the Platonic tripartition of the person into *nous, psychē,* and *soma* was normative. Popular usage in the pre-NT period, however, had led to such a generalization of the concept of *pneuma* that its meaning was no longer precisely set (*RAC* 9: 503–4). *pneuma* could now be used in its anthropological sense to the exclusion of a metaphysical dimension; the juxtaposition of *sarx,* "body," and *pneuma,* "spirit" (Col 2:5), could describe the totality of the human being. The word *pneuma* alone can designate the self (Rom 8:16; *PMG* 12:327).

**c. Demonology.** In contrast to the idealist concept of "spirit" in F. C. Baur, history-of-religions research into NT pneumatology discovered demonology as a common myth within popular belief (Everling 1888; Dibelius 1909; Weinel alluded directly to demonology in the title of his work *The Effects of the Spirit and of the Spirits* [1899]). NT demonology corresponds to that of ancient Judaism. Good and evil spirits confront each other in their allegiance to the archangel Michael and the devil respectively (*1 Enoch* 19; *Jub.* 10; 22:17; 1QS 3:13–4:26). The evil spirits are often linked to the fallen angels (Genesis 6), or considered fathered by them in intercourse with human women (*1 Enoch* 15). In the Greek-Hellenistic arena, likewise, contrary powers may be called pneumata (*CIG* 3: 5858b; *PMG* 13: 198; 36: 160). The use of terms for the world of the spirits in the NT is as varied as in the Hellenistic Jewish sources: *to pneuma to akatharton,* "the unclean spirit" (Mark 1:23, 26; *T. Benj.* 5:2); *to pneuma to ponēron,* "the evil spirit" (Acts 19:15–16; *1 En.* 99:7); or absolutely ("the spirit[s]"), Mark 9:20; Luke 10:20, to denote evil spirits. In addition, *daimonia* and *daimones* are used frequently. On the other hand, "pneumata" can also denote benign spirits: Acts 23:8, 9; Jos *Ant* 4: 108; Heb 1:14; Rev 1:4.

**d. Eschatology.** In OT texts, the gift of the spirit to the Messiah (Isa 11:2; 28:5; 42:1; 61:1) and to the people (Ezek 36:27; 37:14; 39:29; Joel 3:1, 2; Isa 32:15; Zech 12:10; Hag 2:5) occur together. Before the NT period, both strands are transmitted independently alongside each other and only in late NT writings are they combined to state that a spirit-endowed Messiah will transmit the spirit to the elect on behalf of

God. Sectarian believers claim individual and collective anticipation of the eschatological spirit in the present (*1 En.* 91:1; 4 Ezra 5:22; 14:22; 1QH 7:6, 7; 17:26).

The following texts affirm the gift of the spirit to the Messiah during the end-time: *Pss. Sol.* 17:37; 18:7; *1 En.* 49:3; 62:2; *T. Levi* 18:7; *T. Jud.* 24:2 (the latter passages are a Christian postscript); *Tq. Isa.* 11:2; 42:1–4; 1QS Sb 5:24, 25; 11QMelch 18.

The concept of the latter-day gift of the spirit to the elect relies primarily on Joel 3:1–5 and Ezek 36:27; 37:14, and is extensively attested in the rabbinic literature. Testimony to spirit endowment of the Messiah, conversely, is strikingly rare in the same sources. A few intertestamental texts, moreover, are suspected of having been reworked by Christian redaction: 4 Ezra 6:26; *Jub.* 1:23; *T. Levi* 18:11; *T. Jud.* 24:3; *1 En.* 61:11; 1QS 4: 20–22. *T. Levi* does not witness to the agency of the Messiah in the gift of the eschatological spirit, but rather of God's agency; by contrast *Sib. Or.* 3:528 and *T. Jud.* 24:2 do associate the Messiah with an eschatological gift of the spirit. Both latter texts, however, reasonably suggest Christian interpolation (Becker 1980: 76), so that this whole idea becomes understandable only as a theme of Christian theology.

**E. Spirit in the NT**

**1. Terminology.** Of the 379 occurrences of the substantive *pneuma,* only John 3:8, Heb 1:7, and 2 Thess 2:8 reflect the original meaning "wind/breath," the latter two being influenced by OT quotations. In approximately 275 instances *pneuma* must be understood as "spirit of God"; of these, 149 are absolute; *pneuma hagion,* "holy spirit," 92 times; *pneuma hagiosynes,* "spirit of holiness," once (Rom 1:4); *pneuma theou,* "spirit of God," 18 times; *pneuma tou patros,* "spirit of the Father," once. Referring to *Christos* it is used 3 times; as *pneuma tou huiou autou,* "the spirit of his Son," once; and as *pneuma Iesou,* "spirit of Jesus," once. *pneuma* is used roughly 47 times in the anthropological sense, mostly with reference to breath (Matt 27:50; John 2:26). *pneuma* may describe the whole human being, like *sōma* and *psychē* (2 Cor 7:1; 1 Thess 5:23), also in rhetorical pathos within the final greetings (Gal 6:18; Phil 4:23; Phlm 25; 2 Tim 4:22) and thus approaches the meaning of "I." Therefore *pneuma* may also be interpreted, under the aspect of the acting and thinking "I," as *pneuma praytētos* (1 Cor 4:21), as the locus of feelings (Luke 1:47), intellect (Luke 1:80), and, in a single instance, as reason (1 Cor 2:11).

Used either absolutely or with modifiers, *pneuma* denotes evil spirits approximately 38 times. Jesus and the disciples attack the *pneumata akatharta,* "unclean spirits" (Mark 1:23); *ponēra,* "evil [spirits]," (Luke 7:21); *alala,* "dumb [spirit]," (Mark 9:17) and exorcise them, since the power of the spirit of God in them overcomes the power of Satan. Unique uses of *pneuma* are Luke 24:37 (ghost); Heb 12:33; 1 Pet 3:19 (souls); Heb 1:14; Rev 1:4; 3:1; 4:5 and 5:6 (angels). Heb 12:9 calls God *pater ton pneumaton* "Father of spirits." The adjective *pneumatikos,* "spiritual," is used 23 times in the NT, and the adverb *pneumatikōs,* "spiritually," 3 times. Beyond its use in contrast to words for the flesh and carnality (*sarkikos/sarkinos/psychikos;* Rom 7:14; 1 Cor 1:15; 3:1; 9:11; 15:44, 46), or its substantival use in reference to things spiritual (Rom 15:27; 1 Cor 9:11) or spiritual persons (1 Cor 14:37; Gal 6:1), the adjective *pneumatikos* is used as a qualifier for the law (Rom 7:14), prayer (Eph 1:3; 5:9; Col 3:16), the Church (1 Pet 2:5), the resurrected body (1 Cor 15:44–46), and sacrifice (1 Pet 2:5).

**2. Preliminary Methodological Reflections.** In exilic and postexilic Jewish literature, some writings manifest expectation of the future outpouring of the spirit. On the other hand, the NT writings generally regard the gift of the spirit as a present eschatological event. This demarcates the historical location of the NT era. Here we trace the NT evidence for early Christian pneumatology. A review of the history of research will conclude with methodological reflections.

F. C. Baur and H. Gunkel significantly influenced the perception of primitive Christian pneumatology. Baur (1831; 1845) saw in Pauline thought a parallel to his own understanding of existence (which he derived from Hegel; concerning the following see *BTNT* 2: 244–45). Accordingly, he disregarded the lexical content and semantic field of *pneuma,* or rather, he understood it a priori as "spirit" in the sense of absolute self-consciousness. This "spirit" stands in fundamental contrast to what is finite, to flesh, insofar as "spirit" is identical with "spirit of God." This view set forth by Baur could be applied to the understanding of the history of early Christianity at a time when Baur was still uninfluenced by Hegel and

when his historical studies had led him to recognize the compelling contrast between Paulinism and Judaism, between pneumatism and nomism.

Baur's idealist view of the NT concept of "spirit" was shaken by Gunkel's phenomenological approach (1888; 3d ed. 1909). To Gunkel, speculation concerning spirit is secondary compared to experiences of, and encounters with, the spirit (1909: 8). Thus he made it his task to describe and sensitively interpret. In the mysterious effects of power and unexplained phenomena, according to Gunkel, we encounter not the subsequent conclusions regarding the power of God by a disinterested outsider, but the immediate experience of one inspired (1909: 3–4). Therefore, according to Gunkel, the exegete must "in some way put himself in the place of the pneumatic to empathize with his experience"; indeed, "he who clings to the letter cannot see the life" (1909: 4, 6).

Even though Gunkel's slogan would soon be passionately contradicted (Bousset 1901; Harnack 1899), the characterization of the NT concept of *pneuma* as a supernatural power which affects life has nevertheless met with appreciation to this very day.

For the present understanding of the NT concept of *pneuma* with its derivatives and related concepts, a survey of its uses in the respective historical contexts of the earliest Christian writings is essential. In contrast to Gunkel, we must not begin with phenomena of the spirit. In so doing we would neglect the religiohistorical parallel phenomena in Judaism and Hellenism, as Gunkel later conceded to Bousset's critique (1909: 5–6). When one disregards these connections, the particularity of NT pneumatology is sought solely in the realm of phenomena. But phenomena themselves are ambiguous and cannot be interpreted unequivocally. And since the conceptual framework evaluates phenomena and experiences, it must be given particular attention in the early Christian tradition.

**3. Primitive Christian Preconditions for the Consciousness of Spirit Endowment.** All NT writings present the Christian community as a spirit-endowed entity. Late communal theology has anchored this claim in history via a narrative of the event in which the spirit was bestowed. In terms of the history of its impact these ideas represent not the primary form, but the most significant form, of the consciousness of spirit-endowment.

**a. Pre-Easter Gift of the Spirit.** The redaction of the Gospels has viewed the synoptic mission narrative (Mark 6:6b–13 par) also as a communal missionary etiology. This is reflected in the dramatic framework (Mark 6:6b, 7, 12): the inspired actions of the community reflect the pre-Easter spirit endowment of the disciples through Jesus. The gift of exousia empowers the disciples to subjugate the demons, as was the case with Jesus. Vv 11 and 12 develop the content of this gift, in keeping with the typical spheres of activity of the communal theology. Functions of this spirit endowment are the preaching of repentence (Acts 2:38; Rom 2:4), exorcisms (Acts 19:11, 12; *Acts John* 37), anointing with oil (John 5:14) and healings (Acts 5:16; 8:7; cf. also the lists of charisms 1 Cor 12:9, 28, 30).

**b. Gift of the Spirit at Easter.** In the Fourth Gospel's account of post-resurrection appearances, Easter and Pentecost are collapsed (John 20:19–23). Jesus appears to the band of disciples and imparts his spirit to them on the evening of the day of resurrection. Comparison with Luke 24:36–49 suggests that John 20:19–23 represents a pre-Johannine tradition which presupposes the Lukan text (Dauer 1984: 207–96). John 20:20–22 combines the act of transmission of the spirit with the explication and function of the gift.

The act by which Jesus imparts the spirit to his disciples is itself a significant biblical allusion. In its use of the verb *enephysēsen,* "he breathed on them" (John 20:22), the gospel tradition recalls the same form in the creation narrative (Gen 2:7 LXX). This would contradict an animistic interpretation of the action. The word of explication ("receive the *pneuma hagion* [Holy Spirit]" John 20:22) likewise suggests a substratum of earliest Christian terminology. The motifs of gift of the spirit and forgiveness of sins are likewise attested together in earliest Christianity (1 Cor 6:11; Titus 3:4–11); John 20:19–23 manifestly represents a stage of communal theological reflection which combines earliest Christian statements and incorporates them into the history of Jesus. This applies to both its content and its place in the history of tradition.

**c. Post-Easter Gift of the Spirit.** More influential was the position that the post-Easter gift of the spirit occurred on the first Pentecost after Easter (only Acts 2:1–4 in the NT). According to the Lukan

construction these events, the outpouring of the spirit, enabled the disciples to preach in foreign languages. Peter's speech following the account (Acts 2:14–36) explains the event as an eschatological fulfillment of Joel 3:1–5 (Eng 2:28–32), but attributes the gift of the spirit to the Exalted One himself (2:33).

Inconsistencies in the text suggest fragments of pre-Lukan tradition. An immediate result of the gift of the spirit is the ability *lalein heterais glōssais,* "to speak in other tongues" (Acts 2:4). Luke interprets this as empowerment to speak in foreign languages, to judge from the observation that each member of the multitude heard the disciples speaking *idiạ dialektō̧,* "in his own language" (vv 6, 8). Should Luke have also inserted the word *heterais* into this tradition in keeping with this line of interpretation (note that *heteros* appears 52 times in Luke, in Mark and John only once each), and thus critically altered the stock phrase *glōssais lalein,* "to speak in tongues" (Mark 16:17; 1 Cor 12:30; 14:2, 45), then his tradition was probably concerned only with spirit endowment and glossolalia. If v 8 likewise represents an allusion to a miracle of hearing, then it, too, would have fundamentally misunderstood the tradition of a glossolalic phenomenon.

It is therefore conceivable that a fragment of tradition spoke of a glossolalic event, possibly in connection with a house (v 2 differing from v 5). Further details of this event cannot be inferred from the pre-Lukan substance of this text. It is very unlikely, however, that the Jerusalem community could have regarded an outbreak of glossolalia as the advent of the spirit. Glossolalia does not figure among the anticipated phenomena of the eschaton. Apart from isolated remarks (*T. Job* 48–50), it is a phenomenon totally rooted in the Hellenistic world.

The association of this event with the festival of Pentecost in Jerusalem has possibly been influenced by the reinterpretation (after 70 B.C.E.) of Pentecost as the covenant-renewal festival. It is conceivable that the reestablishment of the band of disciples took place on the first festival day after the crucifixion. But this cannot be demonstrated decisively, even with reference to the undated appearance to the 500 (1 Cor 15:6) (see also Dunn 1975: 144–46). The association with Pentecost, in any case, reinforces the universal and public importance which Luke attaches to the Christ event. It is specifically this festival which repeatedly had been the occasion of outbreaks of political rioting (Roloff *Apostelgeschichte* NTD, 40). The three quoted theories, without exception late formations, manifest the need of the community to explain the gift of the spirit within a theory of transmission. However, the fact that all three accounts present Jesus rather than God as the bestower of *pneuma* indicates the late NT location of the notion.

The community's awareness of having received the spirit is not based on one basic event of spirit transmission. It is rather the theological consequence of primitive Christian theology and arises from definite presuppositions about the nature and activity of the spirit.

**d. The Spirit and the Raising of the Dead.** The conviction that God raised Jesus from the dead (1 Thess 1:10; Gal 1:1; 1 Cor 6:14; Rom 4:24; 8:11; 2 Cor 4:14; Acts 2:32; 3:15) is expressed in some of the oldest Christian formulas (Becker 1976: 14–15; Hoffmann 1982: 14–15).

Because the resurrection of both Jesus (Rom 1, 3, 4; 8:11) and Christians (1 Cor 6:14; 15:45; 2 Cor 3:6; Phil 3:10) is linked to the spirit in early NT tradition, it must be asked whether the eschatological notion implied in the resurrection formula allowed room for the anticipated outpouring of the spirit.

Ezek 37:5, 9–10 had already envisioned the revivification of the dead as an effect of the gift of the spirit. In an altered form this idea is picked up in 2 Macc 7:23; *Jos. Asen.* 8:9; *Soṭa* 9:15; *Exod. Rab.* 48 (102d); *Midr.* Ps 104:30; Rev 11:11. The second of the Eighteen Benedictions offers a direct parallel, in both form and content, for the combination of resurrection and spirit. In the older Palestininan version (which recalls Ezek 37:5; Isa 26:19) it reads: "you make the spirit return … which cares for the living and makes alive those who are dead" (Müller 1980: 25–30). Admittedly, the integrity of the text has been questioned. If it is presumed to be intact here, the statement may be seen as the interpretive framework for the resurrection event on the basis of its familiarity in the NT period. The raising of Jesus from the dead is an act of God and, at the same time, evidence of the activity of his spirit (Rom 1:3–4; 8:11).

**e. The Spirit and the Activity of Jesus.** The primary basis of the believed efficacy of the spirit lies in the Easter experience. The attention of the community is initially focused on the ascended Messiah whose

return they anticipate without immediately interpreting his earthly activity as messianic. Gradually however, the community appropriates the OT-Jewish tradition of the spirit-filled Messiah and applies this perception to the earthly activity of Jesus. The redaction of the Gospels gives purposeful expression to this conviction by placing the spirit-baptism at the beginning of the story of Jesus as fulfillment of the messianic prophecies of Mal 3:1 and Isa 40:3 (Mark 1:2–11 par); by the inclusion of Isa 42:1 within the fulfillment quotation Matt 12:18; and by the interpretation of Isa 61:1 implicit in Jesus' inaugural sermon (Luke 4:16–30). Beyond the Easter event, Jesus' claim and activity themselves are likely to have formed the matrix for this application of the tradition of the spirit-filled Messiah to Jesus. Admittedly, not one synoptic word concerning the spirit (Mark 3:29 par; 13:11 par; Matt 12:28; Luke 4:18, 19; 11:13; Matt 28:19; Luke 11:2) can be positively claimed as Jesus' own. Nor does he himself seem to have explicitly appealed to the spirit of God to substantiate his claim. The exorcisms by themselves were ambivalent and certainly did not prove the presence of the spirit (cf. Luke 11:19). On the other hand, isolated images (Luke 10:18; 11:20) can be regarded as veiled metaphorical references to the presence of the spirit (Jeremias 1973: 81–84). Finally, the portrayals of the exorcisms of Jesus as conflicts with satanic powers (Mark 3:27 par); the working of miracles and the proclamation of the kingdom (Luke 6:20 par; Mark 1:15); and the authoritative interpretation of the law attributed to Jesus under the rubric *egō de legō hymin*, "but I say to you" (Matt 5:21 etc.) together yield a total impression which approaches an implicitly pneumatic self-consciousness. Even though Jesus neither declared his deeds as evidence of the spirit nor held out the prospect of a universal gift of the spirit for the future, the community was able to see, retrospectively in the light of the Easter event, confirmation of the working of the spirit in the activity of Jesus.

**f. The Eschatological Self-Consciousness of the Church.** The factors mentioned so far permitted belief in the present working of the spirit, but not yet awareness of a universal gift of the spirit. Faith in Christ placed Christians in a special position within Judaism, comparable to the sect of Qumran or the groups around baptizers.

It is likely that in the context of this eschatological self-consciousness the anticipated bestowal of the spirit for the end-time was thought to be taking place (Kuhn 1966: 138–39). In the OT tradition itself, the relation between the present and future eschatological spirit was not precisely established (Volz 1910: 93, 94 A1). The reception of Joel 3:1–5—Eng2:28–32 (Acts 2:17–21; Rom 10:13, etc.) within the Christian community identifies the gift of the spirit as an event preceding the Day of the Lord (Acts 2:20b).

**g. Phenomenological Proofs of the Spirit.** E. Schweizer has steadfastly maintained as "historically assured" that the primitive Church experienced an outpouring of the spirit in some form (1952: 5; *TDNT* 6:408; in agreement, Lohse *TDNT* 6:51–52; Goppelt 1978: 298; Kremer 1973:59). Historical analysis, however, demands the following verdict: "All such hypotheses have too little definite evidence in their support to ever become more than interesting possibilities" (Foakes Jackson and Lake 1933: 1.5.121). It has been shown above that in the Palestinian region glossolalia (Acts 2:1–13) would not have been perceived as proof of the anticipated spirit of the end-time. It is a counsel of despair to suspect a different ecstatic experience behind the event described in Acts 2:1–13 (Goppelt 1978: 298). None of the stated phenomena is unequivocal proof of the gift of the spirit. Experiences can only be interpreted in the context of a preexisting self-consciousness or framework of expectation. Historically, a process of interpretation moving back and forth between faith and experience is likely. At the same time, the group situation of the primitive Church and its eschatological ethos (mission, community, expectation of the Messiah, etc.) posed a situation where certain experiences could be understood as the workings of the spirit. In view of the overwhelming number of reports of pneumatic experiences within the early Christian literature of the first two centuries C.E., however, it should be noted that reports of pneumatic experiences do not necessarily always reflect real experiences but could very well have served other purposes as literary inventions (Harnack 1899: 515).

Once these preconditions are appreciated, belief in the outpouring of the holy spirit at or after Easter becomes plausible. Now we trace the development of this notion.

**4. The Hellenists.** Their eschatological claim to possess the spirit places the group of Hellenists in opposition to the Jewish-Christian community of Jerusalem. Although it is hardly possible to reconstruct an Antiochian source for Acts 6–7, we must nevertheless retain the notion of a preexisting tradition.

The reasons which led to the separation of the Christian Hellenists from the original Aramaic-speaking community probably were linguistic in nature. (Note that the body of leaders elected from among the Hellenists comprises men with exclusively Greek names [Acts 6:5].) The formation of a community for the sole purpose of worship is a common and perfectly legitimate process within Judaism (Hengel 1975: 178).

Historically it is likely that along with the linguistically motivated separation of the Hellenists, a simultaneous theological dispute took place, a dispute which can still be detected below the surface of the Lukan redaction. In the Lukan account, Stephen is portrayed as an early Christian pneumatic. His speech is characterized by "wisdom" and "the Spirit" (Acts 6:10); his deeds, known to all (v 8), are possible because he is filled with the spirit, a fact which the list of names (v 5) emphasizes by setting him apart from the other apostles. Luke linguistically adapted this image of Stephen to that of other pneumatics: *plērēs pneumatos,* "full of (the) Spirit" (Acts 6:3, 5, 8; 7:55; cf. Luke 4:1; Acts 11:24). Moreover, the combination of motifs, wisdom/spirit/working of miracles (Acts 2:22, 43; 7:36), expresses the Hellenistic ideal of the Christian pneumatic. The emphasis on the gift of the spirit is inseparably linked with references to criticism of the law (Acts 6:11, 13, 14; 7:51–53). Acts 6:11 raises the charge of blasphemy provoked by Stephen's utterances against Moses (= Torah) and God. Verse 13 attributes similar charges to false witnesses, but pointedly places criticism of the Temple first. Verse 14 has Stephen say further that Jesus will destroy the Temple and alter the ceremonial law which originated with Moses (*ethē*). The source, or tradition, is presumed by most to be contained in the general statements (v 11) (Conzelmann *Apostelgeschichte* HNT, 51; Hengel 1975: 187). Verse 14, however, is a deliberate variation of the Temple saying in Mark 14:58. It lacks the promise that a new temple will be built and is expanded to include an announcement of the future alteration of the ceremonial law. Roloff (*Apostelgeschichte* NTD, 112–13) surmises that these alterations in the Temple saying represent the interest and bias of the Hellenists. Critique of the Temple and the Temple saying of Jesus have been included, and with them have been combined a criticism and modification of the ceremonial law. That all this is still far from Paul's rejection of the law is perfectly clear to Luke, who renders the anti-Pauline accusations more brusquely (Acts 21:21, 18; 24:5). It can be presumed that the intended effect of this cultural critique was a focus on the true will of God in view of the end-time, similar to Jesus' critique of Temple and culture. The Hellenists, as returned Jews of the Diaspora, hold a more conservative view that separates them from Hellenistic enlightenment theology.

Mention of possession of the spirit in the Stephen narrative cannot be attributed exclusively to martyriological motives (Acts 7:55) but is part of the tradition. This is made plausible by the following considerations: (1) besides Stephen, Philip also belongs to the Seven; he too, the tradition stresses, had pneumatic characteristics (Acts 8:6, 13; 21:8–9); (2) the Temple saying of Jesus (Mark 14:58) omits reference to the building of a new temple. It is likely that among the Hellenists the Church was already spoken of as the new temple.

The mob justice for Stephen (Acts 7:56–57) culminates the persecution of the Hellenistic Christians, who subsequently embark on a mission to the gentiles in Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch (Acts 11:19).

Pauline theology is rooted primarily in the Hellenistic community of Antioch (Gal 1:21; Acts 11:19–20; 13:1). Since no direct sources for its theology are extant, only sketches of its ideas can be inferred from the traditions of Paul's letters (Köster 1982: 2.91–93). It must be remembered, however, that the community continued to produce original theology independent of Paul, and that all traditions and accounts do not point to Antioch. If one subscribes to the early date of 1 Thessalonians (Lüdemann 1980) it is likely that this letter most closely reflects Antiochian theology and the founding sermon in Corinth.

It is with the Hellenists and in the Hellenistic community that we must look for the roots of primitive Christian pneumatology. Early Palestinian Christianity, by contrast, maintained a basic aloofness toward the pneumatology evolving there.

**5. Pneumatology in Pre-Pauline and Non-Pauline Communities.** The primary sources of Antiochian pneumatology are formulas and formulaic statements in Paul's letters.

**a. The Community and the Spirit: Formulaic Traditions.** (1) "God had given us the spirit" (Acts 5:32; 15:8; Rom 5:5; 11:8; 2 Cor 1:22; 5:5; 1 Thess 4:8; 2 Tim 1:7; 1 John 3:24; 4:13). The following features are evidence for formulaic crystallization: (a) the author of the gift of the spirit is always God; (b) the gift is always described in the aorist tense (except 1 Thess 4:8; 1 John 4:13); (c) the gift of *pneuma* is described with minimal grammatical variation, e.g., articles, addition of adjectives, or in combination with appositions; (d) the object is predominantly *hēmin*, "us."

This suggests that a relatively fixed phrase, probably a formula (*ho theos edoken to pneuma hēmin,* "God has given us the spirit"), circulated in the communities. The phrase is older than the Pauline letters since Paul makes use of it secondarily, or rather, interprets it and in each case incorporates it into his own line of argument.

In the LXX, beyond the related statements of 1 Kings 22:23; 2 Kings 19:7; Isa 42:1; Ezek 11:19, particularly Ezek 36:26–27 and 37:5, 14, two passages deserve mention: *pneuma kainon (mou) dosō en hymin,* "I will put (my) new spirit in you (pl.)" (Ezek 36:26–27); *dosō pneuma mou eis hymas,* "I will put my spirit in you" (37:5, 14; both of these are 1st-person prophetic pronouncements of God).

A similar formula expressing assurance that God has given his spirit appears in hymns from Qumran (1QH 12:11–12; 13:18–19; 16:11; 17:17, 26). It is probable that the NT and Essene formulas each make independent use of the OT, since the respective contexts of the formulas differ (Kuhn 1966: 139). What is consistent, however, is that the gift of the spirit, a future gift in Ezekiel, is here a present occurrence which facilitates an eschatological outlook.

(b) "You have received the spirit" (John 20:22; Acts 2:33, 38; 8:15, 17, 19; 10:47; 19:2; Rom 8:15; 1 Cor 2:12; 2 Cor 11:4; Gal 3:2, 14; 1 John 2:27). It is the Pauline evidence which most likely displays the original formula (verb always in the aorist). The formula is used by Paul in his reference to the ongoing dispute with his antagonists.

The succinct, thematic character of both formulas suggests a social setting of proclamation, possibly baptismal catechesis (Paulsen 1974). The use of this formula in the Qumran hymns could suggest its origin within the Palestinian community. It is more probable, however, that it originated in a reflection on Scripture within the Greek-speaking community, because all the NT passages are found in the area of Hellenistic Christianity, and a positive relation between spirit endowment and fulfillment of the law—in contrast to the OT tradition—is missing.

(c) "The spirit of God dwells within you" (1 Cor 3:16; 6:19; Rom 8:9, 11; Eph 2:21; 1 Pet 2:5; *Ep. Barn.* 16:10). The formulaic origin of this sentence is still evident despite its secondary use and its combination with additional motifs. In 1 Cor 3:16; 6:19, for instance, Paul calls to mind a familiar subject of Christian preaching by using the rhetorical question "Do you not know?" The interpretation of this formula must not be based on its treatment in the Pauline context (in connection with the temple motif in 1 Cor 3:16; 6:19; antithesis of spirit/flesh in Rom 8:9). However, since the motifs of indwelling and temple are not consistently linked in Paul, we must insist on an independent origin of the formula.

As Paul's rhetorical question suggests, the social setting of this formula is probably early Christian catechesis and proclamation. The history of the motif points more clearly to the Hellenistic community than does the history of the two former formulas. The concept of the indwelling of God in the believer (Wis 3:14; 2 Macc 14:35; Philo *Somn* I 148–49) as well as that of the indwelling of the spirit (Philo *Heres* 264; Seneca *Ep.* 41:2; Lactantius *Inst. Div.* 6 25:3; *Corpus Hermeticum* 1:6, par. 329) have precedents in the Hellenistic world. This indwelling of the spirit, a first interpretation of the concept of spirit endowment, must be understood in terms of a substance. This is likewise suggested by its secondary connection with the temple motif. The return of the spirit to the eschatological temple anticipated in OT theology has become present reality within the community as the temple of God.

Thus, on the one hand, the temple motif is likely to refer to the OT Jewish expectation of the new eschatological temple (Ezekiel 40–48; Mal 3:1–4). On the other hand, the generally similar use of the motif in Qumran (1QS 8:4–8; 9:3–6; 11:8; CD 3:18–20) raises the question (with Klinzing 1971: 92–93),

whether the decisive impetus for the motif's spiritualization was the separation from the Jerusalem Temple.

(d) 1 Cor 6:11. This Hellenistic Jewish-Christian, pre-Pauline baptismal tradition refers to a primary locus of the conveyance of the spirit (for form-critical classification, see Schnelle 1986b: 39). This tradition does not yet approach the later, mystery-like baptismal theology of the main Pauline letters (Reitzenstein 1977: 261) but does manifest a degree of liturgical crystallization (Plummer *1 Corinthians* ICC, 120) which makes it unsuitable for explaining the primary early Christian concept of baptism. The tradition contrasts the present state of salvation with the past, describing the former effectively as washing, sanctification, and justification. The adverbial construction *en tō̧ onomati tou kyriou Iēsou Christou kai en tō̧alo pneumati,* "in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit" (1 Cor 6:11), describes the means by which transition to the state of salvation is effected. This means is the invocation of the name of the exalted Lord over the baptizand, and the baptizand's dedication. The second adverbial construction, *en tō̧ pneumati,* "in the Spirit," corresponds quite naturally, because originally the naming had an exorcistic function and cleared the way for the baptizand to receive the spirit (Bultmann *Johannes* MeyerK, 142). In that sense 1 Cor 6:11 indirectly also suggests a conveyance of the spirit. Primarily, however, it is the power of the spirit of God to cleanse the baptizand which is emphasized, a function which originally was part of the rite itself.

**b. The Function of the Spirit for the Community.** Since there are no primary sources, and the tradition analysis of the letters is controversial, there can be no far-reaching hypotheses regarding the theology of the pre-Pauline Hellenistic Jewish-Christian community of Antioch. This community consisted of Jewish and gentile Christians who knew themselves called to render service to God in anticipation of the Messiah's imminent return, as the pre-Pauline tradition of 1 Thess 1:9 records. Their service to God also includes mission to the gentiles. Thus Paul, with his roots in Antiochian theology, emphasizes the pneumatic character of his mission in Thessalonica and Corinth (1 Thess 1:5–6; 1 Cor 2:4–5) and identifies his ministry to the gentiles as a sacrifice made holy by the holy spirit. As Luke reports (Acts 11:19–20), the Hellenists in Antioch, banished from Jerusalem, had formerly begun a mission to the Greeks. Historically, this probably refers to previous mission activity in Samaria and the coastal area of Palestine-Phoenicia (cf. the legendary tradition of Philip [Acts 8]). While the Jewish Christians in Palestine, having adopted the synoptic mission tradition, for the time being continue with their mission to Israel specifically (Matt 10:6; 15:24), the Hellenistic Jewish Christians approach the gentiles, in likely continuity with the orientation of their precursor, the Synagogue of the Diaspora (Hahn 1963: 15–18). The gift of the spirit is here perceived as empowerment for this service. The messengers thereby validate their eschatological claim to being empowered for a mission to the gentiles, a mission which, according to OT-Jewish tradition, was reserved for God's own eschatological action (Hahn 1963: 46; Käsemann 1970a: 87).

**c. Christ and the Spirit.** This Hellenistic Jewish-Christian community speaks of the gift of the spirit to the Messiah as well as to the community. Rom 1:3b–4 has long been recognized as a formulaic tradition of Jewish Christianity (Wilckens *Brief an die Römer* EKKNT, 56) which has undergone secondary redaction. With the first words of the sentence the community acknowledges the messianic descent "from the seed of David" (cf. *Pss. Sol.* 17:21; John 7:42; 2 Tim 2:8). However, in keeping with the kerygmatic tradition of resurrection (1 Cor 15:3–5(4), it emphasizes that only his resurrection from the dead is evidence of Jesus' sonship. This presumably is the prototype of the formula "designated Son of God … by his resurrection from the dead" (Rom 1:3b). Redaction-critical analysis of the passage warrants the conclusion that the contrast "according to the flesh"/"according to the Spirit" represents Paul's christological redaction of the older formula. In Hellenistic Jewish discourse, exaltation into the heavenly realm indicates only transformation into and participation in spirit-substance (Vos 1973: 80).

**6. Jewish Christianity of Palestine.** The Lukan portrait of the original Jerusalem community cannot be taken as evidence of the universal spirit-endowment of the early Palestinian community. Historical inquiry leads no further than a theologically shaped tradition. This point is highly controversial in the history of research: Goguel (1954: 113–14), Bultmann (*Johannes* MeyerK, 41), and others see the

evolution of primitive Christian pneumatology as a product of the Hellenistic community. On the other hand, Käsemann (1970a; 1970b), Vielhauer (*NTApocr* 2: 426), and others, on the basis of form- and tradition-historical considerations, regard Palestinian Jewish Christianity as a pneumatically determined entity. It must be remembered, however, that the Jewish-Christian community in Palestine does not share the claim of its Hellenistic sister community of possessing the spirit of God, a claim, morevoer, which the gentile-Christian community broadens into the contention that they are actually living in the spirit (1 Cor 12:13; Gal 5:25).

In the Jerusalem community, according to von Campenhausen (1963: 196–98), even the form of community leadership by the Twelve, or rather by James and his successors, became a hindrance to a spiritual understanding of community. Later sources, moreover, never mention a spirit endowment of James (Lohmeyer 1936: 76, 98). The reference to Agabus (Acts 11:28; 21:10–11) in no way proves a universal spirit endowment of the Jerusalem community. It shows, rather, that as an occasional phenomenon, prophecy had not ceased in Jerusalem (*TDNT* 6:819–28). The following observation is significant: the primary source of anti-Paulinism is the Jewish-Christian community of Jerusalem (Lüdemann 1983). Paul's adversaries accuse him (1 Cor 10:1, 10; 13:1–3) of not being endowed with the spirit. It is unlikely that they raise this charge in comparison with their own behavior; they rather seek to disprove Paul's own claim (1 Cor 7:40) and thereby to undermine his apostolic authority. This specific charge of lacking spirit endowment seems to originate primarily with the Corinthian enthusiasts and to have been seized upon by the Jerusalemites as an additional point of argument (Windisch *Der zweite Korintherbrief* MeyerK, 107; Lüdemann 1983: 125). In his reply Paul himself does not reflect a proven spirit endowment of the anti-Paulinists. Furthermore, in 2 Cor 11:4 he intimates that the preaching of his opponents does not impart the spirit which distinguishes Paul's communities. Paul's boast of ecstatic experiences (2 Cor 12:1) is proof of his own spirit endowment (Lüdemann 1983: 136–37); yet here, too, the only thing clear is the point of the debate: the "visions and revelations" which Paul's Jewish-Christian opponents deny he ever had (cf. 1 Cor 1:22). The point of contention is not the positive reference to these manifestations in Paul's self-characterization. On the contrary, Paul substantiates his apostolate as pneumatic and it is this basic position that the Jerusalem antagonists do not share. Their own authority is established by the letter of commendation and by their origin in Jerusalem (2 Cor 3:1, 10, 12; 11:22) (Käsemann 1969: 490).

In Luke 7:22 (= Matt 11:4–5) and 6:20 (= Matt 5:3; allusions to Isa 61:1), Q speaks implicitly (and in Luke 11:20 [= Matt 18:28] explicitly [pneuma in Matt is secondary]) of a functional spirit endowment of Jesus for his messianic office. In Luke 12:12 (= Matt 10:20) Christians are promised the spirit in the event of a trial. All further references to the spirit in Q are probably a result of retroactive influence of the Mark tradition on Q and thus are presumably located later in time and written in the context of Hellenistic redaction.

In Luke 3:16 *en pneumati hagiō* (cf. Mark 1:8) is inserted into the image of the future baptism by fire. Luke 4:1 par may be prompted by Mark 1:12. The final clause of the prohibition against blaspheming the spirit (Luke 12:10 = Matt 12:32) conforms largely to Mark 3:29. While in Mark the phrase referred to the Beelzebul controversy (Mark 3:30), the Q version introduces a salvation-historical periodization (time of the Son of Man/time of the holy spirit) which sees the present as a time marked by the spirit. The parallels in Mark suggest that the quoted references to "spirit" were secondarily introduced into the Q tradition. Beyond that there is the form-critical aspect of the genres of the "disputation" and the "miracle story" in Luke 11:14–23 = Matt 12:22–30 = Mark 3:22–27, which are typical for Mark but atypical for Q. Therefore, there is no positive, unequivocal statement concerning a universal spirit endowment of the Christians and the Christ in the basic material of Q prior to Hellenistic redaction.

Schulz (1972: 63–64) concurs but proceeds on the assumption that the Q community lives in the knowledge of the being endowed with the spirit of Jesus, not of God (!). This spirit, according to Schulz, intensifies the apocalyptic expectation into prophetic enthusiasm which manifests itself in the use of "but I say to you" in the beatitudes and "woe" in the *ius talionis,* and the amplification of Torah (1972: 57–66). However, inferring a consciousness of participation in the spirit of Jesus from an intensification of

traditional prophetic forms of speech is a dubious undertaking. Tradition-historically, an association with prophecy is questionable (Polag 1877: 26–27). And the attribution of the body of sayings to either Palestinian or Hellenistic communities also has to be reexamined (cf. Berger 1970; Boring 1982). Enthusiasm is based on the present activity and expected imminent return of the Son of Man. While the spirit is experienced as power in special situations (Luke 4:1; 12:12), the Q community does not anticipate fire- and spirit-baptism until the Son of Man returns as judge (Matt 3:11 = Luke 3:16). The prophetic post-Easter enthusiasm described by Käsemann and Schulz does not have its basis in pneumatology as in the Hellenistic communities (Corinth), but is the result of proclamation and of the anticipation of the return of the Son of Man as judge.

Palestinian Jewish Christianity seems to have maintained a distance from a distinctly pneumatic Christianity. Thus, Matt 7:22–23 relegates prophets and miracle workers to the periphery and inveighs against a lack of work righteousness (cf. Strecker 1985: 171–75). Mark 9:38–40 knows of exorcisms in the name of Jesus which do not take place in accordance with following Jesus, that is to say here with following the apostles (Bultmann 1979: 23). In 2 Corinthians, Galatians, and Philippians, Paul must defend his pneumatic gospel against the nomism of Jewish Christians which appears unconscious of spirit endowment. On the contrary, the Judaizing Christians seek to establish a position of authority over the universal community which undermines its charismatic character.

The sources for post-NT Jewish Christianity likewise lack positive evidence concerning the relative significance of the spirit within the community (cf. Strecker 1981: 203–4; Lohmeyer 1936: 76; von Campenhausen 1963: 196–98). The reasons for this situation are probably basic. Christological differences between Palestinian and Hellenistic Christianity could have led to differences in the understanding of spirit. Whereas Hellenistic Christianity was open to perceiving paranormal phenomena as spirit-caused (Volz 1910: 198), Palestinian Christianity was more reluctant to see enthusiastic states as manifestations of the spirit (Schlatter 1927: 27). These differences soon coalesce with other disagreements (mission to the gentiles, question of circumcision, doctrine of justification).

**7. Spirit in Paul. a. 1 Thessalonians.** This letter assumes a special place as a document of early Pauline theology (Schade 1984: 115–16) and must be seen as removed in time from the later Pauline letters.

Beyond the anthropological use of *pneuma* (5:23), there are the following three aspects which characterize early Pauline theology:

(1) The gentile-Christian community of Thessalonica belongs among the *eklogē,* "chosen," as brethren "beloved by God" (1:4) (customarily, *eklogē* refers to Israel: Rom 9:10; 11:5, 7, 28; however, see 1 Cor 1:27–28). Historically, their calling is based on the proclamation of the gospel which, through the mediation of the word, revealed the power of God, the holy spirit, and confident hope (concerning the contrast logos/dynamis, see 1 Cor 2:2, 4; 4:13). The *eklogē* of the community, wrought by the spirit, in turn leads to imitation of the apostle and of the Lord, and to joy wrought by the spirit. The condition of the gentile-Christian community is the work of the manifest spirit of God (in principle, later, Rom 15:16–20).

(2) The ethical precept, the will of God, is described as "sanctification," as such behavior is manifested in the renunciation of immorality and dishonesty (4:3–6). Because of their calling, the members do not continue in the previous condition of "uncleanness" but enter into "sanctification" (4:7). Human and divine aspects of sanctification are not sharply distinguished (4:3–6 stresses the aspect of demand, 5:23 that of gift). Both aspects are pneumatologically linked in 4:8. God continuously pours his spirit into the faithful (reminiscent of Ezek 36:27; 37:14). The gift of the holy spirit is related to the goal of sanctification.

(3) 1 Thess 5:19–22 forms a sayings unit separable from its surrounding context. Structurally, two prohibitions (vv 19–20) and two commandments (vv 21b–22) frame an admonition to "nevertheless weigh everything" (*RAC* 11: 130–32). The statement of Paul reads: prophets are to be highly esteemed if they occur within the community as a work of the spirit. The admonition to weigh everything is not to be limited to the problems inherent in prophecy. As a form of rhetorical conclusion, it urges the rejection of everything evil (*RAC* 11: 131) and leaves this task to the judgment of the whole community rather than

individual members (1 Cor 12:10). Paul commends prophecy as the essential gift of the spirit knowing that in the Hellenistic community it was held in low esteem when compared with glossolalia (cf. 1 Cor 14; on the topic see *RAC* 11: 131).

The pneumatology of 1 Thessalonians can be distinguished from the pneumatology of the later Pauline letters. The characteristic contrasts in these later writings (*pneuma/sarx,* "spirit/flesh," *pneuma/gramma,* "spirit/letter," *pneuma/nomos,* "spirit/law") are not yet present. The spirit as "spirit of God" is still separate from the later christological qualification (1 Cor 15:45; 2 Cor 3:17; Rom 8:9). Spirit endowment via baptism is not mentioned (the imperfective aspect of the verb *didonta* "gives" [1 Thess 4:8], furthermore, would contradict the notion of a single event of impartation). It is true, however, that in this earliest letter of Paul there is an association of spirit and mission (1:5–6), ethics (4:8) and prophecy (5:19–20). The concept of spirit in 1 Thessalonians shows strong OT and Jewish influence (imitation of Ezek in 4:8).

Romans 8 is a precis of Pauline pneumatology. The statements of this chapter are the product of a twofold dispute with an enthusiastic interpretation of spirit endowment as something sacramentally conferred which lifts believers out of the secular realm and promises them participation in the heavenly glory (1 Cor) and with a Jewish-Christian nomistic reaction to the Pauline mission, which includes the relation of spirit to letter and law (2 Corinthians; Galatians; Philippians).

**b. Dispute with Pneumatic Enthusiasm.** The textual basis is primarily 1 Corinthians; 2 Corinthians reflects influence of Jewish-Christian agitation against Paul within the Corinthian community and refers to a different situation. 1 Thessalonians interpreted spirit endowment functionally as the power of proclamation and sanctification for the time prior to the Parousia. In the environment of the Corinthian community a view emerged which saw "spirit" as a salutary substance which is conveyed to the believer, or rather into which the believer is transplanted. This is where the self-characterization *pneumatikos* appears (1 Cor 2:13; 3:1; 12:1; 14:37), where believers are conscious of having the spirit of God (7:40). If 15:46 reflects a view held by the community, it highlights a consciousness of living in the spirit rather than in the flesh (see Sellin 1986: 175–81). Slogans which evidence this eschatological consciousness of participation in the spirit are conspicuous: "all things are lawful" (6:12; 10:23); "all of us possess knowledge" (8:1); "there is no resurrection of the dead" (15:12). The intellectual slogans are congruent with a communal practice which turns out to be enthusiastic pneumatism: devaluation of bodily existence (6:12–20), libertinistic or ascetic marriage ethics (7:1–40), an individualistic conception of liberty (10:23; 11:1) and emphasis on an individual's gifts as manifestations of spirit endowment (14:1–40). Paul's evaluations ironically confirm the self-definition of the community: "Already you are filled! Already you have become rich!" (4:8); they are puffed up, Paul accuses (4:6, 18–19; 5:2; 8:1). Superimposed on this condition is a factious spirit (1:10–17; 3:3) which threatens the unity of the community. The factions are probably based on a high esteem of the baptizers Apollos and Cephas (1:12). Paul gives thanks, on the other hand, that his own practice, hardly one of baptizing, could not lead to schism (1:14–17). The contrast between his preaching and that of his opponents is stated in terms of *logos tou staurou* versus *en sophia logou* (1:18–2:16).

The material concept of *pneuma* is evident in an essentially pre-Pauline baptismal tradition, 1 Cor 12:13: baptism incorporates the baptizand into the body of Christ and nourishes him with the spirit. Baptism works a substantive transformation through transferral into the sphere of the *Kyrios,* "Lord" (pre-Pauline baptismal tradition may be inferred from Rom 6:4 and Col 2:12). A further pre-Pauline baptismal tradition in 1:30 locates the existence of the community within the sphere of the *Kyrios.* Salvation consists in the sacramental incorporation into the pneumatic *Kyrios* and does not require a bodily resurrection yet to come (15:12).

In order to explain this Corinthian pneumatology, researchers have proposed primarily external influences and have pointed to the influence of mystery religions (Reitzenstein 1977), gnosis (Schmithals 1969), Hellenistic materialistic thinking (*TDNT* 6:415–16) and Greek orgiastic practices (Leisegang 1922: 120). The reference to Apollos who, as an Alexandrian (Acts 18: 24–25) had combined Christian theology and Alexandrian philosophy—a precursor of later gnostic practice—suggests an intermediate position

between external and local influences (Sellin 1986). It must be granted immediately, however, that our knowledge of Apollos is minimal (Acts 18:24; 19:1; 1 Cor 1:12; 3:4–22; 4:6; 16:12) and that his dependence on Alexandrian philosophy is mere speculation. Accordingly, introduction of this philosophy into Corinth can hardly be demonstrated.

Rather than explaining pneumatic enthusiasm in Corinth through external influences, Vielhauer (1978: 139), adopting Lütgert's position (1908), correctly views this pneumatism as primarily an internal development in the theology of the community and only secondarily as external influence. This raises the question of Paul's own role in this development (likewise PWSup 14: 399; *TRE* 12: 191; Lüdemann 1983: 125). Here the baptismal rite is interpreted for the first time as an efficacious event which imparts justification, sanctification, and salvation and, beyond 1 Cor 6:11 (baptismal tradition), places the baptizand *en Christō,* "in Christ" (1:30). This is of fundamental significance for understanding the pneumatology of the Corinthian community. Since 1 Thessalonians shows no trace of this baptismal theology, its origin at Corinth is probable (Holtzmann 1911: 451; Bultmann *Johannes* MeyerK, 42; Käsemann 1970a: 121–25; Becker 1976: 61–65; comprehensively, Schnelle 1986b: 34–53). This may have been the social setting of the parting formula of Rom 8:9c. This baptismal theology may also be understood as a solution to the problem of the death of members of the community. While 1 Thessalonians 4, in anticipation of the impending second coming (4:17), emphasizes the future aspect of being "with the Lord" for both the living and the dead, this baptismal theology by contrast includes both the living and the dead of the present in the body of the Lord and can therefore assert that there is no resurrection of the dead (1 Cor 15:12). The effects of this new existence are knowledge (1 Cor 8:1), participation in the reign of God (4:8), suspension of former customs (11:1–16), and speaking in the heavenly language (14:1–40).

This sacramentally mediated incorporation into the Christ who was himself exalted into the sphere of the spirit is the determinant factor in explaining pneumatism. It does not derive directly from Paul, who baptized only in exceptional cases, as 1 Cor 1:13–17 attests, and who explicates his baptismal theology only through retrospective reference to Corinth (Romans 6). Other Pauline concepts, however, have been incorporated. The indwelling of the spirit was one of the subjects of his founding sermon (1 Cor 3:16; 6:19). Most importantly, Paul does not dispute a spirit endowment of the community. In principle he commends their spiritual riches (1:49) and admonishes them to continue striving for the gifts of the spirit (12:31; 14:1, 12). In Romans 6, the baptismal theology itself is the starting point for Paul's exposition.

Pre-Christian enthusiasm (1 Cor 12:2) and the Hellenistic concept of *pneuma* as substance may certainly be considered secondarily as external factors. The application of the idea "as Christ, so the Christians" to the baptismal rite (Rom 6:3–4; Col 2:12), finally, points to the influence of the mystery religions.

**c. Pauline Dispute with Pneumatic Enthusiasm.** Pauline criticism is aimed primarily at refuting an enthusiasm of transcendence. In opposition to the latter, 1 Corinthians 15 develops a theology of the resurrection of the dead by analogy to God's raising of Jesus (6:14; 15:20–22); but it is a future hope yet to be realized. The Corinthian position is simply reversed in 15:46: "it is not the spiritual which is first but the physical." This future cannot be experienced in this world but only *ex ouranou,* "from heaven" (v 47). The gift of a "spiritual body" is a transference into the future of the "last Adam" (1 Cor 15:45), who is raised into the heavenly sphere and made a spiritual body. By thus maintaining an apocalyptic-eschatological perspective, Paul dealt a vital blow to transcendence enthusiasm. And further statements now have to take on the soteriology of the ontological baptismal statements, the anthropology of the satisfied, the libertines' ethic, and the ecclesiology of the individualists. In principle, Paul affirms the baptismal theology: baptism is the occasion of the bestowal of the spirit and of the incorporation into the salvific sphere *en Christō,* "in Christ." Yet the eschatological reservation does not invalidate the ethical demand. It is especially in the realm of physical existence that the spiritual life manifests itself. Thus, in 6:19 Paul inserts *soma,* "body," into the traditional statement and designates it as the place of the temple, even though the believers are already "members of Christ" (6:15). Into the pre-Pauline baptismal formula Paul inserts the purpose clause "so that … we too might walk in newness of life" (Rom 6:4), which recurs in slightly altered wording: "walk … according to the Spirit" (Rom 8:4; cf. Gal 5:25). In opposing

enthusiasm, Rom 8:11 includes mortal bodies in the hope of the resurrection. In contrast to the ontological claims of the baptismal theology, this also indicates that the believer is at the same time both old and new human being. The claim of *gnosis* by the "spiritual" is likewise deflated (2:10–16; cf. Wilckens *Römer* EKKNT). Despite the gift of *pneuma*, a person can still turn out to be *psychikos,* "unspiritual, worldly," or *sarkikos,* "carnal." In early Pauline theology the relationship between Christ and the spirit had remained unclear. Here, however, Paul defines the ascended Christ himself as *pneuma zōopoioun,* "a life giving spirit" (1 Cor 15:45).

Even though the Corinthian enthusiasm of transcendence proved to be divisive for the community (1:10; 3:1–5; 8:12; 10:24; 11:18), Paul validates the spirit manifestations of the community as genuine gifts; but they are differing apportionments of the spirit and subject to critical evaluation (12:10) and to the supreme test of that love whose constant intention is the edification of the body, the Church (3:9; 14:3, 4, 12, 26). With the Church seen as one body with many members (12:12), baptism leads to the service of the one body, rather than to freedom from constraints (pre-Pauline in Gal 3:26–28; 1 Cor 12:13). It is not individual pneumatics who represent the community: rather, the community as a whole has received the spirit in baptism and is part of, and subordinate to, the body of Christ (10:17; 12:27). Finally, the concept of edification becomes the critical norm, and self-aggrandizing gifts such as the glossolalia, prized in Corinth, where uninterpreted are to be subordinated to prophecy (14:4, 39).

**d. Dispute with Jewish-Christian Nomism.** *2 Corinthians.* It is likely that Paul's opponents in 2 Corinthians were of Jewish-Christian origin (2 Cor 11:22–23; 11:5; and 12:11; Lüdemann 1983: 125–43), even though it seems they did not demand circumcision and Torah obedience. In the biographical statement of 12:1–10, Paul answers his opponents' chief accusation (10:1, 10; 13:3) that he did not demonstrate himself to be the spirit-endowed person he claimed to be. He disdains the immediate use of letters of commendation (3:1; 5:12; 10:12) in favor of vindicating the pneumatic character of his apostolate (2 Cor 3). Of even greater importance is the passage in which he describes his apostolic office (2:13–7:4). The personal statement in 2:16b–3:6 refers to Paul's sincerity (2:16b–17), to the existence of the community as a letter of commendation (3:1–3), and to his divinely endowed qualification for ministry (3:4–6). Verse 3c extends the metaphor of the letter of recommendation by an allusion to the historical antithesis "old covenant/new covenant" (referring to Jer 31:33) which v 6 employs to intensify the contrast of "letter" with "spirit."

The verses which follow, 7–18, have long been recognized as a "Christian midrash" on Ezek 34:29–35 (Windisch *Der zweite Korintherbrief* MeyerK, 112). In contrast to Schulz (1958), our task here is not to discover, through literary criticism, a prototype which might shed light on the theology of the opponents (for a critique, see Luz 1968: 130). The contrast of "letter" and "spirit" (also Rom 2:27–29; 7:5), appearing here for the first time in Pauline writings, denotes both two contrasting powers and two opposing sides. The consequence of "the letter" is death (v 6), but the consequence of "the spirit" is life (v 6; cf. vv 7, 9). The ministry of the apostle constitutes a fulfillment of the promise of Exod 34:34: his ministry is directly from God and lacks the separating "veil" (v 16). This is the way the apostle is different from Moses (v 13), and the Christian community from Israel (v 18); Israel is "veiled" in its reading of the OT (v 14). The removal of the veil through Christ (v 14) makes it possible to enter the sphere of *pneuma* and exit the deadly sphere of *gramma.* Acceptance of this "Lord" (v 16 harks back to v 14, Christ) places the believer in immediate eschatological relation to God, the sphere of the life-creating *pneuma*.

*Galatians.* The gentile-Christian community which Paul founded in Galatia exists in the spirit. Six times within his *probatio* 3:1–4:31 (Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 16–23), and always at critical points, Paul reminds the community of this new existence. In 3:1–5 he refers to their reception of the spirit as a result of their obedience in faith (3:2–3) and to God who, since the time of that spirit endowment, continuously grants the spirit and works miracles (3:5). Gal 3:14 summarizes the arguments of the first part of the Abraham example with a Christian interpretation: the promise of blessing given to Abraham is made universally inclusive (3:14a) and its content is the gift of the spirit. The explication of sonship (4:1–5) is framed by two traditional passages which corroborate the pneumatic existence of the community: the baptismal tradition in Gal 3:26–28 (compare with 1 Cor 12:13) and the "Abba" saying in 4:6, which

brackets present sonship, past bestowal of the spirit, and present effect (for the passage's traditional character see Luz 1968: 282). Both 3:14 and 4:6–7 demonstrate the fulfillment of the promise within the gentile-Christian Church through the gift of the spirit. In a similar way 4:29 contrasts birth "according to the flesh" with birth "according to the Spirit" in order to Christianize the present gentile-Christian community as a pneumatic entity.

After the apostle's departure, anti-Paulinists who insisted on observance of the Jewish law (4:21; 5:4), circumcision (5:2; 6:12–13), and observance of the Jewish religious calendar (4:10) infiltrated the community. (On the nature of Paul's opponents in 2 Corinthians, see CORINTHIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE.) In dealing with these opponents, Paul formulates his doctrine of law and justification for the first time within a context of polemic (Strecker 1976: 257). The transferral of the community from the realm of the law to a condition of the liberty of the children of God has effected its participation in the spirit of God (3:14; 4:6). Thus, the actualization of faith can take place only in the sphere of this liberty and this spirit. A reintroduction of legal rules would betray this condition and would be tantamount to a return to slavery (4:9; 5:18). Refusal of a complementary relationship between law and spirit does not lead to unbridled libertinism. The boundaries of freedom are determined by the contrast between the spheres of "flesh" and "spirit" (5:16–25) which are temporally irreconcilable (5:17) since "law" itself leads back to the sphere of "flesh" (compare 5:17 and Rom 7:7–11, 15, 23). The tables of vices and virtues set out respectively the "works of the flesh" (5:19) and "fruits of the spirit" (5:22).

Betz (1974: 92) took the "naive trust in the spirit" as a basis for locating Galatians at the beginning of the apostle's work, certainly before the apostle's Corinthian experience (in agreement, Hübner 1982: 57; Köster 1982: 2.53; at variance, Lüdemann 1980: 273). In all phases of his work, however, Paul reiterates the fundamental exhortation to strive for the spirit (1 Thess 5:19; 1 Cor 14:1, 39; Gal 5:16–25; Rom 12:11). Moreover, it is especially the spirit references in Galatians 5 which most closely parallel Romans 8 (Paulsen 1974: 67), even though other differences clearly demonstrate a more considered approach for Romans.

*Philippians.* In the fragment of a letter to the Philippians which starts at 3:1b, Paul contends for the last time with opponents of a Judaizing Christian origin. The term *kakous ergatēs,* "evil-workers" (3:2), relates them to those agitators named in 2 Cor 11:13, but clearly makes the question of circumcision (3:2–4) central (Gnilka *Philipperbrief* HTKNT, 211–18).

The pointed reply of Paul (3:2) deprives the opponents of the distinction of as well as the demand for circumcision, and, interpreting it figuratively in a play on words, transforms it into a mark of the Christians ("we are the true circumcision" 3:3). The metaphorical extension of circumcision as an ethical symbol (Deut 10:16; Jer 4:4; 9:25; 1QS V 5:25) means that insistence on circumcision fails to appreciate the eschatological position of the community. Outward circumcision is set aside (Rom 2:28): circumcision of the heart is wrought by the spirit "inwardly" (Rom 2:29; Col 2:11). The opponents' demand that believers be circumcised would insist on linking the old and new condition of the community and merely revalidate "confidence in the flesh" (3:3). To counter this, Paul exhorts the community to reorient their thinking (Phil 3:15) toward their newly given Christian status.

*Romans.* Paul's doctrine of the spirit is most fully expounded in Romans. The body of primitive Christian formulas which surfaced in the dispute with enthusiasts and Pauline opponents has been incorporated in Romans as well. In the style of a dialogue (6:3; 7:1) addressing both Jewish and Christian interlocutors, the letter probes the relationship between law and spirit. In Romans, Paul values *nomos,* "law," more highly than he did even in Galatians (Hübner 1982).

Rom 7:1–6 describes the "change of regime" from "law," which brings enslavement to sin and flesh, to the service "in the new life of the Spirit" (7:5–6) which took place in baptism.

7:7–25 describes previous pre-Christian existence (7:5); 8:1–17, the new spiritual condition (7:6). 8:1–4 here explains for the Christian the meaning of the law which no longer enslaves to sin. In 8:5–8 Paul contrasts an orientation according to the flesh and an orientation according to the spirit. In 8:9–11, 12, and 13–17 he describes consequences of the new life in the spirit. Paul uses the opposition then-now to describe the present condition of the Christian as being dead to the law (7:4) and liberated from the law

(7:6), in analogy to the images in 7:1–3. This basic notion is further developed in 7:7–8:17. Exegetes argue, however, whether *nomos,* "law," according to Paul, is completely abolished as a norm for the Christian (Käsemann *An die Römer* HNT, 181) or whether it is the power of the spirit which is supposed to facilitate the fulfillment of the *nomos* (Wilckens *Römer* EKKNT, 119).

While the image in vv 1–3 and the arguments in vv 7–11 are concerned with the individual command, in 7:6, Paul explains the liberation from *nomos* specifically as liberation from *gramma* "[the] letter." It is not the law, therefore, which is on the side of death, but sin which inhabits the human being as a power (7:23) and which has reference to the law (7:8, 11, 13). If, therefore, the human being is identified with *sarx,* "flesh," then the law is holy and the commandments are just and good (7:12); indeed, the law is "spiritual" (7:14) in contrast to the human carnality.

With Christ, redemption from the snare of law, sin, and flesh (7:23–25a) is accomplished. Consequently, the accusatory role of law is canceled. Liberation from the "law of sin and death" was brought about, as Rom 8:2 explains, by the "law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus." Many exegetes read this "law" in the figurative sense, as norm (Bultmann *Johannes* MeyerK, 260; Käsemann *An die Römer* HNT, 205; Paulsen 1974: 64; Räisänen 1979–80). Yet the figurative use of *nomos* is almost nonexistent in Greek literature and at best has parallels only within Pauline writings (Rom 3:27; 7:23; Gal 6:2). On the other hand, vv 2b–4 clearly speak of *nomos* as Torah, an unambiguous figure. The broader context should also be considered. According to Rom 7:2–4, until Christ the law was weak because of the flesh. Since *sarx,* "flesh," was judged in Christ, and Christ's mission consisted in freeing *nomos* from *sarx,* the demands of the law can now be fulfilled in the realm of life in the spirit.

Nevertheless, this does not reinstate the *nomos* as absolutely valid. The ethical statements in Paul's letters demonstrate that he concurs with the Hellenistic Jewish tradition in systematically applying the love commandment to the law (Gal 5:14; Rom 13:8–10), and that he is able to embrace the pagan ethic when it comes to portraying the content of the will of God (Strecker 1978).

In contrast to *sarx,* which works death (7:13; 8:6), *pneuma* effects "life and peace" (8:6). While in 8:5–8 "then and now" are contrasted once more, the following section (8:9–11) provides an ontological description of the state of salvation. Here Paul builds his argument exclusively with traditional formulations. The effect is that the statements here are not quite consistent, although their goal is: those who believe are in the sphere of the spirit; the spirit, Christ himself, dwells in the believer. Rom 8:10 may approximate early Pauline statements (1 Cor 5:5) which dualistically separate flesh and spirit. But v 11 adjusts this statement to reflect a more holistic theology of resurrection.

In congruence with the antienthusiastic arguments in 1 Cor 3:16 and 6:16, Paul concludes that the state of salvation "in the Spirit" is demonstrated in the sphere of the body, which indeed shall be accorded the high honor of resurrection. Flesh continues to exist as a contrary power. However, it can no longer misuse the letter of the law, from which the Christian has been liberated (Rom 7:6). At the same time, the Christian can combat it since it is no longer flesh which lives within him (Rom 7:17, 20), but Christ and the spirit. To return to "life according to the flesh" would be a manifestation of having left the sphere of Christ's rule, and its consequence would be future death (Rom 8:10).

**e. Aspects of Pauline Pneumatology.** The primitive Christian starting point is critical: the latter-day outpouring of the spirit which was anticipated in OT and Jewish theology has been realized in Christ and his community. Although Paul as a Jew shared this anticipation in a specific form, only traces of the pneumatology of a pre-Christian Paul can be inferred. It is also unlikely that at the inception of his mission Paul would have had at his disposal a fully formed pneumatology (according to Schnelle 1986a: 219; 1986b: 112). Paul's theology of the spirit rather expands from the primitive Christian doctrine of the eschatological gift of the spirit into his distinctive teaching. The development can be traced in the three phases discussed above: his early theology, represented in 1 Thessalonians; his dispute with pneumatic enthusiasm; his dispute with Jewish-Christian nomism.

The conclusions which Paul drew from the fundamental conviction that an endowment of the spirit had taken place remain unchanged in all three phases:

(1) Proclamation of the gospel is wrought by the spirit and (a) it is addressed to the gentiles (1 Thess 1:4–5; Gal 3:14; Rom 15:16); (b) it is accompanied by powerful phenomena (1 Thess 1:5; Gal 3:5; Rom 15:18–19); (c) it thus inspires faith (1 Thess 1:6–7; 1 Cor 2:9; Gal 5:22); alternatively, faith receives the spirit (Gal 3:2, 5, 14; 5:5).

(2) In all three phases of Pauline pneumatology the gift of *pneuma* is parallelled by a pledge "to walk according to the spirit." It is inaccurate to claim, however, that Paul was the first to propose a direct link between spirit and ethic (Gunkel 1909: 71). Even OT and Jewish thinking saw latter-day spirit endowment as also directed toward latter-day behavior (Bousset 1901: 760–61; Ezek 36:26–27; Ps 51:12–13). Hellenistic Judaism also emphasized the ethical significance of the spirit (Wis 1:5; 7:20; Philo *Leg All* I 34–35; *T. Benj.* 8:2). Finally, the pre-Pauline tradition of 1 Cor 6:11 already links liberation from a sinful past to orientation toward a new life. In 1 Thess 4:8 the gift of *pneuma* is related to the obligation of holiness. Physical existence is the locus of the spirit (1 Cor 3:16; 6:19) and leaves no room for immorality. Gal 5:16–25 and Rom 8:1–17 define the Christian life as walking in (or according to) the spirit.

(3) In all phases Paul stresses the gift of prophecy as a special gift of the spirit (1 Thess 5:19–20; 2 Cor 12:10; 13:2, 8; 14:3, 6, 21, 31; Rom 12:6). 1 Cor 12:28–29 and 14:37 suggest that the prophets of the community are resident rather than itinerant prophets. Their function as described in 1 Cor 14:3 is to speak to the community "for their upbuilding and encouragement and consolation," so that "all may learn and all be encouraged" (14:31). Prophecy is distinguished technically from glossolalia through its orderly procedure (4:29–33) and intelligible speech (4:19–20). Prophecy takes place in proportion to faith (Rom 12:6).

The dispute with pneumatic enthusiasm leads to clarification of the relationship between pneumatology and Christology, eschatology, anthropology, and ecclesiology.

The denial of physical resurrection resulted from an overvaluation of participation in *zoē,* "life," via possession of the spirit, and from an undervaluation of the difference between *soma psychikon,* "physical body," and *soma pneumatikon,* "spiritual body." The enthusiasts saw transformation in mystical terms as incorporation into the exalted body of Christ. Paul concurs that *zoopoioun,* "being made alive," does take place in the sphere of the Christ but maintains that it does so in the future resurrection. Accordingly, being in Christ is conceived historically. It has its beginning in baptism in Christ and is consummated in the resurrection with Christ. The polemic emphasis in 1 Cor 2:16 and the traditional departure formula of Rom 8:9c suggest that the correlation of Christ and the spirit first occurred in the context of pneumatic enthusiasm. Through an historical differentiation Paul distinguishes his interpretation from an identification of Christ and spirit. Further correlations of Christ and spirit in later letters (2 Cor 3:17; Gal 4:6; Phil 1:19) are not pivotal and are contingent in part on the larger context. This opposes Bousset's famous postulate (1926: 112) that 2 Cor 3:17 is the heart of Pauline christology.

(b) Since the gift of the spirit—existence *en pneumati*—does not implicitly include the *eschaton,* the "firstfruits of the Spirit" (Rom 8:23) and the "seal of the spirit" constitute a reservation (2 Cor 1:22; 5:5). The spirit is a down payment and sure indication of the redemption to come (2 Cor 5:5; Rom 8:23) and is thus intended as gift for the time betwen baptism and redemption.

(c) In anthropological terms this means that the gift of the spirit achieves its object not merely in a transformation of consciousness, but through action in the present and in universal liberation in the future (Rom 8:21–23). Since human life is always determined by an indwelling power (Rom 6:12; 7:1, 17, 20; 1 Cor 3:16; 2 Cor 6:16), this power is manifested in the sphere of *soma* (Rom 6:13; 7:23–24; 1 Cor 6:17).

(d) Finally, the dispute with the enthusiasts yields some ecclesiological conclusions. The community is not composed solely of individual pneumatics (1 Cor 3:1; 14:37); spirit is related to body (1 Cor 6:13–17; 12:12–13), which takes its form as the body of Christ within the entire community (1 Cor 12:14, 27). In this way it is possible to appreciate the diverse gifts as charisms of the one spirit (1 Cor 12:7–11; Rom 12:6–8) insofar as they do not conflict with the norm of edification (1 Cor 14:5, 12). In order to counter enthusiasm by introducing the term *charismata,* "gifts," to replace *pneumatika,* "spiritual gifts (marg.

persons)," a term which was probably more current in Corinth (12:1; 14:1), Paul also creates a conceptual distance between the cause and effect of the spirit.

The dispute with Jewish-Christian nomism deepened the insights previously gained. The results of that dispute are basically unrelated to pneumatology. As a consequence of the dispute that the doctrine of justification could be formulated on the basis of the pneumatic doctrine of redemption (Strecker 1976), a sharply defined concept of law in the context of anthropology was developed (Hübner 1982). The combination of indicative and imperative in formulaic statements (Gal 5:16, 25; Rom 8:4, 14) was employed by Paul as a vehicle for ethical argument.

Rom 8:26–27 ascribes to the spirit the function of intercessor which otherwise had been reserved for the Son (Heb 7:25; 1 John 2:1).

Beginning with the Corinthian correspondence, the view that life in its entirety is determined by Christ and the spirit is expressed in antitheses: "spirit"/"flesh" (Gal 3:2–5; 6:8; 4:29; 5:17; Rom 1:4; 8:4–5, 9, 13; Phil 3:3; cf. also 1 Cor 3:1); "spirit"/"letter" (2 Cor 3:6; Rom 2:19; 7:6); "freedom"/"slavery" (Rom 6:18; 8:21; Gal 5:1); "grace"/"law" (Gal 5:4; Rom 6:14).

**8. The Deutero-Pauline Letters.** In Colossians, christology assumes a more prominent place in comparison with statements relating to the spirit (Schweizer 1982). Ephesians, however, though dependent on Colossians, places great weight on matters of the spirit but subordinates its testimony to a characteristic ecclesiological perspective (Schnackenburg 1973). When Col 2:18 is seen as the kerygmatic heart of the letter (Mussner *Brief an die Epheser* ÖTK, 88) then gentile and Jewish Christians are viewed as having access to the Father (note here the already triadic form!) through one spirit (probably christological rather than anthropological; *TDNT* 6:443). The influence of the pre-Pauline and Pauline traditions is still seen in the emphasis on one spirit (Eph 4:4–5), the inclusion of the temple motif (2:22), and the model of "then/now" (3:5). Even though Ephesians specifically emphasizes the present nature of salvation specifically with the help of pneumatology (Mussner *Brief an die Epheser* ÖTK, 27), the ethic of the letter nevertheless manifests a notion of spiritual growth (1:17; 3:16; 4:23; 5:18). The spirit, accordingly, is both a past gift in baptism (1:13; 4:3c) and a present reality capable of decrease (4:30) or increase (5:18) in quantity. Ephesians does not relate spirit to the idea of ecstasy.

**9. Hebrews.** Most of the references to *pneuma* in Hebrews are dependent on Jewish or Christian tradition. The terminology is uneven. In 1:14, *pneumata*, "spirits," refers to angels; in 12:23, to the deceased. The name for God, "Father of spirits" (12:9), is formulaic and has an OT-Jewish history (Michel *Brief an die Hebräer* MeyerK, 442–43). In 3:7, 9:8, and 10:15 the holy spirit is considered the author of scriptural passages. Hebrews 2:4 names signs and miracles, powers and endowments as gifts proceeding from God. The formulaic character of the phrase argues against its being a direct reference to pneumatic experiences. Participation in the spirit is mediated through the sacraments (6:4–6). Apostasy precludes the possibility of second repentance. The contrast of sacrifice under the old covenant and sacrifice in the person of the mediator Jesus Christ illustrates the surpassing worth of the latter through the implicit antithesis between the sphere of flesh (v 13) and the sphere of *pneuma aionion* (v 14).

**10. 1 Peter.** For 1 Peter, spirit is primarily the power which inspires proclamation. The proclamation of the OT prophets was already determined by the "Spirit of Christ" (1:11)—a unique statement within the NT. Present proclamation of the gospel takes place through the power of the holy spirit (1:12), whose heavenly origin calls to mind Acts 2:2 (the Pentecost account). Christ himself, as the Risen One who is translated into the sphere of the spirit, preaches to the spirits. This is most likely a reference to the generation of the flood rather than to demons in general (Goppelt *Erste Petrusbrief* MeyerK, 246–54). 4:14, finally, is determined by the context of proclamation. The blessing praises particularly those who are reviled for their witness to Christ and promises them the succor of the God and the spirit of glory (cf. Mark 13:11). At the same time, 4:14 clearly indicates that "spirit" no longer connotes something which is given once for all and determines the life of the community as a whole, but identifies an extraordinary power which gives succor to the individual believer. By contrast, the statement of the prescript (1:1–2) which credits sanctification to the work of the spirit in the traditional manner of baptismal terminology remains isolated.

**11. Apocalypse of John.** In regard to the various uses of *pneuma,* four are particularly striking:

1. 1:4; 3:1; 4:5 and 5:6 mention the "seven spirits of God." They may be compared with the seven archangels and represent here the spirit of God in its all-encompassing form (Schweizer 1951–52).
2. The plural *pneumata* denotes demons (16:13–14; 18:2).
3. The spirit is the power of ecstasy (1:10; 4:2; 17:3; 21:10).
4. The formulaic warning (2:7, 11, 17, 29; 3:6, 13, 22) in the letters to the churches (cf. Müller *Offenbarung des Johannes* ÖTK, 93–94) has Christ himself speaking through the prophet in the spirit.

In Rev 19:10, the addendum concerning the "spirit of prophecy" may be taken as a marginal note (Müller *Offenbarung,* 310). The parallelism between bride and spirit in 22:17 places both on the side of the temporal church which invokes Christ (Müller, 371).

**12. Johannine Writings.** John takes over certain primitive Christian formulaic phrases of spirit transmission (John 3:24; 4:13) and shares the primitive Christian traditional notion that the gift of the spirit cannot be bestowed until after the glorification of Jesus (John 7:39; 20:22). The spirit and the two sacraments shepherd the Church (7:39; 19:34–35; 1 John 5:7–8; cf. Porsch 1974: 53–81) and remain with it (John 14:17); this is told the Church for its comfort (1 John 2:27; 3:9; cf. also Schnackenburg *Johannesevangelium* HTK, 41). The spirit manifests itself, however, not in ecstatic or charismatic phenomena, but in the area of the proclamation of the word, specifically in remembrance (14:26), doctrine (14:26), imitation (16:13), and prediction (16:13). *pneuma* is the power which leads to the knowledge of Jesus Christ. Beyond this functional definition, the harsh antithesis of spirit/flesh in John 3:3–6 and 6:63 is conspicuous. 3:3–6 establishes a parallel between being born from above/anew (3:3), of water (3:5), of the spirit (3:5–6), and of the flesh (3:5). While this indicates a division between higher and lower spheres, baptism transfers (a person) into the sphere and substance of the spirit (3:6). Becker (*Evangelium nach Johannes* ÖTK, 1: 226) closely associates this assertion with the Corinthian sacramentalists. 6:63, likewise a Johannine tradition (Bultmann *Johannes* MeyerK, 34–35 n. 9), also points to this context of opposing spheres of influence of flesh and spirit. It was the life-creating function of *pneuma* which the pre-Pauline tradition in Rom 8:11; 1 Cor 15:45; 2 Cor 3:6; and 1 Pet 3:18 emphasized. Over against such a static ontology of salvation the evangelist champions a concept of the spirit as a power for proclamation (cf. even 6:63 as a recasting). It is the spirit who makes the revelation of Christ accessible. As the spirit of truth (14:17; 15:26; 16:13; 1 John 4:6; 5:6) he is the one who reveals the truth of God in contrast to the lie. In the farewell discourse this spirit of truth is termed *parakletos,* "Counselor" (except in 16:7). The paraclete, introduced as person in the farewell discourse, guarantees the abiding presence of the revelation of *zoē* as continuing the presence of Jesus (14:16). In this way the locus of the experience of the spirit is defined christologically—possibly countering Docetism (1 John 4:1–6)—without declaring Christ and the spirit to be identical (PWSup 14: 398–99).

The Johannine references to the spirit must be seen in relation to the overarching, divinely established contrasts to *kosmos,* "world," *skotia,* "darkness," *sarx,* "flesh" (Bultmann *Johannes* MeyerK, 98–100, n. 3; Schottroff 1970: 272–76). A comparison with Paul must take into account the authors' different settings within early Christianity. The view that the sphere of the spirit is the basis for action, a view so central to Paul, is also shared to some extent by 1 John 2:24; 4:12–13.

**13. Luke–Acts.** Luke is surely the theologian of the spirit, not only in terms of statistics (*pneuma* 106 times; *pneuma theou,* 75 times; *pneuma hagion,* 54 times) but also in terms of his reflection on primitive Christian testimony and ideas concerning the spirit from the perspective of a concept of salvation history. The action of the spirit is already evident in the birth and infancy narrative of Luke 1–2 (1:15, 35, 41, 67, 80; 2:25–27), especially as the creator power of God who effects the pregnancy of Mary (1:35). Tatum (1974) subsumes the references to the spirit in Luke 1–2 within Conzelmann's periodic schema of history by contrasting prophetic/creative to messianic spirit. It is nevertheless the prophetic spirit which remains central for Luke, so that the references to the spirit transcend periodization typical of historical thinking. In his baptism the spiritual origin of Jesus is manifest in the dove as the physical form of spirit endowment (3:21–22). Hellenistic substantive thinking and a tendency toward objectification accounts for

the visible manifestation of the spirit's power both in this passage and in Acts 2:3–4; 4:31. In contrast to Mark there is a less animistic description of Jesus' spirit endowment here (cf. Mark 1:12; Luke 12:10 derives from the Lukan context); Jesus is Lord of the spirit and, until Pentecost, the only bearer of the spirit (Conzelmann 1977: 168). This is corroborated by Jesus' testimony about himself in 4:18–19, verses incorporating Isa 61:1. Thus, while the gospel presents Jesus as the paradigmatic spirit bearer (1:35; 3:21–22; 4:1, 11, 18–19), in Luke's view it is the task of the Messiah to pass on this spirit after Easter. That which the baptizer announces in Luke 3:16–17 (fire and spirit) is fulfilled in Acts 2:3–4 as the work of the Exalted One (Luke 24:49; Acts 2:33). This proximity of the spirit and the Exalted One—expressed also in their common functions (Luke 12:12 = 21:15; Acts 10:14, 19; Acts 7:55: the pneumatic sees the glory of God and of Jesus)—speaks against a notion of an interim between Easter and Pentecost which is devoid of the spirit (Conzelmann 1977: 26–27, 171).

The Pentecost account describes the spirit endowment of the Twelve (Acts 2:1–13). Even though Dietrich (1972: 294–95) speaks of a triple Pentecost in reference to the gift of the spirit to Jews (2:38–41), Samaritans (8:15, 17) and gentiles (Acts 10:44–45), the reference of 10:47, "just as we," places Jews and gentiles on the same level of spirit endowment. Obviously, therefore, as in 2:4 so also in 10:46, glossolalia is repeated for the gentiles as proof of the spirit. Although Luke is not opposed to associating ecstatic phenomena with the spirit (Acts 8:39; 2:4; 10:46) for both the time of Jesus and that of the Church, according to Luke the power of the spirit is manifested primarily in proclamation and prophecy. A fundamental connection between spirit and prophecy/preaching occurs in Luke 4:18–19 and Accts 2:17. The inaugural sermons of Jesus (Luke 4:16–21) and Peter (Acts 2:14–36) are each presented as the consequence of a preceding endowment with the spirit (Lampe 1967: 159).

The course of the Church is presented as determined by the spirit sent by Jesus and is often characterized in personal categories (Acts 8:29, 39; 20:39). The holy spirit is present at important decisions (2:1–4; 4:31; 8:17–18; 9:17–18; 10:44–45; 19:6), contributes to the formulation of the apostolic decree (15:28), and appoints the presbyters in their offices (20:28).

Acts 2:17–21 indicates the salvation-historical location of the works of the spirit. In contrast to Joel 3:1–5, Luke inserts *en tais hemerais,* "in those days," into the quotation, thus identifying the time before the end as the time of the Church when the promises are fulfilled (2:17; cf. also 10:46; 19:6; 22:17–18).

According to Luke, the community is an entity endowed with the spirit and presently living in the power of the spirit (Luke 11:13; cf. Matt 7:11). The ecclesiological orientation of Lukan pneumatology is evident in such passages; but the issue, so critical for Paul, is absent here: the idea of the pneumatic body of Christ, the doctrine of the *charismata,* the pneumatic basis of faith and action (Horn 1986: 283–86). Contrasts between *pneuma* and *sarx/gramma/nomos* are also absent. On the other hand, other ecclesial aspects are evident. Prayer prepares for reception of the spirit (Luke 3:21; Acts 4:31; 9:9, 11; 13:1–3), but is not an effect of the spirit. Baptism and spirit are related (Acts 2:38; 8:14–17; 10:44–45; and 19:2–6 confirm these as valid exceptions; Haenchen *Apostelgeschichte* MeyerK, 147). The practice of the laying on of hands for transmission of the spirit surfaces once in Acts 8:14 and 17. The gift of the spirit as power to proclaim the gospel is predominant (positioned thematically at the beginning Acts 1:8).

**14. Individual Passages.** Matt 1:18, 20; and Luke 1:35 attribute Jesus' origin to the action of the *pneuma* as the creative power of God. Though Isa 7:14 was similarly interpreted in Hellenistic Judaism, the closest parallels to the NT statements are found in Hellenistic accounts of the supernatural origins of kings, philosophers, and other prominent persons (see Luz *Evangelium nach Matthäus* EKKNT, 98–107).

According to Matt 5:3, it is the poor "in spirit" who are blessed. In contrast to the original Q formulation (Luke 6:20) Matt adds *tō̧ pneumati,* "in spirit," in order to attribute the beatitude to those who are humble in will and thereby distinguish themselves from the haughtiness of the Pharisees (Strecker 1985: 33).

Matt 28:19 along with 1 Cor 12:4–6 and 2 Cor 13:13 form the NT point of departure for later triadic formulations and theological constructions. Matthew receives as tradition the tripartite baptismal formula and combines it with the mission command. The notion of baptizing in "the name of the spirit" along with

the Father and the Son is unique. Abramowski suspects an expansion of the unitary baptismal formula parallel to the blessing of Aaron (1984; cf. also Schaberg 1982 and Friedrich 1983).

For further developments, see Hauschild 1972; *TRE* 12: 96–217; Opitz 1960.

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**HOMAM** (PERSON) [Heb *hômām* (הוֹמָם)]. A clan name in the genealogy of Seir the Horite in 1 Chr 1:39. Homam is listed as the second son of Lotan, son of Seir, and he is thus the grandson of Seir. The name in this form appears only in 1 Chr 1:39, but it is equivalent to the name Hemam (MT and KJV, while RSV reads incorrectly HEMAN) in the parallel genealogical listing in Gen 36:22. For discussion of these clans, see JAAKAN.

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**HOMER** [Heb *ḥōmer* (חֹמֶר)]. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**HOMICIDE.** See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES.

**HOMILY FORM (HELLENISTIC AND EARLY CHRISTIAN).** Christian preachers of the 3d century and later had clearly adopted explicit forms and methods for their preaching. They inherited and adapted these homiletical techniques from their predecessors in the art of persuasion, namely the rhetoricians of Greek and Roman culture. The Greeks gave names to certain rhetorical techniques and organized speech and the art of persuasion into a system which was taught within schools of formal rhetoric (Kennedy 1984: 9). These schools produced rhetorical handbooks which were intended to train a student to speak effectively and to acquire the ability to move an audience. The primary arena for the use of these rhetorical techniques was the court of law, though formal rhetoric would not have been restricted solely to this setting. Plato's dialogue *Phaedrus,* Aristotle's *Rhetorica,* Cicero's *Brutus, De inventione, De oratore,* Cornificus' *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* and Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* are the most important works from the Hellenistic and Roman period on the subject of rhetoric and persuasion. These works provide us with valuable early information concerning the nature and importance of formal rhetorical training and the art of persuasion in the period leading up to the development of a form of early Christian preaching.

By the 4th and 5th centuries C.E. the formal rhetorical techniques and forms employed by the orators of Greece and Rome had clearly influenced Christian writing and preaching. In the 4th century Gregory of Nazianzus, for example, gave a sermon precisely in the form of a Panegyricus, a form of speech intended originally for a pagan festival. At the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th century Augustine wrote *On Christian Doctrine,* which is itself a major contribution to the history and theory of rhetoric, although now from a decidedly Christian perspective (Kennedy 1980: 39, 155). Even earlier in the common era, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Jerome, John of Chrysostom, and Melito of Sardis all demonstrated familiarity with formal rhetorical forms and techniques, and their own sermons reflect the impact classical rhetoric had upon them.

However, when we move earlier into the 1st century C.E. and inquire about a homily or sermon form, the matter is less clear. The role and influence of Greek oratory and rhetoric have long been recognized within NT studies. Paul's letter to the Romans (Scroggs 1976), Philemon (Church 1978), and the Epistle to the Galatians (Betz 1975; cf. Vouga 1988) have all been studied within the context of, and according to, formal Greco-Roman rhetoric. The influence of other classical Greco-Roman conventions on Paul has also been recognized within Pauline studies. Prominent in this regard has been the influence of the cynic-Stoic diatribe (Bultmann 1910; Stowers 1981).

However, when looking for a distinctive homily form within Jewish or Christian preaching in the 1st century, scholars have heretofore found little. In fact, it has been said that "we know virtually nothing about the contours of such a genre in the first century" (Donfried 1974: 26). Recently attention has been drawn to a form of early Christian and Jewish preaching which seems to be an explicit homily form, and which appears to be indebted to the formal rhetoricians of the Greek and Roman periods (Wills 1984; Black 1988). However, it should be noted that the *degree* to which formal rhetoric influenced this homily form remains a matter of debate.

In 1984 L. Wills referred to the homily form within early Jewish and Christian preaching as a "word of exhortation." The word of exhortation typically has three parts: an *exempla,* which is a reasoned exposition of the points to be made, usually with examples from the past or scriptural quotations for support; this is followed by a *conclusion* based on the "facts" laid out in the exempla, and "therefore" the audience should respond or behave in such and such a manner. The conclusion is often introduced with a participle and *dia, dio, touto,* or some other Greek particle of conjunction. This is followed by an *exhortation,* usually expressed with an imperative or hortatory subjunctive (Wills 1984: 279).

Examples of this early Christian and Jewish homily form can be seen in Acts 2:14–40; 3:12–26; 13:14–41; 20:17–35; 1 Cor 10:1–14; Heb 1:1–2:1; 1 Pet 1:3–11; *1 Clem* 6:1–7:2; 42:1–44:6. Wills claims the pattern of "the word of exhortation" can also be found in Ignatius of Antioch's *Letter to the Ephesians* and the *Epistle to Barnabas* (1984: 291–92). Within Jewish sources the same pattern of exempla,

conclusion, and exhortation can be seen in *Wisdom of Solomon* 13–15 and the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (*T. Reu.* 5:1–5; *T. Levi* 2:6–3:8; *T. Benj.* 2:5; 3:1; 6:6; 7:1; 8:1).

The structure and outline of this homily form, like formal rhetoric itself, are not concrete. The homily can be modified, broken up, or used in a cyclical fashion at the author's or speaker's discretion. The background for this early Christian and what seems to be Hellenistic Jewish homily form is formal Greek rhetoric. Wills finds this threefold form in the speeches of the Greek orators. Broadly speaking, there are three types of speeches, according to the handbooks: deliberative, forensic, and epideictic (Quintilian, *Inst.* 3.4.16). The deliberative speeches were intended for audiences before a governing or authoritative body, forensic speeches were given before the courts, and epideictic speeches were meant for public and honorary gatherings. Wills, having isolated this early homily form, and having suggested the background out of which the form developed, remains cautious about how directly one should connect it with the structure of speeches given within *formal* Greco-Roman rhetoric (1984: 298–99).

Building upon the work of Wills, C. C. Black has argued for a stronger correlation between this earlier homily form—the "word of exhortation" in the NT and other early Christian and Jewish documents—and classical rhetoric. Black maintains that the word of exhortation appears to be in fundamental agreement with the judicial (forensic), deliberative, and epidiectic address. This form of early Christian and Jewish homily is perfectly understandable in terms of the rhetorical conventions outlined in Aristotle's *Rhetorica* or Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria.* Viewed in such a way, 1st-century Jewish Hellenistic and Christian preaching can be located far more within the mainstream of classical rhetoric (Black 1988: 3, 10, 16).

It was not long after the 1st century that Christian preaching began explicitly to employ and engage classical rhetoric. It was precisely this influence of classical philosophy and rhetoric upon 2d-century Christians which provoked Tertullian to ask rhetorically, "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?" What concord is there between the Academy and the Church?" (*De Praescr. Haeret.* 7). Jerome follows Tertullian in his concern over the influence of Greco-Roman rhetoric, saying, "What has Horace to do with the Psalms, Virgil with the Gospels or Cicero with the Apostles?" (*Ep.* 22.29). As early Christian preaching was more and more influenced by classical rhetoric and its techniques and conventions, certain Church Fathers began to feel a tension between rhetoric and Christian preaching. Ironically, however, both Jerome and Tertullian display significant ability and schooling where the same rhetoric is concerned. Perhaps, as Cicero said of Plato, it is when they are most concerned with orators that they themselves appear the consummate orators (*De oratore* 1. 11.47).

Yet other early Christian preachers embraced the rhetorical forms and the techniques of persuasion taught and practiced by the classical orators. Lactantius (ca. 250–300 C.E., known as the "Christian Cicero") taught rhetoric prior to his conversion, and following it was made tutor to Emperor Constantine's son. In his *Divinae institutiones* he attempted to put in "literate style" the teachings of Christianity for pagans. Out of this work emerges a philosophical Christian rhetoric (Kennedy 1980: 148).

Gradually the Church began to employ more formal and classical rhetoric in order to address the culture and world of which they were becoming a part and which they were beginning to embrace with enthusiasm. The definitive expression of the coalescing of Christian doctrine and classical Greco-Roman rhetoric would be Augustine's *De doctrina christiana.* In this book Augustine tried to provide the preacher with the necessary skills of interpretation and homiletics. In the 4th book he is explicitly in dialogue with classical rhetoric. A teacher of rhetoric prior to his conversion, Augustine was largely dependent on Cicero for the writing of this "Christian Rhetoric" (Kennedy 1980: 156–57). This work represents the culmination of a process of enculturation and education of the early Christian orators and preachers which resulted finally in the synthesis of classical rhetoric and Christian doctrine and preaching.

The literature of the 1st century, and the NT in particular, evidences the influence of classical culture and rhetorical conventions. Out of this influence and sociocultural interaction a homily form emerged, "the word of exhortation." This form, it can be recognized, owes a significant degree of its shape and form to the conventions of classical rhetoric. The homily form seems to have been rather widespread, and is seen in both Jewish and Christian documents. Over the next century Christianity would begin explicitly to engage and employ the techniques and forms associated with Greek and Roman oratory. Classical

rhetoric was a major contributor to the nature and form of Hellenistic Jewish and Christian preaching. Though some expressed concern about the influence of these "pagan" rhetorical practices upon Christians, it seems clear that the classical forms of persuasion and rhetoric, which played such an important role in the Greco-Roman period, did indeed influence Christian preaching and were finally adopted by Christians in order that they might speak persuasively to that same world.

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**HOMOSEXUALITY.** See PROSTITUTION; PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES; ROMANS, EPISTLE TO THE; and SEX AND SEXUALITY.

**HONI.** A righteous Jew who received the name "Ḥoni the Circle-Drawer" because he once reportedly refused to leave a circle he had drawn until rain relieved the parched land (*m. Ta‘an.* 3.8; *y. Ta‘an.* 3.9 [8]; *b. Ta‘an.* 23). His Greek name is "Onias" (Joseph. *Ant* 14.22). He lived in the early 1st century B.C.E. and was stoned to death during the civil war between Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II by fellow Jews (*Ant* 14.22). Josephus (writing in 93 or 94 C.E.) says that Ḥoni was righteous, was revered for his efficacious words—especially prayers—and was martyred outside the walls of Jerusalem, where Aristobulus and his men were being besieged, probably just before the Passover feast in April 65 B.C.E.

From rabbinic literature we also learn the following about Ḥoni: (1) he was a wise teacher and revered in the Beth Hamidrash (*b. Ta‘an.* 23a); (2) he was a righteous individual, but not an Essene as some scholars have stated (and certainly not the famous Righteous Teacher of Qumran); (3) he was able to do miraculous things through prayer, notably to cause rain to fall; (4) he apparently understood himself to be "son" of God in a special way, "like a son" in God's house (*m. Ta‘an.* 3.8); (5) he was honored by the masses and Sanhedrin (*b. Ta‘an.* 23a), but grudgingly acknowledged by Simon ben Shetah, the most influential rabbi in his time (*m. Ta‘an.* 3.8); (6) legends subsequently developed about him, most notably that he slept for seventy years (*b. Ta‘an.* 23a; cf. *4 Bar.*), and that the violent wind that destroyed crops throughout Palestine (*Ant* 14.25–30) was God's punishment on the inhabitants for the murder of Ḥoni. Despite some scholarly attempts to prove otherwise (see Vermes 1981: 58–82), there is no unambiguous evidence that Ḥoni performed healing miracles; although it is also clear that our sources are late and selective and it is conceivable that he did cause miraculous cures as did another Palestinian, charismatic Ḥanina ben Dosa.

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**HOOK.** Several different Hebrew terms are rendered "hook" in the RSV. The various hangings of the tabernacle are suspended from hooks or pegs *(wāwîm)* attached to the pillars. Some of these were gold (as Exod 26:32), and others were silver (as Exod 27:4, for the courtyard pillars), the choice of material being

related to the degree of holiness of the pillars involved. That is, hooks closest to the holiest zone of the tabernacle were made of gold, and those farther away were silver. See also TABERNACLE. A completely different term *(ḥaḥ* or *ḥôaḥ)* is translated "hook" and denotes a ring put in the nose of an animal (as Ezek 19:4, 9; 29:4) or a human taken captive (as 2 Kgs 19:28 = Isa 37:29).

CAROL MEYERS

**HOOPOE.** See ZOOLOGY.

**HOPE (NT).** Even if the noun "hope" (Gk *elpís*) is not found at all in the Gospels and the verb "to hope" (Gk *elpízein*) is found only five times in the Gospels—with the OT sense of "to trust" (Matt 12:21; John 5:45) or with a purely secular and nonreligious sense (Luke 6:34; 23:8; 24:21)—the idea of hope as confidence in God "whose goodness and mercy are to be relied on and whose promises cannot fail" (Barr 1950: 72) is everywhere presupposed in the NT (see also *TDNT* 2:517–35 and *LTK* 5: 416–24).

In the Synoptic Gospels the notion of hope is conveyed through the sense of "expectation" (Gk *prosdechomai*) generated by Jesus' preaching of conversion in the face of the imminent arrival of the kingdom of God. Paul's theology, which is oriented around the twin poles of Christ's resurrection as the in-breaking of the kingdom and Jesus' parousia as its fulfillment, manifests the most fully elaborated theology of hope (1 Thessalonians, Romans, 1–2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Philemon). This line is continued with various additional nuances in Hebrews, in the Deutero-Paulines (Colossians, Ephesians, 2 Thessalonians), and in the Pastoral and Catholic Epistles. While a great deal has been made of the Johannine emphasis on "realized eschatology," there can be little doubt that John also speaks of the glory of the heavenly world as the goal of the believer's hope (John 13:33, 36). Finally, although Revelation also lacks the vocabulary of hope, the notion is manifestly conveyed by the call to "patient endurance," which undergirds the theology of the whole work.

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A. The Gospels and the Acts
  1. The "Q" Source
  2. Mark and Matthew
  3. Luke-Acts
  4. John
B. The Pauline Epistles
  1. The "Faith-Love-Hope" Triad
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D. Hebrews, the Catholic Epistles, Revelation
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E. Conclusion


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### A. The Gospels and the Acts

In the Synoptic Gospels the strong sense of assurance that the divine promises articulated in the OT are soon to be fulfilled in the Messiah, Jesus, calls forth from the reader sentiments of expectation and longing. The parenetic dimension of the gospels urges the community of believers to steadfast patience and to "keeping watch" (Mark 13:37).

**1. The "Q" Source.** In the Q source, which is comprised of the bulk of the Jesus sayings common to Matthew and Luke, Jesus' mode of proclaiming the kingdom implies the incarnate presence of divine wisdom (Luke 7:35=Matt 11:19) and an implicit Christological claim that in his ministry God's salvation is offered. Just as the harvest is "already" implicitly present in the farmer's handful of seed though "not yet" gathered in (Luke 10:2=Matt 9:37), so God's kingdom is near in the proclamation of the good news

(Luke 10:9=Matt 10:7), and finds an echo in the petition Jesus taught regarding the coming of God's reign (Luke 11:2=Matt 6:10). Hope's tensile dynamic, stretching between the "already" and the "not yet," and found in Jesus' heralding of conversion, gets taken up by Paul in his proclamation that "by faith we wait for the *hope* of righteousness" (Gal 5:5) and "in *this hope* we were saved" (Rom 8:24).

**2. Mark and Matthew.** The "Little Apocalypse" of Mark 13 carefully interweaves strands of the tradition which assert that the end is "near" and still is "not yet." The disciples are informed by Jesus that they will follow the path of suffering (Mark 13:9, 11–12) already realized by John the Baptist (1:14; 9:13) and the OT prophets (12:3–4) and soon to be embarked upon by Jesus himself (14:21, 42). The negative cast given to the disciples elsewhere in Mark disappears here, indicating that Mark intends to present a proleptic portrait of the post-Easter Church—the only such depiction in this gospel, given the absence of resurrection appearances. This hopeful characterization of the disciples is attributed to the gift of the Holy Spirit (13:11), which enables them to save their souls by "enduring patiently" (13:13) and "keeping watch" (13:37).

For Matthew, the future appearance of the Son of Man in glory will reveal the true state of affairs; e.g., which members of the Church are "wheat" and which ones "tares" (Matt 13:41–43). Matthew is quite serene in encouraging members of the Church to face the future with hope, for Christ promises, "I am with you always" (28:20; cf. 1:23; 18:20). Only those who divorce their faith from their deeds need to be concerned about the future (7:21–23), for Matthew knows with the OT that "hope in the sense of confident expectation of future well-being proved to be ill-founded whenever it was divorced from the perfect and upright character and will of God and applied instead to merely self-regarding matters of well-being, escape from distress and so forth—even when these were dressed up in respectable, religious phrases" (Moule 1970: 10–11).

**3. Luke-Acts.** Luke stresses, in both the gospel and Acts, the continuity of Judaism and the Church, the piety of the OT and that of "the way," under the rubric of longing or expectation. Thus, in the infancy narrative, Simeon is said to be "looking for the consolation of Israel" (Luke 2:25), and Anna spoke of the child Jesus to all who were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem (2:38). When John the Baptist preached, people were "in expectation" (3:15), as they also were when they inquired of Jesus whether he were "he who is to come" (7:19–23). For Luke, this sense of hopeful expectation will characterize the Church in the end times (12:36, 46); though bringing fear to those unprepared, it bids confidence and peace to those who await their salvation (21:26–28). In Acts, except for an OT quotation (2:26) and two instances of hope used with a purely secular meaning (16:19; 27:20), Luke regularly places the word on Paul's lips (23:6; 24:15; 26:6–7; 28:20) to show that he shares with his people Israel's eschatological expectation of the resurrection of the dead (Grossouw 1954: 531).

**4. John.** Scholars have noted the juxtaposition in the Fourth Gospel of "futurist" and "realized" eschatologies ("the hour *is coming* and *now is*," John 4:23; cf. 16:32). This should not lead one to conclude that hope plays little or no role in the Johannine view. Texts which refer either to the final judgment or to the resurrection of the dead, taken together, manifest a strong futurist dimension (John 5:28–29; 6:39–40, 44, 54; 12:48) and the object of the Christian's hope is clearly mentioned in several texts (12:25–26; 14:1–3; 17:24). What is clear is that John's focus is a double one: the present union of the disciple with Jesus the Revealer (realized eschatology) *and* the believer's continuing and future union with Christ in the father's glory (futurist eschatology). Human existence in this world (the possession of one's "soul" [Gk *psychē*]) will give way to the inheriting or gaining of "eternal life" (Gk *zoē aionios*). Of this hope Christ is simultaneously guarantor and mediator (Woschitz 1979: 705–7).

**B. The Pauline Epistles**

**1. The "Faith-Love-Hope" Triad.** Paul's well-known assertion that in the end "faith, hope, love abide" (1 Cor 13:13) has prompted speculation on the how, when, and by whom of their association. Since the three theological virtues appear listed in different orders—with hope and love alternating in the third position (e.g., 1 Thess 5:8)—one may surmise that at one time faith and love were found paired without hope, perhaps as a summary of the double commandment of love of God and of neighbor (cf. 1 Thess 1:3; Gal 5:5). Living the commandment of love within the "already/not yet" tension brings the Christian

personal experiences, denominated "trials" or "tribulations." At this point, there enters upon the scene a gift of the Holy Spirit to sustain the believer amidst adversity, that of "hope" which is sometimes accompanied by "perseverance" (Gk *hypomonē*). Perseverance is so closely allied with hope that at times hope can even be called perseverance (1 Thess 1:3; Léon-Dufour 1980: 231). Indeed, in the post-Pauline literature, perseverance takes the place of hope as a characteristic of faithful discipleship (Titus 2:2; 1 Tim 6:11; 2 Tim 3:10; Rev 2:19).

**2. Being "with Christ."** The parallels noted between the death and resurrection of Christ and the sufferings undergone by believers led Paul to describe the object of Christian hope as a share in the glory of God (2 Cor 4:16–18), which marks the state of the risen Christ. In 2 Corinthians and elsewhere, when Paul describes his experience of tribulation, he uses the concept of "trust" or "confidence" in God to describe the hope that wells up in him (2 Cor 3:4, 12; cf. Philemon 21). Later, Paul describes all Christians as groaning in their anticipation of being clothed with the glory of the resurrection body (2 Corinthians 5). When, in Philippians, Paul contemplates the possibility of his own death, he describes his hope as one of going to be with Christ in that divine glory into which Jesus has already entered (Phil 1:23; cf. 3:20–21).

**3. "Hoping against Hope."** In Romans, Paul reflects on Christian hope as an attribute shared not only by human persons but, in some sense, also by the whole of creation, which "has been groaning in travail until now" (Rom 8:22). Léon-Dufour notes (1986: 233) that in Romans 8 Paul uses a series of Greek words to communicate the various tonalities of hope; these include *apekdechomai,* a violent waiting that he translates "spy out attentively," and *apokaradokia,* an attitude of craning one's neck to observe what is coming about, translated as "stalking." This vocabulary serves to underline not that creation "keeps hope" but that God does so by situating the created world on a firm foundation of hope.

Paul's vision extends as deeply into the past as it does into the future which God has reserved for the world in Christ. As he gazes into salvific history, Paul focuses on Abraham, his father in faith, whom he characterizes as *"hoping against hope"* (Rom 4:18) in order to stress how great was the trust Abraham put in the promises God had given him. Here Paul says that Abraham believed or trusted in God ("hoped") against all human evidence or odds ("against hope"). For Paul, Abraham's hope, as his own, was in the God "who gives life to the dead and calls into existence the things that do not exist" (Rom 4:17).

### C. The Deutero-Pauline and Pastoral Epistles

The Deutero-Pauline and Pastoral Epistles continue the Pauline emphases, except that the tension between the "already" and the "not yet" has been diminished somewhat, possibly under the impact of the delay of the parousia.

**1. Hope in the Person of Christ.** What was looked to as future by Paul is somehow already given in Colossians and 2 Thessalonians. Thus God is said to have given the Thessalonians "eternal comfort and good hope through grace" and Christ is said now to be "in you," and this is, for the Christians of Colossae, their "hope of glory" (Col 1:27). Even so, the "hope of the gospel" (1:23) does have a future dimension, being "the hope laid up for you in heaven" (1:5). Ephesians contrasts the former condition of the pagan converts, who formerly were "without hope because without God" (Eph 2:12), with their present status in Christ, having the "one hope that belongs to your call" (4:4), the riches of Christ's "glorious inheritance" (1:18).

**2. Hope in Eternal Life.** The object of Christian hope is one of the themes of the Pastorals. In 1 Timothy we read that hope is not in "uncertain riches but on God" (1 Tim 6:17), who is further characterized as "the living God who is the Savior of all men, especially of those who believe" (4:10; cf. 5:5). Christ, too, is described as "our hope" (1 Tim 1:1), especially in his parousia which completes Christian hope (Titus 2:13). On two occasions "eternal life" is presented as the goal of hope (Titus 1:2; 3:7).

### D. Hebrews, the Catholic Epistles, Revelation

The variety of ways of describing the object of Christian hope, begun in the Deutero-Paulines and continued in the Pastorals, continues in the later NT writings.

**1. The Hope of "Seeing God."** The context of suffering, which marks the later NT period, leads to the view that hope can be tested and found solid "in steadfastness" (Jas 1:2–4); also that if hope is alive it must be rooted in the living God and proclaimed to a world which may not share it but asks about it (1 Pet 1:3, 21; 3:15). Christians are called upon to be steadfast in bearing sufferings so that they not be put to shame on the day of judgment (1 Pet 4:14). The positive issue of hope is described in the Johannine tradition as "seeing God," for "when he appears we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is" (1 John 3:2–3).

**2. "The Anchor of Hope."** The book of Hebrews as an extended exhortation to a community wavering in its commitment in time of persecution, introduces the anchor as the image that symbolizes hope (Heb 6:18–19). In effect, Hebrews summarizes the biblical teaching on hope, which it regards as rooted in God's promises and related to Christ (10:23). Just as Christ bore patiently with the shame of the cross to enter into God's glory (12:1–2), so the Christian is to keep focused on where Christ has gone as trailblazer, into God's heavenly presence. Belonging to Christ's household is the Christian's "pride in our hope" (3:6) and God's oath to Christ is one's surety of a "better hope" than was had even by Melchizedek, the high priest to whom Abraham paid tithes (7:19–22).

**3. Hope as "Patient Endurance."** In the book of Revelation, the letters to the whole Church (represented by the seven churches of Asia Minor) constitute a word of purification and judgment from the exalted Christ. Threats are addressed to believers to shock them into holding fast, turning back to youthful vigor or to waking up (Rev 2:1–3:22). This is the risen Christ's prophetic judgment which urges confidence and patient endurance; it is the other side of the apocalyptic manifestation of God's saving plan for the elect. It is the same God standing behind Revelation who makes possible the Church's "patient endurance," which, in this scheme, describes the same reality that elsewhere in the NT is described as "hope."

**E. Conclusion**

As in the Bible generally, so also in the NT, hope is rooted in God. For the Christian, God has revealed the way to salvation in Jesus' preaching of the kingdom and his call to conversion in light of its imminence. God has authenticated this saving design by raising Jesus from the dead, which at once ushered in the "end of the ages" and prefigures the believer's own hoped-for resurrection. Between Jesus' resurrection and his parousia, tension caused by the "already" and "not yet" dimensions of this salvation stirs the disciple to hope. Both the delay of the parousia and the outbreak of persecution against the Church challenged the NT authors to rethink the notion of hope and, to a degree, to spiritualize it. However, neither these nor other factors served to attenuate hope's role within the armor of the Christian life (Titus 2:13; cf. 1 Thess 5:8).

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TERRENCE PRENDERGAST

**HOPHNI** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥopnî* (חָפְנִי)]. Hophni is one of the sons of Eli, the priest. The name is probably from Eg *ḥfn (r)* meaning "tadpole," and thus suggests an Egyptian connection for Hophni. Hophni only appears in 1 Samuel and only in association with his brother PHINEHAS.

Hophni and Phinehas are first mentioned as priests and as the two sons (1 Sam 1:3) of Eli, who was also a priest (1 Sam 1:9). They all served at the temple at Shiloh (1 Sam 1:3, 7, 9, 24), where the "LORD of Hosts" (= YHWH *ṣĕbāʾôt* ["armies"]) was worshipped (1 Sam 1:3).

The attitude of this introduction of Hophni and Phinehas is neutral toward them, and it is set within the context of the story of the early years of Samuel. As the story continues, it becomes clear that the author, probably the Deuteronomistic Historian, is using Hophni and Phinehas as foils in contrast to Samuel. Samuel emerges as the true priest of Israel, and Eli's sons become examples of evil, greedy priests who have rejected Yahweh. This has larger implications for understanding the struggle between priestly factions, for the Elide faction is being rejected and the Zadokite group is being advocated.

The first indication of trouble for Hophni and Phinehas appears in 1 Sam 2:12–17. The brothers are described as "worthless men" ("sons of Belial") and as "not knowing" Yahweh (2:12). The phrase "sons of Belial" *(bĕnê bĕliyyaʿal)* suggests the degree of condemnation of Hophni and Phinehas by the writer. The phrase literally means "not *(bly)* of use *(yʿl),"* but implies the worship of gods other than Yahweh (Deut 13:14—Eng13:13); Judg 19:22; 2 Sam 20:1). Later usage (*Liv. Pro.* 4:6, 21; 17:2; *T. Dan.* 1:7; *T. Levi* 3:2–3; 2 Cor 6:15) suggests that Belial is associated with Satan and that in this earlier instance evil is at least hinted at. See also BELIAL. In addition, there may be a wordplay between Belial *(bĕliyyaʿal)* and Baal *(baʿal),* which would also suggest the evilness of the two sons. A similar understanding of evil is implicit in the statement that they "did not know" ("had no regard for"—RSV) Yahweh. The clear implication is that their activities were evil, and that they had turned away from Yahweh.

This perspective is reinforced in 1 Sam 2:13–17, where the greed of Hophni and Phinehas is displayed in their demands for an excessive portion of the offering and in their threatening of violence (v 16) if the extra portion was not surrendered. Finally, in 2:22, Eli is told about his sons' "lying" *(škb)* with the women who guarded *(ṣbʾ)* the door of the "tent of meeting." Eli speaks to his sons (vv 23–24a), but they ignore him, and thus Yahweh "takes delight" *(ḥpṣ)* in slaying the sons.

The special relationship of Eli to Yahweh is rehearsed on the occasion of the appearance of "a man of God" (=a prophet). Eli's house was chosen in Egypt (1 Sam 2:27) to be priests (2:28), but since Eli's sons became greedy (2:29), Yahweh will destroy Eli and his house, and Eli's sons shall no longer serve as priests (2:30–34).

In place of Eli, Yahweh will raise up a faithful priest, for whom he will build a faithful house and who will forever stand before Yahweh's anointed (i.e., his king) (2:35). The statement in 1 Kgs 2:27 indicates that Solomon's expulsion of Abiathar from the priesthood in Jerusalem fulfills the prophecy concerning Eli (Abiathar is supposedly the great-great-grandson of Eli [1 Sam 4:19; 14:3; 22:20; 2 Sam 8:17]). In place of Abiathar, Solomon appoints Zadok (1 Kgs 2:35). By implication, then, this is support for worship in Jerusalem by the Zadokites and a rejection of the Elides and their worship in Shiloh. This, in turn, fits the Deuteronomistic Historian's perspective on history: only worship Yahweh, and only in Jerusalem. Anyone who violates these norms is not fit to be a priest and at best can only become servants of the faithful priests (1 Sam 2:36).

The last appearance of Hophni and Phinehas is connected with the battle of the Israelites against the Philistines at Ebenezer and Aphek. The first encounter was a victory for the Philistines. Seeking reinforcements, the Israelites bring the "ark of the covenant of the Lord of armies (hosts)" from Shiloh to the battle. Hophni and Phinehas accompany the ark on its journey, but neither they nor Eli are now identified as priests. The subsequent battle is a total disaster. The Israelites lose the battle in a great slaughter (1 Sam 4:10), the ark is captured, and Hophni and Phinehas are slain (4:11). Upon hearing of the disaster, Eli falls over in his chair, breaks his neck, and dies (4:18).

Given the ANE conceptualization of war, the loss of the ark would imply the defeat of the god of the ark. However, the power and efficacy of the ark persist after its capture, with plagues and evil events taking place among the Philistines (1 Sam 5:3–12). Since the power of the ark is not lost, there must be another reason for the defeat of the Israelites. That reason goes back to Hophni and Phinehas. Their faithless activities and subsequent coming into contact with the ark lead to the defeat. The fault is not in the god or the ark, but in the actions of the people. So like the conquest of Ai (Joshua 7–8), the story seeks

to reinforce the necessity of the righteousness of the people in holy war. Any violation of that righteousness can lead to disaster.

So the story of Hophni and Phinehas serves three functions (1) it is a counterexample of the good, righteous priest, Samuel; (2) it explains the rejection of the Elide priesthood in favor of the Zadokites; and (3) it supports the necessity of ritual cleanliness for participating in holy war.

JOHN R. SPENCER

**HOPHRA** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥopraʿ* (חָפְרַע)]. The king of Egypt who opposed Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, in the days of the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 44:30; cf. 37:5). In Egyptian, his name was *Ḥ ʿ ʿ-ib-rʿ,* "Happy-hearted is Re" (Gk *Apriēs*), which should not be confused with his birthname, *w3ḥ-ib-rʿ* (Gk *Oaphrēs;* LXX *Ouaphrēs;* Aram *wḥprʿ;* and Akk *Uḫ-pa-ra* [Wiseman 1966: 155]).

Fourth king of the 26th (Saite) Dynasty, son and successor of Psamtek II, Hophra ascended the throne in mid-February 589 B.C. He actively pursued the policy of intervention in SW Asia begun by his grandfather Necho II and furthered by his father Psamtek II (Freedy and Redford 1970: 470–76). When Nebuchadnezzar appeared in the W in the spring of 588 and besieged Jerusalem, Hophra quickly led forth a relief army, but was obliged to withdraw in the face of superior Babylonian forces (Jer 37:5–11; Oded *IJH*, 473). A counterthrust in the form of a naval operation against Phoenicia, perhaps designed to undermine the Babylonian flank, was partly successful and Cyprus was reduced in the action (Diod. 1.68.1); however, it failed to avert the fate of Judah, which was soon annexed by Nebuchadnezzar.

In the aftermath Hophra received and settled Judean refugees (*IJH*, 486–87) and maintained the fortifications in the E delta (Oren 1984). Indeed, the delta seems to have captivated his whole attention, to judge from the fact that almost all his building operations are attested from there.

Internally the country remained stable and prosperous. Hophra resided at Memphis where his large palace has come to light (Petrie and Walker 1909; Kemp 1977; 1978). In 586 his sister Ankh-nes-neferibre was confirmed as Divine Adoratress (high priestess and regent) in Thebes, and in 578 an Apis bull was buried at Saqqara with the customary pomp (see also APIS). In the spring of the following year, Hophra endowed the temple of Ptah at Memphis with extensive tracts of land in the central delta (Gunn 1927); and similar endowments for other gods are widely attested from the reign (Drioton 1939; Jacquet-Gordon 1972).

In the military sphere, several of Hophra's native generals are known. Like his predecessors, Hophra relied heavily on foreign mercenaries, especially Carians and Ionian Greeks, but he suffered from poor liaison with his troops. On one occasion he was narrowly able to avert the wholesale defection of a foreign mercenary garrison stationed at Elephantine (Schäfer 1904). If Jeremiah's assessment is close to the truth (he derisively named Hophra the "over-confident one who misses the opportunity"; 46:17), Hophra may have gained a reputation for arrogance and indecision (Hoffmeier 1981).

Certainly the events which terminated his reign betray a lamentable lack of judgment. Perceiving a threat in the growing power of the Greek colony at Cyrene, Hophra directed his attention first to buffering the Kharga and Bahriya oases, finally to sending an expeditionary force against the town. This army, composed largely of native levies, was soundly defeated by the Cyreneans. At the news of this disaster, open revolt broke out back in Egypt, and despite a desperate effort to employ his Carians, Hophra was deposed in favor of one of his generals, Amasis, and was forced to flee (570 B.C.). Three years later, when Nebuchadnezzar attempted to take advantage of the stasis in Egypt to invade the land, Hophra threw in his lot with the foreigners. But the invading force was repulsed, and Hophra was captured and put to death. His tomb at Sais was still visible in Herodotus' day (Herod. 2.161–67; Diod. 1.68.1; Edel 1978).

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**HOR** (PLACE) [Heb *hōr* (הֹר)]. **1.** A mountain on the border of Edom where Aaron died and was buried (Num 20:22–28; Deut 32:50). Since the name Hor always is given with the definite article it is suggested that it is a prominent mountain ridge. It is alleged that there are two conflicting traditions regarding the place where Aaron died and where he was buried. Deut 10:6 states that these events occurred at Moserah; however, Num 20:27–28 records that Aaron died and was buried on Mt. Hor. There appears, however, to be no conflict since the name Moserah (Moseroth), meaning "chastisement(s)," was applied to the event, not to the location of Aaron's death. Aaron died in Edom on Mt. Hor as punishment for the Meribah incident (Num 20:24; Deut 32:51), while the people of Israel were encamped below. To commemorate this event, the incident and the campsite were called Moseroth (Num 33:30).

A tradition going back at least to the 1st century A.D. (*Ant* 4.4.7), identifies Mt. Hor with Jebel Nebī Harun ("mountain of Aaron") near Nabatean Petra; however, this two-topped sandstone mountain some 4800 ft (1460 m) high, is in the middle of Edomite territory rather than on the border. Its rugged summit is the location of a tomb allegedly belonging to Aaron, the upper portion of which is a Muslim mosque. The tomb, however, is more likely a reconstructed Christian church dating to the time of Justinian (A.D. 527–65). Any tradition placing Mt. Hor in the middle of Edomite territory rather than on its border (Num 20:22) would be open to serious question. Also, since the Edomites were able to prohibit the Israelites access to their land, and could do so with a powerful border force (Num 20:17–21), Israel could never have reached Jebel Nebī Harun without crossing Edom, which obviously was an impossibility. Again, such a location is too distant from Kadesh, and the mountain peak too lofty and inaccessible, for the Israelites to witness the ceremonies transferring the high priestly office from father to son (Num 20:22–29).

A more likely location would be Jabel Madurah, 15 miles (24 km) NE of Kadesh. This place stands at the extreme NW boundary of Edom yet outside Edomite territory. For topographical reasons it appears more suitable since Israel began its detour around Edom at Mt. Hor (Num 21:4), and the entire area was more accessible for the Israelites to witness the subsequent ceremonies conducted there. Positive identification of Mt. Hor is uncertain, owing to insufficient evidence, leaving Jabel Madurah the most widely accepted site.

**2.** A mountain mentioned only in Num 34:7–8 as a point of reference delineating the N boundary of Israel's promised land which they were about to conquer. The actual location is not identified. The Mediterranean was the W border; the first point was Mt. Hor, and the second point of reference was "the entrance to Hamath." It may describe a prominent peak in Lebanon. Suggested possibilities include Mt. Hermon and Jabel Akkar, a spur of the Lebanon range W of Tripoli. The reference may also refer to the whole Lebanon range of mountains.
RAY L. ROTH

**HOR-HAGGIDGAD** (PLACE) [Heb *hor-haggidgād* (הָר־הַגִּדְגָּד)]. The seventeenth encampment of the Israelites, after leaving the wilderness of Sinai, as listed in Num 33:32–33, where it is placed between Bene-jaakan and Jotbathah. The meaning of the site's name is "Hollow of Gidgad," but LXX and the Vg understand this as *har*, instead of *hor*, rendering it as "Mountain of Gidgad." In Deut 10:6–7 the Israelites are said to have traveled from the wells of Bene-jaakan to Moserah (the reverse of the order in Num 33:31), and from Moserah to Gudgodah, which is evidently a variant of Gidgad. A suggested

location is the wadi Ghadhaghedh (*GP*, 215–16; Simons 1959: 259 and map VI; M.R. 117094); though Robinson (1856: 181) camped in that area he did not mention it as a possible location. For a discussion of the location of any of the places associated with the journey of the Israelites from Egypt through Sinai, see DOPHKAH.

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JEFFREY R. ZORN

**HORAM** (PERSON) [Heb *hōrām* (הֹרָם)]. A king of Gezer who was slain by Joshua when he came to help the city of Lachish in its struggle against the Israelites at the time of Conquest (Josh 10:33). A king of Gezer is listed among the defeated kings of the land in Josh 12:12, but Gezer itself remained in the possession of the Canaanites (cf. Josh 16:10; Judg 1:29) until the time of Solomon when it was conquered by the Egyptian pharaoh and given as a dowry to his daughter, Solomon's wife (1 Kgs 9:16).

PAULINE A. VIVIANO

**HOREB, MOUNT** [Heb *ḥōrēb* (חֹרֵב)]. See SINAI, MOUNT (PLACE).

**HOREM** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥŏrēm* (חֳרֵם)]. A town in the allotment of Naphtali (Josh 19:38). Horem is mentioned with towns in N Galilee, such as Yiron. Thus, Horem is also thought to have been in upper Galilee. Its exact location, however, is unknown.

DAVID SALTER WILLIAMS

**HORESH** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥōreš* (חֹרֶשׁ)]. A place in the Judean hill country in the Wilderness of Ziph (1 Sam 23:15–19) equipped with strongholds and located on the hill of HACHILAH (v 19). It was used by David as a hiding place from Saul and is the location at which David and Jonathan made a covenant of friendship (v 18). Horesh has been identified with Khirbet Khoreisa (M.R. 162095) by many scholars, though the association between the two is still uncertain (*IDB* 2: 644; *MABL*, map 43; *RAB*, 30, 95). Some have questioned the interpretation that Horesh was an actual site name. Since the word Horesh means "forest" or "wood," it may have been a forest or thicket in the wilderness of Ziph, a place that would have provided ideal hiding conditions for David and his men as they continued to evade Saul (*RAB*, 103); however, limited rainfall in the area poses a problem for this theory.

LAMOINE F. DEVRIES

**HORI** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥōrî* (חֹרִי); *ḥôrî* (חוֹרִי)]. **1.** A son of LOTAN (Gen 36:22; 1 Chr 1:39) and grandson of "Seir, the Horite." See also HORITES. In at least one other case, the genealogy of Gen 36:20–28 seems to have entered the same "individual" twice (see DISHAN) without recognizing the identity. Hori means "Horite"; as a son of Lotan the son of Seir the Horite, Hori/"Horite" is the grandson of a Horite. Such a genealogy may reflect a struggle between two tribal groups for supremacy, each claiming its eponymous ancestor to have fathered the other, and/or a desperated scribe's attempt to deal with conflicting traditions.

**2.** The father of Shaphat, of the tribe of Simeon, one of the spies sent by Moses into Canaan (Num 13:5). The list of the spies' names in Num 13:3–16 is usually regarded as a late addition to the P source; i.e., it derives from a time when all the tribes except Judah (and Benjamin) had disappeared. It is unlikely that the list contains traditions of any sort. Thinking of Hori in Gen 36:20, 22, the compiler of the Numbers list may have attributed an "Edomite" father to his "Simeonite" spy because his source—the earliest scriptures—already had this tribe dwelling in the Negeb (which, in turn, seems to be the result of speculations about what happened to the tribe of Simeon rather than a reliable tradition; cf. Mittmann 1977: 217–19).

It is, therefore, doubtful whether a biblical personal name "Hori" ever existed; if it did, see HUR for a possible interpretation.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**HORITES** [Heb *ḥōrî* (חֹרִי)]. A tribe or group of tribes in the mountains of Seir (Gen 14:6; 36:20–30; Deut 2:12, 22). According to Gen 14:6 and Deut 2:12, 22, the Horites inhabited the country of Seir until they were conquered and expelled by the Edomites. This, however, is a reconstruction of Edomite history which originates from a preconception of the Deuteronomistic school fashioned after the model of the Israelites' treatment of the Canaanites as commanded by Yahweh in Deut 7:1–2. The Deuteronomists and their successors learned from Gen 36:20 that Horites were the inhabitants of Seir. Because (like most of the biblical tradition) they regarded "Edom" and "Seir" as synonymous, they concluded that the Horites had been the Edomites' predecessors in the country of Seir. However, Seir and Edom originally referred to separate areas in S Transjordan. See also SEIR. The 7th-century B.C. coexistence of the "sons of Esau" in Edom (the agricultural land on the Transjordanian plateau) and the Horites in Seir (the wooded mountain slopes) is attested by the genealogical list in Gen 36:20–28 (its copy, 1 Chr 1:38–42, drops the Horites and retains only Seir). Together with Gen 36:10–14, this list belongs to the most ancient traditions in Genesis 36 (Weippert 1971; for a probable date in the 7th century B.C., cf. Knauf 1989: 10–11, n. 45; 61–63). As can be deduced from the name of the state, "Edom," and from the geographical factors, the more agricultural Edomite tribes eventually gained supremacy over the more pastoral Horite/Seirite tribes in the process of Edomite state formation.

Neither geography nor chronology favors the equation of the Horites (or Edomites) with the Hurrians of the 2d millennium B.C., as is sometimes suggested (e.g., Mendenhall 1973: 158). The tribal names in Gen 36:20–28 argue more decisively against such an assumption: they are easily explained by parallels within Semitic, but only laboriously brought into connection with Hurrian (Weippert 1971). This does not exclude the possibility that Hebrew scholars of the 1st millennium B.C. applied the term "Horite/Hurrian" to the tribes of Seir; comparably, the "Hittites" and the "Amorites" mentioned by biblical and neo-Assyrian authors do not refer to the same nations and areas who were known by these names in the 2d millennium B.C. See also AMORITES. One may as well, however, assume that "Horites" was the name by which these tribes referred to themselves. In this case, the name can be explained either by Heb *ḥōr,* "cave" (Ar *ḫaur* "bay, gulf"), and would denote "cave dwellers," troglodytes, in perfect accordance with geology and geography and the portrait of Esau in Gen 25:27; or it could be explained by Heb *ḥor,* Ar *ḥurr,* "free, noble."

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**HORMAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥormâ* (חָרְמָה)]. A city or cluster of cities in the Negeb region of Judah.

Hormah plays a role in the episode of the aborted S invasion of Canaan by the Israelites. When their invasion was repulsed by the Amorites, the fleeing Israelites were pursued as far as Hormah (Num 14:45; Deut 1:44). Another tradition speaks of a destruction of Arad by the Israelites on their way around the S part of Canaan (Num 21:1–3). The town was subsequently renamed Hormah ("destruction"). A third tradition holds that the name "Horman" was applied to the destroyed remains of a city formerly called Zephthah, taken after the initial conquest by Simeon and Judah together (Judg 1:17). Altogether, these traditions demonstrate the difficulties inherent in reconstructing the sequence of events which lay behind Israel's settlement in Canaan. Hormah appears in the list of conquered cities in Joshua 12 (14) and was

allotted to the tribe of Judah (Josh 15:30), though technically part of Simeon's allotment (Josh 19:4; 1 Chr 4:30) which was incorporated into Judah's. Hormah is also listed as one of the cities to which David sent spoil after his defeat of the Amalekites at Ziklag (1 Sam 30:30).

Several sites have been proposed for Hormah, as one might imagine from the multitude of traditions attached to the name. Among them are Tell el-Milḥ (M.R. 152069), 7 miles NE of Beer-sheba (*IDB* 2: 645; Aharoni 1968: 31); Tell esh-Sheri‹ah, 12 miles NW of Beer-sheba (*IDB* 2: 645); Tell Masos (M.R. 146069; Boling *Joshua* AB, 327; Aharoni 1976: 71–73); and Tel Ira (M.R. 148071; Aharoni 1976: 73). All of these sites lie within the same general region, and the tradition-layer one counts as most authentic would determine which of them would seem most likely. The connection of Hormah with Arad (the Numbers 21 tradition) favors Tell el-Milḥ, while the listing of Arad and Hormah as separate cities in Josh 12:15 inclines one toward Tell Masos, and the identification of Zephthah and Hormah (Judg 1:17) favors Tell Ira. The possibility that the process of abandonment and resettlement at each of these sites, and hence their being renamed, complicates the picture enormously. See Aharoni 1976 (who settles on Tell Masos) for the most complete discussion of this issue.

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JEFFRIES M. HAMILTON

**HORN.** See MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

**HORONAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥōrônayim* (חֹרוֹנַיִם)]. A name which occurs four times in the Hebrew Bible and once in the 9th-century B.C.E. inscription of the Moabite king Mesha (Isa 15:5; Jer 48:3, 5, 34; *ANET*, 321, lines 31–32). The biblical references are included in prophetic oracles against Moab; the inscriptional reference is unfortunately fragmented, but it occurs in the context of a revelatory word to the king to "go down to Horonaim and fight" *(rd hltḥm bḥwrnn).*

Most scholars have located Horonaim in central or S Moab between the Wadi Mujib and Wadi Hasa (respectively the Arnon and the Zered of the Hebrew Bible). This conclusion appears confirmed by extrabiblical sources that refer not to Horonaim but to a neighboring town, Luhith. Luhith is associated by parallelism with Horonaim in Isa 15:5 along an ascending roadway from Zoar at the S edge of the Dead Sea to the Moabite plateau. A further geographical indication is found in Isa 15:6, which refers to the waters of Nimrin. These waters should be identified with the modern Seil en Numera, a stream which cuts through the cliffs on the SW edge of the Moabite plateau to flow down to the Dead Sea. The extrabiblical sources—a Nabatean inscription from Madeba and a Hebrew contract from the time of Bar Kokhba—place Luhith in the SW quadrant of the Moabite plateau, probably along a Roman road that descends the plateau to circle around the S end of the Dead Sea.

Archaeological research has demonstrated the existence of a roadway that led to the Dead Sea from what is now the modern town of Kathrabba, SW of Kerak on the edge of the Moabite plateau. The roadway dates from the Roman/Nabatean period, and surface sherds suggest that Kathrabba itself was inhabited during this period. If this roadway follows the way of an earlier one from the Iron Age, then the sites of Horonaim and Luhith are most likely along it. Indeed, Ai (M.R. 211060), a town just E of Kathrabba, produced surface sherds from the Bronze, Iron, and Roman periods, suggesting that it and Kathrabba (M.R. 209061) would make good candidates for the sites of Luhith and Horonaim. Furthermore, there are Iron Age and Nabatean sites around these two towns, demonstrating the importance of this area in these periods. Khirbet Meidan, a twin site with remains from both periods, is located on a strategic hill W of Kathrabba overlooking the Dead Sea and approaches to the plateau from it. Tell el Mise, an outpost or small fort on a high hill just SE of Kathrabba, also has Iron Age and Nabatean pottery associated with it. This site arguably has the most strategic view in this section of the Moabite plateau. From the crumbled walls of the site one can see the Dead Sea to the W and traffic on the modern King's Highway to the E.

Other proposals for the location of Horonaim have been made. One candidate is the modern town of el-Iraq (M.R. 211055), 7 km S of Kathrabba at the head of the Seil en Numera. Two others located in the SW corner of the Moabite plateau near the Wadi Hasa are Medinet er Ras and Khirbet Dhubab. The former is a fort or outpost, the latter is a tell on the N bank of the Hasa with surface sherds suggesting almost continuous occupation from the EB period.

A recent suggestion equates Horonaim with the isolated, hilltop ruins of ed-Deir, a site SW of Rabba on the W edge of the plateau. Though clearly a strategic site, it is probably too far N to be identified with Horonaim. On the other hand, ed-Deir is located along a secondary Roman road that connected the Dead Sea with the plateau. Thus it cannot be ruled out as a possible location for Horonaim.

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**HORSE.** See ZOOLOGY.

**HORSE GATE** (PLACE) [Heb *ša‹ar hassûsîm* (שַׁעַר הַסּוּסִים); *›el-mĕbô›* (אֶל־מְבוֹא) *ša‹ar-hassûsîm* (שַׁעַר־הַסּוּסִים); *derek-mĕbô› hassûsîm* (דֶּרֶךְ־מְבוֹא הַסּוּסִים)]. Two separate entrances for horses in Jerusalem. The Horse Gate (Heb *ša‹ar hasšsḤm*) mentioned by Jeremiah (31:40) and Nehemiah (3:28) was a gate through the outer defensive wall on the E side of the city (not to be equated, however, with the East Gate of Neh 3:29 or Ezek 10:19; 43:1–5). The second Horse Gate, the "entrance of the gate for horses" (2 Chr 23:15 [Heb *›el-mĕbô› ša‹ar-hasšsîm*]), and the "way of the entrance of the horses" (2 Kgs 11:16 [Heb *derek-mĕbô› hasšsḤm*]) was an entrance for horses into the royal compound from the Horse Gate in the outer wall. Avi-Yonah suggests (1954: 240, fig. 1; 247) that this entrance was to the stables in the House of the Forest of Lebanon in the palace compound and was situated between the palace and the temple precints. It is this entrance that figures in the execution of Athaliah at the coronation of her grandson Joash (2 Kings 11; 2 Chronicles 23).

The Horse Gate mentioned by Nehemiah (3:28) was located N of the wall of Ophel opposite "the great projecting tower" that was a part of the SE corner of the royal compound (Avi-Yonah 1954: 240, fig. 1). This, coupled with the fact that Jeremiah (31:39) associated the Horse Gate with the sacred temple precincts and the priests repaired the walls from the Horse Gate N (Neh 3:28), indicates that the Horse Gate was in close proximity to the temple precincts and would place this gate near the SE corner of the present-day Haram esh-Sharif.

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**HORVAT RIMMON** (PLACE). See RIMMON, HORVAT.

**HOSAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥōsâ* (חֹסָה)]. A gatekeeper of the levitical family of Merari. According to 1 Chr 16:38, Hosah (whose name means "refuge"), along with Obed-edom, was one of two gatekeepers at the tent which David pitched for the ark in Jerusalem. However, the status of Hosah and his descendants appears considerably less significant in the more elaborate organization presented in 1 Chr 26:1–19. The mention of Hosah and his sons in vv 10–11 may be attributable to the Chronicler (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 169) or to a later source (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 173). Here they are the fewest in number (13) among the ranks of gatekeepers (compare 18 for Meshelemiah in 26:9 and 62 for Obed-edom in 26:10). In vv 12–18, attributable to a reviser of the Chronicler's work (Williamson, 170–71;

Rudolph, 173), they were stationed at the W, or back, gate of the temple. According to this passage, Hosah and his sons were responsible for posting daily four men at the gate called Shallecheth (its meaning is unknown), and two men at the nearby PARBAR.
J. S. ROGERS

**HOSAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥōsâ* (חֹסָה)]. A town located in the territory of the tribe of Asher (Josh 19:29). Hosah occurs immediately after the fortified city of Tyre, so some scholars (*GP* 2: 12; *LBHG*, 436) have suggested that the OT Hosah was identical to the Usu mentioned in extrabiblical texts as the mainland city which supplied Tyre. Usu had a long history, occurring in an Egyptian inscription of Seti I, the Amarna archives, the Papyrus Anastasi I, and in the Assyrian records of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. During the Hellenistic period and later, Usu came to be called Palaityros, or "Old Tyre."

Most scholars (*LBHG*, 443) have located Hosah/Usu at Tell Rashidiyeh (M.R. 170293), but Dussaud (1927) suggested an identification with Kh. el-Hos (M.R. 172293). Kallai objects to the link between Hosah and Usu, noting that the Egyptians wrote the latter with an initial *i* rather than *ḥ* (*HGB*, 215–18). He also places Hosah at Kh. el-Hos, suggesting that Usu was located either at Rashidiyeh or at Tell Masuq (M.R. 170297).

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**HOSANNA** [Gk *hōsanna* (ὡσαννα)]. *Hōsanna* occurs five times in the gospels (Matt 21:9 *bis;* Mark 9:11; 11:10; John 12:13) as the cry raised by the crowd when Jesus entered Jerusalem the first day of the week ending with Passover and his crucifixion. The term is simply a transliteration of the Heb imperative *hôša‹,* "save," augmented by the enclitic precative particle - *(n)nā,* which adds a note of urgency, "save, now/please." The form *hôša‹nnā* actually is not found in the Hebrew Bible, but the imperatives *hôša‹* and *hôšî‹āh,* without the precative particle *-nnā,* "please," occur 29 times, addressed to deity, mostly in the Psalter, and twice directed to royalty.

The cry "save" or "help" is elemental whether addressed to mortal, king, or deity. The long or so-called "emphatic" form of the imperative *hôšî‹āh* occurs only once in the Hebrew Bible with the precative particle *-nnā, hôšî‹ā (h)-nnā,* in Ps 118:25 where the precative or pleading tone is doubly emphasized by introducing appeal with the sigh *‹annā,* "Oh, please" (as in Gen 50:17 and elsewhere), and ending with an added note of urgency by means of the precative particle affixed to the imperative:

*‹annā YHWH hôšî‹ā (h)nnā* "Oh, please, Lord, save (us), please!

*‹annā YHWH haṣlîḥā (h)nnā* Oh, please, Lord, prosper (us), please!"

This is followed by the *benedictus qui venit* liturgical formula which has been misunderstood because of poetic variation in the word order, but lately properly translated in the New JPS Version: "May he who enters be blessed in the name of the Lord." It is obvious that this passage, Ps 118:25–26, is echoed with variations, additions, omissions, and distortions in all the gospel accounts of the cry of the crowd at Jesus' Palm Sunday entry into Jerusalem.

The imperative cry *hôšî‹ānnā > hôša‹nnā* in Jewish liturgy was a feature of the post-harvest celebration Sukkoth, or Booths/Tabernacle, concerned with the vital need for rain. Given the climatology of Palestine-Syria, similar rain rites must be very ancient. The seven-day celebration of Sukkoth ended with sevenfold cries of *hôšîā‹nnā,* "save/help, please," i.e., by giving rain, the prayers accompanied by waving and beating the ground with branches of willow and palm (cf. Mishnah *Sukk.* 4:3–6). This is obscurely mentioned in Ps 118:27, "bind festival (with) branches as far as the horns of the altar." This climax was called the "Great Hosanna," *hôša‹nā rabbā,* the great "Save Please," whence the nominalization *hôša‹nā,* plural *hôša‹nôt,* came to be applied to these rain prayers and later to prayer(s) in general. Even the branches beaten on the ground were called Hosannas, hence the proverbial Hebrew and Yiddish expression "a beaten *hosanna*" for a person buffeted by misfortune.

There is, however, no evidence whatsoever that Hosanna in biblical or postbiblical Jewish usage was ever an acclamation of praise. It was Christian misapprehension of a well-known Hebrew term that has confused even scholars to this day. The difference between acclamation and a stark cry, "Help, please!" is too great to be glossed over. How could such misapprehension occur? Why did not the gospel writers look to the Gk of Ps 118:25 and some thirty other passages where the Hebrew imperative is duly rendered by the Gk imperative *sōson,* "save"? The crux of the problem lies in the nonsensical cries "*hōsanna* to the son of David" and "*hōsanna* in the highest" which indicates that the cry was not understood because of the Semitic particle *l-* before the addresses "Son of David" and "highest."

C. C. Torrey (1933) surmises that in the original cry the Aramaic use of the proclitic particle *l-* as the object marker was mistaken for dative sense, "to/for the Son of David," thus distorting the imperative cry for help: "Save the Son of David!" and "Give him help on high!" Recently a new and compelling clue has emerged from the oldest corpus of W Semitic poetry exhumed at Ugarit, dating tm the middle of the 2d millennium B.C., wherein proclitic *l-* is a common vocative particle. Accordingly, Albright and Mann boldly translated Matthew 21:9, 15 "Hosanna, O son of David" and noted that "the meaning of vocative *la-* was misunderstood quite early, and the Gk translation therefore rendered the vocative *'O son of David'* as 'to the son of David,' because the Hebrew *la, lĕ* is also used to indicate 'to' as a dative. What we have, therefore, is an ancient liturgical text, a cry to the anointed king for deliverance" (*Matthew* AB, 252).

Albright and Mann, however, failed to apply the same logic to "Hosanna in the highest" and rendered it awkwardly " (Cry) Hosanna in the heavenly heights!" taking this as an echo of Ps 148:1. This appears to be precisely the flawed logic of the author of Luke 2:14 and 19:30 where the Gk noun *doxa,* "glory," is used instead of *hōsanna,* which was wrongly supposed to be equivalent in the sense to the "*hallĕl'-Yāh* in the heights" of Ps 148:1. Luke's errant surmise that *hōsanna* (which he avoids) means something like *hallĕl'-Yah* has misled readers of the gospels to this day. Even Albright, who perceived that "*hōsanna* to the son of David" misconstrued the ancient and long obsolete vocative *l-* as dative, failed to realize that in the nonsensical "*hōsanna* in the highest" we have also the original vocative particle *l-* similarly mistaken for the dative. "Highest" or "Most High" (Semitic *ʿelyôn;* Gk *hypsistos*) was an ancient divine title applied to the first of the four great gods in the ancient tradition of divine succession (1) Elyon, (2) Heaven, (3) El/Kumarbi/Kronos, (4) the Weather-god Baʿl/Hadd/Teshub/Zeus. The title "Highest" is used many times of God in both the OT and the NT. Accordingly, thanks to ancient W Semitic usage of vocative *l-*, we can finally explain how the cries *hôšaʿnnā lĕ-ben dāwîd* and *hôšaʿnnā lĕ-ʿelyon,* "Save/help, please, O Son of David!" and "Save/help, please, O Highest!" came to be misunderstood.

It is manifest that the cry *hōsanna,* meaning "help, please!" addressed first to the carpenter from Nazareth as the Messiah and secondly to (God) the Highest, was politically and religiously provocative, to both Jews and the Roman rulers, especially at the paschal season celebrating the great rescue of the past and the hope of present liberation from Roman rule. There has long been puzzlement at the unseasonal use of elements of the autumnal rain rites of Sukkoth, especially the palms (cf. John 12:13) during the spring paschal celebration of liberation from political and religious oppression. The provocative impact of cries of "Help!" accompanied by palm waving can be appreciated by reference to 2 Macc 10:5–8, which tells us how the first Hanukkah celebrating hard-won but short-lived political and religious independence was actually a repeat performance of the crucial rain rites of Sukkoth given new political significance by coincidence with recent victory over foreign rule. Memories of this delivery some two centuries earlier made the cries of Hosanna, "help, please," a powerful appeal calculated to incite the oppressed and alarm the oppressors.

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**HOSEA, BOOK OF.** The book of Hosea is the first of twelve prophetic books called the "minor prophets" not because of their insignificance when compared with the "major prophets," but because of their relative brevity. Chronologically, it is second only to Amos among the twelve. The prophet Hosea was the only one of the writing prophets who was a native of the northern kingdom who also prophesied there. His ministry extended from around the mid-eighth century to the fall of Samaria in 721 B.C.E.

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A. Text
B. Literary History
C. The Prophet
D. Historical Context
E. Canaanite Religion
F. Structure
G. Theology

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**A. Text**

With the possible exception of Job, the book of Hosea has the dubious distinction of having the most obscure passages of the entire Hebrew Bible. Apart from the frequent and sudden shifts in mood and subject, and the difficulty of establishing the historical contexts, the book is replete with linguistic peculiarities. The text is traditionally regarded as the most corrupt and poorly preserved of the Hebrew Bible. A little fragment containing parts of Hos 1:7–2:5 is found among manuscripts from Qumran (4Q XII). It is very similar to the MT and, hence, of little value for reconstruction of the text. The LXX is frequently literalistic and incomprehensible in part. The other versions are, likewise, garbled at critical junctures. It appears that the translators of the versions were themselves struggling to understand the texts before them. Sometimes the literalistic readings actually help us to reconstruct the consonants that the translators may have seen but not understood. The linguistic peculiarities in much of Hosea may be explained as dialectal idiosyncrasies, rather than errors or textual corruptions. Many of the difficulties one encounters in the book may be attributed not to the scribal process, but rather to our lack of familiarity with the N dialect of Hebrew. Hosea is, after all, the only one of the writing prophets who had his home in the N. And so, in this century, scholars have called on new understandings of Hebrew grammar in the light of epigraphic evidence, especially from Ugarit, to explain many linguistic problems in the book.

**B. Literary History**

As the different moods, styles, and historical allusions in the book suggest, the final form of the book has come to us through different hands and in several stages. Some commentators would attribute a major portion of the book to a Judean redactor in the Josianic period (late 7th century B.C.E.) or in the Babylonian exile (6th century). There is no reason to doubt, however, that Hosea was responsible for most of the oracles in the book, which appear to have been delivered in the second half of the 8th century. It is impossible to outline here the literary history of the entire book, but even a cursory examination of the first three chapters will show the complexity of the process. The autobiographical account of Hosea's call in 3:1–3 may have indeed come from the prophet himself. The woman is not named here and the children are not mentioned. She is said to be "the beloved of another" and an adulteress. But there is also an extended and somewhat different account written in the third person about Hosea's call and his misfortunes with his family (1:2–6, 8–9). The woman is named Gomer bat-Diblaim. She is called the wife of the prophet, is said to be a harlotrous woman, *ʾēset zĕnûnîm*. The three children are given symbolic names. This biographical account may have been written by a disciple or some other close associate of the prophet. An editor (perhaps the author of the biographical account) collected the two accounts of Hosea's call and wove them together with an oracle of judgment against Israel for her unfaithfulness to Yahweh (2:4–15—Eng2:2–13) and an oracle of hope (2:16–23—Eng2:14–20). These Hoseanic oracles are framed

by two short redactional units that link the unfaithfulness of Israel with Hosea's family (2:1–3, 23–25[—Eng1:10–2:1, 21–23]). This redaction may be dated to the period after the fall of Samaria in 721 B.C.E., if one includes the call for reunification of Israel and Judah (2:2—Eng1:11). The superscription for the entire book (1:1) is the work of editors in the exilic or postexilic period who were also responsible for the superscriptions on other prophetic books (cf. Joel 1:1; Mic 1:1; Zeph 1:1; Zech 1:1).

A similar process may be discernible in the rest of the book. While scholars are virtually unanimous that the book has a long history of transmission and that there is at least one Judean redaction, there is no agreement on the number and extent of the redaction. Major studies have appeared in recent years precisely on this question (Emmerson 1984; Yee 1987). The last verse of the book (14:10) is usually taken to be a late, perhaps postexilic, gloss by a scribe associated with wisdom circles. This conclusion, however, exaggerates the difference between prophetic and wisdom circles and fails to do justice to the vocabulary and thematic connections between this verse and the rest of Hosea (Seow 1982).

**C. The Prophet**

Nothing is known of the prophet Hosea ben-Beeri or his family outside this book. The name Hosea (properly Hoshea) is fairly common in the 8th and 7th centuries. Several seals and seal impressions bearing that name have been found from that period. The last monarch of the N kingdom, a younger contemporary of the prophet, was also called Hoshea (2 Kgs 17:1). The name is probably a shortened form of *hwšʿyh (w),* "YHWH has delivered," or "Deliver, O YHWH!" This name appears as an alternate of Joshua (Num 13:8; Deut 32:44).

In the opening chapter of the book, Hosea is called by YHWH to marry a certain Gomer bat-Diblaim. She is called a promiscuous woman *(ʾēšet zĕnûnîm).* Some say she was a cultic prostitute, but others suggest that she was or became a harlotrous woman, but was not a professional whore. She bore Hosea two sons, Jezreel ("God will sow") and *lōʾ ʿammî* ("Not my people") and a daughter, *lōʾ ruḥāmâ* ("Not pitied"). It is no surprise, given the shocking divine command to marry a harlot and the symbolic significance of the children's names, that many commentators through the ages have treated the first three chapters of Hosea as pure allegory, parable, vision, or dream. The medieval commentators Ibn Ezra, David Kimḥi, and Maimonides, for instance, regarded the whole experience as a prophetic vision. Finding the command morally offensive, many modern scholars have insisted that there was no real marriage with such a woman; Gomer bat-Diblaim is unfaithful Israel personified and nothing more (see the survey in Rowley 1963). Others have conceded that Hosea did marry the harlotrous woman as a symbolic act. Still others argue that God did not in fact command Hosea to marry such a woman. Rather, the prophet interpreted his marriage as divinely arranged when he learned of his wife's adultery and saw in his own experiences the meaning of God's love and commitment. In this line of thinking, Hosea's firstborn Jezreel ("God will sow") was so named as a sign of impending doom for "Israel," specifically the Jehu dynasty (1:4–5) on account of its bloodshed at the valley of Jezreel (cf. 2 Kgs 9:17–26; 10:1–11). By the time the second child was born, Hosea had learned of his wife's unfaithfulness. Hence that child was named "Not pitied" and the third child "Not my people." In the third chapter of the book the prophet is asked to love a woman who is beloved of another and an adulteress. It is not certain if this woman is Gomer; many argue that this is a different woman here (Stuart *Hosea-Jonah* WBC, 11–12, 65–66). The adverb "again" *(ʿôd)* in 3:1 may be taken with the call (thus, "YHWH called to me again") or with the imperative ("love again!"). Some maintain that Hosea was asked to take another promiscuous woman after his marriage with Gomer had failed or, as others would have, after Gomer died. If Gomer is the woman of chap. 3, then she must have abandoned her family or been cast out. Eventually, she was put out for sale in the slave market where Hosea found her and bought her back (3:1–3).

According to the prophet himself, he was labeled "a fool" and "a crazy fellow" (9:7). The former is a technical term in the wisdom tradition, characterizing a person who is quarrelsome, hot-tempered, lacking self-control, promiscuous, or associating with promiscuous people. Perhaps in the eyes of Hosea's opponents his frequent tirades and his association with the promiscuous Gomer marked him as a fool, a simpleton who was easily seduced by the wicked temptress. It would be farfetched, however, to suggest that Hosea belonged to the class of the wise, or that he was educated in a wisdom school. Wisdom themes

and vocabulary were known to the prophets of the 8th century, as studies of Isaiah, Amos, and Micah have borne out. Even though there are certain features in the book that would normally be associated with the wisdom tradition, Hosea's insistence on the certainty of divine intervention in history and his covenant theology place him firmly within the prophetic tradition. Yet, like his contemporaries in the 8th century, Hosea appears to have been familiar with the language and imagery of the sages, and so he uses them in his oracles and disputations. His central claim concerns Israel's lack of knowledge (Heb *da*ʿ*at*). The choice of "knowledge" is apt, for it is at home in both the wisdom and covenant traditions. Israel is portrayed consistently as a recalcitrant fool who has no understanding and makes foolish choices (Seow 1982). So the people will "come to ruin" like the typical fool (4:14; cf. Prov 10:8). They are drunk (4:1, 18; cf. Prov 20:1) and gluttonous (4:8). They brag about not fearing YHWH (10:3). They are likened to stupid animals and birds that wander about aimlessly. The mention of foreigners who sap the strength of Israel (7:9) is reminiscent of the warning given to the simpleton regarding unsavory alliances with "foreigners" (Prov 5:10). Indeed, the foolish people have borne "foreign children" (5:7). Israel's reliance on foreign powers is deemed futile, and compared with the pursuit of wind (12:2 [1]). In the book, one also finds references to the use of false balances (12:7; cf. Prov 11:1; 16:11) and to the shifting of boundary markers (5:10), unjust practices against which the sages repeatedly warned (e.g., Prov 22:28; 23:10). The prophet considered Israel an unwise fetus that does not know its proper time—as the wise always did (13:13).

Hosea was thoroughly familiar with the prophetic and historical traditions. Although he condemned a certain prophet ("the prophet" in 4:5), Hosea held the prophetic office in highest regard. The prophets received their authority from YHWH. Through the prophets God dealt with humans (12:10; 6:5) and through them God delivered Israel (12:13). The prophet was a watcher of and a snare to the people (9:8). In this connection, Moses is regarded as the prophet to whom the prophetic office may be traced.

Hosea was apparently well schooled in the historical traditions. Wolff (1956) has proposed that Hosea was so well versed in the traditions because of his close associations with certain priestly families and Levites. He was able to use his knowledge of Israel's history to call his people back to a correct relationship with YHWH. So he refers to the tradition of Jacob, who grabbed the heels of his brother and strove with God (12:2–6).

The date of Hosea cannot be set with certainty, but the material in the book suggests at least the period from the end of Jeroboam's reign to the fall of Samaria, approximately 752–721 B.C.E. This makes Hosea a contemporary of Amos, who prophesied in the N kingdom, and of Isaiah, who prophesied in the S. When Amos prophesied at Bethel, he was confronted by Amaziah, the royal priest at the national sanctuary (Amos 7:10–17). Since Hosea was a contemporary of Amos, Andersen and Freedman (*Hosea* AB, 38, 351–53) have proposed that Amaziah was the wicked priest against whom Hosea prophesied (4:4; cf. Amos 7:10–12).

There is no mention of Hosea's hometown anywhere in the book, nor is anything said about Beeri's origin. Nevertheless, it is accepted by all scholars that Hosea prophesied in the N kingdom, probably in the vicinities of Samaria, the capital, and near the sanctuaries at Bethel and Gilgal.

**D. Historical Context**

Scholars are by no means agreed on the extent to which one can reconstruct the historical events that lie in the background of the book. Hosea rarely mentions his contemporaries by name. He may have intended to be vague in his oracles, or the details may have been eliminated by someone in a later period who sought to generalize the oracles for later generations. Several of the oracles may be placed in any number of historical situations. The specific details are usually not spelled out in the oracles. Hence, some scholars hold that at best only one or two passages may be pinned down historically, but others are more optimistic about historical reconstructions. Among the latter, it is commonly assumed that the present sequence of passages in the book corresponds roughly to the chronological sequence in Israel's history—with the earliest events in the earliest part of the book and the latest at the end.

The superscription (1:1) places the prophecies of Hosea in the reigns of the Judean kings Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, but only Jeroboam II is mentioned of the kings of Israel. This is peculiar,

since Hosea was a N prophet preaching to the N kingdom. The priority given to the Judean kings and the inadequate reference to the N monarchy indicate that the superscription belongs to a Judean editor, following the fall of Samaria.

Some of the oracles of Hosea probably originated during the last years of the reign of Jeroboam II (786–746 B.C.E.), as the superscription suggests. Several passages in the book reflect the relative political stability and wealth in the Jeroboam era. The people were gluttonous, drunk, and far too complacent, if not arrogant (4:1–5:7). The atmosphere of Israel described here is very similar to that which Amos confronted in the days of Jeroboam. The sanctuaries of Gilgal and Beth-aven (Bethel) had been abused and foreign elements were introduced into the cult of YHWH (4:15–5:7; 9:15). The people had misplaced their trust on cultic acts (8:13; 6:6). They were more concerned about accumulating wealth than they were with justice (12:8–9—Eng vv 7–8). They had become overly confident in the military might of the nation (10:13–14; 8:14). The wealthier they became, the more readily sanctuaries multipled. This Hosea condemned, as the Deuteronomist(s) did. God would destroy their altars, their pillars, and their high places.

Even during the stable reign of Jeroboam, political intrigues threatened the Jehu dynasty. In such a climate, Amaziah accused Amos of plotting to assassinate Jeroboam (Amos 7:11). The oracles of Amos were too subversive and the country could not tolerate them. The possibility of sedition was certainly in the air. Indeed, from the death of Jeroboam in 746 till the fall of Samaria in 721 six kings ascended the throne in Israel; all except one died by violence. Assassination was the order of the day. Several of Hosea's oracles reflect this state of instability and confusion (5:1; 7:5–7; 8:4; 9:15; 13:10–11).

In 743, Tiglath-pileser III (745–727) of Assyria launched his infamous W campaign. The Syro-Palestinian states had to decide to acquiesce in the face of Assyrian threats or to join other states in a united front to stem the Assyrian tide. In this period Israel vacillated between submission and resistance, turning alternately between the rival powers of Assyria and Egypt (7:11). Israel's king Menahem (745–738) decided to submit in the face of Tiglath-pileser's superior military power. Israel paid a heavy tribute which was raised by a head tax levied on every landholder (2 Kgs 15:19–20; *ANET*, 283). Hosea alludes to the capitulation of Ephraim *(ʾprym)* to the Assyrians in this period, depicting Ephraim as a stupid dove (7:11) and a wild ass *(prʾ)* wandering alone (8:9).

Menahem was succeeded by his son Pekahiah, who was himself quickly assassinated by nationalistic elements headed by Pekah ben-Remaliah with a gang of fifty Gileadites (2 Kgs 15:23–26). Gilead is known in Hosea is a "a city of evil doers" (6:8; cf. 12:12 [11]). The mention of Gilead and bloodshed there may be a veiled reference to the murder of Pekahiah. Under Pekah, Israel joined the Arameans and the Philistines in an anti-Assyrian alliance. The coalition tried to persuade and then coerce Judah to join their ranks, thus initiating the Syro-Ephraimitic war (735–733). Albrecht Alt's thesis that this war lies in the background of 5:8–6:6 is accepted by most scholars. Against the pleading of the prophet Isaiah, King Ahaz of Judah turned to Tiglath-pileser, who gladly complied by seizing Galilee and some territories in the Transjordan. The prophecy concerning the "breaking of Israel's bow" at Jezreel (1:4–5) probably alludes to the decisive battle which Tiglath-pileser won in 733. Only Samaria and the hill country of Ephraim remained in Israelite control. Tiglath-pileser ravaged the land and deported a large segment of the population (5:13–14; 2 Kgs 15:29). Pekah was assassinated by a pro-Assyrian faction led by Hoshea ben-Elah, who quickly sued for peace and sent a tribute to the Assyrian king (2 Kgs 15:30). This triumph of Assyria is recorded in Akkadian in one of the annals of Tiglath-pileser:

> (Israel's) inhabitants (and) its possessions I led to Assyria. They overthrew their king Pekah *(Pa-qa-ḫa)* and I placed Hoshea *(A-u-siÕ)* as king over them. I received from them 10 talents of gold, 1,000 (?) talents of silver as their [tri]bute and brought them to Assyria (*ANET*, 28).

As long as Hoshea was content to be a vassal of Assyria, there was some measure of peace in Israel. But Hoshea sought to cast off the Assyrian yoke by turning to Egypt (cf. 7:11). Thus, when Tiglath-pileser died in 727, Hoshea withheld tribute from the Assyrians (2 Kgs 17:4). These events may form the background of the references to Israel's "return to Egypt" in 9:3; 11:5; 12:1.

Succeeding Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser V launched his punitive expedition against Israel in 725. The oracles about the demise of Israel's king (10:7; 13:10–11) are commonly taken to be allusions to the punishment of Hoshea by the Assyrians. The mention of Shalman who destroyed Beth-arbel (10:14) is sometimes taken to be a reference to Shalmaneser V, who was supposed to have destroyed Beth-arbel (modern Irbid?) en route to Samaria. This would put the oracle sometime just before the fall of Samaria in 721 B.C.E. Others identify Shalman with the Moabite king Salamau who is mentioned in one of Tiglath-pileser's inscriptions (*ANET*, 282). No evidence is available, however, for the devastation of Beth-arbel, which was apparently widely known to Hosea's audience.

There are several probable allusions in the book to the last days of Samaria (9:1–9; 10:3–10; 11:5–7). But there is no mention of the actual destruction of Samaria anywhere. Indeed, in the conclusion of the book, Samaria is apparently still standing, but her end is nigh (14:1—Eng 13:16).

**E. Canaanite Religion**

The book of Hosea provides us with rare textual insights into N Israelite religion in the 8th century B.C.E. The Elijah stories (1 Kings 17–19) tell of the struggle in the N kingdom between the prophets of YHWH and the adherents of Baalism only a century before Hosea. In general, the picture is in accord with scholarly reconstruction from archaeological discoveries. Yahwism apparently did not dominate in the N kingdom as it did in Judah. By all accounts, Israel flirted with all manners of Canaanite religion. Many personal names on Hebrew seals discovered in Israel bear Canaanite theophoric elements, contrasting dramatically with the personal names of seals from Judah. The Samaria ostraca from this general period also contain numerous Baal names. At Kuntillet ʿAjrud in the Sinai, the site of an ancient Israelite (as opposed to Judean) colony has been discovered with evidence of a syncretistic Yahwistic cult. On one pithos one finds the drawing of a couple with bovine features, and above it is the inscription: *brkt. ʾtkm. lyhwh. šmrn. wlʾšrth,* "May you be blessed by YHWH of Samaria and by his Asherah" (Meshel 1979).

It is sometimes posited that Gomer bat-Diblaim was a cultic prostitute who participated in the ritual sexual acts of Canaanite religions (2:7–15—Eng2:5–13). It has also been suggested that the name Diblaim, which may be taken to mean "Two Fig" or the like, is a veiled reference to Gomer's partaking of the "raisin cakes" (3:1). The latter is possibly an aphrodisiac associated with Canaanite fertility cults.

According to Hosea, the people consecrated themselves at Baal-peor, soon after they had made the covenant with YHWH (9:10; Num 25:1–18). They were brought by YHWH to the land which he had blessed, but they turned to the Canaanite gods instead, and attributed blessings and success to Baal (2:7, 10–11—Eng2:5, 8–9). The polemic against Canaanite religion is clear here. Baal was thought to be the god of nature and fertility, but it was really YHWH who gave and took away.

Among the practices of Canaanite religion, none irked Hosea more than their attempt to induce fertility by sympathetic magic. Since fertility was thought to have been generated by sexual intercourse between the deities (specifically between Baal and Anat), certain men and women were set apart for cultic coitus. But Hosea insisted that the Canaanite gods could not deliver on their promise. The woman pursued them but she could not catch up; "she will seek them, but they will not be found" (2:5—Eng2:7). The imagery of a woman pursuing her lover is known in other erotic contexts (Cant 3:1–4). Here it may have to do with a sexual ritual to bring about fertility. The people participated in such sexual rites to ensure rich harvests and fecundity, but they would "eat but not be satisfied, prostitute themselves but not multiply" (4:10).

Eventually Israel had to learn that only YHWH could grant the blessings of the land. Then, YHWH alone would have the allegiance of his bride, not Baal. The name of Baal would be removed forever; Israel would call YHWH "my husband" *(ʾîšî)* and not "my master" *(baʿălî)* as before.

No other Canaanite god is explicitly mentioned besides Baal, although it is sometimes supposed that the Hebrew of 14:9—Eng 14:8 contains an allusion to the goddesses Anat and Asherah. In 4:12 one finds mention of people seeking oracles from "wood." This is probably an allusion to the statue of the goddess Asherah and/or the sacred tree in the sanctuary. Hosea inveighed against the use of idols, but special mention is made of the "calf of Samaria" (8:5), the "calf of Beth-aven" (10:5), and certain calves that

people kissed (13:2). These are probably the calves that Jeroboam I made to prevent his subjects from going down to the Jerusalem temple (1 Kgs 12:28; cf. Exod 32:1–10). They were probably nothing more than pedestals on which YHWH was supposed to have stood, but the polemics of Yahwistic prophets made these out to be idols made for worship.

**F. Structure**

It is clear that chap. 1–3 and 4–14 constitute two major divisions of the book. The first section (chap. 1–3) functions as the preface for the entire book. The preface represents the unfaithfulness of Israel in the person of Gomer, and the pain and love of God in the person of Hosea. The prophet is asked to marry the promiscuous Gomer because "the land" had gone awhoring, going after her Canaanite "lovers" (the gods), depending on these illegitimate lovers for sustenance, and performing rites that joined her to them. Judgment is proclaimed, but it is followed by a message of hope for a new beginning. Eventually, the recalcitrant wife would realize that life was much better with her first spouse. Thus, out of the troublesome valley of suffering (see ACHOR) there would, nevertheless, be a door of hope (2:17—Eng2:15). YHWH would no longer be confused with Baal. Indeed, the names of the Baalism would be removed from Israel's lips, and a new relationship would be established by YHWH. Israel would be betrothed to YHWH once again. The same juxtaposition of judgment with hope and the theme of redemption is also found in chap. 3.

Reflecting the structure of the first three chapters, the major portion of the book also juxtaposes oracles of hope (11:1–11; 14:1–8) with oracles of judgment. As in the first three chapters, so in the oracles of 4–14 YHWH's relation with Israel is expressed in familial terms, as husband and wife and parent and child (11:1–4). YHWH is portrayed as the faithful lover and husband, Israel as the adulterous and recalcitrant wife. The theme of the wife's unfaithfulness is carried through the book. YHWH is also the patient parent bent on teaching Israel, the rebellious child (11:1–7). Although he resorted to discipline, his compassion and mercy for the child prevented the child from being destroyed.

The book may be outlined as follows:

I. Preface: The Family of Hosea (chap. 1–3)
  A. Hosea's Call and His Family (1:2–2:3—Eng1:1–11)
  B. God and the Wife (2:4–25—Eng2:1–23)
  C. Restoration (3:1–5)
II. Faithful God and Unfaithful Israel (chap. 4–13)
  A. Unfaithfulness of Israel (4:1–8:14)
  B. Proclamation of Judgment (9:1–13:16)
III. Restoration (chap. 14)
  A. Call to Return (14:2–4—Eng 14:1–3)
  B. Promise of Restoration (14:5–9—Eng 4–8)
  C. Summary Call to Faithfulness (14:10—Eng 9)

**G. Theology**

Hosea stands firmly in the ancient Mosaic tradition of the conditional covenant, a tradition having its greatest influence in the N kingdom. Fundamental to this theological tradition is the understanding that the validity of the covenant was conditional upon the faithfulness of the covenant partners. This covenant has been compared with the suzerainty treaties of the ANE. Following this model, YHWH is seen as the benevolent suzerain and Israel as the vassal who owed allegiance to YHWH.

There are allusions in the book to the Sinai revelation. The very name *lō᾽-ʿammî,* "not my people," suggests the Mosaic tradition in which YHWH called Israel *ʿammî,* "my people" (cf. Exod 6:7; 3:7, 10). That relationship assumed that the nation would obey the command of YHWH and "keep the covenant" (Exod 19:5); failure to do so would result in covenant curses and invalidation of the relationship. According to Hosea, God used to call Israel *ʿammî,* "my people," but because of their unfaithfulness the Israelites will be called *lō᾽-ʿammî,* "not my people." At Sinai, the deity was revealed as the great *᾽ehyeh,* "I am" (Exod 3:14), but now, because of Israel's unfaithfulness, the message from God is *lō᾽-᾽ehyeh,* "I am not (your God)" (1:9). Hosea was interested primarily in Israel as a chosen people. Unlike his

contemporary, Amos, he was not interested in the punishment or salvation of other nations. Because of his emphasis on the covenant relationship, he refers to the deity usually by the name YHWH (38 times); where *ʾĕlōhîm* is used, a pronominal suffix is used to imply that it is the God of the Exodus and Sinai of whom Hosea is speaking. As a divine name, *ʾĕlōhîm* occurs only 3 times in Hosea without suffixal or other specification. Thus, Hosea was concerned with YHWH, the God of Israel, who led the Israelites out of Egypt and preserved them in the wilderness (12:13, 14). Israel knew "no other God" but YHWH, there was no other savior (13:4; Exod 20:3).

Throughout the book there are specific references and allusions to the Exodus event (2:17—Eng2:15; 11:1; 12:10, 14[—Eng12:9, 13]; 13:4) and the wilderness experience (2:16[—Eng2:14]; 9:10; 13:4). Hosea romanticized the early days of Israel's history as a time of Israel's faithfulness (2:15 [13]).

Against this background one must understand the sins of Israel. The vassal had betrayed the suzerain; the people of Israel had rebelled (5:7; 6:7; 7:1; 7:13, 14; 8:1–2; 9:15; 14:1—Eng 13:16). Israel (the figuration as a woman surfaces repeatedly) had transgressed the covenant and violated its stipulations (4:1–3; 6:7; 7:1; 8:1). This she did by showing allegiance to other gods, turning to foreign military power, and relying on her own military prowess. Sharing the same world view as the predecessors of the Deuteronomic school, Hosea condemned any deviation from the Yahwistic cult. The people had made molten images of silver and gold, just as they did in the days of Moses and Aaron (8:4–5; 13:2). Israel had violated her trust by turning to the Canaanite gods and participating in their sexual rituals (2:7b–15—Eng2:5b–14; 9:10). The prophet described this unfaithfulness in sexual terms, as harlotry and adultery (1:2; 2:4–15—Eng2:2–13; 4:10–19; 5:3–4; 6:10; 7:4; 9:1). Here again is an allusion to the covenant at Sinai where the proliferation of altars and the worship of other gods are regarded as acts of harlotry (Exod 34:12–16; cf. Judg 8:33). They have indeed rejected the love of Yahweh and turned to the Canaanite gods. They made idols and worshipped them (4:17; 8:4; 10:5; 11:2; 13:1–3; 14:9—Eng14:8). Like the later Deuteronomists, Hosea condemned the proliferation of altars and local sanctuaries (10:1–2, 8; 12:11). He regarded the temple in Jerusalem as the sole legitimate sanctuary in which to worship YHWH, and he condemned those who worshipped at the N shrines at Gilgal and Bethel (4:15; 9:15). He attributed the apostasy of Israel to what the Deuteronomist called "the sin of Jeroboam," namely, the erection of the golden calf at Bethel (10:5).

In spite of YHWH's faithfulness as evident in history, Israel did not trust in YHWH's power to protect and deliver them. Instead, they turned to Assyria and Egypt (5:13; 7:8, 11; 8:9–10; 12:2—Eng12:1), precisely the oppressive nations from which they had to be rescued. Thus Israel acted treacherously against YHWH her suzerain. Hence her sacrifices and offerings were of no use to YHWH (6:6; 8:13).

Because of Israel's violations of the covenant, YHWH brought a lawsuit against her (2:4 [—Eng 2:2]; 4:1; 5:1). YHWH charged that Israel lacked faithfulness *(ʾĕmet),* loyalty *(ḥesed),* and knowledge of God *(daʿat ʾĕlōhîm;* cf. 4:1). Knowledge and loyalty are two key theological concepts in Hosea. They occur together again in 6:6, where it is emphasized that YHWH preferred loyalty and knowledge of God to sacrifice.

Knowledge of God marked Israel's special relationship with YHWH. People and priest alike are rejected by YHWH because of their lack of knowledge (4:1, 6; 5:4). The verb *ydʿ* indicates intimate knowledge as of partners in a covenant or marriage. Israel's relationship with YHWH was once correct: they *knew* no other God but YHWH, and YHWH knew them in their wilderness wandering (13:4). But as soon as they were satiated with the nourishment that YHWH had provided them, they forgot the benevolence of YHWH (13:6). They claimed to know YHWH (8:2), but they had flagrantly broken the covenant with YHWH and violated the law (8:1). In fact, they did not know. They did not even know that it was YHWH who provided her with grain, wine, and oil (2:8). Instead, they attributed these products of the land to other gods (2:7 [—Eng 2:5]). They reckoned that vines and fig trees were their payment for their devotion to their "lovers" (2:14 [—Eng 2:12]). For the sake of grain and wine they participated in the fertility rites associated with Baal (7:14; cf. 1 Kgs 18:28). They gashed themselves even though it was explicitly forbidden for them to do so (Deut 14:28). It was YHWH who cared for them and healed, but they did not know it (11:3). They did not know YHWH because they were possessed by the "spirit of

harlotry" (5:4). But YHWH knew them (5:3). They had rejected knowledge, the absence of which was evident in their violation of the commandments of God (4:1–3, 6). The lack of knowledge is taken to be synonymous with treachery (5:7; 6:6–7), and for this treachery she was to go into exile (4:1, 6). But beyond the judgment Hosea saw hope for a new relationship established by YHWH and based on faithfulness, loyalty, justice, and mercy. Then would Israel truly know YHWH (2:22—Eng2:20). To that end, Hosea urged his audience to "know YHWH and pursue the knowledge of YHWH" (6:2).

For Hosea, "loyalty" *(ḥesed)* marked the covenant of mutuality. Both covenant partners were expected to demonstrate this quality. There was inequality. YHWH's reliability was likened to the predictability of dawn and the spring rain (6:1–3). Israel's loyalty, on the other hand, was as fleeting as the morning cloud and the dew that evaporates all too quickly (6:4). She must repent and sow righteousness in order to reap the fruits of *ḥesed* (10:12). The people must keep loyalty and justice (12:7). Israel will, indeed, be punished for the abandonment of her covenant responsibilities. But beyond judgment there is hope. Eventually, God will take Israel back as bride in righteousness, justice, mercy, faithfulness, and loyalty, and Israel will truly know YHWH (2:22–23—Eng2:19–20).

It is for good reason that Hosea is often called the prophet of love. The love of YHWH for Israel is substantiated and exemplified in Hosea's own relationship with his wife. Divine love is shown in the microcosm of Hosea's marriage. Love, indeed, is the central theme that unifies the book. The relationship between Hosea and his beloved (chap. 1–3) which mirrors the relationship between YHWH and Israel (chap. 4–14) is one of love on the part of the gracious husband. As with loyalty and knowledge, so love may be understood in terms of the covenant. In the ANE, the ties between the vassal and suzerain were said to be marked by "love." The vassal was supposed to "love" the suzerain by observing the treaty stipulations, honoring its responsibilities, and being loyal to the suzerain. Hosea was commanded to love a harlotrous woman as a symbol of YHWH's love for the people in spite of their unfaithfulness (3:1). God is also said to have loved Israel like a child, even though Israel kept gravitating toward other gods (11:1–4). That same love would be freely given with the eventual reconcilation (14:5 [—Eng 14:4]). By the same token, the invalidation of the covenant is expressed as the withdrawal of love (9:15).

For their transgressions, the people would be punished. Covenant curses would be upon them. They would be cursed with hunger (4:10; 9:2). Their threshing floors and wine vats would cease to be operational (9:2). Though they were engaged in all sorts of rites to bring fertility, they would experience barrenness and dryness of breasts instead (4:10; 9:11). They and their princes would die by the sword (7:16; 9:13; 11:6). Their children would be dashed in pieces and their pregnant women would be cut open (11:6; 14:1—Eng 13:16]). War would overtake them (10:9; 14). Their cities would be destroyed by fire (8:14). Parents would be bereft of their children (9:11–14, 16). Worst of all, there would be a reversal of the Exodus; they would be brought back to Egypt whence they had been delivered (8:13; 9:3; 11:5; 14:1–2) or be in exile (9:3, 17; 11:5, 11). Thus the unfaithful nation would receive the same punishment as the unfaithful Gomer: they would be cast out of their home (land) and left to fend for themselves in foreign territories. Through this experience of punishment Israel would learn, even as the unfaithful wife did, that life was better with her first husband, namely YHWH (2:9 [—Eng 2:7]).

Thus, Hosea's message is not entirely of doom. Punishment was inevitable. The situation was not hopeless because God's compassion for Ephraim the child was great (11:8–9), and God could not bear to see God's beloved destroyed. In the end, the children would "be pitied" (14:4 [—Eng 14:3]; cf. 1:6; 2:25 [—Eng 2:23]). Hence, the people were asked to return *(sûb)* to YHWH (6:1; 12:7 [—Eng 12:6]; 14:2–3—Eng 14:1–2) in order that they might be restored to their wealth and health. In accordance with Deuteronomistic covenant theology, the repentance of the offender would bring forgiveness and life. YHWH's affliction was only temporary; it was intended to cause Israel to see the foolishness of her ways. Eventually YHWH would heal the sickness and bind the wounds so that his people would live again (6:1–2). Their fortunes would be restored and they would be healed (6:11). The exiles would return home (11:10–11; 6:11; cf. 3:5). They would be healed (6:1, 11). YHWH would correct their apostasy and love them freely again (14:5—Eng 14:3). They would return and dwell under his shade (14:8 [—Eng 14:7]).

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C. L. SEOW

**HOSHAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *hôšaʿăyâ* (הוֹשַׁעְיָה)]. **1.** Leader of the princes of Judah at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 12:32). The list of participants in vv 32–36 has probably been spliced into a separate narrative about the procession (vv 27–31, 37–43) from the first-person accounts in Nehemiah known as Nehemiah's Memoirs (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 370), perhaps for the purpose of making a historical connection between Nehemiah and Ezra (whose name in v 33 may itself be a gloss on "Azariah").

**2.** Father of Jezaniah (Jer 42:1) or Azariah (Jer 43:2), a leader in Jerusalem after the assassination of Gedaliah and one of the "insolent men" (Heb *hazzādîm;* 43:2) who forced Jeremiah to flee with them to Egypt. Therefore, Hoshaiah was presumably also the Maacathite referred to in Jer 40:8. The LXX versions of Jer 49:1 (—Eng 42:1) and 50:2 (—Eng 43:2) both refer to Azariah as the son of MAASEIAH *(maasaiou)* instead of Hoshaiah. The reasons for these variations are unclear. The name Hoshaiah in its longer form, *hwšʿyhw,* is well attested in inscriptions outside of the Bible including the Lachish letters (Fowler *TPNAH,* 97). There is no certainty that the Hoshaiah of the Lachish correspondence is the same man referred to in Jeremiah, but this is a possibility. See JAAZANIAH and JEZANIAH.
STEVEN L. MCKENZIE

**HOSHAMA** (PERSON) [Heb *hôšāmāʾ* (הוֹשָׁמָא)]. The sixth son of Jeconiah (Jehoiachin), king of Judah (598–597), who was exiled by Nebuchadnezzar. Hoshama is mentioned only in 1 Chr 3:18, as part of the list recording the postexilic descendants of David.

RUSSELL FULLER

**HOSHEA** (PERSON) [Heb *hôšēaʿ* (הוֹשֵׁעַ)]. **1.** The earlier name of Joshua, the son of Nun (Num 13:8; cf. Deut. 32:44), which Moses, for some unspecified reason, changed to Joshua (v 16). This Ephraimite was among the twelve scouts whom Moses, at Yahweh's command, dispatched N from the wilderness of Paran in order "to spy out the land of Canaan" (v 17). See JOSHUA.

**2.** The son of Azaziah and chief officer (*nāgîd*, 1 Chr 27:16) of Ephraim during the Davidic monarchy (1 Chr 27:20).

**3.** The last king of Israel (ca. 732–724 B.C.E.), the son of Elah (2 Kgs 15:30), and a contemporary of two Judean kings, Ahaz and Hezekiah. Though his ultimate fate is unknown, this murderer and successor of Pekah had a relatively short and troubled rule prior to being taken captive by Shalmaneser V, king of Assyria. Hoshea's career and its impact on the N kingdom will be considered under three categories: prelude, Hoshea's regal tenure, and aftermath.

**a. Prelude.** When the anti-Assyrian coalition that was headed by two politically unrealistic monarchs—Pekah of Israel and his ally, Rezin of Aram—proved ineffective, these small states in W Asia were slated for trouble. In 734 B.C.E. Assyria's king, Tiglath-pileser III (745–727), pressed westward. After an initial sweep down the Mediterranean coast, he directed his attention to interior regions in Syria-Palestine. Tiglath-pileser reached the climax of his campaign when he moved against Damascus in 733–732 B.C.E. He devastated the city, executed its king, Rezin, deported much of the population, and reorganized Aram into four Assyrian provinces. During or just prior to his siege against Damascus, Tiglath-pileser confirmed Hoshea's appointment as king of Israel (*ANET,* 284). Israel seems not to have suffered accutely from Assyrian visitation at this juncture, though some of its people were deported. Also the Assyrians took charge of Israelite territory in Galilee, the valley of Jezreel, and Transjordan that Rezin had seized for Aram some years earlier. In mounting the throne in Samaria, Hoshea would govern a small territory that did not range beyond the city of Samaria and the neighboring hill country of Ephraim.

**b. Hoshea's Regal Tenure.** Credited with a reign of nine years (2 Kgs 17:1), Hoshea presumably entered the regal office during the latter phase of Tiglath-pileser's W campaign. The precise manner whereby he displaced his predecessor Pekah is not known. On the one hand, the biblical text reports that "Hoshea the son of Elah made a conspiracy against Pekah the son of Remaliah, and struck him down, and slew him, and reigned in his stead" (2 Kgs 15:30). On the other hand, a first-person statement in the annals of Tiglath-pileser III discloses that the people "overthrew their king Pekah and I placed Hoshea as king over them" (*ANET,* 284). Though forthright initiative on Hoshea's part need not be questioned, surely the Assyrian endorsement of the one who would next govern the vassal Israelite state was a matter of import.

Whatever the exact circumstances may have been, pro-Assyrian sentiment momentarily prevailed in Samaria. It was not a moment too soon for Israel to make amends to the Assyrians, who surely would applaud Pekah's removal. If Israel's fate were not to replicate Aram's, Hoshea would need to provide visible tokens of his awareness that his relationship to Tiglath-pileser was that of vassal to overlord. Indeed, in 731 B.C.E., at an obviously early stage in his regal tenure, Hoshea dispatched tribute to Tiglath-pileser, who was currently involved in a campaign in distant Babylonia.

Though no details are available, we may assume that Hoshea's response to Shalmaneser V (727–722 B.C.E.), the son and successor of Tiglath-pileser III, was likewise submissive. Admittedly, the text in 2 Kgs 17:3 invites two distinct interpretations. Reporting that "against him [Hoshea] came up Shalmaneser king of Assyria; and Hoshea became his vassal, and paid him tribute," this verse could be perceived as a disclosure that Shalmaneser V found it necessary to pay Hoshea a personal visit in order to remind him of the requirements of Israelite vassaldom to Assyria. A second and more viable interpretation holds that, as Hoshea had placated Tiglath-pileser with tribute, he did no less for his new successor Shalmaneser.

In 724 B.C.E., however, Hoshea committed a costly political error by shifting his loyalty from Assyria to Egypt. He ceased making annual payments of tribute to Shalmaneser V and began to cultivate diplomatic ties with Egypt. Thus the biblical text states that "the king of Assyria found treachery in Hoshea; for he

had sent messengers to So, king of Egypt, and offered no tribute to the king of Assyria" (2 Kgs 17:4). Owing to the lack of historiographic literature for the reign of Shalmaneser V, this laconic biblical text remains in the shadows. Perhaps an increasingly strong anti-Assyrian faction in Samaria induced Hoshea to shift his position. Moreover, Hoshea might have assumed that other Palestinian states were ripe for a mutual campaign against Assyria. In any event, Hoshea misread Egypt's capacity to help on this occasion. Currently fragmented into several insignificant rival kingdoms, Egypt was not about to spend its energies tending to some other nation's problems.

Also it is not clear to whom Hoshea directed his appeal. Egyptian records do not attest any pharaoh named So. Until 1960 it was commonplace for So (perhaps vocalized as Sewe) to be equated with Sib›e, the Egyptian military commander often mentioned in the inscriptions of Sargon (*ANET,* 285). Since Borger (1960: 49–53) has demonstrated that the cuneiform sign in question must be read ideographically as Re›e, the identification of So with Sib›e has been abandoned. Kitchen (1986: 463) accepts So as an abbreviation of the name Osorkon IV, the last pharaoh of Egypt's 22d Dynasty. Since the identity of the pharaoh with whom Hoshea sought to establish diplomatic ties is not beyond dispute, another approach commends itself. This involves equating So with a *place* (the city of Sais in the Nile delta) rather than with a *person* (Goedicke 1963: 64–66). Thus Albright (1963: 66) argues that the Hebrew text originally stated that Hoshea sent "to So (i.e., to Sais), to the king of Egypt." Several years prior to 720 B.C.E., Pharaoh Tefnakht, who founded Egypt's 24th Dynasty, established an independent kingdom in Sais. Uncertainties surrounding the identity of So, however, in no way discount the fact that Hoshea's appeal to some Egyptian element went unanswered.

**c. Aftermath.** The Assyrian reprisal was prompt. In some manner, Shalmaneser V captured Hoshea and "bound him in prison" (2 Kgs 17:4). Perhaps Hoshea, choosing to break with Samaria's anti-Assyrian faction, appeared before his overlord to make amends. At any rate, Israelite resistance did not cease with the king's arrest. Only after a lengthy siege involving two calendar years did Samaria's stalwart population surrender to the Assyrians. Apparently Shalmaneser deployed only some of his forces against this city that was still being well served by superbly constructed defensive walls erected more than a century earlier by Omri and Ahab.

In the biblical text, Shalmaneser is credited with having captured Samaria. Since he died shortly before or after Samaria's citizens were forced to surrender, it is not surprising that his brother and successor, Sargon II (722–705), celebrated the conquest of Samaria as the outstanding event of his first year of rule (*ANET*, 284). Though during the early months of his rule Sargon's energies were devoted to settling problems in both Assyria and S Mesopotamia, by 720 B.C.E. he was able to reclaim Samaria, deport 27,290 of its citizens, and incorporate it into the expanding Assyrian provincial system.

Finally, whereas Hoshea is censured in the biblical text for having done "evil in the sight of the LORD" (2 Kgs 17:2), the judgment is softened by this additional statement: "yet not as the kings of Israel who were before him." Though no precise reason is available to explain why Hoshea is the one N monarch to receive a mitigated condemnation, perhaps he lacked time and energy to mount religious pursuits that the Deuteronomic author would have found objectionable. That he was treated with some respect in the light of his tragic role as the last king of the N kingdom is a possible, though not compelling, answer.

**4.** One of "the chiefs of the people" (*ro›šê* hā‹ām; Neh 10:15—Eng10:14), a lay leader who set his seal to the covenant in the time of Nehemiah (Neh 10:24—Eng10:23). This deed is perceived as a solemn commitment that flowed naturally from the communal fasting and confession of sin that is the subject of Nehemiah 9. Presumably, by means of his own personal seal, Hoshea formally signed the document in question.

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**HOSPITALITY** [Gk *philoxenia* (φιλοξενια)]. The practice of receiving a guest or stranger graciously was common to many social groups throughout the period in which the OT and NT were composed. But special nuances of hospitality, particularly with regard to the guest and host roles played by God or Christ, serve to distinguish the notions of the biblical writers from those of their contemporaries. The word most often associated with hospitality in the LXX and the NT is *xenos,* which literally means foreigner, stranger, or even enemy. In its derived sense, however, the term comes to denote both guest and host alike. Typically, the verb used to describe the extending of hospitality is *xenizein* (Sir 29:25; 1 Macc 9:6; Acts 10:23; Heb 13:2). In the NT one who receives visitors is said to be *philoxenos,* i.e., a "lover of strangers," or to be practicing the virtue of *philoxenia* (1 Tim 3:2; 1 Pet 4:9; Rom 12:13; Heb 13:2). All these terms occur in classical Greek literature as well.

The Hebrew Scriptures contain no single word for hospitality, but the activity itself is prominent, especially in the patriarchal stories and accounts in the book of Judges. In these narratives the practice usually illustrates bedouin traditions having to do with a resident's obligation to nourish and protect travelers who find themselves in hostile environments. Thus, in Gen 18:1ff. Abraham rushes out of his tent to greet three strangers who approach him "in the heat of the day." When a feast is set before them, these unknown visitors reveal how God's promise concerning the son to be born of Abraham and Sarah is at long last approaching fulfillment. By conveying their message, the guests return a favor to their host, thus setting in motion a numinous reciprocity which is typical of stories about table fellowship in the ancient world. A similar exchange occurs when Abraham's servant visits Mesopotamia to procure a wife for Isaac (Gen 24:1–49). Having reached his destination, the servant prays that God will make known the desired bride in the person of the first young woman who not only responds to his request for a drink of water but also offers, on her own initiative, to water his camels as well. This turns out to be Rebekah. Over dinner in the house of Rebekah's father the servant discloses his identity and tells of his mission, ending with an account of the answered prayer. In both of these patriarchal stories God's will comes to light through an act of hospitality.

A more direct encounter with the divine occurs in a meal scene recorded by the preexilic author of Exodus 24. Immediately following the ratification of the Sinai covenant Moses, Aaron, and 70 elders of Israel ascend the holy mountain at God's command. Still at some distance from the top, "they saw the God of Israel … and he did not lay his hand on the chief men of Israel; they beheld God, and ate and drank" (Exod 24:9–11). This connection between a meal and an extraordinary vision of the divine finds echos in rabbinic literature (*m. ʾAboth* 3:4; *m. Ber.* 17a) and in the NT (Luke 24:13–35; John 21:1–14). By contrast, the Sodom and Gomorrah story (Gen 19:1–11) and an account of the rape-murder of a Levite's concubine by some Benjaminites (Judg 19:16–30) depict abuses of hospitality which call down wrathful responses from God and the people of Israel.

Another feature of hospitality that emerges from the OT record is Israel's deep sense of God as its host. Conscious of its formation from descendants of a "wandering Aramean," Israel knew and treasured its identity as a pilgrim people (Deut 26:5–22), especially during the Exodus journey when it received manna from God in the wilderness (Exodus 16–17). Having taken possession of the promised land, Israelites nevertheless remembered that their home belonged to Yahweh (Lev 25:23) and that they, like their forebears, remained sojourners and passing guests in God's eyes (Ps 39:12). Precisely as inhabitants of the land, they pictured themselves being led into green pastures and feted at the table of the divine king in the presence of their enemies. The "house of the Lord" in which they hoped to dwell forever was essentially God's perpetual hosting (Psalm 23; see also Psalm 104 in which God is portrayed as feeding and sustaining the entire creation day by day). When Israel's prophets looked forward to an era of perfect righteousness and *shalom,* it was no accident that they envisioned God entertaining the people at an endless feast (Amos 9:13–15; Joel 3:18; Isa 25:6–8; see also *1 En.* 62:14; *Midr.* Exod 25:7–8). According to Isaiah, this great banquet would be spread for everyone on earth: "On this mountain the Lord of Hosts will make for all peoples a feast of fat things, a feast of wine on the lees … He will swallow up death

forever, and the Lord God will wipe away tears from all faces …" This passage may have formed the basis for Jesus' pronouncement that many would come "from east and west and sit at table with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven" (Matt 8:11).

Even more than their Greco-Roman neighbors, Jews of the Second Temple and rabbinic periods prized hospitality as a virtue (*T. Zeb.* 6:4f.; Jos. *Ant* 1.250f.). Particularly in the synagogue, which could serve as a hostel or meeting place for travelers seeking accommodations, and at the sabbath eve meal visitors were welcomed. The extent to which gentiles were included in these acts of hospitality must have varied from community to community. Among the rabbis, scholars were to be given precedence in the receiving of food and lodging (*m. Abot* 3:4). For both Palestinian and Diaspora Jews one figure, the patriarch Abraham, emerged as a special exemplar of hospitality (*T. Ab.* 1–5; Philo, *Abr* 107–18; ›*Abot R.N.* 7; *Tg. Yer.* on Gen 21:33; *Tg. Neof.* on Gen 18:1f.). The last text cited contains a midrash on the story of the three visitors in which God, having appeared to Abraham shortly after the advent of his messengers, is told by the patriarch to wait until he has attended to the needs of those who arrived first! In the NT, Abraham's role as archetypal host can be glimpsed in Matt 8:11 and the parable of the rich fool, where heaven is termed "Abraham's bosom" and is probably to be understood as a place of abundant eating and drinking (Luke 16:22–26). Other rabbinic stories portray Abraham as the founder of inns for travelers (*Gen. Rab.* 39:14), the inventor and teacher of grace after meals (*b. Soṭa* 10a–b), and the missionary host who insists that his guests praise the God of Israel for their meal or pay cash for it (*Gen. Rab.* 49:4).

As pictured by the Synoptic writers, the ministry of Jesus manifests the theme of hospitality in two basic ways. First, Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom is frequently symbolized by images of food and drink, especially at festive meals. Thus the kingdom is compared to a great banquet (Matt 8:11; 22:1–14 = Luke 14:16–24), and Jesus ends his ministry with a ceremonial meal at which words about eating and drinking in the kingdom are spoken (Mark 14:17–25 and parallels). In Luke's version of the Lord's Prayer the petitions for the coming of the kingdom and for daily bread are joined together (Luke 11:2–3). Moreover, teaching about the kingdom is implied in Jesus' pronouncements about feasting with the bridegroom and new wine (Mark 2:18–22 and parallels), in the promise that faithful servants will be invited to enter into the joy (i.e., feast) of their master (Matt 25:21–33), and in the conclusion to the parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15:20–32). Indeed, the majority of Jesus' parabolic sayings have to do with the production and use of food and drink or the providing of homelike refuge for God's creatures. What seems to lie behind this body of teaching is a conviction held by the Synoptic Jesus that God is revealing himself powerfully and eschatologically as Israel's host. The feast predicted by Isaiah (25:6–8) has already begun to appear in the present world order.

Second, the Synoptic record of Jesus' behavior shows that he intended to live in accordance with the coming feast of the kingdom. This is epitomized in a dominical saying about how Jesus' contemporaries were perceiving him. "John," he complained, "came neither eating nor drinking, and they say, 'He has a demon'; the Son of man came eating and drinking, and they say, 'Behold, a glutton and a drunkard, a friend of tax collectors and sinners!' " (Matt 11:18f. = Luke 7:33f.). If the substance of this saying is genuine, one may conclude that the various accounts of Jesus' eating with tax collectors and sinners (Mark 2:15ff. and parallels; Luke 19:1–10) or welcoming them (Luke 7:36–50; 15:1–2), though sometimes built up from the sayings tradition and always modified in their transmission and redaction, nevertheless have some basis in fact. It is difficult to determine what sort of event underlies the narratives of Jesus' feeding the 5000; but the fact that this is the only miracle story to appear in all four gospels suggests that the early Church considered it foundational for the interpretation of Jesus' mission. It has long been observed that Jesus' choice of twelve itinerant disciples constituted a claim that God had initiated the end-time restoration of Israel's dispersed tribes. But it should also be noted that Jesus' larger group of followers, which included residential supporters, seems to have functioned as a network for sharing God's eschatological abundance among themselves, and for inviting the broader population to join them in this new mutuality. The Jesus movement was itself both guest and host of the kingdom.

It is Luke especially who accents this theme in Luke-Acts. Only the third gospel contains the parables of the good Samaritan, the prodigal son, the rich man and Lazarus, the story of Zaccheus, and the Emmaus

narrative, according to which two disciples come to recognize the risen Jesus "in the breaking of bread" (24:35). For its part, Acts may be read as a collection of guest and host stories depicting missionary ventures that have originated in circles associated with the earliest churches. Luke's special concern is to show how itinerant and residential believers can support one another in the worldwide mission of the Church. Through this mutuality, he believes, the Holy Spirit will bring about rich exchanges of spiritual and material gifts; and the Church will grow (Koenig 1985).

Paul writes that "the kingdom of God is not food and drink but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit" (Rom 14:17). This statement appears to contradict the gospel traditions in which meals are seen as a primary locus for the appearance of the kingdom. But the context in Romans shows that Paul does not intend to separate meals as such from the impact of the gospel. Instead, he is trying to reconcile two factions of believers who disagree over which foods may be consumed and are thus prevented from sharing the common meals of the Church. Presumably, these would include the Lord's Supper. Paul's hope is that all groups in Rome will "welcome one another … as Christ has welcomed [them] for the glory of God" (Rom 15:7). This reciprocal welcoming, preeminently at meals, becomes both an act of worship and a display of unity that will attract outsiders. A similar point is made when Paul writes to correct abuses of the Lord's Supper in Corinth which have the effect of excluding or dishonoring certain believers, especially the poor. Paul insists that there must be no second-class citizens in this ritual proclamation of the crucified Christ and his world-reversing gospel (1 Cor 11:17–34). Much earlier in his ministry Paul had opposed Peter publicly in Antioch when the latter reneged on his practice of eating with gentile converts (Gal 2:11ff.). For Paul, the meals of the Church have become a critical arena for the revealing of God's righteousness in Christ and humanity's response to it. It is not surprising that the Pauline disciple who wrote 1 Timothy considered the talent for hospitality much to be desired in one who occupied the office of bishop (3:2).

In the Fourth Gospel exchanges of food or drink also function as occasions for the revelation of God's love in Christ (4:7ff.; chaps. 6 and 13–17). But the distinctive character of John's concern for hospitality shows itself in his christological statements. Jesus is not only the door to the sheepfold, the preparer of heavenly chambers, and the way to the Father (10:1ff.; 14:1–6). He is himself the place where believers worship (2:13–22) and dwell (14:20, 23; 15:1ff.). These images take on special meaning if members of the Johannine community have recently suffered expulsion from the synagogue. In the Johannine letters the presbyter-author urges his readers not to receive Christian travelers who do not abide in the doctrine of Christ (2 John 9f.). But he and his emissaries are themselves the objects of inhospitable treatment by a certain Diotrephes (3 John 9f.). Apparently the issue is one of conflict over authority.

Images of hospitality occur with some frequency in the general epistles. James exhorts the recipients of his epistle not to humiliate poor people by assigning them to inferior places in the public assemblies of the Church (2:1–7). The author of 1 Peter addresses his readers as aliens and exiles who were once "no people" but are now a "chosen race … built into a spiritual house to be a holy priesthood" (1:1; 2:4–10). As such, they are to "practice hospitality ungrudgingly to one another" (4:9). This terminology may reflect a real social-political situation in which the readers suffered from their status as resident aliens and transient strangers (Elliott 1981). Perhaps the most winsome of all reflections on hospitality by early Christian writers is found in Heb 13:2 where believers are urged to receive strangers graciously on the ground that "thereby some have entertained angels unawares." Clearly the allusion is to Abraham's enthusiastic reception of the three heavenly messengers. But Jesus too may come as a stranger. Matthew, Luke, and John all make this point (Matt 25:31–46; Luke 24:13–35; John 20:11ff.; 21:1–14). And so does the author of Revelation when he records the words of the Risen One to the church in Laodicea: "Behold, I stand at the door and knock; of any one hears my voice and opens the door, I will come in to him and eat with him, and he with me" (3:20). The context indicates that this meal with Jesus, like many of those narrated in the gospels, will be one of repentance and reconciliation.

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JOHN KOENIG

**HOSTS, HOST OF HEAVEN.** The term *ṣābā,* pl. *ṣĕbā·ôt* (masc. pl. 2x; Pss 103:21; 148:2 [Q]), commonly translated "host," "hosts," denotes primarily a military retinue or army, a meaning consistent with its common Semitic etymology (cf. Akk. *ṣābu;* Old South Arabic *ḍb·;* Eth. *ḍab·a/ṣab·a;* Ug. *ṣb·u*). The term occurs some 486 times in the Hebrew Bible, 315 of which are in the plural. The plural form, *ṣĕbā·ôt,* occurs as a divine epithet associated with Yahweh in 284 of those occurrences. The term is used in Hebrew to designate both human and divine armies, as well as to connote certain celestial bodies, a usage that is not uncommon within the mythopoeic conceptions of the ANE.

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A. Hosts
B. Host of Heaven
1. Yahweh's Military Retinue
2. Yahweh's Council
3. Objects of Worship
C. Yahweh *Ṣĕbā·ôt*
1. Cultic Name
2. Associations with Prophetic Speech

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**A. Hosts**

Apart from its use with the divine name Yahweh, the word *ṣābā·* most commonly designates a military retinue or army (e.g., Exod 6:26; 12:51; Num 1:3, 52; 2:3, 4, 6, 8; 10:14, 15, 16, 18; 31:48; Deut 20:9; 24:5; Josh 4:13; Judg 4:2; 8:6; 1 Sam 12:9; 2 Sam 2:8; 8:16; 10:18; 1 Kgs 1:19; 2:35; 2 Kgs 4:13; Isa 13:4; Pss 44:10—Eng 44:9; 60:12—Eng 60:10; 108:12—Eng 108:11; etc.). By extension, the word also indicates warfare or military service (Num 1:3, 20, 22, 24; 26:2; 31:3, 4, 5, 6; Josh 22:12, 33; 1 Sam 28:1; 1 Chr 5:18; 12:26—Eng12:25; etc.). Additionally, *ṣābā·* may be used to designate cultic service (Num 4:3, 23, 30, 35, 39, 43; 8:24, 25) as well as difficult or harsh service (Isa 40:2; Job 7:1; 14:14; Dan 10:1).

**B. Host of Heaven**

The phrase *ṣĕbā· haššāmayim,* "host of heaven," is used to denote the heavenly bodies, either as personified forces or as celestial bodies. In this usage, *ṣābā·* always occurs in the singular.

**1. Yahweh's Military Retinue.** *ṣābā·* is also used to designate the retinue of Yahweh, reflecting the Hebrew belief that Yahweh led the armies of Israel (Num 10:35–36; Deut 33:2–5, 26–29; Josh 5:13–15; Judg 5:23; Isa 13:1–5; Joel 4:11b—Eng 3:11b; Ps 68:8–13, 18—Eng 68:7–12, 17; etc.). This usage could be applied to the arena of human warfare (Exod 6:26; 7:4; 12:17, 41, 51). One of the clearest examples of this is found in David's exchange with Goliath, where the young Israelite notes that he has come out to fight in the name of "Yahweh *Ṣĕbā·ôt,* the god of the battle lines of Israel *(ma·arkôt yiśrā·ēl)*" (1 Sam 17:45). Additionally, the association of Yahweh war with the ark (cf. especially 1 Sam 4:1–7:2) further exemplifies the conception of Yahweh's involvement in military affairs.

In the cosmic arena, Yahweh is depicted as the one who musters the heavenly army (*ṣĕbā·* milḥāmâ; Isa 13:4). As the "host of the heights" (*ṣĕbā·* hammārôm; Isa 24:21), the celestial bodies are depicted as the heavenly corps under the command of Yahweh. This "host of heaven" is conceived as the creation of Yahweh, the members of which constitute his heavenly army (Isa 40:26; 45:12; Pss 33:6; 103:21; 148:2; Gen 2:1; Sir 17:32; 24:2; 43:8). Indeed, the sun, moon, and stars may be depicted as composing this heavenly retinue (Josh 10:12–13; Judg 5:20; Hab 3:11; Dan 8:10). While preparing for the conquest of Jericho, Joshua encountered his heavenly counterpart, "the commander of the army of Yahweh" *(śar-ṣĕbā·-yhwh),* who appeared in the guise of a warrior to deliver a message prior to the conquest of the land (Josh 5:14–15; see also Dan 8:11). In this function, the members of this heavenly army might be

conceived as angels, i.e., "messengers" of Yahweh. In Ps 103:20–21 Yahweh's messengers *(mal›ākāyw),* the mighty warriors *(gibbōrê kōaḥ),* are included among his host *(ṣĕbā›āyw),* his ministers who do his will. When Jacob encounters the "messengers of God" *(măl›ăkê ›ĕlōhîm),* he responds by calling them "the army of God" *(maḥănēh ›ĕlōhîm),* providing an etiology for the place name Mahanaim (Gen 32:2–3—Eng32:1–2). At Qumran the angelic figures are often designated as warriors (1QM 15: 14; 12: 8; IQH 3: 35–36; 5: 21; 8: 11–12; etc.), and in the NT, the "heavenly host" is depicted alongside the angels (Luke 2:13).

**2. Yahweh's Council.** In conjunction with this messenger function attributed to the members of Yahweh's heavenly armies, the "host of heaven" are also depicted as members of Yahweh's heavenly council. In 1 Kgs 22:19, the prophet Micaiah ben Imlah proclaims: "I saw Yahweh seated upon his throne and all the host of heaven were stationed about him (*wĕkol-ṣĕbā›* haššāmayim ‹ōmēd ‹ālāyw [cf. 2 Chr 18:18])." It was these figures who served to execute the will of the deity (1 Kgs 22:19–23 = 2 Chr 18:18–22; Isaiah 6). Within the context of the depictions of the divine council, these beings are called *bĕnê ›ēlîm,* "sons of god" (Pss 29:1; 89:7—Eng 89:6; compare *bĕnê [hā]›ĕlōhîm,* Deut 32:8 [LXX; 4QDt]; Gen 6:2, 4; Job 1:6; 2:1; *bĕnê ‹elyôn,* Ps 82:6). More commonly, they are referred to as "holy ones" (*qĕdōšîm,* Deut 33:2–3; Job 5:1; 15:15 [Q]; Pss 16:3; 89:6, 8—Eng 89:5, 7; Zech 14:5; *qōdeš,* Exod 15:11; Pss 77:14—Eng 77:13; 93:5). These beings, while clearly assigned an inferior status (cf. Deut 3:24; 10:17; Jer 10:6; Pss 86:8; 95:3; 135:5; etc.), constituted the "host of heaven." The parallelism of "the morning stars" with "all the sons of god" (*kôkĕbê bōqer//kol-bĕnê ›ĕlōhîm;* Job 38:7), when coupled with those references to the heavenly bodies as participants in the wars of Yahweh (Josh 5:13–15; 10:12b-13a; Judg 5:20; Ps 148:2–3), clearly suggests the identity of the groups. As members of the assembly, they also serve to praise Yahweh in his court (Pss 29:1; 148:2–3).

**3. Objects of Worship.** Given the distinctive function of these heavenly beings, it should occasion no surprise that they were accorded special status by some and became the object of worship. The worship of "the host of heaven" *(ṣĕbā› haššāmayim)* is consistently condemned in the biblical materials. Such worship practices were equated with the worship of "other gods" (*›ĕlōhîm ›ăḥērîm;* Deut 17:3), and they are often listed alongside "the sun, the moon, and the stars" (Deut 4:19; 17:3; Jer 8:2; 2 Kgs 23:4–5). In these instances, the *ṣĕbā› haššāmayim* seem to include the totality of the celestial bodies and the signs of the zodiac (2 Kgs 23:5), as did the militaristic application of the term. The practice of worshipping these beings constitutes the reason for part of the Deuteronomistic Historian's condemnation of both Israel and Judah; the historian condemns the worship of "the host of heavens" along with that of Baal and Asherah. Altars were built to the *ṣĕbā› haššāmayim,* to whom incense and libations were offered (2 Kgs 17:16; 21:3, 5 = 2 Chr 33:3, 5; Jer 19:13; Zeph 1:5). Though Babylonian and Assyrian influences are often cited as motivating factors in such practices, a common Canaanite background seems more likely.

### C. Yahweh *Ṣĕbā›ôt*

According to certain traditions contained in the Hebrew Bible, the god of Israel was called "Yahweh [the god] of Hosts," *yhwh [›ĕlōhê]* ṣĕbā›ôt, for that was "his name" (Isa 47:4; 48:2; 51:15; Jer 10:16; 31:35; 46:18; Amos 4:13; 5:27). The plural form *ṣĕbā›ôt* occurs as part of the divine name 285 times in the Hebrew Bible. In 267 of these occurrences, *ṣĕbā›ôt* follows the name Yahweh immediately, while the longer phrase *yhwh ›ĕlōhê (haṣ)ṣĕbā›ôt* occurs 18 times. The precise meaning and grammatical explanations for the name and its various forms continue to be debated. The interpretation of the divine name Yahweh as well as the broad range of possible meanings for the epithet *ṣĕbā›ôt* heighten the difficulties involved in a resolution to the issue.

Three general approaches are characteristic of the attempts to resolve the problem. If the original form *yahweh* was a verb, possibly a causative form of "to be," then the phrase *yhwh ṣĕbā›ôt* might be interpreted as a part of a longer sentence name, perhaps an original epithet of the Canaanite god El. According to this explanation, the name would mean "he creates the heavenly armies." The longer form of the epithet, *yhwh ›ĕlōhê ṣĕbā›ôt,* "Yahweh, the god of hosts," might then be viewed as a secondary interpretation that developed when the name Yahweh was seen as only a proper name.

Though it is possible that the phrase *yhwh ṣĕbā›ôt* preserves the verbal force of the divine name, it is also clear that the divine name functions in most instances as a proper noun. If Yahweh is so interpreted, then the term *ṣĕbā›ôt* may be taken as an abstract or intensive plural noun, "might" or "mighty," used in apposition to Yahweh. Such an interpretation might be suggested by the common LXX translation of *yhwh ṣĕbā›ôt* as *kyrios pantokratōr,* "the Lord Almighty." This explanation avoids the problem of interpreting *yhwh* as a proper name in the construct state. The inscriptions discovered at Kuntillet ‹Ajrud, which refer to *yhwh šmrn* and to *yhwh tmn,* may be relevant to this problem. If these are to be read as "Yahweh of Samaria" and "Yahweh of Teman" (cf. Hab 3:3), then these might furnish a Hebrew parallel for understanding *yhwh ṣĕbā›ôt* as a construct chain, hence "Yahweh of hosts." The LXX translation *kyrios tōn dynameōn* reflects such an understanding of the term.

**1. Cultic Name.** Despite the controversies surrounding the exact nature of the epithet *ṣĕbā›ôt,* there is general agreement that the origin of the name is to be found within the Israelite cultus, most probably in association with the militaristic qualities associated with the independent use of the term *ṣābā›*. The epithet *yhwh ṣĕbā›ôt* is not attested in the Pentateuch, Joshua, or Judges. The first occurrence of the phrase, according to the canonical arrangement of the Hebrew Bible, is in association with the ark of the covenant and the cult center at Shiloh. In 1 Sam 4:4 the ark is called "the ark of the covenant of *yhwh ṣĕbā›ôt,* who is enthroned on the cherubim" (cf. 2 Sam 6:2). The association of *yhwh ṣĕbā›ôt* with the ark and with the cultic shrine of Shiloh (1 Sam 1:3, 11) suggests that the origins of the epithet are to be found in the pre-Jerusalem cultus. The significance of the ark and the traditions associated with it is illustrated by David's establishment of the ark in his new cult center, with which it came to be associated (2 Sam 6:2, 18; 2 Sam 7:8, 26; Isa 6:3; etc.).

The premonarchical Israelite traditions which interpret the ark as a war palladium upon which the god of Israel was enthroned and from which he led the armies of Israel make explicit the association of the epithet "Lord of Hosts" with the ark and with its military functions (1 Sam 17:45). The warrior imagery of the Lord of the heavenly armies, marching victoriously from war over his enemies, is clearly portrayed in Ps 24:8, 10 where "Yahweh of Hosts," "Yahweh strong and mighty," the "mighty warrior," the "king of glory," is praised.

**2. Associations with Prophetic Speech.** Of the 285 occurrences of *ṣĕbā›ôt* as part of a divine epithet, 251 (88%) are to be found in the prophetic books. Additionally, 244 instances (97.2%) of the phrase *yhwh ṣĕbā›ôt* (or the variant *yhwh ›ĕlōhê [haṣ]ṣĕbā›ôt*) occur in the following six works: Isaiah 1–55 (62x); Jeremiah (82x); Amos (9x); Haggai (14x); Zechariah (53x); Malachi (24x). A major conceptual background for Hebrew prophecy was formed by the idea of the prophet as the messenger of Yahweh (Hag 1:13; Mal 3:1) who had been privy to Yahweh's council (Jer 23:18, 22; Amos 3:7). The frequent introduction of prophetic oracles with the phrase "thus says Yahweh" *(kōh ›āmar yhwh)* suggests a further connection between the prophetic messenger role and the name *yhwh ṣĕbā›ôt.*

Regrettably, the connection of the epithet *ṣĕbā›ôt* with the formula *kōh ›āmar yhwh* is not at all clear. Despite the attractiveness of the suggestion that the formula *kōh ›āmar yhwh ṣĕbā›ôt* might have originated as part of a priestly oracle ritual associated with the ark, the use of the epithet with the messenger formula does not seem to support such a position. The inability to demonstrate that such a connection can be traced back to early traditions does not diminish the significance of the name *yhwh ṣĕbā›ôt* in Hebrew prophecy. For Isaiah, Yahweh *ṣĕbā›ôt,* "Yahweh of Hosts," was the god of Israel (5:16, 24; 21:10; 44:6), the one who mustered and commanded the heavenly armies (13:4; 34:4; 45:12). The abstract nature conveyed by the epithet might be indicated by the LXX's transliteration of *ṣĕbā›ôt* by *sabaōth* throughout the book of Isaiah (see also Rom 9:29; Jas 5:4). A connection between *ṣĕbā›ôt* and *kōh ›āmar yhwh* may be demonstrated for Jeremiah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, however. While such might indicate that this is a late, postexilic prophetic development, the importance of the epithet as an expression of the power and majesty of Israel's god is not diminished. Additionally, with the possible exception of Amos, these prophetic works display a close association of one kind or another with Jerusalem and the temple establishment. For these prophetic voices, Yahweh *ṣĕbā›ôt,* envisioned as the

leader of both the earthly and heavenly armies, directed the affairs of history, both earthly and cosmic, through the proclamation of his divine decree, delivered by either heavenly or prophetic messengers.

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E. THEODORE MULLEN, JR.


**HOSTS, LORD OF.** One of the most enigmatic divine names in the Hebrew Bible is *yhwh ṣĕbā›ôt* (here = YHWH Seba›ot), commonly translated "LORD of Hosts," or "Yahweh of Hosts." The LXX usually renders it as *kyrios pantokratōr,* "Lord Almighty," or *kyrios tōn dynameōn,* "Lord of the Forces" (*dynamis* is used in the military sense in both Attic and Hellenistic Greek). Alternatively, one may simply get the transcription *sabaōth.* This is the form of the name quoted in the NT (Rom 9:29; Jas 5:4).

In addition to the name YHWH Seba›ot, which occurs 261 times, we also get the forms *yhwh ›ĕlōhê ṣĕbā›ôt,* "YHWH God of Hosts," and *›ĕlōhê ṣĕbā›ôt,* "God of Hosts." All told, variant forms of the epithet occur 284 times in the Hebrew Bible, twice in the NT.

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A. The Host(s)
B. Origin
C. YHWH Seba›ot as Divine Warrior
D. YHWH Seba›ot as King
E. Significance


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**A. The Host(s)**

The most obvious place to begin an examination of this divine epithet is the meaning of "hosts." The related Heb verb *ṣb›* occurs 14 times in the Bible, 9 times in clearly military contexts (Num 31:7, 51; 2 Kgs 25:19 = Jer 52:25; Isa 29:7 [2x], 8; 31:4; Zech 14:12). The occurrence in Isa 31:4 is especially noteworthy, since the verb occurs together with the name YHWH Seba›ot.

The noun *ṣābā›* is used in a variety of ways, including (1) war or warfare, (2) an army celestial or terrestrial, (3) luminaries of the sky and, by extension, astral deities and other celestial beings, and (4) creation in general. It is found in predominantly military contexts, in numerous instances in connection with holy war. The commanders of the military are regularly called *śārê ṣĕbā›ôt,* "commanders of the hosts" (Deut 20:9; 1 Kgs 2:5; 1 Chr 27:3). A peculiar story in Joshua 5 tells of Joshua's encounter with a celestial military figure who is said to be *śar ṣĕbā› yhwh,* "the commander of YHWH's army" (Josh 5:14; cf. Dan 8:10). Clearly, the texts speaks of YHWH as the commander of some celestial host that fights on Israel's behalf (cf. 2 Sam 5:22–25). The heavenly host apparently is comprised of the luminaries, sometimes perceived as gods of the heavenly council, who fight at YHWH's command against the enemies of YHWH's people (Judg 5:11–21; Josh 10:12–14).

In Ps 148, the heavenly hosts are extolled to praise YHWH (vv 1–5):

> Praise YHWH from the heavens,
> Praise him from on high.
> Praise him, all his angels,
> Praise him all his host.
> Praise him, O Sun and Moon,

Praise him, all you radiant Stars.
Praise him, O heaven of heavens,
You waters of high heavens.
Praise the name of YHWH,
For he commanded and they were created.

The heavenly host which YHWH created (cf. Gen 2:1; Ps 33:6; Isa 40:26; Neh 9:6) is perceived here as members of the celestial court. This view is evident also in Ps 103:19–21:

YHWH has established his throne in heaven,
Bless YHWH, all his angels,
Mighty ones who do his bidding,
Obeying his every word.
Bless him, all his hosts,
His ministers who do his will.

The pl. noun *ṣĕbā›ôt* is used in reference to Israel as "the hosts of YHWH" (Exod 12:41; cf. Exod 7:4; 6:26; 12:17, 51). Israelite armies are called *ṣĕbā›ôt* (2 Kgs 2:5 = 1 Chr 27:3). Several psalms contain laments that God had failed to "go forth" with Israel's *ṣĕbā›ôt* (Pss 44:10—Eng 44:9; 60:12—Eng 60:10; 108:12—Eng 108:11). The implication is that YHWH's march with Israel's hosts was something to be expected.

It is not surprising, therefore, that *ṣĕbā›ôt* is taken to refer to YHWH's celestial and/or terrestrial hosts, the divine council, the luminaries of the sky, and the totality of creation. Some would take the name to mean "Militant YHWH," "Powerful YHWH," or the like. A few scholars stress the military aspect of the epithet; others deny it, or prefer to stress the royal aspects. No doubt the epithet denotes all these elements; they are not mutually exclusive.

**B. Origin**

The epithet YHWH Seba›ot does not occur at all in the Pentateuch or in Joshua and Judges. It first appears in connection with the central sanctuary at Shiloh where the ark was located. Given the military connotations of the root *ṣb›* and the use of the ark as a war palladium (see ARK OF THE COVENANT), it is likely that the title was first used at Shiloh in association with the ark. In that period the ark was called by its full name, "the ark of YHWH Sĕba›ot who sits enthroned upon the cherubim" (cf. 1 Sam 4:4; 2 Sam 6:2; 1 Chr 13:6; Isa 37:16).

The origin of the name *yhwh ṣĕbā›ôt* is not known. F. M. Cross posits plausibly that it was originally the epithet *par excellence* of the divine warrior in Israel (*CMHE*, 65–71). In its full and primitive form, the name may have been something like **›il ḏū yahwi ṣaba›ōt*, "the god who created the hosts," the divine name YHWH being originally a causative verb. As a proper name, YHWH would not have been put in the construct state, argues Cross. That is to say, the epithet *yhwh ṣĕbā›ôt* originally denoted the role of Israel's god as creator of the heavenly hosts, the luminaries that sit as lesser divine beings in the heavenly council. The name *yhwh ›ĕlōhê ṣĕbā›ôt* is actually secondary, according to Cross; *›ĕlōhê* was inserted after YHWH came to be known as a personal name to ease the awkward construction. Nevertheless, the divine epithet is overwhelmingly *yhwh ṣĕbā›ôt;* the inserted form occurs only 21 times out of the possible 284, including 4 occurrences of the peculiar name *yhwh ›ĕlōhîm ṣĕbā›ôt.* The designation *›ĕlōhê ṣĕbā›ôt*—without *yhwh*—occurs twice. If the juxtaposition of a proper name with another noun is indeed intolerable in Heb syntax, one may conclude that the name YHWH, whatever its origin, came to be understood as a virtual synonym for "god"—in the same way that the proper name El became a generic term in West Semitic. The inscriptions from Kuntillet ›Ajrud in the Sinai desert seem to confirm that YHWH could, in fact, be juxtaposed in this manner. There we find the names *yhwh šmrn* "YHWH (god) of Samaria," and *yhwh tmn* "YHWH (god) of Teman."

The close association of the name YHWH Seba›ot with the expression *yōšēb hakkĕrūbîm*, "the one who sits enthroned on the cherubim," leads Cross and others to consider the representations of El in West Semitic texts and iconography. Mettinger, indeed, argues for the original epithet being **›ēl ṣĕbā›ôt.* El was the chief god of the Canaanite pantheon. He is known in the Ugaritic texts as the ultimate king. In

reliefs from the region, he is portrayed as one who is enthroned, frequently on seats supported by cherubim. He is known as the creator (Ug "creator of creatures") who formed all things, including the gods of the divine council. In Philo Bylius' account of Sanchuniathon's "Phoenician History" from around the 7th century B.C.E., Kronos (El) is a triumphant warrior-king surrounded by *symmachoi,* "allies," called *eloeim,* that is, *ʾĕlōhîm* "gods" (*Praep. Evang.* 1.10.17–21). The image of El as a warrior is supported by the appearance of an Ugaritic personal name *ʾilmhr,* "El is a Warrior" (cf. Heb *ʾēl gibbôr,* Isa 9:5; 10:21), as well as various West Semitic names indicating the might of El.

Even though El may have been regarded as a divine warrior in Canaanite myth, the paradigmatic warrior-god is Baal. According to Sanchuniathon's "history" reported by Philo, Baal was called Demaros (Ug *ḏmr,* "brave one"). In Ugaritic mythology, Baal was the god who fought the unruly waters Sea and River, and the monsters of the waters, Tannin (cf. Ps 74:13; Job 7:12), Lothan (=Leviathan), and "*Šlyṭ* with the seven heads." It was Baal who fought for his right to rule and to take possession of his temple in "the mount of victory."

If the name *yhwh ṣĕbāʾôt* is ultimately linked with the El traditions, the ties of the Shiloh cultus with El are noteworthy. There was apparently an annual festival at Shiloh to which Samuel's ancestor Elkanah went regularly "to offer sacrifices to YHWH Sebaʾot" (1 Sam 1:3; cf. Judg 21:19). The name Elkanah means "El has created," and recalls the epithet "El (God), the Highest One, who created Heaven and Earth" (Gen 14:19, 22). A similar name, "El (God), Creator of the Earth" is attested in several West Semitic inscriptions and is reflected in the name Ilkunirsa from a Hittite adaptation of a Canaanite myth. The creative function of El is clear in the Ugaritic texts where El is called by the gods "our creator *(qnyn).*" In all these cases the verb used of creation is the same as in the name Elkanah.

In any case, Elkanah is said to be the son of Jeroham. There is no theophoric element on the latter name, but one may conjecture from the El-names of both Jeroham's father (Elihu, but 1 Chr 6:27 has Eliel—i.e., "My God is El") and son (Samuel) that the unmentioned deity may have been El. The LXX renders the name as *Ieremeel,* that is, with the theophoric element El. The names Jerahmeel and Jerahmeeli are attested only in late biblical texts; the former also on a late 7th-century seal. In Amorite onomastica, however, we find the names *Ya-ar-ha-mu, Ya-ar-ha-am-AN (=Yarḫamʾil), Ir-hÉa-mi-AN (=Yirḫamʾil), Ir-hÉa-mi-la,* and *Ir-ḫa-mi-il-la*—all names expressing confidence in the compassion of El. This is in accord with the character of El, who is called "the kindly one" and "the Compassionate" in Ugaritic (cf. also the epithet *ʾēl raḥûm* "Compassionate God" in Exod 34:6; Deut 4:31; Ps 86:15).

The issue at hand in 1 Samuel 1 appears to be the childlessness of Hannah, one of Elkanah's two wives. She went to the Shiloh sanctuary year after year, and yet remained barren. She wept bitterly and prayed that YHWH Sebaʾot would give her a son. Certain facets of the story parallel the Ugaritic tales of Kirta and Aqhat. In the latter Ugaritic tale, a childless Danel performed a ritual, probably to induce a dream theophany. Subsequently he was blessed with fecundity by El. Kirta, too, became childless when all his seven children died. In a dream vision El descended to ask why Kirta was weeping and what it was that he desired. Kirta asked for nothing but the blessing of a son. In these stories, as elsewhere in West Semitic myths, El is the one who grants life and progeny.

The child who was born to Elkanah and Hannah was, of course, given the El-name Samuel. The boy ministered under the tutelage of Eli at the Shiloh sanctuary. There, as he slept before the ark, he received a dream vision. It is typical of El to communicate with an authoritative word through dreams, visions, or messengers. This is evident also in the tales of Kirta and Aqhat.

Yet the function of the ark in 1 Samuel 4–5 suggests a bellicose deity fighting to gain supremacy (note the mention of YHWH Sebaʾot in 1 Sam 4:4). As in the myth of Baal, it appeared for a time that the status of Israel's god was in question. The ark was captured and placed in the temple of Dagon. In a confrontation with the Philistine god, YHWH gained dominion. The statue of Dagon fell prostrate before the ark of YHWH, as if in obeisance. Eventually, the heads and hands (power) of Dagon were cut off. Clearly, YHWH had triumphed over his rival god.

In another battle with the Philistines at Baal-perazim, YHWH Sebaʾot's victory over his enemies is likened to the defeat of unruly waters: "YHWH has broken my enemies like the breaking of waters" (2

Sam 5:20; see the divine epithet in v 10). It was a victory scored over other gods. The divine images of the Philistines were abandoned and carted away by the Israelites. In the next chapter (2 Samuel 6), the emblem of triumphant YHWH Seba›ot (v 2) was brought into the newly won mount and put in its place (v 17). A symbolic banquet was given in the name of YHWH Seba›ot (v 18).

It appears that the epithet YHWH Seba›ot combines themes and dominant imagery in the El and Baal traditions: of El a god enthroned, and of Baal a god in battle. The El tradition was certainly known at Shiloh, but it is uncertain precisely when that tradition might have been combined with motifs normally associated with Baal.

**C. YHWH Seba›ot as Divine Warrior**

The name YHWH Seba›ot is mentioned in the ancient Ark Narrative (1 Samuel 4–6), in the context of Israel's battle with the Philistines, near Ebenezer and Aphek. In the face of defeat, the Israelites brought forth from Shiloh "the ark of the covenant of YHWH Seba›ot who is enthroned upon the cherubim" (1 Sam 4:4). The expressed purpose of that act was to engage YHWH in the battle. The entry of the ark into the battlefield was understood as YHWH's participation in Israel's war. Ironically, through the ark's capture and subsequent sojourn in Philistine territory, the power of YHWH was demonstrated.

From the start, the epithet YHWH Seba›ot is understood in military terms—at least in part. The epithet appears later in connection with a holy war against the Amalekites (1 Sam 15:2). Even more poignantly, this divine name is invoked by David against Goliath: "You have come to me with sword and spear and lance, but I have come to you in the name of YHWH Seba›ot, the God of the armies of Israel" (1 Sam 17:45). Elsewhere, too, YHWH Seba›ot is linked with David's rise to power: "David became greater and greater because YHWH, the God of *ṣĕbā›ôt,* was with him" (2 Sam 5:10; cf. 1 Chr 11:9). The language of the deity's accompaniment of the king belongs with the oracles of holy war in some Akkadian and Hittite texts, and is found also in certain propagandistic inscriptions in Old Aramaic.

**D. YHWH Seba›ot as King**

The Ugaritic texts portray El as a king in the divine council, surrounded by the minor gods *(bn ›ilm).* This is also the view of YHWH Seba›ot. In Isaiah's inaugural vision, he saw the deity sitting enthroned in the *hêkāl,* "temple/palace" (Isaiah 6). YHWH's stature exceeded earthly dimensions by far. Around him stood a host of seraphim, winged creatures in the service of the cosmic king. One is reminded here of Sanchuniathon's description of divine creatures: "two wings for each on the shoulders in order that they may fly with Kronos" (Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* 1.10.37). As in Sanchuniathon, the deity is presented as the triumphant king in the heavenly court. Isaiah declared: "My eyes have seen the King, YHWH Seba›ot!" (Isa 6:5, cf. v 3). This vision should be compared with that of Micaiah ben-Imlah, for Michaiah, too, saw "YHWH sitting on his throne, with all the host of heaven standing beside him" (1 Kgs 22:19=2 Chr 22:18). The royal imagery is unmistakable, but here, as in Isaiah, the military significance of YHWH Seba›ot is evident. In both cases, war with the Arameans was imminent. The same is true of the picture painted in Ps 89:6–12—Eng 89:5–11:

> Let the heavens confess your wonder, O YHWH,
> Your fidelity in the assembly of the holy ones.
> For who in heaven is equal to YHWH,
> Or likened to YHWH among the *bĕnê ēlîm?*
> A god *(ēl)* awesome in the council of the holy ones;
> O YHWH, God of *ṣĕbā›ôt,* who is like you?
> Your might and your fidelity surround you.
> You rein the swelling of Sea;
> When its waves rise you calm them.
> You crushed Rahab like a carcass;
> With your mighty arm you scattered your enemy.
> The heavens are yours, yea, the earth is yours,
> The world which you created.

Again, the royal character of YHWH Seba›ot is combined with the martial character. The cosmic king is surrounded by his heavenly host. He is evidently enthroned by virtue of his defeat of Chaos in cosmogonic battle. Images of El and Baal are once again combined: YHWH is the God enthroned as heavenly king, but he is also the brave warrior who defeated the waters and the dragons of the sea.

The gods of the heavenly council are variously called *qĕhal qĕdōšîm*, "assembly of the holy ones" (v 6—Eng v 5), *bĕnê ›ēlîm*, "sons of God" (v 7—Eng v 6), *sôd qĕdōšîm*, "council of the holy ones" (v 8—Eng v 7), and *kol-sĕbîbâw*, "all who surround him" (v 8—Eng v 7). The expression *bn ›lm* is found also in Ps 29:1, various Ugaritic texts, Phoenician inscriptions from Karatepe and Arslan Tash, and in the Amman citadel inscription, where Milcom the patron god of the Ammonites is said to be "feared among the *bn ›lm.*" These divine beings are the hosts of heaven who fight at YHWH's command (Judg 5:20; cf. Josh 5:14–15; 10:12–14; Hab 3:10–11; Isa 40:26; 45:12) and are summoned to praise YHWH (Job 38:7; Pss 29:1–2; 103:19–22; 148:1–5). These luminaries were perceived as gods of the divine council. Hence the Israelites were commanded not to worship the hosts of heaven, for that was tantamount to worshipping other gods (Jer 19:13; Deut 4:19; 17:3; etc.).

**E. Significance**

The implication of the name YHWH Seba›ot is discernible in its conspicuously uneven distribution in the Hebrew Bible. It appears 82 times in MT of Jeremiah, but only 12 of these are reflected in the shorter and probably more authentic Greek version. Apart from this, the greatest number occur in texts deriving from the Zion tradition, or those in which the temple of Jerusalem was of utmost concern. The appellation occurs 56 times in Isaiah, 53 in Zechariah, 24 in Malachi, 14 in Haggai, and 15 in the Psalms. The contrast in the number of occurrences in First Isaiah (56 times) and Second Isaiah (6 times) is telling. The name does not appear at all in the Pentateuch, Ezekiel, or Third Isaiah, and it is relatively infrequent in the extensive histories of the Deuteronomist(s) and the Chronicler. The reason for this uneven distribution probably lies in the ideas of God associated with the name YHWH Seba›ot, namely God as warrior and God as king.

For Isaiah, YHWH Seba›ot is the great king (Isa 6:3, 5) who dwells on Mt. Zion (Isa 8:18). This is in accord with the view in the Zion psalms. In that tradition, Mt. Zion is called God's holy mountain and is equated with *yarkĕtê ṣāpôn,* "the far reaches of the north" (Ps 48:3—Eng 48:2). This reference again reflects a conscious or unconscious merger of Baal and El traditions. Though Saphon is normally the abode of Baal, it is El who lives in the far reaches. It was there in his mountain abode that El convened the divine council (cf. Isa 14:12–14, the far north is the divine council where the "stars of El" are convened). Thus Zion is called "the city of the great king" and "the city of YHWH Seba›ot" (Ps 48:3, 9—Eng 48:2, 8). Therein is a river "whose streams make glad the city of God, the holy tabernacle of the Highest One"—that is, of the divine council (Ps 46:5—Eng 46:4). This again recalls the abode of El in the far north, "at the source of the two-rivers, in the midst of the double-deep" where the tabernacle of El was located (*CTA* 2.3.4; 4.4.21–22, etc.; Ezek 28:2, 16).

According to these Songs of Zion, the city cannot be successfully attacked because it is the dwelling place of YHWH Seba›ot. Thus the unruly nations may encroach upon Zion like the chaotic waters, but they will be held at bay because YHWH Seba›ot is in Zion (Pss 46:2–4, 7–8—Eng 46:1–3, 6–7; 48:1–12; cf. Isa 17:12–13). So YHWH Seba›ot is asked to rouse up and punish the unruly nations (Ps 59:6). At all events, YHWH Seba›ot is invoked at once as warrior and king to fight on Zion's behalf (Ps 80:3—Eng 80:2; cf. 84:4, 8—Eng 84:3, 7). Thus, in the face of Sennacherib's attack, Hezekiah went to the temple to pray (Isa 37:16=1 Kgs 19:15):

> O YHWH Seba›ot, who sits enthroned upon the cherubim,
> You alone are God of all the kingdoms of the earth.

The mention of YHWH's enthronement on the cherubim is a reference to YHWH as both warrior and king. All the explicit references to YHWH's enthronement on the cherubim are associated with his role as king and warrior (cf. 1 Sam 4:4; 2 Sam 6:2=1 Chr 13:6; Pss 80:2; 99:1; also 2 Sam 22:11=Ps 18:11). At issue in Hezekiah's petition is the kingship of YHWH. Sennacherib had dared to call himself *hammelek haggādôl,* "the great king" (Isa 36:4, 13). In Zion theology, that was the title reserved for YHWH Seba›ot,

who was perceived as the *ʿelyôn,* "the Highest One," in the divine assembly. Sennacherib had come to Jerusalem "to mock the living God." Hence YHWH was asked to vindicate his honor and deliver the city of his dwelling. For Isaiah, YHWH Sebaʾot was at once king and warrior, who would fight *(liṣbōʾ* on Zion's behalf and protect the city (Isa 31:4–5).

Thus, in the Zion tradition, the name YHWH Sebaʾot served to legitimate Jerusalem as YHWH's chosen city. The epithet is theologically loaded. Hence, even though Isa 9:6, 37:32, and 2 Kgs 19:31 all carry the same idiom, in the Deuteronomistic History the loaded term *ṣĕbāʾôt* is omitted (i.e., assuming the Hebrew consonantal text is correct). Such reticence in using this epithet is understandable, given the connotations that it carried. In the face of Judah's humiliation at the hands of the Babylonians, the name YHWH Sebaʾot became theologically problematic. Thus, for example, Ezekiel and P (Priestly Writer) prefer to speak of God's presence in nonroyal and nonmilitary terms.

Isaiah 13 purports to be an oracle against Babylon. It is replete with literary and historical problems. Nevertheless, it is clear that it speaks with the idioms of the Zion tradition about a holy war, an eschatological battle on the Day of YHWH. The God of Zion has gathered "his consecrated ones" and his warriors for a holy war (Isa 13:3); YHWH Sebaʾot is mustering a host for battle (Isa 13:4). The army will be comprised of troops from the nations, as well as from the ends of the heavens; celestial and terrestrial divisions of YHWH's hosts are gathered at YHWH Sebaʾot's command.

The battle of YHWH Sebaʾot is clearly waged not only in the historical realm but also in the end time. In the Isaianic apocalypse, YHWH Sebaʾot is expected to punish "the host of heaven in heaven." Thereupon he will reign once again on Mt. Zion in his glory (Isa 24:21, 23). The victorious warrior will celebrate with an eschatological banquet for all peoples on Zion, the mount of his victory (Isa 25:6).

The eschatological battle is nowhere more emphatically articulated than in Zechariah 14, a chapter replete with the language of holy war. On that final day YHWH will go forth and fight against all nations, coming with "all the holy ones" *(kol-qĕdōšîm).* Then he will reclaim kingship over all the earth, and all nations will come to Jerusalem annually (cf. Judg 21:19; 1 Sam 1:3, 7, 21) "to worship the King, YHWH Sebaʾot, and to keep the feast of Sukkoth" (Zech 14:16–17).

Thus the name YHWH Sebaʾot denotes God as a victorious warrior enthroned as king of the divine council. He is ever ready to fight battles with the forces of chaos. As YHWH Sebaʾot fought and won the cosmogonic battle, so he fights the battles of his people in the historical realm and will fight the ultimate battle in the end time.

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C. L. SEOW

**HOTHAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥôtām* (חוֹתָם)]. Two persons appear in the Hebrew Bible with this name.

**1.** An Asherite, the son of Heber and brother of Japhlet, Shomer (=Shemer, 1 Chr 7:34?), and sister Shua, of the family of Beriah (1 Chr 7:30–32). He is apparently the same person as "Helem" [Heb *hēlem*] in 1 Chr 7:35, to whom is attributed four sons and at least eleven grandsons through his (firstborn?) son Zophah (1 Chr 7:36). His name occurs in a list of the heads of fathers' houses within the tribe of Asher (1 Chr 7:30–40), a list perhaps derived from some earlier military census. While the names in 1 Chr 7:30–31, up to "Malchiel," are paralleled in Gen 46:17 and Num 26:44–46, the rest of the list, Hotham included, is without parallel elsewhere. The numerous inconsistencies in the names in this Asher pericope point possibly to a collection of disparate notices loosely attached to the person of Heber, the son of Beriah the son of Asher (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 119). That the Chronicler had an open mind on the extent and breadth of God's ideal people is evidenced here in his inclusion within that vision of so peripheral a tribe as Asher.

**2.** The father of Shama and Jeiel, two of David's famous military heroes (1 Chr 11:44b). In the KJV his name is given as Hothan and that of his second son as Jehiel. He is called an "Aroerite," and though it is possible that he came from Aroer in S Judah (1 Sam 30:28; *IDB* 1: 231), as the immediate context (1 Chr 11:41b–47) ostensibly singles out a number of warriors as hailing from Transjordan, he more probably had his residence either in Aroer in Gilead (Josh 13:25; Judg 11:33) or Aroer on the edge of the valley of the Arnon river (Deut 2:36; 3:12; 4:48). See AROER. While the upper portion of the complete list of David's mighty men or "officers" (if one is willing to read Heb *šālîšîm* in place of MT *sĕlōšîm* in 2 Sam 23:13, 23, and 24; cf. Na›aman 1988: 79) is synoptic (2 Sam 23:8–17, 18–39=1 Chr 11:10–19, 20–41a), the additional sixteen names in 1 Chr 11:41b–47 are not. It is unlikely that this non-synoptic section is a postexilic invention, as there would seem to be no good reason for such a fabrication (see Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 104). The Chronicler evidently had access to a source beyond 2 Sam 23:8–39 and used it expeditiously to illustrate how supportive all Israel was to the rise of David as king (1 Chr 11:1–9; 12:1–41—Eng12:12–40). While this support included men of valor mostly from Judah and Benjamin (*MBA*, map no. 94), some of it came even from Transjordan (1 Chr 11:10–41a, 41b–47). This emphasis upon the inclusiveness of Israel in the past was part of the Chronicler's theological agenda and hope for the Israel of his own day.

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ROGER W. UITTI

**HOTHIR** (PERSON) [Heb *hôtîr* (הוֹתִיר)]. One of the fourteen sons of Heman who were appointed to prophesy with musical instruments under the direction of their father and the king (1 Chr 25:4). Hothir received the twenty-first lot cast to determine duties (1 Chr 25:28). Scholars have long suggested that the final nine names in 1 Chr 25:4 can be read as a liturgical prayer. For instance, Hothir is the *Hip‹il* perf. form of the verb *yātar,* "show excess, give plentifully." It would function as the verb in the final line of the liturgical prayer as it is reconstructed by scholars. For a reconstruction and translation of the prayer, a summary of interpretative possibilities, and bibliography, see ELIATHAH.

J. CLINTON MCCANN, JR.

**HOUSE OF THE FOREST OF LEBANON.** See FOREST OF LEBANON, HOUSE OF THE.

**HOUSE, ISRAELITE.** From the beginning of the Iron Age until the Babylonian Exile, two major types dominated Israelite domestic architecture: the larger is usually called the "four-room house," the smaller, the "three-room house." A "two-room" variant appears in exceptional settings. Through 1987, more than 155 examples of these houses have been discovered (Shiloh 1987: 3), with new examples being found in the excavation of almost every Israelite Iron Age site. Against this, few examples occur in

patently non-Israelite sites of the same period. On this basis it seems appropriate, at our present stage of understanding, to refer to these as "Israelite" houses.

Despite their ubiquitousness in the archaeological record, no satisfactory functional interpretation of these plans presently exists, and the satisfactory development of needed analyses would exceed the permissible limits of a dictionary article. In lieu of a useful present consensus, the following discussion is based on theoretical approaches and findings reached in the author's own working paper on the subject, intended for future monographic publication (Holladay fc.).

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A. Definition and Description
1. Floor Plan
2. Major Constructional Features
3. Interaction between Houses and Fortifications
4. Family Unit
5. Origins of the House Type
B. Functional Analysis and Reconstruction
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## A. Definition and Description

**1. Floor Plan.** With few exceptions, the "four-room house" is known only from its ground plan. See Figs. HOU.01 (A and C), and HOU.04 (B). By Iron II times, the entry is usually in the center of the front wall, leading into a large central space generally floored with beaten earth (rarely covered with marly chalk plaster). To either side of this larger area are side aisles delimited by pillars, generally associated with a stub wall. These aisles often have stone paving: cobbles or flagstones. Farther back, the columns generally give way to stone walls and doorways leading into small rooms, generally with dirt floors; in fact, one side may lack columns altogether, having only walled rooms. Across the back stretches the "fourth" room, usually entered from the central space, and usually having a dirt floor. Not infrequently it is subdivided.

Three-room houses vary mainly in having only one row of pillars, generally off center. See Figs. HOU.01 (B); HOU.02; HOU.04 (A). Variations in floor plans often occur, however, when space constraints do not allow for the realization of the plan's regular arrangement (House 581 of Fig. HOU.01 (B)), or when the owner's requirement for additional space leads to additions. See the side room in Figs. HOU.01 (C) and HOU.04 (B).

**2. Major Constructional Features. a. Pillars.** Regional availability of materials dictated variability in details. The hallmark pillars, allowing for shared air space and visibility in the forepart of the interior, vary according to the geography. Many sites in the central hill country, the Shephelah, and the Galilee used monolithic pillars, hewn from the local caprock. These regularly were reused from one period to the next. In the Negeb, pillars were often built of blocks or "drums" of roughly trimmed chert or limestone. The coastal region (e.g., Tell Qasile: Mazar 1951: 76) and the Jordan valley (e.g., Tell es-Saʿidiyeh: Pritchard 1964: 6) have examples of pillars built of mudbrick. The central hill country, Galilee, and the coastal plain also have examples of column bases on which apparently stood wooden pillars. In all cases, the load-bearing capacities of these pillars are in excess of that required to support a simple flat mud-plastered roof.

**b. Wall Construction.** Walls were usually founded upon at least a single course of stones, whether one or two stones wide, and in stone-rich areas several courses might be stone-built. Above this foundation the walls were built of mudbrick, plastered inside and out with a mud-chaff plaster. This was essential,

and required at least yearly renewal to ward off the erosion of the mudbrick during the winter rains (see the prophetic reference to the dangers of shoddy maintenance in Ezek 13:10–18). Within spatially restricted fortified town sites, houses were regularly built adjacent to one another, often sharing their side wall(s) with their neighbors.

**c. Roofing.** As today in the Middle East, roofs were flat and served as important areas of domestic activity (cf. Josh 2:6–8; 2 Sam 11:2; Jer 19:13; 32:29). They were built upon beams and lintels over which were placed slats or poles (cf. Callaway 1976: 29), reeds, etc., which in turn were covered with mud and chaff plaster. This required regular compaction and resurfacing to maintain its waterproof qualities (cf. Eccl 10:18). Limestone cylinders (i.e., roof-rollers) are occasionally found in domestic contexts, but careful foot compaction is often used today. At Hasanabad, only two out of 43 active households owned stone roof-rollers, the landlord's agent owning a third (Watson 1979: 119–20). Deut 22:8 mandates the construction of parapets around house roofs. These are regularly depicted in Egyptian (Wreszinski 1935, pt. 2: pls. 35, 53, 54a, 56–58, etc.) and Assyrian (e.g., Ussishkin 1982: 80–85) representations of monumental Palestinian architecture. Since no houses have yet been found preserved to the roof line, house parapets cannot be demonstrated archaeologically. If they existed, waterspouts would have been required to remove water safely from the rooftops, but their remains would also be difficult to identify in the archaeological record (see, however, evidence for downspouts at Taanach [Lapp 1967: 21–22] and Gezer [Holladay 1971: 116, fig. 1]). No efforts seem to have been made as yet to discover erosional features around houses suggestive of drainage arrangements.

**d. Other Features.** Several other architectural and domestic features have been found in excavations, which can help to clarify the organization and functions of rooms and buildings. Shallow troughs are often found on top of the stubwalls between the characteristic pillars toward the front of the house. These are similar to the mud and stone mangers found in the stables at Beer-sheba and Hazor (Herzog 1973; Yadin et al. 1960: 6–9; pls. 4, 200–1; see STABLE, STABLES). Evidence of stairways (which are usually placed on the exterior) exists at many sites (e.g., Figs. HOU.01 (C) and HOU.04 (B); Tell Beit Mirsim [Albright 1943: 51], Beer-sheba [Beit-Arieh 1973: 31, Fig. HOU.04 (A) here], and Hazor [Yadin 1972: 184]), which in turn implies either the existence of upper stories (e.g., Shechem [Wright 1965: 161]; Jerusalem [Shiloh 1984: 14, 18–19]), or intensive use of the roof. Estimates of the heights of first stories, based upon the height of stairways or preserved stone lintels, etc., range from a low of 1.1 m (Tell en-Nasbeh [McCown 1947: 213]) to a more normal ca. 2.0 m (Tel Masos [Fritz and Kempinski 1983: 25]). Such heights are more in line with domestic stabling and storage functions than for areas of human habitation (below).

Ovens (cf. Gunneweg 1983: 106–12) are relatively frequent, generally in sheltered exterior settings, but also in the central space. Cooking hearths, on the other hand, are relatively infrequent (cf. Hazor [Yadin et al. 1960: pls. 7:3; 202 9/F], Mesad Hashavyahu [Naveh 1962: 92], Shechem [Wright 1965: 151–52; cf. also Figs. HOU.02 and HOU.04 (B) here, the square, stone-lined heating and cooking hearths of Fig. HOU.03 (A), and the round plastered heating hearths of Fig. HOU.03 (B)]). Simple cooking pits also appear, e.g., in many of the central spaces of the Strata III-II houses at Tel Masos (Fritz and Kempinski 1983: 13), but they are by no means regularly present. The relative sparseness of these and similar facilities in the archaeological record suggests that cooking activities were regularly carried out in parts of the house not typically recovered archaeologically (below).

**3. Interaction between Houses and Fortifications.** The reference to Rahab, whose "house was in the wall of the city-wall" (Heb *bêtah bĕqîr haḥômâ;* Josh 2:15), may suggest that the passage dates to the later Iron II. Archaeologically attested city walls are in extremely short supply for the LB II (although that does not necessarily mean that there were none, since gates are known). Casemate walls would, in any case, not be expected. In the early Iron Age I, there is some evidence that houses were arranged around the perimeter of the town site in such fashion that the back rooms, together with connector walls, made up a sort of *ad hoc* casemate wall (Shiloh 1978: 45–46). This, however, does not seem to be what is implied by the account. Early Iron II casemate walls, as these are presently known, do not incorporate private houses, although palaces may be built in (Hazor, Megiddo; [Yadin et al. 1960: pls. 199–200; Yadin 1972:

154–58, fig. 40]). On the other hand, the casemate town walls characteristic of the later Judean Iron II period regularly incorporated private houses, the casemate often serving as the rear, transverse architectural element of the three- and four-room houses of the period (e.g., Fig. HOU.04 (A)).

**4. Family Unit.** Cross-cultural analysis strongly suggests that houses of this general size were occupied by nuclear families, i.e., typically a mother, father, and their dependent children, plus any resident servants or slaves (Shiloh 1980: 29; Stager 1985: 17–18). Clustering of houses around shared common space (e.g., Figs. HOU.02 and HOU.01 (A) [?]) may be taken as evidence for patrilocal residence patterns, reflecting the extended family structure known in the Bible as the *bêt ʾab,* "House of the Father" (Stager 1985: 18–23), although such residential patterning may, in the long run, be incompatible with the realities of long-term land use in the constrained urban environment.

**5. Origins of the House Type.** Houses of this general plan were already common in the "Israelite" hill country settlements, beginning perhaps as early as ca. 1200 B.C. (A. Mazar 1982: 168–70; Stager 1985: 3; Finkelstein *AIS,* 30, 254–55, 315–23), but it is unclear whether the general plan was an independent innovation of these people, or an outgrowth of a rare earlier LB house type (cf. summaries by Stager 1985: 17; Finkelstein *AIS,* 254–59). The only reasonable LB antecedent is the "Burnt Building" from LB II Tell Batash Stratum VII (Kelm and Mazar 1982: 9–13). Appeal to Philistine prototypes seems counterproductive, since the only examples of these plans associated with Sea People's settlement come from late 10th-century contexts (Tell esh-Shariʿa, Tell Qasile; cf. Holladay 1990). On balance, the very general use of houses of the three- and four-room type in the early hill country settlements versus the extreme paucity of reasonable LB prototypes seems to argue in favor of a hypothesis of independent invention, though future discoveries could easily alter this balance of probability.

Particularly in the late 10th century B.C., a few houses of this type do appear at theoretically non-Israelite sites, and some explanation of this phenomenon must be sought. Assuming as a test hypothesis that houses of this general plan were as strong a marker for ethnic self-differentiation as the "Amarna"-style house (which has a much longer history than simply the Amarna period) may have been for Bronze Age Egyptian residents of Canaan, one may ask: "What sort of house did David (assuming there is any trace of truth in the traditions) occupy at Ziklag?" The answer, suitably adjusted for date and occupant (e.g., traders), could easily account for the evidence presently in hand. I.e., it is not improbable that there was a sizable "Israelite" component to Tell Esh-Shariʿa Stratum VIII and Tell Qasile Stratum X, etc. This would be expected within the Solomonic *koine.* The fact that this house form does not characterize later Iron II Ashdod or Tel Miqne/Ekron seems sufficient basis to suggest that considerations other than simple function or availability governed the later Philistine's choice of architectural styles, since, by then, the three- and four-room house had an unbroken use-history of some 400–500 years in the region.

**B. Functional Analysis and Reconstruction**

**1. Unsatisfactory Current Consensus.** In spite of the large body of archaeological data available, published archaeological analyses attempting to interpret either the plan or its constituent elements have been few (note, however, Stager 1985: 11–17; Holladay 1986: 153–54). The prevailing general understanding of these structures is summed up in evolutionary terms by Herzog (1984: 76–77):

> The sole fundamental and constant feature [of the four-room house is] the broadroom at the rear. Considering primarily the function of the room (which is a factor of its shape), it is obvious that it served as the main living and sleeping quarters of the household (Shiloh 1970: 186). [Over the course of time] a courtyard was added to the front of the broadroom … Subsequently, this enlarged courtyard may have been subdivided and one or two units partitioned off as work or storage areas.

This view of the broadroom's function, which lies at the heart of most present treatments, simply will not work. The broadroom of Beer-sheba House 75 (Fig. HOU.04 (A)) measures ca. 1.15 × 4 m, or ca. 4.5 $m^2$ (ca. 3′9" × 13′1.5"). A person leaning against one wall could completely block passage by holding out one arm, and only four sleeping pallets would occupy the entire floor space, leaving no room for furnishings or storage. While the above is one of the smaller rear rooms, a survey of Braemer's catalogue of houses (1982: 162–269) shows a median width of 1.98 m, a measurement which does not significantly improve the problem of domestic logistics.

**2. An Alternative Interpretation.** More reasonably, in terms of space, Braemer has suggested that the central space was, in fact, the living area. A significant problem with this interpretation (if one is limited to a single-story structure) is that it enforces a strong interaction between the inhabitants and their livestock, assuming that animals were stalled in the side aisles (below), since the main function of the pillared structure, as opposed to solid walls, is to provide for open communication between the side aisle(s) and the central space.

**C. Toward a New Consensus**

A useful starting point is the recognition of the strong similarities between operative aspects of the Israelite and Judean tripartite pillared stables and the smaller-scaled side aisle(s) of the domestic houses, including bench-type mangers and paved standings, together with pillared construction. See STABLE, STABLES. Together with semicircular ground-level mangers and typically low ceiling heights, these features imply that the provision of stalling and folding facilities were central concerns both of the original designers and of following generations (cf. Wright 1965: fig. 79; Holladay 1982; 1986: 153–54; Stager 1985: 11–15; *contra* Herzog 1984: 77; Fritz and Kempinski 1983: 27). Since this very specialized house type is already characteristic at the early subsistence-based settlements (e.g., Ai and Kh. Radannah, cf. Fig. HOU.02), one may infer that the design was either an indigenous innovation aimed at solving the needs of agriculturalist and horticulturalist peasants, or was soon adapted to those needs. While facilities for animal care and agricultural storage can, from this perspective, readily be seen in the ground plan, one must consider what other needs must have been met in the layout, especially since the design was so successful that it became the standard house type for two independent kingdoms and lasted for more than 600 years. In particular, what can be inferred about other basic spatial requirements, layout, specialized room function, and overall form of the three- and four-room house—particularly of those elements not evident from the floor plan? And not only "what," but *how* can we reliably go about asking these questions about a vanished civilization? This is, of course, only another version of the basic question of valid archaeological inference.

As with other questions involving complex models of operating systems, the best source of insight is the study of similar systems in contemporary societies living at roughly the same stage of development and under most of the same environmental constraints. I.e., we should turn to the sphere of ethnology, particularly that of communities living in similar biospheres, keeping similar domesticates, and following similar subsistence strategies, which in the present case means mixed dry farming employing the simple plow.

**1. Ethnoarchaeological Data.** Recent ethnographic studies (e.g., Watson 1979; Kramer 1979; 1982), explicitly conducted from the perspective of archaeologists' needs (which involves far greater concern for aspects of the material culture complex than is typical of most ethnographic approaches), have provided valuable new data to assist in generating hypotheses about ancient material remains and their functional implications. Among other issues, these researchers have studied the areal requirements for domestic occupation, which prove to be surprisingly similar among widely varying societies. While the figure of 10 $m^2$ roofed dwelling area per person (Naroll 1962) is most frequently cited, a more significant figure is that involving total roofed area per person, which, for Iranian peasant societies living under conditions closely similar to those of ancient Israel, work out to ca. 21 $m^2$ per person (LeBlanc 1971). This figure includes not only living space but also stabling, storage, and other activity space, and is more truly reflective of total domestic needs than the former.

Data from the ethnoarchaeological study of Hasanabad (a pseudonymous village in W Iran) show that a typical household of 4.5–5 people lived in roofed space, including wall thickness, ranging from 94.5 to 105 $m^2$ (the 21 $m^2$/person cited above; Watson 1979; LeBlanc 1971). Of this, slightly more than half was devoted to economic activities such as stabling and storage. See Fig. HOU.03. Hasanabad basically was a single-storied, sprawling village. In the few houses there which had second stories, in all cases the second floors were used for living rooms and light storage. Elsewhere, in houses within walled enclosures (e.g., a fortified city where space was at a premium), ground floors typically were devoted to the stabling of herds and flocks and heavy storage, while the second story was typically devoted to human habitation and light

storage, the warmth of the animals contributing significantly to human comfort during the winter's cold (Fig. HOU.03 [B]; cf. Stager 1985: 12). This pattern can be seen today all around the Mediterranean.

While few of the ethnographically attested plans from modern Iran and Turkey (or those of late 19th- to early 20th-century Palestine) resemble those of ancient Israel, the function and spatial characteristics of the individual architectural elements involved in a nontechnological pastoralist/agriculturalist economy's housing must have been closely similar. Various animals require certain facilities and space, various goods must be stored under varying conditions for varying parts of the year, and domestic functions require a certain amount of space and various essential facilities. What differs among individual societies (even villages) are the "mental templates" and aesthetics governing the arrangements, together with technical details of construction. Compare the relative architectures of a New England fishing village (e.g., wooden "Cape Cod" houses), a densely packed urban environment (brick "townhouses"), a New Mexico adobe "ranch house," and a classic California suburb (stuccoed "California bungalows"). For a traditional Middle Eastern agriculturalist community, these similarities may be grouped into two major functional categories: the "Living Domain" and the "Economic Domain."

**a. The "Economic Domain."** From an architectural perspective, this involves adequate and appropriate housing for the goods and chattels involved in the quest for economic survival: animals, stored agricultural produce, and tools and supplies.

The typical Iranian agriculturalist's house (e.g., Fig. HOU.03) included a stable area for traction and transport animals (cows, bullocks, and donkeys), together with folding space for an average of 21 sheep and goats. Cattle and donkeys had their own stables. The floors characteristically were unfinished and covered with accumulations of dung and decomposing fodder which was occasionally cleaned out and used for fuel (Kramer 1982: 106). Watson does not give ceiling or beam heights but describes stables as being typically "low" (1979: 160). Stables were usually fitted with adobe mangers. Both semicircular ground-level and rectilinear bench types were used, the latter predominating. Some stables for sheep/goats were subterranean, with ceiling heights ranging from 1.5 to 3.5 m (Watson 1979: 160–61).

Other rooms served either as utility or store rooms, storing items such as food; animal feed; chaff/straw for fodder, mudbrick making, plastering, and mixing with dung for fuel; agricultural implements; and seasonal furniture. Room use often changed with the seasons, or as contents were consumed (note that Fig. HOU.03 (A) reflects usage as of 5 April 1960). Grain and milled flour was sometimes stored in sacks or large mud-plastered wicker baskets, but most often on the ground floor in mud bins or chests raised on short legs (Watson 1979: 295; Kramer 1982: 100, 102, 105). Grain pits, mostly bell-shaped and averaging ca. 1 $m^3$, were variously used for either wheat or barley, or, in some villages, for barley alone. Some villages did not practice underground storage. Grain pits could be located in ground-level living rooms (often in the corners), storerooms, or courtyards.

Stables averaged 12.25 $m^2$ in area (internal), and many families had more than one stable. Storerooms averaged 12.4 $m^2$. Folding space for the (at the time strongly depressed) sheep/goat herd probably would average ca. 20 $m^2$.

Watson's research indicated that a family of five needed ca. 1800 kg of wheat (=ca. 66 bushels), including ca. 300 kg for seed and assuming an 80% extraction rate for flour, to subsist from harvest to harvest. Barley was considered feed for the animals and was useful as a cash crop. It was considered starvation food for humans (1979: 291). Barley requirements worked out to ca. 1080 kg/year (=ca. 49 bushels).

In ancient Palestine grain was often stored in in-ground silos or bell-shaped pits (Currid and Navon 1989). Some features in ground-level rooms could be interpreted as bins, although twofold bins (for wheat and barley) would be anticipated. Grain was also stored in store jars. For purposes of concrete visualization of the quantities of storage required, if we were to convert the above figures to the average capacities of the typical Judean *lmlk* store jar (Lachish Type 484; cf. Ussishkin 1983: 161–63), which would have held a median capacity of ca. 1.277 bushels of wheat each, 55 jars would have been needed to hold one family's annual requirements, with another 36 being needed for the lighter barley. The total

aggregate weight would have necessitated ground-level storage, and, closely packed together, they would have occupied about 22.75 $m^2$ of floor space (11.5 $m^2$ if stacked two deep).

Other required foodstuffs must be factored in, such as legumes (e.g., Kramer 1982: 34), and, particularly for Palestine, wine and oil. To these must be added dung-cake and wood storage, dried fodder, a large straw store (above), and furniture, equipment, and tools. These items constitute subsistence requirements alone. Obviously, additional space would be required for surplus production. In season, portions of storerooms (or even ground-level living rooms) were partitioned off for the keeping of baby animals.

**b. The "Living Domain."** This is the portion of the house reserved for human occupation and food preparation, together with lighter storage and utility rooms. See Fig. HOU.03. In the ethnographic literature (esp. Watson 1979; Kramer 1982), this space usually consisted of a living room (ranging from ca. 11 $m^2$ to over 40 $m^2$, but averaging ca. 19 $m^2$ at Hasanabad), an entrance hall or foyer, and storage and/or utility rooms. Kitchens were present in most communities, but not in all.

Each nuclear family had its own living room. This was where the family ate, slept, did indoor work, and entertained. Some families had two living rooms (a mark of wealth), one for the entertainment of guests, the other for family living. Families with three living rooms rented out the third. Depending upon the location of cooking facilities and local custom, the living room, with its hearth and vertical loom, was sometimes considered women's domain (Hasanabad; Watson 1979), or men's domain ("Aliabad"; Kramer 1982), the kitchen, in the latter setting, being the domain of the women (often of an extended family), the vertical loom being set up there (Fig. HOU.03 (B)), or, occasionally, in the foyer, which looked out upon the courtyard and was a preferred location for spinning and women's socialization and tea drinking. At Hasanabad, the entrance hall served for the storage of men's goods and outer clothing but was not a setting for social activity.

The living rooms studied were always characterized by the presence of a central hearth, either rectangular and stone-lined, or round and plastered, which provided winter warmth, light, and, at Hasanabad, served for cooking. In the summer, cooking was usually done in a special area of the courtyard. The living area was invariably mud-plastered, with annual renewal. Most living rooms were whitewashed, and special white earth (probably the Arabic *huwwar*) was often used to plaster the floors. Around the walls were pegs, niches, and window ledges, used to provide off-the-floor storage. Although less detailed and largely wanting measurements, observations in Palestine during the early decades of this century present much the same picture (Dalman 1942).

Kitchens varied from one community to another. Hasanabad had none, nor was bread baked in ovens, but on a metal baking tray not unlike Iron Age Palestinian pottery exemplars; at Aliabad there was one kitchen per compound (invariably housing a bread oven), usually serving the needs of several living rooms, occupied by members of one extended family. (In the villages studied, as in contemporary traditionalist Arab communities in Palestine, extended family groupings are based upon the principle of virilocality, i.e., having subordinate nuclear family residence patterns established in relation to the residence of the father or senior brother in the family; cf. Stager 1985: 18–22; below). Not infrequently, widows, or even whole families, also used the kitchen, appropriately furnished, as a living room. At other villages, kitchens occurred on a household-by-household basis, often associated with stables, and sometimes in semi-underground settings. At still other sites, including late 19th- to early 20th-century (A.D.) Palestine, they were separate rooms, often totally detached, entered from the courtyard. Except at Aşvan (Turkey: Hall et al. 1973: figs. 3, 4, 7; 273), disused fireplaces at Hasanabad, and elite houses in Palestine, chimneys were unknown, simple holes in the roof or side wall allowing some smoke to escape.

The ethnographic studies demonstrated a consistent need for light-duty storage and/or utility rooms for various domestic needs (cf. Fig. HOU.03 (B)). In addition to furniture and miscellaneous storage, a wide variety of dried and otherwise preserved milk products, fruits, produce, and other more delicate and less bulky foodstuffs could be stored in these, or in facilities in or near the kitchen.

Exterior space was an important part of the household economy. Courtyard surfaces, which were often used as nighttime folding space in good weather, were customarily swept daily. The surface, however, was uneven, with damp spots, and was characteristically embedded with potsherds, mud oven fragments,

pebbles, animal dung, and other rubbish. The corners would be used to store various bulky materials, including dungheaps (which otherwise were often located in village common space and served as an important area for women's socialization, dung cakes being the standard domestic fuel). Fixtures (not all occurring at individual sites) were ovens, hearths, food preparation platforms or areas, unroofed animal pens, and, in one semisedentarized village, a platform for the black tent. Customary courtyard activities included shearing, milking, milk processing, cooking and baking, and various household manufacturing activities (e.g., felt making, horizontal looms). Kramer's (1982) data on 67 courtyards at Aliabad revealed great variability in size, with a mean of 103.3 $m^2$, but a median of only 74 $m^2$ and a standard deviation of 112.2 $m^2$.

Roofs were accessed either by stairs (including mudbrick staircases), ladders, or ramps. Roofs were important activity areas, generally within the women's domain, serving for socialization, the drying of clothes, food, and other agricultural products (including washed grain), and for the temporary storage of dried fodder, brush, wood, and wooden equipment. In densely settled towns, contiguous rooftops served as women's thoroughfares between households. Rooftops were also used in many locales for normal extensions of domestic activities, including sleeping during the summer months.

**c. Summary Observations.** Whatever the degree of observed virilocal residence association, each nuclear family occupied its own living room. The number of rooms associated with a house varied significantly, ranging from essentially one room to as many as nine. The mean number of rooms at Hasanabad was 4.55, the median being 5.0. Average total roofed space (including wall thickness) per individual at Hasanabad, the site best studied in this respect, was 21 $m^2$. The average number of individuals per rural household across the total sample studied ranged from 4.2 to 5.9 (Korosan and Ilam provinces, Iran; Sumner 1979: 169–70). Usage of grain pits varied between communities but never accounted for total grain storage space. Rooms for heavy storage, animal stables, and protected folding space were essential parts of the household complex. Where second stories existed, the upper story was invariably used for human occupation and light storage.

**2. Ethnoarchaeology and the Israelite House. a. Spatial and Functional Determinants.** For 43 households, Watson (1979: Table 5.2) recorded 56 living rooms, 12 entry halls, 32 stables, 11 utility rooms, 6 wood storage rooms, 7 dung storage rooms, 24 straw storerooms, 17 underground stables, and 25 courtyards (note that storeroom functions varied seasonally). Kramer lists 67 courtyards, 90 living rooms, 74 kitchens, 137 storerooms, and 33 stables (1979: Table 5.1). Assuming as average requirements, for the economic domain, one stable, one protected "folding area," and one storeroom, all necessarily at ground level, and, for the domestic domain, one living room, an entry hall, and one utility/store room, reference to the well-documented Hasanabad data set (Watson 1979: 119–61) yields a more or less generic requirement for the average household of ca. 83 $m^2$ of unencumbered floor space. A comparable figure for Aliabad is ca. 72 $m^2$, probably brought about by the shared use of kitchen facilities. Estimating on the basis of a family size of 4.5 to 5.0 individuals, an overall roofed space requirement (including walls, above) would stand at ca. 94.5–105 $m^2$.

Sheltered folding space would have been a necessity for wintering sheep in most of ancient Israel and all of Judah, except the Jordan valley and the Negeb. But one may wonder why a subsistence-level agricultural economy, such as that of the average Israelite town and village, should invest simultaneously in pastoralist activity. The answer for ancient times is the same as that which applies to traditionalist societies in the region today. Diversification of subsistence strategies is a significant means of spreading risk, and hence better insures the family unit's survival in otherwise marginally viable environmental zones, such as those characterizing most of ancient Israel (Ruthenberg 1976: 25; Hopkins 1985: 213–50).

Other figures gleaned from the ethnographic literature useful for archaeological reconstruction include the following: *ceiling heights* for kitchens and living rooms at Aliabad ranged from 2.0 to 2.6 m (Kramer 1982: 104); at Hasanabad they averaged ca. 2.55 m (Watson 1979: figs. 5.8–5.27); the narrowest and widest *living rooms* at Hasanabad were 2.42 m and 3.95 m respectively (the mean for 25 living rooms was 3.02); at Aliabad, the mean width of 7 illustrated living rooms was 2.78 m, the narrowest being 2.57 m, the widest being 2.95 m (Kramer 1982: figs. 4.6, 4.7, 4.12, 1.18).

**b. Reconstructing the Three-Room House.** Analysis of Beer-sheba House 75 (Fig. HOU.04 (A)) yields ca. 29.5 $m^2$ of floor space, exclusive of walls. Including wall thickness, and assuming average walls in place of the fortification wall enclosing the casemate room, the total ground-plan area comes to ca. 42 $m^2$. The central space and side aisle (Loci 75 and 77) encompass only ca. 19 $m^2$—in the range of a Hasanabad living room. However, not only are the floors of these two areas unsuited to living-room functions, one has to ask where the necessary room can be found for the entire range of ground-level functions of the economic domain. Even allocating all the ground-floor space to stables, folding, and heavy storage, we find it necessary to suggest that the adjacent alleyway (Locus 28) probably was also incorporated as shelterable folding space, which need not have been as well protected as at sites in the hill country. This combination yields a usable total area of ca. 45 $m^2$, as compared with our theoretical requirement of ca. 44.7 $m^2$.

Reviewing other data, we note that the Beer-sheba excavations provided some evidence for casemates having served a storage function (Beit-Arieh 1973: 33; Sheffer 1973). The stalling facilities (Locus 77) are exceptionally narrow, and may have operated more as a narrow loose-box than as a proper set of stalls. Room 75 seems to have served store functions at the time of its destruction (Aharoni 1973: pottery pls. 64–65). An oven is situated in a screened location near an entrance, here beside the stairs at the entrance to the alleyway. It is typical in Israel and Judah for such facilities to be placed at points easy of access.

In this particular set of houses we have good evidence for a second story in the form of well-constructed exterior stairways. That they are not there simply to access the roof is self-evident from the lack of suitable living-room facilities on the ground floor. Adding a second story yields another 30 $m^2$ to the total house plan, the space required for an average-sized ethnographically attested living room plus light-storage/utility room. At these overall dimensions, including the use of alleyway, this house plan, realized in two stories, closely approximates the mean at Hasanabad and is slightly over the Aliabad mean. By any reckoning, this is an impressive degree of "fit" between an ethnographically based model and an archaeological reconstruction attained by simply extending the perimeter walls and columned interior structure upward for one more story, easily within the load-bearing capabilities of the walls and massive stone columns (cf. Beit-Arieh 1973: 32).

With respect to the relationship between houses and fortifications for a casemate-walled small site like Beer-sheba, the above would suggest a reasonable height for the top of the battlements of some 6.5 m above interior ground levels, with the broad rooftops of the houses affording excellent fighting platforms. Greater heights for the fortification walls would necessitate narrower fighting platforms and more difficult access arrangements.

**c. Four-Room House.** The ethnographically informed archaeological reconstruction of the medium-sized four-room house can be demonstrated through an analysis of House 1727 at Shechem (Fig. HOU.04 (B)). Its overall dimensions, after the elimination of 7th-century rooms tacked onto its S side, are ca. 8.0 × 10.4 m (=83.2 $m^2$). With the addition of the N side room, the total ground-floor area increases to ca. 108.6 $m^2$, the internal area of the side room being ca. 17.5 $m^2$. The ground level of the main house block consists of two paved stable areas (Rooms 3 and 5) with both semicircular and bench-style mangers. Unpaved rooms (Rooms 4 and 6) stand behind each of the paved side rooms. The central space (Room 1–2) has two large grinding installations, a large industrial hearth and a smaller, possibly domestic, hearth, and, immediately to the left of the entrance, what may be the foundation platform for a flight of steps to an upper story. The lateral broadroom at the back (Room 7) measured 6.85 × 1.95 m and had a large horseshoe-shaped stone-lined pit (probably a grain silo) at the N end. The unencumbered internal ground-floor space totaled ca. 54 $m^2$. With the addition of the N side room, the total ground-floor space was 71 $m^2$.

As with the Beer-sheba house, if one assumes, with much of contemporary thinking, that this was a one-story house, the areal requirements are unrealistic to accommodate storage, stabling, folding (which, however, is adequately addressed by the added side room), and living. Furthermore, the central area, the only one large enough to be a typical living area (assuming conformity with the general outlines of the

ethnographic data cited above), is restricted by the presence of the large industrial hearth. The back room is undersized for a living room, lacks an appropriate floor surface, and is significantly narrower than any of the attested peasant agriculturalist living rooms in the literature cited above. Significantly, even if the structure to the left of the main doorway is not the basis for an inner staircase, the house has yielded perhaps the strongest evidence yet for a second-floor living room: closely spaced split poles covered by a rough mud plaster layer which in turn was covered by a mud plaster finish coat characterized by a heavy concentration of calcite crystals, ground down on the upper surface to a remarkably close approximation of a terrazzo floor. Uncritical assessment suggesting that this might only be an unusual roof surface ignores the fact that the roofing material for this house, typically comprised of many layers of mud and chaff plaster well rolled out, was carefully observed and documented in the field (Wright 1965: fig. 80). Acting in accordance with the principles applied to the Beer-sheba house, if we simply carry the perimeter walls up for a second story, perhaps replacing some of the interior walls with pillar lines and continuing the first-floor columned structure into the second story, we will add some 55 $m^2$ to the overall house plan, making it ca. 126 $m^2$. This almost duplicates the area of one of the larger Hasanabad houses (125.5 $m^2$; Watson 1979: 139), in which six people resided. In that Hasanabad is a wretched poor isolated village, and Shechem was a thriving central place in the last half of the 8th century B.C., that seems a not improper order of magnitude for a medium-sized version of the larger model of standard Israelite house.

Much larger houses, of course, existed, e.g., the 9th-century elite houses flanking the "Citadel" at Hazor (Yadin et al. 1960: pl. 205), or the 7th–6th-century "West Tower" at Tell Beit Mirsim, styled along the lines of a typical four-room house with added side room (Shiloh 1970: 186), but these were houses of the governing elite. As with the analysis of "nonstandard" houses at Israelite sites (e.g., the "House of Makbiram," better, "House of the Servers" at Hazor; Yadin et al. 1960: 72–73; cf. Naveh 1981: 301–2; 85*), the effort would take us beyond the permissible limits of the present article.

**D. Socioeconomic Analysis**

**1. "Israelite House" and the Populace.** From the time of its emergence in force until its demise at the end of the Iron II Age, the economic function of the "Israelite House" seems to have been centered upon requirements for storage and stabling, functions for which it was ideally suited. While the design stabilized and became ubiquitous during the time of the open rural hamlet (i.e., Iron Age IA–B), its compact layout, neatly separating the domestic from the economic sphere, allowed for easy adaptation to the confinements and constraints of the urban or fortified village environment. Furthermore, its durability as preferred house type, lasting over 600 years throughout all the diverse environmental regions of Israel and Judah, even stretching down into the wilderness settlements in the central Negeb (Cohen 1979; Herzog 1983), testifies that it was an extremely successful design for the common—probably landowning—peasant. From the frequency of the appearance of this design, one may infer that individuals requiring facilities for managing mixed agricultural pursuits constituted the great majority of the population in ancient Israelite and Judean nucleated, as well as nonnucleated, settlements.

**2. Israelite House, Settlement Hierarchy, and Social Stratification.** It may be assumed that at sites with little architectural variation (e.g., Tell Beit Mirsim) the social organization was on a village level, with few specialized services being available. Although more detailed studies need to be carried out, it appears that the falloff of proportions of "Israelite Houses" (i.e., three- and four-room houses) in relation to other buildings (e.g., other types of domestic and/or public structures) seems to become progressively greater as one graduates from village to town (e.g., Beth-shemesh?), to city (central place), to major governmental center/regional capital (e.g., Lachish, Megiddo, probably Hazor), to the national/state capital (Jerusalem and Samaria). If one may assume a direct relationship between the magnitude and/or sophistication of domestic architectural features and wealth (note that Kramer 1982: 126–36 cautions against such conclusions on the village level), and if both the richest and the poorest lived in the urban environments, then, given the relatively narrow range of sizes of three- and four-room houses, it might be argued that—apart from those who lived in palaces (e.g., in Samaria, Ramat Rahel, Megiddo, Hazor, Gezer, Lachish, etc.)—the disparity in wealth between various households was not great.

The excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim have provided a fairly large horizontal exposure of the town plan. From it one may infer that, in many cases, the smallest and largest houses actually reflect the habitations of differing generations of the same extended family (Stager's *bêt ʾab,* above). The lack of significant intrasite architectural variability (as opposed to that which exists at Megiddo, Lachish, and Hazor) implies that Tell Beit Mirsim was not a "central place," but that it should be seen as a fortified expanded village (Amiran 1953: 70–73), instead of a "town" or "city" in any modern sense of the terms. There is only one large house, misnamed the "West Tower," and its location and structure seem to mark it off as the residence of the local town magistrate. Furthermore, as noted above, its plan is essentially that of an enlarged four-room house with additions.

Future study probably will demonstrate a discontinuity in ground-floor plan areas between normative three- and four-room houses (which probably form a continuum) and structures of the governmental elite like the Tell Beit Mirsim "West Tower" and the outsized "Elite Houses" at Hazor (above). The point to consider, however, is that—ideologically—the middle tier of rulers lived in houses comparable to those of their subjects, and the present evidence indicates that only governors and kings lived in architecturally distinct palaces or "citadels."

**3. Fortified Farming Villages and Regional Security.** The demographer D. Amiran (1953) has argued an inverse relationship between strong centralized government and site size in unstable peripheral regions. The security of a strong government fosters the budding-off of dispersed and smaller "daughter" settlements: farmers living farther afield from the population centers and nearer their fields. With governmental weakening or collapse, the dispersed settlements are abandoned and the landscape is dominated by a few very large villages, to which people relocate for greater mutual security, at the expense of convenient access to their fields (1953: 66–73; 205–8; 259–60).

Given this model, the size and occupational density of such largely undifferentiated fortified settlements as Tell Beit Mirsim, Beth-shemesh, and Tell en-Nasbeh, as well as the planned chariot city of Beer-sheba (the settlement of Strata III–II being partially or largely self-sustaining despite a heavy governmental investment in its construction—note the substantial quantities of cedar of Lebanon in its construction; Liphschitz and Waisel 1973: 99–108), speak volumes of the lack of security, not only of the Shephelah and the Negeb during the 8th–7th centuries, but also of the more exposed S reaches of the central hill country N of Jerusalem. The other side of such considerations, of course, is that population estimates based upon the supposed presence of a sizable extramural population in these regions (e.g., Shiloh 1980: 32b) may still be much too high (similarly for the central highlands, cf. Hopkins 1985: 164).

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**HOUSEHOLD CODES.** From the German *Haustafeln,* a word used by scholars to designate certain biblical texts that outline the duties and responsibilities associated with the proper or ideal management of private affairs. Significant advances have been made in understanding the form and function of these codes (Col 3:18–4:1; Eph 5:21–6:9; 1 Pet 2:11–3:12; 1 Tim 2:8–15; 5:1–2; 6:1–2; Titus 2:1–10; 3:1) since the mid-1970s. The following article surveys recent research, characterizes the relevant biblical and early Christian texts, suggests how the ethic functioned, and gives alternative evaluations of it.

**A. Recent Research on the Source of the Form**

Earlier in this century, Dibelius and his student, Weidinger, argued that these household codes were slightly Christianized versions of a code borrowed from the Stoics, e.g., from Hierocles (trans. in Malherbe 1986). Crouch (1972), however, argued that the Stoic influence was minimal compared to that of Oriental-Jewish values. Discussion of (1) social duties in reciprocal terms and (2) the distinction

between subordinate and superior persons are non-Stoic features which characterize Hellenistic Jewish codes (Philo *Apol. Jud.* 7. 14; Jos. *AgAp* 2.190–219). Therefore, NT codes mirror Jewish morality; they are one aspect of a nomistic tendency in Pauline churches over against the license allowed women in Hellenistic cults of Dionysus, Isis, and Cybele.

In the mid-seventies, three scholars—D. Lührmann, K. Thraede, and D. Balch—independently rejected both hypotheses, suggesting instead that the NT codes are related to the stereotypical Hellenistic discussion of "household management" *(peri oikonomias),* especially as formulated by Aristotle (*Pol.* 1.1253b.1–14). This Aristotelian text (cf. *Mag. Mor.* 1.1194b.5–28) is parallel to the form of Col 3:18–4:1 and Eph 5:21–6:9 in that (1) it outlines relationships among three pairs of social classes; (2) these classes are related reciprocally; and (3) it describes one social class in each of these three pairs as "being ruled."

Since the Aristotelian structure is found only in Colossians and Ephesians, Müller (1983: 266, 317) suggests restricting the designation "household code" *(Haustafel)* to these texts alone, but this poses two problems. (1) Modern categories would then be narrower than the classical Greek terms. The structured Hellenistic discussion of "household management" did not always, or even usually, have an Aristotelian outline. (2) Relationships in the "house" were discussed in the larger context of "city" management. Therefore the exhortation to be obedient to the emperor and his governors in 1 Pet 2:13–14 is consistent with the observation that 1 Pet 2:11–3:12 is also a household code, as is *1 Clem.* 21:4–9. However, the concerns reflected in 1 Pet 5:1–5 are combined with exhortations about domestic relationships in other codes, so that the designation "congregational code" is more appropriate for 1 Tim 2:8–15; 6:1–10; Titus 2:1–10; *Ign. Pol.* 4–6; and Polyc. *ep.* 4–6.

Verner (1983) focuses on the structure of individual exhortations within the code: (a) an address; (b) an imperative, grammatically expressed in various ways; (c) an amplification, often in the form "not … but …"; and (d) a reason clause. The sources of this "schema" (Verner's term) remain to be specified, but Verner is incorrect that it is exclusively Christian (cf., e.g., Epict. *Dis.* 3.12.10; 3.14.4–5; Tobit 4:3–21; Philo *Cher.* 48–49; *Spec. Leg.* 2.67–68; 3.137).

**B. Biblical and Other Early Christian Texts**

Many scholars (e.g., Crouch 1972; Müller 1983) assume that the Colossian code is the earliest. However, the code in 1 Peter may be just as early and is not literally dependent on the one in Colossians. Nor is the Colossian code a later interpolation (as suggested by Munro 1983). Colossians Christianizes institutional Greek values about managing households, and scholars sometimes exaggerate either the christological deepening or the new motivation involved in the editor's addition to the formula "in the Lord (Christ)" (Col 3:18, 20, 22, 23, 24; 4:1; see Müller 1983: 310–16).

On the other hand, the christological grounding is clear in 1 Peter and Ephesians. In 1 Peter the slaves are exhorted to patience in unjust suffering because Christ left them an example (2:21). They sing an early christological hymn which interprets Isaiah 53 of Christ (2:22–24), their shepherd and Episcopos (2:25).

Ephesians (5:21, 22–33; 6:5–8) transforms the Colossians code by specifically Christian motivation. Wives are exhorted to "be subject" to their "head," their husbands, who are to "love" their wives. The author employs a parallel christological model: the Church is "subject" to its "head," Christ, who "loves" it. This is founded on the confession that Christ is "Savior" of the Church, the body (5:23, 25). Further, as the baptized (5:26) are members of the body of Christ (5:30), so husband and wife are one body, one flesh (5:28–29), an emphasis on unity in marriage and in Christ.

The reformulation of these codes in 1 Timothy and Titus is not focused exclusively on the household: (a) more groups are included, e.g., community officers, widows, and the wealthy, and (b) the context of the exhortations changes, e.g., to men's roles and women's behavior in worship. Passages on the bishop and deacons emphasize qualifications for entering the office so that they will be models of behavior in a Church and society valuing prosperity and propriety.

Reciprocal exhortations to masters are absent in the Pastorals, as in 1 Peter. Whereas Colossians and Ephesians exhort slaves to noble character, the prosperous writer of Titus 2:9–10 wants slaves not to steal. Further, restriction of the leadership of wealthy women is evident in texts about "widows" (1 Tim 5:3–16; *Ign. Pol.* 4; Polyc. *ep.* 4). Laub (1982: 90–94) suggests that these growing patriarchal emphases are not

characteristic; rather the distinctive, new elements are that (a) slaves are addressed, (b) various households are united in *ekklesiai,* "churches," and (c) slaves are integrated into these churches in ways unusual for Greco-Roman society. MacDonald (1983; and Verner 1983: 178), on the other hand, shows that the Pastorals were written to oppose oral traditions whose values are reflected in the *Acts of Paul and Thekla:* celibate women teach in public, baptize, and exercise leadership while male bishops, presbyters, and deacons remain unmentioned; i.e., the Pastorals do patriarchalize Pauline traditions over against socially marginal Christian groups which are disrupting pagan and Christian households.

**C. The Function of These Codes**

Following Roman and Jewish precedents, the author of 1 Peter adopts the domestic code, exhorting Christians to "apologize" (3:15, a technical term denoting both defense and eulogy of their faith and behavior). But in Colossians (Schweizer 1977 cites Col 3:11) the code opposes "false teaching," as does 1 Timothy, Ign. *Pol.* 3 (immediately preceding the duties of chaps. 4–6), and Polyc. *ep.* 7 (immediately following chaps. 4–6). Positively stated, these orthodox authors emphasize social duties as given in secular society.

**D. Evaluation of the Ethic**

Thraede (1980) insists that these codes do not represent general Greco-Roman ethics but take a partisan position over against other available options. Müller (1983) interprets this as a specific choice for a liberalizing, pragmatic, moderate, "middle," humane, sensible social-ethical orientation, not as a hard insistence on the existing order of authority.

More critically, Schweizer (1977) writes of the "paganization" of Christianity by these household codes. Eph 5:22–33 sanctions hierarchical order by salvation history. Whereas Col 3:22–23 distinguishes one's fleshly lord from the Lord, Eph 6:5 directly connects the two. One no longer fears God alone (Col 3:22; 1 Pet 2:17; 3:6), but also one's master (Eph 6:5). This suggests the misunderstanding that service to God is identical with service to the higher social classes. One no longer pleases the Lord alone (Col 3:20), but the master (Titus 2:9). *Didache* 4:11 says masters are a type of god for the slaves, so identifies social and divine orders! This becomes the divine cosmic order of Stoicism in *1 Clement* 20.

Schüssler Fiorenza (1984: 290–91) observes that the leadership and behavior of women and slaves become restricted and defined according to the patriarchal standards of Greco-Roman society so that outsiders will not take offense at their insubordinate behavior. The Pastorals merge the leadership of wealthy patrons with that of local male bishops, which patriarchializes Church order according to the model of the wealthy Greco-Roman household, a move which leads to the exploitation of slaves and women even within the Church community.

Balch agrees with Schüssler Fiorenza, with the qualification that the original adaptation of the household codes in 1 Peter and Colossians does contain critical elements. Whereas Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* 5. 1134b.9–18; 8. 1060a.23–1661a.10) argues that the proper relationship between master and slave is one of "tyranny," not "justice," 1 Pet 2:19–20 reports that Christian slaves are suffering "unjustly," but unlike Roman masters, God judges "justly" (2:21–23). Col 4:1 exhorts masters to treat slaves "justly and fairly." A second critique is clear in 1 Pet 3:1; the wife is independent enough from her husband to choose her own God over against foolish, lawless pagans (1 Pet 1:18; 4:3). The earliest household codes reject the unjust treatment of slaves and the absolute subordination of wives to the religious inclination of their husbands. See also HAUSTAFELN.

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**HOUSEHOLD GODS.** See IDOL, IDOLATRY.

**HOZAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥôzāy* (חוֹזָי)]. Apparently the author of a chronicle that included information about the reign of Manasseh, king of Judah (2 Chr 33:19). The text mentions nothing further about the man, nor have his writings survived. Some of the content of his work is specified, however. His chronicle told of Manasseh's prayer, God's answer, and Manasseh's sins, especially in setting up idols. The reference to the prayer inspired the later, apocryphal book the *Prayer of Manasseh.* The name Hozai means "my seers." Both his name and his activity in recording the story of the spiritual highlights of a king's reign may indicate that he was a prophet.

The Greek appears to be based on a Heb text that had *ḥôzîm (tōn horōntōn),* i.e., "the seers" (RSV). A proposal that we read *hôzāyw,* "his (Manasseh's) seers," has also been made (*BHS;* Myers *2 Chronicles* AB, 197). Nearly all modern translations prefer the rendering based on the Greek (thus RSV, KJV, AB, NEB, NAB). Very few (JB, NJPSV, Douay) consider Hozai to be the name of an individual. Nevertheless, several scholars believe that there is nothing that actually rules out a reference to a specific, otherwise unknown, historiographer/prophet (*IDB* 2: 658). McAllister (*ISBE* 2: 773) is of the opinion that the Gk "seers" is an error resulting from confusing v 19, *dibrê ḥôzāy* ("writings of Hozai"), with v 18, *wĕdibrê haḥōzîm* ("writings of the seers"). The Syr reads *(d)ḥnn nbjʾ = ḥānān hannābî* ("favor [?] of the prophet).

KENNETH H. CUFFEY

**HUKKOK** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥûqōq* (חוּקֹק)]. A town defining part of the border of the tribe of Naphtali (Josh 19:34). It is usually identified with Yaquq (M.R. 195254), 3 miles W of Chinnereth overlooking the Sea of Galilee. However, this identification is problematic, mainly because it is much too far E for a town that is apparently located near Aznoth-tabor (Kh. umm-Jubeil? M.R. 186237) and ostensibly along the S and W boundary shared with Zebulun and Asher. The Chronicler also mentions a levitical city by the same name (MT *ḥûqōq,* but RSV "Hukok"), but includes it among a list of towns belonging to Asher (1 Chr 6:60—Eng6:75). See also HUKOK. It is possible that this is the same town mentioned in Josh 19:34 as having belonged to Naphtali. On the one hand, if the Chronicler's "Hukok" is indeed a variant for HELKATH, and if the Josh 19:34 "Hukkok" refers to this place, then the SW quadrant of Naphtali would include virtually all of the tribal territory of Zebulun. Aharoni, apparently assuming that Hukkok=Helkath (*LBHG,* 105, 271), correctly observes that this is incomprehensible (*LBHG,* 239). On the other hand, the Chronicler may have had in mind a town other than Helkath (which is just E of Mt. Carmel). Thus, some

have suggested that Hukkok/Hukok be identified with Kh. el-Jemeija (M.R. 175252), 3 miles E of Cabul (see *MBA*, 179 and map 72). A line drawn from here to Aznoth-tabor would leave the territory of Zebulun intact and would be consistent with the general picture we have of Asher's E border (Josh 19:27–28).
GARY A. HERION

**HUKOK** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥûqōq* (חוּקֹק)]. Var. HELKATH? A town in the tribe of Asher which, along with its pasture lands, was set aside for the Levites (1 Chr 6:60—Eng6:75). In the parallel list of levitical towns in Joshua 21, the Asherite town listed between Abdon and Rehob is not Hukok but HELKATH. If Hukok here is a variant of Helkath, then it could be identified with either Kh. Harbaj (M.R. 158240), Tel el-Amar (M.R. 159237), or Tel Qashish (M.R. 160232), all along or close to the Kishon river just E of the Mt. Carmel range. If Hukok is not a variant of Helkath, it is possible that the Chronicler had in mind the same town listed in Josh 19:34 as lying along Naphtali's W border with Asher, possibly Kh. el-Jemeija (M.R. 175252). See also HUKKOK.
GARY A. HERION

**HUL** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥûl* (חוּל)]. According to the Table of Nations, the second son of Aram, the grandson of Shem and great-grandson of Noah (Gen 10:23). The corresponding genealogy in 1 Chr 1:17 places him as the seventh son of Shem and brother of Aram. This is probably due to the eye of an early scribe slipping from the first to the second of two lines each ending with the same word "Aram" when copying the text. This led to the loss of the line reading "the sons of Aram (are)" which is found in the Genesis genealogy. Originally the two genealogies were undoubtedly identical. Certain mss of the Sam. Pent. render the name *ḥûṣ*. Little else apart from his Semitic roots is known regarding the identity or geographical location of Hul and his descendants.
DAVID W. BAKER

**HULDAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥuldâ* (חֻלְדָּה)]. A prophetess during the reign of Josiah, king of Judah (2 Kgs 22:14; 2 Chr 34:22). Nothing is known of her but that she is the wife of Shallum, "keeper of the wardrobe." It is not known whether he was in charge of the king's wardrobe or the vestments of the priests in the temple; thus it is not known whether she was the wife of a court official or one of the temple personnel. She is alternately identified as a cult or court prophet. From the role she plays in 2 Kings, court prophet is the more likely possibility. Her prophetic oracle is divided into two parts, 2 Kgs 22:16–17 and 22:18–20. The first part is a word of judgment against Judah, and the second a word of assurance to the king that he will die in peace before that judgment is carried out. The word of judgment is written in typically Deuteronomistic style and is fulfilled in subsequent chapters. The second part of the prophetic oracle is not fulfilled. Though the king dies before Judah is destroyed, he does not die in peace but in battle. Such unfulfilled prophecy is not characteristic of the Deuteronomistic Historian, and may be an indication of the authenticity of the second part of Huldah's oracle. Huldah is the only female prophet mentioned in the books of Kings. It is impossible to determine from this isolated case the characteristic roles of female prophets in Judah or their frequency, but we have evidence of the existence of female prophets in Mari and Assyria. These prophets, like their male counterparts, uttered oracles, some of which were addressed to kings on matters of safety and divine protection.
PAULINE A. VIVIANO

**HUMANITY, NT VIEW OF.** The human being *(anthrōpos)* is seen in the NT as a living being who is to be distinguished from animals as well as from God and other higher beings such as angels. To that extent the NT is in continuity with the OT and Judaism, as well as with much of the Greek tradition (Taylor 1981: 11–317).

Also in continuity with the OT, the *anthrōpos* is understood as a psychosomatic unity, over against much of the Greek world. The Greek language of the NT can be misleading, as utilization of Greek terms such as soul *(psychē)* and body *(sōma)* can incorrectly give the reader a dualistic view of anthropology,

since the terms are used that way in the non-Christian Greek world. In the NT the terms are, however, used in a manifestly Hebrew/OT way; that is, not as ways to speak of different parts of the individual but as different ways to speak of the entire unified, integrated person (*BTNT* 1: 192–239). For that matter, there is no independent reflection on anthropology in the NT dealing with humanity's qualities, constituent parts, or nature, and therefore little definition of terms and no standardization of their usage. Rather, the *anthrōpos* is always understood in terms of the relationship with God. In relationship to God there is a dual perspective on who humanity is and who humanity is to become. In the present the *anthrōpos* is sinful (Synoptics) and enslaved under the power of sin (Paul and John). The individual person and humanity as a whole are weak, mortal, and sinful (Matt 16:23; Rom 1:18–3:20; 1 Cor 1:25.)

The relationship of humanity to God has, however, been changed in the Christ event (Rom 3:21–26; Eph 2:1–22; 1 Pet 1:18–2:10). Believing humanity has been reconciled to God in Christ and therefore, as the justified image of God, is destined to become a new humanity (Eph 2:14–16) because of the saving activity of the true *anthrōpos,* Jesus Christ (Rom 5:12–21). In the present the Christian person thus lives in the tension of having been freed of the past but not yet having reached the completed future. At the same time the identification of that future and of the eschatological significance of Jesus enabled the early Church to proclaim a Christ who had come not only for Jews but for all people. This-worldly distinctions between people were radically eliminated (Gal 3:26–28) as one unified Church was created from the variety of individual human lives.

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A. Synoptic Gospels
B. John
C. Paul
D. Rest of the NT
E. Early Church Outside the NT

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**A. Synoptic Gospels**

The Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels comes proclaiming the kingdom of God which is breaking into history by his sheer presence. That presence forces each person to make a decision about repentance and belief (Mark 1:14–15 [=Matt 4:17]; Matt 11:21–22, 12:41), calling on the individual to leave the wrong way and to enter the way of God's will (Luke 15:11–32).

Jesus evaluates humanity very highly, yet humanity is far from God. His high evaluation of humanity is illustrated not only by the fact that he brings God's message to humanity but also by his view, in tandem with the OT, that the *anthrōpos* is the crown of God's creation and therefore worth more than ravens, lilies, sparrows, and sheep (Matt 6:26–30 [=Luke 12:24–28]; Matt 10:29–31 [=Luke 12:6–7]; Matt 12:12). The human being is worth more even than the sabbath observance (Mark 2:27–28; 3:1–6 [=Matt 12:9–14; Luke 6:6–11]; Luke 13:10–17). Yet humanity lives in danger of gaining the world and losing the self (Mark 8:36–37 [=Matt 16:26; Luke 9:25]) by living as God's enemy. The enmity is expressed as "thinking what humanity thinks" rather than what God thinks (Mark 8:33 [=Matt 16:23]). Merely being religious is not the answer, as is illustrated by the scribes and Pharisees, whose human religious thinking seeks to replace the command of God with the statutes of people (Mark 7:5–13 [=Matt 15:2–9]; Matt 5:21–48). Humanity refuses to recognize God's care and is therefore unable to entrust itself to God (Matt 6:25–34 [=Luke 12:22–32]; Mark 4:35–41; 9:14–29 [=Matt 8:18, 23:27; Luke 8:22–25]). Part of the manifestation of that inability is humanity's concrete lack of care for the neighbor (Matt 25:31–46), which is set in the sharpest contrast to Jesus' radical definition of "neighbor" to include enemies and foreigners (Matt 5:43–48 [=Luke 6:27–28, 32–36]; Luke 10:29–37). All people are evil (Matt 7:11 [=Luke 11:13]) and are a sinful generation in God's eyes (Luke 11:29 [=Matt 12:39]; Matt 16:4). The heart of humanity is misdirected and needs to be turned around (Matt 5:28; Mark 7:21–23 [=Matt 15:19–20]).

The *anthrōpos* is, however, addressable and changeable, and so Jesus comes with his message of the kingdom, which sets in proper order the relationship of God and humanity. That proper order is one of master and slave (Luke 17:7–10), in which the human slave is called to glorify, by his or her life and good

works, the Father who is in heaven (Matt 5:16). As Kümmel writes (1963: 29), "To Jesus, man is simply God's slave and as a created being is pledged to the service of God, who will call him to account." It is the failure to recognize the proper God-human relationship which results in the self-justifying schemes of the religious (Luke 14:7–14; 18:9–14), and thus the believer needs to realize the truth of what Jesus teaches: no one can serve two masters (Matt 6:24 [=Luke 16:13]). The one called to be a slave is also called to be a disciple (Mark 6:6–11) and thus to function as a light to others (Matt 5:16) and a fisher of people (Mark 1:16–20 [=Matt 4:18–22; Luke 5:1–11]), knowing that such commitment can lead to persecution and homelessness (Matt 5:10–12; Luke 6:20–23; Matt 8:20 [=Luke 9:58]).

In both his actions and his words, Jesus illustrates the meaning of fishing for people. He has table fellowship with tax collectors and sinners (Mark 2:15–17 [=Matt 9:10–12; Luke 5:29–32]; Matt 11:19 [=Luke 7:34]), he treats women with dignity and equality (Mark 1:29–31 [=Matt 8:14–15; Luke 4:38–39]; 5:21–43; Luke 10:38–42), he restores outcasts (Mark 1:40–45 [=Matt 8:2–4; Luke 5:12–16]), and he heals gentiles (Mark 5:1–20 [=Matt 8:28–34; Luke 8:26–39]; 7:24–30 [=Matt 15:21–28]), treating all as full human beings. He also speaks of a God who seeks even the single lost individual, especially the nonreligious (Luke 15:1–32). The God of Jesus is not, in fact, the God of the religious but the God of the lowly (Luke 18:9–14; see 1:52), who calls the followers of Jesus to take the gospel to all people regardless of race or nation (Matt 28:19; Acts 10:28; 15:8–9).

**B. John**

Just as Jesus in the Synoptics knows what is in the heart of humanity, so in John he knows and understands people (1:47–48; 2:24–25; 4:17–19). What he (and thus the author of John) understands about people is that they live in darkness *(skotia, skotos),* being blind and without understanding or knowledge (9:39–41; 12:40; 1 John 2:11). This condition is universal. All humanity sins (3:19; 7:19; 16:8–9; 1 John 1:8, 10) to such an extent that people cannot recognize their lack of freedom (8:34–45). The primary example of sin is humanity's refusal to believe the revelation of God in Jesus (8:24; 9:41; 15:22–25; 16:8–9; 1 John 4:3). Bultmann writes (*BTNT* 2: 18): "*Darkness,* then, means that a man does not seize this possibility—that he shuts himself up against the God revealed in the creation. Darkness is nothing other than shutting one's self up against the light." The humanity which lives in the darkness is equated with the world, or *kosmos* (1:10–11; 3:19), so that *kosmos* usually means the negative totality of humanity (1:29; 3:16; 1 John 2:2) to such an extent that it seems that mere existence in the *kosmos* results in alienation from God. Yet Jesus can resist praying that his followers be removed from the world (17:15), for existence in the world is not in and of itself negative. Sin means living *in* the world in such a way that one is *of (ek)* the world (3:31; 8:23; 15:19; 17:14–16; 18:36; 1 John 2:16; 4:5). To be *of* the world is to be not of God but to identify one's source of being and life with the world.

The division between those who are of God and those who are of the world seems insurmountable. On the one side are those who are of God (8:42, 47; 1 John 4:6) and of the truth (18:37). They are from above (3:3, 7). On the other side are the people who are from below (8:23). They are from this world (8:23) and are of the devil (8:44). The point of distinction between the two types is the reaction to the encounter with Jesus; by one's reaction to him one constitutes oneself as from above or below and shows one's true origin (3:20–21; 8:23). While close to a gnostic-metaphysical dualism in which some people seem by nature to be destined for salvation while others are destined for damnation, John's gospel ultimately avoids that position by its conception that the redeeming activity of God in the Son is directed toward the entirety of humanity (1:29; 3:16; 8:26; 1 John 2:2), with a universal call to decision (12:46–48). Each person who hears has the opportunity to be drawn by the Father (6:44; 12:32). The "dualism," if one uses that term, is more properly a dualism of decision rather than a dualism of nature (*BTNT* 2:21). There is nothing inherent in any *anthrōpos* that necessarily saves or condemns.

**C. Paul**

"In the whole of the NT it is only Paul who expounds what we should call a thoroughly thought-out doctrine of man" (Käsemann 1971: 1). Yet one may well question how systematic Paul's anthropology really is. As Jewett (1971: 1–10) has shown, Paul's anthropology seems erratic because of his great sensitivity to the terminology being utilized by his partners in conversation. For that reason he can use

different terms to mean the same thing, and he can use the same anthropological term to designate different things. Unfortunately, Paul did not develop a lexicon of anthropological terms to which he then slavishly adhered. So while on the one hand we can say with Betz (1972: 165) that "the apostle Paul was the first Christian theologian who developed and presented a well-conceived anthropology," we need also to admit with Betz that "Paul's lack of terminological systematization and his excessive intricacies appear overwhelming," for, "apparently, conceptual systematization was not the goal of Paul's anthropology." At the same time, anthropology is a pervasive concern in Paul's letters to such an extent that Bultmann (*BTNT* 1: 191) could write: "Every assertion about God is simultaneously an assertion about man and vice versa. For this reason and in this sense Paul's theology is, at the same time, anthropology."

For Paul, humans are historical beings who belong to the *kosmos* (Rom 1:8; 3:19; 11:12, 15; 1 Cor 1:20–22, 27–28; 4:13; 2 Cor 1:12). They are to be properly understood as creatures (Rom 9:19–21; 1 Cor 11:9) who are marked by weakness and mortality (Rom 7:13–20; 1 Cor 15:53–54). Humans, moreover, inevitably stand over against God (Rom 1:18, 21; 3:4; 14:18; 1 Cor 1:25; 2 Cor 5:11). There is nothing divine in the *anthrōpos* (1 Thess 2:4; 4:8).

In addition, human beings are inevitably and inexorably enmeshed in and ruled by sin, which in Paul is to be understood as virtually a hypostasized power (Rom 7:15–20) which takes over the life of the individual and rules his or her will. The universal sinfulness of all of humanity is a fundamental presupposition of Paul's anthropology and is painstakingly developed in Rom 1:18–3:20. In that section he turns first to the gentile who indeed might claim exemption from culpability, since God's revelation in the law had been given not to gentiles but to Jews. Paul dismisses that plea by means of an argument from a general revelation that has come to all people who, however, have rejected it and have "exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images resembling mortal humanity or birds or animals or reptiles" (Rom 1:19–23). He similarly removes any claim of the religious Jew (2:1, 18–24) and ends his lengthy discussion of sin with a chain of OT quotations that illustrates that "the whole world" is "held accountable to God" for its sin (3:10–20). From a negative perspective, the distinctions between people are removed, because "all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God" (3:23), whether they have the law or not. Sin is thus introduced through disobedience and it brings with it death (Rom 5:12; 6:23a).

When Paul wishes to speak of humanity from the perspective of its sinfulness, he uses the term "flesh" *(sarx). Sarx* is what is opposed to God's spirit (Rom 7:14–25) but, in agreement with the OT, flesh and spirit do not refer to two parts of human nature but to two ways of carrying out one's life: one lives either according to the flesh or according to the spirit (Rom 8:4, 5, 9, 12, 13). *Sarx,* however, does not refer to the physical aspect of humanity as in some way separable from the mental or spiritual. Rather, *sarx* refers to the totality of a person's existence as understood from the perspective of humanity's fallenness. Indeed, *sarx* is the regular shorthand way in which Paul indicates the *anthrōpos* in his or her fallen, sinful condition. Flesh thus means the totality of the fallen individual, including the mind, and so both the physical and the mental are understood to be polluted and in need of cleansing (Rom 1:28).

To be distinguished from flesh is the term for body, *sōma.* As opposed to an important part of the Greek tradition running from Plato through Gnosticism, in which the body is viewed as the prison of an immortal soul, the body for Paul is not necessarily bad (soul in Paul should be understood in the Hebrew rather than the Greek sense, which means that the distinction between body and soul does not indicate opposition). Theoretically the body is neither good nor bad in itself, but its evaluation depends on whether sin or spirit rules it. When the body is misused, it "becomes" flesh. That is, when Paul writes of the body as it is misused by sinful humanity, he writes of it as flesh. Body as body, however, is not evil simply by being material. In fact, humanity falls and in fact the body has fallen victim to sin and death, but it is not the body that is constitutively bad. Flesh is the negative term which allows Paul to retain a potentially positive view of the body. Indeed, his view of the body is so positive that a body is required in the resurrection (1 Cor 15:35–44; Phil 3:20–21). At the same time Paul is skeptical of what happens in the reality of life in this world, in which the weak part of humanity, the *sarx,* becomes the beachhead in the body for the operation of sin. When the flesh is thus elevated and becomes the focus of life, that life is misdirected and opposed to the spirit. A life, therefore, that is oriented to the flesh serves the flesh and

does its thinking (Rom 8:5–8, 12–13). Believers, however, no longer live in the flesh (Rom 7:5–6; 8:8–9), which signals not a putting aside of the body but a living in the body in a new way, namely, in relationship to God.

One obvious question to be addressed to Paul's anthropology is that of metaphysical dualism. Is the *anthrōpos* in Paul to be comprehended as having two parts (body and soul) or three parts (body, soul, and spirit) or is the *anthrōpos* a unified being who cannot properly be divided? Certainly there are sections which exhibit dichotomous or trichotomous thought (2 Cor 4:6; 5:1–9; 1 Thess 5:23), but in interpreting Paul at this point one has to deal with the fact of his Hebraic background, in which humanity is looked upon as a whole, rather than as assembled but discrete parts. The human being is seen as a psychosomatic unity there and in Paul as well (see *BTNT* 1; Kümmel 1963; Robinson 1963; Gutbrod 1934; Stacey 1956). A more accurate use of the term dualism would be for the sort of ethical dualism one sees in the anthropological dividedness Paul identifies in Rom 7:7–24. In his discussion of non-Christian humanity he points to the unresolved conflict between the ability of the nonbeliever to will the right and his or her inability to carry out the right (7:15–20).

A second obvious question for Paul is how humanity can move from the dividedness of Romans 7 and break the power that sin and flesh exert over the body. His answer is in part anthropological, for he identifies the solution to the anthropological dilemma in the One *Anthrōpos,* the One Man, Jesus (Rom 5:15, 17–19; 1 Cor 15:21, 47; see also 1 Tim 2:5). Jesus has redone correctly what the first *anthrōpos/human* did incorrectly (Rom 5:15–21). Humanity is thus confronted with two fundamental options: the humanity of the sinful Adam and the humanity of the redeemer Adam (Betz 1972: 166). By faith and through the ritual action of baptism the person is identified with both the redeeming activity of Christ and the body of that redeemer, the Church (Rom 6:3–6; 12:3–8; 1 Cor 12:12–31, especially vv 12–13). The transfer from one realm to another is such a dramatic one (Rom 5:12–6:11) that Paul expresses it in terms of dying and living. The transfer, moreover, is not a return to the beginning, where the first *anthrōpos* was, but a recreation and the bringing forth of a new person (Rom 6:4; 7:6; 12:2; 2 Cor 4:16; 5:17; Gal 2:19–20; 6:15). The new person lives in the confidence that God is the giver of life. Seeking life within one's self is thus given up, and the destructive direction seen in Rom 1:18–3:20 is reversed. The believer is freed from sin and death (Rom 6:15–23; Gal 5:1–16) to a life of service and love (1 Cor 7:22; 9:19). In addition, the reprobate mind of Rom 1:28 is being changed into the renewed mind of Rom 12:2, and the Christian is enabled to present his or her body as a living sacrifice to God (12:1).

Another way that Paul expresses his anthropology is by means of the concept of the image of God. Christ himself is the image of God (2 Cor 4:4, 6), in that uniquely in Christ God's presence is most fully revealed. Through the powerful message of that Christ, people are in turn being changed into the image of the Son (Rom 8:29; 1 Cor 15:48–49; 2 Cor 3:18). What needs to be noted is that the Christ Paul identifies as the image of God is the resurrected and exalted Christ; image of God is therefore an eschatological concept which points to the resurrection of the believer as the ultimate transformation (Childs 1978: 85–102). Thus Christ as the image of God is the final destiny of the humanity that is in Christ (1 Cor 15:23–28, 44–49; see also Eph 1:9–10). That final destiny is already in part realized in the elimination of the distinctions that separate people from each other; in Christ a united humanity is already effected in which racial, social, and sexual barriers are pronounced void (Gal 3:26–28; 1 Cor 12:12–13). In the present the Christian is called to a life of radical obedience, set free to love others (Rom 13:8–10; 1 Cor 8:1; 13:1–13; Gal 5:6, 13–14, 22; 1 Thess 3:12). Yet until the eschaton the Christian lives in the tension that exists between the future promised in the new Man and the sin inherited from the first (Rom 8:18–30; 2 Cor 12:5–10). While moving toward the future (Phil 3:12–14), the believer is always drawn backward by the past.

On the whole, the deutero-Pauline letters of Ephesians and Colossians move in the same direction as the historical Paul. Christ is the image of God (Col 1:15) through whom believers are being renewed in the image of God (Col 3:10). Formerly dead in their sins (Eph 2:1–3; Col 2:13; 3:7), Christians have been raised to a new life in Christ (Eph 2:4–10; Col 3:1–4) in which the divisions of this world are overcome

(Col 3:11) as a new humanity is being created by God in Christ (Eph 2:14–16; 4:15–16, 22–24; Col 3:9–10).

**D. Rest of the NT**

On the whole the rest of the NT has a less highly developed anthropology, although the basic concepts of the gospels and Paul are essentially present, especially in terms of the sinfulness of humanity and the God-human alienation apart from Christ. Two exceptions are Acts 17:27–29 and 2 Pet 1:4. In the former text the kinship of every person with God is outlined; in the latter the goal of attaining divine nature is held out. The Acts passage is heavily Stoic and is unique in the NT; the 2 Peter passage is also strongly Hellenistic and quite uninfluenced by Hebraic thought, with its escape from the corruption of this world into divine nature. Indeed, as the later NT authors utilize even more frequently the Hellenistic concepts, they do tend to a more dichotomous and trichotomous view of the human person (1 Pet 1:9; 2:11; Heb 4:12). In the Pastorals humanity is viewed less in the individual anthropological sense that Paul had developed and much more in the direction of the person as a member of a Church which no longer expects the imminent end of the world but which is settling in for the indefinite future. Thus Church discipline, orthodox doctrine, and good works are emphasized, and so the Christian is understood as the man/person *(anthrōpos)* of God (2 Tim 3:17; cf. 2:21; 1 Tim 6:11 seems to reserve the phrase as a title [and office designation?] for Timothy). James continues the basic anthropology of the OT and NT, although he sharpens the negative evaluation of humanity with terms such as "empty" (2:20) and "double-hearted" (1:8; 4:8). The universal sinfulness of humanity is indicated in Hebrews (2:14–15; 10:22), and therefore humanity is destined for judgment (6:2). At the same time, for the believer God is the future (13:13; chaps. 11–12), and so the believer is called to live as a pilgrim (11:8) who realizes that persecution will come (11:32–40). The model for such living is the forerunner Jesus (6:20).

**E. Early Church Outside the NT**

In the Apostolic Fathers there are no extensive anthropological discussions as in Paul, but the writings continue many of the themes seen in the NT. There is thus a high view of the *anthrōpos* (*1 Clem.* 33:4) at the same time that humanity is also viewed as sinful (*2 Clem.* 1:6; 18:2).

While there is some continuity in the use of anthropological terms (*Diogn.* 5.8 uses *sarx* in a way quite similar to Paul in Rom 8:12–13, and *psychē* frequently refers to the whole life of the individual, as in *2 Clem.* 15:1; *Barn.* 19:5; *Did.* 2:7) and while flesh can designate that which is opposed to God (*Ign. Magn.* 3.2; *Rom.* 8.3), *sarx* in the Apostolic Fathers is consistently used in a positive way quite distinct from the usage of Paul. God can therefore be designated the God or Lord of all flesh (*1 Clem.* 59:3; 64:1). Jesus came in the flesh and gave his flesh for the flesh of humanity (*1 Clem.* 49:6; Ign. *Smyrn.* 1:2; *Barn.* 5:1, 6, 10, 11; 6:7, 9; 7:5; 12:10). Ignatius frequently referred to the eucharistic flesh of Jesus Christ (*Ign. Trall.* 8:1; *Rom.* 4:1; 7:3; *Smyrn.* 7:1; cf. *Phld.* 5:1; *Smyrn.* 12:2). Moreover, believers are to be pure in flesh (*1 Clem.* 38:2), guarding their flesh from impurities so that the flesh may be justified (*Herm. Sim.* 5.7.1–4). The flesh, in fact, can be understood as the temple of God (*Ign. Phld.* 7:2; *2 Clem.* 9:3), and the Church can be designated as flesh (*2 Clem.* 14:4). It is the flesh that will be resurrected (*2 Clem.* 9:1–2, 4–5; 14:5; *Herm. Sim.* 5.6.7) just as Jesus was in the flesh after the resurrection (Ign. *Smyrn.* 3:1–2). Flesh, in distinction from Paul, is constitutive of the human person, so that "flesh and spirit" becomes a way to refer to the *anthrōpos* (Ign. *Smyrn.* 1:1; *Pol.* 5:1; *Magn.* 13:2; *Rom.* Int; on Jesus as flesh and spirit, see *Ign. Eph.* 7:2). In general, it would be accurate to say that the Apostolic Fathers use "flesh" where Paul would have used "body"; "body" is therefore less important as an anthropological term, and the Pauline nuances of "flesh" are largely missing. Nor is the NT understanding of Jesus as the new *anthrōpos* very prominent. Only *Ign. Eph.* 20:1 speaks of the new man Jesus Christ (*Diogn.* 11:4).

At the same time the combination of a more positive view of flesh and a rigorous ethical stance led to a certain optimism about the ability of humanity, under God's grace, to be pure and attain salvation. If the flesh is kept pure, believers shall obtain eternal life (*2 Clem.* 8:4, 8:6). The Christian strives for perfection through the new law of Jesus Christ (*Barn.* 2:6; 4:10, 11; *Did.* 6:2–3), knowing that deeds are important for salvation (*2 Clem.* 8:4, 11:7, 19:1; *Barn.* 3:4–5, 4:12; *Herm. Vis.* 2.3.2; *Man.* 12.3.4–6). At the same time, sexual sins are especially highlighted (*Barn.* 10:6–8, 19:4; *Did.* 2:2; *Herm. Vis.* 1.1), and the ideal is

sexual chastity (*1 Clem.* 38:2; Ign. *Pol.* 5:2). Thus, although there is a kind of optimistic view of the ability of redeemed humanity to live properly, there is need for repentance (*1 Clem.* 7:5–7; 8:2; 51:1 and 3; *2 Clem.* 8:1; 9:8; 13:1; 16:1; 17:1; Ign. *Phild.* 8:1; *Herm. Vis.* 1.1.9). On the other hand, the rigorism that continues to emerge in the 2d century begins to limit repentance to the beginning of the Christian life, for the baptized Christian should no longer sin (*Ign. Eph.* 14:2; *Herm. Vis.* 2.2.5). At the most, one postbaptismal repentance is allowed (*Herm. Man.* 4.1.8; 4.3.1–7).

There are elements of anthropological dualism in the Apostolic Fathers (*Diogn.* 6:1–10; *2 Clem.* 12:4), but the most consistent dualistic conception is that of *dipsychia* (dividedness, double-mindedness, literally "double-souledness"). The Christian is constantly tempted to be doubled-minded, that is, to be split in loyalties (*1 Clem.* 23:2; *2 Clem.* 19:2; *Herm. Man.* 9; 10.1.1; 10.2.2 and 4; *Vis.* 2.2.4; 3.7.1; 3.10.9; 3.11.2; cf. the two angels in *Man.* 6). Dualism, however, is more accurately applied to the ethical perspective of the Apostolic Fathers, where two opposite ways of living are available to people (*Barn.* 5:4; 18:1–2, 19–21; *Did.* 1:1 and the rest of the document; *Herm. Sim.* 1).

Where anthropological dualism is quite evident in the 2d century is in developing Gnosticism, where anthropology is placed at the center. Because the physical world was created by an inferior, unstable, and capricious God, gnostics are to have nothing to do with this world, for they do not belong to it. While that view is expressed most clearly in "The Song of the Pearl" in *The Acts of Thomas* and the cosmogonies from Nag Hammadi, we find the beginnings of the later clarified dualism in the *Gospel of Thomas,* which in origin goes back well into at least the 2d century A.D. A key term is the Greek loan word *monachos,* which occurs in sayings 16, 49, and 75. Related Coptic terms occur in sayings 4, 11, 22, 23, and 106. Later the Greek term designated a monk, but at this earlier stage the term means "solitary one." In saying 16, Jesus comes "to throw divisions upon the earth." The divisions are those between the gnostics and the rest of the world. The gnostics are the separated ones—separated from the evil in their own bodies and separated from whatever binds them to the evil world, especially the family (sayings 55, 101, 105). Gnostics are also to separate themselves from such outward trappings of the world as clothing (saying 36) and the conventional forms of (Jewish) piety (saying 14). Yet, somewhat ironically, the relationship of the gnostics to the world can be summed up as one of fasting (sayings 27, 81, and 110). The world tries to invade the gnostics to take their "goods," that is, belief in their otherworldly origin and existence, which is the only thing of worth gnostics possess (saying 21). Put in other language, the goal of the life of gnostics in this world is to become passersby (saying 42) in relationship to this world, for gnostics are aliens or strangers who do not properly belong to this creation. Their origin is in the higher world of the true God, and the important part of gnostics, the soul, is therefore divine (sayings 13, 49, 50, 108). The goal of gnostics is to be independent of the fleshly body and ultimately free of it (sayings 87 and 112).

By the middle of the 2d century the stage was set for the ongoing battle with Gnosticism, which forced the emerging catholic theologians, who also appropriated non-Christian Greek anthropological understandings, to themselves take a more and more dualistic view of anthropology.

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**HUMOR AND WIT.** Because humor requires a somewhat "playful" disposition and a willingness (at least temporarily) to suspend all seriousness, many people—especially those with strong and well-defined

religious beliefs—may be reluctant to admit that portions of Scripture may be funny or may have been written by someone trying to be humorous. The assumption often is that religion is serious and that it demands a transformation of human nature—especially the eradication of that aspect of human nature that derives pleasure from "worldly" things. Yet in the past century this theological assumption has been abandoned by many people, some of whom point out that humor can be a powerful vehicle for making important points, while others go further and insist that even biblical writing may have been intended primarily to *entertain* the reader. Because humor is such a fundamental aspect of human nature, there can be little doubt that the ancients laughed at things that struck them as funny. Of course, because humor is so greatly dependent upon the cultural conventions of the moment, it is often difficult (and sometimes impossible) for the modern Western mindset to appreciate what was humorous in ancient Israel or in the early Christian Church. Nevertheless, with the appropriate methodological cautions, something can be said about humor and wit in the ancient world from which the Bible emerged. This entry is intended to survey what is known about humor in antiquity and in the Bible. It consists of four articles, one surveying ancient Egypt, one surveying ancient Mesopotamia, one surveying the Hebrew Bible, and one surveying the NT.

GARY A. HERION

## *ANCIENT EGYPT*

Anyone attempting to discuss the humor of an extremely different and distant culture will indubitably reveal much more about his/her sense of humor than about that of the people under study. Though cultural differences make it doubtful whether we can correctly identify all of the references which the ancient Egyptians intended as humorous without errors of both commission and omission, and more doubtful that we can grasp the import or impact of their humor on its intended audience, a profusion of representational as well as textual materials testifies to what we are likely justified in regarding as a pervasive vein of humor and wit (van de Walle 1969; *LÄ* 3:73–77; Mueller 1973; Guglielmi 1980).

### A. Representations

The highly visual ancient Egyptian culture produced an untold number of representations on all scales and in a wide array of media (Saleh 1964; cf. Lesko 1986: 86).

**1. Monumental Art.** While much of Egyptian sculpture, relief, and painting belongs to cultic, mortuary, and display contexts involving a high degree of convention and motives other than the aesthetic, and while the conventions of Egyptian art are normally regarded as subordinating the individual/particular to the general/essential, Egyptian art often relishes observational detail and provides a "snapshot" which seems to freeze a moment or "frame" of activity. This includes many details which have attracted the modern observer, such as the calf and its mother bleating at each other (tomb of Ti, Old Kingdom; Westendorf 1968; 55), and some which seem humorous, e.g., two girls pulling each other's hair (tomb of Menna, New Kingdom; Smith 1981: 265). Some of these recur over long periods of time or are revived in periods of "archaism" (cf. Aldred 1985: 222). Some details, such as a huge baboon helping to press grapes (an Old Kingdom tomb; Lesko 1977: 19), baboons picking and eating figs (tomb of Khnumhotpe, Middle Kingdom; Aldred 1985: 120), or pet animals under the queen's throne (tomb of Anen, New Kingdom; Smith 1981: 260), strike the modern observer, at least, as humorous touches. One of the most celebrated humorous vignettes in monumental art is the relief of the immense queen of Punt and the little donkey she rides, in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahri (Nims 1965: 36); the queen is also sketched on a Ramesside ostracon by a later artist who may have found her amusing (Peck 1978: 115).

These scenes can be accompanied by captions, comprising description and/or dialogue (see below).

**2. Graffiti, Ostraca, Illustrated/Pictorial Papyri, etc.** These media, especially the former two, lent themselves to humorous and perhaps more personal expression on the part of the artist.

Figured ostraca included some likely to be "practice sketches," some "doodles" or "cartoons," and are especially numerous from the artisans' community at Deir el-Medina during the New Kingdom. Humorous themes found on them include the "topsy-turvy" or "*mundus inversus*" type, cat-mouse reversals, etc. (cf. Vycichl 1983; Brunner-Traut 1977a; Peck 1978: 142–47). A unique object from

Amarna is a children's toy depicting a family of monkeys in a chariot in obvious burlesque of the chariot theme so frequent in Amarna art depicting the royal family (Wilson 1956: 220).

Among graffiti is an erotic sketch in ink at Deir el-Bahri which has been regarded as a "political cartoon" of Hatshepsut and perhaps Senmut (Wente 1984; Romer 1982: 158–159). Erotic scenes are also found on ostraca (Peck 1978: 151–53), as well as on the great Turin erotic-satirical papyrus (Omlin 1973), which has one side devoted to the somewhat caricatured sexual encounters between a young woman and a priest, and the other to a group of "topsy-turvy" vignettes. These latter have been regarded by some as illustrations for animal stories which have not survived in writing (Brunner-Traut 1968; 1977b).

**3. Hieroglyphic Writing System.** The visual dimension of Egyptian culture is also found in its writing system, which, in its hieroglyphic form, is in a way an extension of artistic representation (cf. Meltzer 1980). This script lends itself to "sportive" writings based on puns and creative combinations/variations of signs, and scribes seem to delight in showing their erudition and ingenuity and, perhaps, matching wits with each other. Some such writings are found in standard hieroglyphic texts, while this tendency reaches its apex in "cryptographic" or "enigmatic" texts, often with religious importance, or sometimes display texts closely integrated with architectural decoration, and in the temple inscriptions of the Greco-Roman period at the tail end of the hieroglyphic tradition (cf. Derchain-Urtel 1978).

**B. Texts**

Wordplay is ubiquitous in Egyptian texts (Meltzer 1975; Morenz 1975). Frequently it is not humorous but religiously significant or characteristic of literary sophistication and elegance. There are cases in which, apparently, punning or polysemy can yield two readings of a passage (Fecht 1958; Williams 1981: 6), a procedure which, if deliberately employed as a literary device, certainly has humorous potential and was likely so employed.

The "satire" is well attested in Egyptian literature (Curto 1965; Seibert 1967; Wilson 1971; Millet 1988), especially in wisdom compositions and the curriculum of the scribal academy. The "Satire on the Trades," in which various occupations are compared disadvantageously with that of scribe (*AEL* 1: 184–92), begins a tradition elaborated in the Late Egyptian Miscellanies (*AEL* 2: 167–78). These latter compositions include the scathing description of the dissipated scribal student enjoying nightlife, and the "satirical letter" in which some basic facts about the Syro-Canaanite region and other things that every military scribe should know are livened up by being couched as a denunciation of the ignorant scribe Amenemope by the scribe Hori (Fischer-Elfert 1983). In a similar vein is the description of the drunkard in the 18th Dynasty Instruction of Anii (*AEL* 2: 137), and, earlier, the well-known characterization of the hapless Asiatics in the Instruction for Merykare (*AEL* 1: 103–4). Turning to Demotic wisdom, there are undoubtedly humorous highlights, such as Papyrus Insinger's characterization of the plight of a sexagenarian (*AEL* 3: 199); a Demotic fragment of advice for "a little child who is very, very young," continuing with bawdy maxims (Williams 1976: 270–71), is also perhaps a comic piece.

Egyptian stories are sometimes predominantly humorous and frequently give considerable play to humor in a lively and sophisticated approach to composition. The classic Middle Egyptian story of Sinuhe features a scene which has always been regarded as humorous, the homecoming of the protagonist who has "gone native" as a Canaanite and is seen by an incredulous royal family (*AEL* 1: 231–33). The story of the "Petitioner of Memphis" or "King Neferkare and General Sisenet" features a petitioner whose suit is drowned out by musicians and who, investigating, discovers an apparent liaison between the king and a general (Posener 1971: 237–38). The interminable speechmaking of the Eloquent Peasant might have been facilitated, according to one suggestion, by the extremely generous beer ration provided by the high steward (Leprohon 1975). The tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor ends with a grim proverb: "What good is there in giving a drink to a goose on the eve of its slaughter?" (Gilula 1976). The entire story takes on a humorous cast in light of a recent suggestion according to which the sailor is an illustration of how to disobey all of the injunctions of the Wisdom Literature regarding etiquette—that is, how to be an overbearing, rude, arrogant boor (Bryan 1979). As such, it is part of a persistent thread of protagonists who can be regarded as "anti-heroes." One possible reading of the story as a whole is as a "tall tale," which, if justified, can represent another kind of humor. The episodes of the magicians in Papyrus

Westcar (*AEL* 1: 215–22) feature a number of humorous touches. King Snofru is diverted by young women rowers dressed, if that is the right word, in nets; Khufu is entertained by the magician Djedi, who eats and drinks an immense quantity daily; a group of gods and goddesses assist at a birth and meet a distraught expectant father (though his tying his kilt upside down may rather be an example of *"Bindeszauber"*). It is possible to interpret the courtly conversation between Djedi and Prince Hardedef as a verbal display of elegant sarcasm and one-upmanship (for an opposite interpretation, see Goedicke 1986).

In Late Egyptian narrative, our attention is immediately caught by the "Contendings of Horus and Seth," a slapstick burlesque treatment of that narrative (which has a fragmentary Middle Kingdom predecessor; (*AEL* 2: 214–23; cf. Meltzer 1974; Redford 1973: 71–78). The picaresque misadventures of Wenamun, who makes himself *persona non grata* at Dor and Byblos and narrowly escapes being lynched in Alashiya (*AEL* 2: 224–30), have an appreciable element of humor; it has been suggested that this text is a documentary account rather than a tale. Among other documentary texts, one of the Late Ramesside Letters includes a rare example of an actual joke (Wente 1967: 80). The Late Egyptian love poetry's sensitive portrayal of young lovers includes a number of humorous touches (*AEL* 2: 181–93; cf. Foster 1974; Lesko 1986). The rather grim story of Apophis and Sekenenre, the missing conclusion of which is often linked with the hideously wounded mummy of Sekenenre, features the insulting message or challenge sent by the Hyksos king to his Theban opponent. While most Egyptologists have regarded that message as a provocation leading to war, an early suggestion recently revived is that it is part of a context of escalating verbal ripostes (Redford 1970: 36–39; 1973: 58–59). Outwitting by verbal cleverness provides the denouement of yet another Late Egyptian story, that of Truth and Falsehood (*AEL* 2: 211–14).

Demotic narrative richly repays the search for humor and wit. The two stories of Setna Khamwas (*AEL* 3: 125–51; cf. Posener 1971: 250) portray that formidable magician as being soundly upstaged by the dead sorcerer Naneferkaptah and the boy wonder Si-Osiri respectively. Naneferkaptah puts him in his place with several extremely grim practical jokes in the first story, while the second features the magical abduction of Pharaoh every night to Kush, where he is beaten in the public square. The Petubastis epic cycle includes the story of Prince Pedikhons and Queen Sarpot (*AEL* 3: 151–56), in which what begins as the combat between the Egyptian prince and the Amazon queen becomes a different kind of encounter by the fragmentary conclusion. The Demotic Chronicle includes the escapades of the tippling king Amasis (cf. Posener 1971: 250).

While instances of intended humor are hard to come by in royal and other commemorative or display inscriptions, the possibility can be considered that in the triumphal inscription of the Kushite king Piye ("Piankhy" formerly), if the ostensibly cheering Egyptians at the end are being quoted accurately, they are actually jeering the monarch and casting aspersions on his legitimacy (*AEL* 3: 80). If so, this might be one instance of the intercultural misunderstanding which characterizes the Kushite-Egyptian encounter. At an earlier period, the autobiographical inscription of an 18th Dynasty viceroy of Nubia, Usersatet, quotes a letter from King Amenhotep II, apparently reminiscing in his cups about foreign women, or foreign chieftains disparagingly characterized as such (Helck 1984: 1343–44). The conversations, exclamations, and songs or chants represented as spoken by workmen, fishermen, herdsmen, etc., in "daily life scenes" starting in Old Kingdom tombs (*"1031 Reden und Rufe"*—Erman 1919; Guglielmi 1973; Montet 1925) contain a number of apparently lighthearted or jocular exchanges and sometimes seem to be humorous (e.g., the "herdsman's song").

It is difficult if not impossible to separate "religious" or "mythological" narrative from stories in general (cf. the Horus and Seth narrative cited above), but those which are designated *r€* , "utterance," or found in "magical" or mortuary contexts include some which could perhaps be considered humorous. Some commentators have seen humor in the "Myth of Re and Isis," in which the aged and doddering sun god must tell the goddess his secret name to stop the torment of a snakebite, and in the "Book of the Divine Cow" (commonly known as the "Destruction" or "Deliverance of Mankind") found in some New Kingdom royal tombs, in which the rampaging goddess is foiled in her intention to destroy mankind when

she gets drunk on beer dyed red to resemble blood (Redford 1973: 69–71). Whether the Egyptians did, I cannot say.

Herodotus may have played a role in the dissemination of Egyptian humor to new audiences insofar as such episodes as Khufu's prostituting of his daughter and the racy story of Rhampsinitus have authentic roots in Egyptian tradition (cf. Posener 1971: 237–38).

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## *MESOPOTAMIA*

Humor, or the perception and expression of the ludicrous or amusing, is known in both Sumerian and Akkadian literary tradition, and was no doubt as much a part of everyday life in Mesopotamia as in contemporary societies. At its most basic, Mesopotamian humor was scatological and crass; at its most obvious, diverting and jocose; at its most subtle, refined and penetrating. As with all humorous literatures, the point lies in breaking a taboo, inverting or reversing expectations, drawing attention to the gap between what is and what is wished for, pretended, or ignored.

Humorous allusions to excretion and flatulence are commonplace. Here the point can lie in unappetizing imagery, such as an Akkadian parody on a menology that enjoins wild donkey dung in garlic as the diet for the month kislimu, and for shabat hot bread and donkey anus stuffed with dog turds and fly dirt (Foster 1974: 77–78; Römer 1975: 63–66). A spoof Akkadian incantation, to be recited by a person losing sleep to the bleating of a goat, has the Babylonian national god Marduk stuffing the offending goat's left ear with its own dung, in an "ear-for-an-ear" reprisal (Genouillac 1925: pl. 3, C1 [cuneiform text only]). Some errant Babylonian scholar offered a precative paradigm of the verb "to break wind" in the context of a Sumerian grammatical treatise, taking advantage of a graphic ambiguity in his original (Foster 1974: 84). Flatulence as an enemy of intimacy is alluded to in Babylonian "love lyrics": "Why did you break wind and feel mortified? Why did you stink up her boyfriend's wagon like a wi[ld ox]?" (Lambert 1975: 120–21). A Sumerian joke alludes to a bride's flatulence as an example of inconsequence; in another a boastful fox opines that when he urinated in the ocean he created it (Gordon 1959: 495; 222–23).

Humorous allusions to personal habits, appearance, and behavior abound in Sumerian debates and dialogues, wherein the interlocutors trade elaborately artificed but now often scarcely understandable insults. These reflect on the opponent's genealogy, appearance, intelligence, competence, and education, as in the following example: " (You) dog spawn, wolf seed, mongoose stench … hyena whelp, carapaced fox, addlepated mountain monkey of reasoning nonsensical" (Sjoberg 1972: 108). Likewise in Akkadian: "I saw my girl friend and was stunned: You are chalky like a gecko, your hide is swart like a cook[ing pot]!" (Lambert 1975: 120–21).

Sexual activity is, of course, a favored subject of jokes and double entendres in both Sumerian and Akkadian (examples in Farber 1986; Gordon 1959; Foster 1974). The infamous "love lyrics," for example, have the ardent man begging the women of "Babylon-town" for a rag to swab his girl friend's genitalia. He later plants a watchbird in her vulva, enjoining it not to peck at the fungus and to stay clear of the stench of her armpits (Lambert 1975: 104–5; 122–23).

Forsaking the bodily for the social, we find satirical quips on various trades and professions. The launderer, for example, is the butt of a Sumerian joke: "Men say, 'I'm dirty.' 'By god I'm dirty too!' says the laundryman" (Gadd 1963: 187). The singer of Sumerian cultic laments is pilloried for his absurd piety: if his boat sinks he wishes the river enjoyment of his cargo; if he slips and falls he is doubtful of the propriety of getting up since his mishap was a visitation from heaven (Gordon 1959: 248–49, 251–52, 483–84). An Akkadian parody of exorcism has the would-be exorcist burning down the haunted house to free it of its ghost (Foster 1974: 77).

Extended texts of a light or jocose nature include a Sumerian composition about three ox drivers from Adab, owners of an ox, cow, and wagon, who fall into a dispute as to who will fetch water. They solve it by going off together. Upon their return they find that the ox has mated with the cow, the cow has produced a calf, and the calf is suckling (?) on the wagon. They dispute now who shall be owner of the calf. They seek judgment from the king, whose dilemma is resolved by a "cloistered woman," perhaps the Sumerian equivalent of the "lady from Philadelphia." Her pronouncement is unclear, owing to damage to the unique manuscript (Foster 1974: 70–72).

A well-preserved Akkadian folktale is referred to as the "Poor Man of Nippur." This man sells his shirt to buy a ewe for a feast to ease his hunger pangs, ends up with a male goat instead, and, loath to share his repast with his relatives and neighbors, takes it to the mayor of Nippur. The mayor proceeds to dine on the goat himself, leaving the poor man only a bit of gristle and a quaff of cheap beer. The poor man's threefold revenge takes up the rest of the tale (Gurney 1956: 142–62; 1972: 149–58; Cooper 1975: 163–74; Jason 1979: 189–215). In another humorous Akkadian text, a sophomoric fop lectures a cleaner in detail as to how to clean his garments, whereupon the exasperated cleaner tells the youth to go and wash them in the canal himself. He then offers some good advice to the effect that no one would help such a self-important young man (Gadd 1963: 181–88; Livingstone 1988: 176–82).

In another, comparable text, a physician from Isin goes to Nippur, the center for Sumerian learning, to collect a fee. As he asks directions in the street, he is answered in Sumerian, which, as a man of letters, he is supposed to have mastered. The physician imagines that he is being cursed at and remonstrates. After several reprises of this situation, he learns that his client is not at home anyway, and the author apparently suggests that such an illiterate be run out of town forthwith (Reiner 1986: 1–6). A satirical Akkadian letter in the name of the hero Gilgamesh threatens and cajoles its addressee, and makes a series of gargantuan demands: "send … 100,000 mares whose bodies have markings like wild tree roots, 40,000 continually gambolling miniature calves, 50,000 fine calves with well-turned hooves and horns intact, 50,000 teams of dappled mules …" (Kraus 1980: 109–21). Sumerian epistolary literature includes a plaintive effort by a homesick monkey (Dunham 1985: 244–45).

Humor can show a more serious side in satire, and, if carried far enough, becomes bitter. Perhaps the best-known example is the "Dialogue of a Master and His Servant," wherein a seemingly capricious master sets forth a proposition, then its opposite, to each of which the servant has a glib reply: "Servant, listen to me!" "Yes, master, yes!" "I will fall in love with a woman." "[So], fall in love, master, fall in love! The man who falls in love with a woman forgets sorrow and care." "No, servant, I will certainly not fall in love with a woman." "[Do not] fall in love, master, do not fall in love. A woman is a pitfall, a hole, a ditch; a woman is a sharp iron dagger that slashes a man's throat" (Lambert 1960: 139–49).

Other satirical possibilities are exploited in narrative poems that are not primarily humorous or satirical in intent. In the Akkadian Gilgamesh Epic, for example, satirical passages include Ishtar's occasional use of colloquial speech; the pedantic scorpion woman correcting her mate concerning the genealogy of Gilgamesh; and the reversal of the irreversible curse of Enkidu upon the prostitute, where he concludes by wishing her an ardent, moneyed, and marriageable clientele (Foster 1987: 36–39). Sumerian narrative poems, even at the present level of understanding, teem with witty and satirical passage. In "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta," for example, the plot turns upon limitations of royal power, trickery, bluffing, and trials, and climaxes in an etiology for the origins of writing as a means of conveying messages too prolix to be memorized. Such texts presuppose an audience sure enough of itself to see its strategies and values parodied (Cohen 1973).

The vocabulary of humor in Sumerian and Akkadian seems rather sparse: Sumerian for "funny" (ZU-LILI) may mean something like "making the teeth flash," whereas Akk *sâḫu*, "laugh," may rather refer to the sound of laughter as a loud noise. The Akkadian word is mostly attested in contexts of ridicule or amusement at the discomfiture of others. An interesting Sumerian expression, ISIŠ-LÁ, refers to "breaking down" or "giving way" to either tears or laughter. For discussion and examples, see Foster 1974: 84–85; Römer 1975: 48–49.

The professional jester or clown seems to have existed in the profession called *aluzinnu.* The personage is known from Assyrian and Babylonian manuscripts that preserve what seem to be snatches of songs and routines. These deal with his gross appetites and sexuality, his inept performance of various trades, the revolting monthly diet alluded to above, and a heroic journey in the manner of the kings of old (Foster 1974: 74–79; Römer 1975: 53–68).

Pranks and practical jokes are best known from the "Poor Man of Nippur" alluded to above, where three tricks are worked on the mayor.

Wit and humor outside of literary contexts are more difficult to assess. Heavy sarcasm and irony can sometimes be read in letters, for example: "Do go on being such a good sister to me! Even though we grew up together, you didn't pay me two cents worth (text: 1/4 shekel) of attention when you got your big break … if that big chief you're married to needs beams, let him write me; I'll send him five beams … send me (in return) a hundred locusts and a cent-and-a-half's worth (text: $^{1/3}$ shekel) of food, so I can see what sort of sister you are" (Stol 1981: 10–11). An Assyrian king allows himself a bit of "gallows" humor in a letter to the Babylonians (Lambert 1960: 281). In an inscription Sennacherib sneers at the incontinence of his enemies (Grayson 1963: 95). A Sargonic official lightheartedly invokes a magic spell in asking his correspondent to come see him (Thureau-Dangin 1926: 23–29).

Although some Mesopotamian humor was undoubtedly considered "vulgar" by the Mesopotamians themselves (Foster 1974: 85), one can be sure that, as always with humor, what was produced by the few was enjoyed by the many.

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BENJAMIN R. FOSTER


## *OLD TESTAMENT*

Humor appears in many forms and serves various functions in the Hebrew Bible, although there are those (notably the philosopher A. N. Whitehead) who question its presence there. Since humor is found to be a universal phenomenon, and it has been recognized in other literature of the ANE (see, e.g., Foster 1974; Rosenthal 1956; van de Walle 1969), one expects to find it in ancient Israelite literature, too, even in texts as serious in purpose as the Hebrew Scriptures.

### A. Laughter and Humor

The Bible has no term for humor per se, but it has an etymologically related set of verbs for "to laugh" (*ṣāhaq, śāḥaq;* e.g., Gen 18:12–13; Qoh 3:4), "to laugh at, scoff" (*śāḥaq;* e.g., Prov 31:25; Job 5:22), and "to laught at, mock" (*śāḥaq;* e.g., Job 30:1; Lam 1:7; *lāʿag;* e.g., Ps 2:4; 59:9; on the etymology see Steiner 1977: 111–12). Note also the *Piʿel* conjugation *śīḥēq/ṣīḥēq,* "to amuse" (e.g., 2 Sam 2:14; Judg 16:25), and *ṣīḥēq,* "to mock" (Gen 39:14, 17). Laughter, both harmless and that directed at a victim, is a sign of humor, reference to laughter in the Bible indicates the presence of humor.

It is instructive to examine the single elaborate episode of laughter. Gen 18:9–15, in which Sarah overhears an angel (or God) tell Abraham that his elderly wife will bear a son. Sarah laughs (v 12); when

YHWH challenges Sarah's apparent disbelief (vv 13–14), she denies having laughed, only to be contradicted by YHWH (v 15). Sarah's laughter here can be explained handily by a common theory (cf., e.g., Paulos 1980; Williams 1978) according to which three factors together occasion humor: a sense of the incongruous, a relaxed or lightheaded mood or attitude, and an effect of suddenness or surprise. In conjunction with the third element one finds a characteristic technique of humor: economy of expression.

The episode of Sarah's laughter confirms the workability of the widely held theory of humor. The incongruity is the idea that a postmenopausal woman (v 11) can conceive; second, the mood of the scene is festive and Sarah is uninhibited, thinking she is unnoticed (she doesn't know how far God's ears reach); and third, the joke is unexpected—Sarah catches the conversation by accident. This episode is related to two nearby passages, Gen 17:15–17, where Abraham laughs at the prospect of Sarah conceiving, and 21:1–7, where Sarah says, after giving birth, "God has made laughter for me; every one who hears will laugh over me" (v 6). The implication is that Sarah's incongruous situation would be a source of humor to anyone. As for economy, Sarah laughs at the mere statement that she will give birth. A joke or humorous situation must be immediately perceived. Thinking about or analyzing it, as has been done here, kills the humor.

**B. Types of Humor**

Humor is notoriously difficult to classify, and definitions of types vary. The remarkably comprehensive treatment by Freud (1938) assumes complex categorization. One can distinguish, with Freud, wit in word from wit in thought and harmless wit from tendentious wit. In a discussion of biblical humor, it might be useful to divide tendentious wit between lowbrow burlesque and the more serious highbrow satire, such as one encounters frequently in the prophets. The categories below have been adopted from convention and for convenience and should not be viewed rigidly.

This is particularly so because biblical humor and wit often intermix a variety of types. Consider, for example, one of the Bible's few extended comical scenes, the Israelite judge Ehud's slaying of the Moabite king Eglon in Judg 3:15–30. Ehud exploits his abnormality, left-handedness, to trick the Moabite and stab him. Eglon, whose name suggests both "bovine" and "rotund," is described as "very fat" (v 17), a visually comic image. Ehud's dagger punctures the obese king blade, hilt, and all (v 22). In a moment of rare scatological humor in the Bible, the fatal blow causes Eglon's bowels to loosen, which, in a sense of high dramatic irony, allows Ehud to escape while the Moabite guards wait around judging by the odor that their king is relieving himself (vv 24–26). Ehud magnifies the comedy through verbal wit as well. In v 19 he tells Eglon he has a "word" (Heb *dābār,* "word, thing") for him—the dagger, of course. The pun involves another wordplay: the Heb expression for the weapon's two "edges" has the basic meaning of "mouths" (v 16; cf. Good 1965: 33). The dagger's "mouths" surely have a "word" to say to the king. The double entendre embodies the joke.

The scene vents hostility toward Moab through its satire of the royal court and its flawed security, and Ehud's role as deft trickster (cf. Niditch 1987) would no doubt entertain an Israelite audience. When comedy is aimed at a victim, it is only amusing to those who are aggressive or hostile toward the butt of the humor. The audience's attitude as well as motives (e.g., laughing with versus laughing at) are important to consider in identifying humor. Haman's parading Mordecai through Susa (Esther 6) may well have pleased the Jews, but it was more than a little distressing to Haman, his wife, and his friends (Esth 6:13).

**C. Comedy and the Comical**

In classical Greek comedy a dissembling "ironist" (Gk *eirōn*) undoes an overblown "imposter" (Gk *alazōn*). The Bible, in a general way, includes a number of comedies. YHWH through Moses and Aaron exposes Pharaoh as a false god and ironically drowns him in the sea (Exodus 14–15) as he had drowned Hebrew boys in the Nile (Exod 1:22; see further Robertson 1977: 16–32). In a perhaps more obvious example, Mordecai and Esther unmask Haman as the man who would annihilate the Jews, the very antithesis of what the king (now) wants. At the suggestion of the obsequious eunuch Harbona, the king orders that Haman be impaled on the stake he erected for hanging Mordecai, the epitome of poetic justice—and humor (Esth 7:10; see further Beet 1921).

Within such comedies and others are various comical moments. Pharaoh's magicians, who had displayed modest powers in earlier plagues, cannot assist their god-king with the boils because they themselves are afflicted (Exod 9:11). The wicked Ninevites, in Jonah 3, are so eager to repent—itself a ludicrous notion—that they dress their cattle in mourning clothes and force them to fast too (vv 7–8). Not every biblical comedy is comical; cf., e.g., the Tower of Babel (Gen 11:1–9), which is witty—note the play on Babel's name—but not necessarily funny.

The classical form of comedy, as in Aristophanes' plays, is farce. Pure farce would be hard to find in the largely high-minded religious literature of Scripture. There are, however farcical scenes, usually at the expense of an enemy. When Esther exposes Haman's plot to the king, the king storms out in an exaggerated rage. Upon his return he sees Haman fallen on his wife's divan. Although we know Haman was begging for mercy, the king assumes he was making a move on the queen (Esth 7:7–8). The outrage is compounded, and any idea of Haman's to appeal for clemency is quashed. Samson's tying torches to fox tails and burning down the Philistine crops, as well as his massacre of a thousand Philistines with the jawbone of an ass (Judges 15), might also have been farce were it not that these actions led to tragic consequences.

As Landy (1980: 14) has observed, biblical jokes often abort because they loop back into the continuing narrative. Nevertheless, certain characters exhibit comical traits, especially when they repeat a pattern of behavior without developing (cf. Bergson's theory of humor as mechanical conduct, in Sypher 1956: 61–190; cf. Exum and Whedbee 1984: 27). They are caricatured. Pharaoh repeatedly changes his mind the wrong way; Samson ever impetuous, is continually duped; Jonah insists on a theology at odds with God's.

Fables as a genre tend to feature the comical. Consider Balaam's talking ass, who halted at the sight of the angel in spite of Balaam's multiple beatings (Num 22:21–35); or Jotham's fable in which the trees by process of elimination choose the thornbush to be their king (Judg 9:7–15).

**D. Forms of Irony**

Irony underlies virtually all humor in the Bible, but it will be useful to enumerate some victim-directed types.

**1. Sarcasm.** Sarcastic speech is not common in the Bible, and, without hearing speech intonation, it is hard to detect. A clear example is Gen 37:19. When Joseph's brothers say, "Here comes this dreamer," lit., "master of dreams," they would seem to deride or deny his alleged talent. Note also Amos 4:4–5: "Come to Bethel, and transgress; to Gilgal, and multiply transgression; bring your sacrifices every morning, your tithes every three days … for so you love to do, O people of Israel!"

**2. Ridicule.** In the biblical ethos, the ignominious crushing of Abimelech's head by the woman of Thebez (Judg 9:53–54) is calculated ridicule; Abimelech had his aide run him through lest people say: "A woman killed him" (cf. 2 Sam 11:21 and Jael's murder of Sisera in Judges 4–5). The most oft-cited example of biblical humor is Elijah's mockery of the Baal prophets in 1 Kgs 18:27: "Cry aloud [i.e., louder, to Baal], for he is a god; either he is musing or he is gone aside, or he is on a journey, or perhaps he is asleep and must be awakened." The humor does not exclude Elijah's seriousness: gods in the ANE may be out of touch (cf. Ps 44:24, where YHWH is said to sleep), so the prophet wants to remove any possible excuses from his opponents when they inevitably fail.

**3. Satire.** Representation of a target such that the image becomes ironic or ludicrous is most common in the Hebrew Bible in prophetic and other attacks on foreign gods, cults, and kings (e.g., Isa 44:9–20; Ezekiel 29, 31; Nahum 2; Daniel 4). A notable example is the "taunt" of the king of Babylon in Isaiah 14; e.g., "your pomp is brought down to Sheol … maggots are the bed beneath you, and worms are your covering" (v 11). The description of the king's humiliating end is rather more vivid than expected and accordingly humorous. Human justice, or just being human, would seem to be satirized in the Garden of Eden when each character in turn passes the guilt to the next (Gen 3:9–13). Many (e.g., Burrows 1970; Ackerman 1981; Fisher 1977: 577) read the story of Jonah as a satire on a prophet.

**4. Parody.** Some (e.g., Miles 1974–75) interpret Jonah, whose values are the inverse of those of the real prophets, as a prophetic narrative, i.e., as parody. The account of Ahasuerus' silly, irreversible edicts in Esther 1–3 may parody Persian protocol (see, e.g., Greenstein 1987: 227–28).

**5. Trickery.** A trickster amuses when one is on his or her side. Laban's deceit of Jacob in Genesis 29 would not please an Israelite, but Jacob's "breeding trick" (Gen 30:29–43; cf. Good 1965: 101–3), by which he uses his wits to get rich from wily Laban, would. In the biblical context, Jacob's deception of his father Isaac in Genesis 27 is not humorous because of its moral ambiguity and our sympathy for Isaac (cf. Gammie 1979: 127–28). A gallery of tricksters figures in Judges: Ehud (chap. 3), Jael (chap. 4), Gideon (chaps. 7–8), and Samson (chaps. 14–16).

One can deceive through language, too, as in Samson's riddle (Judges 14) and Abraham's representation of his wife as his sister (Gen 12:10–20; 20)—she was his *half* sister, after all, as the patriarch explains (Gen 20:12; cf. Niditch 1987: 50).

**6. Verbal Wit.** While verbal trickery manifests wit, far more common is wordplay, especially punning (see WORDPLAY, HEBREW). When Jeremiah addresses the heavens and begins by saying, "Be appalled, O heavens …" (Jer 2:12), Heb *šōmmĕ,* "Be appalled," puns on Heb *šimʿû,* "Hearken," which opens a standard, innocuous formula (e.g., Isa 1:2). His bite is louder than his bark. Wit serves up so-called gallows humor in Gen 40:19. The Heb idiom "to lift the head" means "to elevate (to status)." Joseph announces to the baker his sorry fate by saying: "Within three days Pharaoh will lift up your head—from you!" No doubt the baker would have preferred the more figurative usage.

A contest of wits may characterize such scenes as Abraham's haggling with YHWH over the hypothetical righteousness of Sodom (Gen 18:23–33; see, e.g., Landy 1980: 16–17) and Delilah's deadly game with Samson (Judg 16:4–21).

**7. Proverbial Humor.** A special case of verbal wit, proverbs emblematize the typical biblical use of humor: occasionally proverbs are humorous—but they also make a serious point. Consider Prov 11:22: "Like a gold ring in a swine's snout/ is a beautiful woman without discretion." The grotesque hyperbole and surrealism of the simile produce the humor. In Prov 26:17 the situation in the simile is comical: "He who meddles in a quarrel not his own/ is like one who takes a passing dog by the ears." Prov 26:18–19 reads: "Like a madman who throws firebrands, arrows, and death,/ is the man who deceives his neighbor and says, 'I am only joking!' " As though following this advice, the Bible is careful with its humor.

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EDWARD L. GREENSTEIN

## *NEW TESTAMENT*

Humor exploits the observation of the absurd, the incongruous, and the comical, often poking fun at the foibles of human life. Wit is the quick perception of cleverness and ingenuity. Both humor and wit delight in deviations from what is expected or what is required in various social situations.

They are often expressed by means of verbal subtleties, indirection, and clever turns of phrases. Consequently, humor and wit do not translate well from one culture, age, or language to another. Context can also encourage or stifle our perception of humorous incongruity. When we read the biblical writings as sacred Scripture, enshrined by centuries of liturgical use and theological reflection, we often miss the light touches, sly remarks, witty expressions, and comical elements in them.

Jesus made use of incongruity, drawing pictures of a camel passing through the eye of a needle (Mark 10:25), a beam of wood in an eye (Matt 7:3–5; Luke 6:41–42), straining out a gnat and swallowing a camel (Matt 23:24), whitewashing tombs (Matt 23:27), and washing the outside of a cup while leaving the inside dirty (Matt 23:25). Jesus also applauded the quick repartee of the Syrophoenician woman (Mark 7:24–30). He himself outwitted the chief priests, scribes, and elders (Mark 11:27–33); the Pharisees and Herodians (Mark 12:13–17); and the Sadducees (Mark 12:18–27). While giving instructions on fasting, Jesus comments, "They disfigure *(aphanizousin)* their faces that they may figure *(phanōsin)* in public as fasting" (Matt 6:16).

2 Cor 1:21 plays on the words *Christ* and *christen.* John frequently employs double entendre and words that have multiple meanings: wind-spirit [*pneuma*] (3:8); flowing water-living water (4:11); asleep-dead (11:11–14). The NT also plays on the meaning of names. "Jesus" is derived from the verb "to save" (Matt 1:21). Jesus gives Simon a new name: "You are Peter [Gk *petros;* Aram *kepha*] and on this rock [Gk *petra;* Aram *kepha*] I will build my church" (Matt 16:18). Later, the leader of the early Church is left pounding on the door while the maid, Rhoda, runs to tell the others of his escape from prison (Acts 12:6–16). When the sons of the Jewish high priest Sceva attempt to exorcise demons in the name of Jesus, the unclean spirit answers, "Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are you?" (Acts 19:15).

Mark pokes fun at physicians, saying, "And there was a woman who had had a flow of blood for twelve years, and who had suffered much under many physicians, and had spent all that she had, and was no better, but rather grew worse" (Mark 5:25–26).

Zacchaeus, the short tax collector who climbed a sycamore tree to see Jesus, is a comical figure, and one can overhear the delight of early Christians laughing at a chief tax collector (Luke 19:2–5).

The story of the healing of the man born blind makes wonderful use of irony, wit, and sarcasm. When the Pharisees interrogate the man, they challenge him to praise God and discredit Jesus as a sinner. He answers, "Whether he is a sinner, I do not know; one thing I know, that though I was blind now I see" (John 9:25). When the Pharisees ask (for the second time) how the healing occurred, the man answers, "Why do you want to hear it again? Do you want to become his disciples?" (John 9:27). Later, when Jesus asks the man if he believes in the Son of Man, and he responds, "And who is he, sir?" Jesus answers, "You [a man born blind] have seen him!" (John 9:37). The story ends by underscoring the irony that those who could see have chosen blindness, while one who was born blind has received sight and come to faith.

Humor in the Bible celebrates the goodness of God, the world God created, and the life God gives. A foundational incongruity sustains the NT. God enters the world as a baby born to a peasant girl, is unrecognized by all but a few, and redeems the world by dying on a cross. Rejecting wisdom and signs, God chose to save those who believe through the foolishness of preaching (1 Cor 1:21).

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R. ALAN CULPEPPER

**HUMTAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ḥumṭâ* (חֻמְטָה)]. Town situated in the central hill country of Judah (Josh 15:54), within the same district as Hebron. This settlement is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). Although we know its general location, somewhere in the country between Hebron and Aphekah, a suitable candidate for the ancient town has not been identified.
WADE R. KOTTER

**HUNCHBACK.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**HUNDRED, TOWER OF THE** (PLACE) [Heb *migdal hammēʾâ* (מִגְדַּל הַמֵּאָה)]. A tower in the outer wall of Jerusalem protecting the N approach to the city, E of the Fish Gate and the Tower of Hananeel. Nehemiah mentions these two towers in both the restoration (3:1) and procession (12:39) texts. Reference to the Tower of Hananeel by Jeremiah and Zechariah (Jer 31:38; Zech 14:10) affirms the location of the Tower of the Hundred as indicated by Nehemiah. The two towers (overlooking the fish market) were intended to protect the Fish Gate that opened to a ridge leading to the Benjamin Plateau and most likely correspond to the fortress (Heb *bîrâ*) of Neh 7:2 and the later "Hasmonaeon Baris" and Antonia Fortress. Avi-Yonah, on the other hand, places the two towers on either side of the Fish Gate (1954: 240, fig. 1, 241–42).

The name "Tower of the Hundred" suggests to some that a substantial garrison was stationed in the tower, while others would emend the texts to read *meʾâ,* "hundred," as a measurement. Critical issues raised by Vincent have prompted him to omit both of Nehemiah's references to the Tower of the Hundred (Vincent and Steve 1954: 240, 242) and likewise prompted Simons to discount the existence of the tower (1952: 343 and fn. 1).

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DALE C. LIID

**HUNTING.** See ZOOLOGY.

**HUPHAM** (PERSON) [Heb *hûpām* (הוּפָם)]. Var. HUPPIM. One of the descendants of Benjamin and ancestor of the Huphamites (Num 26:39). The descendants of Benjamin are listed in three geneaological tables: Gen 46:21; Num 26:38–40; and 1 Chr 7:6–12. Confusion from these lists concerning Hupham exists along two lines. First, the Genesis list establishes Hupham as a son of Benjamin, whereas Numbers and 1 Chronicles record him as a grandson or later descendant. The 1 Chronicles list appears more orderly; three sons of Benjamin are listed and their sons in order, Hupham being the son of Ir and grandson of Benjamin. A second difficulty centers in the name "Hupham." The Genesis and 1 Chronicles source uses the name "Huppim" while the Numbers source employs the name "Hupham." Both are supposed to be the same. Jacob Myers suggests that Huppim may be of Arabic origin (Myers *1 Chronicles* 53). Others theorize that the same name has a different Hebrew form. Speiser, on the other hand, suggests that Huppim in the Genesis source should be corrected to Hupham as Numbers (*Genesis* 343).
JOEL C. SLAYTON

**HUPPAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥūppâ* (חֻפָּה)]. A priest who received the sixteenth position in the priestly order of the temple during David's reign (1 Chr 24:13). 1 Chronicles 24 is the only place where Huppah appears in the OT. Therefore, an evaluation of the historical reliability of his appearance depends upon the literary context of 1 Chr 24:1–19. Though generally agreed that this list of priests originated after the

Exile, its exact date remains debated. See HAKKOZ. Huppah may represent a Judean individual or priestly family in the late Persian period that the Chronicler has retrojected into the reign of David.
JOHN W. WRIGHT

**HUPPIM** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥūppîm* (חֻפִּים)]. See HUPHAM (PERSON).

**HUR** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥûr* (חוּר)]. The name of five persons in the OT.

**1.** A "king" of Midian (Num 31:8; Josh 13:21). Historically, the five Midianite kings in Numbers 31 may be drawn from a list of place names that form an itinerary through N Arabia and S Transjordan in the Persian period (Knauf 1988: 166–67). "Hur" can be identified, then, with the Nabatean town of Auara/*Ḥaurâ* (today al-Ḥumaymah; M.R. 180929).

**2.** A companion and assistant of Moses and Aaron during the battle against the Amalekites (Exod 17:10, 12), and, together with Aaron, a "substitute judge" while Moses stayed on the mountain of the Lord, Exod 24:14.

**3.** The grandfather of Bezalel, from the tribe of Judah; it was Bezalel who designed and crafted the paraphernalia of the Israelite cult, according to the P source (Exod 31:2; 35:30; 38:22; 2 Chr 2:1). According to 1 Chr 2:19–20, 50, this Hur was a Calebite, and grandfather of the town of Bethlehem; 1 Chr 4:1, 4 makes him a Judean, and father of Bethlehem. In the original genealogies of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr 2:50; 4:1, 4), the father of Bezalel is not mentioned among Hur's sons. This observation gives rise to the suspicion that Hur #2 (see above) and the "grandfather of Bezalel" both personify a claim to fame and dignity by this Calebite (later Judahite) clan.

**4.** The father of Rephaiah, head of half the district of Jerusalem (Neh 3:9). Since Heb *ben,* "son of," can precede a family/tribal name as well as a personal name, this Hur may be identical with Hur #3 above (i.e., the name of a prominent clan).

**5.** The father of Solomon's governor in Ephraim (1 Kgs 4:8). See also BEN-HUR. The note to Hur #4 also applies to this Hur, if one does not prefer Alt's explanation that "the son of Hur" is a designation for the holder of the hereditary fief of Hur (*KlSchr,* 211–12). However, the question of how "Canaanite" (and institutionalized) Solomon's principality actually was is disputed, as is the reliability of 1 Kgs 4:7–9 (*HAIJ,* 205–7).

For Hur #2, 4, and 5 above (if referring to persons), compare Ugaritic, Phoenician, and Aramaic names with *ḥr,* all of which can be connected with the Egyptian god Horus. For Hur #3, the Calebite clan, compare the name *ḥwr* in Sabaic, Minean, Thamudic, and Safaitic (Nabatean *ḥwrw*), meaning "a camel's kid" (Knauf 1988: 89).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**HURAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥûray* (חוּרַי)]. See HIDDAI (PERSON).

**HURAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥûrām* (חוּרָם)]. **1.** A son of Bela and grandson of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:5).

The lists of Benjamin's sons (Genesis 46; Numbers 26) exhibit considerable variations which are difficult to explain. The two lists of Bela's sons (1 Chr 7:7; 8:3–5) also differ quite considerably. The Syriac version of 1 Chr 8:5 reads Hupham, who in Num 26:39 is said to be one of Benjamin's sons. The LXX provides a further variant to the list by reading *Arouam.* Bela is said to have nine sons with Huram in ninth position. However, in Num 26:40 only two sons of Bela are recorded, with five named in 1 Chr 7:7; in both cases Huram is omitted. It is clear that the tradition of Benjamin's sons and their descendants showed considerable variation. Some of the names of Bela's sons (Num 26:39–40; 1 Chr 7:7; 8:3–4) are identical to names of Benjamin's sons in other lists (Gen 46:21; Num 26:38; 1 Chr 7:6; 8:1–2). These genealogical lists in 1 Chronicles are often dated to the postexilic period, which would help to explain their divergences over a long period of time (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 122–28).

**2.** The king of Tyre. See HIRAM (PERSON).
KEITH W. WHITELAM

**HURAMABI** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥûrām-ābî* (חוּרָמְאָבִי)]. See HIRAM (PERSON).

**HURI** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥûrî* (חוּרִי)]. A Gadite who was the father of Abihail, the father of the eleven (or ten; see SHAPHAT) sons named in 1 Chr 5:12–14. Although some have related his name to the cult of the Egyptian god Horus, others have seen a connection with the Heb *ḥāwar,* "to be or grow white," and interpreted it to mean "linen weaver." More likely, perhaps, is the connection with the Akk *ḫūru,* "child" (*IPN*, 38, 221). Neither Huri nor the others named in the Chronicler's genealogy for Gad (1 Chr 5:11–17) appear in other lists of Gadites (Gen 46:16; Num 26:15–18; 1 Chr 12:9–16—Eng12:8–15).
M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**HURRIAN LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (HURRIAN).

**HURRIANS.** An ethnic group attested in the ANE from the 3d to the 1st millennium B.C. During the second half of the 2d millennium B.C. they reached their greatest geographical extent and figured prominently in the history and culture of the Near East. The Hurrians may be the people referred to in the OT as *ḥōrî.* For all that is known concerning their significance, there are major difficulties in studying the Hurrians: (1) their language is imperfectly understood, largely because there are still relatively few extant Hurrian texts; (2) the chronology of the epigraphic and archaeological evidence relating to the Hurrians is not always clear; (3) much of the information concerning the Hurrians comes from non-Hurrian sources, i.e., their neighbors in Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, and Anatolia; (4) it is difficult to identify what is Hurrian and what is indigenous in the cultures in which they played a role, because they appear to have assimilated easily to the cultures that they joined. Nonetheless, it is possible to identify their language and many of its characteristics, to trace a general history of the Hurrians, and to discuss certain cultural features associated with Hurrians and Hurrian sites.

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A. Hurrian Language
B. History before ca. 1550 B.C.
C. History after ca. 1550 B.C.
D. Hurrians in Mitanni
E. Hurrians of Syria
F. Hurrians in Anatolia
G. Hurrians in Canaan
H. Hurrian Culture
I. The Hurrian Participation in the ANE

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**A. Hurrian Language**

Like many of the ethnic groups entering Mesopotamia, Syria, and Anatolia, the Hurrians chose the local language and script for their records. Thus, most of the records coming from sites known to have had Hurrian populations are written in Akkadian (often a Peripheral variety such as at Nuzi or Amarna), Hittite, or Ugaritic. However, some texts completely in Hurrian have been found at Boghazköy, Mari, Ugarit, and elsewhere. Furthermore, a great many Hurrian words appear in texts written in other ANE languages, and Hurrian personal names, which tend to be "sentence names," provide additional information. On the basis of the available evidence, it is clear that the Hurrian language is an agglutinative language of the Asianic group. Of the known languages of the ANE, it is most closely related to Urartian, which appears later in the history of the Near East, and a number of dialects within the Hurrian language may be discerned (Bush 1968; *SCCNH* 1: 77–89 and 1971; Speiser 1941; Gelb, Purves, and MacRae 1943).

**B. History before ca. 1550 B.C.**

The Hurrians may have originated in the S Caucasus and Armenia. Their history is normally divided into two phases: before and after ca. 1550 B.C. In the first, they are always somewhat shadowy figures who appear to have migrated S and W from their original homeland into the Near East. Evidence from geographical names places them in the N Transtigris region during the pre-Sargonic period (Astour *SCCNH* 2: 3–68). As early as the Sargonic period of the 3d millennium B.C. they may have been established at Urkiš near Diyarbakr if the letter of Tish-atal, king of Urkiš and Nawar, belongs in fact to the late Akkadian period (Hrouda 1958; Gelb 1956). In fact, Urkiš figures in Hurrian mythology as the seat of Kumarbi, one of the major Hurrian deities. During the Ur III period, Hurrian names appear on texts relating to the regions to the N and E of southern Mesopotamia—areas in which the Ur III kings campaigned and conquered. Some of the individuals with Hurrian personal names are high officials in conquered territories while others are prisoners of war (Gelb 1944). This evidence suggests that the Ur III kings engaged in what are called the "Hurrian Wars."

In the 19th and early 18th centuries B.C. Hurrians appear among the populations of Mari, Chagar Bazar, and Šemšara. Indeed, some Hurrian texts were found at Mari. During the reign of Šamši-Adad, who consolidated an empire stretching from Assyria to Mari, Hurrians appear among the "hill people" raiding the territories N and E of Assyria as reported by Ishme-Dagan, who campaigned for his father in those regions. Furthermore, there is evidence for Hurrian states in the "High Country" in N Syria at this time. By the time of Zimri-Lim of Mari, Hurrians were well established N of Aleppo. After the fall of Mari to Hammurabi of Babylon the sources are scarce for the regions in which Hurrians are attested. By the 18th and 17th centuries B.C., however, significant numbers of Hurrians are found in the texts of Alalakh Level VII. Furthermore, Hurrian month names were in use in both Alalakh and Yamhad at that time. Thus, it appears that from the pre-Sargonic period through the OB period the Hurrian presence in the Near East grew and expanded S and W into Mesopotamia and Syria. This was possible, particularly during the later OB period, because Babylonian rule did not extend far enough N to encompass the Hurrian areas, the kingdom of Yamhad in Syria was concentrated W of the Euphrates, and Assyria was divided and weak. Therefore the way was clear for Hurrian settlement in upper Mesopotamia and Syria. Indeed, by the time of Ḫattušiliš I and Maršiliš I of the Hittite Old Kingdom in the later 17th century B.C., there are references to a Hurrian threat to the Hittites in Anatolia. Moreover, Muršiliš I fought a battle with the Hurrians on his return march from the sack of Babylon (Kupper *CAH* 2/ 1: 1–41).

**C. History after ca. 1550 B.C.**

In the second phase, after ca. 1550 B.C., the Hurrians in the ANE present a startlingly different picture. First, they are present in sizable numbers in upper Mesopotamia (Tepe Gawra, Arraphe, and Nuzi, for example), in Syria (Alalakh, Ugarit, Qatna, and Tunip), and in Anatolia (Kizzuwadna and in the Hittite lands). Hurrians, then, are attested in the area stretching at least from the Zagros Mountains to the Mediterranean and far into Anatolia. Moreover, their influence was felt in Cyprus and in Canaan, though the evidence in these cases is far from clear. Second, the Hurrian states of N Syria and Mesopotamia had unified. This "confederation" was known by a number of names, most famous of which is Mitanni, with its capital at Wašukanni (perhaps Tell Fakhāriyyah; see also MITANNI). Though the precise relationship between the two is not clear, one of the states within Mitanni was the kingdom of Hurri or the Hurri lands, apparently located in the N region of Mitanni, which may have had some claim to primacy within Mitanni. The exact process by which the Hurrians spread so quickly into new areas and Mitanni was formed is not known (Drower *CAH* 2/1: 417–525).

At the same time, a new element appears among Hurrian names. More than 100 Indo-Aryan names, most belonging to kings, princes, or high officials, appear in the records. The Indo-Aryan elements include the names of gods equated with the Vedic gods Indar, Soma, Vaya, the Devas, Svar, and Rta. Also a number of Indo-Aryan numerical terms and terms relating to horses and chariots appear as well in the records. Of particular importance, the nobility in Hurrian areas, those of the chariot-owning class, were called *maryannu,* which probably stems from Indo-European *marya,* "young man or warrior."

The Indo-Aryan element among the Hurrians has been linked to the "Indo-European migrations" of the 2d millennium B.C. The coincidence of the appearance of this element and the changes in Hurrian political

organization have been interpreted as a takeover of the Hurrians by an Indo-Aryan ruling class with a chariot-based aristocracy who molded the Hurrians into an efficient military power. On the other hand, the percentage of Indo-Aryan names is very small, Hurrian states did exist before this time, and Mitanni and the other Hurrian centers remained essentially "Hurrian." Therefore it is possible that the Hurrians simply felt a strong Indo-European influence, particularly in the technology of warfare.

**D. Hurrians in Mitanni**

Mitanni (including the kingdom of Hurri) represents the most important Hurrian political entity in the later 2d millennium B.C. The history of Mitanni is discussed elsewhere; here it is sufficient to note that Mitanni, with its core Hurrian population, expanded rapidly to become the most powerful nation in Syria and Mesopotamia. After a period of hostilities with Egypt during the campaigns of the New Kingdom pharaohs, Mitanni and Egypt entered diplomatic relations during the Amarna period. So Mitanni became a principal participant in the great age of internationalism in the ANE. As a result, the Hurrians of Mitanni were in contact politically and culturally with Egypt, Mesopotamia, the Levant, the Aegean, and S Mesopotamia (Drower *CAH* 2/1: 417–525). The archaeological evidence from such sites as Nuzi and Alalakh demonstrates clearly the effect of these contacts in wall painting, pottery, and glyptic arts (Smith 1965).

After the fall of the kingdom of Mitanni (ca. 1350 B.C.) its territory and Hurrian populace were ruled at times by Assyrians in the E and Hittites in the W. Although the latter ultimately controlled Mitanni as a vassal state, the area was contested by the Assyrians and Hittites until the reign of Shalmaneser I of Assyria (1274–1245 B.C.), who annexed what remained of Mitanni to Assyria. Throughout this period of occupation and conflict, Hittite and Assyrian influence was keenly felt in the Hurrian territories of Mitanni, particularly in the city-states of N Syria that were early on absorbed by the Hittite Empire (Goetze *CAH* 2/ 2: 1–20; Munn-Rankin *CAH* 2/2: 274–306).

It is important to note that some of the "Neo-Hittite" states that grew up in N Syria and the Taurus Mountains in the wake of the Hittite Empire and the general confusion in the Near East after ca. 1200 were well within the old Mitannian territory. The extent to which the Hurrian population of Mitanni was still present in these areas and their contribution to the culture of the Neo-Hittite states are matters that require further evidence and research. However, it is reasonable to believe that the Hurrian presence was still alive in these areas, especially in light of certain scattered references to individuals with Hurrian personal names in Assyrian records after ca. 1100 B.C. (Gelb 1944).

**E. Hurrians of Syria**

Mitanni grew to include numerous city-states and territories in which Hurrians were only a part of the population. Moreover, Hurrians were present in areas never controlled by Mitanni, though such Hurrians may have been disposed politically to Mitanni. This was particularly true in Syria where earlier Semitic-speaking peoples still dominated. Evidence for the Hurrians in Syria comes from the records of the Egyptian campaigns in Syria during the New Kingdom and native sources. Repeatedly, the Egyptians met stiff resistance from Syrian cities with pro-Mitannian parties such as Kadesh, Tunip, and Qatna. References to captured *maryannu* warriors in the records of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II demonstrate at least the Hurrian influence in Syria. The actual presence of Hurrians is indicated in that Amenhotep II took booty including Hurrians and their wives during one of his Syrian campaigns (Drower *CAH* 2/1: 417–525).

At the site of Ugarit, Hurrians appear as soldiers and craftsmen. Tablets in Hurrian appear among the archives there along with bilingual glossaries and a lexical text containing four languages: Hurrian, Sumerian, Akkadian, and Ugaritic. Hurrian loan words, personal names, and divine names appear in Ugaritic and Akkadian texts found at Ugarit. Moreover, Hurrian divinities were worshipped at Ugarit (Drower *CAH* 2/2: 130–160; Gelb 1944).

Similarly at Alalakh (Level IV), where Hurrians were attested only minimally in the OB period, Hurrian names abound and Hurrian deities were worshipped. The Amarna texts and other sources provide Hurrian names from Amurru, Neya, Nuhasse, Qatna, and Tunip (Gelb 1944).

**F. Hurrians in Anatolia**

Kizzuwadna in Cilicia was a vassal state alternately of Mitanni and of the Hittites as the fortunes of the two nations changed in the later 2d millennium B.C. On the basis of personal names associated with Kizzuwadna, this state appears to have been predominantly Hurrian (Goetze 1940).

In the Hittite lands the Hurrians appear to have exerted considerable influence from the beginning of the empire period, and some of what became accepted as "Hittite" in religion, literature, and art may well have had Hurrian origins (Güterbock 1954). Indeed, the dynasty of the Hittites in the Empire period may have been Hurrian. King Urḫi-Tešup and Queen Pudu-ḫepa of that dynasty had Hurrian names. Moreover, the Boghazköy archives produced Hurrian texts, and Hurrian loan words abound in Hittite documents. Furthermore, Hurrian deities figured in the pantheon of the Hittites.

**G. Hurrians in Canaan**

The evidence for Hurrians in Canaan is far less clear than that for other ANE areas. Among the rulers of Egypt's Syro-Canaanite sphere of influence who appear in the Amarna Letters is one Abdi-Ḫepa of Jerusalem, whose name includes that of the Hurrian goddess Ḫepa (EA 280: 285–90). Other Hurrian names appear on tablets from Tell Ta'annek. The evidence of these personal names has been taken to reflect a Hurrian presence in Palestine (Gelb 1944; Albright *CAH* 2/2: 98–116 and 1935). The Egyptians used the term Khor or Khurri-land for Syria and Canaan, presumably because they perceived all or part of the land as occupied by Hurrians. By the 19th Dynasty Khor was used generally for Asia or "The North." Thutmose IV claimed to have taken "Hurrians" from Gezer and made them temple slaves in Egypt. Most famous of the supposed Hurrians in Palestine are the biblical Horites described as original occupants of the land of Canaan (Albright 1935). Certainly the existence of individuals with Hurrian names suggests at least a Hurrian influence in the region. However, it is far from clear whether the captives from Gezer and the Horites were Hurrians. Instead, their designation may derive from the Egyptian term for the area—"Khurri-land." That is, individuals from "Khurri-land" would be called "Khurri"—Hurrians.

**H. Hurrian Culture**

As noted above, it is difficult to separate what is Hurrian from what is native in the cultures where Hurrians were present, particularly in the second half of the 2d millennium B.C. when there was such cross-cultural activity among the nations of the Near East. A complex of cultural features is attested throughout known Hurrian areas, however, and these features are thereby associated with the Hurrians.

In religion, the pantheon is reasonably clear. Tešup, a storm god, was the chief male deity, often equated in Syria with Dagan, Adad, and Baal in Syria and Canaan. His consort was Ḫepet/Ḫepa and their son Šarruma. Šeriš and Hurri were two bull gods who were attributed of Tešup. Tilla was also a bull god related to Tešup. Simika was the sun god and Kušukh the moon god. Kumarbi, celebrated in the "Song of Ullikummi," was an elder god replaced by the storm god. In addition to these Hurrian gods, certain Vedic or proto-Indian gods attached to the Indo-Aryan element among the Hurrians appear occasionally (Drower *CAH* 2/1: 417–525; Kupper *CAH* 2/1: 1–41).

A number of the Hurrian texts and Hurrian portions of texts in other languages that survive are ritual and magic texts, attesting to the importance of Hurrian religious practices in areas such as Mari, Ugarit, and the Hittite lands. Apparently Hurrians carried their practices to Syria and Anatolia, where the original forms of the rituals were valued. The Hurrians also translated divination texts from Akkadian and appear to have transmitted their knowledge in this area to Syria and Hittite centers (Kupper *CAH* 2/ 1: 1–41; Drower *CAH* 2/1: 417–525).

In literature, the mythological text "The Myth of Kumarbi and the Song of Ullikummi" describes an epic cycle of the birth of the gods and their struggles for supremacy. This text is thought to have influenced both Canaanite and later Greek ideas about intergenerational conflict among the gods. The relationship between the Hurrian myth and the Mesopotamian *Enūma eliš* is, itself, unclear. The Hurrians also translated the Epic of Gilgamesh, as did the Hittites (Drower *CAH* 2/1: 417–525).

In the area of art it is far more difficult to identify anything specifically Hurrian. Truly remarkable ivory carvings and glyptic arts originate in sites associated with Hurrians (Ugarit, Alalakh, Ashur, Nuzi) but more of the motifs and crafts involved can be attributed to Hurrians. In both crafts, Syrian, Mitannian, Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Aegean elements are mixed in the "International Style" of the Amarna

period. The fine "Nuzi ware" pottery and Khabur ware are associated with Hurrian sites in the later 2d millennium B.C. (Drower *CAH* 2/1: 417–525; Smith 1965).

Another craft closely associated with Hurrian areas was metallurgy. Bronze, copper, gold, silver, and rarely iron tools and weapons are widely attested in the archaeological and epigraphic record. At least one style of weapon, that in which the blade seems to come out of the mouth of a lion, is found throughout the Hurrian areas (Drower *CAH* 2/1: 417–525).

Yet another craft closely linked to Hurrian areas is glassmaking. West Semitic *mekku* and synonymous Hurrian *eḫlipakku* both refer to "glass," specifically raw material used in making glass vessels. Though glazes were known from early times in the Near East and a recipe for glassmaking dates to the end of the OB era, glass itself appears from the 15th century B.C. in Mesopotamia, throughout the Hurrian areas (Ashur, Nuzi, Chagar-Bazar, Ugarit, Alalakh) and in Egypt. Shapes and techniques are the same in all of these areas. The center for this industry appears to have been upper Syria, from which came both the raw materials and the craftsmen who spread glassmaking throughout the Amarna-age world.

In one area of expertise the Hurrians were the masters of the ANE: horse training. Clearly, their society held the chariotry in high esteem. The *maryannu* or "charioteer" class denoted the nobility and high officials throughout the predominantly Hurrian areas and beyond in the Syrian city-states. Not all of the individuals called "charioteers" actually owned and used chariots in war. Instead, the title evolved into an honorific term used for the elite of the society. It is not surprising, then, that hippic texts are found at Nuzi, Boghazköy, Ugarit, Alalakh, and Ashur. From Boghazköy in Anatolia are the famous Kikkuli texts named for their author, the Hurrian horse trainer from the land of Arraphe (where Nuzi was located) E of the Tigris (Drower *CAH* 2/1: 417–525; O'Callaghan 1948).

For discussion of typical Hurrian society, see also NUZI. Among the special characteristics worth noting here are the position of women and slaves. Women in Hurrian society enjoyed considerably more freedom than in other areas of the Near East. They could own property, enter into contracts, litigate, and participate independently in most areas of public life. Similarly, slaves, though bound to masters or households, had considerable economic and legal rights.

## I. The Hurrian Participation in the ANE

Once considered the base population of the N part of the ANE, the Hurrians clearly entered the Near East at a comparatively late date. Their political influence was enormous, as they dominated N Mesopotamia and portions of Syria and Anatolia for three centuries and some areas for even longer. The cities and nations in which they lived were linked by trade and conquest during the late 2d millennium B.C., a crucial period in the cultural history of the Near East. However vague their own contribution to Near Eastern culture is, there is ample evidence for their role as transmitters of literature, art, and technology during this all-important era (Speiser 1953).

As for their role vis-à-vis the OT, the customs documented in the Nuzi tablets were long held forth as evidence for Hurrian influence, particularly on the patriarchal narratives. For a discussion of this issue, see also NUZI.

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MARTHA A. MORRISON

**HUSBAND.** See FAMILY.

**HUSHAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥûšâ* (חוּשָׁה)]. Var. HUSHATHITE. The son of Ezer (1 Chr 4:4), who appears to have been one of the sons of Hur. The name Hushah is then eponymously applied to a town of Judah, which was possibly first settled as an Israelite town by Ezer the son of Hur. It was the home of two of David's notable men, Mebunnai (2 Sam 23:27) and Sibbecai (2 Sam 21:18). Sibbecai is described as having killed Saph, one of the descendants of the giants, and was eventually made a commander in David's army (1 Chr 27:1, 11).

The village of Hushah is strategically located about 6 km W of Bethlehem at the top of a ridge that gave access to Bethlehem and Jerusalem from the Elah valley in the Shephelah (M.R. 162124). While Bethlehem overlooked the wilderness to the E from the Judean ridge, Hushah overlooked the Shephelah or lower hill country to the W. Hushah was in the path of the Philistine expansion from the coast as the Philistines tried to penetrate into the Judean hill country, and it was probably down the Hushah ridge that David went to inquire about his brothers (who were facing the Philistines) and which ultimately led to David's confrontation with Goliath (1 Samuel 17).

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DALE C. LIID

**HUSHAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥûšay* (חוּשַׁי)]. **1.** A member of the Archite branch of the tribe of Benjamin (2 Sam 15:32). During the reign of David he served as the king's *rēʿeh,* commonly translated as "friend" or "companion" although those terms are perhaps too informal in tone (2 Sam 15:37; 16:16, 17). In 1 Chr 27:33 Hushai is listed with other officers in David's service (there termed *rēaʿ hammelek*). On the possible origin of his name and office, see McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB, 371–72).

Hushai played a prominent role in the unfolding of events surrounding Absalom's rebellion. With torn clothes and dirt on his head, he met David as the latter was fleeing the city (2 Sam 15:32). David did not allow him to flee with him, but instead requested that Hushai return to the city. There he was to swear allegiance to Absalom and, having gained Absalom's confidence, he was to frustrate the advice of Ahithophel and be an informant reporting to Zadok and Abiathar (2 Sam 15:33–37). Absalom mocked Hushai's lack of loyalty to David, but Hushai forcefully pledged his commitment to serve Absalom (2 Sam 16:16–19). Absalom was convinced, for he later requested Hushai to evaluate Ahithophel's plan to pursue David immediately. Hushai countered by suggesting a delay during which time Absalom could rally a larger military force to counter the skill of David as a military commander. His advice was accepted over that of Ahithophel. The narrator comments that this sequence of events was exactly what Yahweh had ordained (2 Sam 17:5–14). Hushai reported the proceedings to Zadok and Abiathar, and David was able to gain a strategic advantage (2 Sam 17:15ff.). Hushai's role, if any, in the rest of the events of Absalom's rebellion is not reported.

**2.** The father of Baana (1 Kgs 4:16). He is not connected with Hushai #1, but many commentators regard them as the same person. Hushai's son Baana was from the region of Asher and Bealoth, and is listed as one of twelve deputies Solomon appointed to raise the monthly provisions for the royal household.

RICHARD W. NYSSE

**HUSHAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥušām* (חֻשָׁם)]. The third ruler in the Edomite king list (Gen 36:34f.; 1 Chr 1:45f.). Opinions vary as to date of this list (Gen 36:31–39). Suggestions range from the 11th century B.C. (Weippert 1982: 155) through the 8th to 6th centuries B.C. (Bennett 1983: 16) to the 6th–5th centuries B.C. (Knauf 1985a). Scholars tend to agree, however, that the succession scheme of this list is artificial and that, in all likelihood, the rulers listed in it were contemporaries (Bartlett 1972: 27; Weippert 1982: 155). The name is attested in Arabic (*Ḥusām,* Safaitic and Classical) and means "sword" (Knauf 1985a:

246). One may also compare the Arabic names *Khushām/Khushaim,* "Little Nose" (Harding 1971: 189). This comparison, however, is less likely, since Arabic *š* would require to be represented by Hebrew *ś.*

Husham is said to stem "from the country of the Temanite" (Gen 36:34). A "Temanite" could be an inhabitant of Teman, or of the city of Tayma in NW Arabia. Since Teman as the name of a country seems to be another name for Edom, it is more likely that Husham immigrated into Edom from the territory of Tayma (Knauf 1985a: 249f.; 1987). This immigration may be reflected in Pliny's note (*Geog.* 6.28 [32]. 157): *Nabataeis Thimaneos iunxerunt veteres,* "The ancients linked the Temanites with the Nabateans," the Nabateans being the descendants of a Qedarite clan which gained control over Edom in the course of the late 6th to early 5th century B.C. (Knauf 1985b: 103–8).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**HUSHATHITE** [Heb *ḥūšātî* (חֻשָׁתִי)]. See HUSHAH (PERSON).

**HUSHIM** (PERSON) [Heb *ḥūšîm* (חֻשִׁים)]. Var. SHUHAM. **1.** The only descendant of Dan (Gen 46:23) mentioned in the genealogy of Jacob in Genesis 46. In Num 26:42 again, only one descendant of Dan is mentioned, but here he is called Shuham (possibly resulting from the transposition of the letters *ḥet* and *šin*).

**2.** Descendants or a descendant of Aher (1 Chr 7:12). The MT reads Heb *bĕnê,* "sons," but only mentions Hushim, which makes the plural form of the name itself ambiguous. The larger group to which these Hushites belong is a matter of dispute, too. As the MT stands, they are listed among the Benjaminites (1 Chr 7:6–12). In Genesis 46 the genealogy of Benjamin precedes that of Dan and is in turn followed by that of Naphtali, while in 1 Chronicles 7 Benjaminites precede the sons of Naphtali, which leads commentators to suggest that the text be emended to connect the Hushim to Dan. In that case, the Hushites named in 1 Chr 7:12 would be the same as #1 above. For contrasting views, see Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 106–7) and Williamson (*1 & 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 78).

**3.** One of the wives of Shaharaim of the descendants of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:8, 11). Shaharaim divorced her as well as Baara before he had additional children in Moab, presumably with Hodesh, his third named wife. Hushim was the mother of Abitub and Elpaal. The genealogy is continued through Elpaal.

RICHARD W. NYSSE

**HUSN, EL-** (M.R. 232210). A cave site in Jordan containing remains of the EB of both domestic occupation and funereal activity.

**A. Identification and Excavation of the Site**

This cave site, situated some 22 km N of Jerash, Jordan, takes its name from the nearby modern town of el-Ḥuṣn. It lies just 1 km S of Tell el-Ḥuṣn, one of the largest mounds in Jordan. The mound remains unexcavated, although past surveys seem to indicate that it was important throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages. The cave itself is described as an amorphous hole in the ground whose roof had collapsed in antiquity. Thus, whether it was originally a cave or a shaft tomb is impossible to determine. The disturbance to the chamber was such that the excavation uncovered no stratification, although on the basis of the pottery it was clear that there were two periods of use. The tomb was excavated by G. L. Harding.

A more extensive comparative analysis of the finds was done by B. S. J. Isserlin (Harding and Isserlin 1953).

**B. History of the Site**

There were two periods of use in this cave, a domestic EB I level (Harding thought it was EB II) and an EB IV burial interment. The former consisted entirely of sherds of two distinct pottery types: heavy, coarse storejars with "grain wash" decoration, plain ledge handles, and flaring rims; and undecorated storejars and gritty holemouth jars that may have been cooking pots (Harding and Isserlin 1953: fig. 5). Harding's postulation that this level represented a domestic usage of the cave is probably correct, on the basis of the cooking pots. The skeletal remains intermixed with the pottery must, therefore, reflect a burial interment in the EB IV period. The ceramic remains of the latter period consisted of intact vessels of a variety of types well known from other EB IV burial sites. Two copper pins with convoluted head and a flint implement round out the burial offerings.

The EB IV corpus comprised mostly storejars, amphoriskoi, and one-handled jugs, although it also included teapots, cups, bowls, and a four-spouted lamp (Harding and Isserlin 1953: figs. 1–4). Storejars were of both the round-based and flat-based type with the latter showing the typical envelope ledge-handle. There were about 50 vessels in all. What has always been notable about the el-Ḥuṣn assemblage is its distinctive style of vase painting. Generally referred to as "trickle-paint," this red paint and/or red slip decoration is characterized at el-Ḥuṣn by vertical and horizontal bands, as well as by vertical rows of wavy or straight lines on the upper shoulder.

The corpus under discussion has been variously categorized. R. Amiran (1960) assigned the el-Ḥuṣn assemblage to ceramic Families B (round-based jars and single-point incision) and C (red paint and slip). In Dever's geographical-cultural classification, el-Ḥuṣn belongs to Family (NC) North Central (1980: 45–47). Contrary to Amiran, it is clear that the red-slip and red-paint decoration continues a well-known EB tradition and is therefore the mark of early EB IV (Richard 1980). Although in a new schema (EB IVA-B-C) the el-Ḥuṣn assemblage was dated to the EB IVB period (Dever 1973; Richard 1980), it now appears highly likely that the several distinctive ceramic "families" in this period may well be more regional than chronological. There is in any case a great deal of overlap (Richard and Boraas 1988).

**C. Sociocultural Considerations**

Recent excavation and analysis suggest that "trickle-painted" ware may represent a "fine ware" produced at certain sites for dissemination to other villages in the region (Falconer 1987; Hess 1984). If so, then production and exchange of this product are indicated primarily in the following regions: from Tiberius to Beth-shan and Tel ʿArtal (W of the Jordan river), and E of the Jordan from el-Ḥuṣn S to the Jordan valley settlements (opposite Beth-shan) of Tell el-Hayyāt and Tell ʿAbu en-Niʿaj. "Trickle-paint" ware is an important diagnostic trait for cross-cultural comparisons. The discovery recently of this distinctive decorative type as far S as Khirbet Iskander (Richard fc.) not only provides a chronological link with the above sites but likewise widens exchange to an interregional orbit.

This evidence for trade among settlement sites in the EB IV may be added to a growing list of new elements to consider in any evaluation of the sociopolitical organization of the population. This "dark age" (ca. 2350–2000 B.C.) was once thought to be a nomadic interlude. It is now evident that cultural adaptation in the EB IV included a range of adaptive strategies. Following EB III, it is true, there was a shift from a complex urban society to a less specialized nonurban sociopolitical framework; however, the latter is characterized not only by seasonal settlements of pastoral nomads but likewise by permanent towns and villages (Richard 1987).

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SUZANNE RICHARD

**HYDASPES** (PLACE) [Gk *Hydáspēs* (Ὑδάσπης)]. The name of a river mentioned in Jdt 1:6 along with the Euphrates, Tigris, and the plain of Elymais (Elam). However, no river by that name is attested in this region. In Greek literary sources the name renders (Sanskrit) *Vitasta* (=modern Jhelum), a tributary of the Indus in NW India, well known since Alexander's battle against Porus on its banks (cf. Arrian *Anab.* 5.9–18). Given the unconventional geography (and history) of the book of Judith, the above association is not unexpected. If the author had in mind more than the name of a river somewhere in the distant E, he may have meant the Choaspes (modern Karkheh), which flowed past Susa (Herodotus 1.188; 5.49). Corruption in the Gk text, though not impossible, seems unlikely.

ALBERT PIETERSMA

**HYENA.** See ZOOLOGY.

**HYKSOS.** The Greek form of an Egyptian word (Eg *ḥk€ [w]ḫ€ s[w]t*) meaning "ruler(s) of foreign land(s)," i.e., of alien origin (Redford 1970), used to refer to nonnatives who ruled over portions of Lower Egypt as the 15th Dynasty in the first half of the 2d millennium B.C. (the "Second Intermediate Period").

***HISTORY***

Folk etymology of the 4th–3d centuries B.C. incorrectly derived the Eg term from *š€ sw,* "shepherd" (thus "shepherd kings"), and from *ḥ€ k,* "plunder, captivity" (thus "captive shepherds"; *AgAp* 1.14 §§82–83). Neither of these latter writings occurs in contemporary New Kingdom sources, and are best attributed to the eisegesis of Judeo-pagan polemics in the Hellenistic period. The translation of Manetho's *anthrōpoi to genos asēmoi* (cited in *AgAp* 1.14 §75) as "men of obscure race" diverted earlier scholarship into a fruitless search for unlikely candidates: Arabs (Redford 1986b: 278, n. 77); Indo-Iranians (Albright 1957: 30–31; *YGC*, 57, n. 12); Hittites (Duncan 1931: 69–72); Hurrians (Engberg 1939; Helck 1972: 100–6); Hebrews (*AgAp* 1.14 §§91–92); or a mysterious horse-breeding aristocracy from Asia (Mayani 1956). In fact, *asēmoi* is simply the rendering of Eg *ḫsi,* "vile," in Manetho's Demotic source (Redford 1986b: 242).

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A. Ethnic Composition
B. Advent and Extent of Rule
C. The Fifteenth Dynasty
D. Administration
E. Religion and Culture
F. Expulsion
G. Later Traditions

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**A. Ethnic Composition**

Although human skeletal remains from excavations at Tel ed-Dab‹a reportedly exhibit European traits (Jungwirth 1970), too few specimens have survived and the analysis is too premature to inspire confidence (Kemp *AESH*, 157). One is therefore thrown back on an attempt to establish the linguistic affiliation of the newcomers. Contemporary texts from Egyptian sources call them ‹*€ mw,* a term roughly designating any "Asiatic," but used especially of those who spoke a W Semitic, "Amorite" tongue (Alt 1961; Redford 1986a); and for most of the score of "Hyksos" names surviving, a W Semitic, "Amorite" etymology may be convincingly proposed (Astour 1965: 94, n. 4; Van Seters 1966: 181–83; Ward 1975; Kempinski 1985). In corroboration may be viewed the notice in the Epitome of Manetho (*apud* Africanus)

that the 15th Dynasty was "Phoenician" in origin (=Eg *Ḫ€ rw/Fnḫw*, general terms for the Levantine littoral; Waddell 1940: 90; Redford 1986b: 200, n. 249).

**B. Advent and Extent of Rule**

The sole, connected account of the Hyksos takeover of power in Egypt comes from Manetho (Waddell 1940: 78–81), who describes it in terms of a destructive invasion which took place under a king called Tutimaeus (plausibly identified with the Djed-mose of TC IX, 9 [Redford 1970: 2, n. 1; Helck 1975: 43]). Since World War II, new evidence has revealed that a sizable proportion of the Egyptian population in the 13th Dynasty comprised an immigrant Asiatic element, convincing a number of scholars to construe the Asiatic assumption of power as a peaceful fulfillment of self-determination on the part of the majority of the population of the E delta. The alleged violence associated with this rise to power could be attributed to the anti-Asiatic bias in Manetho's sources, a bias stemming from much later Assyrian and Persian invasions of Egypt (Säve-Söderbergh 1951; Van Seters 1964; 1966). On the other hand, that the Hyksos perpetrated wanton devastation was part of the record of the texts contemporaneous with their occupation (Kamose I, 4–5, 13); and their stubborn refusal to acculturate themselves militates against the postulate of a prior period of peaceful infiltration and assimilation (Redford 1970).

All sources agree that the Hyksos rulers established their headquarters (and later capital) at Avaris (=Egyptian *Ḥwt-wʿrt,* "Mansion of the Desert Tract [or Department (?)]"; Kees 1961: 197) on the easternmost of the delta branches, a site already patronized by Egyptian kings (Habachi 1974; Helck 1975: 48; Bietak 1984a), now identified as Tell el-Dabʿa, ca. 5 miles NNE of modern Faqus (Bietak 1975a; 1975b; 1979). The sources also agree that Memphis was also taken; a tradition in Eusebius (*Chron.* [ed. Helm] pp. 32, 44) credits Apophis (Epafus/Apis) with having founded Memphis, perhaps a recollection of his residence there. The environs of the old capital and Saqqara were pillaged for their monuments both to adorn Avaris and to be transported abroad (Weinstein 1975: 9–10; Helck 1976a). Find-spots of MB II A-B horizon (first half of 2d millennium B.C.) are confined to the E half of the delta (Tell el-Yehudiyeh, Heliopolis, Farash, Tell ed-Dabʿa, Tell el-Maskhuta, El-Salhiya, Sahaba, etc.) and betray the presence of an unassimilated Asiatic population (Kemp *AESH*, 156–57), perhaps partly nomadic (Gardiner 1946: pl. 6:36ff.). But textual evidence indicated that Hyksos hegemony extended over Middle Egypt as far as Hermopolis (Kamose II, 16) and Kusae (Kamose I, 6). While it is questionable whether the Hyksos ever threatened or took Thebes (as Vernus 1982), inscribed objects found in Upper Egypt mentioning Sheshy (Edfu: Engelbach 1921), Khayan (Gebelein: Von Beckerath 1965: 271), and Apophis (Gebelein, Su-menu: Von Beckerath 1965: 273; James 1961) may indicate local acknowledgment of their authority. Certainly Kamose of the 17th Dynasty seems to confess to vassal status at the outset of his career (Kamose II, 1ff.).

The alleged "world-empire" of the Hyksos, postulated by scholars of an earlier generation on the basis of small objects with royal names found in Crete, Baghdad, and Boghazköy, has long since been rejected. These undoubtedly must be construed as diplomatic gifts or as plunder from Levantine cities centuries later (Von Bissing 1936–37; Stock 1963; Helck 1979: 45–48). But the distribution of Hyksos inscriptions does demarcate a sphere of influence. In Asia scarabs and seal impressions are found sporadically along the Palestinian coast and as far N as Shikmona (Giveon 1965; 1974; 1981), but no farther (Vercoutter 1954: 78), while a passage in the second Kamose stela refers to "300 ships of new wood filled with … all the fine products of Retenu" (Kamose II, 13–15). Such evidence might betoken nothing but simple commerce, but Apophis' dedication to "[Seth], lord of Avaris" who had "placed all lands under his feet" sounds like a record of foreign conquest late in the Hyksos period (Helck 1975: 55). The same impression is conveyed by Apophis' epithets on the scribal palette of Atchu: "stout-hearted on the day of battle, with a name greater than any king's, one who protects strange lands which have never (even) seen him" (Helck 1975: 58). In Nubia numerous scarabs and seal impressions are found, especially in Kerma (Giveon 1983), evidence surely of a lively trade with the Sudan via the oases of the Sahara desert, with overtones of Hyksos suzerainty (Stadelmann 1965a; 1965b; Redford 1977). While some trade with Cyprus (Merrillees 1970; 1971; 1975) and diplomatic contacts with the Aegean (Helck 1979: 48–49) cannot be denied, to postulate Hyksos influence on the shaft graves at Mycenae is too daring (Huxley 1961: 36–37).

**C. The Fifteenth Dynasty**

With very few exceptions Hyksos royal names have come to us either on minor objects in contemporary hieroglyphic transcription or in garbled Greek forms from over one millennium later. Of the first, the number of Hyksos royal scarabs are too meager and their style too unreliable to establish a sequence of kings from such primary material. Moreover, no contemporary king-list has survived from the Hyksos period, and the six names in the Turin Canon of Ramesside times (13th century B.C.) are all missing except for the last, *H€ mwdy*.

From the various versions of the Epitome of Manetho (Waddell 1940) the following names (with variants) emerge for the 15th Dynasty and can be compared with the 17th Dynasty names recounted by Manetho (see Table 1).

Table 1

| | 15th Dynasty | 17th Dynasty |
|---|---|---|
| Josephus' version | Africanus' version | Eusebius' vision |
| Salitis 19 yrs | Saites 19 yrs | Saites 19 yrs |
| Bnon 44 yrs | Bnon 44 yrs | Bnon 40 yrs |
| Apachnan 36 yrs 7 mo | Pachnan 61 yrs | —— |
| Apophis 61 yrs | Staan 50 yrs | —— |
| Iannas 50 yrs 1 mo | Archles 49 yrs | Archles 30 yrs |
| Assis 49 yrs 2 mo | Apopphis 61 yrs | Apophis 14 yrs |

As can be clearly seen from the table, some of these names have been reduplicated in Manetho's 17th Dynasty, owing to his inability to accommodate contemporaneity in his linear king-list (Redford 1986b: 240). Common to all are the three personal names Salitis (Saites), Bnon, and Apophis. Of the five remaining, "Staan" can plausibly be derived from "Iannas" through an orthographic error, while "Archles," through position and length of reign, can be identified with "Assis." The total is thus reduced to six in agreement with the Turin Canon, but the only two which can with certainty be equated with contemporary royal names are Iannas (Bietak 1981) and Apophis. A major discrepancy concerns the position of Apophis (fourth *apud* Josephus, sixth *apud* Africanus); this can now be resolved in favor of Africanus as a result of the discovery of a doorjamb of Khayan from Tell el-Dabʿa. It commemorates "the king's eldest son," whose name is very likely to be read *Ynss* (=Iannas). Iannas (Staan) thus occupies fourth position, and the fact that his father and predecessor was Khayan rules out the order in Josephus.

Of names surviving from earlier pharaonic times, "Sharek" (mentioned in an 8th-century genealogy used to date a high priest of Ptah) *may* be Salitis (Albright's attempt to identify the latter with a "Caludi" [=*Za-a-lu-ti*], chief of the Umman-manda in a 17th-century Hittite text [1957] has gained no acceptance). "Apep" in the same genealogy (appearing one generation later than Sharek) is clearly Apophis. The *ḫ€ mwdi* who fills the sixth and only surviving line in the Turin Canon's list of Hyksos rulers remains problematical. The name occurs in none of the inscribed objects naming kings which come from the Hyksos period itself; and the only recourse, if one wishes to treat the name seriously, is to identify its bearer arbitrarily with one of the attested kings. But the question remains unresolved as to whether the Turin Canon recorded the throne names of the Hyksos kings or their birth names.

Contemporary finds have yielded large numbers of seals and a few stone monuments of the 15th Dynasty rulers. From these, the following cartouche-bearing names and their known titularies can be elicited (see in general Von Beckerath 1965; Helck 1975; Kempinski 1985):

1. The Good God, *M€ ʿ-ib-rʿ*, the son of Re, Sheshy.
2. The Good God, *Mr-wsr-rʿ*, the son of Re, Yaʿḳob-har (Yeivin 1959; Giveon 1981).
3. Horus: He-who-encompasses-the-lands; the Good God, *Swsr.n-rʿ*, son of Re, Khayan.

(4. The Eldest king's-son, Yansas-? [Bietak 1981; Kempinski 1985].)

5. The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Master of the cult, *ʿ€ -sḥ-rʿ,* the son of Re […] (but see Bietak 1984a).
6. The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, *Nb-hpš-rʿ,* the son of Re, Apophis.
7. Horus: who-pacifies-the-Two-Lands, the Good God, *ʿ€ -ḳnn-rʿ,* the son of Re, Apophis.
8. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *ʿ€ -wsr-rʿ,* the son of Re, Apophis.

The position of 1 and 2, although not their relative order, is guaranteed by the style of their scarabs, the lack of sophistication in their carving, and the absence of monumental inscriptions. The order 3–4 is confirmed by the doorjamb from Tell el-Dabʿa (see above). That 8 is close to, or at the end of, the list is demonstrated by the fact that he was the opponent of Kamose of the 17th Dynasty, within a decade of the final expulsion of the Hyksos (Habachi 1972). Finally, it is very likely that 6 and 7, both rarely attested, are earlier forms of 8, and that we are dealing with a single Apophis (Redford 1967: 44, n. 90).

A relatively small number of scarabs provides a group of names, not in cartouche, but preceded by the title *ḥḳ€ ḥ€ s (w)t,* "foreign ruler":

1. Yat (?) (Giveon 1980: 90–91)
2. ʿAper-ʿanat (Martin 1971: no. 318)
3. ʿAnat-har (Von Beckerath 1965: 279; Martin 1971: nos. 349–50)
4. User-ʿanat (Petrie 1917: XXI, D 15.1)
5. Khayan (Von Beckerath 1965: 272)
6. Samḳuna (Martin 1971: no. 1453)

These are sometimes classed as "Lesser Hyksos," and are construed as a line of rulers either earlier than the 15th Dynasty (Hayes, *CAH* 2/2; Albright 1965: 448–49 [distinguishing 3 groups]; *YGC,* 153, n. 1) or following them (references in Redford 1967: 43). But in light of the unanimous tradition that Hyksos domination of Egypt began with Salitis and ended in the reign of Apophis or shortly thereafter, the hegemony of these rulers would have to be located outside Egypt (in contradiction of the provenience of the majority of their scarabs within Egypt). It is much more likely that this group is to be understood as chieftains of small enclaves within the delta, subservient in a quasi-feudal manner to the kings of the 15th Dynasty.

**D. Administration**

Very little is known about how the Hyksos kings governed their domain. The plethora of seals mentioning "treasurers" (*imy-r sḏ€ t* [or *ḫtmt*]; Helck 1975: 57.83; Labib 1936: pl. 6; Säve-Söderbergh 1951: 65; Martin 1971: nos. 479–508, 904–912; Ward 1976) has suggested to some a continued strength in that branch of the government (Helck 1958: 79–80). While attractive, it remains unprovable whether native Egyptian dynasts, as well as Asiatic chiefs, were subordinated as a species of "feudal" vassal to the Hyksos king, modeling their names on his (Stadelmann 1965a: 65). Certainly there were many Egyptians who cooperated with the Hyksos (cf. Kamose II, 17–18) and allowed garrisons to be stationed in their towns (cf. Kamose I, 14).

**E. Religion and Culture**

Initially, it would appear, the ruling class among the invaders retained the religion and social customs they had brought with them, and the rank and file indeed probably never gave them up. Until the reign of Khayan there is a notorious carelessness in the transcription into Egyptian of Hyksos personal names (Giveon 1976; 1981), as though the conquerors cared little how the conquered represented them. At Avaris they maintained a royal ancestor cult of Amorite origin (Redford 1986b: 199–201), constructed temples on Asiatic, not Egyptian, patterns (Bietak 1979: 249–50), and continued to practice non-Egyptian inhumations, with sacrifices of the ass and sheep (Bietak 1979: pl. 15A; Leclant 1986: 245–46). Hyksos seals suggest the worship of a hero-god of the Baal type and a female deity of the Qodsu type (Stadelmann 1967: 14–20). The former came shortly to be identified with the Egyptian Seth, a god renowned locally for his physical strength and wild temperament, who had long been worshipped in Avaris and the E delta (Habachi 1974; Stadelmann 1965b; Helck 1975: 48) and was to be associated with the Hyksos in New Kingdom tradition and folklore (Gardiner 1931: 85–86; Redford 1970: 35–37). In contradiction to later New Kingdom propaganda (Gardiner 1946), the Hyksos kings did not eschew the

worship of Re, the Egyptian sun god, suffering their prenomina to be constructed with Re-infixes, and modeling them on patterns of 13th Dynasty usage (Redford fc.). Again, in the tradition of the 13th Dynasty, the Hyksos maintained the important role assigned to the titular "king's (eldest) son," whether a physical offspring or a surrogate (Giveon 1976; Bietak 1981; Schmitz 1976: 203–57). "King's daughters (and sisters)" are also known (Simpson 1959; Van Seters 1966: 182; Gamer-Wallert 1978: 39–40); and the vivid description of the walls of Avaris recorded by Kamose apparently mentions the harem and its inmates (Kamose II, 9).

By the end of the period of Hyksos occupation the royal family at least appears to have come under the influence of Egyptian culture. Apophis dons the pharaonic image and mimics the sophistication of the true wearer of the Double Crown. Most of the Hyksos monumental texts come from his reign, and include dedications on offering tables (Kamal 1909: 61; Helck 1975: 55, 57), building texts mentioning flagstaves (Helck 1975: 56, no. 79; Simpson 1959); and folkloristic tradition remembers him for having built a temple to Seth and to have modeled part of the ritual on that of Re (Gardiner 1931: 85–86; Goedicke 1986b: 11–14). The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus dates to his 33d year (Peet 1923: pl. 4), and the Westcar papyrus may likewise have been copied at this time (*AEL* 1: 215). Apophis even had pretentions to literary activity in the hieroglyphic script, for he calls himself a "scribe of Re, taught by Thoth himself … multi-talented (?) on the day when he recited faithfully all the difficult (passages) of the writings …" (Berlin 7798).

**F. Expulsion**

The Thebaid was not initially, or directly, affected by the Hyksos incursion, and thither fled the remnants of the native regime ousted from the Middle Kingdom capital of Itj-towy (Hayes 1953). Here, shorn of its former Nubian (Säve-Söderbergh 1956) and N holdings, the 13th Dynasty withered away and was succeeded by an equally impoverished 16th Dynasty whose ephemeral kings were once listed in the final, surviving column (xi) of the Turin Canon. These in turn were supplanted during the first quarter of the 16th century B.C. by a 17th Dynasty, possibly of partly Nubian extraction (Redford 1967: 67–69; Harris and Weeks 1973: 123), and arguably in some way related to the movement into the Thebaid of "Pan-grave" mercenaries (Kemp, *AESH*, 169–71).

That Thebes, the savior of Egypt in the First Intermediate Period, would once again consider itself the instrument of the gods' will in initiating a war of liberation is understandable; still, the immediate cause of the outbreak of hostilities with the Hyksos dynasts remains obscure. (The Tale of Apophis and Seqnenre of the 19th Dynasty, which blames Apophis for having picked a quarrel over a fantastic and implausible charge, is to be discounted as pure folklore [Redford 1970: 35–38; Störk 1981a; Goedicke 1986a]). The mummy of Seqnenre Ta‹o shows signs of a violent death, and it is almost certain that he fell in battle with the Hyksos (Bietak and Strouhal 1974).

The fortunately surviving text of two stelae of Seqnenre's son and successor Kamose (Gardiner 1916; Habachi 1956; 1972; Smith 1976) strongly implies that, on Seqnenre's death, Kamose had been reduced to vassal status and bound by treaty (Störk 1981b). This he broke unilaterally by invading Hyksos territory N of Kusae. The fifteenth Upper Egyptian nome of Nefrusy was captured, and the seventeenth Upper Egyptian nome Cynopolis was destroyed; Apophis' attempt to raise Nubian support was thwarted by the timely capture of the Hyksos messenger on the oasis route. But while Kamose penetrated as far as Avaris and was able to destroy a merchant fleet in the harbor, he was unable to sustain a formal siege, and the lapse into vague generalizations at the end of his second stela may conceal a reverse.

His younger brother Ahmose succeeded him and pursued the war by recovering the lost ground and by capturing Memphis. From *obiter dicta* in contemporary biographies and daybooks it transpires that in the second month of summer in the 11th year of an unnamed Hyksos king (= Khamudy?) Heliopolis was taken, and two months later the border fort of Sile fell (Helck 1976a; Goedicke 1986b). Avaris itself suffered a series of assaults but must have been captured fairly soon afterward (Vandersleyen 1971). A series of attacks over three years on Sharuhen (perhaps Tell el-Ajjul; Kempinski 1974), apparently a base or residence of the Hyksos royal family, resulted in the reduction of this site also (Goedicke 1974: 40f.; 1986b: 42; *ANET*, 233–34). Thereafter the term *ḥḳ€ (w) ḫ€ swt* occurs sporadically during the 18th and

19th Dynasties (see *ANET*, 230–34), especially in the inscriptions of Thutmose III (*ANET*, 234–41); however, it is doubtful whether there was any blood or political relationship between the former 15th Dynasty and the king of Kadesh whose minions aimed at marching on Egypt during the reign of Thutmose III.

**G. Later Traditions**

The Hyksos invasion lived on in oral and written tradition, both in Egypt and the E Mediterranean littoral, long after their expulsion. In the 6th–5th centuries B.C. a reasonably accurate portrayal could still be written up in Demotic, based on surviving sources (Redford 1986b: 241–42). A more distorted recollection of the 15th Dynasty and its expulsion underlies the Greek legends about Io and Danaus (Berard 1952a; 1952b; Astour 1965: 91–94); while the "Canaanite" version of these events allegedly inspired the Hebrew "Descent" and "Exodus" legends (Redford 1987).

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## *ARCHAEOLOGY*

Properly speaking, the term "Hyksos archaeology" refers only to the material remains associated with the Canaanite rulers of Egypt during Manetho's 15th Dynasty (ca. 1648–1540 B.C.). However, archaeologists generally use this phrase in a broader sense, i.e., to encompass all of the archaeological materials relating to the Asiatics living in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period. Also coming under this heading are any sites and remains outside the Nile valley that are connected in some way to the Hyksos rule in Egypt.

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A. Archaeological Sources in Egypt
B. Tell el-Dab‹a and Other Hyksos Sites
C. Hyksos Fortifications
D. Hyksos Objects
E. Trade in the Hyksos Period
F. End of the Hyksos Period

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**A. Archaeological Sources in Egypt**

The primary archaeological data for the Hyksos come from a small number of sites located E of the ancient Pelusiac branch of the Nile in the E delta (Bietak 1975b: 102, 165, fig. 35). These include Tell el-Yahudiyeh (Petrie 1906: 3–15; Tufnell 1978; Leclant and Clerc 1985: 344); Tell el-Maskhuta and a series of small pastoral sites along the Wadi Tumilat (Holladay 1982: 44–47, 50; Redmount 1986); Inshas (Anonymous 1949: 12); Tell Farasha (Yacoub 1983); and especially Tell el-Dab‹a (Bietak 1968; 1970; 1975b; 1979; 1984b; 1989). Unpublished Asiatic remains have been reported from Tell Basta, Ghita, and Tell el-Sahaba (van den Brink 1982: 56–57). Tell el-Dab‹a is the only urban settlement in this group. Tell el-Maskhuta had a small, seasonally occupied Asiatic village with associated burials, while Tell el-Yahudiyeh has yielded a cemetery and perhaps a large defensive enclosure (but see below). The remaining Asiatic sites have revealed only cemetery materials so far. Other important sources of archaeological data on the Hyksos include scarabs inscribed with Hyksos royal names (which have been found in Egypt, Nubia, and Palestine) and a small number of inscribed monuments (e.g., architectural blocks and metal artifacts inscribed with Hyksos names and the two stelae of King Kamose) from the delta, Nile valley, and outside Egypt.

**B. Tell el-Dab‹a and Other Hyksos Sites**

The principal Hyksos site in Egypt is Avaris (Eg *Ḥwt-w‹rt*), located in the Khatana-Qantir region of the NE delta. The ruins of this enormous city cover an area of about 2.5 $km^2$. Identification of this site as both the Hyksos capital and the later Ramesside residence called Piramesse was first made by Hamza (1930: 64–68). The largest surviving portion of Avaris is at Tell el-Dab‹a, which has been under excavation since 1966. As the only Egyptian site where continuous occupation by Asiatics during the Second Intermediate Period can be traced, Tell el-Dab‹a is the primary source of archaeological data and cultural information on the Hyksos.

The two principal areas of excavation at Tell el-Dabʿa are Tell A and Area F/1. At Tell A, which has the best-documented sequence, the Second Intermediate Period strata are labeled G through D/2. The levels within this sequence that can be assigned to the Hyksos period are E/2, E/1, D/3, and D/2 (Bietak 1979: 236–37; 1984b: 37, table 1; 1989: 95–96, fig. 7). The chronological placement of these occupational levels is uncertain: Bietak (1984b: table 3) dates these strata to ca. 1660/1630–1540/1530 B.C., while Dever (1985: 78–79, fig. 2) opts for an earlier dating (ca. 1725–1550 B.C.). Stratum G represents an early 13th Dynasty occupation and includes a palace of Egyptian type in Area F/1. The excavator attributes the architectural and other cultural changes in the succeeding Stratum F to Asiatics arriving from the area of Byblos at the time of the 13th Dynasty. He construes this supposed movement to Avaris as providing the impetus for the rise of Hyksos rule in Egypt (Bietak 1987: 52). Whether there is any connection between this purported migration and the Manethonian account of the Hyksos takeover of Egypt as a violent event (Waddell 1940: 78–81) is unknown, but the absence of distinctively N Levantine architectural traditions, ceramic types, and funerary offerings in Stratum F requires a cautious approach to the theory of a Syrian influx. (For the claim of "material culture parallels" between Hyksos period sites in the Wadi Tumilat and N Syria, see Redmount 1986: 22.)

The religious architecture and burial practices at Tell el-Dabʿa reflect the Levantine heritage of the Hyksos. The major religious structures at the site include an immense cult temple (Temple III) and two mortuary temples (Temples I and II), all of which are of Canaanite or mixed Egyptian-Canaanite types; these structures were erected during the time of Strata F and E/3 (Bietak 1989: 82–84). The principal tomb type at Tell el-Dabʿa through most of the Second Intermediate Period is the vaulted mudbrick chamber tomb. Donkey sacrifices appear outside some of these tombs (Bietak 1979: 245–46, pl. 15A). Similar tombs, also with donkey sacrifices, are attested at Tell el-Maskhuta (Holladay 1982: 44, figs. 66–67) and at Inshas (Anonymous 1949: 12, unnumbered pl. at top of p. 9). Two tombs having mudbrick vaulting but no donkey burials were found in a small MB II–III cemetery at Tell el-Yahudiyeh; the pottery in this cemetery is comparable to that in Strata E/1, D/3, and D/2 at Tell el-Dabʿa (Petrie 1906: 10–14, pls. 5–8, 12; Tufnell 1978: 101, n. 38). Vaulted MB II–III tombs have also been reported from Tell el-Sahaba, Tell Basta, and Ghita in the delta (van den Brink 1982: 56–57). Bietak (1987: 52), following van den Brink (1982), views these tombs as possibly Mesopotamian in origin, whereas Dever (1985: 82, n. 9) considers them a local adaptation of the Palestinian MB I rectangular cist tomb. The equine burials are paralleled in Palestine at Jericho, Lachish, and Tell el-ʿAjjul (Stiebing 1971: 114–16).

The material culture of the Hyksos was an amalgam of Syro-Palestinian and Egyptian features. There was a gradual trend toward Egyptianization in the burial practices and ceramics at Tell el-Dabʿa during the 17th and early 16th centuries B.C. (This development has also been observed at Hyksos period sites in the Wadi Tumilat: see Redmount 1986: 22–23.) Tombs in the later Hyksos phases (especially Strata D/3 and D/2) also sometimes contain Cypriot pottery and follow Egyptian rather than Asiatic funerary practices (Bietak 1989: 79–81). Among the metal objects in the burials at Tell el-Dabʿa and at several of the other delta sites are bronze daggers and axheads of Levantine forms. Egyptian goods in these tombs include scarabs, jewelry, and alabaster vessels. No royal tombs have been discovered at Tell el-Dabʿa, but a rich collection of funerary offerings, possibly from a Hyksos royal burial, is said to come from El Salhiya, 10 km SE of Tell el-Dabʿa (Fischer 1969–70). The outstanding piece in this group, which is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, is an electrum circlet with a magnificent stag's head at the front (Aldred 1971: 204–5, pl. 59).

**C. Hyksos Fortifications**

Data on Hyksos fortifications in Egypt are minimal. The high water table and activities of the *sebbākhin* have obscured all traces of the defensive system at Tell el-Dabʿa (Bietak 1979: 268, 287). Large square embankments of sand with brick facing and rounded corners have been found at Tell el-Yahudiyeh (Petrie 1906: 3–10, pls. 2–4) and Heliopolis (Petrie and Mackay 1915: 3–4, pls. 1–3). The similarity of these two enclosures to embankments constructed in the Levant during the MB has led many archaeologists to identify them as Hyksos defense systems, but a growing number of scholars (mostly Egyptologists) feel

that these embankments were retaining walls for Egyptian temple foundations (Ricke 1935; Wright 1968; cf. Kemp 1982: 744).

**D. Hyksos Objects**

Objects of substantial size inscribed with the names of Hyksos rulers are rare outside the delta (Giveon 1983). The southernmost occurrence of such finds is at Gebelein, where a granite block of Khyan (Daressy 1894: 42) and a limestone lintel of Awoserre Apophis (Daressy 1893: 26) were found. The paucity of Hyksos monuments and the lack of Asiatic settlements in the Nile valley suggest that the Hyksos maintained their authority in Middle Egypt and much of Upper Egypt through local vassals. This interpretation accords well with the reference in the "second stela" of the 17th Dynasty Theban king Kamose to Egyptians serving the Asiatics (Habachi 1972: 38, fig. 24, lines 17–18). The history of Hyksos expansion and rule in Egypt cannot be traced, since most Hyksos rulers are known solely from the appearance of their names on scarabs and other small objects. Some success has been achieved in arranging the Hyksos kings in chronological order by a typological analysis of the royal-name scarabs (Ward 1984). Numerous scarabs inscribed with the names and/or titles of officials who lived during this period and may have been Hyksos officials (e.g., the Chancellor Ḥar) have been found, but the rarity of non-Egyptian names on these scarabs (see, e.g., Giveon 1976: 127) makes it difficult to distinguish scarabs of Hyksos officials who adopted Egyptian names from scarabs belonging to contemporary Egyptian bureaucrats.

**E. Trade in the Hyksos Period**

The Asiatics in the E delta maintained an active commercial relationship with Cyprus, the Levant, and Nubia. This international trade appears to have been an important factor in the development of their wealth and power. The second stela of Kamose reports the seizure by the Theban king of hundreds of cargo ships in the harbor at Avaris (Habachi 1972: 37, fig. 23, lines 13–15). The goods aboard these ships included many substances originating in or traded through W Asia: gold, silver, bronze, lapis lazuli, turquoise, oil, incense, fat, honey, and precious woods. Stone and faience vessels, jewelry, amulets, scarabs, and other Egyptian merchandise were exported to the S Levant in exchange for such raw materials and finished products. Many Egyptian objects have been found at Tell el-ʿAjjul, Gezer, Tell el-Farʿah (South), Jericho, Megiddo, and other Palestinian sites. The widespread distribution of Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware in Egypt, Upper and Lower Nubia, the Levant, and Cyprus and the manufacture of this pottery in Egypt as well as the Levant provides further confirmation for the existence of an extensive trade network (Kaplan 1980; Kaplan, Harbottle, and Sayre 1982; Bietak 1987). The discovery of Middle Kingdom statuary in MB II–III and even later contexts in Palestine as well as in the Aegean and Nubia suggests that some of this trade consisted of items looted by the Hyksos from earlier Egyptian cemeteries (Weinstein 1974; Helck 1976a). The horse was first brought into Egypt from W Asia during the Second Intermediate Period (Boessneck 1976: 25; Dixon, Clutton-Brock, and Burleigh 1979), but it is unclear what part the Hyksos may have played in its introduction and dispersal up the Nile valley. The absence of occupational remains in N Sinai during the Second Intermediate Period indicates that Egyptian-Levantine trade went by sea rather than overland (Oren 1979).

**F. End of the Hyksos Period**

According to the autobiographical inscription of a naval officer from El Kab named Ahmose Son of Abana, the first king of the 18th Dynasty, Ahmose, besieged and plundered Avaris (Sethe 1961: 4, lines 13–14). Erosion and modern agricultural activity make it impossible to determine whether Avaris was destroyed by Ahmose, but occupation in the latest Hyksos stratum (D/2) at Tell el-Dabʿa ended abruptly, the tombs of this phase were looted, and the area was largely abandoned until the end of the 18th Dynasty (Bietak 1979: 268; 1989: 79). The Ahmose Son of Abana text reports that, after the taking of Avaris, Ahmose besieged and plundered Sharuhen (Sethe 1961: 4, lines 14–15). This town should be identified with Tell el-ʿAjjul in Gaza (Kempinski 1974), which has produced a large number of Hyksos royal-name scarabs and was probably a Hyksos stronghold and trading emporium (Weinstein 1981: 8; fc.). The lower city and Palace I at Tell el-ʿAjjul show evidence of a major destruction (Petrie 1931–32, 1: 3; 2: 4; Albright 1938: 348–51). Many other towns in S Palestine were destroyed and/or abandoned at the end of

MB III or early in LB I. Dever (1985), Weinstein (1981; fc.), and the majority of Palestinian archaeologists attribute most or all of the devastation to the Egyptian army, while Redford (1973; 1979a; 1979b: 278, 286, n. 146; 1982: 117), Shea (1979), and Hoffmeier (1989) deny that the Egyptians were directly responsible for these events.

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**HYMENAEUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Hymenaios* (Ὑμέναιος)]. Hymenaeus was a heretical Christian, apparently living in Ephesus (cf. 1 Tim 1:3), mentioned in connection with Alexander in 1 Tim 1:20 and with Philetus in 2 Tim 2:17. That the references are to the same Hymenaeus is generally agreed since in each instance he is characterized as having deviated from the faith.

From 1 Tim 1:19 it is learned that Hymenaeus and Alexander "by rejecting conscience" had "made shipwreck of their faith." As a result, Paul "delivered [them] to Satan" that they might "learn not to blaspheme" (1:20). Although one's attention is often immediately captured by the vivid image of shipwreck, a metaphor used often in Greek philosophy (Dibelius and Conzelmann *The Pastoral Epistles* Hermeneia, 33), most commentators focus on the deliverance. This is reminiscent of Paul's instruction to the Corinthians concerning the incestuous man in their community: "When you are assembled, and my spirit is present, with the power of our Lord Jesus, you are to deliver this man to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus" (1 Cor 5:5). The author of 1

Timothy, presumably not Paul, must have known this text, yet he obviously does not intend for Hymenaeus and Alexander to experience "destruction of the flesh," i.e., death, in the same physical sense implied in 1 Cor 5:5. Nor does he envision deliverance to Satan as mere exclusion, putting them outside the Church, back into Satan's sphere. Rather, in 1 Timothy there is a nuance of potential reform before death through punishment. The author does, however, appear to expect physical consequences (1 Cor 11:32 and 2 Cor 6:9 may express a similar understanding). As Dibelius and Conzelmann (Hermeneia, 34) note, "Since 'Satan' in 1 Tim 1:20 … can only refer to his function as the destroyer of body and of life, one has to think of sickness or the like." Thus it appears that great misfortune was wished upon Hymenaeus and Alexander with some thought, although the emphasis probably remains on punishment, that they might repent of their blasphemy, the precise content of which is never stated.

The author of 1 Timothy presupposes, unlike Paul in 1 Cor 5:5, that the apostle possessed magical powers enabling him to deliver the recalcitrant Hymenaeus and Alexander to Satan. Paul himself, however, understands such a deliverance to be a community action done in the "power of our Lord Jesus" (1 Cor 5:5). For this reason, commentators often draw parallels between 1 Tim 1:20 and various magical papyri (Collins 1980: 258). At the same time, it must be noted that a different stance is presupposed in 1 Timothy, where Paul presumably had carried out the excommunication of Hymenaeus and Alexander, while in 1 Cor 5:5 he instructs the Corinthians to carry out the action in his absence.

From 2 Tim 2:17, where Hymenaeus is linked with Philetus, it is learned that these two men had "swerved from the truth by holding that the resurrection is past already." Apparently they had embraced a gnostic-type doctrine of non-bodily resurrection which viewed that event as having merely a spiritual sense, i.e., the resurrection of a person from a sinful past. Hymenaeus and Philetus, since they were "upsetting the faith of some" (2:18), must have been teachers or leaders in the Ephesian church and rather effective ones at that. The author of 2 Timothy cites them as an example of those to be avoided in their "disputing about works, which does no good, but only ruins the hearers" (2:14). Timothy is warned that "such godless chatter … will lead people into more and more ungodliness, and their talk will eat its way like gangrene" (2:16–17). Unlike 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy does not suggest that Hymenaeus was excommunicated.

Given the convergence of names and ideas between the Pastorals and the later apocryphal *Acts of Paul,* one would expect to find Hymenaeus and Philetus in the apocryphal *Acts.* While they are not present (Alexander is present, probably the same as above), their position on resurrection is prominent and its proponents are DEMAS and Hermogenes. Regarding the possibility that characters in the Pastoral letters such as Hymenaeus, Alexander, and Philetus might be fictional creations of the deutero-Pauline author, see HERMOGENES.

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## HYMN OF THE PEARL.

*The Hymn of the Pearl* (also entitled *The Hymn of the Soul,* and *The Hymn of Jude Thomas the Apostle in the Country of the Indians*) is a mythological poem "which presents a Hellenistic myth of the human soul's entry into bodily incarnation and its eventual disengagement" (Layton 1987: 366). This myth of human salvation is not literally expressed but is conveyed in the form of an allegorical folktale, possibly originally oral, in which a young prince from the East (Parthia?) is sent on a westward mission to Egypt to rescue "the one pearl" from a dragon, is distracted and forgets his true identity and mission, is revived by a message of remembrance sent from his father the king, and finally returns home with his prize pearl amid great pomp and circumstance.

### A. The Manuscript Tradition and the Acts of Thomas

The text of *Hymn Pearl* is only known as one part of a larger work in the early Christian literary tradition of the apocryphal acts of the apostles (MacDonald 1986: 1–6; Bovon and Junod 1986: 161–71) known as the *Acts of Thomas* (Klijn 1962). Considering the relationship between *Hymn Pearl* and *Acts Thom.,* researchers have yet to determine (1) whether or not *Hymn Pearl* existed prior to the composition of *Acts Thom.* and (2) whether it was included in the first edition of *Acts Thom.* or is a secondary addition

to that text. As the "host text" for *Hymn Pearl*, *Acts Thom.* itself purports to transmit stories of the eastward journeys and miraculous activities of the ascetic apostle Didymus Jude Thomas and his divine twin brother Jesus. As is typical with many of the apocryphal acts of the apostles, *Acts Thom.* has a rich but complicated ms tradition (Poirier 1981). Although that tradition is limited to the Syriac (6 mss) and Greek (75 mss) languages, scholars have not reached a consensus concerning which of these two was the original language of composition. The *Hymn Pearl* is found in only two of the 81 extant mss containing *Acts Thom.:* a Syr ms dated to 936 C.E. and a Gk ms of ca. 1050 C.E. Also extant is an 11th-century epitome by Nicephoras of Thessalonica based on the Gk version (Lipsius and Bonnet 1903: 219–24; cf. Poirier 1981).

**B. Time and Place of Composition**

All indicators of time and place of composition are obscure and offer no easy solutions. The relevant data and most likely options have been discussed by Layton (367–69) and are reviewed here. First, the Syriac style and content of the story demonstrate that *Hymn Pearl* was composed independently of *Acts Thom.,* suggesting that it was either one of the author's sources which he incorporated into *Acts Thom.* or was interpolated into the text at a later time, from an unknown place, and by an unknown editor. The second option concerns the relationship between *Hymn Pearl* and the other literature from the Syrian Thomas tradition (see THOMAS, GOSPEL OF (NHC II, 2) and THOMAS THE CONTENDER, BOOK OF) which employ the distinctive theological model of "divine twinship" (Layton, 359–64) reflected in the tripartite titular name *Didymus* (Gk title: twin) *Judas* (personal name) *Thomas* (Aram title: twin). If *Hymn Pearl* was composed in the general locale of the Thomas tradition (Syrian Edessa), one could argue that the strong similarity with Thomas theology (model of divine twinship) is due to the fact that *Hymn Pearl* either provided the model for the other Thomas texts (in which case *Hymn Pearl* would predate those texts) or it presupposed that model (in which case *Hymn Pearl* would postdate those texts). The chronological order of composition for these three texts is a crucial factor yet to be determined by researchers. But if *Hymn Pearl* was not composed in Syrian Edessa, then the interpretive framework of the text cannot be supplied by reference to the other texts in the Syrian Thomas tradition and their model of divine twinship. With this option, one would suppose that *Hymn Pearl* originated in another religious milieu, was secondarily introduced into the Syrian Thomas tradition, and was then adapted to the new religious context. Layton notes that the favorable mention (*Hymn Pearl* 38) of the Parthian dynasty of Persia (247 B.C.E.–224 C.E.), which lost control of Syrian Edessa in 165 C.E., strongly suggests that *Hymn Pearl* could have been composed in Syrian Edessa sometime before 165 C.E.

**C. The Allegory**

A résumé of the story line is presented in the introduction to this brief article and need not be expanded here (for recent English translation, see Layton, 371–75). The allegorical theme of a highly desirable pearl was a popular image in antiquity and is found in Christian form in the so-called "Parable of the Pearl of Great Price" (Matt 13:45–46 and *Gos. Thom.* 76; cf. Matt 13:44). Similarly, the theme of a young man's journey into personal loss, self-recognition, and final restoration is also known in the so-called "Parable of the Prodigal Son" (Luke 15:11–32; but cf. Phil 2:5–11).

The hermeneutical key which unlocks the deeper allegorical meaning of the myth is given at several points near the end of the story. The prince's garment (*Hymn Pearl* 76–78, 88, 98) is clearly shown to be an allegorical representation of his newly gained "self-recognition" (= gnosis?) which ushers him into the realm of authentic existence and peace. With these suggestive clues to the allegorical method of interpretation "an ancient reader could work back through the story at another level, retelling it as an account or model of the quest for self-knowledge and salvation" (Layton, 366).

The lack of any exclusively sectarian elements (whether Jewish, Christian, or other) is striking and suggests a popular allegorical story which was adaptable to any number of specific religious sects in numerous cultures. The general requirement for its adaptation was the presupposition in the receiving group that the human soul had its birth and true home in a spiritual realm, that the soul's present condition of material incarnation was negative, and that it could be rescued from this unfortunate fate only through a

spiritual experience of self-recognition which would ultimately free the soul from the shackles of the fleshly body and the material world.

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**HYMN OF THE THREE YOUNG MEN.** See DANIEL, ADDITIONS TO.

**HYMNS, EARLY CHRISTIAN.** The term "hymn" is derived from the Greek word *hymnos,* which in classical Greek from Homer on means a song of praise in honor of the gods, heroes, and conquerors. In the NT it is used in reference to songs of praise honoring the God of Israel (Matt 26:30; Mark 14:26; Acts 16:25).

**A. Terminology**

In certain passages in the Pauline Epistles (Eph 5:19; Col 3:16) the word *hymnos* is used with two other terms as well. One is *psalmos,* which was already used by the translators of the LXX for the Hebrew book of Psalms (Heb *tĕhillîm,* or "songs of praise"). In classical Greek the word *psalmos* meant "plucking musical strings with the fingers" and, later, a song sung to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument. (No doubt this was found by the translators to be the most satisfactory Greek equivalent because of the instrumental implications of the superscriptions to many of the psalms.)

The other term used by Paul is *ōdē pneumatikē* ("spiritual song"). The Greek word *ōdē* means a song, lay, or strain (from which derives the English word "ode"). In the plural it means "lyric poetry." While these terms might be considered synonymous, there must be some distinction, be it ever so slight.

**B. Songs, Hymns, and Psalms in the Bible**

**1. Complete Hymns.** The term *ōdē* (or song) seems to be generic. The fact that Paul feels the need to add the adjective *pneumatikē* ("spiritual") seems to corroborate this view. It was not an ordinary or secular, pagan, heathen song that they were to sing, but a spiritual one, that is, one that had Christian orientation.

The other two terms, *hymnos* and *psalmos,* then, are specific, the latter taking the characteristics of the OT psalms if not the psalms themselves. It is to be remembered that Jewish Christians were accustomed to using the biblical book of Psalms in the synagogue and gentile converts had the Psalter available in the LXX. Besides the psalms themselves there were other OT songs such as the song of Moses (Exod 15:1–18), the song of Deborah and Barak (Judges 5), and the song of Hannah (1 Sam 2:1–10), to name but a few. In addition there are the various NT songs (especially in Luke), such as the *Magnificat* (Luke 1:46–55), the *Benedictus* (Luke 1:68–79), and the *Nunc Dimittis* (Luke 2:29–32), which bear close resemblance to the psalms.

Hymnologists are agreed that these NT songs were inspired by older poems, for example, the *Magnificat* by the song of Hannah, and the *Benedictus* by the language used by the OT prophets and by the eighteen benedictions used in the temple service. Szövérffy (*NCE* 7: 287) indicates that "with few exceptions, early Christian hymns were not written down but were very often the product of sudden inspiration. They probably resembled Hebrew Psalms and Canticles, using parallelism in structure, long enumerations of the attributes of the Deity, Etc."

**2. Fragmentary Hymns.** Many hymnologists also believe that fragments of primitive hymns can be found throughout the NT. This certainly harmonizes with Szövérffy's assertion regarding momentary and sudden inspiration and an attempt to recapture the thought later. Most of these fragments seem to be found

in the Pauline Epistles and one might conclude that he was quoting from them as he was writing to the various congregations he had founded, and he might even originally have heard them there.

In general these fragments fall into two categories. The first category includes those that are doctrinal, didactic, or liturgical in scope. Some examples of this first category can be found in Eph 5:14; 1 Tim 3:16 and 6:15–16; 2 Tim 2:11–13; Titus 3:4–7; Phil 2:6–11; and Rev 22:17. Many of the early teachings of the Christian Church seem to be found in some of these hymn fragments. It must be remembered that outside the OT there were no written documents in the Church of the apostolic age except those that appeared and were circulated either as general epistles (such as those of John, James, and Peter) or the specific letters of Paul; the gospels only began to appear later. It must also be kept in mind that many other documents were being circulated, and that controversy and conflict already appeared at this early time as a result of conflicting views being circulated by those who opposed the apostles. Paul, the great Jewish convert, zealous missionary, and champion of orthodoxy, seems to have an abundance of these primitive hymn fragments supporting and reflecting his views about the essence of the Christian gospel.

In the second category are those that are doxological in content. These are all found in the book of Revelation (1:4–8; 4:8; 4:11; 5:9–10; 5:12; 11:15; 11:17–18; and 15:3–4).

While none of these fragments are strophic (as are later Greek and Latin hymns), they are nevertheless in metrical prose (as is the *Te Deum* of a later date), and they certainly meet the standards of good poetry; there is music in their very sound.

**C. Extrabiblical References to Early Christian Hymns**

We also gain a little information about early Christian hymnody from the famous letter of Pliny the Younger to the Emperor Trajan, written shortly after the close of the apostolic era (ca. A.D. 107–15). In asking the emperor how he should deal with the Christians, Pliny, governor of Bithynia and Pontus, briefly summarized their gatherings on the basis of information he had been able to glean through interrogation of witnesses. The pertinent portion of his letter states that "they were accustomed to come together on a regular day (probably Sunday) before dawn and to sing a song alternately to Christ as to a god."

Another early source, the *Apostolic Constitutions* (completed before the end of the 4th century), mentions a number of primitive Greek hymns which may very well have been the sort of "hymn to Christ" which Pliny refers to in his letter (Funk 1905: 7, 47, 454; 8, 13, 517).

One of these hymns is the *hymnos eothinos* or "morning hymn," which is also found in a number of other ancient sources, such as were appended to the Codex Alexandrinus (5th century). These "anonymous hymns" had considerable influence in shaping the liturgy of the early Church. The morning hymn is an expansion of the greater doxology ("Glory to God in the highest"). Another hymn mentioned in the *Apostolic Constitutions* is an "evening hymn" *(hymnos espirinos).* There are three noteworthy sections to this hymn: (1) the beginning seems to be taken from Psalm 113: "Praise the Lord! Praise, O servants of the Lord, praise the name of the Lord!"; (2) the next portion paraphrases the "Gloria in Excelsis" section of the morning hymn; and (3) the last portion consists of the song of Simeon (Luke 2:29–32), the *Nunc Dimittis* (Funk 1905: 7; 8).

Numerous other hymns are to be found in these documents, but we shall restrict our discussion to those which have been retained in present-day liturgies. One of these is the *Tersanctus* or "Thrice Holy" taken from the opening verses of Isaiah 6 (the *qādôš* of the Hebrew liturgy). In the Clementine liturgy it appears in this form: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Sabaoth. The whole creation is full of His glory. Praise to all ages. Amen." (Werner 1959: 284). The liturgies of St. Mark, St. James, and St. John Chrysostom have slight alterations to this basic text, the latter two including the "Hosanna" section: "Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest." (Brightman 1922: 43).

In passing we should also make mention of another trinitarian hymn which became important in the Eastern Church. This is the *Trisagion,* which should not be confused with the *Tersanctus.* In the Eastern liturgies it is a short hymn verse sung after the Little Entrance. The text is as follows: "Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us." It is also found in the old Roman Good Friday liturgy in both

Latin and Greek, sung antiphonally by the choirs. (In the latter language it seems to be a vestigial remainder from the days when the liturgy was still recited in Greek.)

A final hymn is the lesser doxology, *Doxa Patri,* which is identical with the Latin *Gloria Patri* ("Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit: as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen"). In Rome it was already in use at the time of Clement (ca. 91). In the Western usage of St. Benedict (ca. 480) the lesser doxology was to be used after each psalm, a practice which has persisted to the present day and gives a Christian trinitarian orientation to the OT psalms. The same applies to the three Lukan canticles *(Magnificat, Benedictus, Nunc Dimittis)* which do not themselves actually contain such an orientation.

The use of hymns not derived from Scriptural sources varied in certain locations throughout the Church and were used sparingly in the liturgy, mostly as paraliturgical devotions—this as late as the 4th and 5th centuries. Duchesne (1903: 452, n. 1) points out that down to the 9th century hymns were unknown at Rome, "chants, psalms, and other Scriptural canticles alone being used."

It was primarily because of the activity of certain heretical sects (such as Gnosticism) that some hymns found gradual acceptance in order to combat heresy with truth. In his interesting collection of heretical writings from the early Christian periods Grant (1961: 105, 115; 116–22) quotes a number of these gnostic hymns. On the other hand, Schalk (1978: 189) points up the fact that "a steady hymn production was maintained by the more orthodox hymnists." Among these is to be found the evening hymn *Phos hilaron hagias doxas* which has come down to us in translation as "O Gladsome Light, O Grace."

It would seem in order to conclude our discussion by making a brief comparison of Eastern and Western liturgies, the substantial lack of early non-Scriptural hymns notwithstanding.

The culmination of all Eastern rites is to be found in the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom (Brightman 1922), which is still in usage today. The elaborateness and richness of the Divine Liturgy with its numerous litanies and supplications make the Roman Tridentine Mass with its abbreviated ninefold *Kyrie* somewhat pale by comparison.

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M. ALFRED BICHSEL

**HYMNS, THANKSGIVING.** See THANKSGIVING HYMNS (1QH).

**HYPOCORISTIC NAMES.** See NAMES, HYPOCORISTIC.

**HYPOSTASIS OF THE ARCHONS** (NHC II,*4*). Cast in the form of a revelatory discourse, the *Hypostasis of the Archons* (NHC II,*4*) from the Nag Hammadi Library is a Sethian gnostic treatise in which an anonymous teacher offers secret knowledge *(gnosis)* to a gnostic Christian community. This knowledge clarifies both the origin and nature of the evil archons (rulers) who created and presently dominate the visible universe and the situation of the elect in their struggle against these archons.

Utilizing a clearly gnostic interpretation of the Genesis 1–6 story line, the author recounts the drama of salvation from the creation of the material universe by the blind Samael (alias laldabaoth), to the fabrication of Adam and Eve, to the births of Seth and Norea (sister of Seth), to the Flood and Noah's role (86.27–92.19). There follows a revelation to Norea by the great angel Eleleth of the ultimate banishment of the ignorant creator laldabaoth, the advent of the savior ("the true human being" [96.32]), the destruction of the evil archons, and the salvation of the "spirituals" (93.13–97.20). The final victory is achieved through the savior's gift of "gnosis" to the elect, informing them of their intrinsic, spiritual, immortal nature.

The presence in the text of Hellenistic-Jewish speculation on the figures of Sophia and Norea, the homiletic interpretation of Genesis 1–6, the influence of the early Church's christology, and the presence of religiously oriented Middle Platonic philosophical tradition focused on ontological and theological speculation—all have led most scholars to identify *Hyp. Arch.* with the Sethian cycle of texts found in the Nag Hammadi Library (e.g., Schenke 1981: 588–616; Bullard and Layton 1989: 220ff.; Layton 1974: 371–72). Also, comments in the text about Norea (91.34–94.2), daughter of Eve, reveal connections of *Hyp. Arch.* with a literary tradition about this figure found among the Sethian Ophites, Jewish apocryphal and rabbinical works, and *Orig. World* in NHC II,*5.* Indeed, the last-mentioned refers to a "Book of Norea" (102,11.24–25) to which Epiphanius alludes (*Haer.* 39.5.2). Some would identify *Hyp. Arch.* with this "Book," though convincing demonstration has not been made.

While some maintain *Hyp. Arch.* was originally a non-Christian gnostic text that has been subsequently Christianized (Hedrick 1986: 9; Barc 1981: 10ff.; Roberge 1980: 7–9), an increasing number of commentators view the work as Christian gnostic, the author drawing the structure and much terminology in the text from the only authority actually cited, the "spirit-inspired Apostle," Paul (Bullard 1970: 161; Pagels 1986: 258, 266; Layton 1974: 363f.).

*Hyp. Arch.* appears fourth among the seven tractates in Codex II. Apart from minor lacunae in the first 10 lines, the text is fairly well preserved. Written principally in Sahidic Coptic with significant incursions of Subachmimic forms, the tractate has clearly been translated from a Greek original. Though it undoubtedly contains earlier traditional material, *Hyp. Arch.* was probably composed in the 3d century C.E., perhaps in Egypt (cf. the Coptic puns in 86.30; 94.22; and reference to theriomorphic rulers in 87.29).

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MALCOLM L. PEEL

**HYPSIPHRONE** (NHC XI,*4*). *Hypsiphrone*, which means "high-minded one" or perhaps "she of exalted thought," is the fourth and last treatise of Codex XI of the Coptic Library from Nag Hammadi (NHC XI,*4:* 69.23–72.35). It presently consists of four large and two small fragments containing the lower portions of the inner and outer margins of two papyrus leaves, which must have originally contained the entirety of this short treatise. It is written in the same script as the much longer and better-preserved treatise of that codex, *Allogenes*, although there is no discernible further relationship beyond these two treatises. *Hypsiphrone* is written in an apparently standard Sahidic Coptic dialect, unlike the other treatises of Codex XI. It bears the superscript title "Hypsiph[rone]," the remainder of the title being restored from other occurrences within the treatise; since the conclusion of the treatise is not extant, it may or may not have borne a subscript title.

Apart from the poor condition of the treatise, even its cryptic title affords little insight into its content. The *incipit* "The book (or scroll) [of visions] which were seen [by Hypsiphrone; and] they [are revealed] in the place of [her] virginity" adds little more. Although there is mentioned a plurality of persons

speaking with one another, the treatise does not appear to be a dialogue. Instead, the whole is presented as a speech of Hypsiphrone, who reports the receipt of certain revelations during her descent from the "place of her virginity" into the world. The only figure mentioned by Hypsiphrone is one Phainops, "he of the gleaming eye," who apparently presides over a fount of blood into which he breathes, and which seems to produce a fiery effect.

One may conjecture that Hypsiphrone represents some form of the personified thought of a high deity who leaves her dwelling in the transcendental realm, where there are no distinctions of gender, to descend to the earthly realm at the time of the creation of humankind. There she encounters Phainops, probably in the act of creating humankind, who apparently produces "a [man in the likeness] of blood" from his fiery fount of blood.

In spite of the paucity of text, what remains seems to have some affinity with the group of gnostic texts generally designated as "Sethian." To judge from the name "Hypsiphrone," one may have to do here with the Sethian figure of Eleleth, called Phronesis in *Hyp. Arch.* 93.8–97.21, one of the traditional Sethian Four Illuminators, whose name might be derived from Aramaic *Fillith,* "the tall one," which could be rendered by Gk *hypsiphrone.*

The fount of blood may refer to the heavenly Adamas or heavenly archetype of Adam, described in *Orig. World* (108.2–31) as the "enlightened bloody one" (based on the Hebrew pun on *Eadam,* "man," and *dam,* "blood"). In this case, Hypsiphrone would be the Illuminator Eleleth, who in some Sethian texts is regarded as the abode of Sophia and certain "repentant souls" and in others *(Trim. Prot.; Gos. Egypt.)* is held responsible for the act usually ascribed to Sophia: that of producing the demiurge Yaldabaoth. Eleleth/Hypsiphrone would also be responsible for the downward projection of the likeness of Adamas, the divine image after which the earthly Adam is modeled by the demiurge. In any case, Hypsiphrone is certainly a figure similar to that of the descending and restored Sophia. Phainops, "radiant-faced one," might then be a name for either the enlightened archetypal Adamas, or—since he seems to be distinguished from the "fount of blood"—for the fiery angel Sabbaoth, the brother of the evil demiurge produced by the breath of Zoe, Pistis Sophia's daughter, in an effort to imprison the demiurge (*Hyp. Arch.* 95.5–96.4). Thus, although it bears no trace of the traditional Sethian names for these figures, *Hypsiphrone* may in fact be very closely related to the other Sethian texts.

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JOHN D. TURNER

**HYRAX.** See ZOOLOGY.

**HYRCANUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Hyrkanos* (Ὑρκανος)]. **1.** The son of Tobias, a wealthy depositer to the temple treasury (2 Macc 3:11).

**2.** John Hyrcanus I ruled as high priest and ethnarch from 135/4 to 104 B.C.E. He succeeded Simon Maccabeus, his father, who was murdered with Hyrcanus I's two elder brothers by Ptolemy, Simon's son-in-law. Antiochus VII, king of Syria, laid siege to Jerusalem, forcing Hyrcanus I to pay heavy tribute (Jos. *Ant* 13.8.2–3), but the long struggle with Syria ended when Antiochus VII was succeeded by Demetrius II and internal strife. An embassy sent by Hyrcanus I received Roman confirmation of the Hasmoneans' independence.

Hyrcanus I conquered Shechem, destroyed the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim, and invaded Idumea, forcibly circumcising many of the inhabitants (Jos. *Ant* 13.9.1). Hyrcanus I razed the city of Samaria (Jos. *Ant* 13.10.2–3) and occupied the Esdraelon valley to Mt. Carmel (Jos. *JW* 1.2.7). According to Josephus, Hyrcanus I employed foreign mercenaries for his campaigns paid with money plundered from King David's tomb (Jos. *Ant* 13.8.4).

Hyrcanus I was the first Jewish ruler to mint coins bearing his own name. The coins read on the obverse side, "John the High Priest, and the Community of the Jews," and on the reverse side was a horn of plenty with a poppy head inside (Greek symbols of prosperity and fertility). The Pharisees and Sadducees also rose to prominence during the reign of Hyrcanus I (Jos. *Ant* 13.10.5–7; but see also *Ant* 13.10.9).

**3.** Hyrcanus II was the irresolute son of Alexander Jannaeus and Alexandra Salome. He served as high priest during his mother's reign from 76 to 67 B.C.E. After his mother's death, his claim to the kingship was challenged by his younger brother Aristobulus II, embroiling the two in civil war. Hyrcanus II was reinstated in the office of high priest by Pompey and served from 63 to 40 B.C.E. He was executed by Herod the Great in 30 B.C.E. See also HASMONEAN DYNASTY.

SCOTT T. CARROLL

**HYSSOP.** See FLORA.

# I

**IBEX.** See ZOOLOGY.

**IBHAR** (PERSON) [Heb *yibḥār* (יִבְחָר)]. One of 13 sons of David listed as having been born to David's wives in Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:15; 1 Chr 3:6; 14:5), in addition to his six sons born at Hebron. His mother's name is unknown: four of the 13 sons born in Jerusalem were Bathsheba's sons; the remainder were born to unnamed wives. Besides these 13, David had numerous (unnamed) sons born to his concubines, according to 1 Chr 3:9. Ibhar is the first son listed after Bathsheba's four sons, but nothing further is known of him. See also DAVID, SONS OF.

DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

**IBLEAM** (PLACE) [Heb *yiblĕʿām* (יִבְלְעָם)]. Var. BILEAM. A town in the territory of Issachar, given to Manasseh, but from which Manasseh could not drive out the Canaanite inhabitants (Josh 17:11–12; Judg 1:27). Ibleam was an important city in the Bronze Age, mentioned as a royal city in Egyptian archives (*LBHG*, 152) and occurs in the conquest list of Thutmose III (*GP* 2: 357; *ANET*, 242). During the Iron Age (2 Kgs 9:27), Jehu mortally wounded Ahaziah, king of Judah, at the ascent of Gur, outside Ibleam. It is possible that in 2 Kgs 15:10 the Heb *qblʿm,* "before the people," should be read *byblʿm* as the Lucian version of the LXX renders it (Gk *en Ieblaam*) and that Zechariah, the king of Israel, was therefore killed "in Ibleam" (Cogan and Tadmor *2 Kings* AB, 170–71). other scholars (Albright 1945: 69) restore Ibleam to the list of levitical cities, replacing Bileam in 1 Chr 6:55 (—Eng 6:70) and Gath-rimmon in Josh 21:25.

Ibleam is almost universally identified with Kh. Belʿameh (M.R. 177205), which guards the easternmost pass through the mountains of Ephraim into the Jezreel valley (*LBHG*, 436). The site has strong natural defenses (Phythian-Adams 1922: 143), which may have been supplemented by an ancient underground water system from Bir Senjar at the foot of the tell (Schumacher 1907: 107). Ibleam, along with Megiddo and Jokneam, was one of the fortress cities which guarded access to and from the S limits of the Jezreel valley.

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MELVIN HUNT

**IBNEIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yibnĕyâ* (יִבְנְיָה)]. One of the Benjaminites who is listed in 1 Chr 9:8 as having returned from exile in Babylon to Jerusalem. Ibneiah is not listed in Neh 11:7–9, which is a parallel passage to 1 Chr 9:7–9. Although some have attempted to equate Ibneiah with Gabbai in Neh 11:8, Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 140) has stated that this identification is doubtful. It is more likely that the author of 1 Chronicles 9 and the author of Nehemiah 11 simply had different traditions at their disposal. The name Ibnijah, which occurs later in 1 Chr 9:8, has the same consonants as the name Ibneiah *(ybnyh).* Although Dahlberg (*IDB* 2: 671) has suggested that these two names in reality refer to the same person, the text presents them as two individuals separated by several generations.

ROBERT C. DUNSTON

**IBNIJAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yibnîyâ* (יִבְנִיָּה)]. A Benjaminite who returned to Jerusalem from exile in Babylon (1 Chr 9:8). The consonants in the name Ibnijah are identical to the consonants in the name Ibneiah *(ybnyh),* which occurs earlier in 1 Chr 9:8. Dahlberg (*IDB* 2: 671) suggested that the two names referred to the same person but the text presents them as separate individuals from separate generations.

Ibnijah does not appear in the parallel passage in Nehemiah (Neh 11:7–9) but 1 Chr 9:7–9 and Neh 11:7–9 vary at several points, which seems to indicate that the authors had different traditions from which to work.

ROBERT C. DUNSTON

**IBRI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿibrî* (עִבְרִי)]. One of the "remaining Levites" who, according to the Chronicler, casts lots before David, Zadok, and Ahimelek in order to receive his place among the levitical household leaders (1 Chr 24:27). Although only mentioned in 1 Chr 24:27, the Chronicler grants Ibri a levitical lineage as the son of Jaaziah, a descendant of Merari, along with his brothers, Shoham, Zaccur, and Beno (1 Chr 24:27). Although Liver (1968: 8. 29–32) believes that this list may have originated from an authentic source composed during the reign of David or Solomon, most commentators have attributed the list in which Ibri appears to a time later than the main composition of Chronicles, either to the late Persian period (Williamson 1979: 259–60, 265–68) or, more commonly, to the Maccabean era (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 163–65). The style of the list, however, corresponds closely with the compositional techniques of the Chronicler. Ibri, a gentilic form meaning "a Hebrew" [Heb *ʿibrî*], may represent the Chronicler's notion of a suitable name for a levitical household leader in the reign of David.

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**IBSAM** (PERSON) [Heb *yibśom* (יִבְשָׂם)]. Ibsam was a descendant, perhaps grandson, of Issachar, according to the genealogy of 1 Chr 7:1–5. The sons of Issachar were Tola, Puah, Jashub, and Shimron and the sons of Tola were Uzzi, Rephaiah, Jeriel, Jahmai, Ibsam, and Samuel. Tola's "sons" were probably not immediate sons but descendants.

other listings of the sons of Issachar are found in Gen 46:13 and Num 26:23–25. Neither passage mentions any of the sons of Tola; thus 1 Chr 7:2 is the only OT occurrence of Ibsam. However, Judg 10:1 names Tola, a man of Issachar, as one of the minor judges. He is son of Puah, son of Dodo, who resided in Shamir in Ephraim. Curtis (*Chronicles* ICC, 144–45) has theorized that all four names given as Issachar's sons can be obtained from this information in Judg 10:1.

Tola's sons are said to be "heads of their fathers' households," a phrase that has different usages in the OT but in genealogies refers to military commanders (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 67). Assuming a military background for the Chronicles' genealogy, then "fathers' households" would have been the means of military conscription (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 7). Ibsam and the other sons of Tola are also called "mighty men of valor" *(gibbor ḥayil),* a term that usually means "warrior" or "soldier" in Chronicles, but could possibly be a technical term for the social class, "nobles," who bore arms for their king (Oswalt 1980: 148).

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M. STEPHEN DAVIS

**IBZAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾibṣan* (אִבְצָן)]. One of the leaders who "judged Israel" in the premonarchic period and is mentioned only in Judg 12:8–10, immediately following the stories of Jephthah. The brief notice indicates that Ibzan, whose name means "swift" (if related to Ar *ʿabuṣun*), had 30 sons for whom he arranged exogamous marriages, bringing women from "outside," presumably from beyond the clan or protective association of villages. Similarly his 30 daughters were sent "outside" in marriage. Given the same round number in the notice about Jair (Judg 10:4), the kinship language most likely denotes

sociopolitical affiliation. Ibzan's extended family was the regional subgroup of nuclear Israelite families over which he exercised direct leadership.

Ibzan's leadership lasted seven years. His place of residence and burial was Bethlehem. A tradition of interpretation as old as Josephus assumed this to be the famous Bethlehem in Judah; but the context of the Ibzan pericope makes it more likely that the reference is to a N Bethlehem close to the border of Asher (Josh 19:15). The book of Judges appears to be structured, at least in part, by the idea that each of the tribes had at one time or another produced a leader who "judged Israel." Whereas Elon of Zebulun comes next, Ibzan was possibly regarded as the leader who came out of Asher.

Ibzan is the third in a series of five such leaders about whom no warfare stories survive. He is preceded by Tola and Jair (10:1–5) and followed by Elon and Abdon (12:11–15). Each of them, like most of those whose achievements are recounted at some length, "judged Israel." If this implies military leadership, it is not described. With such scant information given about them, it may be that they represent two major interludes of relative peace, framing the crisis which generated the stories of Jephthah (10:6–12:7) and which are enclosed within the same rubrics that mark the so-called minor judges.

How far the leader's authority extended beyond clan or tribe is unclear. It is conceivable but not demonstrable that an archival list of persons who filled a central position in the early intertribal organization was the source of such information for the compiler of the book of Judges. With no difference in the formula indicating that each "judged Israel," it is more likely not a difference in the office filled by major and minor judges, but a difference of literary purpose, a quickening of the pace before and after the career of Jephthah (Mullen 1982: 196).

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**ICHABOD** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾîkābôd* (אִיכָבוֹד)]. Son of Phinehas, grandson of Eli (1 Sam 4:19–21; 14:3). His mother is shocked into a premature labor when she learns that the Ark has been captured by the Philistines and that her husband and father-in-law are dead. Before she dies she gives her child the name Ichabod, a name whose exact meaning is disputed. The Hebrew word *kābôd* means glory and refers to the radiant light that surrounds a deity. It had been thought that the particle *ʾī* was to be taken as a negation, thus Ichabod would mean "no glory." This would support Josephus' reading of the name as "Inglorious" (*adoxia Ant* 5.360). More recently, however, it has been suggested that Ichabod is derived from the Ug *ʾiy* which means "where is …" or "alas" and *kbd,* glory. Accordingly Ichabod would mean "Where is the Glory?," or "Alas, (for) the Glory" and signifies the absence of the deity. Thus the name of the child is related to the departure of the glory of the Lord signified by the loss of the Ark, an association made explicit in 1 Sam 4:22.

Though in 1 Sam 14:3 Ichabod is said to be the brother of Ahitub, father of Ahimelech whose son is Abiathar, such a relationship seems unlikely. Verse 3, which relates Abiathar to the family of Eli, is probably a gloss.

PAULINE A. VIVIANO

**ICONIUM** (PLACE) [Gk *Ikonion* (Ἰκονιον)]. A city in S central Anatolia (modern Konya, Turkey [37°51′N; 32°30′E]) visited by Paul on his missionary journeys (Acts 13:51; 14:1, 19, 21; 16:2). Located approximately 170 mi (280 km) S of Ankara (ancient Ancyra) on the border between mountainous Phrygia to the W and the broad plain of Lycaonia to the S and E, it lies on a high, fertile plateau (3,770 feet or 1,150 m). One of the oldest continually occupied cities in the world, it dates back at least to the 3d millennium B.C. According to local legend, it was the first city to be built following the great Flood. Its location caused it to be linked at various times with both Phrygia and Lycaonia. Founded as a Phrygian settlement and linked with Phrygia both geographically and culturally, the native people would have considered themselves Phrygians. As a part of the empire of the Seleucid successors to Alexander the Great, and later as a part of the Roman empire, it was linked with the cities of Lystra and Derbe (in Lycaonia). Those who were strongly attached to the Gk language and culture would have considered

themselves Greeks, while a few would have identified with the vision of the Roman empire. For millennia, Iconium has been—and, as Konya, continues to be today—"a prosperous city of peace and commerce as well as a center of agriculture" (Hagner *ISBE* 2: 792). Located on an important crossroads linking Rome and the Greek cities of the Roman provinces of Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia with the luxuries of the Levant, Iconium was a large and wealthy city in NT times.

The city figures in Greek mythology as the place where Perseus cut off the head of the Gorgon Medusa (Hes. *Theog.* 270). An ancient tradition saw in the name of the city, connecting it with the Gk *eikōn* (image), an allusion to this event. The foundations of the city are, however, lost in the prehistory of antiquity. From the 3d century B.C. it was ruled variously by the Seleucids to the SE, who were responsible for its partial Hellenization, and by the kings of Galatia and Pontus to the N. It came under the influence of Rome in 65 B.C. and was later incorporated into the empire in 25 B.C. when Galatia became a province. During the time of the Emperor Claudius (A.D. 41–54), the city received the honorific imperial prefix and thus became known as Claudiconium. Under the Emperor Hadrian (117–138), Iconium became a Roman colony. In the time of Paul's 1st-century visits, the city became a center of early Christian vitality, a fact attested by numerous inscriptions, traditions, and legends, and remained so until the Islamic conquest in 708. In 235 a church council was held there. In 372 the city became the capital of the Roman province of Lycaonia. During the Middle Ages, Konya was the capital of the Seljuk empire of Roum and the center of a dynamic religious and cultural movement (11th–14th century) that produced great works of literature, beautiful art, and magnificent buildings. Marco Polo reported that the carpets made in Konya were the best and the most beautiful in the world. Perhaps its most famous son during this period was Maulana Jelal-uddin Rumi (1207–1273), the Islamic mystic and founder of the order popularly known as "the Whirling Dervishes." Even today the city continues in its importance—hence the continued popularity of the old Turkish proverb: "See all the world, but see Konya!"

The narrative of the Acts of the Apostles focuses on a visit of Paul and his missionary associate Barnabas to the cities of Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe (13:14–14:24) in A.D. 47–48. Having been expelled from Antioch as a result of their successful evangelistic endeavor, they found refuge in Iconium, 90 miles (150 km) away. Here history repeated itself: as a result of their witness, there were many conversions, which led, in turn, to hostility among both local Jews and gentiles. So Paul and Barnabas had to flee across the regional border into the Lycaonian cities of Lystra and Derbe. At the end of their mission they retraced their footsteps through the same cities for the purpose of "strengthening" or "confirming" (Gk *epiststerizō*) the new disciples and encouraging them to remain faithful to their commitment (14:22). Acts also says that they appointed elders for the churches at this time (14:23), though many interpreters would regard this as an anachronism introduced into the narrative as a result of later practice.

Later, during what is traditionally called his "second missionary journey" (A.D. 49), Paul, this time accompanied by Silas, visited these cities again to "strengthen/confirm" (Gk *epiststerizō*) the churches that had been founded earlier (Acts 15:36–16:6). It was on this trip that he was joined by a younger associate named Timothy, who was a native of this region. And it also seems likely that the author of Acts (18:23; so Bruce *Acts* NICNT, 357–58 and *Galatians* NIGTC, 13; Finegan 1981: 92; *ISBE* 2: 792–93; Hemer fc.) intends to suggest a further visit to this region for the same purpose on his way back to Ephesus on the so-called "third missionary journey" (A.D. 52). The consensus of recent scholarship is that these cities are to be identified with the churches addressed in the Epistle to the Galatians (Bruce *Galatians* NIGTC, 3–18). See GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE. In 2 Timothy 3:11 we have an independent reference to "persecutions [and] sufferings" experienced by Paul "in Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra." The intended recipient of the letter, Timothy, was, according to Acts, "well spoken of by the brethren of Lystra and Iconium" (16:2).

The apocryphal work entitled *The Acts of Paul*, dating from the second half of the 2d century, contains traditions and legends about Paul's missionary activity. It was written by an elder of the church in this very region, who, unfortunately, was disciplined by his compatriots for his labor of love (he said he had done his work "out of love for Paul"). One famous series of episodes focuses on Paul's friendship of a

young woman by the name of Thecla and on her evangelism, teaching, and exploits for the Lord. The narrative tells us more about the late 2d century tendencies to asceticism, religious enthusiasm, and credulity than about the events of a century earlier. But it does contain this description of Paul, set in Iconium, that many scholars have regarded as historically trustworthy: "And [Onesiphorus] saw Paul coming, a man small of stature, with a bald head and crooked legs, in a good state of body, with eyebrows meeting and nose somewhat hooked, full of friendliness; for now he appeared like a man, and now he had the face of an angel" (*NTApocr* 2: 354). For further discussion see *HDB* 2: 443–45.

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W. WARD GASQUE

**ICONOGRAPHY AND THE BIBLE.** The study of artistic subject matter or content (as opposed to artistic techniques and styles). Iconography therefore strives to describe the appearance, development, and disappearance of certain motifs and compositions, or the substitution of one artistic form by another.

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A. Introduction
B. Iconography and History
C. Iconography and the Material Culture of Biblical Times
D. Iconography and the Culture of Concepts

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**A. Introduction**

The relationship between iconography and iconology is somewhat similar to that between geography and geology. *Iconography* describes, e.g., the development of artistic representations of Christ from the triumphant Savior on the Cross to the man of sorrows depicted by Grünewald, or e.g., the depiction of the romanesque Virgin from the *sedes sapientiae* ("throne of wisdom") to the "Virgin of Lourdes" represented without the child at all. *Iconology* attempts to establish which movements of social and religious life and thought manifest themselves through the changes described by iconography (see Kaemmerling 1979).

The relationship between the Bible and iconography is not understood here as the edifying illustration of biblical texts by the arts, although this pictorial expression is a valuable contribution to the history of biblical exegesis. Many of the insights and results won in a century of research in this very broad field are compiled in the 8 volumes of the *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Kirschbaum and Braunfels 1968–76). The relationship between the Bible and iconography is here understood as the influence of the contemporaneous art on the biblical texts in Israel itself (Schroer 1987) and in the neighboring countries, or as the scientific pictorial reconstruction of certain data given by the biblical texts (e.g., description of architecture).

Although innumerable biblical handbooks are illustrated with pictures from ANE sources, and each year sees the appearance of yet another volume of this kind (Lamp 1982–1983), the relationship between biblical texts and pictures contemporaneous to them remains neglected, in that it has never been studied in a systematically thought-out way, as is normal in the other disciplines of biblical research. These relationships are manifold: (1) A biblical text can explicitly describe a work of art, as e.g., the descriptions of drawings of Chaldean warriors in Ezek 23:14. (2) Descriptions can also be implicit. There are sound reasons for believing that Ezekiel was influenced by pictorial representations when describing the 4 living creatures supporting the sky (Ezekiel 1; Keel 1977: 125–273). (3) A text and a picture can independently deal with the same subject matter, as e.g., the appointment of an official or his being rewarded (Gen 31:37–45 and several Egyptian tomb paintings of New Kingdom date; Vergote 1959: 121–135).

What is the purpose of seeking and studying such pictures? First of all we usually want to see something of which we hear or read, or on the contrary, to have an explanation of what we visually behold. Our wish is to hear and to see. But what exactly is the advantage of seeing something which we have heard about? In his book on Giotto, M. Imdahl (1980) coined the term *Ikonizität*, describing the particular possibilities of a picture in contrast to words. The visual image is better adapted for the portrayal of complicated relationships. The proportions of a human face or body, or any other object, are far more easily conveyed by means of a picture than through the use of descriptive words; the relationships uniting family members are more easily understood by a family tree than by the use of mere words. Also, it would require an extraordinary number of words to provide information regarding the exact relationships between a large number of buildings, streets, rivers, etc. to each other—relationships that are more conveniently conveyed by a simple map. Conversely, a series of actions is more easily described by words than by pictures.

This is related to the second important characteristic of visual information. The figurative picture always maintains a certain affinity to the object represented. It has a natural relationship to it. A horse or a cow in an ancient Egyptian or Chinese painting is recognizable to every human being (familiar with horses and cows), despite the stylistic variations. It is, however, impossible to recognize the Chinese or Egyptian words for horse or cow without proper knowledge of these languages and their scripts, since language is wholly artificial. This artificiality permits differentiation *ad libitum*. You can give every human being a different name and even one to every different aspect of one individual human being (e.g., as father, son, husband, etc.). But language is equally capable of generalizing; pictures usually depict a man or woman, adult or child, black or white, standing or seated, etc., while language can easily create terms like "humanity." Language can easily distinguish one aspect of a thing; pictures lend themselves to the representation of clusters of aspects. The description of the cherubim in 1 Kgs 6:23–28 mentions a few aspects (the materials of which they are made, their measurements, the positions of their wings) but fails to furnish an all-around picture. Thus Josephus may claim, "as for the cherubim themselves, no one can say or imagine what they looked like" (*Ant* 8.73). If we had a picture, we would have fewer doubts concerning the appearance of the cherubim; and were there a god or goddess seated upon the cherubim, we would also be informed about the nature of the relationships between both, as well as the meaning of the arrangement as a whole.

The significance of pictorial representation in the realm of man-made objects (useful and artistic) has long been recognized. Iconography is also important—perhaps even more important—when considering entities with which we ourselves are familiar, such as the sun, moon, storms, earth, and trees. We far too readily assume that these phenomena possessed the same significance in the ANE as they do today. The merism "heaven and earth," for example, sounds quite natural to us, without any peculiar connotations. When looking at illustrations from the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, where the sky is the figure of the goddess Nut arched over the extended figure of the earth god (e.g., *ANEP*, no. 542; Keel 1972: figs. 27–30, 32–33), it becomes quite clear that in ancient Egypt the concepts "heaven and earth" were associated with ideas and feelings very different from ours. Faced with words and ideas, the individual hearer quite often understands them in terms supplied primarily by his or her own cultural heritage. It is considerably more difficult for the terms of that cultural heritage to prevail when a concept is visually rendered, because we are then confronted with a cluster of aspects and not with a mere abstract pattern permitting arbitrary interpretations.

Iconography allows this influence of the cultural heritage considerably less latitude than does the abstract phoneme. It can thus emphasize a number of very common peculiarities in the reasoning and imagination of the ANE more quickly and effectively than can the written word. Iconography unavoidably compels us to see with the eyes of the ANE (Keel 1972: 8).

**B. Iconography and History**

Palestinian Judaism regarded the Bible as *Torah*, as "instruction." Josephus however presented it to the Greco-Roman world as a history book (cf. his *Antiquities* and *AgAp* 1.37f). Corresponding to this new historical understanding, a desire was awakened for historical pictures of biblical personalities and events, in a naturalistic style, preferably of "photographic" quality. Since the middle of the 5th century B.C., the

Greek world had been cultivating a realistic type of portraiture which the Romans subsequently developed even further.

When the pilgrim Egeria (Etheria) visited the Lands of the Bible about 400 A.D., the Bishop of Arabia showed her a double statue of Moses and Aaron amid the ruins of Ramesses (Peregrinatio Etheriae 8.2; Wilkinson 1971: 217; Maraval 1982: 159). Most probably what she saw was a statue of Ramesses II (1279–1213 B.C.) with some Egyptian deity. When the famous English nobleman and traveller Sir Robert Ker Porter visited the Behistun (Bisutun) Mountain in 1812, encountering the relief of Darius I (*ANEP*, nos. 249 and 462) with 10 subjugated rebels before him, he was quite convinced that he was looking at a monument of the Assyrian King Shalmaneser before the 10 tribes of N Israel he had deported to N Syria and Media (2 Kgs 17:3–6). In Porter's view, the location of the relief in Median territory was intended to remind the deportees of their situation (Porter 1821–22, 2: 149–63).

J. G. Wilkinson (1878, 1: 479; see C below) thought that the well-known painting from Beni Hassan (*ANEP*, no. 3; Keel 1972: fig. 308) showing "Asiatic nomads" represented the arrival of the sons of Jacob in Egypt. A correct rendering of the inscriptions proved this interpretation to be misguided, since these "nomads" were connected with antimony (used as eye-paint) and equipped with a bellow, presenting desert game to the Egyptians but without any apparent flocks. They are perhaps best regarded as coppersmiths and hunters, together with their wives and children, who have come to Egypt as specialists to work in an antimony mine (Goedicke 1984; Kessler 1987). They are thus quite an inappropriate illustration of seminomads, such as the biblical patriarchs are generally represented.

H. Rosellini (1832–44, 2: tav. 49,1), who accompanied Champollion on his Egyptian expedition in 1828–29, labelled the brick makers in the Tomb of Rechmire (*ANEP*, no. 115), "The Hebrews who are making the bricks." Wilkinson (1878, 1: 343–345) argued, however, that the Israelites had not been detained at Thebes (where the inscription places the scene) and that in the course of the centuries, thousands of Asiatics—in addition to the Israelites—would have been compelled to fabricate bricks.

Rosellini (1832–44, 1: tav. 148A) and to a lesser degree also Champollion (1909, 2: 161f.) were convinced that they had found a portrait of Solomon's son, Rehoboam, in Shishak's reliefs at Karnak (*ANEP*, no. 349) because they had read one of the 150 names of conquered cities as *ywdh mr ( = 1)k*, "Judah's king." The 150 figures are all identical however, representing Asiatics in general—without individual traits—and, more importantly, they do not identify individuals, but represent place-names. The one referred to is perhaps *yd-hmlk*, "hand (= stronghold) of the King" (*CTAED*, 197).

It has often been stated that Jehu is the only historical personality of ancient Israel represented on an ANE monument (*ANEP*, nos. 351–54). What does this actually mean? The English explorer A. H. Layard, who in 1846 at Kalah discovered the Black Obelisk with the famous picture, thought that the 20 small images on the obelisk commemorated a victorious expedition to the East, perhaps as far as India. He was led to this conclusion by the 2-humped bactrian camels and the Indian (but in reality perhaps N Syrian) elephant (Layard 1849, 2: 433–37). Only the decipherment of the legends revealed that one of the two prostrate figures before the Assyrian king was "Jehu of the House of Omri." The costume and physiognomy of the figure representing him, unfortunately, appear to be identical to that of his counterpart, King Sua of Gilzanu. The figures are thus not portraits but mere "determinatives" for vassal kings paying homage to the Assyrian overlord (Smith 1977). Israel and Gilzanu were probably selected since they represented Shalmaneser III's most distant conquests, lying (respectively) far to the SW and NE of Assyria (Liebermann 1985).

In a lavishly illustrated volume, D. Ussishkin (1982) has attempted to demonstrate that the Lachish reliefs of Sennacherib (*ANEP*, nos. 371–74) give a realistic picture of the conquest of Lachish in 701 B.C. We can view a landscape with hills, fig trees, vineyards, and a city situated on a hill with a double wall (most probably representing the city walls and the acropolis) and square towers. Walls with square towers are conventionally used to represent the cities of the hilly and mountainous regions to the N and W of Mesopotamia. Since fig trees, vineyards, and cities built atop hills were common in these regions, the Assyrian scheme would fit many cities. W. M. F. Petrie (1891: 38) believed that Tell el-Hesi, which he excavated in 1890, was the ancient Lachish, thinking that the Sennacherib reliefs matched his finds.

Ussishkin thinks the same today; however, he correctly identifies Lachish with Tell ed-Duweir, not with Tell el-Hesi. Apart from the general scheme, however, the reliefs do not bear much resemblance to the archaeologically based reconstruction of Lachish. There is no double wall and no traces of square towers have been found. The access road follows the W flank of the tell to a saddle, and does not zigzag down to the foot of the tell, as shown in the reliefs. Only the isolated gate tower before the city seems to be a specific feature of Lachish.

Thus, ANE art does not supply "historical photographs" as W. Keller suggests in his popular book, *The Bible as History*. Pictures had more or less the same function as Egyptian hieroglyphic determinatives: representing a class of objects, and not specific individual phenomena. (This is also true of medieval iconography; in the famous Nuremberg Chronicle of 1439, the same woodcut "illustrated" such very different cities as Syrian Damascus and Italian Mantua; Gombrich 1959: 59f.) Once this is recognized, it becomes clear that the entire section "Royalties and Dignitaries" in *ANEP* (nos. 376–463) is somewhat misleading. This section presents statues and heads of statues with the names of various rulers in the captions. This form of presentation reminds one of a modern encyclopedia with photographs of Churchill, Freud, Jung, and Kennedy, etc. But especially alarming is the caption of no. 419, "Statue of Tut-ankh-Amon usurped by Hor-em-heb." It sounds like "photograph of Kennedy used as photograph of Nixon." Even if Egyptian art occasionally attempted to portray certain individual features (especially in comparison to that of Mesopotamia), the custom of labeling older statues with the names of living kings, as Ramesses II was particularly inclined to do, reveals that they could not have been primarily intended as "portraits" in the modern sense, but rather intended to represent a *role* and not an individual.

History was conceived as the perpetually repeated fulfillment of divine decrees, a kind of ritual; history was a festival where the roles were more important than the individuals who filled them. In this manner, ANE art intended to emphasize the position and functions of the king and to a lesser extent individual kings and dignitaries. This was the approach selected by H. Frankfort and O. Keel (see D below).

Because the need for historical illustrations of the Bible will continue to remain strong, ancient oriental pictures will continue to be presented as such, regardless of what the scientific value of this practice might be. Ancient oriental iconography really cannot achieve more than to furnish the historical names and events of the Bible with contemporary clothes, weapons, etc., and to provide "portraits" of the various types of peoples (e.g., the Philistines, cf. *ANEP*, no. 341).

**C. Iconography and the Material Culture of Biblical Times**

ANE iconography is suitable for the illustration of the typical and the institutional, but not for that of the individual person or the historical event. The interest in the actual appearance of certain objects and in the functioning of certain institutions was linked to a literal exegesis which already at an early date had attempted with the help of pictures to illustrate such things as the Tent of Meeting described in detail in Exodus 25–31 and the Temple of Solomon (described in less detail in 1 Kgs 5:15–6:37 and 7:17–51. In the Christian realm it was particularly Theodore of Mospsuestia who, influenced by the philological exegesis of Homer by the pagans (Schäublin 1974), in turn influenced the anonymous author of the *Topographia Christiana*, written around A.D. 550 and attributed since the 11th century to Kosmas Indicopleustes. In this work the author attempted to arrive at an illustration of the Tent of Meeting and its contents with the help of reconstructive sketches (Wolska-Conus 1968: 183–96; 1970: 38–65). See Fig. ICO.01. He was inspired not only by the biblical texts but also by pictures of the 7-branched candelabrum, the tables for the bread of offering, and similar furnishings which had frequently been reproduced in Jewish context since the 1st century B.C. (albeit for religious and political purposes rather than for scholarly ones). See Fig. ICO.02.

In the West, Cassiodorus (ca. A.D. 490–583) made a similar attempt. Influenced by the historicizing explanations of Josephus in his *Antiquities* (3.102–50; 8.61–98) and by the Jewish devotional art, he added a sketch of the Tent of Meeting (See Fig. ICO.03) and one of the temple to be added to his *Codex Grandior*, "so that which the text of the Holy Scriptures says about them might be more clearly laid before the eyes" (Adriaen 1958: 789; cf. 132). As was the case with the *Topographica Christiana*, Cassidorus was dependent not only on the biblical text but also on Jewish devotional art. See Fig. ICO.04.

Cassidorus' reconstructive sketches found imitators far into the Middle Ages (Herrmann 1905: 148, fig. 49; 1926: 51, fig. 27).

Another root of the literal exegesis was the philological Quran exegesis, which had an effect on the Karaïtes beginning in the 8th century A.D. In opposition to the ever increasing influence of the Talmud, this Jewish group held to a type of *sola scriptura* principle which stimulated rabbinic Judaism to a new and vigorous type of philologically oriented commentary. The most famous commentator of this school was Rabbi Shlomo ben-Izhaq, known as Rashi (A.D. 1040–1105). Parallel to this development, it became customary to begin the biblical manuscripts with 2 or more pages of illustrations of Jewish liturgical objects, in which the East and West (particularly Spain in the 13th–15th centuries) each may have had its own tradition (Gutmann 1978: 14, 16; cf. Roth 1953: 28; Schubert 1983: 81). In spite of the fact that this catalogue of liturgical objects had primarily the religious function of reminding one of the glory of God in the temple and of keeping alive the hope of its rebuilding, the painstaking, captioned illustrations of the individual objects oblige a scholarly curiosity. See Fig. ICO.05.

The Jewish literal exegesis first gained noticeable influence in Christian circles with members of the Victorine school in Paris (Smalley 1952: 83–195). In his commentary *In visionem Ezechielis* written before 1150, Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173) interpreted Ezek 1:5–10 and 40:1–45:5 in an exclusively literal way, and for the sake of better understanding he illustrated the interpretation with 13 diagrams (*PL* 196: cols. 527–600). Among other things he offered an interesting reconstruction of the gateway designs, which strongly resemble the "four-entry type" gates excavated in Lachish, Megiddo, Hazor, etc. (Keel 1972: figs. 159–60, 174). See Fig. ICO.06. Richard of St. Victor showed that particularly architectural descriptions, if they want to be understood literally, hardly ever succeed without accompanying diagrams. A short time later, Maimonides added floor plans of the Herodian temple to his *Mishneh Torah,* finished in A.D. 1180 (Wischnitzer 1974: 16–27).

The Victorine reception of Jewish literal exegesis remained a prelude to the more-lasting reception through the N French Franciscan, Nicholas of Lyra. He wrote a tremendously successful literal commentary to all the books of the Bible *(Postilla Litteralis).* Between 1350 and 1450, 700 mss of this work were copied (some admittedly incomplete). The period of the first half of the 16th century saw the appearance of more than 100 printed versions. Lyra's work was illustrated with over 30 technical drawings, particularly with architectural plans, but also illustrating cultic furniture: e.g., the ark with the cherubim, the molten sea, and similar items. He took the architectural drawings in part from Richard of St. Victor. He did not stop with one reconstruction, but included, e.g., the ark of the covenant according to the opinion of Rashi as well as one according to the Christian exegetes. See Fig. ICO.07. Such a degree of objectivity is seldom found even in modern handbooks.

Through his literal exegesis but also through his graphic illustration Nicholas of Lyra exercised a great influence on Martin Luther. Already for his 1523 translation of the OT Luther adopted a number of Lyra's archaeological illustrations (Netter 1943; Schmidt 1962). In his foreword to Ezekiel from 1541, Luther expressly stated that it would be futile to understand Ezekiel 40–45 without the figures from Lyra (WA 11/1: 406). What is new about the illustrations of the Luther Bible is that they place the objects decidedly in a German Renaissance landscape so that an imaginary "biblical museum" results. In the previously mentioned preface to Ezekiel, Luther says that the best thing would be to have a 3-dimensional woodcut model of the temple. Exactly 100 years later the Dutch Jew, Jacob Jehuda da Leon, made a large (about 1 meter tall) wooden model of the temple and exhibited it with great success in many places (Herrmann 1967: 148).

The "archaeological" illustrations of the Luther Bible have also found their way into French Bibles. Sebastian Châtillon, who made a new translation of the Bible into Latin (1551) and French (1555, which was published by Oporin in Basel), provided it with an appendix "Annotationes" to which he added about 30 illustrations. Some of these come from the Luther Bible, others from Vatable's illustrations in Estienne's Bibles. Still others are original. In this way Châtillon presented the most exact reconstructions of the 4 beings in the vision in Ezekiel 1.

other famous exegetes of the 16th century repeated the effort of Lyra to provide adequate visual reproductions of Noah's ark, the Tent of Meeting, the Temple of Solomon, and Ezekiel's temple (e.g., Francois Vatable for Robert Estienne's critical edition of the Vulgate published in Paris in 1540, and Benedictus Arias Montanus for the Archaeological treatises of vol. 8 of the *Antwerp Polyglot* published in 1572).

In the 17th century the proper conception of the temple in Jerusalem became the subject of a widespread debate in which the participants, including the best exegetes, were separated into the idealists and the historians. The idealists saw the Temple of Solomon as the prototype of all classical buildings, thinking that the Phoenicians had conveyed its proportions to the Greeks and Romans. The historians, however, reconstructed the temple strictly according to the textual descriptions and considered it to be a more modest and primitive building (Herrmann 1967).

This thought-provoking concern about the way things actually looked aroused interest in archaeological monuments. Perhaps the oldest evidence of this can be found in an addition to Moshe ben Nahman's commentary on the Pentateuch. Driven out of Spain in A.D. 1267, he went to Acre where he was shown an Israelite shekel (from the time of the Jewish War, A.D. 66–70), which he then weighed with a money-changer's scales in order to determine its precise weight. He interpreted the images on the coin as being Aaron's rod and the vase of Manna (Chavel 1959: 507). The humanist Guilelmus Postellius seems to have been the first to have published such a coin; shown as an illustration in his *Opusculum Linguarum duodecium characteribus differentium Alphabetum* (Paris 1538). See Fig. ICO.08. Arias Montanus published another shekel from the first Jewish War in his treatise *Thubalcain sive de mensuris Sacris liber* which appeared in vol. 8 of the *Polyglot* published in Antwerp by Plantin in 1572. See Fig. ICO.09. There Arias celebrated the emergence of this coin as an act of divine providence. In the first serious work devoted not to weights and measurements in general but *exclusively* to Jewish coins, C. Waser (1605) recognized thoroughly the meaning of the iconography of the coins.

During the 17th century the debate revolved mainly around chronology and genuineness (since at the same time interest was budding a multitude of counterfeits were also in circulation). About half of the 13 coins published by B. Walton in the first volume of the *London Polyglot* in 1657 are counterfeits, although Walton had already taken out the crudest ones. At the end of the 17th century the question was for the most part cleared up, the counterfeits were separated out, and it was clear that there had been no Jewish coins before the exile (Kadman 1960: 155; Minc 1985). In addition to the Jewish coins, the 17th century also saw the rise into consciousness of the reliefs of the arch of Titus in Rome with its representations of the Jewish liturgical objects (Pfanner 1983). See Fig. ICO.10.

Regarding both Jewish coins and these reliefs, the most clear-sighted observations from this early period come from Hadrian Reland of Utrecht. His *Dissertationes V de nummis veterum hebraeorum, qui ab inscriptarum literarum forma samaritani appellantur* appeared in Utrecht in 1709. As the title implies, it had been known for quite a while that the Samaritan script was in reality the old Hebrew which was archaized and used on the Jewish coins. Reland paid attention not only to weights, legends, and dates, but also to the iconography. In his fifth dissertation, based upon the 2 trumpets *(ḥăṣōṣĕrôt)* on a coin of Simon Bar Kokhba (which he, however, dated to Simon the Hasmo- nean, 143–134 B.C.), Reland was able to conclude that the "trumpets" in Num 10:1 and 20:9 were straight, and should not be confused with the curved ram's horns *(šōpārôt)* of the New Year, as was done quite often. In another work, *De spoliis templi Hierosolymitani in arcu Titiano conspicuis* (Utrecht, 1716), a penetrating analysis of the representation of the 7-branched candelabrum demonstrated that this could hardly have been that of Moses, which was smaller and golden, aside from having been stolen—at the latest—by Antiochus IV. The thick branches of the candelabrum on the Titus Arch would have been those of the wooden lampstand which, according to Rabbi Jose (*b. Talm. ʿAbod. Zar.* 43a), the Hasmoneans had made; furthermore, the base showing mythological scenes must have been Roman since the representation of living creatures was prohibited by the Law.

Apart from the coins and reliefs mentioned, other monuments of antiquity played a relatively limited role. Nevertheless small collections began to emerge in the 17th and 18th centuries, containing mainly

Egyptian antiquities (amulets, scarabs, statues, stele, relief fragments, coffins, and of course mummies). Only rarely were these used in connection with biblical texts. Athanasius Kircher collected, published, and interpreted all the then-known works of Egyptian art (including all the obelisks) in his monumental 3-volume work, *Oedipus aegyptiacus,* which was published in Rome between 1652 and 1654 by V. Mascardi. In his work a representation of the subterranean Egyptian burial vaults is also included (See Fig. ICO.11) as well as a fragment of a relief from such a vault with a slaughter scene containing legends in hieroglyphs (falcon, ibis, owl, etc.), which he interpreted as proof of a cult with gods in animal form, such as that attacked in Ezek 8:7. See Fig. ICO.12.

Both of Reland's tracts, along with numerous other works of a similar nature, were gathered together and published by Blas Ugolinus in the 34 volumes of the *Thesaurus antiquatatum sarcarum,* Venice 1744–69). Thus, the gleanings of these limited sources were all available towards the end of the 18th century.

The scholars who accompanied Napoleon on his military expedition to Egypt in 1798 broadened the horizons considerably with their monumental description of Egypt (Jomard 1809–13). Their interests were mainly in the realm of landscape and architecture, with iconography neglected and relations between Egypt and the Bible almost completely ignored. As a consequence of the atmosphere of the Revolution, the French were possessed by a quite distracted fascination for classical antiquity. Even Champollion (1845: 3, text concerning pl. 361f) was convinced that the "nomads" of Beni Hassan represented Greeks.

For biblical scholars, J. G. Wilkinson's work was far more important than Jomard's *Déscription de l'Égypte.* He spent more than a decade in Egypt (1821–33) studying and drawing the monuments. Unable to read the hieroglyphs properly, he relied merely on the pictorial evidence, the Bible, and classical authors for his *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (1837). Such titles were very popular at the time because the entire world was swarming with travellers and explorers. The innumerable illustrations of private life, agriculture (See Fig. ICO.13), technology, governmental institutions, warfare, etc. influence biblical dictionaries of all kinds until today.

The first person significantly to use the Egyptian materials supplied by Jomard (1809–13), by Wilkinson (1837; cf. 2d edition), by Champollion (1835–45), and by Rosellini (1832–44) was L. Philippson, a German rabbi who published the Hebrew text of the Bible, a German translation, and a commentary illustrated with woodcuts (1844–54). Of the 500 woodcuts, 211 were derived from Egyptian sources, the remainder consisting mainly of Greco-Roman antiquities and fanciful artistic reconstructions of biblical scenes with institutions, landscapes, flora, and fauna. This was the Bible that Sigmund Freud had known since childhood, and its illustrations may have been responsible for his convictions concerning the impact of Egypt on the Bible (Pfrimmer 1982). Philippson only sparingly employed material from Mesopotamia, claiming that such simply could not be found: Because the prophets had announced the demise of the Babylonian and Assyrian idols (Isa 21:9), it followed that they had all been completely destroyed (1848–54, 2: 783).

Actually Botta had already excavated at Khorsabad in 1843–44, and his success was documented in the 5 volumes of his *Monuments de Ninive* (Paris 1846–50). More important was Layard's work at Kalah (Nimrud, 1845–47 and 1849–51) and Nineveh (Kuyunjik, 1847 and 1849–50). The second volume of Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains* (London 1849) contained "An Enquiry into the Manners and Arts of the Ancient Assyrians," as a kind of Assyrian counterpart to Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs.* Layard's second work of this type, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (London 1853) usefully supplemented the first with more material of this nature. In a fashion similar to Wilkinson's, Layard also connected only small sections of the reliefs with individual biblical verses. See Fig. ICO.14.

Wilkinson and Layard were the main sources from which the biblical dictionaries of the following decades, such as Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (2d ed. 1893) or Riehm's *Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Altertums* (2d ed. 1893–94), drew their Egyptian and Assyrian material. F. Vigouroux' *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (1895–1912) was the most comprehensive of them all since he made extensive use of additional sources. However, of the 338 illustrations relating to Assyria, 123 (or ca. 36 percent) still came from Layard. One hundred forty-four (34 percent) of the 502 pictures relating to Egypt were taken

from R. Lepsius' colossal *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (12 volumes: Berlin 1849–59), the collection of the best and most accurate pictures then available, and Wilkinson still supplied 90 pictures (or ca. 18 percent).

Fragmentation, as initiated by Wilkinson and Layard and followed by many biblical scholars, is still typically the way in which Egyptian and Assyrian pictures are presented in illustrating biblical civilization. Very seldom is an entire relief or a complete wall painting reproduced. Usually particular kinds of agricultural activity, specific cult utensils, or single musical instruments are selected for illustration. This is legitimate for those interested in material culture in a narrow sense. For example, to illustrate "dress," individual figures are—as a space-saving mea- sure—invariably removed from their contexts (as in Fig. ICO.14). Although technical aspects are thus clear, the social significance of a given dress is lost. Egyptian harvest scenes (Davies and Gardiner 1936: pl. 50f) show that the field workers wore a kilt (if anything at all), while the overseer wore a sleeved garment; Joseph's robe with "sleeves" (Gen 37:3) thus may not be a mere gown but a status symbol. As mentioned above, individual figures from Sennacherib's Lachish reliefs have been used repeatedly to illustrate contemporary Jewish dress. These figures were, however, unable to illustrate the several social classes present, as e.g., Ussishkin (1982) has done by examining the whole set of reliefs.

The arrival of the Hebrews and other refugees in Egypt is sometimes illustrated by a section only of the famous reliefs from the tomb of Haremhab in Memphis (e.g., Grollenberg 1957: fig. 128; *ANEP*, no. 5). In contrast to this fragment, the whole relief shows how the refugees are confronted with the sophisticated machinery of the Egyptian government at whose end is the unapproachable Pharaoh (cf. Gen 12:10–20). See Fig. ICO.15. With respect to the situation of minorities like the early Hebrews, the pictures of nomads on Assurbanipal's reliefs in the British Museum are also of great interest (Barnett 1976: pl. 33). Aside from the shape of the tents (round!), they show that nomadic woman—in contrast to their urban sisters—were mercilessly abused and slaughtered. See Fig. ICO.16. This unusual behavior by the Assyrian army may reflect the opinion that nomads were somehow subhuman, or that their women were actively engaged in conflict (which is less likely since the women are not depicted defending themselves). If this very interesting relief was used at all, then it tended to be used only to illustrate how tents in biblical times may have looked (cf., e.g., Benzinger 1907: fig. 54).

Under such fragmentization the sociological aspect of the pictures is not revealed. For example, when the great relief of the conquest of Lachish by Sennacherib serves to illustrate "battering rams," "women's clothes," and "wagon types" (*BRL*, 39, 188, 356), that is indeed useful; but the picture's possibilities for information do not stop there. This method of presenting only fragments, characteristic of all the handbooks, pays no respect to the original message of these works, the purpose of which was not the illustration of perceptual material culture, but of concepts like divine rule, world order, kingship and the gods, etc. The same also holds for Yadin's very informative work on the art of war (1963), which indeed uses entire relief cycles and impressively presents the technical side of war with the help of numerous illustrations, but does not take into account the sociological and ideological aspects of warfare which are expressed in these relief cycles.

Because the Bible itself is no more concerned with material culture and its achievements than is the art of the ANE, it would be better to evolve a system of comparison identifying their common points. Since neither deals primarily with history in a modern sense nor with material culture, one needs to search at the conceptual level.

**D. Iconography and the Culture of Concepts**

Comparisons at this level reflect the influence of the Enlightenment and a liberal theology receptive to the notion that the basic tenets of one's own creed can also be found elsewhere. Comparative theology may also be employed within the framework of a relatively literal belief in the Revelation, assuming that an original revelation *(Uroffenbarung)* really did reach all the nations. Catholics, like F. Vigouroux, were particularly interested in interpreting the new discoveries in this way. That was already the case with Layard, who, after uncovering the gate genii *(Torgenien)* in Nimrud in the spring of 1846, assumed that

Ezekiel was influenced by having seen these genii when describing his vision of the creatures in Ezekiel 1 (Layard 1849, 1: 69f; 2: 464f.)

G. Smith's *Chaldean Account of Genesis* is a famous case where pictures were exploited in this fashion. He was the first to suggest that the early chapters of Genesis might have been based on Babylonian concepts, and he published a cylinder seal which, in his opinion, represented a Babylonian version of the Fall (Genesis 3; Smith 1876: 91). See Fig. ICO.17. In 1902, F. Delitzsch presented a widely publicized lecture in which he considered this seal to be the nucleus of the whole Pauline teaching on sin and redemption (1903: 37, 67). This provoked a wave of protest, not only from the defenders of orthodoxy, but also from more sober contemporaries like Gressmann and Jeremias, whose research essentially pursued a similar line of thought, but in a more restrained fashion. The latest publication of the "Adam and Eve" seal places it in the tradition of Akkadian banquet scenes (Collon 1982: 124, no. 302; Collon 1987: 37, no. 112). In the first edition of Gressmann's *Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament* (1909), 116 pages are devoted to illustrating the history of religion, with a mere 23 reserved for secular subjects. Admittedly, his selection was influenced by the overriding concern for material culture prevailing since the days of Layard and Wilkinson. Thus, sacred pillars, altars, and similar cultic furniture are well represented not only in the biblical dictionaries but also in Gressmann's work.

Exceptions to this general line were already to be found in works like Vigouroux' *Dictionnaire de la Bible,* where the entry on *âme* ("soul, spirit") uses an Egyptian painting with the judgment scene (see Fig. ICO.18) to illustrate a concept quite familiar to the 19th-century Catholic author (A. Vacant). This "hall of judgment" scene probably entered the Judeo-Christian world from ancient Egypt, and repeatedly came to be displayed prominently on Gothic Cathedrals and other important Christian monuments. Unaware of the probable Egyptian origin of this motif, Vacant understood it as an integral part of the true religion (about the immortality of the soul and the individual judgment at death), and he was surprised not at its presence in Egypt but rather at its absence from the Law of Moses. He was thus able to conclude that since Moses refrained from condemning this religious motif in particular while otherwise disparaging so many Egyptian superstitions, Moses must have believed in it.

Jeremias (1904), who further developed G. Smith's ideas, was less concerned with the uniqueness of the biblical revelation and Lutheran orthodoxy than the *Dictionnaire de la Bible* was with Catholic dogma; he also was less dominated by interest in material culture than was Gressmann. His work was the first to present the cosmic order as perceived by the ancients using their own pictures, and discussing the Bible's share in that world. He understood the peculiarities of ANE art better than did most of his contemporaries. He did not understand the pair on the "Adam and Eve Seal" (Fig. ICO.17) as the first couple, since he knew that their horned crowns identified them as deities. He also showed the connection between the "dragon combat" on Assyrian cylinder seals and Ps 74:13 and Isa 30:6 (1904: 53–60; cf 3d ed., pp. 9–21). Jeremias likewise saw the similarity between the temples depicted in Neo-Assyrian reliefs (a temple on a mountain with a park and rivers) and the descriptions of Paradise in Genesis 2 and Ezekiel 28 (3d ed., pp. 65–87). Along the same line as Jeremias, L. Dürr (1917) systematically used the ancient oriental iconography along with the texts to come to an appropriate understanding of the complex visions in Ezekiel 1 and 10.

In his first work which treated an ancient oriental theme, H. Gunkel (1895) still made no use of the ancient oriental iconography. In his commentary on the Psalms, however, he frequently cited ancient Mesopotamian and Egyptian pictures, particularly for the Royal Psalms (Psalms 2, 45, 110, etc.), identifying a number of common points. For example, he compared Ps 110:1, which speaks of making a footstool of enemies, to an Egyptian tomb painting depicting subjugated peoples beneath a royal footstool (*Psalms* HKAT, 481ff.; see Davies and Gardiner 1936, 1: pl. 29; Keel 1972: fig. 341). It is striking that his introduction refers only to "ancient oriental lyrics" with the intention to "clarify both the similarity and contrast to the singularity of the Bible" (*Psalms* HKAT, viii): Theory was limping behind practice.

The comparative work done by Gressman, Jeremias, Gunkel, and other scholars was based on a liberal theology that assumed that any expression of the human spirit could contain potential insights into the nature and deeds of God *(revelatio generalis).* The danger, to which they often fell victim, was a leveling

of biblical belief whenever it could not be completely integrated into the contemporaneous world. K. Barth led the dialectic theology which responded in the 1920's by asserting that the biblical revelation alone was totally different from everything conceivable in the religions of Egypt and Mesopotamia. Comparisons could merely demonstrate that the biblical message expressed serious doubts about everything of any significance in the entire ancient world. The best policy was to avoid all comparisons, lest the suspicion arise that analogies were advocated. Only Scripture could elucidate Scripture. All forms of nonbiblical comparison were thus brought to a halt. The a priori assertion of an absolute and total uniqueness for the Bible was, of course, not intellectually satisfying.

Archaeologists, after all, were nevertheless emphasizing the influence of the ANE on the Bible. In the 1950s, Parrot published a series of studies in the *Cahiers d'Archéologie Biblique,* where elements of ANE art were compared with biblical passages. In his 2 books dealing with the tower of Babel (1949; 1954) he criticized the restrictive view of the Bible which had failed to grasp the iconographically established significance of the ziggurat. He himself often showed a strong attraction to historicizing interpretations (cf., e.g., Parrot 1955). In *Babylone et l'Ancien Testament* (1956), half a dozen pictures for Ezekiel 1 were presented; the insights, however, do not go any farther than those of Dürr (1917). A year later (1957: 11) he illustrated the conception of Paradise in Genesis 2 (4 rivers, Cherubim, etc.) with the famous Mari wall painting (See Keel 1972: fig. 191; the scene is only partially reproduced in *ANEP*, no. 610). For the god gathering his foes in a net (Hab 1:14), he cited the Stele of Eannatum (*ANEP*, no. 298), and almost 50 pages are devoted to Canaanite divine images, with their correspondences in the Bible. Vanel's comprehensive study on the iconography of the weather god (1965) scrupulously avoided references to the Bible since a second volume (which has not appeared) was intended to show how these Canaanite concepts were adopted and adapted in biblical texts.

The 1950's also saw the appearance of 2 large pictorial works. The first is Pritchard's classic and still extremely useful collection (*ANEP*), which is, however, dominated by an historico-cultural orientation; beside this, the reader must take the initiative in supplying the purported "relationship" to the OT. The second collection is that edited by Mazar, Avi-Yonah, and Malamat (1958). In this work, connections between the pictures and biblical texts are explicitly made, but in a partial, secular manner reflecting historical and semi-historical ideas that cannot do justice to ANE art, which was primarily conceptual in form and ideological or religious in content.

After the Second World War there arose a great deal of interest in other cultures (including the ancient ones). It was taken for granted that the different religions should be compared. The time was ripe to compare the ancient oriental iconography with the (ideal?) biblical conceptions, not in its historical character or in the context of the development of civilization, but in its primarily ideological-religious character. Building on efforts in the history of religions at the turn of the century (Jeremias, Gressmann), Keel (1972) attempted a systematic comparison of ideas about the world, the temple, the king, etc. found in the Psalms, with concepts represented in ANE art, identifying points of contact and divergence. The attempted comparison is that of thought with thought, and pictures are only one type of evidence, while words are another. For the representation of the world, Keel was inspired by H. Schaefer's study on the representation of the world by the ancient Egyptians, while the chapter on the king stood under the influence of H. Frankfort (1969). While Pritchard (*ANEP*, nos. 376–463) illustrates royalty almost exclusively with "portraits" (see, e.g., *ANEP*, no. 419), Keel (1972) illustrates the *role* of Pharaoh using relief cycles of the birth, enthronement, temple foundation, etc., stressing the role and functions of the king (not royal individualities) and comparing this role with that played by the Israelite king in the Royal Psalms.

In recent years Keel endeavored to show that certain of the motifs used in the Bible were to be found not only in Egyptian Temple reliefs, or their counterparts in the Assyrian palaces, etc., but also in the realm of miniatures, such as seals, amulets, ivories, textiles, etc. which were well distributed in Israel itself. He was able to interpret Isaiah 6, Ezekiel 1 and 10, and Zechariah 4 by drawing on contemporaneous glyptic art (1977). See Fig. ICO.19. A year later (1978) he interpreted the singular passage in Job 39 (where Yahweh refers to his dealings with lions, wild oxen, onagers, ostriches, etc.) as

an exploitation of the "Lord of the Animals" motif, thus providing this part of the speech with a meaning, without being obliged to seek recourse in modern theological reasoning. See Fig. ICO.20. The advantage of a picture for the clear representation of stellar constellations was particularly useful for the interpretation of Job 38 (concerning the significance of constellations in general, see Assmann 1983: 54–60).

In his comprehensive work on women and goddesses, U. Winter (1983) compared the images of Syrian goddesses with the feminine ideals (and their negative counterparts) found in the Bible. In 2 contributions to the interpretation of the Song of Songs, Keel (1984; *Song of Songs* ZBK) has used Egyptian and Mesopotamian sources in order to isolate the Egyptian and Mesopotamian motifs in the love song. For example, the dove as the messenger of love (cf. Jesus' baptism, where the dove represents the words "You are my son, whom I love," Mark 1:10) is clearly a concept originating in W Asia (see Fig. ICO.21), while the lotus (as a symbol of regeneration) is thoroughly Egyptian.

S. Schroer (1987) has collected and critically analyzed all the accounts about representative art in the OT and related them to the finds of the archaeological work done in biblical lands. A global presentation of Canaanite-Israelite iconography (cf. Keel and Schroer 1985) presupposes a systematic treatment of the smaller works of art—especially the seals (Keel 1986a; 1986b; Keel, Keel-Leu, and Schroer 1989)—to provide material for further comparative work, the possibilities and methodology of which will demand more reflection in order to consolidate what has been hitherto achieved, and to assure a solid basis for additional possible results.

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OTHMAR KEEL

**IDALAH** (PLACE) [Heb *yid*ʿ*ălâ* (יִדְאֲלָה)]. A town located in the territory of Zebulun (Josh 19:15). Many scholars emend the name to Iralah (*GTTOT,* 183) on the basis of the reading of the Talmud. Kallai

notes that the Jerusalem Talmud identifies Iralah with a site called Huriyah (*HGB*, 417). This site has been linked with the remains at Kh. el-Hurwarah (M.R. 167236) located SW of the Bethlehem in Zebulun and 9.5 miles N of Megiddo.

MELVIN HUNT

**IDBASH** (PERSON) [Heb *yidbaš* (יִדְבָּשׁ)]. Idbash is listed in the OT as being related to Etam of the tribe of Judah in 1 Chr 4:3. The MT of this verse reads "And these the father of Etam: Jezreel and Ishma and Idbash; and the name of their sister was Hazzelelponi." Since this phrase apparently makes no sense, we would expect the versions to differ in their understanding of this passage, which is precisely what we have. The LXX reads "And these are the sons of Aitam: Jezrael (Gk *iezraēl*) and Jesman (Gk *iesman*) and Jebdas (Gk *iebdas*); and the name of their sister was Eselebbon." The LXX form of the name is easily accounted for as a metathesis of the labial *b* and the dental *d*. But which is the authentic reading: "father" or "son" of Etam? The Targum to Chronicles solves the problem by reading "And these are the chiefs who were dwelling in Etam: Jezreel and Ishma and Idbash; and the name of their sister was Hazzelelponi." The quite-unreliable (for Chronicles) Peshitta reads, "And these are the sons of Aminadab: Ahizarel (Syr *ʾăḥîzarʿēl*) and Neshma (Syr *nēšmāʾ*) and Dibash (Syr *dîbāš*)." The Vg interprets *ʾăbî* differently by reading "That too is the *stock* of Etam: Iezrahel and Iesema and Iedebos; and the name of their sister was Asalelphuni." The great diversity between the versions demonstrates their inability to understand the Hebrew text.

Probably the best solution is still that of C. F. Keil (1978: 86) who proposed that on the basis of the end of the preceding verse, *mišpaḥâ* should be supplied. The whole clause would then be elliptical for "And these are the [families/clans] of Abi Etam." The noun, *ʾăbî,* would then be part of the name of the individual. This reading has the principle of the *lectio difficilior* in its favor, as well as fitting more naturally with the expected connection to the previous verse (which the RSV lacks, as pointed out by Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 59). The name *yidbaš* is probably a verbal form cognate with the noun *debaš* meaning "honey," which was most likely named for its black or brown color (cf. *BDB* 185). It then would literally mean "he will be brown" or "may he be brown" (if a jussive).

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H. ELDON CLEM

**IDDO** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿiddô* (עִדּוֹ)]. Var. JADDAI; ADAIAH. The English translation of several different Hebrew names *(ʾiddô; ʿiddô; ʿiddoʾ; ʿiddôʾ; yiddô),* some etymologically related, others possibly not. The name seems to have arisen in Babylon during the 6th century B.C.E.and to have been relatively popular in postexilic Judah, expecially in priestly circles. The occurrence of the name in an authentic source from the time of the united monarchy seems to have resulted from Massoretic assimilation to this postexilic name (see #1). Found authentically within the book of Zechariah and the Ezra and Nehemiah memoirs, the Chronicler then employed the name anachronistically in order to fill out incomplete Levitical genealogies (see #2), to establish the administrative structure for the Davidic kingdom (see #3), and to provide prophetic legitimation for portions of his history (see #4).

**1.** The father of Ahinadab, a district governor under Solomon in the region of Mahanaim, the S half of the Transjordan (1 Kgs 4:14). 1 Kings 14 provides the only preexilic context where the name Iddo appears in the biblical writings. This statement, however, is slightly misleading. The name is embedded in what is generally regarded as an authentic source from the reign of Solomon (Mettinger 1971:111–27). Yet the identification of the Hebrew name here *(ʿiddoʾ)* with similar postexilic names is not without difficulties and is complicated further by the textual variations of the name in the various versions of 1 Kgs 4:14. The appearance of the name Iddo in 1 Kgs 4:14 may be the result of the Massoretic assimilation of a rare early name to a more common postexilic name than of onomastic continuity throughout the history of Israel.

**2.** According to 1 Chronicles, a Gershomite (1 Chr 6:6—Eng6:21). Iddo *(ʿiddô)* first appears as a Levite in 1 Chr 6:6 (—Eng 6:21) as the son of Joah and the father of Zerah. He appears soon after in 1 Chr 6:26 (—Eng 6:41) within the genealogy of his kinsman Asaph, this time as Adaiah *(ʿadāyāh),* a Yahwistic form of the same name. This text still portrays him as the father of Zerah, but changes his father to Ethan. Such discrepancies within 2 genealogical lists have led to several hypotheses concerning the origin and nature of the Levitical genealogies in 1 Chronicles 5–6. See JAHATH. Yet the structure of the lists suggest that they were composed by the Chronicler himself for the purposes of his history (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 68–72). Iddo the Gershomite, therefore, most likely represents the Chronicler's borrowing of a prominent name from the Second Temple period to complete artificial Levitical genealogies.

**3.** The prince over the half-tribe of Manasseh in Gilead during the reign of David, according to the Chronicler (1 Chr 27:21). The inclusion of both the sons of Levi and the sons of Aaron into the 12-tribe structure of Israel reveals the late, artificial nature of the list of the princes of Israel in 1 Chr 27:16–22. Iddo here appears as the son of Zechariah, reversing the genealogical relationship between Zechariah the prophet and Iddo his "father." The Chronicler thereby seems to have retrojected both Zechariah and Iddo anachronistically into the reign of David.

**4.** According to the Chronicler, the prophetic author of histories of the reigns of Jereboam (with pertinent information on the reign of Solomon, 2 Chr 9:29), Rehoboam (2 Chr 12:15) and Abijah (2 Chr 13:22). If the onomastic variation (compare, *yeʿddoy,* 2 Chr 9:29 with *ʿiddô,* 2 Chr 12:15 and 13:22) is inconsequential as is generally assumed, the Chronicler portrays Iddo as one of the most-prominent historians in the history of Israel, the author or coauthor of 3 different works: his "visions" *(ḥezôt)* concerning Jereboam the son of Nebat (2 Chr 9:29); a genealogical "record" *(dibrē)* coauthored with Shemaiah the prophet (2 Chr 12:15); and a "misdrash" *(midraš)* of Iddo the prophet (2 Chr 13:22). The Chronicler here transforms Iddo from a "seer" *(haḥozeh)* to a "prophet" *(hannābîʾ),* a change that suggests the prophet's special advisory role to the king in Chronicles (see Micheel 1983: 38). Whether the Chronicler actually knew of and drew upon such independent historical accounts is a matter of debate and largely contingent upon the presupposed historical accuracy of the non-synoptic materials in Chronicles. Literary analysis of similar references to the activities and writings of prophets and seers, however, suggests that the Chronicler invented such references to legitimate his portrayal of the history of Judah (see Micheel 1983: 79–80).

**5.** The grandfather of Zechariah the prophet (Zech 1:1). While the book of Ezra (Ezra 5:1 and 6:14) names Zechariah as the "son of Iddo," the introduction to the book of Zechariah ("Zechariah the son of Berechiah, son of Iddo," Zech 1:1) more accurately describes Iddo as the grandfather of Zechariah or possibly the name of Zechariah's family. While we cannot with certainty place Iddo, and thus Zechariah within a priestly family, it seems that the editor of Ezra-Nehemiah did. The editor of the Nehemiah Memoir found Iddo as a familial name in an authentic priestly list from the early 5th century B.C.E. (Neh 12:6) and erroneously portrayed him as a priestly participant in the repatriation of Judah under Zerubbabel (Neh 12:4; see Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 358–61). This same editor, then, would have used Iddo as a best means to tie Zechariah into a priestly family and to identify him within the Ezra Memoirs (Ezra 5:1; 6:14).

**6.** A Judean community leader in Babylon, whom Ezra petitioned for Levitical personnel necessary for Ezra's Jerusalem temple reforms (Ezra 8:17). Iddo *(ʾiddô)* responded by releasing 38 Levites and 220 temple slaves to Ezra (Ezra 8:18–20). The narrative, embedded within the authentic Ezra Memoir, clearly presupposes Iddo's role as a leading person within the Judean diaspora community of Casiphia. Indications within the passage of the presence of a Judean temple in Casiphia (see Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 165–66), Iddo's association with, but superior status to the temple slaves ("his brothers, the temple slaves," v 17), and the subsequent release of temple slaves to Ezra suggest that Iddo occupied a top administrative position within a Judean temple enclave in Babylon, a social structure commonly found within Achamenid Babylon (see Dandamaev 1984: 56–58; 506–8; and 522–24). Iddo of Casiphia,

therefore, was most likely a priest, especially in light of the presence of a priestly familial name Iddo in Babylon (see #5).

**7.** A Judean, from the family of Nebo, who divorced his non-Judean wife under the threat of complete ostracism from the Jerusalem temple state under the reforms of Ezra (Ezra 10:43). See JERIMOTH.

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JOHN W. WRIGHT

**IDOL, IDOLATRY.** An idol is a physical representation of a deity, usually used as an object of worship, though idols and images were used in a variety of ways throughout the ANE.

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A. Images in the ANE
B. Images in Israel
C. Images in the NT

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**A. Images in the ANE**

A major focus of worship in Mesopotamia from the Sargonic period on (Hallo 1983: 4–11; 1988: 54–66) and in Egypt was the cult image. While there are few extant examples of these statues, literary texts and artistic representations provide significant information as to their manufacture, appearance, and use in the ancient world. These statues varied in size, appearance, and method of manufacture (see *RLA* 6: 310–13), but cult statues in Mesopotamia were typically life-size and made of a wooden core overlaid with metal and precious stones. The statue played a central role in various cult festivals (*RLA* 3:480–83) and the proper care of the statue was an essential task of the priests. Hallo (1970) has suggested that many divine hymns were composed at the dedication of the cult statue and were used on important cult occasions involving the statue. Prayers were continually deposited before these images.

Akkadian texts give instructions for making these statues (Oppenheim 1977: 186). They were to be made of specific materials and detailed procedures were to be followed in their manufacture. In the Erra Epic, Erra points out to Marduk that his appearance and attire (i.e., that of his statue) have lost their luster, presumably because the people had neglected Marduk's cult. Marduk explains that after a previous disaster caused by him, he changed the location where *mesu* wood, lapiz lazulli, and the kind of gold needed to make cult statues could be obtained. Marduk's statue could not be properly restored without the specific materials and craftsmen required for the project.

In addition to the general requirements that prevailed for cult statues, some texts suggest that in Babylon images of particular deities had to be made in a specific way for the statue to be legitimate. A text describing Nabu-apla-iddina's restoration of the Šamaš cult at Sippar (9th cent. B.C.E.) reports that the statue of Šamaš had been taken in a raid by the Sutu, and consequently the Šamaš cult had been neglected. An earlier king had tried to restore the cult and had sought instruction from the gods as to how the statue was to be made. He did not receive the necessary instruction and was thus unable to make the statue. He was forced to reinstitute the cult using another symbol of Šamaš. In the course of Nabu-apla-iddina's general restoration, a priest found a clay model of Šamaš, and this made it possible to make a new cult image. According to Lambert (1957–58: 399), "The providential finding of the model alone made possible the manufacture of a totally new statue, for had one been made without the model, it would not have been Shamash." In Assyria and Egypt more flexibility as to how images of deities were made seems to have been permitted, but fairly fixed general conventions were followed.

Apart from the earliest periods, when deities were sometimes depicted theriomorphically (Jacobsen 1967: 14), and a number of minor deities were depicted as animals or as part-human, part-animal (Köcher 1953: 57–105), gods in Mesopotamia were depicted anthropomorphically. It seems clear that the basic purpose of the statues was not to describe the appearance of the god since there is little difference in how the various deities are depicted. Often the only basis for determining the god represented is the symbol or

weapon characteristic of that particular god. There is, in fact, little difference in size, shape, features, etc. between the way humans and deities are depicted in Mesopotamia, and many statues once thought to be gods are now recognized as votive statues of worshippers (Spycket 1968: 105) presented by them to the god. The criteria for distinguishing the image of a deity from that of a human being is that the gods are depicted wearing the horned crown and the flounced garment (Hallo 1983: 4–5). Occasionally a stone without any representation is called an image *(ṣalam)* of an individual. As Dalley (1986: 88) notes, "This shows that the noun [*ṣalmu*, 'image'] may also stand for an object that represents a person without bearing a picture of him."

In Egypt, too, "gods are recognized, not from their facial traits or bodily stature, but from the emblems they bear, or drom the head of their sacred animal placed on a human body" (Bleeker 1973: 23). Often the face on Egyptian statues of gods is the face of the reigning monarch. Gods are depicted in various ways in Egypt (see Hornung 1982: 100–42), and the same god is often depicted in both human and animal form. Anthropomorphic depictions of gods are relatively rare in the early periods, but there is little evidence to suggest an evolutionary development. Certain gods like Min were from the earliest time only depicted anthropomorphically, and most gods were depicted in animal forms to the end of Egypt's independence. One way of representing a god did not replace other forms. Rather, different ways of depicting the same god existed side by side. In one example from the Louvre, 4 different ways of representing the goddess Hathor are presented next to one another (Hornung 1982: 113 n. 27). This makes it clear that images were not intended to describe the appearance of the god. Rather, they depict various ways in which the deity was thought to manifest himself or herself, and the images were meant to describe aspects of the function and attributes of the god. As Frankfort (1961: 12) has suggested the images were "probably pictograms rather than portraits."

While the incident about the statue of Dagan in 1 Samuel 5 makes it clear that cult statues were used by Israel's neighbors, representations of gods from Syria-Palestine are limited in number, and no cult statues are extant. There are, however, many figurines that have been identified as deities. It is likely, as Tigay (1986: 91) has noted, that some of these are in fact votive statues since they are lacking the distinctive symbols of divinity such as the Hathor headdress, papyrus stalks, and lotus blossoms or animals beneath their feet. At the same time certain statuettes and artistic representations have been plausibly identified as Baal. As Dever (1987: 226) points out, "The most common are rather standardized representations of a warlike Baal, often brandishing in his upraised arm a bundle of thunderbolts," representing his function as storm god. He is regularly depicted wearing a horned crown. In some instances he is represented as a bull or standing on the back of a bull. Several representations from Ugarit have been identified as El. They depict him as an old man with a thick beard seated on a throne and wearing a horned crown; as Caquot and Sznycer (1980: 12) note, "The representations of the god confirm and complete the descriptions given in the texts." Many female figurines, plausibly identified as Asherah (e.g., Maier 1986: 81–121) have been found. They are usually nude and with the reproductive aspects emphasized.

To the Egyptians and Mesopotamians—and almost certainly to the Canaanites as well—images were not the inanimate objects that the Hebrew prophets insisted they were; rather, they were living, feeling beings in which the deity was actually present. The primary significance of images lay in the fact that the life of the deity was thought to be present in the statue. The Egyptian view is expressed in a passage from the Memphite Theology which says, "He placed the gods in their shrines, He settled their offerings, He established their shrines, He made their bodies according to their wishes. Thus the gods entered into their bodies, Of every wood, every stone, every clay" (*AEL* 1:55). The gods were thought to manifest themselves in a variety of ways and to animate a variety of objects, but the cult image was a primary focus of the god's presence on earth. Numerous Egyptian texts (though coming mostly from the Greek and Roman periods) describe the god in the form of a bird descending from heaven to alight on his image. Morenz (1973: 157) says that this figure "represents the living substance of the deity which is imparted to the inanimate image." A similar view of images existed in Mesopotamia and appears to be an idea commonly associated with the use of images in religion (Bernhardt 1956). Oppenheim (1977: 184) says, "Fundamentally, the deity was considered present in its image … The god moved with the image when it

was carried off … Only on the mythological level were the deities thought to reside in cosmic localities." It is this living presence of the deity in the statue that accounts for the Mesopotamian practice of taking away the gods of a conquered people and depositing them in the temple of the victorious deity. This demonstrated the power of the conquering god and removed the deity from the conquered area so that he or she would not be able to help the people overthrow the conqueror's authority. Certain literary compositions celebrate the return of the deity from exile to his or her city and the subsequent prosperity that the god's presence brings.

This living presence of the god in the image was magically accomplished through the "opening (or washing) of the mouth" ceremony, a ceremony that Jacobsen (1987: 15–32) suggests was a cultic reenactment of the birth of the deity in heaven. The presence of the deity in the statue was then maintained through offerings and the proper care of the statue. Morenz (1973: 155) says that "from early times onward Egyptians were not satisfied with just fashioning an image, i.e., with the creation of a work of art. On the contrary, a ritual was performed on the statues while they were still in the sculptor's workshop …, as a result of which the work of human hands was thought to come alive. This ceremony of 'opening the mouth' had the purpose of making all the organs serviceable and so vitalizing the image." An Akkadian text (Ebeling 1931: 120–21) dealing with the consecration of a sacred object (perhaps a statue, although the text is broken at the point where the object is mentioned) describes the purpose of the ceremony. It reads "this [statue?] without the mouth-opening ceremony cannot smell incense, cannot eat food, and cannot drink water." Some texts suggest that the opening of the mouth ritual was performed on the statue periodically in order to maintain the vitality of the statue.

The daily care given to the statue reflects the belief that the statue was alive and thus needed the same attention and sustenance that any living individual would require. Two meals a day were provided for the images in the Uruk temple, and Oppenheim (1977: 188–89) has provided a composite picture of these meals. A table was brought in and placed before the image, and water for washing was provided. Various dishes including specific cuts of meat were presented to the statue and finally fruit was brought in an aesthetically attractive arrangement. Musicians played during the meal and curtains were drawn around the statue while the image partook of the food. The table was cleared and water was again provided for washing after the meal. Great attention was also given to proper and splendid attire for the image.

A similar situation prevailed in Egypt. Except for festive occasions when the image was carried in procession along the festival routes in a special shrine—where it was still normally hidden from the people—the cult statue was kept in a dark niche in the interior of the temple where it was accessible only to the officiating priest. Each day the priest opened the shrine containing the image, cleansed and perfumed it with incense, put a crown on it, and anointed and beautified it with cosmetics. According to Morenz (1973: 88) the purpose of this cultivation "was to furnish the image with vital force and to ensure that the deity—with whom it is not identical—lodges within it."

Among the numerous figurines used for apotropaic purposes are some that can be identified as deities, and perhaps some of these were household gods similar to the *tĕrāpîm* of Gen 31:30. The protective function of many of the Mesopotamian figures is clear from inscriptions like "that the foot of evil may not approach a man's house" or "overthrower of the evil *gallû* demons" found on some of them (see Rittig 1977: 185–208 for a collection of these inscriptions). They also probably served to promote good fortune and prosperity for those who possessed them.

**B. Images in Israel**

The position of official Israelite religion as defined in the Hebrew Bible stands in striking contrast to the thought and practice of their ANE neighbors. The Israelite view is clearly stated in Exod 20:4–5a, "You shall not make for yourselves a graven image *(pesel)* or any likeness *(tĕmûnâ)* of what is in heaven above or on the earth below or in the water under the earth. You shall not worship them or serve them; for I, the LORD your God am a jealous God." This prohibition of images is repeated in Exod 20:23; 34:17; Lev 19:4; 26:1; Deut 4:15–19, 25; 5:8, and is probably presupposed in Josh 24:18–23. The prohibition seems to underlie both the prophetic condemnation of Israel and Judah (e.g., Jer 11:10–13) and the prophetic contempt for images in passages like Jer 10:3–5.

The earliest date for the prohibition is difficult to establish without dispute (see Curtis 1984: 274–86) because of differences of opinion among critical scholars about the date of the various sources, and the various components of those sources generally assumed to underlie the Pentateuch. While some scholars argue for an origin of the prohibition that predates the conquest and provides a basis for the Israelites' resistance to assimilating their beliefs with those of the Canaanites, others would argue for a later date for the origin of the material. All would agree, however, that the prohibition was in place by the time of the 8th century prophets Isaiah, Hosea and Micah.

The negative attitude of Israel's official religion is clearly illustrated in the biblical vocabulary used for images. A number of words for images are descriptive of the way the image was made or the material from which it was made. The word *pesel* comes from a root that means "to hew, hew into shape" and the verb is used of shaping stones of various kinds. The word *ʿāṣāb* comes from a root that means "to shape or form." The words *massēkâ, nesek,* and *nasîk* are all probably related to the root *nāsak,* "to pour out," and the words refer primarily to molten images. Words such as *semel, s\elem,* and *tĕrāpîm* are of uncertain etymology. A few words denote the resemblance between the image and that which it depicts or represents. The word *tabnît* means "copy" or "pattern," and it can refer to the pattern from which something is made (e.g., Exod 25:9; 2 Kgs 16:10) or that which resembles its prototype (e.g., Deut 4:16; Josh 22:28). other words for images such as *dĕmût,* "likeness," and *tĕmûnâ,* "form, shape," belong in this category as well.

Another group of words constitutes a theological evaluation of images and the gods they represent (in general the biblical authors made little distinction between the two), and it is here that the contempt in which idols were held by the prophets is evident. Images were called *gillûlîm,* (e.g., Jer 50:2; Ezek 22:3–4); irrespective of etymology, it appears that the negative and derogatory associations of the word come from its similarity to the words *gēl* and *gālāl,* both of which mean "dung." Thus the idols are referred to as "dung pellets." The word *ʾĕlîlîm* sounds much like *ʾĕlōhîm,* "god," but it suggests rather an association with the adjective *ʾĕlîl,* "weak, worthless." The biblical authors declare that the "god" that the person thinks he is worshipping is in fact worthless and weak and impotent (e.g., Lev 26:1). Habakkuk calls the images made by the craftsman "dumb, worthless idols" (2:18–20). Another word for idol is *šiqqûṣ,* "detestable thing" (e.g., Ezek 20:7–8). The related noun *šeqeṣ* is used of various ritually unclean creatures that would render anyone eating them ceremonially unclean. Thus idols pollute anyone using them and render them unclean before God. The word *tôʿēbâ* refers to that which goes against established religious or ethical conventions, and more specifically to that which violates the moral and ritual standards of God's covenant with Israel. An idol is an abomination (Isa 44:19), and Jer 16:18 and Ezek 5:11 make it clear that idols are an abomination that pollutes the land.

Idols are *hebel,* "that which is insubstantial or worthless" (Jer 10:14–15); they are *šeqer,* "deception, falsehood" (Jer 10:14; 51:17); they are *šāwʾ,* "emptiness, vanity" (Ps 31:7; Jonah 2:9); and they are *mipleṣet,* "that which causes trembling" (1 Kgs 15:13).

The Bible does not give a clearly articulated basis for the prohibition of images, and in all probability there was not a single basis. From one perspective Israelite religion did not need an explanation for the prohibition: Yahweh had declared his sovereign will as to how he was to be worshipped, and no further justification was required (Faur 1978: 1). Deut 4:12–18 does provide an explanation, though it involves associative logic rather than formal linear logic. The passage declares that because at Sinai the people saw no shape *(tĕmûnâ)* but only heard a voice, they were not to make an image *(pesel)* in the shape *(tĕmûnat)* of any idol *(kōl samel).* Since the context has to do with the way God chooses to manifest himself, the point of the passage seems to be that God makes himself known to his people through words rather than through a form. other passages make it clear that God does sometimes assume a form, and Moses is said to have seen the form *(tĕmûnâ)* of God in Num 12:8; presumably Moses and the elders who looked at Yahweh (Exod 24:10–11) could have made a figure of what they saw. Yahweh, unlike the gods of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Canaan, did not manifest himself through images. His self-disclosure came through a revelation in words, and the Sinai experience constituted a paradigm of God's self-disclosure to Israel; thus images were prohibited.

At a later time the author of Isa 40:18, 25 argued that Yahweh is incomparable and thus no form would be adequate to represent him. The prophets (e.g., Jer 10:3–5; 51:17; Isa 42:17) deny that idols are alive and thus ridicule the worship of a lifeless and impotent object made by a person. Finally an important pragmatic consequence of the prohibition was that it minimized the danger of assimilating foreign religious values and the resulting syncretism. The context in which the prohibition of images is given in the Ten Commandments suggests that its basic purpose was to prohibit images as a focus of worship rather than to eliminate the possibility of art (Gutmann 1961: 161–74).

Despite the prohibition of images in Israel's official religion and the contempt for images found throughout the prophets, a number of biblical passages make it clear that the problem of idolatry continued through much of Israel's history. It was only after the Babylonian Exile that the problem was effectively eradicated. The exact nature of what is described is often not clear since the authors do not normally distinguish between worshipping other gods (with or without images), the worship of images, and the worship of Yahweh using images. From the standpoint of the official religion described in the Bible all were equally repugnant.

Exodus 32–34 recounts the making of a golden calf by the Israelites in the wilderness as they grew impatient about Moses' delay in returning from the mountain. It is clear that they were attempting to insure god's/God's presence, and the calf was meant to accomplish that. It is not clear whether the calf was meant as an image of Yahweh or of another god (either Egyptian or Canaanite). See also GOLDEN CALF. It is possible that the calf was meant as a pedestal on which Yahweh (perhaps conceived as invisible) was enthroned since various Canaanite deities are often depicted standing on an animal typically associated with them. Uncertainties in understanding the details of Exodus 32–34 are compounded by (1) the similarities between this passage and the account of Jeroboam's dedication of the golden calves in 1 Kgs 12:28, and (2) the failure of scholars to reach a consensus concerning the chronological priority of the passages.

The story of Micah's image in Judges 17–18 describes the use of an idol during the period of the judges. The context does not make it clear how Micah or the Danites viewed the image, or even whether they understood it as an image of Yahweh, though that seems probable. It does seem clear that both the Danites and Micah viewed the use of the image and the private shrine in which it was used as legitimate. The editor of the book of Judges evaluates the incident from the perspective of the official religion, and the point of the story in its present context is that the incident illustrates how bad things were when "there was no king in Israel" and when "every man did that which was right in his own eyes."

The incident about Gideon's ephod (Judg 8:26–27)—whatever exactly the ephod was—may only make the point that an object that was not originally intended as an idol can become an object of worship and thus lead to idolatry, a point also illustrated by the bronze serpent that Moses made in the wilderness (2 Kgs 18:4; cf. Num 21:4–9).

A kind of thinking similar to that associated with the use of images outside Israel is found in 1 Samuel 4–6, but the focus is the ark rather than an idol. The Israelites attributed their defeat at the hands of the Philistines to the fact that the LORD was not with them. They brought the ark into the next battle in order to insure that the LORD would be present so as to assure their victory. It seems likely from vv 6–8 that the Philistines understood the Israelite strategy in terms of bringing a cult statue into battle. The Israelites were defeated and the ark was captured by the Philistines; as was commonly done with cult statues in Babylon and Assyria, the Philistines took the ark (the functional equivalent of an image) and presented it to Dagan (i.e., to his cult statue). The subsequent story of the cult image of Dagan falling broken before the ark and the problems encountered in each city to which the ark was taken made it clear to both Israel and the Philistines that Yahweh, despite the loss of the ark, is sovereign.

Gen 31:30–35 describes Laban's search for his household gods *(tĕrāpîm),* which were small enough to be hidden under a saddle. Their use reflects the custom in Aram, and perhaps they were similar to the numerous figurines, many of them of deities, found throughout the Near East. other passages indicate that teraphim were used in divination (Ezek 21:21; Zech 10:2). Their use is condemned in 1 Sam 15:23 and 2 Kgs 23:24, though some have taken Hos 3:4 to imply that the use of teraphim was considered legitimate

in some circles. The mention of teraphim in David's house in 1 Sam 19:13 is problematic in that it appears to refer to an object that was the size of a person and thus much larger than both the teraphim described in the other texts or the figures known from archaeological excavations (see Pritchard 1943; Negbi 1976).

Many of the references to the use of images are connected with the court. Solomon permitted his foreign wives to bring the worship of their gods into the areas outside Jerusalem according to 1 Kgs 11:5–8, and this probably involved some physical representations of these deities. These syncretistic tendencies continued. Asa, Solomon's great-grandson, destroyed images made by his father and removed Maacah, the queen mother, because she set up an "object that caused trembling," apparently some sort of image to Asherah. Asa burned the object which was apparently made of wood (1 Kgs 15: 12–13). However, these practices remained in Judah until the fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians, reaching their height during the time of Manasseh (2 Kgs 21:1–7).

Jeroboam I (1 Kgs 12:28–33) introduced a form of Yahweh worship into Israel that used images of bulls (perhaps as a pedestal for the invisible Yahweh), a form of worship that the prophets and religious leaders of Judah viewed as idolatry (e.g., 1 Kgs 13:33–34). Ahab's marriage to Jezebel brought the religion of Tyre into Samaria and began a period of regular confrontation between the prophets Elijah and Elisha and the devotees of Baal worship. It is probable that there was a statue of Baal along with a representation of Asherah in the Baal temple in Samaria (1 Kgs 16:32–33). Jehoram, son of Ahab "put away the pillar of Baal that his father made" (2 Kgs 3:2) and various representations appear to have been used throughout the history of the northern kingdom.

It is difficult to assess the extent of idolatry among the general population of Judah and Israel because the relevant biblical accounts are generally polemic in nature and make little attempt at statistical analysis; in addition the focus tends to be on the leadership rather than describing the practices of the common people. The texts describing the participation of the people in idolatry give a conflicting impression of its extent. The accounts of Baal worship during the time of Ahab suggest that the worship had a fairly extensive popular following. 1 Kgs 18:19 reports that there were 850 prophets of Baal and Asherah on Mt. Carmel with Elijah. In the midst of Elijah's discouragement, God declares that there were 7,000 who had not bowed down to Baal. If the number is not a figurative one, it would represent a fairly small portion of the population that had remained loyal to Yahweh. At the same time that Jehu killed all the worshippers of Baal—some 10 years after the death of Ahab—he gathered them together in one temple and had 80 soldiers kill the entire group (2 Kgs 10:18–28). The perspective of the prophets is that the people of both Israel and Judah were, at many points in their history, not deeply committed to strict obedience to the covenant; instead, they were involved, at least at a popular and superstitious level, in syncretistic religious practices, often influenced by their Canaanite neighbors whose religion seems to have retained many common features despite significant chronological, cultural, and geographical differences among those who practiced it (Oden 1976: 31–36).

Archaeological data from Israel have contributed significantly to reconstructing religious practices in Israel. Israelite personal names found on seals and inscriptions, most of which date to the 8th century B.C.E., suggest that the great majority of people worshipped Yahweh rather than other gods (Tigay 1986: 41). At the same time, Israelite shrines found at Arad, Kuntillet ʿAjrud, and other sites (Dever 1987: 232–33) make it clear that actual practice in the 8th century and before was much more varied than the Deuteronomic ideal demanded.

The sanctuaries at Arad (Aharoni 1969: 25–39) date between the time of Solomon (10th century B.C.E.) and the end of the First Temple period (ca. 600 B.C.E.), and correspond in a number of respects to the Temple in Jerusalem. Altars were found with evidence that sacrifices were offered at this sanctuary. In addition a stone pillar or *maṣṣēbâ* was found in the sanctuary. Excavations from Kuntillet ʿAjrud, a remote site in the NE Sinai, S of Beersheba, have revealed drawings of human and other figures along with graffiti and inscriptions which include the names Yahweh, Baal, Asherah, and El. The figures appear to be in violation of the commandment against making the likeness of anything in heaven, on earth, or under the earth (Deut 4:8). A large storage jar, dating to about 800 B.C.E., on which human and other

figures were painted, includes the words *lyhwh š mrn wlʾšrth,* "to Yahweh of Samaria (or our keeper) and his *ʾšrt."* The inscription has been variously interpreted (see Tigay 1986: 26–29, 93; Emerton 1982:2–20; Dever 1984: 21–37; Holladay 1987: 258–59); some have argued that *ʾšrt* refers to a cult object of some sort while others have taken it as evidence that Yahweh was thought to have a consort (his asherah). Kuntillet ʿAjrud most likely was a border fortress frequented by various ethnic and religious groups, and in addition to the uncertainty in interpreting the meaning of the drawings and inscriptions, it is difficult to determine whether the evidence for practices that differ significantly from the Deuteronomic ideal are typical of practices throughout Israel, and are in any sense illustrative of the kinds of practices condemned by the prophets. The evidence pertaining to the use of idols in Israel is sparse and as Dever (1983: 573) notes, "No monumental Israelite art survives. No Israelite statuary or sculpture, large-scale iconographic representations, or paintings are known to us save two 10th-century cultic stands from Taʿanach, with fantastic representations of what appears to be Asherah as the 'Lion Lady'."

For the most part the numerous figurines of male and female deities come from Late Bronze and earlier levels and thus are earlier than the Israelite presence in Palestine. Many figurines of nude females often pregnant or with large breasts have been found in clearly Israelite contexts. However, the function of these figures is debated (see Tigay 1986: 91–92). As Dever (1983: 574) points out, "Obvious fertility aspects, usually exaggerated sexual characteristics, connect these figurines with the ancient Near Eastern cult of the 'Mother-goddess'." He concludes, "Since these figurines are found almost without exception in domestic or tomb contexts, they are undoubtedly talismans to aid in conception and childbirth rather than idols in the true sense, designed for sanctuary use." The statues probably reflect popular practice and superstition more than formal religion.

**C. Images in the NT**

Christianity had its origins out of a Judaism that had been purged of idolatry, and there is little mention of idolatry in the Gospels. The NT concerns about idolatry came from penetration into the gentile world where a variety of religions involved ideas and practices similar to those found in the ANE. Fertility cults, emperor worship, and the mystery religions were practiced throughout the Greek and Roman world (see Stambaugh and Balch 1986: 41–46; 138–67) and these involved both the use of images/statues and the worship of other gods, either of which constituted idolatry in the eyes of early church leaders whose roots were in Judaism. Paul found Athens to be a city full of idols (Acts 17:16). He confronted idolatry in Ephesus (Acts 19:24–41) and in keeping with the perspective of Judaism declared that "gods made with hands are no gods at all" (see Stambaugh and Balch 1986: 149–54). In some instances Paul seems to have argued that the idols have no real existence (1 Cor 8:4), while in others he suggests that there is a demonic reality that underlies the idolatrous practices (1 Cor 10:20). Paul explains the origin of idols as human rejection of God's revelation which replaces the worship of the Creator with the worship of a creature (Rom 1:18–23). The NT exhorts believers to flee idolatry (e.g., 1 Cor 10:14), and the Jerusalem Council advised all believers to avoid things sacrificed to idols (Acts 15:29). The NT also understands idolatry as putting anything in the place that God alone should occupy as the proper focus of obedience and worship (e.g., Col 3:5).

One example of the practical problems faced by believers living in a pluralistic and idolatrous society is addressed by Paul in 1 Corinthians 8 and 10 (see Willis 1985). There a dispute existed over the extent to which a believer could appropriately participate in eating meat that had been offered to idols in the pagan temples in Corinth, a practice condemned in Jewish tradition (see Orr and Walther *1 Corinthians* AB, 228–29). While Paul does not refute those who argued that because idols have no real existence, meat offered to them cannot harm the believer, he does strongly caution them of the danger that participation in these meals presents to both them (1 Cor 10:1–14) and others (1 Cor 8:7–12). The problem for believers was further complicated by the fact that meat offered in the pagan temples could be encountered, not only in communal meals in the temples, but also in various social settings throughout the community as well as in the market (see Stambaugh and Balch 1986: 158–59 and Willis 1985).

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**IDRIMI.** The son of Ilimilimma who ruled Alalakh (Tell Atchana) in N Syria in the first half of the 15th century B.C. He is known (1) from documents found in level IV (ca. 1460–1400) of that site (although most of his reign should be seen as belonging to level V), and (2) from his 104 line "autobiography" inscribed on a statue found in a pit in the floor of a temple of level I (ca 1200 B.C.). Leonard Woolley, the site's excavator, thought that this statue, an object of veneration, was originally fitted into a throne flanked by lions (sphinxes have also been suggested) and that it had been preserved in a series of temples from the 14th century to the destruction of the site at the end of the LB Age.

The first section of the inscription describes the circumstances by which Idrimi, a younger son, came to power after his family was forced to flee from Aleppo, its original power base, following an unspecified "evil occurrence." He ultimately regained the kingdom with the assistance of his father's displaced supporters *(ḫapiru)* with whom he had lived for 7 years. His position as ruler of Alalakh was confirmed by an alliance making him a vassal to Barrattarna, a Hurrian king who previously had been his enemy (and who should be equated with a like-named ruler mentioned in the Nuzi documents). The second section notes major events in Idrimi's reign including a campaign through Hittite territory and the capture of 7 cities, the creation of a royal court, and the promotion of the welfare of his subjects. A final section presents curses against those who might efface the monument, and the unusual request of blessings for Sharruwa, the scribe responsible for the text.

This text has been used to shed light on Syria in the mid-2d millennium, a period about which little is known. For example, Barrattarna and his suzerainty over Idrimi have been related to the rise of the kingdom of Mitanni and its expansion into NW Syria. However, dangers exist in using the text uncritically as an historical source. The numerous literary and folkloristic aspects (the questing hero, the use of the number 7—elements which have led scholars to compare Idrimi's story to those of such biblical figures as Joseph and David) suggest a document wherein real events have been recast along traditional literary lines to glorify Idrimi and emphasize his legitimacy. Some scholars have also proposed that the text be seen as fictional or pseudo-historical, possibly based on fact, but created perhaps as late as the 13th century B.C.

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**IDUEL** (PERSON) [Gk *Idouēlos* (Ἰδουηλος)]. See ARIEL.

**IDUMEA** (PLACE) [Gk *Idoumaia* (Ἰδουμαια)]. IDUMEANS. A territory that during the Second Temple period stretched approximately from the S portion of the Judean hill country to the N part of the Negeb. To the N, the borders ran between Beth-Zur and Alouros (Ḥalḥūl), while the S border reached the height of the Arad-Malatha-Beersheba-Aroer line (cf. the so-called Limes of Herod and the Limes Palastinae; Gichon 1967; 1975). To the E, Idumea bordered the Judean desert or the Dead Sea (and perhaps the N tip of the Wadi Arabah), and its territory reached W into the provinces of the port cities Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ashdod. Among the most important Idumean cities mentioned in the literary texts are Hebron, Marisa (Tell Sandaḥanne), Adora (Dūrā), and Betabris (Bēt Gibrīn). Whoever ruled Idumea controlled a share of the profitable E–W trade between the Mediterranean coast and Transjordan as well as the N–S trade routes. They could also protect the hinterland against Nabatean and bedouin raids.

It cannot be unequivocally ascertained if the name "Idumea"—with Aramaic * *ʾdwmy* as the link—can be derived from "Edom" (*ʾd[w]m*, Heb *ʾĕdôm*, "red land") or if it ought simply to be derived from *ʾdmh*, "earth/field." At any rate, the presence of the Edomites and their influence in the territories of the Negeb later belonging to Idumea is already verifiable at the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century B.C. The evidence for this is literary (2 Kgs 24:2), epigraphic (Khirbet Ghazze, Tell el-Milḥ, Khirbet ʿArāʿir, Arad) and archaeological (Khirbet Ghazze, Ḥorvat Qitmit, etc.). The Edomites probably began emigrating increasingly into the S portions of the Judean territory following the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 587 B.C. (cf. Jer 13:19; Ezek 25:12–14; 35:5, 10–12, 15; also *3 Esdras* 4:50; *Ant* 11.3.8 §61); even the downfall of Edom at the hands of Nabonidas did not effect this trend (see Myers 1971). At any rate, numerous Arabic personal names are attested in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods, as are theophoric names containing the name of the Edomite god Qaus (cf. Barkos in Ezra 2:53 =

Neh 7:55). These names are also evidenced in the Aramaic ostraca from Tell es-Seba‘ and Arad (4th century B.C.); the bilingual ostraca from Khirbet el-Qōm; the wall inscriptions from Marisa; and the name Costabaros by which the Herodian governor of Idumea and several Jews were designated (cf. *JW* 2.418, 556; *Ant* 15.7.9 §252).

Around the middle of the 5th century B.C., the whole of S Palestine, including the district that was later designated Idumea, fell under the dominion of the Qedar-Arab Geshem (Guśam b. Sahr; cf. Neh 2:19; 4:1; 6:1–6). Apparently, the Persians did not initially include this area in their administrative system (Herdotus III.4, 7, 9, 88, 97), but did so only toward the end of their sovereignty over Idumea. According to Diodorus (19.98.1), Idumea was included in the satrapy Syria-Phoenicia.

Beginning in the Hellenistic period and stretching into the Roman period, Idumea was firmly incorporated into the administrative system of the Diadochi, Hasmoneans, and Romans (see the Zenon-Papyri). Diodorus (19.95.2) documents Idumea as an “eparchy” in 311 B.C., while Josephus (*JW* 3.55 [see also Strabo 16.2.2 §749, 34 §760 and Ptolemy 5.16.10]) designates it a “toparchy” in the Roman period. A governor (Gk *stratēgos*), first attested during the Seleucid and Hasmonean period and then in the Herodian-Roman period (2 Macc 12:32; *Ant* 14.1.3 §8; 15.7.9 §253; *JW* 2.566), stood at its head. In post-Herodian times it appears that Idumea was divided into 2 smaller administrative units: a W (?) unit, “the so-called upper Idumea” (*JW* 4.552) or “greater Idumea” (*JW* 4.511); and an E unit called “East-Idumea,” also attested as the toparchy En-gedi (cf. *JW* 3.55).

The population of Idumea consisted of Edomites/Arabs (cf. Strabo 16.23.34), Jews (Mark 3:8; *JW* 2.43), Sidonians (Marisa graves), Nabateans (Strabo 16.2.34; Marisa graves), and others. These inhabitants lived as farmers (Strabo 16.2.2), tradesmen (Strabo 16.2.2; Marisa graves), veterans (*JW* 2.55, 76–79), as well as soldiers and mercenaries of the ruling power (cf. Zenon-Papyri).

In the first military dispute with the Seleucids, Judas Maccabeus in 165 B.C. (?) defeated Gorgias and persued him into the borders of the hostile territory of Idumea (1 Macc 4:15; 2 Macc 10:15, 17; 12:32; *Ant* 12.7.4 §308). In the battles that followed, Lysias attacked the Hasmoneans from his base in Idumea but was finally defeated by Judas at Beth-Zur (1 Macc 4:29; 2 Macc 11:5–12; *Ant* 12.7.5 §313). Judas fortified Beth-Zur to withstand attacks from Idumea (1 Macc 4:61). Not long afterwards he successfully renewed his attacks against the Idumeans (1 Macc 5:3; *Ant* 12.8.1 §328) and took Hebron (1 Macc 5:65; *Ant* 12.8.6 §353) as well as Marisa and Azotus (Ashdod) (*Ant* 12.8.6). However, under Lysias in 163 B.C.(?) the Seleucids renewed their attacks against Judea from Idumea (1 Macc 6:31, 50; *Ant* 12.9.4–5 §367), and did so again under Tryphon in 143 B.C.(?) (1 Macc 13:20; *Ant* 13.6.4 §207). (See also Fischer 1980: 62–63, 82, 136, 150, 205, 208.)

John Hyrcanus I conquered Idumea in 129 B.C. and forced the non-Jewish population to be circumcised (1 Macc 4:36–59; 2 Macc 10:1–8; *Ant* 13.9.1 §257; *JW* 1.63; cf. Strabo 16.2.34). This led to the eventual incorporation of Idumea into the Hasmonean empire (*Ant* 13.15.4 §395). Apparently an Idumean named Antipater was appointed to the position of governor of Idumea under Alexander Jannaeus (*Ant* 14.1.3 §8). Antipater’s son, who also bore the same name, was probably appointed to the same position. Along with the Nabatean king Aretas III, he supported the Hasmonean Hyrcanus II against Hyrcanus’ rival Aristobulus (*Ant* 14.1.3 §8; *JW* 1.123). The graves and burial practices in Marisa (Oren and Rappaport 1984) provide evidence of the increase in the population of Jewish inhabitants during the Hasmonean and Roman periods. A portion of the non-Jewish population seems to have emigrated to Egypt (Rappaport 1969). After the political reorganization of Palestine by Pompey in 63 B.C., Idumea (but without Marisa) remained part of the Roman province of Syria under the dominion of the Hasmoneans (*Ant* 14.4.4 §74–76; *JW* 1.156).

Idumea, homeland of Herod the Great, formed a vital starting point for and buttress of his power (Schalit 1969: 87–91, 142–45, 200–19). He and his troops fled from the Parthians into Idumea (*JW* 1.263–68; *Ant* 14.13.7 §353; 14.13.9 §361–64), which he had militarily secured shortly after he became king (*Ant* 14.15.3–4 §411, §413; *JW* 1.302–3). He gave his sister Salome in marriage to the Idumean Costabar (*Ant* 15.7.9–10 §252–57; *JW* 1.486) and appointed him to the governorship of Idumea (*Ant*

15.7.9–10 §253–55). He settled 3,000 Idumeans in the Trachonitis after there had been an uprising in that area (*Ant* 16.9.2–3 §285, §292).

When the kingdom of Herod was divided, Idumea fell to the ethnarch Archelaus (*Ant* 17.11.4–5 §319; *JW* 2.93–98). It belonged to the kingdom of Agrippa I from A.D. 41–44 (*Ant* 19.5.1 §275; cf. 18.6.2 §147; *JW* 2.215). Between A.D. 6–41 and after A.D. 44 Judea, as a part of the province of Syria, stood under the Roman administrative system of procurators; Idumea, as one of Judea's toparchies (*JW* 3.55) stood with her.

After the outbreak of the first Judean revolt, the rebels appointed their own commanders (Gk *stratēgoi*) over Idumea (*JW* 2.566; cf. 3.20). In the years A.D. 68 and 69 various Zealot groups, like that of Gischala (*JW* 4.224, 228–354, 566–68; 5.290, etc.), attempted to use Idumean troops to gain advantages for their own cause in Jerusalem. others, like Simon bar Giora's group, descended into Idumea, plundered it, and forced portions of the population to "flee" to Jerusalem (*JW* 4.511–37, 556, 577; 5.248–49; 6.378–81; 7.267–68, etc.). During his subjugation of the uprising, Vespasian allowed Idumea to be devastated, while its population was decimated and placed under military occupation (*JW* 4.447–48). Following the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, Idumea was absorbed into the independent province of Judea. Soon after, all contemporary accounts about Idumea cease. Useful summary articles on Idumea are provided in PW 9/1: 913–18 and *TRE* 9: 291–99. (See also Alt 1964: 338–45; Bengston 1964: 36–37, 170–71, 187, 267; Eph'al 1982: 70, 197–214; de Geus 1979–80; Stern 1982: 249–50.)

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ULRICH HÜBNER

**IEZER** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾîʿezer* (אִיעֶזֶר)]. IEZERITES. A son of Gilead (Num 26:30). The name is probably a variant of ABIEZER.

**IGAL** (PERSON) [Heb *yigʾāl* (יִגְאָל)]. The name held by 3 persons in the Hebrew Bible, Igal is a hypochoristic, or shortened theophoric name meaning "may El redeem." The name is attested in extrabiblical sources (Myers *Chronicles* AB, 21).

**1.** One of the 12 spies sent out by Moses to spy out the land with Joshua and Caleb (Num 13:7). He was the son of Joseph from the tribe of Issachar.

**2.** One of David's "mighty men" (2 Sam 23:36). The Hebrew Bible records them as the "thirty," although there is some inconsistency in the text regarding their number. The parallel passage in 1 Chr 11:38 records the name as "Joel" as does the LXX for both 2 Sam 23:36 and for 1 Chr 11:38. This may possibly reflect a confusion of the Heb letters *gimel* and *waw* in the course of the text's transmission.

**3.** In the MT of 1 Chr 3:22, Igal is given as the second son of Shemiah son of Sheconiah, who was the grandson of Zerubbabel, if the genealogies in this section of 1 Chronicles 3 are to be connected to the line

of Zerubbabel. There is disagreement among scholars on this question (see Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 57–58). A widely accepted emendation deletes the phrase "and the sons of Shemiah …" in v 22. This makes sense of the number 6 as the total number of sons given at the end of the verse. It would make Igal the third son of Sheconiah.
RUSSELL FULLER

**IGDALIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yigdalyahû* (יִגְדַּלְיָהוּ)]. In Jeremiah 35:4, when the prophet Jeremiah takes the Rechabites to the temple, they go to the chamber of the sons of Hanan son of Igdaliah. Hanan is called "the man of God"; if this title should also be applied to Igdaliah is not clear. In Israel's earlier history, "man of God" was a prophetic title applied to Samuel (1 Sam 10:6–10), Elijah (2 Sam 1:9–13), Elijah (2 Kings 4:16, 21), and various unnamed prophets (e.g. I Sam 9:6; 8:10, 1 Kgs 12:22; 13:1; 17:24; 20:20). The title "man of God" appears in Jeremiah only in Jer 35:4, and it is not known if this is still a prophetic title (late 7th century). Jer 35:4 indicates that Hanan had sons, and it has been proposed these may be "disciples" (Bright *Jeremiah* AB, 189). While it may be that Igdaliah is simply Hanan's biological father (cf. "Ezekiel the Priest, the son of Buzi" [Ezek 1:3]), it is at least possible he is Hanan's prophetic mentor and father to Hanan as Elijah is to Elisha (2 Kgs 3:12). Igdaliah means "great is Yahweh." The name has been found on at least one Hebrew seal (*TPNAH*, 340).
JOHN M. BRACKE

**IGNATIUS, EPISTLES OF.** Ignatius is known to us from seven letters which he wrote early in the 2d century (traditionally ca. A.D. 110) while en route to Rome as a prisoner destined to be thrown to wild animals in the arena.

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A. Ignatius' Journey to Rome
B. The Recensions of Ignatius' Letters
C. The Form and Style of Ignatius' Letters
D. Ignatius' Theology
E. Ignatius, the NT, and Early Christian Literature
F. Ignatius' Conception of Ministry
G. Ignatius, Judaism, and Hellenism

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**A. Ignatius' Journey to Rome**

Ignatius was conducted from Antioch in Syria across Asia Minor and on to Rome by a detachment of 10 Roman soldiers who grudgingly gave him leave to meet with other Christians along the way. He was especially well received in Smyrna by Polycarp, leader of the local church. There too he was visited by representatives from Ephesus, Magnesia, and Tralles and in return wrote a letter to each of these communities. He also took the opportunity to communicate with the Christians in Rome in order to proclaim to them his longing for martyrdom and to forestall any effort on their part to obtain his release.

The next stop was Troas where Ignatius wrote to the Christians in Philadelphia. He had visited Philadelphia before reaching Smyrna and had just received news about the church in that city from two messengers who had passed through it in an effort to catch up with Ignatius. From Troas Ignatius also sent two letters back to Smyrna. One of the letters to Smyrna was addressed to the church as a whole and the other to Polycarp in particular. The second letter, however, was evidently intended to be read publicly and was designed to reinforce the links between Ignatius and the Christians in Smyrna.

We hear about Ignatius for the last time from Polycarp, who in his letter to the Philippians recalls that Ignatius and two other Christians (who presumably had been added to the band of prisoners after the departure from Troas) had been well received by the Philippians (Pol. *Phil.* 1. 1; 9. 1). In the same letter (or, if Polycarp's letter is composite, in an earlier communication) Polycarp indicates that he was making a collection of Ignatius' letters at the request of the Philippians (Pol. *Phil.* 13. 2).

The information about Ignatius contained in later accounts of his martyrdom is historically worthless.

**B. The Recensions of Ignatius' Letters**

Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.36) places Ignatius' martyrdom in the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98–117), and a date in the second half of Trajan's reign or somewhat later seems to fit the picture of the conditions reflected in the letters. Arguments are still advanced (notably by Joly 1979) that call into question the authenticity of these documents, but the researches of Zahn (1873) and Lightfoot (1885, $^{2}$1889) and their followers continue to dominate the scholarship. Thus the authenticity of (a) what is now often, though misleadingly, called the "middle recension" is generally accepted. By the same token, (b) the so-called "long recension" is usually regarded as a 4th-century (perhaps Neo-Arian) revision (Hagedorn 1973:xxxvii–lii) consisting of interpolations into the original letters and the addition of 6 spurious letters. This recension is found in numerous Greek and Latin manuscripts and came to be the form in which Ignatius was most often known until Archbishop Ussher, in his *Polycarpi et Ignatii Epistolae* of 1644, brilliantly unearthed an earlier (Latin) form of the text akin to that quoted by Eusebius. Ussher had rediscovered the middle recension. The Greek of that recension (except for the letter to the Romans) became available with the publication of Ignatius' letters from *Codex Mediceo-Laurentianus* 57,7 by Isaak Voss in 1646. The Greek text of Ignatius' letter to the Romans had a separate history as part of an account of Ignatius' martyrdom (*Codex Parisiensis-Colbertinus* 1451), and this too was soon published by Th. Ruinart (1689). Our knowledge of the middle recension has been increased somewhat by the discovery of several important oriental versions: Coptic (fragments), Syriac (fragments), Armenian, Arabic. It should be noted that almost all of the collections of the letters of the middle recension in the manuscripts also include some or all of the spurious letters. Since the interpolations and the spurious letters are in all likelihood the work of one person, these collections represent a curious mixture of textual traditions. Finally, (c) what some have called the "short recension" proves to be no recension at all but merely an abridgment of a Syriac version of the middle recension. The term-short recension, then, would serve most accurately to describe the so-called middle recension and is often so used.

**C. The Form and Style of Ignatius' Letters**

Although the epistolography of the authentic letters of Ignatius owes something to Paul, Ignatius is more deeply indebted to the formulae of the Hellenistic letter; and he varies such formulae in ways that are distinctively his own. Thus he works up the greetings at the beginning and end of his communications from a wider range of conventional materials; he developes special forms of common transitional devices at the beginning of the body of the letter (where he avoids the thanksgiving) and elsewhere; and he reflects more directly the Hellenistic idea of the letter as a substitute for face-to-face encounter (Schoedel *Ignatius of Antioch* Hermeneia, 7). Perler (1949) has shown that the colorful, ornate, and sometimes reckless style of the letters has connections with a stream of popular and, in some quarters, suspect rhetoric known as "Asianism." Ignatius is saved from vacuity and bombast, however, by the fire and passion that fuses the elements of his style into a single, if somewhat dense, whole.

**D. Ignatius' Theology**

Ignatius' self-understanding as a martyr provides the most useful point of departure for appreciating his thought. His experience in this regard may be seen as a heightened form of the experience of all Christians (*Ign. Eph.* 10), and the special difficulties that he faced may be taken as extensions of the difficulties confronted by every bishop (*Pol.* 1–5). Among these was resistance from the bishop's own people and, in Ignatius' own case, a sense of possible unworthiness. More than conventional self-depreciation seems to be involved in the doubts that Ignatius expresses about his spiritual condition. His arrest may well have precipitated the crisis. But there is also a good possibility that he was shaken by a challenge to his authority in Antioch. This possibility depends on taking the "peace" restored in Antioch and reported to Ignatius by the two messengers on their arrival in Troas (*Phld.* 10.1; *Smyrn.* 11.2; *Pol.* 7.1) not as the cessation of persecution in Antioch but as the capitulation of those formerly opposed to their bishop (Harrison 1936: 79–106). In any event, Ignatius is gratified by those who see beyond his bonds and the apparent unworthiness that they symbolize (*Smyrn.* 10.2; *Pol.* 2.3); and it seems fair to suggest that his persistent call for unity in the churches and obedience to the bishop was at the same time a call for recognition and support and a search for the ratification of his own worthiness (Schoedel 1985:

10–14). Certainly the level of activity involved in terms of letters written, messengers sent on ahead, and representatives assembled (or yet to be assembled in Antioch) is extraordinary and suggests that more was involved than simply a spontaneous outpouring of sympathy for a persecuted fellow Christian.

Ignatius links his self-understanding as a martyr and his theology at one crucial point: He asks how his impending death can have any meaning if the Lord did not truly die (*Trall.* 10; *Smyrn.* 4.2). Anti-docetic themes are common in Ignatius and are found concentrated especially in the letters to Tralles and Smyrna. Ignatius probably responds also to a distinct Judaizing form of Christianity in his letters to Magnesia and Philadelphia (*Magn.* 8–10; *Phld.* 5–9). But it is significant that he tends to deal with it in terms drawn from his debate with docetism (*Magn.* 9.1; 11). Any threat to the authority of a bishop is naturally resisted by Ignatius. But at a deeper level he senses a connection between the reality of the incarnation and passion of the Lord (as well as his presence in the elements of the sacred meal) and a genuine commitment to concrete deeds of faith and love (*Smyrn.* 6.2–8.2); such faith and love, as Ignatius sees it, are to be found only in a community united under its bishop and not in an elitist conventicle.

Corollaries of Ignatius' emphasis on the incarnation include the relegation of the doctrine of creation to the periphery of his thought, the attentuation of eschatological themes, and a preoccupation with the worshipping community as the sphere of divine influence in the world. It is characteristic that when Ignatius turns his attention to the cosmos, it is to describe (in mythological terms that are far from clear) the mysterious events that surround the entrance of Christ into the world and his departure from it (*Eph.* 19). In doctrinal terms, Ignatius anticipates orthodox theology in seeing the incarnation as the paradoxical union of flesh and spirit in the God-Man (*Eph.* 7. 2; *Smyrn.* 3.2). And this in turn presupposes a definition of the divine nature as timeless and changeless in good Hellenistic terms (*Eph.* 7. 2; *Pol.* 3.2). The association of God (and bishops) with silence elsewhere in Ignatius (*Eph.* 6. 1; 14.2–15. 2; 19. 1; *Magn.* 8.2; *Phld.* 1.1) may indicate that his conception of divine transcendence owes something to Gnosticism as well (Paulsen 1978: 110–22); but it is perhaps more likely that his language here has metaphorical significance (*Magn.* 8.2) and that it represents an extension of his insistence on the superiority of the silent deed over empty words (Schoedel, 56–57, 76–78, 91, 170–71).

An important feature of Ignatius' view of the incarnation is his teaching that flesh and spirit complement rather than oppose one another in the God-Man. Flesh and spirit in this context, however, refer to two spheres or two dimensions; and it is significant that Ignatius describes not only Christ but also redeemed humanity in terms of the complementarity of the two spheres (Martin 1971). Thus things fleshly become spiritual when done by those who are spiritual (*Eph.* 8.2). This reinterpretation and reversal of the NT formula opens up the way for a more-open attitude toward the things of this world and probably has something to do with the greater appreciation that Ignatius himself shows for the popular culture of the Greek city. It should be noted that when he speaks of the hatred shown Christians by the "world" (*Rom.* 3.3), he is thinking primarily of the exercise of Roman power. Pagans in the immediate vicinity of Christians, on the other hand, are to be dealt with as "brothers" (*Eph.* 10.2).

**E. Ignatius, the NT, and Early Christian Literature**

In developing his thought, Ignatius was in a position to draw on many strands of the theology reflected in the NT, and he absorbed much of the basic religious vocabulary of his sources (with a notable lack of attention to "sin" however). He had been particularly impressed by Paul, not least because he had found in the apostle a model for dealing with his sense of possible unworthiness (*Ign. Rom.* 9.2; cf. 1 Cor 15:8–9). In appropriating the earlier materials, Ignatius' thought seems to have been shaped especially by two somewhat antithetical yet ultimately reconcilable developments: the emergence of more "mystical" strands of Christianity (which the gospel of John and Ephesians also reflect); and a growing emphasis on the need for discipline and order (which Matthew and the Pastorals also reflect). It was a theology of the incarnation, as we have seen, that served to give coherence to these diverse tendencies in Ignatius.

The gospel material in the letters is reminiscent especially of Matthew, and one passage in particular (*Smyrn.* 1.1) suggests that Ignatius may in fact have had the gospel of Matthew before him (Köhler 1987: 73–96). That, however, is not certain (Koester 1957: 24–61). There is no real trace of Mark in Ignatius, and we find only one passage with special affinities with Luke (*Smyrn.* 3.2). And that passage (in which

the resurrected Lord "came to those about Peter" and said, "Take, handle me, and see that I am not a bodiless demon") may well depend on tradition independent of the gospel. Some (Maurer 1949) argue that Ignatius knew the Gospel of John (*Rom.* 7.3; *Phld.* 7.1; 9.1), but that seems unlikely (Paulsen 1978: 36–37).

Of Paul's letters only 1 Corinthians can confidently be said to have been read with any care by Ignatius, though echoes of other letters of Paul are probably also discernible from time to time. Points of contact between Ignatius and Paul's (or Deutero-Paul's) Ephesians are sometimes striking, yet probably not sufficient to require a literary relation. That is even more obvious in the case of similarities between Ignatius and the Pastorals.

One striking parallel between Ignatius and 1 John is found (*Eph.* 14.2), but it provides no guarantee that the bishop had read that document. Equally problematic are parallels involving *1 Clement, 2 Clement, Hermas*, the *Preaching of Peter,* and the *Odes of Solomon.*

The numerous echoes in Ignatius of Rom 1:3–4 are likely to go back not to Paul himself but to a development of semi-credal material in the tradition. other strands of tradition seem to stand behind formulized passages elsewhere in Ignatius, but it is not at all clear what accounts for the shape that they have. The prior crystallization around baptism of statements about the birth, ministry, and passion of Jesus seems possible at times (*Eph.* 18.2). Elsewhere such a listing of events reflects anti-docetic concerns more strongly and may represent in part a response to the immediate situation (*Trall.* 9). Certainly the series of Christological antitheses in one celebrated passage (*Eph.* 7.2; cf. *Pol.* 3.2) looks like a rhetorical elaboration of a few traditional elements created by Ignatius himself (von Campenhausen 1972: 241–53). Contact with apologetic themes in another passage (*Smyrn.* 1–3) suggests yet another context within which collections of statements about the ministry of Jesus once figured (Schoedel, 220–29).

**F. Ignatius' Conception of the Ministry**

Ignatius' conception of the local ministry consisting of a single bishop (overseer), presbyters (elders), and deacons goes beyond the NT but is close in spirit to the Pastorals. Ignatius apparently found the arrangement in place in the congregations of Asia Minor. He seems, however, to have emphasized the authority of the bishop in ways that appeared unusual to his contemporaries, and he no doubt assumed too readily that monarchic bishops were to be found everywhere in the church (*Eph.* 3.2). The threefold ministry reflected in the letters may represent a fusion of a Jewish-Christian system of elders and a gentile-Christian system of overseers and deacons (cf. Phil 1:1). In any event, there are hints that the arrangement is still somewhat in flux in Ignatius. Also still missing in Ignatius is any convincing evidence of the idea of apostolic succession, for episcopal authority is seen as derived directly from God or Christ. This in turn probably does not mean, as some have suggested, that Ignatius conceives of the bishop as embodying the presence of God or Christ in an extraordinary manner. Ministerial authority has been significantly enhanced by Ignatius, but it is difficult to show that it has been legitimated in a fundamentally new way. The elaborate and quite varied comparisons between the bishop and God or Christ, between the presbyters and the apostles, and between the deacons and divinely approved service seem to remain true comparisons and to express conventional ideas about receiving the one sent as the one who sent him (Schoedel, 112–14). It is also interesting to note in this connection that when Ignatius reflects on the words of inspired prophecy that he delivered in Philadelphia about the need to obey the bishop, he does not link the charisma of prophecy formally with the office of bishop (*Phld.* 7). In principle the Spirit still blows where it wills.

There is also no convincing evidence in Ignatius of an overarching ecclesiastical authority above the level of the local bishop. The preeminence accorded the Roman church in the address of his letter to them (the one letter that fails to draw attention to the bishop of the community) is a spiritual preeminence and is emphasized precisely because the Roman Christians form the last and presumably most important link in a chain of churches to whom Ignatius looks to give his martyrdom significance. It is the approval of the churches that will assure Ignatius of the value of his ministry and thereby confirm his worthiness to "become a disciple" and "to attain God" in martyrdom (*Eph.* 1.2). For the churches are made up of Christians who apparently realize their discipleship here and now (*Magn.* 9.1; 10.1; *Pol.* 2.1) and who

walk united in the path marked out for them by the apostles (*Eph.* 11.2–12.2). In this connection Ignatius may well have been thinking of his own presumed failure to unite the church of Antioch until the turn of events announced to him by the messengers in Troas. In any event, Rome is the place where the reality of Ignatius' Christianity is to be decisively demonstrated, and the Roman Christians are the last in a line of well-wishers who will paradoxically show their love for their visitor by urging on the wild beasts.

**G. Ignatius, Judaism, and Hellenism**

The broader cultural horizons of Ignatius have proved difficult to define. He does little with the OT Scriptures (*Eph.* 5.3; *Magn.* 12; *Trall.* 8.2; cf. *Eph.* 15.1; *Magn.* 10.3; 13.1); and he regards "Judaism" as an entity distinct not only from "Christianity" but also from Scripture and the prophets (*Magn.* 8.1–2;9.2; 10.3). Important light on some points in Ignatius is shed by parallels from Philo and Josephus, however, and Ignatius met a group of Judaizers in Philadelphia who worked with a Hellenistic-Jewish conception of the Scriptures as "archives" (*Phld.* 8.2). The gnostic affinities of Ignatius were stressed by Schlier (1929) who took the mythological account in *Eph.* 19 as his point of departure. Daniélou (1964: 39–43) accepted Schlier's analysis as a whole but reclassified what emerged as "Jewish Christianity." And the importance of the *Ascension of Isaiah* as an item in the background reconstructed by Schlier lends plausibility to this shift of perspective. Bartsch (1940), on the other hand, chose to take the emphasis on oneness as the main indicator of Ignatius' indebtedness to gnostic and quasi-gnostic thought. But it now seems clear that more relevant parallels to such themes as "unity" and "concord" are to be found in less esoteric realms of Hellenism and Hellenistic Judaism (Schoedel, 51–55; 74; 116–17). As suggested above, this may well be true also for the theme of "silence" in Ignatius. The reflections of these and other features of popular culture in the letters go a long way to account for the literary and theological peculiarities of Ignatius.

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**IIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿiyyîm* (עִיִּים)]. A settlement of the tribe of Judah mentioned only once, in Josh 15:29, where it is listed among the settlements occupied by Judah in the aftermath of the conquest. This section of the list parallels passages in Josh 19:3 and 1 Chr 4:29 which record the towns of Simeon. In Josh 15:29 it is inserted between Baalah and Ezem; between Balah/Bihah and Ezem in the Simeonite list Iim is lacking. The tribe of Simeon was assimilated to Judah at an early date, and virtually all the towns in the two Simeonite lists have clear equivalents in the Judahite section. Albright suggested that Iim was a corrupt dittography for Ezem (1924: 160). It is also possible that Iim was dropped accidentally from the Simeonite list, and that the Chronicler worked from that same list. If not a textual corruption, Iim is in the southernmost district of Judah, the Negeb.

The location of Iim is problematic. Its name, "ruins," is of no help in determining its location. On the basis of the LXX reading, Aueim, Abel read it as ʿAwim and identified it with Deir el-Gawi, 19 km NE of Beer-sheba (*GP*, 352; M.R. 142086).

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**IJON** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿiyyôn* (עִיּוֹן)]. A fortified town of Naphtali located at the northernmost end of the Huleh Valley, on the main highway leading from Palestine to Syria. The LXX in Kings renders Ijon as *Ain* or *Nain*; and in Chronicles as *Iōn* or *Aiōn.* Josephus (*Ant* 8.12.4) writes *Aiōn.*

Ijon is mentioned in the Bible as the first Israelite city to be captured by Ben-hadad king of Aram-Damascus at the instigation of Asa (1 Kgs 15:20; 2 Chr 16:4; ca. 885 B.C.E.). Since Ijon is mentioned before Dan and Abel-beth-maacah, the Aramean forces probably came around through the W, rather than the alternative route through the Upper Golan, S of Mt. Hermon (Monson 1983: 67–68). The town was again captured some 150 years later by Tiglath-pileser III during his campaign of 733 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 15:29). Both of these events illustrate the strategic role played by Ijon in helping to secure Israel's N approaches. It is possible that the name Dan-jaan (2 Sam 24:6), a town mentioned on the way to Sidon, is a corruption of Ijon (Abel *GP* 2: 352; Aharoni *EncMiqr* 6: 184). Simons (*GTTOT*, 347), though, considers an emendation of *yaʿan* to *ʿiyyôn* to be unwarranted.

During his travels in the early 19th century, E. Robinson noted how the name of Ijon probably survived in the Arabic name of *Merj ʿAyyûn,* "meadow of springs," a rich oval-shaped plain in modern-day Lebanon, about 12 km N of Metulla (Robinson 1856: 372–75). The valley is bounded on the W by the Līṭânī River and on the E by the Ḥaṣbanî River and Mt. Hermon. At its N end sits the tall mound of Tell ed-Dibbîn (M.R. 205308). Surface surveys have revealed remains of walls and pottery from the Bronze Age to the Arabic period (Aharoni *EncMiqr* 6: 185). A road leading E from Sidon to Damascus passed by the foot of the mound, placing Ijon at this important juncture of E–W and N–S traffic.

Posener (1940: 74) suggested that Ijon may already be mentioned in the 19th/18th century B.C.E. Execration Texts (No. 18) as *ʿynw* (= *ʿAyyānu*). Subsequent scholarly opinion, however, prefers an equation with Ḥayani in the land of the *GA<ŠU>RI,* mentioned in El Amarna letter 256: 28 (Ahituv *CTAED*, 120). This site has been identified with ʿAyyûn (M.R. 212235), 3 km N of Hammat on the Yarmuk River (Albright 1943). This same Ijon in the S Golan Heights (the biblical land of Geshur) appears during the Second Temple period as a village in the district of Hippos (Susita), E of the Sea of Galilee (*t. Šeb.* 4:10). The earliest mention of Galilean Ijon outside of the Bible is probably during the reign of Thutmose III (15th century B.C.E.) in his roster of 119 Canaanite towns (No. 95; Aharoni *LBHG*, 163; Ahituv *CTAED*, 120).

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R. A. MULLINS

**IKKESH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿiqqēš* (עִקֵּשׁ)]. The father or ancestor of Ira, one of David's champions, named in the parallel lists of 2 Sam 23:8–39 (v 26) and 1 Chr 11:10–47 (v 28), Ikkesh is said to be "of Tekoa" (lit. "the Tekoite"), that is, from the town of Tekoa in Judah, which lies about five miles south of Bethlehem. Father and son are mentioned again in 1 Chr 27:1–15, where Ira is listed as the commander in charge of the sixth monthly course of 24,000 men in the armed service of the king (v 9). Noth (*IPN* 228–29) supposes that "Ikkesh," probably from the root *ʿqš* ("twist"), is a secular name referring to one's character (i.e., "twisted," "wrong-headed"), although it just as likely might refer to a physical anomaly (see *HALAT*).

RODNEY K. DUKE

**ILAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿîlay* (עִילַי)]. An Ahohite who was one of David's warriors (1 Chr 11:29). Since his name parallels that of Zalmon the Ahohite in 2 Sam 23:28, it is possible that Ilai is actually a corruption of the Hebrew *ṣîlay,* which may be a diminutive form of Zalmon. See ZALMON (PERSON). This corruption would have been possible because of the similarity betueen the Hebrew letters *ʿayin* and *ṣade,* beginning *ʿîlay* and *ṣîlay,* respectively.

D. G. SCHLEY

**ILIADUN** (PERSON) [Gk *Iliadoun* (Ἰλιαδουν)]. A Levite, the father of Joda, whose descendants helped rebuild the temple under Zerubbabel's leadership (1 Esdr 5:56—Eng5:58). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, this family does not appear in the list of returning Levites who rebuilt the temple (Ezra 3). Omissions such as this also raise questions about 1 Esdras being used as a source by Ezra or Nehemiah. Furthermore, problems associated with dating events and identifying persons described in 1 Esdras have cast doubt on the historicity of the text.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**ILLYRICUM** (PLACE) [Gk *Illyrikon* (Ἰλλυρικον)]. A Roman province where Paul affirms that he had preached the gospel (Rom 15:19). It was in the NW part of the Balkan peninsula along the E coast of the Adriatic Sea. Illyricum was one of four large provinces established by the Romans across the N part of the peninsula. These provinces—Illyricum, Moesia, Dacia, and Pannonia—covered the area from Vienna to the Black Sea and from Macedonia to the Carpathian Mountains. Illyricum was the westernmost and, in the early 1st century A.D., was divided into two sections: Pannonia in the N and DALMATIA in the S. The term Illyricum refers at times to Dalmatia and at other times to a larger area which includes Dalmatia. What is meant by Dalmatia in 2 Tim 4:10 is not clear, but it probably designates the S sector of Illyricum.

The boundaries of Illyricum are not easy to define, because they fluctuated through time. The Roman province seems to have extended from the Drina River (ancient Drilo) in the S to Istria, near the Austrian border, in the N; and from the Adriatic Sea on the W to the Sava River (ancient Savus) in the E. Suetonius stated that after Tiberius suppressed a rebellion in Illyricum (A.D. 6–9), he reduced "the whole of Illyricum," which Suetonius described as "enclosed by Northern Italy, Noricum, the Danube, Thrace, Macedonia, and the Adriatic Sea …" (*Tib.* 16). The struggles of Tiberius with Illyricum are recounted by Dio Cassius in his history of Rome (54.34; 55.28–34), written between A.D. 200 and 222.

Octavian had subjugated the Dalmatian tribe in 33 B.C., after a war which lasted several years, but it was not until after A.D. 9 that Dalmatia became a separate province. At that time Pannonia (Austria and W Hungary), which had been attached to the N part of Illyricum, was detached and made a separate province, while the S part of Illyricum (W Yugoslavia) was shortly thereafter renamed Dalmatia.

The Illyrians were probably an Indo-European people who settled in the W half of the Balkan peninsula around 1000 B.C. and consisted of numerous tribes, two of which were the Dalmatae and the Albani. These two tribes settled in the S part of Illyricum, the area now known as S Yugoslavia and Albania. Subsequently, some of the Illyrian tribes of S Albania spilled over into the area further S, where they came into contact with Greek culture and eventually established their own kingdom known as Epirus, which lies today in NW Greece.

When Paul spoke of his ministry as reaching from Jerusalem to Illyricum (Rom 15:19), it is unclear whether he meant the province as a whole, just the S portion of it (Dalmatia, 2 Tim 4:10), or perhaps just the border of it, near the city of Dyrrachium, which lay at the W end of the Ignatian Way.

It is quite possible that Paul himself did not actually preach in Illyricum. Contrary to most modern translations, the word "preach" does not occur in the text of Romans. It rather states that he "fulfilled" or "completed" the gospel of Christ in a geographical circle which stretched from Jerusalem to Illyricum. He may have viewed his ministry among the gentiles as a completion of the work begun among Jews in Jerusalem by the apostles before him, a work which reached W to Illyricum where some of his companions labored (e.g., Titus in Dalmatia, 2 Tim 4:10).

If Paul meant that he himself had preached all the way to Illyricum, we cannot determine when this occurred because the exact chronology of Paul's journeys is unclear, and Illyricum is not mentioned again in the letters of Paul or in Acts. A likely possibility would be the occasion of his third journey, when Luke describes his travels as taking him "through these parts," referring to Macedonia (Acts 20:2). It could not have been after his Roman imprisonment (Acts 28:16), because the Roman letter in which he refers to Illyricum was written in Corinth *before* this imprisonment.

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JOHN MCRAY

**IMAGE.** See IDOL, IDOLATRY; GRAVEN IMAGE.

**IMAGE OF GOD (OT).** Even though the statement of humanity's creation in the image of God appears to have had less importance in the biblical tradition than it assumed in later theological discussion, this statement clearly constitutes an important and positive affirmation about humanity's place in the created order. Man and woman are said to have been created in the *image/likeness* of God in only three passages in the early chapters of Genesis (Gen 1:26–28; 5:1–3; 9:6), all of which are assigned to the Priestly source of the Pentateuch as proposed by most modern scholars. The positive nature of this description is clear from the contexts in which it occurs, but the contexts are lacking the kind of explicit clues that would remove the ambiguity as to the exact meaning of the terms.

The etymology of the word *ṣelem,* "image," is uncertain. Some have suggested that it is related to a verb *ṣālam,* "to cut off," which does not occur in the Hebrew Bible. Apart from the "image of God" passages, the word is used twelve times. In ten instances the word refers to a physical representation of something (e.g., golden images of mice and tumors in 1 Sam 6:5, 11; images of Baal in 2 Kgs 11:18 and 2 Chr 23:17; molten images of Canaanite deities in Num 33:52; pagan images in Ezek 7:20, 16:17, and Amos 5:26; painted pictures of Babylonians in Ezek 23:14). *Ṣelem* has an abstract meaning in Ps 39:7 (—Eng 39:6), where it refers to the insubstantial nature of human life, and in Ps 73:20, where it refers to a dream image that a person retains upon waking. Westermann (*Genesis 1–11* BKAT, 146) is perhaps correct in suggesting that the basic meaning of *ṣelem* is "representation," a meaning sufficiently broad to include both the concrete and the abstract aspects of the word. The Akkadian cognate of the word (*ṣalmu*) is the common Akkadian word for statue/image, and it also includes an abstract aspect. The Aramaic cognate of *ṣelem* is a common word for image, and the word is used in the Aramaic portions of Daniel for the images/statues described in chapters 2 and 3. The word is also used of the attitude of the king (lit. "the appearance of his face") toward those who refused to bow down to the image that he was dedicating.

The second word used in these passages is *dĕmût,* an abstract noun from the verb *dāmâ,* which means "to be like." It is generally argued that this abstract term suggests approximation and weakens or blurs the meaning of the previous word *ṣelem* (Bird 1981: 139, n. 23), and this does seem to be the effect of the term in the visions of Ezekiel (e.g., 1:5, 26; 8:1; 10:1). The similarity indicated by *dĕmût* is not necessarily physical, as is clear from its use in Isa 13:4 to describe "the sound of a tumult on the mountains like (*dĕmût*) many people." *Dĕmût* clearly refers to a physical likeness in 2 Kgs 16:10, where Ahaz sent a likeness (*dĕmût*) and a model of an altar from Damascus to Jerusalem so that he could have a similar altar constructed for the temple. In 2 Chr 4:3, the figures of oxen that supported the molten sea in front of the temple are called *dĕmût bĕqārîm,* "figures/images of oxen." The Aramaic cognate of the word *dĕmût* is used in a similar way in a bilingual inscription on a statue from Tell Fekheriye (Millard and Bordreuil 1982: 137–38), in which the Akkadian word *ṣalmu,* "image/statue," is rendered into Aramaic as *ṣalma* in lines 12 and 16 and as *dĕmûta* in lines 1 and 15. Thus, while the term *dĕmût* indicates that the human being is in some sense "like God," the word seems to be virtually a synonym for the word *ṣelem.*

Gen 1:26 introduces the account of humanity's creation with God's statement, "Let us make man in our image (*bĕṣalmēnû*) according to our likeness (*kidmûtēnû*). "Gen 5:1 talks about humanity's creation "in the likeness of God" (*bidmût ʾĕlōhîm*), and this suggests that the prepositions used with the nouns "image

and likeness" are interchangeable in meaning. It has been suggested by some that the preposition *b* is used as *bet essentiae*, and that it indicates identity. Thus, the meaning is that man and woman were created not "according to" the image of God but rather "as" the image of God. Many have denied that the preposition *k* ever has this meaning, though certain considerations suggest that this may be the meaning intended by the biblical author.

It is clear that a certain ambiguity is associated with the meaning of the terms "image and likeness of God" in these passages in Genesis. It is difficult to know whether the author of the material used expressions from the tradition that his audience would immediately understand in their cultural context, but which we in a vastly different cultural setting lack the contextual clues to understand precisely, or whether the author deliberately presented these ideas in a somewhat ambiguous way.

Because of this ambiguity, interpreters have had to look for clues in the context of these passages that might be decisive for determining the exact meaning of these descriptions of humanity. Unfortunately, commentators have not been able to agree on what the decisive clues are, and the interpretation of the image of God has often reflected the *Zeitgeist* and has followed whatever emphasis happened to be current in psychology, or philosophy, or sociology, or theology.

The contexts in which the image/likeness of God occur do provide certain clear indications as to the significance of these statements about humanity about which virtually all commentators agree.

The account of creation in Genesis follows a clearly established literary pattern whose general contours are quite evident. Each creative act begins with an announcement ("and God said"), followed by a command ("let there be …"), a report ("and it was so"), an evaluation ("God saw that it was good"), and a temporal framework ("the *n*th day"). The account of humanity's creation follows this general pattern, but it also departs from the other accounts in significant ways: It is introduced by the words, "Let us make man," and this rather startling statement, whatever its exact meaning, immediately calls attention to the creation of humanity, presumably the climax of God's creative activity. The greater length of the account of humanity's creation in comparison to descriptions of the other creative acts, the threefold repetition (in 1:27) of the word *bārāʾ*, "to create" (a word reserved in the Hebrew Bible for God's creative activity), the fact that humanity is given dominion over the rest of creation, and the evaluation "very good" that follows the creation of man and woman make it clear that humanity is the climax of God's creative activity. It is man and woman alone who are said to be created in (or as) God's image, and this appears to account for humanity's preeminent position in the created order. The image of God sets man and woman apart from everything else that God made.

This point is also affirmed in Gen 9:6, which is part of the blessing given to Noah after the flood. Unlike God's instruction in 1:29–30, the human is given permission to kill animals for food. In addition to certain restrictions as to how the meat was to be eaten, it is specified that only animals may be killed. The life of another human being is not to be taken because "in the image of God (*bĕṣelem ʾĕlōhîm*) He made man." Thus, the image of God in man and woman gives dignity and worth to all people; it sets humankind apart from everything else that God made.

Gen 5:1–2 makes it clear that both male and female are included under the designation *ʾadam* who was made in God's image. Gen 5:3 reports that Adam fathered a son "in his likeness, according to his image," and the verse employs the same nouns used in Gen 1:26–27, though the order of the nouns and the prepositions used with each are reversed in comparison to Gen 1:26. This suggests that the way in which a son resembles his father is in some sense analogous to the way in which the human is like God. Since this passage has made the point that it is both male and female who are in the image of God, it seems clear that the similarity, while not excluding the physical in the broadest sense, focuses on capacities such as personality, self-determination, and rational thought. It is probable that it is the whole person who is in the image of God rather than some specific aspect of that person to the exclusion of others, and this focus on the human being as a whole being is consistent with the way humanity is viewed throughout the Hebrew Bible. Even more fundamental than resemblance between Adam and his son was the relationship between them, and some have suggested that the image of God implies that the human was made with the capacity

for relationship with God. It is also possible that the point of this analogy is that the son is the image of his father because he functions both like his father and on behalf of his father.

Apart from the question of what information may have been known to the various sources that underlie the present biblical text, the image of God passages, in their present canonical context, make it clear that humanity even after the Fall is still in the image of God.

The fact that man and woman were created in (or as) the image of God is clearly a positive statement affirming humanity's preeminence over everything else that God created. In view of the strong condemnation of idolatry and the unqualified prohibition of images in the Bible, this positive use of *ṣelem* is most unexpected, and even though this word is not used in the legislation that specifically condemns the use of images, the same negative connotations are almost certainly associated with the word. There seems to be nothing in the biblical understanding of images that would give content to the meaning of the image of God beyond that which the context of the passages suggests, and it appears that the basis for any further understanding of the image of God will have to be found outside the biblical material. This even raises the possibility that this is an idea that Israel borrowed from another culture.

Images were used in both Mesopotamia and Egypt, and the literature of those countries provides a basis for determining how those people understood images. Egyptian texts make it clear that images were not meant to depict what a god looked like, but represented attempts to describe certain qualities or attributes of the deity. The primary purpose of the image, though, was not to describe the god; rather, the image was one of the primary places where the god manifested himself. The presence of the deity in the statue was magically effected through a ceremony called the "Opening of the Mouth," and perhaps there are reflections of this in the description of humanity's creation in Genesis 2, where God forms a figure of the man out of dust from the ground and then animates that figure by breathing life into it. The significance of the image did not lie in the way it described or depicted the god (though that was not totally unimportant); rather, it lay in the fact that the statue was a place where the deity was present and manifested himself. Thus, the presence of the god and the blessing that accompanied that presence were effected through the image. It was the function of the image rather than its form that constituted its significance.

In both Egypt and Mesopotamia, people were sometimes referred to as images of god, and while there are occasional exceptions, it was usually the king who was referred to in this way. The focus for this seems to be Egypt, where, beginning with the New Kingdom, there are numerous examples of the king described as the image of a particular god; in contrast to this, only five examples are known from Mesopotamia (four of which date to the neo-Assyrian period). The pharaoh was described in these terms because he was believed to be the earthly manifestation of the deity, and thus he functioned on earth exactly as the image functioned in the temple. In Mesopotamia, where the idea of the deified king made a brief appearance in the Ur III period but died out thereafter, there was little basis for referring to the king in such a way. There are indications in Gen 1:26–28 that the "image of God" terminology perhaps had its origins in the royal ideology of the ancient Near East. The idea of dominion and the idea of subduing are most appropriate in the context of kingship. Psalm 8 uses similar royal terminology in its description of humanity's place in the created order, though it does not use the term "image of God."

It seems likely that the image of God idea was introduced into Israel through her contacts with Egypt, and the idea was emptied of content that was incompatible with Israelite theology and used to express the apparently uniquely Israelite idea that all persons, not just the king, occupy a preeminent place in the created order. There are several periods in Israel's history when this influence was possible, though the period of the Egyptian bondage and the Exodus would have provided a context where the Israelites would have taken great delight in affirming that the pharaoh, as magnificent and impressive as he may have been, was not the one who rightly deserved the title "image of god"; rather, all persons as the special creatures of God are made in/as His image. It should be noted that the fact that the "image of God" passages are all a part of what most modern biblical scholars identify as the Priestly source of the Pentateuch, which is normally assumed to date to the period of the Babylonian exile, does not preclude the possibility that the image of God idea had its origins in Egypt at a much earlier time, since scholars are becoming increasingly aware of ancient traditions that are a part of that material.

The image of God terminology clearly affirms the preeminent position of humanity in the created order and declares the dignity and worth of man and woman as the special creations of God. The ANE background that appears to stand behind the biblical idea provides an appropriate base for such a declaration about humankind. It is not as clear whether other elements of the Egyptian understanding of images are implied through the figure as well. Perhaps the image of God idea suggests that humankind is the primary place where God manifests Himself; perhaps the figure implies that it is humanity that stands in a special relationship to God and that should function both like God and on His behalf; it does seem clear, in the light of the Near Eastern parallels, that the term has less to do with form and appearance than with function and position in the created order of things.

This suggestion as to the origin of the image of God terminology suggests that a term that entered Israel's tradition at an early date remained somewhat isolated in that tradition without being developed elsewhere in the preexilic literature. It seems likely that the danger presented to Israel's religion by idolatry precluded that use until after the Exile had eliminated idolatry as a major problem. In the new religious context created by the Exile and return, the "image of God" motif was again taken up and developed both in the intertestamental period and in the NT.

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**IMALKUE** (PERSON) [Gk *Imalkoue* (Ἰμαλκουε)]. Imalkue is mentioned in 1 Macc 11:39 as an Arab ruler, with whom the Seleucid king Alexander Balas left his child Antiochus VI during his struggle with Demetrius II in 146 B.C.E. (cf. Jos. *Ant* 13.131–32; Diodorus 32.9d, 1.10). The Gk and Lat transcription is customarily written *Iam (b)licus* (e.g., Diodorus 33.4a; Jos. *Ant* 14.129; *JW* 1.129; 4a; Livy *Epit.* 52; *CIL* 13.7040). It is apparently an abbreviation of an ancient theophoric name such as *Ia-am-li-ik-el,* meaning "God will rule." Imalkue was a common name among Syrian Arabs near Palmyra and Emesa, and among Ituraeans in Lebanon (*HJP²,* 183; Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 436). Two Nabatean kings bore the name Malichus (*Ymlkw* in Arabic or Nabatean), which derived from the same root. A similar Hebrew name *Yamlek* is mentioned in the Bible (1 Chr 4:34), and several related Arabic forms date back to the same period (*EncMiqr* 3: 702). Diodorus (32.9d, 1.10) mentions Imalkue by the Gk name of Diocles, meaning "glory of Zeus," which was apparently a rather free equivalent of his Arabic name.

Although 1 Maccabees denotes Imalkue as "the Arab," neither his tribal identity nor the area of his rule can be precisely determined. Some believe that he was the son of Zabdiel, mentioned in 1 Macc 11:16–17 as the killer of Balas (Abel 1949: 212); this, in fact, could explain how Imalkue laid his hand on Antiochus VI (145 B.C.E.). It was Tryphon, one of Balas' chief officers, who persuaded Imalkue to place the young heir in his protection, in order to rule in his name and to foil Demetrius' plans (1 Macc 11:39–40; *Ant* 13.131–32). Imalkue cooperated with him and even permitted him to establish in his country a military base against Demetrius. As Diodorus locates this base near Chalcis, it seems that Imalkue ruled in the Lebanon Valley and probably headed one of the Ituraean tribes there. This impression is supported by the fact that two later Ituraean rulers were called Iamblicus, and that at least one of them "lived on Mount Lebanon" (*Ant* 14.129; Kasher 1988: 38, 120).

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**IMITATE, IMITATORS** [Gk *mimeomai* (μιμεομαι), *mimētēs* (μιμητης)]. The term "imitator" is one link between the disciples of Jesus in the Gospels and the believers of the early Church. Although the word "disciple" (*mathētēs*) is curiously absent from the epistles, Michaelis' conclusion is representative of recent scholarship: "The *mathētēs* … and the *mimētēs* are one and the same" (*TDNT* 4:673; cf. Betz 1967: 42–43; Schulz 1962: 332–35).

The nouns *mimētēs* (1 Cor 4:16; 11:1; Eph 5:1; 1 Thess 1:6; 2:14; Heb 6:12) and *summimētēs* ("fellow imitator"; Phil 3:17) are always joined in the NT with the verb *ginomai* ("be, become") and are thus similar in meaning to the simple verb *mimeomai* (2 Thess 3:7, 9; Heb 13:7; 3 John 11). Related concepts are found in the use of *tupos* ("type, example," which occurs in several contexts with "imitation" terms: Phil 3:17; 1 Thess 1:7; 2 Thess 3:9), *hupogrammos* ("example" cf. 1 Pet 1:21), and the adverbial forms *kathōs* ("just as," 2 Cor 1:5) and *hōs* ("like," Luke 6:40).

In classical and Hellenistic Greek, *mimeomai/mimētēs* designates (1) the simple act of mimicking what one sees another doing, (2) the joy of following and emulating another, and (3) the representation of reality in artistic activities (e.g., theater, painting, sculpture, poetry). Used in a derogatory manner, the terms indicate weak and unoriginal copying. In Platonic cosmology the present world is the visible, imperfect copy (*mimēma*) of the invisible archetype in the higher world of Ideas; therefore, "to imitate God" indicates ontological development—not an ethical personal decision (Morrison 1982: 3–31). In the mystery religions, the cultic and magical imitation of God becomes a central focus (Betz 1967: 48–84).

While the word group is absent from the canonical LXX, imitation of exemplary men and women is prominent in Jewish literature (e.g., *4 Macc* 9:32; 13:9; *T. Benj.* 4:1; Sirach 44–50; 1 Macc 2:49 ff., esp. v 61). In the Pseudepigrapha, *mimeomai/mimētēs* also indicates imitation of God (*T. Ash.* 4:3) and his characteristics (*Let. Aris.* 188, 210, 280–81). Philo regularly uses *mimēma* for the Platonic cosmological idea of original and copy (*Op* 3.877), and uses *mimeomai* for imitation of a model, including man (*Vita Mos.* I. 158) and God (e.g., *Dec* 111; *Leg All* I.48; *Op* 26.79). Josephus does not speak of the imitation of God, but does use the terms for conscious imitation of the qualities or acts of others (*mimeomai*, *Ant* 12.241; *mimētēs, Ant* 8.315).

*Mimeomai/mimētēs* in NT usage calls believers to imitate other believers, Christ, and God. Human objects are those most numerously given for imitation. Human imitation ranges from simple comparison with the conduct of other believers (1 Thess 2:14) to presentation of examples of conduct to imitate (Phil 3:17; 2 Thess 3:7, 9; Heb 6:12; 13:7). Paul gives himself as an example for imitation (1 Cor 4:16; 11:1; Phil 3:17; 2 Thess 3:7, 9), but he does not hold himself up as the ideal of mature perfection. On one occasion he deliberately confesses his own imperfection before he gives the call for them to imitate him (cf. Phil 3:13, 17). Imitation of Paul's ways (1 Cor 4:16–17) should bring believers to an appropriate understanding of the message of the cross and its implications for their life as a community (Sanders 1981: 363).

Human objects, therefore, ultimately point to Christ. Twice, Paul calls for his readers to imitate himself, but at the same time he names Christ as the final object of their imitation (1 Cor 11:1; 1 Thess 1:6). Only in Eph 5:1 are believers called to be imitators of God, but even here the example given is Christ: his forgiveness, love, and sacrificial service (Eph 4:32; 5:2). Christ is the incarnate example of God for believers to emulate in their daily experience.

Although certain aspects of Christ's earthly life are held up as examples for the believer to follow (e.g., suffering, 1 Thess 1:6; cf. 1 Pet 1:21: *hupogrammos*), this does not imply self-justification through emulation of his works. The NT use of *mimeomai/mimētēs* has a unique ethical dimension which stresses the contrast between the "indicative" and the "imperative" in the Christian life. Participation in Christ's cross and resurrection (the indicative which makes the believer a new creature in Christ [2 Cor 5:17]) is constituted in the life of the believer here and now by obedience to the imperatival call to imitation (Webster 1986: 106).

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MICHAEL J. WILKINS

**IMLAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yimlâ* (יִמְלָה)]. The father of the 9th-century Israelite prophet Micaiah, who prophesied against King Ahab (1 Kgs 22:8–9). See MICAIAH. Nothing more is known of the biblical Imlah. The name is spelled differently in 1 Kgs 22:8–9 (*ymlh*) and in 2 Chr 18:7–8 (*yml*ʿ), where the story of Micaiah's prophecy is repeated. This indicates that the text of Kings on which the Chronicler relied was not identical to the present MT (Coggins *1 and 2 Chronicles* CBC, 215). The Chronicler's form is more likely in Hebrew, and a similarly spelled name appears also in an Aramaic inscription from Palmyra.
JEROME T. WALSH

**IMMANUEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿimmānûʿēl* (עִמָּנוּאֵל)]. A symbolic name meaning "with us [is] God," found in Isa 7:14 and 8:8; it is alluded to in 8:10. Isaiah 7:14 is cited in Matt 1:23.

The use of the name in Isa 7:14 is the primary one of the four occurrences, but many elements of the interpretation of the passage within which it occurs (7:10–17) are disputed. Neither the etymological meaning of the name nor the historical context in which these words of Isaiah are spoken is in doubt. The occasion is the same as that of 7:1–9; namely, the invasion of Judah by Syria and Israel (the so-called SYRO-EPHRAIMITE WAR, 735–732 B.C.). Syria and Israel were in the process of revolting against Assyria, of which they were vassals; fearing to have a neutral or possibly hostile Judah to their S at the time of the expected retaliation from Assyria, they were trying to force Judah into their coalition or at least render it harmless by placing someone of their own choice and persuasion on the throne of Judah (7:6). In these circumstances Ahaz, king of Judah, appears to have seen joining the coalition or calling on Assyria for help (thus voluntarily submitting to vassalhood) as the only alternative. Isaiah sought to dissuade him from following either course with the assurance that Syria and Israel did not present a serious threat (v 4; cf. 8:1–4), giving the Lord's own assurance that their plans would not succeed (v 7), and challenging Ahaz to faith in the Lord's promise as a condition to his own continuation (v 9).

It is likely that Ahaz' circle of advisers were urging submission to Assyria as the course to follow. In any case, 7:10–17 opens with Isaiah seeking to dispel whatever doubts Ahaz may have had by telling him to ask for any sign he might choose as assurance that the Lord had spoken through the prophet. Ahaz may already have decided to turn to Assyria for help (which is what he did, according to 2 Kings 16:7–9), but, in any case, he refused to ask for a sign. The prophet responds by asserting that the Lord himself will give a sign; namely, that "the young woman (*hāʿalmâ*) "will conceive (or: has conceived—the Hebrew does not clearly specify) and bear a son and call his name Immanuel. The child is to live on curds and honey so that he may learn (or: until he learns) to reject the evil and choose the good; before that, however, Syria and Israel will be devastated, but the Lord will bring upon Ahaz' dynasty and his people terrible times (which a gloss identifies, no doubt correctly, as the king of Assyria). The rest of the chapter (vv 18–25) consists of a series of shorter oracles relating to the same context, some of which may cast light upon the interpretation of vv 10–17.

As already indicated, many aspects of these verses are disputed. For example, Immanuel is said to be a royal child (H. Gressmann, E. Hammershaimb, A. S. Herbert, E. J. Kissane, J. Lindblom, J. L. McKenzie, S. Mowinckel, H.-P. Müller, H. Ringgren, J. J. Scullion, B. Vawter, W. Vischer, H. Wildberger, G. E. Wright), specifically Hezekiah (Hammershaimb, Kissane, Lindblom, O. Procksch, Wildberger), or Isaiah's son (R. E. Clements, N. Gottwald, T. Lescow, J. J. Stamm, H. M. Wolf), or any child conceived

at this time (B. Duhm, G. Fohrer, G. B. Gray, O. Kaiser, L. Koehler, W. McKane, K. Marti, J. Mauchline), with "the young woman" being explained accordingly; he is the new Israel (L. G. Rignell); and some authors emphasize the difficulty of relating Immanuel to Isaiah's historical context in order to favor a more strictly messianic interpretation (T. E. Bird, J. Coppens, F. Delitzsch, J. Fischer, Gressmann, H. Junker, M. McNamara, F. L. Moriarity). Immanuel is said to be a favorable sign of salvation (S. Blank, Hammershaimb, Marti, Rignell, Scullion); he is purely a sign of disaster (K. Budde, H. W. Hertzberg, R. Kilian, Lescow); he is a double-edged sign (Fischer, Gressmann, Junker, Kaiser, Vischer, H. W. Wolff). Immanuel's food ("curds and honey") is ideal and luxurious food of abundance (Gray, Hammershaimb, Lindblom, Rignell, Scullion, J. Skinner, Wildberger, Wolff); his food is the nomad fare available in a land that has been devastated (Budde, Cheyne, Delitzsch, Duhm, Fischer, Fohrer, Herbert, Hertzberg, Kaiser, Kilian, McNamara, Marti, Mauchline, Stamm). Immanuel's coming to knowledge in v 15 is a temporal expression ("when he learns to reject …," "by the time he learns …"—G. W. Buchanan, T. F. Cheyne, Duhm, Fohrer, Herbert, Hertzberg, Kaiser, Lindblom, McNamara, Marti, Mauchline [following ], Rignell, Skinner, Stamm); it expresses finality ("so that he may learn to reject …"—Budde, F. Dreyfus, P. G. Duncker, Junker, McKane, Mauchline [following MT], Müller, Scullion, Wildberger, Wolff). The age at which a child learns to reject evil and choose good means the age at which he can distinguish pleasant from unpleasant (usually set at 2 or 3 years—Clements, Duhm, Fohrer, Herbert, Kilian, Lescow, Lindblom, McKane, Marti, Mauchline, Skinner, Stamm); it means the age of moral discernment (often set at around 20 years—Budde, Buchanan, Cheyne, Delitzsch, Fischer [at age 3!], Herzberg, Kaiser, McNamara, Rignell, Scullion, Wolff); it means the age of sexual awareness or maturity (around age 13—R. Gordis, L. F. Hartman, B. Reike). Although most commentators agree that v 17 foretells devastation, there are some who take it as a prediction of future blessedness (Lindblom, Hammershaimb, McKane, Scullion). Some authors question the authenticity of certain words, phrases, or even verses of the passage; in fact, some of the positions listed above require the rejection of parts of the text.

In spite of the diversity of views just referred to, the majority of scholars would endorse an interpretation something like the following. The "young woman" referred to is a wife of Ahaz, and the son to be born would be a child of Ahaz; as such he would be a guarantee of the continuation of the Davidic dynasty, to which perpetuity has been promised (2 Samuel 7) and from which great things have been expected. For this reason the symbolic name "with us (is) God" could be given to the child, and, as the Lord had already promised, the threat from Syria and Israel would dissolve. Nevertheless, because Ahaz had refused to believe and to repose his faith in the Lord alone, the trust he had placed in Assyria would occasion terrible devastation for Judah. This interpretation is "messianic" (and sometimes characterized as dynastic messianism) in that the continuation of the dynasty preserves the channel for the promised blessings and leaves open the possibility of a future individual in whom these blessings will be realized in a unique way.

No critical scholar today holds that Isaiah directly foretold the birth of Jesus of a virgin, and this for a number of reasons. First, the sign of Immanuel was given to Ahaz and his contemporaries as part of Isaiah's message, and an event that occurred some seven hundred years later would not be relevant to them. Moreover, by his reference to the fate of "the land before whose two kings you stand in dread" (i.e., Syria and Israel), Isaiah clearly ties Immanuel to the contemporary scene. Second, the Hebrew term for "the young woman" (*hā·almâ*) refers to a young woman of marriageable age, who may normally be supposed to be a virgin, but it is not the technical term for "virgin" (*bĕtûlâ*)—which would have to have been used if that were the precise point intended. Third, there is also the fact that while a virgin birth may be the object of faith, it is not subject to the kind of observation that would make it a sign in any meaningful sense.

Those who hold that Immanuel is any child conceived at this time obviously do not relate the sign to the dynasty or to the promises to David; the import would be (though the view is proposed with many variations) that any young woman who conceived now could, by the time her child was born, bestow a name expressive of deliverance because the Syria-Israel threat would have evaporated by then (see 2 Kgs 7:2 for a conditional construction which begins with *hinnēh*). The objection often raised, that the definite

article in *hā·almâ* ("*the* young woman") rules this out, should not be pressed; the use of the definite article in Hebrew is not always all that precise. There are, however, other reasons for rejecting it. An important part of the Syria-Israel threat is their intention of deposing Ahaz and placing their own king on the throne (v 6), so the fate of the dynasty comes prominently into the picture. There are, furthermore, references to "the house of David" in this context that are sufficiently unusual to require explanation (vv 2, 13; cf. v 17). Isaiah's assurance of safety and challenge to effective faith (vv 4, 7, 9) would relate well to the dynastic promises.

Those who see Immanuel as Isaiah's son sometimes identify him with Maher-shalal-hash-baz of 8:1–4 (or even with Shear-jashub—cf. 7:3) or sometimes see him as a separate sign-child. The arguments for this view are drawn partly from the alleged parallelism with 8:1–4, but it is also asserted that only the prospective parent can know what the child will be named; if Isaiah can assert that the child will be named Immanuel, it must be his child. The latter argument would appear to fail to take note of the obviously symbolic nature of the name. It is true that Isaiah imposed actual names of symbolic import on two of his sons (Shear-jashub and Maher-shalal-hash-baz—see above), but he had a particular penchant for consigning his teaching in names; the series of four names ascribed to the ideal king to come in 9:5—Eng9:6 depict his qualities but are not to be understood as names that are actually bestowed. The naming of Maher-shalal-hash-baz in 8:1–4 occurs in a context which spells out the fate of Syria and Israel within a fairly precise chronological framework, i.e., the brief time between a child's conception and its first simple words; the time involved in Immanuel's coming to know how to reject evil and choose good involves far more (see below).

In many ways v 15 holds the key to the interpretation of the whole passage. It is true that many authors (including Wildberger) reject the verse in whole or in part, but there is no basis in textual criticism for this. The rejection of v 15 is usually dictated by the interpretation adopted for vv 10–17; but an interpretation that relies on emendations that have no warrant in the textual tradition is necessarily suspect. The reference to "curds and honey" as Immanuel's food is taken by a number of commentators to refer to idyllic circumstances (as in the phrase "a land flowing with milk and honey"—Exod 3:8, 17; 13:5; 33:3; Deut 6:3; etc.) or even to ambrosial nourishment provided for a divine infant in some myths. Neither would suit the threatening context of Isaiah's situation, and this is given as reason for the elimination of the verse—though it is sometimes rejected on other grounds, too. However, while a land "flowing with milk and honey"—even if that cliché were used here, instead of the relatively rare "curds and honey"—was an apt manner in which to describe an ideal land in Israel's nomad days, an Israel settled in its own land thought of the ideal in terms of corn and wine and oil. For these and other reasons, the majority of scholars see the expression as indicating a land that has been devastated; no agriculture is possible, and so the only food available is wild honey and the produce of the flocks. (Vv 21–25, separate compositions but probably closely related in historical context to vv 10–17, indicate tiny flocks and difficult times in a land where agriculture has been rendered impossible.) The meaning would thus be that, owing to Ahaz' misguided policy, Immanuel would grow up under difficult circumstances in a devastated land.

The majority of translators and commentators take the expression in v 15 that relates to Immanuel's coming to knowledge (*lĕda·tô*—preposition + infinitive + suffix) as temporal, and as referring to a relatively few years, the time needed for an infant to learn to distinguish pleasant from unpleasant (see above). Many are influenced to take this position by 8:1–4, where Isaiah gives the sign of Maher-shalal-hash-baz. There, the prophet speaks of the speedy evaporation of the threat of the Syria-Israel coalition: Before the child whose conception and birth there described is able to speak his first words, those two lands will have been devastated; and in each of the two texts the same expression "before the child knows …" occurs (cf. 7:16 and 8:4). However, there are also strong reasons for taking the expression in 7:15 in the causal sense. None of the OT references to the knowledge of "good and evil" can easily be applied to the knowledge that is proper to infants or very young children. Where the reference does indicate the stage of development, adulthood or something close to it seems to be required; for example, the knowledge attributed to David and Solomon for the office of judging is not that of infancy (2 Sam 14:17—cf. v 20; 1 Kgs 3:9). So also when Deut 1:39 designates "your children, who this day have no

knowledge of good and evil" as the ones who will one day enter the promised land, it must have in mind approximately the same age as that in Num 14:29–30 (cf. 32:11), which excludes those "from twenty years and upward." The terminology in Isa 7:15 that speaks of Immanuel rejecting evil (*mā‹ôs bārā‹*) also indicates adult discernment. For some scholars, such considerations argue for a rejection of a temporal sense for v 15 in favor of a causal sense, the more usual force of *lĕ* + the infinitive. The meaning would thus be "that he may learn to reject the evil and choose the good"; i.e., the difficult circumstances in which Immanuel was to grow up would be the occasion of a moral development that would make him very unlike Ahaz, to whom he seems to be deliberately contrasted. This interpretation goes somewhat beyond dynastic messianism in the importance it attributes to Immanuel in Isaiah's thought and leaves the way open to a connection between this figure and the ideal king depicted in 8:23–9:6—Eng9:1–7 and 11:1–9.

The meaning of the oracle at 8:5–8 is again disputed. Clearly, Isaiah is saying that because Judah has rejected the Lord's call to faith by turning to Assyria for help, it will be overwhelmed by that nation; the reference to "outspread wings" may continue that threatening message, but such imagery more usually signals Yahweh's protection (cf. Pss 17:8; 36:7; 57:1). In any case, the address to Immanuel, the fate of whose land is at stake, though rejected by many as inauthentic, can very possibly be original. The same Hebrew expression, *‹immānû ›ēl,* though now not a proper name but literally " (for) God is with us," is found as the conclusion of 8:9–10, given as the reason that the hostile plans and behavior of the pagan nations against Judah will come to nought.

The citation of Isa 7:14 in Matt 1:23 follows the Greek of the LXX rather than the Hebrew of the MT; Matthew's citation varies from the LXX on a couple of minor points, either because these differences were already in the text he followed or because he adapted it for his own purposes. The most striking difference between the LXX and the Hebrew is the use of "virgin" (*parthenos* in Gk) instead of "young woman" (*‹almâ* in Heb). While the latter is not the normal designation for "virgin" (see above), the Gk *parthenos* does normally mean "virgin" and is the word regularly used to translate *bĕtûlâ,* the Heb term for "virgin." One would have expected *neanis* (the Gk term for "young woman"), which is the term normally used to render *‹almâ* in the LXX and which is, in fact, used for this text in the later, more literal, Greek translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. No certain explanation of why the LXX chose to render *‹almâ* by *parthenos* can be given. Some have supposed that in the period after Isaiah, his Immanuel oracle occasioned a development which posited a marvelous birth for the one who would fulfill it. However, since Isa 7:14 is not among the passages that later Jewish thought saw as "messianic," the suggestion is unsupported by the evidence. It is more likely that the translator was indicating that Immanuel's mother was a virgin at the time the oracle was spoken and would be until she conceived in the usual manner; unlike the Hebrew, the Greek clearly has the conception as future.

While Matthew was thus not constrained by any OT evidence that the Messiah would be born of a virgin, he clearly uses the Isaiah passage in support of his own presentation of the virginal conception of Jesus, a tradition that must have reached him from a different source. The Isaiah text is cited after Joseph's doubt has been countered by the assurance that Mary's conception is through the action of the Holy Spirit, and in this context the emphasis falls on "virgin," a point the Evangelist can see as foretold in prophecy. The meaning of the Hebrew name "Immanuel" would not have been evident to many of Matthew's readers, and so to the Isaiah citation he adds the explanation, "a name which means 'God with us,' " an interpretation probably taken from Isa 8:10. Thus, Matthew uses the text not only as prophecy, now fulfilled, of the coming of Jesus and of his virginal conception, but also to say something of the divine sonship of Jesus, through whom God is present in a very special way. On both points, Matthew goes well beyond anything envisioned in the OT text.

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**IMMER** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾimmēr* (אִמֵּר)]. The LXX regularly transliterates the name as *emmēr* (1 Chr 9:12; 24:14; Ezra 2:37; 2:59; 10:20; Neh 3:29; 7:40; Jer 20:1; 1 Esdr 9:21) and once as *iemēr* (Neh 7:61). Cf. also 1 Esdr 5:24 LXX *emmērouth;* KJV Meruth; NEB Emmeruth; and 1 Esdr 5:36 LXX *amar; allar;* KJV Aalar; NEB Alar; AB Allar.

**1.** An Aaronide priest whose family, according to the Chronicler, by lot became the 16th course of priests in the time of David (1 Chr 24:1–6, 14). The name appears at the close of the Exile, when as many as 1,052 priests who claimed descent from Immer were able to return from Babylon to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:1–2, 37 = Neh 7:6–7, 40 = 1 Esdr 5:7–8, 24). This same Immer is cited as the ancestor of one of the prominent priestly families residing in Jerusalem, that of Amashsai (= Maasai in 1 Chr 9:12), in Nehemiah's time (Neh 11:13). According to Nehemiah 11, Immer was the progenitor of the line Meshillemoth-Ahzai-Azarel-Amashsai. In 1 Chr 9:12, this genealogy is expanded considerably, stating that Immer was the head of the lineage Meshillemith-Meshullam-Jahzerah-Adiel-Maasai. By comparison it would thus appear that Meshillemoth is the same person as either Meshillemith or Meshullam, and that Ahzai and Azarel are the equivalents of Jahzerah and Adiel in the 1 Chronicles 9 list. It is also known that, in Ezra's day, two of Immer's descendants, Hanani and Zebadiah, were found to have married foreign women and were subsequently moved to make a solemn pledge to divorce their wives (Ezra 10:19–20). What is more, the synoptic parallel, 1 Esdr 9:20–21, adds four additional violators to these two, namely Maaseiah, Shemaiah, Jehiel, and Azariah. In Ezra 10:21, in both the MT and LXX B, the four have become five (Maaseiah, Elijah, Shemaiah, Jehiel, and Uzziah), but these names are all attributed to the line of a man named Harim, not Immer.

**2.** The father of Pashhur, the priest who was chief officer in the last days of the temple and who as the opponent of the prophet Jeremiah beat him and put him in stocks overnight (Jer 20:1–2). If this person is the same as #1 above, then the word for "son" [Heb *ben*] would have to be understood in the broader sense of "descendant."

**3.** The father of Zadok, a person who is said to have repaired the wall of Jerusalem opposite his own house, near the Horse Gate, in the time of Nehemiah (Neh 3:28–29). The Horse Gate (2 Kgs 11:16; 2 Chr 23:15; Jer 31:40) is thought to have been located in the SE corner of the temple-palace complex. Working where he did, Immer was probably a priest. If the Immer intended here is #1 above, again the Hebrew word for "son" (*ben*) would have to be interpreted in the wider sense of "descendant."

**4.** One of the leaders who brought exiles from Telmelah and Telharsha back home to Judah (1 Esdr 5:36). These exiles were distinguished by their inability to show proof of their Israelite ancestry (1 Esdr 5:37). In the synoptic parallels to 1 Esdr 5:36, namely, Ezra 2:59 and Neh 7:61, it is worth noting that this same "Immer" is treated as a place name, not a personal name. However, "Immer" as a personal name should not be too quickly dismissed in this context, as the 1 Esdras–type text often preserves many older readings (Klein 1969: 107).

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**IMMER** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾimmer* (אִמֶּר)]. Unidentified Babylonian site from which Jewish exiles returned under Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:59; Neh 7:61; see also 1 Esdr 5:36, where the text is uncertain). These returnees were unable to prove their Israelite ancestry, which was needed as a crucial line of continuity between the restoration community and preexilic Israel (Johnson 1969: 42–44; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 39). Some scholars have taken "Immer" in the Ezra and Nehemiah references as a personal name, which may find support in 1 Esdr 5:36 (for arguments, see Batten *Ezra and Nehemiah* ICC, 96).

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BILL T. ARNOLD

**IMNA** (PERSON) [Heb *yimnāʿ* (יִמְנָע)] A descendant of Asher, found in the segmented tribal genealogy in 1 Chr 7:30–40. The name occurs in the LXX as Imana, and in $LXX^{L}$ as Iamna. In form, it is a verbal imperfect 3 m.s. *qal* conjugation of the root *mnʿ,* meaning "he will withhold," and may be a hypocoristicon for an original form that contained the name of a deity after the verb.

Imna appears in v 35 as a son of Helem, making him a fourth-generation descendant of the eponymous ancestor Asher. Since other names in the list such as Shual, Zophah, Japhlet, and Shelesh/Shilshah appear elsewhere in the Bible as names of clans and/or geographical regions, and the summary in v 40 indicates that the underlying source for the genealogy was an administrative list used for purposes of army conscription and possibly also taxation, it is likely that Imna is not the name of an individual but that of a clan or a village. All groups named in the Chronicles genealogy for Asher appear to have lived in the Asherite enclave located in S Mt. Ephraim and not in the Galilean territory of Asher (Edelman 1988). See ASHER (PERSON); ASHURITES.

Imna probably is a variant spelling or textual corruption of Imnah, found in v 30, and of Imrah, found in v 36, of the same genealogy. In the first instance, the final *he* has interchanged with the final *ʿayin,* which would not have affected the name's pronunciation. In the second instance, in addition to the same alteration at the end of the name, a medial *nun* has been mistaken as a *reš,* a mistake that was possible to make in the square script, but not in the older archaic Hebrew script. Such a mistake could easily have occurred through a copyist's error during the centuries of transmission of the text of Chronicles. Imna/Imnah would accordingly represent an Asherite clan located somewhere in S Mt. Ephraim.

The appearance of the name three times within the genealogy has been understood in two ways. In accordance with the view that the genealogy is homogenous and derives from an administrative list of Asherite clans made at a single point in time, Imna in v 35 would be an intergenerational namesake of the Imnah in v 30, and Imrah in v 36 would be a corrupted reference to the Imna of v 35. The two names Beri and Imrah (*bry* and *ymrh*) would not be children of Zophah but rather would represent the corruption of an original reading *bny ymnh,* "sons of Imnah," which introduced Imnah's descendants in the continuing presentation of the fifth generation of descent in the segmented genealogy (Naʿaman fc.).

According to the alternate view, the instances of name repetition within the genealogy, including Beriah/Beri, Zophah, Shelesh/Shilshah, Shua/Shual, and Imnah/Imna/Imrah, are to be taken as indications of the composite nature of the genealogy. Three administrative lists deriving from different eras but naming the members of the Asherite enclave at three separate points in time would have been combined by the Chronicler to produce the final form of the genealogy. Following this understanding, the three Imnahs would represent the same clan at different points in time, or the final two would represent the same clan over time, while the first might represent a distant namesake within the Galilean region, before the splintering off of the enclave group (Edelman 1988).

Regardless of the structural approach taken to the genealogy, Imna can be further linked with the land of Yemini that Saul is reported to have traversed in his search for his father's lost asses in 1 Sam 9:4 (Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 155; Edelman 1989: 53–54). The gentilic of the lesser known Asherite clan of Imnah is so close to the gentilic of the tribe of (Ben)jamin, *ymny* vs. *ymyny,* that the medial *yod* in the

MT text could easily have been added as a *mater lectionis* by a scribe or later copyist when the original reference to the Asherite group was no longer understood and one to the well-known Benjaminites was presumed. All four lands traversed by Saul in southern Mt. Ephraim can be identified with Asherite clans in the genealogy in 1 Chronicles 7; and based on Saul's following a sequential route, the land of the Yemnites can tentatively be situated in the region around Bethel and Ai (Edelman 1989: 53–54).

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**IMNAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yimnâ* (יִמְנָה)]. Var. IMNA. IMNITES. **1.** The firstborn son of Asher (Gen 46:17; 1 Chr 7:30). In the genealogical list of Jacob's sons, which is listed by family and mother (Gen 48:8–27), Imnah appears as the grandson of Jacob and Leah through Asher. Asher was the second son of Zilpah, Leah's maid (Gen 37:12–13). Imnah was the father of the Imnites (Num 26:44). See also IMNA.

**2.** A Levite, whose son Kore assisted Hezekiah in his religious reform (2 Chr 31:14). Nothing is known about this Imnah, but probably he exercised a prominent position in the temple. His son Kore was the keeper of the East Gate and was in charge of the freewill offerings presented in the temple. Kore also supervised the distribution of the portion to be given to the Levites and to the priests. For this reason, S. A. Cook (*EncBib,* 2688) has said that the name Imnah was probably written mistakenly by a scribe for Heman, a Levite who was associated with the Korahites and with the doorkeeper of the temple.

CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

**IMPALEMENT.** See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES (OT AND ANE).

**IMPEDIMENT OF SPEECH.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**IMPURITY, WATER FOR.** See WATER FOR IMPURITY.

**IMRAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yimrâ* (יִמְרָה)]. The fifth son of Zophah in the genealogy of Asher (1 Chr 7:36). Although this name is similar to others found in the same genealogy (Imnah–7:30; Imna–7:35), it appears neither in parallel lists in Numbers 26 and Genesis 46 nor elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. See also IMNA (PERSON). Speculation about the meaning of the name varies; if based upon the Hebrew root *mrh,* it may be translated "may he rebel." Such an interpretation of the name may be in keeping with the military character of the Asherite genealogy noted by scholars such as Johnson (1969: 66–68).

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**IMRI** (PERSON) [Heb *›imrî* (אִמְרִי)]. **1.** An ancestor of one of the exiles who returned to Jerusalem from exile in Babylon (1 Chr 9:4). Imri was a descendant of Judah through Judah's and Tamar's first-born son Perez. The name Imri is an abbreviation of the name Amariah (Bowman *IB* 3: 684). In Neh 11:4, which is a parallel passage to 1 Chr 9:4, Amariah is listed as one of the ancestors of one from the tribe of Judah who returned to Jerusalem from Babylonian exile. Dahlberg (*IDB* 2: 691) suggested that Amariah might have been the same person listed in 1 Chr 9:4 as Imri. This is a possibility, but none of the names in 1 Chr 9:4 are identical to those in Neh 11:4 with the exceptions of Perez and Judah. It is possible that the author of 1 Chronicles 9 simply employed different traditions than did the author of Nehemiah 11 (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 136). If the two authors did possess and employ different traditions, then Imri and Amariah might well have been two distinct individuals.

**2.** An ancestor of Zaccur who helped rebuild the walls of Jerusalem during the time of Nehemiah (Neh 3:2). Imri is presented as Zaccur's father, but Imri might have been an earlier, distinguished ancestor rather than Zaccur's biological father.

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**INCARNATION.** "Incarnation" means literally "en-fleshment" or, slightly more fully, "embodiment in flesh." The question of where the concept of incarnation is to be found in the biblical texts is to a large extent dependent on whether that definition is interpreted in a broader or a narrower sense.

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**A. Definition**

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* defines "incarnation" as "a central Christian doctrine that the eternal Word of God (Logos), the Son of God, the second Person of the Trinity, became man in Jesus Christ, who was then truly God and truly man." This certainly reflects what has been the dominant meaning of the term itself within Christian thought. But it is doubtful whether the concept in such a developed sense can be found anywhere within the Bible, since clearly presupposed therein is the full-blown Trinitarian doctrine as that came to expression in the 4th and 5th centuries of the Christian era.

The question then becomes whether the Christian concept is present in a less developed or undeveloped sense in the NT. Alternatively expressed, it becomes a question of defining the beginnings or foundations within the biblical writings of the doctrine as later formulated. To what extent can these early adumbrations or embryonic formulations be described as expressing a belief in "incarnation"?

In turn, this raises the question of how distinctive was that less clearly defined Christian teaching. Is "incarnation" a specifically "Christian doctrine" as such? Or in its earliest form, was the Christian doctrine of incarnation of a piece with a larger and vaguer understanding of incarnation or of incarnational possibilities? Can "incarnation" not be used quite properly for other forms of "embodiment in flesh"? And if so, what were the distinctive features of the early Christian use of this broader category which caused the Christian conception to stand out from that broader usage and in due course to become the dominant technical sense for the word itself?

**B. Preliminary Clarifications**

"Incarnation" could quite properly be used for any embodiment in any flesh. But we can limit the inquiry to *human* flesh most of the time, since that is the predominant range of reference. The incarnation of *what* is another question. Clearly implied is the assumption that the "what" is something other than flesh and something "higher" than flesh. It would be unwise, however, to limit the discussion to the idea of God or a god incarnate, even though that would give the most promise of finding an antecedent to the Christian doctrine; for the concept can apply quite properly to the incarnation of any spiritual entity or quality. More modern phrases, such as "an incarnate fiend" or "Liberty incarnate," should provide sufficient warning against narrowing the discussion prematurely. And it will soon become apparent that ancient usage was as broad.

It would of course be possible to define all humanity in incarnational terms—as offspring of the gods (cf. Acts 17:28), as sons of God by virtue of sharing the one divine reason, or as possessing a divine spark. But in such cases, the concept of incarnation has become so diluted as to require a quite different

inquiry: What is the "divine" in humankind? What is "human"? A similar problem would arise where the embodiment was thought of in corporate terms—a nation or a large group embodying some ideal. Important as it is to bear in mind the continuity of conception among all these usages, this study will have to be limited to the sense of incarnation as denoting one individual or a number of individuals unusual in the degree or kind of their embodiment of the divine.

Can we bring our question to sharper focus by delimiting the concept of incarnation still further? The problems of conceptuality and definition can be highlighted by noting the overlap and difference between "incarnation/embodiment" on the one hand and "indwelling" and "inspiration" on the other. In both cases it is a question of how the gap or difference between the higher form of existence (spiritual, divine) and the lower (flesh) is perceived as capable of being overcome, so that the higher becomes embodied "in" the lower in some sense.

**1. Incarnation and Indwelling.** In a dualistic system, where spirit and flesh are seen as sharply and irreconcilably distinct and even antithetical, the resulting embodiment is probably more accurately described as indwelling than as incarnation. The point is that Hellenistic religion and philosophy, which determined the dominant worldview in the Mediterranean world during the period before and after the emergence of Christianity, was characteristically dualistic. The consequence was that in Hellenistic conceptuality the divine could manifest itself *in* the flesh but not *as* flesh. The axiomatic structures of thought made it literally unthinkable that the divine should *become* flesh, that the (by definition) eternal and unchanging should *become* that which (by definition) changed, decayed, and perished. Gods might appear *in the guise* of human beings, but they were still gods and not flesh. The divine reason was *part* of the human species, but as "the inner person," quite distinct from the material body.

The extent of the problem here for Hellenistic thought is clearly reflected subsequently in the Christian difficulty in correlating its own emerging doctrine of incarnation with the "given" of divine impassibility. Nor is it surprising that the option of Docetism (the divine Christ only seemed to be a man) proved so attractive to many Christians in the 2d century. And the gnostic systems of the 2d and 3d centuries simply serve to underline the fact that Hellenistic dualism could only cope with the concept of divine indwelling (the splinter of light imprisoned within the mud of matter), and not with incarnation as distinct from indwelling.

**2. Incarnation and Inspiration.** Here, the problem is more difficult than has usually been realized. What is the difference between these two categories?—incarnation and inspiration—the latter not dependent on Hellenistic dualism and very highly regarded in Jewish thought. After all, the phenomenon of inspiration could be described as "god-possession" (Gk *entheos, enthousiasmos*) or, in Jewish terms, as a being filled or possessed by the Spirit of God (as in Judg 6:34). An inviting distinction might be developed in terms of inspiration as esssentially a temporary phenomenon; a prophet would not be described as an incarnation of the Spirit, nor a demoniac as an incarnation of Satan. The difficulty arises, however, if one wants to speak of inspiration as continuous or unique—as indeed some Christians did (e.g., Acts 6:3, 5; Eph 5:18). John the Baptist was described as "filled with the Holy Spirit from his mother's womb" (Luke 1:15). And Jesus was accused of being possessed by Beelzebul (Mark 3:22 pars.).

The problem here is that incarnation and permanent inspiration would be indistinguishable phenomenologically. This is illustrated by the fact that the early Fathers of the Church did sometimes speak of incarnation in terms of the *Spirit* rather than of the Son (e.g., Hermas *Sim.* V6.5; Tertullian *Prax.* 26; Cyprian *Idol.* 11). Consequently, there is a question as to whether the distinction between the two can be maintained beyond the conceptual level—rather like the distinction between "the eternal generation of the Son" and "the procession of the Holy Spirit," that is, a confession that there is and must be an important difference, but we are not at all sure what it amounts to.

Such reflection serves to emphasize the fact that "incarnation" was neither a clearly conceived category ready to be used in reference to Jesus nor an empty concept ready to be filled with specifically Christian meaning. "Incarnation" evidently emerged within a world of meaning where other concepts lay close to hand but which were not seen as adequate to express the Christian perception regarding Jesus. In other words, if we may already draw a preliminary conclusion, it looks as though it is not the overlap of

meaning between "incarnation" and other categories such as "indwelling" and "inspiration" which was important so much as it is the distinction between them: incarnation being developed as a distinctive category in order to express the distinctive way in which the divine and human were seen to have come together in Jesus—incarnation as a particular way of conceiving the embodiment, as the divine *becoming* human, rather than simply indwelling or inspiring the human. This becomes clearer when we look for antecedents to what became the later orthodox Christian concept.

**C. Antecedents**

A representative range of ideas and idiom, all of which could warrant the description "incarnation" in some sense at least, would include those shown below (fuller details in *TDNT* 8:335–62; Boslooper 1962: 170–78; Hengel 1976: 21–56; Dunn 1980: 13–22). The categories are in no sense mutually exclusive and indicate overlapping usage along a more or less continuous spectrum of conceptuality:

(a) The gods themselves appearing in the form or guise of men, as recounted classically in Ovid's *Metamorphoses.*

(b) Descent from the gods, particularly legendary heroes like Dionysus and Heracles, sons of Zeus by mortal mothers.

(c) Pharaohs, kings, and then emperors as representatives of God/the gods, whether by descent or by adoption, and thus embodying divine presence/authority.

(d) The broad category often embraced by the phrase "divine men," as indicating individuals specially favored or empowered by God or the gods, who thus warranted the epithet "divine," Apollonius of Tyana being a much cited case in point.

(e) Poetic hyperbole, sometimes used in incarnational categories, as classically in the case of Augustus, represented by Virgil as Apollo come to earth (*Ecl.* IV.6–10) and by Horace as Mercury descended in the guise of a man (Odes I.2.41–52).

(f) Individuals understood as the embodiment of divine wisdom (Sophia), particularly as in Philo's portrayal of Abraham and Moses as archetypes of the wise man (*Leg All* III: 217, 244; *Cher* 10, 18, 31; etc.; *Leg All* II: 87; III: 45, 140–47; *Cher* 41; *Sacr* 9; etc.) and of Sarah as the embodiment of Wisdom herself (*Leg All* II: 82; *Cher* 9–10, 49; *Quod Det* 124; etc.).

In the light of sec. B above, however, we can put a question mark against most of these categories, if it is indeed antecedents to the concept of "incarnation" for which we are looking. Within Hellenistic conceptuality, the dualism which allowed the thought of gods appearing in the guise of men (*a* above) militates against the possibility of translating that into the idea of a god becoming man. And the questionable category of the "divine man" (*d* above) is anyway better set under the heading of "inspiration" (divine empowering).

It is equally doubtful whether the more intellectual circles of the time within the Hellenistic world would have recognized a category of "incarnation" as equivalent to other of the usages just listed. Whatever the popular view of such matters, about which we have only a few hints anyway, those who determined the intellectual climate of the day saw the myths about gods and demigods (*a* and *b*) as just that—myths and not factual truth. Likewise, talk of king or emperor as divine or as son of God (*c*) was largely a matter of political convention, and as such expressive of the symbolical power of the head of state and of an underlying desire for divine legitimation for the social and political structure; and as such regularly manipulated in bloody power struggles. And the poetic hyperbole of a Virgil lauding Augustus' success (*e*) was presumably seen as such—the exaggerated description quite proper in the eulogy of a remarkable man. Certainly, important attitudes and claims were embodied in all this language, but to use the word "incarnation" to describe them is at best of doubtful value and probably serves more to confuse than to help forward the discussion.

All this seems to indicate that while the "in"-put of the divine to the human was variously conceived within the wider Greco-Roman world, the idea of incarnation in the sense of the divine actually becoming human was nowhere formulated prior to Christianity. Whatever language might be proper within myth and poetic eulogy, the inherent dualism of the Hellenistic worldview was probably a decisive barrier which prevented such a narrower concept of incarnation from emerging.

Within the more specifically Jewish milieu, there is a similar range of usage:

(1) The anthropomorphism of early Hebrew thought facilitated the idea that God could appear in human form (cf. the appearance of "the angel of the Lord" in human form, as in Genesis 18; 32:24–30; Josh 5:13–15).

(2) Equivalent to Heracles (descent from the gods) are the "giants" of Gen 6:4.

(3) The king of Israel was occasionally called "son of God" or "god," particularly in the Psalms (Pss 2:7; 45:6; 82:6; 89:26–27).

(4) Fully equivalent to any "divine men" in wider Hellenistic thought were the charismatic leaders in the period of the Judges and the later prophets (e.g., Judg 14:19; 1 Kgs 18:46; Jer 20:9; Ezek 2:2), not to mention the righteous individual and charismatic rabbi (Wis 2:13–18; *m. Ta*ʿ*an.* 3:8).

(5) As classic an example of Virgil's eulogy of Augustus would be the Wisdom of Solomon's description of the plagues of Egypt (Wis 18:15–16).

If parallels to or precursors of the subsequent Christian doctrine of incarnation are sought, similar qualifications would have to be made. Although later Christian thought took some of the anthropomorphisms as manifestations of the Son of God (already in the 2d century in Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*), there is nothing of this in the NT itself; there is some christological use of angelomorphic language, particularly in the vision of Rev 1:13–16, but not as a description of Jesus on earth or of incarnation. In Jewish circles, the episode of Gen 6:1–4 was taken as one of the major sources to account for human sin (*Jub.* 5:1–10; *1 Enoch* 6:10; *T. Reu.* 5). Use of the language of deity to speak of the king was the idiom of representation and legitimation as much within Israel as beyond. Charismatic leadership or prophecy likewise belongs more to the category of inspiration than to that of incarnation. And the imagery of Hebrew poetry was as vivid and as vigorous as any of its Greek equivalents. There is nothing in all this which leads us to conclude that by a process of natural evolution any of these usages would have given rise to the more specifically Christian idea of incarnation.

The one exception, or nearest thing to an exception, would seem to be the talk of Wisdom noted previously under (f). Here, we cannot go into the question of whether Wisdom was understood as a divine being other than God, or as a hypostasis, or as a way of speaking (personification) of divine action and immanence within creation; in the framework of Jewish monotheism, the last of these seems most likely, with the concept of "hypostasis" a category which only emerged later in Christian theology, in large part at least as a *consequence* rather than as a *precursor* of the idea of "incarnation" (see Dunn 1980: 168–76). The point here, however, is that Wisdom certainly denotes the divine as over against the human, so that a concept of divine "in"-put or of incarnation in at least a broader sense is involved. Even so, Philo's portrayal of such a figure as Moses or Sarah as an embodiment of divine wisdom does not actually bring us much further forward, for it is an example of Philo's characteristic use of allegorizing in his handling of scriptural texts, and so remains within the broader range of poetic symbolism and hyperbole. Philo, himself, was too much influenced by Hellenistic philosophy for the antithesis between divine and human, rational and material, to be overcome so easily. Juxtaposed they were in the human mind, and identified in allegory they might be, but for the one to become the other or be identified with the other in actual fact was probably a step beyond what was yet thinkable.

If anything, the closer antecedent to the concept of "incarnation" is to be found in the idea of divine wisdom as given to Israel, embodied in the Torah, for in this case the language of actual identification seems to be used. The clearest examples are Sir 24:23 and Bar 4:1. In the former, the hymn where Wisdom praises herself in the first person is immediately followed by the comment: "All this is the book of the covenant of the Most High God, the law which Moses commanded us." And in the latter, a description of Wisdom is followed in just the same way by a similar comment: "She is the book of the commandments of God, and the law that endures for ever." Of course, we are still some way from a concept of incarnation, especially since we have restricted the definition of the term to embodiment in *human flesh.* Nonetheless, such usage of a word which so clearly betokens the divine, a usage which includes both the description of the unique inspiration of Moses and its identification with something as tangible as the law, is clearly not far from the idea of incarnation in the more specifically Christian sense.

All it needed was for the two to come together, unique inspiration and identification, in reference to a single individual for the distinctive concept of "incarnation" to be born.

And this is what seems to have happened with regard to Jesus. But in what way, and why, and how soon? Despite the well-known difficulties of stratifying and dating the material, and although other ways of structuring the examination are of course quite possible, we shall seek to maintain a chronological approach as the one most appropriate to an attempt to trace a conceptuality in process of evolution.

**D. Jesus**

Is the word "incarnation" appropriate to describe Jesus' self-consciousness or claims he made regarding himself? Did Jesus think or speak of himself in terms of the divine embodied in human flesh, whether as a divine being or as God himself become man? The question, of course, is complicated by the usual problem of distinguishing what in the Jesus tradition goes back to Jesus himself and what expresses the later perspective of the earliest Christians or of the Evangelists themselves. The Johannine portrayal of Jesus is the most supportive of an affirmative answer, inviting the evangelistic-apologetic challenge: "He who so speaks of himself is either mad, bad, or God." But it is precisely at this point, Jesus' explicit claims to have preexisted with the Father, at which the Fourth Gospel differs consistently and strikingly from the other Gospels, so that it is precisely the overt incarnationalism of that gospel which is most likely to indicate a later perspective. As we shall also see later, there are some features of Matthew's portrayal which likewise seem to indicate a developed christology, but for the most part the words of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels probably bring us closer to Jesus' own self-assertions.

Almost all of that material, however, fits most naturally under the heading of "possession" (whether indwelling or inspiration) rather than of "incarnation." This is certainly the case with the relatively strong use of prophet categories, as in Mark 6:4 and Luke 4:18–19; and the implication that Jesus saw himself as spokesman for God and emissary of divine Wisdom, as in Mark 9:37 and Luke 7:31–35. Even if Jesus occasionally spoke of himself as "the son (of God)" or God's "beloved son" (Matt 11:27; Mark 13:32), though the point is disputed, there would have been no implication in the category itself of any claim to preexistence, since divine and intimate sonship was already attributed to a messianic king and the righteous person within Israel (Ps 2:7; Isa 42:1; Wis 2:16–18). And Jesus' talk of himself as "the son of man," even where an allusion to Dan 7:13 is given, would not be understood as a claim to preexistence, since Dan 7:13 was evidently not yet interpreted as speaking of a divine individual. See CHRISTOLOGY.

Does the authority expressed by Jesus not carry with it an implicit claim to incarnation? The "But I say to you" of Matthew 5 seems to go beyond the prophets' "Thus says the Lord" and to set Jesus over, against, or above Moses. Even so, however, it is some way from the absolute claim of the Johannine "I am" formula, and it does not seem to have moved beyond the category of inspiration. The most striking expression of divine authority on the part of Jesus would seem to be his claim to forgive sins in Mark 2:5, 10, especially as in the narrative itself it prompts the response, "Who can forgive sins but God alone?" The issue here, however, seems to be that of authorization. After all, the priest was entitled to pronounce sins forgiven in the context of the cult, on the authority of Leviticus 5. The provocative feature of Jesus' pronouncement was that he spoke neither as priest nor in the context of the cult. To pronounce sins forgiven or even to forgive sins is not of itself an indication of incarnation, since according to John 20:22 Jesus' disciples can do the same (Matt 16:19; 18:18). Here again, we do not seem to have moved beyond the category of inspiration, or authorization.

It has been suggested that in Jesus' parables he applied OT imagery which depicted God to himself, indicating that Jesus thought of himself as in some sense God (Payne 1981). The flaw in this reasoning is the twofold non sequitur that Jesus consistently intended his parables to be understood allegorically and that he consistently intended to portray himself in them. For example, is the sower of Mark 4:3–8 a specific person or anyone who preaches the good news? And the farmer of Mark 4:26–29, who sleeps and rises night and day, is hardly to be understood as a portrayal of God. If any identification is intended by the figure of the father (as in Luke 15:11–32) or of the king (as in Luke 19:12–27), it is obviously God. The imagery of the shepherd (as in Luke 15:4–7) is certainly that of God, but in the same passages it is also that of those set over Israel by God (Jer 23:1–6; Ezek 34:10–16, 20–24). Most striking here is the use

of wedding imagery (Mark 2:19; Matt 25:1–13), but even here it is by no means clear if Jesus intended to refer to himself as the bridegroom, as distinct from simply using the symbolism of the wedding to denote the new age of the kingdom (Isa 49:18; 62:5); and the parable of the king giving a marriage feast for his son (Matt 22:1–10) hardly suggests an identification between the bridegroom and God.

In short, within the earlier strata of the Jesus tradition there is substantive evidence that Jesus laid claim to speak with divine inspiration and authorization as in some sense the representative of God. But there is nothing of consequence to support the thesis that Jesus saw himself in some sense as God, as the incarnation of deity.

**E. Earliest Christianity**

Here, the issue resolves itself down to the significance implied or understood in the claim that Jesus had been raised from the dead and exalted to heaven. The claim was clearly fundamental from the beginning of Christianity proper. What were the incarnational corollaries of this claim?

It is quite often assumed that any affirmation of Jesus as exalted to heavenly status would inevitably have carried with it the implication that he had thereby been restored to or had resumed a status already previously enjoyed (e.g., Knox 1967: 11; Moule 1977: 138–40). Thus, it is argued that the assertion of Jesus' postexistence, after his life on earth, would have been seen to include as a corollary the assertion of his preexistence, before his life on earth. The more exalted the claims made regarding the risen Christ, or the more divine the functions attributed to the exalted Christ, the more unavoidable that corollary would have been. Consequently, even though the concept of incarnation as such was not yet formulated, its conceptualization must have been simply the outworking of that earliest belief in Jesus as raised from the dead. In which case, incarnation could be said to have been an integral part of Christian belief from the very first. So the argument runs.

The argument has power, and since the belief in Jesus as incarnate deity did emerge sooner or later within early Christianity, it can hardly be disputed that the doctrine of incarnation was in some sense a consequence of the Easter faith. But if our concern is to trace the emergence of the Christian idea of incarnation, the question to be asked is how soon that consequence was perceived and affirmed. The argument just stated sees it as an almost immediate consequence. But stated like that, it takes too little account of the range of belief and conceptuality at the time. In particular, 1st-century Judaism knew a good deal of speculation about hero figures who had been exalted to heaven and given some participation in God's judgment, e.g., Enoch, Abel, and the mysterious Melchizedek (*Jub.* 4:22–23; *T. Abr.* 13:1–6; 11QMelch 10). According to Matt 19:28 and 1 Cor 6:2–3, Christians themselves were to take part in the final judgment. None of this would have been understood to imply the deity or preexistence of the individuals named. The bestowal of the Spirit (as in Acts 2:33) may seem to take a step beyond anything affirmed of a human figure in pre-Christian Judaism (Turner, in Rowdon 1982: 183), but John the Baptist attributed some sort of bestowal of the Spirit to the "coming one" (Mark 1:8). Even the confession of Jesus as "Lord," which is certainly very early, did not carry with it a necessary implication that the one so confessed was thereby identified with God, since there were many "lords" (1 Cor 8:5), and since in Paul at least the confession of Jesus as Lord was bound up with the confession of God as one (1 Cor 8:6; Phil 2:9–11). See also CHRISTOLOGY.

It is unlikely, therefore, that the thought of incarnation was part of earliest Christian faith, or that the conviction regarding Jesus' exaltation to God's right hand would have been seen more or less from the first to carry that corollary within it.

**F. Paul**

The issue of whether Paul's christology included the thought of incarnation has been obscured for most of the 20th century by the debate regarding a pre-Christian gnostic redeemer myth. Bultmann especially had argued that there was already in existence before the emergence of Christianity the myth of a heavenly redeemer figure sent from on high to awaken to their true nature the sparks of light imprisoned within matter (1948: 1.175). According to Bultmann, early christology, including that of Paul, was indebted to this concept of a cosmic figure, a preexistent Son of the Father, who came down from heaven and assumed human form.

The fatal flaw in this whole thesis was that it read the fully developed form of the myth, first clearly attested in the 2d century A.D., back into the period before Christ. Elements of pre-Christian and early Christian thought, which are better seen as the building blocks from which the gnostic redeemer myth was later constructed, were assumed to be the broken fragments of an already existing myth whose fuller expressions have been lost to us—a highly questionable argument from silence. In particular, the Christian belief about Jesus probably provided one of the most important of these building blocks, since the actual redeemer figures of the 2d - and 3d -century gnostic systems seem to be modeled on this Christian belief rather than vice versa. The thesis is also basically unsatisfactory since the postulated myth is fundamentally dualistic in character; that is to say, it would have led if anything to a docetic rather than an incarnational christology; whereas, in the event, Docetism seems to have emerged as an attempt to translate a newly evolved concept of incarnation into the more characteristically dualistic categories of Hellenistic thought.

The passages in Paul on which the debate mostly focused are the Christ-hymns of Phil 2:6–11 and Col 1:15–20. And even when the pre-Christian redeemer myth has been dismissed from the debate, these passages seem to offer the clearest examples of a preexistence and so incarnational christology in Paul.

**1. Phil 2:6–11.** Here, the issue is largely reduced to the question of the christological imagery being used and its significance. More specifically, to what extent is the imagery that of Adam christology? The talk of being in God's form (or image), and of a grasping at equality with God (Phil 2:6), certainly seems to be intended as a portrayal of Jesus in Adamic terms (Gen 1:26–27 and 3:5 are clearly alluded to). But if that is the case, is it the preexistent Jesus who is in view (the heavenly Christ chose to humble himself to become a man), or is it the epochal significance of Jesus' ministry expressed in Adamic terms (Jesus refused the path of individual self-advancement and chose rather to identify himself completely with humankind in its enslavement to sin and to the death which is the consequence of that enslavement)?

Most commentators find the former more convincing. In which case, the talk of "taking the form of a slave, being/becoming in the likeness of men, and being found/having proved himself to be like man" (Phil 2:7) is probably to be reckoned the earliest expression of incarnation christology. On the other hand, Adam christology elsewhere in Paul focuses on Christ's death and resurrection, not on his birth, as the decisive moments of epochal significance (Rom 2:15–19; 1 Cor 15:20–22, 45–50). And the distinctiveness of Adam christology from gnostic redeemer myth lies precisely in the fact that the life, and death, of a historic individual (Jesus) is perceived as imbued with suprahistorical significance for humankind as a whole, rather than that a preexistent divine being entered the alien territory of the human form. (Adam, properly speaking, was prehistoric rather than preexistent.) Moreover, the regular link between Ps 110:1 and Ps 8:6 elsewhere in earliest christology (1 Cor 15:25–27; Eph 1:20–22; Heb 1:13–2:8; 1 Pet 3:22; cf. Phil 3:21) suggests that Christ's exaltation to lordship following his Adamic death was also seen in Adamic terms; that is, not as a restoration to a heavenly status previously enjoyed, but as the fulfillment of God's purpose in creating man in the first place ("to put all things under his feet"), "to the glory of God the Father" (Phil 2:11). So, perhaps the issue is not so clear-cut as is usually assumed to be the case.

The debate is the same in other expressions of Adam christology. In 1 Cor 15:47, "the second man, from heaven" is almost certainly the exalted Christ. Although some have argued along the lines of the gnostic redeemer myth that "the man from heaven" is the spiritual, preexistent prototype of Adam (the Primal Man), Paul explicitly denies this: the spiritual comes *after* the natural; it is the risen Christ who is the prototype of resurrected humankind (15:46–49). In 2 Cor 8:9, on the other hand, there is an ambivalence similar to that in Philippians 2. Is Christ's richness his preexistent state, and is Christ's becoming poor his incarnation? Or is the richness that of unbroken fellowship with God (such as Adam had enjoyed before the fall) and the poverty the state of separation from God, particularly in his death (cf. Mark 15:34)? The parallel with 2 Cor 5:21, if anything, suggests the latter.

In Gal 4:4 and Rom 8:3, the issue is again more open and depends on how the talk of God sending his Son is to be correlated with his description of the Son as "born of woman, born under the law," and as being sent "in the likeness of sinful flesh." Again, the emphasis seems to be on describing Christ's

complete oneness with the human condition ("under the law," "sinful flesh"), which made redemption necessary so that the redemption achieved (on the cross) might be effective for that condition ("to redeem those under the law," "condemned sin in the flesh"). The language of "sending" may have been drawn from the idea of commissioning a prophet (e.g., Jer 1:7; Ezek 2:3; Mark 12:2–6), as in the case of Isaiah, conscious of his solidarity with the sinfulness of his people (Isa 6:5–8), or indeed of the Servant to bear the iniquity of his people (Isa 49:1–7; 53:4–6). Had Paul intended to evoke the thought of a sending from heaven, it is questionable whether he would have used the word "likeness" in Rom 8:3, since within Hellenistic thought the word could lend itself too readily to a docetic-type interpretation—not a genuine solidarity with human sinfulness, and so not an actual redemption.

**2. Col 1:15–20.** Here, the matter seems to be more straightforward. Christ is described as "the image of God, the first-born of all creation," as the one in, through, and for whom all things were created, the one who is "before all things" and in whom all things hold together (1:15–17). There is no reference to incarnation (a descent from heaven, or becoming man), but the language is clearly that of preexistence; and since the preexistence is predicated of Christ himself, the idea of incarnation, rather than that of indwelling or inspiration, must be implicit. Much the same could be said of 1 Cor 8:6: "one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom all things …"

There are some difficulties even in this case, however: (1) The language is generally recognized to be that used of Wisdom in the Jewish wisdom literature (Prov 3:19; 8:22, 25; Sir 24:9; Wis 7:26). In the same passages, Wisdom is spoken of as God's first creation, which, if the language of personal preexistence is pressed, leaves us with a rather Arian understanding of "first-born of creation." (2) Equally awkward for subsequent classic credal christology would be the assertion of the personal preexistence of Christ, since in subsequent orthodoxy it is clear that Jesus Christ is the man whom preexistent Wisdom became. The preexistence is attributed to Wisdom; Jesus is the incarnation of preexistent Wisdom. (3) Within the Colossian hymn itself, there is the problem of the second half, often ignored in such discussions. There Christ's exalted preeminence is described as the result of his resurrection (1:18) and as the consequence of God having been pleased to dwell in him in all his fulness (1:19; cf. 2:9)—language more appropriate to the concept of indwelling, or of adoption, than to that of incarnation.

Once again, therefore, the thought does not appear to be so clear-cut as it first appeared. The hymn writer does not seem to have been attempting to achieve a consistent christological statement. If by reading the text as straightforward factual affirmation, we find ourselves with unlooked-for corollaries and contradictory assertions, that may be sign enough that we are reading the text with a different meaning than that the author intended, that the author was simply drawing on diverse theological imagery and language to describe the significance of Christ rather than to make a dogmatically coherent claim of incarnation. Even so, the use of Wisdom imagery and language for Christ in both 1 Corinthians 8 and Colossians 1 is striking. Never before, so far as we can tell, had such affirmations been made of a man who had lived and died within living memory. More is being said here of Jesus than Philo said of Moses or the wisdom writers said of the law; more than Virgil said of Augustus. At the very least, we have to say that Jesus' life, death, and resurrection were being seen to possess a divine significance, a revelation of the divine wisdom, a self-disclosure of God himself, so that it was taken as wholly proper to speak of him as that Wisdom, as the manifestation of the one God, with the death of Jesus in particular serving as a definitive expression of that Wisdom (1 Cor 1:22–25). The explicit concept of incarnation lies very close at hand in such language; and in the way that language is used here we may indeed even be able to observe the concept of "incarnation" on the point of emerging into conscious thought.

**G. Between Paul and John**

In the period following Paul, the conceptuality is more varied, but the same question as that posed by Paul's Wisdom christology remains of uncertain answer. Has the Christian understanding of Jesus begun to break through the older catgories, images, and hyperboles? The focus of such language on Jesus certainly indicates that he was seen as the focus of divine revelation for the first Christians. But has the

conceptuality of indwelling and inspiration been stretched to express a new category, that of incarnation? Here again, the answer is more open than many have assumed to be the case.

For example, if the Pauline talk of the sending of the Son (Rom 8:3; Gal 4:4) is read as an expression of Wisdom christology, on the parallel of Wis 9:10, then it should also be read in parallel with Philo's description of Moses, sent by God "as a loan to the earthly sphere and suffered to dwell therein" (*Sacr* 9). If the latter is an expression of Philo's allegorical hyperbole (Moses as the archetype of the wise man; cf. above), what does that say of the former? Similarly, the talk of the appearing of the one predestined from the beginning of time, in passages such as 2 Tim 1:9–10, Heb 9:26, and 1 Pet 1:20, seems to be a fairly clear expression of preexistence and incarnation, until we remember that similar language is used of Moses in *T. Mos.* 1:14: "chosen and appointed, and prepared from the foundation of the world, to be the mediator of the covenant." The christology of Heb 1:1–3 is also dependent on Jewish wisdom language (e.g., Wis 7:26; Philo *Plant* 8–9, 18) and shares the same difficulty with Col 1:15–20 as to how its reference to Christ should be interpreted, particularly as later on (2:6–9; 5:7–10) we find one of the most fully developed expressions of Adam christology in the NT. The language of Heb 7:3 seems to envisage Melchizedek as an ideal type on the Platonic model, while 10:5 assumes that the Jewish idiom, "those who come into the world," is a circumlocution for human beings.

Even the idea of virginal conception (and birth?), which may be thought to have broken new ground, does not seem to have gone beyond Philo's talk of Zipporah as "pregnant through no mortal agency," and of Sarah as "ranked as a pure virgin" even after giving birth (*Cher* 47, 50). Of course, the birth narratives of Matthew 1–2 and Luke 1–2 are not allegories such as those that characterize Philo's exposition of the Pentateuch. But the problem of discerning where midrash and poetic imagery end and where literal claims begin in the birth narratives permits of no easy resolution. To be sure, the imagery of birth (the coming into existence of a new human being) does not immediately mesh with the idea of incarnation (the enfleshment of one already preexistent). But that is less of a problem if we recognize the metaphorical and midrashic character which such descriptions would be assumed to have within a 1st-century Jewish context. Whether fresh ground had in fact been broken would only become evident when the idea of virginal conception was subsequently integrated into the more powerful concept of incarnation.

Matthew, in fact, is not far off from doing just that. For not only does he make good use of the virginal conception tradition (Matthew 1–2), but he also goes beyond the earlier portrayal of Jesus as the emissary of Wisdom to a portrayal of Jesus as Wisdom herself (Matt 11:19, 25–30; 23:34–36; 37–39). Not only so, but he also takes up the language of divine presence and depicts Jesus as "God with us" (1:23; 18:20; 28:18, 20). Here is confirmation that Wisdom was not thought of as a divine being other than God (not even the Son of God in that sense), but as God himself in his active concern for and outreach to his creation and people. It is because Jesus was seen as the complete embodiment of that concern and outreach that he could be spoken of in such terms, with the function of the birth narratives used as much to underscore the point that he embodied this divine presence from the first. In this sense, at least, we can speak of a concept of incarnation in Matthew, even if it does not come to explicit expression as such.

**H. John**

In the Fourth Gospel, there is an extraordinary concentration of christological claims. Individually, they might be understood as still caught within the earlier categories and structure of thought; but together, they may well be judged to express a breakthrough into a different conceptuality and a bolder claim.

The claim is posed at once in the prologue. The subject is God's Word—another way of speaking of God's self-revelation, action upon, and communication with the world of humankind, along with Wisdom and Spirit (e.g., Pss 33:6; 107:20; Wis 9:1–2, 17; Philo *Somn* 1:65–69; Luke 1:2; Acts 10:36–38). So in John 1, the Word was in the beginning, was with God, and was God; all things were made through this Word (John 1:1–3). It was this Word which "became flesh" in Jesus Christ (1:14). The juxtaposing in this way of the two concepts, "Word" and "flesh," is very striking. For just as John is clear that the Word belongs wholly to the realm of the divine, is *theos* (God/god), so is he clear that flesh belongs wholly to this world, transient and corruptible and antithetical to the other (1:13; 3:6; 6:63). The choice of verb, therefore, is hardly accidental, and it cannot easily be diminished in significance or rendered

unwarrantably as "appear" (despite Berger 1974). John evidently wanted to say "the Word *became* flesh." The concept of incarnation, as distinct from indwelling or inspiration, has come to explicit expression. Jesus is being presented as the incarnation of the divine Word.

In the light of this, John's other christological emphases gain a clearer perspective. The characteristic talk of Jesus as the Son sent from the Father is there to emphasize primarily that Jesus is the self-revelation of God, the only one who can make God fully known (1:18; 6:46; 14:9). The less prominent but equally striking talk of Jesus as the Son of Man descended from heaven is used to emphasize that Jesus is the authoritative spokesman of the mystery of God (1:47–51; 3:12–13; 6:60–62). The "I am" statements no doubt deliberately echo the "I am" of Exod 3:14 and Isa 43:10 (particularly John 8:58); Jesus is the glory of God visible to man (12:41, referring to Isa 6:1). Most striking of all is the uninhibited use of the title "God/god" to describe *Jesus* (1:18; 20:28). That the title was provocative to his fellow Jews was well known to the author (5:18; 10:33) and probably resulted within a few years in the rabbinic charge that the Christians had abandoned belief in the unity of God (early 2d century). This is probably sufficient evidence to confirm that the fourth Evangelist was aware that in pushing such a developed portrayal of Jesus, he was going beyond what had previously been acceptable or at least retainable within the hitherto accepted conventions of Jewish talk of God and his self-revelation. To speak of God's wisdom dwelling in Israel or embodied in the Torah was one thing; to portray the man Jesus as God's word incarnate was something else.

The matter seems to be put beyond doubt by the way in which John ties the thought of incarnation tightly to the cross. The whole gospel moves toward the climax of Christ's death. The glory of the Son is manifested particularly in his death (12:23–24; 13:31; cf. 21:19). The lifting up, which corresponds to his descent from heaven, is a lifting up on the cross (3:14; 12:32–33). Most striking of all is the emphasis in 6:53–58 that the flesh of the Son of Man must be chewed if it is to result in eternal life. The point of the incarnation is the death of the incarnate one (6:51). Here, too, John was probably aware that he was pushing into uncharted territory (6:60). A claim that God had revealed himself in king, prophet, sage, or righteous man could be expressed in a variety of hyperbolic language without breaching philosophic or theological conventions. But to claim that the Eternal had *become man* in order to *die* was a step beyond.

**I. Conclusions**

(1) It is difficult to draw a sharp line between a before and after in the emergence of the concept of incarnation. All we can say with some confidence is that before Christians began to express the significance of Jesus, the concept of incarnation as such is not yet attested; whereas at the end of the 1st century the concept has been deliberately and provocatively put forward. Arguably, the thought is implicit already in formulations used by Paul. But whatever we make of these formulations, it does look rather as though the concept of incarnation was the outcome of what seems with hindsight to have been an inevitable and logical evolution, as the first Christians found that previous ways of speaking of the revelation of God were inadequate to express the full significance of the divine revelation which was Jesus.

(2) The focal point of this being sent, coming under the law, as man, becoming flesh, in all cases seems to be the death and resurrection of Jesus. Within the NT there is no evidence of a concept of incarnation as itself the decisive act of salvation—flesh redeemed by being assumed. The moment of salvation remains decisively centered on the cross. At this point, incarnation and Adam christologies readily blend into each other.

(3) The recognition that Wisdom christology is the most obvious root of incarnation christology also has an important corollary, particularly when it is recalled that in Jewish thought Wisdom is not a being independent of God but is God's self-manifestation. The point is that Christ is the *incarnation* of this Wisdom/Word. To speak of *Christ* as himself preexistent, coming down from heaven, and so forth, has to be seen as metaphorical, otherwise it leads inevitably to some kind of polytheism—the Father as a person, just like Jesus was a person (Lampe 1977). Whereas, what a Wisdom/Word christology claims is that Jesus is the person/individual whom God's word *became*. Even to speak of the incarnation of the Son of God can be misleading, unless the Son christology of John is seen, as it was probably intended, as an

expression of the same Wisdom/Word christology; otherwise, there is the danger of a too literal translation of Father-Son language once again into a form of polytheism—that very abandoning of the oneness of God of which Jew and Muslim accuse Christians. The incarnation doctrine which comes to expression in the NT is properly understood only if it is understood as the incarnation of God's self-revelation, in that sense as the incarnation of God himself. The issue which caused the breach with Jewish thought and with Judaism is the charge against the Johannine Jesus, that "you being a man, make yourself God" (John 10:33).

**Bibliography** See under CHRISTOLOGY.

JAMES D. G. DUNN

**INCENSE.** A Greek legend tells the story of the birth of the god Adonis, whose mother, Myrrha, fell in love with her own father, King Cinyras of Cyprus. Disguised, she succeeded in making love to him, but when he discovered that it was his own daughter he wanted to kill her. Myrrha fled, asking the gods for protection. They transformed her into a myrrh tree. Nine months later, the bark of the tree cracked and Adonis appeared. The naiads took care of him and anointed him with his mother's tears. Her tears are the incense myrrh (Ovid *Metamorphoses* LCL, 10.298–518).

This legend connects Greece with the Orient. Adonis is ultimately the dying and rising Semitic god Tammuz. And Myrrha is the personification of one of the most beloved incense substances, namely myrrh, which is a product of S Arabia.

The basic idea of the legend relates the origin of myrrh. Myrrh belongs to the divine world; it is the result of a divine creation. Thus, the legend legitimates the use of myrrh in divine worship, in which the deity just receives what already belongs to him. This belief is in harmony with the ethereal or "divine" qualities of the incense material, be it the sap, wood, bark, roots, or fruit of the special odoriferous plants, which became associated with the various incense rituals.

Burnt on charcoal, on special altars or burners, the smoke and odor of incense would please, elevate, mystify, and stupefy the mind of the user, and simultaneously have an effect on the divine sphere. Incense was a holy substance. Incense was powerful. Incense had "mana."

The ritual use of incense is an expression of man in an emotional state. It is a call upon the gods expressing helplessness, happiness, or gratitude. The basic role of incense is to persuade, to threaten, to remedy, to cure, to reveal, to defend, to please, to seduce. In other words, incense is always used with a purpose, be it the substance, its odor, or its smoke. The use of incense is a symbolic expression of man's yearning to understand himself in a dramatic world where odoriferous ritual is an indispensable part of the drama.

This article will partly focus on a phenomenological survey of the various functions and uses of incense in the ancient Near East, and partly describe the impact of incense trade on the trade routes.

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A. Uses of Incense in the Nonbiblical World
1. Incense at Funerals
2. Incense in Divine Worship
3. Incense in Rituals of Magic
4. Incense as a Cosmetic
B. Uses of Incense in the Old Testament
1. Incense in Divine Worship
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### A. Uses of Incense in the Nonbiblical World

**1. Incense at Funerals.** In Egypt, incense was an indispensable part of ritual life. In connection with funerals, the basic idea of the ritual use of incense was to preserve the dead, to prolong life, and to aid the

passage beyond death. The Egyptians believed that incense possessed certain qualities which could be released in the performance of the rituals and which were a prerequisite for obtaining the purpose.

The Pyramid texts from the 3d millennium B.C. reveal an elaborate arrangement for the use of incense at the funeral or cult of the dead king. The texts inform us of the qualities of incense, which were necessary to obtain the noble purpose. Incense purifies. Physically, it removes the evil odor of putrefaction. And cultically and spiritually, it prepares the king for the entrance into eternal life as a god. Incense is an offering to the divine king. This offering also protects the king against evil. Purification and protection are two closely connected ideas in the use of incense all over the Near East. It is the burning of incense, the fumigation, which purifies and protects. During the fumigation, the good odor of incense is transferred from the burning material to the king. However, the burning of incense is also responsible for a third idea associated with incense rituals present in the Pyramid texts: the belief that the smoke of incense establishes communication between man and god. A Pyramid text, utterance 267, reads: "A stairway to the sky is set up for me that I may ascend on it to the sky, and I ascend on the smoke of the great censing …" (Faulkner 1969: 76). The use of incense at funerals was also commonplace for the man in the street. He hoped that incense could do the same for him as it was believed to do for the king.

Aromatic incense was also used in the embalmment of the dead body. This use of the substance without burning presupposes a belief in a continued corporeal existence, in which incense materially changes the dead body from a human body of decay and death into a divine body of everlasting life and endurance. Incense functions as a preservative for the body, keeping its identity in a new state of being.

At the root of this use of incense lies the belief that the incense material quite concretely represents the divine (consider the possible etymology of the frequent Egyptian word for incense, *sntr,* which may be a contraction of *sty ntr* = divine fragrance). The presence of the incense is the presence of the divine. The enchanting odor belongs to the gods. Its presence on earth is proof of the presence of the gods.

In Phoenicia, we find the same habit of embalmment, or at least the preparation of the dead body for future life by using myrrh and bdellium. On an inscription on a sarcophagus from Byblos, the dead person describes himself as lying in these two substances (Röllig 1974: 1–15).

In Ugarit, incense seems to be present in a ritual connected with the cult of the dead in *Aqhat* 17.1.28–29. In Mesopotamia, the dead were provided with food and drink at their funeral, and the same kind of offerings took place in the regular cult of the dead. There is reason to believe that aromata of various kinds were used at the time of the funeral, although it is difficult to determine their exact nature. An Assyrian king remembers the funeral of his father: "In royal oil I caused (him) to rest …" (Heidel 1967: 153). This oil was undoubtedly fragrant, and its purpose was to facilitate the entrance of the dead person into the afterlife.

**2. Incense in Divine Worship.** In Egypt, the daily cult of the gods varied from temple to temple. However, the cultic ritual at Medinet Habu, the temple of Ramesses III, may be symptomatic in its lavish use of incense. The day began with an incense offering to the Uraeus goddess, followed by the ritual of the opening of the door. After various incense rituals performed to purify the image of the god Amon-Re, the god finally received his meal. The incense rituals are enacted in order to persuade the god to enter the image. In other words, incense burning makes the deity descend from heaven and enter the temple and the image man has created to his honor.

At the great festivals, incense was burnt from the beginning to the end. At both the cultic festivals and the funerals, we find that incense burning and processions belong together. The fumigation of the participants of a procession purifies them, consecrates them for the special occasion, and protects them from evil. The association of incense and processions reappears much later in the early Christian Church.

In Mesopotamia, incense was part of the daily cult in various temples. A golden incense altar was erected in Marduk's temple Esagila in Babylon during Assurbanipal's reign. A copy of the original dedicatory inscription on the altar tells that the altar was going to be used for propitiatory incense offerings, i.e., to ask Marduk for forgiveness. Assurbanipal hoped that Marduk would hear his prayers, illustrating the belief that incense smoke carries man's prayer to heaven. Furthermore, the text tells that the incense burning took place for the sake of purification (*LAR* 2: 385–86).

The basic reason for using incense in Mesopotamia is clearly expressed in one of Assurbanipal's prayers to Shamash, which explicitly states that the gods inhale incense (*ANET*, 387). This belief is also illustrated in the Gilgamesh epic, where Utnapishtim after his rescue offers incense to the gods, who "smelled the sweet savor. The gods gathered like flies over the sacrificer" (Heidel 1967: 87).

Incense was also used at the great annual festivals. The New Year Festival in Babylon was celebrated with an elaborated incense ritual that embodied purificatory, apotropaic, and propitiatory ideas.

At the beginning of this article, the Greek god Adonis was mentioned as a counterpart of the Semitic god Tammuz. It is no surprise that incense was used in the annual festival to the latter's honor. When Ishtar returns from the Nether World with Tammuz, the lover of her youth, and the wailing company that has mourned Tammuz' disappearance, they are greeted on earth with the sweet smell of incense (*ANET*, 109).

**3. Incense in Rituals of Magic.** In the magic of both Egypt and Assyria-Babylonia, incense was used in ways similar to its function in divine worship. Magical rituals were used in various situations involving emotional, psychological, and medical problems believed to be caused by evil spirits. The function of incense in rituals aimed at exorcising evil spirits was to call upon the gods for help, to please the gods, and to protect the suppliant against the potential wrath of the gods. In particular, it seems to be the supposed purificatory quality of incense that was effective in magic rituals performed to restore human beings or even geographical places to their normal condition. At the same time, however, the fragrant smell or smoke protected the client from further attacks of the evil spirits.

In Assyria-Babylonia, we find a special idea connected with the use of incense smoke, namely libanomancy; i.e., omens read from the movement of the incense smoke.

**4. Incense as a Cosmetic.** All over the Near East, aromata of various kinds have been used to beautify men and women, their clothes, and the rooms of a house. Queen Hatshepsut adorned herself with what seems to have been myrrh oil or stacte (*ARE* 2: 113). others used the incense as a kind of chewing gum to do away with bad breath. Incense was burnt at parties and banquets, and it beautified the union of man and woman. The use of incense as a cosmetic is intended first of all to impress, to please, and to seduce, be it the gods or a fellow person.

**B. Uses of Incense in the Old Testament**

Based on the Near Eastern background, one would expect incense to play an equally important role in the ritual life of ancient Israel. The archaeological evidence seems to support that expectation. Altars and burners of various forms that have been unearthed give the impression of the frequent use of incense in public worship, as well as in private homes.

However, the problem attached to these finds is the question, To whom did these vessels really belong—to "Israelites" or to "non-Israelites"? Another problem connected with the use of incense in ancient Israel is the relationship of these archaeological finds to the biblical text. Do the finds reflect the rituals which are described in the Hebrew Bible? Or does the Bible express theological reflections belonging to the clergy of Jerusalem, which are not in harmony with the vessels and practices found around the country? Was the use of incense introduced into the Israelite cult in early or late monarchical times? These questions are hard to answer, but are eagerly discussed in the scholarly literature on the subject.

**1. Incense in Divine Worship.** The OT makes a distinction between lawful and unlawful worship, the unlawful worship being either a wrong execution of Israelite tradition or a pagan cult. The lawful worship, in which incense is employed, prescribes Aaron to burn incense (*qĕṭōret*, based on the root *qṭr*, the meaning of which is discussed in Edelman 1985 and Nielsen 1986: 54–59) regularly on the golden incense altar in front of the holy of holies in the morning and in the evening according to the priestly tradition in Exod 30:7–8. It is emphasized that it is unlawful to burn unauthorized incense, i.e., an incense material different from the one prescribed for lawful use in Exod 30:34–35.

To understand this regular incense offering on the incense altar, it may be profitable to glance at the ritual which belongs to the Day of Atonement described in Leviticus 16. At this occasion (Lev 16:12–13), the high priest takes in one hand a shovel with charcoal and in the other hand some of the ritually correct

incense. He enters the holy of holies, where he puts the incense onto the charcoal in the shovel to produce an incense cloud which prevents him from being killed while performing certain rites of expiation. This incense cloud provides the high priest with cover against the divine wrath or the divine "radiation." The incense smoke gives protection. In Lev 16:2, however, it seems that the incense being burnt produces a cloud, in which the deity appears; the incense cloud in v 2 is a symbol of the call upon the deity, a call which the deity answers favorably.

It is hardly a coincidence that the place of the incense altar in the Tent of Meeting, or the temple in Jerusalem, corresponds to the position of the incense altar or burner, which is used in the Assyro-Babylonian incantation rituals. It is always situated between the priest and the image of the deity. The Hebrew incense altar is likewise placed as close to the deity as possible so that it stands between the priest and Yahweh. Only on the Day of Atonement does the high priest dare to transgress this borderline between the human and the divine. The purpose of the regular morning and evening incense offerings at this altar is to secure the presence of God and his attention to man's prayer. The incense smoke carries the prayer to God, who is hopefully appeased when he smells the fragrant odor of the delicious incense.

The special incense called *lĕbōnâ,* "frankincense," is mentioned as an addition to certain meal offerings in Leviticus 2. The part of the flour that is burnt on the altar of burnt offerings together with the frankincense is called an *ʾazkārâ.* This expression may be based on the Heb root *zkr* in Hipʿil, which can mean to call upon the name of a deity; cf. the Akk *zakāru,* which also can refer to invoking the name of a deity. The frankincense of the *ʾazkārâ* facilitates the contact between the suppliant and God.

Several stories in the Torah may reflect a ritual use of incense which is no longer identifiable. In Leviticus 10, Nadab and Abihu appear to be performing a ritual with censers and *qĕṭōret.* The fire they use, however, presumably was not prescribed. The fire is called an *ʾeš zārâ,* i.e., an unconsecrated fire. Consequently, they are struck dead, "devoured" by the fire. The Korah incident in Numbers 16 is depicted as a rebellion against the Aaronite privilege to serve in general and to burn incense in particular in front of the Lord. The consequences are grave for the Korah group. These stories may indicate that there once were rituals with censers which the present Torah does not prescribe.

Num 17:11–13 (—Eng 16:46–48) relates the story of an apotropaic censer ritual, in which Aaron stops the plague from the Lord by placing himself with burning incense between the dead and the living. The text itself explains the purpose of this ritual as an expiation or atonement (v 11), both propitiating the deity and protecting the people. The Torah does not contain a law prescribing this ritual.

In the nonprescriptive literature, the use of incense in worship may be hinted at in 1 Sam 2:28, although its exact use is obscure. Isa 1:13 may be interpreted as describing the incense smoke of the *ʾazkārâ* (cf. Isa 40:23; Jer 27:26; 41:5).

In Ps 141:2, *qĕṭōret* may indicate the regular incense burning in the temple. The cloud which is present at the call of Isaiah (Isa 6:4) may be due to the daily incense offering as well. The reed and frankincense in Jer 6:20, however, show that there once were more incense offerings and rituals in the temple than those which the Torah mentions.

In connection with the polemic against unlawful cults (e.g., Jer 19:13; Isa 65:3; 1 Kgs 22:44), the root *qṭr* is often used to describe the specific worship. The meaning of this root, however, is unclear. Consequently, it is impossible to identify the activity with any certainty.

The use of incense at funerals (or its use in rituals of magic, which is so common in the nonbiblical Near East) is hardly mentioned in the OT as part of Israelite-Jewish culture. The medical doctors, who embalmed the bodies of Jacob and Joseph (Gen 50:2–3, 26), may have used incense material for their purpose (in Phoenician the root *ḥnṭ,* which in Hebrew designates the act of embalmment, is found in a term for "incense altar," *HAL,* 320). The embalmment of Jacob and Joseph is Egyptian in origin.

The OT does not reflect much upon the origin of the use of incense. Its use is simply based on the divine commandment in Exodus 30. Unlike the mythological literature of the surrounding peoples, the Hebrew Bible has no such speculation as to why God wants incense to be used.

**2. Incense as Cosmetic and Medicine.** The use of aromatic incense as a perfume and its use in medicine are closely connected. Some personal names such as *qĕṭûrâ* (Gen 25:1), *ṣĕrûyâ* (2 Sam 2:18),

*bāśĕmat* (Gen 36:3), and *qĕṣî‹â* (Job 42:3) all may refer to substances used for incense (*qĕṭōret, ṣŏrî, beśem,* and *qĕṣî‹â*). A name like *qĕṭûrâ,* therefore, may refer to a girl that has been perfumed and purified by means of *qĕṭōret,* which brings joy to the heart (cf. Prov 27:9). The idea behind the fumigation may be exorcistic or apotropaic in nature. However, the names of the children may just express the joy and happiness of their parents.

The use of incense and other aromata for cosmetics is first of all to please, to seduce, and to stupefy. In Ruth 3:3, Ruth is asked to anoint herself for the meeting with Boaz. The perfume she uses is probably olive oil mixed with aromatic substances. In Prov 7:17, the adulteress sprinkles her bed with myrrh, aloe, and cinnamon to make it attractive. The king does the same to his clothes with myrrh, aloe, and cassia at the royal wedding (Ps 45:9); and in Esth 2:12, we are told that women who joined the Persian king's harem had to perfume themselves for twelve months.

This picture continues in the Song of Songs, where references to incense are both metaphors for the beauty of the beloved (4:6) and the result of a lavish use of incense materials as perfume (5:5).

The use of incense as a cosmetic may be a desire to elevate the relationship between man and woman into a sphere as close to the "divine" as possible. Incense and love belong together in the relationship between man and woman, just like incense and the worship of the divine belong together in the relationship betwen humans and God.

From Jer 8:22; 46:11; and 51:8, it appears that *ṣŏrî,* probably storax, was used as a medicine believed to be able to cure diseases and heal wounds.

**3. Incense Trade and Trade Routes.** The very names of biblical aromata and their possible identification with substances known today suggest a quite intensive traffic in these goods. To compound the holy incense of Exod 30:34–35 for temple use in Jerusalem, galbanum had to be imported from Syria and frankincense from S Arabia. To compound the anointing oil of Exod 30:23, Israel had to import cinnamon from China, myrrh from S Arabia, and sweet-smelling cane from Syria or N Mesopotamia. These biblical texts may date from the exilic or early postexilic period and presuppose an international trade in aromata, which can be further substantiated by the archaeological finds of, for example, the small originally S Arabian cubic incense altars found in Lachish, Gezer, Tell Jemmeh, Tell es-Saidiyeh, and Samaria, dating from the exilic period to Hellenistic times (Nielsen 1986: 47), and by the literary evidence of Theophrastus' *Historia Plantarum.*

Trade has always created riches. It is only to be expected that nations had a political and economic interest in controlling the trade that affected their geographical areas. Control of trade and trade routes meant income in the form of toll and taxes. This may have contributed to David and Solomon's interest in the districts E of the Jordan river through which the King's Highway passed and in the important land bridge of the Sinai desert.

South Arabia, itself, produced frankincense and myrrh. But it was also a bridge for goods from India and China. Some of these aromata along with other goods traveled N along the W mountain ridge of Arabia. others traveled by sea northwards toward Egypt, as recorded in the beautiful reliefs on the walls of the temple at Deir al-Bahri, which depict the expedition that Queen Hatshepsut (mid-2d millennium B.C.) sent to Punt to collect incense. However, most of the goods from S Arabia that were destined for Palestine traveled by land. From the frankincense-producing areas like Dhufar, the incense route traveled through Wadi Hadhramaut to the myrrh-producing areas around Shabwah. From there, the incense road ran via Najrān to Tathlīth, where the road divided into two: the main road going N toward Medina (Yathrib), and a secondary road going E across the desert to ancient Gerrha on the coast of the Arabian Gulf (Groom 1981: 192). At Medina, the incense road split into three routes: one going E through the S part of the Nafūd desert via Hā›il toward the S part of Babylonia, and another going more NE toward the oases of Tayma› (cf. Isa 21:14) and Al Jawf (Dumah; cf. Gen 25:14) and from there toward Babylon. The main road following the mountain ridge continued toward Al ‹Ulā (Dedan; cf. Gen 25:3), Tabük, Ma‹ān, Petra, Amman, and Damascus. From Damascus the route went E toward the oasis of Palmyra and on to the N part of Mesopotamia. At Ma‹ān or Petra, the route diverged toward Gaza and Elat. From these destinations, the commodities went to Egypt. From Amman there was a connection to Mesopotamia

through Wadi Sirhān to Dumah and from there to Babylon (Eph'al 1982: 241). Naturally, these routes were used in both directions. From Syria the incense was carried to Palestine and Egypt, and the produce of Syria-Palestine was carried toward Arabia.

These routes seem to have been active in the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. In the 9th century the Arabs first appear in Assyrian inscriptions, and subsequently they occur frequently in Assyro-Babylonian records. It is quite obvious that the Assyrians and the Babylonians wanted to integrate the Arabs into their political structure to control them and their trade in incense and other commodities. The inscriptions mention ethnic groups which are well known from the Bible, for instance Sheba, Ephah, Kedar, Dedan, Dumah, and others which occur in the list of the sons of Keturah (Gen 25:1 ff.) and the list of the sons of Ishmael (Gen 25:13 ff.). These names designate various Arab tribal groups in the N part of the Arabian peninsula and the Sinai desert. As for Sheba, which from S Arabian sources is known to be the name of a kingdom in the S, its presence among ethnic groups living in N Arabia may be due to the fact that the S Arabian kingdom established trading stations in the N. The sons of Keturah and Ishmael designate Arabs in the N who traded in incense.

There are several biblical texts that record trade in incense and other aromata, such as the Joseph story (Gen 37:25), the visit to Solomon of the Queen of Sheba (1 Kgs 10:11), the oracle of Isaiah mentioning the Arab caravans from Dedan (Isa 21:13), and the mention of the camels and dromedaries from Midian and Ephah (Isa 60:6). The list of trade connections in Ezek 27:2ff. seems to indicate a growing Israelite involvement in international trade.

Finally, the various forms of incense altars and burners testify to the international incense trade. The small cubic altar or burner referred to earlier is S Arabian in origin and belongs especially to the Persian period. The ladle-shaped incense burner adorned with the relief of a hand seems to be of Egyptian origin and belongs to the monarchical period (Nielsen 1986: 38–42), whereas the so-called pottery shrine is of Mesopotamian origin and belongs to the early monarchical period (Nielsen 1986: 48–49).

To what extent Jews established themselves as international merchants in incense is difficult to assess. The longer trips through the desert probably continued to be dominated by Arab caravanners, who established themselves in Petra around 300 B.C. They dominated the traffic to Palestine throughout the Hellenistic period.

**C. Uses of Incense in the New Testament**

The few references to incense and fragrant odor in the NT conform to the general Jewish culture known from the OT.

Even though the texts of Matt 2:11 and Rev 18:13 are legendary and imaginative in nature, they indirectly testify to the existence of the traditional trade routes in incense in the time of the NT, whereas more direct literary evidence is found in Pliny's *Historia Naturalis,* in *Periplus Maris Erythraei,* and in Strabo's *Geographus.*

It is no accident that the priest Zechariah sees an angel of God at the time of the regular incense offering in the temple, since incense brings about the presence or appearance of the divine being or his messenger (Luke 1:8–13). In this passage, incense also brings the prayer of the people to heaven (v 10), as it does in Rev 8:3–4. The gifts of the wise men or astrologers in Matt 2:11 are those fit for a king (cf. 1 Kgs 10:2, 10).

In Mark 14:3–9, we are told about the anointing of Jesus by a woman in Bethany. This act is described as a preparation for his burial. The aromatic she uses is nard (cf. Matt 26:6–13; Luke 7:37–38; and John 12:1–8). In John 19:38–42, the burial of Jesus is performed by Joseph of Arimathaea and Nicodemus. They anoint Jesus' body with nearly a hundred pounds of myrrh and aloe (cf. Mark 16:1 and Luke 24:1).

As was the case in the OT, people in the NT anointed themselves on a regular daily basis (Matt 6:17). Unguents, probably mixed with aromatic substances, were used to cure diseases (Mark 6:13; Jas 5:14; Luke 10:34).

In the epistles and Revelation, incense and fragrance are used as metaphors. In 2 Cor 2:14–16, the knowledge of God or Christ is described as a fragrant odor; and the apostles themselves are compared to incense or fragrance offered to God by Christ (esp. NEB). The sacrifice of Christ himself is called a

fragrant odor pleasing to God in Eph 5:2 (cf. Gen 8:21). In Rev 5:8, incense is used to describe the prayers of the believers.

Finally the very title of Jesus, *ho christos,* which means "the anointed one," may have had an atmosphere of fragrant odor about it in the Greek-speaking world, even though the title was also used as a metaphor for the possession of the Holy Spirit (Luke 4:18; Acts 10:38).

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KJELD NIELSEN

**INCENSE ALTARS.** There can be no doubt that incense was featured prominently in Israelite ritual. Two words attested in biblical Hebrew may be rendered "incense": *lĕbōnâ* (actually translated "frankincense") and *qĕṭōret.* The extensive use of *qĕṭōret* as an element in Israelite ritual is attested in Exod 25:6; 35:8; and 37:29. In Exod 30:34–38, *lĕbōnâ* is named as one of the four ingredients of *qĕṭōret,* which was burned in the tabernacle.

Understandably, perhaps, the discovery of what is thought to have once been an incense burner often generates great excitement among archaeologists, for this is sometimes taken to be evidence of a cultic site. However, it is as well to remember that incense also had multifarious secular uses in ancient Israel. Throughout the ANE, disagreeable smells and pestilential insects abounded. The strong olfactory appeal derived from the combustion of incense and other aromatics would have encouraged their use as deodorants and insecticides. The application of incense and other aromatics to funeral pyres for fumigation is still evident in certain parts of the world today. The unnamed "various kinds of spices prepared by the perfumer's art" which filled the bier at Asa's funeral (2 Chr 16:14) may well have included *lĕbōnâ* and *qĕṭōret.* Nor was it unknown for blends of incense and other ingredients to be used as perfume (Exod 30:34–38): semantically, the words "incense" and "perfume" are the same. See also INCENSE.

**A. Excavated "Incense Burners"**

At Arad, two incense altars of stone 0.4 and 0.5 m high were found on the steps leading up to the holy of holies of the Israelite sanctuary. In these altars, the tops of which are concave, archaeology has been provided with material evidence of objects that played a part in ancient Israelite ritual. It is extremely doubtful, however, that every so-called incense burner was similarly employed.

The artifacts in question include round stands cut out of limestone, sometimes accompanied by a pottery bowl; similarly crowned tubular pottery stands; and pottery models, supposedly of shrines. The earliest examples are from the EB III sanctuary at et-Tell. They are in the form of rectangular clay stands with side openings (for air circulation or as a means of carrying the pot stand?) and a bowl on top. Together with a so-called clay incense altar from Iron Age Taanach and a bronze openwork stand of uncertain provenance from Megiddo, these have been identified as "cultic objects." It is just as likely that at least some may have been no more than braziers used for heating in the winter months (cf. Jer 36:22–23). Although incense could be dropped on any fire in a brazier, the discovery of one such object does not justify the classification "incense burner."

Many so-called "incense burners" show no signs of combustion whatsoever; this was particularly the case of the one found at Taanach. Indeed, the term "incense stand," common in archaeological literature, has no warrant, since their function was by no means confined to the burning of incense; among

numerous possible alternatives are their use as plant holders, libation stands, and devices for keeping warm food and drink.

So-called pottery shrines, which may have featured in ANE cults, have also been identified as incense altars (the terra-cotta shrine from Achzib is one example), but it is as well to remember that not every pottery model of an edifice from ancient Palestine is evidence of a cultic object. Unlike the examples from Beth-shan, the pottery models from Megiddo, for instance, had no necessary cultic significance whatsoever.

**B. Horned Altars**

At Tell Arad and Tell Beer-sheba, large altars of burnt offerings from the First Temple period have been uncovered. Much smaller horned altars were also found in Iron Age Palestine, several in private houses, which have been identified as altars of incense.

In OT literature, "horns" symbolize strength and denote political power, imagery drawn from the force exerted by the bull's forward thrust (Deut 33:17). In prophetic symbolism, "horns" signify kings or military powers (Dan 7:8; 8:21). The reference in 1 Kgs 1:50; 2:28 attests that fugitives seeking asylum clung to "the horns of the altar." These were horn-shaped protuberances on the four corners of the altars, the original purpose of which is now lost to us.

The common assumption that the design was handed down to the altar of incense, where the horns served as a means of supporting the incense bowl, remains conjecture. There are no pictorial representations of horned altars supporting a bowl; no bowls have been uncovered in this position, nor has it been proved that bowls found nearby were used in this manner.

**C. Later Altars**

From the Babylonian and Persian periods, excavators in Palestine have recovered numerous so-called incense altars at, among other places, Lachish, Gezer, and Samaria. Many of these are small and cuboid in shape. They have four legs and are decorated with geometric or conventional designs. Some bear naturalistic representations of palm trees and animals. Despite their lateness and decoration, however, the problem of identification remains, and both Glueck (1970) and Albright (1974) expressed grave doubts over the cultic associations of several such objects.

On the above evidence, it is clear that many artifacts identified in scholarly literature as "incense burners" were probably nothing of the kind. Although there can be no doubt that incense featured prominently in Israelite ritual, in ancient Israel the burning of incense had different uses in different places, and the precise function of any particular object is seldom apparent.

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MERVYN D. FOWLER

**INCENSE DISH** [Heb *kap* (כַּף)]. The common word for the hollow part of the hand is used to indicate a shallow bowl used as a censer, for burning incense. The RSV renders this term "incense dish." Archaeological discovery of shallow stone bowls, with a hand carved on the bottom so that the vessel appears to be a cupped palm, provides artifactual evidence for these cultic objects. Incense dishes are mentioned in various priestly texts in the Pentateuch (e.g., Exod 25:29; Num 4:7) dealing with the

tabernacle, and they appear in other parts of the Bible in relationship to temple equipment (see 1 Kgs 7:50; 2 Kgs 25:14). The incense dishes were made of gold and weighed ten shekels (Num 7:14). In the tabernacle, they were placed on the small golden table which held various other receptacles for food as well as the bread of the Presence; there were twelve such dishes according to Num 7:84, 86. Various other English versions render this term as "spoons" or "pans." See also CENSERS.

CAROL MEYERS

**INCEST.** See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES (OT AND ANE).

**INDIA** (PLACE) [Heb *hôddû* (הוֹדּוּ)*;* Gk *Indikēs* (Ἰνδικης)]. The Hebrew word may be derived from the Old Persian *hidav* or the Avestan *hindav.* Both are derivations of the Sanskrit word *sindhu,* which has two meanings: the common usage of "stream" and the proper noun designated for the name of the ancient Indus river. The Indus river is approximately 1,900 miles long, flowing NW from its head in Tibet and eventually proceeding SW across what now is Pakistan. It finally empties out in the Arabian Sea. The area crossed by the Indus river may mark the boundary or main contact point for the large subcontinent of India, situated in S Asia. India is mentioned twice in Esther (1:1; 8:9) to describe the extent of the E boundary of King Ahasuerus' territory. In 1 Esdr 3:2 and Add Esth 13:1; 16:1, it is also used to state the geographical expanse of the Persian domain. There seems to have been no integral historical connection between ancient Israel and ancient India, although many desirable Indian products found their way into Palestinian markets, including ivory, ebony, sandalwood, assorted exotic animals, and other precious materials. These items were usually delivered by either the Arabian and Syrian trade routes or shipped by means of the Red Sea. Elephants, intended for use in warfare, and their drivers, were also traded, as referred to in 1 Macc 6:37.

JEFFREY K. LOTT

**INDUS RIVER.** See INDIA (PLACE).

**INFANCY GOSPELS.** See THOMAS, INFANCY GOSPEL OF.

**INFANCY NARRATIVES IN THE NT GOSPELS.** While Mark's gospel starts with the baptism where God's voice identifies Jesus as His Son and stops with the empty tomb proclamation, the other three canonical Gospels have additions at the end (resurrection appearances) and at the beginning. A christological aim dominates the three beginnings: John's introductory hymn (Prologue) identifies Jesus as the Word of God spoken before creation who has become flesh and dwelt among us as God's Only Son; Matthew and Luke associate the identity of Jesus as Savior and God's Son with his conception in Mary's womb by the Holy Spirit. Thus all three gospel beginnings prevent the interpretation (which was theoretically possible for Mark) that Jesus' identity stems from the baptism seen as adoption.

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**A. Evaluation of Contents**

If we leave until later the story of Jesus at age 12 (Luke 2:41–52), the following features of the infancy narratives that constitute the gospel beginnings of Matthew and Luke (first two chapters in each) are important.

(1) They *agree* on these points: Chap. 1 deals with the prebirth situation; chap. 2 with the birth or postbirth situation. The parents of Jesus are Mary and Joseph, who are legally engaged or married but

have not yet come to live together or have sexual relations. Joseph is of Davidic descent. There is an angelic announcement of the forthcoming birth of the child. The conception of the child by Mary is not through intercourse with her husband but through the Holy Spirit. There is a directive from the angel that the child is to be named Jesus. The roles of Savior (Matt 1:21; Luke 2:11) and Son of God (Matt 2:15; Luke 1:35) are given to Jesus. The birth of the child takes place at Bethlehem after the parents have come to live together. The birth is chronologically related to the reign of Herod the Great (Matt 2:1; Luke 1:5). Eventually, the child is reared at Nazareth.

(2) Matthew and Luke *disagree* on the following significant points. In chap. 1, the Lucan story of John the Baptist (annunciation to Zechariah by Gabriel, birth, naming, growth) is absent from Matthew. According to Matthew, Jesus' family live at Bethlehem at the time of the conception and have a house there (2:11); in Luke, they live at Nazareth. In Matthew, Joseph is the chief figure receiving the annunciation, while in Luke, Mary is the chief figure throughout. The Lucan visitation of Mary to Elizabeth and the Magnificat and Benedictus canticles are absent from Matthew. At the time of the annunciation, Mary is detectably pregnant in Matthew, while the annunciation takes place before conception in Luke. In chap. 2 in each gospel, the basic birth and postbirth stories are totally different to the point that the two are not plausibly reconcilable. Matthew describes the star, the magi coming to Herod at Jerusalem and to the family house at Bethlehem, the magi's avoidance of Herod's plot, the flight to Egypt, Herod's slaughter of Bethlehem children, the return from Egypt, and the going to Nazareth for fear of Archelaus. Luke describes the census, birth at a stable (?) in Bethlehem because there was no room at the inn, angels revealing the birth to shepherds, the purification of Mary and the presentation of Jesus in the temple, the roles of Simeon and Anna, and a peaceful return of the family to Nazareth.

(3) None of the significant information found in the infancy narrative of either gospel is attested clearly elsewhere in the NT. In particular, the following items are found only in the infancy narratives. (a) The virginal conception of Jesus, although a minority of scholars have sought to find it implicitly in Gal 4:4 (which lacks reference to a male role), or in Mark 6:3 (son of Mary, not of Joseph), or in John 1:13 ("*He* who was born … not of the will of man"—a very minor textual reading attested in no Gk ms). (b) Jesus' birth at Bethlehem, although some scholars find it implicitly in John 7:42 by irony. (c) Herodian knowledge of Jesus' birth and the claim that he was a king. Rather, in Matt 14:1–2, Herod's son seems to know nothing of Jesus. (d) Wide knowledge of Jesus' birth, since all Jerusalem was startled (Matt 2:3), and the children of Bethlehem were killed in search of him. Rather, in Matt 13:54–55, no one seems to know of marvelous origins for Jesus. (e) John the Baptist was a relative of Jesus and recognized him before birth (Luke 1:41, 44). Rather, later John the Baptist seems to have no previous knowledge of Jesus and to be puzzled by him (Luke 7:19; John 1:33).

(4) None of the events that might have been "public" find attestation in contemporary history. (a) There is no convincing astronomical evidence identifiable with a star that rose in the East, moved westward, and came to rest over Bethlehem. In Matthew's story this would have happened before the death of Herod the Great (4 B.C. or [Martin 1980] 1 B.C.). There have been attempts to identify the star with the supernova recorded by the Chinese records in March/April 5 B.C., or with a comet (Halley's in 12–11 B.C.), or with a planetary conjunction (Jupiter and Saturn in 7 B.C.; Jupiter and Venus in 3 B.C. [Martin 1980]). (b) Even though the Jewish historian Josephus amply documents the brutality in the final years of Herod the Great, neither he nor any other record mentions a massacre of children at Bethlehem. Macrobius' frequently cited pun (*Sat.* 2.4.11) on Herod's ferocity toward his sons is not applicable to the Bethlehem massacre. (c) A census of the whole world (Roman provinces?) under Caesar Augustus never happened, although there were three Augustan censuses of Roman citizens. It is not unlikely that Luke 2:1 should be taken as a free description of Augustus' empire-cataloguing tendencies. (d) Luke's implication that Quirinius was governor of Syria and conducted a "first census" (2:2) before Herod's death (1:5) has no confirmation. Quirinius became legate of Syria in A.D. 6 and at that time conducted a census of Judea, which was coming under direct Roman administration because Archelaus had been deposed (Brown 1977: 547–56; Benoit *DBSup* 9: 704–15). (e) Although this item differs somewhat from the immediately preceding one, Luke's idea that the *two* parents were purified ("their purification according to the Law of Moses": 2:22)

is not supported by a study of Jewish law, whence the attempts of early textual copyists and of modern scholars to substitute "her" for "their" or to interpret the "their" to refer to other than the parents.

A review of the implication of nos. 1–4 explains why the historicity of the infancy narratives has been questioned by so many scholars, even by those who do not *a priori* rule out the miraculous. Despite efforts stemming from preconceptions of biblical inerrancy or of Marian piety, it is exceedingly doubtful that both accounts can be considered historical. If only one is thought to be historical, the choice usually falls on Luke, sometimes with the contention that "Those who were from the beginning eyewitnesses and ministers of the word" (Luke 1:2) includes Mary who was present at the beginning of Jesus' life. See Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB, 294, 298, for the more plausible interpretation that it refers to the disciples-apostles who were eyewitnesses from the beginning of Jesus' public life (Acts 1:21–22) and were engaged in a preaching ministry of the Word. There is no NT or early Christian claim that Mary was the source of the infancy material, and inaccuracies about the census and purification may mean that Luke's infancy account cannot be judged *globally* as more historical than that of Matthew.

Such a general judgment, however, need not imply that there are not some historical elements in either or both accounts. The mutual agreement have an importance, for they probably represent points that were in a tradition antedating both Matthew and Luke. For instance, an intelligent case can be made that Jesus was truly descended from David and born at Bethlehem in the reign of Herod the Great. Arguments to the contrary are far from probative (Brown 1977: 505–16). In particular, the virginal conception (popularly but confusingly called the Virgin Birth) should be evaluated cautiously. Despite extremely limited attestation and inherent difficulties, no satisfactory nonhistorical explanation which could dispense with the virginal conception has been brought forward. The frequent approach to the virginal conception as a theologoumenon, whereby the common "Son of God" title of Jesus would have been translated into a (fictional) narrative in which he had no human father, could acquire plausibility only if there were a good antecedent or parallel for the idea of virginal conception. There is no good antecedent or parallel. While there were Greco-Roman and other examples of male gods impregnating earth women to produce a divine child, the NT contains no hint of such a sexual union. Within Judaism there was no expectation that the messiah would be born of a virgin. (The MT of Isa 7:14 does not clearly refer to a virgin, and even the LXX need mean no more than that one who is now a virgin will conceive through future intercourse. Matthew has not derived Jesus' conception from Isa 7:14, but interpreted the OT passage through Christian data.) A claimed Hellenistic-Jewish tradition that the patriarchal wives conceived from God without male intervention (Philonic allegory; Gal 4:23, 29) is far from certain. (On all this, see Boslooper 1962; Brown 1977: 517–33). In terms of historical catalysts behind the concept of a virginal conception, those worth noting are: (a) the agreement of Luke (implicit) and Matthew that Jesus was conceived before Joseph and Mary came to live together and hence that the birth might be noticeably early after cohabitation; (2) the 2nd-century Jewish charge that Jesus was illegitimate (Or. *Cels* 1.28, 32, 69), possibly reflected earlier in John 8:41. If there was a family tradition of a virginal conception, the pre-Gospel shaping of it into a narrative may reflect Christian pastoral needs in face of Jewish polemics.

**B. Theological Motifs**

The question of historical elements in the infancy narratives should not distract from the clearer theological intent to Matthew and Luke. The following major theological emphases are to be noted:

**1. Christology.** By referring to Jesus from his conception as descended from David through Joseph and as the Savior/Son of God through the Holy Spirit, the two Evangelists are adapting to this first stage of Jesus' life language that elsewhere in the NT is related to the resurrection or the baptism. Rom 1:3–4, for instance, refers to "… the gospel concerning God's Son who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh; designated Son of God in power according to a Spirit of Holiness [= Holy Spirit] as of *resurrection* from the dead." A combination of Holy Spirit, designation as Son of God, and divine power is found in relation to the *baptism* in Luke 3:22; 4:1, 14. The angelic annunciation at the time of conception in Luke combines Davidic descent in 1:32–33 with 1:35, where the Holy Spirit comes on Mary and the power of the Most High overshadows her so that the child is called Son of God. Thus, the

conception and infancy of Jesus become the vehicle of the basic gospel message of Jesus' fundamental identity.

**2. Imagery from Jewish Scriptures.** Matthew begins his narrative with the genealogy of Jesus that includes the Hebrew patriarchs and the Judean kings. Matthew's story of Joseph, who receives revelation in dreams and goes to Egypt, clearly recalls the story of the OT Joseph, the dreamer or master of dreams (Gen 37:19) who went to Egypt. The wicked king Herod who kills the male children at Bethlehem evokes the pharaoh who killed the male children of the Hebrews in Egypt. Jesus, the one child who escapes to become the Savior of his people, offers a parallel to Moses. The words spoken to Joseph by the angel after Herod's death, "Go back to Israel, for those who were seeking the child's life are dead" (Matt 2:20) are almost verbatim the words to Moses in Midian, "Go back to Egypt, for all those who were seeking your life are dead" (Exod 4:19). When ultimately Moses went from Egypt through the desert toward the land of Canaan, he encountered another wicked king with homicidal tendencies. Balak of Moab summoned Balaam, a visionary or magus (Philo, *Vita Mos* 1.50 §276) who came from the East (LXX Num 23:7) with two servants (22:22). Balaam foiled the hostile plans of the king by delivering oracles seen in a vision (as of one who sees God in his sleep; LXX 24:4, 16). These predictions concerned a star coming forth from Jacob (24:17) and a king who would rule many nations (24:7). The Matthean magi echo this story. Indeed, the blending of the pharaoh and Balak into Herod may have been facilitated by developments of the Moses story attested in Josephus (*Ant* 2.9 §205–37) and in early midrashim, whereby the pharaoh was forewarned by his sacred scribes (or in a dream which had to be interpreted by magi) that a Hebrew child who would deliver his people was about to be born. At this news, the Egyptians were filled with dread (cf. Matt 2:3: "When King Herod heard this, he was startled and so was all Jerusalem with him."). The pharaoh's plan to forestall the work of the promised child by executing all the male Hebrew children was frustrated because God appeared in a dream to Amram (Moses' father), a Hebrew whose wife was already pregnant. Obviously, Matthew's infancy account is quite close to these midrashic developments of the Moses story.

To the genealogy of patriarchs and kings, and to this narrative evocative of Joseph, Moses, and the Exodus, Matthew has added five citations from the Hebrew prophets which are fulfilled by the infancy happenings. These citations echo the LXX (Isa 7:14 in Matt 1:22–23), the MT (Hos 11:1 in Matt 2:15), or other texts and combinations (Mic 5:1 [—Eng 5:2] and 2 Sam 5:2 in Matt 2:5–6; Jer 31:5 in Matt 2:18, 23). The fifth "prophetic citation" appears in Matt 2:23, but the source from which Matthew took that quotation is unknown: it may be from Isa 4:3 and Judg 16:7 (for extended discussion, see Brown 1977). Such eclecticism and combining of different prophets and versions have led some to describe Matthean composition as a school-like exercise, carefully comparing texts to find the most suitable way of interpreting Jesus (Stendahl 1968; see also Soares Prabhu 1976). The geographical motif that appears in the four citations of Matthew 2 may be a key to the development of the Matthean infancy message. If the genealogy and the annunciation plus Isa 7:14 in chap. 1 help to tell us *who* Jesus is (Son of David and Savior sent by God), *how* he is that (legal acknowledgment by the Davidide Joseph, and conception from a virgin through the Holy Spirit), then the magi/Herod/flight-to-Egypt story in chap. 2 commented on by four citations tells us *where* Jesus was born (Bethlehem) and *whence* he went subsequently (Egypt, Nazareth). The quotation in Matt 2:23 may be from Isa 4:3 and Judg 16:17 (Brown 1977; see Stendahl 1964).

Luke also makes good use of imagery drawn from the Jewish Scriptures but with a technique less obvious than Matthew's. (Luke's Davidic genealogy for Jesus [3:23–38—some names different from Matthew's] is placed after Jesus has been addressed by God from heaven and before he begins his mission, even as the genealogy of the tribes and of Moses in Exod 6:14–25 is given after Moses has been addressed by God but before he begins his mission of leading the tribes out of Egypt.) If Matthew's infancy narrative begins with Abraham begetting Isaac, Luke's narrative begins with Zechariah and Elizabeth, parents of John the Baptist, who resemble closely Abraham and Sarah (for these are the only two biblical couples whose childlessness is traced to both old age and barrenness; cf. Gen 18:11; Luke 1:7). The birth announcement only to the father, the response of Zechariah ("How am I to know this?"

which is a verbatim quotation from Abraham in Gen 15:8), the rejoicing with Elizabeth of those who hear about the conception/birth (Luke 1:58, echoing Gen 21:6)—all these features show the extent to which for Luke too, the Abraham story is the gospel beginning.

The angel who speaks to Zechariah at the hour of incense is Gabriel, who appeared in Dan 9:20–21 at the time of liturgical prayer—his only other appearance in biblical literature. A comparison of Dan 10:7–15 with Luke's infancy account shows a number of similarities, including the visionary being struck mute. If the Abraham story of Genesis stands near the beginning of the collected Law and Prophets in the Hebrew Scriptures, Daniel would have had a place at or near the end of "the other Books" which terminated the collection (even if this last category was a fluid grouping in NT times). Gabriel interpreted for Daniel (9:24–27) the seventy weeks of years, including the end when "everlasting justice will be introduced, vision and prophecy will be ratified, and a Holy of Holies [a place or person?] will be anointed." (See Legrand 1981 for a strong apocalyptic motif in Luke's annunciation.) Thus, Luke's infancy opening has motifs ranging from the beginning to the end of the sacred story of God's people.

From the midst of that sacred story comes another parallel that helped to fashion a major part of the Lucan infancy narrative: conception by Hannah of the child Samuel. Luke's words, "Zechariah went back to his home; afterwards, Elizabeth his wife conceived," resemble strongly 1 Sam 1:19–20; Mary's Magnificat resembles Hannah's song of praise after she conceived and bore a son (1 Sam 2:1–10); the presentation of Jesus in the temple and his reception by the aged Simeon (Luke 2:22–40) echoes the presentation of Samuel at the central shrine in the presence of the aged Eli (1 Sam 1:21–2:11); the two descriptions of Jesus' growth in Luke 2:40, 52 resemble the two descriptions of Samuel's growth in 1 Sam 2:21, 26. Thus, while the Matthean infancy narrative was heavily influenced by the Joseph/Moses epic, the Lucan infancy narrative is heavily influenced by the Samuel epic, perhaps because of the liturgical setting of the Samuel story in the central shrine. For Luke, the Gospel of Jesus begins and ends (24:53) in the temple, and the continuity of Jesus with the cult as well as with the Law (2:22–24, 27, 39) is important. The Lucan narrative has minor reminiscences from the David story, e.g., the shepherds and the "City of David" (2:1–20).

The prophetic books of the OT are not neglected either, for a context of prophetic oracle and inspiration (1:67; 2:27) surrounds the Lucan canticles: the Magnificat (1:46–55), the Benedictus (1:68–79), the Gloria in Excelsis (2:14), and the Nunc Dimittis (2:29–32). Almost every line in these hymns echoes OT psalms or prophets, in the manner of Jewish psalmody attested in the last two centuries B.C. (Maccabean hymns; DSS Thanksgiving Hymns). In particular, the Benedictus is a paean of continuity, citing "our fathers, Abraham, the covenant, the House of David, and God's holy prophets." Luke's two-volume work culminates with the proclamation of Paul that God has sent this salvation to the gentiles and they will listen (Acts 28:29); the two-volume work opens with the insistence that this salvation stands in continuity with Israel.

In summary reflection on the two principal theological points common to Matthew and Luke, we see a strong affirmation of the identity of Jesus in common Christian terms (Son of David, Son of God) combined with a remarkable compendium of scriptural narratives and motifs. Thus, the infancy narratives become a bridge summarizing the story of Israel and anticipating the gospel of Jesus Christ.

**3. Relation to Gospel of Jesus Christ.** The reaction to that gospel is anticipated in the two infancy narratives, but in different ways. In Matt 1:19, Joseph is described as a just man in a context which implies that his justice consists in the observance of the Law of Moses. He accepts the divine revelation about Jesus' identity; and by being obedient to God's direction given by an angel, he protects Jesus and brings him ultimately to Nazareth. The magi are gentiles who receive revelation through a star and come eagerly to Jerusalem seeking the newborn King of the Jews; yet they cannot find him without the precise revelation in the Scriptures. When the prophet Micah is explained to them, they hasten to Bethlehem to worship. A third reaction is exemplified by Herod, the chief priests, and the scribes: they have and can read clearly the message of the Scriptures about the messiah. However, not only do they not come and worship, but they also seek to end Jesus' life (2:20: note the plural). Matthew's community has encountered or embodies all three reactions. The gentiles who eagerly become disciples are clearly part of

Matthew's world (28:19). Joseph, who is just in his observance of the Law, and yet open to new divine revelation about Jesus, is the hero of the story because for Matthew he exemplifies the ideal reaction of Jews to Jesus. Elsewhere, the author praises a scribe who can combine the new with the old (13:52). Herod the king, the chief priests, and the scribes who would destroy the infant Jesus foreshadow Pilate the governor, the chief priests, and the elders who put Jesus to death (chap. 27). Almost surely, Matthew relates them to the Pharisees whom Jesus criticizes fiercely (chap. 23) and who find a conflict between Jewish traditions and Jesus. From the beginning, then, in Matthew's portrayal there has been a divided reaction to Jesus in Judaism—a just Joseph versus priests, scribes, and rulers.

Turning to Luke, we find a passing reference to a similar set of ideas in 2:32–34, where Jesus is a light to the gentiles, and a glory for the people of Israel—but not for all in Israel, since he is set for the fall and rise of many. This one Lucan infancy suggestion that many in Israel will not accept Jesus is overshadowed by the dramatic examples of Law-observant Jews who eagerly accept the new revelation given by God concerning Jesus, namely, Zechariah, the shepherds, Simeon, and Anna. The shadow of rejection is, therefore, not nearly so dark in Luke as it is in Matthew. A special emphasis is given to Mary's reaction to the proclamation of Jesus. The first one to hear about Jesus, Mary is a model disciple according to the criteria of Luke 8:21 and 11:28, namely, being willing to hear the word of God and keep or do it. This is exemplified in her response to the angel's annunciation: "Be it done to me according to your word" (1:38), a reaction praised by Elizabeth (1:45). Her interpretation of the significance of Jesus expressed in the Magnificat (scattering the proud; putting down the mighty; exalting the lowly; filling the hungry) is an anticipation of Jesus' own interpretation of his basic message in Luke 6:20–26 ("Blessed are you who are hungry … Woe to you who are full now"). In the reiterated motif that "Mary kept with concern all these events, interpreting them in her heart" (2:19, 51), Luke is portraying Mary as one to whom God communicated gradually the interpretation of the mysterious revelatory events of Jesus' infancy in which she participated, and as one who was a receptacle of God-given wisdom (Brown 1986: 672).

**C. Pre-Gospel Sources and Traditions**

It is extremely difficult to determine the extent to which Matthew and Luke (1) composed freely through reflection on the Scriptures and on Jesus; (2) composed freely by combining such reflection with traditions they received about Jesus' infancy; and/or (3) reused verbatim already-existing narratives or sources (in Greek or Semitic). There is a particular problem in the instance of Luke/Acts, a work which employs different compositional styles, illustrating either the use of fixed sources or the skill of the author who employed a style most appropriate to the narrative at hand, e.g., a highly Semitized style in the infancy narrative, where all the characters are Jews and many of them clearly parallel to OT figures. Brown (1977: 246) stated that he abandoned "the thesis that by style and language one can decide the question of sources; the linguistic opponents have fought one another to a draw." Farris (1981) thinks it probable, however, that Luke used Hebrew sources. Two facts seem relatively clear: (1) both Matthew and Luke used earlier material, and (2) both authors reworked considerably the material they took over. The following treatment does not attempt to settle the question whether that material was freely used tradition (oral or written) or from already fixed sources.

**1. Pre-Matthean Sources/Traditions.** a. Matt 1:17 insists on a 3 × 14 pattern of the generations in the genealogy. (There are actually only 13 generations [14 male names] in the first part; 14 generations [14 new male names, but 4 royal generations and 6 ruling kings omitted] in the second part; and only 13 generations [13 new male names, with no other biblical attestation of any figure between Zerubbabel and Joseph] in the third part.) The Evangelist's air of discovering the marvelous in this design makes it difficult to think that he completely invented the genealogy. Yet, it is equally difficult to think that he has given us an exact copy of a family record. For the patriarchal period, Matthew may have drawn on a genealogy similar to that in Ruth 4:18–22 and 1 Chr 1:28, 34; 2:1–15. For the monarchical period, he may have drawn on a popular genealogy of the royal House of David—one in which there were accidental omissions because of similar sounding names. For the last part of the genealogy, Matthew himself may have added the names of Joseph, Mary, and Jesus to a list of uncertain derivation pertaining to putative

descendants of Zerubbabel. The addition of the four OT women (all appearing in stories colored by the apparently scandalous or irregular, and yet women who showed initiative or played an important role in God's plan, three of them outsiders to Israel and the fourth married to an outsider) was Matthew's attempt to prepare for Mary's role (apparently scandalous but a unique vehicle of God's plan) and for the spread of the gospel to gentile outsiders.

b. A narrative centered on three stylized angelic dream appearances of Joseph, with Joseph's response to each (see Brown 1977: 109 for reconstruction). The basic-story theme would have been the forthcoming birth of a savior, Herod's jealous suspicions, the flight to protect the newborn child, and the ultimate return after Herod's death—a narrative based on the Moses story.

c. A narrative of magi from the East who saw the star of the King of the Jews at its rising and came to worship—a narrative based on the Balaam story.

d. An annunciation of birth that involved Jesus' identity as Son of David and Son of God, with conception through the Holy Spirit (rather than through a male parent) as part of that identity. This followed an OT pattern of birth annunciations with stereotyped features (Brown 1977: 156), including the appearance of an angel, fear by the visionary, a divine message, an objection by the visionary, and the giving of a sign. In the infancy narrative, the message was shaped in part by the christology of the early preaching now being applied to Jesus' conception.

**2. Pre-Lucan Sources/Traditions.** a. An annunciation similar to pre-Matthean *d.* The similarities between the two gospels on this item (amidst great dissimilarities on other items) is a reason for positing this as a once-separate element. Luke's annunciation pattern is even fuller than Matthew's, involving some elements of OT annunciations that commission divinely chosen figures like Moses (Exod 3:2–12) and Gideon (Judg 6:11–32). The added features reflect the Lucan use of the scene as also a call of Mary to be the first Christian disciple (see discussion in Legrand 1981: 90–96; Muñoz Iglesias 1984).

b. Tradition about John the Baptist, involving his priestly origins. (Luke is noteworthily accurate in his description of the temple courses of priestly service.) Some (like Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB, 316, 320) posit a relatively fixed birth source from Baptist circles behind Luke 1:5–25 , 57–66. Indeed, this posited John the Baptist infancy narrative is often considered the pattern on which Luke constructed the story of Jesus' infancy, granted the clear parallelism between the two annunciations and the two accounts of birth. others (Brown 1977: 266–69) think of some tradition about John the Baptist's family plus retroversion of John the Baptist material from the ministry (e.g., 1:15 compared with 7:28, 33; 1:42–45 compared with 11:27, 28), rather than a fixed source. The shaping of the annunciation of John the Baptist's birth may have been influenced by the already-circulating story of the annunciation of Jesus' birth.

c. The infancy narrative canticles discussed above, stemming from a Jewish-Christian group, perhaps from the Jerusalem community of temple-observant poor *(ʿanawîm)*, described with enthusiastic idealism in Acts 2:43–47. Scholars debate whether these canticles were originally composed in Semitic or in Greek (Brown 1986: 660–62).

d. Some traditions from Jesus' family about his birthplace, circumcision, and presentation. The extent and detail of such traditions are debated, depending in part on whether one thinks Mary was the ultimate source of Lucan information. The present writer judges that this cannot be shown and remains quite dubious, especially because of apparent inaccuracies about the census and Jewish customs.

e. A story of Jesus at age 12. Having the air of an appendage after the conclusion of 2:40, the narrative in 2:41–51 was probably once independent of the conception and infancy tradition. Read by itself, 2:47–50 gives no indication of what has preceded in Luke by way of the revelation of Jesus' divine identity. Probably this story is an example of a wider collection of boyhood-christology stories (see *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*), where the knowledge and power evident in the public ministry of Jesus appear in contexts of his youth as he worked miracles (on the Sabbath) and speaks with divine knowledge. This type of story was another way of demonstrating that Jesus did not become divine at the baptism; he was divine throughout his whole life, as could be seen in the first times he acted and spoke.

The infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke, once written, contributed to a wider efflorescence of infancy gospels, e.g., the *Protevangelium of James* and the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy.* It is not always

easy to determine the extent to which these subsequent infancy gospels draw only from the canonical narratives or from other oral traditions (however imaginative). See THOMAS, INFANCY GOSPEL OF.

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**INFANTRY.** See MILITARY ORGANIZATION IN MESOPOTAMIA.

**INGATHERING, FEAST OF.** The Feast of Ingathering is the same as the Feast of Booths. See CALENDARS (ANCIENT ISRAELITE).

**INGOTS.** See COINAGE.

**INHERITANCE (OT).** See FAMILY.

**INHERITANCE (NT).** The Gk terms are *klēronomia,* "inheritance"; *klēronomein,* "to inherit"; *klēronomôs,* "heir"; *sugklēronomos,* "joint heir." In the NT the content of the terms can move all the way from a simple judicial concern for personal property (Luke 12:13) to a heavenly and imperishable inheritance beyond history (1 Pet 1:4). What is distinctive is the way NT writers relate their varied uses of inheritance language to Jesus Christ and to his followers.

**A. Background**

The uses of inheritance language in the OT vary widely within the context of the history of Israel. These contexts move from a concern for personal property to theological affirmations of Canaan as Israel's inheritance, of Israel as Yahweh's inheritance, and of Yahweh as Israel's inheritance.

Some later Jewish writings can view the Law as Israel's inheritance (e.g., Sir 24:23; *1 En.* 99:14). Some speak of inheriting life or eternal life (e.g., *Pss. Sol.* 14:7; *1 En.* 40:9; cf. *2 En.* 50:2; *2 Bar.* 44:13). Philo can see inheritance as a mystical unity with God (in *Heres*). This variety shows how different historical contexts produce a rich diversity in understandings of inheritance in the historical background to the NT.

**B. Paul**

Turning to the oldest NT writings, we find that Paul relates inheritance language to the covenant promise to Abraham (Gal 3:18; 4:30; Rom 4:13–14) and sees that promise fulfilled in Jesus Christ. However, unlike the OT, he never refers to the land of Canaan as Abraham's inheritance. For Paul, those with faith in Jesus Christ are Abraham's true heirs (Gal 3:29). Through God's gift, the gift of a new relationship in Christ, they are adopted (cf. Gal 4:5; Rom 8:15) as God's sons and heirs (Gal 4:7) and "fellow heirs with Christ" (Rom 8:17). Though Paul uses a legal understanding of inheritance that sees minor children as heirs (Gal 4:1), it is with Christ's coming that they enter into their inheritance. As the offspring of Abraham (Gal 3:16), Christ is the heir, but as the fulfilled promise of blessing to Abraham (Gal 3:14), he also is the inheritance. Thus as heir and inheritance, he becomes both the means to and the content of the new life and of new relationships which believers have through their baptism into Christ (Gal 3:26–29).

Paul also can use the verb "inherit" futuristically regarding those who will not inherit the kingdom (1 Cor 6:9–10; Gal 5:21; cf. also the future use of inheritance language in the probable Paulinists: Col 3:24; Eph 5:5; Titus 3:7), as well as concerning the resurrection in which "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God" (1 Cor 15:50). Thus, God's reign or kingdom is the final realization of that inheritance already inaugurated with the historical coming of Christ.

**C. Ephesians**

This author emphasizes a future-oriented inheritance (Eph 1:14, 18; cf. 5:5), which is the cosmic unity of all things in Christ (cf. Eph 1:9–10). Already however, the Holy Spirit is the "down payment" (*arrabōn;* cf. 2 Cor 1:22; 5:5) that anticipates the future. As in Paul, Christ is indeed the means to that inheritance; but unlike Paul, the emphasis does not fall on Christ as already its promised fulfillment. Given the writer's concern for Church unity, Ephesians refers to the gentiles as "fellow heirs" (Eph 3:6) and understands the unity of Jews and gentiles in the Church as already showing (cf. 3:4–6) and pointing to (cf. 3:10) the ultimate inheritance of cosmic unity through God's saving deed in Christ.

**D. The Synoptic Gospels and Acts**

In the story of the rich man who comes to Jesus, Matthew, Mark, and Luke all refer at some point to inheriting eternal life (Matt 19:29; Mark 10:17; Luke 18:18). Matthew, however, gives "inherit" a pronounced futuristic emphasis. Unlike Mark and Luke, he uses the term only after the story itself, relating it to the "new world" and the coming of the Son of man (Matt 19:28; cf. Dan 7:13; *1 En* 71:14–17). Matthew gives this future emphasis further support by using such phrases as "shall inherit the earth" (Matt 5:5; cf. Ps 37:11; *1 En.* 5:7b) and "inherit the kingdom" (Matt 25:34; cf. *2 En.* 9:1; Jas 2:5 strikes a similar note).

All three writers use "heir" and "inheritance" with special christological significance in the allegorized parable of the wicked tenants (Matt 21:38; Mark 12:7; Luke 20:14). The early Church Fathers understood Jesus as Son and heir, and with his death they viewed the inheritance (i.e., the vineyard; cf. Isaiah 5) as passing to them. Matthew sees the vineyard as God's kingdom (Matt 21:43), and with the death of God's Son and heir this inheritance now becomes the trust of those "producing the fruits of it."

In Acts, Luke denies any "inheritance" of land to Abraham, though it is promised to him and his descendants (Acts 7:5) and its historic connection to Canaan affirmed (13:19). Luke finally interprets the inheritance as given to "all those who are sanctified" (20:32), i.e., to the Church.

**E. Hebrews**

This writer depicts Christ as the Son and heir of all things (Heb 1:2; cf. 1:4 where *keklēronomēken* should be translated "inherited"). As high priest and mediator of a new covenant, Christ is the means to "the promised eternal inheritance" (9:15; cf. Syr. Enoch 10:6; 55:2; in Heb 1:14 *klēronomein* should be translated "inherit") for those who (6:12) through faith and patience "inherit the promises." The content of this promised inheritance is the heavenly city (11:8–10).

Hebrews relates inheritance language to Abraham (6:12, 17; 11:9; note also references to Noah and Esau in 11:7; 12:17), but his inheritance is not the land of Canaan; it is the city "whose builder and maker is God" (11:10).

Hebrews also includes a judicial perspective. Only through the death of the eschatological (cf. 1:2) Son and heir does the will or covenant *(diathēkē)* take effect (9:15–17). Thus, the death of Jesus becomes the covenantal means for persons to receive the promised eternal inheritance of the heavenly city.

**F. 1 Peter**

This writer also gives to inheritance a content that is beyond human history, "an inheritance which is imperishable, undefiled, and unfading, kept in heaven for you" (1 Pet 1:4). The crucial means to this "living hope" is the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead (1:3). Thus, the event of Jesus' resurrection makes the hope of future resurrection a present reality and becomes the basis for the future imperishable inheritance (cf. other uses of inheritance language in 3:7, 9; in the latter, *klēronomēsēte* should be translated "may inherit").

**G. Conclusion**

The theological use of inheritance language in the NT exhibits a tension between the present and the future. For Paul, Jesus Christ already fulfills the inheritance promised to Abraham and makes persons of faith heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ, even though there remains a kingdom to inherit in the future. Ephesians points to a future inheritance that is the cosmic unity of all things in Christ, while simultaneously Jews and gentiles already are joint heirs in the Church, and their unity witnesses already to that ultimate unity. The Synoptics speak futuristically of inheriting eternal life, with Matthew especially giving inheritance language a strong eschatological emphasis. For all synoptic writers, Jesus is the heir of

the vineyard inheritance, now understood as the reign or kingdom of God. The reign of God is both present and future; it calls for present faithfulness, but its full realization is in the future. Unlike the other synoptic writers, Luke sees this realization as occurring already within the Church. For Hebrews, the content of the inheritance is the future heavenly city of God, and it is by the covenantal death of Jesus, the heir of all things, that this inheritance will be effected. In 1 Peter, the content also is future, "an inheritance … kept in heaven for you," a "living hope" made effective by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead (cf. Rev 21:7 for an additional future reference to inheritance).

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**INK.** See WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS.

**INQUIRE OF GOD.** The process of consulting the deity on some matter of individual and/or communal importance, generally through the offices of an intermediary. The Hebrew Scriptures use, with varying frequencies, three distinct verbs to designate the process, each referring to a somewhat different inquiry procedure. Least frequent in this connection is the term *biqqēš.* In Exod 33:7, it denotes the Israelites' asking for Yahweh's guidance through the mediation of Moses at a particular site, i.e., the "Tent of Meeting" outside the camp during the desert period. The subject matter of their inquiries is not specified. The context does, however, allude to the communication process between Yahweh and the mediator Moses: Yahweh, present in the "pillar of cloud" at the tent door, speaks "face to face" with Moses (Exod 33:9, 11).

Far more common as a designation for the inquiry process is the verb *šā›al* (Num 27:21; 1 Sam 10:22; 14:37; 22:10, 13, 15; 23:2, 4; 28:6; 30:8; 2 Sam 2:1; 5:19 [= 1 Chr 14:10], 5:23 [= 1 Chr 14:14]; cf. Exod 28:30; 1 Sam 14:41). All but the first of these passages concern events of the early monarchical period, under Saul and David. From a piecing together of the indications provided by the texts, an approximate, composite picture of the particular sort of "inquiry" they envisage emerges: An Israelite politico-military leader—or on occasion the people as a whole (1 Sam 10:22)—put one or more *yes* or *no* questions to Yahweh. The mediator of Yahweh's response thereto is a priest, whose role is to manipulate—in some unspecified way—the sacred dice known as the Urim and the Thummim (1 Sam 14:41), one of which represented a positive answer, the other a negative one. The officiating priest carried these dice in a sort of pouch called the ephod (Exod 28:30). The inquiry might take place at a sanctuary (e.g., 1 Sam 22:10), but more often it transpired in the open air, e.g., in a military camp. Questions posed concerned significant projected political or military measures about whose outcome the inquirer especially felt the need of divine assurances. Omission of the procedure prior to such initiatives is denounced as culpable presumption (Josh 9:14; Isa 30:2). Yahweh remains free, however, presumably by causing the repeated rolls of the dice to produce inconsistent results, not to answer the inquiry in a particular case (1 Sam 14:37; 28:6). In any event, there is no mention of this particular form of inquiry being carried out subsequent to David's definitive triumph over the Philistines (2 Sam 5:17–25). This fact likely reflects the demand of later times for something more in the say of divine guidance/assurance than a simple *yes* or *no* answer could provide. There is, however, a NT echo of the practice in the account of Matthias' being selected to succeed Judas as apostle by means of lot-casting in Acts 1:26. Finally, the OT uses the verb *šā›al* also in reference to an inquiry of some deity, whether by Israelites or non-Israelites, involving other (and illegitimate) intermediaries and/or devices (Deut 18:11; 1 Chr 10:13; Ezek 21:23; Hos 4:12).

The most frequent of the OT's three verbs for designating an inquiring of God is *dāraš* (Gen 25:22; Exod 18:15; 1 Sam 9:9; 1 Kgs 14:5; 22:5 [= 2 Chr 18:4], 7 [= 2 Chr 18:6]; 2 Kgs 3:11; 8:8; 22:13 [= 2

Chr 34:21]; Jer 21:2; 37:7; Ezek 14:3; 20:1–3). The inquirer is usually the Israelite king who, however, often puts his question indirectly, through a delegation dispatched by him. On occasion, the inquiry proceeds from other categories of persons: Rebekah (Gen 25:22), Moses (Exod 18:15), the (pagan) Syrian king Benhadad (2 Kgs 8:8), and the Jewish elders (Ezek 14:3; 20:1–3). The intermediary figure in these texts is, typically, not a priest but a prophet/seer (1 Sam 9:9), e.g., Ahijah (1 Kgs 14:5), Micaiah (1 Kgs 22:7), Elisha (2 Kgs 3:11; 8:8), Huldah (2 Kgs 22:13), Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. The inquiry takes place in a battlefield setting (e.g., 1 Kings 22; 2 Kings 3) or at the prophet's place of residence (e.g., 1 Kings 14; 2 Kings 22); it is never explicitly said to occur at a sanctuary. The questions addressed to Yahweh through the prophets cover a somewhat wider range than is the case in the *šā›al-type* inquiry: legal disputes (Exod 18:15), lost property (1 Sam 9:6–9), outcome of a pregnancy (Gen 25:22) or sickness (1 Kgs 14:5; 2 Kgs 8:8), the upshot of a military crisis (1 Kgs 22:5, 7; 2 Kgs 3:11; Jer 21:2; 37:7), and the significance of a newly discovered book (2 Kgs 22:13). Unlike the priest in the foregoing texts, the prophetic intermediary in these passages is cited as being offered remuneration for his services on several occasions (1 Sam 9:7; 1 Kgs 14:3; 2 Kgs 8:9). Very little is recounted concerning the actual process by which the prophet relays the inquirer's question to Yahweh and receives the latter's reply—although see 2 Kgs 3:15, where Elisha prepares himself for a divine communication by having a minstrel play. In any case, Yahweh's answer as mediated by the prophet takes the form of a longer or shorter first-person divine speech which, depending on its content, constitutes an oracle of either salvation or doom. The latter type predominates. In terms of their historical referents, those passages cover an extended period, from patriarchal times down to shortly before the Exile. The greater expansiveness of the divine response which it allowed helps explain the perdurableness of the *dāraš* inquiry and its supplanting of the *šā›al* type. Eventually, however, this form of inquiry also disappeared with the gradual tapering off of its prophetic practitioners in the postexilic period. Finally, two further similarities between the *dāraš* and *šā›al* inquiries can be noted. Like the latter, the former term can also designate an illegitimate "inquiry," i.e., one directed to a divinity other than Yahweh (2 Kgs 1:2ff.: Ahaziah inquires of Baal-zebub), or utilizing a reprobate mantic figure (1 Sam 28:7: Saul inquires of a medium). Similarly, Yahweh is free in both forms of inquiry to withhold an answer to the questions posed (see Ezek 14:3; 20:1–3—*dāraš*).

By way of conclusion to this discussion, it should be pointed out that in the OT two of the above terms, i.e., *biqqēš* and *dāraš,* undergo an evaluation in which they progress from signifying a one-time "consulting" of Yahweh about a particular matter to designating a habitual stance of "seeking" God in fidelity and obedience. This development is observable in the prophetic writings (see e.g., Isa 65:1, 10; Hos 10:12; Amos 5:4, 6; Zeph 1:6; 2:3), and especially in Chronicles (see e.g., 1 Chr 22:19,etc.). It can likewise be noted in the NT's use of the term *zēteō,* "seek" (see e.g., Matt 6:32f.; 7:7ff.; Rom 10:20 = Isa 65:1; Gal 2:17; Col 3:1).

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CHRISTOPHER T. BEGG

**INSCRIPTIONS, SAFAITIC.** The name "Safaitic" is conventionally given to a group of inscriptions in an ancient N Arabian language, expressed in a variety of the S Semitic script, written by the ancient bedouin and seminomads of the Syro-Arabian desert. The name is derived from the *Ṣafâ,* an area of basalt desert SE of Damascus, near which they were first discovered in 1857. The inscriptions have since been found over a wide area of S Syria, Jordan, and N Saudi Arabia, with isolated examples as far afield as Palmyra, Hâ›il, the Wadi Ḥaurân in W Iraq, and the Lebanon. However, the largest concentration appears to be in the *ḥarra,* or basalt desert, stretching S and E from the Jebal Druze. Some

14,000 have been published so far, but these represent the fruits of relatively few expeditions, and there are clearly scores of thousands of texts still awaiting discovery. With the exception of one large (Littmann 1943) and several small collections, all the Safaitic inscriptions found before 1950 were brought together in that year in Part 5 of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (CIS), edited by G. Ryckmans. However, several major collections have appeared since (see the bibliography at the end of this article).

Work on the definitive decipherment of the script was begun by J. Halévy in 1877, refined by F. Praetorius in 1882–83, and completed in 1901 by E. Littmann, who was the first to recognize that the alphabet consisted of 28 letters, rather than 23 (the equivalents of the 22 letters of the Phoenician alphabet, plus *ḫ*), as had previously been thought.

**A. Script**

While it was clear from the beginning that the script was in some way related to that of the S Arabian and other N Arabian (Dedanite, Lihyanite, Thamudic) inscriptions (See Fig. INS.01), the exact details of this relationship have remained in dispute. The reasons for this are as follows. First, there is virtually no secure dating evidence for any of the types of N Arabian inscriptions, and it is therefore impossible to establish either an internal chronology for these texts or their chronological relationship to the S Arabian inscriptions. Second, the vast majority of N Arabian inscriptions are known only from hand-copies, in almost all of which scant attention has been paid to the exact shape of the letters. Thus, features taken as indicating development may in fact be merely copyists' errors. Finally, the letter-forms of monumental S Arabian and those of the Safaitic and Thamudic graffiti are in no way comparable, since the shapes in each have developed under completely different pressures and for quite distinct purposes. Thus, the view, which is implicit in many discussions of these texts, that there was an evolution from S Arabian, via Dedanite and the various script-types classed as "Thamudic," ending with Safaitic, in which each script developed out of its predecessor, can only be highly speculative and, on present evidence, seems unlikely to represent the true picture.

This view lies behind the term "Thamudic-Safaitic" used by H. Grimme (1929: 12; 17; 55) and E. Littmann (1940: 97) to describe two different types of text, which they thought contained a mixture of Thamudic and Safaitic letter-forms, and therefore considered early. However, some of Littmann's examples are in fact pure Thamudic B (See Fig. INS.01 (4)), and the letter-forms in the rest, and in Grimme's texts, are no different from those occurring in inscriptions which both scholars considered pure Safaitic.

The most striking variety of Safaitic is the so-called "square script" (see Figs. INS.01 (1); INS.02 (B)) in which the letters are given a neat angular appearance. This has led a number of scholars to regard these letter-forms as more "monumental" than other types and, by a curious series of nonsequiturs, as therefore closer to S Arabian, and hence "the older type of Safaitic." In fact, it will be clear from Fig. INS.01 that it is merely the elegant appearance that invites comparison with monumental S Arabian, not the letter-forms themselves, which are in all important features identical to the common Safaitic shapes. There is also no evidence that it was a "monumental script," since virtually all the texts in which it is used are graffiti, and hardly any of the handful of inscriptions which could be called "monumental" employ it. It would appear to be contemporary with other Safaitic letter-forms, since there are square script and common script texts by the same authors.

**B. South Safaitic**

E. A. Knauf has argued that the style and onomastic content of many of the most northerly Thamudic texts (known as "Thamudic E" or "Tabuki Thamudic" [see Fig. INS.02 (C)]) have more in common with Safaitic than with other forms of Thamudic. He therefore suggested reclassifying these inscriptions as "South Safaitic," while retaining the term "Tabuki Thamudic" for those texts in the same script but with a "non-Safaitic" content (1983: 589). At the same time, he demonstrated that South Safaitic and Tabuki Thamudic shared marked peculiarities of script and orthography which clearly distinguish them from other forms of Safaitic and Thamudic. Most notable among these was the use of the Safaitic *ṯ*-sign to represent etymological /g/. Following this, G. M. H. King (1988) showed that two other signs in this script had unexpected values; viz. the Safaitic *ḍ-sign* represented /*ṯ*/ and a sign consisting of two

concentric circles /ḍ/ (See Fig. INS.01 (3)). The majority of inscriptions of this type are to be found in S Jordan and N Saudi Arabia (e.g., most of those in Harding and Littmann 1952).

**C. Abecedaries**

Two ABCs have been found so far, one for South Safaitic arranged, with some exceptions, in the Phoenician order, and the other, in the common Safaitic script, arranged in a hitherto unknown order, apparently based on similarities of letter-shape (see Macdonald 1986).

**D. Language**

The most thorough survey of the Safaitic language is still that of Littmann (1943: 12–24), though for additions and corrections see Winnett and Harding (1978: 12–15) and Clark (1979: 112–24); and for an excellent brief account, Müller (1980). Safaitic is a branch of the language group known as early North Arabian (Frühnordarabisch) and is thus closely related to Arabic. Within this group, it is one of a number of dialects (along with Dedanite, Lihyanite, "Thamudic," and Hasaitic) distinguished by their use of *h-*, rather than *ʾal-*, for the definite article. The alphabet consists of 28 letters which, ethymologically at least, represent the same phonemes as those of Standard Arabic. The orthography is severely consonantal, leaving all vowels, diphthongs, and doubled letters unmarked (on possible exceptions, see Müller 1980: 68–69). Writing is continuous, with neither word-dividers nor spaces between words, and the direction depends solely on the whim of the author and the nature of the surface he is inscribing. See Fig. INS.02. The following are some of the more notable points in which Safaitic differs from Standard Arabic.

1. $s^1$ and $s^2$ are clearly still in Beeston's (1962) Phase II, representing [ʃ] and a lateralized sibilant respectively, and have not yet reached their Standard Arabic values of [s] and [ʃ].
2. Vowelless *n* is sporadically assimilated in many words (e.g., *bt/bnt,* "daughter," *m/mn,* "from") but always in the VIII form of *nẓr,* which thus appears as *ṭzr:* "he was on the look-out, he waited."
3. No examples of the X form have yet been identified.
4. The endings represented by *tâʾ marbûṭa* in later Arabic appear as *-t* in all positions, but see Müller (1980: 69) for a possible indication of the transition from *-at* to *-ah.*
5. Etymological *-y* is found in such words as *my,* "water," and *sʾmy,* "sky," where Standard Arabic has *-âʾ.*
6. The third radical is usually represented in verbs tertiae *w* and *y* suggesting that they were formed on the pattern of the strong verb, though there are apparent expectations (e.g., $s^2t$ as against $s^2ty$, "to winter").
7. The relative pronoun is *ḏ* and the vocative particle *h-*.
8. Many of the words which lie at the heart of the Safaitic authors' way of life are better explained from NW Semitic cognates than from later Arabic. Thus *mdbr* (Heb *midbār,* Aram *madbĕrāʾ*), "open steppe, desert," as opposed to *ḥrt* (Ar *ḥarra*), the "basalt desert"; $ms^1rt$ (Aram *mašrîtāʾ*), "encampment"; *nḫl* (Heb *naḥal,* Aram *naḥălāʾ*), "valley," as against Ar *naḫl,* "palm," *dd* (Heb *dôd,* Aram *dôdāʾ*), "paternal uncle," rather than Ar *ʿamm,* which in Safaitic is used for "grandfather." It is unlikely that these are words loaned into Safaitic; rather, they must represent part of an early lexical stock which has been displaced in later Arabic by words from other dialects.

**E. Names**

No complete study has been made of the names in these texts, though Littmann (1943: xxiv–xxviii) and Müller (1980: 72–73) have provided very useful discussions, and Harding (1971) gives an indispensable index with comparative material. There are numerous theophoric names, usually compounded with the common Semitic deity *ʾIl* (*ʿbdʾl, ʿbdl*) or *Lh* (*tmlh,* $s^1$*ʿdlh*), though these deities are seldom found in prayers. On the other hand, those deities most frequently invoked appear much more rarely in names (e.g., *Lt,* $Ds^2r$, and *Rḍw/y*); and some, apparently not at all (e.g., $S^2$*ʿhqm*). In common with the Nabatean texts of Sinai, Safaitic has a number of names prefixed by *bn-* (in Nabatean, *ʾbn*), where the name is never that of the father, when that can be established, e.g., *bnkbr bn mḥnn* (Winnett and Harding 1978: No. 1194). A number of names have the *-w* ending characteristic of Nabatean (e.g., *ḥyw, ʿbdw*), though all of them also occur without the *-w.* Müller (1980: 73) has suggested that the Aramaic emphatic ending *-ʾ* may occur on some names, parallel to the Safaitic prefixed article *h-* (e.g., *ʿbdʾ* beside *hʿbd*). The Latin names *Titus*

(*tts*[1]) and *Claudius (ʾqlds*[1]*)* have also been found, and Müller (1980: 73) has identified *ʾftnyʾ* as Greek *Aphthonios. Tlmy* could represent either *Ptolemy* or a Semitic name similar to that of *Talmay,* king of *Gĕšûr* (2 Sam 3:3), an area which has been placed in or near the Ḥaurân (on Safaitic names in Greek transcription, see Sartre 1985: 161–276). At the same time as he was recording Safaitic inscriptions, Littmann also collected the names of the bedouin and Druze of the Ḥaurân, and noted that many Safaitic names, which are rare or unknown in the Classical Arabic onomasticon, were in use among the modern inhabitants of the area. However, far more work is needed before conclusions can be drawn from this apparently significant correlation.

**F. Content and Structure**

The vast majority of Safaitic inscriptions are graffiti. They are thus a form of self-expression rather than communication. They record the author's name and what he was doing or what he felt. There are *cris de coeur*, boasts and prayers, but no memoranda, messages, history, or literature. It seems probable that most were written as a way of passing the time while the authors were pasturing their herds or on the lookout either for enemies or for game, because their drawings show them to have been keen hunters.

Almost all the texts are expressed in a series of formulaic constructions (Petrček 1973; Voigt 1980). All but a handful of short prayers are introduced by the preposition *l* (the *lâm auctoris*), followed by the author's name and usually that of his father, with, very often, a more or less lengthy genealogy. Many authors also indicate the social group to which they belong, most commonly by placing *d̲ʾl* plus the name of the group at the end of the genealogy. *D̲ʾl* is commonly translated "of the tribe of," but *ʾl* (Ar *ʾâl*) appears to have been used for all social groups from the family to the tribal confederation. Alternatively, the *nisba* form can be used, e.g., *h-ḍf-y*, "the Ḍaifite" (the vocalization is purely conventional), or the genealogy may be taken back to the eponymous ancestor of the group (Harding 1969: 13, No. 4). Many texts then continue with descriptions of the author's activities. Thus, they speak of seasonal migrations *(ʿs*[2]*rq)* E to the open steppe beyond the basalt, and of returning, often to the same spot *(h dr)* year after year *(ʿm f ʿm)* to spend the winter *(s*[2]*ty)* or the spring *(dt̲ʾ).* They mention encampments *(ms*[1]*rt)* and watering places *(wrd, brkt),* of pasturing their herds of camels *(ʾbl),* goats *(mʿzy),* and sheep *(ḍʾn)* and of shearing them *(qṣṣ).* They go on raids (*ġzz*, a dialectical form of Ar *ġazâ*) and pray for booty *(ġnmt).* The texts also abound with words of longing *(ts*[2]*wq)* and grief (*wgm, wlh, ndm, b<s*[1]*mz\ll,* etc.), the distinct nuances of which are much disputed. Some follow the discovery of a relative's inscription (e.g., *w wgd ʾt̲r ʾbh f ngʿ,* "and he found his father's inscription [literally "traces"] and so he was sad"), a sequence reminiscent of the conventional opening passage of the pre-Islamic Arabic odes. Above all, however, these words occur in texts connected with the burial of the dead. Most corpses were probably buried, as they are today, in a simple grave covered with stones to keep off wild animals. However, over the graves of some men and women, presumably those of status, large cairns were erected. To such a cairn *(rgm),* the mourners brought stones inscribed with their names, their relationship to the deceased, and the fact that they were mourning *(wgm)* and/or building *(bny)* the cairn for him or her (Harding 1953).

The statement is often followed by a prayer of the form *f h lt* ... ("and so, O Lt …") with a request, e.g., *s*[1]*lm,* "security," *ġnmt,* "booty"; *rwḥ,* "relief"; *t̲ʾr,* "revenge," etc.; and the text may be completed with curses on those who would deface the inscription and blessings on those who leave it intact. Thus, the typical Safaitic inscriptions would consist of some, or all, of these elements, usually, but not always, in this order: *1 N* ± *genealogy* ± *tribal marker* ± *statement* ± *invocation* ± *curse/blessing.* See Fig. INS.02 (A–B).

We catch only fragmentary glimpses of the relations of the Safaitic authors with their neighbors. Several say that they were escaping from the Romans, or Byzantines *(nfr mn rm);* others seem to have been aware of, and some involved in, a war of the Nabateans *(ḥrb nbṭ)* and a rebellion by them against the Romans *(mrd nbṭ ʿl ʾl rm).* Winnett (1973) has suggested that some Safaitic tribes were caught up in an unsuccessful revolt by a son of the Nabatean governor of Ḥegra (Medâʾin Ṣâliḥ) in ca. A.D. 71, but this is by no means certain. One or more Persian *(mḏy)* invasions of the Ḥaurân are mentioned, and there are enigmatic references to the Jews *(yhd).* There are also some less easily identifiable peoples, e.g., those of *Rhy* (variously identified as Edessa, Ḥâʾil, and a subtribe of *Maḏ̲ḥîğ*), the *ʾhl khl* (possibly Qariyat al-Faw

in central Arabia, the ancient name of which was *Qariyat Dât Kahl*) and *Ḥwlt* (possibly one of the places called *Ḥăwîlâ* in the OT).

**G. Dating**

The Safaitic texts are conventionally dated between the 1st century B.C. and the 4th century A.D., but the grounds for this are extremely insecure. A handful of texts can be assigned to precise dates in the 1st, 2d, and 3d centuries A.D., and several others which mention the Nabateans and Romans must fall within this period, but there is no clue as to the date of the vast majority. A number of them are dated by events of local importance (e.g., *snt ḥl d̲ ʾl ḍf lg*, "the year members of the tribe of Ḍf camped in the Leğâ, Winnett and Harding 1978: 1025), but unfortunately none of these can be reconciled with the known historical record. Even such references as *snt mrdt nbṭ ʿl ʾl rm,* "the year the Nabateans rebelled against the people of Rome" (Winnett and Harding 1978: 2815) are difficult to relate to known events and are the source of much disagreement. There is no indication as to when the art of writing first reached these tribes, or when it disappeared. However, there is no trace of either Christianity or Islam in these texts, and the early Islamic historians have no recollection of these tribes or their script; nor the grammarians of their dialect. Thus, it would seem probable that the use of Safaitic must have ceased some considerable time before the rise of Islam for the memory of it to have been so effectively erased.

**H. Religion**

Grimme (1929: 24–30) believed that all Safaitic texts were of a religious nature. However, this position was based on such strained interpretations of the evidence that it has attracted no support (see Littmann 1940: 103–4). In fact, we know frustratingly little of Safaitic religion. Although there are some apparent references to religious practices (*d̲bḥ,* "sacrifice"; *ḥg,* "pilgrimage"; and possibly *ʿd,* "festival" (see Winnett and Harding 1978: 31–32), and a great many prayers addressed to a number of deities, they are all expressed in a limited range of formulae and are generally uninformative. Most of the deities invoked in Safaitic are also known from the texts of the settled peoples (see NABATEANS; PALMYRA) and some from classical writers. However, the information derived from these different sources is not always reconcilable. The two deities most often invoked in Safaitic are *Rḍw* (or *Rḍy*) and *Lt* (or *ʾlt*). *Rḍw/y* has been identified with Herodotus' *Orotal (t)* and the Jawfian deity *Ruldaiu* mentioned in the annals of Esarhaddon, as well as the Palmyrene *ʾArṣû* (Milik 1972: 49). The Safaitic texts give no clue as to the nature of this, or any other, deity since identical requests are made of all of them. The variation in spelling has suggested to some a pair of deities, male and female, representing the morning and evening star (Littmann 1940: 107). However, even this cannot be demonstrated from the texts, because the prayers are all in the form either of nouns (with a verb understood) or verbs in the imperative, in which the vowels marking masculine and feminine are not shown. others (e.g., Dussaud 1955: 142–43) base a claim that both forms refer to the same, feminine, deity on a number of Safaitic drawings of a female figure with arms raised to her flowing hair. However, there is no reason to connect these drawings with *Rḍw/y,* and when they are identified in accompanying texts it is as *ġlmt,* "girl," or *qnt,* "female singer." On the other hand, Starcky (*DBSup* 6: 990–91) has argued strongly that *Rḍw/y* is male and is the deity behind the Nabatean divine epithet *Dushara.* A male *Rḍw/y* would certainly fit better with the known sex of *Orotal (t)* and *ʾArṣû*, though variations in the sex of Semitic deities are, of course, well known.

The deity most frequently invoked in Safaitic is *Lt* or *ʾlt.* A third form, *hʾlt,* is also found, but so far only in theophoric names *(tmhʾlt),* where it parallels *hnʾlt* in Lihyanite and Hasaitic names. The exact relationship between the three Safaitic forms has yet to be satisfactorily clarified. Certainly *Lt* occurs over six times more often than *ʾlt;* and in texts such as CIS V 97 both forms are used, though in successive invocations. It is thus by no means certain that the three forms represented the same deity in the minds of the Safaitic authors. Again, the texts give no clue as to her nature. Whereas *Rḍw/y* is rarely found in multiple invocations, *Lt/ʾlt* is commonly associated with other deities in prayers.

The worship of the two other "Daughters of Allâh" (Qurʾân 53:19–21; 16:57), *Manât* and *al-ʿUzzâ* (in Safaitic *h-ʿzy*), is attested only in occasional theophoric names. The divine name represented in later Arabic by *Allâh* is also found in Safaitic in three forms, parallel to those of *Lt;* thus *Lh, ʾlh,* and *hʾlh.* All three forms occur both in theophoric names, where they are very common, and in prayers, where they are

much rarer. The reasons for this uneven distribution are not entirely clear, but it is possible that while *Lt/ʾlt* had become a divine *name, Lh/ʾlh* (and possibly *ʿl/l*) was still regarded as the common name for "god" and could therefore be used with reference to any divinity in a theophoric compound. The situation is paralleled in Nabatean, where -*ʾl* and -*ʾlhy* are common elements in names, although there are no prayers or other references to them. The prayers to *Lh/ʾlh/hʾlh* in Safaitic are no different from those addressed to other deities, and he is often "associated with" other divinities in multiple invocations. Thus, the use of this divine name or epithet cannot be taken as an indication of monotheism.

The principal deity of the Nabateans, *Dushara,* also receives a considerable number of prayers from Safaitic devotees, most often in association with *Lt.* In the N, the name is usually spelled $ds^2r$, suggesting that it reached these authors via Aramaic. But in the texts from S Jordan, the etymologically correct form $\underline{d}s^2ry$ (equivalent to Ar *ḏû-Šarâ*) is more common. Another deity whose name occurs in Safaitic in its Aramaic form is *Bʿlʾmn, Baʿal Šāmîn*, to whom a great temple was dedicated at Sîʿ. Indeed, one Safaitic text (Clark 1979: No. 424) calls him "the god of Sîʿ." The name is occasionally found in an arabized form *Bʿlʾmy.* By contrast, the name of the third god shared by the Nabatean and Safaitic peoples is entirely Arabic in form. It appears as *Šyʿ-ʾl-qwm* among the former and $S^2$*ʿ-h-qm* among the latter. The name is generally interpreted as "Helper or leader of the people," and from this it has been assumed that he was a tutelary god of caravans (Sourdel 1952: 81–84; Teixidor 1977: 88–89). A famous Palmyrene inscription (by two Nabateans) calls him the "good and rewarding god who does not drink wine." From this he has been identified with Lycurgus and assumed both to be in conflict with Dushara-Dionysus and to be a deity considered by the nomads as their special god (Starcky *DBSup* 6: 996). However, Sourdel (1952: 84) and Dussaud (1955: 145–46) have questioned both the identification and the supposed conflict with Dushara. Certainly there is no evidence for such hostilities in Safaitic, where $Ds^2r$ and $S^2$*ʿhqm* are invoked together. Nor is there any evidence that he was the particular god of the nomads. He receives relatively few prayers in Safaitic, certainly fewer than $Ds^2r$, the supposed god of the sedentaries, and in multiple invocations he stands sometimes with the ancient Arabian divinities (*Lt* and *Rḍw/y*), sometimes with the tutelary gods of the Safaitic tribes, sometimes with *Bʿlʾmn* or $Ds^2r$, and sometimes with a selection from all three groups.

There are frequent invocations to $Y\underline{t}$ʿ (also *ʾ*$\underline{t}$*ʿ*, with no apparent distinction between the forms), a deity found in theophoric names throughout North and South Arabian and in Nabatean, though rarely invoked outside Safaitic. Traditionally, $y\underline{t}$*ʿ*, a root not found in later Arabic, has been held to be cognate with the Hebrew root *yšʿ* and so glossed *Sōtēr* "Savior." It has even been suggested (Winnett 1941) that $Y\underline{t}$ʿ in North and South Arabian represented Heb *Yēšûaʿ*, Syr *Yešûʿ*, "Jesus," and that texts mentioning this deity were therefore Christian. However, the Christian South Arabian inscriptions do not use the name Jesus in any form, referring to him instead as $Ms^1ḥ$ "Messiah" or $Krs^3ts^3$ "Christ," while $Y\underline{t}$ʿ in both North and South Arabian is frequently invoked in the company of other deities. Moreover, a divine name adopted by the Safaitic or South Arabian writers from a different language group (Hebrew or Aramaic) would appear as a loan-form *(*ys*$^1$*ʿ)* not a cognate *(*$y\underline{t}$*ʿ)*, particularly since the root $y\underline{t}$ʿ appears to have no independent existence in North Arabian, South Arabian, or later Arabic, outside the onomastic stock (see Müller 1979 for discussion).

*Gd* (probably *Gad*), equated with *Tychē* in Greek texts (Sourdel 1952: 49–52), and particularly common at Palmyra (Teixidor 1979: 88–100), is also found in Safaitic. Among the sedentaries of the Ḥaurân and at Palmyra, *Gad* appears to have "personified the especial providence reserved by a god or a goddess for an individual, a group of individuals, or a town" (Teixidor 1979: 89), a tutelary role which any deity could assume. It is probable, though alas unprovable, that this conception was shared by the nomads. Certainly *Gd* in Safaitic usually appears as *Gd-Ḍf* or *Gd-*ʿ$w\underline{d}$, i.e., the *Gd* of one or another of the two great tribal confederations (Knauf 1985), and they are most often found in multiple invocations where, in one text or another, they stand beside all the known Safaitic divinities.

For general surveys of the field, see Littmann 1943: vii–xxviii; Eissfeldt 1954; Dussaud 1955: 135–47; Oxtoby 1968: 1–30; and Müller 1980. Major collections of inscriptions are *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, Pars 5;* Littmann 1943; Winnett and Reed 1957; Winnett and Harding 1978; and Clark

1979. See also the smaller collections in Jamme 1971 (some of the most southerly texts), Harding 1953, and Oxtoby 1968.

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**INSECTS.** See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

**INSTRUMENTS, MUSICAL.** See MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

**INTEREST AND USURY IN THE GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD.** "Interest" (Gk *tokos*) is a charge for the use of invested capital, most typically money. From an economic perspective, interest is composed of four principal factors: the real cost of using the capital; a premium compensating the investor for the risk of not getting his capital back; an estimate of the likely inflation rate during the period of the investment; and the lender's expenses in negotiating and administering the investment. The interest rate of an investment should ultimately derive from these four factors, but in the ancient world it was also heavily affected by custom and convention.

"Usury," for which there is no exact equivalent in Greek and Latin, is the lending of money, especially at what society considers an exorbitant interest rate. Particularly under the Romans, usury laws often

limited the form that interest could take and fixed a maximum interest rate, and law also often imposed other restrictions on interest-bearing loans.

The basic concept of interest is almost as old as organized societies; interest; interest-bearing loans of precious metals or commodities are found already in Hammurabi's Babylon (early 2d millennium B.C.E.). But the introduction of coined money in the Aegean (7th century B.C.E.) led to the practice becoming much more common. Greek interest-bearing loans are attested already in the early 6th century, and by the 4th century the charging of interest had become quite normal at Athens, as we know from many Greek private orations.

However, interest on money loans aroused disquiet, especially among Greek philosophers such as Plato (*Leg.* 11.921 c–d) and Aristotle (*Pol.* 1.10). As Aristotle reasoned, coined money had originated as a store of value and a medium of exchange; although coins struck in precious metals had an intrinsic worth, they served chiefly as a standard to make other goods commensurable. It therefore seemed "unnatural," contrary to the immanent characteristics of civilized society, that money could generate more money through payment of interest. This philosophical bias against interest, which later writers shared (e.g., Seneca *Ben.* 7.10.3), was to have a long history in cultures influenced by Greco-Roman civilization, especially after early Christian writers merged it with religious prohibitions against the taking of interest (e.g., Clement of Alexandria *Str.* 2.18; Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* 4.17).

Notwithstanding such philosophical doubts, Greek city-states, as also the Hellenistic states of the 3d to 1st centuries B.C.E., did not intervene to prohibit interest, and even statutory restraints on interest only became common slowly. Customary interest rates remained high; the prevailing annual interest rate was 12 to 18 percent in 4th-century Athens and 25 percent (the legal limit) in Ptolemaic Egypt of the 3d century. These rates prematurely reflected both continuing instability in the Levantine credit market and a relative scarcity of capital. Interest rates generally fell below 10 percent after 200 B.C.E., but unusually risky loans were sometimes made at much higher rates.

The picture changed in the 2d and 1st centuries B.C.E., as Rome became the master of the Mediterranean. Rome had, for internal political reasons, a long-standing tradition of attempting to limit or even prohibit interest; and the influx of capital that imperial Rome attracted made it possible to sustain lower interest rates than had prevailed in the Greek world. A Decree of the Senate in 51 B.C.E. (Cicero *Att.* 5.21.13) forbade interest higher than 12 percent per year, as well as compound interest and the accrual of unpaid interest above the amount of the initial capital. But market-determined interest rates at Rome had by that date already fallen to a level much lower than the legal maximum, with 6 percent being the most common rate for sound loans during peacetime. In general, this regime persisted into the early Roman Empire.

Although transfer of money over long distances was not easy in the ancient world, Rome's central government interposed no effective legal barriers to the flow of capital within the empire. As interest rates in Roman Italy dropped, capital was attracted to portions of the empire where higher rates persisted; provincial governors responded (with how much success is uncertain) by imposing usury laws reflecting accepted interest rates at Rome. Cicero, as proconsul of Cilicia in 51–50 B.C.E., had to deal with a virtually extortionate loan by Marcus Brutus to the city council of Salamis on Cyprus; Cicero's letters on this loan (*Att.* 5.21, 6.1–3) vividly illustrate the dynamics of credit in the later Roman Republic.

After the battle of Actium in 31 B.C.E., prevailing annual interest rates at Rome fell from 12 to 4 percent (Cassius Dio 51.21.3), demonstrating clearly the effect of domestic tranquility on credit. The ensuing centuries of imperial peace resulted in interest rates that throughout the empire normally fluctuated between 4 and 6 percent, approximately equivalent to the return that landowners could anticipate from farming. The charitable alimentary endowments instituted in Italy and elsewhere, especially during the 2d century C.E., usually envisaged an annual return on conservatively invested capital of 5 to 6 percent. Although higher rates were charged for delay in paying debt and for short-term or risky loans, the legal annual limit of 12 percent was only occasionally evaded and apparently caused slight inconvenience. Inflation did not significantly affect interest rates until the currency debasements of the 3d century C.E. and after.

Apart from occasional literary complaints, moneylending and interest-bearing loans were not visited with pronounced social or legal opprobrium during the early Empire. Roman law, building on previous Greek institutions, was particularly ingenious in developing ways to secure debts through personal suretyship or the pledge of property, thus further reducing the creditor's risk; the jurists showed no aversion to interest.

Distinct from the normal credit pattern was the interest on bottomry loans *(faenus nauticum);* these "loans," repayable only if the ship reached its destination, were actually a means of insuring ships or their cargoes against the dangers of long voyages, and the interest rates charged on them could be as high as the parties wished, depending on the timing and duration of the voyage. Loans of farm products were normally repaid with interest of up to 50 percent of kind (*Cod. Theod.* 2.33.1 pr.).

The economic difficulties of the later Empire evidently caused prevailing interest rates to edge upward against the limits set by usury laws, which the emperors then attempted to strengthen and enforce with greater vigor. In the 4th century, these largely economic measures merged with Christian attacks on interest as such.

Ancient authors, starting with Aristotle (*Pol.* 1.10), showed good intuitive understanding of the nature of interest. The Roman jurists distinguished interest on money from ordinary "fruits," such as the produce of farms, in that interest derived from a purely legal relationship (e.g., Pompon. *Dig.* 50.16.121).

Although attested interest rates suggested that capital was generally available and secure, especially in the early Empire, the primitiveness and fragility of the ancient credit market required stress. With but few exceptions, the Greco-Roman world did not know large-scale professional lenders; banks, in particular, did not serve as important financial institutions, but instead operated locally and with poor capital funding. At least in the private sector, large loans were typically provided (with or without interest) by wealthy individuals functioning as patrons, not as professional bankers or moneylenders. Correspondingly, loans were often not "productive," in the sense of being used to create new sources of wealth; instead, they were frequently used to sustain consumption among the upper classes. For discussion of the various types of interest mentioned in the Bible, see DEBTS.

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**INTERPRETATION OF KNOWLEDGE** (NHC XI,*1*). See KNOWLEDGE, INTERPRETATION OF (NHC XI, 1).

**INTERPRETATION, HISTORY OF.** Two articles appear under this heading. The first surveys the history of interpreting specifically the Hebrew Bible/OT, with a special emphasis on how this has been practiced within Christian circles. The second article surveys the history of biblical interpretation by focusing more on underlying philosophical issues associated with hermeneutic theory. See also HERMENEUTICS; HERMENEUTICS, EARLY RABBINIC; THEOLOGY (BIBLICAL), HISTORY OF.

### *HISTORY OF OT INTERPRETATION*

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A. OT Interpretation in the NT
B. Apostolic Fathers and Apologists
C. The Exegetical Schools of Alexandria and Antioch
D. Jerome and Augustine
E. The 5th to the 15th Centuries

F. The Reformation
G. Beginnings of Biblical Criticism
H. From 1750 to 1890
I. From 1890 to the Present

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**A. OT Interpretation in the NT**

Whatever else it may be, Christianity is a unique interpretation of the OT. A surface reading of the OT suggests that its writers did not expect God to become incarnate and did not envisage that a future servant of God would rise from the dead three days after his public execution, nor that he would combine in his life and death the roles of high priest and sacrificial victim. It is true that hints of some of these ideas may be found in the OT, and that these hints had begun to become trends in intertestamental Judaism. For example, a Qumran fragment from Cave 11 develops the idea of Melchizedek as a heavenly figure, the Wisdom of Solomon sees Wisdom as a preexistent "person" who was with God before the creation, and the "sacrifice" of Isaac in Genesis 22 gave rise to ideas about the atoning blood of Isaac; but the NT interpretation of the life and death of Jesus combined these and other ideas in a new way. This fact was to have profound significance for the way that the OT was interpreted until the 17th and 18th centuries.

In the NT, the most spectacular use of the OT is to be found in the letter to the Hebrews. It begins with a series of OT quotations designed to show that Jesus is the son of God and superior to the angels. The writer assumes that God was addressing Jesus when he said, in Ps 2:7, "Thou art my son, today I have begotten thee," or in Ps 45:6, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever" (Heb 1:5, 8). The words of Ps 102:25, "Thou Lord, didst found the earth in the beginning," are also seen as addressed to Jesus, thus claiming that he was, in some sense, the creator of the universe (Heb 1:10). Later in the letter (7:17), the words of Ps 110:4 are understood in terms of Jesus: "Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchizedek," and this enables the writer to present Jesus as a high priest, whose death once and for all fulfilled and rendered obsolete the sacrificial system given by God to Moses in the wilderness. In chap. 11 of Hebrews, the great OT figures are dealt with: Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses, the Judges, David, Samuel, and the prophets. These people all lived by faith—faith that they were journeying to a heavenly city whose God was the God who had spoken finally and decisively in Jesus.

The book of Hebrews is the most spectacular because it is the most daring and explicit attempt in the NT to interpret the OT in the light of the early Church's understanding of Jesus; but implicit throughout the whole of the NT is the conviction that the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus were in fulfillment of the Scriptures. The Gospels, and especially Matthew, make frequent reference to OT passages that the life of Jesus fulfilled (e.g., the Virgin Birth, the flight to Egypt of his parents, his growing up in Nazareth, the removal of his home to Capernaum during his public ministry, and the rejection of his message by the people). The account of the passion of Jesus contains many allusions to the OT, from his entry into Jerusalem upon an ass, through his betrayal, to the division of his garments by Roman soldiers and his cry from the cross: I thirst.

The Pauline writings struggled with the antithesis of faith and law, and did so by identifying figures such as Abraham as men of faith, and therefore as ancestors of a divine promise that would be fulfilled in Christ and would also be made available to non-Jews. Paul added two important features to the use of the OT, both of which subsequently influenced its interpretation. In Gal 4:21–31, he used the method of allegory to prove that Hagar, the mother of Ishmael, represented Mt. Sinai, the earthly Jerusalem, and (by implication) Christians who wanted to observe the Jewish law. He urged his readers to "cast out the slave and her son" (cf. Gen 21:10–12) as Abraham had done. This piece of exegesis became the main NT sanction for spiritualizing the OT (Paul did not, of course, invent allegorical interpretation), that is, not interpreting it at its surface level, but reading into it a deeper, spiritual, or moral or mystical meaning, In 1 Cor 10:1–4, Paul claimed that Christ was present in the OT in that he had been a Rock which followed the Israelites through the wilderness, from which Moses had struck water for the thirsty people. This exegesis, too, encouraged later interpreters to look for Christ in the OT.

**B. Apostolic Fathers and Apologists**

In the Apostolic Fathers (*1 Clement*, the *Didache*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and the *Epistle of Barnabas*), we find three main uses of the OT. The first involves the renunciation of Judaism, and thus of the legal parts of the OT. The latter are conspicuously absent from works such as the *Didache* and the *Shepherd*, both of which purport to show how the Christian life should be lived. Instead, and this is the second main use, the OT law is spiritualized in order to show that it points to Christ. The type of exegesis is especially prominent in *Barnabas.* The 310 men of Abraham's household indicate the name Jesus, and the cross (*Barnabas* 9:7–8); the red heifer (Numbers 19) and the scapegoat (Leviticus 16) are types of Christ, while the cross is foreshadowed when Moses crossed his hands during Israel's battle against Amalek (Exod 17:8–13). The third main type of interpretation was the appeal to OT heroes as examples of faith: Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Lot, Rahab, David, the prophets, Judith, and Esther are all cited.

It was the Apologists, Justin Martyr (ca. A.D. 114–165), Irenaeus (ca. A.D. 130–200), and Tertullian (ca. A.D. 160–225) who took OT interpretation to deeper levels, mainly because they found themselves in conflict with pagans, Jews, and sectarian Christians. In Justin's dialogue with the Jew Trypho, use is made of passages such as Genesis 18; 32:22–32, and Exod 3:1–16 to show that the OT speaks of a Lord who is not the Father above, yet who acts fully in accord with the will and purpose of the Father (*Dialogue with Trypho,* chaps. 56ff.) In each case, Justin exploits an ambiguity in the text. In Genesis 18, the mysterious visitors to Abraham are both human and angelic; in Gen 32:22–32, Jacob is told that he had wrestled with God, while in Exod 3:12–16, the Lord both appears in the burning bush and speaks from heaven. Justin's interpretations are not the crude allegorizings of *Barnabas.* They depend as much upon a close reading of the text as upon an overtly christological hermeneutic.

Tertullian and Irenaeus were confronted not only with Jewish opponents, but also by Marcion, the founder of a type of Christianity which completely rejected the OT. Marcion read the OT mostly in a literal manner, and found there a God who was ignorant (e.g., he said to Adam, "Where are you?"), who changed his mind (e.g., Gen 6:1–5), and who made cruel and immoral demands upon Israel. Such a God could not be the God of Jesus. Therefore, Jesus was the son of a God who was different from the creator of the visible universe. He belonged to an unseen world, took human form (to be born as a man would have involved assuming what belonged to the God of the visible world), and died to free mankind from obligation to the God of the visible world.

The defense of Irenaeus against Marcion was an orthodox restatement of the Christian view of the unity of the OT and NT. Christ was foretold in the OT, and God's promise of salvation to Abraham was for all humanity. The OT law in its essence agreed with the "first and great commandment" affirmed by Jesus. Tertullian's defense was far more successful. He tackled head-on Marcion's literal reading of the text, and he argued that when the OT used the language of human passions and sensations regarding God, the language could not be taken literally. God had neither a "right hand" nor "eyes" in a human sense; similarly, his supposed ignorance or changes of mind were not to be evaluated as though he were human. Tertullian thus sought to undermine Marcion's accusation that the OT God was incompetent and immoral, and he turned the attack back against Marcion by pointing out that the latter had found it necessary not only to dispense with the OT but also to delete large parts of the NT from his Bible—all those passages that referred back to the OT.

**C. The Exgetical Schools of Alexandria and Antioch**

Alexandria and Antioch were two of the greatest centers of influence and learning in the Church of the late 2d to the 5th centuries. In Alexandria, a catechetical school was founded in the 2d century, and in Clement of Alexandria (ca. A.D. 180–215) and Origen (A.D. 185–253) it reached the height of its achievements. Clement was concerned to address the pagans of his day, arguing that Christ was the supreme source of knowledge who had spoken in the OT as well as in the NT, and was also the source for all that was best in Greek philosophy. Clement stressed the harmony of the OT and NT; but in order to do this he had to divide the Mosaic law into the historical, the legislative, and the sacrificial. Where possible, he used the literal method of interpretation, e.g., in historical sections relating to the history of Israel. Where laws could be taken at their face value, he also avoided spiritualizing them. For example, the humane laws in Deuteronomy 24 which make provision for the poor could be taken literally. But some

laws were spiritualized: the division between clean and unclean animals was taken to refer to avoiding the company of certain types of people (this is already found in *Barnabas*) and to the distinction between the Church on the one hand and Jews and heretics on the other.

Origen went to much greater lengths to champion the spiritual senses of the OT. Although laws such as "honor thy father and mother" were obviously to be taken literally, this was not true of the many parts of the law that seemed to be impracticable. Origen was also worried about contradictions in the OT, such as the creation of the light before the sun in Genesis 1. Since a book whose author was God could not be contrary to common sense, Origen concluded that Genesis 1 was not intended to be read literally. The same was true of passages in which God appeared to make immoral demands on his people, and of those which ascribed to him human passions and activities.

A remarkable side to Origen's work concerned his interest in textual criticism. Jews and Christians disagreed about the text of the OT. The Greek versions used by Christians contained passages such as "from the wood" in Ps 96:10, which clearly pointed to the crucifixion. The Hebrew lacked these phrases, and the Jews were accused of deliberately omitting them. Origen set out to establish the truth. In so doing, he became aware of the great differences between the Greek and Hebrew versions of Job and Jeremiah; and he caused to be compiled the *Hexapla*, which set out the Hebrew text together with four or more Greek versions.

The tendency of the Alexandrian scholars to allegorize the OT no doubt owed something to the influence of Greek and Jewish scholarship there, of which a notable example would be Philo (30 B.C.–A.D. 40). In Antioch, an opposite influence existed, that of literal and historical exegesis. The school of Antioch was represented from A.D. 169 by its bishop Theophilus. His *To Autolychus* marked out a chronology from the creation of the world to his own day, and Theophilus stressed that the OT was an authentic history of God's dealings with the Jewish nation. However, Theophilus believed that the Logos of John 1 had spoken through Moses and was the source of the light created in Genesis 1 before the sun. He also used parts of the OT law as guidance for Christian life.

A second phase of the school of Antioch produced Diodore of Tarsus (A.D. 378) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (ca. A.D. 350–428). Diodore's commentary on the Psalms interpreted Psalm 2 of Jesus and how the Jews handed him over to Herod and Pilate. Diodore rejected, however, the view that Psalm 22 referred to Christ's passion, because the sufferings described in the psalm did not correspond to those of Christ. Theodore seems to have excluded from the category of inspired books the Wisdom Literature and Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. In his commentary on the minor prophets, he interpreted prophecies in terms of Christ only if this had also been done in the NT; otherwise, he sought a historical reference for the prophecies. Thus, while Theodore accepted that Joel 2:28–32 predicted the outpouring of the Holy Spirit because it was quoted in Acts 2:17–21, he rejected the view that the words of Mic 4:2 ("for out of Zion shall go the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem") referred to Christ. Christ taught (John 4:21) that God did not require to be worshiped in a special place, while Mic 4:2 clearly referred to the reestablishment of Jewish law and worship in Jerusalem.

**D. Jerome and Augustine**

With Jerome (A.D. 331–420) and Augustine (A.D. 354–430), OT interpretation reached a high point that was not to be surpassed for the next 600 years. Jerome was a great linguist. Educated in Rome, he lived in a Greek-speaking household in Antioch until about A.D. 373, and he began to learn Hebrew around A.D. 374/5. From 386 to his death, he lived in Bethlehem, where he translated the OT from Hebrew into Latin and wrote philological works on the OT which remained standard works for centuries and became the main source of knowledge of OT Hebrew for many later interpreters. His commentaries, as opposed to his philological works, were influenced by Didymus the Blind, whom Jerome visited in Alexandria in A.D. 385. Didymus was a great exponent of spiritual meanings of the text, and this certainly affected Jerome. In his work on the Psalms, for example, he referred many details to Christ, such as the "holy hill" in Ps 3:4 from which God answers the psalmist. This could only mean the Son of God and the Church.

Augustine was no linguist; nor did he lead the life of a scholar-monk. He was a hard-pressed bishop; yet his works such as *On Christian Culture (de doctrina Christiana)* and the *City of God* made a profound

contribution to OT hermeneutics. The *City of God* is notable for the way in which it handles the history contained in the OT. This history is the story of the two cities—the heavenly and the earthly, or the city of God and that of the devil—which exist in the present world and affect a person's ultimate destiny. The distinction is worked out with great skill. The city of God does not simply equal Israel and the Church; in both Israel and the Church, good and bad and members of both cities are mingled. On the other hand, the difference between the cities can be seen clearly in the story. Cain and Abel, for example, show the cities of earth and God, respectively, with the former persecuting the latter. The idea of seeing the Bible as the struggle between two cities gives it a unity which cuts across the two Testaments, and minimizes the way in which the OT becomes subordinate to the NT. The OT becomes revelatory history, that is, a story from the past which gives a clue to the meaning of the present and the future.

Along with this grand design, Augustine wrestled with many problems presented by the text: for example, the creation of light before the sun, the extremely long lives of the heroes prior to the Flood, the existence of giants before the Flood, and the apparent immorality of Abraham and others (e.g., Abraham's fathering a child through his wife's servant). Augustine did not try to spiritualize these difficulties. The light created before the sun was the angels; the years lived before the Flood were normal years, as a close reading of the text indicated; the existence of giants could be proved from colossal ancient monuments; Abraham's extramarital activities were performed without lust, and could be excused but were not to be imitated. It is true that Augustine spiritualized from time to time; e.g., the door in the side of the ark is the wound made in the side of Christ. But what is impressive about Augustine is his positive reading of OT history. It is not simply information about the past; nor is it a set of veiled allusions to the future coming of Christ. It contains a dialectic which provides the clue for the understanding of the present in terms of the divine purpose.

**E. The 5th to the 15th Centuries**

During this millennium the Church suffered great losses which had their effect upon biblical scholarship. Christian North Africa was lost soon after the death of Augustine, while the triumph of Islam in the 7th century meant the loss of large parts of the eastern Roman Empire. Origen's *Hexapla*, which was kept at Caesarea, was lost when Palestine became Muslim. In Europe there were many upheavals. Learning was kept alive in the monasteries and, from the 12th century, in the cathedral schools, the forerunners of the universities.

An important preoccupation in this period was with the status of the Mosaic law. The *Apostolical Constitutions* (possibly earlier than this period) drew upon the OT priestly orders to justify the hierarchy of bishops, priests, and deacons. This text also distinguished between the laws given after the incident of the Golden Calf (Exodus 32) and those given before, e.g., the Ten Commandments and those in Exodus 21:1–23:19. The post–Exodus 32 laws were held to have been given to Israel following its apostacy in making the Golden Calf: they dealt with sacrifices and were not binding on Christians. However, laws made prior to Exodus 32 were binding if they were not ceremonial laws. A type of "dispensationalism" can also be found in the work of Cyril of Alexandria (bishop from A.D. 412 to 444), who divided the OT into five periods. The first three, those of Moses, Joshua, and the Judges, are "impure" for Christians. In the fourth period, that of the prophets, the law is "purified," as the need for mercy and not sacrifice is stressed. The fifth period is that of Christ, who completes the work of purifying and spiritualizing the law.

The issue of the Mosaic law again came to the fore in the 12th–13th centuries. The revival of interest in Hebrew, especially in the school of St. Victor in Paris, resulted in greater sympathy among interpreters for the literal and historical sense of the law. Also, the translation into Latin of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* (about A.D. 1220) made available a powerful and rational defense of the literal sense of the OT. William of Auverne's *De legibus* (about A.D. 1230) defended the literal sense on the ground that if this was impracticable or absurd (as Origen had maintained), then Moses had deceived his people. In fact, the laws, while abolished by the coming of Christ, were well suited to a simple people such as the Israelites. This was seen by some as an extreme position. In the *Tractatus* of John of La Rochelle (written sometime between 1228 and 1249), the spiritual and allegorical interpretation of the law was reasserted.

Aquinas (ca. 1225–1274) reconciled the literal and spiritual approaches to the Mosaic law in a masterly fashion. Like many commentators before him, he divided the laws into three categories: moral, ceremonial, and judicial. The moral laws (e.g., the Ten Commandments) contained the obligations of natural law and were thus binding upon all people. The ceremonial and judicial laws of the OT were particular applications of the natural law to the specific circumstances of ancient Israel. They were therefore not binding upon all people.

Aquinas defended the rationality of the very complicated details of the sacrificial laws. The animals specified were not used by other people for idolatry. They were also the cleanest available for providing food. Although God did not in Himself need the sacrifices, as the OT made clear (Ps 50:13), the sacrifices served to focus the minds of the Israelites upon God, and to prevent idolatry. However, Aquinas also allowed that the sacrifices had a spiritual sense that pointed to Christ (*Summa Theologiae* vol. 29, pp. 114–5). Furthermore, the OT ceremonies enabled the faithful Israelites to benefit from the saving work of Christ. Of course, they knew nothing of Christ, but their faith in God, which the Mosaic law made possible, linked them to the work of Christ.

Mention has already been made of the revival of interest in the study of Hebrew, especially in the school of St. Victor. This school was founded in Paris in 1100, and was famous for Hugh (died 1141) and Andrew (who taught there until 1147 and from 1155 to 1163). Their concern was with the literal and historical sense of the text. Thus, we find them reluctant to refer prophecies to the coming of Christ unless this had already been done in the NT. Andrew, for example, understood Isaiah 53 not in terms of Christ, but as referring to the Babylonian exile of the Jews. Also, he explored the possibility that God had not directly revealed the past to Moses, but that Moses had used traditions handed down orally and in writing from the time of Adam.

Another feature of OT interpretation in this period was the dispensationalism and apocalypticism of Joachim of Fiore (ca. 1135–1204). This approach embodied the complete triumph of the spiritual interpretation of the OT over the literal and historical interpretation. Joachim posited three ages, those of the Father (the OT), the Son (the NT), and the Spirit, and he saw many links between the two Testaments, in persons and institutions. Thus Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob corresponded to Zechariah, John the Baptist, and Christ. Also, these trios referred to the Trinity and to the three ages. Joachim's writings were to influence many generations of apocalyptists.

Another feature of this period was the use made of philosophy in OT interpretation. Aquinas was, of course, deeply influenced by the rediscovery of Aristotle and by the use of Aristotle in Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* (which Aquinas had studied). Abelard (1079–1142), on the other hand, had studied works such as Plato's *Timaeu*, from which he derived a framework within which he interpreted the Genesis account of creation. Thus, God had already ordered the world as an archetype through his reason before he created it. Also, the six days of creation represented six stages in the salvation history of mankind. Thus, the creation of light on day four signified the prophets who came after the law and who looked for the coming of Christ, while the creation of water creatures on day five looked forward to the renewal of those who received Christian baptism.

A quite different use of philosophy is apparent in the approach of Wycliffe. As a student of philosophy, he had been converted from nominalism to realism. Thus, he believed that the text of the Bible corresponded to what was true in the world and should be entirely in agreement with philosophical reasoning. If there were apparent contradictions in the OT, this was due to the ignorance of the interpreters. The names of things in the Bible, especially when studied via Greek and Hebrew, corresponded to metaphysical realities. In this way, Wycliffe developed his belief in the all-sufficiency of the Bible, and he then turned this belief against many aspects of the teaching of the Church of his day. However, Wycliffe's position was very different from that of Luther, even though both emphasized the all-sufficiency of Scripture.

During this period there developed the practice of copying the books of the OT together with glosses or *postilla.* The former were either in between the lines or in the margins, and the latter were blocks of commentary alternating with the text. The glosses and *postilla* were mainly citations from earlier

commentators, with Jerome, Augustine, Bede, and Gregory the Great prominent among them. Thus, the text was not read except in conjunction with these annotations drawn from the great interpreters. A famous compiler of *postilla* was Nicholas of Lyre (1270–1349). He was notable in that he drew upon Jewish as well as Christian commentators, and in particular upon the work of Rashi (Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes, died 1105). The latter's commentaries are among the most highly regarded within Judaism, and were made available to Christian interpreters via the collection of Nicholas.

**F. The Reformation**

At the end of the 15th century there was a revival of learning in Europe, accompanied by the dissemination of books thanks to the invention of the printing press. In 1506 there appeared the first Hebrew grammar written by a Christian, that of J. Reuchlin. This revival of learning paved the way for the Reformation, as did the commentary on the Psalms by Faber Stapulensis (ca. 1455–1536). The latter abandoned the medieval practice of dividing the meaning of Scripture into four senses—historical, christological, ethical, and mystical—and substituted two senses, a literal historical sense and a literal prophetic sense.

These developments form the background to the work of Martin Luther (1485–1546), the founder of the Reformation. His approach to the OT was complex. At one level, he championed the literal prophetic sense, and regarded as the key to the OT that which "leads to Christ." This did not mean that he necessarily read Christ arbitrarily into OT's pages; rather, where he saw God active on behalf of the people, or men and women responding in faith, or the nations being called upon to acknowledge God (as in the Psalms), there he saw the Gospel—and thus, implicitly, Christ. At the same time, Luther was not interested in parts of the OT where the Gospel was not apparent, i.e., in books such as Esther and in Joshua, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles. other schemes that Luther used as hermeneutical tools were those of Gospel and Law and of promise and fulfillment. The purpose of Law was to show the utter hopelessness of humankind without God, while Gospel was the total undeserved word of forgiveness and acceptance addressed to all people by God. Both Gospel and Law could be found in the OT where people were forgiven and responded to God in faith and hope. The dialectic of promise and fulfillment depended upon an analogy between Israel and the Church. The former looked forward to the coming of Christ, the latter to his coming again. Both communities therefore lived in the hope that God's promises would be fulfilled, and consequently the Church could learn much from the example of ancient Israel. Thus Luther found himself very much at home in the OT, and saw similarities between the situation of his own times and those of the OT. A favorite character of his was Samson, who had stood single-handedly against his enemies, and who, at the end of his life, had been granted abundant forgiveness by God in spite of his unfaithfulness. This was demonstrated by the return of his strength, with which he killed many enemies along with himself.

Luther's approach to the OT was intensely practical, and he had little time for abstract speculation. While he did not despise the study of the humanities and sciences as a means for attaining a better understanding of the world, he rejected metaphysical theological speculation. Commenting on Genesis, he maintained that all that was needed was to accept the existence of angels and the devil, and not to speculate about how their creation could be fitted into Genesis 1. He also refused to speculate about the metaphysical sense of humankind being created in the image of God: all that we needed to know was that, before the fall, the relationship of Adam and Eve with God was one that had no shame or sin. Since this was no longer the case, it was pointless to speculate about something beyond our experience. Luther believed that the fall had fundamentally altered the world from its original ideal to its present condition. Only the former had been considered "good" by God.

On the Mosaic law, Luther took a radical position. This law was not binding upon Christians. Even the Ten Commandments were not binding in their existing form, as indicated by the fact that the Church did not observe the Jewish Sabbath. Insofar as they were an expression of natural law they were binding, but not because they had been given by God to Moses. Luther's view of other moral or judicial laws of the OT was that they could be observed voluntarily if desired, but could not be demanded of Christians.

The greatest systematic commentator of the Reformation was John Calvin (1509–1564), who (except for a brief exile) worked in Geneva from 1536 until his death. His lectures and sermons were derived from his weekday and Sunday expositions of the Bible. His approach to the OT derived from his opposition to radical groups, such as Anabaptists on the one hand and Roman Catholics on the other. The former wanted to dispense with the OT altogether, while the latter, in Calvin's view, wanted to impose the ecclesiology of the OT upon the Church and its interpretation of Scripture. Calvin opposed both groups by insisting that the OT should be read in its historical and literal sense, but in the light of a hermeneutic that was supplied by the Reformation's understanding of Christianity. The Gospel was to be found in both Testaments; it was differently administered in the OT and not so apparent as in the NT; nevertheless, Christ was implicitly to be found in the OT because only through his saving work was reconciliation possible between God and humanity.

Calvin's commentaries lack the enormous profundity of Luther's ideas, but they are masterpieces of skillful exposition based upon secular and theological learning. In his commentary on Genesis, Calvin recognized the importance of the astronomy and physics of his day, and that the findings of those disciplines were at variance with Genesis 1. His view was that Genesis 1 was not a scientific account of the origin of the universe, but a description of it as visible to the naked eye of an Israelite: thus, according to Genesis 1, the moon was regarded as one of the two great lights, while astronomy showed that several of the planets were actually much larger than the moon.

Calvin's view of the OT law was more favorable toward its use by Christians than was the case with Luther. Indeed, this was generally true of the Reformed wing of the Reformation as a whole. In some writers this resulted in the almost wholesale reintroduction of the OT judicial law as binding upon Christians, while in Puritan circles the Christian Sunday was made to resemble the Jewish Sabbath.

An example of the rehabilitation of the OT judicial law can be found in the *De regno Christi* of the Strasbourg reformer Martin Bucer (1491–1551). This work was addressed to Edward VI of England. It took as its justification the reforming kings of the OT (such as Hezekiah and Josiah) and stressed the duty of the Christian monarch to order the life of the realm. The OT judicial laws, as the laws of God, were better than the laws of men; and although Bucer accepted that the circumstances of ancient Israel were different from those of 16th-century Europe, he nonetheless urged the following of OT precepts as strongly as he could. The king was to appoint magistrates, as Moses had done (Exod 18:21), and the death penalty was to be enforced for blasphemy, violating the Sabbath, adultery, rape, and giving false evidence.

Another Reformed approach to the OT was in terms of covenant theology, and can be found in the writings of the Zurich reformer Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575). According to this view, Christianity is not a new covenant so much as a renewal of the original covenant made by God with Adam, and renewed with Noah and Abraham. This covenant was in abeyance from the time of Moses to John the Baptist, although many worthwhile institutions and practices were established during this interregnum, such as the appointment of magistrates and judges. The conversion of Constantine enabled the "new" (i.e., original) covenant to be administered under the conditions intended by God, while the Reformation allowed a return to the Constantinian situation following the apostasy of the pre-Reformation Church. The Christian monarch, through the magistrates, was to effect a reform of schools, courts, and economic matters, according to God's law.

Another type of Reformed covenant theology envisaged two covenants: a covenant of works, which God made with Adam at creation, and a covenant of grace, made with Adam after the fall. The covenant of works was required by God of all people even though sin made it impossible to fulfill. This defect was coped with by the covenant of grace; it both removed believers from the condemning power of the law and gave grace to enable the law to be observed. Under this type of covenant theology, OT laws came into their own indicating how God wished human society and daily life to be ordered.

The Lutheran wing of the Reformation was gradually forced to adopt a more practical attitude to the OT law than was implied in Luther's position; yet the Lutherans continued to stress their fear of falling back into what they saw as the legalism of both Judaism and the Roman Catholics. Melanchthon's *Loci*

*communes*, first published in 1521, divided the Mosaic laws into the categories of moral, judicial, and ceremonial, and asserted that Christians were freed from obligation even to the moral laws. The OT laws remained, however, as guidelines to be adopted voluntarily by Christians; and Melanchthon did not conceal his preference for these laws over the laws of pagans or Roman Catholics. J. Gerhard (1582–1637) identified the Ten Commandments with the moral law, and in some areas under Lutheran influence the Commandments became the basis of civil legislation. Where the judicial law was concerned, some areas of Lutheranism preferred to adopt Roman law rather than OT judicial laws.

**G. Beginnings of Biblical Criticism**

Between 1640 and 1750 the bond between the OT and the NT was loosened to the point where the OT was no longer being interpreted according to hermeneutical schemes derived from the NT. This resulted in what is known as the "historical critical method." Its advent did not mean that scholars began for the first time to ask critical questions; they had been doing this for over a thousand years. The difference between the so-called "precritical" and "critical" eras lay in the way the critical questions were answered. For an Origen, critical questions were answered by recourse to allegorical interpretation, on the assumption that the OT in fact contained no errors or absurdities. An Augustine, who made the same basic assumption, would look for answers of a more rational and historical kind. But from the 1640s, scholars were more ready to say that the OT could be wrong or inconsistent, and that this did not matter since Christianity was based on the NT, of which the OT was mainly the background. Also in this period, traditional beliefs about the authorship of the books of the OT were challenged.

Much impetus for these new moves came from Holland, especially from circles loyal to Arminius. The *Annotata and Vetus Testamentum* of Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), published in Paris in 1644, advocated literal and historical interpretation solely in terms of the circumstances of the writers. Thus, the servant figure of Isaiah 53 was not Jesus, but Jeremiah. The OT law was set aside on the pragmatic grounds that it was archaic and incomplete (Grotius was a lawyer). Another important writer from Holland was the Jewish scholar Benedict Spinoza (1634–1677). His *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1679) argued that the author of the Pentateuch was not Moses but Ezra. Ezra was also the probable writer of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings. Even so, the twelve books, Genesis to 2 Kings, were left incomplete by Ezra and were completed by later revisers, Chronicles had been written some time after 164 B.C. Spinoza pointed out many inconsistencies in the OT, and excused himself on the grounds that he wanted to focus attention on the many clear and uncorrupted passages, whose value was not at all affected by the fact that there were apparently faults in the OT.

An unexpected contribution to critical scholarship came from Catholic France, in the form of Richard Simon's *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (1678). This work argued strongly for a new translation of the OT based upon a critical edition of the Hebrew text; it was also an attack on Protestants, who were accused of basing their faith on a book whose text was in some parts lost or corrupted. Simon rejected many traditional views of the authorship of OT books. They had not been written by inspired individuals such as Moses, Joshua, Samuel, or David, but had been compiled by scribal schools. Simon's belief that a scholar could have freedom to investigate such matters critically so long as he accepted the teaching authority of the Catholic Church was not shared by his ecclesiastical superiors.

In England, the move toward critical scholarship came partly as a reaction against the Reformed view that a Christian king had the duty to order the affairs of the nation. For those who disliked such things as the Anglican attempt to make it compulsory to worship God according to the rites of the Book of Common Prayer, one method of opposition was to attack the OT model which sustained this view of the duty of the Christian king. This could be done by pointing out the immorality of David and the failings of Solomon. Further, the complex phenomenon of Deism went a long way toward diminishing the authority of the OT. Deism accepted the primacy of reason in matters of truth and faith, and believed in a universal religion of one God, the importance of good works, and immortality for the upright. Such a view found many parts of the OT to be barbaric and immature.

In Lutheran Germany, critical scholarship arose out of pietism, a religious movement that stressed individual experience at the expense of Reformation doctrine. At the University of Halle, itself a pietist

foundation, the philosopher Christian Wolff stressed Leibniz' distinction between the necessary truths of reason and the contingent truths of history. This distinction had unpromising implications for the OT, given that so much of its witness was expressed via historical narratives. A scholar who was profoundly influenced by Wolff was S. J. Baumgarten (1706–1757). Although he believed that the OT was free from historical and other errors, he maintained that this conclusion had to be justified by scholarly research, not by appeal to inspiration. His pupil, J. S. Semler (1725–1791), took a different view. Basing his ideas upon what he believed to be Luther's position—that the purpose of the Bible was to assure believers that God had graciously accepted them—Semler felt able to handle matters of authorship freely and critically. Theologically, he valued only those parts of the OT that mirrored the spirit of the NT.

**H. From 1750 to 1890**

As critical and free inquiry into the authorship of OT books gathered momentum, there was established in Protestant Germany a body of critical scholars whose findings laid the foundation for modern scholarship. J. D. Michaelis (1717–1791) was, like Semler, a student of Baumgarten. He published many papers on the social world of ancient Israel and was especially well known for his *Commentaries on the Law of Moses* (1770–1775). J. C. Döderlein (1746–1792) is usually credited with the suggestion that Isaiah chaps. 40–55 were written not by the 8th-century Jerusalem prophet but by a 6th-century prophet-in-exile in Babylon. J. G. Eichhorn (1752–1827) studied under Michaelis and developed the Documentary Hypothesis of the composition of the Pentateuch along lines already indicated in 1753 by J. Astruc. Eichhorn published the first modern *Introduction to the Old Testament* in 1780–1785.

J. P. Gabler (1753–1826) delivered an inaugural lecture in Altdorf in 1785, which is usually held to mark the emergence of biblical theology as a discipline freed from the shackles of dogmatic theology. The task of biblical theology, according to Gabler, was to describe the history and development of theological ideas in the Bible, selecting those ideas that could command acceptance. This was a far cry from seeing the OT as providing proof texts for already-established dogmatic positions, and reflects the growing interest in the study of the development of OT religion.

In the 19th century, Protestant Germany greatly extended the lead that it had built up over other countries in the matter of critical scholarship. Britain and America were to accept critical scholarship only reluctantly from Germany. In both countries the Unitarians would be in the vanguard of critical scholarship, and in both countries critical OT scholars would face heresy trials before the century was out.

A turning point was reached in OT interpretation with the publication in 1806–1807 of the *Contributions to Old Testament Introduction*, by W. M. L. de Wette (1780–1849). De Wette was the first scholar to use criticism to put forward a view of the history of Israelite religion that was radically at variance with the picture presented in the OT itself. De Wette demonstrated that the books of Chronicles were dependent upon Samuel and Kings, and that the picture of Israelite religion contained in these latter books was at variance with the view that Moses had instituted a fully fledged sacrificial and priestly system. De Wette argued that Moses had instituted very little, that religion in the early monarchy lacked a centralized cult and priesthood, and that the fully developed Mosaic system owed much to the impetus of Josiah's cultic centralization and to his enforcement of the newly discovered Book of the Law (622 B.C.).

The position advocated by de Wette was taken up by scholars such as W. Gesenius (1786–1842), the father of the modern study of Hebrew grammar and lexicography, and it was further developed by C. P. W. Gramberg (1797–1830), J. F. L. George (1811–1873), and W. Vatke (1806–1882). Vatke's *Biblical Theology* of 1835 acknowledged its debt to the philosophy of Hegel, but it was nevertheless a deeply critical work which drew attention to problems raised by the OT text. Like de Wette, Vatke found little to attribute to Moses. Unlike him, however, Vatke saw the development of Israelite religion continuing through the Persian period. For de Wette, the postexilic religion of Israel was a falling away into "Judaism."

The triumph of the de Wettian view was prevented by a resurgence of Lutheran orthodoxy and neoconservativism that came to the fore from the 1830s, and was spearheaded by E. W. Hengstenberg (1802–1869). Hengstenberg worked in Berlin and was increasingly able to ensure that anticritical scholars were appointed in universities under the control of Prussia. De Wette's views were also opposed by H.

Ewald (1803–1875), who was himself a critical scholar but who believed that much more of Israel's earliest history could be recovered than de Wette had supposed. Ewald produced, in 1843–1848, the first modern history of Israel, and he interpreted the patriarchal narratives as evidence for the movements of the tribes and subtribes that later constituted Israel. De Wette's criticism was also opposed by the Erlangen scholar J. C. K. Hofmann (1810–1877). He believed that biblical history was *Heilsgeschichte*, that is, the privileged account of God's direct interventions into human affairs via Israel. As such, biblical history was not open for critical study and could only be understood by those who had experienced new birth through the Church's proclamation of the Gospel.

From the late 1860s, the tide began to run in favor of the de Wettian position. His work on Chronicles was more or less reproduced in K. H. Graf's *The Historical Books of the Old Testament* (1866), while B. Duhm's *The Theology of the Prophets* (1875) stressed the importance of the prophets in the development of Israelite religion. It was left to J. Wellhausen (1844–1918) to bring together the various threads to produce a brilliant synthesis in his *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (1883, 1st edition 1878). He drew upon the results of the Documentary Hypothesis in its newer form to correlate the presumed sources with differing eras of Israel's religious history. Thus, the J (Jahwist) and E (Elohist) documents of the early monarchy reflected the period of freedom in Israel's religion, when there was no centralized cult or priesthood. D (Deuteronomy) was the law book discovered in Josiah's reign that was written in the 7th century and became the basis for Josiah's centralization. P (Priestly Code) was written after the Exile, when Israel's religion had become the levitical and sacrificial system ascribed (wrongly) to Moses. From then on, OT interpretation could not avoid the Wellhausen synthesis, whether it accepted it or not.

In Britain, the Wellhausen position was accepted cautiously in the 1880s. The ground for its acceptance had been prepared by *Essays and Reviews* in 1860, in which seven essays by prominent members of the Church of England had welcomed critical scholarship of the Ewald type. From 1862 to 1879, J. W. Colenso, bishop of Natal, published a series of volumes on OT criticism that became increasingly competent, and which advocated a late (postexilic) date for the composition of the levitical and sacrificial material. The most brilliant advocate of German criticism, and of the Wellhausen position, was the Scot W. Robertson Smith. He was a fervent evangelical and believed that critical scholarship was the true product and continuation of the Reformation. His superiors in the Free Church of Scotland disagreed, and, after a heresy trial, Smith was dismissed in 1881 from his post in Aberdeen. His *Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1881), written to justify his position in the face of the heresy charge, remains a classic. The Wellhausen position triumphed in Britain in 1891 with the publication of S. R. Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament.*

In the United States, German critical works were made known by Moses Stuart, a professor at Andover Seminary, in Massachusetts, from 1812, and by Theodore Parker, who translated de Wette's Old Testament introduction in 1843. Two prominent scholars, C. A. Briggs of Union Seminary, New York, and H. P. Smith of Lane Seminary, Cincinnati, were subjected to heresy trials in the 1890s. However, from the 1890s critical scholars on both sides of the Atlantic were joined together in two important projects: the Hebrew lexicon of Brown, Driver, and Briggs and the *International Critical Commentary*, to which Driver, Briggs, and Smith were contributors.

**I. From 1890 to the Present**

Opposition to the Wellhausen synthesis took two main forms that can be loosely described as "outflanking" and "confrontation." The "outflanking" drew upon the Assyriological materials that became ever more abundant from the 1870s. These not only brought to life at first hand the great empires of Assyria and Babylon, but they also settled once and for all the dispute between scientists and conservative biblical scholars about the scientific accuracy of the opening chapters of Genesis. This dispute had begun in the 1820s when geologists claimed that the world was much older than the 6,000 years implied by Archbishop Ussher's chronology, and it had received new life following publication of Darwin's *The Origin of Species* in 1859. Assyriological discoveries in the 1870s indicated that the OT account of creation and the flood had much in common with the traditions of neighboring peoples. The possibility of interpreting the OT in the light of Babylonian and Assyrian texts, combined with the form critical studies

pioneered by H. Gunkel (which went behind the sources J and E to the individual units of narrative and their presumed social setting), produced a new synthesis which was championed by Scandinavian scholarship and accepted warmly by some British scholars.

A landmark in this new synthesis was the publication of S. Mowinckel's Psalm studies from 1921 to 1924. The synthesis concentrated upon the role of the king in the Jerusalem cult, in the light of the Babylonian New Year Festival. It stressed the importance of this festival for Israelite belief in the universal kingship of the God of Israel, his power as creator, and his ultimate victory over evil. Whereas the Wellhausen synthesis regarded the prophets as the creators of Israelite religion at its best, the cultic approach looked to the worship of the Jerusalem temple during the monarchy as the fountainhead, and even sought to subordinate the prophets to the Jerusalem cult. Wellhausen was accused of having ignored or overlooked the importance of the Assyriological material.

A similar charge was brought against Wellhausen by those who "confronted" him. Here, the protagonists were the American scholars who, under the leadership of W. F. Albright, believed that Palestinian archaeology together with Assyriology vindicated many of the details of the patriarchal traditions, as well as the biblical accounts of the Exodus and the conquest of Canaan. Their charge against the Wellhausen synthesis was that it was based purely on the literary criticism of the OT, and ignored the findings of Assyriology and archaeology.

The 20th century saw new developments in the study of OT theology. In the 19th century this had been undertaken either by the imposition of the categories of Systematic Theology upon the OT, or in terms of the history of Israelite religion. For a time in the 20th century, it seemed impossible to write more than a history of Israelite religion, given the evident similarities not only between the OT and the religion of Israel's neighbors but also between the OT and the religion of "primitive" peoples studied by anthropologists. However, the theological climate following World War I was that of a new orthodoxy that challenged the liberalism of the preceding decades. Further, the attempt of Nazi "Christians" in Germany to dispense with the OT called for a passionate defense of its distinctiveness.

In American scholarship, a new type of biblical theology developed from the Albright school. Convinced that archaeology vindicated the substantial historical accuracy of the OT, this approach saw in the acts of God, especially in the Exodus, a direct intervention of God into the affairs of Israel. This intervention had stamped upon the OT witness to the acts of God a uniqueness which biblical theology was supposed to elucidate. This uniqueness even extended to the grammatical and linguistic features of biblical Hebrew, so that the study of key OT concepts gave access to God's revelation to his people. G. E. Wright's *God Who Acts: Biblical Theology as Recital* (1952) is a fine statement of some of the points made in this paragraph.

In German-speaking scholarship, two approaches emerged. The Swiss scholar W. Eichrodt adopted in his *Old Testament Theology* (1933–1939) the simple idea that the organizing principle of the OT was the covenant between God and Israel. This covenant was the practical expression of the "irruption of the Kingship of God into this world and its establishment here," and it became the interpretative principle in terms of which Israel understood and expressed its history. The other approach in German-speaking scholarship was that of G. von Rad, whose *Old Testament Theology* of 1957–1960 was influenced by M. Noth's studies of the growth of tradition. Von Rad shared some of Noth's historical skepticism about the possibility of reconstructing the foundational events of Israel's faith, such as the Exodus. Instead, he focused upon OT traditions as confessions of faith in God, arising from communal celebrations of that faith. Israel's confession of faith took several different forms, and had to adapt to changing historical circumstances; thus, von Rad's *Theology* was a historical study of the rise and development of Israel's witness to faith as embodied in the Yahwistic, Deuteronomic, Priestly, and prophetic traditions.

Von Rad's was essentially a descriptive, historical, and genetic way of reading the OT. In the 1960s there arose a synchronic way of reading it. This was indebted to structuralism, a movement which had been slowly influencing linguistics, and which began to shape OT studies as scholars turned to these disciplines for new insights.

In 1961, James Barr's *Semantics of Biblical Language* attacked, among other things, one of the central ideas of the Biblical Theology Movement: that Hebrew linguistic structures were privileged vehicles for communicating divine reality. Barr showed that it was a mistake to understand Hebrew words always in terms of their supposed etymological "roots," that usage in context had to be studied, and that the basic unit of meaning was not words but sentences and larger aggregates of text.

At about the same time, the social anthropologist E. R. Leach was applying to the OT the structuralist reading of myths pioneered by the French anthropologist C. Levi Strauss. This involved denying to biblical texts any historical value, and reading them as "codes" whose meanings were expressed by the structural opposition within them. So understood, biblical texts were explorations of the problem of Israel's unique status versus its need to participate in cultural, economic, and social relationships with surrounding nations. In itself, structural anthropology made only a short-lived impact upon OT studies; but it prepared the ground for the arrival of literary structuralism, and for the study of the Bible in the light of literary theory.

This movement, which is in essence ahistorical, is concerned not with the world *behind* the text but with the world *within* the text. It is sometimes hostile to the attempt to discover the original intentions of the biblical writers, or to interpret biblical literature in its original historical and social setting. At its worst, it can result in totally subjective and idiosyncratic readings of OT texts. At its best, it can discover features in texts which, whether or not intended by the biblical writers, greatly illumine the encounter between text and readers.

A movement which, on the face of it, has totally conflicting aims with literary readings is that which employs modern social and anthropological theory to rediscover the social world of ancient Israel. This is, in effect, a renewal of long-established goals in OT studies with the help of more powerful and sophisticated methods. These include ethnoarchaeology, which investigates the settlement patterns, ecosystems, and economic geography of earliest Israel, and comparative studies of social and political systems of the ancient and modern worlds with a view to the better understanding of Israel's social organization and development. A massive, although controversial, contribution to this discussion has been Norman Gottwald's *The Tribes of Yahweh* (1979). There have also been valuable studies of the social dimensions of Israelite prophecy.

The apparent contradictory aims of literary and sociological approaches to the OT are indications of a methodological pluralism that has come to dominate the discipline in the past two decades, although in some cases special interests have brought an uneasy uniting of these divergent approaches. For example, women's studies have become a burgeoning field within OT study. In some instances, these have been sociological investigations of, for example, the role of women in the economy of ancient Israel. In other cases they have been purely literary, involving the reading of narratives from a feminist or female standpoint. The use of the OT by the liberation theologians of Latin America and southern Africa has put another set of ideas into the agenda. The very assumption that academics living in secure positions in the wealthy countries of the world can be authentic interpreters of the OT has been challenged; only the poor and the oppressed, it has been claimed, can hear in the OT the authentic voice of the God who liberated his people from actual physical slavery.

While the literary and sociological movements have engaged the energies of their proponents, there has also emerged a new attempt to see the OT theologically. This is the canonical approach expressed in B. S. Childs' *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture.* In some ways, this is almost the negation of von Rad's descriptive account of the history of Israel's narrative witness to faith. Instead of tracing how the traditions, as witnesses to faith, changed and developed over the centuries, the canonical approach as advocated by Childs is concerned with the canonical form of the text. And this is more than simply a literary final-form reading of the text. There is a "canonical intentionality" which can be discerned from the final form and which then provides guidance for a theological interpretation of texts. For example, whatever may have been the use made of the psalms in the preexilic cult in Israel, the book of Psalms in its canonical form knows little or nothing of those situations. The canonical intentionality of the collection as a whole is indicated by psalms such as Psalms 1 and 119, which imply that the psalms are to be used

for meditation, and that what were originally words of worshippers addressed to God have become the word of God to worshippers. Although Childs has been heavily criticized, his approach has gained many adherents, and attempts have begun to anchor it in contemporary hermeneutical theory.

Childs' approach indicates clearly what has happened to OT interpretation since the link that bound it to the NT was snapped in the 17th and 18th centuries. If it is to be interpreted theologically, then the OT itself must provide the categories for such interpretation; but the "discovery" of these categories will be guided and shaped by concerns and movements in the arts and humanities in general.

J. W. ROGERSON

## *HISTORY OF BIBLICAL HERMENEUTICS*

The discipline that considers the theory of interpretation is usually called "hermeneutics." The concern of this article is to outline the principles of biblical interpretation and their historical development, thus to provide a systematic and historical discussion of biblical hermeneutics.

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### A. The Need for Biblical Hermeneutics

Every act of text understanding operates, consciously or unconsciously, with a number of presuppositions. Text hermeneutics reflects not only on these general presuppositions of reading but also on more specific reader orientations, such as expectations of the text content, attitudes toward the communicative perspective of the text, attribution of authority to the text (e.g., the "sacredness" of a biblical text), and suspicion over against the text's claims. Hermeneutical reflection is conscious of the fact that every act of text understanding is characterized by a twofold "hermeneutical circle": the whole of a text can only be understood by understanding its parts, and vice versa, and every reader approaches a text with a certain preunderstanding which will be either confirmed or challenged in the act of reading.

It is the sign of *critical* text understanding that in every group or institution the general methodological presuppositions and the specific orientations of readers are discussed in a public theoretical discourse. In view of the particular hermeneutical implications of biblical interpretation, such a critical discourse (in which the modes and motivations of text understanding are reflected and which aims at improving human text understanding) has been developed and promoted by both Jewish and Christian thinkers. Here we refer to theoretical statements on biblical interpretation from both traditions, to their interrelatedness, to their historical development, and to their significance for the religious and academic communities involved.

### B. Development of Biblical Hermeneutics until Schleiermacher

**1. Greek Influence on Jewish and Christian Hermeneutics.** There was, of course, a rich Jewish interpretive praxis long before Israelite hermeneutics met with the emerging Greek interpretation theory. The texts of the Hebrew Scriptures themselves witness to a number of ways of appropriating ancient texts in new contexts (liturgical, personal, social, political, etc.). In Israel, the appropriation of ancient religious writings was generally linked with particular religious persons or institutions, such as Moses, the Levites, the prophets, and the kings. These authorities were charged with the development of an authoritative interpretation of the texts of the Hebrew Scriptures in changing historical circumstances. Especially the texts proclaiming God's law (the Torah) needed to be understood and explained in order to be able to function as instructions for the people of God. The records of such appropriations point to the urgency of questions such as these: How can one arrive at a proper understanding of a text? How can one use a biblical text in order to solve nonbiblical questions? How many meanings does a text have, and how can we locate the proper one? In response to these questions, sets of hermeneutical principles have emerged which were meant to facilitate the exegetical task of the individual interpreter within the community. These principles always comprised both a philological approach to the text and the broader existential-theological interpretation of the text's sense in particular historical circumstances. See also PESHARIM, QUMRAN; TARGUM, TARGUMIM.

Similarly, the emerging Christian movement had to come to terms with the problem of biblical understanding. Respecting the same texts as authoritative as the Jews did, the Christians were faced with the question of whether their particular set of religious experiences concerning the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ necessitated a new interpretive praxis. The Torah, for instance, continued to be a sacred text for the early Christians, but it was now understood in the light of Jesus of Nazareth's proclamation of God's reign, and thus was somewhat relativized in its authority. Some NT texts display a pneumatic approach toward the texts of the Hebrew Scriptures, spirited by the belief that in Jesus Christ the prophecies given to Israel and recorded in the Hebrew Scriptures were fulfilled (see Matt 1:22–23); other texts make use of such a prophecy-fulfillment scheme by identifying types in the OT which correspond to Jesus Christ (e.g., the Adam-Christ correlation in Romans 5). Apart from these new hermeneutical moves which resulted from the particular experiences of the people who gave rise to the NT texts, the NT not surprisingly attests to the fact that its originally Jewish authors worked within the tradition of rabbinic text understanding (see below).

The critical and systematic reflection on the process of biblical understanding as such began to develop in Hellenistic Judaism, particularly in such centers of learning as Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, where Greek thought and the needs of Jewish (and later Christian) interpretive praxis had met. Greek reflection on interpretation theory resulted in the development of proper modes of reading the foundational texts of Greek society, i.e., Homer's epics. Two schools had emerged in Hellenistic literary criticism: the grammatical-literal and the allegorical reading of texts. The first hermeneutical program, adopted by the theological school of Antioch, aimed at retrieving the "literal" meaning of the Homeric texts. "Literal" referred to the sense of the words which the interpreters understood as obviously intended by the text's author. The second hermeneutical program, defended by the Alexandrian School of theology, aimed at disclosing the meaning behind the text, namely, the deeper sense to which the words refer. This method emerged in response to the contradiction which existed between the authority of the Homeric texts and the ethos of a later generation of interpreters. Where the literal sense appeared to open such gaps, the search for a deeper or a hidden sense could bridge these gaps and thus rehabilitate the classical author from any suspicion of immorality, etc.

The allegorical method was applied to biblical interpretation and further developed by the Jewish scholar Philo of Alexandria. Philo argued for the necessity of an extratextual key through which the hidden sense of the biblical text could be unlocked. Moreover, the allegorical method proved to be the best way of preserving the sacredness and integrity of the biblical text against any critique of the Bible's crude or apparently nonsensical passages (esp. those which spoke of God in an anthropomorphic manner). Thus, the allegorical method must be seen as serving a particular set of theological convictions.

**2. Principles of Rabbinic Interpretation.** While it is not possible to measure precisely the amount of Greek influence on rabbinic interpretation theory before and after the destruction of the temple, it is more essential to note that both Greek and Jewish interpreters were united by a similar goal, namely, to understand and apply their classical but ancient texts in new cultural, linguistic, ethical, political, social, and economic contexts. Thus, hermeneutical similarities may have emerged not only because of geographical and cultural affinities, but also because of the similar necessities of interpretive practice.

The destruction of the temple generated a new hermeneutical challenge in Judaism: when this unique means of mediating the past and the present of Israelite religion was annihilated, the now canonical Scriptures came to represent more than ever before the spiritual essence of Jewish identity. Now, rabbinic interpreters were faced with a religious, linguistic, and social situation which required a sophisticated process of appropriating the Torah (i.e., the legal parts of the Hebrew Scriptures) in an alien world. The written law, however, did not provide all the answers required by the changing external and internal circumstances of Jewish religious existence. In this context, the Midrashim (the oral derivations and applications of the written Torah) developed. Different sets of principles, normally referred to as Heb *middôt,* emerged which guided the Midrashic interpreter in his difficult task. The best known among these hermeneutical principles are the seven rules associated with Rabbi HILLEL THE ELDER (ca. 20 B.C.–15 C.E.) and the thirteen rules of Rabbi ISHMAEL (see below). These rules themselves became the object of much hermeneutical discussion and were then amended accordingly. They concerned the possibility of deriving certain "oral" laws from one or more biblical passages with the help of logical procedures. It was necessary to demonstrate the biblical origins of any such "oral" law. Thus, the canonical, i.e., closed, written law was opened to new and unforeseen applications. The measure of "adequacy" in such applications, however, was not what we today would name historical accuracy; rather, it related to particular interpretive expectations and convictions which often had only some literal connection in the actual text. The differences in interpretative method can be seen from a look at the debate between two rabbis in the 2d century C.E., when the foundations for the new rabbinic praxis of biblical interpretation were laid. While Rabbi AKIBA favored a more creative approach to the biblical texts, Rabbi Ishmael insisted that the texts of the Torah must be interpreted according to traditional rules, i.e., an amended version of Rabbi Hillel's compendium. The difference between both approaches has been also interpreted as a reflection of the rabbis' different concepts of philological and theological thinking: Akiba was more mystically oriented, and Ishmael was more philologically oriented.

As far as the nonlegal texts in the Bible, the Haggadah, were concerned, rabbinic hermeneutics was much more open to a diversity of creative readings. Any aspect of the text could provide the foundation for a sophisticated interpretive treatment and application on a new context in the life of the faithful. The various interpretations of a passage were then collected in authoritative sources such as the Talmud and used not only in liturgical contexts but also as information for future interpreters. See also HERMENEUTICS, EARLY RABBINIC.

**3. Early Christian Hermeneutics.** In the early Church, the debate on the proper method of biblical interpretation resembled the outlined divisions in Greek and Jewish hermeneutics: Alexandrian Christian theologians such as Origen (d. 254) defended the allegorical method, whereas Antiochene theologians such as Diodorus of Tharsus (d. 394), Theoderet of Cyrrhus (d. 460), Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428), and Chrysostom (d. 407) protested against the allegorical "misuse" of the biblical texts and declared the literal reading to be the only proper method of biblical appropriation.

It is important for us today to appreciate the foundational nature of this hermeneutical debate. The rather philological orientation of Antiochene theology implied a basic openness toward a critical assessment of the content of each biblical text within the emerging biblical canon. The Song of Songs, for instance, was classified as an ancient wedding song without any theological significance. Hence, the Antiochene exegetes approached each text as a meaningful whole, while their Alexandrian colleagues viewed each biblical text as part of the overall body of sacred writings, i.e., the canon. The allegorical method made it easy for them to raise every text passage above philological suspicion and theological critique. However, both hermeneutical camps agreed that the Hebrew Scriptures ought to be approached typologically. That

means, many of the biblical texts were assumed to contain already a *typus* of Christ (e.g., texts such as Amos 9:11–12 were interpreted typologically as pointing to the coming Christ). Thus, even the anti-allegorical theologians allow to some extent for the existence of a double meaning in the biblical text. Eventually, the allegorical method developed into the leading approach to the Bible in the early Church, both East (Greek) and West (Latin), while the Antiochene approaches which promoted a literal or historical reading of the Bible (such as Theodore's five books *Adversus Allegoricos*) disappeared altogether. But the influence of Antiochene hermeneutics would eventually re-emerge, especially in the Protestant Reformation (see B.6 below).

The leading allegorist in the early Church was ORIGEN. In the fourth and final book of his theological work *Peri Archon (On First Principles)*, he addressed the problems of interpretation theory. *Theoria* meant for him allegory (for the Antiochenes *theoria* referred to the literal approach). Since the Scriptures contained the ultimate mystery of divine-human relationship, Origen considered the allegorical method to be the only adequate approach to these texts. It alone could provide the key to unlock the hidden sense of the texts so far as this was possible at all. Although in his theory, Origen distinguished between three dimensions of the textual sense (literal, moral, and spiritual), in his exegetical praxis he distinguished only between two levels of meaning (the "letter" and the "spirit"). It is also interesting to note that in spite of his allegorical orientation in exegesis, Origen must be counted among the most influential philologists in the early Church. He was thoroughly involved in text criticism and in the comparison of different traditions of textual variants (as evidenced by his *Hexapla*). This shows that the search for the most trustworthy textual traditions and a wholly allegorical approach to the text, thus critically retrieved, did not exclude each other.

Allegorical interpretation also proved useful in the fight against the gnostic heresy. Many gnostics employed a method of allegorical exegesis, or allegoresis. Church fathers, such as Irenaeus of Lyons (d. ca. 202), fought against this gnostic allegoresis while using their own allegorical "keys" in order to expose the gnostic "keys" as false or heretical. The fight against gnostic hermeneutics also led to the formation of ecclesiastical criteria which were to determine the adequacy of any particular exegesis: only those theologians who interpret the Bible from within the Church could hope to do justice to the texts.

The further development of Christian hermeneutical thought was mainly the work of Jerome and Augustine of Hippo. Jerome (ca. A.D. 347–420), generally known for his revision of the Latin text of the Bible (later called the Vulgate), favored the literal exegesis as practiced in the School of Antioch, where he once had been a student. Although in principle he recognized the legitimacy of spiritual interpretation of the Scriptures, he insisted that such spiritual reading must be firmly based on the literal understanding of the text. His own biblical commentaries displayed fewer and fewer allegorical moves as he grew older. He, too, used Origen's philological contributions, especially the *Hexapla*, in his own efforts to work out a proper textual basis for the literal interpretation of the Bible. Jerome's strong emphasis on literal interpretation makes him one of the forerunners of the growing interest in literal understanding of the Scriptures in later medieval hermeneutics.

While Jerome's contribution to the development of biblical hermeneutics has always been well appraised, the significance of the hermeneutical thought of Augustine of Hippo (354–430) and his influence on medieval theology have not always received adequate attention. In his work *De Doctrina Christiana* (427), we can see the mature development of Augustine's theological hermeneutics. Augustine's great achievement in the hermeneutical field lay, first, in his effort to combine both Antiochene and Alexandrian concerns for the benefit of the Christian community, and, second, in his semiotic reflections on which his own hermeneutics was based. For Augustine, the Bible fulfilled a communicative function: it enlightened the reader about God's salvific activity in the world. Thus, the biblical texts themselves are only significant for the Christian reader because of the realities to which they refer. The insight that signs are not what they refer to but rather operate as signifiers motivated Augustine to study the best ways of decoding what the signs constituting the biblical texts wish to say. So far one can see Antiochene influence. But unlike the Antiochene interpreters, Augustine in his own hermeneutics presupposed the christological content and the canonical integrity of the biblical texts as well as the

ecclesial rootedness of their interpreter. Moreover, he concluded from his own biblical reading that the Bible is about faith, hope, and love: "A person who bases his life firmly on faith, hope and love, thus, needs the Scriptures only in order to teach others. Therefore we may find many people who live on this basis even without sacred texts" (*De Doc. Christ.* 1, 43). Hence, the need for intense philological study of these texts and for the interpretive effort was somewhat relativized, and a theological framework for allegorical, and especially for typological, reading was established. However, Augustine repeatedly warned against the excesses of allegorical text interpretation. Therefore, it would be wrong to count Augustine among the propagators of an uncritical allegorical method in biblical interpretation. As Bonner (*CHB* 1: 561) observes, the influence of Augustine on the later biblical exegesis of the Latin Middle Ages was enormous. With Jerome, Gregory the Great, and the Venerable Bede, he was one of the four great authorities, and would probably have been reckoned the greatest of the four.

In spite of Augustine's warnings against an uncontrolled allegorical reading of the Bible, the particular form of allegorical interpretation which was originally advanced by John Cassianus in the 5th century became very prominent in medieval theology. Cassianus had proposed a fourfold theory of interpretation. Following Origen, he distinguished between literal and spiritual interpretation, but then subdivided spiritual interpretation more sharply into (1) tropological (= moral), (2) allegorical, and (3) anagogical (= future-oriented) interpretation. However, occasionally this fourfold scheme was reduced to a triad, and in actual exegetical praxis we still often observe only the classical twofold distinction between literal and spiritual interpretation.

**4. Medieval Jewish Hermeneutics.** There was no one single center of Jewish hermeneutics after the destruction of the temple. By the medieval period, Jewish hermeneutics was characterized by local and theoretical diversity. In some parts of the world, especially in the Orient and in Spain, many Jewish thinkers adopted Arabic as their language (note the translation of the Bible into Arabic by Saadiah Gaon [882–942]) and also Arabic concerns of text interpretation; in other parts, such as France, Jewish teachers employed Hebrew as their language and were much more involved in an exchange with Christian approaches to the Scriptures.

The influence of the more Arabic strand within medieval Jewish hermeneutics can be seen in the very strong rejection of allegorical interpretation and the cultivation of literal reading and its philological presuppositions. The encounter with Arabic philosophy and the Arabic retrieval of Aristotelian thinking have also promoted an attempt to explain the Torah in more rational terms. Moreover, Arabic interest in poetry strengthened the sensitivity of Jewish interpreters for the respective passages of their own Scriptures. Philological studies, including grammar, lexicography, etymology, and accentuation, blossomed, particularly in Spain; while in France, a more traditional rabbinic hermeneutics was employed in text interpretation.

Among the outstanding representatives of medieval Jewish hermeneutics in Spain were Abraham ibn Ezra (1092–1167) and Moses ben Maimon, called Maimonides (1135–1204). Ibn Ezra approached the biblical texts through a combination of sophisticated philological methods and traditional rabbinic rules; while Maimonides interpreted the Bible through categories of Aristotelian metaphysics, stressing the human (linguistic) mode of Bible transmission, and thus arrived at some form of "demythologization." In France, Solomon ben Isaac, called Rashi (1040–1105), favored a literal reading of the biblical texts, claiming that the biblical text does not depart from its plain meaning. Rashi's very popular biblical commentary became the first Hebrew book printed in Italy (1475). His work had a profound influence on the School of St. Victor in Paris and thus on the whole of medieval Christian hermeneutics.

The struggles of medieval Jewish exegetes resembled those of their Christian counterparts. Both groups attempted to come to terms on the one hand with the problems of literal and allegorical understanding of their sacred texts, and with the relationship between philological and philosophical methods, and on the other with traditional forms of sacred or mystical reading.

**5. Medieval Christian Hermeneutics.** In the early medieval period, i.e., from the 6th to the 8th centuries, the development of biblical interpretation was the work mainly of monks. At that time, the exegetical praxis in the medieval Christian church was dominated by allegorical methods. Gregory the

Great (ca. 540–604) was a master of this approach to the Bible and one of the chief illustrators of the advantage of allegoresis. Like other medieval interpreters, he compared the act of reading the Bible with the building of a house: upon the historical foundation we erect the walls with the help of our spiritual reading, and then we color the whole structure by the grace of moral teaching (Brinkmann 1980: 231–34). Thus, for Gregory, biblical interpretation reached a state of perfection when it led to a disclosure of the deeper sense of the text, because only in that disclosure do we gain insight into God's act of revelation in Christ. Like Augustine's, Gregory's hermeneutics was firmly rooted in a set of theological and ecclesial convictions.

While the popular piety in the later medieval period remained strongly influenced by allegorical interpretation, the development of interpretation theory followed a somewhat different path. In order to understand the increasing interest in the literal sense of the Bible, one must appreciate not only the influence of both Jerome and Augustine (which can be observed throughout the hermeneutical discussion in the Middle Ages) but also the impact of Jewish scholars such as Rashi and his followers. Although not explicitly acknowledged by Christian thinkers, this Jewish hermeneutical influence was significant, especially on the two major representatives of Christian hermeneutical thinking of the time, namely Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1141) and Nicholas of Lyra (d. 1349). Hugh was a master at the famous monastic school of the Victorines in Paris; Nicholas was a Franciscan teacher at the University of Paris. Thus, the place where Christian hermeneutics was discussed was now no longer the community of believers as such, but the academy. This change of framework also helps to explain the widening gap between popular biblical interpretation, which continued to be allegorical, and the academic treatment of the Bible, which now attended to the philological study of the text in order to retrieve its literal meaning. This academic interest in the literal meaning of the text did, however, not exclude the subsequent use of allegorical methods even in academic circles. With these qualifications in mind, one can say that the following verses are characteristic of the medieval method of biblical interpretation:

*Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,*
*Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia.*

("The letter shows us what God and our fathers did; the allegory shows us where our faith is hid; the moral meaning gives us rules of daily life; the anagogy shows us where we end our strife"; see Grant and Tracy 1984: 85.)

As a result of the rediscovery of Aristotle in Christian theology since the 12th century and the related growth of scholastic theology, biblical hermeneutics became very critical of allegorical interpretation and paid even more attention to the retrieval of the literal sense of the biblical text. The greatest scholastic theologian, Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), upheld in principle the fourfold sense of Scripture, but at the same time he did not hesitate to question the scientific nature of allegorical interpretation and of theological thinking based on its results. Thomas demanded that proper theological thinking ought to be firmly based on the literal sense of the biblical text. "Nothing necessary for faith is contained under the spiritual sense which is not elsewhere put forward clearly by the Scripture in its literal sense" (*Summa Theologiae* 1a. 1, 10). However, Thomas' critique of allegorical interpretation and his promotion of a new academic ideal in biblical hermeneutics did not succeed in reforming the love for allegorical reading in the preaching of the Church and in the popular religious realm. In fact, here allegorical readings increased even further and continued to challenge theologians to fight back. Already since the 14th century—i.e., long before the Protestant Reformation—theologians such as Marsilius of Padua, William Ockham, John Wycliff, John Hus, Gabriel Biel, Wendelin Steinbach, and John Major attacked (though not with any immediate result) the widespread uncritical use of the Bible and tried to formulate new and more critical principles of biblical interpretation.

**6. Biblical Hermeneutics in the Age of the Reformation.** The Reformers' contribution to biblical hermeneutics (i.e., the *theory* of biblical interpretation) has at times been assessed in isolation from the overall development of biblical hermeneutics and thus has been perceived to be more original than it really was. Although Martin Luther (1483–1546), John Calvin (1509–1564), and Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531) applied the interpretive methods which were prepared both by the critical academic tradition

referred to above and by the great humanist thinkers (such as Reuchlin and Erasmus of Rotterdam), the Reformers' actual *praxis* of reading the biblical texts, in particular their fresh theological reading perspectives, differed greatly from their predecessors and led to the development of a new attitude in biblical reading. In that sense, one may be justified in describing the Reformation as a hermeneutical event. Its new interpretive praxis was also promoted by the translation of the Bible into the vernacular, facilitating a fresher look at the text itself. While the philological emphasis in humanist interpretation must be seen in the long tradition of interest in the literal meaning of the texts—which comprises the Antiochene concerns and those of Augustine, Aquinas, and their followers as well as those of the medieval Jewish thinkers—the most decisive differences between these interpretation theories and the humanists' approach to the Scriptures lay both in the new understanding of the authority and the function of the Scriptures and in the radically transformed self-understanding of the biblical interpreter. By contrasting the ecclesial status quo with the newly interpreted meaning of the Scriptures, the Reformers saw an urgent need to work for the necessary changes in the Christian community. For the Reformers, the ultimate criterion for such a reform of the Church was the Word of God as communicated in the Bible. They all agreed that the Bible alone *(sola scriptura)* represented the foundation of the Christian faith, and its content was perceived to be fully clear, or self-interpreting *(scriptura sui ipsis interpretes).* But each of the Reformers added his own theological reading perspective to these formal criteria for biblical interpretation.

For Luther, this reading perspective consisted both in his belief in the justification by faith alone and in his corresponding negative view of human nature. Only through faith in God's salvific action in Jesus Christ can the biblical interpreter sharpen his perspective for the content of the text. However, unlike the later "Lutheran Orthodoxy," Luther himself never considered the Bible as a text system free of problems and contradictions. Rather, he applied philological means of critique in unison with his theological considerations. Even the occasional allegorical interpretation was accommodated. Like Augustine, whom he much admired, Luther felt free to apply his exegetical genius to the text even when his own hermeneutical maxims in fact did not sanction such a move. Thus, he did not refrain from a typological reading of the Hebrew Scriptures, either. But unlike Augustine, Luther's exegesis was not limited by a total acceptance of the canonical status of the whole Bible. Rather, the Reformer treated every text according to its own christological merits, thus reaching a negative verdict about the theological legitimacy of including the Epistle of James in the NT.

other Reformers, such as Melanchton, Calvin, and Zwingli, contributed to the development of hermeneutics by offering their particular combination of humanist philological methodology and their specific theological approach to the overall content of the Scriptures.

Following the Reformers' hermeneutical concerns, Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520–1575) attempted to provide a synthesis of reformational thinking on biblical interpretation. In his work *Clavis scripturae sacrae* (1567), Flacius particularly stressed the need of a grammatical interpretation, and he advanced the theory of the unity of the Scriptures as the necessary foundation of biblical hermeneutics.

Assessing the Reformers' hermeneutical initiatives, G. Ebeling (1967: 26) concludes that they were not sufficiently conscious of the distance between them and the time of early Christianity, and thus not sufficiently aware of the philosophical implications of text interpretation as such. In particular, "It remained unclear what the principle of *sola scriptura* meant for the theological method as such" (Ebeling 1967: 73). Hence, without further elaboration on the hermeneutical principles operative in the theology promoted by the Reformers, this theology remained uncritical and therefore open to misuse. However, before the hermeneutical discussion in Protestantism was advanced eventually by theologians such as Semler and Schleiermacher, the time of the Reformation was followed first by a period of uncritical biblicism—the so-called Lutheran Orthodoxy.

**7. Biblical Hermeneutics in the Period of "Orthodoxy."** None of the Reformers had ever defended the verbal inerrancy of Scripture. However, their theological successors, among them Johannes Andreas Quenstedt (1617–1688) and Abraham Calovius (1612–1686), defended the verbal inspiration of the entire Bible and developed the principle of biblical infallibility. For these thinkers, the Bible was identical with

the Word of God and thus as text the infallible foundation of a set of dogmatic convictions. Although all these theologians reached dogmatic statements by using the same rationalistic method, these statements of "orthodoxy" often differed significantly.

For Roman Catholicism, the Council of Trent (1545–1563) formulated the "orthodox" conditions for biblical interpretation by confirming the two-source theory. That theory decreed that both the Bible and Christian tradition together represent the sources for authentic Christian faith and theology. This differed sharply from the Protestant theory that the Bible was a clear and sufficient source. In the ensuing controversy between both "orthodoxies," the Roman Catholic challenge of the Protestant principle of *sola scriptura* and the Protestant challenge of the Roman Catholic two-source theory were each met by the opposite side with an even stronger ideological defense. However, when the traditional biblical worldview which supported both "orthodoxies" was challenged by the emerging new worldview, Lutheran, Reformed, and Roman Catholic "orthodoxies" fought with the same kind of argument against this new and common enemy which opposed not only their hermeneutical foundations but also their particular methods of reading the Scriptures.

The discoveries of new parts of the world, the new insights into the laws of nature, and the emerging technological progress challenged the ancient set of convictions, (i.e., the traditional paradigm of biblical interpretation). The Western discovery of China and Chinese culture, for instance, challenged the belief in the biblical chronology of the world and the still widely cherished belief that Adam was the father of humankind. Moreover, the rationalistic demands by philosophers such as Spinoza and Descartes that reason should become the criterion of faith upset all "orthodoxies" alike. Their representatives now felt called to defend the Christian heritage against the new movements which were based on rational thought and experiment. While a few theologians working in Holland, among them Balthasar Bekker (1643–1698) and Christoph Wittich (1625–1687), accepted the challenge of the biblical worldview and tried to find ways of bridging the traditional faith and the new reason, their German Protestant colleagues in particular felt the need to harden their "orthodox" standpoint even further. Hence, biblical hermeneutics was reduced to the development of a set of rules which read the texts in such a literal way that the dogmatic preunderstandings of the "orthodox" theologians were confirmed. But this negative attitude toward the new philosophical and scientific challenges could not last forever.

Interestingly, a first critique of the "orthodox" literalism came from the Pietiest movement, which deplored the dogmatic and formalistic way of reading the Scriptures and demanded now a new hermeneutical emphasis on the personal experience of the biblical interpreter. Thus, the problem of the relationship between private and public understanding of the biblical texts was now added to the already existing problem of the relationship between faith and reason in biblical hermeneutics. It took a new generation of interpreters to attend to these questions with a fresh and critical mind.

**8. Biblical Hermeneutics in the Age of Enlightenment.** The attitude of the Protestant Orthodoxy toward the revolutionary changes in the early modern period and its attempt to stick to its hermeneutical principles and horizons could not remain successful for long. Neither could the mere repetition of the doctrines of verbal inspiration and of the identity between Scripture and the Word of God stop the hermeneutical reflection in theology; nor did it impress the now independent disciplines of scientific research and of critical philosophical thinking. Moreover, in Roman Catholic theology a new interest in biblical interpretation arose which, in response to the Protestant claim of *sola scriptura*, tried to show the wider hermeneutical basis of Christian faith and the need for a thorough critique of the biblical text (cf. the work of Richard Simon). The combination of these challenges led to a new beginning in Protestant hermeneutics in the 18th century. This new movement in biblical interpretation was strengthened further by the now universal interest in philological methodology.

Among the centers of enlightened scholarship, the University of Halle (Germany) played a very significant role. Here Johann Salomo Semler (1725–1791), influenced by the philosopher Christian Wolff and the theologian Siegmund Jakob Baumgarten, developed a new biblical hermeneutics. This new approach was characterized more by its effort to prepare a new general foundation for biblical hermeneutics than by a set of detailed rules for the interpretation of biblical texts. Semler demanded both

a critical reading of the Scriptures free from dogmatic presuppositions, and a multidisciplined approach to the text which included attention to questions of grammar, rhetoric, logic, history of the text, translations, criticism of editions, and exegesis proper. Although Semler did not yet penetrate deeply into the problem of historicity, he did help prepare such an insight by demanding both a critical study of the history of the text and a strong attention to the meaning intended by the biblical authors, that is, to the *sensus litteralis historicus* of the biblical text. Unlike either the Reformers or the representatives of Protestant Orthodoxy, Semler cultivated a sense of historical distance between modern reader and ancient text and understood the resulting need for hermeneutical procedures. He also questioned the legitimacy of typological interpretation of the OT.

A great admirer of Richard Simon, Semler began to develop a critical understanding of the traditions behind the biblical texts and to question the single authorship of certain biblical books. Moreover, he promoted a theory of "accommodation," which stated that the authors of biblical texts had to "accommodate" their literary style, etc., to the communicative capacity of their audience. With the help of this theory, Semler could explain both the linguistic differences and the doctrinal particularities in the Bible. Semler and his fellow theologians who propagated a critical study of the biblical texts, among them especially Johann August Ernesti and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, helped to ensure that biblical hermeneutics again entered into a critical dialogue with the demands of reason, and thus participated in the universal search for principles of critical text understanding.

**9. Schleiermacher's Hermeneutics.** The enormous contribution of Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) to the development of hermeneutics can be assessed more adequately now since the critical edition and publication of some of his manuscripts on the subject (Schleiermacher 1977). Unlike his theological predecessors, Schleiermacher rejected all theological claims to a privileged access to the Bible and all demands for a prerogative of a special hermeneutics. Instead, he called for a general hermeneutics, because understanding was for him a universal process requiring the critical attention of all disciplines concerned with it. Theology, therefore, must abandon any hermeneutical prerogative, and, like any other effort to understand ancient texts, follow the general principles of hermeneutics in its attempt to understand the biblical texts. For instance, the belief that the Scriptures were divinely inspired must not guide biblical interpretation, but might be a possible result from actual interpretation itself. Thus, the theologian Schleiermacher was the first to promote the development of philosophical hermeneutics.

Developing such a philosophical hermeneutics, Schleiermacher distinguished between a general aspect of communicative performance, that is, the presence of conventional or grammatical patterns of discourse, and an individual aspect, that is, the particular application of such general patterns, in every act of expression. Accordingly, he demanded a twofold reconstruction of the sense of a text in the act of interpretation: grammatical and psychological (sometimes also called "technical") interpretation. In order to grasp the overall sense of the text through the combination of these two moves, Schleiermacher called for an act of "divination." Because of the necessary presence of the interpreter in this act of divination, no act of interpretation can ever be considered to be complete. Therefore, Schleiermacher described the aim of understanding as "approximation." Like Semler, Schleiermacher attempted ultimately to understand the author of a text, and because he knew that even authors are not always conscious of their creativity, he defined the goal of understanding accordingly as the effort of understanding a text first as well and then even better than its author had done.

Schleiermacher himself did not develop a special theory of biblical interpretation, though he pointed to some of its dimensions in his other theological writings. The full impact of his hermeneutical thinking on the development of interpretation theory is only felt today. His immediate influence was limited; and in the course of the 19th century interest in hermeneutics declined.

In the later 19th century, philological and historical concerns dominated biblical interpretation. Freed from dogmatic impositions on the texts, the quickly developing historical-critical study of the Bible achieved major insights into the nature and history of the biblical texts, but failed to appreciate the limits of its own capabilities. Moreover, in spite of all the insights into the philological nature and the historical character of the biblical texts, the reductionist view which treated the biblical texts as mere historical

documents could not adequately grasp the theological intentions of these texts. Thus, both the deepening philosophical insight into the nature of understanding and the theological protest against such a historicist reading of the Bible had to lead to a radical challenge of a purely historical-critical approach to the Scriptures.

**C. Philosophical Hermeneutics and Modern Biblical Interpretation**

After Schleiermacher's death, interest in hermeneutical questions was minimal until the philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911) appropriated Schleiermacher's hermeneutical concerns for his own project of establishing a foundational theory for all the human sciences. Over against the natural sciences, whose primary task Dilthey identified as "explanation," he defined the aim of the human sciences as "understanding" different life expressions. Thus, at a time when biblical interpreters defined their task purely in historical-critical terms, Dilthey resumed Schleiermacher's project of a general hermeneutics, without, however, completing it. Nevertheless, he reemphasized the hermeneutical focus in the humanities. Moreover, his interest in understanding "life" through its expressions helped prepare the way for Edmund Husserl and the phenomenological movement, and thus also for the hermeneutical philosophy of Martin Heidegger (1889–1976).

Heidegger's work, especially his book *Being and Time* (1962; first published in 1927), has had a great impact on 20th-century theology and biblical interpretation. While some theologians, such as Karl Barth, rejected the imposition of philosophical thinking on theology, Rudolf Bultmann, Gerhard Ebeling, Ernst Fuchs, and other theologians have welcomed Heidegger's hermeneutical theory and applied it to biblical interpretation.

In particular, Heidegger's analysis of the hermeneutical circle, of the impossibility of an interpretation without presuppositions, and his criteria for authentic human existence have influenced biblical hermeneutics ever since. But also Heidegger's later move toward a philosophy based on the understanding of language (the language of the artist in particular) as a call to being has stimulated biblical interpretation.

More recently, the development of philosophical hermeneutics was promoted further by the philosophers Hans-Georg Gadamer (b. 1900), Jürgen Habermas (b. 1929), and Paul Ricoeur (b. 1913). All three philosophers are having a significant impact on biblical interpretation and contemporary theological thinking.

Continuing Heidegger's project of developing a universal theory of understanding (and in a sense also Schleiermacher's hermeneutical enterprise), Gadamer has investigated especially the conditions of aesthetic understanding. In his major work *Truth and Method* (1960), he advocates a theory of understanding in which "Understanding is not to be thought of so much as an action of subjectivity, but as the placing of oneself within a process of tradition, in which past and present are constantly fused. This is what must be expressed in hermeneutical theory, which is far too dominated by the idea of a process, a method" (1975: 258–89). Thus, instead of developing a method of interpretation, Gadamer wishes to describe what happens when we get involved in text interpretation. He emphasizes that we always approach a text through a set of questions which shape our preunderstanding. This preunderstanding, however, is always already conditioned in some way by the text's own history of effects. Therefore, Gadamer speaks of the "historically operative consciousness" [*Wirkungsgeschichte*] of a text and identifies the structure of that consciousness as language: "Being that can be understood is language" (1975: 432). Language, then, is the place of our disclosure of truth. And this disclosure is the aim of the hermeneutical experience and the characteristic of its universality.

Habermas (1971) protests against what he sees as the uncritical nature of Gadamer's universal hermeneutics, especially its trust in the undistorted flow of communication. Ricoeur criticizes Gadamer's total rejection of methodological moves in text interpretation and proposes a twofold program of interpretation which includes acts of understanding and explanation. Thus, he can incorporate formalist and structuralist methods of text explication without subscribing to structuralist and formalist ideologies. Unlike Gadamer and Habermas, Ricoeur also has contributed directly to the discussion on adequate biblical interpretation (Ricoeur 1980). Today, Ricoeur must be seen as the philosopher who exerts the

greatest influence on the development of biblical interpretation. Thus, he has brought Schleiermacher's program of a general hermeneutics to a new height, while at the same time also contributing directly to the appropriation of such a general theory in applied biblical interpretation.

**D. Theories of Biblical Hermeneutics in the 20th Century**

**1. The Barth-Bultmann Controversy.** Karl Barth (1886–1968), Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976), and the other representatives of the "dialectical theology" movement in German-speaking theology after World War I agreed that a mere historical-critical study of the biblical texts did not do justice to these texts' theological character and particular existential claims. They all wanted to overcome the historicism which had dominated biblical interpretation for almost a century. But these theologians could not agree on a new method of biblical interpretation. While Bultmann appropriated Heidegger's ontological hermeneutics for his own program of biblical interpretation, Barth advocated an interpretation of the Bible without the interference of philosophical methodology.

**a. Barth.** The question which shaped Barth's hermeneutical perspective with regard to the biblical texts was, What is the Word of God and who am I in relationship to God's Word? Barth never identified the Word of God with the biblical texts, but neither did he explain how an attentive reading of the Bible would arrive at a disclosure of God's Word. God must not become an object of our interpretation theory: "Revelation is not a predicate of history, but history is a predicate of revelation" (1956: 58). Thus, Barth's interpretation of the Bible was motivated by his theological insight into the nature of God's revelation. On the basis of this theological preunderstanding, he approached the biblical texts. In the famous second edition of his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans (1922—ET 1968), he challenged the historical-critical exegetes to become "more critical." By that he meant they should listen more carefully to the specific content of the Scriptures and become open to God's act of self-communication in the process of reading.

In his *Church Dogmatics,* Barth suggests three practical steps for an adequate interpretation of the Scriptures: (1) observation: to attend to the literary and historical presentation of the text; (2) reflection: to think along with the text without imposing one's own modes of thought on it; and (3) appropriation: applying the text to one's own situation, which meant for Barth that interpreters ought to subject themselves to God's purposes which are witnessed to by the biblical texts (1956: 722–38). Hence, Barth's hermeneutics is totally theological by nature.

**b. Bultmann.** Unlike Barth, Bultmann accepted and defended the necessity of a philosophical reflection on the contemporary existential condition and on the principles of biblical interpretation. His particular reflection was located within the Schleiermacher tradition of philosophical hermeneutics and was greatly influenced by Heidegger's existential philosophy. Like Schleiermacher, Bultmann insisted that biblical interpretation must follow the same principles as the reading of any other literary text; following Heidegger, Bultmann stated that there cannot be any "presuppositionless" understanding of the biblical texts, and he demanded therefore that biblical interpreters ought to become conscious of their preunderstandings. Distinguishing between prejudice and preunderstanding, Bultmann demanded that the first must be abandoned and the latter be made conscious. Moreover, there has to be a life relationship between the exegete and the text which produces the particular preunderstandings that in turn will be transformed by the existential encounter between the reader and the text. Given the subjective aspect of this encounter, no interpretation of a biblical text can ever claim to be the definitive one (cf. Schleiermacher above).

Bultmann's own hermeneutical framework was shaped by Heidegger's call for an existential understanding; thus, Bultmann attempted to interpret the biblical texts with the aim of disclosing authentic modes of existence in the world. However, because of the historical distance between text and reader and in view of the particular "mythological" nature of some NT texts, Bultmann suggested a program of "demythologization." This somewhat misleading concept did not imply that the modern interpreter was to get rid of the mythological parts of the NT; rather, Bultmann intended to offer a method of interpretation which was aware of the difference between the rather mythological worldview of the Bible and the rather scientific worldview of the contemporary biblical reader. He did not aim to replace the mythological

worldview with the modern scientific one; instead, he wanted to highlight the fact "that faith itself demands to be freed from any worldview produced by man's thought, whether mythological or scientific" (Bultmann 1958: 83).

**c. The Debate.** The debate between Barth and Bultmann, which has both promoted and polarized the further discussion on biblical hermeneutics, concerned once again the role of philosophical thinking in biblical interpretation. While Barth rejected any dependence of biblical interpretation on philosophical hermeneutics, Bultmann not only accepted the need for philosophical hermeneutics in biblical interpretation but also adopted a particular philosophical system and terminology, namely, that of the early Heidegger, in order to facilitate appropriations of the biblical texts today. In the meantime, both poles in biblical interpretation have received much criticism: Barth's hermeneutics has been criticized for its positivistic nature, Bultmann's for its sometimes ahistorical character, especially of his existential appropriation (see Bartsch 1953: 62). Nevertheless, the fact that in spite of all its shortcomings Bultmann's hermeneutical program was open for a dialogue with philosophy and other hermeneutical disciplines made it a springboard for subsequent approaches to biblical interpretation.

**2. The "New Hermeneutic."** This is the name of a movement which comprised both American and European exegetes who responded positively, though not without critical reflection, to Bultmann's hermeneutical program (see Robinson and Cobb 1964). Its main protagonists, Ernst Fuchs (1903–1983) and Gerhard Ebeling (b. 1912), understood faith as speech event and thus committed their theological attention to the hermeneutical problem present both in biblical interpretation and in the related theological discourse. Influenced not only by the concerns of "dialectical theology" (especially by Barth, Bultmann, and Gogarten), but also by Heidegger's philosophical reflection on language, Fuchs developed a hermeneutics which emphasized first the hermeneutical condition of all biblical interpretation and then suggested some concrete moves in NT interpretation (Fuchs 1954; 1968). Over against Barth, he stressed the need to reflect on the process of the mediation of God's Word in the Bible. Modern man has to ask who he is and approach the biblical texts through such an existential question. The proper approach to the NT is characterized then by a neutrality with regard to faith (Fuchs 1954: 116). Thus, through his hermeneutical reflection, Fuchs reintroduced the problem of natural theology into theology. However, his commitment to and his use of philosophical hermeneutics were ultimately defined by their service to the particular retrieval of biblical thinking or more precisely NT thinking. (The OT was not an object of hermeneutical reflection for either Bultmann or Fuchs.) Viewed from this perspective, Fuchs' theological connection to Barth is stronger than his hermeneutical thinking, taken in isolation, would suggest.

Like no other contemporary theologian before, Gerhard Ebeling has devoted a great deal of energy to hermeneutical reflection. Recognizing the limits of methodological rigor in traditional reformational theology, Ebeling, too, has appropriated Heidegger's understanding of language in order to develop a new foundation of biblical interpretation whose ultimate goal is to free the way for the Word of God in the act of text interpretation (*RGG* 3: 242–62). For Ebeling, the context of adequate biblical interpretation is the faithful approach to the Scriptures. The only real correspondence in biblical interpretation is the one between Word and faith. Thus, Ebeling's hermeneutical thinking remains strictly bound to the Protestant tradition of the Word.

Thus, up to the 1960s, Protestant thinkers dominated the discussion on biblical hermeneutics. But since then, a new interconfessional climate of hermeneutical thinking has been established in which Jewish, Roman Catholic, and Protestant thinkers contribute to the discussion of both the universal aspects of hermeneutics and the particular application of such philosophical theories on biblical interpretation.

**3. Contemporary Biblical Hermeneutics.** Since the period of the Enlightenment, Jewish and Christian interpreters have been struggling to come to terms both with the demands of reason in biblical interpretation and with the changing horizon of biblical interpretation. In spite of the particularities of the different movements within either Judaism or Christianity, it can be said that the hermeneutical discussion in both religions has received an attention that is increasingly transconfessional. This development was, of course, strongly promoted by a hermeneutical program such as the one offered by Schleiermacher, but it has also been facilitated by the organization of biblical research in modern academic institutions. Thus,

modes and theories of biblical interpretation emerging from either religious tradition have been discussed beyond the boundaries of these traditions and were allowed to influence one another (see Loretz and Strolz 1968). For example, approaching the Hebrew Scriptures through the horizon of modernity, 20th-century Jewish thinkers such as Franz Rosenzweig, Martin Buber, and Gershom Scholem have influenced new approaches to the Hebrew Bible within the Christian tradition. The question of whether or not the Hebrew Scriptures can be adequately understood only in a particular Jewish religious context has found as many and as diverse answers as the parallel question of whether or not an adequate interpretation of the Christian Bible requires the interpreter's active participation in a Christian ecclesial context.

The long hostility in the Roman Catholic teaching authority, the Magisterium, against any form of modern critical interpretation theory also has come to an end in the course of the 20th century. Even though the Magisterium continues to reserve for itself the ultimate right of judging the orthodoxy of a particular reading of the Scriptures, the previous ban on modern exegetical techniques has been lifted more and more, especially in Pius XII's encyclicals *Divino afflante Spiritu* (1943) and *Humani Generis* (1962). The documents of the Second Vatican Council (see in particular *Dei Verbum*) confirmed this development toward a more critical biblical hermeneutics and thus, *de facto,* abolished any formal difference in exegetical method between Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish scholars.

**4. Current Developments in Biblical Hermeneutics.** The more recent discussion of hermeneutics in biblical studies has concentrated on several themes. We intend to survey these main topics by way of a brief overview.

**a. Biblical Theology.** Ever since positivistic and historicist approaches began to dominate biblical interpretation, a reaction against these methods could be witnessed from those scholars who defended either the religious importance of the biblical canon as a whole or the thematic unity of the Bible. Already in the 19th century, such attempts to develop a biblical theology were visible. Also, in a sense, all the representatives of dialectical theology were engaged in developing a biblical theology. Today, scholars such as Gerd Theissen (1978; 1985) and Brevard Childs (*NTC*; 1986) propagate a renewed interest in the Bible as a theological and canonical unity. See THEOLOGY (BIBLICAL), HISTORY OF.

**b. The Bible as Literature.** The recent application of literary critical methods in biblical interpretation may be seen as a natural consequence of Schleiermacher's and Bultmann's demands that the Bible be treated like any other piece of literature. While in the past, the historical-critical method originated in biblical scholarship itself, the spectrum of literary methods used in contemporary biblical interpretation has been developed mainly by literary theorists (e.g., structuralist and poststructuralist theory). Two strands in that movement may be distinguished: (a) those biblical interpreters who, in their search for a theological interpretation of the biblical texts, either apply literary methods themselves in order to do better justice to the particular genres of biblical writing or are at least open to such an interpretation; and (b) those who treat the biblical texts solely as literary documents without any consideration of a possible faith context. The recent attention to reader-response criticism and other theories of reading has allowed interesting insights into the phenomenon of reading and into the potential of the biblical texts themselves to direct their readers. At the same time, a deepening awareness of the textuality of the biblical texts suggests that the often atomistic treatment of textual passages ought to be overcome or at least balanced by a consideration of the text as a whole (Jeanrond 1988).

**c. Historical, Sociological, and Psychological Approaches.** In the current interdisciplinary climate of biblical research, the traditional historical-critical approaches to the Bible have been amended by sociological and psychological perspectives of reading. This interdisciplinary approach has already yielded some interesting insights into the very complex relationship between religious and nonreligious dimensions in the biblical texts (see, e.g., Theissen 1985; Drewermann 1985; Gottwald 1985).

**d. Feminist Criticism.** The continuing development of a feminist perspective in biblical interpretation has not only rediscovered forgotten dimensions within the biblical texts themselves but has also raised awareness in biblical interpretation of the traditionally male characteristics of the perspectives through which the biblical texts have been read until now (see Schüssler Fiorenza 1984).

**e. Theory and Praxis.** Johann Baptist Metz (1980), Matthew Lamb, Dermot Lane (1984), and other theologians have repeatedly questioned the overemphasis on theory in biblical interpretation and the accompanying neglect of the praxis of Christian experience in the light of which the texts should be read. In view of this deficit, Metz calls for a practical hermeneutics of Christian liberation. The impact which this debate on the emancipatory nature of praxis has had in biblical interpretation can be seen in the biblical readings offered by leading representatives of the liberation theology movement (e.g., Gustavo Gutiérrez 1988).

**f. Ethics.** Fuchs (1954), Jeanrond (1988), and Berger (1988) have called for a renewed ethical consciousness in biblical interpretation. Fuchs (1954: 155) demanded a moral seriousness *(sittlicher Ernst)* from every biblical interpreter; Jeanrond (1988: 123–28) has emphasized the ethical demand of attending and responding to the theological nature of the communicative perspectives and claims of the biblical texts; and Berger (1988: 17–28) has advocated an approach to the biblical texts based on an awareness of actual human experience.

**g. Interreligious and Cultural Criticism.** David Tracy (1981; 1987) has stressed the cultural role of the Bible by calling it a "classic" text which bears an excess and permanence of meaning, yet always resists definitive interpretation. As such, it can function as a means of "interruption" in the cultural process, provided its interpreters are open to disclosing the instances of truth contained in it. Paul Knitter (1985) and Hans Küng (1986) have advocated the perspective of the interreligious dialogue as a necessary complement to any inner-religious approach to understanding these texts. Such a wider approach to the Scriptures moved by questions of the history and the comparative study of religion will also be able to point out such ideological dimensions within the biblical texts as, for instance, anti-feminist and anti-semitic attitudes (see Sandmel 1978).

## E. Conclusion

The theoretical reflection on the conditions, methods, and motivations of biblical interpretation may be helpful both for a reading of the Bible within a context of religious faith and for a critical examination of the Bible as a religious and historical document within the academy. In either case, hermeneutical reflection promotes a critical and self-critical consciousness of the interpreter, but also encourages critical attitudes toward the biblical texts themselves. Whatever method may be applied in biblical interpretation, the hermeneutical reflection will point to its particular opportunities and limitations, and thus encourage an open-ended and critical attitude to all possible approaches which promise to support an adequate disclosure of the biblical texts' sense. Moreover, hermeneutical thinking will provide a critical view of all forms of power, individual and institutional, which aim at controlling the process of biblical interpretations within the different communities of interpreters.

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WERNER G. JEANROND

**IOB** (PERSON) [Heb *yôb* (יוֹב)]. The third son of Issachar (Gen 46:13). In the list of the people who went down to Egypt (Gen 46:8–27), Jacob's sons and grandsons are listed by families, according to their mothers. Iob was the grandson of Jacob and Leah by their fifth son, Issachar. In the genealogical list of Issachar in 1 Chr 7:1, the Ketib lists his name as *yāsîb,* Jashib, but the Qere has *yāsûb,* Jashub. This latter reading is supported by the Samaritan Pentateuch, by the LXX, and by all the versions. Jashub is also listed in Num 26:24 as the eponymous leader of the clan of the Jashubites. Speiser (*Genesis* AB, 345) explains this textual error in Genesis by saying that the scribe dropped the *šin* from the name. According to Speiser, it is easier to explain the dropping of the consonant in Genesis than to explain its addition in the parallel passage. Westermann (1986: 153) believes that Iob is an abbreviation of the theophoric name Yahshub, in which case it means "May Yahweh return" (*TPNAH,* 168).

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**IOTA.** The ninth letter of the Greek alphabet.

**IOTAPE** (PERSON) [Gk *Iōtapē* (Ἰωταπη)]. This name designates no fewer than seven princesses or queens active in the late 1st century B.C. and for most of the 1st century A.D. It also refers to two towns. See IOTAPE (PLACE).

**1.** Iotape I. The young daughter of Artavasdes, king of Media Atropatene (modern Azerbaijan, lying between the Upper Tigris river and the Caspian Sea), who was betrothed to Alexander Helios, son of Marc Antony and Cleopatra (Dio Cass. 49.40; 49.44; Plut. *Ant.* 53.6). The marriage ended when Antony

died. The girl had been taken to Alexandria, where Octavian discovered her in 30 B.C., and reunited her with her father (Dio 51.16.2).

She next appears in the record about 20 B.C., when King Mithradates III of Commagene acquired her as his wife, though he was "still a little boy" and she was at least in her late teens. Because she was queen of Commagene, her children were considered valuable intermarriage partners by the heads of neighboring states. Iotape I and Mithradates II became the ancestors of the remaining royal women named Iotape, and grandparents of two kings of Emesa.

**2.** Iotape II. The daughter of Iotape I and Mithradates II who married her own brother, King Antiochus III of Commagene, in a philadelphic marriage typical of that dynasty. She presumably ruled with him up to his death in A.D. 17. A crisis in Commagenian affairs occurred then, and Tacitus records disturbances (*Ann.* 2.42). The royal family was presumably taken to Rome, and the kingdom itself became a Roman province from A.D. 18 to 38 (see Sullivan *ANRW* 2/8: 783–85).

**3.** Iotape III. Another daughter of Iotape I and Mithradates II who married Sampsigeramus II of Emesa (a Syrian kingdom located between Commagene and Judea). This marriage may have occurred as early as 5 B.C. Inscriptions honor her husband widely, sometimes as "Great King" (Baalbek) or *"roi suprême"* (Palmyra), but Iotape III went largely unmentioned. She became the mother of two kings of Emesa: Sohaemus and Azizus (see Sullivan *ANRW* 2/8: 212–14).

**4.** Iotape IV. The daughter of Iotape III and Sampsigeramus II of Emesa, who married Aristobulus of Judea, grandson of Herod the Great. This marriage placed her close to the Judean throne, since her husband's brothers included Herod of Chalcis and King Agrippa I. But they and others (not Aristobulus) ruled instead, and Aristobulus died "a private citizen" (Jos. *JW* 2 §221; cf. *Ant.* 18 §135; Sullivan *ANRW* 2/8: 319).

**5.** Iotape V. The "mute" *(kophe)* daughter of Iotape IV and Aristobulus. Her father's death occurred while she was still alive, but nothing further is known of her. No children in the Judean or other dynasties can be traced to her. Her handicap might have prevented her from assuming the high position otherwise expected from her royal descent.

**6.** Iotape VI "Philadelphos." She presumably appeared along with her husband-brother, King Antiochus IV of Commagene, when Caligula restored the kingdom's royal family in A.D. 38. The marriage must have occurred during the twenty years when Commagene was a province, because by A.D. 44 their son, Epiphanes, was old enough for betrothal to the Jewish princess Drusilla, niece of Iotape IV. Besides the city named for her in Cilicia, we have other traces of her activity. For instance, an inscription from Chios honors "Great King Antiochus Philocaesar; Iotape, wife of King Antiochus." Her head appears on coins of the dynasty and its cities, especially in Tracheiam where Antiochus joined other kings in a considerable effort at pacification. Antiochus also participated in the wars of Nero for control of Parthia, and their sons engaged in the Jewish War.

Iotape reigned with Antiochus until A.D. 72, when after the "Commagenian War" of Vespasian, Antiochus decided to give up the struggle, departing his kingdom "in a chariot with his wife and children." The two sons escaped to Parthia, but eventually joined the family in Rome (Sullivan *ANRW* 2/8: 783–94).

**7.** Iotape VII. The daughter of Iotape VI and Antiochus IV. She became the last queen of Cilicia (or some part thereof) when her husband, the Judean king Alexander (great-grandson of Glaphyra of Cappadocia), went there. In the joint coinage they issued, her portrait takes the place of honor on the obverse. Eventually both apparently journeyed to Rome, where Alexander became a consul, as did Iotape's nephew, Philoppapus. Two of their sons and two grandsons are known, highly placed in Roman society (Sullivan *ANRW* 2/8: 794f.; 1978: 935–37).

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RICHARD D. SULLIVAN

**IOTAPE** (PLACE) [Gk *Iōtape* (Ἰωταπε)]. Var. IOTABE; JOTAPATA. Although not mentioned in biblical sources, several towns in antiquity were named popular royal name Iotape. See IOTAPE (PERSON).

A town in Cilicia Tracheia, named after Iotape VI and situated at the end of a spectacular promontory on the S coast of modern Turkey. The harbor and well-cut sarcophagi nearby hint at the vitality it had in the 1st century and for some time afterward. Coins bearing its name from as late as the reign of Valerian (A.D. 253–260) attest its survival. It appeared for centuries longer in the ecclesiastical records of Isauria (Jones 1971: Appendix 4, Table xxx).

**2.** An episcopal see in Syria during Byzantine times was named Iotabe, a name possibly related linguistically to the royal name Iotape. A connection stemming from the period of dynastic rule (late 1st century A.D.) seems possible, though it cannot be demonstrated (Jones 1971: 293, 469, n. 91). An "Iotabe" in Palestine III is listed as a participant at the Council of Jerusalem in A.D. 536 (Jones 1971: 547, Appendix 4, Table xli).

**3.** On the strength of its name, the town of Jotapata (Gk *Iōtapata*) deserves brief mention here since it may be connected with the royal name Iotape. The city was situated in lower Galilee and should probably be identified with Kh. Jifat (M.R. 176248), about 20 km inland from the Bay of Acre, E of modern Haifa. It is not mentioned in the OT, but it was well known to Josephus, who in fact claims to have been instrumental in its defense during the Jewish War (*JW* 3 §141–339). Vespasian had laid siege to it, and it fell in July, A.D. 67. See also JOTBAH (PLACE).

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RICHARD D. SULLIVAN

**IPHDEIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yipděyâ* (יִפְדְּיָה)]. One of eleven sons of Shashak, a Benjaminite (1 Chr 8:25), a portion of the extended genealogy of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:1–40). This is the only occurrence of the name in the MT, and it does not appear in the Apocrypha or the deuterocanonical literature. The name means "Yah will liberate" or "May Yah set free." Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 124) and Coggins (*Chronicles* CBC, 54) both point to the scarcity of material associated with the names found in 8:6–27. However, the text does state that Iphdeiah was a *roʾšē ʾābôt,* and one of the *tōlědôtām roʾšîm* living in Jerusalem. This points to a probable mixing of tribal groups which intensified after the divided monarchy. Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 61) cites pressures exerted on boundary cities and an emphasis on administrative continuity on the district level as reasons for this mixing. One might infer a high status for Iphdeiah politically, socially, and perhaps to an extent militarily because of his identification as the head of a family and head of a genealogy. In early Israel (Harmon 1983: 153), the *bŏt ʾāb* would have been the primary social unit which further comprised the *mišpāḥâ,* the clan or protective association of families (Gottwald 1979: 258), and then the *maṭṭeh/šēbeṭ* or tribe. The *bŏt ʾāb* housed the extended family which was patriarchal, polygynous, patrilocal, and endogamous at the level of the *mišpāḥâ.* This social pattern would have held without great change to the time of Iphdeiah.

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G. EDWIN HARMON

**IPHTAH** (PLACE) [Heb *yiptāḥ* (יִפְתָּח)]. Town situated in the Shephelah, or lowlands, of Judah (Josh 15:43), within the same district as Libnah and Maresha. This settlement, whose name perhaps means "he opens" (from *ptḥ,* "to open"), is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The ancient town is most often identified with modern Terqumiyeh, located approximately 10 km NW of Hebron and 11 km SE of Beit Jibrin (Simons *GTTOT* 148; M.R. 151109). Given the lack of

similarity between the ancient and modern names, and the absence of archaeological substantiation, this identification should be regarded as tentative.
WADE R. KOTTER

**IPHTAHEL** (PLACE) [Heb *yiptaḥ-ʾēl* (יִפְתַּח־אֵל)]. A valley in lower Galilee that is mentioned in concluding the description of the border of the territory of Zebulun after it "passed north of Hannathon" (Josh 19:14); it is also listed in the description of the territory of Asher at the point where Asher's border touches that of Zebulun (v 27). Dalman (1923: 35) suggested that the valley be identified with Nahal Sippori (Wadi el-Malik) that drains the Beth Netofa valley and opens out into the coastal plain in a deep and imposing gorge. Gal (1985), however, has suggested that the valley of Iphtahel be identified with Nahal ʾEvlayim (Wadi ʾAbbelin) that is connected at its NW corner by a pass to the Beth Netofa valley. He based this on the settlement pattern, the geological structure, and the fact that the ancient route from Acco that crossed through lower Galilee entered the Beth Netofa valley through Nahal ʾEvlayim. See also YIFTAHEL (M.R. 171240).

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RAFAEL FRANKEL

**IR** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿîr* (עִיר)]. Descendant of Benjamin appearing in an unusual genealogy in 1 Chr 7:6–12. The name means "city" or "town." This is the only occurrence of this form as a proper name in the MT, and it does not appear in the Apocrypha or the deuterocanonical literature. Some scholars have equated Ir with the Iri, son of Bela, seen in 1 Chr 7:7 (*ISBE*[1] 1490; Odelain and Séguineau 1981: 170); however, this is not certain. Ir is said to be the father of Shuppim and Huppim. At this point, the Chroniclers may be following the Benjaminite genealogy from Numbers 26 since v 39 mentions sons Shephupham and Hupham as opposed to the occurrence of Muppim and Huppim in Gen 46:21 (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 53). Scholars are quite divided over the origin of 1 Chr 7:12, and which Israelite tribal head is actually the ancestor of the individuals mentioned. Myers (AB, 53) states that 12b is a Danite fragment. Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 147) and Brunet (1953: 485f.) feel that the genealogy belongs to the tradition of Zebulun. Coggins (*Chronicles* CBC, 50) is quite adamant in saying that there is no Danite reference in v 12. He suggests that the additional Benjaminite names shown at this point are both surprising and without explanation. It seems difficult to recover Danite or Zebulunite material without doing violence to the text. So perhaps those are additional Benjaminite names added to a postexilic military census list.

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G. EDWIN HARMON

**IR-SHEMESH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿîr šemeš* (עִיר שֶׁמֶשׁ)]. A town in the territory of Dan (Josh 19:41), which is also known as BETH-SHEMESH (M.R. 147128). The name of the site means "city of the sun."
RAPHAEL GREENBERG

**IRA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿîrāʾ* (עִירָא)]. **1.** Ira the Jairite, a priest *(kōhēn)* to David mentioned in a list of officials of David (2 Sam 20:23–26; v 26). If a Jairite, Ira is probably to be associated with Havvoth-Jair, a group of villages in Gilead, which were taken by Jair, the son of Manasseh (Num 32:41; Deut 3:14). However, instead of "Jairite," some versions apparently read either "of Jattir," a levitical city of Judah (Josh 21:14), or "Ithrite," which would probably identify this person with the Ira in #3 below (Lucianic

and Symmachus [?], *ho Iether;* Syriac, *yt (y)r*). Because Ira is not called a Levite, question is raised as to whether he was actually a nonlevitical priest or some sort of secular official, a situation analogous to that of the sons of David who are also designated "priests" in 2 Sam 8:18, but "chief officials" *(rí›šōnîm)* in 1 Chr 18:17 (see Cody 1969: 103–5; Mettinger 1971: 8–9).

**2.** One of David's champions, a select class of warriors directly attached to the king for special assignments, named in the parallel lists of 2 Sam 23:8–39 (v 26) and 1 Chr 11:10–47 (v 28). He is called the son of Ikkesh of Tekoa (lit. "the Tekoite"); that is, from the town of Tekoa in Judah, which lies about 5 miles S of Bethlehem. Although of high repute, he is distinguished from the more elite warriors (vv 8–23 and 11–25, respectively) listed before his grouping. The same Ira appears to be mentioned in a list of commanders found in 1 Chr 27:1–15 (v 9), since this list draws on eleven other mighty men found in 1 Chr 11:10–47. These commanders were each in charge of a monthly course of 24,000 men in the armed service of the king; Ira being in charge of the sixth month. This list of commanders and their functions is possibly a construct of its composer, since (a) no such monthly, conscripted, civilian army is mentioned elsewhere during David's reign; (b) the large figure of 288,000 men seems improbable; and (c) one of the commanders, Asahel (v 7), was dead before David had rule over all Israel (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 174–75). However, the author/redactor's thesis, that David made preparations for the proper ongoing cultic and national life of Israel, as illustrated throughout chaps. 23–27, draws on the fact that David took a census (cf. vv 23–24; chap. 21) which could have been utilized for designing a monthly plan of conscription, a plan which would have been analogous to Solomon's monthly courses for his provision (1 Kgs 4:7–19).

**3.** Another of David's champions (see #2 above), Ira the Ithrite (2 Sam 23:38; 1 Chr 11:40), is probably to be associated with the people of Kiriath-jearim (1 Chr 2:53). other versions of 1 Chr 11:40 in the Gk mss Vaticanus and Sinaiticus as well as in the Syriac and Arabic apparently read "of Jattir," which would identify this person with the Ira in #1 above. "Ira" is possibly a secular name taken from the animal realm: *‹ayir,* "a young male donkey" (*IPN*, 230).

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RODNEY K. DUKE

**‹IRA, TEL** (M.R. 148071). A site in the N Negeb with occupation levels ranging from the EB III through the Arab period.

**A. Location and Identification**

Tel ‹Ira (Kh. Gharra in Arabic) is located on a high, flat-topped hill in the Beer-sheba valley on one of the southernmost ridges of the Hebron Hills that juts deep into the heart of the valley. As the site is cut off from the ridge by a ravine and surrounded by steep scarps, the ascent to the top of the tell is extremely difficult. At approximate 100 m above the surrounding terrain (514 m above sea level), it commands a sweeping view over the wide expanses and road network in the valley below. The site (ca. 25 dunams) covers the entire chalky hilltop. Remnants of the thick stone wall around the upper perimeter, contoured like the sole of a shoe, were visible on the surface even prior to excavation. See Fig. IRA.01.

The site was first reported by D. Alon in the early 1950s. In 1956, Y. Aharoni surveyed it intensively, and the results were published in the same year. Aharoni, who was impressed by the size and strategic potential of the site in comparison to other settlements in the region, suggested that the capital of the Negeb was transferred there in the 7th century B.C.E. following the final destruction of Beer-sheba by Sennacherib in 701.

The biblical name of the town is uncertain. Aharoni, with some reservations, proposed identifying it with Kabzeel, which heads the list of Judean towns in the Negeb (Josh 16:21). others (A. Lemaire, N. Na›aman, A. F. Rainey) believe that it is "Ramah of the Negeb" (or "of the South"), listed in the inheritance of the sons of Simeon (Josh 19:8), a name that reflects its lofty topographical position. It should be noted, however, that the archaeological excavations did not encounter any settlement level that could be attributed to the 10th–9th centuries B.C.E., which should be present if it is indeed the Ramoth-

negeb to which David sent part of the plunder taken in his wars with the Amalekites (1 Sam 30:27). But neither were remains of this period discovered at Tel Aroer, which casts some doubts on the authenticity of this list of towns in a Negeb context. Nevertheless, some evidence of early Israelite occupation was found in a number of places on the tell: sherds that date to the 10th–9th centuries were collected on the E escarpment, and there was also an earlier Iron Age burial in one of the graves belonging to the later Israelite settlement. Hence, it is possible that there was a small open village on the tell during this period. If so, the proposal to identify the site with Ramoth-negeb is worth consideration, although confirmation would require further excavation and discovery of the town itself.

Identification of the later settlements established on the tell (from the Hellenistic to Byzantine periods) is so far also unknown.

**B. History of the Excavations**

The excavations were directed by I. Beit-Arieh during six seasons, between 1979 and 1984. An additional season was conducted in 1979 in another sector of the site under the direction of A. Biran.

Nine strata, dating from the EB III to the Early Arab period, were exposed. The excavations unveiled a long history of settlement, showing that in certain periods (namely the Israelite, Hellenistic, and Byzantine periods) it was a city of major importance.

**Chronological-Stratigraphical Chart**

| Strata/Period | | Nature of Settlement |
|---|---|---|
| I | Early Arab (7th–8th centuries C.E.) | Small-scale occupation of Hellenistic structures. |
| II | Byzantine (5th–7th centuries C.E.) | City and monestary; reuse of Israelite city wall. |
| III | Early Roman (1st century C.E.) | City; reuse of Israelite city wall. |
| IV | Hellenistic (4th–2d centuries B.C.E.) | City; reuse of Israelite city wall. |
| V | Early Persian (5th–4th centuries B.C.E.) | Reoccupation of Israelite period buildings. |
| VI | Israelite II (second half of 7th century B.C.E.) | Fortified city. |
| VII | Israelite II (first half of 7th century B.C.E.) | Fortified city. |
| VIII | Israelite II (10th–9th centuries B.C.E.) | Pottery in fill of Statum VII; burial in town's cemetery. Unwalled setlement (?) |
| IX | Early Bronze Age III (27th–23rd centuries B.C.E.) | Unwalled settlement; pottery scattered throughout site. |

**C. Results of the Excavations**

**1. Early Bronze Age.** The tell was first occupied in the EB III and seems to have been a rural settlement of sporadic nature, the duration and reason for existence of which are unknown. Tel ʿIra is the southernmost known site to yield traces of EB III habitation, which in general was concentrated in the Shephelah; the closest EB III neighbor to Tel ʿIra was at Tel Halif.

**2. Iron Age.** Following a gap of some 1,500 years, the site was apparently resettled at the beginning of the second phase of the Israelite period, but because of the lack of architectural remains, it is impossible to determine the nature of this first occupation. However, the archaeological evidence implies an unwalled and materially poor village or hamlet.

However, in the 7th century B.C.E., Tel ʿIra was a large, fortified city of royal character that extended over the entire site. A massive, solid city wall (1.6-m thick), supported from the outside by retaining walls built against the steep scarps, surrounded the site almost completely. Large public buildings and a six-chambered gate passage with two towers of the type known from Megiddo, Hazor, and Gezer were erected in the E sector. A large tower that projected some 9 m from the N wall controlled the steep path to

the city gate, and this strategically vulnerable area was defended by a casemate wall. The public buildings included a storehouse which contained a large number of pithoi. Remains of two superimposed occupational phases, both of the 7th century B.C.E. (Strata VII–VI), were uncovered inside the casemates.

The cemetery of the Israelite city was located at the bottom of the E slope, where more than twenty burial chambers hewn into the soft cretaceous limestone were discovered. Some of these were cleared by the excavators, who found dozens of skeletons accompanied by pottery vessels and jewelry. In one of these tombs there were at least thirty skeletons, a number that may indicate a large population.

The Israelite city was destroyed at the end of the First Temple period, either by the Babylonians in their campaign against Judah or perhaps somewhat earlier by the Edomites, who had been waiting for the chance to move in and take over these Negeb regions.

In view of the aridity of the area, a permanent water source was crucial for the existence of the city. Rock-hewn cisterns were the solution. Five large plastered cisterns for collection of runoff water from flash winter floods were discovered inside the settlement, one in the W sector, two in the center, and two in the E sector, creating a reservoir system that would have had sufficient capacity even in years of drought. Considering the location of the cisterns in relation to the buildings of the various periods, it is likely that the two cisterns in the E sector were hewn by the Byzantine population and the other three by the Israelites. Due to the topographical location of the settlement and its distance from any known springs or wells, such reservoirs were obviously the only means of ensuring a water supply.

Although the central government may have contributed to the subsistence of the city to a certain extent, the excavations have shown that the town had its own independent economic resources. The livelihood of the population was at least partially based on cultivation of field crops, and herding of cattle, sheep, and goats. Three agricultural terraces from the Israelite period can be distinguished in the small ravine N of the site. The only pottery from two probes near these terrace walls belongs to the 7th century B.C.E. Pollen samples taken from various depths of the soil showed that the principal crops were cereals. The fields of this large city undoubtedly extended over a large area, as testified by a small 7th-century B.C.E. farmstead that was discovered nearby. A ploughshare point and an iron sickle in one of the rooms of the settlement are further evidence of agricultural activity. Three silos were also found in the center of the town.

From the statistical study of the animal bones retrieved from the excavations, the livestock consisted mainly of sheep and goats (85 percent of the total faunal remains). These results are similar to those from other Israelite settlements in the Beer-sheba valley and the animal husbandry practices of the modern-day bedouin.

**3. Persian Period (Stratum V).** Following the destruction of the Israelite city, the site, like many others in the Negeb, was resettled by exiles returning from Babylon. Some of the houses of the Israelite city were reused, and silos were dug. Apparently the postexilic settlement was much smaller than that of the Israelite period.

**4. Hellenistic Period (Stratum IV).** During this period, the tell was the site of a populous city, probably one of the fortresses of the Seleucid defense line along the Edomite front. Remains of this city were unearthed in most of the excavated areas. Some new houses were built over the Israelite buildings that abutted the city wall, following the same orientation as their predecessors.

**5. Early Roman Period (Stratum III).** During the 1st century C.E., the site was sparsely settled. Most of the structures were concentrated in the E sector, where they abutted the city wall, which continued in use. This settlement was evidently a small outpost of the Herodian *limes* defense system.

**6. Byzantine Period (Stratum II).** Tel ʿIra became a densely populated city once again during the Byzantine period, equaling the size of the earlier Israelite city. A large number of dwellings were built against the S segment of the Israelite city wall, which continued its defensive function. A monastery was erected in the E sector, superimposed over the Israelite gate and adjacent area, while a chapel with a decorated mosaic floor was built just E of it. Various small structures were crowded around the monastery. Tel ʿIra seems to have served as the Byzantine administrative center of the E and central Negeb at this time.

**7. Early Arab Period (Stratum I).** Following the Muslim conquest of the country in the 7th century C.E., the Byzantine city became an Arab settlement. New rooms were built against the ancient city wall, and the monastery underwent extensive alterations, but the population seems to have been very small.

There is no doubt that Tel ʿIra's largest populations were during the Israelite and Byzantine periods. Both were periods when the central authority invested the cities with regional administrative functions in addition to their primary defensive roles, guarding the S borders of the kingdom. Archaeological surveys indicate that these cities had an economic basis (reflected by the numerous small farmsteads and rural settlements scattered throughout the Negeb) that contributed to the security and economic viability of the cities.

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ITZHAQ BEIT-ARIEH

**IRAD** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿîrād* (עִירָד)]. Son of Enoch and father of Mehujael, in the line of Cain (Gen 4:18). The LXX substitution of the *"r"* with a *"d,"* rendering *Gaidad* (possibly reflecting the similarity of *rēš* and *dālet* in later Heb script), is not followed by the other versions. Various etymological explanations have been conjectured for the name (Gabriel 1959: 412–13). From the standpoint of comparative Semitics, *ʿrd* has been related variously to the (Ar, Akk, Heb, Ug) words for "wild ass, onager" (CAD 9: 88; *DISO*, 221; Huffmon *APNM*, 204; Dahood 1975), and to the (Ar) word for "cane huts" (where the initial *ʿayin* is read as a *ghayin;* Cassuto 1961: 231–32). Another approach, without textual evidence, has been to eliminate the final reference to Enoch in Gen 4:17, thereby relating the statement about the naming of the first city to Enoch's son, Irad. If separated from the rest of the name, the initial *îr* in Irad is the Hebrew word for city (cf. Jacob 1934: 148). Attempts have been made to identify Irad with the city of Eridu (Hallo 1970: 64; Sasson 1978: 174; Miller 1985: 241–42 n. 9; Wenham *Genesis 1–15*WBC, 111). The similarity of names in the genealogies of Genesis 4 and 5 has also led to comparison of Irad with Jared (Gen 5: 18–20).

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RICHARD S. HESS

**IRAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿîrām* (עִירָם)]. One of the eleven Edomite "tribal chiefs" (Heb *ʾallūpīm*) listed in Gen 36:40–43, a later appendix to the Edomite materials in Genesis 36 (probably originating with the Priestly source), and also listed in 1 Chr 1:51b–54, an abbreviated form of the Gen 36:40–43 list. This is the only place where Iram occurs, and therefore it is impossible to view the name as an authentic historical part of the Edomite tribal system. In Gen 36:43 the LXX reads *Zaphōim/Zaphōein,* while in 1 Chr 1:54 it reads *Eram/Zaphoein.* The interpretation of the name is uncertain; perhaps it can be understood as an animal name **ʿair-*, "donkey foal" (cf. Heb **ʿîr*) with the suffix *-ām.*

ULRICH HÜBNER

**IRAM** (29°34′N; 35°24′E). An ancient settlement of the Nabatean and Roman era located in Wadi Ramm, 40 km E of ʿAqaba. The ruins include a Nabatean temple dedicated to the goddess Allat, surrounded by a large settlement of the Nabatean-Roman era. A hydrological system is also constructed from the nearby spring and shrine of Allat at ʿAin Shellaly, which is nestled in the lofty heights of Jabal

Ramm about 1 km S of the temple site. It consists of an aqueduct leading from the spring to a reservoir in the valley floor about 500 m from the settlement; the remains of another branch which led toward the settlement are also visible. More than a dozen other springs which exist in Wadi Ramm have undoubtedly been an attraction for visitors in various periods. Prehistoric remains are particularly abundant in the region, but only a few scattered Iron Age (II) sherds have been found in the valley. Although several Minean (S Arabian) graffiti in the vicinity of the settlement reflect activities in the Hellenistic period (G. Ryckmans in Savignac 1934: 590–91), most of the extant remains emanate from the Roman era.

The site was first discovered by G. Horsfield in 1930. The temple was later excavated by Savignac and Horsfield (1935), and more recently by D. Kirkbride (1960). The surrounding settlement was cleared in 1963 by Rida al-Rawwad. Hundreds of pre-Islamic Thamudic graffiti lining the bays of the adjacent mountains in the wadi have been collected (Harding 1952), and hundreds more await publication (D. F. Graf, W. L. Jobling, and G. King are currently preparing additional texts from the region). A number of these laconic texts include petitions to the goddess Allat. Nabatean texts from nearby ʿAin Shellaly and Umm al-Quseir about 7 km SE of the temple indicate that Allat was "the goddess who (dwells) at Iram" (Savignac 1932: 593). other deities, namely Dushara, Baʿal-samin, al-ʿUzza (Savignac 1934: 576; 586–89), and al-Kutba' (Strugnell 1959), are also mentioned in Nabatean texts from the site.

The temple has been the focus of attention at the site. It consists of a columned hall (11 m × 13 m) with an E entrance; chambers also align the exterior walls. The initial date and possible phases of its construction remain controversial. The original excavaters postulated a date in the early 2d century A.D. for the entire complex, but Kirkbride (1960) argued for an evolutionary development of three stages for the construction of the temple: (1) under Rabbel II, the initial peripteral temple was erected; (2) in the 2d century, partitions were built between the columns to form an enclosed hall, and a rectangular cella was constructed in the interior of the court; and (3) during the 3d century, the walls of the temple were buttressed and annexes built, and the columns and walls were stuccoed and then painted in red, yellow, and blue. More recently, an earlier date for the initial construction of the temple has been advocated, either in the 1st century B.C. (Hammond 1973: 63) or in the time of Aretas IV (9 B.C.–A.D. 40). Nabatean temples from the time of Aretas IV at Petra ("the Winged Lion sanctuary") and at Kh. al-Dharih in N Edom offer close parallels to the temple at Iram. A fragmentary Nabatean text from the temple area ambiguously dated to the year of 41 or 45 (Savignac and Horsfield 1935: 268) also has been associated with the reign of Aretas IV based on the architectural and ceramic remains of the temple (Negev *ANRW* 2/8: 587). However, the paleography of the text implies a date of the Roman provincial era (cf. Starcky *DBSup* 7: 980), i.e., A.D. 147 or 151, rather than A.D. 31 or 36. The only other clearly dated inscription in the area is a Nabatean text from nearby ʿAin Shellaly from the time of Rabbel II, i.e., A.D. 71–106 (Savignac 1933: 408). other datable materials are from the later period: a coin of Marcus Aurelius, some Roman and Byzantine sherds, and a Latin inscription on a small altar discovered at the entrance to the temple, which probably is to be assigned to the 3d century A.D. (Sartre 1982: 24). Greek inscriptions to the goddess, which are also found at the spring of ʿAin Shellaly, are probably the product of local inhabitants and indigenous troops assigned to this corner of the Roman imperial frontier.

The ancient settlers at the oasis have been identified with the Arreni, an Arab tribe involved in the caravan trade (Pliny *HN* 6.32.157). In Ptolemy's 2d -century A.D. list of the inland villages of the Arabian peninsula, Aramaua is listed first, followed by Ostama and Thapaua (*Geog.* 6.7.27), which have been identified with the modern villages of Qurayya and Tabuk (cf. Graf 1983: 655). The village complex at Ramm has also been associated with the "many columned city of Iram" mentioned in the Quran (89:5–7). A tribe named Iram is also known in ancient pre-Islamic Arabic poems and mentioned with the tribes of ʿAd and the Thamud. The former is known from pre-Islamic texts from the region of Ramm (Harding 1952: no. 4) and the latter was centered in the adjacent land of Midian (Graf 1978). Ramm is also the location of one of the earliest pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions known, a brief text that recently has been assigned to the 4th century A.D. (Bellamy 1988: 372). Arabic genealogies of the Islamic period identified Iram with Aram, the son of Shem (Gen 10:22 and 1 Chr 1:17), and interpreted other Arab tribes as the descendants of Iram (Watt 1971).

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DAVID F. GRAF

**IRAN, PREHISTORY OF.** The prehistoric period in Iran covers the period from the beginnings of human occupation in the Pleistocene to the beginning of the historic period, traditionally set on the plateau at 550 B.C. with the accession of Cyrus the Great. In the Khuzistan lowlands of SW Iran, however, writing developed at the end of the 4th millennium B.C. As a result, in this one corner of Iran the historical period begins in the 3d millennium B.C. when the sporadic local records are augmented by the ED texts of Mesopotamia (Carter and Stolper 1984).

The Pleistocene occupation of Iran by simple hunters and gatherers is documented by scattered finds of stone tools and by limited excavations in a number of caves, many of which contain Middle Palaeolithic Mousterian remains (Smith 1985).

With the end of the Ice Age and the amelioration of cold steppe conditions on the Iranian plateau, an environment conducive to the adoption of sedentary life was established between 9000 and 6500 B.C. This change is partly visible at a number of aceramic sites located around the lowland fringes of the plateau and in the lower valleys of the central W Zagros. These sites include Tepe Ali Kosh in the Deh Luran plain of NW Khuzistan (Hole et al. 1969), Tepes Guran and Ganj Dareh in nearby Luristan (Meldgaard et al. 1964; Smith 1976), Hotu and Belt Caves at the SE corner of the Caspian Sea (Coon 1957), pre-Jeitun sites in neighboring Soviet Central Asia (Kohl 1984), and Mehrgarh on the border of the Indus valley in SE Baluchistan (Lechavallier 1985). While differing in details, these aceramic occupations share various aspects of the transition to a sedentism based on a growing exploitation of domesticated plants and animals as a subsistence base. The hunting of wild animals was gradually superceded by the keeping of domesticated goats, sheep, and, later, cattle; while the collecting of wild seeds was replaced by the growing of wheat, barley, and legumes. Grinding stones for food preparation and the crushing of red ochre were common, while geometric microliths were mounted with bitumen as sickle blades and as transverse arrowheads, as shown at Mehrgarh. All of these settlements lack properly fired ceramics but show an early association with the use of clay as a plastic material for the making of quadruped animal and stylized human female figurines, sundried brick, and plaster for walls, floors, and storage silos. Houses with small rooms and blocks of storage bins were built—associated with hearths, small cooking ovens, and storage pits. Bricks were often long slabs of finger-impressed clay, and floor plaster was sometimes colored. Vessels of unbaked clay occur at Ganj Dareh. Horns of wild sheep attached to walls and elaborate human figures of clay at Ganj Dareh suggest religious practices. other religious practices are suggested by the inclusion of red ochre in graves along with matting and simple offerings such as personal ornaments in the form of shell and stone bead necklaces and bracelets. In Deh Luran and at Mehrgarh, seashells (*Olivia* and *Conus*) suggest an early trade with the Persian Gulf–Indian Ocean area. At Ali Kosh, obsidian from Anatolia occurs in the earliest aceramic levels, while at Mehrgarh the use of turquoise, lapis lazuli (from the Chagai mountains near the frontier of Pakistan and Afghanistan), steatite, and calcite show the existence of an indirect long-distance exchange trade in exotic materials. These same materials remained popular luxury items throughout the Bronze Age. Rare stone vessels and bitumen-

lined baskets provided containers before the appearance of pottery. The aceramic period was already one of extensive experimentation and innovation in technology and cultural practice.

Between 6500 and 5500 B.C. the population increased, so that by the end of this period settled villages are in evidence in nearly every part of the plateau (Hole fc.). Only a few have been sampled by excavation, and almost none have been excavated horizontally to provide complete building plans or settlement information. The most complete information comes from Hajji Firuz in Azerbaijan (Voigt 1983), Zagheh in central Iran (Malek Shahmirzadi 1979), Jeitun in Soviet Turkmenia (Kohl 1984), and, slightly later, Jaffarabad in Khuzistan (Dollfus 1983). other important information comes from Ali Kosh, Chogha Sefid, and Chogha Mish (Khuzistan); Late Guran (Luristan); Sarab (Kirmanshah); Zagheh and Sialk (Central Iran); Sang-i Chakhmaq East (Gurgan); Tal-i Mushki and Tal-i Jari (Fars); Yahya (Kerman); and Mehrgarh (Baluchistan) (Voigt and Dyson fc.; Hole, fc.).

In addition to relying on a mixed economy of hunting, gathering, farming, and herding, these villages contained houses and other small structures of mud brick, sometimes built on mud-brick platforms or rows of stone. In the case of Hajji Firuz and Jeitun, houses were usually one- or two-room rectangular structures with outside alleys and open areas devoted to hearths, pottery kilns, and debris from stone, bone, and shell manufacturing processes. Occasional structures appear to have been used for special purposes; for example, the "Painted Building" at Zagheh (Negahban 1979), with red-, white-, and black-painted walls, which were further enhanced by the addition of animal skulls and horns. Human female figurines of clay were found inside this structure, which was equipped with benches. The purpose of the building thus appears to have been religious in nature. Its complexity suggests a development toward more formal religious practices in the community, perhaps under the direction of part-time specialists.

The ceramic technology now practiced in these villages was based on the firing of chaff-tempered clay at low temperatures. The handmade bowls and jars produced were often slipped red or buff, sometimes burnished, and often painted in red, brown, or black geometric designs derived from local decorative traditions (Mellaart 1975). Experiments with ceramics were continuous, and in Deh Luran and the nearby Zagros valleys, Black-on-Cream and Black-on-Red slipped ware appears, while at Zagheh a sand-encrusted ware was produced by covering the wet clay vessel with sand before firing.

other widely distributed artifacts indicate intersite contact and shared customs across the plateau. These include grooved stone polishers, miniature cosmetic mortars and pestles, stone labrets, geometric microliths, and carved-bone sickle handles with animal (Mushki, Chakhmaq) or human (Sialk) motifs (Voigt and Dyson fc.). The dead were buried beneath the floors of houses or, in the case of Hajji Firuz, in bins or on platforms in the house. Simple gifts of pottery bowls, rare polished stone axes, or pieces of meat were placed in the graves. Red ochre continued to be scattered over the remains. While such practices were widespread, indicating perhaps shared concepts of life after death, the distinctiveness of the local decorative traditions shows that for the most part these settlements were largely independent of one another.

During the following millennium (5500–4500 B.C.), this independence began to break down due to two developments: one, the growing complexity of town life in neighboring Mesopotamia, which produced an increasing interest in foreign sources of raw materials for luxury consumption; and, second, the continuing development of craft activity in Iran itself, which gave rise to an increasing exchange between the source areas of raw materials and market centers. In the first half of this period, a very specialized form of pottery, Cheshmi Ali ware, appeared along the N trade route from Sialk and Zagheh in the W to the border of Khorasan and the SE Caspian shore in the E (Voigt and Dyson fc.). The pottery is brittle, thin, and orange colored and is decorated with birds, boars, and leaping ibex painted in thin black lines. Whether this distribution represents trade, the movement of potters or people, or some combination of these is not currently known. A probable movement of people is suggested in the middle of this period by the distribution of Dalma Monochrome, Painted and Impressed Ware from Azerbaijan S to the Kurdistan-Luristan border at Godin Tepe and smaller surrounding sites (Young and Levine fc.). This distribution follows the natural line of march along the parallel Zagros valleys. Toward the end of the period, an intensification of contacts between Khuzistan and Fars is seen in the painted pottery which shares

geometric and naturalistic patterns. This pottery is highly developed in the Middle Bakun period of Fars (Langsdorf and McCowan 1942) with the appearance of stylized human beings, caprines, insects (ticks), flying birds, fish, and plants—all elements which reappear subsequently in Iranian art at frequent intervals (Porada 1965).

Combined with these regional spreads of ceramics is the appearance of evidence for the existence of locally specialized craft production. For example, at Chogha Mish, which was already a sizable town at this time, a burned structure yielded pots, flint nodules, and flint working debris in the main room. The flint materials were far in excess of local needs, indicating a production intended for export (Kantor 1976). At the village of Jaffarabad near the later urban center of Susa, the entire site was a potter's workshop in this period (Dollfus 1983). On the plateau, the site of Iblis in Kerman province was heavily engaged in copper working, as indicated by masses of crucible and copper ore fragments and a number of copper objects (Caldwell 1967).

Equally important at this time is the evidence for trade contacts in the S: numerous Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean shells, obsidian from Anatolia, and carnelian, turquoise, steatite, and ivory from other areas. At Yahya these occur in a major architectural complex of more than fifty rooms. Tools, ornaments, chisels, and pins and an ingot of copper show the importance of metallurgy. Clay and stone stamp seals, like those in Fars, show the gradual spread of the use of this device for the identification of ownership eastward from Mesopotamia by way of Khuzistan and Fars to Kerman. Similar indications of extended exchange occur at Sialk in Central Iran, where carnelian, turquoise, and copper all occur. It is probably not an accident that the evidence for the growth of this trade parallels the wider spread of ceramic traditions.

Beginning around 4000 B.C., the cultural dynamics of the lowland area underwent a significant change. Although in contact with the piedmont zone of E Mesopotamia since the aceramic period, Khuzistan became gradually more exposed to direct S Mesopotamian contact as Sumerian civilization developed. From 4000 B.C., the influence from Mesopotamia grew steadily stronger, leading at first to the introduction of Uruk pottery and glyptic to Deh Luran and then Susa (Rencontre 1979), and later, in the 3d millennium, to the direct military and political confrontations of the historic period (Carter and Stolper 1984). Probably in part from the stimulus of the growing complexity of Sumerian social and urban organization, the Susians, shortly after 4000 B.C., constructed a massive temple platform of mud brick decorated along the sides with rows of votive clay cones (Rencontre 1979). This temple apparently functioned as a cult center along the lines of similar centers in S Mesopotamia and, like these, attracted to itself a large cemetery. Burials were accompanied by stone vessels, copper celts, mirrors, and other objects and by extremely thin and elaborately painted pottery decorated with stylized animals, human figures, and geometric symbols. The labor and capital investment represented by this cult center indicates the rise of a religious and political hierarchy capable of carrying out such a monumental project. This cult function continued to develop and led to Susa's emergence as the chief administrative and religious center of Elam. As part of the process, perhaps under the influence of S Mesopotamia, a system of ownership identification using stamp and cylinder seals developed; and, in the middle of the 4th millennium B.C., a system for the notation of numbers and products by marking clay tablets was invented. The system of stamp seals spread eastward onto the plateau, where it is found in Fars at Tal-i Bakun in the Late Bakun period (Langsdorf and McCown 1942). Jar, packet, and door sealings show the existence of formal administrative control over goods being moved and stored (Langsdorf and McCown 1942). The basic agricultural wealth of Susiana combined with its unique geographical position between the Iranian plateau and its access to raw materials and the urban markets of the Mesopotamian plain undoubtedly explain the influential role it came to play in both areas.

Toward the end of the 4th millennium B.C., these various trends led to the first full-scale interregional intrusions through the establishment of extensive trade enclaves, intensive exchange, and actual migration. In the SW of Iran for the first time there is a virtual identity of ceramics associated with a pictographic "Proto-Elamite" script at Susa in Khuzistan and at Malyan (ancient Anshan) in Fars (Rencontre 1979). Malyan at this time was five times the size of contemporary Susa and was the largest

known Proto-Elamite center. Since it is likely that the script records an early form of Elamite, these two sites may already represent two of the incipient polities of the later Elamite state (Carter and Stolper 1984). The third Elamite polity, Simashki, was probably located in Luristan, but has yet to be firmly located. Further E of Fars, in Kerman province, a late 4th millennium trading enclave was established at Tepe Yayha (Potts 1977). At this site a large structure containing impressions of Proto-Elamite cylinder seals, tablets inscribed in Proto-Elamite pictographic script, and monochrome and polychrome pottery of Sumerian type appear to indicate the establishment of a Proto-Elamite administrative center or trading enclave (Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973). The purpose of this center seems to have been to exploit the sources of chlorite found around the site for the production of stone bowls, plaques, and other objects. The excavated area of the mound does not permit a firm conclusion as to whether the structure is simply an enclave or whether it represents a complete occupation of the site at this time. What it does indicate, however, is the direct presence in Kerman of individuals from Anshan or Susa. Whether this was a military or political presence or simply a trading arrangement on the order of the later Assyrian trading colonies in Cappadocia remains to be seen. Further E, the appearance of seal impressions and a single Proto-Elamite tablet in the earliest period at Shahr-i Sokhta in Sistan shows a remote extension of the contacts more strongly evidenced at Yahya (Lamberg-Karlovsky and Tosi 1973).

In W central Iran, a similar manifestation of Proto-Elamite interests is evidenced at Godin Tepe near Kangavar and at Tepe Sialk near Kashan on the edge of the central desert (Weiss and Young 1975). At Godin, it is very clear that a multi-roomed structure and compound in the center of the site, containing Proto-Elamite tablets, cylinder seals, and imported pottery (including beveled rim bowls, sometimes thought in Mesopotamia to have been used for measuring out grain rations), formed a self-contained enclave in the midst of an otherwise local community. Further E at Sialk, similar painted pottery, seals and sealings, and tablets also indicate direct contact with Susa (Ghirshman 1938). Unfortunately, the excavated area at Sialk is too limited to tell whether the material also occurs in an enclave or is more generally distributed. Whether these various enclaves of slightly differing dates represent peaceful trading arrangements or were forcefully imposed on these localities cannot yet be determined. If forceful occupation is the case, we may have the first evidence for the existence and expansion of an early state structure centered on Malyan (Anshan) and Susa in the Proto-Elamite period.

In this same period in NE Iran, the making of burnished gray pottery became widespread at the end of the 4th millennium. It is especially well known from Shah Tepe and Tureng Tepe just E of the Caspian Sea and at Tepe Hissar immediately S on the plateau (Schmidt 1937). The technique of reduced firing was developed well back in the painted-pottery period of the 4th millennium at these sites. By the end of the 4th millennium, gray pottery became the common ware, although at Tepe Hissar painted pottery continued to be made in small quantities into the early 2d millennium (Schmidt 1937). The development of decorative techniques and vessel shapes in gray pottery is largely distinct as seen between the Gurgan plain and the plateau, although trade contacts are clearly indicated. At Hissar, painted bowls on low hollow stems were gradually replaced by bowls on tall hollow or solid stems, beaker forms, and low-necked jars. By 3000 B.C., the town was full of craftsmen working lapis lazuli with an elaborate tool kit of flint drills and cutting blades. Extensive working of copper ore is also in evidence (Dyson and Howard fc.). Numerous stamp seals and small pottery "tokens" indicate linkages to the W, but few actual imports can be documented. One of these, however, is half a burned chlorite cylinder seal of a type known from Proto-Elamite contexts at Shahr-i Sokhta, Yahya, Malyan, and Susa. East of Hissar in this period, the first significant southward expansion of the Namazga painted-pottery culture of Soviet Turkmenia occurred, as shown by its presence in the earliest settlement at Shahr-i Sokhta in Sistan (Tosi 1979). By the late 3d millennium, a N–S cultural relationship extended from Mehrgarh on the edge of the Indus valley in Baluchistan to an Indus emporium at Shortugai on the S edge of the Bactrian plain in N Afghanistan (Jarriage 1985). The emergence of a knowledge of this N–S pattern and its strength is one of the major changes in our knowledge of Iranian prehistory in recent years.

Beginning around 3000 B.C., for the first time we can see the expansion of cultures originating beyond the N borders of Iran onto the plateau. In NW Iran, the N half of Azerbaijan province was occupied by the

Early Bronze Age Transcaucasian Culture, also called the Yanik Culture in Iran after the site where it is best known (*CAH* 2/1: 686–715). This culture was characterized by round mud-brick buildings with a central pole supporting a roof of wattle and daub. Twenty-three structures have been excavated at Yanik Tepe (Burney and Lang 1972). Toward the end of the Early Bronze I period, a stone-based defensive wall 4-m to 6-m thick was built. In the following Early Bronze II period, the round structures were replaced by rectangular one- and two-room houses. The pottery of both periods was handmade and colored in black to gray with a high burnish (but of a different type from that in the NE). The Early Bronze I period pottery was decorated with incised and excised geometric and bird patterns. This cultural group appears to have spread southward through E Azerbaijan, arriving sometime in the second quarter of the 3d millennium at Godin Tepe in the Kangavar valley, where it makes up period IV (Young and Levine fc.). Further to the S only trade sherds are known to occur.

The latter half of the 3d millennium was a time of prosperity for all of the widespread trading towns. In the W, the painted pottery of Godin III and its analogues spread through the Zagros with the disappearance of the Transcaucasian intrusion (Young and Levine fc.); in the south an elaborate painted pottery characterized by rows of fat birds (Kaftari ware) spread over Fars and even reached Yahya in Kerman in small quantities; the gray burnished pottery of the NE continued in Gurgan, while the Namazga-derived pottery of Shahr-i Sokhta continued to be made at that site (Voigt and Dyson fc.). The towns continued as specialized manufacturing centers. Especially notable is the continuing production of chlorite objects and vessels at Yahya, but in the absence of evidence for any enclave from the W (Kohl 1979). The level of wealth of the period is seen in the richly furnished graves of Hissar and Shahdad, which contain a wide variety of copper, bronze, lead, gold, silver ornaments, tools, and vessels along with beads of agate, carnelian, lapis, and alabaster and pottery vessels (Schmidt 1937). At Shahdad a number of extraordinary painted clay busts have been recovered (Hakemi 1973). Many of the pots from the Shahdad graves, as well as those from Yahya, bear symbols originally incised or impressed into the wet clay. At least one inscription shows that a post–Proto-Elamite script existed in the area. Cylinder seals showing a vegetation goddess provide a glimpse of religious iconography (Hakemi 1973).

The long-range trade in raw materials that presumably provided much of this prosperity came to an unexpected halt at the end of the first quarter of the 2d millennium when most of the sites in E and S Iran were mysteriously abandoned. The cause of this abandonment provides the basis for much speculation, but the explanation remains unknown. In Turkmenia the population shifted eastward toward Bactria (Kohl 1984). other elements from Turkmenia and perhaps NE Iran appear to have moved S toward the upper Indus valley. Yahya and Malyan appear to have been abandoned as well.

In central W Iran, on the other hand, the occupation of Godin and related sites in the early 2d millennium continued, while in N and W Azerbaijan painted pottery related to adjacent areas evidences a local occupation. After 1500 B.C., a change begins to occur in the NW with the appearance of a new cultural pattern marked by extramural cemeteries, distinctive architectural forms, and an entirely new assemblage of burnished gray pottery, many forms of which appear to copy metal prototypes. The origins of this new cultural pattern are unclear. It has been suggested that it represents the displaced gray-ware-using peoples of NE Iran arriving finally in the W (Young 1967). It has also been suggested that the source was the Turkish or Caucasian area in view of many similarities to objects in these areas and to Iron Age Europe. Perhaps both movements occurred (Ghirshman 1977) at the same time.

This cultural pattern, seen best in the burned settlement at Hasanlu, at the S end of Lake Urmia, and in the cemetery of Marlik on the Sefid Rud in Gilan province, contains the cultural inventory which characterizes NW Iran down almost to the historic period (Burney and Lang 1972). This gray-pottery period is commonly referred to as the "Iron Age," although very little iron existed prior to the 9th century B.C. The tombs at Marlik were built of stone and contained large quantities of bronze weapons, pottery animal effigy vases, and elaborate gold vessels decorated in repoussé (Negahban 1964). The style of these vessels suggests a temporal spread from the 2d into the 1st millennium B.C. A bronze fibula in one tomb should indicate that many of these items were hierlooms, since the fibula cannot be dated to before the 8th century B.C. on present evidence.

At Hasanlu, a complex of columned halls and auxiliary buildings was burned around 800 B.C. (Dyson 1972). It is believed on the basis of the occurrence of Urartian inscriptions in the area that this event took place when the kingdom of Urartu expanded southward under kings Menua and Ishpuini at a time when Hasanlu was probably allied with the Assyrians (Levine fc.). The ruins of this period yielded over 7,000 objects of copper, bronze, iron, lead, antimony, silver, gold, amber, glass, carnelian, alabaster, Egyptian blue, wood, ivory, and pottery. Some items, particularly cylinder seals and wall tiles, show a close relationship to Assyria and may even be imports, while others appear to be heirlooms several hundreds of years old. The site appears to have been an administrative and religious center, apparently defended by mounted horsemen, to judge by the equipment recovered. The building plans evolved from a simple plan involving an entry, a small stair, a main room with two center columns and raised fireplace, a raised platform at the rear, and a side storage room to large-scale structures, each with an open portico, an entry room and adjacent stair, a large columned hall (the largest being 18 m × 24 m) with raised central hearth and rear platform, and additional storerooms. This architectural development clearly ties into the background of the Median columned halls seen in the 8th–7th century buildings at Godin, Baba Jan, and Nushijan in central W Iran (Levine fc.). These settlements—a fortified palace at Godin, a fortified manor house and shrine at Babajan, and a fort, temple, and palace at Nushijan—represent the protohistoric occupation of the W Zagros by the Iranian Iron Age Median population. In the S, the buildings of Cyrus the Great at Pasargadae (Stronach 1979) remain the initial evidence of the Iranians at Fars, although some enigmatic remains at Susa in the so-called Ville Archaemenide-Perse may be earlier (Stronach 1974).

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## ʿIRAQ EL-EMIR (M.R. 221147).

A little village, 20 km W of Amman. In this area, the well-watered and green valley of the Wadi es-Sir takes a last turn before falling into the Wadi Kefrein, which was in antiquity one of the roads leading to Jericho. A towering cliff to the N, steep heights to the W, and on the E, a sheer descent to the wadi bound a large piece of land descending in terraces to the S. In this area are remains of an enclosure which delimits an estate of about 150 acres, within which are several ruins: two stories of caves carved out of the cliff, various remains on a nearby mound (where the modern village rests), and, 600 m to the S, the stately ruins of the Qasr el-ʿAbd near a mighty dam.

### A. Identification and History

The first European visitors were C. L. Irby, J. Mangles, and their companion Bankes (in 1817), who identified the site with the Tyros described by Josephus (*Ant* 12.4.1 §229–35). Josephus narrated that the Tobiad Hyrcanus built in the vicinity of Amman a castle or palace, decorated with large animal figures and surrounded by an artificial lake. It is fairly certain that the Qasr, with its lion friezes and its dam, was the area described by Josephus as Hyrcanus' last place of refuge.

The historian credits Hyrcanus with all the installations in ʿIraq el-Emir; but the first-known Tobiah is mentioned by Ezra (2:60) and Nehemiah (2:10ff.) in the 5th century B.C. as the "Ammonite servant," i.e., servant of the Great King of Persia, which means he was the governor of the land of Ammon. According to the Zenon papyri, another Tobiah was still in Ammon in the 3d century, at that time in the service of the Lagid kings of Egypt. Moreover, it has been argued that ʿIraq el-Emir is mentioned in those papyri (cf. Mittmann 1970). The name Tobiah has been found carved twice in Aramaic letters, each time next to the doorway of a cave; these are dated to the 4th or 5th century B.C. Finally, the name Tyros, which survives in Wadi es-Sir, is the Greek transliteration of the Aramaic *ṣour,* meaning "rock," a word by which the site may have been known long before Hyrcanus.

Thus, we may reasonably assume that by the 5th century, ʿIraq el-Emir was one of the estates of the Tobiads, a Jewish family that settled in the land of Ammon and became locally powerful. The livelihood of the estate was derived from farming on a large scale, which relied on the diverted waters of the wadi for irrigation.

However, quarrels with his brothers, his Arab (= Nabatean) neighbors, and the Seleucid kings who had been masters of Syria and Palestine since 200 B.C., prompted Hyrcanus to take refuge in ʿIraq el-Emir, where he intended to erect a residence of princely standing.

Excavations in the village (which is not mentioned by Josephus) have revealed remains from the time of Hyrcanus—a beautiful house with painted stuccos (the "plaster building" of P. W. Lapp 1976), and columns, capitals, and entablature which are very similar to those retrieved in the Qasr. A segment of a fortification wall in which is set a doorway dates at least to Persian times, but, after several modifications, the wall fell into disuse in the 1st century A.D. The village was permanently inhabited and was the center of the site from very ancient times. Indeed, the site has yielded archaeological material from the EB through the Ummayads.

Hyrcanus was compelled by Antiochus IV (175–164 B.C.) to take his own life, after which the estate was confiscated. The Qasr was unfinished at that time and stood vacant for five centuries. In the first half of the 4th century A.D., it was remodeled and occupied. Although seriously damaged by a violent earthquake (probably in 365), it remained inhabited. The lions of the friezes were eventually, with one exception, savagely mutilated, probably the result of the iconoclastic edict in 723 by the Sultan Al Yazid.

**B. Exploration**

The site was first explored by M. de Vogüe and F. de Saulcy in 1863 and 1864; both were primarily interested in the Qasr. The same is true of the American, H. C. Butler, who visited the Qasr for six days in 1906. In 1962 and 1963, P. W. Lapp carried out the first systematic excavations in the "plaster building" of the village, in the "square building" (a water-supply regulator) outside the village, and in the Qasr itself. From 1977 to 1987, a team directed by E. Will cleared the entire Qasr, which has permitted a partial reconstruction. In 1977, the monumental gateway to the estate, near the Qasr, was studied by J. M. Dentzer and F. Villeneuve; the latter also conducted soundings in the village and in the caves in 1980 and 1981.

**1. The Qasr el-ʿAbd.** The Qasr has been the subject of a long dispute, since most scholars are inclined to identify it as a temple. However, since the owner of the building was a Jew, these scholars must assume that this owner violated Jewish orthodoxy, since there was no legitimate temple outside Jerusalem; if this were a temple, it would therefore be a "rival sanctuary." An event of such significance hardly would have been ignored by Josephus, who otherwise mentions the existence of a schismatic temple in Leontopolis in Egypt, which was built by the discharged high priest, Onias IV. The recent French excavations, however, have completely vindicated Josephus' descriptions: the Qasr was indeed a castle or palace—the *baris* of Hyrcanus.

The building, a rectangular block of 18.5 m × 37 m, stood with two stories to a height of 14 m. The N and S facades each had a broad, two-columned porch leading into an entrance hall flanked by two square rooms. A staircase still occupies the NE corner; another staircase was intended for the SE corner, but it was never built. The N hall leads through a monumental doorway to a second broad room flanked by two cisterns. The central part of the building, obviously altered in Byzantine times, is unfortunately in very bad condition and only the ground floor is partially preserved. A U-shaped corridor, lit on the E and W sides by seven large windows, surrounds a complex of four identical rooms. In the upper story, a two-columned, but unroofed, loggia rose above the N entrance hall. The S loggia looked out on the valley through seven bays framed by Corinthian half-columns. Various architectural blocks, bases, capitals, and half-columns point to the existence of several decorated rooms, one of which was probably a large reception room.

A two-storied building, with each story divided into a number of rooms and corridors, should not be identified as a temple, since no such temple is known elsewhere in the Near East. This was clearly a palatial dwelling and, according to an ancient and still extant Oriental custom, the ground floor was used for practical purposes (servants' quarters, storerooms, etc.), and the upper story was reserved for residence and reception areas.

The outer walls are made of huge slabs set on edge, according to traditional Phoenician and Syrian construction techniques which continued into Hellenistic and Roman times. The architectural ornamentation, however, is Hellenistic, in particular the combination of Corinthian columns and capitals with Doric entablatures. Both the N and the S facades have counterparts in the Greece and Macedonia of the 4th and 3d centuries B.C.

Greek-style sculptures also graced the building: the two panthers at the base of the E and W walls (which served as outlets for the internal cisterns), the lions and the lionesses with their cubs (from the lower course of the upper story), and the eagles whose wings partly concealed the Corinthian corner capitals at the top of the building. Clearly a Greek-schooled architect used an Oriental prototype in a new spirit and was assisted by a Greek-schooled sculptor. The exact origin of these masters cannot be determined, but some of the evidence points to ties with Alexandria.

Josephus called the Qasr a *baris,* a term of unknown origin used to refer to fortified residences in towns, as well as to large estates in the Hellenistic world. Qasr el-ʿAbd, cut off from the village and the caves, surrounded by its lake, and superbly decorated, is indeed a princely residence. The eagles and the lions, in addition to their possible magical protection, could have a political significance: they are symbols of royal power. Perhaps Hyrcanus dreamed of gaining some form of independence from the Seleucid king—a dream expressed in the Qasr. In any case, the Qasr stands as the only known, though much less splendid, preview of Herod's extravagant palaces.

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ERNEST WILL

**IRBID, TELL** (M.R. 229218). A site in Jordan, perhaps to be identified with BETH-ARBEL (Hos 10:14).

**A. Name and Identification**

Mostly hidden from the S by the buildings of modern Irbid, the tell is one of the largest in the region, approximately 350 m × 400 m. Recent economic development has removed portions of the site. Tell Irbid (597 m above sea level) dominates the surrounding plateau, which is one of the most fertile in Jordan. There is one spring in the vicinity of the tell, located in the modern city.

The name "Irbid" is attested since the 14th century A.D. In the 8th century A.D., the town was known as "Arbad," which might be a hypercorrection and presuppose the present name of the site. Irbid was the site of the Roman town or village of Arbela, mentioned by Eusebius of Caesarea in the early 4th century A.D. The east bank Irbid was not the only Arbela that changed to Irbid via Irbil (Knauf and Lenzen fc.). It is likely that Irbid/Arbela is identical with the Beth-arbel mentioned in Hos 10:14. This reference is enigmatic and does not allow clear conclusions concerning the history of the site in the Iron Age, except to provide its name for this period. The name of the site in the LB was possibly *gintôt,* "the place of winepresses," mentioned by Thutmose III and in the Amarna letters (Lenzen and Knauf 1987).

**B. History of Research**

Early travelers and explorers noted mainly the remnants of classical antiquity in the vicinity of the modern city and of Bârha, W of the city (Seetzen 1854: 360–61; Burckhardt 1822: 268–69; Buckingham 1827: 350–52; Merrill 1881: 293–96; Oliphant 1880: 103–14; Schumacher 1890: 149–54). The significance of the tell was first noted by Albright (1929: 10) and Glueck (1951: 153–54), who associated the tell with the LB. Salvage excavations have been conducted at the site since the 1960s, and research excavations have been conducted since 1984 (Lenzen 1986; Lenzen, Gordon, and McQuitty 1985; Lenzen and Gordon fc.).

**C. History of Settlement**

Stratified occupational deposits have been dated from ca. 3500 B.C. to ca. 800 B.C. During the MB, the tell was enclosed by a city wall built of basalt boulders, many of which measured well over 4 m × 4 m. These boulders were indigenous to the region, probably having been scattered throughout the Irbid plateau from the E during the Late Pleistocene period. The LB II city incorporated the earlier city wall, while at the same time expanding the interior of the city by building a wall outside the first. An excavated architectural complex—consisting of an outside perimeter wall, four to five separate rooms, a tower, and a sanctuary—has provided cultic objects and ceramics which date to the LB/Iron Age transition. Above the structures were 4 m of destruction debris which extended to the SW for over 100 m. Since only two arrowheads were found in the destruction debris, a military destruction seems unlikely. Occupation of the area resumed following the destruction of the public buildings, but the nature of the occupation changed from a public sector to one of domestic and light industrial use. The top of the tell has been completely obliterated by the construction of modern buildings; hence, essentially no archaeological data exist for the site after ca. 800 B.C. Later occupational periods, however, are represented in wash. Although it is likely that the tell was always occupied to some degree, probably in the 1st century A.D. the main settlement shifted from the summit to its immediate surroundings.

The later history of Irbid is derived primarily from textual sources. Prior to the establishment of the DECAPOLIS city of Capitolias (BEIT RAS, 5 km N of Irbid), Arbela belonged to the territory of Pella. According to a Greek inscription from the town, Arbela belonged to Provincia Arabia in 239 A.D. (assuming this inscription was not imported from elsewhere).

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C. J. LENZEN

**IRENAEUS.** Irenaeus (ca. 140–ca. 202) was bishop of Lyons in Gaul in the late 2d century. His exposition of Christian theology developed out of his critique of the gnostic systems. He is considered by many to be the first systematic theologian.

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A. The Man and His Work
B. Irenaeus and the Gnostics
C. Unity of *Adversus Haereses* and Biblical Methodology
D. Irenaeus and Canon
E. Irenaeus' Exegesis
F. Summary of Argument of *Haer.* 3–5


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**A. The Man and His Work**

As is the case with most ancient writers, Irenaeus is known from his work and, indirectly, from the personality revealed in that work rather than from an abundance of biographical detail. Irenaeus does tell of spending his early years in Smyrna, during the bishopric of Polycarp, his teacher (Iren. *Haer.* 3.3.4; Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.20.4–8). The date of Polycarp's martyrdom, between A.D. 161 and 168, helps fix the date of Irenaeus' birth at ca. A.D. 140. The few other known details depend on Eusebius, who compiled his Church history in the first decades of the 4th century. It is certain that Irenaeus, having become a presbyter, was the emissary of the church of Lyons to the bishop of Rome in 177 (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.4.1–2). When Pothinus, bishop of Lyons, died in prison that same year, Irenaeus succeeded him (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.5.8). Irenaeus' activity as bishop continued through the Paschal controversy of the late 2d century. His intervention took the form of a letter to Victor, bishop of Rome, ca. 188 to ca. 198, urging that Victor tolerate diversity of practice in fixing the date of Easter and in keeping the pre-Easter fast (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.24.11–18). The date of Irenaeus' death is unknown, although convention places it ca. 202 to correspond with the renewed persecution under Septimus Severus. However, the texts which mention Irenaeus' martyrdom are late and uncertain: Jerome, writing ca. 397 (*Commentary on Is,* 64 [*PL* 24, 623 A]); Theodoret (?), writing between 430 and 450 (*Quaestiones et responsiones* [*PG* 6, 1363]); Gregory of Tours, writing ca. 575 (*Historia Francorum 1,* 27 [*PL* 71, 174 C–175 A]) and again in 590 (*De gloria martyrum* 50 [*PL* 71, 752 A]).

Irenaeus' major extant writing is the *Adversus Haereses* (the full title of which is the *Refutation and Overthrow of Knowledge falsely so-called*). Its composition is dated ca. 180 from the succession lists in which the author names Eleutherus (ca.174–ca.189) as current bishop of Rome (*Haer.* 3.3.3), although it seems from remarks Irenaeus makes in the prefaces to *Haer.* 3 and 4 that he followed the practice of sending on the separate books of the work as they were completed. The other complete extant work is the *Demonstration [or Proof] of the Apostolic Preaching.* It was written after at least the earlier books of *Adversus Haereses,* to which reference is made in chap. 99. An Armenian version of this long-lost work was discovered in 1904, and Smith (1952: 4–11) discusses its textual history. Eusebius (ca. 263–ca. 339) is the principal source for our knowledge of the lost works of Irenaeus. These include at least the treatises "On the Ogdoad" and "Concerning Knowledge" and letters "On Schism" and "On the Monarchy [of God]" (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.20.1), as well as the full text of the letter to Victor already mentioned.

Irenaeus wrote in Greek, but his Greek text has survived only in material quoted by others. For both the *Demonstration* and *Adversus Haereses,* our direct knowledge of Irenaeus' text depends on translations. *Adversus Haereses* survived in a Latin version made before A.D. 422, when Augustine cites it in the *Contra Julianum* (*PL* 44, 644). In addition, a 6th-century Armenian version of Books 4 and 5 was discovered with the *Demonstration* in 1904, and fragments exist in Armenian and Syriac as well as in Greek. Full discussion of the manuscript tradition of the Latin version with its editions, as well as of the Armenian version and of the fragments, appears in the critical edition completed under the direction of Rousseau in 1982, and published by Sources chrétiennes between 1965 and 1982. This edition includes a partial Greek retroversion as well as a French translation. The only English translation remains that in ANF vol. 1 (1885: 9–567), although the editors of ACW have announced the forthcoming publication of Unger's new English translation (Burghardt 1984: 293).

**B. Irenaeus and the Gnostics**

A major context of Irenaeus' contribution is his response to the threat of Gnosticism. In the last quarter of the 2d century, Valentinian Gnosticism posed a serious challenge to mainline Christianity in the Rhone valley. Anti-gnostic polemic shapes both *Adversus Haereses* and the *Demonstration.* The latter is concerned with demonstrating that the preaching received from the apostles is true; its emphasis throughout is soundness of doctrine. The former, larger work derives form, method, and content from the purpose, set forth in its title, that was "the refutation and overthrow of so-called gnosis" (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.7).

In a body of work so keyed to polemical response, the question of the writer's reliability as a witness to his opponents' positions must be raised. The question is all the more acute because Irenaeus has long been a principal source for knowledge of Gnosticism. Nineteenth-century historical-critical scholarship

recognized the polemical character of heresiological reports of opponents and so treated this material, including that of Irenaeus, as suspect. Schmidt (1907) and DeFaye (1925) recognized the corroborative value of gnostic material like that in the then newly discovered Codex Berolinensis 8502. Sagnard (1947: 100) was cautious about all but firsthand accounts; in his view Irenaeus can be trusted when writing about those of whom he has personal knowledge. What remained problematic was the use of secondary sources by Irenaeus as well as by others.

Discovery of the Nag Hammadi library changed the situation. Wisse (1971: 205–23) has compared the writings of the heresiologists with the Nag Hammadi library. He finds two major discrepancies that must be accounted for. The first is lack of significant overlapping in material and detail. One might expect in so large a collection to find some of the sources used by the heresiologists. In fact, there are only five cases of clear agreement. Of these, three certainly and one possibly are with Irenaeus (Wisse 1971: 217–18). A second discrepancy is that the heresiologists name various sects, describing them in terms of characteristic traits and teachings as if each had developed its own distinct doctrines. The collection as a whole, as well as individual writings within it, contains ideas that according to the heresiologists are appropriate to different sects. This raises the question whether the sects were indeed as differentiated by doctrine as the ancient Church writers indicated.

In Wisse's own view, the sections in which Irenaeus discusses Ptolemy (*Haer.* 1.1–8) and the Marcosians (*Haer.* 1.13–21), as well as *Haer.* 1.9–10 and 1.31.3–4, are of the bishop's own composition and draw on his direct knowledge of the disciples of Ptolemy and Marcus. Wisse thinks the remaining passages describing gnostic sects derive from an earlier catalogue of heresies (1971: 212–15). To such a source Wisse attaches the blame for describing gnostics as "pathological systems builders" comprising numerous sects; this differs from what we read in the Nag Hammadi library (1971: 218–19).

Perkins (1976: 193–200) attacks Wisse's position, maintaining that considerations of style and literary genre raise problems. Drawing on studies by Schoedel (1959: 22–32) and Grant (1949: 41–51), she recalls that oral and rhetorical models greatly influenced ancient writers and shows how, in *Haer.* 1, Irenaeus follows the model of a rhetorical refutation. (In 1981, Vallée developed this insight but without giving attention to the reliability of Irenaeus' presentation of gnostic thought.) What of Wisse's theory of an earlier heresiological source? In Perkins' judgment, *Haer.* 1.11 and 12 are rightly ascribed to Irenaeus since each contains elements proper to the refutation. *Haer.* 1.29 and 30 are also ascribed to Irenaeus, in this case as a result of comparison of style and method between clear Irenaean materials and clear source material.

Pagels (1974: 35–53) has challenged the dependability of Irenaeus' accounts of gnostic teaching in another passage, contending that in *Haer.* 1.7.1 Irenaeus distorts the correct account preserved in Clement of Alexandria. In a review of Pagels' publications through 1977, Grant (1977: 30–34) finds minimal differences between the texts. He notes that this aspect of Pagels' position has been questioned by Schoedel and rejected by Mühlenberg. McCue (1980) also questions the attack on Irenaeus' reliability. The issue remains controversial.

Study of this Irenaean material in the context of available gnostic writings is now expedited by Layton (1987), who translates the Valentinian material from Irenaeus together with the Valentinian fragments, and performs a similar service for the other types of gnostic sources.

**C. Unity of *Adversus Haereses* and Biblical Methodology**

Study of the unity of *Adversus Haereses* is directly connected with study of its author's role as a biblical theologian. This role has long been recognized, notably by Lawson (1948) and Wingren (1959). Equally, Irenaeus has long been criticized for an incoherent, rambling, and unsystematic style. Both the formal and theological unity of *Adversus Haereses* were severely attacked by source critics beginning with Harnack (1907: 1–38), followed by Bousset (1915) and Loofs (1930), and more recently by the scholars Widmann (1957: 156–73) and Benoit (1960). However, Bacq's careful study (1978) of Irenaeus' biblical methodology has uncovered the tightly structured unity of *Haer.* 4, a unity at once theological and literary. The basic unit of structure is a "word of the Lord" or scriptural text announced, cited, and commented upon, with various allusions to that word linking one structural unit to another. Understanding

and application of this principle of organization may well permit the unity of the entire work to be uncovered.

**D. Irenaeus and Canon**

Because the last three books of *Adversus Haereses* offer proof from the Scriptures, it is particularly important to know what Irenaeus considers to be the Scriptures. As Schneemelcher (*NTApocr* 1: 28–59) indicates, Irenaeus affirmed the number of Gospels to be fixed at four (*Haer.* 3.11.8); in addition, Acts and twelve epistles of Paul belong to the canon, and 1 Peter and 1 and 2 John are on a par with Paul (Schneemelcher *NTApocr* 1: 34). In 1960, Benoit pointed out that Irenaeus reserves the phrases *ait Scriptura* ("Scripture has") and *dicit Scriptura* ("Scripture says") for OT citations. At the same time, phrases such as *scriptum est* ("it is written") and *quod scriptum est* ("which is written") are used to introduce both NT and OT passages (Benoit 1960: 76). More recently, Sesbouë (1981) has reviewed the meanings of *scriptura* and *scripturae* in Irenaeus. He concludes that undoubtedly Irenaeus did treat the NT as Scripture. But in Irenaeus' day a current usage, held over from the NT identified Scripture with the OT; Irenaeus also continued to share in that perspective. Specifically, his proof from the Scriptures involved proof from the prophets and consisted of the systematic elaboration of the agreements between the two testaments. In proceeding thus, he simply developed the pattern set by the NT writers. But Sesbouë has shown that Irenaeus adds a dimension to the argument. Against his opponents, he wants to show that both Testaments are the work of the one God. So for the bishop, not only is prophecy a proof of the event but the event in turn is also a proof of prophecy.

Peretto, in his investigation (1971) of Romans 1–8 in *Adversus Haereses*, finds Irenaeus reluctant to apply the term "Scripture" to the Pauline letters. Unlike Sesbouë, Peretto does not discuss Irenaeus' use of the term as applied to the whole complex of the OT and the NT, but he does enter the ongoing discussion of the relation of the Latin version of *Adversus Haereses* to the Latin version of the NT. Specifically, he demonstrates that the text of Roman 1–8 in the Latin *Adversus Haereses* is simply the translation of the Greek text; it does not enter into the line of development of the VL. In his section on the Irenaean use of the Romans material, Peretto finds selection and interpretation clearly adapted to the polemical situation. He holds that Irenaeus does respect the literal meaning of the texts. Finally, his work includes a complete and helpful review of the study of Irenaeus and Sacred Scripture (1971: 41–45).

**E. Irenaeus' Exegesis**

Herrera (1920) studied Irenaeus as exegete. He indicated that Irenaeus employs both the literal and the spiritual sense, although Herrera judged his use of the literal sense to be sometimes less happy than one might desire (1920: 98–118). According to Herrera, Irenaeus adopts four rules of exegesis: (1) By the rule of clarity, the obscure should be explained by the clear (1920: 120–23). (2) According to the rule of truth, a text should be read within the context of the creed delivered at baptism, and within the context of the whole of the Scriptures (1920: 124–26). (3) Holding to the rule of tradition, a text should be read within the context of the truth handed on by the living tradition through the succession (1920: 127–39). (4) According to the rule of mystery, the student of the Scriptures should admit that the Scriptures contain mysteries beyond human understanding (1920: 139–46). Later developments in Scripture studies are reflected in Bacq's 1978 work (*C* above), which adds considerable sophistication to the understanding of Irenaeus' exegetical method.

Orbe (1981) focuses on *Haer.* 5.23.1–2, where Irenaeus, in typical 2d-century style, offers five exegeses of Gen 2:17b. Marcion and the gnostics made capital of the apparently unfulfilled divine threat of death to be inflicted "in the day that you eat." Orbe's service here is, first, to point out Irenaeus' great concern for the literal meaning of the passage (a concern Peretto also notes). Second, Orbe makes clear the bishop's familiarity with a variety of interpretations, ranging from that of Philo through the *Book of Jubilees* and Justin's. Third, Orbe analyzes the various interpretations Irenaeus offers, in light of the rest of his teaching, in order to suggest which of the five are most likely to have been Irenaeus' own.

This familiarity with a broad spectrum of relevant material is apparent in Orbe's comprehensive work (1972) on the gospel parables in Irenaeus. There, he treats one by one the parables to which Irenaeus refers, and for each he examines all occurrences in the literature, both heterodox and orthodox, prior and

immediately posterior to Irenaeus. Parables that receive only marginal mention in Irenaeus are also noted and located in the literature. The consequence of this immense labor is to place Irenaeus solidly within the literary milieu to which his work belongs. A particularly helpful result is Orbe's clarification of the distinction between Valentinian exegesis, Alexandrian exegesis, and Irenaeus' Asiatic exegesis. The diagram illustrates his comparison of the three exegeses of the parable of the Good Samaritan.

| | **VALENTINIAN** | **ALEXANDRIAN** | **ASIATIC** |
|---|---|---|---|
| WOUNDED MAN | spiritual man, | *Homo (nous)* | Man of clay, the human race, |
| | lost on earth, | descended from noetic world, | |
| | because of fall of Sophia. | because of sin. | transgressor in Adam. |
| SAMARITAN | Gnostic Savior made man "in his own way." | Savior made man, even flesh. | Son of God incarnate, dead and risen. |
| HELPER | For soteriological efficacy needs help of angels | For soteriological efficacy needs help of angels | Efficacy is in His glorified flesh; |
| | = gnostic leaders. | = apostles. | uses Holy Spirit to cure the man during interval between 2 comings. |

(Adapted from A. Orbe [1972: 2.488]. First published Donovan [1984: 229].)

All three approaches respect the letter of the parable. All follow the pattern: the situation of the human person in a state of mortal danger from which the Son of Man redeems him, assisted by another (or others). As Orbe points out, we have here a generic synthesis of the *historia salutis*. Further, he reminds us that in these models, originating fairly close to one another in time and place, there already appear three distinct thought patterns, each of which constitutes a tradition.

The Irenaean interpretation of parables is key to Schoedel's exploration of the theological method in *Haer*. 2.25–28 (1984: 31–49). Schoedel identifies the methodological point made by Irenaeus at the theological climax of *Haer*. 2.25–28, where he distinguishes between "knowing *that*" and "knowing *how*." Scriptures often teach us *that* God has done thus and so without explaining *how* or *why*. This must be so as God transcends ordinary ways of thought. Gnostics err by not recognizing this aspect of transcendence and proffering explanations of the humanly inexplicable. Schoedel points out that Irenaeus is especially concerned about the way in which gnostics were using the NT parables. Irenaeus' distinction is not simply between difficult and easy problems either in the study of nature or in Scriptural exegesis; rather, it is in the study of nature that we know *that* natural things are; knowledge of *how* they come to exist is left to God. With respect to things in Scripture, the contrast is between the assertions (as, There is one God who created matter) and *speculation* about such assertions (as, when or how God created matter). As Schoedel remarks: "The important point, then, is that when Irenaeus worries about the gnostic interpretation of parables, it is because such exegesis reflects dissatisfaction with knowing 'that' and an unhealthy desire to know 'why' " (1984: 35). The parables must be read in harmony with the rest of Scriptures.

Schoedel locates parallels to the distinction between "knowing *that*" and "knowing *how*" in Empiric medical writings and in philosophical Skepticism. As Irenaeus' sound "art of discovery" rests on interpretation of the parables in light of the clarity of the prophets and Gospels, so Schoedel notes the Empiricists' "way of discovery" took as point of departure things that were certain. Irenaeus uses the question of what God was doing before creation of the world as an illustration of the futility of speculation on questions beyond our capacity to know. Schoedel situates this question in the debates of the philosophy of Irenaeus' day, showing that "in both Empirical and Skeptical circles Irenaeus could find

a measure of sympathy for his view that it was enough to affirm divine providence without attempting to solve the metaphysical issues involved" (1984: 44).

While Irenaeus' adherence to what is obvious may have some connection with popular distrust of philosophy, Schoedel says that distrust "has been focused more precisely under the influence of more highly developed intellectual tools" (1984: 48). Thus, Schoedel concludes that the very use Irenaeus makes of such tools shows (contrary to van Unnik 1979: 33–43) that it is possible to read Irenaeus in the light of Skepticism without reducing him to a precursor of "God of the gaps" theology. Rather, Irenaeus' very debt to Empiric method and Skepticism in challenging speculation betrays his impressive achievement in the development of sound theological method.

**F. Summary of Argument of *Haer.* 3–5**

After the discussion of method which concludes *Haer.* 2, Irenaeus devotes the next three books to presenting the true gnosis of Christ's teachings. By way of prologue he develops an understanding of true doctrine, tradition, and succession destined to be extremely influential in the Western Church (*Haer.* 3, pref.–5). He agrees with the gnostics that Jesus gave true teaching (which he calls the "rule of truth") to his apostles, directing them to pass it on to their successors. Thus, in both the gnostic and Irenaean versions, the truth is given into the keeping of the succession of teachers in the Church. It is their task to "pass it on," i.e., to perform the work of tradition. However, Irenaeus introduces one sharp and major difference. In his view, there is no secret succession or tradition; the tradition is guarded by a public, known succession to the apostles: hence, the importance he attaches to the episcopal succession lists.

Equally in response to gnostic positions, Irenaeus stresses the unity of God who made all through his hands the Word and Wisdom, and the oneness of being of Jesus Christ who is only-begotten son, savior, word, truly divine, and truly human (*Haer.* 3.5–25). Here, as elsewhere in the Irenaean corpus, the God who is one—yet is Father, Son, and Spirit—is known as such through the divine economy or plan of salvation. Thus, Irenaeus' position is a form of economic trinitarianism.

The theme of *Haer.* 4 is the unity of the old and new covenants summed up in the person of Jesus Christ, who recapitulates all of salvation history in his person and through his life, death, and resurrection in order to join the end to the beginning, so humankind to God. "Recapitulation" is an important subtheme in Irenaeus, a development of Pauline theology (Romans 5 and 6; Col 1:15–20; Eph 1:9–10). In Irenaeus' view, the entire life and work of the Son was both a fulfillment of prophecy (see *Dem.* 53–85) and a recapitulation or summing up of all that has been since Adam (see *Haer.* 3.22.3; *Dem.* 37). This summing up pertains to the circumstances of his birth by Mary (*Haer.* 3.21.10 and 22.1–2) and even to the ages he passed through (*Haer.* 2.22.4). It includes his passion-resurrection and the saving significance of his life (see *Haer.* 5.19.1; 5.21.1–2; 5.18.1–3; 3.16.6; 3.18.7).

In *Haer.* 5, Irenaeus emphasizes the reality of Jesus' body, before and after the resurrection. Repeatedly in these last three books, Irenaeus stresses the value in God's eyes of human physicality, and the importance of free human choice in the working out of salvation by permitting the Spirit to penetrate one's life, so that ultimately one might enter into the glory-filled vision of God. The Irenaean picture of the human person adopts the biblical notion of a threefold organization of flesh, soul, and spirit (1 Thess 5:23). The image imprinted from creation is in the flesh (*Haer.* 5.6.1), the dynamism leading toward holiness involves a distinction between image and likeness (Fantino 1986), and growth in the likeness is through the work of the Holy Spirit, freely welcomed by the individual (see especially *Haer.* 4.37–9). The result will be progress toward the life-giving vision of God as expressed in the often-quoted Irenaean text: "The glory of God is a human person fully alive, and the life of the human person is the vision of God" (*Haer.* 4.20.7).

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**IRI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿîrî* (עִירִי)]. A descendant of Benjamin who appears in a curious Benjaminite genealogy in 1 Chr 7:6–12a. The name means something like "my city" or "my town." This is the only appearance of the name in the MT, and it does not appear in the Apocrypha or the deuterocanonical literature. Iri is mentioned as one of the five sons of Bela, along with Ezbon, Uzzi, Uzziel, and Jerimoth. The tradition is strong at this point, since Bela is the only one of the three sons of Benjamin mentioned in 1 Chr 7:6 who appears in all genealogical lists of the tribe of Benjamin (Coggins *Chronicles* CBC, 50). This genealogy represents the simplest form, numberwise, of any genealogical listing, with only three sons of Benjamin named (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 108). The five sons of Bela are called *roʾšê hāʾābôt,* or "heads of families." There may be some reflection of political and social organization in this designation, as well as military status. Harmon (1983: 150) has suggested that perhaps the head man of a *bēt ʾāb* functioned along the lines of the "big men" of anthropological terminology. Orme (1981: 139) points out that big men are successful, involved in community affairs, associated with feasts, and involved in arbitration in local disputes.

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G. EDWIN HARMON

**IRIJAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yirʾîyâ* (יִרְאִיָּה)]. The sentry at the Benjamin Gate who arrested Jeremiah and accused him of deserting to the Chaldeans (Jer 37:13–14). Certainly, Irijah had cause to suspect Jeremiah of desertion since Jeremiah had urged others to do so (Jer 21:9). Jeremiah denies the charge of Irijah, but the text indicates that "Irijah would not listen to him, and seized Jeremiah, and brought him to the princes" (Jer 37:14). It was the failure of Judah and its leaders to listen to the prophet that the Jeremiah tradition believes is responsible for the Exile. This theme is expressed twice (Jer 36:21 and Jer 37:2), immediately preceding the account of Jeremiah's arrest by Irijah in Jer 37:13–14. Thus, in the context of the book of Jeremiah, Irijah typifies the problem that leads to God's judgment of Judah and Jerusalem. The LXX has a different account of Jeremiah's arrest that does not mention Irijah, but a "Sauria with whom Jeremiah dwelt." The Syr gives the name as *nērîyāh.* Irijah is identified as the son of Shelemiah and the grandson of Hananiah. Shelemiah, son of Hananiah, is apparently a different person from Shelemiah, son of Cushi (Jer 36:14), or Shelemiah, son of Abdeel (Jer 36:26). It is not possible to determine if Irijah's grandfather, Hananiah, is the same person identified as the father of one of the princes mentioned in Jer 36:12. Irijah means "Yahweh sees" (*TPNAH* 102), though this meaning plays no evident role in Jeremiah 37.
JOHN M. BRACKE

**IRNAHASH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿîr* (עִיר) *nāḥāš* (נָחָשׁ)]. A city in Judah of unknown location (1 Chr 4:12). The name is found listed in the genealogy of the sons of Caleb as "Tehinnah the father of Irnahash." Although it is found in a genealogical list, references in the same passage to other place names and their founders, such as "Ephrathah, the father of Bethlehem" (1 Chr 4:4) and "Joab the father of Ge-harashim" (Valley of the Craftsmen; 1 Chr 4:14), make a place identification probable. Noth suggested and Aharoni concurred that many of the clansmen are listed in the genealogies as the "father" of the settlement they either founded or adopted as their own (*LBHG,* 245–48). The LXX supports this view, translating Irnahash as the "City of Naas" (Gk *poleōs naas*) rather than as the name of an individual.

Three possible locations have been suggested. The two with modern place names are Deir Nakhkhas (M.R. 142113) near Beit Gibrin, following Abel (*GP* 2: 351), and Kh. en-Nahas (M.R. 191010) located S of the Dead Sea in the Arabah near Punan, preferred by Glueck (1959: 156) and Kallai (*HGB*, 117). The nearby mining areas make the latter suggestion attractive since Heb *nāḥāš,* "serpent," is cognate with *nĕḥōšet,* "copper," and since Glueck suggested that the name Ge-harashim was used interchangeably in biblical times for Arabah (1959: 156). Aharoni (*LBHG*, 282 n. 164) connected Ir-Nahash with the Kenites of the "house of Rechab," following LXX "Rechab" instead of MT "Recah" in 1 Chr 4:12. Since the Kenites were associated with the Arabah, this would support the location of Kh. en-Nahas. At the same time, Aharoni (*LBHG*, 248) proposed a third location in the hill country between Bethlehem and Hebron somewhere in the area of Tekoa, basing this on a reconstruction of the clansmen and their settlements in 1 Chronicles 4.

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JO ANN H. SEELY

**IRPEEL** (PLACE) [Heb *yirpĕʾēl* (יִרְפְּאֵל)]. A town located in the tribal territory of Benjamin (Josh 18:27). It is listed with other towns mostly N and W of Jerusalem, and it has been suggested (*IDB* 2: 728) that Kh. Rafat (M.R. 170142), about 1.5 miles E of the Jerusalem airport, might be associated with Irpeel, although others prefer to identify Kh. Rafat with biblical Ataroth.

GARY A. HERION

**IRU** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿîrû* (עִירוּ)]. A son of Caleb ben Jephunneh, listed in the genealogy of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr 4:15). His brothers were Elah and Naam. Iru is named first, probably because he was the eldest brother. Possibly the name should be read Ir [*ʿîr*], with the final *û* actually being the conjunction "and," connected to the next name, i.e., "Ir and Elah" (cf. KB 702; Vg and LXX). If Myers' suggestion (*1 Chronicles* AB, 26) that "Elah" and "sons" are transposed is correct, Iru would also be described at the end of the list as one of the sons of Kenaz (*ʾēlleh* as demonstrative pronoun "these" and not the proper name "Elah" [*ʾēlâ*]: "and these were the sons of Kenaz;" cf. Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 32). The Syr codex Ambrosianus completely eliminates Iru from the list, beginning the list "the name of his first-born Elah …" (*šēm bĕkōrô).*

Iru has been linked with the word *ʿîr,* meaning "ass's foal" (*HALAT* 3: 777–78). Note also the names found in the list for the tribe of Benjamin: IRI (1 Chr 7:7) and IR (1 Chr 7:12).

KENNETH H. CUFFEY

**ISAAC** (PERSON) [Heb *yiṣḥāq* (יִצְחָק)]. The second of the patriarchs in whom Israel recognized a father figure; he is traditionally associated with Abraham and Jacob. Genesis presents him as the son of Abraham (17:18; 21:3) and the father of Jacob (25:26). Isaac is mentioned by name more than seventy times in the book of Genesis. Outside Genesis, Isaac finds limited mention in the canonical text of the OT: only thirty-three mentions, and in four of these instances (Jer 33:26; Amos 7:9, 16; Ps 105:9) in the orthographic variant *yiśḥaq.* Generally, except where the context demands otherwise, he is part of the "patriarchal triad" of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. One can note the importance of this phraseology for Deut (1:8; 6:10; 9:5, 27; 29:12; 30:20; 34:4), and also of the expression "the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Israel)" (Exod 3:16; 1 Kgs 18:36) and that of "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob" (Exod 3:6, 15; 4:5 [for specific details, see Diebner 1974: 38–50; Gispen 1982: 123–29]).

It seems that Isaac plays a role of little importance in the OT tradition; even in Genesis he appears as a secondary personality alongside Abraham and Jacob. The majority of commentators, accordingly, speak of an Abraham cycle and one of Jacob, which together share the bulk of Genesis 12–36. They seem to pass over unawares an "Isaac cycle" that is limited to chap. 26.

It is no less true, however, that the patriarch Isaac is, in the biblical narrative, the indispensable link that connects the history of Abraham to that of Jacob, the father of the tribes of Israel. This is the function that

gives him his primary significance, independently of the Jewish and Christian traditions about his presence on Mt. Moriah (Genesis 22).

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A. The Name Isaac
1. Etymology
2. Significance
B. Biography of Isaac
C. A Secondary Character
D. Literary Problems
E. Historical Approaches
F. Religious Problems
G. Jewish and Christian Traditions

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**A. The Name Isaac**

**1. Etymology.** The second patriarch's name, Isaac (Heb *yiṣḥāq*), derives from the common Semitic root *ṣḥq;* it implies laughter, a smile, benevolence, gaiety, pleasantness, scoffing, fondling, cajolery (*HALAT*, 955). The Hebrew form of the name Isaac, *yiṣḥāq,* is an imperfect, meaning either "he laughs" or "he is favorable." Speiser (*Genesis* AB, 125) refers the subject of the verb to the father who smiles at his newborn son and receives him with joy. A symbolic gesture such as this could be the origin of the name Isaac. others have argued that the name evokes the baby's first smile or expresses the good wishes that his parents express in his regard.

Generally, scholars accept another explanation, presented by M. Noth (*IPN*, 210–12) and vigorously defended by J. J. Stamm (1950; one finds it also handed on by R. de Vaux [*EHI*, 198–99], as well as by C. Westermann [1985: 269; cf. *HALAT*, 408]).

Isaac is an abbreviated form of a name composed of a prefixing verb and a divine name—in technical terms, a hypocoristic name (see NAMES, HYPOCORISTIC)—as is the case with the name Jacob. Isaac would then be a short form of **yiṣḥāq-ʾēl,* (or an equivalent form with some other divine name), analogous to the name Ishmael (*yišmaʿ-ʾēl,* that is, "El hears" or "may El hear"; note Gen 16:11). The subject of the verb *ṣḥq* is the deity, not some human being (the father or the child); thus, Isaac (el) would mean "El smiles" or "El is favorable" (or "may El smile/be favorable"). This explanation perhaps finds support from Ugaritic mythological texts, in which are several examples where the god El is said to smile in expressing his satisfaction or favor (Stamm 1950: 35). Unlike the names of the other patriarchs, the name Isaac has thus far not been found attested as a NW Semitic proper name.

**2. Significance.** Genesis highlights the joyful or amused aura that surrounds Isaac from before his birth and then explains his name in a more or less allusive way through the several episodes in which the son of Abraham and Sarah is featured. According to the present order of the biblical narrative, Gen 17:7 tells of the probably wonder-struck laughter *(wayyiṣḥāq)* of Abraham when he heard the unbelievable news that to him, a hundred-year-old man whose wife was in her nineties, would be born a son. According to Gen 18:12–15, Sarah, when she heard the divine promise, expressed particularly by her laughter (Heb *wattiṣḥaq* [Gen 18:12]) a doubt that she vainly tried to deny (18:15). In another reference to Isaac's name (21:6), his mother seems to be torn between joy *(ṣĕḥōq)* and a fear of being the object of mocking remarks from her attendants *(yiṣḥaq).* Other allusions to laughter coupled with the name of Isaac are found as well in 21:9 and 26:8, but there we find them depicted in a different perspective. In the first case, the attitude of Ishmael who is amusing himself (Heb *mĕṣaḥēq* [*Piʿel;* 21:9]) with Isaac seems suspicious to Sarah (cf. Gen 39:14, 17), and this provokes the expulsion of Hagar and her son; in the second case, Isaac, who had passed off his wife Rebekah as his sister, is given away by his conniving about her, for Abimelech guesses the truth of the matter when he sees him fondling *(mĕṣaḥēq)* his wife. The biblical account thus plays on what is suggested by the name of the child of Abraham and Sarah.

**B. Biography of Isaac**

Genesis offers a certain amount of information on the patriarch that allows us to reconstruct a "life of Isaac" (cf. *EncJud* 9:1–7). According to Gen 12:5, Abram left his native land by divine command at the age of seventy-five; afterwards, when he was ninety-nine, the Lord appeared to him and promised him a son that he would have by Sarai (17:1–22). Thus, Isaac would be born of a hundred-year-old father (Abram is called Abraham from now on) and of a ninety-year-old mother (Sarai becomes Sarah; Gen 17:15–21). According to 21:3–5, Isaac was circumcised in conformity with the divine ordinance eight days after his birth; at the time of his being weaned from his mother, his father gave a banquet (21:8), and the child grew up among his kinfolk, playing with his half-brother Ishmael up to the very day that Sarah drove this latter out of the family unit along with his mother Hagar (21:9–21).

We reencounter Isaac in Genesis 22, in the episode that took place on Mt. Moriah, an event often designated—though this designation may be contested—"the sacrifice of Isaac," when it really deals with the "testing of Abraham"; with better reason, Jewish tradition calls this the *Aqedah* of Isaac; that is, "the binding of Isaac" (Gen 22:9). Spared at the last possible moment, Isaac next appears with his father at Beer-sheba (22:19).

Abraham then decides to marry off his son and asks his servant to find him a wife among his relations in the home country (Gen 24:1–61). Abraham's plan has a positive outcome; his envoy comes back with Rebekah, who meets her future husband at Beer-lahai-roi. Then, Rebekah consoles Isaac after the death of his mother (24:62–67).

Isaac was forty years old at the time of his marriage and his wife would long remain barren (Gen 25:19–20), for it would only be twenty years later—once Isaac had inherited his father's goods after he and Ishmael had buried their father in the cave of Machpelah, and Isaac had settled near Beer-lahai-roi (?) (25:5–11)—that Rebekah would present him with two sons at once (25:21–28), Esau and Jacob; by trickery, the latter would come to obtain Isaac's paternal blessing (according to 27:1–29).

Chapter 26, sometimes called, with some exaggeration, the "Isaac cycle," recounts several episodes from Isaac's life. A famine obliges the patriarch, with the blessing of his God, to move on to Gerar, where he has dealings with Abimelech, designated "king of the Philistines" (Gen 26:1–5). Then takes place the incident of Rebekah's seizure, which recalls similar scenes recounted about Abraham and Sarah (12:10–20; 20:1–18): Isaac passes off Rebekah as his sister, but his deceit is discovered by the king; afterwards, everything gets settled between Abimelech and Isaac, whose prosperity, due to divine protection, comes to surpass every measure (26:6–13). There is no mention of the reaction of the Philistines; however, they launch a kind of "war of the wells," which leads the patriarch to go up again to Beer-sheba, where Isaac receives confirmation of the promise made to his father (26:19–25). Abimelech, understanding that Isaac enjoys the favor of his God, concludes a nonaggression pact with him (26:26–33).

Esau, Isaac's favorite (Gen 25:28), later on enters into a marriage that displeases his parents (26:34–35); he sees himself dispossessed of his father's blessing through a heinous stratagem, concocted by Rebekah and carried out by Jacob (27:1–40). Out of fear of Esau's wrath, Jacob goes into exile (27:41–45). Isaac (later on) sends him to look, in his turn, for a wife in the household at Bethuel, in the territory where the paternal clan originated; he gives him the blessing he had received from his father (27:46–28:9). According to Genesis, this is the last intervention by Isaac.

Following a long absence, Jacob, with his wives, his servants, and his children, returns to his country to be present at the death of his father—who is now situated at Mamre, near Hebron—and, with Esau, to oversee the burial of Isaac in the family burial place. At the time of his death, the patriarch was 180 years old (Gen 35:27–29).

**C. A Secondary Character**

In relation to the rather extensive information furnished by Genesis about Abraham and Jacob, we know very few things about the second patriarch, Isaac. We find, scattered through chaps. 17 to 35, several bits of very precise but succinct information: his birth is foretold (chap. 17) and takes place; his childhood (Genesis 21); his marriage to Rebekah when he was forty years old (Genesis 24); the arrival in the world of his sons, Esau and Jacob, twenty years later (Genesis 25); and his death 120 years after that (Genesis 35). Most of these facts were borrowed from the P source, whose date scholars consider to be late and

whose preoccupations reflect a priestly milieu. See PRIESTLY ("P") SOURCE. The principal concern of this version is that of giving outline and shape to the patriarch's life.

The other elements of the history of Isaac pick up again—prescinding, for the moment, from chap. 26—the cycles of Abraham and Jacob. All that has to do with his birth, both its promise and its final accomplishment, belongs to the story of the first of the patriarchs: he is born a son of Abraham, and on him will come to rest the blessing granted to his father. The story of the "testing of Abraham" makes up part of the narratives dedicated to the latter; Isaac, moreover, plays, in Genesis 22, an astonishingly passive role, which Jewish tradition would afterwards seek to amplify. According to the biblical account, he was content to walk along in silence at his father's side; the only time he spoke gave Abraham an opportunity to utter an ambiguous response (an expression of faith that, in another context, the apostle Paul would write, "hoped against hope" [Rom 4:18]). At the time of his marriage, it was again the father who intervened in order to secure a legitimate offspring for his family; Isaac restricted himself to welcoming the woman that was sought out for him (Genesis 24).

Once Abraham died, Isaac inherited his possessions (chap. 25) and, in particular, the promise made to his father (chap. 26), but, for all that, he did not take any noteworthy initiatives—if we exclude chap. 26 from consideration. The biblical narrative shows him grown old, infirm and the victim of intrigue devised by his wife and one of his sons. He passes on to the latter, without really wanting to, one of the most precious things he had inherited, the divine blessing (Genesis 27). Once Abraham has disappeared from the scene, Isaac, in effect, belongs to the Jacob cycle; above all, his role consists in his transmitting to his son a benefit that had come to him from his father: "the promise" made to Abraham and which accompanied the first patriarch his whole life long.

Even Genesis 26, though it is consecrated entirely to him, does not correct, except moderately, the conclusion to which our reading of Genesis has brought us. The various episodes of this chapter are not, properly speaking, original; they almost all have parallels in the lot of the first of the patriarchs. When Isaac is threatened with famine, he goes into exile as Abraham had done before him (according to Gen 12:10–20) and as, later on, the sons of Jacob would do (Genesis 42). Abraham had dealings with Abimelech, "king of Gerar," in the Negeb (Genesis 20), as would his son (according to chap. 26). The history of the seizure of the patriarch's wife is attested three times in Genesis (chaps. 12; 20; 26); in two of these episodes Abraham is the protagonist. Abraham concluded a peace treaty with Abimelech, as his son would do after him (chaps. 21 and 26).

Following these observations, we might ask ourselves how we should characterize Genesis 26. This chapter, far from exposing—even if to a very limited extent—an "Isaac cycle," might not be anything more than a composite—or better, a redactional—work reporting, in summary fashion, several samples taken from a life of Isaac, conceived on the model of those stories narrated about Jacob and, above all, about Abraham. (For a contrary view, see Lutz 1969.)

Finally, a careful reading of Genesis sets in relief the slender nature of the information we have on the destiny of Isaac and the reduced importance of the biblical tradition devoted to him. Nonetheless, this somewhat shadowy figure, who is more or less the plaything of others' interests, by handing on the blessing of the God of Abraham to Jacob in conformity with the divine plan fulfills in this a decisive action and completes the mission that had devolved upon him.

**D. Literary Problems**

An examination of the literary data about Isaac confirms the impression formed about him from a first reading of Genesis (chaps. 17–35); it also contributes to making even more tenuous the information that the biblical texts communicate about the second patriarch.

Since the time of J. Wellhausen (1844–1918), scholars have reckoned that the Pentateuch is the result of a slow process carried out over several centuries, and thus is a composite work. See TORAH (PENTATEUCH). According to the generally accepted view, there are four principal "layers" of different eras, styles, and perspectives: two of these, called the Yahwist (J) and the Elohist (E), are preexilic; the third shares Deuteronomistic (D) concerns; and the last (P) belongs to the postexilic era. This way of envisaging the Pentateuch's history as the successive combination of literary sources, while long

accepted—though with qualifications—by the majority of critics, has been seriously called into question today, and the problem of the composition of the "Five Books of Moses" seems to be more tangled than ever.

Currently, researchers tend to substitute for the synthetic views of the formation of the Pentateuch (such as those found, for example, in the writings of G. von Rad) rather detailed analyses—often voluntarily restricted ones—which recall the so-called "fragment" hypothesis that was defended some time ago. According to these analyses, the Pentateuch would be made up of many pieces more or less successfully joined together at the end of a complex redactional process. Even the existence of the Yahwistic (J) framework as a unity—the basis of the whole reconstruction process—would be contested today.

Moreover, modern-day studies of the OT often insist on the *late* elaboration and completion of biblical texts. If one were to believe some scholars, the essential aspect of Israel's literary productivity took place in the 7th, 6th, and 5th centuries B.C., with and around the time of Deuteronomy. Some claim to be able to recover almost everywhere, including in the Pentateuch, traces of a "Deuteronomistic School," which appeared at the end of the Kingdom of Judah and whose influence extended well beyond the Exile; OT witnesses from the preexilic period would be, as a consequence, few in number and of secondary importance.

As a result of this, the documents relating to the patriarchs today are considered not as the constituent parts of the three or four large "sources" which branch throughout the Pentateuch and sometimes extend even as far as into the book of Joshua, but rather as more or less disparate collections, worked over by redactors, whose role was preponderant during the particularly troubled time that saw the end of the Judean state, the destruction of the Jerusalem temple, and the reconstitution of a Yahwistic community around the reconstructed sanctuary. Hence, the biblical narratives concerning the patriarchs appear to be rather more recent than the ancient events they are thought to report.

Specialists in earlier days were generally in agreement in assigning Genesis 17–35 to the various sources (J, E, D, P) of the biblical narrative found in the Pentateuch; in many cases, scholars were in agreement on the essential points of this source analysis and differed with one another only on specific details.

According to J. Skinner (*Genesis* ICC [1910]), Genesis 17 points to the concerns of P, as its vocabulary, expressions, and aim testify; while the account in Gen 18:1–16, from its style and content, belongs to the J source. Gen 21:1–7 is a composite piece, shared by J (vv 1a, 2a, 7, 6b), E (only v 6a, but this source is rejoined with vv 8 and following), and P (vv 1b, 2b–5).

In Genesis 22, the narrative of the "sacrifice of Isaac" has the characteristic traits of E in vv 1–14 and v 19; vv 15–18 constitute a complementary note by a redactor (R) who has combined the conceptions of E with a Yahwistic phraseology ($R^{JE}$). With regard to chap. 24, devoted to the steps taken for Isaac's marriage, this is Yahwistic (J); the presence of several doublets or contradictions (such as vv 29–30; 23b, 28; 50, 53, 55; 59, 61; etc.) may be explained by the presence of an Elohist version.

The pericope in Gen 25:7–11a continues the thought of 23:20 and belongs to P, while v 11b is Yahwistic, as is 25:5, whose original location must have been chap. 24, and which the final redactor of the Pentateuch ($R^{JEP}$) has displaced. From P we also have vv 19, 20, and 26b, while the text on the birth of the twins (25:21–26a and 27, 28) is mainly from J, with Elohistic traits in vv 25, 27.

Chap. 26 is reserved to Isaac, but the bulk of the episodes recounted there—with the exception of vv 12–16—have their parallels in the Abraham cycle: thus, Gen 26:1–6 recalls 20:1–2; 26:7–11 corresponds to 12:10–20 and to 20:2–18; 26:17–22 evokes 21:25–26; and 26:23–33 evokes 21:22–34 (26:34–35, a notice which concerns Esau, is from P). For Skinner, the tradition in Genesis 26 is Yahwistic (J); it derives from an account connected with Hebron—more recent than another, which was connected with the Negeb. The ensemble of the chapter constitutes a specific unit, which breaks the narrative thread between the end of chap. 25 and the beginning of chap. 27.

In Genesis 27, the presence of repetitions testifies in favor of a double association, that of J and E (cf., for example, vv 33, 34, and 35–38; 21–23 and 24–27a; 11–13 and 16); it is sometimes difficult to

establish in detail divisions between the Yahwist, whose terminology predominates, and the Elohist. Gen 35:27–29 (the death of Isaac) belongs to P.

For O. Eissfeldt (1922; 1965), the division of the sources of Genesis with regard to what concerns Isaac is apparently the same, except that he admits the existence of a version prior to J, containing ancient materials, which he designates as L (*Laienquelle* or "Lay source"). This leads him to the following conclusions:

**L Source:** Gen 18:1–9 (the essential aspects of the pericope, completed with several amplifications of J: the most ancient account foretold the birth of Isaac); Gen 25: 11b (the notice of Isaac's settlement at Beer-lahai-roi) and vv 21–26a (the birth of the twins, Esau and Jacob); Gen 26:1–2a, 3a, 6–23, 25b–33 (Isaac goes to Gerar, the seizure of Rebekah, the covenant with Abimelech at Beer-sheba). One should note that, for Eissfeldt, the key chapter on Isaac, chap. 26, goes back to the old layer L.

**J Source:** Gen 18: 1a, 3, 10–15 (details complementary to the foretelling of Isaac's birth and his being placed under Yahweh's "patronage"; allusions to the name Isaac); Gen 21: 1a, 2a, 7 (the birth of Sarah's son); Gen 24:1–67 (the essential core of the chapter is Yahwistic, with some Elohistic fragments); Gen 25; 27–28 (the introduction to chap. 27); Gen 26:2b, 3b, 24, 25 (the transfer of Abraham's blessing onto Isaac, according to J); Gen 27:1–46 (the essential core of the chapter belongs to J, with several elements from E, especially from vv 37–39 and 41–45). One might draw attention to the fact that the two large narratives in chaps. 24 and 27 are considered Yahwistic; according to J, moreover, Yahweh promises Abraham a son and keeps his word (chaps. 18 and 21).

**E Source:** Gen 21:1b, 6, 8–13 (allusions to the name of Isaac at his birth, the sending away of Hagar); Gen 22:1–19 (the essential aspects of the Aqedah of Isaac, reworked here and there); Genesis 24 (the elements of an Elohistic version, such as vv 5, 6, 8, 10b, 11b, 22b, 23b, 25, 29a, 30, etc.); Gen 25:11a (Isaac blessed by God); Gen 26:3c, 4, 5 (the transfer of the blessing of Abraham to Isaac, according to E); Genesis 27 (Elohistic complements to the narrative of the deception of Isaac by Jacob, as well as vv 1b, 15, 18b, 24–28, 29b, etc., and, notably, vv 41a, 42–44, 45b, on Jacob's flight after his heinous crime). One should note that Eissfeldt finds traces of an Elohistic version in the bulk of chaps. 20–22 and attributes to E the account of the testing of Abraham (chap. 22).

**P Source:** Gen 17:1–27 (the chapter in its entirety: the announcement of a posterity for Abraham; circumcision, the sign of the covenant; reference to the name of Isaac); Gen 21:2b–5 (the birth and circumcision of Isaac; Abraham's age); Gen 25:7–10 (Abraham's death, his burial by his sons) and vv 19, 20, 26b (Isaac's posterity; Isaac's age at his marriage and the birth of his sons); Gen 26:34, 35 (notice of Esau's marriages) followed by Gen 27:46–28:5 (Jacob's departure blessed by his father); Gen 35:27–29 (Isaac's death at Hebron at the age of 180). Apart from the great "theological" chapter (Genesis 17), P is content with very brief notices which mark out the stages in the life of the second patriarch.

H. Cazelles states that "the Isaac cycle belongs to the Yahwistic tradition (for the most part) and to the priestly tradition, in the case of the latter beginning with the birth of Isaac (21:1–7)" (*DBSup* 7: 130). He notes, as well, the presence of an Elohistic tradition. Thus, he attributes to the J source Gen 18:1ff.; Gen 21:1, 2a, 7, 8; Gen 22:15–18 (the residue of a Yahwistic narrative that "has even contaminated v 11" [*DBSup* 7: 773]); Genesis 24; Gen 25:5 (which derives from the source used by J in Genesis 24); 11b, 18, 21–26a (the settlement at Beer-lahai-roi, where Isaac was born); Genesis 27 (according to Cazelles, the difficulties in the narrative come, as in chap. 24, from J's use of an earlier source and not from an Elohistic version). With regard to Genesis 26, devoted to Isaac, which everyone says is Yahwistic, we should note in it an ancient substratum that has been reworked by J; v 5 would be not a "Deuteronomism" but a trace of P (*DBSup* 7: 744). E finds little place in the narratives given over to Isaac, except for chap. 22 (vv 1–13, 19, with the reworkings in vv 11–12), perhaps Gen 21:1, 2a, 6b–8 (doubtful), and 9–21 (Isaac's birth; the expulsion of Hagar). In Gen 25 we may uncover "an Elohistic base … perhaps vv 25–26a, 27a … and 29–34" (*DBSup* 7: 804). With regard to the "Sacerdotal History," according to P, it connects Isaac with the second covenant, whose sign is circumcision, between God (El Shaddai) and Abram (chap. 17). "Isaac constitutes precisely the first fruits of it" (Gen 21:2b–6 [*DBSup* 7: 831]); along with Ishmael, he buries his father in the cave of Machpelah (Gen 25:7–10). Then, Isaac is associated with

the destiny of his son (cf. his posterity, Gen 25:19, 20, 26b; the text is incomplete); the marriages of Esau and Jacob (Gen 26:34–35; 27:46; 28:1–9); Isaac's death and burial (Gen 35:27–29). Henceforth, Jacob is the principal personality of the patriarchal tradition and "does not participate in Abraham's blessing except by avoiding marriages with the Canaanites" (*DBSup* 7: 831).

Here we could terminate our quick survey of the works of previous generations concerning the composition of the Pentateuch; for in continuing this line of inquiry, we would, in general, come up with the essential data of theses issuing from the school of Wellhausen.

C. Westermann, in his massive commentary on Genesis, while admitting the existence of the Yahwistic (J) and Priestly (P) strata in chaps. 12–36, contests the presence of an Elohistic source parallel to J in these chapters (see his conclusion [1985: 571–741]). Westermann, with other specialists, insists on the role of oral tradition in the history of the Pentateuch, and on the fact that the Yahwist presents a narrative that is not uniform but rich and varied, issuing from what had been put together in the course of time out of many elements. Westermann nonetheless stresses the redactional activity that is at the origin of the actual biblical text. It is a redactor (R), in fact, that undertook the joining together of the J and P sources and the quasi-definitive deposition of the traditions relative to the patriarchs. For example, R is responsible, in the Abraham cycle (chaps. 12–25), for the introduction (Gen 11:27–32, with the notice of Sarai's barrenness), the conclusion (Gen 21:1–7, with its mention of Isaac's birth) that matches it, and, in the Jacob cycle, for Gen 25:19–28, which inaugurates the story of Jacob and Esau (with its account of the twins' rivalry), as well as for Gen 35:1–29, which brings it to an end (the newly reunited Esau and Jacob bury their father). This redactional activity would get followed up on after R; as witness he cites the addition of several units or even chapters (e.g., chap. 26) which break the link between Genesis 25 and 27. This does not consist of the mere juxtaposition of different versions but rather of the elaboration of pericopes constructed with care to give direction to an understanding of the patriarchal traditions.

In the case of the texts where Isaac is the topic, Westermann admires the artistry with which Genesis 17 (P) has been composed, even to its most minute details; he thinks that in Gen 18:1–16a, currently situated within the totality of chaps. 18–19, two themes are mixed together that originally were independent of one another (the visit of the divine beings, the announcement of the birth). In his commentary, there is no explicit statement that this pericope derives from the Yahwistic (J) stratum.

Regarding Gen 21:1–17 (Isaac's birth), far from seeing in it an amalgam of J, E, and P, as many critics before him did, Westermann discovers in it the work of a redactor (R), who recounts the sequence of events within a passage that matches the introductory piece (Gen 11:27–32). In place of sources more or less carefully joined together, these verses thus testify to a reflective redactional exercise.

Genesis 22, a theological narrative in which Abraham is put to the test, must belong to a more recent period (the end of the kingdom of Judah), but it may reuse an earlier and different version. Westermann does not make any special mention of E here, for he considers its foundation to be almost negligible (1985: 353–57). Genesis 24 goes back to an ancient family tradition, but its redaction within Genesis is later than J (if this source is to be dated in the 10th or the 9th century (1985: 383–84).

According to Westermann, with Gen 25:7–18 (P), the history of Abraham reaches its conclusion; consequently, 25:1–6 derives neither from J nor P and appears to be a late addition. Gen 25:19–28 is a redactional work that introduces the history of Jacob and Esau and makes use of elements from both J and P; its continuation is found in chap. 27, after the paragraph (25:29–34) placed there by R (1985: 406–9). Genesis 27 itself presupposes a long development from the oral stage, and may date from the patriarchal era in its Yahwistic redaction, but it is without an Elohistic parallel, despite the presence of doublets (such as 33–34 and 35–38) and the late addition of blessings (27b–29; 39–40).

Genesis 26, totally devoted to Isaac, does not appear to be a mosaic of units relating to the second patriarch (combined at a late date into a more or less homogenous whole), as G. von Rad, among others, thinks, but a composition cleverly constructed to treat, above all else, the relationships between Isaac and Abimelech (vv 12–17 [not counting v 15] and 26–31). The narrative, which presupposes Gen 21:22–34, is associated with a series of notices concerning wells (26:15, 18, 19–25, 32–33; an ancient element) and a fragment concerning an itinerary (26:17, 22a, 23, 25b; equally ancient), and introduced by vv 1–11 (taken

up again in vv 12 and 20). The author of the chapter intends to show how Isaac, behind whom Israel itself is profiled, entered into contact with the Philistines: Isaac appears as the heir of the promise made to Abraham (26:2a, 3a, 24; 2b, 3b, and 4–5 form a complementary addition), which became notably manifest in an abundance of harvests (26:12–14) and in the successful outcome of his negotiations with the Philistine king (26:26–31; there is a double use of *šālōm* in vv 29, 31). The chapter is located after a break in the narrative about the two brothers, Esau and Jacob: Gen 25:19–28 (29–34 is an addition), followed by Gen 27:4; it cannot go back to J. Thus, the principal witness to an "Isaac cycle," according to Westermann's analysis, is a redactional work, elaborated at a late date and associated with the unit formed out of J and P.

Here again, the commentary of Westermann insists not on Genesis' division into classical Pentateuchal sources but on the presence, within the patriarchal texts, of skillful constructions which addressed a thought-out theological and historical purpose; where other exegetes saw only disorder, one may uncover a carefully constructed whole.

The work of E. Blum, dedicated to the composition of the patriarchal history (1984), is typical of the tendencies that today dominate some of the research activity into the origin and development of the Pentateuch. As R. Rendtorff has argued in a volume dealing with a study of this same ensemble (1976), the principle task is not grappling with the classical hypothesis of the sources J, E, D, and P, but instead examining the "large units" out of which the Pentateuch is built (the history of the fathers; the narratives about Moses; the Sinai pericope, etc.) that have their own proper theological meanings, were bound together only at a quite late date, and afterwards were completed and corrected within a point of view that is close to that of Deuteronomy (here people sometimes speak of a Deuteronomistic or a pre- or proto-Deuteronomistic edition), and, much later still, by P, whom strictly speaking, one must think of more as a reviser than an author.

So it is that for Blum, one of the important units of the Pentateuch, Genesis 12–50, is the result of a succession of redactions at relatively late dates. In these redactions, a Deuteronomistic current is especially in evidence, rather than an assemblage of the J, E, and P sources, whose very existence seems more or less problematical.

According to Blum, we should note the following with regard to the notices in Genesis about Isaac: Gen 18:1ff., which recount the extraordinary continuity of the Abrahamic lineage, are a kind of etiology of Israel (1984: 279); Genesis 22, which highlights the testing of Abraham's obedience, must date—at the earliest—from the late royal period (328ff.); Genesis 24 belongs to a Deuteronomistic perspective of the postexilic period when there was a great deal of questioning about marriages with foreigners, as the interventions of Ezra and Nehemiah testify (383ff.). As regards chap. 26, it constitutes, with the exception of vv 2–5—or, more exactly, of vv 3b–5 (D; 362ff.), which develop v 24—a remarkable unity, despite the various elements out of which it is composed; it supposes a period that is neither prior to the formation of the kingdom of Israel nor later than 587, and reflects a relatively balanced political situation between the state of Judah and her Philistine neighbors (301ff.). Moreover, Genesis 26 was reworked and completed at the time of the Exile from the Deuteronomistic perspective (cf. particularly, the promises in Gen 26:2 b–5). The calling into question of the hypothesis concerning literary sources—particularly those of the preexilic strata (J, E)—and the tendency to date texts relating to the patriarchs to generally later periods lead to a still greater reduction of the strength of OT testimony regarding the second of the patriarchs: Isaac appears as a secondary character, whose mention appears in passages that are secondary, often marginal and edited late.

It may well be, however, that the Isaac cycle is more ancient and more important than is generally imagined. A. de Pury (1975: 1.189–201) thinks he has uncovered in the "promises" made to the patriarchs, more precisely in 26:2b, 3a; 26:24 (and 46:3, 4), a tradition that is common to these passages and independent of their present context: according to this tradition, Isaac would have been constrained by the threat of a famine to go down into Egypt. Before his departure he would have received an oracle of salvation guaranteeing him the protection of his God and his return to the region of Beer-sheba, where he could then settle. Of this narrative, there remain today but a few fragments more or less connected to a

theophany seemingly situated at Beer-sheba, but, in its original form—as reconstructed by de Pury—it presents a startling, even if original, resemblance to the cycle of Jacob, relative to the latter and to his group's seasonal migration pattern. Thus, Genesis would indirectly furnish more numerous data on Isaac than would be supposed from a first reading of the passages concerning him, the antiquity of which would be undeniable, no matter what certain recent commentators of the patriarchal texts would say about them.

A position further removed from the above was defended by D. A. Lutz (1969). He maintains that a careful reading of Gen 26:1–33, many elements of which are found again in the Abrahamic tradition, permits us to affirm that the figure of Isaac was originally more important than Genesis suggests today. The traditions about Isaac would be earlier than those about Abraham, but were eclipsed by the Abraham traditions, probably because the latter's clan, with its cultic center at Hebron, assumed the preponderant place at the heart of the "southern" confederation. But Isaac, Lutz reckons, played a sufficiently important role that he did not completely disappear from the tradition reported in Genesis.

While this hypothesis is interesting (note also Diebner 1974), it remains true, finally, that exegetes are dealing with a biblical text that leaves little room to the second of the patriarchs.

**E. Historical Approaches**

The problem of the "historicity" of Isaac, or rather of the relationship between history and the traditions concerning him, is evidently the same issue that is posed with regard to Abraham or to Jacob, even though the information regarding these two is clearly more amply supplied than the indications from Genesis on Abraham's son. See also ABRAHAM (PERSON); JACOB NARRATIVE.

Here, we limit ourselves to making two final observations. First, archaeological evidence ought not to be accorded too much nor too little importance. See ARCHAEOLOGY, SYRO-PALESTINIAN. Two diametrically opposite attitudes are often manifest among scholars. Some base themselves on archaeology in order to insist on the exactitude of the biblical facts concerning Israel's origins—that is to prove the truthfulness of the patriarchal tradition—while neglecting the fact, on the one hand, that the "bare facts" brought to light by archaeologists are necessarily the object of an interpretation which remains always subject to revision and, on the other hand, that the biblical documents have come down to us by means of a historical process whose complexity appears ever greater—a situation that invites us, here as well, to exercise prudence in our reconstruction of the facts. others commit themselves precisely to unraveling the many threads of the traditions that form the Pentateuch in general and Genesis in particular; they never stop inquiring about the importance—that is, about the existence—of the very sources which might lie at the base of the first biblical books. These waver between contradictory theses without ever arriving at solutions satisfactory for the whole gamut of researchers; often beclouded by the examination of the variants, doublets, and hiatuses which they establish and sometimes exaggeratedly highlight, they forget that information on the world to which the authors of Genesis belonged does not stop expanding, with the result that every step forward in its regard enriches a reading of the patriarchal texts, adds greater clarity to the milieu from which they derived, and eventually verifies or completes any given fact about one or another of the Fathers of Israel. Although it is not possible for us to write a "historical biography" about each (so also maintained R. de Vaux, who devoted many years of his life to writing a history of early Israel [*EHI*]), knowledge of Israel's remotest past, acquired through a study of the texts and the contribution of archaeological documentation, is not without consequence.

Our second remark concerns the tradition about Isaac, whose antiquity is hard to estimate, since it seemingly goes back to the oral traditions, of which there remain only snippets, but which may be more easily situated on the geographical level. In fact, the texts of Genesis associate the second patriarch with the reign of S Palestine, principally mentioning three places: Beer-lahai-roi (Gen 24:62; 25:11), Gerar (Gen 26:1, 6, 17, 20, 26), and Beer-sheba (Gen 22:19; 26:25 [21:33; 46:1]; 26:26–31; 26:32–33). Beer-sheba was without doubt the most important place and constituted, according to de Pury (1975: 189–91), the cultic center (the "point of attachment") of the "Isaacite" tradition.

It seems that this tradition was also known in the N of Israel. In the time of Amos, the sanctuary of Beer-sheba was visited—with the same status as Bethel and Gilgal—by pilgrims who had come from that region (Amos 5:5–6; 8:14). Amos denounced the "high places of Isaac" (among which Beer-sheba might

have been reckoned, 7:9) and went so far as to qualify Israel as the "house of Isaac" (7:16). For Diebner (1974), Isaac would here be the personification of the kingdom of the S, and Israel would have represented the kingdom of the N. (Note that in these last two texts, the orthography of Isaac differs from its usual form: as in Jer 33:26 and Ps 105:9, the *śin* replaces a *ṣādê;* this is generally considered to be a dialectical variation.)

This reference to Isaac has led certain exegetes to suppose that a displacement of the Isaac clan (the tribe of Simeon?) took place toward the N (Zimmerli 1932) or that it settled in the territory of Penuel-Mahanaim in Transjordan (van Selms 1966) or that there was some contact between the "Moses group" (the origin of the Joseph tribe) and that of "Isaac" (Seebass 1966; cf. de Pury 1975: 191ff.). This could have been intentional, with Amos, a person from the S, recalling to the people of the N the ties that united them to his country and, at the same time, of the right they had to call upon them. In any case, the geographic area where Isaac wandered, according to the explicit tradition of Genesis, was relatively well restricted.

**F. Religious Problems**

The question about the nature of the religion of the patriarchs is particularly complex; to verify this, one need only consult the numerous works of the specialists (*IJH*, 135–37; *BHI*, 96–103; bibliography in Westermann 1985: 114–16). The patriarchs, including Isaac, are often located in relationship to a divinity called "the god of the father" (or "God of my/your/his/father"), an expression to which A. Alt drew attention some time ago in an article that was greatly appreciated and discussed (1966; cf., for example, Gen 31:5, 29 [according to the Greek text], 42, 53; or, in addition, Gen 43:23; 46:1, 3, etc.). "The god of the father" (whether this latter remains anonymous or not) appears as the protector of the family or clan, which appeals to its ancestor.

Genesis at times gives a specific name to this deity; in two instances, the term is *paḥad yiṣḥāq,* whom Jacob acknowledges or whose presence he invokes (Gen 31:42, 53), a formula that for a long time has been translated, following the lead of the ancients, as the "Terror of Isaac" (see FEAR OF ISAAC).

There is another meaning of Heb *pḥd* attested in Job 40:17, where the noun is dual, designating the "thighs" of the hippopotamus (a euphemism for its testicles); the word *paḥad* could evoke, in addition to its primitive signification, the *clan, lineage,* or *descent.* Several authors explain *paḥad yiṣḥāq* from this second root (see FEAR OF ISAAC on this and additional interpretations).

Discussion of the precise meaning of the phrase *paḥad yiṣḥāq* is certainly not finished, but it seems that this second meaning, which associates it with divine power, the life force that is connected with sexuality and the fate of human grouping, is preferable to one that has recourse to the holy "tremendum" to elucidate the mysterious expression used in Genesis 31 (*HALAT*, 872). The *paḥad yiṣḥāq,* from which all ambiguity had not yet been removed, appears as the specific contribution of the second of the patriarchs to the religion of the Fathers.

**G. Jewish and Christian Traditions**

If Genesis in particular and the OT in general reserve a somewhat limited place for Isaac, later tradition attributed to him a much more important role, notably in the scene located on Mt. Moriah, in which the passive child of chap. 22 has become a responsible adult who voluntarily takes an active part in his "sacrifice." For Judaism and the Church, Isaac is in the fullest sense one of the three patriarchs of Israel.

The deuterocanonical texts restrict themselves to briefly taking up again the indications of the Hebrew Bible concerning Isaac: Sir 44:22; Dan 3:35 (LXX); Jdt 8:26. In contrast, the rabbinical texts which comment on Scripture abound in details concerning his destiny and recognize the decisive significance that he had for his descendants. Thus it is that a midrash situates his birth on first day of the feast of Passover and recounts that it was accompanied by numerous miracles, so much so that Isaac's coming into the world bears messianic traits. His naming is related to the gift of the Law ("the coming out of the commandment"), a pledge of liberty, and each of the letters making up his name leaves room for speculations relating generally to the patriarch. The marriage of the son of Abraham to Rebekah unfolded in a marvelous manner, and the contacts of Abraham and Isaac with the Philistines allowed the rabbis scope to insist on the identical lot of the two patriarchs. If the happiness that Isaac knew here below was

due to the merits of his father, his own proper merits will assure him of a recompense in the hereafter, and his descendants will be the beneficiaries. Isaac will, in fact, plead for them and will snatch them away from Gehenna; also, he will be greeted by his sons and daughters with this exclamation, "This man is truly our father …!"

It is particularly with regard to the Aqedah that, in the Jewish texts, the role of Isaac and his "virtues" are shown to advantage. Josephus (*Ant* 1.13.1–4 §222–36) gives Isaac's age as 25 when he ascended Mt. Moriah; he describes him as throwing himself joyfully toward the altar, even though he escaped the fate awaiting him. Isaac conducted himself there as the worthy son of Abraham, and the Aqedah was as much his affair as it was his father's.

Philo of Alexandria, in his treatise on Abraham (the one on Isaac has been lost), devoted several paragraphs to Isaac (*Abr* 32–36, §167–207). He insisted on the perfect accord between the father and the son who journeyed tm the place of sacrifice, and he retained of the traditions concerning the name of Isaac only the note of laughter, which he mentioned to designate his joy (and that he had to learn to sacrifice in favor of a higher joy). Also, he considered the Aqedah as a veritable sacrifice, even though Abraham did not have to carry out the deed to its end.

Already in the first century prior to the Christian era, the Jewish book of *Jubilees* related the "binding" of Isaac to the paschal sacrifice (17:15): Isaac was to have been immolated at the very hour that the ritual of the feast foresaw for the putting to death of the lamb (49:1) and on the very spot where the temple would be erected, that is on Mt. Zion (18:7–13). A later text, the *Biblical Antiquities* (of Pseudo-Philo, 1st century C.E.), equally considered that the sacrifice of Isaac had been accomplished and saw in this the reason for the election of the Israelites (18:5): the blood of Isaac thus sealed God's covenant with his people (*L. A. B.* 18:5; cf. 32:1–4; 40:2).

The sacrificial character of Abraham's gesture is found as well in various Targums (the Aramaic translations of the Pentateuch), which call attention to the benefits that Israel ought to draw from the Aqedah. Codex Neofiti, identified in 1956, in its expansion of Lev 22:27, associates Isaac with the lamb bound as a holocaust and foretells the day on which the Israelites will say, "Recall in our favor the Aqedah of Isaac, our father." The same manuscript, in the "poem of the four nights" at Exod 12:42, relates the celestial vision of Isaac (which explains his quasi-blindness; cf. chap. 27) to the moment of his immolation and, in Gen 22:10, evokes Isaac's prayer to his father on the occasion of the Aqedah in this way: "My father, bind me well so that I do not kick you in a way that your offering might be invalid" (following the translation of R. Le Déaut 1978). Among other elements, the Targum mentions the intercession of Abraham at the hour of sacrifice in favor of generations to come: "And now, when his sons find themselves in a time of distress, remember the Aqedah of their father Isaac and hear the voice of their supplication. Hear and answer them and deliver them from all tribulation" (*T. Neof.* Gen 22:14).

other targumic traditions imply that Israel's lot has repeatedly been determined by the "binding" of Isaac: thus, thanks to the merits of the Aqedah, the sin of the golden calf was pardoned (*Tg. Cant.* 1:13), the Jordan was crossed (*Tg. Cant.* 3:6), Jerusalem was delivered (*Tg. 1 Chr.* 21:15). According to another *midrash,* the (expiatory?) sacrifice of the son of Abraham was associated with the *tāmîd* (perpetual sacrifice; *Lev. Rab.* on 1:5) as it also was with the ritual of the New Year (*Lev. Rab.* on 23:24). Theologians have even found in texts dealing with the Aqedah a theology of redemption antedating the Pauline doctrine of salvation in Christ.

This issue remains a controverted one, especially since specialists in the NT are far from being in agreement on the place that Isaac and notably his "sacrifice" occupy in the NT writings. At first sight, references to Genesis 22 appear rarely, except for explicit mentions such as those in Heb 11:17–19 and in Jas 2:21–24. The following texts are generally cited: Rom 8:32; John 1:29 (?); John 3:16 (?); Mark 1:11 and parallels. For G. Vermes (1973), for example, the theme of the Aqedah points to one of the oldest strata of the Christian kerygma; by contrast, P. R. Davies and B. D. Chilton (1978) think the Gospel proclamation has influenced Jewish interpretation of Genesis 22, obliging the rabbis to make of the "binding" of Isaac a vicarious expiatory sacrifice. The problem remains as it has been articulated; it has not yet been freed of apologetical, ulterior motive, and its resolution depends in part on the dating of the

texts that are called on to support one thesis or another. It is probable that, over time, the Aqedah underwent a change in signification, and one cannot exclude the possibility that it had acquired a redemptive import prior to the Christian era.

For patristic theology, Isaac was not only an example of the perfect sacrifice (*Ep. Barn.* 7:3), but he was also one of the anticipatory figures of the crucified Christ. For Melito of Sardis (in a 2d-century work, *On the Passover*) Isaac, who did not suffer death, was a "type" of the coming suffering of Christ, who was bound (like Isaac) to unbind us and was put to death (like the ram) to redeem us (so Gribomont 1971: 1993). Irenaeus of Lyons also refers back to Genesis 22 when he writes, "We, too, holding to the same faith as Abraham, carrying our cross as Isaac the wood, we follow behind him … Abraham followed the Commandment of the Word of God, delivering up with a great heart his only and beloved Son as a sacrifice … for our redemption" (*Haer.* 4.5.4; [according to Gribomont 1971: 1993]). One can find a typological interpretation in the writings of the majority of the Fathers of the Church, as for example in Tertullian, for whom the death of Christ on the cross was at once prefigured in Genesis 22 by Isaac, brought to the place of sacrifice by his father and bearing himself the wood, and by the ram who redeems him while hung by his horns, as Christ was hung on the "horns" of the cross and was crowned with thorns (*Adv. Marcionem* 3.18; *Adv. Jud.* 10.5–6; 13.20–21; Gribomont 1971: 1994). These themes would get taken up and developed in the tradition of the Church.

Genesis 22 has never ceased to inspire not only the commentaries of the theologians but also the works of poets, artists, and playwrights; from the mystery plays of the Middle Ages to the words of Elie Wiesel after Auschwitz; from Theodore of Beza, author of "Abraham Sacrificing" (1549), to the song writer Leonard Cohen (1970); from Rembrandt (in 1635) to Marc Chagall (in the 20th century), and from Kierkegaard in *Fear and Trembling* (1843) to George Steiner in *A Conversation Piece* (1985). The immolation of the son of Abraham—which is, let us recall, the origin of the Feast of the Sheep in Muslim tradition, in which the victim is Ishmael, not Isaac (but, cf. *Quran* Sura 37.97ff.)—continues to summon all readers of Genesis to give an account of themselves by sending them back to a child whose name means "laughter" and to the cruelest story of human destinies.

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TRANS. TERRENCE PRENDERGAST

**ISAIAH SCROLL, THE** (1QIsa[a]) Nineteen copies of the book of Isaiah have been found among the Qumran biblical mss. Most of these are very fragmentary. The most important among them are two scrolls coming from cave 1, in particular the scroll 1QIsa.[a] The second, 1QIsa[b], only preserves a part of the text of Isaiah, because the scroll has been badly damaged.

1QIsa[a] was among the first mss first discovered by the bedouin at the end of 1946 or the beginning of 1947. It was also the first to be identified. Physically, the scroll is made up of seventeen sheepskin sheets, sewn together by a linen thread. Its average height is 26.2 cm, and it is 7.34 m long. Apart from some minor lacunae at the beginning and in the lower part of the scroll, 1QIsa[a] contains the complete text of the book of Isaiah, arranged in 54 columns. A facsimile of this scroll is now in the Shrine of the Book at Jerusalem.

1QIsa[a] was written by a single hand in the latter half of the 2d century B.C., probably between 125 and 100. Omissions were filled in and corrections were made for about a century afterwards. 1QIsa[a], like the other Isaiah manuscripts found at Qumran, precedes by about a thousand years the most ancient manuscripts of the book of Isaiah previously known.

Although 1QIsa[a] and the consonantal basis of the MT are basically identical, there are a few hundred textual variants. Drawing his conclusions from an analysis of the spelling, pronunciation, morphology, vocabulary, and syntax, Kutscher (1974) has shown that 1QIsa[a] presents an example of the Hebrew of the Second Temple period. This is distinct from classical Hebrew and is representative of a more recent stage of the language than that attested by theMT. A great number of the textual variants between 1QIsa[a] and the MT are purely linguistic. These are due to the influence of late 2d -century B.C. Hebrew on the text of the book of Isaiah. More precisely, 1QIsa[a] contains a deliberate linguistic updating of the text, carried out at a time when Aramaic and Greek were spoken alongside Hebrew in Palestine. This updating is most strikingly obvious in the modernization of the spelling; full forms are found consistently in chaps. 34–66 and somewhat less so in chaps. 1–33. Every instance of the vowels *o* and *u,* whether long or short, is rendered by *waw;* the pronominal suffixes and the verbal endings are followed by *he*. *ʾAlep* follows the endings of words normally ending in *-î, -ô,* or *-û.* The act of reading is thus made easier for people whose first language is Hebrew, but who are not very literate, as well as for those for whom Aramaic was the first language. In fact, the fuller forms are intended in some cases to distinguish the Hebrew pronunciation from that of Aramaic.

The updating of the language is shown equally in the replacement of certain terms which had fallen into disuse or become rare at the end of the 2d century B.C. by others in more common use. For example, in 13:10 1QIsa[a] uses the synonym *yʾyrw,* very common in the Bible and in rabbinic Hebrew, to replace the verb *yhlw* ("cause to shine"), rare in the Bible in this sense (Isa 13:10; Job 29:3; 31:26; 41:10) and not found in rabbinic Hebrew. Likewise in 33:7; 42:2; 46:7, 1QIsa[a] replaces *ṣʿq* ("to cry out") with its synonym *zʿq,* which was more common after the Exile.

In most instances where variants are not simply linguistic, the 1QIsa[a] readings are secondary, and show characteristics similar to those of the ancient versions. Thus 1QIsa[a] often changes terms and expressions

under the influence of either the immediate context, a more remote parallel passage in Isaiah, or another biblical book. For example, in 43:19, instead of the word *nhrwt* ("rivers"), 1QIsa[a] has *ntybwt* ("tracks"), a term probably suggested by the context. This term is found in the singular in 43:16, where it is likewise associated with *drk* ("path"), for which it provides a better parallel. In 51:2, 1QIsa[a] replaces *w›brkhw w›rbhw* ("I have blessed him and made him multiply") with *w›prhw w›rbhw* ("I have made him fruitful and made him multiply") because of the frequency with which the latter pair of verbs is found, especially in Genesis (Gen 1:22, 28; 8:17; 9:1, 7; 17:20; 28:3; 35:11; 47:27; 48:4; Lev 26:9; Jer 3:16; 23:3; Ezek 36:11). Sometimes 1QIsa[a] amplifies the text. For example, in 30:6a it inserts the word *wṣyh* ("and aridity") between the terms *ṣrh wṣwqh* ("anguish and distress"). The term added is probably taken from 35:1, 41:18, and 53:2.

Finally, one may mention a particularly interesting category of textual variant resulting from exegesis. Occasionally the author of 1QIsa[a] has altered the text, normally very slightly, in such a way as to make it conform to his interpretation. One may cite 8:11 as a simple but significant example. In place of the word *wysrny*, 1QIsa[a] has *ysyrnw/y* (the final letter is uncertain). So, whereas the Masoretes derive the verb from the root *ysr* ("*he corrected me* so that I would not follow the path of this people …"), 1QIsa[a] sees there the *Hip‹il* of the root *swr* ("*he turned me away* from following the path of this people …"). This text is applied in 4QFlor 1,14–15 to the community of Qumran, seen as the community of those whom God has separated from the remainder of the people. So this explains the variant of 1QIsa[a]: it is the fruit of the updating process, which sees in the community of Qumran the accomplishment of the oracle of the prophet.

In conclusion, one can say that the specific contribution of 1QIsa[a], as of the other Isaian mss from Qumran, is related to the history of the textual tradition of the book of Isaiah. When one adds to that the witness of the LXX, the mss of Qumran have confirmed that, unlike other biblical books, there was only one text of the book of Isaiah from the 3d century B.C.

That being said, the mss from Qumran show at the same time a considerable fluidity of this text. 1QIsa[a] represents, in a general way, a secondary text with reference to theMT. It is to some extent a revised updated edition of the book of Isaiah. It occasionally comes close to a commentary *(Pesher).* The author of 1QIsa[a] modernizes the language of the book and introduces different kinds of harmonizations and expansions. On occasion, influenced by his exegesis, the author does not hesitate to change the text. He exhibits a fairly broad liberty with regard to the text, a liberty he shares with the Gk translators, who were roughly his contemporaries. It is this liberty that is perhaps the most important common trait between 1QIsa[a] and the LXX of Isaiah, two texts which have often been compared. This innovative approach did not serve as a precedent in the Hebrew textual tradition of the book of Isaiah.

The Qumran mss also witness to a conservative tradition in regard to the book of Isaiah. This conservatism is represented by 1QIsa[a] and by the majority of the other examples of the text of Isaiah found at Qumran, all of which are closer to the MT than is 1QIsa[a]. This tendency will be accentuated and strengthened. In the end, it will dominate and will have as its consequence the definitive stabilization of the text of Isaiah.

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**ISAIAH, BOOK OF.** The sixty-six chapters of the book of Isaiah form a whole in the canon of the Hebrew Bible and in all of the versions, but internal indications of diversity have led critical scholarship to distinguish three major works of literature in the book. First Isaiah (chaps. 1–39), Second Isaiah (chaps. 40–55), and Third Isaiah (chaps. 56–66) are now generally treated as separate writings or collections with distinct authors. The "Little Apocalypse" (chaps. 24–27) is also viewed by many as a separate work within the larger unit called First Isaiah. In view of the current critical consensus, the works composing the biblical book associated with the prophet Isaiah are treated separately in individual articles in the order First Isaiah, The Little Apocalypse, Second Isaiah, Third Isaiah.

## *FIRST ISAIAH*

The widest possible range of positions is represented in the scholarly literature concerning First Isaiah. First Isaiah is viewed by some as a rhetorical unity accurately depicting historical and political events during the lifetime and from the perspective of the 8th-century prophet Isaiah. others view only sections of chaps. 1–39 as emerging from the context of 8th-century Judah and understand the present form of First Isaiah to be under major redactional influence. Still others reject the view altogether that First Isaiah is about the prophet Isaiah and events in his day, preferring to see chaps. 1–39 as a pseudepigraphical magnet attracting various postexilic concerns and aspirations.

As a consequence of this radical divergence of views, an accounting of the present state of the inquiry—its history, limitations, and future—will open the treatment. This will be followed by a general introduction to First Isaiah sensitive to its many literary, historical, and theological complexities, yet receptive to the possibility of significant efforts at coherence in all three areas in the final form of the Isaiah presentation. In this manner we hope successfully to introduce Isaiah 1–39 without minimizing the many exegetical complexities which confront even the general reader of this rich prophetic collection.

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A. Critical Orientation: The Literary Composition of Isaiah 1–39
1. First Isaiah: Terminological Background
2. First Isaiah in the 20th Century
B. Isaiah and History: Preliminary Considerations
C. The Canonical Presentation of the Book of Isaiah
1. Isaiah and the Emergence of Assyria
2. The Syro-Ephraimite Debacle and Isaiah 1–12
3. The 701 Assault: Isaiah 36–39 and Kings Presentations
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5. Isaiah 28–33
6. Isaiah 34–35
7. Isaiah 13–23 and 24–27
D. Conclusions

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### A. Critical Orientation: The Literary Composition of Isaiah 1–39

A general introduction to First Isaiah can be given in part through a discussion of terminology. What exactly is meant by the term "First Isaiah"? Is this a literary, sociological, or historical classification—or some admixture of all three? A discussion of this issue also serves as an introduction to the background of modern critical exegesis of the book of Isaiah. The section concludes with an examination of the variety of methods used to interpret the literary composition of Isaiah 1–39.

**1. First Isaiah: Terminological Background.** Early critical treatments of the prophets stressed their poetic and creative capacities. Bishop Robert Lowth's 18th-century study of Hebrew poetry (*De sacra poesi Hebraeorum,* 1753) and his translation of and notes on the book of Isaiah are cases in point (Lowth 1778; 10th ed. 1834). What in Lowth's hands were essentially aesthetic and appreciative observations about the genius of the prophetic consciousness quickly became a warrant for seeing the prophets as men

of like nature with ourselves, in virtually all respects. Only their higher moral and natural sensibility set them apart.

Lowth was still able to stretch this sensibility to its limit in the case of Isaiah, a book which would prove an unusually demanding arena in which to fight for enlightened approaches while at the same time defending so-called traditional views of prophecy. In Isaiah's case the problem was one of strained temporal reference, most specifically concerning the ability of an 8th-century Isaiah to speak of 6th-century events, nations, and rulers (e.g., Cyrus), with at times remarkable attention to detail, especially in chaps. 40–66. To applaud prophetic genius in respect of ethical insight was one thing; but to claim for this same genius the ability to foresee events centuries in advance went beyond enlightened logic. Here the book of Isaiah presented a set of challenges for the early critical reader without real analogy in Jeremiah or Ezekiel, although an even tougher problem was admitted to exist in the case of Daniel. Lowth's position that Isaiah delivered the prophecies of chaps. 40–66 "in the latter part of the reign of Hezekiah" (Lowth 1834: 309) is a good example of an alliance between traditional and enlightened views which would very soon collapse. *Fore*teller and *forth*-teller would begin to look like incompatible conceptions of Isaiah the prophet.

In an interesting bit of intellectual history, the German edition of Lowth's Isaiah commentary included marginal additions and amplifications by the Göttingen professor and chief translator J. B. Koppe, who suggested that chap. 50 was written by Ezekiel or "another prophet living in Babylon" (Koppe 1780: 43). Eventually, "Pseudo-Isaiah" or "Deutero-Isaiah" would emerge as appropriate terms of reference for chaps. 40–66 in their entirety, on analogy with such usage in classics (Pseudo-Philo) or NT studies (Deutero-Pauline). The book of the prophet Isaiah was thus viewed as including an appendix, "Deutero-Isaiah," comprising twenty-seven chapters.

Many attribute the proposal for a Deutero-Isaiah comprising chaps. 40–66 to J. C. Döderlein (1775), or even to the Jewish scholars Moses ben Samuel Gikatilla and Ibn Ezra (Friedlander 1873) long before him (the former active in the 11th century). There is some debate about the correct evaluation of Ibn Ezra, whose translation notes are often cryptic and open to interpretation; it is never entirely clear if his allusions to "the prophet" in chaps. 40–66 refer to an incipient "Deutero-Isaiah" or to a figure spoken about by the original Isaiah. His frequent counsel to the wise interpreter to exercise restraint may imply he is aware of difficulties which would arise from an overly historicist reading; chaps. 40–66 refer for Ibn Ezra to his own day! In a somewhat similar vein, traditional Christian interpretation of chaps. 40–66 was not concerned so much with linking these chapters back in history to an 8th-century prophet as with linking them forward in time to Christ, a reading urged by the NT. In this spirit, the Church Fathers refer to Isaiah not just as the greatest prophet but also as apostle and evangelist (e.g., Eusebius, Theodoret, Jerome, Augustine). Much of the appeal for single Isaiah authorship against emerging critical positions looks in retrospect like defense of a view of Isaiah that never really functioned with primary exegetical or theological significance in the precritical period (see Levenson's remarks on Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, 1988: 205–13). Oddly enough, the Talmudic reference used as a source for traditional positions attributes Isaiah's authorship to the "assembly of Hezekiah" (*B. Bat.* 15a).

Eichhorn's analysis of Isaiah in his *Einleitung* (1803), originally published in 1783, foreshadowed the method of procedure and many of the critical conclusions which were to emerge in Isaiah scholarship in the following two centuries. Eichhorn begins to use language like "inauthentic" and "secondary" in his analysis of Isaiah oracles, in a manner which logically proceeds from prior assumptions regarding "authenticity" and "primacy" (Eichhorn 1803: 50–55). Authentic oracles can be traced with confidence to the historical prophet Isaiah. It is Eichhorn who inaugurates the modern critical subsection "Life of Isaiah" (*Jesaias Leben* §523), where he tells the reader who Isaiah really is and when he was active, having successfully extracted him from the literature's own construal.

Significantly, Eichhorn does not use the term "Second Isaiah" in reference to chaps. 40–66; neither does the term "First Isaiah" have relevance for him. "Isaiah" refers to the historical man critically reconstructed. But the book of Isaiah itself, in literary terms, is an anthology from many diverse periods. Secondary additions are made in chaps. 40–52 in a sustained manner; but similar additions can be found

in chaps. 1–39, including many brief glosses, as well as the oracle against Moab (chap. 17), chaps. 24–27, and chap. 21 (where reference to "riders on camels" at v 7 sends Eichhorn to Xenophon's reports of later, Persian warfare). In an intriguing conclusion, Eichhorn argues that the order of the major prophets given in the Talmud (*B. Bat.* 14a) is correct, with Isaiah following Jeremiah and Ezekiel. He reasons that Jeremiah and Ezekiel stand first because there is an assumed identity between author and book. Isaiah, by distinction, contains many different prophecies from many different authors and periods and so is an anthology like the Book of the Twelve, which it resembles and next to which it has been placed (Eichhorn 1803: 101–4).

Eichhorn's theory, as peculiar as it may sound, reveals important problems of dating in Isaiah that frustrate easy adoption of the terms "First," "Second," and "Third" Isaiah as referring to simple, historically evolving additions to an original Isaiah core. As for actual historical "authors" of the material, Eichhorn treats only "Isaiah" as a prophetic figure, alongside the many other anonymous contributors. Not until the later chapters (40–66) take on sharper literary and historical definition does the profile of a prophet ("Second Isaiah") emerge, with a fixed sociological and historical provenance to be contrasted with that of an Isaiah located in "First Isaiah" chapters.

The beginning of this process can be detected in Gesenius' Isaiah commentary of 1821. Gesenius expands the list of texts in chaps. 1–39 from later periods to include chaps. 13, 14, 34, and 35. He then speaks of a distinct author *(Verfasser)* of chaps. 40–66, whom he calls "Pseudo-Isaiah" (Gesenius 1821: 17). But above all, the decision to treat chaps. 40–66 in a formally separate volume, with its own introduction, helped drive home the independent nature of "Second Isaiah"—to be contrasted not only with authentic Isaiah oracles but also with the other editorial additions to the Isaiah anthology (as he continued to call it). Gradually "Second Isaiah" became more than a literary designation. As these final chapters took on their own theological profile, a prophetic individual began to emerge from behind their cover.

Gesenius also initiated a form of inquiry that had not been of much interest to Eichhorn. Despite the anthological nature chaps. 1–39 shared with the book as a whole, Gesenius was convinced that significant internal organization and structure could be detected in these chapters. Anticipating modern internal divisions in First Isaiah, he spoke of three books within these chapters: 1–12, 13–23, and 24–35. A collector was responsible for their shaping and (often curious) internal organization (the call of the prophet should be at the beginning, not in chap. 6). A fourth book was Pseudo-Isaiah (40–66). Isaiah chaps. 36–39 were drafted from 2 Kings 18–20 to serve as a conclusion for the originally separate book of Isaiah, on analogy with Jeremiah 52's function as historical appendix to the book of Jeremiah (cf. 2 Kings 25). Since the original book of Isaiah reached a logical conclusion thereby, explanations were required for the addition of the fourth book ("Second Isaiah"), and these ranged from the accidental, to the expedient (scroll size), to the coincidence of name (both prophets had the name Isaiah), to the pseudepigraphic (anonymous oracles required the imprimatur of a former, recognized prophet). Gesenius inclines toward the later view (Gesenius 1821: 17–18).

It was the inquiry into internal organization that led Gesenius to conclude that Isaiah once had a concluded form, assisted by chaps. 36–39, which was independent of Pseudo-Isaiah and yet prior to the final anthological arrangement of the whole sixty-six-chapter book of Isaiah. In many respects, this important observation would begin to allow a certain logic to obtain in the use of what are now practically conventional terms: "First Isaiah" and "Second Isaiah." "First Isaiah" would eventually refer to the literary corpus found in chaps. 1–39, regardless of whether its individual sections were historically anterior. "Second Isaiah" would come to refer to chaps. 40–66. Gesenius' work anticipates the mature theory that behind both literary complexes stand prophetic figures, for whom these names also apply. In sum, use of the term "First Isaiah" would emerge as the consequence of (1) a growing recognition of the literary integrity and independence of "Second Isaiah" and (2) arguments for the structural logic and "closing off" of the Isaiah book with chaps. 36–39. That much of "First Isaiah" was historically contemporaneous with or later than "Second Isaiah" was a paradox the terminology would have to bear.

Bernhard Duhm's influential commentary on Isaiah drives this point home. Duhm maintained that the four-book theory of Gesenius, in somewhat modified form, was a helpful explanation for clear internal collections within Isaiah. Duhm is quite clear, however, that the final collecting and arranging of books in Isaiah takes us practically into the Common Era. And much of the material in Isaiah 1–39 postdates Isaiah 40–66; the *Buchlein* "little book" of chaps. 24–27, for example, Duhm dates to ca. 128 B.C.E. (Duhm *Jesaia* HKAT, xii). Although much in chaps. 1–39 postdates Second Isaiah, Duhm is convinced that these chapters developed internally independent of chaps. 40–66. Consequently, there is a certain propriety in treating Isaiah 1–39 on their own. Like Gesenius, Duhm prefers to talk about Isaiah and the Isaiah Book *(Jesajabuch)*, rather than "First Isaiah" in distinction from "Second Isaiah." Duhm also introduces "Third Isaiah" as the prophetic figure responsible for chaps. 56–66. It would be fair to say that once "Second Isaiah" took on sharper profile as an exilic prophet (cf. Eichhorn's "Pseudo-Isaiah"), a new prophet was demanded for chaps. 56–66, given their distinct tone and seemingly different historical backdrop. In summary, with Duhm's Isaiah commentary three prophetic personalities emerge: Isaiah, Deutero-Isaiah, and Trito-Isaiah. Ironically, greater identity is presumed to exist between prophet and literature in the latter sections (chaps. 40–55 and 56–66) than in the *Jesajabuch* itself (chaps. 1–39).

From a very different angle, this fact has led one recent scholar to conclude that the middle section (chaps. 40–55) is indeed the most stable and has in fact given rise to the other two (Rendtorff 1984). Though overstated, Rendtorff's position has at least pointed out problems inherent in the terms "First Isaiah" and "Second Isaiah." Not all of First Isaiah is historically prior to Second Isaiah; the author of Second Isaiah is more responsible for chaps. 40–55 than Isaiah for 1–39; First Isaiah is a far more complex redactional product, with far greater historical range, than either Second or Third Isaiah. Such was the recognition of Isaiah scholarship by the end of the 19th century. A century later, the situation has changed little.

In conclusion, the term "First Isaiah" is helpful as a literary classification for chaps. 1–39 because they appear first in the book of Isaiah. As a historical or sociological term, however, it must be used with caution, lest one presume an identity of author and literature, with both historically prior to Second and Third Isaiah.

**2. First Isaiah in the 20th Century.** Even if resistance to Duhm's three-Isaiah model was quickly registered, this century has seen widespread acceptance of his basic critical presuppositions. Conservative exegetes continued to produce commentaries on the whole book and inveigh against a model which impugned the prophet's inspirational capacities, especially in the realm of historical foresight. But Gesenius' treatment of Isaiah in two separate volumes was clearly a harbinger of the future. Considerations of historical reference proved more weighty than those respecting the book's present literary unity—however one accounted for it. Second Isaiah emerged into the full light of day, breathing promise and good will, in literature both coherent and historically uniform. First Isaiah, by ironic contrast, required critical extraction from a literature mixed in form, diverse in historical background, and unparalleled in redactional and organizational complexity. In no small measure, Second Isaiah's gain in critical stature was First Isaiah's loss.

One basic problem confronting interpreters of First Isaiah is its baffling internal movement and structure. Luther probably had First Isaiah in mind when he spoke of the prophets' "queer way of talking, like people who, instead of proceeding in an orderly manner, ramble off from one thing to the next, so that you cannot make head or tail of them or see what they are getting at" (*ROTT*, 33). Here, precritical and modern interpreters are in agreement.

Jerome, Michaelis, and Rosenmüller had argued the arrangement was chronological (1–6: Uzziah to Jotham; 7–14: Ahaz; 15ff.: Hezekiah), though on this score Isaiah offers far fewer clues than the explicitly dated Jeremiah and Ezekiel. A similar position was taken by the conservative Hengstenberg in the 19th century, who spoke of a special "prophetic gift" conferred upon the prophet in the reign of Hezekiah (36–39) which enabled him to see chaps. 40–66 the "vision" presumably had its own internal chronological movement as well (Hengstenberg 1872: 2.2–3). Rationalist attempts to use Assyrian history as a clue to the chronology of Isaiah were popular in the late 19th century; a revised version of this sort of inquiry can

be seen in the recent study by Hayes and Irvine (1987). On this logic, the movement of the literature—even through sections of text formally quite diverse (compare chaps. 6–8 with chaps. 9–11)—reflects the temporally unfolding activity of Isaiah as his preaching addresses peoples, nations, and events in chronological order. Chronological order is not editorially imposed, but is the direct consequence of the prophet's own historical activity.

others, with Vitringae, Jahn, and Bauer among the early critical proponents, have argued that the internal organization is thematic. Modern interpreters have spoken about a general tripartite scheme in the major prophetic collections, with indigenous judgment oracles followed by oracles against nations, themselves followed by oracles of promise and salvation (Kaiser 1984: 232). The scheme may work best in Ezekiel; it could only work with LXX Jeremiah; it would work better in Isaiah if chaps. 28–39 did not intervene before oracles of salvation (40–66). In the final analysis, the scheme is artificial and creates more problems than it solves: clear elements of promise are found in 1–12 and 13–27; chaps. 40–66 contain much sharp judgment material (50:10–11; 57:1–13; 58:1–7; 59:1–8; 65:1–16; 66:17, 24).

Introduction of a category like "thematic" moves one's conception of the literature in a different direction than chronological explanations advocate, since "thematic" arrangement requires some form of conscious reflection on the shape the literature will take, whether by the prophet himself or, more likely, by others (editors, disciples, arrangers). Direct access to the historical prophet is more complicated in this model. In many respects, thematic explanations foreshadow more mature critical views, which require editorial decisions and the shaping of Isaiah's once-oral speech into literary presentation. One cannot so easily follow Isaiah as he chronologically addresses events of his day.

Just what the thematic structure of Isaiah is, is quite another question—as is the extent and nature of editorial intervention. Both Gesenius and Duhm argued for internal collections in First Isaiah, seen in most recent treatments as consisting of 1–12; 13–23; 24–27; 28–32 (33); 34–35; and 36–39. Whether this structure is thematically significant is another question altogether. It is probably safer to say that the position of these 19th-century interpreters foreshadows recent redactional arguments for structural organization in First Isaiah. On this view, the consecution of Isaiah oracles may be incomprehensible as it stands, but it is capable of explanation as due to editorial factors and the addition of new levels of text from later periods, quite randomly and without regard for overall literary organization. The roughness of the final form of the text is the result of secondary filling in and elaboration, without regard for literary coherence as a final *desideratum.* From time to time, major structural seams can be detected, as in the collections noted above; but the internal movement within these collections is haphazard, diachronically erratic, and explicable only through complex redactional theories. Here we have a view of the literature and its genesis diametrically opposed to the chronological model, where temporal logic is grounded in the historical activity of the man Isaiah. More recent forms of redactional argumentation may urge far greater appreciation of the present structure of the text, even as chronologically significant (Ackroyd 1974: 330–32; Seitz 1988: 112–16; Smelik 1986: 74–76). But this chronology is by no means connected to the actions in time of the man Isaiah; rather, it is the consequence of editorial decisions concerning the presentation of Isaiah's activity in the literature—an activity whose chronology forms only one part of a larger view of time and the movement of the Word of God in history, as understood by final shapers of the text. (More on "redactional chronology" is presented below.)

Approaches to First Isaiah in this century can be grouped in three categories: (a) direct referential; (b) form and tradition-critical; (c) redactional.

**a. Direct Referential.** The direct referential approach tends to maximize the extent of the present literature attributable to the prophet Isaiah on a variety of grounds (historical, biographical, rhetorical). The text refers directly to events in the lifetime of Isaiah and also reveals much about the prophet's internal state. A good example of this approach is George Adam Smith's study on Isaiah, written at the turn of the century (Smith *Isaiah* ExB). Smith sees the book unfolding chronologically, so that a sequential reading of chaps. 1–39 traces events in Israelite history from 740 to just after 701. Some sections cannot be dated with certainty (e.g., Oracle against Tyre—chap. 23; Hezekiah on his sick-bed—chap. 38); certain prophecies are not related to Isaiah's time (chaps. 13, 24–27). Smith acknowledges

some dislocations (chap. 1; chap. 6), but he usually explains these as due to psychological factors (Isaiah's "call" in chap. 6 is also his reflection back on a difficult career) or matters of priority involving the prophet's own editorial principles.

Hayes and Irvine offer a recent version of this approach, based on a more sophisticated historical investigation and a more rigid commitment to the principle of chronological order. The judgment presupposed in chap. 1 involves the great earthquake reported at Amos 1:1 and Zech 14:5, making the oracle Isaiah's earliest (Hayes and Irvine 1987: 70). Chap. 13 belongs to the period of Tiglath-pileser's efforts to subdue rebellion in the city of Babylon, thus firmly placed in the lifetime of Isaiah and next in order of delivery after chap. 12 and before chap. 14 (Hayes and Irvine 1987: 222). Not even Smith held to his chronological approach in chap. 13, dated by most after 587, presupposing later Neo-Babylonian resurgence under Nebuchadnezzar (Clements *Isaiah 1–39* NCBC, 132), if not the rise of Persia under Cyrus (Wildberger *Jesaja* BKAT, 511). The view of Isaiah that emerges from this portrayal is, not surprisingly, one of a shrewd political observer. Isaiah's interest in world events, particularly in the Nation Oracles section (chaps. 13–23), make him the theological equivalent of modern global-political analysts.

**b. Form and Tradition Criticism.** Form and tradition criticism disagree in the first instance with the literary presuppositions of direct referential approaches. The book of Isaiah is composed of a wide variety of material, whose principle agenda is not direct cameralike access to political events in the days of Isaiah, nor biographical revelations of the prophet's inner life. Rather, much of the present book began as oral speech of the prophet, delivered on different occasions and for different purposes, the present arrangement of which is a matter for separate inquiry. Moreover, much of the speech of Isaiah already conforms to typical forms of expression, whose history and social location are themselves a helpful index of the theology of the prophet. In Gerhard von Rad's treatment of Isaiah (*ROTT*, 147–75), it was important to place Isaiah within Israel's traditional theological confessions if one was to understand his "genius"—a view which cut against overly individualistic readings of Isaiah as rhapsodic poet, ethical loner, political pundit, or unparalleled *homo religio.* Isaiah's genius lay in his powerful transformation of Israel's traditions.

Von Rad's best example is Isaiah's use of Zion traditions. Von Rad sketches out a coherent Zion theology at home in certain psalms (46, 48, 76), rooted in Israel's historical memory, distinct from Exodus and Conquest traditions. This Zion theology describes Yahweh's choice of Zion for a dwelling place, and his protection of Zion against all foes, frequently spoken of in mythological language. Von Rad notes that this traditional complex of ideas, with its attendant language and forms, is to be seen at numerous points in Isaiah (see esp. chaps. 28–32), together with royal traditions (chaps. 7, 9, 11) ultimately from a similar background. Isaiah uses Zion traditions, however, in a modified form as follows: (1) to express the possibility of God's turning the judgment for the nations back against Israel (29:1–8); (2) therefore demanding a stance of faith (7:1–9), in that sense reflecting a merger of Zion motifs with those of Holy War, where belief was a prerequisite for deliverance (Judges 7); and (3) this modification finally giving way to trust in the mysterious plan of Yahweh (5:12, 19; 14:24–27; 28:21), revealed in an act of grace shown to the prophet. The final transformation strained Zion tradition to its limit and is therefore seen by von Rad as Isaiah's own unique contribution, permitted only when the original Zion form had been faithfully applied and finally found wanting, due to the loss of faith of those around the prophet. Only then does von Rad believe access is granted to the inner life of Isaiah (*ROTT*, 160–66).

The tradition-critical approach of von Rad operates with broader form-critical assumptions about the role of the prophet vis à vis the literature. Isaiah's adaptations of Israel's tradition come in the form of public address, akin to preaching. First Isaiah (1–39) contains this preaching, but it cannot everywhere be simply identified with this preaching, either in neat chronological order, or thematic presentation, or even haphazard arrangement. Von Rad does see some rough chronological movement in the present book, and one might well assume that early chapters are related to events in the days of Ahaz (5–12), later chapters to the days of Hezekiah (28–39). Still, critical judgments are required about the historical events of Isaiah's day, and canons of literary analysis help to determine consistent patterns in Isaiah's own speech.

What falls outside either of these areas is clearly secondary and editorially supplied. It would be fair to conclude that von Rad's primary area of interest lay in interpreting the theological significance of those portions of First Isaiah which could reasonably be traced to the historical prophet, using the methods of form- and tradition-criticism. Von Rad remained vitally interested in the prophet Isaiah, as a man of history theologically actualizing Israel's traditions. But this Isaiah could not be simply read off the top of the text; it required highly sophisticated literary and historical tools to lay him bare.

**c. Redactional Approaches.** Much recent work on Isaiah has a primary redactional interest (Kaiser 1983; Vermeylen 1977–78; Clements *Isaiah 1–39* NCBC; Sweeney 1988b). With increased awareness of the major role editorial and supplemental material plays in the present book of Isaiah, the focus on the man Isaiah has moved to the background, thus inverting the task of interpretation as understood by both referential and form-critical readings. To the foreground has moved concern for (1) separating out by literary means various redactional levels, (2) locating them with historical and sociological analysis, and (3) describing their theological burden or *tendenz.* Once the levels are repristinated apart from their present literary context, there may follow an attempt to reintegrate them and describe their present function in the final form of the text (Ackroyd 1974; 1978; 1982; Anderson 1988). But generally the process is reversed (Sweeney 1988b) or the integrative function of redactional additions is not a source of interest.

One can see the shift of critical focus in the work of Kaiser. The first editions of his (First) Isaiah commentary retained the form-critical emphasis of von Rad, with attendant concern for theological reflection on the preaching of the man Isaiah. The recent fifth edition (German 1981; English 1983) has been completely rewritten, and now what with confidence can be traced back to Isaiah is to be found in a scattering of verses in chaps. 1, 28–31 (Kaiser 1983: 1–2). The book largely reflects the theological concerns of historicizing, eschatologizing, and deuteronomizing forces in the postexilic period. This is a return to Duhm with subtle vengeance. The net effect is a curious open literature which serves as a collecting tank for various forms of theological reflection from later periods, presumably requiring the pseudepigraphical imprimatur of an Isaiah who has in the meantime vanished from view. The kind of subtle balance, effected by von Rad between form-critical circumspection regarding the nature of the literature on the one side and the claims of the historical Isaiah on the other, is gone. It is probably the case that von Rad's reading was too selective and did not take into sufficient account the extent of redactional *relecture* in the final form of the book. Redactional analysis has recognized just how complex is the First Isaiah material before us, having given rise to such extensive reinterpretation of the prophetic word that the original preaching of the man Isaiah does at times recede from view.

To its credit, redactional analysis is more than the reading of erasures and the arbitrary assigning of verses to obscure groups of later interpreters. In the case of Isaiah, there has come the honest recognition that the original proclamation of the prophet has undergone major reinterpretation in the light of subsequent historical events. The final literary movement of the book is difficult to follow, as Luther recognized, in no small part because of redactional influence. To isolate the preaching of the man Isaiah, even in the compelling manner of von Rad, is to ignore a significant portion of the literature and lose the theological force of the final form of the text, extending even beyond chaps. 1–39.

Redactional analysis has given rise to a form of observation about First Isaiah that strikes to the heart of the critical consensus regarding division of the whole book into three independent collections (1–39; 40–55; 56–66). By recognizing the later reappropriation of First Isaiah traditions and the literary effect this has had on chaps. 1–39, features of literary, theological, and thematic commonality have been spotted that span critical divisions of the book going back to Gesenius. Much of chaps. 1–39 appears to reflect a conscious post-587 B.C.E. redactional shaping meant to foreshadow themes which emerge in full force in chaps. 40–55 and 56–66 (Clements 1980; Sweeney 1988b). The Assyrian foe of Isaiah's day (10:5–11) is viewed as a type for which the later Babylonian destroyer serves as antitype (23:13). The assault of 701 B.C.E. (1:1–9) foreshadows the destruction of 587 B.C.E. (6:13), just as the return of the destroyed N kingdom (721 B.C.E.) anticipates the full restoration of Israel following the Exile (11:10–16).

Some of these linkages are redactionally reinforced, while others trade on a reader competence "outside" the text—but in both cases an intentionality is assumed regarding the present "merger" of First, Second, and Third Isaiah (or Isaiah and Pseudo-Isaiah, to use the older terminology). The reader of the first half of the book knows about the fuller effect of Isaiah's word, beyond the days of Assyrian threat to those of Babylonian destruction and longed-for restoration. On occasions, the linkages are explicit: chap. 39 speaks of the coming days of Babylonian assault; chaps. 13–14 "merge" the Babylonian and the Assyrian foe and then describe restoration to come following Babylon's fall (14:1–3); the "death" of king and city is postponed by Hezekiah's piety (chap. 38), only to have later effect. At other points, the events of 701 B.C.E. are simply allowed to resonate for a reader cognizant of later, more serious judgment: "The daughter of Zion is left like a booth in a vineyard … if the Lord had not left us a few survivors, we should have been like Sodom" (1:8–9). Seen in the light of 587 B.C.E., these words have a decided penitential effect.

The direction of influence runs backward as well as foward. The frequent reference to the "former things" in Second Isaiah (esp. chaps. 40–48) is cued to the preaching of First Isaiah, as this has taken a certain redactional form in chaps. 1–39 (*IOTS*, 328–30). The "former things" consist of God's word of judgment spoken through Isaiah (viz. 6:9–10), which was to culminate in destruction and exile (6:11–13). Second Isaiah chapters look back on this word as fulfilled in the Babylonian assault of 587 B.C.E. (43:18). The former things are divinely linked, however, to new, latter things, involving restoration and new creation following destruction (43:18). Much of chaps. 1–39 looks forward to this day as well (2:1–5; 12:1–6), ultimately fulfilled in Second Isaiah (55:1–13). The reciprocal relationships between First and Second Isaiah are on occasion redactionally assisted in 40–55, just as in 1–39 (Clements 1985). At other times the simple juxtaposition of "First" and "Second" Isaiah is the major force encouraging coordinated reading. Indeed, recent redactional examinations of the book of Isaiah call into question the propriety of the terminology now employed (viz. First, Second, and Third Isaiah), especially when an emphasis on the independence of these "three Isaiahs" is the consequence. The day may come when commentaries and dictionary articles treat the book of Isaiah in two major sections under the rubrics "Former Things" (1–39) and "New Things" (40–66). From a certain redaction-critical perspective, this shift in terminology would more accurately reflect editorial efforts at unity within the larger book of Isaiah, while at the same time recognizing an important historical, literary, and theological break at chaps. 39 and 40.

**d. Summary and Prospective.** The strength of certain referential and form-critical readings was the ability to keep Isaiah the prophet historically and theologically vibrant. The shift toward redactional analysis has made this perspective more difficult to unlock, as the book's message overshadows the one-time proclamation of an 8th-century prophet. Moreover, a host of questions now hovers over the nature of prophetic activity, when it is acknowledged that the word of Isaiah does not stand alone as a prophetic word in the final form of the book.

These questions are literary, historical, sociological, and theological. What was the literary form and scope of the Isaiah tradition available to later interpreters? In what historical period did it first take shape and then subsequently develop? What sociological forces were at work in its formation, along with and apart from the prophet Isaiah? On what theological basis are redactional additions made to the original word of Isaiah? Are additions made only to respond to later existential needs, or are they the consequence of the ongoing effect of the word of God, somewhat independent of the prophet Isaiah (Meade 1986: 22–26)? Does the book take a final literary shape that is coherent and theologically normative, itself relativizing the theological force of earlier redactional levels?

As redactional analysis brings important hermeneutical issues to the fore, a reasonable accounting of basic historical and sociological factors will still have to be made. To take one example, a sizable historical gap separates the man Isaiah and his preaching from a Babylonian redaction and the proclamation of chaps. 40–66. Why was that gap overcome and the message of Isaiah extended into later periods—a fact without real analogy in other prophetic books? Ultimately, the answer to that question is dependent upon one's prior view of "First Isaiah." For important heuristic reasons, interpretation of the "Former Things" in the book of Isaiah cannot proceed without a clear sense of "First Isaiah," man and

literature. Future work on the composition of Isaiah 1–39 will have to continue to address fundamental historical, sociological, and literary problems if the theological message of the book of Isaiah is to be heard.

**B. Isaiah and History: Preliminary Considerations**

The previous section focused on the history of research and the problems of method regarding the literary composition of the book of Isaiah. The book of Isaiah undeniably goes back to the oral proclamation of the man Isaiah, however one reconstructs the development of the literature. Isaiah was a prophet whose message had primary relevance for Judah and Jerusalem (1:1; 2:1), a fact verified by the two large narrative sections of the book which depict the prophet as close to, and with remarkable authority vis à vis, the royal house and affairs of state in the capital (6:1–8:23 and 36:1–39:8). As the tradition has remembered him, Isaiah plays a role in political affairs without real analogy for contemporaries Amos, Hosea, Micah, and Zephaniah. Isaiah's closest counterpart is probably the prophet Nathan, who likewise had access to the royal house, wielding direct authority over the Davidic line (2 Sam 7; 12:1–15).

As von Rad rightly saw, Isaiah also operates out of a distinct theological framework involving God's establishment of Zion (chaps. 28–32; 37:35). Zion, Judah/Jerusalem, and the Davidic house together form the center of attention for both prophet and book; this fact likewise distinguishes Isaiah from prophetic contemporaries. The fate of all three (Zion/Judah/David) is inextricably bound up with the movements of history, involving affairs in the immediate N kingdom (7:1–17b; 8:1–13; 9:8–21; 11:12–16; 17:1–14; 28:1–6), in the more distant Syria (7:1–9; 8:5–8; 17:1–14), and especially in the Assyrian empire (5:26–30; 7:17c–25; 8:1–4; 10:5–11, 13:19, 27c–34; 14:24–27). Even the Babylon of Marduk-apla-iddinna (ca. 721/20–700 B.C.E.) puts in a brief and ominous appearance (39:1–8). Isaiah's distinctive Judah/Jerusalem perspective functions within a broader conception of God's sovereignty over Israel and the nations.

With Isaiah we stand firmly in the 8th century, at the period in history which witnessed the full emergence of the Assyrian empire as a force to reckon with in Israel (2 Kgs 15:19, 29). It can be no accident that classical prophecy also emerged at this period, taking on a certain distinctive profile but sharing a belief that the God of Israel was also the God of the nations and the cosmos (Amos 1–2; Hosea 11–13; Micah 7; Zeph 2:5–15).

Given the significant roles exercised by Assyria and the nations within God's sovereignty over Israel, it is important to reconstruct events of the day in as clear a manner as possible. Put in another way, the actual historical sharpness of descriptions of the nations has not yet been blurred or relativized, such as we see in apocalyptic and later literature, where the nations are ciphers that can be used almost interchangeably and indiscriminantly to represent forces of general evil. Even where Babylon and Assyria seem to function as "types" of destructive arrogance (chaps. 13–14), the literature also keeps them functionally distinct (e.g., 23:13) and registers as significant specific historical events from distinct periods (compare Isa 7:1–9 [Syria-Ephraim], 36–37 [Assyria], 13:1–16 [Babylon], and 13:17–22 [Persia]). The final shaping of the book of Isaiah works with certain incipient apocalyptic literary techniques, especially in its appraisal of history in broad scope. But the original sharpness of historical events and figures from the 8th century remains. For this reason it is important to gain as clear a focus on events as possible and to pursue questions regarding the historical Isaiah. But the task of historical analysis cannot be considered successfully completed until one is able to see how these events and this man have been construed in the final textualization of the tradition.

That this line of historical inquiry is distinct from the direct referential reading should be briefly illustrated. We possess substantial records regarding ANE history during the 8th century, from Assyrian and Babylonian annals, to material finds, scattered papyri and correspondence, and the various biblical sources themselves (esp. Isaiah, Kings, and Chronicles). These various sources of information are frequently thought to reflect one systematic temporal network, internally consistent and capable of rational reconstruction. The task of the historian is to reconstruct this interlocking network of "meaning" with the help of the various literary and material sources, and then interpret the book of Isaiah in light of it. Even more radical redactional approaches, with skepticism about the 8th-century setting of Isaiah,

simply substitute a later period (postexilic Israel), which also functions as the appropriate control and guide for exegesis.

An optimism about historical analysis animates the quest of direct referential readings, namely, that all records, regardless of their form and intention, are ultimately reflections of one overarching temporal reality which *is itself* the final arbiter of interpretation. Contradictions which arise in the sources are therefore thought to be departures from this canonical reality, demanding rejection or decoding and reintegration. Classic examples of the latter are the various clever reconstructions of chronology in Israel which attempt to square the divergent sources through recourse to plausible but abstruse theories of coregencies, different calendrics, accession-year adjustments, and the like (see esp. Thiele 1965; Hayes and Hooker 1988). The assumptions are that (1) the sources are indeed capable of such coordination, and (2) coordination must be carried out as the necessary prerequisite for proper interpretation of the book of Isaiah.

Another interpretation of Isaiah and history is possible and will be adopted in the historical treatment to follow. We assume that ancient historical writing is self-consciously interpretive and always stands at one remove from the *bruta facta* themselves or schemes for their temporal coordination—including even theoretically "objective" records (annals citations and the like). Tied to this is the view that chronological logic and consistency in ancient "historiography" is frequently overshadowed by other subjective and interpretive considerations. We are able to set forth major movements in Assyrian and Babylonian history, often with a precision that would have baffled those who experienced them directly. But what the prophet Isaiah made of these same events, and what the later shapers of the book of Isaiah perceived of their significance—whether they or he were informed about them in the way we are millennia hence—are far more relevant questions for modern historical analysis. On occasion the various sources operate from such radically different perspectives that their reciprocal coordination would result in a highly artificial presentation. Moreover, the final structure of the book of Isaiah presents views of history which are frequently illogical, given modern historiographical data and assumptions regarding events in linear time consecution. What is most important in reconstructing movements in ANE history is not to coordinate Isaiah with them and then translate them both into some network of external temporal reference, but to discover the temporal logic appropriate to each. In this fashion, the modern fiction of independent "history" will not emerge as the interpretive arbiter of the book of Isaiah; the reverse will be true.

In sum, the book of Isaiah is like history in its presentation (Frei 1974) and for this reason demands an assessment of its field of historical referentiality. But the two should be kept distinct, and the latter should not be allowed to eclipse the former. The book of Isaiah is more than a set of clues from which to reconstruct a network of "real" historical meaning. Isaiah draws from the world of external reference in order to produce its own chronological "scale" and internal perspective.

### C. The Canonical Presentation of the Book of Isaiah

In what follows, the content of the book of Isaiah will be surveyed with particular attention to the literary presentation of chaps. 1–39 in their present form. This presentation is the work of redactional hands concerned with setting forth the man Isaiah, his message in the 8th century, and the deeper significance of that message for God's dealings with Israel up to and through the exilic crisis of 587 B.C.E. (All subsequent dates are B.C.E. unless noted.)

**1. Isaiah and the Emergence of Assyria.** By the most generous estimate, Isaiah's prophetic activity extended from the latter years of King Uzziah (1:1; 6:1) to the 14th year of King Hezekiah (36:1) and the aftermath of Sennacherib's invasion (701). Even allowing for problems of chronology (see below), this would plausibly grant to Isaiah a career of approximately forty years (742–700), analogous to that assumed by the book of Jeremiah (1:1–3) for the prophet Jeremiah (627–587). A forty-year career for two of Israel's major prophets is consistent with the status they are eventually accorded in the canon (Seitz 1989).

Problems exist at either end of this reckoning, making assignment of exact dates for Isaiah's career difficult. On the one hand, Isaiah shares with other canonical literature a general confusion over chronology. The broader problem lies outside of this treatment, involving regnal year accounting in the

books of Kings and Chronicles. The following table illustrates the latitude that is possible in reckoning, depending upon one's assessment of coregencies, accession-year tally, synchronisms, and competing calendric systems—not to mention coordination with ANE records (see *IJH,* 683; Hayes and Hooker 1988).

| | Begrich/Jepsen | Albright | Hayes/Hooker |
|---|---|---|---|
| Uzziah | 787–736 | 783–742 | 785–734 |
| Jotham | 756–741 | 750–735 | 759–744 |
| Ahaz | 741–725 | 735–715 | 742–728 |
| Hazekiah | 725–697 | 715–687 | 727–699 |

For the purpose of this treatment, we adopt the Albright reckoning and assume a career for Isaiah from roughly 742 to 700; that is, from the final years of Uzziah until the aftermath of the Assyrian invasion reported in chaps. 36–37, in the 14th year of King Hezekiah (701). We take seriously the intent of the superscription of the book (1:1) to locate the beginning of Isaiah's career in the reign of Uzziah.

Many have contested the possibility of Uzziah-period preaching for Isaiah. The chief objection is said to exist in chap. 6, which is taken as a call narrative of the prophet (Clements *Isaiah 1–39* NCBC, 8–9). Following this logic, Isaiah's "call" came in "the year that King Uzziah died" (6:1); there can be no preaching before this period, therefore, and chaps. 1–5 must postdate chap. 6. Various explanations are given for the placement of a call narrative six chapters into the book (cf. Jeremiah and Ezekiel). On purely historical and literary-critical grounds, others deny the possibility of Uzziah-period preaching.

The problem remains why redactors would have invented a Uzziah reference in the superscription if this was so clearly at odds with the "call narrative" interpretation of chap. 6. Chap. 6 also presents a thorny theological problem felt by interpreters from early on. Isaiah is "called" to "make hearts fat" (6:10), thus making impossible acceptance of the divine word from the very beginning. Again, there is also the question of why a "call narrative" inaugurating Isaiah should appear six chapters into the book.

It appears that the redactors of the book wish chap. 6 to be interpreted along different lines, and herein lies the solution to the chronological problem and the curious literary arrangement of the opening chapters. Chap. 6 is not an inaugural call, but a commission for a specific task from the heavenly council, given in the year King Uzziah died (6:1; see also Hayes and Irvine 1987: 108–13). The woes of the preceding chapter (5:8, 11, 18, 21–22) potentially implicate Isaiah as well, so he cries: "Woe is me—I am lost" (6:5). Isaiah is truly a man of unclean lips dwelling in the midst of a people of unclean lips (6:5). In the final shape of the tradition, Isaiah is presented as having preached warning and exhortation prior to the death of King Uzziah, and prior to his commission to "make hearts fat" (6:10)—a decree rendered in the heavenly council and shared with an Isaiah who must still go forth and preach repentance (see chap. 7), not smug announcements of sure doom. The main function of chap. 6 is to set the prophet apart from the people in clear fashion (6:7) and reveal to the reader the content of his commission, in all its historical breadth and theological force (6:11–13). Isaiah's inaugural "call" is not registered as significant in the final form of the book; from the divine perspective it reaches back before his consciousness of it, like Jeremiah's "call" before he was formed in his mother's womb (Jer 1:5). The precise end of the prophet's career is likewise not a matter for attention; Isaiah disappears with the same mystery as when he began his preaching "in the days of Uzziah" (1:1).

There is another dimension to the chronological presentation of Isaiah which locates his initial activity in the reign of Uzziah. This feature Isaiah shares with the prophets Amos and Hosea, who likewise are seen as preaching during the reign of Uzziah (Amos 1:1; Hos 1:1). It appears that these prophetic books, apart from their claim to actual historical memory of Uzziah-period preaching, are coordinated with a temporal perspective operative in 2 Kings, which places the emergence of the Assyrian threat as far back as the reign of Uzziah (2 Kgs 15:17–19). The superscriptions of these three prophetic books do not specify the precise year of the respective prophet's inauguration; a general reference to Uzziah suffices. Far too great an emphasis has been placed upon the psychologically alluring notion of a specific "call," to

the exclusion of other important considerations at work in the final presentation of the book. Among these is the signal awareness that with the rise of the Assyrian empire, God was beginning a strange work in Israel—something the prophet Isaiah saw and proclaimed. Tiglath-pileser (Pul) is thus depicted as the king of Assyria who "came against the land" as far back as the reign of Menachem (2 Kgs 15:19), who began to reign in the 39th year of his Judahite counterpart Uzziah (2 Kgs 15:17). From a modern historiographic perspective, the reigns of Uzziah and Tiglath-pileser can be roughly coordinated. This conforms with the literature's general reference to Isaiah's preaching "in the days of Uzziah" at 1:1, and the equally general reference to the "king of Assyria" at 2 Kgs 15:19. Here is an instance where more precise chronological synthesis might overlook the very general explanations at work in the literature, which have a significance all their own.

The following table indicates important dates in ANE history that are relevant for the book of Isaiah.

| | |
|---|---|
| Tiglath-pileser | 744–727 |
| Syro-Ephraimite Debacle | 734–732 |
| Shalmaneser V | 726–722 |
| Sargon II | 721–705 |
| Fall of Northern Kingdom | 721 |
| Sennacherib | 704–681 |
| Assault on Judah | 701 |

It should prove no surprise that the final shapers of the prophetic canon came to associate the rise of Assyria, instrument of Yahweh (Isa 10:5), with the final days of Uzziah.

Here we also find an explanation for the seemingly broken cycle of woes (5:8–23 and 10:1–4) and "outstretched hand" passages (5:25–30 and 9:8–10:4), now separated by the narrative "memoir" section of 6:1–8:22 and the messianic oracle at 9:1–7 (see recently Anderson 1988: 230–40; Clements *Isaiah 1–39* NCBC, 60–70; Sheppard 1985: 195–8). Warning and woe precede the stark commissioning of Isaiah in 6:9–13. Utilizing its own temporal logic, the book of Isaiah also depicts God's hand stretched out against Israel through the agency of the "nation afar off" (5:26) even before the death of Uzziah (6:1), consistent with the portrayal of 2 Kings and general staging in ANE history at large. God's hand "remains stretched out still" after the death of Uzziah, beyond the reign of Jotham to that of Ahaz (7:1), in the events of the Syro-Ephraimite debacle (734–732), and beyond to the fall of Samaria/Ephraim itself in 721 (9:8–10, 13–14; 10:3–4). Repetition of the motif "his anger is not turned away" (9:12, 17, 21; 10:4) serves to drive home the incremental and yet relentless way in which God's judgment is effected through the agency of Assyria, "the rod of my anger, the staff of my fury" (10:5). The rhetorical piece, the Song of the Vineyard, opens this temporal depiction by predicting the gradual but sure assault on "the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts" (5:7). God has removed its hedge and broken down its wall (5:5); it is left to be devoured and trampled, becoming a waste, full of briers and thorns (5:5–6). In what follows, all this gradually comes about (see especially the briers/thorns motif [5:6; 7:23–25; 9:18]) until Assyria is herself judged, turning "the glory of his forest" into "thorns and briers in one day" (10:17).

These key chapters (5–11), representing a variety of historical preaching and secondary redaction, have been editorially shaped to underscore (1) the widespread and chronic sinfulness of Judah/Jerusalem; (2) the commissioning of Assyria as God's instrument of purging judgment; (3) the commissioning of Isaiah as proclaimer of God's word of judgment; (4) the assault, in stages, on God's vineyard; and (5) the final judgment of Assyria for arrogance. Within this major movement of the Isaiah presentation, one sees other themes emerging as well. These include (1) the Syro-Ephraimite debacle (chaps. 7–8); (2) royal disobedience contrasted with future promise (9:1–7 and 11:1–9); and (3) a vision of future restoration (11:10–16). The beginning of Isaiah's career is set in the "days of Uzziah," when the Assyrian threat began to take form. Judah's unwillingness to be the pleasant planting and choice vine God intends (5:2, 7) means death and destruction for the vineyard (Israel). The special responsibility of Judah/Jerusalem in God's vineyard (1:8; 2:1; 3:14; 5:7) is balanced by interest in the royal house, which has also been set

apart for special service (Yee 1981: 37–40). At the center of the Isaiah memoir (6–8) stands a prose narrative focusing on God's word to the royal house, in the person of Ahaz, at a key moment in history.

**2. The Syro-Ephraimite Debacle and Isaiah 1–12.** The depiction of the gradual assault by the Assyrian instrument of judgment now frames a special episode in Israel's history (referred to as the Syro-Ephraimite War), described in the literarily complex chaps. 7–8. With the gradual ascendency of Assyria in the ANE, neighboring and more distant nations were taxed and placed under state control, with various degrees of severity (*IJH*, 415–21). Revolts were frequent, and if successfully put down, the consequences could be (1) renewed vassalage; (2) puppet rule; or (3) population deportation and exchange.

In an act of defiance most date to the year 734, presumably calculated for some strategic advantage, Israel and her northern neighbor Syria decided to revolt against Assyrian rule. This seems the most likely explanation for the notice of Isa 7:1, which says without elaboration that "in the days of Ahaz," Rezin and Pekah, kings of Syria and Israel, respectively, "came up to Jerusalem to wage war against it." Interestingly, the action is described as though it were a purely hostile, almost wanton act of violence: "Let us go up against Judah and terrify it" (7:6a). Most assume that Syria and Israel, in league together (7:2), sought to gain Judah's support in alliance against Assyria—hence the specific reference to the deposing of Ahaz and his replacement with one "son of Tabeel" (7:6b).

Isaiah's response to all this is quite direct. His words are addressed to the Davidic house, and he stands firm on traditions which speak of God's choice of David and his line (2 Sam 7; Ps 2; see Mays 1988: 39–48). Ahaz is to "take heed, be quiet, fear not" (7:4). God will see to the eventual fall of the alliance against Judah, the implication being that God stands at Judah's head, while Ephraim and Syria are ruled by men alone (7:7–9).

Together with the word of God, Ahaz is confronted by three sign-children, whose names are significant carriers of God's message. All three names are unambiguously positive for Judah: Remnant Restored (Shear-jashub), God with Us (Immanuel), and Spoil Speeds, Prey Hastes (Maher-shalal-hash-baz). The positive force of the names is driven home by the language which immediately follows in each instance (7:4; 7:15–16; 8:4). The first child is already born. The second and third are about to be born, and the message of deliverance is keyed to certain temporal indicators associated with their maturation. Clearly, the period of weal is just around the corner, no matter what the circumstances look like to Ahaz (8:4). At their earliest literary stage, chaps. 7–8 are frequently termed a Book of Signs because of the motif of the sign-children (all three Isaiah's) that unifies them (Gottwald 1958; Roberts 1985).

But the original literary tradition has clearly been expanded (Clements *Isaiah 1–39* NCBC, 78–103). The motif of conditionality integral to the original tradition (7:9b) has opened up one dimension of so-called Zion and Royal Theology. God provides concrete and repeated signs of his special care for Zion and David, in spite of the pious intransigence of Ahaz (cf. Hezekiah in 36–38). But lack of belief can turn God's protection to nought. Those who shaped these chapters clearly look back on King Ahaz as the one who refused to believe and was therefore not established. The juxtaposition of the oracle at 9:1–7, which speaks of a glorious new king, helps drive this home. Ahaz' lack of belief has caused certain distinct editorial moves within chaps. 7–8 as well.

On the one hand, a new level of tradition has been introduced which speaks of the coming assault—not of the Syro-Ephraimite coalition (their future is decidedly inauspicious)—but of Assyria (7:17c–25). Syro-Ephraim is replaced by a divinely appointed Assyria, who will judge the unfaithful royal house and Judah "in that day" (7:18, 20–21, 23). As a consequence of Ahaz' unbelief, the positive signs become more restrictedly positive, if not negative, reminders of lack of faith. "God is with us"—as a judged remnant confident God will halt the future Assyrian assault (8:10), but only after much destruction ("even to the neck," 8:8). "Spoil speeds"—not just against the Syro-Ephraimite coalition (8:4), but ultimately against Judah as well (8:6–7). "Remnant restored"—not Judah vis à vis Israel in the Syro-Ephraimite debacle, but as a later purged remnant vis à vis the unfaithful generation of Ahaz, who rightly perceive the judgment of God and the promise of a righteous future in the teaching of Isaiah (8:16–20).

As von Rad correctly noted, Zion theology is transformed in the book of Isaiah, as God himself through the agency of Assyria turns against his own people in order to purge them and set apart a righteous

remnant. But the nations cannot rage (Ps 2:1) without restraint (so Isa 8:9–10). God remains with Zion to cleanse her for a new future. What von Rad wished to locate in the prophetic consciousness, one can see at work at the editorial level, as witnessed in the final redaction of the Book of Signs. This same theological perspective is exhibited at other points in the tradition as well. The form-critical insight of von Rad, especially focused on chaps. 28–31 and the prophet Isaiah's own consciousness, has broader relevance for a distinct editorial perspective operative throughout the First Isaiah chapters.

In the complex tapestry of the Book of Signs, positive signs were to function positively in the events of the Syro-Ephraimite debacle of 734; but they also stand in judgment over lack of faith in the royal house and point to a new day. It can be no coincidence that immediately juxtaposed with this Book of Signs is an oracle describing a just and faithful ruler (8:23b–9:6 = Eng. 9:1–7). Whether this is a typical figure supplied by accession liturgy of preexilic Israel (von Rad *PHOE,* 222–31; Becker 1980: 45–47), or an eschatological (messianic) figure from the postexilic period (Kaiser (1983: 203–18), or Isaiah's (private) hope for a king at the time of Sennacherib (Duhm *Jesaia* HKAT, 66–69), or Ahaz's actual successor Hezekiah (Alt *KlSchr* 2: 206–25; Clements *Isaiah 1–39* NCBC, 103–9) is not made explicit in the text (and therefore occasions much debate). The latter interpretation is highly suggestive, though much of the reference to Assyrian assault in the final form of chaps. 7–8 seems geared to events of 701, thus postdating Hezekiah's accession. For this reason, Josiah has also been considered a likely candidate (Vermeylen 1977–78: 231–49; Barth 1977: 176–77). It cannot be ruled out that a certain obscurity has been intended in the final redaction of this oracle, as well as in its more idealized counterpart at 11:1–9. What is clear is that a new ruler will emerge in a new day and stand in utter contrast to the faithless Ahaz, a depiction consistent with the force of chaps. 36–38, where Hezekiah forms a distinct counterpoint to Ahaz (Ackroyd 1974: 350–2; 1981: 219–22).

In the Book of Signs and in the broader literary context surrounding it (esp. chaps. 5–11), historical events with significance in the days of Uzziah and Ahaz have taken on new meaning. The Syro-Ephraimite assault fails in 734, only to foreshadow later Assyrian success as the instrument of Yahweh. Faithless Ahaz is replaced by a new king. The Assyrian assault, hinted at in Isaiah's early days (5:26–30), seems especially related to events in 701, during the reign of Hezekiah, at which time Judah was completely overrun by Sennacherib's forces (36:1), and Jerusalem was left "like a booth in a vineyard" (1:8). The imagery of near-total destruction persists throughout these chapters (6:13; 8:8; 10:32), with the clear suggestion that only Jerusalem will be spared ("he will shake his fist at the mount of the daughter of Zion"). At this key moment, a new act will begin, whereby Assyria will be judged for arrogance and the overstepping of her divine commission; this theme likewise finds persistent articulation in chaps. 5–11 (see 8:9–10; 10:12–19; 10:33–34). Apart from sporadic and incidental editorial work focused on even later events (esp. 587; Clements 1980), the major redactional work on these chapters is keyed toward the events of 701 and their aftermath. This is consistent with the way the Assyrian assault is depicted in chaps. 5–11, namely, as involving widespread assault on Judah and the near destruction of Jerusalem, which in turn gave rise to sober hopes for restoration following this cleansing.

Chaps. 2–4 contain a diverse assortment of material, some of it pre-Ahaz and consistent with the depiction of chap. 5 in seeing Judah/Jerusalem as chronically sinful. other material in these chapters reflects the post-701 concern with future restoration. Still other sections appear to see the assault of 701 as but a foreshadowing of a yet future judgment in 587, resulting in the fall of Jerusalem. It is extremely difficult to sort out the various redactional strata (Sweeney 1988b), due to a lack of explicit literary and historical indexing at work in the literature. Whatever one concedes about a Babylonian period redaction (Clements 1980), the final presentation of chaps. 1–12 has not lifted the events of 587 and their theological significance into such prominence that original 8th-century rooting has been completely loosened. In fact, strong arguments can be mounted in defense of a general 701 backdrop for all of chap. 1, on literary, historical, and redactional grounds. The opening superscription interprets chap. 1 as a summary vision from the prophet, presenting major themes of the prophet's message culminating in the reign of Hezekiah (Fohrer 1967: 148–66). The deliverance in 701 (see 1:8) is not taken as a matter of rejoicing nor as the validation of a Zion theology requiring no faith, but rather as a matter for penitence

and exhortation (1:10–20). Afterwards, Zion can be reclaimed by God (1:24–31). This in turn gives way to a new vision of the future, not yet realized in time (see 2:1–4 and 12:1–6).

Ackroyd (1978) and others have correctly noted the existence of a major subsection in Isaiah 1–12. Here, something of the whole history of God with his people during the career of Isaiah is set forth, from the days of Uzziah to the days of Hezekiah and the deliverance of 701. The actual account of the 701 deliverance is found in a narrative section not unlike the Book of Signs, in terms of form and thematic shape, at the end of the First Isaiah material (chaps. 36–37). In chaps. 1–12 Isaiah is presented as a prophet of judgment for whom Zion theology took on transformed significance. Within the cleansing judgments of 734 and 701 lie the seeds for future hope and restoration. Against the faithlessness of Ahaz and his generation is to be viewed the trust of a righteous king and a faithful remnant. The final doxology rounds off this section as a new day is envisioned (12:1–6).

That these events from the days of Isaiah were capable of occasioning yet further reflection after 587, when Jerusalem became a new kind of booth in the vineyard of God, is testimony to the power of the prophetic word (Meade 1986: 17–26). But evidence for widespread literary supplementation keyed to this later episode demands greater precision than redactional analysis has yet put forward (cf. Clements *Isaiah 1–39* NCBC; Sweeney 1988b; Kaiser 1983). At most one sees only occasional glossing (e.g., 4:2–6) keyed to the events of 587 and their aftermath, expanding the depiction of judgment as well as the vision of restoration. The post-701 redaction of chaps. 1–12 was capable of reappropriation in light of events in 587, with very little need of explicit literary intervention. There was a "fit" to the word of God already structured into the final shape of the material that made it an appropriate lens through which to understand the later events of 587 and the fall of Jerusalem.

The editorial decision to present the fuller implications of Isaiah's message from the days of Uzziah to those of Hezekiah in a major opening section (chaps. 1–12), ending with a hymn of praise, has meant that kindred material has now been set into different literary contexts. More specifically, it is clear that much of the focus on Assyria and her ultimate judgment carries over into the next major section of the book (chaps. 13–27), where Assyria becomes just one of many nations who rage against Jerusalem. Barth (1977: 103–18) is probably correct to speak of a uniform Assyrian redaction that includes 14:24–27. However, that this redaction is related to the figure of Josiah seems unlikely in view of the absolute silence of the text regarding this later 7th-century king. A recension of Hezekiah composed after the deliverance of 701 is far more likely and is consistent with the references to reapplication and future interpretation of the prophetic word suggested by 8:16–20 and 30:8 (cf. 29:11–12). Such a recension would have been composed by Isaiah's disciples after his death, focusing on Isaiah's past message and its implications for future deliverance. Support for this thesis requires correct interpretation of chaps. 36–39 and the events of 701 (see the following section).

Gesenius and Duhm were correct to point out major internal divisions within First Isaiah. A set of superscriptions (13:1; 15:1; 17:1; 19:1; 21:1; 22:1; 23:1) indicates an independent collection within chaps. 13–23 focused on the nations and culminating in God's judgment on the cosmos itself (24–27). From beginning to end, this section evidences significant redactional coordination in light of the events of 587 ("Behold the land of the Chaldeans! This is the people; it was not Assyria," 23:13). Original oracles against nations from Isaiah's day (14:24–27; 14:28–32; 17:1–14; 18:1–7; 19:1–15) have been filled out to depict a massive assault against Jerusalem from all quarters, on form-critical analogy with the depiction of the nations' assembling in the Psalms of Zion.

As with 1–12, these chapters have developed with their own internal logic, independently of surrounding collections. The Nation Oracle section (13–27) is formally analogous to nation sections in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, though its function in Isaiah is differently conceived. The historical judgment of the Assyrians against Judah and Jerusalem in the 8th century (1–12) is seen to foreshadow a far more decisive, global assault (13–27). In order to develop this depiction fully; keyed to the historical events of 587, chaps. 13–27 speak of events well beyond the lifetime of the prophet Isaiah (noted by interpreters since Eichhorn). A series of six longer poetic compositions, introduced with the Heb interjection *hôy*, then follow in 28–33 (cf. 32:1, Heb *hēn*). A small final collection (34–35) reiterating the themes of 24–27

rounds off the First Isaiah material. In their final presentation, chaps. 1–39 reflect a complex interweaving of Assyrian period (post-701) and Babylonian period (post-587) redaction (1–12 + 13–27 + 28–33 + 34–35). A fuller discussion of these sections will follow after an analysis of the next key historical event in the book of Isaiah: the 701 invasion.

**3. The 701 Assault: Isaiah 36–39 and Kings Presentations.** In formal terms, chaps. 36–37 are quite similar to chaps. 7–8. They both focus on the encounter between prophet and king, utilizing narrative and poetic forms of expression. Moreover, the depiction of King Hezekiah appears to have been shaped as a direct counterpoise to that of Ahaz during the Syro-Ephraimite debacle. Hezekiah is the man of faith par excellence: he is the famous reformer whose deeds of faith are thrown into his teeth by foreigners (36:4–10). He rends his garments and asks for the prophet Isaiah's prayer (37:1–2); he offers his own prayer, which turns God's verdict against Sennacherib (37:21); signs are provided and not scorned (37:30–32). That a common editorial hand and purpose is at work in these two narrative sections seems beyond doubt. At these two key moments in history, the faith of the royal house was put to the test. While Ahaz failed, Hezekiah emerged as the paradigmatic king—described in 2 Kgs 18:5 as without peer: "He trusted in the Lord the God of Israel; so that there was none like him among all the kings of Judah after him, nor among those who were before him."

Because of their close relationship with 2 Kgs 18:13–20:21, chaps. 36–39 present a literary problem without analogy in chaps. 7–8. Going back to Gesenius (1821: 932–36), most assume that the synoptic relationship is to be explained by seeing the book of Kings report as having priority over that of Isaiah (Wildberger 1979: 35–47). It is argued that the Kings account has been brought over into the Isaiah corpus on analogy with the function of 2 Kings 25 (= Jeremiah 52) in the book of Jeremiah, namely, as bringing to a close the First Isaiah material (Gesenius 1821: 22). But problems with this theory are obvious: (1) the independence of First Isaiah chapters as a distinct collection is overstated (Seitz 1988: 109–16); (2) one can explain the chronological disorder in the movement from 36–37 to 38 and 39 in the book of Isaiah is due to editorial factors, whereby the chronologically earlier Merodach-Baladan episode is placed last to evoke the Babylonian setting and judgment presupposed in 40–66 (Ackroyd 1974), but the temporal illogic makes no sense in Kings, where the next chapter (2 Kings 21) continues with the reign of Manasseh (Smelik 1986: 73–74); (3) problems of a literary and historical nature have been introduced into the Kings narrative because of broader concerns that can be detected in the Deuteronomistic History, especially involving the relative evaluations of Judah's monarchs, but the absence of these problems in Isaiah suggests an earlier consistency of presentation in Isaiah.

Most pointed in this regard is the brief insert regarding Hezekiah's capitulation to the Assyrians (2 Kgs 18:14–16), frequently termed Account A and regarded as historically objective, in contrast to the surrounding narrative (see Childs 1967: 69–103). Historians have tended to grant a degree of reliability to this three-verse account that is denied to the longer "legendary" report, itself an interweaving of two separate episodes in history (Account B1 and B2). Yet, clearly, this unit interrupts the flow of logic from v 13 to v 17, forcing scholars to wonder why, if Hezekiah in fact capitulated (18:14), the Assyrians went on a siege campaign against Judah (18:17). The answer to this question is given by speculation about hidden material regarding gaps in time, more than one campaign, changes in foreign policy by Hezekiah, and the like—all matters about which the biblical text is silent (see Smelik 1986: 76–85).

The simplest explanation is that—the boasting tone of the Assyrian annals notwithstanding—Hezekiah did not capitulate to any major degree. At a minimum, it must be conceded that this is the perspective of the Isaiah presentation, which knows nothing of Hezekiah's disobedience and in fact underscores the piety of this king in contrast to his predecessor Ahaz. One wonders if the whole point of the account in chap. 38 of Hezekiah's sickness is to stress the ability of the royal house to divert a merited sentence of judgment. Hezekiah's sickness mirrors Jerusalem's sickness—his faithful prayer postpones a sentence of judgment spoken by the prophet Isaiah (38:1). The key verse in this regard (38:6) links Hezekiah's recovery to the recovery of the city, even though this upsets the narrative depiction of chaps. 36–37, where the deliverance of the city had already been concluded (37:36–38).

Ambiguity regarding Hezekiah's demeanor exists only in the book of Kings narrative, where the insert at 18:14–16 frustrates the logic of the depiction. Why has Kings supplied this admittedly intrusive note? The answer involves the larger scheme of royal evaluation in Kings, whereby Hezekiah's unparalleled role (2 Kgs 18:5) was revised in light of Josiah's subsequent career and the later judgment that he was Judah's finest king (2 Kgs 23:25). Failure to accomplish absolute deliverance in 701 was traced by the Dtr Historian to the sin of Hezekiah in Assyrian capitulation, while Josiah became a reformer whose zeal outstripped all before him, the notice of 2 Kgs 18:5 notwithstanding.

A far more subtle version of this is to be seen in Isaiah 39 (2 Kgs 20:12–19), where the coming destruction of the Babylonians is somehow vaguely related to Hezekiah's action in showing the Babylonian envoy treasures in the capital (which, if 2 Kgs 18:15 were taken literally, had already been given to the Assyrians). But this is far from the direct (and literarily intrusive) charge of 2 Kgs 18:14–16. Moreover, the near testimony of Chronicles has chosen to view Hezekiah's action vis à vis the Merodach-Baladan envoy *positively* (Ackroyd 1974: 337–38; 1982: 222–25); he was tested and found worthy (2 Chr 32:31), presumably because he avoided the greater sin of paying tribute to foreigners and depleting the temple treasury, only *showing* the emissaries his riches (Isa 39:2). The final remark of Hezekiah (39:8), as noted by Ackroyd (1974: 335–36), is not to be taken as a private *""* but as an acknowledgment from a pious king that God had postponed a massive judgment and so provided "peace and security" in his day. A similar technique is employed with Josiah in 2 Kgs 22:20, where the prophetic word from Huldah is linked to days ahead, after Josiah will have been gathered to his grave in peace. In sum, this final narrative account (chap. 39) does not focus on the disobedience, even inadvertent, of King Hezekiah; it simply explains that the Babylonians will eventually replace the Assyrians (39:7), without assigning blame to the royal house. Only in this way can one understand the positive face Hezekiah is able to put on the dark words of Isaiah. In allowing the Babylonians access to the capital, without paying them tribute, Hezekiah could even be viewed as doing the will of God. In the final perspective of the Isaiah presentation, the Babylonians are the consecrated ones designated by God for judgment (13:3; Clements *Isaiah 1–39* NCBC, 132–36). Hezekiah did not turn them away; neither did he seek to make agreements with them—not the Babylonians of Merodach-Baladan's day (8th century), but of a later day (6th century) accomplish the massive judgment depicted in chap. 13.

There is every reason to believe that the Isaiah narrative in 36–37 has priority over the Kings account. At a minimum, it can be said that the Hezekiah depiction in Isaiah is finally independent of that which develops in Kings (Ackroyd 1982: 15). The book of Isaiah understands Hezekiah as the obedient counterpart to his predecessor Ahaz; but ultimately, even this royal paradigm could only postpone God's judgment and present a model of obedient trust for future generations under siege. Deeds of disobedience and mistrust from the days of Uzziah and Ahaz had set into motion a process of cleansing that would not be completed until after Hezekiah's lifetime.

**4. The 701 Assault: General ANE Perspective.** The picture of Hezekiah's paradigmatic obedience developed in Isaiah 36–39 finds confirmation at other points in the biblical and extrabiblical records. The books of Kings and, especially, Chronicles, present Hezekiah as a bold reformer who purified the cult of pagan practices (2 Chronicles 29–31; see also Isa 36:7). Hezekiah is also remembered as one who accomplished significant Judean expansion into the region of Philistia (2 Kgs 18:8). The memory of Hezekiah as one who attempted to restore the kingdom of David to its former glory, shortly after the fall of Samaria, is not lost on the biblical record; neither was it lost on his Assyrian overlords.

Sargon died on the battlefield in 705 and was replaced by Sennacherib. But upheavals were registered across the ANE: (1) the Egyptians recovered strength under the 25th Nubian dynasty; (2) the Chaldean Merodach-Baladan came out of hiding and gathered support from Elamite and Arab tribes; and (3) Luli, king of Tyre and Sidon, revolted. Hezekiah's aggressive activity is probably to be measured against this broader maneuvering within the Assyrian empire (*IJH*, 446–48).

Reaction from Sennacherib was not long in coming. In 701 he succeeded in putting down the Tyrian revolt, and Luli was replaced by a puppet king. Similar action was taken against the Philistine city-states,

and Egyptian military assistance in support of Ekron was sent packing. Sennacherib then turned his attention to Judah/Jerusalem.

The Assyrian annals acknowledge the nonsubmission of Hezekiah. They report that Sennacherib then laid siege to 46 strong cities in Judah and "counted and considered as booty" 200,150 of her citizenry. Doubtless only a certain percentage of these were actually deported (Stohlmann 1983: 147–75). A massive formal siege of Jerusalem is not described, though the Assyrian king boasts of reducing Hezekiah to a virtual prisoner "like a bird in a cage" and of setting up earthwork "in order to molest those who were leaving the city" (*ANET*, 288). But there is no mention of actual victory in the "siege." The annals proudly note that Sennacherib "reduced his country" and increased the annual tribute, but it must be admitted that all this is fairly light treatment when compared with actions taken against Tyre, Ashkelon, and Ekron.

Where the biblical and Assyrian records agree is over the assault of Judah. Isaiah reports as bluntly as possible that in 701 Sennacherib "came up against all the fortified cities of Judah and took them" (36:1; 2 Kgs 18:13). It is no surprise that the records disagree over the interpretation of 701 events more narrowly involving Jerusalem. The annals emphasize the restriction of Hezekiah to the capital and conclude with a notice about the broader success of the campaign against Judah at large. The biblical record, in stark contrast, emphasizes the utter failure of Assyrian attempts to take Jerusalem (Isa 37:36–38), being particularly mindful of the boastful arrogance of siege troops in the region (36:4–20). Not surprisingly, it attributes the defeat to divine intervention, occasioned by the prayer of Jerusalem's faithful king (37:15–20). Especially in view of the treatment of Judah and of neighboring nations, the failure of Sennacherib to take Jerusalem was a matter of no small theological significance. But the biblical sources do not relate the Assyrian "defeat" to some iron-clad commitment on God's part to Zion—in many respects, just the opposite is true. The cleansing judgment was accomplished by God himself, as spoken beforehand by his prophet Isaiah (chaps. 28–32). Isaiah spoke of a "decree of destruction from the Lord of hosts upon the whole land" (28:22) and upon the city and its rulers (29:1–10). Deliverance is solely the consequence of the grace of God and the prayerful obedience of his servant Hezekiah: "I will defend this city for my own sake and for the sake of my servant David" (37:35). Measured against the widespread assault on Judah and her citizenry, the deliverance is held up as a graceful warning against the very citizenry that is spared: this note is particularly sounded in the opening chapter of Isaiah (1:2–31). The deliverance becomes an occasion for exhortation and penitence. Seen from the perspective of 587 and the fall of Jerusalem, the warning was not heeded. Hezekiah could only postpone a yet greater judgment. On this note, the First Isaiah chapters conclude (39:5–7).

Attempts to precisely coordinate the Isaiah, Kings, and Assyrian accounts will fail, if by coordination it is meant that there is synthesis and final agreement among the various sources. Isaiah focuses on the exemplary action of Hezekiah vis à vis Ahaz and other arrogant leaders in Judah/Jerusalem (28:7, 14; 29:20; 30:1, 8; 31:1—cf. 32:1–20) and the deliverance of the capital vis à vis the countryside. Kings adjusts this picture in light of other theological and interpretive concerns within the broader Dtr History, tugging the depiction of Hezekiah in the direction of the Assyrian reports by (awkwardly) mentioning his capitulation. Not surprisingly, the Assyrian annals emphasize the successes that were achieved in the 701 campaign against Judah/Jerusalem: a massive assault against Judah's cities and citizenry, increased tribute, and the shutting up of Hezekiah in the capital. Why Assyrian forces were forced to withdraw and give up the siege against Jerusalem (cf. Askelon, Ekron) is not clear; nor is it possible to trust the Greek historian Herodotus' report (learned in Egypt), which speaks of a signal defeat of Assyrian forces, whose weapons were devoured by a horde of field mice. Whatever the rational explanation, the Isaiah (and Kings) account sees the ultimate cause as divine intervention. Not only were the forces of Sennacherib done in, but the Assyrian king was slain by his own sons (37:38) while worshipping "Nisroch his god." On this note, the report clearly concludes that there is a limit to which the God of Israel can be mocked: "A blasphemer is nowhere safe from the power of the omnipotent God" (Smelik 1986: 84).

**5. Isaiah 28–33.** We have had occasion to note already that these chapters are formally linked by repetition of the Hebrew interjection *hôy* (28:1; 29:1; 30:1; 31:1; 33:1). They focus on the arrogance and misplaced trust of the people, from all quarters (Judah, Ephraim, Ariel) and from every area of society

(priest and prophet, rulers in Jerusalem, military forces), in their blind disregard for the coming judgment of Yahweh. They trust wrongly in military alliances with Egypt (30:1–14; 31:1–5), in covenants with death (28:15), and in perversions of Zion theology whereby God blindly protects Jerusalem regardless of the faith of her people. To counter this false trust, the prophet speaks of a Zion theology in which God fights against his own people (29:1–8) and engages in strange action against Judah/Jerusalem (28:21). In the fighting of the nations against Zion, God is himself active (29:3). But paradoxically, God will also fight upon Mt. Zion to "protect and deliver it, spare and rescue it" (31:5). There is a dimension of his work that is simply described as "marvelous" (29:14), whereby the "wisdom of their wise shall perish" (29:14) while the deaf shall hear, the blind see, and the meek obtain fresh joy (29:18). Zion theology is a defense only for those who place their trust in Yahweh, as he comes to judge his own people; for others, he will prove to be a "stone of offense" and a "rock of stumbling" (8:14), not a "cornerstone valuable for a foundation" (28:16; Roberts 1987: 37). In the cleansing action of God's judgment, the goal is not obliteration but transformation, as the message of the prophet is truly perceived and finally vindicated as the word of God (29:24; 30:8). The Assyrian will ultimately be judged for arrogance (31:8), in similar fashion as in chaps. 1–12.

There is an attitude of faith and trust that will sustain those during the coming crisis (28:16; 30:15), relinquished only at one's peril. It is precisely this attitude that is exhibited by Hezekiah during the Assyrian assault. Not surprisingly, chap. 32 speaks of the king who reigns in righteousness (32:1), as an age of peace and security is envisioned (32:14–20). The final liturgy (chap. 33) looks ahead to the vindication of God against the Assyrians and against the sinners within Israel, as all eyes turn toward a just king and a forgiven people (33:17, 24).

It cannot be determined precisely if this material is keyed toward the narrative denouement of chaps. 36–37 and the specific figure of Hezekiah, toward his successor, or toward an eschatological figure from the postexilic period. Clearly, Hezekiah acts with a righteousness and faith in the events of 701 in such a way as to embody the Davidic ideal, and the hopes of chaps. 32–33 may be modeled on him. It is beguiling to consider that significant hopes may have been attached to Hezekiah's successor Manasseh, whose very name seems to signal hopes for the reunification of Israel (note the contrast between 9:21 and 11:13). Did the redactors of First Isaiah at one point believe that following the Assyrian defeat in 701 and the death of Sennacherib there would be a period of peace and prosperity and a restoration of Israel (11:12–16) and the Davidic house (11:1–9; 32:1–8)? If so, that hope has now been shifted to the future and to the expectation of restoration following not the Assyrian destruction but the Babylonian one of 587.

**6. Isaiah 34–35"=vIs 34:1–35:10.** A similar question can be raised about chaps. 34–35, both with regard to setting, date, and general purpose within the Isaiah corpus. Chap. 34 describes a massive scene of destruction. Throughout the chapter, the language and imagery employed resemble that found in 24–27, leading some to refer to 34–35 as a "little apocalypse" depicting a great cosmic judgment. Like the "great apocalypse," it is dated to the late postexilic period and broader apocalyptic thought (Vermeylen 1977: 440–46). The specific reference to Edom (vv 8–12) is taken as a symbol for God's enemies in general.

In 1928, C. C. Torrey argued that chaps. 34 and 35 were a unity ("two sides of one coin"), depicting the doom of the wicked on the one hand and the blessing of the righteous on the other (Torrey 1928: 279). Noting the similarity with chap. 63, Torrey argued that these chapters were of a piece with Second Isaiah and should be interpreted as such. Torrey placed this Second Isaiah in Judah in the late postexilic period. Modifications of his position would view chaps. 34–35 as based upon the prophecies of 40–55 and dated at the same period as 56–66, the so-called Third Isaiah (Clements *Isaiah 1–39* NCBC, 271–72).

In a recent monograph (1985), Steck argues that chaps. 34–35 were composed precisely to serve the function of providing a bridge *(eine redaktionelle Brücke)* between relatively closed First and Second Isaiah sections, thus representing the latest stratum of the book. Admittedly, the language of chap. 35 in particular resembles that found in chaps. 40–55, as a highway of return is depicted (35:8–10) and nature is rejuvenated (35:1–7). Steck reasons that these chapters were composed to anticipate 40–62 and ease the

transition from First to Second Isaiah. However, their primary purpose is not to provide literary integration but to offer an isolated redactional word regarding Israel's restoration and purification beyond what existed in other sections of the developing Isaiah corpus (a *Sinnveränderung* of other Isaiah tradition; Steck 1985: 94–96). God would work more subtly and indirectly to effect the final eschatological conclusion of his work with Israel and Zion, with a different understanding of the role of the nations and the return of Diaspora Israel.

At a minimum, it appears that the function of these two chapters is to describe a future world judgment over nations and nature, and then to report the transformation of creation and the return of the dispersed. Steck overstates the unique and isolated nature of these themes. In the present form of the book, the chapters do not bridge First and Second Isaiah as closed literary collections; rather, they amplify and extend the message of the preceding chapters (32–33) regarding the future judgment and the ensuing reign of peace and forgiveness, at the same time reminding the reader of 36–39 that the deliverance of 701 is temporary and that the cleansing judgment will continue beyond Hezekiah's day. In so doing, they ease the transition (temporal and literary) between the former and the latter things—or between the judgments of the Assyrian period and of the Babylonian period and the dawn of a new day in God's dealings with Israel, such as this takes form in Isaiah 40–66.

**7. Isaiah 13–23 and 24–27.** Similar redactional and compositional concerns can be detected in the major sections running from chap. 13 through chap. 27. Material arguably Isaianic, reflecting 8th-century proclamations against Assyria (14:24–27), Philistia (14:28–31), Syro-Ephraim (17:1–14), Egypt (chaps. 18–19), and Judah (chap. 22) has been filled out to present a massive Nation Oracle section involving Babylon (13:1–16; 14:3–23; chap. 21), Persia (13:17–22), Moab (chaps. 15–16), and Tyre (chap. 23) as well. The section culminates in a scene of cosmic judgment (chaps. 24–27).

Though this latter judgment has often been dated to the latest period of postexilic Israel (Duhm *Jesaia* HKAT, xii), a more recent interpretation that focuses on the events of 587 and the destruction of Jerusalem has been put forward (Johnson 1988). This is certainly consistent with the broader parameters of a Babylonian redaction notable elsewhere in the book, and one with the general historical range of 13–23 in its present form (namely, the focus on Babylon, Persia, Moab, and Tyre as 6th-century entities). The description of judgment found in chaps. 24–27 is correlated with the commissioning of Babylon at the opening of the Nation Oracle section (13:1–16; Clements *Isaiah 1–39* NCBC, 132–36). Through the agency of the Babylonians, Yahweh determines to "lay waste the whole earth" (13:5–24:1), returning it to a state of near chaos, as it was at the time of Noah (note the reference to "the everlasting covenant" at 24:5). All this comes about as a consequence not just of Israel's disobedience (as reported in 1–12), but because of the massive bloodletting of the nations as a whole (13–23), so that the earth "lies polluted" (24:5) and threatens to fall back into chaos and total disorder. This is clearly reminiscent of God's decision to "make an end of all flesh" because "God saw the earth, and behold, it was corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted their way upon earth" in the days of Noah (Gen 6:12–13; cf. Isa 24:20). The "everlasting covenant" has been broken. Just as in the days of Noah, "the windows of heaven are opened, and the foundations of the earth tremble" (Isa 24:18; cf. Gen 7:11: "… all the fountains of the great deep burst forth, and the windows of heaven were opened"). It is as though God has demanded a reckoning for the lifeblood of humans and animals, as he had warned Noah (Gen 9:5).

Readings of Duhm and others (Plöger 1968: 53–78; Hanson 1975), which seek to interpret 24–27 as a late apocalyptic insert, fail to deal with the integrative function of these chapters viewed with an eye toward their surrounding literary context. There is significant evidence of a form of inner-biblical exegesis at work in these chapters (Sweeney 1988a), suggesting far greater integration in the final level of composition than is recognized when the independence of 24–27 is stressed. Moreover, the eschatological time frame of the chapters has been overstated and depends on certain views of evolution in Hebrew thought and cognate movements in other so-called apocalyptic literature (Daniel, Joel, Zechariah 12–14) whose relationship to Isaiah 24–27 is highly speculative. Interestingly, the future references within these chapters are *not* keyed toward global judgment but toward final restoration (25:6–12; 26:1–6; 27:2–6; 27:12–13). The depiction of judgment is not conceived of as an end-time event but as a near-future or

imminent affair. The frequent general references to the "city" and the "earth" suggest an all-encompassing judgment, not one simply focused on Judah/Jerusalem, though Zion is the ultimate pivot in God's dealings with the cosmos (24:23).

In the final form of the Isaiah presentation, this judgment comes about in the Babylonian assault of 587, creating utter desolation of nature and the whole earth. In fact, chaps. 24–27 form the only real account of the destruction of 587 in the whole book, there being no explicit report of this otherwise central historical episode in the Isaiah presentation beyond the cryptic note at 39:5–8 (cf. Jer 39:1–10; 52:4–30). The crucial event of 587 is handled in Isaiah in poetic and near-mythical terms, as the language of creation and chaos—familiar from the Songs of Zion—is evoked (Psalm 29; 46; 47; 93; 99); but the historical moorings of this language have not been completely severed, just as the threat of the nations is never fully detached from history in the Zion hymns.

When Second Isaiah chapters speak of nature's restoration, they speak from the other side of a judgment envisioned in chaps. 13–27. Not until the Persians are sent forth (14:17–22) to bring down the Babylonian instrument of destruction (on analogy with Assyria's demise in 1–12) can the reign of peace be ushered in; this is the same "bird of prey" commissioned for God's purpose in 18:6 which carries out the commission in Second Isaiah (46:11). It is clear that the Nation Oracle section, with its culmination in 24–27, has been redactionally shaped to anticipate Second Isaiah material, especially the frequent reference to the assembling of the nations for trial (esp. 40–48). There, the reader learns that all this was planned by God long ago (40:21; 41:4, 21–29; 42:9; 43:9; 44:7). The nations did not act on their own and therefore are not in a position to have known what the outcome would be (41:26; 43:9; 44:7). God was at work through them to effect not only Israel's judgment but also her restoration. He has called Cyrus to begin this work of restoration (41:25), just as was promised long ago also (13:17–22; 18:3–6).

The explicit mention of the rise of Persia belongs to a redactional stage of development within the book of Isaiah that is meant to draw out the significance of God's actions in history spanning the age of Isaiah and events centuries later. Redactors working seriously with the word of God, as it was preserved from the prophet Isaiah, saw in his message a significance that transcended its own narrower field of historical reference. Analogies were seen to be apposite. Assyria would ultimately be judged by God for arrogance, after she had fulfilled God's bidding vis à vis Israel and Judah/Jerusalem. This was a prominent theme in the 1–12 collection. Chaps. 13–14, which open the Nation Section, clearly indicate that Babylon is then to be likewise consecrated for service (13:2–5). It is quite likely that the seeds for this redactional perspective were to be found in the report of chap. 39, or in its broader frame of reference, whereby the 8th-century Babylonians were seen as embodying a significance in God's plan of judgment that they themselves did not comprehend. By placing 14:24–27, an oracle of judgment against Assyria similar to material in 1–12 (e.g., 10:5–19), in the context of chaps. 13–14, the "breaking of Assyria" (14:25) is to be understood as part of God's broader work with Israel and the nations, now including Babylon and Persia (13:17–22). Assyria's breakdown is analogous to Babylon's centuries later, after both serve their respective purpose in God's larger work with Israel.

Secondary redactional interpretation has drawn out the deeper significance of Isaiah's proclamation regarding the role of Assyria, by seeing Babylon as functionally analogous at a later period in time. Moreover, hopes associated with the fall of Assyria for the restoration of Israel, perhaps from the reign of Hezekiah or Manasseh (9:1–7; 11:1–9; 11:12–16; 32:1–20), are now fully interwoven with a vision of restoration which follows a much more pervasive, cleansing judgment (14:1–2; 19:16–24; 25:6–12; 26:1–19; 27:2–6; 27:12–13; 35:1–10). The faithful remnant headed by Hezekiah in 701 gives way to a yet smaller remnant in 587—"a tenth burned again," to use the language of 6:13. This purged remnant will experience the new Jerusalem and a fully restored Zion in a transformed creation. Here, the reciprocal relationships between First Isaiah and Second Isaiah could not be clearer, as both sections of the present book of Isaiah are shaped to span several centuries in time, in order that the abiding and persistent hand of God at work with Zion and his people might be laid bare. Second Isaiah chapters address a remnant spoken of as far back as Isaiah's commission in the year that King Uzziah died (6:13). The comfort spoken to Zion/Jerusalem (40:2) is comfort for a people whose warfare is at last ended, whose iniquity is

finally pardoned. At this point in the Isaiah presentation, it is clear that the vision of restoration prepared for in Isaiah's day is about to take shape. The hymn praising God's comforting of Zion (12:1–6) is now to be sung.

Sections of the book under major Assyrian-period (1–12; 28–33; 36–37) and Babylonian-period (13–27; 34–35; 38–39) redactional influence have been fused and coordinated precisely so that First Isaiah might function as a coherent prelude to Second Isaiah, and so that Second Isaiah might look back on First Isaiah for its own literary, historical, and theological bearings. In this way, the former things of Isaiah are coordinated with the latter things, as the age of judgment is brought to a close and a new day of transformation begins to dawn.

In the final presentation of First Isaiah, the vision of restoration remains a vision without complete fulfillment. Second Isaiah attests to the close of an old age and the beginning of the fulfillment of an earlier vision and hope, rooted in the period of Hezekiah and the final days of the historical Isaiah. As the vision is filled out and enriched in First Isaiah, in light of the events of 587, it nevertheless remains a vision lacking complete fulfillment in the final form of the completed book of Isaiah. As the rabbis once remarked, the book of Isaiah is a vision of future promise ("all consolation," *b. Bat.* 14b), following a book full of doom (Jeremiah) and one of doom and promise mixed (Ezekiel). In the confession of the Christian Church over the ages, the Church's messianic hope has been "filled full" in Jesus of Nazareth. The King of Peace has, however, only inaugurated the age of weal proclaimed by this great prophet. The final fulfillment of God's word proclaimed in the vision of Isaiah forms the centerpiece of Jewish and Christian hope for the future and God's ultimate reign on earth. In a very real sense, the book of Isaiah presents a prophet who is both forth-teller and fore-teller, and it would be wrong to focus on one dimension of that portrayal to the exclusion of the other. The historical dimension gives rise to the eschatological, and they must be allowed to illuminate and enrich one another.

**D. Conclusions**

First Isaiah is a rich and complex tapestry of prophetic proclamation and secondary interpretation. Form criticism is right to locate the origin of that proclamation in the oral speech of the man Isaiah addressing events in his day. Direct referential readings appropriately search for signs of larger structure and purpose in the present literary organization of these chapters. However, the logic of that structure is not to be sought in the chronological movements of the historical Isaiah but in certain understandings of how Isaiah, time, and God's work with Israel will operate for generations of new interpreters.

Against more radical redactional approaches, the final structure of First Isaiah is not thoroughly haphazard, resulting from the sporadic accretion of modifying interpretations from hands uninterested in mutual coordination. Redactors of chapters 1–39 have worked with certain recognizable principles which honor the original proclamation of the man Isaiah on the one hand, but also seek to hear in his word something of God's larger purpose for Israel, the nations, and the cosmos on the other. The result is more than an erratic literary potpourri, demanding complex reshuffling and explanation; rather, redaction has been carried out *synthetically,* in such a way that new levels of interpretation are allowed to function integrally with sections of text that gave rise to them. That the process is not everywhere uniform and without seam is testimony to the fact that the book of Isaiah is more than the prophet's personal diary or memoir. Here, redactional analysis has simply pointed out a truth about prophetic literature difficult for direct referential readings to parry. In its zeal for spotting disjuncture and modification, though, redactional analysis frequently stops too short, failing to recognize attempts at synthesis and coordination in the final form of the literature.

Larger structural principles can be detected in First Isaiah. As in Second Isaiah (see below), one can speak of these as polarities. The two major prose sections of Isaiah are cases in point (6–8 and 36–39). These offer a studied contrast between proper and improper patterns of behavior and response to God's word under pressure, especially true for the royal house but by no means restricted to Israel's kings Ahaz and Hezekiah. In First Isaiah, Hezekiah presents a model for obedience and prayerful trust in stark contrast to his predecessor Ahaz.

Related to this, First Isaiah holds up two key moments in history as particularly illustrative of God's work with Judah/Jerusalem and Israel: the Syro-Ephraimite threat of 734 B.C.E. and the 701 Assyrian assault. Within a much broader range of historical events, involving Babylon and Persia and a host of nations (13–27), these two events are especially noteworthy. Lack of trust in the royal house and in Judah at large, before, during, and after this first crisis, sets in motion a much broader series of events in Israel's history, involving the fall of Samaria, increased Assyrian hostility, and finally the 701 invasion itself. Hezekiah's proper response in the crisis retards an even larger design for cleansing judgment revealed in chaps. 13–27/34–35 and repeals the immediate word of judgment of chaps. 28–33. But the final word of First Isaiah chapters indicates that very shortly the Babylonians will arise to replace the Assyrians thwarted by Israel's faithful king and God. Here, a third polarity, or pairing, is to be seen as Assyria and Babylon function as successive instruments of judgment in God's dealing with Israel and the cosmos.

Finally, one must also speak of the polarity of judgment and promise woven into these chapters. Judgment comes at numerous points, and for countless reasons, in the relentless "here a little, there a little" (28:13) of God's dealings with an unjust people, through events of ANE history, and through events more mundane. For First Isaiah, the judgment is always a cleansing one with a broader goal and final purpose. This has everything to do with the prophet's conception of Zion and what Zion means from God's standpoint. Zion is not an inviolable fortress offering sure defense against all foes. Zion is God's own abode, and the nations frequently do God's explicit bidding. This combination means that God fights both for and against Zion, depending on its internal state and the state of its king and people. Lack of faith and justice within Zion means inevitable judgment.

First Isaiah is not willing to let this be the final word, for God's ultimate purpose revealed to the prophet indicates a day of proper rule, peace among nations who worship Israel's one Lord at Zion, and the full restoration of a creation wracked by bloodshed and the forces of chaos themselves. This day may live beyond the horizon of Isaiah's own time, but sufficient is the vision and clear are the signs of near fulfillment granted to him.

Ahaz and Hezekiah, the Syro-Ephraimite and Assyrian assaults, Assyria and Babylon, and judgment and promise represent four pairings in the final structure of First Isaiah. These pairings function within a temporal design spanning several centuries, set forth not by means of linear consecution, beginning with chapter 1 and concluding in chapter 39. Nevertheless, the temporal scheme is recognizable and functions clearly in the final literary presentation of First Isaiah chapters.

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## *ISAIAH 24–27 (LITTLE APOCALYPSE)*

At one extreme, Isaiah 24–27 has been identified as a late postexilic apocalyptic work (Duhm *Jesaja* HKAT, 172–94). At another, it has been read as preexilic prophetic judgment literature thoroughly at home in the work of First Isaiah (Kissane 1941: 276, 303). Between these positions, it has been understood as prophetic eschatology (Lindblom 1938) or early apocalyptic (Hanson 1979: 313–14). Isaiah chaps. 24–27 are important 6th-century passages that offer insights into the origins of apocalyptic; hence our label, proto-apocalyptic.

If we assume that First Isaiah was the founder of a school of prophecy, perhaps with royal support, given First Isaiah's easy access to kings Ahaz and Hezekiah and Isaiah's belief that Zion would not fall to the Assyrian threat (37:34–35), and if we assume that chaps. 24–27 owe their current location in the canon of Isaiah to the reference to Moab (25:10) so that these chapters were editorially grouped with other oracles against foreign nations, it becomes possible to reconstruct a context for the interpretation of these chapters. Given their belief in the inviolability of Zion, Jerusalem's fall would have presented the members of the school of Isaiah with a major theological problem demanding a solution. Our suggestion is that the writer of Isaiah chaps. 24–27 was a member of the school of Isaiah who used material from an older oracle against Moab, inspired by but moving beyond Second Isaiah, to seek a solution to the destruction of Jerusalem, our identification of the destroyed city. Note a similar use of an oracle against Edom in chap. 34, producing what can be labeled proto-apocalyptic writing.

The secondary literature interpreting Isaiah 24–27 has centered on three interrelated issues: (1) the problems presented by the text and its structure; (2) the problem of literary genre; and (3) the difficulty in establishing the historical setting. Using the relatively objective controls of prosodic and thematic analyses of the text, it is possible to offer the following interpretation of these chapters.

**A. Text and Structure**

There is a stratum of poetry in Isaiah 24–27 that can be compared with the best in Second Isaiah. These poetic units are Isaiah 24:1–16a, 24:16b–25:9, and 26:1–8 (Millar 1976: 23–49). The most common prosodic pattern in these units is the alternation between bicola and tricola. Within a tight syllabic symmetry are couched many examples of paronomasia, alliteration, assonance, chiasm, *inclusio,* and climactic and repetitive parallelism. We would argue on the basis of the similarities in prosodic style to Second Isaiah that these units form the earliest material of Isaiah 24–27 and can be dated close to the time of Second Isaiah.

Typologically, the prosodic style of Isaiah 26:11–27:6 is different (Millar 1976: 49–58). The meter is mixed. The poetry is not as good as that encountered in the former units. We would conclude on prosodic grounds that the passages of 26:11–27:6 were composed later.

The prose of 27:12–13 would appear to be later still (Millar 1976: 58–59). We have deleted 24:5, 24:20b, and 26:9d–10 as editorial expansion. In each case they interpret what can be read as an earlier text. As yet, Isaiah 27:9–11 does not yield to our prosodic analysis, so it is not included in this summary.

Regarding structure, our study of the themes of Isaiah 24–27 (Millar 1976: 65–70) has revealed the frequent use of portions or all of the following thematic pattern: threat, war, victory, and feast (a Divine Warrior hymn). In what we have identified on prosodic grounds as the earliest layer—24:1–16a, 24:16b–25:9, and 26:1–8—this thematic pattern conforms to the poem's own content; that is, the poems themselves seem to have been created with these themes in mind. This, again, would place them typologically prior to what we find in 26:11–27:6.

In Isaiah 26:11–27:6, the forms are more mixed. There appear to be traces of a lament of the people (26:16–20), a salvation oracle (26:21), an ancient Divine Warrior hymn (27:1), and a modified Song of the Vineyard (27:2–6). They have been arranged, however, according to the basic thematic pattern we have discerned in the earlier material. We suggest, then, that the author or editor was readapting other relevant materials he had, according to the pattern suggested above. These materials probably circulated independently prior to their current use in Isaiah 24–27.

The prose passage of Isaiah 27:12–13 and editorial expansions at 24:5, 24:20b, and 26:9d–10 could have been added at that time when Isaiah 24–27 was joined to the collection of oracles against the nations found in the larger context of Isaiah.

**B. Genre and Date**

The prosodic style of Isaiah chaps. 24–27 and their themes, both separately and in pattern, do establish a literary context for us to understand these chapters. The author emerges as one very much influenced by the work of Second Isaiah; one who shared in Second Isaiah's visions for the reconstruction of Israel. For that reason, we label the genre of Isaiah 24–27 proto-apocalyptic. A 6th-century date is not unreasonable. We would place the earlier portions of the chapters closer to 587 B.C.E., the fall of Jerusalem, than to 520 B.C.E., the temple controversy.

**C. Historical Setting**

Identification of the destroyed city as Jerusalem would make sense with the textual and thematic data gathered above. The fall of Jerusalem touched off a profound search for meaning and explanation. Why would Yahweh allow his own city to be destroyed? The language appropriate to such a search for meaning was myth. One witnesses in the literature of the period a ground swell in the use of mythic patterns and images to interpret the tragic events of the day. Second Isaiah was particularly instrumental in reusing mythic materials to interpret God's action in the events.

The pattern of the Divine Warrior hymn reemerged with its full power. It provided an explanation for the destruction. Chaos was reasserting its destructive power. The fall of Jerusalem was part of the collapse of creation and return to chaos (24:10). The Divine Warrior hymn also provided hope in that one day Yahweh, the Warrior Deity, would reaffirm his position as king on his mount (24:23); hence, shouts of victory and hymns of praise (25:1–4c). Hope for victory was held even within a description of the devastated city of Jerusalem and a shuddering earth. From his mountain, Yahweh would prepare a feast for all peoples, a feast at which the power of death and chaos would be consumed forever (25:6–8).

Isaiah 24:1–16a, 24:16b–25:9, and 26:1–8 shared the visions of a restored Israel with Second Isaiah, though the author did move beyond the vision of the events taking place within plain history. The power of myth to see beyond the limits imposed by historical events was beginning to take hold. Yahweh was preparing his feast for *all* people. *All* the kings of the earth were being caught up in this return to chaos that was to be a prelude to a new creation (24:21).

Isaiah 26:11–27:6 was added to the earlier materials as the delay of Yahweh's victory became apparent to some of Isaiah's disciples. The reference to the destroyed city trampled by the faithful (26:6) could have been introduced into the earlier poems as the tensions between the contending parties in postexilic Israel increased (see Hanson 1979). For the Isaianic visionaries, the Jerusalem of reality and the Zion of faith remained separate. As Jerusalem was defiled by oppressive leaders (possibly Aaronid Zadokites), Mushite Levites pushed to peripheral status may have believed that the city deserved Yahweh's continued wrath. The hope was strong, however, that one day Israel would truly be restored along the lines envisioned in Isaiah 60–61.

It was in the years of exile and shortly thereafter that the apocalyptic movement was born. Isaiah chaps. 24–27 constitute one of those important passages that offers us insight into the dynamics of that birth.

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WILLIAM R. MILLAR

## *SECOND ISAIAH*

The designation Second Isaiah for chaps. 40–55 of the book of Isaiah has gained currency in the last century. The conclusion that these chapters form a unit of separate origin from the preceding thirty-nine chapters is compelled by their language and by numerous details of their content.

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### A. Designation, Contents, and Text

**1. Designation.** Chaps. 40–55 are a distinct segment within the sixty-six chapters of the scroll, or book, of Isaiah. Chaps. 36–39 (except for 38:9–20) were taken from 2 Kgs 18:13–20:19 at one stage in the compilation of the scroll in order to serve as an appendix to the works and writings of Isaiah of Jerusalem,

who lived from the mid-8th to the early-7th centuries B.C. To be sure, not all of chaps. 1–35 are from Isaiah, yet the appendix closes off that part of the work.

The historical context of chaps. 40–55 differs entirely from that of chaps. 1–39. The enemy of Israel is the Neo-Babylonian Empire (626–539 B.C.; cf. chaps. 46; 47; 48:20–21), not the Neo-Assyrian Empire of Isaiah (935–612 B.C.; cf. chaps. 10; 14:24–27), which collapsed with the destruction of Nineveh in 612 B.C. The gentile king in chaps. 40–55 is Cyrus of Persia (fl. 560–530 B.C.; cf. 41:2–3, 25; 44:24–45:13; 48:14), not the Assyrian king of Isaiah (10:5–19). The people are in Babylon, not in Isaiah's 8th-century Jerusalem; the message is to leave Babylon, cross the desert, and return to Zion.

The difference in locale and themes must have been apparent to careful readers of the book in every age; indeed, the medieval Jewish scholar Ibn Ezra constantly noted them in his 12th-century commentary. He subtly raised the question of non-Isaian authorship for the chapters. However, such observations had little effect. A major reason that the unity of Isaiah went unchallenged for so long was a centuries-old unexamined theory of verbal inspiration: the sacred author wrote at the dictation of God or the Holy Spirit. This theory allowed readers to assume unity of authorship despite obviously different historical contexts; events later than Isaiah were considered to have been shown to him in vision. Inevitably, post-Renaissance critical scrutiny of ancient documents, rising historical awareness, and the skepticism of the Enlightenment challenged the unexamined tradition that Isaiah of Jerusalem wrote all sixty-six chapters in the 8th century.

Challenges to the unity of authorship are recorded as early as 1775, when J. C. Doderlein used the name Deutero-Isaiah for chaps. 40–66 in his *Esaias. Ex recensione textus Hebraei.* In 1780, J. B. Koppe, a Göttingen professor, argued in his preface to the German edition of Robert Lowth's translation of Isaiah that chaps. 40–66 had been written in the Babylonian Exile. In the 1793, E. F. K. Rosenmüller (anticipating Duhm a hundred years later) suggested in his *Scholia* that 42:1–7; 49:1–5; 50:4–10, and 52:13–53:12 were added to the book, and that 53:2–12 were the work of a postexilic poet (Rogerson 1984: 23). J. G. Eichhorn (1752–1827) in his widely used *Einleitung in das alte Testament* (1st ed. 1780–83) energetically championed the view that the book was not written by one person, but was rather an anthology of material from the 8th century to postexilic times. Of chaps. 40–52 he wrote: "In the series of oracles just mentioned the Babylonian exile is the general setting; the poet speaks as if he lived in exile, as if he spoke to the exiles who, in the delay of their return to the homeland, doubt whether the promise of their old prophets will be fulfilled. Must not the author of the consoling tradition contained in them have lived in the exile?" (Eichhorn 1803: 69). Nearly a century later, Bernhard Duhm's influential commentary on Isaiah (HKAT, 1892), succeeded in persuading most critical scholars that chaps. 56–66 were from a postexilic Third Isaiah. In contrast to Second Isaiah, he noted, the Jewish community is founded, Jerusalem is inhabited, and the temple is rebuilt. The people are unhappy, the rulers are ineffective, the rich oppress the poor; Yahweh has no instrument like Cyrus but promises to act alone to uphold the righteous, rebuild the city, and bring back the remaining exiles (*Jesaia* HKAT, 418).

That a 6th-century author, name unknown, wrote chaps. 40–55, and another author or authors, also anonymous, wrote chaps. 56–66, is now accepted by all but a scholarly minority, who hold out for the unity of Isaiah. Some scholars believe that chaps. 34–35 and 60–62 are also from Second Isaiah because of their themes and elevated style. In any case, two or more prophets who stood in the tradition of Isaiah of Jerusalem addressed Israel in the 6th century. Their speeches were added to the Isaiah collection some time between the 540s (the date of Second Isaiah) and the 3d or 2d century B.C., when the Greek translation (LXX), which witnesses to the present order of chaps. 1–66, was made. It is usually assumed that chaps. 40–55 were appended very early in that time span.

**2. Contents.** Second Isaiah urges his fellow exiles to regard Babylon as their ancestors had regarded Egypt and to depart with him on a new Exodus and entry into Zion, by which acts they will become Israel once again. His program is clear and pervades all the speeches. The speeches, by their nature occasional and responsive to audience moods and changing circumstances of which we are not well informed, do not appear to be arranged according to an overarching design. There is, however, some indication of arrangement. The opening commission of the prophet to announce God's new act of restoring Israel to

Zion (40:1–11) is echoed by the last scene, the invitation to banquet in Zion. Cyrus, the instrument of return, is mentioned only in chaps. 41–48; Zion is in the forefront from the speech of 44:24–45:13 to the climactic chap. 55. The first trial scenes about the nations in 41:1–42:9 are described in detail; later trial scenes (43:9–44:5; 44:6–23; 45:20–25) seem to presuppose that the reader is familiar with the first detailed scene. Passage 48:20–21, the short, urgent call to leave Babylon, seems to close off chaps. 40–48, the first section. The other striking exhortation to depart, 52:11–12, may end another section; at any rate the immediately following section (52:13–53:13) abruptly rises to a new level.

Descriptions of the contents of Second Isaiah will differ according to whether scholars assume there were originally a few speeches of extended length, or originally dozens of brief, even fragmentary, pieces. Some commentators who posit originally short units for the prophets grant that redactors made kerygmatic units from the original short utterances (Melugin 1976). The description of the contents below describes the larger units, leaving open the question of whether the units are the work of Second Isaiah or later redactors.

The prophet is commissioned in 40:1–11 in a heavenly ceremony, reminiscent of Isaiah's commission (chap. 6). The major difference between the two commissions is that in chap. 40 God announces not destruction but salvation: a new Exodus-Conquest, a triumphant procession through the wilderness interposing itself between Babylon and Zion, the true homeland. The book then attacks the causes of the popular discouragement preventing the new Exodus (40:12–31) in a disputation, a series of Joban questions (cf. Job 38–41) designed to show that nothing can hinder Yahweh's saving purpose; neither the nations (vv 12–17), nor the gods represented by statues and kings (vv 18–24), nor any member of the heavenly court (vv 25–31). A great trial between Yahweh and the gods, Israel and the nations, takes place in 41:1–42:9; Yahweh, in two parallel scenes (41:1–20 = 41:21–42:9) judges the nations and their gods (in their cultic images) to be in the wrong, and upholds Israel as his image and servant. Chaps. 42:10–43:8, though usually subdivided into small units on the basis of diverse genres, form a single celebration of Yahweh's victory over chaotic waters and primordial night (vv 10–16); Israel, blind because of that night, will have light for the journey (vv 18–20). Israel's punishment is deserved, as inflicted by Yahweh (vv 21–25). Now, however, the people are to return to Zion (43:1–8).

The next major section, 43:9–44:5, reminds Israel it is to be God's witness to the nations of Yahweh's supremacy by its reenactment of the Exodus-Conquest; up to now it has refused to live up to its vocation. In 44:6–23, Israel is called to be a living witness to the living and victorious Yahweh, in contrast to the inert witnesses, the manufactured statues of the gods that represent powerless deities. In the poem, 44:24–45:13, Cyrus is central. Though he has been referred to in 41:2–3, 25, as Yahweh's instrument, he is mentioned by name for the first time in 45:1 and is given the task befitting the anointed (messiah) of the victorious deity. He is the king appointed by Yahweh to carry out his plan for Israel, as the Assyrian king had carried out the divine will regarding Israel in the days of Isaiah. The next large unit, 45:14–25, is closely connected to Cyrus' commission from the preceding section; in the ANE, rebuilding the temple city was the task of the regent of the victorious deity. Zion, the goal of the return, will not be left in ruins in the new event.

Chaps. 46 and 47 contrast dramatically with the two preceding sections. The holy city of Babylon will be destroyed as its inhabitants carry out the statues of its powerless gods; Yahweh always carries Israel (chap. 46). Dame Babylon's disgrace is the polar opposite of Dame Zion's: reunion with her husband and children. Chap. 48 powerfully urges the people to be ready to act in the new creative event. The past creative event was accompanied by a word, which both interpreted it and invited the people to take part. Second Isaiah's word now interprets Cyrus as the agent of the new event and invites the people to leave Babylon in a new Exodus. Chapters 40–48 form a section, discernible in its focus on Cyrus as Yahweh's agent.

In the second great section, chaps. 49–55, Zion, Babylon's counterpart, exerts an increasingly powerful hold on the prophet's imagination. In chap. 49, the servant is gently persuaded, as Moses was, to lead the people in a new Exodus-Conquest; correspondingly, Zion is gently persuaded to believe her children will return. Chaps. 50:1–51:8, again often subdivided into several discrete units, explain how God was present

to authentic believers in the night of Exile and will be even more present in restored Zion. Chaps. 51:9–52:12 adapt the elements of a national lament to pray that Yahweh defeat the foe and bring the people to Zion. As Yahweh once defeated the sea to bring his people to Zion, so may he again defeat the historic and suprahistoric oppressors of Zion. The fourth servant song in 52:13–53:12, unparalleled in the OT, vindicates the servant who risked everything to obey God's word. The people are amazed to see the despised servant bearing their sins and receiving his reward. Chap. 54 extols Zion, the goal of the Exile, now restored with husband, children, and buildings. Chap. 55 invites all to come to Zion to the banquet, and from that holy shrine, to witness to Yahweh's victory that brought them there.

**3. Text.** The Hebrew text of Isaiah is comparatively well preserved. The modern printed Hebrew text is based upon relatively late manuscripts, of the 10th and 11th centuries A.D., products of the Masoretic copying and vocalizing of the several preceding centuries. The essential reliability of the printed text is amply demonstrated by the Qumran scrolls of a millennium earlier, the oldest extant Hebrew manuscripts of Isaiah; the most important are the virtually complete 1QIsa$^{a}$, written about 140 B.C., a vulgar text, with plene spelling, and 1QIsa$^{b}$, of a century and a half later, with sparer vocalization. The latter, preserving portions of chaps. 7–66, stands somewhat outside the other seventeen Qumran manuscripts and fragments of Isaiah, which show that the book's textual tradition was already standardized by the 2d century B.C. 1QIsa$^{b}$ is variously assessed, but its readings seem secondary to the MT in most instances where the two diverge, and it has no real kinship to the Hebrew prototype of LXX Isaiah. The Qumran manuscripts of Isaiah, therefore, witness to a full, even expansionistic, textual tradition. The same tradition, sometimes called "proto-rabbinic," will show up in the standardized MT of several centuries later. There is no evidence of variant textual families for Isaiah, in contrast, say, to the textual tradition of Jeremiah.

The Old Greek translation (OG) was made some time between the late 3d and mid-2d centuries B.C. The best witness to OG is the group of manuscripts represented chiefly by the uncials A and Q, frequently S and S$^{c}$, with important confirmation from the fragmentary Chester Beatty papyrus 965. This is J. Ziegler's Alexandrian group. Ziegler's second recensional group, the Hexaplaric, is theoretically the result of Origen's editorial activity of the second quarter of the 3d century A.D. and is of less value in reconstructing the OG; chief witnesses are the Hexaplaric uncials BV, with the minuscule 88, and the Syrohexapla. The OG for Isaiah is free, bordering on paraphrastic, rendering meaning for meaning, not word for word; it frequently misunderstands the Hebrew and smooths over difficult passages.

The Syriac, as frequently, is very close to the Hebrew. So also is the Aramaic Targum, which was given its final form in Babylonia in the 5th century C.E., though it was preceded by earlier Targums.

The evidence from the extant witnesses, therefore, is that the text of Isaiah was clearly established at least by the 2d century B.C.

**B. Second Isaiah and His Times**

**1. The Prophet in Chaps. 40–55.** Unlike other prophetic books, Isaiah chaps. 40–55 have no introductory heading like "The vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem in the time of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah" (Isa 1:1); nor are there narratives of his life and ministry, like Isaiah 6–3; 20; 21:15–25; 36–39 and the biographical sections of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. We have only the speeches.

Though they provide little biographical information, the speeches do permit fairly precise dating. They assume that the readers or hearers know that Cyrus, king of Persia, will soon conquer the Babylonian Empire. Such an assumption was only possible after Cyrus deposed his sovereign Astyages in 550 B.C., incorporating Media into the Persian Empire, and conquered Lydia in 546 B.C. That conquest, along with the palpable decline of the Babylonian Empire, signaled one of those great changes of fortune that every so often reshaped the ancient Near East. The speeches do not mention the entry of Cyrus' army into Babylon in 539 B.C. The speeches were therefore given in the 540s B.C.

It is reasonably assumed, because of the immediacy of his preaching, that the prophet lived in Babylon, in one of several exiled Jewish communities of the time. His message consistently is addressed to the Babylonian community (cf. esp. 48:20; 52:11–12; chaps. 46; 47), inviting them to join him in a new Exodus-Conquest (esp. 49:1–12).

The prophet's references to himself are few and in conventional terms, making it difficult to reconstruct even a biographical sketch. He announces that his divine commission (customary in prophetic books to establish the prophet's authority) took place as he attended a session of the heavenly court. There he overheard Yahweh announce that the time of salvation was replacing the time of punishment (40:1–11). The prophet's report of attending the divine assembly and hearing its decrees is a traditional component, attested for the 9th-century prophet Micaiah ben Imlah (1 Kgs 22:19–23) and for Isaiah in the 8th century (chap. 6). In 40:6, the prophet is told: "Announce!" He immediately asks how he can do so, since the people whom he represents are like withered grass. His lament for the people, (like Isaiah's of 6:11) is part of the process that makes him into the extraordinarily confident proclaimer of Yahweh's saving plan. No other prophet speaks from such a coherent and grand vision.

Other references to the prophet are in the "servant songs" (Duhm's term): 42:1–4; 49:1–6; 50:4–6; 52:13–53:12, already noted by E. F. K. Rosenmüller in his *Scholia* of 1793 as witnessing to the prophet and his office (Rogerson 1984: 23). Again, it is difficult to ferret out biographical details because the passages are conventional and because the people's vocation is intertwined with the prophet's. Moreover, many scholars, following Duhm, regard the passages as later insertions either from Second Isaiah or from another hand. In 49:1–7, the prophet's call is narrated in imitation of the calls of Moses (Exodus 3–4) and of Jeremiah (Jer 1:4–10). Chap. 50:4–6 suggests that the prophet saw his own exilic suffering as part of the divine plan of punishment, and faithfully submitted to it, like the author of Lamentations 3. If, as seems likely, chaps. 52:13–53:12 are to be attributed to Second Isaiah, the prophet was rejected by his fellow Israelites, undergoing even a deathlike experience, if not death, before being given the great prize, a share in the holy land. A single verse, 48:16, states that "now the Lord Yahweh has sent me, endowed with his spirit." The prophet here sees himself as the one who provides the interpretive word accompanying the new creation and new Exodus-Conquest.

The very position of chaps. 40–55 after chaps. 1–39, and the anonymity of the author, argue that the prophet, or the disciple who appended the passage, understood his preaching to be continuous with Isaiah, perhaps even revealing the contents of the scroll of 8:16–20 and 30:8 and of the secret of the darkness-light sequence of 8:22–9:1. Quite possibly, the absence of biographical detail was deliberate, to show that the speeches actualize the ancient Isaian tradition for the exiles (Childs *IOTS*, 325–33).

**2. History of the Period.** That chaps. 40–55 were written in Babylon in the 540s B.C. is the position of the vast majority of scholars today. Chaps. 56–66 are apparently addressed to a community that has returned to Jerusalem to rebuild the community and the temple; allusions to Second Isaiah show that the speeches of that prophet were still alive in the period from 538 to 515 B.C., the time of the rebuilding of the community and the temple.

The exile of segments of the population of Judah to Babylon, Nippur, and other areas of Mesopotamia has its beginnings in the last two decades of the preceding century. The Josianic renaissance and attempted restoration of the boundaries of the old Davidic empire beginning in 621, permitted by the decline of the Neo-Assyrian Empire (935–612), collapsed with Josiah's death in battle in 609. The Neo-Babylonian Empire (626–539) quickly took over Assyria's rule of the Levant.

Babylonia, or S Mesopotamia, had become dominantly Chaldean during the last years of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. A Chaldean sheikh, Nabopolassar (fl. 626–605), organized this power politically into a dynasty. In 605, his son Nebuchadnezzar led the victory at Carchemish and in the same year inherited Assyria's western empire. Governing the W states from Babylonia was no easy matter. Egypt consistently enticed the states to rebel but retreated whenever the Babylonians came west to retaliate, leaving her allies to bear the brunt of punishment and taxation. Josiah's successor, Jehoahaz, reigned but three months in 609 before the Egyptians replaced him with Jehoiakim (609–598). At first pro-Egypt, Jehoiakim shifted to Babylon after the victory at Carchemish, then shifted back to Egypt in 601. In 598 he died, leaving his son Jehoiachin to face the avenging Babylonian army. After three months, Jehoiachin and many other Judahites were deported to Babylon (2 Kgs 24:15–16), the first of three such deportations recorded in the Bible, the others taking place in 586 (2 Kgs 25:11) and 582 (Jer 52:30). Jehoiachin was replaced by

Zedekiah (597–587), who again wavered between Babylon and Egypt, provoking Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of Jerusalem in 586.

With the deportations, the creative center of Jewish life shifted from Jerusalem to Babylon. Judah and Jerusalem were left desolate; we are not well informed about life there. The most important historical sources for Jewish life in the Exile are the 650 cuneiform tablets from the business house of Murashu in Nippur, written between 445 and 403 B.C., over a hundred years after Second Isaiah. Jewish names occur in about 8 percent of the published documents; in the absence of ethnic designations, scholars must rely on the Yahwistic elements in the names, an uncertain guide. From the names, Jews appear to inhabit 28 of the approximately 200 settlements in the whole region of Nippur. There seems to have been no exclusively Jewish corporations *(ḫatru);* individual Jews belong to various organized groups, e.g., carpenters, settlers on certain lands. Some held military fiefs, being liable for conscription in time of war. They appear to have been integrated into the agricultural system; men with Jewish names work side by side with native Babylonians. It is probable, however, that Jews were able to maintain their own institutions alongside civil institutions, like the separate groups, Gk *politeumata,* which in Hellenistic times coexisted with the civic body within the same city. Fathers with Yahwistic names have sons named after Babylonian gods, and sons of fathers with Babylonian names bear Yahwistic names. Such naming indicates the willingness of many to follow the syncretistic custom of the ANE: to worship the local gods along with their ancestral god (*CHJ* 1: 342–58). In spite of pressures to conform, the Jewish community in Babylonia managed to maintain its identity and, among other achievements, produced literature such as the prophecies of Ezekiel and Second Isaiah and edited the Pentateuch and the Deuteronomistic History.

The literature produced in the Exile pointed toward the holy land as the people's rightful place. The Pentateuch ended with Israel in the plains of Moab, poised for entry, listening to the words of Moses—ready, it seems, to enter the land. Second Isaiah's preaching was similarly addressed to the immediate situation and points to Zion as the people's true home; Cyrus' defeat of Babylon was the sign to return, the "appointed time of favor" (49:8). The people must "go forth from Babylon, flee from Chaldea" (48:20).

Second Isaiah's interpretation of 6th-century national and international events draws heavily on First Isaiah's interpretation of the nation and the great empires. An understanding of the 8th century and of First Isaiah's interpretation is therefore essential. When Isaiah was a young man, the Neo-Assyrian Empire began to intrude into the territory of Israel and Judah. Tiglath-pileser III (745–728) made his first great western campaign in 743–738. A coalition of W states under Uzziah of Judah was defeated, leading to the payment of tribute. A second campaign in 734–732 resulted in Gilead, Galilee, and Damascus becoming Assyrian provinces. Pro- and anti-Assyrian parties thereafter entangled the politics of Israel. Menahem of Israel paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser in 738. The anti-Assyrian Pekah (736–732) assassinated Pekahiah and then, in 734, joined with Rezin, king of Aram, in an unsuccessful attempt to force neutral Judah to join their anti-Assyrian coalition. Consequently, Hosea (732–723) was appointed king of Samaria by the Assyrians. Relying on Egyptian aid, he rebelled in 725, which precipitated the destruction of Samaria in 722 by Sargon II, and the deportation of 27,290 Israelites (*ANET,* 284). In the south, Judah managed to carry out a religious reform under the strong Hezekiah. Like the renaissance under Josiah a century later, it sought a revival of national life and a restoration of the boundaries of the ancient Davidic empire. Hezekiah's own coalition against Assyria, however, did not prove long-lasting. In 701, he found himself besieged in Jerusalem, "like a bird in a cage," according to Assyrian annals (*ANET,* 288). Though Jerusalem was not destroyed, Hezekiah had to capitulate, his heavy tribute ending dreams of a return to the glorious days of old.

First Isaiah's interpretation of 8th-century events, the role of the Assyrian king as Yahweh's instrument in punishing, Zion as the privileged site of a renewed people, and the ultimate punishment of the nations for exceeding their mandate to punish Judah, all deeply influenced Second Isaiah's interpretation of the Babylonian Empire, of Cyrus the Persian, and of the renewal of the people.

First Isaiah's interpretive framework for 8th-century history proved useful for Second Isaiah's interpretation of mid–6th-century national and international history. The masterful Nebuchadnezzar died

in 562 and was replaced by his son Amel-Marduk (biblical Evil-merodach), who released the long-imprisoned Davidic scion, Jehoiachin (2 Kgs 25:27–30; Jer 52:31–34). The release of the king did not apparently stir messianic hopes in Second Isaiah as it did in other exiles; his vision has no place for a Davidic messiah.

Nergal-sharezer (biblical Neriglissar; 539–536) was succeeded by Labashi-Marduk, after whose brief reign Nabonidus (555–539) came to the Babylonian throne; he was to preside over the decline of the empire. Nabonidus' administrative and religious reforms were unpopular in Babylonia; chief among the latter were his championing of the cult of the moon god Sin at the temple he rebuilt in Harran. Not yet satisfactorily explained is his ten-year stay at the desert oasis of Teima in NW Arabia; during that time his son Belshazzar ruled in Babylon. In the king's absence, the new year festival could not be held, increasing the king's unpopularity.

As Babylon declined, a new figure came to the fore, Cyrus the Persian. The Persians were an Indo-European tribe who settled in the ancient territory of Elam. Their name is derived from Persua (modern Fars), one of their first strongholds. The Persian prince Cambyses had married the daughter of the Median king Astyages, from which union Cyrus was born. The Median army revolted against Astyages and handed him over to Cyrus around 550 B.C. Having consolidated his position in the east, Cyrus then led a campaign into Asia Minor against Croesus of Lydia, taking Sardis and making Lydia a Persian province in 546. His propaganda made him out to be liberal toward those whom he defeated. He treated Croesus well and won over the Greek colonies in Asia Minor. Nabonidus' unpopularity contrasted with Cyrus' popularity. Nabonidus' return to Babylon in 539 made possible the celebration of the New Year Festival, apparently for the first time since he had left for Teima ten years before, but the king's sacrilegious behavior in the ceremonies alienated the priests. The famous "Cyrus Cylinder" shows how their allegiance had shifted to Cyrus. In language akin to Second Isaiah's about Cyrus (cf. 41:2–4, 25; 44:24–45:13), it declares, "[Marduk] pronounced the name Cyrus, king of Anshan, declared him [lit. pronounced (his) name] to be (come) the ruler of the world … Marduk beheld with pleasure his good deeds and upright mind (lit. heart) (and therefore) ordered him to march against his city Babylon" (*ANET*, 315–16). Second Isaiah shared this view of Cyrus as liberator and respecter of native religions, declaring him to be the anointed of Yahweh (45:1). In the fall of 539, Nabonidus fled and Cyrus' army entered Babylon without a battle. Cyrus himself later entered, forbade looting, and appointed a Persian governor, leaving native institutions and traditions undisturbed.

Soon after, Cyrus issued a decree, preserved in Ezra 6:3–5, allowing the temple of Jerusalem to be rebuilt, the cost to be paid from the royal treasury. Judah became the province of Abr Nahara in the Persian Empire, under a Persian satrap, or governor.

We are not well informed as to how many of the Babylonian Jews, by now seemingly well established in their new land, elected to return to their devastated homeland, where preexilic claims on the land were likely to be contested by new inhabitants. Some did, however, and most scholars are persuaded that chaps. 56–66 were delivered to those returnees, who struggled to rebuild their temple and community in the spirit of Second Isaiah's grandiose prophecies.

**C. The Prophetic Tradition**

**1. The Literary Tradition.** When Second Isaiah wrote, the prophetic tradition from which he spoke was already half a millennium old. According to 1 Sam 9:9, the designation "prophet" was first applied to Samuel of the late 11th century. The Deuteronomistic History (DH) saw Samuel as the last of the judges and the first of the prophets. In the account of the rise of kingship in 1 Samuel 1–15, Samuel speaks and acts as the first of a line of prophets; in the biblical conception, the first person in a line often exercised on a grand scale the office later exercised by successors. Samuel does three major tasks in 1 Samuel: he anoints kings and rejects them, thereby foreshadowing later prophets' authority vis à vis the king; he declares holy war, thereby foreshadowing later oracles regarding the nations and their relation to Yahweh; and he interprets the ancient Mosaic tradition for a new situation (kingship), thereby foreshadowing prophets' preaching of the law and of their reinterpretation of tradition. The last task, the prophetic right to interpret the tradition, has sometimes been neglected through scholarly overemphasis on the prophets

as sent by God to speak the law in all its denunciatory force to a disobedient Israel. In 1 Samuel 12, however, Samuel is presented as carefully reinterpreting the new institution of monarchy within the Mosaic covenant; a similar interpretive task is done by later prophets.

Prophets subsequently included in the DH carry out routinely the prophetic tasks of the heroic original, Samuel. Nathan legitimates David and his project of building a temple (2 Samuel 7); he rebukes David (2 Samuel 12) and takes part in the anointing of Solomon (1 Kgs 1:38–40, 45). In the "writing prophets," the same general assignment of prophetic functions holds true, though with nuance for each.

The new emphasis in the 8th-century prophets is the conviction that Yahweh has found his people guilty of fundamental disloyalty and will punish them; the people have broken the covenant by worshiping other deities and by oppressing the poor. The task of each prophet is to announce the punishment and to ready the people for it. Later, prophets—Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Second Isaiah—who live through the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in 586 and the several deportations of thousands of its citizens consider that destruction and the deportations to be the long-awaited punishment of God. These prophets begin to ready the exiles to prepare for a return. From the prophets of the 8th to the 6th centuries, a three-stage scenario of Yahweh's dealing with the people can therefore be abstracted: the period of Israel's sins, the punishment, and the restoration. Though the emphases differ, and for some prophets the period of restoration is but dimly seen (e.g., as in Amos' "maybe" in 5:15), there is nonetheless a common outline to their preaching.

Second Isaiah's mentor, First Isaiah, and to some extent Micah, call upon a different tradition than the other writing prophets. The other prophets generally allude to the Exodus-Conquest and the traditions that surround it as the great act of Yahweh on behalf of the people. Isaiah draws on the Zion and Davidic traditions. According to the Zion tradition, Yahweh's domain is a holy mountain, towering over all else, impregnable to enemies, the residence of Yahweh and his client people. Outside of Isaiah, the tradition appears in the "Zion Songs" of the Psalter (e.g., Psalms 46, 48, 76). First Isaiah turns the tradition into preaching; Yahweh, not the enemy kings, will attack the city to purify it of sinners and vindicate the just within its walls (1:21–28). The tradition occurs frequently, e.g., 2:1–5; 4:2–6; 8:5–8; 14:24–27; 29:1–8; 30:15–26; chap. 33; 37:21–35. The Davidic tradition that Yahweh has placed his son on the throne to be a conduit of blessings for the people is also prominent in Isaiah (chap. 7; 9:1–7; 11:1–10; 29:1–8; 32:1–8). Scholars sometimes separate the Davidic tradition from the Zion tradition, but king and mountain are closely connected; Psalm 2 places "my king on Zion, my holy mountain" (v 6), and Psalm 89 speaks of the procession to the shrine (vv 13–18) where the installation of David takes place (vv 19–37).

By Second Isaiah's time, the prophetic literary tradition was well established. The prophetic corpus may even have been edited by his time. Previous prophets had reinterpreted the old Exodus-Conquest tradition according to which Israel had been installed in the land, and the Isaian tradition that Israel dwelt securely in Zion under a Davidic king. Instead of being secure in the land, the sinful people had to encounter God anew in a punishing act, after which there was to be a restoration.

**2. The Social Role of the Prophet.** The role of the prophets in Israelite society must be distinguished from the literary tradition of the prophetic scrolls. In the Deuteronomistic Historian's portrait of Samuel, the first prophet, Samuel's role is defined in relation to the king's traditional roles. The story of David, and of subsequent kings, describes the prophets similarly in relation to the royal office and also in relation to the priesthood and to other prophets. The prophetic books of the 8th to the 6th centuries show the prophet within the same configuration. Jer 18:18 associates Torah with priests, counsel with the wise, and the word with prophets. The verse shows a variety of related figures in the authority structure of Israelite society, in addition to the omnipresent royal authority.

As a group, prophets had a recognized role in society, which can be described as an "office." The role need not have been precisely defined nor official (even though some prophets seem to have been employed by royally sponsored shrines). The writing prophets' emphasis upon their commission by Yahweh, in the face of opposition, suggests they were outside the circle of cult prophets, whose authority was established by their sanctuary position.

If the social fabric of preexilic Israel included the prophet, cultic or otherwise, what happened to the prophet after the exilic destruction of kingship, temple, and priesthood, the institutions that "defined" the prophetic "office"? Paucity of sources makes a clear answer impossible. Ezekiel occasionally teaches the elders (14:1), and Jeremiah deals with kings and important officials. But the old configuration of authority—royal, priestly, prophetic—disappeared with the Exile, or at least was seriously eroded; and it is not clear how a prophet like Second Isaiah made his appeal. It is noteworthy that his preaching is treatiselike, as if its authority lay, not in its author's role, but in the speeches' power to persuade. In other words, since the prophet's role in the exilic social fabric was no longer clear, prophetic authority was transferred to the persuasive power of written speech.

**D. Rhetoric and Genres**

Second Isaiah is a skilled rhetorician, who presents his argument effectively. Limited space allows examination of only one element of his rhetoric: large-scale parallelism. For other techniques of exposition—chiasm, wordplay, rhyme, alliteration, and assonance—see *IB* 5:381–773.

Rhetoric organizes the tradition to persuade. The tradition that Second Isaiah uses is couched in the language and patterns of his people's daily life.

**1. Parallelism.** The speeches are poems, part of a rich and sophisticated tradition of poetry that predated the Israelites. The tradition made only slight use of rhyme, relying instead on alliteration, assonance, wordplays on triliteral roots, and especially parallelism of two (bicola), three (tricola), or more lines. Parallelism is the development of an idea by its repetition. Second Isaiah utilizes this virtually universal technique in Hebrew poetry in striking ways. Not only lines, but actors, scenes, and whole passages are repeated for emphasis or contrast.

Large-scale parallelism is not unique to Second Isaiah. In Exodus 7–12, Yahweh and his servants Moses and Aaron are deliberately paralleled with Pharaoh and his servants, the magicians. In Proverbs 9, Dame Wisdom and Dame Folly are artfully paralleled. In the ancient poem in Exodus 15, vv 1–12 and vv 13–18 form two matching panels. Second Isaiah, however, makes special use of the technique. Several of his speeches can be divided into two parts, the second part repeating with variations the first. The part 41:21–42:9 repeats with variations the pattern of 41:1–20, the sequence of summons to trial (41:1, 5–7 = 21–22b), legal questioning of the nations/their gods (41:2–4 = 22c–24), and the divine verdict on the nations and Israel (41:8–20 = 42:1–9). Chap. 48 can be divided into vv 1–11 (38 cola) and vv 12–21 (37 cola); in the first section, the Hebrew root *qrʾ*, "to call," is used three times in mentions of humans calling or naming themselves, and in the second section, three times of Yahweh calling Israel. Chap. 49 divides into vv 1–13 (55 cola) and vv 14–26 (52 cola), the former concerned with readying the servant for a new Exodus-Entry into Zion, and the latter, with readying Lady Zion for her children's return. Verses 1–5 and 6–11 of chap. 55 are parallel exhortations to put aside profane conduct and enter the sanctuary for life-giving divine sustenance.

The five great polarities that structure Second Isaiah's message (discussed in E.2 below) are instances of large-scale antithetic parallelism. Zion, the residence of the true God, is portrayed with an eye to Babylon, the residence of false gods; the one is built up for her numerous children (40:9–11; 45; 49:14–26; 54; 55); the other is destroyed while her divine husband and children flee (chaps. 46 and 47). Yahweh is contrasted with the gods, Israel with the nations, the servant with the people, all in service of one overarching parallel: the first Exodus-Conquest/cosmogony and the new Exodus-Conquest/cosmogony.

Parallelism is particularly important for the prophet-orator's plan of action: leave Babylon and return to Zion (48:20–21; 52:11–12). It provides the redundancy necessary for effective oratory. Good oratory generally has a limited fund of ideas but develops them in a great variety of ways; parallelism of scenes, actors, and ideas make possible repetition without boredom.

**2. Genres.** The prophetic tradition was expressed by individual prophets in a variety of genres or forms. The ANE speaker or writer stood consciously within an ancestral tradition, defined in content and expression. Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932), from his work on Psalms and Genesis, correctly affirmed "that types in the literature of an ancient people play a much greater role than today and that the individual personalities of authors, which in modern literature are, or appear to be, everything, in antiquity

step back in a manner quite bewildering to us" (*apud* Kraus 1982: 361). Prior to form criticism, Bernhard Duhm's watershed commentary had applied to the chapters the then-dominant *Literaturkritik* (derived from analysis of the Pentateuch) with important results. Among his literary-critical decisions was the separation of his "servant songs" (42:1–4; 49:1–6; 50:4–9; 52:13–53:12) and the idol passages (41:5–7; 46:6–8; 44:9–20), attributing them to distinct "sources." Duhm often appealed to the logic of the passages to reach his decisions about the extent of the individual speeches, and he aggressively emended and transposed verses.

Duhm's reliance on literary criticism and Western ideas of oriental logic did not suffice for analyzing the speeches; new criteria were needed. The criteria were partly supplied by a method developed shortly after Duhm's commentary appeared: form criticism, brilliantly worked out by Gunkel in his commentary on Genesis (*Genesis* HKAT) and later in his work on Psalms. Gunkel placed the study of Genesis on new and solid ground with his recognition of the traditional and even folkloric origin and transmission of the stories in Genesis. Analysis of genres such as *Sagen,* genealogies, and lists of peoples yielded a rich interpretive harvest in Genesis. In 1914, Hugo Gressmann applied the approach to Second Isaiah in an important article (1914). Ludwig Kohler borrowed some of the concerns of form criticism in his *Deuterojesaja stilkritisch untersucht* (1923). Most influential upon the modern generation was Joachim Begrich's concise and well-argued *Studien* (1938). Begrich advanced the form critical analysis, especially regarding the oracle of salvation. His synthesis has influenced modern interpreters, among them Claus Westermann, author of the most widely used modern commentary (*Isaiah 40–66* OTL).

Form criticism was applied to Second Isaiah at a time when the question of unit length was very much in need of a solution and when methods for analyzing the formal rhetoric of the speeches had not been clearly worked out. In the absence of the ordinary criteria for judging unit length in the prophets—superscriptions, third-person accounts, episodes—scholars tended to rely heavily on genre to provide clues to the length of passages. They sometimes failed to realize that an original author like Second Isaiah might incorporate several genres within one speech. Form criticism, nonetheless, has proved to be an indispensable tool in understanding the world of Second Isaiah, particularly in showing how innovative the prophet was regarding the tradition. Apart from isolated voices, the method remained dominant until James Muilenburg's 1956 commentary (*IB* 5: 381–773) introduced rhetorical criticism as a consistent approach. Even now it is the most common approach. Muilenburg successfully showed in general, if not in every case convincingly, that the prophet used several forms in one speech as he used several meters, and that to assume the extent of the form is the extent of the unit is faulty methodology.

The chief source of Second Isaiah's genres was the liturgical poetry of Israel: laments and the attendant oracles of salvation, thanksgivings, hymns, Zion, and victory songs.

Individual laments are the most frequent of the Psalter genres. They typically portray a drama with three actors. The speaker, oppressed by the "workers of evil," cries out to God for redress of the situation. In communal laments, the speaker recites before Yahweh the event that founded Israel in order to persuade Yahweh not to let the original event be annulled; the version of the event varies according to the nature of the event. In 51:9–52:12 Second Isaiah adapts the communal lament in preaching to lead the community to pray for the restoration.

Second Isaiah made extensive use of one element of the psalmic lament, the *Heilsorakel,* or assurance of salvation, delivered to the individual or community during the lament liturgy. Good evidence exists that laments were answered by a cultic official promising that God had heard the appeal and would help. This hypothesis explains the sudden change of mood in laments, e.g., "I will give thanks to Yahweh according to his vindication. I will sing of the name of the Most High," in Ps 7:18. Some laments seem to contain the actual oracle, e.g., " 'Because the poor are despoiled, because the needy groan, now I will arise,' says Yahweh" (Ps 12:5, an individual lament; cf. Ps 60:6–8 for an oracle of salvation to a group lament). Usually, however, the Psalter does not transmit the assuring responses, since it was the priest's part. Several extrapsalmic passages also suggest official responses to laments, e.g., 1 Sam 1:17, the priest Eli to the weeping Hannah; Judg 20:23, 27; Josh 7:7–15; 2 Chr 20:3–17.

Begrich synthesized earlier suggestions in his *Studien* of 1938, in which he found twenty-four such oracles in Second Isaiah, prophetic imitations of priestly oracles. To the prophet, Yahweh was formally answering the exile's laments. An ideal structure can be abstracted: (1) the assurance of Yahweh's intervention (usually the subject is Yahweh and the verb is perfect); (2) clauses expressing the consequences of divine intervention and the reversal of the situation; and (3) the aim (the glory or acknowledgment of Yahweh). Westermann modified Begrich's conclusions, suggesting a distinction between oracles of salvation, given in response to individual laments, and proclamations of salvation, given in response to communal laments (*Isaiah 40–66* OTL, 13–15). Westermann proposed an ideal structure for his proclamation of salvation: (1) an allusion to the collective lament (e.g., "the poor and the needy are seeking water, there is none" [42:17]); (2) the proclamation of salvation: (a) God turns toward Israel; (b) God's intervention (specific, not general); and (3) the final goal. For Westermann, the proclamation of salvation is found only in Second Isaiah; unlike the oracle of salvation, which had a concrete *Sitz im Leben,* it is Second Isaiah's creation, born of his conviction that now God was responding to the communal lament of Israel. Antoon Schoors, who accepts the refinement of Westermann, proposes the following oracles of salvation: 42:8–13, 14–16; 43:1–4, 5–7; 44:1–5; 54:4–6, and the following proclamations of salvation: 41:17–20; 42:14–17; 43:16–21; 46:12–13; 49:7–12, 14:26; 53:1–6, 7–8, 9–14, 17–23; 54:7–10, 11–17; 55:1–5 (Schoors 1973: 38–45, 167–71). H. E. von Waldow's suggestion that the Deutero-Isaiah salvation oracles are real cultic oracles and not prophetic imitations of such oracles has not been widely accepted.

That Second Isaiah saw his prophecy responding to exilic laments is an extremely valuable insight, as is the noting of salvation and its goal. To many scholars, however, Westermann's distinction is too refined, and may grant the status of form to simple variations within a genre. Isa 55:1–5, for example, is not a proclamation of salvation but an invitation to a banquet, an amply attested genre in Ugaritic and in the Bible.

Moreover, the citation of Neo-Assyrian oracles to support the distinction between oracle and proclamation of salvation is perilous. Previous comparisons of Neo-Assyrian oracles have been excessively dependent on questionable translations of fragmentary and difficult texts; they cannot be used to provide OT parallels. In addition, prophecy is not attested in Babylonia. Extant texts are all northern, the products of the Neo-Assyrian religious world, which was quite different from the Neo-Babylonian world.

Other psalmic genres utilized by the prophet are less problematic. The thanksgiving, essentially a report of divine rescue, has been adapted in the fourth servant song (52:13–53:12). In the Psalms, the rescued and vindicated person tells the assembly, "the many," what God has done for him, in order that they too might praise God's mercy. In the song, "the many" speak of the rescue, whereas the rescued and vindicated person is silent. Hymns are also used by Second Isaiah. In 42:10–43:8 is an adapted song of victory, comparable to Psalms 93, 96, 97, 98, and 99; Psalms 96 and 98 are especially relevant, because of the nearly identical invitatory, of the role of Israel as witness, and of the call to the world, animate and inanimate, to ascribe the glory of victory to Yahweh alone. The victory is narrated by Yahweh in Second Isaiah. The most striking evidence of the genre in Second Isaiah is the hymnic participles, e.g., 42:5; 44:23, 28; 45:18–19; 46:10–11. Another category of Psalms drawn on in chaps. 40–55 is the Zion songs, e.g., Psalms 46, 48, and 76, which hail Zion as the impregnable divine dwelling, the site of Yahweh's self-disclosure, and the only proper gathering place of Israel. Zion songs are distinguished by their subject matter rather than their formal structure; their themes appear in 45:14–25; 49:14–26; 51:1–8; 51:9–52:12; 54; and 55.

A major genre in Second Isaiah from the secular world is the trial speech: 41:1–42:9; 43:9–44:5; 44:6–23; 45:21. Rebukes against Israel are sometimes included in the concept of the trial scene (*Isaiah 40–66* OTL, 15–17; Schoors 1973: 197–203), but such rebukes are without the specific call to judicial assembly. 41:1–42:9 is the most detailed account of the trial.

A. 41:1–20 B. 41:21–42:9

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Summons to trial | 41:1, 5–7 | 41:21–22b |
| Legal questions to the nations/their gods | 41:2–4 | 41:22c–29 |
| Verdict on the nations and Israel | 41:8–20 | 42:1–9 |

The whole world is summoned to a judicial proceeding, in which Yahweh is both judge and questioner. The Deutero-Isaiah polarities, Yahweh and the gods, Israel and the nations, are central. To the question of which deities are powering Cyrus' changing of the course of history, the other deities (in the person of their images carried by the nations) are silent. In contrast to the nations and the gods who rule them stands Israel and its God Yahweh. Israel is the witness to Yahweh's sole sovereignty by its reemergence as a people through its return to its homeland Zion.

The origin of the trial scene is not clear. Is it based upon the actual practice of "justice in the gate," i.e., daily legal practice, or is it a purely literary creation to give a cosmic dimension to the trial? The question cannot be answered with certainty. The genre may be an elaboration of a judgment such as that in Psalm 7, where the appeal of the afflicted one (the king?) includes the wish that the peoples assemble to see the vindication of God's favorite.

Second Isaiah often takes issue with opponents whose ideas are refuted point by point. These disputations are in 40:12–31; 45:9–13; 46:5–11; 48; and 49:14–26, among other places. Isaiah 40:12–31, a series of questions about who has created and now maintains the world, has its nearest parallel in Job 38–41. In Job, the questions are designed to sweep Job from his self-confidence and make him bow before the divine freedom and power. Second Isaiah has a number of affinities with Job; 40:12–31 is especially Joban.

There are other genres in Second Isaiah: a taunt song (chap. 47), an invitation to a holy place (chap. 55; cf. Psalms 15 and 24), the prophetic commission (40:1–11; cf. 1 Kgs 22:19–22; Isaiah 6). Chaps. 40–55, for all their originality, are grounded in the ancestral traditions.

**E. The Message of Second Isaiah**

**1. Overview.** Second Isaiah intends to persuade his fellow exiles that the time has come to leave Babylon and return to Jerusalem (Zion). His is a program, not a theology; ideas are arranged to persuade, not to make a system.

As an orator he gives his audience reasons to change their attitudes and to act. He must show that the ancestral traditions, to which all prophets appealed, contain an imperative for his day. For him, the tradition tells the people that Babylon with its false gods is doomed and Zion is about to be rebuilt and repopulated. Israel's journey to Zion will be a new Exodus-Conquest, a new participation in the defeat of chaos (= cosmogony).

Two problems make synthesizing his message difficult: the lack of scholarly consensus on the boundaries of Second Isaiah's speeches, and the vary nature of oratory. Scholars relying on form criticism usually find between 45 and 70 discrete units; the resultant units are generally too short to develop serious ideas. Moreover, form criticism as a method is disposed to concentrate on the typical and the recurrent rather than on the new and creative, and thus may underrate new syntheses. Rhetorical criticism, with its focus on texture and rhetorical development, is disposed to discern units of sufficient length for the development of ideas. J. Muilenburg, for example, isolates 21 lengthy compositions (*IB* 5: 381–773).

Beside the lack of scholarly consensus regarding the boundaries of the speeches, the nature of oratory itself, occasional and nonsystematic, makes it difficult to synthesize the prophet's message by simply summarizing each speech.

The prophet's own oratorical method offers the best way of systematizing his thought. It makes use of five major contrasts, or polarities, which are so pervasive that they can serve as a sketch of his message. They are: the two related polarities, the first and the last things, and Babylon and Zion; the two related polarities, Yahweh and the gods, and Israel and the nations; and finally, the servant and Israel. They are at once the substance of much of the oratory and the chief mode of development. They bear on both form and content. Using them as a guide to Second Isaiah's thought overcomes to some extent the divorce between content and expression.

**2. The Five Polarities. a. First and Last Things.** The polarity "first" and "last" has more than one meaning in Second Isaiah; it is a merism for eternity ("I, Yahweh, the first, with the last, I am he," 41:4); it can also be the words that predict the subsequent divine deed (41:22–23; 42:9; 43:9–13; 44:6–8; 45:21; chap. 48). A third meaning, "the first (deeds)," "the last (deeds)," expresses succinctly the central analogy of Second Isaiah: the first and the second Exodus-Conquest, the old and the new cosmogony. The clearest statement of the analogy is 43:16–21:

[16]Thus sayeth Yahweh,
the one who makes a way in Sea a path in the Mighty Waters.
[17]the One who musters chariot and horse, all the mighty army.
They lie prostrate, no more to rise, they are extinguished, quenched like a wick.
[18]Recall no more the former things, the ancient events bring no longer to mind.
[19]I am now doing something new, now it springs forth, do you not recognize it?
I am making a way in the wilderness, paths (*ntybwt* with 1QIsa[a]) in the desert.
[20]The wild beasts will honor me, jackals and ostriches.
For I have placed waters in the wilderness, rivers in the desert,
to give drink to my chosen people,
[21]The people whom I have formed for myself, to narrate my praiseworthy deeds.

Two statements are made: (1) historical events (the defeat of pharaoh, crossing the wilderness) are paralleled with suprahistoric, or mythic, events (making a path through the Waters by defeating the Sea, v 16; making a path through the desert by defeating sterility, vv 19–20); (2) the crossing of the desert replaces the crossing of the Red Sea and the defeat of pharaoh as the national story.

Though clearest in this text, the same historical analogy pervades Second Isaiah. In chap. 46, Yahweh is the one who carries Israel (the word "carry" echoes old texts like Exod 19:4 and Deut 32:11) of old from Egypt and now from Babylon. Isa 41:14–20 and 42:13–16 similarly allude to the old and the new Exodus. The passages 48:20–21 and 52:11–12 explicitly call upon Jews to leave Babylon, as their ancestors left Egypt. Chapter 49 puts the commission of the servant in the categories of Moses, imitating in vv 1–7 Moses' commission in Exodus 3–4, and in vv 8–12 Moses' leading the people and apportioning their land. The communal lament beginning in 51:9 recites the defeat of Rahab and the crossing of the sea (mixing historic and suprahistoric language) to persuade God to renew that founding event of defeating chaos and leading the Exodus. Isa 55:12–13 equates the trees that line the road through the wilderness with the twelve stones of the path through the Jordan in Josh 4:6–7; both commemorate Israel's crossing of territories belonging to hostile powers.

The analogy between the event that brought Israel into existence in days of old and the event that brings them into existence now is the central idea in Second Isaiah. It accounts for much of the drama in the chapters.

**b. Babylon and Zion.** Related to the great analogy between old and new founding events is the contrast between Babylon and Zion and Egypt and Canaan in the old tradition. Isa 48:20–21 and 52:11–12 exhort the Jews to leave Babylon in the words of the first Exodus, "Go forth from Babylon … Water from the rock he made flow for them"; "Go out from her midst … Do not go forth in haste" (reversing Exod 12:11). The seemingly odd picture of Zion rising in 40:9 makes sense as the antithesis of Babylon's descent in 47:1: "Get down, sit in the dust, Fair Maiden Babylon." From 44:24 to chap. 55, Zion is in the foreground; Babylon as mirror image provides depth to the portrait of Zion. Isa 45:14–25 speaks of the rebuilding of Zion, in contrast to the ruin of Babylon in chap. 47. In chap. 46 the gods are carried away from a doomed Babylon, whereas Yahweh carries Israel to safety. Zion receives back her husband Yahweh and her children in 49:14–26 and in 50:1–3; Babylon loses both in chap. 47. The concluding chaps. 54 and 55 are exclusively about Zion, a reminder of the centrality of place in the worship of Yahweh. Dominion is conceived spatially; Babylon is the land of servitude to non-gods, and Zion is the land of servitude to Yahweh. Israel must therefore leave Babylon and go to Zion. The polarity is designed to support Second Isaiah's program of action—leave doomed Babylon and go to renewed Zion.

**c. Yahweh and the Gods.** Like the previous two polarities, first event/last event and Babylon/Zion, the next two are closely related: Yahweh and the gods, and Israel and the nations. The contest between Yahweh and the gods occurs chiefly in the trial scenes, contained in the following sections: 41:1–42:9; 43:9–44:5; 44:6–23; 45:20–25. Also relevant are 40:12–31 and chap. 48. To be decided in the trial is not the mere existence of deities, but the question about which deity is the true patron of Cyrus, the Persian king, enabling him to change the shape of the world. Yahweh presides at the trial; he questions and renders the verdict.

The proof that Yahweh, not the other gods, empowers Cyrus is not simply that he predicts events before they happen, but that his word alone overcomes the chaotic forces threatening the populated world, enabling Cyrus to triumph. Such was the understanding of creation in Second Isaiah's world. Yahweh is the sole deity because he alone creates, he alone leads the Exodus.

Cyrus, the instrument of Yahweh's creation, is always mentioned in connection with cosmogony. He embodies the storm wind of Yahweh, "He makes [kings] like dust with his sword, like driven chaff with his bow. He chases them, he blows on unscathed, by road on foot he does not go" (41:3). He does the work of the divine molder, "he has trampled rulers like clay, like a potter kneading clay" (41:25). He builds the temple that celebrates creation (44:28) and is appointed as regent of the new order (45:1–6).

Yahweh's unhindered word alone has effected all this; the other gods are silent (41:21–23, 25–26; 44:7). "Whatever Yahweh pleases, he does, in the heavens and on the earth, in the waters and on the deeps" (Ps 135:6).

**d. Israel and the Nations.** In the ANE, the ordinary means through which the god became present to human worshipers were images. The image represented the god on earth. Israelite law forbade statues as a means of encounter (e.g., Exod 20:4), a prohibition echoed in Second Isaiah, "I am Yahweh, that is my name; my glory I shall not give to another, my renown to carved images" (42:8). Unlike Israel, the nations ordinarily use images to represent their patron deities. In the two parallel trial scenes of 41:1–20 = 41:21–42:9, the statues that the nations bring to the trial represent their patron deities (41:5–7, 21–29). To Second Isaiah, the immobile and mute statues in fact represent the powerless deities only too well; the workers who made and carry them move and speak, but their deities/statues do not. In striking contrast to the mute deities and their frenetic worshipers is silent Israel and its active deity, Yahweh. In both scenes, Yahweh addresses Israel after questioning the nations (41:8–20 and 42:1–9) and commissions Israel to a new Exodus-Conquest. Israel by its action will embody Yahweh's glory. In both addresses the nations view Yahweh's action (41:20; 42:1, 4, 6).

The conception of Israel as the icon of God is most succinctly expressed in the term witness (Heb *ʿēd*), which is used three times of Israel witnessing to Yahweh's supreme power. In 43:9, the nations are challenged to bring forth witnesses to prove that they and their gods predicted the success of Cyrus, i.e., brought about his epochal victories by their word. "You are my witnesses," says Yahweh in vv 10 and 12; only Yahweh speaks words that effect action. The same scene is repeated in 44:6–9 and in 55:4–5. The preexilic kings' task of demonstrating Yahweh's power to the nations (cf. Pss 18:43–44; 89:9–27) is here assigned to all the people.

Israel is to witness by its act of participating in the Exodus-Conquest, the defeat of the desert. By its coming to life in the act, it will demonstrate to the nations that its God, Yahweh, lives and triumphs.

**e. The Servant and Israel.** The polarity between Israel and the servant is traditional in the OT; Second Isaiah exploits a familiar theme. The servants whom Yahweh chose often exemplified in their own lives the divine intent for all the people. Abraham and Jacob anticipated the people's adventures in the land; Jacob is even called Israel. Moses' flight from pharaoh and his encounter with Yahweh at Sinai anticipate the people's flight and divine encounter. Jeremiah in his "confessions" experienced in advance the divine punishment that was later to engulf the people. Isaiah and Ezekiel mimed the punishment that was to overtake the people. These servants represented what all Israel was called to be and do. All Israel becomes a servant when it embraces the divine will and plan as shown by the individual servants. When the people do not obey God's word, then the servant stands over against the people as a rebuke and as an invitation to conversion.

The servant in Second Isaiah is therefore at once a chosen individual and what all Israel is called to be and do. It is significant that Mosaic traits characterize the servant in 49:1–21; like Moses he is reluctant to accept the call, and he leads the people through the desert and apportions the land. Most scholars, following Duhm, distinguish the servant in the four servant songs from the servant in the rest of Second Isaiah; the servant in the songs is an individual, not Israel (though elsewhere the servant is Israel). Such a disjunction, in the light of the traditional relation of servant and people, sketched above, is questionable. The Duhm analysis nonetheless remains influential today.

**3. The Servant.** The word servant occurs twenty times in chaps. 40–55 (once in the plural). There is agreement that thirteen of the occurrences refer to Israel as the servant. The remaining seven occur in 42:1–4; 49:1–6; 50:4–9; 52:13–53:12, and the verses connected to them (45:5–7; 50:10, 11), the "servant songs" of B. Duhm. In these passages, according to Duhm, the servant is an individual, not Israel: "On the contrary, the hero of these poems is set over against the people, is innocent, Yahweh's disciple clearly enlightened by him, called to a mission to the people and to the gentiles and attending to his call in complete calm." The poems are probably from an author different from Second Isaiah and were inserted awkwardly in their present context (Duhm *Jesaia* HKAT, 311).

Scholars who see the servant of the songs as an individual distinct from Israel are not agreed on his or her identity. Virtually every important figure in the Bible—Moses, one of the prophets, or the kings, even Cyrus, or Second Isaiah himself—has been identified as the servant (*IDB* 4: 292–94 and C. G. Kruse 1978: 3–27). For scholars who judge the poems to be integral to their contexts, the servant is the servant-prophet and Israel.

The servant exercises a role like that of the preexilic kings and especially prophets; royal and prophetic language is used of him. The role of the servant of Yahweh in the OT is a religio-political office; the servant is privy to the divine plan which he carries out and persuades the people to obey. The call of the servant in 49:1–6 imitates the call of Moses (Exodus 3–4 and Jer 1:4–10, itself modeled on Moses' call) and the related vv 8–12 describe the servant's Moses-like task of leading the people in the wilderness and apportioning to them the land. The reference to the servant as Moses is not surprising in view of the prominence of the new Exodus in chaps. 40–55. Servants, such as Moses, Joshua, the king of the Deuteronomic ideal (Deut 17:14–20), and the preexilic prophets, are models of obedience for Israel. In this sense, the servant can be at the same time an obedient friend of Yahweh and the nation. The obedient servant is what Israel is called to be. The servant can therefore be the witness to Yahweh's supremacy (42:1–4), called like Moses to embark on a new Exodus-Conquest (49:1–6), and submissive to the exilic punishment (50:4–11). In this view, the servant is the prophet himself and those who join him in his task. The question however is not settled.

Isa 52:13–53:12, the fourth servant song, remains especially controverted. Who is the servant, ideal Israel or a historical individual? Whose sins has he borne—the nations' or Israel's? What is meant by is vicarious suffering, otherwise unattested in the OT? The boundaries of the poem, and the genres that have influenced it—thanksgiving and confession—are generally agreed on, but consensus regarding the other questions has not been achieved.

Some observations can be made regarding the passage. Elsewhere in Second Isaiah, the nations are onlookers, the chorus rather than the protagonist. Hence, those whose sins are borne are likely the Israelites, not the nations. Secondly, the sins the servant has borne are not only the sinful acts of others but their consequences; Hebrew words for sin can designate both the act and its unhappy consequences. The ancestors have sinned, and the exiles are bearing the consequences. Now, however, Israel is invited back into existence through the new Exodus from Babylon to Zion. Many exiles were unwilling to undertake the journey. But as long as some of the people make the journey, the servant (and those allied with him), Israel comes into existence. "The many" who did not make the journey exist as Israel once more because of the servant's obedient act. When they see what the servant has done for them, they cry out that he has borne their sins, i.e., taken away the evil consequences of their refusal to go in the new Exodus. It is noteworthy that the servant's reward is life in the holy land (53:11–12; cf. 9:3). As long as

the servant does the act, the whole people live again. The above interpretation is tentative, but it does have the merit of staying within OT categories.

Daniel 11:33–12:10 has been called the earliest interpretation of the fourth servant song. It interprets the Jewish loyalists of the Antiochene period in the 2d century B.C. as the servant of 52:13–53:12 (Ginsberg 1953: 100–4). The NT interpreted Jesus Christ as the Isaianic servant.

**4. Creation.** Second Isaiah differs from other prophets in his use of creation terminology. Verbs of creation abound: *bara*ʾ, "to create" (16x); *yāṣar,* "to mold, shape" (14x); *ʿāśâ,* "to make" (24x); *pāʿal,* "to make" (5x); *nāṭâ šāmayim,* "stretch out the heavens" (6x); *rāqaʿ hāʾāreṣ,* "to spread out the earth" (2x); *kûn,* "to found" (1x); and *yāsad,* "to found" (1x). The objects of the verbs of creation are, variously: Israel, the physical world, the servant of Yahweh, "the new things," Cyrus, and Zion.

Scholarly interpretation of the meaning of creation in Second Isaiah varies according to scholars' definitions of creation and its relation to redemption (primarily the Exodus). All recent discussion has been influenced by Gerhard von Rad's 1936 article insisting that creation in the OT is joined closely to historical redemption and is subordinated to it. Consequently, the Exodus tradition can be enriched by references to Yahweh's creation of the world, but the two concepts are not on the same level; creation is subordinate to redemption. Westermann insists that the two are closely connected but do not merge; the polarity between the two is used to show that God's saving of his people "was, as it were, an island within the mighty universe of God's work as creator" (*Isaiah 40–66* OTL, 25). other scholars distinguish in Second Isaiah creation of the world from creation of humans, finding the former in disputations (40:12–31; 45:18–19) and the self-prediction of 48:12–16, and the latter in the adapted oracles of salvation in 43:1–7, 14–15, 16–21; 44:1–5; 54:4–6, and in the warning in 44:21–22. The two themes are combined in several passages: 44:24–28; 45:9–13; 51:12–16 (Haag 1976: 193–203; Albertz 1974: 173–75).

To understand creation in Second Isaiah, one must recognize the important differences between ancient Near Eastern and modern Western conceptions of creation, or cosmogony. There are at least four important differences: the process, the product, the description, and the criteria for truth.

Ancient Near Eastern cosmogonies often involved personal wills in conflict. Typically, creation is portrayed as a series of acts in a drama: chaos or the threat of it, a battle between the gods and the forces of chaos resulting in the gods' victory, and celebration of the victory with kingship and temple. Both in the Ugaritic texts of late 2d-millennium Syria and in the Bible, the storm god (or Yahweh) tames the destructive power of sea or death-dealing desert. In contrast, moderns see creation as impersonal, evolutionary, and proceeding according to physical "laws."

A second major difference is the product, or emergent. For the modern, it is the physical world, usually the earth in the planetary system. Living organisms, if they figure in creation at all, are usually the most primitive forms of life; human culture is outside the purview of modern creation theories. In the ANE, on the other hand, what was produced was a *peopled* universe. The 2d-millennium Akkadian text *Enuma eliš,* often cited as the standard ANE cosmogony, is essentially the exaltation of Marduk, the founder of Babylonian society. Marduk defeats Tiamat and establishes his temple Esagila in Babylon so that he might receive the praise of his people. Another Akkadian account, *Atraḫasis,* tells of the balances that make human society possible. Genesis 1 tells how man and woman (= society) are constituted by God's command to fill the earth and propagate their kind. Isa 42:5 puts it nicely:

> Thus says the God Yahweh,
> (who) creates the heavens and stretches them out, who spreads out the earth and what it brings forth;
> (who) gives breath to the people upon it, spirit to those who walk upon it.

In the light of the above remarks, the scholarly distinction between creation of the world and the creation of man is artificial. The ancients were interested in the creation of the physical world primarily as an explanation for the human race or a particular people.

A third difference is a corollary of the first: cosmogony, being a conflict of wills, is naturally told as a drama. Modern creation accounts are impersonal and scientific.

Lastly, the criterion of truth differs according to the account used. For ancients, it is the dramatic plausibility of the story; the ancients had a tolerance for various versions of the same event. In Akkadian,

different deities create, though it is usually Anu and Ea, occasionally Anu, Enlil, and Ea. In the Ugaritic texts, Baal or his consort Anat, combat Sea or Death. In the Psalms and in Second Isaiah, Yahweh's combat with Sea is told with varying details (cf. Pss 77:11–20; 89:9–14; 93; Isa 42:13–16; 50:23; 51:9–11). Modern accounts, being scientific, are subject as far as possible to verification and must be consistent and compatible with other likely hypotheses (Clifford 1985).

Ancient Near Eastern creation accounts tell how a structured society arose; biblical writers use them to describe the making or remaking of Israel. In Isa 43:16–21 is the clearest instance of a Deutero-Isaiah account of the creation of Israel. According to the passage, in the "former event," Yahweh defeated pharaoh's armies and Sea, which prevented Israel from coming into its divinely appointed territory. In the "something new," Yahweh destroys Desert's power to keep the people from Zion by making roads through it and by overturning its infertility. The new creation is the people, "the people whom I have formed for myself," enabled to give praise (vv 20–21). Creation and redemption language describe the same event—the movement from Babylon to Zion. The same mix of redemption and creation language is found in 51:9–11: "Was it not you who hacked Rahab [the primordial sea monster] in pieces … that the redeemed might cross?" Isa 41:14–20 commissions Israel itself to destroy the desert's obstructive power by crushing the mountains to powder, so that the divine wind may blow it away (vv 14–16); Yahweh then changes the desert's sterility to fertility that supports human life (vv 17–20).

The king's building of the temple to celebrate the god's world-creating victory is a theme in *Enuma elish* and in the Ugaritic texts. It is also prominent in Second Isaiah. Zion is to be rebuilt by Cyrus (44:24–45:13) and is to be a place of the festive banquet (chap. 55).

The word of God that predicts these things is a proof of divinity, not simply because it predicts the future accurately but because it is unhindered and effective; there are no deities to oppose it. It not only predicts but also invites participation (chap. 48). By participating in the cosmogony, Israel vanquishes the desert's sterility, proclaiming to the nations Yahweh's sole divinity.

Second Isaiah, therefore, does not refer to the "first creation" in Genesis as an argument that God can do today what he did then. He formulates creation differently. For him, it is one way of describing the act of remaking the people, the other being the redemption. Redemption, the Exodus-Entry into the land, and creation, the participation in the defeat of the desert and the rebuilding of the temple, are simply two modes of expressing the same event, the one suprahistoric (or mythic), the other historic.

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## *THIRD ISAIAH*

Third Isaiah (TI) is the name given by scholars to the last eleven chapters of the book of Isaiah (56–66). The term is therefore primarily a literary one, analogous to the use of First Isaiah and Second Isaiah to

designate chaps. 1–39 and 40–55, respectively. For those who argue that an essential unity exists within this final section of the book of Isaiah (Duhm *Jesaia* HKAT; Elliger 1928; Kessler 1960), Third Isaiah also refers to the prophet who authored the dozen or so separate pericopes within chaps. 56–66. A very rough consensus exists over the delimitation of these pericopes, going back to Duhm and Elliger; it is also shared in broad view by those who are unconvinced of the unity of Third Isaiah (Westermann *Isaiah 40–66* OTL; Pauritsch 1971; Hanson 1975; Sekine 1989): (1) 56:1–8; (2) 56:9–57:13; (3) 57:14–21; (4) 58:1–14; (5) 59:1–21; (6) 60:1–22; (7) 61:1–11; (8) 62:1–12; (9) 63:1–6; (10) 63:7–64:11; (11) 65:1–25; (12) 66:1–4; (13) 66:5–16.

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A. Third Isaiah in Modern Scholarship
B. Historical Location
C. Social Location
D. Literary Analysis
E. The Future of Third Isaiah

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**A. Third Isaiah in Modern Scholarship**

Karl Elliger, the early and by recent judgment methodologically sound proponent of the unity of TI (Sekine 1989: 8), used a careful literary and stylistic investigation to isolate these 13 pericopes and demonstrate TI's essential uniqueness vis à vis Second Isaiah. The latter argument was advanced by Elliger against those who wished to see no special break between Second and Third Isaiah chapters (all pre-Duhm interpreters; Sellin 1901; Cobb 1908), and it depended upon (by his own admission) a tedious isolation of linguistic terms and phrases reputed to be unique to TI (Elliger 1928: 57). The argument for unity was advanced against those who viewed 56–66 as coming from diverse prophetic hands and widely divergent periods, a much more broadly represented position at the time (Cheyne 1895; Cramer 1905; Kennet 1910; Budde *Jesaia* HSAT; Abramowski 1925). Elliger allowed a secondary hand in TI only at isolated intervals (56:3–8; 57:13c, 20; 58:13; 59:5–8, 21; 60:12, 17b; 65:20b; 66:17, 18–22, 23).

Partly because Third Isaiah is so bereft of concrete historical indicators, it has given rise to wide-ranging and speculative proposals as to historical and social location, from the preexilic period (for 56:9–57:13) to the late Hellenistic period (for 65; 66:3–24*), as being representative of theocratic ideals (Duhm), to their opponent in the name of inclusivity and apocalyptic fervor (Pauritsch 1971; Wallis 1971; Hanson 1975). Volz's 1932 commentary (*Jesaja* KAT) is a good example of the chronological approach at full throttle (oracles dated from the 7th to 3d centuries B.C.E.), though less extreme vestiges of the diachronic inquiry are to be seen in virtually all modern studies, which tend to place the bulk of TI in the late 6th or early 5th century. Westermann and Hanson are good popular representatives of the diachronic approach, despite their insistence that literary observations have fundamental priority over historical considerations.

Cobb pointed out quite early that the problems of specifically dating oracles in TI, where so little indication is provided of temporal location at the level of plain literary expression (Cobb 1908: 48–52). Beyond this, one wonders if a diachronic approach misunderstands its limits in TI when the literature does not emphasize new or radically altered historical circumstances, as is held to be the case when one moves from chaps. 40–55 to 56–66. Put in another way, the book of Isaiah consciously reacts to the temporal move accomplished when Assyrian period proclamation from Isaiah is stretched into a new Babylonian, post–587 B.C.E. framework, so that a formal break at chap. 40 can be seen in the literature's own portrayal (see article on "First Isaiah" above). It is difficult to note the same conscious move at work in the transition from 40–55 to 56–66. Factors other than altered temporal reference probably account for the changes encountered in these final eleven chapters, which make them distinctive from the preceding material in chaps. 40–55.

Elliger's 1928 monograph paid more meticulous attention to the literary side of the heavily religio-historical approach of Duhm, the creator of Third Isaiah. Duhm's TI functioned within his own special reconstruction of the postexilic period, as a figure absolutely distinct (*Jesaia* HKAT, 390) from Second Isaiah (SI), the theocratic forerunner of Ezra, for whom "sacrifice, the law, the sabbath, etc., were of

highest concern" (*Jesaia* HKAT, 390). Compared with the poetry of SI, TI's proclamation has sunk into "versified prose." The popular modern view, which sees the TI chapters as attempting to extend the visionary message of a Babylonian Second Isaiah against theocratic opposition into the postexilic period (Hanson 1975; Pauritsch 1971), was not shared by Duhm. For Duhm (and the scholars of his day, including Ewald, Bunsen, Mowinckel, Hölscher, Marty, and Torrey), Second Isaiah was not active in Babylon; TI was, moreover, temporally quite distant from SI, working at a period long after the return from Exile.

Challenging Duhm on this latter front, Elliger moved TI to the period just before and after the restoration of the temple (ca. 515 B.C.E.), thereby allowing for a more intimate relationship to develop between TI and SI (1928: 111). A disciple or school relationship is reputed by many to exist between these two anonymous figures (Elliger 1933; Zimmerli 1950; Westermann *Isaiah 40–66* OTL). This is, by and large, the modern consensus, even when allowances are made for the internal inconsistencies found within chaps. 56–66 (especially over the treatment of foreigners, compare 56:3 and 60:10; 61:5–6). Passages which extend the message of SI are thought to be from the individual TI (Westermann *Isaiah 40–66* OTL); passages inconsistent with SI's thinking are the consequence of developments within the postexilic community toward a more apocalyptic orientation (Hanson 1975).

Hanson summarily rejects the search for authorship, opting for what he terms a contextual-typological approach, which plots increasing oppression and aligns portions of the text accordingly (1975: 41–46). Basic sociological questions remain. How "communities" compose texts, and in what conrete (i.e., other than ideological) setting, is not clarified. Moreover, the evolution from "classic prophecy" toward apocalyptic is not structured into the text, in its present form; rather, Hanson imposes the theory from outside the text's final arrangement and then extracts oracles and places them in their proper ideological and diachronic alignment. Why TI exhibits a certain final literary organization is not of particular importance to Hanson, since the final arrangement of the material nowhere supports his ideological theory.

**B. Historical Location**

The difficulty of dating oracles in TI has already been mentioned and is usually admitted by scholars at the start of their labors. Almost all feel that chaps. 56–66 are, in their entirety, later than 40–55. The exceptions are those who challenge the distinction between SI and TI altogether (Torrey 1928; Smart 1965); one scholar dated 56–66 earlier than 40–55 (McCollough 1948); Haran (1963) argued that chaps. 40–48 were composed by a prophet in Babylon and that chaps. 49–66 were composed by the same prophet upon his return to Palestine; Glahn's view (1934) is similar, but he maintains the traditional break at 40–55 and 56–66, while viewing both sections as oracles from the same prophet in different geographic settings. For those who regard unity within 56–66 as a fiction, the oracles are free to be placed at various points in the preexilic and postexilic periods, depending on one's view of postexilic ideology and poetic typology (Hanson), form- and tradition-critical development (Westermann), or larger thematic patterns within the book of Isaiah as a whole (Vermeylen 1978).

A forceful challenger of the TI hypothesis, Fritz Maass (1967), pointed to two chief facts in defense of TI's existence: the sense of extreme break one has immediately, in chap. 56 (and not nearly so extreme elsewhere), and the references to the temple, which pop up from time to time. Smart had already noted that 56:1–6 "is as alien in content to the author of 56:8 to 66 as to the author of 55–66" (Smart 1965: 230). In addition, it is difficult to know how to use the obscure references to the temple to date TI more specifically (compare 56:7; 60:13; 62:7; 63:18; 64:11). Westermann (p. 296) uses the reference at 60:13 to argue that the temple has not yet been built (see also his treatment of 63:15–64:11). others see the argument over inclusion in chap. 56 as evidence that the temple is already standing and community life well under way, a view that is made possible in Westermann's model by his theory of levels of text development, ultimately carrying us into the period of the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah (455 B.C.E.).

References to a completed temple, however, cannot resolve the problem of more specific dating in the postexilic community, as the disagreement between Duhm and Elliger, for example, highlights. Are we in the 5th-century world of Ezra-Nehemiah (Duhm), or the 6th-century world of Haggai-Zechariah (Elliger),

or both (Westermann)? In every case, recourse must be made to a larger reconstruction of postexilic life, utilizing the internally contradictory and by no means perspicuous historical sources of Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Malachi, Haggai, and Zechariah. Ezra gives the closest thing to a straightforward account of the restoration of the temple; nonetheless, the difficulty of its use as a historical source is everywhere admitted. Malachi provides, at best, oblique assistance in reconstructing postexilic life. The date provided by Haggai and Zechariah for the consecration of the temple (2d year of Darius) is not consistent with that given by Ezra (Darius' 6th year, Ezra 6:15); nor is there a complete and consistent depiction in our sources of the return of exiles from Babylon.

Perhaps the most obscure area of knowledge concerns life within the Israelite community not deported—surely the largest population group, and one we know to have existed as a worshipping community during the exilic period from various incidental references (Zech 7:5; Jer 41:5; book of Lamentations). It is one of the ironies of historical analysis in biblical studies that while skepticism over historical veracity rules in one part of the canon, other literary witnesses are accorded absolute historical reliability; the nature and dosage of selectivity is what produces different results. Barstad (1982) has recently reminded us just how fragile is the picture of massive deportation to Babylon and total evacuation from Palestine—a picture given us by Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah and one which is absolutely necessary for most Second Isaiah in Babylon and Third Isaiah in Palestine theories.

It must be determined whether the theory of TI turns exclusively on too tidy a view of the destruction of the temple and its subsequent restoration. In this light it should be remembered that if chaps. 56–66 are read more narrowly in the context of the book of Isaiah, as against their putative diachronic neighbors Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and Ezra-Nehemiah, a very different picture of the role of the temple emerges; for nowhere in Isaiah is the destruction of the temple explicitly related. Rather, what we have is a depiction of God's judgment over the cosmos and the nations (Isaiah 13–27), and the proclamation of a thorough cleansing of Zion, resulting in a completely new state of affairs (2:1–5; 12:1–6; cf. 65:17–25). In other words, the fall of the temple and its restoration, as such, are not meaningful literary, historical, or theological indexes in Isaiah.

What is important is God's cleansing of Zion and its reestablishment (1:24–31; 2:1–5; 11:6–9; 27:12–13; 35:1–10)—matters that are depicted independently of the fate of the temple, which was more narrowly conceived (receiving virtually no discussion in chaps. 1–39). Along this axis, the decisive break in the book of Isaiah is located at chap. 40—not at chap. 56—following the clear hint in chap. 39 that the Babylonians are God's agents of cleansing judgment. The full restoration of Zion is nowhere identified in Isaiah—in any of its sections—with the literal restoration of the temple. Consequently, one wonders if undue stress has been laid upon the restoration of the temple as an important historical datum in differentiating Second from Third Isaiah. It is quite possible that chaps. 40–55 treat different *aspects* of the restoration of Zion than do chaps. 56–66, which demonstrate special interest in the requirements for membership in God's Zion. But then the sharp distinction drawn between these sections on historical grounds falls away. The distinction becomes thematic and theological, and it does not necessitate separation along Babylonian/Palestinian, exilic/postexilic, or visionary prophet/disillusioned community lines (Hanson 1986: 153–59). If one adds to these considerations the possibility that SI was not a Babylonian prophet (Barstad 1982; Duhm; Torrey 1928; Smart 1965), then any significant break at chap. 56 is completely unwarranted.

That this type of objection has not been registered is witness to the hegemony of a fixed form of diachronic analysis which refuses to take the literary context of the book of Isaiah as a meaningful guide to exegesis, preferring instead to line up these (historically) obscure chapters with equally obscure references in other biblical literature judged to be contemporaneous. That disagreement continues to exist among scholars over key features in the historical background of TI is testimony to the level of speculation required when historical analysis is forced to work in such shallow waters. The plausibility that the biblical sources are in fact capable of integration for thorough historical reconstruction is also never challenged. What if the books of Isaiah and Ezra-Nehemiah present different, even historically incompatible, pictures of restoration? On the other hand, what if the differences are aspectual and not

substantive, resulting from different emphases within the literary presentation of each given witness, to be read independently of each other? In scholars' zeal for reconstructing historical circumstances as the necessary prerequisite for proper exegesis, these sorts of considerations have not been popular.

In sum, the possibility exists that factors other than changed historical circumstances may account for the different literary and theological emphases at work in TI, compared with SI. This would also raise questions about the propriety of language comparisons and theories of master (SI) and disciple (TI) which attempt to explain the balance of distinctiveness and borrowing often noted in chaps. 56–66 (Zimmerli 1950). If the differences in language are the consequence of differences in content and the subject matter handled, then a sharp break at chap. 56, on grounds of a new prophetic voice or clearly changed historical circumstances, is unfounded.

**C. Social Location**

Most have seen behind at least a portion of the chapters of TI an actual prophet at work, analogous to SI and, like him, also anonymous. Form and tradition critics have tended to draw a picture of the prophet as oral speaker, and the prophet TI generally is accepted into this category. Duhm, adamant in his insistence that Israel's prophets were primarily speakers, not writers (1875: 203–4), spoke of TI as a *Schriftsteller* whose proclamation was best described as "versified prose" (HKAT, 390–91). Duhm felt that prophecy underwent certain fundamental changes (not improperly categorized as decadent) in the later years of the postexilic period. TI was a representative of these changes.

Duhm was not more specific about the social location of TI's activities. A similar vagueness marks most form- and tradition-critical investigations. If the prophet is considered an oral speaker, then he presumably exercises the same freedom of movement as did his preexilic forebears, and no further social location is stipulated. Westermann has rightly noted the existence in chaps. 56–66 of fixed tradition, utilized at a redactional stage in the final literary development of TI chapters, thus holding in appropriate tension form- and redactional-critical observations. So, for example, chaps. 59 and 63, which surround the core TI proclamation (chaps. 60–62), are for Westermann "genuine community laments," not compositions of TI, and "their birth-place was Israel's worship" (OTL, 300). Similarly, the long unit 56:9–57:13 is comprised of three oracles of judgment, borrowed from the preexilic period, drafted to serve a redactional purpose in TI.

Westermann's TI is a prophet analogous to the classical prophets of the preexilic period; TI as a literary product, however, includes fixed forms of literature from a variety of social contexts, most notable among them being contexts of worship. This accords well with the generally accepted view that another piece of literature of the period, the book of Lamentations, finds its home as well in the worship life of the exilic period. It would be no surprise if TI as prophetic figure was to be sought within the cultic life of the exilic or immediate postexilic period. As we have noted, there are several references to the worship life of Israel during the exilic period in the biblical sources; prophets are increasingly active within Israel's cult in the postexilic period (Petersen 1977); cult prophecy would explain the use of traditional material within TI. Prophecy in such a social context would involve both exegesis of existing prophetic material and independent prophetic proclamation modeled on Israel's early prophets Amos, Hosea, Jeremiah, or Isaiah, all set within the context of Israel's worship life. This would explain (1) the present inclusion of TI material within the larger book of Isaiah, (2) the rightly noted presence in TI of themes and language not just from SI (Zimmerli 1950) but from First Isaiah as well (Vermeylen 1978: 504–5), and (3) the clear similarity between SI and TI chapters and the Psalter. It is by no means clear that SI (and TI) ought to be sought, apart from the cultic proclamation of the exilic period, in Judah proper; if this (minority) view proved true, then the separation of SI from TI on other than thematic grounds would be even less warranted.

Hanson has not sought a more specific social location for a prophet TI, since the authorship/individual prophet question is set to the side in his reconstruction. The oracles are seen simply as representative of ideological positions becoming increasingly apocalyptic. This ideational emphasis gives the TI material a certain weightlessness, in terms of precise social location.

The work of Pauritsch (1971) should be mentioned at this juncture, since the classic search for *Sitz im Leben* is one of his chief concerns. He develops the intriguing theory that TI is a collection of traditions originating in the immediate postexilic period. In its present (redacted) form, it was meant to serve as a response to the question of a delegation from Babylon, put to community leaders in Judah, as to whether eunuchs and foreigners should be included in the congregation (56:3–8). Using the oracles of TI, and new tradition, the prophetic redactor answers affirmatively and emphasizes that God is on the side of the poor and those who tremble at his word (66:2). The passage in Isa 56:1–6 serves as a kind of motto for the whole collection and is its interpretive key; the final chapter (66) reiterates the main themes of the opening unit in such a way that chaps. 56 and 66 act as bookends, now enclosing two sections with roughly the same number of verses (56–60; 62–66) and a central core (chap. 61). Pauritsch finds diverse elements of tradition, from various backgrounds (wisdom, cultic, prophetic) in TI, and therefore rejects a single *Sitz im Leben* and a single prophetic voice; nevertheless, in Pauritsch's reading there is one fairly consistent message from TI in its present literary form. A refinement of his position, with similar emphasis on TI as anti-cult, can be seen in the work of Wallis (1971).

Several objections come to mind with this type of analysis. First, the specification of the occasion and the use to which TI is put weigh against the theory as too speculative and overdrawn. Second, the presence of wisdom elements in TI should not seriously call into question a possible cultic setting for the material in its entirety (cf. wisdom psalms, priestly instruction). Third, the complexity of TI's overall message is flattened by too tightly linking it to a program for inclusion that theoretically is aimed at setting aside the legislation of Deut 23:2–9 (the same criticism applies to Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66* OTL, 311–16; Sekine 1989: 31–42). To be sure, TI does envision new participants in the assembly, but this is in full accord with statements found elsewhere in the book of Isaiah; it is not aimed exclusively at countermanding the Deuteronomic legislation. Note (1) the different terminology used in TI (Heb *ben-hannēkār; hassārîs*) and Deuteronomy (Heb *pĕṣûa‹-dakkā› ûkĕrût šopkâ;* "the Ammonite and Moabite"), (2) the complexities within the respective contexts (Deuteronomy's favorable inclusion of the Edomite [23:6] and TI's use of Edom as paradigm for Yahweh's foes [63:1–6]), and (3) the heavy emphasis on allegiance to Yahweh found in TI ("the foreigner *who joins himself to the Lord*"; "the eunuchs *who keep my sabbaths, choose what delights me, and hold fast my covenant*"). All this suggests something less than the attempt to cancel previously binding legal injunctions as the chief agenda of TI. The differences between TI and Deuteronomy over this issue are contextual and are not as substantive as those zealous for spotting tension would have us believe (Donner 1983).

Moreover, foreigners continue to exercise a role, developed in both First (2:3; 18:7; 19:19–22; 23:17–18) and Second Isaiah (45:14–17, 20–25; 49:22–26), that involves the vindication of Israel and the nations' acknowledgment of the authority of Yahweh as the one God (60:3–14; 61:5–6; 62:2–3; 63:6; 64:2; 66:18–21), if not their humiliation and debasement. The consistent interest in proper attention to cultic requirements and the sanctuary, or punishment for their abrogation, lack of care for Zion, uncleanness, iniquity, and idolotry, spans all chapters (56:2, 4, 7; 57:3–10; 58:13; 59:2; 60:7, 13; 61:6; 62:9; 63:18; 64:6, 11; 65:2–7; 66:3–4, 24) and suggests that attempts to interpret TI as a universalist or fierce inclusion advocate against cultic leaders (Hanson; Pauritsch; Wallis) overstate the literary evidence. In this instance, the picture of TI's originator, B. Duhm, seems more accurate, whereby TI is one concerned with cultic purity, the proper restoration of Zion, the Sabbath, and proper sacrifice. For these reasons, it would be more appropriate to locate TI in a cultic setting, exegetically extending the vision of First and Second Isaiah regarding the nations, while at the same time defending the holiness of Zion and the requirements of proper worship, first for Israel and then by extension for the nations who come to worship Yahweh (see also Sekine 1989: 236–37).

**D. Literary Analysis**

We have had occasion to note above the various literary methods that have been used to analyze TI chapters. Following Duhm's initial efforts, which are best characterized as a combination of literary-poetical, historical, and crude sociological investigation, scholars developed either the historical (Budde, Kennett, Volz) or the literary (Elliger) sides of his project. Even in a primarily literary and stylistic work

like that of Elliger, questions of social and temporal location were not forgotten. It was the order of inquiry that determined the priorities of the interpreter.

Form-critical work occupied itself with the proper delimitation of oral units in TI. Alongside this went the determination of secondary and later glosses and the plotting of levels of the text as they found their place in TI. Westermann's study is a model of form and tradition-critical analysis. A TI nucleus is to be found in chaps. 60–62, set in the framework of two community laments located in chaps. 59 and 63. other material original to TI is to be found in 57:14–20; 65:15b–25; and 66:1–16. The message of TI is "salvation and nothing but salvation" (*Isaiah 40–66* OTL, 296), in Westermann's view, thus linking him closely with a SI for whom such proclamation was standard fare. The prophet TI reveals something of himself in chaps. 61 and 62, in first-person speech reminiscent of 49:1–6 and 50:4–9.

Editorial work is most evident in the beginning and ending units (56:1–8 and 66:18–24). Independent utterances and additions are made at various points, emphasizing the "cleavage between the devout and the faithful" (*Isaiah 40–66* OTL, 307). Westermann claims that TI's altogether friendly attitude toward foreign nations has been altered by judgment additions in 60:12; 63:1–6; 66:6, 15–20*. Apocalyptic material has also been added to the salvation oracles in 60–66.

Though Hanson's analysis differs over details and larger conceptual perspective, a similar view of levels within the literature, moving toward the apocalyptic away from the visions of SI, is to be found in Hanson's work. To his credit, Westermann still operates within a traditional picture of prophecy in which questions of authorship, redaction, and situation-in-life are handled systematically. Moreover, in Westermann's work one begins to see an attempt to come to grips with the text in its present literary organization, as he wrestles with trying to explain why TI chapters are arranged as they are. Nothing of this kind of literary inquiry animates the work of Hanson. In this sense, it is fair to say that Westermann's form-critical analysis clearly anticipates redactional and rhetorical studies produced in the last two decades (Pauritsch 1971; Sehmsdorf 1972; Polan 1986; Sekine 1989).

The most recent redaction-critical investigation is that of Sekine (1989), who seeks to challenge Elliger's argument for literary and authorial unity in TI, a position Sekine respects and feels has never been sufficiently set aside on primarily literary grounds. Sekine establishes through minute analysis a clear redactional hand at work in TI, particularly in opening and closing chapters. He avoids the tendency to reduce the complexity of TI by seeing the message of the book as predominantly anti-cultic, though in individual sections this is the reading he isolates for the final redactional hand. While Sekine's primary interest is in separating out redactional layers and establishing their distinctive theological viewpoints, he concludes his labors with an analysis of TI in its present literary organization (1989: 228–33). In so doing, he puts forth the implicit argument that the final form of the material presents a message that, while redactionally complex, is nevertheless coherent on literary and theological grounds.

**E. The Future of Third Isaiah**

Sekine's modest efforts in the direction of post-redactional synthesis may represent the future of TI analysis. Rhetorical studies (Polan 1986) likewise seek to identify indications of final structure and larger literary shape, though frequently without prior inquiry into the text's depth-dimension, redactional analysis, or a serious probe into the historical and social worlds that spawned the material.

The remarks above have been sufficient to indicate that one fruitful area of future TI research will include an analysis of the exegetical relationship between chaps. 56–66 and First and Second Isaiah sections, as well as a determination of the role TI plays in the final redactional shape of the book of Isaiah as a whole. Have the indications of historical, literary, and sociological cleavage between chapters 40–55 and 56–66 been overplayed in the interest of pursuing one type of diachronic analysis? Are the differences between Isaiah 40–55 and 56–66 explicable on other grounds? Are there indications of clear linkage between these two sections which do not depend upon a Babylonian prophet and Palestinian disciple model of interpretation but are rather the consequence of a far greater common purpose in authorial, redactional, and theological intention?

To take one example, to what extent is the first-person (nondivine) voice in SI distinct from that found in TI, and what would prevent one from seeing essentially the same prophetic voice at work in both

sections (e.g., 48:16c; 49:1–6; 50:4–9; 61:1–4)? Second, Westermann has overplayed the notion that SI and nuclear TI sections are predominantly salvation oracles. SI contains material that reflects internal community debate (42:18–20; 43:22–24; 44:25; 45:9–13; 46:12–13; 48:22; 50:10–11; 54:15–17), especially when one includes the persistent exhortation that marks SI; it is difficult to see how distinct the TI material is on this score. Israel's flirting with idolotry is condemned in both sections, (see 41:5–7; 44:9–20; 45:20; 48:3–5), although the tendency has been to see that most of the idolotry condemned in SI is that of Babylon or foreign nations.

Finally, and most importantly, it is by no means clear that SI should be distinguished from TI on the basis of the state of the temple. Trying to link references to the walls of Jerusalem in TI to similar references in Ezra-Nehemiah for historical purposes is a highly speculative enterprise, especially when the historical value of biblical sources from this period is itself a thorny problem (see the most recent attempts of Sekine [1989] to fix the *Wirkungszeit* of individual passages in TI). The same is true of references to the temple, which at times seem to suggest a finished structure (56:7) but at other points clearly state that something is yet unfinished (61:4) and that the condition of the temple is quite desperate (64:10–11). The issue is complicated because we do not know the exact state of the temple in the exilic period, whether that state prevented its usage, or whether such matters are specifically of concern to TI. What we do know is that both SI and TI see the restoration of Zion as involving God's full presence, and that the community stands just before the full enactment of that event. In that sense, it is wrong to think of the full restoration of the temple as some clear and significant past event in the background of TI.

The burning question for TI, and one which the final chapter continues to pose, is whether the community and the nations that join them are worthy to stand when God appears and Zion is restored. Can Zion be fully restored, as earlier chapters in Isaiah had promised, given the state in which Israel as a community stands? Can Israel's people be fully the servants of God? The answer the final chapter gives is, *Yes* (66:12–14). At the same time it refuses to relax the judgment that accompanies God's holy presence (66:15–16). The final warning of 66:24 indicates the seriousness with which God punishes rebellion, and on that note the Isaiah collection is drawn to a close. Now the nations are to share with Israel the mercy—and the holy judgment—that comes with the knowledge and presence of Israel's God.

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CHRISTOPHER R. SEITZ

**ISAIAH, MARTYRDOM AND ASCENSION OF.** A pseudepigraphic work containing both Jewish and Christian elements. It divides naturally into two sections: chaps. 1–5, generally called the *Martyrdom of Isaiah,* and chaps. 6–11, known as the *Vision of Isaiah.* The *Mart. Is.* contains further a distinct unit, 3:13–4:22, which is often called the *Testament of Hezekiah*.

The work is extant in its entirety only in Ethiopic. There exist also Greek and Latin fragments of the textual tradition represented by the Ethiopic version. A second textual tradition, containing only chaps. 6–11, is represented by a second Latin translation and a Slavonic version. There are also Coptic fragments, as well as a Greek legend, which is based on a Greek text of the first type, but in which the story has been rewritten significantly. Most scholars agree that the *Martyrdom* was composed in Hebrew. It was then translated into Greek, which served as the basis for the extant versions. The Christian sections (*Vis. Is.* and *T. Hez.*) were probably composed in Greek.

Most scholars agree that the *Mart. Is.* was composed by a Jew in Palestine no later than the 1st century C.E. The legend behind the book, if not the book itself, may be considerably older.

The composite nature of the work is confirmed both on internal and external grounds. First, chaps. 1–5 and 6–11 are each a self-contained unit. Chaps. 1–5 provide a legendary account of Isaiah's martyrdom at the hands of Manasseh. Chaps. 6–11 describe a visionary journey of Isaiah during the reign of Hezekiah. Not only are the sections out of chronological order, but, as noted above, one major textual tradition contains only chaps. 6–11. Furthermore, chaps. 1–5 are strongly Jewish, and chaps. 6–11 are clearly Christian. Second, 3:13–4:22 also seems to be a self-contained unit. It disrupts the narrative with a Christian section which seems out of character with the rest of the story. Debate on this section has centered on the question of whether it existed at one time independently, and specifically whether it was part of a now-lost *Testament of Hezekiah.* Although the issue has not been settled, the "Testament of Hezekiah" has become a convenient title for this section. The presence of smaller Christian interpolations in chaps. 1–5 indicates that although the composite character of the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah* can be seen in a broad sense, the precise nature of the final Christian redaction is not clear. A few scholars have even suggested that the entire work is, in fact, a unified Christian composition, but their arguments have not been persuasive.

The *Martyrdom* begins with King Hezekiah summoning his son Manasseh in the presence of the prophet Isaiah and Josab the son of Isaiah. As Hezekiah instructs his son, Isaiah predicts Manasseh's apostasy and his own death at Manasseh's hands. When Manasseh becomes king, Isaiah's prophecy begins to be fulfilled. Isaiah withdraws to a mountain in the company of some other prophets. The false prophet Belkira learns of this and accuses Isaiah before Manasseh, who arrests Isaiah and has him sawn in half. The narrative, based loosely on several OT books, is striking in its affirmation that Isaiah was martyred by being sawn asunder. This tradition is not found in the OT, but it is recorded (with different details) in the Babylonian and the Jerusalem Talmuds. It is also reflected in the *Lives of the Prophets* (1st century C.E.) and in several patristic writers, and apparently stands behind Heb 11:37.

Also noteworthy is the demonology of the *Mart. Is.* The leader of the evil host is given several different names, most frequently Sammael, Beliar, and Satan. The strong dualism of this section has suggested to some scholars that the *Mart. Is.* is a product of the Qumran community, which shared a dualistic outlook (Flusser 1953, Philonenko 1967). Indeed, a few have even argued that the narrative reflects the early history of the community and its founder, the Teacher of Righteousness. But such arguments are highly speculative, and it should be noted that not only are the distinctive theological emphases of the Qumran

community absent from the *Mart. Is.*, but there have been no fragments of the Martyrdom found among the Qumran scrolls.

Between Isaiah's arrest and martyrdom comes the *Testament of Hezekiah* (3:13–4:22). This section describes a previous vision of Isaiah, which consists of four parts. The first part concerns the coming of the Beloved and the establishment of the church. Although some of the details are similar to the NT gospel accounts, especially Matthew, others—e.g., the Beloved's descent from/ascent to the seventh heaven (cf. *Ap. Jas.* 8–9); his transformation into the form of a man; the descent of the angel of the church; the role of the Holy Spirit and Michael in the resurrection, hoisting the Beloved onto their shoulders (cf. *Gos. Pet.* 10); the call to believe in the cross (cf. *Ap. Jas.* 6)—are different.

The second part of the *T. Hez.* describes the corruption of the church at the end of time. The key focus here is on the leaders of the church, the "elders" and the "shepherds," who are castigated for their worldliness and contentiousness and who will become so influential as to render ineffective the few remaining prophets.

The third part of the *T. Hez.* deals with the end-time reign of Beliar. He bears a strong resemblance to the Beast of Revelation 13, but the Neronic characterization is made more explicit here. Beliar's royal and miracle-working roles are emphasized, as well as his claim to deity. He will rule for 1335 days (cf. Dan 12:12), during which time he will persecute the "plant" (i.e., church). The few who remain faithful will flee as they await the coming of Jesus.

The final part of the *T. Hez.* depicts the coming of the Lord and the Final Judgment. Although there are strong parallels to Revelation 19–20, again there are significant differences. The most striking is the description of what happens to the saints. Those saints who have been reclothed with robes from the seventh heaven (i.e., those who have died) will descend with the Lord to strengthen those who are still alive and to serve in the world for an indefinite time. Afterwards, the rest of the saints will receive robes from above and will leave their bodies in this world. The *T. Hez.* concludes with a relatively lengthy section (added by the final redactor?) linking this vision with the canonical book of Isaiah, the OT Psalms and Proverbs, the Minor Prophets, Daniel, and, apparently, the Jewish pseudepigraphon known as the *Prayer of Joseph.*

The Christian perspective behind the *Testament of Hezekiah* is a fascinating blend of traditions both "canonical" (especially Matthew and Revelation) and "extracanonical" (e.g., *Gospel of Peter, Apocryphon of James*). The freedom with which the traditions are handled and mixed, coupled with matters such as the relatively primitive portrait of the church hierarchy and the strong Nero *redivivus* emphasis, suggest a late 1st century or early 2d century C.E. date. The distinctive Christology, along with the strong criticism of ecclesiastical leaders, might point to a "heterodox" community as that which produced the Testament.

The *Vision of Isaiah* narrates Isaiah's ascent through the seven heavens (cf., e.g., *Testament of Levi, 2 Enoch, 3 Baruch*). Like the *Mart. Is.*, the *Vis. Is.* begins with Isaiah and his son Josab in the presence of King Hezekiah. Many other dignitaries are present, along with a number of prophets. In the midst of this assembly, Isaiah receives a vision, which he then recounts to Hezekiah, Josab, and the prophets. First, an angel appears to Isaiah in order to take him on a journey. As he ascends, Isaiah views the struggle, led by Sammael, on earth. As he passes through the first five heavens, he sees and hears angels singing praises to the One who sits in the seventh heaven, with the glory increasing at each level. For the last two heavens, Isaiah is first taken into the "air" of the heaven before entering the heaven itself. In the air of the sixth heaven, the angel prepares him for his final ascent and what he is about to see. In the sixth heaven, which is significantly more glorious than the first five, Isaiah and his guide join the angels in praising the Father, his Beloved, and the Holy Spirit. In the air of the seventh heaven, the head angel of the sixth heaven attempts to prevent Isaiah from ascending any higher, but the voice of Christ permits him to proceed.

Isaiah then ascends to the seventh heaven, where he sees a wonderful light, innumerable angels, and all the righteous from Adam onwards, stripped of their flesh and clothed in robes from above. The angel predicts for Isaiah the descent of the Beloved into the world, his crucifixion and resurrection, and his remaining in the world for 545 days before his ascent back to the seventh heaven. Central to the prediction is the emphasis that the Beloved's true identity is concealed even from "the god of that world"

who puts him to death (cf. *Ign. Eph.* 19). Isaiah next sees the books which record the deeds of the children of Israel, and many robes, thrones, and crowns, which are reserved for those who will believe in the words of the Beloved and in his cross. Isaiah then sees and worships the Lord (i.e., Christ), the Holy Spirit, and the Great Glory (i.e., the Father). After hearing the Father commission Christ to descend *incognito* into the world, there to destroy "the princes and the angels and gods of that world" and to ascend again to his rightful place, Isaiah observes the descent and transformation of the Lord, his Virgin Birth, his crucifixion and resurrection, his commissioning of the twelve disciples, and his ascension. Again the concealment of his identity is emphasized, at least until his ascension, when he is recognized by all, much to their surprise. Also noteworthy is the Virgin Birth account, which is an amalgam of traditions, including some found in Matthew and others found in the *Protevangelium of James.* At this point Isaiah's vision ends. He tells Hezekiah to tell no one about the vision. A concluding postscript explains that it is because of these visions and prophecies that Sammael had Isaiah sawn in half by Manasseh.

The *Vision of Isaiah* contains some striking parallels to certain strands of Gnosticism, especially the Ophites, who, according to Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.30), affirmed Christ's descent through the seven heavens and his stay in the world for 545 days after his resurrection (cf. *Ap. Jas.* 2). As a result, some scholars have viewed the *Vis. Is.* as gnostic (Helmbold 1972). But there is no full-blown gnostic myth, Ophite or otherwise, in the *Vis. Is.* Thus, the precise relationship between the Vision and Gnosticism, or perhaps some primitive form of it, remains unclear.

In addition to its descent/transformation Christology, two theological motifs in the *Vis. Is.* stand out. First, there is a strong emphasis on the miraculous nature of Jesus' birth, almost to the point of denying the actual birth process altogether (cf. *Odes Sol.* 19). Second, there is a distinctive Trinitarian concern. On the one hand, worship in the seventh heaven is directed toward "the Lord" (i.e., Christ), the Holy Spirit (frequently called an "angel"), and the Father. On the other hand, both "the Lord" and the Holy Spirit worship and praise the Father, giving him a superior status.

The apparent quotation of 11:14 in the *Acts of Peter* 24 (ca. 190 C.E.) fixes the date of the Vision prior to the end of the 2d century C.E. Parallels with Ignatius (ca. 115 C.E.) and the *Protevangelium of James* (ca. 150 C.E.) might suggest a date in the first half of the 2d century. The clear reference to the *Vis. Is.* in 3:13 might even indicate that it was composed prior to the *T. Hez.*, thus pushing its date back to the end of the 1st century. But it is also possible that the *T. Hez.* was composed first, and that 3:13 was part of the final redaction, being an attempt to link the three strata together. A third possibility, given other parallels between the *T. Hez.* and the *Vis. Is.* (e.g., the descent of Christ from the seventh heaven, the appellation "the Beloved," the angel of the Holy Spirit, belief in the cross), is that the *T. Hez.* and the *Vis. Is.* were composed together and jointly redacted into the *Mart. Is.* In any event, the *Vis. Is.*, like the *T. Hez.*, is an intriguing blend of "canonical" and "extracanonical" traditions and was probably composed within a "heterodox" community.

The dating of the Coptic fragments to the mid-4th century C.E., points to a final redaction of the composite document prior to ca. 350, and probably considerably earlier. The final editor apparently added several other passages (e.g., 1:2b–6a, 7, 13; 2:9; 5:15–16) as well.

The *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah,* then, is an important document both as a witness to an ancient Jewish legend concerning Isaiah's martyrdom and as evidence for an early form of Christianity which set forth its distinctive understanding of its faith at a time before there was a fixed NT canon and before "orthodoxy" was clearly defined. For text see *APOT* 2: 155–62, *NTApocr* 2: 454–68, and *OTP* 2: 143–55.

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JOSEPH L. TRAFTON

**ISCAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yiskâ* (יִסְכָּה)]. Daughter of Haran and sister of Milcah (Gen 11:29). Later associations of Iscah with Sarah are not based on any clear evidence in the biblical text. The name itself appears to be a prefixed form of a weak verb, either *nsk,* "to pour" (referring to perfume; cf. Cassuto 1964: 277), or *skh,* "to see" (referring to divine favor at the birth of the child; cf. *EncMiqr* 3: 707). The former suggestion does not have onomastic parallels in Semitic personal names; the latter option does have such parallels, although the root *skh* is not attested in biblical Hebrew.

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RICHARD S. HESS

**ISCARIOT.** See JUDAS ISCARIOT.

**ISH-BOSHETH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾîs bōšet* (אִישׁ בֹּשֶׁת)]. An alternative, perhaps artificially created name for Saul's youngest son by Ahinoam bat Ahimaaz, Eshbaal. The present form is found consistently in the MT text of 2 Samuel and is reflected in LXX's *Iebosthe* (cf. *Memphibosthe,* 3:8; 2:8, 10, 12, 15; 3:8, 14, 15; 4:5, 8, 12), while the form Eshbaal is found exclusively in both textual traditions of the Saulide genealogy quoted in 1 Chr 8:33 (LXX *Asabal*); 9:39 (LXX *Isbaal*). It is generally thought that the form of the name in Chronicles with *baʿal* "master, possessor" is authentic, and that the term *bōšet,* "shame," was later substituted for the former divine epithet *baʿal* when it became commonly associated with the fertility god Baal (Geiger 1857: 301; Gray 1896: 121; *IPN* 118–19). "Baal" appears to have been an accepted epithet for Yahweh until the early monarchic period, but after this time, it seems to have become restricted to use for Yahweh's main rival, the Canaanite storm god.

other examples commonly cited to illustrate the substitution of *bōšet* for *baʿal* in personal names all derive from 2 Samuel: Saul's grandson Meribaal/Mephibosheth (1 Chr 8:34; 2 Sam 4:4); Jerubbaal/Jerubbesheth (Judg 6:32; 1 Sam 12:11; 2 Sam 11:21); and Josheb-basshebeth (2 Sam 23:8), which is thought to be a corruption of Ishbosheth, and presumably derived from an original Ishbaal, although the form Jashobeam occurs in 1 Chr 11:11 (Geiger 1857: 301; Tsevat 1975: 80–85). None of the three examples is airtight; the first involves a change in the first element of the name as well as the second; the second one was not vocalized by the Massoretes as *bōšet,* and may not have represented this element historically; and the third name never appears with the *baʿal* element. On the other hand, there are additional textual examples, (e.g., 1 Kgs 18:9, 25; Hos 9:10; Jer 11:13) where the title *baʿal* has been interchanged with the term *bōšet* in the LXX text (Dillmann 1881: 614–15; McCarter *II Samuel* AB, 86).

Additional names containing the element *baʿal* occur very infrequently in the Bible (Baal-hanan, Beeliada, Baanah, and Baasha), perhaps confirming the developing aversion to the term. In the case of Beeliada, an alternate form Eliada is found, possibly providing a variant solution to the elimination of the offensive *baʿal* element (Noth *IPN,* 119).

A small minority has suggested that the name form be accepted as genuine, arguing that the "bosheth" element represents the divine feature "dignity, pride," which became a divine epithet and type of guardian angel. It is attested in this sense in extrabiblical texts. According to this view, Ish-bohseth would have been either the person's original name, or possibly an additional throne name given to him when he succeeded Saul as king over Israel (Tsevat 1975).

Some have argued that a third form of the name of the same individual, Ishvi, occurs in 1 Sam 14:49 in the list of Saul's family members (e.g., *NHT* 92; Gray 1896: 121). The Lucianic LXX reading *Iessou* could preserve an original Hebrew reading **ʾîšyô*, "man of Yahweh." However, the appearance of Ishvi as the second-born son in this list, together with the absence of Abinadab and Eshbaal, who are named in the Chronicles genealogy as the two youngest sons of Ahinoam, tend to suggest that he is not identical with Eshbaal. He would seem to be an older son who died in his childhood (see AHINOAM; for the career of Ish-bosheth, see ESHBAAL).

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

**ISH-HAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾîš-ḥayi* (אִישׁ־חַי)]. According to the *Kĕṯiḇ*, Ish-hai is the father of Jehoiada, the father of Benaiah, but the *Qĕrēʾ*, "Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, was a valiant man" is the more commonly accepted reading (2 Sam 23:20). The *Qĕrēʾ*, which substitutes *ḥayil* for *ḥayi*, causes less problems grammatically and is found in the parallel text in 1 Chr 11:22.

PAULINE A. VIVIANO

**ISHBAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yišbāḥ* (יִשְׁבָּח)]. The father of Eshtemoa, mentioned in the genealogical list of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr 4:17). His siblings included Miriam and Shammai. Though there are problems with the Heb text, it appears that Ishbah is the son of Mered and Bithiah, the daughter of pharaoh. Bithiah is not mentioned until v 18 in the Heb, after the children of a Judean wife of Mered are listed. RSV placed the clause that refers to Bithiah in v 17 to clarify the apparent connection of Bithiah with the list (in v 17b) preceding that of the Judean wife's children (v 18a). As this seems the best way to make sense of the text, Ishbah then would not have been a pure-blooded Judahite. Note that there is no attempt in the text to exclude the descendants of foreign marriages (cf. Ackroyd *Chronicles Ezra Nehemiah* TBC, 36; and Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 29, who believes that this list is preexilic).

In discussing a class of Heb personal names that have to do with guilt and petitioning for forgiveness, Noth (*IPN* 211; cf. *IDB* 2: 746) links the name with the Heb root *šbḥ* to mean "may [God's wrath] subside."

KENNETH H. CUFFEY

**ISHBAK** (PERSON) [Heb *yišbāq* (יִשְׁבָּק)]. The fifth son of Abraham and Keturah (Gen 25:2; 1 Chr 1:32). Abraham, in order to remove rivals to Isaac's claim to his inheritance, provided gifts to Ishbak and his brothers and sent them to eastern areas (Gen 25:6). No descendants of Ishbak are mentioned in either list of Abraham and Keturah's offspring, making it impossible to trace his genealogical relationship to other groups (in contrast to Jokshan and Midian whose lines are traced through further generations).

RICHARD W. NYSSE

**ISHBI-BENOB** (PERSON) [Heb *yišbî bĕnōb* (יִשְׁבִּי בְנֹב)]. A Philistine champion descended from, or a votary of (McCarter *II Samuel* AB, 449–50) Raphah. Ishbi-Benob sought to kill David (2 Sam 21:16), but he was himself killed by Abishai, one of David's heroes (v 17). This episode appears as the first in a series of four episodes recounting the defeat of Philistine champions by David's warriors (2 Sam 21:15–22). Although variant versions of the latter three episodes are to be found in 1 Chr 20:4–8, Ishbi-Benob's threat to David's life, which took place at a time of the latter's weariness (2 Sam 21:15) and led to David's being barred by his troops from further battles (v 17), is not recounted in Chronicles (about

which see Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 243; Myers *I Chronicles* AB, 142). The first element of the name Ishbi-Benob is derived from the marginal MT *Qere* to 2 Sam 21:16, *wyšby.* The consonantal text, however, reads *wyšbw.* Most modern scholars have followed the *Kethib* and read the putative name as *wayyēšĕbû bĕgōb* "and they dwelt at Gob." This is achieved through the vocalization of the MT *Kethib* and the emendation of Nob to Gob on the basis of vv 18 and 19 (*NHT* 270–71; but see Ehrlich 1910: 331). Recently McCarter (p. 448) has restored the text of vv 15 and 16 on the basis of an originally marginal note which has crept into the LXX traditions in the vicinity of v 11, and on the basis of the Lucianic tradition in which the name Dadou son of Ioas appears in place of Ishbi-Benob. McCarter's suggestion is to restore the beginning of v 16 from the MT *wyšbw bnb‹šr* "and Jishbo of Nob, who" to *wyšbw (wayyišbēw)ddw bn yw‹š* "and Dodo son of Joash captured him [David]." The conjectured corruption of the MT would have been occasioned by the dropping of *ddw* by homoioteleuton and the change of *bn yw‹š* to *bnb ›sûr* under the influence of *bgwb* "in Gob" in vv 18 and 19, for which some manuscripts read *bnwb* "in Nob."

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**ISHHOD** (PERSON) [Heb *›îšhôd* (אִישְׁהוֹד)]. Manassite son of Hammolecheth (1 Chr 7:18). His name, suggesting (parental wishes for his) physical strength, probably meant "man of vitality" (*îš + hôd*) (Noth IPN, 225). His brothers were Abiezer and Mahlah, although the latter name may be feminine in form and so designate a sister (cf. Josh 17:3). In addition, Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 152) have proposed that Shemida (1 Chr 7:19), whose relation to the rest of the tribe of Manasseh in the chapter is uncertain, was Hammolecheth's fourth son. Few interpreters, however, have found this suggestion convincing. See SHEMIDA.

Although it is clear that Ishhod's mother was Hammolecheth, his father is not identified, and it is unclear why the name of his mother, rather than that of his father, is given in the genealogy. In addition, the relationship of Hammolecheth (and so Ishhod) to the rest of Manasseh is unclear. It seems most likely that she was the sister of Gilead (vv 17–18), although this is by no means certain. In this case, Ishhod's grandfather and great-grandfather would have been Gilead and Machir, respectively. See HAMMOLECHETH.

M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**ISHI** (DEITY) [Heb *›îšî* (אִישִׁי)]. KJV rendering (actually, transliteration) of Heb *›îšî* in Hos 2:18—Eng2:16. Most versions now translate *›îšî* as "my husband" (lit. "my man"). The context of the verse, Hosea 2 (in a broader sense, Hosea 1–3), likens the covenant relationship of God (Yahweh) with Israel (here, specifically, the N kingdom) to a marriage, in which Yahweh is the husband and Israel the wife. Israel at present (during the reign of Jeroboam II), according to Hos 2:4–15—Eng2:2–13, is the unfaithful spouse, but, as vv 16–25—Eng 14–23 announce, she will be led to repentance and a return to Yahweh. In that future day of renewed, restored fellowship with Yahweh, Israel (according to the imagery of the marriage metaphor) will call Yahweh *›îšî,* "my husband" (cf. v 4—Eng 2), no longer calling him *ba‹lî,* "my lord" (v 18—Eng 16). This change in terms of address for Yahweh signifies the change that will take place in the nation. The old term, *ba‹al,* which can also be translated "husband," comes from a verbal root meaning "to rule over," "to possess." When *ba‹al* is used in the sense of "husband," there often is an implied emphasis on the formal, contractual relationship between the man and woman, on the legal rights of the man as husband ("lord") of the woman (Gen 20:3; Exod 21:3, 22; Deut 22:22; 24:4; cf. 2 Sam 11:26). On the other hand, *›îš* ("man"), used in the sense of "husband," can carry connotations of the man as counterpart, companion of the woman, of his being in a close relationship with the woman (Gen 2:23–24; 3:6; cf. Gen 3:16; 29:32, 34; 30:15, 20; 2 Sam 14:5; 2 Kgs 4:1). In the context of Hosea 2, *›îšî* is a more personal, intimate term than *ba‹lî.* When Israel at some future date is brought to repentance and renewal, she will no longer call Yahweh her "lord," someone she grudgingly has to acknowledge as her

husband simply because she is bound to him by legal contract. Rather, she will sincerely, affectionately call Yahweh *ʾîšî,* "my man," "my husband," genuinely loving him and willingly remaining faithful to him.

However, Hos 2:18—Eng2:16 has further meaning. Because the word translated " (my) lord" is also the name of the great Canaanite deity Baal, *baʿal,* and because of the context (see 2:10, 15, and especially 19—Eng2:8, 13, 17), this verse should also be seen as a polemic against Baal worship. Such an understanding assumes that the Israelites referred to Yahweh as *baʿal,* "lord," which, according to onomastic data, was the case. In some instances, at least during earlier times, this was done apparently in an innocent, uncompromising fashion. By the 8th century, though, any use of *baʿal* in a religious connection would be dangerous. If mentioned in reference to Yahweh, *baʿal* could still have the generic sense "lord," yet nevertheless would be suggestive of the Canaanite deity; worse, it could indicate a syncretism, in which Yahweh was venerated as Baal. Thus, according to the marriage metaphor of Hosea 2, when Israel in the future will no longer call Yahweh *baʿlî,* "my lord," but *ʾîšî,* "my husband," the underlying message is twofold. Israel will be lovingly devoted to Yahweh and—what goes hand in hand with this—there will be no problem with, not even any reminder of, Baal worship. There will only be pure worship of Yahweh.

WALTER A. MAIER III

**ISHI** (PERSON) [Heb *yišʿî* (יִשְׁעִי)]. **1.** The son of Appaim and descendant of Jerahmeel (1 Chr 2:31). He was the father of Sheshan. This verse occurs as part of a general chiastic structure within the genealogy of Judah, with the descendants of Jerahmeel forming the central unit of the chiasm (Williamson 1979). LXX$^{B}$ reads *Isemiēl* for the MT *yišʿî.* The MT of 1 Chr 2:31 is puzzling since it introduces Ishi as the son of Appaim and Sheshan as the son of Ishi with the plural, *bĕnê,* even though only one son is mentioned each time. It may be that this is simply a scribal error since the plural is regularly used throughout 1 Chronicles 2 for the introduction of groups of sons. However, the possibility exists that such a genealogical list does not refer to individuals but to families or clans designated by their ancestor. It is well known that such lists often reflect important social and political relationships between different groups at the time of their composition (Wilson 1980). Although it is impossible to date this list, the importance of Judah in the work of the Chronicler meant that groups attached to this genealogy were accorded a privileged position. It might well be that the purpose was to legitimate the position of various clans or groups during the time of the Chronicler (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 38–47).

**2.** The father of Zoheth and Betzoheth of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr 4:20). The name occurs in what appears to be a disconnected list of the members of the tribe of Judah (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 57). The connection of Ishi to the tribe of Judah means that it attains a privileged position in the work and time of the Chronicler. Williamson (1979) understands vv 20–23 as the conclusion of the intricate chiasm which comprises the genealogy of Judah.

**3.** A Simeonite whose sons are said to have destroyed the remnant of the Amalekites at Mount Seir and to have settled in the area (1 Chr 4:42). The Syriac reads "these four men sons of Ishi came" for MT "sons of Ishi." 1 Chr 4:34–43 contains traditions of the movements of various groups and their acquisition of territory. This information is peculiar to the Chronicler which makes it difficult to assess its historical value. It is reported that four sons of Ishi led five hundred Simeonites to Mount Seir where they destroyed "the remnant of the Amalekites" and occupied their territory. It is not known if the phrase "the remnant of the Amalekites" refers to those who escaped David's pursuit and massacre of the Amalekites following their looting of Ziklag (1 Sam 30:17). This tradition seems to reflect a claim to land but it is difficult to date or to be precise about its social location.

**4.** A member of the tribe of Manasseh and head of a clan (1 Chr 5:24). Ishi is mentioned with six others as a warrior and famous man. Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 78) believes that these phrases, which are common in Chronicles, have military associations and may indicate that the information is derived from an old military source. The explanation that their exile was due to apostasy reflects one of the major themes of the Deuteronomistic History (1 Chr 5:25–26; cf. 2 Kgs 17:7–23). However, it is not entirely

clear whether 5:25–26 applies to all the groups mentioned throughout the chapter or simply the seven clans referred to in 5:24.

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KEITH W. WHITELAM

**ISHMA** (PERSON) [Heb *yišmāʿ* (יִשְׁמָא)]. A Judahite, the brother of Jezreel, Idbash, and Hazzelelponi (1 Chr 4:3). LXX identifies Ishma (Gk *ragma*) as a son of Etam (RSV adopts this reading), while MT refers to him as a father of Etam. In the latter case, Etam would probably denote a group of people at a particular location (the Etam near Bethlehem, modern Kh. el-Khokh?; *LBHG* 272, 434). Or possibly something has dropped out of the text "and these were the father of Etam" *(wĕʾēlleh ʾābî ʿêṭām)* between "these" and "father." See discussion of the text at HAZZELELPONI. The name Ishma is a shortened form of Ishmael (*yišmāʿēʾl,* "God hears," Gen 16:11; HALAT 2, 426; cf. *IPN*, 28, 39, 198).

KENNETH H. CUFFEY

**ISHMAEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yišmāʿēʾl* (יִשְׁמָעֵאל)]. The name of six persons in the OT.

**1.** The son of Hagar and Abraham (Gen 16; 17:18–26; 21:8–21; 25:9, 12–17; 28:9; 36:3; 1 Chr 1:28–31) and the eponymous ancestor of the Ishmaelites. See ISHMAELITES; HAGAR.

**2.** Son of Nethaniah. One of the Judean troop commanders who, following the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/586 B.C.E., chose to join Gedaliah, the ruler of Judah, at his administrative center at Mizpah (Jer 40:7–8; 2 Kgs 25:23). Ishmael was a member of the royal house (Jer 41:11; 2 Kgs 25:25) and "one of the chief officers of the king" (Jer 41:1).

Apparently incited by Baalis (an Ammonite seal impression discovered in 1984 reveals that the correct spelling of this name is *Baʿalyišʿa*), king of the Ammonites (cf. Jer 40:14), Ishmael and ten of his men assassinated Gedaliah during a meal shared with Gedaliah on their arrival in Mizpah. (According to Jer 40:13–16, Gedaliah did not believe a warning issued by Johanan, and rejected Johanan's offer to kill Ishmael secretly.) Ishmael also murdered some of Gedaliah's supporters and a number of Babylonians, possibly men attached to a Babylonian garrison stationed at Mizpah (Jer 41:1–3; 2 Kgs 25:25). Although the Hebrew Bible does not give the year of the assassination, the fact that the text states only that it took place "in the seventh month" (Jer 41:1; 2 Kgs 25:25) implies that the assassination occurred in the same year as the fall of Jerusalem ("in the fourth month," Jer 39:2). But it is also possible that Gedaliah remained in power for a few years, and that it was his assassination which led to the deportation which, according to Jer 52:30 (cf. Josephus, *Ant* 10.9.7), took place in Nebuchadnezzar's 23d year (582/581 B.C.E.).

On the day following Gedaliah's assassination, Ishmael treacherously slaughtered a number of pilgrims en route from N Israel to Jerusalem. Their bodies were cast into a cistern built by King Asa of Judah (Jer 41:4–9). Ishmael then set out for Ammon, taking as hostages the daughters of the king who had been entrusted to Gedaliah, and "the rest of the people who were in Mizpah" (Jer 41:10). Ishmael's plans were foiled when he and his band were intercepted at Gibeon by Johanan and other troop commanders and their men. With only eight of his supporters, Ishmael was able to escape to Ammon (Jer 41:15). Fearing Babylonian reprisals for the assassination of Gedaliah (Jer 41:18; 2 Kgs 25:26), Johanan and "all the remnant of Judah" rejected Yahweh's word as spoken by the prophet Jeremiah and fled to Egypt (Jer 41:16–43:7). These events are related in some detail in Jer 40:7–43:7. 2 Kgs 25:22–26 contains only a brief account of the appointment and assassination of Gedaliah, and the flight to Egypt. There is no reference to this material in either Chronicles or Jeremiah 52.

The Hebrew Bible does not say what motivated Ishmael to assassinate Gedaliah. It can be assumed, however, that Ishmael was a staunch nationalist who would have viewed Gedaliah not only as a traitor who had collaborated with the Babylonians but also as the usurper of a role which rightfully belonged to the house of David. (No title is given for the office to which Gedaliah, a member of the prominent family

of Shaphan, was appointed by the Babylonians; while it is usually assumed that Gedaliah's appointment was to the office of "governor," one must also reckon with the possibility that he was appointed "king" [see *IJH*, 421–23].) Although Ishmael may have been motivated by nothing more than an intense hatred for both Gedaliah and the Babylonians, it is also possible that as a member of the house of David he also entertained the hope of laying claim to the throne of Judah (cf. Josephus, *Ant* 10.9.3), perhaps with the support of the Ammonites (cf. Jer 40:14).

Ishmael's assassination of Gedaliah is of pivotal importance in the chain of events leading from Gedaliah's appointment to the flight to Egypt. Both Jer 40:7–43:7 and 2 Kgs 25:22–26 underscore the view that hope for the future lies not with those who remained in the land (and who later left for Egypt), but rather with the exiles in Babylon.

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**3.** A Benjaminite, and descendant of Saul in the thirteenth generation (1 Chr 8:38; 9:44). Accordingly, he should have lived in the 7th century B.C.

**4.** The father of Zebadiah, "chief" (Heb *nāgîd*) of Judah at the time of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 19:11). The historicity of Jehoshaphat's juridical reform (2 Chr 19:4–11) is difficult to defend (Welten 1973: 142, 184–85); so is the assumption of a Judean "chief" in the preexilic period; the constellation king—high priest—secular leader of Judah recalls the political structure of the Persian province Yehud.

**5.** A captain (literally "officer of hundred") operative in the revolt against Athaliah in the version of the Chronicler, 2 Chr 23:1. The officers are nameless in the Chronicler's source, 2 Kgs 11:4; calling them by names follows the same line as the other "improvements" introduced by the Chronicler into the account of 2 Kings 11.

**6.** A priest found guilty of marrying a foreign woman, and who subsequently agreed to divorce her (Esra 10:22).

The name Ishmael means "God listened (namely, to the parents' prayer)" and is attested throughout W Semitic, from Amorite to Safaitic (Knauf 1989: 38, n. 170). In Hebrew, it was a very popular name in the 7th (#3) and 6th (#2) centuries, and in the postexilic period (#4–6). Epigraphical attestations of the name show the same distribution; there may be up to nine Ishmaels in Avigad's bullae from the time of Jeremiah (1986).

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**ISHMAEL, RABBI.** Leading rabbinic authority of the first third of the 2d century B.C.E. (contemporary with but in the long run overshadowed by Akiba ben Joseph); Ishmael's father was named Elisha, but in recognition of his importance he is often named in ancient sources without his patronymic. It has long been taken as established that Ishmael and Akiba were the founders of two rival schools of exegesis, of which Ishmael's was characterized by a tendency to treat biblical language as ordinary language while Akiba treated it as a special discourse in which every particle and every letter had specific meaning (so, e.g., Heschel 1962–65), but recent scholarship has cast doubt on the idea that two so clearly distinct hermeneutical systems can be isolated from the extant texts (see Porton 1976–82 4: 159–211). In any event, several of the most important early midrashic elaborations of the Pentateuch (chiefly *Mek.* de-Rabbi Ishmael and *Sipre* Num.) are widely attributed to his school, as the traditional title of the first

clearly indicates; elsewhere in rabbinic literature many additional exegetical traditions are ascribed to those of the house/school of *R. Ishmael.* The introductory section of *Sipra* contains a list of thirteen rules for the proper exegesis of the Torah which also is attributed to Ishmael, even though *Sipra* as a whole is usually assigned to the school of Akiba; this list was eventually incorporated into the daily prayer book.

The nature of rabbinic literature makes it difficult to reach secure conclusions about the details of Ishmael's life or teachings, but it can be noted that numerous sources (e.g., *b. Ketub.* 105b; *Ḥul.* 49a; *t. Ḥal.* 1:10) assign him a priestly ancestry, and that he seems at some point to have taken up residence in the southern portion of the Land of Israel (*Ketub.* 5:8). A widespread tradition includes among the martyrs of the Hadrianic persecution a teacher named Ishmael (see, e.g., *Mek.* Neziqin 18), but aside from Finkelstein (1938) and Porton (1976–82: 2.129–33) most modern authorities agree that the reference, if at all historical, must have been to some other individual (see Lieberman 1973: 737–38, Safrai *EncJud* 9:83–86).

In the mystical literature of the *hêkālôt* ("heavenly palaces"), Ishmael's name appears very frequently; in fact he and Akiba are the main teachers in whose names these traditions are reported. No satisfactory explanation of this connection has been proposed. Talmudic tradition reports that Akiba was also connected to the *merkābâ* movement (chariot-throne mysticism), but asserts no such link for Ishmael. Perhaps Ishmael's name was attached to these materials through his well-known association with Akiba.

J. Neusner (1969) has observed that the names of Ishmael's closest disciples are generally absent from the Mishnah, and has hypothesized that Ishmael's followers fled to Babylonia during the Bar Kokhba war and the Hadrianic persecution and did not all return to Israel when it later became possible to do so; this would imply a very important role for Ishmael's students in the transfer of rabbinic Judaism to Babylonia during the middle and late 2d century C.E.

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**ISHMAELITES** [Heb *yišmĕʿēʾlîm* (יִשְׁמְעֵאלִים)]. In the OT there are five contexts in which this group of people is mentioned. In the Joseph story, it is variously the Ishmaelites or the Midianites (or both together) who transport and sell Joseph to Egypt (Gen 27:25, 27ff.; 39:1). In Judg 8:24 the Midianites are (again) called Ishmaelites. The Ishmaelites are listed in Ps 83:7 among a number of peoples hostile to Israel (Edomites, Moabites, Hagarites, and Amalekites). 1 Chr 2:17 identifies one of David's officials as an Ishmaelite, who is identified as an "Israelite" in 2 Sam 17:25. According to 1 Chr 27:30 an Ishmaelite was in charge of David's camels.

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A. Name and Identification
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**A. Name and Identification**

**1. Ishmael.** Ishmael, the eponymous ancestor of the Ishmaelites, and his mother Hagar are the subject of two biblical narratives. According to Genesis 16, Abram fathered Ishmael, but the jealous Sarai drove the

still-pregnant Hagar into the desert (vv 3–6). There an angel revealed to Hagar the eventual destiny of the child she would soon bear. However, in v 15 (usually assigned to P, but see Thompson 1987: 89–91) Abram is portrayed as being present for the birth of his son, and indeed it is he who gives the child the name "Ishmael."

In Gen 21:1–21, Sarah, after giving birth to Isaac, (again) incites Abraham to expel Hagar and Ishmael, who at this time is at least 15 or 16 years old (cf. 16:16 with 21:5, 8). In a passage that has long baffled commentators, the outcast Hagar carries her (approximately 15-year-old) son into the wilderness, where she abandons the crying child (Heb *yeled,* usually reserved for sub-teenagers!) under a bush (vv 14–16). At this point, an angel intervenes and (again) reveals the destiny of the child.

It is evident from the repeated emphasis on Ishmael's destiny that these two similar stories serve an ethnographic purpose: "He will be a wild ass of a man, his fist against all, and everyone's fist against him" (16:12). This verse describes not an individual person, but the bedouin lifestyle. The same holds true for Gen 21:20–21 (Knauf 1989: 22–24). However, this does not mean that the intention behind the two narratives is solely ethnographic (cf. Trible 1984: 9–35; Görg 1986).

In the P source (or redactional layer), the basic content of the two narratives, Genesis 16 and 21:1–21, is condensed into four sentences and a short dialogue. Gen 16:3 and 16:15–16 state the relationship between Abram, Hagar, and Ishmael baldly. When Abram fails to believe God's promise of another son and wishes to designate Ishmael as heir of the covenant, Yahweh rejects this (Gen 17:15–19). Abram is reassured, however, that Ishmael shall also become the father of a large people (v 20). The fulfillment of this promise is described in Gen 25:12–17, where the twelve sons of Ishmael, all well-known and powerful Arab tribes, are listed.

*Yisûma> (<)el* is a typical W Semitic personal name, a sentence name of the type imperfect (preterite) plus subject (theophorous element). The type is attested from the earliest W Semitic texts (second half of the 3d millennium B.C.) to Pre-Islamic Arabic (first half of the 1st millennium A.D.; Knauf 1989: 38, n. 170). Even without the stories about Ishmael in Genesis 16 and 21, and the list of the sons of Ishmael in Gen 25:12–17, it could still be concluded from the generic term *yišmĕʿ (ʾ)ēlîm* that this group of tribes derived itself from an eponymous ancestor named *yišmaʿʾēl.*

**2. Sons of Ishmael.** It is a subject of scholarly dispute whether the "Ishmaelites" of the biblical sources outside the P source have anything to do with the "Sons of Ishmael" listed in Genesis 25; and, whether there are extrabiblical references to "Ishmael" as an ethnonym, particularly with reference to the Arabian tribal entity *Su-mu- (ʾ-)AN,* mentioned by Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal (see B below). The "Sons of Ishmael," in any case, are well attested both inside and outside the OT.

NEBAIOTH (ancient Arabic **Nabayāt*) is called the "firstborn of Ishmael," and listed first in Gen 25:13. This may reflect a specific Palestinian point of view (Knauf 1989: 108–9). His sister is married to Esau/Edom in Gen 28:9 and Gen 36:3 (with two different names, cf. Knauf 1989: 93, n. 509). For Isa 60:7, they are breeders of small stock *par excellence.* Ashurbanipal seems to have been the first Assyrian ruler who established contacts with this Arabian tribe (Ephʿal 1982: 221f.; Knauf 1989: 93–95). According to the Thamudic inscriptions from Jebel Ghuneim near Taymâʾ, the people of Taymâʾ had to fight at least one war against the *nbyt* (**Nabayāt;* Winnett and Reed 1970: 90–92). These inscriptions are dated to the 6th century B.C. by Winnett (1980), and to ca. 400 B.C. by Roschinski (1980) and Knauf (1989: 76–77). Linguistically, it is impossible to connect the later Nabataeans with the Nebaioth; historically, it can be argued that the Nabataeans derived from the Qedarites (Knauf 1989: 92–111).

KEDAR (more properly, Qedar) is listed second in Gen 25:13, but was undoubtedly the most numerous and the most powerful tribe among the "Sons of Ishmael." Queens, and later kings, of the Qedarites are attested in the Assyrian inscriptions from 738 B.C. until the reign of Ashurbanipal (see C below; Ephʿal 1982: 223–227; Knauf 1989: 2–5, 66, 96–108). In 599/98 B.C., the Neo-Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar led a campaign against this tribe. The Babylonian offensive is reflected in Jer 49:28–33 (Dumbrell 1972; Knauf 1989: 103). For Jeremiah (2:10), and for Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah (42:10 and 60:5–9), these represent in general the inhabitants of the desert E of Palestine. The latest texts that refer to them are Ezek 27:21; Isa 21:16f.; Cant 1:5; and Pliny, *HN* V.11. (12).65.

ADBEEL, probably identical with Nodab (1 Chr 5:19; Albright 1956: 13; Knauf 1989: 67–68), is attested in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (Eph›al 1982: 215f.; Knauf 1989: 66–67).

MIBSAM and MISHMA occur together in 1 Chr 4:25 in the genealogy of Simeon. This may reflect the presence of members of these two tribes in S Palestine in the Persian period (Knauf 1989: 68). Mishma may be mentioned by Ashurbanipal under the name of Išamme›, which can represent Arabic **Yus$_1$āmi‹,* an imperfect of the III stem with the meaning " (The ones) who joined Ishmael–*S$_1$ama‹›il*" (Weippert, *RLA* 5: 172–73; Knauf 1989: 9, n. 40).

DUMAH, in classical Arabic Dūmat al-Jandal, now al-Jawf at the lower end of the Wādī Sirḥān, was the political and cultic center of the Qedarites during the reigns of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon (Knauf 1989: 69, 81–88). Whether Isa 21:11–12 relates to this central N Arabian town is unclear.

MASSA is mentioned in Assyrian texts from the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. (Albright 1956; Eph›al 1982: 218; Knauf 1983b) and in 4th century B.C. Thamudic inscriptions from Jebel Ghuneim near Taymâ› (Winnett and Reed 1970: 101–2). ¸Massa›$^{w}$ is usually restored in Ps 120:5 (Müller, *TRE* 3: 573, but cf. Knauf 1989: 72, with n. 363) and in Prov 30:1. The admonitions of Prov 31:1–9 are attributed to the mother of a "king of Massa›."

HADAD may be attested as a clan in the Jebel Ghuneim inscriptions (Knauf 1989: 73–74). This would place the tribe in the vicinity of Taymâ›.

TEMA (or Taymâ›) was a major trade center in N Arabia, as is attested by Jer 25:23–24; Isa 21:13–15; Job 6:19. The town paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III in 734 B.C. For ten years (between 553 and 543 B.C.) it was the residence of the Neo-Babylonian king Nabonidus. When the Minaeans gained the supremacy over the incense route from the Sabaeans (cf. Job 6:19!) ca. 400 B.C., Taymâ›s role in the trans-Arabian trade seems to have declined to the favor of Dedan/el-‹Ulā, where the Minaeans established a colony (Knauf 1989: 74–80). How much of the archaeological and epigraphical heritage of Taymâ› derives from the time of Nabonidus (Bawden et al. 1980; Bawden 1981; 1983; Winnett 1980; Abu-Duruk 1986) or rather from the Persian period (Roschinski 1980; Knauf 1983c: 37–41), is disputed. Recent archaeological work has enhanced our understanding of this heritage considerably (Livingstone et al. 1983; Aggoula 1985; Cross 1986).

JETUR is apparently located in N Transjordan according to 1 Chr 5:19 (a tradition most probably stemming from the Persian period). The tribe, better known under its Greek/Latin name "Ituraeans," moved into the Biqa‹ valley of Lebanon in the 2d century B.C. and became famous—or infamous—for its fierce raids (Marfoe 1979: 23–25; Knauf 1984: 19–21). The Roman imperial army recruited from them a number of elite units of archers. The Ituraeans are attested in Safaitic inscriptions as well as in the Greek and Latin literary record (Knauf 1983c: 41–47; 1989: 80f).

NAPHISH is associated with Jetur in 1 Chr 5:19, but with Massa› in a recently published cuneiform letter to the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (K 5580 = CT 53, 289; Knauf 1983b: 34–36).

KEDEMAH (or Qedmah) is the only "son of Ishmael" not attested in any extrabiblical source, giving rise to the assumption that this "tribe" is nothing but a transformation of the *"lang513 bene qedem"* (the "People of the East") into a tribe in order to make the number of Ishmael's sons the requisite twelve.

**B. History of Research**

The basic outlines of a history of the Ishmaelites that became the accepted view for over a century were drawn by T. Nöldeke in 1864 (pp. 3–6). According to this view, the Ishmaelites were part of the early history, or even prehistory, of Israel, not attested after ca. 1000 B.C. With the *formgeschichte* school of thought, the assumption of a J source and an E source in the Pentateuch, and the widely shared acceptance of an early date for both, it became possible to see in the Ishmaelites only a minor tribe in the Negeb desert of S Palestine, somehow bordering upon the "Isaac-People" around Beersheba. This view was based upon Genesis 16; 21:1–21; 37:25; 27f.; 39:1; 1 Chr 2:17; 27:30; and Judg 8:24, but had to ignore the Assyrian evidence which was not yet known to Nöldeke. However, this evidence was known to Meyer (1906: 322–26) and Noth (*RGG* 3: 935–36), who nonetheless reconstructed their histories of the Ishmaelites along similar lines.

Full justice was done to the Assyrian evidence by Dumbrell (1970: 184–246). According to him, the Ishmaelites were a major tribal confederacy extending all over N Arabia. They took over from the Midianites ca. 1100 B.C., and were succeeded, in turn, by the Qedarites in the 8th century B.C., who in turn fell victim to the Nabataeans. Knauf (1989) agrees with Dumbrell's geographical and political concept of the Ishmaelites, but not with his dating. The Midianites, according to his view, do not belong in this series of N Arabian desert supremacies (Knauf 1983a; 1988), nor were the relationships between the Ishmaelites and the Qedarites, or between the Qedarites and the Nabataeans, as antagonistic as Dumbrell assumes, if for no other reason than because the latter (in each case) were originally a tribe (or a clan) of the former.

Eph›al (1982), who most completely collated the cuneiform evidence for Arab tribes of the first half of the 1st millennium B.C., returned to the view that the Ishmaelites, a S Palestinian tribe not of Arab extraction and not attested later than 1000 B.C., had nothing to do with the various "sons of Ishmael" subsequently listed by the P source of the Pentateuch and attested in the Assyrian, Aramaic, and ancient N Arabian inscriptions (Eph›al 1982: 233–240). Knauf (1989), on the contrary, assumes that Genesis 16; 21:1–21; 25:12–17, and the Assyrian texts of the 8th–7th centuries B.C. all testify to the same ethnic and political entity: an Ishmaelite tribal confederacy extending over the whole of N Arabia from the time of Tiglath-pileser III to the time of Ashurbanipal.

The issues underlying these different views are the date and the reliability of the OT references to Ishmael, and the question whether biblical Ishmael is identical with the ethnic group *Su-mu- (›)-il* mentioned by Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal. The answer to the first question depends on one's position with respect to recent discussions of the Pentateuchal sources. According to Eph›al, who wrote the bulk of his work before this discussion was renewed in the 1980s, all biblical references to Ishmael antedate the end of the 10th century B.C. It is only the list in Gen 25:12–17 that must be later, according to the epigraphic evidence for the tribes listed therein. Eph›al assumes that the author of this list sought a common ancestor for the individual Arab tribes of his day, and that he found the traditional (but by his time meaningless) name of Ishmael suitable for this purpose (Eph›al 1976; 1982: 233–240). For Knauf, the oldest traditions in Genesis 16; 25:13–15; 37:25, 27f.; and 39:1 are more or less contemporary (early to mid-7th century B.C.; see Knauf 1989: 35–45, 61–65). In his view, Gen 21:1–21 is later than the P account (which consists of Genesis 17; 25:12–17; Knauf 1989: 16–25). Also 1 Chr 2:17; 27:30; Ps 83:7 are assumed to be without historical value for the preexilic period (Knauf 1989: 10–14), as is Judg 8:24, which is a gloss from the exilic period.

As for the identity of *Yišma‹›el* and *Šumu›il* (*Su-mu-*[›-]AN), Eph›al denies any possibility of the equation (1976: 230; 1982: 167, 230). He does not realize, however, that Assyrian *s* consistently represents W Semitic *š* in proper names, and that Assyrian *u* occurs in a number of Arabian names in Assyrian transcriptions instead of Semitic *a* (probably due to a pronunciation in ancient Arabic that resembled the *tafkhīm* of contemporary Arabic). Assyrian Šumu›il therefore renders, in all likelihood, an ancient N Arabian tribal name *S₁ama‹ (›)il,* which had the same meaning as *Yišma‹ (›)il.* Both historically and linguistically, the identity of Ishmael/*Yišma‹›il* with Šumu›il/*S₁ama‹ (›)il* is highly probable (Knauf 1989: 5–9, 45).

Minor points at issue are the identity of Beer-Lahai-Roi (Gen 16:13f.) and that of the mother of Ishmael, Hagar. According to the *formgeschichte* method, the enigmatic passage Gen 16:13f. is the core of the "tradition," originating in connection with a place of unknown location, Beer-Lahai-Roi, which was the Ishmaelites' cultic center where they worshipped a certain El-Roi (Noth, *RGG* 3: 935–36, and many others). According to Knauf (1989: 45–49), Gen 16:13f. is a postexilic learned addition to Gen 16:1–12, a short story of high literary quality. Lahai-Roi *(lḥyr›y)* is structurally possible as an ancient N Arabian personal or tribal name. A tribe or a clan of this name may have given its name to a well within its area of pasturage. There is no hard evidence that a god "El Roi" ever existed. The cultic center of the Ishmaelites was Duma, and their deities were ‹Attaršamayn, Da›a (y), Nuha (y), Ruḍā, Ab (b)irīlu, and ‹Attar-Qurumâ (Knauf 1989: 81–88).

Hagar has been connected with the Hagarites, an Arab tribe of N Transjordan and central Arabia in the Persian and early Hellenistic periods. The problem, however, arises from the fact that the Hagarites are attested later than the Ishmaelites (Meyer 1906: 328; Knauf 1989: 49–52). The most prominent "Hagar" of the ANE was a trading metropolis in E Arabia, the Gerrha of the Greek sources (see HAGAR). It is possible that the Hagar-Ishmael relationship depicted in the OT actually indicates some sort of political relationship between the central N Arabian Ishmaelites and E Arabia in the 1st millennium B.C. For the time being, however, nothing can be said positively due to the lack of sufficient archaeological and epigraphical data on E Arabia for the period 1500–500 B.C. (Potts 1983; Knauf 1989: 53–55; but cf. also Potts 1984 and 1985).

The contributions of Musil to the history of N Arabia in the 1st millennium B.C. remained outside the mainstream of scholarly discussion. This explorer discussed most of the tribes, and the sources that were available in his day, in the appendices of his travelogues (Musil 1926; 1927). However, he completely disregarded the secondary literature and was in turn disregarded in subsequent research. It is his original observations on Arab tribal life at the beginning of the 20th century, more than his attempts in historical reconstruction, that make his books a necessity for anyone who wants to study the ancient Arabs.

**C. The Rise and Decline of the Ishmaelites**

The Ishmaelites were the first central N Arabian desert power to appear in history. The Midianites (end of the 2d millennium B.C.) had been geographically a rather restricted group of sedentary and semisedentary agriculturalists, pastoralists, craftsmen, and traders; they never exerted political power beyond their small homeland (Knauf 1983a; 1988). The participation of the Arab Gindibu with 1000 camels in the battle of Qarqar in 853 B.C. (Eph›al 1982: 75–77) remained an isolated episode not to be repeated for the next hundred years. The Ishmaelite tribal confederacy that reached its zenith during the heyday of the Assyrian empire comprised camel-breeding bedouin tribes and oasis towns. Tribes and towns together were able to organize and control long-distance trade through the deserts of Arabia. The Assyrian references to Ishmael/Šumu›il all belong to the 7th century B.C. Some of the tribes of Ishmael, however, are attested as early as the end of the 8th century B.C.; attestations continue through the 3d century B.C. (Qedar) and even later (Yetur). The rise and decline of the Ishmaelite tribal confederacy can be traced as follows:

**1. The 8th Century B.C.** The first reference to a tribe of the *Yišma‹›el/Šumu›il/S$_1$ama‹›il* confederacy comes from the year 738 B.C., when Tiglath-pileser III campaigned in N and central Syria and received a tribute of male and female camels from Zabībê, queen of the Qedarites (Weippert 1973; Eph›al 1982: 82f.; Knauf 1989: 4f.; see *ANET*, 283). While this Assyrian king laid siege to Damascus in 733 B.C., he conducted a campaign against another queen of the "Arabs," Shamshî, whom he regarded as successor to Zabībê, charging Shamshî with having broken Zabibe's oath of fealty. His booty consisted of camels, incense, and spices (Eph›al 1982: 83–87; Knauf 1989: 3f.; see *ANET*, 283). The same Shamshî paid tribute to Sargon II in 716 B.C., together with the Pharaoh of Egypt and Yitha‹›amar (i.e., Yatha‹›amar Bayyin bin Sumuhū‹alīy) of Saba› (Knauf 1989: 2f.; see *ANET*, 286). This tribute was due, in all probability, to the Assyrian seizure of Gaza, the Mediterranean port of the incense route. In a similar situation a number of tribes and towns of Ishmael had already paid tribute to the Assyrians in 734 B.C. These were Massa›, Taymâ›, and Adbe›el, who acted together with the Midianite tribe of ‹Epha, two other tribes, and the Sabaeans (see *ANET*, 284). This list of Arabian tribes, towns, and states, all of which can be aligned along the incense route through W Arabia, are the first attestation of this route and its trade (Weippert 1982: 25, 51; Knauf 1989: 2, n. 10; 3, n. 16).

The picture that emerges is quite clear: at the end of the 8th century B.C., the tribes of Ishmael, or at least some of them, dwelt along the incense route and controlled the incense trade. One of them, the Qedarites, held a territory that spread from the central Syrian desert through S Syria to S Palestine. See Fig. ISH.01. The extent of the tribal territory implies that it was a camel-breeding tribe; an implication supported by the listing of camels among the tributes paid. It is not known whether or not the tribes of Ishmael, or some of them, formed a confederacy as early as the end of the 8th century.

A cylinder seal, bought at the Syrian port city of Jeble, once belonged to *Baraq ʿabd ʿAttaršamayn*. ʿAttarsamayn (a goddess) was the chief deity of the Ishmaelites. It is possible, therefore, that the seal belonged to an official (e.g., a priest with political functions) of the confederacy who had it inscribed with his name. The inscription dates to the 8th (Knauf 1989: 82, n. 445) not the 9th century B.C. (Herr 1978: 40) and may be the first, albeit indirect, attestation of the Ishmaelite confederacy. This remains uncertain, since other people and tribes worshipped this goddess as well.

Obviously, it was not until the establishment of the "incense route" and the Assyrian take-over of the political power and the economic organization of the Near East that larger political entities—powerful tribes and tribal confederacies—emerged in N Arabia. The economic upsurge of the Near East, and the growing demand for incense from the 8th century B.C. onward, brought increasing political and economic power to those who controlled the Arabian deserts. This may have prompted the camel-breeders of Arabia to organize themselves into larger, politically more powerful tribes. On the basis of their riding technique, it is appropriate to call the desert tribes of the 9th to 6th centuries B.C. "proto-bedouin" (Dostal 1959; 1979; Knauf 1983a; 1983d: 30; 1986: 22–24). Their saddle technique did not allow them to use a spear, a lance, or a sword while seated on camelback. Therefore, they had to dismount for battle and were at a severe disadvantage against, e.g., the Assyrians. Assyrian reliefs give ample illustration of this (Knauf 1989: 22f., with n. 95).

The first rulers of the "Arabs" (referring here only to N Arabians) were, to a large extent, women. Seventh century B.C. Assyrian references describe the functions of these Arab queens as partially cultic in nature (Abbott 1941; Knauf 1989: 2–6, 24, with n. 105; 1986: 25, with n. 20). Queen Shamshi may be depicted on an Assyrian relief, now in the British Museum (Knauf 1989: 3; *ANEP*, 58: 187).

**2. The 7th Century B.C.** The tribal confederacy of Šumuʾil/*Sʾama*ʿ*il*/Ishmael is clearly attested for the first time in texts from this century. The confederacy is lead by the tribe of Qedar, specifically by this tribe's ruling family. The political and cultic center of this family and, presumably, the whole tribe was Duma at the lower end of the Wādī Sirḥān (Knauf 1989: 1–5, 81–91). The individual tribal leaders fought each other constantly, allied themselves to the Assyrians, and fought the Assyrians when they were allies of Assyria's enemies. Assyrian attempts to establish a vassal kingdom in Arabia failed. This, and growing pressure exerted by the proto-bedouin on the decaying Assyrian empire (an empire weakened by epidemics and ruled by kings whose attitudes towards daily affairs were governed less by rational decisions than by irrational fears; Spieckermann 1982), may have led to a final campaign against the Arabs, probably fought ca. 644 B.C.—a campaign that was cruel even according to Assyrian standards (Knauf 1989: 96–103).

The growing importance that the Assyrians attributed to the Arabs is reflected, at the same time, by the increasing references to Arabian affairs in the various editions of Ashurbanipal's annals (*ANET*, 297–301). These annals give a vivid account of the fear and hostility that the Assyrians felt towards the Arabs. They cannot, however, be taken at face value as factual accounts; they owe their narrative sequence mostly to literary composition and redactional compilation (Weippert 1973–74; Ephʿal 1982; Knauf 1989; these three authors agree in their redaction-critical approach to Assyrian literature more than in their assessment of how much reliable factual evidence this literature contains).

The following political events can be stated with certainty. Between 691 and 689 B.C. Sennacherib conquered Duma, took queen Teʿelḫunu captive, and deported her gods. He installed Ḥazāʾil, a tribal leader who had previously supported Teʿelḫunu, as vassal king of the Arabs (Ephʿal 1982: 118–23; Knauf 1989: 4f.; 81f.). Preceding the conquest of Duma, Sennacherib mentioned "gifts" from Taymâʾ and Šumuʾil (Ephʿal 1982: 124f.). Ḥazāʾil was succeeded by his son Yauthaʿ.

Between 676 and 673 B.C., another tribal leader, named Wahb, "rebelled" against Yauthaʿ and was defeated by Assyrian support (Ephʿal 1982: 125–30; Knauf 1989: 99). According to Ephʿal, Yauthaʿ rebelled against Esarhaddon between 673 and 669 B.C., but according to Knauf (1989: 98–100) the texts refer only to one "rebellion" of Yauthaʿ, and this was directed against Ashurbanipal who defeated him sometime before 649 B.C. Yauthaʿ disappears after his defeat, and another "king" of Qedar, Abyathaʿ bin Sõahrî, was appointed "king of the Arabs" by the Assyrians. ʿAmmuladdin, yet another king of Qedar,

pillaged Syria before, during, or after the "rebellion" of Yautha‹, and was defeated by the king of Moab, Kamosh-‹aśā.

Sometime before 649 B.C. the Assyrians established trade contacts with the Nebaioth; one of their caravans heading for Assyria was plundered by a shaykh from the tribe of Massa› (Knauf 1989: 93f.). After 649 B.C., another Qedarite shaykh, Yuhaythi‹ bin Birdād (who may have been a relative of the family of Ḥazā›il), united most of N Arabia under his rule. About 644 B.C., the Assyrians conducted two major campaigns against him and his followers. The Assyrians crossed the Syrian desert, passed the vicinity of Palmyra, and ended their pursuit of the Arabs S of Damascus. Both Nebaioth and Abyatha‹ bin Śahrî fought alongside of Yuhaythi‹ despite what allegiance they may have previously sworn to the Assyrians. Ashurbanipal captured some tribal leaders in the course of this campaign, but not Yuhaythi‹, who was the first and last ruler ever to be called "king of Šumu›il" in the sources (Knauf 1989: 99–103). The Assyrian literary accounts of these Arabian wars are supplemented by a series of palace reliefs that show defeated camel riders (*ANEP,* 20: 63).

The tribes that are mentioned in the 7th century B.C. Assyrian texts as fighting side-by-side are Qedar, Nebaioth, Massa›, Naphish, and probably Mishma‹ (Isamme›). Adbeel is no longer mentioned in the 7th century records. Duma is clearly attested as the political center of the tribe of Qedar and as the seat of the six deities of the "kings of the Arabs." Among these were ‹Attarsamayn, Ruḍā, and Nuhay, who are frequently attested in the Thamudic inscriptions of Nejd. These three deities are invoked together in one inscription from the vicinity of Duma which may well date back to the 7th or 6th century B.C. (Winnett and Reed 1970: 80; Knauf 1989: 81–88). After Duma was conquered by Sennacherib, it is not mentioned in any source for another five hundred years.

Although Sennacherib mentions Taymâ› alongside of Šumu›il, it is rather unlikely that this city formed part of the Ishmaelite confederacy. The pantheon of Duma, the Ishmaelites' capital, and that of Taymâ› are quite different in their structures, and comprise different gods. The chief deity of the Ishmaelites and of Duma was a goddess, while the chief deity of Taymâ› was a god. This difference would likely preclude any significant political unity among these two cities, given the political nature of religion in the ANE (Knauf 1989: 81–91).

It is quite clear, then, that not all of the (twelve!) "sons of Ishmael" listed in Gen 25:13–15 were actually part of the Ishmaelite confederacy. The rather fluid and unstable nature of bedouin tribal confederacies may mean, in the case of the Ishmaelites, that tribes who joined the leaders of the confederacy on one occasion did not join on the next. Clearly, membership in a common political superstructure did not mean for the N Arabian tribes that they were no longer able to fight among one another, nor did the actions of one shaykh of the large tribe of Qedar necessarily determine the actions of other parts of this tribe, or reflect the others' attitudes. It is as difficult for the modern historian to describe this type of political entity and its history as it was for the Assyrians to deal with it politically and militarily.

Arguing from the structure of the list in Gen 25:13–15, Knauf (1989: 89) suggests that only the first seven of the twelve tribes/cities actually formed part of the Ishmaelite confederacy in the 7th century B.C. (Qedar, Nebaioth, Adbeel, Massa›, Duma, Mishma‹). However this reconstruction has been complicated by the publication of an Assyrian letter that clearly derives from the context of the major Assyrian–Arab wars of the mid-7th century B.C. (Knauf 1983b) and mentions the tribe Naphish (which, according to Knauf, belongs to the latest additions to the Gen 25:13–15 list).

**3. The 6th and 5th Centuries B.C.** Since it is unknown how much of the Assyrian accounts of their victories over the Arabs of the mid-7th century B.C. are fictional, the disappearance of the term "Ishmaelites" (Šumu›il) from the documentary sources after the collapse of the Assyrian empire need not necessarily be attributed to the success of the Assyrian campaigns. Presumably the nonurban population of the ANE, including the bedouin, was less affected by the turmoil, wars, epidemics, and chaos of the late 7th and early 6th centuries that marked the transitions from the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian empires to that of the Persians. When the Persians started to reorganize the W part of their inherited empire, they had to reckon with only two politically noteworthy ethnic groups in Syria-Palestine: the kings of the Phoenician coastal cities, and the "kings that lived in tents" (Knauf 1989: 63, n. 300). Arabs

had gained power in the territories of Ammon, Moab, Edom, and S Palestine and, from then on, formed a considerable part of the population of these areas (cf. Ezek 25:1–14). It was this territorial and political extension of their realm, resulting in decreased contacts between the disparate tribes and clans, not military defeat by one of the empires, that brought the Ishmaelite confederacy to an end.

The Qedarites remained in power between the Euphrates and the Gulf of Aqaba well into the 5th century B.C. In 599/598 B.C., Nebuchadnezzar campaigned against them in the Syrian desert. In the middle of the 5th century, a shaykh of Qedar, Guśam bin Sõahr (the biblical Geshem) ruled over S Palestine, the Sinai to the borders of Egypt, Transjordan and NW Arabia, all areas under Persian control. This fact demonstrates clearly the rise in prominence of the Arabs among the ethnic and political groups of the ANE between the 7th and the 5th centuries B.C. Aramaic dedicatory inscriptions left by Geshem's son at Tell el-Maskhūṭa (ancient Patoumos) in the E delta of Egypt ca. 400 B.C. prove that Geshem was a Qedarite (Dumbrell 1971). A Lihyanite inscription testifies that the influence of "Geshem the Arab" (Neh 2:16) extended well into the Ḥijâz. On the basis of an inscription from Taymâ›, the Lihyanite reference can now be confidently dated to the middle of the 5th century B.C. (Aggoula 1985: 66; Cross 1986); the dating of the Lihyanite kingdom and the Lihyanite inscriptions had previously been the subject of controversy (Roschinski 1980; Knauf 1989: 104–106).

The sphere of influence of Geshem the Qedarite was actually contiguous with the region that later became the Nabatean empire. Knauf assumes that the Nabateans were a Qedarite clan which moved into S Jordan in the course of the 6th century B.C. The "Nebaioth" of Isa 60:7; Gen 28:9; 36:3 may actually refer to the Qedarite clan **Nabaṭ* and not to the more distant Nabayat of the Taymâ› area (Winnett and Reed 1970: 100; Knauf 1989: 108f.). Most likely, the "tents of Qedar" mentioned in Cant 1:5 (probably from the 3d century B.C.) refer to the Nabatean bedouin camping between Palestine and the Šalamaeans in the N Hijaz (Knauf 1989: 106–107). See also SHALMA. Around 400 B.C. the Persians lost control over Egypt, Arabia, and probably S Jordan. With the disappearance of the power that supported them, the supremacy of the family of Guśam bin Śahr of the tribe of Qedar came to an end. This opened the path to wealth, fame and glory to those tribes and clans formerly under their control that were now either active enough to seize their chance, or enjoyed a favorable enough strategic position along the international trade routes. The Nabataeans, as is well known, had already accumulated a considerable fortune when they first appear in the literary record under their own name in 312 B.C.

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**ISHMAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yišmaʿyâ* (יִשְׁמַעְיָה)]. **1.** A Benjaminite warrior from Gibeon who joined David's band at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:4; cf. 1 Sam 27:6). Ishmaiah is noted as "a mighty man among the thirty and a leader over the thirty." What exactly "the thirty" refers to is not clear. It is possibly a technical term for the king's bodyguard. This group therefore could have consisted of a varying number of men at different times (Elliger 1935). This possibly explains why Joab can be said to be "over the thirty" in 11:20 and Amisai as "chief of the thirty" in 12:19—Eng12:18 (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB). Perhaps this also explains why Ishmaiah does not appear as one the thirty in 2 Sam 23:24–39. The allusion in 1 Chr 12:1 to events at Ziklag, which occurred before David became king, participates in the Chronicler's "all Israel" theme by portraying northerners as coming to David's side even before the death of Saul, a Benjaminite himself.

**2.** A member of the tribe of Zebulun and father of Obadiah (1 Chr 27:19). 1 Chr 27:16–24 lists the leaders of the tribes during the reign of David; Ishmaiah is noted as the leader of the tribe of Zebulun. The tribal list varies from that given in Numbers 1. Here the tribes of Asher and Gad are not included and Aaron and Levi are listed as two separate groups. The specific bureaucratic task of the tribal leaders is not clear but vv 23 and 24 suggest that they were responsible in some way for assisting in a census.

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**ISHMERAI** (PERSON) [Heb *yišměray* (יִשְׁמְרַי)]. Son of Elpaal, a Benjaminite (1 Chr 8:18) appearing in an extended Benjaminite genealogy (1 Chr 8:1–40). The name occurs nowhere else in this form in the MT, the Apocrypha, or the deuterocanonical literature. The name itself comes from the verbal form *šāmar* meaning "keep" or "preserve," and may be a somewhat abbreviated form which means "may [Yahweh] preserve." The family of Ishmerai, according to 1 Chr 8:12 is associated with Ono and Lod. Ezra 2:33, Neh 7:37, and 11:35 bear witness to this association. However, the fact that these cities and

their satellite villages are located in the maritime plain in what is traditionally Danite territory (Adams and Callaway 1965: 55) poses an interesting problem. Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 60) has suggested that Benjaminites may have settled this region during the reign of Rehoboam. There is little mention of Dan in 1 Chronicles (2:2; 27:22) which may reflect that this inheritance had been absorbed by Ephraimite and Judahite groups. Ishmerai is called a "chief living in Jerusalem" (1 Chr 8:28). Besides implications of social organizations, this designation may reflect a mixing of the tribal groups of Judah and Benjamin at various points from the time of the kingdom's schism. Coggins (*Chronicles* CBC, 54) has indicated that tribal mixing resulted in certain areas never being absorbed into definite tribal holdings, with Jerusalem being a prime example. Judges 1:8, 21 show Judahite and Benjaminite groups struggling to control Jerusalem.

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**ISHPAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yišpâ* (יִשְׁפָּה)]. Son of Beriah (1 Chr 8:16) appearing in an extended Benjaminite genealogy (1 Chr 8:1–40). The name means "smooth" or "swept bare." This is the only appearance of the name in the MT, and it does not occur in the Apocrypha or the deuterocanonical literature. Ishpah and his relatives are associated with the city of Aijalon (1 Chr 8:13). Ishpah is called a *roʾšê hāʾābôt* of those who settled in Aijalon and drove out the residents of Gath. Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 60) has indicated that this reference is an indication of tribal mixings that occurred throughout Israelite history. Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 77) has emphasized the geographical breaks in this genealogy which show parallel lists of Benjaminite families and their dwelling locations at a particular time, probably either during the reign of Josiah or the postexilic period. Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 82), however, suggests that there is no apparent structure to this genealogy. As strange as it seems both scholars may be correct. With the mixing of tribal groupings, traditions emphasizing one tribal group over another and vice versa would have held sway at different periods of time depending upon which group was in control at a given time. 2 Chr 11:10 indicates that Aijalon, among others, belonged to Judah and/or Benjamin, however, 28:18 clearly states that it belongs to Judah. According to 1 Chr 6:6 Ephraim took Aijalon over from Dan. Because of its strategic location, this kind of transfer from tribal grouping to tribal grouping would not be unusual (Adams and Callaway 1965: 61).

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**ISHPAN** (PERSON) [Heb *yišpān* (יִשְׁפָּן)]. One of the eleven sons of Shashak, the Benjaminite (1 Chr 8:22) appearing in an extended Benjaminite genealogy (1 Chr 8:40). The meaning is somewhat difficult, but could be translated "he will hide" or a "strong one." This is the only occurrence of the name in the MT, and it does not appear in the Apocrypha or the deuterocanonical literature. Both Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC 124) and Coggins (*Chronicles* CBC, 54) point to the scarcity of material associated with the names found in 1 Chr 8:6–27. However, the text states that Ishpan was a *roʾšê ʾābôt,* and one of the *tōlĕdôtām roʾšîm* living in Jerusalem. This points to probable mixing of tribal groups which intensified after the monarchical schism. One might infer a high status for Ishpan in political, social, and military circles, because of his designation as a head of a family and a genealogy. In early Israel (Harmon 1983: 153) the *bēt ʾāb* would have been the primary social unit which further comprised the *mišpāḥā,* the clan or protective association of families (Gottwald 1979: 258), and then the *maṭṭeh/šēbeṭ,* or tribe. The head of the family may have functioned much like the bigmen of anthropological terminology. Though tribes eventually became more of a geographical designation than an organizational one (Anderson 1969: 34; de Geus 1976: 133), the social pattern would have held without great change to the time of Ishpan.

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**ISHTAR** (DEITY). The principal goddess of ancient Mesopotamia (See Wilcke, *RLA* 5: 74–87). Comparative evidence suggests that the Akkadian (Assyro-Babylonian) deity was perhaps masculine (Heimpel 1982: 13–15), but when the Akkadians assimilated Sumerian culture, Ishtar was adjusted to correspond to the feminine Sum goddess Inanna; both Ishtar and Inanna were personifications of the planet Venus. The extraordinarily diverse characterizations of Inanna-Ishtar in the subsequent literature, together with traditions from a multiplicity of shrine sites, would indicate that other goddesses were also gradually subsumed into the Inanna-Ishtar complex.

Astarte was the W Semitic counterpart of Ishtar, but it should be emphasized that Ishtar and Astarte are not simply to be identified (see Fulco *EncRel* 1: 471). In later Greek and Roman mythology Aphrodite and Venus undoubtedly had absorbed some Ishtar and Astarte traditions from the East (Astour 1967: 267, n.2).

The principal image of Ishtar that emerges from the extant hymns and myths is a goddess of love and sexuality, and it is here that she is closely associated with the shepherd-king Tammuz (or Sum Dumuzi) in a large complex of stories. Most notable are the parallel Sum *Inanna's Descent to the Nether World* (*ANET*, 52–57) and Akk *Descent of Ishtar* (*ANET*, 106–9). After a passionate courtship with Dumuzi, Inanna (or Ishtar) visits the netherworld to contend there with her sister Ereshkigal. Ereshkigal has her killed, but Inanna's servants revivify her and bring her back to earth. Here, although there are different and even contradictory traditions, she evidently finds Dumuzi at best indifferent about her apparent death. She sets demons after him and they drag him down to the underworld. Eventually it is arranged that he dwell there half a year, on earth the other half.

The relationship between Inanna-Ishtar and Dumuzi-Tammuz was ritualized in Mesopotamian cult with the sacred marriage: the mating of the king with a sacred temple prostitute renewed the generative forces in nature. The seasonal cycle was seen as a mirror of Dumuzi's yearly descent into and ascent from the underworld, a religious element that wends its way even to the temple courtyard in Jerusalem (see Ezek 8:14). Some (e.g., Pope *Song of Songs* AB) hear strong echos of the Ishtar-Tammuz tales throughout the Song of Songs.

A rather petulant Ishtar appears in the epic of *Gilgamešh.* She tries to seduce the hero, but he points out to her the less than gracious treatment she has meted out to her other lovers, especially Tammuz.

Among the many hymns to Inanna-Ishtar, the work entitled *Nin-me-šár-ra* (Hallo and van Dijk 1968) is the richest in epithets for Ishtar: "Queen of the divine decrees, resplendent light, righteous woman clothed in radiance, beloved of Heaven and Earth." It is widely thought that the "queen of heaven" in Jer 7:18; 44:17–19, 25, is actually Ishtar. The women of Jerusalem and subsequently the women of the Egyptian diaspora burn incense and pour our libations to the goddess and make cakes with her image. They complain (Jer 44:18) that not doing so brings disaster. Porten (1968: 165, 176–78) argues that this may be Anat rather than Ishtar. He cites the position of Anat in the Jewish texts from Elephantine in Egypt. other Egyptian evidence (see Fulco 1976: 23–28) suggests Asherah-Qudšu as a candidate.

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**ISHVAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yišwâ* (יִשְׁוָה)]. Second son of Asher. In the genealogical list of Jacob's family (Gen 46:8–27), his children are listed by families, according to their mothers. Ishvah is a grandson of Jacob and Leah by her maid Zilpah (Gen 46:17; 1 Chr 7:30). The name Ishvah does not appear in the list of the clans of Asher (Num 26:44–47). The absence of Ishvah among the clans of Asher has been explained differently by scholars. Some say that Ishvah is a variant name of ISHVI, but according to Gen 46:17 and 1 Chr 7:30 Ishvi is listed as the third son of Asher. others say that the two names represent the same clan, that the Chronicler copied the dittography of Genesis (Curtis *Chronicles* ICC, 153). It is possible that only the name of the family of Ishvi is given because Ishvah died childless. Wieder (1965: 161) has demonstrated that the Hebrew names Ishvah and Ishvi probably were abbreviated theophoric names derived from an Ugaritic word meaning "to rule."

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**ISHVI** (PERSON) [Heb *yišwî* (יִשְׁוִי)]. **1.** The son of Saul ben Kish and Ahinoam, the daughter of Ahimaaz (1 Sam 14:49). The MT vocalization would seem to relate the name to the Hebrew root *šwh,* "to resemble, to be like; to be smooth, even." The name would represent an imperfect verbal form "he will smooth" or "he will requite." As such, it could be a hypocoristicon of a common category of name composed of a verbal element followed by a deity name. Alternatively, the consonantal Hebrew text *yšwy* is perhaps to be understood as a passive *Qal* participle meaning "with a damaged hand" (so IPN 227, n. 17). $G^L$ (LXX) reads Iessiou, which would seem to presume an underlying Hebrew text of *yšyw* or *yšyhw* (for the latter, see Driver 1890: 92), while $G^B$ reads *Iessioul,* presuming a Hebrew original *yšywl.* On the basis of $G^L$'s presumed *yšyw,* it might be possible to suggest that the MT consonantal text *yšwy* arose accidentally through metathesis of the final two letters (i.e., Klein *1 Samuel* WBC, 142).

It is common practice to suggest that the LXX reading *Iessiou* reflects an underlying Hebrew form *ʾîšyô* or *ʾîšyahû,* "man of Yahweh," and that the name is a variant form of ESHBAAL, the name of one of Saul's sons in 1 Chr 8:33 and 9:39, which appears as ISH-BOSHETH in 2 Sam 2:8, 10, 12, 15; 3:8, 14, 15; 4:5, 8, 12 (so i.e. Driver 1890: 92; Gray 1896: 121; Budde *Samuel* KHC, 106; Dhorme 1910: 127; Stoebe *Erste Buch Samuels* KAT, 276; Soggin 1975: 32, n. 1). The presumption is that Eshbaal was the original form of the name, and that with the passage of time, the epithet *baʿal,* "lord," which had originally been applied to Yahweh, came to be equated with the storm deity Baal and fell from favor. This is to have led to the substitution of the term *bōšet,* "shame," on the one hand, and in the case of 1 Sam 14:49, of *Yo/Yahu,* the original deity to whom the epithet "lord" was intended to be related. All forms of the name in the LXX presume an initial *yod,* however, not an initial *alep,* and there is no textual evidence that would support the proposed emendation.

A minority favor viewing Ishvi as an additional son of Saul's, separate from the individual Eshbaal/Ishbosheth (i.e. *IPN* 228, n. 17; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 254). Even if one were to equate Ishvi with Eshbaal, the list of Saulide family members in 1 Sam 14:49 would still be missing Abinadab. It is not possible to argue that the list in 14:49 is a specious genealogy intended only to introduce family members who will figure in the subsequent narrative segment devoted to Saul, 1 Samuel 15–2 Samuel 1 (indirectly, Miscall 1986: 97). Abinadab appears alongside his father and brothers Malchishua and Jonathan at the battle of Gilboa in 1 Samuel 31, and so logically should have been included in the list in 14:49. A plausible explanation for the differences between the two lists of royal offspring found in 1 Sam 14:49 and 1 Chr 8:33 (= 1 Chr 9:39) would be that the list in Samuel was derived from an early source that reflected the birth order of the royal family before the arrival of the two youngest children, Abinadab and Eshbaal, while the list in Chronicles reflects a later stage, after the death of the second-born son, Ishvi, and the subsequent birth of two additional sons, Abinadab and Eshbaal.

**2.** A son of Asher, the eponymous son of Jacob and founder of the tribe bearing his name (Gen 46:17; Num 26:44; 1 Chr 7:30). In biblical historiographic tradition, Ishvi is to have been among the descendants

of Israel who went to Egypt to join Jacob during the prolonged famine (Gen 46:17). Similarly, his *mišpāḥâ,* "maximal lineage or clan" (Lemche 1985: 260–72) is reported to have been among those who were part of the census taken during the wilderness wandering period, after the Baal of Peor incident (Num 26:44).

The occurrence of the name in 1 Chr 7:30 reflects the Chronicler's use of the same genealogical tradition as the one in Gen 46:17. The identical set of names appears in the same sequence, including what appears to be variant readings of the name in question side by side: Ishvah and Ishvi. It should be noted that various manuscripts read "Ishvah" instead of "Ishvi" as the name of Jacob's son in Num 26:44, but are unanimous in their use of Ishvi to designate his family group. This may suggest that Ishvi is a gentilic form and that the correct spelling of the nominative absolute form of the Asherite name in question should be Ishvah.

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

**ISKANDER, KHIRBET** (M.R. 223107). An EB IV site in Jordan which has provided unequivocal evidence of a sedentary character for this period which had earlier been characterized as nomadic.

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A. Identification of the Site
B. Location and Topographical Description
C. Exploration of the Site
D. History of the Settlement
E. Early Bronze I
F. Early Bronze IV
G. Cemeteries
H. Sociocultural Considerations

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**A. Identification of the Site**

The ancient name of the site is unknown. The name Iskander appears to derive from the nearby Roman site of Iskander and the adjacent modern village of the same name, both of which are located ca. 2 km to the W of the EB Age site. Although an attempt has been made (Bernhardt 1960) to identify the latter with the biblical site of Jahaz (Num 21:23; Deut 2:23; Judg 11:20), the fact that Kh. Iskander's periods of occupation are the Late Chalcolithic through EB IV periods renders this correlation untenable. Recently, based on Glueck's and the recent expedition's survey work, the site of Kh. Medeinyeh with its Iron Age occupation has been suggested as the biblical site of Jahaz (Dearman 1984).

**B. Location and Topographical Description**

Kh. Iskander lies approximately 24.0 km S of Madaba and some 400 m W of the bridge where the Madaba-Dhiban road crosses the perennial Wâdī el-Wâlā. This region is called the MishoÆr in the biblical text (e.g., Deut 3:10; 4:43) and is perhaps best described as a mountain tableland. The site rises ca. 20 m above the landscape and covers ca. 7.5 acres; its S boundary is steeply cut by the bank of the Wâlā. The Iskander settlement is strategically situated at a major crossing of the ancient Roman road, undoubtedly the same route as the biblical "King's Highway." Today the area in the immediate vicinity of Iskander supports intensive agriculture: orchards and fields with grape vineyards, olive groves, and deep plowing for field crops. The character of the occupational history of the area indicates that the valley has historically been agriculturally productive.

**C. Exploration of the Site**

While the site has been known for some time (Schick 1879; Brünnow and von Domaszewski 1904; Musil 1907), Glueck (1939: 127–29) was the first systematically to survey and record its architectural features and to date the site to the EB IV. He observed extensive domestic occupation within the walls of a thick perimeter fortification that included square towers. Based on large standing and fallen *menhirs*, *menhir*-circles, and platform foundations, he concluded that a large cemetery lay E of the site. It was not until soundings by P. Parr (1960), however, that definitive evidence for important EB IV sedentary occupation at the site became known. In his two trenches on the E ridge, Parr identified multiphased EB IV occupation, as well as Late Chalcolithic/EB I materials. His walled, cobblestoned courtyard and earlier massive fortifications in Trench I appear to correlate with discoveries of the present expedition (below). S. Richard became director of the current excavations which conducted its pilot season of survey and soundings in 1981 (Richard 1982), followed by three major seasons of excavation in 1982 (Richard 1983; Richard and Boraas 1984), 1984 (Richard 1986; Richard and Boraas 1988), and 1987 (Richard 1989). Work has concentrated primarily in three areas: Area A at the SW corner; Area B at the NW corner; Area C at the SE corner; and in cemeteries D, E, and J (to the S, E, and W of the site respectively). The seven phases uncovered thus far (in Area B) include one (phase G) from the EB I, and six (F-A) in the EB IV.

**D. History of the Settlement**

The current excavations have confirmed Parr's earlier findings of two periods of occupation—the Late Chalcolithic/EB I and the EB IV. The current expedition has concentrated on the EB IV strata on the mound, specifically to examine sedentary adaptations in a way that should offer suggestions about the nature of this enigmatic culture and its relationship to the preceding (EB III) urban city-state system. The EB IV (formerly MB I or Intermediate EB-MB) period has traditionally been considered a "nomadic interlude" between the urban EB and MB Ages (Richard 1987a). Although Kathleen Kenyon disassociated EB IV culture from the EB Age proper (*CAH*$^3$ 1/2: 532–94), a growing body of evidence from Transjordan and, in particular Kh. Iskander, demonstrates strong continuities with EB III traditions, including urban traditions. Kh. Iskander is the first-known fortified site in the EB IV period, although surveys in Jordan have identified at least a half dozen other walled sites at that time. It is increasingly evident from excavations in Jordan over the past 15 years that the EB IV was a period of urban regression, not a nomadic interlude (Richard 1980; 1987a, b). Given this new view from Transjordan, it is now evident that the model of pastoral-nomadism, as suggested by Dever (1980), has important regional applications, but is not comprehensive enough to characterize the totality of EB IV remains.

**E. Early Bronze I**

The lowest level reached thus far is Phase G in the Area B probe. It consists of a partial structure associated with EB I pottery (e.g., a red-slipped omphalos base and several sherds of line-group painted wares). The probe is on the N edge of the site and has yielded no evidence of a fortification system, from which it appears that the site was an unwalled village. Parr's earlier work, the results of our sherd survey, and the discovery of an EB I tomb (see below) suggest, however, that the site sustained a rather significant occupation during the EB I.

**F. Early Bronze IV**

**1. Area B.** The EB IV is characterized on the tell by three stages of occupation, which encompass six phases: prefortified (Phase F), fortified (Phases E–B), and postfortified (Phase A). This profile is derived primarily on discoveries at the NW corner in the Area B domestic complex.

The earliest phase (F) is thus far evident only by the corner of a domestic structure lying immediately below the NW corner fortifications and above the EB I layer. The data suggest that it was a transitional open settlement in the EB IV prior to the erection of the fortifications.

There are two wall systems, the earlier inner wall founded in Phase E and the later outer wall founded in Phase D. The Phase E system is composed of a base of massive stones and a superstructure of mudbrick faced with large cobbles. This wall and superstructure slope at an angle of ca. 30°, perhaps indicating destruction by earthquake. Apparently the site was immediately rebuilt and strengthened, and involved buttressing the fortifications, building an outer wall and towers, and filling the interior with rubble (Phase D).

The Phase D settlement consists of an eleven-stone course, 3 m high, and 2.5 m wide defensive perimeter wall on the N edge of the site. A 20 m stretch of this wall has been exposed (B4, B3, B8, B12). A foundation trench containing an EB IV holemouth and the rim of an imported caliciform cup from Syria of the "white on black" variety provided the date for the erection of this later defensive line. Steps uncovered in 1987 make it clear that the corner structure was a tower. Excavations on the interior of the wall have not reached the founding domestic occupational level.

The earliest evidence for occupation within the fortifications is the Phase C (may equal Phase D) "lower storeroom" in B8. This level lies immediately below the "benchroom" of Phase B. The pottery, EB IV whole and restorable vessels along with extraordinary quantities of sherds, was found in a matrix of mudbrick debris and rubble, clear evidence of the destruction of Phase C. The E wall of this room bonded into the outer fortifications and provides additional evidence for the EB IV date of the fortifications.

The Phase B remains provide a partial architectural plan of the domestic area within the fortifications. The excavated area comprised two rooms of a large building whose total dimensions are not yet known. B8-B7, a bench-lined "upper storeroom," contained quantities of whole and restorable EB IV pottery. Storejars containing carbonized grain lay on the bench. Alongside the bench, resting on a pavement was a pithos with rope molding.

In an adjoining room, excavation uncovered a perfectly preserved stone-lined bin constructed of eight upright slabs (ca. 1 m high), with a well-hewn circular stone (ca. 0.80 m in diameter) at the bottom. The area around the bin was plastered. The nature of the material culture associated with this bin, including the unusual quantity (large storejars in particular) and quality of the pottery, indicates that the building complex functioned as a public facility—the evidence suggests a cultic use. The bin contained a variety of botanical remains (indicating perhaps a *favissa*), and nearby were both a hearth and ash pit as well as miniature vessels. On the surface nearby were two goat horns and a beautifully painted bowl (perhaps an offering dish) containing a bovine hoof. Finally the Iskander bin closely parallels the *favissa* found at Arad in association with the *bamah* and the twin-temples.

Phase A represents the latest EB IV occupation on the mound. Extensive domestic occupation in broad- and long-room houses with common walls were located about 4 m S of the outer fortifications, which were certainly not in use in this phase. The nature of the evidence in Phase A contrasts with that of Phase B where, as noted above, the material remains suggest a different set of activities.

One large room, 8.5 m × 3.5 m, accommodated cooking activities as attested by its two-phased ṭabûn, several large firepits or hearths nearby, and its ash-covered surface. An adjacent courtyard contained a number of pounding stones and a ṭabûn built at the junction of two walls. Large saddle querns and grinding stones were numerous in this phase. Located just beyond the housing area were a series of small work areas or pens at the edge of the mound. In 1987, we uncovered an interesting house structure inside of which were a large stone mortar, a square stone table with a center depression, a round stone worktable, and an unusual stone platform with a shelf. Notably, two of the Phase A buildings proved to be "pillar" buildings, once the later phased blockages were removed.

On the basis of the plans we now have for area B, we may observe that town planning at Kh. Iskander is not inconsistent with the settlement plans for EB II–III urban sites such as Arad, Bâb edh-Dhrâʿ, and Numeira. Series of interconnected broad- and long-room houses of various sizes are arranged around courtyard areas. The pottery storeroom with its grain containers, the cooking installations, food preparation accoutrements, etc. underscore the sedentary and agricultural basis of this community. As at Arad, the habitation arrangement probably implies an extended family social organization.

**2. Area C.** At the SE corner of the mound, excavation has revealed a complex of buildings, some of which are monumental in character. Three phases have been excavated: Phase C (bottom) was a domestic level with rectangular houses; Phase B was a domestic level whose distinguishing feature was its interconnected broad-room houses with well-made walls still preserved to a height of ca. 1.25 m; and Phase A (1–2), a level whose public function is seen in the discovery of a gateway.

A considerable horizontal exposure in Phase B showed what appeared to be a string of workshops. The best evidence came from Square C6, where a number of stone slab constructions/platforms were found in

a context with hammerstones and quantities of flint debitage, implying specialized activities connected with a flint-knapping workshop.

In Phase A, a profound alteration in the architectural plan and function of Area C is evident with the construction of what appears to have been a gateway: it is a complex that comprises two chambers ("guardrooms") which flank a gypsum-coated passageway lined with benches on either side. At the N end, a stepped platform forms the boundary of the passageway, although it extends beyond the line of the building complex. These steps lead to a cobbled courtyard and beyond to the "upper town." At the S, where steps give access to the passageway, this complex adjoins an E-W wall line, the one that Glueck had earlier noticed. The gate complex is not entirely symmetrical. The W structure is better preserved, better constructed, and included a fully intact stone pavement; no corresponding pavement was uncovered in the E chamber, which is further differentiated by a partition wall. Bin-like features adjoin this structure on the E. The 1987 season's investigation of the W perimeter of the gate complex revealed the largest (ca. 11.0 m long), most massively constructed building on the tell, against whose walls abutted the W flank of the gateway.

Parr made similar discoveries in his Trench 1 (apparently just E of our Area C). His cobbled room, enclosed on the N by a 0.75 m × 1.25 m wall, bears a certain resemblance to the Area C western chamber.

**3. Area A.** Although excavation has not been extensive in Area A (the SW corner of the mound), the wall from Area C continues to form the N boundary of domestic structures. The "Glueck" wall appears to cross Area A on the S. This continuous wall appears to characterize the latest phase, and may represent a type of perimeter fortification of a diminished settlement after the monumental outer fortifications went out of use.

**G. Cemeteries**

The expedition explored two cemeteries, Area D on the ridge S of the site across the wadi, and Area E immediately E of the site. In the latter, several chamber tombs have disclosed the typical EB IV disarticulated burials. E3, a very small chamber tomb, contained two skulls—one of a child—disposed on either side of a central bonepile. Four vessels had been set at the entrance. Shaft tombs also appear to exist in this cemetery. Cemetery D comprises a hillside cemetery of numerous shaft tombs. Excavation of four of these tombs shows them to be of the round shaft, single chamber variety. Disarticulated multiple burials and typical EB IV grave goods characterized the group. Notably, one tomb included close to 100 vessels, mostly red-slipped and burnished.

In 1987, the expedition discovered its first pre-EB IV usage of the cemeteries in Area J, west of the tell. It was an unusual structure cut into the bedrock. This was divided by a rough stone wall, and was used as a collective burial place during EB I. West of the wall were disarticulated interments including at least 15 skulls, many of which were found totally fragmented or smashed below rocks. East of the wall, an antechamber yielded only pottery goods. A similar construction exists at Jericho in tombs K2 and A13. An EB IV tomb also came to light in Cemetery J.

**H. Sociocultural Considerations**

The results of four seasons of excavation at Kh. Iskander demonstrate clearly that sedentary strategies, in this case, a small town or regional center, were important socioeconomic components of the EB IV culture. The growing list of EB IV settlement sites from Transjordan corroborates this view. Moreover, irrespective of an almost universal stratigraphic break throughout Palestine-Transjordan ca. 2350 B.C., recent discoveries have shown many continuities with the EB tradition: (1) red-slipped and burnished pottery; (2) multiple burials; (3) shaft tombs; (4) similar metal types; (5) bench-lined broad- and long-room houses; (6) massive fortifications; (7) public complexes; (8) permanent storage facilities; (9) similar lithics; (10) significant pottery production; (11) multiphased sedentary occupation; (12) evidence for sociopolitical stratification; (13) sanctuaries; (14) significant amounts of food production equipment; and (15) town planning. Almost all the reasons Kenyon cited for designating the period a seminomadic one are now untenable (*CAH*$^{3}$ 1/2: 567–68).

In light of the strong continuities with EB Age tradition, it is difficult to support any view (including the terminology) of this period as "intermediate." The most important obstruction to a view of the EB IV

peoples as indigenous has been the misconception that the shift from EB III to EB IV was from sedentarism to nomadism; in reality the shift was from urban to nonurban i.e., to village/town and pastoral adaptive strategies. Indeed the only conceivable means to understand the level of sedentarism in EB IV and the continuation of EB III urban traditions is to posit a model of cultural change, especially for Transjordan, which is less abrupt than hitherto believed (Richard 1980; 1987a).

Sociocultural change at the EB III/IV horizon (in this case greater pastoralism and village/town life as opposed to urban settlement) is better understood as a change in emphasis of production and organization in response to irreversible stresses on the urban system, than as an abrupt shift to a new sociocultural phenomenon (see Salzman 1978). Newer views on sociocultural change suggest a greater fluidity in subsistence strategies (cultural adaptation) along the urban/nonurban continuum. It is this fluidity that provides the mechanism for change. Thus, depending on circumstances (e.g., political stability) there will be a greater or lesser stress on a range of adaptive strategies that are institutionalized with the culture (see Salzman 1978; 1980). As the new data for sedentism mount, the explanatory value of these new views of cultural change are manifest.

Having recovered the "missing" sedentary component of EB IV society, we must now look for newer hypotheses to explain the variation in adaptive strategies. Such hypotheses should be broad enough to explain also the transition to mixed subsistence strategies and concomitant decentralization of political control and the abatement of urban complexity at the EB III/EB IV transition. Such a model should explain both continuity and change at the EB III/EB IV transition. It has recently been suggested that the model of specialization/despecialization is a conceptual construct that is applicable to the organizational shift from specialized modes of production to the despecialized nonurban economies that appeared at the end of the third millennium B.C. (Richard and Long fc.). This model allows for a more process-oriented view that explains culture change at the EB III/EB IV transition as well as the variation in adaptation in EB IV.

Thus, the research at Kh. Iskander forces a reassessment of this period. In light of new data and current scholarly trends, there is no compelling evidence to suggest that there was an invasion; that Amorite nomads from Syria overran the country; or that town/village life was completely eradicated at the end of EB III. Indeed, the growing evidence for cultural continuity between EB III and IV supports our contention that the collapse of the city-state system and the subsequent adaptation to nonurban and pastoral subsistence strategies were a result of gradual internal processes (for an opposing view see Amiran and Kochavi 1985). Such a view of the EB III/EB IV transition is totally in concert with the perspective that a cultural continuum can be traced throughout the EB Age (ca. 3400–2000 B.C.), notwithstanding great peaks of adaptation and change in the process from preurban and finally to nonurban social systems (Richard 1987a).

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SUZANNE RICHARD

**ISMACHIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yismakyāhû* (יִסְמַכְיָהוּ)]. One of ten overseers *(pĕqîdîm)* responsible for gifts brought into the temple during the reign of Hezekiah (2 Chr 31:13). King Hezekiah and Azariah the chief officer of the temple appointed Ismachiah and the other nine. Their role was to assist Conaniah and his brother Shimei in managing "the contributions, the tithes and the dedicated things" that were brought into and stored in the temple (2 Chr 31:12–13). The name means "Yahweh supports/sustains" (*HALAT* 2: 399; cf. *IPN* 28, 196; LXX *samachia*).
KENNETH H. CUFFEY

**ISRAEL COURT.** See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

**ISRAEL, HISTORY OF.** This entry consists of four articles that survey various periods of the history of ancient Israel and the critical issues associated with reconstructing that history. The first article focuses on the premonarchic period (ca. 1200–1000 B.C.), dealing especially with the question of the Israelite "conquest" of Canaan and the subsequent rise of the Israelite monarchy. The second article provides a comprehensive treatment about how archaeological evidence associated with the LB-early Iron Age transition bears upon the question of the Israelite "conquest." The third article sketches broadly the political history of the monarchy up to the Babylonian exile (ca. 1000–586 B.C.). The fourth article addresses the problems of method arising from the nature of biblical books dealing with the period after the Babylonian exile (ca. 538–330 B.C.), and offers a tentative historical reconstruction with attention to the ideological tendencies of the sources. In addition to these articles, other entries discuss particular individuals and places, neighboring peoples and nations, biblical books, and critical methodologies. Note also the following entries: CHRONOLOGY (HEBREW BIBLE); COURT NARRATIVE; COVENANT; EPHRAIM; EXODUS, THE; GALILEE; KING AND KINGSHIP; MESHA STELE; NEGEB; PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF; PALESTINE, ARCHAEOLOGY OF; SYRO-EPHRAIMITE WAR. For the later periods, see also MACCABEAN REVOLT; JEWISH WAR; BAR KOKHBA REVOLT.

### *PREMONARCHIC PERIOD*

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A. Merneptah's "Israel" and the Earliest Israel
B. Sources for the Earliest Israel
  1. The OT as a Historical Source
  2. The Value of Palestinian Archaeology as a Historical Source
C. The Historical Investigation of the Earliest Israel
  1. The Traditional Historical Approach
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D. Sociology and the Study of Israel's Earliest History
E. Israelite History in the Pre-national Period
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b. Palestine in the LB Age
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**A. Merneptah's "Israel" and the Earliest Israel**

According to the Egyptian inscription of Merneptah, some sort of ethnic entity called "Israel" must have existed in Israel shortly before 1200 B.C. However, the question that concerns us is the nature of the relationship between the "Israel" in the inscription and the historical Israel which we encounter in the OT. The OT describes this Israel in the pre-national period as a tribal society consisting of twelve tribes, unified by a common historical past and by a common monotheistic religion (the worship of Yahweh). The relevant passage in the Egyptian text informs us that "Israel is laid waste, his seed is not" (*ANET*, 378).

For quite some time, scholars preferred to believe that this passage referred to a unified Israelite society of twelve tribes, but they had a variety of reasons for claiming this. On the one side were scholars who attempted to retain, in one form or another, the OT description of Israel's conquest of Canaan, and who accordingly regarded Merneptah's reference to Israel as the final proof that the Israelite conquest had already taken place by this time (cf., e.g., Kaufmann 1953; Albright 1963: 24–34; *BHI*[1], 97–127). On the other side were a number of (mainly German) scholars who abandoned the attempt to reconcile the biblical account of the conquest with the actual historical development which eventually led to the emergence of Israel (see Alt, *KlSchr* 1: 89–175; Noth 1950: 67–82). But the latter group also reckoned with an ethnic Israelite entity which was held together in the premonarchic period by the presence of an Israelite amphictyony, that is, a tribal league of twelve tribes (Noth 1930). They felt that Merneptah's inscription could be related to this entity in some fashion. See AMPHICTYONY.

However, a critical reevaluation of the OT sources and the social situation which existed in pre-national Israel has forced scholars to surrender the notion that Israel was organized in an amphictyony in the pre-national period (Mayes 1974; de Geus 1976; Lemche 1984a). Moreover, recent studies of Israel's origin have been forced to reject the OT claim that Israel, understood as a nation, could have arisen outside of the borders of Palestine (Mendenhall 1962; Gottwald 1979; Lemche 1985; Ahlström 1986). The process which led to the emergence of the historical Israel, understood as that state which dominated the whole of Palestine as well as some of the surrounding lands under the kings David and Solomon, was much more complicated than the biblical account allows; moreover, this development can hardly have been concluded before the 10th century or shortly before.

This is to say that we are left with a historically certain reference to an "Israel" in Palestine around 1200 B.C.; by the same token, however, we encounter a complicated course of events which is only marginally reflected in the OT accounts of Israel's past. This also means that although Merneptah's "Israel" is situated at the beginning of the long development which led to the emergence of the historical Israel, it is far from certain that the Egyptian inscription refers to any extensive ethnic group in then-contemporary Palestine. On the contrary, there is reason to believe that the Israel in question comprised at most the nucleus of the later Israelite state. However, it is very difficult to be more precise about the extent and nature of this Israel, apart from the fact that Merneptah's Israel seems to be associated with the mountainous region of central Palestine (see Ahlström 1986: 37–43).

**B. Sources for the Earliest Israel**

Two types of sources are at least theoretically relevant to the study of pre-national Israel: the OT historical narratives about Israel in the time prior to David and Solomon (so-called internal evidence), and the information which derives from sources other than the OT (so-called external evidence). The latter type of evidence consists mainly of materials which have emerged through archaeological excavations in Palestine and the surrounding regions. These archaeological materials consist mainly of mute material remains, which is to say that they are not connected with any written evidence which might explain them to us. However, some individual inscriptions have also come to light, and these sometimes shed sporadic light on events transpiring in Palestine in this period. In addition to these finds, there are some of a more

or less accidental nature, such as the discovery of the Amarna correspondence in Egypt in 1888, which nevertheless may be of importance for the description of the historical course of events in Palestine in the last part of the 2d millennium B.C.

The fundamental problem facing any scholar who concerns himself with the history of Israel is that it is difficult to correlate the two types of evidence so as to unify them into a connected picture of the historical course of events. It would be more correct to say that it is only occasionally that we seem able to establish some agreement between an OT source and the extrabiblical materials, at least as far as the period before 1000 B.C. is concerned (some students of the history of the united monarchy in the 10th century B.C. would even go further to include the period 1000–900 B.C. in the so-called dark age preceding Israel's really "historical" periods [cf. Garbini 1988: 21–32]).

**1. The OT as a Historical Source.** The OT contains a collected description of Israel's pre-national history; this account is related in the Pentateuch plus the books from Joshua to the first or second book of Samuel (depending on whether one includes the episode of Saul's kingship within the history of the monarchy or of the pre-national period).

However, no part of this OT narrative is contemporaneous with the events it depicts and which, according to the biblical chronology (translated into modern terms), are supposed to have taken place in the period between 2300 B.C. (the traditional date of Abraham's departure from Mesopotamia) and 1000 B.C. (the accession of David to the throne). The temporal distance is possibly closest in the case of the description of a battle that took place between an alliance of Canaanite kings and an Israelite coalition of tribes which is related in Judges 5 ("the Song of Deborah"). This text has often been held ultimately to derive from pre-national times, although there is no agreement as far as a precise date is concerned (see, among others, Mayes 1969; 1974: 84–105; contradicted by Ahlström 1977; 1986: 54). But even in this case individual scholars have dated the text to a period subsequent to the introduction of the monarchy into Israel (cf. Garbini 1978).

In any case, we are forced to assume that literally every source relative to Israel's pre-national history was first written down after the formation of the Israelite state around 1000 B.C., that is, some or even many generations after the events mentioned in the sources in question. On the other hand, there is today no consensus among scholars as to just when the earliest portions of the historical literature were written down; the suggested dates have fluctuated between the 10th century B.C. for the "Yahwist" or "J" source (cf. von Rad 1944; Noth 1948) and the 7th century, or even down to the 6th or 5th centuries (see, among others, Schmid 1977; Van Seters 1975; 1983; and the survey of research by Whybray 1987). However, no one disagrees that the *conclusion* of the composition of the historical literature of the OT cannot have taken place before the end of the early postexilic period.

The question as to whether the authors of the historical literature in the OT have described the events of the pre-national period in a historically correct way depends on the date one assigns to the earliest part of this literature. It is naturally not unimportant whether the Yahwist lived during Solomon's reign or shortly after, or under that of Josiah, or perhaps that of Xerxes or some other ruler of the Persian period. If the earliest parts of the historical literature are in fact removed from the pre-national period by more than half a millennium, this would automatically dictate that we regard the historical contents of this literature with appropriate scepticism. However, there might be some reason to suppose that one or another historical event managed to survive in traditional transmission and hence was more or less correctly described back in the 10th century. The latter point of view, which has been dominant in OT scholarship up to the present, has sometimes been challenged on the grounds that it is reasonable to ask whether the biblical historians intended to write history in any sense (cf. Halpern 1988, who claims that a historical interest underlies OT narratives), and even whether, in the event, they were actually able to (cf. Coote, who defends an early date for the Yahwist in Coote and Ord 1989, but who, in Coote and Whitelam 1987, completely ignores the OT account in his attempt to explain the historical developments connected with the emergence of Israel).

The various attempts which have been made to argue for the historicity of at least the nucleus of the OT narrative on the basis of an earlier oral tradition which is thought to have preceded the written stage (see

*FSAC*, 64–76; cf. also *CMHE*, and, recently, Hendel 1987; expressly negative toward this approach is Van Seters 1975) have been unsuccessful. Even if the biblical historical narratives may derive to a greater or lesser degree from orally transmitted stories which are susceptible to comparison in terms of narrative technique with other poetic literature from the ANE (particularly the Ugaritic epic literature has been employed as the narrative model for the OT narratives), the question of their historicity cannot be determined in this fashion, because such oral traditions are, in the nature of things, incapable of objective control (further on this see Lemche 1985: 377–85, and the survey of literature on the subject in Kirkpatrick 1988). It is even conceivable that, if it were shown that parts of the Israelite traditions concerning the earliest periods hold a variety of characteristics in common with the epic literatures from other parts of the Near East, we should then be forced to conclude that the Israelite traditions are ahistorical, like the vast majority of the stories with which they have been compared.

In itself, the composition of the OT historical narrative furnishes us with reason to wonder whether its author(s) was/were actually able to write history. Although the "author" (sing., for convenience' sake) of the historical books does not call attention to the phenomenon, the work contains a wide variety of different genres, all pieced together: myths, sagas, fairy tales, genealogical lists, lists of officeholders, laws of various types (religious as well as secular), and so forth; he never signifies when he shifts from one type of information to another, or indicates that one tradition is more reliable in a historical sense than another.

Some scholars have attempted to explain the failure of OT history writers to write history in a technical sense by pointing to the possibility that the authors in question lived in a different epistemological "space" than their modern colleagues. To this end they have characterized Israelite history writing as *prelogical* or *mythical* (see Lemche 1984b; on history writing in antiquity, see Liverani 1973a, with examples in Liverani 1972; 1973b; 1974; 1977); that is, they have held it to have been dictated by other than strictly scientific interests. This even applies to sizable narratives like, for example, the story of David's rise to power (roughly 1 Samuel 16 to 2 Samuel 6, although the delimitation of this narrative is uncertain both as far as its beginning and its conclusion are concerned; see Grønbaek 1971), which displays considerable structural similarities with a N Syrian royal inscription from the 15th century B.C. relating how King IDRIMI of Alalakh acceded to his throne (*ANET*, 557–58; and see Buccellati 1962). The narratives about David and Idrimi follow a common scheme which was borrowed from the fairy tale genre, and which seems to have been used to defend successful pretenders against the imputation of usurpation (cf. Liverani 1972).

In this connection, however, it is not unimportant that biblical narrative art is guided by a certain *diachronic interest*, which is to say that the individual events in the course of a story are related according to a chronological scheme which structures the entire narrative. But it should be pointed out that the concern with chronology in OT narratives can be advanced as an argument in favor of the view that Israelite history writing did not predate the earliest Greek history writing, which implies that it is to be dated to the exilic period or even later (Van Seters 1983).

We should note that the study of OT historical literature as a source for Israel's earliest history is inhibited by the fact that no event which is related in the OT historical books is touched on by other ANE written sources: it is only in the Omride dynasty in the 9th century B.C. that Mesopotamian sources begin to mention historical figures of Israelite origin who also appear in the OT.

Accordingly, whoever attempts to derive historical information from the OT sources is necessarily forced to attempt his own analyses of the OT traditions in order to argue for the possibility that these sources contain historical information. In other words, one is in reality left to one's own devices to determine the question of historicity. From the point of view of scientific method this is very much a problematical procedure, because its results often have the character of postulates which can be neither confirmed nor disconfirmed.

There seem to be only two ways out of this dilemma, which consists in the facts that we cannot control the information contained in the witness of the OT and that other ancient written evidence provides no help. The scholar can either choose to ignore the OT information, as is the case in a number of recent

reconstructions of Israel's pre-national history (see Frick 1985; Coote and Whitelam 1987), or he can attempt to confront the information in the OT with the results of archaeological excavations in Palestine and surrounding regions.

**2. The Value of Palestinian Archaeology as a Historical Source.** Since the close of the 19th century, no region in the Near East has been so intensely explored as Palestine. However, it has been the case that the archaeology of Palestine has been, for most of its history, narrowly connected to OT scholarship in general. In the early phase of this study, archaeological activity was dominated by biblical scholars, with the result that there have been jurisdictional disputes between the biblical scholar and the archaeologist, who in many cases was one and the same person. See ARCHAEOLOGY, SYRO-PALESTINIAN.

The question as to who was eventually to win this struggle was virtually a foregone conclusion. It would have been extremely difficult, if not actually impossible, for the archaeologist to justify his activity in the region if his conclusions were not in some way capable of correlation with the information contained in the OT or NT. Archaeological excavations in Palestine have practically never been able to produce the spectacular sorts of results which have characterized many excavations in both Egypt and Mesopotamia, or which the archaeologists active in Asia Minor or N Syria are justifiably proud. Admittedly, there have been a great many finds, but these have been modest in kind; particularly the epigraphical materials have been extraordinarily limited, although we must not forget that many important small texts have been found.

One's immediate impression upon studying the results of Palestinian archaeology is that, at least in pre-Hellenistic times, the material culture of Palestine was extremely poor. Nowhere do we find temple complexes such as those for which Mesopotamia and Egypt are famed. Nor has a palatial complex been unearthed anywhere in Palestine which could measure itself even approximately with the royal dwelling in N Syrian Ugarit. The great golden treasures which have above all been found in excavations of Egyptian tombs or in ancient Ur, in S Iraq, are entirely lacking in Palestine. And the closest thing we have to a palace archive in Palestine is the collection of bullae which were perhaps attached to documents in the Jerusalem archives towards the close of the period of the monarchy (cf. Avigad 1986), although the documents themselves are lost forever.

It was only by virtue of their usefulness for allowing us to confirm or disconfirm the accuracy of certain biblical information that the individual results of excavations have been able to distinguish themselves and legitimate so much archaeological activity. It is therefore obvious that the archaeology of Palestine had to develop into a *biblical archaeology*, the primary goal of which was to correlate its results with OT information. Thus the sites which were chosen for excavation corresponded to this underlying intention; scholars concentrated their efforts to a high degree on the best-known sites mentioned in the OT (with the exception of Jerusalem, which, because of modern construction only allowed itself to be explored to a limited extent). Such sites included especially the towns of Jericho and Shechem.

Finally, the biblicistic element in earlier Palestinian archaeology was also expressed in the rather over-simplifying interpretations of the OT materials which were sometimes proposed even by such superb American archaeologists as W. F. Albright and G. E. Wright, or, in fact, even by their diametrical opposite, the English archaeologist K. M. Kenyon (Kenyon 1960). Kenyon's work contains numerous examples of historical interpretations which are not on the same level as the then-contemporary historical research which was being conducted into the OT texts.

As far as the sometimes problematical character of Palestinian archaeology is concerned, the discussion of Israel's conquest of Canaan may serve as a model, since the point of departure of countless archaeological investigations seems to have been the concern to find evidence of the Israelite occupation of the country shortly before 1200 B.C. A number of destructions of well-known Palestinian towns which must have taken place during the transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age were thus understood as direct evidence of the Israelite conquest (cf., e.g., the sections dealing with traces of the Israelite settlement in the chapters on the LB and Early Iron Ages in *ArchPal* 1960: 80–109, 110–45).

However, as matters developed archaeology began to create so many problems for the presumed historical accuracy of the OT account of the conquest of Canaan that it eventually became increasingly

difficult to retain the conviction of historicity underlying the OT narrative. The best-known of these many difficulties are those accruing around the date to be assigned to the destruction of Bronze Age Jericho, which had to be pushed back for archaeological reasons to the 16th century B.C. (cf. Kenyon's date of 1580 B.C. [1960: 316] with her defense of the historicity of Joshua 5–6 [*EAEHL* 2: 563–564]). Even more clear is the evidence from the excavation of Ai, which is also supposed to have been destroyed in the course of the Israelite invasion under Joshua, since it was demonstrated already by J. Marquet-Krause, the early French excavator of the town, that Ai was not immediately resettled after its destruction at the end of the EB Age (around 2300 B.C.). Marquet-Krause's conclusions have been confirmed by later American excavations undertaken since World War II, although it is now apparent that Ai was resettled in the early Iron Age. See AI (PLACE).

These clear conclusions, which so evidently annihilate the historical value of the OT account, had to have consequences sooner or later for the historical discussion of the Israelite settlement, just as they also led to warnings about the use and misuse of archaeology in the study of the OT (see, e.g., Noth 1971: 34–51; de Vaux 1970). Ultimately, this situation has led to the demand that the archaeological work be conducted for its own sake, and that its conclusions be drawn before one proceeds to involve the OT texts in the discussion of the interpretation of the archaeological materials (see Lemche 1985: 391).

As it happens, when we separate archaeology from the study of the OT texts we discover that the archaeological evidence has a decisive statement to make in connection with the reconstruction of the course of events in Palestine in the second half of the 2d millennium B.C. Admittedly, it has become more and more difficult to retain the biblical account of this course of events, but archaeology has, for one thing, produced material which allows the historians scope for further work. Furthermore, by increasing the distance between its results and the OT sources it has brought about a reevaluation of the character of the OT sources themselves. Archaeology can show us concretely that the OT narratives of the conquest cannot be taken at face value in a historical sense; rather, we see that in the OT we have reflections formulated at a late date about the question of Israel's origin. We find narratives which, admittedly, contain such things as etiological legends which associate particular localities with particular events in the historical narratives.

**C. The Historical Investigation of the Earliest Israel**

Confronted with the previously described source materials (OT texts composed long after Israel had begun to be governed by kings, and archaeological finds), the historian who intends to describe Israel's history in the premonarchic period is forced to make a number of choices. These choices have, above all, to do with securing appropriate methods for deriving historical information from the written sources. However, as far as the OT is concerned, even before the choice of method is made a decision has to be arrived at as to whether the OT may be used to provide any historical information whatsoever about the past.

There is somewhat of a consensus among scholars as to the understanding of the OT sources: only a handful are prepared to ignore the OT information entirely (cf. perhaps most prominently Frick 1985; Coote and Whitelam 1987). Moreover, an important question is whether OT scholars' choices in this regard have been made solely on the basis of the sources present in the OT, correlated with archaeological data, or whether other features have played a role, most notably the OT's character as sacred scripture for two religions. Ultimately, the historian's method is determined by his or her *understanding of the Bible.*

**1. The Traditional Historical Approach.** The traditional historical study of the OT has been characterized by a number of special features (cf. Lemche 1987–88; cf. also Sasson 1981; Coote and Whitelam 1987: 11–16). First, the various accounts of Israel's history have usually been very detailed. In this connection, the analysis of premonarchical Israel's history has generally received the lion's share of attention (this is every bit as striking in such early accounts as that of Kittel 1932 as in more recent ones, such as Donner 1984–86, where this analysis fills in reality half the work). These accounts have usually been founded on very extensive analyses of the OT texts, which have been searched in order to derive historical information.

Second, only a few histories of Israel contain cohesive sections dedicated to the epistemological questions which, because of Israel's practically unique history, must be posed.

Third, the lack of methodological reflection has invariably entailed that modern histories of Israel have been written along the premises laid down by the Israelite history writers themselves; it is the authors of the historical books of the OT who have established the *agenda* for the historical reconstructions of later times. This applies to the subdivision of the history of Israel into a series of discrete historical epochs, a "patriarchal period," a "sojourn in Egypt," a "conquest," a "period of the judges," and a "period of the monarchy." But it also applies to scholars' descriptions of the individual periods, which not uncommonly seem like attempts to "translate" the OT accounts into historical reports. There is extensive use of the renarration of OT history or even of "rationalistic paraphrases" of it (a notable recent example of this is *HAIJ*). In this process, OT narratives are usually "cleansed" of all mythical, not to mention "miraculous" features, so as to appear as secular rather than sacred history.

Fourth, the concern to develop methods suitable for studying OT texts for their historical content was determined by historical preoccupations; but this entailed that other concerns, such as the literary qualities of OT literature, were neglected. For example, when scholars chose to incorporate the study of legends and sagas into historical research on the earliest Israel, they emphasized those aspects of such studies which sought to find "historical nuclei" in folkloristic materials. At the same time, other competing views of folklore scholars (which were highly skeptical of the question of historicity or which did not regard this aspect as important in the creation of sagas and legends) were neglected.

Fifth, by the same token the lack of historical consciousness in much recent scholarship on Israel's history has meant that the gaps in that history have often been closed by the imagination (frequently characterized as "common sense") of the individual scholars, since they have attempted to produce cohesive accounts of the historical sequence on the basis of the OT narratives. This has entailed that such accounts lack any comprehensive historico-methodological foundation.

Sixth, the treatment of "external evidence" (see above) in the various histories of Israel has often been eclectic, in the sense that they have either been used to confirm OT statements or else they have been distorted slightly so as not to collide with those statements. This tendency has been especially notable in connection with the study of the Israelite patriarchs (on this method, see esp. Thompson 1974). An expression of this tendency is the enthusiasm which has greeted new discoveries from the ANE, such as, e.g., the Mari texts (ca. 18th century B.C.) or those from Ugarit (14th/13th century B.C.).

If one reads through any number of descriptions of the earliest history of Israel dating from the end of the 19th century (i.e., from Stade 1887 up to de Vaux 1971–73) one sees the features mentioned above recurring time and again. Particularly striking is the extent to which this historiography has concentrated on the discussion of questions concerned with the historical identity of the figures who feature in this early phase of Israel's history, from Abraham to Moses and Joshua, to the judges, who are supposed to have exercised some type of leadership in Israel before the introduction of the monarchy. Research has to a large extent been concentrated on isolated individuals and events, whereas the broad outline has usually been drawn in such a way as to connect one important figure from Israel's past with yet another.

Naturally, there are exceptions to this picture, as, for example, in several sections of Noth's important history of Israel which appeared shortly after World War II (Noth 1950). Noth's study was in turn based on a number of publications by the important German scholar A. Alt, in which the latter used a broader brush in his attempts to depict the outline of early Israelite history (cf., e.g., Alt, *KlSchr* 1: 89–175; 2: 1–65). Nevertheless, it would not be wrong to claim that the various descriptions of Israelite history before the monarchy have often looked more like historical analyses of OT texts than synthetic surveys of Israel's history.

**2. The Modern Study of Israel's Earliest History.** The historical studies since the early 1970's have, to some extent, pointed to new directions, not least because of the stimulus provided by a number of individual studies which have cast doubt on the historical contents of the OT narratives.

The historicity of the patriarchs came into focus when T. L. Thompson and J. Van Seters more or less simultaneously and with complementary arguments posed a number of well-chosen questions to the

traditional understanding of the patriarchal period as a historical phase in Israelite history (Thompson 1974; Van Seters 1975). Several studies have since appeared which have advocated the view that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob once did live, perhaps in the early 2d millennium, and that their memory is preserved in OT narratives. See ABRAHAM. It would nonetheless be correct to assert that these efforts, too, must take their point of departure in the researches of Thompson and Van Seters. Moreover, a number of OT scholars have now abandoned the idea that the patriarchal period was ever a historical epoch (cf. Soggin 1984: 89–108; Lemche 1988: 114–16; cf. already Noth 1950: 114–20).

The account of Israel's sojourn in Egypt, the exodus, and the wilderness wanderings under Moses' leadership were previously defended fiercely in most studies (cf., e.g., *FSAC*, 249–72; *BHI*[1], 110–20); current research now regards them with extreme skepticism. Thus, today the story of Joseph and his brothers seems to be a historical "novel" which was written in the 1st millennium (Redford 1970; *IJH*, 167–203) rather than an ancient historical record. Correspondingly, the other parts of the narrative complex stretching from Exodus to Numbers can hardly be other than late "recollections" of the historical past of the nation which were current in the 1st millennium B.C.

The OT narrative of Israel's conquest of Canaan has been efficiently neutralized by modern scholarship and may no longer be assigned historical worth as a source for the events which led to the formation of the Israelite people. A number of alternative conceptions of Israel's origins have now taken its place. On the other hand, the OT account of the period of the judges has been slightly rehabilitated, not so much because the narratives in the book of Judges deserve historical credence, but rather because the framework for the history of the period of the judges—the "amphictyony" which numerous scholars in Noth's train alleged for the pre-national period—no longer exists. In 1930 Noth presented the hypothesis that pre-national Israel was organized as an amphictyony along Greek lines, which is to say, he held that it was a union consisting of twelve tribes (Noth 1930). Noth's position, however, came under heavy fire, particularly in the 1970s (cf. esp. Mayes 1974; *IJH*, 285–331; de Geus 1976), and has today been abandoned by the majority of OT scholars (Lemche 1984a).

Taken together, these developments require us to surrender the idea that the OT historical accounts comprise a coherent narrative capable of forming the foundation for a reconstruction of pre-national Israelite history. Historians have accordingly seen themselves to be forced to employ other methods to depict the historical development of Palestine prior to the year 1000 B.C. These methods have to be based on the archaeological materials and not on the OT stories. By the same token, however, new methods are also required for the evaluation of the archaeological data, and primary among these methods are sociology and social anthropology.

It is likewise also necessary to incorporate insights deriving from modern historical study into the investigation of Israel's history. It is characteristic of recent historical research that there is still a powerful interest in the detailed description of the past, to the extent that such description is at all possible; at the same time, however, such research attempts to focus on the relationship of the individual historical events to a greater historical perspective. The terminology employed here is that of the *Annales*-school of French historians, namely *la longue durée*. The ruling concept is that a historical event cannot be studied in isolation; rather, it is inevitably part of some greater context or chain of events which, taken together, form the pattern of development which can be described and reconstructed by historians (on this and the study of Israel's history, see Whitelam 1986: 55–62; Coote and Whitelam 1987: 17–25).

**D. Sociology and the Study of Israel's Earliest History**

In the last couple of decades a third path toward the exploration of the earliest history of Israel has been increasingly attempted by a growing number of scholars. Through the study of population groups in preindustrial societies, such researchers have argued that "our contemporary ancestor" can help provide information which is also relevant to the evaluation of ancient Israel. By studying people who live in a society which (in terms of means of production) is still undeveloped, it may be possible to isolate characteristic features capable of generalization as "rules," and so to explain phenomena which we either know from the OT narratives about Israel in the prenational period, or which we have deduced from the

archaeological materials. See also ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE OT; SOCIOLOGY (ANCIENT ISRAEL).

The last two centuries of OT scholarship have seen many attempts to employ viewpoints, just as we have also seen a number of treatments of Israelite society (the best known is probably de Vaux 1961; but see also Pedersen 1926–40). Characteristic of these early efforts was, on the one hand, the lack of a coherent sociological theory and, on the other, a very limited sociological background material.

The lack of adequate theory underlying the attempts by OT scholars to describe Israelite society is probably owing to the inadequate sociological background of such scholars, which they have on occasion defended by their conviction that such an education is not necessary (cf. also Gottwald 1979: 5–7). Instead, one frequently encounters so-called common sense observations in conjunction with social phenomena which, in the eyes of a skilled sociologist, can only seem to be arbitrary or even directly misleading.

As far as the lack of materials is concerned, already prior to World War II there existed a limited number of social anthropological studies of Near Eastern social phenomena. However, the social-anthropological exploration of the Near East was deficient both with respect to quality and to extent, in comparison with other social anthropological fields of interest, such as sub-Saharan Africa, Melanesia, and so on. It was first in the time after World War II that a properly scientific study of the Near East began, which is to say, that it was also first at this time that it became possible to incorporate sociological methods into the study of social conditions in ancient Israel.

In general, sociology/social anthropology has been used in two ways by OT scholars. (1) The most ambitious method leads to the presentation of "model solutions" on the basis of the available sociological data, following which the models in question are used as heuristic tools in the study of ancient Israel. (2) A second path is less ambitious as far as what it expects to be able to derive from sociology/social anthropology; it balks at the use of models, on the assumption that such models do not sufficiently take account of the mutability of human nature, that is, of man's ability in a given situation to choose between numerous alternatives.

The first-mentioned approach has been preferred above all by a considerable number of American OT scholars. In America its development has gone hand in hand with the emergence of new archaeological methods (the "New Archaeology") which have been developed specifically to describe the historical development of peoples who have not left written records behind them. In studying a number of traditional ethnic groups, social anthropologists who pursue this course seek to isolate a limited number of individual phenomena or variables which they regard as characteristic of certain types of social organization. Thus, by assigning the numerous variables to such types of social organization as "band societies," "tribal societies," "chiefdoms," and "states," they believe it is possible to work out "heuristic models" for each type of society. It is further thought that such models are useful for the investigation of the social and political systems of other ethnic groups of which scholars are only sporadically informed. This social anthropological method or approach may be called *cultural evolutionism*.

For example, evolutionistic scholars would think it sensible that, if we possess limited information showing that a small number of all the variables which are normally associated with a "chieftainship" were present in a given society, then they are entitled to supplement the available information with other variables which belong to the same organizational level, and so ultimately to term the society in question a "chieftainship." Thus, if only a limited number of the variables which figure in the model of the chieftainship are present in the OT witness about Israel in the pre-national period, evolutionistic scholars would accordingly deduce that Israel in the period of the judges was a chieftainship (cf., e.g., Flanagan 1981), and, necessarily, that the other variables must also have been present.

Moreover, if the source materials permit a chronological distinction between the variables attested, so that some may be assigned to a relatively primitive socio-political stage of organization (tribal society) while others may be assigned to a higher stage (kingship), such evolutionistic studies enable the historic analysis of periods which had previously been held to be prehistoric.

Among the OT scholars who have chosen this approach in one form or another, we find primarily those who have advocated the notion that Israel arose in consequence of a revolutionary movement in Palestine during the transition between the Bronze and Iron Ages (Mendenhall 1962; 1973; Gottwald 1979; cf. among others also Chaney 1983). Disregarding their respective differences, what Mendenhall and Gottwald have in common is that their use of cultural evolutionistic views has been idiosyncratic and at least to some extent not anchored in their respective social anthropological foundations (in Mendenhall's case, Service 1962; for Gottwald's, Fried 1967). In particular, both have introduced a variable pertaining to ideology and religion which is not to be found in the works of their "originals" (cf. Lemche 1985: 209–16).

other scholars have directed their investigations either within the framework of the same social-anthropological school, or else on its periphery; they have thus introduced into the study of ancient Israelite history a number of heuristic models which both complement one another and compete with one another internally (e.g., Frick 1985; Coote and Whitelam 1987). It is further characteristic that, as the social anthropological models scholars have used in recent decades have become increasingly complicated because ever more variables have been included within them (a fact which has opened the possibility of variation on the basic model), the various models of pre-national Israelite society have become correspondingly sophisticated, but at the same time also less immediately intelligible (see in this respect Flanagan 1988).

The strength in this approach is the relatively clear results it produces, since in practice it has been possible to offer well-founded descriptions of the structure and history of pre-national Israelite society, in the process also characterizing the various social processes which led Israel from the status of a tribal society to that of a state ruled by kings.

However, this method also has its obvious weaknesses, because it rests on a number of assumptions which are not self-evident (Lemche 1985: 216–19). A fundamental assumption of the method is, for example, that human societies generally follow the same developmental course and are determined by the same forces. In other words, it is presupposed that there is only a relatively limited number of variables present in the sources bearing on a given society, and also that it is possible to interpret these variables in such a way that they can be seen to be determinative for the reconstruction of the social development. If the number of variables grows too large, the model becomes impenetrable and hence useless as a heuristic tool. If one further introduces an element of uncertainty, by noting that a given variable figures on several different socio-political levels (e.g., if one observes that segmentary social systems exist in tribal societies, chieftainships, and states), then it becomes necessary to pose serious questions as to the ultimate usefulness of the entire method. Finally, there is a variable for which it is virtually impossible to provide scientific controls: namely, the multiplicity of human nature, which includes man's ability to distinguish between different possibilities.

To describe Israelite social development in the pre-national period by means of heuristic models of the sort mentioned above it would have to be the case that peoples on the same level of development always choose either the same or analogous solutions to the problems which necessitate even basic changes in their respective societies.

In order for pre-national Israel to develop into a state, it was essential that, at particular times in their history, the pre-national Israelites should choose solutions to the political, economic, social, and ecological problems which arose and which required a restructuring of the society, if the effects of such problems were to be absorbed so that the society might survive. Such problems were no doubt present in the earliest Israelite society, and some of them may conceivably be demonstrable on the basis of the available source materials. However, it is far from certain that the solutions which the early Israelites chose were invariably such predictable ones that they can be fitted into a heuristic model of the development of societies at the same socio-political stage as early Israel.

There is therefore a latent danger that the use of heuristic models borrowed from cultural-evolutionistic social anthropology can provide only very superficial answers to historical questions. This in turn means that we do not really know what happened in early Israel. We possess what are in fact only very general

and quite banal conceptions as to the social development of Israel prior to the introduction of the monarchy, namely the assumption that Israel developed from a tribal society into a monarchy. What determined this course of development are factors of which we are still painfully ignorant.

It is therefore necessary to supplement or replace the heuristic method with alternative procedures which pave the way to a greater degree for the acknowledgment of the endless richness of variation of human societies.

One such procedure would entail the inclusion of as much social anthropological material as possible in one's analysis of pre-national Israel. It is essential that we include in our evaluation socio-anthropological accounts of as many traditional societies as possible which are at an evolutionary stage comparable to that of pre-national Israel. Of course, the ideal solution would entail that the OT scholar in question himself participated in the examination and description of such traditional societies, but, apart from rare exceptions, this possibility is generally excluded. In place of such experience, the OT scholar must study ethnographic reports of fieldwork studies conducted in traditional societies with a view to determining for himself the sorts of social, political, and religious forces which obtain in such societies (e.g., Lemche 1985: 84–244). It is only in this manner that the concerned scholar can hope to avoid the impression of superimposing a mold upon his study of ancient Israel, as all too easily occurs if his work is based on heuristic models alone whose basis is a quite limited number of variables.

In this way it should be possible to arrive at a fruitful interplay between heuristic models and actual societies, so that the scholar in question will be better able to evaluate his source materials, not only with respect to his efforts to describe the historical course of events, but also with respect to recognizing how limited are his possibilities to describe this course of events. No matter what sociological method should happen to be chosen, the goal remains to arrive at a characterization of prenational Israelite history. Cultural evolutionism seemingly produces the most spectacular results. However, scientific controls on this approach, which are provided by the application of the alternative sociological method, reveal that evolutionistic models are based on a much less solid foundation than is immediately apparent when we consider the historical reconstructions which have been presented by adherents of the cultural evolutionistic method.

**E. Israelite History in the Pre-national Period**

**1. The OT Narrative and "External Evidence." a. The OT Narrative.** According to the OT, the history of Israel begins when Yahweh, the God of Israel, chooses a man named Abram and dispatches him on a journey from Mesopotamia to the land of Canaan, the promised land, where he is intended to become the ancestral father of Yahweh's peculiar people, Israel. Abram/Abraham travels to this land and becomes the father of a son, Isaac, who in turn sires two sons, Jacob and Esau. The former eventually receives the name "Israel" and becomes the tribal ancestor of the Israelite people.

Neither Abraham, Isaac, nor Jacob succeeds in becoming fully sedentary in the land of Canaan, and indeed Jacob is ultimately forced to abandon Canaan with his twelve sons, the tribal ancestors of the later Israelite tribes, and to take up residence in Eeypt. In Egypt, Jacob's line in the course of 400 years develops into a nation. With Yahweh's aid and the leadership of Moses they manage to depart from Egypt and return to the land of Canaan. The return journey across Sinai and up through the region E of the Jordan takes 40 years, but Yahweh has revealed himself during this period as Israel's true and only God; he has also bound the Israelite people to himself in a covenantal relationship.

Under the leadership of Joshua and in a massive wave of conquest Israel moves into the land of Canaan and, following Yahweh's explicit orders (and admitting only a few individual exceptions), eradicates large portions of the Canaanite population. After the conclusion of the conquest, the depopulated Canaanite territory is redistributed among the Israelite tribes, Joshua himself presiding over a ceremony in which the covenant between Yahweh and Israel is confirmed.

After the death of Joshua there follows a period in which the Israelites forget who their God is, so that they begin to worship the gods of the Canaanites. Yahweh punishes Israel's apostasy by allowing foreign enemies to assail and plunder the country. However, he also saves it as soon as the Israelites return to Yahweh and pray for help. The saviors who are sent by Yahweh are the "Judges" of Israel who govern

Israel in peace and ensure the maintenance of the right religion as long as they live. However, whenever any Judge happens to die, Israel relapses to her old ways, so that history repeats itself.

Ultimately the problems confronting the Israelite tribes become so serious that divine assistance is not felt to be sufficient: the Israelites demand a king. At the request of the Israelite people, the last Judge, Samuel, is forced to find a successor, a king, a man able to free Israel from her dire situation. At the same time, however, it is proclaimed to the Israelites that the introduction of the monarchy must be seen as the final treachery against Yahweh, who is Israel's real king. Furthermore, it is predicted (although one has to "read between the lines" to appreciate this) that this treason will have weighty consequences at some future time.

**b. The "External Evidence."** First of all, it is important to note the simple fact that the ANE sources from the 3d and 2d millennia B.C. do not contain a single direct reference to any of the features mentioned in the OT narrative. There is not a single reference to Abraham the patriarch, or to Joseph and his brothers in Egypt, or to Moses and the Exodus, or to the conquest of Canaan, or even to a single one of the Judges. Furthermore, when we turn to the period during which the Israelite monarchy developed, we discover that the ANE sources are completely silent on the subject of Israelite kings until we come to Omri in the 9th century B.C.

In other words, the use of ANE evidence to illuminate the biblical historical account is always a matter of indirect references and information, never of direct mention. In order to exemplify the nature of such "external evidence" it will be necessary briefly to present some examples of the sorts of information in question, and to point to the types of problems associated with them.

In the case of Abraham, the narrative about the biblical patriarch mentions a number of localities which must be acknowledged to be historical, namely Ur in Chaldea and Haran in upper Mesopotamia, in addition to numerous sites in Palestine which are mentioned by name (Shechem, Bethel, Ai, Hebron, etc.). The connection with upper Mesopotamia is additionally strengthened by the fact that some of the proper names connected with the members of Abraham's family who continued to dwell in Mesopotamia are also place names in the vicinity of Haran. Taken in isolation, this sort of "external evidence" implies only that the biblical narrators made use of place names and localities which were known in their own time either as existing localities or as names preserved by tradition. Thus the references to such names tells us nothing about the historical contents of the narrative.

On the other hand, the way some of the names are mentioned shows that the Abraham narratives cannot have been concluded before a very late point in time. Thus, for example, Ur is said to be situated in Chaldea, which only became the case after the Chaldeans settled in the S part of Mesopotamia, that is, not earlier than the 9th–8th centuries B.C.—long after the time when, according to the biblical chronology, Abraham is supposed to have lived (towards the close of the 3d millennium B.C.). These sorts of "errors" have often been explained as anachronisms (on the debate concerning anachronisms in the patriarchal narratives see Westermann *Genesis 2* BKAT, 62–64; Thompson 1974: 298–308), a possibility which must be taken seriously. On the other hand, such "anachronisms" correspond to the finds the archaeologist uncovers during excavation which make possible a precise date for the concluding phase of a given archaeological stratum. The patriarchal narratives could not have received their final form before the latest "anachronistic" datum in them was worked into the story. But this does not rule out the possibility that there could be older components in the story.

Concrete information from Israel's environment of a similar nature also recurs in connection with the other epochs in the OT account of Israel's earliest history. The Egyptian sources never directly refer to the presence of the Israelites in Egypt, although analogous phenomena are described in some documents which, among other things, describe the entry of Semitic nomads into Egypt (*ANET*, 259), just as they also mention the presence of *ʿapr.w* (*ḫab/piru*, possibly "Hebrews") in Egypt (Greenberg 1955: 55–57; Bottéro 1954: 165–75). The description in Exodus of the forced labor of the Israelites in the construction of Pharaoh's garrison cities, Pithom and Rameses (Exod 1:11), is often seen by scholars in relation to conditions which obtained under the 19th or 20th Dynasty, when Egypt was ruled by a number of pharaohs called Rameses.

While this sort of "external" information shows that the Israelites, or their ancestors, *could* have been present in Egypt in the time of the New Kingdom, it does not *prove* that this was the case. In the first place, it is entirely possible that the Israelites were originally *ḫab/piru.* See HABIRU, HAPIRU; HEBREW. However, this particular sociological phenomenon appeared everywhere in the ANE in the 2d millennium B.C., from the Zagros mountains in the NE to Egypt in the SW, and from the Persian Gulf in the SE to Asia Minor in the NW. The term accordingly designates a population of heterogeneous ethnic origins which was so far-flung that they cannot possibly be identified with the early Israelite population. In short, even though the earliest Israelites may have been part of the LB *ḫab/piru-movement,* this does not prove that the Israelites were ever in Egypt simply because *ḫab/piru-peoples* were also present there.

Furthermore, not even the information pertaining to Pharaoh's garrison cities, Pithom and Rameses, can decide the issue and prove that the Israelites were in Egypt, since archaeological and topographical research leaves open the question as to which sites are actually designated, when they were founded, and where they were situated (Redford 1987; cf. Bietak 1987).

other types of "external evidence" include such things as proper names, usages and customs, relationships to particular sociological phenomena (were the patriarchs or Israelites nomads or *ḫab/piru,* or was Abraham a wandering merchant [Albright 1961]?) or ethnic groups (were the Israelites Amorites or Aramaeans?). But we shall have no certainty in this area as long as Israel's environment continues to deny us information about particular individuals whom we otherwise know from the OT account of the prenational period, and also because it is not possible to reestablish a socio-historical framework which is so exclusive that, for example, the patriarchs must necessarily belong within it—a procedure which would entail assigning the patriarchs to the period to which such a framework could be dated.

Admittedly, most, but not all, information of a historical, sociological, or economic nature pertaining to the patriarchs may be compared with "external evidence" from the 2d millennium B.C. However, such comparisons require the use of materials which extend, in terms of time, over most of a millennium, and, in terms of space, run from the NE part of Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf and to the Mediterranean and Egypt to the W and SW. Finally, the year 1000 B.C. is by no means some kind of *magical* barrier. Most or even all of the individual details in the patriarchal narratives (or, for that matter, in the account of the Israelite sojourn in Egypt) can be seen against a Near Eastern background which locates the patriarchs in the 1st millennium B.C.

"External evidence" is important to the extent that it is able to show that certain components in the OT narratives about Israel's earliest history were not free inventions. Rather, it helps us to see that in writing their stories about the ancestors of Israel the "historians" (so to speak) created a socio-cultural framework for their heroes and heroines, a framework whose authenticity is confirmed by other ANE sources. On the other hand, "external evidence" cannot be used to show that the patriarchs ever existed, or that Israel was ever in Egypt.

Against this, it has been argued that the OT account of Israel's earliest history cannot be *disconfirmed,* and that scholars cannot therefore allow themselves to claim that Israel was *not* in Egypt. Of course, this is correct, but this counterargument accords the OT narratives the status of postulates which are not subject to scholarly criticism as to their historical contents. On the one hand, it is conceivable that what we find in the narratives is true; on the other hand, scholars can neither prove nor disprove this. This means that the narratives in question have no role to play in a scientific analysis of Israel's past, since the only argument which can be advanced for their inclusion is that we *think,* that is, "believe," that there are historical elements in them. In this connection it might be argued, as in the question of Moses' historicity, for example, that Moses is a necessary presupposition for the understanding of the earliest history and prehistory of Israel, and, further, that if he had not lived it would have been necessary to invent him (the expression is supposed to derive from N. Soederblom; cf. de Vaux 1971–73, 1: 311 n. 33); it is then possible to reply, with Liverani (1976: 153), "That's what they did!"

**2. Early Israelite History. a. Choice of Method—Delimiting the Object of Study.** Ultimately, the history of pre-national Israel must be written without the aid of the OT narratives. The time prior to the formation of the state (and perhaps also somewhat later in the monarchical period than is usually

assumed) is, from a scholarly point of view, *prehistory* (i.e., in technical terms, "the time without history"), since there are no contemporary written sources which inform us as to events in Israel before the introduction of the monarchy.

Of course, it is true that some scholars have argued in favor of a distinction between this history-less prehistory and early history *("Frühgeschichte/protohistory"),* where the latter is held to reside in the dusky terminator separating the history-less past and historical time proper. They thus hold that it should be possible to glimpse the contours of this early history in the sources which date from the historical time (Malamat 1983). This view is problematical in that it presupposes as given that the late sources may possess historical information about the past, and also because it assumes that we are able to cross-examine the information contained in the late sources in such a way that it is possible to distinguish between historical information and ahistorical story (Lemche 1984b).

This means that in our efforts to reconstruct Israel's earliest history we must renounce the possibility of reconstructing that history prior to Israel's emergence in Palestine. We must stop attempting to describe the history of the patriarchal age, or Israel's situation in Egypt, or in the desert. Even though we have to deal in certain cases with periods of Israel's prehistory, as the OT itself asserts, we are unable to check the OT information in such a way as to permit us to write a coherent historical account. Accordingly, our narrative about Israel has to start at a point in time at which it is possible, in however rudimentary fashion, to shape for ourselves a picture of Israel's early existence.

Instead of "retelling" yet again the OT narrative of Israel's earliest history, the historian's primary task now is to concentrate on the *scene* against which Israelite history unrolled, which is to say that the historian must attempt to account for the development in the area in which Israel arose and existed. Moreover, the historian must do this on the basis of sources which derive from the period, a period which may be termed "Israel's formative time."

This method is not new. The most famous example of a similar approach in OT studies is Alt's use of *territorial history ("Territorialgeschichte")* in his pathfinding study of Israel's emergence (Alt, *KlSchr* 1: 89–125). By studying the socio-political features which obtained before Israel settled in Palestine and again after the completion of the process of settlement, Alt thought it possible to determine the character of Israelite settlement, and thus to render an account of Israel's origin and earliest history in Palestine.

Alt's reconstruction of the developmental history of Israel must be regarded today as outdated (although one should not forget the fact that it still has many adherents among OT scholars). The reason for this does not have to do with the method which Alt employed, but rather with the sources which formed the basis of his theories. In part, the source materials have grown considerably thanks to the addition of extra information; moreover, we have studied the sources for almost three-quarters of a century, with the result that we are now better able to evaluate the information contained in those sources which were already available to Alt. Thus we are better off than Alt was on three decisive points.

First, today we are much better informed about the ANE civilizations of the LB Age, a remark which also applies to the situation in Palestine. Admittedly, the source materials available to Alt consisted mainly of the Amarna correspondence; these have been only slightly supplemented by the addition of individual documents from Palestine itself. But if we move beyond the narrow borders of Palestine, we discover that it is now possible to form a much better impression as to the history, culture, and political and social system of the region by studying a number of archives which have been found since 1925, or which only since that time have made an impression on the scientific community. In particular there are the archives from Ugarit and Alalakh, but additional information is also derivable from the archives of the old Hittite capital of Hattusas (modern Bogazköy in Turkey). It is now possible to draw the broad outline of the history of Syria in the LB Age (for surveys extending up to ca. 1970, see Klengel 1965–70). It is likewise possible to reconstruct in some detail the social life of the Near Eastern states in this period (on Ugarit, see Rainey 1962; Heltzer 1976; 1982; cf. also Buccellati 1967).

Second, archaeological work both within and outside of Palestine has not merely provided researchers with much more extensive materials than those which were available to Alt. Rather, the changed archaeological methods since 1970, including above all the modern archaeological concern to study entire

areas instead of concentrating on the excavation of the great tells, has enabled scholars to stratify the archaeological history of sizable parts of the later Israelite region (cf. esp. *AIS*).

Third, the appearance of a truly scientific socio-anthropological study of Near Eastern societies in the decades following World War II, including particularly studies of nomadic societies and their relations to other types of societies in the region, has entailed that the sociological observations which also figured in Alt's reconstructions have either had to be extensively modified or exchanged for other sociological theories.

Taken together, these facts mean that the scientific description of the history of Israel before the emergence of the monarchy has had to be rewritten (strikingly expressed by Gottwald 1975 in the form of a number of demands which would have to be met by any renewed discussion of Israelite history). At this time, however, it is too early to claim that the modern reconstruction of Israelite history has been fully established, although a number of possibilities now present themselves for the consideration of the scholar. Thus every historical reconstruction offered at present necessarily has a hypothetical character, even if the main lines of such reconstructions are by now relatively well drawn.

**b. Palestine in the LB Age.** Considering the modest size of the region (ca. 28,000 sq. km), it is remarkable that Palestine seems to have been subdivided into a number of mini-states throughout the entire Bronze Age, each with a more or less sizable town as its center, and each governed by a king. This political structure, which we can barely make out, at least as far as the EB Age (3d millennium B.C.) is concerned, became sharply defined in the MB Age (the first half of the 2d millennium B.C.), as we can deduce from the Egyptian EXECRATION TEXTS.

This political structure survived the Egyptian conquest of the country in the 16th century B.C. Indeed, it would even be possible to assert that the political fragmentation of the country made the task of its occupiers easier; they tended to leave the political structure untouched, with the exception of appointing their own political governor for the region. On the other hand, the Egyptians were able to play the various mini-states off against one another in a sort of "divide and conquer" policy which prevented the emergence of any effective opposition to the Egyptian dominance. Thus the Egyptian occupation did not lead to peace in Palestine; rather, it augmented the tendencies to political divisiveness and the internal rivalries of the various states which were already latent in the area. In this connection, two factors were especially important:

(1) On the economic level, the Egyptian occupation represented a burden on the resources of the region because of the taxes which the Egyptian provinces were obliged to pay. Admittedly, we do not know the precise dimensions of this taxation, but its consequence seems to have been a gradual but nevertheless noticeable decline in the material culture of the region in the LB Age. This development seems to have accelerated in the 14th century B.C. (Kenyon 1979: 206), possibly as a result of difficulties presented to the trade exchanges caused by the establishment of the Hittite Empire around 1400 B.C. Also, the Palestinian states had perforce to bear the consequences of the later conflicts between the Egyptian armies, which utilized Palestine as a staging-ground, and the Hittite troops. Palestine was, however, outside of the immediate combat zone, which was located further to the N in Syria.

(2) On the ideological plane, the Egyptian dominance also created problems by utilizing a political ideology which was foreign to the local Palestinian kings, since the Egyptian political ideology could not guarantee the security of these kings. A consequence of the Egyptian attitude towards their subject-kings was that the latter were forced to fend for themselves. The Egyptians apparently only intervened in conflicts between the various kings in the event the Egyptian sovereignty was directly threatened by particularly ambitious vassals (Liverani 1983).

We do not know the details of the socio-political structure of the Palestinian mini-states. However, it would be reasonable to assume that the local societies were reminiscent of those situated in the larger states to the N, Ugarit and Alalakh, from which we possess a wealth of information. Briefly, the structure in question may be characterized as a *palatine system* in which the palace was the all-dominating center of the state, and in which the king, enthroned in his palace, was regarded as the ideological (religious), political, and economic center. The king had at his disposal a corps of both civilian and military

functionaries who controlled the various social sectors. Everything suggests that economic life and the production of manufactured goods was also directed from the palace. The ordinary population consisted in part of artisans who, at least in the case of N Syria, were subject to the palatial administration; and of peasants, who made up the largest social group in the society. The slaves were located at the bottom of society, but we have no idea how extensive the practice of slavery was in the Palestinian states.

It was characteristic of the Palestinian area, in contradistinction to the larger Syrian states, that there was little village structure outside of the urban centers, since one of the notable features of the LB Age was a clearly-defined decline in the number of villages in the country (Thompson 1978: 32; 1979: 66). To a large extent, the peasant population must have dwelt in the towns where they could be protected by the defensive walls and by the local military. In consideration of the very limited territorial extension of the individual states, this did not rule out agriculture around the towns, although the marginal areas must have been neglected. Considerable transition of the peasant population to other occupations, including nomadism, is likewise probable.

The reasons for the decline of village culture are not difficult to describe. Throughout the history of the ANE the peasant populations were exposed groups (see extensively on this Lemche 1985: 164–201). In the first place, they had to bear the tax burdens of the state more than any other group in society, since agricultural products are immediately convertible in any economy based on barter. In the second place, to the extent that the peasant populations lived in villages they were practically unprotected. When peace obtained in the country, the peasants had no need of protection. Maintaining order was ordinarily the job of the state authorities, and during more hostile times the struggle between the states was much concerned with the control of the villages and their ability to pay taxes. Palestinian peasants accordingly had only two possibilities open to them: they could seek the protection of the walled towns—and in this connection we note that, particularly in the earlier part of the LB Age, a sizable increase in the population of the towns seems to have taken place (Kenyon 1979: 189–92)—or they could abandon their occupation and land in order to flee and try to find security elsewhere.

In the latter event, a number of escape routes were possible. The peasants could either become nomads, a process which was made all the easier by the fact that most of the peasant societies in question also to some extent practiced *transhumant* pastoralism; or they had the possibility to become *ḫap/piru,* that is, refugees who survived either by fleeing to other states or by becoming outlaws in the impassible mountainous regions in Palestine. We do not know how sizable a percentage of the peasant population chose to survive as nomads on the margins of the existing states. However, if we compare the developments in the LB Age with other and similar situations in Palestine's history—occasions when village culture declined sharply (see the survey in Coote and Whitelam 1987: 27–80)—then we must assume that the desedentarization of the peasants was in fact considerable.

Furthermore, it is clearly implied by the written sources from this period that the refugee problem eventually reached such dimensions that the Egyptian suzerains were compelled to intervene, although it does not look as if the problem was ever solved. At all events, the refugees *(ḫap/piru)* figure in the sources all the way from the days of Amenophis II (ca. 1450 B.C.; cf. Greenberg 1955: 56, no. 159; Bottéro 1954: 167, no. 183) to those of Sethi I (ca. 1310 B.C.; Greenberg 1955: 56, no. 160; Bottéro 1954: 168, no. 184; Albright 1952). The main part of the evidence derives from the Amarna correspondence from the first half of the 14th century B.C. (Greenberg 1955: 32–50; Bottéro 1954: 85–118). The Amarna letters also show that the phenomenon gave cause for alarm in the small Palestinian states, especially because it was possible to designate anyone in opposition to those in power as an *ḫap/piru,* i.e., an enemy of the Egyptians (cf. Mendenhall 1973: 122–41; Liverani 1979a).

But whether the peasants chose an existence as nomads or instead decided to flee entirely and try their luck as *ḫap/piru,* the consequences for the Palestinian states remained considerable. On the one hand, the reduction in the number of peasants—with the attendant probable reduction of land under cultivation—meant a painful decline in the base of taxation. Moreover, this must have taken place at a time when the Egyptian overlords felt the need to levy even greater imposts on their provinces. On the other hand, the increase in population which was no longer subject to control by the states (nomads and outlaws)

constituted a threat to trade relations, including the international trade between the Egyptian region and the Syro-Mesopotamian sphere, since the caravans must have made tempting targets for bandits and for the raids of the nomads. Thus the socio-political development towards the close of the LB Age contributed to the collapse of what had been, in economic terms, an "internationalist" phase based on the exchange of trade goods; and this collapse no doubt in turn accelerated the political disintegration of the area. We cannot claim that the city-state system in Syro-Palestine completely succumbed during the transition from the LB Age to the early Iron Age (the period from the 13th to the 11th centuries B.C.), as a considerable number of towns survived the economic and political turbulence of the period. It remains nevertheless true that the power relationships in the country changed significantly during the early Iron Age. Not the least important reason for this was the beginning of a new socio-political process which led to the emergence of wholly new centers of power in the Iron Age, and which culminated in the appearance of the state(s) of Israel.

**c. Palestine in the Early Iron Age.** The most important change in the evolution of Palestine in the early Iron Age (the period between 1200 B.C. and the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C.) was the reflowering of village culture in the entire country. This development already seems to have started prior to the close of the 13th century B.C., but it accelerated in the subsequent couple of centuries (fundamentally on this development, see *AIS*).

As we have seen, this flowering of village culture did not mean that the towns disappeared at the same time, even though the archaeological picture of the urban societies in this period points to a serious crisis which affected a number of the larger towns. Admittedly, certain towns were in fact destroyed in the course of this period, particularly towards the end of the 13th century or the beginning of the 12th century B.C. others, however, lived on and show no signs of destruction; indeed, some of them continued down into the 10th century (the time of the Israelite monarchy).

There is no simple answer as to why things took this course, such as, for example, suggesting that the destruction in this period of several urban societies was a facet of the Israelite invasion and conquest of the country, as scholars previously assumed. There seem to be no correlation between the distribution of destruction and the OT account of Israel's invasion of the land of Canaan.

On the other hand, the results of the archaeological excavations and surveys do suggest a completely different explanation of the socio-political development than the one which appears in the OT. Most notably, it has proven to be practically impossible to distinguish between the material culture of the early Iron Age village societies and that which prevailed in the urban societies, except, of course, for the fact that the material culture in the villages was never as rich as it was in the towns. Moreover, with the sole exception of the Philistines, it has proven to be extraordinarily difficult to point to so-called index fossils which might imply the presence of foreign immigrants, since such a presence literally always manifests itself in the form of a pottery tradition which differed radically from that which obtained in the rest of the country. In general, it would be correct to characterize the material culture in both the villages and the towns as a continuation of the material culture of the LB Age, even if the level of this culture depreciated considerably.

This does not mean that there are no archaeological "novelties" associated with the Iron Age, when compared with the previous period; there was in fact a new house type which appears in a number of villages (the so-called four-room house). However, the distribution of these structures was not confined to Israelite territory, since it also appeared in the Philistine region and elsewhere. Furthermore, this type of house does not seem to have appeared before the development of the Iron Age villages; rather, its appearance went hand in hand with the general development of the material culture in the Iron Age (*AIS*, 254–59). See also HOUSE, ISRAELITE. other, supposedly "new" elements might be mentioned in this connection, such as the so-called collared-rim jar, which Albright in particular (*ArchPal*, 118–19) associated with the arrival of the Israelites in the country. However, here also we are dealing with a cultural feature whose roots lay in the LB Age and which, incidentally, was not confined to the later Israelite territory (*AIS*, 275–85).

In short, there are no indications that Palestine was struck by any sizable wave of immigration from the surrounding regions in the period between ca. 1300 and 1000 B.C., with the exception, of course, of the Philistine settlements along the coast, which have their own history. See PHILISTINES. This means in turn that an explanation of the origin and early history of Israel is to be sought in the context of a more general evaluation of the socio-political development of the region, which is reflected in the emergence of an extensive village culture in the early Iron Age. It is furthermore essential that any reconstruction of this history be based on conditions in Palestine itself, and not, for example, be grounded in the information in late literary sources about foreign peoples and conquerors—a process which has, in the scholarly discussion of the problem, allowed these foreign *ethnoi* to serve as some sort of *dei ex machina*, that is, as simplistic explanations for developments which can in reality be explained without recourse to such "models" (on this sort of explanation in scientific literature, see Adams 1968; Tritsch 1974).

An especially interesting characteristic of the revived village culture of the Iron Age was the fact that it was largely concentrated in areas which either had not previously been under cultivation, or which had been unexploited marginal areas during the LB Age. This applies especially to the Galilean highlands to the N and the mountainous region of central Palestine; but it also applies to the Negeb desert and the hill country to the S. Scholars have previously pointed to at least three technical innovations as factors which enabled this change in the settlement pattern: (1) the introduction of iron tools, (2) the introduction of cement-lined cisterns for collecting rainwater, and (3) the introduction of the technique of terracing the mountain slopes to retain the soil after clearance of the natural mountain vegetation (*ArchPal*, 110–13; de Geus 1975; Gottwald 1979: 658–59; and, as far as points 2 and 3 are concerned, Lemche 1988: 90). However, all three claims now seem to be untenable (*AIS*, 202). As far as iron is concerned, there was no decisive breakthrough before the 10th century B.C. when steel technology was developed (Waldbaum 1978: 24–27); until then the material had been useless for the production of durable tools. As far as the cisterns and terraces are concerned, the techniques in question already existed at an earlier date; thus it was more a matter of more extensive use of known technology than of the discovery of new technology (Hopkins 1985: 265–69; on terracing, see also Borowski 1987: 15–18). The fact that both cisterns and terracing were in greater use after 1200 B.C. than earlier is best explained by the nature of the newly-cultivated territories, and by the political factors which necessitated the cultivation of the areas in question. The technologies in question, like other corresponding ones—such as the extensive use of storage pits in Iron Age complexes (Hopkins 1985: 149–51)—were the basic presuppositions which made the settlements in the mountainous regions and on the borders of the desert at all possible. Therefore they must have been known *before* the settlements; they could not have been introduced after the settlements were established.

This fact further implies that the concept of the Israelites as nomads wandering in from the deserts and steppe areas E and SE of the cultivable lands in Palestine and Transjordan can scarcely be maintained. The new settlements must have been established by people who had lived in contact with the pastoral culture of Palestine. Naturally, the identification of such groups is debatable. Parallels from later periods in the history of the region suggest that nomads must have had some share in the process of settlement, but in the event these would have been nomads who had been in contact with the sedentary population for a long time in a variety of forms of symbiotic coexistence.

However, there are a number of factors which suggest that we cannot reckon with an automatic sedentarization of nomads; the process must have been coerced by other circumstances. In the first place, only some parts of the regions which became subjected to cultivation in the Iron Age were actually suited for flocks and herds. As long as the mountains were covered with forest (as they were to a large extent in the Palestinian highlands until the LB Age; cf. Rowton 1967), they were unsuited to raising flocks and herds to any significant extent. It was only in the valleys and in the northern Negeb that it was possible to herd sheep, goats, and cattle on a large scale. In the second place, it is a fact that Near Eastern nomads do not voluntarily submit to sedentarization. The primary reason for this is economic, since, at least in theory, the nomadic way of life contains more possibilities for economic expansion, and thus for population expansion, than does agriculture (ecological factors profoundly circumscribe the growth of

agriculture in the Near East). Ethnographic studies of the sedentarization of nomads have shown that nomads continue to resist sedentarization even when political organizations beyond the control of the nomads themselves (i.e., centralized states) force them to do so. Such resistance is not always successful. However, some nomads may voluntarily "sedentarize" if the already-existing peasant society contains population elements which are *ethnically* related to the nomads (on nomadism in the Near East, see Lemche 1985: 84–163; on the process of sedentarization, see esp. pp. 136–47).

Thus any theory which seeks to explain the emergence of the villages, and which at the same time allows for the possibility of nomadic participation in this process, will necessarily assert that the mountain settlements were introduced by people who could not have been nomads per se. Rather, they were people who attempted to perpetuate a way of life which they had known previously in other regions of the country. The nomadic elements which subsequently participated in these settlements must have understood themselves to be so closely related to this peasant population that this relationship encouraged their sedentarization. On the other hand, there is no reason to imagine that the city states in any way participated in the settlement process, or that they forced the nomadic elements of the hill-country to give up that way of life. Neither these city-states nor the Egyptian empire (which still nominally ruled the area) possessed the strength necessary to influence and control developments in the highlands.

Thus our materials suggest that the process of settlement in the mountains was begun by peasants who came from parts of Palestine which had already known agriculture (i.e., from the territories of the city-states in the lowlands along the coast and in the valleys in the N part of the country). In this connection it is relevant to include the refugee problem which was so characteristic of the LB Age, and which is connected with the *ḫab/piru* movement. It was already pointed out above that the main body of these refugees consisted of peasants who, under insupportable economic and political pressures, were forced to abandon their lands and seek their survival outside of the sphere of influence of the city-states and the authority of the Egyptian empire. In the course of time, it became possible for this "outlaw" population group to consolidate their toehold in the highlands and, through socio-political integration, to achieve such a degree of independence that they were able, as tribes, to administer their own territories, settle in them, clear new land for a growing population, and defend them against outside interference. In the course of all this, their successes became so appealing to their nomadic cousins (who, in most cases, must have had the same origins) that parts of the Palestinian nomadic population also settled in these new villages. Moreover, at least in the N Negeb these elements must have comprised the most important segment of the population of the newly-established settlements (on Tel Masos, see Fritz 1980).

This process is explicable in sociological terms, since the social structure of this mixed peasant and nomadic population underwent only slight changes. The main lines of the fundamental social structure of the new societies were preserved; only a single new element was added: the tribal society. This is to be explained on the basis of the fact that the fundamental social structure of preindustrial Near Eastern societies has survived unchanged for thousands of years. It does not mean that major changes did not occur on the local level, or that relationships were identical from site to site and through all time. Rather, it means that all of these societies were fundamentally constituted as kinship structures, either real or false. The lowest level of these societies consisted of *nuclear families* (in individual cases "extended families" consisting of several nuclear families). The ascending stages thereafter consisted of *minimal lineages, lineages, maximal lineages* and *clans.* All or most of these levels will have been present no matter how the political structure of the society as a whole was organized—i.e., they were independent of whether or not there were centralized states.

Only the highest level of the socio-political structure, the tribe, appears to have clashed on occasion with the forces of the state, since the tribe as a form of political organization competed with the state administrative organs. To put it another way, the state performed the same functions as the tribal organization, that is, the state's primary function was to protect the interests of its citizens. The tribes had themselves arisen out of what were previous nontribal societies to meet a common need perceived by its members, thus forming a type of organization capable of offering protections to the individual family, lineage, or clan which they could not provide for themselves. Just as the state provided a *forum* for the life

and well-being of its citizens, the tribe designated the extreme horizon for the existence of its members. If one was not a citizen of a state, one was automatically regarded as a foreigner; if one did not belong to a tribe, one was not embraced by the reciprocal protective system which the tribe represented. There was, however, a single decisive difference between state and tribe, namely that the state controlled its citizens by the exercise of *political force;* to this end it possessed mechanisms for getting its way with the citizens. By contrast, the members of the tribe were united by ties of *social solidarity* based on the fact that they were, at least on the ideological plane, related by kinship ties (on the transformations of Near Eastern state-citizens into tribal members and vice versa, see Salzmann 1978).

No written source deriving from the early Iron Age tells us what names the tribal organizations in question actually used. Probably part, if not all, of the twelve "official" Israelite tribes came into being in conjunction with these new developments in the highlands and the N Negeb during the LB-early Iron Age transition. On the other hand, there is no reason to believe that it was only the twelve Israelite tribes attested in the OT which took part in this process. An Egyptian inscription from ca. 1310 B.C. mentions some groups which might well have been tribes active in the region around Beth-shan (*ANET,* 255; Albright 1952). None of the tribes in question is mentioned in the OT although it has been supposed that the patriarch Abraham might have been the apical ancestor of one of them, namely the tribe *Rhm* (cf. Liverani 1979b). Another of the names, *Yrmt,* is familiar to us as a toponym which, in the geographical lists in the book of Joshua (21:29), appears as Jarmuth, in the tribal territory of Issachar. On the other hand, the third name mentioned in the inscription, *Tyr,* is not attested elsewhere.

Correspondingly, the Song of Deborah (Judges; which is probably the oldest source in the OT regardless of whether or not it derives from the premonarchic period) informs us of the existence of tribal units which did not receive placings in the official lists of Israel's twelve tribes. These are Machir and Gilead; in the OT the former figures as a toponym, while the latter is a clan within the tribe of Manasseh.

Such indications show that the course of the socio-political process in the early Iron Age was much more complicated than is suggested by the much later OT sources. At the same time, it shows that the OT information about the twelve tribes and their tribal territories cannot be regarded as information deriving from pre-national times. Rather, in the OT we are dealing with a systematic reconstruction of early Israelite history which was undertaken at a much later date. Similarly, the tribal boundaries mentioned in the book of Joshua must be seen to reflect the district subdivisions of the later Israel, whether or not the description of the tribal territories in Joshua 13–21 derive from early monarchical times or were first composed in the reign of king Josiah, or even later (see the summary by Miller in *IJH,* 235–36).

The connection between the process of retribalization adumbrated here and the social movements which were already so prominent in the LB Age is possibly also supported by the use of the term "Hebrew" in the OT. In the Bible the term appears in certain contexts as a designation for the early Israelites. The most remarkable such usage probably occurs in the books of Samuel, where it is always the Philistines who employ the term of the Israelites (1 Sam 4:6, 9; 13:3, 19; 14:11, 21; 29:3). Although the contexts in question do not necessarily harken back to Israel's pre-national time, they do nevertheless imply, like other OT references to the Israelites as Hebrews (esp. in Exodus 1–15) that, in the eyes of the city-states, the tribal societies in the highlands were regarded as "Hebrew" societies, which probably means *ḫab/piru* (Lemche 1979; and, partially, Na'aman 1986). See HEBREW. This does not necessarily mean that there was a direct line connecting Israel's origin to, for example, the *ḫab/piru* movements of the Amarna period; but it might be taken to suggest that the authorities in the early Iron Age (and perhaps even later) city-states linked the developments in the highlands with the *ḫab/piru* phenomenon. Admittedly, with the single exception of the very late text of Jonah 1:9, there is no evidence to suggest that the Israelites ever called themselves "Hebrews." This fact need not mean very much, however, since there are also no ANE sources which show that the *ḫab/piru-peoples* ever applied the term to themselves. Rather, *ḫab/piru* was a social designation which was employed by the official authorities to refer to a special group of needy people; it had no ethnic connotations. Such ethnic connotations probably emerged only later in Israel when the "Hebrews" mentioned in the OT were also regarded as Israelites.

One particular problem adheres to the question of the motives underlying the process of retribalization in the mountain regions and in the Negeb in the early Iron Age. As the development has been sketched out here, it has been explained in terms of political, economic, and social relationships. However, there is some question as to whether some *ideological motivation* also lies behind the origin of earliest Israel. George Mendenhall, the first scholar to suggest that Israel's emergence was the result of a social process taking place in the Palestinian highlands rather than the result of the immigration of foreign peoples from other parts of the Near East, especially characterized the process as an expression of a conscious, ideologically-motivated reaction to the city-state system. As he saw it, the peasants had suffered such intolerable conditions that they were forced to rebel against that system (Mendenhall 1962). Thus the proponents of this theory have chosen to see Israel as the result of a *peasants' revolt* against the feudal Canaanite political "establishment," a revolt which was, additionally, influenced by the introduction of a new religion into Palestinian society. Mendenhall accordingly gives the honor for the arrival of the god Yahweh, which in reality means the arrival of the group of people who had encountered Yahweh in "the desert," to the early "Yahwists." It was they, he holds, who created an ideology which was able to serve as a focus of centralization for the dissatisfied forces in the country. This also meant that when the new society constituted itself as a tribal league (Mendenhall originally retained much of Noth's conception of an Israelite amphictyony), the statutes of the Yahwistic religion—i.e., the covenant between Yahweh and Israel—served as the constitution of the new Israelite society. Mendenhall sees this society as essentially an *egalitarian* one, that is, a society in which all Israelites, at least in theory, were on the same footing.

However, this thesis, which has been revised and developed by N. K. Gottwald (1979), has a number of serious weaknesses, a situation which above all relates to the fact that it is impossible to check in a scholarly manner. Since these early Israelites have not bequeathed to us so much as a single document, it is impossible to say what conceptions they entertained as to their situation or to the divine. The "revolutionary hypothesis," as Mendenhall's reconstruction of Israel's origin is usually called, stands or falls on the question of whether the OT description of the origin of Israelite religion can bear religio-historical analysis. In this connection it is correct to assert that there is no indication that the OT sources pertaining to the earliest Israelite *religion* differ qualitatively from the OT information about early Israelite *history*. This means that scholars intending to reconstruct the religious history are obliged to renounce the use of the OT narratives for this purpose, just as they cannot use them for their reconstructions of the historical course of development. It is therefore possible that early Yahwism had a completely different content than the OT narratives suggest. It is probable that early Israelite religious life differed significantly from the idealized conception in the OT account which, in its present form, derives from the early Judaism of the postexilic period.

Concrete criticism of this hypothesis may be directed against the following individual issues. First, according to Mendenhall and others, Yahweh's rule in ancient Israel was founded on the Sinai covenant as Israel's earliest constitution. However, analyses of the Sinai narratives in Exodus–Numbers reveal that they may possibly have been written in a period separated by half a millennium from the events depicted in the Sinai stories. As far as the idea of the covenant is concerned, particularly the German scholar L. Perlitt (1969) has argued that there could not possibly have been an Israelite covenantal theology prior to the Deuteronomistic movement around the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. Moreover, Mendenhall had claimed that Hittite treaties in the 2d millennium B.C. offer the best parallels to the Sinai covenant and the OT covenantal theology. However, later investigations have shown that comparative materials from the 1st millennium B.C., above all the Assyrian treaties from the 8th–7th century, contain parallels which are at least as appropriate (McCarthy 1963; the texts have been collected in Parpola 1988). But see also COVENANT.

Second, the concept of a peasant revolt (particularly as it is developed by Gottwald) is an over-simplification in that it presupposes that the process followed a coordinated plan whose goal was the establishment of an alternative government and state in Palestine which would be able to compete with the city-states. This concept of peasants deliberately and militantly revolting is romantic, since sociological studies of historical peasant revolts have shown that they are usually uncoordinated,

spontaneous, and lack any clear goal. Alternatively, they have been led by members of the intellectual or political elite in the societies in question.

Finally—and this applies particularly to Gottwald's discussion of "egalitarian" Israel—the theories about revolutionary Israel confuse two different logical categories with one another. In Gottwald's terms, early Israel was an egalitarian society because it was a *segmentary* society. However, all ANE societies were segmentary, whether they were organized in tribes or in states. Segmentation has to do with a socio-political mode of organization. By way of contrast, egalitarianism is an *ideological* category. There is no necessary correlation between segmentary society and egalitarian ideology. Moreover, a segmentary society can possess an egalitarian ideology without in fact being organized as an egalitarian society. Indeed, there exist clear examples of segmentary societies which are ideologically egalitarian, but which have to be regarded as hierarchically, that is, rank-organized. There are also societies in which the egalitarian ideology, which primarily serves to strengthen the ties of solidarity among its members, is also used to oppress less wealthy members of the tribes (see, comprehensively, Lemche 1985: 202–44).

The revolutionary hypothesis may therefore be left out of account in the study of the process which led to the emergence of early Israel. The nature of the OT source materials do not permit us either to confirm or disconfirm the hypothesis, for which reason it remains a mere postulate. By the same token, it has the feel of a modern theory whose basis is modern European conceptions of traditional societies; but it is one which has no foundation in scholarly social anthropological studies of traditional societies. The theory has, however, one advantage, namely that it may serve as a point of departure for scholarly reconstructions of the history of emergent Israel in the early Iron Age. It describes this process as one which took place within the borders of Palestine, since it renders superfluous the notion of the immigration of foreign peoples to explain this development. Moreover, in so doing it does not assign to the OT narratives a value as historical sources which (because they derive from a much later time) they cannot bear.

At the same time, along with other theories which go beyond it and which are based on a more realistic foundation, the revolutionary hypothesis opens the possibility for studying the on-going development of early Israel up to the formation of the state as a continuous process. By way of contrast, the OT account of Israel in the period of the judges actually describes this phase of Israelite history as essentially unchanging, a variety of homoiostasis, as if the process of becoming had already ceased with the establishment of the tribal society back in the pre-national period, a situation which first became unbalanced when new circumstances demanded a new form of government.

**d. Formation of the Israelite State.** There is a tradition in OT research which insists that we separate the study of the formation of the state from the descriptions of the process of Israelite settlement and of the situation of the tribes of Israel in the period of the judges. Thus the formation of the state seems to constitute a special period in early Israelite history.

In terms of chronology, it is correct that the formation of the Israelite state, which the OT connects with the figure of Saul, took place a couple of centuries after the close of the LB Age. Thus it might seem superficially to be the case that this distinction between the settlement process and the formation of the state is valid from an academic point of view. However, the introduction of improved methods of historical analysis, including above all the concept of *la longue durée* under the influence of the French *Annales* school, suggests that the OT tripartition into a "settlement period," a "period of the judges," and a "monarchical period" disrupts the actual historical process. It distorts this process in an unfortunate way, in that it severs the connections between the various phases in early Israelite history. It would therefore be more correct to regard the formation of the state as the final consequence of the formation of the Israelite tribal societies at the beginning of the Iron Age. In short, we should study the establishment of the Israelite state against the background of the previously-adumbrated socio-political process and as an expression of the continued dynamic thrust of that process.

At the same time, such an approach demands that our historical analysis ignore the tendency to write personality-centered history which has characterized most of the descriptions of state-formation in ancient Israel. No doubt remarkable figures did take part in the process which led to the Israelite monarchy; such

names as Samuel, Saul, and David announce themselves automatically. However, such individuals should rather be seen as the results of a social development which followed its own imperatives rather than as agents directing the process which resulted in the state. Any study of the great personalities involved in this phase of Israelite history would necessarily be confined to points on a line, rather than to the line itself; it would concentrate on isolated individuals, break the continuity of the process, and thereby sunder the historical course of development. It is, incidentally, remarkable that such emphasis on the continuity of the process does not entirely conflict with the OT account, since also that narrative recalls that there were tendencies within Israelite tribal society towards the emergence of chieftainships or even kingships. The well-known examples are from the territory of Manasseh, where the judge Gideon is said to have been offered the monarchy by grateful kinsmen (Judg 8:22–23), and where Abimelech subsequently made himself king of a city-state whose center was at Shechem (Judges 9).

The formation of the state has been only brusquely treated at best in recent OT research, in the sense that only a few *synthetic* surveys have appeared; of these, by far the most important is Alt's old study which appeared between the two World Wars (*KlSchr* 2: 1–65). It is only very recently that new investigations have appeared which employ sociological background insights to create organic perspective on the course of the evolution of the state and its presuppositions (cf. esp. Gottwald ed. 1986; see also Frick 1985, as well as the reconstruction of the establishment of the monarchy in Lemche 1988: 102–4, 130–41).

In the following, we shall disregard the attempts to write history from a personality-centered point of view. Instead, an effort will be made to depict the establishment of the monarchy as the consequence of the emergence of Israelite tribal society, assuming that the reasons for the development of the monarchy should be sought in circumstances internal to Israelite society, rather than outside of it.

Although it is somewhat crude and simplistic, the presuppositions which required the tribal societies to be replaced by one or more states may be subdivided into economic and political spheres where each sphere contains numerous factors. Therefore, the following listing can make no claim to being exhaustive:

**(1) Economic Reasons for the Changes in the Tribal Society.** The Israelite tribes dwelt in a region which may best be described as a marginal territory, that is, the highlands of Palestine and the territory E of the Jordan, as well as the steppes which especially border along the N part of the Negeb. In terms of area the territory is fairly limited. Even in the most favorable conditions, in which the precipitation is higher than normal, the region could only feed a small population. As far as the Palestinian highlands are concerned, this means that once they had been deforested and cleared of their natural growth to make room for cultivation, there were no further possibilities either for economic expansion or for population increase. The steppes, too, must have had only limited flexibility for an agriculture which was dependent from year to year on shifting quantities of rain. Here it was only possible to compensate for the regular cycles of drought by raising sheep and goats.

The development of village culture which is now archaeologically demonstrable in early Iron Age Palestine enables us to assert that this ecological factor was decisive. The continual growth of settlements throughout the period points to a considerable population increase, which in turn means that there was increased pressure on the natural resources of the country. All factors suggest that this led to a stressful situation which must have had an impact on Israelite tribal society. The ideal solution for such a dilemma would be expansion of the territory controlled by the Israelite tribes. However, such expansion could only have taken place if it included absorbing the cultivated areas belonging to other political entities, meaning, above all, the city-states in the coastal plain to the W and in Jezreel to the N. It is likely that such a compulsion to expand may be read directly from the course of events well into the monarchical period. The early Israelite monarchy dealt decisively with these ancient city-states, while at the same time it competed with the Philistine pentapolis in the S part of the coastal plain for control over the fertile marginal highland known as the *Shephelah*.

A second consequence of economic stress within the Israelite tribal societies may have consisted in the weakening of the "egalitarian ideology" (i.e., the feelings of solidarity within and among the tribal societies). At all events, a growing degree of inequality between individual Israelite family groups has

been suggested by modern researchers as having contributed to the collapse of tribal society (Chaney 1986; Gottwald 1986; Coote and Whitelam 1986). Such a state of affairs cannot be proven on the basis of the sources presently available to us. However, it is not unknown in the history of the Near East, including up to the present. Its consequence would have been that the more fortunate Israelites were in a position to bind their poorer kinsmen to them by means of contracts which transformed what were originally independent peasants into indentured peasants in the service of their fellow countrymen. Over the course of time the latter took on the character of local petty nobles or wealthy farmers.

**(2) Political Reasons for the Collapse of Tribal Society.** Connected with the above situation in which inequality grew in the tribal society while the society itself was exposed to ecological pressure, was the increasing tendency toward centralized government. The egalitarian ideology which, as mentioned above, contained the possibility for exploitation, was capable of developing into a tyrannical system (cf. Black 1972) in which solidarity is employed as an argument which serves to keep the poorer part of the population down. Since, according to the ideology, all members of the society are "brothers," i.e., members of the same family, protests against the behavior of local "big men" are tantamount to objections to familial solidarity, and therefore constitute a threat to the survival of the society.

One consequence of such a situation would be the bifurcation of the society into wealthy patrons and bonded peasants, each class with its own peculiar interests. The wealthy patrons would naturally tend to support the establishment of a type of government capable of protecting their interests, creating in the process a power apparatus which would be able to repress the less fortunately situated part of the population. In the first instance, the solution to this political problem would probably have consisted in the election of chieftains who, following the notional tribal ideology, would still count as everyone's kinsmen. Thus the wealthy would have found their *primus inter pares*, which would have allowed them to continue to believe that they controlled the chief. On the other hand, the peasants would have been able to regard the chief as their "big brother," that is, their protector. Furthermore, the emergence of such a chieftainship would have been a politically unifying factor, in that it better enabled the tribal society in question to compete with other societies for control of the resources of the country.

The risk involved with their new system was that, sooner or later, the chieftain might conceive interests, such as dynastic ones, which no longer agreed with the wishes of those who had elected him. As a rule, this sort of situation could take one of two possible outcomes: either the chieftainship, and thereby the tribe, dissolved through internal faction and conflict, or the chief's interests won the day, so that he was able to figure as the sole ruler, that is, as a *king* endowed with the potential to build a centralized power apparatus as an adjunct to the perquisites of royal office. In such a course of development, both wealthy patrons and bonded peasants are the losers, since none of them are in any position to control the king's actions. One might say that, while a tribal society hires its chief, the king hires his people so that they may serve his interests. In the latter situation the tribal ideology and feelings of solidarity no longer play any kind of role. Accordingly, we note that centralized authority and the tribal system have to collide sooner or later, and in such a way that one or the other must disappear.

Yet another political possibility is that a tribal society may become encapsulated by superior political units. This may happen at any time in the history of the tribe, and it invariably leads to changes in the structure of the tribe. "Encapsulation" means that political formations arise on the borders of the tribe in question which are on a more centrally structured level than the tribe itself. For example, if a tribe which has not yet made the transition into a chieftainship comes into contact with other tribes which have made this transition, there is a considerable possibility that the tribe in question will experience difficulties in asserting its independence, and it may instead ultimately have to pay tribute to the "foreign" chieftainship.

A contributory cause of the relatively weak political position of the tribe is the status of the members of the tribe, which in this sort of society can best be characterized as individualistic and autonomous. The individual members of the tribe are autonomous as far as their economic strategies and their alliances with other members of the tribe are concerned. There are countless ethnographic records which show that even in wartime, and even if several tribes are involved, this does not interfere with the autonomy of the

individual. Rather, he is invariably left to himself to decide whether he wants to go off to war with his kin or whether he prefers to stay home.

The individualism which manifests itself within the individual tribe is also able to affect behavior at higher levels, for example, if a tribe is a member of a coalition of tribes. In this event, it would be up to the individual tribe to decide for itself whether it chooses to participate in the greater fellowship, even in time of war. It is not difficult to point to a parallel example of this phenomenon on the basis of the OT materials. In Judges 5 we note that the list of tribes constituting the Israelite army clearly indicates that most of the tribal units which the poet thought *should* have lent their contingents to the common defense in fact did not take part.

Incidentally, this point is one of the important reasons why the notion of an Israelite twelve-tribe league in 1200 or 1000 B.C. is unrealistic, when seen from a sociological point of view. At this level, too, the various members of the coalition would have been characterized by individualism and guided by autonomous interests to such an extent that such a league, understood as a stable political organization, is illusory.

If a tribal society were to be confronted with a centralized state, the sort of politically atomized and individualistic structure depicted above would exercise a decisively negative influence on the society's ability to survive. The probable upshot would be that if drastic changes did not occur in the political structure of the tribe in question, it would dissolve and be integrated into the state which had challenged the tribal society. Another possible consequence is that the tribe might make the transition from tribal society to an organized state led by a king. This might happen in the course of an extremely short period of time, and the development could well permit the society to survive.

It is impossible to say just how many of the factors mentioned here were responsible for the transformation of the Israelite tribal society into a centralized state with its own kings. However, there are indications among the archaeological materials and in the OT sources which suggest that all of these factors, and presumably more besides, played contributory roles. The OT itself regards the decisive factor as the collision with foreign states. In the face of the confrontation with the Philistine city-states in the coastal plain, the Israelite tribal organization had to give way and, in order to survive, it transformed itself into a state. The Philistines were at the time in the process of occupying Israelite territory in central Palestine. Seeking a way out, the Israelites first chose for themselves a chieftain, Saul (we should not be confused by the fact that the OT uses Heb *melek* for both chieftains and kings; in organizational terms, Saul's monarchy was actually more of a chieftainship than a monarchy, although it contained in it the seed of the later development). However, the Philistine challenge was so grave that the Saulide chieftainship was not equal to the task. Only the self-made king David, who could permit himself to ignore narrow tribal interests, was able to transform the Israelite tribes from a defensive to an offensive force, one which proved able to unite almost the whole of Palestine under a single prince in the course of a very short span of years.

If we disregard the descriptions of the individuals, the OT account of the introduction of the monarchy appears to contain sufficient information to enable us to write the history of this epoch. A foreign entity, namely the union of the five Philistine coastal cities, would all by itself have been able to assemble more resources than the ordinary Canaanite city-states could have done. Thus it would have represented a power factor with which a noncentralized Israelite tribal system could not have dealt merely by assembling its own traditional resources. Thus the chieftainship arose as a direct answer to the foreign political challenge; it was subsequently replaced by the monarchy in order to complete the task of defending the independence of the members of the Israelite tribes.

At this point, however, it must be permissible to ask whether the actual historical development was so simple as is recounted in the book of Samuel. For example, it has been suggested that Saul's battles with the Philistines in reality represented not merely an Israelite war of liberation, but rather are to be seen as an expression of an Israelite tendency to expansion which was specially directed towards the N regions (Ahlström 1986: 90–92). In the event, the actual course might suggest that parts of what later became Israel had already organized themselves as a chieftainship by around 1000 B.C. Thus the warlike

altercations in the period were not merely a question of defense against external enemies; they had perhaps just as much to do with gaining control over the rich Galilean territories and the traditional trade routes to Syria in the N.

If this was the case then David's foreign policy may have followed a course already mapped out by the chieftain, Saul. The difference was that David was able to dispose over much greater resources than Saul had done, and in particular was able to utilize as his base of operations the entire central Palestinian area. At the same time, he created what was, admittedly, at first only a limited centralized state apparatus, and so he became the founder of the real Israelite monarchy as such.

This was the beginning of the end for the Israelite tribes since, although the days of foreign encirclement soon seemed to have come to an end, the independence of the tribes also speedily ended. There is relatively little information in the OT about the developments which led to the disappearance of the tribal society. However, it is noteworthy that persons who appear at the beginning of the time of the monarchy are occasionally mentioned as belonging to one or another tribe (e.g., Jeroboam the son of Nebat was an Ephraimite, just as Baʿasha the son of Ahijah came from the tribe of Issachar); such references to tribal affiliation disappear already in the course of the 9th century B.C. Such relationships were apparently no longer relevant, because Israelite society was now organized into centralized kingships in a way that did not depart significantly from the political system of the LB Age. As far as their policies are concerned, the Israelite kings do not seem to have been guided by narrow Israelite interests. Rather, they followed their own political and economic goals irrespective of the possible consequences for the Israelite populace. Seen in this way, there is a certain degree of irony present in the history of the Israelite tribes from the close of the LB Age down to the early part of the monarchical period. When this phase of Israelite history had come to an end, the ordinary Israelite was in reality in a situation which was not significantly different from the one his ancestors had experienced several centuries earlier under the kings of the Canaanite city-states.

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## *ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE ISRAELITE "CONQUEST"*

The purpose of this article is (1) to summarize and evaluate recent archaeological data that bear on the early Israelite settlement in Canaan in the 13th–11th centuries B.C.; (2) to critique current explanatory models of Israelite origins in the light of this newer data; and (3) to suggest ways of harmonizing the archaeological and textual evidence that may eventually lead to better syntheses. The approach throughout is heuristic, rather than definitive in attempting solutions.

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A. Issues in the Discussion
B. An Archaeological Critique of the Conquest Model
    1. Israel in Egypt
    2. The Sinai Tradition
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    4. The Conquest of Canaan
C. New Data, New Models
    1. Survey and Excavation
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D. Archaeological Identification of "Israelite" Ethnicity
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    1. Facing the Dilemma
    2. Methodological Considerations
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F. Conclusion

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### A. Issues in the Discussion

The problem, although exceedingly complex, may be stated rather simply by focusing on the several levels at which the majority of scholars encounter difficulties. There is first the *historical* problem, which faces the task of ascertaining, if possible, what really happened in the Israelite settlement of Canaan, that is, of getting at the "history behind the history." It is now recognized by nearly all that the biblical

tradition concerning Israel's emergence in Canaan, while our only direct literary source, is limited by its nature as theocratic literature—particularly the "conquest" version in Joshua. But is it possible to write a "secular history" of Palestine in this period that will elucidate Israelite origins better by placing them in a larger context, based chiefly on archaeological evidence?

This leads to a *methodological* problem. What are the possibilities and limitations of each of the two basic types of data from which history may be reconstructed? In short, how are the two histories related, if at all? Are they parallel, or does one take *precedence?*

Finally, there is what appears to be, at least, a *theological* problem. In Israel's recitation of the "mighty acts of God," the central events are Yahweh's redemption of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage, his subsequent granting of miraculous victory over the Canaanites to the Twelve Tribe League, and finally his deliverance of the promised land to the settlers as the sign and seal of his covenant with them. These are the formative events that constitute Israel's existence, the very heart of her Credo. But if these events have no basis in the actualities of history, is not Israel's faith, and ours, without foundation? As one noted biblical archaeologist and theologian, G. E. Wright, put it in his classic *God Who Acts: Biblical Theology as Recital:* "In Biblical faith, everything depends upon whether the central events [i.e., Exodus-Conquest-Settlement] actually occurred" (1952: 126). But what if they did *not* occur?

**B. An Archaeological Critique of the Conquest Model**

The regnant theories that attempt to explain the emergence of Israel in Canaan are too well known to need documentation here. They are: (1) the "conquest" model, espoused chiefly by Albright and his followers in America, as well as by Yadin and several Israeli scholars; (2) the "peaceful infiltration" model, first proposed by Alt and the German school in the 1920s, but still widely influential; and (3) the "peasants' revolt" model, introduced originally by Mendenhall in the 1960s and recently elaborated by Gottwald. All of these models make some use of the archaeological data, but only the first is heavily dependent upon such evidence. Yet because these are models developed and employed mainly by *biblical* historians, the pertinent archaeological data have not always been adequately evaluated. As Syro-Palestinian archaeology and biblical studies have increasingly diverged (see ARCHAEOLOGY, SYRO-PALESTINIAN AND BIBLICAL), such a critique becomes a task for specialists. Let us look first at the "conquest" model. This model presupposes several sequential phases, each of which, however, presents archaeological difficulties.

**1. Israel in Egypt.** As is often observed, there is no direct archaeological evidence that any constituents of later Israel were ever in Egypt. The only Egyptian textual reference, the well known "Victory Stela" of Merneptah (now dated ca. 1207 B.C.; see further Stager 1985b) mentions "Israel" as a "people," probably an ethnic element, not in Egypt but in Canaan, with no apparent knowledge of any Egyptian derivation. Nor is there anything in the material culture of the early Israelite settlements in Palestine that points to an Egyptian origin for that culture. The few Egyptian scarabs and possible house-types (as at Tel Masos; Fritz and Kempinski 1983) can easily be explained by the continuity of Egyptian elements from the local LB Canaanite culture into the early Iron Age.

Among the scant references in the Hebrew Bible to specific details of an Egyptian sojourn that might be identified archaeologically is the reference to the Israelites being in servitude in the Delta cities of Pithom and Rameses (Exod 1:11). Pithom is possibly to be identified with Tell el-Maskhuta, or with Tell el-Reṭabe (Holladay 1982: 3–6); and Rameses has now almost certainly been located at Tell ed-Dabʿa near Qantir by the recent excavations of Manfred Bietak (1979). The significance of the new data is considerable. First, all three sites are among the few Delta sites that are now known from recent excavations to have been Canaanite colonies in Egypt in the Middle Kingdom (Dynasties 12–17, ca. 1991–1540 B.C.). Tell ed-Dabʿa was, in fact, the Hyksos capitol of Avaris, destroyed ca. 1540 B.C. with the expulsion of the Hyksos at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. Second, these sites also have Ramesside levels of the 13th or 12th centuries B.C. Thus Tell ed-Dabʿa, although deserted throughout the New Kingdom after its destruction, was *re*occupied precisely in the time of Rameses II, in the early–mid-13th century B.C. (Rameses II = 1304–1237 B.C.). (Cf. Bietak 1979; but see Dever 1985a for the raising of dates for the earlier levels.) Tell el-Maskhuta has no known Ramesside occupation, but Tell el-Reṭabe,

like Tell ed-Dabʿa, was occupied in the Middle Kingdom, abandoned in the New Kingdom, then reoccupied in the 20th Dynasty and onward (ca. 1200 B.C. onward).

Is it merely fortuitous that these Delta sites, known to the biblical writers, *did* have a substantial Canaanite presence in the so-called Patriarchal period, and then were rebuilt under Egyptian aegis in Ramesside times, which is when an Israelite sojourn in Egypt would have to be placed archaeologically? The new evidence is not conclusive, of course (i.e., there are questions regarding the exact location and date of Pithom), but it may lend support to the long-held view of some biblical scholars that at least *some* constituent elements of later Israel had actually stemmed from Egypt, i.e., the "House of Joseph." Only one thing is certain, and that is that the scant Egyptian evidence at least points unanimously to a 13th century B.C. *date* for an Israelite "exodus," if any. (See Hermann 1973: 19–50; Miller *IJH*, 246–52; contra Bimson 1981.)

**2. The Sinai Tradition.** The "crossing of the Red (Reed) Sea" is obviously a miraculous tale that can in no way be validated or even illuminated by archaeological investigation. Furthermore, of the subsequent "wandering in the wilderness" theme (Num 33:1–49), little can be said archaeologically. If indeed the Israelites are to be pictured as a band of wanderers, or even as semi-sedentary pastoralists, we would still probably find no remains of their ephemeral camps in the desert. Thus all attempts to trace the "route of the Sinai crossing" have been doomed to failure, reduced as they are to inconclusive efforts to identify hazy topographical references in the Bible with modern Arab place names that usually have no clear historical associations. E. Anati has recently claimed (1986) that he has located biblical Mt. Sinai at Har Karkom, in the W Negeb near the present Egyptian border, but few will find the petroglyphs and other data convincing evidence that this is anything more than another of the "holy mountains" frequented from time immemorial by the nomads of the desert.

The only 2d millennium B.C. Sinai route that is attested archaeologically is the N route along the coastal dunes, which recent archaeological investigation has indeed illuminated, precisely in Egyptian New Kingdom times (Oren 1984 and references there). But this is precisely the route that was bypassed according to the biblical tradition, because of Egyptian control. All we can say is that recent, extensive exploration of the entire Sinai by Israeli archaeologists, geologists, and others has turned up virtually no MB-LB presence in the central or S Sinai. Our current detailed knowledge of this remote and hostile area calls into question the biblical tradition of a million-and-a-half or more people migrating there (Num 11:21) for some forty years (Deut 2:7). The barren terrain and sparse oases might have supported a few straggling nomads, but no more than that.

The description of a thirty-eight-year encampment at Kadesh-barnea (Deut 1:19–2:15), which is prominent in the biblical tradition and gave rise to an important pilgrimage-festival in the time of the Monarchy, has long intrigued biblical scholars and archaeologists. Following the topographical indications in the Bible, Kadesh-barnea has been quite plausibly identified since the 19th century with the well-known oasis at ʿAin el-Qudeirat, near Quseima on the modern Israel–Egypt border. The small *tell* near the spring was sounded in 1956 by Moshe Dothan and was then extensively excavated to virgin soil in 1976–1982 by Rudolph Cohen. The latter has shown conclusively that these remains consist of three successive Israelite forts (Levels I–III) of the 10th–7th/6th centuries B.C., with nothing whatsoever of earlier occupation, not even scattered sherds (Cohen 1983). Thus the Kadesh-barnea episode, on present evidence, has little historical basis and appears to have become significant only in the united monarchy, when the Exodus tradition was crystallizing.

**3. The Transjordanian Campaigns.** The first phase of the conquest of Canaan, according to biblical accounts, focused on central and S Transjordan, which the tribes of Gad, Reuben, and half-Manasseh are said to have occupied (Numbers 21). The incoming Israelites are portrayed as encountering a settled population in Ammon, Moab, and Edom. Among specific cities mentioned as taken (and by implication destroyed) are Heshbon and Dibon; transparently identifed with the large *tells* of *Hesbân* and *Dhibân,* respectively. Yet the extensive excavation of both has revealed that neither had any LB occupation. Hesbân had scant 12th–11th century material, with Iron Age occupation beginning principally in the 10th century B.C. (Geraty 1983). Dhibân may have had some Iron I material, but nothing earlier, and most of

the Iron Age remains were 8th–7th century B.C. (Dornemann 1983: 45, 63; Sauer 1986: 8–18). Thus neither site can have been destroyed by the Israelites under Joshua in the mid-13th century as required by Num 21:21–30. The same is probably true of Madeba (Num 21:30), which has produced thus far only a 12th century tomb for this horizon (Dornemann 1983: 34, 35).

Elsewhere in Transjordan, the general picture of LB and early Iron I occupation is complex, but it is clear that there is relatively little sedentary occupation of *southern* Transjordan in LB. N. Glueck's surveys in the 1930s–1940s already suggested this (although he interpreted the evidence as *supporting* the biblical tradition of early Israelite settlement). Subsequent correction and expansion of Glueck's site maps, including the discovery of a few more LB Age sites farther N in the Jordan valley and up on the plateau, has not substantially changed this view. Newer excavated evidence from Amman, the Beqaʿ valley, Sahab, Irbid, Tell es-Saʿidiyeh, Deir ʿAlla, Kataret es-Samra, and a few other sites, as well as surveys from N Jordan, the Jordan valley, and Edom, all yield the same picture. Moab and Edom were not yet established, fortified kingdoms that would have posed any threat to Israelite tribes moving through the area, and even Ammon was rather sparsely occupied and defended. (For the most authoritative review, see Sauer 1986: 6–14; and cf. Dornemann 1983: 20–24). Thus throughout most of S Transjordan in LB-Iron I, outside the few settled towns, pastoralists and nomads must have dominated the countryside, like the "Shasu" tribes well known from Egyptian New Kingdom texts (Giveon 1971). In Moab, Heshbon and Dibon did not become significant urban centers until the 9th–8th centuries B.C. (Dornemann 1983: 63; Sauer 1986: 10, 15, 16). Ongoing excavations of the Iron Age sites in Edom indicates that the majority of these, including ʿArôʿer, Buseirah (Bozra), Tawilan, and Umm el-Biyarah, were first settled only in the 8th or 7th centuries B.C. (Dornemann 1983: 47–63; Sauer 1986: 14–19). Thus the notion of large-scale 13th–12th century B.C. Israelite military campaigns in S Transjordan, or even of peaceful settlement there, is no longer tenable; the occupational history of the region simply does not fit (contra Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB). As for destructions, the only known LB II destructions are farther N—at Deir ʿAllā, Tell es-Saʿidiyeh, and Irbid—in Gilead; and in all cases, both the biblical identification and the agents of destruction remain unclear.

**4. The Conquest of Canaan.** The biblical tradition of the main phases of the occupation of the land of Canaan W of the Jordan is too well known to need summarizing here (cf. the principal accounts in Joshua, plus Num 21:1–3 and Judges 1). Since the infancy of modern topographical research and archaeology more than a century ago, biblical scholars and archaeologists have sought to locate the numerous cities said to have been taken and to identify 13th–12th century "destruction layers" that might be attributed to incoming Israelites. Indeed, confirming the Israelite conquest of Canaan archaeologically became one of the major priorities on the agenda of the "biblical archaeology" movement led by Albright and his followers from ca. 1925–1970, which adopted almost exclusively the "conquest" model presented in the book of Joshua (see also Lapp 1967). This approach was also taken up by several prominent members of the "Israeli school," notably Yadin (1979; but cf. Aharoni *WHJP* 3: 94–128). And the effort still continues among a few conservative biblical scholars, some of whom, however, opt for the now totally discredited "high date of the Exodus" (thus Bimson 1981). Rather than reviewing the vast bibliography (see Miller *IJH*, 213–84), the latest and best archaeological data can be summarized in chart form (see table; and see further the latest syntheses in Callaway 1988, and especially Finkelstein *AIS*).

Canaanite Sites Claimed to Have Been Taken by the Israelites

| SITE REFERENCES | BIBLICAL DESCRIPTION; REMARKS | ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Zephath/Hormath | Num 21:1–3; Judg 1:17 | "Destroyed." | If Tel Masos, no LB occupation there. |
| 2. Jericho | Judg 6:1–21 | "Destroyed." | No LB II |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | occupation. |
| 3. ʿAi | Josh 8:24 | “Destroyed.” | No LB II occupation. |
| 4. Bethel | Josh 8:17; Judg 1:22–28 | “Destroyed.” | Destruction at end of LB II. |
| 5. Jerusalem | Josh 10:1–27; Judg 1:8, 21 | Texts contradictory | LB II occupation, but no evidence of destruction. |
| 6. Libnah | Josh 10:29, 31 | “Destroyed.” | Tell es-Sâfi? occupation? |
| 7. Lachish | Josh 10:31, 32 | “Destroyed.” | Level VI destroyed ca. 1150 B.C. |
| 8. Hebron | Josh 14:13–15; 15:13, 14; Judg 1:10 | Texts imply capture but no destruction descibed. | No Evidence. |
| 9. Debir | Josh 10:38, 39; 15:15–17; Judg 1:11–13 | “Destroyed.” | If Tell Beit Mirsim C, yes; if Tell Rabûd, no. |
| 10. Makkedah | Josh 10:28 | “Destroyed.” | If Kh. el-Qôm, no LB II. |
| 11. Eglon | Josh 10:34, 35 | “Destroyed.” | Tell el-Ḥesi IV?; no destruction. |
| 12. Hazor | Josh 11:10–13 | “Destroyed,” but described as still existing later. | Lower City, Gnl Str. XIII violently destroyed ca. 1200 |
| 13. Dan | Judg 18:11–28 | “Destroyed.” | LB II occupation, whether destruction at end unclear. |
| 14. Gaza | Judg 1:18 | “Taken.” | No evidence. |
| 15. Ashkelon | Judg 1:18 | “Taken.” | No evidence. |
| 16. Ekron | Judg 1:18 | “Taken.” | No evidence. |
| 17. Heshbon | Num 21:25–30 | “Destroyed.” | No LB II occupation. |
| 18. Dibon | Num 21:30 | Destruction implied. | No LB II occupation. |
| 19. Medeba | Num 21:30 | Destruction implied. | No evidence. |

It is obvious that of the nearly 20 identifiable LB/Iron I sites that the biblical writers claim were forcibly taken by the Israelites under Joshua or his immediate successors, only Bethel and Hazor have any *archaeological* claims to destructions, i.e., historical claims supported by extrabiblical evidence. And even here, there is no conclusive data to support the notion that Israelites were the agents of destruction. (The new evidence dating the destruction of Lachish VI to Rameses III or later, ca. 1150 B.C., is much too late; cf. Ussishkin 1985). Thus the “conquest” model derived principally from the book of Joshua, so promising in the beginning, is now seen to have fared rather badly in more recent research. We must

conclude that as an overall model for understanding the origins of Israel, the whole notion of a literal "Exodus-wilderness wanderings-Conquest" episode is now unproductive and indeed detrimental, since it is challenged by current archaeological and historical research. The possible experience of some tribal elements in Egypt and Transjordan, or the scattered violence accompanying early phases of the settlement in Canaan, were undoubtedly minor factors. The emergence of Israel must be seen rather as part of a larger, enormously complex, long drawn-out process of socio-economic change on the LB/Iron I horizon in Palestine with many regional variations. Newer and more sophisticated models, as well as a "secular history" of Palestine (particularly settlement history) are required if we are to understand Israel's origins adequately. Furthermore, it may be the continuity with Canaanite culture, *not* the changes, that in the long run turns out to be the most significant factor.

**C. New Data, New Models**

Today there are considerable data to support "non-invasion" models of the Israelite settlement in Canaan. Although these data are recent and scarcely published, and thus remain largely unknown to most biblical scholars, archaeological excavations and surveys in the past fifteen years have brought to light hundreds of small, Iron I sites of the late 13th–11th centuries B.C. These are located primarily in the central hills, but are also found as far N as Galilee and southward into the N Negeb. Nearly all are very small, unwalled sites, many founded *de novo* in the late 13th or 12th century, and most abandoned by the 11th century. If we could identify these Iron I sites as "early Israelite" villages, they would yield the *first* such *external* evidence we have found of this phase of the Israelite settlement of Canaan. Yet we must defer that question for the moment.

**1. Survey and Excavation.** The evidence can only be summarized very briefly here. Most of the new Iron Age sites noted above have been discovered through Israeli surface surveys, still largely unpublished: those of I. Finkelstein in Ephraim; of A. Zertal in N Ephraim and Manasseh; of several Tel Aviv University archaeologists in the Shephelah and along the Sharon Plain; and of Zvi Gal in Lower Galilee (see references in Finkelstein 1986; *AIS*; Gal 1989; Stager 1985a; Dever 1987; Dever fc.b.; Zertal 1987). Finkelstein, for instance, has discovered no fewer than 409 Iron Age I sites E of Aphek up into the Jerusalem hills, of which more than 75 were first founded in Iron I. In the central hills area, L. Stager (1985a) has shown that the number and density of settlements increased dramatically just after 1200 B.C.—from 23 LB sites, to 114 Iron I sites, 97 of them first founded in Iron I. Although the individual LB sites were larger urban Canaanite sites (median size = 12–13 acres) and the individual Iron I sites were smaller villages (median size = 2–3 acres), the total occupied area in the central hills region surveyed by Stager rose dramatically from ca. 175 acres in LB to ca. 475 acres in Iron I. Demographers would hardly attribute this sharp increase to natural growth alone. Clearly there has been an influx of new settlers; but who *were* they, and where did they *come* from?

Actual excavations have been undertaken on relatively few of these Iron Age I villages, notably by J. A. Callaway and R. Cooley at ʿAi and Radannah (the latter possibly biblical Beeroth), N of Jerusalem (Callaway 1985; 1988); by A. Mazar (1981) at Giloh, on the S outskirts of Jerusalem; by M. Kochavi, I. Finkelstein, and others at ʿIzbet Ṣarṭeh, near Aphek (probably biblical Ebenezer; Finkelstein 1986); and by A. Kempinski and V. Fritz (1983) at Tel Masos, in the N Negeb (possibly biblical Hormah; on all the above, see further, with bibliography, Dever 1987; Stager 1985a).

ʿIzbet Ṣarṭeh is particularly significant, since it can probably be identified with a known Israelite site; it has only three levels, all belonging to the 12th–10th centuries B.C., all relatively well exposed in excavation (up to 35 percent); and the material has now appeared in a definitive final publication (Finkelstein 1986). Stratum III, of the late 13th–early 11th centuries, consists of a simple "oval courtyard settlement" that may reflect a herdsmen's encampment (contra Finkelstein's settlement of "recently sedentarized desert nomads"; 1986: 108). After abandonment and a gap in occupation, it was succeeded by stratum II, a substantial village of perhaps 100 or so, with several four-room courtyard houses and many stone-lined silos, dating to the late 11th century B.C. Stratum I represents a decline, but continues into the early 10th century, after which the site was permanently abandoned. It is noteworthy that ʿIzbet Ṣarṭeh was peacefully established, and although it was abandoned at the end of each phase, there were no

restrictions. The economy, especially that of strata III–II, was based on agriculture and animal husbandry. The pottery is in *strong* continuity with the LB Age Canaanite repertoire, most closely paralleled by the Iron I N Shephelah and hill country sites (Gezer, Beth-shemesh, Giloh, Shiloh, etc.), but it also has lesser affinities with coastal Canaanite or Philistine sites (Aphek, Tell Qasile; on the above, see especially Finkelstein 1986; and cf. the greater stress on ceramic continuity in *AIS*, confirmed by Dever fc.a.).

Only preliminary reports are available for some of these sites, but already we may draw at least a *provisional* picture of the material culture—and possibly of the social structure and even of the ethnic identity—of these villagers.

(1) We can see a significant shift in *settlement patterns* from the LB to Iron Age I. The typical Iron I sites known thus far are located mostly in the central regions of Canaan, especially the hill country, not on destroyed LB *tells* (where they had been sought). They are founded *de novo* and peacefully, in the late 13th–early 12th century B.C., in a decentralized or nonnucleated pattern of settlement. This growth of new settlements resulted in a sharp rise in population in the central hills in early Iron I.

(2) We have a shift in *settlement type* as well, from large, walled urban to nonurban sites. Most of the Iron I sites are small, unwalled hilltop villages, with a population of from several dozen to as many as 300 or so. All these villages are characterized by a distinctive and homogeneous style of "four-room" courtyard house (often misleadingly called the "Israelite" type-house), which usually features rock-hewn cisterns and subterranean silos. Such self-contained courtyard houses—really "peasant farmhouses"—are ideally suited to an agrarian economy; and, indeed, similar houses are found widely throughout rural areas of the E Mediterranean, from ancient to modern times. See also HOUSE, ISRAELITE.

(3) The *economy* of these Iron I villages was largely self-sufficient, based mainly on small-scale but intensive terrace farming, with some admixture of livestock herding and primitive "cottage industry." A few trade items, however, principally ceramics, indicate that these villages were not totally isolated, but had limited contact with the Canaanite urban centers some distance away.

(4) A changed *technology* is now in evidence, marked particularly by the mastery and extension of terrace agriculture to exploit the cleared hillsides, aided perhaps by the utilization of iron implements, now gradually coming into use in Palestine. Lime-plastered cisterns, while known long before, were now more widely adopted to solve the perennial problem of summer water shortage in the hill country. Ceramic production generally followed that of the LB Canaanite culture, with the introduction of a few new forms (including the popularization of the "collar-rim" storejar), generally inferior in manufacture.

(5) The *social structure* of these small Iron I villages appears to be much less "stratified" than that of the urban LB Age, with no indications of a hierarchically-ranked social order, no "elite" residences or palaces, and no public or adminstrative structures, not even sanctuaries or temples. The rather stereotypical house-plans show little variation and are clustered closely together; their type and arrangement do not even differ significantly from village to village. The general picture to be derived from the new archaeological data for Iron I is that of a simple, agrarian, cohesive society, probably kin-based. The villages are in relatively close proximity; they are apparently organized for internal occupation, but have little need for defense against external pressures. Although the simpler Iron I social and political structures mark a retrogression from the "state-level" organization of the LB to a "tribal level," some sophistication is nevertheless still seen in a few epigraphic remains, including an abecedary from ʿIzbet Ṣarṭeh that may suggest fairly widespread literacy.

(6) In terms of *provenance*, it must be stressed that there is no evidence whatsoever in the material culture that would indicate that these Iron I villagers originated outside Palestine, not even in Transjordan, much less in Egypt or the Sinai. There is nothing in the material remains to suggest that these are "pastoral nomads settling down"—on the contrary, they appear to be skilled and well-adapted peasant farmers, long familiar with local conditions in Canaan. What is "new" is simply the *combination* and adaptation of existing cultural elements—such as the courtyard houses, silos, and terrace agriculture—with a few novel elements. This distinctive "hybrid" material culture served as the basis for the agricultural settlement of the hill country and the emergence of a distinctive new social order, as well as,

in all probability, a new ethnic identity and solidarity. Nevertheless, the overall cultural traditions of these Iron I villages show rather strong continuity with LB Age Canaan, especially in the pottery.

(7) Finally, in terms of *duration,* nearly all of these Iron I villages were abandoned by the late 11th or early 10th century B.C., with the growth of a more concentrated urban culture at the beginning of the united monarchy and the emergence and full development of the true "Iron Age" or "Israelite" culture.

**2. Early "Israelite" Villages?** On the basis of the foregoing cultural traits, it would be tempting to conclude that these new Iron I sites represent the first definitive *archaeological* evidence we have had of the formative phase of the Israelite settlement in Palestine. These would then be the very early Israelite villages described typically in the book of Judges (thus A. Mazar 1981; Stager 1985a; Callaway 1985; 1988; Fritz 1987; Finkelstein 1986; *AIS*). If that proposition should be sustained by further data, these discoveries would constitute the most significant correlation yet between archaeology and biblical history.

Before we can be quite so sanguine, however, we must address several neglected, yet crucial, questions in the interpretation of the archaeological data—particularly as these data relate to textual analysis and historical reconstruction (see further Dever fc.a.).

**a. Social and Economic Structure.** Skeptics have often observed that "archaeologists do not dig up social systems." Perhaps not; but they do uncover traces of social systems, since modern archaeology concentrates on recovering the "material correlates" of both individual and collective human behavior. See ARCHAEOLOGY. What do recent data reveal about the social and economic structure of the Iron I villages?

**(1) Social Structure.** As Stager has shown (1985a), the typical four-room courtyard houses, their clustering into larger units, and the overall village plan, all appear to be a direct reflection of the social structure embodied in the terminology of the Hebrew Bible, especially in Judges. Thus, in ascending levels of complexity, we can recognize: (1) in the individual house, Heb *geber,* which really designates the conjugal or *"nuclear family"* of 4–5 people; (2) in the compound, or cluster of 2–3 such houses, Heb *bêt ʾāb,* "house of the father," meaning "lineage," or in sociological terms an "extended or multi-generational" family, of up to 20 persons; (3) in the whole village plan, with several family compounds, Heb *mišpāḥâ,* "family" in the larger sense of "clan," with anywhere from several dozen to several hundred related persons; (4) in the grouping of many such villages, Heb *šēbeṭ* or *maṭṭeh,* "tribe"; and (5) in the overall distribution of settlements, Heb *ʿam yiśrāʾel* or *bĕnê yiśrāʾel,* or "tribal confederation," "nation" (the latter two *not* separated by Stager). If this analysis, probably the best example yet of the newer style of "biblical archaeology," is correct, then the archaeological remains corroborate the textual evidence decisively. Early Israel was a kin-based (or "segmentary") society, strongly egalitarian. Archaeology shows that the characteristic settlement type and distribution of the Iron I highland villages reflect the essential social structure of early Israel—almost precisely as the book of Judges (Joshua much less so) has faithfully preserved it in the written record.

**(2) Economy.** The subsistence system of the Iron I villages is equally clear. The economy is based primarily on small-scale but intensive agriculture, with some admixture of specialized stockbreeding. This is indicated by the relatively isolated location of the villages away from river valleys and major trade routes, but in areas still suitable for hillside farming and herding. Furthermore, the efficient size and compact layout of the villages, as well as the family-based social structure, are well suited to such an agrarian economy. The typical four-room courtyard house is an ideal "peasant farmhouse," with provisions for the number of people, animals, and installations typically needed for an individual household production unit (Stager 1985a: 11–17). Finally, the new technology reflects a successful adaptation to hill country agriculture, particularly the near perfection of the art of terracing hillsides, excavating waterproof cisterns in the bedrock, and constructing stone-lined storage silos.

**(3) The "Domestic Mode of Production."** The socio-economic structure that we confront in these Iron I villages is thus obviously simple and agrarian. On a cultural-evolutionary scale of development we could regard it as being at a "pre-State" level, either "tribal" or "chiefdom" (Service 1962). This is also suggested by the biblical sources, especially Judges-Samuel, in their vivid and often detailed description of conditions in the premonarchical periods (Frick 1985). Unfortunately, because of the "idealist" bias of

most biblical historians (and even the biblical writers themselves) little research has been done either on the material and technological basis of early Israelite culture, or on its social consequences.

Recently, however, there has been growing interest in early Iron Age agriculture (cf. de Geus 1976; Stager 1985a and references there; and especially Hopkins 1985; Borowski 1987). Certainly Gottwald (1979) has gone furthest in his determined "program of historical cultural-material research into early Israel" (1979: 650–63). Many regard this, of course, as economic determinism, others as simply 20th century Marxism projected back upon early Israel. But the archaeologist, who specializes in material culture, can only applaud Gottwald when he declares: "Only as the full *materiality* of ancient Israel is more securely grasped will we be able to make proper sense of its *spirituality*" (1979: xxv). Thus Gottwald's *Tribes of Yahweh expands* upon the sociological and anthropological approach of Mendenhall's "peasants' revolt" model by looking not only at ideological factors like "Yahwism" as the driving force behind Israelite social structure and solidarity, but also at the agrarian economy and technology of the supposed peasants. Gottwald makes admirable use of what little the "new archaeology" could offer in the mid-1970s, sensing correctly that its research objectives are complementary to his own, but there were few data available then (see also Chaney 1983). In our view, Gottwald's materialist perspective on early Israel seems more promising than most later treatments of a more conventional sort, based as they are almost solely on the biblical texts (thus Halpern 1983) which are clearly limited in their usefulness.

It is not merely early Israelite agriculture and technology at which we must look, however, but rather at the *total* subsistence system and its related social system. This is what Marx and Engels (unlike some later Marxist theorists) meant by "mode of production," which delineated not simply an economic system, but a *social-evolutionary stage.* The "mode of production" included a society's adaptation to its environment, technology, class structure, political organization, conceptual systems, and even religion.

Marshall Sahlins' *Stone Age Economics* (1972) elaborates further on the "Domestic Mode of Production" (DMP) that often characterizes peasant or pre-State societies. At this level of social evolution, the individual self-sufficient household is the basic unit of production, and production is for consumption rather than for exchange, hence family labor and cumulative skills are more significant than technology. The DMP, according to Sahlins, tends to be "anti-autocratic" by nature, but it nevertheless obliges household groups to form voluntary social compacts, i.e., to pool labor and resources. Sahlins observes: "As the domestic economy is in effect the tribal economy in miniature, so politically it underwrites the condition of primitive society—society without a Sovereign" (1972: 95). This would be an astonishingly accurate portrait of early Israel, whose only sovereign was Yahweh. A unique "theology" was organically related in part to a distinctive technology, economy, and social order. While archaeology can get at the former only partially and with some difficulty (i.e., evidence of possible cult *practice*), it is superbly equipped for investigating the latter, even though this task has been neglected until recently. A beginning *has* been made, but much more must be done on peasant economy and society if we are to comprehend Israel's origins in Canaan—especially if we are increasingly to employ the "peasants' revolt" model.

**b. Continuity and Coexistence.** In asking what is new *archaeologically*, and thus culturally, in the Iron I villages, we must remember that Palestinian archaeology has long been dominated by a certain biblical notion of "political history" and has thus sought unicausal explanations of cultural change in general. Furthermore, in this case of the Israelite settlement, the almost-exclusive adoption of the "conquest model" by those of the Albright school has meant that stress was placed upon the *discontinuity* between the LB/Canaanite and Iron I/Israelite cultures. The result was twofold: (1) a reductionist view of the emergence of Israel, as due to a relatively abrupt, violent, and complete triumph of newcomers who overwhelmed Canaan ca. 1250–1200 B.C.; and (2) an overemphasis on the supposed cultural discontinuities throughout the transitional LB-Iron I horizon in the 13th–11th centuries B.C.

Recently, however, newly accumulating archaeological evidence has shown that the abruptness of the break has been greatly exaggerated (cf. Kempinski 1985). We now know that many LB II sites were not destroyed at all, by either Israelites or Sea Peoples. Also, Egyptian New Kingdom influence did not cease

with the 19th (First Ramesside) Dynasty ca. 1200 B.C., but extended perhaps as late as the time of Rameses VI, ca. 1140 B.C. (especially at sites like Megiddo, Beth-shan, and Lachish; cf. Tadmor 1979; Weinstein 1981; Ussishkin 1985; A. Mazar 1985). And Canaanite material culture flourished well into the 12th and even 11th centuries B.C. in some areas, particularly in ceramics, where, apart from imports or Philistine Bichrome ware, it is often difficult to distinguish 13th from 12th century pottery (A. Mazar 1981; Wood 1985; Dever 1987). Finally, not even the appearance of iron provides a firm criterion for the beginning of the "Iron" Age, since iron begins as early as the 14th century B.C. but comes into common use only in the 11th–10th centuries B.C. Furthermore, its connection with the new technology and culture is more debated than ever in recent research (cf. Stager 1985a: 10–11).

The logical conclusion to be drawn is that the "invasion hypotheses" of which earlier archaeologists were inordinately fond are almost never useful models, certainly not for the LB/Iron I transition. We must look rather at the largely *indigenous* factors in socio-cultural change. For example, we need posit no hypothetical external forces whatsoever to account for the actual changes that we observe in the material culture of Palestine on the LB/Iron I horizon (except for the impact of the Sea Peoples, who were indeed newcomers). It cannot be stated too categorically: the emergence of Israel in Canaan was not an isolated, "unique" event, but rather an integral (albeit small) part of a gradual, exceedingly complex set of socio-economic, cultural, and political changes on the LB-Iron I horizon in the Levant, with many regional variations. It was but one episode in the long settlement history of Palestine and cannot be understood apart from the larger context of that history (see especially Coote and Whitelam 1987). The early Israelites, who first appear in our textual sources at this time, may have come to constitute a distinct *ethnic group* by the late 13th–early 12th centuries B.C., but there is no archaeological evidence whatsoever that they were recent arrivals in Canaan, much less an invading military horde. And the ensuing struggle between Israelite and Canaanite culture continued for centuries, even to the end of the Monarchy (Dever 1984; see also Fritz 1987 and his "symbiosis hypothesis").

Having enunciated a general interpretative principle, however, we need to be as specific as possible on the elements of continuity/discontinuity, since so much hangs on this question, and yet previous discussions seem inconclusive.

**(1) Continuity.** Of the diagnostic feature enumerated above for the Iron I villages, the pottery, in particular, shows strong continuity with the 13th century LB Age repertoire. For instance, the pottery of ʿIzbet Ṣarṭeh, which is no doubt Israelite, is virtually *identical* to that of the 13th–12th centuries B.C. at nearby Gezer, which both archaeology and the biblical tradition agree is non-Israelite (i.e., LB Canaanite, with some new Iron I Philistine elements). The *only* significant difference is that ʿIzbet Ṣarṭeh has "collar rim" storejars, while Gezer does not; and Gezer has much more Philistine pottery. This is precisely what we should expect. It is interesting that Finkelstein had argued in his Hebrew dissertation (1983) that the ʿIzbet Ṣarṭeh pottery reflected a "Transjordanian pastoral-nomadic" origin, but in the full publication of the site (1986) he quite correctly makes no mention of such a possibility. (See SETTLEMENT OF CANAAN, which also posits a Transjordanian background for early Israelite culture, but cites no *archaeological* evidence; Boling 1988 adduces some data but none that is decisive). It needs to be emphasized that not only is the Iron I village pottery in direct continuity with the typical local LB ceramic repertoire, but its further development in the 12th–early 11th centuries B.C. cannot be explained *otherwise*. This is seen in all the principal forms: storejars, kraters, bowls, cooking pots, even juglets, chalices, and lamps (cf. A. Mazar 1981; Finkelstein 1986: 38–92; Dever fc.a). The principal continuity between the LB Canaanite material culture and the early Iron I "Israelite" material culture is seen in the pottery. Yet it must always be remembered that among archaeologists and anthropologists pottery is regarded as our most sensitive medium for perceiving cultural contact and cultural change.

**(2) Discontinuity.** On the other hand, several diagnostic features of the Iron I villages are clearly innovative, specifically settlement type and distribution; and an almost total shift to a nonurban, agrarian economy and social structure (see above).

**(3) Continuity, Discontinuity, and Adaptation.** Still other features show a mixture of continuity and discontinuity and must therefore be evaluated most judiciously. For instance, hillside terraces, rock-hewn

cisterns, and stone-lined silos now appear in relatively greater proportions, and they do indeed seem to characterize the technology of our early "Israelite" villages. But it is only the *combination* and *intensified* use that are new. All these elements have clear antecedents in the MB-LB Age, and even earlier (Stager 1985a: 5–10 and references there).

The case of the four-room courtyard house, or "Israelite type-house" (Shiloh 1970), is even more instructive. It is true that only in the Iron Age, and most often in the Iron I villages in question, does this distinctive house style become ubiquitous. But a few prototypes do appear in the LB; and a growing number of fully developed houses of this style are now known from obviously *non*-Israelite Iron I sites both in Palestine and in Transjordan (cf. A. Mazar 1981: 10, 11; Stager 1985a: 5–10; Finkelstein 1986: 121–24). Thus the four-room courtyard house was not so much an "Israelite invention" (and therefore a reliable diagnostic trait) as it was a successful adoption and modification of a common Iron I style of peasant farmhouse, one which was peculiarly suitable to early Israel's agrarian economy and social order. See also HOUSE, ISRAELITE.

Finally, we note the problem of the "collar rim" storejar, which Albright, Aharoni, and others had thought another "Israelite type-fossil." These pithoi are simply large variants of the LB-Iron I storejar, with a reenforcing band around the neck. They are particularly suitable for storage of liquids and foodstuffs, and it is probably for that reason that they are especially common in the Iron I villages we have discussed. But they are now known from LB contexts, as well as from non-Israelite sites in both Palestine and Transjordan (Ibrahim 1978; A. Mazar 1981: 27–31; Finkelstein 1986: 76–84).

All the above elements do indeed *become* "Israelite"; but they are not exclusively so, they are not necessarily innovations, and the individual elements in themselves cannot define "Israelite ethnicity."

**c. Ultimate Origins.** Another, larger aspect of LB-Iron I continuity must now be examined, namely the question of early Israel's *ultimate* origins. Is the demonstrable continuity with local LB Canaanite culture compatible with the customary models for the Israelite settlement; and, if so, is the archaeological evidence decisive for any *one* of them?

**(1) "Conquest."** Clearly, from our discussion the conquest model is ruled out. The founders of the Iron I villagers do not appear to have been newcomers to Palestine, much less settlers displacing Canaanites in the urban centers by military force. The few sites actually destroyed ca. 1200 B.C. were destroyed either by the Philistines, or by unknown agents; and none is resettled within a reasonable time by people who could be implicated in the destruction, or could otherwise be identified as "Israelites."

**(2) "Peaceful Infiltration."** The "peaceful infiltration" model has fared somewhat better, in that it always eschewed sudden conquest in favor of a process that envisions the Israelites emerging in Canaan gradually and largely without armed conflict. That may not have squared very well with the archaeological picture as viewed a generation ago when Alt and others advanced the "peaceful infiltration" model in the face of the dominant Albrightian interpretation, but the newer data surveyed above tend to confirm it in general. In certain *specifics*, however, this model, although relatively sophisticated, is not broad enough to accommodate some of the newer data (contra SETTLEMENT OF CANAAN). In its classic form, it assumed that the Iron I hill country settlers were pastoral nomads immigrating from Transjordan at first seasonally and then gradually becoming fully sedentarized (see Weippert 1971; 1979). More recently, however, this notion of *Siedlungsgeschichte*, or the sedentarization of nomads, has come under criticism from better informed ethnographic studies of pastoralists. (In addition, the "nomadic ideal" posited by some scholars as basic to the biblical writers has been shown to be largely a modern fiction). Furthermore, nearly all the archaeological data we have seen in the material culture of the Iron I sites, now that they are finally being investigated, contradicts *both* these notions of Transjordanian and pastoralist backgrounds. The Iron I pottery derives directly from LB traditions, which *must* be local to W Palestine, since there is no appreciable LB occupation in S Transjordan (contra both this model and the biblical tradition).

As for "pastoral origins," relatively few of the new Iron I villages suggest nomads gradually becoming farmers. Only Giloh and ʿIzbet Ṣarṭeh III appear to be "fortified herdsman's encampments," and even so there is no evidence that the occupants are either newcomers or former nomads. The houses at Tel Masos

have been interpreted as modeled upon bedouin-like tents (Fritz 1981), but this is generally disputed (Stager 1985a: 17). Furthermore, the evidence of cattle breeding and of sophisticated ceramics at Tel Masos suggests anything but pastoralists settling down. Elsewhere, the Iron I hill-country sites exhibit a very advanced, multifaceted agricultural technology, one that was labor-intensive but nevertheless almost ideally adapted to high-risk agriculture under difficult conditions in this former marginal zone (see Hopkins 1985; Stager 1985a: 5–9; Borowski 1987). These are hardy first-generation farmers, i.e., refugees from the cities, much less recently sedentarized pastoralists (or "urban peasants"). They appear rather to be farmers who already had a thorough knowledge of local agricultural conditions in Canaan and needed only to adapt their experience to the hill country. The fact that the new technology is really a *combination* of strategies already utilized in the MB-LB Age, and thus well-proven, is further evidence of the Iron I villagers' local Canaanite derivation. It could be argued on the other hand that they merely borrowed this technology. But if they were really recently sedentarized Transjordanian pastoralists, they would have had little access to the source, isolated as they were in the hill country far from the centers of Canaanite culture.

All things considered, both the ethnographic and archaeological evidence militate against the "peaceful infiltration" model for the emergence of Israel, despite the fact that its notion of Transjordanian origins is consonant with some strands of the biblical tradition.

**3. "Peasants' Revolt."** The "peasants' revolt" (or "internal conquest") model seems more compatible with current archaeological data and theory than any other—especially in the modified form advanced by Gottwald (1979), with its emphasis on the role of technology and economy in social change. This model presumes that the early Israelite movement was made up of various dissident elements of LB Age Canaanite society, mostly dispossessed peasant farmers, who colonized new areas in the hinterland and there adopted a less stratified social order better suited to an agrarian economy. That appears very similar to the picture derived from the newer archaeology, except that Gottwald's "revolutionary, egalitarian" social (and religious) force presumed to be behind this movement is not susceptible to direct archaeological illumination. Of course, these former Canaanite "peasants" were already "liberated" (to use Gottwald's phrase) by the time we encounter them in the Iron I hill-country villages, so that they are now freeholders and self-sufficient homesteaders. But their *background* as peasant farmers is still clear in the archaeological record, as is the distinctiveness of their emerging social structure *vis à vis* old Canaan. Thus at least some aspects of the "peasants' revolt" formulation are now well attested archaeologically—a measure of support (if not confirmation) that no other model can boast. The nucleus of later Israel appears to have derived from the local LB culture of Canaan through relatively normal social processes of peasant withdrawal and what has been termed "retribalization," rather than originating outside Canaan and then either being superimposed on the local population or displacing them entirely in the early Iron I period. (For the possibility of *some* extra-Palestinian elements, however, see below.)

**D. Archaeological Identification of "Israelite" Ethnicity**

If the point has been made that the early Israelites in Canaan were largely of local derivation, we still have not answered the question of who they *were.* That is, how did they differ from Canaanites, how and when did they come to identify themselves as "Israelites," and what did that self-consciousness mean culturally? These, of course, have always been recognized as the fundamental questions, all attempting to ascertain: What was *"unique"* about ancient Israel, and *when* did it emerge as such? (cf. Lemche 1985; Thompson 1987). But until recently both biblical theologians and historians have sought the answers almost exclusively through the analysis of *texts.* That may be methodologically sound, as far as it goes, for "ethnicity" is usually defined mainly in terms of self-image; a social group may constitute a separate ethnic group if the majority of its members feel themselves to be a distinct "people." And certainly some biblical texts do posit a strong sense of "Israelite" ethnicity as though it characterized the tradition from beginning to end. Yet it is increasingly recognized that the biblical texts are often late, elitist, and propagandistic. And because the Bible is theocratic history, Israel is often portrayed in such radically disjunctive terms with respect to neighboring peoples that the result is more caricature than

characterization. (To be fair, many other biblical texts do portray Israel in a less flattering—and thus more realistic—light.)

What was it that really constituted the distinctiveness of Israelite culture, spiritually *and* materially? It is suggested here that the biblical texts alone cannot and should not be expected adequately to illuminate "ethnicity," and, moreover, that it is only through the contribution of archaeology that we can achieve a more balanced picture, both by putting the biblical texts into larger context, as well as by supplying some of the missing information. It may be objected, of course, that even the "new archaeology," with its incomparably more sophisticated techniques, is ultimately limited, too, in its ability to discern thought processes *behind* material culture remains, and thus is powerless to illuminate such matters as self-consciousness or "ethnicity." It must be admitted that without the Merneptah reference to "Israel" ca. 1210 B.C. and the later biblical texts, we would not be sure that our Iron I villages are indeed "Israelite." That is, we could recognize the emergence of a distinctive new culture ca. 1200 B.C. in Canaan, but it would remain anonymous, we would not be able to affix a specific *ethnic label* to it. But even so, the mere name, however valuable, does not define, much less "explain," the nature and origin of this new culture. Only the *combination* of the textual and artifactual data—of history and archaeology—can aid in this inquiry.

Archeology can certainly contribute more than it has thus far to the identification of "Israelite ethnicity." It can do so first because the "new archaeology" is multidisciplinary in nature and therefore attempts to elucidate culture in *all* its aspects, not merely to describe "ceramic culture" and then proceed immediately to the writing of "political history" (as the older-style "biblical archaeology" really did). Surely ancient Israelite culture had its secular components, no less formative than its religious components, and it is these that archaeology can often illuminate uniquely and brilliantly. And *both* aspects of a culture must be so illuminated if it is to be comprehended in its own terms, rather than in some "idealistic" scheme that robs it of its variety and vitality.

Second, archaeology today is strongly behavioral. It focuses not merely on artifacts in themselves, but on the archaeological record as a whole, which is seen to reflect the "material correlates of human behavior." Archaeologists may not be very well equipped to be "paleo-psychologists" (as Binford reminds us); but if they cannot get at ideology, they nevertheless have an unparalleled opportunity to analyze the material *consequences* of human behavior, insofar as they reflect upon the thoughts and actions that produced the artifacts they study. Surely these "material correlates" of behavior, if anything, are clues to ethnicity.

Here we are clearly advocating a structural-functional model, at least at the fundamental level of analysis—without, however, denying the validity, and indeed the necessity, of a historical-cultural model at the higher level of synthesis (much as Gottwald 1979: 622–49; also 1985: 230–38). Thus the attempt at an archaeological identification of "ethnicity" need not be susceptible to the charge of reductionism, or material determinism. Nor is such an attempt necessarily confined to the old-fashioned "trait-list" approach that most archaeologists today would find unproductive.

Whatever model we may adopt in assessing the archaeological evidence for "Israelite ethnicity," we must begin by assuming that no matter what *else* early Israel was (or later thought itself to be), it was *also* a minority ethnic group in a multi-ethnic society in Iron I Canaan. By "ethnic group" we mean, at minimum, a social group that: (1) is biologically self-perpetuating; (2) shares a fundamental, uniform set of cultural values, including language; (3) constitutes a partly independent "interaction sphere"; (4) has a membership that defines itself, as well as being defined by others, as a category distinct from other categories of the same order; and (5) perpetuates its sense of separate identity both by developing rules for maintaining "ethnic boundaries," as well as for participating in inter-ethnic social encounters. (See further Barth 1969: 9–38.) It is especially important to note certain ways in which ethnic groups typically originate, maintain themselves, and assimilate or otherwise change. The *origins* of ethnic groups, in particular, are difficult, often impossible to ascertain (cf. Barth 1969: 17, 18), even where we have historical documentation; but we can point to some *reasons* for both the existence and the persistence of such groups.

It would seem that early Israel clearly qualifies as an ethnic group in the above definition, although that does not imply the unity that later biblical writers presupposed. The question here is simply to what degree *any* of this ethnic identity may be reflected in the archaeological remains, particularly of the early Iron Age village culture surveyed above. And would a positive identification of these villages as "Israelite" help one to choose between the various models proposed for understanding Israelite origins (whether by confirming, contradicting, or modifying biblical tradition)?

The results of our inquiry, even at best, may seem meager, for the question of archaeological identification of ethnicity is one of the most vexed interpretive issues in current archaeology. (For orientation, see Kamp and Yoffee 1980, with programmatic suggestions that the authors evidently regard positively but that are actually unachievable.) The usual "ethnic markers" would consist of such features as language (including "body language"), physical type, dress, food preferences, kinship patterns, general cultural and social values, religion, and the always-nebulous "self-identity." It is obvious that *none* of these traits will be very well represented, if at all, in the archaeological record—even if we regarded a "trait-list" approach as adequate. And their origins will remain even more obscure. But *collective behavior* will often be reflected archaeologically, i.e., the economy in settlement types and distribution; technology and subsistence practices in both artifacts and "ecofacts"; social structure in house form and function; social stratification in elite goods in tombs and elsewhere; ideology in expressions in art; and even religious practices in cultic remains.

We have already treated the archaeological data on settlement patterns, technology, subsistence, and social structure. We concluded that *all* the newer data are consonant with some strands of the biblical tradition, especially in Judges-Samuel. Thus we regard Stager's seminal work on the "archaeology of the family" in early Israel (1985a) as an almost ideal model of the proper dialogue between the "new archaeology" and biblical history, indeed a point of departure for all future studies. Yet even Stager begs the question. He *assumes* that the Iron I hill-country villages are "Israelite," and his own research goes further than anyone else to date in demonstrating that, but nowhere does he explicitly state his conclusion (or, for that matter address the radical implication for biblical history and scholarship).

Can we do better? Perhaps; but not without vastly improved research designs and much more survey and excavation focused *specifically* on this problem. For instance, we have very few Iron I cemeteries, which potentially would be most revealing; and even fewer cultic installations (on the latter, see Dever 1987). We may even hope, in time, for definitive epigraphic discoveries. Meanwhile, we need many more excavation and research projects that are conducive to *cross-cultural* comparisons. In practice, this would entail excavating, with identical research designs and preferably simultaneously, several small one-period Iron I sites in various areas of Israel and Transjordan that could be presumed on independent (textual) witness to be: (1) Canaanite; (2) Philistine; (3) Israelite; and (4) Ammonite-Moabite-Edomite. The excavations would concentrate on total, systemic retrieval of all cultural deposits, which methods already introduced by the "newer archaeology"; then on exhaustive intersite comparisons. The results of such a deliberate archaeological research program—carried out over a ten-year period or so, and properly integrated with ethnographic, textual, and other studies—might well prove decisive. The question "Who were the early Israelites *archaeologically*?" is now theoretically answerable. And when we do answer it, one suspects that the "peasants' revolt" or "indigenous peasant" model—already the most fruitful for research—will be further enhanced. (The most explicit attempt thus far at resolving the problem *archaeologically*, based on new data, is Finkelstein, although he adopts a modified "peaceful infiltration" model and at first scarcely refers to Gottwald's work; see Finkelstein 1986: 201–13; and further *AIS*; for a critique of Finkelstein, see Dever 1989).

**E. Toward a New Synthesis of Archaeology and Biblical History**

The problem with which we began this survey has not yet been resolved, either on the basis of textual or archaeological evidence.

**1. Facing the Dilemma.** The dilemma is simply that in ancient Israel's Credo and epic literature—indeed in her cult and tradition as a whole—the Exodus-Sinai-Conquest themes are absolutely fundamental. It is the "conquest of Canaan" that is the fulfillment of Yahweh's promise, the constitutive

event that brings his Israelite people into existence. Yet if there is little *real* history in Israel's proclamation of her "salvation-history," is the tradition any more than a pious fraud? (For the latest, most radical view, see Lemche 1985.)

All critical scholars recognize that the biblical sources in the Pentateuch and Deuteronomistic History are relatively late, composite works that simply cannot be read at face value as history. Even the *earliest* written materials, the several archaic poems such as Exodus 15, are probably not eyewitness accounts. Thus concerning Exodus 15, dealing with the "crossing of the Red Sea"—which Cross dates to just after 1200 and regards as "a primary source for the central event in Israel's history" (*CMHE*, 123)—we must ask: "*What* event?" Are there any external data that would confirm that we are dealing here with history, and not myth?

Today, skeptical voices dominate the scene. As G. E. Wright himself acknowledged in his Introduction to the Anchor Bible *Joshua:* "In this book ancient Israel recorded her belief as to how the nation came to live in ancient Palestine. Yet during the last century a majority of those attempting to apply the methods of modern historiography to Hebrew tradition have said the book is wrong; it never happened that way at all" (page 4). And now, as we have seen, the cumulative results of a century of *archaeological* investigation powerfully buttress the negative view of the conquest, much to the consternation of those who expected the "archaeological revolution" to confirm the tradition. Where does that leave us?

**2. Methodological Considerations.** Assuming that we cannot simply dismiss either the textual or the artificial evidence, there are nevertheless some methodological approaches that may lead at least to partial solutions.

**a. Two Traditions.** First, we need to recall that there are *two* strands to the tradition as elaborated by the Deuteronomistic History: that preserved in Joshua, and that in Judges. While modern archaeology may call into question the historicity of Joshua, it provides rather dramatic corroboration of the account in Judges, even in obscure details. In the view advocated here, it is futile, indeed unnecessary, to attempt to reconcile these two conflicting versions (as Wright 1946). Instead of trying to "salvage" Joshua archaeologically, future research into Israelite origins should concentrate on Judges, as by far the most realistic and reliable source. There, the results will likely *not* be so negative.

**b. Reconciling Joshua and Judges?** If one asks, however, *why* the Israelite historiographers preserved two diametrically opposed versions of their own history, we can at least offer new critical approaches that may prove constructive. Recent structuralist analyses, such as those of Polzin (1980), Gottwald (1985), and others, have suggested that the redactors of the DH were fully aware of the radically divergent nature of the Joshua and the Judges materials they incorporated, but they left them in tension in a deliberately dialectic manner. As Gottwald (1985: 258) puts it: "By counterposing speech about how the Canaanites *must be* and *were* destroyed against speech about how Canaanites *remained* in the land and were even *accepted* into Israel, DH [the Deuteronomistic history] weaves an ironic exposition on the problematic of carrying out God's commands."

Another explanation for why the tradition has deliberately obscured much of its own origins is offered by Coote and Whitelam (1987). They suggest that the story of Israel's humble origins in social conflict did not suit the propagandistic purposes of the elite "House of David" in its rise to power and were thus downplayed, a point that Mendenhall had made earlier.

Finally, of the Joshua tradition, however folkloristic it may be, it must nevertheless be acknowledged that these materials may contain some raw source-data for the historian: (1) Archaeologically, we should observe that the evidence does not rule out the possibility that *some* constituents of the later Israelite tribal confederation may have derived from Egypt. In this connection, it is worth remembering that many biblical scholars have long held that only the "House of Joseph" (or elements of the later tribes of Benjamin and Judah—which have so obviously shaped the tradition) was ever in Egypt. The fact that most of the numerous Iron I villages we now have are precisely in the area of the Benjamin–Judah tribal territories may seem to lend credence to that suggestion. However, even if this area is the chief locus of early Israelite occupation, there is no direct *archaeological* evidence of Egyptian origins for the settlers, as we have seen, so the question must remain open.

(2) Even the minimalist "peasants' revolt," or "internal conquest," model would allow for *some* of the military actions against the Canaanites described in the book of Joshua. Thus armed conflict may have been a contributing factor in the cultural struggle, even if not the principle cause.

**3. Toward a Synthesis?** Is it possible to move further, however, in reconciling what may seem to be conflicting approaches to archaeological and textual reconstructions of Israelite origins? There would seem to be two primary possibilities for a synthesis, at least of method, if not of results. (See further Dever fc.b., for a symposium on this problem.)

**a. Parallel Histories.** The notion of producing two *alternate* versions of early Israelite history has recently become an option for the first time, due to the growing sophistication and maturity of the newer archaeology. At the "descriptive" level, the first approach would assay a history of ancient *Israel,* based on the biblical texts and focusing mainly on political and religious history. The second, or "secular," approach would utilize archaeological remains and extrabiblical texts to outline a socio-economic history of *Palestine,* primarily in the Bronze–Iron Ages in this connection (but extending, of course, from earliest to relatively modern times). As the "normative" level, the first approach might result in a history of the religion of Israel (or at least a history of the literature *about* that religion), and possibly even in an OT theology. The "secular" approach, however, would necessarily be confined to the illumination of Israelite cultic practice in its larger ANE context, without reference to theology, i.e., its significance for the modern religious community, Jewish or Christian. (See the provisional efforts of Lemche 1985; Thompson 1987).

Each of these separate histories would concentrate on one class of data, and each would be pursued by competent specialists. Needless to say, these two disciplines would both be devoted to legitimate, truly historical tasks. Yet however ideal such a division of labor might seem in theory, in actual practice these two histories would tend to remain *parallel.* They might be complementary, but they would never converge; each would present but a partial view of the total reality we seek to comprehend, the phenomenon of ancient Israel in all its richness and diversity.

**b. Converging Histories.** Far more preferable, it would seem, would be a *combination* of the two approaches, "sacred" and "secular"—or at least a dialogue between the two, which would point toward a truly multidisciplinary synthesis. And today there are indeed signs of such a development, bringing together the insights of the discipline of Palestinian archaeology in its newer guise, coupled with the newer sociological and anthropological approaches to the early history of Israel.

We have already outlined the nature and contribution of archaeology in this cooperative task, both here and elsewhere. See ARCHAEOLOGY. In biblical studies, the most promising trends are seen in the early analysis of Gottwald in his *Tribes of Yahweh* (1979), together with de Geus' *Tribes of Israel* (1976). More recently, the work of Marvin Chaney (1983) points in the same direction, as does Gottwald's *The Hebrew Bible—A Socio-Literary Introduction* (1985) and N. P. Lemche's *Early Israel* (1985). We have also called attention to two recent, specialized treatments of early Israelite agriculture, one by a biblical scholar (Hopkins 1985) and one by an archaeologist (Borowski 1987). Perhaps the most ambitious interdisciplinary synthesis yet may be the work of R. B. Coote and K. W. Whitelam, *The Emergence of Israel in Historical Perspective* (1987), based on a comprehensive settlement-history of Palestine from earliest to modern times. Finally, although it deals with a slightly later horizon, Frick's *The Formation of the State in Ancient Israel: A Survey of Models and Theories* (1985; see also Frick 1979) also rests upon the newer methodology and approach. All these recent analyses embody socio-anthropological models, as well as the newer archaeology.

Despite the recent proliferation of works on early Israel, however, many remain more traditional, based almost exclusively on the biblical texts, such as Halpern's *The Emergence of Israel in Canaan* (1983); Åhlström's *Who Were the Israelites?* (1986); and Miller and Hayes' *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (1986). These and other attempts at synthesis may be faulted for making little or inept use of the abundant archaeological data now available. Even B. Mazar's *The Early Biblical Period: Historical Essays* (1986; see also Mazar 1981), while masterly, is almost totally out of touch with both the methods and results of modern archaeology. It is regrettable that most biblical scholars still cling to the notion that

artifacts without texts are "mute"; that archaeological evidence can only serve to "clarify matters of historical detail," or is useful "only when correlated with specific items in biblical history" (thus *HAIJ* 102, 189; cf. also Miller 1976: 5, 40–48; 1982; *idem* in Knight and Tucker 1985: 1–30). On the contrary, given the skepticism of most biblical historians on the value of the biblical tradition for the premonarchic history of Israel, archaeology is rapidly becoming our *primary* datum (see also Callauay 1985; 1988; Lemche 1985: 385).

Clearly we are implying that a *multi*disciplinary approach to reconstructing early Israelite origins is preferable, indeed infinitely superior. Why do we assume that? In the first place, this approach helps to break the circular reasoning inevitably involved when the biblical texts alone are utilized to write the early history of Israel. One has only to browse through the various essays in the recent handbook *The Hebrew Bible and Its Modern Interpreters* (Knight and Tucker 1985) to see how inconclusive—indeed how devoid of much *real* history in the usual sense—most of current biblical criticism is when largely text-based and confined to the biblical tradition. This is true whether the methods are those of literary, form, traditional, canonical, or structuralist criticism (see especially the essays of Ackroyd, Knierim, and Knight). The result tends to be simply a history of the *literature* concerning the religion of Israel and her self-understanding of her experience in Canaan. Only new data from other sources, and perhaps new models from other disciplines, can break that impasse.

Albright's original intuition—that nothing except the "external" evidence from archaeology could throw *new* light on the tradition as received—was sound; he erred only in assuming that archaeology would always confirm, never challenge, the "historical" reconstruction presented in the Hebrew Bible. Archaeology, in particular, allows us to get at the "history *behind* the history." At the same time, it broadens the picture by supplementing political history with socio-economic and cultural history.

Second, the multidisciplinary approach, particularly in the new "secular" archaeology, allows us to focus on factors in cultural change in addition to primarily *ideological ones,* especially on the role of ecological adaptation, subsistence and economy, technology, and social structure. These *material* factors are obviously powerful agents in shaping history, yet concerning them the Bible is largely silent.

Finally, the multidisciplinary approach to history-writing—like archaeology today—is more systemic, more processual, and is thus more truly "explanatory" than the traditional, purely descriptive approach. We may be able to learn not only *what* happened in the past, but *why* (i.e., apart from "theological explanations").

**c. Faith and History.** A final issue must be addressed, if only to acknowledge its fundamental importance to the current discussion of Israelite origins. The issue is simply this: if archaeological data are now as "primary" as those in the biblical texts, they may force a radical rewriting of the early history of Israel, one at variance with the tradition at crucial points. But does that not *undermine* the religious significance of the tradition? To put it another way, how shall those who espouse biblical faith remain *historians,* and not take flight into the realm of "supra-history"? (Cf. further Porteous 1970–71.) It may be a matter of balance. That is, while the fallacy of historicism has by now been well exposed, how shall we avoid the other extreme, that of existentialism? It was precisely this issue, never resolved, that vexed the earlier "biblical archaeology" movement, aligned as it was with Neo-orthodox-style "biblical theology" in the 1950s–1960s (cf. Dever 1980; 1985b). The new "secular" archaeology might simply declare this a "non-issue," but in doing so it would forfeit any possibility for the dialogue that we regard as essential to *both* disciplines (specifically on the issue of the Israelite settlement, see Dever fc.a., Dever fc.b.).

The "faith and history" issue has generated a literature much too vast to be surveyed here. What we *can* do is to point to two methodological principles that should govern the input of archaeology. First, insofar as we are historians, it really *is* important to ascertain "what happened in history," as nearly as possible. Obviously, this historical inquiry must proceed independent of any theological presuppositions or biases, but the inquiry is not thereby *irrelevant* to questions of belief, as several current schools of biblical interpretation seem to imply. History cannot be allowed to become merely hermeneutics. (See further Knierim's enlightening analysis of the current situation in biblical criticism in Knight and Tucker 1985: 123–65.) Second, whatever the results of our historical investigation, the outcome should not be

considered determinative in matters of religious belief, one way or another. Stendahl's prescient exposé of the weaknesses of the "biblical theology" movement criticized G. E. Wright's notion that religious *meaning* for us consists of our affirming the Bible's claims concerning "God's saving acts in history." Stendahl (*IDB* 1: 424) reminded us that "History does not answer such questions: it only poses them." And *archaeology* cannot answer these questions of faith, either. Archaeology can illumine historical events, but it cannot confirm the theological inferences drawn from those events, past or present.

**F. Conclusion**

Ancient Israel's problem in comprehending her own history was the same as ours: how to account for the unique *reality* of the people of Israel. The biblical writers fell back on the only analogy they had, historical experience, which for them was their own first-hand knowledge of the power of Yahweh over their pagan neighbors, and his ability to save and shape them as his people—despite their obscure origins, their lack of merit, and their disobedience. In the end, the biblical writers concluded that Israel's election was nothing less than a "miracle"; and who are we, their spiritual heirs, to disagree?

Although archaeology may be successful in recognizing in the material remains certain elements of human behavior and social organization, it reaches its limitations when it comes to ideology. Archaeology does not yet, and probably cannot, comment on the complex, diverse, tangled, and on occasion conflicting political or religious motivations behind the emergence of ancient Israel. We may tend to agree that "Yahwism," whether a revolutionary social movement or not, was probably the driving force. But we cannot define "Yahwism" archaeologically beyond describing religious *practice.* We can only suppose that in the cultural vacuum following the collapse of Canaanite society in the 12th century B.C., there arose in central Palestine a new ethnic consciousness and solidarity, a new polity, a new social order. The emergence of this ethnicity need not have been accompanied by a "revolt" at all; it may be viewed rather as simply a normal and even predictable historical development in the evolution of complex society. Archaeology may provide an "ecology" in which socio-economic change becomes explicable, but it cannot explain the ultimate *derivation* of that change. Insofar, however, as the ideology of the Israelite movement found concrete expression in new economic, social, and religious *forms,* we can hope to trace these forms in the archeological record, since this comprises the "material correlates" of human behavior.

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## *MONARCHIC PERIOD*

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### A. Sources

There are three types of sources that the historian can use in reconstructing the history of the monarchy in ancient Israel: the Bible, epigraphical material, and archaeological data. While these sources make the monarchic period the best documented era in the life of ancient Israel, still significant problems remain. The most obvious of these is the chronology of the Israelite monarchy. No universally accepted dating system existed in the ANE. Compounding this problem is the apparent artificial scheme that the Deuteronomistic Historian used in determining various time periods—for example 40 years for the reigns of David (2 Sam 5:40) and Solomon (1 Kgs 11:42) and 480 years from the Exodus to the building of the temple (1 Kgs 6:1).

The first securely dated event in the history of the two kingdoms is the surrender of Jerusalem to Nebuchadnezzar on March 15–16, 597 B.C.E. The Babylonian Chronicles (*ANET*, 564) supply the exact date. All other dates in the chronology of the two kingdoms are approximate within a range of ten to two years. The closer one gets to the fall of Jerusalem, the more precise dating becomes. Theoretically, with the date of Jerusalem's fall in hand, it should be possible to date the other events in the history of the two kingdoms by using the relative chronology provided by the Bible. That is not possible since the Bible's chronology does not allow for precise calculation. It may reflect a schematic rather than an exact presentation of the chronology of the monarchic period. Second there are serious discrepancies between the MT and the LXX that make it difficult to use the Bible to reconstruct this chronology. Any such

chronology should be considered approximate (Miller 1967a; Thiele 1984; Wifall 1968). See also CHRONOLOGY (HEBREW BIBLE).

**1. Biblical.** There are two major blocks of biblical material that purport to tell the story of the Israelite monarchy. The first is part of what M. Noth (*NDH*) has called the Deuteronomistic History of Israel that includes Joshua to 2 Kings with Deuteronomy as its theological preface. The portion dealing with the monarchic period includes 1 Samuel to 2 Kings. Though the Deuteronomistic History (DH) tells the story of ancient Israel's monarchy, its purpose was to explain the fall of both Israel and Judah as the result of infidelity to Yahweh (2 Kgs 17:7–23; 21:10–15). Whatever details the modern historian can distill from the books of Samuel and Kings to reconstruct the history of monarchic period are secondary for the ancient writer who wished to assign the blame for the fall of the ancient Israelite states on those who ruled it.

The books of Chronicles also tell the story of the monarchic period but from a perspective that differs from that of the DH. At the center of the Chronicler's concern is the temple of Jerusalem. The stories about David and Solomon deal with the building of the temple. Interest in later kings depends on their loyalty to the temple. That is why the Chronicler all but ignores the rulers of the N Kingdom. In matters that pertain to the history of the monarchy, the books of Chronicles rarely differ from parallel texts in Samuel and Kings.

The Latter Prophets also provide some material for historical reconstruction. Prophets such as Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah found themselves directly involved with the king or his ministers (Amos 7:10–13; Isaiah 7; Jeremiah 21). other prophets, such as Hosea and Micah, describe the social, economic, and religious realities created by the monarchy.

**2. Epigraphic.** A second category of materials for reconstructing the history of the monarchy is epigraphic materials: inscriptions and other texts from throughout the ANE. These are particularly helpful because they are usually contemporary with the events they describe. Little epigraphic material has survived from ancient Israel. Some inscriptions, ostraca, seals, and seal impressions have surfaced and provide important information. The most famous of these is the 8th century inscription from the Siloam tunnel (*ANET*, 321). Ostraca (8th century) from Samaria (*ANET*, 321) are administrative texts while those from Lachish (6th century) are military communiqués (*ANET*, 321–22). Several seals, seal impressions and bullae from 6th century Jerusalem bear names of people who may be associated with persons known from the Bible (Shiloh 1986).

More significant have been the recovery and deciphering of ANE texts that relate to the history of ancient Israel. The first of these to mention events in Israel's monarchic period date from the 10th century and are Pharaoh Shishak's pylon at the temple of Aton at Karnak and his stele found at Megiddo (*ANET*, 263–64). The first inscription to mention an Israelite king is the stele of Mesha of Moab (9th century) that refers to "the house of Omri" (*ANET*, 320). The Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III (9th century) has the only contemporary portrait of an Israelite king. It shows Jehu kneeling in tribute before the Assyrian emperor (*ANEP*, 100a). There are other Assyrian and Babylonian texts that make direct references to Israelite and Judahite kings (The Black Obelisk, *ANET*, p. 281, and the Annals of Sennacherib [7th century], *ANET*, 287–88).

**3. Archaeological.** Besides the literary sources, there are significant nonliterary data that can help the historian have a more complete picture of the monarchic period. The archaeological record clearly marks the 9th century as the apex of ancient Israel's security and prosperity. Remains from the 8th to the 6th centuries suggest economic decline and military weakness with significant destruction of cities.

Unfortunately the archaeological record of the monarchic period is silent for the most part. Only rarely do epigraphic data emerge with the nonliterary material. This makes the interpretation of the archaeological remains difficult. It is not always possible to correlate the archaeological record with the biblical text. Archaeology is useful in helping the historian understand the physical conditions and everyday life of the monarchic period. But with careful use of the more recent technological advancements and cross-disciplinary insights, archaeological evidence may—though with difficulty—

clarify matters of historical detail. Archaeology is most useful in illuminating the state of the general material culture.

**B. Origins of the Israelite Monarchy and National State**

**1. Settlement of the Tribes in Canaan.** The Late Bronze Age (1550–1200) was a period of great empires in the ANE. The land of Canaan was between two rival imperial powers. To the S was Egypt and to the N was Mitanni and the Hittites. They sought to control Canaan because of the lucrative trade routes that passed through the region.

The end of the LB Age witnessed the disintegration of these imperial powers. The kingdom of Mitanni was in decline. The Hittite Empire took its place. The Hittites and Egyptians wore themselves out in the contest for hegemony over Canaan. This created a vacuum of power that smaller political entities began to fill. This was the period when tribal groupings, city-states, and small kingdoms emerged in Canaan. This was when the Israelite tribes made their appearance in the sparsely inhabited central highlands of the Cis- and Transjordan regions of Canaan. The Amarna Letters (*ANET*, 483–90) describe the unsettled conditions in Canaan in the 14th century with the breakdown of Egyptian hegemony.

It is not certain exactly when the Israelite tribes came into distinct existence in Canaan. Outside of the Bible, the only mention of the name, Israel, occurs in the Merneptah stele (*ANET*, 376–78) from the late 13th century. It is not certain whether the term, Israel, refers to a place or a people. It can only be said that Egypt probably encountered some kind of entity called Israel. Due to this lack of clarity in information, historians of ancient Israel have developed several hypothetical models to describe the settlement period. The nomadic infiltration model claims that before the founding of the monarchy the Israelite tribes were nomads who began to settle in the highlands of central Canaan. A second model uses the archaeological record to suggest that the biblical narratives of Joshua are historically accurate as they describe ancient Israel's entrance into the land as the result of a military conquest. G. Mendenhall (1962) saw the Israelite settlement of Canaan as the result of a socio-political process that he described as a "peasants' revolt." N. K. Gottwald (1979) used a sociological model based on Marxian categories in his massive elaboration of Mendenhall's hypothesis.

**2. Early Attempts at Monarchy.** When the Israelites entered Canaan in the middle of the 13th century, they claimed their land without the benefit of a highly centralized political or military establishment. They continued to live without a monarchy or other forms of strong centralized authority for 200 years. The Israelite tribes prized their autonomy. When faced with military threats from Canaanite city-states such as Hazor (Judges 4–5) or from bedouin raiders such as the Midianites (Judges 6–8), the Israelite tribes depended on military leaders who emerged in response to specific crises. It was in the aftermath of such a crisis (1 Samuel 8–10) that the first attempts at establishing a permanent form of leadership took place (Halpern 1981).

The first bid at establishing a monarchy in Israel took place after Gideon's victory over the Midianites. The Israelites offered to accept Gideon and his heirs as their permanent rulers but Gideon declined their offer (Judg 8:22–23). Abimelech, Gideon's son, supported by the non-Israelite population of Shechem, led a brief and tragic experiment with a monarchic form of government (Judges 9). A more successful effort at establishing the monarchy took place in the mid-11th century when the Israelite tribes began expanding beyond their enclaves in the central highlands of Canaan. In doing so they met resistance from the Philistines with whom they had to contend for supremacy in Canaan. Saul had shown himself capable in dealing with a threat from the Ammonites (1 Samuel 11). He led the Israelite armies against the Philistines as well (1 Samuel 13–14). His initial success led to his election as king of the Israelite tribes. Saul's death and the devastation of the Israelite army during a conflict with the Philistines (1 Samuel 31) did not end the Israelite experiment with the monarchy because of the achievements of David who was the founder of the Israelite national state and its monarchy.

Near the end of the 11th century the Israelite tribes united under David to form a small national state. The state David founded bifurcated into the Kingdom of Israel and the Kingdom of Judah following the death of Solomon. In the 8th century B.C. the rise of the Neo-Assyrian Empire signaled a new age of imperial power in the ANE and the end of small national states such as Israel and Judah. The Israelite

kingdoms were able to rise and flourish when the absence of imperial powers made this possible. The succession of imperial powers beginning with Assyria made it difficult for small national states to survive in the region.

There is no consensus on attitude of the DH toward the establishment of the monarchy since the composition history of 1 Samuel 7–15 is unclear (Birch 1976). Noth (*NDH*) held that the Deuteronomist opposed the monarchy. Sociological analysis sees a royal versus an egalitarian dialectic in these texts. There is no need to conclude that the Deuteronomistic tradition had a negative view of the monarchy (Campbell 1986). The text reflects mixed attitudes. There is rejection when the institution of the kingship led Israel to cease trusting in God. There is approval when the king acts responsibly toward the law (Gerbrandt 1986).

**C. Davidic–Solomonic Empire**

**1. Sources.** Though the Bible contains much material about David, the modern historian cannot use it all uncritically to reconstruct the history of the ancient Israelite monarchy. The Chronicler is dependent upon the presentation in Samuel and Kings. The Chronicler's use of this material shows that historical considerations are secondary. The principal concern of the Chronicler is the presentation of David as the great Israelite hero who organized the worship of the Jerusalem temple. The Chronicler ignores all problems of David's reign to avoid detracting from the image of David as a pious king wholly devoted to Yahweh.

The portrait of David in the books of Samuel comes from pro-David circles and is dependent in part on legendary material. Despite this, it is the judgment of most historians that there are historical persons and events behind these traditions (*HAIJ*, 159–60). Unfortunately there are no ANE texts other than the Bible that mention David, and the archaeological data presently yields little that is useful for clarifying matters of historical detail (*IJH*, 340–43). What follows is dependent upon the narratives in Samuel and Kings with the recognition that determining what from these narratives belongs to the historical and what belongs to the legendary is subjective to some extent (Carlson 1964).

**2. David (ca. 1000–961).** Following the death of Saul, the Philistines asserted their control over the central highlands. Abner, Saul's general, survived the Israelite defeat and sought to prevent the monarchy from dying with Saul. He crowned Ishbaal (Ish-bosheth), one of Saul's surviving sons, as king of Israel at Mahanaim (2 Sam 2:8). David persuaded the elders of Judah, his own tribe, to anoint him as their king. They did so and he ruled over Judah at Hebron for seven years (2 Sam 2:1–4, 11).

The Philistines probably considered the division of Saul's kingdom with Ishbaal at Mahanaim and David at Hebron as convenient for their purposes. They believed that Saul's kingdom was no more. In its place were two small rival kingdoms. David strove to forge a new and powerful Israelite kingdom.

David's rise to power over Israel became easier because of the death of Abner (2 Sam 3:26–27). Without Abner's support Ishbaal's position became untenable and the king's own officers assassinated him (2 Sam 4:1–7). The way was now clear for David to take the throne of all Israel, which the elders of Israel offered to him voluntarily so that military force or political maneuvering on David's part became unnecessary (2 Sam 5:1–5). This was the end of the first Israelite dynasty and the beginning of a new age for the monarchy under David whom later generations would remember as the paradigm of the Israelite king (Weiser 1966).

David's first act in consolidating his position was to take Jerusalem, which had remained a Jebusite enclave between the territories of Judah and Benjamin. David made the city his capital (2 Sam 5:6–12). Since Jerusalem was not under the control of any tribe, David's choice had the appearance of not favoring any single faction of the Israelite coalition. David also brought the ark of the covenant to Jerusalem and place it in a special tent (2 Sam 6:17). This move had the double effect of presenting David as the protector of Israel's ancient religious traditions and of making Jerusalem the new religious center of Israel. The presence of the ark in Jerusalem marks a new moment in Israel's life, but it also emphasizes continuity with ancient traditions (Campbell 1975; Timm 1966).

The conquest of Jerusalem was the first step David took to expand his kingdom beyond the territories of the Israelite tribes. This brought him into direct conflict with the Philistines who took immediate action by

sending two military forces against David. He defeated both armies (2 Sam 5:17–25). After his victories over the Philistines, David moved against the Transjordanian kingdoms. His victories there brought the King's Highway under Israel's control (2 Sam 8:2; 9:6–14). David then subjugated the Arameans and by that extended Israel's frontier to the Euphrates (2 Sam 10:15–19). His victory over Edom (2 Sam 8:12) gave him a port on the Red Sea.

Despite David's spectacular rise to power, his military victories, and his religious gestures, there was still some Israelite support for the dynasty of Saul. David tried to eliminate any possible rivals from Saul's family (2 Sam 21:1–4). Out of respect for the memory of his friend Jonathan, he spared Mephibosheth, Jonathan's crippled son. David gave him what remained of Saul's estates, but required him to live in Jerusalem (2 Samuel 9).

While David showed that he was a political and military genius, his personal life was a shambles. His desire for Bathsheba, the wife of a Hittite mercenary, led David to acts of adultery and murder (2 Samuel 11). Second while David was able to manage a small empire, he had little control over his own family (2 Sam 14:28–33). Ultimately this lack of control laid the foundation for the first revolt against David, a revolt led by his son Absalom, who took advantage of popular grievances against his father and had himself proclaimed king at Hebron. Joab killed Absalom bringing his revolt to an end. Led by the elders of Judah, the people reinstated David to the throne (2 Samuel 15–19). Despite this reinstatement, support for David was still not unanimous. A second revolt broke out. Sheba ben Bichri from Saul's tribe of Benjamin led this new threat to David's rule. David moved quickly to crush this rebellion (2 Samuel 20).

Without question it was David who transformed the loose coalition of Israelite tribes into a national state with himself as king and founder of a dynasty. There is no single explanation for David's success. He was a master of both military and political affairs, but it was only the absence of a foreign imperial power in Canaan that allowed these qualities to emerge in an Israelite of the 10th century. The Philistine menace that Saul was unable to keep in check led the fiercely independent Israelite tribes to submit to David's rule since David eliminated that menace. David had to face serious internal problems despite his military and political successes. He had to put down two revolutions one of which his son Absalom led. Despite these problems David survived and his dynasty ruled for more than four hundred years. His most lasting achievement was his decision to make Jerusalem the center of the nation's national life.

**3. Solomon (961–922).** One measure of the difficulties that David faced was the struggle for the succession to the throne. The narrative of the succession takes up 2 Samuel 9–20 and 1 Kings 1–2. Estimates of the historical value of these chapters range from L. Rost's view (1982) that they were work of an eyewitness to the events described to the J. A. Soggin's assertion (*IJH*, 338) that these chapters are a "novel." Even if one agrees with Soggin that the story of Solomon's succession was the product of a storyteller's imagination, it is still possible to draw some historical conclusions from the narrative. Solomon was not the heir apparent to David but gained the throne following court intrigues. These took place in David's dotage when he was no longer effectively in control as king. Though Solomon replaced his senile father on the throne, the narratives make it appear as if Solomon displaced Adonijah who had begun functioning as king (1 Kgs 1:5–8).

The story of Solomon's succession may not be an objective record, but it is not the pro-Solomon propagandistic document that Miller and Hayes believe it to be (*HAIJ*, 200). It is as searing an indictment of the monarchy as one finds in the Bible. To be sure the critique is indirect, but the reader cannot but be appalled by the spectacle created by David and his family. There is adultery, murder, rape, fratricide, rebellion, and intrigue—all perpetrated by those who present themselves as leaders of Israel.

Despite this veiled voice of protest, Solomon ruled a people who had become accustomed to the centralized administration of a king. He sought to consolidate the gains that his father David made. Though Solomon met some internal opposition to his accession to the throne, politically inspired marriages and negotiated alliances secured international recognition for David's successor. He protected the borders of his kingdom by peaceful relations with neighboring kings (1 Kgs 3:1; 5:1–6; 11:1–3).

David's foreign policy was so successful and his military victories so complete that Solomon's reign was peaceful for the most part. This enabled Solomon to take advantage of Israel's unique geographical

position as the commercial crossroads in the ANE. Israel controlled the two main and several secondary commercial roads in the region. Solomon also had ports on the Mediterranean and Red Seas (*IJH*, 373–76).

Solomon's commercial success led to great building projects that served to showcase his wealth and power for his subjects and potential rivals. David's Jerusalem was confined to the Ophel hill. Solomon enlarged the city by building his palace to the N. The temple that Solomon built was one component of his palace, but it was the temple that received the most attention in the Bible, which sees the temple as Solomon's greatest single achievement (Busink 1970; Parrot 1957). Solomon also built outside of Jerusalem. He fortified Megiddo, Gezer, and Hazor (1 Kgs 9:15–19). The archaeological record of these cities points to much activity in Solomon's day though archaeologists debate what can be attributed to Solomon and what was built because of local initiative (Kenyon 1971).

Solomon surrounded himself with able administrators to ensure that his projects ran smoothly and were adequately financed (1 Kgs 4:1–6; Mettinger 1971). Unfortunately these building projects emptied Solomon's treasury faster than he could fill it so that he had to tax his people to make up the balance. In addition, able-bodied people had to present themselves for unpaid labor on these projects. Solomon's financial problems moved him beyond centralization to despotism. His policies of taxation and forced labor were a source of discontent and contributed to the undoing of his empire following his death (Redford 1972; Mendelsohn 1962).

The income from commerce and taxation was still insufficient to support all Solomon's building projects so he ceded twenty cities in Galilee to Tyre to ease his financial problems (1 Kgs 9:10–13). There were other signs that his empire was in trouble. Both Edom and Aram successfully rebelled against Israelite rule (1 Kgs 11:14–25). The most serious threat to Solomon's rule came not from outside but from within Israel. Encouraged by the prophet Ahijah, Jeroboam became the leader of those Israelites who opposed Solomon's rule. Ironically Jeroboam had been Solomon's administrator of forced labor (1 Kgs 11:26–40).

What helped prevent Solomon's empire from disintegrating during his lifetime was the theological support that propped up his rule. Like all ANE monarchies, the kingship in Israel needed religious support to maintain its legitimacy. The belief that God had chosen David and his descendants to rule Israel forever (2 Samuel 7) was the theological support for Solomon's rule. Both Saul and David became kings because of arrangements made by the people over whom they ruled. Theirs was a charismatic kingship acknowledged by popular consent. Solomon came to the throne without such popular support. His claim to the throne rested on a dynastic principle in which God became the guarantor of the dynasty. Such a pattern of kingship was no different from that of other nations in the ANE (Kenik 1983; Johnson 1967).

**D. Kingdoms of Israel and Judah**

**1. Collapse of the Davidic–Solomonic Kingdom.** The development of a royal ideology that supported the Davidic dynasty was not enough to secure the throne of Solomon for Rehoboam his son. The succession was not an issue in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 11:43b). It was another matter in Shechem where "all Israel" came to confirm Rehoboam as king. The people that the new king went to meet were representatives of the tribes, clans, and settlements of the hill country N of Jerusalem. These people evidently had grievances so serious that they wanted to negotiate with the king. When they asked Rehoboam to modify Solomon's policies of taxation and forced labor, he refused. The assembly then rejected Rehoboam (1 Kgs 12:16). The king fled to the safety of Jerusalem and did not try to compel the loyalty of the northerners.

The assembly at Shechem did not replace the monarchy by reverting to a tribal form of government. Instead it rejected the Davidic dynasty and offered the kingship to Jeroboam, the leader of the anti-Solomonic faction. He established a new state with its capital at Shechem (1 Kgs 12:25).

The book of Kings treats the action of the assembly at Shechem as an act of apostasy though it was sanctioned by the prophet Ahijah (1 Kgs 11:23–39). This interpretation of events following Solomon's death is a reflection of DH's views on the legitimacy of the Davidic dynasty and the centrality of Jerusalem. The Shechem assembly and Jeroboam ignored both (Aberach and Smolar 1969; Klein 1970).

A more balanced evaluation of the circumstances following Solomon's death should conclude that the actions of the Shechem assembly were not surprising given Rehoboam's decision to continue his father's internal policies. The readiness of the northerners to abandon the Davidic dynasty shows that a "united kingdom" never existed. David and Solomon ruled over a "dual monarchy" in which the N and S tribes shared a king in common (2 Sam 3:10; 19:11–15, 43; 24:1–9; 1 Kgs 1:35). Following Solomon's death the dual monarchy collapsed. Replacing it were two small kingdoms that existed alongside each other for about two hundred years. The N kingdom was known as Israel or Ephraim. Its center was the hill country N of Jerusalem though it included the regions of Gilead and Galilee as well. The S kingdom was known as Judah and included the S hill country and the Negeb.

**2. Politics of the Two Kingdoms.** The S kingdom (Judah) was a sacral and centralized society ruled by what its citizens believed was the divinely chosen Davidic dynasty. It was a slow-moving, conservative, and highly traditional society. Jerusalem and its temple were the focus of Judah's national and religious life. Although the monarchy introduced Judah to foreign cultural perspectives, it absorbed these by modifying gradually its social system and religious traditions without significant social disruptions. Stability was the hallmark of the S kingdom. That is why it retained a single dynasty throughout its existence.

The N kingdom (Israel) did not enjoy the benefits that a stable political structure provided. In its 200 years of existence, it had 19 kings, only 10 of whom succeeded to the throne. Nine came by way of *coups d'état.* Assassination was the fate of seven of Israel's kings. One committed suicide. Theoretically Israel valued the type of leadership that emerges in times of crisis over a hereditary monarchy. In reality, several of Israel's kings were little more than opportunists.

Though religiously, ethnically, and culturally the two kingdoms were parts of one whole, politically they were independent. The N kingdom was the more prosperous and powerful. It had more natural resources, a large population, and a greater military capability. In terms of international relations, Israel and Judah were just two of several minor kingdoms in Canaan (Alt 1966a).

**3. Economy of the Two Kingdoms.** Though the Davidic–Solomonic kingdom was no more, the economic development and social change that the monarchy brought continued in both kingdoms. Neither Israel nor Judah was a significant political power, however, they enjoyed surprising economic prosperity. The combined population of the two kingdoms was probably one million (800,000 in Israel and 200,000 in Judah) at the height of their prosperity at the end of the 9th century. The population of the two kingdoms was becoming stratified. Just distribution of wealth did not accompany economic growth. The agrarian economy had to support a monarchy, its bureaucracy, and an army. The burden became increasingly more difficult. It led to the injustices that the prophets of the 8th century (Amos, Hosea, Micah, and Isaiah) condemned with so much passion.

Both kingdoms were responsible for maintaining several institutions that had serious economic effects. First there was compulsory military service that provoked great resentment (2 Kgs 25:10). Peasants had to leave their fields and flocks not to defend themselves and their families but to advance the king's political and commercial adventures that were of no concern to them. Second was the burden of forced labor that was the spark that set off the N tribes on a course independent of the Davidic dynasty. Despite this, the hated system continued involving up to one quarter of the population to work on royal building, commercial, and agricultural projects. Taxation took away what little the peasants were able to glean from their work. With the rise of the neo-Assyrian and neo-Babylonian empires, the peasants also had to provide the bulk of the tribute that the two kingdoms had to pay to their imperial masters.

Both the Bible and the archaeological data document the stratification of Israelite society because of the economic developments in the monarchic period. Amos (4:1) in the N and Isaiah (3:14–15) in the S criticize the effects of economic stratification that created poverty in the two kingdoms. The prophets denounced the splendid buildings of the wealthy: Amos 3:15; 5:11; 6:4; Hos 8:14; 12:8; Isa 2:7. Excavations of sites like Tirzah, Shechem, and Hazor show that at one time every family lived like its neighbors, but the 8th century saw these cities divided between the well-built homes of the wealthy and hovels of the poor (Kenyon 1964; 1971). The prophets excoriated the new wealthy class whose prosperity

fed off the misery of the poor (Mic 2:1–12; Isa 5:8). Some poor people even had to sell themselves or their children into slavery to pay the debts they owed to the king or to their wealthy neighbors (2 Kgs 4:1–7; Amos 2:6). The political division of the Davidic empire into two rival states had its economic and social parallel in the life of the people who formed two classes: the rich and the poor. Poverty then was the creation of the monarchy and the economic practices it spawned (King 1988).

**E. Israel and Judah: Jeroboam I—Fall of Israel (922–721)**

**1. Period of Conflict (922–876).** Jeroboam I (922–901) took steps to establish the N kingdom as religiously independent of Judah. He proposed the old shrines at Dan and Bethel as alternatives to Jerusalem. He changed the date of the pilgrimage festivals and dislodged the Levites who were royal administrators and presumably loyal to the Davidic dynasty (1 Kgs 12:26–32).

The Egyptians welcomed the split of Solomon's kingdom since it fit into their plans to reassert their control over Canaan. Five years after the split, Egypt invaded the territories of the two kingdoms (1 Kgs 14:25–28). Despite its victories, Egypt was unable to maintain a permanent presence in the region (Mazar 1957). Rehoboam built a series of forts to guard his S frontier from Egyptian incursions (2 Chr 11:5–12).

There were continual border hostilities between the two kingdoms throughout the reign of Rehoboam and into that of his successor Abijah (also known as Abijam 915–913). Abijah was able to take the territory of Benjamin and add it to his kingdom. Such reverses at the hand of Judah weakened the prestige of Jeroboam. When he died, Nadab, his son, (901) ruled Israel for just one year. A military *coup* led by Baasha (900–877) deposed Nadab (1 Kgs 15:25–32).

After Asa (913–873) succeeded Abijah in the S, he induced the Arameans to invade the N kingdom. With the army of Israel occupied in the N, Asa had a free hand in the S. He moved Judah's N border to Mizpah where it remained until the fall of the N kingdom.

The continuous ill-fortunes of Israel at the hands of Aram and Judah were a serious problem for Baasha. Though he was able to hold onto the throne, his son Elah (877–876) was not. After a brief reign, Elah was assassinated by Zimri (876). When news of the *coup* reached the Israelite army, the soldiers acclaimed their commander Omri as king. Omri marched to Tirzah where Zimri had already established himself as king. When Zimri saw Omri's army approaching the city, he despaired and committed suicide after a reign of just seven days (1 Kgs 16:15–19).

**2. Period of Cooperation (876–842).** Omri's seven-year reign (876–869) reversed Israel's fortunes. He ended the Aramean threat to the N kingdom. He revived Israel's commercial fortunes by aligning himself with Phoenicia. He sealed the alliance with the marriage of his son Ahab with Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal, king of Sidon. Omri ended 50 years of fruitless conflict with Judah by giving his daughter Athaliah in marriage to Jehoram, the heir to the throne of the S kingdom. Omri retook Moab and this brought the King's Highway under his control. All this brought a new era of peace and prosperity to Israel. Omri was the greatest king to rule over the N though the Bible pays scant attention to him. Knowledge of Omri's achievements comes from extrabiblical sources (Timm 1982; Whiteley 1952).

Ahab (869–850) followed Omri on the throne of Israel. It was the first successful dynastic succession in the N kingdom. From a military, economic, and political perspective, Ahab's reign was remarkably successful. His only defeat was the loss of Moab at the end of his reign. Excavations at several cities in the N show that Ahab's reign was one of economic growth and military strength (Hennessy 1970). Ahab's greatest military achievement took place at the battle of Qarqar, which the Bible ignores. Ahab led a coalition of small states that successfully engaged the Assyrians and prevented them from taking control of the region. Ahab led the largest force in the coalition (*LAR* 1: 595–596, 601, 610–611).

Ahab's most serious problems were internal. His Phoenician wife Jezebel promoted the worship of Baal in the N kingdom. The prophet Elijah forcefully opposed her. The conflict between Elijah and Ahab over Jezebel's activity dominates the portrait of Ahab in the Bible and makes it appear as if he were a weak and ineffective ruler when the opposite was true (1 Kgs 17:1–22:40).

Ahab continued Omri's policy of cooperation with Judah. When the Arameans invaded Israel in 851, Jehosaphat, the king of Judah, joined Ahab in battle. While the Israelite–Judahite coalition prevented

Aram from taking more than the N part of Israelite's Transjordanian territories, Ahab fell in battle (1 Kgs 22:34–35).

Jehosaphat's reign (873–849) was a time of peace and prosperity for Judah primarily because of its alliance with Israel. He increased Judah's commercial interests, strengthened its administrative apparatus, established a centralized judicial system, reorganized the army, and fortified many cities (1 Kgs 22:41–51).

In Israel Ahaziah (850–849) succeeded his father Ahab. A deterioration of the good relations that existed with Judah marked his reign. He died childless and his brother Jehoram (also known as Joram 849–842) succeeded him. Jehoram tried to retake Moab. Jehosaphat joined him in this unsuccessful adventure. This failure bred discontent among the army and population.

In Judah Jehosaphat's son Jehoram (849–842) came to the throne amid some internal problems that led Jehoram to have members of his family and court executed (2 Chr 21:4). He also had some external problems. Edom rebelled causing Judah to lose its control of the King's Highway and the income that came with that control (2 Chr 8:20–22). There has been some speculation that the Jehoram of Judah and the Jehoram of Israel were the same person. This means that the two kingdoms would have been one under the rule of the same king (*HAIJ*, 280–84). While this hypothesis has not been proven to be fact, what is certain is that a period of decline began in both kingdoms.

The decline of the last years of Jehoram of Israel had tragic consequences for the dynasty of Omri. The religious conservatives opposed the dynasty because of the willingness of the royal family to promote the worship of Baal. With the rapid economic development fostered by the Omrides, there came discontent because of the social and economic stratification in the kingdom. With wealth and power in the hands of a few, the many were ready for revolution. The revolution that came was another military *coup.*

**3. Revolution and Its Aftermath (842–786).** The revolution that put Jehu (842–814) on the throne of Israel was the most bloody in the history of the N kingdom. Jehu assassinated Jehoram and executed every other member of the royal family that he could find. In doing so he destroyed the political connections with Tyre and Judah that were the basis of Israel's prosperity (Miller 1967b). This left Jehu to face the Arameans alone. Fortunately for Israel, the neo-Assyrian empire under Shalmaneser III began pressuring the Arameans. When the Assyrians made their appearance in Aram, Jehu rushed to present himself to Shalmaneser to make his obeisance and offer his tribute as a loyal vassal (*ANET*, 281).

Because of Jehu's submission to Assyria, Israel was free from Aramean harassment for a short time, but the Assyrians could not remain in the region for long. This gave Hazael, king of Aram, a free hand to deal with Israel. He seized all Israel's territories in Transjordan. There was no improvement upon the accession of Jehu's son Jehoahaz (815–801). Hazael led a march through the N kingdom on his way to Judah. He thoroughly subjected the Israelite army. Eventually Assyria reasserted its domination of Aram. With the arrival of Adad Nirari III in Damascus in 806 (*ANET*, 281), Israel was free from the Aramean pressure.

Judah too felt the effects of Jehu's revolution. Ahaziah, king of Judah (842), happened to be visiting in Jezreel when Jehu began his purge. He met the same fate as Jehoram (2 Kgs 9:27–28). Athaliah (842–837), Ahaziah's mother, seized power in Judah upon his death. To secure her position she tried to kill the male heirs of the Davidic house. Only one of her grandsons, Joash, managed to escape (1 Kgs 11:1–3). Athaliah was the only ruler of the S kingdom who was not a descendant of David. She aroused opposition from the priests of Jerusalem, and Jehoiada, one of these priests, led a *coup* against her. Athaliah was assassinated and Joash (837–800) came to the throne (2 Kgs 11:4–20).

It is intimated (2 Chronicles 24) that Joash had a falling out with the priests who were his principal supporters. Their opposition may have led to his assassination (2 Kgs 12:20–21). His son Amaziah (800–783) succeeded him. At this time Aram was in a period of decline and this freed Amaziah to retake Edom. Buoyed by his success in the S, he fought the N kingdom for dominance in the region. Israel's new king, Joash (also known as Jehoash 801–876) defeated Amaziah (2 Kgs 14:13–14). This war sealed the separation between Israel and Judah. After the latter's utter defeat, there was no real hope of reuniting the two kingdoms. The defeat also sealed Amaziah's doom. He was assassinated—the third ruler of Judah in

succession to die this way (2 Kgs 14:19). Ironically the aftermath of this war ushered in a period of peace and prosperity for both kingdoms.

**4. Period of Prosperity (786–746).** The rejuvenation of the N kingdom that began with Joash reached its apex during the forty-year reign of Jeroboam II (786–721). Both Joash and Jeroboam were able rulers and their combined 56 years on the throne were a time of territorial expansion and economic success. Israel so dominated the Arameans that Jeroboam eventually annexed Aram to his kingdom. The Bible features military success of the N kingdom (2 Kgs 13:7, 25; 14:23–29) while excavations at sites such as Samaria and Megiddo reveal its economic prosperity. Amos condemned the darker side of the wealth that the few in Jeroboam's kingdom enjoyed at the expense of the poor. Hosea added his voice to these critiques and put special emphasis on the popularity of Baal worship in the N kingdom. The façade of peace and prosperity did not blind the prophets to the social and religious disintegration that was to be the undoing of the N kingdom.

Though largely ignored by the Deuteronomist, the reign of Uzziah in the S (783–742) was just as successful as that of Jeroboam II in the N. The Chronicler provides a more complete picture of a most prosperous period in Judah's history. Uzziah reorganized Judah's army and led it on several successful campaigns. His victory over the Arabs in the SE (2 Kgs 14:22; 2 Chr 26:2–15) opened the Negeb to intensive agricultural settlement as revealed by archaeology. There is no prophetic commentary on Uzziah's reign, but he did have problems with priests. The Bible attributes Uzziah's leprosy to his attempt to get some priestly prerogatives for himself (2 Chr 26:16–21). Jotham (742–735) acted as regent for his father during his illness and succeeded upon his death. Jotham continued Uzziah's policies and enjoyed similar success.

**5. Fall of Israel (746–721).** Following the death of Jeroboam II, anarchy reigned in the N kingdom. Zechariah (746–745), Jeroboam's son and the last of Jehu's dynasty, was assassinated after only six months on the throne. Shallum (745) who replaced him ruled for only one month before Menahem (745–738) deposed him. Menahem became a vassal of the Assyrians who required that he pay a heavy tribute to keep his throne (2 Kgs 15:19–20). His son Pekahiah (738–737) continued the policy of submitting to the Assyrians. This led to his assassination by Pekah, one of his military advisors who wanted to rebel against Assyria. After taking the throne of Israel, Pekah put aside old animosities and joined Aram in an anti-Assyrian coalition. They tried to enlist Judah but failed. The coalition collapsed before Assyrian military power. The Assyrians reduced Israel to a rump state ruled by Hoshea (732–724) who assassinated Pekah.

The rulers of Judah handled the Assyrian presence in the region more adroitly than the kings of Israel. Ahaz (735–715) refused to join the anti-Assyrian coalition (Oded 1972). When Pekah tried to depose him, Ahaz sought support from the Assyrians despite Isaiah's advice to the contrary (Isa 7:1–9). Both the Philistines and the Edomites began to exert additional pressure on Judah. Matters go so bad that Ahaz sacrificed his son in an attempt to avoid imminent disaster (2 Kgs 16:3). He also introduced non-Israelite forms of worship in the temple to secure his rule by any means available (2 Kgs 16:10–17).

Unfortunately for Israel, Hoshea did not remain a compliant vassal to Assyria as did Ahaz. Upon hearing of Tiglath-Pileser's death in 724, Hoshea began negotiations with Egypt to secure its support for a revolt against Assyria. When Hoshea made his move, Shalmaneser V, the new Assyrian monarch, easily swept Israel's army aside. After a three year siege, the Assyrians destroyed Samaria, incorporated what remained of the N kingdom into the Assyrian provincial system, and exiled many of Israel's leading citizens (Oded 1970). By 721, the Kingdom of Israel ceased to exist as an independent nation.

The Assyrians rebuilt Samaria and made it the capital of one of their provinces. They absorbed the remnants of the Israelite army into their own. They also repopulated the territory of the former N kingdom with foreigners after deporting a portion of the native population though most of Israel's population remained in their land (Otzen 1979). Because of later conflicts with the people of the Samaria, the Jews of the postexilic period refused to consider the Samaritans as legitimate Israelites because of the intermarriages that took place between the remnants of the native Israelite population and the foreigners introduced by the Assyrians (Coggins 1975).

**F. Final Years of Judah (715–687)**

**1. Judah and the Neo-Assyrian Empire.** In view of Israel's fate, the policy of Hezekiah (715–687) toward Assyria seems like folly. He reversed the pro-Assyrian policy of his father Ahaz and began plotting with the Philistines, Egyptians, and Babylonians against Assyria. He prepared for the revolt by strengthening Jerusalem's fortifications and securing its supply of water (2 Kgs 20:20; *ANET*, 321; Broshi 1974). He wrote to the Israelites in the Assyrian provinces of Megiddo and Samaria for support (2 Chr 30:1). Hezekiah signaled his intention to rebel by removing all Assyrian appurtenances from the temple. This led the Deuteronomist to present him as a religious reformer (2 Kgs 20:1–7; Rowley 1962; Ackroyd 1984).

The Assyrians marched through Syria-Palestine in 701. They captured 46 cities in Judah before they began their siege of Jerusalem (*ANET*, 287). At first Isaiah opposed Hezekiah's plans (Isa 31:1–3), but once the siege of Jerusalem was under way the prophet tried to lift the spirits of the city (Isa 10:24–34). Though Jerusalem's fall appeared to be imminent, the Assyrians inexplicably broke off their siege. This led to the belief that Jerusalem was impregnable. Though Jerusalem did not fall to Assyria, Judah had to pay an increased tribute, the kingdom suffered the loss of some territory, and Hezekiah had to swear allegiance to Assyria (2 Kgs 18:14). Isaiah described the outcome of Hezekiah's rebellion as the desolation of Judah (Isa 1:7–9; Cogan 1974).

Judah retained its nominal independence throughout the long reign of Hezekiah's son, Manasseh (687–642). He had little choice but to be a compliant vassal, for Assyria's power was at its height in the early part of the 7th century. The Deuteronomist portrays Manasseh's reign as the darkest in the history of the monarchy because of the non-Israelite cults that flourished in Jerusalem during his reign (2 Kgs 21:1–18; McKay 1973). The Chronicler paints a different picture of Manasseh. Second Chronicles describes a presumed exile of Manasseh to Babylon where purportedly he repented (33:10–13). Attempts have been made to associate this text with an anti-Assyrian rebellion in which Manasseh supposedly participated. It is more likely that the tradition about Manasseh's conversion is legendary. It is unlikely that he ever swayed from his subservience to Assyria (Nielsen 1967).

Manasseh's successors did not enjoy long and peaceful reigns like his. Of the last six Davidic rulers one was assassinated, two died during wartime, and two died in exile. Manasseh's immediate successor, Amon (642–640) died during a *coup* led by anti-Assyrian elements at court. The conspirators were themselves executed by the "people of the land" who placed Amon's eight-year-old son Josiah on the throne (2 Kgs 21:19–26; Malamat 1953; for the role of the "people of the land" see Soggin 1963; Talmon 1967; de Vaux 1964; see also AM HAʿAREZ).

**2. Reign of Josiah (640–609).** Josiah is the hero of the Deuteronomist who portrays him as a great religious reformer inspired and guided by the "Book of the Law" (2 Kings 22–23). Josiah's program was less a religious reform than a cultural revolution or an effort at national liberation (Lohfink 1977; Weinfeld 1964). The Assyrian empire was disintegrating and Josiah recognized that its hegemony in Syria-Palestine was ending. He had dreams of restoring the old Davidic empire (2 Kgs 23:15–20). His emphasis on the centrality of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 23:21–23) had as its purpose to secure the people's commitment to the dynasty and his political program in the struggle that was ahead.

Josiah's plans ended with his death in 609. He fell at Megiddo while leading the army of Judah against the Egyptians who were trying to prop up a tottering Assyria as a buffer against the emerging Babylonian empire. Josiah saw that it was to his benefit to support Babylon though he should have been content to sit on the sidelines while the great powers settled matters between themselves. With Josiah's death, Judah began an inexorable slide to its destruction as a political entity (Malamat 1955; 1973). In less than 25 years, the Judean state and Davidic dynasty were no more.

Josiah's defeat at Megiddo meant that Judah had to trade masters. It fell under Egyptian hegemony. The pharaoh Neco's first act was to depose Josiah's son Jehoahaz (also known as Shallum, 609) whom the "people of the land" placed on the throne because he wanted to pursue the anti-Egyptian policy of his father. The pharaoh took Jehoahaz prisoner and made his brother Eliakim king with the throne-name Jehoiakim (609–598). Jehoiakim had no choice but to be subservient to Egypt.

**3. Judah and the Neo-Babylonian Empire.** Judah's destiny passed into Babylonian hands when Nebuchadnezzar defeated Egypt at the battle of Carchemish in 605. Jehoiakim accepted his new master, but four years later he foolishly rebelled (2 Kgs 25:1–2). The Babylonians moved against Jerusalem in 598. Jehoiakim died at the outset of the siege (2 Kgs 25:6). Jeremiah implies that Jehoiakim was assassinated (Jer 22:18–19); but Jer 36:30 and 2 Chr 36:6 assert that he was exiled to Babylon. Jehoiachin (also known as Jeconiah and Coniah 598–597) succeeded his father and surrendered to Nebuchadnezzar after three months. The king, his family, and many leading citizens went to Babylon as prisoners following the surrender of Jerusalem in 597.

Nebuchadnezzar allowed Judah to retain nominal independence. He chose Mattaniah, the third of Josiah's sons to succeed the exiled Jehoiachin as king of Judah. The Babylonians gave him the throne-name Zedekiah (2 Kgs 25:17). Zedekiah (597–587) was unable to deal with the conflicts among his people on how to react to the Babylonian hegemony over Judah. What finally tipped the scales in favor of a second rebellion was the visit of Pharaoh Psammetichus II to Judah in 591. The pharaoh promised to support any rebellion against Babylon. Ezekiel 17 alludes to these negotiations (Greenberg 1957). When Egypt provoked Babylon by invading Phoenicia, Zedekiah withheld his tribute from Nebuchadnezzar.

The Babylonian reaction was swift. Zedekiah soon realized that his rebellion was going to fail so he fled from Jerusalem. The Babylonians captured him near Jericho and led him to exile (2 Kgs 25:5–7). The Babylonians entered Jerusalem, destroyed the temple and palace, and razed a large portion of the city. They executed representatives of the various strata of Judahite society and led the rest of Judah's leadership class into exile (2 Kgs 25:8–21). The Davidic dynasty ended in 587.

Despite this rebellion Nebuchadnezzar did not annex Judah to Babylon nor repopulate it with foreigners as did the Assyrians in Israel. He appointed an administrator named Gedaliah from the local population (2 Kgs 25:22–24). There is some speculation that the Babylonians appointed Gedaliah as king replacing the exiled Zedekiah. The book of Kings does not mention Gedaliah's title (2 Kgs 25:22)—the title "governor" supplied by some English translations is without textual basis. A military officer from the Davidic family assassinated Gedaliah, his family, and his Babylonian guards (2 Kgs 25:25–26; Jer 40:13–41:3). Fearing reprisals, many Judahites fled to Egypt taking with them a reluctant Jeremiah (Jer 41:17–43:7). Gedaliah's murder prompted a third exile in 581. There are no records of what happened in Judah after this. The DH ends with a reference to Jehoiachin's parole in Babylon in 561 (2 Kgs 25:27–30), but without any explicit statement that Judah or its dynasty had any future. The Davidic dynasty would never rise again (Stern 1975).

Imperial powers ruled Judah directly until the victory of the Maccabees in 164. The Hasmonean and Herodian dynasties then ruled in the territories of the former Israelite kingdoms into the Roman period though many Jews considered both dynasties as usurpers of the rights that properly belonged to the Davidic dynasty (see *Psalms of Solomon* 17). Messianism developed in early Judaism as one way to express hope for the eventual restoration of Davidic rule.

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## *POST-MONARCHIC PERIOD*

Coming out of what historians call the ages of confusion in the ANE (see Roberts 1980: 118–30) the story of ancient Israel is an obscure one. Little reliable historical data is available for historians to utilize with confidence. Apart from retellings of biblical stories—so-called histories of Israel—and hints gleaned from imperial annals, little may be asserted with any certitude about the relation of the Hebrew Bible to history. This state of affairs is especially true of the period between Cyrus of Pasargadae and Alexander of

Macedon when Indo-European hegemony dominated the Near East (ca. 500–332 B.C.E.). The Persian period, as it may be called, was the first stage in the seven-centuries-long gestation period of what may now be regarded as the roots and origins of (orthodox) Judaism. Between the Babylonian destruction of the first Jerusalem temple (587/6 B.C.E.) and the Roman destruction of the second Jerusalem temple (70 C.E.) were created the formative elements of Judaism as a major religious system. These two demolitions focus attention on the centrality of the Jerusalem temple for the period and emphasize the importance of outside imperial powers in determining the shape of Jewish religion. Transformed by Babylonian and Persian influences, the fragments of Israelite religion which survived the devastations of land and culture were transfigured into a series of sectarian and diffused religious communities which dominated the period and provide what little we know about the early stages of the Second Temple era.

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**A. Interpretive Ground Rules**

**1. Ideological Control.** The problems of data and interpretation for the Persian period are such that it is necessary to delineate the limited terms of reference for handling the available biblical sources. Throughout the Hebrew Bible there is a tendency, which is virtually a principle, for the writers to retroject their material into the distant past. This is obvious in the Pentateuch and the Deuteronomistic History; but it is hardly less obvious in the collection of the prophetic texts which are prefaced by colophons placing them in a past determined by the DH (e.g., Isa 1:1; Jer 1:1–3; Amos 1:1; Hos 1:1). Setting the books in the past helps to conceal period and place of authorship as well as authorship itself. Attention is directed toward the text and not to the conditions or context of its production. If this artifice of concealment is also to be found in the writings set in the early Second Temple period, then it would be wise to read the literature traditionally assigned to that period as coming perhaps from a somewhat later time. This would help to explain the confusion of data and detail which abound in the books of Haggai, Zechariah, Isaiah 40–66, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Chronicles. It would acknowledge an ideology of concealment in the Second Temple period and alert the historian to the need to explain such constructions. James Joyce's character Stephen Dedalus talked about "silence, exile, and cunning," and an exploration of the literature of the Second Temple period, especially during the Persian era, would do well to keep those three elements of silence, exile, and cunning to the fore in analyzing this obscure period of the production of biblical texts. In the absence of reliable evidence for reconstructing the history of the period, the literature set in this period may not be the most reliable guide for a historical analysis; historical accuracy cannot be assumed in the absence of data to the contrary. Subtler forms of literary and ideological investigation are required to provide a properly historical account of the matter. Even then, hypothetical reconstructions of scholars will not necessarily bear much resemblance to actual events in the past. This acknowledgment of ignorance and, more importantly, of the consequences of such ignorance must be a fundamental ground rule for investigating the Persian period.

**2. Obscurity of Data.** If the ideological control of literature is an important datum of this period, the obscurity of the available data should also be recognized. Information is eclipsed by ignorance and obscurity, which makes every historical account of the period open to serious debate. It is easy enough to

amalgamate a number of elements drawn from each literary source and so to form an idealized picture of the Jewish community in and around the Jerusalem of the 5th and 4th centuries. However, the sources really do not permit such a selective production. They are confused ideological constructs which often telescope characters and events (see Blenkinsopp *Ezra* OTL, 41–47) and which to some extent must be regarded as sectarian documents attempting to present a particular picture of the "past" as a legitimation of the present (i.e., the present of the writer). The interpretation of documents is far from straightforward and the nature of the documents is not easily determined. In the case of the Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles corpus (whether all from one or multiple authors) the very textuality of Ezra-Nehemiah (what Eskenazi happily called "the perpetuation of documents" [1988: 87]) puts the historian in a quandary about what textuality may indicate regarding the production of that strange work (there really is nothing else like Ezra-Nehemiah in the Hebrew Bible). Thus, the amalgamation approach is unacceptable because it only results in a form of "rationalizing paraphrase" of texts long recognized to be themselves partisan constructs of ideological groups in conflict with other groups.

While the texts presented as reflecting the Persian period may well be indispensable sources for our knowledge of the period (see Blenkinsopp *Ezra* OTL, 38 with reference to Ezra-Nehemiah), it is a compromised indispensability which they possess and one which undermines their reliability as historical resources. The precise amount of weight the historian should allow to this evidence is difficult to judge, but to ignore these inherent difficulties is to participate in the ideological distortion of the material rather than to practice historical reconstruction.

**3. Tentativeness of Conclusions.** Having acknowledged the difficulties of reconstructing the history of the Jewish communities in the Persian period, it becomes necessary to recognize that all accounts of the period and each scholar's account of it are open to question. It is also very important to avoid the tendency in biblical scholarship to equate textual exegesis with history. Repeating what is to be found in texts is not history writing. We lack the necessary extra-textual information to move from exegesis to historiography. Material remains of the period (as analyzed in Stern 1982) are remarkably uninformative in relation to biblical texts. Furthermore, archaeological data require interpretation and contextualization, so they cannot simply be assumed to bear on a specific text (just because the writer brings the two into conjunction). The many technical and substantive issues involved here cannot as yet be handled within biblical scholarship, which lacks a sound methodology for dealing with these matters. A properly theoretical account of how best to read the literature of the Second Temple period remains to be developed. In the absence of such important requirements, any attempt at delineating the history of the period is more likely to become an outline of the contents of the various pieces of literature associated with the period. There are too many serious gaps in our knowledge and the textual sources are too obscure, as well as ideologically compromised, adequately to write the history of the Persian period. See also PERSIAN EMPIRE. Therefore, this discussion must be regarded as a mere sketch of the main features of the period, which indicates areas where scholars struggle with the method and data available to write a history of the Persian era in relation to the different Jewish communities which developed then.

**B. The Period**

**1. Major Influences.** The facts and relevant data have been rehearsed many times in the standard "History of Israel" volumes, which may be referred to for details and discussions of the most important issues (see especially *CHJ* 1; Widengren *IHJ* 489–538; *HAIJ*, 438–75; and particularly cognizant of the difficulties of writing the history of this period is Lemche 1988: 173–96). See also PALESTINE, PERSIAN ADMINISTRATION; EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOKS OF; and CHRONICLES, BOOK OF 1–2. The hegemony of the neo-Babylonian empire under the leadership of Nebuchadnezzar and his family, a relatively short-lived empire (ca. 605–539), was brought to an end by the emergent Persian imperium under the leadership of Cyrus II of Pasargadae. In the space of a decade, Cyrus had conquered Media, Lydia, and Babylonia, and in 539 the city of Babylon fell to Gobryas "without a battle" (see the pro-Persian report cited in *HAIJ*, 439). Under neo-Babylonian domination the city of Jerusalem and the state of Judah had been devastated, the temple of the god Yahweh demolished, and some leading citizens deported to Babylonia (others had fled to Egypt). In an ideologically constructed account 2 Kings 17

posits a similar fate for the state of Israel in the 8th century at the hands of the Assyrians. With the Babylonian deportation of powerful families and the collapse of what remained of the Judean state (already a puppet state of the Egyptians until the emergence of the Babylonian power), the roots of what later became Jewish and Christian communities began to grow. For more than the next two-and-a-half millennia the Jewish communities would flourish more outside the region of Palestine than they would inside it. This diasporic nature of the community would be one of its most enduring qualities and must be traced to the 6th century and afterwards.

Babylonian and Persian (Iranian) influences would shape these communities and provide a cross-fertilization of religious, ideological, and social structures which would determine the matrix out of which came Jewish sectarian religion. A third major influence would be Egypt where refugee groups of Jews spread throughout the land after fleeing from the invading imperial powers. The two great areas of influence, Babylonia and Egypt, were embodied in the foundational myths of the communities as stories about Abraham (Babylonia) and Moses (Egypt).

The Jews of Egypt and the Jews of Babylon told different stories but both stories have been incorporated into the Hebrew Bible in terms of the story of the Jews of Jerusalem (see Garbini 1988: 133–50). From the province of Judah/Judaea comes the epithet "Jew" (Heb *yĕhûd*) which describes the people who lived there and gave their allegiance to Jerusalem; yet the term is used indiscriminately of communities in Babylonia, Persia, and Egypt. A careful scrutiny must, therefore, be made of all the literature in order to allow for the ideological nature of the terms of reference which reflect the Jerusalem/Judaea center of influence. At the same time, note that the term "Jew" in this period was on the way to becoming a marker of religious ideology and practice, i.e., identity, and not simply an indicator of geophysical origin. In the Second Temple period groups in Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, and Palestine ("the holy land" as it came to be called in the literature of this period) developed many different strategies of religious affiliation which have tended to be lumped together by subsequent writers as if there had been a uniformity of ideology, praxis, and identity throughout the period. The extant literature of the period, including Qumran, the apocalypses, and early Christian literature, reveals a wide diversity of beliefs and practices. Terms derived from conciliar Christianity and the period of the Talmuds attempted to impose a false uniformity on what were many and diverse groups.

According to Stern (1982: 229), the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem had little effect on the culture of the Israelite period. Life continued as before and changes only began to appear with the emergence of the Persian hegemony. From a regional perspective, the collapse of the Jerusalem economy and the concomitant defeat of whatever state apparatus Judah possessed were not major features of the 6th century. Yet from the perspective of the Hebrew Bible the destruction of Jerusalem was a people-endangering catastrophe and the subsequent deportation of the leading citizens to Babylonia was a veritable emptying of the land. The contrast between the story of the material remains of the larger geophysical area and the ideological writings of a certain social stratum of the smaller territory is striking. In much of these writings the deportees are represented as superior to the people of the land who were not deported to Babylonia (e.g., Jer 24:29), and a good deal of the writing appears to support an ideology of control over the land on behalf of the deported group. The phrases "people of the land" (Heb *ʿam hāʾāreṣ*) and "people of the exile" (Heb *ʿam haggôlâ;* sometimes *bĕnê haggôlâ*) in the literature related to the period would appear to reflect an ideology of conflict, with special claims to status and land being made on behalf of the deported party. This claim to the land is one of the most fundamental features of the Second Temple period and is the basis of many of the foundational stories in Genesis 12–50 and the Tetrateuch (or the Pentateuch and the Deuteronomistic History as some classifiers would label what is traditionally known as the Torah and the Former Prophets). Temple and land are the key concepts in the development of the Persian period and tend to subsume most of the literature of that time (including such books as Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel which may owe their present form to the Greek period). That means the literature must be read primarily in ideological terms rather than in modern historical terms, though historical elements in the texts are not ruled out by this judgment. The myth of "the empty land" (2 Chr 36:21) is a good example of the difference between reading literature as ideology and reading it as

history. At this juncture in history the land lost some people; very much a minority of people, even important people of status were deported. Most people lived on in the land as if nothing, except the burning of Jerusalem, had happened. But from an ideological point of view, the few who were deported were the cream of society and the nucleus of the future. The Persian party represented in the literature of Ezra-Nehemiah as the exiles (or the descendants of the original deportees) returned from Babylonia in order to occupy the "empty land" and to claim it as their divinely appointed territory. Much of what constitutes the Hebrew Bible is the myth of this claim—how much is a matter for debate.

Where ideology is concerned history has a habit of being subverted. The Babylonian control of the Judaean territory by the deportation of some of its leading citizens and powerful interests became the legitimation of a party takeover bid in the Persian period. Denunciations of the Jerusalem elite which appear in Jeremiah and Ezekiel have become, with time, justifications of a later foreign group's claim to control the Jerusalem economy and cult. The biblical literature primarily must be read from an ideological viewpoint and only secondarily from a historical perspective. The two are to some extent mingled (rather like a double helix) but the ideological predominates and determines how the history is read. Thus conventional biblical scholarship generally treats the Persian period under the terms "exile" and "restoration" (e.g., Ackroyd 1968; *BHI*); hence the traditional markers pre- and postexilic. The ideological perspective of the texts colors the attempt of modern scholarship to be historical. See, for example, Jer 24:29 where the deported citizens are treated as noble and good in contrast to the rubbish which inhabits Jerusalem (cf. Ezek 11:14–21). Similar attitudes may be found in the Ezra-Nehemiah corpus where the incoming foreigners impose their values and ideology on the people of Jerusalem. These key factors of ideology, conflict, and partisanship constitute the essence of the sectarianism which dominates the literature of the period. Thus sectarianism is the ideological key to understanding the whole period of the Second Temple and it must be regarded as having had its origins in the Persian period.

According to Haggai, Zechariah, and Ezra-Nehemiah the (re)building of the temple in Jerusalem was the primary activity of the period immediately following the defeat of the Babylonians. Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel are variously credited with the operation of rebuilding the temple and scholars differ in their attempts to reconcile the problems caused by this information (cf. Ackroyd *CHJ* 1: 136–43). Rationalization of awkward data is a standard procedure in biblical scholarship and tends to reflect particular ideological commitments within the guild. Whatever the facts may have been in the matter of the temple, it is clear from the biblical literature that claims about reestablishing the temple cult were an important aspect of constructing the story of the Persian period. The temple was the center of economic, ideological, and religious control in the community and control of it gave immense power in the province to the party which could acquire and maintain that control. It is impossible to determine whether the rebuilding of the temple actually took place between 539 and 516 (the dates deduced from the biblical literature) or whether these dates reflect an ideological presentation of the rebuilt temple coinciding with the new (Persian) era to legitimate the party in control of the temple whenever the documents were written. In spite of the tendency of scholars to accept the text at face value it should be noted that it is characteristic of the biblical literature to retroject "facts" into the past.

**2. Spheres of Activity.** The fortunes of the various communities in Babylonia, Egypt, and Palestine are not easy to reconstruct for the Persian period. Material remains give little particular information and the general picture they afford of social life in the era is sketchy in the extreme. Aramaic papyri, parchments and ostraca from Egypt, especially from the border posts of Syene and its adjacent island of Elephantine, give some idea of life in a Jewish colony during the 5th century B.C.E. (see *ArchEleph*; *CHJ* 1: 376–400). The colony was a socio-military one under the command of Persians and the documentation from there reflects legal and contractual features of life in a Persian outpost. The presence of a temple of the god *YWH* there has surprised many biblical and Jewish scholars, but only because the Hebrew scriptures espouse the centrality of Yahwism in Jerusalem. Elephantine indicates that other shrines to the god Yahweh flourished and it may well be the case that Deuteronomistic ideology was only enforceable among the Jews of Jerusalem in the Second Temple period. So little is known about the social circumstances of the diasporic communities outside Palestine that, as with the perception of the

Babylonian depopulation of the land, it is difficult to state what was normative and what otherwise. The religion of the cult in Elephantine suggests that the god Yahweh had a female consort (Anath), which reflects the normal type of Semitic religion in the ANE as opposed to the special ideology of Yahweh-alone religion constructed by the deuteronomists for the Jerusalem cult (see Smith 1971). Opposition to the Jewish communities in Egypt from Palestinian Jews (Jeremiah 44) may indicate social and political conflicts as well as ideological differences which developed in the Persian era. However, too much hard data should not be extrapolated from rare and isolated sources which are themselves open to various and disputed interpretations.

We know from much later periods that Jewish communities in Egypt (Alexandria) and Babylonia were important centers of Jewish religion and it is a reasonable assumption that the roots of these communities were put down in the Persian period. But documents which purport to be about that period only obscurely convey the information: e.g., in Jer 29:4–7, a letter attributed to the prophet Jeremiah, the image is presented of a free society in which Jews own land and may flourish as a community. This may well be an accurate depiction of the Jews of Babylon—but of what century? Can the letter really be dated to the period *immediately* after the deportation of 597? The chapter in Jeremiah where it appears is a complex and highly edited piece of writing which reflects ideological conflicts between the Jews of Babylon and the Jews of Jerusalem. What do they represent and what period do they reflect? The scholarly tendency to read the chapter at face value is bad exegesis and leads inevitably to misprisions of the text. But without controls on the text or extra-textual information the historian is forced back on exegesis and ceases to be a historian (the central problems of the literature of the period will be dealt with in the next section).

The exceptional wealth of written source material for the Persian period in Babylonian history affords much information on administrative, legal, and domestic affairs in the province (Dandamayev *CHJ* 1: 330–42). Because Babylonia was one of the richest satrapies of the Persian empire it may be assumed that communities living there had ample opportunities for material development and the Jews there must have shared in this affluence. This is a reasonable assumption made in the absence of concrete evidence.

Jewish names appear in the documents (cuneiform tablets) from the archives of the business houses of Murashu found at Nippur and dated to the second half of the 5th century (Bickerman *CJH* 1: 344–48). The house of Murashu managed land property and acted as agents for the maintenance of the crown land by controlling tenure and collecting rents and taxes. Jews in the region of Nippur held land or military fiefs and could mortgage their land to the house of Murashu, renting it back under yearly terms. These Murashu archives depict a range of activities which included Jewish participants and thus a sketchy picture of Jewish life in Babylonia emerges from a careful scrutiny of the documents. Jews could become agents of the Persian government or could manage the canals which were the center of the great Babylonian irrigation economy. Some Jews named their sons *Shulum-babili* "welfare of Babylon" (a phrase which has echoes in Jer 29:7). There is some evidence that the banking family Egibi was Jewish and this would further indicate an integration of the Babylonian Jews into the structures of the administration of the Persian satrapy of Babylonia (Baron 1952: 109; Garbini 1988: 92, 192–93). Fictional aspects of this interpretation may be found in the books of Daniel, Esther, and Tobit. At the other end of the social spectrum the Murashu documents refer to a small number of Jewish slaves.

According to Ezra-Nehemiah the reconstruction of Jerusalem in the 5th century was undertaken by agents of the Persian authorities who came from the imperial city of Susa (Nehemiah) and from Babylonia (Ezra), and who imposed on the Palestinian community Persian structures. There are enormous difficulties of doing history from this ideological biblical material. In addressing the issue of Ezra's existence, the majority of scholars tend to affirm that he did, while an important minority of scholars says "no" (Blenkinsopp *Ezra* OTL does not debate the question; see also Garbini 1988 and Smith 1971). Commentators on the Ezra-Nehemiah corpus readily recognize the difficulties of the literature and its tendency to stitch events and persons together in a curiously fictional mode and yet without Ezra-Nehemiah there is no account of the reconstruction of Jerusalem. Once more "silence, exile, and cunning" best determine the matter.

Ezra-Nehemiah traces the founding of the Second Temple to the decree of Cyrus which permitted the repatriation of the Jews of Babylonia and the return of some fifty thousand Jews to Jerusalem led by Sheshbazzar with the ancient vessels of the previous Jerusalem temple. The foundations of the temple were subsequently laid in a context of the correct liturgical observances. Throughout the reigns of Darius I, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes, sustained local opposition disrupted the community, though the temple was completed by 516 in the reign of Darius under Zerubbabel and Joshua (see Haggai; Zechariah 1–8). In the time of Artaxerxes (I or II—which is not certain), Ezra the scribe arrived with further repatriates and imposed on the Jerusalem community a Persian injunction to follow traditional laws. Confiscation of land and the breaking up of marriages contracted with the local Palestinian people followed the imposition of Ezra's law with the support of prominent pietistic laymen in the community. At least that is what appears to have happened, but the Ezra text breaks off in mid-sentence and is continued by the story of Nehemiah. By order of the Persian king, Nehemiah made two delegated visits to Jerusalem, assisted in the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem, opposed Palestinian involvement in the project, and broke up various marriages of the kind which Ezra had previously broken up. He also imposed strict Sabbath regulations on the work economy of the city (Neh 13:15–22; cf. Jer 17:19–27). There are sufficient similarities between the functions of Ezra and Nehemiah to make the competent reader of the biblical text wonder to what extent they represent the same story told with variations, and to what extent the stories are a patchwork quilt of social and ideological movements of the Second Temple period reflecting dimly discerned historical events. Every writer on the subject offers a different opinion and one of the most dominant views in 20th century biblical scholarship insists on treating Nehemiah's visit to Jerusalem as occurring *before* that of Ezra's. Placing Ezra's visit in 458 (traditional view) or 399 (revised view), with Nehemiah's visit assigned to 445 (with a second visit some years later), avoids having the two working together as appears to be the case in Nehemiah 8, but it must be freely admitted that the corpus abounds in problems which are not easily rationalized.

There are glimpses of a struggling community in and around Jerusalem in parts of Nehemiah which would fit with what little we know about the period from the Murashu documents. Neh 5:1–5 provides a good example of people having mortgaged their land to pay their taxes and complaining about the enslavement of their children and the loss of their property. As Blenkinsopp says of this section, "The traditional agrarian economy was thereby slowly undermined, holdings which had stayed in the same family for generations were enclosed, and we begin to see the emergence of the great estates which flourished during the Hellenistic period" (*Ezra* OTL, 67). This creation of latifundia in the Second Temple period can be found reflected in a number of texts which have been assigned conventionally by biblical scholarship to the wrong period. Thus 1 Kings 21 in its treatment of Naboth's vineyard (cf. what may be the older story of the Naboth murder in 2 Kgs 9:21–26) is more likely a reflection of the 5th–4th centuries than of the 9th–8th centuries (see Rofé 1988b). Also, the standard references to similar practices in Isa 5:8–10 and the so-called 8th century prophets (Isaiah, Micah, Amos, Hosea) should be treated as observations on developments in the Persian and Greek periods. While this view of the matter runs counter to most commentators on these prophets, it seems to be a better account of property relations, especially in the light of Leviticus 25–27, in biblical times than is posited otherwise. It is also a good example of that misdirection in texts which leads to their misprisions. The acquisition and exchange of land in biblical times remains a topic on which little definitive knowledge is as yet available. If the Ezra-Nehemiah corpus contains reliable historical information, then the material in Nehemiah 9 suggests that land was one of the most fundamental issues in the Persian period.

**3. From Ezra-Nehemiah to Alexander of Macedon.** Practically nothing is known about the period between Ezra-Nehemiah and the conquest of the Persian empire by Alexander of Macedon as far as the Jewish communities are concerned. The protracted Persian-Egyptian wars, the Tennes rebellion, and other events of the period appear to have left no identifiable impression on any surviving literature. At this point historians often have recourse to Josephus (*Ant* 11) or to Diodorus Siculus (Dio. 16) for incidents in the reign of Artaxerxes III which may have had some bearing on the life of the Jerusalem community (see *IHJ*, 474–75). With the transition of power from Persian authority to the Greeks little changed for the

Jewish communities throughout the empire. Time would eventually bring about the Hellenization of some of the communities and this transformation in turn would contribute greatly to the eventual development of later Jerusalem.

**C. The Literature**

In a very real sense any history of the Persian period must also be a treatment of the Jewish literature of the period because the material remains do not afford sufficient data to construct a proper history. Yet the literary aspects of the Jewish communities in this period are fraught with interpretative difficulties as well as the general principle of misdirected periodization. In conventional biblical scholarship a good deal of the Hebrew Bible is assigned to a production period before the fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians (e.g., the Yahwist or J writer, the bulk of the DH, the original material in the 8th century prophets) and only the lesser material is thought of as having come from the Persian period. One consequence of this judgment is that the pre-catastrophe period is regarded as the great age of Hebrew literature and religion and the so-called postexilic era as a period of degeneration and poor literary production. This approach to the Hebrew Bible needs a radical rethinking and a complete transformation in the evaluation of literary and religious matters. There are clear signs of such a transformation in current biblical scholarship.

The Hebrew Bible was the product of the Second Temple period, though how much of it was produced in the Persian era cannot be determined. If this literature is to be taken seriously, then its production reflects on the creativity and importance of the Second Temple period as the foundational matrix of the roots of Judaism—matched only, perhaps, by the post-70 C.E. rabbinic period which produced the Talmuds. Elements of the Hebrew Bible may have been produced in writing before the Persian era, but there is no concrete evidence for this presupposition nor is it possible to say which parts existed in writing before the destruction of the temple. It is logical to locate the framing of the various scrolls and the production of the bulk of the biblical books in the period of the Second Temple because one of the most dominant traits of that period is the production of writings which later became scripture for many religious communities. Temple and texts are therefore two of the key elements in the understanding of the period. This period has traditionally taken back seat to the so-called classical ages of religious thought and the great "writing" prophets, which has resulted in little valuable investigation that can help us understand the era. This consistent underevaluation of the Persian and Greek periods skews the whole history of the roots of Judaism and renders much scholarly work irrelevant as an assessment of the productions of the period. A thorough revision of theories about the origins and significant processes of the creation of the Hebrew Bible is urgently required in biblical scholarship, after which it should be possible to reevaluate the true importance of the Second Temple period.

Here it is only possible to note the productions of Genesis and the primary narrative about Israel's origins, the DH and the various writings incorporating anthologies of prophetic material, wisdom sayings and discourses, and the Psalms. What became the Torah (Genesis-Deuteronomy) ends with the death of the greatest of all prophets, Moses, and the DH ends with the death of the last Judean king. An eschatologizing hermeneutic can be detected in the production of Isaiah, Jeremiah (only to a very limited extent), Ezekiel, and the book of the Twelve (prophets). This is especially apparent in the book of the Twelve, in particular in the appendices to Zechariah 1–8 (Zech 9–14; Malachi). No specific date can be given to these productions but the period of the 4th–3d centuries would make sense for the prophetic collections (along with Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, and possibly a good deal of the DH and elements of Torah). Conventional scholarship favors an earlier dating for Torah but mainly because it insists on viewing Ezra's lawbook as some form of the Pentateuch. There is little or no hard evidence for this claim and its only force is as a commonplace of traditional scholarship. Our ignorance of these matters is almost total, and it is part of the problem of reconstructing the history of the Second Temple period that we know next to nothing about how, when, or why these writings were produced. That they were produced is self-evident, but no *reliable* information is available which would take the matter beyond the level of scholarly hypotheses. From Ezra-Nehemiah to the Qumran scrolls we have a family resemblance of the production of scrolls imposing regulations of purity on the community and differentiating between various groups in a fundamentally sectarian way. A key to understanding this phenomenon is the (lay) interpretation of

texts, and reflections of this practice are to be found in many of the writings of the period (e.g., Isa 29:9–14; 30:8–14; Jer 36; Dan 9:2).

A brief treatment of the Persian period cannot become an investigation of the production of the Hebrew Bible and the periodization of the Second Temple era into Persian, Greek, and Roman is at best a convention rather than a reflection of substantive differences in the development of the various Jewish communities in the empires. Yet the student of the period ought to be aware of the fact that the biblical books were put together in the Second Temple period and that this process was part of the structural developments which constituted the communities of the time. This makes the presentation of Ezra with his imposition of a document (possibly Iranian) on the Jerusalem community regulating its identity and behavior a very important reflection of the period. And this remains the case whether Ezra is regarded as a historical or a fictional character and whether he is assigned a date in the 5th or 2nd century (see Garbini 1988: 151–69 for this second option). The Temple Scroll of Qumran, the Priestly Writing incorporated into the Pentateuch, Ezekiel 40–48, and other ritual texts indicate various moves to impose regulatory ritual character on the communities of Jews living in the Second Temple period and allow us to characterize the period in terms of its emphasis on ritual purity and identity. Elements of this character are also to be found in the NT Gospels and some of the writings of Paul, thus indicating a continuity of concern with halakic interpretation and ritual prescription throughout the whole period of the Second Temple.

The book of Ezekiel apart, most of the writings which later formed the prophetic collection appear to be less concerned with ritual purity (Haggai and Malachi belong more with the halakic mode) than with ethics and expectations. However, the colophons introducing many of these scrolls suggest that a final stage of the editing made them supplementary to the DH (i.e., to be read in the light of that collection as a kind of *Ergänzungstext*). Later rabbinic understanding of these texts read them as commentary on Torah, but in the Second Temple period it is unknown how they functioned or what relationship they may have had to whatever constituted Torah. Here our ignorance of the period is part of the problem for historical reconstruction. The Qumran texts' use of the prophetic texts (Dan 9:24–27) may represent a common understanding of them in the 2d century which maintained earlier uses of them, but we do not know what was normative and what innovative in the communities of the period. The collections of prophetic texts may have functioned as revitalization movements throughout the period or may have supported oppositional groups in conflict with the urban centers or may even have opposed the cult centers in the name of inspired individuals (see Blenkinsopp 1977 for a very good treatment of the opposition between prophecy and Torah). What is urgently needed in (professional) biblical scholarship is a good theoretical treatment of the prophetic literature which would contextualize it in the period of its production as writing rather than the usual historicist treatment which reads it as the expositions of its colophons.

The production of the literature of the past (which is how most of the biblical literature is presented, cf. the introductions to Proverbs, Qoheleth, Jonah, and especially Ben Sira) in the Second Temple period may reflect a movement to differentiate between past and present in terms of warranting authorities, as well as a concealment of ideological controls on the receiving communities. At the same time such literature facilitated the role of the authoritative (and authorized) interpreter who could lead the community in the correct interpretation of the texts. Nehemiah might be regarded as the classical example of this activity which seems to have bypassed priestly authority on issues of purity and temple regulation (see Smith 1971: 101–2); the "correct/legitimate teacher" of Qumran may be seen as an equivalent interpreter of texts. Here then are to be found the roots of the scriptural interpreter figure so important in the development of post-Second Temple Judaism, one element of which was Christianity.

The problematics of the literature of the Second Temple period are formidable. The Ezra-Nehemiah corpus is complicated by its association with Chronicles. Some scholars identify the Chronicler as the producer of the two works, while a small group of scholars insists that the Chronicler is *not* the author of Ezra-Nehemiah (e.g., Eskenazi 1988; Williamson *Ezra* WBC; Blenkinsopp *Ezra* OTL 47–53, opposes this latter view). The difficulty of determining such issues directly relates to the diversity of evidence

deemed relevant to it. Individual scholars must decide questions like the historicity of Ezra by relying on the weight they give to extratextual considerations.

Some biblical literature, such as Job or Lamentations, may have been produced in the Persian period, other pieces, such as Esther, Tobit, Judith, and Susanna, while set in the Assyrian-Babylonian-Persian periods were most probably produced in the Greek period. These variations of presentation and production illustrate further difficulties in dealing with Jewish literature of the Second Temple period. The tendency to set a story in the (distant) past is so prevalent that it must indicate some ideological value reflecting the past as authoritative. It certainly conceals the period of (and reason for) production and misdirects the attention of the historian who may be tempted to use the work for historical reconstruction. Beautiful women of immense power flourish in these novellas (e.g., Esther, Judith, Susanna), Jewish figures run the empire and guide the thoughts of the pagan emperor (e.g., Mordecai and Daniel), and various shrewd stratagems save the Jewish people from annihilation (see the books of Esther and Judith). While the books have a certain lyrical and romantic charm, it is difficult to credit them with any historical or social value which would illuminate either the Persian or the Greek period. They may be used to construct a sense of fantasy or aspiration among various Jewish groups of the period, or be thought of as reflecting teaching aids inculcating loyalty to group identity and religious affiliation (cf. the Maccabean literature of the Greek period). In many cases they illustrate in story form the (moral) principles behind Torah and as such may be seen as typifying the piety of various Jewish communities in the Second Temple period. At the same time, it cannot be ruled out that the tales of Jewish pietists flourishing in the corridors of power (Babylonian, Persian, Greek) may reflect the political and social integration of Jews (individual or in groups) in the structures of power or may represent the internalization of imperial values as a result of being a low-status group among the communities of the empire (cf. the story of Joseph in Egypt).

**D. The Roots of Sectarian Judaism**

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of Babylonian, Egyptian, and Persian influences on the development of Judaism in the Second Temple period. It may be rather difficult to itemize them or to separate them into coherent strands, but the foreign context of much of the ideological influence on the Jerusalem community cannot be denied. Whatever the historical truth behind the stories in the literature of the period (especially Jeremiah, Ezra-Nehemiah), it is hard to avoid the conclusion that a Persian instrument of control was used to construct in Jerusalem an ideologically defined elite group commanding the regulation of temple purity and religious identity. The subsequent production of apocalypses also points in the direction of Persian influences, especially the Gathic teachings about fate after death in Zoroastrianism (see Boyce *CHJ* 1: 298–301). If an elite from the Persian satrapy of Babylonia did travel to Jerusalem in order to restructure temple and community in ways quite contrary to what previously had obtained there, then it must be admitted that a Persian shaping of Jewish thought was one of the most fundamentally creative forces in determining the roots of Second Temple Judaism. Behind the complex textuality of Ezra-Nehemiah may be discerned the creation of a sect distinct from the general populace of Jerusalem and its environs. The later community of Qumran may afford perfect parallels to this emergent sectarianism in 5th–4th century Jerusalem. In fact, it might be a sound methodological principle to treat the whole period of the Second Temple as a single period dominated by sectarian ideology and struggles and to read *all* the literature as bearing on different aspects of these ideological struggles (including a good deal of the Gospels and Paul in the NT).

A history of the different Jewish communities in Babylonia, Egypt, and Palestine cannot be written because of a lack of data, so the argument here must be based on an attempt to read what data there are in the light of how the communities developed in the Roman period. A reading of the book of Isaiah will show some evidence of sectarian pressures in the Second Temple period (small wonder that the Isaiah scroll should feature so much at Qumran). Conflict over the temple is obvious in Isa 65:1–7; 66:1–6, and the closing chapters of Isaiah sharply differentiate between the servants of Yahweh and their opposers (65:13–16). Reference to those "who tremble at his word" (66:5; cf. Ezra 9:4; 10:3) in contrast to an unnamed group which shares certain Yahwistic beliefs in common indicates some inner-community

conflict which is best described as sectarian (see Blenkinsopp *Ezra* OTL for a good analysis of the sectarian tendencies of the Second Temple period; see also Rofé 1988a). Conflicts of interpretation have always been a major feature of sectarian readings of texts and the use of controlling documents in Ezra-Nehemiah to enforce purity and identity points to sectarian aspects at the root of the developing Jewish community in Jerusalem. The long history of argument about texts and their meanings which has characterized Jewish and Christian communities (so quintessentially sectarian are these religions) has its beginnings in the Second Temple period when documents and texts were produced in order to shape, regulate, and control religious parties in contradistinction to the larger populace occupying the territory.

The precondition of this sectarian development was the destruction of the temple by the Babylonians and the isolation of a deported elite in different cultural surroundings. The Babylonian deportation provided a radicalizing enculturation of Judean elements which helped to create the impetus toward change in a later period. Some of the impact of Babylonian culture on Judean religious thought may be seen in the polemic against idols in Isaiah (40–48) and in Isaiah's use of the hymns to Marduk as models for a Yahwistic rhetoric. Elements of Babylonian cosmogony also helped to transform the Canaanite mythology of pre-catastrophe Israelite thought in the direction of the myth of Yahweh the creator (here Isaiah 40–66 and Genesis 1 are rather different examples of Babylonian influence). While the general outlines of Babylonian and Persian influences on Jewish thought may be straightforward, it is far from clear how the dynamics of these transformations worked. In superficial terms what went into the Babylonian deportation were elements of polytheistic Yahwism and what, some centuries later, came back from Babylonia was a transformed Yahwism capable of reshaping Palestinian culture effectively. The controlling ideological myth of the Hebrew Bible produced in the Second Temple period (i.e., that Yahwism was as old as Abraham) needs to be read as a direct indication of the fact that Yahwism came from Mesopotamia, but not in the distant past of the Bronze age. Rather, it came out of Babylonia as a direct consequence of an elite's experiences arising out of the deportation. Only the Jerusalem territory in Palestine, however, afforded the Persian group the opportunity to impose their ideology on whatever factions would support them.

This account of what may have taken place during the Persian period would account for the priority of Genesis over Exodus in the Hebrew Bible (see Garbini 1988). The Egyptian Jewish communities had a rather different myth which made Egypt the source of the nation and Moses the revealer of Yahwism and creator of the community. Much of the Hebrew Bible (especially the deuteronomistically influenced sections) is very hostile to Egypt and all things Egyptian and yet the story of Moses and the people in Egypt remains the central feature of the Bible. The denunciations of the Egyptian Jews in Jeremiah 44 are typical of such sectarian fervor and the DH is extremely hostile to most Israelite involvements with Egypt. Yet the basic myth of the Exodus is required to give legitimation to the Jews of Egypt and is only put into perspective from a Babylonian point of view by having Abraham precede the period of the Exodus and function as the "father" of the nation. Second Isaiah is an important reflection of the emergence of Abraham as a founding feature of the nation's history (Isa 41:8; 51:1–2), but the traditional dating of this part of Isaiah by scholars to the 6th century is undoubtedly rather early (see Torrey 1928 for a late 5th century date; see ISAIAH, BOOK OF).

The Babylonian ideology which shaped parts of the Bible has deformed the record in a number of ways by creating the myth of an "exile and return." This may be seen in the Ezra-Nehemiah volume, also in part of Chronicles, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel (cf. Zech 1). From this perspective (i.e., the production of the *ʿam haggôlâ* party) the Babylonian deportation was a *temporary* taking into exile of a favored group of people (see Jer 24; 29: 10–14) which eventually returned in triumph to Jerusalem after seventy years (or at least their descendants returned some generations later). From the Babylonian perspective, those who had remained behind and who had survived the Babylonian depradations of Jerusalem counted for nothing (note how this reverses the ideological force of 2 Kings 17). In fact, the myth of the "empty land" (2 Chronicles 36; Leviticus 26) simply wrote these survivors out of existence. Thus the triumphal procession which went back from Babylonia to Jerusalem (Ezra 1) took over an empty land, rebuilt the temple, and constituted the official inheritors of all the sacred traditions. This is the Babylonian myth

enabling a sectarian takeover of Jerusalem by an elite which determined identity and purity in accordance with its ideological regulations. A squalid deportation of disruptive elements has been thereby transformed into a significant exile of leadership elements awaiting the work of Yahweh in restoration. As an enabling myth it has certain charms and a good deal of power. Unfortunately it has misled generations of biblical scholars into taking it seriously as if it were a historical account without ideological factors. Jewish history is dated by reference to it, (e.g., preexilic, postexilic, etc.). But there are very important contrary elements in the Hebrew Bible which need to be taken into account to provide a balance to this myth.

These other elements also probably represent sectarian movements in the Second Temple period and therefore should be noted as evidence for the complexity of sectarian Judaism in that period. Jeremiah 42 indicated a different and distinctive Palestinian perspective on the period after the fall of Jerusalem. The flourishing of Jewish communities in Egypt throughout the period points to an alternative account of things. Diasporic communities in the empires of Persia, Greece, and Rome also indicate a nonrecognition (or acceptance) of the myth of exile and return in the specific terms of the Jerusalem sectarian elite. In fact, the diffused diasporic communities are evidence for rather different perspectives on the deportations of the Babylonian period. Jer 29:4–7 counsels permanent residence in Babylonia (the supplementation of the text by 29:10–14 attempts to deconstruct the sound counsel of permanence). That some Jewish communities regard themselves in exile and looked forward to an eventual return to Palestine need not be denied, but whether this view was normative for *all* Jewish communities cannot be determined. The myth of a return belongs to a particular set of sectarian beliefs and values which was probably not shared by all (perhaps not even many) Jewish communities.

A more important distinction should be made with reference to the motif of "exile and return." Much of the literature of the Second Temple period recognizes a category of exile after the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/86, but it does not recognize any return in subsequent centuries. This literature (usefully surveyed by Knibb 1976) represents Israel as being in exile for centuries; virtually in permanent exile. (See the interpretation of the seventy *weeks* of years in Dan 9:24 which replaces the seventy years of other texts.) Exile becomes a symbol in this literature; a symbol for the alienation of the group (or sect) from power in Jerusalem, or one related to messianic expectations which alone would restore the people to their land. Here the Qumran literature has a rather different understanding of exile from that represented by Ezra-Nehemiah and one wonders if these differences do not indicate a clash of ideological and sectarian holdings. If the origins of Qumran were to be traced to Babylonian reform groups which only arrived in Palestine during the Maccabean period, this would account for its nonrecognition and for its belief that the exile as punishment of Israel's sins had continued unbroken to its own time (see CD 3:10–14, and the discussion in Davies 1983: 119–25). Whatever the origins of Qumran may have been, the community clearly believed in exile as a continuing experience, even though it might be regarded as living in its own land. The books of *1–3 Enoch,* Baruch, *4 Ezra, 2 Baruch,* the Qumran *Damascus Document,* and the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* all represent exile as a permanent state of the community and recognize no restoration or return from exile. All this literature may be no earlier than the 2d century B.C.E. but it puts the biblical material which focuses on "exile and return" into perspective by suggesting that there is a preponderance of one type of literature on the subject included in the Hebrew Bible. If this is a correct judgment, then we must recognize the sectarian nature of the biblical material as being one-sided in its emphasis. The claim that the exile had ended with a restoration to Jerusalem would inevitably empower those running the cult center in Jerusalem. other voices can be heard in different texts, and a much greater divergency of opinion has to be allowed for in the Second Temple period. It is important that developments in the Persian period should not be narrowed down to an uncritical acceptance of the ideology behind Ezra-Nehemiah.

Other factors which contributed to the sectarian developments of Jewish communities in the Persian period included the transformation of circumcision into a symbol of group identity in religious (rather than tribal) terms. This was facilitated by the deportation of Judeans to Babylon where a normal cultural trait became something special by virtue of a new social context. Many scholars also see in the disruptions

caused by the Babylonian deportations the acceleration of institutions such as the sabbath into significant religious occasions. So little historical information is known about the sabbath (outside the ideological texts contained in the Pentateuch which have little intrinsic historical value, there is not much in the Hebrew Bible which is informative about it) that it would be unwise to turn the 6th century into a "pandora's box" of cultural creations. Indeed, a reliable historical account of the sabbath has yet to be written and until one is produced it would be better to recognize the sabbath as a sectarian element in the Second Temple period reflecting the sectarian literature generated by the ideological movements of that period. Scholarly speculation also claims to find in the deported communities in Babylon the beginnings of the creation of the synagogue. No evidence exists for this claim and the lack of data for life in Babylonia is such that we do not know how the deportees constructed the institutional aspects of their religious life. Sabbath and synagogue may have come out of Babylonia in the Greek period but we know nothing of a definitive nature about either institution.

What the Persian period may have given to the Palestinian Jews was the beginnings of a temple sectarian party. A temple community was created in Jerusalem which was to determine the shape of nondiasporic Jewish communities for centuries and, in many cases, to create the terminology with which Jewish history has been written ever since. Comparative work on temple communities (what Weinberg 1976 terms *Bürger-Tempel-Gemeinde;* cf. Blenkinsopp *Ezra* OTL, 69) suggests a model for describing the Jerusalem community as a cult with high social and economic status in the land. Control of the temple is a wealth-creating operation which endows the party in charge with powerful opportunities for shaping and controlling the community. Temple taxes, maintenance of the expiatory rites, control of the temple lands and herds, collection and disbursement of funds, enforcement of sabbath prescriptions, regulation of trade and merchandising, and the oversight of purity rules and membership of the cult would afford enormous power to those in charge of the temple. As the economic center of ancient cities, the temple afforded virtually unlimited power to the families controlling it. The history of the Second Temple period is very much one of control of the temple and conflict between sectarian parties vying for that control, with a variety of regulatory documents and visionary programs relating to the cult center constituting a dominant element of what eventually became the Jewish scriptures of a later period.

**E. Conclusion**

According to Ezra 9:1–4, the "holy race" (i.e., the deportees who had returned from Babylonia) had corrupted itself by mixing with the peoples of the lands and a great divorcing ceremony was imposed on all those who wished to purify themselves from such assimilation with the godless of Palestine. Whether historical or ideological (conceivably both) the material in Ezra 9–10 epitomizes the sectarian spirit of the Second Temple period with its drive to create a sacred enclave of "pure" returned deportees (and their descendants). Purity of people, of priesthood, of temple and correct interpretation of texts became the guiding principles of the period, though it is arguable that the Chronicler had a broader view of things. The paucity of data and the complexity of interpreting what data exist do not make the historian's task an easy one. The material is capable of being interpreted in a number of ways and the reading of it followed in this article is very much informed by how the Jewish communities developed in the post-Persian period (hindsight is inevitable given the obscurity of the period and the indeterminacy of the documents). The appearance of Cyrus in Isa 44:28; 45:1 (whether as gloss or genuine element in the text is disputable and immaterial to the point being made here) indicates an interpretation of the period which wished to make the Persian emperor the key to understanding the reconstruction of Jerusalem. It is a historicizing of the text which makes the foundational element in the community's existence an event in the (distant) past and has the same ideological profile as the statement in Ezra 6:14, "They finished their building by command of the God of Israel and by decree of Cyrus and Darius and Artaxerxes king of Persia." Such imperial authorities gave the temple a pedigree which was unimpeachable in the community.

The Persian imperial power gave way to the irresistible conquests of Alexander of Macedon in the late 4th century, though biblical literature hardly reflects anything of the transition from one empire to the other. A summary of the transition appears in 1 Macc 1:1–9 as the background to the Maccabean struggle in the mid-2d century. This literature only appears in the Greek Alexandrian canon of the Bible (LXX), it

is therefore obvious that the Hebrew canon maintains the principle of using only literature which directs the attention to the pre-Hellenistic period. Much of the literature usually associated with the Persian era most likely comes from the Greek period, but scholars have a great tendency to date biblical books according to the period in which they are set (Daniel being a notable exception here). More important than this academic tendency is the need to recognize the ideology of concealment behind the presentation of so much material as taking place in the Persian era. Portraying events in the distant past, the documents took on a legitimation of antiquity and shaped influence from past authorities. While biblical scholarship has tended to play down the importance of the Second Temple period, treating it as an age of decline in contrast to the period before the fall of Jerusalem, it is important to see that the real significance of the period is determined by the fact that it produced the Hebrew Bible and that therefore all our evaluations of different periods need to be modified by a serious reassessment of the period. Whether the Persian period was more significant than the Greek period must be left open to debate, because periodization is a category imposed by historians on the data which awkwardly maps the contours of an age without adequately representing them. Different accounts may be given of the period (see Cross 1975), but the reading which I have followed is intended to emphasize the fact that "the day of small things" (Zech 4:10) is not something to be despised.

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## ISRAEL, SOCIOLOGY OF ANCIENT. See SOCIOLOGY (ANCIENT ISRAEL).

## ISSACHAR (PERSON) [Heb *yiśśākār* (יִשָּׂכָר) (Q); *yiśśāśkār* (יִשָּׂשְׂכָר) (K)]. **1.** The eponymous ancestor of the Israelite tribe of Issachar, and the fifth son that Leah bore to Israel's eponymous ancestor Jacob (Gen 30:17–18). The etymology of the name is problematic, and any attempt to understand it must begin with a brief review of the narrative that culminates in the birth of Issachar.

Leah's ability to bear children seemingly came to an end after the birth of Judah, Jacob's fourth son. Leah's envious but barren sister Rachel then arranged to have her handmaid Bilhah bear children for Jacob on her behalf (Gen 30:1–8), a stratagem that the now-barren Leah also utilized with her handmaid Zilpah (vv 9–13). Each handmaid bore two sons to Jacob. When Reuben, Leah's oldest son, discovered some mandrakes (believed to have aphrodisiac properties), and when Rachel expressed an interest in acquiring them (v 14), the stage seems to have been set for Rachel herself to begin bearing sons for Jacob.

But Leah gave Rachel the mandrakes on one condition: that she agree to let Leah sleep with Jacob that night. Indeed, that night Leah conceived Issachar (Jacob's ninth son; vv 15–17).

This story itself contains two folk etymologies for the name Issachar, both based on wordplay involving the root *śkr,* "to hire, pay wages, recompense." In v 16, when Leah first informs Jacob that he is to sleep with her, she says "I have surely hired you *(śākōr śĕkartîkā)* with my son's mandrakes." Then, after Issachar's birth, Leah notes that the child is "my compensation *(śĕkārî)* for me having to give my handmaid to my husband" (v 18). Attempts to attribute these two popular etymologies respectively to J and E (Speiser *Genesis* AB, 232) underestimate the literary art of the writer, who was trying to create some memorable way by which the name of an eponymous ancestor would become especially meaningful.

The only thing that seems relatively certain is that the name indeed seems to be linked to the root *śkr.* The Ketib seems to suggest an original *yēš śākār,* "there is recompense" (cf. Jer 31:16; 2 Chr 15:7), but this yields a very unusual linguistic construction for a personal name. For the same reason, it is equally problematic to view the name straightforwardly on the basis of the Qere, which appears to be a *Nip*ʿ*al* imperfect ("he hires himself out"). Wellhausen (1871: 95) suggested that a more typical personal name construction would be *ʾîš* + divine name (in this case, the Egyptian god Sokar); the name would hence mean "devotee of Sokar." The name for many Israelites seems to have contained echoes of **ʾîš śākār,* "man of hire, hired workman" (GesB, 322; *KB,* 408). Although such wordplay is not attested textually, these echoes surface in Gen 49:15, where Jacob "blesses" Issachar by noting that his territorial land was so appealing that, to obtain it, he "became a slave at forced labor" (Heb *lĕmas-*ʿ*ōbēd*).

The tribal territory of Issachar is described in Josh 19:17–23, and enough place names there have been identified to confirm that it consisted of the E section of the fertile Jezreel valley and the low hills SE of Mt. Tabor. See GALILEE (PRE-HELLENISTIC) C.3.a. Deut 33:18–19 suggests that the tribe of Issachar shared a common mountain sanctuary with Zebulun. See TABOR, MOUNT. The two also shared a common boundary (Saarisalo 1927). Issachar is often listed along with Zebulun, his "younger brother" whom Leah subsequently bore to Jacob. Interestingly, the younger Zebulun is often given priority in these lists (*IDB* 2: 770–71).

LB sources indicate that in the 14th century the E Jezreel area was worked by Canaanite kings using forced labor (EA 365), and from this Alt (*KlSchr* 3: 169–74) suggested that this was evidence of the tribe's early settlement and status among the Canaanites, a claim that has been widely followed (see *NHI,* 78–79; *LBHG,* 175). He furthermore claimed that since there is no S border for Issachar in Joshua 19 its N border actually constituted part of the original description of Manasseh's territory; thus, the tribe no longer existed as a functioning entity when the Joshua 19 list was compiled in the time of the Judges, and thus Issachar is conspicuously absent in the Gideon story (set in the E Jezreel valley). Indeed, there is some evidence of close ties between Issachar and Manasseh: Tola, a man of Issachar, dwelt in Mt. Ephraim (Judg 10:1); Shimron the son of Issachar may apparently be associated with Mt. Shomron, Samaria (Gen 46:13; 1 Kgs 16:24); and Jashub, another son of Issachar (1 Chr 7:1), may be connected to the place Jashub mentioned in the Samaria ostraca (*LBHG,* 223, 325).

Gottwald (1979: 216), on the other hand, contends that the tribe of Issachar coalesced around Canaanite serfs in the Jezreel who, aided by already-free Israelite tribes in the highlands of Galilee and Samaria, rejected their underclass service to their masters in nearby city-states (Megiddo, Taanach, Beth-shean). Thus, he suggests that the tribe, as a functioning unit, appeared late rather than disappeared early. Indeed, one of the judges, Tola, is said to have been from the tribe of Issachar (Judg 10:1), and Issachar is listed as the 10th of Solomon's administrative districts (1 Kgs 4:17).

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**2.** A levitical gatekeeper, the seventh of Obed-edom's eight sons, and namesake of the patriarchal/tribal ancestor (Gen 30:15–18; 49:14–15); mentioned once in the OT (1 Chr 26:4–5). Issachar served with his family (the Obed-edom clan) at the S gate of the temple precinct and the storehouses related to it (26:15). By bracketing their list (26:4–8) with the Korahite family of Meshelemiah (26:2–3, 9), the Chronicler presents Issachar and the Obed-edom clan as descendants of Levi through Korah (1 Chr 26:1, 19; 9:17–20). If the Chronicler intends all four persons named Obed-edom in his Davidic narrative to refer to the same individual (the Gittite, 1 Chr 13:13–14; 15:25; gatekeeper-musician, 15:18; gatekeeper, son of Jeduthun, 16:38; gatekeeper, son of Korah 26:4, 15), he has left clues that Issachar's ancestry and therefore his clan's professional credentialing was at best complex (Williamson 1979: 253–54). The size (26:8; cf. 16:38) and fitness (26:6, 8) of the family for temple service are stressed, perhaps giving further indication of debate over their place in the levitical divisions in the time of the Second Temple whose architecture 1 Chronicles 26 seems to assume.

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**ISSHIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yiššîyâ* (יִשִּׁיָּה)]. Var. ISSHIJAH. The name of three different persons mentioned in the OT.

**1.** The son of Izrahiah and, according to 1 Chronicles, a military leader from the tribe of Issachar during the reign of David (1 Chr 7:3). While it is possible that the Chronicler found Isshiah in source material from an earlier military census (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 46, 76), the stylistic characteristics of 1 Chr 7:1–5 suggest that the unit was composed by the Chronicler himself. Isshiah may represent a postexilic name that the Chronicler retrojected into the time of David in order to establish impressive military support for David's rule.

**2.** The son of Rehabiah and one of the "remaining Levites" who, according to the Chronicler, casts lots before David, Zadok, and Ahimelek in order to receive his place among the levitical household leaders (1 Chr 24:21). Although Liver (1968: 8. 29–32) believes that this list may have originated from an authentic source composed during the reign of David or Solomon, most commentators have attributed the list in which Isshiah appears to a time later than the main composition of Chronicles, either to the late Persian period (Williamson 1979: 259–60, 265–68) or, more commonly, to the Maccabean era (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 163–65). The style of the list, however, corresponds closely with the compositional techniques of the Chronicler. The Chronicler may have borrowed the name from a postexilic individual in order to complete a suitable list of levitical names for the reign of David.

**3.** A member of the family of Harim who lived in the Persian province of Judah during the mission of Ezra (Ezra 10:31). Ishijah married a non-Judean wife. He consented to divorce her during the reforms of Ezra under the threat of complete ostracism from the Jerusalem temple-state. Though the list of Ishijah's peers may be abbreviated (Rudolph *Ezra und Nehemiah* HAT, 97–99), it is generally agreed that the names in the list of Ezra 10:18–43 authentically represent individuals from the Persian province of Judah during the mission of Ezra.

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JOHN W. WRIGHT

**ISSHIJAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yiššîyâ* (יִשִּׁיָּה)]. Var. ASAIAS. A descendant of Harim and one of the returned exiles who was required by Ezra to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:31). According to Noth, the name Isshijah is derived from the root *nšh* and may mean "Yahweh will forget"; but we are left wondering who or what Yahweh will forget. Alternatively, Noth suggests the meaning "Yahweh will

cause to forget"—perhaps an older child who died or a previous barrenness (*IPN*, 211; cf. also Manasseh). In the parallel text of 1 Esdr 9:32, the name Asaias appears in the position Isshijah holds in Ezra 10:31. Isshijah was a member of a family from which a group of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:32; Neh 7:35). For further discussion, see BEDEIAH.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

**ISTALCURUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Istalkouros* (Ἰσταλκουρος)]. A descendant of Bigvai whose son Uthai returned with Ezra to Jerusalem from Babylon (1 Esdr 8:40). In Ezra 8:14, ZACCUR occurs in the place of Istalcurus, and both Uthai and Zaccur are listed as brothers. Swaim (*IDB* 2: 771) suggests that "Uthai the son of Istalcurus" in 1 Esdras is a "corruption of 'Uthai and Zaccur' in the parallel Ezra 8:14." Swaim's conclusion can be supported by a portion of the manuscript tradition, but Hanhart (1974) still preferred "Istalcurus" in his critical edition of 1 Esdras. The Vg adds to the complexity of this problem in identification by listing Uthai as a son of Zaccur (Lat *filius zaccuri*).

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MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**ITALIAN COHORT** [Gk *speira Italikē* (σπειρα Ἰταλικη)]. An auxiliary unit in the Roman army, one of whose centurions became the first reported Gentile to receive the gift of the Holy Spirit and to be baptized in the name of Jesus (Acts 10). CORNELIUS, the centurion, sent one of his devout soldiers along with two servants to bring Peter back to Caesarea; there, upon hearing Peter, Cornelius and several others were converted.

The Italian Cohort was probably an infantry unit with a paper strength of 500 or 1,000 troops, roughly the size of a modern army battalion. Inscriptional evidence suggests that this unit was the *Cohors II Italica Civium Romanorum* or "Second Italian Cohort of Roman Citizens" (*ILS* 3/2: 9168). Originally the unit was composed of men from Italy; Cheesman hypothesizes that they may have been freedmen enrolled by Tiberius and transferred E to the area around Caesarea (1914: 66). Once in the East the cohort would have drawn replacement recruits from the local area, including many Syrians. Inscriptional evidence shows that Proculous, a Syrian officer, was transferred with this same unit from the province of Syria in 69 C.E. to aid the accession of Vespasian to the throne. The cohort was shortly moved back to Syria and remained their until at least 157 C.E. (Broughton 1933: 441–42).

Because there is no evidence that the Italian Cohort was stationed near Caesarea before the 60s, Haenchen doubts the accuracy of Acts 10:1 and suggests that Luke's mention of the unit is anachronistic. He further notes that Roman troops cannot have been stationed in Caesarea during the years 41–44 when Herod Agrippa ruled the area as a semiautonomous kingdom (*Acts* MeyerK, 346, n. 2). However, Acts only places Cornelius and his cohort in Caesarea between the time of Paul's conversion ca. 35 C.E. (9:26) and the death of James in 44 C.E. (12:1–2); Roman troops would have been stationed in Caesarea from 35 to 41 C.E. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the Italian Cohort was stationed anywhere else during this period. Therefore, Luke's account in Acts 10:1 may have been accurate. See also PW 4/1: 231–356.

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MARK J. OLSON

**ITALY** (PLACE) [Gk *Italia* (Ἰταλια)]. The word "Italy" appears four times in the NT. Rome was the capital of Italy and of the Roman Empire, which ruled most of the NT world. Sometimes Rome is used synonymously with Italy. See ROME.

The first account of Jews visiting Italy is found in 1 Maccabees 8, where the account of a Jewish delegation was sent to Rome by Judas Maccabeus to sign a treaty with the Romans (ca. 160 B.C.). Later delegations were sent by his brother, Jonathan, and then by Simon to renew the alliance (1 Macc 12:1–4; 14:16–19, 24). Jews first received importance in Italy after Pompey conquered Palestine for Rome in 63 B.C. They increased in number under the protection of Julius Caesar. Christianity was probably introduced

to Italy at an early date when the "visitors from Rome" returned to their country after Pentecost (Acts 2:10). Paul's letter to the Romans was written about 58 A.D., and it recognized many Christians who were both Jewish and Gentile (Rom 1:13).

The first NT reference to Italy pertains to Aquila and Priscilla who moved to Corinth from Italy because of the expulsion of Jews from Rome by Claudius in 49 A.D. (Acts 18:2). In Corinth they met Paul and aided in his ministry. The second reference is to the decision of Paul to claim his right as a Roman citizen to stand trial before Caesar (Acts 27:1). On his journey, Paul sailed along the coast of Italy, where he met Christians who offered their hospitality and who welcomed him to Rome (Acts 28:13–16). The third reference is a salutation in the letter to the Hebrews from those who "come from Italy" (Heb 13:24), which may help to determine the community from which the letter arose.

The adjectival form "Italian" occurs in Acts 10:1, to refer to an Italian cohort (band, military unit). Cornelius was the Roman centurion in charge, whom some consider the first gentile convert to Christianity.

DONALD A. D. THORSEN

**ITCH.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**ITHAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾîtay* (אִיתַי)]. One of David's champions, the son of Ribai from Gibeah of Benjamin, Saul's stronghold (1 Chr 11:31 [Gk *Aithi*]). 2 Sam 23:29b names one Ittai (Heb *ʾittay;* Gk *eththi*) in the parallel list. Since Ittai is designated as "the son of Ribai of Gibeah of the Benjaminites," the same person is meant.

D. G. SCHLEY

**ITHAMAR** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾîtāmār* (אִיתָמָר)]. The fourth son of Aaron and Elisheba. Unlike his brothers Nadab, Abihu, and Eleazar, Ithamar has a name of uncertain derivation. The etymology most often given, "isle of palm trees" (e.g., BDB, 16), hardly commends itself for a personal name. A more promising etymology is suggested by the various early NW Semitic names from Mari (ca. 18th century B.C.E.) seemingly containing *t*-infixed forms of the root *ʾmr,* which in some Semitic languages means "say, command" (Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic, Arabic) and in others "see" (Ugaritic, Akkadian). The form *ʾîtāmār* most closely resembles the Arabic eighth form (Gt) of the root *ʾmr, ʾītamara* ("he obeyed"); the loss of the final short vowel is expected in Hebrew. A NW Semitic dialect might also have contained a form **ʾītamara* < **ʾitamara,* for in Ugaritic, in this very word, the root *ʾalep* quiesces; note the coexistent spellings *yʾitmr* (*CTA* 2.1.32) and *ytmr* (*CTA* 3.1.22). There may be cognate personal names attested in Mari: *Taʾtamar, Atamra,* and *Atamri-ilu;* we may even have a parallel name from Canaan proper in the slightly older Execration Texts from Egypt (*APNM,* 168). If such is the etymology of Ithamar, the name means either "He appeared" or "He obeyed."

In the Elohistic (E) source Aaron appears besides two men named Nadab and Abihu (Exod 24:1, 9), but their relation to him and to each other is unspecified. Since in the Priestly (P) source Aaron has four sons who are priests—Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar (Exod 6:23; 28:1; etc.)—it is reasonable to suppose that likewise in E Aaron is the father of priests named Nadab and Abihu. What induced the priestly author, or his sources, to add the names Eleazar and Ithamar to the list?

The answer is that the author of P was a Zadokite priest claiming descent from Eleazar (Ezra 7:2–5; 1 Chr 5:30–33; 6:35–38). Although in P Eleazar is Aaron's third son, he inherits his father's office due to the mishap recorded in Leviticus 9–10 at the inauguration of the Tabernacle, where Nadab and Abihu die and Aaron is left, as in E, with only two sons. Much is obscure in these chapters, but the following interpretation is tentatively offered.

In Lev 9:2, 7–11 the priests sacrifice a calf as their own purification offering (usually rendered "sin offering," but see Milgrom 1971) and then a goat as the people's (Lev 9:3, 15). Instead of eating the goat as commanded in Lev 6:17–23—Eng6:24–30), however, Aaron's sons burn it (Lev 9:15, 10:16), which is the correct practice only in the case of a priest's purification offering (Lev 6:23, cf. 4:8–10; 9:2, 7–11).

Perhaps the priests fear to bear the sin of the community. To conclude the ceremony, a miraculous fire comes forth from Yahweh and ignites the offerings (Lev 9:24). Then Nadab and Abihu kindle "strange fire" (i.e., fire not sent down by Yahweh) in their censers and are killed by another emission of divine fire (Lev 10:1–7). Perhaps the deity is displeased, too, by their failure to eat the people's purification offering. After this disaster, part of the ceremony is reenacted (Lev 10:12–15; cf. 9:17, 21), and only then does Moses discover that the priests had not followed proper procedure the first time (Lev 10:16). Although Moses addresses Eleazar and Ithamar, Aaron responds: "They [my four sons] have sacrificed today their purification offering and their holocaust before Yahweh and [nevertheless] such a thing [the death of two sons] has happened to me. Would it be right in Yahweh's opinion for me to eat the purification offering today?" (Lev 10:19). Moses accepts this argument. It seems that, because of the ritual pollution caused by the deaths of Nadab and Abihu (and perhaps by their crime as well), Aaron, Eleazar, and Ithamar are temporarily unfit to consume the people's offering. The story's most important outcome, for our purposes, is that Eleazar and Ithamar are left as sole priests of Yahweh, with the former the chief priest (Lev 10:12–15; Num 3:4).

Whence such a strange story about the Aaronic succession? It is widely believed that this is one of several biblical traditions originating in rivalries between priestly families; the best parallel is the rebellion of Korah in Numbers 16–17. In other words, some priests boasts Aaronic descent through Nadab and Abihu, but the Zadokites, of the clan of Eleazar, rejected their claims by telling a story of the crime and premature deaths of their adversaries' ancestors. Who these rivals were is a mystery, but below a possible solution is given. At any rate, if Nadab, Abihu, and Eleazar are ancestors of clans, this is presumably true of Ithamar as well.

Unfortunately, the priestly author gives no indication of who among his contemporaries claimed descent from Ithamar. We only know that they were in charge of the Levites, in particular of the lesser clans of Gershon and Merari (Exod 38:21; Num 4:28, 33; 7:8). We thus infer that there was in Jerusalem a minor priestly clan descended from Ithamar.

The Chronicler, however, gives Ithamar and his descendants greater stature. According to 1 Chr 24:3, 6, 31, David's two priests were Zadok the son of Ahitub (cf. 1 Chr 5:34; 6:37–38; Ezra 7:2) from the house of Eleazar, and Ahimelek (1 Chr 18:16 has "Abimelek," which is widely attested in ancient textual witnesses; see *CMHE*, 212, n. 66) the son of Abiathar from the house of Ithamar. In all, eight Ithamarite clans and sixteen Eleazarite clans ministered in David's day (1 Chr 24:3–19). Abiathar was the scion of the house of Eli, which had served in the important shrine at Shiloh. In other words, the Chronicler ascribed the Shilonite priesthood to the line of Ithamar.

The Chronicler's record of David's priests is related to 2 Sam 8:17, "Zadok the son of Ahitub and Ahimelek the son of Abiathar were priests." This reading is regarded as the result of textual error by almost all commentators, who either assume that Ahitub is Abiathar's grandfather or Ahimelek his father (*CMHE*, 212–14), since Zadok and Abiathar are elsewhere David's priests (e.g., 2 Sam 17:15). The simplest explanation is that Zadok did have a father named Ahitub and Abiathar did have a son Ahimelek named for his murdered grandfather (1 Sam 22:18–19) who shared his father's duties towards the end of David's reign. By this interpretation 2 Sam 8:17 is textually intact but chronologically misplaced. It is true that elsewhere Abiathar's son is called Jonathan (2 Sam 15:27, 36; 17:17, 20; 1 Kgs 1:42–43), but he was famous as a runner, not as a priest, and may have had an older brother. But even if 2 Sam 8:17 is corrupt, we cannot attribute the error to a careless scribe whom the Chronicler blindly followed. Ezra 7:5 and 1 Chr 6:37–38—Eng vv 11–12—record that during the monarchy there was a later Zadok the son of Ahitub. If the Chronicler's patronymic of the original Zadok is erroneous, it must be consciously derived from subsequent priestly genealogy.

The author of Chronicles, however, was not free to fabricate traditions about Ithamar, nor can he have been totally ignorant of the clan's history, because Ithamarites were prominent in the postexilic restoration; according to Ezra 8:2, their head was Daniel (cf. Neh 10:7), while 1 Esdr 8:29 refers to a Gamael (possibly the Gamul mentioned in 1 Chr 24:17). Moreover, 1 Chr 23:15–18 lists Ithamarite families, and the last, Maaziah, is also the name of a priest contemporary with Nehemiah (Neh 10:9).

Therefore, the Chronicler had to reckon with living tradition. If 2 Sam 8:17 is corrupt, it must have been willfully altered at the same time that the Chronicler was assigning to the Ithamarites an important role in his reconstruction of the Davidic cult (1 Chr 24:3–19). If the figure of Ahimelek the son of Abiathar is a fiction created in this period, he likely comes from the Ithamarites' own tradition.

In short, after the exile Ithamarite priests purported to be the heirs of the house of Eli. If their claim was valid, the house of Ithamar looms larger in Israelite history. Was it a ploy for greater prestige, or did the claim reflect preexilic history? This question cannot be answered definitively, for other evidence of the affiliation of the Shilonite priesthood is ambiguous. 1 Sam 2:27–36 speaks of the rejection of the house of Eli and its replacement by a "faithful priest who will perpetually serve [lit., 'walk before'] my anointed," i.e., Zadok (v 25). The crux is vv 27–28, which, partly emended to the Old Greek, reads: "I revealed myself to your clan [lit., 'father's house'] when they were slaves ['slaves' not in MT] to Pharoah's household, and I chose it from all the tribes of Israel to be my priest to ascend to [alternatively, 'to sacrifice upon'] my altar and to burn incense and to bear the ephod before me, and I gave your clan all the offerings of Israel." Some have regarded the reference to revelation as evidence that the Shilonite priests claimed descent from Moses (e.g., *CMHE*, 195–215), but Moses and his descendants were never slaves in Egypt. There may have been a Mushite (from *mōšeh,* Moses?) priesthood descended from Moses (*CMHE*, 195–215), but it is unlikely that it claimed sole legitimacy, as implied here. To our knowledge, only three groups in Israel ever claimed the exclusive right to be Yahweh's priests—the tribe of Levi (in Deuteronomy-Kings, Jeremiah, and Malachi), the house of Aaron (in P and Chronicles) and the family of Zadok (Ezekiel). The Shilonite priests were obviously not Zadokite, but might have been Aaronic or Levitic.

Our only direct evidence on the matter suggests that the house of Eli was Aaronic. In the time of Solomon Abiathar possessed an estate in Anathoth (1 Kgs 2:26), and the 8th-century (Peterson 1977; Boling *Joshua* AB, 492–97) list of levitical cities assigns Anathoth to the Aaronids (Josh 21:18; 1 Chr 6:45—Eng v 60). The Zadokites were of the clan of Eleazar. If the Shilonites were Aaronid, they probably claimed descent from Ithamar, Nadab, or Abihu. In favor of the identification with Ithamar, perhaps, is 1 Sam 2:33, which says that there will always be an Elid by Yahweh's altar, reminiscent of Ithamar's role as minor clergy. But the same could have been true, in some period, of Nadab and Abihu. Despite postexilic claims, it seems unlikely that the Priestly writer considered Ithamar the ancestor of Eli, for Ithamar is a neutral figure in P, while other rival priests (Nadab, Abihu, Korah, and the Levites) are excoriated. The only Aaronids condemned in P are Nadab and Abihu, who also figure in the old, NE source, and hence they are prime suspects as the ancestors of the priests of Shiloh. Admittedly, the Chronicler denies that Nadab and Abihu had descendants (1 Chr 24:2), but this merely means that by his time there were no longer clans with that name; after the codification of the Torah, no one would claim such ancestry. Note that like Eli, Aaron loses two sons who die for cultic offenses.

On the other hand, "I chose him *from all the tribes of Israel*" (1 Sam 2:28; cf. Deut 18:5) might indicate that the clan in question is the entire tribe of Levi. The text then corroborates such passages as Deuteronomy 18, which seems to maintain that all the tribe of Levi are potential priests (cf. Deut 10:8; Jer 33:21–22; Mal 2:4–9). In particular, our passage recalls the blessing of Levi in Deut 33:8–11, which must be reconstructed with the help of the LXX and Dead Sea Scrolls (*CMHE*, 197). Both 1 Sam 2:28 and Deut 33:8, 10 entrust the priesthood with sacrifice and censing, and both allude to oracles, though Deut 33:8 mentions the Urim and Thummim, while 1 Sam 2:28 refers to the Ephod, a garment or a pouch associated with oracles in general (1 Sam 14:3, 18–19 [OG]; 23:9–12; 30:7–8) and with the Urim and Thummim in particular (1 Sam 14:41 [OG] cf. 28:6). Later, the P document arrogated the use of the Urim and Thummim to the descendants of Eleazar (Num 27:21), and though they were kept in a pouch called the *ḥōšen,* they still were part of the Ephod assemblage (Exod 28:25–28). If the Shilonite priesthood was Levitic, its rejection here accords with other texts that exclude the Levites from the priesthood in favor of the Zadokite clergy (cf. Num 16:8–10; Ezek 44:10–16; 48:11). Of course, the Zadokites were themselves Levites, but note that the brunt of the curse falls upon "your house" (vv 31–33, 36), i.e., the descendants of Eli. In any case, the Zadokites were wont to use the term "Levite" ambiguously—sometimes it

included them but at other times it referred to the other Levites, their servants. But the theory of the Levitic (as opposed to Aaronic) ancestry of Eli rests primarily on the phrase "I chose it from all the tribes of Israel," and Deut 12:5, 14; 1 Kgs 11:32; 14:21 (= 2 Chr 12:13); 2 Kgs 21:7 (= 2 Chr 33:7), its closest parallels, refer not to a tribe, but to a shrine or to the city Jerusalem. We might also compare Deut 29:30, which speaks of punishing an *individual* (but cf. v 17) "from all the tribes of Israel." On the whole, it is more probable that the house of Eli was Aaronic.

In short, it is possible, but not demonstrable, that the Shiloh priesthood was of the clan of Ithamar. Before the exile, the house of Eli was anathema to the Zadokites, but after the exile, the issue was dead. Perhaps at that time, in order to enhance the prestige and antiquity of their lineage, the postexilic Ithamarites, hithertofore a minor Aaronic order subservient to the Zadokites, claimed descent from Eli, chief priest of Israel before Samuel.

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WILLIAM H. PROPP

**ITHIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾîtîʾēl* (אִיתִיאֵל)]. **1.** An ancestor of Sallu, a Benjaminite and provincial leader who agreed to settle in Jerusalem (Neh 11:7). Although Sallu's line is referred to in both the list in Nehemiah 11 and 1 Chronicles 9 (cf. v 7), Ithiel is not mentioned. This, like other differences in the two lists, suggests that there is no direct literary relationship between the two lists (contra Kellermann 1966: 208–27 and Mowinckel 1964: 146–47). Some, however, have conjectured that both writers were dependent upon common archival materials (Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* NCBC, 187; cf. Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 185). In any event, the presence of Ithiel in the list provides no further evidence of use in resolving the problem. Apart from the probable significance of the name itself ("With me is God"), nothing is known about this Benjaminite patriarch (Brockington, 189).

**2.** Perhaps one of two sages to whom the words of Agur are addressed (Prov 30:1). Along with the other addressee (Ucal), their names may have symbolic significance. So understood, Ithiel may mean a number of things: "signs or precepts of God," "with me is God," or perhaps, "there is a God" (Toy *Proverbs* ICC, 519). However, the names are missing from the LXX and the Hebrew of the verse is corrupt (Whybray *Proverbs* CBC, 172). Accordingly, a number of translators and commentators treat this opening line as an introductory confession, reconstructing the original in a variety of ways (McKane *Proverbs* OTL, 644–46).

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FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**ITHLAH** (PLACE) [Heb *yitlâ* (יִתְלָה)]. A town listed in the tribal territory of Dan, before the tribe migrated N of the Sea of Galilee (Josh 19:42). The town is unidentified, but the context suggests that it was probably located somewhere between Nahal Ayyalon and Nahal Sorek.

GARY A. HERION

**ITHMAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yitmâ* (יִתְמָה)]. One of David's champions, a select class of warriors directly attached to the king for special assignments, named in the list of 1 Chr 11:10–47 (v 46), a list which, up to v 41a, parallels that of 2 Sam 23:8–39. Ithmah, a Moabite, is found among the 16 persons

mentioned in portion of the list which is unique to Chronicles (vv 41b–47). Characteristic of this portion is the fact that all of the identifiable places from which these champions came are in the area of Transjordan (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 104).
RODNEY K. DUKE

**ITHNAN** (PLACE) [Heb *yitnān* (יִתְנָן)]. A settlement of the tribe of Judah. Ithnan is only mentioned once in Josh 15:23, where it is listed among the settlements occupied by Judah in the aftermath of the conquest. Though the present literary context of the Judean town list is set in the period of Joshua, its original setting was as part of a post-Solomonic administrative division of the S kingdom. The date for the establishment of this system is debated, with suggestions ranging from the early 9th to the late 7th centuries B.C. Ithnan is in the southernmost district of Judah, the Negeb. An Ethnan is mentioned as one of the descendants of Judah in 1 Chr 4:7, but no certain connection can be made between these two.

The location of Ithnan is problematic. In the list it is placed between Hazor and Ziph, in a context which would place it in the E Negeb. Some would combine Ithnan and Hazor on the basis of the LXX reading, Asorionain, and read Hazor-Ithnan. Some have identified it with el-Jebaryiah on the Wadi Umm Ethnan (WHAB, 124), but this is too far S. Abel suggested it might be found in the vicinity of Imitnan 21.5 km S of Beer-sheba (*GP*, 351; M.R. 132050), but this too seems too far S.

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JEFFREY R. ZORN

**ITHRA** (PERSON) [Heb *yitrāʾ* (יִתְרָא)]. Father of Amasah, commander of the Israelite army under Absalom during the revolt against David (2 Sam 17:25 [Heb *yitrāʾ*]; 1 Kgs 2:5, 32, 1 Chr 2:17 [Heb *yeter* is a variant]) and who was later assassinated by Joab (2 Sam 20:5–10). Although it is stated that Ithra was an "Israelite" in 2 Sam 17:25, this is probably a textual error for "Ishmaelite" since the former description would be superfluous. The correct reading, "Ishmaelite," is preserved in 1 Chr 2:17.

Ithra was probably not legally married (in the traditional sense) to Amasah's mother, Abigail, who was also the sister of David (1 Chr 2:15–17). The language of the text in 2 Sam 17:25 suggests he may have had a casual encounter with Abigail ("he went into her" [Heb *bāʾ ʾel*]). Scholars suggest that the relationship was a *ṣadiqa* marriage, one in which the wife and children remained with her parents, with the husband having visiting privileges (Hertzberg *I and II Samuel* OTL, 357; McCarter *II Samuel* AB, 393).

The provocative theory that Ithra was in fact Nabal (1 Samuel 25) and had married Abigail (David's sister!) for political advantage is extremely speculative (Levenson and Halpern 1980). Such a view postulates that David married his own sister after the death of Ithra/Nabal for a similar political benefit. But such an act would have been politically fatal for David. Moreover, the theory abounds with tenuous assumptions, an example being the unlikelihood of David having both a sister and wife with the name Abigail, when these are the only persons with this name in the Hebrew Bible.

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**ITHRAN** (PERSON) [Heb *yitrān* (יִתְרָן)]. 1. A clan name in the genealogy of Seir the Horite in Gen 36:26. Ithran is listed as the third of four sons of Dishon and thus he is a grandson of Seir. The name also appears in the parallel genealogical clan list in 1 Chr 1:41. These clans, not to be confused with the Hurrians of Mesopotamia, inhabited the region of Edom prior to the coming of the Esau clans and are said to have been subsequently dispossessed by these more aggressive peoples (Deut 2:12–22). Their designation as "cave dwellers" may be a reflection of their true condition or a disparaging remark by their conquerors.

2. A clan name in the genealogy of Asher in 1 Chr 7:37. Ithran is listed as the tenth of eleven sons of Zophah in the sixth generation after Asher. This genealogy has no tie to a historical narrative as in Gen 36. The only relevant information associated with the listing is a summary of the number of fighting men provided by these clans as well as a certification of the clan chiefs as proven leaders of the people (1 Chr 7:40). The Gk codex Alexandrinus has *yetren.*

VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

**ITHREAM** (PERSON) [Heb *yitrĕʿām* (יִתְרְעָם)]. The sixth and youngest son of David born at Hebron, during David's seven-year reign as king there (2 Sam 3:5; 1 Chr 3:3). The rest of his sons were born in Jerusalem. The name of Ithream's mother was Eglah. Of David's six wives at Hebron, Eglah is the only one specifically called "David's wife." This could indicate some special stature or significance accorded her. See also DAVID, SONS OF.

DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

**ITHRITE** [Heb *hayyitrî* (הַיִּתְרִי)]. A gentilic adjective describing the clan or tribe of two of David's distinguished warriors (2 Sam 23:38 = 1 Chr 11:40). The names of the soldiers were Ira and Gareb. The Ithrite clan, located near Kiriath-Jearim, was associated with the lineage of Caleb (1 Chr 2:53). It was probably an indigenous clan of Canaan, incorporated into the Caleb tribe during the Israelite settlement of the land (cf. Josh 9:17, Mazar 1963: 318–19). The placement of Ira and Gareb at the end of the list in 2 Samuel argues for their non-Israelite origin, since this position seems to be reserved for such persons (Mazar 1963: 318–19).

There is some evidence that Ithrite in the above lists should be read Jattirite (Heb **hayyattīrî*). This would then be an adjective describing the location from which the two warriors came, i.e., the town of Jattir (M.R. 151084) in the hill country of Debir (Josh 15:48; 21:14; 1 Chr 6:42—Eng6:57). The evidence of the LXX, particularly in 2 Samuel, suggests this reading. For Gareb's name, B reads the gentilic as *eththenaios* (cf. A: *tethriteis*). In Chronicles, B reads consistently a long vowel after the Heb *t: eitheiri, iotheiri* (cf. also the Syriac). However, this evidence remains inconclusive. The simplest solution is to follow the MT.

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STEPHEN G. DEMPSTER

**ITTAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾittay* (אִתַּי)]. 1. Leader of a mercenary troop from Philistine Gath, he evidenced great loyalty to David at the time of the latter's flight from Absalom (2 Sam 15:19, 21, 22). The Bible narrates a number of encounters that David had on his flight from Jerusalem at the time of Absalom's revolt (2 Sam 15:13–16:14). Upon exiting from the city, David reviewed the troops accompanying him. Following the Cherethites and the Pelethites was a contingent of six hundred men from Gath (2 Sam 15:18; but see McCarter [*II Samuel* AB, 364] who excises the number 600; many commentators [e.g. Driver *NHT* 242] restore the name Ittai in this verse). David turned to Ittai, their leader, and pleaded with him to turn back and serve the new king. After all, Ittai was a foreigner and an exile, why should he take upon himself David's additional burden (vv 19–20)? Ittai, however, refused to abandon David and swore to share his fate, whether good or bad (v 21). Presumably impressed with his loyalty and devotion, David tersely assented (v 22). Two aspects in particular of this story have struck commentators. First is David's selfless concern for those serving him, even in a time of great personal stress (Smith *Samuel* ICC, 343). Second is the great loyalty, indeed love, which David commanded from his followers (Hertzberg *I and II Samuel* OTL, 342). David rewarded Ittai's devotion in what Hertzberg (342) terms "the way in which a king expresses his thanks" by appointing him, along with Joab and Abishai, to the command of one third of his troops each in the war against Absalom (2 Sam 18:2). Although there is a play on words on the name Ittai in the Hebrew of the MT, in which David asks Ittai *(ʾittay)* why he is "with us" (*ʾittānû,* 2 Sam 15:19), the etymology of the name, whether Hurrian, Hittite,

general Semitic, or specifically Yahwistic, is unclear (see the discussions in Delcor 1978: 411–13, and McCarter, 370).

2. One of David's mighty men, called the "thirty" (2 Sam 23:29; but see Na›aman 1988 for an argument that the Hebrew consonantal *šlšym* should be pointed *šālīsîm* "officers" and not as in the MT *šĕlōšîm* "thirty"). He was the son of Ribai from Benjaminite Gibeah, the home also of Saul. In the parallel passage in 1 Chr 11:31, he is named Ithai *(›îtay).* See also DAVID' S CHAMPIONS .

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CARL S. EHRLICH

**ITURAEA** (PLACE) [Gk *Itouraía* (Ἰτουραία)]. ITURAEANS. A short-lived principality located in the Biqâ‹ valley of Lebanon, founded by an Arab tribe of N Transjordan, who migrated into the Biqâ‹ valley in the course of the 2d century B.C. Ituraea became a Roman vassal state in 63 B.C. and was split up in various petty principalities in 36 B.C. One of these was "the Ituraean country and Trachonitis" (Luke 3:1), ruled by Philippus, son of Herodes the Great (4 B.C.–A.D. 34).

The Ituraeans tribe is listed among the "sons of Ishmael" (7th century B.C.) in Gen 25:15 and 1 Chr 1:31 (Heb *yĕtûr*); in this list, they form, however, a redactional addition, probably from the 5th century B.C. See ISHMAELITES.

Thus, the origin of the Ituraeans cannot be traced beyond N Transjordan in the late Persian or early Hellenistic periods. 1 Chr 5:18–22 reports a war waged by Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh against "the Hagrites, Jetur, Naphish, and Nodab" (5:19), which is dated by 1 Chr 5:10 to the reign of Saul. See also HAGAR; HAGRITES; NAPHISH; NODAB. Because orthographically the name "Jetur" cannot have entered the biblical tradition before the 7th century B.C. (see JETUR), this dating must be incorrect. Most probably, the Chronicler (or one of his redactors, Knauf 1989: 49–52) had in mind contemporary Arab tribes from N Transjordan (and a conflict between them and Judean settlers?) when he wrote his account, which then dates to the 4th–3d centuries B.C.

Whereas the LXX transcribes Heb Jetur in Gen 25:15 *(Ietoúr),* it renders the tribe's name by *Itouraîoi* in 1 Chr 5:19. Under the Greek form of its name (and the corresponding Latin, *Ituraei*), the tribe became widely known in antiquity, and was infamous for its ferocity (cf., e.g., Cic. *Phil.* II, 8 [19]; 44 [112]; XIII, 8 [18]).

In the first half of the 2d century B.C., the tribe was still living in N Transjordan (Eupolemos Frg. 2 = Eus. *Praep. Evang.* IX 30,3). By this time, the Ituraeans may have started to infiltrate Galilee. In 104/103 B.C., the Hasmonean Aristobulos conquered the Ituraean territory in Galilee and Transjordan, and forcefully converted the inhabitants to Judaism (*Ant* 13.11.3 §318). The Ituraeans, however, kept the area of Lake Huleh and Paneas (Caesarea Philippi; Schottroff 1982: 134). Most of the tribe may have migrated into the Biqâ‹ valley at this time in order to escape Aristobulos. A migration of the Ituraeans is mentioned in the Safaitic inscription CIS V 4677; another Safaitic inscription, CIS V 2209, is dated to "the year of the Ituraean war," which is not a very precise date, given the belligerent character of this early bedouin tribe. Three Safaitic inscriptions (CIS V 784, 2209 and Ox 58) were written by Ituraeans (in Safaitic, *›l yṣr;* Winnett in Winnett and Harding 1978 *ad* WH 3735; Knauf 1989: 81). These inscriptions do not necessarily antedate 103 B.C., since Ituraeans may have pastured in the Haurân area well after this date (cf. Luke 3:1, and the alleged cooperation of the Ituraean Zenodorus with the "robbers" of Trachonitis, i.e., the Safaites, before 24 B.C.; see below). The Safaitic inscriptions found in the Biqâ‹ (Ghadbân 1971; Harding 1975) cannot be attributed to Ituraean authors with any certainty. As early as in the time of Tiglath-pileser III, the Biqâ‹ was frequently visited by Arab nomads (Eph'al 1982: 95–97; Knauf 1984).

In the Biqâ‹, the Ituraean tribal leader Ptolemaios (85–40 B.C.) founded a principality with its capital at Chalcis (‹Anjar; but see Will 1983); he minted coins and acted as supreme priest at the central sanctuary of Ba‹lbak-Heliopolis (Schottroff 1982: 138f.). In 85 B.C., he tried in vain to gain possession of Damascus; however, the people of Damascus preferred the rule of a more distant Arab, the Nabatean Aretas (*Ant* 13.15.1–2 §387–393; *JW* 1.4.7–8 §99–103). In 64/63, Pompey conquered the fortresses of

Ptolemaios and imposed a tribute of 1000 talents upon him (*Ant* 14.3.2 §39). Ptolemaios' son Lysanias (40–36 B.C.) allied himself with the Parthians who occupied Palestine in 40 B.C.; he was subsequently beheaded when Rome regained its oriental realm (*JW* 1.13.1 §248–49; 1.22.3 §440; *Ant* 15.4.1 §91–92). Marc Anthony gave the Ituraean principality (together with other areas) to Cleopatra as a gift. Octavian/Augustus reversed this decision in 30 B.C. and invested Zenodoros, the son of Lysanias, with the S part of the previous Ituraean realm: the Huleh Area, Paneas, and the Trachonitis. Because Zenodoros could not, or would not, pacify the predatory bedouin in these areas (the same people who left the majority of the Safaitic inscriptions), Trachonitis was transferred to Herod the Great in 24/23 B.C. (*Ant* 15.10.1–2 §342–353; *JW* 1.20.4 §398–99). When Zenodorus died in 20 B.C., Herod "inherited" what had remained in the former's possession (*Ant* 15.10.3 §354–55; *JW* 1.20.4 §400). After Herod's death in 4 B.C., this area became the tetrarchy of his son Philippus (4 B.C.–A.D. 34; Luke 3:1), who refounded Paneas as Caesarea Philippi. In 20 B.C., the Ituraean principality of Chalcis in Lebanon had ceased to exist; whatever Chalcis is mentioned in later references must be sought in N Syria (Schmitt 1982). In 15 B.C., Baʿlbak became a Roman colony.

Although the Ituraeans adopted the paraphernalia of statehood in the course of the 1st century B.C., including Greek names for their tribal leaders, they basically remained a bedouin tribe, pasturing in the mountains, extorting taxes from the peasants within their reach, and conducting raids into neighboring territories. For the sake of raiding, they constructed fortresses, fortified camps, or used natural strongholds for gathering (Strabo 16.2.18; Marfoe 1979). Knauf (1989) interprets Tell Ḥîra (Kuschke et al 1976: 32–34) as such a fortified camp of the Ituraeans. Although this peculiar type of military architecture can be linked to the Ituraeans, this does not imply that they became sedentarized. Even after the dismissal of Zenodorus, the last Ituraean ruler, Aemilius Palatinus, a subordinate of the Syrian governor Quirinius (Luke 2:2), had to fight against the Ituraeans in Lebanon; he conquered one of their "castles" (CIL III 6687; Schottroff 1982: 133, n. 33).

The Romans finally pacified the Ituraeans by exploiting their belligerent habits to the benefit of the empire: they recruited eight cohorts and one *ala* from the Ituraeans (Holder 1980; Schottroff 1982: 148–152; Dabrova 1986), especially archers. The paradoxical fact that more "Ituraeans" became Roman soldiers than probably ever really existed can be explained by the high reputation which the Ituraean archers had achieved in the course of the civil war (Lukan *Bell. Civ.* 7.230, 514) and subsequent military encounters. Consequently, these fierce elite units of "Ituraean archers" were being replenished with any recruits who happened to have expertise as archers, regardless of whether or not they were actually of Ituraean descent. Thus, as part of the Roman army, these "Ituraean" cohorts preserved the tribe's name long after the dispersion of the tribe itself (*Hist. Aug. Aurelian* 11.3).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**IVORY.** Ivory was used in the ANE primarily as a medium for sculpture from Chalcolithic times until the close of the biblical period. Since this study was prepared for a biblical dictionary, it is not intended as a comprehensive treatment of ivory-working in the ancient world, but rather as a discussion of the uses of

ivory in the Levant. While this article is devoted primarily to ivory, representative types of objects fashioned in bone will be cited as ancillary products, since several fine objects (not discussed elsewhere in this volume) were also fashioned from bone.

There were four key periods of ivory-working: the Chalcolithic period, the Late Bronze Age, the Iron Age, and the Greco-Roman/Byzantine period. While the repertoire, style, and techniques of production changed radically during the periods under consideration, two facets of ivory use have remained constant: the use of ivory for small-scale carving of the human figure, which began as early as the Chalcolithic period, and the use of plaques for relief-carving and incision, which began in the LB Age.

**A. Production**

**1. Material.** Recent technical studies have focused attention on the differing types of ivory available (Caubet and Poplin 1987: 273–306; Reese 1985) and have thereby added a significant dimension to the study of ivory-working. While the tusks of the Indian and African elephants were primarily utilized, hippopotamus ivory was also used. However, it may be premature to determine the preference of one kind of material for one type of object vis à vis another type, or changes in popularity of material from period to period.

**2. Technique.** The ivory worker would carve, incise, bore holes, or combine any of these techniques. In the Chalcolithic period, incision was rarely used, and the utilization of ivory as a flat plaque—as a miniature wall surface—did not begin until the LB. The technique of openwork was also introduced into the repertoire of Palestinian ivory-working during the LB Age, probably no earlier than ca. 1400 B.C.

**3. Workshops and Sources of Raw Material.** Few workshops have been found. Barnett concurs with the excavator that a Chalcolithic workshop was discovered in the excavations of Bir Safadi, near Beer-sheba, where "a work bench, an elephant tusk, three awls with bone handles, and probably a bow-drill" were found (Barnett 1982: 23), yet he does express reservations (Barnett 1982: 76, n. 26). Nevertheless, the discovery of elephant tusks at a site suggests the existence of a workshop, or a way station in the transportation of tusks to a workshop. Elephant tusks have been found in subsequent periods in Syria at sites such as Ras Shamra, Chagar Bazar, and Alalakh, suggesting the existence of workshops at these sites.

While the elephant tusks apparently came from herds which roamed in Syria until the Iron Age (Barnett 1982: 23), hippopotamus tusks would have come from Africa where until recent times, hippopotami were common.

**4. Society.** Ivory objects were undoubtedly expensive and constituted a class of luxury items produced for the upper class—or in some instances, for a clerical group—and represented community wealth. We know little about the craftsmen who produced the items, but it is likely that sociologically they were part of the general class of craftsmen who, by analogy from Egyptian Middle Kingdom (Erman 1971: 446) and New Kingdom sources, were viewed as common laborers (Montet 1981: 157), though the craftsmen themselves recognized their own talent, as demonstrated in one Middle Kingdom text (Montet 1981: 158). Though we lack information from the Bible and other sources about the status of craftsmen in general, and the ivory worker in particular, it is unlikely that in the Iron Age their status differed substantially from that of Egyptian craftsmen.

**B. The Periods**

**1. The Chalcolithic Period.** A great age of ivory-carving dawned in the Levant in the Chalcolithic period. The phenomenon had no known local antecedents—it emerged as a fully developed style. It appears, however, to have been a regional phenomenon that was limited to the area around Beer-sheba (Bir es-Safadi and Tell Abu Matar). On the basis of the associated ceramic assemblages and $C^{14}$ tests of material from the ivory workshop at Safadi, the ivories date to ca. 3320 B.C. ±300. The repertoire consists primarily of stylized, standing human figurines. These figures have prominent noses; circular eyes consisting of perforations in the ivory which were filled with another substance, or, as in the case of one example, with a rondel, which probably housed another substance for a pupil (Perrot 1957: Pl. III.1); circular, knob-like ears; oftentime short necks; narrow, angular shoulders; thin, spindly arms which descend vertically from the shoulders; hands bent at a 90° angle at the wrists and resting on their waists;

and elongated legs. Both male and female figurines are found, though not in pairs. The head of an almost complete male figure found in a subterranean house has two rows of holes bored around the contour of the face for the application of a beard, and the top of his head is hollow. Though one is tempted to think that all the heads hollowed out at the top are males, one such head (found without a body) has no holes surrounding the face. The statue of this male figure is more rigid and somewhat less three-dimensional than the females, who have large breasts, thickened calves, and slightly flexed legs. Assuming that only the figures with holes bored along the outer contours of the face are male, the female figurines outnumber the males, but the sample is too small to permit the positing of definite ratios. The figurines are relatively large. The nearly complete male figure, whose left foot is missing, measures 33 cm tall. An example of a female figurine purchased on the antiquities market, whose feet are missing, measures 29 cm.

Though human figures in ivory are known from Egypt in late Pre-Dynastic times (a period generally corresponding with the Palestinian Late Chalcolithic), the Egyptian figures differ significantly from the Palestinian examples and were not prototypes for the Palestinian examples. Indeed, the single Egyptian example from a Badarian grave, a figurine of the Beer-sheba culture which resembles a 12 cm headless pregnant woman, was in all likelihood an import from Palestine (Liebowitz 1978: 28–29 n. 13).

Though the tusks used by the Palestinian Chalcolithic ivory carvers may have come from elephant herds which are presumed to have existed at that time in Syria (Barnett 1982: 23), no examples of ivory statuettes, or for that matter, significant ivories of any kind, are known from Chalcolithic Syria. Indeed, the suggestion that the Beer-sheba tradition "derives from the north or northeast and descends via the Jordan valley," and that "it is in the north that it may have continued, after the trail is lost in the south" (Barnett 1982: 24), has no basis from evidence. The homogeneity of the Palestinian ivories, the existence of a workshop in Safadi, and a stylistic link with Egypt, all suggest that the impetus for ivory-carving and the raw material as well, may have come from Egypt rather than the N. Yet the distinctive quality of the Palestinian ivories indicates that they were locally made, and that they represent a native tradition. The link with Egypt in the Chalcolithic period is not an isolated phenomenon. other indications of links with Egypt include the discovery of shells and fish from the Nile at several Chalcolithic sites (Reese, Miemis, and Woodward 1986: 79–80) and an Egyptian building found at ʿEn-Besor.

The only other ivory objects found in this phase include a small carving of a pin handle (or possibly the headdress of a figurine) in the shape of a bird (identified as bone), a bell-shaped pendant, a fragment of what may be a hippopotamus head, and a fragment of an arc-shaped plaque with two concentric rows of punctuate dots. A 3.5-cm horned head purchased on the antiquities market is an isolated example, yet stylistically accords with the Beer-sheba ivory assemblage (Tadmor 1985). The human figure was clearly dominant and of greatest interest to the sculptor and the society for which the objects were crafted. Nevertheless, the purpose and meaning of the objects are indeterminant.

The use of bone was fairly widespread and was used for utilitarian objects such as awls fashioned from long bones, and polished flat-bone tools, fashioned from ribs tapered to a point at one end and pierced at the other.

**2. The Late Bronze Age.** Following a virtual halt in ivory production in the EB and MB periods, it resumed in the LB. However, the resurgence was gradual, and few objects dating to the LB I period are known. The great age ivory-carving in the LB-Levant, as in the Mycenaean world, was in the LB II period. During the LB, there was an expansion both in the repertoire and the technique of ivorywork. A genre from this period which exhibits the most complex compositions in ivory in the Levant, consists of a series of plaques depicting feasts and military scenes. Examples are found at Megiddo and at Tel Farah (S). While the example from Tel Farah (S) and one of the examples from Megiddo are incised, the series of four plaques from Megiddo are carved in relatively bold relief. Though these feast and military scenes show different degrees of Egyptianizing tendencies, they clearly betray a non-Egyptian origin. It may also be argued that these plaques were locally made, and were not imported from sites in Syria, since no objects of the type have been found in Syria.

Fragments of openwork plaques depicting females dressed in long robes have been found at Megiddo, and represent another tradition of ivory-carving. Another series of openwork plaques featuring Anubis,

Bes, and winged female sphinx figures was also found at Megiddo, and apparently came from the same workshop. Again since evidence of this technique was unknown in Syria, it seems that the Megiddo examples of this technique also represent a local Palestinian tradition (Liebowitz 1987). Though the proposed idea of a local, Palestinian school of ivory-working contrasts with prevailing opinion, the discovery of ivory tusks at Megiddo (Barnett 1957: 165, no. 3) further supports the idea.

Ivory sculpture in the round constitutes another important genre. An excellently carved figurine of a nude female wearing a polos cap decorated with alternating lotus blossoms and buds, and the small, frequently overlooked statuette of a seated king, whose throne resembles that on the incised ivory plaque depicting a feast and military scene at Megiddo, are minor masterpieces of ivory-carving. Objects such as hands (e.g., the 13.5 cm example restored from fist to mid-forearm found at Lachish VI; Ussishkin 1983: 115, Pl. 26: 2), represent an example of the use of ivory for approximately half-life-sized statues. In these cases ivory would have been used to represent fleshy parts of the statue only; the clothed part of the statue would have been made of another material.

Ivory was also used in this period to produce a variety of objects associated with perfumes and cosmetics. A class of objects in the shape of naked slave girls holding before them lidded bowls, was found at several sites in Israel, including Megiddo, Beth-shan, and Tell es-Saʿidiyeh. While the type originated in Egypt, where it was usually made out of wood or stone; examples found at sites in Canaan are normally made of ivory and are rendered in less detail than those from Egypt.

Additional toilet objects made from ivory include a series of duck-shaped cosmetic vessels, the lids of which consisted of the wings of the duck, which swiveled open and closed. The necks and heads of these ducks were made of separate pieces attached to the cosmetic bowl. Examples of this type were found at many sites including Megiddo, Lachish, a tomb near Shechem, Tel Dan, and most recently at Acco. Though an example from Megiddo was said by the excavator to date to the LB I period, the tomb also had LB II material, and it is likely that the Megiddo example is out of context and that objects of this type did not appear until the LB II period.

Ivory working continued in the Levant into the middle of the 12th century and part of the Megiddo VIIA hoard may date to that period as evidenced by discovery of a model pen case inscribed with the cartouche of Rameses III.

Following the LB, there is only sporadic use of ivory in Palestine until the Iron II period.

Bone work in the LB is essentially limited to awls, pins, and spindle whorls. It was exceptional to find the Hathor sistrum handle from Bethel made from bone, since it was customary to make such sophisticated items in ivory.

**3. The Iron Age.** Few ivory objects have been found which date to the Iron Age I. A 3 cm long, well-carved lion's head from an Iron I context was found at Tel Masos—though it is presumed to be a Phoenician import (Crüsemann 1983: 99). However, as noted above, the true resurgence of ivory-working did not occur until the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. While an overwhelming mass of Iron Age ivories was found at Nimrud, other important collections were found at Khorsabad; Arslan Tash in Syria; at Samaria, the former capital of the N kingdom; and some small objects at Zincirli and Carchemish.

The ivories at Samaria, which apparently came from furniture (and possibly from inlaid walls), were found in one or more of the rooms of the Omride palace complex. These shed light on the reference to an ivory house built at Ahab (1 Kgs 22:34) and indirectly on the reference in Amos (6:4) in which he describes the people of Samaria as those "that lie upon couches of ivory." While none of the Iron Age ivories displays the complex compositions which characterized the LB, several LB motifs—such as cherubs and palm fronds—are repeated in variation. The Iron Age cherubs differ from the LB cherubs at Megiddo in that they are placed in Nilotic settings and usually wear a distorted type of Egyptian double crown. The prominent Iron Age palms have long, drooping fronds. On the other hand, many new motifs and radical changes in technique appear. The repertoire of Egyptianizing motifs (such as the infant Horus on a lotus blossom and a plaque featuring Isis and Nepthys) is expanded, and new non-Egyptianizing motifs (such as the woman at the window, and standing, winged human figures) are introduced. Barnett,

in his pioneering work in 1939, had already distinguished between the Phoenician style with its Egyptianizing tendency and the Syrian style (i.e., N Syrian).

The change in repertoire in the Iron Age is seen also in that ivory was not used for cosmetic items, which are not even well documented in the archaeological record for this period. However, stone vessels with round, relatively small central depressions and dotted circles and other geometric patterns incised on the flat, encircling rims have been found at numerous sites both in the N and S of the country.

The techniques of ivory-working in the Iron Age were similar to those of the LB, with the added decoration, however, of glass paste and semiprecious stones.

Only random objects of ivory were found at other sites either in the N or S kingdoms. However, the annals of Sennacherib list furniture with ivory inlay among the spoils following the campaign in 701 (*ANET*, 288).

The question remains unresolved if any ivories were produced in Palestine—either in the N or S kingdoms—or if all were produced in N Syria, or, as Winter argued, possibly in a S Syrian school with its center of production at Damascus (Winter 1981).

While use of bone is even more limited in the Iron I period than in the LB, in the Iron II, there is a resurgence of bone work for luxury items, and elongated pendants decorated with incised dots and circles, or by horizontal grooving are found at many N and S sites dating from the 10th to the 7th or 6th centuries. The bone assemblage of the Iron II period is also characterized by bone spatulae (rounded at one end and pointed at the other, and which were apparently used in weaving), spindle whorls, pendants, tubes (possible serving as handles), and flutes.

**4. Greco-Roman/Byzantine Period.** In this era, corresponding with the Second Temple, Rabbinic, and Early Christian periods, ivory-working was less prevalent in Palestine and few objects of ivory have been found. While the Hellenistic period witnessed a wide repertoire of small-scale ivories, at places such as Bactria, Mysa, and Begram (Barnett 1982: 65–68), practically nothing of ivory is known from Palestine.

In the Roman period, bone replaced ivory even in Rome itself (Barnett 1982: 69); only isolated fragments and small simple objects of ivory have been found in Palestine. Bits of ivories were found in the apse of the synagogue at Maʿon, and a pin, identified as ivory by the excavators, was found at Khirbet Shema. Interestingly, no references to ivory are found either in the Mishnah or the Babylonian Talmud. The use of bone, however, was more prevalent. Bone was used for combs, spoons (cosmetic?), pins, and needles. However, it must be pointed out that the identification of the material of small objects is often neither clearly specified nor scientifically identified, and in some published reports, plates illustrate small objects that are often labeled "ivory and bone objects." Nevertheless, the apparent dearth of ivories in Palestine accords well with the written report and with the situation in Rome, as attested to by both the archaeological record and the literary evidence.

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HAROLD A. LIEBOWITZ

**IVVAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿiwwâ* (עִוָּה)]. An unidentified place which served as one of the many examples of towns which could not survive the Assyrian onslaught in 2 Kings 18:34 (= Isa 36:19) and 2 Kgs 19:13 (= Isa 37:13). Though the occurrence of Ivvah alongside Hena and Sepharvaim in 2 Kgs 19:13 seems textually sound, Isa 36:19 and the LXX, however, omit the phrase *hēnaʿ wĕʿiwwâ* which suggests a textual problem in 2 Kgs 18:34. The Targum interprets the words *hnʿ wʿwh* in 2 Kgs 18:34 as verbs ("transported and carried off"). Perhaps *ʿiwwâ* is a variant of the place called *ʿawwâ* in 2 Kgs 17:24 whose location is also uncertain. M. C. Astour (*IDBSup*, 807) regards *ʿiwwâ* as the result of a dittography of an original *ʾyh mlk sprdym hnʿwh* (= "Where is the perverse King of the Sapardians?"). This otherwise attractive proposal is unsatisfactory because such an adjectival use of the *Nipʿal* participle of *ʿwh* after a noun is as unattested in the Hebrew Bible as the places he attempts to explain are in the ANE. Moreover, even if such a construction were allowed, the supposed dittography would yield *ʿiwwâ* only after additional emendations to the text. For the moment, one must concur with Cogan and Tadmor (*2 Kings* AB, 233) that Ivvah remains as enigmatic as ever.
HECTOR AVALOS

**IYE-ABARIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿîyê* (עִיֵּי)*hāʿăbārîm* (הָעֲבָרִים)]. Var. IYIM. Hebrew for "ruins of Abarim," a place visited by the Israelites in their passage from the wilderness to the plains of Moab. Although no site has been linked to Iye-abarim with certainty, Num 21:11–12 points to a location between Oboth and Wadi Zered, and at least two sites in this area have been proposed: (1) Muhai, located ca. 11 miles SE of Mazar, is on the wilderness side of Moab, but it is N of the Zered; and (2) Medeiyineh (M.R. 223041) is on a hilltop that rises out of the Zered canyon and would therefore be more like the place of encampment that followed Iye-abarim. Num 33:44–45 seems to indicate that this site was in Moabite territory and that its shorter name was Iyim.
GERALD L. MATTINGLY

**IYYAR** [Heb *ʾîyāyr* (אִיָּיר); *ʾîyār* (אִיָּר)]. The second month of the Hebrew calendar, roughly corresponding to April and May. See CALENDARS (ANCIENT ISRAELITE).

**ʿIZBET ṢARṬAH** (M.R. 146167). A site situated on a moderate hill NE of Rosh Haʿayin and SW of Kafr Qasem, next to a place known as ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah, which has seen seasonal agricultural activity over the past few generations by the inhabitants of the village of Sarta. The hill is at the W end of a spur overlooking the coastal plain. Three km to the W, on the other side of the strategic Aphek pass and on the sources of the Yarkon River, lies Tel Aphek. Quarrying which took place on the periphery of the hill during the British Mandate has altered its natural shape. Rock cut cisterns scattered down the slopes supplied water to the inhabitants.

The site was discovered in 1973 by an archaeological survey team from Tel Aviv University directed by M. Kochavi, and four seasons of excavations were conducted between 1976–1978 under the direction of M. Kochavi and supervised in the field by I. Finkelstein.

Three strata were uncovered at ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah. The earliest two are from the Iron Age I and the last is from the beginning of the Iron Age II. Six more Iron Age I sites were discovered in the vicinity during the survey; these were situated in similar locations on the border between the foothills and the coastal plain. Various considerations, which include the general pattern of settlement of the region, the architectural

features of the site in each level, and the pottery finds, all lead to the conclusion that the inhabitants of the site belonged to the Israelite population of the hill country.

The earliest level, Stratum III, was established at the end of the 13th century or at the beginning of the 12th century and was abandoned at the beginning of the 11th century B.C.E. The settlement of this period had an elliptical layout and covered an area of some 2.2 dunams. In the center of the site was a large oval courtyard surrounded by a wall on the outside of which were attached rooms in a row, similar to "casemates." The only entrance into the rooms was from the courtyard with no openings between the adjoining rooms. The width of the rooms is not uniform and in contrast to the inner wall, the outer wall of the site does not form a single line. The walls were constructed of large stones, of which only a single course has survived, with the natural rock usually forming the floors of the rooms. The entrance to the settlement was on the NE side of the site—a narrow opening between two monolithic posts leading into an area paved with stone slabs. Within the courtyard were several stone-lined storage pits. A very light colored brick material was found in every place where excavation of this stratum took place; this had been leveled at a later period, to serve as foundations for the structures of Stratum II. The settlement of Stratum III seems to have been peacefully abandoned, thereby leaving behind only a few complete vessels, among which were three collared rim jars. Since this was the first occupation on the hill, the pottery sherds apparently reflect the accumulation during the whole period of activity. Among the earliest finds were a small sherd of a stirrup jar of the Late Mycenaean III type, part of a krater decorated with the "gazelle and palm" motif, the sherd of a krater with a "palm" motif in applied relief, bases of "Canaanite" jars, cooking pots with rims, and various bowls in the LB tradition. Several rims of rounded bowls with red slip and sherds of jars with unmolded straight rims provide a date for the end of activity in Stratum III. The ceramic repertoire attests the close contacts of the inhabitants with the nearby coastal plain. Since the site is situated on the border between the hill country and the coastal plain, its history reflects the political changes in this sensitive area. The Israelite expansion from the center of the hill country to its W fringes can probably be attributed to the period immediately following the destruction of Canaanite/Egyptian Aphek and prior to the Philistines establishing themselves there (or, for mutual economic reasons, to the period prior to the destruction of Aphek). The site was probably abandoned as a result of the increasing tension between the Israelites and Philistines in the region at the beginning of the 11th century, a tension which led to the decisive battle at EBENEZER a short time later (some have identified ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah as Ebenezer; Kochavi 1977; Kochavi and Demsky 1978; Cross 1980).

Following a gap in occupation, settlement was reestablished towards the end of the 11th century B.C.E., once conditions were suitable for a renewed Israelite westward expansion from the hill country, possibly during the reign of Saul. Stratum II is completely different from Stratum III in its layout, with a certain degree of planning evident. In the center of the settlement, which covered an area of some 4 dunams, a large four-room house was erected. This was surrounded by dozens of storage pits, densely excavated into the light mudbrick material and into the structures of the previous level. On the edge of the settlement a belt of small houses were built. The central house measured × m. The outer walls, 1.4 m thick, were built of large fieldstones; only 2–3 courses have survived. Parts of the walls were robbed of their stones in later periods for secondary use. Two rows of pillars made of flat stones divide the three longitudinal units. The side units were paved with stone slabs, with the natural rock together with compacted earth forming the floor in the courtyard. A small room was attached onto the building from the outside. The average volume of a storage pit at ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah is about 1.3 $m^3$. Their floors were composed of the natural rock or of small stones, with the lining made with small- and medium-sized stones. Several storage pits lean against the walls of the central building and at times the pits touch one another. A total of 43 silos of Stratum II were excavated. In various places between the pits a compacted earth floor was unearthed. In one of the silos (No. 605) the ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah ostracon was found (see Kochavi 1977; Demsky 1977; Naveh 1978). It is worth noting that at least two of the smaller houses built on the edge of the settlement were also constructed in the four-room plan. The peripheral houses do not join one another, hence the settlement had no defense system. Stratum II existed for a short time only—a decade or two at the most—and its abandonment is attributed to the increase of the Philistines' power in their struggle against Saul.

A short time later, at the beginning of the 10th century B.C.E., occupation of the site was renewed, once again for a very brief period (Stratum I). The settlement was much smaller; the four-room house was restored and several new silos were dug to replace the old ones that had gone out of use. The peripheral buildings of Stratum II were not reused. The central four-room house underwent certain changes: partitions were built between the pillars; two rooms were added on its N side and various installations were constructed within its rooms. The ceramic repertoire of Stratum I is similar to that of Stratum II, and only a quantitative study of the different types made it possible to distinguish between them. The renewed activity at the site can be attributed to the resumption of the westward expansion of the Israelites during the reign of David. A short time later, once the fertile plain of the Yarkon basin opened up to Israelite settlement, ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah was abandoned once and for all.

During the Byzantine period some agricultural activity occurred. A terrace wall made of large stones which appear to have been taken from the older structures was erected on the edge of the top of the hill, and other walls were constructed to enclose heaps of stones gathered from field clearing.

The excavations of ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah shed light on several issues which lie at the heart of research into the settlement processes and the material culture of the Israelite population during Iron Age I. The history of the site represents the ethno-demographic developments in a sensitive region which lay on the W periphery of the Israelite settlement. The occupation of the site reflects periods of expansion from the heart of the hill country towards the edge of the coastal plain, while the two gaps of occupation reflect periods of retreat from the foothills. As for the material culture, the fact that a large part of the site was excavated, allow a nearly complete reconstruction of its layout within the different levels, contributing to the study of the early Israelite architecture and its relationship to the socio-economic system of the inhabitants. The ceramic repertoire shows two different tendencies: the influence of the hill country culture on the one hand and of the coastal plain traditions on the other.

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ISRAEL FINKELSTEIN

**IZHAR** (PERSON) [Heb *yiṣhār* (יִצְהָר)]. IZHARITE. **1.** A son of Kohath [Heb *qĕhāt*] and grandson of Levi (Exod 6:18; Num 3:19 [KJV Izehar]; 1 Chr 5:27–28—Eng6:1–2; 1 Chr 6:1, 3—Eng6:16, 18; 23:12). See KOHATH. Izhar was the brother of Amram, Hebron, and Uzziel and the uncle of Moses, Aaron, and Miriam (1 Chr 5:28–29—Eng6:2–3). Less fortunately, he was also the father of Korah, Nepheg, and Zichri (Exod 6:21; 1 Chr 6:22–23—Eng6:37–38), as Korah was the prominent ringleader of the infamous rebellion in the wilderness (Num 16:1). See KORAH. While Amminadab is said to have been the father of Korah in one text (1 Chr 6:7—Eng6:22), "Izhar" is most likely to be read there instead of the name "Amminadab," as in LXX A and L (Gk *issaar*). This would be in line with the observation that while every other list of Kohath's children always includes Izhar, no other levitical list ever mentions Amminadab (*IDB* 1: 108). See AMMINADAB. In the wilderness period, as one of the four important Kohathite families their place of encampment was reportedly on the S side of the tabernacle and their assigned charge was the care of the ark, table, lampstand, altar, and vessels of the sanctuary (Num 3:27 [KJV here Izeharites], 29, 31). In 1 Chr 6:18–23—Eng6:33–38 Izhar's name is cited as proof of the strong levitical pedigree of Heman, David's chief levitical singer. Izhar is also said to count among his descendants Shelomith/Shelomoth and his son Jahath (1 Chr 23:18; 24:22). other known Izharites include Chenaniah and his sons who were asked to serve as officials and judges outside the temple (1 Chr 26:29).

**2.** A Judahite, the son of Ashhur by his wife Helah (1 Chr 4:5, 7). Instead of Izhar, the name of this person should more probably be read as "Zohar" (see MT's Q "and Zohar" = Heb *wĕṣōhar* [LXX *kai*

*saar;* LXX L *eisar*] instead of MT's K *yiṣhār*). His father Asshur is said to be the son of Caleb and is apparently credited with the founding of the village of Tekoa (1 Chr 2:24). See ASSHUR; TEKOA. The name Izhar/Zohar occurs as part of a larger genealogical delineation by the Chronicler of Hezron ben Perez ben Judah's supposed two sons, Jerahmeel (1 Chr 2:25–41) and Caleb (1 Chr 2:18–24, 42–55; 4:1–7). These fragmentary lists suggest additions to the tribe of Judah not by birth, but by adoption and territorial absorption over time.

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ROGER W. UITTI

**IZLIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yizlîʿâ* (יִזְלִיאָה)]. Descendant of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:18) appearing in an extended genealogy (1 Chr 8:1–40). The name occurs nowhere else in this form in the MT, the Apocrypha, or the deuterocanonical literature. Izliah is a son of Elpaal. The meaning of the name is uncertain (cf. Noth *IP,* 248). According to 1 Chr 8:12, the family of Elpaal, and thus Izliah, is associated with the sites of Ono and Lod. This association is further referred to in Ezra 2:33, Neh 7:37, and 11:35. Ono and Lod are located in traditional Danite territory in the maritime plain (Adams and Callaway 1965: 55). A settlement by Benjamin of this area during the reign of Rehoboam is proposed by Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 60). The relative scarcity of Danite material in Chronicles suggests a possible absorption of tribal inheritance by Judahite and Ephraimite tribes. The fact that Izliah and others associated with Lod and Ono are called *roʾšê ʾābôt,* or heads of families, and "chiefs living in Jerusalem" (v 28), may reflect some tribal mixing of Judah and Benjamin at various points after the monarchical schism. This designation also holds implications for social organization. Coggins (*Chronicles* CBC, 54) has shown that tribal mixing caused certain areas, like Jerusalem itself, to be never fully absorbed into any one tribal holding. Judahite and Benjaminite groups are seen struggling for control of Jerusalem in Judg 1:8, 21.

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**IZRAHIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yizraḥyâ* (יִזְרַחְיָה)]. A descendant of Issachar (1 Chr 7:3). His name means "May Yahweh shine forth." Izrahiah is listed as a great grandson of Issachar but in what time period the Chronicler might have viewed him as having lived is not clear. If, along generational lines, one compares Izrahiah's descent from Issachar with Moses's descent from Levi in 1 Chr 6:1–3, it appears that the Chronicler views him as contemporary with Moses. In 1 Chronicles 7 the list of descendants from Issachar and other N tribes serves to emphasize the Chronicler's "all Israel" theme.

JAMES M. KENNEDY

**IZRAHITE** [Heb *yizrāḥ* (יִזְרָח)]. A descriptive adjective of Shamhuth, one of twelve commanders supervising monthly courses of men in the armed service of the king (1 Chr 27:1–15; v 8). The term (lit. "Izrah") is probably intended to be a gentilic designation for one from the otherwise unknown place Izrah (therefore RSV, "Izrahite"), although the term is missing the usual gentilic indicator *(î).* Variants of this designation occur in other lists which apparently refer to the same person, who is one of David's champions, although in these lists his name is spelled differently: Shammah of Harod (lit. "the Harodite," 2 Sam 23:8–39, v 25) = Shammoth of Harod (lit. "the Harorite," 1 Chr 11:10–47, v 27). "Harorite" in the Chronicler's text might be explained as a scribal error for "Harodite," arising through the confusion of similar letters (*h* for *ḥ* and *r* for *d*). Alternatively, it might be suggested that some transmitter of the text, recognizing a corruption, borrowed the designation from a different Shammah, Shammah the Hararite of 2 Sam 23:33 (= Shagee the Hararite of 1 Chr 11:34). The widely divergent "Izrah" in 1 Chr 27:8 suggests again that the designation of Shamhuth was recognized by some transmitter as missing or corrupt; and, perhaps, in seeking to restore it the transmitter drew on a recognized gentilic adjective occurring elsewhere in the same list, "Zerahite" (vv 11, 13; Heb *zrḥ;* see BDB; Curtis *Chronicles* ICC, 192).

RODNEY K. DUKE

**IZRI** (PERSON) [Heb *yiṣrî* (יִצְרִי)]. Person who receives the fourth lot cast (1 Chr 25:11) to determine the duties of the sons of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun listed in 1 Chr 25:2–4. The problem is that Izri does not appear in 1 Chr 25:2–4 as one would expect; however, the name Zeri appears in 1 Chr 25:3 in precisely the spot where Izri would be expected, since the sons of Jeduthun receive all but one of the even-numbered lots cast up to fourteen in 1 Chr 25:9–31. This fact, plus the similarity of the two names, suggest that Izri and Zeri are variant names for the same person.

Most scholars suggest that the list in 1 Chr 25:9–31 is literarily dependent upon the list in 25:2–4 (Williamson 1979: 255–57). Thus, Izri would be an expansion of an original Zeri, which is identical to a word which means "balsam" (RSV "balm," Jer 8:22, 46:11, 51:8). In contrast, Petersen contends that 1 Chr 25:9–31 contains the more original forms of the variant names (1977: 68, 92). He suggests that Zeri *(ṣĕrî)* is a shortened form of Izri *(yiṣrî),* which in turn should be understood as an abbreviated form of *yṣryhw,* "God created *[yṣr]."*

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J. CLINTON MCCANN, JR.

**IZZIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yizzîyâ* (יִזִּיָּה)]. A descendant of Parosh and one of the returned exiles who was required by Ezra to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:25 = 1 Esdr 9:26). According to Noth, the name "Izziah" is derived from the root *nzh* and may mean "Yahweh will sprinkle," referring to a cultic purification or absolution (*IPN,* 245). A slight variation occurs in the parallel text of 1 Esdr 9:26 where the LXX renders the name *iezias,* while the form in Ezra 10:25 is *iazia.* Izziah was a member of a family group which returned from exile with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:3; Neh 7:8). For further discussion, see BEDEIAH.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

# J

**J.** The abbreviation (of German "Jahvist") used by scholars to designate the Yahwist source in Pentateuchal source criticism. See YAHWIST ("J") SOURCE.

**JAAKAN** (PERSON) [Heb *yaʿăqān* (יַעֲקָן)]. A clan name in the genealogy of Seir the Horite in 1 Chr 1:42. Jaakan is listed as the third son of Ezer and he is thus a grandson of Seir. The Horites are not to be confused with the Hurrians of Mesopotamia. They are described as the original "inhabitants of the land" in Gen 36:20. They occupied the region of Edom until the incursions of the Esau clans drove them out. This conquest is paired in the text with the conquest of Canaan by the tribes of Israel. The designation of the Horites as "cave dwellers" may be a reflection of their use of these natural shelters for themselves and their animals or it may be a disparaging remark by their conquerors to demonstrate how "uncivilized" they were. The name Jaakan appears in this form only in 1 Chr 1:42 (Jakan in KJV). In some Gk mss and in the parallel genealogical clan list in Gen 36:27 it appears as Akan.

Jaakan's name apparently became associated with two places in the region of Edom, Bene-Jaakan (Num 33:31–32) and Beeroth Bene-Jaakan (Deut 10:6). This probably reflects the usage of water resources at these sites by the Horite clans and perhaps the control over water rights by the clan of Jaakan. Matthews (1986: 123) discusses a similar example of the regular use and proprietorship over wells and springs in Genesis 26 by Isaac and his herdsmen. Names were often given to clan wells and eventually these names were expanded or modified to include the name of the principal clan in the area.

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VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

**JAAKOBAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yaʿăqōbâ* (יַעֲקֹבָה)]. Simeonite family leader (1 Chr 4:36). Jaakobah is included in a list of Simeonites who migrated to "the entrance of Gedor" (v 39, the RSV follows the MT; however, the LXX reading "Gerar" is usually favored) in search of suitable grazing for their flocks. The Chronicler attributes this movement to the time of King Hezekiah of Judah (715–687/86). According to Noth (*IPN*, 177–78, 197) the name means "may (the deity) protect."

DANA M. PIKE

**JAALA** (PERSON) [Heb *yaʿălāʾ* (יַעְלָא)]. Var. JAALAH. A servant of Solomon who was the progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Neh 7:58). The variant Jaalah occurs in the parallel passage Ezra 2:56 (Heb *yaʿălâ*) and 1 Esdr 5:33 (Gk *ieēli*).

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**JAAR** (PLACE) [Heb *yaʿar* (יַעַר)]. A poetic reference to KIRIATH-JEARIM [Eng "city of forests"], or its environs, in Psalms 132:6. The noun is the Hebrew word for "forest," and the precise phrase is *biśdê-yaʿar,* literally, "in fields of [other ancient texts read 'a field of,' see *BHS* and BDB: 961] a forest" (cf. LXX); but parallelism with Ephrathah and consistent allusion throughout the Psalm to the resting place of the ark of the covenant make it likely that *yaʿar* is better translated as a *nomen proprium loci,* hence, "the fields of Jaar." The reference may be to Kiriath-jearim (on the border between Benjamin and Judah) itself, or to the open areas around it. This literary-critical decision squares well with the history of traditions. The ark was returned, via Beth-shemesh, to Kiriath-jearim, where it remained for some 20 years, whence David brought it with pomp and circumstance to Jerusalem (1 Sam 6:20–7:2; 2 Sam 6:1–15; 1 Chr 13:5–8). Psalm 132 is a preexilic festival liturgy uniting the traditions of the ark, the clan of David, and the election of Zion (cf. 2 Samuel 7 and Ps 78:68–71). The song celebrates the movement of

the ark from the fields of Jaar, on the N edge of David's Ephrathite clan territory, to Zion, which David chose as the seat of his dynasty. It is not surprising, therefore, that 2 Chr 6:41–42 quotes Ps 132:8–10 to conclude Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple where the ark eventually came to rest. This allows also a better understanding of Micah's reversal of the traditions: the God who came from Jaar of Ephrathah to settle in Zion will abandon the capital for older roots in Bethlehem of Ephrathah (4:14–5:1—Eng 5:1–2).

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LAMONTTE M. LUKER

**JAARESHIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ya‹ărešyâ* (יַעֲרֶשְׁיָה)]. Benjaminite family leader (1 Chr 8:27).

Jaareshiah is listed with other Benjaminites as a resident of Jerusalem. This situation illustrates a certain mixing between neighboring tribes, a trend facilitated in this case by the location and status of the city of Jerusalem. Although this list of names appears to reflect a certain period, no time indicators have been included by the Chronicler. On the basis of Ar *ġarasa* and Akk *erēšu,* the name probably means "may Yahweh plant" (Fowler *TPNAH*, 110).

DANA M. PIKE

**JAASIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ya‹ăśî›ēl* (יַעֲשִׂיאֵל)]. The name of two different persons mentioned in the OT.

1. The son of Abner, Saul's cousin, who is reported to have been made the official in charge of the tribe of Benjamin during David's administration (1 Chr 27:21). The nature of his office is not clear. The list enumerating the leaders of the tribes is not found in the books of Samuel or Kings. It seems to be associated with David's census (1 Chr 27:22), and might preserve the names of individuals within various areas and groups who were made responsible for overseeing the registration of the local citizens during the census. None of the names of the officials appear elsewhere in biblical tradition, so the historical reliability of the list cannot be ascertained. Jaasiel's appointment to oversee Benjamin in such a capacity is plausible in light of his father's negotiations with David to remove Eshbaal from the throne of Israel. See ABNER. His appointment may have been made in the wake of Abner's murder, as a gesture of goodwill by David, to demonstrate his innocence in Abner's death. Jaasiel would have been a Benjaminite by birth, perhaps a member of the clan of Matri like Saul, and would have been a logical candidate to oversee a census among his fellow Benjaminites.

2. The "Mezobahite," perhaps a conflation of "the Zobahite" and "from Zobah," named as one of David's elite corps of warriors in 1 Chr 11:47. He is the last of 16 names added to the list of "the thirty" by the Chronicler, none of which are found in the parallel list in 2 Sam 23:18–39. Most of the additional names are associated with places of origin in Transjordan (Klein 1940). The epithet "Zobahite" could be equated either with Aram-Zobah, which would be consistent with the geography of the other additional names (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 103), or with Benjaminite Zoba W of Jerusalem (modern Ṣuba), the probable home of another hero, Igal ben Nathan (2 Sam 23:36) (Klein 1940: 101). In the latter case, it might be possible to identify the two Jaasiels.

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

**JAASU** (PERSON) [Heb *ya‹ăśû* (יַעֲשׂוּ)]. Israelite, descended from Bani (Ezra 10:37), who gave up his foreign wife because of Ezra's influence in the postexilic community. Jaasu is included in a list of about 110 men, subdivided into priests, Levites, singers, gatekeepers, and Israelites (the most numerous), who participated in this action. The MT consonantal form of the name, ending in *-w* (K *y‹św*), is represented in the English form Jaasu, although the traditional Hebrew vocalization ends in *-ay* (Q *y‹śy*). The LXX renders Jaasu not as a personal name, but as a verb, *epoiēsan* "they produced." Jaasu is not included in the

1 Esdras 9 parallel to this list. Noth designates this as a "wish" name meaning " (the deity) should treat well" (*IPN*, 206).
DANA M. PIKE

**JAAZANIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ya›ăzanyâ* (יַאֲזַנְיָה),*ya›ăzanyāhû* (יַאֲזַנְיָהוּ)]. Var. JEZANIAH. 1. One of the troop commanders, who, following the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/6, chose to join Gedaliah, the ruler of Judah, at his administrative center at Mizpah (2 Kgs 25:23; "Jezaniah" in Jer 40:8). He is identified as "the son of the Maacathite." Although this could signify that Jaazaniah was from the clan of Maacah (cf. 1 Chr 2:48) and thus a native Judahite, it is also possible that he was from either the settlement of Abel Beth Maacah in N Galilee (cf. 2 Sam 20:14) or the small Aramean kingdom of Maacah (cf. Josh 13:11, 13). Presumably Jaazaniah and his men were among those who, fearing Babylonian reprisals for the assassination of Gedaliah (Jer 41:18; 2 Kgs 25:26), fled to Egypt (Jer 43:5–7). An onyx seal discovered in a tomb at Tell en-Naṣbeh (usually identified with biblical Mizpah), and which probably dates from the 6th century B.C.E., is inscribed *ly›znyhw ‹bd hmlk* ("[belonging] to Jaazaniah, servant of the king"). Beneath the inscription is the figure of a fighting cock. While certainty is impossible, it may be that the Jaazaniah of the seal is to be identified with the Jaazaniah of 2 Kgs 25:23. Each of the following suggests that the owner of the seal was a high-ranking official: the title *‹bd hmlk* ("servant of the king"), the representation of the fighting cock, and the fine quality of the seal itself. The name Jaazaniah also appears in a list of names contained in another contemporary document, one of the ostraca (Ostracon I) found at Lachish ("Yaazanyahu son of Tobshillem" and "Hagab son of Yaazanyahu" [*DOTT*, 213]).

2. Son of Jeremiah (not the prophet), and presumably a chief of the Rechabite community which had taken refuge in Jerusalem at the close of Jehoiakim's reign (Jer 35:3). Tested by the prophet Jeremiah, the Rechabites demonstrated that they had remained faithful to the command of their ancestor Jonadab.

3. Son of Shaphan and one of the 70 idolatrous elders seen by Ezekiel in a vision (Ezek 8:11). The fact that Jaazaniah is the only elder mentioned by name suggests that he was a prominent member of this group. There is good reason to believe, however, that the words "and Jaazaniah son of Shaphan standing in their midst" are a later gloss.

4. Son of Azzur and one of the 25 men seen by Ezekiel in a vision and against whom he was commanded to prophesy (Ezek 11:1). Jaazaniah and Pelatiah, the only men whose names are provided, are identified as "princes *(śārîm)* of the people." That is, they were leading officials (cf. e.g., "the princes of Judah" in Jer 26:10). Whereas the death of Pelatiah is mentioned in Ezek 11:13, nothing is said of the fate of Jaazaniah.

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JOHN M. BERRIDGE

**JAAZIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ya‹ăzîyāhu* (יַעֲזִיָּהוּ)]. Son of Merari the Levite (1 Chr 24:26, 27). He is mentioned in a list of levitical families which received assignments from King David for service in the temple, soon to be built. That the Chronicler considered Jaaziah to be a literal son of Merari, even though he is never mentioned in the Pentateuch or 1 Chr 23:31 with Merari's other sons Mahli and Mushi, is evident from the structure of vv 27–30, in which descendants of Merari's three "sons" mentioned in v 26 are listed. Jaaziah and his descendants are placed even before Mahli and Mushi, while Kish (v 29), a son of Mahli (1 Chr 23:21), is listed after his father. For the name Jaaziah, the LXX reads *ozia*, Uzziah, in both verses. The name probably means "may Yahweh nourish" (Fowler *TPNAH*, 100).
DANA M. PIKE

**JAAZIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ya‹ăzî›ēl* (יַעֲזִיאֵל)]. Var. AZIEL. Levite musician (1 Chr 15:18). Jaaziel participated in the ceremony which accompanied the transfer of the ark of the covenant from Obed-edom's house to Jerusalem during the reign of King David. The musician Aziel (Heb *‹ăzî›ēl*) in v 20 must be considered the same individual. The LXX preserves *oziēl*, Uzziel, in both vv 18 and 20. It is also possible that the first Jeiel mentioned in 1 Chr 16:5 (Heb *yĕ‹î›ēl*, Gk *Iiēl*) is this same Levite musician. The name probably means "may Yahweh nourish" (*TPNAH*, 100).
DANA M. PIKE

**JABAL** (PERSON) [Heb *yābāl* (יָבָל)]. Son of Lamech and Adah, and the brother of Jubal, a descendant of Cain (Gen 4:20). Jabal is described as the father of tent dwellers and herds (Heb *miqneh*; for the more general meaning, "possessions," cf. below). It is not clear from the sentence construction (4:20) whether Jabal is said to have originated the practice of herding animals or whether he was the first to travel with his herds by living in tents (*GHBW*, 142 n. 10; Wenham *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 95 n. 20). These two concerns have been compared with the labors of Amynos and Magos, who were connected by Philo of Byblos with the origin of villages and sheep herding (Cassuto 1961: 235; Attridge and Oden 1981: 45).

Wordplay is apparently found in the word *miqneh*, which shares consonants with the name of Jabal's ancestor, Cain (Heb *qyn*). Paronomasia also seems to occur in the name, Jabal, whose root, *ybl*, is the same as that of his brother, Jubal, and suggests the first caretaker of livestock, Abel *(hbl).* (Cf. also the roots of the name of the half-brother, Tubal-Cain, *tbl* and *qyn.*)

The comparison with Abel suggests the development from sheep herding to the raising of livestock in general, perhaps either as part of an urban economy (if Cain's descendants are to be associated with urban culture; cf. Wallis 1966: 134–35) or as part of a nomadic lifestyle (if Cain's descendants are to be associated with the Kenites; cf. Miller 1974: 168). This latter interpretation is also likely if *miqneh* is understood in its more general sense of "possessions"; and thus describes Jabal's occupation as that of a "tent-dwelling trader" (Sawyer 1986: 160). The root *ybl*, common to many ancient Semitic languages, conveys the meaning, "to bring"; if compounded with a theophoric element, Jabal could mean, " (divine name) leads (in procession)" (North 1964: 380). The proposal to take the name as a noun, "wanderer (nomad)" (Gabriel 1959: 417), is less likely.
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RICHARD S. HESS

**JABBOK** (PLACE) [Heb *yabbōq* (יַבֹּק)]. One of the four major streams of Transjordan, now known as the Wadi Zerqa or the *Nahr ez-Zerqa*, "the blue river." Its sources are near Amman, the biblical Rabbath-ammon. Its upper courses flow in a NE direction to modern Zerqa. From there the stream curves to the W where the lower courses rapidly descend into the Great Rift valley, a drop that begins at ca. 820 m above sea level to ca. 300 m below. It joins the Jordan river just N of Adam, ca. 37 km N of the Dead Sea. Its total length is about 100 km.

Gen 32:22 locates Jacob's struggle with his divine adversary at the ford of the Jabbok near Penuel. Several scholars have noted that the Hebrew text of this passage suggests a wordplay: Jacob (Heb

*ya‹ăqōb*) wrestled *(wayyē›ābēq)* at the Jabbok *(yabbōq).* It has also been suggested there may have been an older form of the story in which the adversary was a river demon.

According to Num 21:24; Josh 12:2; and Judg 11:13, 22, the Jabbok served as the border of Sihon's kingdom; the upper course separated it from the Ammonites to the E and the lower course from Og of Bashan's kingdom to the N. After Israel moved into the region, the lower course served as a boundary dividing the half tribe of Manasseh on the N from Gad and Reuben on the S (Deut 3:12, 16; Josh 12:2–6). Noth and Bartlett have argued, however, that this division of the land is the result of a Deuteronomist compiler who, in an attempt to portray the kingdoms of Sihon and Og as contemporary, reorganized the traditional threefold division of this region—the plain, Gilead, and Bashan—into a twofold division with the middle area of Gilead (through which the Jabbok flows) being divided between the two kings. Thus, instead of seeing the Jabbok as dividing areas, the river was originally viewed as the central feature of the one mountain range of Gilead.

Eusebius indicates that in later times the E-W stretch of the Jabbok did serve as a border, separating the territories of Gerasa and Philadelphia (*Onomast.* 102.19, 21).

The valley in which the Jabbok flowed served as a major highway between the Jordan valley and the Transjordanian plateau. It was along this route that Gideon pursued the Midianites (Judg 8:4–9); this route was also used by Shishak in his conquest of Palestine. Sites along the route included Adam, Succoth, Penuel, and Mahanaim.

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RANDALL W. YOUNKER

**JABESH** (PERSON) [Heb *yābēš* (יָבֵשׁ)]. The father of Shallum, king of Israel (2 Kgs 15:10, 13–14).

Jabesh, however, may be a place name, rather than a personal name. If such is the case, the phrase "son of Jabesh" would refer to Shallum's place of origin, "a person from Jabesh," and not patronymic. This would suggest that opposition to Jehu's dynasty came from the region of Jabesh-Gilead. In Assyrian records Shallum is referred to as a "son of a nobody."

PAULINE A. VIVIANO

**JABESH-GILEAD** (PLACE) [Heb *yābēš* (יָבֵשׁ) *gil‹ād* (גִּלְעָד)]. Var. JABESH. An ancient city in Transjordan, which became part of the Israelite state during the early Monarchy, probably under David.

**A. Location**

The ancient name, which means "well-draining soil of Gilead," is preserved in Wadi el-Yabis, one of the main E-W tributaries that cuts through the N Gileadite hill country and empties into the Jordan. A site somewhere along the wadi is probable. Proposed locations include ed-Deir/Deir el-Halawe (Abel, *GP* 2, 352); Miryamim (Merrill 1881: 325; Oliphant 1881: 160–61); Meqbereh–Tell abu Kharaz (Glueck 1943); and Tell Maqlub (Merrill 1881: 440; Naor 1947; Noth 1953: 28–30; Simons *GTTOT*, 315; Aharoni *LBHG*, 379; Ottosson 1969: 195–96). Two factors are pertinent for locating the site. According to 1 Sam 31:11–13, men from Jabesh were able to reach Beth-shan on the W side of the Jordan in the Jezreel valley to retrieve the bodies of Saul and his sons from the city walls by traveling all night from their city. The text does not specify whether the men departed in the morning and traveled all day and night to arrive in the early morning hours of the following day, but still under cover of darkness, or whether they left only in the evening and traveled overnight. Accordingly, any site along the Yabis that lies somewhere between eight and twenty hours travel time from Beth-shan, with evidence of Iron I occupation (1200–1000 B.C.), is a possible candidate.

According to Eusebius, Jabesh-gilead lay in the vicinity of the sixth Roman milestone on the road from Pella to Gerasa (*Onomast.* 110.11–13). No milestone #6 has been uncovered, but a #5 milestone has been found at Kufr Abil (Thomsen 1917: 66–67). Assuming Eusebius' identification is accurate, Tell Maqlub (M.R. 214201) is the only possible candidate for Jabesh. It lies within the range of travel time described in

1 Sam 31:11–13, and has yielded evidence of Iron I occupation in surface survey (Glueck 1951: 214). The site lies on the N edge of a fertile bend in the Yabis River, at the point where the Roman road crosses the wadi. A modern road also crosses the wadi at this point, and it is likely that the pre-Roman road through the N hill country similarly forded the wadi here. Ancient Jabesh apparently was strategically located to control the flow of traffic crossing the wadi below it.

**B. History**

Jabesh is depicted as an Israelite city as early as the premonarchic period in Judges 21 and 1 Samuel 11. Nevertheless, 2 Sam 2:4–7 indicates that the city stood in a treaty relationship with Saul during his reign, and that David tried to persuade the city to switch its allegiance from the Saulide house at Saul's death and become allies of the newly-founded Davidic state of Judah, centered in Hebron. The phrase "do good" in v 6 is ancient technical treaty language (Moran 1963: 173–76; Edelman 1984: 202–3). Since Jabesh apparently was not incorporated into the Israelite state until sometime after the reign of Saul, the two depictions of the city as "Israelite" in the premonarchic period should be understood as literary fictionalizations. They probably are to be associated with the later idealization of premonarchic Israel as a union of twelve tribes, which were comprised of groups whose territory eventually became included within the borders of the Davidic-Solomonic state.

The Jabesh-gileadite practice of cremation and subsequent interment of the remaining bones (1 Sam 31:11–13) points to their non-Semitic background. No evidence yet exists that links any Semitic group with cremation as an accepted form of burial. On the other hand, both textual and archaeological material indicates that it was an accepted custom among groups of both Greek and Anatolian backgrounds, and that on the Greek mainland, it became the dominant form of adult burial during the 11th–10th centuries B.C. (Kurtz and Boardman 1971: 26, 33, 37). An excellent description of the Greek rite is found in the Odyssey (24.11.60–80). In Anatolia, it was the regular form of burial for kings (Bittel 1940; Otten 1940: 3–5). The cremations known from Hamath (Riis 1948: 47, 210–12) and the Amman airport "temple" crematorium (Herr 1983) both are associated with local Semitic pottery traditions, but in each case, have non-Semitic features. At Hamath, the pottery has Cypriot and Mycenaean decorative motifs and inscriptions written in Hittite and Phrygian, while at the Amman structure, a significant amount of imported Mycenaean ware, together with lesser amounts of imported Cretan, Cypriot, and Egyptian objects are found alongside the local ware in the burials. In both cases, it appears that the cremations should be associated with non-Semitic groups who had recently arrived in the two regions.

Saul's rescue of Jabesh-gilead from Ammonite oppression (1 Sam 11:1–11) is reported to have been the military deed that led to his elevation to kingship over Israel. As mentioned above, the story's depiction of Jabesh-gileadites as Israelites who appeal to their brethren for help cannot be historically accurate. The setting of the battle at the beginning of Saul's career, before he had built up a professional army and had the military support of his state's citizenry, is also impossible. The battle presumes that Saul was known to have been an established power in Transjordan, which would have had to be the case for them to take on the national Ammonite army with any chance for success. See SAUL (PERSON).

1 Sam 14:47 indicates that Saul waged successful war against the Ammonites, and there is no reason to doubt that at least some of the details found in the present account in 1 Samuel 11 have been derived from an account of one of those battles—one that involved Nahash's siege of Jabesh-gilead, and Saul's successful lifting of the siege by surprise attack. What is not certain is whether Jabesh would already have established the treaty with Saul prior to the battle, so that he became involved out of treaty obligations, or whether the treaty was arranged in the wake of the battle, after Saul voluntarily aided the city, perhaps as a result of overtures that promised the treaty in exchange for assistance in the existing crisis. In either case, the battle could not have been the historical event that triggered Saul's initial coronation as king. The story's use is part of the tripartite kingship ritual pattern (designation of the candidate, testing, coronation) to structure the current account of the introduction of the kingship in 1 Samuel 9–11, which required the military testing of the king-designate before his final coronation (Edelman 1984).

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

**JABEZ** (PERSON) [Heb *yaʿbēṣ* (יַעְבֵּץ)]. A person introduced abruptly into the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr 4:9–10). No other detail regarding him except the content of his prayer is given. There appears to be a play on the name in the text in that the name Jabez is related to "pain" (Heb *ʿoṣeb*) in v 9 on the one hand and to "hurt" (Heb *ʿoṣbî*) in v 10 on the other. Curtis (*Chronicles* ICC, 107), assuming that he was the founder of Jabez the town (cf. 1 Chr 2:55), suggested that Jabez may be a Calebite scribe belonging to the family of Hur. Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 59), on the other hand, sees no substantial evidence to suggest a connection between the two names.
H. C. LO

**JABEZ** (PLACE) [Heb *yaʿbēṣ* (יַעְבֵּץ)]. A city of Judah, apparently near Bethlehem, but not yet identified. It is only mentioned as the city of the Kenite families of scribes who descended from Hammath where the Tirathites, the Shimeathites, and the Sucathites resided (1 Chr 2:55). The meaning of this name is etymologically explained in 1 Chr 4:9. There a man was called Jabez by his mother's words "I bore him with pain *(ʿṣb).*" Here the Hebrew verb *ʿṣb* is apparently understood as the transposition of the other verb *ʿbṣ* which is neither used in Hebrew nor in Aramaic, but probably an Amorite verb which corresponds to the Hebrew verb *ʿṣb.* People commonly understood that Jabez meant "He (=God) causes pain" suggested from the word "in pain." However, because of dual meanings of the Hebrew verb *ʿṣb,* it may be also possible to see another meaning "He (=God) fashions (=makes)" suggested from his mother's word "I bore." Then the latter meaning of this name is quite suitable as a city name like Yabneh, "He builds," which may be taken as an Amorite noncausative *Yaqtel* verbal pattern like Yahweh.
YOSHITAKA KOBAYASHI

**JABIN** (PERSON) [Heb *yābîn* (יָבִין)]. **1.** The King of Hazor who, along with his allies fought Joshua and Israel (Josh 11:1–14). That Jabin held a position of preeminence is made clear by the initiative that he had taken to summon the kings and groups of people in N Canaan when the region was under threat. The powerful alliance brought together by Jabin was defeated by Israel. Jabin was finally killed and Hazor put to the torch.

**2.** The King of Canaan, who reigned in Hazor, when Deborah was judging Israel (Judges 4). Sisera was the commander of Jabin's army. Deborah instructed Barak to engage Sisera in a battle and Sisera's army suffered a crushing defeat. Eventually, both Sisera and Jabin were killed.

The discussions concerning the Jabin in the two episodes have not reached unanimity in details and conclusion. One opinion holds that "Jabin" is a dynastic name of the kings of Hazor. It is noteworthy that the Mari texts of the 18th century B.C. as well as the Amarna Letters of the 14th century B.C. make reference to the city-state of Hazor. These indicate some measure of continuity. Another opinion holds that both episodes are in fact two varying traditions of the same event; they belong together. A third opinion points out that in Judges 4, Sisera is central to the story while chap. 5 does not mention Jabin at

all. Therefore, the account in Judges may actually be about Sisera, who governed in Harosheth-ha-goiim, meaning the forested region of the gentiles as indicated by the LXX reading. It is possible that the battle of Merom (Joshua 11) took place subsequent to the battle of Deborah (Judges 4–5). Archaeology in this region supports an initial penetration by the Israelites and battles being fought much later. One such battle may have been given a national orientation and become a part of the conquest stories in the book of Joshua. The Deuteronomistic History has made use of the two episodes to contrast the strength of the enemies and the victory that is possible when the leaders are obedient to the Lord.
PAUL BENJAMIN

**JABNEEL** (PLACE) [Heb *yabnĕʾēl* (יַבְנְאֵל)]. Var. JABNEH. **1.** A town along the N border of the tribe of Judah (Josh 15:11), which is probably the same Philistine town (Heb *yabnēh*) conquered by Uzziah, king of Judah (2 Chr 26:6). Two essentially unexcavated sites named "Jabneh" are attested in the region: Yavneh-Yam (M.R. 121147), a large site situated along the Mediterranean Sea S of Kibbutz Palmahim; and an inland site associated with the Arab village of Yibna (M.R. 126141) situated on the coastal plain between Lod and Ashdod, S of Nahal Sorek. The biblical site is identified with the latter, which contains Iron Age, Hellenistic, and Byzantine remains. In the Hellenistic period the town was called Jamnia/Iamnia (the name having gone from Jabneel to Jabneh to Jamnia).

Judah Maccabeus—or, according to Josephus (*Ant* 13.6.7), Simon—captured and burned the city (2 Macc 12:8–9). In Hellenistic times, Jamnia had a Jewish population, and by the time of Alexander Janneaus it was listed among the cities under his control, and had a totally Jewish population. From the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. until some time around the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–135 C.E.), the reconstituted Sanhedrin met at Jamnia, which then became a great spiritual and intellectual center of Jewish learning. See JAMNIA (JABNEH), COUNCIL OF.

In rabbinic texts the vicinity of Jabneh was part of a significant district region referred to as "the South" (as opposed to Galilee, known as "the North"). Following the Bar Kokhba revolt, much of the city was Samaritan, and a Christian population predominated by the 5th century. While Jamnia of the post-Temple period is tentatively identified with the Yibna site, no regular excavations have been conducted there and there is no evidence to substantiate this identification. A 1988 salvage excavation on the NE slope of the tell yielded only an assemblage of 6th century Byzantine pottery. Three sondages cut on the NE and NW sides of the tell to determine the N extent of the Byzantine occupation yielded traces of architecture, and possibly Hellenistic and additional 6th century Byzantine pottery. Thus far, no 1st century C.E. pottery has been identified to warrant identifying this site with the post-Temple Jamnia. However, tombs excavated about 1.5 miles S of the tell contain pottery from the end of the Hellenistic period, Herodian lamps, a coin of Emperor Tiberius, as well as later finds dating to the Byzantine period; this suggests that these tombs, as well as those located on a hill about 1.5 km N of the tell containing complete 2d century C.E. lamps, served as the necropolis for the tell, which was probably occupied during the early rabbinic period (1st–2d century C.E.).

**2.** A town along the S border of the tribe of Naphtali (Josh 19:33) in E lower Galilee, identified in the Jerusalem Talmud (*Meg.* 1:1, 70a) with Kfar Yamma (Khirbet Yamma; M.R. 198233), a large, unexcavated site on the grounds of Moshava Jabneel. However, the paucity of LB and Iron Age sherds at Kh. Yamma, in contrast to the plethora of archaeological remains of those periods at Tel Yinʿam (M.R. 198235) suggests that biblical Jabneel should be identified with the latter, which is located 1.5 km NE of modern Moshava Jabneel. For a summary of the results of excavations, see YINʿAM, TEL.

While the LB town that existed on the tell has been identified with Yenoam of Egyptian New Kingdom texts, that identification is no longer considered reliable, although the plethora of LB finds and evidence for fiery destruction levels accord with the Egyptian texts. The consensus of opinion is that Tel Yinʿam is identifiable with Jabneel. Like the Judean Jabneel further S, the name underwent a change from Jabneel to Jabneh to Jamnia, and ultimately to Yinʿam.
HAROLD A. LIEBOWITZ

**JABNEH** (PLACE) [Heb *yabneh* (יַבְנֶה)]. See JABNEEL (PLACE); JAMNIA (JABNEH), COUNCIL OF.

**JACAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ya*ʿ*kān* (יַעְכָּן)]. A Gadite, who was a son of Abihail and one of seven kinsmen, who are named alongside four (or three; see SHAPHAT) tribal leaders (1 Chr 5:13). According to 1 Chronicles 5, Jacan and his kinsmen lived opposite the Reubenites in "Bashan as far as Salecah" (v 11) and "in Gilead, in Bashan … and in all the pasture lands of Sharon to their limits" (v 17). Although Num 13:24–28 assigns Gilead to Gad, neither Bashan, which is too far N, nor Sharon, which is too far W, is mentioned. It may be that the reference in 1 Chronicles 5 to Bashan reflects confusion about the N boundary of the tribe or about the extent of Bashan (cf. Deut 3:10). The inclusion of Sharon within Gad's allotment coincides with a reference in the Mesha Inscription (line 13; *ANET*, 320) to an otherwise unknown city or region by that name in Transjordania.

The claim that Jacan and the other sons of Abihail were enrolled "in the days of Jotham … and … Jeroboam" (1 Chr 5:17) is problematic, since several years separated their reigns (unless Jotham's co-regency with his father Azariah/Uzziah is counted). Neither Jacan nor the others named in the Chronicler's genealogy for Gad (1 Chr 5:11–17) appear in other lists of Gadites (Gen 46:16; Num 26:15–18; 1 Chr 12:9–16—Eng12:8–15).

M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**JACHIN** (PERSON) [Heb *yākîn* (יָכִין)]. JACHINITES. Three individuals mentioned in the OT bear this name.

**1.** A son of Simeon, the second son of Jacob and Leah. His name is included in the genealogy of Jacob's family at the time they migrated to Egypt to see Joseph. The genealogy of Simeon is presented in four different places in the Hebrew Bible. In the identical genealogies of Gen 46:10 and Exod 6:15, Jachin is the fourth of six sons of Simeon. In the genealogy of 1 Chr 4:2–25 and in the list of Simeon's clans in Num 26:12–14, Jachin is the third of five sons, the name of Ohab being omitted. He is probably identified with Jarib, who appears in the parallel list of Simeon's sons in 1 Chr 4:24. Jachin was the ancestral head of the Jachinites, a clan of the tribe of Simeon (Num 26:12).

**2.** A priest who was the 21st chosen by lot at the time when David organized the priests for service in the temple (1 Chr 24:17). He was one of the outstanding men from among the sons of Eleazar and Ithamar who were selected to form the 24 priestly courses in Israel (Williamson 1979).

**3.** One of the priests who came from Babylon and who lived in Jerusalem (1 Chr 9:10; Neh 11:10). His name is included among those who were chosen by lots to live in Jerusalem (Neh 11:1–2, 10). The appearance of Jachin among the priestly list and his association with two other priests, Jedaiah and Jehoiarib, has been debated. Bartlett (1968: 4, n. 1) has suggested that since Jachin's name is replaced by Jarib in 1 Chr 4:25 and since he appears without pedigree, his name was entered on the list because of his association with Jehoiarib. Williamson regards the name of Jachin in the book of Nehemiah as a gloss which later redactors thought to be a correction to the text (Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah* NCBC, 343).

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CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

**JACHIN AND BOAZ** [Heb *yākîn* (יָכִין), *bō*ʿ*az* (בֹּעַז)]. The names given to two pillars that flanked the entrance to the Jerusalem temple. They are described in 1 Kgs 7:15–22, 41–42 and are also mentioned in 2 Chr 3:15–17, which parallels the Kings source. In 2 Kgs 25:16–17 and Jer 52:17, 20–23, the pillars are again described in the context of the report of the Babylonian sack of the temple in 587 B.C.E.

The temple texts that present Jachin and Boaz contain detailed information, but the exact appearance and function of the pillars remains difficult to reconstruct. The biblical verses describing them are replete with textual problems and obscure technical words. Furthermore, there are discrepancies between the information in the core text of 1 Kings 7 and the other places that mention these pillars. Both of these problems are to be expected. Textual difficulties are often present when specific technological language is involved. Inconsistency in details arises when the structure presented in one set of texts is hundreds of years older than that in another set. In the case of the temple, alterations and refurbishings over the centuries surely took place (Meyers 1982).

Despite these difficulties, the information in the Bible provides a good idea of the physical appearance of the pillars. According to the Kings account, each stood 18 cubits high (ca. 26.5 ft.) and was 12 cubits (ca. 17.5 ft.) in circumference. The pillars were made of cast bronze and were hollow, with the metal being four fingers (ca. 3 inches) thick. Each pillar was surmounted by a bowl-shaped capital (or double capital, so Yeivin 1959) five cubits (ca. 7.5 ft.) in height, giving the pillars a total height of 23 cubits (ca. 34 ft.).

The capitals were elaborately decorated, with "nets of checker work," "wreaths of chain work," and "two rows of pomegranates." Although these features cannot be exactly understood, the text (1 Kgs 7:19) apparently summarizes them as "lily-work," a designation that relates the capitals of Jachin and Boaz to the complex floral capitals that were characteristic of monumental architecture in the ANE. Egyptian architecture in particular is notable for its use of plant forms in structural elements, and the Phoenician workmanship responsible for the Jerusalem temple no doubt meant the use of many of the Egyptianizing forms that characterized Phoenician and W Syrian art.

Once fabricated by Hiram of Tyre, the pillars were erected at the entrance to the temple, the one on the S being called Jachin, perhaps meaning "the establisher," and the one on the N named Boaz, which is also the name of the great-grandfather of David. See BOAZ (PERSON). Their enigmatic names, their great size, the use of a term *(gullâ)* meaning "bowl" for part of their capitals, and ambiguity about whether they were freestanding or structural elements has led to much speculation about the role of these prominent elements of the Jerusalem temple. They have been called cressets (Albright 1942, following W. R. Smith; cf. Myres 1948); and they have been identified as fire altars, obelisks, phalli, twin mountains, sacred stones, pillars of heaven, and trees of life (see, e.g., Scott 1939; *IDB* 4: 534–60; Wright 1941; and the summary of the literature in Busink 1970). The variety of suggestions indicates a strong measure of conjecture.

All of these suggestions focus upon the symbolic nature of the pillar and upon an understanding of them as freestanding. However, analyzing the Jerusalem temple in relation to contemporary Syrian architecture has led to the supposition (Ouellette 1976) that the pillars were functional, just as were the pillars in an analogous building at Tell Tainat.

The symbolic nature of Jachin and Boaz deserves the attention that it has received. That they are fundamentally decorative (and therefore symbolic) rather than structural (and therefore functional) can best be demonstrated not by any analysis of their form but rather by noting their place in the biblical presentation of the temple and its furbishings. The description of Jachin and Boaz comes at the beginnings of the description of the series of bronze vessels that were fashioned for use in the rituals of the temple courtyard. The pillars are thus categorized by the text itself as temple appurtenances, all of which have strong symbolic value. Yet, as first in that series, they follow immediately upon the description of the construction of the temple itself and of the royal palace complex. That description is summarized (in 1 Kgs 7:9–12) by reference to the stonework of all these structures, in particular the masonry of two courts ("the great court" and the "inner court of the house of Yahweh") and the *ʾûlām* (RSV "vestibule"), which may itself be a court since it appears in this short list of courts. The position of the pillars in the Kings account is thus transitional: from the buildings, notably the courtyards, to the appurtenances. While the second category may dominate, the participation of the pillar in the first category—courtyard architecture—also is present. If this be the case, a structural role that is compatible with their being freestanding is indeed possible.

Greater understanding of the symbolic and structural significance of the columns comes from considering their architectural location. They flank the entry to the *ʾûlām,* a word translated by so many different words in the English versions as to reveal the uncertainty about its identity as part of the temple. Close analysis of the *ʾûlām* (Meyers 1983a) and the details of its construction indicates that it belongs, architecturally and conceptually, to the world of courtyards as they functioned within Near Eastern buildings. The temple precincts as a whole contained courts; but the temple itself, as an essentially private dwelling for Yahweh, had its own indispensable courtyard. Jachin and Boaz thus belong to the structural category of pillars as gateposts rather than as load-bearing elements.

As gateposts, Jachin and Boaz were extraordinarily elaborate and large. With their ornate capitals, their shiny bronze surfaces, and their great height, they stood out against the rather flat and relatively unbroken exterior that the fortress-like temple would have presented to the viewer. Since the grandeur of the temple construction and decoration was largely contained inside the building itself, and since the interior was not public space (that is, it was off-limits to laity and to the general clergy), the imposing pillars at the entrance represented to the world at large that which existed unseen within the building.

The symbolic value of the pillars is contained in their position as gateposts. Archaeologically retrieved parallels and representations of entry pillars in ancient artistic sources indicate that the doorposts or gateposts of a temple convey to the viewer the notion of passage: that the god meant to inhabit the earthly dwelling (the temple) has indeed traversed the threshold of the building, entered the sanctuary built for the deity, is accessible to the human community, and legitimizes the political unit that has constructed the temple.

In the case of the Solomonic temple, the entry pillars proclaimed that Yahweh had entered his abode in Israel. Furthermore, since Jerusalem under David and Solomon had become the capital of an empire, a unique situation in the political history of the Near East, the monumental palace-temple complex signified both for the inhabitants of Israel and for the representatives of vassal and foreign states (including Solomon's wives and their entourages) that came to Jerusalem, the authority of the imperial rule of the house of David. Within the ancient religious-political conceptualization, the presence of the nation's God, Yahweh, in the temple adjoining the palace helped to legitimize Solomon's reign (Meyers 1983b).

Neither foreigners nor most Israelites had access to the temple, or to the holy ark that signified Yahweh's unseen presence. Yet they all could see Jachin and Boaz, which communicated visually the entrance of God to this abode. The very size of the pillars in relation to temple entry column bases excavated at analogous buildings in the Levant is significant. The pillars flanking the Jerusalem temple's entry were considerably larger according to the dimensions in 1 Kings. This magnitude was appropriate to the religious and political role of Jerusalem and its state buildings as the seat of an empire.

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CAROL MEYERS

**JACKAL.** See ZOOLOGY.

**JACKAL'S WELL** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿên hattanîn* (עֵין הַתַּנִּין)]. A place located outside the ruined walls of Jerusalem, apparently between the Valley Gate and the Dung Gate (Neh 2:13). The Heb name can also be translated "Spring of the Dragon" or even "Eye of the Dragon" (in which case it would not

necessarily even allude to a source of water). The LXX instead reads *pēgē tōn sykōn,* "fountain of the figs." The Dung Gate is undoubtedly located near the juncture of the Hinnom and Kidron valleys, but the location of the Valley Gate is problematic. See VALLEY GATE (PLACE). If it provided exit from the City of David to the Tyropoeon valley, then Jackal's Well should be located in the Tyropoeon valley N of the Dung Gate, outside the 10th century W wall of the City of David, but inside the W wall that was built when Hezekiah enlarged the city in the late 6th/early 7th century B.C. However, if the Valley Gate provided exit from Hezekiah's larger Jerusalem to the Hinnom valley, then Jackal's Well would be located in that valley W of the Dung Gate. No known source of water exists in either the Tyropoeon or Hinnom valleys, and hence most scholars simply equate Jackal's Well with En-rogel outside the Dung Gate at the juncture of the Hinnom and Kidron valleys.

GARY A. HERION

**JACOB** (PERSON) [Heb *yaʿăqob* (יַעֲקֹב)]. Var. ISRAEL. **1.** The biblical patriarch and eponymous ancestor of the twelve tribes of Israel. See JACOB NARRATIVE.

**2.** The son of Matthan and father of Joseph, the husband of Mary, according to Matthew's genealogy tying Joseph to the house of David and Solomon (Matt 1:15, 16). The name Jacob was apparently a common one in several periods of Jewish history. Jacob the son of Isaac is known elsewhere in this same genealogy (1:12) as Jesus' ancestor, and according to Albright and Mann (*Matthew* AB, 4–5) Jacob was a characteristic name of the last two centuries B.C. The major point of discussion about Jacob as the son of Matthan in 1:15 and 16, who does not appear elsewhere in any other genealogy or list of Jesus' ancestors, is his relation to Heli as the son of Matthat in Luke 3:23. See MATTHAT (PERSON) for discussion of the major proposals, although Gundry (1982: 18) posits simply that Jacob was put in place of Heli by Matthew "to conform to the fathering of the patriarch Joseph by the patriarch Jacob." The solution is probably more complex than this. A few late mss include "of Jacob" after Joseph and before "of Heli" in Luke 3:23.

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STANLEY E. PORTER

**JACOB NARRATIVE.** Jacob was the younger son of Isaac and Rebekah, twin brother of Esau, and father of the 12 sons after whom were named the 12 tribes of Israel. He is the central figure in the cycle of stories in Gen 25:19–35:29 and reappears as a lesser figure in the Joseph stories (Genesis 37–50). In separate popular etymologies, the Heb name *yaʿăqōb* is connected with Heb *ʿāqēb,* "heel," because Jacob was born clutching the heel of his brother Esau (Gen 25:26), and with the verb *ʿāqab,* "cheat," because Esau said that Jacob had cheated him twice (27:36). The name may be a shortened form of Heb *yʿqb-ʾl,* "God protects," a name known from extrabiblical sources (Noth 1953). Jacob later received the name "Israel" as a mark of his struggle (32:29) and piety (35:10), and his descendants were later identified by this name ("children of Israel").

Biblical Jacob is unknown outside the Bible, although the general congruence of the patriarchal narratives with customs and artifacts known from archaeology to belong to the 2d millennium (especially the material from Nuzi and Mari) has sometimes been used to support his historicity. Later scrutiny called much of that argument into question (Van Seters 1975; Thompson 1974) on the grounds that the alleged parallels were inexact or unrepresentative, or had been misunderstood. For example, the claim that possession of household idols (Gen 31:19) helped constitute the family of Jacob as a legitimate clan has been given up (Selman 1980: 110). Some writers have refused even to attempt historical reconstructions (*HAIJ,* 79). Where historical questions remain open, Jacob has been dated to the 1900s B.C.E. (Bimson 1980: 84), and a number of extrabiblical customs are seen to retain their pertinence (Selman 1980: 125–229; see also Morrison 1983).

Until recently, critical scholarship assumed that the documentary hypothesis was a key to understanding the Jacob material, namely, strands of J and E with later additions or redaction by P (Van Seters 1975 dates J to the Exile rather than to the time of Solomon; *CMHE,* 293–325, and Hendel 1987 hold to the

early oral-epic origin of JE, enlarged and ordered by P late in the Exile). Noth had postulated an East-Jordan Jacob and a West-Jordan Jacob, the latter stories being secondary and less interesting (*HPT*, 89ff.). Farmer (1978) approaches the story as folklore, focusing on how trickster figures such as Jacob and Samson, operating from a position of weakness, trick others or are themselves tricked. Oden (1983) employs data from the field of anthropology.

Meanwhile a plethora of holistic literary treatments have appeared, based on a reassessment of the form and style of "narrative" (Frei 1974; Alter 1981) and reflecting a fundamental hermeneutic shift. In general, this approach does not deny the composite character of the Jacob material, but downplays the cycle's prehistory in favor of questions of meaning, and it sets aside historical questions as inappropriate to the material (Fokkelman 1975; Clines 1978; Buss 1979; Thompson 1987). Such is the general perspective of the present article, which is more about the Jacob cycle than about Jacob and is literary rather than biographical in method.

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A. Structure of the Jacob Cycle
B. The Cycle's Stories
C. Meaning

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**A. Structure of the Jacob Cycle**

The stories of the Jacob cycle have been artfully arranged to gather around Jacob's return to the land of his birth, Canaan, after a hasty flight and long residence abroad to avoid his brother's revenge. They are thus informed by a dual tension: (1) How can the duplicitous Jacob become the father of God's people? and (2) How can he inherit the promise made to Abraham and Isaac if he leaves the land which God has given to them? The fundamental theme of the cycle has to do with the life and character of "Israel," that is, the people of God. The Jacob stories are about the essence and meaning of a people (Thompson 1987: 39–40). The biblical text presents the Jacob stories in a concentric pattern which has been independently observed by several scholars (Fishbane 1975; see also Fokkelman 1975: 240; Gammie 1979; otherwise Hendel 1987: 144, n. 20) and which is signalled both by cross-references in vocabulary and by thematic similarities. The cycle breaks into 2 equal halves at Gen 30:24–25, each having 7 matching segments, presented thematically in exact reverse order. The entire cycle is bracketed at beginning and end by genealogies of the 2 sons who stand outside the line of promise, Ishmael (25:12–18) and Esau (chap. 36), so that Jacob's role as the bearer of the promise is unmistakable.

**The Unchosen Son (Ishmael) (25:12–18)**
**A.** Beginings. Birth, prediction, early conflict between Jacob and Esau (25:19–34)
**B.** Relations with indigenous population (26:1–22)
**C.** Blessing obtained ["He took away (*lāqaḥ*) my *bĕrākâ*" (27:35–36)] (27:1–40)
**D.** Jacob's flight from Esau (27:41–28:5)
**E.** Encounter with God's agents (28:10–22)
**F.** Arival in Haran: Rachel, Laban (29:1–30)
**G.** Children: Jacob acquires a family (30:1–24)
*Jacob's return to Canaan begins as soon as Joseph is born*
**G´** Flocks: Jacob aquires wealth (30:25–43)
**F´** Departure from Haran: Rachel, Laban (31:1–32:1—Eng 31:1–55)
**E´** Encounter with God's agent (32:2–3—Eng 32:1–2)
**D´** Jacob's approach to Esau (32:4–33—Eng 32:3–32)
**C´** Blessing returned ["Accept (*lāqaḥ*) my *bĕrākâ*" (33:11)] (33:1–20)
**B´** Telations with indigenous population (chap. 34)
**A´** Endings. Death, fulfillment, Jacob and Esau together (chap. 35)
**The Unchosen Son (Esau) (chap. 36)**

The 2 segments on Esau's wives which frame segment C (26:34–35; 28:6–9) seem to stand outside the above topical descriptions.

Some of the thematic correspondences are especially clear. For example, segments B/B´ both deal with relations between the people of the promise and the indigenous residents of Canaan, in sharply contrasting modes. In terms of narrative sequence, however, B is out of order (since the twins have not yet been born, 26:11), and belongs to the 20-year period of Rebekah's barrenness (25:20, 26); its chronological dislocation was necessary for it to function topically in the cycle. *Placement and juxtaposition are among the writer's major techniques.*

This topical match between the segments in each of the halves is confirmed by several striking cross-references in writing. The numinous experiences in E/E´ each feature God's "agents" (or "angels"), an expression recurring nowhere else in the Bible. The same 2 sections also use the Hebrew verb *pāqaʿ,* "encounter," which occurs nowhere else in the sense of "reach a place," suggesting that the writer chose the unusual verb at 28:10 in order to effect the linkage with E´. Again, the occurrence of *bĕrākâ* "blessing" in the antonymic expressions "he took away your/my blessing" and "accept my blessing," both with the verb *lāqaḥ,* "take," is the thread connecting segments C/C´.

Thus the cycle is not only a narrative sequence with its own inner movement, but an artful arrangement which invites the reader to compare each segment with its complement later (or earlier) in the sequence.

To illustrate: segments A/A´ clearly open and close the cycle. Certain information is repeated from earlier in Genesis in order to give the cycle a proper beginning: Isaac's birth (21:1–5), marriage (24:67), and Rebekah's family (24:15, 29), adding the characterization "Aramean." An oracle predicts that Rebekah's children will become two "nations," one submissive to the other. The twins are born, and both their prenatal struggle (v 22) and Jacob's manipulation of Esau (vv 27–34) prefigure Jacob's character as a loner who lives by his wits at the expense of other people, as well as the bad blood between the twins (chap. 27) and the later hostility between Israel and Edom (36:1, 8–9, 19; cf. Ps 137:7; Ezekiel 35).

A´ echoes the theme of A in conclusion: the deaths of Isaac, Jacob's wife Rachel, and Rebekah's nurse Deborah; Jacob's 12 sons are listed by name and mother, a "nation"; the twins, having come together (chap. 33), stand at their father's grave; and Jacob appears as a religious reformer (vv 1–7) and recipient of the full divine promise (vv 9–25).

**B. The Cycle's Stories**

**Segment A (25:19–34).** Jacob and Esau were born as a result of Isaac's intercession with God, because Rebekah (like Sarah before her and Rachel after her) was barren; offspring are the gift of God. Among the Bible's several husbands of barren wives, only Isaac prayed for a change (contrast Jacob in Gen 30:2), marking him as a man of piety and intimating a synergism which runs throughout the whole cycle.

Rebekah's only words in this section arise out of the prenatal jostling of the twins, but the Hebrew sentence is incomplete: "If so, why am I …?" The text leaves Rebekah musing uncertainly about the events which her pregnancy portends; hers is an unfinished question, a verbless and ambiguous reflection which prefigures her incomplete and partial role in the cycle as a whole, just as the jostling forecasts enmity between the twins.

The oracle which she sought disclosed that her children would become separate peoples of unequal power, and that the nation springing from the older would be submissive to the younger. By identifying the sons with the peoples who sprang from them, the oracle at once implies a collective as well as an individual reading of the stories that follow: They recount the outward and inner movements of Jacob, the son of Isaac and Rebekah; but they refer also to the movements, the calling, and the character of the people named "Israel" after him. A collective reference is also suggested by the allusions associated with the naming of Esau: His hirsute appearance at birth (Heb *śēʿār,* 25:25; 27:11) alludes to his country Seir (33:16), while his ruddy color (Heb *ʾadmônî,* v 25) and preference for red stew (Heb *hāʾādōm,* v 30) refer to his region Edom. By contrast, the name Jacob is explained with reference to personal behavior, since the collective reference belongs especially to his second name, Israel.

The narrative moves from the birth of the twins directly to an event showing that their relationships as adults realized the conflict portended by prenatal and birth events. Jacob took advantage of Esau's fatigue and hunger by requiring him to trade his birthright for some food. The cycle has thus barely opened when Esau has ceded to Jacob the *bĕkōrâ,* his inheritance rights as firstborn. In a rare show of appraisal, the text

says that Esau "spurned" his birthright. Yet, Jacob's behavior was hardly exemplary: His hand was clearly on Esau's heel, and the pairing of this episode with the birth story types Jacob's character as the grasping and manipulative.

This falls short of expectations, as compared with Abraham and Isaac and in view of Jacob's subsequent role as the father of the Israelite people. The dissonance is even in the text, for in the parallel description of the twins' way of life (25:27), opposite the assessment "Esau was a skillful hunter," we read, "Jacob was a blameless man" (Heb *ʾîš tām,* exactly as Job 1:8; 2:3). Translations use attenuated words ("plain" KJV, "quiet" RSV, "mild" JPS), but *tām* clearly implies moral excellence. This, then—moral excellence—is to be Israel's vocation; and the same story which asserts it so boldly goes on to show Jacob as something other than blameless. The disparity introduces a tension at the beginning of the cycle which is not fully relaxed until the end.

**Segment B (26:1–33).** This story belongs chronologically to the time before the twins were born, but its placement within the cycle gives it pertinence to him. It opens with a direct reference to Abraham's behavior in an earlier famine (v 1: the reference is thematic, not chronological, since a minimum of 64 years in narrative time separates the 2 [10 years 16:3; 14 years 16:16 and 21:5; 40 years 26:20]). As Abraham had done, Isaac started out for Egypt, but in the "Philistine" city of Gerar, God appeared to warn against leaving the land and to reiterate to Isaac the Abrahamic promise of land and progeny (vv 2–5).

Isaac's anxiety over their safety in Gerar proved to be unfounded (vv 6–11), and the juxtaposition of this episode to v 5's prolix "my charge, my commandments, my laws, my teachings," suggests that residence in the land also required obedience to the divine pattern for life. To "remain in the land" is synonymous with obedience to Torah (Ps 37:3).

The use of "Philistine" suggests the story's rise at a time when relations with the Philistines were a problem to Israel. In the cycle, however, they typify the land's indigenous residents, because Isaac visits them as a stranger and is subject to pressure from them.

Isaac's prosperity under divine blessing led to envy and to contention over water rights; he had to move several times, thereby surrendering valuable excavated wells in the process, before finding "space" (vv 12–22; "Rehoboth" is symbolic). Following this sacrificial determination to occupy the land amicably, another divine appearance (at the pilgrim site of Beer-sheba) reiterated the promise of progeny, and added the promise of God's presence (v 24, unique to the Jacob cycle, see also 28:15, 20; 35:3).

A final threatening approach of the Philistines resulted in a treaty (Heb *bĕrît* "covenant") between the 2 groups, sealed with a feast and the exchange of oaths (vv 23–33). The treaty episode interrupts the account of digging one more well (vv 25b, 32), so that the servant's report, "We have found water," takes on symbolic importance: Water is life, especially in the arid Negeb where Beer-sheba is located, and so also is the treaty life. Isaac has shown that it is possible to occupy the land of promise, to observe Torah, to prosper, and to maintain good relations with the other residents. He has found life. The other treaty, between God and Abraham, is also in the background: Although the word *bĕrît* is not used in the promise reports of chap. 26, it has been used in the earlier promises which are now being extended to Isaac (15:8; chap. 17); it, too, is life.

This segment on indigenous relations stands between 2 sections (A and C) on relations between Jacob and Esau, which are marked as a pair by common themes (e.g., Jacob outwits Esau to his own advantage) and by similar key words, such as *bĕkōrâ* and *bĕrākâ* ("birthright" and "blessing"). These words not only sound alike but are visually similar on the written page—*bkrh* and *brkh*—being distinguished only by the transposition of the middle 2 consonants.

This placement both links Isaac's example with the subsequent B′, a different mode of engagement with the people of the land, and unmistakably juxtaposes Isaac's style of relationship to Jacob's. The juxtaposition announces, "Jacob may be living by strife and deceit, but if you want to see life under the promise, in the middle of all the ambiguity of threatening sociopolitical relationships, take a look at Isaac." The story also stresses the need for the recipients of the promise to maintain residence in the land, something which will add additional tension in segment C.

**Segment C (27:1–40).** In the second of the paired stories of dealings between Jacob and Esau, Rebekah led Jacob to deceive his father into bestowing the patriarchal blessing—*bĕrākâ*—on him instead of on Esau the firstborn. Jacob disguised himself as Esau, and, although the blind Isaac was never free from suspicion, the ruse worked: The father ate his favorite dish and conferred on Jacob a promise of agricultural prosperity and hegemony over other people, including his brother (vv 28–29). Only when Esau actually showed up to receive the blessing did Isaac discover the trick; the blessing was already Jacob's, but Isaac gave Esau a similar promise of bounty along with the promise that he should eventually free himself from Jacob's yoke (vv 39–40).

This detailed and extended story—7 times as long as the *bĕkōrâ*—shows Jacob firmly in the legal and financial position of the firstborn. Both stories involve manipulation, and both involve meals, to which Isaac's amicable covenant meal with Abimelech is a pointed contrast. They offer complementary explanations of Jacob's priority, the shorter being more favorable to Jacob (there is no outright deception, and Esau "spurns" his birthright), the latter being marked by a deliberate and callous duplicity involving Rebekah as prime mover (the verbs in vv 14–17 have Rebekah, not Jacob, as their subject). Jacob's impersonation of Esau symbolizes his priority: He dresses in Esau's clothes and simulates Esau's tomentose appearance (vv 15–16); he smells of the outdoors (v 27); he twice says, "I am your firstborn" (vv 19, 24). He has taken Esau's place.

The Masoretic editors of the Hebrew text have signalled this in another way in Isaac's reply to Jacob's address in v 18. Isaac says "Yes?" (Heb *hinnennî*), a common locution normally spelled *hinnēnî,* but with 2 doubled "n"s only here and in Gen 22:7 where Isaac's address to Abraham and the father's reply are in the identical words. In both stories the father replies to the younger but favored son.

This linkage also highlights the tension which the second episode of cheating introduces into the cycle. In Gen 22:7 Isaac was the obedient and compliant son, enquiring about sacrificial procedures; but in Gen 27:18 Jacob—equally born by divine intervention—says, "I am Esau, your firstborn." How can such mendacity inherit and bear the promise? And indeed, the fathers' replies in each case signal this, for Abraham said to Isaac, "Yes, my son," but Isaac said to Jacob, "Yes, *who are you,* my son?" Thus, one of the central themes of the whole cycle of stories comes to expression—the unclear identity of Jacob.

The story expresses this ambiguity in other ways. In talking to Rebekah about the deception, Jacob offered descriptions of both himself and Esau (v 11), in which there are wordplays pointing beyond the immediate situation. Esau, said Jacob, is a hairy man (Heb *ʾîš śāʿîr*). The adjective is a homophone of *śāʿîr* "he-goat, buck," and thus alludes playfully to Esau's outdoor life and to the skins of kids with which Jacob disguised himself (v 16). I, said Jacob, am a smooth man (Heb *ʾîš ḥālāq*). The same adjective occurs elsewhere of deceptive speech (Prov 5:3; 26:28). Who are you, Jacob? By his own mouth, he is not a "blameless man" (25:27), but a "slippery man."

Although Isaac could give the patriarchal blessing to only one of his sons, he also gave Esau a promise very similar in that it predicted the same agricultural boons—the fat of the land and the dew of heaven (in reverse order, vv 28 and 39). Translations usually obscure this similarity, since the preposition *min* can mean both "have a share in" and "be far from," but the reader of the story in Hebrew may wonder if there is still a chance for Esau to recoup his position, especially since Isaac told him he would throw off Jacob's yoke.

**Segment D (27:41–28:5).** Esau's anger at a second supplanting (v 36) made it necessary for Jacob to flee, and his mother arranged his departure for her own country where he could stay with her brother Laban (vv 41–45), representing the trip to Isaac as required so that Jacob should not marry a local woman (27:46–28:5). Classical literary criticism has seen these two sets of arrangements as duplicate accounts from different sources: The former, which calls Rebekah's homeland "Haran," from JE, and the latter, using "Paddan-aram" from P. But each paragraph plays its own role in the movement of the narrative.

This sly provision for Jacob's sudden need to leave home is the cycle's final glimpse of Rebekah. Her last words follow the "if … then …" pattern of her first (25:22), but here the sentence is complete: *lāmmâ lî ḥayyîm* "What good will life be to me?" (v 46). These 2 sentences—freighted with import by their position—show Rebekah preoccupied with her own feelings and well-being. Her single significant action

has been to engineer the deception by which her second-born son Jacob, instead of Esau her firstborn, received Isaac's blessing. Her way of life has affinities with that of her brother Laban (29:15–30; 31:6–7, 14–15, 41–42), and Jacob's own slippery character displays a family resemblance.

This way of life is new in the Genesis narratives. Apart from their lies about their wives (chaps. 12, 20, 26), both Abraham and Isaac are exemplary persons, and in chap. 26 Isaac is conscientious and sacrificial in his relations with the herdsmen of Gerar. The term "Aramean," found first in Rebekah's genealogy (25:20; 28:5) and elsewhere applied to Laban alone (31:20, 24), while obviously denoting the N Syrian region of their origin as "Aram," seems also to connote this behavioral pattern in the Haran side of the family; "Aramean" is new in the Jacob cycle, even though all the other genealogical information of 25:20 is already found in 24:15, 28.

It is thus a central tension within the cycle whether Jacob will actually become the chosen leader which later Israelites knew him to be. His departure from Canaan raises the possibility that he has abandoned the land promised to Abraham and which Isaac has resolutely occupied at great cost (chap. 26), and has adopted another way of life altogether. Deut 26:5 describes him as "an Aramean given up for lost."

Before Jacob left, Isaac gave another blessing, this one clearly linked to earlier traditions in Genesis by the words "fertile and numerous" (28:3), alluding to Gen 1:28 and 9:1: Like Adam and Noah, Jacob is to be the start of something new and big, becoming "an assembly of peoples." Isaac went on (28:4) to link Jacob with the Abrahamic promise and possession of the land, something new in the narrative and especially incongruous in view of his imminent departure. Unlikely as it seems, Jacob has been marked as the bearer of the promise.

At this point, Esau does not look as bad as later tradition painted him (especially Heb 12:16, which called him "irreligious"), since he has been victimized in both stories of rivalry with Jacob. His rehabilitation is further suggested by the 2 snippets of information about his wives which frame the deception story (26:34–35 and 28:6–9). The first reports that his Hittite wives "were a source of bitterness" to his parents; the second notes that he married Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael, Isaac's half-brother. Moreover, Esau remains in Canaan, and the promise concerns the land (28:4).

This, then, is the situation: Jacob has spurned the Abrahamic promise and has decamped the land which the promise conveyed to Abraham's offspring; Esau has received a patriarchal promise only slightly less complete than Jacob's, and has married within the Abrahamic family in order to please his parents; he is on the land. The narrative retains Esau more as a peer than as a subordinate, and everything points toward his regaining his lost privileged position. Naturally, the informed reader knows that this did not happen, but the story's willingness to let this prospect arise heightens the tension which Jacob's moral deficiencies and his flight have already raised.

**Segment E (28:10–22).** In a brief but pivotal episode—the only event from his journey to the north—Jacob dreamed of a stairway between earth and heaven, with God's agents going up and down on it. The Lord stood beside him and promised him the land, innumerable offspring, and the divine presence to protect and return him to the land (vv 13–15). Jacob awoke, recognizing the numinous character of both the place and his experience, and responded by setting up a stone pillar and naming the site Bethel, "God's House" (vv 16–19). He reciprocated the promise by a conditional vow, "the Lord shall be my God" (v 21).

The stairway (traditionally "ladder"; the word does not occur elsewhere in the Bible) is a symbol of the accessibility of God's help and presence, a theme distinctive to the Jacob stories. It is not a means for human ascent; God's agents go up and come down. The stairway is like a fireman's pole: when people are in need, helpers come down to render it. Their place is not in heaven, but on earth, where the divine presence is required.

In Jacob's life, this event is epochal because (a) it is the first time that the divine promise which had come to both Abraham and Isaac now comes to Jacob, directly from God (earlier only from Isaac in Gen 28:3–4), and because (b) it is the first time that Jacob shows any interest whatsoever in the religious side of his family tradition (previously only focusing on priority over Esau). The divine initiative arrested him

as he was in flight from his land and his people, and Jacob was sufficiently moved to acknowledge God's presence and to perform religious acts.

The sections 28:6–9 and 10–22 interrupt what would otherwise be a summary account of Jacob's trip to Haran (28:5 plus 29:1; 28:10 duplicates 28:5), suggesting that each element had an earlier and different context. The genealogical interests of vv 6–9 have led many scholars to associate it with P, and the use of "Elohim" in segment E′ connects it with E. The Bethel story certainly functions as an etiology of a sacred place and location of a sanctuary where the faithful later came to worship and pay tithes (v 22). But its incorporation into the Jacob cycle has enlarged its function and meaning. Particularly the use of "YHWH" (vv 13, 16, 21) shows the story's links with Israel's distinctive religion, and gives to Jacob's words in v 21 a confessional character which marks the event as a kind of conversion, occurring just as he seems firmly to have closed the door on becoming what later generations knew he became: the ancestor of Israel, God's people.

At the same time, Jacob's vow falls short of hearty embrace of the promise. Its conditionality ("If …" v 20) is confirmed by its content. In reiterating it (vv 20–21a), Jacob omits all references to the land, progeny, expansion, and the families of the earth—essential to the patriarchal promise (vv 12–14); he is preoccupied with personal well-being (he adds food and clothes), and he alters (v 21) the promise of v 15 in subtle ways (e.g., "I [the Lord] will bring you back" becomes "if I [Jacob] return," and "this land" becomes "my father's house"), all of which shows that Jacob wishes to retain the initiative and is more interested in the family estate than the land. In short, although the Bethel event marks Jacob's awakening to God and to the promise, he is still a "smooth man," and his vows appear to be as much a bargain as a commitment.

**Segment F (29:1–30).** Jacob's 20-year residence in Haran (31:38, 41) is recounted in the stories of Segments F–G and G′–F′. He married, serving his mother's brother 14 years as a bride price; 11 sons and a daughter were born to him by 4 women; and he eventually became wealthy in livestock and servants. His relationships with Laban (in whom Jacob almost met his match in craftiness) dominate these sections. The initial encounter was apparently cordial (vv 13–14), and the final scene is of a covenant meal between them (31:51–54), but in between the 2 men circle warily, each looking to his own advantage.

Jacob's first contact with his mother's people was at a well where shepherds were gathered with their flocks. As they spoke, Laban's daughter Rachel arrived with his flock. The well (v 2) introduces a double entendre (Prov 5:15; Cant 4:15): The large stone on the mouth of the well intimates that Rachel will be hard to get; when Jacob, singlehanded, rolls the stone from the mouth, we have not only a show of masculine strength, but also an intimation that Jacob will marry her. There is no other example in the Bible of a man kissing a woman (v 11).

Jacob stayed with Laban, and after a month proposed to work 7 years in order to marry Rachel. Laban agreed, but when the time was up he substituted his older and less-attractive daughter Leah, a deception Jacob did not discover until the next morning. When Jacob protested, Laban pled local custom, and offered to give him Rachel at the same time, in exchange for another 7 years of work. Thus Jacob came to have 2 wives, each of whom had a maid.

There is an ironic fitness in Laban's deception. Jacob's reach for the rights of the firstborn son (Esau, Heb *bĕkōr* 27:32) got him the firstborn daughter (Heb *bĕkîrâ* 29:26), as well. He, eschewing the place of the younger son (*sāʿîr* 25:23) was at first denied the younger daughter (*śeʿîrâ* 29:26). The man who imposed this sentence was the brother of the woman who led Jacob to deceive Isaac. Jacob's befuddlement is so complete that he did not discover the substitution even in intercourse.

Jacob and Rachel initially have a romantic and tender relationship. She was shapely and beautiful (v 17), and Jacob's first 7 years' work seemed like only a few days because of his love for her (v 20). To fall in love is to become vulnerable, and in this relationship the loner began to emerge from his private world of wit and manipulation. As the stairway dream signalled a new direction in Jacob's relation to God and the promise, so does his love for Rachel in his relationships with other people.

His relationship with Laban was more complex. The uncle embraced and kissed the nephew (v 13), as Jacob and Esau were to do later (33:4), and regarded Jacob as an insider who might suitably marry his

daughter (v 19). But Laban's exclamation, "You are truly my bone and my flesh" (v 14) has as much to do with Jacob's duplicity as it does with blood, since Laban said this after Jacob had told him all that had happened (v 13), presumably including the reason for his flight from home. The young Laban had been remarked for his cupidity (Gen 24:22, 30–31); the fact that Jacob brought no rich gifts with him did not save him from the mature Laban's canny eye. Fourteen years' work would buy many gold bracelets.

**Segment G (29:31–30:24).** The narrative next turns to the building up of Jacob's family through the birth of 12 children (including his daughter Dinah). The names of the 11 sons have popular etymologies attached to them which, for the most part, have to do with the wives' standing with one another or with Jacob. The sense of rivalry and even hostility is very strong (Levi 29:34, Naphtali 30:8, Joseph 30:23), reflecting the reality of a polygamous household and perhaps also of tribal rivalries in later years. None of the names is distinctly theophoric, but God/the Lord is mentioned in most of the explanations.

The Lord favored Leah because she was unloved, and consequently she bore 4 sons. Rachel became envious and burst out at Jacob, "Give me children, or I shall die," a peremptory demand which recalls Rebekah's brusque rhetoric (25:22; 27:46). Jacob's response (v 2) was in kind, and Rachel then offered him her maid Bilhah, using identical words to Sarai's (Gen 16:2), "that I also may acquire a family through her" (v 3). The story thus compares her not only with Leah but tacitly with her husband's grandmother, Israel's primal progenitress, as well. Two sons were born to Jacob through Bilhah, and 2 more through Leah's maid Zilpah. Rachel sought fecundity with an aphrodisiac (v 14), the only result of which was that Jacob returned to Leah, who bore him 2 more sons (vv 15–20).

Rachel thus remained childless, although Jacob had 10 sons by the other 3 women of the household. The birth of her son Joseph marks the midpoint of the Jacob cycle, and came about because "God remembered Rachel" (v 22). The expression is rich in associations (Noah, at the height of the flood [Gen 8:1], or the subsequent birth of the prophet Samuel in answer to Hannah's prayer [1 Sam 1:19]), and implies God's redemptive attention to people's needs, especially in connection with the covenant (Exod 2:24). With 12 children, Jacob has grown into a complete family. (Dinah is the 12th; the 12th son, Benjamin, was born later on Canaanite soil [35:16–19] although the concluding summary of the cycle lists him as one of the 12 sons born in Paddan-Aram [35:22b–26]). Jacob can now return home.

**Segment G´ (30:25–43).** But before Jacob was actually to go back, his growth as a family must be matched by his wealth. This and the preceding section—the 2 innermost sections of the cycle—match each other well: The competitiveness and trickery (30:15) of the wives is matched by Laban's new tricks; the growth of both groups does not come without difficulty, but in the end is ample. Since the Israelite people were later often known as a "flock" under God's care (e.g., Ezekiel 34; Pss 77:21; 78:20–22; 79:13; 96:6–7; 100:3), the collocation is especially apt; *figurally the 2 groups are the same.*

Jacob asked Laban's permission to go back to his homeland: The required time had been more than served (v 26). But when Laban urged him to stay in his service and to name his wages, Jacob proposed to take all the irregularly colored animals out of Laban's flocks as a nuclear flock of his own. The wily uncle agreed, but at once culled and moved those animals, so that Jacob still had nothing. Jacob responded with certain obscure procedures by which Laban's good flocks bred miscolored offspring; these then became Jacob's, in accordance with the agreement. In the end, his large family was equalled by his enormous holdings of servants and livestock (v 43).

**Segment F´ (31:1–32:1—Eng 31:1–55).** Jacob once more decided to return home. Although his mother had told him that she would send for him, the story is silent about her. There were 3 reasons for his decision: hostility from Laban's sons (v 1), a change in Laban's attitude toward him (v 2), and instructions from the Lord to do so (v 3). The synergism of human motives and divine direction is striking. He discussed it secretly (v 4) with Rachel and Leah, referring to Laban's guile, crediting God with his wealth, and reporting a dream in which "God's agent" had directed him to return home (vv 7–13). The wives supported Jacob's decision, describing themselves as "outsiders" in their own clan, since Laban had "sold us and used up our purchase price" (v 15).

It was not only Jacob who credited God with his wealth; the angel said the same thing (v 12), and the wives also, adding that the wealth was justly theirs (v 16). The story thus responds to the brothers' charge that Jacob had grown rich at Laban's expense.

Both here and in his earlier wish to return, Jacob spoke of his "land" (30:25; 31:3, 13), as does the summary of his departure (v 18). This language goes beyond that of his previous vow, which spoke only of returning to his "father's house" (28:21); Jacob will now do more than possess the estate; he will occupy the land. (Laban speaks only of "your father's house" [v 30], since he knows nothing of the promise.) Moreover, although Jacob was Rebekah's favorite, he left "to go to his father Isaac" (v 18). Where is Rebekah?

This time Jacob did not ask permission, but left while Laban was away shearing sheep. Unknown to Jacob, Rachel stole the household idols (v 19), perhaps for their religious and financial value. When Laban learned what had happened, he pursued, overtaking them near Canaan. Warned by God not to mistreat them, Laban nevertheless berated Jacob and accused him of stealing the household idols. Swearing death to anyone having the idols, Jacob invited Laban to find them. He searched all the tents, finally coming to Rachel's. She had hidden them, and, by a ruse, prevented Laban from finding them.

It was Jacob's turn to berate Laban, and he did so, more harshly than Laban deserved under the immediate circumstances, but not more so, considering the past 20 years. In a speech (vv 38–42) summarizing their relations during that time, Jacob accused his shifty uncle and cited his own conscientious service and God's protection. In exile, the "slippery man" of Canaan was learning to be a "blameless man."

Laban proposed a treaty (Heb *bĕrît*, "covenant"), marking the boundary between them by a heap of stones; each swore by his own deity (v 53), and sealed the agreement with a sacrifice and a meal. Within the story, it is the first meal that Jacob has ever eaten with anyone, and a distinct contrast to the 2 meals which he had arranged and used to get the better of Esau. The narrative thus does not allow Jacob to leave Haran without a reconciliation with Laban—unsought by Jacob—which put an end to 2 decades of mistrust.

**Segment E´ (32:3–3—Eng 32:1–2).** Parting amicably from Laban, Jacob continued his journey to face a similar encounter with Esau in which he has no blamelessness to plead. In a matching spiritual event to the stairway dream, God's agents encountered him. Jacob said, "This is God's camp," and named that site Mahanaim, "Doublecamp." The name is or resembles a Hebrew noun (dual number), a form used for objects which occur naturally in pairs, such as hands and ears. His own entourage is one camp (cf. 32:8—Eng 32:7), and God's agents form the other—a natural pair. He can go on to meet Esau in tandem with the same divine company that he met at Bethel and that have been with him ever since (see 31:11).

**Segment D´ (32:4–33—Eng 32:3–32).** The cycle returns to Esau, who has not appeared since the end of segment D, and who is now mentioned together with the two geographical names to which the cycle early made allusion (segment A). Expecting Esau to attack, Jacob broke his retinue into 2 camps so that at least half might escape. (He is now a "people" [v 7], a term never applied to Abraham or Isaac.)

He then prayed for help, another first (vv 9–12). First, his *address* to God reaches back in time by speaking of the "God of Abraham and Isaac," and forward by using "Yahweh," the distinctive name of Israel's deity. Second, as *grounds* he quotes the divine directive (from 31:3) pursuing which he had come to the present hazardous moment, substituting "deal bountifully with" for "be with." His return to the promise at the end of the prayer uses words ("offspring as the sands of the sea") which have not appeared in the cycle applied to Jacob (28:14 spoke of the "dust of the earth"); the narrative telescopes the promises here, drawing this line from Gen 22:17—the promise to Abraham—and identifying Jacob with the promise in its historical depth. Third, he *acknowledges* God's gifts. He had left Canaan in naked flight, and was now two camps. His words "I am unworthy" (v 10), literally, "I am too small" (Heb *qāṭōntî*), express more than unworthiness; they also allude to Jacob's being the younger (*qāṭōn* 29:15, 42) and to the reversal of primogeniture (Brueggemann 1982). Fourth, the *petition* beseeches rescue from Esau, specifically mentioning the mothers and children; the language is that of the biblical psalms (e.g., 31:16; 59:2–3; 142:7; 143:9). The absence of any acknowledgement of wrongdoing is noteworthy.

"A man wrestled with him until dawn" (v 24). This best-known of the Jacob stories remains mysterious. In their southward march they had reached the river Jabbok and were camped on its N bank. During the night after Jacob had dispatched the gifts to Esau, he got up and took his family over to the S bank; he did the same with his possessions—no motive for this is given. Jacob remained alone in the camp. There is no "angel" in this story (an interpretation found in Hos 12:4), and the introduction of an adversary is abrupt and unexpected. Is it Esau, taking revenge in kind by a sneak attack in the dark? The match was even, but the adversary managed to wrench Jacob's hip at its socket before asking for release as the dawn broke. Jacob refused, "unless you bless me." The adversary required him to say his name—"Jacob"—and then changed it to "Israel," giving a popular etymology by which it means "he strives with God." When Jacob asked his adversary's name, he was told, "You must not ask my name," and they parted (see Gen 35:9–15). Jacob named the place "God's Face," and went his way, limping, as the sun rose. A dietary etiology concludes the story.

In its present form and position, the story concerns struggle with people and with God (see also Kodell 1980). The unnamed "man" symbolizes every person with whom Jacob struggled—Esau, Isaac, Laban—and yet, the "man" at the beginning of the story is certainly God at the end, for who else is it whose name cannot be spoken? When else did Jacob strive with God? The story, therefore, in an overt polyvalence, blends Jacob's conflict with people and with God into one event. The larger narrative also suggests this identification. First, Jacob prayed, "Rescue me (Heb *haṣṣîlēnî*) from my brother" (v 11), then he named the wrestling-site "God's Face," saying, "My life has been rescued" (Heb *wattinnāṣēl,* v 30). Second, after wrestling, he said, "I have seen God face to face" (v 30), and when he met Esau, he said, "To see your face is like seeing God's face" (33:10).

To utter his name was to speak his character—"cheat"—making good the lack of any confession in the prayer, and acknowledging that his alienation from Esau was not an episode but a way of life. The story is thus made psychologically and theologically profound by superimposing on one another Jacob's need to face his own character, his relations with people, and his relation with God.

The limp suggests the costliness of the lonely struggle. It also shows Jacob advancing to meet Esau in a painful vulnerability; whatever he might have thought previously of victory in struggle or of escape (v 8) is now quite impossible. He limps. But the sun is rising, and he is on his way to becoming a new man, a process begun as the sun was setting (28:11).

**Segment C´ (33:1–20).** The story moves immediately to the encounter between the 2 brothers. Jacob now leads his entourage, having previously followed it from behind. His elaborate obeisance before Esau (v 3) is without parallel in the Bible. But Esau does not want a fight: they embrace, kiss, and weep.

In the next segment (B´) the text plays on two Hebrew words similar in appearance and sound: *maḥăneh* "company" (32:3, 8–9, 11, 22 [—Eng 32:2, 7–8, 10, 21]), and *minḥâ* "gift" (32:14, 19, 21–22 [—Eng 13, 18, 20–21]; cf. *bĕrākâ* and *bĕkōrâ* in segments A and C). Now in 33:8, 10, the *maḥăneh* has become the *minḥâ*; Jacob urges Esau to accept the company/gift as a sign of the acceptance of his person. Then comes the jolt (Fishbane 1975), "Please take," Jacob urged, "my blessing *(bĕrākâ)"* (v 11). Dropping *minḥâ*, he utilizes the same noun and verb used by Esau and Isaac when Jacob took the blessing which was not his (27:35–36). The pairing of *minḥâ* with *maḥăneh* throughout these 2 sections makes the use of *bĕrākâ* particularly obtrusive, and the reference to segment C is very clear.

Yet, this is as far as the narrative can go in describing the reconciliation, for Jacob did not actually return the right of primogeniture, and historically Israel never conceded Edom's priority. Dramatically and symbolically, Jacob's acceptance by Esau could have been marked by a meal; its absence suggests that the reconciliation fell short of the solidity which Israel felt with the Syrian homeland of Rebekah and Rachel, and the narrative expresses this overtly by Jacob's wariness of Esau's two offers of company and assistance (vv 12–16).

They went their separate ways, Esau to Seir and Jacob to Canaan. His first act there was to buy land and set up an altar; by naming it "El, the God of Israel," he identified himself with the land and with the God who wrestled with him and gave him the name which became that of the people of God. Apart from the etiology of 32:33 it is the cycle's first use of the name "Israel" since it was given.

**Segment B′ (34:1–31).** Jacob's family settled on land that Jacob bought near Shechem. Dinah, his daughter by Leah, was raped by Shechem (his name is the same as the city's), son of the city's chief, Hamor. Jacob's involvement in the episode which followed is minimal, being restricted to the notice that he was silent about the rape until his sons came in from the field (v 5), and to his protest against his sons' subsequent actions (v 30).

Shechem wished to marry Dinah. His father's negotiations were entirely with Jacob's sons; Hamor even referred to their sister as "your [plural] daughter" (v 8). He proposed intermarriage between the family of Jacob and the Shechemites, to include full and free rights in the land. The brothers agreed, provided the Shechemite men accepted circumcision (already a mark of the Abrahamic tradition, Genesis 17). Then the newcomers would mingle and become "one people" with them (vv 16, 22). The Shechemites agreed. But on the third day, Dinah's uterine brothers Simeon and Levi attacked the city by surprise, killing all its men, including Hamor and Shechem, and taking Dinah away. The other brothers followed and pillaged the town, taking the women and children and all its wealth. The story closes with Jacob's effete protest that Simeon and Levi have made him "odious" in the land; he fears an attack which his small forces could not resist. The sons say only, "Should he treat our sister like a whore?"

The violence and duplicity of this story surpass anything ever done by Jacob, Rebekah, or Laban. Jacob's protest—feeble and motivated by fear of revenge rather than by moral outrage—and his silence at the outset raise the question whether we have here the new or the old Jacob; indeed, the new name is not used at all in the story (except in the anachronistic national sense in v 7).

To be sure, the threat was great and the accommodation proposed by Hamor ("one people," vv 16, 22) went far beyond the treaty designed by Abimelech (Gen 26:29 [segment B]); to "intermarry" *(hitḥattēn)* was forbidden (Deut 7:2–3; Josh 23:12; Ezra 9:14); and the Shechemites were clearly seeking their own advantage at Jacob's expense: "Their cattle and substance and all their beasts will be ours." The story is a justly sharp warning against sexual irregularity and against assimilation. But the circumcision proposal was a ruse from the beginning; the brokers spoke "with guile" (Heb *bĕmirmâ*, v 13) and never intended intermarriage.

The cycle, therefore, presents 2 paradigms for relationships with the residents of the land: First, a sacrificial self-giving which leads to "space" and to mutual acceptance and respect; second, a murderous and vindictive exclusivism. In segment B (Gen 26:1–33), Isaac's way resulted in God's blessing and agricultural prosperity: He found water. There is but one word of evaluation in B′: "guile" *(mirmâ)*. But, given the larger Israelite religious context, that is quite enough. It is the same word already used of Jacob's deceit of Isaac (27:35), and otherwise occurs 37 times, always negatively, exclusively in the Prophets and Wisdom literature (except 2 Kgs 9:23). Jer 9:5 (—Eng 9:6) uses *mirmâ* twice, and also alludes to Jacob by using the verb *ʿāqab* (also twice, in 9:3—Eng9:4). The word *mirmâ* is almost a code word for social evil, and particular condemnation falls on guileful speech (Ps 52:6; Dan 8:25; 11:23). Note its use in Hos 12:1, 8, enclosing a passage which refers to Jacob.

Thus Jacob found that it was not easy to shed a whole way of life; more was yet needed before the promise (segment A) can be realized.

This chapter has long been a textbook example for source critics, who see in some of its internal confusions evidence that 2 versions have been combined—one from J (Hamor speaks) and one from P (Shechem speaks).

**Segment A′ (35:1–29).** The last chapter of a cycle of stories should be highly important, especially in an "anatomy," where the ideas are as important as the stories. Chap. 35 has generally puzzled scholars because it comprises discrete and diverse fragments, a feature which may find a parallel in early Arabic biographies (Delitzsch), and because parts of it duplicate earlier material (Jacob becomes Israel, he names Bethel). But everything here plays a role, either in bringing some of the cycle's themes to a conclusion or in echoing something in segment A. There are 7 fragments to consider.

*1. Vv 1–7.* Responding to God's direction, Jacob led a pilgrimage to Bethel, preceded by religious reforms involving his own household and (in the context of chap. 34) the Shechemite captives. The language of Jacob's appeal to the people, especially "Rid yourselves of the alien gods in your midst" (v

2), makes him the prototype of later reformers who called on God's people to repent: Joshua (Josh 24:23) and Samuel (1 Sam 7:3). Who are you, Jacob? The sly loner of segment A has become the zealous religious leader of a people (vv 2, 6).

*2. Vv 9–15.* God appeared, not only to bless Jacob, but also to change his name to "Israel," and to reiterate the twofold promise of progeny and land previously given to Abraham and Isaac. The cycle knows 2 traditions of Jacob's name-change, one associated with the wrestling in Transjordan (segment D´) and one here with Bethel in Canaan. The former is a personal episode in which Jacob struggled to lay aside his fractious and estranging way of life; the latter follows his engagement in the religious life of his people, showing that the story of Jacob as person was also read and told of Jacob as national progenitor. Accordingly, the Heb *wayĕbārek ʾōtô* (v 9) should be translated "he blessed him" but at 32:30 "he took leave of him" (so JPSV), since the blessing and promise come only after Jacob shows this collective concern. The story can now call him "Israel" (v 21), which it has not done previously.

The promise uses the words "be fertile and increase," which Isaac had also used (28:3, see segment D). The hint there of Jacob as the first man—who, like Adam and Noah, initiates something new and big and who can justly inherit the promise of the land—can now be seen enfleshed in the chastened and returned Jacob. Now the new beginning can occur, because Jacob cares about his people.

The cycle also knows two traditions of the naming of Bethel, one on Jacob's flight (segment E), and one here upon his return. The pair of duplicate name-givings in A´, therefore, link it specifically with the 2 previous epochal religious experiences of Jacob's life: when God arrested his attention and obtained a preliminary if wary response (28:10–22), and when God brought Jacob to face himself and his wider relationships with both people and the divine (32:22–32). It forms itself a third, in which Jacob's development comes to the necessary stage of religious leadership in a distinctly Israelite context. The placement of vv 9–15 at the close of the cycle is necessary in view of the process through which Jacob passed, but it also nicely balances segment A's giving of the name "Jacob" with the giving of the new name "Israel."

*3. V 8.* Verses 1–15 form a unity enclosed by references to Bethel at beginning and end. Verse 8 is geographically appropriate, but intrusive in every other way. It may be understood in connection with segment A's hint that Rebekah's role in the cycle will be incomplete. When A´ reports 3 deaths—two of them expected through the passage of time—the absence of any word about Rebekah becomes noticeable. What *has* happened to her?

Rebekah's unfinished question (25:22) finds its complement here in 35:8, which is not so much the notice of Deborah's death as a non-notice of Rebekah's. As far as the cycle goes, Rebekah's life is an unfinished story. After her complaint, "What good will life be to me?" (27:46) we never hear of her again. She had told Jacob, "When your brother's anger subsides, I will bring you back from Haran" (27:44–45), but Jacob's return has its own motives (31:1–3). Rebekah disappears from the story without a trace. The necrology of v 8 is positioned anomalously between 2 paragraphs showing the new Jacob at his best: He leads a religious reform, and he receives a new name and the divine promise. Its obtrusive position is hermeneutic: The Aramean way of life is gone; Israel—both person and people—will put away alien gods and will occupy the land of promise.

*4. Vv 16–21.* As they travelled from Bethel, Rachel died giving birth to Benjamin. Jacob's sons now number 12, and the death of the beloved wife signals that the cycle is drawing to a close. But it closes on a note of hope: Rachel's name for the infant—Ben-oni "Son of my suffering"—looks backward, to her untimely death and to the rivalries and disappointments of the years in Haran; but Jacob's alternate name "Son of the right hand," looks forward by suggesting his own favor and by evoking the right hand of God which saves (Isa 41:10; Pss 20:7; 118:15–16).

*5. V 22a.* The brusque notice that Reuben slept with Bilhah, who is called Israel's concubine rather than Rachel's maid, also suggests the passing of the old order. Reuben was Jacob's firstborn; to sleep with a man's women is to lay claim to his position.

*6. Vv 22b–26.* Segment A had said that 2 peoples would issue from Rebekah. The list of the 12 sons, grouped by mother, matches this prediction, in that one of these peoples (the 12 tribes of Israel) sprang from one of Rebekah's sons.

*7. Vv 27–29.* Finally Jacob reaches his father Isaac, at the ancestral residence of Abraham and Isaac (Gen 13:18; 23:2; 25:9). There Isaac died, and the story which began with prenatal jostling closes with the brothers Jacob and Esau joined in burying the father who prayed for their birth.

The divine plan for Jacob has been achieved, against human custom (primogeniture) and against human suitability (Jacob is the one who seeks his own advantage at others' expense, in flight from intimacy). Yet it has come about without any divine overriding of Jacob's "free will"; all human actions have adequate human motivation, including the pivotal decision to return to Canaan. In and through these actions, the sovereign will guides human thought and choice in a gracious interplay both reasonable and mysterious.

**C. Meaning**

The cycle's internal indications that "Jacob" is a collective reference for Israel find their parallel in the Bible's frequent use of "Jacob," either alone or in parallelism with "Israel," to denote the nation and/or the religious community (e.g., Deut 32:9; Jer 10:25; 30:7; Isa 10:21; 17:4; Ps 44:5; see BDB, 785). Note Isa 29:22–23, which expressly equates "Jacob" with "his children": "For when he [Jacob]—that is, his children—behold what my hands have wrought in their midst, they will hallow My name." The same equivalence is frequent in Second Isaiah where the Lord (a) addresses "Jacob/Israel" directly (40:27; 41:8, 14; 43:1, 22; 44:1, 2, 21, 23; 44:4; 48:12, 21; 49:5), (b) speaks of having given "Jacob" over to disaster (42:4; 43:28), and (c) speaks hopefully of "Jacob's" return to the Lord (49:5–6; 59:20). Some of these refer to the "servant," a figure whose identity is ambiguous, but others refer unmistakably to the prophet's audience and readers. The presumed exilic setting of Second Isaiah suggests a particular linking of the narrative's out-and-back axis with the experience of exile and (hope for) return; the exilic or early postexilic period would be a time in which this particular figural reading of the Jacob stories might have developed (Cross has noted similarities between P and Second Isaiah, *CMHE*, 322–23). One could also compare Second Isaiah's assertion of the Lord's presence with the people (Isa 41:10; 43:2, 5) with God's promise to be with Jacob and not leave him, a motif that is distinctive to the Jacob stories and is especially enshrined in the two theophanic passages about the Lord's agents (explicitly in Gen 28:10–22; implicitly in 32:2–3—Eng32:1–2).

The tradents and users understood themselves as "Israel," automatically giving the stories a referred meaning in which they are also about the people of the covenant, whose existence and survival were often against both convention and suitability. The narratives are "typical and representational rather than realistic" (Blenkinsopp 1981: 41). When prominence is given to political relationships, especially under the influence of the documentary hypothesis, the cycle has to do with Israel's hegemony over her enemies and her occupation of the land (de Pury 1975; *CMHE*, 263–64), both in the time of Solomon (the Yahwist) and later after the Exile (P, see McKenzie 1980: 230–31). But in the present biblical context, religious interests come to the fore. Jacob's vocation is to be an *ʾîš tām,* a "moral person" (Gen 25:27). Note how many of the Isaiah passages stress repentence, redemption, and obedience to Torah (14:1; 27:9; 29:22–24; 41:14; 43:1, 22–28; 44:21–22; 48:21; 49:5–6; 59:20). The question of Israel's origins is a question of "the essence and meaning of a people. It is ideological rather than historiographical"; the existence of Israel as a people does not depend on a physical or political context but on their observance of the Lord's commands and statutes (Thompson 1987: 40, 194). Jacob's return to the land means not just Israel's return to the land from exile (McKay 1987) but also Israel's return to God. The cycle was paradigmatic for their own character and vocation, and in turn for the people of God in every time and place.

There are other inner-biblical indicators of the Jacob cycle's religious use. In Hosea 12, "Jacob" denotes what was left of the N kingdom and is the object of the prophet's preaching; note especially the "Jacob"/"us" equivalence ("[Jacob] would find Him at Bethel, and there He speaks with us," Hos 12:5—Eng12:4) and the return (Heb *šûb*) motif in Hos 12:7—Eng12:6. In Isa 49:5–6, the statement that the Lord "will bring back (Heb *šôbēb*) Jacob to Himself" suggests a figural reading of Jacob's return; furthermore,

Israel as a "light to the nations" expresses the idea of service and mission intimated in Gen 30:30 (one of Jacob's 4 anomalous uses of YHWH). Brodie (1981) argues that the Jabbok story has been constructed to reflect the oracle in Jer 30:1–13; the cycle has been shaped by a sermon. Jer 9:3 warns against trusting even a brother, "for every brother takes advantage" (Heb *ʿāqôb yaʿqōb* [the form differs from the name "Jacob" only by a single *šĕwa*]), and v 5 adds, "You dwell in the midst of deceit *(mirmâ)*, in their deceit they refuse to heed me, declares the Lord" (v 5); in v 3's resonance with "Jacob" and v 5's use of *mirmâ* we see a figural application of the Jacob material to Israel's moral life.

The cycle, therefore, is not historical; it is homiletic, and bears the marks of shaping to that end. The individual "Jacob" and the collective "Israel" overlap—even coalesce—at the artistically most significant points in the cycle: the beginning, the ending, and the middle. At the beginning, this overlap is accomplished by identifying the twins with nations (Gen 25:23) and by allusions associated with Esau's name; at the ending, by Jacob's receiving the name "Israel" (35:10) and by his engagement in the religious life of his people (vv 1–7); and at the middle by the collocation of the sections on children and flocks (Gen 29:31–30:43). It is a cycle about the people of God.

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**JACOB'S WELL** (PLACE) [Gk *Pēgē tou Iakōb* (Πηγη του Ἰακωβ)]. The only well which is specifically mentioned in the NT, and the place where Jesus talked with the Samaritan woman (John 4:6). It is not mentioned by that name in the OT, even though Jacob's dwelling is reported to be in that region.

The text in John connects the well with the city of Sychar (John 4:5), but opinions on the identification of this town are divided between those who see in the place-name the modern town of Askar located N of

this well and others who associate Sychar with Shechem. See SHECHEM; SYCHAR. The former position favoring Sychar was held by the Old Syriac Bible, Jerome, and more recently Albright. Two of the most-frequently used arguments are the alleged corruption of Sychar to Shechem, and the text of Genesis 33:18 which mentions Jacob as having dwelt before the city, i.e., to the E of it. This identification has been shaken by recent archaeological evidence according to which Shechem ceased to exist by the 1st century B.C. Thus, nearby Askar receives more attention today despite the fact that the town is not as close to the traditional well as the proponents of this thesis would wish; in addition to this, Askar has its own well whose water is not as good as the one of the well in question.

Yet in spite of the difficulties connected with the identification of the city of Sychar, the well has been confidently identified with *Bir Ya‘aqub* (M.R. 177179) in the proximity of Tell Balatah. This well is located at the entrance to the ravine which separates Mt. Ebal from Mt. Gerizim in a Greek Orthodox church that has been under construction since 1903. This location is plausible since it agrees with the evidence from the narrative, namely that the well is found at the foot of Mt. Gerizim (John 4:20) and about 1 mile SE of Nablus. It is near the fork of a road which comes from Jerusalem and branches to Samaria and Tirzah respectively.

The authenticity of this well is not only based on the details from the story, which agree with its identification, but also upon the fact that all traditions—Jewish, Samaritan, Christian, and Muslim—support it. This led A. Parrot to declare that this site is the most authentic of all the Holy Places in Palestine. The earliest evidence comes from A.D. 333 when Pilgrim of Bordeaux mentions a pool or a bath filled with water from this well. Also, Eusebius in the 4th century speaks of the well in his *Onomasticon.*

According to Jerome there was a church in this place toward the end of the 4th century, a fact confirmed by the story of Arculf’s pilgrimage in A.D. 670, which states that the church was built in the shape of a cruciform. Archaeological excavations of the site have unearthed the ruins of an old crusader’s church which dates to the 11th century. In 1881 a stone was discovered nearby which is believed to have been a cover of the well.

The well itself is ca. 100 feet deep, a fact reminiscent of the woman’s words in John 4:11. The water is clear and cool and visitors today are still offered a cup of this refreshment. The upper part of the well is built in masonry, while the lower is cut through rock. The words from John 4:6 can be translated as “on the well” which suggests that the well was covered by stone blocks. The well is supplied in 2 ways, by underground sources and also by surface water—like rainwater. Based on the use of the Gk word *phrear* (4:11) some are inclined to call the source a draw-well. The water source was certainly not a cistern, nor is it today but rather a rich supply of water at a great depth.

Some of the important parallels between the report of John and the actual description of the place demonstrate the author’s good knowledge of the geographical data of this Palestinian region.

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**JACOB, LADDER OF.** This pseudepigraphon is a haggadic exegetical expansion of Jacob’s vision (Gen 28:11–22) with apocalyptic elements. Seven chapters describe the ladder stretching into heaven; the first 6 are probably Jewish, and the final one is an expansion by a Christian, who prophesies regarding the birth and crucifixion of Christ. The document is preserved only in 2 Slavonic recensions. Since these texts are part of the Explanatory Palaia (*Tolkovaja paleja*), which is a medieval Slavic reworking of OT stories, there is not sufficient data to discern how much of each text, if any, antedates 200 C.E. Critical work and discussion of this document is just beginning. Nothing certain can be reported regarding the original language, provenience, date, or character of the *Ladder of Jacob.*

The original language of chap. 1–6 may be Gk (Lunt, *OTP* 2: 403). They seem to be written by a Jew—perhaps late in the 1st century C.E. or sometime in the 2d century B.C.E.—who wrote for readers ignorant of Hebrew. The choice of the base text (esp. Gen 28:13–15) and the emphasis on the land (1:9) may indicate a Palestinian provenience.

Monotheism is stressed in the document. Angels, which in most Jewish pseudepigraphical works descend from heaven to earth and then ascend back into heaven, are described instead as first ascending and then descending. The source for this imagery is Gen 28:12b (cf. John 1:51). The angel sent to Jacob "to understand the meaning of the dream" (3:2) is Sariel, who is "in charge of dreams" (3:2). The Voice in this document is a hypostatic creature, as in the *Apocalypse of Abraham,* the *Apocalypse of Sedrach,* and other documents (Charlesworth 1985: 19–41). The work is anti-astrological, in contrast to the *Treatise of Shem.* Apocalyptic emphases permeate the work, with predictions of exile, slavery, and persecution, but angels, and even God, will fight for Jacob's descendants (as in 1QM), and the eschaton will be blessed: "And through your seed all the earth and those living on it in the last times of the years of completion shall be blessed" (1:11; Lunt *OTP* 2: 407).

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**JACOB, PRAYER OF.** A document preserved in only one 4th-century Gk papyrus. Greek is probably the original language. The work must antedate the 4th century, and parallels with other similar works indicate that the prayer was composed in the 2d or even late 1st century C.E. The provenience seems to be Egyptian because of the veneration of Sinai and links with other Egyptian documents. The author is thought to be a Jew; he refers to himself as "[fro]m the rac[e] of Israel" (line 14), prays to the "Lord God of the Hebrews" (line 13), and is influenced by Jewish magic.

Interesting features include the claim that God sits "upon (the) mountain of h[oly] [S]inaios" (line 8) and that the author is immortal, indeed an angel: "an ear[th]ly angel,/ as [hav]ing become immortal" (line 19). E. R. Goodenough (1953: 161–207) rightly saw that the author is an angel on the earth; but how and when the author became an angel, presumably through some magical means, is unclear. See also *OTP* 2: 715–23, and *PGM,* 148–49.

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**JADA** (PERSON) [Heb *yādāʿ* (יָדָע)]. Younger son of Onam and grandson of an important leader in the tribe of Judah, Jerahmeel, by his wife Atarah; mentioned twice in the genealogies of 1 Chronicles (1 Chr 2:28, 32). Jada is the brother of Shammai (whose descendants are enumerated for 18 generations in 1 Chronicles 2) and father of Jether and Jonathan. Jether died without issue (v 32) and Jonathan's 2 sons, Peleth and Zaza, complete Jada's genealogy. Variant spellings of Jada appear in the LXX, although many scholars consider those genealogies corrupt (especially Codex Vaticanus); however, the genealogies of Jerahmeel in the MT are viewed by most contemporary scholars as being in good order. Williamson (1979: 352) summarizes recent source critical scholarship of the genealogies in 1 Chronicles 1–9 concluding that 2:25–33 (of which Jada is a part) and 42–50a form a related unit. This independent source was used by the Chronicler and probably already contained the distinctive parallel opening and closing formulae.

Although little is known of the clan of Jerahmeel, current scholarship concludes a preexilic origin and historical nature to the Jerahmeelite genealogy (Jerahmeelites do not appear in discussions of the restoration). This clan is mentioned in 1 Sam 27:10 and 30:29, in connection with the Kenites, as inhabiting the S portion of Judah at the time of David. Some scholars identify them with foreign elements in Israel (Gen 15:19) and the shift of Edomites from S Judah northward following the destruction of Jerusalem (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 45; Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 15). Elmslie (*Chronicles* CBC, 15) suggests that names of Jerahmeelite ancestry may not reflect either specific individuals or places but

rather preserves the idea that these formerly nomadic families now enjoyed a more settled life. More recent scholarship favors viewing all of the names listed as personal (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 45). Specific dating of Jada is impossible at this time and suggestions range from before the Exodus (Keil 1872: 67) to a time closer to the period of restoration. See Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 46) for discussion and evaluation. The name Jada is derived from the verb meaning "know" and some of the many suggestions offered for the meaning of this name are "the caring one," " (God) has cared," "known," "skillful," and "shrewd one."

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**JADDAI** (PERSON) [Heb *yadday* (יַדַּי)]. See IDDO.

**JADDUA** (PERSON) [Heb *yaddûaʿ* (יַדּוּעַ)]. The name of 2 different persons mentioned in the OT.

1. A leader of the people and a signatory to the covenant established by Ezra (Neh 10:21). Some scholars conjecture that the name is a shortened form of either the name, Jolada (Neh 3:6) or Jedalah (Ezra 2:36). If so, the name, Jaddua, means "Yahweh has known or cares for" (Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* NCBC, 182; cf. *TPNAH* 168).

2. A high priest during the postexilic period (Neh 12:11, 22). According to v 11 he was the son of Jonathan. Although this may be (Brockington, 200), it is more likely that an error has been made in copying the text and that, as v 22 would seem to suggest, he was the son of Johanan (Brockington, 199–200; Ward *IDB* 2: 787; Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 195). According to Josephus, he "shared" the office of high priest with Manasses early in the reign of Alexander the Great (*Ant* 11.8.2). Precisely what Josephus means is unclear, unless Manasses served as Jaddua's assistant or *sāgān.* Beyond what we know about Jaddua, no further information about the order of succession to the high priesthood is again available until the Hellenistic period (Albright 1949: 54, 55). More significant is the clue that his name may provide to a date for the final compilation of Ezra-Nehemiah (Brockington, 200). However, any conjectures ventured on this basis must be tempered by the possibility that Jaddua's name has been added to the manuscript (Ward *IDB* 2: 787; Myers, 198).

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**JADDUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Ioddous* (Ἰοδδους)]. The progenitor of a family of priests which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:38). When the family was unable to establish its priestly lineage by genealogical records, the men were excluded from serving as priests (1 Esdr 5:38–40 = Ezra 2:61–63 = Neh 7:63–65). Neither Ezra nor Nehemiah record the name "Jaddus," using in its place "Barzillai" (Ezra 2:61; Neh 7:63). There are, however, a number of manuscripts in which 1 Esdras states that Jaddus took the name of his father-in-law Barzillai when he married Agia.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**JADON** (PERSON) [Heb *yādôn* (יָדוֹן)]. One of those who repaired the wall of Jerusalem following the return from Babylonian exile (Neh 3:7). Newman (*IDB* 2: 787) offers 2 possible derivations for the name: (1) from an Arabic word meaning "frail" or (2) a shortened form of *ydnyh,* which occurs in the Elephantine Papyri and means "Yahweh rules." Jadon is identified as a "Meronothite." This appellation occurs elsewhere only in 1 Chr 27:30. Meronoth has been identified with Beit Unia, which lies about 3 miles NW of Gibeon (*IDB* 2: 787). Since the entire identifying clause reads "Melatiah the Gibeonite and Jadon the Meronothite, the men of Gibeon and of Mizpah," it stands to reason that Meronoth should be connected with Mizpah. This Mizpah would be the "Mizpah of Benjamin," which has been identified with

Tell en-Nasbeh (*IDB* 3: 407–8). In fact, Batten (*Ezra and Nehemiah* ICC, 210) suggests reading "Mispite" for "Meronothite." Brockington (*Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther* NCBC, 136–37) offers the more-balanced suggestion that Meronoth must be in some way identified with Mizpah. Therefore, Jadon was from Meronoth, which probably lay in the vicinity of Mizpah of Benjamin.

MICHAEL L. RUFFIN

**JAEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yāʿēl* (יָעֵל)]. The wife of Heber the Kenite (Judg 4:17) who gave shelter and then murdered Sisera, commander of the Canaanite coalition armies of Jabin, king of Hazor. He had been defeated by the combined armies of Israel under the leadership of Barak and Deborah (Judg 4:16). What motive did she have for her act? She was a member of a splinter group of the generally pro-Israelite Kenites (Judg 4:11; cf. Fensham 1964), who originated in the N of Sinai and evidently were metalworkers who had peaceful relations with Hazor (Judg 11:16; *YGC*, 38–42). Sisera naturally would expect sanctuary since this small seminomadic clan would be dependent upon good relations with its neighbors for trade and for land to live on (Soggin *Judges* OTL, 77). Caught in a dilemma of conflicting loyalties, she evidently made a political choice, since the text makes no mention of a personal motive. The story of Jael and Sisera is told twice: once in prose form (Judg 4:17–22) and a second time as part of the ancient poem, the Song of Deborah (Judg 5:24–27). Because of differences in reconstructing the chronology of the period of the Judges, the mention of Jael as a contemporary of Shamgar (Judg 5:6) has been variously understood as a textual problem or a historical one (cf. Soggin *Judges* OTL, 85–86). Others see no problem with the reference at all (Boling *Judges* AB, 109). The phrase "wife of Heber the Kenite" (Judg 5:24) is often interpreted as an interpolation from Judg 4:16 on metrical grounds, although Boling (*Judges* AB, 114) retains the phrase, also appealing to the metrics of the poem. Jael means "ibex" or "wild goat" (United Bible Societies 1972: 46), and is a member of a broad class of nontheological personal names in the Semitic world using the names of animals for women (Stamm 1967: 329).

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KIRK E. LOWERY

**JAGUR** (PLACE) [Heb *yāgûr* (יָגוּר)]. A settlement of the tribe of Judah (Josh 15:21). Jagur is only mentioned once, in Josh 15:21, where it is listed among the settlements occupied by Judah in the aftermath of the conquest. Though the present literary context of the Judean town list is set in the period of Joshua, its original setting was as part of a post-Solomonic administrative division of the S kingdom. The date for the establishment of this system is debated, with suggestions ranging from the early 9th to the late 7th centuries B.C. Jagur is in the southernmost district of Judah, the Negeb.

The location of Jagur is problematic. It is mentioned 3rd in the list of Negeb towns, and it may be that the explanatory clause which begins the list, "toward the boundary of Edom," does point to an area in the E Negeb. It is placed between Eder (probably a mistake for Arad) and Kinah (probably to the N of Arad, somewhere along the Wadi el Qeini). Arad inscription 42 mentions Jagur in a very fragmentary context (*AI*, 76). Its probable mention in Josh 15:21 near Arad, and the occurrence of Jagur on an ostracon from Arad, suggest a location in its vicinity. Both Abel (*GP*, 353) and Simons (*GTTOT*, 142) place it at Khirbet el-Gharrah, 18 km E of Beer-sheba (M.R. 148071).

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JEFFREY R. ZORN

**JAH/JAHVEH/JAHWEH.** See YAHWEH.

**JAHATH** (PERSON) [Heb *yaḥat* (יַחַת)]. 1. A Judahite, the son of Reaiah and the father of Ahumai and Lahad (1 Chr 4:2). Williamson (1979a: 351–59) has argued that the Judahite genealogy of 1 Chr 4:2–4 reflects a preexilic source, whose beginnings may be detected in 1 Chr 2:50b–52. It should be noted, however, that Reaiah represents a family name of a group that returned from exile with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:47 [= Neh 7:56]) and that an explicit relationship is drawn between Jahath and his kin and Zorah, a town inhabited by Judahites in the Persian period (Neh 11:29). These facts suggest that Jakim and kin represent individuals from the postexilic period that the Chronicler has transposed back before the reign of David in order to construct a genealogy that reflects the social realia of the Chronicler's own day.

2. The name of several Gershomites who appear with slightly divergent lineages in different genealogical lists within 1 Chronicles (1 Chr 6:5, 28—Eng6:20, 43 and 1 Chr 23:10–11). Jahath first appears in 1 Chr 6:5 (—Eng 6:20) as the grandson of Gershom through Libni and as the father of Zimmah. He appears soon after in 1 Chr 6:28 (—Eng 6:43) within the genealogy of Asaph. This text portrays him directly as the son of Gershom and the father of Shimei. Zimmah becomes one generation removed as Jahath's grandson, rather than his son. In 1 Chr 23:10–11 Jahath represents a Gershomite whom David assigns to the maintenance of the Temple and its cult. Here Jahath is portrayed as the son, rather than the father, of Shimei. The relationship between these 3 instances of "Jahath the Gershomite" may be interpreted in several ways. Most commonly, modern interpreters have regarded the variance in these Levitical genealogies as an indication of later additions to 1 Chronicles that reflect the changing status of Levitical families in the Second Temple period (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 57–59, 155). Curtis and Madsen (*Books of Chronicles* ICC, 130–35) attempted to emend the texts in order to remove inconsistencies. Yet the stylistic commonalities of the narrative frameworks where Jahath appears suggest that the Chronicler himself consciously altered the arrangement of the lists in order to generate different Levitical lists for distinct purposes and historical eras. The Chronicler, therefore, may have borrowed the name "Jahath" from a Benjaminite family of his day and utilized it to construct artificial genealogical lists.

3. The son of Rehabiah and one of the "remaining Levites" who, according to the Chronicler, casts lots before David, Zadok, and Ahimelek in order to receive his place among the Levitical household leaders (1 Chr 24:22). Liver (1968: 8.29–32) believes that this list may have originated from an authentic source composed during the reign of David or Solomon; most commentators, however, have attributed the list, in which Isshiah appears, to a time later than the main composition of Chronicles—either to the late Persian period (Williamson 1979b: 259–60, 265–68) or, more commonly, to the Maccabean era (Rudolph, 163–65). The style of the list, however, corresponds closely with the compositional techniques of the Chronicler. The Chronicler may have borrowed the name from a postexilic individual in order to complete a suitable list of Levitical names for the reign of David.

4. A Levite from the family of Merari, who, according to the Chronicler, supervised the renovation of the Temple during the reign of Josiah (2 Chr 34:12). Curtis and Madsen (p. 506) describe 2 Chr 34:12 as "a characteristic addition of the Chronicler." The Chronicler seems to have borrowed the names of Jahath and the other Levitical foremen from prominent Levitical names elsewhere in his work. Jahath's appearance within the reign of Josiah provides an important illustration of the Chronicler's use and reuse of Levitical names in his attempt to legitimize his version of the history of Judah.

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JOHN W. WRIGHT

**JAHAZ** (PLACE) [Heb *yahaṣ* (יַהַץ)]. Var. JAHZAH. A settlement in Transjordan known from the OT and the Mesha Inscription. The present state of scholarship does not allow for a conclusive identification of Jahaz although there are several viable proposals (below).

According to various accounts, the Amorite king, Sihon, whose capital was located as Heshbon (Tell Hesban), came to Jahaz to oppose the Israelite tribes as they passed through Transjordan (Num 21:23; Deut 2:32; Judg 11:20). The geographical details are vague, but imply that Jahaz was located S of Heshbon, perhaps along the E border of the settled plateau as it stretched out to the desert. This possibility is complicated by the difficult issues regarding the wilderness itineraries and by the question of how to depict Israel: as passing around Edom and Moab to the E, or rather passing through their territories.

Jahaz is included in Reuben's tribal inheritance (Josh 13:18) and is made a levitical city (Josh 21:36). Prophetic oracles of a later period presuppose Jahaz is a Moabite town (Isa 15:4; Jeremiah 48:21, 34 [v 21 reads "Jahzah" as does 1 Chr 6:78]). Precisely this kind of conflict is presupposed in the Mesha Inscription (lines 18–21) from the 9th century B.C.E. which narrates that Moab regained Jahaz from an Israelite king who had fortified the town. Mesha notes that he "annexed" Jahaz to Dibon (Tell Dhiban), almost certainly as part of his efforts to regain control of the plateau between Madeba and Dibon.

The Mesha Inscription states that Israel had fortified 2 towns, Ataroth and Jahaz. Ataroth (*Kh. 'Atarus*) is located ca. 14 km NW of Dibon on the edge of the W slopes of the plateau. Since Dibon was Mesha's administrative center, somewhere between it and Ataroth was the effective border between Israel and Moab. The obvious candidate for such a demarcation is the N tributary of the Wadi Mujib (the biblical Arnon), which cuts through the plateau in a SW direction from its beginnings near the E edge of the settled plateau. This wadi is known by various modern names as one climbs W–E: Wadi Heidan, Wadi Wala, Wadi Remeil, and Wadi et Themed. Jahaz, therefore, should be located along or just N of this wadi system and E of Ataroth.

Among the likely possibilities are the following:

1. Khirbet Libb (M.R. 222112), ca. 11 km N of Dibon on the King's Highway, is now the site of a modern village which obscures the Iron Age ruins. This location would fit the comment of Eusebius that Jahaz was between Madeba and Dibon (*Onomast.* 104.9).
2. Khirbet Iskander (M.R. 223107), a site just W of the modern King's Highway as it crosses the Wadi Wala, and ca. 6 km N of Dibon. Limited excavations suggest the site is primarily EB IV; no architectural remains as yet have been found from the Iron Age.
3. Khirbet Remeil (M.R. 228114), an Iron Age fort ca. 5 km NE of Iskander set on an isolated hill. The exposed ruins provide evidence of a walled enclosure and tower/fortress complex. An unresolved question is whether Remeil is large enough to be known independently or whether the fort was used in the service of a larger settlement nearby such as Kh. Medeiniyeh.
4. Khirbet Medeiniyeh on the Themed (M.R. 236110), ca. 2.5 km NE of Kh. Remeil. This tell projects substantial wall lines and a possible moat that Nelson Glueck likened to Maiden Castle in England. The site's size and surface pottery suggest it is the largest predominately Iron Age settlement along the E edge of the settled plateau.
5. Khirbet Qureiyet 'Aleiyan (M.R. 233104), ca. 8 km NE of Dibon, is a series of Iron Age ruins.
6. Jalul (M.R. 231125), located ca. 5 km E of Madeba, this is the largest tell in the area with surface remains indicating Iron Age occupation. It is located too far N to meet the criterion of placement between Madeba and Dibon. It is, however, located SE of Hesban nearer the edge of the desert.

Among these options, Khirbet Medeiniyeh is the best possibility as the site of Jahaz. It is the largest site in the immediate vicinity, just as Ataroth is for the W section of the plateau, and it is located along the proposed border between Israelite-controlled territory and Moab as deduced from the Mesha Inscription. If the presence of pottery figurines among surface pottery is any indication, it was also a cultic center. If a site on or near the King's Highway is sought, then either Khirbet Libb or perhaps Khirbet Iskander are likely choices.

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J. ANDREW DEARMAN

**JAHAZIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yaḥăzî·ēl* (יַחֲזִיאֵל)]. A personal name which combines an imperfect form of the verb *ḥzh* "see" with the substantive *·ēl* "God" and may be understood as expressing a request for help (*IPN*, 27, 198): "may God see," or as a simple statement, "God sees." Bauer (1930: 74) allows that it might reflect an older perfect meaning: "God has seen." Five individuals are so named.

1. A Benjaminite relative of Saul listed among those who came to David at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:5—Eng12:4). These 23 are described (v 1) as "mighty men" (Heb *gibbôrîm*) and as "warriors" (Heb *·ōzre hammilḥāmāh;* Gordon 1955: 88, Gray 1965: 42, 263). They were "equipped with bow" and were ambidextrous in shooting arrows and slinging stones (v 2). Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 196) believed those listed were Judeans.

2. One of the priests (1 Chr 16:6) appointed during the reign of David to sound "with trumpets" (Heb *hăṣōṣrôt*) continually before the ark of the covenant of God. His name is omitted from the original reading of Codex Sinaiticus and from the list of priests in 1 Chr 15:5. In the LXX his name is rendered *oziēl* (cf. 15:18, 20).

3. A Levite, the 3d son of Hebron who was a son of Kohath (1 Chr 23:19; 24:23), one of the familial divisions of the Levitical organizational structure attributed to David.

4. A Levite, son of Zechariah, whose lineage was traced to Asaph (2 Chr 20:14). As a son of Asaph he was a member of that guild of temple musicians, instrumentalists, and singers (1 Chr 25:1–2; 2 Chr 35:15) whose musical function was also described as prophesying (Heb *nibbĕ·îm,* 1 Chr 25:1, cf. 2b). Speaking "in the midst of the assembly" (2 Chr 20:14) in true prophetic fashion, he delivered a salvation oracle (Shearer 1986: 194, 241) in response to the king's lament. "All Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem and King Jehoshaphat" (v 15) were assured the Lord would engage and be victorious (vv 15b, 17) over a threatening coalition of enemy forces from the E and SE.

5. According to the MT of Ezra 8:5 the father of an unnamed member of the sons of Shecaniah who, along with 300 males of the extended family (Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 161; *IB* 3) returned with Ezra to Judah from Babylonian exile during the reign of the Persian King Artaxerxes. The LXX (Codex Alexandrinus) and 1 Esdr 8:32 name *Zathoēs* (RSV Zattu) as the eponymous ancestor with Jahaziel as the father of Shecaniah who is the living head of the returning group.

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RODNEY H. SHEARER

**JAHDAI** (PERSON) [Heb *yahday* (יַהְדַּי)]. Descendant of Caleb and father (or mother) of 6 sons (1 Chr 2:47). Whether this person is a man or a concubine (of Caleb's) is not certain (cf. 2 Chr 2:48); nor is it certain that this portion of the genealogy is in its original position. On the difficulties of the genealogy in 1 Chr 2:42–50a see Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 54–55) and Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 40–41). This name, meaning "directed of the Lord," occurs nowhere else in biblical literature.
CRAIG A. EVANS

**JAHDIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yaḥdî·ēl* (יַחְדִּיאֵל)]. Manassite tribal leader in Transjordania. The name means "May God rejoice" (*ḥādâ + ēl*). He is described as a mighty warrior and included in the part of the tribe of Manasseh that occupied the area from Bashan to Mount Hermon (1 Chr 5:24). According to 1 Chr 5:26, these Manassites, along with the Gadites and Reubenites in Transjordania, were exiled by the

Assyrians under Tiglath-pileser III. This note finds support in other texts (e.g., 2 Kgs 15:29) that mention the Assyrian campaign in Galilee and Gilead during the Syro-Ephraimitic War (ca. 733 B.C.E.).

The list of 7 "mighty warriors, famous men, heads of their fathers' houses" in 1 Chr 5:24, which includes Jahdiel, is not part of a larger sequence, but is a genealogical fragment. It makes no attempt to relate any of the 7 men to Manassite clans, and in none of the other genealogies for the tribe (Num 26:29–34; Josh 17:1–2) is one of the 7 mentioned (unless Epher is the corrupted form of Hepher, who appears in the other lists). This has led some to question the source and accuracy of 1 Chr 5:24 (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 66–67). In addition, the verse itself shows evidence of textual corruption. Although Jahdiel's name occupies the prominent 7th position in the present form of the Heb text, there is a *waw* (a conjunctive particle) that precedes the 1st name on the list, and this may indicate that the name (or names), which originally began the sequence, have been lost.

Finally, it is surprising to find Manasseh treated at all in 1 Chronicles 5, since the tribe is the subject of a much more extensive genealogy in 1 Chr 7:14–19. It may be that the author or a later editor was motivated to treat Manasseh with the other Transjordanian tribes in chap. 5, since Manasseh itself was divided into 2 segments—one in Transjordania (1 Chr 5:24) and one in W Palestine (1 Chr 7:14–19; Williamson NCBC, 66–67).

M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**JAHDO** (PERSON) [Heb *yaḥdô* (יַחְדּוֹ)]. A Gadite who is mentioned only in 1 Chr 5:14. The suggestions that his name should be spelled *yaḥday* or *yaḥdōy* are supported (but by no means established) by the Gk mss that conclude the name with an *iota.* It may be that the name was derived from the imperfect form of the Heb verb *ḥādâ* "rejoice" and expresses the desire that deity rejoice over the one named (Noth *IP*, 28, 210). Usually, however, the name has been associated with *yāḥad* "to be united" and given no particular meaning aside from its significance as a personal name.

M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**JAHLEEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yaḥlĕʾēl* (יַחְלְאֵל)]. JAHLEELITES. Third of the 3 sons of Zebulun mentioned in the genealogy of Jacob (Gen 46:14). Jahleel was the grandson of Jacob and Leah by their 6th and youngest son Zebulun (Gen 30:20). His name is included among the 33 sons and grandsons of Jacob and Leah (Gen 46:15) who descended with their families to join Joseph in Egypt, after Jacob heard that his son was alive. Jahleel became the clan leader of the Jahleelites, one of the clans of Zebulun (Num 26:26); however, nothing else is known about Jahleel and his family outside these two genealogical lists. His name does not appear in the Chronicler's list because in the genealogies of the sons of Jacob (1 Chronicles 4–7) the name of Zebulun is not included among the genealogies of the other tribes.

CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

**JAHMAI** (PERSON) [Heb *yaḥmay* (יַחְמַי)]. Descendant, perhaps grandson, of Issachar according to the genealogy of 1 Chr 7:1–5. See IBSAM.

M. STEPHEN DAVIS

**JAHZAH** (PLACE) [Heb *yahṣâ* (יַהְצָה)]. See JAHAZ.

**JAHZEEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yaḥṣĕʾēl* (יַחְצְאֵל)]. Var. JAHZIEL. JAHZEELITES. The 1st of the 4 sons of Naphtali (Gen 46:24). Jahzeel was also the grandson of Jacob and Bilhah (Gen 30:7–8), the maid whom Laban gave to his daughter Rachel at the occasion of Jacob's marriage to Rachel (Gen 29:29). He is included in the genealogy of the family of Jacob at the time the patriarch sojourned to Egypt to visit his son Joseph. Nothing is known about Jahzeel. According to the list of the clans and tribes of Israel in the book of Numbers, Jahzeel became the ancestral leader of the clan of the Jahzeelites, one of the clans of

Naphtali (Num 26:48). In the genealogy of Naphtali in 1 Chr 7:13, Jahzeel's name is spelled Jahziel (Heb *yaḥṣîēl*).
CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

**JAHZEIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yaḥzĕyâ* (יַחְזְיָה)]. An opponent of Ezra's investigation of the men who had married foreign women (Ezra 10:15 = 1 Esdr 9:14). Noth categorized the name Jahzeiah as a "wish name" meaning "may Yahweh see" (*IPN*, 198). The Hebrew text reads literally that Jonathan and Jahzeiah "stood 'against' (*ʿal*) this," and most scholars take this to mean that they were opposed to the plan to have officials investigate the alleged marriages between Israelite men and foreign women on a case by case basis (so the RSV). It is possible to translate *ʿal* as "beside," implying their support for this program. In addition, the LXX reads "were with me on this," a reading apparently based on a slight emendation of the Hebrew text (from *ʿāmĕdû* to *ʿimmādî*). This may receive further support from the parallel text in 1 Esdr 9:14–15 which states that Jonathan and Jahzeiah "undertook the matter on these terms, and Meshullam and Levi and Shabbethai served with them as judges." On the other hand, the context in Ezra 10 implies that the majority of the people supported the plan and only these two opposed it. However, they may well have favored the forced divorces and were opposed only to the delay in implementing Ezra's policy. Regarding the two who "helped" Jonathan and Jahzeiah in their opposition, Meshullam was a companion of Ezra (8:16) and Shabbathai was a Levite whose name suggests he was from a family of strict observers (Clines *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 130). Thus, Jahzeiah probably sought even swifter and harsher treatment of the offenders (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 156).
JEFFREY A. FAGER

**JAHZERAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yaḥzērâ* (יַחְזֵרָה)]. A member of the priestly brotherhood of Immer and the grandfather of Maasai. In 1 Chr 9:12 he is listed in the genealogy of Maasai, who was one of the priests to settle in Jerusalem following the return from exile. A similar list in Neh 11:13 records the name as Ahzai, and gives his grandson's name as Amashsai. The genealogies presented in these 2 texts are as follows:

*1 Chr 9:12*

Immer (ρ) Meshillemith (ρ) Meshullam (ρ) Jahzerah (ρ) Adiel (ρ) Maasai

*Neh 11:13*

Immer (ρ) Meshillemoth (ρ) (ρ) Ahzai (ρ) Azarel (ρ) Amashsai

Scholars generally assume that the list in 1 Chronicles is dependent in some way upon that in Nehemiah, and the former appears to be a later updated version which reflects continuing developments and interests in the postexilic community. The priority of the list in Nehemiah is supported by the fact that the names in v 13 are better attested than are those in 1 Chr 9:12. Thus Maasai, though attested elsewhere, is likely a scribal error for Amasai or its variant Amaśai, both of which are reflected in the conflated reading Amashsai found in Neh 11:13.

The preferable reading of the name Jahzerah, therefore, is Ahzai. While the name Jahzerah is dubious in meaning, the name Ahzai is well attested in such forms as Ahaz and Ahaziah ("The Lord has seized"). The name Jahzerah perhaps found its way into the list in 1 Chr 9:12 because of the association of the name Hezir (from the same root as Jahzerah) with the eponym Immer in 1 Chr 24:14–15 where they are listed together as the 16th and 17th courses of priests established by David. In addition, Neh 10:20 juxtaposes the names Meshullam and Hezir. It seems possible, then, that the name Ahzai was changed in the development of the tradition to Yahzerah under the influence of the association of the names Immer and Meshullam with Hezir. For further discussion see *1 Chronicles* WBC and *Ezra Nehemiah* NICOT.
RODNEY R. HUTTON

**JAHZIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yaḥăṣîʾēl* (יַחֲצִיאֵל)]. See JAHZEEL.

**JAILOR, PHILIPPIAN.** See PHILIPPIAN JAILOR.

**JAIR** (PERSON) [Heb *yāʾîr* (יָאִיר); *yaʿîr* (יַעִיר) Q/*yaʿûr* (יַעוּר) K]. The English spelling represents 2 Hebrew personal names with different spellings. Spelled with *ʾalep,* 3 persons mentioned in the OT bear this name ("Let [God] enlighten"). A fourth, spelled with *ʿayin,* is named in 1 Chr 20:5 ("Let [God] arouse").

**1.** An eponymous son of Manasseh in Num 32:41; Deut 3:14; 1 Kgs 4:13 (cf. Josh 13:30). For the related gentilic JAIRITE, see 2 Sam 20:26. Jair acquired control of a number of villages in Gilead, more specifically in the region of ARGOB (Num 32:41), which is equated with Bashan in Deut 3:14. The group came to be known as Jair's Villages (see also HAVVOTH-JAIR). In 1 Chr 2:22, theology may have crept into genealogy (Myers *1 Chronicles* 14). There Jair's father is Segub of Judah and his mother a daughter of Machir, which may also stand for Manasseh.

**2.** One of the leaders of Israel in the pre-monarchy era (Judg 10:3–5), about whom very little information survives. The designation "minor judge" should be taken as a merely quantitative description of narrative scope, not suggestive of an office different from that of the so-called deliverer-judge (Mullen 1982). Jair was a Gileadite whose leadership lasted for 22 years. He had 30 sons and controlled 30 towns. His tomb was at Kamon, usually identified with modern Qamm, on the Jordan-Irbid road, a location considerably S of Argob-Bashan. Yet there is surely some relation to 1. above.

**3.** A Benjaminite, with no indication of relationship to the above. Jair is the (immediate?) ancestor of Mordechai, Esther's guardian (Esth 2:5).

**4.** The father of Elhanan who killed Lahmi the brother of Goliath, according to 1 Chr 20:5. But according to 2 Sam 21:19, the one who slew Goliath was Elhanan son of Jaareoregim. The latter may be corrected on the basis of LXX LMN and 1 Chr 20:5, to read "a Jearite." Elhanan's home Bethlehem is closely associated with Kiriath-jearim, "village of the Jearites" (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 449).

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ROBERT G. BOLING

**JAIRITE** [Heb *yāʾîrî* (יָאִירִי)]. An adjective used to describe Ira, one of David's personal priests (2 Sam 20:26). The adjective refers to clan origin, Jair having been the head of a clan in the tribe of Manasseh (Num 32:41; Deut 3:14; 1 Kgs 4:13; 1 Chr 2:22, 23). The obvious problem that arises from this data is that Ira is a non-levitical priest. Some scholars propose the reading "Yattirite" instead of "Jairite" since Yattir was a priestly city in the hill country of Judah (cf. LXX [Codex Coislinias, Basiliano-Vaticanus] and the Peshitta). Ira would then probably have been a Levite. This expedient, however, is unnecessary since it is clear in the early monarchy that a special class of priests served the king (Armerding 1975; McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 256–57).

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STEPHEN G. DEMPSTER

**JAIRUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Iairos* (Ἰαιρος)]. A Greek form of the Hebrew proper name, *Yāʾîr,* "he enlightens" (Num 32:41; Deut 3:14; Josh 13:30; Judg 10:3; Esth 2:5). Jairus is identified as a "ruler of the synagogue," (*archisynagōgos*), a title associated with a broad range of duties within the ancient synagogue. He comes to Jesus and asks him to heal his dying daughter (Mark 5:21–24, 35–43; Luke 8:40–42, 49–56; cf. Matt 9:18–19, 23–26 where Jairus is not mentioned by name). In the interval between Jairus' request and the arrival at his house, the girl is reported dead; Jesus insists she is merely sleeping and raises her up. Mark transmits his command in Aramaic, "*Talitha, koum*," "Little girl, arise"; while Luke has only the Greek, "Child, arise." Matthew does not report a command.

Scholars disagree as to whether Jesus' reference to the child's sleep is meant literally, figuratively (1 Thess 5:6) or as a synonym for death (1 Thess 5:10). In any case, the 3 evangelists clearly mean to report a miracle of Jesus and not a mere misunderstanding of the girl's state.

In all 3 synoptic accounts, the story of the raising of Jairus' daughter is interrupted by the story of Jesus' healing the woman with a hemorrhage. Scholars disagree as to whether the 2 stories were joined by Mark and the arrangement retained by Matthew and Luke, or if they were joined in an earlier, pre-Marcan cycle of miracle stories.

Since the name "Jairus" is missing in Matthew's account and in MS D of Mark, some scholars question whether it was original to Mark's version or was added by a later scribe. Luke may have supplied a name for an anonymous figure as later writers were known to do, and a scribe may have then added it to Mark in light of Luke's account. However, more recent opinion generally favors the view that the occurrence of Jairus's name is at least as old as the traditions of his daughter's resuscitation.

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CLAUDIA J. SETZER

**JAKEH** (PERSON) [Heb *yāqeh* (יָקֶה)]. The father of Agur according to Prov 30:1. Beyond this reference nothing is known of Jakeh, and the LXX does not even recognize *yāqeh* as a proper name. As the verse is translated in the RSV, he was from a place known as Massa, but even this is questionable. See discussion in AGUR; LEMUEL. Traditionally, the name Jakeh was associated with David, while Agur was identified as Solomon. The name is derived from various Hebrew stems by modern authors. It is most often traced to an Arabic word with the meaning "to preserve." Another possible Hebrew stem is identical to the one given above except for a *mappiq* in the final *he.* This stem basically means, "to be obedient" (*BDB,* 429). It is possible that either of these stems was attached to a divine name (Gemser *Sprüche Salomos* HAT 16, 103). The resulting form would be *yākehyāh* ("Yahweh preserves" or "one obedient to Yahweh"). The stems mentioned do not occur often enough to provide a certain etymology.

DONALD K. BERRY

**JAKIM** (PERSON) [Heb *yāqim* (יָקִם)]. 1. A Benjaminite, the son of Shimei and inhabitant of Jerusalem (1 Chr 8:19). Geography seems to provide the organizing principle of the genealogical list in which Jakim appears. He thereby provides important demographic evidence for the population of Jerusalem at some point in its history. Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 77) has argued that either Josiah's reign or Nehemiah's governorship provides a suitable background for the appearance of Benjaminites in Jerusalem. The commonality of the names of the 9 sons of Shimei with names recorded elsewhere in Chronicles or in Ezra and Nehemiah (Curtis and Masden *The Books of Chronicles* ICC, 162) suggests that Jakim represents a segment of the postexilic, rather than the preexilic, population of Jerusalem.

2. A priest who received the 12th position in the priestly order of the temple during David's reign (1 Chr 24:12). An evaluation of the historical reliability of his appearance depends basically upon the literary context of 1 Chr 24:1–19. Though generally agreed that this list of priests originated after the Exile, its exact date remains debated. Liver (1968: 9.33–52) associates the 24-course priestly organization to the reforms of Nehemiah, while Williamson (1979: 262–68) assigns it to the late Persian period. Due to genealogical connections between 1 Chr 24: 7–18 and the Hasmonean priestly claims, Dequecker (1986: 94–106) dates the list to the Hasmonean era. The stylistic characteristics of the list, however, seem to link the list to the time of the composition of Chronicles. The Chronicler may have retrojected the name "Jakim" into the reign of David from an individual from Jerusalem in his day.

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JOHN W. WRIGHT

**JALAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ya‹lām* (יַעְלָם)]. The 2d son of Esau and Oholibamah (Gen 36:5, 14; 1 Chr 1:35). He is counted among the Edomite "tribal chiefs" (Heb *›allûpîm*) in Gen 36:18, and as such was likely considered to be one of the Edomite clans (or tribes?). The name could be interpreted as an animal name **w/y‹l,* "ibex," or perhaps it could be derived from **‹lm*, "to be strong (?)". Psalm 55:20 [—Eng 55:19], which read *yšm‹ ›l wy‹nm wyšb qdm,* could be emended to read *yšm‹›l wy‹lm wyšb qdm*, "Ishmael, Jalam, and the inhabitants of the east."
ULRICH HÜBNER

**JALON** (PERSON) [Heb *yālôn* (יָלוֹן)]. One of the sons of Ezrah (1 Chr 4:17). Nothing is otherwise known of him.
H. C. LO

**JAMB** [Heb *›ayil* (אַיִל)]. An architectural term. The Heb word is found in the description of Solomon's Temple, where it refers to the "doorposts" (RSV) of the entrance to the inner sanctuary (*dĕbîr*). The RSV uses the word "jamb" to translate the 18 occurrences of *›ayil* in Ezekiel's temple description (between Ezek 40:9 and 41:3). Although the exact nature of these architectural elements is difficult to determine, a prominent feature of the jambs that were part of the courtyard gateways was that they were decorated with palm trees. This detail is omitted for the jambs of the doorways of the temple building itself.
CAROL MEYERS

**JAMBRES** (PERSON). See JANNES AND JAMBRES.

**JAMBRI** (PERSON) [Gk *Iambri* (Ἰαμβρι)]. The sons of Jambri from Medeba waylaid and killed John, brother of Jonathan the Hasmonean, on his way to parley with the Nabateans (1 Macc 9:36). Jonathan and Simon proceeded to exact revenge for the murder of their brother by attacking the Jambrites at a wedding celebration (9:37–42). The Gk *iambri* would appear to be derived from the Heb *bĕnê yă‹amrî.* The personal name *y‹mry* was found on a Nabatean inscription dated from ca. 39 C.E. (*CIS* 2/1/2: 195; Clermont-Ganneau 1888: 185). It is thus plausible that the Jambrites were themselves a Nabatean clan; however, the text in 1 Maccabees does not so indicate. Josephus refers to the Jambrites as "sons of Amaraios (*amaraious*)" (*Ant* 13.1.2 and 4 §§11, 18–21). Older scholarship contended that Josephus reflected the original Heb behind the LXX which was Jambri was "Amorite" in that Num 21:29–31 identifies Medeba as an Amorite city (Marcus 1933: 233, n.d). Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 384) posits that Josephus' use of Amaraios suggests the Semitic *‹mry* which, through slurring, doubling *yod,* or scribal corruption, resulted in *amaraious.*

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MICHAEL E. HARDWICK

**JAMES** (PERSON) [Gk *Iakōbos* (Ἰακωβος)]. It is unclear how many different persons bear this name in the NT, where it occurs 42 times (the majority of these are in Mark; the name never occurs in John). The name was evidently quite popular in the 1st century. Three persons bearing the name James are relatively familiar to us from the NT. Fully half of the occurrences refer unquestionably to James the son of Zebedee, one of the twelve disciples chosen by Jesus. Next most frequently referred to, in about a quarter of the occurrences, is James the brother of Jesus, who was to assume the leadership of the early Jerusalem church. See JAMES, BROTHER OF JESUS. A second disciple named James is mentioned in all four lists of the Twelve, being specified as the son of Alphaeus. Beyond the clear references to these three, we know of probably at least two others named James: one a son of a certain Mary (unless this James is to be regarded as the "brother" of Jesus mentioned above, and thus in reality his cousin, or unless

he is to be identified with James the son of Alphaeus); the other the father of the Judas who is listed as one of the Twelve in the Lukan lists. The identity of two other persons named James remains unclear: the author of the book of James (Jas 1:1) and the brother of the author of the book of Jude (Jude 1). These probably refer to the brother of Jesus, at least pseudonymously, but it is still possible that one or two other persons could be in view. If so, and if these two are not the same and not to be identified with any of the other persons named James mentioned above, we could have up to as many as seven individuals bearing the name James in the NT.

1. James the son of Zebedee. Among the first of the twelve disciples called by Jesus were James and his younger brother John, "the sons of Zebedee" (by which expression they are sometimes referred to without the mention of their specific names, as in Matt 20:20; 26:37; 27:56; John 21:2). According to Matt 27:56, the third of the three women watching the crucifixion at a distance was "the mother of the sons of Zebedee." Matthew's source (Mark 15:40) refers to this third woman as Salome. If, as seems probable, Matthew is identifying Salome for his readers, rather than substituting another woman, then the wife of Zebedee and the mother of James and John was Salome. The further speculation that this Salome was a sister of Mary, the mother of Jesus, and that therefore James and John were cousins of Jesus, rests on a very precarious identification of the unnamed "sister of his mother" among those standing beside the cross, mentioned in John 19:25 (cf. the reference to "many other women" at the crucifixion in Mark 15:41).

Because Zebedee has "hired servants" (*misthōtoi*, Mark 1:20) and Salome seems to have materially supported Jesus during his Galilean ministry (Mark 15:40–41; Matt 27:55–56; cf. Luke 8:2–3), it is arguable that James and John grew up in a relatively prosperous home. Like their father, they were fishermen and had become partners with Simon Peter in a fishing business (Luke 5:10) in Bethsaida on the Sea of Galilee, presumably near their home.

James the son of Zebedee is never mentioned in the NT apart from reference also to his brother John. Since he is almost consistently named first (except in Luke 8:51; 9:28; and in the list of the eleven in Acts 1:13), and John is repeatedly designated "the brother of James" (while the reverse never happens, except in Acts 12:2, where it is necessary to indicate which James was martyred), he was probably the elder of the two. He has also sometimes been called "the greater," in order to distinguish him from others named James in the NT (cf. James "the less" in Mark 15:40).

In the lists of the Twelve, his name is the third (Matt 10:2; Luke 6:14; Acts 1:13), except in Mark 3:17, where it is the second, probably in order to group the names of the three—Peter, James, and John—who formed the inner, privileged circle of disciples. These three alone were allowed to accompany Jesus to witness the raising of the little daughter of Jairus (Mark 5:37 = Luke 8:51), to witness the transfiguration of Jesus (Mark 9:2 = Matt 17:1; Luke 9:28), and to accompany Jesus in the garden of Gethsemane (Mark 14:33; cf. Matt 26:37). The three are joined by Andrew in the private questioning of Jesus that leads to the Markan eschatological discourse (Mark 13:3; cf. too the presence of these four at the healing of Peter's mother-in-law, Mark 1:29).

The immediate response of James and John to the call of Jesus, even to the point of leaving their father with the servants in the boat (Mark 1:19–20 = Matt 4:21–22), suggests the possibility of some previous contact. If, on the other hand, Peter and Andrew had learned of Jesus as disciples of John the Baptist (John 1:35–42), James and John would undoubtedly have heard the good news from them.

According to Mark 3:17, Jesus gave the appellation "Boanerges" to James and John, an Aramaic name meaning probably "sons of thunder" or "sons of trembling." This has been taken to indicate the volatile temperament of the brothers as revealed, for example, in their suggestion that the unreceptive Samaritans be consumed by fire called down from heaven (Luke 9:54; cf. Mark 9:38). Further evidence of a certain impetuosity on the part of the brothers may be seen in their extraordinary request to sit at the positions of honor on either side of Jesus when he came into his glory (Mark 10:35–37; the request is made by their mother, according to Matt 20:20–21).

In his response to their improper request, Jesus tells the brothers that they must be prepared to "drink the cup" that he is to drink and to be "baptized with the baptism" that he must accept, i.e., to be killed

(Mark 10:38 = Matt 20:22). Their easy acceptance of this eventuality is followed by the ominous prophecy of Jesus that it would indeed be so. This came true for James who, so far as can be known, was the first of the Twelve to suffer martyrdom (Acts 12:1–2), and the only one of the Twelve whose martyrdom the NT records. Probably in A.D. 44, but not later, Herod Agrippa I killed James in a campaign against the Church designed apparently to gain the favor of his Jewish subjects. Given the importance of James in the synoptic tradition, it is remarkable that this reference to the martyrdom of James is the only mention of him in the book of Acts after the list of the eleven in Acts 1:13. Book IV of the *Apostolic History* of Abdias attempts, in the fashion of the NT apocrypha, to fill in this gap by recounting some of the (fictional) deeds of James.

Eusebius records a tradition from Clement of Alexandria's *Hypotyposes* that the guard (or possibly accuser) who brought James to the court was so deeply affected by his witness that he became a believer on the spot and then went with James to be beheaded with him, after having first received forgiveness from him (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.9.2–3). Much later tradition (6th or 7th century) alleges that James preached the gospel in Spain and accounts for the fact that James (St. Iago) was to become the patron saint of Spain. Further romantic tradition maintained that the body of James was placed in a ship which was guided by angels to Iria in NW Spain, and was ultimately brought to Santiago de Compostela, where the shrine of St. Iago remains the goal of pilgrimages to this day.

2. James the son of Alphaeus. One of the twelve apostles about whom nothing is known. He is referred to only four times in the NT, namely in the four lists (Matt 10:3; Mark 3:18; Luke 6:15; and Acts 1:13). Here he is always called James the son of Alphaeus and his name is firmly fixed in the ninth position, at the head of the third group of four names. He is known in church tradition as James "the Less" in contrast to the son of Zebedee, who is known as "the Great." This does not, however, require identifying him with the James, the son of Mary, referred to in Mark 15:40, who is designated *ho mikros* ("the small" or "the younger," so RSV). On this possible but unnecessary identification, see below.

In the only other occurrence of the name Alphaeus in the NT, Levi is described as "the son of Alphaeus" (Mark 2:14; Levi is probably another name given to Matthew, cf. Matt 9:9 and Luke 5:27). This has naturally given rise to the speculation that Levi (Matthew) and James were brothers. But since the evangelists seem eager to point out pairs of brothers among the Twelve (as in Peter and Andrew, and James and John) but never refer to Matthew and James as brothers, this conclusion seems very improbable.

The only further question that calls for discussion is whether this James is possibly referred to in any of the other occurrences of the name in the NT, although this may initially seem unlikely since he is so consistently referred to as "the son of Alphaeus." Several possibilities have nevertheless been argued.

a. Jerome (*adv. Helvid.*), who was followed by Augustine, in fact identified this James with the James who is elsewhere called "the brother" of Jesus. He and his brother Joses (= Joseph) are then understood as the sons of the Mary mentioned in Mark 15:40 (= Matt 27:56; cf. Mark 6:3), who in turn is identified as the Mary who is the husband of Clopas and the sister of the mother of Jesus according to John 19:25. The fact that James is the son of Alphaeus, however, necessitates the further speculation that Clopas and Alphaeus are names of the same person. The acceptance of such an implausible conclusion (despite the later argument that the two names trace back to the same Aramaic name, *ḥlpy*) is to be explained by Jerome's desire to defend the perpetual virginity of Mary, and so to understand the "brothers" of Jesus as in reality cousins (with the added advantage that James "the brother of Jesus" who assumes so important a position in the early Church becomes one of the Twelve).

b. James the son of Alphaeus has also been identified as the James referred to in the Lukan lists (Luke 6:16; Acts 1:13) in the phrase "Judas of James," by understanding this as "Judas the brother of James" (so KJV). This view is taken up by proponents of the preceding view to identify this Judas with the "brother" (in their view "cousin") of Jesus mentioned in Mark 6:3 (= Matt 13:55). In these two lists, however, nowhere is the relationship of brothers indicated by the simple genitive (in Luke 6:14 Andrew is very specifically "the brother" [*ton adelphon*] of Simon Peter) and Luke regularly inserts *adelphos* when it is

called for (cf. Luke 3:1; 6:14; Acts 12:2). The most natural understanding of the simple genitive is "the son of," as in the case of "James of Alphaeus," which is universally understood as "the son of Alphaeus."

c. It remains a possibility, although an extremely remote one, that James the son of Alphaeus is the author, or pseudonymous author, of the book of James (Jas 1:1), and further that he is the brother of Jude who is referred to in Jude 1. James the son of Alphaeus is so consistently known as such in the lists of the Twelve, in order to distinguish him from others bearing the same name, that it is most improbable that he is in view here, where the name occurs without the similar designation. There is furthermore reason to believe that the James in view in these two instances is meant to be James the brother of Jesus.

Late tradition relates the legend that James the son of Alphaeus labored in SW Palestine and Egypt and that he was martyred by crucifixion in Ostrakine, in lower Egypt (Nicephorus, 2.40; but in Persia according to Martyrologium Hieronymi [*Patrol.* 30.478]).

3. James the son of Mary. If the arguments presented above are sound, then this James is yet another James, and again one of whom we know next to nothing. He is probably referred to four times in the NT, in each instance as the son of Mary. He is mentioned alone in Mark 16:1 and Luke 24:10 (where his mother is mentioned as a witness of the empty tomb), while in a second pair of passages he is mentioned with his brother Joseph (Matt 27:56), who is also called Joses, a Grecized form of Joseph (Mark 15:40; cf. 15:47). The way the mother of these brothers is named, not to mention that she is named after Mary Magdalene among the women at the crucifixion of Jesus, makes it virtually impossible that she is the same Mary as the mother of Jesus. We have, therefore, to reckon with a second Mary who had sons named James and Joses (cf. Mark 6:3, where two additional brothers of Jesus, Judas and Simon, are also named). If this Mary can be identified with the Mary the wife of Clopas, the sister of Mary the mother of Jesus, in John 19:25—at best a matter of speculation—then this James would be a cousin of Jesus.

In Mark 15:40 this James is called *ho mikros*, obviously to distinguish him from others named James. This epithet probably refers to the small stature of this James (cf. Luke 19:3) or possibly to his youth, but less likely is the view that it is used metaphorically to suggest his relative unimportance. The later custom of referring to the apostle James the son of Alphaeus as "the Less," in comparison with James the son of Zebedee as "the Great," probably depends (and perhaps mistakenly) on this passage, although there is little else that supports the view that this James is the same person as James the son of Alphaeus.

4. James the father of Judas. This James is mentioned only in the Lukan lists of the apostles (Luke 6:16; Acts 1:13), as the father of the apostle Judas, who is listed in the eleventh position but whose name does not occur in the other two lists (the same as the Judas in John 14:22?). It is very unlikely that the simple genitive *iakōbou* is to be understood as "the brother of James" (see above). The name of the father is apparently used to distinguish his son from the other, the infamous, Judas among the Twelve. There is no reason to identify this otherwise unknown James with any of the persons of the same name discussed above.

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DONALD A. HAGNER

**JAMES, THE APOCRYPHON OF** (NHC I,*2*). A Coptic translation of an originally Greek document that gives an account of the teachings of Jesus in the form of a postresurrection discourse of the Lord and dialogue with two of his disciples, James and Peter. Since the document is untitled in the original, scholars have assigned its title on the basis of the text's own reference to itself as a "secret book" (Gk: *apokryphon*) that allegedly was revealed by Jesus to his brother, James the Just. It survives as the second of five tractates of Codex I of the Coptic Gnostic Library from Nag Hammadi, which was buried in the 4th century and discovered in Egypt in 1945. The Coptic (Subachmimic) text, which is well preserved, is conserved in the Coptic Museum of Old Cairo. When first published in 1968, the document

was referred to as the "Apocryphal Letter of James" (*Epistula Iacobi Apocrypha*). Today it is customarily cited with the abbreviation *Ap. Jas.*

Although *Ap. Jas.* has the external appearance of a letter (prescript: 1.1–8; proem: 1.8–2.7; postscript: 16.12–30) and narrates accounts of Jesus' postresurrection appearance (2.7–39) and ascension (15.5–16.11), the body of the text (2.39–15.5) has no narrative structure. Instead, it is composed largely of sayings: parables, prophecies, wisdom sayings, rules for the community, and creedal formulas make up the bulk of the traditions presented as instructions of the risen Lord. The letter frame is a secondary addition by the editor of *Ap. Jas.*, designed to preface the revelatory discourse and dialogue that constitute three-fourths of the text, and constructed to give that revelation the authority of a "secret book" which only the elect were privileged to receive.

Since *Ap. Jas.* apparently has not been quoted or referred to in other early Christian literature, and is extant solely in translation in a 4th-century Coptic manuscript, the identification of the sources of its traditions and of the date and nature of its composition has been a matter of considerable debate. However, a clue is provided in the opening scene of the text (2.7–16), which purports to describe the disciples' scribal activity as "remembering what the Savior had said" and "setting it down in books." This scene portrays a situation in which the literary production of sayings of Jesus was still being vigorously pursued; it reflects a time in which written texts with scriptural authority were not yet normative. The reference to "remembering" provides the critical clue to the date and character of this activity, since this term was employed technically in the early Church to describe the process of creating, collecting, and transmitting sayings of Jesus (*1 Clem.* 13.1–2; 46.7–8; Papias's "Exegesis of the Sayings of the Lord," in Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.3–4, 15–16; Polyc. *ep.* 2.3; Jude 17; Acts 20:35; John 2:17, 22; 15:20). The widespread use of the formula of "remembering" to introduce collections of sayings, both oral and written, and to refer to their composition in written documents, was a practice which began with the relatively free production of sayings traditions and which continued, despite the existence of written gospels, without restriction to the Gospels of the NT. The fact that every such reference to "remembering" is attested in documents that date from the end of the 1st to the middle of the 2d century C.E. strongly suggests that *Ap. Jas.* was also composed during this period. By identifying its discourse and dialogue as the "remembered" words which the risen Lord revealed privately to James and Peter, *Ap. Jas.* indicates that the text is to be understood principally and programmatically as a collection of "secret sayings" of Jesus.

Examples of early and independent sayings embedded in *Ap. Jas.* include the following: "I shall go to the place from which I have come" (2.24–25); "Truly I say to you, no one ever will enter the kingdom of heaven ‹unless› I bid him" (2.29–32); "For it (the kingdom) is like a date palm ‹shoot› whose fruits dropped down around it. They caused the productivity (of the date palm) to dry up" (7.24–26, 28); "For the kingdom of heaven is like an ear of grain which sprouted in a field. And when it ripened, it scattered its fruit and, in turn, filled the field with ears of grain for another year" (12.22–27). Some of *Ap. Jas.*'s sayings are also found in the canonical Gospels. The beatitude, "Blessed are those who have not seen [but] have [had faith]," that is preserved in *Ap. Jas.* 12.40–13.1 = John 20:29 is the closest parallel with any saying in the NT.

Careful examination of this and other parallels provides no evidence that *Ap. Jas.* is literarily dependent on the NT as a source for its traditions. In a few instances, sayings that are transmitted as words of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels are, in *Ap. Jas.*, preserved as questions or comments of the disciples. This use of originally discrete sayings to compose discourses and dialogues marks an important stage in the development of the tradition leading from the simple collection of sayings to the creation of longer revelation discourses and dialogues. As a wisdom book based on an independent sayings collection that was contemporary with other early Christian writings which presented sayings of Jesus, *Ap. Jas.* is to be acknowledged as a primary source of, as well as witness to, the Jesus tradition.

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**JAMES, BROTHER OF JESUS.** One of the various Christians named James in the NT is the James who is identified as "the Lord's brother" (Gal 1:19), a "pillar" of the Jerusalem Church (Gal 2:9), a participant in the conference(s) at Jerusalem (Gal 2:1–10; Acts 15:1–20), and as one who experienced the risen Lord (1 Cor 15:7). It is generally agreed that this person, mentioned by Paul in 1 Cor 15:7; Gal 1:19; 2:9, 12 is the same man referred to by Acts 12:17; 15:13; 21:18. As "the Lord's brother," this person is also equated with the James of Mark 6:3 (= Matt 13:55); Jas 1:1 and Jude 1.

The degree of blood relationship between James and Jesus has been debated at length. See JESUS, BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF. Explanations fall into 3 categories. (1) Some hold, following the most normal interpretation of the NT language, that James was a son of Joseph and Mary, evidently born after Jesus. (2) Others, with reference to various apocryphal sources, maintain that James was an older foster brother of Jesus, i.e., a son of Joseph by a previous marriage. This view has been held by many Protestants and is favored by the Greek Orthodox and other Eastern churches. (3) A third interpretation theorizes that James and Jesus as brothers were, according to Semitic idiom, cousins. This third approach concludes that since James is called an apostle (Gal 1:19), he was in fact James the son of Alphaeus (Mark 3:18), also known as James "the Younger" (Mark 15:40), the brother of Joses. The mother of James and Joses, named Mary in Mark 15:40 and Matt 27:56, is taken to be identical with Mary the wife of Clopas (equated with Alphaeus), the sister of Jesus' mother, referred to in John 19:25. By this reasoning Jesus and James would have been first cousins. While this has been the preferred Roman Catholic explanation, the German Catholic exegete Pesch (*Markusevangelium I* HTKNT, 322–24) has affirmed the validity of the first approach, thus stimulating renewed debate among Catholics (see Rahner 1983: 218–31).

The identification of James the brother of the Lord with James the son of Alphaeus has caused him to be known in Christian tradition as "James the Less" (from Mark 15:40 KJV) in contrast to "James the Great," the son of Zebedee. (There is no doubt that James the brother of the Lord is to be distinguished from the son of Zebedee since the latter James was martyred about 44 C.E. and therefore could not be the James referred to by Paul and Acts.)

Whatever the blood tie between James and Jesus (see the critical evaluation of the three views by Filson, *IDB* 1: 471–72), it is evident from references to James in Paul's letters and Acts that this man played a significant leadership role in the Jerusalem church. In a much discussed statement in Gal 1:19 (see e.g. Trudinger 1975; Howard 1977), Paul appears to accord to James the status of apostle, although not necessarily implying that he was one of the Twelve. Rather, like himself, Paul includes James among all those apostles to whom the risen Christ had appeared (1 Cor 15:7). Since James is not known to have been one of the followers of Jesus before his death, it is possible that it was this postresurrection

appearance of the Lord which produced in James a conversion to discipleship comparable to that which Paul himself later experienced (Bruce 1977: 87).

James is also referred to by Paul, along with Cephas and John, as reputed to be one of the "pillars" *(stuloi)* of the Jerusalem church (Gal 2:9). The metaphor could be an eschatological one which originated not with Paul but with the Jerusalem Christians. Paul was apparently aware that they spoke of their leading apostles as "pillars" because of the positions of importance they believed Paul, James, and John would occupy in the eschatological temple in the age to come (Barrett 1953: 12–13). Paul evidently regarded the views of the pillar apostles as important, yet he was also concerned to preserve the independence of his own apostleship. Hence, he reports that James and the others, having "perceived the grace" given to Paul, extended "the right hand of fellowship," i.e., approved the mission of Paul and Barnabas to the gentiles (Gal 2:9). At the same time the pillar apostles affirmed that their own mission was to the circumcised. The only restriction attached to their approval was that Paul and Barnabas should "remember the poor" (2:10), probably meaning the believers in Jerusalem.

Paul's description of James as a pillar occurs in the context of a discussion in Gal 2:1–10 about a conference in Jerusalem. James figures prominently also in the conference concerning Paul's work detailed in Acts 15:1–29. The two accounts are difficult to harmonize and discussion continues as to whether Galatians and Acts refer to the same meeting (see e.g. Catchpole 1976–77: 432–38). According to the latter account, James proposed certain minimum requirements for gentile converts to Christianity, the so-called apostolic decree. He recommended that a letter should be sent to gentile converts telling them "to abstain from the pollutions of idols and unchastity and from what is strangled and from blood" (Acts 15:20). Problems arise concerning the promulgation of this decree, however, since Paul never refers to it and Acts itself has James informing Paul about it only late in his missionary career (cf. 21:25) (see Schmithals, 1965: 97–102). In any case, the position taken by James at the Acts 15 conference depicts him in a mediating role, falling between those who would not impose the Jewish law on gentile Christians and those who would (see Brown, 1983: 77). At the same time, James's support was claimed by some who required full observance of Jewish dietary laws by Jewish Christians and thereby caused a dispute between Cephas and Paul in Antioch during table fellowship (cf. Gal 2:11–14). According to Paul, before "certain men came from James" (2:12) Cephas ate with gentiles. Their arrival, however, caused Cephas, Barnabas, and other Jewish Christians in fear of "the circumcision party" (2:12) to separate themselves from the gentiles. See BARNABAS.

Thus, while the Acts 15 conference reflects a minimal imposition of the Jewish law on the gentile Christians by James, his authority as felt in the Antiochian dispute conveys a strictness on his part concerning Jewish Christian observance of the law. That adherence to the law by James is seen also in Acts' portrayal of his meeting with Paul at the end of the latter's third journey. Upon Paul's arrival in Jerusalem, James and the elders advise him to prove his respect for the law by taking part in a temple vow ceremony (Acts 21:18–24).

James's devotion to the law was underscored in later tradition. For example, according to Hegesippus (writing ca. 180 and as quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* II.23.4–18), "from his excessive righteousness he [James] was called the Just and *Oblias*, that is in Greek, 'Rampart of the people and righteousness,' as the prophets declare concerning him." While the precise meaning of the attribution "*Oblias*" remains obscure (see Barrett 1953:15), it appears to witness to James's role as a support, i.e. a pillar, among his people. Hegesippus also reports that James constantly prayed in the temple where he spent so much time on his knees that they became hard like a camel's.

According to this same source, James was martyred at the hands of Scribes and Pharisees in Jerusalem by being cast down from a pinnacle of the temple and then stoned and clubbed to death. Josephus (*Ant* 20.200) had earlier and in less detail reported a similar tradition according to which the high priest Ananus accused James and "certain others" of having "transgressed the law" and delivered them up to be stoned. Both of these traditions place the death of James shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. The Hegesippus narrative says James was buried on the spot by the temple where he was killed.

The source of Hegesippus's report was apparently an Ebionite *Acts of the Apostles.* This work is not preserved in its original form but is mostly incorporated into the pseudo-Clementine literature (i.e. the Clementine *Recognitions* and *Homilies*). The Ebionites' veneration of their patron James the Just is also reflected in the *Gospel of Thomas,* an Egyptian compilation evidently dependent in part on a Jewish-Christian, probably Ebionite, source (Bruce, 1977:119). According to Saying 12: "The disciples said to Jesus, 'We know that you are going to leave us: Who will be chief over us?' Jesus said to them, 'In the place to which you go, betake yourselves to James the Just, on whose behalf heaven and earth alike were made'."

The patronage of James was also claimed in some gnostic writings, and the gnostic apocryphal Epistle of James was ascribed to him. In addition, James was accepted as having been the author of the apocryphal gospel, the *Book of James,* as well as the canonical Epistle of James. Concerning his reputed authorship of the latter, see JAMES, EPISTLE OF.

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**JAMES, EPISTLE OF.** The epistle of James stands in the canon of the NT as the first of the "catholic" or "general" epistles: that is, letters addressed not to a specific church or person, but to a widely defined audience.

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A. Canon History
B. Author, Date, and Place of Composition
C. Situation of Author and Readers
D. Christianity of the Epistle
    1. James and Jesus
    2. James and Paul
E. Content and Distinctive Ideas
    1. Faith and Action
    2. Consistency in Action
    3. Mutual Concern
F. Language and Text


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**A. Canon History**

The epistle appears fairly late in the history of the NT canon. It is first quoted with attribution by Origen of Alexandria (ca. 185–254 C.E.). The claims of Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.14.1) and Cassiodorus (*Inst.* 8) that it had been earlier commented on by Clement of Alexandria are not substantiated by any reference to the epistle in Clement's surviving writings. It is probable that Origen came to know the epistle not from its use in his native Alexandria but in Palestine where he later settled, since it is quoted, though without attribution, in the pseudo-Clementine *Epistles to Virgins*, which are thought to be of 3d-century Palestinian provenance, and since the church of Jerusalem took a pride in preserving links with James, its traditional founder. After Origen the epistle came into use in the church of Alexandria: Eusebius classes it among the "disputed" books of the NT, that is those not in universal use in the Church (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.25.3, 2.23.24–25), but its place is unqualified by Athanasius in the canon list of his 39th Festal Letter of 367

C.E. It is not until the latter part of the 4th century that it begins to be similarly known and quoted in the Western church. It is absent both from the Muratorian Canon, thought to represent the scriptures of the church of Rome ca. 200, and from the Cheltenham List, similarly thought to represent the church in Africa ca. 359; but its place in the West is established through its use by Hilary of Poitiers, Augustine, and Jerome, and it appears in the lists affirmed by the Councils of Hippo in 393 and Carthage in 397. It is probable that the Western church came to know the epistle through leaders who had contact with the churches of Egypt and Palestine, though the Eastern church of Syria continued to be ignorant of it, or to ignore it. James appears in the "authorized" Syriac translation, the Peshitta, ca. 412 C.E., but contemporary writers Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret make no reference to it.

Once generally established in the canon, however belatedly, the epistle's place remained secure until Luther's celebrated attack on it as "an epistle of straw" in his 1522 Preface to the NT. Because of what he saw to be James's rejection of the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, Luther denied that the epistle had apostolic authority; and in his translation of the NT he relegated it from its canonical position to the end, together with his equally disliked Hebrews, Jude, and Revelation. Despite Luther, however, James has maintained its position in the Protestant, as well as the Catholic, Bible.

**B. Author, Date, and Place of Composition**

Origen refers to the author simply as "James" or "James the apostle" (fr. 126 in *Jo.*). Eusebius assumes that this James is the one referred to in the NT as "the Lord's brother" (Gal 1:19), the leader of the church in Jerusalem (Acts 15:13, 21:18), and there is no reason to suppose that Origen thought otherwise, although reference to James as "the brother of the Lord" comes only in Rufinus's Latin translation of his *Commentary on Romans*, 4.8. There is no other serious contender among the Jameses of the NT. Jerome, who agonized about the degree of relationship between James and Jesus, identified James of Jerusalem with James the son of Alphaeus (Mark 3:18), whom he also argued was Jesus' cousin, and this has been widely accepted in Catholic tradition. The question is whether the "James" of the epistle's address is genuinely James of Jerusalem, or whether his name is being used as a pseudonym by an unknown author to give his writing authority.

Arguments in favor of the traditional authorship include (a) the simplicity of the introduction of "James, a servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ" (1:1), which a pseudonymous author might have been expected to embellish; (b) the author's reverence for "the perfect law, the law of liberty" (1:25, cf. 2:8–12), which is consistent with the tradition of James's loyalty to the Jewish Torah and concern for its observance (Acts 15:13–21, 21:18–24; Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.4–7, quoting Hegesippus); (c) some linguistic similarities between the epistle and the speech and letter of James in Acts 15; (d) reference to "the early and the late rain" (5:7), a phenomenon of the Palestinian climate.

Against the traditional authorship are (a) the quality of the written Greek of the epistle, which is higher than might have been expected of the family of a Galilean artisan, even though they would most probably have spoken the language; (b) the paucity of reference to Jesus himself which would be surprising for one who was so closely associated with him in his lifetime, even though the Gospels are unanimous that Jesus' brothers were unsympathetic to his ministry (Mark 3:21, 31–35 and par.; John 7:3–9), and who was also a witness of his resurrection (1 Cor 15:7); (c) the discussion of faith and works without reference specifically to "works of the law" (2:14–26).

The arguments on each side are of varying weight, and some may be readily countered: As, for instance, the supposed Palestinian reference may derive from a knowledge of the OT (e.g. Deut 11:14; Joel 2:23) rather than from actual experience; while the literary quality of the epistle's Greek might be due to James's using a secretary, or to a two-stage process of composition whereby some original sermons of James have been edited by another author. The last argument is, however, the most telling against the traditional authorship. The claim that "a man is justified by works and not by faith alone" (2:24) unmistakably recalls the terms of the Pauline debate about the role of the law in salvation (as in Rom 2:9–5:1; Gal 2:15–3:24), and James of Jerusalem—who knew Paul personally and was himself so loyal to the Jewish law—must have appreciated the content and terms of that debate.

If the traditional authorship is maintained, then the epistle must be dated before James's death, which is variously reported as in 62 C.E. during the interregnum between Festus and Albinus as procurators of Judea (Joseph. *JW* 20.200) or as in 67 C.E. immediately before Vespasian's invasion of Palestine (Hegesippus, in Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.18). It would remain to be decided whether the epistle belongs to the early period of James's leadership of the church in Jerusalem, in the 40s or early 50s, or to the later troubled times preceding the Jewish revolt.

If the authorship is pseudonymous, then the question is wide open, for the epistle contains no reference to external events by which it might be dated. Some have found internal indications of an early date in supposedly "primitive" features such as the simple, undeveloped Christology; allusions to the words of Jesus independent of their fixed form in the written gospels; the absence of developed forms of church leadership and organization, leaders being described simply as "elders" (5:14) and a meeting either taking place in or being described as *synagōgē* (2:2). On the other hand, a later date, into the second generation or even 2d century of Christianity, has been argued from some of the same material: from what is seen as growing institutionalization, in which charismatic gifts are vested in church officials (5:14–15, the elders who heal; cf. 3:1 where to teach is to choose to take on that role, not to exercise a spiritual gift); from indications of a settled community, conforming to the values of the surrounding society in welcoming a rich visitor to its meeting (2:2–4); and also from a waning of eschatological expectation seen in the translation of the idea of a "trial" to be endured from apocalyptic tribulation to psychological experience (1:12–15, cf. 1:2–4) or to everyday afflictions (1:27, 5:10–11). All of these considerations are not only speculative in themselves, but unreliable for dating purposes, since matters such as the development of institutions and the survival of oral tradition may be dictated by quite other considerations than merely the passage of time: for example, the cultural inheritance and environment of the community.

External evidence provides a more reliable guide to the document's date. If the author has adopted the pseudonym of James of Jerusalem, he is not likely to have done so in James's lifetime, but when he had become a revered figure of the past. In that case, the death of James would provide the *terminus a quo* for the epistle, and its quotation by Origen the *terminus ad quem.* It may be possible to narrow this bracket. Although Origen is the first to quote the epistle *verbatim* and with acknowledgment, there are considerable parallels in language and ideas between James and the *Shepherd of Hermas*, concentrated in certain sections of that lengthy work (Mandates 5, 9 and 12), and these have led some scholars to conclude that the author of the *Shepherd* was also familiar with the epistle. The date of the *Shepherd* is itself debatable, since Hermas is presented in the book as a contemporary of Clement of Rome, ca. 96 C.E. (Vis. 2.4.3), but the author is identified by the Muratorian Canon as the brother of Pius, bishop of Rome from 139–54 C.E. A date in the early decades of the 2d century is usually preferred. See HERMAS' THE SHEPHERD. So far as dating James is concerned, then, we cannot confidently suggest anything more precise than the last three decades of the 1st century or the beginning of the 2d.

The address of James "to the twelve tribes in the Dispersion" (1:1) is impossibly wide for a real destination in geographical terms. It might serve to identify the readers racially or religously as Jewish Christians, or it may be an idealized description of them as the "new Israel." This epistle is not a letter sent from one place to another like the letters of Paul; rather the author has adopted the letter form as a literary convention, to address the community to which he belonged. He and his readers are to be located together. If James of Jerusalem is the author, then the place of origin is of course Palestine. If pseudonymous authorship is adopted, Palestine may still be claimed on such arguments as (a) the memory of James was most potent there, so that the choice of precisely that pseudonym is readily understandable; (b) contact with the oral tradition of the teaching of Jesus would be more readily available in the place of his actual ministry; (c) James emphasizes God's choice of and rewards for the poor and his retribution on the rich (1:9–11, 2:2–7, 5:1–6), which would be relevant to the church of Palestine whose real poverty occasioned Paul's charitable collection from his gentile churches and is likely to have been exacerbated by the Jewish revolt (Gal 2:10; 1 Cor 9:1–15; Rom 15:25–27); (d) it is likely that Origen came to know the epistle after his move to Palestine, and it may well have been preserved in its place of origin while remaining unknown elsewhere; (e) the allusion to the Palestinian climate already referred to (5:7). "The

early and the late rain" is also experienced in Syria, which is another frequently suggested place of origin, and support for this is also found in similarities between James and the gospel of Matthew (e.g. James 5:12, cf. Matt 5:33–37), which is widely thought to have originated in Antioch. This argument, however, proceeds from an unknown to an unknown, and the continued neglect of the epistle by the church in Syria after it had been recognized in all other areas of the Church must militate against it.

If the evidence that James was known to the author of the *Shepherd of Hermas* is accepted, then Rome becomes a probable place of origin, since it is certainly there that the *Shepherd* was written, and this would be consistent with similarities between James and other Roman documents, 1 Peter and *1 Clement.* The subsequent disuse of the epistle in the Western church and its reappearance in Palestine would be explained by the general nature of the document's contents, which might only have a lasting appeal to those concerned to preserve links with the authority of James of Jerusalem.

**C. Situation of Author and Readers**

If the date and place of origin of the epistle cannot be conclusively identified, much more can be said about the general situation and environment of author and readers. The epistle envisages an established, settled community which holds meetings (2:2); has as leaders its own "elders" (5:14); and also recognizes individuals as "teachers" (3:1), a category in which the author appears to include himself. (Teachers might, of course, be included among the elders rather than having a separate ministry, cf. 1 Tim 5:17). The members of the community would no doubt regard themselves as among "the poor," but they are assumed to have the means to relieve each other's needs (2:15–16), and resentment of the rich does not prevent them welcoming a rich visitor to their meetings; indeed the vehemence of the author's attack on the rich in 2:6–7 and 5:1–3 may indicate that they were rather too ready to do so. They are not subject to persecution: the oppression and abuse referred to in 2:6–7 is more likely to reflect the legal and economic pressures that can be put on the disadvantaged by those more powerful in their society than an attack launched on the faith per se. The assumption that their meetings are open to visitors means that they have not been forced into a ghetto nor have they created a closed community as a defensive reaction. Not subject to external attack, they are also untroubled by internal divisions either on doctrinal and ideological or on economic and social grounds (contrast the church in Corinth which experienced all these). Tensions are those of personal relationships in a small society: anger (1:19–20), jealousy (4:1–2), slander and criticism (4:11–12). They need to be roused from inactivity to positive action (1:22–27, 2:14–17, 3:13–18) rather than deterred from any misguided enthusiasm.

This community is variously located in the country and the town: there is reference to agricultural conditions in 5:4, 7, and to trading activity in 4:13–15. The former may, however, be understood in terms of biblical allusion rather than of actual experience. An urban environment is more probable in general because Christianity first established itself in cities and towns, only gradually spreading into the countryside; and in particular because James clearly belongs to the multicultural environment of the Hellenistic cities. The author employs catchphrases from popular philosophy (1:21, "the implanted word"; 3:6, "the cycle of nature"); metaphors with little biblical background but common in Greek and Latin literature (3:3–4, horses and ships; 3:7, the four orders of nature; 4:14, the mist); the technical vocabulary, if somewhat inaccurately used, of astronomy (1:17); and the language of popular pious superstition (4:15, "If the Lord wills …") and magic (2:19, 4:7, the shuddering and flight of demons are known in the magical papyri).

Judaism, which took its place in this world, is also obviously part of his cultural heritage. He affirms the central Jewish proposition "that God is one," in the terms of its central prayer (2:19, cf. Deut 6:4, part of the *Shema*), and warns of Gehenna, the place of punishment (3:6). He draws freely on the OT for quotation (2:8, 2:11, 2:23, 4:6), for example (2:21, 2:25, 5:10–11, 5:17–18), and in the telling allusions that an author can make in the confidence that his readers will catch them (1:10, "the flower of grass," from Isa 40:6 LXX; 3:9, "men … made in the likeness of God," from Gen 1:26; 5:4, "the ears of the Lord of hosts," *Sabaōth,* from Isa 5:9 LXX).

The epistle is often characterized as a document of "Jewish Christianity," but it is not clear from its contents that the author and readers were themselves Jews. Despite the puzzle of the unidentified

quotation of 4:5, the appeal to the OT is straightforwardly to the text, without requiring any explanation from Jewish exegetical tradition. James's praise of "the perfect law, the law of liberty" (1:25, cf. 2:12), and his insistence that it be kept in full (2:10) may readily be paralleled in Jewish literature, but his appeal to actual tenets of the law is confined to the decalogue (2:11), and to Lev 19:18, singled out as "the royal law" most probably on the authority of Jesus (2:8). This may be contrasted with the implications drawn from the principle of the wholeness of the Law by Paul (Gal 5:3) and Matthew (5:18–19, 22:40). James shows no interest in the cultic observances that served to affirm Jewish identity in the Hellenistic world: the observance of the sabbath and the food laws, and the practice of circumcision which was a key issue in Paul's debate with Judaizing Christianity. It could be argued that, as a Jew, the author of James took these matters for granted; but against this has to be set his failure, already noted, to appreciate that the faith-works controversy had any implications for the Jewish law. His use of *synagōgē* in 2:2 is sometimes appealed to as indicating that James's community met in a Jewish synagogue, or, as Jewish Christians, had constructed their own "synagogue" after the model with which they were familiar; but, leaving aside the question of whether any Christian community could have had its own building at this time, the word is widely used in the general sense of "an assembly of persons," or "a meeting" as the occasion of an assembly, either of which would make sense in this context.

Even the adoption of James of Jerusalem as his pseudonymous authority does not mark the author out as a Jewish Christian, for although James was the leader of Jewish Christianity, and documents like the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* show that he was revered by later heterodox Jewish Christians as their founding father, he is similarly revered in gnostic literature not obviously influenced by Judaism (*Gos. Thom.* 12; *Ap. Jas.* and *1 and 2 Apoc. Jas.*, NHC 1.2, 5.3,4), and his leadership is remembered and commemorated in the mainstream of Christian tradition (Clem. Alex. in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 2.1.3, 23.1; Epiphanius, *Haer.* 78.7). "James" is a pseudonym which might be adopted by a Christian author of any background who desired to address his specific community in terms, and with an authority, appropriate to the Church at large. The "twelve tribes in the Dispersion," too, could never be a literal address to Diaspora Jewry, since the reconstitution of the twelve tribes had long been part of eschatological hope only (e.g. Isa 11:11–16; Zech 10:6–12; 2 Esdr 13:39–47), but is most readily understandable as an ideal description of the Church in its role as the new, or true, Israel in the world (cf. Gal 6:16; Heb 4:9; 1 Pet 2:9–10; and for gentile Christian churches as the "dispersion," cf. 1 Pet 1:1 and the addresses of *1 Clement*, the *Epistle of Polycarp*, and the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*.)

James shows, then, something of the ethos of Judaism: its monotheism, its appeal to the holy book, and its broad moral concern, without the clear marks of belonging to the Jewish community. It is probable that the background of author and readers is to be found among the "god-fearers": those non-Jews who were attracted to what they saw as the Jewish philosophy; who stood on the fringe of the synagogues of the Diaspora, though possibly also of Palestine as well (cf. Luke 7:2–5), without being full proselytes; and who formed, it seems, a ready audience for Christian preaching (Acts 10:2, 22, 13:16, 26, 16:14, 17:4, 17, 18:7). They would bring that ethos into their Christianity, together with forms of organization with which they had been familiar in the synagogues, but without any concern to be involved in debates touching on Jewish identity, to which they had never committed themselves.

**D. Christianity of the Epistle**

The Jewish characteristics of James are thrown into prominence by its lack of a strong Christian coloring. "Jesus Christ" is referred to only twice, in 1:1 and 2:1, which some older scholars even suggested excising as glosses to reveal an originally Jewish tract. This expedient, which has no justification from textual evidence, is not to be adopted, since the evidence of Christian character is considerably more extensive than those two explicit references. In both of them, Jesus is identified as "the Lord" or "our Lord," using the title by which Christians acclaimed the risen Jesus (Acts 2:36; Rom 10:9; Phil 2:8–11). In 2:1 he is further described as "the Lord of glory" in a syntactically difficult phrase which might also be translated as "the glorious Lord" or "the Lord, the glory"; the association of Jesus with glory may relate either to his role as the revealer of the glory of God (cf. John 1:14; 2 Cor 4:6; Heb 1:3), or to his coming in glory at the last judgment (Matt 25:31; 2 Thess 1:7–10). In 5:7–8 "the coming of the

Lord" certainly refers to the return of Jesus, since the word used, *parousia,* "coming," is a technical term for that event in early Christian literature (e.g. 1 Thess 2:19; 1 Cor 15:23; Matt 24:3; 1 John 2:28; 2 Pet 1:16). James's community is termed "the church," *ekklēsia,* (5:14), in the characteristic self-designation of the Christian community, considered both as a local group and an (at least potentially) universal phenomenon (Matt 16:18, 18:17; 1 Cor 1:2, 12:28; Phlm 2, Col 1:18); and its elders anoint "in the name of the Lord" as other Christian healers acted in the name of Jesus (Acts 3:6, 4:30, 16:18; Mark 16:17). The allusion in 1:18 to God's having "brought us forth by the word of truth" is probably to be understood as James's echoing the language of rebirth in which other Christians expressed their understanding of the experience of conversion and baptism (John 3:3–8; Titus 3:5; 1 Pet 1:3, 23; baptismal ideas and language may also be found in Jas 1:21 and 2:7); and parallels between James and 1 Peter have been taken to show their sharing in a common pattern of Christian catechetical teaching (1:2–4 and 1 Pet 1:6–7; 1:18, 21 and 1 Pet 1:23–2:2; 4:6–8 and 1 Pet 5:5–9). The two most interesting areas of discussion in assessing the Christianity of James are, however, his use of the teaching of Jesus and his involvement in controversy with Paul.

**1. James and Jesus.** James nowhere cites the teaching of Jesus as such, but his prohibition of oaths in 5:12 unmistakably recalls Jesus' prohibition in Matt 5:33–37. Although reticence in the use of oaths was counseled both by Jewish teachers and Greek philosophers, there is no certain evidence of a comparable absolute ban on their use, which would seem therefore to be unique to Jesus. If James may confidently be seen to draw on the teaching of Jesus here, then he may arguably do so in contexts where the similarity of language and distinctiveness of content are not so marked. Thus in 2:8 he identifies Lev 19:18 as "the royal law" to be fulfilled, as Jesus also singled it out in Mark 12:31 (with parallels in Matt 22:39 and Luke 10:27). R. Akiba (ca. 50–132 C.E.) also singled out Lev 19:18 as the most comprehensive principle of the law, so Jesus may not have been unique in doing so in his day, but James's description of the commandment may indicate that he regarded it as the law of "the kingdom of God" which Jesus preached. His encouragement to "ask … and it will be given (1:5) recalls Jesus' instruction to do so in Matt 5:7–11 and Luke 11:9–13; and his reminder that God has "chosen those who are poor in the world to be … heirs of the kingdom" (2:5) echoes Jesus' beatitude on the poor, who are promised the kingdom in Matt 5:3 and Luke 6:20.

Because the closest parallel between James and the teaching of Jesus occurs in material peculiar to Matthew's gospel, while all the others are with material present in Matthew as well as other gospels, it is often argued that James has a special connection with Matthew, either in terms of a literary knowledge of and dependence on that gospel or of belonging to the community or tradition from which the gospel also came. This is unlikely. Even in the closest parallel there are significant differences in wording between Jas 5:12 and Matt 5:33–37, while in the other parallels James is not markedly closer to Matthew's version than to the other gospels (in the beatitude on the poor he is closer to Luke's simple blessing of "the poor" than to Matthew's spiritualized "poor in spirit"). More generally, Matthew is clearly engaged in debate about the relation between Judaism and Christianity, hostile to the Jewish leadership yet concerned to maintain the integrity of the law; thus the prohibition of oaths is given a polemical edge in an attack on Jewish casuistry, and the great commandment is seen to involve "all the law and the prophets" (Matt 22:40). These concerns do not color James's teaching, and he and his community would not therefore seem to be in the same situation as Matthew's.

James's contact with the teaching of Jesus is more likely to have been with a continuing oral tradition than through dependence on any of the written gospels, since the various similarities, though striking, do not amount to exact verbal correspondence. If so, there are three points of particular interest. (a) His contact is with material across the range of what are usually identified as the sources of the Synoptic Gospels. The singling out of Lev 19:18 belongs to the Markan tradition; the encouragement to ask and receive, and the beatitude on the poor, to that common to Matthew and Luke ("Q"); the prohibition of oaths to Matthew alone. This might indicate that the gospel material was more widely transmitted, and sources less insulated from each other, than their separate identification sometimes seems to imply. (b) While James's material may be independent of gospel fixity and derived from oral tradition, it is not

therefore necessarily the more-original form, for he has related it to his own interests. Thus he identifies the gift to be asked of God as specifically the gift of "wisdom" (1:5—contrast Luke's "Holy Spirit," 11:13, and Matthew's "good gifts," 5:11, but compare James's interest in wisdom in 3:13–18)—and raises the possibility of the request that is not answered (1:6–8, cf. the same concern in 4:3–4). (c) The comparisons between James and the Gospels show two ways in which the teaching of Jesus might be used. In the context of the Gospels, the teaching is obviously attributed to Jesus and carries his authority, whether or not it was uniquely (or even authentically) his. There is no such attribution of the teaching in James. Although he is most probably aware, especially in 2:8, that he is drawing on Jesus' words, it is not important to him to single them out as having a distinctive authority; rather they contribute to the general stock of Christian ethical instruction along with material from other sources and the author's own insights. We may compare the practice of Paul, for whom it was sometimes important to invoke a "word of the Lord" as such (1 Cor 7:10), but who would also draw the teaching of Jesus without discrimination into the course of his own argument (Rom 13:7; cf. Mark 12:17; Rom 13:9; cf. Mark 12:31).

**2. James and Paul.** James does not refer directly to Paul any more than he does to Jesus, but when, in the course of his discussion of the necessary association of faith and works (2:14–26), he conducts that discussion in terms of "justification" and of the example of Abraham (2:21–25), his argument inevitably recalls that of Paul in Romans 3–4 and Galatians 2–3. The differences between the two may be seen polarized in Paul's conclusion that "we hold that a man is justified by faith and not by works" (Rom 3:28, cf. Gal 2:15) and James's that "a man is justified by works and not by faith alone" (2:24). It is sometimes suggested that James's argument is prior to Paul's and that Paul wrote in part to answer it, but while Paul's argument on justification does not require James's to explain it, the strongly polemical tone of James's language indicates that he knows a position which he is concerned to refute: "and not by faith alone".

It is, however, unlikely that James was familiar with Paul's argument as Paul himself presented it, for he ignores a number of important points. (a) Paul talks specifically about works done in obedience to and fulfilment of the Jewish law, while James makes no such reference to the law, but thinks of works of charity in general. (b) Paul attacks such works when done with a view to gaining justification from God, which he deems to be impossible; James commends works as part of the response of faith in God. (c) Although both appeal to the example of Abraham and the statement of his justification in Gen 15:6, Paul relates Abraham's justifying faith to his acceptance of the promises of Gen 15:5; James relates it to Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son in Genesis 22, thus missing Paul's carefully made point that Abraham's justification preceded, and had nothing to do with, his circumcision and implicit acceptance of the law in Gen 17:9–27 (Rom 4:10–11). (d) James does not deal with Paul's other major proof-text, Hab 2:4 (Rom 1:17; Gal 3:11); and conversely James's other example, Rahab (2:25), is not derived from Paul. In spite of the apparent similarity of their language, James does not seem to know what Paul's argument was really about, and it is highly improbable that he had either read Paul's letters or heard Paul's own exposition of his views.

Whether he thinks that the position he is himself concerned to refute has Pauline authority is another matter. The absolute detachment of faith from works in relation to justification seems to have been an original insight of Paul's, and justification as the language of salvation is as associated with him in the NT as it has been by later generations. The term appears in Acts only in Luke's record of Paul's speech in the synagogue at Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:38–39); and in the Pastoral Epistles, written under the pseudonym of Paul, in a summary statement of salvation, perhaps in an attempt to "Paulinize" an existing credal formula (Titus 3:7). This latter passage shows that Paul's rejection of justification by works could be reinterpreted outside the context of the Judaizing argument to relate to righteous works in general which might be thought to earn salvation, and this reapplication is also found in *1 Clem.* 32:4, whose author is clearly familiar with Paul's argument in Romans. James has heard the language used even more generally, to support a religious attitude which emphasized the pious expression of trust in God and regarded works of active charity as of little importance, if not indeed to be actually discouraged. It is probable that those who thus appealed to "justification by faith" as their slogan did so on what they saw to be Paul's

authority, and that James knew this; if so, the debate must have been conducted in an area of the Church where Paul was remembered and revered (as, for instance, Clement shows that he was in Rome a generation after his death).

James's Christianity, then, is characterized by a strong ethical concern, reinforced by the certainty of having entered a new life, and also by the certainty of eschatological rewards and punishment. The authority of Jesus as risen Lord is acknowledged, and his teaching drawn upon. There is room for ideological dispute in his community, over the relative importance of charity in the life of faith, but no evidence of any speculative interest in doctrinal matters. This is not a Christianity likely to produce either heresy or creative theology, but was no doubt congenial to those who had been attracted to a similar concern in Judaism, but were now offered a community centered on its own Lord and of which they could more fully and readily become part.

**E. Content and Distinctive Ideas**

Analyses of the structure of the epistle range between the detection of an underlying plan or pattern into which each section may be seen to fit, and regarding it as a collection of disparate material assembled from oral sources and linked together only by "stitch-words" or verbal echoes. The first suffers from the very general nature of much of James's material which seems artificially forced into too tight and comprehensive a scheme; the second ignores the presence of themes which run through the five chapters. It is better to see the author as developing some leading ideas in a variety of expressions and connections. His main concern is with Christian behavior, its consistency, and its community context. There should be consistency between faith and action; consistency in different activities; a common concern for each other. (There does not appear to be any impulse to mission outside the community.)

**1. Faith and Action.** The testing of faith produces wholeness of character (1:2–4). Since God tempts no one, the overcoming of temptation is the subduing of one's own destructive desires (1:12–15). To appropriate the baptismal word of salvation is to renounce evil deeds (1:21). To hold the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ is to exclude partiality (2:1). Faith must issue in works to be a living faith (2:14–26). God-given wisdom reveals itself in characteristic action (3:13–18, cf. 1:5). To follow one's own passions is to seek the friendship of the world and thus to be at enmity with God (4:1–4); the remedy being a wholehearted repentance and return to him (4:6–10). Plans for the future should be made subject to divine permission (4:13–15), and endurance of the present is rendered possible by the hope of the coming of the Lord (5:7–8), and by the example of former men of faith (5:10–11).

James returns frequently to the subject of prayer. As action should be consistent with faith, so prayer, as the expression of faith, should be wholehearted and related to action. God is one: an article of faith to which the demons rightly respond with terror (2:19), and as the one God he is the only giver of good gifts (1:17), giving generously and unreservedly (1:5). Requests to him should therefore be made wholeheartedly, with no doubt about his ability or willingness to give (1:5–8); and should be for objects consistent with his character (4:2–4). James sees no problem in unanswered prayer; it is to be explained by the inadequacy of the prayer, either untrusting or misdirected. He applies to the man whose prayer thus fails his most characteristic pejorative adjective "double-minded," *dipsychos* (1:8, cf. 4:8; a term unparalleled in the LXX or the NT, though found in other early Christian literature, notably the *Shepherd of Hermas,* Mandate 9, and perhaps related to the Jewish analysis of man as having "two impulses"). Even where prayer expresses a proper confidence in God, it should be accompanied by action if it is to be worth anything (2:15–16). True and fervent prayer is, however, powerfully effective, as in the example of Elijah (5:17–18). Prayer and praise are the proper response of the individual to suffering or joy (5:13), and James encourages prayer within the community for its members, both in the specific case of sickness (5:14–15) and in general as a remedy for sins (5:16).

**2. Consistency in Action.** As Christian behavior should be consistent with Christian faith, so it should be consistent in itself. Those who hear the word should also be doers of it (1:22–25). The law (whatever its contents in practice) should be kept in full, with each commandment given weight; and all persons should be treated alike under it (2:8–11). It is intolerable to bless God and curse men made in his image (3:9–11). James is especially concerned with "sins of speech," where he sees inconsistency as most

blatant; this relates of course to his concern with prayer, but he expresses his concern at large. It is best to be swift to hear but slow to speak (1:19). True religion involves bridling the tongue (1:26, cf. 3:2–4). Teachers, who deal in words, are at greatest risk, and few should assume this responsibility (3:1). Speaking evil of each other in the community, whether in slander or criticism, is to be condemned (4:11–12). Speech should be a straightforward and truthful matter, where "yes" means yes and "no" no, without need of the dangerous reinforcement of oaths (5:12). James gives vent to his conviction of the seriousness of sins of speech in a highly rhetorical description of the tongue, smallest but most powerful member of the body: It is "a fire"; "a world of wickedness"; untamable, polluting, poisonous, inflamed by hell (3:5–8).

**3. Mutual Concern.** The pursuit of consistency and integrity is not, however, a quest for personal and individual purity: James's concern is for Christian behavior in the community. As prayer for God to relieve hardship should be accompanied by efforts to do so oneself (2:15–16), so "true religion" involves both the care of widows and orphans and keeping oneself uncorrupted by the world (1:27). The epistle closes with the vision of a mutually supportive community, confessing sins to one another and praying for one another, each watchful for anyone who goes astray, since to reclaim him is for the benefit of both (5:16, 19–20).

Rich and poor are among the most basic of social divisions, and James's concern for the poor and hostility to the rich may relate to his desire to encourage the ideal of Christian community as much as to the empirical experience of his own group. He regards the rich as almost by definition excluded from the Church. The lowly brother may be confident of his future exaltation, but the rich man (surely not a "brother") can only look forward to humiliation and ultimate annihilation (1:9–11). Although the rich visitor is not to be excluded from the Christian meeting, those who are tempted to welcome him over-enthusiastically are reminded of the usual role of the rich as their oppressors (2:1–7). Prosperous traders are reminded of their essential impermanence (4:13–16); and, in a passage of dramatic invective like his tirade against the tongue, James calls upon the rich to "weep and howl," to recognize the corruption of their treasure, and to await their inevitable fate in "the last days" or "the day of slaughter" (5:1–5). In his equation of the rich as wicked and the poor as God's chosen, James is following a long-standing convention running from the OT (e.g. Psalms 10, 49, 140) into the self-understanding of the Qumran community and some early Christian groups. It should be noted though that he does not idealize poverty per se, but indicates that it is the poor who are in fact righteous, who are the object of God's favor. Thus it is the poor brother who will be exalted, not simply the poor man (1:9); the poor are chosen to be "rich in faith" and to inherit the kingdom (2:5); the oppression of the poor by the rich which calls for vindication is epitomized in the death of the unresisting "righteous man" (5:6). Here as elsewhere James is an interpreter and not merely an inheritor of tradition, and through his varied material runs his conviction of the need for the Christian man to be whole in word and deed, singleheartedly serving both the one God and his brethren.

**F. Language and Text**

The author uses the Greek language with fluency and a certain sense of style. Although not of the quality of classical literature, his writing shows grammatical ability and is virtually free of solecisms and colloquialisms. He opens with "Greeting", using the infinitive *chairein* as is usual in a Hellenistic letter (1:1, cf. 1 Macc 10:18, 25, 12:6; Acts 23:26); uses the rhetorical *age nun* (4:13, 5:1); and gives the correct oath form of the accusative of the thing sworn by (5:12), by contrast with Matthew's semitic idiom of *en* plus the dative. He has a wide vocabulary, including some words not found elsewhere in the NT or the LXX (e.g. "sea creature," *enalios*, 3:7; "daily," *ephēmeros*, 2:15; "dejection," *katēpheia*, 4:9). His style shows a fondness for alliteration, as in *peirasmois peripesēte poikilois* (1:2, "you meet various trials") and *mikron melos estin kai megala auchei* (3:5, the tongue "is a little member and boasts of great things"); and for the cadence of words with similar endings, as in *exelkomenos kai deleazomenos* (1:14, "lured and enticed") and *anemizomeno kai ripizomeno* (1:6, "driven and tossed by the wind"—the former word even may have been coined by James for this effect, as he may also have coined the evocative *chrysodaktylios*,

"gold-ringed," 2:2). Alliteration and cadence are both found in James's admittedly imperfect hexameter: *pasa dosis agathē kai pan dōrēma teleion* (1:17, "every good endowment and every perfect gift").

This sensitivity to, and ability to make effective use of, the sound of the Gk language tells against any theory that the epistle has been translated from an Aramaic or Hebrew original. We have already illustrated his use of biblical quotation and allusion, and his familiarity with the LXX has influenced his language more generally. Most "semitic" idioms are to be explained by the author's knowledge of the LXX. Thus he uses the compounds *prosōpolēmpsia* and *prosōpolēmpteo* (2:1, 9, "partiality" and "to show partiality," derived from the LXX *prosōpon lambanein*), and compound phrases like *poiein eleos* (2:13, "to show mercy"); *poiētēs logou* (1:22, "a doer of the word," cf. 4:11, *poiētēs nomou*, "a doer of the law"); *prosōpon tēs geneseōs* (1:23, "natural face"); and *en pasais tais hodois autou* (1:8, "in all his ways," cf. 1:11). As he can draw on vivid Hellenistic imagery in his rhetorical attack on the tongue (3:2–8), so he can adopt an archaic or biblical style in his "prophetic" denunciation of the rich (5:1–6). There is no need to resort to theories of multiple authorship or different editors to explain this variety of style: It simply requires an author who is sufficiently at ease with his language. (Luke can similarly adapt his style to include the poetic and archaic birth-narratives of Luke 1–2 and the almost classically heroic account of Paul's shipwreck in Acts 27.)

The textual history of the epistle reflects its canon history. It was in the church of Alexandria that James first came into regular use, and it has early and strong support in mss of the Egyptian text-type: Among the papyri the fragmentary 3d-century papyri 20 and 23 and 5th-century papyrus 54 contain some verses each of the epistle, while the 6th or 7th-century papyrus 74 has a substantial part of the whole; the major 4th and 5th-century uncials Sinaiticus, Vaticanus (B), Alexandrinus (A), and Ephraem (C) all have it, Vaticanus being generally regarded as the best witness to the text. From Origen onwards quotations by Alexandrian authorities are also available to the textual critic, as also the Sahidic and later the Bohairic Coptic versions. Conversely, the long disuse of the epistle in the Western Church is apparent in its lack of representation in Gk mss of the Western text, and there is, of course, no quotation by the early Western fathers, whether in Greek or Latin. The Old Latin version is found in the 9th-century Codex Corbeiensis (ff) and *Speculum Pseudo-Augustini* (m), and peculiarities there indicate that James was translated separately from, and probably later than, the other catholic epistles which earlier achieved popularity in the West. Augustine was to complain of the unusual badness of the Latin translation available to him (*Retractationes* 2.32), but the epistle came firmly into Latin textual history with the Vulgate, under the authority of Jerome. In Syria, canon history begins with the Peshitta, and so also the history of the Syriac text; the 9th-century mss K and L of the Koine or Lucianic text-type present James as it would have come to be read in the Greek-speaking church of Syria, and on into the Byzantine text of the Middle Ages.

The long neglect of the epistle may have served to insulate its text against copying error and emendation, for major textual variants are few. (It is always possible, of course, that errors could have been made at an early stage, left uncorrected, and so become entrenched with no textual variance to indicate them.) Some occur where James's language is obviously obscure or unfamiliar and scribes have tried to make the best of it: at 1:17, with the somewhat pretentious astronomical language; and at 5:8, where the "early and late" have been variously specified as "rain" or "fruit" by copyists more or less familiar with climatic conditions or biblical idiom. At 2:19 some have failed to catch the echo of the *Shema*, Deut 4:6, "God is one," and found instead a simple statement of monotheism, "there is one God." At 2:3 the poor man is offered a whole range of options as to where to place himself inconspicuously; at 4:4 "adulterers" have been pedantically added to "adulteresses"; and at 5:20 the epistle's seemingly abrupt ending has been rounded off with a final "Amen." Although not always easily soluble, none of these textual questions seriously affects the author's essential meaning.

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SOPHIE LAWS

**JAMES, FIRST APOCALYPSE OF** (NHC V,*3*). The first of two apocalypses attributed to James, the brother of the Lord, in the collection of materials from Nag Hammadi. These two apocalypses and the *Apocryphon of James* (NHC 1,*2*) constitute the literature attributed to the brother of Jesus in the Nag Hammadi collection. The first apocalypse is a particularly clear example of what many now call a "revelation dialogue" (Perkins 1980: 25–73). Here the Lord responds to the anxious inquiries of James within the framework of a narrative setting connected with the death and resurrection of Jesus. Very little is said about the events themselves, however, and it is clear that the narrative is relatively unimportant. A curious literary feature of the apocalypse is the fact that the Lord addresses James in the first person in 3 passages at or near the beginning of the writing (24,11; 25, 12; 27,18) and everywhere else in the third person. Also curious is the fact that a question of James is referred to near the beginning of the writing (24, 26–27) that has not actually been asked. Such difficulties point to dislocations, the use of sources, or imperfect control of materials.

In the first part of the writing (24, 10–30, 11) the Lord answers questions of James that for the most part reflect his fearfulness at the prospect of the suffering in store both for the Lord and for himself. The various doctrines expounded by the Lord in this connection (concerning the One-Who-Is, the structure of the cosmos, the kinship between James and the One-Who-Is, and much else) are intended to encourage the anxious enquirer.

After he had promised to reveal the way of redemption to James, "the Lord said farewell to him and fulfilled what was fitting" (30, 12–13). The brevity of this reference to the crucifixion is noteworthy.

"After several days" the Lord again appeared to James who was walking with his disciples on a mountain called "Gaugelan"—probably a variant of Golgotha (30,17–18). In the exchanges that follow, Jesus first indicates that he had never suffered in any way at the hands of his tormenters. He then comforts James at the prospect of his own suffering and provides him with a set of formulae to be used after his martyrdom in response to the challenges of the hostile powers (including three heavenly "toll collectors") who will attempt to block his ascent to "the Pre-existent One."

The text of the apocalypse becomes more and more fragmentary as it concludes. The following points stand out. (a) We are told (36,13–38,11) that the secret tradition is to be entrusted by James to a succession of figures that will include Addai (= Thaddaeus), a certain Levi, a woman of Jerusalem, and 2 sons (the younger of whom will proclaim these things). (b) The value of women as disciples of the Lord (on condition, it seems, that "the female element" should "attain to this male element") is upheld in the face of James' perplexity on the point (38,15–41,18). (c) James is presented as rebuking the 12 disciples (42,20–24) who earlier are said to correspond to "12 pairs" associated with Achamoth, the lesser Sophia (36,1–6). (d) James' martyrdom (probably viewed as the prelude to the fall of Jerusalem announced earlier) is described in some detail (though the text is badly damaged).

Some features of the first *Apocalypse of James* suggest that it had roots in Jewish Christianity. Chief of these is the choice of James himself as the bearer of revelation and particularly the reference to him as James the Just (32,2–3). For this title is attested especially in Jewish-Christian tradition (Hegesippus in Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.4, 7; *Gos. Heb.* in Jerome, *De viris inl.* 2; cf. *Gos. Thom.* log. 12). Yet Clement of Alexandria also mentions James the Just as one who (along with John and Peter) received a special *gnosis* from the Lord (Euseb. *Hist Eccl.* 2.1.3–5). And the Naassene Gnostics (never credited with Jewish-Christian connections) made special appeal to the authority of James the Lord's brother (Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5.7.1). To be sure, the surprising link forged between James and Addai probably points to a Syrian milieu for the apocalypse (cf. Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 1.13) and thereby possibly also to a semitically colored form of Christianity. But there is little in the doctrine of the apocalypse that is reminiscent of Jewish Christianity. The points listed by Böhlig (1968: 103–7) to indicate such a background are not sufficiently distinctive to prove any connection.

What is clear is that the formulae revealed to James to assist him in his ascent to the Pre-existent One represent a dramatized version of texts that appear elsewhere as cultic expressions in the context of

Valentinian Gnosticism (Iren. *Haer.* 1.21.5; Epiph. *Pan.* 36.3.1–6). And there are other elements in the apocalypse that have at least a Valentinian flavor (Tröger 1973: 44–45). It is interesting to note, however, that at least one characteristic line found in the formulae transmitted to James for recitation during his ascent ("I am an alien, a son of the Father's race") was more widely dispersed and appears in the *Corpus Hermeticum* 13.3.

Finally, esoteric Jewish doctrine may have something to do with the 72 heavens (i.e., 12 × 7 heavens) of the revised cosmology presented by the apocalypse (26,2–23; Schoedel 1970; Séd 1979). The selection of the number, however, was probably prompted by the number of apostles; and if this is so, a devaluation of the Twelve is again implied.

One striking feature of the apocalypse is a positive evaluation of martyrdom unusual in Gnosticism. Such a positive evaluation is in fact found in all three of the writings attributed to James at Nag Hammadi. Yet whereas the *Apocryphon of James* calls for imitating the suffering of Jesus and seeking martyrdom, the first apocalypse builds on docetic ideas and denies that Christ (or more precisely, he who was "within" Christ) suffered in any way (31,15–22). Closely connected with this is a more or less docetic treatment of history: The Jewish people are considered counterparts of the archons (31,23–26), and their destruction is apparently symbolic of the defeat of the cosmic powers that threaten James. For Jerusalem, which James is to leave behind (25,16–18), "is a dwelling place of a great number of archons" (25,18–19). Thus James' own martyrdom at the hands of his countrymen can affect only his "flesh" and loses its fearfulness (32,17–22).

The selection of James (and other "non-apostles" elsewhere) as the recipient of revelation has been persuasively interpreted as a final step taken by writers of "Gnostic revelation dialogues" to provide an alternative to the apostolic authority claimed by a steadily advancing catholic form of Christianity (Perkins 1980: 131–56). The Twelve, as we have seen, are rebuked by James and associated with Achamoth. Thus, although they are apparently pictured as no longer under the power of the archons like the Jewish people, they have not yet attained the highest gnosis. The "brother" of the Lord—although not the Lord's brother "materially" (24,15–16)—obviously will have a more intimate relation with the revealer than his disciples. That the revelation to James takes place both before and after the reappearance of the crucified Lord suggests that a response is being made to the emphasis in the catholic community on what was said and done by Jesus during his ministry. Moreover, although the apocalypse has evidently accepted the historical argument of catholic Christianity that gnostic doctrine appeared after the age of the apostles, it deals with the point by having the higher gnosis handed on secretly through an obscure succession of figures until some time after the fall of Jerusalem. This event is apparently singled out because it symbolizes the defeat of the archons and because it was itself occasioned, according to the tradition on which our apocalypse depends, by the martyrdom of James (36,16–19).

Thus the selection of James as the recipient of revelation makes sense of the history of 1st-century Christianity by providing a reason for the failure of the fall of Jerusalem to follow immediately on the crucifixion of Jesus (Origen, *Cels.* 1.47) and consequently also for the failure of gnostic truth to make itself known earlier. The crucifixion of Jesus and the martyrdom of James are seen as complementary events, both of which are required for the full exemplification of the possibility of the Gnostic's victory over the terrors of this world. Finally, it should be observed that the relative openness to women as disciples of the Lord in this writing reinforces the emphasis on the value of non-apostolic (non-catholic) versions of the meaning of the Christian tradition.

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**JAMES, PROTEVANGELIUM OF.** In the NT little information is given about the birth and childhood of Jesus. Except for the infancy stories in the Gospels according to Matthew and Luke, no other NT writings deal directly with that part of the life of Jesus. This gave rise to the origin of a number of so-called apocryphal infancy gospels, in which themes that were lacking in the canonical gospels were developed. The *Protevangelium of James (Prot. Jas.)* is usually classified as one of these apocryphal gospels of the early church.

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A. Authorship, Place, and Date of Writing
B. Contents
C. Sources and Language
D. Purpose
E. Title and Transmission of the Text
F. Impact on the Church

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### A. Authorship, Place, and Date of Writing

Little is known about the author of *Prot. Jas.*, or the place and time of its writing. The James referred to in the postscript is presumably the brother of Jesus, who here recounts the life story of Mary. Because of the author's seeming ignorance about the geography of Palestine and religious practices there, we can safely assume that James is pseudonymous and that Palestine was not the place of origin. Egypt and Syria have been proposed as places of origin (de Strycker 1961: 412–23; Smid 1965: 20–22). There seems to be no decisive reason why Syria should be preferred to Egypt except perhaps for the fact that most of the virgin birth material probably originated in Syria (von Campenhausen 1962: 13). The book is normally dated in the 2d century. It was already known by Clement of Alexandria (*Str.* 7.16.93) and Origen (*Comm. in Mt.* 10:17), which necessitates a date before 200. It is sometimes argued that the author made use of material from Justin's *Apologia*, which means that it could not have been written before 160 (de Strycker 1961: 412–19; van Stempvoort 1964: 420–25).

### B. Contents

In the *Prot. Jas.* the theme of the birth of Jesus is developed and retold from the perspective of the virgin Mary. It relates the life story of Mary, the daughter of a rich man Joachim and his wife Anne (Anna). Her birth is based on the OT story of Hannah in 1 Samuel 1–2 (*Prot. Jas.* chaps. 1–5). Chaps. 6–8 deal with her childhood in the temple. Then her "marriage" (cf. chap. 19) to a widower and building contractor, Joseph, who already had children, is recounted. The annunciation of the birth of Jesus in Jerusalem is told in chap. 11. This is followed by Mary's visit to Elizabeth (chap. 12); Joseph's doubt and comfort by an angel (chaps. 13–14); the vindication of Mary before the High Priest (chaps. 15–16); the birth of Jesus in a cave outside Bethlehem (chaps. 17–18); the vision of Joseph (chap. 18); Salome's unbelief about a miraculous virgin birth (chaps. 19–20) and the adoration of the Magi (chap. 21). The story ends with Herod's infanticide; the murder of Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist, in the temple (chaps. 22–24); and a postscript. In the postscript it is asserted that the story was written by James, who withdrew to the desert when a tumult arose in Jerusalem on the death of Herod. Then the title of the story follows: *Birth of Mary. Revelation. James.* Although a large part of *Prot. Jas.* deals with Mary, her background and childhood, the focus of the story is on the development of the theme of the miraculous birth of Jesus as is clearly indicated by the words in 20:1: "The controversy about you is not small."

The story consists of various episodes, mostly told from the third-person omniscient, narrative point of view. Only the vision of Joseph (18:2) and the postscript are narrated in the first person. The time covered in the narrative includes the period of Mary's parents, through her birth and childhood, the birth of Jesus to the massacre of the children by Herod and the death of Zechariah. The story takes place in Palestine and in particular Jerusalem. Prominent locations are the temple, the house of the parents, the house of Joseph and Mary, the road to Bethlehem, and the cave where Jesus was born. The main characters include Joachim and Anne, Mary, Joseph, the Jewish religious leaders, and minor helpers like Elizabeth, Zechariah, the midwives, Simeon, the Magi, and angels. Euthine, the servant of Mary's parents, Herod, and the Romans all act as opponents in the development of the story.

Despite similarities, the characterization of the main characters is in many aspects different from their characterization in the NT. Mary is the central character: It is she who is the long-expected child and whose childhood is based on OT examples. It is her name that is hailed by the entire nation because it will be remembered by all generations (*Prot. Jas.* 6:2; 7:2; 12:2); it is she who is raised for the service of the Lord and kept holy (6:3), beloved of the whole of Israel (7:3); and it is she who is fed like a dove by an angel (8:1). She is a *Davidid*, an undefiled, pure virgin (10:1). Put into the care of a widower at the age of 12 (9:1), she remains a willing servant of the Lord (11:3) who works in his temple. She is visited by angels (11 *passim*) and becomes bearer of a child conceived in an atypical way (11); she is the mother of the Lord (12:2) and is a chaste adherent to the moral strictures of Israel (12:3). Similar to her predecessor Eve (13:1), she is accused but later vindicated (16:3). She is a virgin who abstains from intercourse with her betrothed, and husband, Joseph (13:3; 15:3, 19); she is betrothed to Joseph (19:1); and she is a mother who cares for her child (17:2; 19:2; 22:2).

Joseph is portrayed as a widower with children, elected to take care of Mary (9:1). He is a builder (9:3), a man given to emotions of fear (9:3; 14:1; 17:3), reproach, doubt, suspicion (9:3; 13:1–2), and joy (13:2). He is also a "father" who cares for the girl Mary and her child (17:3; 22:2). Jesus is the child conceived in an unusual way (9:2) and whose name shall be Jesus because he will save his people from their sins (11:3; 14:2; 19:2). He is presented as conceived of the Holy Spirit (14:2; 19:1). He is the Christ (21:2, 4) and the Christ of the Lord (21:4), the king to be born for Israel (20:2, 21:2). Soon after his birth he is able to take his mother's breast and also to be a great salvation to Salome (20:3). He is a king to be worshipped (21:2, 3) and is cared for as a baby (22:2).

Unlike the canonical gospels where the Jewish religious leaders are presented negatively, in *Prot. Jas.* they are characterized in a positive manner: They perform religious rites (6:2, 8:2–3, 24 *passim*); bless (17:3 *passim*); pray (8:3 *passim*); take care of the temple and establish norms and beliefs (10:1; 15:3) by seeking the will of God and revealing it (8:3–10:1). In accordance with the narrative world of *Prot. Jas.* they are the helpers of, and not the opponents of Mary and her son. Israel is pictured positively in *Prot. Jas.* (1:2; 7:2 *passim*). In fact, the characterization of the Jewish religious leaders and Israel is such that the impression is given that the story is told on their behalf.

**C. Sources and Language**

It is commonly accepted that the author of *Prot. Jas.* used "biblical" material to create his story. At the end of the 19th century, it was argued that the infancy stories of Matthew and Luke as well as *Prot. Jas.* originated from a common Hebrew source, or that Matthew's and Luke's versions of the birth of Jesus were based on *Prot. Jas.* (cf. Smid 1965: 193). Another view is that 3 independent sources, namely, *The Birth of Mary, The Apocryphon of Joseph,* and *The Apocryphon of Zechariah,* were used to produce this story (Cothenet *ANRW* 25/6: 4252–69). This was replaced by the idea that *Prot. Jas.* is a Christian midrash of the birth stories of Jesus told by Matthew and Luke, in which biblical models, phrases, themes, and words, along with other existing stories and traditions such as the martyrdom of Zechariah, were used (cf. van Stempvoort 1964: 410–26 and Smid 1965: 8; 178–80). The author used his imagination to create legendary material about the life of Mary and the birth of her child.

There is little doubt that the author of *Prot. Jas.* used existing material, free quotations, and allusions from a variety of texts. The remarkable thing, however, is that he integrated these "sources" into a new story. Even in passages such as chapter 11 (the annunciation of the birth of Jesus), where the narrative

comes very close to the canonical gospel stories, the author has retold the story in such a manner that the canonical sources became integrated into the text. The episodic nature of *Prot. Jas.* accounts for various texts such as 1 Samuel 1 and 2, Num 5:1–11, Mark 1:9, Matthew 1–2, Luke 1–2, John 20:25, and others, being used in the composition of the story. On the whole it is the Lukan version of the infancy story of Jesus which seems to have served as basis for *Prot. Jas.* This becomes apparent from the many allusions to the Gospel of Luke (Vorster 1988: 266, n. 15).

The story was originally written in Greek. The style is simple and vivid. Sentences are mainly joined by "and" (parataxis) and not by participles as is often the case in Greek. It resembles "biblical" Greek. The language used in *Prot. Jas.* indicates the author's familiarity with the LXX and the NT. Although the major part is written in prose, the lamentations of Anne (chap. 3), her hymn of praise (6:3) and the vision of Joseph (chap. 18) are presented in poetic style.

**D. Purpose**

The purpose of *Prot. Jas.* is often said to be the glorification of Mary (Smid 1965: 14–20), since so much of the narrative focuses upon the virginal conception, virgin birth, and enduring virginity of Mary (20:1). However, one should be prepared to qualify this: The author of *Prot. Jas.* used the annunciation stories of the NT to convince his readers of the extraordinary birth of Jesus. The story was written with an apologetic interest to defend the virgin birth and origin of Jesus, and to refute accusations that he was an illegitimate child. At the end of the 2d century (when *Prot. Jas.* was probably written), Christians had to defend and explain the origin and birth of Jesus (as well as the reputation of Mary), as both Justin (*Dial.* 48) and Origen (*Cels.* 1.32) clearly show. The presentation of Mary as the child of rich parents and a virgin who was dedicated to the Lord is used in *Prot. Jas.* as a refutation of accusations about her background and conduct. The purpose of the book is not biographical, and therefore it has limited value as an additional source concerning the "Mary of history." On the other hand it is an important witness for the development of early Christian apologetic. That the story was later used to glorify Mary and that it was regarded as a plea for asceticism is clear, however, from its reception in the history of the church (de Strycker 1968).

**E. Title and Transmission of the Text**

The different titles attributed to the book demonstrate the different ways in which the *Prot. Jas.* was received by Christian readers. The designation "Protevangelium of James," commonly used in the West since the 16th century, indicates that the book contains information chronologically preceding (*proto-*) that given in the canonical gospels *(evangelium).* The French humanist Guillaume Postel discovered a Greek manuscript of the book on a trip to the East, and in 1552 published his Latin version of this book under a long title which started with the words "Protevangelium, or concerning the birth of Jesus Christ and his mother, the virgin Mary: A historical discussion of the divine James …" Since then the story has become known in the West as the *Protevangelium of James* (de Strycker 1968: 5). However, in the East, *Prot. Jas.* continued to be referred to by the title *Birth of Mary*, to which was sometimes added *Revelation of James* (as in the case of the 3d century Greek manuscript Papyrus Bodmer V, which is the oldest Greek manuscript of *Prot. Jas.* we have). In his commentary on Matthew 10:17, Origen *(Comm. in Mt.)* refers to it as the *Book of James.*

These different titles indicate the contents as well as the reception of the text. The reference to James in the postscript, as well as the addition of "revelation" which is probably not original, obviously served to authenticate the contents of the story. It was intended for the reader who had to relate it to James, the brother of Jesus. On the other hand, the title *Birth of Mary* prompted readers in the East to interpret the text as a story about the birth of Mary (de Strycker 1968: 5).

Due to the collection of manuscripts since the 16th century and the critical editions which followed, the history of the transmission of the text as well as the history of the Greek text of *Prot. Jas.* have been studied thoroughly (by de Strycker 1968). There are more than 147 complete manuscripts or fragments of manuscripts of *Prot. Jas* available, of which only a few are early uncials. The 3 oldest manuscripts were discovered in Egypt, the oldest being Papyrus Bodmer V. All 3 of these manuscripts were intended for private reading. Because of its use in Byzantine liturgy, especially on the 8th of September when the birth

of Mary is celebrated, a large number of minuscules are extant. In addition to the Latin version, there are also Armenian, Ethiopic, Georgian, Sahidic, and Syriac versions, as well as many modern versions (cf. Culmann, *NTApocr* 1: 374–88 for an English translation based mainly on Papyrus Bodmer V).

**F. Impact on the Church**

The history of the transmission of the text of the *Prot. Jas.* (de Strycker 1968) clearly demonstrates its popularity, especially in the East, since it was written. It was used through the ages as an important witness to the miraculous birth of Jesus and the life of Mary, and was transmitted in various translations. However, *Prot. Jas.* was not accepted as an authoritative document of the Western church. Nevertheless, despite rejection by the Gelasian Decree (ca. 500 C.E.), where it is listed as an apocryphon not received by the catholic and apostolic Roman Church, it has had a significant influence on the evolution of mariological tradition and dogma. This is confirmed by catholic piety, in eastern and western art, and also in the evolution of Mariology. The infancy gospels, and in particular *Prot. Jas.*, had a tremendous impact in the early church, and especially on the literature and art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

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**JAMES, SECOND APOCALYPSE OF** (NHC V,*4*). A Jewish-Christian gnostic text found in the Nag Hammadi Library, a collection of manuscripts discovered in Upper Egypt in 1946. It contains speeches by James "the Just" and Jesus, as well as an account of the death of James by stoning. It is the fourth tractate in Nag Hammadi Codex V, and has been given the modern title the *(Second) Apocalypse of James* in order to distinguish it from tractate three, since both documents have the same ancient prescript title (24,10; 44,11–12): the *Apocalypse of James.* The last 4 of the 5 tractates in NHC V bear the title "apocalypse." The inclusion of 4 apocalypses in one book is unusual in the Nag Hammadi Library and does seem to be the result of deliberate scribal collection.

**A. Setting**

The order of the two apocalypses of James in codex V appears to be the result of deliberate scribal interpretation. The two documents stress different aspects of the James tradition and in their present position complement one another. In both tractates it is James, the brother of Jesus, who receives the revelation (24,12–14; 50,1–23). In the *(First) Apocalypse of James* James is warned about future sufferings (25,12–14; 30,13–15) at the hands of an angry mob (33,2–5) whom James agitates (32,9–11). Although there is an allusion to James' suffering in the fragmentary conclusion to *1 Apoc.Jas.* (43,17–21), this document contains no account of the predicted suffering. See JAMES, FIRST APOCALYPSE OF.

On the other hand, the *2 Apoc.Jas.* gives a detailed account of James' stoning and death at the hands of a mob stirred to anger by James' preaching. In short, *2 Apoc.Jas.* fulfills the predictions of *1 Apoc.Jas.* and in that sense "completes" the narrative that *1 Apoc.Jas.* began.

**B. Text**

The manuscript is preserved in the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo (codex inventory number 10548). The 20 pages of text (44–63) are preserved in fragmentary condition. With 2 exceptions (53/54, 63) the bottoms of the pages are lost and the tops of pages 44–52 are also lacking except for a small strip of papyrus that preserves part of the first line. Pages 53–63 are all missing text in varying degrees.

As to date and provenence little can be said with certainty. It was probably originally written in Greek and then translated into Coptic (Sahidic dialect) sometime before the middle of the 4th century C.E., when the books of the Nag Hammadi Library were manufactured. Lack of allusions to the NT and the developed gnostic systems of the 2d century C.E. suggest an early date for the origin of the document, perhaps as early as the first half of the 2d century C.E.

**C. Character and Contents**

The document takes the form of a two-part report made to Theuda, or perhaps Theuda(s), the father of James, by a priest who apparently was present at the ritual stoning of James. The title, however, designates it as an apocalypse (perhaps to characterize the text as secret teaching) while the incipit (44,13–15) describes it as the "discourse that James the Just spoke in Jerusalem."

The first part of the priest's report contains several separate discourses in the form of a dialogue between James and Jesus; the second part is a description of the death of James. Because of the fragmentary character of the text it is not always clear when the speakers change. The following outline will help to make clear the shift between speakers:

A. Prologue: 44,11–20.
B. The report of Mareim: 44,21–63,32.
    1. Mareim comes to Theuda with the report 44,21–45,30 (?).
    2. The discourses of James: 46,1 (?)–60,29 (?).
        a. James claims to be the revalation bearer: 45,1 (?)–47,30 (?).
        b. The first discourseof Jesus reported by James: 48,1 (?)–49,30 (?).
        c. The report of James on the appearance of Jesus: 50,1 (?)–30 (?).
        d. The second discourse of Jesus reported by James: 51,1 (?)–57,11.
        e. The reaction of James to the appearance of Jesus: 57,12–19.
        f. The final exhortation of James: 57,20–60,29 (?).
    3. The death of James: 61,1 (?)–63,32.
        a. The setting: 61,1 (?)–14.
        b. The account of the stoning: 61,15–62,12.
        c. The prayer of James: 62,12–63,29.
        d. Conclusion: 63,30–32.

At least four of these sections are written in a balanced and stylized prose that may possibly originally have been used liturgically. Three of these may be classified as aretalogies: 49,5–15 is a series of self-assertions by Jesus in the *ego eimi* style; a second (58,2–20) is a series of statements about the resurrected Jesus made by James in the third person *(autos estin)*; in the third (55,15–56,13) the resurrected Jesus describes James' special role as an illuminator figure in the second person *(sy ei)*. This third unit is remarkable in its lofty regard for James: He is called "illuminator" (55,17) and "redeemer" (55,18). He will astonish people by his "powerful deeds" (55,22–23). He is the one whom "the heavens will bless" (55,24–25), and because of him people "will reign and become kings" (56,4–5). The fourth unit (62,16–63,29) is an originally independent piece of liturgical tradition cast as the martyr's prayer James prays shortly before his death.

There is a noticeable difference in both style and perspective between the first part of the tractate (44–60) and the description of the death of James in the second part (61–63). It has been argued that the two parts were originally two separate documents brought together at the expense of the conclusion of the former and the beginning of the latter (Funk).

The overall tone of the document is clearly gnostic; yet its use of usual gnostic themes is remarkably superficial. Aeons (53,8) and Archons (56,19), common in the more speculative gnostic texts, are each mentioned only once. It does describe salvation through knowledge (57,4–8) and makes a contrast

between the arrogant boastful creator (56,20–57,3), responsible for human imprisonment in the world (54,10–15), and the unknown gracious father who exists without the creator's knowledge (58,2–6). These motifs, however, are too general to be associated with any one particular group in antiquity.

The text draws extensively on Jewish-Christian traditions. James the Just, who held a position of special prominence in early Jewish-Christian circles is presented as the possessor of a special revelation from Jesus and assigned a role that rivals, and perhaps exceeds, that of Peter in canonical tradition. James is the revealer who escorts the "illuminated" ones through the door of the heavenly kingdom and rewards them (55,6–14; 55,15–56,13). The description is similar to Peter's charge as the keeper of the keys of heaven (Matt 16:19). The report on the story of James has certain verbal parallels with the report of Hegesippus in Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.23), and follows exactly the Jewish regulations for ritual stoning in the Mishnah (*m. Sanh.* 6.6).

**D. Significance**

The text documents the elevation of James, an ideal leader in a Jewish-Christian gnostic community that looked to him as guarantor of their traditions, as fulfilling the role of a redeemer-illuminator figure rivaling and perhaps exceeding that of Peter in the canonical tradition. The text will help to clarify the processes by which authority evolved in early Christianity. But what is more important, it may help to unravel the processes by which cult leaders become redeemer figures, a shift that has occurred, for example, in Christianity and Manichaeism. In any case this text clearly attests one such shift in a Jewish-gnostic community.

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**JAMIN** (PERSON) [Heb *yāmîn* (יָמִין)]. JAMINITES. Three persons bear this name in the OT.

**1.** The second of the 6 sons of Simeon (Gen 46:10; Exod 6:15) who descended to Egypt with Jacob's family after Jacob had demonstrated his desire to see his long-lost son Joseph. Simeon's genealogy is given in four places in the OT. The genealogy in Gen 46:10 agrees with the one in Exod 6:15 and says that Simeon had 6 sons and that Jamin was his second son. However, the genealogy given in Num 26:12 agrees, with some variations, with the genealogy in 1 Chr 4:24. This genealogy declares that Simeon had 5 sons and omits the name of Ohad, one of Jamin's brothers. According to Num 26:12, Jamin was the clan leader of the Jaminites, one of the clans of Simeon.

**2.** A man from Judah who was the second son of Ram, the son of Jerahmeel, of the family of Hezron, an important clan of Judah (1 Chr 2:27).

**3.** A Levite who assisted Ezra in the reading and in the interpretation of the book of the Law of Moses (Neh 8:7). He is called Jadinus (Gk *Iadinos*) in the Gk text of 1 Esdr 9:48. According to the record in the book of Nehemiah, Ezra read the law, probably in Hebrew, while the Levites helped the people to

understand the reading by translating and interpreting it into Aramaic, the language the people spoke when they returned from Babylon. The name of Jamin and several other Levites who helped Ezra are omitted in the LXX.

CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

**JAMLECH** (PERSON) [Heb *yamlēk* (יַמְלֵךְ)]. A descendant of Simeon (1 Chr 4:34), described as one of the "princes in their families" (1 Chr 4:38). The name probably means " (Yahweh) reigns." (Indeed, Lucian translates, "he reigns.") In the LXX the name appears as *Iemoloch.* See Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 62.

CRAIG A. EVANS

**JAMNIA (JABNEH), COUNCIL OF.** The concept of the Council of Jamnia is an hypothesis to explain the canonization of the Writings (the third division of the Hebrew Bible) resulting in the closing of the Hebrew canon.

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A. Theory of Jamnia and the Canon
B. The City
C. Jamnia Gatherings
D. Study of Jamnia and the Canon

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**A. Theory of Jamnia and the Canon**

H. Graetz first cautiously proposed and defended the theory in his Excursus to Qoheleth (1871:155–56), a theory later stated positively by F. Buhl, H. E. Ryle, Robert Pfeiffer, O. Eissfeldt, and others. By the hypothesis, based on an interpretation of *m. Yad.* 3:5, the OT canon was closed for all time by the specific religious authority of 72 elders when R. Eleazar ben Azariah became head of the Academy at Yavneh about A.D. 90. The hypothesis rendered yeoman service in turning scholars from earlier positions that the canon was fixed either by Ezra or by the Great Synagogue.

Despite the absence of significant support in ancient Jewish, Christian, or classical texts, the hypothesis enjoyed vogue in the 20th century by repetition rather than by proof. Various degrees of dogmatism are encountered in assertions about actions of the council such as the closing of the canon with one stroke and the exclusion of the Apocrypha.

After the concept that the council closed the canon was accepted, some scholars projected that the standardization of the OT text also took place in formal action at Jamnia (also called Jabneh or Yavneh). According to S. Talmon (1970: 174–79), the 19th century began with Rosenmueller's contention that the MT went back to one recension. De Lagarde then projected that all texts depended on one exemplar considered to have been developed after the rise of Jewish-Christian controversy. The standardization then became attached to Jamnia and R. Akiba's exegetical method. Olshausen argued for a deliberate choice made by some official Jewish body, while Noeldeke argued for the use of a readily available manuscript as the basis of the standard text. An investigation of rabbinic citations revealed more text variety than earlier scholars had been aware of. P. Kahle, after studying manuscripts of the Cairo Geniza, postulated vulgar text-types existing beside the standard text; the latter he conceived of as being formed by rabbinic activity at Jamnia. Following the Qumran discoveries, the Jamnia portion of the hypothesis has found new advocates and is often stated as an established fact.

S. Krauss (1893) proposed that the *birkat hammînîm* (a prayer against sects) in the 18 benedictions must originally have had within it the term *nôṣrîm* (Jewish Christians). The theory, considered to be supported by the occurrence of *"mînîm"* and "*nôṣrîm*" in a Geniza text of the benediction, was popularized by I. Elbogen (1931: 36) and then accepted by many Christian theologians. In Johannine studies, when considering "casting out of the synagogue" (*aposynagogos*; John 9:22; 12:42; 16:2), the council is credited with accomplishing the breech between Judaism and Christianity. It is considered that the *birkat hammînîm*, composed by Samuel the Younger in the time of Gamaliel II (*b. Ber.* 28b–29a), was

introduced into the 18 benedictions to expose and expel Jewish Christians despite the fact that the tradition is not attested in either the *Mishna* or *Tosephta.* Some Johannine scholars have hypothesized the Fourth Gospel to be a Christian response to Jamnia.

In short, the Council of Jamnia and its alleged date of about A.D. 90 is, in the absence of attestation in specific texts, used in scholarship as a convenient symbol for the culmination of long processes in early Judaism. Sometimes used for any development between A.D. 70 and 135, the terminology has the disadvantage of inviting the uninformed to assume official action taken at specific meetings on specific dates.

**B. The City**

Yavneh (LXX: *Iabne;* Vg: *Iabniae*), a Philistine city whose walls Uzziah demolished, is mentioned between Gath and Ashdod (2 Chr 26:6) and is conjectured to be identical with Jabneel (LXX: *Iabnel;* Vg *Iebnehel:* Josh 15:11; cf. Josephus *Ant* 5.1.22 [87] who describes it as a city of Dan) earlier mentioned in the border list of Judah. The town does not again appear in Judah town lists until the Maccabean period, but may be *Jemnaan* of the book of Judith (2:28) listed among coastal cities whose people feared Holofernes.

That Josephus at times mentions Jamnia as a coastal city (*Ant* 13.15.4 [395]) and at times as an inland one (*Ant* 14.4.5 [75]; *JW* 1.7.7 [156]) suggests that the inland city also had a harbor. Both Pliny (*N.H.* 5.13.68) and Ptolemy (5.16.2) suggest that there are 2 towns. Strabo (16.759) describes Jamnia as so populus that with its surrounding villages it could supply an army of 40,000 able soldiers. See also JABNEEL; YAVNEH-YAM.

Eusebius (Klostermann ed., 106) places Jamnia between Diospolis (Lydda) and Azotos (Ashdod). Bishops of the church in Jamnia participated in councils at Nicea, Chalcedon, and Jerusalem. Benjamin of Tudela, identifying Ibelin or Jabneh as the seat of the Academy, places it 5 parasangs from Jaffa, but commented that there were no Jews there in his day (Adler 1907: 27). E. Robinson (1841–57: 2.420), mentioning Jamnia in discussing the location of Gath, remarks that "Yebna is situated on a small eminence on the W side of the Wadi Rubin, an hour or more distance from the sea." Robinson also notices "The crusaders built here the fortress Ibelin" (3.22, 23, n. 2).

Jamnia experienced varying vicissitudes during its later history. In the Maccabean period, Judas, having learned that the inhabitants of Jamnia intended to murder the Jewish inhabitants (as those of Joppa had earlier murdered its Jewish inhabitants), attacked the city at night and burned the harbor and fleet so that the glare of the fire was seen in Jerusalem 240 stades away (2 Macc 13:8, 9). Georgias, commander of Jamnia, routed the troops of Joseph and Azarias, whom Judas had left in command while he was in Galaaditis (Josephus *Ant* 12.8.6 [350–51]). Following Judas' routing of the troops of Georgias, Judas went to Adullam. After the Sabbath, his men went to recover the bodies of the slain for burial only to discover that under the shirt of each were consecrated objects of the idols of Jamnia (2 Macc 12:40), a fact the author of 2 Maccabees considers the cause of their deaths.

Later Simon (142–135 B.C.) captured Jamnia (Josephus *JW* 1.2.2 [50]; *Ant* 13.6.7 [215]) from the Syrians; and in the time of Alexander Jannaeus, Jews held it as well as other coastal cities (Joseph. *Ant* 13.15.4 [395]).

Jamnia was included in the cities Pompey liberated from Jewish rule, restoring it to its Syrian inhabitants and annexing it to the province of Syria under the administration of Scarus (*JW* 1.7.7 [156]; *Ant* 14.4.4 [75, 76]). Then Gabinus (57–55 B.C.), after defeating Alexander Jannai, rebuilt cities which he found in ruins (including Jamnia), and repeopled them with colonists (*Ant* 14.5.3 [88]; *JW* 1.8.1 [166]).

While it is conjectured that Jamnia must have been given by Augustus to Herod about 40 B.C. (Avi-Yonah 1977: 87), no actual record survives. It was a Judean toparchy (Avi-Yonah 1977: 96). Herod in 4 B.C. left the toparchy of Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaelis in his will to his sister Salome (*Ant* 17.8.1 [189], 11.5 [321]; *JW* 2.6.3 [98]). When Salome died (ca. A.D. 9–12), she bequeathed the city and its territory to Julia (Livia) the wife of Augustus (Joseph. *Ant* 18.2.2 [31]; *JW* 2.9.1 [167]). At her death it became the property of Tiberius who entrusted a special procurator (apparently residing in Jamnia) with its administration as an inscription found at Jamnia (Avi-Yonah 1946: 84f, no. 1) and Josephus (*Ant* 18.6.3

[158]) attest. Jamnia is described by Philo as being one of the most populous cities in Judea with the majority being Jewish but also having others of alien races (*Gaium* 30 [200]).

In the time of King Agrippa, Cestius sent the tribune Neopolitanus to investigate charges against the Jews. Neopolitanus joined King Agrippa (who was returning from Egypt) at Jamnia. The chief priests of the Jews and the leading citizens of the council also came to Jamnia to welcome the king (Joseph. *JW* 2.16.1–2 [33–37]).

Upon Caligula's assertion of his divinity, the new settlers in Jamnia made themselves despicable to the indigenous inhabitants by making an altar of bricks which the Jews promptly pulled down. The non-Jews complained to Herennius Capito, the imperial procurator of Jamnia, who was in direct contact with the court at Rome (*Ant* 18.6.4 [163]), and he sent a report to the emperor. Capito, fearing an inquiry into his finances, wished to blacken the Jews in the emperor's eyes (Philo *Gaium* 199). Gaius (Caligula) then ordered the erection of a statue of gold of himself set up in the temple in Jerusalem (Philo *Gaium* 30 [200–3]); but the assassination of Caligula in Rome (Jan. 24, A.D. 41) terminated the crisis (Tacitus *Histories* 5.92) before the order was carried out.

During the Jewish revolt, Vespasian first subdued Jamnia following the fall of Gamla (*JW* 4.3.2 [130]. Then, while waiting for Jerusalem to destroy itself (A.D. 68–69), he set out from Caesarea, occupied Antipatris, captured Lydda and Jamnia, quartering on them an adequate number of residents from other places that had surrendered, and posted the 5th legion outside Emmaus (*JW* 4.8.1 [443]).

After the war, Jamnia was among the cities which Vespasian made autonomous as is attested by coins struck under the later empire (G. Hill 1914; Avi-Yonah 1977: 111).

**C. Jamnia Gatherings**

In the absence of any contemporary documents on the Yavneh (Jamnia) period, an account of actions of Yavneh must be drawn from sources redacted at a later period without any objective way to know how much the information has been distorted in the process of transmission. Legend was developing, and one is never certain what is legend and what is fact. The extant materials do not permit writing biographies of any of the participants of the gatherings. The sources are at variance on details with each other. The nature of the sources makes it impossible to be specific about the nature of the Yavneh gatherings as well as specific about their enactments, especially in the 3 areas discussed above—canon, text, and the exclusion of Christians.

In the tradition, R. Yohanan ben Zakkai, already an aged man of possibly 70 years, was brought out of besieged Jerusalem as a dead man by his 2 students Eliezer and Joshua. Yohanan asked Vespasian for Yavneh and its scholars. Qualified for leadership only by his knowledge and his teaching, Yohanan and his associates in Yavneh began the reconstruction of Judaism apart from the temple. The good life as he saw it was the life of study, and the good society was the academy. He removed from the priests the monopoly on the sacred calendar, festivals, and rites, making the priest subject to the rabbi. Temple practices were taken over "as a memorial." Enactments were established by precedent rather than by group vote or agreement. A late source has Yohanan state that good works take the place of sacrifice. There is no evidence of Yohanan's exercising civil authority and making civil enactments.

After a period of leadership of undefined length, Yohanan retired to Beror Hayil where he had a school and court, and leadership in Yavneh passed to Gamaliel II. With Gamaliel as *nasî* (prince), political institutions began to develop which flourished after the Bar Kokhba war. Gamaliel was confirmed by the governor of Syria, and his leadership was recognized by Rome which he visited in company with other prominent scholars. More important, his leadership was accepted by the Jewish communities which looked to Yavneh and its scholars for decisions on various ritual questions.

Gamaliel is depicted as being moody, domineering, and arbitrary. He forced R. Joshua ben Hananiah to yield to his calendar even when the testimony on which his decision rested was in error. After he had humiliated R. Joshua over the question of the obligation of the evening prayer, the academy (*bêt hammidrāš*) rose in revolt, displaced Gamaliel as its head, and seated young R. Eleazar ben Azariah as head of the group. The doors were opened, and students previously denied admission were seated.

In the Mishna, the narrative of the seating of R. Eleazar is followed by a series of enactments introduced by the phrase *bô bayyôm* ("in that day"; *m. Yad.* 4:1–4; *m. Zeb. 1:3) which suggested to scholars actions of one session and the concept, in part, of the Council/Synod of Jamnia. In later tradition (b. Ber. 28a) it is said that every bô bayyôm refers to this same occasion and that no legal question pending before the group was left undecided that day.*

Gamaliel continued in attendance without missing an hour, ultimately apologized to Joshua, and was restored to leadership. In the compromise, he taught three sabbaths a month and Eleazar one. While Gamaliel was *nāsî* (Prince), the sources differ over whether Eleazar was *rêš mĕtîbtā›* (head of the academy) or *›ab bêt dîn* (head of the court). Gamaliel lived on to about A.D. 117. Following his death, a new *nāsî* was not immediately appointed; but R. Joshua, R. Tarfon, and R. Akiba exercised great influence. Ultimately the Sanhedrin moved to Usha (in one tradition back to Yavneh and then back to Usha). With the Bar Kokhba war (135 A.D.) the Yavnehian period was at an end.

In the sources the gatherings in Yavneh are spoken of as *bêt hammîdrāš* (house of study), *yĕšîbâ/mĕtîbtā›* (academy), *bêt dîn* (court), *bêt wa‹ad* (meeting place), the vineyard in Yavneh, the *‹ălîyâ* (upper room), and the *›ôṣār* (treasury). Whether the meetings were actually in a vineyard or the term is to be understood figuratively because the disciples sat in rows like vines is disputed. One Tosefta passage speaks of the Sanhedrin.

The participants are called *zĕqēnîm* (elders), rabbis, or *ḥăkāmîm* (scholars). They are described as sitting in a half circle like a threshing floor so that each elder could see the other. The *nāsî* sat in the middle with elders on each side. The disciples were arranged by rank in 3 rows.

There was not a fixed plenary session in Yavneh. The sessions were not continuous, nor was there a full complement of scholars for each meeting. Over about a 60 year period, scholars, rich and poor, lay and priestly, rural and urban—some of whom lived in other towns and had their own courts and schools—came to Yavneh for meetings. The sources report continuous differences of opinion. While differing, however, the scholars did not divide into sects (Cohen 1986). Sometimes a consensus was reached without a formal vote. The majority opinion prevailed.

Catholic Christianity from the 2d century solved its problems by councils; Judaism did not. In the light of the concept of 21 ecumenical councils, as well as of modern meetings where delegates meet and vote on making binding decisions, use of the terminology "council" or "synod" invites a misconception when used for the Yavneh meetings. School, academy, or court is nearer the nature of the meetings (Lewis 1964).

**D. Study of Jamnia and the Canon**

Recent studies of legal traditions in the Mishna and Tosefta concerning prominent Yavneans such as R. Yohanan (J. Neusner 1970, 1973), Joshua ben Hananiah (W. S. Green 1981), Gamaliel II (Shamai Kanter 1980), Eliezer ben Hyrcanus (J. Neusner 1973), Eleazar ben Azariah (T. Zahavy 1977), R. Tarfon (J. Gereboff 1979), R. Yose (J. N. Lightstone 1979), R. Ishmael (Gary G. Porton 1982), R. Sadoq (J. N. Lightstone 1977), and R. Akiba (L. Finkelstein 1964) reveal concerns about the religious calendar, prayer obligations, sabbath, festivals, cleanness, family laws, release from vows, rules of testimony, and other questions of hypothetical and practical concern to Judaism of the period. However, there is only minor attention to the area of canon, possibly some to separation from Christians, but none to standardization of text.

As Lewis (1964) and Leiman (1976) pointed out, *m. Yad.* 3:5 speaks only of a discussion of the Song of SongsSongs and of Ecclesiastes which discussion is continued after Yavneh times, furnishing no basis for the assertion that the canon was closed at Yavneh. To the contrary, the sources report later debate about these and also other books. No text speaks of the discussion and exclusion of apocryphal books at Yavneh.

Rabbinic scholars now point out that *bô bayyôm* may refer to the occasion of the preceding statement in the source (e.g., *m. Sabb.* 1:4) and not to the day of R. Eleazar's appointment. The questions said to have been discussed "on that day" are questions of distinctly Jewish interest; e.g., the gathering ruled that any animal offerings which must be consumed remain valid although slaughtered under some other name (*m.*

*Yad.* 4:2; *m. Zeb.* 1:3). The scholars dealt with a footbath that is cracked (*m. Yad.* 4:1) and whether Ammon and Moab must give the poor man's tithe in the 7th year (*m. Yad.* 4:3). R. Joshua argued that Sennacherib had so mixed the races that the prohibition of an Ammonite or Moabite entering the Assembly no longer applied. An Ammonite proselyte was accepted (*m. Yad.* 4:4).

Talmud texts (*b. Ber.* 28b–29a; *b. Meg.* 17b; *Num. Rab.* 18:210) speak of the composition of the *birkat hammînîm* by Samuel the Little during Gamaliel's leadership of the academy, but not on the day of R. Eleazar's elevation. The debate continues among current scholars over the meaning of the term *mînîm* in rabbinic texts. Kimelman (1981) insists that there is a lack of evidence that the *birkat hammînîm* reflects a watershed in the history of the relations between Jews and Christians in the 1st centuries of our era. Horbury (1983) replies that patristic evidence supports the contention that Christians were cursed in the synagogues.

While a late tradition (*y. Ta*ʿ*an* 4:2; *Sof.* 6:4; *Sifre* 2:356; *Abot R. Nat.* B. 46) speaks of the selecting of a text from 3 manuscripts in the temple, no specific text discusses standardization of the Hebrew text at a Council of Yavneh. Rabbinic literature does not discuss divergencies of opinion about Bible readings. The opinion that the text was standardized at Jamnia is an extrapolation from the types of texts attested in the Qumran materials, as compared with the texts from Wadi Murabbaʿat, and from the supposition that the type of exegesis connected with Akiba's name requires a fixed text. Further evidence is claimed from the type of translation produced by Aquila. However, seeing text stabilization as a long continued process, Segal (1974) tried to place the beginning as early as immediately after the restoration of the temple service in 164 B.C., but culminating near the mid-1st century A.D. Greenberg (1974) pointed out that Akiba's method of hermeneutics went back to Nahum of Gimzu and that Hillel the elder already was using hermeneutical methods which presuppose a text verbally stable. Albrektson (1978) challenged the common conception that the text was standardized by deliberate text-critical activity. He showed that rabbinic exegesis sometimes relies on a spelling which deviates from the MT. Emphasis on carefulness in copying (*y. Sanh.* 2:6; *b. Meg.* 18b) is to be distinguished from standardization. Albrektson, admitting that we have little demonstrable evidence, suggested that rather than official activity, a group of scholars who became dominant may have preserved and transmitted their preferable type of text.

These ongoing debates suggest the paucity of evidence on which the hypothesis of the Council of Jamnia rests and raise the question whether it has not served its usefulness and should be relegated to the limbo of unestablished hypotheses. It should not be allowed to be considered a consensus established by mere repetition of assertion.

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**JANAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ya‹nay* (יַעְנַי)]. A Gadite who was the son of Abihail and the third tribal leader named in the genealogy (1 Chr 5:12). It may be that "Shaphat," the fourth name in the list, should not be rendered as a personal name but as the noun "judge." In this case, Joel was the head of the tribe, Shapham the second in authority, and Janai a judge in Bashan (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 47). This interpretation is supported by the Targum and LXX. Although Janai's name has been related to *ya‹anâ* ("ostrich"), others regard it as a derivative of the imperfect form of the verb *‹ānâ* ("answer") and interpret it as expressing the wish that deity answer the prayer of the name-giver (e.g., for health or strength; Noth *IPN,* 28, 198).

According to 1 Chronicles 5, Janai and the other Gadites lived opposite the Reubenites in "Bashan as far as Salecah" (v 11) and "in Gilead, in Bashan … and in all the pasture lands of Sharon to their limits" (v 17). The tribe of Gad receives Gilead (Num 13:24–28), but Bashan and Sharon are not mentioned, since the first is too far N and the second too far W. The reference in 1 Chronicles 5 to Bashan may be the result of confusion in a later day about the N boundary of Gad or about the limits of Bashan (cf. Deut 3:10). Evidence of a city or region in Transjordania named Sharon is also found in the Mesha Inscription (line 13; *ANET* 320). Neither Janai nor the others named in the Chronicler's genealogy for Gad (1 Chr 5:11–17) appear in other lists of Gadites (Gen 46:16; Num 26:15–18; 1 Chr 12:9–16—Eng12:8–15).
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**JANIM** (PLACE) [Heb *yānîm* (יָנִים)]. A village in the hill country of Judah alloted by Joshua to that tribe (Josh 15:53). The exact location is unknown, though it may possibly be identified with Beni Naʿim about 4 miles E of Hebron.

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**JANNAI** (PERSON) [Gk *Iannai* (Ἰαννα̣ι)]. The father of Melchi and son of Joseph (an earlier ancestor of Jesus), according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:24). D omits Jannai, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31, while some manuscripts and versions read *ianna.* The name Jannai occurs nowhere else in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, and falls within a list of 18 otherwise unknown descendents of David's son Nathan (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 500). Kuhn (1923: 208–9) argues that two seemingly parallel lists of names—Luke 3:23–26 (Jesus to Mattathias) and 3:29–31 (Joshua/Jesus to Mattatha)—were originally identical, the first perhaps reflecting a Hebrew context and the second an Aramaic context, tracing Mary's line of descent (since it does not mention Joseph as Jesus' father). Jannai in the first list corresponds to Juda in the second list. With no textual variants for either name to support confusion of the two, Kuhn's theory has little plausibility.

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**JANNES AND JAMBRES** (PERSONS) [Gk *Iannēs* (Ἰαννης)*, Iambrēs* (Ἰαμβρης)]. The names traditionally assigned to the magicians who, according to Exod 7:11–12, 22, opposed Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh on the occasion of Israel's exodus from Egypt. Tradition characterizes them as willful and persistent opponents to God and Moses (2 Tim 3:8–9). There was also a pseudepigraphic book entitled *Jannes and Jambres*.

**A. The Traditions**

Though not named in the OT and only once in the NT, the two brother magicians appear frequently in Jewish, Christian, and pagan sources extant in Arabic, Aramaic, Greek, Hebrew, Latin, Old and Middle English, and Syriac. Hebrew and Aramaic literature gives the names as *y (w)hny/ʾ* and *mmrʾ* as well as in more Hellenized guise with final *samek: ynys* and *ym (b)rys.* In Gk sources the usual forms are *Iannēs* and (through analogical development) *Iambrēs,* though the former occasionally appears in its typologically earlier form *Iōannēs.* (Syriac follows the Gk spelling.) Latin tradition features *Iamnes/Iannes* (and rarely *Iohannes*), but virtually uniformly gives the second name as *mambres,* a form to be traced via the VL (apparently corrected to *Iambrēs* by Jerome in conformity with the Gk of 2 Tim 3:8) to the early Jewish Church. That the first name is Semitic is no longer in doubt, but it is significant that Moses' chief opponent should have been assigned a popular Yahwistic name. The second name presents more of a problem. A derivation from the Heb root *mrh,* "be contentious, refractory, rebellious," has found widespread favor.

An early reference to two brothers as opponents of Moses and Aaron occurs in the *Damascus Document* (CD) 5, 17b–19: "For in earlier times Moses and Aaron arose with the help of the Prince of Lights, while Belial raised up Yoḥanah *(yḥnh)* and his brother." Though the Cairo Genizah mss of CD are medieval in date, the passage in question has also been identified among the finds in the Judean desert (6Q15 3; 1st century C.E.), but its date of composition is wrapped in the controversial literary history of CD. Beginning with S. Schechter's 1910 edition of CD, Yoḥanah and his brother have been equated, without qualification, with the Jannes and Jambres of later literature. Such an interpretation is, however, open to serious doubt, since in CD, as opponents of Moses and Aaron, they are portrayed as *Israelite* leaders of apostate Israel in Egypt (see CD 3, 5–6, Ezek 20:7–8; 23:3, Josh 24:14). Their role is typological for contemporary (non-Essene) Jewish leadership, reflecting, therefore, socioreligious conflict within Palestinian Jewry. A number of historical identifications have thus far been proposed.

Subsequent tradition identified Yoḥanah and his brother as pharaoh's magicians (Exod 7:11). By the 1st century C.E., the pagan writer Pliny the Elder mentions Moses, Jannes, and Lotapes (= Jambres?) as magicians among the Jews "many thousands of years after Zoroaster" (*HN* 30.2.11), and in similar vein Lucius Apuleius (2d century C.E.) includes Moses and Johannes (Jannes) in a list of renowned magicians (*Apol.* 2.90). However, the most interesting reference in pagan authors is the note preserved in Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica* (9.8) from the Neoplatonist Numenius of Apamea (2d century C.E.) that Jannes and Jambres were able to undo even the greatest of the disasters which Moses brought against Egypt—a claim which contradicts the biblical account (cf. Exod 8:18). A statement by Origen (*Cels.* 4.51) that Numenius had recounted the story of Moses and the two magicians suggests that Origen must have been acquainted with extensive traditions about the magicians and may well have known the book entitled *Jannes and Jambres* (see B. below).

Because of their mention in 2 Tim 3:8–9, Jannes and Jambres frequently appear in later Christian sources which merely echo the NT reference or give more details of their wicked behavior. The story was clearly well-known since most references presuppose an acquaintance with it. Unfortunately, only snippets of the tale have survived. The two brothers are said to have been magicians at the court of Pharaoh Ahmoses (John of Nikiu) or Pharaoh Chencheres, who was the pharaoh that drowned with his army in the Arabian Gulf (Ps-Dionysius of Telmaḥre). Pharaoh's daughter reputedly entrusted Moses to Jannes and Jambres for instruction in wisdom (e.g., Bar Hebraeus). They were regarded as gods by the Egyptians (*Acts Pil.*), and Satan counted them his brothers *(Ques. Bart.).* Moreover, Abezethibou, the demon from the Red Sea, claimed to have come to their aid *(T. Sol.)*; it was they who were responsible for leading pharaoh astray until the king and his host met their death in the sea *(Mart. Pet. Paul; Pal. hist.).* Moses, in the course of their altercations with him, afflicted their adherents with sores and sent the mother of one of them (sic) to their death (Philostorgius). The two brothers tried to withstand God's mighty acts by means of fake magic; but when bested by Moses they confessed in pain from their sores that God was active in Moses (Ambrosiaster). They practised necromancy, *(A.Cath.)* and as a result of their wickedness they perished (Abdias). In spite of their having acknowledged "the finger of God," they received no divine forgiveness *(Pen. Cyp.).* Their garden tomb, a monument to their former power and wealth, was visited by Macarius of Alexandria, who found it inhabited by 70 demons (Palladius).

In Jewish literature of the common era Jannes and Jambres are especially prominent in legends connected with the birth and early years of Moses, but the time and circumstances of their demise vary in the sources. According to some traditions (*Tg. Ps.-J.; Yal. Reu.*) they were assistants of Balaam (cf. Num 22:22), Israel's staunch opponent at the pharaonic court. Commonly, however, they are called his sons, a tradition which may be as old as the 3d century C.E. A dream of pharaoh was interpreted by them to augur destruction for Egypt at the hands of an Israelite about to be born (*Tg. Ps.-J.*) At a royal banquet, when Moses was two, he placed pharaoh's crown on his own head. Balaam, who was in attendance with his sons, reminded the king of his earlier dream and counseled Moses' death. Pharaoh, however, heeded contrary advice and decided to put Moses to the test. When the child was directed to choose between a glowing ember and a gem, under angelic prompting he picked the former, stuck it in his mouth, and thus contracted his speech impediment (cf. Exod 4:10). Balaam and his sons fled to Ethiopia where they usurped the throne during the king's absence. But when their city subsequently fell to a strategem of Moses, who had succeeded the king of Ethiopia, they returned to pharaoh's court. In due time Moses and Aaron presented themselves at pharaoh's palace, where they gained entrance by casting a spell on the two lions that barred their way. The king, frightened by their divine appearance, delayed answering until the following day their demand for the release of the Israelites. Meanwhile he summoned Balaam and his two sons who counseled him to put their authenticity to the test (*ShY* cf. *Yal. Sim., ChronJ, ChronM, Exod. Rab.*). Jannes and Jambres cheated at magic by exchanging their staffs for snakes. Though they managed to check the majority of the angels, they could not prevail against the angel of the (divine) presence *(ml'k pnyw)* who sided with Moses.

Outdone by Moses, they came to him to become proselytes and, against God's explicit directive, were accepted. Thus a "mixed multitude" (Exod 12:38) with Jannes and Jambres at the head accompanied

Israel out of Egypt. It was they who were the real culprits in Israel's idolatrous debacle at Sinai and consequently were killed by the Levites (*Yal. Reu.*; cf. *Midr. Tanh.*). Alternatively in Jewish tradition, Jannes and Jambres, flying above the Red Sea on self-made wings, were destroyed by an angel dispatched by God (*Yal. Sim.*; cf. *Yal. Reu.*; *ChronJ* 54). A minor tradition as them executed together with Balaam and the princes of Midian in accordance with Num 31:8 (*ChronJ* 48, Zohar).

**B. The Book**

The earliest reference to a book entitled *Jannes and Jambres* is in the Latin translation of Origen's commentary on the gospel of Matthew (*comm. in Matt.* (GCS 11,250). This book was thought by Origen to have been the source for Paul the presumed author of 2 Timothy. Later references are found in the Ambrosiaster, the *Decretum Gelasianum*, and some Syriac and Middle English sources. Fragments of the book in Greek are extant in a Vienna papyrus (P. Vindob G 29456+29828 verso; 3d century C.E.), Papyrus Chester Beatty XVI (3d/4th century C.E.), and in a Michigan papyrus fragment (3d century C.E.). A fragment of a translation into Latin has been preserved in a manuscript of the British Library (Cotton Tiberius B.V fol. 87; 11th century C.E.). All texts are fragmentary, but they add a wealth of detail to our knowledge of the story.

The remnants of the book commence with the magicians' genealogy and then move through various phases of Jannes' opposition to Moses. Summoned to the palace, he matches Moses and Aaron's feats but is laid low by disease. In the course of events, clear omens of impending doom are sent his way; yet, his fight continues unabated. Ill and near death he takes leave of mother and friends, and, in Memphis, entrusts his brother with the book of magic. After receiving news of the disaster at the Red Sea, Jannes meets his own end. He is lamented by his mother who subsequently dies a violent death and is buried by her surviving son near the tomb of Jannes. Brought up from Hades by Jambres, the shade of Jannes launches into a lengthy admission of wrongdoing. We do not know the response of Jambres and his final end.

In at least its final literary form the book quite clearly is a confession, hence underscoring the title given it in the *Decretum Gelasianum: The Confession (Penitence) of Jannes and Jambres.* The essence of the tale is the magicians' deliberate and determined opposition to Moses (God) in the face of repeated divine warnings. Their obdurate behavior precluded forgiveness forever. It is this aspect of the plot that suggests *Jannes and Jambres* as one of the precursors of the Faust legend. The end of Jannes (and Jambres?) was no doubt intended to serve as a warning to the believing community.

Though the Jannes and Jambres *tradition* probably arose on Palestinian soil and in a Semitic-speaking environment, there is no indication that the original language of the *book* was other than Greek. The date of origin of the tradition can hardly be much later than the 2d century B.C.E., while the book was written probably at least as early as the 2d century C.E. For further discussion, see *OTP* 2: 427–42; *HJP²* 3/2: 781–83; Str-B 3: 660–64

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**JANNEUS** (PERSON). A Hasmonean king and high priest of Judea (103–76 B.C.E.). After Aristobulus died, his widow, Salome Alexandra, set free three of his brothers, one of whom, Janneus, she subsequently married. Janneus is known by the Gk form of his name to which he added Alexander. Alexander Janneus succeeded his brother as high priest and officially claimed the title of "king," which he inscribed on his coins.

Janneus was a ruthless ruler and profligate in character. Early in his career he arranged for the murder of one of his two surviving brothers. He was primarily a man of war. He instigated an aggressive plan of expansion, enlarging by conquest and proselyzation his kingdom to the size of the ancient kingdom under

David and Solomon (Josephus *Ant* 13.15.4). Janneus attacked Greek cities which posed an economic threat to the survival of the Jewish state, particularly along the coast, and he forcibly converted the inhabitants to Judaism. After conquering the coastal cities from Carmel to Gaza, with the exception of Ascalon, Janneus successfully established his power in the Transjordan. Moving to the S, Janneus was severely defeated by King Obedas of the Nabateans (*Ant* 13.15.2) and later by King Aretas (*Ant* 13.15.2). As a result of his excessive drinking, Janneus contracted a disease and died, leaving control to his widow.

The orthodox Jews and the Pharisees resisted Janneus because they felt that his reprobate behavior and willful neglect of his spiritual duties disqualified him from the office of high priest. The controversy was heightened by Janneus' sympathetic support of Sadducean families. The Pharisaic opposition was led by Simeon ben Shetah, who may have actually been the queen's brother. Rabbinical legends depict him as a fearless, hot-tempered opponent of the king's.

Janneus and the Pharisees were on a collision course. Unrest gave place to rebellion as Janneus was officiating one day as high priest at the altar during the Feast of Tabernacles. According to the Talmud, the riot was caused by Janneus' insolence when he deliberately poured a libation over his own feet rather than on the altar, as dictated by Pharisaic tradition. The crowds hurled citrons at him and declared that he was unfit to hold the office. According to Josephus, Janneus retaliated and 6,000 people were massacred by his foreign mercenaries. The Jews, incited by the Pharisees, rebelled in 94 B.C.E. A civil war broke out which lasted 6 years, during which time Janneus killed over 50,000 Jews with his mercenaries (*Ant* 13.13.5).

The Pharisees called for the assistance of the Seleucid, Demetrius III (Eukairos), who defeated Janneus at Shechem. This incident may be referred to in the commentary on Nahum found at Qumran which relates that "Demetrius sought to enter Jerusalem on the counsel of those who seek smooth things." If this passage is indeed referring to the Pharisees and to Demetrius the Seleucid, it may shed light on the turn of events which took place afterwards. While in hiding, Janneus was joined by 6,000 Jews who thought life under Janneus was preferable to Seleucid domination. With their aid, Janneus drove Demetrius out, reestablished his authority, and poured vengeance on the Pharisees. While Janneus banqueted and caroused with his concubines, he had 800 of his enemies crucified while their wives and children were slain before their eyes (*Ant* 13.14.1–2; *JW* 1.4.5–6). This incident is also related in the Nahum Commentary which states, "He hanged living men on wood … which was not formerly done in Israel."

According to Josephus, 8,000 of his enemies escaped from Jerusalem by night and remained in hiding until Janneus died, harboring a hatred for their king and the Sadducees. A number of scholars identify the flight of Janneus' enemies with the founding of the Qumran community. Janneus is identified as the Wicked Priest and persecutor of the Teacher of Righteousness, both appearing frequently in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Clearly, the Qumran Essenes were not Pharisees. It is argued, however, that the opposition to Janneus should not be confined strictly to the Pharisees and that among those who fled from Jerusalem were the Teacher of Righteousness and his disciples. Archaeological evidence indicates that Qumran was expanded at this same time.

According to tradition, before Janneus died he counseled his wife not to imitate his course of action with the Pharisees. He suggested to take the Pharisees into her confidence and to elevate them to positions of authority and thereby win the allegiance of the masses, which she did (*Ant* 13.15.5).

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**JANOAH** (PLACE) [Heb *yānôḥâ* (יָנוֹחָה)*; yānôaḥ* (יָנוֹחַ)]. The name of 2 Israelite towns.

**1.** A town listed after Taanath-Shiloh in the description of the E border of the territory of Ephraim (Josh 16:6–7). Since the name appears twice in the same form (Heb *ynwḥh*), the final *he* is apparently part of the name and not a *he* of direction. Eusebius identifies it with "Ianō in Acrabattene at the twelfth mile from Neas Polis eastwards" (Klosterman 1904: 108, line 20). Biblical Janoah and Ianō of Eusebius are identified with Yanun (M.R. 183172), 11 km SE of Nablus and 2 km NE of Aqraba, or with Kh. Yānūn (M.R. 184173), 1.5 km NE of Yanun. There is evidence of Iron Age occupation at both sites (*HGB,* 159). Textually it is not clear whether Janoah or Taanath-Shiloh is being referred to by the phrase "and passes

along beyond it on the E" (Josh 16:6). The topography however leads to the conclusion that the territory of Ephraim included the hills to the E of both sites.

**2.** A city in Galilee captured by Tiglath-Pileser III in 732 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 15:29). It is mentioned in the Bible only once (MT *ynwḥ*) as the third of the 5 cities captured in that campaign: "Ijon and Abel-Beth-Maachah and Janoah and Kadesh and Hazor." The other 4 cities are all clearly identified and appear in the text in geographically logical order from N to S. They are situated near the N border of the kingdom of Israel, 3 in the Jordan valley and 1 (Kadesh) in the mountains of upper Galilee to the W. Some have proposed identifying Janoah with Kh. en-Na'imeh (M.R. 205286), a site in the Jordan valley between Abel-Beth-Maachah (M.R. 204296) and Hazor (M.R. 203269; Vincent 1926: 470). Others have identified it with Giv'at ha-Shoqet (M.R. 203293; Kaplan 1978: 159–60). However, there exist 2 villages by the name of Yanuḥ: one in Upper Galilee (M.R. 173265) 18 km NE of Acco and the other in Lebanon 10 km E of Tyre. Klein (*EJ* 8:875) proposed identifying Janoah with the former, as did Aharoni (1957: 131), who suggested that an ancient route from Acre to Lebanon passed by this site. Conder, on the other hand, identified Janoah with the Lebanese Yanuḥ (*SWP* 1: 96), and Rainey (1981: 147–49) supported this identification by suggesting that the Assyrian army advanced from Abel-Beth-Maacah not only S but also W along the Tyre-Dan road to the Lebanese Yanuḥ and then S again to Kadesh. At the same time he identified the Tyre-Dan road with "the way of the sea" referred to in Isa 8:23 (—Eng 9:1).

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**JAOEL** (ANGEL). The name of an archangel (Gk *Iaoēl*) also called Jael in pseudepigraphic writings. In the *Apocalypse of Abraham* (from the late 1st or early 2d century C.E.) Jaoel serves as Abraham's heavenly guide and also strengthens and protects him (10:3). The name Jaoel is one of the indications that the work was originally composed in Hebrew. The reference to the archangel should probably be distinguished from the use of Jaoel in *Apoc. Ab.* 17:13, where it refers to God. However, Box (1918: xxv–xxvi) understood these two uses of Jaoel to be complementary. He described Jaoel as the supreme figure in Jewish angelology, God's vicegerent, and in fact a substitute for Yahweh.

The occurrences of the name Jael in the *Apocalypse of Moses* are very similar to those of Jaoel in the *Apocalypse of Abraham.* Again, the name Jael is one indication that the *Apocalypse of Moses* was originally written in Hebrew, probably in the 2d century C.E. "Jael" is found twice in the work (29:4; 33:5), both times as an epithet for God combining the Hebrew names Yahweh and Elohim. However, in the Slavonic *Life of Adam and Eve* (an important witness to the Greek version of the *Apocalypse of Moses*) the archangel Jael plays an important role. There are several references to Jael as a heavenly envoy (*L.A.E.* 31:1–2; 32:1–2; 43:4; and the doxology appended to chapter 43).

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**JAPANESE BIBLICAL SCHOLARSHIP.** See BIBLICAL SCHOLARSHIP, JAPANESE.

**JAPHETH** (PERSON) [Heb *yepet* (יֶפֶת)]. The name of the third son of Noah. Japheth appears in the Hebrew Bible 11 times, in the primeval history and the Chronicler's history (Gen 5:32; 6:10; 7:13; 9:18, 23, 27; 10:1, 2, 21; 1 Chr 1:4, 5).

**A. The Name**

The etymological origin and meaning of the name Japheth is uncertain. Some modern interpreters, following Saadia Gaon (9th century C.E.), take it to mean "fair, beautiful," from *yph* "to be fair, beautiful." According to some earlier Talmudic sages the beauty refers to the Greek language. However, this etymology was already correctly rejected by Abraham Ibn Ezra (12th century). Others suggest that the name is related to the Egyptian Keftiu (Crete) or to the name of the Greek mythological Titan Iapetos, father of Atlas, Prometheus, and Epimetheus. A possible meaning of Japheth is hinted at in the Hebrew pun *yapt ʾĕlōhîm lĕyepet,* "May God make wide for Japheth" (Gen 9:27). Thus the name may mean "spacious," an allusion, at least in Genesis, to an expanded inheritance of land by Japheth. This possible interpretation is based in the name's derivation from the root *pty,* "to be wide, spacious."

**B. Biblical Data**

Japheth is the youngest of Noah's 3 sons, the brother of Shem and Ham (Gen 5:32; 6:10). According to the genealogical table, Japheth comes first (10:1–5). Therefore, some modern scholars (as some Talmudic sages) consider him the eldest; but this is merely conjectural. Japheth, together with his brothers Shem and Ham and their wives, joined Noah in the Ark and escaped the Flood (6:9; 7:13–15; 9:1–18). He also shares together with his brothers the divine blessing and covenant (9:1, 17). Children were born to him, as to his other brothers, after the flood (10:1). In the story of Noah's drunkenness (Gen 9:20–27), Japheth, after receiving the report of his father's nakedness from his brother Ham, discreetly walked backward, together with his other brother Shem, and covered his father. As a result, he became the beneficiary of his father's blessing. See also HAM.

Japheth had 7 sons (Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras) and 7 descendants (Gen 10:2–5; 1 Chr 1:5–7). Unlike the sons and descendants of Shem and Ham, who are mentioned in numerous places throughout the Hebrew Bible, the sons and descendants of Japheth are conspicuous by their absence from most of the biblical books. Outside the genealogical tables in Genesis and Chronicles, four of Japheth's sons—Gomer, Javan, Tubal, and Meshech—are mentioned chiefly in two books: Isa 66:19 (Javan, Tubal, and Meshech) and Ezek 27:13; 32:26; 38:2, 3, 6; 39:1, 6 (Gomer and Tubal). Of Japheth's descendants, the best known are two of Javan's sons: Tarshish (mentioned about 29 times in the Hebrew Bible) and Kittim (mentioned 5 times). According to ethnographic conceptions informing the primeval history, Japheth is the ancestor of the peoples who inhabit the lands N of Canaan. According to later Jewish tradition he also occupies the far east (cf. Jdt 2:25, "east of Gog"; *Jub.* 8:29, "east … as far as the region of the waters"; cf. 9:7–13).

**C. Jewish Tradition**

Hardly any references are made to Japheth in the Apocrypha or Pseudepigrapha outside of the genealogical references to Noah's family (*2 En.* 73:5; *Apoc. Adam* 4:1; *T. Sim.* 6:5; *T. Isaac* 3:15; *L.A.B.* 1:22; 4:1ff.). The most-extensive such reference to Japheth is in *Jubilees:* his birth (4:33), his role in the Noah story (7:9, 12), and his inheritance in the divine land distribution (8:10, 12, 25, 29; 9:7–13; 10:35, 36). *Jubilees* also gives the most detailed information about Japheth's land portion, "The third part [of the earth] was assigned to Japheth, the land beyond the Tina river to the north of its mouth … the direction of the northeast, all the area of Gog and all the land east of it, all the way to the farthest north … towards the mountains of Qelt … towards the Ma'uk Sea … east of Gadir … west of Fereg … towards the Me'at Sea … toward Mount Rafa … five big islands and a huge land in the north …" (8:25–30). "The land given to Ham is hot, to Japheth cold, to Shem neither cold or hot" *(ibid.).* Josephus says that Phrygia belongs to Japheth. See Fig. GEO.05.

An interesting detail given in *Jubilees* about Japheth is that he became jealous of Ham and built a city named Adataneses (Athens?) after his wife (7:15). His granddaughter Melka, daughter of Madai (8:5), married Arphaxad, Shem's son. In the quasi-Jewish *Sibylline Oracles*—in which the sons of Noah are given the names of Greek gods—Shem is identified with Cronos, Ham with Titan, and Japheth as Iapetus (3:110–15). Sethian Gnostic tractate *Apocalypse of Adam* (V,5 72:17; 73:14, 25; 74:11; 76:13–14) deals with the division of the world and empires among the sons of Noah.

Tannaitic and Amoraitic teachers considered Japheth the eldest of Noah's sons. They held Shem to be Noah's youngest son, and said that in the Bible he is mentioned first among the members of his family

because he was the most righteous, wisest, and most-important son, not because he was the oldest (*Sanh.* 69b; *Gen. Rab.* 26:3; 37:7). Japheth assisted Shem in covering Noah's nakedness and was blessed with a burial place for his sons Gog [Gomer?] (cf. Ezek 39:1) and Magog (*Gen. Rab.* 36; cf. Ezek 39:11). The sages propounded Gen 9:27 (see above) as referring to the rebuilding of the Temple by Cyrus, King of Persia, a descendant of Japheth (*Yoma* 10a). Another rabbi argued that Gen 9:27 refers to the teaching of the Law in the Greek language (*Gen. Rab.* 36: *Deut. Rab.* 1).

**D. Christian and Islamic Literature**

In the NT Japheth is mentioned, but his descendants Gog (see above) and Magog figure in the major international war of Revelation (20:8). In the early Christian literature, particularly in Irenaeus of Lyon, Lactantius, Hyppolytus of Rome, Clement, Origen, Epiphanius, and Eusebius, the sons of Noah and their generations are often alluded to but without much elaboration.

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**JAPHETH** (PLACE) [Gk *Iapheth* (Ἰαφεθ)]. A region mentioned only in the book of Judith, Japheth is described as having S borders "fronting toward Arabia" and constitutes a landmark in the southward advances made by Holofernes (2:25). As Zimmerman suggests, this description may mean that the S borders of Japheth were on the same latitude as the Syrian desert (Zimmerman 1972: 73; cf. Moore *Judith* AB, 139). However, the book's geography is confused here, as well as elsewhere (Pfeiffer 1949: 296–97; Metzger 1957: 50), and the meaning of the phrase remains obscure (Cowley *APOT* 1: 250). The text of v 25 suggests that the author has Philistia in mind, but then in v 27, Holofernes is described as moving "down into the plain of Damascus," which suggests that the latter was still in Cilicia (Zimmermann 1972: 73).

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**JAPHIA** (PERSON) [Heb *yāpîaʿ* (יָפִיעַ)]. 1. King of Lachish (Josh 10:3). He was one of 5 Canaanite kings from cities SW of Jerusalem that came together at the instigation of Adonizedek, king of Jerusalem, to oppose the Gibeonites, who had just concluded a treaty with Israel (Josh 10:1–5). This challenge was born out of fear of the Israelites, in response to their conquests of Jericho and Ai, and their treaty with the powerful city of Gibeon. Japhia was executed by Joshua, along with the other kings, after Israel routed their armies with YHWH's help. Their bodies—like the king of Ai's had been (8:29)—were hung on 5 trees until sundown; ironically, they were then thrown into the very cave in which they had attempted to hide from Joshua earlier. The first time, Joshua had sealed them in with large stones in order to capture them; he now sealed them in permanently (Josh 10:6–27).

2. One of 13 sons of David listed as having been born to David's wives in Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:15; 1 Chr 3:7; 14:6), in addition to his 6 sons born at Hebron. His mother's name is unknown: 4 of the 13 sons born in Jerusalem were Bathsheba's sons; the remainder were born to unnamed wives. Besides these 13, David had numerous (unnamed) sons born to his concubines, according to 1 Chr 3:9. See also DAVID, SONS OF.

DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

**JAPHIA** (PLACE) [Heb *yāpîaʿ* (יָפִיעַ)]. A town along the E portion of the S border of Zebulun, mentioned only once in the Bible (Josh 19:12). The location of the late Roman-Byzantine site of Japhia is clearly at modern-day Yafa, ca. 1.5 miles SW of Nazareth (M.R. 176232). The Bronze Age and Iron Age site location is uncertain (Barag in *EAEHL* 2: 541–43); a case has been made for the early site being NE of Nazareth (Boling *Joshua* AB, 445). In a citation roughly contemporary with the events in the book of Joshua (LB), it appears in the Amarna Letters as "the town of Yapu" (*ANET,* 485). It was one of several cities that supplied corveé labor for Egypt. Japhia still stood in Josephus' day, as it was one of the cities

he fortified during the great war with Rome in 66–70 C.E. (*JW* 2.20.6). Josephus described it as the largest village in Galilee, with strong walls, and he stayed there on occasion (*Life* 45, 52).
DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

**JAPHLET** (PERSON) [Heb *yaplēṭ* (יַפְלֵט)]. An Asherite, son of Heber (1 Chr 7:32–33). Heber is listed as a son of Beriah in Gen 46:17 and Num 26:45, but 1 Chronicles 7 is the only place in the OT which lists the sons of Heber. Japhlet is possibly connected to the JAPHLETITES mentioned in Josh 16:3. The Chronicler also uses the similar name Pelet (1 Chr 2:47; 12:3).
TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**JAPHLETITES** [Heb *yaplēṭî* (יַפְלֵטִי)]. A group of people whose territory helped identify the border between Ephraim and Benjamin (Josh 16:3). Their territory was located somewhere between Bethel and Lower Beth- horon. In order to explain why the term Japhletites is found in Josh 16:1–3 but not in other descriptions of the border of Benjamin (Josh 16:5; 18:11–13), Aharoni (*LBHG,* 256) suggests that "these three parallel passages represent three shortened versions of the same list." The size, nature, and origin of this group of people is not known. It may have been a clan, family, village, or ethnic group. An Asherite named JAPHLET is mentioned in 1 Chr 7:32–33. See also *HGB* and Joshua AB.
STEPHEN A. REED

**JAR HANDLE STAMPS, ROYAL.** See STAMPS, ROYAL JAR HANDLE.

**JARAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yaʿrâ* (יַעְרָה)]. Son of Ahaz, a descendant of King Saul of the tribe of Benjamin according to the genealogy in 1 Chr 9:42. However, the textual attestation of this name is problematic; in the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 8:36, this person is named Jehoaddah *[yĕhôʿaddâ],* and the more important LXX manuscripts to 1 Chr 9:42 read *Iada.* Finally, the etymology of MT's Jarah, somehow connected to *yʿr* "forest," is problematic; *yʿr* is not used in other Hebrew personal names, though it is known from NW Semitic names (Benz 1972: 324). Thus many scholars, accepting the LXX, have emended the name to Jadah (Heb *yaʿdâ*) (Noth *IPN,* 246; Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 90; *HALAT,* 404), which is etymologically related to "ornaments," and incorporates the element *ʿdh* typically used in Israelite names (Fowler *TPNAH,* 353–54). This emendation assumes confusion between the letters *dalet* and *reš,* which were graphically similar in both the old and new scripts. Many clear cases of *d-r* interchange are attested to (Delitzsch 1920: 105–7). The name Jenoaddah in the MT of the parallel genealogy would then be seen as an expansionistic form of an original Jadah. Alternatively, Demsky (1971: 19) has shown that this section of the Benjaminite genealogy relates various Benjaminite clans through geographical locations; he thus suggests that Jarah be connected to Kiriath-Jearim. If this is correct, the readings in the LXX and in 1 Chr 9:42 are scribal errors or are secondary attempts to understand the unusual personal name Jarah.

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MARC Z. BRETTLER

**JARBA, ʿEIN EL-** (M.R. 162227). A site located in the SW part of the Plain of Esdraelon about 100 m N of the Jokneam–Megiddo road, an area rich in springs and containing many prehistoric sites. In 1955, during the digging of a nearby drainage channel, fragments of pottery (including a hole-mouth jar decorated with reliefs of dancing people masked like rams), stone vessels, and flints were brought to the surface, all belonging to the Wadi Rabah culture. See RABAH, WADI.

In excavations in the drainage channel during July 1967, 4 strata of settlement (all belonging to the Wadi Rabah culture) were identified. In stratum I, close to the surface, only scattered stones but no buildings had survived, although parts of structures were uncovered in strata II–III. These consisted of a

rectangular room with an enclosed courtyard adjacent. In stratum IV (on virgin soil) were discovered two sections of thin walls. Near one wall was a secondary burial, containing parts of 5 human skulls and fragments of a large jar, which probably served as a funerary offering. The decorated hole-mouth jar mentioned above, whose base was found in situ, apparently had also been deposited as one of the grave goods. A hearth and 7 shallow pits dug into the virgin soil were also discovered. Elliptical-shaped plastered floors were uncovered in all 4 strata, suggesting that these all existed close in time.

The pottery finds included all types of vessels and decorations already known from the excavations at Wadi Rabah and other sites attesting that culture. It also included hitherto unattested types of vessels and decoration (e.g., the hole-mouth jar with dancing figures, and the large jar of stratum IV). Carbon 14 tests from level IV indicate a date of 3740 B.C. ± 140 years. Even assuming that ʿEin el-Jarba is not the oldest Wadi Rabah settlement, it is hard to conceive that other sites of this culture will be attested earlier than 4000 B.C. The excavations at ʿEin el-Jarba have therefore added to our knowledge of the Wadi Rabah culture and of the Chalcolithic period in Palestine in general.

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JACOB KAPLAN

**JARED** (PERSON) [Heb *yered* (יֶרֶד)*; yāred* (יָרֶד)]. Son of Mahalalel, born when Mahalalel was 65 years old (Gen 5:15–20). At 162 years of age, Jared sired Enoch. Jared lived a total of 962 years. Comparison with the genealogy of Cain in Genesis 4 has suggested a correspondence between Jared and Irad (Gabriel 1959: 417; *GHBW,* 161; Sasson 1978: 174). However, the initial consonants of the two names differ *(ʿayin* vs. *yod)* to such an extent as to render explanations of parallel development from a common source unlikely. Explanations for the name Jared include: the Hebrew word for "rose" (Noth *IPN,* 231); the Akkadian word for "servant," *(w)ardu* (*HALAT* 2: 416); the Arabic word for "courageous"; the Hebrew root, *yrd,* "to descend." Noth's analysis is possible, but it lacks parallels. While the use of the Akkadian *(w)ardu* in personal names is extremely common, the word does not appear in W Semitic. There it is replaced by the root *ʿbd,* which is rendered *abdu* in cuneiform. The suggestion of an Arabic cognate also reaches outside of the W Semitic world for a comparison. On the other hand, the Hebrew root, *yrd,* "to descend," does appear in W Semitic personal names.

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RICHARD S. HESS

**JARHA** (PERSON) [Heb *yarhāʿ* (יַרְחָע)]. An Egyptian slave of Sheshan, who married his master's daughter (Ahlai?) and became the founder of a house of the Jerahmeelites (1 Chr 2:34, 35) cf v 31. No additional information is provided for this Egyptian. His 13 descendants can not be identified with any degree of certainty with names occurring elsewhere in the OT. The identity of Jarha's wife is a complex and unsolved problem centering on the name Ahlai. The masculine form of this name (however see Keil 1872: 67) and its appearance in the list of David's mighty men (1 Chr 11:41) presents some problem to this conclusion. Consequently, some suggest that Ahlai of v 31 should be read Attai as in v 36; or that Ahlai (if modified to mean "a brother to me") was a name given to Jarha at the time of his adoption into the family of Sheshan; or that Ahlai, though a son of Sheshan, was born after the marriage of his daughter (however note v 34); or that different sources are reflected in this genealogy. See Williamson (1979: 352) for a recent discussion of sources in this genealogy and the conclusion that 2:25–33 and 42–50a stand as a related unit, but that v 34 reflects a different source. See also Curtis (*Chronicles* ICC, 83) for an analysis of older, but still-debated, theories of genealogical sources. The wording of v 35 "So Sheshan gave his daughter in marriage to Jarha his slave …" is considered by some commentators as equivalent to making his servant his heir (Elmslie *Chronicles* CBC, 19), similar to Eliezer's relationship to Abraham (Gen 15:2–3). See NUZI for discussions of patriarchal customs possibly reflecting similar arrangements. From

such records, a few scholars consider Jarha a proselyte and date this incident to the period of sojourn in Egypt; others, however, consider it difficult to understand how an Egyptian could be a slave to an Israelite at that time. Still others regard Jarha as an eponym of Jerahmeel and proceed to identify Sheshan with Sheshai of Hebron, concluding that the genealogy presents a northward movement of this tribe to the area around Hebron. Locating Jarha in time is difficult, and suggestions range from shortly before the Exodus (Keil 1872: 67) to the days of Eli, or even to some date nearer to the Chronicler's own time (see Braun, *Chronicles* WBC, 46). Lacking sufficient evidence the question must remain open.

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W. P. STEEGER

**JARIB** (PERSON) [Heb *yārîb* (יָרִיב)]. A personal name utilizing an imperfect form of the verb *ryb* ("strive," "contend") and translated "he contends" in the sense of conducting a legal case or suit on behalf of someone. It may also mean "may he (i.e. Yahweh) contend" thus suggesting the possibility that it is a shortened form of *yĕ (h)ôyārîb* (*IPN,* 201, 245). See JOIARIB. Three individuals are so named.

1. The third of 5 sons of Simeon as recorded only by the Chronicler (1 Chr 4:24). In the other Simeonite lists (Gen 46:10, Exod 6:15—both of which name 6 sons; Num 26:12) the name *yākin* appears. See JACHIN.

2. One of 11 (Ezra 8:16) or 10 (1 Esdr 8:43—Eng8:44) men who were sent by Ezra to Iddo at "Casiphia the place" with a request for "ministers for the house of our God" (Ezra 8:17) or "men to serve as priests in the house of our Lord" (1 Esdr 8:45—Eng8:46). In Ezra he is listed among 9 "heads," understood by Blenkinsopp (*Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 164) as "heads of ancestral houses" with the 2 remaining individuals described as possessing understanding. When these 2 last-mentioned individuals—Joiarib (maybe a longer form of Jarib) and Elnathan (mentioned twice previously)—are deleted as a misplaced marginal gloss (Rudolph *Esra und Nehemia* HAT, 80; Williamson *Ezra-Nehemiah* WBC, 113), both designations ("head" and "understanding") apply to Jarib's group. In 1 Esdr he (Gk *Iōribos*) is included among 10 who are described as "leaders" and "wise" (8:43—Eng8:44).

3. A priest of the house of Jeshua, son of Jozadak, who had married a foreign woman and pledged to put her away and offer a ram as a guilt offering (Ezra 10:18; 1 Esdr 9:19).

RODNEY H. SHEARER

**JARMUTH** (PLACE) [Heb *yarmût* (יַרְמוּת)]. The name of 2 towns in ancient Israel.

1. A town of Issachar which was allotted to the Gershonite family of the Levites as part of their inheritance (Josh 21:29). In a parallel list of the Levitical cities (1 Chr 6:57–58—Eng6:72–73) the order of the towns appears to be the same, but Jarmuth is called Ramoth (Heb *ra›môt;* in which the *›alep* appears to function as a vowel letter [cf. GKC 7]). Ramoth, in turn, is probably a variation of the name Remeth (Josh 19:21; Heb *remet*). Each of these renderings preserve the same essential consonantal arrangements. The LXX refers to the town by various names: *Rhemmath* or *Iermōth* (Josh 21:29), and *Rhemmas* or *Rhamath* (Josh 19:21, B and A respectively).

Some earlier scholarship sought to identify the site with a village, *er-Rameh,* approximately 11 miles SW of Jenin (*ISBE* 4: 2557). While this site preserves the consonantal tradition, it lay outside Issachar's borders and hence is not likely the location of Remeth (or of Jarmuth).

In 1921, C. S. Fisher discovered a basalt stele at the site of Bethshan. While the stele was found in secondary use in Byzantine levels, it contained a hieroglyphic inscription of Seti I (ca. 1300 B.C.; Rowe 1930: 29–30). The inscription refers to some disturbances involving the *‹apiru* of Mount Yarmuta and a group called "Teyer …" (so *ANET,* 255; but cf. Albright 1952) who were attacking Asiatics. Seti dispatched a contingent of infantry and chariotry who purportedly suppressed the rebellion and returned in 2 days.

While the plain of Issachar is not particularly mountainous or hilly, the most impressive site is the location of the Crusader castle of Belvoir (M.R. 199222), which Aharoni suggests as the possible site of Jarmuth (*LBHG,* 28). While only 312 m above sea level, it appears more dramatically high as it stands 550 m above the Jordan Valley providing a panoramic view of the valley into Gilead (*EAEHL* 1: 179). If the names of the site—*yarmût, ra›môt,* and *remet*—are all derived from the Heb root *rûm* ("be high, rise"; cf. BDB, 926–28), then several elements converge to lend credence to the identification of Belvoir with Jarmuth: (1) the correlation of the linguistic evidence with the geographic prominence of the site; (2) the inscriptional evidence of Seti I and its reference to a "Mount Yarmuta"; (3) its location within the recognized borders of Issachar; and (4) its proximity to Beth-shan (ca. 10 km N) which puts it within range of a two-day long military mission.

However, a significant and serious detraction from this identification is that essentially no Iron Age materials are known from the site. It is possible that either Crusader construction techniques have obliterated underlying ruins (which sometimes is the case), or the identification of Jarmuth with Belvoir is erroneous. Obviously, further investigation is necessary.

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DALE W. MANOR

2. A town which joined the S Canaanite coalition (Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon) against Joshua (Josh 10:3, 5), whose king Joshua temporarily imprisoned in a cave before executing him (Josh 10:23; 12:11). The town was allotted to Judah (Josh 15:35) and was reoccupied following the return from Exile (Neh 11:29).

The biblical site is identified with a Byzantine village by the name of *Iermochos,* which is about 10 miles from Beth Govrin (Eleutheropolis) on the road to Jerusalem. Eusebius (*Onomast.* 106.24) identified this site with the LXX *Iermous.* This identification is now generally accepted, although archaeological evidence has neither confirmed nor dismissed its biblical connection. It is located (M.R. 147124) ca. 25 km SW of Jerusalem in the central Shephelah between the Sorek and Elah valleys. The site covers ca. 40 acres (640 × 420 m) including a small acropolis (ca. 3 acres).

First described by V. Guérin, who visited it in 1854 and suggested its biblical identification, the site was tested in 1970 by A. Ben-Tor and has been excavated since 1980 by P. de Miroschedji. Both the acropolis and the lower city were first settled during the 2d half of the 4th millennium B.C. (EB I) and was continuously occupied until the end of the EB III, ca. 2300, when the entire settlement was abandoned. Reoccupation took place in the LB, but only on the acropolis and its immediate vicinity. This restricted area remained inhabited more or less continuously until the 4th century A.D., when some sectors of the lower city were settled again for a brief period.

The EB II–III city was protected by a fortification system of exceptional size and complexity. Built in the early EB II, ca. 2900 B.C., the first rampart consisted of a stone wall 5–6 m thick with large buttresses placed at regular intervals and a massive stone bastion (30 × 15 m) in the corner. This rampart was later reinforced with a glacis, part stone and part earth. A second wall 3 m thick with cyclopean masonry was erected at the end of the EB II, bringing the total thickness of the fortification system to nearly 40 m. The area between the 2 walls was later subjected to a vast terracing operation. Finally, 6 monumental platforms, 30–40 × 10–12 m, were built in this intermediate space along the corner of the city in the EB III.

Access to this part of the city was through a monumental gate established in the outer wall. During the EB III period, it underwent several changes and rebuildings. It was approached from the outside by means of a plastered ramp limited on both sides by retaining walls. Rebuilt and raised 3 times, the ramp climbed in its final stage to nearly 8 m above bedrock.

A prominent feature of the topography of Tell Jarmuth is the existence over the slopes of the entire lower city of a terrace system with retaining walls up to 6 m high. The excavations suggest that these were

artificial terraces built with a fill of stone with inner partition walls. Each supported a series of constructions which, once destroyed and levelled, served as foundations for new buildings.

The EB III strata have been extensively cleared in 3 areas in the lower city. Large buildings of a public character were identified in area C. The most interesting is the so-called "White Building," probably a sanctuary. It is a rectangular hall of the broadroom type (13.5 × 6.75 m) with a central row of 4 pillars resting on large stone bases. The main entrance was through a door in the middle of the S facade. This building was part of an architectural complex including a chamber built around its SE corner, a courtyard established in front, and 2 adjacent rooms to the S. That this was a sanctuary is suggested by the typical features of its plan, its careful construction, and comparisons with similar buildings of a cultic nature, i.e., the temples at En-gedi (Chalcolithic), at Megiddo XIX (EB I), at ʿAi and Arad (EB II), and at Megiddo XV and Bâb edh-Dhrâʿ (EB III).

EB III private houses grouped in an *insula* surrounded by a street were also excavated (area G). The *insula* resulted from the progressive agglutination of several dwelling units which were modified, enlarged, and finally linked together. The typical dwelling was composed of 1 or 2 rooms and a courtyard with several domestic installations. On the other side of the lower city, an area of specialized activities, probably "industrial," has been identified (area H). A row of 6 small rooms and courtyards was cleared; they contained only coarse pottery, large mortars, and several enigmatic installations, including two kiln-like structures.

Given its size and the density of its construction, the EB III city of Jarmuth may have had a population of ca. 3,000, engaged mainly in agriculture (cereals, vegetables, grapes, and especially olives) and animal husbandry (mostly sheep and goats, cattle and donkeys being used for traction and transport). Finds indicate that the city had trade connections with the Golan in the N, the Dead Sea in the E, and the Negeb, and that it was in contact with Egypt. Tell Jarmuth is a type site for EB III pottery, where almost every known pottery shape is represented. An interesting corpus of EB III human and animal figurines was also discovered.

Soundings on the acropolis have revealed traces of more or less continuous occupation from the LB to the early Byzantine periods. Noteworthy is an Iron Age I destruction level dated to the mid-11th century with pottery similar to Tell Qasile XI–X. Surface finds include a Hellenistic cooking-pot handle bearing a stamp of a 5-pointed star and the letters *yršlm,* and a coin of Herod the Great. The early Byzantine remains (ca. 4th century A.D.) are represented on the acropolis by the ruins of a small village, to be identified with Eusebius' *Iermochos* and in the lower city by the remains of a large building, possibly square in plan and measuring ca. 75 m on each side. This complex was apparently unfinished and may have been intended as a large farm or a caravanserai.

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PIERRE DE MIROSCHEDJI

**JAROAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yārôaḥ* (יָרוֹחַ)]. A Gadite, who was the grandfather of Abihail (1 Chr 5:14), the father of the 11 (or 10; see SHAPHAT) sons listed in 1 Chr 5:12–13. His name may be cognate with an Arabic term *(wariḥa)* that means "soft" or "delicate" (Noth *IPN,* 226). The several textual variants in 1 Chr 5:14 that concern the spelling of the Gadite's name probably arose from scribes confusing Hebrew letters that sounded or were written similarly (e.g., *ḥet* with *ʿayin* or *he,* and *reš* with *dalet*). Neither Jaroah nor the others named in the Chronicler's genealogy for Gad (1 Chr 5:11–17) appear in other lists of Gadites (Gen 46:16; Num 26:15–18; 1 Chr 12:9–16—Eng12:8–15).

M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**JASHAR, BOOK OF** [Heb *sēper* (סֵפֶר) *hayyāšar* (הַיָּשָׁר)]. A lost source book of early Israelite poetry, quoted in Josh 10:12b–13a (Joshua's command to the sun and moon) and 2 Sam 1:19–27 (David's lament for Saul and Jonathan). A third probable excerpt appears in 1 Kgs 8:12–13, a couplet imbedded in Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple, which survives in fullest form in the LXX where it appears at the end of the prayer, directing the reader to the "Book of the Song" (Gk *biblio tēs ōdēs*). It has been suggested that this reference stems from an accidental metathesis of letters in the Hebrew text *(šyr* for *yšr),* though the reverse is also possible.

The term "Jashar" is a common Hebrew word meaning "one who [or that which] is straight, honest, just, righteous, upright." Thus, it is commonly assumed that the title refers either to the heroic individuals who are the subjects of its contents or perhaps to all Israel as the upright people. If the latter is the case, the title may be related to the term Jeshurun, a variant form of the name Israel (cf. Deut 32:15 and 33:5, 26).

The 3 quotations from the Book of Jashar are all archaic poetry, which is sometimes designated "song" *(šyr)* elsewhere when inserted in prose contexts (cf. Exod 15:1; Num 21:17; Deut 31:30). Because of this fact, and because the term "Jashar" in the title has not been satisfactorily explained and is obviously similar to various forms of the verbal root *(šyr),* "to sing," some scholars have argued that the LXX rendering, "Book of Song," is the correct title. If so, there is some doubt whether the book ever existed in written form as such. The reference in each case may be to the familiar oral repertoire of professional singers in ancient Israel who preserved Israel's epic and lyric traditions within various worship settings, particularly in conjunction with the major festivals. In this regard it is interesting to note that the masculine noun *šîr* eventually becomes a specific term for Temple music on the part of Levitical choirs, with instrumental accompaniment (cf. 1 Chr 25:6–7).

The nature of the book may be inferred from its 3 citations. It seems to have been a collection of ancient national songs, the antiquity of which is suggested by the relatively poor state of preservation of the Hebrew text in each case. The book must have contained a variety of songs, for each of the 3 citations is quite different. The first (Josh 10:12b–13a) is apparently an ancient incantation addressed to the heavenly bodies to prolong daylight, or perhaps to lengthen predawn darkness—until Israel has time to complete its victory in battle against the Amorites (van den Bussche 1951; Eisler 1926; Holladay 1968). It has been rendered as follows:

> Sun, stand still in Gibeon!
> Moon, (stand still) in the valley of Aijalon!
> The Sun stood still, the Moon stayed;
> Until He had taken vengeance upon the nations of His enemies.

The second (2 Sam 1:19–27) is the well-known lament over Saul and Jonathan, which is a remarkable witness to David's poetic skill and to his personal friendship with the tragic heroes involved. The third (1 Kgs 8:12–13) appears to be a couplet taken from an ancient song establishing God's supremacy over nature and ritual, reminiscent of Ugaritic parallels (Loretz 1974; cf. also van den Born 1965); which has been translated:

> A sun Yahweh established in the heavens, but He hath purposed to dwell in thick darkness;
> I have surely built a noble house for Thee, a residence where Thou shalt dwell perpetually.

The content, structure, and origin of the Book of Jashar are all uncertain. In a detailed study of LXX traditions, Thackeray (1910) argued that the book included minor collections, like the Psalter, two of which are known: "Of the Children of Judah" and "Of the Children of Israel." He compared these names to both the J and E sources of Pentateuchal criticism and to the title "Of the children of Korah" in the Psalter, which apparently derived its title from a guild of temple singers in a later period. Some think the book was a written collection begun in premonarchic Israel and expanded from time to time. Others consider it a compilation of oral traditions, not earlier than the days of Solomon and perhaps much later. It's nearest parallel is the "Book of the Wars of the Lord" (Num 21:14). In fact, some scholars have identified these two books as one. There has been speculation as to whether such archaic works as the "Song of the Sea" (Exod 15:1–18), the Song of Miriam (Exod 15:21), the Song of Moses (Deut 32), the

Song of Deborah (Judges 5), and the Song of Hannah (1 Sam 2:1–10) were included in these ancient anthologies of Israel's heroic past. If these collections are understood to be the oral repertoire of Israel's professional singers, there is little difficulty including such works in the so-called Book of Jashar (see Mowinckel 1935; Nielsen 1954: 39–62).

The mysterious nature of the Book of Jashar has given rise to false identifications and imitations of the book. The Talmud (ʿ*Abod. Zar.* 25a) homiletically identifies the Book of Jashar with the "book of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" (i.e. Genesis), who were "upright." Certain ancient Jewish commentators considered the title to be a reference to the Torah. A medieval Book of Jashar paralleled, in part, the pseudepigraphic *Testament of Judah.* Still other medieval rabbinical works with this title appeared. An interesting example of a more recent forgery from Christian circles is associated with Alcuin, Bishop of Canterbury (d. A.D. 804), who is said to have discovered it in the city of Gazna on a "Pilgrimage into the Holy Land, and Persia." First published in 1829, it is reputed to have been the words of "Jashar, the son of Caleb" rediscovered in England in 1721. The Rosicrucian Order published a 5th edition of this particular text in 1953.

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DUANE L. CHRISTENSEN

**JASHEN** (PERSON) [Heb *yāšēn* (יָשֵׁן)]. One of the members of the "the Thirty," the elite class of David's warriors (2 Sam 23:32 = 1 Chr 11:34). He was known as "the Gizonite," probably a description of the location of his origin. Both the personal name, Jashen, and the qualifying adjective, Gizonite, are uncertain due to the corrupt condition of the text in 2 Sam 23:32 (cf. 1 Chr 11:34) but are regarded by scholars as highly probable readings. The evidence and argument for them follows.

(1) The Hebrew orthography of 2 Sam 23:24 reads: *ʾlyḥbʾ hšʿlbny bny yšn yhwntn* ("Eliahba the Shaalbonite, the sons of Yashen, Jonathan"). The referent for *bny yšn* (sons of Jashen) is missing in the text. The expression has become *bny hšm* ("sons of fame") in 1 Chronicles as an attempt to make sense of it, but the referent is still lacking. (2) The word *bny* can be explained as dittography, the last 3 letters of the previous word *(hšʿlbny)* being the same (Luc does not translate *bny*). (3) The name, Jashen, does not have a qualifying adjective in 2 Samuel. This would be anomalous in the list of the warriors there, since every name is qualified by either a patronymic or a gentilic (accepting with LXX a patronymic for Jonathan). The missing description is preserved in 1 Chronicles as "the Gizonite."

A problem, however, remains. The term "Gizonite" is unique in MT and there is no evidence of a proper noun "Gizon." Two solutions have been proposed: (1) The LXX reads *Gōuni* (A), "the Gunite," a reference to a man who was the head of a clan in the tribe of Napthali (Num 26:48). This reading has arisen as a result of confusing the Heb *zayin* for *waw.* (2) The reading is a textual corruption of "Gimzoni," and thus a reference to the town, Gimzo, in S Judah (Elliger 1966: 73 n. 4, 96–97).

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STEPHEN G. DEMPSTER

**JASHOBEAM** (PERSON) [Heb *yāšābĕʿām* (יָשָׁבְעָם)]. Var. JOSHEB-BASSHEBETH. 1. One of David's champions, a select class of warriors directly attached to the king for special assignments (1 Chr 11:10–47, v 11; = 2 Sam 23:8–39, v 8 in which the variant Josheb-Basshebeth occurs). Jashobeam is identified as "a son of Hachmoni" (RSV "a Hachmonite"), a designation which means either he is a

descendent of the unknown person Hachmoni or is one who came from an unidentified people or place named "Hachmon" (see, also, the variant in 2 Sam 23:8, "Tahchemonite"). Jashobeam stands exalted as foremost among David's champions, identified as the chief of a military unit of some sort, which due to the ambiguity of the term has been understood variously as: "the thirty," according to the consonantal text of the MT; "the officers," a conjectured meaning in accord with the vowel pointing of the MT; or "the three/s." As an example of his prowess, he is said to have killed 300 men with his spear in one encounter. The higher number of 800 in the parallel text (2 Sam 23:8) is to be preferred, since his exploits presumably surpassed that of Abishai (1 Chr 11:30–31 = 2 Sam 23:18–19; Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 102).

In certain Gk mss, both at 1 Chr 11:11 and 2 Sam 23:8, one finds a variant name *Iesbaal,* which would be the equivalent of the Heb *yišbaʿal* (possibly meaning, "man of Baal" [BDB, 36; for a review of contrary opinions see Tsevat 1975: 77–79; *TPNAH,* 57]). Generally, this name has been recognized as the original name. If this is the case, the form "Jashobeam" might have arisen through a confusion of the final letters, an *m* in the place of the *l.* The form of this name found in 2 Samuel is generally explained as having arisen in two steps. First, the element *bōšet,* "shame," was deliberately substituted for "baal," a term which could mean "lord" and refer to Yahweh, but which also was a title for a Canaanite god and, therefore, presented the possibility of theological offense (postulated first by Geiger, followed by Wellhausen and others; see *NHT,* 253–55, 363–64). (A tendency to transform names compounded with the element "baal" does not occur in Chronicles.) Secondly, an accidental repetition of the letter *b* occurred. Contrary to the above thesis, it has been pointed out that the element *baštu* occurs in Akkadian names in which it means "dignity, pride, vigor" or possibly "guardian angel, patron saint"; several characters in the OT were known by more than one name, and the postulated principle of substitution meets with various inconsistencies (Tsevat 1975: 75, 84–86).

Apparently the same Jashobeam is mentioned in a list of commanders found in 1 Chr 27:1–15 (v 2), since this list mentions 11 other mighty men found in 1 Chr 11:10–47. Here he is designated as the "son of Zabdiel" (v 2) and a "descendant of Perez" (v 3) of the tribe of Judah, a designation which differs from that of 1 Chr 11:11. Differences between the two lists in 1 Chronicles suggest that the composition of neither was dependent upon the other (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 174). These commanders were each in charge of a monthly course of 24,000 men (or possibly 24 "units," rather than "thousands," Myers *Chronicles* AB, 183, 53, 98) in the armed service of the king; Jashobeam was in charge of the first month. This list of commanders and their functions is possibly a construct of its composer, since (a) no such monthly, conscripted, civilian army is mentioned elsewhere during David's reign; (b) the large number of 288,000 men, if the term is understood correctly, is improbable; and (c) one of the commanders, Asahel (v 7) was dead before David had rule over all Israel (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 174–75). However, the author/redactor's thesis—that David made preparations for the proper ongoing cultic and national life of Israel (as illustrated throughout chapters 23–27)—draws on the fact that David took a census (vv 23–24; chap 21) which could have been utilized for designing a monthly plan of conscription; such a plan would have been analogous to Solomon's monthly courses for his provision (1 Kgs 4:7–19).

2. One of a group of Benjaminite warriors who defected from Saul, also a Benjaminite, and who gave their allegiance to David at Ziklag during the period in which David was banned from Saul's court (1 Chr 12:1–7). These men were noted for their ambidextrous fighting skills as bowmen and stone slingers (Judg 20:16). This Jashobeam is designated a "Korahite," and would, therefore, appear to be a different individual from the Jashobeam of 1 Chr 11:11 and 27:2. If the designation "Korahite" is a reference to the Levitical family of Korah, then Jashobeam was a Levite would had resided in Benjaminite territory. Otherwise, he originated from an unknown place named "Korah" (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 104); or, as Miller (1970: 66–67) has suggested, there is some confusion in the list, and Jashobeam was really a non-Benjaminite who came from a group of Korahites located in S Judah.

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RODNEY K. DUKE

**JASHUB** (PERSON) [Heb *yāšûb* (יָשׁוּב)]. The name of 2 individuals in the Hebrew Bible. Noth categorized "Jasub" as a "wish name" which means "may be (Yaweh) turn (to us again)" (*IPN*, 199).

1. One of the 4 sons of Issachar (Num 26:24; 1 Chr 7:1 [K *yšyb,* Q *yāšûb*]). Noth also stated that the section concerning Issachar in Num 26:23–27 appears in its "original form without additions" (*Numbers* OTL, 206). But Meyers argued that the final editor of the genealogy in 1 Chronicles probably drew from several census lists whose significance was lost (*1 Chronicles* AB, 53), while Williamson detected a military census put in genealogical form (*Chronicles* NCBC, 76). The 2 lists agree substantially, with only a slight variation in the spelling of one of the sons (Puvah [Num 26:23] and Puah [1 Chr 7:1]). The genealogy of Gen 46:8–27 names Iob (Heb *yôb*) instead of Jashub (v 13—LXX v 20). The LXX and the Samaritan Pentateuch list Jashub here, but these are probably corrections based on the texts in Numbers and 1 Chronicles. Even so, Jashub may be taken as part of the most ancient census tradition.

2. A descendent of Bani and one of the returned exiles who was required by Ezra to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:29 = 1 Esdr 9:30). Jashub was a member of a family from which a group of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:10; cf. Neh 7:8 which lists the family of Binnui). For further discussion, see BEDEIAH.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

**JASON** (PERSON) [Gk *Iasōn* (Ἰασων)]. 1. A Christian in Thessalonica (Acts 17:5–9). Because his Greek name was often used in the Diaspora for such Hebrew names as Joshua or Jeshua, it may be assumed he was a Hellenistic Jew, and probably one of those converted during Paul's preaching in the Thessalonian synagogue (17:2–4). Jason became host to Paul and Silas (17:7), and it was therefore his house which was attacked by those in opposition to the missionaries. When the mob could not find Paul and Silas, they dragged Jason and other brethren to the city authorities. Jason was accused of welcoming people who had "turned the world upside down" (17:6). He and his guests were said to be "acting against the decrees of Caesar, saying that there is another king, Jesus" (17:7). Only when Jason and the others posted bond were they let go (17:9).

Jason may have been prosperous since he could offer hospitality to Paul and Silas and apparently host as well the housechurch they had begun. Once the missionaries had left Thessalonica, Jason probably was locally recognized as the leader of the church. It has generally been assumed that he and the brethren were arrested in Paul's stead and that the security they supplied functioned as a promise to the authorities to keep Paul from returning. Yet it is quite probable that Jason was in trouble not merely by default, but in his own right. Evidence for this is that the bond he posted seems related not directly to Paul's activities but rather to actions by the church members themselves (Jewett 1986: 117; cf. Gillman fc.). Whatever these actions were, they resulted in ongoing suffering for the Thessalonian Christians at the hands of their "countrymen" after Paul had left (1 Thess 2:14). A further argument that Jason's bond did not relate to Paul is the latter's remark in 1 Thess 2:18 that he had attempted to return to Thessalonica "again and again—but Satan hindered us." Paul attributes his inability to return not to a bond, but to Satan (Whitely 1969: 49–50). In sum, these observations suggest another perspective than the traditional view that Jason was a person who ended up in trouble with the authorities primarily because Paul could not be found. Jason and his brethren evidently posted bond for their own independent actions.

2. A person who along with two others, Lucius and Sosipater, is identified as one of Paul's kinsmen; thus a fellow Jewish Christian (Rom 16:21). Paul conveys greetings from these 3 to the recipients of Romans. This indicates that a person named Jason was present with Paul in Corinth as he wrote Romans, presumably ca. 58 C.E.

Although the commonality of the name argues against too readily equating this Jason in Corinth with Jason of Thessalonica, in fact it is probable that the two were the same person (Cranfield *Romans* ICC, 805–6). The association of Jason with Sosipater in Rom 16:21 when read in conjunction with Acts 20:4 suggests the link. Among those who travel with Paul after he leaves Corinth according to 20:4 are said to

be Sopater of Beroea and various Thessalonians (Jason is not one of those named, however). Since Sopater's name is a shortened form of Sosipater and his town, Beroea, was located near Thessalonica, it seems that Sosipater and Jason of Rom 16:21 were in fact companions from Beroea and Thessalonica respectively. On this supposition, Rom 16:21 adds to what can be known of Jason of Thessalonica from Acts 17:5–9 that he was definitely a Jew and that at some point in the years following the Thessalonian church's founding, he apparently left to travel or move with Paul to Corinth.

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FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

**JATHAN** (PERSON) [Gk *Iathan* (Ἰαθαν)]. A son of Shemaiah and a possible kinsman of Tobit (Tob 5:14—Eng5:13). The archangel Raphael (sent by God to help cure Tobit's blindness) identified himself as Azarias, the son of Ananias, a relative of Tobit. Tobit, in turn, mentioned the brothers Ananias and Jathan as persons with whom he used to travel to Jerusalem to pay his tithes. One might infer that Jathan was a kinsman of Tobit, though the text does not say so explicitly, and that Tobit might have been related to Ananias through marriage, and not to Jathan at all. While Codices Alexandrinus and Vaticanus read the name as "Jathan," Sinaiticus reads it as "Nathan." The second reading suggests a play on names. The name "Ananias" means "God favors," and the name "Nathan" means "he gives." Zimmermann (1958: 75) argues that the previous verse (5:13—Eng5:12) exhibits word plays on the names Azariah (God helps) and Ananias (God favors). (Cf. 6:6 for another word play on Azariah.) Given the proclivity for word plays on names in the book of Tobit and its fictional character, the author of Tobit and/or the translator of Sinaiticus may have intended to delight the reader with the names "God favors" and "he gives" as those persons with whom Tobit worshipped in Jersualem.

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**JATHNIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yatnî·ēl* (יַתְנִיאֵל)]. A Levitical gatekeeper from the Korahite family of Meshelemiah. The fourth son of this family, he is named only in 1 Chr 26:2, in the Chronicler's (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 169) or perhaps a later (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 173) organization of the gatekeepers in the temple at Jerusalem. The Lucianic recension renders this etymologically obscure (*IPN,* 248) name *Nathanaēl* (compare the Syriac, *ntn·jl*).

J. S. ROGERS

**JATTIR** (PLACE) [Heb *yattîr* (יַתִּיר)]. The third Levitical city in the Judah/Simeon list. There are no Hebrew variations in either the Joshua (21:14) or 1 Chronicles (6:42—Eng6:57) account. Besides being mentioned in the 2 Levitical city lists, Jattir appears in the allotment to Judah (Josh 15:48). Here Jattir is described as being in the hill country. Jattir also appears in one of the stories about David and the Amalekites. When David arrived at Ziklag and saw the city burned by the Amalekites he inquired of the Lord what he should do. He was instructed to pursue and overtake the Amalekites and did so. The victory was great, only 400 young men and camels escaped. David's spoil was large; he recovered everything the Amalekites had taken from Ziklag, all of the flocks and herds, "nothing was missing, whether small or great, sons and daughters" (1 Sam 30:19). Then David divided the spoils, sending them to the elders of Judah. One of the recipients was the elder in Jattir (1 Sam 30:27).

Biblical Jattir has been identified with Khirbet ʿAttir (M.R. 151084). Khirbet ʿAttir is in the rolling hill and mountainous country NE of Beer-sheba, lying at one of the S outreaches of mountains stretching into the Negeb flatlands. The site is located 21 km SW of Hebron, 7 km SW of es-Saḿ and 15 km SE of Tell Beit Mirsim. It is a difficult site to reach because of the rugged terrain.

Eusebius (*Onomast.* 108) was the first geographer to mention Jattir, but it was Robinson (1841: 194) who made the association between Jattir and Khirbet ʿAttir. The identification of Jattir with Khirbet ʿAttir has been accepted by Guérin (1869: 199), Conder and Kitchener (1881: 408), Alt (1932: 15), Noth (*Josua* HAT, 97), and Boling *(Joshua* AB, 493).

There have been numerous surveys conducted at Khirbet ʿAttir, but very few identifying the historical occupation of the site. Although the Archaeological Survey of Israel in 1967–68 examined many tells in the region S of Hebron, Khirbet ʿAttir was not one of them. In 1971 the Levitical City Survey found that the earliest occupation at Khirbet ʿAttir was late Iron II. There was also pottery from the Hellenistic, Roman, Islamic, and Arabic periods. Most of the Iron II pottery comes from the 7th/6th centuries; the 8th century was also represented. The identification of Khirbet ʿAttir with biblical Jattir stands. Although the archaeological evidence does not support an occupation of the site during the conquests of King David, it was occupied during the writing of the Deuteronomistic history.

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JOHN L. PETERSON

**JAVAN** (PERSON) [Heb *yāwān* (יָוָן)]. One of 7 sons of Japheth and a grandson of Noah according to the Table of Nations (Gen 10:2) and the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 1:5. The former text presents him as the ancestor of maritime peoples ("islands of the nations," Gen 10:5). This refers to the area of the Aegean and E Mediterranean seas, as is shown by the inclusion of Elishah (Alashiya, Crete) and Kittim (Cyprus; Gen 10:4; 1 Chr 1:7) in the list. Maritime trade of Javan is highlighted in Ezek 27:13, 19, while their distance from Palestine is the point of Isa 66:19. This distance explains the severity of the wrong inflicted on the Judeans by the Tyrians and Sidonians, who sold them into captivity even as far away as Javan (Joel 3:6).

Javan is to be identified with Ionia, an area of Greek settlement in SW Asia Minor from at least the 1st millennium B.C., and possibly several centuries earlier. Cities in the area included Smyrna and Ephesus (cf. Rev 2:1–11). Contact between the Greeks and the Assyrians as early as the reign of Sargon II (8th century B.C.) is shown from Akkadian records, which call the area Jawan or Jaman (Parpola 1970: 186–87). Under Cyrus (late 6th century B.C.), this coastal area of Asia Minor became the satrapy of Ionia. Later the name was expanded to describe the entire Greek population on both sides of the Aegean—an example of the whole being identified by one of its parts, as in our use of the name Russia. Because of the territorial expansion of the Greeks under Alexander the Great (4th century B.C.), the related term Javana is known even in the Sanskrit of India.

The extended usage of the name is evident in the book of Daniel. Here the empire of the Persians will be replaced by that of Javan and its king, referring to Alexander (Dan 8:21; 10:20; 11:2). This, yet another foreign domination, will not satisfy Israel. Rather they will rise against their Greek overlords (Zech 9:13), possibly a prophetic allusion to the period of the Maccabees (mid-2d century B.C.).

A second identification of a more limited use of the name Javan associates it with Gaza (Berger). Some have proposed this based on the collocation of Javan with the Danites (Ezek 27:19), a tribe which has early S ties. The LXX and several other Greek and Persian texts also support this identification. This interpretation cannot be valid for most of the uses of Javan, however, because of its much more northerly association in most texts.

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DAVID W. BAKER

**JAVELIN.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

**JAZER** (PLACE) [Heb *yaʿzēr* (יַעְזֵר)]. The fourth Levitical city allotted to the tribe of Gad is Jazer (Josh 21:39, 1 Chr 6:66—Eng6:81). This city is mentioned many times in the OT, but its location is obscure. Jazer is first cited in the conquest narratives in Numbers and in an inheritance account in Joshua. When the Israelites arrived in the land of the Amorites, Moses sent messengers to Sihon to request permission to pass through the land; but Sihon refused. As a result Sihon came to Jahaz and fought against Israel. The forces of Israel were victorious "and took possession of his land from the Arnon to the Jabbok, as far as to the Ammonites: for Jazer was the boundary of the Ammonites" (Num 21:24). Israel therefore dwelt in the land of the Amorites and "Moses sent to spy out Jazer; and they took its villages, and dispossessed the Amorites that were there" (Num 21:31). Jazer is to be understood not only as a city, but also as the name of a region. In Num 32:1 the land of Jazer is described as a place for grazing cattle. Moses gave Jazer, a fortified city with folds for sheep (Num 32:35; Josh 13:25), to God. The next reference to Jazer occurs in the reign of David when the city was part of a census list (2 Sam 24:5). Jazer is referred to in a "footnote" in 1 Chr 26:31 as the city garrisoned by Judah from Hebron. There are two references to Jazer in the prophets—one in Isa 16:8 in an oracle against Moab, and a parallel text in Jer 48:32 where Jazer weeps for the vines of Sibmah.

Jazer is mentioned in the early campaign of Judas Maccabeus. At that time the city was under the rule of the Amorites; but Judas "crossed over to the Amorites, and came upon a strong and numerous force under the command of a certain Timotheus. He fought many battles with them, and they broke before him and were crushed. After capturing Jazer and its dependent villages, he returned to Judaea" (1 Macc 5:6–8, NEB). Outside of the OT and Apocrypha, Jazer appears in Josephus' *Antiquities* (12.329–30) and in Eusebius' *Onomasticon* (12.1–4) where he describes the city as being 10 Roman miles W of Philadelphia, situated at the source of a large stream which flows into the Jordan, and 15 from Heshbon.

The location of biblical Jazer has been of considerable dispute since the early part of the 19th century. Four sites have been associated with this biblical city: Kh. Sar, Yajuz, Kh. es-Sireh, and Kh. Jazzir.

Seetzen and later Merrill (1883: 484) have identified Jazer with Kh. Sar. The first major survey of Khirbet Sar (M.R. 228150) was done by Conder (1899: 154) in October, 1881, but Conder did not accept Seetzen's identification because Sar had no etymological connection with the name Jazer. The tell is located 9 km W of Amman and 1.5 km SE of Ain es-Sir. It is located in a rolling, fertile expanse between Naʿur on the S and Suweileh on the N. The fields around the site are terraced. From Kh. Sar, a portion of the Dead Sea is visible and the Wadi esh-Shita descends to the S. The remains at Kh. Sar are extensive. The most extensive survey work has been conducted by N. Glueck (1937: 153–57), who found extensive Roman, Iron I, and Iron II.

There are 2 sites by the name of Yajuz that have been associated with biblical Jazer, one called Kom Yajuz, the other Yajuz. Oliphant (1880: 223–35) proposed identifying Yajuz (M.R. 237159) with Jazer and T. K. Cheyne (*EncBib* 2: 2340–41) has been the strongest defender of this association. Yajuz is located 7 Roman miles N of Philadelphia (Amman) and 33 S of Gerasa. During the Roman occupation Yajuz was on the road that ran from Philadelphia and Petra S to Arabia. When Glueck (1939: 177) visited Yajuz he found only Roman and Byzantine remains.

Cohen (*IDB* 2: 805–06) has suggested that Kom Yajuz (M.R. 238160) is biblical Jazer, but gives no reasons other than it is the site that best suits this location. Kom Yajuz is located less than 1.5 km E-NE of Yajuz situated between the Wadi Kom and the Wadi Yajuz. Glueck found pottery that was associated with EB IV, Iron I, and Iron II. On later surveys, 7th–6th century pottery was found.

In 1956, G. Landes (1956: 30–37) proposed that Jazer be identified with Kh. es-Sireh. Although Landes did not have any ceramic evidence for his identification, he argued for this "tentative" location on the basis of Eusebius and the prophetic passages in Isaiah and Jeremiah referring to the "spring." Landes pointed out that Eusebius located Jazer 8–10 Roman miles W of Philadelphia, 15 Roman miles from

Heshbon, also that a large river flowed from the town emptying into the Jordan. Kh. es-Sireh is located 2 km NE of Kh. Sar, making Sireh 12.5 km or 8.5 Roman miles from Amman, and 18.7 km or 12 Roman miles from Heshbon. The Amman-Sireh mileage fits well with Eusebius' figures; however, that between Heshbon-Sireh is short. The major argument of Landes was a reconstruction of the Isa 16:9 and Jer 48:32 texts. Landes suggested that *bkh* in these 2 prophetic texts should be translated "water source, fountain, well." Because Eusebius commented that at Jazer there was a large river which emptied into the Jordan, Landes observed that the source of this river must have been the "fountain" at Jazer. However, there is no archaeological evidence to support this identification and furthermore, Landes' elaborate discussion on *bkh* really does not support the identification of Kh. es-Sireh any more than it would numerous other sites along the Wadi Sir and Wadi Kefren.

The most attractive identification for the location of Jazer has been made by Abel (*GP* 2: 69) and R. de Vaux (1941: 25–27), who propose that the ancient city was at Kh. Jazzir (M.R. 219156). Not only does it correspond to most of the location details of Eusebius, but the names do not present any difficulties, and de Vaux also found good ceramic evidence there. Kh. Jazzir is located 4 km S of es-Salt. Jazzir is at the head of the Wadi Šuʿeib which flows into the Jordan. Less than a km from Jazzir is ʿAin Hazer. On his survey de Vaux identified pottery from the Iron and Hellenistic periods. He suggested that the site was abandoned at the end of the Iron Age and was not reoccupied until the Hellenistic. Because de Vaux speaks only of the Iron Age it is impossible to date this city any more precisely. However, little doubt remains that the Levitical city Jazer is Kh. Jazzir.

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JOHN L. PETERSON

**JAZIZ** (PERSON) [Heb *yāzîz* (יָזִיז)]. A state official; a Hagrite. The majority of the LXX mss by reading *iōaz* do not reflect the first *zayin* in his name. One of 12 stewards of royal property appointed by David, his specific charge was to oversee the flocks (1 Chr 27:31). Of the 12 he is one of 7 identified with a gentilic rather than by paternity. Perhaps he was from a conquered group, making his nationality or ethnic origin more important than his particular genealogy. Although most of the 7 gentilics are not otherwise known, 1 Chr 5:10, 18–22 indicates that the Hagrites were conquered by the Reubenites, Gadites, and half of the tribe of Manasseh during the reign of Saul. In Ps 83:7ff (—Eng 83:6ff) they are mentioned as allied with the Ishmaelites (note Obil, the Ishmaelite, steward of the camels [1 Chr 27:30]), Moab, Edom, and other traditional enemies.

RICHARD W. NYSSE

**JEARIM, MOUNT** (PLACE) [Heb *har-yĕʿārîm* (הַר־יְעָרִים)]. A mountain peak on the N boundary of the territory of Judah about halfway between Kiriath-Jearim and Beth-Shemesh (Josh 15:10). This is the only reference to the peak. Mt. Jearim, which probably means "mountain of forests" or "wooded mountain," is located at Chesalon, modern Kesla (M.R. 154132) approximately 17 km W of Jersualem. It forms part of a range referred to as the Jerusalem Hills. Because of the similarities between Jearim, "forest," and Seir, "shaggy," it has been suggested that the two peaks of Josh 15:10, Seir and Mt. Jearim, may be identical (see Boling, *Joshua* AB, 369–70). If so, this place also marks the farthest penetration of the abortive attempt by the Israelites to conquer Canaan after initially accepting the prejudiced report of 10 of the 12 spies (cf. Numbers 14 and Deut 1:44).

WANN M. FANWAR

**JEATHERAI** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕʾātĕray* (יְאָתְרַי)]. A Levite of the exilic period, a descendant of Gershom (1 Chr 6:6—Eng6:21). The origin of the name is unknown, perhaps resulting from a scribal error. Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 54) suggested that it should be read as either Ethni *(ʾetnî)* as in 1 Chr 6:26—Eng6:41 or Joel *(yôʾēl)* as in 1 Chr 15:7.

TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**JEBEL.** Geographic names containing the term "jebel," meaning "mountain," are found alphabetized under the second term of the name. For example, the Jebel Qa'aqir entry can be found under QA'AQIR, JEBEL.

**JEBERECHIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕberekyāhû* (יְבֶרֶכְיָהוּ)]. The father of Zechariah, whom Isaiah summoned to witness a prophetic document announcing the impending overthrow of Israel and Syria by the Assyrians (Isa 8:2). Near the time of the Syro-Ephraimite War, Isaiah called on two witnesses to verify his prophetic announcement: Uriah the priest and Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah. Uriah is apparently the high priest (2 Kgs 16:10–16). Wildberger (*Isaiah 1–12* BKAT, 316) has suggested that the Zechariah in question is the father of Abi who was the wife of King Ahaz and mother of King Hezekiah (cf. 2 Kgs 18:2). In any case, since Uriah and Zechariah appear to be leading citizens, the same must also be true for Zechariah's father, Jeberechiah. All the names mentioned in Isa 8:2 belong to the world of cult piety which is best known to us from the Psalms (Wildberger *Isaiah 1–12* BKAT, 317; *IPN* 195). The name Jeberechiah means "May YHWH bless." This type of name (formed with an imperfect verb) occurs occasionally in texts dealing with ancient Israel down to the time of David, but then falls into general disuse until shortly before the Exile (*IPN* 28). This fact has led some to suggest that the name should actually be Berechiah (cf. LXX). It is interesting to note that the father of the postexilic prophet Zechariah is Berechiah (Zech 1:1, 7). See BERECHIAH.

JOHN H. HULL, JR.

**JEBUS** (PLACE) [Heb *yĕbûs* (יְבוּס)]. JEBUSITE. The name of the city where the Jebusites lived, which is used as the pre-Israelite name for Jerusalem.

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A. Relationship and Use of Terms
B. Use in Lists of Nations
C. Ethnic Origin
D. Geographic Location
E. Historical Data

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**A. Relationship and Use of Terms**

Boling and Wright (*Joshua* AB, 167) argue that Jebus was a clan name and that "linguistically, the name correlates with Amorite *yabusum* and the name of a town in Transjordan, Jabesh (-Gilead)." The term Jebusite may have been a gentilic adjective derived from the name Jebus, or Jebus may have received its name from its inhabitants (Simons *GTTOT*, 47). Since Jebus occurs only 4 times in the Hebrew Bible and is otherwise unknown, while Jebusite occurs 41 times, the latter possibility is more likely. While the term Jebusite can be used as a descriptive adjective with the name of an individual such as Araunah (2 Sam 24:16, 18), it is most often used with the article as a collective name for Jebusites.

**B. Use in Lists of Nations**

The term Jebusite is found in 22 of the 27 lists of pre-Israelite nations. In the most common 6-name lists, the Jebusites occur in the latter half of the lists among other little known nations, including the Perizzites and the Hivites (Exod 3:8; 33:2). The Jebusites usually occur last in the lists possibly because they were the last group to be conquered by the Israelites (Ishida 1979: 461–65).

**C. Ethnic Origin**

The Jebusites are listed in the Table of Nations as descendents of Canaan (Gen 10:16). Since the table seems to be organized by different criteria—ethnopolitical, linguistic, geographic, genealogical, socioeconomic, and sociocultural (Gen 10:5, 20, 31; Oded 1986: 14–17)—the precise meaning of the Jebusites in this list is debatable. They are probably listed as descendents of Canaan because they lived in the land of Canaan (Speiser *IDB* 3: 235–42).

Little is known about the origin of the Jebusites. Scholars have suggested that they may be related to the Hurrians (Hoffner *POTT,* 225) or to the Hittites—although this last possibility is unlikely. Ishida contends that the Jebusites were a subdivision of the Perizzites (1979: 479–80). Most agree that the Jebusites were a non-Semitic people.

**D. Geographic Location**

The Jebusites were located in the hill country of Canaan (Num 13:29; Josh 11:3). The phrase "shoulder of the Jebusite" was a landmark for the S border of Benjamin (Josh 15:8; 18:16). While some have maintained that the "shoulder of the Jebusite" refers to the "western hill of the present-day Old City or perhaps to both of the hills," Kallai maintains that it refers to the E hill or the inhabited city of Jebus/Jerusalem of earliest times (*HGB,* 136–37). Jebus is usually located in Benjaminite territory except for one text in which it may be located in Judah (Josh 15:63). The confusion may be because Jebus was on the border of the 2 tribal regions or because of shifting boundaries over time (Aharoni *LBHG,* 251, 254, 315; Kallai *HGB,* 396–97).

The Jebusites are said to have been inhabitants of Jerusalem in Josh 15:63 and 2 Sam 5:6. In Judg 19:10, Jebus is mentioned with the explanatory note that it was Jerusalem (see also Josh 18:28). 1 Chr 11:4 mentions Jerusalem with the explanatory note that it was Jebus.

Some scholars have been troubled by this identification of Jebus and Jerusalem for several reasons. First, this identification is found in each case in a parenthetical note which could be a later redactional or scribal addition to the text. Second, while the name Jerusalem occurs in the 14th century Tell el-Amarna texts and in the 19th–18th century Egyptian Execration texts, no reference is made to Jebus (Soggin, *Judges,* ET, OTL, 1981: 286). Third, Jerusalem seems to be too far S to be located on the S border of Benjamin (Miller and Tucker, 121).

While the Jebusites inhabited and controlled Jerusalem, this does not necessarily mean that Jebus was Jerusalem. Miller contends that later scribes misidentified Jebus with Jerusalem on the basis of the Jebusite control of Jerusalem and suggests that Jebus should actually be located at present-day Sha ʿfât (Miller 1975: 154; see map in Miller and Tucker *Joshua* CBC, 130). If Jebus was actually used as a name for Jerusalem, it must have been a temporary name and must have existed alongside the older name Jerusalem (Simons *GTTOT,* 47; see Josh 10:5 where the name Jerusalem is used by itself). D. R. Ap-Thomas (1967: 286) argues that the identification of Jebus with Jerusalem was useful "to distinguish in the story between pre-Israelite and Israelite occupation—especially where the inhabitants are guilty of 'Canaanite crimes.' "

**E. Historical Data**

While the land of the Jebusites was promised to Abraham and his descendents (Gen 15:21), the Israelites found it difficult to defeat these people, who remained in power during the period of the judges until the time of David (Judg 3:5). Neither the Judahites (Josh 15:63) nor the Benjaminites could drive the Jebusites out of Jerusalem (Judg 1:21). The puzzling mention of the Judahites' destruction of the city of Jerusalem in Judg 1:8 has been variously understood as only a partial conquest of the city or a temporary and indecisive victory (Boling *Judges* AB, 55–56). In Judg 19:10–12 the traveling Levite avoids spending the night at Jebus/Jerusalem because it is a city of foreigners. The reference to David bringing the head of Goliath to Jerusalem—still occupied by Jebusites—in 1 Sam 17:54 may have been an anachronism reflecting a tradition that the skull was later kept at Jerusalem as a trophy (see also 1 Sam 17:57; Klein *1 Samuel* WBC, 181).

David finally succeeds in capturing Jerusalem from the Jebusites (2 Sam 5:6–9; 1 Chr 11:4–9). The precise details of the event are difficult to reconstruct because of the complicated textual and redactional history of these two accounts (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 135–43). Assumedly, even though the city was

taken, not all of the Jebusites were annihilated, because David later bought the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite (2 Sam 24:18–24). The descendents of the pre-Israelite nations who still lived in the land were reportedly reduced to slavery by Solomon (1 Kgs 9:20–21). Except for the Jebusites' place in the traditional lists of pre-Israelite inhabitants of Canaan (Ezra 9:1; Neh 9:8; Jdt 5:16; 1 Esdr 8:69) nothing more is said about these people.

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STEPHEN A. REED

**JECOLIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕkolyâ* (יְכָלְיָה)]. Mother of Azariah, King of Judah (2 Kgs 15:2 = 2 Chr 26:3). Her name means "YHWH is able/has the power" (Stamm 1967: 311). Jecoliah was one of 3 queen mothers from Jerusalem (the others being Jehoaddan and Nehushta). Her father's name is unknown. The form Jecoliah reflects the *Qere* of 2 Chr 26:3. The spelling found in 2 Kgs 15:2 has a final *û* and reads *yĕkolyāhû.* See also AZARIAH; QUEEN.

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**JECONIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕkonyâ* (יְכָנְיָה)*; yĕkonyāhû* (יְכָנְיָהוּ)]. A variant form for 3 names in the Hebrew Bible and the deuterocanonical texts.

1. An alternate form of the name JEHOIACHIN king of Judah, the son and successor of Jehoiakim (1 Chr 3:16, 17). He was taken into exile by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon (Esth 2:6; Jer 24:1; 27:20; 28:4; 29:2; Bar 1:3, 9).
2. Occurs in 1 Esdr 1:9 as an alternate form of the name CONANIAH.
3. An alternate form of the name JEHOAHAZ, king of Judah, the son and successor of Josiah (1 Esdr 1:34).

**JEDAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕdaʿyâ* (יְדַעְיָה)*; yĕdāyâ* (יְדָיָה)]. There are 2 forms of the name Jedaiah, the first *(yĕdaʿyāh)* meaning "Yahweh knows" and the second *(yĕdāyāh)* meaning "Yahweh has favored." The first is represented by #1–#3 below, the second by #4–#5.

1. One of the major priestly houses of Judah which is regularly mentioned among those priests who returned from exile with Zerubbabel. The earliest tradition, likely reflected in Ezra 2:36 and Neh 7:39, lists Jedaiah as one of 4 priestly families which returned, and further identifies him as being "of the house of Jeshua," that is Joshua the high priest. In this early tradition Joshua rather than Jedaiah is the major eponym of the family.

In a secondary tradition, reflected in Neh 11:10, Jedaiah is listed alongside a number of other priests as among those living in Jerusalem after the return. Vv 10–11 seem badly damaged, however, and many scholars reconstruct the text in various ways. It may originally have listed the genealogies for only 3 such priests: Jedaiah, Jachin, and Seraiah. If correct, the effect would be to provide Jedaiah with the title "the ruler of the house of God" and with a linear genealogy reaching back 7 (or 8) generations through Zadok to Ahitub, thus legitimating his status in the postexilic community. This reconstruction would also bring vv 10–11 into line with the rest of the passage.

The lists in Neh 12:1–7 and 12–21 have also been disturbed, as is evidenced by the variance in names. They list Jedaiah as among the 22 (var. 21) priests who returned with Zerubbabel, but now only in 18th (var. 17th) position. Whereas in Neh 11:10 Jedaiah was listed as the son of Joiarib, here he is listed as a

colleague. The same relationship may be inferred, however, in that Joiarib is the 17th (var. 16th) listed, that is one above Jedaiah.

The importance of Jedaiah as suggested by even the earlier texts is finally "codified" for the postexilic community by the Chronicler who gives to Jedaiah priority in the Davidic temple. In 1 Chr 24:7 Jedaiah is given the second lot in the Davidic establishment of the 24 priestly courses, still behind J (eh)oiarib. But in 1 Chr 9:10 Jedaiah finally has priority over his rival.

Rather than being considered individual persons, these names should be taken as family designations and as indications of fluctuating political dynamics in the Second Temple period.

2. In addition to this Jedaiah, there is also a minor priestly figure by the same name who is mentioned in the lists in Neh 12:7 and 21. That he is listed in last position, however, suggests that his place in tradition was slight. The LXX distinguishes between this person and the Jedaiah in v 19 by assigning different names. In v 19 the name is Idia, but in v 21 Iedeiou, Ideiou or Odouia, depending upon the manuscript.

3. One of 3 returned exiles who, according to Zech 6:10, 14, provided gold and silver to Zechariah so that a crown could be made for Joshua the priest. A major question concerns how many crowns were made and for whom. The Heb text suggests that 2 were made, and vv 12–13 certainly suggest that Zerubbabel, who would bear royal honor and would rule upon his throne, was the recipient of one. This question is connected to the issue of whether or not a diarchic messianism developed in the postexilic period.

The mention of the 3 "benefactors" also is problematic. First, the names Heldai, Tobijah, and Jedaiah are understood by the LXX not as individuals but as groups of people: "the leaders, those who are useful among it, and those who recognize it." The Heb *yĕdaʿyāh* was, like the others, understood as an appellative (Gk *epegnokotos*) rather than as a proper noun.

Assuming that they are personal names, however, the question is why these 4 men (including Josiah) should have been singled out for the giving of such "gifts" of silver and gold. Petersen (*Haggai Zechariah 1–8* OTL, 274) suggests that they were exemplary men who were chosen for their orthodoxy and faithfulness, symbolized by the fact that 3 of the 4 have theophoric "Yahweh" names. It seems more likely, however, that something more polemical is at work. In v 14 it is said that the crowns are to serve as "a reminder" to these four. A reminder of what? Often times a "reminder" is left in the midst of the people to fix their attention upon the broken apostasy of the past and as a warning for the future. Such a situation is suggested by Exod 30:16 and Num 10:9–10, cited by Petersen himself. The warning function of such a "remembrance" is particularly clear in Num 17:5 (—Eng 16:40), where the censers of "Korah and his company" are pounded out into a sheet for an alter covering as a "reminder" of the sin of the past and a warning for the future, "so that no one who is not a priest should draw near … lest he become as Korah and his company." If the crowns in Zech 6:14 are to function as such a "reminder," then Jedaiah appears to have been singled out with the others not for exemplary faithfulness but for some unstated act of resistance to the royal aspirations of Zerubbabel and Joshua.

4. A Simeonite who, according to 1 Chr 4:37, appears in the genealogical listing of 13 "princes" of Simeon. During the reign of Hezekiah these princes migrated to Gedor (Gerar?). Of the 13 princes named, 3 are attributed linear genealogies: Joshah (1 generation), Jehu (3 generations), and Ziza (5 generations). Jedaiah appears as the third in this last list of five.

The major critical question concerning this genealogy has been its connection to the prior list in vv 24–27. Most take the material concerning Simeon to be a combination of genealogical information, geographical notes, and miscellaneous scraps. As such, the list in vv 34–37 is taken to be totally unconnected to the earlier list, and may have found its way into the present context due to its traditional linkage with the historical note concerning the expansion of Simeon in vv 39–41.

In the present context, however, the genealogy of the princes of Simeon in vv 34–37 has the function of filling out the earlier genealogy, ending as it does with the expectant note that "Shimei had 16 sons and 6 daughters" (v 27). Some have taken the reference to Shemaiah in v 37 to be a scribal error for this same Shimei, thereby attributing to the genealogies a close connection. The LXX likewise tried to connect the 2

genealogies by reading the name Shemaiah in v 37 as Simeon. Though undoubtedly misinterpretations of the text, these efforts nonetheless demonstrate the purpose of the text in its final form.

5. In Neh 3:10 Jedaiah is listed as one of those who repaired a portion of the defensive wall on the W side of Jerusalem "opposite his house" during the days of Nehemiah. This note about the location of the wall "opposite his house" is peculiar, since otherwise this note is used only with regard to the building of the wall on the E side. It could, therefore, be a misplaced note. More likely, however, it represents an intentional point made by the Chronicler. Modern commentators generally argue that, unlike the W wall, the E wall was totally rebuilt on a new line because of the extensive destruction involved (*Ezra Nehemiah* WBC, 200, 209). If so, then the frequent reference to "opposite his house" in relation to the E wall might suggest that this new defensive line was built into the existing walls of the houses on that side of the city. In this case, the note concerning Jedaiah rebuilding the wall "opposite his house" might mean that, in this particular place on the W wall, the wall had to be rebuilt on a new line and was built into the existing wall of Jedaiah's house.

RODNEY R. HUTTON

**JEDIAEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕdîʿăʾēl* (יְדִיעֲאֵל)]. Four persons in the OT bear this name which means "Known of God." In addition, it also appears in Neo-Babylonian texts as *Ia-di-iḫ-ilî/Ia-a-di-ḫu-ilî* (Coogan 1976: 27, 75) and *Ia-di-ʾ-ilu* (Tallqvist 1905: 68). For similarly constructed names with the divine element *yh (w),* see biblical JEDAIAH and Coogan 1976: 27, 75.

1. The third and smallest of 3 Benjaminite families named in 1 Chr 7:6–12, a postexilic list (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* 67; Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 78) on the order of a military census which appears to be independent of the genealogies of the tribe of Benjamin given in Gen 46:21 and Num 26:38–41, where Jediael is not named. The proposal that this list is a corrupted form of the genealogy of Zebulun which is otherwise omitted in this context (Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 145–49) has lost favor (see Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 65; Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 77). The Syriac and Vulgate replace Jediael in 1 Chr 7:6 with the names following Becher in Gen 46:21 (see also the Syriac in 1 Chr 7:10, 11) in an attempt to harmonize the lists.

2. Jediael the son of Shimri is mentioned as one of David's mighty men in 1 Chr 11:45, in a list of 16 names which the Chronicler has appended to those given in 2 Sam 23:8–39. Noth's proposal that this list is a postexilic fiction (*ÜgS,* 136, n. 8), by which certain families attempted to establish their early association with David, has been rebutted (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 101).

3. One of 7 Manassites of substantial status (the title "chief of thousands" refers to his leadership of a tribal sub-group, not a number of men—Mendenhall 1958) who deserted to David at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:21—Eng12:20).

4. A Levitical gatekeeper of the Korahite family of Meshelemiah. The second son of this family, he is named only in 1 Chr 26:2, in the Chronicler's (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 169) or perhaps a later (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 173) organization of the gatekeepers in the temple at Jerusalem.

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**JEDIDAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕdîdâ* (יְדִידָה)]. The daughter of Adaiah of Bozkath and mother of King Josiah (2 Kgs 22:1). Bozkath is a place between Lachish and Elgon according to Josh 15:39, to the SE of Lachish (Gray *1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 721). The name of this individual means "Beloved [of Yahweh]" (*IPN,* 149, 223; cf. the name JEDIDIAH). In the Ugaritic texts, *ydd,* "Beloved [of El]," is an epithet of the god Mot (*UT,* p. 409 s.v. # 1074).

ROBERT ALTHANN

**JEDIDIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕdîdĕyâ* (יְדִידְיָה)]. The name given to Solomon by Nathan in 2 Sam 12:25. The name and its occurrence are unusual for several reasons. First, the Hebrew orthography, *ydydyh,* is similar to that for David, *dwd.* Second, since the child had already been named by his parents, as was the custom, one does not expect to read about another naming by the deity. Third, the name is unusual since its meaning, "beloved of Yahweh," does not fit the etymology suggested by the succeeding phrase, "for the sake of Yahweh," *bbr yhwh.*

It has thus been argued that Jedidiah was the child's private name and that Solomon was the throne name (Honeyman 1948). Others have argued that this was really the name of the first-born child of David and Bathsheba whose death is recorded in 2 Sam 12:18 (Klostermann 1887). Others have speculated that the closeness to the name of David suggests that the name is a sign to David of divine grace after the death of Uriah, marriage to Bathsheba, and death of the firstborn child (Caspari *Samuelbücher* KAT) and that the etymology be understood to mean "by the grace of Yahweh" (de Boer 1966). In this way the narrator signals that David's penance (2 Sam 12:17), though ineffective in averting the death of the first child, did exonerate him for future actions and that once again he could claim to be one "after Yahweh's own heart."

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RANDALL C. BAILEY

**JEDUTHUN** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕdûtûn* (יְדוּתוּן)]. A levitical singer in the time of David, said in some texts to be a founder (along with Asaph and Heman) of a family of musical singers (see 1 Chr 25:1–6; and cf. 2 Chr 5:12; 29:14; 35:15). Elsewhere, however, the name Ethan, rather than Jeduthun, is associated with Asaph and Heman (1 Chr 15:17, 19), leading some to suggest that they are 2 different names for the same person (Corney *IDB* 2: 809; but see below for a different reconstruction). In the list of 1 Esdras 1, the name Eddinus seems to occupy the position held by Jeduthun (v 15). To complicate matters even further, in 1 Chr 16:38, 42b, Jeduthun is said to be the father of some of the levitical gatekeepers, also in the time of David. The most noteworthy of these is one Obed-edom, who, however, is elsewhere said to be a singer (1 Chr 16:5; but note that in the list of singers in the previous chap. [see vv 16–24] where he is mentioned 3 times [vv 18, 21, 24], twice he is described as a gatekeeper [vv 18, 24]). Inasmuch as the more comprehensive lists of Davidic singers and gatekeepers found in 1 Chronicles 25–26 unequivocally place Jeduthun in the former category and Obed-edom in the latter, divergent levels of tradition seem to be attested side by side in the Chronicler's work.

Williamson, following Gese, has pointed to some 4 levels of tradition concerning the genealogies of the various families of singers as attested in 1–2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah (1979: 263). Simply put, in the 1st stage, all the singers are reckoned as "sons of Asaph" (Ezra 2:41; Neh 7:44); in the 2d stage, the singers are designated sons of Asaph and sons of Jeduthun (Neh 11:3–19; 1 Chr 9:1–18; but see below); the 3d stage includes the 3 familiar groups, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun (references already cited); and finally, the 4th stage replaces Jeduthun by Ethan, and Heman is now more prominent than Asaph (1 Chr 15:16–22; cf. 1 Chr 6:16–32—Eng6:31–47). Certainly, some reconstruction such as this is probably necessary to reconcile all the disparate genealogical data concerning these musical families (a similar situation obtains for the gatekeepers, as well).

As noted above, later references to Jeduthun and his descendants are found in 2 Chr 5:12 (Solomon's dedication of the First Temple), 29:14 (Hezekiah's cleansing of the Temple), and 35:15 (Josiah's famous Passover). Although all 3 of these references continue to link the family of Jeduthun with Asaph and Heman, the last reference uniquely describes Jeduthun as "the king's seer" *(ḥôzê hammelek).* Such an appellation for Jeduthun accords with that given to Heman in 1 Chr 25:5, and, to a lesser degree, Asaph in

2 Chr 29:30; and it confirms the significant link between prophecy and musicianship attested elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., 1 Sam 10:5, where a band of prophets is described as "prophesying" with harp, tambourine, flute, and lyre; 2 Kgs 3:15, where Elisha the prophet requests a minstrel to help him prophesy; and, not least, 1 Chr 25:1, where the sons of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun are commissioned to "prophesy" with lyres, harps, and cymbals [Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 166]).

Yet another reference to Jeduthun is to be found in Neh 11:17 MT (along with its parallel in 1 Chr 9:16), where a certain Abda (or "Obadiah," in the Chronicles text), descendant of Jeduthun, is listed as a temple musician in the days of Nehemiah (concerning the authenticity of this list and the likelihood that it originally represented a list of all those who lived in Jerusalem, see Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 344–50). It should be noted that the earliest LXX mss of Neh 11:17 lack the name Jeduthun along with a number of other names (including Asaph) found in the MT; Tov (1981: 301) argues that the shorter LXX list of priests and Levites in Nehemiah 11 (and 12) is probably more original. Hence, the reference to Jeduthun in 11:17 MT may well represent a later addition (also cf. Batten *Ezra and Nehemiah* ICC, 271; Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, lxvi), and, if one assumes that the parallel list of priests and Levites in 1 Chronicles 9 is dependent upon the Nehemiah 11 list (cf. the arguments for this view cited in Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 87–88), one may query the likelihood of the existence of the hypothetical second stage of Gese and Williamson mentioned above.

Finally, there appear to be 3 references to the name Jeduthun in the titles to Psalms 39, 62, and 77. Mowinckel, however, has suggested that the term should be interpreted as a common noun derived from the root *ydh,* and translated as "confession" or the like, these Psalms being employed in some liturgical context of penance (1962: 213). As he pointed out, all 3 of these Psalms fit quite well into such a context. Nonetheless, it seems more likely that the term should be read as a personal name (cf. RSV), presumably a reference to the same Jeduthun which the Chronicler has reckoned as a musical leader in the time of David. As Craigie (*Psalms 1–50* WBC, 308) has pointed out, the names of the other 2 Davidic musical leaders, Asaph and Heman, are also found in Psalm titles (it should also be noted that there is a reference to "Ethan the Ezrahite" in the title of Psalm 89). Alternatively, the term may have come to refer to the name of a tune or musical setting which later tradition attributed to the Davidic musician (especially note the use of the preposition *ʿal,* "on, upon, after the manner of," in the titles of Psalms 62 and 77; see Craigie *Psalms 1–50* WBC, 308; cf. Corney *IDB* 2: 809).

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WILLIAM H. BARNES

**JEGAR-SAHADUTHA** (PLACE) [Aram *yĕgar-śāhădûtāʾ* (יְגַר־שָׂהֲדוּתָא)]. The Aramaic name given by Laban to the pile of stones heaped up by his and Jacob's households apparently near the stone pillar set up by Jacob and Laban in the mountain of Gilead (Gen 31:24, 45–47). Gilead was then a sparsely populated area, and the place was identified with Mizpah of Gilead (31:49) which later became Jephthah's hometown (Judg 10:17). The location is not identified yet. See MIZPAH. "They ate there on the heap" (Gen 31:46), but actually they might have eaten food set on top of the heap which functioned as an oversized table. The meaning of Jegar-sahadutha is " (Stone-)heap of testimony" which corresponds to Jacob's word *Galʿēd* "heap of witness." translates Laban's Aramaic words "heap of testimony," and Jacob's word "witness heap." Laban's words are the oldest attestation of the Aramaic language in the historical books of the Bible. It suggests that Abraham's kinsmen spoke Aramaic at Haran and he came to know Hebrew in Canaan. See MBA, map no. 27.

YOSHITAKA KOBAYASHI

**JEHALLELEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhallel‹ēl* (יְהַלֶּלְאֵל)]. Name of 2 individuals in Chronicles. The etymology of the name is difficult to ascertain. Its verbal element *(yĕhallel)* is a *Pi‹el,* and would seem to be derived from the *Pi‹el* verb, *hillel,* "to praise," which is common in the Hebrew Bible. But as a Semitic name, the divine element, *›el,* must be the subject of this verb and not its object. Some scholars, therefore, have related the verbal element to a different root, *hll,* meaning "to shine," suggesting the meanings, "may God shine forth" from the Qal (*IDB* 2: 809) or "may God cause to shine" from the *Hip‹il* (Noth *IPN,* 205). Another suggestion is that the *Pi‹el* be retained and the name be understood as meaning "may God praise (the child)" (Fowler *TPNAH,* 136).

**1.** Descendent of Judah (1 Chr 4:16). The list of Jehallelel's descendants bears no obvious relationship either to the lists that precede it or to those that follow it. The only one whose name is otherwise attested is Ziph (Ziphah may be a dittography), a village S of Hebron (1 Sam 23:14–15). This suggests that the list is eponymic. Jehallelel and his "descendants" were probably Judahite or Calebite clans or villages.

**2.** A Levite, descended from Merari, whose son, Azariah, is listed among the Levites who cleansed the temple under Hezekiah (2 Chr 29:12).

STEVEN L. MCKENZIE

**JEHDEIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yeḥdĕyāhû* (יְחְדְיָהוּ)]. **1.** A state official; a Meronothite. One of 12 stewards of royal property appointed by David, his specific charge was to oversee the donkeys (1 Chr 27:30). Of the 12, he is one of 7 identified with a gentilic rather than by paternity, indicating perhaps that he was from outside the tribal structure. The only other person identified as a Meronothite is Jadon, who worked on the reconstruction of the walls of Jerusalem during the time of Nehemiah (Neh 3:7). See MERONOTHITE.

**2.** A Levite of the clan of Shubael (1 Chr 24:20). 1 Chronicles 23–27 reports David's organization of the Levites in the light of the coming transition from tabernacle to temple worship. The list of Levitical officials in 1 Chr 24:20–31 in which Jehdeiah is mentioned extends by 1 generation the list in 1 Chr 23:6–23. The purpose of the 2 lists is to sharply differentiate the priests (sons of Aaron) from the Levites. Jehdeiah, a son of Shubael, is part of the Kohathite branch of the Levites; his lineage is traced from Kohath to Amran to Moses to Gershom to Shubael (1 Chr 24:12–16 [read Shubael for Shebuel in v 16]). See SHEBUEL.

RICHARD W. NYSSE

**JEHEZKEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕḥezqē›l* (יְחֶזְקֵאל)]. Priest who received the 20th position in the priestly order of the Temple during the reign of David (1 Chr 24:16). 1 Chronicles 24 is the only place where Jehezkel appears in the OT. The name, however, represents a very slight modification from the name of the priest-prophet, Ezekiel, a variation that is preserved as early as the LXX (cf. 1 Chr 24:16 with Ezek 1:3 [LXX]). An evaluation of the historical reliability of the existence of Jehezkel in the time of David rests largely upon the literary context of 1 Chr 24:1–19 (see GAMUL), although the relationship between the name and the prophet Ezekiel may suggest an exilic or postexilic setting for the name Jehezkel. The stylistic characteristics of 1 Chr 24:1–19 seem to link the list to the time of the composition of Chronicles. Jehezkel may represent the Chronicler's use of the prophet Ezekiel's priestly lineage to complete an artificial 24-course arrangement of priests for the time of David.

JOHN W. WRIGHT

**JEHIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕḥîyâ* (יְחִיָה)]. A Levite who was appointed by David to serve with Obed-edom as a gatekeeper when the ark was moved to Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:24). Obed-edom and one Jeiel are named as gatekeepers in 1 Chr 15:18, but in 15:21 and 16:5, they are named among the musicians. The similarity of the names Jeiel and Jehiah has prompted many to suggest these are in fact the same individual, and that a reviser may have described the status of Obed-edom and Jehiah/Jeiel in his own day

as it differed from the situation described at the time of the Chronicler. Many commentators identify various portions of the lists in 1 Chr 15–16 as later additions to the Chronicler's work, though differing on the specifics. Gese (1974) used the various lists of Levitical musicians in an effort to trace the postexilic development of the musical guilds; he assigned 15:16–24 to his stage IIIB, a stage reflecting later accretions to the work of the Chronicler (at stage IIIA). Others have accepted the disputed passages as essentially original material, though allowing for minor corrections and additions (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC).

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RAYMOND B. DILLARD

**JEHIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhî᾽ēl* (יְהִיאֵל)]. Var. JEHIELI. Nine persons in the Hebrew Bible, along with the parallel references in 1 Esdras, bear this name.

1. A Levite musician appointed at the time of David. At the command of David, the levitical leaders selected musicians; Jehiel was among those of 2d rank (1 Chr 15:18). The list is repeated in the subsequent verses where Jehiel is listed as one of 8 harpists, the rest being either cymbalists or lyrists (1 Chr 15:19ff.). In 1 Chr 16:5–6 most of the names are repeated (including that of Jehiel) but without distinction by instrument. Despite variation among the three lists, Jehiel is consistently listed fourth among those of 2d rank.

2. A levitical official, descendant of Gershon. When David divided the Levites into groups according to the sons of Levi, the Gershonites were subdivided between Ladan and Shimei. Jehiel was the first of the sons of Ladan (1 Chr 23:7–11). In 1 Chr 26:21–22 Jehieli [Heb *yĕhî᾽ēlî*] (= Jehiel) and his sons Zetham and Joel are described as the ones in charge of the treasuries of the temple of the Lord; they are levitical heads of families belonging to Ladan the Gershonite. 1 Chr 29:8 later notes that, when the gifts for the building of the temple were collected, the (precious) stones brought to the treasury of the temple were placed in the care of Jehiel, the Gershonite.

3. The son of Hachmoni. In 1 Chr 27:32–34 Jehiel is listed among several close associates of David; he attended the king's sons. He is not otherwise known, but one of David's warriors is also described as a son of Hachmoni (1 Chr 11:11).

4. Son of Jehoshaphat, brother of Jehoram. Among the 6 brothers of Jehoram, Jehiel is the second named in 2 Chr 21:2. The 6 brothers each received a lavish inheritance including fortified cities from Jehoshaphat, seemingly to provide them with a power base to offset the strength Jehoram would have as successor. Jehoshaphat's reticence about Jehoram, his firstborn, was borne out, for Jehoram killed these 6 as well as other princes when he assumed the throne (1 Chr 21:3–4). A subsequent letter from Elijah announced Jehoram's death and, in an aside, described the brothers as better than Jehoram (1 Chr 21:12–15).

5. A levitical temple official during the reign of Hezekiah (2 Chr 29:14, written as Jehuel, but read as Jehiel [so also the versions]). Jehiel and his brother Shimei, descendants of Heman (a family of levitical singers) are listed among the levitical families that responded to Hezekiah's call for temple cleansing after the desecrations of Ahaz (2 Chr 29:3–19). In 2 Chr 31:13 Jehiel is listed among 10 temple overseers who served under Conaniah, identified as a Levite, and his brother Shimei, who was second in command. These 12 were appointed by Hezekiah and Azariah, the chief officer of the temple, to oversee the storerooms for the contributions of the people. Since Jehiel is not connected explicitly to Shimei in both lists and it is a common levitical and priestly name, one cannot be certain that the references are to the same person.

6. A priestly official during the reign of Josiah. Jehiel was one of 3 administrators of the temple who contributed animals for the Passover offering in behalf of the other priests (2 Chr 35:8; 1 Esdr 1:8).

7. Father of Obadiah, of the family of Joab. Jehiel's son Obadiah headed the second largest family (218 men) to accompany Ezra on his departure from Babylon (Ezra 8:9; cf. 1 Esdr 8:35).

8. A priest during the time of Ezra, father of Shecaniah. Jehiel was one of 6 priests from the family of Elam found to have married foreign women (Ezra 10:26; cf. 1 Esdr 9:27). The family of Elam was among both the first returnees from the Babylonian exile (Ezra 2:7) and those who returned later with Ezra (Ezra 8:7). He is presumably the same as Jehiel, father of Shecaniah, also from the family of Elam (Ezra 10:2; cf. 1 Esdr 8:92). Shecaniah was the spokesman for those who confessed unfaithfulness to God because of marriage to foreign women. He suggested a pact to send them away, and expressed support and encouragement for Ezra (Ezra 10:2–4). As the son of one of the unfaithful, his own position was somewhat ambiguous (see Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 149–50).

9. A priest during the time of Ezra. Jehiel was one of 5 priests from the family of Harim found to have married foreign women (Ezra 10:21; cf. 1 Esdr 9:21). The family of Harim was among the first returnees from the Babylonian exile (Ezra 2:39).

RICHARD W. NYSSE

**JEHIZKIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhizqîyāhû* (יְהִזְקִיָּהוּ)]. Jehizkiah, the son of Shallum, was one of the 4 leaders of the tribe of Ephraim during the time of Pekah, ruler of the N kingdom of Israel (2 Chr 28:12). He, with the others, urged the release of the Judean prisoners taken during a battle between Pekah and Ahaz, king of Judah. His name belongs to a class of names which is a phrase or sentence and means either "Yahweh is my strength" (interpreting the *-î-* as a 1st person sing. poss. suffix and *yeḥizqî-* as a noun) or "Yahweh strengthens me" (*yeḥizqî-* is understood as a verb with a 1st person sing. suffix as the object of the verb). Yet another way to translate the name is "the strength of Yahweh," the *î* being an archaic genitive ending as found in the name Melchizedek, "king of righteousness" (Heb *malkî-ṣedek,* Gen 14:18). Koehler (*HALET,* 388) along with Noth (*IPN,* 246) believe Jehizkiah to be a "contaminated" variant of the name Hezekiah (Heb *ḥizqîyâ*), in which case the third interpretation of the name's meaning would be most likely. Otherwise, the *yod* prefix marks a verb, the translation of the name being "Yahweh strengthens me."

KIRK E. LOWERY

**JEHOADDAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhôʿaddâ* (יְהוֹעַדָּה)]. Son of Ahaz, a descendant of King Saul of the tribe of Benjamin according to the genealogy in 1 Chr 8:36. However, the textual attestation of this name is problematic; in the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 9:42, this person is named Jarah [Heb *yaʿrâ*]. Furthermore, the Vaticanus LXX manuscript reads the name as *Iada,* equivalent to the LXX reading for MT's Jarah at 9:42, while other mss read *Ioiada,* implying the Heb *yĕhôyādāʿ,* Jehoiada. Thus, many scholars have reconciled the differences between the 2 genealogies in the MT and the LXX by accepting Jadah *[yaʿdâ]* as the original name (Noth *IPN,* 246; Baumgartner *HALAT,* 404), which is etymologically related to "ornaments," and incorporates the element *ʿdh* which is typically used in Israelite names (Fowler *TPNAH,* 353–54). Alternatively, the name may have *ʿdd,* "to count" as its root (*TPNAH,* 144); however, this root is not elsewhere used in names. The forms Jehoaddah in the MT and Jadah would then be seen as variant long and short forms of the same name (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 80). Alternatively, Demsky (1971: 19) has shown that this section of the Benjaminite genealogy is relating various Benjaminite clans through geographical locations; he thus has suggested that Jarah of 9:42 is correct and should be connected to the town Kiriath-jearim. If this is correct, the reading in 1 Chr 9:42 is a scribal error or a secondary attempt to understand the unusual personal name Jarah.

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MARC Z. BRETTLER

**JEHOADDIN** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhōʿaddîn* (יְהֹעַדִּין)]. Var. JEHOADDAN. Mother of Amaziah, king of Judah (2 Kgs 14:2 = 2 Chr 25:1). She is one of the three queen mothers from Jerusalem (the others being Jecoliah and Nehushta). Her father's name is unknown.

LINDA S. SCHEARING

**JEHOAHAZ** (PERSON) [Heb *yehôʾāḥāz* (יְהוֹאָחָז)]. Var. AHAZIAH; SHALLUM. 1. The name once given (2 Chr 21:17) to Ahaziah, king of Judah, son of Jehoram and Athaliah. The idea that the Chronicler was using different sources (Maclean *IDB* 1: 66) is unsound. Such transfer of the elements of a name using the divine epithet is also seen in Jer 22:24, 28. In whichever form, the name is a longer version of Ahaz, and is a combination of the divine name and the verb *ʾāḥāz,* "to grasp." See also AHAZ. The full name is rare in extrabiblical inscriptions (see Avigad 1969). Hayes and Hooker (1988: 33–35) suggest that Jehoram of Judah and Jehoram of Israel were one and the same person and the father of Ahaziah/Jehoahaz (see also Strange 1975). The advantages of this proposal are many: (1) It would forge a stronger link between the house of Omri and the S throne, which would help explain Athaliah's accession to the Jerusalem throne after the death of Jehoram (her husband) and Ahaziah (her son). (2) A difference of one year in the accession dates of Jehoram to the thrones of Jerusalem and Samaria (852 and 851 B.C.E. respectively) would explain the variant figures for the accession of Ahaziah to the Jerusalem throne in 2 Kgs 8:25 (the 12th year) and 2 Kgs 9:29 (the 11th year), this latter being dated from his father's accession in Samaria. (3) It would explain the strong alliance between N and S against Aram-Damascus at this time, and the visit of Ahaziah to Jezreel to see his ailing father. It might also explain the role of the "inhabitants of Jerusalem" in the ascent to the throne of the youngest of Jehoram's sons (2 Chr 22:1). There is evidence to suggest that the "inhabitants of Jerusalem" were more than city-dwellers (note the associations they have in 2 Kgs 23:2; Jer 2:1; 8:1; 13:13; 17:20). The suggestion to identify the 2 Jehorams as one is attractive, but still quite speculative.

2. The son and successor of Jehu (2 Kgs 10:35; 13:1–9). Like all N kings he is judged as apostate by the Deuteronomist. The account of his reign in 2 Kgs 13:1–9 (there is no parallel account in Chronicles) begins with the typical introductory formula for N kings (13:1), and an evaluation (13:2). The conclusion of his reign (13:8–9) is also typical and formulaic. A number of commentators see secondary, albeit deuteronomistic material, in 13:3–7, and especially 13:4–6 (Gray *1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 591–93). Others (McCarthy 1973: 409–10) believe that 13:3 also betrays signs of a secondary character because of a parallel with the style of the Moabite Stone, line 5 (*ANET,* 320). (For an alternative view on these divisions see Hobbs *2 Kings* WBC, 163.)

Jehoahaz is normally given the dates 815–802 B.C.E. (adjusting the figure "17" of 2 Kgs 13:1 to "15"), but recently Hayes and Hooker (1988: 38–49) have suggested 821–805 B.C.E. Jehoahaz inherited from his father Jehu subservience to Assyria—the evidence of which is found in Shalmaneser III's "black obelisk" (*ANET,* 281)—and presumably the burden of annual tribute. He also inherited a kingdom severely truncated because of repeated wars with Aram-Damascus. These wars resulted in the final loss of the territories on the E side of the Jordan (2 Kgs 10:32–33).

The background to these conflicts was the intense pressure which had been exerted by Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.E.) on Aram-Damascus in the decades following the battle of Qarqar in 853 B.C.E. In response to the pressure from the NE, Hazael developed a strategy of strengthening his control of the states to the W (2 Kgs 12:17). Opportunity to do this would have increased in the confusion following the death of Shalmaneser III in 824 B.C.E., and during the reign of his successor, Šamši-Adad (824–810 B.C.E.). It is in this context that the comment in 2 Kgs 13:3 should be understood. During the reign of Adad-nirari III (810–783 B.C.E.) Syria suffered badly, and Hazael died. Adad-nirari's own records tell of the sacking of Damascus (*ANET,* 281–82) in the year 805 B.C.E. Damascus' fall undoubtedly would have relieved the Aramean pressure on Samaria. However, Adad-Nirari also claims to have conquered the coastal states from Tyre in the N to the Philistine territory in the S (*ANET,* 281).

As a result of the constant wars between Israel and Aram-Damascus during the reign of Jehoahaz, the army was greatly reduced until it consisted of 50 cavalry, 10 chariots and 10,000 infantrymen (2 Kgs 13:7). It is not necessary to adjust the figures to larger amounts (so Cogan and Tadmor *2 Kings* AB, 143). These figures as they stand tell a tale. Cavalry and chariotry were campaign units of the army, and would have been used in attacks on Aramean territory, as is seen in the case of the siege of Ramoth-gilead, at

which Jehu was anointed king (2 Kings 9). A normal ratio of chariotry to infantry on such campaigns was from 1:30 to 1:50. Ahab fielded a force of 10,000 infantry and 2,000 chariotry at Qarqar. It was also a deliberate policy of Jehu to cultivate the chariot brigade of the army (2 Kgs 10:15–17), and one can imagine that this was a strong element of his forces. However repeated struggles to maintain the E side of the Jordan had taken their toll and the chariot brigade had been severely reduced, many of them no doubt captured as prizes of war with the loss of their skilled crews. The 10,000 infantry remaining might well have constituted a home-based force, but in an age of increasing tactical sophistication on the battlefield, infantry without chariot and cavalry support would have been very vulnerable.

From this situation of reduced territory, external pressure by Syria and the lack of adequate means of defense Israel was rescued by a "savior" (Heb *môšîaʿ;* (2 Kgs 13:5). This term has been the cause of much discussion among interpreters. Set against this political and military background, it seems reasonable that the "savior" should have been a political or military figure, and a number of scholars suggest that the relief brought by Adad-Nirari's campaign in 805 B.C.E. against Damascus qualifies the Assyrian for the title (Haran 1967; Hallo 1962; Cogan and Tadmor *2 Kings* AB, 143). Herrmann argued for Zakir of Hamath (*HHI*), but the dates are wrong. Other candidates have been Jeroboam II and Joash. A major alternative to these identifications is the prophet Elisha, who now returns to the scene of Israelite history after a gap of almost 50 years (so Hobbs *2 Kings* WBC; Gray *1 and 2 Kings* OTL; *UgS*). The description of Jehoahaz's reign and its misfortunes reflects the depiction of the theological significance of the Exodus in Deut 26:7–9, and the activity of Elisha narrated in 2 Kgs 13:14–20 ensures further respite from the attacks of the Arameans, a fact not missed by the Deuteronomist (2 Kgs 13:23), and echoed later in the activity of Isaiah of Jerusalem in his dealings with Hezekiah (2 Kgs 20:1–11).

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T. R. HOBBS

**3.** King of Judah for 3 months in 609 B.C.; fourth son and successor of Josiah; exiled to Egypt by Pharaoh Neco II. This king is called by two names: Jehoahaz and Shallum (1 Chr 3:15; Jer 22:11; see SHALLUM). It seems likely that Shallum was his personal name and that he assumed a throne name, Jehoahaz ("Yahweh has seized"), when he became king, emphasizing that he was the legitimate ruler. In similar fashion his successor Eliakim became Jehoiakim (2 Kgs 23:34), Jeconiah (Coniah) became Jehoiachin (Joiachin; 2 Kgs 24:6; Jer 22:24; 24:1; Ezek 1:2), and Mattaniah became Zedekiah (2 Kgs 24:17). See Honeyman 1948: 13–25. In 1 Esdr 1:34, Jeconiah occurs as an alternate form for Jehoahaz (though not to be confused with Jehoiachin; see JECONIAH).

Jehoahaz succeeded at the age of 23 and reigned for 3 months in Jerusalem. His mother was Hamutal (or Hamital), the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah (2 Kgs 23:31; 2 Chr 36:2). According to the family tree in 1 Chr 3:15 Shallum was the youngest of Josiah's four sons, and yet the "people of the land" chose him as king after Pharaoh Neco had killed his father at Megiddo (2 Kgs 23:30). The anti-Egyptian sentiments of the group would have influenced this choice which the prevailing mood of the people may have supported (Malamat 1975: 126).

The brief reign of Jehoahaz coincides with Neco's expedition to Haran, where he tried to establish Ashur-uballit on the throne between June/July and August/September 609 B.C. (Wiseman 1956: 62–64). The Babylonians were, however, able to retain Haran which they had captured from the Assyrians the previous year. The pharaoh then proceeded to consolidate his possession of Syria and Palestine, territories

that had belonged to the Assyrian empire. Jehoahaz was summoned to Neco's strategically placed headquarters at Riblah on the Orontes in central Syria and put in bonds "so that he should not reign in Jerusalem" (2 Kgs 23:33; see Dahood 1978: 92 n. 6). A fine of 100 talents of silver and a talent of gold was also levied. This is small when compared with the indemnity required of Hezekiah by Sennacherib 100 years earlier (2 Kgs 18:14: 300 talents of silver and 10 of gold), but the offense of Josiah was smaller. In fact he may have been victim rather than aggressor (Nelson 1983: 188). The pharaoh perhaps also wished to be conciliatory in view of his unresolved conflict with Babylon (Gray *1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 750–51). He therefore deposed Jehoahaz, who was allied with anti-Egyptian interests, and made his elder half-brother Eliakim king, giving him the throne name Jehoiakim. Jehoahaz was sent to Egypt where he died (2 Kgs 23:34; 2 Chr 36:4).

The Deuteronomistic judgment on his reign is that "he did evil in the sight of Yahweh according to all that his fathers had done" (2 Kgs 23:32), a standard formula which is hardly very meaningful in relation to the 3-month reign of Jehoahaz (Jones *1 and 2 Kings* NCBC, 631). It might simply be an inference from his fate, or he may have been too ready to go to Neco at Riblah, perhaps with a view to being confirmed in office (Gray *1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 749–50).

The prophet Jeremiah alludes to the exile of Jehoahaz in a dirge (22:10–12). People are not to weep for Josiah, who is dead, but for Shallum, who will never return from exile. Scharbert (1981: 47–48) considers that the prophet is not revealing any personal pity for either of them. The dirge is followed by a strong condemnation of Shallum's successor Jehoiakim (vv 13–19); no doubt the rampant injustice of this king furnished an important motive for regretting his predecessor.

The exile of Jehoahaz marked the end of Judah's independence, which had lasted about 20 years. Subsequent kings were reluctant to accept their dependent status, especially after Nebuchadnezzar's victories over the Egyptians in 605 B.C. resulted in Judah becoming subject to Babylon. Attempts to throw off the Babylonian yoke led to Jehoiachin being exiled in 597 B.C. and Zedekiah in 587 B.C. Both rulers were accompanied by many of their subjects. And so the fate of Jehoahaz foreshadowed that of the people in the Babylonian captivity.

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**JEHOHANAN** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhôḥānān* (יְהוֹחָנָן)]. Eight persons in the OT bear this name, which means "Yahweh has been gracious." It also appears in the Elephantine papyri in *CAP* 30.18 and 31.17 (see 4. below). It is normally rendered in Gk *Iōanan,* although 1 Esdr 9:29 see #5 below) reads *Iōannēs.*

**1.** A Levitical gatekeeper of the Korahite family of Meshelemiah. He is named as the 6th son of this family in 1 Chr 26:3, in the Chronicler's (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 169) or perhaps a later (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 173) organization of the gatekeepers in the temple at Jerusalem.

**2.** The second of 3 military "commanders of thousands" from Judah under Jehoshaphat named in 2 Chr 17:14–16. In the present setting, framed by vv 13b and 19, Jehohanan and the others named appear to have been officers over troops in the standing army. However, since within that framework they were mustered according to "their fathers' houses" (v 14) and organized by tribal divisions (vv 14, 17), Jehohanan may more likely have been a commander of the militia or conscript forces (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 284).

**3.** The father of Ishmael, one of the leading officers named by the Chronicler as having supported Jehoiada in his revolt against Athaliah. However, the names of these men (with only one exception, including their fathers) are all priestly or levitical and are probably a tendentious replacement of "the captains of the Carites and of the guards" in the account of the conspiracy in 1 Kgs 11:4, since such would have been excluded from entering the Chronicler's temple (1 Chr 23:6) (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 271).

**4.** The "chamber of Jehohanan the son of Eliashib" is named as the place to which Ezra withdrew to spend the night (1 Esdr 9:2) in fasting after his great call to the assembly in the temple for an end to mixed marriages (Ezra 10:6 = 1 Esdr 9:1). The identity of this individual is quite problematic.

(a) It has been argued that this designation of the chamber could be simply that by which it was known at the time of the Chronicler, and thus there may not have been a Jehohanan the son of Eliashib who was a contemporary of Ezra (Meyer 1896: 91; Ahlemann 1942/43: 97–98).

(b) The names Jehohanan/Johanan and Eliashib are sufficiently common that this person, even if a contemporary of Ezra, may have been a private individual, not of a priestly family, who was a friend or supporter of Ezra and his attempts at reform (Rudolph *Esra und Nehemia* HAT, 68–69; on temple chambers associated with such individuals see 2 Kgs 23:11; Jer 35:4; 36:10).

(c) If this Jehohanan ben Eliashib is identical to the Johanan who was apparently the grandson of Eliashib named in Neh 12:22 (see also 12:23), then he was the high priest Jehohanan named in the Elephantine papyri *AP* 30–31 (408 B.C.E.). In this case, the contemporaneity of Jehohanan and Ezra would imply that the latter's activity followed rather than preceded Nehemiah, who was a contemporary of the high priest Eliashib (Rowley 1965: 153–59).

(d) More recently, by assuming the practice of papponymy among the high-priestly family in Jerusalem (on the basis of its practice among the Sanballatids of Samaria) it has been proposed that haplography in the high-priestly genealogy has resulted in the loss of an Eliashib I and his son, Johanan I (between Joiakim and Eliashib named in Neh 12:10) (Cross 1975: 9–11). Restoration of these 2 names results in a Jehohanan/Johanan the son of Eliashib who was a high priest; he would have been a contemporary of Ezra according to the traditional dating of Ezra's activity in Jerusalem, and into whose chamber Ezra withdrew.

**5.** A layman of the family of Bebai named in Ezra 10:28 = 1 Esdr 9:29 in a list of those who were married to foreign wives at the time of Ezra's reforms.

**6.** A son of Tobiah "the Ammonite," one of Nehemiah's principal opponents in his attempts to rebuild Jerusalem's wall (Neh 6:18). This Jehohanan was married to a Jerusalemite woman, a daughter of Meshullam the son Berechiah who worked on the wall (Neh 3:4).

**7.** According to Neh 12:13, a certain Jehohanan was the head of the priestly family of Amariah at the time of the high priest Joiakim.

**8.** One of several Levites (see Clines *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 233) who participated in the temple service celebrating the dedication of the rebuilt wall of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah (Neh 12:42). The suggestion of Bertheau (1887: 341) that the names are representative of divisions of Levites rather than individuals is still worthy of consideration.

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## **JEHOIACHIN** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhôyākîn* (יְהוֹיָכִין)]. Var. JOIACHIN; JECONIAH; CONIAH;

JECHONIAH. Son of Jehoiakim and king of Judah for 3 months from December 598 (or January 597) to March 597 B.C.E. Jehoiachin (or Joiachin; Heb *yôyākin*) was undoubtedly a throne name, meaning

"Yahweh establishes" or "let Yahweh establish." His given name was Jeconiah (Heb *yĕkonyāhû; yĕkonyāh;* Jer 24:1; 27:20; 28:4; 29:2; 1 Chr 3:16–17; Esth 2:6; "Jechoniah" in Matt 1:11–12). A shortened form of this personal name is Coniah (*konyāhû;* Jer 22:24, 28; 37:1).

**A. Jehoiachin's Brief Reign**

Jehoiachin became king of Judah at the age of 18 (2 Kgs 24:8; the Hebrew text of 2 Chr 36:9 incorrectly states that he was 8 years of age [the LXX reads "eighteen"]), following the death of his father Jehoiakim (2 Kgs 24:6; 2 Chr 36:8; Matt 1:11–17, which fails to include Jehoiakim in the genealogy, presents Jehoiachin as the son of Josiah in v 11). Jehoiachin's mother was Nehushta, the daughter of ELNATHAN of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 24:8). This Elnathan is very possibly to be identified with Elnathan, son of Achbor, a high-ranking government official mentioned in Jer 26:22 and 36:12, 25. If Nehushta was the daughter of this Elnathan, her grandfather was probably Achbor son of Michaiah, an official who plays a prominent role in the account of Josiah's reform (2 Kgs 22:12, 14). The name Elnathan also appears in a contemporary document from Lachish (see Ostracon III in *DOTT,* 214).

With respect to establishing the chronology for Jehoiachin's reign, we are greatly indebted to a section of the Babylonian Chronicle first published in 1956. It is now known that the end of Jehoiachin's reign occurred on the 2d day of the month of Adar in the 7th year of Nebuchadrezzar (BM 21946 verso, line 12; see Wiseman 1956: 73; TCS 5, 102). This date corresponds to either March 15 or March 16 (the Babylonian day extended from sunset to sunset, and thus overlaps 2 days of our calendar), 597 B.C.E.

It may not be possible, however, to assign a precise date to the beginning of Jehoiachin's rule. 2 Kgs 24:8 states that he reigned for 3 months, a figure which is probably a round number. 2 Chr 36:9 assigns 3 months and 10 days to Jehoiachin's rule. Although many scholars favor the Chronicler's reading (which would enable us to date Jehoiachin's accession to December 9/10, 598 B.C.E.), it is possible that this more precise reading rests on a scribal error. After having served as vassal to Babylonia for 3 years, Jehoiachin's predecessor Jehoiakim rebelled in 601 or 600 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 24:1), provoking Nebuchadrezzar to take retaliatory measures. Babylonian reprisals (cf. 2 Kgs 24:2) culminated in the siege of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 24:10–17). According to the Babylonian Chronicle, it was during the month of Kislev in Nebuchadrezzar's 7th year (December 18, 598–January 15, 597 B.C.E.) that the Babylonian king and his troops left Babylon on an expedition directed against Judah (BM 21946 verso, line 11). It would appear that Jehoiakim died (possibly he was assassinated; cf. Jer 22:18–19; 36:30) during (or perhaps just before) the early part of the siege, prior to Nebuchadrezzar's arrival in Jerusalem (cf. 2 Kgs 24:10–11). See JEHOIAKIM.

Thus it was the young king Jehoiachin who found himself in the unfortunate position of having to confront Nebuchadrezzar in Jerusalem. Jehoiachin chose to surrender (2 Kgs 24:12), undoubtedly thereby hoping that the Babylonians would withdraw. The siege was indeed lifted, but Jehoiachin himself was deposed by Nebuchadrezzar and deported to Babylon. The Babylonian Chronicle states that Nebuchadrezzar "seized the city and captured the king. He appointed there a king of his own choice (lit. heart), received its heavy tribute and sent (them) to Babylon" (BM 21946 verso, lines 12–13 in Wiseman 1956: 73; TCS 5, 102). Although the Babylonian document does not provide the names of the two kings, it is clear that the deposed king was Jehoiachin (cf. 2 Kgs 24:12, 15; 2 Chr 36:10). The king of Nebuchadrezzar's choice was Mattaniah, Jehoiachin's uncle, who was then given the name Zedekiah (2 Kgs 24:17). According to the MT of 2 Chr 36:10, Zedekiah was Jehoiachin's brother; the LXX and other versions, however, read "father's brother" (cf. 1 Chr 3:15).

Also deported, in addition to the king, the queen mother, and other members of the royal family, were various court officials, leading citizens, military figures, craftsmen, artisans, prophets, and priests (cf. 2 Kgs 24:12, 14–16; Jer 24:1; 27:20; 29:1–2; most commentators believe that the passage Jer 13:18–19 relates to Jehoiachin and his mother Nehushta). Treasure from both the temple and the royal palace was taken as tribute (2 Kgs 24:13; 2 Chr 36:10; Jer 27:16–22; 28:3, 6).

**B. Jehoiachin in Exile**

Cuneiform tablets found at Babylon shed some light on Jehoiachin's fate in exile (Albright 1942). The tablets, which date from the 10th to the 35th year of Nebuchadrezzar (595/594–570/569 B.C.E.), list the

rations distributed by the Babylonians to various captives and skilled workmen. A number of Judeans are among the foreigners named in these documents. The tablets include the monthly rations of oil for *Ya›u-kīnu* (alternately *Yakū-kinu*), "king of the land of *Yahudu*" (= Judah; alternately *Yaudu, Yakudu*) and his 5 sons (*DOTT*, 86; Weidner 1939: 925–26). One of the four texts which speaks of Jehoiachin and his sons is dated to Nebuchadrezzar's 13th year (592/591 B.C.E.). Since Jehoiachin was only 24 years of age at this time, some believe that the documents must be referring to Jehoiachin's brothers. However, it is most probable that the references are to Jehoiachin's young sons. That the 5 are infants is indicated by the mention made of the boys' attendant. Further, it should be noted that Jehoiachin apparently had more than one wife (2 Kgs 24:15). 2 Kgs 25:27–30 (a close parallel is found in Jer 52:31–34) implies that at least in the year 561/560 B.C.E., Jehoiachin was imprisoned.

Yet the Babylonian documents just cited give the impression that Jehoiachin and his family enjoyed relative freedom in exile and were treated very favorably. It is probable that Jehoiachin and his family, and perhaps some of the nobles, were placed under house arrest in the South Citadel in Babylon. The large quantity of oil allocated to Jehoiachin (he received approximately 5 liters of oil, this being 12 times the amount received by each of his sons) suggests that Jehoiachin was responsible for supporting his own household. Many scholars are of the opinion that the Babylonians continued to regard the exiled Jehoiachin as the legitimate king of Judah, and in these documents Jehoiachin is referred to as "king of Judah." It is doubtful, however, that such a use of Jehoiachin's title in these Babylonian documents supports this hypothesis. Nevertheless, the fact that Jehoiachin was well treated in captivity could indicate that the Babylonians were prepared to reinstate Jehoiachin should problems arise with Zedekiah's leadership in Jerusalem.

It is apparent that both in Babylonia and in Judah, there were circles which viewed Jehoiachin as the legitimate ruler of Judah, with Zedekiah being regarded as Jehoiachin's regent. The fact that the book of Ezekiel favors a dating system based on the year of Jehoiachin's deportation (e.g., Ezek 1:2) may reflect this view. In Judah, storage jar handles have been discovered at the sites of Tell Beit Mirsim, Beth-shemesh, and Ramat Raḥel, which bear the stamp *l›lyqm n‹r ywkn* ("to Eliakim, steward of Yaukin"). Most scholars accept the identification of the Yaukin of this seal impression with Jehoiachin. It is assumed that although in exile, Jehoiachin continued to hold crown property in Judah, property which was administered by the Eliakim of the stamp. Some scholars, however, have argued that the evidence antedates Jehoiachin's reign, and thus cannot relate to Jehoiachin. It has also been hypothesized that in addition to the Eliakim seal impressions, 2 contemporary seals (inscribed "to Jaazaniah, servant of the king" and "to Gedaliah, who is over the house") may constitute further evidence that both the people of Judah and the Babylonians continued to regard the exiled Jehoiachin as king, with Gedaliah acting as regent (following the supposed regency of Zedekiah) for Jehoiachin (see May 1939).

The political divisions which characterized this period were shared by Judah's prophets. Hannaniah prophesied (in either the 1st or 4th year of Zedekiah's reign) that Jehoiachin would return to Judah within 2 years, together with those taken captive and the temple vessels carried off as tribute (Jer 28:2–4). The prophet Jeremiah, who maintained a pro-Babylonian position throughout his ministry, strongly opposed such a view. He announced that Jehoiachin would never return to the land of Judah (Jer 22:27; cf. the lamentation Ezek 19:1–9, where many commentators believe that the king of vv 5–9 is Jehoiachin). Moreover, according to Jeremiah, none of Jehoiachin's offspring would sit on the throne of David (Jer 22:30; see Hermisson 1980). In a letter written to the exiles, Jeremiah enjoined them to prepare for a lengthy stay of 70 years (Jer 29:10). He cautioned against paying heed to prophets (addressing them in exile, Jer 29:8–9) who shared the political ideology of a figure like Hananiah. Whereas Jeremiah rejected any element of hope centered in Jehoiachin and his children, the messianic promise contained in Ezek 17:22–24 may refer to the descendants of Jehoiachin. Such hope is not expressed, however, in Ezek 19:10–14, a dirge which laments the full end of the monarchy in Judah.

The Deuteronomistic History closes with 2 Kgs 25:27–30 (cf. the close parallel in Jer 52:31–34), a passage which contains an account of the release of Jehoiachin by the Babylonian king Amel-Marduk (called Evil-Merodach in the Hebrew Bible; see Levenson 1984). This occurred in the 37th year of

Jehoiachin's captivity (561/560 B.C.E.), and was possibly part of an amnesty marking Amel-Marduk's enthronement (cf. 2 Kgs 25:27; Jer 52:31). Jehoiachin put off his prison garments, and was given a seat above the other exiled kings. He dined regularly at the royal table, and was provided with an allowance for the remainder of his life (cf. especially Jer 52:34, which adds "until the day of his death"). As is indicated in particular by the words *waydabbēr ʾittô ṭōbôt* (usually translated "and he spoke kindly to him") in 2 Kgs 25:28 (Jer 52:32), it is possible that 2 Kgs 25:27–30 (cf. Jer 52:31–34) reflects the establishment of a treaty between the Babylonian king and Jehoiachin. Amel-Marduk may have intended to restore Jehoiachin or one of his sons to the throne as a vassal king; however, Amel-Marduk died in 560 B.C.E., shortly after Jehoiachin's release.

Jehoiachin's 7 sons are listed in 1 Chr 3:17–18. His son Shenazzar is very possibly to be identified with Sheshbazzar, the first governor of Judah during the Persian period (e.g. Ezra 5:14). Sheshbazzar is referred to by the title "the prince of Judah" in Ezra 1:8. He was succeeded in this office by Zerubbabel, the son of Jehoiachin's son Shealtiel (e.g. Ezra 3:2; Hag 1:1; 1 Chr 3:19 in the LXX; in the MT, 1 Chr 3:19 states that Zerubbabel's father was Pedaiah, another son of Jehoiachin).

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**JEHOIADA** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhôyādāʿ* (יְהוֹיָדָע)]. **1.** The father of Benaiah who was commander of the personal bodyguard of King David (2 Sam 8:18). It is perhaps this same Jehoiada who joined David at Hebron (1 Chr 12:28—Eng12:27). There Jehoiada is called a prince and is from the house of Aaron. The Chronicler appears to be emphasizing this Aaronic connection when he refers to Jehoiada as a priest (1 Chr 27:5).

**2.** The son of Benaiah (1 Chr 27:34). He was counselor to David after Ahithophel committed suicide during the revolt of Absalom. It is possible that the genealogical reference has been reversed here and that this should be "Benaiah son of Jehoiada" (*HAIJ,* 188). In this case, this individual would be the same as #1 above.

**3.** The priest in Jerusalem who organized the overthrow of Queen Athaliah and placed Joash son of Ahaziah on the throne as the rightful heir of the Davidic family (2 Kgs 11:4–20). Athaliah, the mother of Ahaziah, had seized control when her son was killed in battle. In order to secure her hold on the throne, she ordered all other members of the royal family executed. Joash, the infant son of Ahaziah, was hidden by his aunt Jehosheba and protected for 6 years. Jehoiada then enlisted the help of the palace guard and publicly revealed the existence of the young Joash. Queen Athaliah was taken from the palace and executed and the 7-year-old Joash was proclaimed king of Judah (2 Kgs 12:1—Eng11:21). Jehoiada also renewed the covenant between the Lord and the king and the people (2 Kgs 11:17). In connection with this covenant renewal, the house of Baal was torn down and the priest of Baal was executed. The Baal worship probably had been supported by Athaliah who was the granddaughter of Omri king of Israel.

Jehoiada served as counselor and advisor to the young king Joash who is reported to have done "what is right in the eyes of the Lord" (2 Kgs 12:3—Eng12:2). Joash, also called Jehoash, initiated repairs on the house of the Lord, but there was little progress. In the 23d year of his reign, he called Jehoiada the priest to account for this failure to complete the temple repairs. Jehoiada then placed a collection box and armed

guards at the entrance of the temple in order to ensure that all money contributed would be used for the intended repairs. The work was carried out in stages as the money was collected (2 Kgs 12:10).

In the parallel account in 2 Chr 22:11, Jehosheba, the aunt who hid the young king, was also the wife of Jehoiada. This would make Jehoiada the uncle of king Joash.

**4.** A priest in the time of Jeremiah who was replaced by Zephaniah (Jer 29:26).

PHILLIP E. MCMILLION

**JEHOIAKIM** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhôyāqîm* (יְהוֹיָקִים)]. King of Judah who reigned 609/8–598/7 B.C.E. Jehoiakim, whose given name was Eliakim (meaning "God raises up"), was the son of Josiah. His mother was Zebidah, daughter of Pedaiah of Rumah (2 Kgs 23:36) in Galilee.

**A. Jehoiakim's Reign**

Following the death of Josiah at Megiddo (2 Kgs 23:29) in 609, the "people of the land" (*ʿam-hāʾāreṣ*) anointed Josiah's son Jehoahaz king of Judah (2 Kgs 23:30; 2 Chr 36:1). It was undoubtedly because the "people of the land" expected Jehoahaz to continue the anti-Egyptian policy of his father that they chose Jehoahaz over Eliakim, his elder brother (cf. 2 Kgs 23:31 and 36; also 1 Chr 3:15 [Jehoahaz is here called by his personal name Shallum]).

**1. Jehoiakim as Egyptian Vassal.** Under Neco II (610–595), the Egyptians gained control of Syria and Palestine in 609. The brief reign of Jehoahaz came to an end when he was deposed by Neco at the Egyptian headquarters at Riblah on the Orontes. Neco then placed his half-brother Eliakim on the throne, giving him the Yahwistic throne-name Jehoiakim (2 Kgs 23:33–34; 2 Chr 36:3–4). Jehoahaz was deported to Egypt, where he died (2 Kgs 23:34; cf. Jer 22:10–12; Ezek 19:1–4).

Jehoiakim was installed as king of Judah following an Egyptian campaign in N Syria, where Neco was unsuccessful in his attempt to wrest Haran from the Babylonians. The Babylonian Chronicle (see the translations in TCS 5 and Wiseman 1956) informs us that this campaign lasted until the month Elul (August/September). Thus it is probable that Jehoiakim was placed on the throne late in 609. He reigned over Judah for 11 years (2 Kgs 23:36; 2 Chr 36:5). Jehoiakim's 1st regnal year was 608/607, his 11th and last 598/597. He was 25 years of age when he began his reign (2 Kgs 23:36; 2 Chr 36:5). He died shortly before the Babylonians captured the city of Jerusalem on the 2d day of the month Adar in Nebuchadrezzar's 7th year (March 15/16, 597). Jehoiakim was succeeded by his son Jehoiachin (Matthew 1 does not include Jehoiakim in the genealogy, and lists Jehoiachin (called by his personal name Jechoniah) as the son of Josiah in Matt 1:11) and by his half brother Mattaniah (renamed Zedekiah), the last two kings of Judah (2 Kgs 24:6, 17).

Judah's vassal status is clearly indicated by the fact that it was Neco who determined who would sit on the throne of Judah and who gave this king his throne name (2 Kgs 23:34). The Egyptians exacted a heavy tribute from Jehoiakim. According to the Hebrew text, Neco demanded a tribute of 100 talents of silver and a talent of gold (2 Kgs 23:33 [2 Chr 36:3]; the LXX, however, reads "a hundred talents of gold"; the Lucianic recensions of the Greek and the Peshitta read "ten talents of gold"). Jehoiakim met this demand by taxing those who had earlier anointed Jehoahaz king, the "people of the land" (2 Kgs 23:35).

Jehoiakim remained Egypt's vassal until 605. In that year the Babylonian crown prince Nebuchadrezzar led the Babylonian forces to a decisive victory over the Egyptians at Carchemish (cf. Jer 46:2–12), followed by another at Hamath (cf. TCS 5, 99; Wiseman 1956: 67, 69), thereby paving the way for Babylonian domination over Syria and Palestine. 2 Kgs 24:7 correctly notes that "the king of Egypt did not come again out of his land, for the king of Babylon had taken all that belonged to the king of Egypt from the Brook of Egypt to the river Euphrates."

**2. Jehoiakim as Babylonian Vassal.** The Babylonian Chronicle reports that Nebuchadrezzar interrupted his advance to the S when he learned of the death of his father Nabopolassar. He returned to Babylon immediately, and ascended the throne on the 1st day of the month Elul (September 6/7, 605). Nebuchadrezzar did, however, return to the W later in the same year (his "accession year"), following his coronation. He also campaigned in Syria-Palestine ("Hattu" ["the land of Hatti"] in the Babylonian

Chronicle) during each of his first 4 regnal years (although we cannot be certain that he campaigned in the W during his second year, it is probable that he did so). It was in connection with one of these campaigns that Jehoiakim became Nebuchadrezzar's vassal. Most scholars believe that this probably occurred during the lengthy campaign conducted during Nebuchadrezzar's first regnal year (604/3). The Babylonian Chronicle states that "in the month Sivan he mustered his army and marched to Hattu. Until the month Kislev he marched about victoriously in Hattu. All the kings of Hattu came into his presence and he received their vast tribute (TCS 5, 100; cf. Wiseman 1956: 69).

The closing lines of this section of the Babylonian Chronicle focus on Nebuchadrezzar's destruction of a particular city. Although the reading here is uncertain, it is probable that the Chronicle is speaking of the city of Ashkelon, located on the Philistine Plain. This event occurred in the month Kislev (December 604). A public fast which was observed in Jerusalem in the same month (cf. Jer 36:9, which states that this fast was held in the 9th month of Jehoiakim's 5th year), may have been called in response to the Babylonian conquest of Ashkelon. It is possible that Jehoiakim submitted to the Babylonians shortly after the fall of Ashkelon.

2 Kgs 24:1 observes that "in his days, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up, and Jehoiakim became his servant three years; then he turned and rebelled against him." It is probable that Jehoiakim paid tribute to Nebuchadrezzar in the years 603, 602, and 601. Jehoiakim's decision to revolt was undoubtedly influenced by a serious military setback experienced by the Babylonians during Nebuchadrezzar's 4th year (601/600). In the month Kislev, Nebuchadrezzar led his army from Syria-Palestine to Egypt, where they were met by Neco's forces. The Chronicle reports that "they fought one another in the battlefield and both sides suffered severe losses (lit. they inflicted a major defeat upon one another). The king of Akkad and his army turned and (went back) to Babylon" (TCS 5, 101; cf. Wiseman 1956: 71). While it is very possible that the Egyptians encouraged Jehoiakim to revolt, it is unlikely that he would have rebelled before witnessing this clear demonstration of Babylonian weakness. (It would appear that Egypt was able to take Gaza at this time [cf. Jer 47:1].) Thus it is probable that Jehoiakim withheld tribute in Nisan of the year 600, at the beginning of Nebuchadrezzar's 5th regnal year (see Katzenstein 1983).

It was some time before Nebuchadrezzar took direct punitive action against Jehoiakim. The Babylonian Chronicle notes that in his 5th year (600/599), Nebuchadrezzar "stayed home (and) refitted his numerous horses and chariotry" (TCS 5, 101; cf. Wiseman 1956: 71). And, although Nebuchadrezzar returned to the W during the following year (599/8), on this occasion he "despatched his army from Hattu and they went off to the desert. They plundered extensively the possessions, animals, and gods of the numerous Arabs" (TCS 5, 101; cf. Wiseman 1956: 71). We learn from 2 Kgs 24:2, however, that Nebuchadrezzar did respond to Jehoiakim's rebellion by dispatching Babylonian units already stationed in Syria-Palestine, together with bands of Syrians (it is unnecessary to amend the text to read "Edomites" [cf. Jer 35:11]), Moabites, and Ammonites. Nothing is known of the outcome of this attack on Judah.

In the Babylonian Chronicle, the entry for the 7th year of Nebuchadrezzar's reign (598/7) relates solely to the capture of Jerusalem: "In the month Kislev the king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to Hattu. He encamped against the city of Judah and on the second day of the month Adar he captured the city (and) seized (its) king. A king of his own choice he appointed in the city (and) taking the vast tribute he brought it into Babylon" (TCS 5, 102; cf. Wiseman 1956: 73). Thus, following a short siege, Jerusalem was taken (cf. 2 Kgs 24:10–17) on March 15/16, 597 (the Babylonian day extended from sunset to sunset, and thus overlaps 2 days of our calendar). Jehoiakim died some time before the fall of the city, either before or during the siege (but before Nebuchadrezzar himself arrived in Jerusalem [cf. 2 Kgs 24:11]). The king seized by Nebuchadrezzar was Jehoiakim's successor, his son Jehoiachin (2 Kgs 24:12, 15). The "king of his own choice" was Mattaniah, to whom Nebuchadrezzar gave the name Zedekiah (2 Kgs 24:17).

**3. Jehoiakim's Death.** There are conflicting traditions relating to the death of Jehoiakim (see Green 1982). 2 Kgs 24:6, which states that Jehoiakim "slept with his fathers," implies that Jehoiakim died a natural and peaceful death. The Lucianic recension of 2 Kgs 24:6 (cf. also 2 Chr 36:8 in the LXX) adds

that Jehoiakim "was buried with his fathers in the Garden of Uzzah" (cf. 2 Kgs 21:18, 26, where this garden is reported to be the burial place of both Manasseh and Amon). The Chronicler says nothing of Jehoiakim's death. Instead, there is the suggestion in 2 Chr 36:6 that Jehoiakim (like Jehoiachin) was deported by Nebuchadrezzar (e.g., NEB: "put him in fetters and took him to Babylon"). However, although this reading is supported by the LXX (cf. 1 Esdr 1:38 [40]; also Dan 1:1–2), and although 2 Chr 36:7 states that treasure from the temple was taken to Babylon at this time, 2 Chr 36:6 probably states only that Nebuchadrezzar "bound him in fetters to take him to Babylon" (RSV).

Josephus reports that Jehoiakim was killed in Jerusalem at the command of Nebuchadrezzar, his body "to be thrown before the walls, without any burial" (*Ant* 10.6.3). This account probably reflects 2 oracles contained in the book of Jeremiah. In Jer 36:30 it is announced that Jehoiakim's "dead body shall be cast out to the heat by day and the frost by night." Similarly, Jer 22:13–19 closes with the prediction that Jehoiakim's death will not be lamented in the usual manner. Instead, he will receive "the burial of an ass" (that is, his body will remain unburied), and his body will be "dragged and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem" (vv 18–19). Although some scholars believe that Jehoiakim may have been assassinated by members of the pro-Babylonian minority in Judah, there is no evidence that this occurred. Further, there is no evidence to support the view that upon his arrival in Jerusalem, Nebuchadrezzar disinterred Jehoiakim's body. It is most probable that Jehoiakim died a natural death (in December 598, or possibly in January 597), and that the predictions of Jer 22:18–19 and 36:30 were thus unfulfilled.

**B. Prophetic Opposition to Jehoiakim**

It is clear that under Jehoiakim, the reform instituted by Josiah lapsed. The prophet Jeremiah was an outspoken critic of the socioreligious conditions which prevailed in Judah during Jehoiakim's reign. His "Temple Sermon" (Jer 7:1–15) suggests that part of Jehoiakim's policy was an affirmation of the inviolability of the temple (see Wilcoxen 1977). However, although this oracle is indeed critical of blind trust placed in the temple, its focal point is a denunciation of the people for their failure to be obedient to the Torah (see Holt 1986). It is known, for example, that during Jehoiakim's reign, foreign cults again made their appearance (cf. Jer 7:9, 18, 31; 11:9–13). Further, the pro-Egyptian foreign policy pursued by Jehoiakim stood opposed to the pro-Babylonian position consistently advocated by Jeremiah. That Jeremiah was not alone in his opposition to Jehoiakim and his policies is indicated by Jer 26:20–23.

In the book of Jeremiah, Jehoiakim is depicted as a petty tyrant whose rule was characterized by social injustice. His rule is contrasted with that of his father Josiah. Whereas Josiah "did justice and righteousness," Jehoiakim is accused of having "eyes and heart only for dishonest gain, for shedding innocent blood, and for practising oppression and violence" (Jer 22:15–17 [RSV]; cf. 2 Kgs 24:4). The oracle Jer 22:13–19 provides a concrete example of Jehoiakim's avarice, arrogance, and oppressive rule (see Wessels 1984). Probably at the beginning of his reign, at a time when the country was already under a heavy financial strain, Jehoiakim either renovated the existing palace in Jerusalem, or perhaps built a new palace (very possibly to be identified with the remains of a palace discovered at Ramat Raḥel). In addition to castigating Jehoiakim for the size and opulence of this project, the king is accused of having used forced labor to carry out this work (Jer 22:13–15).

A contrast between Jehoiakim and Josiah is also intended in Jeremiah 36, a narrative which probably has been patterned after 2 Kgs 22:3–23:24 (see Isbell 1978). Jehoiakim's rejection of Yahweh's written word (Jer 36:21–26) stands in marked contrast to the obedience shown by Josiah when the book of the law was read to him. Similarly, although Jehoiakim is not mentioned in Jer 26:7–19, it is clearly the intention of the narrator to demonstrate that it is the king himself who is responsible for the rejection of Yahweh's word (note the implied contrast with the "good" king Hezekiah in verses 18–19, and the brief narrative relating to the prophet Uriah [vv 20–23], who was executed by Jehoiakim for having preached a message similar to that of Jeremiah).

Together with the other 3 men who served as the last kings of Judah (Jehoahaz, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah), Jehoiakim is given a negative evaluation in the Deuteronomistic History (2 Kgs 23:37 [cf. 2 Chr 36:5]). The evaluation of these 4 kings follows a similar pattern. Whereas the first element also occurs in the evaluation of earlier kings ("he did what was evil in the sight of Yahweh"), the second

element is distinctive to the evaluation of these last kings of Judah. Of each it is stated that he did what was evil "according to all that his father(s) had done"; a variation occurs in 2 Kgs 24:19, where Zedekiah is said to have done evil "according to all that Jehoiakim had done" (see Weippert 1972: 333–34).

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JOHN M. BERRIDGE

**JEHOIARIB** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhôyārîb* (יְהוֹיָרִיב)]. Var. JOIARIB. A priestly family, descended from Aaron, whose name means "May Yahweh contend (for me)" (*IPN,* 28, 201; cf. Jerubbaal, "May Baal contend").

**1.** According to 1 Chr 24:4, 7, Jehoiarib was an eponymous head of a family and the one to whom the first lot fell in David's establishment of 24 priestly courses. In the list provided in 1 Chr 24:7–18, Jedaiah is the 2d family chosen by lot.

**2.** A priestly family, most likely descended from #1, which returned from exile in Babylon. 1 Chr 9:10 lists Jehoiarib, along with Jedaiah, Jachin, Azariah, Adaiah, and Maasai, as the 6 priestly heads of family who were the first to return to Jerusalem. The list in Neh 11:10–14, parallel but not identical to 1 Chr 9:10–13, identifies Joiarib (v 10) as an ancestor of Jedaiah, who was among the 5 priestly families who returned to Jerusalem following the exile. Similarly, in Neh 12:6 and 19, Joiarib, again listed alongside Jedaiah, is recorded among the 22 priestly families who returned from exile under Zerubbabel. It therefore seems certain that Joiarib in Nehemiah 11 and 12 is identical to the Jehoiarib in 1 Chr 9:10, because of (1) the similarity of the lists of the first returnees recorded in 1 Chronicles 9 and Nehemiah 11; and (2) the association of J (eh)oiarib with Jedaiah in all cases (including 1 Chr 24:7).

The significance of J (eh)oiarib in these lists has been questioned by recent commentators. The earliest tradition, reflected in Ezra 2, speaks of 4 priestly houses. The expansion to 5, 6, 22, and finally to 24 priestly courses suggests a growth process which was not fixed until at least the mid-5th century.

Part of this growth process involved the addition of certain families to earlier lists, including that of J (eh)oiarib. His appearance in the lists of Nehemiah 12, together with that of the following 5 names, appears to be secondary for 2 reasons. First, they are set off from the list syntactically by a conjunction. Second, it is precisely these 6 names which are omitted from the list of those priests who signed the covenant in Neh 10:1–8. There are also problems with the occurrence of the name in the listing of Neh 11:10.

It has often been assumed that J (eh)oiarib was added to the list of priestly families at a relatively late date because it was from this family that the Hasmoneans descended. However, the name was probably already fixed in the listing of priestly families by the early 4th century. (For further discussion, see Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC; Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC.)

RODNEY R. HUTTON

**JEHONATHAN** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhônātān* (יְהוֹנָתָן)]. A name meaning "Yahu has given." This name is frequently rendered from Hebrew into English in the contracted form Jonathan. There are several instances where the name has been transliterated into English in complete form.

**1.** One of a group of Levites (2 Chr 17:8) who was called by Jehoshaphat to go with other princes and priests to teach the Torah in the cities of Judah. They travelled through Judah and taught among the people.

**2.** A priest who is listed as the head of a postexilic family of Shemaiah (Neh 12:18). Shemaiah was a contemporary of Nehemiah (Neh 10:8; 12:6). Jehonathan, as the head of this family, is identified in the list as a 2d generation priest under the high priest Eliashib.

**3.** A treasurer during the time of Uzziah.

GARY C. AUGUSTIN

**JEHORAM** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhôrām* (יְהוֹרָם)]. An alternate form of JORAM.

**JEHOSHABEATH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhôšabʿat* (יְהוֹשַׁבְעַת)]. An alternate form of JEHOSHEBA.

**JEHOSHAPHAT** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhôšāpāṭ* (יְהוֹשָׁפָט)]. **1.** The son of Ahilud and recorder (*mazkîr*) in the administration of David (2 Sam 8:16; 20:24; 1 Chr 18:15) and Solomon (1 Kgs 4:3). Drawing on the use of the root *zkr* in Isa 62:6, Driver (*NHT* 283) argued that the noun should be rendered "remembrancer" rather than "recorder." Thus Jehoshaphat's task centered not on maintaining archives, but on focusing the king's attention on important matters of state and offering advice. The office of *mazkîr* was not unlike that of secretary of state. Hertzberg (*1 and 2 Samuel* OTL, 293) considers the *mazkîr* to be the chief domestic officer in the Davidic bureaucracy: "he is the spokesman who has to keep the king continually informed and to transmit his decisions." Influenced by the research of Reventlow (1959: 161–75) and Boecker (1961: 212–16), DeVries (*1 Kings* WBC, 63, 69–70) translates the Heb noun "herald" which accords well with the assertion of Gray (*1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 132) that the *mazkîr* "makes the king's mind known to the people." De Vaux (*AncIsr*, 132) observes that a precisely equivalent title in ancient Egyptian bureaucracy was given to one who regulated palace ceremonies, prepared the pharaoh's journeys, and served as his official spokesperson.

**2.** The son of Paruah and one of Solomon's 12 administrative officers (*niṣṣābîm*, 1 Kgs 4:7) who were appointed to the task of fiscally sustaining the royal household. Exercising supervision over the district of Issachar (4:17), Jehoshaphat monitored the shipment of a month's supply of food rations for the Solomonic court each year (4:7) and kept the horses of the king's chariotry supplied with barley and straw (4:28).

**3.** A king of Judah (ca. 873–849 B.C.E.), the son and successor of Asa, and a contemporary of Ahab, Ahaziah, and perhaps Jehoram, kings of Israel. At the age of 35, Jehoshaphat mounted the throne in Jerusalem to begin a 25-year reign. His mother was Azubah, daughter of Shilhi (1 Kgs 22:42; 2 Chr 20:31). The political climate surrounding Jehoshaphat's rule, his portrayal in the Deuteronomistic history (notably 1 Kings 22), and his portrayal in the work of the Chronicler (notably 2 Chronicles 17–20) are the categories under which various particulars about his Judean rule are gathered.

**a. Political Climate.** Though the independent states of Israel and Judah were often locked in sectional warfare during the first half-century following the rupture of the united monarchy in ca. 922 B.C.E., when Omri seized the throne of Israel in ca. 876 B.C.E. both kingdoms were on the verge of experiencing at least 4 decades of needful resurgence. Thanks to Omri's initiative, Israel and Judah embarked on an alliance that was confirmed within a few years by the marriage of Ahab's sister (or daughter) Athaliah to Jehoram, the son and successor of Jehoshaphat (2 Kgs 8:18, 27; 2 Chr 18:1). Given the military and commercial advantages that such an alliance fostered, Ahab of Israel (ca. 869–850 B.C.E.) and Jehoshaphat of Judah governed their people under politically favorable conditions. Israel may have been the stronger of the 2 kingdoms, but the close links that now developed were beneficial to both. Morover, archaeologist Aharoni (1982: 243–49) points to restorations at Mizpah and Beer-sheba as well as to new fortresses at Arad and Ezion-geber in the Negeb that were sponsored by Jehoshaphat and/or his father Asa. In sum, Jehoshaphat governed Judah during a relatively prosperous period.

**b. Jehoshaphat in the Deuteronomistic History.** Presumably drawing upon the annals of the Kingdom of Judah, the Deuteronomistic historian briefly summarizes Jehoshaphat's reign in 1 Kgs 22:41–51—Eng22:41–50. In this basically positive statement, the spotlight falls on the king's religious policy, peaceful relations with the king of Israel, influence in Edom, and unsuccessful maritime expedition on the Red Sea.

In "doing what was right in the sight of the Lord" (22:43), Jehoshaphat is favorably compared with his father (see 1 Kgs 15:11). Thus he is credited with completing the task begun by Asa (15:12) of eliminating "the male cult-prostitutes" (*qādēš,* 22:47—Eng22:46). Even so, the approval is qualified by the notation that the king did not dismantle the country shrines ("high places" [*bāmôt*], 22:44—Eng22:43). The statement that Edom was governed by a deputy rather than by a king (22:48—Eng22:47) is cryptic. One is led to assume that whereas Solomon had lost control over Edom (1 Kgs 11:14–25), one of his successors regained it. Although Judah's influence in Edom may have augmented during Jehoshaphat's quarter century of rule, it may not have ranged much beyond maintaining open access to the Gulf of Aqabah where the port of Ezion-geber (22:49—Eng22:48) was situated.

A definitive understanding of the laconic mention of Jehoshaphat's maritime operations in this summary (22:49–50—Eng22:48–49) lies beyond our reach. At first blush, the text suggests that toward the end of his reign, Jehoshaphat sought to resume a lucrative trade program on the Red Sea that had been suspended since the period of Solomon. Jehoshaphat's use of inexperienced sailors might explain why the king's ships were wrecked while docked at Ezion-geber. When Israel's new king Ahaziah proposed that Judah and Israel might pursue a joint maritime expedition, Jehoshaphat refused. Miller and Hayes (*HAIJ,* 279–80) argue that since the allied nations of Phoenicia, Israel, and Judah surely would have taken control of the Gulf of Aqabah "earlier in the Omride period," it is unlikely that Jehoshaphat was initiating a new maritime venture. Rather, he may have been seeking to win this opportunity for Judah alone. If so, his rejection of Ahaziah's offer was an attempt to establish "Judah's claim of independence from Omride domination." On balance, this Deuteronomistic summary presents Jehoshaphat as a reasonably pious Yahwist whose deeds were less than spectacular.

Two episodes in the Deuteronomistic history depict Jehoshaphat as living in the shadow of the N kingdom. The first (1 Kgs 22:1–38) focuses on Ahab's ill-fated attempt to reclaim the Transjordanian fortress of Ramoth-gilead for Israel. Momentarily a visitor in Ahab's court, Jehoshaphat is persuaded to join forces with the king of Israel. Though Jehoshaphat's name appears 13 times in the story, Ahab's name appears but once (22:20). The prevailing designation is simply "the king of Israel." It is commonly held that when this tale originated, the kings of Israel and Judah were anonymous. Whitley (1952: 148–49) and Miller (1966: 445) submit that this campaign against Aram unfolded a generation later during the dynasty of Jehu. Though their arguments are persuasive, the Deuteronomistic history unmistakably seats the event in Ahab's reign. Indeed, the verse that immediately follows this narrative begins, "Now the rest of the acts of Ahab …" (22:39).

Three elements in the story invite consideration here. First, though offered a choice as the lesser partner of the Israelite-Judean alliance rather than ordered as a vassal to comply with the command of an overlord, Jehoshaphat seems most willing to support Ahab in his move against Aram. His response to the Israelite king's invitation is: "I am as you are, my people as your people, my horses as your horses" (22:4). That the victory is only immediately crucial to the N kingdom seems not to matter. Second, manifesting an exacting piety, Jehoshaphat addresses his colleague with this imperative: "Inquire first for the word of the Lord" (22:5). Then wary about the unison voice of Ahab's 400 prophets who forecast the success of this venture, Jehoshaphat asks whether all of Ahab's prophets have been heard (22:7). Jehoshaphat is zealous in his desire to ascertain the divine will. Third, despite his disguise during the combat, Ahab is mortally wounded by a randomly shot arrow, yet Jehoshaphat, who is instructed by Ahab to wear his robes (following the LXX), remains unharmed (22:30–34). Did the complying king of Judah subscribe to the view that man proposes, but God disposes? Though the narrative is silent, with the campaign now aborted, Jehoshaphat likely withdrew to Jerusalem.

The second narrative (2 Kgs 3:4–27) reports a retaliatory campaign that Israel and its allies Judah and Edom waged against a recently rebellious Moab. Striking affinities with the preceding text detract from its historical credibility. Anonymous mention of the kings of Israel, Judah, and Edom (3:9) triggers the inference that Jehoshaphat's name may be an accretion. Jehoshaphat's willing response to the invitation to join Israel in this military expedition replicates 1 Kgs 22:4, and his scrupulous piety is again manifested in his desire to seek a prophetic disclosure of the divine will prior to actual combat (2 Kgs 3:11; cf. 1 Kgs 22:5). Once more, the victory primarily matters to Israel, not Judah. Jehoshaphat is now the regal colleague of Ahab's son Jehoram (ca. 849–842 B.C.E.), whose triumph over Moab's king Mesha is temporary (see The Moabite Stone, *ANET*, 320–21). Elisha's generous commendation of Jehoshaphat (2 Kgs 3:14) is further evidence that the Deuteronomistic history assigns this Judean king high marks.

**c. Jehoshaphat in Chronicles.** At the outset of his lengthy portrayal (2 Chr 17:1–20:37), the Chronicler emphasizes Jehoshaphat's uncompromising piety. Shunning the Baalim and seeking the God of his ancestral faith, Jehoshaphat "walked in the earlier ways of his father" (17:3). In the Chronicler's perspective, it naturally followed that Jehoshaphat was a richly blessed monarch around whom swarmed signs of grandeur. Respectful Philistines and Arabs honored Jehoshaphat with tribute (17:11); he constructed fortresses and store cities (17:12); and not counting those soldiers who were stationed in the fortified cities throughout Judah, his army numbered 1,160,000 men (17:14–19). As reported in 2 Chr 20:1–30, when a "great multitude" of Moabites, Ammonites, and men from Mount Seir marched on Jerusalem, fasting and prayer sufficed to ensure a Judean victory. Jehoshaphat's forces had no need to engage in combat since the deity set an ambush against the enemy coalition. These invaders so thoroughly fought among themselves that none was spared. Such disclosures obviously mask the Jehoshaphat of history.

Moreover, traditions about Jehoshaphat that were earlier reported in 1–2 Kings are appreciably refracted in the Chronicler's own work. Whereas his account of the Israelite-Judean expedition to seize Ramoth-gilead from Aram is drawn almost verbatim from 1 Kgs 22:1–35a, the Chronicler accords Jehoshaphat a more honorific status at the outset of the story (2 Chr 18:1–2) and appends a word of censure from the prophet Jehu against Jehoshaphat for having allied himself with the wicked Ahab (19:2–3). Moreover, the Chronicler's account of Jehoshaphat's abortive maritime enterprise (2 Chr 20:35–37) boldly departs from the rendering in 1 Kgs 22:49–50—Eng22:48–49. Jehoshaphat now *permits* Ahaziah's partnership in this effort which incurs condemnation from Eliezer to the effect that the imminent destruction of the Ezion-geber fleet is Yahweh's judgment against Jehoshaphat's unseemly association with Ahaziah of Israel.

Though the Chronicler may be faulted for his enormous claims about Jehoshaphat and even for inconsistent coverage (in 2 Chr 17:6 the king is praised for having eliminated the "high places" [*bāmôt*], but in 20:33 condemned for having failed to do so!), his recognition of Jehoshaphat's commitment to military preparedness and judicial reform is entirely justified. Jehoshaphat's normalization of judicial procedures in Judah is spelled out in 2 Chr 19:5–11, a text accepted by Albright (1950: 82) as "a substantially correct account." During Jehoshaphat's tenure, local Levites, priests, and prominent laymen were called to Jerusalem as royally appointed judges. This early a date for the transformation of the judicial system is not improbable.

**4.** The son of Nimshi and father of Jehu, who exterminated the dynasty of Omri and established one of his own (2 Kgs 9:2, 14).

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J. KENNETH KUNTZ

**JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿēmeq yehošāpāṭ* (עֵמֶק יְהוֹשָׁפָט)]. "The Valley of the Lord will Judge"; the *place* where the Lord will gather together and judge the nations (Joel 4:2, 12—Eng 3:2, 12; cf. Joel 4:14, Valley of Decision—Eng 3:14). The exact location of the valley is uncertain, but since Joel 4:1 (—Eng 3:1) speaks of restoring the fortunes of Judah—and of Jerusalem in particular—it may be assumed that the location is somewhere near Jerusalem. The King's Valley mentioned in 2 Sam 18:18, where Absalom erected his commemorative pillar (not to be confused with the much later Absalom's Tomb), may also be another earlier name for the valley.

Traditionally, the Valley of Jehoshaphat has been associated with the last judgment and has been identified by Jews, Christians, and Muslims with that part of the Kidron Valley just E of Jerusalem, including the valley slopes. In line with these beliefs a great many tombs are to be found on the Kidron slopes, the Muslim cemetery on the W and the Jewish on the E. In Jewish tradition, *1 Enoch* 53:1 speaks of final judgment in a deep valley where all people come to be judged, a place which many equate with the Valley of Jehoshaphat. Some rabbinic scholars taught that to have a part in the resurrection it was necessary to be born in Palestine, and the bodies of those who were buried elsewhere would roll underground "like bottles" until they reached Palestine (*Ketub.* 12.3). According to Muslim belief, on the Day of Judgment the Angel Israfel will blow his trumpet as he stands on the sacred rock, es-Sakhra (housed in the present Dome of the Rock), and Mohammad will lead the believers from Jerusalem across a bridge over the gulf of Jahannum (a word, no doubt, derived from "gehenna"). Early Christian belief also places emphasis on the Valley of Jehoshaphat as a place of judgment. Although Eusebius (ca. A.D. 263–339; *Onomast.* 70) locates the Valley of Jehoshaphat in the Hinnom Valley—possibly because he remembered that in the Hinnom Valley (the scene of child sacrifice by Ahaz and Manasseh, 2 Kgs 16:2–3; 21:6)—the Lord had promised to deal out death in the "Valley of Slaughter" (Jer 7:31–32; 19:5–6). Jerome, however, in his revision of the *Onomasticon* places the Valley of Jehoshaphat in the Kidron Valley and cites the prophecy of Joel 4:2, 12 (—Eng 3:2, 12). The Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333) identifies the Valley of "Iosafath" at the Mount of Olives (*CChr Series Latina* [= CCSL].175.17); Theodosius (A.D. 530) knows of the Valley of "Iosaphat" and the Church of St. Mary the mother of the Lord (CCSL 175.119), as does Arculf (A.D. 670) who also speaks of a Church of St. Mary in the Valley of "Iosaphat" (CCSL 175.195).

This church was no doubt in existence as early as the 5th century A.D., and later was rebuilt by the Crusaders who also constructed next to it a large monastery, the Abbey of St. Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat (Finegan 1969: 106–7). Other features in the Valley of Jehoshaphat were also associated with the theme of judgment. The gate now known as St. Stephen's Gate, or the Lion Gate, on the E wall of the city was once known as the Gate of the Valley of Jehoshaphat (Simons 1952: 10), and in the Vulgate the translation for the Inspection Gate (Neh 3:31) is Porto Judicialis, "Gate of Judgment." According to Muslim folklore the last judgment in the Valley of Jehoshaphat is associated with the Golden Gate with its two doors: the Gate of Mercy and the Gate of Contrition (Simons 1952: 372). Some view the newly formed valley (described in Zech 14:4) at the Mount of Olives, when the Lord brings judgment, as the Valley of Jehoshaphat.

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W. HAROLD MARE

**JEHOSHEBA** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhôšeba*ʿ (יְהוֹשֶׁבַע)]. Var. JEHOSHABEATH. Daughter of Joram and sister of Ahaziah, both Kings of Judah (2 Kgs 11:1–2 = 2 Chr 22:11). According to Chronicles, Jehosheba was the wife of Jehoiada the priest. If this is accurate, it indicates an unusual link by marriage between the royal house and the priesthood.

Upon hearing of Ahaziah's death, Athaliah—the Queen Mother—ordered all the king's sons killed and seized the throne for herself. Unknown to Athaliah, Jehosheba hid an infant son of Ahaziah and the

child's nurse in a bedchamber. The infant, Joash, escaped the massacre. Six years later, Joash was brought forth by Jehoiada the priest and anointed king in Athaliah's place.

Jehosheba's actions against Athaliah have prompted speculation concerning her parentage. Josephus (*Ant.* 9.7.1) and Jerome (*Quest. Heb.* on 2 Chr 21:17) argue that Jehosheba was the daughter of Joram but not of Athaliah. This would explain Jehosheba's loyalty to Joash, her half-brother's son. However, if Joram had another wife, she is not mentioned in the text. Moreover, 2 Kgs 11 = 2 Chr 22 contain a number of conflicts, i.e., grandmother vs. grandchildren; priest vs. queen. In this context, a conflict between mother/daughter does not seem unusual.

The account in Chronicles preserves an alternate spelling of Jehosheba: Jehoshabeath (Heb *yĕhôšabʿat*). See also ATHALIAH, JEHOIADA, JOASH.

LINDA S. SCHEARING

**JEHOVAH.** See YAHWEH.

**JEHOZABAD** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhôzābād* (יְהוֹזָבָד)]. Three individuals in the OT bear this name. On the form of the name which means "Yahweh has given," compare the biblical Elzabad and the Aramean *Nabû-zabad.*

1. Jehozabad the son of Shomer was a servant of Joash who participated in the assassination of the Judean king (2 Kgs 12:22—Eng12:21). In 2 Chr 24:26, Jehozabad is said to be the son of a Moabitess named Shimrit, but it appears that the Chronicler has mistaken the name of this conspirator's father for that of his mother (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 276, 279). Whether the Moabite connection is based on a source (*Ibid.*, 279) or is the Chronicler's own contribution (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 326) cannot be determined.

2. The second son of Obed-Edom (1 Chr 26:4) in the schematization offered by a reviser of the Chronicler's organization of the gatekeepers in the temple at Jerusalem (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 169; Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 173).

3. The second of 2 military "commanders of thousands" from Benjamin under Jehoshaphat named in 2 Chr 17:17–18. In the present setting, framed by vv 13b and 19, Jehozabad and the others named appear to have been officers over troops in the standing army. However, since within that framework they were mustered according to "their fathers' houses" (v 14) and organized by tribal divisions (vv 14, 17), Jehozabad may more likely have been a commander of the militia or conscript forces (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 284).

J. S. ROGERS

**JEHOZADAK** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhôṣādāq* (יְהוֹצָדָק)]. Var. JOZADAK. The father of Joshua, a priest contemporary with Zerubbabel (Hag 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 4; Zech 6:11), and the chief priest serving in the First Temple who was taken into exile by Nebuchadnezzar (1 Chr 6:14–15). Jehozadak, along with its shortened form Jozadak, means "Yahweh is righteous." The long form is used for this individual in the texts cited above with his son's name Joshua (*yĕhôšūaʿ*). In Ezra-Nehemiah, the shortened form is used along with a shortened form for his son, Jeshua (*yēšûaʿ*). *See* JOZADAK. The textual unit of 1 Chr 6:4–15 lists the names of the chief priests from Eleazar to the fall of Jerusalem. This is clearly a stylized list which may not provide the correct hereditary order (Williamson *Chronicles* WBC, 70–71). A parallel list in Ezra 7:1–5 names Ezra as the Son of Seraiah instead of Jehozadak. However, this is not a complete list, and the intent may merely be to establish Ezra as a direct descendant of Seraiah, not necessarily excluding Jehozadak. As the last chief priest to serve in the First Temple and the father of Joshua, Jehozadak provides a direct link between the preexilic and postexilic priesthoods. This link legitimates Joshua as the proper chief priest to lead worship in the new Temple.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

**JEHU** (PERSON) [Heb *yēhûʾ* (יֵהוּא)]. The name of 5 individuals in the OT.

1. King of Israel, son of Nimshi, who overthrew the Omride dynasty and founded one of his own. The years of his reign are variously reckoned as 845–818 B.C.E. (Begrich 1929 and Jepsen 1979), 841–814 B.C.E. (Thiele 1965), and 842–815 B.C.E. (Andersen 1969). The most important source for the history of Jehu is 1 Kings 9–10; a very brief summary of his reign is to be found in 2 Chr 22:7–9. Jehu is also mentioned in synchronistic dating lists and truncated genealogies in 2 Kgs 12:2—Eng12:1; 13:1; 14:8 (= 2 Chr 25:17); 15:12. Quite differing estimations of the impact of Jehu, spoken at greater or lesser remove from the actual time of his reign, are offered in 1 Kgs 19:16–17 and Hos 1:4. The picture of Jehu derived from OT sources is augmented by several Assyrian inscriptions in which Jehu is mentioned by name.

In most cases Jehu is identified as "son of Nimshi" (1 Kgs 19:16; 2 Kgs 9:20; 2 Chr 22:7). In 2 Kgs 9:2 and 14, however, he is called "son of Jehoshaphat, son of Nimshi." On the basis of this latter filiation, it is sometimes suggested that "Nimshi" was the name of Jehu's grandfather, or even the name of the clan to which he belonged. It is more likely, however, that the expression "son of Jehoshaphat" is a later addition to the text, and that the more frequently attested identification of his father is the correct one: Jehu was the son of Nimshi. No other information about the ancestry of Jehu is extant. As he steps onto the stage of history, he is already a high-ranking military figure in the entourage of the Israelite King Joram, an officer or perhaps even the commander of the army.

Jehu emerges at a time when the Israelite army had assembled at Ramoth-gilead (Tell er-Ramith) in order to defend this Transjordanian border town of Israel against attacks by the Syrians. Border clashes between Israel and the Aramean state centered around Damascus had flared up anew following the collapse, in the wake of Hazael's usurpation of the throne in Damascus, of the military alliance of Syrian and Palestinian states which had earlier been established by Hadadezer of Damascus, Irḫuleni of Hamath, and Ahab of Israel in order to check Assyrian expansion. During this conflict in the vicinity of Ramoth-gilead, the Israelite king Joram had been wounded and had been forced to leave his army behind as he returned to his residence in Jezreel (Zer‘in) to recuperate from his wounds (2 Kgs 8:28–29; 9:14–15). This was the occasion for the coup staged by Jehu. The immediate stimulus for it, however, came from another quarter.

While encamped at Ramoth-gilead, Jehu was sought out by a disciple of the prophet Elisha. Acting on behalf of his master, this disciple anointed Jehu king over Israel and then confirmed the anointing by means of an oracle from Yahweh. The whole proceeding is reminiscent of Samuel's anointing of Saul (1 Sam 9:16; 10:1; 15:1) and David (1 Sam 16:1–13): what takes place occurs in response to divine initiative and confers upon the recipient of the action the status of a *nāgîd* ("designated one"), or even of a king. To be sure, in 2 Kgs 9:1–10 it is not actually the prophet Elisha himself, but only one of his disciples, who does the anointing. Despite that technicality, the other officers around Jehu nonetheless hasten to proclaim him king just as soon as they are informed of the anointing and of the prophetic oracle. However, there is no mention of a general acclamation of Jehu's kingship on the part of the whole army—unlike what apparently happens in the otherwise analogous situation in 1 Kgs 16:16. The revolt of Jehu, therefore, is probably best described as a military coup which originated at the Israelites' Transjordanian encampment. The prophetic anointing gave Jehu's coup its religious legitimation.

During these years a significant undercurrent of resistance to the Omride policies, both foreign and domestic, had obviously arisen. One factor contributing to this groundswell of resentment might well have been the growing influence of the queen mother Jezebel who, after the death of Ahab, played a role in the governing of Israel through her sons Ahaziah and Joram. Along with this the Israelite tribes were experiencing a steady deterioration in their status over against the indigenous Canaanite portion of the population. The cult of Baal, which had been accorded at least equal treatment with that of Yahweh since the beginning of the Omride dynasty, was by now actively being promoted. This development was being protested by loyal Yahwists, who found their spokesmen especially in the prophets Elijah and Elisha, and in the prophetic circles which had gathered around the latter.

It is also possible that the defense program of the Omrides was working economic hardships on the populace. To be sure, the Omride tactic of entering into foreign alliances had evidently brought to Israel a period of peace and prosperity. On the other hand, the necessity of being able to repulse attacks from the

N—initially from the Arameans of Damascus and later from the Assyrians—was requiring increased expenditures on armaments. The large contingent of war chariots which Ahab had been able to deploy against the Assyrian king Shalmanezer III in the Battle of Qarqar (853 B.C.E.; cf. *ANET,* 278–79) testifies to the magnitude of the Israelite military buildup, as do the fortresses whose construction the Omrides pushed through. Only a short time after Hazael successfully seized power in Damascus, however, the anti-Assyrian coalition fell apart. Now the former allies, Israel and Aram-Damascus, faced one another with swords drawn. This sudden change in the situation apparently led to considerable dissatisfaction with the basic principles of the Omride foreign policy and stimulated a desire for some sort of change.

All of these factors seem to have contributed, more or less strongly, to the success of Jehu's putsch. Above all else, however, he took advantage of the opportunity for surprise. Jehu commanded his officers to keep silent concerning the proceedings in the military camp at Ramoth-gilead, and he himself then hastened as quickly as possible to Jezreel in order to arrive there before news of his having been proclaimed king in Transjordan could reach the royal residence. The surprise attack was a total success. King Joram, suspecting nothing, went out to meet Jehu in expectation of receiving bad news from the military camp; he was shot by Jehu while still in his war chariot. At this point (2 Kgs 9:25–26) the narrative inserts a comment to the effect that this happened on precisely that parcel of land for the sake of whose possession Ahab had had Naboth of Jezreel and his sons slain (a tradition paralleling that found in 1 Kings 21). The death of Joram at the hand of Jehu thus appears as the fulfilling of an oracle of judgment that was once intended for Ahab. In Jezreel itself Jehu had the queen mother Jezebel thrown down from the palace's appearance-window. With this the city of Jezreel was firmly in the hand of Jehu. Since Jezreel is hardly again mentioned in later texts, one must assume that, under Jehu and his successors, the city lost the function of a secondary royal residence which it had had under the kings of the house of Omri.

As a royal possession founded by the Omride family, Israel's chief city of Samaria (Sebastiya) occupied a special status within the N Kingdom. Jehu respected this special legal position in that he did not immediately set out from Jezreel to Samaria, but rather he initiated a diplomatic exchange of letters with the chiefs of the city. In his first letter Jehu suggested to the recipients that they elevate one of the princes of the Omride family to the kingship and then carry through with this act by defending his claims in battle (2 Kgs 10:1–3). The chiefs of the city immediately recognized the threat contained in Jehu's letter and announced their submission to him (vv 4–5). Next Jehu demanded, as a sign of their obedience, the heads of the princes of the royal house who were in Samaria. Gripped by fear, the representatives of Samaria immediately carried out this command, decapitated the Omride princes, and sent their severed heads to Jehu at Jezreel (vv 6–11). Thus the way was cleared for Jehu to take over the capital city of Samaria.

Before Jehu actually entered Samaria, while he was still on the way there, he encountered Jonadab, the son of Rechab, who assured him of his support. According to Jeremiah 35, Jonadab was leader of the Rechabites, a clan which faithfully adhered to an archaic form of Yahwistic belief. Centuries after the settlement of Israel in Palestine the Rechabites still disdained to lead a sedentary, agrarian style of life. Rather, they continued to pursue a semi-nomadic type of existence, living in tents rather than in houses, subsisting on stock-farming rather than on tilling the soil, and stoutly refraining from alcoholic beverages. In all likelihood they understood this particular sort of existence in the promised land to be a style of life uniquely suited to Yahwistic faith, especially since they were thereby separated from such religious temptations of the agricultural life as Baal-worship and fertility cult. Since the Rechabites were thus a group particularly responsive to the call of faithfulness to Yahweh, Jehu's immediate course of action is easily understandable: He had Jonadab join him in his chariot in order thereby to demonstrate his own "zeal for Yahweh" (2 Kgs 10:15–16). By having the leader of the Rechabites join him, Jehu was able to demonstrate to the populace his partisanship toward the national Israelite and ancient Yahwistic traditions of Israel, in opposition to the Omride policy of accommodation to Canaanite ways. Keeping the dynamics of these maneuvers in mind, one is also led to conclude that the sequence of events as recounted in 10:15–17 and 10:18–27 does not reflect what actually happened but has somehow gotten reversed.

After his entry into Samaria, Jehu had all the remaining members of the "house of Ahab" slaughtered. In so doing he followed the example of several earlier usurpers of the royal throne in N Israel who had likewise exterminated the families of the toppled monarchs in order to solidify their own hold on the reins of government (1 Kgs 15:29; 16:11). With this bloodbath the Omride dynasty, after not even 40 years in power (from 882 to 845 B.C.E., following the chronology of Jepsen), ceased to exist. With his seizure of the throne, Jehu established yet another dynasty, one that held on to the throne of Israel for nearly a full century (from 845 to 747 B.C.E., again following Jepsen). The royal families of Omri and of Jehu were the only ones during the history of the N Kingdom that succeeded in establishing actual dynasties. In all other cases the duration of rule did not extend beyond that of a king and his son.

A considerable segment of the Judean lineage of David was also destroyed in the overthrow of the Omride dynasty. It so happened that, when the usurper Jehu entered Jezreel in order to seize power and to assassinate the reigning King Joram, the Judean king Ahaziah was also there, visiting Joram. In this way Ahaziah also became entangled in the bloody events of Jehu's putsch (2 Kgs 8:29; 9:16). In company with Joram, the unsuspecting Ahaziah departed the city in order to meet the rapidly approaching Jehu. When Jehu slew Joram with bow and arrow, Ahaziah fled S in the direction of Bethhaggan (En-Gannim), obviously with the intention of escaping toward Jerusalem. Jehu pursued him, however, and ordered that he too be slain. Those in pursuit of Ahaziah caught up with him in the vicinity of Ibleam (Khirbet Bel῾ameh) and wounded him so severely that he was able to make it only as far as Megiddo (Tell el-Mutesellim), where he died (2 Kgs 9:21–24, 27–28).

In addition to Ahaziah a whole group of people belonging to the Judean royal house ("kinsmen of Ahaziah," 2 Kgs 10:12–14) fell into the hands of Jehu. Clearly having as yet received no news of the bloody events in Jezreel, they were just then journeying through the N Kingdom. Jehu encountered them on the way to Samaria, at Beth-eked (Beit Qad, east of Jenin), and had them all killed. In this way Jehu inflicted such devastation on the Davidic dynasty that the queen mother Athaliah, of the lineage of Omri, was able to seize the throne in Jerusalem (2 Kgs 11:1–3). Just why Jehu so enlarged his circle of murderous activity to include the members of the Judean royal family remains unclear. Perhaps he was intent upon eliminating the possibility of a blood feud with the Davidic lineage, which had become related by marriage with the Omrides. Alternately, Jehu could also simply have intended to liquidate all the allies of the Israelite royal family that he could get his hands on.

Next, in Samaria, Jehu went on the offensive against the Baal cult. Under the pretext of wanting to arrange a large sacrificial feast for Baal, Jehu had the worshipers of Baal, his prophets and priests, gather in the Baal sanctuary in Samaria. He was so thorough in carrying out this deception that he himself presented the sacrifice for Baal. Suddenly, he gave his troops the command to slaughter the Baal worshipers who had gathered in the sanctuary. After this frightful bloodbath the contents of the temple were destroyed and the building itself was torn down. In order to render the site of the sanctuary perpetually unusable for cultic purposes, Jehu then had a public latrine constructed at the same place (2 Kgs 10:18–27). The detailed sources concerning Jehu, which restrict themselves to his seizure of power, end on this note. Despite their restricted focus, however, these sources nonetheless allow one to recognize the broad contours of Jehu's governmental policy.

In both domestic and foreign policy, Jehu made a radical break with the governing principles of the Omride dynasty. In the sociocultural realm, including religion, a definitive end was made of the practice of officially sanctioned equal treatment of the Israelite tribes and the traditionally Canaanite elements of the population. Indeed, through the influence of Jezebel, there had even been a promoting of the Canaanite traditions under the kings Ahaziah and Joram. Through his frightfully bloody assault on the adherents of the Baal cult and the destruction of the Baal temple in Samaria, Jehu established himself as a zealot for Yahwistic faith and as an opponent of Baalism and syncretism. Under Jehu's rule, the Israelite elements of the population doubtlessly were accorded the dominant position in the sociopolitical and religious realm; Canaanite influence was restricted.

In the domain of foreign policy, the system of treaties set up by the Omrides fully collapsed in the wake of Jehu's actions. The slaughtering of Ahaziah and the Judean princes, as well as the extermination of the

Omride family from which Athaliah, the queen mother in Jerusalem, herself descended, put an end to Israel's previously good relations with Judah and replaced them with a state of tension. Israel's friendly relations with the Phoenician states likewise came to an end. Under Jehu, Israel suddenly found itself in an isolated position among neighboring states and, without support, was soon handed over to more powerful opponents, specifically Aram-Damascus and Assyria.

In the 18th year of his reign (841 B.C.E.), the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III carried out his 4th campaign against Syria. The anti-Assyrian coalition of Syrian and Palestinian states, which 3 times before had halted his advance, no longer existed. The Assyrian army directed its main assault against Hazael of Damascus. Although Shalmaneser wreaked heavy devastation upon the region of the Syrian state and trapped Hazael in his capital city, he was not able actually to capture Damascus or overthrow Hazael. However, the Assyrian army did manage to reach the highland region of Hauran and there stood on the very boundary of Israel. As Shalmaneser states in a fragmentarily preserved annalistic text (*ANET,* 280), the Phoenician cities of Tyre and Sidon both submitted to him, as did Jehu of Israel. In this Assyrian text Jehu is identified as "son of Omri" (*Iaúa mār Ḫumrî*). This formulation shows not only the ignorance of the Assyrians concerning the change of dynasty that had occurred in Israel, but also the high international esteem enjoyed by the Omrides, whose name increasingly appears in the Assyrian texts as a designator for the whole state of Israel (*Bīt-Ḫumrî*). Apparently Shalmaneser accorded such importance to Jehu's paying of tribute that he had the scene carved as an illustration on the "Black Obelisk" (*ANEP*, 355). Jehu is shown doing homage before the great Assyrian king by prostrating himself upon the ground; other panels of the obelisk depict Israel's tribute, which is described in a superscription.

Although his submission to Shalmaneser meant that Jehu was abandoning the former Israelite policy of resistance to Assyrian expansion, at the same time this was an act of political common sense. With his recognition of Assyrian supremacy, Jehu acquired for himself support against the Arameans, who of course held back for only so long as the Assyrians were able to intervene in the affairs of the Aramean states of Syria. In the 21st year of his reign (838 B.C.E.), Shalmaneser III moved against Damascus for the last time, once again without definitive success. In the ensuing years, due to internal disturbances, the Assyrian empire declined and was unable to find the strength to generate new expansionary expeditions. Hazael of Damascus, seeing himself freed from Assyrian pressure, became in the following years one of the most ruthless and successful enemies of Israel. According to 2 Kgs 10:32–33 he eventually succeeded in conquering the whole of Transjordan between Hauran and the Arnon. Given its summarizing character, it is questionable whether this brief notice is to be taken as referring only to the period of Jehu's rule. It is quite possible that the success which Hazael achieved against Jehu's son Jehoahaz has been collapsed into this report as well. On the other hand, one can probably also infer from this notice that Jehu was successful in forcing the Moabites back to the Arnon and that the region between the N tip of the Dead Sea and the Arnon reverted to Israelite rule.

Despite all the gory details included therein, the textual block encompassing 2 Kgs 9:1–10:27 reports Jehu's seizure of power in a positive light and apparently aims at legitimating his rule. The deeds of Jehu are evaluated in similarly positive fashion in 1 Kgs 19:15–18. This latter text, which one must read as presupposing that the events of the Jehu revolution already lie in the past, speaks of a divine commission laid upon Elijah to anoint, in addition to Elisha and Hazael, also Jehu. Certainly we encounter here no strictly historical statement (cf. the contrasting 2 Kgs 9:1–3). Rather we have the transmittal of a theological evaluation of the deeds of Jehu: Those deeds serve in the struggle against the cult of Baal and therefore stand in continuity with Elijah's battle on behalf of Yahwistic faith.

The prophet Hosea judges the deeds of Jehu in a totally different light (Hos 1:4). According to Hosea, those deeds amounted to a terrible blood guilt which besmirched the whole reign of the Jehu dynasty and so burdened it that God would eventually call the dynasty to account and do away with the whole institution of kingship. On the other hand, the Deuteronomistic redactors of the books of Kings rendered high praise to Jehu for his opposition to the cult of Baal and included in this context a divine promise of dynastic succession. Of course, just as with every other king of the N Kingdom, so also Jehu is

reproached for having adhered to the golden calves, which is to say for having continued to support the royal sanctuaries in Bethel and Dan (2 Kgs 10:28–31).

The history of Jehu is briefly summarized in the work of the Chronicler (2 Chr 22:7–9), who paraphrases 2 Kings 9–10 in short strokes (2 Chr 22:7 = 2 Kgs 9:21; 2 Chr 22:8 = 2 Kgs 10:12–14). Only the verse at 2 Chr 22:9 fully deviates from its predecessor at 2 Kgs 9:27–28; it reports that Ahaziah of Judah hid in Samaria but was discovered there and was slain by Jehu. The sparse information concerning Jehu in the work of the Chronicler serves only as historical background for the account of Ahaziah's demise.

2. Prophet in the time of Baasha of Israel, son of Hanani. He delivered to the king a prophetic judgment oracle announcing the king's demise and the downfall of the royal house (1 Kgs 16:1–4). The fulfillment of this pronouncement is reported in 16:7 (proleptically) and in 16:12. The prophetic oracle consists of Deuteronomistic formulations. The historical background of the prophet Jehu remains dark. In the work of the Chronicler he is pictured as confronting the Judean King Jehoshaphat and faulting him for his alliance with the godless Ahab (2 Chr 19:2–3). In 2 Chr 20:34 the Chronicler refers to a collection of "words of Jehu" as one of his sources for the history of Jehoshaphat of Judah. This notice is just as open to historical question as are the other comments about Jehu in the work of the Chronicler.

3. A Judean, son of Obed and father of Azariah, in the family tree of Elishama within the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr 2:38).

4. A Simeonite, son of Joshibiah, within the genealogy of Simeon (1 Chr 4:35).

5. A Benjaminite from Anathoth who, along with other Benjaminites, gave himself over to David at Ziklag in order to serve him as one of his warriors (1 Chr 12:3).

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WINFRIED THIEL

TRANS. CHARLES MUENCHOW

**JEHUBBAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕḥubbâ* (יְחֻבָּה) K; *wĕḥubbâ* (וְחֻבָּה) Q]. The grandson of Heber listed in the genealogy of Asher (1 Chr 7:34). While the consonantal Hebrew text spells the name Jehubbah, the Masoretes have vocalized the name to be read "and Hubbah"—a reading supported by various Gk mss. The figure is listed as one of the 3 sons of Shamer, the latter perhaps to be identified with Shomer. The names Jehubbah or Hubbah appear neither in the parallel lists of the Asherite genealogy in Genesis 46 and Numbers 26 nor elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. Possible roots of these names are *ḥbb,*

"to love" (hence, "loved one") and *ḥbh,* "to hide" (hence, "hidden one"). Abel suggests that Hubbah is related to Hobab, a Kenite name (Judges 4:11).

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JULIA M. O'BRIEN

**JEHUCAL** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhûkal* (יְהוּכַל)]. Var. JUCAL. Son of Shelemiah and one of King Zedekiah's (597–586 B.C.E.) court officials (Jer 37:3; 38:1). His high social status is indicated both by his title, "prince" (Heb *śar;* Jer 38:4) and by his presence in a deputation sent by Zedekiah to consult the prophet Jeremiah (37:3). During the siege of Jerusalem, he was one of four (three in the) officials, who, representing the pro-Egyptian faction in Judah, demanded that Zedekiah put Jeremiah to death because of the treasonable nature of his preaching (38:1–4). According to them, Jeremiah's message, which centered on the certain fall of Jerusalem and the necessity of submitting to the Babylonians, was demoralizing the Judean troops (lit. "weakening the hands" of those defending the city of Jerusalem; cf. the use of this expression in one of the ostraca [Ostracon 6] found at Lachish [see *ANET,* 322]).

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JOHN M. BERRIDGE

**JEHUD** (PLACE) [Heb *yĕhūd* (יְהֻד)]. A town allotted to the tribe of Dan (Josh 19:45), located in the coastal region which the Danites failed to inherit (Josh 19:47; Judg 1:34). The site of Jehud is identified with el-Yahudiya (modern Yehud; M.R. 139159) where sherds of the MB and Iron Age have been collected.

RAPHAEL GREENBERG

**JEHUDI** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhûdî* (יְהוּדִי)]. An officer at the court of King Jehoiakim (Jer 36:14, 21, 23). It is probable that Jehudi was a scribe. In the prose narrative of Jeremiah 36, the royal officials (*śārīm,* translated "princes" in RSV and NAB) send Jehudi to summon Baruch to appear before them with the scroll dictated by Jeremiah (36:14). Later, Jehoiakim dispatches Jehudi to fetch the scroll from the chamber of Elishama, the state secretary (v 21). Jehudi then reads the scroll to the king and his officials (vv 21, 23).

In Jer 36:14, Jehudi is identified as son of Nethaniah, son of Shelemiah, son of Cushi. It is noteworthy that Jehudi's genealogy is traced back to the 3d generation. Many commentators believe that the text is to be emended slightly to read "then all the royal officials sent Jehudi son of Nethaniah *and* Shelemiah son of Cushi …" (see, e.g., the JB's translation). If Jer 36:14 is accepted as it now reads, it is difficult to provide a satisfactory explanation for the extended genealogy, although it is possible that the genealogy is to be viewed in the light of Deut 23:7–8. That text is concerned with the genealogical purity of those who participate in the Israelite cult, and speaks only of the children of the 3d generation born to Edomites and Egyptians. If Jehudi's great-grandfather was indeed a Cushite by birth (this must be questioned, even if one does not emend the text of Jer 36:14), it is very possible that the name "Jehudi" (lit. "Judahite") may indicate that Jehudi was a naturalized Judean.

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JOHN M. BERRIDGE

**JEIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕʿîʾēl* (יְעִיאֵל)]. Name of 11 people in postexilic books of the Hebrew Bible. The form of the name sometimes alternates between Jeiel (*yĕʿîʾēl*) and Jeuel (*yĕʿûʾēl*) either as a *Qere* and *Ketib* or between the MT and some of the versions; this is similar to the variation between the names

Peniel and Penuel (*BLe*, 524 h). The etymology of the name is uncertain; perhaps it should be connected to Arabic roots meaning "strong" or "to cure" (*HALAT* 2: 401) in which case the name would mean "God is strong" or "God cures." It has not yet appeared in the extrabiblical epigraphic corpus. There is no obvious reason why Jeiel is mentioned only in postexilic sources.

1. One of the families who returned from the Babylonian exile with Ezra (Ezra 8:13). This list is seen as a generally authentic record (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 109–11; Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 161). The verse that mentions Jeiel/Jeuel is problematic; it reads "Of the sons of Adonikam, those who came later [*ʾaḥăr- ōnîm*], their names being Eliphelet, Jeiel, and She- maiah …" The meaning of *ʾaḥărōnîm,* which usually means "last ones," is unclear, since additional names follow in v 14. Some have suggested that the families of v 13 were the last to leave Babylon (Williamson WBC, 108; Blenkinsopp OTL, 163), but this is reading too much into the Hebrew of the text. Verse 13 is also exceptional in that no other father's name is followed by more than one child. Most likely, the list of returnees originally ended with v 13, with the list of the family of Adonikam, the "final ones" (*ʾaḥărōnîm*), and his children were listed in full to effect closure. Verse 14, then, is most likely an addition, to bring the total number of lay families to the schematic number 12. RSV's reading Jeuel here is poorly attested in the manuscripts, and Jeiel should be read instead with the vast majority of manuscripts and the LXX.

2. One of the sons of Nebo, who appears in the list of intermarried people in Ezra 10:43. This list is generally seen as authentic (Blenkinsopp OTL, 199–200), though it is unclear if it is complete, and because its concluding v 44 is difficult, it is not known if those enumerated are intermarried, or have divorced their foreign wives (Myers *Ezra Nehemiah* AB, 87–88; Blenkinsopp OTL, 197–98). Cogan (1979) has suggested that Nebo is from the tribe of Reuben, but his evidence from several overlapping names between this verse and the Reubenite genealogy in 1 Chr 5:4–8 is inconclusive (Williamson WBC, 159). The centrality of the prohibition of intermarriage in the postexilic period is seen by the literary placement of this section as the conclusion of the Ezra portion of Ezra-Nehemiah; this prohibition is based on reinterpretation of earlier biblical texts prohibiting intermarriage with the Canaanite population (Fishbane 1985: 114–26).

3. A Reubenite (1 Chr 5:7). The relation of this verse to the previous genealogy, and thus the relationship between this Jeiel and the rest of the Reubenites are unclear. 1 Chr 5:7 MT begins, "And his brothers (*wĕʾeḥāyw*) according to his families …" The immediately preceding referent is Beerah (v 6), who was exiled by Tiglath-Pilesser in the 8th century; however, in v 8, these Reubenites are listed as living in areas which they no longer controlled in the 8th century. Possibly, the participle in v 8, *yôšēb,* "he dwells," describing the descendants of the Reuben, should be understood as a perfect, "who dwealt" (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 64), but this is unlikely. The language of v 7 is unusual; its opening words *wĕʾeḥayw lĕmišpĕḥōtāyw* are unique in the genealogical section of 1 Chronicles and the note that Jeiel is the *rōʾš,* probably "the firstborn," is very unusual. This might suggest that the verse is a fragment of a premonarchical Reubenite genealogy (see v 10, which deals with the period of Saul), which became appended to the main genealogy in vv 1–6. The words *wĕʾḥāyw lĕmišpĕḥōtāyw* "And his brothers according to his families," are thus a clumsy attempt to join the 2 genealogies.

4. One of the families of Judah from the clan of Zerah who settled in Jerusalem at the return from the exile (1 Chr 9:6). According to MT, his name is given as Jeuel (so RSV), while many of the important LXX manuscripts suggest Jeiel. The list in 1 Chronicles 9 is similar to that in Neh 11:3–36, but the exact relationship between the 2 lists and their time of composition remain unclear (Williamson WBC, 344–50). The list in Nehemiah 11 does not include the clan of Zerah, thus Jeiel/Jeuel is not mentioned there.

5. Early Benjaminite, an ancestor of King Saul, and the settler of the Benjaminite city of Gibeon (1 Chr 9:35). This genealogy is probably preexilic (Demsky 1971), though some see the tie of Benjamin to Gibeon rather than Gibeah and the double mention of Ner and Kish in vv 36 and 39 as an indication that this section of the genealogy is artificial (Malamat 1968: 171). Jeiel's name is missing in the parallel genealogy in 8:29, but it appears there in the Lucianic family of the LXX; Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 78) and RSV add it to 8:29. Perhaps this Jeiel should be identified with (or emended to) Jediael, *yĕdîʿăʾēl,* the son of Benjamin according to 1 Chr 7:6, who represents one of the major clans of the Benjaminite

family. According to 9:35, Jeiel's wife is named Maacah, a name that typifies residents of the Transjordan (Demsky 1971: 18, n. 10). The inclusion of a wife's name is not typical of these genealogies; perhaps this ancestor of Saul was somehow seen as the equivalent of the queen mother, who played an important role in Israelite politics (Andreason 1983).

6. One of David's warriors (Mazar 1963) (1 Chr 11:44). The list of David's warriors in 1 Chr 11:26–47 is derived from various sources: the first section (until the middle of v 41) is derived from 2 Sam 23:24–39 and the second probably reflects an additional preexilic source that was available to the Chronicler (Williamson NCBC, 103–4). If it were a fabrication, it would probably follow the previous section's style more closely. The purpose of 1 Chronicles 11 is to glorify David by showing the extent of the military power that supported him, thus reinforcing the divine legitimation of David (see 1 Chr 11:10); this ideology probably motivated the chapter's editor to go beyond his usual source and to find additional lists of David's warriors. MT gives the warrior's name as Jeuel in the *Kethib* and as Jeiel in the *Qere*; most of the versions support the *Qere.* MT breaks v 44 in half, by inserting a paragraph marker (*sĕtûmâ*) after Jeiel; this suggests that the continuation of the verse, "the sons of Hotham the Aroerite," represents additional (unnamed) warriors who are unrelated to Jeiel. If we ignore this division, then Jeiel's father is Hotham, from the Transjordan city of Aroer.

7. One of the *měšōrĕrîm,* "Temple singers" (1 Chr 15:18, 21; 16:5). 1 Chr 15:18 MT lists this Jeiel as one of the *šō‹ărîm,* "gatekeepers," but this word should be excised as a gloss (Williamson WBC, 125). According to 1 Chr 15:16, these singers were established by David as part of his preparation for the Temple that Solomon would build; this is consistent with the Chronicler's ideology (Williamson WBC, 30). The list in 1 Chronicles 15 of singers who here are considered to be Levites reflects the realities of the Chronicler's period rather than of David's (Williamson WBC, 122). The list appears twice in chap. 15, once in general terms, and once giving the specific roles of the groups of singers. Verse 16 introduces the list, v 17 lists the three most important singers, Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, and v 18 lists the other singers, who are called *mišnîm,* "of second rank." The word (*wĕ*)*hamešōrĕrîm,* " (and) the Temple singers" should be moved from the beginning of v 19 to replace the incorrect *šō‹ărîm,* "gatekeepers" at the end of v 18. Verses 19, 20, and 21 then list groups of singers, assigning to them specific musical roles. Jeiel is among those who play *bĕkinnōrôt ‹al haššĕmînît lĕnaṣṣēaḥ,* which involves some type of lyre (*kinnōr*) music. The meaning of the remaining technical terms is notoriously difficult (Anderson *Psalms* NCBC, 43–50; Kraus 1988: 21–32). Jeiel appears twice in 1 Chr 16:5, in the list of singers accompanying the transport of the ark to Jerusalem, but the first appearance of Jeiel should probably be emended to Jaaziel, following the parallel texts in 1 Chr 15:18 and 20 (Rudolph HAT, 120); the error was caused by the graphic similarity of the names in Heb (*y‹y›l* and *y‹zy›l*).

8. Ancestor of Jahaziel, a prophet who encouraged the Judean king Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 20:14). It is likely that this prophet and his lineage are the Chronicler's invention. The name Jahaziel, *yahăzî‹ēl* is composed from the element *ḥzh,* "to be a seer," and is probably a creation of the Chronicler. The symbolic names Iddo and Jeddo, from *‹wd,* "to exhort," are similarly used by the Chronicler of prophets that he created. Furthermore, the genealogy of this Jahaziel is highly suspicious. He is supposedly "son of Zechariah, son of Benaiah, son of Jeiel, son of Mattaniah, a Levite of the sons of Asaph." These names are known from the list of *měšōrĕrîm,* "Temple singers" in 1 Chr 15:17–21 (Mattaniah = Mattithiah). The creation of a prophet by the Chronicler is in line with the importance that the Chronicler gives to prophecy (Japhet 1977: 154–66); possibly, the Chronicler creates such a long genealogy for Jahaziel to legitimate him by connecting him to the time of David (Williamson WBC, 298).

9. A *sôpēr,* "secretary" during the reign of the Judean king Uzziah (2 Chr 26:11). The exact range of meanings and etymology of *sôpēr* are unclear (Baumgartner *HALAT* 3: 724); in this context, however, he has a military role (cf. 2 Kgs 25:19 = Jer 52:25). The list of officials given here is not found in Kings. Several similar lists are found throughout Chronicles, and they do not show the patterns of fabrications seen in Jeiel #8, above; they are probably authentic preexilic lists which the Chronicler had access to (Williamson WBC, 261–63). The *Ketib* writes the name as Jeuel; but the *Qere* and most versions argue in favor of Jeiel.

10. A descendant of the Elizaphan branch of the Levites, who assisted in the purification of the Temple during the reign of Hezekiah (2 Chr 29:13). The other names in that verse are Shimri, Zechariah, and Mattaniah; these are largely identical with the ancestors of Jahaziel (see #8), who are projections of postexilic Levite clans backward to the preexilic period (see #7). The list is anachronistic, and of no historical value for reconstructing the period of Hezekiah; it does, however, reflect the importance of the family of Jeiel in the exilic period. The *Ketib* writes the name as Jeuel; but the *Qere* and most versions support Jeiel.

11. One of the Levites who donated animals for the Josiah's Passover (2 Chr 35:9). In the 1 Esdr 1:9 parallel, this name apparently appears as Ochiel. The account of this Passover is largely the creation of the Chronicler (Williamson WBC, 403–5); it is a combination of exegesis of earlier Pentateuchal sources and retrojection of postexilic practices into the preexilic period (Fishbane 1985: 137–38). The list of Levites is therefore of little value for reconstructing preexilic Israel; it is noteworthy, however, that it does not agree with the anachronistic lists discussed in #8 and #10.

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MARC Z. BRETTLER

**JEKABZEEL** (PLACE) [Heb *yĕqabṣe'ēl* (יְקַבְצְאֵל)]. An alternate form of KABZEEL.

**JEKAMEAM** (PERSON) [Heb *yeqam'ām* (יֶקַמְעָם)]. A Kohathite, the 4th son of Hebron (1 Chr 23:19). Jekameam appears nowhere else in the OT outside of the Levitical lists in 1 Chronicles 23 and 24. The Levitical genealogies of Exodus 6 and Numbers 3 do not include an enumeration of the immediate descendants of Hebron. The source of the Chronicler's use of the name "Jekameam" remains uncertain. Although J. Liver (1968: viii, 29–32) believes that this name, along with the other Levitical names in 1 Chronicles 23, may have originated from an authentic source composed during the reign of David or Solomon, Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 152–59, 163–65) argued that Jekameam and the other Levites of 1 Chronicles 23 represent Levitical families after the time of the Chronicler. The style of the list, however, corresponds closely with the compositional techniques of the Chronicler. This suggests that Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 160) may be correct in asserting that "the names of the heads of houses will then be current at the time of the list's composition"—the time of the Chronicler (ca. 385 B.C.E.).

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JOHN W. WRIGHT

**JEKAMIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yeqamyâ* (יְקַמְיָה)]. The name held by 2 persons in the Hebrew Bible. This name is also attested in extrabiblical documents (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 21). It may mean "may Ya establish" (*IDB* 2: 618).

1. In 1 Chr 2:41 Jekamiah is given as the name of a descendant of Jerahmeel. Verses 34–41 are usually considered to be an addition to this chapter. The descendants of Jerahmeel are given in 1 Chr 2:25–33, which is a genealogy with both vertical and horizontal components. Verses 34–41, however, constitute a

vertical genealogy which terminates in Elshama. This section of verses seems to be intended as a pedigree for him (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 54).

2. Jekamiah is also listed in 1 Chr 3:18 as the 5th son of Jeconiah/Jehoiachin, the captive king of Judah.

RUSSELL FULLER

**JEKUTHIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕqûtî᾽ēl* (יְקוּתִיאֵל)]. A descendant of Judah through Mered (1 Chr 4:18).

H. C. LO

**JEMIMAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yemīmâ* (יְמִימָה)]. The first of Job's daughters born to him after the restoration of his fortunes (42:14). The name may mean "turtledove" if the root has the meaning it carries in Arabic (cf. Dhorme 1967; Cant 2:14). It is noteworthy that Job gave his daughter Jemimah and her 2 sisters an inheritance along with their brothers. According to Num 21:1–8, a daughter would only inherit her father's property if there was no male heir. By including his daughters in the inheritance, Job illustrates a practice of justice that far outstripped the norm in the ancient world (cf. chap. 31). See also KEREN-HAPPUCH; KEZIAH.

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JOHN C. HOLBERT

**JEMMEH, TELL** (M.R. 097088). An archaeological site in SW Israel. Jemmeh stands on the S bank of Nahal Besor (Wadi Ghazzeh), about 12 km due S of the city of Gaza. It is located in an Asiatic steppe environment, i.e., in a transitional zone, positioned between the wetter Mediterranean climate and the rainless desert climate of the Negeb. Because of marginal rainfall, dry farming was often unreliable, forcing people to migrate N or to Lower Egypt. The soil is loess, rich in calcium carbonate, and when well watered produces abundant harvests. The region lacks good building stone, but the soil makes fine mudbrick, and all structures are built of it.

**A. Identification**

During the 1920s, Jemmeh was first identified with biblical Gerar by Phythian-Adams (1923: 140) and Petrie (1928: 2). This identification was accepted until 1951, when B. Mazar (1951: 38–41) identified Jemmeh with Yurza, a town mentioned in Egyptian topographical lists and the Tell el-Amarna tablets. Recent evidence of a major Assyrian occupation of the site in the 7th century B.C. strengthens this view, because several Akkadian texts of King Esarhaddon mention the taking of "Arsa (or Arza) near the Brook of Egypt"; linguistically Arza corresponds with Eg Yurza. A Byzantine city, Orda can be identified with remains just S of the mound; Orda is probably the Greek form of Yurza. The name Yurza/Arsa/Arza does not appear in the Bible.

**B. Excavations**

The first archaeological investigation was undertaken by Phythian-Adams in 1922, when he dug a small step-trench. In 1926–27, Petrie moved his operations from Egypt to Jemmeh. Following a single field season at Jemmeh, he moved to Tell Sharuhen and later to Tell el-Ajjul, other sites along Nahal Besor. At Jemmeh, Petrie excavated 1 acre in the W central portion of the site, repeatedly reducing the area until he reached virgin soil in a small trench in the NW corner of the dig. No further work was undertaken until 1970, when G. Van Beek initiated excavations for the Smithsonian Institution; these continued annually through 1978, and then intermittently for a total of 12 field seasons.

**C. The Site**

Jemmeh originally occupied a mesa encompassing an area of 4.92 hectares (12.15 acres). It is the most-eroded major site in Israel, the N end having been destroyed by flash floods in Nahal Besor, and the S end by severe erosion. The area on the top of the mound is now reduced to 0.26 hectares (0.64 acres) from an estimated original area of 3.04 hectares (7.51 acres). The site is the highest point in the landscape, reaching a height of 22 m (71 feet) above present ground level. Its upper 15.50 m (50 feet) is occupation debris of successive towns.

**D. Chalcolithic**

Remains of this period are found only in a small area on the lower E slope of the site. They consist of a series of circular pit structures dug into virgin soil, which may have served as subterranean houses or storage pits. The artifacts are typical of the Beer-sheba Culture. Following this period, Jemmeh had no permanent settlement until the MB. The abandonment of Jemmeh through the EB is characteristic of the region, except for a small Egyptian outpost at En-Besor.

**E. Middle Bronze Age**

The entire site was resettled in MB II–III, whose remains have been found everywhere on the site to a depth of ca. 2 m. A fortification system, consisting of a rammed earth revetment more than 5 m thick, protected the Canaanite town. A foundation deposit of a small equid was found under one of the lowest walls of this period, and the skull and 2 long bones of another equid were buried in a pit where they too may have served a similar function. An unusual zoomorphic vessel in Tell el-Yehudiyeh ware in the form of a deer or bull head, was discovered on the E slope.

**F. Late Bronze Age**

During this Canaanite period, lasting about 350 years, 6 m of debris accumulated everywhere on the site testifying to an intensive occupation with many building phases. Below Petrie's excavation, an enormous building complex of the 13th century B.C. was discovered, consisting of (1) a large courtyard, complete with a fine cobblestone floor, mud benches along the wall, a bread oven in one corner enclosed by a low wall or bench forming a quarter circle, and a plastered bathroom, which drained through a wall into a stone built dry well, and (2) a private residence, connected to the courtyard by a series of 3 stone steps, with a private entrance flanked by mud benches, and a series of rooms with an open courtyard complete with a bread oven.

Notable finds of this period include a tankard, uniquely painted in black and red in 3 zones, featuring birds feeding on black fruit on trees; sherds of a Late Helladic III octopus vase; 3 scarabs with the same basic motif: a king, probably Rameses II, worshiping the Eg god, Ptah; and faunal remains including vertebrae of an African ostrich and the horn core of a hartebeest.

**G. Iron Age**

**1. Philistine.** This was the lowest continuous stratum excavated by Petrie. This 12th–11th centuries occupation deposited about 2.5 m of debris over the entire site, and is characterized by a new pottery tradition derived from Aegean prototypes and identified with the Philistines.

The most singular structure discovered is a large, technologically advanced ceramic kiln. The kiln, ovoid in ground plan, measuring 3.7 m long by 2 m wide, consisted of a firebox and a baking chamber with a perforated mudbrick floor. This floor was supported by 4 radial mudbrick arches. Between the springing of each arch on both firebox walls was a vertical trough leading upward to a pair of square earthen pipes to distribute heat directly to the upper part of the baking chamber, which was at least 3 m high. Many sherds painted with Philistine running spirals were found in the kiln.

**2. Iron II.** During the next 300 years, the W half of the site experienced continuous settlement, while the E half was no longer occupied. In the 10th century, a peculiar style of wall construction was used in all buildings excavated to date. Clayey, chocolate-colored brick were set in foundation trenches on a bed of clean, yellow sand and the trench was backfilled with the same sand. During the 10th and 9th centuries, local pottery was finished with a burnished, deep-red slip, somtimes augmented with alternating bands of black and white paint. Indeed, from the 10th century onward, local pottery differs somewhat in form, decoration, and chronological range from that of other regions in Israel, suggesting that the NW Negeb was a cultural microcosm.

The 8th century is represented by 3 building phases, and the earliest casemate fortification system was built at Jemmeh at this time. Noteworthy among the artifacts is a small, solid-bronze bull head, which served as a weight, weighing 14.60 gr.

**3. Iron II: Assyrian Occupation.** To this period belongs a unique building dating from about 675 B.C. It consisted of a series of 5 basement rooms, although originally there were at least 6 and probably more rooms. All 5 rooms were still partially covered with portions of mudbrick vaults, which had supported an

upper floor. The plan of the building consisted of 3 long rooms side-by-side, giving entrance through arched doorways into 3 small rooms on one end, and perhaps also at the now missing other end of the building. The vaults were built using the "pitched brick" technique, but display a considerable technological advance in the use of voussoirs (wedge-shaped bricks, like keystones; Van Beek 1987: 100–2). Room A yielded a large quantity of so-called Assyrian palace ware, commonly found in the palaces and royal storerooms of the Assyrian kings. This pottery and the architecture suggest that Esarhaddon converted Jemmeh into a forward military base for his conquest of Egypt. Two ostraca from this period feature different types of personal names written in a script that varies slightly from Judean and Phoenician scripts (Naveh 1985: 8–21). It seems likely that descendants of the original Philistines continued to dominate this region, at least through the 7th century.

**H. Persian Occupation**

This period is represented by a massive building excavated by Petrie, which probably served as the fortified residence of an official appointed by the Persian government.

**I. Hellenistic Period**

With Ptolemaic control of the Levant in the late 4th–3d centuries B.C., the site again ceased to be a normal town. Instead it was occupied by a series of grain silos, making Jemmeh the best example of a grain storage depot in the ANE. The granaries, all built in deep holes cut into earlier debris layers, were round structures built of mudbrick. Petrie excavated 10 silos on the W half of the site; the Smithsonian excavated one and on the E side partially excavated another. More is known about the Smithsonian granary on the W side than the others. It had a flat roof carried by the circular wall and an inner, radially arched, cross wall. There were 2 successive mudbrick floors indicating its long use.

Among the pottery were storage jars of a new type, one of which, made of local ware, bore a painted S Arabic monogram on its shoulder, reading ʾ*abum,* a name known in both Sabean and Minean inscriptions. This one, together with a sherd of probable S Arabian ware with an incised S Arabic *m,* established trade between the regions, since camel caravans transported frankincense and myrrh from S Arabia to Gaza, the major Mediterranean incense port.

By about 200 B.C., the occupation of Jemmeh ended, and subsequent settlement in the Late-Roman–Byzantine periods took place in the field S of the tell. During Crusader times, a hoard of 11 silver coins, originally tied in a piece of cloth, was apparently lost on the tell by a pilgrim or traveler. Nine of these coins were minted in the reign of Amaury II (A.D. 1163–74) and bear the inscription *Amairicus Rex De Ierusalem.*

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GUS W. VAN BEEK

**JEMUEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕmûʾēl* (יְמוּאֵל)]. See NEMUEL.

**JENIN** (M.R. 178207). A modern Arab town located at the N end of the Wadi Belameh where it empties into the SE edge of the Plain of Jezreel, 100 km N of Jerusalem. In the center of the mouth of the Wadi Belameh lies Tell Jenin, one site among many that was occupied during the British Mandate. Tell Jenin was first identified by P. L. O. Guy in 1926 as the site of an ancient town on top of which was a modern cemetery and a threshing floor. Reports for 1932, 1933, and 1942 describe the vigilant efforts of inspector Makhouly to prevent the dislocation of the rich tell sediments for building houses, dirt for

gardens, and the construction of the road to Megiddo. The site is also known as Tell el-Nawar because of annual gypsy encampments on the mount prior to 1948.

Since Kallai (1967: 358) and other historical geographers of the Bible did not seem to know the site, Tsori (1972) assumed that he was the first to locate and identify the tell with biblical En-gannim. The evidence for this judgment was not based on controlled excavation but a few Iron Age sherds gathered from the N section facing the bus station. Precise stratigraphic investigation of the archaeological history of the site and the region of Jenin began in 1977 with salvage excavations at 4 areas on the E and W sides of the remaining S half of the tell. The N half of the tell was removed in 1962 for the construction of the municipal bus station and the Latin Convent. From that work, no records, and only a few artifacts have survived (Rahmani 1980).

Jenin sits astride the junction of 2 major geomorphological features: the down faulted Jezreel Valley to the N, and Eocene chalk blocks to the S. In the N edge of the erosional basin of the Plain of Dothan, the weathered Jenin Gap was formed creating a passage (the present Wadi Belameh) to the Jezreel. Other wadis E and W of Jenin leading from the high ground to the S are along fault lines. Until the 20th century, the water supply of Jenin was sufficient to make it famed as a garden town (Robinson 1874; *SWP*, 44–45). The average annual rainfall is about 475 mm. In modern times, increased demand on the water supply has lowered the water table so that shallow aquifers have dried up springs that formerly fed wells and perennial streams in and around Jenin. Except during heavy winter rains, today only ʾAin Jenin flows.

Surviving in the Arabic name Jenin is the Hebrew name En-gannim (Josh 19:17, 21; 21:28, 29), possibly also biblical Beth-haggan (2 Kgs 9:27 where the "ascent of Gur" is probably the Wadi Belameh) assigned to the territory of Issachar where it was designated a Gershonite Levitical city. Albright (1926) and Saarisalo (1927) attempted to locate En-gannim at Khirbet Beit Jann near Jabneel in the NE corner of the Jezreel. This identification continues to be upheld (see "En-Gannim," *EncJud* 6: col. 741). Qena, in Amarna Letter 250.17, 21 where Lab'ayu was slain and *kn* in the town lists of Thutmose III also refer to Jenin. However, "Gurra" in the early reading of Taanach Letter 2:6 by Hrozny, must now be abandoned (Glock 1983: 60, n. 27). Josephus places the Samaritan murder of Galilean pilgrim(s) en route to Jerusalem at Ginaea, usually identified with Jenin (*Ant* 20.118; *JW* 2.232; 3.48).

The town was known to the Crusaders as Gerin and was defended by a small fortress. Attacked several times by Salah el-Din in his war on the Crusaders in the late 12th century, Jenin followed Fahma (Umm el Fahm; Hartmann 1916: 489). Jenin is described by at least one Muslim geographer as a "small and beautiful town … (with) much water and many springs" (Yaqut, A.D. 1225). In the 17th century Evliya Tschelebi, a pious Muslim pilgrim, describes in detail the Ottoman fortress that guarded the town, which since the Late Byzantine period (6th–7th century), lay on the N slopes of Karem Jenin, ca. 500 m E of the tell.

Recent excavations and surveys of the region indicate that the area of Jenin was continuously occupied from late Neolithic until modern times, not, however, exclusively on the tell, which was periodically inundated. Thus, when the site was abandoned at the end of EB I, a new settlement was established on top of Karem Jenin, about 170 m SE of the tell. As discoveries continue in and around Jenin it is evident that the tell was perhaps only rarely the population center. Two km to the S in the Wadi Belameh is Kh. Belameh (biblical Ibleam), strategically located on an imposing mound adjacent to wadi springs and occupied from EB through the Byzantine periods. Across the wadi to the E is Kh. el-Najjar, settled in the EB, MB, and Byzantine periods. It seems probable that at least until the flowering of the Byzantine period most sites in the region were satellite to Kh. Belameh, which included Tell Jenin.

The present incomplete picture of the stratification of Tell Jenin is based on evidence from the excavation of 4 areas totalling about 250 $m^2$ or approximately 1.2% of the tell which measures about 200 m N–S and 150 m E–W (actual limits in any period except the last are uncertain). What little has been excavated points to terraced housing after the 13th century B.C. It would seem premature to identify Tell Jenin archaeologically with biblical En-gannim until more of the stratigraphic history of the tell above the street level has been excavated.

Stratum I is assigned to the series of clay sediments laminated with stoney layers which were sorted by repeated flooding. This level is at least 2 m deep over bedrock at the base of the tell and predates cultural activity. The process of accumulation continued after the site was settled. The edges of the tell were annually covered by new layers of eroded wadi sediment, until today in one place the road surface is 5 m above the foundations of the EB I. Stratum II contains the first evidence of cultural activity in the form of eroded plaster surfaces and walls swept clean of artifacts by repeated post-occupation flooding. In the makeup below the floors there were many Neolithic blade and flake tools.

Evidence from stratum III, dated to EB I, is confined to the W side of the tell. Three features stand out: an apsidal house, a "platform" in the SW corner of the tell, and a donkey burial. Covered by the road and a modern building, more than half of the roofed space of the apsidal house was not accessible. See Fig. JEN.01. Preserved were the slab stone doorway and paved courtyard to the E with its gated entrance. This well-built house had 2 clear construction phases. Sixty m S of the house, on what was the SW corner of the tell, a stone platform ca. 1.2 m thick spanned the 10 m E–W width of the excavation and disappeared into the N balk, but was eroded on the S where the floodwater pressure would have been greatest. This structure functioned to break the wadi's flood levels in winter and provided a stable base for domestic architecture above. Protected behind a later (stratum IV) retaining wall was the complete skeleton of a small donkey, 11 or more years old which had suffered from severe arthritis.

After abandonment at the beginning of the 3d millennium B.C., thre is no evidence of occupation in the areas excavated until the 13th–12th centuries (stratum IV). The best preserved evidence comes from a house on the E side of the tell (Glock 1979). On a *mastaba* against the N wall of the house, a typical 12th century assemblage of store jars and jugs was trapped below the collapse of the mudbrick superstructure. The exposure was limited to about 20 square meters, making it impossible to infer anything but local collapse. On the W side of the tell, a well-constructed retaining wall was banked against debris to the N.

Stratum V follows another long abandonment when the SW corner of the tell was occupied in the Late Byzantine period (6th–7th centuries A.D.). The 5 phases of this stratum were severely damaged by extensive pre-archaeological construction digging. Four of these phases represent rebuilding and elaboration of substantial elements of domestic buildings. The unexcavated section 60 m N indicated similarly dated plaster floors and the remains of heavy architecture at a higher level. In the absence of *in situ* evidence of stratum V on the E, it appears that only the W side of the site was occupied by a few well-constructed villas. Stratum VI consists of fragments of plaster floors above the Byzantine buildings on the SW and a heavy stone platform on the NE of the tell dated to Late Ottoman (19th and early 20th centuries). What has been identified as stratum VII dates from the end of Ottoman rule to the present. The fuller description of these excavated strata will appear in the final report.

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A. E. G.

**JEPHTHAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yiptāḥ* (יִפְתָּח)]. One of the Israelite military leaders in the era of the book of Judges, his career is recounted at considerable length (Judg 10:6–12:7). Jephthah was remembered for mobilizing the resistance, and leading the counter offensive, to defeat the Ammonites in Transjordan (10:6–11:33). He was also remembered for the tragic sequels: the sacrifice of his daughter

and only child in fulfillment of a vow (11:34–40), and a slaughter of Ephraimites in inter-Israelite tribal warfare (12:1–6). Jephthah is named among the heroes of faith in the letter to the Hebrews 11:32.

Jephthah's name is the short form of a sentence name, *yiptaḥ ʾēl*, appearing as a place name, located on the boundary between Zebulun and Asher (Josh 19:14, 27). The name means "El (God) opens (the womb?)" or "El (God) frees (the captive?)." The name *yiptāḥ* also occurs as name of a town in Judah (Josh 15:43), probably situated in the Shephelah. See also the related personal name Pethahiah, "Yahweh has opened" (1 Chr 24:16; Ezra 10:23; Neh 9:5; 11:24). Also related is the personal name Japtih-Adda, in the tablets from Tell El-Amarna.

Jephthah's story is framed by brief notices about so-called minor judges (Judg 10:1–5 and 12:8–15), with whom Jephthah is often grouped by scholars, on the theory that he appeared in the same archival source. The intertribal significance of the minor judges remains obscure. There was an older critical notion that the verb *špṭ*, "to judge," as used in these brief units, referred originally to activities of individuals who held a recognized office (local or regional, but rarely intertribal), and was only secondarily applied to the great military leaders; but this notion no longer fares well: The evidence is too scant. Alternatively it is now proposed that the "minor judge" notices do not reflect a difference in office or function but only a difference in literary purpose (Mullen 1982: 201). That is, the brief "minor judge" units have a condensing narrative effect, serving to focus attention on Jephthah, for theological evaluation. The assessment of leadership will be increasingly negative in the remainder of the book of Judges: Samson (chaps. 13–16), Micah and his Levite (chaps. 17–18), the fate of a Levite's concubine, and suppression of the tribe of Benjamin (chaps. 19–21).

The period of Jephthah's activity begins with an expansive introduction (10:6–16) which summarizes the entire preceding period. Seven alien gods have enticed Israelites to worship them, and Yahweh has subjected Israel successively to 7 alien "nations," until they cried out to Yahweh for deliverance. With special attention to Philistines and Ammonites, this is also introduction to all that follows in the book of Judges, "Phase II" (Boling *Judges* AB, 30). This beginning of the second half echoes the introduction to the entire era (2:11–23), but with ironic inversion. To the patterned appeal of Israelites in face of the new threat (10:10), Yahweh's response is, in effect, that he is tired of the pattern. Let the gods they have chosen be the ones to rescue them (10:11–14). The Israelites, however, get serious. They dispose of the gods they have turned to, and Yahweh's compassion is activated once again (10:15–16). The recall of Jephthah (10:17–11:11) would be the solution.

With the stage thus set, the curtain opens on a mustering of Israelites at the Transjordan sanctuary site of Mizpah. The location is uncertain but surely to be sought S of the Jabbok, in the vicinity of Jebel Jelʿad and Khirbet Jelʿad. The captains of Gilead need someone to start the fighting against the Ammonites. They promise that the one who does it will be "Head of all inhabitants of Gilead." That the protagonists on Israel's side are regularly called "Gileadites" indicates a period prior to the tribal reorganization which assigned the area to Manasseh (N of the Jabbok) and Gad (S of the Jabbok) (Boling 1988).

Next comes a flashback introducing Jephthah as a "knight," that is, one who is prosperous enough to provide his own armor, but in Jephthah's case lacking pedigree. He was a Gileadite driven from his home because of illegitimate birth and possibly unidentifiable parentage on his father's side, being the child of a prostitute. He could not share in the family inheritance. Thus excluded by his half-brothers, Jephthah had fled and made his home in the region of Tob. The place name is possibly reflected in present-day *et-Tayibeh*, E–SE of Derʿa, ca. 15 miles E of Ramoth-gilead. There he attracted to himself a band of mercenaries (11:1–3), having become a true Hebrew/Habiru, like David later in flight from Saul.

In the next scene, the Ammonites have pressed their advantage to the point where the elders of Gilead are ready to recall Jephthah and offer him the position of *qāṣîn* (field commander?), a status not mentioned in Judges outside this unit (but see Josh 10:24; Isa 1:10; 3:6, 7; 22:3; Mic 3:1–9; Prov 6:7; 25:15; Dan 11:18). An Arabic cognate means "one who decides judicially." Jephthah holds out, contingent upon his success against the Ammonites, for the more powerful and prestigious title "Head," which the elders had originally proposed for one of their own. The deal was solemnized "before Yahweh" at the Mizpah sanctuary (11:4–11).

The next scene portrays Jephthah as exemplary leader, who seeks first to resolve the crisis through diplomatic channels. There are 2 embassies from Jephthah. The first wants to know why the Ammonites are moving into Israelite territory. The Ammonite king claims that it was in fact his territory, "from the Arnon to the Jabbok and to the Jordan," that early Israel had taken by force. The second embassy, which forms the bulk of this unit, is one long speech by Jephthah, delivered by courier to the Ammonite court. A critical issue arises from the emphasis that this appeal to the *Ammonite* king places on Israel's recognition of *Moabite* sovereignty S of the Arnon. In fact Jephthah mentions Ammonites only in the introductory verses (11:12–15) and conclusion (vv 27–28). These verses form an envelope construction around negotiation which appeals to Moabite and Ammonite history. He argues that Chemosh (god of the Moabites) is the one who gave to Ammon the territory from which it was seeking to expand westward. Two long-standing critical theories are here both inadequate. According to one (Moore *Judges* ICC, 283; Eissfeldt 1925: 76), negotiations were entirely with Moab, not with Ammon. According to the second (Burney 1930: 298–305), the negotiations were in fact with Ammon, with some conflation from another account of a confrontation with Moab. The trouble with both theories is that there are no signs of reflective glossing that generally followed such redactional activity elsewhere; the unit made sense to ancient scribes. Scholars have mostly abandoned the effort to find evidence of sources here, continuous with "J"and "E"in the Hexateuch.

Israel's early involvement in the history of the disputed territory is witnessed in Numbers 21, at which time Ammon, lagging somewhat behind Moab, had only recently emerged as a small territorial state in the upper bend of the Jabbok at the desert fringe, but not extending as far W as the escarpment. Apparently Israel's dismantling of the Amorite kingdoms (Sihon and Og) had only paved the way for Ammonite expansion to the W, while Moab would make repeated incursions N of the recognized border at the Arnon (Boling 1988). Thus the king of Ammon in this later period can only make his claims and charges in the name of Moabite sovereignty, since Israelite claims would antedate his own. Under such circumstances we should not be surprised that Chemosh would be generally recognized for diplomatic purposes. Jephthah's final appeal, "Yahweh, the Judge, will decide …" (11:27) is the only occurrence of the noun *šōpēṭ,* "judge," in the book of Judges, a theological key to the Jephthah material, if not the whole book. The reference is to the outcome of the battle pending. As the next unit shows, Jephthah is by no means certain of the outcome. Thus, negotiations having failed, the Gileadites would have to fight.

The warfare story moves quickly to the climax—victory for Israel and subsequent tragedy for Jephthah and his daughter. That Yahweh's spirit came upon Jephthah is offered as explanation for his successful enlistment tour of Gilead and Manasseh (cf. Yahweh's spirit on Othniel, the ideal [3:10]; on Gideon who overreacts [6:34]; and in the initial attack upon Samson's conscience [13:25]). Not at all certain of the outcome, Jephthah will make one more deal—with Yahweh. He vows that in event of victory, he will sacrifice as a burnt offering "anything coming out the doors of my house to meet me …" (11:31). Such a vow was not required by either Yahweh or the people. By implication it was an act of unfaithfulness (Trible 1984: 97). Had he really expected that the first to come forth would be a human being? The more or less standard plan of Iron Age houses accommodated livestock as well as family. A promise of human sacrifice would be direct violation of Deuteronomic law (Deut 12:29–31). Human sacrifice was rare, and a desperate last resort, a way of inappropriately seeking divine favor (cf. 2 Kgs 16:3; 17:17; 21:6; Jer 7:31; Mic 6:7). Jephthah could scarcely have been expecting divine intervention, as with Abraham (Genesis 22), where it was necessary *because* Abraham was faithful.

That the vow once made must be kept is the hinge of the story, where it is Jephthah's daughter and only child who shows trusting faith, despite the remarkably one-sided self-pity voiced by her father, who blames the daughter for his loss. It is therefore appropriate that the last word in the scene is about Israelite women's annual mourning for the unnamed daughter, rather than showing over-abundant sympathy for the famous father (Trible 1984: 106–7). There are a number of parallels to the tragic sacrifice of the hero's daughter in comparative folklore. That there is no other trace of such practice in ancient Israel suggests that this tale is told for other than an etiological purpose. It heightens the tragic dimension in the story of Jephthah, in many ways an exemplary "Head" of Israel in his day.

Two final episodes briefly told, from the career of Jephthah, are only loosely connected to the preceding (12:1–6). Here Jephthah is represented as dealing with inter-Israelite affairs in much the same way that he had approached the Ammonite threat: diplomacy first.

In the first of these units (12:1–4), the Ephraimites are mustered and cross the Jordan at Zaphon, possibly Tell Mazar (Jordan Valley Survey Site 103; Ibrahim, Sauer, and Yassine 1976). The Ephraimites have taken offense, claiming that they were not invited to take part in the warfare against Ammon. Jephthah replies that he had first tried diplomacy and, that failing, had in fact sent an appeal to Ephraim, with no response. If the text is intact, the battle which ensues, with Gilead's defeat of Ephraim, was apparently triggered by a taunt that remains obscure. The fugitives of Ephraim said, "O Gilead, you are in the midst of Ephraim and Manasseh" (12:4). This is missing from a number of Gk mss and may have originated in a partial dittography of v 5. It is not clear whether this is a direct sequel to the victory over Ammon, or perhaps a separate and private feud between a few individuals, with proportions expanded over years of telling it.

The final unit (12:5–6) is one of the most puzzling. Jephthah is not mentioned. Gileadite sentries disable 42 village contingents (surely not 42,000) of retreating Ephraimites, at the Jordan fords. To be allowed to cross over to Cisjordan, one had to pronounce the word shibboleth to the satisfaction of the Gileadite crossing guards. Ephraimites could only say "sibboleth." There are parallels—ancient and modern—to the use of such a test to distinguish between friend and foe.

The note concerning Jephthah's death, after 6 years of leadership, and burial in "his own city in Gilead," looks like an imitation of the concluding rubrics in the "minor judge" units which follow, and where the places of burial are known and named (12:10, 12, 15). Again, the structure of the "minor judge" framework has a condensing narrative effect, propelling the reader on toward the next focus of attention: Samson.

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**JEPHUNNEH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕpunneh* (יְפֻנֶּה)]. Two persons mentioned in the Hebrew Bible have this name. The meaning of the name is not entirely clear, though several explanations have been proposed. The name Jephunneh can be derived from the root *pnh,* "to turn to," which results in a translation "may (God) turn to (the child)." Another possibility is that Jephunneh is related to the name Peninnah, based on a proposed root *pnn.* A third meaning, also based on the root *pnh,* has the sense of asking God to turn away the obstacles from the life of a child (*EncMiqr* 3: 745).

**1.** The father of Caleb, one of the spies sent by Moses to reconnoiter the land of Canaan (Num 14:6). This name occurs frequently in Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua in the account of the spies who were sent out to reconnoiter the land of Canaan, but only in the form *ben-yĕpunneh* "son of Jephunneh" (see, e.g., Num 30, 38; 32:12). Therefore, this Jephunneh is only known in relation to Caleb. Jephunneh's tribal affiliation is ambiguously represented in the Pentateuch (Num 13:6; 34:19; cf. Josh 14:6, 14; see also CALEB).

**2.** The son of Jether, a descendant of Asher (1 Chr 7:37–38). Neither Jephunneh nor his father has a traceable lineage in this series of Israelite tribal genealogies (1 Chronicles 2–8).

RAPHAEL I. PANITZ

**JERAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yāraḥ* (יָרַח), pausal form of **yerah*]. A son of Joktan (Gen 10:26; 1 Chr 1:20) and hence the name of a S Arabian region or of the tribe residing in it. A place named *wrḫn* occurs in the Old Sabaean inscription RES 3946,2, where it is mentioned as a place on the border of a district which was acquired for the Sabaean state by King Karibʾil Watar, probably in the 7th century B.C. Since it was hitherto impossible to localize the places which are mentioned in the context of the above-cited inscription, it is difficult to say whether the epigraphically attested *wrḫn* should be identified with the later *Warāḥ*. According to al-Hamdānī (1884: 101), *Warāḫ* belongs to the Banū Mūsā of the tribe al-Kalāʿ and lies in the *miḫlāf al-ʿAud*, that is in the region between the present-day Ibb and Qaʿṭaba. *Warāḫ* is also listed among the famous fortresses of Yemen (al-Hamdānī 1884: 125; 1979: 154). Moreover, al-Hamdānī (1979: 153) mentions another fortress named *Yurāḫ*, which was supposed to lie on an inaccessible mountain and which, following his description, was situated SW of the town of *Damār*.

Montgomery (1969: 40) explained the form of the name *Yeraḥ*, which is identical with the Heb name for "month," as meaning "moon"; inasmuch as the moon was the main deity of the S Arabian pantheon, he considered *Yeraḥ* a tribal name which had been abbreviated to the divine element, as in the case of the Heb tribes Gad and Asher (p. 40, n. 10). Since the personal name *wrḫ* is obviously not attested in epigraphic S Arabic, it occurs, however, as name of an appearance of the moon god, with its sole certain reference in the Qatabanian inscription RES 311,4.5. It should perhaps be considered whether the name *Yeraḥ* in the meaning "new moon" could be the rendering of epigraphic S Arabic *šhr,* "new moon, beginning of the month" (cf. Arabic *šahr*), a noun which likewise occurs as the name of a clan or tribe (e.g. Qatabanian *ḏšhr* [RES 3566,18; RES 3878,15] and *šhr* [AM 368], and Sabaean *bnw/ḏšhr* [YM 349,2] and *bn/šhr* [BR-M.Bayḥān 5,1.11]).

Hommel (1926: 554) assumed that just as the tribes of Israel and the sons of Ismael (Gen 25:13–15) numbered 12, so also the sons of Joktan (Gen 10:26–29) originally numbered 12; thus, *yarēaḥ* (= *yariḥ*) could probably be a gloss on the preceding *ḥăṣarmāwet* (or vice versa) (cf. already Hommel 1901: 316, n. 6). Certainly to be rejected is the proposal of E. Glaser (1890: 425) to combine *yāraḥ* with *hierakōn kōmē,* the "falcon village" in Ptolemaios (*Geog.* 6.7.36), a place which, according to the geographical coordinates given in the text, should be located in E Arabia.

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**JERAHMEEL** (ANGEL). See JEREMIEL.

**JERAHMEEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕraḥmĕʾēl* (יְרַחְמְאֵל)]. JERAHMEELITE. **1.** A Judahite, the firstborn son of Hezron the son of Perez the son of Judah by Tamar; the brother of Ram and Chelubai = Caleb? (1 Chr 2:4–5, 9, 25; 2:18, 42). See HEZRON and CALEB. He is credited with 2 wives, 6 sons (yet cf. the LXX esp. the Lucian recension, and also the NEB), and numerous progeny through them, including 13 descendants through his distant descendant Sheshan's daughter's marriage to the Egyptian slave Jarha (1 Chr 2:25–26, 27–33, 34–41).

The first historical mention of the Jerahmeelite clan occurs in connection with David's association with Achish, the king of Gath, after David's flight from the court of Saul. David and his men were raiding and killing the Geshurites, the Girzites, and the Amalekites, but when questioned about his military forays by King Achish, David lied, saying that his contingent had raided, as expected, "the Negeb of Judah, the Negeb of the Jerahmeelites, and the Negeb of the Kenites" (1 Sam 27:10). This report, originally intended to convince Achish of David's supposed Philistine loyalty, served to remind later Israelite generations of

the great king's unswerving loyalty to his own people. The picture of David whipping the enemies of Israel while his patron envisioned him undermining his own tribe must have elicited a smile, if not outright laughter, in its later retelling. Furthermore, when David came to Ziklag, he is reported to have given the elders of Judah spoil intended for distribution in the towns of the Jerahmeelites, among others (1 Sam 30:26, 29). The probable location of these Jerahmeelite towns was in the area S of Beersheba (*MBA,* 63).

Most scholars today see the Jerahmeelite clan as originally a non-Israelite clan which early came to be absorbed within the tribe of Judah, much like the Kenites/Kenizzites associated with Caleb, who in turn shows linkage with Jerahmeel. The Chronicler, in the postexilic period, is the first to list Jerahmeel as an Israelite clan, within the tribe of Judah. Indeed the Chronicler's mention of Jerahmeel, plus Chelubai (= Caleb?), as descended from Hezron is without parallel in the rest of the Hebrew Bible. While Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 49) has demonstrated the centrality (2:25–33, 34–41) of the Jerahmeelite clan to the larger genealogical unit on Judah (1 Chr 2:3–4:23), with the Chronicler's prime focus falling on Ram as the progenitor of the house of Jesse and David (1 Chr 2:10–17), his reason for the mention of Jerahmeel and Chelubai (= Caleb?) is less clear. Quite possibly, the Chronicler sought to legitimate the postexilic pedigree of such clans who had once entered the tribe of Judah by absorption and not by birth. Belonging to Judah, the tribe which had returned to postexilic prominence in the person and work of Zerubbabel, was no doubt a matter of considerable political pride and advantage.

**2.** A Levite, the son of Kish (1 Chr 24:29), of the clan of Merari (1 Chr 23:21). His name occurs in a list which represents an updating (except for Gershom/Gershon and his sons) of the Levitical families given in 1 Chr 23:7–23. See esp. 1 Chr 23:21–23. As the Levites are said to have been assigned their positions by lot in the presence of David and the larger assembly of priestly and Levitical heads (1 Chr 24:31), it was appropriate to append the names of their courses (1 Chr 24:20–31) to the list of the 24 priestly courses likewise assigned by lot (1 Chr 24:1–19). Because Eleazar, Kish's brother, had no sons, their cousins, "the sons (?) of Kish," married them (1 Chr 23:22; 24:28). Evidently Jerahmeel himself did so as "a son of Kish," even though he is the only son listed! The Kish cited here is obviously not Kish, the father of Saul, who was of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Sam 9:1–3; 1 Chr 8:33).

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**3.** A royal officer under King Jehoiakim (609–598 B.C.) assigned to police duties (Jer 36:26). He and two others were ordered by Jehoiakim to seize Jeremiah the prophet and Baruch the scribe after the king heard a scroll of Jeremiah's prophecies read and destroyed it in the fireplace. Jerahmeel, despite the title "the king's son," cannot be an actual son of Jehoiakim since Jehoiakim is only about 30 years old at the time (cf. 2 Kgs 23:36; Jer 36:9), too young to have a grown son. The title "the king's son" (Heb *ben-hammelek*) is therefore thought to denote an office of low rank in the royal government, most likely one associated with police duties (de Vaux *AncIsr* 1: 119–20). Joash (1 Kgs 22:26) and Malchiah (Jer 38:6) are both called "the king's son," and are police officers connected with jails. At the same time, an individual so designated could well be from a royal family (Avigad 1978: 54–55). This being so, Jerahmeel would then be the son of a king other than Jehoiakim.

A seal impression has been found which reads, "Belonging to Jerahmeel, the king's son" (Avigad 1978). It was discovered in a horde which also contained a bulla impressed with a seal from Baruch ben Neriah. A late 7th century date for the 2 bullae is therefore virtually assured, and the identification of the owners of the two seals with the individuals mentioned in Jeremiah 36 seems certain. Jerahmeel, then, in carrying out his police duties had occasion to seal legal documents and other official records.

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**JERASH** (PLACE). See GERASENES.

**JERED** (PERSON) [Heb *yered* (יֶרֶד)]. Son of Eshtemoa, brother of Heber and Jekuthiel, and father of Gedor, of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr 4: 18). For the meaning of Jered, see JARED.

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**JEREMAI** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕrēmay* (יְרֵמַי)]. A descendant of Hashum and one of the returned exiles who was required by Ezra to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:33). According to Noth, the name Jeremai probably is related to the Arabic root *warima* meaning "fat" or "stout" (*IPN* 226). This individual does not appear in the parallel text of 1 Esdr 9:33. Jeremai is a member of a family from which a group of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:19; Neh 7:22). For further discussion, see BEDEIAH.
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**JEREMIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yirmĕyâ* (יִרְמְיָה)*; yirmĕyāhû* (יִרְמְיָהוּ)]. Some 10 individuals bear this name, which may mean "may Yahu raise up" (*IPN*, 201), "Yahu loosens [the womb]" (*BDB*, 941), or "Yahu founded" (*HALAT*, 420). The name *yirmĕyāhû* occurs in an ostracon found at Lachish, which dates to shortly before the destruction of the city by Nebuchadnezzar in 587/6 B.C. (Lachish 1:4; *TSSI* 1:36–37).

1. One of the warriors of the tribe of Benjamin who joined David at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:5—Eng v 4).
2. One of the Gadite warriors who joined David at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:11—Eng v 10).
3. Another Gadite warrior who joined David at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:14—Eng v 13).
4. Head of a family and renowned warrior of the half-tribe of Manasseh which settled in Transjordan (1 Chr 5:24).
5. Of Libnah, the father of Hamutal, wife of Josiah and mother of Jehoahaz (2 Kgs 23:31) and Zedekiah (24:18), kings of Judah.
6. One of Israel's major prophets who was active in 7th to 6th centuries B.C.E. See JEREMIAH (PROPHET).
7. The father of Jaazaniah, a Rechabite, contemporary of Jeremiah the prophet (Jer 35:3).
8. A priest who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Neh 12:1). The name also designates a priestly family in the time of the high priest Joiakim (v 12).
9. One of the priests who signed the covenant of Ezra (Neh 10:3—Eng v 2).
10. A leading man of Judah and member of one of the two large choirs which took part in the feast celebrating the dedication of the Jerusalem wall under Nehemiah (Neh 12:34).

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**JEREMIAH** (PROPHET). One of the major prophets in ancient Israel whose dates correspond roughly to the last half-century of Israel's nationhood, i.e., 640–587 B.C. He survived, however, the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 B.C. and lived out the final years of his old age in Egypt where he was taken by refugees who sought exile there. His life and ministry on behalf of Yahweh, God of Israel, are the subject of the OT book bearing his name. See JEREMIAH, BOOK OF.

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## A. The World of Jeremiah

The late 7th and early 6th centuries B.C. saw Babylon replace Assyria as the major power in Near Eastern affairs. The transition allowed Judah a brief period of independence, which it used with profit to carry out a major religious reform under King Josiah. But the realignment of world power, combined with a repudiation in Judah of the reform program after Josiah's death, resulted in a sorry state of affairs for the once-proud nation called Israel. Its demise came very quickly.

**1. History of the Period.** Jeremiah was born into this world of tumultuous change. The long reign of Manasseh came to an end in 642 B.C., a reign during which Judah was subservient both politically and religiously to Assyria. Under Manasseh, the reforms of Hezekiah were dismantled and pagan religious practices were allowed to flourish openly. The biblical writers express outrage at what went on during this time, and except for the Chronicler they are unforgiving of Manasseh (2 Kgs 21:1–21; 23:26; 24:3; Jer 15:4; cf. 2 Chronicles 33). Amon sought to continue his father's policies when he became king, but 2 years later he was assassinated by an anti-Assyrian party. The people of the land feared Assyrian reprisal, however, and quickly punished those responsible (2 Kgs 21:23–24). In that same year, i.e., 640 B.C., King Assurbanipal of Assyria regained a measure of control over an empire that for 15 years or more had been in rebellion—since 655 at least when Psammetichus I of Egypt declared his independence. The year 640 was in any case pivotal. In this year Josiah was placed on the Jerusalem throne at 8 years of age. The next 3 decades saw Judah gradually attain political and religious freedom. That national independence came in stages can be seen from the Chronicler's account of the Josianic Reform (2 Chr 34:1–7). We know little about Assurbanipal's activities after 640, except that his years were peaceful enough to enable him to act as a patron of literature and the arts.

At the time of Assurbanipal's death in 627 (Haran Inscription) the once-mighty empire of Assyria was quickly breaking up. Babylon was in open revolt as is known from the Babylonian Chronicle, and in October 626, Nebopolassar defeated the Assyrian army outside the city of Babylon, declaring himself king of Babylon. Assyria was now on the defensive and in less than 20 years would be no more. By 622, when the celebrated Torah of Moses was found in the Jerusalem temple and the reform of Josiah was brought to its grand climax, Judah's subservience to Assyria had ended. We know little about Josiah's latter years. During this time he may have been fortifying major cities N and W of Jerusalem, e.g., Megiddo and Lachish (Aharoni *LBHG*, 403; Rainey 1983: 17). Nineveh fell in 612 to a coalition of Babylonians, Medes, and the Umman-Manda who are perhaps the Scythians (Gadd 1923). Two years later the allies dislodged an Assyrian refugee government from Haran. Egypt went to Assyria's aid in the attempt to retake Haran, in 609, but the mission failed. The Babylonians were now in control of all of Mesopotamia.

The Egyptian-Assyrian defeat was perhaps helped along by Josiah's delay of Pharaoh Neco at Megiddo; but if so, Judah suffered the greater loss, for Josiah was killed in a battle that ensued (2 Chr 35:20–24). Josiah's motives in this adventure are not known. He may have been acting as an ally of Babylon (Malamat 1950: 219; Cross and Freedman 1953). No prophetic voice in any case was heard in Jerusalem. The Chronicler reports belatedly that a word from God came to Josiah via Neco (2 Chr 35:22). When Neco returned from his unsuccessful errand to the N, he took charge of political affairs in Judah. The young Jehoahaz, who had just been made king, was deposed and taken to Egypt. His brother Eliakim, whose regnal became Jehoiakim, was placed on the throne by Neco, and Judah was now an Egyptian vassal. The nation was put under heavy tribute and its "spring of independence" was over.

For the next 4 years, from 609 to 605, Judah was under Egyptian domination. During this time the Egyptian and Babylonian armies were fighting on the N Euphrates, though no decisive battle took place. Then in 605, Nebuchadnezzar, who had taken control of the army from his father, made a surprise attack on the Egyptians at Carchemish and roundly defeated them (Jer 46:2). The Babylonian Chronicle reveals that a second victory followed at Hamath after which Nebuchadnezzar took over the Egyptian base at

Riblah (Malamat 1956: 249–50). The Babylonians were now in control of Syria (Malamat 1975: 130). The Babylonian advance was delayed by Nabopolassar's death, but only briefly; for at the end of 604, Nebuchadnezzar and his army were present in the Philistine Plain where they proceeded to destroy Ashkelon (Jeremiah 47). The fast in Jerusalem mentioned in Jer 36:9 was perhaps a response to this threat. Jehoiakim now transferred his allegiance to this new agent in Syro-Palestine affairs and became its unwilling vassal for 3 years (2 Kgs 24:1).

In 601, Nebuchadnezzar was again at war with Egypt—this time on the Egyptian frontier—but both sides suffered heavy losses; Egypt may even have been the victor. Whatever the case, the Babylonian army went home, after which the pro-Egyptian party gained the upper hand in Jerusalem and Jehoiakim declared independence from Babylon (2 Kgs 24:1). This proved to be a fatal step. Babylon responded by sending bands of Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, along with some of its own people to ravage Judah (2 Kgs 24:2). The full Babylonian army came shortly after December, 598, the month Jehoiakim died (Freedman 1956). The beaten king was likely assassinated (cf. Jeremiah's predictions of a violent death for him in Jer 22:18–19 and 36:30). Jehoiachin, the 18-year-old son of Jehoiakim, was put on the throne and 3 months later, in March 597, the city surrendered. Jehoiachin, the Queen Mother, high government officials, and most of Jerusalem's skilled workers were deported to Babylon.

The Babylonians put Zedekiah on the throne but little remained over which to exercise rule. Zedekiah's 10-year reign (597–587) was marked by continual social and political unrest. The die had been cast for Judah's fall. The most capable citizens were gone, and Jehoiachin's preferential treatment in captivity made Zedekiah's position ambiguous; many still considered Jehoiachin the legitimate king (Albright *LBHG,* 102; 1942). A rebellion in Babylon in 594 raised hopes there and at home that Jehoiachin would return (Jeremiah 27–29), but the uprising was put down and the hopes proved illusory. Zedekiah's trip to Babylon in 594/3 (Jer 51:59) may have been to reaffirm his loyalty to Nebuchadnezzar (*BHI,* 329).

By 589, Judah was again rife with unrest and the Babylonian army began another westward march, this time to put down resistance for good. Archaeological evidence, particularly the important Lachish Letters (*ANET,* 321–22), corroborates the biblical account of Judah's last days. The cities of Benjamin, e.g., Ramah and Mizpah, appear to have given up first (Malamat 1950: 226–27). The siege of Jerusalem was broken only briefly when Egypt made an advance, but that came to nothing. In July 587 the wall of Jerusalem was breached and the city was taken. A month later it was burned. Nationhood for Israel had come to an end. Gedaliah, a grandson of Shaphan, was appointed governor over the population that remained, but he was soon assassinated. Jeremiah received preferential treatment by the Babylonians, and Gedaliah, until his assassination, remained with other refugees living at Mizpah. After Gedaliah's death, Jeremiah and Baruch departed with a group for Egypt, where Jeremiah is last heard from. History for a time must now be chronicled in Egypt and Babylon, not Jerusalem.

**2. The Josianic Reform.** According to 2 Kings 22–23 and 2 Chronicles 34–35, a major reform took place in Judah during Josiah's reign. Each account has its own emphasis in reporting the reform, but of more significance is the way each sequences key events. According to Kings, the entire reform—the purge of syncretistic worship sites, the covenant renewal ceremony, and the celebration of passover—takes place in the 18th year of Josiah, 622, and is the immediate response of the king to the finding of the lawbook in the temple. The Chronicler, however, begins with Josiah's 8th year (632) when he says the young king began to seek Yahweh. The purge of worship sites around Jerusalem and in the Assyrian provinces of Samaria, Gilead, and Galilee, is placed in Josiah's 12th year (628). Then in the king's 18th year (622) the lawbook is found after which covenant renewal ceremony is concluded and passover is celebrated. The Chronicler compresses (also supplements) the Kings account of the purge (both 2 Kgs 23:4–20 and 2 Chr 34:3–7 conclude "Then he returned to Jerusalem"), and states clearly that repair work in the temple, which led to the lawbook's discovery, was begun *after* the purge (2 Chr 34:8).

Critical scholars of an earlier generation preferred the Kings account and reconstructed the beginning of Jeremiah's career against its background. More recently, however, the Chronicler's account has been given preference, one reason being that his scheme of events correlates better with extrabiblical records documenting Assyria's decline (Cross and Freedman 1953). But the Chronicler's scheme renders less

likely the widely held view that Deuteronomy 1–28 (or a portion of it) was the lost scroll of 622. If Deuteronomy 1–28 was the catalyst for the purge of idolatrous worship centers as is generally assumed, and the purge took place in 628, then this document cannot have been newly found in 622. Most likely it was not. Judging from a portion of Huldah's oracle which the lawbook seems to have inspired (2 Kgs 22:16–17), the newly found document is best identified with the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32 (Lundbom 1976).

The reform lasted only as long as Josiah reigned; when Jehoiakim became king in 609/8 it came to a full stop. Neither Kings nor Chronicles mentions Jeremiah in connection with the reform. The only reference in either to Jeremiah's prophetic activity is 2 Chr 35:25 where it is reported that Jeremiah gave a lament for Josiah at his death.

**B. Early Life and Call to Be a Prophet**

We know very little about Jeremiah's early life aside from what is mentioned in the superscription to his book (1:1). His father was very glad the day he was born (20:15), and he too was joyful earlier in life (8:18: "My joy is gone"). Jeremiah was born the son of Hilkiah, a priest at Anathoth. Anathoth was a village 2–3 miles north of Jerusalem in the old territory of Benjamin. That village is likely Ras el-Kharrubeh, a half mile or so S of the modern village of ʿAnata. Hilkiah could well be a descendant of Abiathar, a priest of David whom Solomon retired to Anathoth when he became king (1 Kgs 2:26–27). The family possessed land (32:9) and may have been one of some means.

Jeremiah was called to be a prophet in the 13th year of Josiah (1:2, 4). This was 627 B.C., the same year Assurbanipal died. In his account of the call, Jeremiah lays stress on his young age. The Heb *naʿar* (1:6–7) should be translated "boy" (Jerome: *puer*), not "young man," the common rendering of an older generation of scholars who thought Jeremiah's age had to be somewhere between 18 and 25. These scholars assumed that the prophetic ministry began at the same time the call was received. Jeremiah is more like 12 or 13, the approximate age of the "boy" Samuel when he was serving Eli at Shiloh, and the call to be Yahweh's prophet came to him (1 Sam 2:11, 18, 21, 26; 3:1, 8). Jeremiah's birth can be dated then ca. 640 B.C.

Jeremiah's boyhood experience appears to have its closest similarity to that of Samuel which was lived out at the Shiloh sanctuary not far from Anathoth. Traditions about Samuel and Shiloh were doubtless preserved at Anathoth because of the single priestly line linking the 2 sanctuaries. Jeremiah later in his Temple Sermon revives the painful memory of Shiloh's destruction (7:12–14; 26:4–6).

The priestly line extending back through Abiathar and Eli picked up added prestige when it was traced all the way to Moses. We see in Jeremiah's call clear and unmistakable appropriations of traditions about Moses. The vision Jeremiah has before a budding almond tree (1:11–12) recalls Moses' vision at the burning bush (Exod 3:2–6). Jeremiah's protestation about being unable to speak (1:6) has a parallel in the demur Moses made about not being eloquent (Exod 4:10–17). But when Jeremiah reports that Yahweh intends to put his words into Jeremiah's mouth (1:9), repeating a promise made earlier to Moses at the time he was called, we are looking at more than a simple case of role modeling; Jeremiah has understood himself to be the "prophet like Moses" promised in Deut 18:18.

The figures of both Moses and Samuel loom large for Jeremiah (15:1; Holladay 1964; 1966a). Another person exercising an important influence on him is the prophet Hosea (Gross 1931). Traditions of all 3 prophets—in addition to the covenant document of Deuteronomy 1–28 in which Moses is the commanding figure—come out of N Israel, and Anathoth, despite its proximity to Jerusalem, is a N sanctuary. It can be expected, then, that these traditions would be the ones to make a formative impression upon Jeremiah from his earliest years.

Jeremiah gives no indication of accepting Yahweh's call when it comes, despite the impression made upon him that he was chosen for prophetic office before he was born and now on the day of visitation has heard that choice confirmed (1:5, 10). But Yahweh, too, is clear that the call must await a future fulfillment: "I am watching over my word to perform it" (1:12).

**C. Prophetic Ministry**

Jeremiah's call is to be a prophet to the nations. His life's work is "to pluck up and to break down … to build and to plant" (1:10).

**1. Early Career (622–605 B.C.).** Jeremiah accepts the call in 622 after the temple scroll is found. In a later confession he reflects on the importance of this event to him personally, saying,

> Your words were found, and I ate them and your words became to me a joy and the delight of my heart
> for I am called by your name O Yahweh, God of hosts

(15:16)

Jeremiah in "eating" words of the temple scroll "eats" words which Yahweh promised earlier would be put into his mouth (1:9). Yahweh's promissory word has thus been fulfilled, and for Jeremiah the eating constitutes an acceptance of the call to be a prophet. If Jeremiah was thirteen, say, when the call came, he would now be 18. No prophetic preaching, in any event, should be dated before the year 622.

Sometime soon after the lawbook's discovery in 622, when the call had been accepted, Jeremiah was given the mandate to begin his career. An account of this is given in 1:13–19. Yahweh's word was conveyed in another vision, this one of a kettle of boiling water tipped away from the N, its contents almost ready to spill out. The vision spoke of a foe who was poised to attack Judah from the N. With this interpretation came also a personal message for Jeremiah to begin his ministry. The people of Jerusalem must be warned, but Jeremiah can expect a battle of his own to contend with for there will be spirited opposition to his message from just about everyone. That ought not dismay him however, for Yahweh promises to him what he will not promise to Jerusalem: protection. Those who fight against Jeremiah will not prevail for Yahweh will be with him and see that his life is spared (1:19).

Precisely what Jeremiah was about between 627 and 622 is unknown. In view of the lifelong bond that existed between him and members of the Shaphan family, it could well be that during these years he was preparing himself for the vocation that awaited him by studying letters and rhetoric at the scribal school in Jerusalem over which Shaphan presided. Judging from his earliest preaching, Jeremiah emerges fully literate and well trained in the rhetoric of his day. At some point early in life, although we do not know precisely when, a move was made from Anathoth to Jerusalem. Here in the capital city was the locus of Jeremiah's prophetic activity from the beginning, and here it continued until the city fell.

The ambiguity characterizing Jeremiah's relationship to religious and political leaders in Jerusalem appears early; in fact we find him isolated and alone when the city is caught up in the celebration of covenant renewal and passover. He says,

> I did not sit in the company of merrymakers nor did I rejoice;
> I sat alone, because your hand was upon me, for you had filled me with indignation.

(15:17)

Perhaps Jeremiah judged the merriment going on in the city as superficial. He certainly had a different spirit from those more in tune with popular sentiment, one that had been implanted earlier at the time he was called and one akin now to the spirit of Huldah who gave the oracle after the lawbook was found (2 Kgs 22:14–20). There were others who boycotted the Jerusalem celebration, but probably for a different reason (2 Kgs 23:9).

Jeremiah's isolation, however, was never total nor was it continuous in the years after 622. During the Josianic years, he was actively pursuing the vocation of a prophet: preaching Yahweh's word, attending temple worship, and associating with many of the nation's leading citizens (e.g., 19:1). He supported to some extent the national reform program. The persecution which he experienced early from priestly kin at Anathoth (11:18–12:6) is fully understandable if Jeremiah gave support to the reform program of centralized worship at Jerusalem (cf. 3:12–14; 31:2–14), for that would have had the practical effect of closing down the Anathoth sanctuary.

With other reform goals and objectives Jeremiah appears in basic agreement. His earliest preaching against idolatry and religious harlotry in chapters 2–3 is aimed at breaking up the fallow ground of the Manasseh period. But Jeremiah is not a lone voice anticipating an entire reform as many earlier scholars imagined, nor is he acting at the beginning of his career solely on a mandate given him by Yahweh,

though he acts on one to be sure. Acting in concert with a host of other people—some of them prophets such as Habakkuk and Zephaniah—he shares the broader hope that Judah will now seize the opportunity it has to renew commitment to the ancient Yahwistic faith. Jeremiah supports a reform already well along, one which has been initiated at the highest levels of state but one which still has to be brought home to the people. His words in 4:1–4 are fully in the spirit of reform. The call for a return to Yahweh and a circumcision of the heart are expressed in Deut 4:30 and 10:16. His preaching on obedience to the covenant (11:1–8) and his call for a more rigorous sabbath observance (17:19–27) also fit well into the period after 622.

Jeremiah reflects nationalistic ideas when he wants Judah divested of its vassalage to Assyria and Egypt (2:18, 36; 13:1–11) and when he calls for a return of the exiles taken away to Assyria in 722 B.C. (3:12–14; 30:31). The same can be said for his support of political union between N and S, a reform idea tied in closely with Josiah's plan for a single sanctuary in Jerusalem.

That early in his ministry Jeremiah faced broad opposition should occasion no surprise when one considers that neither people of high or low status escaped his indictment (2:8; 5:4–5; 8:8). His frustration over a lack of preaching success is expressed in 6:16–17, a passage that also provides a focus on the early career:

> Thus says the Lord:
> "Stand by the roads, and look, and ask for the ancient paths,
> where the good way is; and walk in it, and find rest for your souls.
> But they said, 'We will not walk in it'.
> I set watchmen over you, saying, 'Give heed to the sound of the trumpet!'
> But they said, 'We will not give heed.' "

If the sequence here is important, Jeremiah's early career consists of an initial phase during which he called for a return to the Mosaic covenant, i.e., "the ancient paths" and "the good way," and then a later phase during which he preached primarily war and national destruction. A bipartite ministry along these lines is suggested also by the 2 major poetic collections in chapters 2–10 focusing on religious harlotry and the foe from the N. See JEREMIAH, BOOK OF.

When his reform preaching failed to move people to true repentance, Jeremiah turned his attention to the coming foe. Though the identity of Judah's foe is never given, it has to be Babylon. Many earlier scholars who built the early career on a higher chronology identified the foe with the Scythians (Herod. 1.104–6), but this view is now universally abandoned. Jeremiah was first apprised of the foe shortly after 622, at a time when he was still a relatively young man. Yahweh's command that he not marry (16:2) is already predicated on the certainty of war and national destruction.

If the foe poems are correlated with Babylon's rise in Mesopotamia, they begin then ca. 614–612 (Hyatt 1940). Habakkuk announces the rise of this same foe, and the earliest date assigned to his preaching is ca. 615. The laments which conclude the foe cycle follow in due course as prediction gives way to harsh reality. These laments show Jeremiah involved at the deepest level of his own preaching. The dialogues and trialogues contain rapid alternation between divine word, human terror, and the prophet's own expression of personal grief (e.g., 8:13–17, 18–21). Jeremiah is a true divine mediator, which is to say his own personal grief upon receiving the divine word is every bit as intense as his preaching is of that word to others.

The death of Josiah was a national tragedy, and Jeremiah's silence about the Megiddo adventure remains one of the great puzzlements associated with interpreting the early career. He laments this good king (2 Chr 35:25), although soon after he says the greater tragedy for Judah is the permanent departure of young Jehoahaz (Shallum) from the land (22:10). Jeremiah's remembrances of Josiah are positive, particularly when the comparison is made between him and his son Jehoiakim (22:13–17).

The years from 609 to 605 were difficult for the prophet as the earliest dated prose in the book makes all too clear. When Neco installed Jehoiakim, the political climate in Jerusalem changed. That the reform was now over we may conclude from the Temple Sermon which was delivered in Jehoiakim's accession year (26:1). Jeremiah here makes a scathing indictment of the people's shallow religiosity and duplicity before

Yahweh (7:1–15). They seem content just to know that the temple sits on Zion and that salvific liturgies are spoken in worship; they care nothing, however, for the weightier matters of executing justice and living in accordance with covenant demands. Jeremiah says the place is rife with every imaginable evil. The real nerve is struck when Jeremiah announces that Yahweh will destroy the temple as he destroyed his first sanctuary at Shiloh. With that the sermon is over and court is called into session at the New Gate in the temple precinct. The priests and the prophets, who were the most offended, demand that Jeremiah be put to death. The princes in attendance are more allied with the defense. In the end they decide the case, acquitting Jeremiah on the strength of his testimony that Yahweh had sent him with this message. Jeremiah has passed the test of a true prophet given in Deut 13:1–5. Some elders in attendance aid the defense by recalling that Micah earlier predicted Jerusalem's destruction, and King Hezekiah did not put him to death. Jeremiah survived the trial then, having received support from both government officials and citizens within the general populace. Still he needed the special protection of Ahikam son of Shaphan (26:24). Another prophet of Yahweh, Uriah of Kiriath-jearim, delivered his judgment on the city and was not so fortunate; Jehoiakim had him killed (26:20–23).

Many of the confessions fit well into the early years of Jehoiakim's reign. These rare glimpses into a prophet's interior life show that bedrock tenets of Jeremiah's faith were being called into question. Why should acceptance of the divine call lead to an intolerable wilderness experience where God is not present (15:15–18)? Preaching the divine word has brought nothing but anguish; it has caused even Jeremiah's close friends to turn on him, which in turn leads the prophet to believe that Yahweh too has betrayed him (20:7–10). In the darkest moment of all he rejects his birth, his call, and early assurances that Yahweh would deliver him from all his enemies (20:14–18; Lundbom 1985). But once the hurt is let out, assurances are renewed (15:19–21) and Jeremiah too is renewed, enough in one case that he is able to sing about Yahweh's deliverance (20:11–13).

Jeremiah is a man of profound religious faith. But his personal piety—also impiety—is balanced by a deep involvement in the religious life of his nation. He cannot be charged with excessively privitizing religion, even though much of a personal nature comes from his lips. He prays for himself but he prays even more for others. Yahweh even has to tell him to stop his prayers of intercession (7:16–20; 11:14–17; 14:11–12; 15:1–4). Persecution comes not because he distances himself from the cult, but because of relentless participation. The punishment received from the chief priest Pashhur comes as the result of an object lesson he gave to senior priests and others in the Valley of Ben-hinnom (19:1–20:6), and his banishment from the temple (36:5) is most likely the result of his Temple Sermon.

The year 605 was pivotal for the nation and for Jeremiah personally. The Battle of Carchemish left Egypt weakened and Babylon the new power in world affairs. Jeremiah addressed the Egyptian defeat with an oracle (46:2–12). Jeremiah also decided in this year to prepare the first written scroll of his oracles, and his doing so signaled the end of his early career. After the scroll was read publicly, Jeremiah and Baruch were forced to go into hiding, for they were now in direct conflict with the king (chap. 36).

**2. Late Career (604–586 B.C.).** These years are remarkably well documented thanks to the abundance of dated prose in the book from the reign of Zedekiah. Nevertheless there are 2 periods of roughly 7 years each, 604–597, and 594–588, during which we have no definite knowledge of Jeremiah's activities. When Jeremiah and Baruch disappeared from public view in 604, they had most recently been preoccupied with scroll writing. It is possible that in the years following, particularly when the two of them were out of public view, more time was spent in this pursuit. We are told that when the first scroll which had been destroyed was rewritten, it contained added material (36:32). It is unlikely that Jeremiah had any public ministry during Jehoiakim's remaining years. He certainly had nothing good to say about this king. Jehoiakim spent recklessly on luxurious new quarters for himself, and his use of slave labor in this undertaking must have offended others besides Jeremiah. Worst of all, he was violent and dishonest, and cared nothing for justice or for helping the needy (22:13–17). Jeremiah could only predict a shameful end for this king (22:18–19).

When the city surrendered to Nebuchadnezzar in 597, Jeremiah was again active speaking the divine word and articulating as well the expressions of grief which were widespread (10:17–25; 13:15–27). His

message to the departing exiles was hopeful yet bittersweet (31:21–22). Jehoiachin, he said, would not return home nor would any of his offspring sit on David's throne (22:24–30).

Nebuchadnezzar put Zedekiah on the throne before departing from Jerusalem, and, with this king, Jeremiah had to endure another round of hard times. It is not that Zedekiah disliked Jeremiah particularly; the problem seems rather to have been Zedekiah's nonprincipled behavior during a time when the city lived continually on the brink of chaos. Zedekiah seems to have been powerless in the midst of this sorry state of affairs. Dated prose in the book indicates that Jeremiah was active during the first 4 years of Zedekiah's reign, 597–594/3, and then again when Jerusalem was under siege for the last time in 588–587. During Zedekiah's middle years we are not sure of Jeremiah's activities. He was perhaps addressing certain foreign nations with oracles (chapters 48–51) in addition to writing more scrolls with Baruch. In 594/3 Jeremiah gave Seraiah, the brother of Baruch, a scroll of oracles written against Babylon (51:59–64).

Jeremiah's final decade of prophetic ministry was controlled by a vision received about good and bad figs (chap. 24). The good figs were the exiles who had gone to Babylon; the bad figs were the people remaining in Jerusalem. This message put Jeremiah at odds with the nation's leaders, who, at the time were talking revolt with their allies (27:3). Certain prophets such as Hananiah lent them support by predicting a speedy return of Jehoiachin and the other exiles (28:1–4). A classic confrontation took place between Jeremiah and Hananiah which brought the question of true and false prophecy into sharp focus (chap. 28). Jeremiah was at first cautious in countering the optimistic claims of Hananiah, but at their second meeting was not and announced Hananiah's death for prophesying lies. This prediction was fulfilled in less than a year showing Jeremiah to be the true prophet according to the test set forth in Deut 18:21–22. Jeremiah sent letters to the exiles in Babylon (chap. 29) in which he gave the same message he had been preaching at home.

We are well informed about Jeremiah's activity just prior to Jerusalem's fall. He had now become the key figure in the tragic drama which was unfolding. Zedekiah continually sought him out, hoping against hope that Yahweh would save the nation as in times past (21:1–2). Jeremiah informed him, however, that Yahweh was fighting against the city. Taking words almost verbatim from Deut 30:15, but giving them a new twist, he told the king: "I set before you (the way) of life and (the way) of death" (21:18). The way of life now was to surrender; to resist was the way of death. But Zedekiah did not listen. He seemed irreversibly bent on plunging himself and the nation into ruinous defeat. Jeremiah told the king there was no way he could escape a face-to-face meeting with Nebuchadnezzar (34:1–7), which is what eventually took place.

When the city was under siege, Zedekiah made a covenant to grant liberty to all Hebrew slaves (34:8–22), something he should have done simply because the law required it (Deut 15:12). But when Egypt marched N and forced the Babylonian army to pull back from Jerusalem, the king reneged on the covenant and took the slaves back. Jeremiah was swift with a word to him and his fellow schemers: "I proclaim to you *liberty* to the sword, to pestilence, and to famine" (34:17). During the lifting of the siege, Jeremiah attempted to leave the city to take care of some personal business at Anathoth, but he was stopped at the Benjamin Gate and accused of deserting to the Babylonians (chap. 37). Jeremiah denied the charge, but to no avail. Royal officials beat him and threw him into prison, where he remained until the king summoned him to his residence—this time secretly—and asked him for another oracle from Yahweh. One came, but there was no change. Jeremiah then pleaded not to be sent back to prison, and Zedekiah granted the request. He was placed instead under house arrest in the court of the guard. There he remained until the city fell, receiving each day one loaf of bread as long as the supply held out (37:21). Jeremiah is also reported during these last days as having been abandoned in a cistern for preaching surrender (chap. 38). There he would have died had not Ebed-melech the Ethiopian rescued him. Zedekiah in this situation is portrayed as powerless over against those who were forcing his hand (38:5).

While Jeremiah was in the court of the guard he received from Yahweh a new word of hope. On the other side of doom would be deliverance and restoration: Exiles would return; the land would be repossessed; Yahweh would replace the broken covenant with a new one. Jeremiah accepted this word,

but not without a struggle. He bought a family plot at Anathoth to symbolize Yahweh's promise, but in the long prayer which followed the purchase he admits to having serious questions about what he has just done (32:16–44). The real life ambiguities confronting a prophet—the whole process whereby the divine word is accepted, believed, and acted upon—are nowhere better seen than here. Chapter 32 is certainly an eyewitness account. Virtually no time has elapsed between the event and this report of it. Reports which are written at a much later time telescope the belief process and clarify the ambiguities common to all complex life situations.

Other words of hope—including the important "New Covenant" promise—are likely from this same period when Jeremiah was confined to the court of the guard (23:5–8; 31:23–40; 33:1–13). Despite moments of deep despair, Jeremiah seems not to have lost faith completely in Yahweh's ability to save. During these last days he promises deliverance to Ebed-melech (39:15–18) as he had done earlier to his good friend Baruch (45:5). When the city was taken and large numbers of people were either killed or taken captive, Jeremiah was given his own life "as a prize of war." This fulfilled earlier promises which Yahweh had made to him (1:8, 19; 15:20–21). Nebuzaradan, acting on a direct order from Nebuchadnezzar, freed Jeremiah and allowed him to go wherever he desired (39:11–14; 40:1–6).

With Jerusalem in ruins, the people who remained took up residence at Mizpah under Gedaliah whom Nebuchadnezzar had appointed governor. Jeremiah joined them. The reconstituted community was soon fractured, however, when Gedaliah was murdered along with others in a plot instigated by the king of Ammon (chap. 40–41). Once again the people turned to Jeremiah for a word from Yahweh (chap. 42). Ten days later it came: They should stay in the land, not go to Egypt which is what the current talk was. This word, however, like so many others spoken earlier, was disregarded. In fact the people accused Jeremiah of treasonous collaboration with Baruch (43:2–3). A group consequently left for Egypt, taking Jeremiah and Baruch along, and settled at Tahpanhes (43:7).

**3. Sojourn in Egypt (after 586 B.C.).** Jeremiah was about 55 when he arrived in Egypt; once there, he reiterated Yahweh's judgment upon that nation (43:8–13). His message to expatriate Jews who were continuing their worship of the Queen of Heaven was essentially what it had been back in Jerusalem some years earlier (chap. 44). These people, however, had a different view of things. They said the destruction of Jerusalem came about because worship of the Queen of Heaven was discontinued. To this Jeremiah could only say ironically: "Go ahead then and confirm your vows!" (44:25). Yahweh, Jeremiah assures, will have the last word. This remnant in Egypt will die though it came there to live.

We hear no more from Jeremiah and the Bible does not mention his death. Later sources contain conflicting reports about martyrdom and a natural death in Egypt (Lipinski *EncJud* 9: 1351).

**D. Rhetoric and Preaching**

While it is generally agreed that Jeremiah ranks as one of the truly great thinkers in the OT, his language and style have not always won high acclaim. This judgment appears to go back to Jerome who says in his *Prologue to Jeremiah:* "Jeremiah the prophet … is seen to be more rustic in language than Isaiah and Hosea and certain other prophets among the Hebrews, but equal in thought … Moreover, the simplicity of his speech was the result of his birthplace. For he was a native of Anathoth, which even today is a small village 3 miles distant from Jerusalem" (MPL 28 847). Since Jerome, it has been agreed that Jeremiah suffers when compared to Isaiah, but considerable debate has taken place over his alleged "rusticity in language." Lowth, for example, finds no evidence to support this (1815: 290–91). Driver, who still attributes both poetry and prose to the prophet, agrees with Jerome that Jeremiah's style is not as elevated as his thought, but he evaluates the style somewhat differently. He says Jeremiah's style is "essentially artless," the only adornment being the figures which are found in the poetry. Yet even the poetry, he thinks, sounds much like the repetitive prose of Deuteronomy (1967: 274–75).

Others who separate poetry and prose and isolate the *ipsissima verba* of Jeremiah in the poetry (see JEREMIAH, BOOK OF), come away with a higher estimate of Jeremiah's language and style; some, in fact, rank him as one of the great poets of antiquity (Duhm *Jeremiah* KAC; Skinner 1963: 51; Muilenburg *IDB* 2: 824). This view is corroborated by those who more recently have studied the diction, style, and micro- as well as macro-structures of those compositions judged to be Jeremianic (Holladay 1962; 1966b;

*Jeremiah* Hermeneia; Lundbom 1975). Most of these appear in the poetry, but some are found as well in the sermonic prose.

Upon close inspection, Jeremiah is seen to be a skillful poet, someone well trained in the rhetoric of his day and surely perceived, by those who heard him, to be an engaging orator. His poetry is generally well balanced, more so than one finds among the other prophets. There is parallelism; but successive cola embellish an idea (exergasia), show up incongruities, make analogies, and build larger thoughts in yet different ways. One finds both regular (3:3) and Qine (3:2) meter, with other rhythms also being used. Whole poems in some cases contain crescendo and diminution. His syntax and ordering of terms in balanced cola follow both normal and chiastic arrangements. On occasion, whole poems will have chiastic structures made up of key words and/or alternation of speakers. Jeremiah was heir to a rhetorical tradition already ancient, one that had developed in the oldest known cultures of the Near East before it took root in Israel. As an orator, Jeremiah could hold rank with the best Greek and Roman rhetors whose stock in trade one will find in such classical rhetorical handbooks as Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, the *ad Herennium,* and Quintillian's *Institutes.* He anticipates them both in style and modes of argumentation.

**1. Repetition.** Jeremiah makes effective use of repetition, the most basic element of all in ancient Hebrew rhetoric (Muilenburg 1953). Repetition of words, of word cognates, and of sounds is primarily for emphasis, but it can perform other or in some cases multiple functions. Anaphora, for example, functions for Jeremiah as it does for other poets: to create pathos; when the repeated sounds simulate the sense (onomatopoeia) a bit of drama is added. The inclusio performs in some cases an argumentative function. Here are some of the most common uses of repetition by Jeremiah:

**a.** Repetition of a word as a paraphrasis for the superlative (GKC 133 1): "peace, peace" in 6:14 (= 8:11).

**b.** Repetition of a word for emphasis (geminatio): "my bowels, my bowels" in 4:19; "land, land, land" in 22:29; perhaps also "has come, has come" in 46:20. In the prose: "the temple of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh" in 7:4.

**c.** Repetition of a word at the beginning of successive cola, lines, or poetic verses (anaphora). Jeremiah's most powerful illustration is the poem in 51:20–23 where the destroyer of Babylon is addressed. The 9-fold repetition of "with you I break in pieces" emphasizes divine power, and it also simulates the sense by creating the sound of a pounding hammer (onomatopoeia). As a counterbalance to the repetitions, key words in the predication form an expanded chiasmus *(abcded´c´b´a´):*
You are my hammer and weapon of war:

With you I break in pieces *nations* … and *kingdoms*
With you I break in pieces *horse* and *its rider*
With you I break in pieces *chariot* and *charioteer*
With you I break in pieces *man* and *woman*
With you I break in pieces *old* and *young*
With you I break in pieces *young* and *maiden*
With you I break in pieces *shepherd* and *his flock*
With you I break in pieces *farmer* and *his team*
With you I break in pieces *governors* and *commanders*

In 50:35–38 judgment on Babylon is given emphasis by the 5-fold repetition of "sword," again producing onomatopoeia (here the repeated stabbing of the victim). The monotony of repetition is broken at the end with an assonantal wordplay between "sword" and "drought" *(ḥereb* and *ḥōreb*). Earlier, Jeremiah used anaphora to emphasize the might and consuming appetite of Babylon who was poised to attack Israel (5:15–17). There the 4-fold repetition of "they shall eat up" balanced the 4-fold repetition of "nation." The former was again more onomatopoeia (the enemy will eat without stopping). Key words in the predication are chiastically arranged for variation: produce appears at the extremes while in the center are people and animals. In 4:30 the 3-fold repetition of "that" *(kî)* increases the disdain for the harlot daughter of Zion; in 15:5 the 3-fold repetition of "who?" deepens the pity for Jerusalem the rejected. Jeremiah deepens pity for

himself in 8:23–9:1—Eng9:1–9:2 where successive verses begin "Who can make (me) …?" In 20:14–15, successive verses beginning "Cursed" emphasize the prophet's great despair. The repetition of *mipnê* ("before/because") in 4:26b; 23:9c; and 25:38b (MT), in each case giving closure to a passage, leaves the audience astonished—that the entire creation could be destroyed, that Jeremiah should behave like a drunken man, or that the land could be thoroughly devastated before Yahweh or because of what Yahweh will do. In the vision of cosmic destruction the 4-fold "I looked … and behold!" creates unusual pathos (4:23–26). Diminution in this poem helps simulate the cessation of activity. But Jeremiah is also able to use anaphora to achieve an opposite effect. In 31:4–5 his 3-fold "again" *(ʿôd)* emphasizes the certainty of Israel's return to Zion, also simulating the renewal of activity which will take place there.

**d.** Repetition of a word at the end of successive cola, lines, or poetic verses (epiphora). In 4:19 "my heart" ends successive cola; in 8:22–23—Eng9:1 "daughter of my people" ends successive verses.

**e.** Repetition of words or word cognates at the end of verses or larger compositions which appeared at the beginning (inclusio). The inclusio commonly functions to effect closure, as it does for example in Deuteronomy, but there it also gives emphasis to the law being preached. Jeremiah uses the inclusio both for closure and for emphasis, but it serves other functions for him as well. He may use it to be ironic, e.g., in 5:21 where he asks a people to hear who cannot hear. More often the inclusio points up some incongruity. In 4:22 "they do not know," which concludes the first and last lines of the verse, emphasizes in the first instance people's ignorance of Yahweh and what constitutes the good; but when the verse is taken as a whole, a basic incongruity is being stressed: namely, that the very same people who show ignorance of Yahweh and the good are knowledgeable when it comes to doing evil. In a similarly constructed verse in 8:4b–5 the inclusio is made with different forms of *šûb* ("return"). Emphasis is again put on a point which is part of a larger incongruity, i.e., that although people who turn away normally return, here we see a people that does not return. In 8:8–9 Jeremiah speaks of people who say they are "wise" but are without "wisdom."

A number of complete poems have inclusio, and in some the repetition gives focus to Jeremiah's argument. In 3:1–5 different forms of the interjection "Behold!" focus the argument that Yahweh does not want rapprochement with Israel, at least not for the time being and not under the present circumstances. In 5:26–28, 30–31 "my people" makes the inclusio. The argument here is ironic in tone: People who are being victimized by criminals somehow want the phenomenon to continue. Repeated key words at beginning and end give focus to other prophetic speeches, e.g., 13:21–27; 20:7–10, 14–18; 51:11–14; etc. (Lundbom 1975: 36–51). The words, "there is none like you" form an inclusio in the doxology of 10:6–7. If this originates with Jeremiah the point he stresses is the incomparability of Yahweh.

**f.** Inverted repetition of words, word cognates, fixed pairs, and sounds in the bicolon, the verse, and the larger composition (chiasmus). Jeremiah varies the monotony of synonymous parallelism in the bicolon with syntactic chiasmus, where the verbs are commonly placed at the extremes, e.g., 2:9, 19a; 4:5a, 7a, 9c; 5:6a, 12b; 6:21b, 25a; etc. Rarely are the verbs at the center (2:36b; 51:38), and rarely does the syntactic chiasmus form an antithesis (4:22c; and the proverbial 12:13a). In some cases a double-duty subject appears at the center, e.g., 4:2b ("nations") and 4:30c ("lovers"). Jeremiah enjoys making key word chiasmi: "water / cisterns / cisterns / water" in 2:13; "neighbor / brother / brother / neighbor" in 9:3—Eng9:4; and "man / succeed / succeed / man" in 22:30. Somewhat different is the chiasmus in 14:2: "Judah / gates / [gates] / Jerusalem" (Holladay 1962: 51–52). Here Jeremiah plays on verticality, while at the same time keeping constant the idea of a nation in mourning. The idea is kept constant also in 20:14 where there is another variation of chiasmus: "cursed / I was born / she bore me / blessed".

In the double bicolon we find this chiasmus of sound: *ṣĕʿāqâh / wāšeber / nišbĕrâh / zĕʿāqâh* (48:3–4). Sound and meaning are combined in the chiasmus in 2:7b: *watābōʾû* / my land / my heritage / *lĕtôʿēbâh* (Kselman 1977: 222–23). Here the terms creating the sound balance also form a wordplay.

In poetry, Jeremiah uses words and phraseology to create a variety of larger chiastic structures. In 2:27c–28a, rhetorical form and content come together as Jeremiah turns the people's own words against themselves:

But *in the time of their trouble* they say

‘*Arise* and *save* us’
But where are your gods which you made for yourselves?
Let them *arise* if they can *save* you
*in your time of trouble*

There is a tightly knit chiastic structure in 4:19c–21 where Jeremiah is in conversation with himself. Whole poems in some cases have chiastic structures built with key words, this phenomenon having been first discovered in Lamentations 1–2 by Condamin (1905). Jeremiah will also delimit the same sub-units within the poem by alternating the speaker, and this alternation will be chiastic as well (see 6). Macro-chiastic structures aid in developing the prophetic argument the same way macro-inclusio structures do. Whole poems having key word chiastic structures are: 2:5–9; 5:1–8; 6:1–7, 8–12; 8:13–17; 9:2–5—Eng9:3–6 (text problems); 51:20–23; 51:34–45; and on a smaller scale (aba’): 2:33–37; and 23:18, 21–22 (Lundbom 1975: 70–96).

**g.** Double occurrences of a root in succession (multiclinatum), often making paronomasia. In 11:18: “Yahweh made it known to me and I knew”; in 17:14: “Heal me, O Yahweh, and I shall be healed, save me and I shall be saved”; in 20:7: “O Yahweh, you have deceived me and I was deceived”; also 31:4, 18[*bis*]; and the somewhat different constructions in 15:19 and 30:16. These are signatures of Jeremiah (Driver 1967: 276; Holladay 1962: 46).

Jeremiah combines verbs and cognate nouns in succession to great effect, e.g., in 2:5: “they went after worthlessness and became worthless” (paronomasia); in 22:22: “the wind shall shepherd all your shepherds” (paronomasia); and in 51:2: “And I will send to Babylon winnowers and they shall winnow her.” In prose see 16:16; 23:4; and 48:12.

**h.** Repetition of consonants in succession (alliteration). This is a figure of sound, not meaning. Quite often, too, there will be paronomasia (Casanowicz 1893). In 17:12–13a the consonant *k* begins two words, and immediately following are 5 successive words beginning with the *m* consonant (also paronomasia; Casanowicz #176). In 48:15 the combination *bḥ* repeats 3 times (paronomasia; Casanowicz #44); in 49:15 the *b* consonant 3 times; and in 51:44 3 *bl* combinations (paronomasia; Casanowicz #49).

**2. Accumulation.** The celebrated rhetorical prose which appears in Jeremiah and the Deuteronomic literature is largely accumulation (accumulatio). It is heavy and stereotyped: Nouns heap up in twos, threes, and fours, and longer phrases balance rhythmically in parallelism. The Jeremiah prose contains some of the same noun chains and balanced phrases found in Deuteronomy and 2 Kings; at the same time it has other examples of both which appear nowhere else (Driver *Deuteronomy* ICC, xcii–xciv; Bright 1951: 25–27; *Jeremiah* AB, lxxi–lxxiii). The prose is certainly not the prophet’s *ipsissima verba;* nevertheless we might expect that it would approximate his prose utterances and feature also the dominant characteristics of prose spoken by priests, scribes, and others trained in the Deuteronomic school of rhetoric.

Some examples of accumulatio in the prose: “sword, famine, and pestilence” (14:12; 21:9; 24:10; 27:8; etc.); “reproach, byword, taunt, and curse” (24:9); “cities of Judah and streets of Jerusalem” (7:17, 34; 11:6; 33:10; 44:6, 17, 21); “the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride” (7:34; 16:9; 25:10; 33:11); “their dead bodies shall be food for the birds of the air and for the beasts of the earth” (7:33; 16:4; 19:7; 34:20); “a fortified city, an iron pillar, and bronze walls, against the kings of Judah, its princes, its priests, and the people of the land” (1:18); etc. Some of these phrases together with others have what appear to be prototypes in the poetry (Holladay 1960).

The poetry also contains accumulatio, e.g., 12:7: “I have forsaken my house, I have abandoned my heritage, I have given the beloved of my soul into the hands of her enemies.” In the call passage Jeremiah accumulates 6 verbs; the outside 4 are arranged in a chiasmus (1:10).

In both poetry and prose, rapid accumulation of verbs results in asyndeton. In the poetry: “*Blow* the trumpet through the land, *cry aloud* and *say,* ‘*Assemble,* and *let us go* into the fortified cities’ ” (4:5); “*Run to and fro* through the streets of Jerusalem, *look* now, and *take note,* and *search* her squares …” (5:1); see also 49:8, 30. In the prose: the 6 infinitive absolutes in rapid succession in the Temple Sermon (7:9). Like repetition, accumulatio adds strength to discourse. The classical orators used it when heaping

up praise or blame. Here in 7:9 Jeremiah assesses blame. Jeremiah uses accumulatio to press home the message of divine judgment upon the nations in 25:27, and in 31:7b he emphasizes the joy of Israel's future salvation.

**3. Metaphors and Related Tropes.** Jeremiah, like every good orator, peppers his discourse liberally with tropes. These give added strength to the discourse and also function to kindle the imagination of his audience.

**a. Metaphor.** Jeremiah uses an array of vivid metaphors. Some are brief, i.e., only a word or two, while others expand into an entire verse of poetry (8:23—Eng9:1). Jeremiah also employs the simile (see b.), which is a metaphor using "as" or "like" in its comparison (Heb *kĕ*). In poetry, metaphors and similes appear frequently in combination, which can weaken the metaphor. These combinations are weakened still more when a colon before or after contains the other element in the comparison, or else a term of clarification. We find the same thing happening in the prose.

Jeremiah's metaphors describe Yahweh, the false gods, kings, the nation, the enemy, and even Jeremiah himself. They also give lucidity to the enormity of evil within the nation and the destruction which will come as a result of this evil. Yahweh is "the fountain of living waters"; the false gods by contrast are but "broken cisterns" (2:13). Mistaken foreign policies and religious adventurism come under attack when Jeremiah asks why people go to Egypt "to drink the waters of the Nile," and to Assyria "to drink the waters of the Great River?" (2:18). Jeremiah speaks of the fractured covenant relationship when he says to the people, "you broke your yoke and burst your bonds" (2:20). In 2:21 the nation which was once a "choice red vine" is now said to have degenerated into a "wild vine." The nation is also personified as a (shameful) daughter. His metaphors here are "daughter of Zion" (4:31; 6:2, 23); " (virgin) daughter of my people" (4:11; 6:26; 8:19, 21; 14:17 [MT]; etc.); "changeable daughter" (31:22); and "virgin Israel" (18:13; 31:4, 21). The metaphor of the harlot daughter almost becomes an allegory in 4:30–31. The "daughter" metaphor is also used for Egypt (46:11, 24), Ammon (49:4), and Babylon (50:42; 51:33).

The most disparaging metaphors, Jeremiah reserves for his own nation Israel. He calls the nation "a restive young camel interlacing her tracks," or a "wild ass … in her heat sniffing the wind" (2:23c–24a); again people are said to be "well-fed lusty stallions" (5:8). Jeremiah attacks the luxurious cedar buildings in Jerusalem, calling them a "forest" (21:14; cf. 1 Kgs 7:2), or else "Lebanon" (22:23). This latter metaphor becomes clarified in the Targums (Vermes 1958: 4). Inhabitants of these buildings are said—with a bit of irony perhaps—to be "nested among the cedars." Jeremiah seeks to evoke repentance from the people with a couple of agricultural metaphors: "Break up your fallow ground, and sow not among thorns" (4:3).

In describing the enemy, Jeremiah uses the common metaphor the "lion." Earlier foes from Assyria were roaring "lions" (2:15); now the foe from the N is another "lion" (4:7; 5:6), or else a "wolf" or a "leopard" (5:6). In 8:17 Babylon is depicted as 2 different varieties of snakes. Other metaphors in 4:11 ("desert wind") and 15:12 ("iron, iron from the north, and bronze") are weakened by clarification, which may mark them as later insertions into the text. In 25:32b the enemy is a "great tempest" (cf. 6:22 which has "great nation"). The foreign kings coming with their armies from the E are "shepherds with their flocks" (6:3). Judah's kings are also "shepherds" (2:8; 22:22; 23:1–4), this metaphor being so common it may not even have been perceived as such. King Jehoiachin, says Jeremiah, has become in defeat a "broken pot" (22:28). As for Jeremiah himself, in order that he may withstand the opposition sure to come from people in Jerusalem, Yahweh promises to make him into "a fortified city, an iron pillar, and bronze walls" (1:18). These metaphors appear in prose, and the narrator expectedly provides words of explanation in the verse following.

**b. Simile.** This trope is widely used not only in Hebrew but in other ancient Near Eastern languages. People of antiquity had a natural propensity to think analogically. Similes, therefore, are very old, going back all the way to the Sumerians (Kramer 1969). They appear also in Akkadian treaties and in various sapiential writings (*ANET,* 539–41; 598 lines 106–7).

Jeremiah uses the simile extensively, covering with it much of the same ground he covers with the metaphor. The wayward individual is "like a horse plunging headlong into battle" (8:6). Wayward Israel

waits on the road (for lovers) "like an Arab in the wilderness" (3:2), yet she cries out rebelliously against Yahweh "like a lion in the forest" (12:8). When judgment comes, however, she will cry "like a woman in labor" (6:24; 13:21; 22:23; etc). During the drought, wild asses wander on the bare heights where they "pant for air like jackals" (14:6). The besiegers of Jerusalem are "like keepers of a field against her round about" (4:17); their quiver is "like an open tomb" (5:16); and the roar of their coming is "like the sea" (6:23). Yahweh will scatter the people "like the east wind" (18:17), or "like chaff driven by the desert wind" (13:24). His coming will be "like the clouds, his chariots like the whirlwind" (4:13). His wrath goes forth "like fire" (4:4; 21:12). Dead bodies shall fall "like dung upon the open field, like sheaves after the reaper" (9:21—Eng9:22). Jeremiah questions Yahweh about the grim scenario, "Why should you be like a stranger in the land, like a traveler who turns aside for the night? Why should you be like a man confused, like a mighty man who cannot save?" (14:8–9). Personal enemies treat Jeremiah "like a gentle lamb led to the slaughter" (11:19). But when Jeremiah's faith is renewed, he exclaims, "Yahweh is with me as a dread warrior" (20:11). Similes of this same general sort appear in the foreign nation oracles, e.g., 46:7–8; 51:27c, 34b; etc.

The simile is extended into a comparison (similitudo) when strengthened by the *kĕ ... kēn* and *ʾākēn ... kēn* constructions, e.g., in poetry: "*as* a thief is shamed when caught, *so* the house of Israel shall be shamed" (2:26; also 5:27; 6:7; cf. Deut 8:20); "*surely* as a faithless wife leaves her husband, *so* you have been faithless to me, O house of Israel" (3:20); and in prose: "*like* the clay in the potter's hand, *so* are you in my hand, O house of Israel" (18:6; also 24:5, 8).

**c. Abusio.** One of the harsher tropes is the abusio, which is an implied metaphor. This type of metaphor behaves somewhat extravagantly in that a word is taken from one usage and put to another. Abusios can be made from verbs, e.g., in 5:8: "each man *neighing* for his neighbor's wife"; in 7:28: "truth has *perished,* it is *cut off* from their lips"; in 4:28; 12:4; and 23:10: "the earth *mourns*"; and in 51:44: "the nations shall no longer *flow* to him." Other abusios are created by nouns, e.g., in 4:4: "remove the foreskin of your *hearts*"; and in 18:18: "come, let us smite him with the *tongue.*"

**d. Euphemism.** On occasion Jeremiah substitutes a more mild term or one with adjunct meaning in order to avoid saying something either too harsh or too explicit. This is euphemism. In 8:14 he says, "Let us go into the fortified cities and *be silent* there, for Yahweh our God *has silenced us.*" "Be silent" (Heb *dmm*) is a euphemism for "die" (RSV: "perish"). The same verb appears in 25:37: "the peaceful folds are *made silent*" (RSV: "devastated"). Other usages of *dmm* in 48:2; 49:26; and 51:6 may also be euphemistic. In 13:22b Jeremiah says, "because of the greatness of your iniquity your *skirts* are uncovered." He really means her *pudenda.* Again in 13:26: "your *shame* will be seen" (BDB 886).

**4. Argumentation.** To a large extent Jeremiah's rhetoric is a rhetoric of argumentation. It differs in this important respect from the rhetoric of Deuteronomy with which it has other important affinities. Deuteronomy preaches the conditional terms of the covenant warning people what will happen if the covenant is broken. Jeremiah presupposes an entirely different reality: The covenant *has* been broken, and the people now must either repent or be punished. Jeremiah cannot preach this message without encountering argument from others, and it goes without saying that he must also argue in return. It is true, of course, that much of Jeremiah's preaching is like that of the other prophets, i.e., preaching based on authority. His indictments and judgments are stated in unequivocal terms. Jeremiah does not make appeals to ethos as the classical orators do. At the same time a surprising amount of his discourse is dialogical—indeed Jeremiah comes closer to Greek dialectic than any of the other Hebrew prophets. There is a dialectic going on between Yahweh and the people, another between Yahweh and himself, and still another between himself and the people. Certain speeches, e.g., 3:1–5 and 5:1–8, are genuinely open-ended in the sense that the audience is left at the end to draw its own conclusions. This brings the prophet and his audience into partnership; together they must discern the import of Yahweh's word.

**a. Protasis—Apodosis.** The protasis-apodosis form ("If … then …") is at home in legal discourse. Deuteronomy, for example, says that if the people obey Yahweh and do his commands, they will be set above the nations and blessings will come upon them; if they do not obey and fail to do Yahweh's commands, then curses will come (Deut 28:1–2, 15). Jeremiah says, however, in one of his early calls for

reform, that if Israel returns to Yahweh and clears away the vestiges of false worship, then she can use the oath once again and the Abrahamic covenant will achieve its intended blessing upon the nations of the world (4:1–2; Bright *Jeremiah* AB, 21). Later on after judgment has come Jeremiah uses the form to emphasize Yahweh's ongoing commitment to the Abrahamic covenant (31:36–37).

**b. Arguments *a minori ad maius.*** The argument *a minori ad maius* (Heb *qal vechomer*) is from the lesser to the greater, and it appears in the OT in legal as well as other parenetic discourse, e.g., Exod 6:12; Deut 31:27. In 3:1 Jeremiah argues that *if* a divorced woman who has remarried cannot return to her former husband (so Deut 24:1–4), *how much more* can Israel—who has had many lovers—not return to Yahweh. In 12:5 Yahweh tells Jeremiah that *if* running on foot has tired him, *how much more* will he not be able to compete with horses; *if* in a safe land he falls down, *how much more* will he likely fall in the jungle of the Jordan. An argument *a minori ad maius* is used against the nations in 25:29.

**c. Rhetorical Question.** The rhetorical question has an evocative function in discourse, in fact it aims usually at intimidation. Rhetorical questions are posed solely for effect. They call for a response, but none can be made because the answer to the question is either obvious or else one the audience will not want to give. The rhetorical question was widely used in antiquity and appears in various literatures (e.g., *ANET,* 597 lines 36–38).

Jeremiah uses the rhetorical question, sometimes a pair of them, as a foil for some more important statement he wishes to make. Or sometimes his preferred subject is yet another question. In 18:20: "Is evil a recompense for good? Yet they have dug a pit for my life." Jeremiah accumulates rhetorical questions, though not to the extent Amos does in his classic litany in Amos 3:3–8. Jeremiah's questions also differ from those of Amos in that his foils are less mechanical; there is some linkage of thought in almost every case to his preferred subject. Often a common word unites the foil and the preferred subject.

Jeremiah puts the rhetorical question to two specialized uses. In one a single or double question lifts up some paradigmatic behavior, a common happening, or something built into the natural order; what follows is then a portrayal of Israel's behavior, which is scandalous. In 2:11: "Has a nation changed its gods even though they are no gods? But my people have changed their glory for that which does not profit"; in 2:32: "Can a maiden forget her ornaments, or a bride her attire? But my people have forgotten me days without number"; also 5:22a, 23; 18:14–15. Somewhat different is 13:23 where the question foils an ironic comment: "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? Then also you can do good who are accustomed to do evil!"

The other specialized use is the 3-fold question in the form *hă ... ʾim ... maddaʿ* ("If … if … why then …?"), which appears 8 times in the book and is another signature of Jeremiah (2:14, 31; 8:4–5, 19, 22; 14:19; 22:28; and 49:1). Here the first two questions are a foil for a third which expresses a troubling vexation. This vexation is either about something incongruous which the prophet observes, or else it has to do with the weakened condition of people facing war and imminent defeat. In 2:31: "Have I been a wilderness to Israel? Have I been a land of thick darkness? Why then do my people say, 'We are free, we will come no more to you?' "; in 2:14: "Is Israel a slave? Is he a homeborn servant? Why then has he become a prey?" In 22:28 it is King Jehoiachin who is in a weakened condition. In 30:6 the form is modified to a statement and two questions: "Ask now and see, can a male bear a child? Why then do I see every soldier with his hands on his loins like a woman in labor?" In 8:19 the form works differently because Yahweh interrupts the people to ask the third more pressing question (Holladay 1962: 48–49).

Jeremiah sometimes answers his own rhetorical questions (hypophora), e.g., 6:15 [= 8:12]: "Were they ashamed when they committed abomination? No, they were not at all ashamed; they did not know how to blush." See also 6:20; 30:15; 31:20; 46:7–8. In 12:9 the two rhetorical questions containing a wordplay.

Some climactic rhetorical questions which originally expressed harsh judgment were later converted into affirmations of hope, e.g., "and would you return to me?" in 3:1 becomes "yet return to me"; also "and shall he be saved from it?" in 30:7 becomes "yet from it he shall be saved" (Holladay 1962: 53–4). Numerous rhetorical questions appear also in the prose, e.g., 7:19 (correctio); 23:23–24; 27:17; 37:19; 40:15b; 44:7–9; etc. One finds no rhetorical questions, however, in the oracles against Babylon (chaps. 50–51).

**d. The Exaggerated Contrast.** In ancient Hebrew as well as in Arabic and some modern languages, two antithetical statements can be juxtaposed solely to emphasize the one appearing second. This has the practical effect of making the second statement more important than the first. The idiom has been called the "exaggerated contrast" (Carleton 1892; Hommel 1899–1900), and good examples are to be found in Deut 5:3 and Amos 7:14. The first statement will negate an idea, but the speaker does not really mean to deny it for the idea is otherwise valid or true. Jeremiah, for example, says that Yahweh did not command the fathers to make burnt offerings and sacrifices when the people left Egypt; he commanded them to obey his voice (7:22–23). Following Josiah's death and the deposition of Jehoahaz, he also says, "Weep not for him who is dead, nor bemoan him, but weep bitterly for him who goes away" (22:10).

**e. Surrender.** In the trial which followed the Temple Sermon, Jeremiah submits himself to the will of the court. He says, "But as for me, behold, I am in your hands. Do with me as seems good and right to you" (26:14). In classical rhetoric this sort of statement was considered a veiled argument, and it was given the name "surrender" (permissio; *ad Herennium* IV xxix 39).

**f. Descriptio.** To continue with Jeremiah's remarks to the court, we find him describing the consequences of possible court action. He says, "Only know for certain that if you put me to death, you will bring innocent blood upon yourselves and upon this city and its inhabitants, for in truth Yahweh sent me to you to speak all these words in your ears" (26:15). This too has argumentative value, and classical rhetoricians called such a move descriptio which they said could be used both in prosecution and defense (*ad Herennium* 4.39.51). Here, of course, Jeremiah is arguing his own defense.

**5. Humor and Irony.** The humorous element in Jeremiah's preaching has not received the attention it deserves, despite the fact that irony in particular is well documented among the ancient Hebrews. Humor is still difficult if not impossible to define precisely, and its identification depends largely upon individual interpretation. There is, in any case, humor in many of Jeremiah's utterances, and one may imagine that the prophet was at times rather playful with his audience. He shares with them sudden flashes of insight, and with his quick wit he creates wordplays, caricatures, and verbal irony for which Hebrew discourse generally has been justly celebrated. His playfulness, however, remains serious when the message is serious (Knox 1963: 329). Wordplays emphasize and threaten; hyperbole becomes his countermeasure for audience resistance; and irony is but another way of telling the truth.

**a. Paronomasia.** Broadly defined, paronomasia is either a play on multiple meanings of identical or cognate words, or else a play on different words close enough in sound so as to make assonance (near-rhyme) or puns. An extensive list of paronomasia in the OT has been compiled by Casanowicz (1893).

Jeremiah is particularly fond of assonance, which is similar to alliteration (see 1.h.) in that the play is only on sound, although assonance can function to emphasize what is being said (Saydon 1955). Examples of assonance: in 1:10; 18:7; and 31:28, *lintôš wělintôṣ* ("to pluck up and to break down"); in 2:12, *šōmû šāmayim* ("Be appalled, O heavens"); in 2:20, *gibʿâ gĕbōhâ* ("high hill"); in 6:11, *mālēʾtî nilʾêtî* ("I am full, I weary myself"); in 9:9—Eng9:10 and 31:15 (reversed), *bĕkî (wā)nehî* ("weeping and wailing"); in 49:30, *nūsû nūdû* ("flee, wander away"); in 51:44, *bēl bĕbābel* ("Bel in Babylon"); see also 6:1b; 10:25c; 12:13a; 14:6a; 16:19a. Examples of puns: in 1:11–12, *šāqēd / šōqēd* ("almond / watching"), which is similar to the pun in Amos 8:1–2; in 17:11, *ʿōśeh ʿōšer* ("he who gets riches"); in 50:37–38, *ḥereb / ḥōreb* ("sword / drought"); and 17:6 and 8 where *yirʾeh / yiraʾ(Kt)* ("see / fear") balance two verses of poetry. Jeremiah also plays on multiple meanings. In the poetry: on *mʾs* in 6:30 (cf. 1 Sam 15:23); on *ʾsp* in 8:13–14; and on *šûb* in 3:12, 14, 22 (cf. Hos 14:5—Eng 14:4); 8:4–5; and 31:21c–22a. In 6:7 the unusual use of the verb *qrr* in the second colon makes the wordplay: "as a well keeps its water cool, so she keeps cool about her wickedness." In 22:22: "The wind shall shepherd all your shepherds."

There are a number of similar wordplays in the prose. In the second vision of chapter 1 Yahweh says, "Out of the north evil shall *open up* upon all the inhabitants of the land … and everyone shall set his throne at the *opening* of the gates of Jerusalem" (vv 14–15). To Jeremiah personally Yahweh says, "Do not *be dismayed* by them, lest *I dismay you* before them" (v 17b). In chap. 19 Yahweh tells Jeremiah to buy a "flask" *(baqbuq)* which, when broken, will dramatize this prophetic word: "And I will make empty *(ʾbāqqōtî)* the plans of Judah and Jerusalem …" (vv 1, 7). In addressing the false prophets, Jeremiah plays

on *maśśāʾ* which can mean either "burden" or "oracle" (23:33 LXX). In 28:15–16 Jeremiah plays on "send" in his judgment upon Hananiah: "Listen, Hananiah, Yahweh has not *sent* you … Therefore thus says Yahweh, 'Behold *I will send you* off the face of the earth …' " In 34:15–18 three wordplays appear close together in the judgment upon Zedekiah: the expression *qrʾ dĕrôr* ("proclaim liberty"), double uses of the verb *šûb* ("turn, return, repent"), and the verb *krt* ("cut"). In a couple instances a single word having multiple meanings is played upon. In 5:13 when Jeremiah says the prophets will become *ŕaḥ,* he means, of course, "wind" or "hot air," not "spirit." The latter they should possess but do not. In 9:3—Eng9:4 Jeremiah plays on "Jacob," using its disparaging meaning of "cheater" (cf. Gen 27:35–36).

Like the classical poets, Jeremiah likes to play on names, whether personal names or place names. The name proposed for the future Davidic king is "Yahweh is our righteousness" (23:6), a deliberate play—with reversal—on Zedekiah which means "righteous of Yahweh" or "righteous is Yahweh." The people likewise had fun at the expense of Jeremiah when they dubbed him "Terror on Every Side" (20:10; Bright *Jeremiah* AB, 132–33), which was a favorite expression of his. In 4:15 a play is made on Dan: *maggîd middān;* in 6:1 on Tekoa: *ʾbitqôaʾ tiqʿû;* and in 48:2 on Heshbon: *bĕḥešbôn ḥošbû,* and Madmen: *madmēn tiddōmî;* cf. Amos 5:5c; Zeph 2:4a.

**b. Hyperbole.** Jeremiah very often uses hyperbole, which is deliberate overstatement. Hyperbole is common in impassioned discourse, particularly when there is conflict and the speaker must make his point to an audience that will not listen. Hyperbole is used to lash out against the enormity of evil. Idolatry is Judah's most heinous crime, but another following not far behind is the nation's failure to practice justice and righteousness. Hyperbole appears also in descriptions of the approaching enemy, what destruction that enemy will bring, and the intense grief which all of this will bring to the people, Jeremiah included. But Jeremiah's earliest use of hyperbole comes in a divine affirmation. Yahweh in his call of the prophet is reported as having said, "Before I formed you in the womb I knew you, and before you were born I consecrated you; I appointed you a prophet to the nations" (1:5).

In his earliest preaching Jeremiah resorts to hyperbole in addressing the prevailing fertility worship, e.g., in 2:20: "For upon every high hill and under every green tree you bowed down as a harlot" (cf. 3:6, 13; 17:2); in 2:28 (MT): "For as many as your cities are your gods, O Judah" (cf. 11:13); and in 3:2: "Where have you not been lain with?"

Jeremiah is hyperbolic about the people's inability to listen, exhibit shame, or repent, e.g., in 6:10: "Behold, their ears are uncircumcised, they cannot listen"; in 6:15b [= 8:12b]: "they did not know how to blush"; and in 5:3: "They have made their faces harder than rock, they have refused to repent." Yahweh's command that Jeremiah and his search party run through Jerusalem to find just one righteous man (5:1) is hyperbolic; so also the statement made to King Jehoiakim about being hotly competitive in cedar acquisition for new royal buildings in Jerusalem (22:15). In 22:17 Jeremiah once again caricatures Jehoiakim in saying, "But you have eyes and heart only for your dishonest gain."

Hyperbole comes to the fore in Jeremiah's preaching when he announces the foe coming from the north. In 8:16: "The snorting of their horses is heard from Dan, at the sound of the neighing of their stallions the whole land quakes." Observing the terrified defenders of Jerusalem Jeremiah says, "Why do I see every soldier with his hands on his loins like a woman in labor? Why has every face turned pale?" (30:6). People are told by the prophet to "*roll* in ashes" (6:26). The widows, he says, will be "more in number than the sand of the seas" (15:8). With the fate of Jerusalem sealed, Jeremiah says to those who still harbor illusions of deliverance, "For even if you should defeat the whole army of Chaldeans who are fighting against you, and there remained of them only wounded men, every man in his tent, they would rise up and burn this city with fire" (37:10; cf. 2 Sam 5:6).

Jeremiah uses hyperbole also in the judgments made upon foreign nations, e.g., 25:31, 33; 49:21; 50:46; and 51:9. He is hyperbolic when speaking about his own personal grief, e.g., in 14:17: "Let my eyes run down with tears night and day, and let them not cease." There is hyperbole finally in a passage which speaks about restoration (50:21), but we cannot be certain whether this comes from Jeremiah.

**c. Irony.** Ancient Hebrew humor is to a large extent irony, and there are few who express irony better than the prophets (Knox 1963: 328–31). Isaiah is the grand master of verbal irony, with Jeremiah a peer

certainly and possibly even his equal in certain regards. In verbal irony the underlying meaning is opposite of the surface meaning. Speakers resort to irony when straight talk fails, when they are powerless usually and numbered among the disenfranchised. Ironic language therefore is desperate and at the same time extravagant. It commonly speaks to incongruities, elucidating them with razor sharpness (Good 1965: 24–33).

Jeremiah uses irony to address a variety of incongruities. The greatest of these is Israel's reckless abandonment of Yahweh and the covenant demands, while she at the same time shows enormous devotion to idols and the worship associated with them. Jeremiah observes how adept people are at doing evil, e.g., in 2:33: "How *well* you direct your course to seek lovers"; and 4:22: "They are *skilled* in doing evil." Here and in other examples the ironic statement is followed by a non-ironic statement which gives the former clarification. In 8:5: "They *hold fast* to deceit, they refuse to return"; in 14:10: "They have *loved* to wander thus, they have not restrained their feet." People have, it seems, a commitment to evil; in fact they enjoy being victimized by it: "my people *love* to have it so" (5:31). They are never long away from other attachments (2:24c). Sexual preference as expressed in fertility worship is mocked when Jeremiah deliberately reverses the sexes in 2:27, making the tree masculine and the stone feminine. Idols are helpless, however, when crises develop and deliverance is being sought (2:27b–28; cf. Deut 32:38b). They may be beautiful in appearance, nevertheless because they are without life they can do neither good nor evil (10:2–5, 8–9—if this be from Jeremiah). Jeremiah's urging of the people to increase the number of their abominable sacrifices is an example of epitrope (7:21; see also 44:25b and Hos 4:17). The national character is ironically described in 8:5 where Israel is called a "brilliant apostate" (*měšūbâ* niṣṣaḥat), an example of oxymoron.

The personifications "virgin daughter" and "virgin Israel" are also ironic (14:17; 18:13; 31:21; cf. Amos 5:2). Jeremiah is ironic when talking about coming judgment, e.g., "How you will be *favored* when pangs come upon you" (22:23). People when they are in exile "can serve other gods day and night" (16:13). Jeremiah uses epitrope also in 15:2 when he gives the people various options after his own mediation on their behalf has been rejected by Yahweh. The expression, "Nebuchadnezzar, my servant" may be an oxymoron since "my servant," when used by Yahweh, is a term of endearment. The description of exhumed bones which will be set before the astral deities whom the people have loved and served in 8:1–2—if it derives from Jeremiah—is burlesque. Jeremiah uses irony in addressing foreign nations, e.g., 46:11; 48:36; and 51:8. And there is irony in the curses which the prophet hurls at his own birth in 20:14–15. Contrasting terms which frame both of these verses point to a deeply moving incongruity, i.e., the joy and blessedness felt by Jeremiah's parents the day he was born, and the enormous despair which Jeremiah now himself feels (Lundbom 1985).

**6. Drama.** In the Jeremianic preaching there is more than a little theatrics mixed in. For example, he will now and then turn to address imaginary audiences (apostrophe): the heavens in 2:12; Jerusalem in 4:14; the land in 22:29; and Yahweh's sword in 47:6. He imagines a ready scribe at his side when he says in 22:30, "Write this man down as childless …," referring to the deposed King Jehoiachin. The prophet is engaging in drama also when he alternates speakers in his prophetic speeches. This creates in the speeches an antiphonal quality which Jeremiah may have appropriated from the psalms. In 6:4–5 words spoken by the enemy frame the frightened cry of Jerusalem's besieged ("Woe to us …"). In 8:18–21 an entire poem builds on an elaborate speaker chiasmus:

Jeremiah: My joy is gone
grief is upon me
my heart is sick
People: Hark a cry …
'Is Yahweh not in Zion?
Is their King not in her?
Yahweh: Why then have they provoked me to anger with their images
and with their foreign idols?
People: The harvest is past

the summer is ended
and we are not saved
Jeremiah: For the wound of the daughter of my people I am wounded
I mourn
dismay has taken hold of me

A similarly constructed poem is found in 17:13–16a. Other Jeremianic poems combine key word structures with alternation of speaker (Lundbom 1975: 36–51, 70–96). Jeremiah's oracles to the foreign nations may also be taken as dramatic presentations since they are spoken to audiences too far distant to hear (cf. Amos 1–2).

**E. Prophetic Symbolism: Act and Being**

Jeremiah's prophetic message is more than words, although words in the ancient world were believed to be invested with the power to bring about their actualization. Jeremiah like many of his predecessors went a step further and dramatized the spoken word with symbolic action (Robinson 1927). He buried a loin cloth and later recovered it ruined in order to symbolize the spoiled pride awaiting a nation which abandons its covenant with Yahweh (13:1–11). He broke an empty flask at the Potsherd Gate to symbolize Yahweh's determination to make empty the plans of an ambitious people in Judah and Jerusalem (chap. 19). Together with a fringe group of Rechabites, he went to the temple to test their resolve not to drink wine—all for the purpose of giving others an object lesson on obedience (chap. 35). When the Babylonians began asserting rule over Palestine, Jeremiah wore thongs and yoke bars around his neck to symbolize subservience which Judah must now offer to Nebuchadnezzar (chap. 27). Later in Egypt, Jeremiah buried stones in the pavement before Pharaoh's palace at Tahpanhes. These were to symbolize the future erection of Nebuchadnezzar's throne on that site (43:8–13). But when Jerusalem was about to fall, Jeremiah bought property at Anathoth from his cousin Hanamel to point people ahead to the day when Yahweh would restore them to the land (chap. 32).

These actions, like the spoken word in all its fullness, were efficacious in bringing things to pass. Symbolic action, therefore, was a natural extension of prophetic preaching. At the same time it counted for nothing, just as the prophetic word counted for nothing, if Yahweh was not behind it. Jehoiakim's destruction of Jeremiah's scroll (chap. 36) and Hananiah's breaking the yoke bars off Jeremiah's neck (chap. 28) were symbolic acts which came to nothing.

Jeremiah was himself the fullest expression of divine prophecy when his life was perceived to be the symbol (Herder 1833: 48). His celibacy had symbolic meaning (16:1–9), just as Hosea's broken marriage and Ezekiel's loss of his wife did. Jeremiah's suffering, particularly in the days just prior to Judah's collapse, took the focus almost entirely off the prophetic word and the symbolic act and put it on the prophet himself. Jeremiah's entire being had now become the message—a dual message about a suffering nation and a suffering God in whose service the prophet steadfastly remained to the very end. Messages of such a grand scope are repeated in the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53 and in Job, but they are not seen again until we come to the NT gospels where the divine message is acted out in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

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**JEREMIAH, ADDITIONS TO.** The "Additions to Jeremiah" are those two books in the Septuagint (LXX) which have no counterpart in the canonical text of Jeremiah. These additions consist of two originally separate and independent books: (1) the book of Baruch (Bar 1:1–5:9), consisting of an introduction, prayers, and psalms; and (2) the Epistle of Jeremiah (vv 1–73 [= Baruch 6 in Jerome's Latin Vulgate]), which is a satirical and impassioned harangue against idols and idolatry. These additions are regarded by Jews and Protestants as apocryphal and by Roman Catholics as deuterocanonical.

Just as in antiquity where the book of Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah were regarded as separate books (in ancient Greek manuscripts they were usually separated from one another by the canonical book of Lamentations), here also the two additions will be treated separately.

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A. The Book of Baruch
1. The Imputed Author
2. The Major Sections
3. The Book as a Whole
4. Canonical Status
5. Ancient Versions
B. The Epistle of Jeremiah
1. Contents
2. Author
3. Purpose and Genre
4. Original Language
5. Literary Merit
6. Canonicity
7. Date
8. Place of Composition
9. Ancient Versions

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## A. The Book of Baruch

The book of Baruch, which is sometimes called 1 Baruch to distinguish it from the *Apocalypse of Baruch* in Syriac and Greek (i.e., *2* and *3 Baruch,* respectively), consists of four major sections: a prose introduction (1:1–14); a prayer of confession (1:15–3:8); a poem in praise of Wisdom (3:9–4:4); and a psalm of encouragement and hope (4:5–5:9). Because each of these sections may have had a different author and date of composition, each must be treated separately.

**1. The Imputed Author.** The secretary and confidant of the prophet Jeremiah, Baruch son of Neriah was from a very prominent Judean family, his brother Seraiah, for example, being the chief quartermaster of Judah's last king (Jer 51:59), Zedekiah (ca. 597–587 B.C.). It was Baruch who, on two separate occasions, courageously copied and delivered Jeremiah's Oracles of Destruction to King Jehoiakim and who, later on, after being accused by Azariah son of Hoshaiah of being a Babylonian sympathizer, was taken, along with Jeremiah and others, to Egypt (Jer 43:1–7). Inasmuch as the Bible does not say where, when, or how Baruch died, it is not surprising that in this matter quite conflicting traditions abound (see Moore 1977: 268–69). See also BARUCH (PERSON) #1.

This book bearing Baruch's name is best regarded as a pseudepigraphon, its ancient author(s) trying to increase the book's authority by attributing it to the eminent and long-dead scribe. Apart from Kalt (1932), virtually no 20th-century scholar has ascribed Baruchian authorship to the entire book; however, a few scholars, mostly Roman Catholics such as Stoderl (1922: 1–23), Goettsberger (1928), Heinisch (1928), and Penna (1956), have argued for Baruchian authorship of some portion of it, usually Bar 1:1–3:8 (for an extensive survey of scholarly opinion regarding the book's authorship, see Burke 1982: 18–20).

But even though the book of Baruch does indeed contain concepts and phraseology very much reminiscent of Jeremiah (esp. in Bar 1:15–3:8), as well as references to a number of historical personages and events from 597 B.C. to shortly before 539 B.C., there are certain imprecisions and errors of fact in its introduction, certain contradictory moods and attitudes between the various sections as well as certain strikingly different theological positions between them, not to mention Baruch's dependence upon such biblical and extrabiblical books as Job, Daniel, and Sirach—all of which argue against Baruchian authorship for any of the material in Baruch (for details on all these matters, see below; cf. also Burke 1982: 20–23).

As will be argued later, the actual author was probably a Palestinian Jew who, sometime during the early 2d century B.C., compiled several originally independent psalms and then wrote an introduction for them (however, Schürer *HJP²* 3/2: 734–35 would have all of 1:15–3:8 composed by one author). It was sometime after this that someone else interpolated the wisdom poem of 3:9–4:4, which Nickelsburg and Stone (1983: 216) regard as a Greek composition (but see below) dating to the 2d or 1st century B.C.

**2. The Major Sections. a. Prose Introduction (1:1–14).** The introduction, which serves as a covering letter to Baruch's message, is awkward and imprecise in both style and content (e.g., in the *fifth year* [v 2] of what? Where was the Sud River mentioned in v 4 [Bewer 1942]?). Moreover, the introduction contains serious historical inaccuracies characteristic of later biblical materials; e.g., v 7 has one Jehoiakim (Gk *Ioakim*) serving as high priest (see Myers, *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 197–98; Moore 1977: 271); v 8 has Nebuchadnezzar returning the sacred vessels he had taken from the Temple in 597 B.C. (cf. Ezra 1:7–11); and v 11 has Belshazzar rather than Nabonidus as the son of Nebuchadnezzar, an anachronism shared with the book of Daniel (Dan 5:2, 11, 18, 22); however, Stoderl (1922: 22) argues for the correctness of such an assertion.

While Baruch's advice to the Jews to be cooperative and pray for the life of Nebuchadnezzar and his son (v 11) is reminiscent of Jeremiah's advice to the exiles (Jer 27:6–8 and 29:4–7), it nonetheless stands in sharp contrast to Bar 4:15–16, 21, 25–26, 31–35, where a much more hostile attitude prevails.

That the introduction was translated from Hebrew cannot be denied. Not only are there some Hebraisms (e.g., compare the LXX's "the hand was according to each" [v 6] with the LXX of Deut 16:10, 17), but there are two mistranslations that can only be explained from the Hebrew ("prisoners" instead of "craftsmen" in v 9 [the *Hip·il* participle *masgēr* can mean either]; and "manna" instead of "cereal offerings" [Heb *minḥâ*] in v 10).

The introduction's errors and its awkwardness and imprecision in both content and style heighten for most readers its artificiality and secondary character. Nonetheless, its author was undoubtedly the compiler of most, if not all, of Baruch.

**b. Prayer of Confession (1:15–3:8).** The prayer consists of two parts: (1) a confession for the Palestinian remnant (1:15–2:5); and (2) a petition for the exiled community (2:6–3:8), expressing both their repentance (2:6–35) and their innocent suffering (3:1–8). Moore (1977: 291–94) argues for there being three separate prayers here, each with a different author (but see Goldstein 1979–80: 180, n. 3 and Nickelsburg 1981: 152, n. 24).

The central theme of the prayer for the Palestinian remnant (1:15–2:5) is well represented by vv 15, 17–18a:

> Righteousness belongs to the Lord our God, but confusion of face, as at this day, to us, the men of Judah, to the inhabitants of Jerusalem … because we have sinned before the Lord, and have disobeyed him.

The confession is strongly Jeremianic (cf., for example, "to the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem" in v 15 with Jer 4:4; 11:2, 9; 17:25; 32:32; 35:13; the list of the sinners in v 16 with those in Jer 32:32; also 1:21b with Jer 26:4–5). The prayer is also deuteronomistic (cf., for example, v 18 with Deut 4:8; 9:23; v 19 with Deut 9:7, 24; v 21 with Deut 4:30; 9:23; 28:1, 2, 15; and Bar 2:5 with Deut 28:13).

The prayer of the exiled community (2:6–3:8) is even more reminiscent of the book of Jeremiah: distinctive views and phraseology of the prophet are represented in almost every verse. In fact, some of the shared readings are peculiar to either the Hebrew or Greek text of Jeremiah (cf., for example, Bar 2:13, 19, 21, 23, 25, 32 with Jer 30:24; 36:7; 27:11–12; 7:34; 36:30; 43:11, respectively).

That the prayer was translated from Hebrew is suggested, a priori, by the simple fact that it is *a prayer*. But that surmise is confirmed by two mistranslations that can best be explained by presuming a Hebrew *Vorlage*, namely, in 2:23 the Greek translator read Heb *ḥwṣ* ("outside") instead of *ḥṣwt* ("the streets" [Tov 1975: 23, n. i]); and *mēt* ("the dead") for *mĕtê* ("men") in 3:4. In any event, the prayer is appropriate for an exilic community in Babylon, Egypt, or elsewhere.

But even more striking than parallels between the prayer and the book of Jeremiah is the close relationship between the prayer in Baruch and the one in Dan 9:4–19. The two prayers share a number of identical readings (e.g., Bar 1:15b, 21a; 2:1a, 7b, 10a, 17a and Dan 9:7b, 10a, 12a, 13b, 14 [last portion], 18b, respectively) as well as number of parallels which are closer to one another than either is to an older biblical source (e.g., Bar 1:15a, 18; 2:2, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13a, 19 are parallel to Dan 9:7a, 9c–10, 12c–13a, 13c, 14b, 10, 16b, 18, respectively).

Either one prayer is based upon the other, or both are based upon some common source such as a temple or synagogal liturgy. Most scholars, including Wambacq (1959a), Battistone (1968: 48–73), Gilbert (1972), Dancy (1972a: 171, 178–79), Tov (1976a: 27), and Goldstein (1979–80: 196–99), have argued that Baruch's prayer is based on Daniel's. Stoderl (1922) is almost alone in arguing for the reverse scenario. A handful of scholars, including Marshall (*HDB* 1: 251–54), Charles (1929: 227), Hartman and Di Lella (*Daniel* AB, 248–49), Moore (1977: 291–93), and Schürer (*HJP²* 3/2: 736) have maintained that both prayers are based upon a common source.

Those scholars defending the priority of Daniel's prayer rightly observe that Baruch's prayer is the longer (47%) and is more diffused and repetitious, and that in a number of parallel passages the reading in Daniel is closer to the older biblical source than is Baruch's (but proponents for the priority of Baruch's prayer point out other passages where Baruch's readings are closer than Daniel's). In any event, Daniel's prayer, which was probably not originally a part of the "final" form of Daniel but either an inclusion or a later interpolation (Pfeiffer 1949: 774; Moore 1974: 312–17; and Hartman and Di Lella 245–46; but see Jones 1968), is dated by most scholars to anywhere between the 4th century B.C. and ca. 164 B.C.

**c. Poem in Praise of Wisdom (3:9–4:4).** The poem differs in a variety of ways from what precedes it: it is poetry, not prose; it breathes a different spirit and has a different point of view, relying primarily on Wisdom Literature and virtually ignoring the prophetic perspective—including the book of Jeremiah. In

its contents, emphases, and spirit, the sapiential poem is incongruous with the material that precedes and follows it, the only element of commonality among them being the exilic situation.

Whereas the prayer was a mosaic of biblical passages, the poem has the decided character of a logical argument, offering: (1) a statement of the problem, i.e., "Where can Wisdom be found?" (3:9–15); (2) a presentation of the evidence, first in negative terms (3:16–31) and then in positive (3:32–36); and (3) a conclusion, namely, Wisdom is the book of the commandments of God (4:2–4). In terms of both literary form and content, the poem is modeled after Job 28:12–22, 23–27. This identification of Wisdom with the Pentateuch is also found in Sir 24:8–23, esp. v 23:

> All this [i.e., Wisdom] is the book of the covenant of the Most High God, the law which Moses commanded us as an inheritance for the congregations of Jacob.

The Wisdom of Solomon, another intertestamental book, also figures prominently in the poem (cf. Bar 3:29 with Wis 9:4a; Bar 4:4 with Wis 9:18b; and, esp. Bar 3:38 with Wis 9:10, where King Solomon prays for Wisdom, saying: "Send her forth from the holy heavens, and from the throne of thy glory send her, that she may be with me and toil, and that I may learn what is pleasing to thee").

Little is said about Wisdom in 3:9–4:4 that is not also found in the sapiential literature of the biblical and extrabiblical periods. Baruch uses various synonyms for it, each with its own distinctive nuance or emphasis: "wisdom" (Gk *sophia* = Heb *ḥokmâ*); "prudence" (Gk *phronēsis* = Heb *bînâ*); "understanding" (Gk *sunesis* = Heb *tĕbûnâ*). On occasion, each word can represent all the others (e.g., *sophia* in v 23, *phronēsis* in v 28, and *sunesis* in v 23), although *sophia* seems to be the most popular and comprehensive term.

One verse *did* occasion great controversy (for all the Church Fathers involved, see Reusch 1853), especially during and after the Arian Controversy of the 4th century A.D., when Greek and Latin fathers viewed 3:37 ("Afterward she [i.e., Wisdom] appeared upon earth and lived among men") as a prediction of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ (cf. John 1:14). Regarded by 19th-century scholars like Kneucker (1879: 310–12) and Schürer (*HJP*$^{2}$[1] 2/3) as a Christian interpolation, which it may have been, 3:37—at least in its present context—clearly refers to Wisdom (cf. the "her" of v 36 and the "she" of v 37). Such an interpretation is also supported by Sir 24:10–12 and Wis 9:10; cf. also Prov 8:1–4, 31. On the identification of Wisdom with Torah, see G. F. Moore (1927, 1: 263–70), Ringgren (1947: 114–15, 139–41), and Battistone (1968: 189–95).

Although many scholars have maintained that Greek was the original language for Bar 3:9–4:4 (and 4:5–5:9), the majority have concluded that all of Baruch was originally in Hebrew (for a survey of scholarly opinion, see Burke 1982: 23–24). Virtually alone, Marshall (*HDB* 1: 253) argued for the poem having been originally in Aramaic, but Whitehouse (*APOT* 1: 571–72) refuted his argument point for point.

Though not as incontestable or numerous as in Bar 1:1–3:8, Hebraisms in 3:9–4:4 include "beasts of the earth" (3:16), "four-footed creatures" (3:32), and others (Burke 1982: 299–301). Then, too, in 3:18 where the Greek and Latin texts mention "silversmiths," which seems totally inappropriate, the Syriac has "who acquired silver," which suggests that the Hebrew *Vorlage* had *qōnê,* which can be translated either as "worked" or "acquired."

In his retroversion of the LXX of Baruch to Biblical Hebrew, Harwell (1915: 56–58) "found" an almost invariable 3 + 3 meter for the poem. But building upon more recent advances in biblical and intertestamental research, and especially upon our new knowledge growing out of the Dead Sea Scrolls of Qumran, Burke (1982: 65–133, 316–19) has demonstrated that the meter is by no means so rigidly uniform:

> Twenty-one of thirty-one bicola are 3 + 3, and the remainder 3 + 2, 2 + 2, or 4 + 3. There are also ten tricola of which five are 3 + 3 + 3 (other patterns represented are: 2 + 2 + 3, 2 + 2 + 2, 3 + 3 + 2, and 2 + 3 + 3) (Burke 1982: 319).

While one may quarrel with this or that reconstruction of Burke, he has clearly demonstrated that Harwell was guilty of putting Baruch in a Procrustean bed, in this case, an invariable 3 + 3.

Serious efforts to retrovert the entire LXX text of Baruch into Biblical Hebrew were undertaken by Kneucker (1879) and then by Harwell (1915) while, more recently, Bar 1:3–3:8 has been done by Tov (1975; 1976) and 3:9–5:9 by Burke (1982). The Hebrew translation by Kahana (1956) represents just that, a modern translation of the LXX and not an effort to reconstruct the ancient Hebrew text.

The poem's strong affinities with concepts and phrases characteristic of such later Jewish literature as Sirach and the Wisdom of SolomonSolomon suggest as the date for its composition either the 2d or 1st century B.C., which is also a time compatible with Bar 3:10–11, where the Diaspora is depicted as being of long-standing duration. (Needless to say, Bar 3:10–11 contradicts the introduction, esp. 1:11–12, where the exile has just begun.) Where the poem was written is unknown, although a presumed Hebrew *Vorlage* argues for a Palestinian provenance. Certainly nothing in the poem's content rules that out.

**d. Psalm of Encouragement and Hope (4:5–5:9).** The psalm is a dramatic rehearsal of the past and a prediction of the future. Its message, which is addressed first to Jerusalem's exiled children (4:5–29) and then to Mother Jerusalem herself (4:30–5:9), is a mosaic of phrases and images from Deutero-Isaiah (cf. Bar 4:8, 12, 20, 24, 30, 35, 37; 5:1, 2, 5, 7 with Isa 54:1–6; 49:21; 52:1; 60:1–3 of LXX; 62:2, 4; 13:19–21; 43:5; 52:1; 60:10; 51:17 [kai 60:4]; 40:4–5a, respectively).

But even more striking is the similarity of Bar 4:36–5:9 to *Psalms of Solomon* 11, a pseudepigraphic work (dating to ca. 70–45 B.C.) not to be confused with the canonical book of Psalms (Wright, *OTP* 2: 640–41). Often regarded as a work of the Pharisees (so Ryle and James 1891; Schüpphaus 1977), the *Psalms of Solomon* has also been identified as Essene in origin by Eissfeldt (1965: 610–13) and Dupont-Sommer (1962: 296). But Wright (*OTP* 2: 641–42) wisely argues against adopting either label.

The universal God of the wisdom poem is now once more Yahweh, the personal God of Israel who is concerned for his chosen people of the covenant. Yet oddly enough, the psalm never uses Israel's personal name for God, Yahweh (Gk *ho kurios*). Rather, he is referred to as "God" (Gk *theos* [4:7, 12]), "the God" (*ho theos* [passim]), or "the Holy One" (Gk *ho hagios* [4:22, 37; 5:5]). The psalm does, however, have a new name for the Deity, one not used in 1:1–4:4, namely, "the Everlasting" (Gk *ho aiōnios* [4:10, 14, 20, 22, 24, 35; 5:2]). This curious absence of the name "Yahweh," plus the appearance of the new divine appellation, suggests that the Greek translator of the Hebrew poem preferred *ho aiōnios* as his stock poetic translation for the Tetragrammaton, *YHWH* (Burke 1982: 164–66).

That the psalm had a Hebrew *Vorlage* is more hotly contested than is the comparable claim for any other section of Baruch. Marshall (*HDB* 1: 251–54), Whitehouse (*APOT* 1: 569–95), Wambacq (1966: 575), and others have argued that it was originally composed in Greek. But most scholars, including Kneucher, Harwell, Pfeiffer, and Burke, have rightly maintained that all, or at least most (so Moore 1977: 314–16), of the psalm was originally in Hebrew. Granted, blatant Hebraisms or mistranslations presupposing a Hebrew *Vorlage* are conspicuously absent from this section (for less obvious but probable ones, see Burke 1982: 302–10), thanks to the skills of its Greek translation/revisor (see below). Building upon the work of Harwell (1915: 58–59) who reconstructed a rigidly uniform series of *Qinah*, or Lament Meter (3 + 2 bicola), Burke (1982: 135–297) retroverted a more defensible pattern for the psalm, namely:

> Of a total of forty-eight bicola, approximately a third … are 3 + 2, another third … are 2 + 2, and yet another third … are 3 + 3. The seventeen tricola reveal an even greater variety. The most common patterns are 3 + 3 + 3 (five) and 2 + 2 + 3 (four) (p. 320).

The relative "ease" with which Burke was able to reconstruct numerous semantic, syntactic, and metrical features of biblical Hebrew while still being reasonably faithful to his Greek text also argues for the existence of a Hebrew *Vorlage.*

The number of stanzas in the psalm is much debated by scholars, some arguing for seven (Thackeray 1929: 102–3; Rost 1976: 71), eight (Fitzgerald 1968: 618), or by counting instances of the Isaianic feature of an imperative plus a vocative for beginning a stanza, eleven (Burke 1982: 5).

The striking similarity between Bar 4:36–5:9 and the pseudepigraphical *Ps. Sol.* 11:3–8 cannot be coincidental inasmuch as their parallels even preserve their relative verse sequence (i.e., Bar 5:5, 7, 8 closely correspond to *Ps. Sol.* 11:3, 5, 6–7, respectively). Either Bar 4:36–5:9 is dependent upon *Psalms of Solomon* 11 (so Ryle and James 1891: lxxii–lxxvii, 100–3 and most subsequent scholars, including

Goldstein 1979–80: 191–92 and Wright, *OTP* 2: 647–48); or the reverse is true (Pesch 1955; Burke 1982: 30); or the two psalms are dependent upon an unpreserved common source, possibly a synagogal liturgy (Kneucker 1879: 43–44; Charles, *APOT* 1: 573–74 [Editor's Note]; Pfeiffer 1949: 422; Gelin 1959: 286). Schürer (*HJP²* 3/2: 736–37) finds the question of who influenced whom as unclear.

The relationship of Bar 4:36–5:9 to *Psalms of Solomon* 11 is of crucial importance for establishing not only the upper and lower dates for the composition of the psalm itself (i.e., if the psalm is based on *Psalms of Solomon* 11, then it cannot be older than the *Psalms of Solomon*) but also for the entire book, since many scholars regard Bar 4:5–5:9, along with the introduction (1:1–14), as the most recent section of the entire book.

Unfortunately, little in Bar 4:36–5:9 can be identified with a specific historical event or time. For instance, Kneucker's view that "fire from the Everlasting" (4:35) was an allusion to the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in A.D. 79, in which Pompeii was destroyed, exceeds both the evidence and credibility. And Bar 4:15–16, which ostensibly describes the Babylonians (cf. Deut 28:49–50; Jer 5:15), probably, refers to either the Romans or, more likely, the Seleucids (see below).

**3. The Book as a Whole. a. Original Language.** Apart from an ancient and puzzling allusion to the use of Baruch in synagogal services (Thackeray 1923: 107–11), there is no external evidence of the book ever having existed in Hebrew. No trace of it has been found yet at Qumran (cf. Tov 1976b: 131, n. 1), albeit the Greek version of the Epistle of Jeremiah has been found there (see below). Neither Origen (185?–?254) nor Jerome (340?–420) knew of an extant Hebrew copy.

Thus, in spite of internal evidence of a Semitic *Vorlage* in each of the four major sections of Baruch, many scholars, past and present, have maintained that at least part, and probably even half, of the book (notably 3:9–5:9) was originally composed in Greek (Schürer, *HJP²* 3/2: 735 would leave open the possibility of a Greek *Vorlage* for 3:9–5:9). Their principal rationale is that: (1) no Hebrew text is extant; (2) there are more Hebraisms in Bar 1:1–3:8 than in 3:9–5:9; and (3) there are some striking differences in translation between the two major parts (Pfeiffer 1949: 412–13).

As for the last point, since 1903 many students of Baruch have subscribed to the views of Thackeray (1903: 245–66), to wit, just as the LXX of Jeremiah had two different Greek translators (Jer *alpha*, who was responsible for translating Jeremiah 1–28; and Jer *beta*, who did Jeremiah 29–51 [Jer *gamma* rendered Jeremiah 52]), so also did Baruch. Moreover, it was Jer *beta* who also translated Bar 1:1–3:8.

Thackeray's theory inevitably raised other questions about Bar 3:9–5:9, namely: Are the pronounced differences in content and style in the two halves of Baruch just a matter of the different skills of their respective translators? Did, perhaps, the second half of Baruch not exist at the time? Or worse, maybe there never was a Semitic text to translate, i.e., maybe Bar 3:9–5:9 had originally been composed in Greek.

Recently, Tov (1976b) has challenged Thackeray's thesis, arguing that both the similarities *and* the differences in the Greek between Jeremiah 1–28 and 29–52 can best be explained by postulating that the Old Greek of Jeremiah and Baruch has survived only in Jeremiah 1–28; and that Jeremiah 29–52 and Bar 1:1–3:8 represent a *revision* (not a translation) of the Old Greek. Uncertain as to exactly why this odd mixture of texts came about (but see pp. 162–63), Tov (1975: 7; 1976b: 126) is even more uncertain whether 3:9–5:9 was composed originally in Hebrew or Greek.

Unconvinced by Tov's findings, Goldstein (1979–80: 188–89) rightly maintains that no test can be devised that can prove whether the Greek translator of Bar 1:1–3:8 was identical to the translator of Jeremiah 29–52 or, rather, skillfully imitated him. Unfortunately, Goldstein's own solution to the differences between the Greek of the two halves of Baruch (1979–80: 188–89) is less persuasive, namely:

> The Greek translator of Baruch noticed how the Hebrew author changed style and content and followed scriptural models, Jeremiah for 1:1–3:8 and Job and Isaiah for 3:9–5:9. In rendering the respective sections, the translator of Baruch then would naturally imitate the existing translations of Jeremiah or of Job and Isaiah.

In sum, while differences in style and content between the major halves of Baruch do indeed pose problems that admit no easy solution, it is probable that all (or nearly all; Moore 1977: 314–15 would omit 5:5–9) of Baruch was originally in Hebrew.

**b. Purpose.** A composite of the works of several authors, the book consists of originally independent works of uneven quality, bound together only by their having the same assumed historical background, i.e., the exile. Not only does the book have little progression or thread of argument, but several of its sections actually contradict one another (cf. 1:11–12 with 4:15, 21, 33–35; and 1:13c with 4:36–54). Evidently the book's author was not at all concerned with presenting a consistent and accurate chronicle of historical events in the modern sense of the word (after all, his Jewish readers knew full well that the expectations of Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah concerning the Ingathering of the Diaspora had not yet taken place). Rather, he was interested in edifying and interpreting past events for the present generation (Burke 1982: 3–4).

Two scholars have constructed very detailed arguments for the book's purpose. Taking as his clue the assertion in the *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* 5:20 (ca. 380) that the Jews "even now on the tenth day of the month Gorpiaeus, when they assemble together, read the Lamentations of Jeremiah … and Baruch in whom it is written, 'This is our God; no other can compare with him … appeared on earth and lived among man' " [Bar 3:3838], Thackeray (1923: 107–111) constructed an elaborate argument for Baruch's being part of the prescribed synagogal liturgy for the Jewish New Year still observed among 6th-century A.D. Jews in the area of Edessa, Turkey. (For a critical evaluation of Thackeray's argument, see Sundberg 1958: 77).

According to Goldstein (1979–80), the text of Bar 1:1–14, in spite of "minor gaps and corruptions" (pp. 180–81), reflects the situation of Judean Jews under Seleucid rule in the winter or early spring of 163 B.C. More specifically, "Nebuchadnezzar" of vv 9, 11–12 represents the infamous Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.), who sacked Jerusalem and committed the Abomination of Desolation in 167 B.C.; "Belshazzar" of vv 11–12 stand for Epiphanes' son and successor, Antiochus V (164–162 B.C.); and the high priest "Jehoiakim" of v 7 is really Alcimus. The "fifth year" alluded to in v 2 refers to the 5th year after Antiochus IV had burned and sacked Jerusalem. But now that the Temple of Jerusalem had been purified by Judas Maccabaeus, the author of Baruch was appealing to Judean Jews to acknowledge their past sins (1:15–3:8) and to accept the authority of Antiochus V (1:11–12), meanwhile obeying God's Wisdom, the Law (3:9–4:4), and trusting God in his own good time and way to judge the Seleucids and to bring about the Ingathering (4:5–5:9). Thus, the book of Baruch was propaganda for those pious Jews who were opposed to the continuing military struggles of Judas Maccabaeus.

Goldstein's hypothesis certainly has merit, for it does answer a number of questions. There are problems, however. Difficult though life may have been for Judean Jews ca. 164–163 B.C., they were *not* in exile, although the one unifying thread running throughout the book of Baruch is the exilic experience. Then, too, while the real Nebuchadnezzar (605–562 B.C.) was alive five years after the destruction of Jerusalem, Antiochus IV was not (Nickelsburg 1981: 153, n. 44).

**c. Theology of the Book.** A mosaic of older biblical passages, Baruch has virtually no new or original religious ideas. Even worse, because of its composite authorship, the book contains almost antithetical attitudes toward the Deity, the poem (3:9–4:4) emphasizing God's transcendence and omnipotence, the other sections his personal and anthropomorphic character. Then, too, there is the striking contrast between the sapiential stance of 3:9–4:4 versus the prophetic one everywhere else. Even as sympathetic a critic as Burke (1982: 33–35) is content simply to describe the book's theology without offering a single word of praise about its doctrine of God, its doctrine of sin and retribution, or its themes of devotion to the Law and hope for national salvation. The simple fact is that the book's religious ideas had already been better expressed elsewhere in the Bible.

**d. Date and Place of Composition.** The date of the book's final composition, as well as that of each of its four sections (for a survey of scholarly opinion, see Burke 1982: 26–28), is more debated by scholars than is either its authorship or original language, although the latter two items are obviously related to the former.

Dates proposed by scholars for the book's completion range from the period of the exile down until after A.D. 70, with such Baruch scholars as Kneucker, Marshall, Thackeray, and Whitehouse opting for the latest date, in part, because of the relationship between Bar 4:36–5:9 and *Psalms of Solomon* 11.

Nonetheless, the majority of experts have assigned all (or nearly all) of the book to ca. 200–60 B.C. Reasons for this include the following: the book's dependency upon such later biblical works as (Deutero-)Isaiah, Daniel (esp. chap. 9), Job, and Sirach (esp. chap. 24); the close relationship of Bar 4:36–5:9 to *Psalms of Solomon* 11; the "datelessness" of the various sections; the Diaspora is depicted as a situation of long standing (3:10); and the onetime "canonicity" of Bar 1:1–3:8 among Jews (i.e., the translator-recensionist Jer *beta* treated it as being on a par with Jeremiah 29–50). Finally, the docile and conciliatory attitude recommended toward "Nebuchadnezzar" and "Belshazzar" suggests a date between the early Maccabean period and precludes a date after A.D. 70 (for additional reasons in support of the range from 180–100 B.C., see Burke 1982: 28–32).

Albeit an argument from silence, certain "omissions" or absences in the book also argue for the same time span. For example, the concept of Sheol (2:17; 3:11, 19) has yet to be replaced by the concept of resurrection (so Charles 1910: 454, although Oesterley 1914: 499–502 viewed 2:17 as a Sadducee correction of a Pharisee interpolation!). Then, too, messianism, angelology, and eschatology, which are doctrines more common in the later apocryphal and pseudepigraphic works, are also missing.

The *terminus ad quem* for the entire book is A.D. 177, that being when Athenagoras quoted Bar 3:34 in his *Supplications for the Christians* 9. Actually, however, the probability that the translator/recensionist responsible for doing Jeremiah 29–50 also did Bar 1:11–3:8 fixes the date of the latter to that of the former, namely, ca. the 2d century B.C. (Bright, *Jeremiah* AB, cxxii–xxiv).

If the book was composed originally in Hebrew rather than in Greek or Aramaic, then neither the western nor eastern Diaspora, but Palestine was its place of composition (see Schürer *HJP²* 3/2: 735).

**e. Literary Character.** Judging the literary quality of a book known only in translation is admittedly risky. But such judgments are inevitably made. Keerl, as quoted by Gifford (1888a: 248), was perhaps too harsh:

> In comparing the contents of [Baruch's book with those of older prophets], there comes over one a feeling as if some incompetent scribbler had wished to do an exercise in the language and style of the prophets; it reminds one of the rhetorical practice of a feeble schoolboy, who composes an opusculum out of all sorts of passages.

While by no means effusive in his praise, Burke (1982: 7) was probably closer to the truth when he said of the presumed Hebrew *Vorlage* which he had tried to reconstruct:

> It is still not without its own measure of originality and skill … The poetry, while equally derivative, is nonetheless from a technical and stylistic point of view well-conceived and constructed … And, although each poem represents a genre entirely different from the other, the result is in each case a composition that is technically competent.

**4. Canonical Status.** Well-written or not, Baruch never gained canonical status among the Jews. It was not part of the Palestinian canon as fixed by the Council of Jamnia, ca. A.D. 90. (The decisions of the Pharisaic schools there were "unofficial" and only gradually did their decisions become the accepted positions throughout Judaism.) Perhaps Baruch was denied canonical status by the Jamnian Jews because they recognized its pseudepigraphic character, although some other pseudepigraphic works were ultimately accepted into the Jewish canon after long, hard debate, notably, Esther and Ecclesiastes. More likely, the Jews at Jamnia recognized Baruch's literary and theological inadequacies.

As for the Christians, apart from the so-called "Incarnation" passage (3:36–38), the book was generally ignored. Usually viewed by Church Fathers as simply an adjunct or supplement to Jeremiah rather than a separate book, Baruch was expressly mentioned as being canonical by Athanasius (295–373), Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386), Epiphanius (315–403), and Nicephorous (758?–829). For details and titles, see Schürer, *HJP²* 3/2: 740–41.

In enumerating the canonical books *by name*, none of the Latin fathers mention Baruch, but that may only mean that they thought of it as part of Jeremiah. In any case, the book ultimately found its way into

the Vulgate (see below), and at the Council of Trent in 1546 was recognized by the Roman Catholic Church as part of its deuterocanon. Meanwhile, Luther and other Protestants either relegated it, along with the rest of the Apocrypha, to a lesser place (i.e., between or after the OT and NT) or omitted it altogether.

**5. Ancient Versions. a. The LXX.** The most recent scientific text of Baruch is the one in the Göttingen Septuagint (Ziegler 1976), an eclectic Greek text based upon four uncials ($LXX^{ABQV}$; unfortunately *Sinaiticus* ends before coming to Baruch) and thirty-four minuscules, plus relevant readings from other ancient versions (see below). Ziegler's reconstructed text most resembles *Vaticanus.* A brief description in English of all the manuscripts used by Ziegler may be found in Burke 1982: 7–17.

**b. Syriac Translations.** Like other biblical and apocryphal books, Baruch is extant in two Syriac translations: the Syriac Version (or Peshitta) and the Syro-Hexaplar, the latter being a Syriac translation of the fifth column of Origen's Hexaplar made by Paul of Tella in A.D. 616–17. See HEXAPLA OF ORIGEN; SYRO-HEXAPLA; VERSIONS, ANCIENT (SYRIAC).

Whether the Syriac version of Baruch is to be identified with the Peshitta (i.e., a 1st-century Syriac version ordinarily based upon the Hebrew Bible) has been much debated by scholars. Kneucker (1879: 163–73) and Harwell (1915: 10–28), for instance, maintained that the Syriac Baruch was based upon the Greek while Whitehouse (*APOT* 1: 577–79), Pfeiffer (1949: 423), and Burke (1982: 12–14) argued for a Semitic text, albeit one "corrected" by the Greek. In his reconstruction of Baruch, Burke (1982: 13–14, 308–10) depends upon a number of Syriac passages that depart from the LXX tradition and reflect a Hebrew *Vorlage.*

**c. Latin Translations.** Even though scholars have much debated the origins and relative merits of the Old Latin texts/versions of Baruch, there is little doubt that the *Vetus Latina* (the Old Latin) and the Vulgate are both based upon the Greek (so Harwell 1915: 29–51; Ziegler 1957: 20; and Burke 1982: 14–15). Jerome did not even bother to make a fresh translation of Baruch. In fact, *Amiatinus,* the oldest known manuscript of the Vulgate, contains neither Baruch nor the Epistle of Jeremiah. The most recent scientific edition of the Latin is by Weber (1969).

**d. Other Ancient Versions.** The other ancient versions of Baruch are all based upon the Greek. According to Ziegler (1957: 41–93), the Coptic and the Ethiopic most resemble $LXX^{BS}$, while the Arabic is more like $LXX^{A}$; and the Armenian is part of the Hexaplaric family. Because all of these versions are based upon texts which are either very late, mixed, fragmentary, or unscientific, their readings must be used with great care.

**B. The Epistle of Jeremiah**

The title is totally misleading, for this short book of seventy-three verses is neither a letter nor was it written by the prophet Jeremiah. On these two points virtually all modern scholars agree. The "epistle" is actually a satire, or harangue, against idols and idolatry. Apart from its "salutation" in vv 2–7, it has none of the features of a letter, not even a closing. (English translations frequently differ in their versification, depending on whether or not they include the superscription.)

**1. Contents.** The book consists of ten strophes, or stanzas, of unequal length, each one (with the exception of the first and the last) ending with a slight variation of essentially the same refrain, namely:

Therefore they evidently are not gods; so do not fear them (v 16).

There is no perceptible progression of thought or argument in the poem, all of which creates for the reader the impression of "sameness," along with its lamentable corollary, boredom.

**2. Author.** To be sure, a number of phrases and images in the epistle do bear a strong resemblance to certain ones in the book of Jeremiah, notably, Jer 10:2–15. Moreover, since the prophet Jeremiah did, in fact, write at least one letter to the Jewish exiles once they were in Babylon (cf. Jer 29:1–23), there is no reason why he could not have written one *before* they left (cf. v 1).

But in its ideas, imagery, and phraseology the epistle depends primarily upon biblical passages which originated long after the prophet Jeremiah, namely, Isa 44:9–20, 46:5–7; Pss 115:3–8; 135:6–7, 15–17; and Deut 4:27–28. Then, too, in terms of literary quality, as well as religious depth and sensitivity, the epistle is, by common consent, decidedly inferior to genuine Jeremianic materials.

**3. Purpose and Genre.** Ostensibly the epistle was designed to prevent Jews from worshiping false gods in Babylon and, by implication, anywhere else as well (cf. vv 29–30, where the idea of priestesses is especially abhorrent). Pfeiffer's suggestion (1949: 432) that it was also written to reassure Gentiles that Jews were not a godless or god–despising people seems unlikely, even though later on Jews would be so accused by such anti-Semitic writers as Posidonius (130?–50 B.C.) and Apollonius Molon (fl. ca. 70 B.C.).

Given the predominance of Babylonian elements (e.g., the mention of the god Bel [i.e., Marduk] in v 41; the rite of sacred prostitution in v 43; the care and feeding of the idols in vv 11–13, 26–29, 33, 58, 72), the epistle may have been a veiled attack on a Tammuz-type cult (cf. v 32) such as flourished in Jeremiah's day (cf. Ezek 8:14), and presumably, later as well. Used as a *Haftorah* (i.e., a prescribed synagogal reading from the prophets) for the Jewish fast on the 17th of Tammuz (Thackeray 1927: 57–60), the epistle may also have been part of a synagogal pericope for the 9th of Ab and following (Thackeray 1923: 107–11).

In all likelihood, the epistle was inspired by one of the more puzzling phenomena in the book of Jeremiah, namely, its sole Aramaic verse:

> Thus shall you say to them: "The gods who did not make the heavens and the earth shall perish from the earth and from under the heavens" (Jer 10:11).

This Aramaic verse, supported and illuminated by the Hebrew of Jer 10:2–15, inspired the author of the epistle to expand upon it (so Torrey 1945: 64–65). In sum, the epistle is best understood for what it obviously is: an idol parody (on this particular literary genre, see Roth 1975).

**4. Original Language.** A comparison of the Greek texts of the epistle and the relevant OT passages shows that the author of the epistle was primarily dependent upon the Hebrew Bible rather than upon its Greek translation. For example, v 70 says that idols are "like a scarecrow in a cucumber bed," which is clearly based on Jer 10:5 ("Their idols are like scarecrows in a cucumber field"), a clause not found in the LXX of Jeremiah.

A Hebrew *Vorlage* best explains three egregious mistranslations in the epistle. As Ball long ago noted (*APOT* 1: 601), "food" in v 12 (i.e., idols "cannot save themselves from rust and food") makes no sense; obviously the unpointed Hebrew *Vorlage* had *mʾkl,* which can mean either "food" (so Gen 6:21) or "moth/devourer" (Mal 3:11; Job 13:28). Verse 27 says that "purple and marble rot" upon the idols, which also makes no sense. Obviously the translator had before him the Hebrew word, *šēš,* which can be translated as either "marble" (Esth 1:6; Cant 5:15) or "fine linen" (Exod 25:4): the Greek translator simply chose the wrong meaning. Verse 54 ("for [the idols] have no power; they are like crows between heaven and earth") probably represents a misreading of the Hebrew, inasmuch as the wily crow is anything but helpless. Thus, Ball (APOT 1: 607), taking his clue from the Syriac's "ravens," suggested that the Greek translator erroneously read the Heb *kʿbym* ("like the clouds") as *kʿrbym,* "like the ravens."

That the epistle had an Aramaic *Vorlage* was argued by Torrey (1945: 64–65), who viewed the book as inspired by Jer 10:11, which is in Aramaic. (Jer 10:11 did later inspire the translator of the Targum on Jeremiah to add an Aramaic epistle to it [Thackeray 1927: 591]). Torrey (1945: 66) saw indisputable proof that the epistle was composed in Aramaic by the fact that Aram *ʿl ʾgrʾ* can be read either as "on the roof" (so v 11 of the KJV ["and even give some of it to the harlots on the roof"]) or "for hire." Torrey may be correct, although this was the only "Aramaic" reading he offered in support of his thesis); but the epistle's "on the roof" certainly makes good sense (cf. Herodotus, *Hist.* 1: 181), especially since the Greek word here, *stegos,* means "brothel" in late Greek (LSG, 1636).

**5. Literary Merit.** Unfortunately, the epistle's literary merit must be judged only on the basis of its Greek translation which, as we have already seen, contains some egregiously bad translation errors. In its general structure, the epistle is not unlike Psalms 42–43 and 107, with their recurring refrains and strophes of varying lengths. Evidently the ordering principle of the epistle's stanzas is that of catchwords (e.g., women in 27/29; deceit 44/47; king 51/53; to deliver 54/57; reproach 72/73) and "catchthoughts" (e.g., to blacken/to wipe off 21/24; blind/dumb 37/41; to do good/to bless 64/66 [Roth 1975:40]). The most persistent argument in the book is a negative one, i.e., what the gods cannot do (Nickelsburg 1981: 36–37).

Apart from a not infrequent uncertainty as to the antecedents of its pronouns, the text is intelligible enough; but its images, analogies, and comparison are rarely new and never memorable. After the first three or four stanzas there is no further development or progression of thought; rather, the same old observations and arguments are rehashed. Nickelsburg (1981: 36) offered a left-handed compliment when he wrote:

> The uniqueness of the Epistle of Jeremiah lies not in the types of arguments presented … but in the presistence with which the author pursues his point by means of repetition and rhetorical devices which make that point in a variety of ways.

Dancy (1972b: 199) was perhaps more charitable than accurate when he said:

> But it does not follow that the Letter is haphazard in composition. There is visible in most of it a continuous thread, but it is a thread of images, not of arguments … But this Letter is not so much an argument as a satire, and satire has always relied less on logical structure than on vivid reporting.

Both form and substance contribute to a book's literary stature, and sometimes a weakness in one can be compensated by the greater strength of the other. But in the case of the epistle, both form and substance are lacking. Torrey (1945: 65) may have been a bit harsh when he wrote: "it is a formless composition, rambling and repetitious," but the simple fact is that the epistle was little appreciated by the early church, or at least, it was rarely alluded to by the Church Fathers.

**6. Canonicity.** Though not a part of the Jewish canon as established by the Council of Jamnia (ca. A.D. 90), the epistle was read earlier by the Dead Sea Community at Qumran; for a tiny fragment of it, consisting of twenty-two Greek letters of v 44, was found there in Cave VII (Baillet, Milik, and de Vaux 1962: 27–30, 43; pl. 13). Its reading appears to agree with that of the $LXX^{L}$ and Syriac, namely, "consider them to be gods or call them gods." More importantly, it attests to the epistle's existence in the 1st century B.C.

Among early Christians, the book was rarely alluded to, although it was used by Aristides of Athens (fl. ca. 130) and was quoted by Tertullian (160?–220), Cyprian of Carthage (d. 258), and Firmicus Maternus (4th cent.). Its canonicity was expressly affirmed by such Eastern fathers as Origen (135?–?254), Athanasius (295–373), Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386), and Epiphanius (315–403), as well as by the Laodicene Canons (343–381). For details, see Moore 1977: 324–25.

As for Western fathers, while only Hilary (315–367) expressly said the epistle was canonical, other fathers certainly treated it as such, notably, Irenaeus of Lyons (140–?202). So far as we know, Jerome (340?–420) was the first to question the book's canonicity by name, calling it a pseudepigraphon (preface to his *Commentary on Jeremiah*). Jerome, of course, regarded as noncanonical every LXX book which had no parallel in the then-current Hebrew canon.

**7. Date.** The original version of the epistle must date to sometime between 540 B.C. (i.e., the earliest date for such Deutero-Isaianic passages as Isa 44:9–20 and 46:5–7) and the 1st century B.C., when 2 Macc 2:1–2, 4 alludes to it (see Marshall, *HDB* 2: 579; Goldstein, *1 Maccabees* AB, 36; Schürer, *HJP²* 3/2: 744) and a Greek copy of it dating to that same time existed at Qumran. Albeit an argument from silence, the epistle's failure to utilize the very effective satire and invective against idolatry in Wis 13:10–15:17 suggests that the aforementioned probably antedated the latter.

But even a date in the first third of the 2d century B.C. (which is the period most frequently suggested by scholars) is probably too late; otherwise, how can we explain v 3, where the author of the book predicts that the exiles in Babylon will remain there "up to seven generations" (i.e., ca. 317 B.C. [Moore 1977: 334–35]), after which God will bring them back in peace? Why would the author have given this "future" date if he was already writing at a time long after the predicted events should have occurred *and had not?* (But see *HJP²* 3/2: 744.) Moreover, nothing in the epistle precludes a date as early as the end of the 4th century B.C., a time when its message was especially relevant to the needs of both the eastern and western Diaspora, as well as Palestine itself, where the Hellenization process was making inroads into Judaism.

**8. Place of Composition.** Confusing the evidence for where the epistle was translated with where it was originally composed, 19th-century scholars like Fritzsche, Schürer (*HJP¹* 2/3), and Marshall claimed an Egyptian provenance for it. But apart from a very cryptic mention of cats in v 22 (Lee 1968), there is no

distinctive Egyptian religious element or practice mentioned in the epistle, not even animal worship, which had becomme so commonplace by the Ptolemaic period (323–30 B.C.). Nor is there any reference to specifically Greek rituals (Dancy 1972b: 198).

On the one hand, virtually everything the epistle says about idols, their priesthood, and their cult is completely compatible with Mesopotamian religion, in general, and with Babylonian in particular (Nauman 1913: 3–31). On the other hand, quintessential Babylonian practices such as divination, astrology, and extispicy go unmentioned, all of which suggests that the author of the epistle was criticizing Mesopotamian religion and its gods *from afar* (but see Artom 1935, who would place its composition in Babylonia ca. 400 B.C.). In sum, there is no reason to reject the claim of v 1 (i.e., that the epistle had a Palestinian provenance), although admittedly much later than the 597 B.C. implied in vv 1–2 (Moore 1977: 334).

**9. Ancient Versions.** Marshall's statement that "The slightly inflated style of the epistle is thoroughly Alexandrian. The fondness for assonance and for long compound words …" (*HDB* 1: 579) is an accurate yet too glowing a characterization. Rightly maintaining that neither the epistle's style nor logic would have appealed to members of the Alexandrine school of Egypt, Nauman (1913: 31–44, 49) has nonetheless established the epistle's *koine* character. A distinction must be made here between the now-lost Hebrew original and its extant Greek translation, the latter rightly characterized by Ball (*APOT* 1: 597) as "a piece so formless, so confused, so utterly destitute of the graces of style."

An excellent scientific edition of the text has been published by Ziegler (1976) in the Göttingen Septuagint, using 134 printed lines for his eclectic text (which is essentially $LXX^{B}$) and 352 lines for his *apparatus criticus,* where the readings of the various families of Greek manuscripts and the relevant variants of the ancient versions are presented.

The Old Latin, Vulgate, and Syro-Hexaplar are all very literal translations of the LXX, an additional phrase or clause being exceedingly rare (but see v 49 of the OL and Syr; v 52 of the Vg; and v 53 of the Syr). Omissions are also infrequent. The Arabic version is also quite faithful to the LXX, especially to *Alexandrinus.* Only the Syriac is somewhat free, being a bit more expansive and sometimes unintelligible.

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CAREY A. MOORE

**JEREMIAH, BOOK OF.** The book of Jeremiah contains the legacy (Heb *dibrê* in 1:1 and 51:64 covers both "words" and "acts") of Jeremiah the prophet. The earliest record contained is of Jeremiah's boyhood call to be a prophet in the 13th year of King Josiah, i.e., 627 B.C. Jeremiah is last heard from in Egypt following the destruction of Jerusalem, i.e., sometime after 586 B.C. The collection of prophetic utterances, personal dialogues, autobiographical reports, and liturgical compositions, supplemented by a rich corpus of biographical and sermonic material written in another hand, combine to give us the most

complete profile of any Hebrew prophet, also one of the best portraits of any known figure out of the ancient world. See JEREMIAH (PROPHET).

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**A. Canon**

Jeremiah is the largest of the three so-called Major Prophets in the Hebrew Scriptures. In our present canon the book is placed second—after Isaiah and before Ezekiel. The Talmud, however, preserves an older (pre-Masoretic) order in which Jeremiah is first immediately following Kings (*B. Bat.* 14b–15a). In the Talmud, notice is made of the duplicate accounts at the end of Kings and Jeremiah, and it assumes that both books derive from the same author, who is Jeremiah the prophet.

**B. MT and LXX**

The book has survived in two main versions from antiquity: the Hebrew Masoretic Text (MT) and the older Greek Septuagint (LXX). The two differ widely, more so than with any other Old Testament book. The Greek is one-eighth shorter than the Hebrew and after 25:13a the order of materials differs.

Because of the uncommonly large number of divergencies there has been considerable discussion over the years with regard to the transmission of the text, the basis of the Greek translation, and the question of which text is earlier and/or superior. This discussion has only intensified with the discovery of three partial Jeremiah manuscripts among the Dead Sea Scrolls of Cave 4. One is a short text and two are long. The long 4Q Jer$^{a}$ is dated ca. 200 B.C. and is proto-Masoretic. The short 4Q Jer$^{b}$ is dated in the 2d century B.C. and closely resembles the LXX, which, along with its *Vorlage* cannot be much older. (The LXX translation of the Prophets was done sometime between 250 and 150 B.C.; see SEPTUAGINT). The other long 4Q Jer$^{c}$ is no earlier than the 1st century B.C. (Cross).

The existence of a short Hebrew text of Jeremiah in the 2d century B.C. has given rise to the theory—now widely held—that the LXX translator or translators did not produce an abridgement but rather translated a Hebrew text of comparable length localized in Egypt where the translation was made. This Hebrew text is believed to have survived in comparative isolation from the proto-Masoretic text which originated in Babylon (Cross 1964). The high incidence of haplography in the Egyptian text results from an inactive history of transmission during which time omissions went undetected and uncorrected (Janzen 1967: 446–47). The proto-Masoretic text had a more active history of transmission and is therefore more developed, i.e., it contains more glosses and expansions. So on the whole it is more appropriate to speak about "additions" in the MT than about "omissions" in the LXX, even though, of course, important exceptions to the general rule do exist. One can be found in chap. 29 (LXX 36) where a rhetorical

structure in the larger of two letters to the exiles argues for the originality of vv 16–20, which the LXX lacks (Lundbom 1975: 104–5).

Some MT additions are merely single words or phrases which provide embellishment but do not materially affect the sense, e.g., "thus says Yahweh" or "saith Yahweh"; "the prophet" attached to "Jeremiah" or "Hananiah" (28:5, 6, 10 [LXX 35:5, 6, 10]; etc.); "Nebuchadrezzar" (alt. "Nebuchadnezzar") where the LXX either does not mention the king or has only "King of Babylon" (21:2, 7; 22:25; 27:8, 20 [LXX 34:8, 20]; etc.); "Yahweh God of Israel" or "Yahweh of Hosts" where the LXX has only "Yahweh." Again there are exceptions, e.g., the LXX does name "Nebuchadnezzar" (24:1; 34:6 [MT 27:6]).

Certain additions in the MT do alter the message. In chap. 11, with its (exilic) addition of vv 7–8a,, the passage says that because previous generations were disobedient, Yahweh had no choice but to bring upon them the "words" (i.e., "curses") of the Deuteronomic covenant. In the LXX, where vv 7–8a are lacking, the passage says simply that the people did not heed Jeremiah's call for covenant obedience.

There are also passages which in the MT are duplicated but in the LXX are not, e.g., 6:13–15 = 8:10b–12 (Gk adds 8:10b–12); 30:10–11 = 46:27–28 (Gk adds the former in 37:10–11). Yet in some instances both duplicate in the same contexts: 10:12–16 = 51:15–19 [LXX 28:15–19]; 23:19–20 = 30:23–24 [LXX 37:23–24 with variations].

Occasionally one will find minor additions in the LXX, e.g., 2:28; 3:18; 9:13 [MT 9:14]; etc. Of a more substantive nature is the introduction of the term *pseudoprophētēs,* "false prophet," into the LXX, where it occurs a total of nine times (6:13; 33:7, 6, 11, 16 [MT 26:7, 8, 11, 16]; 34:9 [MT 27:9]; 35:1 [MT 28:1]; 36:1, 8 [MT 29:1, 8]). This term never appears in the MT.

Other variant LXX readings can be found in 10:5–10, where the shorter text with a different verse order is corroborated by 4Q Jer$^{b}$; and in 45:9 where Ebed-melech faults King Zedekiah for leaving Jeremiah to die in the cistern, not "other men" as the MT has it (38:9).

The divergence after 25:13a results from different placements of the Oracles to Foreign Nations. In the Greek these come immediately after the words, "all that is written in this book" (13a), and fill up chaps. 25:14–31:44. This is roughly the center of the book. The location here has long been thought to be the earlier of the two (Eichhorn 1790: 120; deWette 1858). In the MT the foreign nation oracles are relocated to the end of the book, where they appear in chaps. 46–51. The original subscription to the collection remains in 25:13b [LXX 32:13]. The MT adds v 14 (not in the LXX), which makes a bridge to what follows. But it should be noted that the MT keeps the rest of the book intact. Baruch's expanded colophon—which closes the LXX book at 51:31–35 is chap. 45.

The foreign nation oracles are also in different sequences in the MT and LXX. The sequence in the LXX is Elam, Egypt, Babylon, Philistines, Edom, Ammon, Kedar, Damascus, and Moab. There is no apparent significance to this arrangement, except that Babylon is roughly in the center. The MT sequence is Egypt, Philistines, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar, Elam, and Babylon. Here we have geographical movement westward, beginning with Egypt and ending with Babylon. Babylon also occupies the climactic position at the end. Whether Babylon's position near the center in the LXX sequence is also meant to be climactic, one cannot say for certain.

The correspondence between the chaps. of the MT and those of the LXX are indicated in Table 1.

Table 1: Chapter Sequences of the Book of Jeremiah in the MT and LXX

| MT | LXX |
|---|---|
| 1–25:13a | 1–25:13a |
| 25:13b–38 | 32:13b–38* |
| 26 | 33 |
| 27 | 34* |
| 28 | 35 |

| | |
|---|---|
| 29 | 36* |
| 30 | 37* |
| 31 | 38 |
| 32 | 39 |
| 33 | 40* |
| 34 | 41 |
| 35 | 42 |
| 36 | 43 |
| 37 | 44 |
| 38 | 45 |
| 39 | 46* |
| 40 | 47 |
| 41 | 48 |
| 42 | 49 |
| 43 | 50 |
| 44 | 51:1–30 |
| 45 | 51:31–35 |
| 46:1–26 Egypt | 26:2–25 |
| 46:27–28 | 26:27–28 |
| 47 Philistines | 29 |
| 48 Moab | 31* |
| 49:1–6 Ammon | 30:17–21/22 |
| 49:7–22 Edom | 30:1–16 |
| 49:23–27 Damascus | 30:29–33 |
| 49:28–33 Kedar | 30:23–28 |
| 49:34–39 Elam | 25:14–20** |
| 50–51 Babylon | 27–28** |
| 52 | 52* |
| *vv lacking | **var. in order |

The LXX translation of Jeremiah in its present state is not a unified piece. It has been observed, for example, that the same Hebrew words have different Greek equivalents in chaps. 1–28 and 29–51 (following the LXX numeration). This points to two different translators, and a third, perhaps, for chap. 52 (Thackeray 1902–3). The same data, however, have been used more recently to support a theory of one translator and a later reviser (Tov 1976; *IDBSup,* 807–11).

The quality and specific character of the LXX translation are variously assessed. S. R. Driver (1889: 333–36) concluded from a study of chaps. 2 and 7 that the translators rendered the Hebrew freely because they misread or misunderstood it. Therefore he took the LXX readings to be inferior to the Hebrew and judged the variations not to be recensional in character. Henry P. Smith (1887: 199) came to an opposite conclusion. He judged the LXX to be the superior text, and his sentiments have been echoed more recently by Cross and Janzen. Everyone, of course, recognizes that one's overall judgment must admit qualification when specific passages are analyzed. In poetry, for example, the LXX paraphrases when the Hebrew has a difficult expression, an archaic word form, or a syntactic structure that is not understood (8:18a; 9:2a—Eng 9:3a). But on the whole the LXX translation of Jeremiah is less "free"than, say, Job or

Isaiah. Tov (1979: 75) believes the Jeremiah translator (he reckons only one) was generally faithful to his Hebrew *Vorlage,* and so far as the prose sections are concerned, his translation may even be considered literal.

The Greek contains scribal errors of the same sort as those found in the Hebrew text, e.g., homoioteleuton (34:5 [MT 27:5]; 46:4–13 [MT 39:4–13]) and homoioarcton (28:44b–49a [MT 51:44b–49a]). But in some cases it exposes MT errors, e.g., a wrong division of consonants in 23:33 (LXX presupposes *ʾtm hmś* instead of MT's *ʾt mh mś*). Here the LXX is supported by the Vulgate, and a reconstructed Hebrew reading was proposed already by J. D. Michaelis (1793: 200).

The LXX translates literally the Hebrew terms for God; it does not avoid anthropomorphisms as might be expected (Zlotowitz 1981: 183).

The relationship between the MT and the LXX is complex; therefore in textual criticism one must be cautious not to overgeneralize the tendentious qualities of each version.

**C. Qumran Scrolls**

Portions of at least four Jeremiah scrolls were among the finds in Caves 2 and 4 at Khirbet Qumran. In Cave 2 was one scroll (2QJer) consisting of fragments from chapters 42–44, 46–49 (Baillet 1962). These fragments consisted of 42:7–11, 14; 43:8–11; 44:1–3, 12–14; 46:27–47:7; 48:7, 25–39, 43–45; and 49:10 (?). On the basis of orthnography, 2QJer is dated from "about the beginning of the Christian era, … from the last period of the occupation of the Qumran community" (Baillet 1962: 62). In the judgment of Tov this scroll was likely "copied by the Qumran covenanters, probably in Qumran itself" (Tov fc.a.). The scroll contains a number of small deviations from the MT, but it follows the MT order (where the foreign nation oracles come at the end of the book) and is judged on the whole to reflect the textual tradition of the MT.

The other Jeremiah scrolls come from Cave 4. 4QJer$^{a}$ is among the earliest of all the Qumran scrolls, dated on the basis of its orthography from 225–175 B.C., or roughly 200 B.C. (Cross *QBHT* 168, 202, 308; Freedman and Mathews 1985: 55). It is proto-Masoretic. 4QJer$^{a}$ first appeared in Janzen's 1963 Harvard dissertation on the text of Jeremiah, the results of which were published four years later (Janzen 1967). In 1973 most but not all of the fragments were published (without photos) when Janzen's dissertation was published (Janzen 1973: 173–181). The entire 4QJer$^{a}$ with photos is being prepared for publication by E. Tov. The fragments consist of 7:1–2, 15–19; 7:28–9:2 (>7:30–8:8); 9:7–15; 10:9–23; 11:3–20; 12:3–16; 12:17–13:7; 13:27–14:8; 15:1–2; 17:8–26; 18:15–19:1; 20:15–18; 22:3–16; and 26:10. Remnants of 15 columns have been preserved. The complete scroll is estimated at 54–58 columns where the average width of each column is 13.34 cm. The whole scroll would therefore have measured more than 8 m in length, longer than the great Isaiah scroll which was 7.3 meters. This scroll has an inordinate number of corrections, most all of which are in the direction of the MT. Corrections in some instances are made by supralinear additions; in other instances erasures have been made with a sharp instrument; in one case cancellation dots are used (Tov f.c.a.).

A partial scroll designated 4QJer$^{b}$ was also published without photos by Janzen (1973: 181–84). Cross (*QBHT* 308 and personal communication) dates this scroll in the mid-2d century B.C. It consists of three fragments: 9:22–10:18; 43:3–9; and 50:4–6. Of great importance are the fragments 9:22–10:18 and 43:3–9, which compare closely to the LXX. In 9:22–10:18 the short LXX text and LXX verse order are reflected. These fragments with photos will be published by Tov (f.c.c.). Tov does not believe, however, that the three fragments come from a single scroll but are rather from three separate scrolls. He therefore assigns different designations. The fragment 9:22–10:18 (Tov 9:21–10:22?) continues to have the designation 4QJer$^{b}$, while the fragment 43:3–9 (Tov 43:2–10) becomes 4QJer$^{d}$, and 50:4–6 becomes 4QJer$^{e}$.

The final scroll from Cave 4, 4QJer$^{c}$, is another long proto-Masoretic text in early Herodian script which dates from 30–1 B.C. (*QBHT* 308 and personal communication). The editio princeps will be published by Tov. From what originally was 25 columns of 18 lines per column the following fragments survive: 4:5, 13–16; 8:1–3; 8:20–9:5; 10:12–13; 19:8–9; 20:2–5, 7–8, 14–15; 21:6–10; 22:4–6, 10–28; 25:7–8, 15–17, 24–26; 26:10–13; 27:1–3, 14–15; 30:6–31:14; 31:16–26; 33:16–20. The writing on this scroll is less

economical than on 4QJer[a], i.e., the margins are larger and the space between the lines is greater, which adds up to an estimated length for this scroll of twice the length of [4QJera].

The Qumran scrolls contain two types of paragraph divisions, open sections and closed ones. The sections in 4QJer[a] conform closely to Codex L; 4QJer[c] has more paragraph divisions than Codex L and also open sections where Codex L has closed sections (Tov f.c.a.).

**D. Poetry and Prose**

The book of Jeremiah contains a significant amount of poetry, that discovery having been made by Robert Lowth, who, in 1753, published his famous *Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews* (1815). Poetry was found also in other prophetic books (Lecture 18), and its dominant characteristic was said to be "parallelism" (Lecture 19). Lowth found poetry at the beginning and at the end of Jeremiah, and he judged the book to be about evenly divided between poetry and prose. The poetic sections were first delineated in Benjamin Blayney's Jeremiah commentary of 1784.

Poetry and prose were distinguished as separate sources by critics of the 19th and early 20th centuries, but no one contrasted the two forms of discourse as sharply as Bernhard Duhm in his commentary of 1901 (*Jeremia* KAC). Duhm believed that the poetry put us in direct contact with the prophet's *ipsissima verba*; however, because of a radical appropriation of the metrical theories of Julius Ley, Duhm concluded that Jeremiah wrote only in pentameter (or *kinah*) verse, which was the elegaic 3:2. This amounted to 280 verses of Masoretic text. Of the two prose sources in the book, one was Baruch's life of Jeremiah, which consisted of 220 verses, and the other derived from postexilic Deuteronomistic redactors, whose contribution totaled a grand 850 verses. This gradually emerging three-source theory adopted by Duhm reached classical formulation in the work of Mowinckel (1914). Source A was poetry which preserved the *ipsissima verba* of Jeremiah. Source B was biographical prose written by an admirer of the prophet. Mowinckel later (1946: 61–62) identified this admirer as Baruch. Source C was sermonic prose similar to that which is found in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History.

The strongest argument for two separate prose sources came from the double account of the Temple Sermon: chap. 26 was in biographical prose and chap. 7 in sermonic prose. Today, however, there is little inclination to distinguish between B and C prose. The stereotyped phrases characterizing C are found just as often in the speeches of B (Holladay 1960: 354). Also, the great bulk of C material, which includes the call passage in chap. 1, the Temple Sermon in chap. 7, and the New Covenant passage in chap. 31, is no longer believed by many scholars to be a retrojection of postexilic theology, but considered rather as a genuine reflection of Jeremiah's own preaching (Robinson 1924; Bright 1951; *Jeremiah* AB; Weippert 1973). In fact, the diction of C contains many striking affinities to the Jeremianic poetry (Bright 1951: 21; Holladay 1960; *Jeremiah* Hermenia). According to this view there is exilic prose in the book, but it is a relatively small amount which in most cases develops themes from Jeremiah's earliest preaching. Not all share this view, however. Some still believe that there is a considerable amount of exilic or postexilic prose in the book which comes from the hands of Deuteronomistic redactors (Thiel 1973; 1981; McKane *Jeremiah* vol. 1 ICC; Carroll 1981; *Jeremiah* OTL).

Holladay's work on poetic style and structure (1962; 1966a) enhances the earlier estimates of those who said that this discourse represents an advanced state of the art. One finds in the Jeremianic poetry an assortment of balancing techniques other than the common types of parallelism, varied rhythms of crescendo and diminution, wordplays on both sound and meaning, and a generous quantity of irony. Holladay also finds poetry hidden beneath some of the prose (1966b). While the book does appear to contain some poetry from other prophets or which is of unknown provenance, the vast majority is *sui generis* and a legacy of the Jeremianic preaching. Its diction shows influence from the poetry of Hosea, the Song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32), and certain psalms (e.g., 22; 31; 35; 69; 79). Though most scholars today do not credit the Lamentations to Jeremiah, one will find also in this poetry vocabulary and phraseology similar to that found in the Jeremianic poetry.

It was in Kittel's 1906 edition of *Biblia Hebraica* that the MT first appeared with poetry printed as poetry. Kittel himself edited the text of Jeremiah and is largely responsible for the way the poetry is read today. The larger reading public was first presented with Jeremiah's poetry—along with all the rest of the

Old Testament poetry—when the complete RSV was published in 1952. Virtually all subsequent translations have translated poetry as poetry. They have also printed it as such. This has provided great assistance in the early work of delimiting Jeremiah's literary units, for in this book poetry and prose are interspersed. Some scholars have recently challenged the basis for making a prose-poetry distinction, one calling the idea of poetry a "Hellenistic imposition" on the Hebrew text (Kugel 1981: 85). But this is wide of the mark. Prose, of course, also has balance, rhythm, and distinct structural features—including parallelism—which suggests, at the very least, a common rhetorical base for poetry and prose. But poetic discourse in Jeremiah—and in the rest of the Old Testament—is well established, and further refinements of prose discourse will not alter that fact. The assumption that the book of Jeremiah contains an early substratum of poetry has been made by all critical methodologies of the past two centuries.

**E. Literary Forms**

Ancient discourse gives indications of having assumed conventionalized dress in the same way modern discourse does; in fact, some have maintained that ancient discourse is more conventionalized (Norden; Gunkel; see FORM CRITICISM [OT]. Yet when the Jeremiah material is compared to known literary genres of antiquity—both within the Bible and without—no "pure" genres emerge. Prose and poetry take a variety of forms, and although the forms in Jeremiah in some instances resemble forms appearing elsewhere, structures and stylistic features in both discourses owe their origin not to fixed genres but to canons established in ancient Hebrew rhetoric. Except for exilic and postexilic accretions, poetry and prose both bear the stamp of a particular rhetorical school, one existing most likely in Jerusalem during the 8th–6th centuries B.C. Speech forms have their own distinct character, and for this reason they do a better job of defining themselves than by having external genre criteria applied to them.

Divine oracles in the poetry may consist of a single verse (6:21; 14:10), but more commonly one finds speeches and reflective utterances of greater length which address Yahweh, kings, prophets, priests, the general population, and foreign nations of the world. The bulk of the speeches are those of a divine messenger who has been sent to announce Yahweh's judgment upon Judah. Some adopt legal language from the courtroom (2:5–9, 10–13), some are a watchman's warning of the approaching "foe from the north" (4:5–8), and some simply give vent to the divine and human pathos which disaster evokes (4:29–31; 15:5–9). But there are also speeches announcing a future salvation for Yahweh's people, including a return to Zion (chaps. 30–31). Speeches employ dialogue and trialogue with Yahweh, Jeremiah, the people, and even the enemy speaking in turn (4:19–22; 5:1–8; 6:1–7; 8:18–21). Now and then Jeremiah carries on a conversation with himself (4:19; 5:4–5). One speech is a devastating vision of cosmic destruction (4:23–26).

A significant amount of poetry in the book resembles the Psalms. Those passages of a more personal nature have been called Jeremiah's "confessions." These are individual laments, basically (Baumgartner 1987), some of which include a corrective answer from Yahweh (e.g., 15:15–21) or a joyful song of deliverance (e.g., 20:7–13). The brief personal lament in 10:23–25 requests divine correction. Whether these laments—which are unique in the prophetic corpus—found expression in public worship during Jeremiah's time is a much-debated question. They are so similar to individual laments of the Psalms for which a cultic setting is taken for granted. Communal laments, e.g., the drought liturgy of 14:1–9, would seem to be very much at home in preexilic temple worship. So also the laments made on behalf of exiled kings (22:10; 22:28–30), the slain of Judah (8:22–9:1—Eng9:2), and all of creation (9:9–10—Eng9:10–11). The wisdom psalm in 17:5–8 has a striking similarity to Psalm 1. Other liturgies in the book may well come from a source other than Jeremiah, e.g., 10:1–10 (MT only), which contrasts Yahweh to the false gods of the nations, or 10:12–16 (= 51:15–19), which praises Yahweh as both the creator of the world and the special portion of Jacob. In late prose, poetry is imported from the Psalms, e.g., 33:11b from Ps 106:1.

There is also wisdom material, e.g., the proverb in 31:29, the climactic rhetorical question which concludes prophetic speeches in 5:9, 29 and 9:8—Eng 9:9, and miscellaneous pieces such as those appearing in 17:9–10 and 11. The single Aramaic verse in the book (10:11) is a wisdom saying about the false gods of the nations.

Prose in the book divides into two basic styles which correspond more or less to the descriptions given for sources B and C. There is prose of a lighter sort, written in the third person, which basically narrates events in Jeremiah's life (e.g., chap. 26) and records the prophet's personal suffering (chaps. 37–44). This prose is "biographical" only in the sense that it is not "sermonic" prose (source C) and not "legendary" prose like the Elijah/Elisha stories. As remarkable as this prose is in the ancient world, it is not "biography" in the modern sense; we should call it rather "proto-biography." Yet it is the account of an eyewitness, and the supposition that Baruch stands behind it is well supported by evidence contained in the book.

The rest of the book's prose is an amorphous collection of prophetic preaching, moralizing about sin and judgment, and homiletical talk about future restoration and renewed covenants (chaps. 31–33). All is in heavy rhetorical style with accumulation of vocabulary and phraseology similar to what we find in Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History. Some is written in the third person, but some is "autobiographical," being introduced by such first-person formulas as "And the word of Yahweh came to me (saying)" (1:4, 11, 13; 13:8; 16:1; 18:5; 24:4; 32:6), or "And Yahweh said to me" (3:6; 11:6, 9; 14:11, 14; 15:1; 24:3), or "Thus Yahweh said to me" (13:1; 17:19; 27:2). There is also heavy prose which postdates the Jeremiah era, e.g., 3:15–18; 5:18–19; 9:11–15(—Eng9:12–16); 9:22–23—Eng9:23–24; etc.

In the heavy prose are a variety of literary forms. There are reports of visions (1; 24; 38:21–23), prayers to Yahweh which include also Yahweh's answers (32:16–44), and direct messages from Yahweh to Jeremiah (7:16–20; 11:14–17; 14:11–16; 15:1–4; etc.). The famous Temple Sermon (7:1–15) is heavy prose as are the sermons found in 11:1–8 and 34:12–22.

Prose of both types reports parables and object lessons (13:1–11; 18:1–12; 19; 27–28; 35). Chapter 29 is a letter (vv 4–23) to which the fragment of another letter (vv 24–28) has been attached. Expanded colophons are found in 36:1–8; 45; and 51:59–64 (Lundbom 1986), and perhaps also in 32:6–15 (Gevaryahu 1970: 370–72; 1973: 211–13).

**F. Composition**

The book of Jeremiah bears ample witness to the claim that people in antiquity compiled spoken and written discourse differently than we do today. The remark is frequently made that the book of Jeremiah is in great disarray (Bright 1951: 21; *Jeremiah* AB, lvi–lxiii). Materials are out of chronological sequence and in their compiled form seem to be without a coherent plan, something in modern compositions we come to take for granted. In order to understand not only the completed form of the book of Jeremiah, but also the process whereby the book was brought to its completion, the most important thing, perhaps, to realize at the outset is that chronology is but one criterion among a host of others which ancient scribes and other literary people used to order their materials. Second, ancient compositions do have coherence, but that coherence follows an inner logic which is still quite alien to the modern Western mind.

In the book of Jeremiah, as is true in other biblical books, we are confronted with a document that has undergone change. This introduces an element of complexity into the analysis that would not exist if our document had been composed at one point in time or had been preserved unaltered after leaving some author's hand. The turbulent effects of oral transmission have, of course, been greatly exaggerated. Some poetry in the book may have been subject to laws of oral transmission, but on the whole we have to do in Jeremiah with a written composition. Alterations, where they exist, are largely the work of scribes in charge of the compilation process—beginning in Jeremiah's lifetime and continuing for an unspecified number of years afterward.

The book has a certain chronological order. Jeremiah's call comes in chap. 1 (unlike that of Isaiah which comes in chap. 6 of his book), and the prophet's last recorded activities in Egypt are placed either near the end of the book (MT 44) or at the very end (LXX 51:1–30). Chapter 2 contains Jeremiah's earliest preaching, which precedes in time the confessions closing out the First Edition (20:7–18). All of chaps. 1–20, with only a few exceptions, are earlier than all the prose narratives of 24–29 and 34–44. Also, the account of Jeremiah's final suffering in 37–44 follows a chronological sequence with only a couple possible exceptions: chaps. 37 and 38 may be duplicate accounts of Jeremiah's imprisonment, and

chaps. 39 and 40 duplicates of his release by the Babylonians. Attention then is paid to chronology, but the composition of the book consists of much, much more.

Material is brought together in some cases because of a common literary form, e.g., the substratum of confessions in 11–20. Literary form together with a common theme dictate the grouping in chaps. 2–3. Speeches here focus on the nation's religious harlotry, thus the designation "harlotry cycle." The group of speeches beginning at 4:5 is likewise the "foe cycle" because of a common theme running through about the foe from the north. Some conclude this cycle at 6:30 before the Temple Sermon and the added prose in 7:1–8:3; others extend the cycle into the poetry of chap. 8. Actually the cycle extends to the end of chap. 10 in order that the preaching about destruction by the foe might have along with it the necessary weeping and lamentation (see especially 8:18–9:10—Eng 9:11; 9:16–21—Eng 9:17–22). The theme of hope controls, though it does not exclusively dominate, the speeches in the so-called "Book of Comfort," both in its early (30–31) and in its late (30–33) editions.

Material in some cases is grouped on the basis of audience. We see this in chaps. 21–23 where varied utterances of Jeremiah have been brought together because they are directed toward kings (21:1–23:8) or prophets (23:9–40). The audience is also the controlling element in the Foreign Nation Oracles (chaps. 46–51).

Association techniques—a common possession, most likely, of the oral poet and the scribe—perform compositional functions. In the poetry are "catchwords," which may easily be identified once the literary units are delimited. The word "sons" links 3:14 with 3:19, thus setting off the prose in vv 15–18. The word "gather" (*ʾsp*) links 9:21—Eng 9:22 with 10:17, which suggests that the prose of 9:22–25—Eng 9:23–26 and the liturgical poetry of 10:1–16 are late additions. The word "know" (*ydʿ*) links 10:25 with 11:18, again showing that prose seems to have been inserted into what was originally a chain of poetic speeches. Three passages of poetry, 6:27–30; 7:29; and 8:4–9, were at one time another chain held together by the catchword "reject" (*mʾs*), which appears at the end of each poem:

6:30 *Reject* silver they are called for Yahweh has *rejected* them.
7:29 For Yahweh has *rejected* and forsaken the generation of his wrath.
8:9 Behold they have *rejected* the word of Yahweh and what wisdom is in them?

This chain shows that the prose of 7:1–8:3 is a later insertion, perhaps made in order to embody 7:29 into sermonic material (Mowinckel 1946: 64). The foe cycle, therefore, does not conclude at 6:30.

The two poems in 22:20–23 and 23:9–11 were linked in an early chain by the catchword "broken" (*šbr*), which appears at the beginning of each poem:

22:20 Go up to Lebanon and cry out and lift up your voice in Bashan
Cry from Abarim for all your lovers are *broken*.
23:9 My heart is *broken* within me all my bones shake

The Jehoiachin oracle and lament of 22:24–30—also the messianic prophecy of 23:1–8—are therefore later additions. Catchwords also link prose passages to adjacent poetry, e.g., "Terror on every side" in 20:3 and 10 (Bright *Jeremiah* AB, 134).

Material is compiled in some cases by means of rhetorical structures. Chapter 1, for example, is a chiasmus (abb'a') with two visions placed at the center and their respective articulations at the extremes:

a Articulation of the call vision (4–10)
  b Vision of the call (11–12)
  b' Vision of the foe (13–14)
a' Articulation of the foe vision (15–19)

Near the end of the foe cycle four originally separate utterances have been combined thematically into a chiasmus:

a Jeremiah *weeping* for the slain of Judah (8:22–9:1—Eng 9:2
  b Jeremiah warning about evil *tongues* (9:2–5—Eng 9:3–5
  b' Jeremiah warning about evil *tongues* (9:6–8—Eng 9:7–9
a' Jeremiah *weeping* for all creation (9:9–10—Eng 9:10–11)

In chap. 29 a letter to the exiles and the fragment of another are combined in such a way that the opening words of one and the closing words of the other—which are the same—form an inclusion for the whole (vv 5, 28).

Some material in the book appears to have been structured for purposes of cultic recitation. In 14:1–15:4 two successive liturgies are sequenced form-critically in the same manner (Gerstenberger 1963):

a Lament over widespread destruction (14:2–6, 17–18)
b Communal complaint and supplication (14:7–9, 19–22)
c Judgment oracle from Yahweh and—in prose—the rejection of Jeremiah as mediator (14:10–16; 15:1–4)

Liturgical requirements may also offer an explanation for various lament and deliverance combinations, e.g., 20:7–13, and judgment and salvation combinations, e.g., chaps. 30–31 (see below).

Later material has been interspersed with earlier material at various points in the book. In chaps. 1–20 the inserted material is mostly prose, e.g., 7:1–8:3, although it can be poetry, e.g., 10:1–16. Prose comment on passages of poetry in some cases follows it (3:15–18, 24–25; 9:11–15—Eng 9:12–16; 22:11–12). In the King Collection (21:1–23:8) and in the early Book of Comfort (30–31), prose passages frame an earlier core of poetry (see below).

Finally, those compiling the book of Jeremiah had definite ideas about what made a suitable beginning and a suitable end. Visions were put at the beginning (chaps. 1; 24) and colophons at the end (45; 51:59–64; and originally 36:1–8) (Lundbom 1986).

**G. Early Collections**

The present book of Jeremiah was preceded by earlier compilations, some of which are still discernible within the larger collection. Recent studies done on rhetoric and composition indicate that these compilations were written documents from the very first, also that the bulk of the writing was done during Jeremiah's own lifetime.

**1. The Scroll of 605.** In chap. 36 we have an extraordinary account telling us how the first written collection came about. In the 4th year of Jehoiakim, i.e., 605, Yahweh told Jeremiah to prepare a scroll on which was to be written all that he had spoken concerning Israel, Judah, and the nations—from the time Yahweh's word first came to him until the present day. Jeremiah summoned for this task a certain Baruch ben Neriah, who was a scribe (v 32). A seal impression has been found with Baruch's name on it, followed by the title "scribe" (Avigad 1978). Baruch in all probability was the holder of some royal office in Jerusalem. After Baruch had written the scroll, he was to read it in the temple; Jeremiah could not do this because he was currently under a temple ban. Baruch did as he was told, probably the year following (MT 36:9), although there is some uncertainty about date because the LXX says it was four years later. In any case, the scroll was read three times, the third being before King Jehoiakim, who repaid the favor by casting it into the fire. The scroll was later rewritten and more material was added to it (v 32).

There has been much speculation about the contents of this 1st scroll. Most scholars have concluded that the scroll must lie within 1–25:13a, even if not all of the present material was included. According to this view, the words of 25:13a, "all that is written in this book," mark the scroll's conclusion (Muilenburg *IDB* 2: 823–35; Bright *Jeremiah* AB). But these same words make better sense when they are taken as a pointer to what originally lay ahead—and what in the LXX still does lie ahead—viz., the oracles against Babylon (cf. vv 12–13a).

The suggestion of Rietzschel (1966: 136) that the early scroll consisted of chaps. 1–6 must be rejected because the foe cycle does not end at 6:30. The only early material in the book which shows itself to be a self-contained collection is chaps. 1–20 (Lundbom 1975: 28–30). Whether 1–20 constitutes the scroll of 605 we cannot say for certain, but any discussion regarding the contents of this scroll ought to be focused on these chaps., not on 1–25:13a.

**2. The First Edition of the Book of Jeremiah.** The earliest book discernible within the present book consists of chaps. 1–20. These chaps. are held together by an inclusio made up of the final words from Jeremiah's last confession and the opening words of his call:

Jeremiah: Why *from the womb did I come forth* to see trouble and sorrow and end in shame my days?

(20:18)
Yahweh: Before I formed you in the belly I knew you and before *you came forth from the womb*
I consecrated you
(1:5)
With the 1st scroll no longer extant, we can take chaps. 1–20 as the first edition of the book of Jeremiah. Rietzschel (1966) has suggested that chap. 45, which contains Jeremiah's personal word to Baruch at the time the scroll of 605 was written, originally stood at the end of chap. 20 being linked to it by the catchword "sorrow" (*yâgôn*; 20:18; 45:3). Chap. 45 is a scribal colophon written by Baruch (Lundbom 1986: 107), which provides some basis then for saying that Baruch is the one who wrote up the First Edition. It is not known who supplied the superscription in 1:1–3. Some have said that it was Baruch (Hyatt *IB* 5: 797–98), but others—those who believe the superscription is a composite (Budde 1921), as well as those who believe it is all one piece (Zalevski 1975)—say it dates from the exilic or postexilic periods.

The First Edition is introduced by the two visions in chap. 1. These credential Jeremiah for the preaching which follows, with the second vision on the foe from the north explaining why it is that Jeremiah composes laments for the nation and for himself. The first vision of the almond rod is associated with the prophet's call in 627 B.C. (1:4–12). The second vision of the boiling pot tipped away from the north carries with it the summons to begin his career (1:13–19), which dates not from 627 but rather 5 years later or so around 622. See JEREMIAH (PROPHET).

There are two major groupings following chap. 1, each containing its own type of material and having its own independent chronology. The division comes at the end of chap. 10. The 1st grouping ends with a psalm pleading for personal correction and for vengeance upon the enemy (10:23–25). The verb *klh* ("finish, consume") in 10:25 reinforces closure just as it does in 20:18 where the second grouping concludes.

The grouping of chaps. 2–10 is built upon a substratum of poetry, which comprise two cycles on "religious harlotry" and the "foe from the north." The fragment in 2:2–3 serves as an introductory foil for the two cycles, bringing to remembrance the time when Israel was faithful to Yahweh and in no danger of attack from external enemies (Holladay *Jeremiah* Hermeneia, 30–34). The cycle on harlotry consists of 2:4–3:5; 3:12–14, 19–23, the concluding verses of the latter being a liturgy of confession which is expanded in 3:24–25. The foe cycle consists of 4:5–5:17; 5:20–6:30; 8:4–9:10—Eng9:11; 9:16–21—Eng9:17–22; and 10:17–25. The laments of chaps. 8–9 belong to this cycle, so also 10:17–22, which is a word preparing people for the exile of 597. The mention of "the north" at the end of this lament (10:22) makes an inclusio with "the north" beginning the cycle (4:6). Here, too, we see that at the very end stands a confession (10:23–25).

The poetry in 4:1–4 is transitional: vv 1–2 conclude the preaching of chap. 3 directed at "faithless Israel"; vv 3–4 introduce judgment upon Judah, which begins in 4:5.

Two passages of prose in chaps. 2–10 preserve early traditions of Jeremianic preaching: 3:6–11, which is a 1st-person homily comparing Israel and Judah, and 7:1–8:3, which, except for 7:16–20, is a 3d-person account of sermons delivered in the temple. Included in the latter is the famous Temple Sermon of 609 (7:1–15). In 7:16–20 we have a personal word from Yahweh to Jeremiah. Other prose in 3:15–18; 5:18–19; 9:11–15—Eng9:12–16; 9:22–23—Eng9:23–24; and 9:24–25—Eng9:25–26 is exilic. As for the poetic liturgies in 10:1–16, about all we can say is that they are later additions; we know neither their dates nor their provenance.

The substratum of poetry within chaps. 11–20 consists of Jeremiah's confessions in the main, but included also are speeches against Judah and Jerusalem, liturgies used in national emergencies, laments over the departure of Jehoiachin and the Queen Mother, and a handful of miscellaneous wisdom sayings. Interspersed are passages in prose which contain preaching, dialogues between Yahweh and Jeremiah, and reports about Jeremiah's prophetic activity.

It is not clear to what extent the poetry follows in chronological sequence. The confessions in 11:18–12:6 are thought by some to come from the beginning of Jeremiah's career when priestly kin at Anathoth

turned against him for supporting Josiah's program of one sanctuary in Jerusalem. The confessions in 20:7–18 most likely come from ca. 605–604 B.C. when Jeremiah was being hunted by Jehoiakim. About the rest of the poetry there is uncertainty regarding date, except in the case of 13:15–27, which comes from just before the deportation of 597 and must be some of the "added words" on the rewritten scroll (36:32).

The prose at both ends of chaps. 11–20 gives evidence of at least some concern on the part of the compiler for establishing chronological sequence. The covenant preaching in 11:1–8 is best dated soon after 622, while the events recorded in 19:1–20:6 fit into the period between 609 and 605 (Bright *Jeremiah* 174–75). Little more can be said about the dating of the prose, except that a few brief verses (11:7–8a; 16:14–15 [= 23:7–8]) come either from the end of Zedekiah's reign or else are exilic.

**3. The Appendix on Kings and Prophets.** Immediately following the First Edition is an appendix in chaps. 21–23 which contains preaching, laments, and narrative focusing on two groups: (a) Judah's royal house; and (b) Jerusalem's ministerium. Earlier there appears to have been two separate collections, for the text has retained introductory captions which read, "Concerning the house of the King of Judah" (21:11), and "Concerning the prophets" (23:9). Each collection has a core of poetry. At an earlier time the two compilations of poetry were linked together by the catchword "broken" (*šbr*) which begins the last "king poem" (22:20) and the first "prophet poem" (23:9).

The King Collection has expanded from the center out. At the core are three poems against Jehoiakim and his royal household (22:6–7, 13–17, 20–23) into which are interspersed a lament for Shallum (i.e., Jehoahaz; v 10) and a non-lament for Jehoiakim (vv 18–19). A rhetorical structure built on the key words "Lebanon" and "cedars" holds the Jehoiakim poems together (Lundbom 1975: 101–2). These key words highlight Jeremiah's basic criticism of Jehoiakim, i.e., that he was generous when it came to erecting cedar buildings in Jerusalem, but he cared nothing for the weightier matters of justice and righteousness.

After 597 this core was expanded to include the oracle and lament for young King Jehoiachin (22:24–30). Up front was placed more preaching against Jehoiakim (21:11–22:5) and the title in 21:11 was added. The prose of 22:8–9 and 11–12 may also be part of this expansion.

A second expansion occurred when the dated Zedekiah prose of 21:1–10 was added at the beginning, and the messianic prophecies of 23:1–8 were placed at the end. The Zedekiah prose belongs with chaps. 37–38, but here it functions to set up a contrast between Zedekiah, who is misnamed "Righteous of Yahweh" or "Righteous is Yahweh," and the future Davidic king whose name—and entire being—will be "Yahweh is our righteousness" (23:6). This second expansion dates from the very end of Zedekiah's reign or shortly after.

The core of poetry focused on the prophets consists of a lament over prophets—also priests—who are unfit for holy office (23:9–11), an oracle of judgment against the prophets of Jerusalem (vv 13–15), and a dialogue between Jeremiah and Yahweh about prophets who run but are not sent (23:18, 21–22). Into this dialogue has been inserted at a later time an independent judgment oracle (vv 19–20; it appears also in 30:23–24). The material in 23:12, 16–17, and 23–40—most of it prose—is also later expansion. Unlike the King Collection, there are no internal aids here which can help us with dating the core and its expansions. Probably what we have is preaching during the reigns of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah. We know that at the beginning of each king's reign Jeremiah sustained harsh attacks from other prophets (26:7–11; 28).

**4. The Baruch Prose Collections.** Within chaps. 24–45 are the prose passages said by many to come from the hand of Baruch, Jeremiah's close friend and colleague in the years subsequent to 605. They contain reports of divine revelations and record some of Jeremiah's late preaching, but for the most part are narratives describing the prophet's activities at the end of his early career and during the public years of his late career. The years covered are the first five of Jehoiakim's reign, i.e., 609–604, the first four of Zedekiah's reign, i.e., 597–594/3, and those immediately before and after Jerusalem's fall. Between 605 and 597, and between 594 and 588, Jeremiah is out of public view and not heard from.

One collection is particularly well intact. It is the so-called "Via Dolorosa" prose of chaps. 37–44. These chaps. describe Jeremiah's final sufferings from the point of view of one who observed them at close

range. The collection is introduced by a superscription similar to those appearing in the Deuteronomistic History (37:1–2). From this collection may originally have come the prose accounts in 21:1–10; 32; and 34, for they, too, are about Judah's last days when Jerusalem was under siege.

The remaining chaps., viz., 24–29, 35–36, and 45, are not intact, lending support to the claim that the book of Jeremiah is in mass disarray. All contain dated superscriptions from which we can see that chronology has manifestly not been kept, at least not in the arrangement which now appears before us. Chapters 25–26, 35–36, and 45 are from the reign of Jehoiakim. Chapters 24 and 27–29 are from Zedekiah's reign. Chapter 45 is the easiest to account for. It is Baruch's colophon to the final book which comes from his hand (now only in the LXX at 51:31–35). However, when the two larger clusters of four chapters each from the respective reigns of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah are examined more closely, it will be seen that both have identical rhetorical (a b b´ a´) structures (Lundbom 1975: 107–11). This seems to indicate that originally they were two separate collections.

The present disarray is due to the breakup of these Jehoiakim and Zedekiah collections, although we do note that some passages, viz., 25–26, 27–29, and 35–36, did manage to stay together. The most plausible explanation for the breakup is that 24 was chosen to begin a larger composition being formed because it contained a revelatory vision. The present book now begins with two revelatory visions. Chapter 36 (originally only vv 1–8) was chosen to conclude this larger composition because it was Baruch's colophon (Lundbom 1986: 104–6). The present book also ends with a colophon.

Two interpolations were made into this larger composition between chaps. 29 and 35. One was the Book of Comfort (30–33), which is a separate collection (see section 5). It was inserted because its passages of hope were attracted by the hope expressed in Jeremiah's larger letter to the exiles (29). Chapter 34, which has two parts, vv 1–7 and 8–22, and which belongs with chap. 37, was the second interpolation. It was placed next to chap. 35 in order to set up a contrast between the obedient Rechabites and the disobedient Zedekiah.

**5. The Book of Comfort.** The present Book of Comfort comprises all of chaps. 30–33. At an earlier time, however, it consisted only of chaps. 30–31. The controlling theme of both editions is hope for national restoration through new and ongoing covenants.

The earlier edition of just 30–31 was built around a core of poetry. The prose frame is made up of sayings which begin with the words, "Behold the days are coming" (30:3; 31:27, 31, 38). Originally this collection was written up on a separate scroll (30:2).

The poetic passages comprising the core speak of hope and restoration in part, but actually the controlling theme is a more somber one about judgment and imminent exile. The whole is given a rhetorical structure in which judgment and hope oracles are combined, also laments with words of divine promise. Catchwords link up some of the paired passages. What we have here is a moving dialogue well suited for liturgical use:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| a | Judgment (30:5–7) | *catchwords:* |
| | Hope (30:10–11) | Jacob/save (*yš*ʿ) |
| b | Judgment (30:12–15) | *catchwords:* |
| | Hope (30:16–17) | wound (*mkh*)/heal (*rp*ʾ) |
| | Hope (30:18–21) | |
| | Covenant Formula (30:22) | |
| c | Judgment (30:23–23) | |
| | Covenant Formula (31:1) | |
| | Hope (31:2–14) | |
| b' | Lament (31:15) | *catchwords:* |

Promise (31:16–17) weeping (*bky*)/children

a' Lament (31:18–19) *catchwords:*

Promise (31:20–22) Ephram/return (*šwb*)

The keystone of the arch is the judgment oracle of 30:23–24, which appears also in 23:19–20 where it has been editorially inserted. One will note how the covenant vows on either side of this judgment oracle are formulated in reverse order.

The concluding promise in 31:20–22 is bittersweet. Exile is ahead and Jeremiah expresses wonderment about how long this "changeable daughter" will change direction, also why now the females must give protection to the soldiers. With this final irony an inclusio is formed with another irony expressed at the beginning of the core: males there are said to be behaving like women in labor (30:6). Assuming exile to be imminent, the terminus a quo for the core would have to be 597 B.C. But those oracles which announce deliverance and a return to Zion are some of Jeremiah's earliest, coming from the beginning of his career when he anticipated the return of northern exiles who had been taken away to Assyria in 722.

The somber mood controlling the core gave way to a mood of joyful anticipation when the first Book of Comfort was compiled. One passage of the prose expansion announces a "new covenant" which will replace the Mosaic covenant now defunct. Another added fragment of poetry in 31:35–37 provides yet more assurance, stating that the unconditional covenant given to Abraham continues to be valid. We do not know when the first Book of Comfort was completed. It could have been at the time when the second expansion was made to the King Collection, for in 23:5–6 and 7–8 are two more "Behold the days are coming" promises. This would be at the very end of Zedekiah's reign, or shortly after.

Sometime later the Book of Comfort was enlarged by the addition of chaps. 32–33. This collection was tied together with an inclusio made up from the closing words of 33:26, "For I will restore their fortunes," and the opening words of 30:3, "And I will restore the fortunes of my people." The superscription to chap. 32 indicates that this passage belongs with the Zedekiah prose of 37–38; the same may apply to 33:1–13. The final material in 33:14–26 is lacking in the LXX and most likely represents an exilic addition. Its purpose is to reaffirm the covenants given to David and his royal line (2 Samuel 7) and to Levi's priestly line through Phinehas (Num 25:10–13). The prose insertion of 30:8–9 mentioning David is also late, though it does appear in the.

**6. The Foreign Nation Oracles.** The book contains a separate collection of oracles which were spoken against nine foreign nations. In the LXX this collection follows 25:13a, while in the MT its placement is in chaps. 46–51 (see above). The location in the LXX is the earlier of the two, wherein one finds both superscription (25:13a) and subscription (LXX 32:13) supplied. In the MT these have been combined in 25:13. The MT has its own superscription to the collection in 46:1. Similar collections of foreign nation oracles are found in the books of Amos (1:3–2:3), Isaiah (chaps. 13–23) and Ezekiel (chaps. 25–32).

The inclusion of material in this collection has been determined by audience in the main, as is the case also in the King and Prophet Collections of chaps. 21–23. However, among the Babylon oracles is a liturgy which appears also earlier in the book (51:15–19; cf. 10:12–16). And at the end of the Egypt oracles the MT (only) duplicates an oracle addressed to Israel (46:27–28; cf. 30:10–11). The function here is to call home exiles who have gone away to Egypt.

The foreign nation collection has a complex history, one which may, for some oracles at least, include an early period of oral tradition. The different sequences within the LXX and MT suggest this, so also the time span over which these oracles were delivered. The first oracle against Egypt is dated in 605 (46:2), whereas the earliest date for the oracles against Edom, Ammon, and Moab is 590. This totals 15 years, and the time frame may be longer.

Jeremiah himself is said to have written a scroll of Babylon oracles (51:60). In 594/3 this scroll was given to Seraiah ben Neriah, the brother of Baruch, and he was instructed to take it with him on a trip he was making to Babylon. On arrival the prophecies were to be read aloud, after which Seraiah was to throw the scroll into the Euphrates, dramatizing Yahweh's curse on Babylon. This is related to us in

Seraiah's colophon appended to the Babylon oracles (51:59–64 [LXX 28:59–64]; Lundbom 1986: 101–9). If Seraiah followed these instructions, then another early scroll has perished (cf. chap. 36). But a duplicate was made, to which Seraiah appended his colophon. A seal impression with Seraiah's name on it has been found (Avigad 1978), though it lacks the title "scribe." The biblical tradition says he held the office of "quartermaster" (51:59). We can assume, however, that like his brother, Seraiah had professional scribal training and was competent to perform a range of scribal functions.

There has been much discussion about whether the foreign nation oracles are genuinely Jeremianic. Most of the oracles are in poetry, but opinions about quality and style vary. Bright says the quality is high, with some oracles showing the same vividness as oracles addressed to Israel whose genuineness is not questioned (*Jeremiah* AB, 307–8). Also one finds in these oracles some of Jeremiah's most characteristic phrases, e.g., "terror on every side" (46:5; 49:29; cf. 6:25; 20:10); "faithless daughter" (49:4; cf. 31:22); "like a woman in labor" (49:24; 50:43; cf. 6:24; 22:23; 30:6); "haunt of jackals" (49:33; 51:37; cf. 9:10—Eng9:11; 10:22); etc. So far as rhetorical structures are concerned, the speeches in 51:20–23 and 51:34–45 rank with the best of Jeremiah's speeches to Israel and Judah. In one instance a speech written for the "daughter of Zion" (6:22–24) is adapted for delivery to the "daughter of Babylon" (50:41–43).

Certain of the oracles do, however, contain portions which appear to be anonymous or from some other prophet. The Edom oracle has verses found also in Obadiah (49:7–16; cf. Obad 1–5), and verses in the Moab oracles (48:33–39) echo Isaiah 15–16. Other duplications or similar sounding verses: 48:43–44 (cf. Isa 24:17–18); 49:27 (cf. Amos 1:4, 14); 49:31 (cf. Ezek 38:11); 50:16b (cf. Isa 13:14b). The same oracle was also used in one case against two different nations, viz., the prose saying against Edom and Babylon (49:19–21; 50:44–46). The superscription to the Babylon oracles suggests that the tradition about Jeremiah's authorship of those oracles may be late, and may also be in some doubt. The Greek (27:1) makes no reference to Jeremiah, while in the Hebrew (50:1) "through Jeremiah the prophet" is tacked on at the end. The Foreign Nation Oracles, in any case, appear to be a mix of genuine and nongenuine sayings, and a blanket judgment either for or against Jeremianic authorship of the collection does not seem possible. Finally, as with the other poetic collections, so also here one finds prose insertions at various points.

**H. The Book of Books**

The present book of Jeremiah is really a "book of books." Though we may speak about oral composition and oral transmission for poetry within 1–20, 21–23, 30–31, and 46–51, the various collections and the completed book are written documents behind which stand Baruch, Seraiah, and other scribes who shared in the work. Jeremiah himself had a hand in the writing process (51:60). In Judah, as well as in the neighboring countries, it was a "scribal age" (Muilenburg 1970: 219). Asshurbanipal's huge library at Nineveh (650–630 B.C.) and the cache of 51 seal impressions from the early 6th century Jerusalem (Shiloh 1984: 19–20)—one of which has the name of Gemariah, son of Shaphan, on it (cf. 36:10–12, 25)—are just two of the more spectacular finds documenting this age.

The first book corresponding roughly to chaps. 1–51 was Baruch's compilation. In it the Foreign Nation Oracles followed 25:13a, and at the end was placed Baruch's colophon (LXX 51:31–35), which formerly concluded the First Edition. This book survives in the LXX version and in 4Q Jer$^{b}$ (though the latter is but a small fragment of it). Its provenance is Egypt where Baruch and Jeremiah were taken after 586 B.C. (43:5–7).

Another book corresponding roughly to chaps. 1–51 was completed in Babylon, though somewhat differently. In this version the Foreign Nation Oracles were relocated to the end, with those against Babylon appropriately being placed last. Seraiah's colophon concluded the book at 51:59–64. This book survives in the fragments 4Q Jer$^{a}$ and 4Q Jer$^{c}$ and in the MT. Seraiah, who went to Babylon in 594/3 and could have been exiled there ultimately, is possibly the compiler. In this version the final words of chap. 51, "thus far the words of Jeremiah"—which significantly are absent from the LXX—make an inclusion with "The words of Jeremiah …" beginning the book (1:1; 51:64). Two books then were completed in Egypt and Babylon respectively after the fall of Jerusalem, at roughly the same time the Deuteronomistic work was completed (Freedman 1963; 1983: 171–72).

Chapter 52 is a historical appendix derived for the most part from the Deuteronomistic History (2 Kgs 24:18–25:30). A historical appendix appears similarly at the end of 1 Isaiah (chaps. 36–39). The report of Gedaliah's governorship from 2 Kgs 25:22–26 is omitted, perhaps because it is covered extensively in Jeremiah 40–43. In its place is added—but only in the MT (52:28–30)—a summary of the various deportations to Babylon including the numbers of people taken. This fragment occurs nowhere else in the Bible. The final verses 31–34 recast slightly 2 Kgs 25:27–30, which is the concluding postscript to the Primary History (Genesis to 2 Kings). The date for this postscript is ca. 560 B.C. (Freedman 1983). By the middle of the 6th century, then, the tie was made between the completed book of Jeremiah and the completed Primary History. Verse 34 mentions Jehoiachin's death, which is not noted in 2 Kgs 25:30; however, from 2 Kings—in the MT only—is added "all the days of his life," which allows the book to conclude on a more positive note.

## I. Theology

The theology in the book of Jeremiah is part subjective and part objective reflection. Ancient as well as current beliefs about Yahweh and his covenant people are refracted through the man Jeremiah, to which are added numerous witnesses to the life of faith which grow out of Jeremiah's own prophetic experience. The book also contains reflections by others who look at Jeremiah's life and preaching from a distance, and these form a second theological component no less important than the component of theology which derives from the prophet.

**1. The Theology of the Prophet.** We do not get from Jeremiah anything approaching a systematic theology. His preaching has a certain consistency to be sure, and thoughts of his are developed beyond the point of receiving merely passing mention. Nevertheless, ideas about Yahweh, Yahweh's word, the covenant, judgment, and salvation, etc., have their embodiment in rhetoric, i.e., in metaphors, argument, and ironic comment, in lyric poetry, and in impassioned preaching, not exactly the stuff of which systematic theology is made.

**a. Sources for the Prophet's Theology.** Traditions from the north, particularly those associated with Moses, predominate in the call and in the earliest preaching. Jeremiah reflects upon the Exodus, Wilderness Wanderings, and Settlement in 2:2–9, where his indebtedness to the Song of Moses is clear. From this song, which Cornill judged to be "a compendium of prophetic theology" (1891: 71), Jeremiah learned that Yahweh's grace toward Israel frames the entire sweep of world history. Within this frame, however, lie Israel's ingratitude, her corrupting ways with other gods, which result from settled and agrarian living, and Yahweh's punishment of Israel for what in his eyes is wrongdoing. Yahweh stays the hand of the enemy only as Israel is about to be completely destroyed. Then with a remnant Yahweh begins a new work of salvation, at which time the enemy is defeated. Jeremiah follows the Song of Moses in depicting the Mosaic Age as the idyllic period of national history, a time of purity when Israel was Yahweh's "devoted bride" or "first fruits" (2:2–3; cf. Deut 32:10–12). He also views Israel's settlement in the land as the time when things began to go bad (2:7; cf. 2:21; 8:13; Deut 32:13–18).

From Deuteronomy 1–28, which was originally a northern document, Jeremiah learned that the Mosaic covenant was conditional in nature, and that obedience to this covenant was the basis on which land tenure rested. The Mosaic covenant could be broken—as it repeatedly was by Israel—at the same time it could also be reconstituted. Jeremiah preached both messages—the brokenness of the covenant and Yahweh's decision to remake it—more clearly than any other prophet (2:20; 5:5; 7:5–10; 31:31–34; 32:37–41).

Jeremiah's preaching betrays indebtedness to the northern prophet Hosea. From Hosea, Jeremiah learned that the covenant is like a familial bond—between husband and wife or between father and son; that sin is rooted in a lack of the knowledge of Yahweh; and that a breach of covenant amounts to religious harlotry or adultery. Jeremiah follows Hosea in representing Yahweh as a deeply compassionate God, one who experiences personal hurt by having to vent his wrath, and one who wants, after the punishment is over, to receive his wayward child home again (31:16–20; cf. Hos 11:8–9).

During his long ministry in Jerusalem, Jeremiah appropriated theology from southern traditions associated with Abraham and David. One event associated with Abraham loomed very large for Jeremiah,

as it did also for Isaiah and certain other prophets, and that was Sodom and Gomorrah's destruction (Genesis 18–19). From this, Jeremiah realized that Yahweh punishes entire cities for unrighteous living (5:1–8), and that a point can be reached where mediation for such cities is no longer possible (7:16–20; 11:14–17; 14:11–12; 15:1–2). Not only immoral prophets, but also seemingly innocent people, such as the man who brought the news of Jeremiah's birth to his father, are likened by Jeremiah to the inhabitants of these proverbial cities (23:14; 20:15–16) and must suffer a like fate when Jerusalem is destroyed. In his early preaching, Jeremiah stated that the blessings of the Abrahamic covenant were contingent upon Israel's repentance (4:1–2). But later he affirmed that Yahweh's covenants to Abraham and David were eternal and remained intact. Yahweh in future days would make good his promise to bless the nations through Israel, and Israel could count on David's royal line surviving, despite the nation's demise. This is fully in keeping with the basic tenets of southern theology.

It was perhaps from earlier prophetic preaching, most likely that of Micah, Isaiah, and also Amos—whose home was in the south—that Jeremiah learned of Yahweh's anger over urban injustice. In Jerusalem he discovered the rich exploiting the poor and wrongdoing going unpunished.

Wisdom materials too, collected at the Jerusalem court since the time of Solomon, had their impact upon the prophet. Jeremiah quotes proverbs and makes liberal use of wisdom themes, e.g., regularity and stability within the natural order (5:22, 24; 8:7). Jeremiah was much concerned with creation, but more over the threat of approaching chaos. Both creation accounts in Genesis 1–2 supply him with imagery in predicting the coming destruction (4:23–26; 18:1–11). Yahweh, for Jeremiah, is not simply God of the Exodus but God of the entire creation (10:12–16 [= 51:15–19]; 27:5; 32:17; 33:2), and at this point he anticipates the grand universalism of Second Isaiah. In the confessions, where Jeremiah's suffering finds such eloquent expression, indebtedness is to the Psalms and perhaps to an early edition of Job (Lundbom 1985: 600). About the only thing lacking in Jeremiah is priestly theology (33:17–22 is later), a fact which poses some interesting questions in that Jeremiah came from priestly stock.

On one occasion, northern and southern theologies came into direct conflict. This happened when Jeremiah gave his famous Temple Sermon and stated that land tenure and the temple's continued existence were contingent upon covenant obedience; further, that the nation was likely to lose both (7:1–15; 26:1–6). The people of Jerusalem, however, among whom were numbered not a few prophets and priests, had expanded the theology of Zion to the point where the eternal and unconditional covenant to David (2 Samuel 7) extended also to Jerusalem and the temple (Ps 132:11–18; Isa 31:4–5; 37:33–35). This precluded the destruction of either. Preaching northern theology on this occasion nearly cost Jeremiah his life, but in the end that is the theology which prevailed.

**b. Theology and Time.** The temple conflict of 609 shows that theology is time- and situation-bound. A century earlier, Isaiah preached that Zion was inviolable. Now Jeremiah considers this a false theology on which people are resting vain hopes. Von Rad has said, therefore, that the prophetic message is not timeless truth but a "particular word relevant to a particular hour in history" (*ROTT* 2: 129). At the same time, Jeremiah speaks also to the future—the immediate as well as the indefinite future—and here the prophetic word follows an uncertain course of fulfillment. Even within the prophet's own lifetime, early preaching about the future glory of Zion and the return of dispersed exiles was reappropriated from the exilic situation in Assyria to the newer situation which had developed in Babylon (3:12–14; 30:5–31:22). Thus, while theology in some instances may be time-bound, its life may also extend well beyond the hour of utterance and the particular situation at hand. The community of faith may even give a prophetic word its greatest prominence and its ultimate fulfillment at some later date. It could, for example, be argued that Jeremiah's vision of cosmic destruction (4:23–26) has more theological import for people in the nuclear age than for people in the late 7th and early 6th centuries B.C., who first heard it from his lips.

**c. Yahweh.** For Jeremiah, Yahweh most importantly is a living God, comparable to a natural supply of water (2:13; 17:7–8, 13). In a despondent mood he questions whether this can in fact be true, at least for him personally (15:18), but in better moments he knows that idols are the false resource; they cannot bring rain (14:22) nor have they power to save (2:27b–28; 11:12). Yahweh fills the creation (23:24); sends rain (5:24; 14:22b); controls the sea waters (5:22); and gives both lands and peoples into the hands

of whomever he pleases (27:5–6). Yahweh is a God who "knows" (12:3; 15:15; 18:23; 29:23). He knows people and he knows events, not only those events which are current but also those planned for the future (1:5; 29:11; 33:3). Yahweh "remembers," too, both the good and the bad (2:2; 14:10), though in forgiveness he ceases to remember wrongdoing (31:34). He also has the capacity to "see" (12:3; 16:17; 32:24), even in the temple darkness or in secret places where evildoers imagine God cannot see (7:11; 23:24). More important, Yahweh is a God who acts. Many do not believe this (5:12), perhaps because Jeremiah has announced him to be the people's enemy. But to faithful individuals, such as Jeremiah, Baruch, and Ebed-melech the Ethiopian, protection and salvation are both promised and delivered (1:17–19; 45:5; 39:15–18; cf. 17:7–8). Yahweh is a righteous judge (11:20), although Jeremiah cannot understand why he allows the wicked to prosper (12:1–2). Yahweh will avenge himself eventually (5:9, 29; 9:8—Eng9:9), and the humble can expect to receive mercy (3:12–13). Jeremiah discovers more than once that Yahweh can be overpowering, in some cases when he is suffering (1:6–8; 20:7; 32:25–26), but he is filled with rejoicing when his salvation comes (20:13).

**d. Yahweh's Word.** As a royal messenger, Jeremiah's job is to deliver the King's word—to Judah primarily, but also to foreign nations of the world. The divine word is central to Jeremiah's preaching; in fact, it is his preaching. In the capacity of royal messenger, Jeremiah also brings back messages to Yahweh and waits for him to respond. Yahweh's answer may take some time in coming; in one case, for example, it does not come for a full ten days (42:7). Jeremiah's dual role as spokesman for Yahweh and spokesman for the people makes him a mediator, and an active mediator he was, to judge from the many oracles and prayers surviving in his book.

Yahweh's word has enormous power—both creative as well as destructive power—and each is self-fulfilling (1:12, 4:28). Jeremiah stands in awe of its destructive power, comparing Yahweh's word to a consuming fire or a pounding hammer (23:29). No one can control it, least of all Jeremiah, who was overcome by it in his call, and later when he tried to hold it inside rather than proclaim it, he found he could not do so (20:8–9).

The divine word gives Jeremiah very serious problems. People will not listen when he speaks it (6:10, 19; 8:9); in fact they reproach him (17:15; 20:8; 38:4). This is particularly troubling when prophets opposing Jeremiah, who are also speaking in Yahweh's name, do not experience such difficulty. Jeremiah is thus led to reflect on true and false prophecy. The chief problem seems to be that he is delivering a word of judgment, and people do not want to hear that. They cannot believe judgment will come. Other prophets who are preaching peace and deliverance do not like hearing judgment either, particularly when Jeremiah preaches it "in Yahweh's name" (11:21; 26:9). And yet the trial of 609 showed that certain individuals did accept judgment preached in Yahweh's name, for it was on this basis that he was vindicated (26:16).

From Jeremiah's point of view, those prophets delivering a peaceful message had not stood in the divine council; they were running as messengers without having been sent (23:18, 21–22; 29:31). The word of Yahweh was not in them (5:13); in fact, their easy message was nothing but a vision of their own minds (23:16–17). These prophets were incapable of interceding for the people (27:18). A more serious charge made against them—also against certain priests—was that they were speaking lies (5:31; 14:14; 20:6; etc.). The lies multiplied and tended to become self-reinforcing because prophets were "stealing" oracles from one another (23:30). Prophets become false when they bear a false message from Yahweh (Overholt 1970). Time must pass before it becomes clear what truly is the word of Yahweh, who in fact has preached it, and which of two opposing words will stand (28:8–9; 44:28–30; cf. Deut 18:21–22). Jeremiah himself admits to having believed what the optimistic prophets, priests, and close friends of his were saying (4:10; 14:13; 20:7–10), which shows that this great man could at times be quite naive (cf. 11:18–19). Yet he is also very human. Yahweh notes his naiveté and calls it to the prophet's attention (12:6; 14:13–16).

**e. Sin and Judgment.** Behind all of Jeremiah's talk about sin and judgment lies a broken covenant. Jeremiah prayed that Yahweh on his part would not break the covenant (14:21); nevertheless it was broken and Israel bore the responsibility (2:20; 5:5; 11:10; etc.). Yahweh was innocent of any wrongdoing

(2:5, 31). It is the people and the nation's leaders who no longer "know" Yahweh (2:8; 4:22; 9:2—Eng9:3; 9:5—Eng9:6; cf. Hos 4:1), where knowing Yahweh means "knowing his way" (5:4–5), "knowing his ordinances" (8:7), and doing justice to the poor and needy (22:16).

When Jeremiah talks then about the knowledge of Yahweh, he is talking about compliance with covenant stipulations. In the Temple Sermon five of the ten stipulations at the core of the Mosaic covenant are said to have been broken: stealing, murder, adultery, false oaths (lying), and going after Baal or other gods, which is the most serious infraction of all (7:9; cf. 2:8; 5:2; 9:1–5—Eng9:2–6; 16:11; 18:15; Deut 32:16–17; Hos 4:2). Other broken commands are those pertaining to idols (8:19; cf. 10:14 [= 51:17]), the sabbath (17:19–27), and coveting the wife of one's neighbor (5:8). Jeremiah also echoes Deuteronomy's concern for justice and benevolence to the poor (2:34; 5:28; 7:5–7; etc.). These latter charges of inhumanity are leveled against Judah's kings, Jehoiakim in particular (21:12; 22:15–17). Prophets, meanwhile, are guilty of adultery and lying (23:14; 29:23).

Jeremiah has all these things in mind when he says the people have "forsaken Yahweh" (2:13; 16:11; 17:13; 19:4; cf. 2 Kgs 22:17), though "forsaking Yahweh" can also mean reliance upon foreign nations (2:14–19). Jeremiah says the people have "forgotten Yahweh" (2:32; 3:21; 13:25; 18:15; cf. Deut 32:18), which, in concrete terms, means they do not know the true source of their abundant crops. Having become overly sated, they lavish affection on "no gods" and indulge in fertility rites associated with them (5:7; cf. 22:20–21; Deut 32:13–15; Hos 2:10—Eng2:8).

Jeremiah is sufficiently grounded in wisdom thought to realize that next to godlessness is foolishness, and the latter malady has contributed not a little to the nation's precarious condition (4:22; 5:21). He singles out foolish leaders for special mention (10:21; 14:18). If people have any skill, it is in doing evil (4:22).

Jeremiah emphasizes the human side of divine activity to an extent not found in other prophets (*ROTT* 2: 216–17). He is particularly reflective about the nature of sin and what impact it has both on the human condition and on the nation as a whole. The depths to which sin goes, also its range, taxes Jeremiah's understanding to the limits. Israel's abandonment of their God is something other nations would not think of (2:11); her rebellion is greater than chaotic sea waters (5:22–23). People are like instinct-driven animals (2:23–25; 5:7–8), teaching the most evil of women new things (2:33). Prophets keep pace by strengthening the hand of evildoers (23:14). Sin, however, is old, and extends back to Israel's earliest generations (2:20; 7:22–26; 22:21; 32:30; etc.). Yet if past generations were bad—and they were (2:5; 16:19)—sin's buildup over the years makes the present generation worse (16:12). A return to national health and well-being is now impossible (8:15, 22; 14:19; 30:12–15). Everyone is evil (5:4–5; 6:13 [= 8:10]; 9:3–4—Eng9:4–5). Sin goes very deep (2:22; 17:1). "The heart," says Jeremiah, "is deceitful above all things" (17:9). Sinful people become hardened, intractable people; punishment has no effect on them; they are without shame, and he calls for their repentance to go unheeded (2:30; 3:3; 5:3; 6:15 [= 8:12]). Refining or winnowing the population as a whole proves to be impossible (6:27–30; 15:5–9; cf. Amos 4:6–11). Jeremiah says that people are unable to change their evil behavior (8:4–7; 13:23), which is to say that sin has an irreversible quality about it. Lustful urges cannot be given up (2:25), and people sink deeper into their sorry state of affairs; they keep going backward (15:6; cf. 7:24). In one of his confessions, Jeremiah says that people cannot direct themselves in the right way; correction, therefore, must come from Yahweh (10:23–24).

Those who are caught up in wrongdoing tend to be superficial and unknowing, both with respect to the intentions of others—including Yahweh—and about what they themselves are doing. They can be short-sighted too, not knowing what their end will be (5:31). Jeremiah notes how cavalier the wicked are, how they vacillate and wander about aimlessly (2:36; 4:1; 31:22; cf. Hos 7:11). They do not lay things to heart—not even their land which is ravaged by war (12:11). Women are superfluous in their dress, realizing not that the "lovers" they attract care nothing for them and would willingly kill them as not (4:30; 30:14). Prophets give a superficial message of "peace, peace, when there is no peace" (6:14 [= 8:11]). Kings spend lavishly on buildings while at the same time neglecting the weightier matters of

justice and righteousness—a complete misunderstanding of their office and what it requires of them (22:13–17).

The people fail to perceive that their disregard of covenant obligations renders useless all the salvific liturgies recited in worship (7:8–10), and that Yahweh will not hear prayers when sacrifices are made to the Queen of Heaven (7:16–18) or other things are done to offend him (11:14–17). Even confessions of sin have no efficacy when real change does not occur (14:7–9, 20–22). The people know the ordinances of Yahweh but continue to break them (5:5); they talk of Yahweh even though he is distant from their hearts (12:2). Duplicity extends also to dealings with other people. All of this betrays on the part of the people acute unawareness or lack of understanding. The God of Israel has been reduced into another idol (Eichrodt 1950–51:18). And the sin of Jerusalem's people contributes to Jeremiah's suffering, e.g., when he intercedes for the people they thank him with a curse (15:10–11; 18:20).

Fortunately evil cannot go on forever. Yahweh's anger is finally kindled to the point where he must avenge his name. Judgment is the result. The people have brought it upon themselves (2:17, 19; 4:18); it is "the fruit of (their) doings" (17:10). Jeremiah affirms in his early preaching the old theology that the father's sins are meted out upon the children and grandchildren (2:5–9). But later he states along with his younger contemporary Ezekiel that each person must die for his own sin (31:29–30; cf. Ezekiel 18; Deut 24:16). Yahweh's judgment in either case carries with it a reason, and that reason is sin (1:16; 4:17; 5:6; 8:14; 13:22; 30:14–15; etc.). This is in contrast to the reckless and arbitrary judgments of other ancient Near Eastern deities. It is also in contrast to the mindless judgments of evil people. Yahweh remains moral, however, even when his people are not.

Divine judgment affects the entire creation. The withholding of rain and its ruinous impact on the land (3:3; 5:24–25; 14:2–6) are portents of worse things to come. The final strike came when the Babylonian army brought down the nation in 587. Countless people died or were taken into exile, and the land was devastated.

Yahweh is the one who raised the question of pardon for Jerusalem (5:1–8), but his answer was negative because the city could not produce one righteous soul. Repentance would have made a difference (4:1–4), but the people refused. Pardon had to wait therefore until after the punishment was completed (31:34). Jeremiah was himself told on one occasion that he must repent for some worthless words he had uttered (15:19). This may have been when he called Yahweh a "dried-up brook" (v 18). Heschel, however, argues that the so-called worthless words are Jeremiah's call for Yahweh's vengeance upon those persecuting him (v 15). According to this view, Jeremiah has a case of "hypertrophic sympathy," i.e., an excessive amount of sympathy for the divine wrath (Heschel 1962: 126–27). Assuming Jeremiah did repent, he accomplished what the rest of the people could not. His pardon then would have consisted of being restored to the divine council and receiving once again from Yahweh a promise of salvation (15:20–21).

Because Yahweh is God over the whole earth, other nations cannot escape his punishment. Yahweh has no covenant with any of them; still, he must avenge himself for the evil done to his people and to Jerusalem (46:10; 51:35; cf. 10:25; Deut 32:34–43). But he also moves against them because they are wicked (25:31), proud (50:31–32), and trusting in their own gods (50:38; 51:47, 52).

**f. Grace and Salvation.** While sin and judgment form the bulk of Jeremiah's preaching, interwoven throughout are messages of grace and salvation. Even before he began preaching, Jeremiah was himself promised salvation (1:8), and that pledge was repeated (1:19; 15:20–21). Jeremiah prayed for his salvation, and when doubts gave way to belief and the crisis had passed, he expressed profound gratitude to Yahweh (17:14–18; 20:11–13).

Jeremiah's earliest preaching recalls Yahweh's prior grace to Israel (2:6–7). Most recently, Yahweh's grace was shown to the exiles who had survived the Assyrian wilderness (31:2), and these are now called to return to Zion (3:12–14; 31:4–6, 7–9; etc.). Salvation was even available to Jerusalem in the early days of the reform if the people had obeyed the covenant and repented of their wrongdoing.

During the dark days of 605 a salvific word was given to Baruch, and in 597 when Jerusalem surrendered, salvation was presented as an eschatological hope to exiles leaving for Babylon (30:5–

31:22). Health would return (30:17; 33:6), but the exiles would have to settle down in Babylon, pray for that nation, and wait for Zion's restoration (29; cf. 24:4–7).

During Jehoiakim's and Zedekiah's reigns, Jeremiah announced Nebuchadnezzar as Yahweh's "servant," and proclaimed further that all nations—including Judah—must serve him (25:9; 27:6–7). Salvation would be realized through the exiles living in Babylon. In Jerusalem one person, however, did manage to get a salvific word from Jeremiah and that was Ebed-melech, who acted to save Jeremiah's life. The word came while Jeremiah was confined to the court of the guard. The nation, too, at this time, received some of its grandest eschatological promises, including the promise of a new covenant (31:23–33:13). Unlike judgment, divine grace and salvation do not require from Yahweh a reason; in fact, they most often come without a reason. It is entirely due to Yahweh's initiative that Israel can hope for national restoration, and also that a new covenant will be made where Yahweh's law will be written on people's hearts. See NEW COVENANT. This new act of grace will render unnecessary admonitions of one person to another to "know Yahweh" or "fear Yahweh" (31:31–34; 32:37–41; *ROTT* 2: 212–15). Yahweh at this future time will also forgive the people's sins.

The salvific word for the present, however, is a more modest one: Zedekiah, his house, and the city can be spared, but Zedekiah has to obey Yahweh's word and surrender (38:17–23). Even later people of the city are offered salvation, but they must desert to the enemy and surrender because the fate of Jerusalem is sealed (21:8–10). After Jerusalem is destroyed, Jeremiah speaks yet more words of hope and salvation to those allowed to remain in the land. They are to stay where they are, not go to Egypt as they plan to do (42:7–12).

Jeremiah then fulfills that part of his calling which was "to build and to plant" (1:10). And so far as the activity of Yahweh is concerned, he does not decide at any point to completely withhold his salvation. Salvation is continually in his mind; it is given simultaneously with judgment (e.g., 1:13–19; 21:8–10; etc.). Salvation is ever present as an option if only people will obey God's voice and repent of their evil (18:7–8).

**2. The Theology of the Book.** The theology of the book of Jeremiah supplements and expands the theology of Jeremiah by placing the latter in a wider context. This theology appears primarily in the prose material and in foreign nation poems of unknown provenance, but it is present as well in the book's compositional structures.

**a. Theology in the Prose.** The majority of the book's prose says little or nothing about causation or interconnections, as, for example, one finds in the Deuteronomistic History or in 2 Maccabees. The coming destruction is connected with the sins of Manasseh in 15:4, but this appears to be a late addition building on 2 Kgs 23:26 and 24:3. The summary notice in 37:1–2 also looks to be Deuteronomistic, though v 2 does codify an important theme of the Baruch prose, i.e., that people refused to listen to Jeremiah's word (11:6, 8b LXX; 13:11; 19:15; 36:31; 44:5, 16; etc.). In 25:3 the people are said not to have heeded Jeremiah for 23 years; this reflects more or less Jeremiah's own complaint in 6:16, 19. Theology in the book is on a continuum: There is a core of dynamic ideas which is Jeremianic; theological statements more or less explicit in nature come in the Baruch prose; and the most transparent theology giving causations or interconnections are to be found only in the latest additions to the book.

The Baruch prose has little explicit theology about the guiding hand of Yahweh. In 36:26, for example, it does say that "Yahweh hid them" (i.e., Jeremiah and Baruch). But most of the theology in this prose is subtle, indirect, and less than transparent. When it says in 36:24 that Jehoiakim and his servants did not "rend their garments" at the reading of Jeremiah's scroll, the unstated message is that Jehoiakim did not repent the way Josiah did when a scroll was read to him some years earlier (2 Kgs 22:11). In the notation of 28:17 that Hananiah died "in that same year, in the seventh month," what is implied is that Jeremiah's prophecy to Hananiah (v 16) was fulfilled, and thus Jeremiah was a true prophet according to the formula of Deut 18:21–22. A further theological conclusion which might also be drawn, given the conflict between the two prophets, is that Hananiah was a false prophet. This judgment is in fact made in the LXX in 35:1 [MT 28:1].

When Baruch records the release of Jeremiah by Nebuzaradan, he bears silent witness to Yahweh's fulfillment of earlier promises that Jeremiah would be saved. Therefore it should not be concluded that no good comes out of Jeremiah's final sufferings, nor should we say with von Rad (*ROTT* 2: 207) that "Jeremiah's path disappears in misery." The guiding hand of Yahweh is recognized throughout Jeremiah's *via dolorosa;* it is simply that this theology is not explicitly stated. Von Rad is correct, however, in saying that the Baruch prose does not make Jeremiah out to be a hero (*ROTT* 2: 207–8), i.e., the prophet is not glorified in his sufferings. It is generally thought that Baruch's explanation for Jeremiah's sufferings is that the sufferings were a consequence of his preaching about Jerusalem's capture and his call to surrender (*ROTT* 2: 207). But more broadly, the reason for his sufferings is that the people refused to listen to Yahweh's word, and this rejection manifested itself in anger toward the one who brought that word (1:18–19; cf. 20:15–16).

Prose of uncertain and exilic origin expands earlier theology. Exilic passages of hope and restoration, e.g., 3:15–18, develop Jeremiah's earliest preaching to northern Israel. The passage in 12:14–17 about the conversion of the nations to Yahweh expands upon Jeremiah's expressed universalism. Other passages repeat themes originating with Jeremiah and Baruch, only more transparently. One of the most common concerns Yahweh's reason for punishing the nations (5:19; 9:11–15—Eng 9:12–16; 11:7–8 MT; etc.).

**b. Theology in the Foreign Nation Oracles.** Although it is difficult in the foreign nation oracles to distinguish what comes from Jeremiah, what is imported from other prophets, and what is late theological expansionism, certain ideas seem not to emanate from Jeremiah. For example, Babylon is said to have "sinned" and "incurred guilt" against Yahweh (50:14 MT; 51:5). Also, Yahweh's vengeance on Babylon is to repay her for the destruction of the temple (50:28 MT; 51:11b). Yahweh is also said to reserve compassion and favor for the foreign nations (except Babylon) after their punishment is complete. The nations will be reinhabited (46:26), and their fortunes will be restored (48:47; 49:6, 39).

**c. Theology in Compositional Structures.** Compositional structures in the book are created with a liturgical purpose in mind, and frequently these structures embody a statement of implied theology. The two successive liturgies of lament, communal supplication, and rejection by Yahweh of Jeremiah's prayers in 14:1–15:4 explain why Jeremiah was unsuccessful in his mediation on behalf of Jerusalem. The liturgical composition of 30:5–31:22 embodies a message which says that hope and divine promise will follow judgment and lamentation. This text also affirms that Yahweh will remake his covenant with Israel. The inclusion framing the two letters to the exiles in chap. 29 (vv 5, 28) emphasizes the need for people to settle down in Babylon so they may live and multiply. And the juxtaposition of narratives in 34–35 is a quiet homily on obedience and disobedience.

The inclusion which binds the First Edition (chaps. 1–20) together puts Jeremiah's cry of despair—which by itself says Jeremiah deserves to live no more than anyone else—into a larger context where Yahweh's call can affirm his birth and also his life (Lundbom 1975: 28–29; 1985: 600). This rhetorical structure also conveys the message that Yahweh's understanding exceeds Jeremiah's, which is another way of saying that Jeremiah does not really understand his own suffering (*ROTT* 2: 206). Finally, the inclusio framing the King Collection in 21:1–23:8, which repeats the play on names in 23:6 between Zedekiah and the future Davidic king, contrasts the righteousness of the future king with the unrighteousness of him who last sat on Jerusalem's throne. This is but a subtler version of that Deuteronomistic theology which sets up David as the model of the good king and Jeroboam as the model of the bad (2 Kgs 14:3, 24; etc.).

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JACK R. LUNDBOM

**JEREMIAH, EPISTLE OF.** The Epistle of Jeremiah is neither a letter nor was it written by Jeremiah the prophet. It has more the form of a homily against idolatry and idols. It is extant only in Greek and in several dependent versions. The placement of this epistle differs in various biblical mss. In codex Vaticanus as well as in Alexandrinus (and others), it stands after the book of Lamentations. In other Greek and Syriac mss, it comes after Baruch. This little book consists of 10 stanzas, each ending with a refrain. The same motif recurs throughout the book. In vv 1–7 the author says that the Jews whom

Nebuchadnezzar will exile to Babylon will remain there for seven generations. In exile they must refrain from idolatry and worship God whose angel will be with them. Throughout vv 8–73 the author elaborates upon the folly of idolatry. In vv 8–16 he says that the Babylonian gods cannot speak and cannot dress. They can protect themselves neither from insults nor from rust and moths. Verses 17–23 deal with the insensate nature of the idols. Their eyes are filled with dust, they are locked in the temples for fear of robbers, and they are illuminated through lamps which they cannot see. They are incapable of recognizing that they are defiled by unclean animals. Verses 24–29 refer to the idols as being outwardly impressive (because they are expensively made), but they have no breath and cannot move or walk. The priests exploit them and impure women defile their offerings. Verses 30–40a elaborate even further on the worthlessness of the idols. Although they are defiled by priestesses, and priests take the idols' garments for their families, they cannot protect themselves. They can neither crown nor depose a king; they can neither give riches nor help those in need. Verses 40b–44 state that Bel and other idols are treated with disrespect by the Chaldeans themselves, a matter emphasized by the sacred prostitution enacted in the temples. Verses 45–52 add only the idea that idols are but the creation of men who will themselves perish at some point. Also, in times of war the idols are hidden because they are helpless. In vv 53–56 the author stresses once again that the idols are so helpless they cannot judge or redress a wrong; they cannot escape fire or war. Verses 57–65 propound the idea that idols are useless, because in contradistinction to a vessel or a door, which are useful, the idols are not. Moreover, the forces of nature fulfill divinely ordained functions, whereas idols can do nothing. In conclusion, vv 66–73 compare idols to a scarecrow, a thornbush, and a corpse. Thus, the righteous man who is free of idols will be far above reproach.

The author of the epistle was certainly not Jeremiah, but the text is dependent on both Jer 10:2–15 for the contents of the epistle and on Jeremiah 29 for its form (chap. 29 mentions a letter of Jeremiah to the exiles in Babylon). The epistle is dependent on the familiar *topoi* found in the Bible to describe the idols (cf. Jer 10:2–5, 8–11, 13b–15; Isa 44:9–20; 46:5–7; Ps 115:3–8; Deut 4:27–28). The epistle was most probably composed in Hebrew or Aramaic, and is very repetitive in its themes and phraseology. Two arguments for a Hebrew original are: (1) certain variant readings are best explained by positing a Hebrew original (vv 21, 54, 68); and (2) certain corrupt Greek readings seem to presuppose a Hebrew word (cf. vv 12, 72) or other Hebraism. The extant versions are the LXX and those based on it, such as the OL, Vulgate, and Syro-Hexaplar. There are no major differences between the various versions. The Arabic version is faithful to the LXX, while the Syriac is somewhat free.

The purpose of the epistle seems quite obvious. It is a vehement attack on idolatry, in particular on Babylonian idols, and is designed to protect Jews from idolatry in the Babylonian Diaspora and elsewhere. The exilic setting and the attack on Bel and other Babylonian idols is probably a literary fiction, for the author may have composed this document at the end of the 4th century B.C. This becomes clear from an allusion in the document itself (v 3) where it is said: "Once you have reached Babylon you will stay there for many years, for a long while, up to seven generations; but afterwards I will bring you away from there in peace." If we reckon from 587 (or 597), seven generations reaches 307 (or 317) B.C. Also, the epistle is probably mentioned in 2 Macc 2:1–4 (datable to the 1st century B.C.), and the earliest Greek translation derives from Qumran cave VII (which is dated ca. 100 B.C.). This gives us a *terminus ad quem* of the 1st century B.C., although it may have been composed as early as the end of the 4th century B.C. It may have been used by the author of the Wisdom of Solomon (cf. 13:10–15; 19) in the 1st century B.C. As evidenced by that text, idolatry was a central issue in the fight against Hellenism in Palestine from the time of the Diadochi through Roman times. It is therefore not altogether impossible that this document was used in Hellenistic Palestine (cf. *1 En.* 99:7, 9). There exists no reason to claim that the epistle was written outside Palestine, as some have suggested (Egypt, Babylonia, etc.), in particular when we take into consideration that our author most probably did not use the LXX, but a Hebrew recension.

The book was excluded from the Hebrew canon, but was accepted by Christians in Egypt. Christian writers do not mention the letter often; it was rejected by Protestants during the Reformation, but received by the Roman Catholics at the Council of Trent in 1546. In the Eastern church the epistle was accepted as

canonical by some of the Church Fathers (Origen, Epiphanius, and others); in the West it appeared in the list of Hilary. See also JEREMIAH, ADDITIONS TO.

DORON MENDELS

**JEREMIEL** (ANGEL) [Lat *Hieremihel*]. The angelic name that appears in the Latin mss of 2 Esdr 4:36. The variant *remihel* is also attested, corresponding to *rm*›*yl* in Syriac mss. The Latin transliteration *Hieremihel* is thought to correspond to Gk *yeremeēl* or *yeremiēl,* forms which appear in many mss of the LXX where the corresponding name in MT is *yĕraḥmĕ*›*ēl* (RSV Jerahmeel: 1 Chr 2:25, 26, 27, 42; Jer 36:26 [—LXX 43:26]).

An apocalyptic tradition is cited in 2 Esdr 4:33–37 (cf. Rev 6:9–11) according to which this angel promised vindication to the souls of the righteous dead who asked, "How long?" The angel's name as reconstructed would interpret that vindication as an expression of God's compassion.

An alternative derivation is from a putative Hebrew **yārîm*›*ēl* involving the causative of the Hebrew or Aramaic verb *rwm* "to be high" and meaning "May El lift up/exalt" (cf. Isa 52:13; on the derivation, see *TPNAH,* 113–14. The verb *rwm* is not normally used to suggest resurrection.) Other references to the angel occur, evidently, in the Greek version of *1 En.* 20:8, where the angel *Remeiēl* is "in charge of those who rise," and in *Apoc. Zeph.* 6:11–17, where *Eremiēl* (the text is Coptic) is set over the abyss and Hades. In *2 Baruch* the angel *rm*›*yl* (Syr) interprets the vision in chaps. 53–74 (note 55:3; see Bogaert 1969: 1.428–37) and identifies himself as the destroyer of Sennacherib's army (63:6). In one Greek ms family of *Sib. Or.* 2:215, *eromiēl* is one of the four archangels.

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**JEREMOTH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕrêmôt* (יְרֵימוֹת)]. An alternate form of JERIMOTH.

**JERIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕrîyāhû* (יְרִיָּהוּ)]. A Kohathite, the first son of Hebron, whom, according to the 1 Chronicles, David appointed to service in the Temple and its cult (1 Chr 23:19). Jeriah appears nowhere else in the OT outside of 1 Chronicles. The Levitical genealogies of Exodus 6 and Numbers 3 do not include enumeration of the immediate descendants of Hebron. The source of the Chronicler's use of the name "Jeriah" remains uncertain. See JEKAMEAM. The style of the list, however, corresponds closely with the compositional techniques of the Chronicler. This suggests that Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles NCBC,* 161) may be correct in asserting that "the names of the heads of houses will then be current at the time of the list's composition." Jeriah's oversight of the Ruebenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh in the "affairs of God and the affairs of the king" may represent either an ideal or real situation of a Hebronite family at the time of the composition of Chronicles (1 Chr 26:31–32).

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JOHN W. WRIGHT

**JERIBAI** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕrîbay* (יְרִיבַי)]. A son of Elnaam and brother of Joshaviah (1 Chr 11:46), one of the Mighty Men of David's armies. These names appear in a list occasionally described as the "Additional" Mighty Men—sixteen in number (1 Chr 11:41b–47), since they are not included in the parallel list in 2 Sam 23:24–39 (= 1 Chr 11:26–41a). The origin of this additional list has been disputed: some have considered it a postexilic fabrication, yet the E Jordanian locale suggested by the names (e.g. all the known sites are E of the Jordan: Reuben, v 42; Ashteroth … Aroer, v 44; Moab, v 46) appears to be an unlikely invention, considering the suspicion regarded this area after the Exile. That David would have support from Moab is not surprising, considering (1) his Moabite ancestry (Ruth 4:18–22) and (2) the sequestering of his parents there (1 Sam 22:3–4). This list probably was an additional fragment

available to the Chronicler (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 104), so we may suggest that Jeribai was a Transjordanian war hero who joined David's forces.
JOHN C. ENDRES

**JERICHO** (PLACE) [Heb *yĕrîḥô* (יְרִיחוֹ)]. A town just NW of the Dead Sea which is best known as the site that Israel first conquered in their entrance into the land of Canaan. The Israelites encamped across the Jordan from Jericho (Num 22:1; 26:3), and from this camp, Joshua sent two spies to reconnoiter the city (Joshua 2), before undertaking a bizarre strategy of conquest (Josh 5:13–6:23). The city was later allotted to Benjamin (Josh 16:1, 7; 18:12, 21), but during the time of the Judges, became an outpost of Eglon of Moab ("the city of palm trees;" Judg 3:13). During the time of Elijah and Elisha, there was a school of prophets at Jericho (2 Kgs 2:4–5, 15). After the Babylonians had breached the wall of Jerusalem, Zedekiah attempted to escape the city under cover of darkness, but was captured near Jericho, from which he was delivered to Nebuchadnezzar, who forced him to witness the execution of his sons. Afterward Zedekiah was blinded (Jer 39:5–7). Most of the references to Jericho in the Apocryphal writings and the NT refer to the area of Jericho as it surrounded the Hasmonean/Herodian palace complex to the SW of the OT site (see E below).

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A. Modern and Ancient Names of the Sites
B. Location and Topographical Description
C. History of Explorations and Excavations
D. History of Jericho (Tell es-Sultan)
1. Mesolithic (ca. 9000–8700 B.C.)
2. Proto-Neolithic (ca. 8700–8500 B.C.)
3. Pre-Pottery Neolithic (ca. 8500–5200 B.C.)
4. Pottery Neolithic A and B (ca. 5200–4000 B.C.)
5. Early Bronze I (ca. 3300–3150 B.C.)
6. Early Bronze II–III (ca. 3050–2300 B.C.)
7. Early Bronze IV (ca. 2300–1950 B.C.)
8. Middle Bronze Age (ca. 1950–1550 B.C.)
9. Late Bronze Age (ca. 1550–1200 B.C.)
10. Iron Age (ca. 1200–587 B.C.)
11. Babylonian/Persian to Byzantine (587 B.C.–A.D. 636)
E. Roman Jericho (Tulul Abu el-ʿAlayiq)

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**A. Modern and Ancient Names of the Sites**

The site of OT Jericho is situated on the mound of Tell es-Sultan (M.R. 192142), ca. 2 km NW of the modern oasis of Jericho known as er-Riḥa. The spring around which the ancient site grew is known as ʿAin es-Sultan or Elisha's Fountain, a name applied to the spring during the Middle Ages (Garstang and Garstang 1940: 30; cf. 2 Kgs 2:19–22). Occupational remains dated to the Hellenistic, Roman, and Islamic periods were found on the mounds of Tulul Abu el-ʿAlayiq (i.e., Roman Jericho, N.R. 191139; see E below), 2 km W of modern er-Riḥa (Kelso and Baramki 1955: 1–19; Pritchard 1958: 56–58).

**B. Location and Topographical Description**

Jericho (Tell es-Sultan) is located in the wide plain of the Jordan valley about 16 km NW of the N shore of the Dead Sea and just to the E of the mountains of Judea. At its maximum height on the NW side, the mound rises 24 m, and its area is approximately 4 hectares. See Fig. JER.01. The fertile plain in which the site is situated is artificially irrigated by the spring of ʿAin es-Sultan, which is located on the E side of the ancient mound, and also by the spring of ʿAin Duq, located 3 km NW of Jericho. Since the site lies 825 ft. below sea level, the town has the distinction of being situated at the lowest spot in the world.

The topographical features which make Jericho a very fertile and ideal place for settlement have been discussed extensively by numerous authors. The first serious topographical survey was undertaken by

Conder and Kitchner (*SWP* 3: 222–29). More recent discussions appear in Kenyon (1981: 1), Bartlett (1982b: 11–26), and Bienkowski (1986: 1).

**C. History of Explorations and Excavations**

The earliest known account of exploration pertaining to ancient Jericho dates to A.D. 333 and comes from the "pilgrim of Bordeaux" (Wilkinson, Hill, and Ryan 1988: 4). Although many other pilgrims and travelers visited the site thereafter, it was not until 1868 that the first preliminary excavation of Tell es-Sultan was undertaken by Charles Warren (Warren 1869: 14–16, Bliss 1894: 175–83). Warren cut E-W trenches across the mound with some 8 ft. square shafts sunk 20 ft. to bedrock. He cut through the EB town wall and just missed the famous Neolithic stone tower by less than 1 m. He concluded that

> Very little was found except pottery jars and stone mortars for grinding corn. The general impression given by the result of the excavations is that these mounds are formed by the gradual crumbling away of great towers or castles of sunburnt brick (1883: 225).

The first scientific excavations (1907–9 and 1911) were under the direction of Ernst Sellin and Carl Watzinger (1913). They excavated at Tell es-Sultan and also at the sites of Tulul and Abu el-ʿAlayiq SW of Jericho.

Sellin and Watzinger excavated a considerable area of the tell (as is shown by the shaded area in Fig. JER.02). They found a large portion of the MB revetment glacis on the N, W, and E sides of the tell and also portions of the EB town walls. Their original interpretation of the revetment glacis was that it dated to the 9th century B.C. and that the EB walls belonged to the first half of the 2d millennium B.C., which appeared to confirm the biblical account of the capture of Jericho by Joshua (see below). However, Watzinger (1926: 131–36) rightly revised his dating and showed that the outer revetment was destroyed ca. 1600 B.C. and that the EB walls dated in fact to the 3d millennium B.C.

Above the spring, located on the SE side of the tell, the German excavators discovered houses belonging to the Israelite settlement which were dated fairly accurately from the 11th to the early 6th centuries B.C. They concluded that the town was destroyed by the Assyrians in 721 B.C. and 701 B.C., as well as by the Babylonians in 587 B.C., with a postexilic settlement which began in 539 B.C. upon the return of the Jews from Babylon (cf. Weippert and Weippert 1976: 145–47).

Since he disagreed with the results of the German excavations, John Garstang (1932–36) decided to undertake a new expedition to Jericho which lasted from 1930 to 1936 (for areas excavated on the tell see the composite sketch plan, Fig. JER.02). Garstang also excavated a number of MB and LB tombs (Garstang 1932: 18: 22, 41–54; 1933: 4–42; and Bienkowski 1986: 32–102). Owing to poor excavation techniques at the time, Garstang's stratigraphy and dating is partially unreliable, but he did break new ground in his discoveries relating to the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods at Jericho. Bienkowski (1986: 2–4) gives a good summary of Garstang's major finds in the publication based upon his doctoral dissertation (Holland 1988: 189–90).

With the advent of the greatly improved stratigraphical digging methods developed by Sir Mortimer Wheeler and Kathleen Kenyon (Kenyon/Wheeler Method) during the late 1940s and early 1950s, Kenyon embarked upon a fresh examination of Jericho in an effort to clarify her predecessor's results on the site. The excavations were conducted from 1952 to 1958 (Kenyon 1960; 1965; and 1981; Kenyon and Holland 1982 and 1983).

As Garstang did before her, Kenyon explored around the ancient tell and excavated numerous tombs ranging in date from the EB I (Kenyon's "Proto-Urban period") to the Roman period. The material from these tombs was extensively published in the first two volumes of the final Jericho reports (Kenyon 1960 and 1965). On the tell, Kenyon excavated three main trenches: Trench I, located in the middle of the W side of the mound; Trench II, situated on the NE end of the mound (note the misnumbering of Trenches I and II on the plan in Kenyon *EAEHL* 2:551); and Trench III, laid out on the S end of the mound. Various squares identified by letters also were sited on the tell and either partially or totally excavated to bedrock.

**D. History of Jericho (Tell es-Sultan)**

**1. Mesolithic (ca. 9000–8700 B.C.).** The earliest occupational remains discovered by Kenyon (table 1) come from the bottom of Squares EI, II, and V, which were excavated to bedrock, and are dated to the

Mesolithic period, about 9000 B.C. (Kenyon 1981: pl. 144b). At the base of Square EI lay a natural oblong platform of clay over the bedrock which contained a group of three sockets for uprights, tentatively identified as supports for "totem poles" by Kenyon. The flint and bone tools associated with the structure are typologically akin to the Lower Natufian of Mount Carmel. The excavator suggests that the structure was some kind of shrine or sanctuary, probably set up by hunters who were camping around the original spring, probably located in the vicinity of Area H in ancient times. The finds associated with the Mesolithic levels consisted of a fairly large Natufian flint industry, bone tools, and stone vessels and tools.

The Natufian II (or Middle Natufian), microlithic, and other tools were found only in Squares EI, II, and V (Crowfoot Payne 1983: 624–29). However, on the evidence of a bone harpoon, also from Square EI, the earlier Natufian I period appears to be represented on the site. Other bone tools include an awl, a smoothing tool, and an unidentified object cut square at both ends and polished all over (Marshall 1982: fig. 230:1–2). Only four stone objects and one fragment are recorded from the Mesolithic levels in Squares EI, II, and V. The "socket" stones identified above as "totem poles" by Kenyon have been reclassified by Dorrell (1983: 489) as limestone mortars. Two polishing stones were also found.

**2. Proto-Neolithic (ca. 8700–8500 B.C.).** The Proto-Neolithic deposits excavated by Kenyon were encountered in three areas of the tell just above the natural huwwar bedrock in Squares FI, DI, and DII adjacent to Trench I, in Squares EI, II, V, and in Square MI. See Table 1.

The deepest Proto-Neolithic deposit was in Square MI with an accumulation of 4 m of occupation levels above bedrock (Kenyon 1981: pls. 129 and 295). Associated with these levels were one or more slight clayey humps which formed the boundary between a marked surface overlain by silty occupation levels. The humps, some of which were composed of defined "balls" of clay, forming elementary bricks, represented the bases of walls of slight shelters which probably had superstructures of branches and skins.

In Squares EI, II, and V, the Proto-Neolithic is represented by a very small deposit on the turf line which separates the lower Mesolithic level from the Proto-Neolithic level (Kenyon 1981: pls. 311 and 312). A series of post holes were found associated with the remains of huts and sandy floors. The two phases of occupation levels probably represent the very end of the period as they are immediately succeeded by the first Pre-Pottery Neolithic A house level, which suggests that the Proto-Neolithic settlement expanded from the nucleus tell, most probably the area around Square MI, just before the appearance of the round houses constructed during the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A period.

Very shallow deposits belonging to the Proto-Neolithic period were found in Squares FI, DI, and DII, an area 25 m S of Square MI and outside of the nucleus tell. The main characteristics of the deposit were black sticky layers, humps made of brick balls, and a few post holes.

The Proto-Neolithic flint industry from Jericho has been defined as Sultanian (meaning from Tell es-Sultan) by Crowfoot Payne (1983: 623, 629–30). The material discovered by Kenyon comes from Trench II and Squares DI, DII, EI, II, V, and MI. The flint was so fine-grained that it could be regarded as agate. A probable source of the flint was recently discovered by Noy in the Jordan Valley near Gilgal N of Jericho (Crowfoot Payne 1983: 629). One very interesting aspect of the flint industry of this period is the presence of pale gray obsidian tools. The analysis of a specimen from the lowest level on the site shows the source at Çiftlik in Anatolia, which confirms extensive trade relations at this period in the development of Jericho as an early center of civilization (Crowfoot Payne 1983: 638, n. 2).

Most of the Proto-Neolithic bone tools were found in Square MI, but a few fragments also came from Squares E and F (Marshall 1982: 584–86 and fig. 230).

Of the twenty-three Proto-Neolithic stones artifacts found, twenty were from Square MI, two from Square F, and one from Trench III (Dorrell 1983: 490 and fig. 218, pl. 1). The one limestone quern found is of special interest since the inside of the hollow used for grinding was stained red and may have been used to grind pigment rather than food grain.

**3. Pre-Pottery Neolithic (ca. 8500–5200 B.C.).** The Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (ca. 8500–700 B.C.) stages of occupation (table 1) and the areas of their discovery are further detailed in Kenyon (1981).

There was obviously an occupational gap between the Proto-Neolithic and the PPNA since in all the areas investigated, fully developed round houses, usually single-roomed, were found in contrast to the primitive huts constructed in previous periods. The houses were built with solid walls constructed with planoconvex mudbricks which, in many instances, had a hog-backed shape (Kenyon 1981: pls. 44a, 146a). The inward incline of the preserved portions of the walls and a considerable amount of brick debris in the collapse suggest that the roofs were domed, possibly similar to the so-called "beehive" houses still built in Syria and used for both storage and housing. The construction of these houses at Jericho indicates that the occupation had become sedentary. The areas covered by the houses was greater than the later Bronze Age town.

Whether for defense, protection from wild animals, or a natural rising of the level of the ground surrounding the settlement (Bar-Yosef 1986: 159–61), the PPN inhabitants soon found it necessary to construct a major, stone-built town wall (Fig. JER.03) of which Kenyon (1981: pls. 4, 6) found traces in all three of her main trenches. On the W side of the town in Trench I, the first town wall was associated with a large stone-built tower situated against its inner side, 8.5 m in diameter at the base with a surviving height of 7.75 m. The construction of the tower was solid except in the center, which had a staircase providing access to the top from the interior of the town. There were three further stages of the town wall which also made use of the tower. A rock-cut ditch which measured 9.5 m wide and 2.25 m deep (Kenyon 1981: pls. 4, 244) was cut on the W outer face of the wall during the second stage of its use.

The PPNA flint industry was so similar to that of the preceding Proto-Neolithic period that Crowfoot Payne (1983: 663–65) retained the name "Sultanian," which she coined to commemorate the importance of Jericho during these periods.

The large collection of PPNA stone vessels and tools included 171 vessels (bowls, platters, mortars, querns, etc.); 252 pestles; 174 polishing stones, 28 axes; 14 grooved stones (possibly used to straighten and smooth arrow-shafts); 21 flint hammerstones or nodules; 7 chisels or wedges; 2 hoe-shaped tools; and 15 miscellaneous objects, the purposes of which are unknown (Dorrell 1983: figs. 219–23 and pls. 1–11).

A total of 343 bone tool objects or fragments were found in the PPNA levels during Kenyon's excavations. There were many pins, awls, and pointed tools, probably used for skin working, as well as a shuttle for weaving (Marshall 1982: figs. 231–48 and pls. VIII–IX).

The PPNB (ca. 7000–5200 B.C.) stages of occupation and their areas of discovery (see table 1) are detailed in Kenyon (1981).

Architecturally, the houses of this period show a complete break in style from the round houses of the PPNA, and with no transitional structures. In all areas excavated, the house plans are rectilinear (a characteristic example is House B in Trench III, Phase xviii [see photograph and plan in Kenyon 1981: pls. 115 and 263c]). Wall NAD of House B is a typical example since it shows the characteristic bricks used in house construction. They are elongated with herringbone thumb impressions, usually laid as stretchers, but sometimes there is an occasional header, and they are all laid in a thick mudmortar (Kenyon 1981: pl. 116a and cf. pl. 138c). The mudmortar also was applied to the faces of walls and overlaid with a surface of burnished plaster which extended from the walls to form the floors.

Although constructed in the same manner as other PPNB houses found at Jericho, one partially excavated building in Trench I (Square XVIA, Phase xx) differs markedly in plan (Kenyon 1981: pls. 46b and 221). It consists of a rectangular room 6 m from E–W, and more than 5.50 m from N–S. A basin, carefully lined with plaster, is centrally situated on the E–W axis of the room, and associated with it are a series of pits. Adjoining the main room on both its E and W sides are enclosures with rounded walls. The inward curve of the eleven courses preserved of the E enclosure wall suggests that these rooms were domed. As this plan is unique among the houses excavated at Jericho, and the well-built and plastered basin plus the pits suggest ceremonial usage, Kenyon postulated that the building probably was a cult center or temple. However, the presence of bone tools may suggest an alternate hypothesis; the enclosures could have served as a skin working area or served as drying kilns, particularly since they were domed.

Further evidence for some kind of PPNB cult practice or possibly ancestor worship was the discovery of a number of human skulls which had been molded over with plaster so that they resembled living heads

(Kenyon 1981: pls. 50–59). Similar cult practices apparently existed at other sites during this period as similar plastered skulls have been found at ʿAin Ghazal, NE of Amman (Rollefson 1983: 35, and pl. 4:1–2; 1985: 54–56, and fig. 6), at Beisamoun in N Israel (Ferembach and Lechevallier 1973: pls. 1, 2), and at Tell Ramad, near Damascus in Syria (Contenson and van Liere 1966: pls. 3c, 4c). Shells were inserted to represent eyes and traces of paint revealed that skin and hair also were portrayed in a lifelike image. The largest group found together consisted of nine examples buried in the fill below the plastered floor of a house in the SE corner of Square DI, belonging to Square XVII, Phase xliii (Kenyon 1981: 77 and pl. 220).

The latest PPNB level on the E side of Square DII (Stage XXVA-XXVI, Phase xxxviii–xxxix) above wall 140 contained a very simple clay stylized human bust which was part of a life-sized figure (Kenyon 1981: 531 and pls. 72, 242a), which also may indicate some cult practice as well as a development away from the practice of using human skulls for ritual purposes. The head of a more sophisticated life-sized clay stylized human figure, with inlaid shell eyes and painted features, was found by Garstang (1935: pl. 53) in Area 195, which he identified as coming from the "Upper Neolithic" (almost certainly PPNB according to Kenyon 1979: 36). The best and most recent examples of this early art form were discovered at the Neolithic site of ʿAin Ghazal in Jordan (Rollefson 1983: 30–35). It is possible that the full-figure, stylized human statuettes may represent a transition between the practice of plastering human skulls and the making of a representation of a life-sized human figure which is almost totally stylized.

Kenyon's further excavations on the NE end of the tell, in the area previously excavated by Garstang, revealed a total of fifteen main PPNB building periods in Squares EI, II, and V, apart from at least two building periods removed by Garstang. All of the plans (Kenyon 1981: pls. 158–70 and 303–9) reveal that the houses were built around a courtyard which contained fireplaces. The equipment found is characteristic of all PPNB areas of the tell; it consists of many flint implements, fine stone bowls, bone tools, polishing stones, and querns (Kenyon 1957: pl. 16a and 1979: pl. 19). Also, many excellent examples of rush mats were found within the buildings (E. Crowfoot 1982: 546–50 and pls. 4–5).

**4. Pottery Neolithic A and B (ca. 5200–4000 B.C.).** The destruction of PPNB Jericho was followed by a considerable period of erosion, the exact time span of which has not been determined (table 1). The new settlers on the site had already developed the art of pottery making, although primitive, before their arrival; therefore this stage in the history of the tell is known as the Pottery Neolithic (PN). There were two groups of PN settlers: the first possessed fairly primitive pottery vessels made of coarse, straw-tempered wares as well as finely decorated wares with burnished, red-on-cream decoration; the second had more sophisticated pottery with more intricate shapes (i.e., vessels with inturned concave rims termed "bow rim" jars), many of which are decorated with a deep red slip, sometimes burnished, and bands of herringbone incisions (for PNA and PNB pottery shapes, see the Type Series in Kenyon and Holland 1982: figs. 1–19 and 21–33).

The Pottery Neolithic A people lived in pit dwellings which were cut into the PPNB ruins of the earlier town. The pits revealed a fairly long period of use since they contained a series of successively used floors. The edges of the pits always undercut the preceding levels (Kenyon 1981: pl. 118b) and sometimes are reveted by crude wall-like edges made of pisé and stones (see the oven and fire-pit in Trench II; Kenyon 1981: pl. 99). The stone and flint implements used by the PNA population were cruder than those found in the PPNB levels. The fine PPNB grinding querns, pestles, and stone bowls were succeeded by only crudely worked stone vessels and implements (Kenyon and Holland 1983: figs. 228: 11–26 and 229: 1–7). The most notable change in the flint industry was the appearance of coarsely denticulated sickle blades, which replaced the finely serrated edges of the PPNB blades (Crowfoot Payne 1983: figs. 313–15 and 335–37). That the coarser PNA-type sickle blade continued in use throughout the EB Age occupation of the tell suggests that a major portion of the EB Jerichoans were direct descendants of both the PNA and PNB populations.

On present evidence, the PNA people built no free-standing structures. Their PNB successors, although they initially built huts in the debris of the PNA pits, eventually began to construct free-standing houses having round and rectilinear walls, with stone foundations and a superstructure of handmade planoconvex

("bun-shaped") mudbricks (see Trench I building foundations in Kenyon 1981: pls. 74b, 75, and 228b). In Squares FI and DI, during the final Square XXXII of the PNB occupation, there is a large wall of bun bricks with stone foundations (Wall EO) which may represent a town wall (Kenyon 1981: pls. 77, 78, and 229).

The best evidence for the succession of the pottery Neolithic pits comes from Kenyon's Trench II, Stages X–XI (PNA) and Stage XII (PNB). The sequence of pits is illustrated in chart form (Kenyon 1981: pl. 257). On this evidence, Kenyon postulated that only PNA pottery occurred in the earlier pits of Stages X–XI and PNB pottery can be shown to have first appeared during Stage XII. However, PNA pottery does not entirely disappear during Stage XII. The continuing use of PNA vessels in Stage XII suggests that there was an intermingling of PNB newcomers with the PNA population.

The main flint assemblage during the PNA period has been identified as Yarmukian by Crowfoot Payne (1983: 706–16 and figs. 332–41). It includes axe/adze heads partly flaked and polished, bifacially flaked arrowheads, coarsely denticulated sickle blades, knives and scrapers of tabular flint, and flake knives with fine scale-flaking. The main deposit of PNB flints, identified as Ghassulian by Crowfoot Payne, were found in Garstang's layer VIII (J. Crowfoot 1937: 40–41 and pls. 7B:1 and 8A: 14–17). On the basis of the Garstang material and the sickle blades and derived adze heads excavated by Kenyon, Crowfoot Payne concluded there was a complete change in the flint industry from the PNA to PNB periods and that the new PNB people were part of the whole Ghassul-Beer-sheba civilization (Crowfoot Payne 1983: 718 and figs. 243–44). The small number of plant remains and the complete absence of charcoal retrieved from Kenyon's Pottery Neolithic levels supports Hopf's conclusion that the Jerichoans were herdsmen and hunters during this period (Hopf 1983: 578).

**5. Early Bronze I (ca. 3300–3150 B.C.).** On the evidence of a "turf" layer found in Trench I (Stage XXXIII) and in period MI (Stage XVIII), Kenyon concluded that Jericho was completely abandoned for approximately 300 (?) years after the PNB period (table 1). The major evidence for the arrival of a new group of nomadic or seminomadic dwellers comes from a group of shaft tombs discovered by Kenyon which are numbered A94, A114, A13, K2, K1, A124, and A130 + A61. All these tombs contained multiple burials deposited during a long period of time (for pottery types, see Kenyon and Holland 1982: figs. 34–48). Most scholars have identified this period in Palestine as EB Age I and have divided the pottery into three main ware groups termed EB Ia (red-burnished), EB Ib (painted), and EB Ic (gray-burnished). At present, only the red-burnished and painted groups have been found on the ground and in the tombs at Jericho, which Kenyon designated Proto-Urban A and B on the basis of the tomb pottery.

Architecturally, the main evidence for the EB occupation of the tell comes from both Garstang's and Kenyon's excavations in Squares EIII–IV, located on the NE sector of the mound (grid E7, Fig. JER.04). The earliest excavated EB Ia house plans occur in Phases Q and P (Kenyon 1981: pls. 174 and 313b). The foundations of an apsidal-ended building are preserved along with the remains of a structure having three straight-sided walls, which also may be apsidal-ended, in the unexcavated NE portion of the area. The same type of house plan continues in Phase O, which ushers in the appearance of the distinctive EB Ib (Proto-Urban B) pottery decorated with painted red bands of grouped lines. EB Ib Phase N was completely destroyed and the succeeding rebuilt Phase M marked the end of the EB I occupation in Squares EIII–IV.

There is some evidence in Trench I to show that the EB occupants may have fortified their settlement. During Stage XXXIV, a town wall (A), associated with a semicircular tower, was built directly on the remains of the preceding Pottery Neolithic period Pit M (Kenyon 1981: pls. 79b and 240d). The pottery from Stage XXXIV (in the occupation and destruction Phases xxxviiia and xxxix–xl) is more closely aligned to EB forms than to the later fully developed EB pottery associated with the succeeding EB walls (C, D, F, and G) and the occupation layers above Wall A and its tower.

The main evidence concerning EB I religious customs and architecture at Jericho comes from Garstang's excavations in Area E, Level VII (= Kenyon's Squares EIII–IV, Phases M-L to DD), where he excavated a broad-roomed sanctuary, with its entrance facing E, designated Shrine 420 (Garstang 1936: 73–74 and pl. 41a). Several stone cult objects were found in the vicinity of the shrine and were thought to

be associated with it. They included a small libation altar and a smoothed stone, oval-shaped in section, which was regarded as possibly a prototype of the *maṣṣebah* (Garstang 1936: 74 and pl. 41b).

The six EB I maceheads found in Kenyon's excavations (Trench II, Square M, and Squares EIII–IV; Holland 1983: 808–10 and fig. 365:2, 6) and the two found in Garstang's Level VII (Garstang 1936: pl. 36:24–25) may indicate either that they were employed for a ceremonial use or as weapons. No figures of a cult nature were found. Concerning the flint industry, Crowfoot Payne concluded that no distinction could be drawn between flints of the EB I period and those of the later EB periods, which are all classified as Cananean. However, the Cananean industry was certainly introduced at Jericho during the beginning of the EB I period and continued into the later EB periods as is illustrated in table 23 of the final report on the flint assemblage (Crowfoot Payne 1983: 750–51).

T.A. Holland—Jericho

Table 1. JERICHO CHRONOLOGICAL CHART

| | | | | | | | | | | CORRELATION OF MAJOR EXCAVATIONS AT JERICHO | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | | | (Major Stages) | | | | | |
| *Period* | *Archaeological Dating* | *Sellin and Watzinger* | *Garstang* | *Site A* | *Trench I* | *Square DI* | *Square DII* | *Square FI* | *Squares EI, II, V* | *Squares EIII–IV* | *Squares HII–VI* | *Site L* | *Square MI* | *Trench II* | *Trench III* | *Tombs (selected exx.)* |
| Mesolithic | 9000 B.C. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | I, II | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| "Turf" | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Proto-Neolithic | 8700 B.C. | — | — | — | — | I | I | I | III | — | — | — | I to VI | — | — | — |
| Pre-Pottery Neolithic A | 8500 B.C. | — | (?) | — | VA to XI–XII | II to XI | II to XI–XII | III to X | IV to IX | — | — | — | VII to IX–X | — | — | — |
| PPNA–PPNB | — | — | X to XVII | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | X | — | — | — |
| Pre-Pottery Neolithic B | 7000 B.C. | — | (?) | — | VII to XXII | XII to XXVI | XII to XX VA–XX VI | XII to XX VI | IX–X to XV, XVI | — | — | — | XI to XV–XV I | — | — | — |
| "Gap" | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Pottery Neolithic A | 5200 B.C. | — | IX (?) | — | XXX VII to XXIX | XXX | — | XX VII to XXI X | — | — | — | — | XV I, XV IA | X, XI | — | — |
| PNA + PNB | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | XV IB | — | — | — |
| Pottery Neolithic B | 4700 B.C. | — | VII | — | XXX to XXXI I | XXX I to XXX II–XXX III | — | XX X to XX XII–XX XIII | — | MM to EE | — | — | XV II | XII | X | — |
| "Turf" | — | — | — | — | XXXI II | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | XV III | — | — | — |
| Ghassulian/Chalcolithic | 4000 B.C. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Early Bronze I | 3300 B.C. | — | VII | — | XXXI II to | XXX IV | — | XX XIV, | — | DD to M–L | — | — | XI X | XIII to | XI.xx xvi, | A13, 84, |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | XXXVI–XXXVII | | | XXXV | | | | | to XXI | XV | XI.xxxxvi–xxxvii | 94, 114, 124, K1, K2 |
| Early Bronze II | 3050 B.C. | — | V, VI Tombs 24 | — | XXXVII | — | — | — | — | L | I | G | XXI–XXII, XXII | XVI, XVI–XVII | XI.xxxix to XV–XVI | A108, 122, 127 |
| | 2850 B.C. | — | IV Tomb A | A, B | XXXVII–XXXVIII, XXXVIII | — | — | — | — | K to F | II | F to D | XXIII | XVII, XVII–XVIII | XVI | D12, F4 |
| Early Bronze III | 2650 B.C. | — | III Tombs A, 351 | C to E | XXXVIII–XXXIX to XL–XLI | XXXV to XXXVIII | — | — | — | Fi to A | III to IV–V | C to A | — | XVII to XIX | XVII to XIX | A114, D12, F1, F3 |
| “Gap” | (?)2500 B.C. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Early Bronze IV | 2300 B.C. | — | I | — | XLI to XLI–XLIII | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | XXI, XXI–XXII | XX, XX–XXI | A86, 129, G28, H5, D1, O4, P24, K9, K27, L2, M17 |
| Middle Bronze I–II | 1950 B.C. | “Red City” | City C Storerooms Tombs 21, 30 | — | XLIII, XLIV | — | — | — | — | — | V to XII–XIII | — | — | XXII, XXII–XXIII | XXI | G48, M11, B51, J45, A136 |
| “Gap” | (?)1550 B.C. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | XIII | — | — | — | — | — |
| Late Bronze II | 1400 B.C. | — | City D Middle Bldg. Tombs 4, 5, 13 | — | XLV | — | — | — | — | — | XIV | — | — | — | — | — |
| Destruction Debris | (?)1280 B.C. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | XXI–XXII | — |
| “Gap” | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Iron Age I | 1200 B.C. | Qellhügel | City E Tomb II | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Iron Age II | 1000 B.C. | Qellhügel | Tomb 18 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | A85 |
| | 800 B.C. | Qellhügel ‘Hilani’ Bldg. | — | — | XLVI to XLVII | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | XXIII, XXIII–XXIV | XXII | WH. 1, 2 |
| Babylonian/Persian | 587 B.C. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Hellensistic I and II | 330 B.C. | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| Roman I (Herodian) | 37 B.C.—A.D. 70 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | K23, G81, G66, G20, |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | NS.1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Roman II–III | A.D. 70–324 | — | — | — | XLLX | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | XXIV | XXII | — |
| Byzantine | A.D. 324–636 | — | — | L | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | XXIV | — | — | — |
| Islamic/Modern | A.D. 636– | — | — | LI, LII | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | XXV | — | — |

**6. Early Bronze II–III (ca. 3050–2300 B.C.).** Early Bronze II dates ca. 3100–2700 B.C. (called by Kenyon EB I–II, ca. 3050–2950 B.C., 2950–2700/2650 B.C. respectively [= 1st Egyptian Dyn. and into the 2d]) and EB III spans ca. 2700/2650–2300 B.C. (links with the 2d Egyptian Dyn.) and lasts until the beginning of the EB IV (Kenyon's "Intermediate Early Bronze-Middle Bronze Age" [EB-MB]).

EB II Jericho (table 1) appears to have evolved gradually from the EB I population, probably with an influx of new immigrants arriving from the N. However, the need for defensive walls was still of paramount concern throughout the EB and the settlement was completely surrounded by the large mudbrick Wall C during EB III, which had been constructed on top of the earlier town Wall B of the EB I period. For plan of the two inferred EB town walls, see Fig. JER.04. Kenyon's excavations also revealed that the later stages of the EB town wall had been protected by an external ditch enlarged at least four times; the recutting of the ditch may have removed artifactual evidence showing that the first wall also was associated with a ditch. The remains of a gateway were found in Trench II (Kenyon 1981: 148–49 and pls. 101b and 249c) as well as a probable gate by Garstang (described as a large oblong tower and assigned to Garstang's MBi period) in grid K6 on the E side of the mound, which probably enclosed the source of the spring (Garstang 1934: pl. 15). The town walls were built of unbaked rectangular mudbrick slabs, mold-made, measuring approximately 2 × 14 × 10 inches.

The earliest EB II houses contain rooms which are either oblong with one curved end or are completely circular (i.e., Trench III, Stage XV houses; Kenyon 1981: pl. 265c). The houses are irregularly positioned and reveal little evidence of town planning. The later EB II and III houses, on the other hand, in Squares EIII–IV for example, are rectangularly laid out and consistently orientated on a N-S axis (Kenyon 1981: pls. 317–20). A large number of brick-built silos were associated with these later houses. They were used for grain storage and testify to a flourishing agricultural community. Hopf (1983: 579) inferred that artificial irrigation was practiced from the presence of large quantities of carbonized naked, hexaploid bread-wheat remains found in the EB silos.

The EB cemetery in use during most of this period of occupation at Jericho testifies to some belief in a later life after death. Both Garstang and Kenyon excavated EB rock-cut chamber tombs containing multiple burials, about twenty in the earlier tombs and between fifty to one hundred in the later ones (Garstang 1932: 18–22, 38–41 and fig. 8, pls. 1–8; 1935: 155, 162–63 and pl. 34:1–40; Kenyon's EB Tomb Type Series [Kenyon and Holland 1982: 217–43 and figs. 81–93]). That most of the bones were found completely disarticulated probably indicates that earlier burials were discarded, except for the skulls, to make room for further internments. The burial goods consisted of pottery vessels for holding food and drink as well as small juglets for oil or scent. The only personal ornaments were heads of carnelian, bone, shell, stone, and frit (for general bead types, see Talbot 1983: 796–98).

The EB was a period of international contacts. The pottery and other finds from Jericho reveal cultural contacts to the N with both Syria and NE Anatolia, and to the S with Egypt. The presence of KHIRBET KERAK WARE (originating in Anatolia), indicates either trade or the arrival of new immigrants at Jericho (Holland 1983: xxxiv–xxxv and xxxvii–xxxviii). Egyptian imports include both "Abydos" ware and a slate palette (Holland 1983: xxxiv; 1982a: 559 and fig. 226:16).

The violent destruction which brought about the end of EB Jericho was partially a result of the almost total deforestation of the area for building and fuel purposes. This certainly led to erosion during the end of the 3d millennium B.C., resulting in a weakening of the economy that left the inhabitants vulnerable to attack as well as to disease. The political events accompanying the fall of the EB population are unknown,

but the archaeological finds show an absolute break in the occupation of Jericho for several hundred years until the tell was partially resettled by a group of Amorites around 2300 B.C.

**7. Early Bronze IV (ca. 2300–1950 B.C.).** Kenyon identified this period at Jericho as the "Intermediate Early Bronze–Middle Bronze Age," lasting about 350 years between 2300 and 1950 B.C. Albright and others dated this period to about 2400–2100 B.C. and labeled it either EB IV or EB IIIb. Whatever final dates and terminology may be assigned to this occupation, the one thing that is clear is that Jericho was frequented by newcomers who introduced a characteristic type of pottery related to N Syrian types (Kenyon 1981: fig. 12) and built individual rock-cut tombs entered by vertical shafts.

Kenyon found remains of EB IV houses, only in her Trenches I, II, and III, which were terraced into the underlying deposits on the W, N, and S slopes of the tell. In Trench I (Stage XLII, Phase liv), remains of two complexes of rooms were found. In the W complex were two solid clay blocks in adjacent rectangular rooms which were possibly altars (Kenyon 1981: 105–8 and pls. 86a and 231a). The discovery of an infant foundation burial below the dividing wall between the adjacent rooms and a bin containing a four-spouted lamp, which could have been used for offerings, may support Kenyon's suggestion that this might have been a cult center (Kenyon 1981: pls. 86b, 87a, b, and fig. 12:25).

The remains and contents of the three rooms found in Trench II, Stage XXI, Phase lxviii, indicate they were for domestic use since they contained mortars, a bin, and a number of crushed vessels (Kenyon 1981: 166–67 and fig. 12:2–5 and pl. 255a).

The house remains in Trench III (Stage XX, Phase lxxx) were so scanty that no plan was published, but a good assemblage of characteristic pottery was excavated (Kenyon and Holland 1983: 214 and figs. 104–5).

The evidence from the burial traditions of the EB IV people (Amorites?) indicates a tribal organization with each group maintaining its own burial customs since seven different classes of tombs were discovered by Kenyon. They were identified as the following types: Dagger, Pottery, Dagger/Pottery ("Square-Shaft"), Outsize, Bead, Composite, and Multiple Burial.

The Dagger type (e.g., Tomb A129; Kenyon 1965: fig. 23, plan and 1979: pl. 46, photograph) is usually small and, owing to its size, contains an intact skeleton in a crouched position on its side. If the burial is of a man, he is buried with a dagger, and if that of a woman, she is buried with a pin or beads. The prominence given to weapons in this type of tomb suggests a warrior class.

The Pottery-type tomb (e.g., Tomb G28, Kenyon 1960: fig. 96, plan and pl. 10:2, photograph) always contains only pottery and no weapons.

The Dagger/Pottery-type tomb (e.g., Tomb D1; Kenyon 1965: fig. 42, plan and pl. 4:1, photograph) shows a combination of features associated with the preceding two tomb types. A new feature associated with this type is that the weapons also may include a javelin. The main constructional difference of the shaft for this type is that it is square, rather than roughly and roundly cut, and is therefore also known as a "square-shaft" type.

The fourth type is termed "Outsize" (e.g., Tomb O4; Kenyon 1965; fig. 59, plan and pl. 5:1, photograph) since both the shafts and the chambers are considerably larger than those of the other tomb types and the funerary offerings are greater both in their numbers and size of the vessels (for example, compare Tomb O4 pottery with Pottery-type tomb vessels; Kenyon 1965: figs. 28 and 60–61). They are similar to the "square-shaft" tombs in that they also contain both pottery and weapons, and the skeleton is usually intact.

The fifth type, Bead tombs (e.g. Tomb K9; Kenyon 1965: fig. 40), has dismembered skeletons and few grave offerings apart from some beads, a pin, and sometimes fragments of bronze studs, possibly belonging to clothing items.

The sixth type, known as Composite tombs (e.g., Tomb L2; Kenyon 1965: fig. 79, plan) appears to combine some of the characteristics of the Dagger, Pottery, Dagger/Pottery, and Outsize types of tombs.

One seventh type of EB IV tomb, M17, is in a class by itself and is designated a Multiple-Burial type (Kenyon 1965: fig. 88, plan and pl. 10:1, photograph). It is distinguished from all the other tomb types in

that it has three intact burials, whereas only two intact burials occasionally are found in the Dagger-type tombs.

**8. Middle Bronze Age (ca. 1950–1550 B.C.).** Kenyon found MB occupational remains (Table 1) in Trenches I, II, III (MB I/early MB II), and in Squares HII to VI (MB III). Owing to erosion, no domestic structures were found in Trenches I and II, but the extensive exposures extending W in Trench I and N in Trench II revealed MB remains of three successive and massive plastered ramparts which surrounded the MB town (see Fig. JER.05; also Kenyon 1981: Trench I, pls. 89b–92b, photographs, pl. 236, section; Trench II, pls. 108–10, photograph and pl. 259, section). The ramparts also were found in Trench III on the S of the mound (see Kenyon 1981: pls. 125b, 126a, and 127, photographs and pl. 273, section) as well as some house remains on the berm at the foot of the MB bank (Kenyon 1981: pls. 126b and 128a, photographs and pl. 272a, b, plans).

Although the few rooms excavated in Trench III (Stage XXI) were small and mostly irregular, a number of typical MB II vessels were found associated with the floor levels (Kenyon and Holland 1983: figs. 106: 1–30 and 108: 32–39).

The most complete MB II houses were excavated by Kenyon (1981: pl. 336a) in Area H (Stage XII) on the E side of the mound in grid squares H6–7 (Fig. JER.02) just NE of Garstang's so-called MB "palace storerooms" in grid squares H6, J5–6, and K5–6 (Garstang 1934: 118–30 and pls. 13–16). The combined Garstang/Kenyon sketch plan of this portion of the MB II city plan reveals an orderly layout of houses and two streets with drains oriented W–E, sloping down the mound to the water supply. A number of ground-floor rooms, particularly Garstang's room nos. 40–45 (1934: pls. 15, 16, and 41–42), and Kenyon's B and F (1981: 369, fig. 6 and pls. 198 and 336a), contained many large storage jars with carbonized grains, and also loomweights and saddle querns, which indicate that the street-level rooms served as working areas and possibly shops, while the second-story rooms were for living and bedrooms.

A 1988 revised radiocarbon determination of a charcoal sample (BM–1790R, 3300±110 B.P.) from Kenyon's Area H rooms in Stage XII, Phase li, places this occupation within a calibrated date ranging from 1880–1390 B.C. (based on Stuiver and Reimer 1986). The carbonized plant remains from the storage jars in storerooms B and F, Stage XII, Phase lii–liii (Kenyon and Holland 1983: figs. 199: 4–6, 201: 1–4, and 202: 1–4), were analyzed by Hopf, who identified emmer, bread wheat, and barley in room F, and bread wheat, barley, lentil, field peas, vines, onions, oats, as well as grass and weed species in room B.

Some of the pottery found in the Area H rooms illustrates a high degree of artistic achievement—compare, for instance, the almost identical bird-shaped vases on pedestal stands from Garstang's room 73 (1934: pls. 26:8 and 44 top) and Kenyon's room A (Kenyon and Holland 1983: fig. 188: 5 and Kenyon 1957: pl. 48 top). Other fine vessels include Garstang's "snake" vase from room 68 and a rhyton from room 40 (Garstang 1934: pls. 25: 20; 43: 4; and 22: 21, 44).

The bulk of the evidence for everyday life at Jericho during the time of the MB comes, not from the sparse occupational remains, but from the large MB II multiple-burial tombs excavated by both Garstang and Kenyon in the necropolis N and NW of the tell (Garstang 1932: 41–54, 1933: 3–37; Kenyon 1960: 263–515, 1965: 167–478, particularly pottery Groups I–V as illustrated by the vessels in Tombs B48, B51, J45, and A136). Because of the excellent preservation of objects in the tombs, it is possible to reconstruct a typical living room at Jericho during this period with some degree of certainty.

All the MB buildings were violently destroyed by fire and their walls were covered with a thick layer of debris during the subsequent period of abandonment and erosion. On the basis of finding entire families buried together in some of the MB II tombs, Kenyon (1960: 267) postulated that disease was partially responsible for the demise of the population at this time. The heavy tilting of the Area H walls to the E (Kenyon 1981: pl 339, section) may indicate earthquake activity which may have resulted in sulfurous gases, fire, and possibly even some form of early plague, thus causing the total abandonment of the site at the end of the MB.

**9. Late Bronze Age (ca. 1550–1200 B.C.).** As already noted by Kenyon (1973: 527), the dating of the Late Bronze Age in Palestine is almost entirely dependent upon a study of the pottery from the key

Palestinian sites of this period, those being Tell Beit Mirsim, Jericho, Megiddo, Hazor, Lachish, and Tell el-ʿAjjūl.

On the evidence of the Jericho pottery dated to the LB from the reused Tombs 4, 5, and 13 (Garstang 1933: 15–40 and pls. 4–26; Bienkowski 1986: 32–102 and figs. 27–51), it would appear that Jericho was reoccupied on a small scale in Area H on the E side of the tell during the second half of the 15th century B.C. (Table 1). Bienkowski suggests for Tomb 5 a late LB I/first half of LB IIa date (ca. 1425–1350 B.C. or slightly later) and for Tombs 4 and 13 a mid-LB IIa/early LB IIb date, ca. 1350–1275 B.C. (1986: 71, 90, and 102).

On the tell, the only building remains to survive erosion were Garstang's so-called "palace" and the Middle Building (1934: 105–8 and pl. 12), and the ruins of a house floor in Kenyon's Square Hill (Stage XIV, Phase liva) upon which were situated an oven and a LB IIb juglet (Kenyon 1981: 371 and fig. 14:6, pl. 199a, b) dated to the end of the 14th century B.C.

With regard to an LB fortification system at Jericho, there is no archaeological data to support the presence of a walled town. The so-called LB walls in Garstang's City D, which he associated with Joshua's destruction of Jericho (Josh 6:24), were misdated (Garstang and Garstang 1940: 129–40 and pls. 17–18) and later shown by Kenyon to be two successive phases of an EB town wall (Kenyon 1952: 64–72).

The meager material remains of LB Jericho, therefore, suggest that the settlement was relatively small and fairly poor (however, for a recent reevaluation of these remains, see Wood 1990). As Bienkowski (1986: 124) has shown, a study of the settlement patterns of the LB sites in Canaan shows that only eight of the seventy-six known settlements were fortified. This decline in the fortunes of Jericho and other sites in Canaan is the direct result of the establishment of the Egyptian 18th Dyn. and the expulsion of the Hyksos into Palestine (Kenyon 1973: 555–56).

**10. Iron Age (ca. 1200–587 B.C.).** After Jericho was abandoned during the early part of LB IIb, it was not thought to be reoccupied to any great extent until the 7th century B.C. However, a recent study of the pottery from the German excavations by the Weipperts (1976: 105–48) has revealed the presence of both Iron Age I and II forms. Garstang's "Cremation Pit" (Tomb 11) also may be dated to Iron Age I (1933: 36 and fig. 11) and the late 10th century B.C. Tomb A85 excavated by Kenyon (1965: 482–89 and figs. 252–53) was possibly in use until the early 9th century B.C. (Tushingham 1965: 487). The biblical account in 1 Kgs 16:34 suggests that the site was first reoccupied and fortified by Hiel the Bethelite during the time of Ahab (early 9th century B.C.).

The extensive 7th-century Iron Age occupation was found by all three major expeditions to Jericho (Table 1). The German excavators Sellin and Watzinger (1913) uncovered the largest area in the uppermost strata of Jericho. See Fig. JER.02. Garstang recovered only one portion of an Iron Age II building in grid H6 and very few finds (1934: 102–4 and pls. 13, 15, and 24:2). Kenyon's Iron Age material from Jericho is now well documented both from the tell (Kenyon 1981: 111–13, 171–73, 219, and pls. 92b, 94, 232, and 255–56; Kenyon and Holland 1982: 455–536 and figs. 195–219; 1983: 58–84, 176 and figs. 23–31; Franken 1974) and tombs A85, WH.1, and WH.2 (Tushingham 1965: 479–515 and figs. 252–63).

The largest and most complete Iron Age II building excavated by Kenyon (in Stage XLVI, Phase lxix) was situated at the foot of Trench I on the W side of the tell, and was constructed in a tripartite plan typical of this period (Kenyon 1981: 111–12 and pls. 94, 232). Apart from the pottery, the most important find, slightly postdated to the aforementioned building, is that of a stamped storage jar handle from Trench I (Reg. YBT/42; Stage L, Phase lxxv) impressed with a two-winged "royal stamp" and two incised concentric circles around a deeply impressed central hole (Bartlett 1982a: 537 and fig. 220:1, pl. 3a). The presence of this handle probably indicates that Jericho was under the administration of Judah during this period. The pottery from even later phases on the mound strongly suggests that the site remained inhabited until the period of the Babylonian exile in 587 B.C.

**11. Babylonian/Persian to Byzantine (587 B.C.–A.D. 636).** Although there are no ancient building remains on the tell after the time of the Iron Age remains, ancient Jericho and the area in the immediate

vicinity of modern Jericho was occupied during some, if not all, of the time between the Babylonian/Persian and Byzantine periods, particularly at the nearby site known today as Tulul Abu El-ʿAlayiq (Kelso and Baramki 1955: 1–19; and Pritchard 1958: 1–58).

The presence of an unstratified, barbed bronze arrowhead (Reg. 179; Kenyon and Holland 1982: 569 and fig. 229:18) from the W slope of the mound attests to the presence of Persian warriors or to their surrogates in the neighborhood.

Even later periods of encampment or temporary occupation on the mound are attested by epigraphic evidence in the form of another stamped jar handle. The upper arm of a Rhodian amphora (Reg. 199) bears a rectangular stamp which reads "In the term of Agestratos, in the month Agrianias" (May–June), dated to ca. 220–150 B.C. in the Hellenistic Period (Bartlett 1982a: 542 and fig. 220: 6).

During the course of Kenyon's excavations in the necropolis, Roman remains were found in seven tombs (table 1) and fourteen graves (Bennett 1965: 516–45 and figs. 264–81).

The sparce remains from the Byzantine period come from Kenyon's sites M and H on the tell. A pit dug into Square MI (Stage XXIV, Phase cxii) to a depth of over 14 m, probably to obtain brick material for building elsewhere, contained only one fragment of a fine Byzantine bowl (Kenyon 1981: 266; Kenyon and Holland 1983: 280 and fig. 119:14). An unstratified iron nail (Reg. 1907), possibly Byzantine, came from Site H (Holland 1982b: 569 and fig. 229:19).

Historically, Jericho was of great economic and military importance during the time of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. A perpetual source of fresh water from the spring of ʿAin es-Sultan and during later periods from the springs of ʿAin Dug, ʿAin Nureimah (Na'aran), and the Wadi Qelt brought to Jericho by aqueducts, gave Jericho its very existence from the time of trhe original settlement during the Mesolithic period until the present day. It served as an oasis providing food and more particularly the medicinal plants that were so prized by all powers who held sway over the site. Since Jericho was situated on the E flank of Judea, it remained militarily of great strategic importance. The continued settlement of the area until the present day and the existence of the modern town of Jericho testifies to its endurance and its unrivaled status as being the oldest continually inhabited oasis in the world.

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**E. Roman Jericho (Tulul Abu el-ʿAlayiq)**

Jericho of the Roman period is referred to in the Apocryphal writings and is where Bacchides is said to have built one of his fortresses (1 Macc 9:50). Later Ptolemy was made governor of the plain and the area was the scene of the massacre of Simon and his sons (1 Macc 16:11–17). The roses grown in Jericho must have been proverbial, since in Sirach 24:14 they are used as a metaphor for wisdom. In the NT, the most notable references to the city are as the site of the healing of two blind men (Matt 20:29–34) and as the home of Zacchaeus (Luke 19:1–10).

The most widespread remains from the Hasmonean and the Herodian periods were exposed in the W plain of Jericho, close to Wadi Qelt (the biblical Nahal Perat) at the site named Tulul Abu el-ʿAlayiq (M.R. 191139). The site, previously labeled by scholars as "Herodian" or "New Testament" Jericho (versus the older town mentioned in the OT, situated at Tell el-Sultan; see above) has proved to be a huge palace complex first built by the Hasmoneans and later rebuilt and expanded by Herod the Great. The palace was in close proximity to Jerusalem (only 20 km), and enjoyed an abundance of water, a pastoral landscape, and above all, mild winters in contrast to the cold winters of Jerusalem.

The first developments at Jericho, probably in the days of John Hyrcanus I (134–104 B.C.) included the construction of: (1) a long well-built water channel to carry water from the Wadi Qelt springs to the plain; (2) a royal estate; and (3) the first phase of a winter palace.

C. Warren (1869) was the first scholar to excavate at the site. He dug sections on top of the two tells which characterize this site, one to the S and the other to the N of the wadi. E Sellin and C. Watzinger followed Warren, and did additional minor work at the site. Larger excavations were conducted in 1950 (Kelso and Baramki) and 1951 (Pritchard). The most extensive excavations of the site have been directed by E. Netzer from 1973 to 1987.

**1. The Hasmonean Period.** The first palace built by Hyrcanus I, N of Wadi Qelt included a two story building, about 60 × 50 m, built on three sides of an inner courtyard. This building (only part of which has been exposed) included bath installations, a large ritual bath (*miqve,* two pools, one with and the other without steps), decorated rooms (with fresco and stucco), and at least one tower. This tower (13 × 13 m) at the SW corner, was built with ashlar stones in contrast to the rest of the walls which were of mudbrick.

Two swimming pools, one beside the other, were built W of the palace (each 8 × 9 m); perhaps they were separated to reserve one each for men and women. To the N of the palace was the large royal estate, at least 45 hectares of irrigated land, which was surrounded by a wall. Various agricultural installations (including many winepresses) were exposed close to this estate. The estate probably housed palm date trees (which were exploited mainly to produce date wine) and *opobalsamum* bushes (to produce perfumes and medicines). These remains accurately reflect Jericho's descriptions by Pliny, Strabo, Josephus, and others.

The first expansion of the palace was probably by Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.), who built a second long range water channel to carry water from Na'aran springs to the W plain of Jericho. Simultaneously, he added to the palace (to its E) a large luxurious complex with two large adjacent swimming pools in its center (each 18 × 13 m). The pools were surrounded by wide, paved platforms and gardens. This complex, built along one straight architectural axis also included a pavilion (21 × 17 m, surrounded by colonnades in the Doric style) at one edge and a large garden at the other edge (ca. 60 × 70 m, and probably also surrounded by colonnades).

The next massive addition to the palace complex was added by Jannaeus' widow, Queen Alexandra (76–67 B.C.). She constructed a pair of unique villas (the "twin palaces"), built one attached to the other in a *spiegel bilt* plan. Each of the houses (ca. 25 × 25 m) had a square courtyard in its center, a triclinium (open towards the courtyard through a *Distilos in antis*), bath installations, and various ritual baths. Each of these villas also had a neighboring garden with a small swimming pool in its center. Each of the villas and their gardens were terraced into the terrain's slope in order not to disturb the panoramic view from the above-mentioned "Doric" pavilion.

The twin palaces were probably built to house the two rival sons of the queen, of whom the oldest had served as the high priest since his father's death.

Only minor changes and additions were introduced into the palace during the 30 years between Alexandra and Herod the Great. They mainly included the introduction of more bath installations (both secular and ritual) and a large swimming pool (ca. 20 × 12.5 m).

**2. The Herodian Period.** During Herod's long reign (37–4 B.C.), he managed to build three independent palaces at the same site, which ultimately functioned as one. It seems that in Herod's early years (37–31 B.C.), the Hasmonean family continued to use its palace in Jericho. The dramatic murder of Aristobulus III in a swimming pool at Jericho, as told by Josephus, took place during a banquet organized by Herod's Hasmonean mother-in-law.

Herod built his first independent palace at Jericho (probably around 35 B.C.) not far from the Hasmonean one, S of Wadi Qelt. It was a large rectangular building (84 × 45 m), built on three sides of a peristyled courtyard. It included a large triclinium, various palatial and service rooms, a bathhouse in the Roman style, and a ritual bath. Although free-standing, it resembles an introverted city house similar to those at Pompeii. This design may reflect Herod's political insecurities (ca. 35–30 B.C.), when Jericho was officially taken from him and given to Egypt's queen, Cleopatra.

Herod's second palace at the site (built around 25 B.C.), was built as an open complex, exposed to the landscape around. It was built on top of the ruined Hasmonean complex, following the latter's destruction by the earthquake of 31 B.C. This palace's major wing (the E wing) was built NE of the ruined twin palaces. It comprised two levels: the upper one with various palatial and service rooms was built around a large peristyled courtyard; the lower one included the Hasmonean (20 × 12.5 m) swimming pool, a bathhouse in the Roman style, and various service rooms.

To the W, the two large Hasmonean swimming pools were combined into one large pool (32 × 18 m), surrounded by newly planted gardens. Perhaps another wing (perhaps a villa) was built on top of the Hasmonean artificial mound, but no evidence of this has been found.

The largest and most sophisticated palace built by Herod in Jericho, the Third Palace, was built around 15 B.C. on both sides of Wadi Qelt, N of the first palace and SE of the second one. Covering about 3 hectares, it was built following a grid system parallel to the wadi. Roman builders and artisans cooperated with the local artisans to use Roman concrete work, which was covered by small stones in the *opus reticulatum* and *opus quadratum* styles, side by side with the local mudbrick work.

The main wing of the palace was the N one. It included various palatial rooms, two small gardened peristyled courtyards, a relatively large bathhouse in the Roman style, and a huge triclinium. This outstanding triclinium (29 × 19 m) had rows of columns on three of its sides, similar in plan to the one in the first palace. Most of its floor was covered by an elaborate *opus sectile* floor (its tiles were looted in antiquity). The walls, like practically all the other walls in this wing, were covered with frescoes. The wing also included two long colonnades, built along the wadi, opposite the sunken garden. The ceilings of these colonnades, as well as those in other rooms, were decorated with elaborate stucco work.

The other three large wings of the third palace were built S of Wadi Qelt: the sunken garden, a huge pool, and an elaborate building. See Fig. JER.06.

The sunken garden, an elaborate formal garden (140 × 40 m), was flanked by two elevated colonnades on its short ends. The long S facade (Kelso and Baramki's "Grand Facade") was decorated with 48 niches, having a reflection water channel in front of them. The center of this facade was designed with a small semicircular garden, in the shape of a theater. The huge pool (90 × 42 m), probably served for swimming, boating, and water games.

Only foundations, a circle bounded by a square, have survived from the building which once stood on top of the artificial mound. There are good reasons to infer that above these foundations stood a round reception hall, 16 m in diameter, with four semicircular niches around it (a similar hall, 8 m in diameter, was integrated into the Roman-style bathhouse of the N wing). Following this reconstruction, this hall was similar in shape to the contemporanous *Tempio di Merkuri* in *Baia.* This elevated hall was reached by a stair-bridge constructed upon a series of arches. A second bridge, of which we have no evidence, was probably built across Wadi Qelt, connecting the two parts of the palace.

The winter palace complex included also a series of structures built E of the Hasmonean palace. These structures (only partially excavated), were built along the fringe of the royal estate, perhaps to house the administrative staff. At their E edge, a small "industrial area" was exposed, probably to process some of the royal estate products (perhaps the *opobalsamum*).

Another important building project of Herod was revealed and excavated by Netzer (1975–76) at Tell el Samarat, S of Tell el-Sultan. This consists of the remains of a complex unique in the whole Greco-Roman world, which integrated a horse- and chariot-racing course, a theater's *cavea* 70 m wide, and an elaborate building (70 × 70 m) elevated on top of an artificial mound. Little more than the foundations have survived of this latter elevated building, which may have served as a reception area or a gymnasium.

This combined building project (which accommodated horse races, athletics, boxing, theater, and musical shows like the ones performed in the quinquennial games in honor of Augustus, which Herod established and maintained in Jerusalem and Caesarea) probably is that to which Josephus referred when he mentioned at Jericho a hippodrome, a theater, and an amphitheater.

Very few other Hasmonean or Herodian ruins are known in Jericho; however, there are a few independent dwellings. It can be assumed that Second Temple Jericho was spread over the plain's irrigated areas, probably in the character of a garden city, side by side with the royal estates.

Jericho as a whole functioned not only as an agricultural center and as a crossroad, but as a winter resort for Jerusalem's aristocracy. Indirect evidence of the extensive Jewish population in this period was found in the survey and excavations (Hachlili 1976–77) of a huge contemporary cemetery W of the plain and near the bottom of the mountains' slopes.

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**JERIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕrî᾽ēl* (יְרִיאֵל)]. A descendant, perhaps grandson, of Issachar according to the genealogy of 1 Chr 7:1–5. For a discussion of the list of Issachar's sons, see IBSAM.
M. STEPHEN DAVIS

**JERIMOTH** (PERSON) [Heb *yerîmôt* (יְרִימוֹת)]. Var. JEREMOTH. Jerimoth appears as a proper name only in late biblical writings. Within Chronicles "Jerimoth" represents several different individuals contemporaneous with David, as well as several different Benjaminites. Those presented as David's peers seem retrojected anachronistically into preexilic Israel by the Chronicler. The name may have originated as the familial name of a Benjaminite clan in postexilic Jerusalem (see #3). The name also arises in an authentic source in Ezra 10:26–29, where it represents three different individuals. Jerimoth was most likely a common Judean name in the late 5th, early 4th century B.C.E. Its etymology, "exalted," reflects a theological tendency found in other names from this era (Silverman 1985: 283–85). The equivalence of the names "Jerimoth" and "Jeremoth" is best observed in 1 Chr 24:30 (= 1 Chr 23:23) and 1 Chr 25:4 (= 1 Chr 25:22) where the names are used for the one person in the same context.

**1.** The son of Bela and, according to 1 Chronicles, a military leader from the tribe of Benjamin during the reign of David (1 Chr 7:7). While it is possible that the Chronicler inserted Jerimoth into this passage from postexilic source material (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 77–78), the stylistic characteristics of 1 Chr 7:6–12 suggest that the unit was composed by the Chronicler himself. Jerimoth here may represent a postexilic Benjaminite familial name (see #3) that the Chronicler retrojected into the time of David in order to establish impressive military support for David's rule.

**2.** The son of Becher, and according to 1 Chronicles, a military leader from the tribe of Benjamin during the reign of David (1 Chr 7:8). See #1.

**3.** A Benjaminite, the son of Shimei and inhabitant of Jerusalem (1 Chr 8:14). Geography seems to provide the organizing principle of the genealogical list in which Jerimoth appears. The name thereby provides important demographic evidence for the population of Jerusalem at some point in her history. Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 77) has argued that either Josiah's reign or Nehemiah's governorship provides a suitable background for the appearance of Benjaminites in Jerusalem. The commonality of the names of the nine sons of Shimei with names recorded in elsewhere in Chronicles or in Ezra and Nehemiah (Curtis and Masden *The Books of Chronicles* ICC, 162), however, suggests that Jerimoth represents a segment of the postexilic, rather than the preexilic, population of Jerusalem.

**4.** A warrior, who, according to 1 Chronicles, joined David's revolt against Saul at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:5). 1 Chronicles 12 extends the list of David's warriors from the Chronicler's Deuteronomistic source (1 Samuel 31 [= 1 Chr 11:11–47]). The source of these warriors' names remains contested. Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 103–7) argued that the names were later appended to the Chronicler's work in the 2d century B.C.E. Zeron (1974) has argued that Jerimoth and others in 1 Chronicles 12 represent an authentic preexilic source—a fragment of an otherwise lost genealogy of Absalom. Stylistic and structural indications, however, imply that this section was composed by the Chronicler (Williamson 1981). Jeremoth therefore represents the retrojection of a common name from the time of the Chronicler into David's military force to bolster further David's support in Israel.

**5.** The son of Azriel and the tribal leader of Naphtali at the close of the reign of David (1 Chr 27:19). Embedded within a list of the leaders of the twelve tribes of Israel (1 Chr 27:16–24), the reference to the "Chronicles of King David" (1 Chr 27:24) has spurred speculation concerning a source that the Chronicler

used in his reworking of Samuel and Kings (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 175–76). The passage's Chronistic style and the presence of Aaronides as an independent tribe, however, suggest that the Chronicler composed the passage. Jerimoth's presence most likely represents the retrojection of a name that was common in the early 4th century B.C.E. back into the time of the united monarchy.

**6.** A Merarite, the son of Mushi, whom, according to the 1 Chronicles, David appointed to service in the Temple and its cult (1 Chr 23:23). Jeremoth appears nowhere else as a Levite in the OT outside of 1 and 2 Chronicles. The Levitical genealogies of Exodus 6 and Numbers 3 do not extend this branch of the Levitical family beyond Jeremoth's father, Mushi. Although J. Liver (1968: 8.29–32) believes that Jeremoth and the other Levites in 1 Chronicles 23 may represent authentic persons contemporaneous with David or Solomon, Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 154–55) argued that Jeremoth and the other Levites of 1 Chronicles 23 represent Levitical families after the time of the Chronicler. The style of the list, however, corresponds closely with the compositional techniques of the Chronicler. This suggests that Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 160) may be correct in asserting that "the names of the heads of houses will then be current at the time of the list's composition"—the time of the composition of Chronicles (ca. 460 B.C.E.).

**7.** A son of Heman whom, according to the Chronicler, David and the Judean military leaders appointed as one of the leaders of the Levitical Temple instrumentalists (1 Chr 25:4). While the exact compositional history of the Levitical musicians in 1 Chronicles 25 remains contested, it is generally conceded that Jeremoth appears in a list of names that has been artificially constructed from a postexilic hymn (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 167–68). The Chronicler anachronistically retrojected a common name that expressed the piety of his age into the founding establishment of Temple personnel during the reign of David.

**8.** A son of David, the father of Mahalath who, according to the Chronicler, married Rehoboam (2 Chr 11:18). The name "Jerimoth" is not attested elsewhere as a name for a son of David. Curtis and Madsen (369) raise the possibility that Jerimoth was therefore the son of one of David's concubines. Yet the late appearance of the name elsewhere and the Chronistic style of 2 Chr 11:18–23 suggest that the Chronicler borrowed the name from his day to produce artificially a son of David with an identical Levitical name, thereby relating two of his chief interests.

**9.** According to the Chronicler, a Levitical overseer of surplus Temple offerings gathered during Hezekiah's Temple reforms (2 Chr 31:13). The Chronistic style of the chapter clearly demarcates it as the Chronicler's own invention. Having already equated the name with a Levitical family (1 Chr 24:30), the Chronicler reuses "Jerimoth" to illustrate the propriety of Hezekiah's reforms.

**10.** A member of the family of Elam who lived in the Persian province of Judah during the mission of Ezra (Ezra 10:26). Jeremoth, a member of a family that had returned from exile with Zerubbabel, married a non-Judean wife. He consented to divorce her during the reforms of Ezra under the threat of complete ostracism from the Jerusalem temple-state. Through the list of Jeremoth's peers may be abbreviated (Rudolph *Esra und Nehemiah samt 3. Esra* HAT, 97–99), it is generally agreed that the names in the list of Ezra 10:18–43 authentically represent individuals from the Persian province of Judah during the mission of Ezra.

**11.** A member of the family of Zattu who lived in the Persian province of Judah during the mission of Ezra (Ezra 10:27). See #10.

**12.** A member of the family of Bani who lived in the Persian province of Judah during the mission of Ezra (Ezra 10:29).

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**JERIOTH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕrîʿôt* (יְרִיעוֹת)]. The daughter of Caleb and Azubah and the mother of Jesher, Shobab, and Ardon (1 Chr 2:18). This identification is admittedly merely the most probable among several alternatives (Braun *Chronicles* WBC, 39). The Vatican manuscript of the LXX represents not only Jerioth but also Azubah as the daughter of Caleb. However v 19 implies that Azubah was his wife. It is possible that the name "Jerioth" and the name "Azubah" both indicate the same person. In such a case the conjunction *waw* would be explicative and should be rendered something like "even." This suggestion actually fits Jerioth's being either Caleb's daughter or his wife. The latter proposal is precisely the understanding of the LXX's Alexandrian manuscript, though it keeps Jerioth and Azubah apart as two separate individuals—each a wife of Caleb. Textual emendation could make Jerioth the father of Azubah (Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 92) or a former husband of Azubah (Richter 1914: 110). On the absolute use thus required of the *Hipʿil* of *yld*, note Isa 66:9 where it has the force of "to cause to bear." The idea that Jerioth might have been a son of Caleb and Azubah hardly seems likely. Stamm (1967: 325) thinks the translation " (tent-)curtains" for Jerioth as a plural of *yĕrîʿâ* is unsatisfactory, and he assumes a connection with the verb *yrʿ*—"to tremble, to be faint-hearted" (cf. Ar *yariʿa*—"to be a coward"). Potentially either feminine or masculine in form, this short name lengthened by the hypocoristic element -*ôt* would then mean " (the) anxious or timid or fearful (one)." Neither Akkadian nor Egyptian appears to supply a parallel.

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**JEROBOAM** (PERSON) [Heb *yārobʿam* (יָרָבְעָם)]. Two kings of N Israel bore this name, which means "may the people be great."

1. The son of Nebat, and the first king of the N kingdom of Israel (ca. 922–901 B.C.E.). Prior to his elevation to the N Israelite kingship, Jeroboam had served in Solomon's royal administration. He eventually opposed Solomon's policies and rebelled against the king. He fled to Egypt to escape Solomon's wrath and remained there until Solomon's death. Jeroboam subsequently returned home and was elevated to the kingship by the N Israelite tribes. He proceeded to develop a religiopolitical system for the new nation to establish its independence from the Davidic kingdom of Judah in the S. For this, Jeroboam is remembered in biblical tradition as the king who led Israel to sin, setting the new nation on its fateful course of decline and fall.

a. Sources. The main account of Jeroboam's rise to power and reign in 1 Kgs 11:26–14:20 is a compilation of several sources, but Cohn (1985) has called attention to the literary techniques by means of which the Deuteronomistic historian created a "unified story" out of his disparate sources. Even though this account of Jeroboam's career has been shaped to conform to the later perspectives of its author, most scholars believe that critical investigation of this complex—evidently drawn from archival texts, historical reports, prophetic oracles, and legends, etc.—can yield reliable information about the 10th-century situation.

As for other sources, the Chronicler presents with only slight variations parallel accounts of 1 Kgs 12:1–19 (cf. 2 Chr 10:1–19) and 1 Kgs 12:21–24 (cf. 2 Chr 11:1–4). In an account unparalleled in Kings, and of uncertain historical value, the Chronicler gives an account of the conflict between Jeroboam and the Judean king Abijah/Abijam (2 Chr 13:2–20). In addition, the LXX (Codex Vaticanus) preserves, as a supplement to its translation of the Hebrew account in Kings, an alternate version of Jeroboam's career (3 Kgdms 12:24a–z), but scholars are divided on the historical reliability of the additional details about Jeroboam that it provides (for a review and assessment of the various views, see Gordon 1975).

b. Rise to Power. Few details are known about Jeroboam's life before his rise to kingship. He is described in 1 Kgs 11:26 as an Ephraimite from the village of Zeredah, son of Nebat and the widowed

Zeruah; the LXX supplement, however, fails to mention his father and identifies his mother as Sarira, a harlot—a note which is often dismissed as tendentious (for a contrary view, see Aberbach and Smolar 1969: 69–70).

Additional details provided by the LXX supplement claim that Jeroboam had 300 chariots prior to this escape to Egypt (v 24b) and that Pharaoh Shishak gave him an Egyptian princess in marriage (v 24e). This latter detail, however, may derive from confusion between Jeroboam and Hadad, an Edomite rebel against Solomon who, according to 1 Kgs 11:19, married Pharaoh's daughter.

According to 1 Kgs 11:26–28, Jeroboam was an official in Solomon's administration. His duties under Solomon included the oversight of the *sēbel* (v 28) in the district known as the "house of Joseph"—the tribal territory of Ephraim/Manasseh. The term *sēbel* is believed to refer to the temporary work forces drawn from the N Israelite tribes, not the *mas-ʿōbēd* "forced levy of slaves" (cf. 1 Kgs 9:21–22) which was the permanent, institutionalized force of corvée workers drawn from the Canaanite population (Mettinger 1971: 138).

While in this position of leadership, Jeroboam witnessed the oppressiveness of Solomon's administration and eventually revolted in an expression of solidarity with his N Israelite compatriots. It is generally agreed that Solomon's policies which alienated the northerners included heavy and inequitable taxation and the system of the *sēbel.* In addition, it has been suggested that Solomon's cession of N Israelite towns (1 Kgs 9:10–13) to the Phoenician king Hiram was the "last straw" which precipitated Jeroboam's revolt (Halpern 1974: 528). Miller has suggested further that cultic installations and personnel in the N may have been co-opted to support the "cultic primacy of Jerusalem" in the Davidic state (*HAIJ,* 230–31).

The account in 1 Kgs 11:29–39 claims that the Shilonite prophet Ahijah designated Jeroboam as the divinely chosen king of the N Israelite tribes, but the passage (especially vv 32–39) is so thoroughly laced with Deuteronomistic language and motifs that its historical value is suspect. Many scholars maintain, however, that vv 29–31(32) preserve a portion of an early tradition about the incident (Plein 1966: 18–20; Debus 1967: 80–87; Seebass 1967: 323–33; Gray, *1–2 Kings* OTL, 288; Weippert 1983: 346–50). Inasmuch as prophets frequently instigated political revolts in the N kingdom, there is good reason to suppose that Ahijah did encourage the rebellion. Caquot (1961: 25) has suggested that Ahijah was motivated by the hope that Jeroboam would select Shiloh for the religious center of his new kingdom.

Solomon responded to the rebellion by seeking to kill Jeroboam. Jeroboam fled to Egypt, where Shishak, king of Egypt, gave him asylum. Halpern (1974: 523–34) has suggested that Jeroboam hoped to win Egyptian support in his move against Solomon on the assumption that relations between Solomon and Egypt had shifted from cooperation to antagonism under the 22d Dyn. founded by Shishak (Shoshenq I). Jeroboam remained in Egypt until Solomon died.

The sources do not agree on whether Jeroboam participated in the subsequent assembly at Shechem, the gathering at which the N Israelite leaders negotiated with Solomon's son Rehoboam to determine the future of their relationship to the house of David. According to 1 Kgs 12:1–19 and the parallel account in 2 Chr 10:1–19, Jeroboam was summoned from Egypt to the Shechemite assembly and participated in the proceedings (vv 3 and 12 of both accounts). 1 Kgs 12:20 suggests, however, that Jeroboam was summoned to Shechem and made king over Israel only after the discussions with Rehoboam had broken down and the decision had been made to break away from Davidic rule. Attempts to explain the inconsistencies, using the evidence of the LXX, have been vigorously debated (Gooding 1967; 1972; Klein 1970; 1973; McKenzie 1987).

c. Jeroboam and Rehoboam. The reasons for Rehoboam's involvement in the proceedings at Shechem are not specifically stated. Some have speculated that the N Israelites had a charismatic conception of kingship which gave them a natural reluctance to accept the regular dynastic succession when Solomon died, so Rehoboam went to Shechem to attempt to renew a personal union between N and S which supposedly had existed under his predecessors (Alt 1951: 4–9; Donner, *IJH,* 383–84); it has also been proposed that democratic tendencies existed in the N to which Rehoboam responded (Soggin 1984: 193). The uncertainties of a charismatic ideal of kingship or supposed democratic tendencies in the N aside,

Miller justifiably suggests that urgent political realities prompted Rehoboam to go to Shechem to negotiate the matter of his kingship (*HAIJ,* 229–30).

1 Kgs 14:30 refers to continual conflict between Rehoboam and Jeroboam. This evidently refers to the skirmishes to determine the border which would separate the two kingdoms—essentially whether the territory of Benjamin would belong to Israel or Judah. In these struggles, Rehoboam succeeded in retaining control of most of the Benjaminite territory (cf. 1 Kgs 12:21), but he seems to have refrained from attempting to regain control of the rest of the N. According to 1 Kgs 12:22–24, the Judean prophet Shemaiah uttered an oracle against any such attempts on the grounds that what had happened was the will of Yahweh. This obviously reflects the Deuteronomistic historian's view of the course of events (cf. 1 Kgs 12:15), but the account may accurately recall a sentiment against exacerbating the difficult circumstances that had led to the schism.

d. Political Establishment. After Jeroboam was elevated to the kingship by the N Israelite tribes, he began the task of establishing a political and religious system for the new nation. According to 1 Kgs 12:25, he rebuilt Shechem and stayed there and then "went out" (*wayyēṣē*, often has the connotation of a military maneuver) and fortified Penuel. Whether this means that Jeroboam established Shechem as the first political capital of the new kingdom, followed by Penuel in Transjordan, is debated. Those who argue that this was the case attribute Jeroboam's supposed retreat from Shechem either to (1) Pharaoh Shishak's invasion in the fifth year of Jeroboam's reign (Mazar 1957; Ahlström 1982: 56–57) or (2) to religious opposition from within Shechem (Danelius 1967–68; Allan 1974). By the end of Jeroboam's reign, the capital was located at Tirzah (1 Kgs 14:17); Tirzah remained the N Israelite capital (cf. 1 Kgs 15:33; 16:8, 15, and 23) until Omri moved to Samaria. Miller (*HAIJ,* 244) suggests that Tirzah may have been the capital from the very beginning; according to this view, 1 Kgs 12:25 may only indicate that Jeroboam resided in Shechem and Penuel while state-sponsored construction work was underway in those cities.

The biblical texts provide no information about Jeroboam's administrative system. Given the urgent task of establishing a viable nation, however, it is reasonable to suppose that Jeroboam utilized Solomon's administrative apparatus with "perhaps some necessary adjustments" (Ahlström 1982: 63). No doubt the system of the *sēbel* was discontinued, and one must naturally suppose that officials who were loyalists of the Davidic state were removed from office. But the basic apparatus of the previous administration was no doubt kept in place. The Samaria ostraca of the 8th century B.C.E. provide evidence that the district system established by Solomon continued intact in the N kingdom with perhaps only slight modifications (Soggin 1984: 197).

e. Religious Establishment. Jeroboam's efforts to establish an independent religious system for the N Israelite kingdom are detailed in 1 Kgs 12:26–33. The account clearly serves the Deuteronomistic historian's polemical purposes against Jeroboam and the N kingdom. Its anachronistic and propagandistic elements suggest to Hoffmann (1980: 59–73) and Van Seters (1983: 313–14) that the entire account is a late invention without any historical basis. Others maintain that the account reliably reports the essential cultic measures undertaken by Jeroboam, despite the polemical judgments about them (Evans 1983: 120; Zevit 1985: 60–61). Donner (*IJH,* 383) and Zevit (1985: 61) identify the source from which the historical information was drawn as the annals of the kings of Israel mentioned in 1 Kgs 14:19.

According to 1 Kgs 12:26–33, Jeroboam's cultic measures included: (1) construction of two golden calves; (2) placement of the calves at cult centers in Bethel and Dan; (3) establishment of other sanctuaries; (4) appointment of non-Levitic priests; and (5) observance of the fall festival, the Feast of Ingathering, on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, at which time the king offered a sacrifice on the altar in Bethel. The Deuteronomistic historian viewed each of these measures as a violation of Deuteronomic law, explaining his negative judgments on Jeroboam and the N cultic establishment. But Jeroboam and his N Israelite contemporaries no doubt viewed these measures as a return to old traditions and practices, a departure from the alien Jerusalemite religion which had been imposed upon them by the Davidic state (Talmon 1958: 53–57; Ahlström 1982: 57–58; *HAIJ,* 242–43).

The reference to Jeroboam's choice of golden calf or bull images for the religious iconography of his new kingdom associates these images with Yahweh, the god of the exodus ("Behold your god, Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt"—1 Kgs 12:28) and recalls the golden calf episode in Exodus 32. These associations suggest that Jeroboam sought to revive an ancient cultic symbol of the divine presence of the Israelite deity Yahweh (Talmon 1958: 50; *CMHE,* 74–75; Ahlström 1982: 62, n. 91; *HAIJ,* 242). The calf images thus served as the N Israelite counterpart to the cherubim and Ark iconography in Solomon's Temple.

The installation of the golden calf images in Bethel and Dan further indicates the archaizing nature of Jeroboam's state religion. Bethel's Israelite associations are firmly anchored in the ancestral stories of Genesis (12:8; 13:3; 28:19; 31:13; 35:1–16) and Dan's priesthood claimed to have descended from Moses (Judg 18:30). Jeroboam chose Dan and Bethel for national sanctuaries to revive ancient Israelite traditions (*HAIJ,* 242), not to establish royal temples at strategic N and S border locations as Aharoni (1968: 28) has suggested.

Jeroboam's priesthood, according to 1 Kgs 12:31b, was non-Levitic. Cross (*CMHE,* 199) dismisses this claim because he thinks it belongs to the "Deuteronomistic polemic" against Jeroboam, and he argues that Jeroboam appointed two rival priesthoods of Levitic ancestry to serve at his two national sanctuaries—Aaronites at Bethel and Mushites at Dan. A modification of this view maintains that Jeroboam replaced the Aaronite priests at Bethel with Levites of Mushite ancestry (Halpern 1976: 38). Other scholars, however, think that 1 Kgs 12:31b and 2 Chr 11:13–17 accurately recall that Jeroboam dismissed Levites from priestly service, a move that Jeroboam would have found necessary because the Levites at the time, it is maintained, were priests and government employees of the Davidic state (Ahlström 1982: 57; *HAIJ,* 242). Given this understanding of Levites, Jeroboam naturally would have replaced the Davidic loyalists with his own cultic personnel.

The statement in 1 Kgs 12:31a that Jeroboam built holy shrines or sanctuaries can be taken as reliable, even though the expression used *(bêt [?] bāmôth)* reflects the Deuteronomistic historian's pejorative term *bāmôth* for these structures. But there is no reason to doubt that Jeroboam did engage in some such activity, inasmuch as kings in the ancient world typically built cities, fortresses, temples, etc., as "a political tool" in establishing a state administration (Ahlström 1982: 10–26).

As 1 Kgs 12:32–33 indicates, Jeroboam observed the Feast of Ingathering on the fifteenth day of the eighth month. The Deuteronomistic historian, who believed that the proper time to observe this festival was the fifteenth day of the *seventh* month (as was done in Jerusalem), says that Jeroboam set the date "in a month of his own choosing." This, again, reflects the pejorative judgment of the writer. Jeroboam's action is better understood as a reversion to an old agrarian calendar followed in the N which had been altered when a "full-scale synchronization" of divergent calendars was instituted by David or Solomon (Talmon 1958: 56–57). Jeroboam's choice of date for this festival was thus an integral part of his overall plan to restore traditional practices in the N.

f. Evaluation in Prophetic and Literary Tradition. The prophetic legend about the Judean man of God who denounced Jeroboam (1 Kgs 13:1–32) has been shaped by the Deuteronomistic historian into a prediction of Josiah's destruction of the altar in Bethel (cf. 13:1–3 and 2 Kgs 23:15). The legend, however, draws upon older prophetic traditions (Lemke 1976), indicating that the prophetic critique of the Bethelite cult preceded the work of the Deuteronomist.

Perhaps the earliest prophet to denounce Jeroboam was Ahijah. Ahijah had good reason to withdraw his support from Jeroboam, especially if he entertained hopes that Jeroboam would establish Shiloh as the religious center of the N Israelite nation. This loss of confidence in the new king underlies the account of Ahijah's condemnation of Jeroboam in 1 Kgs 14:1–18. The account in its present form, however, has been reworked and expanded by the Deuteronomistic historian, who uses the prophet's denunciation as the occasion to introduce the notion that because of Jeroboam's great sins which he "led Israel to commit" Yahweh would bring an end to the nation and scatter its people "beyond the Euphrates" (14:15–16; Evans 1983: 118–19).

The Deuteronomistic polemic against Jeroboam derives from Jeroboam's establishment of a state religion in the N—complete with iconography, priesthood, royal temples, and cultic calendar—which clashed with the Deuteronomistic historian's ideology. Measured by 10th-century N Israelite standards, Jeroboam's actions sought to restore N traditions and practices. But measured by the later standards of the Deuteronomist, Jeroboam's religious system represented a departure from true Yahwism. The Deuteronomist's literary framework, which is placed around the account of each king's reign, offers a grand redactional scheme by means of which nearly all N kings are charged with the perpetuation of Jeroboam's sins until all Israel had been seduced from allegiance to Yahweh (Mullen 1987). The end result was that Yahweh sent the nation into exile when it fell to the Assyrians (2 Kgs 17:21–23).

The portrayal of Jeroboam as the villain who set the N Israelite kingdom on its fateful course follows a typology of the *Unheilsherrscher,* which can be traced in the historiographic traditions about other ANE rulers—Naram-Sin most notably, but also Ibbi-Sin, Shulgi, and Nabonidus (Evans 1983). Manasseh, similarly, is presented by the Deuteronomist as the fateful ruler responsible for the fall of the S kingdom of Judah (2 Kgs 21:16; 23:26–27).

The tradition focusing on Jeroboam spanned a long history (Evans 1983: 114–18). Reflexes of a favorable assessment of Jeroboam can be found in the pre-Deuteronomistic traditions underlying 1 Kings 11 and 12, beginning with the oracle of his contemporary, Ahijah, and a related report of Jeroboam's rebellion against Solomon and rise to the kingship over N Israel. The annals of the kings of Israel recorded the information which underlies the account of Jeroboam's activity in establishing the N kingdom in 1 Kgs 12:25–33. These early traditions were subsequently reworked by the Deuteronomistic historian, who transformed Jeroboam into the arch-villain of the N kingdom. The positive portrait was not completely forgotten, however, as reflexes of it survive in the LXX's supplemental account. The interest in Jeroboam continued in the tradition of rabbinic interpretation, which has been studied by Aberbach and Smolar (1968).

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**2.** A king of Israel, the son and successor of Joash (2 Kgs 14:23–29). He was the grandson of Jehu and a contemporary of Amaziah and Uzziah, kings of Judah (2 Kgs 14:23; 15:1). Jeroboam is said to have enjoyed a lengthy reign of forty-one years (ca. 786–746 B.C.E.). Gray (*I and II Kings* OTL, 72–73, 615) believes that 2 Kgs 14:23 confuses the date of Jeroboam's sole accession to the throne and the period of his coregency with his father, Joash.

The presentation of Jeroboam's reign in the Deuteronomistic history is illustrative of its selective and tendentious nature. Commentators and historians assess Jeroboam's reign as a marked political success and a period of prosperity for the N kingdom in the 8th century B.C.E. However the Deuteronomistic history dismisses the reign in a few verses (2 Kgs 14:23–29). The theological assessment of Jeroboam II is introduced and concluded in standard negative terms as continuing the apostasy of his namesake Jeroboam I (2 Kgs 14:23–24, 28–29). However, the report that he was able to extend the boundaries of the N kingdom and was successful in war is suprising. The most striking aspect is that Jeroboam is said to have been successful owing to Yahweh's compassion for Israel (2 Kgs 14:25–27). His expansionist policy is said to have been in accordance with the word of Yahweh delivered by the prophet Jonah. This oracle is not preserved elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, although its nationalistic sentiments are in accord with the presentation of the figure Jonah in the book by that name. Clearly the Deuteronomistic history presents all aspects of the history of the N kingdom as part of divine providence. The scheme of affliction-compassion-restoration which is surprisingly applied to a N king is reminiscent of the major themes of the book of Judges.

The historical interpretation of these verses is particularly difficult. The extent of the expansion of the border is described as "from the entrance of Hamath as far as the Sea of Arabah" (2 Kgs 14:25). This is an expression that often refers to the ideal boundaries of Israel (Num 13:21; 34:8; Josh 13:5; Judg 3:3; 1 Kgs 8:65; Amos 6:14). The phrase "the entrance of Hamath" is often understood as a reference to a specific location, Lebo-Hamath, 70 k N of Damascus (*LBHG,* 65) or the S entrance to the Beqah valley, while "the Sea of Arabah" was the Dead Sea (Miller and Hayes *HAIJ,* 307–8). Most historians and commentators believe that Amos 6:13 provides confirmatory evidence for Jeroboam's territorial expansion into Transjordan (Wolff *Joel and Amos* Hermeneia, 288; *HAIJ,* 308). However, the pun based on the Hebrew place names Lo-debar ("nothing") and Karnaim ("two horns" or "power") is a condemnation of the self-satisfaction of those who place their trust in human power or useless idols. It is doubtful then if this verse can be used as evidence for the expansionist policy of Jeroboam ben Joash, particularly since it is dependent upon the assumption that it is to be dated to the reign of Jeroboam II (Coote 1981: 88). The obscure reference in 1 Chr 5:17 to some kind of census in Transjordan during the reign of Jeroboam II is also cited as evidence of territorial gains in this area. 2 Kgs 14:28 adds further information on the expansionist policy of Jeroboam with the statement that "he recovered for Israel Damascus and Hamath, which had belonged to Judah." The MT is difficult to understand, particularly the prepositions before the names "Israel" and "Judah"; it reads literally "and how he restored Damascus and Hamath to Judah in Israel." The Syriac omits "to Judah" and emends "in Israel" to "to Israel." Gray (616–17) believes that the MT is indefensible and adopts an emendation proposed by Burney (1903: 320–21) "and his might in war with Damascus, and how he turned away the wrath of Yahweh from Israel." Apart from the textual problems, the verse is difficult to assess historically. Miller and Hayes (*HAIJ,* 308–9) are suspicious of the claim that Jeroboam captured Hamath and Damascus. They argue that it probably refers to the two cities either paying nominal tribute to the N kingdom or allowing Jeroboam commercial concessions. Haran

(1967: 296), however, has argued that the verse indicates that Israel and Judah were allies and powerful enough to subdue Hamath and Damascus.

Although the historical details are extremely meager, most commentators present the reign of Jeroboam as a period of peace and prosperity for the N kingdom. It is assumed that he took advantage of the relative weakness of Assyria in implementing his expansionist policy. However, the precise timing of his expansion northward is debated. Haran (1967), who assumes the reliability of 2 Kgs 14:28, argues that Jeroboam's expansion was confined to the final years of his reign when Assur-nirari V was on the Assyrian throne (755–745 B.C.E.). Gray (617), who doubts the claim that Jeroboam actually captured Damascus and Hamath, thinks that the successful campaign against Damascus took place shortly after the campaign by Assurdan III (772) into Syria and before the decline of Assyrian power under Assur-nirari V when Damascus might have recovered.

Evidence for the prosperity of the N kingdom under Jeroboam II is based principally on material in the books of Amos and Hosea which is believed to provide background information on the economic and religious affairs of the N kingdom. Both prophets, according to the superscriptions of their books, were active in Israel during his reign (Amos 1:1; Hosea 1:1). They present a picture of a prosperous urban elite living in comparative luxury based on the social inequalities of the monarchic system through widespread exploitation. The standard view couples this rise in prosperity with a decline in ethical standards and widespread apostasy (*BHI*, 257–66). The oracles of these prophets also attack the religious apostasy of the N kingdom. Amos 7:10–14 provides a direct condemnation of Jeroboam pronounced at the royal shrine of Bethel in which Amos predicts the violent death of Jeroboam, the destruction of the dynasty, and the exile of the N kingdom. The passage is extremely complex and involves manifold literary and interpretative problems. It is usually seen as the culmination of Amos' rejection of the state religion of Jeroboam's reign, a cult which maintained the status quo of social and religious inequality (Wolff 308–10). De Geus (1982), however, has produced a different assessment of the nature of Jeroboam's reign with a study of archaeological data from the 10th century onward. He argues that the royal building programs of the 10th and 9th centuries imposed an increasing financial strain on the agrarian economy, which led to recession and stagnation in the 8th century. The architectural and pottery evidence, he argues, points to a period of decline following the 9th century. This economic analysis conflicts with the standard presentation of the reign of Jeroboam as a period of stability and economic prosperity.

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**JEROHAM** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕrōḥām* (יְרֹחָם)]. Name of seven individuals in the Hebrew Bible.

**1.** The grandfather of Samuel the prophet (1 Sam 1:1; 1 Chr 6:12, 19—Eng6:27, 34). The two verses from Chronicles occur within variant genealogies for Kohath. They represent Jeroham as a Levite in the line of Korah because, in the Chronicler's view, Samuel's known priestly activities require that he be a Levite. The Chronicler may also have associated Samuel with the Korahites because "Elkanah" occurred both as the name of Samuel's father and as a descendant of Korah.

**2.** Father of Joelah and Zebadiah, two men who joined David at Ziklag, according to 1 Chr 12:8—Eng12:7. This Jeroham is listed as "from Gedor," which is probably a dittography from the beginning of the next verse. There is no Gedar known in Benjaminite territory, and the introduction of the place name with the preposition *min*, "from," runs counter to the practice in the rest of the list. The name "Jeroham" occurs several times in Chronicles for Benjaminites. These occurrences of the name may be related, although their contexts are very different.

**3.** Father or ancestor of Ibneiah, who is listed among the Benjaminite residents of postexilic Jerusalem in 1 Chr 9:8. A parallel list of Benjaminite is given in Neh 11:7–9, but it does not mention either Ibneiah or Jeroham.

**4.** Ancestor of the Benjaminites mentioned in 1 Chr 8:27. The list of brothers in 8:12–14, which is expanded in vv 15–27, has Jeremoth (8:14) instead of Jeroham. Obviously, one of the two names is incorrect, but it is uncertain which one it is.

**5.** Father of Azarel, a chief officer (Heb *nāgîd*) over the tribe of Dan during David's reign according to 1 Chr 27:22.

**6.** Father of Azariah, one of the "commanders of hundreds" listed in 2 Chr 23:1 who conspired with Jehoiada to depose Athaliah.

**7.** A priest in postexilic Jerusalem who is listed as the father of Adaiah in 1 Chr 9:12 (= Neh 11:12).

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**JERUBBAAL** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕrūbbāʿal* (יְרֻבַּעַל)]. Var. JERUBBESHETH. Jerubbaal was the name given to Gideon after he destroyed his father's Baal altar (Judg 6:32). Some understand the references to this name in Judges 9 to be a different person from Gideon, two traditions being conflated (*NHI,* 152; *EHI,* 800–1). This makes Abimelech the son of Jerubbaal, not Gideon. The name has been variously translated as "Baal makes (himself) great" (deriving *yĕrūb* from the root *rbh*; *IPN,* 206; *ARI,* 112, 206; cf. *HALAT,* 414) or "Let Baal sue (his enemies)" (from the root *ryb;* Boling *Judges* AB, 144). There is also a possible word play on the assonance of the two roots (Soggin *Judges* OTL, 125). The name is changed significantly in 2 Sam 11:21, where the noun "shame" (Heb *bōšet*) is substituted for "Baal," Jerubbesheth. This change belongs to a class of similar names such as Ish-bosheth (2 Sam 2:8; = Eshbaal, 1 Chr 8:33; 9:39) and Mephibosheth (2 Sam 21:7, 8; = Meribaal, 1 Chr 8:34; 9:40). For later Israelites, the name "Baal" had become distasteful to pronounce and had lost its original meaning of "Lord," which earlier had been applied even to Yahweh (cf. Boling *Judges* AB, 135; Caspari 1915: 173–74; Moore *Judges* ICC, 195).

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**JERUBBESHETH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕrubbešet* (יְרֻבֶּשֶׁת)]. Var. JERUBBAAL. The father of Abimelech (2 Sam 11:21). A variant form, Jerubbaal, is mentioned in Judg 9:1. This variant form of the name replaces the reference to Baal, the Canaanite deity, found within the name, with Besheth, a form of the Hebrew word for "shame." In such a way the writer suggests that Baal worship was never seen as legitimate in Israel, which would appear to be the case by having Israelites hold names which would include references to this deity. This is similar to the name change found in 2 Sam 2:8 (MT "Ishbosheth"/LXX "Ishbaal"). Though Tsevat (1975) has argued against seeing this change as a "euphemistic substitution" by appealing to an Akkadian cognate, McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB) convincingly refutes such reinterpretation. This change in the form of the name from one which uses "baal" to one which uses "bosheth" is significant for two reasons. First, from the wording of the remainder of the verse it appears that the writer in 2 Sam 11:21 is not only making direct reference to the events described in Judg 9:50–55, but also copying from this early tradition. Second, however, this change of the name gives evidence that the David-Bathsheba-Uriah tale has been edited by a later, probably Deuteronomistic, editor, who would be likely to make such a substitution for theological reasons.

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**JERUEL** (PLACE) [Heb *yĕrû᾽ēl* (יְרוּאֵל)]. A portion of the Wilderness of Judah which can be located probably to the SE of the Wilderness of Tekoa (2 Chr 20:20) and to the NW of the ascent of Ziz and En-gedi. The E side of this wilderness became the scene of Yahweh's defeat of the allied forces of Ammonites, Moabites, and Meunites (2 Chr 20:16; cf. vs. 1, 2, 20; 26:7). The meaning of Jeruel is probably either "City of God" from **Uru-᾽el,* like Jerusalem for *Uru-salim,* or "Founded by God." See also *MBA,* map no. 133.

YOSHITAKA KOBAYASHI

**JERUSALEM** (PLACE) [Heb *yĕrûšālayim* (יְרוּשָׁלַיִם)]. Pliny the Elder described Jerusalem as "by far the most renowned city of the ancient East" (*HN* V:14). Jerusalem is best known as the "holy city" (Isa 52:1), sacred to the three great monotheistic religions. Few subjects have generated so large a body of literature; the most recent comprehensive, but not exhaustive, bibliography on Jerusalem contains almost 6,000 titles (Purvis 1988).

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**A. Introduction**

**1. State of Question.** There is much uncertainty about Jerusalem; many historical, archaeological, and topographical problems are unresolved. Jerusalem has played a prominent role in history, but the historical record is scant, and descriptions from literary sources are often imprecise. Despite Jerusalem's antiquity, archaeological remains are not so plentiful as in the case of other biblical sites such as Megiddo, Hazor, Dan, and Samaria. The archaeological data are frequently problematic, unassimilated, and unpublished. New questions continue to arise concerning earlier archaeological interpretations.

The fact that Jerusalem has been continuously and often densely inhabited for almost 6,000 years makes it difficult to excavate systematically. The accumulation of rubble from periodic destructions makes it hard to untangle Jerusalem's complex defense systems. Each time Jerusalem was rebuilt, stone robbers utilized masonry from previous occupations, thereby complicating the stratigraphy of the site.

Jerusalem's location on a mountain ridge is the source of severe topographical problems. Also, Jerusalem's contours have changed over the centuries; the Tyropoeon valley, for example, has now been practically filled in. On the other hand, the names of architectural features such as Jerusalem's gates have changed from time to time, just as the names of geographical areas such as Mount Zion have shifted location. All these problems give rise to controversy, making it almost impossible to advance conclusive answers about the history, archaeology, and topography of Jerusalem.

**2. Sources. a. Written.** The principal source for Jerusalem is the Bible, although it is quite imprecise about the topographical features of the city; nor is Jerusalem presented systematically. Jerusalem is the most prominent city in biblical literature; often, however, it is the eschatological, not the historical, Jerusalem that is being described.

The second major literary source for Jerusalem is Flavius Josephus' *The Antiquities of the Jews* and *The Jewish War*, the latter intended for Roman readers. Born in Jerusalem in C.E. 37, Josephus was an eyewitness for the period of the first Jewish revolt. Although he wrote from the Roman point of view, and despite some exaggerations (e.g., population figures) and inaccuracies, archaeology confirms in general his history and geography. Josephus is especially helpful in his detailed descriptions of Herodian monuments. He is the only source for the "three walls" of Jerusalem; unfortunately, his description of their alignment refers to several places unknown today.

**b. Cartography.** The traditional anti-iconographic attitude of Jews and Muslims accounts for the paucity of maps, portraits, and illustrations of Jerusalem. Maps of Jerusalem by Jewish cartographers did not exist before the 19th century. The earliest and most valuable nonliterary source for Jerusalem is the Madeba mosaic map of the 6th century C.E., portraying Byzantine Jerusalem. Indicative of Jerusalem's importance, it is the centerpiece of this map, and is depicted disproportionately large as an oval-shaped city surrounded by walls with six gates and twenty-one towers. Every feature of the Madeba map points to Jerusalem as the center of the world. Also, the Madeba map delineates Jerusalem's main colonnaded street, known as the *cardo maximus.* The caption on the map reads in Greek "Holy City of Jerusalem."

F. Sieber, an Austrian physician, produced the first modern, albeit primitive, map of Jerusalem in 1818. The outstanding cartographer in the first half of the 19th century was the British architect F. Catherwood. With a camera lucida he copied the outlines of the important buildings in Jerusalem, and also produced a panorama and map of the city.

Artistic records are also an important source of information about Jerusalem. D. Roberts and W. Bartlett, two well-known artists of 19th-century Jerusalem, not only reproduced the ancient sites but also generated a lively interest among Westerners in the Bible lands.

**B. Rediscovery of Jerusalem**

**1. In the 19th Century.** Despite Jerusalem's centrality in biblical history, the city was little known in modern times until the 19th century. As a consequence of Ibrahim Pasha's conquest of Jerusalem, Western travelers found it easier to visit Jerusalem with safety. Much of the credit for the rediscovery of Palestine, especially Jerusalem, in the 19th century belongs to the American biblical scholar, E. Robinson (1856). As the first scientific explorer of Palestine, he inaugurated a new era in the geographical study of the Holy Land. Robinson is associated especially with three monuments in Jerusalem: he was the first person in modern times to explore Hezekiah's tunnel; he discovered the remains of Jerusalem's reputed

third wall, built but not completed by Herod Agrippa I; and he found the spring of an arch, bearing his name today, near the SW corner of the Temple platform. See Fig. JER.07.

One of the most significant steps in the rediscovery of Jerusalem was the establishment of the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) in 1865. Inspired by the achievements of Robinson, the PEF was formally organized in London to explore Palestine systematically, and specifically to promote the historical and archaeological research of Jerusalem. In the second half of the 19th century a contaminated water supply made Jerusalem an unsanitary city. As a preliminary step toward correcting the situation, the Royal Engineers under surveyor C. Wilson (Wilson and Warren 1871: 3–32) made, between 1864 and 1865, a historic ordnance survey, including a cartographic survey of Jerusalem, which produced the first modern scientific map of Palestine. Wilson's map of Jerusalem with its contour lines has been an indispensable tool for all later archaeologists. This ordnance survey also helped to launch the PEF.

From 1867 to 1870, C. Warren (1876) clarified the historical topography of Jerusalem by following the lines of the city walls and of the Temple Mount. He had set out to resolve two topographical problems: the exact location of the Temple, and the course of the three N walls of ancient Jerusalem. Around the four sides of the Temple enclosure he made soundings by an intricate series of shafts and tunnels, so as not to disturb existing structures or arouse the suspicions of the Turkish authorities in Jerusalem, who had forbidden him to excavate within 12 m of the walls. Despite the primitive methods imposed on him, Warren made accurate plans and measurements. He discovered in the SE corner of the Temple Mount a portion of the ancient city wall, still known as Warren's Ophel wall. He also investigated one of the ancient water systems, consisting of a vertical shaft and connecting tunnels, still known as Warren's shaft, near the Gihon spring. See Fig. DAV.03 and DAV.04. Warren's work marked the beginning of scientific archaeological research in Jerusalem.

From 1894 to 1897, an experienced American archaeologist, F. Bliss, and a British architect, A. Dickie (Bliss and Dickie 1898), continued Warren's work in Jerusalem, using the same system of shafts and tunnels. They excavated on both the W and the SE hill. Tracing the lines of the southernmost walls of ancient Jerusalem in successive periods was a vast project. Bliss and Dickie also explored the Gihon channel. Although their dating of architectural features was unsatisfactory, Bliss and Dickie provided useful descriptions of architecture and masonry. It is disappointing that Bliss did not apply his knowledge of pottery to determine more accurately the chronology of ancient Jerusalem.

In the last quarter of the 19th century C. Clermont-Ganneau (1896) conducted additional investigations in the City of David, especially the course of the wall on the top of the E slope. Clermont-Ganneau also examined the area of the Antonia and the Ecce Homo arch.

**2. In the 20th Century.** Between 1909 and 1911 an Englishman, M. Parker, concentrating on the area of the Gihon spring and the slope above it, tried by furtive means to locate the treasury of Solomon's Temple, allegedly buried beneath the Temple Mount. In the course of his treasure hunt he cleared the subterranean tunnels and shafts of the Warren expedition, including Hezekiah's tunnel, with the hope they would lead to the Temple treasure. The only redeeming feature of this ill-conceived project was that Parker had enlisted L.-H. Vincent (1911), leading authority on the history and topography of Jerusalem, who recorded the expedition, mapping Jerusalem's ancient water system and replanning the accesses to the Gihon spring. Vincent determined on the basis of the water supply from the Gihon spring that ancient Jerusalem had been situated on the E, not the W, ridge.

As time passed, archaeological method slowly improved, although stratigraphy was still ignored. In 1913–1914 and 1923–1925 R. Weill (1920; 1947), French Egyptologist and historian, conducted the first Jewish expedition in Jerusalem. He concentrated on the S end of Jerusalem's E ridge where he cleared a large area in search of the tombs of David and the kings of Judah, uncovering sections of the City of David's E fortifications. During his excavation he was able to demonstrate that the SE hill of ancient Jerusalem was the site of the City of David, as well as of the pre-Israelite occupants, by finding indications of the early W fortifications to match chronologically those on the E side of the hill. Bliss and others had searched for this evidence, but were unable to find it.

Before World War I, archaeologists gave scant attention to ceramics as chronological indicators; their reliance on architectural features for dating was not decisive. From 1923 to 1925 R. A. S. Macalister and J. G. Duncan (1926) concentrated on the crest of the City of David's E slope, tracing the line of the fortification, which was the continuation of Warren's Ophel wall. They also excavated to bedrock a large area in the N section of the SE hill. Although Macalister, the excavator of Gezer, was an experienced archaeologist, he neglected stratigraphy. With the excavation of Macalister and Duncan on Ophel hill, it became certain that the City of David was situated on the E, not the W, hill.

When J. Crowfoot and G. FitzGerald (1929) continued in 1927 and 1928 the work of Macalister and Duncan on the SE ridge, instead of using the shaft-and-tunnel method of the pioneer excavators, they dug a trench from the summit of the W side of the E ridge down into the Tyropoeon valley. With their new method they discovered the City of David's W gate, known as the Valley Gate.

While rebuilding Jerusalem about 132 C.E., Hadrian erected a triple-arched entryway on the N side of the city (Magen 1988: 50). In 1931 and again in 1937–38, R. W. Hamilton (1940), trained in classical archaeology, excavated adjacent to the present N wall of the Old City, including the foundations of the Damascus gate. There, he found the facade of Hadrian's gate; but as a result of incomplete excavation, he misdated an earlier Herodian wall to the 2d century C.E.

From 1964 to 1966, J. B. Hennessy (1970) extended Hamilton's excavation beneath the Damascus gate, where he exposed the facade of the Crusader gate. He also redated to the Herodian period (pre-70 C.E.) the wall that Hamilton had misdated (Shanks 1987: 54); this wall was, in Hennessy's opinion, the third wall built by Herod Agrippa I.

For a decade beginning in 1934, C. N. Johns (1950), also a trained classical archaeologist, cleared the court of the Citadel, adjacent to the Jaffa gate on the W ridge, uncovering pottery from the late-Israelite period, but not prior to the 7th century B.C.E. When R. Amiran and A. Eitan (1970) continued work in the Citadel after 1967, they confirmed the conclusions of Johns.

Signaling a new era in the archaeology of Jerusalem, K. Kenyon (1974), a distinguished British archaeologist, excavated from 1961 to 1967 on Ophel hill. To reconstruct the history of Jerusalem, she was eager to date monumental structures, an objective that the inferior techniques of earlier excavators could not accomplish. She cut a deep trench down the entire E slope of the City of David, and then proceeded to carry out ceramic, stratigraphic, and architectural analyses. Among her significant contributions to the archaeology of Jerusalem, in addition to methodology, was her location of the Jebusite wall on the E ridge. She established that in the Canaanite and Israelite periods the wall line of the City of David was lower down the E slope, closer to the Gihon spring than previously thought. Situated 48 m down from the top of the ridge, the earliest fortification of Jerusalem dates to about 1800 B.C.E.; this MB II wall continued in use to the 8th century B.C.E.

Reviewing in detail the numerous independent excavations of Jerusalem's SE hill prior to Kenyon's dig, Simons (1952: 70) lamented the lack of methodological excavations. He concluded it would have been better had earlier excavators waited until more sophisticated methods had been developed, and more experience had been gained in digging Palestinian sites. For the earlier excavators, literary evidence alone was the basis of their investigations because they lacked Kenyon's expertise in stratigraphic digging and pottery analysis.

**3. Since 1967.** More digging has taken place in Jerusalem since 1967 than in all previous excavations combined. The reunification of the city as a result of the 1967 war has given Israeli archaeologists the opportunity to excavate the city intensively. There have been three major excavations and several limited ones. B. Mazar (1978), assisted by M. Ben-Dov (1985), directed the first of the major excavations between 1968 and 1978. He concentrated on the SW corner of the Temple Mount, and along the W and S walls of the Temple enclosure. See Fig. JER.07. Working adjacent to the retaining walls of the Temple Mount, Mazar recovered remains ranging from Iron Age II to Ottoman times. (He found hardly any artifacts from the First-Temple period adjacent to the S wall of the Temple enclosure, which would have been the royal quarters.) The greatest concentration of finds belonged to the Herodian period. Mazar's dig

confirmed Josephus' statement that, in preparation for the rebuilding the Temple, Herod doubled the size of the Temple Mount.

While Mazar was excavating adjacent to the Temple Mount, N. Avigad (1983) was digging in the center of the Jewish Quarter of the Old City, which is the E section of the W hill. Avigad's was the first dig ever to take place in the Jewish Quarter. Simultaneous with the reconstruction of the Jewish Quarter by the Jerusalem municipality, Avigad conducted his archaeological investigations, staying a few steps ahead of the construction crews. Avigad discovered remnants from the Hasmonean and Herodian periods, especially the latter. On the basis of the remains, it is clear that in the Herodian era some of the residents of Jerusalem lived in luxury.

In addition, Avigad's investigation of the Byzantine occupation of Jerusalem confirms the existence of the *cardo maximus* as portrayed in detail on the Madeba map. See Fig. JER.12. Laid out on a N–S axis, the *cardo* would have extended the entire length of the city, from the Damascus gate in the N almost to the Zion gate in the S.

Equally important, Avigad established that as early as the 8th century B.C.E. Jerusalem's W ridge—the "Second Quarter" (Heb *mišneh*) of 2 Kgs 22:14—had been first settled and later enclosed by a wall. In the 8th–7th centuries B.C.E. Jerusalem expanded to four times its previous size. Evidence for the foregoing hinges on Avigad's discovery of an Israelite wall, situated on the upper portion of the E slope of the W hill. See Fig. JER.10. The course of this broad defense is still uncertain, but it confirms Josephus' maximalist view about the size of the Jerusalem settlement in the preexilic period.

Between 1978 and 1984 Y. Shiloh (1981; 1984) continued the work of Kenyon and her predecessors in the City of David, on the SE hill above the Gihon spring, where settlement dates as early as the 4th millennium. Shiloh succeeded in identifying 25 occupational strata, extending from the Chalcolithic period to medieval times. He also reinvestigated Jerusalem's three complex water systems connected with the Gihon spring, including Warren's shaft (the earliest), the Siloam channel, and Hezekiah's tunnel (the latest) (Shiloh 1987). Shiloh also uncovered an impressive stepped stone structure, 18 m high and 16 m wide. Earlier excavators (Macalister, Kenyon) had exposed the upper courses of this monumental structure which, according to Shiloh, was erected in the 10th century B.C.E. See Fig. DAV.01. He suggested that it may have served as a supporting rampart or podium for buildings on the royal acropolis. Shiloh's conclusions about the City of David may never be published completely because of his untimely death in 1987. See also DAVID, CITY OF.

Other important but limited projects conducted by Israeli archaeologists include that of D. Bahat and M. Broshi (1975), who continued A. D. Tushingham's (1968; 1985) excavations on Mount Zion and in the Armenian Quarter in an attempt to determine the extent and construction of Herod's palace. Also, S. Ben-Arieh and E. Netzer (1974) excavated N of the Old City.

**C. Background**

**1. Names Associated with Jerusalem.** A long history lies behind "Jerusalem"; it was the name of the city from early times. Jerusalem is mentioned for the first time in the Egyptian Execration Texts (19th–18th centuries B.C.E.), where the form of the name is probably to be read as Rušalimum. The name appears again in diplomatic correspondence: this time as Urušalim (Akk) in the Amarna letters (14th century B.C.E.). Abdi-Ḫiba, a vassal of Egypt who was reigning in Jerusalem at the time, sent letters to the Egyptian pharaoh Amenophis IV (Akhenaten), affirming his loyalty. Later Assyrian texts also refer to Jerusalem; for example, in the records of Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem in 701 B.C.E. the form Ursalimmu (or variants) appears (*ANET*, 288).

The name "Jerusalem" (Heb *yĕrûšālayim*) is of uncertain etymology, although it is apparently of W Semitic (Canaanite) origin. It appears to be composed of the two elements: *yrw* "to establish" and *šlm,* the name of the W Semitic god Shalem, patron of the city. The meaning may be "foundation of (the god) Shalem," mentioned in a mythological text from Ugarit. Gen 14:18 refers to Melchizedek as king of Salem (Heb *śālēm*), likely Jerusalem. If so, this shortened form is the first biblical allusion to Jerusalem. In Psalm 76:3 (—Eng 76:2) Salem is used in synonymous parallelism to Zion, referring to the divine dwelling.

Josh 10:1–4 contains the first specific biblical reference to Jerusalem, whose inhabitants were Canaanites. There, it relates to Adoni-zedek, king of Jerusalem, formed a coalition with neighboring kings and attacked Gibeon. Joshua defeated them, but Jerusalem was not taken. According to Judg 1:8, the Judahites captured Jerusalem and destroyed it by fire. The text is historically unreliable; Jerusalem was not conquered until the time of David (2 Sam 5:6–7).

Some OT texts (Josh 15:8; 18:28; Judg 19:10; 1 Chr 11:4–5) equate "Jebus" (the name derived from the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Jerusalem) with Jerusalem, conveying the impression that Jebus (Heb *yĕbus*) was the pre-Davidic name for ancient Jerusalem. The city was never actually called Jebus, although it had been a Jebusite settlement. The Amarna Tablets attest that "Jerusalem," not "Jebus," was the name of the city; nor does "Jebus" appear in other ANE texts. Despite the lack of extrabiblical evidence, some would argue that Jebus and Jerusalem designate the same city. Others suggest that Jebus may be identified with Sha‹fāṭ (M.R. 172136), situated slightly N of Jerusalem (Miller 1974: 126).

Zion (Heb *ṣîyôn*), another name for Jerusalem, is used more than 150 times in the OT. Its etymology is unclear, and its precise meaning is unknown. Zion is sometimes used metaphorically, at other times topographically, although the designation has changed across time. Originally, Zion was equated with the City of David, signifying the SE hill of Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:7). The Temple Mount to its N was also known as Zion. From the Byzantine period, Zion has been applied to the hill S of the SW corner of the present Old City. Zion may also designate Jerusalem as a religious capital.

**2. Geography and Topography.** Jerusalem, consisting of two ridges, is situated on a limestone plateau 800 m above sea level in the central hill country, bordering on the Judean desert, and removed from the major trade routes. To the W are the slopes of the Judean mountains; to the E the Judean desert, descending to the Dead Sea. Jerusalem's rugged terrain was a military advantage, making it easy to defend because it was hard to reach. At the same time, its location and natural features were a commercial disadvantage, since the commercial centers of Palestine were located on the coastal plain, not on the mountain ridge (Hopkins 1970: 11–12).

Jebusite Jerusalem and the later City of David were small settlements situated on the E hill of Jerusalem; they encompassed an area of only 10 to 15 acres at the SE corner of present-day Jerusalem, below the Temple Mount. This spur, completely outside the city walls since the 11th century C.E., is the smaller of two ridges lying below the present Old City. The topographic term for the crest of the SE hill is Ophel ("bulge," "projection"; Isa 32:14; Mic 4:8; 2 Kgs 5:24, and elsewhere), which may have designated the royal administrative area, or the higher part of a city enclosed with a wall. Ophel is also found at other royal centers of the Iron Age, such as Samaria and Dibon. For a long time the entire E spur of Jerusalem has been called Ophel.

Both eastern and western ridges are surrounded by precipitous valleys on three sides. See Fig. JER.08. It is bounded on the E and part of the N by the Kidron valley, and on the S and W by the Hinnom valley. The Tyropoeon, Josephus' term of uncertain origin which may be a corruption of a Heb name, translated "valley of the cheesemakers" (*JW* 5.4.1 §140), is the small N–S valley in the center, only a slight depression today. Also known as the central valley (in the Bible, simply "the valley"), the Tyropoeon divided the Ophel hill from the W ridge. The W ridge, lying between the Hinnom and Tyropoeon valleys, was broader than the E hill, and was the biblical equivalent of the suburbs. These two hills have been known by a variety of names in the history of Jerusalem; they have also expanded and contracted. The Ophel hill, together with the Temple Mount, composed the Lower City; the SW hill, named by Josephus the Upper City, covers the area of the present Jewish Quarter, the Armenian Quarter, the Citadel, and the traditional Mount Zion. The NE section of the Upper City has been designated as the Jewish Quarter since the 12th century C.E. Eventually, the Lower City was densely populated and became the area where the poor resided, whereas the more prosperous dwelt in the Upper City.

The decisive factor in the settlement of pre-Israelite Jerusalem, later the City of David, was access to a vital water supply. The Gihon spring, situated at the foot of the SE ridge and flowing in the Kidron bed, was the perennial source of water. The minimum annual yield was 73,000 cubic meters (Wilkinson 1974:

33). Gihon, related to Heb *giḥa* ("a gushing forth") is so called because its water gushes intermittently. There was only a small yield from en-Rogel, the second source of water to the S of Gihon.

In the Iron II period the Gihon spring fed three interconnected water systems. The earliest water system, consisting of a shaft and connecting tunnels, is known as Warren's shaft. See Figs. DAV.03 and DAV.04. In time of siege it supplied water from the Gihon spring to the Jerusalem residents without the risk of their going outside the wall. The second of the water systems is the Siloam channel, 400 m long, a kind of aqueduct carrying water from the Gihon along the Kidron valley to a reservoir at the tip of the city. This water irrigated the fields through apertures in the channel wall. The third water system is Hezekiah's tunnel, an enclosed aqueduct diverting water from the Gihon spring to the Siloam pool at the SW corner of the city. See Fig. JER.09.

**3. Settlement.** Jerusalem was first settled on the Ophel, above the Gihon spring, where pottery, dating to the Chalcolithic period (3500 B.C.E.), and the remains of structures, dating to EB I and II (3000–2800 B.C.E.), were found. Kenyon's discovery of the Jebusite wall and adjacent tower halfway down the E slope indicated that the pre-Israelite city was larger than expected. Even though this fortification was low down, the Gihon spring still remained outside the city wall. Had it been located low enough to enclose the spring, the wall would have been vulnerable to attack. Apparently, the city wall was close enough to the Gihon spring to deter enemy access to the water supply.

**4. Population, Size, Economy.** M. Broshi's (1974; 1978) study of Jerusalem's population density and of the expansion and contraction of the city is valuable in reconstructing Jerusalem's history. Estimates are as follows. The Jebusite city extended over roughly 12 acres, with a population of 1,000. The city of David was slightly larger, about 15 acres, with a population of 2,000. The inclusion of the Temple Mount enlarged Solomon's city to 32 acres or more, with a population of 4,500–5,000. In Hezekiah's reign Jerusalem expanded considerably, extending to the W hill (Upper City); it may have been as large as 125 acres, with a population of 25,000, although some think that figure is inflated. Beginning in the latter part of the 8th century B.C.E., numbers were swelled by immigration from the N kingdom (after 721 B.C.E.) and from the provinces of Judah (after 701 B.C.E.), as Broshi points out. In Nehemiah's time Jerusalem shrank to about 30 acres, with a population of 4,500, although some would double that estimate. In the prosperous Hasmonean era Jerusalem expanded to 165 acres, with a population of 30–35,000. In Herod's reign 40,000 people occupied 230 acres. Jerusalem doubled in size during the Roman period, expanding considerably to the N and NW: it comprised about 450 acres, with a population of 80,000 or more. In the Late Byzantine and Early Arab periods 55–60,000 people lived in Jerusalem.

As the religious, political, and cultural center of the kingdom, the economy of Jerusalem would have been sound. It depended in part upon sheep rearing, olive oil, and fruit, not cereal crops. "Tyropoeon" (valley of the cheesemakers) suggests Jerusalem had a dairy industry. The quarrying of building stone was also an important industry. Pilgrims who came to Jerusalem three times a year would have generated income, but the main source of revenue was the Temple tax levied on every Jew living in Jerusalem and in the Diaspora. Also, the Temple supported a wide variety of craftsmen (Avi-Yonah 1966: 188–211).

**D. United Kingdom**

**1. Reign of David.** Jerusalem, the political, religious, and administrative center of David's kingdom, was so closely identified with him it was called the City of David. Jerusalem was his own city because he and his mercenaries had captured it. David was a diplomatic genius in establishing Jerusalem as the royal capital of the twelve-tribe federation. The city was both centrally-located and extraterritorial, ideal for consolidating the N and S tribes. It was also shrewd of David to transfer the ark, the symbol of the Mosaic tradition, to Jerusalem, thus making Jerusalem the national sanctuary in place of Shiloh. The priests and traditionalists were well-disposed by David's action. The presence of the ark in Jerusalem signified continuity between the Mosaic tradition and the Davidic dynasty.

Details about David's strategy for capturing the Jebusite stronghold are not clear, either textually or archaeologically. The pertinent biblical verses (2 Sam 5:6–8; 1 Chr 11:4–7) are difficult (McCarter, *2 Samuel* AB, 135–43). In reconstructing David's strategy, some suggest that Warren's shaft provided his warriors with access to the city. The Heb word *ṣinnor* (2 Sam 5:8) is thought to refer to Warren's shaft

which the Jebusites had used as a safe access to the Gihon spring. Walking the length of the stepped tunnel, residents of Jerusalem could lower a container from the top of the vertical shaft (16 m deep and 2 m wide) and draw water conducted by the horizontal channel from the Gihon spring to a pool at the base of the vertical shaft. Mazar identifies *ṣinnor* with the conduit between the Gihon spring and the pool; several Israeli archaeologists (Mazar, Yadin, Aharoni, Shiloh) do not agree that *ṣinnor* refers to Warren's shaft. When Warren climbed the vertical shaft in 1867, some stated that he was repeating the feat of Joab, who scaled the water shaft to gain entrance into Jerusalem. However, on the basis of Warren's description of the difficulties associated with his own ascent, and inasmuch as Shiloh had to enlist professional mountain climbers to assist in investigating the shaft, it is questionable. Also, Shiloh (1987) found no evidence to support a pre-Davidic date for the shaft and tunnel. On the analogy of other hydraulic systems in ancient Israel, a 10th century B.C.E. date for the construction of the shaft is the earliest possibility, according to Shiloh, although the evidence is inconclusive. See also DAVID, CITY OF.

After capturing Jerusalem, David took up residence, fortified the city, and undertook a building program, extending the City of David in a N direction toward the present Temple Mount. According to 2 Sam 5:9, "David built the city round about from the Millo inward." This text is anachronistic with respect to the Millo: the Millo was built by Solomon and restored by Hezekiah. The Heb word *hamillo* is enigmatic and comes from a root meaning "fill"; it appears elsewhere in the OT (1 Kgs 9:15, 24; 11:27; 1 Chr 11:8; 2 Chr 32:5). It is subject to a variety of translations and interpretations: (a) a series of architectural terraces built by the Jebusites on the E slope of the E ridge, supporting houses and other structures (Kenyon); (b) an earth-fill S of the Temple Mount (Ben Dov); (c) the monumental stepped-stone structure near the crest of the hill, that may have been part of the defense system in the time of David and Solomon (Shiloh); and (d) the "fill" or land bridge joining the City of David with the royal acropolis to the N, known from the Solomonic era as the Temple Mount (Stager 1982: 121).

David's kingdom extended from Egypt to the Euphrates, with Jerusalem as its center. The list of administrators under David (2 Sam 8:15–18; 1 Chr 18:14–17) attests that he oversaw a well-organized administration in Jerusalem. Despite the economic prosperity realized from his military victories and other achievements, inevitable social changes brought resentment, alienation, and rebellion. His subjects resented taxes, conscription, and foreign influence; the tribes were alienated by their loss of traditional independence; ambitious and jealous members of the palace rebelled. Concern for succession to the throne led to palace intrigue throughout the history of the Davidic dynasty. Typical was Absalom's revolt which had the support of some of David's subjects (2 Samuel 13–20). After Absalom's death Adonijah became heir to the throne. When he apparently pressed his claim during the reign of Solomon he was executed.

**2. Reign of Solomon.** Under Solomon, Jerusalem enjoyed the status of an international capital. As the center of the empire, Jerusalem was a properous and cosmopolitan city. Solomon is best known for his extensive building projects, especially the Jerusalem Temple and the adjoining palace complex immediately S of the Temple, which incorporated residences, throne room, hall of justice, and arsenal (1 Kgs 7:1–12). His first undertaking was the Temple, which took seven years to build; the palace required 13 years to complete. Solomon accomplished his building program by the imposition of forced labor and heavy taxes, with the N tribes bearing the brunt. As well as alienating the N, his overly ambitious programs of building and expansion caused serious economic problems throughout the kingdom.

In preparation for the building of the Temple, Solomon extended the borders of the City of David northward to include the present-day Temple Mount—or Haram esh-Sharif ("the noble Sanctuary") as it is known in Islam. He undertook the actual construction in the fourth year of his reign. Although no archaeological evidence of the Temple remains, it is possible to reconstruct its plan from the biblical description (1 Kings 6), brief and ambiguous, as well as from comparison with extant temples of neighboring peoples. The actual edifice was relatively modest in size, measuring approximately 30 m long, 10 m wide, and 15 m high (Parrot 1957: 15–60).

A good parallel is an 8th century B.C.E. temple excavated in the 1930s at Tell Tainat in the Amuq valley of Syria; it was a long-room temple with a tripartite plan like the Solomonic Temple. All ancient temples

in Syria were tripartite in structure. Although the number of rooms in Solomon's Temple may be open to question, more important is the fact that it was built on a long-room plan, with the entrance on the short side, and the shrine at the opposite end of the building.

The Temple, which was both a royal chapel and a national shrine, reflected foreign (especially Phoenician) influence, not only architecturally but also theologically. Without its own architectural tradition, Israel had to appeal to Hiram, king of Tyre, who supplied workers and materials to build the Temple (1 Kings 5; 2 Chronicles 2). Thirty thousand forced laborers, conscripted in Israel, assisted the Phoenician artisans. Sanctuaries to foreign gods of other nations were also located in Jerusalem.

The Temple, it had been assumed, stood where the Dome of the Rock stands today, an assumption that cannot be verified by archaeological excavation. On the basis of modern aerial maps, Jewish literature, and other sources, A. S. Kaufman (1983: 42) has suggested a slightly different location for the First and Second Temples: about 100 m to the NW of the Dome of the Rock. The site of the Temple is associated in popular tradition with the location of Araunah's threshing floor on Mount Moriah, where Abraham earlier had built an altar to sacrifice Isaac (Gen 22:1–19). Zerubbabel and Herod, in turn, built Temples on the same location. See also TEMPLE, JERUSALEM. The Dome of the Rock has marked the spot on the Temple Mount since the 7th century C.E.

The close physical association of the Temple and the palace in Jerusalem emphasized the religious, political, and cultural importance of Jerusalem as the capital. Together the Temple and the palace constituted the administrative center of the kingdom. In addition, the complex of Temple and palace underscored the connection between the religious and political life of the nation. Although the Temple was primarily a religious center, it also had a major role in the economic and political affairs of the kingdom. Ancient temples, it is said, were the first banks, conducting financial transactions and changing money.

As a financial center, the Temple had a significant treasury which the kings tapped when forced to pay tribute to foreign victors. During Rehoboam's reign, for example, Shishak (Shoshenq) attacked Jerusalem, but refrained from conquering the city, choosing instead to plunder the treasury of the Temple and the royal palace (1 Kgs 14:25–26). When Joash, king of Israel, defeated Amaziah of Judah, he also looted the Temple treasury, plundering the Temple and the palace (2 Kgs 14:8–14). The galleries or storerooms, standing three stories high and surrounding the Temple on three sides (1 Kgs 6:5–6), were used for storing weapons, cult objects, gifts, and booty.

The palace complex, immediately to the S of the Temple, was architecturally more impressive than the Temple. The palace enclosure consisted of the House of the Forest of Lebanon, so called from its adornment of columns in cedar resembling a forest, the Hall of Pillars, the Hall of the Throne (where Solomon rendered judgments), and the House of Pharaoh's Daughter.

**E. Divided Kingdom**

Generally speaking, Jerusalem declined in importance in this period. During his long reign Uzziah fortified Jerusalem, strengthening its walls with towers (2 Chr 26:9, 15). Jotham is credited with building the upper gate of the Temple (2 Chr 27:3) Uzziah and Jotham confined their building activities to Jerusalem proper, and did not undertake any expansion of the city to the W. Ahaz was judged harshly for having erected in the Temple an altar modeled on a pagan altar from Damascus.

In his excavation of the City of David, Shiloh recovered remains of anthropomorphic vessels and fertility figurines in the fill of an 8th century B.C.E. building, as well as zoomorphic figurines, all indicative of the diversity of religious practice in that period. The historians of Judah commended Hezekiah for his cultic reforms, which included purifying the Temple and centralizing worship in Jerusalem. His reform was religiously motivated (Cogan and Tadmor, *2 Kings* 218–20); at the same time by centralizing the cult in Jerusalem, Hezekiah strengthened the Davidic dynasty, especially in its relations with other cities in the empire. When Samaria fell in 721 B.C.E., Jerusalem became the principal city of worship in Israel.

Hezekiah reinforced the Millo and the city wall with towers; he also built a new wall (2 Chr 32:5). The section of a massive fortification wall, 65 m long and 7 m thick, which Avigad (1983: 46–54) cleared in

the middle of the Jewish Quarter, is associated with 8th and 7th century B.C.E. pottery, and may well be the fortification wall erected by Hezekiah. See Fig. JER.10. This was the first city wall ever built on the W hill. Running on a line almost identical with the later Hasmonean wall, this broad wall enclosed the Siloam pool located outside the MB II wall of the City of David. Avigad believes this wall surrounded the entire plateau of the W hill (perhaps the Mishnah and the Machtesh of Zeph 1:10–11) in the late monarchy. This wall was built over the ruins of Israelite houses, which date from the beginning of the 8th century B.C.E. The expansion to the unfortified W hill began, it appears, in the early 8th century B.C.E.; by the late 8th century B.C.E., this wall protected the W side of Jerusalem from Assyrian attack.

Hezekiah took additional steps to counter the imperialistic threats of Sennacherib. In preparation for the siege of 701 B.C.E., he constructed a new underground channel (2 Kgs 20:20; 2 Chr 32:2–4, 30; Isa 22:11) beneath the city to bring water from the Gihon spring outside the walls to the Siloam pool, which served as a large reservoir. According to the inscription found on the tunnel wall in 1880, two teams working from opposite directions performed an extraordinary engineering feat by cutting the tunnel through 533 m of bedrock beneath Ophel hill. Although the inscription does not mention Hezekiah's name, Hezekiah undoubtedly built this tunnel.

The kings of the late monarchy also had their roles to play in Jerusalem. Manasseh refortified Jerusalem, building a new outer wall (2 Chr 33:14). Jerusalem reached its zenith under Josiah. In addition to his religious reform which conferred special status on Jerusalem, making it the exclusive place of sacrifice, Josiah took advantage of Assyria's weakness to expand the territory of Judah.

Jerusalem was invaded when Jehoiakim rebelled against Babylon. When Jeremiah predicted the imminent Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem and Judah, Jehoiakim burned the prophet's scroll (Jer 36:20–26). This same chapter mentions a scribe, Gemariah, son of Shaphan (vv 10–12, 25), a supporter of Jeremiah who was in the court of Jehoiakim in his fifth year (604 B.C.E.). During the excavation of the City of David, Shiloh found on a plastered floor of a house (Area G, Stratum 10) more than 50 clay bullae bearing Heb seal impressions. Designating the find-spot the "bullae house," Shiloh speculated it may have been an official administrative archive. These bullae, yielding a corpus of more than 80 Heb names, were well preserved by the flames of the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem. The name impressed on one of the bullae is "Gemariah ben-Shaphan," who may be the same scribe mentioned in Jeremiah 36.

Shiloh uncovered several other houses on the S area of the hill within the city walls. They were simple structures, square in shape, and built into the lower part of the stepped-stone structure. The Babylonians captured Jerusalem in 597 B.C.E., and then destroyed the city in 586 B.C.E. after a siege of 18 months (Lam 1:4; 2:2). Shiloh found evidence of the Babylonian destruction everywhere: thick layers of dark ash, scattered iron and bronze arrowheads, and collapsed structures.

After the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.E., Judah became part of the Neo-Babylonian Empire. There are many unanswered questions about what took place in Jerusalem between 586 and 538 B.C.E. Both Jerusalem and Judah, it appears, continued to be inhabited (2 Kgs 25:22–26; Jer 40:10; Ezek 33:21–27). Sacrificial worship apparently continued in Jerusalem during the exilic period since there is no reference to the destruction of the altar. Also, the fact that the Persians returned the Temple vessels to Jerusalem suggests a continuation of cult in the city (*HAIJ,* 426). Pilgrims continued to arrive in Jerusalem and to offer sacrifice at the Temple site (Jer 41:5).

**F. Second Temple Period**

**1. Persian.** After conquering Babylonia in 539 B.C.E., Cyrus II allowed the Jews to return to their homeland; he also authorized the rebuilding of the Temple. Judah became a Persian province with the name Yehud *(yhd).* After the return from exile, Jerusalem ceased to be politically significant; emphasis was placed on the religious role, with the priesthood assuming prominence. The Persian period was a time of peace and prosperity, when Judah was allowed a great deal of administrative independence. However, Israelite society was badly divided, with deep antagonisms between the returning exiles and those who had remained in Judah during the exile. The rift was reflected, for example, in the rebuilding of the Temple: those engaged in the rebuilding, considering themselves the true Israelites, did not allow those who had remained in Jerusalem to participate in the religious life of the postexilic community.

With the encouragement of Haggai and Zechariah, and under the leadership of the governor Zerubbabel (a Davidic descendant) and the high priest Joshua, work began on the Temple in 520 B.C.E. Despite opposition from the Samaritans, who built their own temple on Mount Gerizim, the Second Temple was reconstructed, and then rededicated in 515 B.C.E. in the reign of Darius (Ezra 6:15–18). This more modest Temple did not compare in splendor with its predecessor, but it had the same basic architectural structure (Hag 2:3; Ezra 3:12).

In the time of Nehemiah Jerusalem once again became the administrative and religious capital of Judea. Appointed governor of Judea by Artaxerxes, Nehemiah arrived in Jerusalem in 445 B.C.E., and undertook the rebuilding of the city walls to provide security. Nehemiah was resented by Sanballat of Samaria, Tobiah of Ammon, and Geshem the Arab. Opposed to the refortification of Jerusalem, they harassed Nehemiah (Neh 2:19; 4:7). In rebuilding the walls Nehemiah divided the workers into groups, each responsible for a section of the wall (Nehemiah 3). According to Neh 6:15, the wall (perhaps a temporary filling of breeches) was restored in 52 days. Josephus, however, reports that it took two years and four months to complete the project (*Ant* 11.5.8 §179). The task of rebuilding the walls was an economic hardship on the people, preventing them from gainful employment elsewhere.

During this period the Upper City was not resettled; occupation was constricted to the area of the City of David and the Temple Mount. No archaeological remains from the Persian period have been found on the W hill: Avigad unearthed none in the Jewish Quarter, nor did Broshi recover any on Mount Zion (the W ridge below the present SW corner of the Old City). Kenyon discovered Nehemiah's E wall higher up on the E ridge than the Jebusite and Davidic wall, confirming that the city was more constricted in size during the Persian period than earlier (Williamson 1984). The E hill was adequate for the small number of people, mostly Israelites, in Jerusalem in Nehemiah's time. According to Neh 11:1–2, Nehemiah repopulated Jerusalem by requiring the nobility and a tenth of the rural residents to settle in the city.

In addition to Jerusalem's defense, Nehemiah was concerned with political and social reforms among the people. In trying to improve the economic condition of the needy, some of whom had been exploited by their own people, Nehemiah remitted taxes. The people had also grown careless about their religious obligations with regard to Sabbath observance (Neh 13:15–22) and mixed marriage (Neh 13:23–27), so Nehemiah addressed these issues. It was Ezra who reestablished the authority of the Mosaic Torah in this era.

**2. Hellenistic.** Persian rule came to an end in Judea when Alexander the Great captured Jerusalem in 332 B.C.E. Despite Josephus's statement (*Ant* 11.8.5 §336–39), it seems unlikely that Alexander entered Jerusalem, nor did he interfere with the administrative structures in Jerusalem. Alexander's victory marked the beginning of the Hellenistic period which was to last until 63 B.C.E. At this time, Jerusalem was confined to the Lower City, including the Temple Mount and the City of David. Shiloh's dig revealed evidence of dense settlement in the City of David. It is noteworthy that despite this dense settlement, the Jews of Jerusalem throughout the Hellenistic period were seriously at odds among themselves over religious matters (see below).

With the division of Alexander's vast empire among his generals at his death in 323 B.C.E., Judea, the frontier between the Ptolemies of Egypt and the Seleucids of Syria, came under the successive control of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids. Ptolemy I captured Jerusalem in 320 B.C.E., and by 301 B.C.E. Ptolemaic rule was stabilized. For roughly a century Palestine enjoyed a peaceful and prosperous era under the Ptolemies. Jerusalem's political role in this era was minor, although the city was the administrative center of Judea. The Jerusalem Temple and the priesthood played a prominent role in the Hellenistic period, with the Temple serving as the center of both religious and social life. The high priest oversaw both religious and administrative affairs. Otherwise, archaeological and literary sources provide little information concerning the Ptolemaic rule.

When Antiochus III (the Great) defeated the forces of Ptolemy V Epiphanes and annexed Palestine ca. 201–198 B.C.E., Seleucid rule over Judea began, lasting until 135 B.C.E. The Jews welcomed the Seleucids who showed them consideration. Among other things, the Seleucids provided financial assistance for the rebuilding of Jerusalem and for the repair of the damage to the Temple. The high priest continued to

govern Jerusalem and Judea, and the people were subject to the Mosaic law. Among the privileges accorded to the Jews, taxes were remitted for a period of three years. Neither the Ptolemies nor the Seleucids forced the Jews to adopt the Greek way of life.

The Jews themselves were divided among Hellenists and anti-Hellenists, the former represented especially among the upper classes. The high priest Jason favored the Hellenizers, fostered Hellenization (1 Macc 1:11–15; 2 Macc 4:10–15), and transformed the Jewish city of Jerusalem into a Hellenistic *polis*, a Greek city-state, known as Antiochia, after Antiochus IV (2 Macc 4:9). It was situated on the E half of the W hill (Upper City), unsettled in the time of Nehemiah. This new Greek city-state signified a change in Jerusalem's juridical status rather than the construction of a new city (Tcherikover 1966: 165). As part of establishing Jerusalem as a Hellenistic *polis*, Jason built a *gymnasion* in the city under the patronage of Hermes and Hercules; the members of the *gymnasion* were called Antiochenes (2 Macc 4:9). The function of the *gymnasion* went beyond sporting events; pagan customs were introduced (1 Macc 1:11–15; 2 Macc 4:9–17), and it became a social center in competition with the Temple.

The Hellenistic reform enjoyed strong Jewish support, especially among the members of the Temple priesthood and the affluent upper class. Disdaining their own tradition these Hellenizing Jews, without outside coercion, fostered the introduction of Greek customs (Tcherikover 1966: 118, 140). The majority of Jews who were economically poor did not support Jason and the Hellenizers.

This Hellenistic reform took place in the reign of Antiochus IV, who had earlier been bribed to name Jason high priest in place of his brother Onias III. Antiochus IV (Epiphanes) was a strong patron of Hellenization, but the initiative to Hellenize Jerusalem came from the Jews themselves. His persecution of the Jews was not for the purpose of Hellenization, but was a response to the Maccabean revolt (Tcherikover 1966: 190–91). In his attempt to destroy Judaism, Antiochus IV desecrated the Temple, erecting an altar to Zeus, and dedicating the Temple to Olympian Zeus (1 Macc 1:41–63; 2 Macc 6:2–5).

In addition, Antiochus IV destroyed the walls of Jerusalem (1 Macc 1:31), and erected in 168 B.C.E. a Citadel for his garrison, called "Akra" by Josephus (*Ant* 12.5.4 §252; see also 1 Macc 1:29–36). The precise location of this Syrian fortress is uncertain because it has left no archaeological traces. Josephus located it in the Lower City, on the SE hill. Mazar would situate the Akra directly S of the Temple enclosure, adjacent to the Hulda gates. Others (Robinson, Warren, Vincent, Avi-Yonah) proposed locating it on the W hill, across the Tyropoeon valley, but Avigad found no significant artifacts from the early Hellenistic period in the Jewish Quarter. Housing Syrian troops as well as Jewish Hellenizers, the Akra was the symbol of foreign rule. Architecturally higher than the Temple, the Akra served the purpose of controlling the Temple, while keeping the Jews under surveillance.

Aided by his five sons, the Jewish priest Mattathias led a revolt against the Seleucid rule to curb the spread of Hellenistic culture and to gain Jewish independence. Judas Maccabee, one of Mattathias' sons, liberated Jerusalem from Antiochus IV in 164 B.C.E., with the exception of the Akra; thereupon the Temple was purified and rededicated (1 Macc 4:36–55). About 141 B.C.E. Simon, another son of Mattathias, captured the Akra and razed it. From the Maccabean defeat of the Seleucids until the Roman conquest under Pompey in 63 B.C.E., when Judea became part of the province of Syria, the Jews enjoyed a century of political independence, with Jerusalem serving as the capital of Judea, including Transjordan.

**3. Hasmonean.** When the Hasmoneans, a dynasty of Jewish high priests and kings descended from the family of Mattathias, ruled from 142 to 63 B.C.E., Jerusalem was their capital, the center of religious, political, and economic life until 63 B.C.E. Jerusalem enjoyed prosperity and was enclosed by new walls. It was a period of erecting monuments and tombs, and a time of expansion, as far as Transjordan. Hasmonean Jerusalem incorporated the Upper City and the City of David. The Upper City, in which was located the seat of Hasmonean government, was joined to the Temple Mount by a bridge spanning the Tyropoeon valley. Archaeologists discovered the remains of this bridge along the W wall of the Temple Mount in the form of an intact arch, which had served as a support for the bridge across the Tyropoeon valley. It was named "Wilson's arch" after Charles Wilson who investigated it in the 1860s. The city wall surrounded the W hill in its entirety. The Hasmoneans also built a fortress called Baris (not the same as

the Akra) to defend the N side of the Temple. Baris was the forerunner of the fortress Antonia (Avi-Yonah *WHJP* 7: 228–31).

With Jerusalem as the capital of the kingdom, the Hasmoneans reached the height of their power under John Hyrcanus and his son Alexander Jannaeus, both serving successively as high priest and king of Judea. In 63 B.C.E. Pompey, putting an end to Hasmonean rule but retaining Hyrcanus as high priest, occupied the Upper City, attacked the Temple Mount, entered the Holy of Holies, and destroyed the walls of Jerusalem. From that time until the advent of Herod the Great in 37 B.C.E. the Hasmoneans ruled under the protection of Rome.

**4. Herodian.** When Jesus was born toward the end of Herod's reign, Jerusalem was the capital of Judea, which was part of the Roman province of Syria. Herod was a Hellenist, who ruled as a Roman vassal. The thirty-three years of Herod's rule (37–4 B.C.E.) constituted an era of economic prosperity, and the time when the Upper City attained the zenith of its development, with archaeology providing striking evidence of Jerusalem's splendor. Prosperity divided Jerusalem society, separating the rich from the poor. The economically deprived were relegated to the Lower City, where commerce was conducted; the affluent, including the king and the high priest, resided in the Upper City. Jerusalem's wealth was derived from Herod's building projects, as well as the half-shekel tax levied on Jewish communities around the world.

Avigad's excavations in the Upper City revealed a well-planned city whose residents lived an aristocratic lifestyle. There were remains of magnificent houses, some two or more stories high, built around a central court. Mosaic flooring, frescoes, and painted plaster adorned the homes of many Jerusalem residents. See Fig. JER.11. Painted pottery of superior quality, well-crafted furnishings, and beautiful stone objects, including tables, bowls, and purification jars, reflected the wealth of Jerusalem in the Herodian period.

**a. Building Projects.** Herod may be best remembered as a builder, especially for his military architecture; his name is synonymous with distinctive architecture and massive masonry (*WHJP* 7: 215). Remains of Herodian architecture can be found throughout Palestine. See also HEROD'S BUILDING PROGRAM. Among Herod's magnificent building projects was the Jerusalem Temple, entirely rebuilt to win the favor of the Jews who hated him. The Temple building was begun in 20 B.C.E. and dedicated 10 years later, although it was not completed until 63 C.E. This colossal Temple occupied an area 446 m N–S, and 296 m E–W. In preparation for the reconstruction of the Second Temple, Herod doubled the size of the Temple platform by filling in the surrounding valleys, especially to the S. The SE corner of the podium stood 45 m above the floor of the Kidron valley. The expanded area of the Temple esplanade measured 144,000 square meters; it was supported by massive retaining walls, still visible today. The best-known section of the remaining walls is called the *kotel* or "western wall" (formerly the "wailing wall"), the focus of Jewish prayer since the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. The Herodian walls were built "dry," that is, without cement or mortar between the ashlar stones which were quarried in Jerusalem. Today, the Muslim Haram esh-Sharif ("the noble Sanctuary") occupies the Herodian Temple Mount, easily identifiable by the Dome of the Rock.

Practically nothing remains of the Herodian Temple, but the ruins uncovered along the W and S walls of the Temple Mount, as well as details provided by Josephus, give some idea of the splendid architecture of Herodian Jerusalem. In addition to "Wilson's arch" along the W retaining wall, there was "Robinson's arch," assumed (wrongly) to have been an element of another bridge connecting the Temple Mount with the Upper City. Mazar established that this arch functioned as a span supporting a staircase descending from the Temple Mount to the Tyropoeon valley. On the S section of the Temple's outer court was the royal stoa or sheltered promenade; it was a rectangular hall, with four rows of columns, resembling a Roman basilica (*Ant* 15.11.5 §411–16). Along the S wall Mazar uncovered three gates for access to the Temple Mount. The single gate to the E dates to Crusader times; the double gate and triple gates which form the Hulda gates (possibly named after the 7th century B.C.E. prophet, or perhaps derived from the Heb word for "mole") date to the Herodian era, although the triple gate in its present form is Umayyad. In front of the Hulda gates was a monumental Herodian stairway, 61 m wide with 30 steps, leading up from

the Ophel to the two main pilgrim entrances on the S side of the Temple Mount. See also TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

In the NW corner of the Upper City near the present Jaffa Gate, Herod built a splendid, fortified palace to provide protection for the Upper City. Unfortunately, nothing remains of its superstructure. Like the Temple, the palace was constructed on a platform, 300–350 m N–S, and 60 m E–W. The palace was bounded on the N by the Citadel, on the W and S by the present Turkish city walls; the boundary on the E is unknown. The foundations of the palace have been uncovered in the court of the Citadel, and in the Armenian garden (Bahat and Broshi 1975) near the SW corner of the present city wall, and on Mount Zion, outside the wall of the Old City.

At the N side of the palace were three towers, named in memory of Phasael (Herod's brother), Hippicus (an unknown friend), and Miriamne (Herod's Hasmonean wife). The present-day Citadel (popularly called "David's Tower") adjacent to the Jaffa gate stands on the site of Herod's three towers; it is actually built on Phasael's tower. This fortress on the W side of the Old City guarded the royal palace and the W entrance of Jerusalem. Titus destroyed most of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., but he spared the Herodian fortress. The Crusaders built a fortress over Herod's, but the present architectural form of the Citadel was the work of Suleiman the Magnificent in the 16th century C.E. (Johns 1950; Amiran and Eitan 1970).

In 37–35 B.C.E. Herod rebuilt the Baris, situated at the NW corner of the Temple enclosure, enlarging it with towers. He named it Antonia in honor of his patron Mark Antony. The purpose of this huge fortress was to protect the Temple Mount; it also functioned as a palace and barracks. Titus destroyed the Antonia in 70 C.E. Although nothing remains of the Antonia fortress, it was a conjectured location of the Roman praetorium where Pontius Pilate judged Jesus (John 18:28–19:16). That the Via Dolorosa (Way of the Cross) begins at the Antonia is not compelling with respect to the location of the praetorium; the specific location of events in the life of Jesus was often determined by popular tradition. Some identified the broad stone pavement in the basement of the Sisters of Zion convent as the *lithostrothon* mentioned in John's account of the trial of Jesus before Pilate (19:13). However, P. Benoit (1952) demonstrated stratigraphically that this stone pavement and the contiguous "Ecce Homo" arch (John 19:5) were unrelated to the Antonia and to Jesus. Instead, they formed part of a small, E forum dating to Hadrian in 135 C.E. The praetorium of Jesus' trial was located at Herod's palace which served as the official residence of the Roman procurators when they came to Jerusalem during the major Jewish feasts (Benoit 1952: 550).

**b. Josephus' Three Walls.** In Herod's time the city walls surrounded Zion and Ophel hill, in addition to the S sector of the present-day Old City. The topography of Jerusalem's walls is controversial; Josephus refers to three successive walls which defended Jerusalem on the N (*JW* 5.4.1 §136). The first wall, the innermost, surrounding the entire city is least disputed; its date is uncertain, but it was the oldest of the walls. It is usually dated to the Hasmonean period, about 100 B.C.E. If Josephus' description of its 60 towers is to be accepted (*JW* 5.4.3 §158), the first wall must have been strong. Defending the NW edge of Jerusalem, it ran roughly S from the present-day Citadel (Jaffa Gate), around Mount Zion, along the Hinnom valley, to the Kidron valley; from the crest of the E hill, to the SE corner of the Temple Mount; then from Wilson's arch on the W wall of the Temple Mount back to the Phasael Tower (present-day Citadel). Johns discovered the NW corner of the first wall in the courtyard of the Citadel.

The exact course of the second wall is uncertain and controversial; related to this issue is the authenticity of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (if it truly marks the place of Jesus' death and resurrection, it should be situated *outside* this second wall). Archaeological remains are sparse, and literary sources imprecise. The date of this wall is also in contention, having been ascribed to the Hasmonean and the Herodian periods, the latter being more probable. The second wall ran from the present-day Citadel, by way of the present-day Damascus gate, to the Antonia at the NW corner of the Temple. According to Josephus, this relatively short wall had 14 towers (*JW* 5.4.3 §158). It was also fortified by a quarry located in front of it which functioned as a defensive moat. Parts of this quarry have been uncovered in the recent excavation beneath the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer (Lux 1972). Because traces of this quarry were found here, 40 m *south* of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, it is now

fairly certain that this Church indeed marks a spot that was outside the second wall. The second wall as it appears on most maps is the alignment proposed by Vincent, who has now been proven wrong by the Lux excavations. The second wall of Vincent has been identified subsequently as a terrace wall of the Roman or Byzantine period. No part of the second wall itself, however, has yet been unearthed (Schein 1981: 23).

The alignment of the third, the outermost wall, remains a problem (Shanks 1987). Built to protect the N side of Jerusalem, it had 90 towers (*JW* 5.4.3 §158). The foundations of this wall, according to Josephus (*JW* 2.11.6 §218), date to the time of Herod Agrippa (41–44 C.E.), but it was completed only during the first revolt (66–70 C.E.). Some maintain that the third wall of Josephus followed the same course as the present-day N wall of the Old City (Vincent, Benoit, Simons, Kenyon, Hennessy, Hamrick); others, following Robinson, identify the third wall with an E–W wall 450 m further N (Sukenik, Mayer, Avi-Yonah, Ben-Arieh, Netzer, Broshi, Bahat). Kenyon considered the more northerly wall to be Titus' circumvallation rampart, intended to prevent Jews from leaving the city to obtain food, but it is too far N to have served that purpose. Hamrick (1977: 22) maintained that this northernmost wall was a defensive line built by Jewish insurgents about 68 C.E. to serve as a "barrier wall" against the attacking Roman army.

In their excavations between 1925 and 1927, E. L. Sukenik and L. A. Mayer (1930) concentrated on this northernmost wall, and they concurred with Robinson that it was the third wall referred to by Josephus. In their excavations of the same wall between 1972 and 1974, Ben-Arieh and Netzer (1974: 98–100) unearthed a continuous stretch of wall consisting of ashlars and fieldstones (measuring 45 m long and the width varying between 4.2 and 4.3 m), with towers, dating to the 1st century C.E. When J. B. Hennessy (1970) dug at the Damascus gate between 1964 and 1966, he was convinced he had uncovered the third wall of Agrippa I, maintaining that it followed the present line of the Old City's N wall. Archaeology cannot offer yet a conclusive answer because the evidence is ambiguous.

**5. Roman.** After Herod the Great, Jerusalem became a province of the Roman Empire, ruled by Roman prefects who resided in Caesarea. About 6 C.E. Caesarea became the capital, replacing Jerusalem. The high priest and Sanhedrin oversaw the government of Jerusalem, but their power was significantly reduced. The Jews in Jerusalem at that time were a disparate group of people, often at odds with themselves. Pontius Pilate, prefect of Judea (26–36 C.E.), is well-known to readers of the NT, but less known for having improved Jerusalem's water supply by constructing the first aqueduct, leading from "Solomon's pool" situated between Bethlehem and Hebron.

Gessius Florus, the last of the Roman prefects for Judea, provoked a Jewish rebellion against Rome in 66 C.E. by stealing funds from the Temple treasury. The Jews withstood the Romans temporarily; at that time the Christian community abandoned Jerusalem and fled to Pella. In 70 C.E. Titus attacked Jerusalem on the N side, always the most vulnerable, and built a siege wall around the city. Starvation prevented the defenders from resisting for long. The Temple area and the Lower City fell first; a month later, the Upper City met the same fate. The Temple platform remained standing, as did the three Herodian towers (Hippicus, Phasael, and Miriamne), and part of Jerusalem's western wall (*JW* 7.1.1 §1–2).

Evidence for Jewish presence in Jerusalem between 70 and 132 C.E. is only indirect; the archaeological and literary sources are scarce. The city was not entirely abandoned: the Tenth Legion was present, some Christians had returned from Pella, and Jews were still not forbidden to live in Jerusalem (Avi-Yonah 1973: 16; Peters 1985: 124–26). According to K. W. Clarke (1960: 273–74), a large Jewish population remained in Jerusalem after 70 C.E., and they continued to worship on the Temple Mount.

### G. Postbiblical Period

**1. Aelia Capitolina.** Jewish Jerusalem was effectively finished when Hadrian established the Roman city of Jerusalem, limited to the W hill in the area of the modern Jewish Quarter. Hadrian visited Jerusalem in 129–30 C.E.; then he rebuilt the city, renaming it Aelia Capitolina. "Aelia" was derived from the emperor's second name; "Capitolina" recalled Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, the deities of the Capitoline Triad in Rome, who became the patrons of Hadrian's new city. He also erected a Temple honoring Jupiter Capitolinus on the Temple Mount; on the present site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre he built a temple to the Roman goddess Aphrodite.

This new, unwalled city of Hadrian was really a Roman colony, modeled on a Roman camp. Square in shape, as it remains today, it would have been divided into quarters by two streets. The main N–S street, the *cardo*, would have run from the Damascus gate to Zion gate. The main E–W street, the *decumanus*, would have extended from St. Stephen's gate (also called Lions' gate) to the Jaffa gate. A ceremonial tetrapylon, with remains still visible, was erected at the intersection of the streets. Hadrian also constructed a three-arched entryway (with towers on either side) into Aelia Capitolina, which Israeli archaeologists have recovered under the present Damascus gate (Magen 1988).

Hadrian's rebuilding and renaming of Jerusalem probably sparked the Second Jewish revolt under Bar Kokhba (Simeon Bar Koziba), which had begun in 132 and was crushed in 135 after the Jews had reoccupied Jerusalem (Avi-Yonah 1973: 16). Others attribute the revolt to Hadrian's failure to rebuild the Temple, and the fact that circumcision was forbidden. Nevertheless, after 135 C.E., Jews were forbidden by Hadrian's decree to live in Jerusalem, or even to visit the city under pain of death.

**2. Byzantine.** In 324, Constantine became the first Christian emperor to rule Palestine; shortly thereafter, the name Aelia Capitolina imposed by Hadrian was changed back to Jerusalem. The Byzantine period was a prosperous age, marked by intensive construction. Constantine is associated with three major building projects, each related to an aspect of Jesus' life: one in Bethlehem, another at Golgotha (the Church of the Holy Sepulchre), and the third on the Mount of Olives.

Consecrated in 335, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Anastasis) was razed in 614. Destroyed and rebuilt several times since, the most recent major restoration was undertaken in 1959. Although the present church stands on the original site in the NW quarter of Jerusalem, most of the structure visible today dates to the Crusader period in the 12th century. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre is divided basically into three parts: the basilica, the rock of Golgotha, and the tomb. The upper chapel adjacent to the principal entrance of the Church commemorates the location of Golgotha. Golgotha, translated "the place of a skull" (Matt 27:33 = Mark 15:22; Luke 23:33; John 19:17), is a name of uncertain origin; it is the traditional site of the crucifixion and the tomb of Jesus (John 19:41–42). See GOLGOTHA.

The tradition in the Jerusalem community regarding the Holy Sepulchre as the place of Jesus' burial goes back to the 4th century. In his 1838 visit to Jerusalem, Robinson questioned the authenticity of the Holy Sepulchre, which hinges on the location of Josephus' second wall (see above). Robinson assumed the sepulchre had also been inside the city wall in Jesus' time, whereas the crucifixion took place outside the city (Heb 13:12). The Garden Tomb, an alternative site, is situated outside the walled city, just N of the Damascus gate. Advanced by C. Gordon in 1883 as the true location of Golgotha on the basis of a fanciful rock formation, this site is unconvincing because of lack of evidence (Wilkinson 1978: 146, 198–200).

Avigad's excavations in the Jewish Quarter uncovered the Byzantine *cardo* measuring 12.5 m wide, paved with flagstones, and flanked on each side by colonnaded porticoes. See Fig. JER.12. Avigad, excavating only the S part of the street, found pottery sealed beneath the pavement as stratigraphic evidence for its Byzantine date. The Roman *cardo* has not been found, but it is assumed that the same street plan existed in Roman times. One day, there may be archaeological evidence that the N part of the street was constructed in the Roman period.

The numerous architectural remains uncovered by Avigad have been reconstructed and incorporated into the newly-rebuilt Jewish Quarter, destroyed between 1948 and 1967. The pattern of Byzantine Jerusalem as reconstructed by archaeology conforms well to the 6th century C.E. Madeba mosaic map depicting the arcaded *cardo* running from the Damascus gate S to the area of the Zion gate. The map also portrays several Byzantine churches, including the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Nea.

In the 5th century, Jerusalem expanded both to the N and S. The present-day St. Stephen's convent (Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française), just N of the Damascus gate, marks the site of a church erected by the empress Eudocia in 460 as a repository for the relics of Stephen, the first Christian martyr. In 438, Empress Eudocia permitted Jews to live in Jerusalem.

In the 6th century the emperor Justinian, a great builder, erected the Nea (New Church). Dedicated in 543 to the Virgin Mary, it was destroyed by earthquake in 746, and never rebuilt. In 1970, Avigad

uncovered the foundations of this church in the Jewish Quarter; he also discovered a Greek inscription mentioning Justinian and indicating the date of the church's consecration. In 614, the Persian army conquered Jerusalem, destroyed most of the churches, and expelled the Jews (Avi-Yonah 1976: 269).

**3. Early Arab.** From 638, when Byzantine Jerusalem surrendered to Caliph Omar, until the beginning of the Crusader period in 1099, Jerusalem was ruled by the Muslims. Jews were readmitted to Jerusalem and received favorable treatment, being permitted to build synagogues and religious schools (Peters 1985: 186). Jerusalem, known among Muslims as el-Quds, "the Holy"(Isa 52:1), ranks third, after Mecca and Medina, among the holiest cities in Islam. Jerusalem has never been the political or administrative capital of the Muslims; its importance for Islam is completely religious.

Although the Umayyad caliphs resided in Damascus, they supported an impressive building program in Jerusalem. Mazar uncovered the remains of a magnificent Umayyad palace S of the Temple enclosure. The complex consisted of six impressive buildings reflecting superior planning and architecture. The Umayyads established Jerusalem as a Muslim religious center. The Dome of the Rock (Qubbet es-Sahra), the octagonal shrine (not a mosque) on the Temple Mount, was completed in 691. Intended to instill pride in Muslims, it was built to protect the holy rock beneath, whence its name (Rosen-Ayalon 1975: 92). According to tradition, it is the rock where Abraham was prepared to sacrifice Isaac (Gen 22:1–19), the site of the threshing floor of Araunah where David built an altar (2 Sam 24:15–25), and the place from which Muhammad ascended to heaven on the steed Buraq. The silver-domed prayer mosque at the S edge of the Temple platform is the el-Aksa Mosque. Meaning "the furthermost," this mosque may have been intended to commemorate the farthest point of Muhammad's mystic "Night Journey" whence he ascended into heaven.

During the rule of the Abbasids, who were tolerant toward non-Muslims, Jerusalem declined. The Fatimid period, too, was a time of decline for Jerusalem. The eccentric Fatimid Caliph al-Hakim persecuted Jews and Christians, and ordered the destruction of Christian shrines, including the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

**4. Crusader.** Jerusalem experienced a century of Crusader rule. After a five-week siege, including the massacre of Jews and Muslims, the Christians under Godfrey de Bouillon conquered Jerusalem in 1099. Jerusalem became the capital of the Crusader kingdom, called the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, until 1191 when it was replaced by Acco (Acre). The population was about 30,000, the vast majority Christian. Because most of the population was of French descent, the language of Jerusalem was French. Jews and Muslims were not permitted to reside in Jerusalem. The Crusader period was a time of intense building. The architectural style was Romanesque with some early Gothic elements. An excellent example of Crusader architecture is St. Anne's Church, inside St. Stephen's gate. The present white-stone church in Romanesque style was built in 1140. The Crusaders also refurbished the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, completing it in 1149. The present-day facade of this church is much the same as it was in the 12th century. The Crusaders, renaming the Dome of the Rock "Templum Domini," converted it into a Christian church, and affixed a cross on its dome.

The Citadel ("Tower of David") on the W side of the Old City near the Jaffa gate was Jerusalem's principal fortification in this period, and also served as the headquarters for government and military officials. The Crusader city wall followed for the most part the line of the present wall. Excavations at the Damascus gate uncovered foundations of a Crusader gate beneath the present Turkish structure.

**5. Later Arab.** In 1187, the Crusaders surrendered Jerusalem to the formidable Kurdish general Saladin (Salah ed-Din), founder of the Ayyubid dynasty. He impressed a distinctive Islamic character on Jerusalem, restoring the Dome of the Rock and the el-Aksa Mosque. Under Saladin, who was a cultured and humane ruler, Jews and Eastern Christians were allowed to reside in Jerusalem. In 1212, Saladin's nephew, al-Malik al-Mu‹azzam, rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem, only to dismantle them seven years later, fearing the Crusaders were about to regain a well-fortified city.

The Mameluke sultans defeated the Ayyubids and ruled Jerusalem from 1244 to 1517. Great builders and skilled craftsmen, the Mamelukes left their mark on the architectural design of Jerusalem; the Muslim character of present-day Jerusalem is directly traceable to them. Their principal concern was the religious

meaning of Jerusalem for Islam; for this reason they gave special attention to mosques and madrasas (Muslim theological schools). The Mamelukes made Jerusalem the center of Islamic studies; at the same time Jerusalem deteriorated economically, and the population dwindled to about 10,000.

**6. Ottoman.** From 1517, when the Ottoman Turks began to rule Jerusalem from Istanbul after a peaceful takeover, Jerusalem was on the decline, with the residents of Jerusalem living in acute poverty. Between 1537 and 1541 Suleiman I (the Magnificent) rewalled Jerusalem, unwalled since 1219, to protect it from bedouin incursion. The present Ottoman walls of the city follow the course of the Hasmonean walls, founded on bedrock, and utilize parts of them. Suleiman I also rebuilt the "Tower of David" and the aqueduct which brought water from "Solomon's pools." The Ottoman Turks constructed the present-day seven gates of Jerusalem, built for the most part over the gates of Roman times. The names of these gates have changed from time to time, and continue to do so. In 1542, Suleiman built the Damascus gate, a superb example of Ottoman architecture; known in Arabic as Bab el-Amud (gate of the column), it covered Hadrian's entryway of 135 C.E. After this flourish of building activity, Jerusalem underwent little development in the second half of the Ottoman Turkish era.

## H. Theology

Jerusalem plays an important theological role in the OT and NT. The name Jerusalem occurs more than 650 times in the OT, especially in the historiographies (Samuel, Kings, Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles). With the exception of two possible references, it is absent from the Pentateuch, not having yet gained historical prominence in that period. Jerusalem appears frequently in the Psalms; also in the Prophets where there are some forty-nine occurrences in Isaiah, 102 in Jeremiah, twenty-six in Ezekiel, and eight in Micah. In the NT, Jerusalem appears more than 140 times, sixty-seven of which are in the Gospels, but never in the Catholic epistles.

**1. Old Testament.** The theological significance of Jerusalem in the OT is based on the divine presence symbolized in the ark of the covenant and the Temple. The holiness of the Temple and of Jerusalem rests on the presence of the ark; David's transfer of the ark inaugurated the cult of Yahweh in Jerusalem. By laying the foundation for the Temple, David made Jerusalem "the cornerstone of the religious and cultic unification of Israel" (Talmon 1974: 195).

The prophets, especially Isaiah, apply the name Zion to signify Jerusalem as the "City of Yahweh" (de Vaux 1969: 286). The uniqueness of Jerusalem can be summarized under the heading "Zion tradition," which comprises the following motifs: Yahweh, the great king, chooses Jerusalem as a permanent abode; Zion (not Sinai) as Yahweh's chosen mountain, located at the center of the world; the Gihon spring (Isa 41:17–18) as the miraculous stream flowing from the cosmic mountain; the pilgrimages of other nations to Jerusalem to acknowledge the sovereignty of Yahweh; and the inviolability of Jerusalem (Roberts 1973: 329). Jerusalem's deliverance from the siege of Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. created the impression of the city's inviolability under all circumstances, thus reinforcing the Zion tradition.

Isaiah, vacillating between threat (1:7–9) and hope (2:2–4), believed that Jerusalem was inviolable because Yahweh dwelt in the city (de Vaux 1969: 292), but he modified this tradition by laying down conditions (1:19–20), requiring faith in Yahweh as a special condition for divine protection and salvation (7:9b). Nor did Isaiah hesitate to point out the sins of Jerusalem (3:8; 22:1–14; 28:14).

Micah and Jeremiah, convinced that Jerusalem would not be spared as a consequence of its sinfulness, denounced Judah's confidence in the inviolability of Zion. Micah's (3:12) shattering prediction that Jerusalem and the Temple would be reduced to rubble was repeated in substance a century later by Jeremiah, at the risk of his life (26:18–19), who opposed the belief that Jerusalem was invincible. Jeremiah also inveighed against the Judahites for considering the Temple an automatic assurance of divine protection, oblivious that such protection was contingent upon their own moral conduct (Jer 7:1–15).

Having indicted Jerusalem for apostasy, the prophets predicted that its inhabitants would be called to account. However, inasmuch as Yahweh's purpose is not to annihilate, Jerusalem was to be rebuilt on the faithful remnant. In contrast to the words of doom, the prophets of the exile proclaimed hope of restoration. Jeremiah described the rebuilding of Jerusalem and its walls (30:18–19; 31:38–39). Ezekiel,

who considered Jerusalem the center of the nations (5:5; 38:12), saw the glory of Yahweh returning to the Jerusalem Temple. Deutero-Isaiah describes the "new Jerusalem" (40:1–2; 52:1, 7–8) in words of consolation and hope, reflecting belief in the future greatness of Jerusalem as the center of the nations (chaps. 60–62). For Haggai (2:6–8) and Zechariah (8:3–8), the rebuilding of the Temple was the fulfillment of this hope.

**2. New Testament.** Among the Synoptic Gospels, Luke gives far more prominence to Jerusalem than Matthew or Mark. The fact that geography plays an important role in Luke's theology may account for the gospel's preoccupation with Jerusalem (Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–9* AB, 163–69). Jerusalem is "the city of destiny for Jesus and the pivot for the salvation of mankind" (Fitzmyer, *Luke 1–9* AB, 164). Jesus has a special relationship to Jerusalem, which is the goal toward which he moves throughout the gospel.

Luke's gospel begins (1:9) and ends in the Temple of Jerusalem (24:53). Between these two Temple events, according to Luke, Jesus makes but one journey to Jerusalem, described in the so-called travel account (9:51–19:27). Within this account, there are several references to Jerusalem as the objective of the journey (9:51–53; 13:22; 17:11; 19:11). In the course of the journey, Jesus addresses an apostrophe to Jerusalem (Luke 13:34–35 = Matt 23:37–39), the place of the prophets' martyrdom, and where he, too, must suffer and die (Luke 13:33; Matt 16:21). Mark, too, describes only one journey to Jerusalem, whereas John mentions three. In Luke, the journey to Jerusalem assumes great importance by serving as the geographical framework for much of the material found only in this gospel; Luke alone, for example, recounts the story of the Good Samaritan (10:29–37). Appearing after the travel account, Jesus' prophecy concerning the destruction of Jerusalem (19:43–44), couched in the language of the prophets (Isa 29:3; Jer 6:6; Ezek 4:2), is exclusive to Luke.

The Jerusalem Temple, too, is prominent in Luke. Jesus is presented in the Temple (2:22–23), he makes his first pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Temple at the age of twelve (2:41–50); Jesus cleanses the Temple (19:45–46), an event reported in the four Gospels (= Matt 21:12–13; Mark 11:15–17; John 2:14–16), whose purpose may have been to emphasize that the Temple was principally a place of prayer, and not a financial or economic institution (Wilkinson 1978: 117).

Jesus' mission, including the passion, resurrection and ascension, is brought to completion in Jerusalem (24:50). In contrast to Matthew, Luke locates all the appearances of the risen Christ to the disciples in the vicinity of Jerusalem (24:13–53); they are also instructed to remain in Jerusalem (Luke 24:49).

Mark's gospel can be divided into three geographical sections: Galilee, the journey to Jerusalem, and Jerusalem itself. It is called the "Galilean gospel" because of Galilee's theological significance as the place of the imminent parousia. In Mark, Jerusalem is mentioned only a few times, outside the passion narrative. This gospel, often called the gospel of the passion, records several of Jesus' predictions of his death in Jerusalem (8:31; 9:31; 10:32–34).

Matthew's gospel, beginning with the infancy narrative, contains several references to Jerusalem. Jerusalem is called the "holy city" (4:5; 27:53); Jerusalem is also described as the "city of the great King" (5:35), given as the reason for not swearing by Jerusalem. Matthew (27:51 = Mark 15:38; Luke 23:45) refers to the curtain of the Jerusalem Temple being torn at the crucifixion, an indication of the new source of salvation in Jesus.

In John, the centers of Jesus' ministry are Galilee and especially Jerusalem, although Jerusalem is not mentioned in the passion narrative. John states explicitly that Jesus taught in the Temple (7:14). Jesus told the woman of Samaria, according to John, that the proper place of worship would be neither on Mount Gerizim nor in Jerusalem (4:21). In this gospel the glorified body of Jesus ultimately replaces the Temple.

John refers explicitly to two places in Jerusalem connected with Jesus' miraculous cures. One is a "pool, in Hebrew called Beth-zatha, which has five porticoes" (5:2), where Jesus cured a man who had been lame for thirty-eight years. Beth-zatha was a suburb immediately to the N of the Temple area, near the present-day Crusader church of St. Anne; there, a pool was discovered and excavated, and the five porticoes verified. Successive structures had been built over the ancient pool, including a pagan sanctuary after 135 C.E., a Byzantine church of the 5th century, as well as the Crusader church of the 12th century. On the combined basis of the NT, the ancient tradition, and the excavation, archaeologists attach a high

degree of probability to the identity of the twin pool of St. Anne as the sheep pool of John 5:2 (Jeremias 1966: 38).

The second specific place in Jerusalem cited by John is the pool of Siloam (a later, Gk form of *šiloaḥ*), where Jesus instructed the blind man to wash (9:7). Mentioned also in Isa 8:6, *šiloaḥ* refers to a reservoir supplied with water from the Gihon spring by means of a canal. The pool of Siloam is located at the S end of the E hill, near where the Kidron and Tyropoeon valleys converge. In Isa 8:6, *šiloaḥ* refers to the aqueduct in use during Ahaz's reign, prior to the construction of Hezekiah's tunnel.

The geographical link between Luke and Acts is Jerusalem (Luke 24:47; Acts 1:8; 5:28; 6:7), whence the preachers of the gospel set out. Jerusalem is also the element unifying Jesus and the primitive community (Acts 10:39; 13:27, 31). According to Acts, the disciples remained in Jerusalem, as Jesus commanded (1:4, 12); there, they received the Spirit at Pentecost (2:1–47), and the preaching of the gospel begun in Jerusalem spread "to the end of the earth" (Acts 1:8). The church in Jerusalem assumed the leading role (8:14–16; 11:1–18) in the activities of the early church, and decisions were made in Jerusalem for the church at large (Acts 15:1–35; Gal 2:1–10).

Stephen's discourse on the differences between Judaism and Christianity, delivered in Jerusalem before the supreme council of the Jews (Acts 7), is the most negative passage in the NT on the religious practices associated with the Jerusalem Temple (6:11–15; 7:48). Christianity emerged only gradually from the matrix of Judaism; Stephen's speech, making him Christianity's first martyr, marked the emergence of Christianity as a distinctive sect.

In the context of Stephen's speech Paul, still named Saul, appears for the first time. Before his conversion he had persecuted the church in Jerusalem (Acts 9:13, 21). Afterwards, he acknowledged Jerusalem as the origin of the gospel (Rom 15:19). However, according to Gal 1:18–20, Paul went up to Jerusalem only three years after his conversion, and according to Acts (22:17–21), it was there, in the temple, that he received his commission to preach to the gentiles.

The eschatological expectations of Judaism and Christianity regarding Jerusalem and the Temple are quite different.

Both Jewish and Christian literature describe Jerusalem in metaphorical and eschatological terms. Some Jewish writers envisioned a new, restored, earthly Jerusalem in the end times (Tob 13:9–18; *2 Bar.* 32:2–4; *Test. Dan.* 5:12). Some Jewish and Christian apocalyptic texts looked forward to a new, perfect Jerusalem that would descend from heaven to earth (*4 Ezra* 7:26; 10:25–54; 13:36; Rev 3:12, 21:2–22:5). In Rev 3:12 "the new [transformed] Jerusalem which comes down from my God out of heaven," a metaphor for the Christian community, anticipates the more lengthy description in Rev 21:1–22:5.

Other Jewish and Christian literature utilize apocalyptic imagery to describe a perfect Jerusalem in heaven to which the just ascend (*2 Bar.* 4:1–7; *4 Ezra* 8:52; *4 Bar.* 5:35; Heb 12:22). In Heb 12:22–24 "the heavenly Jerusalem" is the place of the new covenant sealed through the blood of Jesus.

Allegorizing on the two sons of Abraham, Ishmael by the slave woman Hagar and Isaac (a type of the Christian) by the free woman Sarah (Gal 4:24–26), Paul contrasts sharply "the present Jerusalem" and "the Jerusalem above." He does not make the contrast between "the present Jerusalem" and "the future Jerusalem." In the allegory, the existing Jerusalem is equated with earthly Sinai, but then the earthly Jerusalem is transformed to the heavenly Jerusalem. Hagar symbolizes "the present Jerusalem," and Sarah symbolizes "the Jerusalem above." For the Christian, God's dwelling is no longer "the present Jerusalem," nor is "the present Jerusalem" the real mother; "but the Jerusalem above is free, and she is our mother" (Gal 4:26).

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**JERUSALEM, COUNCIL OF.** This conference (also called "the Apostolic Council") designates the meeting at Jerusalem of leaders of the early Church to discuss the implications of preaching a gospel of grace among the gentiles.

**A. Historical Considerations**

The historical questions surrounding the meeting are formidable. In Gal 2:1–10 Paul gives an account of the conference, which occurred on his second visit to Jerusalem following his "conversion." He, together with Barnabas and Titus, went "by revelation" to discuss the message he had been preaching among the gentiles. James, Peter, and John are the Jerusalem apostles specifically mentioned as present and in a private meeting "added nothing" to Paul's gospel. The Jerusalem apostles asked only that Paul and his colleagues "remember the poor," probably a reference to the offering Paul solicited for the Jerusalem saints. Another result of the meeting was an agreed-upon division of labor, which gave the Jerusalem leaders responsibility for the circumcised and Paul and his colleagues responsibility for the gentiles. Apparently, there was a third group present at Jerusalem (called by Paul "false brothers"), who tried unsuccessfully to force the circumcision of Titus.

The historical problems arise in the effort to connect Paul's account to the information found in Acts. Acts mentions five visits of Paul to Jerusalem (9:26–30; 11:27–30 and 12:25; 15:1–30; 18:22; 21:17–23:31). The question is: Which account (or accounts, if any) parallels Gal 2:1–10? A number of solutions have been proposed.

**1. Acts 11:27–30; 12:25 Parallels Gal 2:1–10.** Paul and Barnabas are commissioned by the Church at Antioch to carry the funds for famine relief, and while in Jerusalem, it is argued, they reach a private agreement with the leadership regarding the admission of gentiles to the church (Lake 1933: 445–74). Sometime after this meeting, the dispute between Peter and Paul over table-fellowship occurs at Antioch (Gal 2:11–14), precipitating a second, more public conference at Jerusalem (Acts 15:1–30). The major difficulties with this proposal are the silence of Acts regarding a private meeting at the time when the funds for famine relief are brought and the silence of Galatians regarding a third visit of Paul to Jerusalem.

**2. Acts 15:1–30 Parallels Gal 2:1–10.** This represents the most widely held proposal and rests on the fact that the persons, the locations, and the issues are the same in both accounts (Lightfoot 1914: 123–28; Hengel 1986: 111–26). The problem with this solution is the insistence on the so-called apostolic decree in the Acts account ("that you abstain from what has been sacrificed to idols and from blood and from what is strangled and from unchastity," 15:29), which, if actually agreed to by Paul, would invalidate his argument in Galatians. The decree may have come later, after the conference, as a compromise achieved without Paul to restore the broken fellowship between Jewish and gentile Christians.

**3. Acts 15:1–4, 12 Parallels Gal 2:1–10.** This proposal argues that Acts 15:1–30 actually reflects two conferences, which have been confusingly merged by the author into one. Acts 15:1–4, 12 reports a first conference to answer whether gentiles had to be circumcised to unite with the Church. Paul was present at this meeting and provided his account in Gal 2:1–10. A second conference was held at Jerusalem (Acts 15:5–11, 13–33) to deal with the issue of table-fellowship between Jewish and gentile Christians. Paul was absent from this second conference and thus was not a party to the "apostolic decree" (Weiss 1959: 259–73). The primary difficulty with this third proposal is that Acts 15 does not read like the confluence of two accounts of separate meetings.

**4. Acts 18:22 Parallels Gal 2:1–10.** The proposal is made that the meeting recorded in Acts 15:1–30 actually takes place later (at 18:22), when a brief note is made of Paul's greeting the church at Jerusalem. At this visit Paul is asked to "remember the poor," a request which he responds to not long after by soliciting gifts from Christians in Corinth and in Rome. The council must have immediately preceded the

writing of 1 and 2 Corinthians and Romans (Knox 1950: 61–73; Lüdemann 1984: 149–57, 195–200). This explanation depends heavily on a Pauline chronology derived exclusively from his letters.

**5. Acts 11:1–18 Parallels Gal 2:1–10.** A recent proposal postulates the presence of Paul at the discussion recorded in Acts 11:1–18 when Peter silences the criticisms of "those of the circumcision." The writer of Acts is unaware that Paul and the Jerusalem leaders had a private meeting on this occasion, but the Pauline account is found in Gal 2:1–10. After Peter and Paul have left Jerusalem to engage in further missionary activity, James is pressured by the more conservative Jewish forces in the Church into a second conference at which time the "apostolic decree" is issued, representing a dramatic compromise. Acts 15:1–30 mistakenly records Peter and Paul as present at this second conference (Achtemeier 1987: 44–55). The obvious difficulty with this proposal lies in the speculative suggestion that Paul was present at the occasion of Peter's speech in Acts 11:1–18.

What can be said about the complexity of the historical problems surrounding the council and the variety of proposed solutions? Since Gal 2:1–10 represents the firsthand recollections of a participant at the conference and the Acts material is secondhand, historical priority must be given to Gal 2:1–10 as the normative account. Of the five visits to Jerusalem in Acts, the one mentioned in 15:1–30 seems to resemble most closely Gal 2:1–10 in personnel, structure, issues, and the basic agreement that circumcision is unnecessary for the admission of gentiles to the Church. Whether the visit should come later in the Acts chronology, perhaps at the time of the visit of 18:22, is beyond the scope of this study.

How then is one to explain the difficulties with the Acts 15:1–30 account, which represents sharp differences from the report in Gal 2:1–10? The Acts account is woven carefully into a larger narrative through which the writer addresses a prophetic word to the readers. The writer's intention (as revealed in the narrative) is not to chronicle historical events but to trace the activity of the divine Spirit in the life of the Church and the movement of the Church as a predominantly gentile group "to the end of the earth." Historicity is not the primary criterion by which the narrative is to be judged. Acts 15:1–30 seems to represent a critical reshaping of sources in order to support the theological purposes of the larger narrative, with its concern for the unity and mission of the Church.

**B. Literary and Theological Considerations**

Both Gal 2:1–10 and Acts 15:1–30 play crucial roles, respectively, in their literary contexts.

**1. Gal 2:1–10.** Paul argues at the beginning of Galatians that there is but one gospel, which exercises supreme authority in the life of the Church (1:6–9). The power of this gospel is evidenced in the remarkable transformation which it precipitated in Paul's own experience, a transformation confirmed by the testimony of the Judean Christians (1:22–24). Then comes the report of the Jerusalem Council (2:1–10) through which the Galatian readers discover that the gospel is not idiosyncratically Paul's, but is agreed to by the pillar apostles at Jerusalem. The mission to the gentiles in which the Christian message is offered free of the legal demands of circumcision is not to be seen as a sectarian movement. At the heart of the council's decisions is the mutual recognition of a mission to the gentiles and a mission to the Jews, both empowered by the one gospel of grace. The ensuing report of the conflict between Peter and Paul at Antioch (2:11–14), given of course from Paul's perspective, merely reiterates that the gospel alone can provide the bond for Christian unity. Readers in the Galatian communities learn that Peter's action in withdrawing from table-fellowship with gentiles *de facto* establishes something other than grace as the basis for unity. Later chapters elaborate the character of the gospel in terms of the righteousness of God manifested in the faithful death of Jesus Christ.

**2. Acts 15:1–30.** The Jerusalem Council is presented as a response to a dispute at Antioch, which takes place when visiting Judeans insist on circumcision as essential for salvation. Paul and Barnabas, as commissioners from Antioch, report on their mission among the gentiles and are opposed by believers from among the Pharisees. Two speeches are recorded. Peter's speech (15:5–11) serves to link the council to his previous vision at Joppa and his baptism of Cornelius (10:1–11:18) and to make him rather than Paul the precedent-setter for the mission to the gentiles. James' speech (15:13–21), citing Scripture, represents a compromise: no demand that gentiles be circumcised but adherence to the "apostolic decree."

A letter embodying the compromise is then drafted for the church at Antioch, which in turn receives it with joy.

The council represents a critical turning point in the Acts narrative since the focus shifts from Peter to Paul, from Jerusalem to Ephesus, the Grecian cities, and Rome. The shift is a smooth, not an abrupt one. Continuity is maintained, and the compromise signals that the law continues to have significance for the lives of both Jewish and gentile Christians.

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CHARLES B. COUSAR

**JERUSHA** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕrûšāʾ* (יְרוּשָׁא)]. Var. JERUSHAH. Mother of Jotham, King of Judah (2 Kgs 15:33 = 2 Chr 27:1). Her name means "the inherited one" (Stamm 1967: 327). According to Jotham's regnal formula, Jerusha was the daughter of Zadok. Although the Lucianic text adds that she was "from Jerusalem," the Masoretic Text gives no place of origin for her father. This silence may indicate Zadok was well known to the readers (i.e., from the priestly line in Jerusalem). However, not all Judean regnal formulas identify the father's home (cf. Maacah, Azubah, and Abi). The absence of Zadok's home in the MT may simply reflect the writer's faulty source materials. The account in Chronicles preserves a variant spelling of Jerusha's name (Heb *yĕrûšâ*). See also JOTHAM; QUEEN; ZADOK.

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LINDA S. SCHEARING

**JESHAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕšaʿyâ* (יְשַׁעְיָה)]. Six individuals in the OT bear this name which may also be rendered "Isaiah" and means "Yahweh has saved." This name also appears in a Hebrew inscription from Palestine (Diringer 1934: 209), and it should be compared with *Ia-še-ʾ-ia-a-ma* (Tallqvist 1905: 68) from Babylon in the time of Cyrus (see Coogan 1976: 52–53 on *ia-a-ma* as the Babylonian equivalent of final *yhw* in Hebrew personal names). It is rendered variously in Gk: in 1 Esdr 8:33 (see #4 below) *Iesias* (LXX$^{A}$ *Iessias*) and in 1 Esdr 8:47 (see #5 below) *Osaias.*

1. The second son of Hananiah the son of Zerubbabel named in 1 Chr 3:21 in a list of the descendants of David.

2. The third of six musicians of the family of Jeduthun named in 1 Chr 25:3 in the context of the Chronicler's presentation of the twenty-four divisions of the singers (1 Chr 25:1–8). In the subsequent list of the divisions by lot (1 Chr 25:9–31), Jeshaiah and his family are accorded the status of eighth among the twenty-four.

3. The son of Rehabiah (1 Chr 26:25) and a member of the levitical family responsible for the care of the "dedicated gifts"—here the spoils of war (see esp. vv 26–27)—in the temple treasuries.

4. Jeshaiah the son of Athaliah is named in Ezra 8:7 (= 1 Esdr 8:33) as the head of the lay family of Elam who returned from Babylon with Ezra. A considerably larger contingent of this family had returned earlier with Zerubbabel (cf. Ezra 2:7; Neh 7:12).

5. A Levite recruited from Casiphia to join Ezra in his return to Jerusalem (Ezra 8:19 = 1 Esdr 8:47). The designation "of the sons of Merari" is curious, since the Levites mentioned in the previous verse

would also have been Merarites, as Mahli was a son of Merari (e.g., 1 Chr 6:4—Eng6:19). Thus there is no evident distinction between these two groups in the text as it stands. 1 Esdr 8:47, however, reads *›ek tōn uiōn Xanounaiou* which might represent Heb *kĕnānî,* Chenani of Neh 9:4 (Rudolph *Esra und Nehemia* HAT, 81).

6. An ancestor of Sallu, the head of a Benjaminite clan who lived in Jerusalem at the time of Nehemiah (Neh 11:7; he is not named in the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 9:7–9, which is set in the time immediately following Zerubbabel's return). It may be that this genealogy derives from the time of Nehemiah (Clines *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 212, following Rudolph *Esra und Nehemia* HAT, 185), though it has also been proposed that it is preexilic (Kellermann 1966).

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J. S. ROGERS

**JESHANAH** (PLACE) [Heb *yĕšānâ* (יְשָׁנָה)]. A town named in the Chronicler's account of the defeat of the N Israelite king Jeroboam I by the S Judean king Abijah. Jeshanah is mentioned with Bethel and Ephron as cities which Abijah captured (2 Chr 13:19). Albright (1922: 125–26) identified the site as modern Burj el-Isāneh (M.R. 174156), near Bethel and 17 miles N of Jerusalem (McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 146); that is, on the border between Israel and Judah following the division of the kingdom. The RSV emends the place called "Shen" (Heb "the Crag") in the MT of 1 Sam 7:12 to read "Jeshanah" on the basis of the Targum, which has *yšn,* and the LXX, which has *tēs palaias* (like the Heb *yĕšānâ,* a name meaning "the old [place]"). The story in 1 Samuel concerns the defeat of the Philistines at Mizpah and Ebenezer, both in this same area. Josephus (*Ant* 14.15.12) also mentions an "Isanas" as the headquarters of the general Pappas who was defeated there by Herod the Great.

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JEFFRIES M. HAMILTON

**JESHARELAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕšar›ēlâ* (יְשַׂרְאֵלָה)]. See ASHARELAH (PERSON).

**JESHEBEAB** (PERSON) [Heb *yešebĕ›āb* (יֶשֶׁבְאָב)]. A priest who received the fourteenth position in the priestly order of the Temple during David's reign (1 Chr 24:13). 1 Chronicles 24 is the only place where Jeshebeab appears in the OT. Therefore, an evaluation of the historical reliability of his appearance depends upon the literary context of 1 Chr 24:1–19. See GAMUL. However, the stylistic characteristics seem to link the list to the time of the composition of Chronicles. Jeshebeab may represent a Judean individual or priestly family in the late Persian period that the Chronicler has retrojected into the reign of David.

JOHN W. WRIGHT

**JESHER** (PERSON) [Heb *yēšer* (יֶשֶׁר)]. A son of Caleb listed in the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr 2:18).

H. C. LO

**JESHIMON** (PLACE) [Heb *yĕšîmôn* (יְשִׁימוֹן)]. A "desert" or "wasteland"; used in the OT for both desert areas in general (Deut 32:10; Isa 43:19, 20; Psalms 68:7; 78:40; 106:14; 107:4) and specific locations (Num 21:20; 23:28; 1 Sam 23:19, 24; 26:1, 3).

1. The rugged barren band of land parallel to the Dead Sea in the E Judean hill country, also referred to as the Judean Wilderness (Baly and Tushingham 1971: 12, 112; Maps 20:E3, XIII:C6; *MABL:* 20, Map

3), though it has also been identified more specifically with the area NW of the Dead Sea (*IDB* 2: 245). OT sites near Jeshimon included the hill of Hachilah (1 Sam 23:19; 26:1, 3) and the wilderness of Maon (1 Sam 23:24). Because of the rapid descent to the Dead Sea and the extremely limited annual rainfall, Jeshimon was "a desolate and dangerous region" (Baly 1987: 52). This combination of characteristics also made it a place of refuge for those who sought protection: Jeshimon provided sanctuary for David as he attempted to evade Saul (1 Sam 23:19, 24; 26:1, 3).

2. A wasteland located N and E of the Dead Sea (*IDB* 2: 245) that could be seen from the top of Mt. Pisgah (Num 21:20) and Mt. Peor (Num 23:28). Beth-jeshimoth (Num 33:49), meaning "house of waste lands," was probably located in this region, since the name is descriptive of the type of soil in the area around the site (*LBHG,* 109). Jeshimon was perhaps traversed by "the way of Beth-jeshimoth" (Josh 12:3), one of three major roads that ascended out of the Jordan valley to the highlands of the Transjordan (*LBHG,* 61–62).

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LAMOINE F. DEVRIES

**JESHISHAI** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕšîšay* (יְשִׁישַׁי)]. A Gadite mentioned only in 1 Chr 5:14. His name probably is cognate with the Hebrew adjective *yāšîš* ("aged, decrepit") and may have meant "venerable." Neither Jeshishai nor the others named in the Chronicler's genealogy for Gad (1 Chr 5:11–17) appear in other lists of Gadites (Gen 46:16; Num 26:15–18; 1 Chr 12:9–16—Eng12:8–15).

M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**JESHOHAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yešôḥāyâ* (יְשׁוֹחָיָה)]. A descendant of Simeon (1 Chr 4:36), described as one of the "princes in their families" (1 Chr 4:38). The name may mean "humbled by Yahweh." In the LXX the name appears as *Iasouia* (*Isuaia* in the Vg). The name Jeshohaiah, along with the names of the other Simeonite princes, is not found in any of the genealogies assigned to this patriarch. Nevertheless, in view of 1 Chr 4:42, Jeshohaiah and the others were probably part of the tribe of Simeon (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 62).

CRAIG A. EVANS

**JESHUA** (PERSON) [Heb *yēšûaʿ* (יֵשׁוּעַ)]. Var. JOSHUA. A common personal name associated with several figures, especially in the postexilic period.

1. A priest allotted the ninth priestly course at the time of David (1 Chr 24:11); possibly the ancestor of the house of Jeshua in Ezra 2:36 (= Neh 7:39 = 1 Esdr 5:24).

2. A priest or a Levite assisting a leading Levite with distributing temple offerings to priests in their towns in the aftermath of Hezekiah's Passover and reforms (2 Chr 31:15).

3. An alternate spelling for Joshua son of Nun in Neh 8:17. Neh 8:17 recalls this successor of Moses during the celebration of the Feast of Booths by the returning Judeans in Ezra-Nehemiah, possibly in order to link this occasion with the covenant renewal ceremony in Joshua 24 (Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 292).

4. A name designating a family ("children of Jeshua") who returned from exile in the wave led by Zerubbabel and Jeshua son of Jehozadak (Ezra 2:6 = Neh 7:11 = 1 Esdr 5:11). Ezra-Nehemiah implies that this return followed directly Cyrus' declaration. Historical reconstruction indicates that the return occurred later, during Darius' reign (ca. 522 B.C.E.). This family is connected with another clan, Pahath-moab. Syntactical ambiguity in the text prevents one from ascertaining the precise nature of this connection. The RSV resolves the ambiguity by translating: "The sons of Pahath-moab, namely the sons of Jeshua and Joab" (Ezra 2:6). Jeshua is also related to Joab (Ezra 2:6 = Neh 7:11 = 1 Esdr 5:11). Together these families comprise the largest unit among the returning exiles (2812 according to Ezra 2:6 and 1 Esdr 5:11; 2818 according to Neh 7:11).

5. Head of a Levite family mentioned first among the few Levites (seventy-four) in the list of returned exiles (Ezra 2:40 = Neh 7:43 = 1 Esdr 5:26). He may be the Jeshua supervising the construction of the Temple (Ezra 3:9 = 1 Esdr 5:56—Eng5:58). Presuming that the same individual is intended in a number of references, we can surmise that this Jeshua must have been prominent in the postexilic era. He appears in several significant events in Ezra-Nehemiah: as one of the Levites who help Ezra explicate the Torah during the great assembly (Neh 8:7 = 1 Esdr 9:48), as one of the leaders of community prayer (Neh 9:4–5), and as one of the signatories to the pledge (Neh 10:9, where he is identified as son of Azaniah). The name recurs also in the recapitulation of the names of leading Levites (Neh 12:8, 24).

Jeshua appears often with Kadmiel, Bani, and Hodaviah, although the nature of their relation remains unclear. A slight emendation of Neh 9:4 opens the possibility that the latter three were Jeshua's sons (see Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 26). Possibly he was also the father of Ezer, a ruler of Mizpah, who helped build the wall (Neh 3:19).

6. Jeshua son of Jehozadak. The leading priest in the early Second Temple Period (especially 520–515 B.C.E.), who supervised the building of the temple and the reestablishment of religious and political life in Judah after the exile. Father of Joiakim (Neh 12:10).

Jeshua son of Jehozadak is named "Joshua" in Haggai and Zechariah (e.g., Hag 1:1) and "Jeshua" in Ezra-Nehemiah (e.g., Ezra 2:1). According to Haggai, he was instrumental in building the Second Temple (516 B.C.E.). Zechariah's visions describe ceremonies that purify Jeshua and empower him with certain emblems of authority and prerogatives previously reserved for kings. Ezra-Nehemiah and the parallels in 1 Esdras portray Jeshua as one of the leaders of the return from exile and attribute to him an important role in building the altar, restoring cultic practices, and initiating the building of the temple. Sir 49:12 also connects him with the restoration of the temple.

Surprisingly, given his outstanding priestly role, Jeshua never appears in any of Chronicles' genealogies. His father Jehozadak's genealogy (1 Chr 5:27–41—Eng6:1–15), however, traces the prominent priestly line which includes Seriah (who was slaughtered by the Babylonians; see 2 Kgs 25:18–21), through Eleazar to Aaron. Jehozadak himself was exiled to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar. Jeshua was presumably born in Babylon and came to Judah with Zerubbabel and a large contingent of Judeans (Ezra 2 = Neh 7 = 1 Esdr 5) shortly after Darius 1 ascended to the Persian throne (522 B.C.E.). The similarities between Jehozadak's genealogy (1 Chr 5:27–41—Eng6:1–15) and Ezra's pedigree (Ezra 7:1–5) suggest that Jeshua and Ezra were close kinsmen, but extant biblical sources do not link their names (an omission especially striking in Ezra-Nehemiah).

a. Jeshua's Role. Haggai and Zechariah refer eight times to Jeshua son of Jehozadak the high priest (literally "the great priest")—a title relatively rare in the Hebrew Bible. References to (anonymous) high priests appear in Numbers and Joshua in connection with future cities of refuge. Only two individuals are so designated in preexilic Judah: Jehoiada (2 Kgs 12:11—Eng12:10) and Hilkiah (2 Kings 22 and 2 Chronicles 34). Although Hilkiah was important and the one responsible for the discovery of the book of the Torah (621 B.C.E.), he nevertheless was subordinate to his king, Josiah.

Jeshua clearly exemplifies a new role for high priests. No preexilic high priest possesses his power and prominence. Biblical sources attach to Jeshua unprecedented religious and civil authority and signal a redefinition of spheres of control. With Jeshua, a diarchic structure of a (high) priest and (Davidic) governor replaces a preexilic subordination of priesthood to royalty. Jeshua's elevation initiates a theocratic authority that will continue to dominate much of the Second Temple period until 70 C.E.

Reasons for the extended powers of Jeshua as high priest can be sought in the radically changed conditions under Persian control. The Judean community urgently needed to restructure religious and political life. The trauma of captivity and the new circumstances of semi-autonomy without a local, indigenous monarchy called for new measures. It became necessary, for example, to reestablish a ritually proper cult after defilement by destruction and exile. Jeshua figures prominently in the resolution of these problems.

Jeshua, together with Zerubbabel, provided the necessary leadership for building the Temple in Jerusalem and restoring the cult (e.g., Ezra 3). The Temple in Jerusalem, no longer overshadowed by a

local palace, became the economic—not merely cultic—center. It has been postulated therefore that Jeshua, as high priest, controlled internal fiscal matters for the province of Judah, whereas the governor Zerubbabel's role was more clearly defined by obligations to Persia (Meyers *Haggai, Zechariah* AB, 220–21).

b. Jeshua According to Haggai. Haggai presumes a pattern of diarchic leadership and addresses Jeshua and Zerubbabel almost always together, each with his full title ("Joshua son of Jehozadak the high priest" Hag 1:1). He urges them (and the rest of the people) to build the Temple and have courage and notes their responsiveness. The address to Zerubbabel alone at the end of Haggai (Hag 2:21) could imply, however, that Haggai considered him relatively more important than Jeshua.

c. Jeshua According to Zechariah. Whereas Haggai presumes a diarchic structure, Zechariah articulates and grounds this new pattern theologically and pragmatically. Zechariah uses symbolism, visions, and oracles, some of which depict the purification and crowning of Jeshua. Zechariah 3 envisions Jeshua in a divine assembly where his filthy garments are replaced through divine command. Yahweh removes his transgression and a purified headgear is placed upon his head. This ceremony expresses a divine mechanism that permits the priesthood in general and Jeshua as high priest in particular to resume the functions of their holy office after the contamination of the exile (cf. a different process in Ezek 44:15, where some priests have remained faithful and hence ritually pure). Oracles develop the vision by bestowing upon the newly purified Jeshua further responsibilities, some of which had hitherto been royal prerogatives (e.g., an expanded role in administering justice, Zech 3:7). Jeshua and his fellow priests are also promised access to the heavenly court, a privilege normally associated with prophets (Meyers *Haggai-Zechariah* AB, 190–99). The Davidic ruler is not eliminated, but the power spheres have been redefined. Unprecedented authority is bestowed upon the priest and a theocratic form of government receives its imprimatur.

Another vision depicts two anointed (Zech 4:1–14, esp. 14), one of whom is presumably Jeshua and the other Zerubbabel, reiterating the diarchic pattern of Haggai.

Jeshua's investiture with royal emblems are proclaimed in an oracle. Zechariah is instructed by God to crown Jeshua (Zech 6:9–15) and to announce that the priest will have a seat besides that of a Davidic descendant. Royal imagery bestowed on Jeshua is so startling that many scholars have concluded that Zerubbabel, not Jeshua, had originally been named in the text to be replaced by Jeshua at a later point because of controversies concerning Zerubbabel. The received text, however, explicitly names Jeshua. Diarchic understanding of Judahite rule characterizes Zechariah. The fact that Jeshua is vested with great authority throughout this book eliminates the need to emend the text (Meyers *Haggai-Zechariah* AB, 351–52).

d. Jeshua According to Ezra-Nehemiah. Ezra-Nehemiah provides the most detailed narrative concerning actual (in contrast with Zechariah's symbolic) activities attributed to Jeshua. In Ezra-Nehemiah, Jeshua son of Jehozadak is a priest (not called high priest) who works in close partnership with Zerubbabel. Both men (together with nine others in Ezra 2:1 and ten in Neh 7:7) head the list of returnees. Together with members of the community they build the altar and establish the cult (Ezra 3). In the seventh month after their arrival (Ezra-Nehemiah does not specify the year), Jeshua and his brothers the priests and Zerubbabel and his brothers (presumably all nonpriestly returned exiles) build the altar and reestablish sacrifices and cultic procedures. This one occasion when Jeshua's name precedes Zerubbabel's in Ezra-Nehemiah suggests that Jeshua had the greater role in restoring the cult. In the second year after their arrival, Zerubbabel, Jeshua, and the rest of the community establish the foundations of the temple itself and celebrate the occasion (Ezra 3:8–13). Ezra-Nehemiah portrays Zerubbabel and Jeshua as co-workers, jointly involved in all subsequent activities, including the rejection of the adversaries' offer to help (Ezra 4:3). At a later point, both Zerubbabel and Jeshua respond to the exhortations of Haggai and Zechariah and resume building activities (Ezra 5:2). Neither is named in the subsequent dedication of the Temple.

e. Jeshua According to 1 Esdras. Although 1 Esdras does not differ markedly from Ezra-Nehemiah in its depiction of Jeshua, the great prominence accorded Zerubbabel in 1 Esdras serves to eclipse Jeshua's role

in the events. By adding to Zerubbabel's role, 1 Esdras in fact diminishes Jeshua's importance in the restoration.

f. Conclusion. The biblical texts largely suggest parity in terms of significance between Jeshua the priest (or high priest) and Zerubbabel. A creative adaptation in the postexilic era has resulted in placing unprecedented power in the hands of the priests (or high priests). Jeshua seems to be the key figure in this transformation, having become an equal or perhaps even the superior partner in the actual leadership of the postexilic community.

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TAMARA C. ESKENAZI

**JESHUA** (PLACE) [Heb *yēšûaʿ* (יֵשׁוּעַ)]. A settlement in S Judah listed among the villages occupied by those returning from exile in Babylon (Neh 11:26). Its name appears to be related to the noun *yēšûʿāh* ("help," "salvation," "prosperity"), perhaps meaning "prosperous" town. There is general agreement that the list in Neh 11:25–36 is derived from an official document of the postexilic period (see Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 187). If this list follows geographical order, Jeshua should be found in the vicinity of Ziklag and En-rimmon, both of which are located in the Negeb district of the tribal territory of Judah (Josh 15:31–32). This geographical hint and a similarity between the ancient and modern names has led to a tentative identification with Tell es-Saweh (Aharoni *LBHG,* 379), located approximately 19 km E and slightly N of Beer-sheba (M.R. 149076). However, it is not yet known whether this site was occupied during the postexilic period.

WADE R. KOTTER

**JESHURUN** [Heb *yešurûn* (יְשֻׁרוּן)]. A poetic reference to Israel, either as people or place. In Deut 32:15, Jeshurun is the complacent people who provoke God to jealousy, in Deut 33:5 it is the place where the Lord becomes king before all the assembled tribes, and in Deut 33:26, it is used as a vocative to call the people of Israel to notice their God who "rides through the heavens" to their help. In Isaiah 44:2 it is found in *parallelismus membrorum* to Jacob; both terms are used to refer to the servant chosen by God. Coming from the root *yšr* (be straight, right), the term is an ideal reference to Israel meaning "the upright one," although its form as either a diminutive or a denominative is uncertain. The relationship between the words Jeshurun and Israel is debated. Wächter (1971: 58–64) suggests that Jeshurun is a reminiscence of the name *yišarʾēl,* which he posits as the original form of *yiśrāʾēl* (Israel). With the domination of the Ephraimite tribes in the central-Palestinian highlands, the pronunciation of *yišarʾēl* was changed to *yiśrāʾēl* because the Ephraimites confused *šin* with *śin.* Seebass (1977: 161) argues that Jeshurun originally indicated a non-Israelite neighbor associated with Judah. Jeshurun was then incorporated into the tribal league as a substitute for the tribe of Simeon, a tribal name that does not appear in the Blessing of Moses in Deuteronomy 33. Mendenhall (*IDB* 2: 868) understands Jeshurun to be a hypocorism from the word Israel, a thesis supported by the LXX rendering *ēgapēmenos.* The MT references indicate that Jeshurun was acceptable as an alternative name for Jacob and Israel, but its infrequency, as well as the LXX translation with the participle instead of by transliteration, indicate that it was rare in popular usage.

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SHARON PACE JEANSONNE

**JESIMIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕsîmi›ēl* (יְסִימִאֵל)]. Descendant of Simon (1 Chr 4:36), described as one of the "princes in their families" (1 Chr 4:38). The name may mean "God sets." In the LXX, the name appears as *Ismael* (not to be confused with Ishmael). See Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 62.
CRAIG A. EVANS

**JESSE** (PERSON) [Heb *yišay* (יִשַׁי)]. The father of David, a Bethlehemite from the tribe of Judah (1 Sam 16:1). The name is normally written as *yišay* except in 1 Chr 2:13 where it is inexplicably found in the form *›îšay*. Jesse was the son of Obed and grandson of Boaz (Ruth 4:17, 22; 1 Chr 2:12; Matt 1:5–6; Luke 3:32). In 1 Sam 16:1–23, Jesse is said to have had eight sons with David the youngest. 1 Sam 17:12 also explicitly states that there were eight sons of David. However, 1 Chr 2:13–16 only records seven sons and two daughters, Zeruiah and Abigail. The Syriac version of 1 Chr 2:14 inserts Elihu as the seventh son with David as the eighth. Elihu is not mentioned in the list of sons in 1 Sam 16:1–23, but is mentioned as a brother of David in 1 Chr 27:18 (LXX *Eliab*). There is also some confusion over the paternity of Abigail, who is described as the daughter of Nahash in 2 Sam 17:25. The position of David as the seventh son in Chronicles probably reflects the significance of David in the Chronicler's theology.

Jesse is portrayed mainly in a passive role as the father of the future king of Israel. He appears when Samuel visited Bethlehem to secretly anoint David as king in place of Saul but remains in the background except to send for David, who was among the sheep, after the other sons had been rejected (1 Sam 16:1–13). Immediately after this, Saul sent messengers to Jesse requesting that David be sent to the court to help control his fits of depression with music. Jesse then dispatched bread, wine, and a kid along with David to the king (1 Sam 16:14–23). It is again striking that Jesse does not directly reply in speech to Saul's request for David to remain permanently at the court. David's second introduction to the court of Saul comes when Jesse sent him to his three elder brothers who were serving with Saul's army in the valley of Elah against the Philistines (1 Sam 17:12–18). This second introduction of David to the court of Saul which appears to ignore the previous passage poses numerous difficulties. Furthermore, 1 Sam 17:12–31 is missing from LXXB but is found in LXXA. McCarter (*1 Samuel* AB) and Klein (*1 Samuel* WBC) believe that the shorter version of LXXB is original and has been expanded in the MT. Jesse is described in the MT with the peculiar expression *zāqēn bā› ba› ănāšîm* "old and advanced in years" (RSV, 17:12). LXXL and Syriac presuppose *zāqēn bašānîm,* "old in years," which McCarter (*1 Samuel* AB, 301) prefers. Jesse is further described in MT as "this Ephrathite of Bethlehem in Judah" (RSV "an Ephrathite"). Ephrathah and Bethlehem are listed in the genealogy of Caleb (1 Chr 2:50–51). However, the phrase "an Ephrathite of Bethlehem in Judah" draws an important allusion to the book of Ruth and its Moabite connections (Ruth 1:2; 4:11). The Moabite ancestry of David is made explicit in Ruth 4:17–22 and 1 Chr 2:11–12. Interestingly, David is said to have taken his father and mother to Moab for safety while he is being pursued by Saul, although Jesse is not explicitly named (1 Sam 22:3–6).

The phrase "the son of Jesse" is used pejoratively on a number of occasions, particularly when Saul contemptuously refuses to name David explicitly as being disloyal (1 Sam 20:27, 30–31; 22:7–8), when Doeg the Edomite accuses Ahimelech of Nob of inquiring of Yahweh for him (1 Sam 22:9), when Nabal rejects the thinly veiled threat for protection money (1 Sam 25:10), or when the N tribes break from the S (1 Kgs 12:16). However, the theological centrality of David in the work of the Chronicler means that the phrase "David the son of Jesse" is used in a positive sense in 1 Chr 10:14 and 29:26 (cf. Acts 13:22).

The phrase "there shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse" (Isa 11:1) is usually interpreted as a sign of hope that the Davidic dynasty will be restored. "The stump of Jesse" is taken to refer to the loss of the Davidic kingship in 587 B.C.E. rather than some previous military defeat (Clements 1980: 122; Kaiser 1983: 254). Although it is probable that the passage originally refers to the hope for a restitution of kingship, albeit in ideal terms, the phrase later is interpreted in a Messianic sense. The imagery may well derive from royal ideology in which the king was portrayed as the symbol of fertility (cf. Psalm 72). A similar image is contained in Isa 11:10 which offers "the root of Jesse" as a sign of universal hope (cf. Rom 15:12). Clements (1980: 125) interprets this verse as a postexilic addition which offers a new and

different interpretation of 11:1. He also sees it as an attempt to link the promises of 11:1 and 11:12. Kaiser (1983: 262–63) leaves open the question of whether or not the phrase is a messianic designation or a reference to a new dynasty. Barth (1977: 59) argues that it is a collective term referring to the postexilic community.

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**JESUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Iēsous* (Ἰησους)]. Several persons mentioned in the Bible bear this name, which is a Greek form of Joshua (Heb *yĕhôšûaʿ;* cf. the Gk of Luke 3:29; Acts 7:45; Heb 4:8). One of these is the son of Sirach, who wrote the deuterocanonical book of Ecclesiasticus; see WISDOM OF BEN-SIRA. The name "Jesus" also occurs as a surname of JUSTUS, a co-worker of Paul mentioned in Col 4:11. But, of course, by far the most frequent occurrence of the name is used in conjunction with Jesus of Nazareth, also known as Jesus Christ, who appears throughout the NT and is venerated as the central figure within Christianity. This entry discusses various aspects of this important biblical figure. It is comprised of five separate articles. The first is a broad overview of the figure of Jesus Christ, particularly assessing him as a historical figure who lived 2,000 years ago. The second explores an important issue within NT scholarship over the past two centuries: namely, the proper methodology to be used in attempting to recover this actual historical figure from the NT sources, whose interests were not entirely—or perhaps even primarily—historical. Related to this, the third article surveys scholarly attempts to cull from the NT the actual words (or *ipsissima verba*) spoken by the historical Jesus. The fourth article surveys broadly the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth, i.e. the message he proclaimed to his contemporaries. The fifth article focuses more on Jesus Christ as a religious figure, particularly on how he became the object of worship in the early Christian Church.

## *JESUS CHRIST*

"Jesus Christ" is a composite name made up of the personal name "Jesus" (from Gk *Iēsous,* which transliterates Heb/Aram *yēšû (a)ʿ,* a late form of Hebrew *yĕhôšûaʿ,* the meaning of which is "YHWH is salvation" or "YHWH saves/has saved") and the title, assimilated in early Christianity to Jesus as a name, "Christ" (from Gk *Christos,* which translates Heb *māšîaḥ* and Aram *mĕšîḥāʾ,* signifying "anointed" and referring in the context of eschatological expectation to the royal "son of David"). The name "Jesus Christ" thus binds together the historic figure Jesus with the messianic role and status that early Christian faith attributed to him. In Jesus' own lifetime, his name, since it was common in Israel, called for a specifier: "Jesus the Galilean" (Matt 26:69; cf. 21:11), or, more often, "Jesus of Nazareth" or "Jesus the Nazarean."

This article treats Jesus of Nazareth as a figure of history, asking what can be known of his career, its purposes and outcome, by historical investigation. The question breaks down into parts. First, what are the available data on Jesus and what resources do we have for construing the data in an informed and reasonable way? Second, in what sociohistorical context did Jesus live and act? Third, what was the character of his encounter with the Israel of his time? What was the point of his proclamation of the reign of God, his preaching, and his symbolic actions? What provoked the conflicts that led to his arrest and execution? How did he himself understand and react to these conflicts? How and why did Jesus die? Fourth, what influence did Jesus have on the rise of the earliest Christian community and its life? These questions are the basis of the following outline:

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A. Data on Jesus
   1. Canonical Gospels
   2. The Rest of the New Testament
   3. Data from Noncanonical Sources
   4. Indices to Historicity and to Nonhistoricity

B. Sociohistorical Context
C. The History of Jesus
1. Beginnings
2. The Proclamation and Its Meaning
3. Jesus' Public Behavior
4. The Teaching of Jesus
5. The Identity and Destiny of Jesus
6. Why and How Jesus Died
7. The Easter Experience of the Disciples

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**A. Data on Jesus**

**1. Canonical Gospels.** Jesus died *ca.* A.D. 30; the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John came into being from 30 to 60 odd years later (i.e., from the '60s to the '90s of the 1st century). In the period before the finished composition of complete gospel narratives there certainly were oral traditions that were to provide the substance of the gospel literature, and perhaps some of these traditions circulated in written form as well. (See FORM CRITICISM; SOURCE CRITICISM.) Early practitioners of form criticism tended to attribute a direct and decisive relevance of their discipline to the historical appreciation of the data of oral tradition. More recently, sober critique has been brought to bear on classical NT form criticism, dismantling its ideological biases and salvaging its real analytic potential. Gradually the limited contribution of form criticism to judgments of historicity has found wide recognition.

The most basic and far-reaching issue connected with form criticism had been substantially acknowledged and clarified early in the 20th century; it came to be called the "kerygmatic" conditioning of both oral traditions and written gospels. *Kerygma* means "proclamation" and in the NT refers especially to the act of proclaiming salvation or to the content of the proclamation of salvation or to both. The context evoked by "kerygma" is accordingly the appeal for faith. The adjective "kerygmatic" has long been used in a wide sense to allude to the faith dimension that pervades the gospel literature. Born of faith, these writings solicited or supported faith and offered instruction in faith.

There is probably no non-kerygmatic writing in the gospels. In all probability, that is, nothing or virtually nothing in the gospel narratives was narrated merely because it happened, for the sole purpose of preserving the historical record. It is sometimes overlooked, however, that this negative ascertainment (gospel texts are not purely historical) by no means justifies the notion that a historical component is foreign to and excluded from the intentions of the originators, transmitters, and editors of the gospel literature. For example, the motive for recounting such symbolic actions of Jesus as the cures and exorcisms, the sending of the twelve, the dining with sinners, the solemn entry into Jerusalem, and the cleansing of the temple is irreducible to "community concerns" of a didactic and paraenetic sort. Other components in narrative intention are certainly discoverable, but these historic symbolic acts were all narrated also because they were acts that belonged in some significant way to the drama of Jesus' career (Trautmann 1980: 404–6). A like point must be made respecting conflict stories (Hultgren 1979: 72–75), Sabbath conflicts (Roloff 1970: 85), and other texts (Riesner 1981: 35–37).

It has often been urged that in earliest Christianity (apart from the composition of the passion story for cultic use) Jesus' career as a whole did not figure in Christian consciousness. The idea of a connected narrative about Jesus was thought to have come into being only with the project of composing the first gospel redaction, usually thought to be that of Mark. This supposition, however, proved liable to critique at three points. First, the memory of Jesus' career could not plausibly be limited to isolated anecdotes. Second, the passion story could not be reduced to an explanatory account of cultic practices (cultic etiology); stylistic analysis related the passion story, rather, to OT historical narratives. Finally, the supposed role of the Markan secrecy motif in bringing the gospel genre into being was entirely conjectural.

As for the story line finally to be found in the Synoptic Gospels, literary criticism (Jeremias 1966: 89–96) suggests that its main development took the form of pushing the beginning of the passion story further

and further back. The story first began with the arrest of Jesus in Gethsemane; then, with the solemn entry into Jerusalem; then, with the confession of Jesus as Messiah in the region of Caesarea Philippi (Pesch *Markusevangelium 2* HTKNT, 1–27). This, to be sure, does not mean that the tradition of Jesus' baptism, for example, did not come into being until "the beginning of the story" had been pushed back to that point. What it does mean is that, though individual pericopes presented the whole gospel *in nuce*, the story of Jesus is unlikely ever to have been understood as isolated kerygmatic snapshots entirely unrelated to any story line.

Traditions relaying at least words of Jesus and perhaps also stories of Jesus may well go back to the pre-Easter days of Jesus' public career (Schürmann 1960). The concrete social situation and context *(Sitz im Leben)* for such a formation of tradition would have been the disciples' share in the public functions of Jesus as proclaimer of the reign of God. What was the corresponding social situation and context for the shaping and transmitting of traditions in the post-Easter Jerusalem community? The pioneers of NT form criticism answered by positing various distinct and independent social settings, e.g. baptismal liturgy, eucharistic worship, community instruction, community debates, etc. But the determination of a nexus between particular settings and the crystallization of particular speech forms rarely surpassed educated guesswork. On the other hand, definition of a single setting or *Sitz im Leben* for the Jesus tradition as a whole, though plausible, has proven thus far to be unverifiable.

To many scholars in the first half of the 20th century the systematic transmission of tradition in the earliest church appeared to be precluded by the expectation of an imminent end of history. But in fact there are solid indices in the earliest NT writings that the church was consciously engaged in the transmission of traditions (1 Cor 11:23—cf. 1 Thess 4:1; 1 Cor 11:3; 15:1–11). The tradition of Jesus' words, acts, and destiny appears to have constituted a distinct branch of teaching *(didachē)* parallel to but distinct from and supposed by the moral instruction *(paraenesis)* dispensed in the NT letters. Whether, like that moral instruction, it was authoritatively sponsored by leading figures in the earliest church remains an open question.

The only element of Synoptic criticism supposed here is the acknowledgment of four relatively independent lines of transmission: Markan tradition, logia tradition (Matthew and Luke), special Matthean tradition, and special Lukan tradition. Though the relative independence of Markan tradition and of the logia tradition is sometimes disputed, both appear to be probable (see Pesch *Markusevangelium 1* HTKNT, 63–67; Jeremias 1930 and Dupont 1954 on the Logia tradition).

Even if the relative antiquity of the several gospel redactions were known with certainty, this knowledge would leave still unanswered the question, "in what sequence did such-and-such parallel traditions come into being?" Again, even should literary-historical criticism establish the genetic sequence of parallel texts, this would still leave undecided the issue of historicity respecting the particular words and acts depicted in those texts. On the other hand, the question of the historicity of words and acts can sometimes be settled without a satisfactory prior settlement of any of the questions about the genetic order of the texts.

The origin and development of the Gospel of John poses special problems. This gospel concentrates its claim to authority in the witness of the "beloved disciple" (John 21:20–24; cf. 13:23; 19:26–27; 20:2–9), who is probably to be identified with the anonymous disciple of 1:35–42; 18:15–16. This anonymous disciple, in turn, is perhaps to be identified with John, the son of Zebedee. Beyond these variously probable though uncertain identifications, the origins of the Fourth Gospel remain historically mysterious.

Moreover, though the Johannine gospel tells the story of Jesus in distinctive fashion and affirms this story to be charged with historic truth, the key to the discourses of Jesus, to individual narrative units, and to the total sequence of events is not memory but sustained religious reflection of a high order. What the gospel affirms is not so much the actuality of remembered words and acts as it is the historic truth of Johannine theological themes. When applied to a work of this character, the standard indices to historicity turn out to yield relatively little. Nevertheless, on numerous matters (see below, C.1, 6, 7), the Fourth Gospel clearly seems to have retained significant historical data unavailable in the Synoptic tradition.

**2. The Rest of the New Testament.** The Acts of the Apostles, the NT letters, and the Johannine apocalypse all contain sayings of the risen Lord, and all these sources presuppose and allude to the story of the earthly Jesus. They nevertheless offer relatively few independent data on him. One saying (probably a Greco-Roman proverb) is attributed to Jesus in Acts 20:35. The other sayings attributed to him are known to us from parallels in the Synoptic Gospels (1 Cor 7:10 = Mark 10:9–12 = Matt 19:6–9; 1 Cor 9:14 = Matt 10:10; 1 Cor 11:24–25 = Luke 22:19–20; Rom 14:14 = Mark 7:15; somewhat less clearly and certainly, 1 Thess 4:16–17 = Matt 24:30–31).

The missionary speeches in Acts include a so-called "historical section" (Acts 2:22; 10:37–39; 13:23–25) in the kerygma. This correlates both with Peter's claim, "we are witnesses of everything he did in the country of the Jews and in Jerusalem" (Acts 10:39), and with the requisite qualification of a candidate to take the place of Judas among the twelve, namely, that he be "one of the men who have accompanied us during all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us" (Acts 1:21). Salvation was seen to issue from the history of Jesus as attested both by the scriptures and by the testimony of eyewitnesses to that history. This view of salvation as coming from the history of Jesus is common also to the pre-Pauline faith formulas conserved in the letters of Paul (Phil 2:6–11; 1 Cor 11:23–25; 15:3–5; Gal 1:4; Rom 1:3–4; 3:25–26; 4:25; 8:34; 10:9).

Though the recounting of Jesus' words and acts is not to be expected in the diverse paraenetic genre of the NT letters, it is nonetheless worth noting that many letters abound with echoes of the gospel tradition.

Paul explicitly affirmed his inheriting of commands from the Lord (1 Cor 7:10); that this signifies his dependence on the Jesus tradition is confirmed by the fact that we find the command in question in Synoptic texts (Mark 10:9–12 = Matt 19:6–9). The attitude toward enemies and persecutors expressed in 1 Thess 5:15; 1 Cor 4:12–13; and Rom 12:14 should be related to Matt 5:10–12 = Luke 6:22–23 and to Matt 5:38–40 = Luke 6:29; for, apart from Jesus, Paul had no predecessor, source, or tradition to draw on for this theme (see, however, Exod 23:4–5 and Prov 25:21–22). Paul's claim to apostolic status (Gal 1:16–17) echoes the words of Jesus to Simon, the "rock" (Matt 16:17–19). Again, the Abba motif in Paul's references to community and personal prayer (Gal 4:6; Rom 8:15) reflects Jesus' distinctive address of God as ›*abbā*‹ (Mark 14:36 = Matt 26:39, 42 = Luke 22:42; cf. Matt 6:9 = Luke 11:2; Matt 11:25–26 = Luke 10:21; Luke 23:34, 46; John 11:41; 12:27–28, etc.). The historicity of Jesus, born of woman (Gal 4:4), belonging to the race of Abraham (Gal 3:16; Rom 9:5) and the lineage of David (Rom 1:3), living under the Law (Gal 4:4), exercising a ministry to Israel in fulfillment of the promises to the patriarchs (Rom 15:8), and dying on a cross (*passim* in Paul) was as substantial to Pauline as it was to Markan or Lukan theology.

The Letter to the Hebrews repeatedly refers to the earthly Jesus, especially to his willing self-oblation as expiatory offering (Heb 2:15–18; 7:27; 9:14, 25–28). The resurrection was God's answer to Jesus' prayer in Gethsemane (5:7). Psalm 8 found fulfillment in Jesus' having been "for a short time"—i.e., between his coming into the world (10:5–7) and his exaltation (1:3, 13; 9:12)—"lower than the angels" (2:7, 9). The letter also alludes to the detail that Jesus' death took place "outside the gate" of the city (13:12).

In 1 Peter (Maier 1985) there are more than a dozen verbal and motif convergences not only with Synoptic tradition (e.g., the nexus between "seed" and "the word" in 1 Pet 1:23, as in the Synoptic interpretation of the parable of the Sower, Mark 4:14–20 = Matt 13:18–23 = Luke 8:11–15), but also with Johannine tradition (e.g., "believing" despite "not seeing" in 1 Pet 1:2 and John 20:29).

In the Letter of James (Davids 1985) there are roughly 20 probable allusions to sayings of Jesus. A dozen of them derive from the Sermon on the Mount (thus Jas 2:5, 13 reflect the beatitudes of Matt 5:3, 7). Though verbal and motif convergences are usually more suggestive than probative of literary dependence, the high incidence of convergence between the text of James and motifs gathered together in the Sermon on the Mount boosts the probability of the dependence of James on the Jesus tradition to the point of moral certainty.

It should be added that the First Letter of John presupposes the story of Jesus as we find it presented in the Gospel of John. Thus the writer urges without elaboration that his addressees are to live "just as he

lived" (1 John 2:6). "Eternal life" is the heart of "what he promised us" (2:25). We know what love is from his laying down his life for us (3:16). He came "in water and in blood" (5:6; see John 19:34–35).

The positive yield of the non-gospel texts of the NT, then, is not a mass of independent data on Jesus, but an assurance that the Jesus tradition, so far from being alien to the other NT writers, was both congenial in principle and integral in fact to their faith. As sequel and support of the controlling proclamation of the kerygma, two branches of teaching took shape in early Christianity: the Jesus tradition and community paraenesis. From the NT letters it appears that from the outset the second of these found its ethos and nourishment in the first.

**3. Data from Noncanonical Sources.** The fallout in noncanonical tradition from the historic career of Jesus was enormous: gospels (mainly Jewish-Christian and gnostic), homilies, testimonies, liturgies, acts, apocalypses, rabbinic and Islamic traditions, texts in Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Greek, Latin, Coptic, and other languages. Though this tradition is voluminous even in the fragmentary state in which it has survived, only a few short narratives and perhaps a dozen sayings have a serious claim to historical value. They include words such as the following (*Gos. Thom.* 82):

> He that is near me is near the fire;
> he that is far from me is far from the kingdom.

Study of the noncanonical traditions, which began in the late 19th century, gained momentum with the discovery at Nag Hammadi, Egypt, of a complete text of the *Gospel of Thomas*, 114 sayings in a 4th-century Coptic translation probably from Greek. But the hope of having found a mine of independent traditions as old and informative as those of the Synoptic Gospels proved on further analysis to be false.

Plausibly authentic anecdotes and sayings from the noncanonical tradition confirm and supplement historical data from the canonical gospels, but do not furnish good evidence for a different general view of Jesus. The Talmud (*b. Šabb. 116b) offers a variant in Aramaic of the saying in Matt 5:17, which suggests that behind the Greek words katalysai ("to destroy") and plērōsai ("to fulfill") of the gospel saying stood the Aramaic words pĕḥat ("to diminish" or "take away") and ʾôsîp ("to add to"—i.e., "to bring to completion"). Otherwise Talmudic traditions on Jesus are probably late, some even as late as the early Middle Ages (Maier 1978: 127–28) and have no independent historical value.*

**4. Indices to Historicity and to Nonhistoricity.** In forming historical judgments on the data of the gospels there are three possible verdicts: historical, nonhistorical, and suspended judgment. All these verdicts should turn not on general assumptions but on specific evidence. This means that the historian cannot do without concrete indices both to historicity and to nonhistoricity; it also means that the critic should acknowledge that in some instances the issue of historicity remains unresolved.

The indices to historicity are: discontinuity with early Christianity; originality vis-à-vis Palestinian Judaism; multiple attestation (i.e., attestation in relatively independent strands of tradition); multiform attestation (e.g., in narrative material and in sayings material); and correlation with modes of speech characteristic of Jesus (Jeremias 1971: 8–37). Such modes include the use of the divine passive (a circumlocution which for reverential reasons avoids naming God as the subject of an active verb; e.g., the second clause of the macarism "Happy the mourners, for they shall be comforted" is the equivalent of "for God is about to comfort them"); antithetical parallelism (Burney 1925: 83–85); rhythmic patterns in two-beat, three-beat, four-beat, and *qéÆnâ* (dirge) meter (in Aramaic); alliteration, assonance, and play on words (in Aramaic); use of hyperbole and paradox; riddles and parables, especially as exhibiting stylistic and thematic features otherwise known to be characteristic of Jesus; new coinages in connection with "the reign of God"; a distinctive use of "amen" to introduce an emphatic statement; the use of *ʾabbā* in addressing God.

All these indices operate independently of the recovery of historical intentions on the part of the narrator. On occasion, however, it may be possible to ascertain that a given writer means to affirm something precisely as having happened. If in addition it can be shown that the writer is knowledgeable on the matter and free of the intention to mislead, historicity may be inferred. An example is Paul's presentation of the eucharistic words of Jesus in 1 Cor 11:23–25.

Of the indices mentioned above, discontinuity with the transmitting church is regularly the most cogent. It was a clear tendency of the transmitting church to present Jesus as independent of John the Baptizer; therefore, it is highly probable that the tradition of Jesus' seeking the baptism of John is historical. Again, the index of originality vis-à-vis Palestinian Judaism is often cogent of itself, for we have far more extensive and persuasive evidence of Jesus' originality than we do of the originality of the post-Easter Christian community, especially that of the earliest and, in this context, most important community, Jerusalem. The other indices, though not independently cogent, are indispensable in marshaling cumulative and convergent evidence in favor of historicity. Increase in the probability of historicity accrues to data that are coherent with what has already been established as historical by appeal to discontinuity and originality. Here especially multiple attestation, multiform attestation, and stylistic indices are relevant confirmatory factors.

Before leaving the issue of historicity, we should distinguish two kinds of relations of accounts to events—namely, the one-to-one relation and what might be called the generic relation. In gospel reports of responses to Jesus, a solid case can occasionally be made for a one-to-one relation of text to event. In most cases, however, it is neither possible nor necessary to build a case for historicity. The widely varied responses to Jesus depicted in the gospel literature doubtless corresponded in general to the historical reality. It was to be expected in advance that responses to him would vary widely, and it must be assumed in retrospect that they did. The literature supports such expectations and assumptions.

The form critics were the first to recognize clearly that many Synoptic pericopes—especially those that failed to exhibit the inner coherence that would have typified a remembered event, but many other, quite coherent pericopes as well—were not, indeed, simply recorded memories and did not intend a one-to-one relation to a particular event. The gospel literature had been composed, and in this composition Jesus' career had been, in Bultmann's metaphor, "precipitated"—i.e., condensed and presented anew, in the pericopes (Bultmann 1963: 40). But the form critics failed, on the whole, to spell out clearly what this meant for historicity. Instead of fashioning a positive and supple conception of historicity adjusted to this literary insight, they left the impression that historicity itself, and not merely an excessively rigid conception of it, had thereby been put in doubt. A more apt and exact conclusion would be that besides the specific patterns of inference that followed on the indices to historicity, there were generic judgments supported by the typical character of numerous pericopes. The form-critical insight allowed the exegete to recognize that in a few strokes an individual pericope might present the gospel in a nutshell. It should also allow the historian to differentiate between the details, on the one hand, and generic or substantial historicity, on the other.

An example is the story of Zacchaeus the tax collector (Luke 19:1–10). Did there really exist a rich tax collector named Zacchaeus, who, being short, climbed a sycamore tree to catch a glimpse of the charismatic figure Jesus, as he walked along accompanied by a crowd? Did Jesus look up and address Zacchaeus by name and invite himself to table with him? The indices to historicity yield virtually nothing in response to these questions. Nevertheless we have solid evidence elsewhere (e.g., Mark 2:14–16 = Matt 9:9–10 = Luke 5:27–29) of Jesus' appeal to the ostracized tax collectors and publicans of the time. What the Zacchaeus episode adds to this is a further set of indications showing the early Christian community's understanding of how Jesus mounted his initiative toward sinners and of how the sinners reacted to it.

The commonest error respecting nonhistoricity turns on a false analogy. It is the assumption that since discontinuity with the transmitting church establishes historicity, continuity with the transmitting church establishes nonhistoricity. In fact, no conclusion can be legitimately drawn from the mere presence of such continuity. A true index to nonhistoricity is the incompatibility of data under examination either with data established as historical or with solidly grounded historical conclusions. If, for example, the historian were to succeed in recovering the eschatological scheme supposed by words of Jesus on the future, and if according to this scheme there was to be no interval between the vindication/glorification of Jesus and the consummation of history, then gospel tests positing such an interim would be nonhistorical.

Second, a positive index to nonhistoricity is attestation both as a post-Jesus development and as gospel datum. The Christian mission to gentile lands, for example, is attested as a post-Jesus development in

Acts 13, but also as foretold by words of Jesus (Mark 13:10 = Matt 24:14; Mark 14:9 = Matt 26:13), foreshadowed by his travels (seemingly but not actually) outside lands inhabited by Jews (Mark 7:24, 31), and grounded on the explicitly universalist prophecy (Luke 24:47) or on the explicitly (Matt 28:19; cf. Acts 1:8; Mark 16:15) or implicitly (John 20:21–22) universalist mandate of the risen Christ. Why was the idea of the gentile mission converted into a gospel datum? It was a tendency of the early Christians to overlook what they did not have the resources to understand (namely, development and its legitimacy) and so to retroject developments to their origins.

Third, linguistic indices to nonhistoricity include the use of words having no Aramaic equivalents, or the use of a vocabulary attested for the early church but not otherwise attested for Jesus (e.g., in Jesus' "explanations" of his parables). This index, to be sure, is not cogent of itself.

If the hypothesis could actually be established, rather than merely posited, that early Christian prophets speaking in the name of the exalted Christ supplied the church with sayings that were finally assimilated to the Synoptic tradition, this might be made to generate concrete indices to nonhistoricity. Thus far, however, the case for this creative role on the part of Christian prophets has not been successfully made; hence, no conclusion along these lines appears to be justified (Hill 1979: 160–85; Aune 1983: 142–45).

**B. Sociohistorical Context**

Jesus of Nazareth entered upon his public career in the last quarter of a long period of decline in Jewish fortunes—i.e., from the triumph of the Maccabees when public plebiscite endorsed the pretentions to the high priesthood on the part of Simon and his sons (141 B.C.) to the fall of Jerusalem and destruction of the temple under Titus (A.D. 70). That from the Jewish standpoint this was a period of almost unrelieved decline is hardly open to doubt. Its halfway point was marked by the accession to power of Herod, a half-Jew and puppet of Rome, whose long and heartily detested reign was followed by the administrative division of Israel, and ten years thereafter by the imposition of direct Roman administration on Judea. Though initially welcomed, this last change eventually soured. Jerusalem had relapsed into the pre-Maccabean situation of rule by gentiles.

The administrative record of the Roman provincial governors of Judea varied from mediocre to atrocious. The heaviest burden on the Jews, however, was not inept or corrupt administration, but economic hardship and instability. Given a glaring inequality in the distribution of goods and a lack of agricultural land proportionate to a population of half a million, the combination of natural catastrophes (drought, earthquake, epidemic, famine—e.g., the great famine of A.D. 46–47) and oppressive taxation under competing tax systems, secular (Roman) and sacred (Jewish), was ruinous for the class of small landholders who constituted society's center of gravity, the marginal middle class. From this came periodic surges in the number of new poor, emigrants, revolutionaries, bandits, and beggars.

Socioeconomic instability characterized Palestine before, during, and after the time of Jesus. To lower the pressure of social unrest, the powers-that-be periodically lightened the tax burden (*Ant* 15.10.4 §365; 16.2.5 §64; 17.8.4 §205; 17.11.4 §319; 18.4.3 §90; 19.6.3 §299). Herod and his sons created work for the down-and-out by building new cities (*Ant* 18.2.3 §36–38). The basic socioeconomic structures, however, remained. Instability culminated in collapse—i.e., in the brief ascendancy of the socially rootless and the simultaneous outbreak of a disastrous revolt against Rome (A.D. 66–70).

The state of social crisis implicit in the data provided by Josephus is often mirrored in the gospel literature as well. Depressed classes figure prominently in the story. They include the socially insignificant, the poor and hungry, the physically or mentally disabled, and the socioreligious outcasts. Representatives of these groups hover on the edges or stand in the center of scene after scene. Jesus singled out as particularly favored beneficiaries of salvation the poor, the insignificant (including women and children), the heavily burdened, the possessed, the outcast, the blind, deaf, and dumb, the cripples and lepers.

Oppressive economic practices often figured in Jesus' parables, not as objects of reformist critique, but simply as matters of common knowledge, and so illustratively useful (Mark 12:1–11 = Matt 20:1–16 = Luke 16:1–8). Jesus' words and actions bore dramatically on the social scene, but inasmuch as they corresponded to none of the positions on the social order taken in the Israel of his time, they may well

have seemed baffling or inadequate or offensive. On the religious parties and sects in the time of Jesus, see JUDAISM (GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD); PHARISEES; SADDUCEES; ESSENES.

**C. The History of Jesus**

**1. Beginnings.** Historically the most accessible data on Jesus' beginnings are not the infancy narratives (see MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF; LUKE, GOSPEL OF), but the ties between Jesus and the movement of John the Baptist (or "Baptizer"). John appeared in the wilderness north of the Dead Sea "in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar" (Luke 3:1); i.e., not earlier than autumn, A.D. 27, nor later than midsummer, 29. His apparel (Mark 1:6 = Matt 3:4), his manner of life (Matt 3:4b; Matt 11:18 = Luke 7:33), and his message to Israel all evoked the prophets of old (Mark 6:15 = Luke 9:8). John warned his contemporaries that definitive judgment was imminent (Matt 3:10 = Luke 3:9) and, in the face of imminent judgment, summoned them to repentance (Mark 1:4; Matt 3:7–10 = Luke 3:7–9), to the confession of sins (Mark 1:5 = Matt 3:6), and to a ritual act of washing meant to seal the repentance and mark the repentant for acquittal at the judgment about to break out (Mark 1:5 = Matt 3:6; Mark 1:8 = Matt 3:11–12 = Luke 3:16–17).

The mere phenomenon of the return of prophecy in the figure of John pointed, according to Judaic tradition, to the consummation of history. John's message, moreover, radicalized this eschatology, for it made clear that for John the standing religious resources of Israel, such as cultic means of expiation, were inadequate in the face of imminent judgment. God called for something beyond these standard means. He called, namely, for the repentance and the washing which were the main themes of John's prophetic summons to Israel.

In the face of judgment the election of Israel was itself at stake (Luke 3:8 = Matt 3:9). John's mission accordingly had an election-historical dimension to be construed from the field of meaning out of which he spoke and acted. Elements that define that field of meaning are the imminence of judgment and the deliberately chosen symbols of wilderness and water rite. If imminent judgment be taken as the matrix of John's field of meaning, the probable nexus binding all the motifs together was the well-established conception of Israel in the wilderness (Exodus to Deuteronomy) as the type of eschatological Israel. If the generation of the wilderness was made ready for salvation at Sinai by a bath of immersion (inferred from Exod 24:8 on the premise, *b. Yebam. 46b*, that there is no sprinkling without previous bath of immersion; cf. *Mek. Exod.* 13.21; 14:26; 1 Cor 10:1–2), it followed that Israel on the brink of judgment was similarly to be made ready for the judgment by being bathed and purified (Jeremias 1971: 42–49). The alternative was liability to the coming wrath (Matt 3:7 = Luke 3:7). "The coming one" (not God himself, but an apocalyptic figure not easily identifiable from biblical tradition) would wash "in the holy Spirit and in fire" precisely those whom John had washed in preparation for judgment (Matt 3:11 = Luke 3:16; cf. Mark 1:8). Refusal would mean exclusion from restored and saved Israel. Repentant Israel would be gathered like wheat into the barn, whereas unrepentant Israel would be burnt like chaff (Matt 3:12 = Luke 3:17). This grounds the inference that John conceived his prophetic task as that of assembling the remnant of Israel in the face of judgment. In and through this open, eschatological remnant of those destined for acquittal at the judgment, God would bring his holy people to restoration in the age to come (Meyer 1979: 115–28).

Among those who responded positively to John's call to baptism was Jesus of Nazareth. The Synoptic tradition is at one in affirming Jesus' participation in "the baptism of John" (Mark 1:9–11; Matt 3:13–17; Luke 3:21–22; John 1:32–33). The Synoptic Gospels date the start of Jesus' public career from the arrest of John (Mark 1:14 = Matt 4:12; Luke 3:19), leaving unexplained why Jesus had remained in Judea until John's arrest and why the arrest had had decisive personal meaning for Jesus (*paradothēnai* in Mark 1:14; Matt 4:12 probably signifies that in the arrest of John, Jesus saw a divine signal for himself; Luke 4:14). The Fourth Gospel fills this lacuna by representing Jesus as surrounded by his own disciples and sharing in the baptism movement apparently in alliance with but not alongside John (John 3:26, 4:1). In view of its discontinuity with the tendency of the tradition to accent the independence of Jesus, this Johannine tradition may well reflect the historic beginnings of Jesus' career.

Against the grain of competition between the movements inaugurated respectively by John and by Jesus, the gospel traditions are unanimous that Jesus all through his career maintained a positive attitude toward John and his mission. A saying of Jesus compares his generation to quarrelsome children, complaining,

"We piped to you and you did not dance,
(Matt 11:17 = Luke 7:32).

A generation of sour critics piped and John did not dance; it wailed and Jesus did not mourn (Matt 11:18–19 = Luke 7:33–34). Both John and Jesus violated the sacred custom of fasting and feasting in accord with tradition, for both were signs of a break in the routines of ordinary history. For all the difference in style of life between John and himself, Jesus understood John to be allied with him in proclaiming the consummation of history and in being fatefully repudiated by those deaf to their proclamations.

In Jesus' view the baptism of John had been "from heaven" (Mark 11:30 = Matt 21:25 = Luke 20:4), i.e., authorized by God. John himself "came to you in [i.e., brought you] the way of righteousness" (Matt 21:32). In Jesus' phrase, John had been "more than a prophet" (Matt 11:9 = Luke 7:26). To define himself, John had invoked the Isaian cry to prepare "the way of the Lord" (Isa 40:3; Mark 1:3; Matt 3:3; Luke 3:4; John 1:23). This Isaian motif of preparation was the background of the later lines of Mal 3:23 (—Eng 4:5–6) on the sending of Elijah in advance of judgment to purify the priesthood (Mal 3:1–3) and to reconcile fathers and sons. In Sir 48:10 the task of Elijah included reestablishing "the tribes of Jacob" (cf. Isa 49:6). According to the Fourth Gospel, the Baptizer refused the title "Elijah" (John 1:21); according to the Synoptics, Jesus applied it to John (Matt 11:14; Mark 9:13 = Matt 17:12; Matt 11:10 = Luke 7:27). Hence, in the context of preparation for the reign of God, "no one greater has arisen among men than John"; when compared, however, with those who would see the arrival of what had been prepared: "the least in the reign of God [shall be] greater than he" (Matt 11:11 = Luke 7:28).

Jesus' unambiguous support for the mission of John throws light on how Jesus understood his own mission. John's task had been to alert Israel to the imminence of judgment and to assemble by baptism the remnant of Israel destined for cleansing, acquittal, and restoration. Jesus entered into and unreservedly affirmed this prophetic field of meaning. He not only endorsed John's mission as authentic, he aligned himself with that mission in the closest possible way. In the particulars of John's career he read divine signs bearing on himself. Jesus' acute awareness of how different the style of John's career was from his own only underscores his alliance with John's purposes. Like John, Jesus understood his own role as "preparationist." Other parties and sects had their own eschatological hopes and expectations, but only in the movements inaugurated by John and by Jesus was preparation for the eschaton the very *raison d'être* of the movement. Hence the closest analogy of John's movement was that of Jesus and vice versa. Jesus' role bore on the preparation of Israel for the definitive triumph of God. There remains the task of defining his understanding of how, concretely, this triumph was to be realized.

**2. The Proclamation and Its Meaning.** "Proclamation" in the sense of "the act of proclaiming" is a mode of speech; "proclamation" in the sense of "what is proclaimed" is a message. The Synoptic literature presents Jesus as adopting the proclamatory mode of speech (Mark 1:14–15 = Matt 4:17; cf. Luke 4:16–30); moreover, it repeatedly generalizes this datum (Mark 1:38 = Luke 4:43; Mark 1:39 = Matt 4:23 = Luke 4:44; Mark 1:45; the texts include redactional generalizations such as Matt 4:23; 9:15), depicting Jesus as proclaiming, especially in synagogues, the fulfillment of God's promises and Israel's hopes (Luke 4:16–30; Mark 1:39 = Matt 4:23; cf. Luke 4:44; see also Mark 1:21 = Luke 4:31; Mark 6:2; Matt 13:53).

As message, the proclamation of Jesus announced "the reign of God." This was not an unfamiliar theme. It was central, for example, to the *Qaddiš,* the synagogue prayer that regularly followed the Sabbath sermon:

May he allow his great name to be glorified and hallowed in the world that he has created according to his will!

May he allow his reign to reign in your lifetime and in your days and in the lifetime of all the house of Israel, speedily and soon!

In Jesus' message, as in the *Qaddiš,* the reign of God signified the triumph of God. In accord with the hope of Israel, it would be realized first of all in the climactic and definitive restoration of Israel, the primary object both of the promises of God and of the hopes of his people. Thus, Jesus proclaimed, not a reform, not a revolution, but a fulfillment—the imminent fulfillment of all God's promises to Israel.

These last words anticipate the survey of Jesus' teaching on the reign of God to be presented below. Jesus' proclamation presupposed God's effective governance of all creation and of all human history. The teaching of Jesus clarified the diverse meanings and referents of "the reign of God," namely: as a divine order or economy, as the triumph of God, as the vindication of his agents, as the condemnation of the hard-hearted, as the restoration of Israel, as the salvation of the nations, as still to come, and as disclosed in advance by present events intrinsically ordered to its coming. For all this richness of connotation and denotation, the reign of God *(hē basileia tou theou* in Gk; *malkūtā› dē›lāhā›* in Aramaic) primarily referred to the divine economy to be established by God's coming triumph. The most striking aspect of Jesus' usage, however, for in the whole tradition of ancient Judaism this was unique to him, was the affirmation that in his own mission the reign of God, God's climactic and definitive act of saving, had already begun. This message found repeated expression, for example, in parables responding to critics of Jesus' public career (see C.4 below).

The proclamation of Jesus kindled a blaze of new speech, much of it his own, but continuing far beyond him. He himself became a living font of *měšālîm:* aphorisms, parables, riddles, freshly minted and memorable. They presented new images from nature or from village life in the service of old themes such as imminent judgment or the challenge of present decision. Ancient Near Eastern symbols—reign, enthronement, wedding, harvest, vine and wine, the world-cloak, etc.—were honed and burnished in the service of Jesus' mission. He drew on the major resources of biblical rhetoric (parallelism, rhythm, rhyme, alliteration, assonance, word play), on its repertory of figurative forms (macarisms, proverbs, riddles, parables), and on its most powerful themes (election, judgment, and salvation) which he treated both in the mode of celebration and in that of lament.

The reign-of-God theme was vitalized by a profusion of new coinages. Well over half the words Jesus used of the reign of God had not previously been attested in connection with that theme. The reign "comes," "draws near," "overtakes you," "is among you"; one is "in" it or "not far from it," "enters into" it or is "cast out of" it. The language, moreover, discloses a consciousness of God's last and climactic intervention as already underway. Now is the time of the new wine and the new cloak (Mark 2:21–22 = Matt 9:16–17 = Luke 5:36–39). The fields are "white" (John 4:35), the harvest "great" (Matt 9:37 = Luke 10:2). The young man dead through sin "is alive again" (Luke 15:24, 32). The blind see, cripples walk, lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, good news is broken to the poor (Matt 11:5 = Luke 7:22). The function of these last phrases is twofold. The cascade of miracles is the sure sign of salvation; but, further, salvation itself is imaged in the miracles. That is, for Jesus and his hearers the reign of God was sight to the blind, mobility to cripples, life to the dead. The proper inference from Jesus' exorcisms was that the reign of God "has [already] overtaken you!" (Matt 12:28 = Luke 11:20); the annihilation of Satan and his power had already begun (see C.3 in this article). This was without precedent in biblical or postbiblical (e.g., Qumran) tradition.

In biblical precedent the reign of God connoted the long-awaited restoration of Israel: see Isa 24:23 on God's reign and Mount Zion; Isa 33:22 on Yahweh's reign and "our" salvation; Isa 52:7–10 on God's reign and the redemption of Israel; Zeph 3:14–20 on the reign of God and the rescue and restoration of the remnant of Israel. Intertestamental (e.g. *Ps. Sol.* 11:2; 17:3) and NT literature prolonged these ties. The reign of God evoked the banquet with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Matt 8:11 = Luke 13:28), the twelve tribes gathered anew (Matt 19:28 = Luke 22:30), the new sanctuary to be built in three days (Mark 14:58 = Matt 26:61; John 2:19). The stubborn tendency of scholarship to dissociate the reign of God from the fortunes of Israel must accordingly be discounted as nonbiblical and ahistorical (Meyer 1979: 132–35).

Apposite here is J. L. Austin's (1962) analysis of speech as locutionary (the act of saying such-and-such), illocutionary (what one does in saying such-and-such), and perlocutionary (what one effects by saying such-and-such).

As a locutionary act, Jesus' proclamation evoked sharp and evocative images. The life of the age to come was riches for the poor, comfort for the mourners, a banquet for the hungry. This language echoed the prophets and the Psalms, but it designedly highlighted a particular perspective on fulfillment. It did not, for example, call to mind the countless biblical texts on the righteous (Heb *ṣaddîqîm*) and the upright (*yĕšārîm*), the holy (*qĕdôšîm*) and the pious (*ḥasîdîm*). Rather, it called to mind God's predilection for the poor or lowly (*ʿănāwîm*), for those brought low and afflicted (*ʿăniyyîm*). These were the favorites of God in the Psalms and in prophetic tradition from the time of Jeremiah and Zephaniah. Now, at last, the day would dawn for the poor and afflicted, the contrite and brokenhearted, the unimportant and unpretentious. They would not earn salvation. By counting on its promise, they would simply accept it.

In making his proclamation, then, Jesus was making promises. As an illocutionary act, the proclamation was accordingly not a threat but a pledge: its central term was not judgment but the reign of God. When proclamation and macarism were dramatized by symbolic acts such as dining with publicans and sinners (see below, C.3), this powerful dimension of promise, together with partial fulfillment in the present, was still more heavily underscored.

As a perlocutionary act, the proclamation was designed to elicit a believing acceptance of the promise and a corresponding celebration of God's goodness. When intended response and actual response are differentiated, however, diversity inevitably comes to light. The wise *(sophoi)* and intelligent *(synetoi)* were blind to the truth of the proclamation (Matt 11:25 = Luke 10:21). "This generation" of critics found fault equally with the severe style of John and the celebrative style of Jesus (Matt 11:18–19 = Luke 7:33–34). The correlation between Jesus' proclamation, his macarisms, and his initiative toward sinners was matched by his contemporaries' parallel responses to all three. Whereas few from the religious elite of scholars and the pious accepted him, the "simple" rejoiced in his proclamation as a revelation of divine goodness (Matt 11:25 = Luke 10:21). Like "the poor, the maimed, the blind, and the lame" who poured into the banquet hall in the parable (Luke 14:21), so the poor, the afflicted, the outcast accepted Jesus' invitation. The irreligious, in particular, responded to his initiative toward them with sheer delight (Luke 5:29; 19:9).

It is not easy to single out the particular scriptural sources of the central term in Jesus' proclamation, "the reign of God." The parallel between the *Qaddiš* and the Our Father (the "hallowing" of God's "name," as in Ezek 36:23, followed by the theme of God's eschatological "reign") seems not to provide helpful clues. The Psalms, to be sure, are a particularly rich, though by no means the sole, resource for the theme.

Gustaf Dalman (1902: 134) pointed out that in the NT, as in the whole of ancient Jewish literature, the Messiah may be enthroned and given "royal dignity" or "dominion," but "the reign of God" is never simply transferred to him. In two passages (Luke 12:32; 22:29) Jesus reveals God's intention to include Jesus' closest disciples in this royal dominion. In both texts the Gk word *basileia* reflects the Aramaic word *malk̆t (āʾ)* of Dan 7:18, 27. But given the distinction between the *malkût* (reign) of God and the *malkût* (royal dominion) that God would confer on the Messiah or on the Danielic "one like a son of man" and "the people of the saints of the Most High" and, in the gospel literature, on Jesus and his disciples, it is illegitimate to infer from Luke 12:32; 22:29 that the reign of God in Jesus' proclamation derived from Daniel 7. (On *basileia* made to refer to royal rank or dominion, see also Matt 16:28; 20:21; Luke 19:12; 22:30; 23:42).

In Luke's presentation of Jesus' own words (Luke 4:43; 16:16) and in other Synoptic texts (e.g. Matt 4:23; 9:35; cf. 11:5 = Luke 7:22), the proclamation of the reign of God is brought into relation with the proclamation of the herald (Heb *mĕbaśśēr*/Gk *euaggelizomenos*) of Isa 52:7–10; 61:1–2. In view of the burden of the herald's message to Israel, namely, "your God reigns!" (Isa 52: 7), this passage presents itself as a plausible source of Jesus' own proclamation. The fact that Isa 52:7–10 combines the motifs of the herald of good news, the reign of God, eschatological peace, and the restoration of Israel tends to fill out and confirm this hypothesis.

Again, Isa 61:1–3 takes up and carries forward themes from Isa 52:7–10 (the texts are associated in 11QMelch) and from the Isaian Servant songs. Now, Isa 61:1–3 resonates in several gospel passages (e.g.,

Luke 4:17–21; Matt 11:5 = Luke 7:22; Matt 5:3–4 = Luke 6:20–21). Three motifs—the reign of God (Isa 52:7), news of salvation (Isa 52:7, 61:1), the poor and the mourners as its destinataries (Isa 61:1–3)—are joined together in Jesus' proclamation (Luke 4:17–21; cf. Mark 1:15 = Matt 4:17), in his macarisms (Matt 5:3–4; Luke 6:20–21), and in the account that he gave of himself and his career (Matt 11:5 = Luke 7:22; Luke 16:16). This points to the combination of Isa 52:7–10 and 61:1–3 as not only a plausible but a probable source of his proclamation. The nexus between the two passages is the act of bringing news of salvation *(baśśēr).*

From childhood on, Jesus had heard the targumic renderings of the Law and the Prophets in the synagogue. They naturally impinged on his thought and speech. There are a few instances in which targumic texts (despite the lateness of their redaction, long after the time of Jesus) are shown to have been ancient, for they are reflected in Jesus' words (e.g., Mark 4:11–12; Matt 26:52; possibly the parable in Mark 12:1–11 = Matt 21:33–44 = Luke 20:9–18; Chilton 1984: 98–101, 111–14). In the targums "the reign of God" was a frequent periphrasis designed to sidestep the idea that God should himself appear on earth. Hence, in place of "behold your God" (Isa 40:9) and in place of "your God reigns" (Isa 52:7), the targum has "the reign *(malkŭtā')* of your God has been made manifest" (*Tg. Isa.* 24:23; 31:4; *Tg. Neb.* Mic 4:7; Zech 14:9). On the one hand, there is very little reason to think that Jesus drew his distinctive thematization of the reign of God from some already fashioned "reign-of-God theology" in the targums; on the other hand, the frequency of *malkût* language in the synagogue may well have influenced his choice of the central term of his proclamation.

**3. Jesus' Public Behavior.** The principal public actions of Jesus were symbolic and these symbolic acts were correlative to his proclamation. Proof of the latter point lies in the explicit or implicit reference of his public symbolic acts to the reign of God, a reference verifiable in each of three sets of texts considered in this section.

**a. The Twelve.** The discipleship that surrounded Jesus came into being through his personal call. The call was peremptory, admitting no delay in response (Mark 1:17, 20 = Matt 4:19, 22; Mark 2:15 = Matt 9:9 = Luke 5:28; Mark 10:21 = Matt 19:21 = Luke 18:22) and no competing claim, whether of Torah and custom (Matt 8:22 = Luke 9:60) or of family love (Luke 9:61–62; cf. Matt 10:37 = Luke 14:26). The key to this extreme rigor was the imminence—indeed, the advance presence—of the reign of God in the mission of Jesus and the priority of its demands over all other claims, even those of the Torah.

The historicity of the act of choosing twelve from among his disciples to participate most intimately in his mission (Mark 3:13–14 = Luke 6:13; Mark 6:7–13 = Matt 10:1, 9–14 = Luke 9:1–6; cf. Matt 19:28 = Luke 22:30) is beyond reasonable doubt. Historicity is assured, first of all, by two elements that go against the grain of post-Easter church tendencies: Judas Iscariot's membership in the twelve, and the passing over without mention of the status of the twelve in the interim between the career of Jesus and the last judgment; second, by multiple attestation (triple tradition, logia tradition, special traditions such as Luke 8:1–3; John 6:67–71; and the post-Easter pre-Pauline tradition transmitted by Paul in 1 Cor 15:5); third, by multiform attestation in story, logion, and faith formula.

The number twelve was symbolic; hence, the twelve were themselves a living symbol. The symbolic reference was to the twelve tribes of Israel. But inasmuch as the loss of the northern kingdom of Israel to the Assyrians in ages past had left only two and a half tribes (1QM 1:2; *2 Apoc. Bar.* 62:5; 77:19; 78:1; *Mart. Is.* 3:2), "twelve" in the eschatological context established by Jesus' proclamation could only signify "Israel restored." Jesus' appointment of the twelve accordingly signified that his mission and theirs bore on the restoration of Israel. Made up of notably disparate elements, the twelve were a reconciliatory sign. This intimates that the coming restoration itself would have an equally reconciliatory character.

Jesus, moreover, gave the twelve a role in the coming to be of this reconciliation and restoration by sending them (Mark 6:7 = Matt 10:5 = Luke 9:2) in groups of two (Mark 6:7; cf. Luke 10:1) to enlist Israel's welcome of the reign of God (Mark 3:14; Matt 10:7; Luke 9:2). They thereby participated in Jesus' own role as eschatological herald *(měbaśśēr/euaggelizomenos).* This had been presaged by the word, "Come, follow me, and I will make you fishers of men" (Mark 1:17 = Matt 4:19), an image that,

alluding to but modifying the sense of Jer 16:16, signified the task of "gathering" Israel in the sense of winning from Israel a common act of faith. The stakes were high, for acceptance would bring eschatological blessing, and refusal would bring eschatological condemnation (Mark 6:11 = Matt 10:12–15; cf. Luke 10:10–12).

**b. Cures and Exorcisms.** Jesus' equipping of the twelve for a mission that included the driving out of demons (Mark 6:7 = Matt 10:1 = Luke 9:1) presupposed his own career as an exorcist. At one point he even summed up his whole mission in these terms (Luke 13:32). Five texts with solid claims to historicity include reference to Jesus' career as exorcist and healer.

The double saying on Beelzebul and the advent of the reign of God (Matt 12:27–28 [= Luke 11:18–20]) reads:

> If I drive out demons by the power of Beelzebul,
> by whose power do your sons drive them out? …
> But if by the Spirit [Luke has "finger"] of God I drive out demons,
> then the reign of God has overtaken you.

The connecting of exorcisms with apocalyptic or absolute eschatology gives an entirely distinctive profile to this side of Jesus' career (Theissen 1983: 277–86). The accent on the correlation of Jesus' exorcisms with his proclamation is at once the main thrust of the text and an index (originality) to historicity. But the case for historicity is further supported by the sheer offensiveness to early Christian sensibility of the charge of sorcery; by the seeming or surface risk of relativizing the exorcisms of Jesus through reference to the exorcisms of others; and by the antithetical parallelism of question and statement—a trait distributed through all lines of Synoptic tradition and typical of the speech of Jesus (Mark 3:33–34 = Matt 12:48–49; Mark 8:12; 10:18 = Matt 19:17 = Luke 18:19; Mark 11:17; Matt 7:3–5 = Luke 6:41–42; Luke 12:51; 22:25).

The saying on the dynasty and the household divided against themselves (Mark 3:24–26 = Matt 12:25–26 = Luke 11:17) supposes the continuum of all evil and its solidarity with Satan (not a universal supposition in ancient Judaism) and affirms the decisiveness of his own attack on it (eschatology inaugurated and in process of realization). Indices to historicity are discontinuity (the offensiveness of the charge of sorcery) and originality (realized eschatology).

The saying on the binding of the strong man (Mark 3:27 = Matt 12:29 = Luke 11:21–22) is strikingly original, for the claim to have "bound" Satan in advance of the exorcisms is unparalleled. Jesus' giving the disciples a share in his power over the demons (Mark 3:14–15; 6:7; Matt 10:7–8; Luke 9:1–2) derives historical probability from other data, especially from the disciples' failure as exorcists (Mark 9:18, 28 = Matt 17:16, 19 = Luke 9:40). The historicity of Jesus' answer to the question of the Baptist (Matt 11:5 = Luke 7:22) is probable on the basis of the claim to absolute eschatology already underway. The text is a cry of joy at the launching of God's climactic and definitive saving act.

Finally, the solidly grounded historicity of Jesus' refusal of a demand for a "sign from heaven" (Mark 8:11–12 = Matt 16:1, 4; Matt 12:38–40 = Luke 11:29–30; Luke 11:16; John 4:48; 6:30–40) is by no means a counterindication putting the historicity of his exorcisms and cures in doubt. The demand was for a circus prodigy such as the parting of waters in imitation of the Moses tradition (*Ant* 20.5.1 §97) or the feat of floating down from "the pinnacle of the temple" sustained by angels (Matt 4:5–6 = Luke 4:9–10). Jesus' refusal to provide a flamboyant made-to-order "sign" of this kind, while it does not rule out exorcisms and cures, does sharply differentiate his intentions from those of the prophetic and messianic pretenders of whom we learn from Josephus.

The most distinctive feature of Jesus' cures and exorcisms derived from the context in which they were performed and which he himself repeatedly underscored: they pointed to the dawning reign of God. By his eschatological proclamation the exorcist had generated an all-commanding context for his encounter with the demons. Thanks to this context the exorcisms were sublated, promoted to the status of signs of the eschaton. Jesus' combat with Satan did not signal one moment among others in the endless seesaw of good and evil, but the decisive apocalyptic turning point. Furthermore, his cures and exorcisms went beyond symbolizing the restoration of Israel to the act of bringing it about. In the face of this momentous

event, to which all Israel ought to have responded with faith, unbelieving Chorazin and Bethsaida and Capernaum were doomed (Matt 11:21–24 = Luke 10:13–15).

**c. Fellowship with Sinners.** If the cures and exorcisms of Jesus, besides eliciting faith, also provoked skepticism and malicious misconstrual, his initiative toward social outcasts, besides eliciting the joyous response of the outcasts, also provoked shock and resentment on the part of the learned and the pious. To his contemporaries it was a staggering phenomenon that Jesus did not shrink from dining with the irreligious (Mark 2:16–17 = Matt 9:11 = Luke 5:30; Matt 11:19 = Luke 7:34; Luke 15:1, 19:8). The intensity of the opposed reactions to this policy becomes intelligible in the light of two aspects of the social context. First, dining in common established among its participants a bond of fellowship, violation of which was rank betrayal. Second, it was through table fellowship that the ritual distinction between "the clean" and "the unclean" and the moral distinction between "the righteous" and "the sinners" found concrete social expression. Since gentiles were unclean (Deut 14:21) and uncleanness was contagious, Jews were not to eat with them (*Jub.* 22:16). But the rule applied by Jews to gentiles was also applied by religious Jews to irreligious Jews, especially to notorious "sinners" including heretics (Böcher 1972: 16–17), but often enough to the merely unobservant, who could not be counted on in matters of ritual purity. For at least some associations of the religious elite, probably including the Pharisees, this meant that table fellowship was virtually limited to their own membership.

To grasp the issue of Jesus' initiative toward and fellowship with "sinners," the first requisite is to define the term "sinners." The classic treatment of the issue is that of Joachim Jeremias. From 1931 (Jeremias 1931: 294) through publications over the following forty years (1969: 303–12; 1971: 108–21), he rightly maintained that "the sinners" in the gospels did not refer to the unobservant (the so-called "people of the land," *ʿam hāʾāreṣ*) but (a) to those who notoriously violated the commandments of God, and (b) to those engaged in universally despised trades (especially usurers, tax collectors, publicans, etc., *b. Sanh.* 25b), practitioners of which were deprived of civil and political rights. In attempting to recover the socioreligious situation in Palestine of the time of Jesus, one should neither identify these notorious sinners and outcasts (the *hamartōloi* of Mark 2:15–17 = Matt 9:10–13 = Luke 5:29–32, etc.) with the ordinary run of men, nor, on the other hand, disregard the continuity that the religious elite considered to exist between these diverse classes (see the reference to "other men"—literally, "the rest of men"—deprecated by the Pharisee of Luke 18:11; cf. John 7:49).

Repentance and conversion were cardinal themes in Judaism, richly represented in postexilic literature, regularly brought to mind by the synagogue, regularly finding cultic expression in the temple. The new element in the preaching of the Baptist had been his presupposition that at the threshold of judgment the ordinary Mosaic economy did not suffice. God called all the children of Israel to repent, to confess their sins, to seal their confession by a rite of washing as in the days of Sinai. The Baptist, to be sure, maintained the classic biblical structure of repentance: conversion first, communion second (Luke 3:7–14 = Matt 3:7–10; Josephus, *Ant* 18.5.2 §117). The daring of Jesus' initiative lay in its reversal of this structure: communion first, conversion second. In ancient Judaism "sinners" stood publicly and for the most part permanently condemned. Tax collectors and publicans, for example, had no way of knowing all whom they had robbed nor of how much, and so had no clear way to make the required "complete restitution plus a fifth." In this seemingly hopeless situation, Jesus' approach to the sinners proved to be irresistible. Contact prompted repentance; conversion flowered from communion.

In retrospect, Jesus' policy can nevertheless be seen to have had a profoundly traditional rationale, for the policy both envisaged and achieved traditional purposes: the conversion and forgiveness of sinners, their reconciliation with God and with Israel. That Jesus did in fact conceive his initiative toward sinners in terms of conversion and forgiveness is crystal clear from analysis of the many parables by which he defended his policy from its critics, e.g. the parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard (Matt 20:1–16), the parable of the Two Sons (Matt 21:28–32), the parable of the Two Debtors (Luke 7:41–43), the twin parables of the Lost Sheep and the Lost Coin (Luke 15:4–10), and the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11–32).

The second aspect of Jesus' policy was the intent to win the sinner back not only to God but to his rightful family, Israel. Salvation belonged to Zacchaeus, said Jesus, "for he, too, is a son of Abraham" (Luke 19:9). Nothing could have been more fundamental to the eschatological restoration of Israel than the seemingly impossible feat of healing the division between the good and the wicked without forfeiting the claims of the moral order.

But the "Israel" to which the converted sinner was won back, was this the Israel of history prior to John the Baptist and to Jesus? Or was it the eschatological Israel coming into being through their work? The matter is clarified by consideration of the problem that followed upon Jesus' remarkable success in winning over sinners. This was the problem of winning over the righteous, as well. The parables listed above were without exception addressed to them. Collectively, these parables are the relics of a radical and poignant appeal. The appeal was radical, for it transcended the conventional grounds for the deep division between the righteous and the sinners. John the Baptist had relativized this division by calling the righteous, too, to repentance. Jesus fully agreed with and followed in this line. In and through a series of parables, he mounted an appeal to the righteous to enter with their brothers, the sinners, into a new fellowship of forgiveness, an eschatological covenant, a new and eschatological Israel. The story of the Prodigal Son ends on this note of poignant appeal, with the words of the father to the elder son: "But we had to celebrate and be glad, because your brother was dead and has come back to life; he was lost and is found" (Luke 15:32). The response of the elder son is left open and undecided. It would be settled only by the response that the hearer himself would make to Jesus' parable.

The three great symbolic acts reviewed here—the choice and sending of the twelve, the stream of exorcisms and cures, and the unprecedented initiative toward notorious sinners—perfectly translated Jesus' proclamation into action. The proclamation of the reign of God signified the long-promised and long-awaited restoration of Israel. Jesus' symbolic acts were bent on bringing it into being. His proclamation was to be no isolated word. It would be given mass and momentum in dramatic acts designed to signify and to realize a new Israel. The themes correlative to "the reign of God"—new people, new covenant, new code—began to emerge in the encounter between Jesus and his fellow Jews.

**4. The Teaching of Jesus.** The teaching of Jesus was less an initiative than the follow-through on an initiative. The initiative had been his proclamation and symbolic acts. These elicited responses were positive and negative. An important part of Jesus' teaching consisted in his response to the responses.

**a. Jesus' Response to the Responses.** A first response to him was puzzlement expressed as critique. Jesus' proclamation inescapably carried the claim that here at last God was speaking his climactic word to Israel. But how could that be? If the word of Jesus was the word of God, how could it have won so cool a reception in Israel? Was not the word of God like fire, like a hammer that shatters rock (Jer 23:29)? But the word spoken by Jesus was apparently returning to him empty. To this Jesus responded in a set of images as natural as they were compelling: Look at the sower. Some of the seed he sows falls on the path and is trampled; some is eaten by the birds; some falls on shallow ground, springs up early, and withers; some falls among thorns and is choked. Yet—harvest comes, the sheaves sway in the field, rich beyond measure (Mark 4:3–8 = Matt 13:3–8 = Luke 8:5–8). The listeners, in short, are told: do not judge so quickly or be misled by appearances. Harvest will come and it will be rich. Here "teaching" has become a renewed appeal for faith and confidence.

A second response to him was to hear his proclamation, perhaps with interest, but finally to dismiss it with a shrug. To this Jesus responded with vigor. The warnings and danger signals, the reproaches and rebukes that Jesus addressed to the dense (Luke 12:54–56), the deluded (Luke 23:31), and the perverse (Mark 3:6 = Matt 12:14 = Luke 6:11) drew on a wide variety of images and motifs and ranged over the scale of feeling from cool appeal for insight (Luke 13:6–9) through pathos and lament (Matt 23:37–39 = Luke 13:34–35) to angry indignation (Mark 3:5). The illusory supposition of life as usual, maintained in the teeth of the urgent proclamation, was like the calm before the deluge that wiped out mankind (Luke 17:26–27 = Matt 24:37–39). A crass and heedless Israel stood in imminent danger, like a bird about to be snared (Luke 21:34).

In the face of warning, what would happen to the fatuously unconcerned? Like salt that had lost its savor, they would be "thrown out" (Matt 5:13 = Luke 14:34; cf. Mark 9:50). Sometimes the warning was cool and dry: Israel was living on borrowed time, like a long-barren fig tree about to be cut down, for which the gardener has pleaded with the owner for a last chance (Luke 13:6–9). Sometimes, as in texts cast in dirge rhythm (Mark 4:24 = Matt 7:2 = Luke 6:38; Luke 13:24–27; Mark 9:50; Matt 20:16), warning was solemn. Elsewhere it was doleful and poignant (Matt 23:37–39 = Luke 13:34–35). At times Jesus' response was amazement (Mark 6:6), or anger (Mark 1:41) yielding to sorrow (Mark 3:5), or savagely bitter humor (Luke 13:33).

Exactly what was at stake in this set of texts on warnings to Israel? At stake were the status and destiny of individuals, of groups, of the entire nation. The alternatives were restoration and ruin, acquittal and condemnation, life and death. The danger was that of definitive condemnation at the judgment, which would come suddenly and soon. Suddenly: for it would come like lightning flashing from one end of the sky to the other (Luke 17:24). Soon: for the sign of its coming was "this present moment" (Luke 12:56). In a context of impending ruin (Luke 12:16–21, 58; 13:6–9; 21:34), the most urgent and immediate need was for awareness, alertness, insight. But the source of insight was the good, the generous heart; just so, Jesus warned the crowds, the source of blindness was the hardened heart: "See to it then that your [inner] light is not darkness!" (Luke 11:35 = Matt 6:23b).

The interactive sequence "prophecy/indifference/warning" was an age-old pattern, and this pattern is the clue to the depth-dimension of the texts. The seemingly impenetrable self-assurance that grounded Israel's indifference to prophetic warning appears as a radically continuous phenomenon throughout the history of the prophetic movement. It was the besetting temptation to take refuge in election. But election, said the prophets from Amos through Isaiah and Jeremiah and Zechariah down to the Baptist and Jesus, was two-edged. God's transactions with Israel, so far from guaranteeing unconditional protection, put his people in peril:

> Only for you have I cared
> out of all the earth's tribes;
> therefore will I punish you
> for all of your crimes (Amos 3:2).

It was pure illusion to affirm Yahweh's presence and infer from it that all was secure: "Is not Yahweh in our midst? No evil can come upon us!" (Mic 3:11). Because Israel clung to such illusions, Yahweh would "make this people wood"; his word would become fire in its mouth "and devour them" (Jer 5:14). It was utterly futile to call on "lying words" like the self-hypnotizing chant "the temple of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh!" and to conclude "we are delivered!" (Jer 7:4, 10). If Israel regularly installed itself in this false consciousness, the prophets just as regularly made it their task to unmask and overturn it. The truth of election degenerated again and again into the dogma of unconditional blessings, but the Baptist resumed the whole prophetic tradition in his word:

> Do not begin to say to yourselves
> "We have Abraham for our father."
> I tell you: God can raise up sons to Abraham

The election-historical aspect of Jesus' summons to Israel (maintenance of election in the sight of God hinged on response to the emissary of God) and its eschatological aspect (salvation at the judgment hinged on response to the selfsame emissary of God) both emerged directly from his proclamation insofar as it envisaged the definitive restoration of Israel. These aspects of his mission also emerged from the tone of his warnings to whoever ignored or rejected the proclamation. The election-historical and eschatological factors together offer the most adequate explanation of three hyperbolic features of Jesus' teaching: first, the distance between the terms in which questioners posed questions to him and the terms in which he cast his answers; second, the repeated warning that in the present situation the righteous were positioning themselves in greater danger of perdition than were the sinners; third, the Torah-transcendent character of Jesus' moral teachings in general.

Questions, whether prompted by shocked amazement (e.g., at Jesus' dining with sinners) or disappointment (e.g., at his reception by Israel), regularly bore on Jesus himself, his policies, and the way in which his career was unfolding. But often Jesus' answers to these questions took the form of descriptive figures imaging the way the reign of God comes (see the parables of the Sower, the Leaven, the Great Supper, the Good Employer, etc.). By correlating questions about himself with answers on the reign of God, Jesus repeatedly invited his interlocutors to find in him and in his mission an omega point: God's climactic and definitive revelation to Israel. This revelation said something new about the destiny of Israel. God meant his people to find their fulfillment through the mission of Jesus. Concrete acts—the breaking of news of salvation to the poor (Matt 11:4 = Luke 7:22; cf. Matt 5:3 = Luke 6:20), the bringing of sight to the blind, health to the lepers, life to the dead (Matt 11:5 = Luke 7:22), the seemingly scandalous initiatives toward notorious sinners (Mark 2:16–17 = Matt 9:11 = Luke 5:30; Matt 11:19 = Luke 7:34)—were mediating the advent of the reign of God. The clear implication was that a "reign of God" not correlative to the mission of Jesus was pure abstraction and illusion. Equally illusory and positively ruinous according to Jesus was the dismissal of his mission as irrelevant to Israel's status and destiny. On the contrary, his correlating of his own mission with the reign of God implied that everything hinged on response to him.

The sanction of this claim would be the coming judgment, a recurrent theme copiously attested by every line of transmission in the gospel literature. Entry into the reign of God was not guaranteed by election. Election itself was correlated with response to Jesus' summons. Election and entry into the reign of God made up a single issue to be resolved by human decision and divine judgment. For his hearers, then, the central issue at the judgment would be their response to Jesus and his proclamation (Mark 6:11 = Matt 10:14 = Luke 9:5; 10:10–11; Mark 8:38 = Matt 10:33; 16:27 = Luke 9:26; Matt 7:22–23 = Luke 13:26–27; Matt 7:24–27 = Luke 6:47–49; Matt 10:32–33 = Luke 12:8–9; Matt 12:41–42 = Luke 11:31–32). One should doubtless apply careful historical critique to all these texts; still, there is no plausibility in the view that they are *en bloc* unhistorical.

If the self-sufficiency of the righteous thwarted the response to Jesus, the self-effacement of the simple positively conditioned it; i.e., the response to Jesus was the act of one who humbled himself like a child (Matt 18:4). The full meaning of this act came to light in a judgment theme: the precise reference of the reversal imaged in "Whoever exalts himself will be humbled, whoever humbles himself will be exalted" (Matt 23:12; Luke 14:11; 18:14) was to the last judgment. ("Will be humbled/exalted" are divine passives; if parallels are consulted, the futures must be eschatological: see the many other generalizing conclusions of parables, such as Mark 4:25; 13:37; Matt 20:16; 21:44 = Luke 20:18; Matt 22:14; Luke 12:21; 13:30. The scriptural resource of this text, Ezek 21:31, also referred to reversal by God's judgment.)

The most disconcerting aspect of Jesus' teaching on the judgment was that, in view of their respective responses to John and to himself (Matt 11:18 = Luke 7:33–34), "sinners" were headed for salvation and the "righteous" for perdition. To say that "publicans and prostitutes will enter the reign of God ahead of you" (= the righteous) (Matt 21:31) might well be thought to have irritated the righteous; but the actual meaning of Jesus' words was much harsher: "they will enter and you will not!" The Aramaic substratum of "will enter … ahead" (Gk *proagousin*) is the *Hapʿel* or *Paʿel* participle of *qĕdam,* e.g. *mĕqaddĕmîn;* the reference of this atemporal participle was future; its sense was exclusive preference, not temporal precedence. Analogies include Luke 18:14, which in its originally intended sense reads: "this man, not the other, went down to his house having found God's favor." The motif of exclusion was also evoked by the image of exclusion from the banquet, referring to those who had refused the appeal of Jesus (Luke 14:24). To say that publicans and prostitutes would enter God's reign and that they, the righteous, would not, might have infuriated the righteous, but it meshed perfectly with the election-historical and eschatological claim of Jesus and with the divergent responses to it of many "sinners," on the one hand, and many righteous, on the other. Jesus' proclamation was divinely sanctioned; response was not optional but requisite; even the righteous risked ruin by turning it down.

Finally, these two distinct but inseparable aspects of Jesus' mission—its election-historical and its eschatological dimension—make intelligible the Torah-transcendent character of Jesus' moral teaching. The definitive restoration of Israel was coming to realization in those who accepted and rejoiced in his mission. The old order was obsolete; new wine called for new bottles (Mark 2:22 = Matt 9:17 = Luke 5:37).

**b. Torah-Transcendent Teaching.** Jesus declared the Deuteronomic legislation regulating divorce (Deut 24:1–4) to be henceforward irrelevant. Moses had allowed divorce as an accommodation to human frailty. The prescription of Genesis ("they shall be one flesh," Gen 2:24) specified the authentic will of God. Phrases such as "the Creator at the beginning" (Matt 19:4) or "from the beginning of the creation" (Mark 10:5) evoke the eschatological schema "as in the beginning, so in the end" (cf. *Barn* 6:13, *ta eschata hōs ta prōta,* "the last things [I shall make] like the first"). Following Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah, Jesus here and the NT writers elsewhere (Mark 1:13; Rom 5:17–19; 1 Cor 15:45) correlated the time of salvation with the restoration of Eden. As Israel's eschatological restoration came gradually to fulfillment, makeshift and provisional arrangements devised "in view of your hardness of heart" (Mark 10:5 = Matt 10:8) were rendered obsolete. The originality of Jesus' teaching on divorce, which may have provoked the later rabbinic ruling according to which anyone who said that this or that verse of the Torah was not from heaven but from Moses "by his own mouth" has "despised the word of the Lord" and should be "cut off" from among the people (*b. Sanh.* 99a Bar.), creates a strong presumption in favor of historicity.

Restoration of the norm of Paradise presupposed the advent of salvation, the time of eschatological espousals (Mark 2:19) when "good things" (Matt 7:11; cf. LXX Isa 52:7) were to be lavished on Israel. The disciple learned from experience that discipleship was transforming: the fruit was good because the tree was good (Matt 7:17–18 = Luke 6:43). Jesus' moral teaching was meant for and largely addressed to the graced and restored Israel that was coming into being in response to his word.

The transcending of the Torah might take the form of extreme radicalization of Torah prescriptions (Matt 5:22, 28, 34–37, 39, 44 [= Luke 6:27]). Given its remarkable originality, this profound transvaluation surely derived in substance from Jesus; its high point, the attitude toward enemies, is further supported by multiple attestation of nonresistance to injury and oppression (Matt 5:39b–41 = Luke 6:29), of rejoicing in persecution (Matt 5:10–12 = Luke 6:22–23), of love for enemies (Matt 5:46–47 = Luke 6:32, 35).

Jesus discriminated, in terms of relative weight, between the moral law and the ritual law. If he radicalized the first, he relativized the second. Moreover, he took every occasion to repudiate or relativize the scribal tradition *(hălākâ),* whether it bore on the moral or the ritual law. Thus the gospels contain not so much as a single word urging Sabbath observance, which had become the touchstone of Torah piety. Jesus attacked the *hălākâ* not only on divorce but on the magnification of Sabbath observances (Mark 2:27–28; cf. Matt 12:8 = Luke 6:5), food laws (Mark 7:15 = Matt 15:11), and fasting (Mark 2:18–19 = Matt 9:14–15 = Luke 5:33–34) and the relaxation of graver obligations such as to honor one's parents (Mark 7:10–13 = Matt 15:3–6) or to fulfill one's pledges (Matt 23:16–22). The logion in Mark 7:15–Matt 15:11 epitomized his perspectives:

> Nothing that goes into a man from outside can defile him,
> but only what comes out of a man defiles him.

The deepest and most authentic sense of the word "defile" belonged, not to the sphere of food laws, but to that of human speech. Tongue revealed heart, for "from the overflow of the heart the mouth speaks" (Matt 12:34 = Luke 6:45). In sins of speech, then, lay the real danger of defilement. Scribal tradition on food laws would not figure at all in God's judgment; by contrast,

> in accord with your words you will be acquitted
> and in accord with your words you will be condemned (Matt 12:37).

Jesus' commandments were essentially a code of discipleship. Was wealth what everyone wanted and could never get enough of? Then "sell what you have and give it to the poor" (Mark 10:21 = Matt 19:21 = Luke 18:22). But this summons to poverty, as the story of the rich man (Mark 10:17–22 = Matt 19:16–22 = Luke 18:18–23) shows, is ordered to discipleship. The sequence of Jesus' commands (Mark 10:21 =

Matt 19:21 = Luke 18:22) is " (Go,) sell, give, and come follow." Detachment is for the sake of attachment.

Does everyone hanker to be first? Then be last. "If anyone would be first, he must be the last of all and the servant of all" (Mark 9:35; cf. Mark 10:43–44 = Matt 20:26–27; also Luke 22:26). Jesus applied this repudiation of the drive to prestige to the sphere of piety, above all. Piety should be secret, seen by God alone (Matt 6:3–4, 6, 17–18).

Even from so swift a survey as the above, it is evident that Jesus brought a new and independent vision of things and scale of values onto the scene of Palestinian Judaism. Without aspiring to comprehend all its aspects or to trace all its roots, scholarship should still be able to locate its principal perspectives and clarify them by contrast with those of Jesus' competitors for the allegiance of Israel.

**c. Clarification by Contrast.** The Jewish religious elite in the time of Jesus was reformist; it found the key to reform in the scriptures, especially in Exod 19:5–6 and numerous holiness texts of Leviticus (e.g. 20:26). In the first text, Judaic piety found the normative definition of the nation: Israel was called to "keep the covenant" by observing the Torah; it was called to be God's "own possession among all nations"; it was called to live a priestly life of holiness, for it was to be "a kingdom of priests and a holy people." In the second text (Lev 20:26) election, expressed in the idiom of separation, is offered, together with the holiness/separateness of the Lord himself, as the ground of a divine imperative: "you shall be holy."

Priestly theology lay at the foundations of Judaism. In accord with preexilic ideals accented now more heavily than ever, the exiles returning from Babylon made holiness—i.e. consecration, set-apartness—the central condition and sign of election. They defined themselves as the remnant of Israel and elect of God. "I have separated you from the nations" was the watchword of Ezra 9. Those who failed to separate themselves from (i.e., avoid intermarriage with) "the peoples of the land(s)" were outside the covenant (Ezra 9:1–2, 7–8, 11–15).

The ideology that bound up election with consecration and separation found full expression in the literature of the Essenes, which was obsessed with priestly ideals and concerns; CD 4:3–4 even defined "the elect of Israel," i.e., the whole sect, as priestly "sons of Zadok." Qumran was separatist in the maximal sense of claiming that the sect alone constituted the true Israel; it accordingly condemned all Jewish nonmembers as "sons of darkness," the great mass of whom were destined for ruin.

Probably the name "Pharisees" (Heb *pĕrûšîm*/Aram *pĕrîšîn*) signified "separated" and connoted "holy." It does not necessarily follow from this that the Pharisees equated "Israel" with their own fellowship. To be sure, they set themselves off from unobservant Jews as from "people(s) of the land" *(ʿammê hāʾāreṣ)*; but Pharisaism was transformist, seeking to extend its own ideals and practices to all Jews. As the monastic movement was a leaven within early medieval Christianity, the Pharisees were a leaven within Second Temple Judaism. But unlike the monastic movement, the Pharisees claimed to be more than a leaven: the true vocation of all Israel without remainder lay, they claimed, precisely in Pharisaism. Under the rubric of "righteousness" they ranged through the moral heritage of the scriptures, interpreted and complemented by the specific differences of Pharisaic *hălākâ,* which focused on tithing and ritual purity. Their insistence on the latter ideal made them a table-fellowship party within Israel.

Individually and in the aggregate, Jesus' teachings suggest and, indeed, attest horizons altogether distinct from those of Torah piety. He himself was fully conscious of this; more, by his table fellowship with sinners, his Sabbath healings, and such parables as the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:29–37) and the Pharisee and the Publican (Luke 18:10–14), he mounted an attack on Judaism's reigning holiness-paradigm (Borg 1984: 102–9). On the positive side, his moral stance, though free-spirited and opposed to the punctilious attention to detail typical of scribal *hălākâ,* was in substance far more demanding and uncompromising than any scribal *hălākâ.* A prospective disciple learned—doubtless, with a shock—that he was to "let the dead bury the dead" (Matt 8:22 = Luke 9:60). Even Jesus' close disciples blanched at the seemingly utopian rigor of his exclusion of divorce (Matt 19:10; Mark 10:10 = Matt 19:9). The rich man, who had observed all the commandments from his youth, recoiled from the challenge of life without possessions (Mark 10:22 = Matt 19:22 = Luke 18:23). Jesus' radicalizations of the Torah (Matt 5:21–22,

27–28, 33–34, 38–39, 43–44) must have stunned and baffled as well as fascinated and inspired his first hearers just as they have had this effect on readers of the Sermon on the Mount across the centuries. Jesus overturned the whole mass of halakic accommodations to human frailty (e.g., Mark 10:2–12 = Matt 19:2–9; cf. Luke 16:18; Mark 7:6–7 = Matt 15:4–6). In what explanatory perspective could these views be seen to make sense?

The relevant considerations appear to be four. There was the election-historical factor: his teachings were meant for, and in the last analysis could only be meant for, restored Israel—followers summoned to be a community of the transformed. There was the eschatological factor: first, the reign of God took priority over every other consideration, even those of familial piety sanctified by the Torah; second, the time of fulfillment had arrived, bringing the reversals promised in the scriptures (Matt 5:3–6 = Luke 6:20–21) and the filling of all measures to the full (Matt 5:17; Luke 16:16). There was the prophetic factor: the code of the teacher and the taught was designed to accord with the tradition (Zeph 2:3; 3:11–13; Isa 57:15; 61:1–2) of the remnant of the poor (Matt 8:20 = Luke 9:58; Matt 11:28–30). Finally, there was a mystagogical factor: Jesus' followers were invited to enter into the mystery of his personal mission and destiny. Increasingly, this focused on the slowly crystallizing reality of rejection (Gk *apodokimasthēnai,* "to be rejected": Mark 8:31 = Luke 9:22; 17:25). After he had revealed this coming destiny to his appalled disciples (Mark 8:32 = Matt 16:22), he issued what amounted to a new call to discipleship: "If anyone wishes to follow me, let him deny himself and take up his cross[-bar] and *so* follow me" (Mark 8:34 = Matt 16:24 = Luke 9:23; cf. Matt 10:38 = Luke 14:27). In a word his teachings were unique because his mission and destiny were unique; so was the discipleship to which he summoned his followers.

**5. The Identity and Destiny of Jesus: Traditions Public and Private.** Interpretation of the words of Jesus has always taken some account of the factor of "audience," but T. W. Manson was the first to correlate diversity in Jesus' themes and vocabulary with his diverse audiences (Manson 1931: 320–29). The most important result was to draw attention to the existence of an esoteric tradition in the Synoptic Gospels, i.e., scenes depicting Jesus and his disciples alone and especially presenting instructions of Jesus reserved for them alone. Private or esoteric tradition, a many-sided phenomenon in the history of ancient philosophy and religion (Jeremias 1966: 125–32) and indisputably reflected in Synoptic texts, had as its principal themes in the gospel literature the identity and destiny of Jesus and the events of the eschatological crisis or "ordeal" and its resolution.

The public activity of Jesus as proclaimer and teacher, exorcist, wonderworker, and reconciler of notorious sinners inevitably prompted the question, "who is he?" (as in Mark 4:41 = Luke 8:25), i.e., "what kind of man is this?" (Matt 8:27) or, as in the questions posed to the Baptist (John 1:19–22), what role does this man play, or claim to play, in the scripturally attested scheme of the fulfillment to come?

**a. The Messianic Connection.** Though scholars addressing this issue have not reached consensus, there is one point at which agreement is all but unanimous: the post-Easter Christian community from virtually the outset of its existence confessed Jesus as the Messiah. Disagreement begins with the effort to say when the earliest followers of Jesus first predicated messiahship of him.

William Wrede (1901), followed by Rudolf Bultmann and his school, answered: "after the Easter experience of the disciples." N. A. Dahl (1974) modified this view by tracing the immediate roots of the Easter confession to the passion story. First, in response to the question of whether he was "the Messiah" (or "a king"), Jesus acknowledged, either by a word "extorted" from him, or at least by silence, that the answer was yes. Second, the *titulus* on the cross ("the king of the Jews") showed that this had figured in the accusations of which he had been found guilty and for which he was accordingly executed.

The views of Wrede and Bultmann, together with Dahl's minimal, if significant, modification of them, have had a wide following. It nevertheless remains a datum of the gospel story that Jesus' disciples through their spokesman Peter confessed him as Messiah during his public career (Mark 8:29 = Matt 16:16 = Luke 9:20; cf. John 1:40–42; 6:69). Why have scholars not accepted this gospel datum as historical? A major reason has been exegetical. Taking the Markan text to be the primitive account of the confession near Caesarea Philippi, many have interpreted the Markan Jesus to have rejected Peter's confession ("You are the Christ!" Mark 8:29) as "inadequate" or "wrong."

Several shortcomings of this reading, however, immediately present themselves. First, with reference to this particular pericope, the supposition of Markan priority is open to form-critical objection (Bultmann 1963: 258–59). Second, this reading of Mark contradicts the starting point of Mark's gospel (i.e., Jesus is indeed the Christ, Mark 1:1); moreover, it psychologizes the scene in a way congenial to modern but alien to Markan writing; finally, it mistakenly conceives the use of "Son of man" in the following pericope as an alternative to "Messiah." (The same error is not infrequently made respecting Mark 14:61–62.) Even if the question of historicity remains, recent critical literature has begun to change the state of the question.

The examination of popular messianic movements (Horsley and Hanson 1985) has shown the plausibility of a text like that of John 6:15, according to which a Galilean crowd "meant … to make him king." Again, a reconsideration of Markan materials and structure and of the use of "anointed" in contemporary Jewish sources has shown how the activity recounted in Mark 1–8 could very well have grounded the conclusion and confession of Peter (de Jonge 1986). If, moreover, the following words of Jesus and the exchange between Peter and Jesus (Mark 8:31–33 = Matt 16:21–23; cf. Luke 9:22) suppose the previous confession of Peter, as both the content of the text and its firm location in the Synoptic tradition suggest, historicity accrues to the confession from the historicity of the harsh rebuke addressed to Peter (discontinuity with the post-Easter status of Peter; coherence with evidence of Jesus' readiness to enter into "the ordeal" and the disciples' contrary dispositions of dismay and fear, Mark 10:32; their preferred concentration on glory and triumph, e.g., Mark 10:35–45 = Matt 20:20–28; their verbal readiness to suffer with Jesus, e.g., Mark 10:39 = Matt 20:22; Mark 14:29 = Matt 26:33 = Luke 22:33, but real unreadiness to do so, Mark 14:50 = Matt 26:56; Mark 14:71 = Matt 26:74 = Luke 22:60).

Factors relevant to the judgment of historicity respecting both Peter's confession and Jesus' self-understanding include the following. There was, first and foremost, the career structure based on Jesus' act of proclaiming the coming of the reign of God. This proclamation, since it bore on God's imminent and definitive saving act, presented itself as the climactic word of God to Israel. The role of eschatological proclaimer (Isa 52:7–10; cf. 61:1–3) had already been interpreted messianically in Qumran (11QMelch 18). It was certainly a role implying maximum authority, the authority not of the learned exegete but of the plenipotentiary envoy of God. Indices to just this consciousness on the part of Jesus are his distinctive use of "amen" to introduce authoritative statements and his use of the emphatic "I" in place of scriptural reference (Jeremias 1971: 35–36, 251–55). As accepters of the proclamation were destined for restoration, so its refusers were destined for ruin (Mark 6:10–11 = Matt 10:11–15 = Luke 9:4–5; cf. 10:4–12). Both in content and in style Jesus' teaching took full account of and repeatedly underscored the life-and-death character of the issue placed before Israel and the correlative fullness of authority on the part of the proclaimer and his word. Furthermore, this teaching presented the proclaimer of salvation as himself the author of its nascent realization in the present (e.g., Matt 12:28 = Luke 11:10; Mark 4:30–32 = Matt 13:31–32 = Luke 13:18–21).

Specific discrete data similarly relevant to the issue of messiahship include the following. First, in several probably authentic sayings, Jesus associated others with himself in scripturally grounded functions and dignity (Luke 12:32; 22:28–30 = Matt 19:28; cf. Mark 3:14–15 = Matt 10:1 = Luke 6:13; Mark 6:10–11 = Matt 10:11–15 = Luke 9:4–5; cf. 10:4–12). Second, in the historically authentic riddle on destroying the sanctuary and building another in (or after) three days (Mark 14:58 = Matt 26:61; John 2:19; cf. Mark 15:29 = Matt 27:40; Acts 6:14), Jesus attributed to himself a specifically royal (= messianic) task, namely, to build the house of God (Meyer 1981); this, in turn, heightens the probable historicity of the *kêpā*ʾ (rock) word responding to Simon's confession of Jesus as Messiah (Matt 16:17–19; Meyer 1979: 185–97). Third, the symbolic acts of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (Mark 11:1–10 = Matt 21:1–9 = Luke 19:29–38; John 2:13–18) and cleansing of the temple (Mark 11:15–17 = Matt 21:12–13 = Luke 19:45–46) were royal. Fourth, similarly indicative in their own way were the symbolic mockeries in the passion story such as the purple cloak and the crown of thorns (Mark 15:17–20 = Matt 27:28–31 = John 19:2–5; cf. Luke 23:11). These were complemented, fifth, by the explicit *titulus* on the cross (Mark 15:26 = Matt 27:37 = Luke 23:28 = John 19:19–22).

Whereas he accepted the messianic title in private, Jesus did not use "Messiah" of himself during his public career. This policy on self-disclosure apparently reflected a certain realism about the response of faith. Faith would not win out over unfaith if only the appeal to it were explicit and spectacular (cf. Luke 16:30–31). Jesus' policy was to set before Israel a proclamation and a sequence of acts charged with symbolic meaning; his teaching guided and encouraged a maximal interpretation of these events but refrained from spelling out this interpretation in determinate (e.g., titular) terms. Hence Jesus' refusal of the demand for a sign (Mark 8:11–12 = Matt 16:1–4 = Luke 11:16, 29; cf. Matt 12:38–39; John 6:30–36), the lack of public titles for himself or his following (e.g., Mark 3:33–34 = Matt 12:48–49 = Luke 8:21), the indirection of the response to the Baptist ("Tell John what you hear and see," Matt 11:4 = Luke 7:22), and the thanksgiving for revelation to the unlikely, "the simple" (Matt 11:25 = Luke 10:21), which exalted the divine over the human factor in positive responses to Jesus; compare the macarism on Peter (not "flesh and blood but my heavenly Father" has revealed [this] to you," Matt 16:17). If Jesus refused to set an explicit messianic claim before Israel, this reserve, which supposed that God's grace of "revelation" was ever operative (Matt 16:17; 11:25 = Luke 10:21), allowed the public to draw its own conclusion. Jesus' reserve did not in any case signify that the conclusion drawn by Peter was mistaken.

Even to recognize him as Messiah was only a first step in coming to know who he was, for the secret of his identity was bound up with the secret of his destiny. Jesus' messiahship was not simply definable in advance by messianic tradition. His identity would be defined by his destiny—a prophetic theme reserved for his disciples. The coming ordeal was, to be sure, a theme of public warning; that the ordeal would be launched by the repudiation, suffering, and death of Jesus, however, belonged to esoteric tradition. Hence, however public the imminence of eschatological crisis, the full scheme of Jesus' vision of the future was private.

**b. Jesus' Scenario of the Future.** Amid the chaos of scholarly opinion on Jesus' view of the future, the hypothesis of C. H. Dodd (1961: 21–84) offers an analysis having certain advantages, negative and positive. Among the negative advantages: the hypothesis did not attempt to transpose the time dimension of Jesus' scheme of the future into nontemporal categories (both this procedure and its product or result would have been alien to ancient Judaism); nor did the hypothesis attempt to retain the time dimension but to remove from it the pervasive note of imminence (for fear that Jesus' prophecy might otherwise be thought to have been mistaken). Among the positive advantages, Dodd's hypothesis took account not just of some "key data" but of all the data; better yet, it managed to make sense of all the data. Concretely, the main points of Jesus' view of the future included, first, an eschatology of woe bearing on the ordeal soon to break out. This would be fierce but brief. It would bring disaster to the Jewish people, capital, and temple. It would engulf Jesus and his disciples; indeed, it would be launched by Jesus' suffering and death. Second, the resolution of the ordeal was Jesus' eschatology of weal or bliss. It would be inaugurated by "the day of the Son of man." As the suffering of Jesus would launch the ordeal, so his vindication would bring it to an end. Jesus would be installed at the right hand of God for all to see. Images belonging to this resolution of the ordeal included the resurrection of the dead, the pilgrimage of the nations, the judgment, the banqueting of the saved with the patriarchs in the reign of God.

Dodd took "the day of the Son of man" to have originally signified both resurrection and second coming as a single event (Dodd 1961: 74–77). In fact, however, the Easter experience of the disciples had proved to comprehend only the resurrection of Jesus, not the consummation of history. Thus the differentiation of resurrection and parousia was effected *ex eventu* by the fact that Jesus' resurrection proved to be an isolated event. Once given this account of how the actual unfolding of events had separated elements originally conceived as a single event, it became possible for the critic to recover the original sense of parables (e.g., the Faithful and Unfaithful Servant, Matt 24:45–51 = Luke 12:42–46) that in their present state supposed an interim between resurrection and parousia.

**c. The Son of Man.** An important aspect of this reconstruction is the contextual and structural contribution that it makes to the much debated question of Jesus' use of the expression "the Son of man." Behind this phrase, so often found on the lips of Jesus in the gospels, there doubtless stood the Aramaic expression *bar ʾĕnāš (ā).* This phrase could signify "man" (generic sense), " (some)one, a man"

(indefinite sense), or "the man" (determinate sense). A translator into Greek had no idiomatic verbal resource capable of rendering the determinate sense to the exclusion of the generic sense. Both would be rendered by *ho anthrōpos* or (keeping the genetival locution) by *ho huios anthrōpou.* If (despite the limits of Greek idiom) the translator was bent on specifying the determinate to the exclusion of the generic sense, he might have recourse to the artificial strategem of doubling the Greek article; this would yield *ho huios tou anthrōpou.*

This appears to be just what the translators of the gospel tradition did. Their reason for wishing to specify the determinate sense is transparently theological: they intended it as a title, "the Son of man." This determinate, eschatological, titular sense was, no doubt, derivative from Dan 7:13–14, despite the fact that the Danielic phrase *kĕbar ʾenāš,* "one like a (son of) man," was in no sense titular. The translators and transmitters of the gospel tradition obviously rejoiced in the title, for even when *bar ʾĕnāš (āʾ)* bore a sense that was neither titular nor even determinate but generic or indefinite (especially if Jesus himself was the indirectly intended referent of the phrase), the early translators preferred to render it by "the Son of man." Their tendency was to maximize use of the title, preferring it to other renderings as often as possible, despite the inconcinnities that this practice entailed. So potent a bias in favor of the title on the part of the transmitters of the tradition is a factor to be kept in mind in dealing with the Son-of-man riddle in the gospels.

There is at present no sure evidence of the use of this eschatological title prior to the time of Jesus. True, the title occurs in the Similitudes of *1 Enoch* (37–71), but the attestation of this particular part of Enoch is late. In the Latin version of *4 Ezra* 13 (a work dating originally from A.D. 100) *ille homo* (that man), *ipse homo* (the same man, the man himself), and *vir* (a man, the man) is a supernatural figure derived from Daniel 7 and correlative to the Messiah found elsewhere in *4 Ezra.* God calls him "my Son" (13:32, 37, 52) and speaks of his "day" (13:52). The task of the Man is the judgment of the nations and the restoration of Israel. Christian influence on the text of *4 Ezra* 13 is improbable. Among the rabbis a messianic reading of Daniel 7 is attested for the 3d century (*b. Sanh.* 98a). It is possible, though at present uncertain, that prior to Jesus the "one like a man" in Daniel 7 had already been interpreted as it in fact came to be interpreted in *4 Ezra* 13, in the Similitudes of *Enoch,* and among the rabbis—namely, as an eschatological figure correlative to or coincidental with that of the Messiah. But, though this is a live possibility, it is still unattested for the pre-Jesus period.

On the supposition that the title had not been used prior to Jesus, the question is whether it was Jesus himself or the early Christian community that took the interpretative step of objectifying the "one like a man" as the bearer of a specific role to be played out in the eschatological scenario. The index of originality would heavily favor the first option. So striking a christological initiative on the part of the early post-Easter community would have no parallel in the gospel literature; as the creative adaptation of Jesus himself, it is paralleled by his transformation of messianic tradition. But is it possible to reconstruct Jesus' use of the title?

We begin by addressing the well-attested but anomalous phenomenon of texts paralleled except in their use of the Son-of-man title. It is a remarkable fact that such texts easily outnumber parallel texts in which all parallels exhibit the title (Jeremias 1967). Does the solution lie in positing an idiomatic usage in Aramaic according to which *bar (ʾĕ)nāš (āʾ)* is a straightforward periphrasis for the first-person personal pronoun (I/me) (Vermes 1967; 1978)? Possibly. The hypothesis is attractive in that it presents itself as a single complete solution of the problem it was designed to address. Its drawback is that the core of the solution, the idiomatic periphrasis in question, is unattested for middle Aramaic, 200 B.C. to A.D. 200 (Fitzmyer 1979: 58–60).

An alternative solution is to appeal to the bias in favor of the title on the part of the transmitters of the tradition. Inept use of the title to translate *bar ʾĕnāš (āʾ)* in the generic or indefinite sense with indirect self-reference may well have generated an entirely secondary imposition of the Greek title on texts that originally offered only the personal pronoun referring to Jesus. Son-of-man texts paralleled by texts without the title would accordingly drop from consideration as words of the historical Jesus (Jeremias 1967). There remain eleven Synoptic Son-of-man texts: two from the triple tradition (Mark 13:26 = Matt

24:30 = Luke 21:27; Mark 14:62 = Matt 26:64 = Luke 22:69), three from the logia tradition (Matt 8:20 = Luke 9:58; Matt 24:27, 37 = Luke 17:24, 26), two from the special Matthean tradition (Matt 10:23; 25:31), and four from the special Lukan tradition (Luke 17:22, 30; 18:8; 21:36). All but one of these texts (Matt 8:20 = Luke 9:58) bear on the parousiac Son of man. All but two of them belong to the esoteric tradition. The two exceptions are the anomalous text from the logia tradition (Matt 8:20 = Luke 9:58) and the response of Jesus to the high priest in the hearing before the Sanhedrin (Mark 14:62 = Matt 26:64 = Luke 22:69).

In the Synoptic gospels as they stand, texts on the Son of man break down into three main categories: those that directly apply the title to Jesus during his public career; those that use the title with reference to his suffering and/or glorification; and those that use the title with reference to the parousia/judgment. In terms of the present analysis, what is the status of these three sets of texts, and how did they come into being?

The Son-of-man title in the first set is in all probability entirely secondary, although this use has a perfectly intelligible point of departure. Jesus, no doubt, often used *bar ʾĕnāš (ā)* in a generic sense (e.g., Mark 2:27; Matt 4:4 = Luke 4:4); but when he did this with himself as indirectly signified referent, the translators into Greek converted *bar ʾĕnāš (ā)* into a title (Mark 2:20 = Matt 9:6 = Luke 5:24; cf. Matt 9:8). Similarly, Jesus, no doubt, often used *bar ʾĕnāš (ā)* in an indefinite sense (e.g., Matt 7:9; 8:9 = Luke 7:8); but when he did this with himself as an indirectly signified referent, the tradition again converted the expression into a title (Matt 11:19 = Luke 7:34). This predilection on the part of the translators obviously reflected the clear Easter equation of Jesus with the Son of man. This tendency of the tradition paved the way for an entirely secondary pre-redactional and even redactional imposition of the title on traditions, in Greek, that originally offered only the personal pronoun referring to Jesus. The result was a widespread, anomalous phenomenon: the use of the title in texts whose parallels lack it. That *both* of the parallel texts on Jesus' having nowhere to lay his head are outfitted with the title (Matt 8:20 = Luke 9:58) is perhaps attributable to sheer chance.

Use of the title in the second set of texts is either entirely secondary and explained in essentially the same way (Fitzmyer *Luke* AB, 210–11) or, more likely, it had a point of departure in a consciously ambiguous aphorism *(māšāl)* of Jesus, Mark 9:31 = Matt 17:22 = Luke 9:44, which in Aramaic retroversion would read:

*mitmĕsar bar ʾĕnāšā / lîdê bĕnê ʾĕnāšā*.

Man/the Man is [about to be] delivered [by God] into the hands of men.

"Man" is generic, the equivalent of mankind; "the Man" is determinate and titular. The hypothesis (Jeremias 1971: 281–86) is that Jesus intended the ambiguity. The ostensible sense was generic, a prophecy of human disaster at the hands of human beings; the subsurface sense was titular, a prophecy incorporating the coming suffering of Jesus into a divinely willed plan and identifying the Jesus about to suffer with the Son-of-man soon to be revealed in glory (Daniel 7). Such was the historical basis on which tradition (not Jesus) generated the second set of texts.

The third set of texts has a surer historical basis and a substantial historical development. Quite apart from the Son-of-man title, Daniel 7 figures in the words of Jesus (Matt 19:28 = Luke 22:28, 30b; Luke 12:32). Again, in the Son-of-man texts themselves the third-person use of the title, "the Son of man," since it maintains the duality of Jesus and the Son of man, is an index to pre-Easter tradition. The same is true of the fact that among the Son-of-man texts there is never any differentiation between resurrection and parousia.

It is not certain, as noted above, whether the Son of man was already an eschatological theme current in Judaism. If it was, Jesus could have evoked this theme in public preaching (Matt 12:40 = Luke 11:30; Luke 12:8). If it was not, Jesus' use of the Son-of-man title with reference to the consummation of history would in all probability have been limited to esoteric tradition—until the hearing before the Sanhedrin (Mark 14:62 = Matt 26:64 = Luke 22:69). The second possibility is highly probable, since nearly all the texts as they stand have the disciples alone for their audience.

The ultimate secret of Jesus' identity—his identity as the Son of man—was unambiguously revealed only with his resurrection from the dead. Prior to that it remained veiled, whether the veiled form functioned as promise (Matt 10:23) or as threat (Mark 14:62 = Matt 27:64 = Luke 22:69).

In the present prior to this revelation Jesus understood himself as the still hidden Messiah whose task was to win the heart of Israel. But the scenario of a prince sent to his people in the guise of a commoner to fire their allegiance in preparation for the day when he would be revealed as their king went dramatically awry. To depict aspects of his mission Jesus had drawn on the images of the physician (Mark 2:17 = Matt 9:13 = Luke 5:31) and of the messenger sent to announce that the banquet was ready (Mark 2:17 = Matt 9:13 = Luke 5:32; cf. Luke 14:16–17). But the physician was told to heal himself (Luke 4:23) and the messenger was sent back to his master with a set of refusals (cf. Luke 14:21). In dirge (mainly 3/2 beat) rhythm Jesus lamented the refusal:

O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, killer of prophets,
how many times have I longed to gather your children,
as a mother bird gathers her brood under her wings— but you would not have it!

(Matt 23:37 = Luke 13:34).

**6. Why and How Jesus Died.** The narrative scheme in the Synoptic gospels, insofar as it allows for only a single journey of Jesus to Jerusalem, was symbolic: he went to Jerusalem to die (Luke 13:33). The length of Jesus' public career according to the Fourth Gospel (ca. three years) probably approximated the historical reality. He must, then, have traveled to Jerusalem several times and stayed there at least for a few days at the yearly Passover and perhaps for other feasts as well.

Jesus experienced both success and failure in his mission. Two kinds of charisma were operative in bringing him a certain public success: "prophetic" charisma in his proclamation and "magic" charisma in his wonderworking. (These modern terms do not signify that Jesus was a prophet or a magician, though in point of fact he was the first and not the second.) The kind of popular success that was sometimes expressly noted in the tradition and more often was implicit in public scenes finds confirmation in the fact that, when planning to arrest him, his adversaries felt the need of stealth "lest there be a riot among the people" (Mark 14:2 = Matt 26:5).

Though Jesus addressed his proclamation to all Israel, there was a kind of popular success that he neither sought nor accepted, but repudiated. It is illustrated by his rejection of and flight from the attempt of a Galilean crowd "to make him king" (John 6:15). The success he rejected was the excitement of people at having found a champion of the depressed, a potential political and economic liberator who would free the nation and feed the hungry. The success that he sought was a positive response to his proclamation, to the teachings that explained it, and to the moral commands that accorded with it, as well as a positive response to his personal invitations to discipleship. This was, indeed, a response to a champion of the depressed, but one who offered neither a program for political independence nor any banquet in the present life. His following was not meant to look for revolution in the here and now. It was meant to look rather for the supreme revolution, the transcendent fulfillment that would be the consummation of history and the reign of God. Whatever the enthusiasm that his cures generated and however great the crowds that listened to him, Israel as a whole had not yet crystallized its response to his mission. Now he came to Jerusalem for Passover, determined to force the issue. He would place a public act dramatically epitomizing his mission and compelling the attention of Jerusalem. The way Jerusalem went the nation would go.

**a. The Royal Entry and the Cleansing of the Temple.** That Jesus did in fact place the act of cleansing the temple (i.e., driving money changers and merchants of sacrificial birds and animals from the temple court) is solidly probable in the light of the indices of discontinuity and originality. Respecting discontinuity with the early Church: even the most primitive account, that of Mark, has toned down a dangerous memory, probably for fear of otherwise allowing hearers to misconstrue Jesus' act as that of a revolutionary. Hence Jesus is depicted as acting alone, although the detail of Mark 11:16 implies the collaboration of his disciples in controlling the temple gates. (Whether the temple police intervened is unknown.) Matthew and Luke have carried the Markan tendency still further, offering jejune, gingerly

accounts that reduce the dimensions of the event and obscure its causal relation to the conspiracy against and arrest of Jesus (contrast Mark 11:18). Finally, John has altogether removed the cleansing of the temple from the prologue to the passion story. Respecting originality vis-à-vis Judaism: in the history of the Herodian temple there is no real parallel to Jesus' act, although the story of Jesus, son of Ananias (*JW* 6.5.3 §300–9), illustrates how perilous it was for anyone to assume a public stance toward the temple that might be interpreted as negative. Thus what is distinctive about Jesus' act is first of all its sheer boldness.

What did the act mean? The answer depends especially on how its context is defined. The immediate context was Jesus' deliberately contrived solemn entry into the city and temple. Form-critically the entry narrative is a legend; stylistically it is overlaid with folkloric (Mark 11:1–6 = Matt 21:1–6 = Luke 19:28–34) and midrashic (Mark 11:9a = Matt 21:9a; John 12:13) motifs. Nevertheless historicity accrues to the substance of the entry account from the semantic bond uniting the entry with the cleansing. This bond could be severed, as the Gospel of John shows; but it is clear from the Synoptic tradition that the two events derive from one matrix and were originally elements of a single symbolic structure.

According to a fixed, age-old, Near Eastern structure of symbols, royal acclamation is followed by the new king's establishment or restoration of cult. In the gospel accounts the entry motifs were inescapably royal, for certain aspects of the procession from the Mount of Olives to the temple deliberately evoked the image of the king celebrated in Zech 9:9, "lowly and riding upon an ass." (Cited by Matthew and John, this text is implicitly referred to in the other accounts.) Though the cleansing scene offers no specifically messianic motif, there are reasons for relating it to messianism. Just as the task of temple building was specifically royal, so in classical biblical tradition, as in Mesopotamia, the tasks of establishing, maintaining, and restoring the cult were reserved to the king. As symbolic act, then, the cleansing belonged to the same royal or messianic thematic as the entry. Entry and cleansing together signaled the arrival of the time of fulfillment. The epiphany of the Son of David meant that "this age" had been overtaken by "the age to come." His visitation of the temple signified the end of the historic cult and the inauguration of eschatological cult. (This symbolism, to be sure, exhibits an open, unfinished structure, for it merely signifies an eschatological cult without specifying its character or content.)

It would be a mistake to infer from the symbolic character of the cleansing that Jesus did not intend a real critique of temple practice. Prophetic passion (John 2:17) powered the whole event and rightly gave it the name of a "cleansing." What provoked this passion is indicated both by Jesus' explanatory words (Mark 11:17 = Matt 21:13 = Luke 19:46; John 2:16), which, striking an eschatological note in the words "for all peoples" (Mark 11:17), contrasted the temple in God's holy intention with the temple in man's sinful history, and by the detail that Jesus "would not allow anyone to carry anything through the temple court" (Mark 11:16; cf. *m. Ber.* 9:5 on not using the temple court as a shortcut). What provoked this indignation was routine irreverence pragmatically sanctioned by authority. The record of his teaching shows that, so far from acquiescing in life's routine disorders, Jesus censured them and called for their reform. Thus he rigorously forbade the routine use of oaths (Matt 5:34–37), routine verbal abuse (Matt 5:22), routine concupiscence (Matt 5:28). He fiercely protested against the use of Torah and *hălākâ* to protect hardness of heart: the taken-for-granted practice of divorce (Mark 10:1–12 = Matt 19:1–12) and the spuriously pious refusal to help one's parents in need (Mark 7:10–12 = Matt 15:3–6). He warned that the heedlessly slanderous word would be remembered at the judgment (Matt 12:36–37) and he made sins of speech the epitome of uncleanness (Mark 7:15 = Matt 15:11). In short, he condemned all the shifts and dodges of "average carnal man" that Israel, like the world at large, simply assumed and accepted as part of the human condition. In full accord with this complex of views and commands, the cleansing of the temple was the fallout from a collision. Passion for the honor of God and the restoration of Israel collided with toleration of routine irreverence toward the temple, i.e., toleration of tables of money-changers (*m. Šeqal.* 1:3) and stalls of merchants (Zech 14:21) on the temple court, and the use of the court by water-carriers and others as a shortcut between Ophel and the eastern suburbs (*m. Ber.* 9:5).

In the Synoptic tradition the entry into Jerusalem and the cleansing of the temple are followed by the question about Jesus' authority (Mark 11:27–33 = Matt 21:23–27 = Luke 20:1–8; John 2:18–20), though none of the Synoptic Gospels connects it immediately with the cleansing. In the Gospel of John, on the

other hand, the cleansing is immediately followed by the demand of "the Jews" for a sign justifying Jesus' pretention to superior authority. Though not provable, neither is it improbable that the original placement of the temple riddle (Mark 14:58 [= Matt 26:61]) was just where it is found now in John's gospel, namely, in an epilogue to the cleansing of the temple (John 2:18–20).

If such was the immediate demand of the authorities, it would clearly indicate that they had rightly interpreted Jesus' act as "prophetic" and perhaps as symbolic in intent. Jesus, however, refused to meet the demand except by the indirection of a riddle. To the Sanhedrists this response was pretentious and odious; probably caution in the face of Jesus' popular following and that alone (Mark 14:2 = Matt 26:5) postponed his arrest.

The original wording of the riddle is irrecoverable, but the subtraction of Markan redactional touches (Mark 14:58) would yield:

I will destroy this sanctuary
and in three days I will build another.

Behind such words stood the oracle of Nathan, the classic source of royal messianism (2 Sam 7:13–14), making the building of the sanctuary the task of David's son. A Qumran text (4QFlor 1–13) offers a messianic reading of the oracle (though without specifically referring this to the verses on the building of the sanctuary). The destruction of the sanctuary belonged, as we have seen (see C.5), to the eschatological ordeal. The three-days motif (cf. Luke 13:32–33) locates the building of the new sanctuary in the eschaton; it is the equivalent of the advent of the reign of God bringing the ordeal to an end.

In this reconstruction, the whole event takes on a peculiarly Zecharian allure: Jesus came to the temple "lowly and riding upon an ass" (Zech 9:9); he drove the buyers and sellers and money-changers from the courtyard, for "on that day there shall no longer be any merchant in the house of the LORD of hosts" (Zech 14:21); and, challenged to establish his authority by a "sign," he answered as "the man whose name is 'the Branch' " who would "build the temple of the LORD" (Zech 6:12).

The whole event triggered the conspiracy that led to Jesus' death (Mark 11:18 = Luke 19:47b–48). Judas Iscariot would become a linchpin of the conspiracy's success (Mark 14:10–11, 17–21 = Matt 26:14–16, 20–25 = Luke 22:3–6, 21–23; cf. John 13:21–30). But before it issued in his arrest (Mark 14:43–46 = Matt 26:47–50 = Luke 22:47–48; John 18:2–3), Jesus gathered with his disciples for the celebration of Passover.

**b. Last Supper, Arrest, Trial, Execution.** The Johannine account of the farewells of Jesus offers a chronology different from that of the Synoptic Gospels. All agree that Jesus died on a Friday. According to John, this was Nisan 14, whereas in the Synoptic Gospels it was Nisan 15. In John, then, there was no Passover meal on Jesus' last evening with his disciples; in the Synoptic Gospels the last supper was a Passover meal. Certainty about which of these chronologies is correct is beyond our reach, but probability on the basis of a mass of minute, circumstantial detail especially in the Synoptic accounts of the Last Supper favors their chronology.

Dominating the memory of what Jesus did and said at that meal were two sets of acts and words. First, there was Jesus' act of blessing, breaking, and distributing the unleavened bread; corresponding to the blessing customarily spoken over the bread, Jesus said: "This is my body" (Mark 14:22 [= Matt 26:26]; cf. Luke 22:19 [= 1 Cor 11:24]). Second, after the meal proper, Jesus distributed a single cup (the third cup or "cup of blessing" according to the Passover ritual) and, in accord with the blessing, bade his disciples to drink from it, saying: "This is my blood, covenant blood, (to be) poured out for many" (Mark 14:24 [= Matt 26:28]; cf. Luke 22:20 [= 1 Cor 11:25]). This scripturally charged language, by its allusions to Exod 24:8, Jer 31:31, and Isa 53:11–12, interpreted Jesus' imminent death as both an expiatory offering and a sacrifice sealing God's covenant with all who would enter the new Israel. If immediately following his words on the bread and, again, immediately following his words on the wine, Jesus gave the same bread and the same wine to his disciples to be eaten and drunk, this act of giving signified that by their eating and drinking they shared in the atoning power of his death and in the new covenant that his death would seal. The combination of these motifs thus defined his disciples as the nucleus of eschatological Israel. As the event of the cleansing of the temple brought into prominence a correlate of the reign of God

(namely, the new people symbolized by the motif of the new sanctuary), so this complementary event, centered on the coming death of Jesus, highlighted another correlate of God's reign: the new covenant.

The historicity of the eucharistic acts and words of Jesus is commended by their distinctiveness and originality. Detailed linguistic analysis grounds an important conclusion on the genre of the Markan account: it is a historical report (Pesch 1978: 76–81). Also relevant to historicity is the fact that Paul by the phrase "from the Lord" (*apo tou Kuriou*, 1 Cor 11:23) designated the eucharistic words as a tradition that had originated with Jesus himself. See LAST SUPPER.

With the help of Judas, Jesus was arrested later on the same night in a garden on the Mount of Olives. In a trial before the hastily convened Sanhedrin, the riddle of the sanctuary was cited against him. The decisive moment, however, was his response, affirmative in content, to the high priest's question: "Are you the Messiah, the Son of the Blessed One?" (Mark 14:61 [= Matt 26:63]; cf. Luke 22:67, 70). Jesus was found guilty of blasphemy, which apparently lay in dishonoring the name of God by falsely claiming to be his "Son" (Blinzler 1969: 155–57). The condemnation for blasphemy was to death; since the Sanhedrin did not have jurisdiction in capital cases (the Romans reserved that to themselves), the case would be referred to the Roman Prefect temporarily in Jerusalem for the feast.

The following morning Jesus was tried before the Roman prefect, Pontius Pilate, on charges of sedition, the core element of which was the charge that he claimed to be a king (Luke 23:2). Found guilty by Pilate despite the political innocence implied in Jesus' answers and his silence, he was scourged and led to Golgotha, just outside the city gates, where Roman soldiers crucified him together with two brigands. If Mark 15:25 is an interpolation in the text (Blinzler 1969: 420–21), Jesus was crucified about noon and died some three hours later. By order of the prefect, the body of Jesus was taken down from the cross and buried in a nearby tomb provided by a disciple, Joseph of Arimathea (John 19:38–42).

Contributing to the irony and pathos of the passion story were the betrayal by Judas, the denials of Peter, the flight of the disciples, the presence (probably on the city wall) of the women, including the mother of Jesus, who had cared for him during his public career, the *titulus* on the cross ("the king of the Jews"), and the taunts of his enemies. The exact date of Jesus' death cannot be computed with certainty, but of the concrete possibilities the most likely is April 7 of the year 30.

**c. The Why and the How of Jesus' Death.** To sum up the why and the how of Jesus' death: What was it in him that provoked hostility on the part of the Jerusalem establishment? The answer probably lies in the extraordinary pretention to authority inherent in all that Jesus said and did throughout his public career. The supreme expression of this grandiose if implicit claim was his royal entry into Jerusalem, the cleansing of the temple, and the riddle imaging the destruction of the sanctuary and the building of a new one in, or after, three days. Had he not spoken words against and laid violent hands upon the untouchable? He had never taken care to reserve a place for the elite of scribes, elders, and priests in his scheme of the future. They repaid him in the same coin. In the tension-laden little world of Roman-dominated Israel there was not room enough for both this aristocracy and that incalculable popular figure and possible messianic pretender. The leaders of the Sanhedrin took the initiative and, with the help of a disaffected disciple of Jesus, they brought him down.

Was Jesus' will to specify his death as an expiatory offering coherent with his proclamation of God's gratuitous salvation even for notorious sinners? Some have thought not; they have accordingly dismissed as unhistorical the entire line of esoteric tradition bearing on Jesus' approaching destiny: his prophecy of rejection, death, and vindication; his word on giving his life as a ransom; the eucharistic words, especially on "covenant" and "for many."

This view, however, overlooks the context in which this esoteric tradition was not only intelligible but inevitable, namely, the dilemma which the prospect of Israel's rejection of his mission posed for Jesus. His offer of salvation was indeed free, but positive response to it was requisite, not optional. The prospect of rejection created an anomaly. The good news of the reign of God risked turning into a condemnation. Was the herald of Israel's restoration to become the instrument of its ruin? What could be done for the refuser in this situation of refusal?

Jesus found the solution in his own expiatory death. So far from responding to some unintelligible demand incompatible with grace, his expiatory death was an initiative of pure grace, meant above all for Israel (Pesch 1978: 105–9). Having willed his death for the forgiveness of the sins of Israel and the sins of the world, he took the decisive step toward this destiny when, in response to the authoritative question of the high priest, he explicitly affirmed in public, for the first and only time, his claim to be the messianic Son of God.

**7. The Easter Experience of the Disciples.** In the faith of Israel "resurrection" signified far more than the resuscitation of the dead. According to Dan 12:3 the risen shall shine "like the stars for ever and ever" (cf. the use of "stars" for angels in Dan 8:10). A like conclusion is attested by the words of Jesus to the Sadducees: "for when they rise from the dead, they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are like angels in heaven" (Mark 12:25 [= Matt 22:30 = Luke 20:35]); the Lukan text continues: "for they cannot die any more …" (Luke 26:36).

Paul has furnished detailed and decisive evidence on what "resurrection" meant to ancient Jews and Christians. In 1 Cor 15:50 he cited what was probably a pre-Pauline distich to the effect that neither the living nor the dead can enter the reign of God as they are (Jeremias 1955: 151–55); his resolution of this dilemma was that, just as the dead would be wholly transformed by resurrection (1 Cor 15:42–44), so the living would be simultaneously transformed at the parousia (1 Cor 15:51–52). The point is clear: the life of the age to come would differ radically from the conditions of present life. Though "resurrection" signified bodily life, the bodily life in question would be sublated, transformed, "pneumatic" (1 Cor 15:44). The leading theme of Paul's treatment of the nature of resurrection (1 Cor 15:35–58) was precisely the transformed corporeity of the resurrected dead (1 Cor 15:35–49), in accord with rabbinic conceptions and argumentation (Morissette 1972: 210–16), as well as of the living, once they were "changed" at the parousia (1 Cor 15:50–52).

Respecting the tradition of Easter texts in the NT, a few points may be noted from the start. The resurrection of Jesus is not depicted. Moreover, the original story of the discovery of the empty tomb has been nearly lost in an overlay of kerygmatic motifs. Again, what the tradition accounted as the first appearance of the risen Jesus, which was to "Simon" (Luke 24:34) or "Cephas" (1 Cor 15:5), has left no narrative depicting it. Further, the prehistory of the gospel texts can be penetrated only in part and that partial reconstruction is necessarily tentative. Finally, the accounts are unharmonizable among themselves. (On the resurrection texts in the gospels, see the *ABD* articles on each gospel.) However pertinent these observations, it nevertheless remains that testimony to the risen Jesus is early, firm, various but coherent, and acknowledged in all known currents of early Christian tradition as the foundation of the life of the church.

The following are seven positive ascertainments respecting the earliest stage of the tradition on "the Easter experience of the disciples." First, the Easter experience proper was not the discovery of an empty tomb; rather, it was the experience of appearances of Jesus.

Second, the sources depict the disciples' interpretation of these appearances as the realization, in the singular destiny of Jesus, of the eschatological resurrection of the dead. Simply put, the disciples explained their experience in the following terms: God had raised Jesus from the dead (1 Thess 1:10; 1 Cor 6:14; Rom 4:24; 8:11; 10:9; etc.).

Third, in this resurrection they saw the divine vindication of Jesus; hence they understood his exaltation as Messiah and Lord (1 Cor 8:6; 12:3; Rom 1:3–4; 8:34b; 10:9; Acts 2:36; 3:20–21; etc.) to be integral to his resurrection. The immediate consequence was an Easter explosion of christological speech.

Fourth, they understood themselves, correlatively, as the messianic community in which Israel had come to eschatological restoration.

Fifth, the Easter experience was an experience of forgiveness, for it effected reconciliation (Stuhlmacher 1986: 54)—the reconciliation to God through the communion offered by his glorified Son, of men who had earlier rejected this same Son (James), or abandoned him (the disciples in general), or "denied" him (Peter), or "persecuted" him (Paul).

Sixth, an integral element of the Easter experience was the missionary mandate of the risen Christ.

Seventh, Easter created a new situation with respect to the scheme of the future that Jesus had presented to his disciples (see above, C.5). If it had not been clear before, it was now clear that the Lord Jesus would himself come on clouds to signal the consummation of history (1 Thess 4:16–17 = Matt 24:30–31, etc.). A segment of time had now been inserted between the vindication of Jesus by resurrection and his parousia, which would mark the advent of the reign of God.

Each of these points calls for at least brief elaboration. We begin with the empty tomb. The primitive tradition on the empty tomb affirmed that early on the Sunday following the crucifixion some of the women associated with Jesus during his public career discovered that the tomb in which he had been buried was empty. They reported this to the disciples, who found that the story of the women was true.

Reduced to these terms, the tradition was a sober account of significant fact. It was not the ground of faith in the risen Jesus. Much less was it taken to be a proof that he had risen. It involved no angels and no proclamations. The unkerygmatic nature of the primitive tradition is indicated especially by Luke 24:24, "some of those who were with us went to the tomb and found it just as the women had said, but him they did not see." The account in John 20:1–2 (Benoit 1960) is comparable. Here Mary Magdalene discovered that the rock had been moved from the mouth of the tomb; she went to Simon Peter and "the other disciple, the one whom Jesus loved" with this perplexing piece of news. There was no angel on the scene. Mary acted on her own initiative. Her report was simply, "They have taken the Lord out of the tomb and we do not know where they have laid him" (John 20:2). (In this last line the plural "we" is possibly indicative of the tradition according to which Mary was accompanied by other women.) Such is the recovery of an originally pre-kerygmatic, pre-apologetic tradition on the tomb.

It follows that the Easter experience proper did not begin with the tomb but with the appearances of Jesus. The earliest text on the appearances is the pre-Pauline formula cited in 1 Cor 15:3–5.

> Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures,
> and he was buried,
> and he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures,
> and he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve.

The formula moves from Jesus' death and burial (lines 1 and 2) to his resurrection and appearances (lines 3 and 4). The central affirmations are in the parallel lines 1 and 3; lines 2 and 4 functioned each as the warrant of the preceding statement. The result is that, as Harnack put it, "the burial authenticates the really occurring death and the vision authenticates the really occurring resurrection" (*SPAW*, 64). The whole formula therefore asserts: he really died and he really rose. As in all such formulas the accent falls on the resurrection. "He was buried" immediately attests the death, but it does so precisely in order to set up the climactic theme of resurrection. From this consciously fashioned transition it follows that the expression in line 3, "he was raised," is meant to comprehend the specifically corporeal dimension of "resurrection." The repeated motif of the advance testimony of the scriptures is a qualifier: Christ died for our sins, as the scriptures have prophetically attested that he would; and God raised him on the third day (cf. *Tg. Neb.* Hos 6:2), as the scriptures have prophetically attested that he would. Though the testimony of Cephas and "the twelve" is a most distinctive motif, it remains subordinate to the basic confession. (Inattention to the structure of the formula has repeatedly led to the mistaken supposition that the phrase "he was buried" attests the tradition of the empty tomb. It does not; the formula does, however, present a view of resurrection that coheres with and even entails the empty tomb.)

Second point: the disciples interpreted the appearances as evidence of Jesus' "resurrection"; that is, they understood an eschatological event, the resurrection of the dead, to have found unique advance realization in Jesus. This, of course, is inescapably implied in the formula we have already considered (1 Cor 15:3–5). In the career of Paul it is underscored as the revelation that reversed the direction of his life:

> You have heard of my former life in Judaism, how I persecuted the church of God violently and tried to destroy it … But [God] … was pleased to reveal his Son to me … (Gal 1:13, 15–16).

Furthermore, Paul clearly set this event apart from such ecstatic experiences as he recounted in 2 Cor 12:2–9, which, "whether in the body or out of it," comprehended being "caught up" into Paradise (2 Cor

12:2–3). It is not possible to specify what concrete experiential index led Paul to differentiate these experiences; in any case, he did differentiate them.

Third point: in the resurrection the disciples found the vindication of Jesus. Easter was the revelation that his historic claims, implicit and finally explicit, had been true and that they had now been stunningly established as true. Hence Jesus' exaltation as messianic Son and Lord was seen first of all as rooted in his history. Indeed, the resurrection brought the messianic history of Jesus to completion. Whether the text on the Messiah as both Son and Lord of David (Mark 12:35–37 = Matt 22:41–46 = Luke 20:41–44) derived from Jesus or from the early community, it makes this precise point. David (Ps 110:1) had himself called his son Lord," for by the power of the Spirit (Mark 12:36 = Matt 22:43) he had heard God bid his (David's) son to sit at God's right hand, a newly anointed cosmic victor.

Jesus's exaltation, as the completion and vindication of this career, released an outpouring of christological speech that continued through the lifetime of the next two generations. Among the immediate sources of this phenomenon was the conviction that in Jesus the scriptures had come to plenary and convergent fulfillment. Soon the gentile world would come into view as a mission field and Jesus would be proclaimed as "Lord of all" (Rom 10:12; Acts 10:36; cf. 1 Cor 8:6), of Jew and Greek (Rom 10:12; Acts 20:21; cf. 11:20), the living and the dead (Rom 14:7–9; 2 Cor 5:15), the human and the spirit world (Phil 2:10–11). Henceforward the glorification of Jesus would prompt a gathering up of the hope motifs from the covenants, sagas, prophecies, and psalms of Israel and the poetry, philosophy, and mystery cults of Greece, to affirm that all human aspiration had come to realization in him.

Fourth point: the self-understanding of the disciples underwent a change correlative to the christology of Easter. The men and women who had been followers of Jesus now understood themselves as the messianic community of the new covenant. The promise of a new covenant (Jer 31:31–34) had been a key theme in nonrabbinic Judaism (Bar 2:35; CD 6:19; 8:21; 19:33–34; 20:12; 1QpHab 2:3); it arose among the disciples of Jesus as the Easter experience confirmed the Last Supper and the death of Jesus as covenant sacrifice. The community thus became the first fruits of messianic Israel, just a step ahead of its brethren. As the first fruits sanctify the whole harvest to come, so this new community on Zion sanctified all Israel on the point of entry into its true inheritance. Meantime, the community was the remnant of Israel (Rom 11:1–10; cf. remnant passages implicitly cited in Acts 2:21, 47, etc.), but, in accord with the scriptures on the remnant, it was destined to "strike root downward and bear fruit upward" (Isa 37:31), for the remnant on Mount Zion (Isa 37:32), made up of the *sōzomenoi* (Acts 2:47)—a remnant term (cf. LXX Isa 37:32) designating in Acts "those who would be saved," i.e., those destined for acquittal at the judgment—was the seed of national restoration.

Fifth point: Easter as reconciliation. It is a remarkable fact that Paul, addressing and arguing with Cephas, testified to the nonoriginality of the great Pauline theme of justification: "we [i.e., you as much as I] have come to know [by our encounter with the risen Christ] that man is made righteous not by works of the law but through faith in Christ" (Gal 2:15–16). Paul's main point was that the Easter experience had bypassed the Torah, neither comprehending nor entailing it; but in making this point he showed that he understood and counted on Cephas' having understood this normative experience as one of forgiveness and reconciliation. This corresponds to the plentifully attested Easter consciousness of the death of Jesus as expiatory offering (see the pre-Pauline formulas in 1 Cor 15:3–5; Rom 3:25–26; 4:25).

Sixth point: Easter as missionary mandate. Again, Paul was a privileged early witness to this dimension of the Easter experience. God "was pleased to reveal his Son to me, that I might proclaim him among the gentiles" (Gal 1:16). Paul supposes the same of the Easter experience of Cephas (Gal 2:7–9). Moreover, he inserted the Easter experience of the Apostles as a hinge moment in the three-step sequence that runs through the whole of his soteriology: (1) God's expiatory and redemptive act in Christ enacted in the world a universal economy of reconciliation (2) through the Easter appointment of ministers of the Spirit to proclaim "the gospel" and (3) through the acceptance of this gospel in "faith," making God's saving economy operative. If the third step in this sequence is a Pauline commonplace, it should be noted that the first two steps dominate the celebrated text of 2 Cor 5:18–21. As Sinai "founded" the Law in Israel (LXX Ps 77:5), so the Easter revelation to those chosen as Apostles "founded" the gospel or "message of

reconciliation" in the world (Hofius 1980: 11–16). Easter as missionary mandate would be retained and transformed in the later gospel tradition.

Seventh point: Easter inaugurated a new eschatological scenario. The variations among the NT writers on this theme are all held within the basic framework that emerged from the differentiation *ex eventu* of the Day of the Son of man. The resurrection of Jesus was not revealed to the whole world, so signaling its consummation. It was neither imposed on Jesus' judges (Mark 14:62 = Matt 26:64 = Luke 22:69) nor bestowed on "all the people" (Acts 10:41). Rather, it was reserved "to us who were chosen by God as witnesses" (Acts 10:41). In Jesus' original scheme of the future, the revelation of the Son of man would mark the end of the eschatological ordeal. In the actuality of events, Jesus' glorification, taking place long before the end of the ordeal and so of all history, apparently led the *hebraioi* (Cephas, the twelve, the Aramaic-speaking community of Jesus' followers in Jerusalem) to reduce to provisional status Jesus' eschatology of woe (the ruin of Israel, its capital, and temple). At the same time, it led the Greek-speaking Jewish converts of the Easter kerygma, the *hellēnistai* (Stephen and his followers) to conclude that Jesus' glorification vindicated and guaranteed his eschatology of woe—a view that made them pariahs in Jerusalem and led to their expulsion from the city. What all Christian parties held in common, however, was an interim between resurrection and parousia to be defined and dominated by the mission of the church.

From the foregoing account of the career of Jesus and of the Easter experience of his disciples, it follows that Jesus, as a historic figure and as an object of the Easter experience, was indeed the founder of Christianity. It further follows that Christianity had assumed its distinctive identity (though without yet arriving at thematic knowledge of that identity) in independence of gentile influence and prior to the mission to the gentile world.

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BEN F. MEYER

## *QUEST FOR THE HISTORICAL JESUS*

The phrase "quest for the historical Jesus" normally refers to a movement of scholarship that emerged with Reimarus in the 18th century and continues in various forms into the late 20th century. It is sometimes used in a broad sense to denote all historical research into the life and times of Jesus; sometimes it is used in a more narrow sense to denote only one branch of this, namely, revisionist theories linked to particular theological or political agendas. In this connection the term "the historical Jesus" is sometimes used to refer to Jesus as he actually was (whether or not we can know about him thus), and sometimes to refer to Jesus as he can be reconstructed by historians working within a particular frame of reference (whether or not this does justice to how Jesus actually was). The latter sense will be referred to below as "the historical Jesus."

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**A. Problems**

There are six commonly held but erroneous views about the quest. (1) Reimarus began it. In fact, Reimarus drew on the work of earlier writers, particularly English Deists (Brown 1985: 1–55). (2) All writers about Jesus have been trying to do the same thing, namely, to reconstruct his actual life and teaching. In fact, there have been several very different agendas informing writers, even within the same period. (3) Research into Jesus aims at an "objective" account. In fact, objectivity is now perceived to be a positivist myth, and historians need to take into account both the reality of external events and the point of view of all perceivers, themselves included (Meyer 1979: 76–110). (4) Twentieth century methods of gospel study—source, form, and redaction criticism—are part of the quest. They are not, or not particularly: They focus on the gospels and the communities behind them, and only tangentially on Jesus. (5) The quest has produced no useful results and should now be abandoned. Section E demonstrates the contrary. (6) The quest can be divided into discrete chronological sections. Though we follow this traditional outline, it is potentially misleading, since there is far more overlap and interplay between sections than can thus be indicated (e.g., the close links between Strauss and Bultmann, or between Schweitzer and Sanders).

**B. Reimarus to Schweitzer**

Schweitzer himself is responsible for the usual perception of the quest to that date and for drawing attention to it as a major theological phenomenon. His outline and angle of vision need to be supplemented by others (e.g., Meyer 1979: 25–59, Brown 1985) if a fair picture is to result. The first phase of the quest fell historically within a wider movement in which orthodox Christianity came under attack from rationalism, and he attempted to respond in various ways; the writers listed below belong on both sides of this divide and in various mediating positions. The rationale often given for the quest at this stage was that, since the Gospels disagreed about so many things, the historian had to enquire as to what

exactly happened; in fact this was only one of many motivations, including the desire to discredit orthodox Christianity as a whole. A feature of this stage of the quest was the gradual concentration on the Synoptic Gospels, as the Gospel of John came to be seen as a secondary theological and nonhistorical account.

**1. Reimarus.** H.S. Reimarus (1694–1768) wrote a long criticism of Christianity which was published after his death by the philosopher G. Lessing. One section dealt with the aims of Jesus, arguing that he was a Jewish revolutionary whose disciples, after his failure and death, conceived the idea that he was divine. They stole his body and rewrote the story of his life in the light of an alternative Jewish expectation, not utilized by Jesus himself, according to which a divine being would appear on the clouds to end the world. The failure of this to happen discredits them, as Jesus' failure to bring about successful revolution had discredited him; Christianity as known subsequently is based therefore on a series of mistakes. Schweitzer praises Reimarus too much, but deserves credit for the bold and clear outlines of a historical hypothesis which continues to have successors (Brandon 1967: and see Bammel and Moule 1984).

**2. Strauss.** Reimarus' emphasis on the non-miraculous nature of Jesus' life was picked up by David Friedrich Strauss (1808–74), but whereas, for Reimarus, Jesus could be described thus in order to be dismissed, for Strauss the required rereading of the gospels meant that the truth of Jesus could be rescued in an ahistorical fashion. His massive book focused attention on the nature of the gospels (a question that has dominated much of 20th century research), arguing that they were mythical rather than historical. Neither the older orthodoxy nor the newer rationalism would do: On the one hand, supernatural and miraculous events do not and did not occur, while on the other hand, what seemed to be accounts of such happenings were in reality nonhistorical projections of early faith. Strauss' manifest unorthodoxy cost him his career, but arguably his questions still remain outstanding.

**3. Renan.** E. Renan (1823–92) typified a certain style of Jesus-research (see Schweitzer 1954: 180–92; Brown 1985: 233–38). Like Strauss, he achieved great notoriety from his book (1863), though his passage to skepticism had a different origin (French Roman Catholicism). With his treatment there came to prominence a theme that still dominates some accounts: the distinction between the early period of the ministry, in which Jesus won the hearts of all, and the later, when the high demands he made caused most to reject him. It is essentially a work of romantic fantasy, charming but cloying, and the great influence it has had on popular impressions of Jesus is in inverse proportion to its true worth as history.

**4. Holtzmann.** The second half of the 19th century saw the production, particularly in Germany, of a steady stream of lives of Jesus, of which probably the best known is that of H. J. Holtzmann (1832–1910). His book (1863) focused attention on the Synoptic Gospels, working on the assumption that to solve the problems they posed—their order of composition and mutual dependence—was to solve in principle the problem of Jesus. The earliest sources would give genuine access to history. The priority of Mark was a hypothesis designed to provide a straightforward (and essentially liberal) portrait of Jesus as the teacher of timeless ethical truths, whose ministry developed in clear-cut and comprehensible stages, with the decisive turning point at Caesarea Philippi (Mark 8:27–9:1). The two main aspects of Holtzmann's work—his portrait of the ministry, and his belief in source criticism as a means to historiography—have continued to exercise considerable influence.

**5. Weiss.** A decisive step towards a more accurate historical picture, and at the same time towards a continuing theological problem, was taken by Johannes Weiss (1863–1914). In focusing on the meaning of the "kingdom of God" in the teaching of Jesus, his book (1892; ET 1971) set its face against the liberalism of Ritschl (Weiss' father-in-law), and proposed instead a meaning based on a new awareness of Jewish apocalyptic: Jesus announced the imminent end of the world. Weiss still drew a psychologizing portrait of Jesus, but the emphasis now lay elsewhere, on a historical reconstruction which posed the same question as Reimarus, with the difference that it concerned Jesus and not merely his followers: The predicted end of the world did not materialize. Weiss was answered by various writers (Schweitzer 1954: 241–68), but he had set the question in the terms that would dominate Schweitzer's own work and, as a result, haunt the 20th century quest.

**6. Schweitzer.** The work of Albert Schweitzer (1875–1965) stands at the head of the present century like a colossus. To him belongs the credit for seeing the quite disparate "lives of Jesus" as, in a sense, a single movement, which in his own work he drew together and attempted to round off. In his thorough survey he built particularly on the work of Weiss; answering the thoroughgoing skepticism of William Wrede (whose work on Mark aimed to show that the apparently straightforward account of Jesus' ministry in that gospel was in fact a theological construct), he summarized the work of his predecessors in pithy prose, weighed them in the balance of his own rigorous analysis, found most of them sadly wanting, and offered his own fresh synthesis. In his "Sketch" (1901), and in the conclusion to the larger work (1954: 328–401), he argued that Jesus deliberately kept his Messiahship a secret, revealing it to the disciples in the Transfiguration and then commanding them to tell nobody, and that Judas betrayed this secret to the chief priests. He then goes on to argue that Jesus, who had begun by expecting the Son of man to appear during the course of his ministry, was disappointed, and went to his death in order to bring down the "Messianic woes" upon himself, so that his people might be delivered (1954: 368–69, 385–95; 1925: 234–36). The result is in one way purely negative: "The Jesus of Nazareth who … preached the ethic of the Kingdom of God, who founded the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth"—that is, "the historical Jesus" of most 19th century liberal "lives"—"never had any existence" (1954: 396). However, all is not lost for subsequent hermeneutics and theology: "Jesus means something to our world because a mighty spiritual force streams forth from Him and flows through our time also"; "not the historical Jesus, but the spirit which goes forth from Him and in the spirits of men strives for new influence and rule, is that which overcomes the world." The eschatological sayings, in their very oddity for modern humans, "raise the man who dares to meet their challenge … above his world and his time, making him inwardly free" (1954: 397, 399, 400). Schweitzer thus stands as the bridge between the centuries: summing up the 19th century, and pronouncing it a failure, he anticipates some of the major emphases of the 20th.

**7. The "Old Quest": Conclusion.** If there is a theme which unites the highly disparate writers between Reimarus and Schweitzer, it is their conviction that when a truly historical account of Jesus is arrived at it will be of vital importance for the Christian faith. For some, the importance was positive and immediate. Jesus, reconstructed in pious historiography, became the wise and gentle teacher of 19th century liberalism; Mark became the earliest gospel, a simple record of the Master's ministry. For others, the importance was largely negative. Reimarus, Strauss, and Schweitzer himself, in their different ways, undertook historical description in order to show that the traditional picture of Jesus could not be trusted. Reimarus went on to argue that Christianity as a whole was mistaken; Strauss, that its reality lay in the realm of timeless truth divorced from history; Schweitzer, that the new historical picture carried with it its own timeless imperatives ("He … sets us to the tasks which He has to fulfill for our time"; 1954: 401). The quest for "the historical Jesus", which had marginalized Jesus' eschatology in particular, had had its bluff called, and could not reply. There could be no doubt which of the two roads subsequent scholarship would have to take, and the subsequent story of the quest is not least the story of how the consequent hermeneutical challenge—how such a strange and remote Jesus could be relevant in a different culture and time—was variously met.

**C. Schweitzer to Käsemann**

Between Schweitzer's demolition of the 19th century quest in 1906 and Ernst Käsemann's lecture in 1953, new theological movements dominated European theology, most of which had only a small place for Jesus. This may be partly attributed to a failure of nerve after Schweitzer (How could a Jewish apocalyptic prophet be of use to theology today? How could one be sure of avoiding anachronism if one found an answer to the question?) and partly to the protest he himself mounted against the historical Jesus—though actually he was not the first to do so. One of the oddities of Schweitzer's book is his failure to mention M. Kähler, whose work gained in importance in the hands of Barth and Bultmann; and partly to the new agendas set for the Church by the convulsions through which the world passed during the period, to which the task of reconstructing the biography of Jesus seemed of comparatively little relevance. One of the significant trends during this period came in the reversal of an argument implicit in much of 19th century work: Instead of conceiving of Jesus as relevant, and therefore not particularly

Jewish, scholarship after Schweitzer saw him as Jewish, and therefore not particularly relevant. The main reason for the new move, however, was profoundly theological, and found initial expression in Barth.

**1. Barth.** The second and subsequent editions of Karl Barth's *Commentary on Romans* includes a good deal of explicit criticism of the liberal "historical Jesus." The earthly Jesus, and all he represents in the way of religiousness and piety, ends on the cross, which thus stands as the judgment of God against all human piety. The meaning of Jesus, including the meaning of his life, is found in his death and there alone (Barth 1933: 160). His earthly life is necessarily irrelevant, and must for theological reasons be a stumbling block and not an open mirror to his theological significance (280). The early Barth thus anticipates a good deal of what subsequently came to be associated with Bultmann. Theology positively called for the collapse of the quest (Meyer 1979: 49).

**2. Bultmann.** Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976), whose work dominates 20th century NT studies, is perhaps best known for two emphases (in some ways they go back to Strauss), both of which played an important negative role in Jesus-research. (a) He provided a detailed analysis of the literary forms of Synoptic material, arguing that in most cases these indicate an origin, not in the life of Jesus, but in the life of the early Church. (b) He argued that the gospels as they stand are mythical in various senses (not fully distinguished by Bultmann: see Thiselton 1980: 252–63), in particular in that they presuppose a prescientific worldview with which they clothe—and with which Jesus himself clothed—his essentially timeless message. The significance of Jesus could therefore be recaptured by translating-out the mythical language into that of existential decision (Bultmann 1958). Form criticism and demythologization were thus joint means towards a reading of the gospels which aimed *not* to find Jesus—lest, as has often been said within the Bultmann school, one should base one's faith on history and so turn it into a "work." Bultmann's own book on Jesus (1934) focuses principally on his teaching, interpreted as existentialist challenge to contemporary decision; the sayings are all that is left, and then only certain ones; it is both impossible and undesirable to try and discover the personality of Jesus himself. All that is needed is the bare fact that he died on a cross. In Bultmann's history-of-religious program, the main features of early Christianity were derived not from Jewish sources but from Hellenistic ones. The life and ministry of Jesus, firmly anchored in Judaism, were therefore only of tangential interest for Christian theology.

**3. Gospel Study.** Throughout this period the attention of Synoptic studies was focused more on the gospels themselves than on Jesus. Source criticism reached its peak in the work of Streeter (1924), with many still believing (like Holtzmann) that they would thus find secure historical grounding in the earliest sources, Mark and Q; this belief is still held by some who are trying to revive the Q hypothesis today (see Kloppenborg 1987). Some attempted to use form criticism in a similar fashion, not realizing that it was a tool designed to find the early Church, not Jesus. By the end of the period there had begun the serious study (sometimes called redaction criticism) of the gospels as wholes; again, this method was neither designed, nor particularly appropriate, for the task of discovering Jesus within his historical context. Some writers, including some Anglo-Saxons (e.g. Manson 1931, 1949) defied the moratorium, but in general attention was focused away from Jesus.

**D. The "New Quest"**

On 20 October 1953, Ernst Käsemann, then a professor in Göttingen and subsequently in Tübingen, delivered a lecture arguing that, though it is true that a "life of Jesus" cannot be written, one must be careful not to divorce Christian faith altogether from its historical roots, lest it turn into a sort of docetism in which "Jesus" is simply a cipher, and the cross is robbed of its significance. If the earthly Jesus can only be understood in terms of Easter, Easter can only be understood in relation to Jesus (Käsemann 1964: 25). A "new quest," complete with careful theological rationale and motivation, was thus launched, which in certain respects still continues (see Robinson 1959; Meyer 1979: 51–54; Sanders 1985: 29–47). Within this movement there have developed certain criteria for assessing the probable historicity of individual sayings of Jesus: dissimilarity (if a saying is unlike both the Jewish background and the early Church; see Sanders 1985: 16–17; Hooker 1972); consistency (with other material known to be authentic); multiple attestation (if a saying appears in different layers of tradition); and linguistic or cultural tests (if the saying appears to fit with Palestinian Judaism of the time, not least in allowing a

possible Aramaic basis). Mutual tension between these tests is quickly apparent, and it is not surprising that the results achieved on such a basis have not been particularly solid (see Barbour 1972).

**1. Bornkamm.** The first work to appear under this new look was that of G. Bornkamm. In many ways Bornkamm kept to the Bultmannian agenda: the miraculous was kept out of the picture, Jesus had no special foreknowledge of events to come, and he used no Messianic titles of himself. Nevertheless, some important changes were made. Bornkamm's Jesus speaks of an eschatological fulfillment in the present, as opposed to one located in the future. In several respects the gospels provide us with access to genuine historical happenings; the call of the twelve, for instance, need not (as with Bultmann) be attributed to the retrojecting tendency of the early Church. But still it is the message of Jesus, not the events in which he participated, that remains the focus of attention, and that, in the end, results in a summons to faith in the present as much as in the past (Bornkamm 1960: 188–91; see also Kümmel 1957, 1974, and Goppelt 1981).

**2. Jeremias.** The work of J. Jeremias, though recognizably Lutheran and thus falling within the post-Bultmannian mainstream, stands a little outside "new quest" research, looking from one point of view more like the pre-Schweitzer quest (in that Jeremias is clearly committed to finding in the gospels the Jesus who can be the basis for the Church's faith) and from another like the Third Quest (in that he insists on understanding Jesus within the matrix of his native Judaism, emphasizing especially the Aramaic base of several sayings). In various monographs (1958, 1963, and others), and above all in the first volume of his uncompleted *New Testament Theology* (1971), he presented a sustained account of Jesus' ministry and mission. Believing that the concrete historical setting of Jesus' work was vital for genuine Christian theology, and that the Jesus one discovered in that setting offered himself as the incarnation of the call of God to every generation, Jeremias painstakingly reconstructed an impressive collection of *ipsissima verba* (words most likely to be attributed to the historical Jesus) by means of linguistic and form-critical analysis. He argued in particular for a middle way between the imminent eschatology of Schweitzer (the end is near, but not yet) and the realized eschatology of C. H. Dodd (the kingdom is actually present in the ministry of Jesus: see, e.g., Dodd 1961), suggesting the cumbersome but more historically likely "eschatology in the process of being realized," or, as in the work of Ladd (1966), "inaugurated eschatology." There is a sense in which the kingdom is present, and another in which it is yet to come. Though in some ways this merely restates the problem, it avoids the false clarity of the alternatives.

**3. Schillebeeckx.** The Dutch Dominican Edward Schillebeeckx has produced one of the longest books (1979) on Jesus in this century, though the length owes a good deal to the protracted employment of detailed tradition criticism, resulting in portraits of various groups within early Christianity; through the gaps between them Jesus himself eventually appears. Schillebeeckx takes a position which is the mirror image of Bultmann in that he regards the resurrection appearances as stories from Jesus' lifetime read forward into the post-Easter appearances. His eventual leap from a purely historical Jesus to the incarnate Son of God is based on little or nothing within the body of the book. At the same time he has a wealth of insights into the philosophical context of scholarship on Jesus, and many of his sections—not least his discussion of Jesus' awareness of his own approaching death—are pregnant and fruitfully suggestive.

**4. The "Jesus Seminar."** In the last decade the post-Bultmannian movement has had a new focal point: the so-called "Jesus Seminar," an American group with its own journal *(Foundations and Facets Forum)* and regular meetings at which individual sayings are discussed, debated, and voted on according to a scale of probability. At one level these scholars (who include some of the best-known names in North American NT scholarship) are attempting to perform for their generation what Bultmann did for his: They hope to produce a more-thoroughgoing history of the Synoptic tradition, including extracanonical material. At another level, they are clearly convinced that such study, particularly if it demolishes the heroic Jesus beloved of some modern American Christianity, will be of great benefit to the world; so the seminar's results are announced in press conferences, and there is talk of a movie. At the same time, the seminar includes several scholars whose thought is running in a different direction, i.e., the Third Quest. This represents one of the major tensions within Jesus-research today.

**5. Jesus the Cynic?** It has commonly been assumed, at least since Schweitzer, that the more we put Jesus into his historical context the more he will turn out to be Jewish. This has been sharply challenged by two recent writers, who have suggested that the Jewish strands in the gospels are the accretions, and that the earlier we look the more we find Jesus to be much like the wandering Cynic preachers who were a familiar sight in the ancient Mediterranean world. First, there is B. H. Mack (1988), who argues that Jesus was not an apocalyptic prophet, but a popular sage, a wordsmith purveying aphoristic wisdom, one who shocked people into fresh thought for themselves about their social and personal situations, rather than teaching any particular doctrine. This bold line is backed up by a new history of gospel traditions in which what used to be thought the older layers—the more Jewish and apocalyptic strands—are argued to be later accretions, which culminated in a myth of Mark's making, a myth which has had (Mack suggests) devastating effects on Western, particularly American, self-consciousness. Neither Mark's fiction of the first appearance of the man of power, nor his fantasy of the final appearance of the man of glory, fit the wisdom now required (Mack 1988: 376). In thus reversing what has been normal practice (going back behind the Hellenistic layers to find the original Jewish stratum), Mack is nevertheless very close to Bultmann and Wrede in his basic historical hypothesis and to many 19th century writers in his hermeneutical program: The original Jesus—Jesus as he really was, which turns out to be fairly un-Jewish—is what contemporary culture needs. The other writer is F. Gerald Downing, who has undertaken (1988) a large-scale collection of parallel sayings from the gospels and the Cynics. Despite the initial impression of parallelism, however, and the bracing hermeneutic wherein Downing challenges comfortable Western Christianity (1987), the case for a close link is weakened by the lack of evidence for any Cynic presence in Palestine, and by the fact that the sayings adduced as parallels come from a very wide geographical and chronological range. This movement of scholarship has, however, alerted Jesus-research to the dangers of assuming that Jesus' Jewishness—or anyone else's in the 1st century, for that matter—can be isolated from wider cultural influences and resonances.

**6. Conclusion.** The closer we get to our own day, the harder it is to plot patterns and movements. Yet it is undeniable that the so-called "new quest" has continued in various forms, without producing any solid results that have won wide scholarly approval (see Bowden 1988; and, for a recent exploration within the paradigm, Fredriksen 1988). In several ways it has been overtaken by a different movement, owing no allegiance to Bultmann, and producing quite different results. Although the debate between these two contemporary movements is often conducted in terms of method and historical analysis, it should be clear that differing implicit hermeneutical analyses and agendas are also playing a not-inconsiderable part.

## E. The "Third Quest"

The current wave of books about Jesus offers a bewildering range of competing hypotheses. There is no unifying theological agenda; no final agreement about method; certainly no common set of results. But there are certain features which justify a unifying label. (On the distinction between this "third quest" and the previous "new quest," see Meyer 1979: 16–20; Charlesworth 1988: 26–28; and Neill and Wright 1988: 397–98.)

**1. Introduction.** The most obvious feature is that the massive recent researches into second Temple Judaism have forced scholars to rethink what might be involved in understanding Jesus within this background (as it is agreed, in this movement, that one must do: i.e., agreeing to that extent with Reimarus and Schweitzer against much of 19th century scholarship and the Bultmann school). First-century sources, particularly Josephus, are being studied seriously after generations of neglect by NT scholars. Serious, and in principle answerable, questions are being formulated, as for instance by Sanders (1985: 1): What was Jesus' intention, what was his relationship to his Jewish contemporaries, why did he die, and why did Christianity begin? The methods employed owe less to theological a prioris and more to the normal canons of historiography: hypothesis and verification, and testing of sources as part of that process (see Meyer 1979: 76–110; Sanders 1985: 3–22). The problem of the nature of the sources, particularly the Synoptic Gospels, has not been ignored, but neither is it now regarded as so difficult, even when modern literary approaches are taken seriously, as to forbid all serious historical research (see Freyne 1988; Sanders and Davies 1989: 335–44). Early "third quest" works include Brandon (1967) and

Vermes (1973), portraying Jesus as revolutionary and a Galilean holy man respectively. The first option is now normally rejected (see Bammel and Moule 1984; though see Buchanan 1984 for a variant of the revolutionary theme). The second is taken up by Borg (1984: 229–63), though set in a different context. There are four outstanding works in the current literature.

**2. Meyer.** B. F. Meyer's book (1979) is the most learned and methodologically rigorous of the modern works. Basing his historical method on Lonergan's epistemology, he analyzes Jesus' aims, highlighting the restoration of Israel as the theme underlying the proclamation of the kingdom. He argues for the accuracy of the gospels' distinction between the public and private message of Jesus, such that the public actions (particularly table-fellowship with sinners) gained a depth of meaning through allowing the question of his identity to emerge. Jesus envisaged a new, reborn community, in which the covenant would be renewed and whose sins would be forgiven. The tradition generated by his life gives powerful clues to understanding why he did what he did (this, in opposition to some schemes [Vermes 1973, and most of the Bultmann school] which postulate a radical disjunction between Jesus and subsequent tradition).

**3. Harvey.** A. E. Harvey's Bampton Lectures (1982) are similarly adventurous in terms of method. Employing the notion of "historical constraint," Harvey argues that Jesus can and must be understood in terms of the constraints operating on anyone within the particular culture of the time. He begins with the crucifixion: What we know of Roman and Jewish practice indicates that the gospels are substantially correct in tracing the basic outline of events that led to Jesus' death. The constraint of Law enables us to plot Jesus' insistence that the urgency of the moment should override some legal provisions; that of Time, to understand the eschatological nature of his proclamation. What we know of Miracle in the ANE suggests that Jesus refused to work within normal categories. He was known as Messiah (though without "divine" overtones) during his lifetime: and, since the constraint of monotheism meant that no Jew could have thought of himself (or anyone else) as God Incarnate, we must think instead in terms of unique *agency* (on all this, see Neill and Wright 1988: 385–87, and Wright 1986).

**4. Borg.** M. J. Borg (1984) argues cogently that Jesus is to be seen as political, not in the sense that he was a revolutionary, but because he was actually perceived as a traitor to the nationalist cause. Into a situation of intense conflict, Jesus brought a summons to costly mercy and love, which cut across Israel's current expectations and badges of national identity. He warned Israel that resistance would lead to social and military disaster, which would have to be seen as divine judgment. The eschatological passages thus refer, not to a coming supernatural event, but to imminent national catastrophe (Borg 1987b). In this ministry, Jesus functioned as a sage or holy man, announcing the breaking in of the numinous into everyday reality (Borg 1987a). Many otherwise puzzling passages in the gospels come into fresh light within this context.

**5. Sanders.** E. P. Sanders (1985) gives a clear account of a Jesus seen without the spectacles of contemporary piety. He refuses to begin with the sayings, and starts instead his action against the Temple, understood within the framework of Jewish restoration eschatology, the hope that a new Temple would be built in the coming new age. Passages which speak of his conflict with Pharisees are mostly retrojections of later church-and-synagogue controversies; Jesus did challenge received wisdom in some ways, when his vision of a new age overrode Jewish custom ("leave the dead to bury their dead"; see Sanders 1985: 252–55). His attack on the Temple provoked reaction from the Jewish hierarchy, who handed him over to the Romans. He was not political in the sense of revolutionary, as witnessed by the fact that after his death his disciples were not also arrested. Sanders is arguably the clearest of the current writers on Jesus, and is candid about the issues (e.g., the "Son of man" question) which he leaves unsettled.

**6. Others.** Other works have appeared in the same vein, notably those of Caird (1965), Dodd (1971), France (1971), Yoder (1972), Riches (1980), Farmer (1982), Buchanan (1984), Lohfink (1984), Rivkin (1984), Segundo (1985), Lievestad (1987), Theissen (1987), Horsley (1987) and Freyne (1988). (See the survey in Charlesworth 1988: 9–29, 223–43.) Related studies include Derrett (1973), Bowker (1973), Chilton (1979; 1984), Lievestad (1987), Charlesworth (1988) and de Jonge (1988). All are exploring more or less the same issues, though with the same diversity of background and point of view.

**7. Unfinished Agendas.** Perhaps the most-striking feature of the third quest is its current open-endedness. There is some convergence on the question of appropriate method (see Meyer, Sanders), but further work needs to be done, not least in integrating the newer literary approaches to the gospels into the historical task (see now particularly Freyne 1988). The exact interrelation between Jesus and Judaism is extremely difficult to plot, and continual readjustments are to be expected for some time. So, too, the question of continuity and discontinuity between Jesus and the early Church is raised in new and acute forms by the current study, which so far has not taken on board the difficult, though clearly closely related, question of the resurrection. Theological questions, although quite properly bracketed off in many third quest writings, are never in fact far away, and the questions of the meaning of the cross, and the identity of Jesus (atonement and christology), are only two of many that could be explored. Many writers (not least those in the Third World., e.g., Segundo) imply a hermeneutic in which the Jesus (or the entire historical scenario) they rediscover can somehow be translated into contemporary relevance, but none so far has addressed the question head on, or in the necessary depth (though see Yoder 1972, and Hebblethwaite 1989).

## F. Conclusion

The quest as normally conceived was born in an atmosphere of anti-Christian polemic (Reimarus) and has often continued to be seen in that light, whether by those who rejected the idea of "the historical Jesus" (Kähler etc.) or by those suspicious of the third quest for its sitting loose to theology. But any critique based on a theological a priori must take account of the fact that among orthodox theology's regular assertions is that of the full humanness of Jesus. Granted the contemporary puzzles over the meaning of the word "God" itself, it may seem on reflection quite proper for theology to give historical research its head. Not that historical research will wait for such permission. It deals, ultimately, with issues that lie in the public domain, not with matters that can only be discussed within the household of faith. The contemporary movements offer plenty of evidence that the quest for the historical Jesus is both as alive and as important now as it has ever been.

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N. T. WRIGHT

## *THE ACTUAL WORDS OF JESUS*

The actual words of Jesus—or *ipsissima verba*—refers to the words which Jesus actually spoke. This should be distinguished from the *ipsissima vox* (the very voice), a term which can be applied to sayings which give the sense but not the exact linguistic form of his actual utterances. In this sense, with a very

few exceptions (words like *abba, ephphatha*) we simply do not have such *ipsissima verba* of Jesus. He spoke, in all probability, in Aramaic and the NT is written in Greek. Even if he understood and spoke some Greek he would scarcely have used it for his public utterances in the Galilean countryside. Greek was more at home in the towns and cities. Thus the Greek sayings attributed to Jesus in the gospels can at best give the sense of what he said, not the actual form of words. It is therefore convenient, as scholars more-frequently do, to speak of the authentic sayings of Jesus, referring to sayings which we have good reason to believe are "as close to something that Jesus said as we can reasonably hope for" (Sanders 1985: 357, n. 30). Discussion about what constitutes good reason for such belief usually focuses on two main areas: (a) how much trust we can place in the general accuracy of the relevant historical material; and (b) the means available for distinguishing within that material authentic from inauthentic sayings. Such means are often referred to as criteria, which might suggest objective tests which can be applied rigorously to individual sayings. If so, this is misleading.

**A. Sources**

While there are sayings of Jesus recorded in the Gospel of John and in the noncanonical gospels, as well as possible echoes of such sayings in the Pauline correspondence, it is clear that the main source of authentic sayings of Jesus is the Synoptic tradition which underlies the Synoptic Gospels. Little of the extracanonical material is likely to go back to Jesus, and where it does, it is frequently dependent on the Synoptic Gospels; the utterances of Jesus in the Gospel of John are so different from those of the Synoptic Gospels, both as to form and content, that they must be adjusted to be, largely the work of the early Church.

**B. The Trustworthiness of the Synoptic Tradition**

There is some confusion among scholars about who should bear the burden of proof: those who affirm the general trustworthiness of the synoptic tradition or those who adopt a more-sceptical attitude. This is misleading; scholars of either persuasion need to give an account of their *reasons* for their views.

The main grounds for caution about the trustworthiness of the Synoptic tradition have been provided by form critics who have argued (a) that the forms in which the Synoptic sayings have come down to us are largely the work of the early Christian communities and relate to the typical situations in which they were communicated; (b) that in the process of communication the individual units of tradition have undergone a process of change. Others, notably Gerhardsson and, more recently, Riesner, have argued that contemporary techniques of memorizing and preserving sacred stories and sayings were essentially trustworthy and that at least some of the gospel material will have been passed on from an early date in this way. However, the variation between the Synoptic Gospels themselves shows the extent to which subsequent Christian writers felt at liberty to change their inherited texts. Moreover it is crucial to Gerhardsson's argument that he should be able confidently to distinguish the material which was thus passed on from the work of the evangelists, and this he does not do. Thus on either view scholars have to reckon with the possibility of accretions and alterations to the tradition and have therefore to distinguish carefully the work of the evangelists and of the Christian community from that which can be reasonably attributed to Jesus. Nevertheless, decisions about authenticity will be influenced by the extent to which the Synoptic tradition is seen either as "a folk tradition growing without constraints or as a consciously cultivated teaching tradition" (Riesner 1981: 502, whose confidence about the latter view is not altogether shared by Gerhardsson).

**C. The Quest for Authentic Sayings**

In their attempts to discern the authentic sayings of Jesus, scholars have appealed partly to general considerations of how formed units of tradition may develop: by additions, by fusing with other units, by being put into a particular framework, etc.; partly to certain tests of particular sayings. General formal considerations can suggest what the earliest forms of certain material were and also indicate in some cases relative dates for material contained within a particular complex (e.g., Jeremias' work on the parables). This is useful, but it does not prove whether the earliest form of early material in fact goes back to Jesus.

Thus certain tests have been proposed, principal among which is the dissimilarity test: A saying which is sufficiently distinct from known contemporary Jewish material and also from the later creations of the

early Church may with certainty be attributed to Jesus. But what is meant by "sufficiently distinct"? If we mean, e.g., that it is quite unlike anything that we could conceive a Jew of the 1st century uttering, then clearly we should not attribute it to Jesus. Further, if we applied the test rigorously we would end up with very little material to consider, if any. And even if we had a small body of material which could thus with confidence be attributed to Jesus, it is likely that it would distort his teaching because we would have abandoned so much that united him with his fellow Jews. It is reasonable to assume however that Jesus did have a distinctive message, though not so distinctive as to be unintelligible to his contemporaries nor indeed wholly unrelated to their major concerns. What we therefore need to do is to identify a significant core of sayings within the tradition which is coherent within itself and at the same time constitutes a body of material that can be perceived as representing a significant development of contemporary Jewish thought.

While the dissimilarity test has attracted most attention, there are others: linguistic and stylistic tests, which falter on the simple fact that we have at best translations of Jesus' sayings, and tests of multiple attestation and of coherence, which at most represent pointers to or additional confirmation of a general hypothesis about where the central core of Jesus' proclamation lies.

By way of example we may consider Mark 7:15. A tradition historical analysis of Mark 7: 1–23 (Bultmann 1963: 74; Riches 1981: 136 and 217 n. 70) suggests that this was an independent logion around which other material in the section has subsequently clustered. This, while not providing proof of authenticity, nevertheless indicates an early date for the saying. Advocates of the dissimilarity test (Perrin 1976) have moreover claimed that it is a saying which meets all its requirements. It is certainly not a saying, with its apparent rejection of Levitical purity laws, which one could easily expect on the lips of a 1st century Jew. Nor indeed did such beliefs come easily to many early Christians. But here we encounter difficulties. If we take Mark 7:15 as an outright rejection of Levitical purity regulations, then we may want to question whether even Jesus, as a 1st century Jew, could have said and believed it. Equally, if it had been accepted as a saying of Jesus in the early Church, would the debates about table-fellowship with gentiles have raged as they did (Räisänen 1982)? Paul could have produced the saying and the debate would have been closed. However against this it can be argued that Paul did indeed know such a saying (Rom 14:14) but that it does not appear to have saved him trouble and anguish. So the debate remains inconclusive. If on the other hand one could make a link between the removal of cultic boundaries which seems to be advocated in Mark 7:15 and the advocacy of the removal of group boundaries in Matt 5:44, it would greatly strengthen the case for the authenticity of *both* sayings.

Lastly it has to be borne in mind that in applying a test like the dissimilarity test or indeed in searching for a central core of Jesus' sayings we are inevitably involved in making judgments about the *sense* of the Greek *sentences* the gospels attribute to Jesus. There is moreover an unavoidable element of circularity here. If we knew of a particular sentence that it conveyed adequately the sense of one of *Jesus'* sayings then we would be in a better position to conjecture what its sense was. However, to be in a position to attribute any sentence to Jesus we need first to be reasonably confident about its sense! This is merely to underline the point that we do not have hard and fast tests to enable us to establish what Jesus said. Rather we have to make reasonable conjectures on the basis of a Greek tradition of sayings of Jesus. In such conjectures we shall of course be guided by what we take to be the standard, contemporary sense of sayings attributed to Jesus, while being open to the possibilities of interesting shifts away from the standard, conventional sense (Riches and Millar 1985). We shall certainly learn what we can from his actions which, while by no means unproblematic as to their sense (Riches 1986) may still afford important clues about Jesus' intentions and beliefs. We shall, above all, be looking for those sayings which, taken together, can be seen to have a coherent sense and to offer an explanation both of Jesus' relationship to his contemporary world and its beliefs and to the subsequent history of the early Church and its beliefs.

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JOHN RICHES

## *THE TEACHING OF JESUS CHRIST*

The phrase "the teaching of Jesus" is used in a comprehensive sense to refer to the whole of Jesus' message, rather than in a more-restricted sense to refer to his "teaching" as a category distinct from his "preaching."

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F. Conclusion

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**A. Introduction**

**1. Modern Study.** The teaching of Jesus has been an object of study throughout Christian history, but especially so since the birth of modern biblical scholarship and the quest for the historical Jesus, beginning in the 18th century and burgeoning in the 19th century. Indeed, the modern study of Jesus' message is a central element in the quest for the historical Jesus.

Two factors accounted for the proliferation of studies of the teaching of Jesus in the 19th century. First, the new perception of the nature of the gospels that accompanied the birth of modern biblical scholarship meant that they were no longer seen as straightforward historical reports of what Jesus said and did. Rather, as documents written some 40 to 70 years after the life of Jesus, they came to be seen as the developing tradition of the early Church, containing (minimally) two levels of material: the convictions and perspectives of early Christian communities and the authors who wrote for them, plus material which may go back to Jesus himself. Thus the teaching of Jesus could no longer be seen as the sum total of all the words attributed to him by the evangelists, but had to be reconstructed through a historical-critical reading of the gospels, which distinguished between what goes back to Jesus and what must be viewed as the product of the early Church.

A second factor fueled the 19th century's focus on the teaching of Jesus: the Enlightenment suspicion of anything "supernatural" or "miraculous" or "doctrinal" in the gospels. With these elements set aside, what remained of the gospel portraits of Jesus was his teaching. Moreover, it was to his teaching that primary theological significance was assigned.

The legacy of the 19th century (perhaps best represented by the popular lectures given by Adolf von Harnack in Berlin in 1900, published as the best-seller *What is Christianity?*) stands in a relationship of continuity and discontinuity with 20th century scholarship. For the most part, this century's scholarship has been more skeptical about being able to recover the teaching of Jesus, and reluctant to ascribe much theological significance to historical reconstructions of Jesus' message. Nevertheless, major treatments of Jesus' teaching continued to appear: in English-language scholarship, especially Manson, Dodd, and Perrin; and in German-language scholarship, especially Bultmann, Bornkamm, and Jeremias. In the last 20 years, there has been a remarkable resurgence of studies of Jesus' teaching, including especially a refined awareness of the importance of the forms and functions of Jesus' message and of its relationship to his social world. What follows seeks to represent (except when otherwise noted) the consensus or near-consensus of mainstream Jesus scholarship as the 20th century nears its end.

**2. Sources.** Though a few early non-Christian documents mention Jesus, they say nothing about his message. All of the documentary evidence for reconstructing the message of Jesus is thus Christian, canonical and non-canonical. The meticulous study of these documents over the last two centuries has led to a number of widely shared conclusions about our sources for the teaching of Jesus.

First, within the NT the Synoptic Gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke) are the primary sources. John's gospel is not seen as a historical account of Jesus' message. Rather, John portrays what Jesus had become in the lives of post-Easter Christians; Jesus as a figure of history did not speak as he does in John's gospel. Second, within the Synoptic Gospels, the earliest layer of written tradition is known as "Q,"

defined as material found in both Matthew and Luke but not in Mark. Consisting of about 200 verses, Q is considered by most scholars to be the earliest collection of Jesus' teaching (50 C.E.?).

Third, Mark is the earliest of the canonical gospels (about 70 C.E.), and, along with Q, was used by the authors of both Matthew and Luke when they wrote their gospels some two decades later (for a minority position which argues against both Q and the priority of Mark, see Farmer 1982). Fourth, Matthew and Luke, in addition to containing much of Mark and Q, also contain material peculiar to each gospel (special Matthew and special Luke), some of which may go back to Jesus. Fifth and finally, the recently discovered (1945) *Gospel of Thomas* is the most important non-canonical source for the message of Jesus, containing some material which may be as old as anything found in the Synoptics. See THOMAS, GOSPEL OF. Though other early Christian documents both within the NT canon and outside of the canon contain echoes of Jesus' message, the primary sources are thus the Synoptic Gospels and Thomas.

**3. Using the Sources: Method.** Because even these primary sources are a mixture of traditions going back to Jesus and traditions which developed in the early Church, scholars have devised methods for sorting out this material in order to decide what is "historically authentic," i.e., what goes back to Jesus (Stein, Polkow, Boring, Crossan 1988, Evans). The methods are numerous and interrelated; rarely can a single one be used in isolation.

Six methods are commonly cited. First is multiple attestation: it counts in favor of the historical authenticity of a saying if it is found in more than one layer of early tradition. Second is the need to discount traditions which demonstrably reflect the developing tendencies of the early Church. Third is the environmental criterion: A saying must be "at home" in a Palestinian setting of the first third of the 1st century if it is to be regarded as authentic. Fourth is the criterion of distinctive "form" and "voice," especially as disclosed in the parables and aphorisms of Jesus. Fifth (and most controversial and thus disputed, at least in its strong form) is the criterion of "dissimilarity": if a saying is to be regarded as authentic, it must be dissimilar from both Jewish and early Christian material. Sixth is the criterion of coherence; namely, a saying, even if found in only one source (and even if that source is relatively late), may be regarded as authentic if it is consistent with an already well-established core of material.

Treating the teaching of the historical Jesus thus involves two steps: (1) the question of historical authenticity: deciding what parts of the material attributed to Jesus actually go back to him; and (2) the question of interpretation: deciding what those portions deemed to be authentic meant in the setting of 1st-century Jewish Palestine. In practice, the two steps are not always neatly sequential; sometimes a decision about the meaning of a saying affects the decision about whether it may be regarded as authentic.

**B. Important Preliminary Considerations**

Three general statements—two negative, and one positive—are important as prologue to an exposition of the teachings of Jesus.

**1. Jesus' Message Not about Himself.** The careful scholarly work on sources and methods in the last two centuries has led to a conclusion of the first importance: Jesus' message was not about himself. This conclusion is very different from the widespread popular image of Jesus' message, which sees it as largely about his own identity, his saving significance, and the importance of believing in him. But this image, based largely on John's gospel, is not an accurate image of Jesus' own message. Moreover, the relatively few sayings in the Synoptic Gospels where Jesus seems to speak of himself and his saving purpose reflect one of the tendencies of the developing tradition of the early Church: to ascribe to Jesus a set of convictions about his identity and purpose that emerged only after Easter. This conclusion engenders the question of Jesus' teaching afresh: If Jesus' message did not center on himself and his role in salvation, what was it about? It was, as we shall see, about God, the world of the everyday, and a way of transformation for both individual and social existence.

**2. Eschatological Consensus in Question.** Nor is it any longer taken for granted by scholars that his teaching was decisively shaped by the expectation of the end of the world. This represents a significant change from the consensus which dominated much of 20th century scholarship, which affirmed that Jesus' message centered on the imminent coming of the kingdom of God, understood as involving such eschatological (end-time) events as the resurrection of the dead, the last judgment, and the dawning of the

everlasting kingdom, whether on this earth or in a "new" world. This eschatological understanding of the teaching of Jesus emerged near the beginning of the century in the work of J. Weiss and A. Schweitzer and became dominant by mid-century.

However, in the 1980's, it became clear that this was no longer a consensus, with perhaps a slight to substantial majority of scholars no longer holding it (see Borg 1986). A major paradigm shift away from an eschatological understanding of Jesus' teaching may be occurring, even though no replacement consensus has emerged. Thus, in what follows, neither an eschatological nor a non-eschatological framework for Jesus' message will be assumed, and we will return to the topic later (see E.1.).

**3. Relationship to Judaism.** Because of the mostly tragic history of Jewish-Christian relations, in which Jesus and "the Jews" have often been portrayed as bitter enemies, it is necessary at the outset to speak of the Jewishness of Jesus. This refers, first, to the obvious fact that Jesus' origins were Jewish: He was born a Jew, socialized as a Jew, and remained Jewish all his life. To be sure, he was not unaffected by other traditions. He lived in a cosmopolitan time and place. Hellenistic culture was present throughout Palestine (perhaps especially in Galilee), and Jesus almost certainly knew Greek as well as Aramaic.

Thus, second, it is important to add that to speak of Jesus' Jewishness is more than simply a reference to his origins: namely, the roots and focus of his message and mission were Jewish. There are strong continuities between his teachings and central elements of Jewish scripture and tradition. He restricted his teaching and activity to Jews (see Matt 10:5, 15:24). His concern was for the "shape" of his people's life. He did not seek to establish a new religion, but spoke about and sought the renewal of Judaism.

Yet there was tension and conflict between Jesus and some of his Jewish contemporaries, and it will be necessary to speak of that tension as we turn to an exposition of his teaching. As we do so, it is important to realize that the teaching of Jesus was initially part an intra-Jewish dialogue. The tension and conflict between Jesus and some of his Jewish contemporaries was an intra-Jewish dispute, analogous to (even though not exactly the same as) the tension between Jeremiah and his contemporaries in the 6th century B.C.E., or the tension between Israel's conventional wisdom and unconventional voices such as the authors of Ecclesiastes and Job. Jesus' voice is a Jewish voice, and what we shall call the alternative wisdom of Jesus is grounded in Judaism, in the "alternative consciousness of Moses" (Brueggemann) which resonates throughout the Jewish tradition.

### C. Jesus as Teacher of "Wisdom"

The strongest consensus element of contemporary Jesus scholarship sees Jesus as a teacher of wisdom. "Wisdom," as a cross-cultural phenomenon and within the tradition of Israel, teaches a way of life. Grounded in a notion of "how things are" (an understanding of what is real, what is possible, what is important), it speaks of how one should live. Composed of a "worldview," a basic image of reality, and an "ethos," a way of life which is also a path through life, wisdom thus inculcates a way of seeing which is integrated with a way of living. Its "way" is most often contrasted to another way, so that teachers of wisdom ("sages") typically speak of two ways: the wise way and the foolish way, the righteous way and the wicked way, the way of life and the way of death.

The consensus that "teacher of wisdom" is a central category for understanding the teaching of Jesus is the result of two closely related developments in the last two decades. First, studies of Q (the earliest layer of the Synoptic tradition) have shown that it is dominated by wisdom forms of speech: beatitudes, parables, proverbs/aphorisms, and nature sayings. Thus the earliest stratum of the Jesus tradition is predominantly sapiential. Second, there has been intensive research on the forms themselves (especially parables and aphorisms) and their particular function in the message of Jesus.

**1. Conventional Wisdom.** In the history of religions, there are two main types of sages: teachers of "conventional wisdom" and teachers of "another way." The vast majority of sages are the former; Jesus was one of the latter, teaching an alternative wisdom. To understand this central claim, it is important to begin with the notion of conventional wisdom.

Conventional wisdom is the common or collective wisdom of a culture: It is "what everybody knows," the taken-for-granted understandings of "the way things are" and "how to live." Like wisdom itself, it is a cross-cultural phenomenon. Though its specific content varies from culture to culture, there are structural

elements that are constant. First, it is practical; its very purpose is to provide guidance for the "wise" or "right" way of life, ranging from matters of etiquette to the central values of a culture. Second, its picture of the way to live is sanctioned by the notion of rewards and punishments. Its common theme is "Follow this way, and you will do well, or "You reap what you sow." Blessings and rewards, whether in this life or another, will follow its pursuit. This is true of both religious and secular forms of conventional wisdom: in Western religions, the notion of a last judgment; in Eastern religions, the notion of karma; in modern secular culture, the notion of success and prosperity as reward for hard work.

Third, conventional wisdom establishes boundaries and hierarchies: There are those who measure up to conventional wisdom's standards (achievement, propriety, gender, birth, etc.), and those who do not. The latter are the marginalized or even outcasts. Fourth, and cumulatively, conventional wisdom thus creates a world in which one lives, an ordering of reality which shapes perception, behavior, identity, and society.

These general features of conventional wisdom were found in particular form in the social world of 1st-century Jewish Palestine. It specific content was grounded in sacred tradition, especially the Torah, in which were found the stories of God's relationship to Israel and the laws by which Israel was to live. Thus it contained both Israel's image of reality, its picture of the way things were, and Israel's ethos, its way of life. Together with Israel's folk wisdom (found in part in the book of Proverbs), it defined the right way to live. Those who followed it were righteous and respectable and would be blessed, whether in this life or the life to come. Those who did not were regarded as on the margin or beyond the margin of the world created by conventional wisdom.

The core value" (Neyrey 1986; 1988) or "paradigm" (Borg 1984; 1987) which gave shape to its conventional wisdom was purity. This was the product of a cultural dynamic expressed in the postexilic holiness code, "Say to all the people of Israel: 'You shall be holy; for I the Lord your God am holy' " (Lev 19:2; see also Lev 11:44, 20:26). Image of reality and ethos were linked together: God was holy, and Israel was to be holy. Holiness was understood as purity, which meant separation from all that was impure. Purity (and impurity) applied to people, places, and things. Though persons and groups within Israel argued about the precise meaning of holiness and purity, the concern for purity was not peculiar to a particular group, but was central to the dominant religious consciousness of the culture.

**2. The Forms of Jesus' Wisdom Teaching.** The last 20 years have seen major advances in our understanding of the forms of Jesus' wisdom teaching. Studies of the parables (Wilder, Funk, Via, Crossan 1973, Perrin 1976, McFague, Tolbert, Boucher, Scott) and aphorisms (Tannehill, Carlston, Williams, Crossan 1983, Perdue) have highlighted their function as forms of oral speech.

**a. Parables.** Though the word "parable" is used in the gospels to refer to many different forms of Jesus' sayings, it is most commonly used both in ordinary speech and by scholars to refer to a particular form, namely to the "short stories" which Jesus told. With their exact number dependent on definition and classification, there are about 30 parables attributed to Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels, and another 3 in the *Gospel of Thomas.* This is a remarkably large number, given the relatively small compass of Jesus' teaching. Though it is clear that the parables have undergone modifications in their transmission and application, a large majority are regarded by scholars as authentic; they are the bedrock of the Jesus tradition.

An understanding of Jesus' parables as metaphors has superceded the "single point" interpretation, with which Jülicher replaced their allegorical reading about 100 years ago and which dominated parable interpretation through the first two-thirds of this century. Under the "single point" interpretation, the parables were understood as stories illustrating a point or moral truth which could also be expressed in non-parabolic language: sacrifice everything for something of greater value; make the most use of what you have been given; small beginnings lead to great endings.

The metaphoric understanding of the parables sees their function in a very different light. The essence of metaphoric language is comparison: It understands one thing in terms of another. Metaphoric language thus does not make a point; rather, as comparison, metaphor invites the hearers to see something in the light of something else. Metaphor does not illustrate; it illuminates. When language functions metaphorically, it does not provide examples of something already known, but is an invitation to see

something new or differently. Such are the parables of Jesus: They are short stories which invite a particular way of seeing.

**b. Aphorisms.** "Aphorisms" is here used comprehensively to refer to the short metaphorical sayings of Jesus, including beatitudes, nature sayings, and what are sometimes called proverbs. Compact, memorable, and evocative, they are crystallizations of insight. Even more numerous than the parables, there are over 100 of them, with the exact number again dependent on definition and classification. They are the most common form of Jesus' speech.

Aphorisms are both like and unlike proverbs. As literary forms, both are short pithy (and therefore) memorable sayings which crystallize insight. They differ, however, on the basis of "collective wisdom" versus "individual voice" (Williams, Crossan 1983). Proverbs are the former; generally anonymous, they are the voice of a culture's tradition, what everybody knows: "A stitch in time saves nine;" "Spare the rod and spoil the child." Proverbs are the folk wisdom of a culture made memorable. Aphorisms, on the other hand, are the product of an "individual voice," fresh creations which express the particular way of seeing of the speaker. As such, by their arresting or provocative quality, they invite the hearer to participate in that same way of seeing. Aphorisms not only crystallize insight, but invite further insight.

Some of Jesus' aphorisms are truisms, and their persuasive power depends upon their obvious truthfulness, which draws the hearers into agreement: "Figs are not gathered from thorns nor are grapes picked from a bramble bush" (Luke 6:44 = Matt 7:16); "No one can be a slave to two masters" (Matt 6:24 = Luke 16:13), "If a blind man leads a blind man, both will fall into a pit" (Matt 15:14 = Luke 6:39). Here the freshness of perception is not in the statement itself, but in the explicit or implicit application: the hearers are invited to see that something else is like that. Other aphorisms say something unexpected, reversing the normal understanding of things: "Blessed are the poor" (Luke 6:20 = Matt 5:3), or "The first shall be last" (Mark 10:31 par). Here they provoke a different way of seeing by jarring conventional perceptions.

Like the parables, Jesus' aphorisms are an invitational form of speech. They do not appeal directly to the will or intellect, as do statements of divine law or "doctrine"; rather, they appeal to the perception and imagination, inviting a particular way of seeing.

**3. The Subversive Wisdom of Jesus.** As a storyteller and an aphorist, Jesus used the traditional forms of wisdom to subvert and undermine the world of conventional wisdom.

As metaphoric narratives, Jesus' parables serve this purpose in different ways. Some are brief, arresting the imagination with compact and often surprising juxtapositions: The kingdom of God is like leaven which a woman put into three measures of flour (Luke 13:20b–21 = Matt 13:33b = *Gos. Thom.* 96); the kingdom of God is like a grain of mustard seed which a man planted in a field (Mark 4:31–32 = Matt 13:31b–32 = Luke 13:19 = *Gos. Thom.* 20). In both instances, the kingdom of God (usually associated with greatness) is compared to something small and insignificant.

Most of the parables, however, are more extended narratives, and what we have in the gospels may be viewed as skeletal outlines or plot structures of an oral story which Jesus "performed" many times, and which he may have elaborated at length. In this case, the parables work differently: As extended stories, they create a world which the hearers are invited to enter. Entering the world of the story, the hearers are then invited to see something else in the light of the story.

Many of the most famous parables of Jesus work in this way. In "A Man Had Two Sons" (Luke 15:11–32, traditionally known as the Prodigal Son, though the climactic focus is really on the older son), the hearers are drawn into the story of a runaway son who had become as an outcast, the joy of his father upon his return, and the complaint of the older son about the father's generous treatment of the returned runaway. The voice of the older son is in fact the voice of conventional wisdom: The father's behavior violated the ordering of life on the basis of rewards and punishments, and the hearers are invited to see the tension between conventional wisdom and the father's gracious behavior. So also in the story of the vineyard owner hiring laborers to work in his vineyard (Matt 20:1–15): Those hired at the last hour are paid the same as those who labored all day. Not surprisingly, those hired first complain; like the older son, they are the voice of conventional wisdom, and their voice is contravened by the parable.

The subversion of conventional wisdom continues in other parables. Given the attitude toward Samaritans in 1st-century Jewish Palestine, the story of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:30–35) puts together an impossible combination of words: good + Samaritan. Rather than it being an example story of neighborly behavior, the parable shatters the world of conventional wisdom. So also in the story of the Pharisee and tax collector (Luke 18:10–14): By reversing that culture's perception of Pharisees and tax collectors it thereby upsets the ordering of reality which pronounces the one righteous and the other an outcast.

The aphorisms work similarly. Some of them explicitly use the language of paradoxical polarity and reversal: first/last (Mark 10:31 par); humble/exalt (Luke 14:11, 18:14; Matt 18:4, 23:12); losing/finding (Mark 8:35 par, Matt 10:39 = Luke 17:33); relinquishing/receiving (Mark 10:21–30). Purity (and righteousness) is not a matter of conformity to the standards of a purity system; it is internal, a function of what is inside (Mark 7:15; Luke 6:43–45 = Matt 7:16–20, 12:33–35; Matt 5:8). There is a way of seeing which is not seeing, and a blindness which is metaphorical (Luke 6:39 = Matt 15:14; Luke 6:41–42 = Matt 7:3–5; Matt 6:22–23 = Luke 11:34–36).

Much of Jesus' wisdom teaching undermines the central focal points of the life of conventional wisdom: family, honor, wealth, and religion. These provided the primary basis for identity and security in his culture. Some of his most radical sayings called for leaving family or familial obligations (Luke 14:26 = Matt 10:37; Matt 10:34–36 = Luke 12:51–53; Luke 9:59–60; see also Mark 3:33–35). He spoke of wealth as a snare (Mark 10:23–25; Matt 6:19–21 = Luke 12:33–34; Matt 6:24 = Luke 16:13; see also Luke 6:24–26; 12:13–21; 16:19–31). He ridiculed the pursuit of honor (Luke 14:7–10; Mark 12:38–39; Luke 11:43 = Matt 23:6–7). Those who trusted in their own religious status or practice became object lessons of how not to live (Matt 6:1–6, 16–18; Luke 18:10–14; Luke 11:39–44 = Matt 23:23–27).

Like most teachers of wisdom, Jesus spoke of two ways. There is the wise way and the foolish way (Matt 7:24–27 = Luke 6:47–49), the narrow way and the broad way (Matt 7:13–14; see Luke 13:23–24). Strikingly, in the perception of Jesus, the broad way which leads to destruction is not the way of gross wickedness, but the way of conventional wisdom itself. As a sage, Jesus did not confirm the world of conventional wisdom, but challenged it.

**4. The Alternative Wisdom of Jesus.** The narrow way which leads to life is the alternative wisdom of Jesus. At its heart is an alternative image of reality, an alternative path, and an alternative paradigm for behavior.

Jesus imaged reality as gracious and generous rather than seeing it as ordered on the basis of rewards and punishments. In his nature sayings, he invited his hearers to see life as marked by a cosmic generosity: Consider the birds of the air, and the lilies of the field; they neither sow nor reap, nor toil nor spin, and yet God lavishes them with care (Matt 6:26–30 = Luke 12:24–28). So also the sun rises on the evil and the good, and rain falls on the just and the unjust (Matt 5:45). In these obvious facts, the hearers are invited to see pointers to the nature of God.

Similarly, the parables which subvert conventional wisdom's image of reality point to an alternative image of reality. The story of the overjoyed and gracious father in the parable of the Prodigal Son invites Jesus' hearers to image God as being like that. The story of the vineyard owner who paid all of his workers equally invites the same perception: God is like that. Reality—God—is not to be imaged as a judge who dispenses rewards in return for achievement, but as life-giving and nourishing. Consistent with the invitation to image God in this way is the term with which Jesus addressed God and which he apparently invited his hearers to use as well: *Abba* is the intimate and familiar term used by a very young child to address his or her father, much like the English "papa."

The alternative way or path of Jesus involves moving from a life centered in the standards, boundaries, and securities of conventional wisdom to a life centered in God. Jesus used a number of images to speak of this movement. What is needed is a new heart or a pure heart, that is, a transformation of the self at its deepest level, and not simply observance of the standards of conventional wisdom (Luke 6:43–45; Mark 7:6, 14–15; Matt 23:25–26 = Luke 11:37–41; Matt 5:8). What is called for is a radical centering in God, and not in the world: "No one can be a slave of two masters; you cannot be a slave of God and mammon"

("mammon" literally means "wealth," but metaphorically "worldly security"; Matt 6:24 = Luke 16:13; see Matt 6:19–21 = Luke 12:33–34). The way to this radical centering in God involves a metaphorical dying: following the way or path of Jesus means taking up one's cross, a vivid image for death in Roman-occupied Palestine (Matt 10:38 = Luke 14:27; Mark 8:34). It is the same movement captured in Jesus' paradoxical aphorisms: Humbling leads to exalting, losing to finding, relinquishing to receiving (see C.3.). In quite traditional language, the alternative path of Jesus is thus a dying to the world of conventional wisdom as the basis of security and identity and a rebirth to a life centered in God.

The way of Jesus also led to a new paradigm for behavior. Whereas the conventional wisdom of his day spoke of purity or holiness as the dominant paradigm for behavior, Jesus consistently spoke of compassion: The father in the parable of the Prodigal "had compassion" (Luke 15:20), as did the good Samaritan (Luke 10:33); the unmerciful servant was the one who did not show compassion (Matt 18:23–35). Its centrality in his teaching is most compactly expressed in the climactic saying, "Be compassionate, even as God is compassionate" (Luke 6:36 = Matt 5:48; Matthew's "perfect" is redactional). The saying is an *imitatio dei*, connecting Jesus' image of reality with the alternative paradigm for behavior: Just as God is compassionate, so those who are followers of God are to be compassionate. Thus the fruit of the alternative way of Jesus, of a life centered in God and not in the world of conventional wisdom, is compassion. It is also captured in the familiar words of the "great commandment" (Mark 12:28–31 = Matt 22:34–40; see Luke 10:25–28): radical centering in God and love of neighbor go together, and are the summary of the way.

**D. The Teaching of Jesus and Politics/Society**

Though there is considerable scholarly agreement about Jesus as a teacher of subversive and alternative wisdom, there is less agreement about the extent to which his teaching directly concerned sociopolitical issues of his day, due largely to two factors. First is the legacy of the eschatological understanding of Jesus' message: If Jesus believed the world was soon to end, then he would hardly have been concerned about the sociopolitical structures and direction of an ongoing historical community. Second, there has been a tendency to understand Jesus' teaching in an individualistic mode, both in Christian piety throughout the centuries and in 20th century scholarly understandings of Jesus within an existentialist or (most recently) cynic framework.

There has consistently been a minority voice within scholarship challenging the apolitical understanding of Jesus. Sometimes this has taken the form of seeing Jesus as a political revolutionary over against Rome, a view that has never generated much assent (with some differences, Brandon and Buchanan). Recently, however, a number of studies have argued in various ways that Jesus was political in a different sense: not as a leader of a movement against Roman rule, but as one who sought a transformation of his own people's sociopolitical life (Gaston, Yoder, Stegemann, Lohfink, Borg, Herzog, Goergen, Oakman, Horsley).

Central to the question is how politics is defined. If politics is defined as "what political leaders do," then it is difficult to see a political thrust to Jesus' message and mission. But if "politics" is understood as concern for the shape of the city *(polis)*, and by extension as concern for the shape of any historical community, there is considerable evidence of a strong sociopolitical component in Jesus' teaching.

**1. Prophetic and Conflict Forms of Jesus' Teaching.** First, in addition to wisdom forms of speech, there are prophetic forms of speech attributed to Jesus which link him to the classical prophets of Israel and their concern with justice, oppression, and the historical direction of their nation's life. These include "woes" (Luke 6:24–26; Luke 11:42–52, with parallels in Matthew 23), "threat oracles" (Luke 13:34–35 = Matt 23:37–39; Luke 19:41–44, Mark 13:2), and "indictments" too numerous to list. He also performed actions which recalled the symbolic acts of the prophets (Mark 11:1–10, 15–17). Moreover, the tradition refers to Jesus as a prophet, as he reportedly did himself (Mark 6:4; Luke 13:33). Second, there also is a very pronounced element of conflict in the teaching of Jesus. Controversy stories abound (all with various kinds of authorities), and many of the parables and aphorisms of Jesus reflect conflict settings. Some of his contemporaries seem to have found his message and activity to be threatening to the established ordering of life.

**2. Criticism of Ruling Elites.** The traditions about Jesus report harsh criticisms directed against the ruling elites of wealth, power, and righteousness. He spoke "woes" against the rich (Luke 6:24–26) and against the scribes who used the law for monetary gain (Mark 12:38–40). Stories which begin with "Once there was a rich man" consistently turn out badly (Luke 12:15–21; 16:19–31; see also Mark 10:17–25). He called Herod Antipas "that fox," a term of contempt (Luke 13:32), and criticized "the rulers of the gentiles" as models of how *not* to behave (Mark 10:42–43). According to Mark, he charged the wealthy religious elite who controlled the temple with having made it into a "den of robbers" (Mark 11:17), and accused them of being unfaithful murderous tenants of the vineyard of Israel (Mark 12:1–9).

**3. Challenge to the Core Value of Purity.** Purity (holiness) as the core value of Jewish conventional wisdom had produced a society ordered in accord with a "purity system" (Neyrey 1986, 1988). Among Jews, there were varying degrees of purity, determined not only by observance or non-observance of the law, but also by ancestry, gender, occupation, and physical wholeness. Genealogies were kept which determined what classes of Jews could intermarry. Though not intrinsically impure, women tended to be identified with the impure side of the spectrum; in a patriarchal and androcentric society, they were second-class citizens in the sense of being denied many of the prerogatives of men and were radically separated from men in public life. Certain occupations, notably those that involved suspicion of gross immorality or frequent contact with gentiles or women, rendered one impure and even "outcast" (beyond the purity system).

The poor were also associated with impurity, in part because their circumstances made following the life of conventional wisdom difficult, and in part because of the notion that prosperity was the reward for righteousness (poverty therefore was a sign that something was wrong). Persons with certain diseases or physical abnormalities were impure. Gentiles were by definition impure. Like outcasts, they were beyond the purity map, and therefore had no place in the "holy land," the boundaries of which were the outer limits of purity. Their very presence was polluting, yet they controlled the land of Israel. Not surprisingly, anti-Roman feelings were intense.

Thus the purity system generated a world with sharp social boundaries: between observant and nonobservant, men and women, prosperous and impoverished, whole and "impaired," Jew and gentile. As the core value, embedded within the conventional wisdom of Jesus' social world, the ethos of purity was thus also a politics of purity.

Within this background, Jesus' teaching about purity does not simply concern a matter of personal piety, but can be seen as a radical challenge to the politics of purity. His teaching that purity was not external but internal denied that purity was a product of observing external boundaries: "There is nothing outside a person which by going in can defile; but the things which come out of a person are what defile" (Mark 7:15; see also Luke 11:39–41 = Matt 23:25–26; Matt 5:8; Luke 6:43–45). He was often in conflict with the Pharisees (the group most committed to the extension of purity in public life), accusing them of being a source of defilement rather than purity (Luke 11:44 = Matt 23:27). He criticized the preoccupation with tithing and the sabbath, both central concerns of the purity system (Luke 11:42 = Matt 23:23; Mark 2:23–28, 3:1–6; Luke 13:10–17; 14:1–6). See UNCLEAN AND CLEAN (NT).

His behavior regularly transgressed the boundaries of the purity system. He was known for eating with "tax collectors and sinners," who were regarded as impure and outcasts. His entourage included women (Luke 8:1–3; Mark 14:40–41; see also Luke 23:55), and associations with women are reported in several stories shocking in their social context (Luke 7:36–50; 10:38–42; Mark 14:3–9). He touched and accepted persons whose physical condition (lepers, lame, maimed) made them unclean. He sided with the poor and marginalized. Luke's version of Jesus' inaugural address, whether it goes back to Jesus or is Luke's summary, catches this dimension very well: Jesus' message was good news to the poor, release to the captives, recovery of sight to the blind, liberty for those who are oppressed (Luke 4:18–19). He pronounced the poor "blessed" (Luke 6:20 = Matt 5:3), and many of the common people heard him gladly. Though his focus was on Israel, he was open to gentiles, and spoke of loving the gentile enemy (Matt 5:43–44 = Luke 6:27; see also Matt 5:38–41).

These traditions suggest that Jesus' message and activity had a boundary-shattering quality, radically calling into question the politics of purity which structured his own people's life. Moreover, seen in the context of the sociopolitical significance of purity, Jesus' alternative paradigm also has a sociopolitical meaning. As the "core value" involved in following the way of Jesus (see C.4 above), compassion leads to a vision of life very different from that generated by purity. Often contrasted to purity in the Jesus tradition, and etymologically related to "womb" (Trible), compassion is an inclusive image. Rather than establishing boundaries, compassion negates them; rather than dividing, it includes.

**4. A Renewal Movement within Israel?** One of the unresolved questions of contemporary scholarship is whether Jesus founded a movement whose purpose was the renewal of Israel. There are two issues: Did Jesus found a "movement"? If so, what was its purpose? Some have argued that a "movement" (as distinct from an "entourage" or "retinue" of followers) came into existence only after his death, and that all traces of "community formation" must be seen as a post-Easter development. Of those who think he did create a movement, some have seen it as an eschatological group preparing for the end (e.g., Schweitzer and Sanders), and thus unconcerned with the social world. Others have argued that Jesus founded a movement whose purpose was the renewal or revitalization of Israel (Dodd 1970, Stegemann, Schüssler Fiorenza, Lohfink, Borg, Horsley), citing as evidence the traditions that Jesus chose 12 disciples (symbolizing Israel), restricted his mission to Israel, and the analogies of other renewal movements within 1st-century Judaism (Theissen).

If Jesus did found a renewal movement, then it follows that his way was intended as a way for Israel. His emphasis upon compassion would then be seen not simply as an individual virtue, but as intended also as the core value for Israel. Just as the core value of purity generated a politics of purity, so also the core value of compassion generated a politics of compassion. Within this framework, the inclusiveness of the Jesus movement becomes an image of what Israel was to be. Both his message and movement disclose a concern for the historical "shape" and direction of Israel (see also E.3).

**E. Jesus and the Future**

A strong sense of crisis and urgency pervades the Jesus tradition, and this seems to have something to do with the future. Indeed, the future has played a large role in 20th century studies of the teaching of Jesus.

**1. Eschatology.** As noted earlier (see B.2.), the eschatological understanding of Jesus' message which dominated much of this century's scholarship is no longer a consensus. The collapse of the consensus is due to several factors: (1) A growing realization that the eschatological understanding of Jesus was based largely on the "coming Son of man" sayings, which the majority of scholars no longer see as authentic. (2) A refined understanding of Jewish apocalyptic material, including the realization that though some apocalyptic literature does speak of a coming end of the world, much does not (see, for example, Collins). (3) A reassessment of both the meaning and centrality of "kingdom of God." See KINGDOM OF GOD/HEAVEN.

At issue is not whether Jesus had an eschatology. He apparently spoke of a last judgment, though almost certainly not of his own second coming, or of his own return as judge or advocate. (For last judgment texts, see Luke 10:12 = Matt 10:15; Luke 10:13–14 = Matt 11:21–22; Luke 11:31 = Matt 12:42; Luke 11:32 = Matt 12:41. It is interesting that none of these speak of it as imminent; what they do have in common is a reversal of contemporary expectation, in keeping with the subversive wisdom of Jesus: In the judgment, when it comes, many of those who expected to be judged favorably will not be, and vice versa). He apparently affirmed an afterlife, though it was not a major theme of his teaching (see Mark 12:18–27, where he speaks about it in response to a challenge). He spoke of banqueting in the kingdom of God with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Matt 8:11–12 = Luke 13:28–29).

These traditions indicate that there is a "cosmic" strain in Jesus' eschatology: Like many of his contemporaries, he apparently believed in the resurrection of the dead and saw history as having a final judgment at its boundary. The issue, however, is whether he thought all of this (judgment, resurrection, the messianic banquet) was to happen soon, and, if so, whether his message was pervaded by this expectation.

**2. Kingdom of God.** According to Mark's advance summary, the heart of Jesus' message concerned the kingdom of God: "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand" (Mark 1:15). Twentieth century scholarship has generally accepted Mark's summary as historically accurate, and has spent considerable energy seeking the meaning of the phrase (for a dissenting view, which argues that Mark 1:15 is not only redactional but also misleading, see Mack). It has produced no consensus.

Since Weiss and Schweitzer, the understanding of the kingdom of God and the question of eschatology have been closely related, and the erosion of the eschatological consensus has been accompanied by a reassessment of the meaning of the phrase "kingdom of God." The key question is whether Jesus saw the kingdom as a future apocalyptic event or as a present mysterious reality. A majority of contemporary scholars hold a primarily or exclusively "present" view, emphasizing those traditions in the Synoptics (Matt 12:28 = Luke 11:20; Luke 17:20–21) and Thomas (*Gos. Thom.* 3, 113) which speak of a present kingdom, understood in either or both of the compatible senses of a mysterious presence pervading reality or as a power presently active in the world. A few hold a wholly or primarily future understanding, and the remainder maintain a "both/and" understanding. For those holding a partially or wholly future view, an important question is whether Jesus saw the future kingdom as coming in a dramatically objective and visible manner.

**3. Sociohistorical Crisis.** Yet another way of understanding the urgency associated with the future in the message of Jesus is to see the future crisis not as the imminent eschatological (final) judgment, but as a sociohistorical crisis flowing out of the historical direction of Jesus' social world (Gaston; Borg 1984, 1987; Goergen). The broad way leading to destruction then refers to the historical consequences of the path of conventional wisdom and its politics of purity; the crisis refers to the present as a time for radical change; and the threat includes the warnings of Jerusalem's and the temple's destruction, understood not as the vindicative act of an angry deity, but as the historical outcome of the present direction. This understanding is coherent with the understanding of Jesus' message as having a strong connection to politics and society (see D.). Jesus' message about the future would then be seen as a warning of contingent destruction, analogous to the prophets of Israel who were active before the destruction of the N and S kingdoms in the 8th and 6th centuries B.C.E.

## F. Conclusion

A factor not often acknowledged in attempts to reconstruct the teaching of Jesus is the reciprocal relationship between an overall image of Jesus (a gestalt) and historical judgments about both the authenticity and meaning of the various traditions attributed to him. At some point, the study of individual traditions begins to generate a gestalt. In this respect, the process through which a historian of Jesus goes is analogous to that of a detective: out of the clues, a "hunch" arises. A hunch or gestalt, once generated, quite naturally begins to affect how the rest of the data are seen. In reconstructions of the teaching of Jesus, the eschatological gestalt leads to a denial or reinterpretation of traditions which suggest a historical future; the gestalt of Jesus as a Cynic leads to a denial of traditions which point to a concern with the community of Israel; and the gestalt of Jesus as concerned with the historical direction and future of Israel leads to a denial or reinterpretation of traditions which seem to point to the imminent end of history. There is no way to avoid this dialectic, and interpretations of the teaching of Jesus in the future will continue to work within it. However, one can be aware of the dialectic, and the effort can be made to seek gestalts which do not prematurely eliminate traditions which otherwise seem well-grounded.

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MARCUS J. BORG

## *THE WORSHIP OF JESUS*

The prevalence and centrality of the worship of Jesus in early Christianity from an early date has frequently been underestimated, as has its importance for understanding christological development. On the other hand, Johannes Weiss called the emergence of the worship of Jesus "the most significant step of all in the history of the origins of Christianity" (1937: 37). Since the major types of evidence for the worship of Jesus form a continuous tradition from the NT onwards, this article will treat ante-Nicene Christianity as a whole, and will conclude with the contribution which the tradition of worshipping Jesus eventually made to the trinitarian and christological developments of the 4th and 5th centuries.

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A. Origins
B. Doxologies
C. Hymns
D. Pagan Perceptions of Christianity
E. Christian Adherence to Jewish Monotheism
    1. 1 Corinthians 8:6
    2. The Book of Revelation
    3. Missionary Christianity in the Apocryphal Acts
    4. Persecution and Martyrdom
F. Relationship to Patristic Christological Development

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### A. Origins

In the nature of the case, firm evidence of the point at which worship of Jesus began in early Christianity is unlikely to be available, but general considerations along with the available evidence point to the earliest Palestinian Jewish Christianity. In the earliest Christian community Jesus was already understood to be risen and exalted to God's right hand in heaven, active in the community by his Spirit, and coming in the future as ruler and judge of the world. As God's eschatological agent, he was the source of the experience of eschatological salvation and the enthusiasm of the Spirit which characterized Christian gatherings for worship, and he was the focus of all Christian relationship, through him, to God. Psalms and hymns celebrating his exaltation by God and God's work of salvation through him were probably sung and composed from the earliest times (Hengel 1983). To the living presence of a figure with this kind of religious role, thanksgiving and worship, naturally included within the worship of God, were the inevitable response. (For the very early origin of the worship of Jesus, see especially Hurtado 1988.)

Acclamations and prayers *addressed* to Jesus go back to the earliest times. The Aramaic cry *Maranatha* ("Our Lord, come!"; 1 Cor 16:22; *Did.* 10:6; cf. Rev 22:20), whose preservation in Aramaic in Greek-speaking churches indicates its very early origin, implies not only the expectation of the parousia, but present religious relationship with the one who is to come, whether or not it was associated with a eucharistic presence from the beginning. The NT evidence for personal prayer to Jesus as a regular feature of early Christianity has sometimes been underestimated. Paul (2 Cor 12:8; 1 Thess 3:11–13; 2 Thess 2:16–17; 3:5, 16; cf. Rom 16:20b; 1 Cor 16:23; Gal 6:18; Phil 4:23; 1 Thess 5:28; 2 Thess 3:18; Phlm 25) and Acts (1:24; 7:59–60; 13:2) take it for granted (cf. also 1 Tim 1:12; 2 Tim 1:16–18; 4:22). The dominant practice was undoubtedly prayer to God, but since Jesus was understood as the active mediator of grace from God (as in the epistolary formula, "Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ": Rom 1:7 and elsewhere) and as the Lord for whose service Christians lived, prayer addressed to him was natural. John 14:14 (where the correct reading is probably "if you ask *me*") makes prayer to Jesus a principle of regular petition.

Petitionary prayer to Jesus is not, as such, worship of Jesus. Two phrases drawn from the language of the OT cult, while they cannot be pressed to imply precisely the worship of Jesus, are nevertheless suggestive of the centrality of Jesus as object of religious devotion. In both Acts and Paul (whose usage here certainly reflects pre-Pauline Christian usage) Christians are those who "call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Cor 1:2; cf. Rom 10:12–14; Acts 9:14, 21; 22:16; 2 Tim 2:22; *Herm. Sim.* 9:14:3). The phrase, no doubt drawn into Christian usage especially from Joel 2:32 (Acts 2:21; Rom 10:13), regularly in the OT refers to the worship of God (e.g. Gen 4:26; 12:8; 13:4; Ps 105:1). Secondly, Acts 13:2 portrays the prophets and teachers at Antioch "worshipping *[leitourgountōn]* the Lord [Jesus]." The verb, which in Jewish usage referred to the cultic service of God, must here, in connection with "fasting," refer to prayer in the broadest sense with Jesus as its focus.

Since it was Jesus' functional divinity which made him the object of religious attention in Christian worship from the beginning, the transition from prayer, thanksgiving, and reverence to unambiguously divine worship of Jesus would not have been difficult or very self-conscious. It was a smooth process; there is no evidence that anyone contested or resisted it, even though the issues it raised for monotheistic faith and worship would soon have to be reflectively confronted. Certainly the view that the transition coincided with the movement of Christianity from a Jewish to a pagan Hellenistic environment (Bousset 1913: 92–125) is mistaken. Apart from involving an over-schematized division between Jewish and Hellenistic Christianity and neglecting the continuing dominance of Jewish Christian leadership in the churches of the gentile mission in the NT period, this view founders on the fact that two of the NT works in which the worship of Jesus is clearest—Matthew and Revelation—remain within a thoroughly Jewish framework of thought. That the worship of Jesus did not result from gentile neglect of Jewish monotheism, but originated within and had to be accommodated within a Jewish monotheistic faith, which passed into gentile Christianity along with it, is of the greatest importance for the course of later christological development.

The significance of Revelation, in which it is stressed that Jesus is worthy of explicitly divine worship, is discussed in section E.2. As for Matthew, the issue turns on his emphasis on *proskynēsis* (obeisance, prostration before someone as an expression of reverence or worship) paid to Jesus. Matthew uses the verb *proskynein* with Jesus as object 10 times (whereas Mark uses it in this way only twice, Luke only in 24:52 *v.l.*). On 5 of these 10 occasions there is no Synoptic parallel (Matt 2:2, 8, 11; 28:9, 17). On 3 of them, Matthew supplies the word *proskynein* where Mark has the gesture but not this word (Matt 8:2 = Mark 1:40; Matt 9:18 = Mark 5:22; Matt 15:25 = Mark 7:25). On the remaining 2 occasions Matthew supplies the word where the Markan parallel has not even the gesture (Matt 14:33 = Mark 6:51; Matt 20:20 = Mark 10:35). There are also 2 occasions where Mark has the word but Matthew omits even the gesture, and one where Mark has the gesture but Matthew omits it (Mark 5:6 = Matt 8:29; Mark 15:19 = Matt 27:30; Mark 10:17 = Matt 19:16). However, on these 3 occasions the worship (by demons, the mocking soldiers, the rich young man) would have been considered less than adequate by Matthew.

The evidence therefore suggests that Matthew uses *proskynein* in a semi-technical way for the obeisance which is due to Jesus and emphasizes that it expresses the proper response to Jesus. It is true that the word *proskynein* as well as the gesture it describes could be used of reverence for human beings, without any implication of idolatry (Matt 18:26; Rev 3:9; LXX Gen 18:2; 19:1; 23:7, 12; 33:6–7; 1 Kgdms 28:14; 3 Kgdms 2:19; Isa 45:14, etc.). But a large majority of Septuagintal uses of the word refer to the worship of God or false gods, and the gesture had become highly suspect to Jews in contexts where the idolatrous worship of a human being or an angel might be implied (Add Esth 13:12–14 [cf. Esth 3:2]; *Apoc. Zeph.* 6:14–15; Philo *Dec.* 64; *Gaium* 116; Matt 4:9; Luke 4:7; Acts 10:25–26; Rev 19:10; 22:8–9; cf. also *Mart. Pol.* 17:3). Thus, whereas in Mark and Luke the gesture of obeisance to Jesus is probably no more than a mark of respect for an honored teacher, Matthew's consistent use of the word *proskynein* and his emphasis on the point show that he intends a kind of reverence which, paid to any other human being, he would have regarded as idolatrous. This is reinforced by the fact that his unparalleled uses tend to be in epiphanic contexts (Matt 2:2, 8, 11; 14:33; 28:9, 17). Combined with his emphasis on the presence of the

exalted Christ among his people (18:20; 28:20), Matthew's usage must reflect the practice of the worship of Jesus in his church.

In view of the origin of the worship of Jesus in Jewish Christianity, Hurtado (1988: 100) calls it "a significantly new but essentially internal development within the Jewish monotheistic tradition." That it constituted a new "mutation" (Hurtado) of Jewish monotheistic worship, rather than an abandonment of Jewish monotheism, become evident in section E below. Further evidence of the worship of Jesus throughout the whole ante-Nicene period permeates the following discussion.

**B. Doxologies**

The attribution of doxologies to Christ is particularly clear evidence of unambiguously divine worship, i.e., worship that is appropriately offered only to the One God. Moreover, an unbroken tradition of use of christological doxologies can be traced from the NT through the whole ante-Nicene period. We distinguish two types: the strict doxological form and the acclamatory doxology.

The basic structure of the strict doxological form, of which many variations and expansions are possible, is: "To whom/him/you (be/is) the glory for ever. Amen." Such doxologies are typically used by Jews and Christians as a conclusion to a prayer, a sermon, a letter, or a part of any of these. Though they are rare in extant Jewish literature, where the benediction (a different form with an equivalent function) is much more common, there is no doubt that the early Christian use of doxologies did derive from Judaism, where they were an expression of monotheistic worship. It is the One God of Israel to whom glory belongs eternally. There could be no more explicit way of expressing *divine* worship of Jesus than in the form of a doxology addressed to him.

A common early Christian way of christianizing the doxology without addressing it to Christ was by the addition of the phrase "through Jesus Christ" (Rom 16:27; Jude 25; *Did.* 9:4; *1 Clem.* 58:2; 61:3; 64; 65:2; *Mart. Pol.* 14:3; 20:2; cf. 2 Cor 1:20; 1 Pet 4:10; Justin *1 apol.* 65:3; 67:2; Origen *or.* 33:1, 6). But doxologies addressed to Christ also came into use. The commonest form was a doxology to Christ alone, of which three examples occur in the NT, though in relatively late NT documents (2 Tim 4:18; 2 Pet 3:18; Rev 1:5–6). Two other NT doxologies (Heb 13:21; 1 Pet 4:11) could but are not very likely to be addressed to Christ, and the same can be said for two doxologies in *1 Clement* (20:12; 50:7) which, if addressed to Christ, would be roughly contemporary with the three certain NT examples. However, the three clear NT examples are from different geographical areas and theological traditions and so presuppose a common Christian practice going back some time before the writing of these works.

Some examples of the strict doxological form addressed to Christ alone from the 2d and early 3d centuries are *Acts John* 77; *Acts Paul & Thecla* 42; *Acts Pet.* 20; 39; Mel. *Peri Pascha* 10, 45, 65, 105; *fr.* II 23 [Hall 1979: 94]; *M. Perp.* 1:6; Tert. *De orat.* 29; Hipp. *Dan.* 1:33; 4:60; Origen *princ.* 4.1.7; 4.3.14. Two special categories of further examples should be noted.

(1) The doxologies that end the homilies of Origen are characteristically addressed to Christ alone. Of 202 such doxologies, 181 are addressed to Christ (5 others may be addressed to Christ or to the Father; Crouzel 1980). This practice of Origen's is especially noteworthy since it contrasts with his own theory (*Or.* 14–15; cf. 33.1), and is likely therefore to be evidence not only of his own devotion to Christ but also of a normal practice of ending sermons in this way.

(2) The early Acts of the Christian martyrs seem always to have ended with a doxology to Christ alone (*Mart. Pol.* 21; *M. Carp.* Lat 7; *M. Pion.* 23; *M. Just.* Rec.B & C 6; *M. Perp.* 21:11; *M. Marcell.* Rec.N 5; *M. Irenaeus of Sirmium* 6; *M. Julius* 4:5; *M. Crispina* 4:2). In some cases, the later expansion of an original christological doxology into a later trinitarian form can be clearly seen (*M. Carp.* Gk 47; *M. Just.* Rec.A 6; *M. Das.* 12:2; *M. Agap.* 7:2; cf. *M. Eupl.* Gk 2:4). Here the trinitarian doxology is the post-Nicene development; the purely christological doxology is the early form. In many of these cases the christological doxology is attached to a standard form of reference to the reign of Christ (*Mart. Pol.* 21; *M. Carp.* Lat 7; *M. Pion.* 23; *M. Marcell.* Rec.N 5; *M. Irenaeus of Sirmium* 6; *M. Das.* 12:2; *M. Agap.* 7:2), so that the effect is to contrast the divine rule of Christ, to whom worship is due, with Caesar's idolatrous pretensions to divine worship. The doxology thus expresses precisely the issue of worship for which the martyrs died.

As well as the strict doxological form, acclamatory doxologies were also used with purely christological reference. Here the basic form is simply, "Glory to …," with the object of praise expressed in the second or third person. Frequently a relative or casual clause follows, giving the reason for praise. This form is not normally a concluding formula (but see *Odes Sol.* 17:17), but forms an independent or even introductory ascription of praise. Its christological use in early Christianity seems to have been prevalent especially in Syria (*Odes Sol.* 17:17; *Acts John* 43; 78; *Acts Thom.* 59; 60; 80; 153), though not exclusively there (*M. Pion.* 11:6).

Besides its three purely christological doxologies, the NT also contains one doxology addressed to God and Christ together (Rev 5:13; cf. 7:10). This is the nearest the NT comes to later *trinitarian* doxologies in "coordinated" form, i.e., in which glory is ascribed to all three divine persons. They are less common in the pre-Nicene period than the doxology addressed to Christ alone, but are found. It is disputed whether this form of the doxology is original in *Mart. Pol.* 14:3 (see Jungmann 1965: 147 n. 4), but there seems to be a good case for claiming that it was regularly used by Hippolytus in the liturgy as well as in other works (Jungmann 1965: 5–8, 151–52, 152 n. 2, 155; Lebreton 1928: 622–25; but on the liturgy see also Hanssens 1959; 343–68), as it certainly was also in the Syriac liturgies from an early date (Jungmann 1965: 194–200). Other early doxologies to the trinity are in *Acts John* 94; 96; *Acts Thom.* 132 (all these in the acclamatory form); Dionysius of Alexandria (*ap.* Bas. *Spir.* 29).

**C. Hymns**

Hymns in praise of Christ are probably, as Martin Hengel has argued, "as old as the [Christian] community itself" (Hengel 1983: 93), and, like the doxology to Christ, can be traced in a continuous tradition through the early centuries. The singing of hymns "to the Lord" [i.e., to Christ] is already attested in Eph 5:19, then by Pliny's report (of Christians' own testimony) that Christians habitually, in their morning worship, sang a hymn to Christ as God (*carmen Christo quasi deo;* Pliny, *Ep.* 10.96.7). Ignatius' comment that by the concord and harmony of the Ephesian Christians the praise of Jesus Christ is being sung (*Iēsous Christos ᾳidetai:* Eph. 4:2; the following verse continues the thought in terms of singing through Christ to the Father) uses a metaphor which must reflect a practice of singing hymns in praise of Christ. Later evidence of the continuity of this tradition of christological liturgical hymns comes from the context of 3d-century christological debate. An anonymous early 3d-century writer, refuting the heretic Artemon who denied the deity of Christ, adduces as evidence of the antiquity of this belief the fact that "all the psalms and hymns *(ōdai)* written by believing brothers from the beginning hymn Christ as the Logos of God and speak of him as God *(ton logon tou theou ton christon hymnousin theologountes)*" (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.28.6). (In this text, as also in *Hist. Eccl.* 7.30.10, note the continuity with the early Christian terminology for such hymns in 1 Cor 14:26; Col 3:16; Eph 5:19: cf. Hengel 1983: 78–80.) Known hymns of some antiquity must be in the author's mind, since he also appeals quite accurately to named 2d-century writers who speak of Christ as God (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.28.4–5). Some years later, Paul of Samosata—the first Christian reformer who attempted to abolish the worship of Christ in the interests of a low christology—put a stop to psalms addressed to Jesus Christ, considering them to be modern compositions (*Hist. Eccl.* 7.30.10). (For the practice of singing hymns in praise of Christ, see also Or. *Cels.* 8.67; Porph. *ap.* Aug. *civ. Dei* 19.23.)

Those fragments of early Christian hymns which are preserved in the NT (and perhaps also in Ignatius) are not actually *addressed* to Christ, but are forms of "narrative praise" recounting the history of Jesus in the third person (especially Phil 2:6–11; 1 Tim 3:16). Like the narrative psalms of the OT, such hymns are praise of God for his saving acts in the history of Jesus, but they are at the same time also praise of Jesus the Savior, as Eph 5:19 makes plain, if it is to hymns of this type that it refers. Indeed, Phil 2:9–11 is virtually equivalent to a doxology addressed *to* Christ and *through* him to the Father. The tradition of hymns of narrative praise must have continued, because the hymnic elements in the work of Melito of Sardis seem clearly indebted to liturgical hymnody of this type. Melito makes the praise of Christ quite explicit by ending such compositions with formal christological doxologies (*Peri Pascha* 10, 45, 65, 105; *fr.* II 23 [Hall 1979: 94]). (Note also the combination of christological doxology and narrative praise in *Acts Thom.* 80, which may reflect a hymnic form.)

But hymns of praise actually addressed to Christ may also have originated at a very early date. A brief acclamation of praise to Christ, drawn from the messianic Psalm 118, is found in the context of the eucharistic liturgy in *Did.* 10:6: "Hosanna to the God of David!" ("Hosanna," originally a cry for divine help, had already in Jewish usage become a shout of praise to God: *TDNT* 9:682–84; see HOSANNA.) Rev 5:9–10, which addresses praise to Christ in the second person, is not an actual hymn in Christian use: the seer has composed this heavenly liturgy for its context in his work. But it would be surprising if it did not reflect the use of hymns of this kind in John's churches. Moreover, Heb 1:8–12 understands Ps 45:6–7 and Ps 102:25–27 as *psalms addressed to Christ,* while Justin later attests a Christian exegesis of some psalms as addressed to Christ (*Dial.* 37–38; 63; 73–74; 126). In line with Hengel's argument that in the earliest Christian community the use of OT messianic psalms accompanied the composition of new songs (Hengel 1983: 92), this kind of christological exegesis of psalms could have inspired new Christian psalms addressed to Christ. So it may be to this type of hymn that Eph 5:19 and Pliny's report refer. Examples of such hymns which have survived from a later period are the lamp-lighting hymn *Phōs hilaron,* probably from the late 2d or early 3d century (see Tripolitis 1970), Clement of Alexandria's hymn to Christ the Savior in *paed.* 3:12, and probably the original ante-Nicene form of the *Gloria in excelsis.*

The special value of the hymns is that they help us much more than the doxologies to see how the worship of Jesus arose. As Hengel has shown in detail (1983; see also Stanley 1958), the earliest hymns celebrated the saving death and heavenly exaltation of Jesus as the one who now shares the divine throne and as God's plenipotentiary receives the homage of all creation. In offering praise to Christ they anticipate the eschatological consummation when all will acknowledge Christ's lordship and worship him. Thus the worship of Christ is the community's response to his eschatological history. It corresponds to the very high but still functional christology of the earliest Christian Church, according to which Jesus exercises all the functions of God in relation to the world, as Savior, Lord, and Judge, as well as to the same church's strong sense of the living reality of Jesus as the one who reigns now and is coming. The one who functions as God naturally receives divine worship, not of course as a competitor or supplanter of God in the community's worship, but as God's plenipotentiary whose praise redounds to God's glory (Phil 2:11; Rev 5:12–13).

What this shows, however, is that the role which Jesus played in the Christian religion from the beginning was such as to cause him to be treated as God in worship. But in a context of monotheistic worship, in which the uniqueness of God is defined by the restriction of worship to him, this had to be seen sooner or later to mean that Jesus belongs to the being of God. If functional Christology gave rise to the worship of Jesus then it had also to give rise to ontic Christology, as it did already in the NT period as well as subsequently. It is likely that it was the attribution of explicitly divine worship to Jesus which promoted the development of more explicit statements about his divine being.

**D. Pagan Perceptions of Christianity**

Interesting evidence that the worship of Jesus was the central distinguishing feature of early Christianity comes from pagan observers and critics. "To pagan observers … Christian identity centered on the worship of Christ" (Wilken 1980: 113; cf. Mühlenberg 1982: 144). Most 2d- and 3d-century pagan writers who discuss Christianity emphasize the worship of Jesus (Pliny *Ep.* 10.96.7); Lucian *Peregrinus* 13; Celsus *ap.* Or. *Cels.* 8.12, 14, 15; Porph. *ap.* Aug. *civ. Dei* 19:23; cf. *Mart. Pol.* 17:2). Also the 3d-century anti-Christian graffito from the Palatine hill depicts a man in prayer before a crucified man with the head of a donkey, and the inscription: "Alexamenos worships [his] God" (*Alexamenos sebete theon;* cf. Min. Fel. *Oct.* 9: 4; Tert. *Apol.* 16; *Ad Nat.* 1.14). See Fig. ART.48.

In a sense it was easy for pagans to see Christianity as a religious association devoted to the cult of Jesus, in the same way that other religious groups exalted particular teachers and heroes to divine or semi-divine status. But what set Christianity apart, in their eyes, was not only that Jesus was in fact unworthy of such a cult (as Celsus was at pains to argue), but also the *exclusivity* of Christian worship. They saw Christianity as having perverted the exclusive monotheism of the Jews, itself an objectionable superstition (Tac. *Hist.* 5.4–5), into the exclusive worship of Jesus as the only God. Mühlenberg persuasively

interprets Pliny's report as implying this: "The skandalon, the fanatic obstinacy, as Pliny sees it, consists in the exclusivity of the divinity of Jesus" (1982: 139). According to Celsus, whose principal objection to Christians was their antisocial (indeed seditious) opting out of all religious practices except their own, Christians "want to worship only this Son of man, whom they put forward as leader under the pretense that he is a great God" (Or. *Cels.* 8.15). Celsus cannot understand how this can be compatible with the Jewish monotheistic tradition in which Christians claim to stand: "If these men worshipped no other God but one, perhaps they would have had a valid argument against the others. But in fact they worship to an extravagant degree this man who appeared recently, and yet think it is not inconsistent with monotheism if they also worship his servant" (Or. *Cels.* 8.12). In thus perceiving that Christians claimed an exclusive monotheism centered on the worship of Jesus, Celsus strikingly corroborates the accounts of the martyrs which are noted in E.4 below.

**E. Christian Adherence to Jewish Monotheism**

Before the advent of Christianity, Judaism was unique among the religions of the Roman world in demanding the *exclusive* worship of its God. It is not too much to say that Jewish monotheism was defined by its adherence to the first and second commandments. That the God of Israel was the one and only God meant not only that he was supreme, the Creator of heaven and earth, but also that he alone might be worshipped. By contrast, perhaps the principal religious feature of the rest of the Roman world was interreligious tolerance: One's participation in one cult did not imply that others or even oneself should not participate in other cults. Where a kind of monotheism was held by the more sophisticated—deriving from the Platonic tradition, for example—it denied the legitimacy of none of the existing forms of popular religion. Worship of the supreme transcendent God (in any case known by different names to different nations) was entirely compatible with also worshipping the lesser divine beings who were more immediately involved in affairs here on earth. The difference between Jewish and pagan monotheism did not, of course, turn on the *existence* of supernatural beings inferior to the supreme God, but on whether they might be worshipped.

It was this intolerant Jewish monotheism, with its condemnation of all other cults as idolatrous, which also made Christianity an objectionable oddity in the Roman world, with the additional scandal that Christianity somehow linked this exclusive monotheism to the cult of, not an ancient hero or a noble philosopher, but a recently crucified criminal. Intelligible as the thesis might seem—a priori—that Christianity adopted the worship of Jesus to the extent that it abandoned exclusive Jewish monotheism under the influence of the pagan environment, the evidence does not bear it out. On the contrary, it indicates that from the NT period onwards Christians held to exclusive monotheism as tenaciously as they did to the worship of Jesus, because both features were already definitive of Christian worship when it emerged from its original Jewish context into the pagan world.

The remainder of this article examines some of the evidence that the worship of Jesus was practiced in close conjunction with an adherence to Jewish monotheism.

**1. 1 Corinthians 8:6.** The worship of Jesus as Lord was undoubtedly practiced in the churches of the Pauline mission, but in combination with the exclusive monotheism of the parent religion. In 1 Cor 8:4–6, Paul takes up the issue of polytheistic and monotheistic worship by Christianizing the *šemaʿ*. In other words he aligns himself and his fellow Christians with the Jews in their rejection of the "many gods and many lords" of paganism, and does so by referring to the classic, constantly repeated declaration of Jewish exclusive monotheism in the *šemaʿ* (Deut 6:4). But he so expounds the *šemaʿ* as to include the lordship of Jesus within its terms, glossing its *theos* (God) with "Father" and its *kyrios* (Lord) with "Jesus Christ" (Wright 1986: 208; de Lacey 1982: 200–1).

**2. The Book of Revelation.** Revelation portrays the worship of Christ in heaven, quite explicitly as *divine* worship (5:8–12). The heavenly worship of God the Creator (4:9–11) is followed by the heavenly worship of the Lamb (5:8–12), and then, as the climax of the vision (5:13), the circle of worship expands to include the whole of creation addressing a doxology to God and the Lamb together. This very deliberate portrayal of the worship of Christ is noteworthy, not only because it occurs in a work whose thought-world is unquestionably thoroughly Jewish, but also because John shows himself quite aware of

the issue of *monotheistic* worship. The whole book is much concerned with the question of true and false worship—with differentiating the true worship of God from the idolatrous worship of the beast. Moreover, the issue of worship is reinforced in the closing chapters of the work by the incident, included twice for strategic effect, in which John prostrates himself in worship before the angel who mediates the revelation to him. The angel explains that he is only a fellow-servant of God and directs John to worship God (19:10; 22:8–9). John is here making use of a traditional motif developed in apocalyptic literature precisely in order to protect monotheistic worship against the temptation of angelolatry (Bauckham 1981: 323–37). The point is that the angel is not the source of revelation, but only the instrument for communicating it to John. The source is God, who alone may be worshipped. But in the same passages Jesus is distinguished as source, not instrument, of revelation (19:10b; 21:16, 20). By implication he is not excluded like the angel from the strictly monotheistic worship, but included in it. It seems clear that in Revelation we have the deliberate treatment of Jesus as an object of worship *along with* a deliberate retention of the Jewish definition of monotheism by worship.

Because of this combination it seems that John is concerned not to represent Jesus as an alternative object of worship alongside God, but as one who shares in the glory due to God. He is worthy of divine worship because his worship can be included in the worship of the one God. Thus chapter 5 is structured so that the heavenly worship of the Lamb (5:8–12) leads to the worship of God and the Lamb together by the whole creation (5:13). It is probably the same concern which leads to a peculiar usage elsewhere in Revelation, where mention of God and Christ is followed by a singular verb (11:15) or singular pronouns (22:3–4; and 6:17, where the reading *autou* should be preferred). (Of these texts, 22:3 is particularly noteworthy as referring to worship.) Whether the singular in these passages refers to God alone or to God and Christ as a unity, John is evidently reluctant to speak of God and Christ together as a plurality.

**3. Missionary Christianity in the Apocryphal Acts.** The apocryphal Acts of the late 2d and early 3d centuries are much the best evidence of how conversion to Christianity was represented to outsiders. They should not be branded as gnostic, and their doctrinal peculiarities, with the exception of the *Acts of John,* are not likely to have seemed unorthodox at the time. They represent conversion to Christianity, again and again, as conversion from idolatry to the worship of the only true God *Jesus* (as well as references below, see *Acts John* 42; 44; 79). Admittedly, in the *Acts of John* this treatment of Jesus as the only God is combined with a consistent elimination of all distinction between Jesus and the Father (except in 93–102, 109, which Junod and Kaestli [1983: 581–89] show to be a secondary addition). But the other Acts are not really, as has been claimed, guilty of "naive modalism": they distinguish the Father and the Son as readily as they call Jesus the only God. In fact, they exhibit a relatively unreflective combination of monotheistic worship, worship of Jesus as God, and the trinitarian distinctions—a combination probably characteristic of much popular Christianity and capable, of course, of being condemned as modalism by more sophisticated trinitarian thinkers. (It seems, for example, much like the position of Pope Zephyrinus, quoted by Hipp. *haer.* 9:6, who condemns it as "ignorant and illiterate.")

What is particularly interesting, however, is the evidence that traditional Jewish monotheistic formulas, designed to assert monotheistic worship against paganism, are employed for the same purpose, but with reference to the worship of Jesus. For example, there seems to have been a form of the full doxology, attested only in early Christian literature (Rom 16:27; 1 Tim 1:17; 6:15–16; Jude 25; *1 Clem.* 43:6; *2 Clem.* 20:5) but surely of Jewish origin, in which glory is ascribed to the *only* God. This turns the doxology into an explicit assertion of *exclusive* monotheistic worship. In the apocryphal Acts this kind of doxology is addressed to Jesus (*Acts Pet.* 20; 39; *Acts John* 77; *Acts Paul* [PHeid p.6]; and acclamatory form in *Acts John* 43; and cf. the ascriptions of praise, not in strictly doxological form, in *Acts Pet.* 21; *Acts Thom.* 25; *Acts John* 85). Furthermore, in several of these cases, the words are: "you [Jesus] are the only God and there is no other" (or similar) (*Acts Pet.* 39; *Acts John* 77; *Acts Thom.* 25; *Acts Paul* [PHeid p.6]). This formula derives from Deutero-Isaiah's polemic against idolatry (Isa 43:11; 45:5, 11, 22; 46:9 etc.) and had already been taken up in Jewish propagandist literature in the Roman world (*Sib.Or.* 3:629, 760; *Ps.-Orph.* 16; cf. *Sib.Or.* 8:377, which is most likely Christian). It makes absolutely clear that in the

apocryphal Acts, where the worship of Jesus is so prominent, it was conceived primarily in terms of Jewish monotheistic worship.

**4. Persecution and Martyrdom.** It was for their "atheism"—i.e., for their exclusive monotheistic worship—that Christians were persecuted and martyred. Probably they incurred a good deal of general dislike by their refusal to participate in what to their neighbors was ordinary social life but in their eyes would implicate them in idolatrous worship. Martyrdom resulted from refusal to worship the emperor or the traditional Roman state gods who were understood to guarantee the well-being of the empire.

In the conflict with the empire, which Christians saw as a conflict about monotheistic worship, they again took up traditional Jewish ways of asserting this. This is the case already in Revelation (14:7; 15:4; cf. the parody of a monotheistic formula in 13:4) and is also true of the Acts of the Martyrs (which, whether or not their records of the words of the martyrs are accurate, are evidence of Christian views on this issue). Repeatedly, under questioning, the martyrs claim to worship the One God who made heaven and earth (*M. Pion.* 8:3; 9:6; 16:3; 19:8, 11; *M. Fructuosus* 2:4; *M. Montanus & Lucius* 19:5; *M. Julius* 2:3; *M. Agap.* 5:2; *M. Crispina* 1:7; 2:3; *M. Phileas* Gk 9:10; Lat 3:4), call down destruction on the gods who did not make heaven and earth (Jer 10:11 LXX) (*M. Carp.* Gk 9; Lat 2; *M. Crispina* 2:3; *M. Eupl.* Lat 2:5), appeal to OT commandments prohibiting the worship of any but the one God (*M. Pion.* 3:3; *M. Montanus & Lucius* 14:1; *M. Julius* 2:1; *M. Irenaeus of Sirmium* 2:1; Phil. Thm. *ep.* 10 [*apud* Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 8.10.10]; *M. Phileas* Lat 1:1), echo traditional Jewish polemic against idols (*M. Carp.* Gk 1:6–7; *M. Marcell.* Rec.M 1:1; *M. Irenaeus of Sirmium* 4:3; *M. Crispina* 3:2), and use other standard formula of Jewish monotheistic worship ("I know of no other God besides him": *M. Crispina* 1:4; cf. Dion. Al. *apud* Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 7.11.5; "the living and true God": *M. Carp.* Lat 3:4; *M. Julius* 1:4; *M. Crispina* 1:6). But with no sense of incongruity the martyrs also speak of Christ—the crucified man—as God and of his worship (*M. Carp.* Gk 5; *M. Pion.* 9:8–9; 16:4–5; *M. Con.* 4:2; 6:4; *M. Maximilian* 2:4; *M. Julius* 3:4; *M. Felix* 30; *M. Phileas* Gk 5–6; *M. Eupl.* Lat 2:4), while their own prayers and worship as they approach and suffer martyrdom are usually to Christ (*M. Carp.* Gk 41; Lat 4:6; 5; 6:5; *M. Fructuosus* 4:3; *M. Con.* 6:4; *M. Julius* 4:4; *M. Felix* 30; *M. Irenaeus of Sirmium* 5:2, 4; *M. Eupl.* Lat 2:6; 3:3). We have already noticed (section B.) how the standard literary conclusion to the accounts of martyrdom sets the eternal divine kingship of *Christ* in implicit contrast to the pretended divinity of the emperor and the eternity of the empire.

**F. Relationship to Patristic Christological Development**

How could Jewish monotheism accommodate the worship of Jesus? It seems clear, from what we know of popular Christianity in the first three centuries, that for most Christians this was not a real problem. Worship of Jesus was worship of God. Jesus was not an alternative, competitive object of worship alongside the Father. His worship was included within the worship of the One God. In this way popular Christianity combined the exclusive monotheism of its parent religion with the worship of Jesus that the central datum of Christian faith and experience—the divine function of Jesus—required. However, in order to maintain and safeguard this position, it was necessary for reflective theology to reach a doctrinal understanding of the being of God and the being of Christ which could do justice to the two propositions: that only God may be worshipped, and that Jesus is such that he must be worshipped. The search for such an understanding, within the intellectual context of the time, occupied Christian thinkers for the whole of the patristic period. The worship of Jesus was a major factor determining the result.

By means of a necessary oversimplification, we can identify two important trends in ante-Nicene Christianity's reflection on the relation of Jesus to God. One trend remained close to the worshipping life of the church *and* to Jewish monotheism; it reflects very faithfully the evidence just surveyed for the worship of Jesus and for the retention, in Christian witness, of exclusive monotheistic worship against the polytheistic worship of paganism. It is easy to see how this combination might lead in the direction of modalism, in which the distinction between the Father and the Son was simply denied. As we have already remarked in connection with the apocryphal Acts, by no means everything that, taken in isolation, sounds modalistic really is. But the danger was present. If only God may be worshipped and if Jesus may

be worshipped, then the conclusion could be drawn that there can be no real distinction between God the Father and God as incarnate in Jesus.

Such a proposition was not likely to succeed in the long run. It neglected too much in the witness of the Bible and the tradition to the personal distinction between Jesus and his Father, and while doing justice to the worship of Jesus, abolished his mediatorial role, which was equally strong in the tradition, not least in the liturgy. But it is easy to see why it made an immediate appeal and was at first tolerated by the early 3d-century bishops of Rome. Noetus, defending his modalistic teaching against the elders of the church of Smyrna, asked: "What evil am I doing by giving glory *(doxazōn)* to Christ?" (Hipp. *Noët.* 1.6; the importance of the point is shown by the way Hippolytus takes it up in 9.2; 14.6–8; and concludes the work with his own doxology addressed to the Son along with the Father and the Holy Spirit: 18.2).

The other trend is represented by the tradition of intellectual theology, which was relatively more independent of the worship and witness of ordinary Christianity. This tradition begins in the Apologists of the 2d century and continues in the Alexandrians and the Origenist tradition. At first sight it may seem surprising that the danger of a paganizing of Christianity arose here rather than in popular Christianity, but there is a clear reason why this was in fact the case. Christianity had no difficulty in distinguishing itself from popular paganism towards which it was consistently intolerant, but the Christian intellectuals were engaged in a critical appropriation of pagan philosophy. The result was that they tended to use Platonic monotheism as the model for understanding the relation of Jesus to God. God the Father is the supreme God, while Christ, the Logos, is God in a subordinate and derivative sense. And just as the Platonist did not confine worship to the supreme God, but allowed the worship of lesser divinities to appropriate degrees, so the Christian practice of the worship of Jesus could be permissible as the relative worship of the principal divine intermediary, while absolute worship is reserved for the one who is God in the fullest sense. The danger in this Christian Platonism was the loss of monotheism in the Judeo-Christian sense.

In relation to worship we can see one possible effect in a suprising passage of Justin Martyr's first Apology, in which he defends Christians against the charge of atheism by claiming that in fact they worship a number of divine beings: not only God, but also "the Son who came from him …, and the host of other good angels who follow him and are made like him, and the prophetic Spirit, we worship and adore *(sebometha kai proskynoumen)*" (*1 Apol.* 6). The inclusion of the angels represents an attempt to assimilate the Christian view of the divine world as closely as possible to the Platonic hierarchy of divinity: first God, second God, and a multitude of lesser divine beings (cf. also Athenag. *Leg.* 10.5; Or. *Cels.* 8.13). This is apologetic and should not be taken as a serious claim that Christians worship angels, but it illustrates how Platonic influence could undermine the Jewish principle of monotheistic worship.

In Origen we see the growing gap between a platonically influenced intellectual theology and the popular faith and practice of the Church precisely in relation to this principle. Origen distinguishes four types of prayer and worship. Three of them (supplication, intercession, and thanksgiving) may quite properly be made to human beings as well as to God, but the fourth, which is prayer in the fullest sense of the word *(kyriolexia)* and is accompanied by praise, is properly offered only to the unoriginated God, not to any derived being and so *not even to Christ* (*Or.* 14–15; cf. *Cels.* 5.11; 8.26). Origen is conscious of how far this diverges from the practice of "uninstructed and simple" Christians (16.1), and the extent of the tension is indicated by his own divergent practice (see B. above) and even apparently divergent theory elsewhere (*Cels.* 8.67; cf. *Or.* 33.1). His ability elsewhere to accommodate actual Christian practice of worshipping Jesus is explained by *Cels.* 5.4: All types of prayer can be offered to the Logos, *provided* "we are capable of a clear understanding of the absolute and relative sense of prayer."

The absolute and relative sense of prayer correspond to Origen's hierarchical view of divinity, in which only the Father, the supreme God, is God in the absolute sense and the Son is divine in a relative sense, deriving his divinity from the supreme God and mediating between the supreme God and the rest of reality. Hence worship in the proper sense is due only to the supreme God, but must be offered through the mediation of the Son (*Or.* 15.1–2), who himself can be worshipped only *as an intermediary* who mediates our prayers to and himself prays to the Father (*Cels.* 8.13, 26). Thus Origen, constrained by, on

the one hand, his platonically influenced doctrine of God and, on the other hand, the Christian practice of worshipping Jesus, halts between a rigorously monotheistic worship, which would allow only the one who is God in the fullest sense, the Father, to be addressed in worship, and a Platonic permission to worship, in appropriate degrees, all subordinate divinities (cf. *Cels.* 8.66–67).

Early Arianism was in one sense a reassertion of Judeo-Christian monotheism. Rejecting the notion of degrees of divinity, Arius drew an absolute distinction between the Creator and all creatures. Christ could not be a lesser divinity, and so he had to be in the last resort a creature. The effect was that Arius enabled the christological implications of the worship of Jesus to be clearly seen: Either Christians worship a creature, or Jesus belongs to the being of the One God who alone may be worshipped. If this was not at first fully recognized by the Arians, it was by Alexander of Alexandria (*Ep. Alex.* 31) and Athanasius, who continually accused the Arians of idolatry in worshipping Jesus whom they considered a creature (*Ep. Adelph.* 3; *Depos.* 2.23; 3.16). Arianism itself did not abolish the worship of the Son, but severely restricted it and understood it in a strongly Origenist way—as honoring the one who mediates worship to the Father who is the only proper object of worship (Theognis of Nicaea in *sermones Arianorum* fr. 16; Kopecek 1985: 170–72). The development of Nicene orthodoxy, on the other hand, was the attempt to do theological justice to the church's practice of worshipping Jesus with the worship due only to God. The achievement of the trinitarian doctrine which eventually emerged from the Arian controversies was to do this without lapsing into modalism. The triumph of Nicene orthodoxy at the fundamental level of acceptability to the Church at large was due to the justice it did to the place of Jesus in popular Christian faith, as expressed in the worship of Jesus.

Finally, the worship of Jesus again played a part as a christological principle in the christological debate which led to the Council of Chalcedon. It was the principle continually invoked by the Alexandrians, especially Cyril, against an extreme Antiochene Christology. If Jesus Christ is a man indwelt by God, a human subject alongside a divine subject in a relationship of grace, then the worship of Jesus is the worship of a man alongside the Logos (see Cyr. *Nest.* 2; and the 8th of the Twelve Anathemas in Cyr. *Nest.* 3, later adopted, in expanded form, as the 9th anathema of the Second Council of Constantinople in 553). Only if Jesus is the divine Logos incarnate is the worship of Jesus not idolatry but the worship of God incarnate. So the Council of Ephesus (431) decided.

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RICHARD BAUCKHAM

**JESUS CHRIST, SOPHIA OF** (NHC III,*4*). See EUGNOSTOS AND THE SOPHIA OF JESUS CHRIST.

**JESUS, BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF.** In the NT and in extracanonical literature there is mention of Jesus' brothers and sisters. The question of Jesus' brothers and sisters has been a point of controversy throughout church history.

**A. NT Evidence**

Several NT passages mention the brothers of Jesus (and his sisters in Mark 6:3 [= Matt 13:56] and Mark 3:32 according to some mss). In Mark 3:31–32 (= Matt 12:46 = Luke 8:19–20) Jesus' mother and his brothers try to separate him from a crowd that thought he was out of his mind. Jesus responds that whoever does the will of God is his true brother and sister and mother. Mark 6:3 (= Matt 13:55–56) records the judgment of people in Nazareth who questioned Jesus' wisdom by asking, "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, the brother of James and Joses (Joseph in Matt) and Judas and Simon?" However, Mark 15:40 states that James the younger and Joses were the sons of another Mary, presumably not the mother of Jesus.

John 2:12 mentions that the brothers of Jesus accompanied him to Capernaum and they later tauntingly suggest that Jesus should publicly demonstrate his great deeds at the Feast of Tabernacles (7:3, 5, 10). John agrees with the Synoptics in having the brothers of Jesus refuse to believe in him during his lifetime.

Acts 1:14, on the other hand, includes the brothers of Jesus as part of a group praying together after the crucifixion with the 11 disciples and some women, including Jesus' mother Mary. Paul in 1 Cor 9:5 asks if he does not have the right to travel with a Christian woman (wife?) like the other apostles, the brothers of the Lord, and Cephas. And in Gal 1:19 Paul mentions James, "the brother of the Lord."

**B. Evidence from ExtraCanonical Literature**

Early church tradition associated with the historian Hegesippus and preserved by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History* records the important role played by relatives of Jesus in the Jerusalem church. James is said to have been the first bishop of Jerusalem and after his martyrdom his brother Simeon succeeded him (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.1.10–17; 3.11).

A 2d-century pseudepigraphical work, *The Protevangelium of James,* is the earliest evidence for the view that Jesus' brothers were the children of Joseph from a previous marriage and that Mary remained a virgin after the birth of Jesus (*Prot. Jas.* 9:2; 19:1–20:3).

The gnostic writings from Nag Hammadi contain several references to brothers of Jesus, particularly James and Thomas. In one of 3 apocryphal writings attributed to James, the author states, "The one whom you hated and persecuted came to me. He said to me, 'Hail, my brother; my brother, hail!' As I looked up at him, the mother said to me, 'Do not be frightened, my son, because he said, 'My brother' to you. For you (pl.) were nourished with this same milk. Because of this he calls me 'My mother.' For he is not a stranger to us. He is a brother [by] your father" (*2 Apoc. Jas.* 50, 8–23). The revealer (Jesus) later says to James, "Your father is not my father, but my father has become a father to [you]" (51,19–22). Here

James, whose father is presumably Joseph, is said to be a physical brother to Jesus as well as his spiritual brother.

Another Nag Hammadi text, *The Book of Thomas the Contender*, has the savior say to Thomas, "Now since it has been said that you are my twin and true companion, examine yourself … Since you will be called my brother, it is not fitting that you be ignorant of yourself" (138,7–11). This apparently spiritualizes an alleged physical kinship. See THOMAS THE CONTENDER.

**C. History of Interpretation**

The ambiguity and brevity of the canonical references to Jesus' family led to three main interpretations. One view evidently supported by Tertullian among others, is named after a later proponent named Helvidius. According to this view, the brothers of Jesus were full blood brothers born to Mary and Joseph after the birth of Jesus.

Another view, defended by Origen, Eusebius, and Gregory of Nyssa, is identified with Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, whose *Against Heresies* includes the view that the brothers of Jesus were actually the sons of Joseph by a previous marriage.

A third understanding of the brothers of Jesus is found in the work of St. Jerome. Writing in opposition to Helvidius and the view that Mary and Joseph had other children after the birth of Jesus, Jerome argued on the basis of his interpretation of the canonical evidence that the brothers of Jesus were in fact his cousins. Their mother, Jerome argued, was the sister of Mary the mother of Jesus, who was herself named Mary and the wife of Clopas, who was also known as Alphaeus. Jerome's intent is clear from the title of his work, *Against Helvidius: The Perpetual Virginity of the Blessed Mary*.

**D. Current Interpretation**

Modern biblical scholarship has usually divided along confessional lines with regard to the brothers of Jesus. Protestant scholarship has generally understood the Gk term *adelphos* as referring to a physical brother, i.e., a biological descendant of the same mother and father. Roman Catholic and much of Orthodox scholarship, on the other hand, has generally interpreted *adelphos*, at least with reference to Jesus, as a kinsman or a cousin. This latter interpretation, based partly on the view that *adelphos* is the Gk equivalent of the broader Hebrew term *ʾaḥ*, accords with the views of St. Jerome and Epiphanius and is consistent with the doctrine of the perpetual virginity of Mary, the mother of Jesus. For classic discussions of these patristic views, consult the work of J. B. Lightfoot (1865) and Zahn (1900). More recent scholarship reviewing the history of interpretation can be found in the studies of Blinzler (1967), and McHugh (1975). The role of James the brother of Jesus is the topic of a recent study by Wilhelm Pratscher (1987) and recent scholarship is summarized in the commentary of R. Martin (*James* WBC).

An ecumenical taskforce concluded with regard to the brothers and sisters of Jesus, "… it cannot be said that the NT identifies them *without doubt* as blood brothers and sisters and hence as children of Mary … The solution favored by scholars will in part depend on the authority they allot to later church insights" (Brown, Donfried, Fitzmyer and Reumann 1978: 72).

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JAMES A. BRASHLER

**JETHER** (PERSON) [Heb *yeter* (יֶתֶר)]. **1.** The firstborn son of Gideon, who was asked by his father to execute the 2 Midianite kings, Zebah and Zalmunna, captured by Gideon (Judg 8:20). This is an act of

bloody vengeance, for Zebah and Zalmunna had earlier killed the brothers of Gideon. However, Jether was not willing to perform the act.

**2.** The father of Amasa, a commander of David's army who was killed by Joab out of jealousy (1 Kgs 2:5, 32; 1 Chr 2:17). The name appears as Ithra (Heb *yitrāʾ*) in 2 Sam 17:25. Jether and Ithra are probably variants of the same name, and both are probably correct. He was probably of Ishmaelite origin (1 Chr 2:17) although 2 Sam 17:25 identifies him as an Israelite; the identification of 1 Chronicles has the support of the Codex Alexandrinus reading of the Samuel text. Recently, Levenson and Halpern (1980: 511–12) have put forward the suggestion that Jether may have been a Jezreelite, which has the support of another Septuagintal tradition, the Codex Coislinianus. Another problem is Jether's relationship to David's family. According to 2 Sam 17:25, his wife was Abigail the daughter of Nahash. However, in 1 Chr 2:17, Abigail was Jesse's daughter and so was David's sister. The 2 traditions are difficult to reconcile, although some scholars prefer the text of 1 Chronicles 2 over that of 2 Samuel (*NHT,* 326; McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 393). McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB, 393) called attention to a peculiarity of the relationship between Jether and Abigail. Both texts of 2 Samuel and 1 Chronicles do not say explicitly that Abigail is the wife of Jether, so they were not married in the usual sense. Either Amasa was the fruit of an illicit relationship or, as McCarter has suggested as likely, theirs was a special type of relationship comparable to the *ṣadiqa* marriage of the ancient Arabs (*AncIsr* 29).

**3.** The son of Jada, a descendant of Jerahmeel (1 Chr 2:32). Jerahmeel is probably a clan in S Judah (1 Sam 27:10; 30:29) (Williamson *Chronicles* AB, 54).

**4.** The son of Ezrah, listed as a descendant of the tribe of Judah in 1 Chr 4:17. Myer (*1 Chronicles* AB, 29) suggests that Jether may be connected with Jattir, a town SE of Hebron.

**5.** A descendant of the tribe of Asher (1 Chr 7:38). He and Ithran of 1 Chr 7:37 are probably the same person (Curtis *Chronicles* ICC, 156).

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H. C. LO

**JETHETH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕtēt* (יְתֵת)]. One of the 11 "tribal chiefs" (Heb *ʾallûpîm*) listed in Gen 36:40–43, a Priestly appendix to the Edomite material in Genesis 36, and in 1 Chr 1:51b–54, an abbreviated form of the appendix. The spelling is probably corrupt, and ought to be emended either to Jether *(yētēr)* or to Ithran (*yitrān;* cf. 1 Chr 7: 36–37). See also JETHER; ITHRAN.

ULRICH HÜBNER

**JETHRO** (PERSON) [Heb *yitrô* (יִתְרוֹ)]. Priest of Midian and father of Zipporah, Moses' wife. After Moses fled Egypt at the death of the Egyptian guard and subsequent Hebrew rejection, he came into the land of Midian in the Sinai wilderness. The Midianites lived in SE Sinai and NE Arabia on both sides of the Gulf of Aqaba. At a well, Moses came into contact with 7 shepherdesses and eventually their father, Jethro, priest of Midian. One of the shepherdesses, Zipporah, became wife to Moses and he remained in Jethro's employ until his call by Yahweh to return to Egypt. Scripture bears record that Jethro was a priest of Yahweh in a unique capacity (Exod 18:7–11).

One difficulty surrounding Jethro is the names that are given to him. He is called Reuel in 2 instances (Exod 2:18; Num 10:29). Apparently Jethro is called Hobab in Judg 4:11, although Num 10:29 indicates that Hobab is actually Jethro's son. The confusion of the names is not explained in Scripture. Several explanations have been offered. (1) The various names could have come from different sources of the original text, one source using Jethro and another using Reuel. (2) A misreading of the Numbers passage could have resulted in Jethro being called Hobab in Judges. (3) Jethro may have been known by various names and titles given to him by the various Midianite clans. Whatever the source of the names, it is clear that Jethro (Reuel) has a prominent place in Moses' life.

Another difficulty concerning the figure of Jethro has been the attempts to connect his priesthood with a pre-Mosaic Yahweh cult whose beliefs and rituals were transferred to Moses and Aaron (Exodus 18). This

concept maintains that the Hebrew religion has Midianite roots. Using Exod 6:3 as a basis, some scholars insist that Yahweh was unknown to Israel until the time of Moses, who learned of Yahweh from Jethro, a Midianite Yahwistic priest. Though Moses and Aaron learned much from Jethro, it is doubtful that the concept of Yahwistic worship sprang from the Midianites. Judging from the Exod 18:11 statement, Jethro's conviction about Yahweh is confirmed when he hears of God's great deliverance of the Hebrews from Egypt. He blesses Israel's God by saying, "Now I know that the Lord (Yahweh) is greater than all gods." In fact, Jethro should be considered unique, for it is clear from other sources that generally the Midianites were idolaters (cf. Num 25:17–18; 31:16).

Moreover, Jethro contributed to Moses' ministry with some practical advice. When Jethro observed Moses trying to care for the civil matters of the nation, a job too great for one man, he advised a system whereby lesser problems could be handled by leaders of the people. The nation would be divided into units of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens with a leader over each unit. Moses would be then free to teach the people ordinances and laws and delegate the implementation of the law to able leadership.

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JOEL C. SLAYTON

**JETUR** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕṭûr* (יְטוּר)]. The tenth son of Ishmael (Gen 25:15: 1 Chr 1:31). With the exception of Kedemah, all sons of Ishmael were Arab tribes of the 7th through 5th centuries B.C. See also ISHMAELITES. As a tribe, Jetur is mentioned in 1 Chr 5:19. See also ITURAEA for the history of this tribe.

A personal name *yṭwr/Iatouros* is attested in Nabatean and Gk inscriptions from the Ḥawrân area (Knauf 1989: 81); in Safaitic, i.e., Arabic, the name of the tribe is spelled *yẓr.* For its etymology, cf. Sabaic (and Proto-West Semitic) *ẓwr* "rock"; as a verb, "invest, besiege" (Beeston et al. 1982: 173); Safaitic *ẓrt,* Heb *ṭîrôt,* "corrals" (Knauf 1989: 60). Jetur, originally **yaẓûr,* may be translated "The one who builds stone fences," or "The one who besieges" (but whom?).

Orthographically, the Hebrew spelling *yṭwr* (instead of **yṣwr*) proves that this name entered the Hebrew tradition via (Official) Aramaic. The texts which refer to Jetur cannot, therefore, antedate the 7th century B.C.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**JEUEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕʿû›ēl* (יְעוּאֵל)]. A personal name combining the theophoric element *›ēl* with a component that cannot be determined with certainty. Rudolph (*Esra und Nehemia* HAT, 78), derives it from Ar *wʿj* which is used to describe the healing of broken bones or the closing of a wound and can also mean "save." Gehman (*WDB,* 441) suggests a derivation from Ar *waʿā* "keep in mind," "remember." Koehler (KB, 338) proposes a derivation from Heb *yʿh* "collect." An often found reading for the name is Heb *yĕʿî›ēl.* See JEIEL.

1. The head of a family from the sons of Zerah who is listed among the postexilic inhabitants of Jerusalem (1 Chr 9:6). The LXX records his name as *Iiēl* which corresponds to Heb *yĕʿî›ēl.* His name is absent from the list of family heads in Nehemiah 11. He and "their relatives" number 690.

2. A Levite of the sons of Elizaphan (2 Chr 29:13) who are listed as participating in the reform of Hezekiah by sanctifying themselves and cleansing the house of the Lord (29:15). Although his name is written in the MT as *wîʿîw›ēl,* it is to be read as *wîʿî›ēl* (LXX *Iiēl*).

3. One of 3 sons of Adonikam who were among those family leaders who returned from Babylonia during the reign of the Persian King Artaxerxes (Ezra 8:13; 1 Esdr 8:39). Ezra has Heb *yĕʿî›ēl* and records

that he was accompanied by 60 males. 1 Esdras has Gk *Ieouēl* (Codex Alexandrinus) and *Geouēl* (Codex Vaticanus) while mentioning 70 males. Blenkinsopp (*Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 162–63) offers the various interpretations of the description of the Adonikam family as "those coming afterwards" (Heb *ʾaḥărōnîm,* Gk *eschatoi*).

RODNEY H. SHEARER

**JEUSH** (PERSON) [Heb *yeʿūš* (יְעֻשׁ)]. Five persons in the Hebrew Bible bear this name, and the name also occurs in the Samaria ostraca (48:3; Lawton 1984: 340). As a name, Jeush is identical with *Yaġūt,* which is the name of a god (in classical Arabic) and of persons (in Safaitic and Palmyrene; Weippert 1971: 247). In Sabaic, the name is attested once as a cognomen (Harding 1971: 678). Whereas the name can be regarded as hypocoristic in Canaanite ("[God DN] helped"), in Arabic it is a descriptive imperfect-name ("He [i.e., the bearer of the name] is helping"; Knauf 1984: 468).

1. One of the sons of Esau (Gen 36:14, *qere* [*ketib* = *yʿys*]). This "son" represents a tribe of the Oholibamah-group, the smallest of the 3 Edomite tribal groups. The list of the Edomite tribes in Gen 36:10–14 may derive from a tradition that dates back to the 7th century B.C. (Knauf 1985a: 10, n. 45, 61–63; 1985b: 249 with n. 23). The names in this list were subsequently copied into Gen 36:18 and finally into Gen 36:5 (Weippert 1971: 437–46).
2. The son of Bilhan, and therefore the name of a family of Benjaminites (1 Chr 7:10).
3. The second son of Eshek, a Benjaminite (1 Chr 8:39).
4. The son of Shemei, a Levite (1 Chr 23:10ff.).
5. The son of the Judaean king Rehoboam and his wife Mahalath (2 Chr 11:19).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**JEUZ** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕʿûz* (יְעוּז)]. A son of Shaharaim, a Benjaminite, mentioned in 1 Chr 8:10 in the detailed genealogy of Benjamin. This name occurs only here in the MT and is not found in the Apocrypha or the deuterocanonical literature. The name means "counselor." 1 Chr 8:9–10 indicates that Jeuz is one of 7 sons born to Hodesh. Shaharaim had already divorced Hushim and Baara (v 8) and was living in Moab. Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 77) emphasizes that the structure of this extended genealogy rests in the geographical breaks which show parallel lists of Benjaminite families and their dwelling locations at a given time, probably either during Josiah's reign or the postexilic period. Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 82) disagrees and sees no apparent structure whatever to this genealogy. However, the fact remains that there is a clear association of the family of Jeuz with Moab. This may hearken back to a relationship of earlier times. Ruth 1 and 1 Sam 22:34 clearly show that Israelites resided in Moab. This would have been more likely to have happened before Moabite independence from Israel. Jacob Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 60) sees a Benjaminite association with Moab to have been a more accurate reflection of a time when Moab was under Israelite control. Jeuz is said to be a *roʾšê ʾābôt,* which has clear implications of social, political, and military status. The role of Jeuz would have been much like the big men of anthropological terminology (Harmon 1983: 150). Orme (1981: 139) paints a picture of the big men which shows high visibility in community affairs and some judicial functions.

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G. EDWIN HARMON

**JEWELRY, ANCIENT ISRAELITE.** The study of jewelry in Bible times begins with a brief review of ancient manufacturing techniques, especially for metals, then moves to a summary of how metals are used in the Bible. The significance of a jewelry piece can be dependent on the valuation and association of the metal out of which it was made.

Most importantly, this summary takes into account archaeological finds dated by their contexts to the biblical period. Nevertheless, jewelry items can be treasured over long periods and ancient techniques can be employed in the same workroom with more modern ones. Even though dating for jewelry cannot be as accurate as for other artifacts, such as pottery, here archaeological finds are used with the study of Hebrew words to aid in understanding the meaning of biblical passages. The most striking jewelry mentioned in the Bible is undoubtedly those items belonging to the high priest's garb in Exodus 28 and 39. Although there is no present archaeological evidence for the jewelry, some suggestions are made below (E.1.d.).

Suggestions can be made with much more confidence for the wedding jewelry of Rebekah, the bride of Isaac, and Ezekiel's portrayal of Israel as bride and queen. For the catalogue in Isa 3:18–23 revised definitions of the vocabulary lead to a different interpretation of the passage. Lastly, more accurate knowledge of the booty and offering assemblages from the Exodus period and Midianite battles adds to the descriptive accuracy of the historical settings.

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A. Manufacturing Techniques
B. How Metals Are Used in the Bible
    1. Gold
    2. Silver
    3. Copper/Bronze and Iron
C. Archaeological Finds of Iron Age Jewelry
D. Wedding Jewelry for the Queen
    1. Genesis 24
    2. Ezekiel 16
E. Symbols of Aristocratic Office
    1. The Signet
    2. The Catalogue of Isa 3:18–23
F. Booty and Offering Jewelry

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**A. Manufacturing Techniques**

The most attractive and highly prized jewelry recovered from Bible lands was made from the precious metal gold. When other materials were used, the work had reminiscences of that first accomplished in gold. Important information about jewelry making comes from goldsmithing as depicted on wall paintings in Egypt. Gold can be worked effectively in the relatively pure state found in nature. Copper, silver, and other metals with which it is alloyed act to harden it since pure gold is quite soft. Gold in alloy with large amounts of silver is called "electrum." Silver occurs both in the pure state and combined with various ores from which it is recovered by refining. Silver is also soft and easily worked; usually it is alloyed with copper to harden it for making such items as coins and armaments.

Gold dust or ingots could be melted in a charcoal-fired furnace and poured onto a flat surface; or the ingot could be hammered out on an anvil with a stone tool. The jewelry pieces were made from flat sheets or bars. Scoring tools of bronze, wood, or horn would cut out the basic shape. The design could be worked from the back with a series of punches in *repoussé.* The metal would be placed over a bed of yielding but supportive warm pitch, resin, and wax. Blows from the hammer against the various sizes of punches projected the design in relief. When this procedure was done from the front it was called *chasing.* A similar effect was done by *stamping* when large punches had an entire design engraved on them. *Engraving* with a gouging tool was used infrequently because it wasted the precious metal.

*Granulation,* the most outstanding decorative process in ancient jewelry, formed rows of tiny gold spheres affixed to the sheet metal base, particularly in triangular patterns, with no trace of solder. After the 10th century of our era the technique was lost to jewelry smiths until 1933, when H. A. P. Littledale rediscovered the process which he named "colloid hard-soldering." Gum and a copper salt form an adhesive paste to affix the granules to the base after being placed on a transfer pattern. As the gold is heated in a crucible over a charcoal fire, an alloying process melts the gold and copper in a barely detectable join. The same method was used for *filigree* where gold wires were swirled and braided in patterns onto a background. The basic design of granulation could have come from bead work. The technique's origin is likely to have been in Mesopotamia at the beginning of the 2d millennium B.C. as a "dog collar" necklace from Ur suggests (Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: 6–7). Subsequently, the art of granulation moved to Byblos and S into Canaan; from there to Egypt and the Greek islands in the Middle to Late Bronze ages.

For basic structuring of a piece requiring a stronger bond, *hard soldering* used a flux and a solder alloy with a melting point lower than the metals to be joined. After cooling, the flux must be removed by scraping or "pickling" in a hot acid solution, as Egyptian reliefs depict.

Egyptians were masters in the art of *cloisonné* from early in the Old Kingdom through at least the LB Age. Here the concern was more with the artistic value of color than the rarity of the jewel; the goal was to present an array of reds and blues to articulate the design. Glass imitations of the intense colors of lapis lazuli, turquoise, and carnelian were a major artistic achievement of Egyptian jewelers. In pre-dynastic times they discovered how to make blue and green *faience* of soapstone or fired powdered quartz coated with vitreous glazes of copper compounds. *Frit* was a form of glass which, after light firing, was homogeneous throughout. Steatite and clay molds from Palestinian excavations were used for making faience and frit beads and amulets.

Casting by the *lost wax* process involved a wax model made in a stone mold. A clay outer cover made from the model could contain molten metal or glass after the wax was melted away. Then the clay could be broken to release the finished product.

*Beadwork* provided colorful variety and wearable flexibility. Beads occur by the dozens in archaeological excavations and are represented in wall painting and on statuary. In Egypt the common hieroglyph for gold was a collar of beads. Steps in manufacture from casting, piercing, and bow drilling of the individual beads are depicted as well as the complex art of stringing in the construction of broad collar necklaces. Hundreds of shapes of ancient beads have been classified. Shells, seeds, and attractive pebbles were readily available. Precious stones as well as their faience and glass imitations were abundantly used. Metal beads copied shapes of treasured stones, shells, seeds, buds, and blossoms. In Palestine the Egyptian patterns seem to be followed, and it is likely that their colors also symbolize aspects of nature. Dark blue lapis lazuli would be the color of the sky; turquoise of the water. Amethyst was used for the color of dawn and dusk in the desert; serpentine for vegetation. Carnelian probably was associated with blood, "blood-rich" (iron content) soil; gold, with the sun; silver with the moon.

**B. How Metals Are Used in the Bible**

The significance of a jewelry piece can be dependent on the valuation and association of the metal out of which it was made.

**1. Gold.** Although gold is the metal mentioned most frequently in the Bible, it is relatively rare among archaeological finds. Nevertheless, when found it tends to retain its original condition—shine, shape, and quality. Gold as used in the Bible represents wealth and leadership, but other associated items are silver, flocks and herds, jewelry, and special garments. The most lavish claims for the possession of gold are ascribed to Solomon. Spectacularly, he received 666 talents plus per year (1 Kgs 10:14–15). It has been estimated that a single talent weighed 75 pounds (Sellers *IDB* 4: 832). Solomon used gold for decorative armaments, his throne, vessels, etc. He instigated commercial enterprises to obtain gold and other products associated with royal riches from the mysterious land of Ophir. "The gold of Ophir" became a metaphor for opulence and was the symbol par excellence for Solomon's commercial acumen in the heyday of his empire.

The biblical emphasis is on Solomon's use of gold in the Jerusalem Temple. Passages describing the greatest amounts of gold used in ancient Israel and a significant majority of the occurrences of the main word for gold *(zāhāb)* in the Hebrew Bible are in association with the furnishings of the Temple. In light of passages such as 2 Kgs 24:13, there is not much hope for archaeological recovery of such items. The golden age which provides the standard descriptions and catalogues of the Temple furnishings is the Solomonic period. As the royal artisan of gold metallurgy and design, especially for the sacred equipment of worship for example, in overlay of cedar paneling, cherubim, doors, woodwork and utensils, Solomon stands without peer in the biblical tradition (1 Kings 6 and 7).

The main focal point of Solomon's wisdom is the building of the Temple, and the most striking aspect of that achievement is the procurement and utilization of gold. In Wisdom literature, gold is a metaphor for wisdom itself (Prov 25:11 suggests gold inlay in silver cloisonné); or the metal is associated with wisdom, but true wisdom is to be preferred over gold (Prov 3:13–14; 8:10; 16:16). The wise precepts of the Lord supercede gold (e.g., Pss 19:11—Eng. v 10; 119:127; Job 28:15, 16, 19,23). In prophecy, idolatry is associated with the work of the goldsmith (Jer 10:3–5; Isa 2:7–8; 40:19). Idols of precious metals are presented frequently as the focus of alien and false cults (Deut 7:25; 29:16–18; Hos 2:8; 8:4; Isa 46:1, 6–7).

**2. Silver.** Silver is used in similar biblical contexts as gold and is paired with gold in catalogues of costly gifts, wealth, tribute, booty, tabernacle fittings, idol composition, and jewelry. Much silver is lost to archaeologists through corrosion in saline soils.

The most striking use of the metal in the Bible is the silver standard for commercial exchange—Heb *kesep* is often translated as "money" (Gen 23:16; 37:28; 42:28; Lev 27:2ff.,15,16ff.; Judg 16:5,18; 1 Kgs 21:2; 2 Kgs 12:10–11; Amos 2:6; Isa 55:1; Jer 32:9).

The most theologically significant to biblical studies and technically relevant to archaeological jewelry craft is reference to the silver-refining process to dramatize spiritual or religious purification (e.g., Mal 3:2–3). This involves crushing, washing, and straining of ore, followed by the cupellation process of heating and the production of "dross," i.e., what is left over of alloys after pure silver has been extracted (Ezek 22:18–22). Silver refining removes alloys of copper, tin, iron, and in the last stage, lead. God uses affliction for Israel's refining process as in Isa 48:10 where suffering points to a future hope.

**3. Copper/Bronze and Iron.** The terms for copper and iron appear much less frequently in the Bible than those relating to gold and silver. Archaeology has turned up many objects from biblical periods made of copper and iron. The overwhelming majority of jewelry items are in these metals from ancient Israel, but copper/bronze and iron jewelry are rarely mentioned in the Bible.

Israel first met up with metallurgical techniques in the Sinai with the people called "smiths," the Kenites (lit. "Cainites"). Tubal-cain in Gen 4:22 is referred to as the forger of all instruments of bronze and iron. Deuteronomy portrays the glorious bounty of the promised land in terms of metals as well as agricultural riches (viz. Deut 8:7–9).

The same word in Heb *nĕḥōšet* refers to both copper and bronze, an alloy of copper and tin. Malachite ore can contain naturally a small amount of tin, but more than 2 percent tin in copper is considered a deliberate attempt to produce the alloy that in Eng is "bronze." The addition of tin makes the metal stronger, harder, and more resistant to corrosion, and enables copper to have a lower melting point for the casting process when a cleaner, sharper result is required. Purer copper can be hammered into shape while cold, or can be heated slightly, for example by a torch flame, for the malleability appropriate to jewelry making. It is difficult with the naked eye to tell the difference between copper and copper alloyed with nearly 5 percent tin.

The most celebrated objects of cast bronze in the Bible are the Bronze Sea and the 2 pillars set in front of Solomon's Temple (1 Kgs 7:15–26). The Sea probably weighed 25 to 30 tons. Also, some of the Temple fixtures were in bronze, such as the clasps for draperies, pots, and altar grating. Other items in bronze are armaments (e.g., the probable composite bow in Ps 18:35—Eng v 34; Goliath's helmet and coat of mail, greaves, and javelin in 1 Sam 17:5–6; the shields made for the royal guard by order of King

Rehoboam in 1 Kgs 14:26; and the fetters for Samson in Judg 16:21 and for King Zedekiah in 2 Kgs 25:7).

As gold and silver are paired in association with treasure and wealth, bronze and iron are paired in metaphor relating to strength, e.g., Behemoth in Job 40:18, and the warrior in Mic 4:13. Iron more frequently is used alone as a symbol of strength and this is surely due to the great variety of durable objects made of that metal, *barzel*, as mentioned in the biblical text. There is a close relationship between weapons and tools. The ability of iron to be shaped into strong instruments that can hit and cut is important in the destructiveness of war as well as the creative activities of peace. The threshing sledge as a weapon of Damascus against Gilead (Amos 1:3) is used in the violent process of making wheat into flour (Isa 41:15–16). Items crafted of iron in the biblical text, then, are heavy instruments for hitting such as rods, clubs, and hammers. Some are sharpened specifically for war, notably swords and spears, but others are crafted as tools: axes, plowpoints, pruning shears, and threshing blades for agriculture; masonry tools, the lapidary's stylus, yoke pieces, and gate bars. The details concerning these metal objects frequently emphasize salient aspects of narratives, laws, prophecies, traditions, epics, and events in the Bible. The strength of iron—its malleability under heat, its ability to be hardened, struck, and sharpened; its weight and durability—convey meanings beyond its immediate use in everyday life.

**C. Archaeological Finds of Iron Age Jewelry**

There are 2 primary groups of archaeological finds that can be classified as jewelry objects in the Iron Age biblical period, 12th to 6th centuries, in Palestine.

Group 1 contains finely crafted items made of precious metals that are usually found in association with each other. In gold, silver or electrum, they have designs skillfully molded, engraved or worked in repoussé. Generally, to this group belong a few bangle bracelets; some decorated rings including the ornate signet types; earrings, especially the lunate and penannular with various kinds of pendants; crescents, a few flat but most made of a thin wire body with a suspension loop; foil frontlets worn on the forehead and decorated with dots, crosshatchings, and rosettes; almost the whole class of items grouped together as star-disks, rectangular plaques, rosettes, and miscellaneous pieces, some in ivory and bone; a few outstanding fibulae and toggle pins; and decorated triangular plaques.

These are found hidden in hoards and sacred areas as part of obvious treasures of important buildings and carefully designed tombs. Many are illustrated on statues and figurines. Frequently they correspond to similar jewelry pieces in museum collections and those on pictorial representations from ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Mediterranean world. The closest Palestinian parallels are from the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age examples tend to be in the earliest strata (Iron I). They compare to insignia of office in Egypt, Greece, and Mediterranean countries and would belong to leaders in cult and politics.

Members of Group 2 are more humbly crafted and are found in greater numbers than those of Group 1. Findspots are humble graves, some mass burials and loci of everyday life on the mounds. The jewelry items are associated with other artifacts generally agreed to be of everyday or common use. Their materials are iron, bronze, and bone, made into simple basic shapes with little added design.

To this group belong simple bangle bracelets and anklets, solidly crafted or with 2 ends, of varying sizes and thicknesses; many simple rings similar in shape to bangles but much smaller; quite a number of earrings (lunate, balldrop, mulberry, and plain penannular ring); a few flat-type crescents; the majority of toggle pins and fibulae; and all the bone pendants.

The bone finger-shaped pendant may be the one uniquely Israelite jewelry piece as its existence presently seems to be limited to Iron Age Palestinian sites (Platt 1978: 23–8). The cylinder-like objects range from 5 to 9 cm in length. Their slightly narrower ends are pierced for suspension and they are decorated with rings, cross hatching, and ring-and-dot stamps placed in vertical rows of 3 to 9 designs. See Fig. JEW.01 (f). Because they are not found in pairs, they are probably not ear ornaments. Most likely they were worn on necklaces with amulets, scarabs, and beads, which are sometimes found in association with them.

The numbers of Group 2 items found in Iron II levels indicate that they belonged to the majority of the population. The design and craftsmanship develop their own styles from indigenous motifs rather than

from outside sources. The fewer numbers of cult and political insignia in later periods may reflect the abolition of religious symbolism and imagery as prominent in biblical legislation. Iron II was poorer in traditional treasures but also freer from those traditions which had brought foreign styles and symbols with their accompanying powers. Palestine's jewelry in this period becomes less significant, yet more widespread, plentiful, and useful.

**D. Wedding Jewelry for the Queen**

**1. Genesis 24.** Rebekah's jewelry is referred to in Gen 24:22, 30, 47, with some general items of value given as wedding gifts to Rebekah, her mother and brothers in v 53. The narrator's style has provided 2 versions of the incident in which Abraham's servant has 2 kinds of jewelry items for Rebekah, plus a third description by Laban, her brother, saying that he saw her wearing the specific pieces. In the first account, v 22, the servant "took a gold ring weighing a half shekel" (RSV and Speiser *Genesis* AB), and "two bracelets (RSV)/bands (AB) for her arms weighing ten gold shekels." In the second account, v 47, the servant tells Laban that he "put the ring on her nose and the bracelet on her arms."

The words translated "bracelets" or "bands," *ṣĕmîdîm,* and worn in the area of (lit.) her hands probably refer to bangles as found abundantly by archaeology. In position on arms and wrists of female skeletons in burials and represented on Palestinian fertility plaques and Mesopotamian statuary in the Bronze Ages, these occur in pairs and can be worn in groups. A famous statue from Mari has in common with Rebekah in this chapter the association of a water jar (Frankfort 1963: pl. 62, p. 242, n. 47). The Mari statue holds a water jar in front of her with both hands and she has 3 bangles on each wrist. From the Middle Bronze Age at Tell el-Ajjul, 17th century B.C., and at Megiddo, Shechem, Beth-shan, and Gezer (16th, 15th, 13th centuries B.C.) are specific examples. Ajjul's "cenotaph" hoard, part of a queen's royal parure, had 2 sets of 5 bangles made of solid gold. The basic design is a round bangle with 2 ends, each of which is engraved with linear decorations marking in short cuts of 1 to 5 in number its designated place in 5 pairs. See Fig. JEW.01 (d). The 3 middle bracelets of each set are flattened slightly making 2 sides so that they can be positioned closely together. The others are flattened only on the one side touching the middle bangles. Interesting, in this Ajjul set there are 10 pieces, perhaps comparable to the 10-shekel weight mentioned for Rebekah's bracelets. The Iron Age has the same bangle style, especially in the metals of bronze and iron.

The Heb word *(ṣĕmîdîm)* is related to "couple" or "pair," with the verbal meaning of the act of joining two. Abraham's servant put on or over Rebekah's hands 2 objects making a pair, perhaps symbolizing the marriage bond.

The words translated "gold ring," *nezem zāhāb,* in v 47, put on the nose, refer in the Bible to a jewelry object worn either in the nose or ear. From Megiddo (Loud 1948: pl. 225:9, #a1102, "Remarks;" Tomb 2121 dated MB str. IX, 15th century?) came a typical small round tubular object with 2 overlapping ends, found "in position as a nose ring." Suspended from the ring and opposite the 2 ends is a drop made up of a cluster of little balls, giving the name of Mulberry Earring. See Fig. JEW.01 (b). From the Ajjul hoards were 3 singles and 8 pairs; they were also found at Lachish, Gezer, Beth-shan, Tell el Fara (S), and Gerar, and were quite popular during the Iron Age. The basic ring with 2 pointed ends is the most common form of Palestinian ear jewelry. The ends facilitate placement through holes pierced in the ear lobe or secondarily, in the nasal area.

From Tell Jemmeh, identified as Isaac's Gerar (Gen 26:6, etc.), a stone jewelry mold was found with a mulberry earring engraved on it (Petrie 1928: pl. XX:45, Aff 193, 9th century). Molds such as this were used by itinerant jewelry smiths from the EB at least, and especially in the MB. Use of them fit within the life-style of the biblical patriarchs (see bellows in luggage of Beni Hasan painting). The molds would cast beads, amulets, crescents, disks, rosettes, pendants, frontlets, pins, etc. These could possibly be the other kinds of ornaments associated in v 53.

In v 53, *kĕlî* translated "jewelry" (RSV)/"objects" (AB) of silver and gold means "things" or "items" in the majority of its many occurrences in the Bible. The noun is related to the verbal "finished, accomplished or completed" and is used with metals connoting that the material has been fabricated into a useful article. In light of its uses in Gen 31:37 and 45:20, Rebekah could have received various domestic

utensils in silver and gold. Alternatively, in the booty passages of Exodus and Numbers, these items are specified as rings of gold in the ears of "wives, sons and daughters," and armlets, bracelets, signet rings, earrings, and beads, hence "jewelry."

The *migdānōt* "costly ornaments" (RSV)/"presents" (AB) given to mother and brother is less precise; no metal or material modifies the noun. In 2 Chr 21:3; 32:23 and Ezra 1:6 the reference is to valuable gifts, some in silver or gold, worthy of royalty or the Temple.

These general and collective terms witness to gifts completing the picture of a wedding agreement. They do not divert attention from the central point of the narrative. Rebekah of the "royal" line, after she has demonstrated her generous nature by watering the camels, receives specific jewelry items of paired bangles and nose ring to wear signifying that she is to be the wife of the wealthy patriarch Isaac, chosen by God.

**2. Ezekiel 16.** Besides Genesis 24, the narrative of the search for Rebekah as the wife for Isaac, Ezekiel 16 is striking in its use of marriage jewelry. Here more jewelry items are listed, and as if building upon the Rebekah sequence they are designated for particular parts of the body. In this instance characteristically, Ezekiel seems to speak out of knowledge of a long tradition and incorporates a wealth of detailed information. In the Babylonian Exile, 6th century B.C., the prophet knows Mesopotamian adornment styles and Israelite aristocratic costume. He depicts Jerusalem as an unwanted newborn child of mixed background whom God found still "weltering in her blood" of birth and whom he lovingly raised up to maidenhood as his bride and royal queen. The bestowal of fine garments and rich jewelry were the visible sign and pledge of his covenant.

The key passage is Ezek 16:11–13. It begins with two general terms for jewelry from the same root *ʿdh*, "and I *decked* you with *ornaments*" (RSV). The first designated items are "bracelets on your hands/arms" in a phrase reminiscent of Rebekah's wedding jewelry. These *ṣĕmîdîm* would be the bangle with 2 ends, and at this period could have had decorations of animal heads as finials or stylized representations of animal heads on each end. Possibly these finials (of snakes, lions, rams, etc.) could be links to the custom in the Bible of powerful rulers and nobles referred to as certain kinds of fierce animals (Ps 22:21–22—Eng vv 20–21; Jer 50:17; Ezek 22:25), and hence they are royal insignia. The next phrase *wĕrābîd ʿal gĕrônēk,* "and a chain on your neck," only occurs here and in Gen 41:42 (Joseph's necklace from Pharaoh). The reference is most likely not to a metal chain with interlocking loops, rare archaeologically (except in Greece). From Mesopotamia is the style of a single strand of beads worn as a choker high on the neck. The wife of Assurbanipal, on a 7th century B.C. relief from Kuyunjik (now in the British Museum, Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: 255, fig. 157), is seated on a throne at a banquet in a garden with the king. See Fig. JEW.01 (i). She has a single strand of choker beads and several other items suggested by the Ezekiel passage—bracelets, earrings, crown—and she is feasting. The Nimrud ivories from the palace of Assurbanipal show fashions of royal women from several parts of the empire. Some wear high chokers of beads in several strands. Joseph's neck jewelry is probably the Egyptian beaded broad collar. It is placed on the *ṣawwāʿr,* a term usually stressing the back of the neck where the yoke is worn and where in this case the heavy falcon-spacer finials would be placed. Bronze Age Canaanite fertility figurines also have the intricately strung beaded broad collar. In the Ezekiel phrase *gārôn* has to do with the front of the neck or throat where the voice is located.

The third piece of jewelry is a ring, *nezem,* on the nose. Comparable to Rebekah's it is probably a small round ring with 2 ends for insertion and directly opposite, a tiny pendant with a mulberry (characteristically one cast in a steatite mold). The design had a long life in Palestine, especially popular during the Iron Age, and certainly a possibility in Ezekiel's time. The fourth set of jewelry is "earrings in your ears;" if *nezem* was a common designation for ear jewelry, Ezekiel takes particular care not to use it. He seems to be making specific reference to a style of jewelry particularly worn on the ears. The term *ʿăgîlîm* is used here and in Num 31:50 in the singular as an anonymous item in the booty list of Midianite gold articles. The use in Ezek 16:12 is suggested by a clear reference to ears and the fact that it is grouped with other items for the head—following nose ring and preceding crown. The noun is related to conjectured root *ʿgl* evidently meaning "to roll" (from round objects such as the Bronze Sea), but the

overwhelming number of uses in the Bible of the root letters are with words relating to bovine animals such as *ʿēgel* = calf; *ʿĕglâ* = heifer; *ʿăgālâ* = cart, the vehicle drawn by cattle.

The most common shape of gold earring in ancient Israel is an ovoid loop designated "lunate." The longer, narrower end of the loop goes through the pierced ear lobe in the front and bends downward to the back. The other end meets it just under the lobe. This end is thickened and forms the base of the earring. The graduated thickening thus resembles a crescent moon, hence the name "lunate." See Fig. JEW.01 (a). Because the crescent moon can look like the upturned horns of a bovine animal, there is a long association in the ANE of these 2 shapes. It is possible that lunate earrings are at home with the designation *ʿăgîlîm* relating to bovine horns. They were popular in the Iron Age and are found in many excavations from the 13th century at Tell el Fara (S) to the 6th century at Lachish. Spectacular examples come from Tell Jemmeh dated to the 10th century from the "goldsmith's house" (Petrie 1928: pl. 1:4–13). Some are quite long and some have the addition of a row of tiny balls. They also have a long history in Mesopotamia. The most elaborate come from Assyria in the 9th–7th centuries as shown on Assurbanipal's queen and Assyrian reliefs (Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: p. 255, fig. 157; pp. 254 & 237). Pendants suspended from the lunate base can represent 3 botannical stages of the pomegranate plant—the bud, the blossom, and the fruit. There is a bud pendant identified as coming from this type of earring found at Beth Shemesh (Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: 229).

The fifth reference is to a "crown" *ʿăṭārâ,* the primary piece of jewelry symbolizing leadership. Gold is mentioned as its composition in 2 Sam 12:30 (1 Chr 20:2) when David took the one belonging to the Ammonite king. In Prov 4:9 it is parallel to "fair garland." Well-known Egyptian crowns have a garland motif, some are in gold with flower medallions. The Nimrud ivories show possible metal crowns with a series of rosettes (Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: pl. 234 a & b). Assurbanipal's queen has a crown with battlements in the fortifications of the city wall. Isa 28:3–5 may have a picture with associations of a crown, flowers, and the city gate. From Palestinian excavations, such as Megiddo, Tell el Fara (S) in Bronze and Iron Ages, is a type of frontlet tied in back and having rosettes and pomegranates which could be a rendition in gold foil of a garland with flowers and fruit.

Enclosing the list of jewelry items is a second reference to the general word for jewelry *ʿdh* usually translated "ornament" (noun) and "to deck" (verb). Other associations with this term are bridal attire, for example in Isa 49:18; 61:10; Jer 2:32; 31:4. The most-lavish jewelry metaphor is in Song of Songs where parts of the body are compared to actual ornaments (Cant 1:9–11; 4:4, 9; 5:10–16; etc.), and of course, the crown (Cant 3:11) with which his mother crowned him on the day of his wedding. These are strong associations of wedding and royalty. The Ezekiel 16 passage concludes in v 13 with "you succeeded to regal estate" *(limlûkâ).*

Coupled with the theme of royal wedding is a sad and devastating sequence when Ezekiel's queen became unfaithful and sank into the depths of harlotry, as chap. 16 continues. This is a prophetic image in Jer 2:2; 3:1; 4:30; Hos 2:5, etc., probably going back to Exod 32 and the Golden Calf. The vigorous tradition of the pejorative significance of jewelry from incidents such as these no doubt contributes to the noticeable lack (when compared with other ANE peoples) of gold and silver insignia and ornaments in our present Israelite archaeological assemblages.

The *ʿdh* jewelry becomes the badge of unfaithfulness in Ezek 23:40–42, etc. Because of her actions the prostitute will be given into the hands of her lovers who will take away her jewels and raiment, in contrast to the loving husband who clothes her. From these passages we learn what harlots wore. Especially enigmatic has been Ezek 16:36 (Platt 1975: 103–11). A more accurate translation probably is, "because *your triangular piece (nĕḥuštēk)* was shed" instead of the RSV "your shame was laid bare." "Triangular piece" is parallel in this poetic section to "genital area," "idols," and "blood of children" (RSV). There is a triangular jewelry piece of 3 recognized types that depict a Canaanite female figure with emphasis on the genital area. One exemplary gold foil plaque from Ugarit (Negbi 1970: pl. IV:17) has a female figure wearing a pelvic girdle with a triangle suspended from it at the pubic area. See Fig. JEW.01 (j). This would illustrate the wearing of the gold plaque or a garment, as other illustrations of the pelvic girdle show, perhaps the menstrual cloth, characteristic of a bovine economy where sexual intercourse during

estrus was connected with conception. As polemic against this Canaanite religious practice is such legislation as Lev 18:19, "You shall not approach a woman to uncover her nakedness while she is in her menstrual uncleanness." Notable is the sequence of legislation against adultery (Lev 18:20) and sacrifice of children (Lev 18:21). This sequence was surely in the mind of Ezekiel as he could expect his hearers to make associations automatically. Lev 18:24 goes on to claim that these were the precise acts of the Canaanites who lost their land. Here is a vehicle used by Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Hosea to express their prophetic messages for their times.

**E. Symbols of Aristocratic Office**

**1. The Signet. a. Biblical Vocabulary.** Two Heb nouns are translated "seal:" *ṭaba‹at* and *ḥōtām.* The first *(ṭaba‹at)* is associated with the verbal notion "to sink down" but the verb is not used with the noun, nor is there the logical association of a ring or seal "sinking down" into soft material as a stamp would. In Gen 41:42 and Esth 3:10, the object is put on the hand. In Isa 3:21; Num 31:50; and Exod 35:22, it is listed with other jewelry items. In the tabernacle sections of Exod (chaps. 25–31) the word is used for hardware fixtures of gold, usually translated "ring" (e.g., Exod 25:12).

In Esth 3:12 and 8:8, the verb *ḥtm* "to seal" is used with *ṭaba‹at.* The noun *ḥōtām* is used more often as "seal," e.g., Jer 22:24; Hag 2:23; Gen 38:18.

Lambdin sees *ṭaba‹at* as being of Egyptian origin, while *ḥtm* and its derivatives, used extensively throughout the Semitic languages, was borrowed in the earliest stages of Egyptian (Lambdin 1953: esp. p. 151). Hundreds of years before the biblical period both words were used in Egypt, at least, to refer to the same object or to objects with the same function.

Vergote sees the words referring to 2 different kinds of objects: *ḥtm* = cylinder seal, and Egyptian *db‹t* = stamp seal ring, which developed later (Vergote 1959: 116f.).

**b. History of the Seal.** It is generally agreed that the cylinder seal originated in Mesopotamia at the end of the 4th millennium, probably during the "Uruk V" period in the S Euphrates area (Saggs 1962: 25–26). The typical thumb-sized cylinder-shaped object of semiprecious stone had a longitudinal perforation to be worn on a string or cord. Its surface was characteristically carved with a religious scene which when rolled over wet clay transferred the design to a sealed object. Saggs posits that in the 3d millennium exchanges between Mesopotamian and Egyptian merchants on the coast of South Arabia or Somaliland brought the cylinder seal to Egypt. The stamp seal may have had an Asiatic origin, but Hayes attests it in the Old Kingdom of Egypt, the 6th Dynasty, 25th–23d centuries B.C. (Hayes 1953–59: 1.141). It can be circular, rectangular, or oval with a flat side, carved with a design, and having a convex top.

**c. The Scarab.** The most well-known Egyptian seal is the scarab. Its origin is probably as simple as an ovoid bead strung on a cord, a bead of precious stone or metal fashioned to form an amulet. The ovoid shape occurs naturally among pebbles and could easily resemble the beetle with rounded wing case on the back and flat underside. The ordinary "dung beetle," *scarabaeus sacer,* makes a ball of dung around its food and rolls it with its legs. The Egyptians associated this activity with the globe of the sun rolling across the heavens on its daily journey, perhaps propelled by an invisible cosmic-sized scarab. The Egyptian words for "become" and "come into existence" and one of the sun god's names are from the same stem *(ḫeper)* as the word for scarab beetle. These are written with a hieroglyph depicting the insect.

Scarabs are extremely popular in Egyptian jewelry and if related to bead design, the Egyptian jewelry craft par excellence, they are yet another of the several techniques that seem to be in adaptation, extension, or support of beadwork art. The favorite material is easily carved steatite (sometimes called "soapstone"), a form of talc, white or greenish-gray in color. Scarabs are also found in faience (ground quartz or clay cast into a mold and coated with vitreous glaze, especially in imitation of turquoise). Elegant scarabs were made in gold, silver, electrum, turquoise, lapis lazuli, carnelian, amethyst, jasper, onyx, hematite, feldspar, and glass.

The carved flat undersides make them significant: Their legends have names, titles, slogans, designs with animals, birds, and divine figures. The most familiar design is the cartouche or name plate with a rope at the outer edge lashed at one end, and hieroglyphs spelling the name or titles within. The seal does not necessarily bear the name of the owner but can indicate relationship such as subordinate officer or

servant. Also, jewelry items can be heirlooms and their styles can be replicated in commemoration or in archaizing effect along with the modern and creatively contemporary in the same workroom. This is especially true for the most popular single kind of scarab in Palestine and Egypt: that with inscriptions relating to Thutmos III, the New Kingdom pharaoh during the greatest period of Egypt's empire, in LB I. His name was evidently regarded as potent centuries after his death and scarabs were treasured and made with his inscriptions for many years.

Aldred gives evidence that scarabs were worn as rings as early as the Middle Kingdom (Aldred 1971: 160). Originally tied to the finger with linen thread, gold wire came to replace the cord but the wire ends are coiled in imitation. This may be reminiscent of the "shenu" loop of the cartouche. Subsequently, a U-shaped ring base developed and the scarab gemstone was placed over the top with the wire ends wrapping around each side. This design enabled the seal to swivel; the flat surface turned up for sealing or rested against the finger for protection when not in use. During the 2d Intermediate Period (ca. 1630–1523) the ring base becomes heavier and has knobs capping each end of the "U." The knobs make the ring easier to hold in the stamp position. Another development was to mount the scarab in a gold or silver funda or base plate with holes or tubes to take the ends of the hoop, again aiding the swivel mechanism.

**d. Seals of the Bible and Archaeological Finds.** Gen 38:18 and 25, tribal chief Judah's signet with cord and staff are taken by Tamar in pledge. She speaks of them first, v 18, as "your signet *(ḥōtām)* and your cord and your staff which is in your hand." In both instances they are definite signs of Judah's identity. Speiser following Vergote identifies *ḥōtām* as a Mesopotamian-type cylinder seal; and he adds that "the inclusion of the cord is further proof that no signet ring was involved" (*Genesis* AB, 298). Following Lambdin's views on the words for seal and in light of archaeological evidence that scarab gemstones also occur in Palestine during the patriarchal period, a scarab signet could be suggested here. It is interesting to note that one of the earliest scarabs known comes from the Middle Kingdom in Egypt, Late 11th Dynasty, ca. 2000 B.C., from the burial of the estate manager Waḥ (Hayes 1953–59: 1.230; Aldred 1971: 184). A metal scarab composed of several layers of silver with a gold tube through the center was found with 2 large beads indicating that it was worn on a cord as a necklace or bracelet. In a humble grave from the burial complex of Hatshepsut, which Hayes dates 1489–1469 B.C., a scarab was found tied to the finger of an aged woman. This particular seal bears the name of Hatshepsut's daughter for whom the woman was probably a servant. Here the cord enables the scarab to serve as a ring, and it is important to note that this type of seal is in the possession of a woman.

Gen 41:42 lists 3 items the pharaoh conferred on Joseph: signet ring, garments of fine linen, and gold neck-jewelry. The necklace was most probably the gold-beaded broad collar with large (falcon?) finials as spacers and counterpoises. Vergote believes the reference is to *the* Gold Collar, the sign of the investiture of the Vizier (Vergote 1959: 134). King Tutankhamen conferred the gold signet ring as the sign of accession of Prince Huy as viceroy in Nubia (Mazar et al., eds. 1959: 1.106). Wilson notes that in the Old Kingdom the king's highest official "the Vizier was the Sealbearer of the King of Lower Egypt" (Wilson 1951: 80–81). By this office he was "authorized to supervise the movement of official parties or goods through Egypt," mainly as controller of Nile traffic *(ibid.)*. From the standpoint of the Bible, the ring as the first and most important of pharaoh's gifts is the sign par excellence of royal power. It heralded Joseph's climactic position in Egypt's government. From this position he was able to rescue and protect the house of Israel during famine and ultimately to bring the family to live in Egypt.

The historical period of the Joseph narratives is commonly understood to be at the time of the Hyksos, the Asiatic princes who became pharaohs at the end of the Middle Kingdom just before the end of the 18th century B.C. During the Hyksos period scarabs were produced prodigiously; they are one sign of the extent of the empire in Syria-Palestine. Their legends are difficult to decipher because the hieroglyphs and characteristic inscriptions, perhaps less familiar to them than to native Egyptians, are distorted. One popular feature, probably borrowed from earlier Egyptian design, is an interlocking spiral border. See Fig. JEW.01 (c). Hieroglyphs of life proclaiming abundant years for the pharaoh, Son of Rē, are also common.

Illustrative of the time of Joseph might be the New York Metropolitan Museum collection of 8 green-glazed steatite scarabs belonging to Ḥar with his titles as tax official for an important 15th Dynasty

pharaoh (Hayes 1953–59: 2.8). Also from Palestine in MB II and III at Gezer and Megiddo are some fine examples (Guy and Engberg 1938: fig. 176:3 = pl. 107:19; Macalister 1912: vol. 3, pls. XXXI, XXXV; see Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: pl. 76).

A well-known passage relating to the study of scarab seals is Cant 8:6 which includes the phrases "set me as a seal upon your heart, as a seal upon your arm, for love is as strong as death." The Egyptian New Kingdom provenance for the royal wedding genre also has produced archaeologically heart-scarabs from 1 to 3 inches long. They were placed over the heart in the burial costume and the best examples are mounted in a gold funda and suspended from a cord. From the King Tut burial are also armlets and bracelets with large scarabs.

1 Kgs 21:8 tells how Queen Jezebel wrote letters in King Ahab's name and sealed *(ḥtm)* them with his seal *(ḥōtām),* thus determining Naboth's fate. There is a famous purchased seal ring dated by the Hebrew paleography to the 9th or 8th century (Ben-Dor 1948). The sharp edges on the ring band made it unsuitable for wearing on the finger so it was probably strung on a cord. The finger inserted into the ring helped with exerting the required pressure for stamping.

Esth 3:10 refers to King Ahasuerus' promotion of Haman with the gift of his ring *(ṭaba‹at).* From here Haman could effect a massive persecution of the Jews. Later in Esth 8:1–2, Queen Esther had successfully intervened on behalf of her people and Mordecai, her adoptive uncle, succeeded to Haman's position. Ahasuerus set Esther over the house of Haman and then gave Mordecai Haman's ring. Following this Esther set Mordecai over the house of Haman. Perhaps this sequence indicates that Esther is in a situation where as a woman she cannot own a seal of this designation. A stirrup seal-ring found at Persepolis has an antelope carving (Mazar, et al., eds. 1959: 4.194). It came from garrison quarters, near a wall and inside a baked-clay canteen. The stirrup seal type is probably a final stage of development for the signet ring. The entire ring was cast in a stirrup shape of one piece; it was non-swivel, and the seal was carved on the flat top surface. It was popular during the Iron Age in Israel and made its first appearance in Egypt at the beginning of the New Kingdom.

From the contexts of signets belonging to Judah, Pharaoh, and Joseph, Ahab, Ahasuerus, and Mordecai, this jewelry item can be a strong symbol of high office. Its use as a seal for documents, etc., is a significant means by which authority is expressed in the social setting. Seals and sealing with these and other meanings are also mentioned in such passages as Job 14:17; Isa 8:16; 29:11; Dan 6:17; 12:4; Jer 22:24–26; 32:14–15. In Hag 2:23, Zerubbabel, "governor of Judah," is proclaimed as a chosen signet ring on the Lord's hand, dramatically implying that he will be given authority as a precious royal jewel. The gemstones of the high priest's ephod, breastpiece, and crown may also carry these associations as they are to be carved with tribal names in the precious stones common to such royal rings "as a jeweler engraves signets," (RSV) Exod 28:11ff.; 39:6ff., 30. There are no extant archaeological illustrations for the high priest's gems.

**2. The Catalogue of Isa 3:18–23.** The passage has been enigmatic because in its catalogue are items that are little known. The vocabulary is problematic, this being the only place in the Hebrew Bible where the words for some of the items are used (for more on this problem, see HAPAX LEGOMENA). Important clues to their identity can be found in other biblical passages where these words or their relatives occur in explanatory contexts. Also, archaeological studies give some information about extant jewelry pieces to be matched up with the Hebrew words. For easy reference the list below (table 1) has the RSV translation for the numbered words in the first column, then Hebrew transliterations, and new suggestions (Platt 1979: 72). Of the 21 items, the first 13 are jewelry, and it is important to note their societal associations and who wears them. Not included in the list of 21 is the introductory word *tip›eret* (v 18) which in the Hebrew Bible is primarily a collective term designating beautiful accoutrements belonging to an office of honored position, characteristically one that is indicated by a crown (e.g., Exod 28:2,40; Isa 28:1,4; 52:1; Jer 13:18,20; Ezek 16:17,39; Esth 1:4; Prov 4:9). Here this could be translated "insignia of office," appropriately summarizing the list that follows.

Table 1. The Jewelry Catalogue of Isaiah 3:18–23

| RSV | | Hebrew | Suggestions |
|---|---|---|---|
| Isa 3: | | | |
| v 18 | In that day the Lord will take away the finery of | *tip›eret* | the insignia of office: |
| | (1) the anklets, | *hā‹ăkāsîm* | the ankle bangles, |
| | (2) the headbands, | *wĕhaššĕbîsîm* | and the sun- or star disks, |
| | (3) and the credsents; | *wĕhaśśahărōnîm* | and the crescents, |
| v 19 | (4) the pendants, | *hannĕṭîpôt* | the drop pendants, |
| | (5) the bracelets, | *wĕhaššêrôt* | and the neckalce cords, |
| | (6) and the scarfs; | *wĕhārĕ‹ālôt* | and the beads, |
| v 20 | (7) the headdresses, | *happĕ›ērîm* | the garland crowns, |
| | (8) the armlets, | *wĕhaṣṣĕ‹ādôt* | and the armlets (or foot jewelry), |
| | (9) the sashes, | *wĕhaqqiššurîm* | and the sashes (or girdles), |
| | (10) the perfume boxes | *ûbātê hannepeš* | and the tubular "soul cases," |
| | (11) and the amulets; | *wĕhallĕḥāšîm* | and the snake charms, |
| v 21 | (12) the signet rings, | *haṭṭabba‹ôt* | the signet rings, |
| | (13) and the nose rings, | *wĕnizmê hā›āp* | and the nose rings, |
| v 22 | (14) the festal robes, | *hammaḥălāṣôt* | the loin cloths, |
| | (15) the mantles, | *wĕhamma‹ăṭāpôt* | and the enveloping capes, |
| | (16) the cloaks, | *wĕhammiṭpāḥôt* | and the mantles, |
| | (17) and the handbags, | *wĕhāḥărîṭîm* | and the wallets, |
| v 23 | (18) the garments of gauze, | *wĕhagilyōnîm* | and the thin garments, |
| | (19) the linen garments, | *wĕhassĕdînîm* | and the warriors' belts, |
| | (20) the turbans, | *wĕhaṣṣĕnîpôt* | and the turbans, |
| | (21) and the veils. | *wĕhārĕdîdîm* | and the outer cloaks. |

(1) *"The ankle bangles."* This expression occurs here and in Isa 3:16 as a verb with more description: "mincing along as they go, *tinkling* with their feet" (RSV). No doubt these are the classic solid, round ankle-bangles worn in pairs as depicted on Late Bronze fertility plaques/figurines and found on female leg bones in burials. These are associated with women and could possibly be worn in imitation of the fertility figure. The word most likely is a technical term for bangles worn only on ankles and not on wrists and arms. The root also forms the name of a daughter of Caleb (Josh 15:16, and others).

(2) *"The sun- or star-disks."* This is the only time in the Hebrew Bible that the word and root occurs. Some linguists have seen a relation to "little suns." With (3) and (4) the designation would fit with associated pendants on the "Dilbat Necklace" (Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: 88–90). From Mesopotamia in the first half of the 2d millennium and now in the New York Metropolitan Museum, the necklace has a crescent moon (4), two sun-symbol rosettes and a star-disk. A 9th-century relief of King Assurnasirpal II shows the head and beard turned sideways to his right revealing a cord necklace with 4 pendants including an obvious crescent and a star-disk (Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: pl. 220). See Fig. JEW.01 (h). Rosettes perhaps representing the sun in gold, bronze, and bone occur in Palestinian Iron Age jewelry from Beth-shan, Gezer, Beth Shemesh, and Megiddo. Star-disks occur in silver, gold, ivory, and bone at Megiddo, Gezer, Beth-shan, and Hazor. Although the number of extant specimens is limited, star-disks, crescents, and rosettes were used in the time of Isaiah, who as a highly skilled political officer of the kingdom of Judah, prophesied during the second half of the 8th century concerning the Assyrian menace. The Mesopotamian evidence and assemblages of precious jewelry in Israelite sites indicate that these pendants could signify high office.

(3) *"The crescents."* The root having to do with the moon exists in several Semitic languages. In Judg 8:21, 26, the plural refers to emblems designated as especially worn by kings of Midian and their camels. Archaeology has produced 2 types: one is flat with perforation in the tips; the other is a slender wire shaped like the letter *c* with the central metal loop for suspension.

(4) *"The pendants."* The root is associated with the dropping or dripping of liquid such as rain, honey, wine, and myrrh. A feminine plural noun is mentioned in Judg 8:26 with crescents and purple garments as belonging to Midianite kings. The obvious archaeological objects are bead-like pendants in drop shapes made in semiprecious stones—for example, turquoise, lapis lazuli, carnelian—as well as glass and faience. These would be strung with crescents and pendants in necklaces.

(5) *"The necklace cords."* This unusual term is probably related to the word for umbilical cord *(šōr),* and the word for "chains" in Exod 28:14, "two chains of pure gold twisted like cords" to attach the high priest's ephod. In this case they might be the textile cords used for stringing beads and pendants in the ornate necklace styles.

(6) *"The beads."* From *rʿl,* to quiver, shake, reel, or dangle, would be beads in various shapes: seeds, blossoms, flower parts, etc., as well as geometric designs. Hundreds of bead-shapes have been classified in the materials of metals, semiprecious stones, and glass from the ANE.

(7) *"The garland crowns."* The noun is related to the introductory collective term and refers to an ornament worn on the head. In Isa 61:3, 10, the bridegroom wears a garland or crown; in Ezek 24:17, there is a turban, perhaps like a bridegroom's crown; in Ezek 44:18, Levitical priests wear these turbans as do Aaron and his sons in Exod 39:28. Archaeological jewelry evidence suggests a frontlet made of a strip of metal foil with holes for ties to be placed across the forehead and knotted in the back. Several of these have flowers and rosettes in repoussé as well as places to attach pendant ornaments (see examples from Iron Age tombs at Megiddo). Palestinian frontlets are reminiscent of more elaborate Egyptian crowns worn by men and women where real flowers were imitated in metal, inlay, fabric, and leather.

(8) *"The armlets."* The word is used in the sing. in 2 Sam 1:10 with reference to Saul's "crown and *armlet* which was on his arm." The term also occurs in Num 31:50 where it is in a booty list coupled with "bangles" as in Rebekah's arm jewelry. From Assyrian reliefs a 2-ended metal bangle worn by royal men on the upper arm has animal-headed finials of rams, lions, etc., perhaps signifying a heraldic animal as used in Ps 22:21–22—Eng vv 20–21; Jer 50:17; Ezek 22:25.

(9) *"The girdles."* The term refers to ornamentation that is "bound on" from the verbal root. In Jer 2:32 the object is part of the queenly wedding dress with other ornaments *(ʿdh);* also the root is in a similar passage of Isa 49:18. If, with RSV, the term is related to a sash, it could be worn in the middle of the body such as the beaded girdles from Egypt worn on the hips (Wilkinson 1971: 264).

(10) *"The tubular 'soul' cases."* The unique phrase could refer to a type of pendant like the Egyptian cylinder amulets of the Middle Kingdom (Wilkinson 1971: 55), and represented later in a development like *tefillin.* These characteristically have papyrus or other rolls in them with writing having spiritual significance.

(11) *"The snake charms."* In Isa 3:3 the list of the men of high office includes "an expert in *charms*" from this root; in Jer 8:17 snakes and charms are associated. The uraeus snake is ubiquitous in Egyptian jewelry.

(12) *"The signet rings."* An example par excellence of jewelry used as insignia of office, Gen 41:42; Esth 8:2.

(13) *"The nose rings."* These are part of the bride-queen's jewelry in Ezek 16:12 with the example of the mulberry "earring" worn also in the nose.

Of these 13 jewelry items, 4 are associated in some way in the Bible with women, 8 more accurately relate to men of high rank. It is possible that women had versions of the items also, but at present the evidence is not convincing that these jewelry pieces were exclusively the property of women at any one historical period. A similar method of analysis applied to the 8 clothing items that follow in the catalogue (nos. 14–21) indicates at least 4 are associated with men of rank. Consequently, the interpretation of the passage must shift from a prophetic oracle denouncing women in general for the vain superficiality of

extravagant fashions in dress and jewelry to a critique of persons in high office for their social injustice and misuse of power as is the topic of the entire collection of oracles in Isaiah 3.

**F. Booty and Offering Jewelry**

Two groups of passages are important for discussion of the types of jewelry items in booty and offering assemblages: (a) those in Exodus related to jewelry to be taken out of Egypt which very likely was part of the metal used for the Golden Calf, the acts of contrition that followed, and ultimately for the freewill tabernacle offering; and (b) the spoil from the defeat of Midian and their kings.

Exod 3:22 occurs in the early material about the Exodus, the most important event in the OT. Surprisingly, jewelry is mentioned as part of the command from God that Moses hears from the Burning Bush. The jewelry aspect must be significant if it is included at the critical time when God reveals himself to Moses and challenges the leader to the heroic task of bringing Israel out of slavery. The command is given initially to women, "each woman shall ask of her neighbor." The goods to be taken from Egypt are not more-usable and practical products for survival on the desert journey—such as grain, foodstuffs, domestic animals, and caravan equipment—but items of gold and silver *(kĕlê kesep ʾkĕlê zāhāb*), with clothing mentioned somewhat secondarily in passing. Evidently these were not to be sizeable commodities, because the women, who were simply to ask for them peacefully in their own private domiciles, were directed to put them on their "sons and daughters," surely meaning their little children who had not come of age. Possibly this continues the mother-child theme of the opening chapters of Exodus (Exod 1:15ff.; 2:2; 2:10), but it may also serve to emphasize that these were not large amounts of gold and silver to be carried by adults for use in trade or commercial exchange. Since the items are associated with clothing to be worn, hence displayed openly, they are not secreted or hoarded away.

In Exod 11:1–2, in the midst of the Plague corpus just before the most significant plague (death of the firstborn), the *kĕlê* of both silver and gold is to be asked of Egyptian neighbors by women and this time also by men. In Exod 12:35 the same *kĕlê* is mentioned right after the unleavened bread saying that they had asked it of the Egyptians. Then v 36 serves to explain that this spoil is a special sign of God's favor rather than a valuable commodity in itself; it marks the ascendency of the Hebrews over the Egyptians by God's grace.

In Exod 32:2–3, when Aaron makes the Golden Calf, he asks for the "rings of gold" *(nizmê hazzāhāb*) which are "in the ears of *(bĕʿoznê)* your wives, sons and daughters." Aaron's request is directed to the male heads of households, but the wearers may be just women and children. Later in Exod 33:4 the penitent people mourned and "no man put on his ornaments *(ʿedyô).*" In v 5 God himself commands the stripping of ornaments as a sign that the people were removed from his favor because of the sin of the Golden Calf. Verse 6 makes the striking comment that from Mt. Horeb onward, the ornaments were not worn again.

In Exod 35:22 for the tabernacle offering the *kĕlî zāhāb* are specified; this catalogue gives insight as to the particular objects in the collective term. "So all who were of a willing heart brought brooches *(ḥāḥ)* and earrings *(nezem)* and signet rings *(ṭabaʿat)* and beads *(ǩmāz),* all sorts of gold objects *(kĕlî zāhāb),* every man dedicating an offering of gold to the Lord."

*Kĕlî* is the general word for jewelry used most often in the booty and offering passages of Exodus. Its related verb means "to complete" and in the Bible the noun has many uses usually referring to a wrought or finished object, an article or utensil. The term particularly refers to something of value; in a plural, collective sense it means portable objects or precious goods that can be taken up when moving, traveling, or even going into exile. This can be baggage, furnishings, equipment, musical instruments, weapons, or simply implements and vessels.

In light of Exod 35:22, where the voluntary offering of gold is described, a list of jewelry objects precedes the use of *kĕlî* (of gold) indicating that the word means personal adornment, i.e., brooches, earrings, signet rings, beads, etc. Looking ahead to Num 31:50, the *kĕlî* of gold which "each man found" are specified as armlets and bracelets, signet rings, earrings, and beads. From the standpoint of archaeological finds, these would be the items often occurring together in the assemblages of precious jewelry in the LB and Early Iron Ages. Also, the objects associated under the general term *kĕlî* could be

found grouped together in jewelry molds. These are carved stone (steatite, serpentine, etc.) rectangular objects, small enough to fit in the hand, from the Late Bronze and Iron I in Palestine and Egypt, and usually associated with itinerant smiths. They show a variety of objects which could be cast in gold, for example: beads, amulets, crescents, disks, rosettes, pendants, frontlets, pins, and earrings.

In the passage concerning the act of contrition (Exod 33:4), when "no man put on his ornaments," the noun *ʿadî* is probably synonymous with *kĕlî.* The noun is related to the verb "to deck oneself" and in other parts of the Bible the use is with the bride and bridegroom, the king and queen, then the harlot and citizens of high office who misuse their jewelry.

Earrings (*nezem* in the pl.) are the most frequently mentioned specific items of booty and offering (see Exod 32:3; 35:22; Num 31:50; Judg 8:24). In the sing. *nezem* can refer to nose ring, and the term probably means in its most basic sense an object in the shape of a ring used for a variety of purposes as specified. In extant Palestinian jewelry, examples of earrings, nose rings, and finger rings are composed of the same fundamental shape. Evidence from ancient Israel indicates a penchant for earrings with traditions going back to the MB. Elaborate examples occur in Mesopotamia during the 3d Dynasty of Ur, ca. 2100 B.C. In Egypt the style only becomes fashionable in the New Kingdom. Aldred believes that it was an Asiatic custom imported into Egypt during Hyksos times (Aldred 1971: 198). King Tut's elaborate examples are well-known. Dangles in Egyptian earrings tend to be separate and added as beads. In Palestine the pendant was cast with the ring as in the types known as mulberry, ball drop, tassel, and row of balls. The *ʿagîl* type is probably to be identified with the lunate earring. The lower part resembles a thickened crescent that can be associated with bovine horns.

The signet ring (the third term in the list of Exod 35:22) *ṭabaʿat,* is the swivel signet as described in the Joseph narratives, or the stirrup signet, cast in one piece sometimes with added bezel. Wilkinson sees the latter type appearing in Egypt at the beginning of the New Kingdom (Wilkinson 1971: 128–30); King Tut had several. It was popular in Palestine during the Iron Age.

The fourth item in the list is *ḵmāz,* translated by the RSV as "armlets" here (Exod 35:22), but in Num 31:50 as "beads." Beads would be expected archaeologically with such items as mentioned in the list, and the related Arabic term means "bunch, heap" which fits well with the definition.

The first item in the list (Exod 35:22) is translated "brooches" (RSV), the only time the English word or its relatives are used in the Bible. Today the English definition is "large ornamental pin with clasp" but the Middle English forerunner of brooch includes pin, peg, spit, and skewer. The first archaeological association would be a fibula—an ornamental, bow-shaped, metal object with a pin for attachment and a clasp sometimes shaped like a human hand. See Fig. JEW.01 (e). Fibulae seem to have reached the Near East from Italy and Greece and are not generally common in Palestine until the 8th century, B.C. when they appear in overwhelming abundance. The predecessor of the fibula, used for the purpose of pinning the garment, is a straight stave like the Middle English definition. In Palestine it had a point at one end and a knob at the other.

This type of stave pin is found rather consistently in the jewelry of Mesopotamia even as far back into the 3d millennium as the Early Dynastic period in Ur. In MB and LB Palestine handsome gold examples occur at Tell el-ʿAjjul and Megiddo. A string would be tied to the stave under the knob and wound around both ends of the stave to secure the position of the pin in the cloth. As the design developed increasing elegance, more beads could be placed on top of each other with a knot in the cord to keep them from slipping down the stave. Designs in the metal could imitate the row of beads giving a baluster effect, or swirls and twists could decorate the part of the stave designed to remain outside the garment. For the cord attachment a ring was added just below the decoration and could even be worked into the center of the stave. See Fig. JEW.01 (g). The pierced hole in the center of the stave caused Egyptologist Sir Flinders Petrie to name this jewelry item "toggle pin." He imagined that it was fastened like a button to a garment by means of the hole and subsequently "passed through an eyelet in the other edge" of the garment (from his *Hyksos and Israelite Cities,* p. 12, and quoted in Henshel-Simon 1938: 169–70). It would demand a skilled tailor to make this an effective closing even for a garment of minimum bodily activity.

The decorations on the hafts of toggle pins are clues to their dates, and E. Henshel-Simon developed a typological scheme for identifying archaeological specimens. During the Iron Age, the decorated hafts became more elaborate making the pin top-heavy and awkward to use. When fibulae replaced them, the bead-like decoration was also the feature that distinguished and dated the fibula bow in typological sequence.

In Egypt toggle pins are associated with Hyksos, Asian, and N Mediterranean imports, so as in the case with earrings, it would not be unlikely for Hebrews coming out of Egypt to treasure toggle pins in their "all sorts of gold objects" (Exod 35:22).

The biblical term *ḥaḥ* seems to be related to brier or bramble indicating a sharp, pointed object to hook into something. It refers to an object put in the nose or jaws of a captive beast or person as a sign of subjection and desolation. If the piercing of 2 parts is indicated, it would be appropriate for this jewelry piece: The toggle pin is actually the "brier pin."

Another short catalogue of jewelry objects like that of Exod 35:22 occurs in Num 31:50 at the end of the Wilderness Wanderings when the Israelite soldiers bring a percentage of their spoil from the Midianite battle for "the Lord's offering" as commanded by Moses. Again the general phrase *kĕlî zāhāb,* "articles of gold," is used as a collective term with particular items in the singular in Hebrew but translated in the RSV as pl.: "armlets and bracelets," *ʾeṣʿādâ wĕṣāmîd;* the bangles for the wrists and upper arms, "signet rings," *ṭabaʿat;* lunate "earrings," *ʾagîl;* and "beads," *ḵmāz.*

In Judges 8, jewelry items are mentioned again in connection with Midianite spoil but the particular items differ from the Num 31 passages. The Midianites and the Amalekites, ancient enemies from the Exodus-Wandering period, menace the agricultural economy aided by the now perfected technology of camel domestication. Gideon was sent and killed the kings Zebah and Zalmuna, then in Judg 8:21 "took the crescents *(haśśahărōnîm)* that were on the necks of their camels." He refused kingship but asked, "give me every man of you the earrings of his spoil *(nezem šĕlālô)*" (8:24). The weight came to "1,700 shekels of gold" (8:26), "besides the crescents *(haśśahărōnîm)* and the pendants *(wĕhannĕṭipôt)* and the purple garments worn by the kings of Midian, and besides the collars that were about the necks of their camels." Gideon made an ephod of gold, perhaps following the precedent in Exod 25:7; 28; 29; 35; 39; but what that object was remains enigmatic.

The crescents worn by the Midianite kings and their camels were probably of 2 types, the flat and the suspension loop, as discussed above in Isaiah 3. The pendants worn with the crescents by the Midianite kings were probably of a "drop" shape, representing heavenly phenomena like stars or rain drops.

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**JEWISH CHRISTIANITY.** See CHRISTIANITY (EARLY JEWISH); EBIONITES; NAZARENES.

**JEWISH VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE.** See VERSIONS, JEWISH.

**JEWISH-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS 70–170 C.E.** The time between the Jewish War (ca. 70) and the age of Justin and Melito (ca. 170) was the crucial transition period for Jewish-Christian relations. Before this, Christianity was intimately, if uneasily, related to Judaism and in many ways was still a sectarian movement within it. By the late 2d century, Christian writings reveal a movement confident in its own identity as a gentile community distinct from, and generally hostile towards, Judaism, yet claiming the right to be called the New Israel. During the same period Judaism also underwent profound changes in the wake of 3 disastrous rebellions against Rome (66–70 C.E., 115–17 C.E., 132–35 C.E.). This century is thus one of the most important and intriguing for Jewish-Christian relations. It is also one of the most obscure. The extant evidence is widely scattered and rarely direct. It is also one-sided since most of it is Christian in origin, while Jewish sources are sparse and often embedded in later documents of the rabbinic tradition.

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A. The Sociopolitical Setting
B. Jewish Christians
C. Yavnean Rabbis and their Successors
D. The Gospels and Acts
E. Judaizers
F. Marcion and the Gnostics
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**A. The Sociopolitical Setting**

The political and social status of Jews and Christians in the Roman empire and the effects of the Jewish rebellions against Rome are of considerable importance. The destruction of the Temple and much of Jerusalem in the war of 66–70 C.E. and the resulting ignominy of the Jews has been viewed as the crisis which precipitated the final breach between Christians and Jews (Harnack 1962: 63). Certainly for Judaism the consequences of the war were not insignificant—thousands dead or taken captive; economic chaos and the confiscation of property; increased taxation; the destruction of temple and city; and the disappearance of the sanhedrin. Yet the outcome was less devastating than appears at first sight: The final siege affected Jerusalem alone, the rest of Judea and the diaspora communities being hardly affected; the Jews' legal status was unaffected, and they continued to enjoy tolerance in religious matters; and the Yavnean sages founded their academy with Roman approval. These events may have strained Jewish-Christian relations and caused some Christians to distance themselves from Judaism, but they do not appear to have caused an immediate or final schism.

First-century Christian references to the war in fact concentrate mainly on the recalculation of eschatological beliefs (Mark 13:1–3, 14–20 and parallels; Luke 19:41–4); it is only later and in retrospect that it is placed in the context of anti-Jewish polemic—for example, in the claim that the destruction of the Temple was a punishment for Jewish involvement in Jesus' death (Just. *Dial.* 16; *Gos. Pet.* 25). The Bar Kokhba rebellion in 132–35 C.E. had more significant consequences for Jewish-Christian relations. The intense messianism surrounding Bar Kokhba led to the harassment and execution of those who did not accede to it, including Christians (Just. *Apol.* 1.36.6). The severe repression which followed included the banning of Jews from Jerusalem, and this resulted in a definitive change in the Jerusalem Church which, from then on, came under gentile leadership (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.5). Further, this ban lived on in Christian memory and, together with the destruction of the temple, became in later writers the primary evidence of God's displeasure with the Jews (Just. *Apol.* 1.47; *Apos.Con.* 5.25) as well as the basis for the

myth of the wandering Jew. It has also been suggested that a specific reference to Christians was added to the Jewish malediction against the heretics (see below) in the aftermath of the Bar Kokhba rebellion (Katz 1984: 72; Urbach 1981: 288). Thus the Bar Kokhba rebellion, more than the Jewish War, marked a decisive break between Jews and Christians though naturally things had not stood still in the interval.

Quite apart from these dramatic events the social and political standing of Jews and Christians was an important factor in their relationship. The Jews had been granted unusual privileges by the Romans—such as exemption from military duty and the emperor cult, the right to keep the Sabbath and to collect the temple tax—which allowed them to live according to their own customs and beliefs. They were viewed with suspicion and hostility by some and were occasionally subjected to outbreaks of violence, but the hostility was largely confined to a few of the Roman intelligentsia and the violence caused by localized tensions. More important, indeed one of the causes of Roman antipathy, was their success in attracting both converts and sympathizers (Gager 1983: 113–33). In general Jews thrived under the Romans and they were numerically superior to, and politically more secure than, the Christians.

While Christians still associated with Judaism they could share the privileges and the standing Jews enjoyed. Once separated, they faced a number of problems. They had to find their own niche in Roman society unprotected by the traditional rights of Jews, and it may be that one purpose of the book of Acts, for example, was precisely to support Christianity's claim to be a legal and respectable religion. They were accused of being a novel and upstart cult and were forced to explain their refusal to follow the religious practices of pagans and Jews (*Diogn.* 1–3; Or. *Cels.* 2.1, 2.4). Thus one motive for the claim that they, and not the Jews, were the true Israel was their need for a respectable and ancient pedigree. Christians also had to create a distinct sense of self-identity as well as compete with Jews for the attention of gentile sympathizers. The size and influence of Jewish communities made them powerful competitors and a potential embarrassment to Christian claims. In addition, as antipathy increased the more likely it was that Christians would be subject to Jewish harassment—the situation depicted throughout Acts and mentioned by Justin (*Apol.* 1.31.6), both probably with some exaggeration.

**B. Jewish Christians**

One group for whom the Jewish War was significant was the church in Jerusalem. Early tradition has it that they fled to Pella in the Transjordan before the final stages of the war (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.4.3.; Epiph. *Pan.* 29.7.7f.,30.2.7.). The same tradition suggests that they returned after the war and reestablished a somewhat depleted church under the leadership of Simeon, Jesus' cousin (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.22.4, 5.12; Epiph. *mens.* 15). This tradition has been challenged by the argument that the Jerusalem Christians allied themselves with the Jewish rebels and were slaughtered in the final siege, thus effectively marking the end of Jewish Christianity apart from a few scattered and insignificant survivors (Brandon 1968: 167–84). Alternatively it has been argued that the tradition of a wholesale flight to Pella is a legend designed to bolster the Jerusalem pedigree of the Pella church and that the war had no such dramatic effect on Jewish Christian fortunes (Lüdemann 1980: 161–73). The early tradition should not be too quickly dismissed but, whichever view we take, one stubborn fact remains—we hear little or nothing of the Jerusalem Christians after 70, and we must assume that they lost their previously preeminent position.

Of Jewish Christians in general we hear more but the evidence is obscure and tendentious and tells us more about the internecine disputes among Christians than about their relationship with Judaism. Later Church writers viewed them as heretics, and lumped them together into groups—e.g., Ebionites, Nazoreans, Elchasaites—but they had little first-hand information. Reliance on Jewish Christian sources reconstructed from the later Pseudo-Clementines is now rightly questioned. Justin may give us some information about the situation in the mid-2d century (*Dial.* 46–47), or he may simply be speaking hypothetically from his knowledge of apostolic documents.

About the relationship of Jewish Christian groups with Judaism after 70 we can make only a few generalizations. First, some of them (e.g., the Ebionites) were probably connected to pre-70 groups, but they rapidly became, if they were not already, a minority in the Christian movement, surviving longest in Transjordania and Syria. The mission to the Jews, which Paul already perceived to be largely a failure (Roman 9–11), had probably petered out by the end of the 1st century, and most Jewish Christians were

henceforth probably descendants of Jewish Christian families rather than converts from Judaism. Second, in belief and practice they clung to their Jewish heritage, diverging mainly over christological/messianic claims (*Ps-Clem. Rec.* 1.43, 50). They probably attempted to maintain contact with, and where possible remain a part of, synagogue life. It was because they thought Paul chiefly responsible for the conflict with Judaism that they developed a frequently virulent anti-Pauline strain (*Ps-Clem. Rec.* 1:33–71; *Hom.* 11.35.3–6; *Epih.* 30.16.6–9). Third, some later sources express a remarkably irenic, two-covenant concept of salvation which accommodates both Jews and Christians (*Ps-Clem. Hom.* 8:6–7), a view which had earlier exponents too (*Ep. Barn.* 4:6). Fourth, Jewish Christians were ultimately marginalized as a result of their rejection by the two stronger groups, Judaism and gentile Christianity (see below on Matthew). Their fate in the first two centuries—from mother church, through marginal minority, to heretical outcasts—is indicative of the broader schism between Jews and Christians in this period.

**C. Yavnean Rabbis and their Successors**

The fate of Jewish Christianity immediately raises the issue of rabbinic actions taken at Yavneh. See JAMNIA (JABNEH), COUNCIL OF. It is generally agreed that the rabbis' task was to shore up and redefine Judaism in the wake of the disasters of the Jewish War. Some think that central to this process was a series of anti-Christian moves which had a profound effect upon the Jewish-Christian schism: the closure of the Jewish canon, the banning of heretical (i.e., Christian) books, the dissemination of anti-Christian propaganda, and above all the adoption of a malediction against the heretics *(birkat ha-minim)* into the synagogue liturgy (Davies 1963: 256–315). It is increasingly recognized, however, that Christians were not the sole, or in some cases not at all, the target of the Yavnean rabbis. The heretics and their works which the rabbis had to counter included far more groups than the Christians—Hellenizing Jews, Jewish Gnostics, indeed all non-Yavnean Jews. Jewish Christians, and later gentile Christians too, were at most only part of the problem. They may have been included in, but did not dominate, the ranks of rabbinic heretics. Further, it is clear that the influence of the rabbis spread only gradually in the first 2 centuries, especially among diaspora communities, so that their actions would have been neither immediately nor universally effective (Kimmelmann 1981: 226–44; Katz 1984: 43–76). Still, there may have been a disparity between rabbinic intent and Christian perception. Justin's frequent references to the cursing of Christians in the synagogues (*Dial.* 16, 35, 96, 107, 137) show that some Christians perceived themselves to be the primary target of Jewish antipathy. This would have been particularly true after 135 if at that time a specific reference to Christians *(noṣrim)* was added to the general malediction against heretics *(minim)*.

Apart from the specific question of Yavnean actions, what can we say more generally about Jewish reaction to Christianity? Unfortunately very little, for Jewish sources are largely silent on the matter. There may be a few scattered references in rabbinic literature to Jesus—portraying him as illegitimate, a magician, and a false teacher who was executed for leading the people astray—but the evidence is far from clear. Several persons named Jesus who lived at different times are confused with each other. Moreover, the evidence is mostly in texts of the 3d and 4th centuries and beyond and reflects the inner rabbinic debates of that time (Maier 1978; 1982). A more promising approach is to read the early rabbinic debate about "two powers in heaven" against the background of the Church's christological claims, though the role of Gnostics and other sectarians in both Judaism and Christianity has to be built into the picture too. It does, however, point to christology and the challenge to Jewish monotheism as a serious point of dispute (Segal 1986a: 133–62). In general, what rabbinic literature tells us about Jewish-Christian relations is slight and obscure. This is not surprising, since it is a literature which emerges from a closed, idealistic world and is notoriously silent about external events, even those that had a radical effect upon Judaism. Not all Jewish communities were like the rabbis, especially those in the Diaspora, but virtually no information about their reaction to Christianity has survived.

**D. The Gospels and Acts**

Yavnean opposition to Christianity, especially the malediction against the heretics, has often been used to reconstruct the *Sitz im Leben* of Matthew, Luke-Acts, and John. But the impact of Yavnean actions has

been exaggerated and, at any rate, they do not fit the gospel evidence with precision. A troubled relationship with Judaism is nevertheless evident.

Matthew contains a curious tension between recognition of the favored position of Israel (Matt 10:5–6) with polemic against the Jews (Matt 8:11, 21:41) and commitment to a universal mission (Matt 28:19). Emphasis on Jesus' Jewishness—as messiah and upholder of the law, sent to redeem Israel—goes hand in hand with a slashing attack on the Pharisees (Matthew 23). Distance from the synagogue ("their synagogues" [Matt 4:23, 9:35, 10:17, 12:9, 13:54]; "their scribes" [Matt 7:29]; "the Jews to this day" [Matt 28:15]) goes along with an overwhelming concern with things Jewish. The work is almost certainly by and for Jewish Christians, recently and unhappily separated from the synagogue but also trying to come to terms with an increasingly dominant and successful gentile Christianity. They were thus an embattled minority vis à vis two majorities—non-Christian Judaism and gentile Christianity. The Judaism they knew bears many of the marks of the Yavnean academy (e.g., Matthew 23) and the gospel shares the Yavnean concern with law and commandments and the doing of God's will (e.g., Matthew 5–7). The Matthean relation to contemporary Judaism was full of tension, stress and hostility, yet relating to Jewish traditions and customs was essential for their own sense of identity.

The situation in John is not so different from Matthew, but the issues that divide Jews and Christians are solely matters of belief and we hear no echo in the Jewish opponents of the concerns of the Yavnean rabbis (Meeks 1985: 93–116). In the characteristic use of irony and misunderstanding it is almost always the Jews who are the foil and who thus misunderstand Jesus (John 5:39f., 7:14f., 8:17f.). Salvation is "from the Jews" (John 4:22) but apparently not now among them, for it comes exclusively through Jesus whom they reject (John 16:6). Indeed throughout John, christology is the main focus of disagreement. There are some clues to the situation at the time of writing: the persistent use of "the Jews" to denote those who oppose Jesus and his followers, most extremely in John 8 where the Jews are diabolized ("you are of your father, the devil," v 44); the references to believers being thrown out of the synagogue (*aposynagogos* John 9:22, 12:42–3, 16:1–4); and the possible inference that some Jews had believed in, but then rejected, Jesus (John 8:31). Not all references to the Jews are polemical, and being cast out of the synagogue cannot be tied directly to the Yavnean malediction against the heretics whose purpose was to curse and not to expel. Yet John indicates a situation of extreme hostility between the Johannine communities and the synagogue, with each side locked into its own position and no room for rapprochement.

Luke-Acts conveys a more distant relationship with Judaism partly because it was written by and for gentile Christians. Luke shares Matthew's concern to establish continuity with Judaism and to show Christianity to be the true inheritor of God's promises. But above all, Luke wishes to present the success of the gentile mission—the shift from Jerusalem to Rome—as central to God's eternal plan. The mission to the Jews has had its successes; but, by the end of Acts, the Church has turned its face towards the gentile world (Acts 28:16f.). Disputes with the Jews center on messiahship (the sermons of Acts) and resurrection (Acts 23), while the dispute with Jewish miracle workers (Acts 19:11–20) is an interesting illustration of conflict on a more popular level. In Luke, Jewish rejection of Jesus is viewed with pathos and the mitigating ignorance of the Jewish leaders in putting Jesus to death allows them a second chance (Acts 3:17; 13:27). But there is a darker side too, for the Jews are with few exceptions portrayed as the opponents of Jesus, of the early Church, and, especially, of Paul. Their actions are hostile and malicious, though often thwarted by Roman officialdom. This probably reflects the realities of Luke's own day: The Jews had had their chance but rejected it; they are now largely hostile towards Christianity; the future for Christianity lies in the gentile world.

There are similarities and differences between these 3 documents: Each reveals a church separate from the synagogue, but in Matthew there is a lingering sense of trauma and confusion; in John, bitter resentment of Jewish opposition but acceptance of a clean break; and in Luke-Acts, assumption of a separate identity and focus upon a gentile future.

**E. Judaizers**

"Judaizer" is a slippery term. Commonly it is used of Jewish Christians who encourage gentiles to adopt Jewish ways. Some use it to refer to Jewish Christians who retain, and gentile Christians who adopt, Jewish customs (Gager 1983: 35–36). In ancient texts it refers only to gentiles (Jos. *JW* 2.643; *Acts Pil.* 2:1) and some restrict the term to them (Gaston 1986: 35). It is at any rate clear that Judaizing in the Church was mostly found among gentile Christians, that it was fairly common, and that it provoked fear and alarm among ecclesiastical leaders. The motives for Judaizing probably varied. Justin implies that gentile Judaizers were enticed into the synagogue (*Dial.* 47) and Ignatius that they simply retained attachments that were formed when they were "godfearers" (*Ign. Phld.* 6:1; *Ign. Magn.* 8:1). "Those who call themselves Jews but are not" (Rev 2:9; 3:9) may be gentile Christians turning to the synagogue to avoid persecution. The existence of Judaizers and the reaction to them reveal 2 different but related things: first, that among ordinary Christians Judaism retained some attraction, in extreme cases enough to cause defection from church to synagogue (Just. *Dial.* 47); and second, that church leaders saw this as an alarming return to defunct traditions, a threat to Christian identity, and grounds for outspoken warnings in which opposition to the Judaizers readily spilled over into anti-Judaism.

**F. Marcion and the Gnostics**

Gnosticism may have originated among marginalized and disaffected Jews and, if not, certainly in close proximity to Judaism. In Christian gnostic writings there are a few neutral or even positive references to Judaism (*Exeg. Soul* NHC II,*6; Tri. Trac.* NHC I,5), occasional disparaging comments on Jews or Jewish practices (*Gos. Phil.* 52:1–3, 75:30–34) derived mainly from NT sources, and a considerable body of anti-Jewish material in which biblical themes, above all the biblical deity, are deliberately denigrated by reversing their value (thus the sect called the Cainites), or the demotion of Yahweh to the role of evil demiurge. In general, Gnostics were hostile to Jewish traditions and beliefs rather than to the Jewish people and, unlike most other Christians, they had no desire to claim for themselves the heritage and privileges of Israel (Gager 1983: 167–71).

Marcion's views were in some respects similar though more complex. See MARCION. His radical separation of the inferior though righteous God of Israel from the God of Love revealed by Jesus, and his rejection of the Jewish scriptures for his own Christian canon, might appear to be the most extreme expression of anti-Judaism in early Christianity. Yet his rejection of Judaism was rarely marked by hostility towards the Jews, and he conceded to them their God, their traditions, and their messiah (not identified with Jesus), even if they were considered inferior. As with the Gnostics, the absence of any desire to appropriate Jewish traditions seems to have allowed Marcion a more relaxed attitude towards the Jewish people. Marcion's radical separation of Judaism and Christianity, the most extreme of that time, probably had several causes—distorted Paulinism, Gnosticism, a rational and literal turn of mind—among which may have been a reaction to precisely those Christian Judaizers who confused and blurred the boundaries between them (Wilson 1986c: 45–58).

**G. Justin and Melito**

Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew* (ca. 165) conveys a remarkably irenic picture of Jewish-Christian interaction. Trypho may be a fictitious character and Justin, as the author, clearly controls both sides of the conversation. Yet Justin appears to be well-informed about contemporary Judaism, attributes believable opinions to Trypho, and, while naturally believing that he has won the day, presents the arguments of Trypho with sufficient fairness that a sympathetic reader may find them the more persuasive. The discussion, generally courteous and respectful in tone, ranges over 3 broad fields: the validity of the Mosaic law for Jews and Christians (*Dial.* 9–31); christology (*Dial.* 32–110); and the role of the gentiles as the children of God or True Israel (*Dial.* 111–42). Central to all 3 is the evidence of the Jewish scriptures, for even at this late date Justin does not call on the authority of Christian scriptures. We learn incidentally of other matters: disputes about the merits of the LXX as against the Hebrew version of scripture (*Dial.* 68–80) and of one version of the LXX as against another (*Dial.* 72–73); the ill-will aroused by Jewish persecution, especially during the Bar Kokhba uprising (*Dial.* 17, 33), and by the cursing of Christians in the synagogues; the existence of different groups of gentile and Jewish Christians and how they related to each other and to the Jews (*Dial.* 46–47).

Both the major issues and the incidental information provide rich insights into Jewish-Christian dialogue. There is every reason to think that they reflect the kinds of issues that divided (as well as some that united) Jews and Christians. Above all, the generally civil tone, despite occasional irritability and an overbearing self-assurance on Justin's part, and the fact that Trypho remains unconverted at the end, witness to a style of Jewish-Christian interaction all too rarely found elsewhere. The less sympathetic tone and the barely credible conversion of the Jew in two roughly contemporary dialogues—*The Dialogue of Athanasius and Zaccheus* and *The Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*—make the evidence of Justin the more remarkable (Remus 1986: 59–80; Trakatellis 1986: 287–97).

The *Paschal Homily* of Melito of Sardis (also ca. 165) is strikingly different. Melito, a skilled rhetorician, covers 2 major themes in his overtly anti-Jewish sermon: first, that Judaism, its traditions, beliefs and attributes are defunct, superseded by and having their only continuing reality in Christianity (*Homily,* lines 224–44, 255–79, 280–300); second, that the Jews are solely responsible for the death of Jesus and thus the death of God—the first extant charge of deicide (*Homily,* lines 562–608, 693–716). Melito was a quartodeciman and thus particularly sensitive to the uncomfortable proximity of Jewish and Christian festivals. He was also conscious of the need to impress upon the Romans the respectable pedigree of Christianity. Above all, however, he was aware of the thriving and socially prominent Jewish community in Sardis which posed a constant threat to Christian claims and identity. His response to this situation reveals a level of antipathy and finality matched in early Christian literature only by the *Epistle of Barnabas* (Wilson 1986b: 81–102).

**H. Festivals and Cult**

In its early decades Christianity was heavily dependent on Jewish models for its organization and worship. Initially, for example, Christians celebrated the Sabbath like the Jews; only later, probably with the specific intent of dissociating Judaism and Christianity, was Sunday established (Bacchiochi 1977). The earliest celebration of Easter was probably no more than an adaptation of Passover, and one group, the "quartodecimans," continued to celebrate Easter on the same day as Passover well into the 3d century. The decision to introduce a distinctively Christian festival (Easter Sunday), which may go back to the gentile bishops who took over in Jerusalem after 135 C.E., was probably also a deliberate move of dissociation. Melito of Sardis, a quartodeciman, illustrates how a close association with Jewish festivals can, paradoxically, fuel strong anti-Jewish polemic.

The destruction of the Jerusalem Temple hit at the heart of the Jewish cult and, while the rabbis at Yavneh offered an alternative focus and took over some of the functions of the cultic personnel, hope for the rebuilding of the Temple was never entirely abandoned. Loss of the Temple could also have created uncertainty among Jewish Christians, while later proposals for its reconstruction could equally be seen by other Christians as a serious threat. The epistle to the Hebrews may illustrate the former. Its date and provenance remain obscure but it is probably of Jewish-Christian origin and written sometime after 70 C.E. partly in reaction to the events of the war. It is soaked in Jewish biblical and cultic traditions yet firm in its assertion of the superiority of the Christian over the Jewish reality. Whether it is covenant, hope, promises, law, or priesthood, the new is always superior to the old (Heb 7:18,22; 8:6; 9:11; 11:35; 12:24) for the old is impotent and imperfect (Heb 7:18,28; 8:7, 13; 9:8–10; 10:1, 2, 9), indeed annulled (Heb 7:18; 10:9). The discarding of Judaism goes hand in hand with a form of self-definition which leans heavily upon it. Yet the argument is firm rather than shrill, marked by enthusiasm for the new rather than dislike for the old.

A quite different note is struck by the *Epistle of Barnabas.* It is best understood when located in Nerva's reign (96–98 C.E.), when Jewish fortunes underwent a brief revival. Nerva rescinded Domitian's extension of the Jewish tax, which had been much abused, and seems to have encouraged Jewish hopes for the reconstruction of the Jerusalem Temple. The strident tone, the note of urgency and anxiety in the letter are caused in part by the author's reaction to these events (Shukster and Richardson 1986: 17–32). The wholesale appropriation of Jewish traditions—properly, usually allegorically, understood—is more extensive, and the denial that the Jews are a covenant people is more explicit than in most other early Christian documents. Three things appear to have motivated the author: first, the tussle with Judaism over

the proper interpretation of scripture, a theme which pervades the work and which probably reflects the author's own experiences with an increasingly confident rabbinic Judaism; second, the suggestion that the temple might be rebuilt, thus rejuvenating Judaism and making it an attractive alternative to Christianity, which evokes a passionate denunciation of Temple and cult (2:6–9; 5:1–3; 8:1–4; 16:1f.); and third, the confusion caused by those (Jews? Jewish Christians? Gentile Judaizers?) who claimed that the covenant privileges could be shared by both Jews and Christians—a view that the author adamantly opposes (4:11; 13:1; 14:1–2).

## I. Conclusion

Two features of Jewish-Christian relations in this period stand out: their variety and their complexity.

"Variety" refers to the widely differing reaction of groups of Jews and Christians to each other, ranging on the Christian side from preservation or adoption of intimate ties with Judaism (Jewish Christians, Judaizers) to bitter and resolute rejection of it (Barnabas, Melito), and on the Jewish side from active persecution of Christians (Bar Kokhba) to an informed and civil dialogue with them (Trypho). Put simply, neither Judaism nor Christianity was a single, uniform entity. Each of them enveloped a wide variety of belief and practice. Different sorts of Jews met different sorts of Christians, and it is not surprising that they related differently to each other, too.

"Complexity" refers to the host of different factors which bred antipathy between Jews and Christians. *Political events:* the Jewish War and the Bar Kokhba rebellion, including their immediate effects and the subsequent use of them in anti-Jewish polemic. *Social standing:* the relative size, influence and official status of the 2 communities, generally favoring Jews, putting Christians on the defensive and sometimes involving persecution. *Territorial disputes:* common features and festivals, but above all competing claims to the Scriptures and heritage of Judaism which mark every document known to us in this period; in general, the greater the proximity the greater was the conflict. *Overlapping missions:* competition for the allegiance of the same group of interested gentiles, and disputed claims to magical and miraculous power. *Praxis:* reformation and selective adaptation of the Jewish law. *Continuity:* the existence of and the reaction to Jewish Christians, gentile Judaizers and exponents of the two-covenant theory. *Christology:* a crucial dividing line in almost all Christian documents, seen from the other side in the rabbinic discussion of "two powers in heaven." *Self-identity:* the reformulation of Judaism by the Yavnean sages and the Christian search for a distinctive identity as it went its separate way. *Hellenization:* the demise of the Christian mission to Jews and the shift to the gentile world.

The combined force of these factors eventually and inexorably drove the 2 communities apart. Jewish Christians resisted the trend and ended up in no-man's-land, while Christian Judaizers periodically attempted to reverse it. The Marcionites made a clean and fairly painless break, but for most Christians it was a separation which began in agony and ambiguity and ended in open and lasting hostility. In retrospect the period 70–170 C.E. can be seen to have been the crucial formative century for the essentially negative view of Judaism which was to dominate the Christian West.

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**JEWISH WAR (66–73 C.E.).** The name usually given by scholars to the uprising of the Jews against the Romans that took place between 66 and 73 C.E.

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A. Causes and Factors
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### A. Causes and Factors

It is not difficult to find causes for the Jewish revolt against Rome. The primary sources suggest a number of very plausible ones, and modern scholars have offered other possibilities as well. Josephus, for example, focuses on a number of factors. For the most part he blames a small group of fanatical hotheads who utilized whatever means necessary (murder, pillage, burning homes, kidnapping) to foster rebellion (*JW* 1.1.4 §10). He also links the Jewish-pagan hostility which surfaced throughout Judea—especially in Caesarea—during the mid-1st century to the outbreak of the rebellion in Jerusalem (*Ant* 20.8.9 §184). Finally, he points an accusing finger at the corrupt and rapacious procurators whose ambitions, appetites, and incompetence contributed enormously to generating the final confrontation (*JW* 2.14.1 §272–76). Tacitus, too, implies that much responsibility for the war lies with the cruel and irresponsible behavior of governors such as Felix and Florus (*Hist.* 5.9.3–5; 5.10.1). Rabbinic literature, largely ignoring these kinds of historical factors, opts for moralistic considerations—social hostility, a breakdown of values, and overly materialistic concerns (*Tosefta Menaḥot* 13:22; *b. Git.* 55b–56a).

To these reasons modern scholars have added other, socioeconomic factors. The devastating famine of 48 C.E., when combined with the oppressive taxation by the procurators, impoverished the people. Little wonder that brigandage increased markedly in the 50s. The fact that the first act of the Jerusalem populace after the defeat of the Romans was the burning of the Jerusalem archives containing debt records indicates the role played by economic factors at the outbreak of the revolt. It has been suggested that the wealth

pouring into Jerusalem from donations by Jews the world over heightened class tensions, making the rich richer and leaving others in even greater poverty.

Social conflicts within Jewish society at the time are also viewed by modern historians as an important factor that contributed to the revolt. The widening social rift within the city, together with rural disenfranchisement due to heavy taxation, population increase, and growing economic instability, added fuel to the fire of revolt.

Jewish-pagan tensions in late Second Temple Judea have likewise been singled out as a primary reason for the conflict with Rome. These tensions were exacerbated by the employment of local pagan inhabitants in Rome's auxiliary contingents stationed in Judea.

The existence of this wide range of theories regarding the causes for the revolt indicates the complexity of the problem. Our sources can substantiate each and every view, and there can be little doubt that many factors indeed contributed to the outbreak against Rome. The search for one basic cause, however, is misleading, for most if not all of the above factors were present in Jewish society, and each played a distinct role among one or more of the many groups involved in the events leading to the outbreak of the revolt. Divisions among the Jews were numerous. We know of the existence of moderate and radical camps among them. In the former were the high priestly families (undoubtedly Sadducees), some Pharisees, the Herodian family, the urban aristocracy, and others. The radical camp was comprised of a number of different groups that, even at the very beginning of hostilities, fought one another no less than they did the Romans and the moderates. By the end of the war, no less than five different revolutionary parties existed, and the tension and friction among them were devastating.

Compared to the later Jewish revolt under Bar Kokhba, or the previous one under Judah the Maccabee, the revolt of 66 C.E. was unique in its lack of overall organization, planning, and leadership. Given this chaotic situation, in which many different groups, each with its own ideology, leadership, and composition, were competing with one another, it is no wonder that to speak of an underlying cause of the revolt is misleading. The number of grievances were at least as numerous as the many different factions, and no doubt opinions and motivations differed even within any one group. For example, both Rabbi Simeon b. Gamaliel and Rabbi Yoḥanan b. Zakkai belonged to the Hillelite faction within Pharisaic circles. They even functioned together in a number of halakic matters. Nevertheless, their political paths (and presumably their attitudes toward the war as well) differed greatly: Rabbi Simeon, a leader of the moderate faction, stayed in Jerusalem until the bitter end (and probably died there during or soon after the end of the siege); Rabbi Yoḥanan fled the city at the height of the siege, seeking asylum with the Romans.

**B. The Role of the Moderates and the Early Stages of Conflict**

Judea's plunge into war was neither sudden nor total. Immediately after the cessation of the daily sacrifice on behalf of the emperor, and the capture of Masada in the fall of 66, the leading citizens of Jerusalem, together with the chief priests and Pharisees, tried—albeit unsuccessfully—to dissuade the people from embarking on a course of confrontation with Rome. They then attempted to crush the revolt by urging Florus and Agrippa to send troops to the city. The latter responded by dispatching 2,000 cavalrymen and, in alliance with the moderates, held the Upper City. The Lower City to the east, including the Temple Mount area, was in the hands of the revolutionaries; after a week of fighting the insurgents seized the Upper City as well.

The moderates were led by the wealthy aristocratic Jerusalemites, either of the priestly or lay variety. The Herodian family, the Sadducees, the Boethusians, and others of the priestly oligarchy were certainly foremost in these circles, tending to be more cosmopolitan and pro-Roman than others in the group, whether out of self-interest or because their political, social, and cultural perspectives demanded moderation and accommodation rather than confrontation and fanaticism.

What exactly did the moderates want? Some, indeed, were opposed to the revolt, as, for example, those who wished to avert hostilities by appealing to Agrippa and Florus. Others, however, do not seem to have been completely opposed to a revolutionary posture. Hatred for (or at least dislike of) Rome was probably widespread, even within the upper classes, both because of the desecration of the temple and appropriation of its money and because of Rome's curtailing of the authority of the aristocracy and high

priests. Some may have shared in the apocalyptic fervor, while others may have feared the hostility of the urban poor and the rural peasants appealed to by the Sicarii. Some moderates may have wished to simply maintain their position of leadership in the community, even if this entailed a revolutionary stance with which they did not fully identify.

Other circumstances, however, may have been decisive. The anti-Jewish hostility which surfaced in many nearby Hellenistic cities at this moment of crisis, in addition to the threat of Roman retribution, served to unify disparate parts of the nation. Pro-Roman leaders then might have joined with the revolutionaries in self-defense. Undoubtedly, some of the more moderate leaders felt that by cooperating with the rebels they could more easily control the course of events, and perhaps even negotiate a settlement at an appropriate time. Even when the die was cast, there were those—and Josephus himself may have been one of them—who thought in terms of a limited conflict and the creation of a new modus vivendi with Rome, which would include curtailed procuratorial authority and, concomitantly, expanded Jewish autonomy. Preparations for war did not preclude suing for peace at the appropriate moment, as the city of Tiberias did in the spring of 67 (*JW* 3.9.8 §455). Finally, there appear to have been moderate leaders who felt that their cause might be supported—militarily or diplomatically—by fellow Jews throughout the empire.

The radical camp was at first spearheaded by two factions, one headed by a priest—Eleazar, son of Ananias—and the other by the Sicarii under Menachem, a descendant of Judas the Galilean. Eleazar had been the one primarily responsible for the decision to cancel the sacrifices on behalf of the emperor. He was supported by popular revolutionary leaders and led a coalition of lower priests and leaders of the populace in opposition to the traditional high priestly authorities. In the early days of the revolt Eleazar's group, composed primarily if not exclusively of Jerusalemites, occupied the temple and Lower City, thereby depriving their high priestly opponents of access to the temple (*JW* 2.17.6 §425). No doubt the conflict between these groups smacked of a class struggle as well.

During the course of their struggle, Eleazar and his followers were joined by the Sicarii and Menachem, who assumed control of the revolutionary forces in the siege of Herod's palace and the towers. Menachem entered Jerusalem fresh from the conquest of Masada and at the head of a band referred to by Josephus as "some of the most ardent promoters of hostilities" (*JW* 2.17.2 §408). Capturing the Roman garrison at Masada supplied Menachem and his followers with the weapons necessary to become a significant force in Jerusalem. He is described as having appeared "like a veritable king," and later on is said to have worn royal robes. Presumably, Menachem had regal pretensions, although it is far from clear whether he bore any messianic overtones.

After his victory in the Upper City, Menachem emerged as potentially the strongest leader in Jerusalem, arousing the jealousy of Eleazar's followers—despite their view of Menachem as being of inferior social rank. They thereupon attacked Menachem while he was at worship in the temple. Many were massacred on the spot; Eleazar b. Ya‹ir and others escaped to Masada, where they remained for the duration of the revolt (*JW* 2.17.9 §447). Menachem himself took refuge in the Ophel in the Lower City, where he was caught, tortured, and finally put to death.

The Sicarii thus ceased to play any role in Jerusalem affairs. Josephus reports that the urban populace supported Eleazar in his confrontation with Menachem, assuming that the latter's death would end the revolt. This, however, was wishful thinking. A series of events unfolded in the coming months (August–November 66) which eliminated any hopes there might have been for rapprochement. According to Josephus, the same day the rebels decimated the Roman garrison in Jerusalem, the gentiles of Caesarea slaughtered some 20,000 local Jews. This set off a wave of Jewish reprisals throughout the country: Jews attacked their gentile neighbors in Syrian villages, in Philadelphia, Heshbon, Gerasa, Pella, Scythopolis, Gadara, Hippos, and the Golan, as well as in other places along the Phoenician coast from Tyre to Gaza. These were not coordinated attacks under a centralized leadership but rather local conflicts initiated by local leaders. Justus of Tiberias led the attack on Gadara and Hippos; John of Gischala, the one on the Tyrians. The gentiles, for their part, immediately sought vengeance, and many Jewish communities were

adversely affected. Specifically mentioned are Scythopolis, Ascalon, Ptolemais, Hippos, Gadara, and Tyre. Even in the territory of Agrippa II, a Jewish delegation of 70 leaders was attacked and massacred.

Finally, and after much delay, the Roman governor of Syria, Cestius Gallus, decided to march on Jerusalem and put an end to the incipient rebellion (*JW* 2.18.9 §499–555). The time was October of the year 66. Gathering a large force of over 30,000 men in Antioch, Gallus passed through Ptolemais and Caesarea, put Lydda to the torch, and approached Jerusalem via Beth Horon. Repelling a Jewish attack in the Beth Horon area, Gallus then moved on Jerusalem and burned Bezetha, the northernmost suburb of the city. At first he tried to enter Jerusalem via Herod's palace, but altered his strategy five days later and decided to mount an assault on the N wall of the Temple Mount. Suddenly, however, Gallus withdrew from the city and headed toward the coast. The Jews, drawing courage from this surprising retreat, pursued the Romans. Apprehending them near Beth Horon, the rebels slew some 6,000 soldiers and captured a good deal of Roman equipment. Only by a deft stratagem was Gallus able to avert a complete and total defeat. The die thus had been cast. The Jewish victors returned to Jerusalem in joyous celebration, and many pro-Roman Jews left the city. The moderate elements united and succeeded in forming a provisional government which was to manage affairs in the city for over a year.

**C. Preparations for War—Jerusalem and the Galilee**

The defeat of Gallus ended any hopes of early negotiations, and the Jews were now irrevocably committed to war. The first act of the rebels was to set up a revolutionary government (*JW* 2.20.3 §562–68). The tasks of this group were formidable: new policy and strategy had to be formulated, reforms of existing institutions had to be made, and military preparation had to be undertaken. Joseph, son of Gorion, and Ananias, the former high priest, were selected to be supreme commanders in the city. Another member of the high priestly circles who played a prominent role in governmental affairs at the time was Joshua b. Gamla (*Life* 38 §193). Others were chosen to take charge of specific territories in the country: Joshua, son of Sapphas, a high priest, and Eleazar, son of the high priest Neus, were put in charge over Idumea; Joseph, son of Simon, over Jericho; Manasseh, over Perea; John the Essene, over Thamna, Lydda, Joppa, and Emmaus; John, son of Ananias, over Gophna and Acrabetta; and Josephus, over the Galilee, including Gamla (*JW* 2.20.3 §566–68).

We are particularly well informed about the preparations for war in the Galilee, for Josephus himself was central to these events. However, this abundance of information bears a price. Discrepancies and contradictions abound in his reports of the Galilee; his descriptions in *Jewish War* differ from those in the *Life*, and they were written some twenty years apart, each for its own purposes and each with its own tendentiousness.

One matter, however, is quite clear from Josephus' accounts. The Galilee was far from united on the question of war with Rome. Josephus found his greatest support among the "Galileans"—Jews from the countryside and villages. They were always found in his entourage, their leaders dined with him, and they were summoned to a conference, appointed to judicial-administrative positions, and served as emissaries to Jerusalem. These Galileans nurtured a deep hatred of the three largest Galilean cities—Sepphoris, Tiberias, and Gabara—and needed little excuse to attack them. Much of their animosity undoubtedly was linked to the age-old urban-rural tension, but some must have also related to differing views on the question of war with Rome. Of the larger cities, only Tarichaeae (Migdal) aligned itself with Josephus and was later joined by smaller towns like Jotaphata and Gamla. Tarichaeae's anti-Roman posture may have been influenced by its hostility to nearby Tiberias, which they understood as a direct result of Roman-Herodian rule. Tarichaeae was also a veteran Galilean settlement—in contrast to Tiberias, which had been settled in more recent years (19–20 C.E.) by a mixture of area residents and transferees from other places. Therefore, Tarichaeae's alliance with the rural Galileans against Tiberias reflected a complex set of issues: city versus city, an older settlement versus a newer one, an indigenous population versus foreigners.

When the Romans were finally ready to attack, the Galilee was prepared to offer little more than token resistance. Most were not inclined to fight; however, those who had a penchant for revolution were divided into numerous factions. The major city of Tiberias was torn asunder by rival claims. Josephus was

thus able to accomplish very little. John sealed off the Upper Galilee, and the major urban centers turned their backs on revolution. With the arrival of the legions in the spring of 67, many of those whom Josephus had mustered to service had deserted, and Josephus was forced to take refuge in Jotapata, thus ensnaring himself in the Roman siege.

**D. The Roman Campaign in the Galilee and Judea**

Upon learning of the disastrous defeat of Cestius Gallus, Nero appointed one of his outstanding generals, Vespasian, to direct the campaign against the Jews. In the end, only a few places offered serious resistance to Rome: Jotapata, where a 47-day siege was required to subdue the city; Gamla, finally overrun after a vigorous resistance, triggering a mass suicide; and Tarichaeae, where rural Galileans played an active role in inciting the residents.

The Roman campaign of 67 ended with a quick foray into Judea and the capture of Jamnia and Azotus (*JW* 4.3.2 §130). Garrisons were placed there, and the legions spent the winter months in Caesarea and Scythopolis.

In the early months of 68, Roman strategy called for reducing all resistance in and around Judea, so that Jerusalem would be isolated. By late spring of 68, all Judea—including Perea and Idumea—had been subdued. Only Jerusalem stood alone and remained to be conquered.

At this moment, however, events in Rome caused all operations to be suspended for almost two years. On June 9, 68, Nero died and Vespasian's mandate to conduct the war likewise expired. He was forced to await fresh orders from the new emperor. The transfer of authority in Rome did not go smoothly. This year is known in Roman history as the Year of the Four Emperors. Galba was acknowledged as emperor but was soon followed by Otho; and he, in turn, by Vitellius. Rebellion and insurrection were the order of the day, and no one in the imperial city was interested or concerned enough to address himself to the question of Judea. After a year's waiting, and after having observed with consternation the increasing chaos engulfing Rome, Vespasian, on July 1, 69, staked a claim to become the new emperor of Rome. The road from declaration of intentions to final realization, however, was not altogether smooth, and another half year passed before Vespasian and Titus were able to validate that declaration. In December 69, Vespasian was acknowledged as Rome's new ruler. It was only then that the new emperor was prepared to realize his goals in Judea, but now he had to await the advent of spring, for it was a cardinal rule in the Roman army not to fight during the winter months.

**E. Anarchy in Jerusalem (67–70 C.E.)**

We know practically nothing about the events in Jerusalem during the year and a half in which the moderates ruled. Josephus' narrative for the year 67 focuses almost exclusively on the Galilee, and only toward the end does it mention Vespasian's campaign in Judea and Perea. Not only did the moderates enjoy supreme rule in Jerusalem but their influence on other areas was considerable as well. Josephus' reports from the Galilee of his contacts with the Jerusalem authorities during the early months of 67 are very important regarding this matter.

It was Vespasian's successes in the Galilee, and even more his incursions into the Judean countryside in late 67, that upset the balance of power in Jerusalem. Refugees poured into the city, and social, political, and religious strains soon became unbearable. One of the first to arrive in Jerusalem (around October 67) was John of Gischala.

Despite Josephus' attempts in *JW* to depict him as a wild-eyed radical, John appears to have adopted a rather cautious, moderate revolutionary posture in Gischala and the Upper Galilee. His political and military activity was spurred not so much by anti-Roman sentiments as by the need to defend his hometown from the raids of non-Jewish neighbors. His opposition to Josephus stemmed not from any radical proclivities but from the rivalry between two strong and moderate prorevolutionary leaders, each of whom aspired to control the Galilee. Nevertheless, John's identification with the moderate Jerusalemites was short-lived. Along with Jerusalem society in general, he, too, became radicalized, turning his back on his former allies and joining the newly emergent Zealot party. This took place during the winter of 67–68.

Josephus associates the Zealot party, which seems to have crystallized about this time, with the leadership of Eleazar b. Simon and Zecharias b. Amphicalleus. It was composed of two main elements—the lower-class priests, and refugees from the Judean countryside (referred to by Josephus as brigands). The formation of this party in the winter of 67–68 was no coincidence. The enormous increase in the population of Jerusalem and the presence among these refugees of disaffected revolutionary and brigand leaders, along with disillusionment with moderate leadership and the losses incurred the previous year, all contributed to an explosive atmosphere in the city. See ZEALOTS.

The Zealots unleashed a reign of terror throughout the city. They succeeded in taking over the temple precincts and fortified themselves against any popular reaction. This action, together with their selection of a nonqualified high priest, aroused public enmity against Zealot excesses. It was only then that the moderate leadership—Joseph, the son of Gorion, Rabbi Simeon b. Gamaliel, and the two priests, Ananus and Jesus b. Gamla, rallied to meet the challenge. Appeals to individuals and a mass move by the moderates was effected, and the Zealots feared an attack by the populace. The moderates then sent a delegation to negotiate with the Zealots. John was appointed but took this opportunity to change his allegiance (a step that he undoubtedly contemplated for some time) and side with the Zealots. He accused Ananus of betraying the city to the Romans and of preparing an attack on the Zealots scheduled for the next day (*JW* 4.3.14 §216–27). At his suggestion, the Zealots sent for the Jews of Idumea to aid them; with this invitation, yet another radical group was now to be introduced into the city.

Marshalling a large force under the command of four generals, the Idumeans marched to Jerusalem in a driving rainstorm only to find the gates barred. After a short delay the Zealots succeeded in evading the guards and opening the gates. The Idumeans, along with the Zealots, then conducted a purge of the populace, including the moderate leaders. After much plundering and killing, they tracked down the high priests, whom they considered arch-traitors. Ananus, the only moderate leader with sufficient stature to offer an alternative political course, was killed. Josephus claims that the capture of the city began with Ananus' death, its downfall with the sight of a high priest butchered in public (*JW* 4.5.2 §318). According to Josephus, at least, Ananus represented the one hope for a negotiated settlement with Rome. For their part, the Zealots hunted down other major figures. As a result of these acts, the number of people deserting Jerusalem increased dramatically; many of them urged Vespasian to overtake the city as soon as possible.

In the midst of such excesses, the Zealot coalition fell apart. John, who presumably had not taken part in the slaughter (perhaps out of attachment to his former allies), broke with them and was followed by some of the Idumeans. Other Idumeans left the city in disgust, and still others united with some of the priests and Jerusalem populace in order to confine both the Zealots and John within the temple area. Although he severed his ties with the Zealots, John never confronted them militarily. He was an ambitious, opportunistic, and charismatic leader. While he may not have engaged in the same bloody massacres as the Zealots, he was equally unable to unify the factious city.

In the spring of 69 John and the Zealots held the temple while the Idumeans, the remnants of the moderate party, and the Jerusalem populace laid siege to it. The latter groups, realizing they could never deliver the final blow by themselves, turned to another outside force, a move which only succeeded in further dividing the city.

It was at this point that Simon bar Giora was invited into Jerusalem. However, Simon and the Idumeans were unable to dislodge John and the Zealots from the temple area, and for over a year warfare ensued between the several factions. The Zealots were ensconced in the inner temple area, John in the outer temple precincts, and Simon, the Idumeans, and the Jerusalemites were in the Upper and Lower cities. Jerusalem continued to be ravaged throughout this period; murders and plundering were rampant, and vast stores of food were destroyed by both sides (*JW* 5.1.4 §21–6).

Thus, by the time Titus approached Jerusalem in the spring of 70 for his final assault, the city was teeming with rival revolutionary groups, each bearing its own distinct leadership, ideology, origin, and history. Leadership of the city had passed into the hands of Simon. According to Josephus, Simon commanded 10,000 of the 23,000 troops then in Jerusalem and was allied to a 5,000-strong Idumean

contingent. John had 6,000 troops at his disposal, and the Zealots 2,400. These Jewish forces had fought one another for a year before they were able to forge some semblance of unity—but by then it was too late. Even if united, they could never have hoped to withstand the Roman onslaught. Sooner or later Jerusalem was doomed to fall. However, with the internal wounds still festering and the Jewish body politic so shredded, conquest by Rome came all the sooner.

**F. The Siege and Fall of Jerusalem (70 C.E.)**

Titus marched on Jerusalem at the head of four legions. At first the Jewish forces made a number of successful forays against the besiegers, as Titus initially concentrated his efforts on the northwestern section of the city just north of the Hippicus tower. Having successfully breached the outer two walls, the Romans found themselves in the narrow streets of the city. Utilizing their greater mobility and knowledge of the neighborhood, the Jews inflicted heavy casualties, and the Romans were forced to retreat. The respite, however, was brief. Four days later the Romans renewed their attack and, destroying a large section of the wall, took this part of the city. Now came the last and the most difficult stage of the siege—the assault on the Antonia fortress.

The Romans erected four ramparts against the Antonia fortress. Their advance was now much slower and more costly: They succeeded in breaking through the outer wall, only to find that the rebels had built another one directly behind it. Despondent because of the futility of their continual efforts, the Roman troops were given encouragement by Titus, and the siege work resumed. After repeated efforts, the Antonia was overrun, and the Romans continued on to the temple itself, where they were repelled by the forces of John and Simon. Josephus notes that it was at this point that the daily sacrifices at the temple were suspended, due to the lack of animals. With the Jewish forces ensconced within the temple precincts, Titus once again offered terms of peace. The appeal encouraged a number of people, particularly those from the upper classes and priestly families, to cross over to the Roman side. Titus sent them to Gophna, which was being used then as a refugee center.

Unable to dislodge the stones of the temple wall after using the battering ram for days, the Romans set fire to the gates and porticoes of the temple. Continuous fighting slowly forced the Jews back into the confines of the temple's inner court. It was at this point that Titus called a strategy meeting of his chief commanders to determine the fate of the temple: Should it be destroyed or spared? Overriding the advice of his advisers, Josephus reports, Titus decided that the edifice was not to be destroyed under any circumstances, as it would serve as an ornament to the Roman Empire. There is reason to doubt the accuracy of Josephus' narrative, since a 4th-century writer, Sulpicius Severus, reports that Titus himself decided to destroy the Jerusalem edifice. Destroying a temple could easily be construed as an act of impiety, and it is quite understandable that Josephus might have wanted to exonerate his friend and patron from having a hand in this act, if indeed he was responsible. The contradiction in our sources as to Titus' responsibility for the destruction of the Second Temple remains unresolved. Josephus reports that the temple was destroyed on August 30, the 10th of Ab, the same day the First Temple was destroyed by the Babylonians according to Jer 52:12 (2 Kgs 25:8 gives the dates as the 7th of Ab, and later rabbinic tradition settled on the 9th of Ab).

The Romans now proceeded to destroy the entire city. Rejecting Simon and John's suggestion to discuss terms of surrender, Titus had his troops burn large sections of Jerusalem. On the 20th of Ab, the Romans began their attack on the Upper City by constructing embankments in four places. At this point, the Idumeans sought to come to terms with Titus but were prevented from doing so by Simon. Completing the embankments in eighteen days, the Romans prepared for a final assault. Resistance was now slight; the remaining forces fled to underground passages or attempted to flee the city. The Romans quickly took the Upper City, and victory was complete; Jerusalem was in their hands. Following a mass slaughter, fire broke out and the city was entirely destroyed. John was sentenced to life imprisonment, and Simon was to be executed following the triumphant procession in Rome. Josephus estimates the number of those who perished in the siege at 1,100,000; Tacitus speaks of 600,000. Both numbers, however, appear to be exaggerated. The entire population of Jerusalem at the height of the siege probably never exceeded 250,000 (its 23,400 soldiers probably represented about 10 percent of the total population).

**G. The Capture of Masada (74 C.E.)**

Following the fall of Jerusalem, Jewish rebels continued to hold three fortresses: Herodium, Machaerus, and Masada. The first two were taken with relative ease by the new Roman legate, Lucilius Bassus.

In 73 C.E., Bassus died in office and was succeeded by Flavius Silva. The new governor turned his attentions to the last remaining Jewish stronghold at Masada (*JW* 7.8.2 §275–419). Only one spot—the western slope of the mountain—presented itself as an appropriate place for a ramp. The Romans proceeded to erect a 100-m-high embankment, on top of which large stones were placed to serve as a platform for the siege engines. They then threw their battering ram into action with devastating effectiveness, only to find that the Jews had erected a second wall behind the first. They set fire to this wall, but their plan at first appeared to have backfired as the wind blew the flames back in the face of the soldiers. However, a sudden wind change caused the flames to envelop the inner wall and set it ablaze.

The conquest of the fortress was imminent, and realizing that there was no hope of victory Eleazar gathered his comrades in an attempt to convince them that suicide was the only honorable course of action remaining. Josephus has left us a detailed account of what supposedly transpired. To be captured by the Romans would have meant torture, humiliation, and death. Eleazar is said to have reviewed some of the ideological tenets associated with the Fourth Philosophy (for instance, the recognition that there is but one God and that no Jew should become a slave) and finally argued that God had now turned against the Jews, dooming them to destruction. How else would He have let such wholesale destruction take place in Jerusalem or have allowed the city to fall into ruins? The misfortune which befell the entire Jewish nation was to be the lot of the Sicarii as well, but it should come at their own hands and not at the hands of the Romans; let them say, "We preferred death to slavery."

Realizing that not all were convinced by these arguments, Eleazar reportedly renewed his appeal. This time, however, the argument took a more philosophical bent. Its major themes were not Israel, God, and sin but rather soul, death, and suicide: Life, not death, is man's misfortune. Death liberates man's soul from the shackles of the body, from the miseries and pain of mortal life. Thus, the soul is restored to its pure sphere, unadulterated by things human. Eleazar then compared death to sleep in which the soul is liberated from the body to enjoy complete repose, holding conversation with God and foretelling things of the future. The example of Indian philosophers is invoked—people who hasten to release their souls from their bodies through immolation leave the soul as pure as possible. Moreover, God himself has decreed defeat; the Romans cannot claim this victory. To live and see the women and children desecrated, tortured, or sold as slaves is worse than death.

Subsequently, each of the defenders of Masada is said to have executed his own family; and each of these, in turn, was killed by ten men chosen by lot. These ten were then killed by the last survivor, who then committed suicide. Only two women and five children who had hidden in a cistern escaped this fate. The following day, upon entering the fortress, the Romans were astounded and dumbstruck by the mass suicide.

Despite its inherent drama and heroic grandeur, Josephus' account of the Masada episode is not without its problems. How is it that these pious Jews chose suicide? Did Eleazar really make such speeches? Is this story really based on the reports of two women and five children who had been hiding in a cistern? And even if plausible, Eleazar's second speech sounds more like the words of a Stoic philosopher than of a commander of a group of revolutionaries on an isolated mountain fortress in a remote province of the empire. If 960 people committed suicide, where are the remains of their bodies? And why would Josephus glorify a group of people whom he hated? Let us try to resolve at least some of these problems.

In the first place, similar mass suicides are well known in antiquity generally and in Jewish history in particular. Many Jews in Jotapata and Gamla preferred killing themselves to falling into Roman hands, and the actions of the Masada defenders are therefore quite plausible. Secondly, whether all the defenders of Masada died as described or whether some actually died fighting, the fact that so few bones have been found is surprising. No convincing explanation has heretofore been offered. Thirdly, Eleazar's speeches are almost definitely the product of Josephus' pen: he most probably attempted to put into the mouth of a hero what might or should have been said at that critical moment, an exercise that was universally

practiced among ancient historians. Finally, it seems that Josephus' intent in telling the story was not so much to idealize the Sicarii as to fix the blame on this group of revolutionaries. He had Eleazar take responsibility for the war, admit that he was mistaken and had sinned, and that, in the end, God had rejected the Jews. The death of the Sicarii by their own hands was a dramatic statement of the futility and misguidance of those who dared to challenge Rome. Josephus remained the fierce opponent of Jewish revolutionaries to the very end. That he packaged all this in the dramatic account which lent an aura of heroism and even admiration to the victims was not his primary intention. At best, it was the price he was willing to pay to conclude his book on a heroic and dramatic note. (See the discussion in *HJP²* 1: 484–513.)

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L. I. LEVINE

**JEWS IN THE NT.** There are many references to "Jews" in the NT. The meaning and interpretation of these references is a matter of debate among scholars.

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A. Historical Introduction
B. "The Jews" in Matthew
C. "The Jews" in Mark
D. "The Jews" in Luke
E. "The Jews" in Paul
F. "The Jews" in John
G. Conclusion

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**A. Historical Introduction**

The English word "Jew" is related to *Iudaeus* in Latin and *Ioudaios* in Greek; *juif* in French and *Jude* in German represent similar borrowings. Current usage distinguishes between "Jewish," an ethnic designation, and "Judaic," to refer to the religious movement (especially in the ancient period), but etymologically the same word is in question. The entire complex of adjectives and nouns ("Jew," "Jewish," "Jewry," "Judaic," "Judaism") derives from "Judah," which became the most prominent of the twelve tribes of Israel during the monarchies of David and Solomon (ca. 1000–922 B.C.). Indeed, the consolidation of power in Jerusalem clearly aroused tribal jealousy; despite its theoretically neutral location, it represented the regnant influence of the Judeans (1 Kgs 11:26–40; *BHI* 178, 179; 207, 208). The ascendancy of Judean power therefore contributed to the division of Israel into northern and southern kingdoms at the end of Solomon's reign. Notably, the name "Israel" is appropriated by the northerners, and "Judah" is accepted as the designation of the southern kingdom. In 1 and 2 Kings, the stereotyped phrases, "the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel," and "the book of the chronicles of the kings of Judah" appear very frequently; for example, in 1 Kgs 14:19; 15:7. When the Assyrians took Samaria (722/721 B.C.), the capital of Israel, and exiled thousands of its citizens (2 Kgs 17:1–6; *BHI* 257–58), the weakened kingdom of Judah—itself practically an Assyrian satellite (2 Kgs 16:5–16; *BHI* 259–61)—was all that survived of the nation. It has been observed that "Israel" is the natural designation of the chosen people of God in their discourse with one another, while "Jew(s)" (*Ioudaios*[*oi*]) is the normal reference of outsiders to the particular folk characterized by fidelity to the Hebrew Bible and its customs (*TDNT* 3:360–61).

"Jews" might appropriately be used by the gentile Demetrius in respect of the nation (1 Macc 10:23), and—as the conventional designation—representatives of Israel might themselves use the term, especially in diplomatic contents (1 Macc 8:18, 20; *TDNT* 3:360–61). The usage in the Diaspora appears to have been more common as a self-designation and may refer to the people of the covenant in any part of the world (2 Macc 1:1; *TDNT* 3:363–65). If "Israel" remained the more proper name, God's own bestowal (Gen 32:28; *TDNT* 3:362), "the Jews" was current, especially in the Diaspora, conforming with Hellenistic usage (*TDNT* 3:369–71).

**B. "The Jews" in Matthew**

The distinction between "Israel" as the true name and "Jew(s)" as a common designation appears, at first sight, to be maintained in Matthew (*TDNT* 3:376–77). Indeed, apart from one instance, every usage is within the phrase, "King of the Jews," and appears in the speech of gentiles: the three sages (2:2), Pilate (27:11), soldiers (27:29, 37). It has been argued (*TDNT* 3:376) that Matthew is consistent with rabbinic usage, in that a preference for "Israel" as the correct designation is preserved (2:6, 20, 21; 10:6, 23; 15:24, 31; 19:28; 27:9, 42). But the last usage of "Jews," at 28:15, subverts any such consistency, when it refers to the false story of the theft of Jesus' corpse as "… spread among the Jews to this day." The reference not only assumes the same perspective upon people of the covenant as the earlier statements which gentiles make; it also associates "Jews" with a false account which is designed to undermine faith in Jesus' resurrection. For that reason, the usage assumes the division of the early Christian movement from Judaism (McNeile 1957: 434).

Attempts to dispense with the usage at 28:15, as a gloss (*TDNT* 3:376), are understandable but doomed to failure. The evidence of manuscripts is quite straightforward, and Matthew otherwise manifests the conviction that belief in Jesus amounts to a transcendence of Judaism. The statement attributed to Jesus in 8:10, "Not even in Israel have I found such faith" (compare Luke 7:9), following as it does the Sermon on the Mount, uses precisely the designation ("Israel") which contrasts the centurion's faith to the very principle of Judaism, the election of Israel. When the crowds of 9:33 marvel, "Never was anything like this seen in Israel," the force of the statement is similar; taken together, 8:10 and 9:33 may also be said to shed new light on 15:31. Finally, the phrase "King of Israel" in 27:42 (compare Mark 15:32), a taunt in the mouths of Jesus' Jewish opponents, establishes that the conceptions of Judaism are profoundly at odds with the message to which Matthew is committed. But by this point, such ironies are anticlimactic: the Jewish people have already declared, "His blood be upon us and upon our children" (27:25).

The sources of the manifest anti-Judaism of Matthew are complex. "The Jews" to some extent represent those who reject Jesus and who therefore are themselves to be represented as liars (28:15) and willful murderers (27:25), in order to vindicate the christological claims of the Church (Ruether 1974: 94, 95). Then, too, Matthew—along with the other gospels—represents the Jewish leadership as primarily responsible for Jesus' death, although the method and agency of execution were inescapably Roman. That representation was convenient for apologetic purposes on two fronts. On one front, the Roman Imperium could be exculpated in the matter of the crucifixion: the message concerning Jesus could therefore be promulgated among gentiles without giving political offence (Ruether 1974: 88, 89). The uniquely Matthean episode of the dream of Pilate's wife (27:19) serves that purpose, as well as the people's response in 27:25. On the second front, the growing tension between followers of Jesus and the emerging authorities of synagogues after the destruction of the temple (A.D. 70) made it convenient to fasten guilt on the leaders of Judaism in Jesus' day (27:20; Mark 15:11; Ruether 1974: 87–89). Ruether has aptly referred to this complex of tendencies as the "anti-Judaic left hand" of christology (p. 95). In common with a recent convention, Ruether distinguishes the anti-Judaism of the early Church from the "racial anti-Semitism" of the modern period (pp. 220–21). But the Matthean prejudice against the Jews seems not only to be theological and apologetic (the gospel sets its face against the very people who tell false stories to confound faith in the risen Jesus [28:15], and even against their children [27:25]); but there also appears to be a rejection of "Jews" as such, not merely an argument with the theology and the leadership of Judaism.

The Matthean virulence concerning the Jews may, ironically, reflect the particularly close proximity of the gospel to the structures and authority of Judaism. As in all the gospels, no doubt is left as to the milieu of Jesus and his followers: they are Jewish, root and branch (Chilton 1984). Especially in Matthew, however, the connection between Jesus and Judaism is presented as inextricable to the point that there is no valid Judaism *apart* from Jesus. For example, the Matthean Jesus claims he has come to "fulfill" the law and the prophets (5:17), and even grants that the scribes and Pharisees he attacks "sit on Moses' seat" (23:2, 3). How scriptural fulfillment is to be reconciled with Jesus' formally antithetical attitude toward Scripture in the Sermon on the Mount (5:21–48), and how leaders can be obeyed whose teaching is—in violent terms—described as hypocritical (23:13–36), are matters which are left unresolved. No doubt, such tensions reflect the complex history of the composition of the document. Within that history, one of the axes of development is an ambivalent attitude toward the Jews and Judaism. But the inexorable tendency of that axis is one of an increasing hostility. The dark side of the movement from "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (10:6; 15:24) to "all nations" (28:19) is a mounting intolerance—on an ethnic scale—of those who reject the message of Jesus.

**C. "The Jews" in Mark**

The tortured ambivalence of Matthew may be contrasted with the nearly studied restraint of Mark. All uses of the term "Jews" save one are in the phrase, "King of the Jews" (15:2, 9, 12, 18, 26), and do not present any significant novelty. The uses of "Israel" in Mark (12:29; 15:32) are similarly unremarkable, although the latter is as antagonistic to Judaism as its parallel in Matt 27:42. But a uniquely Markan parenthetical notice at 7:3, 4, is startling at two levels. First, the assumption that the reader needs to be informed that "the Pharisees and all the Jews" purify their hands and vessels manifests a greater distance from the institutions of Judaism than is the case in Matthew. Second, the Markan reference to "all the Jews" holding to practices of washing "cups and pots and copper vessels" is hyperbolic and implicitly condescending (Lane 1974: 245–47). The inference that Mark is written from the point of view of a Christianity which is essentially (and self-confidently) gentile, seems inescapable.

**D. "The Jews" in Luke**

A similarly detached attitude toward Judaism is manifest in Luke, where narrative asides extraneously refer to "elders of the Jews" (7:3) and to "Arimathea, a city of the Jews" (23:51). Obviously, great significance must not be read into such casual references, which are superimposed upon the by-now-familiar phrase, "King of the Jews" (23:3, 37, 38). In Acts, however, an apologetic usage of "the Jews" results in an explicit anti-Judaism, which, if less virulent than Matthew's, is nonetheless more direct (Ruether 1974: 88–90). The usages are ubiquitous (amounting to some seventy-eight instances), but their pattern is straightforward. "The Jews" can be regarded as pious, and to that extent susceptible of mission (2:5, 10, 14; 10:22; 16:1; 18:2, 24; 21:20, 21; 24:24). Mission, however, proves to be the primary occasion of statements against the Jews. The assertion that Jesus is Christ is assumed to be made in the face of Jewish opposition (9:22; 13:6; 18:5, 28) and sometimes of their deadly enmity (9:23; 12:3, 11). Nonetheless, Jesus is understood to have ministered in Judea (10:39), and despite the mortal opposition of Jews, strictures against associating with gentiles were observed (11:19; 16:3) until the full significance of Peter's vision (10:28) was grasped. The move to an explicit mission amongst the gentiles is accomplished, of course, by means of Paul. He preaches in synagogues, addressing Jews and their sympathizers (13:5, 13–16; 14:1; 17:1, 10, 17; 18:4, 19; 19:8–10; 20:21; 28:17), and the result is both success (13:34) and overt resistance (13:50; 14:2, 4, 5, 19; 19:9, the last a particularly evocative moment in the development of a predominantly gentile mission). Apostolic mission is therefore cast into an odd predicament: from the point of view of the Romans, it is Jewish (16:20; 18:14, 15; 19:33, 34; 24:5; 25:8, 10; 26:3), although its primary antagonists are Jews (14:2, 4, 19; 17:5, 13; 18:12; 19:33; 20:3, 19; 21:11, 27; 24:9, 18, 19, 27; 25:2, 7, 9, 15, 24; 26:2, 4, 7, 21; 28:19). That antagonism becomes the occasion on which Paul formally turns from the Jews to the gentiles (18:5, 6; 28:23–28). The last two passages cited manifest the apologetic device which informs the usage of Acts. To the very end, it is insisted upon that some Jews believed in the preaching of and about Jesus (28:24), and yet Jewish disbelief and violence—both legal and illegal—is taken as validating an explicit emphasis upon the mission amongst gentiles. So determined

a pattern is in play that it even influences the presentation of the beginning of Jesus' ministry in Luke (4:14–30; Chilton 1987: 125–56).

**E. "The Jews" in Paul**

The pattern of Acts may be taken as a fulfillment of the Pauline typology, in which the gospel of Jesus and his judgment is to be announced first to Jews and then also to Greeks (Rom 1:16; 2:9, 10; 3:1–8; 9:24; 1 Cor 1:24). The point for Paul, however, is not that Jewish rejection occasions a definitive preference for gentiles, as in Luke—Acts; rather, Paul insists that there is, before the one and only Lord, fundamentally "no distinction between Jew and Greek" (Rom 10:12; 3:9, 29). For just that reason, Paul can refer to the salvation of "all Israel" when he has in mind both Jews and gentiles (Rom 11:25, 26; 1 Cor 12:13; Gal 3:28; Col 3:11). On the whole, Paul is not optimistic about the conversion of his own people (Rom 9:3); despite his best efforts to accommodate to them (1 Cor 9:20; 10:32), they offer only resistance (1 Cor 1:22, 23; 2 Cor 11:24; 1 Thess 2:14). In Galatians, the Pauline ambivalence is at its most tortured. His argument that he advanced in "Judaism" beyond many of his contemporaries (1:13, 14) is used to support the claim that Jewish practices are an illegitimate incursion into the gospel (2:11–21). The next chapter of Galatians attempts to justify that position by means of the argument that the law is but a guide to the covenant of Abraham, which is fulfilled in Christ. The use of the term "Judaism" appears to have been characteristic of Hellenistic Judaism (*4 Macc* 4:26 and *TDNT* 3:365). In another respect, as well, Paul appears distant from the ethos of Palestinian Judaism. His argument for a "circumcision of the heart, in spirit, not letter" (Rom 2:17–29) as the qualification of a person who is a Jew secretly, is more reminiscent of Philo (*Quaes Gen* 3.46–52; *Quaes Ex* 2.2) than of the rabbis. Paul, then, is torn between rejecting Judaism and redefining it.

**F. "The Jews" in John**

No such doubt is evident in the gospel according to John, with its approximately sixty-seven references to "the Jews." Unless it is thought that the reader might forget where the events transpired, many of these identifying references, in narrative and even in sayings of Jesus, appear quite superfluous (1:19; 2:18, 20; 3:22, 25; 11:19, 31, 33, 36, 45; 12:9; 13:33; 18:12, 14, 20, 31, 36, 38; 19:7, 12, 14, 20, 31), and the stilted explanation of Jewish customs is reminiscent of Mark (2:6, 13; 4:9; 5:1; 6:4; 7:2; 11:55; 19:40, 42). In most of these instances, practically no useful information is conveyed: to say that Jews take part in debates in Judea, or that they keep a holiday called Passover, would not educate most of the intended readers of John. The point seems rather to typify Jewish reaction to Jesus. The gospel is so imbued with the notion that Jews reject Jesus, that Nicodemus, "a leader of the Jews" (3:1), is addressed by Jesus with a paradox which causes misunderstanding (v 3). When it is borne in mind that Nicodemus has just praised Jesus in remarkably unqualified terms and has apparently visited Jesus at some personal peril (v 2), the reaction seems strange. It is as if the Jewish rejection of Jesus was not only inevitable (1:11) but divinely intended. The dialogue between Jesus and the Samaritan woman (4:1–30) best represents the attitude toward Judaism in John's gospel. Notably, Jesus is in Samaria as a result of Pharisaic opposition in Judea (4:1–3), which is effectively the territory of conflict in John. Jesus addresses a paradox to the woman (4:10), but her perplexity leads to incipient faith (v 29), where in the case of Nicodemus, perplexity brought only doubt and rebuke (3:9, 10). Theoretically, Judaism is declared superior to the worship of Samaria, "for salvation is from the Jews" (4:22), but that statement does not ensure the salvation of any particular Jew. Judaism is the source, but no longer the boundary, of God's salvific activity in sending his son (cf. 3:16–21). It is therefore not surprising when conflict, misunderstanding, and mortal opposition characterize Jesus' relationship with his Jewish contemporaries (5:10, 15, 16, 18; 6:41, 52; 7:1, 11, 13, 15, 35; 8:22, 31–33, 48, 52, 57; 9:18, 22; 10:19, 24, 31, 33; 11:8, 54; 19:38; 20:19). The synoptic phrase, "King of the Jews," is also represented in John (18:33, 39; 19:3, 19, 21), but the most evident feature in the Fourth Gospel in respect of "the Jews" is anachronism. Jews are pictured as excluding followers of Jesus from synagogues during his lifetime (9:22; 12:42; 16:2), and both Jesus and his disciples refer to "the Jews" as if to an alien group (11:8; 13:33; 18:20, 36). There seems little doubt but that such anachronisms reflect the social experience of the community in which the gospel was produced. The attitude is not yet as harsh as in the Revelation, where Jews are called a "synagogue of Satan" (2:9; 3:9),

but in the Johannine literature generally there seems to be no backward glance toward Judaism, not even out of sentimentality, as in Paul, or in respect of piety, as in Luke-Acts.

**G. Conclusion**

The division of Judaism and Christianity is one of the paramount religious developments of late antiquity, and yet the causes, the mechanisms, and the timing of that division are all matters of speculation and debate. That the central figure of the NT was regarded in his own time as a rabbi, and that his first disciples were Jewish, cannot reasonably be doubted; on the other hand, a definitive break with Judaism is reflected in Luke-Acts, John, and the Revelation, assumed in Mark, struggled for in Paul, and agonized over in Matthew. Of course, the use of the term "Jew(s)" is only one criterion of this development; documents such as Hebrews and 1 Peter obviously evidence a relationship with Judaism, although they make no reference to Jews as such. But the use of "Jew(s)" in the NT makes it obvious beyond any doubt that the division came about for social, not immediately ideological, reasons.

The simple fact that some Jews—indeed an eventual majority—did not accept the message concerning Jesus is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition of the usage of the NT. The nature of that negative response, and of the reaction of early Christians, needs also to be taken into account. After the destruction of the temple, Judaism came increasingly to be a religion of Scripture and tradition, centered upon the Hebrew Bible and the Mishnah. Jerusalem, the actual, urban, and cultic center could no longer serve as a cohesive focus, and religious authority came increasingly to be located in the expository functions of rabbis. Where the priestly hierarchy had concerned itself principally with what was done in association with sacrificial worship, rabbinic power influenced first of all what was said and thought; and only on that basis could it determine what was done. One index of that development is a Haggadah told of Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanos, an ardent traditionalist who flourished at the end of the 1st century and the beginning of the 2d. Denounced before a Roman judge, Eliezer explained to his disciples that his condemnation was just, since he had once discussed a point of Scripture with a follower of Jesus (*Abodah Zarah* 16b, 17a). See GAMALIEL (PERSON). Apparently, what was once considered acceptable came to be seen as intolerable. Christianity, in the meantime, came more and more to be dominated by the perspective of gentiles, to whom Jewish customs had either laboriously to be explained or else simplistically to be derided. Within the movement of gentile Christianity, christology became the common denominator, rather than the kingdom of God, an explicitly early Jewish concept which Jesus himself had emphasized. The NT, in its reference to "the Jews," manifests various stages in the social interactions which produced, out of the ferment of early Judaism, two mutually hostile stepchildren: rabbinic Judaism, which sought the sanctification of life by means of Scripture and tradition, and Christianity, which anticipated the redemption of life by means of the messiah promised in Scripture (Neusner 1985).

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**JEZANIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕzanyāhû* (יְזַנְיָהוּ), *yĕzanyâ* (יְזַנְיָה)]. **1.** Son of the Maacathite and one of the troop commanders, who, following the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/586 B.C., chose to join Gedaliah, the ruler of Judah, at his administrative center at Mizpah (Jer 40:8; spelled "Jaazaniah" in some

mss and in the parallel passage 2 Kgs 25:23). It is possible that he is to be identified with the Jaazaniah whose name appears on a contemporary seal from Tell en-Nasbeh. See JAAZANIAH (PERSON).

**2.** In the Hebrew text of Jer 42:1, reference is made to Jezaniah, son of Hoshaiah. However, this reading is clearly to be emended following the LXX (cf. also the MT of Jer 43:2) to read "Azariah son of Hoshaiah" (cf. RSV, JB, NAB, NEB). See AZARIAH (PERSON).

JOHN M. BERRIDGE

**JEZEBEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾîzebel* (אִיזֶבֶל)]. **1.** The daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Sidonians, and wife of Ahab the son of Omri and king of Israel (1 Kgs 16:29–31). As it is vocalized in the MT, the name Jezebel is probably a two-layered parody. The original name *ʾîzĕbūl* ("Where is the Prince?") first became *ʾî-zĕbūl* ("No nobility"). *Zĕbūl,* a title of Baal, was then distorted into *zebel* ("dung"; cf. 2 Kgs 9:37).

The biblical texts present a thoroughly negative picture of this undoubtedly powerful woman. Jezebel became the influential queen of the N kingdom as the foreign wife of Ahab. She fostered the worship of Canaanite fertility deities, supporting 450 prophets of Baal and 400 prophets of the goddess Asherah at her royal table (1 Kgs 18:19). In the meantime, she ruthlessly persecuted the rival prophets of Yahweh, causing them to go into hiding (1 Kgs 18:4). The great Elijah himself did not underestimate her death threats (19:1–3). Moreover, she contrived the legal death of Naboth the Jezreelite so that her husband could obtain his vineyard (1 Kings 21). Because of her so-called "harlotries and sorceries" (2 Kgs 9:22), she met her ignominious death at the hands of Jehu. But her death was not without dramatic flourish. Hearing the news of Jehu's massacre of the royal family, Jezebel "painted her eyes and adorned her hair." Looking down at her adversary from her window, she ridiculed Jehu as an upstart claimant to the throne like his predecessor, Zimri. Her harem eunuchs, sensing changes in power in Jehu's favor, flung her down from the window at Jehu's command. Jehu, whose appetite seemingly was not affected by the gruesome death ("he went in and ate and drank"), begrudgingly ordered a burial for the "cursed woman," since "she is a king's daughter." However, fulfilling Elijah's prophecy that "the dogs shall eat the flesh of Jezebel" (2 Kgs 9:30–37; cf. 1 Kgs 21:23), all that remained of Jezebel's body was her skull, feet, and hands.

In depicting her mainly as the unscrupulous foreign woman who illicitly intruded in affairs of her royal husband, the biblical texts gloss over the fact that Jezebel probably wielded considerable authority in her position as queen. According to Brenner (1985), Jezebel had two sources of power. The first was her status in her Phoenician homeland. As daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Sidonians, she was a princess by birth. According to Josephus (*Ant* 8.13.2), Ethbaal was also a priest in the Phoenician cult of the goddess Astarte (Ashtoreth). Brenner suggests that Phoenicia followed the Mesopotamian practice of appointing the king's daughter as the high priestess of the chief local god, in this case, Baal Melqart. With the king as high priest and his daughter serving as high priestess, links between the monarchy and the state religion were considerably strengthened. Together, the two were able to wield substantial political, economic, and religious power over the land. Hence, when Jezebel came to Israel she was accustomed to being an active participant in government. She promoted the cult of Baal, which had long enjoyed extensive support in Israel, since her status as the god's high priestess was integral to her authority as queen.

Another power base was derived from her husband, Ahab. In spite of the negative bias of the Deuteronomistic framework, the texts reveal that she was an active partner in her husband's rule. Her religious and political skills made her a natural colleague in his administration. She had enough material resources to support the 450 prophets of Baal and 400 prophets of Asherah at *her* table. Moreover, the Naboth story indicates that her letters written in Ahab's name and the use of the king's seal were routine acts on her part, rather than an illegitimate usurpation of authority. There is no suggestion that these exercises of power were restricted just to the Naboth episode. Brenner thinks that Ahab allowed Jezebel to carry on in her religious and political role because it strengthened his own rule more effectively. The biblical narrators would have suppressed information of Jezebel as high priestess of Baal, since they did not acknowledge the validity of a female priesthood and the authority inherent in it.

**2.** A prophetess in the church of Thyatira who, according to Rev 2:20–23, "beguiles" the congregation "to practice immorality and to eat food sacrificed to idols." Although she was probably a real person, her

name Jezebel seems to be symbolic. It refers pejoratively to the "harlotries and sorceries" of the OT queen who supported the prophets of Baal and Asherah at her court (2 Kgs 9:22; 1 Kgs 18:19).

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**JEZER** (PERSON) [Heb *yēṣer* (יֶצֶר)]. JEZERITES. The third of the four sons of Naphtali (Gen 46:24; 1 Chr 7:13). Jezer was the grandson of Jacob and Bilhah (Gen 30:7–8), the maid whom Rachel gave to her husband (Gen 30:3). At the time when Jacob descended into Egypt to visit Joseph, seven children and grandchildren of Jacob and Bilhah were mentioned in his genealogy (Gen 46:25). According to Westermann (1986: 153) and Noth (*IPN,* 172), Jezer's name was a short form of a theophoric name, probably meaning "Formed by God," following the idea present in Gen 2:7 and Jer 1:5. Jezer became the head of the Jezerites, one of the clans of Naphtali (Num 26:49). Jezer and his clan are not mentioned anywhere else in the OT outside of the genealogy of Naphtali.

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**JEZIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕzû›ēl* (יְזוּאֵל) K; *yĕzî›ēl* (יְזִיאֵל) Q]. One of the ambidextrous warriors from the tribe of Benjamin who joined David during the period of David's flight from Saul (1 Chr 12:3). He was a brother of Pelet and son of Azmaveth; Azmaveth should perhaps be identified with David's warriors in 11:33. In $LXX^{B,S}$, his name was given as *ioel* (Joel), probably because a text was read without the letter *zayin* in the name. The Chronicler has doubled the list of warriors who supported David (1 Chr 11:41b–12:40) beyond what was contained in the parallel narrative (2 Sam 23:8–39 = 1 Chr 11:10–41a). The source for these additional lists can only be a matter of conjecture, though Williamson has provided a convincing argument for the structure of 1 Chronicles 11–12. The long list reflects the Chronicler's concern to show "all Israel" united in support of David, a characteristic theme of his history. Within the immediate context (1 Chr 12:1–8—Eng12:1–7) the Chronicler is concerned with showing the support David enjoyed among Saul's kinsmen before Saul's death; the 23 Benjaminite warriors named here joined David while he was at Ziklag, the Philistine city given to David by Achish, king of Gath (1 Chr 12:1; 1 Sam 27:6). Ambidexterity or left-handedness among Benjaminites is also noted in Judg 3:15; 20:16.

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RAYMOND B. DILLARD

**JEZRAHIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yizraḥyâ* (יִזְרַחְיָה)]. Director of the choir at the dedication of the Jerusalem wall (Neh 12:42). His name is omitted in the LXX. The name, which means "Yahweh will shine forth," is the same as that of an Issacharite in 1 Chr 7:3 (RSV Izrahiah).

NORA A. WILLIAMS

**JEZREEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yizrĕ‹e›l* (יִזְרְעֶאל)]. 1. A descendant of Judah (1 Chr 4:3), usually understood as the eponymous ancestor or personification of the town of Jezreel in Judah (Josh 15:56). See JEZREEL (PLACE).

2. The symbolic name which the prophet Hosea gave, at God's command, to his oldest child, a son (Hos 1:4). In Hebrew, the name "Jezreel" (*yizrĕ‹e›l*) is very similar to "Israel" (*yiśrā›ēl*). The prophet plays on the similarity; Jezreel is a sign of Israel's fate.

The significance of "Jezreel" is twofold. In the first place, the name "Jezreel" recalls Jehu's bloodguilt and anticipates divine judgment against Jehu's dynasty (Hos 1:4–5). Jehu violently overthrew the Omride

dynasty in the town of Jezreel, murdering King Joram, the queen mother Jezebel, their leading officials, and the Judean king Ahaziah (2 Kgs 9:1–10:11). Hosea announces that the house of Jehu will be punished with military defeat in the valley of Jezreel (Hos 1:4–5).

Secondly, "Jezreel" suggests divine beneficence. The Hebrew word means "God sows"; the valley of Jezreel is particularly fertile. In Hos 2:25—Eng2:23, the prophet plays on the positive sense of the name to reverse the earlier word of judgment (cf. also 2:2; 2:24—Eng1:11; 2:22). The precise meaning of the wordplay is disputed; it may be a promise to Israel of fertility, or it may mean that Israel will be firmly established in the land. In either case, the significance of the child's name is reversed and applied to the whole of Israel, becoming a sign of restoration and hope beyond judgment.

CAROLYN J. PRESSLER

**JEZREEL** (PLACE) [Heb *yizrĕ‹e›l* (יִזְרְעֶאל)]. JEZREELITE. This toponym can be translated as "God sows" or "May God make fruitful." The name is associated with two distinct towns, as well as with a major geographical component of the Israelite kingdom.

1. A town in the tribal inheritance of Issachar (Josh 19:18), which scholars (*HGB,* 42) almost universally identify with Zerin/Tel Yizra‹al (M.R. 181218). The site is located at the E end of a fertile valley which shares the name Jezreel with the town. Jezreel is not mentioned in any ancient source prior to the Iron Age, so the site would seem to be an Iron Age foundation.

The first OT event associated with the site occurs during the preparations for Saul's battle at Gilboa, when the Israelite army camps at a spring near Jezreel (1 Sam 29:1). Under Solomon, Jezreel appears in the border description of the fifth district of the kingdom (1 Kgs 4:12), but serves to limit the district instead of being included within it. Jezreel was probably part of the tenth district of the kingdom (*LBHG,* 315). The town is absent from the list Shishak compiled of his conquests in Israel in the latter part of the 10th century B.C., so it is unlikely that the city was of much political importance at that time (*LBHG,* 327).

By the reign of Ahab (9th century B.C.), Jezreel had become the winter capital of the Israelite kingdom. As a political center, the town was the setting for a number of sanguinary events. Although the site has never been extensively excavated, the OT records that at the time of Ahab the city was defended by a city wall, which had at least one tall tower (2 Kgs 9:17). Ahab's palace was located in Jezreel and would seem to have had an upper story with windows (2 Kgs 9:32).

During Ahab's reign, a number of events occurred at Jezreel. Following the test between Elijah and the prophets of Baal and Asherah on the Carmel, Elijah is said to have run before Ahab's chariot when he returned to his palace in Jezreel (1 Kgs 18:46). A vineyard alongside the palace, belonging to Naboth the Jezreelite (1 Kgs 21:1), was coveted by Ahab and his queen Jezebel. When Naboth refused to sell his inheritance, Jezebel engineered his execution as a traitor (1 Kgs 21:10), so Ahab could acquire the property. Elijah cursed Ahab and his entire house for this crime (1 Kgs 21:23–24). See NABOTH (PERSON).

This curse was not carried out until the reign of Joram, Ahab's son. Jehu, commander of Joram's army, after being anointed by a disciple of Elijah, led a coup against Joram, killing him outside Jezreel and casting his corpse into Naboth's former vineyard (2 Kgs 9:25). On Jehu's order, Jezebel, Joram's mother, was thrown out of a palace window by palace eunuchs, and her corpse was trampled by Jehu's horses (2 Kgs 9:33). During the course of the coup, Jehu piled the heads of 70 sons of Ahab outside the gates of Jezreel, before killing all of Ahab's supporters within the city (2 Kgs 10:10).

As a part of this episode, the MT states (2 Kgs 10:1) that the elders of Jezreel were among the recipients of letters sent by Jehu concerning the fate of the sons of Ahab, who were living in Samaria. This passage is frequently emended (Cogan and Tadmor *2 Kings* AB, 113) on the grounds that since Jehu was in Jezreel at the time, the officials there would seem to have had little impact on the fate of the princes in Samaria.

By the time of Hosea (8th century B.C.), Jezreel had become a powerful symbol of the guilt of the Israelite kingdom, which was to be punished by destruction (Hos 1:4). The theological import of the

prophetic passages referring to Jezreel in Hosea 1–2 is open to a number of interpretations (Andersen and Freedman *Hosea* AB, 172–86).

When the Assyrians destroyed the N kingdom of Israel, Jezreel lost its political importance, which was never regained. During the Hellenistic period the name of the town had become Esdraelon, the Greek version of Jezreel, from which the modern Zerin is derived.

In 2 Sam 2:9, Jezreel appears as part of a description of the kingdom of Ishbosheth, inherited from his father Saul. In this instance it seems clear that Jezreel represents a territory beyond that of the city itself, perhaps as large as the lands of Issachar and Naphtali (*HGB,* 31), although some doubt the ability of Ishbosheth actually to control the region following the defeat at Gilboa (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 87).

The use of Jezreel as a regional term leads to the question of the relationship of the town to the valley of the same name. Most scholars (cf. *LBHG,* 24) assume that the Jezreel valley stretched W from Jezreel to the plain of Acco and S to Ibleam (M.R. 177205). Some would extend the valley as far E as the Jordan (Pritchard 1987: 114), although most consider that region to be part of the valley of Beth-shean. A minority restrict the extent of the valley of Jezreel to the territory of the town itself (*GTTOT,* 31).

Whatever its exact extent, the Jezreel valley was a vital strategic link on the route between Egypt and Damascus. The valley was the scene of recorded conflict from the time of Thutmose III in the LB Age through the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. Its fertile land, which perhaps inspired the name "God sows," can make the valley an agricultural breadbasket, although neglect of drainage and conservation measures can turn much of it into an unhealthy marsh, as it was early in this century.

2. A town in the territorial inheritance of the tribe of Judah (Josh 15:56), as yet unidentified. Abel's (*GP* 2, 364) suggested identification with Kh. Terrama (M.R. 153098), although accepted by Rogerson (*RAB,* 94), should be rejected since the other towns mentioned in the passage are located to the SE of Hebron. This Jezreel would seem to have been the birthplace of Ahinoam (1 Sam 25:43), wife of David and the mother of his first son, Amnon, although Levenson and Halpern (1980: 513ff.) raise the possibility that Ahinoam came from the N Jezreel.

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MELVIN HUNT

**JIB, EL.** See GIBEON (PLACE).

**JIDLAPH** (PERSON) [Heb *yidlāp* (יִדְלָף)]. The seventh son of Abraham's brother Nahor and of Milcah (Gen 22:22). The name occurs here in a list made up mostly of personal names, and no evidence currently exists that it is also a name of a town or a region. In fact, it is otherwise unknown, and there is no ready explanation for it. Both "he weeps" and "he is sleepless" have been suggested as possible meanings. See *HALAT,* 214, 373, for the potential Hebrew root or roots and Semitic cognates and for citations of some literature which discusses them. Westermann (1985: 367) believes that the names among which Jidlaph appears do not make up a tribal enumeration. Rather, one has to reckon with a gradual development from a genealogical form still centered in the family to later tribal lists (cf. 25:13–16; 36:15–19). Kidner (*Genesis* TOTC, 144) considers the name to be of interest chiefly as an indication of Israel's consciousness of distant kinships.

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**JILAT, WADI AL-.** A drainage catchment of about 160 $km^2$ at an altitude between 967 and 755 m, which lies in the SW portion of the AZRAQ basin on the Jordanian plateau.

Wadi al-Jilat is a tributary of the Wadi al-Dabi (Wadi Dhobai), which feeds into Qa al-Azraq. The area currently receives less than 100 mm of rainfall per year and lies vegetationally at the divide between steppe and desert. The surface geology comprises late Cretaceous and early Tertiary limestones, chalks, marls, and cherts, and there are more recent conglomerates and travertines in the valley floor. In an

otherwise arid area, Wadi al-Jilat is attractive to settlement because the wadi has incised a shallow gorge in which water is often retained well after the end of the rainy season. Now, this is used on a seasonal basis by bedouin who pasture their sheep, goats, and camels on the sparse vegetation.

The Wadi al-Jilat was also attractive for settlement in the late Glacial and early post-Glacial periods (ca. 25,000–4500 B.C.). In the 1930s Waechter located and sounded a number of sites along the valley floor (Waechter et al. 1938) with flaked chert industries, which he described as "Aurignacian" and "Dhobaian" (he misidentified the location as Wadi Dhobai). More recently, Garrard has resurveyed the valley (Garrard et al. 1985) and located a total of twenty-six Stone Age sites. One of these is Upper Paleolithic (ca. 25,000–20,000 B.C.), at least four are late Epipaleolithic (ca. 12,000–7500 B.C.), and six are Neolithic (7500–4500 B.C.). The latter divide into Pre-Pottery Neolithic B and burin sites, and have stone structures visible on their surfaces. Five sites ranging from Upper Paleolithic to Neolithic were sounded by Garrard (Garrard et al. 1986).

In addition to the prehistoric sites, Glueck (1951), Field (1960), and King (King et al. 1983) have described two dams in the valley. The major dam is 28.85 m long and 5.80 m high, but only the downstream side is visible due to silting. This is faced with well-dressed ashlar masonry and is supported by three rectangular buttresses. It is also banked, with each succeeding stone course set slightly back from the lower one. It is covered with washum and graffiti, but no dating inscription exists. The ruin of a second smaller and more poorly built dam lies downstream, blocking a side wadi. Glueck (1951) suggested a Roman date for the main dam, but King (King et al. 1983) only found Byzantine and Umayyad sherds during his group's survey of the area. Since there are Umayyad parallels for such dams in the Hijaz, and there are a number of substantial Umayyad structures in the Jordan desert (castles and cisterns), the dam seems likely to date to this later period.

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**JISR BANAT YA‘AQUB** (M.R. 209268). The Lower Paleolithic site of Jisr Banat Ya‘aqub (Heb Gesher Bnot Yaacov) is located in the N sector of the Syrian/African Rift system, some 4 km S of the Huleh valley. Paleontological remains and lithic artifacts from the site were found in 1933 during the construction of a bridge over the Jordan river.

Between 1936 and 1951, M. Stekelis (1960) carried out a survey and excavations N and S of the bridge. It became evident that the site continues along the course of the Jordan below the present water level and was identifiable on both banks. These observations were corroborated by D. Gilead (1970) through an additional test pit. Proximity to the Syrian/Israeli border, the high-water level of the Jordan, and the various drainage activities have never enabled a thorough and prolonged field study at Jisr Banat Ya‘aqub (J.B.Y.).

The prehistoric and paleontological finds are bedded in the Benot Yaacov Formation, which is exposed at the bridge and also known from bore holes drilled in the Huleh valley. The formation was initially described by Picard (1952) as the "Viviparus Beds," due to the dominance of this mollusk species in the sediment.

The Benot Yaacov Formation is bedded unconformably on the Yarda Basalt. This basalt flow yielded a radiometric age of 640,000±120,000 years, and thus contributes indirectly toward dating the implentiferous beds.

Stekelis' observations at J.B.Y. resulted in a stratigraphic sequence of six strata. Layer V is characterized by a lithic assemblage shaped on basalt and is assigned to the Middle Acheulian. The biface

component (cleavers and handaxes) was modified by the "bloc on bloc" technique. The typological proportions of handaxes and cleavers are 51 percent and 49 percent, respectively. The specific choice of basalt, the technique of manufacture, and the interbiface group frequencies are all unique to this layer and are not known elsewhere in Israel. These features are known from African sites; their presence at J.B.Y. might demonstrate the penetration of an African tradition into the Levant. The artifacts from Layers II–IV were modified on flint and manifest the earliest known appearance of the Levallois technique; the biface types/shapes are more evolved than those of Layer V, and the assemblage is assigned to the Upper Acheulian.

The uniqueness of the lithic assemblage, the paleontological assemblage, and the recent discovery of human paleontological remains, as well as the palynological analysis, all demonstrate the importance of the site to Pleistocene research in the Levant.

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N. GOREN-INBAR

**JOAB** (PERSON) [Heb *yôʾāb* (יוֹאָב)]. Joab is a simple Hebrew name consisting of a theophoric element—*yô,* for "Yahweh"—in a nominal clause. Its meaning is "Yahweh is father"; hence, Joab is only formally different from Abijah.

**1.** In the Hebrew Bible, the name Joab is applied primarily to the commander in chief of David's army. This Joab was the son of David's sister, Zeruiah; he was one of three brothers—Joab, Abishai, and Asahel—who played a critical role in the establishment of David's military power. Abishai, at one time or another the commander of both the foreign mercenaries and the king's special corps of *šālišîm* (see DAVID'S CHAMPIONS), served as a kind of adjutant to Joab throughout David's reign (cf. 2 Sam 10:9–14; 20:4–22) and probably died sometime before Solomon's coup. Asahel was killed during the long war between the houses of David and Saul. Joab, the central figure of the three, was the commander of David's assembled armed forces, both the levies and the various components of the professional army. This view is in contrast to that usually expressed; namely, that Joab commanded the levies while Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, commanded the professional soldiery. In fact, Joab is more often than not depicted as in command of the professional troops (cf. 2 Sam 10:7; the "mighty men" were elite troops and formed a separate category from both the levies and the regular professional soldiers—"the men of war" [cf. Schley *ISBE* 4: 564–65]; another category was the *šālišîm,* a small body of elite warriors loyal only to the king, as well as the foreign mercenaries and the bodyguard). Joab also appears to have had his own body of armor bearers (2 Sam 18:15) and his own following within the army (2 Sam 20:11). Even the doomed Uriah called Joab "my lord" to David, to whom he supposedly owed his highest loyalty (2 Sam 11:11). Joab is credited with taking the royal city of the Ammonites on his own (2 Sam 12:26–28) as well as

defeating the Syrians (2 Sam 10:6–14) and Edomites (Ps 60:1—Eng superscript: Joab killed twelve thousand Edomites in the Valley of Salt; a similar feat is ascribed to Abishai in 1 Chr 18:12 and to David in 2 Sam 8:13–14). These are hardly the achievements of a commander of reserves. Joab was the leading military figure of David's reign, a professional soldier to whom all answered, a man who has been called "the gray eminence" of the Davidic era.

The testimony of the Davidic narratives carries a strange ambivalence toward Joab, depicting him both as the staunchest supporter of David, with no ambition for the throne himself, and as the Judean king's chief adversary at the court, at one point even threatening revolt (2 Sam 19:5–7). If the incidental evidence of the Davidic narratives is to be believed, Joab was the power behind David's throne, whether for good or for ill. To him are attributed the murders of the two commanders of the army of Israel, Abner the son of Ner (2 Sam 3:26–30) and Amasa the son of Jether (2 Sam 20:4–13). Joab is also reported to have had the rebel Absalom killed against the express orders of the king (2 Sam 18:1–15), a deliberate act for which he did not apologize and which appears to have cost him his high standing for a time (2 Sam 19:13). There are thus three clear instances in which Joab countermanded the king's wishes and slew, rightly or wrongly, persons in favor with David.

At the same time, Joab, along with his brother Abishai, was the trusted agent of David's policies. According to Chronicles, Joab achieved his leadership of the army when he led a daring raid up the watershaft to seize the city of the Jebusites for David (1 Chr 11:4–9; his name was not included in this tradition in the corresponding passage in 2 Sam 5:6–9). It was Joab who, with his brother Abishai, prosecuted the Ammonite and Syrian wars (2 Samuel 10–12) and yet gave the honor to David (2 Sam 12:26–30), though David had ceased to engage in direct military campaigns (2 Sam 21:15–17). Again, the two remaining sons of Zeruiah, along with the Philistine condottiere, Ittai of Gath, brought David the victory over Absalom (2 Sam 18:1–17) and put down the rebellion of Sheba, the son of Bichri (2 Sam 20:1–22). Joab elsewhere carried out David's cover-up of his affair with Uriah's wife (2 Sam 11:14–25) and interceded with David on behalf of Absalom (who had avenged the rape of his sister Tamar by slaying his brother Amnon—2 Sam 14:1–24). Conversely, Joab used harsh words to bring David to greet the troops after the death of Absalom and the dispersal of the rebel army (2 Sam 19:1–8b), and it was Joab who carried out David's ill-fated census of the people of Israel, though he had vehemently argued against the measure (2 Sam 24:1–14).

So great was Joab's influence in the Davidic court that he almost succeeded in putting Adonijah, Solomon's older brother, on the throne. Joab's support of Adonijah, in fact, seems to have divided the regime along the lines of the "old guard" and the "new men." The old priest Abiathar supported Adonijah, too, but Solomon found his support in the prophet Nathan, his mother Bathsheba, Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, newly promoted to command the foreign mercenaries (probably following the death of Abishai), and the priest Zadok, probably a Jebusite, who founded the Zadokite line of priests in Jerusalem. The defeat of Adonijah's party may have been the result of a weakening of Joab's position on account of the absence of Abishai, Joab's brother and longtime adjutant. When Solomon's party came to power, the new king had Abiathar banished. Joab, however, he had killed, fulfilling his deathbed promise to his father to clear the family line of the bloodguilt of Abner and Amasa, whom Joab had slain. In a poignant scene, Joab clings to the horns of the altar for refuge and refuses to come out to die at the hands of Benaiah. "I will die here," he says, refusing either to apologize for his deeds or to seek clemency. In doing so, he embodies an ancient military tradition, that of making neither excuse nor apology for one's actions. If he is to be executed, he will force his enemies to violate the sanctity of the altar, under the protection of which he had so long fought for David, and the name of whose god he bore. That his overt religiosity was devoid of ethical content (Dalglish *IDB* 2: 908) is disputable today, and would have been challenged in his own day as well. After all, the views of Joab's political opponents prevailed in the matter and have guided the efforts to justify the old warrior's fate. In reality his execution was a judicial murder—the slaying of a loyal retainer out of political expedience. Certainly Solomon began his reign with a somewhat different "inner circle" of advisers from that of his father, one which was far more aloof from the ancient traditions and sentiments of the people than David's had been.

From a literary standpoint, the death of Joab served to bring to a close that haunting theme of the Davidic narratives—David's complicity in the deaths of Saul and his sons and successors, and the demise of his house. That Joab would be the final sacrifice in this saga is presaged in David's curse on Joab after the slaying of Abner—"May it [the blood of Abner] fall upon Joab, and upon all his father's house; and may the house of Joab never be without one who has a discharge, or who is leprous, or who holds a spindle, or who is slain by the sword, or who lacks bread!" (2 Sam 3:29; cf. Holloway 1987: 370–75). The way to his death, even at the hands of one who had served with him, is prepared by the rising crescendo of condemnation of the sons of Zeruiah by David (usually in response to Abishai's ruthlessness: cf. 2 Sam 3:39; 16:5–14; 19:16–23). This theme culminates in the infamous scene where the dying monarch names to his son and successor the unsettled scores his heir must even (1 Kgs 2:1–9). David's orders include the command to kill Joab through treachery ("use your wisdom [i.e., cunning], but do not let his gray hairs go down to Sheol in peace"). David reasons that Joab's slaying of Abner and Amasa has brought bloodguilt upon him and his house (a serious concern in ancient times), and that Joab must be slain to cleanse the stain from David's line. Thus, Joab is made to bear the bloodguilt for David's treatment of Saul and his family, a bloodguilt which, in the minds of most Israelites, probably extended far beyond the deaths of Abner and Amasa (see the curse of Shimei, 2 Sam 16:7–8, and the proscription of Saul's remaining sons in 2 Sam 21:1–6). Joab thus serves as the scapegoat for David's own bloody treatment of his political opponents. With Abishai, he also provides a violent foil for the depiction of David as a man of suffering renunciation, a motif which is used to exculpate David in the very matters in which Joab is to be blamed.

The Joab of history and literature is a complex figure, a man of shrewd judgment, ruthless energy, and potentially great treachery, who nonetheless sought no more than to look out for his own interests in the context of his greater service to his king. Joab seems in many respects to have functioned almost independently of David; at least he was willing to act on his own judgment when a weak and injudicious king threatened the longevity of the kingdom, as in Absalom's revolt. One suspects that David both depended upon and resented Joab's autonomy. Joab, for his part, seems to have remained content to let the military power of the kingdom accrue to himself (a significant portion of royal authority in the ANE), while leaving to his uncle, David, the public honor. Joab's career cannot be understood apart from his strong family and party ties to David's cause, probably from the time of David's exile in the wilderness (1 Sam 22:1–2): family loyalties tied Joab's career inextricably to that of David, and Joab, better than anyone, would have grasped and exploited this connection. At the end of his life he was probably a man of unequaled public esteem; for his military exploits alone, he may have enjoyed a popularity far wider than David's, at least among the soldiery. The effort expended to condemn him is the best measure of his stature in the kingdom.

**2.** One of the descendants of the house of Kenaz, a family of craftsmen (better, smiths) in the tribe of Judah, who dwelt in the "valley of smiths" (1 Chr 4:14).

**3.** The eponymous ancestor of a Judean clan which returned from the Babylonian exile with Zerubbabel. The clan is regularly listed as "the sons of Pahath-moab, namely, the sons of Jeshua and Joab" (Ezra 2:6; Neh 7:11). This family was still on hand in the time of Ezra the scribe, when it was headed by Obadiah, the son of Jehiel (Ezra 8:9; 1 Esdr 8:35).

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D. G. SCHLEY

**JOAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yôʾāḥ* (יוֹאָח)]. Four individuals in the OT bear this name, which means "Yahweh is brother."

**1.** Joah the son of Asaph was an official under Hezekiah, king of Judah (2 Kgs 18:18, 26, 37; Isa 36:3, 11, 32). The responsibilities of his office as *hammazkîr* ("the remembrancer," often translated as

"recorder") are nowhere defined in the OT and remain somewhat uncertain. Recent opinion has gravitated toward "herald" or official spokesperson (*AncIsr* 1: 132; Mettinger 1971: 52–54), even "chief of protocol" (Williams 1975: 235–37). Joah served as one of three representatives of Hezekiah in negotiations with the Rabshakeh of Sennacherib, king of Assyria.

**2.** Joah, the son of Zimmah, is named as the fourth of seven generations of Levites of the family of Gershom through Gershom's oldest son Libnah in 1 Chr 6:6—Eng6:21 in the Chronicler's artful schematization of the tribe of Levi in 1 Chr 5:27–6:66—Eng6:1–81 (see Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 68–70).

**3.** The third son of Obed-Edom (1 Chr 26:4) in the schematization offered by a reviser of the Chronicler's organization of the gatekeepers in the temple at Jerusalem (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 169; Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 173).

**4.** Joah, the son of Zimmah, and, apparently, the father of Eden (1 Chr 29:12), is named as one of the Gershonite Levites who rallied to the cause of Hezekiah's call for reform. Any attempt to identify this figure with one or more of the preceding is hazardous (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 354). It is entirely possible that the list of good levitical names in which this Joah appears had nothing to do with the time of Hezekiah (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 295–96).

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J. S. ROGERS

**JOAKIM** (PERSON) [Gk *Iōakim* (Ἰωακιμ)]. 1. Described as a son of Zerubbabel, a priest, and a leader of returning exiles (1 Esdr 5:5). The reference to Joakim as a son of Zerubbabel conflicts with the information provided in 1 Chr 3:19, where the only sons of Zerubbabel mentioned are Meshullam, Hananiah, Hashubah, Ohel, Berechiah, Hasadiah, and Jushab-hesed; nor is there any reference to a Joakim among the priests of the Davidic line (Myers *1 and 2 Esdras* AB, 66). Accordingly, Torrey has suggested that the Hebrew text may have originally read *wyqm bw zrbbl*, "and Zerubbabel arose with him" (Torrey 1945: 404; cf. Myers, 66).

2. Described in the book of Judith as the high priest, functioning as both religious and military leader, who ordered the residents of Bethulia and Bethomesthaim to deny the Assyrian general Holofernes access to Jerusalem from the north (4:6–7; cf. 4:8, 14; 15:8). Joakim is referred to in both the Latin and Syriac versions of the story as Eliachim, where the prefix *Jeho*, meaning "Yahu," has been replaced by the prefix, *Eli*, meaning "God" (Moore *Judith* AB, 150). The historicity of Joakim's priesthood is in doubt, as are many other ostensibly historical details recounted in the book (Nickelsburg 1981: 106ff.). The name Joakim recalls a postexilic setting and the name of the high priest, Joiakim, son of Jeshua, mentioned in Neh 12:26 (cf. 1 Esdr 5:5 and Jos. *Ant* 20.102 §234), but there is no evidence to suggest that, at the time, the high priest exercised such a wide range of powers (Moore *Judith* AB, 150). For these and other reasons, some scholars have argued that the names used in the book of Judith are pseudonyms for historical figures of other periods. Assigning the composition of Judith to A.D. 117, Volkmar (1863) identifies Joakim with the Judeans who returned to Jerusalem under the reign of either Trajan or Hadrian. Gaster, believing the book to have been written around A.D. 63, identifies Joakim with the Pharisee Onias (*EncBib* cols. 2644–46). And Ball, dating the book to the Hasmonean period, identifies Joakim with the Hellenist Alcimus (Ball 1888; also Steinmann 1953: 23–34, esp. 32). Moore points out, however, that each of these theories is plagued with difficulties that make them less than tenable (Moore, 53–54). It may be that, as Montague argues, Joakim is instead "a representative figure of the priesthood in general" (Montague 1973: 16).

3. Described as the husband of Susanna (Sus 4, 6, 28f., 63).

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FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**JOANAN** (PERSON) [Gk *Iōanan* (Ἰωανναν)]. The father of Joda and son of Rhesa, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:27). Gk *Iōanna* is read in some later texts, including the Vulgate and TR, while D omits it, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. The name Joanan falls within a list of seventeen ancestors of Jesus who are otherwise unknown in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 500), although Marshall (*Luke* NIGTC, 163), following the suggestions of Hervey (1853: 111–12, 145–46) and some earlier scholars (see RHESA), makes an interesting proposal. This proposal states that, although Joanan appears to be equivalent to Heb *yhwhnn* (2 Esdr 10:6; 2 Chr 23:1; et al.), with the divine name used as prefix, the Hebrew name has the same meaning as Heb *whnny* (Gk *Hanania;* 1 Chr 3:19; cf. 3:24 with Gk *Iōanan*), with the divine name used as suffix. Thus, Joanan in Luke could be one of Zerubbabel's sons, if Rhesa, which intervenes, is not a proper name (unknown as a son of Zerubbabel) but a transcription of Aram *rys,* meaning "prince," standing in apposition to Zerubbabel. This solution indicates the possibility that Luke was using here an originally Aramaic genealogy in reverse order not dependent upon the. The strength of this position rises or falls upon how Rhesa is interpreted, although there also is the question of the relation of Luke's genealogy to Matthew's, which would still diverge in tracing the line of Zerubbabel.

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STANLEY E. PORTER

**JOANNA** (PERSON) [Gk *Ioanna* (Ἰοαννα)]. One of the female followers of Jesus during his earthly ministry listed with Mary Magdalene and Susanna in Luke 8:2–3. Joanna was one of the women who provided monetary or material aid out of their own pockets and efforts to help Jesus' band of disciples. Later, Joanna was a witness to the empty tomb who reported what she saw to the apostles (Luke 24:10). Thus, her name is probably preserved because she was known to the post-Easter community as a witness to the life, death, and empty tomb of Jesus. That only Luke ever mentions Joanna may be because she was one of his sources for the uniquely Lukan material in his gospel.

Joanna is also notable because she was the wife of Chuza, one of Herod Antipas' estate managers. Thus, she is an example of how the gospel affected people connected with the established authorities, people who were financially comfortable compared to most of the Galilean populace. We are led to believe that this rather prominent woman left her family and home to travel with Jesus and to provide assistance for his itinerant band of disciples. We may also see here an example of how the gospel breaks down class barriers and nullifies social taboos, for in the Jewish society of Jesus' day women were not allowed to be disciples of a prominent Jewish teacher, much less to be part of his traveling entourage (Witherington 1984: 6–10, 116–18). In 1st-century Judaism, such behavior would have been considered scandalous for any woman but especially for a married woman. Thus, to some degree Jesus presents both a religious and a social threat to the structure of early Judaism, for he gave both men and women the opportunity to be full-fledged disciples.

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BEN WITHERINGTON III

**JOARIB** (PERSON) [Gk *Iōarib* (Ἰωαριβ)]. The name of the priestly clan of Mattathias, the original leader of the Jewish resistance against the Hellenizing activities of Antiochus Epiphanes and the father of five sons who aided him (1 Macc 2:1; 14:29). The Heb name *yĕhôyārîb* or *yôyārîb* means "Yahweh contends." It appears as a clan name five times in the OT (Neh 11:10; 12:6, 19; 1 Chr 9:10; 24:7). In 1

Chr 24:7, it is reported that Jehoiarib was made the head of the first of twenty-four divisions of priests by David himself, but the verse probably reflects the Chronicler's view of how the priesthood was or should have been organized in his own day (*Oxford Annotated Bible,* 522). Scholars have sometimes suggested that the list in 24:7–18 derived from the Maccabean period, since the name Jehoiarib replaced the name Jedaiah at the head of the list (cf. 9:10), but Myers (*Chronicles* AB, 165) rejects this view on the grounds that there is a tendency toward the elevation of Jehoiarib in the lists taken as a whole. The other references to Jehoiarib list the clan among those having members return from Exile.

In 1 Macc 2:1 and 14:29, Mattathias is pointedly traced to this clan, which stood at the head of the priestly divisions. Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 17) suggests that 14:29 belonged to a dynastic document and that the Hasmoneans wished to emphasize their legitimacy as well as God's contending on behalf of Jehoiarib's descendants. Of course, the name itself was subject to derogatory inversion; namely, that God contends for their opponents (cf. *1 Maccabees* AB, 200).

The list of priestly divisions with Jehoiarib at the head was set up on stone in Palestinian synagogues after the second revolt against Rome, apparently in hopes that one day the temple and its priesthood would be restored.

PAUL L. REDDITT

**JOASH** (PERSON) [Heb *yôʾāš* (יוֹאָשׁ)]. Var. JEHOASH. 1. Father of Gideon; from the family of Abiezer of Manasseh (Judg 6:11, 25–32). His name appears in the narrative describing Gideon's heroic deeds (Judg 6:1–8:35). The account connects Joash with three cultic objects—an oak associated with oracles (the "oak at Ophrah," v 11), an altar to Baal, and an Asherah (v 25). Although Gideon complained that his family was the weakest in Manasseh (v 15), the text portrays his father as wealthy and influential. Joash owned property in Ophrah (v 11) and commanded the respect of Ophrah's citizenry. After Gideon destroyed the altar of Baal, Joash spoke to the city's outraged inhabitants in his son's defense (vv 30–31). See also GIDEON (PERSON).

2. The son of Shelah; a Judahite (1 Chr 4:22). His name appears fourth in the list of Shelah's five sons (1 Chr 4:21–23) that concludes the Chronicler's genealogy of Judah (1 Chr 4:1–23). The LXX B reads *Joada* in v 22.

3. The son of Becher; a Benjaminite (1 Chr 7:8). His name appears second in the list of Becher's nine sons (1 Chr 7:6–12).

4. A "mighty man"; the son of Shemaah of Gibeah; a Benjaminite (1 Chr 12:3). He was second-in-command of the ambidextrous warriors who joined David at Ziklag. By juxtaposing Saul's enmity to David (1 Chr 12:1) with the phrase identifying the warriors as "Saul's kinsmen" (1 Chr 12:2), a sense of irony is created. While Saul is David's enemy, Saul's family are David's friends.

5. The steward in charge of David's "stores of oil" (1 Chr 27:28). His name appears in a list of officers who manage David's property (1 Chr 27:25–31).

6. A "son" of Ahab (1 Kgs 22:26 = 2 Chr 18:25). According to the text, Joash and Amon (the governor of Samaria) were given custody of the prophet Micaiah after Micaiah prophesied failure for Ahab's Ramoth-gilead campaign (1 Kings 22 = 2 Chronicles 18). If the text is accepted literally, then Joash was an otherwise unknown son of Ahab, king of Israel. Two alternatives have been proposed, however, which challenge this identification. The term "king's son" is used in other passages to designate an official (cf. Jer 36:26; 38:6; 2 Chr 28:7). If the phrase in 1 Kgs 22:26 (= 2 Chr 18:25) is understood in this manner, then Joash was Ahab's officer, not literally his son (Jones, *1–2 Kings* NCBC, 369). The title may have originated with the practice (which was later discontinued) of filling the post with one of the king's sons (de Vaux, *Anc Isr,* 119ff.). A more complicated identification of the Joash mentioned in 2 Kgs 22:25 is based on the assumption that 1 Kings 20 and 22 are out of place. J. M. Miller (1966) argued that the battle accounts in chaps. 20 and 22 originally pertained to the Jehu period. Later, the kings mentioned in the accounts became associated with Ahab of Israel and Jehoshaphat of Judah. The Joash of 1 Kgs 22:26, therefore, is not the son of Ahab but the son of Jehoahaz, king of Israel (2 Kgs 13:10).

7. The ninth king of Judah; son (?) of Ahaziah and Zibiah of Beer-sheba (2 Kings 11–12; 2 Chr 22:10–24:27). Although 2 Kgs 12:2 (—Eng 12:1) states that Joash reigned forty years, scholars vary in their chronology of his reign: 837–800 B.C.E. (Albright 1945: 470); 835–796 (Thiele 1977: 75); or 832–803 [793] (Hayes and Hooker 1988: 38–40). Joash's account can be divided into two sections: his early life and coronation (2 Kings 11; 2 Chr 22:10–23:21) and his reign (2 Kings 12; 2 Chronicles 24).

Joash is first mentioned in reference to the massacre in 2 Kgs 11:1–2. When Athaliah heard of the death of her son (Ahaziah), she ordered the deaths of the Davidic heirs and installed herself as queen of Judah (v 1). According to vv 2–3, Joash, an infant son of Ahaziah, escaped the purge. His aunt (Jehosheba) hid him in the house of the Lord for six years while Athaliah reigned over Judah. In the seventh year, a priest (Jehoiada) presented the seven-year-old Joash to the guards as the legitimate king (v 4).

The report of Joash's escape in vv 1–3 is curious. Why would Athaliah kill Joash when she could have ruled as his regent? How could Joash have escaped her notice for six years? To answer these questions scholars either explain how the escape might have been possible (i.e., Joash posed as a priest's child and thus escaped detection [Gray, *1–2 Kings* OTL, 570]) or challenge the historicity of the massacre and/or Joash's escape (Ginsberg 1967: 91–93; *HAIJ*, 302–5). Ginsberg argued that the massacre (as described in vv 2–3) never took place: Athaliah would not have ordered Joash's death because (1) he was her grandchild; (2) he was an infant and therefore no threat; and (3) Athaliah (being a woman and an Omride) was hated while Joash (being a Davidide) was her only claim to legitimacy. Thus, Ginsberg concluded the account in vv 1–3 arose out of confusion with a prior slaughter, or from a very selective slaughter aimed at protecting Joash from ambitious relatives. While Ginsberg challenged the massacre's historicity, a more radical proposal by Miller and Hayes has challenged the escape's historicity. Perhaps the massacre was more successful than vv 2–3 allows, and *all* the heirs were killed. If this happened, then the child Jehoiada presented to the guards in v 4 was not Ahaziah's son, but a pretender foisted on the people by the priesthood (*HAIJ*, 303–5).

Liverani's literary analysis of Joash's escape and coronation reveals interesting similarities between 2 Kings 11 and other ANE accounts of royal escapes and coups (Liverani 1974: 438–53). All provide dramatically persuasive accounts (with common plot elements) of how a recent usurpation is justified by a former one. The accounts thus function to legitimate the current ruling family and to serve as propaganda.

The report of the coup is found in vv 4ff. After Jehoiada instructed the guards (vv 4–8), Joash was brought to the temple where he was crowned, given the testimony, proclaimed king, and anointed (vv 9–12). When Athaliah investigated the clapping and shouting, Jehoiada ordered the guards to seize and kill her (vv 13–16). Although two covenants are mentioned in v 17 (v 17a—Lord/king/people; v 17b—king/people), this may be due to a case of dittography. Verse 17b is missing from both 2 Chr 23:16 and Lucianic LXX.

The Chronicler both supplements and contradicts the Kings account of the coup. Supplementary material includes the names and lineage of the commanders of the guards (2 Chr 23:1), reference to singers and musical instruments at Joash's coronation (2 Chr 23:13), and mention of Jehoiada's sons at Joash's anointing (2 Chr 23:11). Contradictory material focuses on the coup's participants: for the Chronicler, the Levites and "all Judah" supported the coup, while three groups not mentioned in Kings—the captains, nobles, and governors of the people—rejoice at Joash's enthronement (2 Chr 23:20). The Chronicler mentions only one covenant (between the priest/people/king) after Athaliah's death (2 Chr 23:16).

Was the coup which placed Joash on the throne a popular uprising or a palace conspiracy? Stade (1885) suggested that 2 Kings 11 contains two accounts of the coup, a priestly account (vv 4–12; 18b–20) and a popular account (vv 13–18a) in which the people or the priests play respectively significant roles. However, even in Stade's "popular" source (vv 13–18a), the "people of the land" do little besides ratifying the actions of the priests and guards. Reviv (1986) argued that the priesthood functioned as a "political pressure group" in this period. If so, then the coup may have resulted from strained relations between palace and temple rather than from a surge of nationalism.

The report of Joash's reign is found in 2 Kings 12 and 2 Chronicles 24. Joash's introductory regnal formula is contained in 2 Kgs 12:1–4 (—Eng 11:21–12:3). In the seventh year of Jehu (king of Israel), Joash (son of Zibiah of Beer-sheba) began to reign. Although Joash does "right" in Yahweh's eyes (for Jehoiada is his teacher), he is nevertheless criticized for allowing the high places to continue. Only two events of Joash's reign are recorded—the repair of the temple and an incursion by the Syrians into Judean territory. Both deal with temple finances.

Although the general concern of 2 Kgs 12:5–17 (—Eng 4–16) is the temple's repair, the account focuses more on describing its financial arrangements than on the repair itself. This falls into two narrative sections: the first attempt (vv 5–9 [—Eng 4–8]) and the second attempt (vv 10–17 [—Eng 9–16]). Joash's initial orders to repair the temple are ignored. Only the second attempt (organized and implemented by Jehoiada, the priest) is successful.

Whereas vv 5–17 (—Eng 4–16) deal with the allocation of monies for repairs, vv 18–19 (—Eng 17–18) focus on the role temple finances played in Joash's international affairs. Hazael, king of Syria, captured Gath and made plans to move toward Jerusalem. According to v 19 (—Eng v 18), Joash "persuaded" Hazael to spare Jerusalem by offering tribute from royal votive offerings.

The report of Joash's reign concludes with the account of his death in vv 20–22 (—Eng 19–21). Verse 20 and the latter part of 22 (—Eng 19, 21) contain the usual concluding formula for Judean kings. The intervening verses, however, describe a conspiracy by Joash's servants (Jozacar, the son of Shimeath, and Jehozabad, the son of Shomer) which resulted in Joash's death. No motivation is given for the assassination.

Once again, the Chronicler's account supplements and contradicts the material in Kings. Supplementary material includes the account of Jehoiada's death (2 Chr 24:15–16), Joash's subsequent worship of idols (vv 17–19), and the murder of Jehoiada's son, Zechariah (vv 20–22). In 2 Chronicles 24, however, the report in Kings is contradicted at four main points. First, the writer's positive evaluation of Joash is limited to "all the days of Jehoiada the priest" (2 Chr 24:2) rather than "all his (Joash's) days" (2 Kgs 12:4 [—Eng 12:3]). Second, the details of the temple's repairs differ as to who is responsible for the repair (the priests and Levites), for its initial failure (Levites), for the source of its financing (Mosaic tax), and for the making of utensils of silver and gold for service in the temple. Third, the conflict with the Syrians is portrayed as an actual military engagement rather than an adverted threat (2 Chr 24:23–25). The Syrians "came up against" Joash and killed the princes of the people (v 23). Because of Joash's apostasy, he was wounded and his army "delivered" into the hands of the Syrians. Fourth, the servants named in the conspiracy are different. In Chronicles it is two men of foreign origin—Zabad, the son of Shimeath the Ammonitess, and Jehozabad, the son of Shimrith the Moabitess—who kill the wounded Joash (v 26).

Though it is impossible to say with certainty what motivated the assassination of Joash, it is important to note the relationship between the palace and the temple during this period. Joash was placed on the throne by a coup organized by the priests. In all probability, a priest (Jehoiada) served as regent during the king's childhood. Joash came into conflict with the priests over financing temple repairs and later stripped the temple of its treasures to pay off Hazael. If the account of Zechariah's execution in the temple precinct is true (2 Chr 24:20–22), then this may have further exacerbated relations between the priests and the king. It is very possible that the priesthood which helped put Joash on the throne also had a hand in his death.

8. The twelfth king of Israel; son of Jehoahaz (2 Kgs 13:10–25; 14:8–16 = 2 Chr 25:17–24). According to 2 Kgs 13:10, Joash reigned for sixteen years. Although Albright (1945: 16–22) dates Joash's kingship from 801 to 786 B.C.E., Thiele (1977: 75) places it three years later (798–782 B.C.E.), while Hayes and Hooker (1988: 47–48) date it three years earlier (804–789 B.C.E.). Joash's reign was the third of four generations of the Jehu dynasty in Israel (Jehu, Jehoahaz, Joash, and Uzziah/Jeroboam II).

The introductory regnal formula for Joash (2 Kgs 13:10–11) is immediately followed by a concluding formula (vv 12–13). This leaves the events of Joash's reign (his encounter with Elisha, 2 Kgs 13:14–19; Elisha's death, vv 20–21; Joash's subsequent victories over Ben-hadad, vv 22–25; and Joash's victory over Amaziah of Judah, 2 Kgs 14:8–16 = 2 Chr 25:17–24) standing outside the book's normal framework

for each king. Since there is a parallel version of vv 12–13 in 2 Kgs 14:15–16, vv 12–13 are often thought to be secondary. Lucian places vv 12–13 after v 25 and omits 14:15.

In 2 Kgs 13:14–19 is a prophetic tale describing a deathbed encounter between Joash and Elisha. When Joash went to Elisha (who was fatally ill), Elisha commanded him to draw his bow (v 16), shoot an arrow toward Aram (v 17), and strike the ground with the remaining arrows (v 18). When Joash stopped after three strikes, Elisha became angry and revealed that each strike stood for an Israelite victory over Syria. Although Joash could have put an end to the Syrian threat, he would now enjoy only three victories (vv 18–19).

After Elisha's death (vv 20–21), the narrative shifts to Syrian relations with Israel (vv 22–25). Hazael reportedly oppressed Israel during the time of Jehoahaz (vv 22–23) and succeeded in capturing some Israelite territory (v 25). When Ben-hadad (Hazael's son) became king (v 24), Joash is credited with winning three battles and recovering the cities lost during his father's reign. Although no reference is made in vv 22–25 to the words of Elisha (v 19), the placement of vv 22–25 (with the mention of three victories in v 25) gives a "prophecy-fulfillment" structure to these narratives.

At least two epigraphical discoveries—the Rimah Stela and the Zakir Inscription—provide background data for this period. According to the Rimah Stela (see Cody 1970), Adad-nirari III of Assyria campaigned westward, subjugated western kings, and received tribute from Damascus, Tyre, Sidon, and Joash of Samaria. Although the campaign's date is unknown, scholars usually associate it with the last westward campaign made by Adad-nirari III in 796 B.C.E. (Millard and Tadmor 1973: 64; cf. Shea 1978: 101–13 for an opposing viewpoint, i.e., Adad-nirari's first campaign in 805 B.C.E.). The defeat of Damascus by Adad-nirari III may have paved the way for the warfare reflected in the Zakir Inscription (*ANET,* 655–56). Ben-hadad (son of Hazael) formed a coalition of Aramean kings, laid siege to Hatarikka, and was defeated by Zakir, king of Hamath and La›ash. The defeat of Damascus by Adad-nirari III and the internal fighting between Aramean kings reflected in the Zakir Inscription help explain why the Israelite victories mentioned in 2 Kgs 13:25 may have been possible.

Miller argued that the Elisha narrative and the victories reported in v 25 should be associated with Jehoahaz, instead of Joash. Miller's theory is based on the association of the three Israelite/Syrian battles in 1 Kings 20 and 22 with the battles mentioned in 2 Kgs 13:25. According to Miller (1966; 1968), it was Jehu who lost territory to Hazael (cf. 2 Kgs 10:32–33 with 1 Kgs 20:34), and it was Jehu's son (Jehoahaz) who successfully challenged Ben-hadad II. Israel's victories were limited to three due to Jehoahaz's untimely death at the battle at Ramoth-gilead.

In 2 Kgs 14:8–14, Joash's victory over Amaziah of Judah at Bethshemesh is recorded. When Amaziah asked to look Joash "in the face," Joash responded with a fable and a warning (vv 8–10). Amaziah did not listen and engaged Joash's troops at Bethshemesh. Joash's victory cost Judah all the treasures of the temple and palace, a 400-cubit stretch of Jerusalem's walls, and the indignation of hostages (vv 11–14).

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LINDA S. SCHEARING

**JOB, BOOK OF.** A book in the third division of the Hebrew Bible (the "Writings") that recounts the story of Job, a righteous man whose motives for being righteous are tested through a series of personal tragedies and sufferings. When three old friends arrive to condole him, they all engage in a dialogue focusing not only on the cause of Job's personal misfortune but also more generally on the problem of evil. Their dialogue (or, more properly, "dispute"), in which Job sharply questions the nature of divine justice, ends without resolution, whereupon yet another character, the young Elihu, appears to offer his own observations on the nature of Job's predicament. Eventually God appears on the scene to upbraid Job for complaining, and to restore Job's family, property, and health.

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**A. Contents**

The book of Job consists of a narrative framework and a poetic core. The prose section is divided into a prologue (1:1–2:13) and an epilogue (42:7–17); the poetry is embedded between these two. Together prose and poetry examine the possibility of being good without thought of either reward or punishment and explore the nature of innocent suffering; whether or not it exists, how one ought to act in the presence of misery, and why such injustice occurs. The prose framework deals with loss and eventual restoration without so much as a raised voice, and in its simplicity embraces and makes possible the eruption of volcanic emotions in the poetry.

Emphasizing the historical gap between the time of the hero and the subsequent narrating of the events, the narrative sets the action in (pre-)patriarchal times. Job's possessions, like those of the patriarchs, consist of cattle and servants; not only his three friends but also his enemies (nomadic Sabeans and Chaldeans) come from the greater environment associated with Abraham's wanderings; the monetary unit, *qeśiṭāh* (42:11) belongs to that ancient era (cf. Gen 33:19); Job's life span exceeds that of the patriarchs; and his sacrifice of animals corresponds to the practice prior to official priests. The name Job recalls a folk hero associated in Ezek 14:14, 20 with Noah and Daniel, probably the Dan'el of Canaanite epic texts. Although the meaning of Job's name is uncertain, similar forms are attested from early times in Egypt and Mesopotamia with the meanings "Where is the divine father?" and "Inveterate Foe/Hated One." In accord with the universality typical of early wisdom, the hero seems to have been an Edomite, famous for the wisdom of its inhabitants, and the setting in the land of Uz echoes the noun *ʿeṣāh* (counsel).

The action of the prologue (1:1–2:13) alternates between earth and heaven, the events of the latter hidden from Job. The hero, perfect outwardly and inwardly according to irrefutable testimony (1:3, 8), enjoys the fruits of virtue—until God directs the Adversary's attention to him, eliciting suspicion of Job's motive for being good and provoking a test to determine the truth. Calamity befalls Job without warning, intruding on a serene setting of festivity. Marauding Sabeans strike Job's property, then fire continues the destruction; Chaldeans wield the penultimate stroke, and a fierce windstorm levels the house in which Job's children are eating and drinking. Messengers convey the news, their formulaic expressions

heightening the pain. This narrative strategy informs readers of these events at the same time it informs Job (Weiss 1983). Having lost his children and possessions, Job blesses the Lord as source of good and ill (1:21). A second heavenly scene ensues, with God's "I told you so" and the Adversary's insistence that a real test must touch the actual person (2:3–5). God accedes once more, insisting that Job's life must not be taken. The final scene depicts a sorely afflicted Job, but one who retains his integrity despite his wife's urging to curse God and die (2:9–10). This time Job's confession takes interrogative form, but he does not curse God. Having heard of Job's misfortune, three of Job's friends, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, journey from their homes in Teman, Shuah, and Naaman respectively to offer comfort in adversity. Twice the narrator enters the story to pronounce the obvious judgment that in all this Job did not sin, adding "with his lips" the second time. The slight alteration suggests, at least to some people, a gulf between outward expression and inward resentment (*Baba Bathra* 16b). A *Leitwort* (leading, or theme, word) in 1:9 and 2:3 (*ḥinnam*, for nothing, without cause) links the prologue with the poetry (cf. 9:17; 22:6).

The poetic dialogue consists of three distinct units: Job versus Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar (chaps. 3–31), Elihu's attack on Job's friends and on Job (chaps. 32–37), and God's lectures to Job (38:1–42:6, with brief responses by Job in 40:3–5 and 42:1–6). Job opens the dispute with a curse, but not against God except indirectly as creator of the birthday Job damns (chap. 3). He invokes uninterrupted darkness on that day, preferring that his mother had remained in a state of perpetual pregnancy or that he had died at birth, finding rest and equality in Sheol. His hidden fear that calamity might befall him had prompted excessive religious scrupulosity in the story (1:5) and erupts again in 3:25. From here on, each friend in turn responds to Job. This alternation of speakers occurs in three cycles, with the order of the friends being Eliphaz (chaps. 4–5, 15, 22), Bildad (chaps. 8, 18, 25), and Zophar (chaps. 11, 20—note that Zophar has no response in the third cycle). Job answers each of them in turn (chaps. 6–7, 9–10, 12–14, 16–17, 19, 21, 23–24, 26–27). Once the friends are reduced to silence, Job contrasts his former happiness (chap. 29) with his present misery (chap. 30) and utters an oath of innocence designed to force God's hand (chap. 31). Unlike most oaths in the Bible, Job's imprecations actually state the penalty that will beset the guilty person. He disavows, among other things, idolatry, lying, adultery, lust, greed, abuse of power, lack of concern for the poor, and misuse of land.

Surprisingly, Job's extreme action yields an unexpected interlocutor (chaps. 32–37), the youthful Elihu, whose name means "He is my God." Having stood by silently while Job's friends tried to answer his arguments, Elihu can contain his words no longer. Lashing out at the comforters-turned-accusers, he then turns against Job with comparable contempt, claiming that God speaks through nocturnal experiences (33:15–16) and disciplines by means of adversity, both to elicit repentance (33:19–30). Citing Job's own words (e.g., 33:33 and 6:25; 33:24 and 6:23; 33:22 and 6:29), Elihu endeavors to overwhelm him with his own "perfect knowledge," a characteristic of his God as well. Elihu denies that one who hates justice will govern, and notes that God's all-encompassing power rules out any need for partiality (34:17–20). Like Zophar, Elihu exalts God to the point of rendering human deeds worthless insofar as God is concerned: good and evil affect human beings but do not touch God in any way. Such thinking naturally issues in majestic praise of the creator (chaps. 36–37), who now speaks from a storm (38:1). God asks Job question after question, forcing him to recognize that he knows very little about the mysteries of the universe (chaps. 38–39). The heavenly teacher lectures Job on the wonders of nature and calls to mind wild animals who live outside the human domain. God parades these creatures before Job: lion, mountain goat, wild ass, wild ox, ostrich, horse, hawk and eagle (chap. 39).

Not content with Job's initial repentance (40:3–5), God boasts about two special creatures, Behemoth and Leviathan (chaps. 40–41). In introducing them, God seems to concede that human pride and wickedness in general present a challenge even to the creator (40:10–14). Although God transforms the mighty Behemoth and Leviathan into innocuous playthings for the deity's amusement, the puny Job is no match for their strength. Realizing that his earlier Titanism was ludicrous, Job relents (42:1–6). The dispute has not been a total disaster, for Job's secondhand knowledge of God vanishes before the immediacy of sight. Hearing gives way to seeing, which enables Job to gain a proper perspective on his

place in the universe. Complaint also acquiesces to profound silence. No longer does Job claim to be the measure of all things.

The epilogue (42:7–17) ties up all loose ends. Having repented, of what is unclear, Job intercedes on behalf of the three friends, at whom God is angry because they did not speak truth about God *as Job did.* A temporal connection between prayer and restoration occurs, and Job returns to his previous state, with one bonus: his three daughters possess unsurpassed beauty, besides an inheritance. Seven times the verb *brk* occurs in the story (1:5, 10, 11, 21; 2:5, 9; 42:12), alternating between the meanings "curse" and "bless" except the last two, which are reversed.

**B. Structure**

To some extent the shape of the book depends on one's predisposition, but three different ways of viewing the structure commend themselves. Readers may emphasize (1) the diction, (2) the dramatic movement, and (3) the individual components in outline form. By discounting brief prosaic introductions and observations, the 1st approach yields two parts, prose and poetry. The 2d perspective uses narrative introductions—and to some extent conclusions—to distinguish three divisions, specifically 1:1–2:10; 2:11–31:40; and 32:1–42:17. The 3d approach divides the book into five discrete sections: chaps. 1–2; 3–31; 32–37; 38:1–42:6; and 42:7–17.

**1. On the Basis of Diction.** Perhaps the most noticeable feature of the book is its use of a story to enclose a poetic center. This device was widely employed among sages of the ANE to provide a specific historical framework within which to interpret teachings that had broad application, whether philosophical ruminations about innocent suffering and the governance of the universe or collections of aphorisms to enable others to make wise decisions. For example, Ahiqar and Anksheshankh have left significant proverbial sayings for posterity, but in each instance an account of the teacher's personal adversity encloses the collection of maxims. See also AHIQAR. Little effort to connect this prose framework with the poetic teachings is evident, so that both story and poetry stand on their own. Nevertheless, the juxtaposition of the two parts of the book offers a way of understanding the teaching that would otherwise not occur. Just as a simple frame enhances a painting, delineating its original features and drawing attention away from itself to the art, so these brief biographies give vital data about the hero's words and character.

In a sense, the Joban poetry interrupts the story, which suspends Job's destiny in midair until the poetry has reached its goal; only then does the tale resume and achieve closure. The narrator of the story, who freely intrudes twice to pass independent judgment on the hero (1:22; 2:10), recedes in the poetry so that other voices may be heard. The lyrical poetry of Job, whose threatened ego fights for survival against overwhelming odds, the confident assurances of Eliphaz and his companions, Elihu's brash rebuttal of all four, and the divine interrogation—all this takes place while the narrator creates a story within an earlier story, the folktale. The narrator's resumption of the tale after Job's claim to have seen the deity gives the impression of returning to reality, at least a realm that ordinary people comprehend. *Do ut des* (I give in order to receive) still functions in this land of Uz, for divine anger departs as a result of Job's obedient deed, and God restores Job at this time. Prologue elicits dialogue, and epilogue terminates it. The epilogue does more than end the dialogue, for the force of "anti-wisdom" within the poetry evaporates under the heavy hand of the narrator. Viewpoints collide everywhere, not just in the dialogue. The prose framework and that in the poetic core speak opposing views: the former ultimately seems to affirm the reward of the innocent (Job is at least compensated for his suffering, if not rewarded for his virtue) while the latter proclaims most persuasively that the innocent are not rewarded. To this day no satisfactory harmonization has been found.

**2. On the Basis of Dramatic Movement.** Introductions at 1:1–5, 2:11–13, and 32:1–5 suggest another way of dividing the book. The first introduces Job and gives essential insights into his character, which will soon be assailed mightily. The second introduction identifies Job's three friends and sets up expectations about their role as comforters, whereas the third introduction describes Elihu's boldness in venturing to address his elders without their consent and justifies his fury at the level of discourse so far. Thus understood, the book of Job becomes a drama consisting of three episodes: God afflicts Job, Job

challenges God, God challenges Job. Another way of stating the drama is the hidden conflict, the conflict explored, and the conflict resolved (Habel 1985). This interpretation depends on an understanding of narration through dialogue, so that the fundamental category of the book is said to be prose with the poetic dialogues retarding the movement of plot and heightening the emotional pitch.

This approach encounters difficulties other than the brevity of the first part, since Job's laconic confessions in this section differ from his outpouring of resentment in the second unit, although his two repentant statements in part three balance the shorter confessions nicely. More to the point, the narrator's commendation of Job's conduct (1:22; 2:10) marks two closures, and although section two ends appropriately (31:40, "The words of Job are ended"), the third section concludes reluctantly. God's first speech evokes Job's final words, or so he says (40:4–5), only to give way to a second divine speech and an additional response from Job (42:2–6). Each indecision necessitates further brief introductions of speakers, but these comments play no role in the suggested structuring of the book. The description of plot development also presents difficulty, for Elihu's speeches hardly contribute to resolving the conflict between Job and God. Actually, the epilogue alone describes the resolution, the divine speeches functioning as disciplinary chastening of the hero.

**3. On the Basis of Individual Components.** Yet another means of structuring the book derives its clues from the distinctive components in it: (1) a story about Job's affliction, (2) a dispute between him and three friends, (3) the speeches of Elihu, (4) divine speeches punctuated by Job's submission, and (5) a story about Job's restoration. The second division fails to qualify as a consistent dispute, since the 3d cycle breaks off without Zophar's final speech and thereafter Job appears either to address the divine enemy or to enter into nostalgic monologue. This approach does not disparage the dialogue by labeling it an almost interminable retardation of the plot, since the poetic speeches possess value in their own right apart from any progress they may signal toward some unspoken telos. Because the action moves toward a divine pronunciation of Job's innocence in the debate between Job and his friends, the dialogue gives an impression of progress, particularly the emergence of references to the figure of an "advocate" or "redeemer." Emotional changes and high points mark still another kind of movement in the poetry, indicating that progress does occur even when opposing intellectual positions come no closer together than at the beginning.

**C. Scholarly Issues**

More critical problems surround the book of Job than perhaps any other book of the OT. Many of these problems relate to the structure of the book itself.

Perhaps the most obvious problem concerns the composition of the book, more specifically the relationship of the prose framework to the poetic core (see E below). Even though prose and poetry can be intermixed with great literary effect (e.g., Jonah), a number of apparent inconsistencies are associated with this prose/poetry distinction. The patient Job of the prose framework contrasts with the defiant Job of the poetic core; and the God who is proud of Job and commends him in the prologue/epilogue rebukes him in the dialogue. However, these contrasts can be an understandable function of the plot development. More seriously, the "happy ending" effected by God (42:10–17) seems to undermine the integrity and force of Job's penetrating argument as presented in the dialogue (i.e., that God does not guarantee "happy endings"). Thus, some questions have been raised about the literary relationship between the prose framework and the poetic dialogue: initially the framework was thought to be secondary, although the dominant hypothesis now is that this framework reflects an original folktale that was subsequently embellished by the poetic dialogue.

Indeed, some tension seems to exist between the prose prologue and epilogue. The Satan—whose penetrating questions about the ultimate motives for human righteousness precipitated the "testing" of Job in the prologue—is never mentioned in the epilogue. Moreover, the epilogue does not even return to the issue of the "test."

In the poetic dialogue itself, the most noticeable structural feature is the predictable "round-table" cycle of the debate, with each friend speaking in turn. Yet in the 3d cycle of the debate (esp. chaps. 25–28) this symmetry dissolves: Bildad's 3d speech is surprisingly brief (chap. 25), Zophar has no 3d speech, Job

paradoxically seems to express sentiments that previously have been found only on the lips of his three friends (26:5–14), and there are literary clues that several "Job speeches" may have been spliced together (e.g., 27:1; 29:1). Some scholars have attempted to reconstruct a 3d speech for Zophar out of Job's paradoxical statements, while others hold that the hymnic reflections on wisdom (chap. 28) are secondary.

The nature and function of the Elihu speeches (chaps. 32–37) are problematic. Are these speeches secondary or original? Most scholars opt for the former, pointing out that their appearance breaks an otherwise clear pattern: Job never replies to Elihu, and in the epilogue neither God nor the narrator acknowledges his presence and participation in the dialogue (as they do Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar; 42:7–9). Indeed, the speeches seem intrusive—something even Elihu must apologetically admit (32:6–22): they delay the smooth movement from Job's plea that God appear and respond (chap. 31) to God's actual appearance and response (chap. 38). However, Elihu's speeches fail to provide the anticipated "breakthrough solution." Is the resultant sense of disappointment unintended (i.e., does the text of Job preserve the remains of a clumsy author [or secondary redactor?] who, like Elihu, tried unsuccessfully to steer the issue to a clear resolution)? Or does the author have some specific reason for introducing Elihu and having his arguments prove so noticeably inadequate; and if so, what is that reason?

Similarly, the nature and function of the theophany (chaps. 38–40) have presented other problems. Was it original, and why are there *two* divine speeches (38:1ff.; 40:6ff.), each ending with a capitulation by Job? Does Yahweh "contaminate" the test of Job's character by appearing in this manner, or has the test already been decisively resolved? Does Yahweh not attempt to "bully" Job into submission just as Job had cynically predicted (i.e., Yahweh forces the issue back to the question of his power, not his justice)?

Other "historical" questions have centered on the time and circumstance of the writing (see F below) and possible connections with other ANE writings (see G below). The more "philosophical" questions, however, have centered on the various "answers" that are (or are not) given for the "problem of human suffering" (see G below). The quest for such "answers" is an understandable human desire, but it may be unfair to expect the book of Job to answer these questions.

However, if he had wanted to, the author undoubtedly *could* have provided some (perhaps even satisfactory) resolution to the story. If he wished to retain the dialogue, the author could have explicitly addressed its point (or its pointlessness?) and the ambiguity of Job's final reaction, explicitly telling the reader whether or not the test was resolved, and if so, how it was resolved. The author similarly could have had God more explicitly underscore the fact that no human being (neither Job nor the reader) can know or understand why the world operates the way it does (i.e., have God exercise his "power play" more obviously and directly on the reader). Indeed, to some extent the author seems to permit the plot to devolve toward this insight.

If he eliminated (or ignored) the dialogue altogether, the author *literarily* could have resolved some aspects of the narrative. For example, he could have portrayed a resolute Job who never complained and who made a complete *and unselfish* submission to God. He could even have depicted this Job continually suffering and eventually dying in pain. In this scenario, Satan would lose the wager, but the narrative could have still ended on the upbeat note that God still retained pride in (the now-deceased) Job (assuming the author cannot portray Job being resurrected from the dead). The reader would at least still be left with a moral example (Job), and whatever vague hopes might be associated with the notion of retaining divine favor posthumously.

Or the author could have depicted Job finally and decisively cursing God and having Satan thereby win the wager. Such a scenario conceding the truth of the Satan's claim could have itself constituted not only a profound anthropological lesson into human motivation (that even the best of human intentions *are* colored by self-interest) but also a touching theological lesson about the predicament of God (who, despite the unconditional love shown for humans, can only be loved conditionally for the benefits rendered, not unconditionally for God's sake).

It is of course unfair to expect an ancient author to write a literary piece to provide satisfying answers to the questions raised by subsequent generations of readers. Nevertheless, many readers have wished that the author could have explicitly cited the "Fall" and "Original Sin" (Genesis 3–4) to explain human

suffering, more explicitly drawing the conclusion that (for the time being?) the world does not operate according to God's original intent at Creation. Again, some readers have wished that the author could have developed the figure of a more diabolical "Satan," thereby portraying a sort of cosmic dualism that explains suffering as caused by an evil presence actively working to undo God's otherwise harmonious and just creation.

Regardless of how satisfying or unsatisfying they may be to subsequent readers, all these hypothetical resolutions would at least represent clear and deliberate attempts to resolve the profound problem of human suffering. The fact that the author of the finished book seems not to make such an explicit attempt perhaps reveals an awareness of how intractable the problem is. Perhaps the author was content merely to raise the issues, knowing from experience, reflection, and realization that any answer that human beings can articulate and comprehend is necessarily inadequate.

**D. Competing Arguments**

In a book that features a deity who asks copious questions, it occasions little surprise that the central theme of the book is stated interrogatively: does anyone serve God for nothing (1:9)? Society seems to take for granted the principle of retribution, the reaping of what one sows, despite occasional exceptions. Job's case stretches the belief to the limit, and in doing so the book probes an even profounder mystery: can religious trust survive every eventuality? The author recognizes that religion cannot endure unless its adherents transcend self-interest and reject all relationships grounded in the hope of reward for service duly rendered or fear of punishment for failing to meet expected standards of belief or practice.

As one might expect, an ambiguous answer rises above the heat of conflict, and the ambiguity penetrates to the very core of the story as well as the poetic dispute. On the surface, it appears that Job utterly rejects every semblance of a magical concept of reality whereby human beings manipulate deity for their benefit. After all, he retains his loyalty to God in the face of extreme adversity, explaining that we ought to accept weal and woe as equally sent by God. Still, the story endorses the principle of reward and retribution in subtle ways (Job is supremely virtuous and rich) as well as not so subtle (Job offers sacrifices to propitiate deity, and God seems to reward Job in the end for faithfulness). Despite its radical challenge to dogma, especially in the undeserved fate of Job's children, the story ultimately bows to tradition.

The center of gravity shifts in the poetic dispute, where the fundamental order of the universe comes under attack. Job questions the moral underpinnings of human existence, for he no longer receives appropriate dividends from above. Ironically, his complaint presupposes the very principle that he denies, else he would have no basis for dispute with God. The question, "Does God rule justly?" alternates with another, "How should a person respond to undeserved suffering?" Like the Mesopotamian *I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom,* the book of Job functions as a paradigm of an answered lament, a model for those undergoing present suffering. The model consists of four movements: undeserved affliction, complaint, hearkening, restoration (Gese 1958). It gives free rein to the expression of anger, while at the same time urging the individual to submit humbly to the mystery and majesty of creation. The book offers no satisfactory answer to the agonizing query, the shortest question of all, "Why?" Even if the arrangement between God and the Adversary does not really constitute a wager, the idea of testing a faithful servant is only slightly more palpable, at least to modern consciences.

The book of Job addresses more than one question and proposes several competing answers. Presumably, the author's answer, insofar as one option takes precedence over all opposing views, is hidden within the divine speeches. These lectures on the wonders of nature argue for a morality that transcends human values and contend that God governs the universe wisely. The frightening monsters, described in language that conjures up images of crocodiles and hippopotami, posed a threat to order in Egyptian mythology but yielded to divine domestication according to this astonishing text (Keel 1978). The deity's activity in providing for the needs of wild animals and in causing rain to fall beyond the regions of human habitation implies that caprice does not speak the final word. Saadia Gaon makes the argument more explicit: the gift of life satisfies the issue of divine justice, and anything beyond that falls

into the category of mercy. Owing their very existence to the creator, human beings have no claim on God.

This line of reasoning comes closest to Eliphaz' insistence that human deeds have no effect on God, who does not even trust holy ones. For Eliphaz, the basic issue becomes clear in a terrifying revelation: "Can a mortal be more righteous than God? Can a man be purer than his Maker?" (4:17). Not content to rest his case on a word from God, he appeals to proverbial wisdom (reaping and sowing) and to ancestral teaching ("We are older than you"). At first gentle toward Job and holding out hope of eventual restoration as a result of submission, Eliphaz becomes increasingly less patient, accusing Job of heinous crimes. In doing so, Eliphaz fails to see the inconsistency with his earlier insistence that God derives no pleasure from human morality.

Although Eliphaz alludes to human existence as drinking iniquity like water, Bildad extends this point to include the birth process itself. He also expresses an exceedingly low estimate of human worth. Matters lack any ambiguity whatsoever for Bildad; Job's children sinned and paid for it, for God does not pervert justice. It follows that Job's repentance will accomplish restoration. Zophar's contribution to the argument skirts the issue of justice altogether: God takes mercy into account, punishing less than people deserve. Moreover, Zophar bears witness to an inner voice that announces the brevity of ill-gotten wages.

Elihu plows the same furrow that Job's three friends have opened, as if youth inevitably do so. Like Eliphaz, he thinks God warns mortals by means of frightening dreams and visions; Elihu also questions the effect of virtue or wickedness on God, concluding that morality concerns human beings only (35:8). Like Bildad, Elihu cannot even imagine the possibility that God rules unjustly. Like Zophar, Elihu thinks favored persons escape penalty for their sins. His arguments lay greater stress on educative discipline and the role of a mediator in moving the deity to compassion.

Job also entertains thoughts about an advocate who will plead his case and press for vindication. This daring concept (9:33) disappears almost as abruptly as it occurs, only to return a second (16:19) and third time (19:25) with greater tenacity. Job remains adamant in his protests of innocence, and this unyielding stance obliges him to attribute fault to God. Failing to obtain a hearing in the divine court, Job concludes that God has abandoned justice altogether. Because Job believes in the unlimited power of God, he naturally assumes that the problem belongs to the realm of will. The deity clearly does not want to execute justice throughout the land, Job charges, and with this concession Job broadens his scope to include the miserable wretches of society who know nothing but deprivation from birth to death. Fleeting thoughts about survival beyond the grave only distress Job, who denies the likelihood itself. He soon realizes that his only hope consists in a formal pronouncement of innocence within a court of law. To this end he pleads with God to write out the crimes for which he now suffers, vowing to parade the charges for all to see. In desperation, he enters into an oath of innocence, a self-imprecation designed to force God to answer. Confused to the end, Job forgets that human action has no control over arbitrary deities—or free ones (Hempel 1961). Readers forget this point too, frequently remarking that such action forced God to respond. Even Israel's sages knew better; neither curses nor oaths automatically move from word to deed.

**E. Composition**

A noticeable lack of coherence within the book implies that more than one author contributed to its final form. Differences between framework and core suggest that the author of the poetry used a popular folktale to pose the religious problem to be examined in the dispute. The depiction of the hero differs sharply in the two parts, a model of patience in the story, a defiant rebel in the poetry. The names for God differ, Yahweh in the prose, El, Eloah, Shaddai in the dispute (with one exception). The story endorses the principle of reward and retribution, despite Job's temporary misfortune, but neither Job nor God subscribes to the theory. Job rejects it outright and God ignores it completely. The epilogue has God condemn the friends for speaking lies about the creator and praise Job for telling the truth, whereas the divine speeches adopt quite a different attitude toward Job's attempt to justify himself at God's expense.

Confusion also exists within the poetic section. The 3d cycle of speeches breaks off prematurely with no response by Zophar; furthermore, Job's arguments at this point become wholly out of character. He seems to surrender to the friends' understanding of things, which contradicts everything he has said previously

and makes nonsense of what follows. Various rearrangements of chaps. 24–27 restore Zophar's last speech; perhaps Job's final remarks to the friends were so blasphemous that later readers replaced them with Zophar's sentiments. Chapter 29 presents a problem, for it interprets the argument and offers a feeble rationale for religion. The poem pronounces wisdom off limits for humans (Job seeks God, not wisdom!) but then concedes that God has made it accessible to everyone who is religious and moral, a conclusion Job only reaches after God's speeches. Furthermore, wisdom has two different meanings; practical knowledge in the dialogue, the nature of the universe in the poem. Elihu appears without advance warning and cites previous material with great familiarity. He may represent the later Jewish community's dissatisfaction with the divine speeches. Both God and the narrator in the epilogue ignore Elihu, as does Job. Moreover, the oath in chap. 31 arouses expectation of a divine visitor, which Elihu delays interminably. The divine speeches also seem to suggest supplementation. The primary problem extends beyond particular sections that differ markedly from the rest, especially the descriptions of horse and ostrich, to the simple fact that God speaks twice and elicits two submissions from Job. The second speech has struck many readers as excessive browbeating.

Literary unity within the dialogue has its defenders, who offer various justifications for rejecting a theory of textual accretion. The breakdown of the 3d cycle is a subtle way of declaring Job the victor (but why does Job endorse their view of retribution?). Job 28 functions as an interlude, retarding the action of the drama and assuaging human emotions. Elihu serves as an ironic foil to the deity, and the citation of earlier speeches constitutes instances of literary anticipation or foreshadowing. Variety in style and vocabulary is a mark of literary craft, and God's two speeches address Job's dual charges. Stylistic affinities between the hymn on wisdom's inaccessibility and the Elihu narratives, on the one hand, and the rest of the poetry, on the other hand, have led some interpreters to posit common authorship over a long period of time. The silence about Elihu in the epilogue baffles critics of all persuasions.

The folktale may have developed by stages, with the wife and friends playing somewhat different roles from the ones in the present book (Vermeylen 1986). The three friends may once have functioned in the way the Adversary does now. Inasmuch as these verses featuring "the Satan" can be omitted without serious loss, the story in all essentials probably existed long before the addition of the motif of a heavenly adversary. The story manifests exquisite style, causing one interpreter to question the appropriateness of using the term folktale (Good 1988) and leading another to postulate an epic substratum (Sarna 1957).

**F. Date and Language**

Although the book is set in pre-Mosaic times, the actual time of composition is much later. Linguistic evidence seems to indicate a date in the 6th century or later (Hurvitz 1974), despite the complete silence about the national calamity in 587 B.C.E. Specific indicators for dating the book are exceedingly rare. Job's powerful outcry about the desirability of incising his testimony on a rock with lead inlay may allude to the Behistun Rock on which the Persian King Darius proclaimed his accomplishments to all passers-by. Mention of caravans from Teman and Sheba (6:19) and the nomenclature of officials (kings, counselors, princes) in 3:14–15 corresponds to Persian hierarchy. The use of the definite article *ha-* with *Sõaṭan* suggests a stage in the development of the figure prior to the Chronicler and parallel to Zechariah. The abundance of Aramaisms, while problematic, may indicate a date in the late 6th or 5th century. The relationship between Job and comparable laments or lyrical texts in Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah is difficult to assess, but priority may go to the latter books. Similarities between Job and theological probings within the Psalter (37, 49, 73) certainly exist, but the uncertain dates of these psalms render them dubious witnesses about the actual date of the book of Job. The possible allusion to Job in Qoheleth 6:10–11 may echo familiarity with the folktale, and the recently discovered Targum of Job from Qumran, dating from the 2d or 3d century B.C.E., suggests a considerably earlier date for the book of Job.

An attempt to provide a specific historical setting for the book in Teman lacks cogency. According to this hypothesis, the book was written between 552 and 542 B.C.E., when Nabonidus conquered Tema and marauding soldiers took Job's possessions, forcing him to ransom his life (Guillaume 1968). Likewise, an effort to understand the book as a paracultic tragedy intended for use at the New Year Festival (Terrien) has failed to persuade many readers. Two astonishing features of the book remain unresolved: why did the

author choose an Edomite for its hero, and why did the analogy between Job's affliction and Israel's defeat by Babylon and enforced exile not affect the depiction of the hero? Given the hostile sentiments toward Edom in prophetic texts from the exilic and postexilic period, the identification of the perfectly righteous man as an Edomite, made explicit in an appendix to the book in the LXX, seems strange until one recognizes the universalism of wisdom literature. Moreover, having set the story in (pre-)patriarchal times, the author could not have introduced an Israelite, for the nation did not appear on the historical scene until centuries later.

Two other factors, sometimes thought to indicate a late date for Job, alter the situation little: the emergence of monotheism and monogamy. The heavenly Adversary can act only insofar as God allows it to do so, and the divine speeches also insist on the creator's authority over the entire cosmos. Such "modified monotheism" still employs mythic language about antagonists over whom the creator exercises control. Moreover, Job imagines the possibility of a mediator's forcing a guilty deity to acknowledge Job's innocence. One hesitates to label such thinking "monotheism," although it resolutely refuses to exonerate God by positing a rival deity. The noteworthy assumption that a wealthy man like Job in patriarchal times had only one wife may suggest that monogamy had become the rule rather than the exception when the author composed the folktale.

The language of the book contains more rare words than any other biblical work, Hosea being its nearest rival. The linguistic forms have caused interpreters to posit theories of composition in another language, primarily Aramaic. Much clarity of language and syntax comes from Northwest Semitic, so that theories of translation into Hebrew from another language seem superfluous. Nevertheless, the rare dialect of the book often defies understanding, and the frequent references to obscure animals and natural objects do not help matters. A single example illustrates the problem. In 4:10–11 five different words for lion stretch modern translators' wits to the breaking point.

**G. Related Works in the Ancient World**

Belief in the moral governance of the universe was widespread in the ancient world. Gradually this conviction gave rise to confidence that certain actions ensured well-being most of the time. By behaving in specific ways, individuals controlled the gods, who also benefitted from human attention to the cult and to ethics. During periods of social turmoil, doubt about the deity's benevolence became prevalent and produced literary texts resembling the book of Job in some ways. From Egypt come three works of this nature: *The Admonitions of Ipuwer, The Dispute Between a Man and His Ba,* and *The Eloquent Peasant* (*ANET,* 441–44, 405–10), all dating from the 12th Dynasty (1990–1785 B.C.E.).

A section of *The Admonitions of Ipuwer* cites conventional belief ("He [God] is the herdsman of all; there is no evil in his heart. His herds are few, but he spends the days herding them") only to lament the wickedness that the deity allowed to stand. Because of social upheaval, the author denies the existence of a providential deity guiding human affairs. He asks: "Where is he today? Is he asleep?" and insists that "his power is not seen." Although the god possesses authority, knowledge, and truth, "turmoil is what you let happen in the land, and the noise of strife." Death naturally follows, and the poet entertains the possibility that the divine herdsman loves death. *The Dispute Between a Man and His Ba* (*ANET,* 405–7) describes a miserable person who tries to persuade his soul to join him in a pact to commit suicide, primarily because his name reeks and he lacks companions who act virtuously. The man longs for death, which is "like a sick man's recovery," "like the fragrance of myrrh (and lotus)," "like a well-trodden way," "like the clearing of the sky," "like a man's longing to see his home." *The Eloquent Peasant* (*ANET,* 407–10) complains bitterly to a government official, Rensi, son of Meru, about a lesser functionary who robbed him. Because of his rhetoric, the peasant is imprisoned and encouraged to plead his case; unknown to him, scribes record his speeches for the entertainment of the court. The peasant speaks nine petitions, becoming more exasperated over time and threatening to appeal to Anubis. When servants come from Rensi to reward the peasant, he mistakes their purpose and welcomes death with the words: "A thirsty man's approach to water, an infant's mouth reaching for milk, thus is a longed-for death seen coming, thus does his death arrive at last." Like the book of Job, these texts have prose frameworks enclosing poetic complaints.

From Mesopotamia come at least four texts that explore the problem of unjust suffering: *Man and his God, I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom, The Babylonian Theodicy,* and *A Dialogue Between a Master and his Slave.* In the Sumerian *Man and his God* (2d millennium; *ANET,* 589–91), a sufferer complains to the gods but confesses guilt and is restored. He accuses the deity, here called a "righteous shepherd," of becoming angry, thereby encouraging human enemies to conspire against the sufferer without fear of divine retaliation. Appealing to the intimate relationship of father and son, the sufferer asks how long the deity will leave him unprotected. Nevertheless, he surrenders all right to protest divine conduct and subscribes to conventional wisdom: "Never has a sinless child been born to its mother; a sinless workman has not existed from of old." *I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom* (*ANET,* 434–37) discovers a solution in the inscrutability of the gods and the necessity for human beings to perform proper cultic acts. The sufferer believes in divine compassion ("I will praise the Lord of wisdom … whose heart is merciful … whose gentle hand sustains the dying …") despite his own wretched state. Contrasting his earlier prestige with his present dishonor, he complains about inability to discover the face of the one to whom he prays. Circumstances compel him to conclude that the gods may have a different value system from the one constructed by human beings. This concession leads him to ask: "Who can know the will of the gods in heaven? Who can understand the plans of the underworld gods? Where have humans learned the way of a god?"

*The Babylonian Theodicy* (ca. 1100 B.C.E.; *ANET,* 601–4) resembles Job in that a sufferer engages in a dispute with a learned friend. An acrostic poem of 27 stanzas with 11 lines each, this dispute entertains the possibility of divine culpability ("Narru king of the gods, who created mankind, and majestic Zulummar, who pinched off the clay for them, and goddess Mami, the queen who fashioned them, gave twisted speech to the human race. With lies, and not truth, they endowed them forever"). The sufferer complains of having been orphaned early, and his friend reminds him that we all die. When told that wild asses trample fields and lions kill, the friend points out that the wild animals pay with their lives and that the plan of the gods is remote. The sufferer insists that his good deeds have not brought favorable response from the gods, and this remark arouses the friend's anger over such blasphemy. The friend does concede that the one who bears the god's yoke may have sparse food, but this situation can change for the better in a moment. The sufferer lingers on the notion that morality yields no profit. In the end, the complainant prays that the shepherd (i.e., god) who abandoned him will yet "pasture his flock as a god should."

*The Dialogue Between a Master and his Slave* (*ANET,* 437–38) resembles Ecclesiastes more than the book of Job, but some features of the Dialogue echo the conditions underlying Job's distress. A master determines to pursue a course of action and his servant, the proverbial aye-sayer, encourages him. The master changes his mind and the slave defends this decision. Nothing commends itself to the master—not dining, marrying, hunting, philanthropy, or anything else—except suicide, better still, murdering the slave. This poor wretch, caught in his rhetoric, seems to say that the master would gladly join him in death within three days.

The Canaanite epic of Keret (*ANET,* 142–49) bears some resemblance to the book of Job. The hero loses his wife and sons but eventually finds favor with the gods and acquires a new wife and additional children. More remote parallels such as Prometheus Bound have been compared with Job, but differences stand out (Prometheus was a Titan, not a human being, and he suffered the wrath of Zeus through wilful conduct). An Indian tale about a discussion among the gods over the existence of pure goodness among earthly creatures singles out a certain Harischandra, whom the god Shiva submits to a test that demonstrates his incredible virtue.

The author of the book of Job may have known about the Mesopotamian (and Egyptian?) prototypes, but the biblical text cannot be explained solely on the basis of earlier parallels. These explorations of the governance of the universe and unjust suffering may have provided an intellectual stimulus, but the biblical author has produced something that stands alone as *sui generis.* Still, structural similarities (framework enclosing poetic disputes) and common ideas place the biblical work in the wider context of intellectual and religious foment. This observation also extends to specific units within the book of Job,

for example, the oath of innocence in chap. 31, for which Egyptian execration oaths offer a close parallel (Fohrer *Job* KAT).

The claim that the book of Job is *sui generis* does not imply originality for everything in Job. In fact, striking similarities exist between elements within this book and other biblical material: the laments in Jeremiah (chaps. 3 and 20) and in the Psalms, hymnic passages in Amos (4:13; 5:8–9; 9:5–6) and Deutero-Isaiah, the book of Ruth, prophetic lawsuits, and proverbial wisdom. Sometimes the author seems to offer a parody of biblical texts (e.g., Job 3 and Genesis 1; Job 7:17–21 and Psalm 8). Occasionally Job shares expressions in common with another textual unit (e.g., 38:5 with Ps 30:4, "Surely you know"; and 13:20 with Prov 30:7, "Two things"—but the connection between these texts is unclear).

The book of Job is usually discussed in connection with Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon, and a few Psalms (e.g., 37, 49, 73). Modern scholars call these works "wisdom literature" and consider their closest parallels to be in Egypt and Mesopotamia rather than in the rest of the biblical canon. In some ways Job resists inclusion in this corpus, primarily because of the dominance of the lament genre and the theophany. Nevertheless, it seems best to designate the book "wisdom" and to recognize that, like Sirach some years later, the author of Job begins to widen the scope of traditions accessible to the sages.

On the basis of the texts to which modern critics have given the title wisdom literature, four quite distinct types are discernible: proverbial sayings, religious or philosophical reflections in discourse form, nature wisdom, and mantic revelation. The book of Job lacks the last of these types. Collections of aphorisms from the 3d millennium to the 3d century B.C.E. have survived in Egypt, and Mesopotamian proverbs date from the 3d and 2d millennium. The philosophical probings from both areas rival the proverbial sayings in antiquity. The book of Job unites these two types of wisdom—the brief saying and reflective discourse—while restricting nature wisdom to a discrete unit, specifically chaps. 38–40. In general, the aphorisms present a positive view of reality, resting on belief in a reliable order and in the capacity of the human intellect to control one's actions and thus to promote well-being.

On the other hand, the intellectual reflection about the problem of suffering and the meaning of life is markedly less optimistic. The former type of thinking, by means of aphorisms, has a decidedly practical purpose, although its utilitarianism possessed a profound religious grounding: because right conduct sustained the order of the universe, the gods reward appropriate behavior. The reflective discourses question such certainty as found in these brief aphorisms, comprising a sort of "anti-wisdom." The sages therefore demonstrate unusual willingness to examine their presuppositions and to criticize themselves. The author of Psalm 37 affirms traditional belief in the face of all evidence that seems to indicate otherwise, but Psalm 49 takes human frailty much more seriously, and Psalm 73 probes deeply into the nature of the relationships between worshipper and deity. Here the assurance that God is good to the upright appears dubious when taking into account the prosperity of evildoers, until the psalmist goes to the holy place and reflects on the destiny of the evil ones. Then the intimacy with God becomes a source of unsurpassed joy and divine presence more precious than anything else in all creation.

Although the nature wisdom in the book of Job resembles lists of flora and fauna from onomastica in ancient Egypt—where encyclopedic knowledge of different subjects seems to have served to train young courtiers (von Rad 1972)—decisive differences make the identification of Job 38–40 as lists highly doubtful (Fox 1986). Ancient sages study nature as a means of learning more about human beings through analogy, for the wise assume that the same laws govern the universe, animals, and humans.

Because undeserved suffering posed an immense intellectual and religious problem for the sages, they sought arduously for a satisfactory answer. Their most common understanding, the *retributive,* is grounded in the order of the universe and the will of its creator. A second explanation, the *disciplinary,* derives from the context of the family, where well-intentioned parents punish their children as an act of love, hoping thus to shape character and to protect the young ones from harm. In time, the school also endorses this method of controlling the actions of youth. A third approach to suffering, the *probative,* bears impressive witness to the disinterested nature of religion. God tests human hearts to ascertain whether or not religion is pure, and in doing so replaces human self-interest with the centrality of

holiness. A fourth interpretation, the *eschatological,* contrasts present discomfort with future restoration, indicating that hope springs eternal in the human breast. A fifth suggestion, the *redemptive,* derives from the sacrificial system and the idea that the spilling of blood alone makes atonement. A sixth response, the *revelatory,* takes suffering as an occasion for divine disclosure of previously hidden truth, both human pride and the mystery of the living God. A seventh understanding of suffering, the *ineffable,* is a humble admission of ignorance before unspeakable mystery, one so profound that a self-revealing deity in the book of Job remains silent about the reason for Job's suffering and fails to affirm meaning behind such agony. An eighth explanation for suffering, the *incidental,* implies that an indifferent deity stands by and thereby encourages evil, which seems trivial to the High God who fashioned mortals to be subject to suffering as the human condition. All these understandings of suffering in one way or another find expression in the book of Job.

**H. Canon and Text**

As in the case of Qoheleth (Ecclesiastes), the disturbing thoughts of Job did not prevent its acceptance in the biblical canon. An occasional rabbinic dissent against the historicity of the character Job has survived (*Baba Bathra* 15a), and one Christian thinker, Theodore of Mopsuestia, questioned the book's sacred authority. The sequence of writings varied at first, Job being placed between Psalms and Proverbs in the Talmud, and in Codex Alexandrinus, but preceding Psalms and Proverbs in Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Jerome, Rufinus, and the Apostolic Canons. Jewish tradition designates the two different sequences by the acrostic abbreviations *ʾmt* ("truth") for Job (*ʾiyob*), Proverbs (*mišlê*), and Psalms (*tehillîm*), and *tʾm* ("twin") for Psalms, Job, and Proverbs. The Council of Trent fixed the order with Job in the initial position.

Textual problems abound in the book, and the much shorter Greek versions seldom resolve the difficulties. Often merely a paraphrase, the Greek text sometimes elucidates a theological bias in the present MT, for example the repointing of a negative particle in 13:15 to affirm trust in God even when faced with the prospect of death at the deity's hand (Pope, *Job* AB, 95–96). The Syriac Peshitta assists in clarifying obscure meanings of the Hebrew text. Enough of the Targum from Qumran has survived to confirm the same disorder in chaps. 24–27 as that in the Hebrew. One surprising feature of the Targum is its termination at 42:11 instead of 42:17. See also JOB, TARGUMS OF. Jerome's Latin translation of the Hebrew text of Job was influenced by the Greek translations of Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus, and the Alexandrian version as mediated by Origen's Hexapla.

**I. History of Interpretation**

The *Testament of Job,* the oldest surviving interpretation of the book of Job, probably comes from Alexandria in the 1st century B.C.E. See also JOB, TESTAMENT OF. One of many such "last words" of a famous person, it is characterized by zeal against idols, extensive speculation about Satan, cosmological dualism, interest in women, burial customs, magic, merkabah mysticism, angelic glossolalia, and patience. The *Testament of Job* differs considerably from the biblical story. The essential variations are that (1) Job destroys Satan's idol, incurring wrath, but an angel reveals Satan's identity to Job; (2) Job's possessions and good works are magnified in haggadic fashion; (3) Job's devoted wife, Sitis, begs for bread and eventually sells her hair to enable them to survive; (4) Satan concedes defeat in wrestling with Job; (5) Baldad poses "difficult questions" and Zophar offers royal physicians, but Job relies on the one who created physicians; (6) Sitis refuses to die until she knows that her children receive proper burial, and Job assures her that their creator and king has already taken them up; (7) God condemns the friends for not speaking truth *about Job;* (8) Job's daughters inherit magical items, enabling them to speak ecstatically; and (9) chariots take Job into heaven.

Unlike the Epistle of James (5:11), early opinions about Job's character did not always emphasize his patient endurance. The *Abot de Rabbi-Nathan* accuses Job of sinning with his heart and in this way defends divine justice. Rashi faults Job for talking too much. According to Glatzer (1966), later interpreters went beyond calling Job a saint or an imperfectly pious man to quite different categories: a rebel (Ibn Ezra, Nachmanides), a dualist (Sforno), a pious man searching for truth (Saadia Gaon), one who lacked the love of God (Maimonides), an Aristotelian denier of providence (Gersonides), one who

confused the work of God and Satan (Simeon ben Semah Duran), a determinist (Joseph Albo), one who failed to pacify Satan, a scapegoat, and isolationist (the Zohar), one who suffered as a sign of divine love (the Zohar, Moses ben Hayyim). In Jewish legend, God turned Job over to Samael (Satan) to keep him occupied while the Jewish people escaping from Egypt crossed the Red Sea, then God rescued Job from the enemy power at the last moment.

The early church stressed Job's suffering as a lesson in living and had readings from Job in the liturgy of the dead. Gregory the Great wrote thirty-five books of Sermons on Job, and Augustine read the book as an example of divine grace. Thomas Aquinas saw the book of Job as the starting point for discussing the metaphysical problem of divine providence (Damico and Yaffe 1989). Calvin wrote 159 sermons on Job, mostly polemical defenses of providence (Dekker 1952). This early Christian concentration on the suffering hero of faith gave way in the 17th and 18th centuries to an emphasis on Job as a rebel. For instance, Voltaire saw Job as a representative of the universal human condition (Hausen 1972).

Modern critics continue the tendency to understand Job in the light of prevailing intellectual or religious sentiments. For Carl Jung, psychological insights provide the key to understanding Job. Jung emphasizes the importance of a marriage between an unreflective but powerful deity, Job's afflicter, and *Ḥokmāh* (wisdom), who taught God that the Cross, not abusive force, was the answer to Job. Jack Kahn draws on modern psychiatry to understand the grief process through which Job passed. Two literary treatments of Job have greatly influenced Western thinking about the problem of evil, Goethe's *Faust* and Archibald MacLeish's *J.B.* An anthropological approach to the book of Job emphasizes the people's desire to establish order by sacrificing Job as a scapegoat (Girard 1987), and a liberation theologian stresses Job's identification with the causes of the poor (Gutiérrez 1987). A philosopher explains Job's offense as ingratitude, a bitterness of spirit that harbors resentment toward God for allowing affliction to strike a heavy blow against Job's security (Wilcox 1989). Artists depict Job's suffering in the light of Greek mythology (William Blake) and the Holocaust (Hans Fronius). A Yiddish interpreter uses Goethe's *Faust* as a lens through which to view Job positively (Chaim Zhitlowsky 1919); a contemporary novelist likens the Jewish fate under Hitler to Job's affliction (Elie Wiesel) and is opposed by a humanist who contrasts Job's survival with the victims of Auschwitz and Dachau (Rubenstein). Some existentialist writers seem to have used Job as an example of the human situation (Camus, Kafka), and at least one Marxist philosopher thinks of Job as an exemplary rebel against theism and abusive power that religion fosters in the western world (Ernst Bloch).

The current fascination with literary theory has produced several different understandings of the book of Job. In one instance, readings are offered from the perspective of feminism, vegetarianism, materialism, and NT ideology (Clines 1989). An older reading of the book as drama has been revitalized (Alonso-Schökel 1977), and a shift from viewing Job as tragedy to comedy has occurred. In this view, Job's final restoration qualifies the book as a comedy in the classical sense of the word (Whedbee 1970). Attention has come to the ways modern interpreters silence the shrill voice of dissent, whether in the revised Roman Catholic liturgy (Rouillard 1983) or in the act of interpretation itself (Tilley 1989). In providing a fresh translation, a contemporary poet (Stephen Mitchell) has taken great license and removed the sting of Job's *cri de coeur* by omitting crucial verses.

Specialists in Hebrew Bible continue to wrestle with the meaning of key texts in the book of Job, particularly 19:23–27 and 42:6. Confronted with several possible translations (and probable textual confusion in 19:23–27), interpreters concede the impossibility of certainty. A parallel in the Canaanite epic of Baal and Anat may explain Job's daring thought that extends the concept of a *gō꞉ēl* to the realm of the gods, but the matter is complicated by the two previous allusions to an umpire (*mōkîaḥ,* 9:33) and a witness (*꞉ēdî* // *sahadî,* 16:19, 21). Such foreshadowing occurs throughout the book of Job: 9:17 and 38:1–42:6; 11:5–6 and 38:1–42:6; 13:7–12 and 42:7–9; 22:30 and 42:10; 9:32–35 and 32–37 (ironically); 8:6–7 and 42:10–17 (Habel 1985). Moreover, the ambiguity of Job's remarks in 19:23–26 leaves unclear Job's personal circumstances at the time of seeing God. Does Job expect vindication before death, or is his expectation considerably more bold? With respect to the missing object in 42:6, the suggestions are varied: Job repents of his finitude, he rejects (drops) his anticipated lawsuit, he falls down to the earth in

shame, he only pretends to repent, knowing how to manipulate an unjust ruler, he rejects God, he recants his earlier words. Less likely, the verb *mʾs* is understood reflexively (I loathe myself, I melt away, I abase myself).

One conclusion seems to force itself on readers: the author of the book does not believe that the natural order is moral (Tsevat 1966). The God whom Job worships and accuses of injustice transcends morality. Consequently, this book does not present a comforting deity nor a particularly accommodating universe. Perhaps that attitude is appropriate in an examination of the possibility of disinterested goodness. Nevertheless, the evocative power of this book "crashes into the abyss of radical aloneness" (Susman 1969) and arouses high praise in many readers, for example: "Here, in our view, is the most sublime monument in literature, not only of written language, nor of philosophy and poetry, but the most sublime monument of the human soul. Here is the great eternal drama with three actors who embody everything: but what actors! God, humankind, and Destiny" (Alphonse de Lamartine, cited in Hausen 1972: 145).

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JAMES L. CRENSHAW

**JOB, TARGUMS OF.** There are two mss of targums (Aramaic translations) to the book of Job among the Dead Sea Scrolls found at Wadi Qumran: a substantial text found in Cave 11, consisting of about 20 percent of the book in 38 fragmentary cols (11QtgJob); and two small ms fragments from Cave 4, essentially comprising about a dozen fragmentary lines from two cols (4QtgJob). The ms do not overlap; the Cave 4 fragments preserve text from chaps. 3–5, while the Cave 11 material preserves intermittent text from 17:14 to the end of the book. Because of the lack of common text and, even more, because the Cave 4 Targum is so little preserved, it is an open question as to whether these two texts preserve the same or distinct Aramaic versions of Job. In any case, neither of these targums appears to show any direct relationship to the standard targum found in the Rabbinical Bible and available, for example, in the edition of Lagarde (cf. Fitzmyer 1974).

The larger targum from Cave 11 was published by van der Ploeg, van der Woude and Jongeling in 1971, and there followed an edition by Sokoloff in 1974, which is now considered the standard reference on the text. Major studies of 11QtgJob include Beyer 1984: 280–298; Jongeling et al 1976: 1–73; and Sokoloff 1974). The targum fragments from Cave 4 were published by Milik in 1977 (DJD vol. 6).

These two targums, especially the Cave 11 targum, are of considerable importance for the study of the book of Job, for the study of targumic traditions, and for the study of Aramaic during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. They constitute the earliest mss of Job translations in existence and 11QtgJob is the earliest known ms of Job of any significant length. It is also the only lengthy targum known from so early a period. (There exists another Qumran targum, a translation of Leviticus, but like 4QtgJob it is fragmentary.) Paleographical considerations suggest that both existing Qumran Job targum mss were copied during the 1st century C.E. The original editors proposed that 11QtgJob was actually composed in the latter half of the 2d century B.C.E.; more recently a later date has been proposed, namely, the 1st century B.C.E. (Kaufman 1973; Zuckerman 1987).

By and large, the Cave 11 Targum seems to adhere to its Heb *Vorlage* quite closely, certainly far more closely than targums of the Palestinian tradition preserved by the early rabbis. (The Cave 4 targum seems to be fairly literal as well, although it is simply too small to allow for reasonable judgment as to characteristics of this sort.) Where there appear on occasion to be editorial alterations in 11QtgJob, they tend to be focused upon avoiding implicit disrespect for the Deity, upgrading the image of Job, and perhaps downgrading the image of the friends, especially Elihu (cf. Tuinstra 1970; Zuckerman 1980). In this respect the sentiments of the translator seem to fall somewhat in line with the view of Job found in the pseudepigraphical *Testament of Job*.

The targum also appears to preserve the famous rereading of the phrase in Job 13:15, *lw ʾyḥl*, traditionally translated, ("though He [i.e., God] slay me, yet will I trust in Him") instead of *lʾ ʾyḥl* ("if He slays me, I have no hope"). Although a direct translation of Job 13:15 is not preserved in the existing 11QtgJob, the phrase appears to be quoted in 11QtgJob 25:7 = Job 34:31. The translator also shows some indication of exemplifying the rabbinical rule of scriptural interpretation, exposition by means of another similar passage (Zuckerman 1978).

It may be more than simply a coincidence that two out of the three clearly targumic texts found among the Dead Sea Scrolls are targums of Job. Moreover, in the most prominent discussion of targums in the early rabbinical literature (*t. Šhabb.* 13:2; cf. *b. Šhabb.* 115a; *j. Šhabb.* 16:1), the particular targum under discussion is also a targum of Job. In that instance, Rabban Gamaliel (80–110 C.E.) is said to have been reading a targum of Job, which reminded R. Halafta that Gamaliel's grandfather, Gamaliel the Elder (30–70 C.E.) had once been brought a targum which he subsequently ordered to be hidden. In this latter instance the targum in question was, once again, a targum of Job.

We can only wonder why a good deal of the specific evidence we have of written targums from the period of the early rabbis centers upon targums of Job? One probable reason is that the Hebrew of Job, even at this early time, must have been recognized as being notoriously difficult to read and comprehend. Hence, if any biblical text cried out for a popular translation so that it would be more widely accessible in the vernacular of the day, Aramaic, it would certainly have been Job. Moreover, it would not only be because of the difficult nature of the language that targumic renditions of Job were called for. In all likelihood the controversial issues raised in Job were also deemed to require special handling, especially in more popular translations that would make Job more broadly available to the Jewish community in rabbinical times. We might suspect that it was in translations of this nature that various small adjustments were often made in order to conform the text to pietistic standards.

On the other hand, it is also quite likely that more straightforward renderings of Job were made in targumic form. After all, 11QtgJob and 4QtgJob, insofar as they are preserved, are fairly accurate renderings which contain relatively limited editorial adjustments. In fact, it may even be partly for this reason that Gamaliel the Elder wished to hide away the targum that was brought before him. That is, he may have deemed the targum too correct to be exposed to the uninitiated (note in this respect *b. Meg.* 3a). It is also likely that Gamaliel did not like the idea that any biblical text should be committed to writing in the vulgar language of the time and that this also prompted his suppression of the targum brought to his attention.

Regardless, it does seem fairly reasonable to assume that when the rabbis thought of a biblical targum around the beginning of the Common Era, the stereotypical example would seem to have been a targum of Job. And this at least supports the assumption that the Job known to the popular audience of that time was likely Job in translation as opposed to Job in the hard-to-read original Hebrew.

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**JOB, TESTAMENT OF.** Slightly shorter than the NT book of Romans, the *Testament of Job* embellishes the biblical story of Job in praise of the virtue of patience *(hypomonē).* The prosaic and occasionally humorous composition shows characteristics of similar works such as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the *Testaments of Abraham, Isaac,* and *Jacob.* Though listed among non-canonical works in the 6th-century Gelasian Decree (5.6.4), the *Testament of Job* is otherwise unmentioned until the 19th century, when its first modern edition was edited by Cardinal Mai (1833), who took the work to be Christian. Migne's French translation, a quarter century later (1858), provided the first translation into a modern European language.

Flanked by a prologue (*Testament of Job* 1) and an epilogue (chaps. 51–53), the bulk of the *Testament* (chaps. 2–50) engages Job first with a revealing angel (chaps. 2–5), then with Satan (chaps. 6–27), next with the three kings ("friends" in the biblical book of Job; chaps. 28–45), and finally with his three daughters (chaps. 46–50). Five poetic passages appear at *T. Job* 25:1–8; 32:1–12; 33:3–9; 43:1–17; and 53:2–4. The *Testament of Job* locates the cause of Job's illness in his destruction of an idol's temple. Job's wife Sitis—and indeed female slaves, widows, and daughters—all figure prominently in this curious text. Jewish burial interests abound. But the principal moral point of the work is captured in the sentence, "Patience is better than anything" (27:7).

The text exits in 4 Gk mss dated from the 11th to the 16th centuries. In addition 3 mss, only one of which is complete, survive from a translation into Old Church Slavonic done around the 11th century (three other Old Church Slavonic mss may exist: Schaller 1979: 317, n. 134). Since 1968, fragments of a 5th century Coptic version (P. Köln 3221) have been known. The impending publication of these will make possible the publication of a critical edition of the text of the *Testament of Job*.

The *Testament of Job* clearly draws from the LXX (Schaller 1980), especially Job 29–31. Septuagintal phrases, and in a few cases apparent direct quotations, have been taken into the *Testament.* Scholars are divided on the unity of the book, but a strong case in its favor has been made by Schaller (1979: 304–6).

The origin and purpose of the work have been variously assessed. M. R. James (1897), who first extensively studied the *Testament,* proposed a Jewish Christian origin in Egypt. K. Kohler (1898) conjectured, mainly from the hymnic sections of the document, an origin among the Therapeutae—a Jewish contemplative sect described by Philo in *De contemplativa.* Spitta (1907) concluded the writing to be pre-Christian but unrelated to the Essenes or to the Therapeutae. Later scholarship has come to favor the Jewish origins of the *Testament of Job* (Rahnenführer 1971; Schaller 1979). Similarities to Jewish merkabah mysticism—speculations about the divine chariot—have been noticed (Urbach 1967; Kee 1974). Jacobs (1970) views the *Testament* as a sample of Jewish martyrdom literature, while

Rahnenführer (1971) sees the text as a piece of Jewish missionary propaganda. A proposal has been made that an original Jewish testament was edited by 2d-century Montanists to argue precedent for female prophecy (Spittler 1971), but this view has not found wide acceptance.

It seems best to regard the text as one of unclear origin within sectarian Judaism, mingling interests in magic, merkabah mysticism, standard Jewish features such as burial proprieties and opposition to idolatry along with the care of the poor and female prophetic utterance. Neither a specific origin nor a date more precise than 100 B.C.E.–200 C.E. can be determined.

Two eras in modern times reflect scholarly interest in the *Testament of Job.* A 15-year period at the turn of the century (1897–1911) yielded the first modern edition of the text (James 1897), the first English translation (Kohler 1898), and the first major study (Spitta 1907). With the publication by Philonenko (1958) of a French translation, with introduction and notes, a generation of renewed study began. This period gained impetus from S. Brock's publication (1967) of a new edition of the text, saw the emergence of several doctoral dissertations (Carstensen 1960; Spittler 1971; Nicholls 1982), and witnessed additional translations into German (Schaller 1979; before him, Riessler 1928), English (Spittler, *OTP* 1: 829–68; Thornhill 1984), modern Hebrew (Hartom 1965). During the thirty year period of 1958–1988, the *Testament of Job* increasingly appeared in introductions to pseudepigraphic literature and achieved deserved recognition as an exemplar of the mingled diversity of Hellenistic Judaic spirituality.

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**JOBAB** (PERSON) [Heb *yôbāb* (יוֹבָב)]. Five individuals in the Bible bear this name. The name has been compared with the Sabaean tribal name *yhybb,* probably to be vocalized *yuhaybab,* by J. Halevy and E. Glaser (1890: 303, see Jobab no. 1 below). The difference between the Sabaean name and its Heb rendering (one would perhaps expect Heb *yêbāb*) may be explained by the fact that the form of the foreign name was assimilated to the NW Sem name *yôbāb* (see *IPN,* 226, n. 3). The identification of the biblical *yôbāb* with the Gk *Iōbaritai* mentioned by Ptol. (*Geog.* 6.7.24), first proposed by S. Bochart (*Geographia sacra* 1: 190), is not acceptable. On the one hand, the Gk rendering would have to be altered in an inadmissible way to *Iōbabitae;* on the other hand, that tribal name mentioned in SE Arabia beside the Gk

*Sachalitai* (= Sabaean *s›kln*) is to be identified with the legendary place name Wabār in the sands of the large Arabian desert. According to its formation, the name *yhybb* is an imperfect form of the causative stem, since it is found occasionally in Sabaean names of tribes or clans (e.g. *yhblḥ, yhśḥm*, etc.). The meaning of the name is not known, since it remains uncertain whether the root *ybb* is to be connected with Ar *yabāb,* "waste, deserted."

**1.** The last of thirteen sons of Joktan (Gen 10:29; 1 Chr 1:23). This name occurs in the so-called "Table of Nations" (Genesis 10) where it is a tribal rather than personal name associated with the progenitor of Arabic tribes, Joktan (Westermann 1984: 526). The Sabaean tribe with a similar name *(yhybb)* was one of the three old tribal federations of the ancient country of Sum‹ay in the central highland of Yemen. This tribe or its tribal leaders are mentioned in several inscriptions from the same region (CIS IV 37.6; RES 4176.5, 8, 9; 4231.2; Gl 1378.2). The text of RES 4176 was engraved into a large rock near the mountain of Riyām in Arḥab during the first quarter of the 3d cent. B.C. and contains the statute of the god Ta›lab for his worshippers from Sum‹ay. In these regulations it was ordained that the leader of the tribe *Yuhaybab* was placed in charge of the property of the god and that he had to organize a banquet for the pilgrims during the annual pilgrimage to the sanctuary of Ta›lab.

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**2.** The son of Zerah from Bozrah, and the king who ruled in Edom after Bela (Gen 36:33–34 = 1 Chr 1:44–45). The name occurs in parallel lists (Gen 36:29–39 = 1 Chr 1:43–50) which utilize a formula found elsewhere in the Bible (1 Kgs 16:22; 2 Kgs 1:17; 8:15; 12:22; 13:24) to recount the succession of kings (in Edom and Israel). The formula is "King X reigned. He died and King Y reigned in his stead." The LXX associates this Jobab with the main character of the book of Job in its enlargement of the final chapter of the book (see Pope *Job* AB, 354).

**3.** The king of Madon summoned by Jabin king of Hazor to fight against the invading Israelites (Josh 11:1). He is also counted among the kings defeated by Joshua W of the Jordan (Josh 12:29), although in this list he is not mentioned by name.

**4.** The first son born in Moab to Shaharaim and his wife Hodesh (1 Chr 8:9). The name appears twice in this genealogy of Benjamin (1 Chronicles 8); once as a son (v 9), and the other time as a grandson of Shaharaim (v 18, see below). As with several names that recur in the Chronicler's genealogies (cf. e.g. CALEB, GERA), it is difficult to identify each Jobab.

**5.** A son of the Benjaminite Elpaal, son of Shaharaim and his wife Hushim (1 Chr 8:18). After Shaharaim sent Hushim and another wife, Baara, away he had offspring by Hodesh in Moab. Elpaal's sons appear in two sections (1 Chr 8:12–15, 17–18), and Jobab is the last son in the second segment.

MARK J. FRETZ

**JOCHEBED** (PERSON) [Heb *yôkebed* (יוֹכֶבֶד)]. A Levite woman, wife of Amram, mother of Aaron, Moses, and Miriam (Num 26:59). Jochebed is mentioned by name only in the Levitical genealogies of Exodus 6 and Numbers 26 (cf. Exod 2:1–10). The writer of Exod 6:20 introduces her as Amram's wife and aunt (*dōdātô;* RSV "his father's sister") and mother of Aaron and Moses. Num 26:59 omits the information that she was Amram's aunt, describing her instead as "the daughter of Levi, who was born to Levi in Egypt." Numbers 26 adds that she was mother of Miriam as well as Moses and Aaron.

Exod 6:20 describes Jochebed as Amram's *dōdātô,* a word which means "uncle's wife" in Lev 20:20 (cf. Lev 18:14). The RSV of Exod 6:20 translates *dōdātô* as "father's sister," probably on the basis of Num 26:59, which calls Jochebed "the daughter of Levi," that is, sister of Amram's father, Kohath. However the relationship is to be understood, the marriage of Amram and Jochebed seems to run contrary to priestly laws which prohibit sexual relations between a man and his "uncle's wife" (Lev 18:14; 20:20) and between a man and his "father's sister" (Lev 18:12). This may be the reason that the LXX of Exod 6:20 presents Jochebed as Amram's cousin, "daughter of his father's brother." In referring to Jochebed as

"the daughter of Levi," the genealogist of Num 26:59 underscores the relationship between the family of Jacob and later generations of Israelites. See Burns (1987: 85–90).

In including Jochebed as the first of three women in the family line of Aaron, the genealogist of Exod 6:20–25 reflects the postexilic community's interest in the pedigree of priests' mothers and wives. See Johnson (1969: 87–99). Although Jochebed is the only wife and mother to be included in the genealogy of Numbers 26, her appearance there, together with her ancestral lineage, likewise establishes the full legitimacy of Aaron as priest in the family of Levi. In fact, according to Num 26:59 Aaron (who is the focus of vv 58b–61) is more closely linked with Levi through Jochebed than through Amram.

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**JODA** (PERSON) [Gk *Iōda* (Ἰωδα)]. Var. HODAVIAH; HODIAH. **1.** Son of Iliadun and one of the Levites over twenty years old appointed under Zerubbabel to oversee the reconstruction of the temple (1 Esdr 5:58). An variant substitutes "Judah" (Gk *Iouda*), which also appears in the Ezra 3:9 parallel of this passage where the MT reads Heb *yĕhûdâ.* However, instead of "Joda," other parallel lists of Levites mention either Hodaviah (Ezra 2:40 = Neh 7:43 = 1 Esdr 5:26), or Hodiah (Neh 9:5; 10:10–11—Eng 10:9–10) along with Jeshua and Kadmiel. Therefore, it is difficult to be certain whether to identify LXX *iōda* with Heb *yĕhûdâ,* Heb *hôdawyāh,* or Heb *hôdîyāh;* although Joda might be considered a separate person altogether.

**2.** The son of Joanan and father of Josech in Luke's genealogy of Joseph, the husband of Mary (3:26). Since Joda and sixteen other names in vv 24–27 appear nowhere else in the Bible, it is wise not to attempt identification with OT persons (Fitzmyer *Luke* AB, 500). However, Kuhn (1923: 212) maintains that Luke's *iōda* results from an incorrect spelling of LXX *ōdia* (or *ōdouia*) in 1 Chr 3:24 (Heb *hôdawyāhû,* "Hodaviah"). He concludes that even though the position of Joda in Luke's genealogy does not correspond to his position in 1 Chronicles 3, the frequent confusion of *iōda* and *ōdia* in the LXX justifies the identification of Luke's Joda with Hodaviah/Hodiah of 1 Chr 3:24. Consequently, in Matthew's parallel genealogy (1:13), Abiud may represent Luke's Joda. See ABIUD.

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**JODAN** (PERSON) [Gk *Iōdanos* (Ἰωδανος)]. One of four priestly descendants of Jozadak who divorced their foreign wives during Ezra's reform (1 Esdr 9:19). The parallel in Ezra 10:18 also lists four descendants of Jozadak through Jeshua, but in the place of Jodan it records Gedaliah. The difficulties of identifying individuals such as Jodan raise questions about the sources of and literary relationships among Ezra, Nehemiah, and 1 Esdras.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**JOED** (PERSON) [Heb *yô·ēd* (יוֹעֵד)]. The father of Meshullam and an ancestor of Sallu, a Benjaminite and provincial leader who agreed to settle in Jerusalem (Neh 11:7). Although Sallu's line is referred to in both the list in Nehemiah 11 and 1 Chronicles 9 (cf. v 7), Joed is not mentioned. This, like other differences in the two lists, suggest that there is no direct literary relationship between the two lists (contra Kellermann 1966: 208–27 and Mowinckel 1964: 146–47). Some, however, have conjectured that both writers were dependent upon common archival materials (Schneider *Esra und Nehemiah* HSAT, 42–43; Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* NCBC, 187; cf. Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 185). In any event, the presence of Joed in the list provides no further evidence of use in resolving the problem. Apart from the probable significance of the name itself ("Yahweh is witness"), nothing is known about this Benjaminite patriarch (Brockington, 189).

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**JOEL** (PERSON) [Heb *yô˒ēl* (יוֹאֵל)]. Relatively common name in ancient Israel. As Dahlberg (*IDB* 2: 925) points out, the wide distribution of the name among the tribes of Israel is theologically significant in view of its meaning: "Yaw (Yahweh) is God."

1. A prince (Heb *nāśî˒*) in the tribe of Simeon who is listed in 1 Chr 4:35 in the context of two accounts (4:39–41 and 42–43) about territorial expansions of the Simeonites in the time of Hezekiah. The list of princes in 4:34–37 may have been independent at one time. Its connections with the surrounding passages are not strong. This is particularly true with regard to the lists which precede it. None of the names in 4:34–37 is directly related to the descendants of Simeon in 4:24–26. No other information is given in the Bible about this Joel or any of the other individuals listed in 4:34–37.

2. A Reubenite listed in 1 Chr 5:4. The section of genealogy which Joel heads (5:4–6) is probably a fragment. It is not at all connected with the beginning of the Reubenites in 5:3. Also, while some of the names in 5:3 are found in other Reubenite genealogies (Gen 46:9; Exod 6:14; Num 26:5–6), the names in 5:4–6 are not found elsewhere in the OT as Reubenites. Certain variant readings in the versions ($LXX^L$—"Joel his son," Syriac—"Joel son of Carmi") reflect attempts to integrate Joel into Reuben's line (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 70). The occurrence of the name Baal in 5:6 may indicate the presence of authentic and early N tradition in the fragment, as Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 64) suggests. The lack of connection between 5:3 and 5:4–6 means that the reference in v 6 to exile under Tiglath-Pileser III cannot be used to interpret 5:1–2 as an allusion to the transfer of Reuben's birthright to Joseph (*contra* Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 35–36).

In 5:8 the name Joel is found again. However, 5:7–10 may be another fragment. The editor of the passage apparently makes Beerah the antecedent of *˒ehāyw* and sees 5:7–10 as the continuation of 5:4–6. But this connection is not strong and does not seem original. In addition, the different titles for Beerah *(nāśî˒)* and Jeiel *(rō˒š)* suggest that 5:4–6 and 5:7–10 are two separate groups of Reubenites from two different time periods. Hence, the identification of the Joel in 5:4 with the one in 5:8 is probably secondary.

3. Reubenite listed in 1 Chr 5:8 who has been identified secondarily with the Joel in 5:4 (see above). That the Joel in 5:8 was a Reubenite is suggested by the references in that verse to Aroer, Nebo, and Baalmeon which are found in earlier Reubenite settlement lists (Num 32:34, 38; Judg 13:9) and on the Mesha stele (lines 9, 14, 26, 30) as part of the territory taken from Israel under Omri's son.

4. Chief (Heb *rō˒š*) of the tribe of Gad mentioned in 1 Chr 5:12. The entire genealogy in 5:11–17 is distinctive in that it contains no material from elsewhere in the OT (Williamson NCBC, 65).

5. Kohathite Levite and ancestor of Samuel the prophet according to 1 Chr 6:21—Eng 6:33. This Joel, however, does not appear in the parallel genealogy in 6:7–13—Eng 6:22–28. Instead, one finds the name Shaul, although Williamson (NCBC, 71) sees these as distinct, albeit related, genealogies. The Chronicler has apparently incorporated Samuel into the Kohathite line in order to legitimize his activities as a priest.

6. The older son of Samuel the prophet (1 Sam 8:2) and according to 1 Chr 6:18—Eng 6:33; 15:17 the father of Heman, the chief singer of the Kohathite Levites under David and Solomon. The name Joel has been lost from the MT at 1 Chr 6:13—Eng 6:28 but can be restored, as in the RSV, on the basis of the passages just cited and of the readings of the versions (LXX, Syriac) for 6:13.

7. Man of Issachar whose name occurs in 1 Chr 7:3 in the context of a military census list now in genealogical form (7:2–5). Only 7:1 has parallels elsewhere in the OT (Gen 46:13; Num 26:23–25).

8. One of David's "mighty men" according to 1 Chr 11:38. In the parallel list 2 Sam 23:36 has Igal *(yig˒āl).* The variant names obviously reflect a *g/w* confusion, though it is not clear which is original.

Chronicles also refers to Joel as the brother of Nathan, while Samuel has "son of Nathan." See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

9. A chief (Heb *śār*) of the Gershomite Levites at the time when David brought the ark up to Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:7, 11). Dahlberg (*IDB* 2: 925) assumes that this Joel is the same as the one in 1 Chr 23:8; 26:22 (see item no. 10 below), although the texts themselves do not explicitly indicate this.

10. Gershonite listed among the Levites whom David organizes in preparation for Solomon's building the temple in 1 Chr 23:8; 26:22. (On the form "Gershon" instead of "Gershom" see Braun WBC, 82). In 1 Chr 23:8 this Joel is the son of Ladan and the brother of Jehiel, while in 26:22 he is the brother of Jehiel and the grandson of Ladan. (Ladan is elsewhere called Libni (1 Chr 6:3—Eng 6:17; Exod 6:17; Num 3:21.) Also, in 26:22 Joel and Zetham are described as being in charge of the temple treasuries.

11. A chief (Heb *śār*) of Ephraim, included in 1 Chr 27:20, in the Chronicler's list of chiefs (27:16–22) in connection with David's census described in 1 Chronicles 21. In 27:23–24, the Chronicler not only explains why the census was sinful ("Yahweh had promised to make Israel as many as the stars of the sky") but also mitigates David's offense by explaining that he neither included those below twenty years of age nor completed the census.

12. Kohathite, called the son of Azariah, whom Chronicles (2 Chr 29:12) lists among the first Levites to respond to Hezekiah's orders to cleanse the temple. The passage as a whole is a stylized presentation of how all Levitical branches participated with equal enthusiasm in Hezekiah's reform movement.

13. Son of Pethuel and prophet. See JOEL, BOOK OF.

14. Member of the family of Nebo (Gk *Nooma*) who is listed in Ezra 10:43 (= 1 Esdr 9:35) among those in postexilic Judah who divorced their foreign wives and children at Ezra's bidding. Several differences occur between the lists in Ezra 10:43 and 1 Esdr 9:35, but Joel is found in both. Cogan (1979: 37–39) cites similarities between these two verses and the Reubenite list in 1 Chr 5:4–8 (see nos. 2 and 3 above) in support of his suggestion that the names in Ezra 10:43 (= 1 Esdr 9:35) refer to Reubenites who resettled their homeland E of the Jordan following the exile. He thinks that it was these repatriated Reubenites who were the Chronicler's source for his Reubenite genealogies.

15. Overseer (Heb *pāqîd*) of postexilic Jerusalem according to Neh 11:9. The verse raises several intriguing questions. It is not clear, first of all, whether Joel was considered a member of the tribe of Judah or of Benjamin. The fact that his second in command is named Judah suggests the former, but certainty is not possible. Secondly, the precise function of the office of *paqid* remains obscure, though it seems to be a title for a lay leader as opposed to a priestly (*nāgîd* 11:11) or a military title (*śār* 7:2).

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**JOEL, BOOK OF.** In the MT, Joel is the second of the twelve so-called Minor Prophets, and one of the shortest prophetic books in the Hebrew Bible.

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A. Unity
B. Literary Structure
  1. The Book
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**A. Unity**

Underlying all aspects of the study of Joel is the fundamental issue of the book's unity. Though one of the shortest prophetic books in the canon, Joel contains two distinct parts. The opening chapters describe a natural disaster resulting from a locust plague (chaps. 1–2 [—Eng 1:1–2:27]), while the concluding chapters predict the restoration of exilic Israel after an apocalyptic war with the nations (chaps. 3–4 [—Eng 2:28–3:21]; on the different versification in Hebrew and English Bibles, see E below). Since these two sections of Joel are unified by certain obvious similarities of language and thought and at the same time set apart by clear differences, an ongoing debate exists among scholars about their relationship. Do the two parts of Joel represent two distinct messages which have been subsequently combined into one prophetic collection, or are they elements of a single prophetic proclamation?

The traditional view that the book of Joel contains a unified message from a single prophetic figure is still the most popular among modern commentators (e.g., Kapelrud 1948; Ahlström 1971; Rudolph *Joel* ... KAT; Wolff, *Joel and Amos* Hermeneia; Prinsloo 1985). According to this view, the two parts of Joel form a coherent whole in which the locust plague (chaps. 1–2 [—Eng 1:1–2:27]) signifies the approaching apocalypse (chaps. 3–4 [—Eng 2:28–3:21]). As the armies of locusts have invaded Judah and will be destroyed, so the armies of the nations will gather against Judah to be judged and defeated. The identification of both events with the day of Yahweh (1:15; 2:1, 11; 3:4 [—Eng 2:31]; 4:14 [—Eng 3:14]) links them together under a single concern: the ultimate vindication of Judah.

Since Vernes (1872) first questioned the unity of Joel in the last century, an alternative interpretation of the relationship between the two parts of Joel has become widely accepted. According to this view, put into its classical form by Duhm (1911: 184–88), the two parts of Joel are too distinct to represent a unified language or point of view. Whereas chaps. 1–2 [—Eng 1:1–2:27] describe a locust plague which has already happened and which has brought divine judgment on Judah in the form of an agricultural catastrophe, chaps. 3–4 [—Eng 2:28–3:21] do not mention locusts, Judah's agricultural catastrophe, or divine judgment on Judah at all. Instead these chapters predict a future cosmic battle in which the destruction of Jerusalem and the Diaspora will be avenged on the nations in order to restore the political fortunes of Judah. Two different authors seem to be present: a prophetic figure interpreting a massive locust outbreak as divine judgment, and a later apocalyptic writer anticipating the culmination of human history and the exaltation of Judah in a great cosmic conflict. Thus, Joel is a collection of diverse traditions rather than a unified composition.

The lack of a consensus about the unity of Joel illustrates the difficulty of interpreting the relationship between two parts of the same corpus which have similarities and differences, both of which are rather striking. Each position must account for conspicuous evidence to the contrary. A. Weiser (*Der Zwölf kleinen Propheten* ATD) has tried to avoid the difficulties of both positions by suggesting that the two sections of Joel were written by the same author in two different times and situations, but Weiser's view has not been adopted by many. In spite of the fact that many recent commentators are persuaded by the similarities between the parts of Joel to regard the book as a unity, the differences are more significant. The stronger arguments support a modified version of the two-stage interpretation of the book of Joel, a view which will be presented together with the prevailing alternatives in the analysis of Joel which follows.

**B. Literary Structure**

**1. The Book.** While the book of Joel contains a variety of literary forms, those who regard Joel as a unity see in it a literary architecture which unites these forms in a coherent whole. Two of the more thorough and influential presentations of the structure of the book of Joel as a unity are those by Kapelrud (1948: 3–9) and Wolff (*Joel and Amos* Hermeneia, 6–12).

Kapelrud sees in Joel a single liturgy, designed for a ritual of repentance at the temple, which begins with a psalm of lamentation (1:2–2:18) that includes a community lament (1:2–12), a description of

distress (2:1–11), and calls to repentance (1:13–20, 2:12–18). The liturgy concludes with a divine oracle (2:19–4:21 [—Eng 2:19–3:21]) delivered in response to the lament and containing three subsections (2:19–27; 3:1–5 [—Eng 2:28–32]; 4:1–21 [—Eng 3:1–21]). Wolff recognizes similar basic subdivisions within Joel but considers them linked by the symmetry of a literary parallelism rather than by a liturgical structure. A lament over scarcity (1:1–20), an announcement of catastrophe (2:1–11), and a call to repentance (2:12–17) in the first part of the book are balanced and reversed respectively by a promise of economic restoration (2:21–27), a promise of Jerusalem's salvation (4:1–3, 9–17 [—Eng 3:1–3, 9–17]), and a promise of the spirit (3:1–5 [—Eng 2:28–32]).

According to these analyses, the center of Joel is to be found at 2:17, 18. Speeches before this midpoint describe disaster, those after it salvation. Calls to lamentation and repentance before this point are followed by oracles assuring a divine response and restoration. This two-part structure is not uncommon in prophetic books which usually begin with oracles of judgment and conclude with oracles of salvation.

Even for those who regard Joel as a compilation of the works of different authors, Joel 2:17, 18 is generally recognized as the center of the book, in this case marking off the oracles of judgment of the original prophet from those of a later apocalyptic editor predicting salvation. Duhm (1911: 184–88), for example, sees in 1:1–2:17 a series of prophetic speeches concerning various disasters—military invasion, locust plague, drought—composed in poetry. He then understands Joel 2:18–4:21 (—Eng 2:18–3:21) as an addition written in prose by a synagogue preacher with an apocalyptic ideology.

**2. Community Lamentations and Prophetic Response (Chaps. 1–2 [—Eng 1:1–2:27]).** The language and literary forms Joel uses to deliver his response to the locust plague are indebted to the speech forms of Joel's own prophetic tradition as well as to the forms developed by temple personnel for the religious liturgies used in public worship.

The title of the book of Joel (1:1), as is customary for prophetic books, names the author of the book, his family, and identifies his speeches as divine rather than human utterance. Unfortunately for a determination of Joel's historical setting, the title does not list the reigning monarch as prophetic titles frequently do.

The speeches of Joel actually begin with a summons to listen (2:2–4), a conventional form used by prophets to gain the attention of their audience and alert it to the delivery of a solemn proclamation (cf. Isa 1:2; Mic 1:2; Jer 2:4; Amos 8:4). This summons includes a brief description of the disaster, which will be the focus of the prophetic message, and an admonition to recall it in future generations.

The opening summons is followed by a series of speeches delivered to various sectors of society: consumers (drinkers of wine; 1:5–10), farmers (1:11–12), and priests (1:13–18). Using elements of the lament genre, a prayer employed in temple liturgy to appeal to God for assistance in a crisis, Joel urges each group to declare its distress to God and appeal for divine aid. The opening two lines of each speech begin with imperative verbs, the second of which is always *hêlîluû*, "wail!", a term used frequently in the Bible in descriptions of ceremonies of lamentation (e.g., Jer 4:8; Amos 8:3). The first two elements in the lament genre, a cry to God followed by a description of the nature of the distress, are recognizable in these speeches. Concluding the series of speeches is the prophet's own prayer of lament (1:19–20).

The description of the locust infestation embedded in these calls to lamentation is concluded in a poem about the day of Yahweh (2:1–11). The unity of this poem is indicated by the use of inclusion in which references to the day of Yahweh and the darkness which accompanies it (2:1–2, 10–11) enclose the description of the locust plague in 2:3–9. In this poem and throughout the preceding speeches the prophet employs highly figurative language to convey the terror of the massive infestation of the locust. The insect hordes are described as a populous nation occupying the land (1:6), as brush fires crackling through the stubble (2:3, 5), as lions with fearsome teeth (1:6), as thieves who steal through the windows (2:19), and as thunderclouds darkening the sky (2:2, 10). But the most prominent metaphor for the locust is the invading army (1:6; 2:4–9). Contrary to some who wish to reverse the last image and see human or apocalyptic armies described with the image of locusts in chaps. 1–2, the structure of the simile in 2:4–9 clearly indicates that locusts are described using the image of human armies (Thompson 1955; see further C.2 below).

The culmination of Joel's appeals to society is found in a call to repentance (2:12–17). The call reflects both prophetic and priestly perspectives. In the prophetic tradition, this call emphasizes that true repentance is an inner reorientation and commitment: "Rend your hearts, not your garments" (2:13). At the same time, Joel insists that regular cultic rituals be observed, and he calls the priests to gather the entire community for a public ceremony in order to grieve for its sins and appeal for God's compassion and assistance.

Joel 2:18–27 is a prophetic oracle conveying the divine response to the lamentations prescribed in the previous speeches. Since the oracle promises salvation, as do those following in 3:1–4:21 (—Eng 2:28–3:21), it has been widely regarded as the beginning of the second half of the book of Joel. There is no doubt that in its focus on salvation Joel 2:18–27 resembles the speeches following it, but when its language is examined in detail, its closest ties are with the speeches which precede it.

The language of the salvation oracle in Joel 2:18–27 is directly based on the description of the locust plague in 1:2–2:17 and systematically reverses the previous images of devastation. God answers the cry for compassion and promises mercy (2:18–27; cf. 2:17). Grain, wine, and olive oil will be restored (2:19; cf. 1:10) and Judah's reproach removed (2:19; cf. 2:17). The invading locusts will be driven out into lands as desolate as those it brought into being in Judah (2:20; cf. 2:3). The land which mourned is told to rejoice (2:21; cf. 1:10). The animals longing for pasture will again graze (2:22; cf. 1:19–20). Orchards, trees and vineyards stripped of fruit and foilage will again produce (2:22; cf. 1:12). Everything devoured by the locust will be restored (2:25; cf. 1:4). A people summoned to wail *(hêlîlû)* will again praise *(hillaltem)* God (2:26; cf. 1:5, 11, 13).

Since the linguistic connections between Joel 2:18–27 and the preceding sections are so numerous and carefully constructed, and since neither the locust nor the images of ecological disaster it caused are mentioned in Joel 3:4 (—Eng 2:28–3:21), this salvation oracle is better understood as the conclusion to the 1st part of Joel rather than the introduction to the 2d part.

**3. Hymns of the Apocalypse (Chaps. 3–4 [—Eng 2:28–3:21]).** Two oracles proclaiming God's future activity make up the concluding section of Joel. Both are joined to the preceding chapters by conventional editorial phrases employed to append supplemental material: "After this" (3:1 [—Eng 2:28]) and "In those days, in that time" (4:1 [—Eng 3:1], cf. Amos 9:11). Both of these oracles describe an apocalyptic conflict as a result of which Jerusalem will be vindicated and restored.

The second oracle (4:1–21 [—Eng 3:1–21]) is the most elaborate. It is generally understood to be a continuation of the preceding prophetic oracles (2:18–3:5 [—Eng 2:18–2:32]) which answer the prayers of lamentation in the first part of Joel (e.g., Kapelrud 1948: 7–8, Wolff, *Joel and Amos* Hermeneia, 73–75). In most cases the chapter is viewed as a composite work and divided into at least four sub-units, vv 1–3, 4–8, 7–17, 18–21, the second of which is frequently considered a later addition (Wolff, *Joel and Amos* Hermeneia, 74).

The literary form which throws most light on the structure and function of Joel 4 (—Eng 3), and suggests that the chapter may in fact represent a more unified composition than generally believed, is the divine warrior hymn. Hymns celebrating divine victories over Israel's enemies are among the oldest poems in the Bible (e.g., Exod 15:1–18, Judges 5) and are common during the Israelite monarchy (e.g., Psalms 2, 24, 29, 68, 89, 97). In the postexilic period, this hymnic form was revived by apocalyptic writers to describe the divine warrior's final vindication of Judah and defeat of its enemies (Isa 59:15b–20, 66:14b–16, 22–23; Zech 14:1–21, Ezekiel 38–39; see Hanson 1975: 123–34). Based on an ANE mythic pattern of divine combat, reflected in such ANE works as the Baal Cycle and Enuma Elish, these hymns describe the deity challenged by an enemy, marching out to battle while the cosmos shakes, defeating the enemy, returning victoriously to the mountain sanctuary to be enthroned king, and finally bestowing fertility and plenty on the world.

Such is the pattern which underlies Joel 4 (—Eng 3). The hymn opens with the description of the challenge to the sovereignty of the divine warrior by the nations who have exiled God's people, sacked the divine sanctuary, and seized the land (4:1–8 [—Eng 3:1–8]). In response, the divine warrior declares war and goes into combat to destroy the nations (4:9–14 [—Eng 3:9–14]). The cosmos is shaken during

God's march (4:15–16 [—Eng 3:15–16]). Victorious in battle, the divine warrior is enthroned on the holy mountain (4:17 [—Eng 3:17]). Fertility and well-being are bestowed on all creation (4:18 [—Eng 3:18]). Finally, the salvation of God's people is proclaimed (4:19–21 [—Eng 3:19–21]).

Preceding this divine warrior hymn is a shorter composition, Joel 3:1–5 (—Eng 2:28–32), which anticipates the same events described in more detail in Joel 4 (—Eng 3): the salvation of God's people in an apocalyptic conflict (3:3–5 [—Eng 2:30–32]). Rather than detailing the conflict which will usher in the new era, this brief eschatological oracle describes the egalitarian character of the community which will emerge (3:1–2—Eng 2:28–29).

**C. Theological Themes**

Joel has not always been held in high regard as a major contributor to prophetic thought (e.g., J. M. P. Smith et al., *Micah ...* ICC, 67–68). The locust plague has been viewed as a less significant crisis than the great political developments to which such prophets as Isaiah and Jeremiah addressed themselves (Duhm 1916: 398–99). The book lacks the hard hitting social criticism of other prophets. And the eschatological hymns in chaps. 3–4 (—Eng 2:28–3:21) detailing the divine judgment on Israel's neighbors have been seen as representing the narrow exclusivism of postexilic Judaism (Wood *JBC*, 442).

In spite of this assessment, the book of Joel is a fine example in many respects of both prophetic and apocalyptic thought, and such images in Joel as the rending of the heart (2:13) and the pouring out of the spirit (3:1–2 [—Eng 2:28–29]) have enjoyed a lively history in later generations. In Joel's response to the ecological crisis precipitated by the locust infestation, Joel may in fact have a unique contribution to make among Israel's prophets to a vision of the integrity of creation—the interrelatedness between human society and its environment—in biblical religion. Of all the themes in Joel, the one most widely recognized and discussed as a controlling topic in the book is the "Day of Yahweh." This is indeed a useful topic on which to center a discussion of the themes of Joel since it ties together the major concerns of Joel and at the same time is a crucial topic in the debate on the unity of the book.

**1. The Day of Yahweh.** The day of Yahweh is referred to five times at significant points in the corpus of Joel (1:15; 2:1, 11; 3:4 [—Eng 2:31]; 4:14 [—Eng 3:14]). Its precise meaning in Joel is not completely obvious, however, since the concept of the day of Yahweh is put to a variety of uses in biblical literature as a whole.

In general, the day of Yahweh is used by biblical writers for a decisive divine intervention in human affairs (Everson 1974: 335–37). In the earliest actual occurrence of the phrase, Amos 5:18–20, the prophet Amos employs it for an act of divine judgment when Israel will experience defeat and disaster (cf. Ezek 7:1–20; 13:1–5, Zephaniah 1). Amos implies, however, that his audience thinks of the day of Yahweh as a day of salvation and good fortune rather than a day of punishment, a fact which has led scholars to the conclusion that the phrase traditionally had a positive meaning, describing either the victory of Yahweh on Israel's behalf in a holy war (von Rad 1959) or the enthronement of Yahweh in Israel's cult (Mowinckel 1961: 2.229). This positive use of the concept is in fact revived among apocalyptic authors following the exile who apply it to the anticipated restoration of Judah and judgment of its enemies (e.g., Zech 14:1–9, Obad 15–21, Isa 63:1–4). Which of these conceptions is intended in the use of the day of Yahweh in Joel is dependent on a closer examination of the contexts in which the phrase occurs.

**2. The Day of Judgment: The Locust Plague.** The concern of the first half of Joel is a massive outbreak of the desert locust which has plagued human society in the Middle East since the earliest human records (Thompson 1955). Traditionally designated *Schistocerca gregaria,* the desert locust of North Africa and the Middle East has, since V. M. Dirsh's reclassification of locusts in 1974, been recognized as a subspecies of *Schistocerea americana,* a species of locust at home in North America. It is now classified *Schistocerca americana, subspecies gregaria.* Known popularly as the desert locust, *Schistocerea americana, subspecies gregaria* inhabits and breeds in the immense desert stretching from Saharan Africa through the Arabian Peninsula and into W India, an area including the Sinai Peninsula and Judean desert. In the right combination of circumstances, still not completely understood by scientists, but involving climate as well as biological and behavioral changes in the insect itself, the desert locust multiplies

rapidly, crowds together into dense, gregarious swarms, and migrates in large bands borne on wind currents into neighboring fertile areas in search of food (Krebs 1978: 302–16).

The effect of such a swarming of the desert locust can be catastrophic. Locusts eat their own weight in green food each day. An invasion of Somaliland in 1957 was estimated to include $1.6 \times 10^{10}$ locusts and weighed 50,000 tons. Observers have left reports of the kind of devastation this swarming caused in the last great infestation of Jerusalem and its environs (Whiting 1915), an account highly reminiscent—down to such images as darkening skies and whitened tendrils of the fig tree—of Joel's description of the plague he experienced (1:7; 2:2). Though partially controlled in the modern era by insecticides sprayed from the air on breeding areas, the desert locust remains a serious threat and is monitored constantly by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization's Emergency Center for Locust Operations. As contemporary experience illustrates, the swarming of the desert locust described by Joel represents no mere inconvenience nor mundane difficulty for human society. With its spectre of malnutrition, starvation, and loss of life the locust plague poses a threat to human society every bit as serious as a military invasion, to which it is in fact compared (1:6; 2:1–11).

Joel's perception of the life-threatening character of the ecological crisis and of the extent to which the fate of human life is linked to the fate of the earth is illustrated by his repeated use of the same terms and images to describe the responses of humanity and nature to the locust infestation. As the priests mourn so does the land (1:9–10). As the vines wither and dry up so do the farmers and so does the joy of the people (1:11–12). As Joel cries out to God so do the animals in the barren pastures (1:19–20). Assurances of restoration are directed to the land, animals, and people (2:18, 21, 22). Within these images lies a profound appreciation for the interrelatedness of a people and its environment and for the crucial significance of this relationship for human survival.

Because descriptions of the locust plague are followed in Joel by the great apocalyptic hymns in chaps. 3–4 (—Eng 2:28–3:21), scholars have customarily interpreted the plague as a sign of and prelude to these coming events rather than as a crisis with its own independent significance. This interpretation of the locusts is closely related to a particular view of the day of Yahweh in Joel. According to this view, the day of Yahweh refers to a single event, the day of apocalyptic salvation with which it is associated in Joel 3:4 (—Eng 3:14). References to the day of Yahweh in the context of the plague (1:15; 2:1, 11) link the locusts to this coming conflict and restoration.

A recent illustration of this common understanding of the day of Yahweh in Joel is found in Wolff's designation for Joel 1:1–20, "Locusts as Forerunners of the Day of Yahweh," and in his interpretation of the great day of Yahweh poem in 2:1–11 as a hymn in which locusts are only a metaphor for the invasion of apocalyptic armies (*Joel and Amos* Hermeneia, 17, 37–48). Even those who believe the two parts of Joel come from different authors tend to see a single, apocalyptic meaning for the day of Yahweh in Joel. They differ from such scholars as Wolff who defend the integrity of Joel, however, in that they understand the references to the day of Yahweh in 1:15 and 2:1, 11 as interpolations made by an editor responsible for chaps. 3–4—Eng 2:28–3:21 in order to unite the older material about the locust plague with the newer apocalyptic additions (Duhm 1911: 184–88; J. M. P. Smith et al., *Micah …* ICC, 50–51).

Though adopted by only a few scholars (e.g., Bourke 1959), the interpretation of the day of Yahweh in Joel 1:15 and 2:1, 11 as a day of divine judgment distinct from the apocalyptic salvation described in Joel 3–4 (—Eng 2:28–3:21) is a reasonable alternative. The appeal to the priests to lament the day of Yahweh in 1:15 connects this day directly to the current disaster. Likewise, the use of the day of Yahweh as an inclusive device to frame the vivid picture of the locust hordes in 2:1–11 also unites the day to the plague. A close connection appears to be drawn in this poem between the conventional language of darkness accompanying Yahweh's judgment day and the dark clouds of invading locusts (2:2, 10; cf. Amos 5:18–20 and Zeph 1:14–16). The interpretation of the day of Yahweh as judgment is particularly compelling if Joel 1–2 (—Eng 1:1–2:27) is seen as an original whole, not to be understood through the interpretive lens of Joel 3–4 (—Eng 2:28–3:21). According to this point of view, Joel, in the tradition of the classical prophets Amos and Zephaniah, saw in Israel's reversals the day of Yahweh's judgment and seized the opportunity to call for repentance and renewal.

In his calls to remorse (1:5–20) and repentance (2:12–17) in the day of divine judgment, Joel stands firmly at the center of Israel's prophetic tradition. While he does not, in this brief account of the locust plague detail social injustice, Joel does reflect the fundamental prophetic insight that ritual activity without genuine inner renewal will not avert the disintegration of the society. "Turn to me with your entire heart (self)," writes Joel, "rend your hearts, not your garments" (2:12–13).

**3. The Day of Salvation: The Apocalypse.** The meaning of the Day of Yahweh in chaps. 3–4 (—Eng 2:28–3:21) is seldom debated. Here it clearly designates a day of salvation: a climactic war in which the nations that have occupied Judah and exiled the Jews will be judged and defeated and in which Judah's political and economic fortunes will be restored. This understanding of the day of Yahweh places Joel 3–4 (—Eng 2:28–3:21) within the apocalyptic movement which developed in the postexilic era.

The development of apocalyptic thought among prophetic schools in the postexilic period has been described by such scholars as Plöger (1968) and Hanson (1975). A key feature of this apocalyptic movement was a vision of salvation conceived less and less in terms of the actual political and religious institutions of Israel and the Near East, and more and more in terms of a cosmic intervention in human affairs and a radical alteration of the status quo. Oracles and hymns describing these expectations were composed and appended to such prophetic collections as Isaiah (chaps. 56–66) and Zechariah (chaps. 9–14) to give them an apocalyptic cast.

The divine warrior hymn in Joel 4 (—Eng 3) reflects this apocalyptic mentality. The war it describes is not one in the flow of ordinary history but a cosmic conflict which will usher in a new era of world politics. All of Israel's past enemies will be defeated in a single stroke of divine combat. The nations actually singled out—Tyre, Sidon, Philistia, Egypt, Edom—are Israel's traditional enemies and are symbolic of all hostile powers rather than allies in an actual war. The location of the battle—the Valley of Jehoshaphat—is not an actual place but a symbolic name, "Yahweh has judged," which described the character of the war. The images of the fertility and abundance accompanying a restored Judah are so excessive that they suggest a recreation of the natural order. The possession of the spirit by all flesh described in Joel 3:1–2 (—Eng 2:28–29) reflects a reality beyond the experience of postexilic Jews. These apocalyptic images reach beyond current events and political structures to describe a future salvation in ultimate terms.

The apocalyptic mentality which dominates Joel 3–4 (—Eng 2:28–3:21) has been faulted for its otherworldly orientation, its violent resolution to the predicament of postexilic Israel, and its exclusiveness which reserves salvation only to the community on Mount Zion. Indeed, when the author of 4:10 (—Eng 3:10) calls for the nations to beat their plowshares into swords, he reverses a traditional prophetic image (Isa 2:4, Micah 4:3) which anticipated the resolution of Israel's relations with the nations in more peaceful and inclusive terms.

While these characteristics of the apocalyptic vision in Joel 3–4 (—Eng 2:28–3:21) cannot be denied, they should be understood as elements of a world view uniquely capable of sustaining the faith and life of a community marginalized by present power structures (see D.2 below). Such groups—among them the group which likely produced Joel 3–4 (—Eng 2:28–3:21)—often perceive most clearly the violence and corruption within powerful human institutions and their need of divine judgment (4:1–8 [—Eng 3:1–8]). The judgment envisioned, however, is not something such a community has in its power to accomplish, but rather a judgment which it leaves to divine prerogatives (4:11–12 [—Eng 3:11–12]). These groups often find the will to survive in the interim by visions of cosmic renewal (4:18–21 [—Eng 3:18–21]) and of egalitarian societies undivided by traditional categories of age, gender, family, and class (3:1–2 [—Eng 2:28–29]). The apocalyptic vision of Joel thus represents powerful images for survival in a situation in which the status quo offers little well-being or hope for change.

## D. Author

**1. Name.** Joel is a sentence name composed of a shortened form of the divine name Yahweh (*yô*-[Jo-]) and the word *ʾel* (-el), "God." It means Yahweh is God. The name Joel was not uncommon in ancient Israel. It appears, for example, as Samuel's oldest son (1 Sam 8:2) and as one of David's heroes (1 Chr 11:38). The occurrence of the name Joel chiefly in the Chronicler's History is regarded by Wolff (*Joel*

*and Amos* Hermeneia, 24–25) as evidence of its popularity in the postexilic period, and an indication of the postexilic date of the prophet. Its use in the Deuteronomistic History, however, makes this argument inconclusive (1 Sam 8:2).

**2. Social Role.** Since neither the superscription (1:1) nor the speeches of Joel provide more information about the prophet than his and his father's names, nothing certain can be said about his occupation or position in Israelite society. A popular theory, however, describes Joel as a cult prophet, an official related to the temple in Jerusalem. Especially prominent among Scandinavian scholars (Kapelrud 1948: 176; Ahlström 1971: 130–37), this theory is based on the fact that Joel calls the people to a community ceremony of repentance at the Temple (2:15–17) and employs features of temple prayers to call the people to lament (1:5–10; see B.2 above). In fact, Kapelrud has argued that the book of Joel represents a unified Temple liturgy designed for communal worship (1948: 3–9).

While Joel was certainly familiar with temple worship and its forms, and considered participation in communal ceremonies of repentance crucial, no firm evidence confers on Joel's cultic status. Many features of the book, however, argue to the contrary: Joel's authority and stance toward society derived not from his official status in the cult but from the personal reception of divine revelation which marked out prophetic figures in Israel (1:1a). Prophets in Israel commonly delivered speeches at religious sanctuaries (e.g., Jeremiah 7; Amos 7:10–17) and even came from priestly families (e.g., Jeremiah 1:1; Ezekiel 1:3), yet they do not appear to be professional members of Israel's religious institutions. They spoke on the basis of their own charismatic gifts (e.g., Amos 7:14–15). Joel addresses the priests not as part of his own social group, but as one sector of society which must respond to the crisis. Furthermore, his own words heavily reflect prophetic forms of speech (1:1–4; 2:18–27; see B.2 above), and his language makes use of traditional prophetic phraseology (e.g., 1:5 and Isa 13:6; 2:2 and Zeph 1:15–16). Thus the common characterization of Joel as a cult prophet is by no means assured. He may well have found his place among prophetic circles who represented an institution in Israelite society distinct from the cult (Wolff *Joel and Amos* Hermeneia, 11–12).

If Joel 3–4 (—Eng 2:28–3:21) is a later addition to the prophetic response to the locust plague, then the question must be raised about the author of this material and his social setting. As has already been noted in the treatment of the themes of these chapters (C.2), they appear to represent the new apocalyptic orientation of the postexilic era. The apocalyptic orientation seems to arise especially among members of prophetic schools who have been excluded from current power structures and have lost hope of achieving salvation within the status quo. The loss of status, power, and wealth was a common experience of Jews following the destruction of Jerusalem and the fall of the monarchy. The experience of disenfranchisement may have been even more acute, as Hanson (1975) has argued, among particular groups within postexilic society who found themselves outside the restructured temple hierarchy and its vision for a restored Judah. Within such a precarious social position, the apocalyptic vision of radical renewal by cosmic intervention has great power. It is likely that groups in just this social situation, as Plöger (1968: 96–105) and Hanson (1986: 313–14) have argued, composed the hymns in Joel 3–4 (—Eng 2:28–3:21) and appended them to the Joel corpus.

**3. Date.** The brief superscription (1:1) of Joel contains no historical data, unlike many of the prophetic books which date the prophecy to the reign of a particular king. As a result, the historical setting of the author and the date of the book of Joel must be inferred from references in the text of the book itself. This inductive task is made particularly difficult because the first part of the book centers on an ecological catastrophe rather than a historical crisis and the second part of the book mentions neighboring countries in highly symbolic fashion. Joel thus contains few references to Israelite or ANE politics which might help to locate the book within a definite historical period. Scholarly estimates of the date of Joel have consequently ranged widely from preexilic to postexilic times.

The placement of Joel together with the 8th century prophets near the beginning of the Book of the Twelve in both the Hebrew and Greek canons (see F below) reflects a traditional understanding of Joel as preexilic prophet. This view is still common with estimates of Joel's preexilic date ranging from the late 9th century (Bič 1960) to the early 6th century just before the fall of Jerusalem (Rudolph, *Joel* ... KAT).

Most scholars, however, now place Joel in the postexilic period, somewhere between the late 6th (Ahlström 1971: 129) and the early 4th centuries (Wolff *Joel and Amos* Hermeneia, 4–6).

The issue of Joel's unity has a direct bearing on the question of date, since a two-stage development of the book, which appears likely, would involve two different historical settings for the two parts of the collection. A judgment about the date of the second part of Joel is much easier to make in this regard than a judgment about the first part. References in Joel 3–4 (—Eng 2:28–3:21) to the fall of Judah, the dispersion of the Jews, and the return of the exiles (4:2, 7 [—Eng 3:2, 7]) all point to a postexilic political scene. Furthermore, the apocalyptic vision expressed in the form of a divine warrior hymn reflects the perspective and literary activity which provided eschatological additions in the postexilic period to such other prophetic collections as Isaiah, Zechariah (Hanson 1975) and Habakkuk (Hiebert 1986: 136–43). References to the Greeks (4:6 [—Eng 3:6]), and quotations of earlier prophetic literature (e.g., 4:10—Eng 3:10 = Isa 2:4; 4:16 [—Eng 3:16] = Amos 1:2) may be further evidence for the postexilic period.

The first part of Joel is much more difficult to place. In its view of the locusts as God's judgment and its call to repentance and inner renewal, Joel reflects the major concerns of preexilic prophecy. Its language of the day of Yahweh is remarkably similar to that of the 7th century prophet Zephaniah (1:14–16), and similarities have also been noted with Jeremiah's speech (Kapelrud 1948: 179–80, 189–90). Other characteristics, however, may point to the postexilic period. Lack of reference to a king, frequent references to the priests, and a positive view of cultic ritual have been taken to reflect the priestly theocracy described in such postexilic prophets as Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. Furthermore, such expressions as "gracious and compassionate,"*(ḥannûn wĕraḥûm;* 2:13) and "house of our God" (*bêt ʾĕlōhênû;* 1:16) have been judged to reflect postexilic Hebrew conventions (Hurvitz 1966: 95, 172). It is difficult to know which of these data to weigh more heavily in determining the actual date of the original speeches of Joel to which the apocalyptic visions were later added.

**E. Text and Versions**

The textual witnesses to Joel and the rest of the twelve Minor Prophets derive from the same basic tradition of textual transmission. No major textual traditions or families can be distinguished in Joel and the Minor Prophets, as can be identified, for example, in such other sections of the Hebrew Scriptures as the Pentateuch and some of the historical books (Former Prophets). Yet the various witnesses do preserve variant readings and are useful in establishing the text of Joel.

The MT is, in general, well preserved. An early witness to the textual tradition preserved by the Masoretes is a scroll of the Minor Prophets from the era of the Second Jewish Revolt which has been recovered from the Wadi Murabba'at (DJD 2). It contains portions of Joel 2:20–4:21 (—Eng 2:20–3:21). Fragments of the Hebrew text of Joel are now available from an even earlier manuscript of the Minor Prophets (75 B.C.E.) discovered among the Qumran Scrolls (4QXII$^{c}$; DJD 11: 54–99). This manuscript, which contains portions of Joel 1:10–2:1, 2:8–23, and 4:6–21 [—Eng 3:6–21], stands in the same textual tradition as the MT and the versions. Its relative affiliation with MT or OG cannot be determined.

A unique feature of the Greek versions is their division of Joel into only three chapters instead of the four of the MT, a division followed in modern English Bibles. Joel 3:1–5 of the MT is affixed by G to Joel 2 as vv 28–32. Joel 4:1–21 of the MT thus becomes Joel 3:1–21 in G. Among the Greek translations extant for Joel, the OG is the most significant. It is a literal translation on the whole and is close to MT in character. A scroll of the Minor Prophets from Nahal Heber contains portions of Joel and is a recension of the OG which aims to bring the OG into harmony with proto-Rabbinic texts (Barthélemy 1963). The Targum Jonathan to the Prophets and the Vulgate both presume the MT and present few independent readings.

**F. Canonical Position**

Joel appears in the biblical canon among the twelve shorter prophetic books often referred to as the Book of the Twelve or the Minor Prophets because of their brief length. An important principle determining the order of the twelve in both the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint appears to be their relative chronology, established by their superscriptions or historical allusions within the book themselves. In both collections, the 8th century prophets (Hosea, Amos, Micah) appear at the beginning,

while the late preexilic (Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah) and postexilic (Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi) prophets appear at the end. The books for which a date is difficult to determine—Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah—are scattered among the 8th century prophets in the MT and grouped after them in the LXX.

In the MT, Joel is located second, after Hosea and before Amos. This position seems to have been determined by parallels in content between the last chapter of Joel and the book of Amos which follows (Wolff, *Joel and Amos* Hermeneia, 3–4). The bicolon "Yahweh roars from Zion/And from Jerusalem utters his voice: is found verbatim at the end of Joel (4:16 [—Eng 3:16]) and at the beginning of Amos (1:2). Joel 4:18a (—Eng 3:18a) has a close parallel in Amos 9:13b. In addition, three of the nations Joel refers to in the final chapter—Tyre, Philistia, and Edom—are also singled out by Amos in the oracles against the nations which introduce his prophecy. The editors of the Minor Prophets in the MT may in fact have wished the reader to interpret Amos' critique of the nations in light of Joel's vision of their universal judgment (chap. 4 [—Eng chap. 3]).

In the LXX, Joel is located fourth among the Minor Prophets, after the three 8th century prophets Hosea, Amos, and Micah, and together with the undated books Obadiah and Jonah. The editors of the LXX thus appear to have been somewhat more interested in chronological categories than the editors of the MT. While the occurrence of Joel with the 8th century prophets and before the later preexilic prophets in both the MT and LXX has been taken into consideration at times in the dating of Joel (D.3), Joel's canonical position is no more decisive for its date than the position of its companions Obadiah and Jonah, both of which are now widely considered late.

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**JOELAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yô‹ē›lâ* (יוֹעֵאלָה)]. Brother of Zebadiah and son of Jeroham from Gedor, one of the ambidextrous warriors from the tribe of Benjamin who joined David during the period of his

fleeing from Saul (1 Chr 12:8—Eng 12:7). While many of the cities mentioned in 1 Chr 12:1–8—Eng 12:1–7 can be located within the borders of Benjamin, the location of Gedor is not certain. Curtis (*Chronicles* ICC, 196) argued that the towns in 12:5–8—Eng 12:4–7 were in Judah rather than in Benjamin (1 Chr 4:4) and that two lists had been combined here as coming from Benjamin alone. The Chronicler has doubled the list of warriors who supported David (1 Chr 11:41b–12:40) beyond what was contained in the parallel narrative (2 Sam 23:8–39 = 1 Chr 11:10–41a). The source for these additional lists can only be a matter of conjecture, though Williamson has provided a convincing argument for the structure of 1 Chronicles 11–12. The long list reflects the Chronicler's concern to show "all Israel" united in support for David, a characteristic theme of his history. Within the immediate context (1 Chr 12:1–8—Eng 12:1–7) the Chronicler is concerned to show the support David enjoyed among Saul's kinsmen before Saul's death; the twenty-three Benjaminite warriors named here joined David while he was at Ziklag, the Philistine city given to David by Achish, King of Gath (1 Chr 12:1; 1 Sam 27:6). Ambidexterity or lefthandedness among Benjamites is also noted in Judg 3:15; 20:16.

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RAYMOND B. DILLARD

**JOEZER** (PERSON) [Heb *yôʿezer* (יוֹעֶזֶר)]. One of the ambidextrous warriors from Benjamin who joined David during his time at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:7—Eng 12:6). He and four others are designated Korahites. Korah is probably intended as the name of an otherwise unknown locality in Benjamin, though some have thought it was a town in Judah (1 Chr 2:43). Alternatively Korah could be an ancestor, possibly identified with one of the other individuals known by that name in the Bible. See also JOELAH.

RAYMOND B. DILLARD

**JOGBEHAH** (PLACE) [Heb *yogbĕhâ* (יָגְבְּהָה)]. A fortress town built by the sons of Gad in the kingdom of Sihon, which was given by Moses (Num 32:35). It is identified near the caravan route which led the three hundred men of Gideon to victory over the armies of Midian (Judg 8:11).

Wüst (1975), Kallai (*HGB,* 296–97) and many others locate Jogbehah, an Ammonite frontier fortress, at *Ruǧm ʾal-Gubēḥah* (M.R. 231159), where an Ammonite military tower is found. Along with Jazer, Jogbehah is the easternmost boundary between Gad and Reuben. Tel Ṣāfūṭ (32°3′N, 35°49′E) is occasionally mentioned as the location because *Gubēḥah* is outside of known Ammonite territory.

The LXX mistakenly reads at Num 32:35 *kai hupsosan autas* ("and they elevated them") because this is the only city in the list that is missing the *nota acusativi* in Hebrew.

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**JOGLI** (PERSON) [Heb *yoglî* (יָגְלִי)]. The father of Bukki, who was selected to oversee the distribution of the land of Canaan (Num 34:22). Neither the derivation nor the meaning of the name is clear. It is generally analyzed as a *Qal* (not *Hopʿal*) imperfect from the root *glh* "reveal, be manifest" (*TPNAH,* 164). It falls in the class of abbreviated names for which no theophoric element is attested (*TPNAH,* 169).

RAPHAEL I. PANITZ

**JOHA** (PERSON) [Heb *yôḥāʾ* (יוֹחָא); *yōḥāʾ* (יֹחָא)]. 1. A Benjaminite, the son of Beriah (1 Chr 8:16). His father and uncle Shema (= Shimei? 1 Chr 8:21) are named as the heads of families which once lived in Aijalon, who put to flight the inhabitants of Gath (1 Chr 8:13), an incident otherwise unknown. He is attributed five brothers, if one understands (with the RSV) the names in 1 Chr 8:14 as referring to additional brothers of his father and uncle (contra the NEB!). His name occurs in the 2d of two Benjaminite lists in 1 Chronicles (1 Chr 7:6–12; 8:1–40), each reflecting a different tradition and time

period. According to 1 Chr 8:28, Joha and his Benjaminite contemporaries apparently lived now in postexilic Jerusalem, although this impression may have been secondarily imposed from 1 Chr 9:34 upon material originally supportive of contemporary Benjaminite locations outside Jerusalem. At any rate, the Chronicler's interest in the tribe of Benjamin for his day is self-evident.

2. A Tizite, the son of Shimri and brother of Jediael, and one of David's mighty men (1 Chr 11:45). In the LXX mss Vaticanus and Alexandrinus he is called "Joazae." His name is one of sixteen names listed in the unparalleled supplement (1 Chr 11:41b–47) to the larger synoptic list (2 Sam 23:8–39 = 1 Chr 11:10–41a) of notable men of war who supported David in his rise to power (1 Chr 11:10). As numerous other gentilic names in this supplement appear to refer to Transjordanian locations, this individual too must have hailed from a place E of the Jordan. See TIZITE.

ROGER W. UITTI

**JOHANAN** (PERSON) [Heb *yôḥānān* (יוֹחָנָן)]. A relatively common name in the Hebrew Bible meaning "Yahweh is or has been gracious."

1. One of the Benjaminites who joined David's forces at Ziklag when he was fleeing from Saul according to 1 Chr 12:5—Eng 12:4. By means of this list the Chronicler makes the point that some of Saul's fellow tribesmen like Johanan supported David from the beginning.

2. Eighth name in the list of the mighty Gadite officers who also joined David at Ziklag according to 1 Chr 12:13—Eng 12:12.

3. One of those listed in the high priestly genealogy in 1 Chr 5:27–41—Eng 6:1–15. He was the son (or descendant) of Azariah, the priest at the time of Solomon, according to 5:35–36—Eng 6:9–10. (The parenthesis describing Azariah should be read with 6:35 [—Eng 6:9] and not with 5:36 [—Eng 6:10] as it stands in the MT [*IDB* 2: 929]).

4. Ephraimite whose name is incorrectly transliterated as Johanan by the RSV in 2 Chr 28:12. It should be "Jehohanan" instead. See JEHOHANAN.

5. Oldest son of king Josiah according to 1 Chr 3:15. He may have died at an early age since he did not succeed his father and nothing else is known about him.

STEVEN L. MCKENZIE

6. The son of Kareah, and one of the Judean troop commanders who, following the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/6, chose to join Gedaliah, the ruler of Judah, at his administrative center at Mizpah (Jer 40:7–8; 2 Kgs 25:23). Following the assassination of Gedaliah, Johanan emerges as the leader of "all the remnant of Judah," a community which he then leads to Egypt.

The OT does not provide a date for these events. However, the fact that the text states only that Gedaliah's assassination took place "in the seventh month" (Jer 41:1; 2 Kgs 25:25) appears to imply that this occurred in the same year as the fall of Jerusalem ("in the fourth month"[Jer 39:2]). But it is also possible that the assassination took place some years later, and that it was this that led to the deportation which, according to Jer 52:30 (cf. Josephus, *Ant* 10.9 §7), occurred in Nebuchadrezzar's twenty-third year (582/581).

Whereas 2 Kgs 25:22–26 gives only a brief description of the appointment and assassination of Gedaliah and the flight to Egypt (the Chronicler makes no mention of this period), a full account of these events is contained in Jer 40:7–43:7. Without addressing ourselves to the question of the historicity of the events relating to Johanan, son of Kareah, we may take note of these events as they are narrated in the book of Jeremiah. Although told by Johanan of the plot against his life, Gedaliah chose not to believe this warning; he also rejected Johanan's offer to kill Ishmael secretly (40:13–16). Following the assassination of Gedaliah and others (41:1–3, 4–7), Ishmael sought to escape to Ammon, taking as hostages the daughters of the king (entrusted to Gedaliah) and "all the people who were left at Mizpah" (41:10). His plans were foiled when he was intercepted at Gibeon by Johanan and his allies. Although Ishmael escaped, his hostages were able to join Johanan (41:11–16). Fearing Babylonian reprisals for the assassination of Gedaliah, Johanan and the people made their way to a place near Bethlehem, intending to go to Egypt (41:17–18). Here they consulted the prophet Jeremiah (42:1–6; although 40:6 informs us that

Jeremiah opted to remain in Judah with Gedaliah, it is noteworthy that he plays no role in 40:7–41:18). In the prose sermon delivered by Jeremiah (42:9–22), a choice is laid before the people: if they remain in the land of Judah, there is the promise of restoration; but if they persist in their plan to go to Egypt, each and every one will perish "by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence" (42:17 [15–17], 22). Accusing Jeremiah of having spoken falsely (43:2–3), Johanan and "all the remnant of Judah" (43:5; cf. 40:15; 42:2, 15, 19) depart for Egypt, taking Jeremiah and Baruch with them (43:4–7).

Both Jer 40:7–43:7 and 2 Kgs 25:22–26 underscore the view that hope for the future lies not with those who were left in the land of Judah (this was forfeited when Johanan and "all the remnant of Judah" chose to go to Egypt), but with the exiles in Babylon.

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JOHN M. BERRIDGE

**7.** Son of Elioenai (1 Chr 3:24) and a member of the last generation of the Davidic line recorded in the genealogy for David in 1 Chronicles 3.

**8.** One of those who returned from Babylon with Ezra according to Ezra 8:12 (= 1 Esdr 8:38). He is called the son of Hakkatan, but Dahlberg (*IDB* 2: 930) may be correct in suggesting that one should read *haqqaton* as an epithet for Johanan: "Johanan the younger."

**9.** High priest after the return from exile listed in Neh 12:22–23. These two verses are apparently an editorial note about the chronology and method of recording the heads of Levitical families. Verse 22 contains later additions ("and Jaddua" and "and the priests in the reign of Darius the Persian") which have made it difficult. Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 357–65) summarizes proposed solutions and offers a compelling one of his own.

The relationship of the Johanan and Eliashib mentioned in 12:22–23 to each other and to others of similar names is extremely important for the thorny issue of the date of the return of Ezra. Eliashib in these two verses and elsewhere (12:10–11; 13:28) was the high priest in Nehemiah's day (Neh 3:1). Johanan the high priest in 12:22 should be identified with Jehohanan the high priest referred to in one of the Elephantine papyri (30:18 in *CAP*). This Johanan is called the son of Eliashib in Neh 12:23 and is listed following Eliashib and Joiada in 12:22. Most scholars have concluded, therefore, that Johanan was the grandson of Eliashib. In 12:11 the name Jonathan for the grandson of Eliashib and son of Joiada may be an error for Johanan. The Jehohanan son of Eliashib in whose chamber Ezra fasted according to Ezra 10:6 is also frequently identified with Johanan the high priest of Neh 12:22–23 and elsewhere. Josephus' reference to Johanan *(Iōannēs)* the high priest (*Ant* 11.297–301) is often cited as further information about this individual (e.g., *IDB* 2: 930) but should probably be disqualified from consideration for it would appear to describe an individual who lived much later (Williamson 1977).

If these identifications (except for the one by Josephus) are correct they provide an important argument for dating Ezra after Nehemiah. Ezra fasted in the room of Jehohanan (Ezra 10:6) who is identified as the grandson of Eliashib who served as high priest during Nehemiah's reforms. In addition to variations on this argument (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 152–53), however, there are at least two important perspectives that make it far from conclusive. Williamson's own view is that the identifications above are dubious (WBC, 153–54). He points out that both Eliashib and Johanan are common names. He further suggests that the reference in Neh 13:4 to Eliashib the priest who was over the chamber of the temple both distinguishes this Eliashib from the high priest and relates to the chamber in Ezra 10:6, so that Jehohanan in the latter verse should not be identified with Johanan the high priest of Neh 12:22–23. While the

identification of Johanan the high priest (Neh 12:22–23) as the grandson of Eliashib the high priest seems well founded, Williamson's caution is well taken, particularly as it applies to Ezra 10:6.

Another important proposal relating to the identification of Eliashib and Johanan in these passages has been made by Cross (1975). The list of priests in Nehemiah 12 is too brief for the period of time it is meant to fill and is almost certainly defective. On the basis of the attested practice of papponymy (naming a son after his grandfather) in the high priestly line and of evidence from the Samaria papyri, Cross restored two generations at two different places in that genealogy. The names had been lost from the genealogy as a result of haplography. One of his restorations involved the inclusion of an Eliashib and a Johanan before the Eliashib who was a contemporary of Nehemiah. It was the earlier (restored) Johanan referred to in Ezra 10:6. Cross' proposal is based on sound arguments and must be given very serious consideration.

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**JOHANNINE COMMA.** In the Clementine edition of the Vg and in the Textus Receptus, 1 John 5:7–8 reads:

> For there are three who bear witness *[in heaven, the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit; and these three are one. And there are three who bear witness in earth],* the spirit and the water and the blood; and these three are one.

The bracketed words constitute the so-called "Johannine Comma," a reading which has been the object of considerable controversy in NT textual criticism.

Support for the reading in Gk manuscripts is meager, occurring only in 61, 629, 918, and 2318, as well as in varying forms by later hands in the margins of five others (88, 221, 429, 635, and 636), and none of these can be dated earlier than the 14th century. In ancient versions other than the Lat, the Comma is noticeably absent from all pre-14th century manuscripts of the Copt, Syr, Eth, Arm, Ar, and Slav translations of the NT. It does not occur in the Gk Fathers, who would certainly have used it to their advantage in the trinitarian controversies if only they had known it. Even in the Lat version, the Comma does not appear in OL manuscripts until after A.D. 600, nor in the Vg until after A.D. 750, and even then it is geographically limited to texts of Spanish origin or influence until the 10th century.

The tripartite reading of spirit, water, and blood in 1 John 5:7–8 was the subject of trinitarian reflection in North Africa in Cyprian, *De eccl. cath. unit.* 6 and *Epist.* 73.12, but with no certain reference to the Comma. Facundus, a 6th century bishop from N. Africa, cites the text without the Comma (*Pro Def. Tri. Cap. Iust.* 1.3.9) and quotes Cyprian as giving a trinitarian understanding of the shorter text. The earliest uncontested use of the Comma is the *Liber Apologeticus* (1.4) of Priscillian, a 4th century bishop in Spain. It occurs in the 5th century *Contra Varimadum* (1.5), a trinitarian treatise of N. African provenance, and in the *Hist. persec. Afr. Prov.* (2.82) of Victor, bishop of Vita, as well as in *De Trinitate* (1.4.1) of Fulgentius, 6th century bishop of Ruspe, both in N. Africa. In Italy, Cassiodorus quotes the Comma in *Epist. S. Joannis ad Parthos* (10.5.1) and in Spain, Isidore of Seville, who died A.D. 636, has awareness of it in *Test. div. Script.* 2. So, certain Latin Fathers from N. Africa and Spain from A.D. 400–650 evidence knowledge of the Comma and about A.D. 600 the reading begins to surface in some Lat manuscripts of the NT of Spanish origin. It must be remembered, however, that the Comma does not appear in Tertullian, Hilary of Poitiers (treatise on the Trinity), Ambrose, Augustine, Bede, and other major Latin Fathers, nor does it occur in the Vg of Jerome.

The Comma, which interrupts the thought of the passage, is an interpolation originating in the 3d or 4th century as a trinitarian explanation of 1 John 5:7–8. What was likely a marginal gloss was incorporated into certain Lat texts and eventually translated back into Gk in some late Gk manuscripts.

In view of the paucity of external evidence and the transcriptional probability that the Comma arose due to theological reasons, this reading would have been relegated to a historical footnote had it not been for certain events in the 16th century. Observing that the Comma occurred only in the Lat version and not in

any Gk manuscript known to him, Erasmus omitted it from his editions of the Gk testament in 1516 and 1519. Stunica, editor of the Complutensian Polyglott (printed 1514; published 1522), assailed Erasmus for omitting the Comma and included it in his own text, translated from the Lat. In response to a wider outcry, Erasmus maintained that he had searched many Gk manuscripts, failing to find even one which contained the Comma. Ms. 61, containing the Comma and apparently produced at the time for that very purpose, was brought to Erasmus' attention and, fearing a negative response to his edition, he included the Comma in his 3d edition of 1522, but not without suspicion that 61 had been revised according to the Lat. The reading was accepted into Stephanus' 3d edition of 1550 and the Elzevir text of 1633, later known as the Textus Receptus. It then achieved wider currency in the Clementine Vg in 1592, which became the official Bible of the Roman Catholic Church, and in the Rheims edition. Not originally in Luther's Bible, later editors added it to his text beginning in 1582. Although earlier bracketed by Tyndale as questionable, the reading was adopted in the KJV. Thus the Comma gained widespread acceptance in the 16th and 17th centuries.

However, since Lachman in 1831, the Comma has been rejected from critical editions of the Gk text as a dogmatic expansion of the text in the Latin tradition.

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**JOHN** (DISCIPLE) [Gk *Iōannēs* (Ἰωαννης)]. The name of John, the son of Zebedee and the brother of James, occurs thirty times in the Synoptic Gospels, Acts, and Galatians. These NT texts are the best sources for accurate information about this disciple of Jesus. Without his name having been specifically cited, John is mentioned in the epilogue to the Fourth Gospel (John 21:2). As one of the sons of Zebedee, he belonged to a group of seven disciples who witnessed an apparition of the risen Lord.

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A. General
B. The Synoptic Gospels
C. Acts
D. The Gospel of John
E. Ecclesiastical Tradition

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**A. General**

The Gospels are less clear about the name of John's mother than they are about the name of his father. Mark indicates that a woman named Salome was a bystander at the crucifixion of Jesus (Mark 15:40) and Matthew tells that the mother of the sons of Zebedee was one of the onlookers (Matt 27:56), leading to the plausible suggestion that Salome was the name of John's mother. By trade John was a fisherman (Matt 4:21; Mark 1:19; Luke 5:10; cf. John 21:3), the trade of his father. The family business was moderately successful and the family seems to have been of some means because they had hired servants (Mark 1:20). From Mark 1:21 it would appear that they lived near Capernaum, on the N shore of the Sea of Galilee.

Within the Gospels, John is clearly portrayed as a disciple of Jesus (Matt 10:1; Mark 14:32; Luke 6:13; 9:54; John 21:1), that is, as one who followed after Jesus, the itinerant and charismatic preacher (Matt 4:22; Mark 1:20; 5:37; Luke 5:11). He was chosen as one of the twelve (Matt 10:2; Mark 3:17; Luke 6:14) and is called an apostle (Matt 10:2; Mark 3:14; Luke 6:13).

Since John's name appears after James' on all three Synoptic lists of the twelve and since James is twice identified as Zebedee's son, while John is identified as his brother (Matt 4:21; 10:2; Mark 1:19; 3:17; cf. Matt 17:1), it is likely that John was younger than James.

**B. The Synoptic Gospels**

John appears most frequently (ten times) in Mark, the earliest of the Synoptics. On Mark's list of the twelve chosen by Jesus, John and his brother James are cited immediately after Simon Peter (Mark 3:16–17). Their position on the list is indicative not only of the earliness of their call, but also of the importance which they enjoyed among the Twelve.

Mark emphasizes their importance by indicating that the pair of brothers, like Simon, received a special name from Jesus. John and James were called *Boanerges,* which Mark translates as "sons of thunder" (Mark 3:17). Apart from this translation, Mark offers no explanation of the epithet—just as he offers no explanation of the name Peter (Mark 3:16; cf. Matt 10:2; 16:18). Perhaps the name is indicative of the brothers' impetuosity (Mark 9:38–41; 10:35–45; Matt 20:20–28; Luke 9:49–50; 52–56). The more recent Synoptic Gospels, Matthew and Luke, avoid the epithet. They also cite Andrew, Simon's brother, before citing the names of James and John on the list of the Twelve (Matt 10:2; Luke 6:14).

John and James were among the first disciples called by Jesus during the Galilean ministry (Mark 1:19–20; Matt 4:21–22). Like the other pair of brothers among the Twelve, Simon and Andrew (Mark 1:16–18; Matt 4:18–20), John and James were called by Jesus while they were at work. They were mending their nets at the time that they received the invitation. Matthew and Mark emphasize the radical nature of their decision to follow Jesus, the itinerant preacher, by citing its immediacy and the fact that it entailed the abandonment of their work.

Luke has combined the tradition of the call of John and James with a tradition about a miraculous catch of fish (Luke 5:1–11). James and John, identified as the sons of Zebedee, are presented as partners with Simon. The three partners were so amazed at the miraculous catch of fish, and Jesus' words to Simon, that upon their return to shore they abandoned everything in order to follow Jesus. Since it is quite unlikely that James and John were business partners of Peter (compare *metochoi,* "partners" of v 7 with *koinōnoi,* "partners" in v 10), it is reasonable to assume that the Lukan narrative reflects the special association of the triumvirate of Simon, James, and John in the ministry of Jesus.

James and John were with Jesus when he entered the house of Simon and Andrew on the occasion of the cure of Simon's mother-in-law (Mark 1:29). Peter, James, and John were the only three disciples whom Jesus allowed to accompany him when he raised the daughter of Jairus from the dead (Mark 5:37; Luke 8:51). The three were chosen by Jesus to ascend the mountain where Jesus was transfigured and to witness the transfiguration (Mark 9:2–4; Matt 17:2–3; Luke 9:28, 31). Enveloped by a cloud, they heard the heavenly voice which identified Jesus as the Son. Luke adds the detail that they had been overcome by sleep prior to the vision (Luke 9:32), while Matthew adds that they were overcome by awe at the sound of the voice (Matt 17:6). All three accounts suggest that John and the others remained silent about their experience until after Jesus' resurrection from the dead (Mark 9:9–10; Matt 17:9; Luke 9:36).

The intimacy that the group of three enjoyed with Jesus continued until the time of his passion. Peter, James, and John, accompanied by Andrew, whose name is listed in last place among the group, privately asked Jesus about the final times as they were sitting on the Mount of Olives opposite the city of Jerusalem (Mark 13:3). Jesus' eschatological discourse (Mark 13:5–37; par.) was addressed to them. Peter, James, and John were again selected by Jesus to be with him at the time of the agony in the garden (Mark 14:33; Matt 26:37). In their account of the scene, as in their accounts of the raising of Jairus' daughter and the transfiguration, the Synoptics generally highlight the initiative of Jesus in choosing the three to accompany him.

Although John was one of the privileged three chosen to accompany Jesus on these significant occasions, Mark tells that John was twice rebuked by Jesus. Once John, serving as a spokesman for the disciples, reported that they had forbidden an exorcist who did not belong to their company to expel demons in the name of Jesus (Mark 9:38–41; Luke 9:49–50). Jesus ordered the disciples to desist "for he

that is not against us is for us," but Luke notes that this order (phrased in the plural, and therefore intended for all the disciples) was specifically directed to John.

Another incident serves to highlight John's lack of real understanding of the significance of Jesus' ministry (Mark 10:35–45; Matt 20:20–28). Inappropriately, James and John asked Jesus for a favor, which they specified as the privilege of being seated beside him when he entered into his glory. Apparently they had understood the kingdom preached by Jesus according to the nationalist and militaristic views popular among many contemporaries with an apocalyptic outlook. Their self-serving request prompted the indignation of the ten others in the group of twelve. Jesus asked James and John whether they were ready to drink his cup and to be baptized with his baptism, apparently a reference to Jesus' imminent suffering and the disciples' future martyrdom. While assuring the sons of Zebedee that they would have opportunity to suffer for his sake, he told them that it was beyond his power to give them a privileged place in the kindom. Jesus profited from the occasion to speak to the group of disciples about the quality of leadership expected from them.

Matthew who tends to idealize the disciples and, consequently tends to improve upon the somewhat negative portrayal of the disciples in Mark (e.g., by dropping Jesus' reproach of John in Mark 9:38–41), attributes the importunate question to the mother of the sons of Zebedee (Matt 20:20–21), but implies that the brothers were associated with her in the request (Matt 20:22–24).

Matthew seems to have been impressed that Jesus had called two sets of brothers (Matt 4:21; 20:24; cf. Mark 10:41). Twice he refers to James and John as the (two) sons of Zebedee without mentioning their names (Matt 20:20; 26:27). On the other hand, he seems not to have given as much emphasis to the association of the three privileged disciples in Jesus' ministry as did Mark. Matthew does not mention that James and John accompanied Jesus to Peter's house (Matt 8:14; cf. Mark 1:29) nor that the three went with Jesus to Jairus' house (Matt 9:22–23; cf. Mark 5:37). He omits the specific reference to the four disciples gathered on the Mount of Olives for the eschatological discourse (Matt 24:3; cf. Mark 13:3).

Luke tells a story about John and his brother (Luke 9:52–56) that is found in neither of the other two Synoptics. After making the decision to move towards Jerusalem, Jesus sent two of his disciples into a Samaritan town to prepare the way. Because of Jesus' intention to go to Jerusalem, the townspeople refuse to accept Jesus. The brothers want to call divine vengeance upon the town in the form of a destructive fire, but Jesus impedes them with a rebuke. All told, this is the third reproach addressed to John in the Synoptic tradition.

On the other hand, Luke seems occasionally to intimate that John had a more important role in the early Church than did his older brother. He specifies that Peter and John were the two disciples sent into the city to prepare for Jesus' final passover (Luke 22:8; cf. Mark 14:13). When describing the presence of the privileged three in the home of Jairus (Luke 8:51) and on the mountain of transfiguration (Luke 9:28), Luke cites the name of John before that of James. This is consistent with the sequence of the names (John followed by James) found on the list of the eleven in Acts 1:13.

**C. Acts**

When James was killed by Herod Agrippa I in 43 A.D., prior to the arrest of Peter, James is identified as having been "the brother of John" (Acts 12:2). This is another indication of Luke's according a greater role to John than to James.

Acts does not ascribe any particular role to John at the so-called Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15:4–30). Nonetheless, in what appears to be a reference to those events, Paul (Gal 2:9–10) mentions John, along with James (the brother of the Lord) and Cephas as one of the pillars *(styloi)* of the community of Christians in Jerusalem. The pillars not only extended a gesture of fellowship to Paul and Barnabas but also, according to Paul's say-so, recognized the legitimacy of the latter's mission to the gentiles.

Paul's linking of Cephas and John, indicating the authority enjoyed by these two in Jerusalem, concurs with the traditions cited in Acts which, apart from Acts 12:2, always links John with Peter (cf. Luke 22:8). Neither John's father nor his brother is mentioned in the three accounts of Acts where John appears with Peter (Acts 3:1–11; 4:1–22; 8:14–25). In all three accounts the principal role is ascribed to Peter; John has

nothing specific to do or say (despite the defense attributed to both Peter and John in Acts 4:19–20 and the retrospective attribution of the speech in Acts 3:12–26 to both Peter and John in Acts 4:1).

In the first account (Acts 3:1–11), John is with Peter as they go to the temple to pray at the ninth hour. They (cf. v 11) were the means of the cure of the lame man brought about in Jesus' name. A second account (Acts 4:1–22) describes the arrest, scrutiny, and release of Peter and John who had proclaimed Jesus' resurrection from the dead. They were perceived as having been disciples of Jesus (v 13: "with Jesus"; cf. Mark 3:14) and as being bold in their proclamation (cf. Acts 4:31) despite the fact that they were incapable of writing and that they were just "ordinary" people (*idiotai*, either as an affirmation of their lack of expertise or as a repeated reference to their apparent illiteracy). In their rebuttal, Peter and John spoke of their role as witnesses (v 20). In Acts 8:14–25, Peter and John again appear as leaders of the Jerusalem church, this time delegated to go to Samaria to oversee the evangelization of that area by Philip. On that occasion they prayed for and laid hands upon those whom Philip had baptized.

**D. The Gospel of John**

John is never mentioned by name in the Fourth Gospel. Under the rubric of the "sons of Zebedee" his presence at the fishing incident connected with an appearance of the risen Jesus is cited in the epilogue to the gospel (John 21:2).

Ecclesiastical tradition has commonly associated the Fourth Gospel's BELOVED DISCIPLE (John 13:23–26; 19:26–27, 35; 20:2–10; 21: 20–24; cf. 1:35–40; 18:15–16), presumed to be the author of the gospel (John 21:24), with John, the son of Zebedee. If the identification is correct—as some scholars continue to maintain—the Fourth Gospel provides additional information about John: his intimacy with Jesus, his acquaintance with the high priest, his presence at the foot of the cross, his inspection of the empty tomb, and so forth.

There are, however, weighty arguments against the identification. The weightiest may be the affirmation that John, the Galilean fisherman, was unable to write (Acts 4:13). Another serious argument is the tradition about the death of John. Although Mark 10:39 may well be a *vaticinium ex eventu* (prophecy after the event), it probably indicates that John had died before the gospel of Mark was written, that is, sometime before the Fourth Gospel was composed.

**E. Ecclesiastical Tradition**

The common tradition of the Church affirmed that, after his leadership role in the church of Jerusalem, John moved to Ephesus, where he lived to an old age and died a natural death. The tradition is summarized by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.18.1; 23.3–4; 39.3–4; 4.18.6–8; 5.8.4; 18.14; 20.6; *PG* 20.252, 255–64, 296–98, 376, 449, 479–82, 486) who appeals to Irenaeus (3.18.1; 39, 3–4), Justin (4.18.6–8), Clement of Alexandria (3.39.3–4), Apollonius (5.18.14) and Polycrates (5.24.3) as early witnesses to the tradition.

The testimony of Irenaeus (*Haer.* 2.22.3.5; 3.1.2; 3.4; *PG* 7.783–85, 845), Justin (*Dial.* 81.4; *PG* 6.669) and Clement of Alexandria (*q.d.s.*, 42; *PG* 9.648–50) about John is known from extant sources, but the pertinent texts from Apollonius and Polycrates are extant only in the portions cited by Eusebius. Irenaeus claimed that he had reports on John's Ephesian ministry coming from Polycarp and Papias.

The mid-2d century apocryphal *Acts of John* is another early witness to an Ephesian residency by John. Among the Latin Fathers, Tertullian tells of John's death at a late age (*De anima.* 50; *PL* 2).

The tradition maintained that John was once banished to the island of Patmos, an island not far off the coast of Asia Minor relatively near Ephesus, but that he later returned to Ephesus where he lived until the time of Trajan. Since the tradition ascribed all five books in the NT's Johannine corpus (John, 1–2-3 John, Revelation) to John, the Patmos exile allowed for John's presumed composition of Revelation (Rev 1:9). Historical criticism has, however, convincingly shown that all five works could not have been written by the same author and that it is highly unlikely that John, the son of Zebedee, was the author of any one of them.

Making use of his several sources, Eusebius narrated a number of stories about John, including his raising a man from the dead at Ephesus (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.18.14; *PG* 20; 479–82) and his regaining a robber and murderer for Christ (3.39, 3–4; *PG* 20.296–98). Irenaeus tells of his having opposed the heretic

Cerinthus (*Haer.* 3.3.4; *PG* 7.853). Later, Jerome told the story of John, feeble and quite old, being carried to gatherings of Christians, for whom he had but a single message: "Little children, love one another" (*Commentary on Galatians* 6,10; *PL* 26, 433).

The Patristic tradition about John is, however, not entirely consistent. The Muratorian fragment suggests that John was with the other apostles when the gospel was written, a version of the tradition that would preclude the late date suggested by other Patristic witnesses for the gospel's composition. Heracleon (cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.9; *PG* 8.1281), and later authors like Philip of Side (5th century) and George the Sinner (9th century) intimate that John died a martyr's death.

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**JOHN** (PERSON) [Gk *Iōannēs* (Ἰωαννης)]. John was a common Jewish name during the Hellenistic age and was especially popular among the priesthood.

1. The son of a priest named Simeon, from the clan of Joarib. He was the father of Mattathias and the grandfather of Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc 2:1; cf. 14:29 and Josephus *Ant* 12.6.1 §265). The Joarib clan had an illustrious ancestry (1 Chr 24:7; Josephus *Life* 11). Some scholars maintain, however, that the importance of the clan in Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah was a result of Hasmonean interpolations (opposing this viewpoint are Liver 1968: 33–52 and Grintz 1972: 155–56). The family had long resided in Jerusalem (1 Macc 2:70; 9:19; 12:25; see also *Ant* 12.6.1 §265).

2. The eldest of the five sons of Mattathias and the brother of Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc 2:2; *Ant* 12.6.1 §266). His nickname (or *cognomen*) "Gaddi" was used to distinguish one bearer of a common name from another. A nickname was formed by shortening or altering an existing name (see *IPN*, 36–41) or by a descriptive (or derogatory) epithet. In the case of Gaddi, the nickname has been transliterated from Hebrew or Aramaic *(gaddî)* into Greek *(Gaddi).* Some scholars have suggested that Gaddi is formed with the DN Gad, the Semitic god of fortune, and therefore might have had the meaning "my fortune" (on this question, see Fowler *TPNAH*, 157, 340); however, the exact meaning remains uncertain.

When Bacchides determined to move against the Maccabeans, Jonathan sent his brother John with a convoy of goods to the Nabateans, perhaps as a bribe for their support (1 Macc 9:32–42; *Ant* 13.1.2, 10–11; 13.1.4, 19–21; Goldstein *I Maccabees* AB, 380–83). A marauding tribe called the Jambrites from Medeba ambushed the convoy, plundered the goods, and killed John and his companions. Josephus called the tribe *Amaraioi,* perhaps indicating the Semitic *ʿmry.* The personal name *yʿmrw* is attested in a Nabatean inscription (*CIS* II 195; dated 39 C.E., from Umm-er-Resas, 16 miles SE of Medeba), which might indicate that the Jambrites were a Nabatean tribe (see Clermont-Ganneau 1898: 185). Jonathan's band avenged John's murder by devastating the Jambrites and their allies the Nadabites at an important wedding ceremony.

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**3.** The "son of Acco" and father of Eupolemus; Eupolemus was one of the men selected by Judas Maccabeus to head the Jewish delegation to Rome (1 Macc 8:17). The phrase "son of Acco" probably denotes John as a member of the priestly clan of Hakkoz (1 Chr 24:10). This John is remembered for having earlier negotiated certain concessions from Antiochus III, concessions that were beneficial to the Jews but that were rescinded when the pro-Hellenizing Jason, aided by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, supplanted Onias III as high priest in Jerusalem (2 Macc 4:11; see Goldstein *II Maccabees* AB, 228–29). The rescinding of these policies was one of the factors that led to war between the anti-Hellenizing Jews led by Judas Maccabeus and the Seleucid forces of Antiochus IV.

**4.** An envoy whom the Jews sent to Lysias, a general of Antiochus IV attempting to end the war between the Jews and the Seleucids (2 Macc 11:17). John and Absalom are mentioned as Jewish envoys in a letter Lysias addresses to "the community of the Jews" (vv 16–21). The author of 2 Maccabees depicts Lysias as negotiating with Judas Maccabeus, the leader of the anti-Hellenizing Jews; however, because the pro-Hellenizing Jewish high-priest Menelaus is mentioned twice in another letter preserved in 2 Maccabees 11 (vv 27–33), it has been argued that Lysias actually negotiated with Menelaeus, and that John and Absalom were envoys who served his faction, not that of Judas Maccabeus—a claim Goldstein originally supported (*I Maccabees* AB, 271) but subsequently opposed (see *II Maccabees* AB, 409–10).

**5.** See JOHN THE BAPTIST.

**6.** See JOHN (DISCIPLE).

**7.** See MARK, JOHN (PERSON).

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**8.** The father of Simon Peter (John 1:42; 21:15–17). Matt 16:17 describes Simon as Bar-Jona *(Bariōna),* that is, "son of Jonah," not John. The familiarity of the Matthean text led to a reading "Jona"(*Iōna; Iōanna* in Codex Koridethi) in some majuscule and most of the minuscule mss of John 1:42. The most important witnesses of John 1:42, including the early papyri ($P^{66}$ and $P^{75}$), read "son of John"*(ho huios Iōannou).* An elliptical "of John" (only *Iōannou*) appears in John 21:15–17, where some mss also have a variant reading under the influence of Matt 16:17. Greek-language Christians may have regarded *Iona* as a diminutive of *Iōanes,* but the Hebrew clearly distinguishes Jonah *(yônâ)* from John *(yôḥānān).* Since nothing is known about the man except that he was the father of Simon Peter, it may be that there were two different traditions about his name.

**9.** A member of the high priestly family (Acts 4:6). Nothing further is known about this John and his relative Alexander (Acts 4:6). Luke's text suggests that the high priest then in office was Annas, who was in office from 6 to 16, but who continued to be influential during the term (17–36) of his son-in-law, Joseph-Caiaphas (John 18:13). A Western reading of Acts 4:6 substitutes "Jonathan"(*Iōnathas* in Codex Bezae and many Old Latin mss.) for "John," apparently identifying the individual as the son of Annas who succeeded Caiaphas in the office of high priest (Josephus, *Ant* 20.8.5; *JW* 2.13.3).

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**JOHN THE BAPTIST.** A 1st-century Jewish oracular prophet significant in the NT as a precursor of Jesus. John the Baptist was an ascetic, and conducted a ministry in the Judean wilderness that involved preaching and baptism. His popularity and the revolutionary possibilities of his message of social justice led to his arrest, imprisonment, and execution by Herod Antipas, probably in A.D. 28 or 29.

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A. The Sources, Their Character, and Their Use
   1. Josephus
   2. Mark
   3. Matthew
   4. Luke-Acts
   5. John

B. A Reconstruction of John's Mission
   1. The Origin of John the Baptizer
   2. John's Prophetic Mission

C. Summary


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**A. The Sources, Their Character, and Their Use**

There are two forms of John's title in the NT: *ho baptistēs* "the baptist" is a formal title; *ho baptizōn* "the baptizer" is an epithet. Grammatically, the latter form is a present active participal in which the verbal meaning of habitual behavior rings strongly; it most likely was the earlier form, historically speaking.

The primary sources for determining the history of John the Baptist are the NT and Josephus. In the NT John is referred to in all four gospels and in the book of Acts, while in Josephus there is one short but suggestive passage. This passage is especially important because it is the only extrabiblical source. However, we cannot use either of these sources without weighing their historical reliability. All ancient historical documents are biased in one way or another by special interests and apologetic concerns. This judgment applies to Josephus as well as to the NT. The distinctive character and perspectives of each of the gospels and Acts have been greatly illuminated through tradition criticism, redaction criticism, the new literary criticism, and social science criticism. Likewise the interests (both social and personal) that govern Josephus' histories have come under closer scrutiny. All of this newer understanding (as well as older methods of scholarship) must be considered as we try to determine the history of John the Baptizer.

How does John appear in each of the sources? The sources will be examined in the order Josephus, Mark, Matthew, Luke-Acts, John. (Neither at this point, nor elsewhere in this study, is any single theory of gospel origins assumed.)

**1. Josephus.** Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* is a work of 20 books relating the history of the Jews from creation to the Jewish-Roman war of 66–70 C.E. The immediate context of Josephus' report about John is an account of events during the early 1st century C.E., beginning with the assessment of property in Judea by the governor of Syria, QUIRINIUS (see also CENSUS, ROMAN). This occasioned an uprising under Judas the Galilean, the narrating of which leads Josephus to describe the three "philosophies" of Judaism (the PHARISEES, SADDUCEES, and ESSENES), as well as the "fourth philosophy" (the ZEALOTS) started by Judas. He reports among other events the building of Tiberias by Herod Antipas and various indiscretions by Pilate, who was procurator of Judea. Especially important is the report of Jesus' life and death in a paragraph (*Ant* 18.3.3) a bit shorter than the one about John, a paragraph whose authenticity has been hotly disputed in modern times.

The paragraph about John the Baptist is immediately preceded by an account of Herod's divorce from the daughter of Aretas, king of Petra, and of the latter's retaliation by making war on Herod. Aretas defeated Herod, and the paragraph on John picks up from that defeat, which some Jews believed was caused by God as just vengeance on Herod for his execution of John. He had executed John even though the latter was said to be a good man who exhorted his fellow Jews to live righteously and practice justice and piety. Josephus observes that John baptized people as bodily parallel to inward cleansing. But the size of John's movement frightened Herod and so he struck preemptively by executing John at the fortress of Machaerus. The text of Josephus' account of John the Baptist follows:

> But to some of the Jews the destruction of Herod's army seemed to be divine vengeance, and certainly a just vengeance, for his treatment of John, surnamed the Baptist. For Herod had put him to death, though he was a good man and had exhorted the Jews to lead righteous lives, to practice justice toward their fellows and piety towards God, and so doing join in baptism. In his view this was a necessary preliminary if baptism was to be acceptable to God. They must not employ it to gain pardon for whatever sins they committed, but as a consecration of the body implying that the soul was already thoroughly cleansed by right behavior. When others too joined the crowds about him, because they were aroused to the highest degree by his sermons, Herod became alarmed. Eloquence that had so great an effect on mankind might lead to some form of sedition, for it looked as if they would be guided by John in everything that they did. Herod decided therefore that it would be much better to strike first and be rid of him before his work led to an uprising, than to wait for an upheaval, get involved in a difficult situation and see his mistake. Though John, because of Herod's suspicions, was brought in chains to Machaerus, the stronghold that we have previously mentioned, and there put to death, yet the verdict of the Jews was that the destruction visited upon Herod's army was a vindication of John, since God saw fit to inflict such a blow on Herod. (Josephus *Ant* 18.5.2 §116–19)

The following observations concern this report. Points 1–3 concern Josephus as an author; points 4–7 are about John's life.

1. Josephus did not have to report the connection between John and Herod's death in order to tell the history of Herod. Why did he report it?

2. Josephus judged John favorably as a good man. (Thus John was good grist for Josephus' apologetic mill.)
3. Josephus knew John's "theology." Baptism was a bodily action parallel to and expressive of soul cleansing and righteous behavior.
4. John exhorted people to live uprightly and to practice just acts toward others and piety toward God.
5. John baptized people who responded to his exhortations.
6. John was popularly known after his death to the degree that people could connect him with Herod's defeat by Aretas, king of Petra. John had a high degree of prominence.
7. Herod killed John preemptively because he became suspicious of and alarmed by the size and enthusiasm of John's following.

**2. Mark.** At the beginning of Mark's story of Jesus, John appears prominently as a preacher and baptizer to whom many people—including Jesus of Nazareth—responded. As Jesus is baptized, God tells him that he is his son. After John is arrested, Jesus begins his own preaching mission in Galilee. However, the narrative of John's arrest and execution (6:14–29) is held until about one-third of the way through the gospel. A previous narrative concerns John's disciples' practice of fasting as the Pharisees did, in contrast to the practice of Jesus' disciples, who didn't fast (2:18–22). John the Baptist next appears in the middle of the gospel, at the point where Jesus asks his disciples who people say he is; some answer that he is John (8:28). Finally, when Jesus is in Jerusalem, and the Jewish leaders ask Jesus about his authority, he evades answering directly by asking them whether they believe John's baptism was from God or not (11:27–33).

The following observations may be made about how John the Baptist fits into Mark as a story, and about what we learn concerning John beyond what is found in Josephus. First, regarding Mark as a story, Mark tells us very little about John. This gospel seems to have no interest in John for his own sake. Second, Mark's interest is in Jesus; consequently, all of the material about John is subordinated to this interest. John's preaching and baptizing mission gives Mark the opportunity to emphasize that the missions of both John and Jesus are the fulfillment of prophecy (1:2–3). John is seen obliquely as Elijah (1:6; 9:11–13), who prepares the way for Jesus and announces his arrival as the one mightier than John: Jesus will baptize with the Holy Spirit rather than with water (1:1–8). The fasting of John's disciples gives Mark a chance to portray Jesus and his disciples as the new, to be contrasted with the old (2:18–22). John's death becomes an opportunity for Mark to emphasize that Jesus and his true disciples must also face death if they are to remain faithful (6:7–44; 8:34; 9:13; 13:9–13). Finally, John's popularity makes possible Mark's portrayal of Jesus as superior to the Jerusalem authorities (11:27–33).

Regarding John's life, it can be observed that:

1. John was a prophet (1:6–8; 11:32) who lived an ascetic life (1:6; 2:18) in the wilderness (1:4).
2. He preached that people should repent and be baptized for the forgiveness of one's sins. Those to whom he preached included Herod Antipas (6:18).
3. He also predicted that a person far mightier than himself would come and baptize with the Holy Spirit those whom he had baptized with water (1:7–8).
4. Many people responded to his preaching and were baptized (1:5). They took him for a prophet (11:32); some of them remained with him as his disciples (2:18; 6:29); they fasted as the Pharisees did (2:18); and some of them buried John (6:29). John's movement was of a magnitude similar to that of Jesus' (6:14–16; 8:28).
5. One of those baptized by John was Jesus, who believed that John was Elijah (9:11–13); Jesus' disciples did not fast (2:18).
6. The Jerusalem authorities knew John well and were aware of his reputation as a prophet (11:30–33).
7. Herod arrested and killed John for personal reasons, because John criticized him for marrying his sister-in-law, Herodias (6:17–18). Herod killed John because of pressure from Herodias (6:19). He himself didn't want to kill John because he also regarded him as a righteous and holy man (6:20).
8. Jesus began his preaching mission in Galilee after John had been arrested (1:14).

**3. Matthew.** Matthew's distinctive use of traditions about John the Baptist is evident from deviations from Mark both in material with parallels in Mark and in additional material. After Matthew's story of Jesus' birth, John appears in the wilderness preaching not (as in Mark 1:4) a "baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins," but rather repentance, "for the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Matt 3:2). This is exactly the same message that Jesus preached in his own mission (4:17), and is just one of many ways in which Matthew ties John and Jesus together. Other links are the story of children sitting in the market, in which John and Jesus are portrayed equally as messengers from God who are rejected by their generation (11:16–19), and the ignoble death meted out to both (17:9–13).

Whereas Mark's ordering of material implies that John is the forerunner of the Messiah, Matthew makes this point explicitly through the formula he uses eleven times to introduce fulfilled prophecy: "For this is he who was spoken of by the prophet" (3:3). (This proof from prophecy is only one example of the generally argumentative character of Matthew.) Matthew's emphasis on prophecy fulfillment probably accounts for his placement of the description of John's way of life next (3:4–6). Matthew means to say here (as he makes explicit later on [17:9–13]) that John is Elijah, who must precede the Messiah, who is Jesus.

Another of Matthew's major themes appears in John's extremely harsh preaching against the Pharisees and the Sadducees (3:7–10, 12). They are declared by John to be presumptuous hypocrites who have to be with obvious insincerity (3:7). This theme of insincerity is developed with respect to the Pharisees in Matthew 23. The character of the Jewish leaders in Jerusalem is likewise portrayed in the question about Jesus' authority (21:23–27), as well as in the parable of the two sons that follows (21:28–32). In both cases the leaders refuse to believe that John the Baptist is a prophet of God (referred to euphemistically as "heaven," "righteousness," 21:26, 32), which makes them worse than the lowest members of society, "tax collectors and harlots," who did believe John (21:32).

The next section, found exclusively in Matthew, contains a conversation between Jesus and John (3:14–15). It indicates that John knew Jesus, and implies that he knew Jesus to be the sinless Messiah. This episode has two Matthean emphases: how close John and Jesus are, and how wrong John's followers are when they do not turn to follow Jesus after Jesus' baptism by John.

In Mark, the entire populace asks Jesus why John's disciples fast, unlike Jesus' disciples; in Matthew (9:14) by contrast, John's disciples themselves ask the question, and thereby condemn themselves through the implicit association with unbelieving Pharisees. They are the "old" in contrast to John and Jesus who are the "new" (9:16–17).

It is in this light that we can understand John the Baptist's question to Jesus as Matthew intends it (11:2–6). John of course clearly knows that Jesus is "he who is to come" (3:1–17). This episode is told by Matthew for the benefit of John's disciples, who have not yet become Christians. "And blessed is he who takes no offense at me" (11:6), i.e., you people who in the late 1st century still remain followers of John instead of Jesus, whom John declared mightier than himself (3:11).

This message is additionally emphasized in the next section (Matt 11:7–15). John is praised as the prophet Elijah, as "more than a prophet," as the messenger of the Messiah, as the greatest of humans (11:9, 10, 11, 14); at the same time it is Matthew's belief that the least Christian is greater than John (11:11), even though Christians suffer violence as John and Jesus did (11:12). That John suffered violence is shown by the story of his death (14:1–12). This tale, as well as the report that some thought that Jesus *was* John the Baptist (16:14), again shows the close connection between prophet and Messiah. Indeed, John and Jesus are united in a common liquidation at the hands of the powerful (17:9–13), whose antagonism to both prophet and Messiah (in contrast to Jesus' high regard for John) is seen once more in the passage where the Jerusalem officials question Jesus' authority (Matt 21:23–27).

Matthew has used John the Baptist traditions with distinctive aims and purposes, among which the following are prominent:

1. John is the prophet (Elijah) of Jesus (the Messiah). John knowingly prepares for Jesus' coming as Messiah, while Jesus knowingly regards John as Elijah, the greatest of humans before Jesus.

2. John and Jesus are equally men of God. All righteous people (Jesus' disciples, Christians) will believe their messages, while the unrighteous (John's disciples, Pharisees, Herod, Jewish leaders) disbelieve and even kill them.
3. Despite Jesus' high regard for John, even the least Christian is greater than John.

What historical material beyond that found in Josephus and Mark is present in Matthew?

1. There is an additional reference to John's asceticism (11:18).
2. John harshly attacked the Pharisees and Sadducees (3:7–10), Herod (14:4), and the Jewish leaders in Jerusalem (21:32). These people did not believe in John, but outcasts such as tax collectors and harlots did (21:32).
3. John preached the same message as Jesus (3:2; 4:17).
4. John knew of Jesus and regarded him as the sinless Messiah before he baptized him (3:14–15). Jesus regarded John very highly (11:9–14), but he regarded his own followers even more highly (11:11).
5. While John was in prison he had doubts about whether Jesus really was the Messiah (11:2–6). These doubts evidently rested on the unexpected character of Jesus' activity and message (11:5–6).

**4. Luke-Acts.** As in the case of Mark and Matthew, the author of Luke-Acts also has a distinctive portrayal of John the Baptizer. This is seen most readily and fully in the birth story of John and Jesus (Luke 1 and 2), and the account of John's appearance as a baptizer and Jesus' baptism (3:1–22). Luke's perspective is succinctly summed up by Jesus himself in 16:16: "The law and the prophets were until John; since then the good news of the kingdom of God is preached." Thus, Luke fits John into his historical scheme: Israel (law and prophets including John), Jesus, and the Christian Church.

Most distinctive in Luke is the opening tale, which interweaves the stories of the birth of John and Jesus. The scheme can be set out as follows:

The announcement of *John's* birth (1:5–25)
The announcement of *Jesus'* birth (1:26–35)
The two mothers meet (1:36–45)
Mary praises God for *Jesus* (1:46–56)
Zechariah praises God for *John* (1:57–80)

Thus we have the chiastic pattern A, B, A + B, B, A. In this way Luke makes the basic two-sided point: John the Baptist and Jesus are closely allied in the scheme of salvation, but John is subordinate to Jesus.

John and Jesus are allied through Luke's stories of their births, which are united together because their mothers are relatives (1:36); both births are miraculous and thus merit special praise to God. Yet John is subordinated to Jesus in several ways: Elizabeth is barren and both she and her husband are very old, yet she conceives in the normal manner (1:24), while Mary conceives by the Holy Spirit when she is still unmarried (1:34–35); when Mary greets Elizabeth, the fetus (the future John) leaps in her womb for joy in the presence of the mother of her Lord, i.e., Jesus the Messiah (1:41, 44). Finally, and most importantly, John is clearly only a prophet (1:76) like Elijah (1:17), while Jesus is the Son of God and Messiah (1:32–35).

Perhaps most significant for our analysis is that after the birth story there follows the story of John's appearance and Jesus' baptism (chap. 3). The same themes of alliance between John the Baptist and Jesus, with the subordination of the former to the latter, are again present. Essentially, John is the prophet of Jesus the Messiah. Apparently, John does not even baptize Jesus, since he is already imprisoned when Jesus is baptized (3:20, 21; cf. 4:14 with Mark 1:14). John's prophetic status is emphasized by the inclusion of his prophetic preaching to the wealthy, tax collectors and soldiers (3:10–14), as well as by the note about reproval of Herod for his marriage to Herodias and "for all the evil things that Herod had done" (3:1, 9–20). The implied antipathy between John and Herod is echoed later by Herod's wish to kill Jesus and the latter's defiant response (13:31–33). This reference reminds us that Luke omitted the story of John's execution by Herod (after 9:7–9), and this omission expresses Jesus' distinctive superiority to John, for it is the Messiah who must die in a special way (24:26). In the baptism story it is made explicit that Jesus—not John—is the Messiah (3:15–17).

Luke elaborates the distinction between John's and Jesus' disciples. Along with fasting he adds prayer as another difference between them (5:33; 11:1) and he molds the "parable" of the garment so as to emphasize the rejection of Jesus by John's (and the Pharisees') disciples: they say "The old is good" (5:39, 36). Furthermore, Luke emphasizes more than the other gospels the difference between positive and negative responses of various groups to John and so to Jesus. This difference is not only present in the tales about Jesus' authority (20:1–8) and John's question to Jesus (7:18–23), but is made even more fully in Jesus' comments on John, which set out the different responses to John's preaching. Luke's Jesus declares that "all the people and the tax collectors" accepted baptism by John while the "Pharisees and the lawyers" did not, and they thereby rejected the "purpose of God for themselves" (7:29–30).

Thus, in various ways John the Baptist is the transitional figure between "the law and the prophets" and Jesus the Christ, the Son of God. This view is confirmed by all seven references to John the Baptist in Luke's second volume, the book of Acts.

**5. John.** The picture of John the Baptizer in the gospel of John is very clearly focused, and as in Luke's case it may be summed up in one of the gospel's pungent statements: "He was not the light, but came to bear witness to the light" (1:8). In accordance with this gospel's outlook, John the Baptist is not seen in strictly historical terms. Rather, the terminology is abstract and especially legal: John is essentially a witness sent by God (1:6) to tell the truth about Jesus (5:33, 35; 10:41). This basic theme is sustained by two subthemes; John is not the light, rather Jesus is the light; since Jesus is the light he ranks before John and must increase in stature, while John must decrease.

Apart from brief references to John the Baptist in chaps. 5 and 10, all of the material about the Baptizer is found in chaps. 1 and 3. The opening of the gospel presents Jesus as the true light of the world and John as the true witness to that light. The basis for the truth of John's witness is that he was "sent from God" (1:6). But that he was really sent from God and that he speaks the truth is shown substantively by his exaltation of Jesus over himself (1:15), and by his denial before Jews sent from Jerusalem that he has any status as Messiah, as Elijah, or as the prophet (1:19–28). As a witness John is simply the voice announcing the coming of Jesus as Lord and Son of God (1:23, 34), who was revealed to him and Israel as the "Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world" (1:29, 36) during his baptizing mission (1:30, 33). Moreover, John baptizes only with water (1:26, 31) while Jesus "baptizes with the Holy Spirit" (1:33). Finally, John's disciples turn to Jesus because they too see him as the Messiah (1:35–41).

After Jesus performs various signs which manifest his glory (2:11), all of these basic themes are reemphasized in the second half of chap. 3 (including 4:1). Prior to John's imprisonment (3:24), he and Jesus are carrying on parallel baptizing missions. However, Jesus and his disciples are "making and baptizing more disciples than John" (3:26; 4:1). When John's disciples report this to him, he is not chagrined at all; rather he is filled with joy because these developments conform to his true testimony that he must decrease while Jesus the Christ must increase (3:26–30).

These, then, are the sources at our disposal. They must be used critically in any attempt to describe the life of John the Baptist and his following. Scholars who focus on the history of the Christian groups that produced the gospels try also to ascertain the relation of these groups to followers of John the Baptist as this is reflected in the gospels. For example, gospel materials that emphasize John's allegiance and subordination to Jesus are seen as evidence for (1) the existence of discrete groups of John's followers in the late 1st century and (2) the Christians' efforts to convert them to Jesus as the Christ. Here we will focus only on an attempt to reconstruct the career of John.

**B. A Reconstruction of John's Mission**

Historical reconstruction requires critical methodology in at least two areas: (1) the development and use of criteria to judge the historical reliability of evidence, and (2) the development and use of appropriate models for locating biblical persons and groups in settings which are understandable to modern readers. The former requirement has engaged scholarship for generations, and some degree of consensus has been reached (Boring 1985; Oakman 1986, Appendix 1). Yet scholars always vary in their application of various criteria. In the present reconstruction the "environmental criterion" is seen as of

primary importance. This criterion states that evidence must fit the situation of the persons or groups being studied.

The latter requirement is quite new in scholarship because the social sciences, from which appropriate models are derived, have not been used much until recently. This has been the case not only in biblical studies (Hollenback 1983) but also in all historical scholarship on the ancient world. However, now scholars have demonstrated that researchers must develop and use appropriate models if they are to avoid ethnocentric and anachronistic reconstructions. (For biblical studies see especially the work of Malina; for the ancient world in general see especially Carney 1975 and Kautsky 1982.)

Briefly, for our immediate purposes, the studies of Richard A. Horsley (1984; 1985) are especially helpful. As we reconstruct the "historical John the Baptist," it will be seen that he fits quite well the type "oracular prophet," which Horsley distinguishes from the "action prophet." These in turn he distinguishes from "social bandits" and "popular kings" as well as sicarii and zealots. These types must be seen in two primary settings: (1) the specific socioeconomic conditions of 1st-century Palestine and (2) the specific cultural traditions of Israel. The essence of the former is the aristocratic-peasant social structure while the essence of the latter are the traditions derived from the Hebrew scriptures that remain popular in the oral traditions of the non-literate population.

The aristocratic-peasant social structure is characterized primarily by exploitation of the latter by the former through heavy taxation and brutal treatment. These conditions were perennial, but they were exacerbated in times of devastating crises such as famines and wars. Thus varieties of social disturbance were the result. This was especially the case at the time of Herod's death in 4 B.C.E., Pontius Pilate's rule (26–36 C.E.), and just before and during the great revolt (66–70 C.E.).

The cultural traditions of Israel help us to grasp the various social types present in 1st-century Palestine. We are especially interested in the prophetic types (Horsley and Hanson 1985; Horsley 1985). The "action prophet" both announced the messages of God and led a popular movement with the expectation that God would intervene in liberating action. The prototype of the tradition was the Exodus from Egypt. Moses, Joshua and the Judges were the main prototypes, as on a lesser scale perhaps were Elijah and Elisha. In the 1st century there was the unnamed prophetic leader of the Samaritans who led a movement to restore the temple on Mt. Gerizim, a movement which was ruthlessly crushed by Pilate (*Ant* 18.4.1 §85–87). Around 45 C.E. Theudas led a movement to the Jordan River in apparent imitation of the Exodus, but he and his followers were also crushed by the Judean governor Fadus (*Ant* 20.5.1 §97–98). Finally, about 56 C.E., a Jewish prophet from Egypt led a movement to capture Jerusalem by commanding the walls to fall down in apparent imitation of Joshua at Jericho. In this case the leader escaped but many of his followers were killed by the governor Felix (*Ant* 20.8.6 §168–71; *JW* 2.13.5 §261–63).

Josephus' accounts of these and other similar prophetic movements establish a distinctive pattern: a popular prophet preaches a message of liberation that captures the imagination of the common people, who then march out en masse to a holy site expecting a miraculous deliverance from God as in the days of old.

The "oracular prophet" did not lead such a movement, but rather only pronounced words of judgment or redemption, as did the classical prophets of the 8th and 7th centuries. The two cases in the 1st century about whom we have some information are John the Baptizer and Jesus son of Ananias. We shall note the case of the latter in order to see the pattern of the oracular prophet, and then test whether John the Baptizer fits the category as far as we can determine from our sources. The following is Josephus' narrative concerning Jesus son of Ananias:

> But a further portent was even more alarming. Four years before the war [62 C.E.], when the city was enjoying profound peace and prosperity, there came to the feast at which it is the custom of all Jews to erect tabernacles to God, one Jesus, son of Ananias, a rude peasant, who, standing in the temple, suddenly began to cry out, "A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds; a voice against Jerusalem and the sanctuary, a voice against the bridegroom and the bride, a voice against all the people." Day and night he went about all the alleys with this cry on his lips. Some of the leading citizens, incensed at these ill-omened words, arrested the fellow and severely chastised him. But he,

without a word on his own behalf or for the private ear of those who smote him, only continued his cries as before. Thereupon, the magistrates, supposing, as was indeed the case, that the man was under some supernatural impulse, brought him before the Roman governor; there, although flayed to the bone with scourges, he neither sued for mercy nor shed a tear, but, merely introducing the most mournful of variations into his ejaculation, responded to each stroke with "Woe to Jerusalem!". When Albinus, the governor, asked him who and whence he was and why he uttered these cries, he answered him never a word, but unceasingly reiterated his dirge over the city, until Albinus pronounced him a maniac and let him go. During the whole period up to the outbreak of war he neither approached nor was seen talking to any of the citizens, but daily, like a prayer that he had conned, repeated his lament, "Woe to Jerusalem!". He neither cursed any of those who beat him from day to day, nor blessed those who offered him food: to all men that melancholy presage was his one reply. His cries were loudest at the festivals. So for seven years and five months he continued his wail, his voice never flagging nor his strength exhausted, until in the siege, having seen his presage verified, he found his rest. For, while going his round and shouting in piercing tones from the wall, "Woe once more to the city and to the people and to the temple," as he added a last word, "and woe to me also," a stone hurled from the ballista struck and killed him on the spot. So with those ominous words still upon his lips he passed away (*JW* 6.5.3 §300–9).

There were many other prophets besides Jesus son of Ananias, to whom Josephus refers only in general terms. For example, Josephus refers to "numerous prophets" who called on the people in the midst of crises during the great revolt, to "await help from God" for their deliverance (*JW* 6.5.2 §286). These prophets also follow a distinctive pattern: an oracular prophet preaches a message either of judgment on the powerful (e.g., Jesus son of Ananias), or of deliverance for the suffering masses in the midst of crises when apocalyptic hope is at fever pitch among the common people (e.g., the "numerous prophets" in Jerusalem during the war). They are regarded by the "upper-class Roman collaborators" either as threats to political stability or as raving madmen, so the authorities try to silence or even kill them. "Oh Jerusalem, Jerusalem, killing the prophets and stoning those who are sent to you!" (Matt 23:37; Luke 13:34). Now our question is whether John the Baptist was one of these oracular prophets.

**1. The Origin of John the Baptizer.** Since Josephus says nothing about John's origin, we must depend on the gospels. The case for understanding Luke's birth story of John as legendary no longer needs demonstration (R. E. Brown 1977). Yet, whether or not Luke 1 and 2 reflect a Baptist source (Wink 1968, Dodd 1963), there seems to be no good reason to doubt that, as this story indicates (Luke 1:5), John was a descendant of devout rural priests. Indeed, other sections of the gospels confirm that John had priestly concerns. He engaged in the rituals of baptism, fasting, and prayer (Luke 5:33; 11:1).

Yet John comes on the scene as more than simply a rural priest. He appears in the wilderness of Judea as a radically alienated person. In addition to the wilderness habitation itself, his alienation is indicated not least by his food and clothing: "Now John was clothed with camel's hair, and had a leather girdle around his waist, and ate locusts and wild honey" (Mark 1:6). This asceticism became proverbial: "For John came neither eating nor drinking" (Matt 11:18). Most of all, he scathingly attacked the Jerusalem establishment for its impiety and injustice (Matt 3:7–10).

How can we account for John's Jeremiah-like separation from the normal securities and meanings of traditional life? First, John's general cultural setting is significant. There was a long-standing tradition of alienation among the prophets of ancient Israel. Jeremiah has already come to mind: "I did not sit in the company of merrymakers, nor did I rejoice; I sat alone" (Jer 15:17). Then, in exilic and postexilic Judaism various groups of alienated priests appear on the scene. P. D. Hanson sees the "dawn of apocalyptic" taking place among groups of alienated visionary priests as early as the 6th–5th centuries B.C.E. (1975: 209–28, 280–86, 389–401). Moreover, in the middle of the 2d century B.C.E. there was a sharp revulsion against the Maccabees which nourished, among others, the Qumran community, a group that consisted largely of lower rural priests alienated from the aristocratic urban priests of Jerusalem (Cross 1958: 95–119; 1973: 332–42). Among the important statements from the Dead Sea Scrolls which express this rift is the following interpretation of Hab 2:8a ("Because you have plundered many nations, all the remnant of

the people shall plunder you."): "This refers to the final priests of Jerusalem who will amass for themselves wealth and gain by plundering the people" (1QpHab 2:8; Gaster 1964: 249). The case of Qumran is especially significant because John was like the people of Qumran in many respects; he may even have been a member of that group or a similar group (Davies 1983; Betz 1985). Josephus supports this statement by his references to the great social and economic gulf that existed between the aristocratic priests and the large mass of lower clergy that developed just before the great revolt in the 60s C.E.

> There now was enkindled mutual enmity and class warfare between the high priests, on the one hand, and the priests and leaders of the populace of Jerusalem, on the other. Each of the factions formed and collected for itself a band of the most reckless revolutionaries and acted as their leader. And when they clashed, they used abusive language and pelted each other with stones … Such was the shamelessness and effrontery which possessed the high priests that they actually were so brazen as to send slaves to the threshing floors to receive the tithes that were due to the priests, with the result that the poorer priests starved to death (*Ant* 20.8.8 §180–81; also 29.9.2 §205–7; further details in Stern 1976: 561–700).

More broadly-based alienation is indicated by the first revolt of the Jews against the Romans upon the death of Herod the Great in 4 B.C.E. (*JW* 2.1.1–6.2 §1–92; *Ant* 17.9.1–11.3 §206–314; Farmer 1958; Horsley and Hanson 1985: 111–17).

A striking confirmation of the luxury of the Jerusalem (probably priestly) aristocracy has come to light in the recent excavations in the "Jewish Quarter of the Old City" of Jerusalem (Avigad 1976: 1.23–35). In this "fashionable and wealthy residential section overlooking the Holy Temple" a Herodian house of 2,000 square feet was unearthed, as well as a larger one the archaeologists dubbed "The Mansion." On a stone weight found in "The Mansion" was inscribed "Bar Kathros," the name of one of four priestly families mentioned in the Talmud (*Pesaḥ* 57a) as exploiting the people and beating them with rods. "Our Bar Kathros was probably of this family," conjectures Avigad (1976: 29; see also Mazar 1980). These houses with their varied contents demonstrate the luxury of the aristocracy in Jerusalem just before the time of John the Baptist.

Thus John was surrounded by a pervasive climate of alienation; one scholar (Ford 1976) argues that this probably reached into his own family. It was from this urban setting that John retreated to the wilderness, a location of profound symbolic significance as the place of death, purification and rebirth (Hollenbach 1974; W. D. Davies 1974: 75–104). These meanings are reflected at Qumran, where those who joined the community separated themselves from the wicked "to the end that they may indeed 'go into the wilderness to prepare the way,'i.e., do what Scripture enjoins when it says, 'Prepare in the wilderness the way … make straight in the desert a highway for our God' [Isa. 40:3]" (1QS 8:12–16; Gaster 1964: 64). That going into the wilderness sometimes had even messianic significance is indicated by Matt 24:26a: "So, if they say to you, 'Lo, he [the Messiah] is in the wilderness,'do not go out."

This is as far as a quest for the origin of John can take us. We may conclude, despite the paucity of particulars about John before his public appearance, that he came from a family of radicalized rural priests. This direction was most likely the result of the alienation the lower rural priesthood generally felt toward the Jerusalem aristocracy. At some point John left his family and took up a prophetic desert existence. (Zech 13:4 shows that John adopted clothing of a type worn by other alienated prophets, not only Elijah [as in 2 Kgs 1:8].) Finally he appeared in public as an apocalyptic prophet.

**2. John's Prophetic Mission.** A basic problem in determining the meaning of John's prophetic-baptizing mission is the question of the audience to which his various proclamations and judgments are addressed. Scholars often make no distinctions in this respect. Scobie (1964: 62–73) is typical when he speaks vaguely of "people" or of the "wicked" in contrast to the "righteous" without inquiring into the socioeconomic class structure of Palestine. Kraeling (1951: 49–59) is of the exceptional opinion that the "brood of vipers" saying was addressed to the priestly aristocracy. Horsley and Hanson (1985: 177–80) carry this further: there is evidence of "class conflict in John's message" in that he announces "God's imminent overthrow of the established order as headed by the sacerdotal aristocracy and Herod Antipas."

Who was John's first audience? It may be that he never preached a general message to the nation at large. If he did, it is now difficult to determine what the message was. What would it mean for him to

preach such a general message anyway? Preaching to the nation "as a whole" (Kraeling 1951: 49) is a vague notion hard to pin down. Of course his particular proclamations undoubtedly had import for the Jewish people at large, and perhaps even for the Diaspora; but he, like Amos at Bethel and other OT prophets in their particular places, must have spoken specific messages at specific times and places to specific groups. Even if we accept Mark's statement that "all the country of Judea and all the people of Jerusalem went out to him" (1:5), nevertheless, before that occurred, John must have preached something to someone that attracted other people's attention.

**a. John's Opening Salvo. (1) His Audience.** If John was an alienated rural priest who was compelled to take up the role of an apocalyptic prophet, then it is reasonable to assume that his first and major proclamation was an attack on the powerful Jerusalem establishment (Matt 3:7) and other associated powerful social groups (Luke 3:10–14). We have good indirect evidence for this, while we have no evidence at all for his preaching to the powerless. We cannot use Matt 21:32 as evidence because it is another case of Matthew making John like Jesus (21:31). John, like other oracular prophets, may have been a "spokesperson for the common people" (Horsley and Hanson 1985: 179), but this is very different from the idea that he had a "ministry to the poor" (Wink 1968: 20). Rather, his message of judgment was to the powerful, as Luke 7:30 indicates: "Pharisees and lawyers."

**(2) His Message.** What was John's message to these powerful ones? It can be inferred only from what he says to those who come to him for baptism, for we do not have accounts of any of his words spoken to persons in other settings except his attack on Herod Antipas (Mark 6:17–18; Luke 3:19). Considering the OT prophetic tradition, John's message must have been that the wrath of God was coming on them as faithless Israelites (Matt 3:7). Only if they repented of their apostasy, gave up their presumption (Matt 3:9), and instead did works fit for repentance (Matt 3:8), both works of ritual purification (John 3:25; Dodd 1963: 281; Kysar 1975: 63) and works of social justice (Luke 3:10–14), would they escape God's wrath. Apocalyptic emphasis on God's imminent intervention against them must also have been strong (Matt 3:10).

Most distinctive was John's call for the repentant ones to come to the Jordan to be baptized as an action symbolic of their return to God. The fact that he was labelled "the baptizer" indicates the emphasis he must have put on this ritual. Both Mark (1:4) and Luke (3:3) say that he preached "a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins," and this fits his initial message. That was the meaning of his baptism as he proclaimed it to the powerful apostate. However, at the time that he actually baptized some of them, he added a further component to his ritual: it anticipated the coming of one who would bring a radical purification to the repentant ones (Luke 3:16–17).

This means that we have no evidence that John initially proclaimed the coming of a messianic figure, let alone the kingdom of God. It is doubtful that John preached about the one to come except to the repentant individuals who came for baptism. He seems not to have mentioned the coming one even to the unrepentant ones who desired baptism (Matt 3:7–10). Moreover, it is also likely that John's ethical preaching (Luke 3:10–14) was addressed only to persons who actually came to him for baptism. In other words, John's opening salvo was a stark message of doom familiar from portions of the OT prophets, except that he added the possibility of escape through the baptism of repentance.

**(3) His Location.** If this was John's message, where did he deliver it? It is almost impossible to believe that he was "preaching" (it) in the wilderness of Judea" alone (Matt 3:1). Luke (3:2–3) says only that the "word of God came to John … in the wilderness" but that he called for people to be baptized in "all the region about the Jordan." In this respect Luke differs from Mark and Matthew who say that people from Judea, Jerusalem (Mark, Matthew), and the region of the Jordan (Matthew) went out to John. While the gospels (especially Luke) tend to generalize, one wonders whether all the people who came from as far away as Jerusalem and beyond (Jesus evidently came all the way from Galilee!) responded to hearsay reports alone. Is it not more probable that John had previously preached his message in populated places, in the villages and cities, even in Jerusalem itself? Kraeling (1951: 64) raises this issue and suggests that John went to the highways to preach, while W. R. Brownlee (1957: 36) suggested that John "found places in the wilderness where he could meet people" in villages and towns. It would be in such places that he

could address directly those for whom his message was intended. That he traveled about considerably is supported by the claim that he went as far away from Judea as Aenon-at-Salim, which is at least 30, if not 70 kilometers N of the Dead Sea and Jerusalem (John 3:23; Brown *John* AB, 151). This coheres with what we know about prophets in general, namely, they went to the people to whom their messages applied.

Why don't we hear more about John's travels? Because the gospel writers weren't interested in that sort of thing. They don't tell us very much about John at all, and while they tell us a lot about Jesus, we learn little from them about his movements. Consider the following: if not for the gospel of John we would never know that John went as far N as Aenon-at-Salim, or that Jesus baptized and had disciples while John was still carrying on his own public mission. Besides all this the gospels are interested not in John's mission itself, but rather in proving that John "appeared in the wilderness" as the forerunner of Jesus in fulfillment of Isa 40:3 (Mark 1:2–4).

We are left then with the following picture: John the Baptizer originates as a wilderness character who emerges as a prophet in populated places, proclaiming to powerful sinners a prophetic-apocalyptic message of imminent doom on them because of their impurity and injustice, and calling upon them to come to the Jordan and be baptized as a sign of their repentance and a pledge of their renewed faithfulness to God.

**b. John's Message to Those Coming for Baptism.** In the gospel accounts all of John's words (except the word against Antipas) are spoken to persons seeking baptism. These words show that John was hostile to those whom he judged to have bad faith, while he was friendly to those who were truly repentant. To the former he repeated threats and warnings and perhaps added new ones, while to the latter he gave hope for further dramatic renewal of their lives as well as ethical guidance relevant to their particular vocations.

**(1) To the Unrepentant Powerful. (a) The Priestly Aristocracy in Jerusalem.** That Matthew (3:7–10) and Luke (3:7–9) differ with regard to John's audience is of little consequence in determining its identity since the "brood of vipers" speech itself shows the audience's character clearly enough. This speech is his "most contemptuous saying" (Kraeling 1951: 49), but except for the Antipas saying, it is his only thoroughly negative one. Indeed, all of his other sayings are wholly positive, spoken to repentant sinners. To say that "John concentrated by far the greater part of his attention on stern warnings of future punishment …" (Scobie 1964: 62) is at best misleading.

The "brood of vipers" saying is consistent with numerous doom sayings that OT prophets commonly spoke against the unrepentant powerful of the nation, a likeness apparent first in the epithet, for to accuse someone of being a viper was "to castigate him as evil in his inmost being" (Kraeling 1951: 48). Thus, and second, the following query must be bitter and sarcastic irony, especially since the verb "show"*(hypodeiknymi)* is normally used for special or divine revelation (Acts 9:16). Third, the sarcasm is occasioned by the fact that the addressees are hypocrites in that they do not practice deeds to match their sham repentance (Luke 3:8a) and by the fact of their arrogant and complacent presumption about their standing with God (3:8b). John then rounds off his castigation with the warning, doubtless repeated from earlier occasions, that in "the coming wrath" which is already appearing (3:9a) these arrogant hypocrites will be destroyed (3:9).

It is important to note that John does not say anything here about repentant ones escaping the coming doom. It needs to be emphasized that in this saying he pronounces doom for a specific group of unrepentant persons because the specificity of the particular group he is addressing makes superfluous a reference to repentant ones. The failure to notice the particularity of John's message to specific groups has caused the unwarranted generalizing of his message. Kraeling (1951: 49) is thus correct that this denunciation is "too bitter to be addressed to the nation as a whole." There is only one group that it fits well and that is the ruling priestly aristocracy in Jerusalem, which perpetrated the most heinous social injustices.

If the view just adumbrated is accepted, an interesting question naturally arises: why did those aristocrats come at all to be baptized, especially since they were apparently insincere? Did they come simply to observe or even to interrogate John? John 1:19–25 supports this view, and Josephus (*Ant*

15.10.4 §365–69) shows that political leaders such as Herod the Great spied on various persons and groups. Or did John act ironically, as if they came to be baptized, in order to shame them further? Maybe the statement that they were coming for baptism is erroneous. But John's opening question could mean at least that the addressees were coming with some kind of positive intentions if not for baptism itself. Or perhaps, upon encountering the audacious prophet again in person, some of these authorities thought it wise to make a kind of Pascalian wager and so sought baptism without concern about the "good fruit" it presupposed, simply to be on the safe side. (Gamaliel later suggested a similar wager to the Jerusalem authorities, Acts 5:33–39.)

Probably this question cannot be answered. But it seems certain that in John's mind his addressees were another group of complacent authorities who were perpetrating injustice. These authorities in particular have it in their power to "bear fruits" of piety and justice, and John directs his harshest words (as far as we know) to those who would make a charade of even the sacred ritual of baptism. There is no evidence that any of these most powerful ones responded positively to John's preaching, and one passage appears to indicate that they did not (Matt 21:32a: "For John came to you ["chief priests and elders," 21:23a] in the way of righteousness, and you did not believe him").

**(b) Herod Antipas.** In connection with John's attack on the unrepentant powerful who came to him, it is appropriate to include his denunciation of Herod Antipas, even though we have no record that the latter ever came to him for baptism or for any other purpose. Antipas is the only named individual who is said to have been denounced by John. Despite the fact that gospel materials about John and Antipas have been the subject of legendary elaboration, there is good reason to accept the historicity of John's attack on Antipas, as both Kraeling (1951: 83–88) and Scobie (1964: 179–86) do.

This denunciation is especially remarkable because Antipas was a political figure of some stature. John's attack and the revolutionary potential of his movement were apparently what caused Antipas to arrest and execute him. What caused John to denounce Antipas? An attempt has been made above to explain his attack on the Jerusalem authorities. Can this attack on Antipas also be explained? Was there some occasion in John's career that made it appropriate for him to express such a negative judgment? Was it made at a face to face meeting either when Antipas sought out John or when John sought out Antipas in his palace in Tiberias or elsewhere?

A comparison of three related texts makes the following picture plausible: at a later time, when Jesus had gained some notoriety, which included having crowds follow him and sending his disciples out on a preaching mission, Jesus looked like John to Antipas (Mark 6:14–16) and Antipas became intent on arresting and killing him (Luke 13:31–33). But Jesus left his territory and frustrated this intention. This analogy between Jesus' movement and John's is confirmed by Josephus in that he also attributes Antipas' attention to John to the fact that he was leading a mass movement that was seen by Antipas as a political threat (*Ant* 18.5.2 §118). It is interesting to notice that when Jesus was warned about Antipas' evil intention, he let loose against him one of the most severe verbal attacks recorded of Jesus. He called Antipas a "fox" (a cunning destroyer) (Luke 13:32). Is it not likely that when John became aware of Antipas' interest in him, he similarly let loose a verbal attack on him? This kind of an occasion is all the more likely when it is considered that John had no vocational or social connection with Antipas as he had with the Jerusalem aristocracy. If this suggestion has merit, it also indicates something of the range as well as the size of John's movement; it must have spread far beyond Judea into Antipas' territory. It is significant in this connection also that John was not liquidated by the Jerusalem authorities as was Jesus but by the ruler of Galilee and Perea.

Whatever may have been the occasion for John's attack it needs to be stressed that his attack had legal, moral, and political significance. It probably was much more wide ranging than simply a criticism of Antipas' marriage. Luke 3:19 has John reprove him also "for all the evil things that Herod had done." The marriage was a legal issue because it contravened Lev 20:21: "If a man takes his brother's wife, it is impurity"; this aspect is stressed in the gospels. It was a moral issue because the divorce shamed Antipas' first wife, the Nabatean king Aretas' daughter, whom Antipas put away in order to marry Herodias; this aspect is found neither in the gospels nor in Josephus. Finally, it had political significance because it

threatened to further destabilize an already unstable political situation caused by the divorce of king Aretas' daughter, whom he had originally married for political reasons. As a matter of fact, this issue seems to have been a prominent cause of the later war (in 36 C.E.) between Aretas and Antipas in which Herod was defeated (and which is the context of Josephus' story of John's arrest and liquidation [*Ant* 18.5.1 §109–15]). In view of these many factors the conclusion is likely that John's criticism was a massive attack on the integrity of Antipas as a person and as a ruler. That is why Antipas had him eliminated but did not destroy Jesus, who escaped for the moment.

Thus, the view of those scholars who seek to prove "that John's Messianic preaching must have been completely non-political" (Scobie 1964: 184) must be rejected. In the first place, this part of John's preaching is not messianic. In the second place, it is historically inappropriate to separate so sharply John's "religious" from his "political" message. While it is possible to distinguish politics from religion, especially for 20th century people, nevertheless, at no time is it possible to separate them, and in 1st century Palestine, as social scientists have shown, it would not be possible even to distinguish them (Carney 1975; Malina 1986b). Thus only one conclusion is possible, namely, that John was calling on Antipas to change himself, his politics, and his policies. He must have also called on him and the Jerusalem authorities to practice piety and justice. See also HEROD ANTIPAS.

**(2) To the Repentant Powerful.** John the Baptist addressed two different kinds of words to the truly repentant powerful who came to be baptized. Again, chronology is uncertain but it is logical to examine them in the order that follows.

**(a) The Second Baptism.** If we are to interpret this section (Luke 3:16b–17; Matt 3:11–12; Mark 1:7–8) adequately, it is essential to observe two factors in the texts not usually taken into account. First, John addresses in this particular case those whom he is in the process of baptizing. He is not speaking to others, such as those who are seeking baptism in bad faith, let alone to people in general. Rather, he is speaking only to those who are seeking baptism in good faith. His first words, "I baptize you with water" (Matt 3:11a; Luke 3:16a) have almost the character of a baptismal formula and can be seen as an analogue of the Christian formula, "I baptize you in the name of the Lord Jesus" (Acts 19:5). He tells those he is baptizing that their present baptism is to be succeeded by a second and much greater baptism performed by a much greater person than he.

Second, John's emphasis falls not on the fact that one mightier than he is coming, but rather on the fact that his baptism will be succeeded by another, greater baptism. By making the announcement during the very act of baptizing, John radically depreciates his own rite. His baptism will be superceded by a second baptism because the latter will effect a result that John's baptism is incapable of performing. He says in effect: "There is one coming after me who is mightier than I because he has to do a mightier deed than I, namely, baptize with Holy Spirit and fire." The second baptism, thus, is the really important one, while his first baptism is but a preliminary to it. To be sure, the self-depreciation of John the Baptist in the gospel of John is exaggerated and related to the ministry of Jesus, but as Dodd (1963: 256–59) argues, apart from that it is essentially historical. John understood his work to be inadequate compared to what he evidently saw that needed to be done.

This understanding of second baptism as John the Baptist expressed it was very soon supplanted by the early Christians' identification of the "coming one" as Jesus. The process can be seen in Paul's first sermon in Acts (13:16–47), where John's baptism is no longer connected to the coming one's baptism (Acts 13:24–25). In fact, baptism is not even mentioned in connection with the coming one, and even the announcement of his coming is separated from John's baptism: "Before his [Jesus' ] coming John had preached a baptism of repentance to all the people of Israel. And as John was finishing his course, he said, 'What do you suppose that I am? I am not he. No, but after me one is coming, the sandals of whose feet I am not worthy to untie' " (Acts 13:24–25). This separation of John's baptism from the second baptism of the coming one has prevailed in Christian thought and even in modern scholarship up to the present time.

What John meant by his baptismal statement must be determined in the light of these two factors. The focus thus should be not on identifying the character of some "coming one" but on the contrast between John's water baptism and another's "holy spirit and fire" baptism. Those who focus on the coming one as

a "transcendent" messiah (Kraeling 1951: 63; Scobie 1964: 66) go beyond the evidence. The fluidity of messianic ideas in John's day is ignored as well (de Jonge 1966; *IDBSup*, 588–91; see also MESSIAH). What John meant by his water baptism is clear enough even without referring to the Christian summaries of it ("a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins"), for his speech to the unrepentant powerful strongly implies that it had to do with repentance and commitment to new acts of righteousness which are the fruits of repentance (Matt 3:8).

The important and more problematic matters are determining the original words describing the second baptism and establishing their meaning. The phrase "Holy Spirit and fire" has received most scholarly attention. What is its meaning? Since John is addressing repentant sinners coming for baptism, they are doing a positive act to which one would expect him to respond positively. Just as he responded negatively to those who came for baptism in bad faith, so one would expect him to respond positively to those who came in good faith. Hence, "Holy Spirit and fire" must have a positive meaning. Negative meanings involving judgment and destruction can be eliminated from consideration so the question that remains is, What positive meaning is intended?

A significant possibility is purification. Purification is linked with an anticipated messenger in Mal 3:1–3: "the messenger of the covenant in whom you delight, behold, he is coming … For he is like a refiner's fire and like fuller's soap; he will sit as a refiner and purifier of silver, and he will purify the sons of Levi and refine them like gold and silver …" The Rule of the Community from Qumran proclaims that at the time of God's visitation he will "purge all the acts of man in the crucible of his truth, and refine for Himself all the fabric of man, destroying every spirit of perversity from within his flesh and cleansing him by the holy spirit from all the effects of wickedness. Like waters of purification He will sprinkle upon him the spirit of truth, to cleanse him of all the abominations of falsehood and of all pollution through the spirit of filth …" (1QS 4:20, 21; Gaster 1964: 53). Notice especially the analogy between "waters of purification" and cleansing by the "holy spirit" and the "spirit of truth." Note also Ezek 36:25–26: "I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your uncleannesses … A new heart I will give you and a new spirit I will put within you …"

Fire is a traditional symbol of judgmental destruction. The prophet Malachi (3:18–19—Eng 3:18–4:1) envisions the day when God acts as "burning like an oven" and destroying the arrogant and evildoers. A strikingly vivid image from one Qumran hymn foresees the "rivers of Belial" (1QH 3:28) overflowing "like a fire consuming all …" (1QH 3:29). But destruction is not the only meaning of fire imagery, and cannot be its meaning in John the Baptist's preaching. That John was particularly interested in purification coheres with his priestly background and also with his interest in religious-ascetic practices, such as fasting and prayer (Luke 5:33; 11:1; Acts 14:23; *Gospel of Thomas* 104). Hence, it may be concluded that John told those he was baptizing that his baptism of repentance would be followed soon by a second, radical cleansing of them from all evil. In this regard John is in full accord with the OT prophetic emphasis on the need for radical renewal, a perspective seen, for example, in the call for a new covenant by Hosea (1–3) and Jeremiah (31).

There is one major problem with this line of interpretation. Luke 3:17 appears not to fit the meaning we argue for 3:16. The imagery of Luke 3:17 seems to represent the separation of the righteous from the wicked in a metaphor of winnowing; grain is separated from chaff, which is burned with "unquenchable fire." The analogy with purification is strong: purification involves the removal of impurity from a valued substance; so winnowing removes the impurity, the chaff, from the valued grain. However Luke 3:17 is interpreted, 3:16 must be taken to mean that John looked for an eschatological purification of his repentant baptized ones.

John the Baptist's message can be summarized thus: Now is the time of repentance in view of the imminent execution of God's wrath on unrepentant powerful sinners. Those that do not repent will be destroyed by God's wrath, while those who do will receive an additional second baptism greater than John's that will bestow on them a final and perfect purification. In the meantime, they are to do ritual and moral acts that befit their repentance and that anticipate the final purification.

**(b) Ethical Criticism and Obligation.** Among those who came to be baptized by John were at least three distinct social or vocational groups. There seems to be no good reason to doubt the historical authenticity of John's baptism of persons from these groups even though we have no other supporting evidence except Luke 7:29 and Matt 21:32. However, we cannot accept as historical Luke's statement (3:10) that "multitudes asked" John, "What then shall we do?" For not only is "multitudes" a favorite Lukan editorial term (see 3:7), but it does not appropriately describe the specific groups mentioned, namely the tax collectors and soldiers. Therefore, the likely addressees must be deduced from John's answer; the Baptist's response targets those who have more than the minimum of food and clothing, the relatively wealthy. The questions asked of John indicate that the relatively wealthy have responded positively to his message. Part of that response would be their baptism and further instruction. John addresses appropriately specific demands to each group. The relatively wealthy are to share their clothing and food with the destitute. Tax collectors are not to extort but are to follow the exact demands of their superiors. And soldiers are to quit taking advantage of their possession of the force of arms and their social position (which gave them judicial advantage) in order to rob others; and they should not agitate for salary increases.

Several things are noteworthy about John's ethical criticism, but the most important is that every one of these three cases of criticism has to do with economic matters. Each case assumes the distinction between a relatively wealthy class and a very poor class that suffers oppression by the wealthy. In line with the OT prophets, John asks the oppressors, as part of their baptism of repentance, to cease their oppression of the poor who are powerless against them. Their changed practices will constitute "fruits that befit repentance."

**(i) Tax Collectors.** The case of the tax collectors is particularly clear and helps in understanding the other cases. There were a variety of ways in which the local Jewish authorities as well as the Romans extracted money from the populace. Stern (1976: 330–36) lists no less than five Roman forms alone: poll-tax (census tax), agricultural tax, customs, confiscation (especially of Temple funds), and the *angria,* a type of corvée. In addition to these Roman taxes, there were the Jewish religious taxes, the Temple tax and the tithes. See also CENSUS, ROMAN; TAX COLLECTOR.

But it was in connection with collecting customs on transported goods and various other government revenues that the specific kind of official referred to in Luke 3:12 figures, for the collection of such duties was farmed out to local Jews by the Romans. There was a hierarchy of such officials. Zacchaeus, for example (Luke 19:1–9), was the "head of a society of publicans" (Stern 1974: 333) who were subordinate to him. Tax collectors (called publicans) could grow rich through collecting "more than [was] appointed" them (Luke 3:12), i.e., more than they had contracted with and paid their superior for. Zacchaeus, for example, had paid some official (probably a Roman) for his office, which gave him tax collecting privileges at Jericho. He in turn was paid by others for the privilege of collecting certain of those taxes. At each of these levels a tax collector could earn his own livelihood and usually also gain his relative wealth by collecting more than he paid for his office (Herrenbruck 1981; Oakman 1986).

That some publicans grew very rich is seen in the case of Zacchaeus. Zacchaeus could give away half his income and restore fourfold any fraudulent acquisitions and still be a rich man. In 66 C.E. at Caesarea, "the Jewish notables, with John the tax collector … offered Florus eight talents of silver" as a bribe in order to get him to stop undesirable building activities next to the synagogue (*JW* 2.14.4 §284–88).

The point is that publicans were not only quislings contaminated by contact with Gentiles, and sometimes robbers, but were also part of the wealthy oppressing establishment. For such persons to heed John's call to repentance with its accompanying demand of good works would entail a total rejection of their former way of life with its class involvement and class consciousness. When John the Baptist demanded that they should not collect funds beyond what they had contracted for, he was striking at the root of the tax-farming system. That this was the case, and the possibility that John had repentant tax-collectors among his followers as well as numbers of poor tax-payers who had felt their oppression and were glad to hear John denounce the oppressive system, may have been the major reason that Antipas finally took notice of John. Note that upon the death of Herod the Great, the requests made of the new

ruler, Archelaus, are the following: "that he should lighten the yearly payments," that he "release … the prisoners," and that he remove the taxes "levied upon public purchases and sale" that "had been ruthlessly exacted" (*Ant* 17.8.4 204–5). It is also generally accepted that taxes were a contributing factor in causing the Great War of 66–70 C.E. (Rhoads 1976: 80–81).

**(ii) Soldiers.** There is a connection between tax collectors and soldiers in the sense that people like Zacchaeus and Joseph, as indicated above, could "avail themselves of the assistance of military forces" (Stern 1974: 333; Gibson 1981). Alliances between tax collectors and the military were common in ancient societies. Kautsky (1982) has shown that the two main functions of ancient aristocratic governments were taxation and warfare. The point is that they, like all military and police forces, served the needs of those who ruled. They may have been direct supporters of the tax collectors, as the Greek phrase *kai hymeis* "and we" (Luke 3:14) suggests. Or they could have been supporters of the Jerusalem establishment. In the course of military service soldiers might commit various deeds of oppression, motivated in part by their aspiration to rise above the mediocrity of their social situation compared with those whom they served.

Upon these soldiers John lays radical ethical demands. If the soldiers heeded these demands, just as in the case of the tax-collectors, it would have meant a radical revision of their private conduct, and might also have challenged the very foundations of the social order. For example, John asked them not to request a raise in pay (suggesting personal sacrifice) because their wages were already being taken out of the hides of the powerless poor. In addition, soldiers attempting to implement John the Baptist's reforms risked being guilty of insubordination, because they might have had to disobey the orders of superiors to enforce their demands against the populace, who had limited means to resist official predation.

**(iii) The Relatively Wealthy.** In the case of the first group whom John the Baptist addresses (tax collectors), economic matters are at the forefront and the distinction between the destitute and the relatively wealthy is prominent. The very wealthy were not necessarily directly enjoined. John asks the relatively wealthy to share their moderate wealth with the destitute.

If we connect the image of social stratification indicated by John's words with the fact that at his time Palestine was relatively prosperous compared to the period just after Herod's death and just before the great revolt, we arrive at a significant observation regarding the context of John the Baptist's ethical criticism. Like the period of Jeroboam II in which Amos prophesied (ca. 750 B.C.E.), the Herodian era was a period characterized by relative prosperity along with "the impoverishment of the masses" (Stern 1976: 577; see further chaps. 11–12, esp. pp. 691–92). In other words, it was a classic case of social and economic oppression and John puts the burden of justice directly on the bureaucracy and indirectly on their superiors, the ruling elite.

**(iv) Social Justice.** In every case of John's ethical criticism he strikes at structural injustice. He directly addresses the relatively privileged and powerful groups in society who perpetrate injustices. It is notable in this connection that he does not ask those who are repenting to fast and pray. Evidently, these specifically religious practices were reserved for his more immediate followers. Presumably John's assumption is that these people will return to society and play their normal vocational roles. Thus, John's baptism is nowhere exclusively connected with fasting and prayer but is directly connected with social justice. He asked the baptized to forsake the normal socially accepted ways of acting and living and to take up new ways. In this sense, then, it is necessary to call John the Baptist a social rebel (Hobsbawn 1971; Kautsky 1982). John is a rebel insofar as he leads a movement which sharply attacks the legitimacy of the current social structures. His movement has not yet spilled over into overt disruption of society (he has not yet become an "action prophet"), though it is clear that his movement has that potential (and Antipas apparently saw it that way); but he certainly is fomenting social unrest. And for him the restructuring of society begins not with the "common people," nor with the very wealthy, but with the relatively privileged bureaucratic groups who have some power to change affairs. Evidently at John's time there were at least a few members of these classes who still had some sensitivity to injustice and were vulnerable to his eschatological-apocalyptic message. While undoubtedly some of his following, maybe even most of them, were the destitute masses, it remains true that not one word in the NT is

addressed to them. John the Baptist's criticism of the powerful, of course, implies concern for the weak. Like the classical prophets he addresses only those responsible for and likely to change the sorry state of affairs reigning in his society. Thus it is misleading to say "that John's converts were drawn from the common people" (Manson 1949: 39), and it is pertinent to observe that "it is prosperity, not poverty, that causes social criticism and, ultimately, revolution" (Schneidau 1976: 38).

**C. Summary**

The preceding analysis seems to justify the following picture of John the Baptist's career. Having suffered the outrages perpetrated on the lower country clergy by the urban priestly aristocracy of Jerusalem, John the Baptist also suffered profound alienation from the status quo and left society for the real and spiritual wilderness of Judea. Perhaps he was at Qumran or some such place for a while. Then there explodes in him and from him a radical prophetic-apocalyptic vision that brings him back to attack society at its heart, its powerful ones. He proclaims an imminent day of wrath for the unrepentant perpetrators of impiety and injustice unless they are baptized in repentance and begin to do deeds of justice that ultimately entail the radical revision of the social system of his day. As might be expected, most of the powerful respond to him negatively and eventually facilitate his liquidation.

Surprisingly enough, however, some of them responded positively. Sensing perhaps that he has asked the impossible of them, as he baptizes them he promises that they will soon be baptized in a new way by a greater one who will be able to cleanse them of evil in radical eschatological fashion. With this cleansing they will be up to following the ethical standards that he has demanded of them. Meanwhile, they are to return to their former social roles and begin to practice the new vision of social justice they have gotten from him. Some of them, however, stay with him, practicing forms of piety such as fasting and prayer that were seen perhaps to anticipate that final cleansing. These disciples formed a distinct group, one of many such groups that sprang up at that time. This group, however, was distinguished from others by its unique prophetic-social vision and practices, at least as long as it remained under the inspiration of its founder, John the Baptist.

Thus, John the Baptist fits the model of an oracular prophet very well, with the proviso that he adds uniquely to that model his practices of baptism, fasting, and prayer.

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**JOHN THE DIVINE, DISCOURSE OF.** See VIRGIN, ASSUMPTION OF THE.

**JOHN, ACTS OF (BY PROCHORUS).** A 5th-century Greek romance that primarily describes the miraculous activities of John on Patmos. It must be distinguished from the earlier *Acts of John* ascribed to Leucius, to whom five 2d and 3d century Apocryphal Acts are attributed: the Acts of John, Peter, Paul, Andrew, and Thomas. These early acts provided impetus and served as models for a number of later writings that are sometimes called "secondary Acts" (See *IDB* 1: 167; *NTApocr* 571–78). The *Acts of John by Prochorus* belongs to this later collection of Acts. The author used the earlier *Acts of John,* but he modified the material rather extensively (*NTApocr* 575). Prochorus, the legendary author, appears in Acts 6:5.

In addition to the Greek text, manuscripts exist in Latin, Coptic, Ethiopic, Arabic, Armenian, and Old Slavonic (*IDB* 1: 932; Zahn 1880: iii). A complete Greek text may be found in Zahn, and a summary of the work is provided by Lipsius. No English translation is available at this time.

The *Acts of John by Prochorus* begins with the disciples meeting in Gethsemane after the ascension. Peter informs them of their mission to travel, teach, and baptize. John is selected to go to Asia, and Prochorus is to accompany him. Like the other Apocryphal Acts, this work is structured around a series of journeys. It contains the typical earthquakes, stays in prison, storms at sea, and a shipwreck. The journeys

provide the occasions for John to perform many miracles, such as casting out demons, healing the sick, bringing the dead back to life, and changing sea water into drinking water. Sometimes those who learn of John's activities are offended and attempt to kill him or exile him. On one occasion John is killed by an angry mob; but he returns to life. However, these miraculous activities most often result in the conversion and baptism of those who witness them.

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**JOHN, APOCRYPHON OF** (NHC II,*1;* III,*1*; IV,*1;* and BG 8502,2). This is the clearest and therefore the most important text representing mythological Gnosticism. The tractate was originally written in Gk and survives in three independent translations into Coptic. BG 8502,2 and NHC III,*1* represent a short recension of the work, while II,*1* and IV,*1* are copies of the same Coptic translation of a long recension.

Most the scholarly discussion of *Ap. John* has been based on BG 8502,2 which was published earlier (Till 1955) than the copies in the Nag Hammadi codices (Krause 1962) and is also better preserved. It occupies pp. 19,6 to 77,7 in the Papyrus Berolinensis 8502 with only pp. 21–22 having suffered serious loss. The other representative of the short recension NHC III,*1*, originally comprised pp. 1 to 40,11 but of these pp. 19–20 are missing, only a small fragment survives of pp. 1–2 and 3–4, and pp. 5–8 and 21–40 show serious lacunae in the text. Of the long recension NHC II,*1* is found on pp. 1,1 to 32,9 and IV,*2* occupied pp. 1,1–49,28. II,*1* is relatively well preserved with serious loss of text limited to pp. 1–4. IV,*1* is in an extremely fragmentary state. Its value lies in supplementing II,*1* where it suffered lacunae or scribal error. Thanks to the presence of parallel versions the Coptic text of both the short and long recension can be determined with a high degree of accuracy except for a few words and phrases.

All four copies of *Ap. John* are written in Sahidic with IV,*1* conforming more closely to the standardized spelling of this Upper Egyptian dialect. In spite of the presence of three independent translations of the Gk, it is often difficult if not impossible to determine from the original reading where they differ. It appears that all three translators had serious difficulties understanding and/or rendering the complexities of the Gk text. Thus a dependable critical edition that reflects the original Gk seems out of reach.

The title *Apocryphon of John* is found as a subscript to all four copies. It reflects the Christian framework of the revelation found at the beginning and end of the tractate (II *1,5–2,26* and *31,25–32,5*) in which John, the son of Zebedee, receives a revelation from the resurrected Christ in response to questions about the Savior, his Father and "that aeon to which we shall go." Afterwards the savior instructs John to write the mysteries down and give them secretly to his fellow spirits.

The revelation itself is only marginally Christian and does not directly deal with John's questions. Rather it presents a description of the ineffable Spirit, the divine realm of light, the origin of the evil Creator Yaldabaoth, the creation of the spiritual world rulers and of man, and the rescue of the immovable race from the imprisonment in the body and material world. Christ and Sophia are part of the light world. The Fall occurred when Sophia desired to bring forth a being without the consent of the great Spirit and her consort. She produced Yaldabaoth who possesses some of her light power. He created angels to rule over the world and together they fashioned man in the image of the perfect Father. Yaldabaoth is tricked to breathe the light power of his mother into Adam. The evil powers created woman and sexual desire to spread the light particles, and to make escape more difficult. The savior was sent down to rescue those who possess the light sparks by reminding them of their heavenly origin.

It is clear that the cosmological section of *Ap. John* was already known to the Christian heresiologist Irenaeus in about 185 C.E. He assumed that the writing available to him represented the teachings of certain Gnostics (*Haer.* I.29). It appears that Irenaeus knew only a literary source or an early form of *Ap. John* without the Christian framework, the latter part of the revelation, and the present title. The long recension is most likely an expanded form of the short one. It adds, apart from minor details, a descriptive

title at the beginning (II *1,1–4*), a lengthy enumeration of the powers who rule over the different parts of the human body (II *15,29–19,12*), and a remarkable section at the end of the revelation spoken in the first person by the perfect Pronoia relating three descents into the world (II *30,12–31,25*).

*Ap. John* shares a number of themes and mythologumena with such other representatives of mythological Gnosticism as *The Hypostasis of the Archons* (NHC II,*4*), *On the Origin of the World* (NHC II,*5*), *The Gospel of the Egyptians* (NHC III,*2* and IV,*2*), *The Sophia of Jesus Christ* (NHC III,*4* and BG 8502,3), *The Three Steles of Seth* (NHC VII,5) and *Trimorphic Protennoia* (NHC XIII,*1*). In view of the important differences between these writings, it is unlikely that they come from the same sectarian background. Literary borrowing would explain both the common traditions and the different uses to which these are put. There is no basis to assume with Irenaeus and other opponents of Gnosticism that such writings represented the teaching of distinct sects. The fact that the details of the myths proved to be very unstable and were readily corrupted in the translation and copying process indicates that they were not intended as object of belief and held little importance in themselves.

The importance of *Ap. John* lies in the insight it gives into esoteric, speculative thought and biblical interpretation found on the heterodox fringes of 2d and 3d century Christianity. Secondly, the short and long recension of *Ap. John* present a good example of the way such texts were sometimes augmented and changed in the process of transmission. Furthermore, the two copies of the long recension show how Coptic orthographic conventions evolved in the 4th century C.E.

The two recensions of *Ap. John* appear to be 3d century creations based, at least in part, on a 2d century antecedent. The text has left no hints about the identity of the original author, the redactors, or their provenance.

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**JOHN, EPISTLES OF.** The three documents in the NT traditionally known as the Johannine epistles are not in each case epistles in the strict sense of the word, nor are they necessarily the work of an individual named John. 1 John (1 Jn) does not name its author, and 2 John (2 Jn) and 3 John (3 Jn) are the work of one identified in the letters as "the Elder." While 2 and 3 Jn clearly are epistles in the ancient sense of that classification, the literary form of 1 Jn is quite different and problematic. Their place in the Christian canon results from several factors, not least of all is their traditional association with the fourth evangelist. But they won their canonical status also by their relevance to the ongoing struggles of the Church to maintain its identity and order.

There are apparent allusions to these documents in the writings of church leaders by the middle of the 2d century (*Ep. Barn.* 5:9–11). Some claim that these allusions are closer to actual citations (Polyc. *ep.* 7), although such claims are debated. The first unquestionable citations appear in Irenaeus toward the end of the 2d century, demonstrating that the author knew 1 and 2 Jn (*haer.* 1.16.3; 3.16.5). The Muratorian fragment, which lists the documents generally accepted as authoritative, seems to refer to two epistles and attributes them to John, the fourth evangelist. Unfortunately, scholars are still divided as to whether the fragment should be dated at the end of the 2d or 4th centuries. Other citations toward the end of the 2d century and fragments of Clement's commentary on the NT books *(Adumbrationes)* affirm the recognition of 1 and 2 John.

3 Jn is attested by the middle of the 3d century (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 6.25.10), but along with 2 Jn appears to be among the disputed books by the time of Eusebius. The more ready acceptance of 1 Jn seems to

have been based on its association with the thought and language of the Fourth Gospel. That the author of 2 and 3 Jn is "the Elder" cast doubt on their authenticity as apostolic writings. Origen acknowledges the doubt of the Johannine authenticity of 2 and 3 Jn (*Jo.* 5.3). Jerome in the 5th century still questioned a common authorship of the three writings.

However, all three were generally accepted and associated with the fourth evangelist by the late 4th century in the western church. The eastern church was slower in recognizing the documents. 1 John is found in the *Syrian Peshitta* (5th century) and 2 and 3 John only later in the *Philoxenian Version* (ca. 500).

It is sometimes proposed that 1 Jn was valued by the early Church because it represented an acceptable treatment of the thought of the Fourth Gospel over against the gnostic interpretation of the Gospel of John. It contributed, therefore, to the effort to the Church to seize the Fourth Gospel as an "orthodox" writing. 2 John likewise treats the reaction of the Church to a schismatic movement similar to the one found in 1 John (supposed to be gnostic) and hence won its way into the accepted writings of the Church. Its common authorship with 2 John ("the Elder"), plus the fact that it strove to secure order for the Church, succeeded in finally bringing about the acceptance of 3 John.

Many of the questions which emerged in the early evaluation of these three writings continue to be central issues in the critical study of them. Who was their author? What is their relationship with the Fourth Gospel? What is the nature of their response to the separatist of which they speak? This article will attempt to suggest the contours of the contemporary discussion of 1, 2, 3 John and to pose a viable approach to them. Our discussion will move through the following topics:

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**A. Textual Considerations**

The texts of 1, 2, and 3 Jn are well preserved. They are not strongly attested in the Greek mss although eighty-one such witnesses are preserved. The Latin witnesses contain a number of readings not attested in

the Greek. It has been argued both that this fact renders the Latin witnesses of little value and that it hints at the existence of Greek mss which have not survived.

The textual problems in the three writings are fewer in number than is the case in many other NT books. Still, there are a few which merit attention.

1 Jn 1:4 contains the problem of whether "our" or "your joy" was intended. The textual evidence itself is almost equally divided. That the writing completes the writer's joy seems the more difficult reading which copyists might have attempted to resolve. The "your" may also reflect the influence of John 15:11 on copyists.

1 Jn 2:20 reads "you all *(pantes)* know" and "you know all things *(panta)*" in various manuscripts. The textual evidence itself is indecisive and so the issue must be determined on the basis of the sense of the context. Does the author intend to affirm the knowledge the readers have or to declare that as a result of their anointing they need no further knowledge? The former seems the more likely, and the latter an effort of copyists to supply an object for the verb "know."

1 Jn 3:14 is represented without "the brethren" as well as with it and with "our brethren". The importance of this variation has to do with the author's concept of the community's love. Many prefer the shorter reading and argue that there was a tendency for copyists to add direct objects to verbs.

1 Jn 5:6 is found in two different forms. In some "spirit" is substituted for "blood" after "came by water and". In others "spirit" is added either before or after "water". The textual decision is important in this problematic verse for what it tells us about the author's central affirmation of the historical Jesus. Most, however, agree that the efforts to introduce the spirit here are efforts to imitate John 3:5.

The famous "Johannine Comma" after 1 Jn 5:7 is found in the Latin textual tradition and a very few Greek witnesses. The addition reads, "in heaven: Father, Word, and Holy Spirit; and these three are one; and there are three who testify on earth": (continues with v 8). There is near unanimity that this is an addition which arose from the trinitarian controversies of the later church during the 4th century.

2 Jn 8 presents the reader with a series of personal pronouns, "your … you … you" in the RSV (*apolesēte ... eirgasametha ... apolabēte*). Textual witnesses suggest two alternative readings: "your … we … you" and "we … we … we." The reading, "your … we … you," appeals to many critics in spite of the fact that it is the most weakly attested of the alternatives. This preference is due to two reasons: it represents the most difficult of the three and it is likely to have invited scribal correction for the sake of smoothness.

3 Jn 9 implies a previous letter of some kind written by the author to Gaius ("I have written something"*egraspa ti*). Textual witnesses in some cases add *an* after the verb, which introduces a subjunctive mood ("I would have written"), and others lack "something"*(ti).* Most accept the *NovTG*[26] and UBSGNT readings (RSV translation) as the best and argue that a tendency to avoid an implicit depreciation of an apostolic letter, as well as common error, caused the variant readings.

**B. Literary Genre**

While the three documents have been labeled "epistles" the question of the literary genre is problematic in the case of 1 John. There is little doubt that 2 and 3 John are representative of the epistolary form of the Greco-Roman world. They have formal affinities with certain of the letters of the NT (Philemon, Titus) and extant secular Hellenistic correspondence.

The case is not as clear with 1 Jn. On the one hand, there are the recurring allusions to the writing of the document, "I am (we are) writing" or "I write" (1:4; 2:1, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 21, 26; 5:13). But the document lacks the usual epistolary features as a comparison with 2 and 3 John shows. There is no addressee or author named (2 Jn 1 and 3 Jn 1), greeting or prayer (2 Jn 3, 3 Jn 2), thanksgiving (2 Jn 4, 3 Jn 3–4), closing and greetings to others (2 Jn 12–13 and 3 Jn 13–15). Its content lacks what has been called the "conversational" quality of an epistle (1 Corinthians). The problem is further aggravated by the somewhat disconnected nature of the structure of the writing (cf. D.1 below).

Efforts to isolate the precise literary genre of 1 John have produced a variety of suggestions. Among the most prominent of the proposals is that 1 Jn should be read as a "general epistle" intended to be passed among a number of groups much as Galatians might have been intended for a number of Christian

communities in the region of Galatia. Others find it helpful to think of it as a "tractate" or an "instructional booklet" produced for general reading by Christians, even if an immediate group was in the author's mind. A comparison with a document such as 1 Timothy leads some to argue that a category like "pastoral epistle" is the best way to understand the author's work. That 1 John is a homily has been proposed. It has been called a "manifesto" in that it is intended to make public a particular point of view.

A number of features of 1 John help to shape the literary form in which it needs to be read. First, it is obviously a written communication intended for those affected by a rather specific set of circumstances (cf. E.1 below). Second, it is comprised of a series of rather loosely related subsections which have a homiletical quality about them. The repetitious style of the book (cf. C.1 below) betrays the origin of much of its content in oral communication. Third, the document has a "pastoral flavor" about it. That is to say, the efforts of the author demonstrate a deep concern for the readers and an attempt to address their needs, emotional as well as moral and creedal. Fourth, the author assumes a posture of authority with regard to the readers which influences the reception of the writing.

These features dictate certain conclusions regarding 1 John. One cannot take it to be a general letter of some sort given the specificity of the situation addressed therein. The author certainly has a particular community of readers in mind. But it cannot be assumed that the document does not have its roots in homilies simply because it is presently in written form. The work is profitably read with attention to the pastoral stance of its author and the function the work was designed to play in the lives of the first readers. The author was known to the first readers and was accepted as one who spoke from the vantage point of some authority or privilege.

It may, therefore, be useful to imagine that the present form of 1 John is the result of the author's effort to draw together bits and pieces of several homilies, link them loosely together, give the whole a general unity by means of thematic links among sections, and supply a written tone by the use of frequent references to "I write" or "I am writing". The effort would have been to bring together homilectical pieces directed to the critical situation facing the community as a pastoral attempt to reassure and strengthen the faith of some of the segments of a community schism. The disparate portions of the document were drawn from different homilies delivered at different times and perhaps different locations amid the emerging crisis. They were pulled together and published as an effort to make a more concerted response to that crisis and to make the response more widely available. This view is reflected in the proposed structure of the document (cf. D.1 below) and is made more feasible by an understanding of the situation facing the first readers (cf. E.1 below).

**C. Style**

**1. 1 John.** The style of 1 John has long been recognized as one of its unique and problematic features. It is commonly acknowledged that the progression of thought in 1 John is not a simple linear development. The classical view is that the document moves in what has been called a "spiral" development. That is to say, the author tends to repeat certain themes and to advance similar themes in different parts of the writing. Characteristic of the spiral is that it moves forward but only by returning to one of its original points in the process of that advance. The readers feel as if they are being brought back to a point made earlier while the recurrence of the theme provides a slightly different perspective or association. This feature has been only somewhat differently characterized by speaking of "cycles" of argument or of "recapitulation". A simple example of this spiral logic is found in the antichrist theme in 2:18–23 and 4:2–3. An appreciation of the author's style allows the reader to see that the return to this theme is to further its explication by making more specific the nature of the doctrinal position of the opponents under attack. While the recognition of such a spiral development is helpful, it does not entirely account for the repetitious quality of the writing.

That repetition has both a thematic and a linguistic dimension. Themes are repeated as the example given above and the recurrence of the theme of the "world" (2:15; 3:13; 4:5; 5:4) illustrate. But the repetitious quality of the author's style is reflected in stereotypical expressions as well as in major themes. Examples abound: "born of God" (2:29; 3:9; 4:7; 5:4, 18), "little children" (2:1, 12, 28; 3:7, 18; 4:4;

5:21), "beloved" (2:7; 3:2, 21; 4:1, 7, 11), "abides" (*menein,* e.g., 2:6; 3:6; 4:12), and "walk" (1:6, 7; 2:6, 11).

The literary function of both repetition and spiral-like progression seems clear. It has the effect of reinforcing certain themes and of fixing certain images in the readers' minds. Its purpose seems clearly to be didactic since it strengthens the author's communication of fundamental points. It also gives a somewhat disjointed document a stylistic unity.

Another feature of the style of 1 John is the use of various kinds of parallelism. Parallelism in this case refers to the pattern which states a proposition in one sentence or clause and then either repeats it in different words in the next (synonymous parallelism), or states the opposite of the proposition in the next sentence or clause (antithetical parallelism). It is not too much to say that this is the manner in which the author's logic works: to state one proposition and to draw from it still another which may be the opposite of the first or another affirmation drawn from the positive side of the first. In either case, in the second half of the parallelism the author draws out an implication of the first half. An instance of this kind of logic appears in 4:7. The equation of loving and knowing God is first stated. From that proposition arises its opposite: one who does not love does not know God.

Examples of synonymous parallelism appear in 2:11, 27; 3:6; and 5:2–3. Examples of the antithetical parallelism are found in 1:5b, 6–7, 8–9, 4–5; 2:9–10, 23; 3:7b–6a, 14; and 4:6.

A perusal of these examples makes a number of things clear about the author's style. This author uses parallelism loosely and freely, so that the pairs of propositions need not be strict parallels. Obviously the author is more fond of antithetical than synonymous parallelism for the examples of the former are more easily found than those of the latter. Further, there is a certain poetic quality about the author's argumentative style. In the parallelism there is a sound and resonance which, although short of strict poetry, nonetheless has a poetic quality, especially when read aloud. The repetitious quality of the use of parallelism implies that this material may have been written to be heard rather than read or that oral-homiletic sources are at its base.

Moreover, the use of antithetical parallelism suggests the dialectical style of this author. By this is meant that the author exploits the way a proposition generates an opposite proposition. The technique is to use one statement as the ground from which to derive a contradictory statement. The author then explores the relationship between the opposing assertions. This is typical not only of the argument throughout the writing but also of the structure of the work as a whole (cf. D.1 below).

Finally, and closely related to the dialectical style of the author, antithetical parallelism exemplifies a dualistic style. The author is prone to draw distinctions in sharp contrast, e.g., one is either a child of God or of the devil (3:10). But the contrasting style in which the text is written suggests a dualistic mode of thought as well. The author tends to contrast opposites, to use opposing terms, and to state the negative and positive side by side. The dualism of the thought of the document joins forces with the dualistic style to stress the limitation of choices for the reader—alignment with one or the other side without recourse to a moderate position.

Another stylistic feature has been called "variation". This refers to the way in which the author uses an expression a number of times and then varies it slightly in other uses. The use of familial language illustrates this point. The author refers to Christians as "children of God" (e.g., 5:2), "little children" (e.g., 5:21), "born of God" (e.g., 3:9), "fathers" (2:13–14), and "brothers" (e.g., 3:13). Another example is the language the author uses for the relationship a Christian has with God. It is spoken of as "knowing" God (2:3), "seeing" God (3:6), "abiding" in God (4:13), "have fellowship" with God (1:6), being "in the light" (2:9), and being "of God" (3:10). With this technique of variation the author states the matter in such a range of ways that the reader cannot help but understand one or the other of them. Furthermore, the author simply avoids boredom through variation.

Another stylistic feature is the use of catch-words, or the association of thoughts through single words or phrases. The outline of the structure given below (D.1) suggests that the major segments of the document find their relationship through the association of words or phrases. But often, too, the argument within any given segment proceeds on the basis of word association. The course of the argument within

3:4–18 exemplifies this practice. The author uses the word "deceive" in v 7 which seems to spark the idea of the "devil" in v 8. To "love his brother" in v 10 calls to mind the negation of brotherly love, namely Cain (v 12). "Murder" (v 15) brings to mind the free giving of life in the crucifixion (v 16), which in turns initiates the thought on the free surrender of worldly goods in v 17.

This is not to say that the author's thought wanders aimlessly in a kind of stream of consciousness, although that may sometimes appear to be the case. More accurately, the way in which the author makes a point is often through the association of words and phrases. If some would characterize the structure of the thought of 1 Jn in terms of a spiraling of thought, others could just as successfully argue that it is through the associative relationship of words and expressions.

The final stylistic feature of 1 Jn to be noted may be appropriately labeled "pastoral". What is meant by this expression is that the author seems to possess a concern for the total condition of the readers and to address them in a way that nurtures their whole life of faith. It is instructive, for instance, the way in which this author combines and alternates between exhortation and comfort or assurance. Seldom do you find exhortation in 1 Jn far from some assuring word of comfort. Two examples must suffice. Note the relationship of 4:1–3 and 4:4–6. Contrast 2:7–11 and 2:15–17 with 2:12–14.

The author is skillful enough as a pastor (or simply as a teacher) to know that the readers must be affirmed in their present condition and feel secure there if they are to be able to respond to exhortations to do more. This is a mark of one sensitive to the human condition and effective in motivating the reader.

All in all, while the style of 1 Jn is problematic in many ways, it shows signs of considerable skill and effectiveness.

**2. 2 and 3 John.** The rhetorical style of the two shorter letters may be characterized as epistolary exhortation. But the style is far more subtle than the simple announcement of injunctions. Both letters reflect a careful design to ingratiate the author with the reader before stating the exhortation. The first four verses of each of the letters serve to establish a cordial relationship with the reader in the context of which the exhortations are announced. The hope of the author to see the reader personally in each case (2 Jn 12 and 3 Jn 14) has the effect both of reminding the reader of that personal relationship with which the letters began and subtly to suggest that the reader will be held accountable to the author.

The logic of these letters is much more straightforward and clear than that of 1 Jn. In 2 Jn the author establishes the general principle of communal love (5–6), then describes the dangers of the "deceivers" (7–9), and finally exhorts an exception to the principle of communal love (10–11)—it is not to be applied to the deceivers. In 3 John the pattern is even clearer. The general principle of hospitality is announced (5–8). It is then applied to Diotrephes to show him in violation of it (9–10). Then appeal to an even more general principle is made—imitating good (11–12). The pattern is that of the positive, the negative, and again the positive. In both cases the logic is simple and appealing.

Both arguments, however, contain still further subtle tones. In 2 Jn, for instance, a careful use of warning is found in v 8—not overstated but clearly articulated. In 3 Jn the use of example is effective. The negative example of Diotrephes, who refuses hospitality (9–10), is contrasted with Demetrius (11–12), whose exemplary Christian life need only be mentioned, not detailed.

Short as they are, these two letters show signs of having been thoughtfully conceived and executed. They are examples of skillful persuasion.

**D. Structure and Contents**

**1. 1 John.** To discern a clear and logical structure to the contents of 1 Jn is very difficult. This is due in no small way to the fragmentary nature of the document the author has produced and the author's unusual logic (cf. C.1 above). It is further due to the nature of the document, its literary form, and its compositional history.

A variety of structures have been proposed. They range all the way from very simple to vastly complex. Simple structures have been proposed: A prologue with three "cycles" of argument; three major parts, introduced by an "exordium" or prologue and concluded with a postscript. More complex structures include these proposals: Two major sections in parallel structure (e.g., within the first part 2:12–17 parallels 1:8–2:2); fourteen units linked together; five divisions with a total of 196 cola.

Essential to the discernment of the structure of 1 Jn is the detection of a central theme or themes. This involves the decision as to what message is central to the author's intent and how subordinate themes are used to further the main argument. Again, there is a variety of views. Some proposals include (1) the description of the Christian life, (2) the essence of Christianity and the community of faith, (3) criteria for the new covenant communion with God, (4) exploration of fundamental affirmations about God, and (5) applications of the certain Christian principles to the crisis brought about by the schism in the community.

It has been proposed, too, that the structure is best understood in relationship to the structure of the Fourth Gospel. Attempts are made to see the major sections of 1 Jn as elucidations of the major sections of the gospel of John. Each of the writings has a prologue, two main parts and an epilogue. 1 Jn 1:1–4 parallels John 1:1–18. 1 Jn 1:5–3:10 is a kind of commentary on John 1:19–12:50, and 1 Jn 3:11–5:12 a commentary on John 13:1–20:29. 1 Jn 5:13–21 parallels John 21:1–25.

A further effort to understand the structure (or lack of it) in 1 Jn has turned to theories of sources and rearrangement. It has been proposed that the apparent lack of clear order is due to the none too careful use of a written source or sources by the author. Furthermore, might it be that the original order of the document was disrupted by some disarrangement and that the writing must be reordered if one is to discover the author's own structure?

In some of these cases the ingenuity of the critic seems to exceed that of the author of the document. It may be better to recognize and take more seriously the fragmentary nature of the writing, but even then one is not clear where one fragment concludes and another begins. Clearly the author of 1 John worked out of a logic which is quite different from that of the modern critic.

Still, the following proposed structure is a basis upon which to try to discern the major movements of thought in 1 John. It is proposed that nine discrete segments are detectable. These are perhaps fragments of homilies originating in the Johannine community. Each of the segments is dialectical in its internal structure, that is, each poses two topics and explores the relationship between the two. The outline given below further suggests the possibility that each of the major units has a triadic structure, i.e., three subdivisions. The five major units are linked together by means of one of the author's favorite stylistic techniques, the use of word or phrase association (cf. C.1 above). These individual units are: (1) Introduction: Christian Life and Fellowship (1:1–4); (2) Light and Darkness (1:5–2:11); (3) Believers and the World (2:12–17); (4) Truth and Lie (2:18–29); (5) the Children of God and the Children of the Devil; (6) the Spirit of Truth and the Spirit of Error; (7) God's Love and the Believer's Love; (8) the Son and Witnesses to the Son; and (9) Conclusion: Knowing and Doing.

The interrelatedness of these disparate units is found in links between a section and the preceding one made through words or phrases. This linking technique is part of the author's way of moving the argument through word and phrase association (cf. C.1 above). The following connections between the major sections and the words or phrases which bind the connection may be no accident: 1:1–4 to 1:5–2:11 by "proclaim," (1:3 and 5); 1:5–2:11 to 2:12–17 by "walks in darkness" (2:11) and "sin" (2:12); 2:12–17 to 2:18–29 by "world passes away" (2:17) and "last hour" (2:18); 2:18–29 to 3:1–24 by "born of God" (2:29) and "children of God" (3:1); 3:1–24 to 4:1–6 by "the Spirit" (3:24) and "every spirit" (4:1); 4:1–6 to 4:7–5:5 by "we know the spirit of truth" (4:6) and "knows God" (4:7); 4:7–5:5 to 5:6–12 by "Jesus … the Son of God" (5:5) and "Jesus Christ" (5:6); and 5:6–12 to 5:13–21 by "life" and "Son of God" (5:12) and "eternal life" and "Son of God" (5:13).

Such a structure as proposed here, along with the means of tying the units together through word or phrase association, emphasizes the role of homiletical pieces in the composition of 1 John and the style of the author.

**2. 2 and 3 John.** The content and structure of the two short epistles is far less difficult to describe than is the case with 1 John. 2 and 3 John clearly follow an epistolary form at the heart of which are a series of exhortations. Scholars have seen the relationship among the exhortations in different ways, but there is general agreement that some such exhortations form the core of the letters.

2 John is addressed to a community of Christians—"children of the Elect Lady". The letter is comprised of six parts: (1) salutation (vv 1–2); (2) apostolic greeting (v 3); (3) thanksgiving (v 4); (4) exhortations

(vv 5–11); (5) closing (v 12); and greetings (v 13). 3 John is structured in a very similar manner, but it is addressed to an individual—Gaius. The letter has seven parts: (1) salutation (v 1); (2) prayer (v 2); (3) thanksgiving (v 3); (4) exhortations (vv 5–11); (5) commendation (v 12); (6) closing (vv 13–14); and (7) peace and greetings (v 15).

Several observations are appropriate. First, the letters are in epistolary form but reflect a peculiar Johannine flavor, e.g., the use of "truth" (2 Jn 1; 3 Jn 12). Second, they are very similar in structure with conclusions that are almost identical in content. Third, 3 Jn is far more specific, naming three different individuals, while 2 Jn is more general without mention of individuals.

**E. Setting and Purpose**

**1. 1 John.** There is universal agreement that this writing was produced to address a situation brought on by a schism within a Christian community. It has been argued, however, that some of the references to the dissenting group are purely rhetorical and should be taken as little more than an inner-family disagreement. Still, 2:19 unquestionably refers to a group which seems to have separated itself from the community addressed in the document. Exegetes have attempted to discern in this verse whether the separatists left voluntarily or were expelled. The sense of the verb *(exerchesthai)* is usually taken to mean that this group has by its own will separated itself from the body addressed by the author.

From 1 Jn we gain some impressions of the nature of the separatist group. A conservative reading of the document suggests that they are charged by the author with a number of things: (1) They do not practice love in their relationships with the readers (2:9–11; 4:20–21). (2) They do not acknowledge the humanity of the Christ (4:2–3; cf. 2:22; 5:5–6). (3) They have aligned themselves with those forces which are opposed to faith, i.e., "the world" (4:5–6; 2:15–15). (4) As a consequence of the above, the author views them as instruments of evil (3:8) and actors in the last days, i.e., antichrists (2:18–23). Such a drastic assessment of former colleagues in the faith suggests the seriousness with which the author understands the situation. (5) They were never authentic Christians, i.e., truly members of the confessing community addressed by the author (2:19).

From these explicit references other of the author's statements may be seen as allusions to the views of the separatists. (1) They do not adhere to the teachings of the author and/or the general community (4:6). (2) They falsely claim to know and love God (2:4; 4:20) and to be "in the light" (1:6; 2:9). (3) They are guilty of "mortal" sin (5:16). (4) They falsely regard themselves free of sin (1:6–10; 3:3–6). (5) They are without moral restrictions in their behavior (3:4–10).

Efforts abound to identify the separatists with a specific group known to us elsewhere in the NT or in early church history. Some have argued that they are Jews, but most seek their identity among Christian groups. It is clear that the author has a christological difference with the separatists. It has been advanced both that the dissenters held a view of Christ which stressed his humanness and that they emphasized his divinity to an excess unacceptable by the author. It is clear too that the author has a moral quarrel with the separatists. But as to whether they embraced a total amorality or simply a more liberal morality is not clear. The separatists have been grouped with the NT forms of proto-gnosticism attacked in Colossians (2:8) and 1 Timothy (6:20), the libertines inferred from 1 Corinthians 8–9, and followers of John the Baptizer. Likewise, there are those who see a direct line of descent between these separatists and the docetists and gnostics attack in early church writers, e.g., Irenaeus. It has also been proposed that the dissenting group was comprised of gentiles who had not experienced the expulsion of the Johannine Christians from the synagogue (see JOHN, GOSPEL OF) and who shared a different religious background from the formative group of Johannine Christians.

The nature of the evidence about the separatists seriously qualifies our ability to identify them with other groups. These dissenters are known only indirectly through the author's polemic against them, and wisdom leads us to be careful about defining a group too precisely from the words of an antagonist. A more cautious description admits only a sketch of the views of the separatist group. They probably held a view of Christ which was conservative in its attribution of human characteristics to the Messiah. They did not practice a strict morality which evoked the charge that they did not love others in the community as they should. That they were pure docetists and/or antinomianists pushes the evidence too far. But that

they were predecessors of a later gnostic Christianity and even that their descendants found a comfortable church home among such a group is very likely.

From this evidence arises a scenario which may have produced the setting for the writing of 1 John. Within a community which stood in the tradition of that one responsible for the Fourth Gospel (cf. F.1 below) there arose a tension between two groups. It is likely that the single community to which we refer was comprised of a number of congregations associated with one another by a common origin and tradition. It may be that we should imagine a parent body with a number of smaller gatherings of Christians (perhaps "house churches"). One of the two groups held to a view of Christ and a morality which gradually alienated them from their brothers and sisters in the church until that group eventually withdrew from the community. On the basis of the evidence for the relationship between 1 John and the Gospel of John it may be surmised that the dispute centered in the interpretation of the tradition of the community, known to us in the Fourth Gospel. Specifically, the dispute centered in the understanding of the christology and moral teachings of the Gospel of John.

The schism produced anxiety and anger within the remaining community. On the one hand, there were those who viewed the separatists as apostates from the true faith. Most likely the leaders of the community, including the author of 1 John, took this posture toward the separatists. On the other hand, there were those who were confused and troubled by the schism, unsure of the correct stand on the central issues. We may surmise that a majority of the community found themselves in this situation. To address the latter group, the author of the document again and again directed portions of homilies toward the situation, seeking to reassure the "faithful" that the dissenters were guilty. Finally, to share that view with a wider segment of the community the author published a collection of fragments of those homilies for circulation.

The general purpose of 1 John, then, was to preserve a Christian community from dissolution, to protect the identity and composition of that community, and to arrest a movement which threatened the very heart of what the author understood to be a genuine faith and life.

The specific purposes of 1 John were twofold: First, it sought to show convincingly that the Christian commitment of the separatists was doubtful and that their views did violence to a proper understanding of the faith. Second, it sought to assure the remaining community that they stood within the fold of the truth faith and to reinforce their position in order to prevent further disintegration.

**2. 2 John.** This epistle seems to share a concern for the influence of another group of Christians whose views the Elder finds threatening. The exhortations contained in the letter address two issues which stand at the center of the view of the separatists in 1 John. First, the readers are exhorted to remain faithful to a morality which, it is charged in 1 John, the separatists have violated (5–6, compare 1 Jn 2:7–11). Further, the readers are urged to resist the views of those who advocate a christology which does not stress "the coming of Jesus Christ in the flesh" (7, compare 1 Jn 4:2). They are exhorted to protect "the doctrine of Christ" by denying hospitality to any who seem to compromise it (9). For good reason, therefore, most critics understand that 2 John was written amid a stage of the same crisis discernible in 1 John.

It would appear that 2 John was evoked to protect individual congregations from the threat posed by the separatists more fully described in 1 John. It was written because those separatists were being received by the congregations in the name of Christian hospitality and were hence able to exert the influence of their views. The purpose of 2 John is to suggest that the preservation of "true Christian doctrine" is a higher value than the extension of hospitality to all who claim Christian commitment.

**3. 3 John.** The situation is not so clear in the case of the last of the epistles. Here a certain Diotrephes is charged by the Elder with four offenses. First, he is asserting authority and importance for himself (9a). Second, he refuses to acknowledge the authority of the Elder and perpetuates gossip about the author (9). Third, he refuses hospitality to "the brethren" (10). Finally, he ejects from the church those who will not abide by his view (10). Gaius, the recipient of the letter, is subtly urged to side with the Elder against Diotrephes and to offer hospitality to other Christians (5–8). The letter has the obvious purpose to enlist the loyalty of Gaius for the author and to strengthen the Elder's influence in a congregation in which Diotrephes threatens it.

But the picture is clouded. Among the issues involved in determining the situation and purpose of 3 John are these questions: Are Gaius and Diotrephes leaders in one congregation or separate ones? Is Diotrephes himself a member of the separatist group? Is the situation of 3 John related in any way to the schism which seems to have occasioned 1 and 2 John? What is the authority of the Elder? Scholars differ in their answers to these questions.

Still, a viable picture arises. It is most likely that Gaius and Diotrephes are leaders in a single congregation, hence the Elder hopes to preserve his influence there by winning Gaius' support. That Diotrephes was a separatist seems unlikely. While the charge that he challenges the authority of the Elder fits the image of the view of the separatists, the charge that he denies hospitality makes little sense unless he is a member of the same community over which the Elder has some authority. Care must be taken not to read the situation of 1 and 2 John into 3 John, but the common authorship of 2 and 3 John ("the Elder") suggests the possibility that a similar situation is obtained for both. The likelihood of that possibility depends upon whether or not the evidence of 3 John can be reasonably fitted within the picture of the situation proposed above for 1 and 2 John.

What may have been the case is that Diotrephes is one who has tried to preserve his segment of the community (a satellite or house church) from the schism troubling other segments. He has done so by advocating that his congregation become independent of the influence of the parent body and simply refuse to receive representatives of either of the two positions in the schism. "The brethren" to whom Diotrephes refuses hospitality may well have been representatives of the Elder and of the parent body which was trying to hold firm against the action of the separatists. Hence, the congregation represented by Gaius and Diotrephes, in the Elder's view, stands a chance of drifting away from the position of the parent body. The letter is written to try to protect such further disintegration of the total community.

But in trying to prevent the alienation of this segment of the community the author clashes with the authority of one of the leaders of the congregation in question. The Elder challenges the authority of Diotrephes and hence raises the question of the structure of authority in the community. 3 John has often been compared with other early Christian literature (e.g., 1 Tim 3:1–16 and *Didachē*) as evidence for the emergence of church order. While it is true that some order of authority is implicit in the letter and that there is an effort on the part of the Elder to firm up that order, the epistle is too brief for us to surmise from it the exact structure of the Johannine church at the time of its writing.

Hence, it does appear that the crisis of the schism is the occasion for all three of the writings. But that such was the case poses further questions of the authorship of 1, 2, and 3 John, as well as the sequence of their composition.

**F. Authorship, Date, Locale, and Sequence**

The theories of authorship, date, locale, and sequence are premised on views of certain related issues. Only after dealing with those can one suggest possible solutions to these four puzzles.

**1. The Johannine Epistles and the Gospel of John.** The first of the cluster of issues involves the relationship between these writings and the Fourth Gospel. There is common acknowledgment of similarities between the Johannine gospel and 1, 2, and 3 John.

Between 1 John and the Gospel of John there are numerous common features and themes. Among the most important are these: Life (e.g., John 1:4)—1:2; 4:9; 5:11–12, 16. Eternal Life (e.g., John 3:16)—1:2; 2:25; 3:15; 5:11, 13, 20. Light and Darkness (e.g., John 8:32)—1:5; 2:8. Truth (e.g., John 8:32)—2:21; 3:18; 5:7. Father/Son (e.g., John 3:35)—2:22, 23; 4:14. Son, used as title for Christ (e.g., John 5:23)—1:7; 2:24; 3:23; 4:9, 10, 14; 5:9, 10, 11, 12, 20. Abide in (e.g., John 15:5)—2:24, 27, 28; 3:15, 24; 4:13, 15, 16. New Commandment (e.g., John 13:34)—2:7–8.

Between 2 John and the Gospel of John there are fewer common features or themes: Truth—1, 2, 3, 4. Abide in—2, 9 (twice). Father/Son—3,9. New Commandment—5.

3 John and the Fourth Gospel share one common theme, namely, truth—1, 3 (twice), 4, 8, 12.

Still, there are important differences between the Gospel of John and each of the Johannine epistles which are equally important. Examples of the uniqueness of 1 Jn when compared with the Fourth Gospel include the following themes: imminent "last hour" (2:18), expiation (2:1; 4:10), anointing of believers

(2:20, 27), lust (2:16–17), antichrists (2:18; 22; 4:3), lawlessness (3:4), false prophets (4:1), spirit of error (4:6), day of judgment (4:17), mortal and nonmortal sins (5:16–17), and ethical considerations (3:4; 4:20).

Concepts articulated in 2 John but notably absent from the Fourth Gospel include these: doctrine (9–10), the church as "lady" (1, 5), antichrist (7), and reward (8). In 3 John the following are found but missing in the Gospel of John: church (6, 9, 10), heathen (7), and authority (9).

The similarities and differences are enough to have evoked theories both that the fourth evangelist was the author of all the Johannine epistles and that that evangelist authored none of the other Johannine writings. The assessment of the evidence must be done with attention to the facts that we are dealing in 1, 2, and 3 Jn with different genre than gospel, that clearly a different situation obtains between the writing of the gospel and the epistles, and that the relative lengths of the gospel and epistles seriously affect their comparison. Each of the epistles must be evaluated individually.

The similarities between the Fourth Gospel and 1 John are the most impressive. But the differences are so significant as to weigh against the tradition that equates the fourth evangelist with the author of 1 John. For instance, the careful articulation of the present and future eschatologies of the Fourth Gospel is entirely lost in 1 Jn with its view of the imminent end (cf. G.5 below). It might be argued, however, that the evangelist wrote 1 Jn at a time when the author embraced a different eschatology. This means that 1 Jn might have been written before the Fourth Gospel at a time when the evangelist held strictly to a futuristic eschatology. But the situation implicit in 1 John argues decisively against a pre-gospel date. Could it then be that the evangelist wrote 1 John a decade or more after penning the gospel and at that time conceived of eschatology quite differently?

A simpler solution seems to be that the author of 1 John was a student of the Fourth Gospel and lived in a community which cherished that gospel as its primary tradition. The community had, however, undergone changes since the writing of the gospel, so that its views were no longer identical to those articulated by the fourth evangelist. In particular it may be that the differences between 1 John and the Gospel of John could be the result of the influence of other Christian traditions on the community. Particularly that seems to have been the case with regard to the soteriology of 1 John, which is markedly different from that of the gospel (cf. G.2 below). Hence, it is most likely that 1 John arose within a community descended from the community behind the Fourth Gospel but was written by one other than the fourth evangelist. This view accounts for both the similarities and the differences between the two writings.

That proposal is equally effective in dealing with 2 and 3 John. The evidence in each case is, of course, limited, since these two epistles are so very brief. But the similarities with the Gospel of John dictate nothing more than a Christian orientation influenced by the tradition which arose out of the Fourth Gospel. The presence of such concepts as "doctrine" in 2 John and the "church" in 3 John suggests significant developments beyond the conceptuality of the Gospel of John.

Hence, while sharing a tradition rooted in the Gospel of John, 1, 2, and 3 John do not evidence a common authorship with the gospel.

**2. The Relationship among 1, 2, and 3 John.** The next seminal question is whether one author is responsible for all three of the writings. That 2 and 3 John both claim to come from the hand of one identified as "the Elder" argues for their common authorship, as do marked similarities among these two epistles (2 Jn 12 and 3 Jn 13–14) and the fact that they are nearly of identical length. It is possible that one or the other was written by someone attempting to mimic an original, but the differences between the two (the absence from 3 John of any reference to the christological issue of 2 John) argue against such a view.

1 John shows impressive similarities with 2 and 3 John. The vocabulary is strikingly similar (86 percent of the words in 2 John and 70 percent of those in 3 John are found in 1 John). But the differences are notable. 1 John does not identify its author as "the Elder," betrays a different and far more poetic style, and demonstrates nothing of the more developed view of the church and its authority structure found either implicitly or explicitly in 2 and 3 John. But again the evidence is slim, given the reduced size of 2 and 3 John, and the literary genre of 1 John is distinctively different from that of its companions.

The question of the identity of the Elder responsible for 2 and 3 John must be addressed. While it is sometimes claimed that the Elder assumes some official status in those epistles which bear this title, such a view is questionable. It is to be noted that in neither 2 nor 3 Jn does the author threaten any sort of "official" action against the disobedient. To the contrary, the Elder seems intent upon eliciting some respect by virtue of persuasion and appeal to sound doctrine (2 Jn 9). The manner in which the Elder attempts to win the favor of the reader (cf. C.2 above) counts against the view that the author speaks from any position of official authority. Clearly the Elder is a revered leader of some sort, but that does not presuppose a position of official authority. Hence, the Elder speaks with authority not unlike that of the author of 1 John who appeals to his/her role in the preservation of the tradition of the community (1:1–4).

Nonetheless, given all of these considerations, it is the wiser choice to conclude that the evidence for common authorship is not convincing. But, on the other hand, the similarities are enough to argue for the three having originated in a single community. Furthermore, the situation implied by the three is sufficiently similar to suggest that, not only were they all written for segments of the same community, but that they represent efforts to address portions of that community in a relatively common period of time.

**3. The Sequence of the Composition of 1, 2, and 3 John.** If it is the case that these three writings come from at least two different hands (none of which is the fourth evangelist) out of a community which embraces the Johannine tradition shaped by the Fourth Gospel and address a common situation (if at different points in time), can one discern their chronological order with any greater exactness?

A variety of views have been proposed, ranging all the way from the theory that the canonical order reflects their chronological order to the exact opposite. The similarities between the content of 1 and 2 John tie them closely together. But the nature of 1 John makes it difficult to determine precisely what stage the schism had reached at the time the document was published. This is due in part to its fragmentary nature (cf. D.1 above) and its genre (cf. B above). Still, it is clear that 2:19 was written after the separatists had left the community addressed in 1 John. It has been proposed that 2 John was written while the separatists were still exerting influence within the community before their withdrawal. But that view supposes that the separatists did not continue to try to influence satellite congregations after terminating relationships with the parent body of the community.

It is impossible to demarcate exactly the order of 1 and 2 John, and far better to suppose that they were written at nearly the same time and at the same stage in the schism of the church. Perhaps 2 John was written by the Elder to alert the satellite congregations of the dangers of extending hospitality to the separatists at the very time the author of 1 John was publishing the collection of homiletical fragments as a way of bolstering the entire community (parent and satellite congregations) amid the crisis.

3 John represents another kind of a problem. On the one hand, the Elder's attack upon Diotrephes for not offering hospitality to some seems strange, if the congregation has just received a letter from the same author warning against indiscriminate hospitality. On the other hand, could Diotrephes be one of the dissenters still in the community before the schism mentioned in 1 John 2:19 has taken place? Some would, of course, cut 3 John free of the situation implied in 1 and 2 John and propose that it comes either significantly before the surfacing of any dissension in the community or long after the schism has been survived.

It has been proposed above (E.3) that Diotrephes was attempting to preserve his satellite church from the schism disrupting the entire community. If that indeed was the case, it is likely that 3 John was written after its two companions and reflects the ongoing problems brought about by the schism in the near past. That is, 3 John reflects the efforts of some in satellite congregations to try to deal with the situation brought about by the schism. Diotrephes was simply endeavoring to free his congregation of any involvement in the issue. The Elder, in this case, is trying to modify an earlier injunction against the extension of hospitality to the separatists by saying that the congregation should receive "the brethren" (5, 10), i.e., the representatives of the parent body of the community. The indications are that 3 John was written after 2 John to correct, among other things, an overzealous reaction to the first of the letters from the Elder.

Therefore, there is some chronological sense to the canonical order of these three documents, even if such a correspondence occurred as much by accident as by design.

**4. Date and Locale.** The dates of the three documents can be fixed only approximately. The dating of each depends, of course, on the conclusion one has reached with regard to its relationship with the Gospel of John and the other two writings. While some would contend that one or more of the epistles predates the gospel, most would locate them in time after the writing of the Fourth Gospel. If the theory advanced above is sound, a number of considerations enter into the process of determining the date to be assigned.

The first issue regards the dating of the Gospel of John itself. Many would date the Johannine epistles at least a decade later than the gospel, although that period of time is little more than an informed guess. How long a period of time might have elapsed between the writing of the gospel and the publication of the epistles? Several things seem to have occurred in the intervening period of time. First, the Johannine community has recovered from the trauma of the expulsion from the synagogue which occasioned the production of the gospel. See JOHN, GOSPEL OF. The issue is no longer the relationship of the community to the synagogue and external opponents, but now an internal matter. Second, it would appear that the Johannine community has come under the influence of other Christian perspectives and to some degree integrated those perspectives within their own view of Christian life and faith (and death of Jesus understood as expiation, 1 Jn 2:2). Third, the tendency of the community to understand faith in terms of proper doctrine (2 Jn 9) has developed beyond the hints of that view found in the Gospel of John. Fourth, some unofficial organizational structure has emerged in the Johannine church to replace the informal, spirit-led authority implied in the Gospel of John, with the consequences that the terms, "church" (3 Jn 6, 9, 10) and "Elder" have become commonplace.

It is feasible that such changes might occur within the course of a decade in a body which is still in the process of finalizing its form and nature. Therefore, if one dates the Gospel of John 90–95, as do many, the Johannine epistles could be assigned dates of 100–5. If one is inclined to date the gospel a decade earlier, the Johannine epistles could well have been written by 90–95.

Little can be said with certainty about the locale of the Johannine community. Tradition has placed it in Ephesus, and many would still argue for that tradition. Recent developments in Johannine scholarship, however, have been inclined to locate that community in closer proximity to Palestine. Hence, a theory that the community was in Syria is feasible, if unprovable. Such a theory arises from speculation concerning the character of the synagogue which it is supposed was the original home of the Johannine Christians. Assuming that the locale of the Fourth Gospel is the same locale in which 1, 2, 3 John were written, the theory might also be a reasonable hypothesis for the Johannine epistles.

## G. Theology

**1. The View of Christ.** The nucleus of the teachings of 1 and 2 John is the view of Christ. No other NT writing stresses the importance of the humanity of Jesus for Christian faith as do these two documents. It is doubtless that this insistence arose in response to the views of the separatists who seem to have qualified the humanity of Christ (cf. E.1 and 2 above). Hence the christology of these two writings is expressed in a polemic tone.

The author of 1 John stresses that Christ "has come in the flesh" (*en sarki*, 4:2) and the Elder echoes that the "deceivers" are those "who will not acknowledge the coming of Jesus Christ in the flesh" 2 Jn 7). The insistence that Jesus is the Christ in 1 John (e.g., 4:15; 5:1) seems to arise from a desire to equate the messianic agent of God with the human, Jesus. The meaning of 1 Jn 5:6 is often debated, but generally exegetes agree that it has to do with this central motif of the humanity of Christ. It is feasible that "water" represents either the human birth of the Christ or his baptism and that "blood" is a cipher for the reality of his death. The denial that Jesus came "not with the water only" may be a refutation of a view which attempted to limit the association of the Christ with the human Jesus to a period after his baptism but short of his death.

The theological contribution of 1 and 2 John is not only that they affirm the importance of the affirmation of the humanity of Jesus but, as well, the fact that they position this view so that it becomes the focal point of the whole of Christian faith. In 2 John this view of the human, historical appearance of

the Messiah is elevated to the status of "the doctrine *(didachē)* of Christ". This is a way of saying that such a view of Christ is the "proper" understanding of Christ. With this perspective the epistle contributes toward the emergence of an "orthodoxy" within the Church, especially as it has to do with the correct understanding of Christ. The Elder identifies those who would qualify this proper doctrine as "the antichrist" and "deceivers" (*planos,* 7), a probable reference to the apocalyptic view that the last days would see the emergence of agents of evil who would try to seduce the true believers into falsity (e.g., Rev 13:14; cf. 5 below).

2 John simply summarizes what is affirmed in 1 John in this regard, for the author of 1 John claims that failure to believe in the humanity of Christ has dire consequences for the faith. The failure to identify Christ with Jesus is equated with the eschatological "lie" (cf. Rev 14:5), and one who holds this view is among the dreaded "antichrists" of the last time. Such a faulty view of Christ is a denial, not only of the messianic agent, but of God as well (2:22). The "spirit" which inspires persons to deny that Jesus came in fleshly form is "not of God" (4:3), and such persons are part of the realm of unbelief, i.e., "of the world" (4:5). The appearance of Christ in the human Jesus is the witness of God; consequently those who deny that appearance do not believe God but make God out to be a "liar"(*pseustēs,* 5:10), thus equating God with the Devil (John 8:44). By implication, one who embraces the view of the fleshliness of the Christ has the Son and hence "life," and one who does not is denied a relationship with Christ and its benefits, namely, salvation (5:12).

This emphasis upon the humanity of the appearance of Christ is surely rooted in the Johannine tradition. "In the flesh" of 1 Jn 4:2 and 2 Jn 7 is reminiscent of John 1:14. At the same time, it is a decision to stress that dimension of the Fourth Gospel over those indications in the Johannine view of Christ which minimize his human qualities (in John 19:30 Jesus does not die but "gave up his spirit"). 1 and 2 John reflect an interpretation of the Johannine tradition which allows it to be read in harmony with the emerging "orthodoxy" of the Church, as opposed to the separatists from the community who interpreted the same tradition along lines more compatible with what was to become the gnostic heresy.

**2. The Saving Work of Christ.** 1 John teaches a soteriology which goes beyond the tradition rooted in the Fourth Gospel. That gospel gives expression to an understanding of the death of Jesus which never uses metaphors of a sacrificial death drawn from Jewish cultic practices. See JOHN, GOSPEL OF. The soteriology of 1 John, on the other hand, betrays a quite different understanding of the saving work of Christ.

Christ appeared, it is affirmed in 3:8, in order to destroy the power of evil. The death of Jesus is spoken of as an "expiation" (*hilasmos,* 2:2; 4:10). The word is unique to this writing, but its root is present in words used in Rom 3:25 and Heb 2:17 to articulate the meaning of the cross. Its basic meaning is a making of appeasement and is used in the Septuagint of a sacrificial "covering over" in cultic practices. It expresses an effort to alleviate the cause of the alienation between the divine and humans.

Other images called forth to speak of the meaning of the death of Jesus include that of the "cleansing" of sin by his blood (1:7b, 9). The verb, *katharizō,* has the sense of a freeing of contamination and has roots in the concept of the sin offering in the Hebrew Scriptures (Lev 4:1–12). That Jesus himself was free of sin (3:3 and 5) also relates to the cultic images employed, since the atoning sacrifice offered to God for sin must itself be free of sin (Leviticus 4 and 1 Pet 1:19). The work of Christ is characterized as "forgiveness," which is used in synonymous parallelism with "cleansing" (cf. 1:9 and 2:12). A similar expression is found in 3:5 where it is declared that Jesus "appeared to take away *(airein)* sins". With regard to the overcoming of sin Jesus is called an "advocate"*(paraklētos)* in 2:1. It is a Johannine word (John 15:26) which means "one called to the side of another" for the purposes of defense and aid.

It is clear that the author of 1 John was free to use a number of different metaphors in the effort to express the significance of the death of Jesus. But it is also clear that metaphors drawn from the sacrificial cultic practices of Judaism figured prominently in those efforts.

That the saving work of Christ has universal effect is affirmed in 2:2 with the expression, "the sins of the whole world". The efficacy of the death of Jesus is suggested by the use of the word "all"*(pas)* in 1:7 and 9.

Associated with the appropriation of the benefits of the work of Christ in 1 John is the "anointing" (*chrisma*, 2:20 and 27). This unction is by "the Holy One" and yields confidence in the faith (2:20). It teaches the Christian what is necessary and "abides" with the believer (2:27). Commentators disagree as to what practice lies behind these references. Some argue that it is an allusion to baptism; others claim that it has to do with an initiatory anointing with oil. Whichever view one adopts, the anointing seems to have been a cultic practice in the Johannine church by means of which the new believer appropriated for her/himself the benefits of Christ's work.

The result is that one who embraces the benefits of Christ's death is freed of sin and its influence (3:5). But therein lies a problem in understanding the theology of 1 John.

**3. The Understandings of Sin.** The author of 1 John uses the noun, sin *(hamartia),* no less than seventeen times. Six of those uses are in the plural and eleven in the singular, which suggests that the author was not careful to distinguish between the state of sinfulness and its expression in specific acts. In addition, the verbal form is used nine times. Obviously sin is synonymous with a condition alienated from God and unbelief, aligned with the forces of evil (3:8), and given to behavior which violates the will of God. The author equates sin with "lawlessness" (*anomia,* 3:4). The separatists are labeled as victims of sin (3:9) who "walk in darkness" (1:6), an allusion to a lifestyle disengaged from the Creator.

But a serious contradiction arises within the treatment of sin in the first of the writings. The author claims, on the one hand, that the Christian is guilty of sin (1:8, 10). On the other hand, there is the absolute assertion that the Christian does not sin (3:6, 9). This contradiction is resolved by interpreters in a number of ways. One such effort is to argue that the author intended to contrast sin as a way of life, which the Christian has repudiated, and sin as an occasional lapse in behavior of which the Christian is guilty. Such a view is made more attractive when one understands 1 Jn as a series of homiletical fragments loosely linked together. It is feasible that one homily stressed the sense in which the Christian has been removed from a lifestyle characterized by alienation from God, while another emphasized the inevitable failure of Christians to live out what they have become in Christ.

Still another approach to this contradiction is to contrast two different views of sin. The claim that the Christian is free to sin builds upon the view of sin in the Gospel of John which understands it basically not as a matter of immoral life but rejection of the revelation of God in Christ (e.g., John 15:22; 16:8). Sin is the opposite of belief, in this case. That the Christian is guilty of sin presupposes a different view of sin, namely, that of immoral behavior. Such a view is also rooted in the Gospel of John (John 8:46).

Some have proposed that the separatists held to a pre-gnostic view of perfectionism, which claimed that the believers were those whose origin was "born of God"—the true Creator God—and hence they could not sin and were free of any moral law. (Hence they are characterized as "lawless," 3:4.) The author of 1 John, however, attacks such a view and advocates instead a "Johannine perfectionism," which holds that unbelief is the only sin in the ultimate sense. In the author's attack upon the opponents, the reality of Christian sin is stressed; in the advocacy of the community's position, the freedom from sin is affirmed.

Yet another important element in the view of sin in 1 John is encountered in 5:16–17. There the author makes a distinction between "mortal" and "nonmortal" sin (*hamartia pros thanaton* and *hamartia mē pros thanaton*). It is this distinction which has led the Church at times to try to classify specific immoral acts in these two ways, and which has caused exegetes to struggle with the distinction for centuries. Again it may be helpful to read 1 John in the light of the Johannine tradition. What the author chooses to call "mortal sin" is unbelief. Failure to believe costs one "life" in the Johannine sense of salvation. Unbelief leads inescapably to the opposite of life, "death". "Nonmortal sin" is simple human failure to live the will of God within the context of faith. The author's concern for the quality of the Christians' moral lives and the development of ethics beyond the confines of what is found in the Fourth Gospel leads to the distinction made in this passage.

**4. Morality.** The authors of these writings are all concerned with nurturing a proper Christian moral life. This is doubtless the case, in part at least, because of the threat posed by the separatists, whose moral perspective was liberal at best. 1 John in particular stresses the centrality of morality for the Christian, and the Elder builds a moral appeal into both of the epistles (2 John 5–6, 3 John 11).

In 1 Jn the morality of the Christian is characterized as "walking in the light" (1:7), "keeping his commandments" (2:3), and being "in the truth" (2:4). It is in righteous living that Christians express the fact that they are "born of God" (e.g., 3:9), "children of God" (e.g., 3:1), and "abide in" God or Christ (e.g., 2:6, 24). Loving others is the sign that Christians that have passed from death to life (3:14). Indeed, one who loves is "born of" and "knows" God (4:7). In 3 John the readers are exhorted to imitate good and assured that one who "does good" is "of God" (11).

But righteousness is understood as concrete behavior, not some internal state of the soul. Righteousness is doing the right or just thing (*ho poiōn tēn dikaiosynēn dikaios estin,* 3:7). "Doing good" is the comparable expression used in 2 John (11). The moral life involves separation from the "world," which is the symbol of unrighteousness (4:5), and overcoming the "lust" and "pride" of the world (2:16).

The moral life is rooted in love, and it is for its clear articulation of the centrality of love that 1 Jn has rightly become best known. Love has its origin in God, for "God is love" (4:16), and "love is of God" (4:7). The divine love is expressed in Christ (4:9), and hence God took the initiative in loving humans (4:10). But that expression of divine love is what evokes and even creates the possibility of love among humans (4:11, 19). God, who is unseen, abides among humans as love (4:12) so that abiding in love is abiding in God (4:16). Human love for God is appropriately expressed in loving others (4:20; 5:1).

The commandment of the Johannine Jesus to "love one another" (John 13:34) is repeated five times in the course of 1 John (3:11, 23; 4:7, 11, 12) and once in 2 John (5). Paraphrases of that commandment ("love his brother/the brethren/the children of God") occur six times in 1 John (2:10; 3:10, 14; 4:20, 21; 5:2). That this injunction is stated in the restricted form of loving other Christians of the community, rather than all humans, is troublesome to some. Some arguments have been advanced which favor interpreting the commandment in terms of a universal love. Those efforts, however, may not be entirely honest with the limited vision of the Johannine community. However, given the discussion of the divine nature of human love, it is clear that the logic of the Johannine position moves toward the universal character of the Christians' responsibility to love, even if that view is not explicitly expressed in the formulas of 1 and 2 John.

But like being righteous, loving is a matter of concrete behavior. It is not enough to speak about love, but love must be executed in deeds (3:18). In 3 John love is executed specifically in the extension of hospitality and the support of other Christians (5–8). In 1 John love means sacrificially giving of one's worldly goods to others in need (3:17). Such giving is modeled after Jesus' act of sacrificing his life. That model dictates that Christians, too, must be willing to "lay down our lives for the brethren" (3:16).

The eschatological view of the author of 1 John motivates moral purification (3:3). But a faithful response to the injunction to love eliminates any fear of facing the judgment of that last day (4:18).

**5. The View of the End Times.** Eschatology is not a peripheral issue in 1 John. The "last hour" is present, the author asserts, because the "antichrists" of the end times are present (2:18). This single verse raises two questions relevant to the eschatology of the document. First, why does the author use the expression, "the last hour," instead of the more standardized, "last days" (John 6:40)? It has been proposed that the imminence of the final acts of God led the author to use "hour" rather than "day." It has also been argued that the expression is shaped by the references to Jesus' "hour" in the Fourth Gospel (John 2:4).

Even more perplexing in 2:18 is the word "antichrist"*(antichristos)* which is used four times in 1 John (2:18—twice, 22; 4:3) and once in 2 John (7). These are the only uses of this word in the NT. It is not found in the Jewish intertestamental literature, the Midrashim, nor the Talmud. It seems that the Johannine community, by the time of the writing of 1 and 2 John, had devised this title as part of its apocalyptic expectation. That the author of 1 John can use the term in both the singular and plural (2:18) is an indication that the concept was pliable. It seems to symbolize the final assertion of evil at the end time, an idea expressed in other imagery in NT apocalypticism (e.g., 1 Thess 2:1–12). It may be that the title was conceived amid the Johannine crisis, since the view of Christ was a central issue in the debate with the separatists.

In the view of the author of 1 Jn the end time involves the appearance of the antichrist(s), as well as the power of lie (2:22) and deceit (2:26, cf. 2 Jn 7). Christians are protected against these mighty evil forces by their anointing (2:27, cf. 2 above). The expectation of the parousia of Christ is expressed in 2:28. That event will bring a transformation of the Christians, in which they will become "like him" (3:2). The last day will include a final judgment (4:17) in the face of which Christians need have no fear, if they have been faithful in their love (4:18). That some reward awaits Christians is suggested by 2 Jn 8. The moral implication of this hope is the call for purification (3:3).

It is interesting that 1 and 2 John give expression to an eschatology which is of an apocalyptic kind. While some features of a futuristic and even apocalyptic eschatology are found in the Gospel of John (resurrection, 6:40), such features are not the most distinguishing mark of Johannine eschatology. The views of 1 and 2 John are evidence that the Johannine community had been influenced by other Christian beliefs about the end time. But they may also reflect the way in which the crisis of the schism in the community aroused apocalyptic expectation.

**H. Value**

The value of these three documents resides in four interrelated areas. The first is the contribution they make to an understanding of the emerging church at the end of the 1st century. They exemplify the way in which the Church found it necessary to begin to draw more clear lines between what constituted an authentic Christian faith and what needed to be deemed an aberration of that faith. The Church thought it important to develop an orthodoxy in the light of which claims of truth could be evaluated. While such a development is unfortunate in some ways, it provided the Church with a clear identity by which to preserve itself in the future. 1 and 2 John contribute two vital aspects of that emerging orthodoxy. The first is the centrality of the humanity of Christ, and the second is the importance of the moral dimension of Christian life. Around these two themes a good deal of what is essential to historic Christianity could be summarized.

More specifically, in 1, 2, and 3 John one witnesses the Christian community struggling to rescue itself from an annihilation resulting from a schismatic movement. The writings are a glimpse into the heart of a religious community attempting to contend with a diversity of views and beliefs. The glimpse informs the readers of the traumatic nature of schism and the array of emotions which arise as a consequence of the tearing asunder of what once had been a single religious body. The defensive and polemical stance of the authors does not exemplify the best response to diversity—indeed, one would hope that there are more creative possibilities. But still the authors show us what is at risk in diversity and what the tragic results of different fundamental orientations can be for the solidarity of a community.

The second contribution is the way in which 3 John promotes the emergence of a clear structure of authority in the Church. While that structure is not specifically defined in 3 John, directions for its development are obvious. For its identity and preservation the Church thought it necessary to have, not only a clear orthodoxy, but also to be able to manage itself in the face of the improper assertions of power on the part of persons such as Diotrephes. With that development of authority there came some new dangers. But in 3 John we see none of the absoluteness and inflexibility of ecclesiastical authority characteristic of later periods in the history of the Church. What we do see is the effort to establish legitimate authority to preserve good order for the sake of the community.

Third, the three writings suggest a pastoral sensitivity and mode of operation which has value for today. The writers in each case were acutely aware of the human condition and ways by which humans may be nurtured to deal with that condition. In 1 John there is evidence of a concern to balance exhortation with affirmation. In 2 and 3 John there is evidence of an awareness of what motivates humans to change their behavior and a high degree of importance attached to personal relationships.

Finally, the value of the so-called Johannine epistles cannot be discussed without mention of the view of Christianity as rooted and centered in love. If there is one single ingredient which characterizes the core of the Christian gospel and its moral imperative, it is surely love. 1 and 2 John give expression to that fact with a clarity unsurpassed in the NT literature. For that contribution alone the writings merit preservation and appreciation.

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ROBERT KYSAR

**JOHN, THE GOSPEL OF.** The fourth of what are now the canonical gospels was attributed to John, a disciple of Jesus, as early as the last quarter of the 2d century. Irenaeus clearly identifies the "disciple whom Jesus loved" with the author of the Fourth Gospel (*haer*. 3.1.2), and the Muratorian Canon speaks of a disciple, John, as responsible for the fourth of the gospels. The traditional association of the gospel with the disciple, John, Son of Zebedee, was firmly embedded by the 4th century.

There is textual evidence of the existence of the Gospel of John early in the 2d century, but its inclusion in the canon was not without difficulty. Its use in the writings of the earliest Church Fathers is not prominent, although it is argued that allusions to the gospel are discernible. It is perhaps only the prominence of John in gnostic Christian circles which brought it center stage for the Church as a whole. Its role in Valentinian Gnosticism has been long recognized. More recently, its affinities with the library discovered at Nag-Hammadi further document the popularity of the gospel among gnostic Christians. It was the gnostic, Heracleon, who wrote the first commentary on the Gospel of John.

In its defense against Gnosticism the Church embraced the Gospel of John and attempted to demonstrate that the gospel affirmed the "orthodox Christian faith". The affiliation of the gospel with gnostic Christian beliefs led some, however, to reject it along with Revelation, as Irenaeus witnesses (*haer*. 3.2.12). There ensued a struggle between those who favored the gospel and those who believed its gnostic associations barred it from a place among the books of the Church. The naming of John among the accepted writings in the Muratorian Canon may be evidence of such a struggle. Origen sought to wrest John from the grip of gnostic interpreters. By the end of the 4th century it was clear that John's place in the canon was secured.

The storm of controversy around the gospel in the nascent centuries of Christianity continues in recent times, and the question of its interpretation is still not settled. This article will attempt to characterize the current status of that debate and delineate what seem to be the major lines of interpretation today.

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**A. Textual Considerations**

The oldest extant portion of NT writings is a papyrus fragment ($P^{52}$) containing bits of John 18 and dating from the first half of the 2d century. John is well represented in other papyri, including such witnesses as $P^{66}$ and $P^{75}$. Many conclude from this strong witness the importance of John in a so-called "Egyptian" text which existed as early as, if not prior to, the "Western" text. Among the important uncial codices and versions John is equally well represented. The significance of patristic citations has been a point of recent controversy, but there, too, the text of John is suitably established. Origen's text of the gospel exhibits great affinities with the "Caesarean" text and the Vaticanus and Sinaiticus codices.

However, the gospel has its share of disputed passages. Only a few of those which are particularly significant and in some cases controversial can be mentioned here.

7:52–8:12 has been decisively shown not to have been a part of the original gospel. The oldest Greek witnesses do not include it (e.g., $P^{66}$ and $P^{75}$). In other mss the section is located elsewhere or missing entirely.

1:3–4 may be punctuated several different ways. Should "that which was made" (*ho gegonen*) be taken with the conclusion of v 3 or the beginning of v 4? A quotation in Tatian lends weight to beginning a new sentence with *ho gegonen,* as does the omission of *en* in v 4 by $P^{66}$.

1:18 contains the unresolved question whether to read *ho monogenēs theos* or *ho monogenēs huios.* The attestation of $P^{66\ 75}$ for the former leads many to prefer it.

7:39 may be read "For as yet the Spirit had not been given" or "For as yet the Spirit was not". The first is supported by Latin and Syriac versions, while the second is attested in Greek mss and is the more likely.

7:52 raises the problem of whether or not "the prophet" was used here as a messianic title. The definite article, "the," is missing in the majority of witnesses, but present in $P^{66}$. The latter is increasingly gaining acceptance as the preferred reading.

20:31 holds the difficult question of whether an aorist ("may come to believe") or a present subjunctive ("may go on believing") was intended. Both have strong early support (cf. D.1 below).

**B. Structure and Distinctiveness**

Studies of the structure of the gospel and its distinctiveness stress both the problematic character of the work of the evangelist and its artistic quality.

**1. Structure and Contents.** The structure of the gospel presents the reader with a number of difficulties. Among these is the geographical locale of Jesus in chaps. 5 and 6. The setting for chap. 5 is Jerusalem (v 1), and the reader is never told of a movement to Galilee in the course of the chap. But the next chap. opens with Jesus in Galilee (6:1). Some have proposed that chap. 6 belonged originally after chap. 4 and that the order of the chaps. suffered disarrangement. 14:31 is another anomaly. It would seem to indicate a conclusion to the final discourses, even though they continue in the succeeding chaps.

A period of Johannine scholarship was marked by the effort to restore the structure of the gospel to a better and proposed original order. Those efforts met with little consensus among scholars and today have for the most part given way to an effort to see purpose in the present order. While the recent appreciation of the present order has succeeded where theories of rearrangement failed, the reader is still left with the impression that the fourth evangelist did not always smooth over transitional points in the narrative. It must be said that while the structure of the gospel exhibits considerable skill, it is not without its faults. A common view is that the evangelist has incorporated and redacted traditional materials without always covering the "seams" between the traditional and redactional materials. Moreover, one must conclude that, in spite of arguments to the contrary, geographical movements were not central to the author's purpose.

The structure of the gospel has most frequently been viewed in two major parts. The first, sometimes called the "Book of Signs," covers chaps. 1–12 and the second, labeled the "Book of Glory,"chaps. 13–20. There is ample justification for such a division, even though the titles may not be as descriptive as they might. The first section, 1–12, depicts Jesus' public ministry. There he performs a number of wondrous deeds, engages in discussion with opponents and the crowds, and moves freely between Galilee and Judea. In chaps. 13–20 Jesus is restricted to discussions with his disciples alone (13–17) and to the passion experience (18–21). The theme suggested by the text itself pivots around "the hour"—the death and resurrection. In chaps. 1–11 it is declared on several occasions that Jesus' "hour has not come" (2:4; 7:30; 8:20). 12:23 announces the advent of the crucial time of revelation, and throughout chaps. 13–20 the presence of the "hour" is affirmed (13:1; 17:1). The first major part of the gospel is preparation for the "hour," the second the depiction of the "hour" itself.

Another pivotal theme in the relationship of the two major parts of the gospel is conceptually synonymous with the "hour" but employs the language of "glorification" (17:1). In the first section the "glorification" is spoken of as a future event (7:39; 12:16). In chaps. 13–21 the time of glorification is present (13:31; 17:5). Chap. 12 is clearly intended in this structure as the transitional bridge between the two.

The narrative of Jesus' ministry is prefaced with a hymn (1:1–18) which celebrates the salvific work of God through the Word *(logos).* Here the author alerts the reader to the identity of Jesus and his place in the divine plan. The reader thus knows from the first chap. the issue which is central to the entire gospel and the resolution of the discussions which transpire through the course of the story, namely, who is this man Jesus.

1:19–51 briefly establishes the relationship between Jesus and the immediate circle of disciples and provides a historical beginning for the ministry of Jesus. Included in this section is the first of the several witnesses of John, the Baptizer.

2:1–5:47 includes the narration of three wondrous acts (signs) and a series of discussion/dialogues. It begins with the Cana sign (2:11) and moves immediately to the cleansing of the Temple which announces Jesus' relationship with the Judaism of his day (2:19). The Nicodemus discourse is followed by another testimony of the Baptizer and then by the story of the faith of the Samaritans. Two healings—the royal official's son and the man with the thirty-eight year illness—are back to back in 4:43–5:18. Speeches on the subject of the relationship of the Father and the Son's activity and the witnesses to Jesus conclude the section. The section climaxes with the accusation of unbelief (5:19–47).

That accusation of unbelief begins the steady crescendo of opposition to Jesus which is sharply heightened in chap. 6. The chap. begins with three wondrous deeds—the feeding of the multitude, the walking on the sea, and the wondrous landing of the boat (6:1–21). There follows the lengthy bread of life

discourse. Here Jesus makes the high claims for himself consistent with the announcement of the prologue of the gospel. The response is a schism among his hearers which finds many who had believed now leaving him (6:22–71).

In dramatic fashion the evangelist portrays the degree of opposition to Jesus' claims at the end of chap. 6 and then brings him to the locale where that opposition is the strongest (7:1–9). 7:10–10:42 has Jesus in Jerusalem, the center of the opposition and unbelief. A series of addresses in the Temple (7:10–52; 8:12–59) clarify the nature of the opposition. Chap. 9 is the skillful story of the possibilities of faith told through the giving of sight to the blind man and the resultant blindness of the religious leaders. Chap. 10 further explores that opposition in contrast to the relationship of believers with Jesus.

The opposition reaches its peak in chap. 11, when in response to the wondrous act of raising Lazarus to life the plot on Jesus' life is set in motion. The inevitability of that plot is confirmed in the anointing of Jesus' body for burial (12:1–11). There follows the entry into Jerusalem which suggests the nature of Jesus' kingship and the arrival of the Greeks which signals the advent of the "hour" (12:12–36). Significantly the first major portion of the gospel concludes with the statement of the unbelief of the religious leaders, its meaning in terms of OT prophecy, and a final public word of Jesus concerning the division among humans caused by his presence (12:37–50).

The second major portion of the gospel is prefaced by the foot washing and the commandment to love one another. These acts and words of love, however, are set over against the prediction of Judas' betrayal and Peter's denial (13:1–38).

Chaps. 14–17 are comprised of three clusters of final instructions to his disciples and a prayer for them and their glorification in Jesus' glorification. The so-called "farewell discourses" are a mosaic of themes introduced, explored, dropped, and reintroduced. They address the loss of the disciples in the death of Jesus in contrast to their gain, the intimacy they have with Christ, and the assurance that is theirs in tribulation. Woven into these themes is the promise and the role of the "Counselor" who comes to continue Jesus' ministry. The prayer of chap. 17 focuses on Jesus' concern for his disciples and his imminent fate.

The passion narrative is the story of the exaltation and glorification of Jesus (18:1–20:29). Judas' betrayal and Peter's denial are told now as they were predicted. The religious trial is narrated with the greatest of brevity. The political trial before Pilate, however, is given detailed attention and focuses upon the nature of the kingship that is bestowed upon Jesus in the cross (18:28–19:16). The royal disposition of Jesus which marks the whole of the passion story is maintained as he dies on the cross and is buried in a tomb fit for a king (19:17–42—cf. G.2 below).

The discovery of the empty tomb is told but with attention to the possibilities for faith it offers (20:1–10). Three resurrection appearances bring the story to its final climax. First, the risen Christ appears to Mary Magdalene (20:11–18); second, he presents himself to the disciples with Thomas absent (20:19–23); and finally, to Thomas and the other disciples (20:24–29). The final words of Jesus in the gospel are an invitation to belief and a beatitude for those who believe without seeing. The final words of a human actor in the gospel are an affirmation of the assertions with which the gospel began—"My Lord and my God!" (20:27–29). Against the opposition which tried its best to turn its back on Jesus, God in the cross and resurrection reveals that man's status as the king of humanity.

The evangelist's own conclusion recognizes the limitations of the gospel but declares it has been written to evoke faith in Jesus as the Christ and Son of God (20:30–31).

Chap. 21 is clearly an appendix, added after the completion of the first 20 chaps. But it appropriately concludes some issues of importance left unresolved in the earlier chaps., namely, Peter's reinstatement and commissioning, as well as the role of the beloved disciple.

**2. Distinctive Features.** This gospel is marked by a series of features which are distinctive when compared with the first three gospels of the canon. Those features may be summarized in three general categories.

**a. Vocabulary and Style.** Many of the most frequent expressions found in the Synoptic Gospels are rare or missing entirely from the Gospel of John (e.g., "Kingdom of God/Heaven," "Sadducees,"

"scribes," "forgive," "demons," "tax collectors"). In contrast there is an almost unique Johannine vocabulary which makes use of such expressions as "life," "light," "darkness," "truth," "world," "the Jews," "know," "Counselor" and "Son" as a title for Jesus. While not absent from the synoptics, the term "Father" used of God appears with common regularity in John, as does the expression, "him who sent me," a rare synoptic reference to God. The double "amen" (e.g., 1:51; 10:1; 12:24) is unique to the Fourth Gospel. The "I am" formula in its various forms, so frequent in John (e.g., 6:20, 35, 51; 8:24; 15:5) is seldom encountered in the first three gospels.

The style of the Fourth Gospel also sets it apart from the other gospels (cf. C.1 below). Most notable is the style of the Johannine Jesus' discourses. In contrast to the economy of the words of Jesus as they are found in the first three gospels, the Johannine Jesus is made to speak at great length and repetitiously. Even the so-called sermons in the Synoptic Gospels are comprised of short, distinct sayings as opposed to the longer and often rambling discourses of the fourth evangelist's Jesus (compare Matthew 5–7 with John 14–16).

**b. Order and Content.** One striking difference between the synoptics and the Fourth Gospel is that the latter narrates the ministry of Jesus within a framework of three Passovers (2:13; 6:4; 13:1), while the synoptics have only one Passover (e.g., Mark 14:1). The result for the Johannine story is that Jesus' Judean ministry is much more lengthy than is the case in the synoptic accounts.

The order of events is often different in John, for example, the place of the Temple cleansing (contrast John 2:13–20 and Mark 11:11–17). While the synoptics agree that the crucifixion took place on the day of Passover (e.g., Mark 14:12; 15:42), the fourth evangelist takes care to say that Jesus died one day earlier on Passover eve (e.g., 18:28; 19:14). Unlike the Synoptic Gospels, the fourth evangelist narrates concurrent ministries of Jesus and John, the Baptizer (e.g., 3:23).

Equally important are the major synoptic narratives which are missing from the Johannine account, such as the baptism and temptation of Jesus (e.g., Mark 1:9–13), the confession at Caesarea Philippi (e.g., Mark 8:27–30), the transfiguration (e.g., Mark 9:2–10), the Garden of Gethsemane story (e.g., Mark 14:32–42), and the institution of the eucharist (e.g., Mark 14:22–25). Certain kinds of narratives and discourses, such as exorcisms and narrative parables, are missing in John, although abundant in the synoptics.

On the other side, the Johannine gospel includes a significant number of narratives unique to itself. Among them are the wonder at Cana (2:1–11), the conversations with Nicodemus (3:1–13) and the Samaritan woman (4:1–42), the raising of Lazarus (11:1–44), the foot washing (13:1–20), the conversation with Pilate (18:28–19:16), and three resurrection stories unknown outside of John (20:11–29).

The Johannine discourses are equally unique in kind and content. Among the "I am" sayings are the distinctive "allegorical sayings" such as 10:1–16 and 15:1–10. As well there are the so-called "farewell discourses" of chaps. 14–16 which include the Paraclete ("Counselor") sayings (14:15–17, 26; 15:26–27; and 16:7–14) and which conclude with the unique prayer of chap. 17.

**c. The Portrayal of Jesus.** The most evident distinction in the presentation of the figure of Jesus is the fact that the Johannine Jesus is made constantly to speak of himself and his unique identity, while the Synoptic Gospels most often have Jesus speaking about the kingdom of God/Heaven. When, for example, Jesus is challenged for having performed a healing on the Sabbath, he defends his action by appealing to his unique status (5:19–23). While the synoptic Jesus is frequently found in a rabbinical form of dialogue with others (e.g., Matt 22:23–33), the Johannine Jesus is more often proclaiming his unique relationship with God. The commands to keep silence with regard to who Jesus is or what he does found scattered throughout the synoptics (e.g., Mark 8:30) are conspicuous by their absence in the Fourth Gospel.

The Johannine Jesus is given an aura of divine foreignness with the result that he is described with greater emphasis upon his divine nature than is the case in the synoptics. He knows the thoughts of others before they are expressed (e.g., 2:24–25); he has no need to pray, because of his unique relationship with the Father (11:42); and he is rescued from the hostile intent of a crowd simply because "his hour had not

come" (7:30). Such a presentation is captured in the christological title the fourth evangelist uses four times, "only *(monogenēs)* Son" (1:14, 18; 3:16, 18).

The wonder stories of the Fourth Gospel contribute to this unique presentation of Jesus. They are called, "signs"(*sēmeia,* e.g., 2:11; 4:54; 20:30). The Synoptic Gospels use this term in reference to wonders only to suggest an illegitimate request for a demonstration of power (e.g., Luke 11:29, but cf. Acts 2:22 and 2:43). The wondrous deeds of Jesus are conceived by the fourth evangelist in a way quite distinct from the Synoptic Gospels. In the first three gospels the wonders are expressions of the inbreaking of the reign of God announced by Jesus (e.g., Luke 11:20). In John the wonders are indications of the identity of the person of Jesus and point to the "bringer" rather than that which is brought. The manner in which the symbolic meaning of the signs is exploited by the fourth evangelist (cf. C.5 below) is still another distinctive quality in the portrayal of the wonders of Jesus.

John contains only seven or eight wonder stories (depending on whether one understands 6:16–21 as one or two signs), but the wondrous character is often more emphasized. The healing is done at a distance (4:43–53). The dead one who is raised has been buried four days (11:39, contrast Mark 5:35–42). Jesus not only walks on the water but immediately effects the landing of the boat (6:16–21, contrast Mark 6:45–52). He changes ordinary water into the finest wine of the wedding party (2:1–11). Such an accenting of the wondrous quality contributes to the portrayal of the uniqueness of the man Jesus.

These three types of unique differences between John and the Synoptic Gospels set it off from its canonical colleagues. They suggest some of the unique literary features of the document as well.

**C. Literary Features**

It is clear that the structure of the gospel, viewed as a literary creation, is deliberate and effective. Such is only one example of what scholars are more and more seeing as evidence of the literary skill of the fourth evangelist.

**1. Style.** The vocabulary and grammar of the gospel is deceptively simple in its appearance. The vocabulary is relatively limited and the grammar lacks many of the complexities of other Hellenistic writings. It has been argued that the style reflects Semitic influences and may even be a translation from Aramaic. Original Semitic expressions dot the pages of the document, e.g., *messias* (Messiah, 1:41 and 4:25) which is unique to John among the NT writings. Other phrases have a Semitic coloring to them, e.g., "doing the truth" (*poiein tēn alētheian,* 3:21). Modern scholarship has shown little interest in the proposal that the gospel was originally written in Aramaic and then translated into Greek but has tended to believe that the evangelist's Greek was strongly influenced by a Jewish background.

The style also exhibits a poetic quality, which is evident especially in the speech materials. Examples abound, but chap. 17 certainly betrays the signs of balance, rhythm, parallelism, and resonance. The repetition which is so prominent in the speeches of Jesus suggests poetic redundancy and indicates that the material may have been written to be read aloud. That this poetic style reflects a meditative quality has long been acknowledged. Stereotyped expressions (e.g., "I have come"5:43; 12:46; 18:37) expose didactic and reflective purpose. Recent studies have proposed numerous chiastic structures in both the speech and narrative sections (e.g., 6:36–40). In a similar manner the use of inclusion is more and more recognized. The subunit, 6:51–58, begins and concludes with the statement that one who eats the bread from heaven "will live for ever". On a larger scale the prologue concludes by using the term, God, to describe the Word (1:18), and Thomas' words in 20:28 confess Jesus to be God.

**2. Drama.** The narratives of the gospel are often told in a dramatic style. They progress in deliberate stages which constitute scenes and evoke a sense of suspense as the narrative moves forward. Such dramatic structure is typical of a series of longer narratives within the gospel. Among these are 4:1–42; 6:1–71; 9:1–41; 11:1–44 and 18:28–19:16.

In 9:1–41 the author has constructed a dramatic story comprised of seven scenes (vv 1–7, 8–12, 13–17, 18–23, 24–34, 35–38, and 39–41). With those scenes the evangelist gradually shifts the attention of the reader from the physical healing of the blind man to the spiritual insight concerning Jesus' identity. The result is that the man is healed not alone of his physical ailment but his spiritual blindness as well, and the lack of sight is revealed to be the ailment of the religious leaders. Similarly one is treated to the

progressive faith of the man healed of blindness and the progressive unbelief of the religious leaders. 18:28–19:16 is another prime example of a longer narrative structured with dramatic skill.

The narratives, however, are not exclusively of this longer variety. Punctuating the story are much shorter tales told with economy and clarity (e.g., 2:1–11; 2:12–25; 4:43–54; 12:1–11; 13:1–30). The author has skillfully alternated the style of the stories to keep the reader off guard. Nor is drama the exclusive property of the longer narratives. In 4:43–54 the reader's suspense is piqued by Jesus' implication that he will not perform the healing (v 48), then by the question of whether or not the healing has actually been effected (v 51). The shorter narratives are told with as much care and skill as are the longer ones.

**3. Narrative and Discourse.** More briefly it should be noted the way in which the gospel moves back and forth between narrative and discourse. The Fourth Gospel contains more discourse materials than do the Synoptic Gospels, but not at the expense of narrative. The interrelationship between narrative and discourse is a feature of the literary skill of the author.

In many cases the author attaches to a narrative discourse material which explores the meaning of the story just related. This is most obviously the case in chap. 6 in which the bread of life discourse is clearly intended to be the elucidation of the meaning of the feeding of the multitude. Such a pattern is discernible in 5:1–47; 9:1–10:42; and 13:1–38 as well.

However, the author is equally satisfied to allow narratives to stand by themselves and speak for themselves (e.g., 2:1–11; 4:43–54; 12:12–19; and 18:1–19:42). Sometimes speech material is unaccompanied by narrative setting of any significance (e.g., 7:10–52; 8:12–59; 14:1–17:26). Sometimes the discourse illuminating the narrative is integrated into the story itself, as is the case with 4:1–42 and 11:1–44.

The evangelist saw both discourse and narrative as important to the purpose of the work, but varied the relationship between the two in a provocative and unmonotonous way.

**4. Irony and Double Entendre.** Irony is an important feature in this gospel. The author is fond of setting up situations in which the reader knows something important that some of the actors/speakers in the narrative do not know. In that situation the actors are made to say something of far greater significance than they know. Examples include 4:12; 7:27, 35–36; 8:22; 11:50; 12:12–15, 19; 13:37; 19:19.

But irony is more than an occasional technique found in individual sayings. The whole gospel is framed in irony. The opening verses of the gospel inform the reader of the identity of Jesus, while individual characters throughout the narrative struggle to make this discovery for themselves (e.g., 1:43–51; 6:30–31; 14:8; 18:33, 37). Irony is essential to the author's presentation of the crucifixion. Pilate mockingly calls Jesus the king (19:14), places the sign on the cross declaring Jesus to be king (19:19), and puts Jesus to death for having claimed to be king of the Jews (19:12). Ironically, Jesus is king (19:36), and the crucifixion is his enthronement in the view of the evangelist (cf. G.2 below). While the actors believe that they are ridding their society of a troublesome false claimant to royalty, they are actually enthroning him in his rightful office. This author captures and articulates the ironic quality of the Christian view of the cross.

The author's fondness for the use of words with multiple meanings is closely related to irony. This pattern in the discourse materials is frequent: Jesus uses an ambiguous word or an expression which is misunderstood by his listeners and occasions a continuation of his speech. The best known example of this is found in the use of the word *anōthen* (3:1–13) which means "again,""from above," or "from the beginning". While Jesus intends the second or third meaning, Nicodemus understands the word in terms of its first meaning and is puzzled; Jesus must then go on to explicate his meaning. Such misunderstanding occurs in a number of other conversations (e.g., 2:19–20; 4:7–16, 31–34; 6:41–43, 52; 7:52; 8:22; 12:32–36; 18:33–38 and possibly 5:18 and 10:33). In most of these cases Jesus speaks on a spiritual or intangible level while his listeners understand his words on a physical or tangible level of reality.

The functions of such misunderstanding are several. In some cases they produce a humorous situation (e.g., 4:15). Often they occasion Jesus' continuation of his speech and hence move the conversation forward (e.g., 3:5–13). The reader gradually gains an impression after several occurrences of this pattern. Humans are attached to the physical, mundane reality of their existence in such a way as to be blinded to the spiritual dimension of life and, more importantly, the revelation of God in Christ.

The double entendre, however, is also a means by which the author communicates a profound depth of meaning. The author may have intended several of the meanings embedded in the ambiguous language attributed to Jesus. This is to suggest that *anōthen* is intentionally used to imply that the Christian experience of faith is both a birth "from above" (from God) and a re-birth. *Pneuma* used in 3:8 becomes a condensed analogy in which the Spirit is compared to the wind. On three occasions Jesus is made to speak of his being "lifted up"(*hyspoō,* 3:14; 8:28; and 12:32). It is clear that this is Johannine language for the cross. The verb had two distinct meanings in Hellenistic Greek: To be lifted up on a cross and to be exalted to high office (as in the enthronement of a king). The evangelist's view of the cross as the enthronement of Jesus as king leads one to conclude that both meanings of the word are appropriate.

Such rich, ambiguous language teases the reader into contemplation of the meaning of the Christ revelation for human existence. It is a poetic kind of use of language in which words are made to say all that custom takes them to mean and even more.

**5. Symbolism.** The centrality and power of the symbolism of the Fourth Gospel is a long acknowledged feature of the work. This constitutes still another instance of the poetic quality of the author's style.

Three kinds of symbolism are apparent in the gospel. The first are the metaphorical speeches of Jesus in which he is made to identify himself with another reality. This kind of symbolism is found in 4:13–14; 6:35–65; 8:12; 10:1–16; 15:1–10, as well as elsewhere. The reader is invited to reflect on the way in which Jesus is comparable to such realities as light, water, bread, a shepherd, a vine, resurrection and life, and the way.

Another kind of imagery is found in the dualistic symbols of the gospel. They are a variety of means of speaking of the contrast between the life of faith and of unbelief (cf. G.3 below). Such symbols are found in abundance in the hymnic prologue to the gospel (e.g., light and darkness in 1:5, but cf. 1:4, 10–12). Another instance of dualistic symbols is "above and below" (e.g., 8:23). The religious background of such a dualism is often debated, but its literary significance seems clear: The reader is made to sense that one must decide between the poles of the dualism—one either accepts or rejects the revelation of God, and there is no middle option.

Finally, there is a symbolic dimension to the narratives of Jesus' actions in the gospel. That symbolic dimension is articulated in a number of cases (e.g., chaps. 6, 9, and 11). In others it is left to the reader to exploit the full meaning of the action of Jesus. Hence, the narrative of the cleansing of the Temple is thought to be a representation of the manner in which the revelation of God in Christ cleanses and replaces contemporary Judaism. Other narrated actions of Jesus (and others) are rich with symbolic possibilities—2:1–11; 6:16–21; 12:1–11, 12–19, 20–22; 20:1–10; 21:1–14.

As powerful as the symbolism of the gospel is, it has become a problem for interpreters of the text. Implicit symbolic meaning opens the door for speculative proposals. Furthermore, it may lead the interpreter to seek additional meaning where none may have been intended. But such is the nature of the reading of a poetic gospel—meaning is constituted not alone by the writer's intention but also by the reader's own dialogue with the text. There is, consequently, a certain open-endedness to the meaning of the Gospel of John, which can only be credited to the skill of the author.

**6. Characters.** There is no modern sense of characterization in the figures presented in the gospel, but they are used effectively by the author in the task of proclamation. In general one may say that the characters of the gospel are models of faith or unbelief. The opponents of Jesus serve as models of what it means to reject the revelation in Christ, while the disciples are models of acceptance.

Believers are, however, representations of faith at different levels of maturation. There are characters who model the transition from unbelief to the beginning stages of faith (e.g., Nicodemus, 3:1–13; 7:50–51; 19:39, the Samaritan woman, 4:1–30, 29–42, and the blind man, 9:1–41). There are characters who

model the failure to come to faith (e.g., the man with the thirty-eight year illness, 5:1–18, and "many disciples,"6:60–71). The royal official represents a profound faith which believes on the basis of Jesus' word without evidence of the success of the wondrous healing of his son (4:43–54). Martha models growth in faith (11:1–44), and Mary the gratitude and love of faith (12:1–8). Thomas demonstrates the way in which faith is born from doubt (20:24–28). In the tale of the discovery of the empty tomb the evangelist represents three different kinds of faith in the three characters involved (20:1–10).

Some persons are passed over with little or no interest (e.g., Annas, 18:19–24, Joseph, 19:38–42), while others are more developed (e.g., Pilate, 18:28–19:16). But in each case they invite the process of identification by the reader. Thereby, the evangelist has enticed the readers to examine their own posture in relationship to the revelation of God as they contemplate each of the characters depicted in the pages of the gospel.

**D. Purpose and Historical Origin**

The purpose of the document and theories of its origin are closely interrelated. The first can only be discovered through the process of exploring the second.

**1. Purpose.** The purpose of the gospel is explicitly stated in what was most likely the original ending of the document, 20:31. The author declares that the gospel has the purpose of nurturing the faith of the readers in Jesus as the Christ and Son of God, in order that they might gain "life". Such a purpose is clearly evident throughout the document.

But 20:31 is plagued by a textual problem which hampers a more precise understanding of the purpose of the gospel. Is the faith it seeks to nurture an initial acceptance of Christ, or the strengthening of Christian life? Was the gospel a missionary document written for evangelistic purposes, or was it written for a community of faith in order to advance the maturation of faith? The key verb in the verse is "believe," but the textual witnesses are divided over whether the form of the verb is an aorist *(pisteusēte)* or a present subjunctive *(pisteuētе).* Both have impressive attestation, making any textual decision tenuous at best. But further, did the author use the tenses of the subjunctive mood carefully and deliberately? Consequently, the verse does not help us to decide if the purpose of the gospel was missionary or maturational.

The decision must be determined on the impression gained from the reading of the whole document rather than on the basis of the statement in 20:31. While contemporary scholarship is not unanimous in its view, there is a clear preference for the view that the gospel was addressed to members of a Christian community in order to strengthen their faith in the midst of a critical situation. Such a view is admittedly somewhat impressionistic. Still, the attention to the nurturing of faith in the farewell discourses (chaps. 14–17), the concern for apostasy (e.g., 6:60–69), and attention to the theme of the quality of sound faith (e.g., 4:43–53; 6:25–27; 20:29) contribute decisively to that impression.

**2. Historical Origin.** Equally significant in determining the precise purpose of the gospel is the supposed situation out of which and for which it was written. A variety of options have been proposed. The setting has been reconstructed in terms of a conflict over authority in the community, the crisis of martyrdom in the midst of evangelistic endeavors, the threat of docetism, and a mission to the Samaritans, to mention only a few.

But another reconstruction has gained considerable prominence in recent decades. That hypothesis holds that the gospel was written to a Christian community which had only recently suffered expulsion from its synagogue home. The evangelist's purpose, it is proposed, was to nurture faith in the crisis brought on by that experience. On three occasions the word, *aposynagōgos* ("put out of the synagogue"), appears in the gospel (9:22; 12:42; and 16:2). The proposal is that such references reflect the time and situation of the author and his community and not that of the historical Jesus. Other evidence of a similar kind supports such conjecture. The high claims Jesus makes for his own authority and the response that he thus made "himself equal to God" (5:18) fit more likely within a context of a Christian-Jewish dialogue than within the context of Jesus' own ministry. Chap. 9 seems to reflect the experience of the Johannine community laid over the tale of healing. It is conjectured that the Jesus story has been reinterpreted and told now with an eye to the situation of a band of Christians who were struggling to come to grips with their identity as a

community isolated from their previous religious home in the synagogue and now set in conflict with those who had until only recently been colleagues in faith.

Such a hypothesis for the setting of the gospel gains credibility by virtue of the fact that it offers feasible explanations for a number of features of the writing. It makes understandable, for instance, the reasons for the apparent anti-Jewish polemic evident throughout the work. The term, "the Jews," is used in a pejorative way in such passages as 9:18; 10:31; 18:12, 36–38; and 19:12. Jesus is made to attack the Jews and declare that they are unfaithful to their heritage in refusing to believe in him (e.g., 8:42–44) and speaks as if he himself were not a Jew (e.g., 7:19; 8:17; 10:34). The superiority of the Christian to the Hebraic revelation is asserted a number of times (e.g., 1:18; 6:49–50; 8:58; cf. 2:1–22). Such a stance in relationship toward Judaism is made understandable, if the Johannine community stood in opposition to the synagogue from which it had been expelled.

But the thought of the gospel betrays, at the same time, a clearly Jewish quality. While the religious setting for Johannine thought has long been debated, there is increasing acknowledgment of its Jewish character. Not least among the factors which precipitated this acknowledgment are the allusions to the Passover (e.g., 2:13; 6:4; 11:55; 13:1), to Gen. 1:1 in the prologue, and the frequent use of OT images (e.g., 10:11; 15:1–4; 6:51). If the Johannine community had its origins in Jewish Christianity within the structure of the synagogue, such a Jewish interpretation of Christian faith would be only natural.

Other features of the gospel are also illumined by the proposal of an expulsion from the synagogue. Existing as a newly independent religious community set over against Judaism would account for the radical exclusivism of the gospel (e.g., 14:6), for the "sectarian" quality of the self-perception of the community as set in opposition to the "world" (e.g., 16:33), for the dualistic scheme which construes reality in terms of either one or the other allegiance (e.g., 1:5), and for the tendency to see Jesus in terms of a foreigner in this earthly realm (e.g., 8:23).

What was the event which occasioned the expulsion of the Johannine Christians from the synagogue? Some would argue that it was the introduction of another group of Christians into the community—a group which held to a christology intolerable to the Jews of the synagogue. Others suggest the occasion for the fracture was the enforcement of a formal benediction against the heretics (the *Birkath ha-Minim*) propagated, it is proposed, by the Council of Jamnia (ca. 90–95 C.E.). Still others would argue that it is more likely the expulsion took place earlier, in part as a result of the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. and the quest for a new Jewish identity brought about by that tragic event.

Although the details of the reconstruction remain controversial, there is a wide acceptance of the hypothesis in its general form. This proposed setting predisposes the reader to see the gospel as an effort to address the crisis resulting from the expulsion and the ensuing controversy with the synagogue. The evangelist attempted, it is thought, an interpretation of the Jesus tradition which helped the community deal with the issues involved in their situation, most especially with the relationship to Judaism, with questions of self-identity, and with Christian life in a situation of minority status and some oppression. Contemporary efforts to date the writing of the gospel depend heavily upon conjectures as to when such a situation might have existed.

**E. Date and Authorship**

**1. Date.** The gospel has been dated as early as 40 and as late as 110 C.E. But the latest possible date has been fixed by the discovery in Egypt of the Rylands Papyrus 457 ($P^{52}$) which contains 18:31–33, 37–38. This ms is usually dated between 125 and 150. Other textual finds make it undeniable that the gospel circulated in Egypt in numerous copies in the middle and last half of the 2d century. No one, therefore, is inclined to propose a date later than 100–10.

The earliest date for the gospel hinges upon the question of whether or not it presupposes the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. Most agree that it does, although there have been persistent attempts to argue otherwise. The reasons for positing a post-70 date include the view of the Temple implicit in 2:13–22. Most would argue that the passage attempts to present Christ as the replacement of the Temple that has been destroyed.

The argument that John is to be dated late in the 1st century has often invoked the high christology of the evangelist. The contention is that such a lofty view of Christ necessitates an extensive period of time. Such a view has, however, increasingly lost credibility among scholars, since it is clear that such a perspective imposes an evolutionary schema upon the development of early Christian thought. Moreover, recent investigations of the christology of the NT have demonstrated the existence of a variety of views as early as the time of Paul (e.g., Rom 1:3–6, Phil 2:5–11). Therefore, the christology of the gospel does not dictate a late 1st century date.

The relationship of John and the Synoptics has significance for the dating of the Fourth Gospel. If it is supposed that the fourth evangelist employed the synoptics in the composition of the gospel, it then becomes necessary to date the Gospel of John after the writing of the synoptics (i.e., after 85). Unfortunately the issue of the fourth evangelist's knowledge and use of the synoptics is unsettled at the present (cf. F.1 below). However, a slim majority of scholars still maintain that there is not sufficient evidence in the gospel to hold that the evangelist knew or used any one of the synoptics. If such was the case, the gospel could have been composed before or contemporaneously with the composition of the synoptics.

Another issue in the dating of the gospel has to do with the nature of the tradition it contains. It is supposed that the tradition is a highly developed one and that the differences between the Johannine and synoptic materials are due to that tradition which has been carefully shaped in the Johannine community. How long a period of time would such a process of formulation take? The answer to that question influences the date one is compelled to assign to the gospel. But perhaps it is not so much the length of time a community has to shape a tradition in its own language and concepts as the character of the community. Therefore, the Johannine community with its peculiar circumstances and constituency might have formulated the Jesus tradition rather quickly into its own liking. Consequently, the quality of the distinctive Johannine tradition does not readily yield itself to use in the task of determining a date of origin for the gospel.

Of greatest importance to the dating of the gospel is the speculation as to what date is suggested by the setting proposed for the document. However, those who propose that the setting of the gospel was the experience of the expulsion from the synagogue (cf. D.2 above) cannot agree on a date when such a situation might have existed, for there is no agreement as to what caused the expelling of the Christians. Those who relate the expulsion to a formal effort on the part of Judaism to purge itself of Christian believers link the composition of the gospel with a date soon after the Council of Jamnia, which is supposed to have promulgated such an action. Hence, these scholars would date John after 90. Those inclined to see the expulsion more in terms of an informal action on the part of a local synagogue are free to propose an earlier date.

Given all these considerations most often the gospel is assigned a date of 90–95, which continues the inclination of previous decades of scholarship to conclude that John is the last of the four gospels to be written. There are others, however, who argue that the date might well have been as early as 80–85.

**2. Authorship.** The authorship of the gospel is no less easy to determine. Many are willing simply to plead ignorance on this question and confess that there is too little data upon which to build a viable thesis. And that conclusion proves to be the most prudent. Tradition has given us the handy name, "John," but the document itself is silent about its author's identity. Tradition has further linked the fourth evangelist with John, son of Zebedee, but again the internal evidence for such an association is slim (e.g., the fact that the sons of Zebedee are not mentioned in the gospel, except in the appendix at 21:2, while they figure so prominently in the synoptic accounts). Other candidates include John, the Elder, the supposed author of 2 and 3 John.

Intertwined with the question of authorship is the mysterious disciple "whom Jesus loved". This anonymous beloved disciple poses two related questions: Who was he/she, and is it possible that this is the author's way of referring to himself? The beloved disciple appears five times in the narrative of the gospel (13:23; 19:26–27; 20:1–8; 21:7; and 21:20–24) and is sometimes found in two references to "another disciple" who remains nameless (18:15–16 and 19:35). John, son of Zebedee, is most often

nominated for the unique status of the one "whom Jesus loved," but other proposals include Nicodemus and Lazarus, among others.

Two interesting facts are worthy of note. First, the beloved disciple does not appear in the narrative until 13:23. Second, Peter appears in all but one (19:26) of the narratives in which the beloved disciple is mentioned. The first fact has been used to argue against the effort to identify the beloved disciple with John, Son of Zebedee (and sometimes for an identification with Lazarus, who appears in the narrative for the first time in chap. 11). The second fact has been employed to argue that some kind of contrast between the beloved disciple and Peter is suggested by the author.

Honesty dictates that the identity of this mysterious figure must remain unknown and that speculations are finally fruitless. The evidence is not sufficient to identify him with any of the popular candidates, nor are there enough hints to suggest just how the author might have wanted the reader to construe the relationship between the beloved disciple and Peter. However, it might be that this figure is intended to represent the Johannine community's founder, well known to the evangelist's first readers. As such the author may have wanted to show that the Johannine community was founded on the witness of one as close to Jesus and as reliable as Peter. It seems likely that the beloved disciple is appealed to as the source of the tradition upon which the community and the gospel were founded. This may be the most one can claim to know about the identity of the disciple for whom Jesus is said to have had a special affection.

Was the beloved disciple the fourth evangelist? Such an argument is still common in some circles of scholarship, but remains unlikely. It would seem presumptuous of the author to have claimed that special status for himself and far more likely that it is a status given to the revered founder of the community. See also BELOVED DISCIPLE.

Connected with this question is the query as to whether or not the author was an eyewitness to the historical Jesus. The supposition that the author was one and the same with the beloved disciple is often advanced as a means of insuring that the evangelist did witness Jesus' ministry. Two other passages are advanced as evidence of the same—19:35 and 21:24. But both falter under close scrutiny. 19:35 does not claim that the author was the one who witnessed the scene but only that the scene is related on the sound basis of eyewitness. 21:24 is part of the appendix of the gospel and should not be assumed to have come from the same hand as that responsible for the body of the gospel. Neither of these passages, therefore, persuades many Johannine scholars that the author claims eyewitness status.

The most that can be concluded about the author is that he (or she) was a prominent and respected figure in the Johannine community who assumed sufficient authority to undertake the task of reinterpreting the tradition in the light of the crisis facing the Church. This figure was no doubt trained to some undetermined degree in Jewish thought while not ignorant of the Greek mentality, was a sophisticated thinker, and was a skillful writer. That Greek was a second language for the author is entirely possible, although efforts to prove that the gospel was first written in Aramaic are not convincing nor widely held today. It is likely, however, that the author was versed in Aramaic.

**F. Sources and Composition**

The gospel poses serious questions for the critical scholar. It presents itself as a careful and deliberate composition, yet not without serious flaws. For example, compare 3:22 and 4:2 (cf. B.1 above). It seems to give expression to a thoughtful and even sophisticated theological stance, yet not without serious contradictions. For example compare 3:17 and 9:39. Both in terms of its literary features and its content the gospel puzzles the careful reader. Efforts to solve those puzzles have in large part centered in a cluster of questions related to the composition of the gospel, namely, the sources used by the author and the process by which the gospel came into existence.

**1. Relationship with the Synoptic Gospels.** The question of the sources employed by the fourth evangelist has intrigued scholars for centuries. Foremost among the questions posed by the gospel is the literary relationship between it and the Synoptic Gospels. Were all or any of the Synoptic Gospels among the sources utilized in the composition of the Fourth Gospel? The answer is made difficult, if not impossible, by two contrasting features of the Fourth Gospel. On the one hand is the fact that there are clear similarities and parallels between Johannine materials and those which can be found in other

gospels. On the other hand stands the fact that there are so many points at which the Fourth Gospel seems to depart from any synoptic materials and exhibits such striking features peculiar to itself.

The first fact can be illustrated by a number of narratives which are clearly parallels to synoptic stories. These include a passion narrative which, while clearly distinct, nonetheless follows a pattern found in the Synoptic Gospels. Moreover, narratives such as the entry into Jerusalem (12:12–19; compare Matt 21:1–9 = Mark 11:1–10, Luke 19:28–40), the cleansing of the Temple (2:13–22; compare Matt 21:10–17 = Mark 11:11–17, Luke 19:45–46), the feeding of the multitude (6:1–15; compare Matt 14:13–21 = Mark 6:32–44, Luke 9:10–17), and the wonder of Jesus' walking on the sea (6:16–21; compare Matt 14:22–33 = Mark 6:45–52) seem to betray a literary dependence of the fourth evangelist on the synoptics. Even when the parallels are not strict there appear to be resemblances between the Johannine and synoptic materials. Examples include several of the healing stories told by the fourth evangelist (e.g., 4:46–53; 5:1–9; 9:1–7) which have many features of synoptic healing stories.

Sayings material in John also occasionally has close affinities with that found in the synoptics. The best examples include 12:25 (cf. Mark 8:35 and parallels), 12:27 (cf. Mark 14:34–36 and parallels), 13:20 (cf. Matt 10:40) and 16:24 (cf. 14:13–14; 15:7 and Matt 7:7; Luke 11:9). The metaphor of the grain of wheat in 12:24 cannot help but call to mind Mark 4:30–32 or Mark 4:1–9, 26–29.

Still other similarities are less exact but hint at some relationship between the fourth and first three gospels. The Johannine anointing story has been seen as a conflation of the similar story in Mark 14:3–9 (and/or its parallels) and Luke 7:36–50. Jesus' identification with the "good shepherd" (10:11) and "the vine" (15:1) are sometimes seen in relation to the synoptic parables of the shepherd (e.g., Matt 18:10–14) and the vineyard (Matt 20:1–16).

These similarities provide evidence of a literary relationship of some kind among John and the synoptics. But the distinctive features of the Fourth Gospel pose a difficulty for evidencing such a relationship (cf. B.2 above). Those distinctive features demonstrate that, if there was a literary use of one or more of the Synoptic Gospels in the composition of the Fourth Gospel, the synoptic presentations have undergone drastic and thorough transformation in John. The distinctiveness of John does not in itself prove that the fourth evangelist wrote independently of the Synoptic Gospels. It does, however, demand an explanation from one who would argue that the fourth evangelist was indebted to one or more of the synoptics.

Those who argue for one or more of the synoptics as a source(s) employed by the fourth evangelist draw attention to the similarities between John and the first three gospels and emphasize that the fourth evangelist transformed the material at his disposal in the process of composition. Those who deny such a view contend that the distinctiveness of the Fourth Gospel is better explained by a theory of independence from the synoptics. They attribute the similarities to common traditions residing behind the literary forms of all of the gospels.

The debate over the question of the fourth evangelist's knowledge and use of one or more of the Synoptic Gospels as a source has swung back and forth. Within the period of modern critical scholarship consensus has moved from an assumption that the fourth evangelist knew and used the synoptics in the composition process to a widespread view that such was not the case. Most recently the discussion has become more heated with a significant number of scholars once again advancing the hypothesis that the relationship between John and the synoptics is best explained by reference to some form of literary dependence. Their argument has been strengthened by some success in showing that the incidents of contact between John and one or more of the synoptics are precisely at the points at which critics have been able to demonstrate evidence of redactional themes in the synoptics. If the synoptic passage can be shown to reflect the peculiar redactional features of the evangelist, its presence in John cannot be explained as having been founded on common preliterary tradition. Efforts in accomplishing this complicated task have been, at this stage, only partially successful.

Until some greater degree of evidence of the presence of synoptic redactional features in John is forthcoming, the issue remains at a stalemate. Most of the parallels between Johannine and synoptic passages can be explained equally well by appeal to literary dependence or to common preliterary

tradition. The decision hinges on the intrinsic appeal of one theory or the other and how well the theory coheres with other views one holds of the Fourth Gospel and its origin.

**2. Source Theories.** Other sources for the composition of the gospel in addition to or instead of the Synoptic Gospels are sometimes proposed. Most frequently it is those who hold that the fourth evangelist did not use the synoptics in the writing of the gospel who are interested in proposing other sources. This group is concerned to understand the nature of the tradition which rests behind the gospel, since it is often their view that it was in the development of that tradition that the similarities and differences between John and the synoptics were shaped. There is considerable consensus today that the fourth evangelist employed tradition in the production of the gospel, but beyond that general agreement there is little in common among the various views proposed.

Some would contend that any source analysis of the gospel is, however, impossible. This is so, they maintain, because of the peculiar nature of the Fourth Gospel. First, apart from those passages in which there seems to be some contact with synoptic passages, the source critic has nothing with which to compare the Johannine material. The source analysis of the Synoptic Gospels has been fruitful because a source methodology could work with the comparison of the three synoptics. Such is not the case with the Fourth Gospel, leaving the source critic without a fundamental basis for a credible method. Second, it is observed that, whatever sources the fourth evangelist used, the content of those sources has been thoroughly integrated with the Johannine literary style and theological perspective. The effect is that the evangelist has concealed the sources within the document, thus making it impossible to detect their influence upon the work.

Finally, there is no accepted method for source analysis of the Fourth Gospel. It is the method for detecting evidence of the use of sources which is crucial for the defense of any source analysis of the Fourth Gospel. What shall count as evidence that a source was employed in the composition of any given passage?

The criteria for source detection are usually of four kinds. First, stylistic features figure prominently in some methods. Variations from what is taken to be the general style of the gospel may signal the intrustion of source material (e.g., the use of different words for "boat" in 6:17 and 6:22). Once a source has been reconstructed, it is necessary to show that it has some stylistic unity. Second, *aporia* ("a difficulty") in the text may be an indication of the use of a source. That is, when there seems to be a break in the flow of the narrative or discourse, it may be due to the inclusion of a source. A classic example is 14:31, followed as it is by two additional chaps. of discourse. Third, form criticism has been invoked as a means of identifying sources. This method calls for the establishment, first, of the normative Johannine forms (e.g., the long narrative followed by a discourse in which the narrative is interpreted) and, second, the identification of passages which depart from those normal forms (e.g., the short healing narratives such as 4:46–53). The variant forms, it is argued, were drawn from a source. Finally, content or ideological tension may be taken as evidence of the use of a source. When a passage expresses an idea which contradicts another idea widely expressed in the gospel, one might assume that this passage has been included in the gospel from a source which taught a view different from the one advocated by the evangelist. A proposed example of such is in the positive view of signs expressed in 2:11 contrasted with 20:29. There is, unfortunately, no agreement on the relative validity of these criteria, and they are used in varying degrees and roles in source analyses.

It is seldom denied, however, that behind the Fourth Gospel resides an *oral* tradition which was rooted in pre-Johannine Christian history and then preserved and shaped by the Johannine community itself. Those not inclined to find evidence of a literary dependence on the Synoptic Gospels would contend that the synoptic contacts in the Fourth Gospel are due to the roots of the Johannine tradition in a common Christian tradition. In the process of the preservation and nurturing of that tradition, the Johannine community gave the Jesus material a peculiar interpretation and translated it into its own unique imagery and language. Thus, for instance, the saying attributed to Jesus in 12:25 demonstrates by its similarity with Mark 8:35 (and parallels) its basis in a common tradition shared by both the synoptic and Johannine communities. But the peculiar language (e.g., "loves-hates") and concepts (e.g., "world" and "eternal

life") of 12:25 reflect the manner in which the saying has been preserved within the Johannine thought world.

It is sometimes argued that the fourth evangelist wrote the gospel directly from such oral tradition. Thus the author gave literary expression for the 1st time to a tradition that had before been only oral. But it might also be the case that the Johannine oral tradition had taken various written forms before the composition of the Fourth Gospel, and the evangelist may have used those written pieces in the production of the gospel along with oral traditions. Whether or not evidence of such written sources can be discerned in the gospel is a debated point.

The most widely held proposal for a literary source is that of a *signs source.* A number of things in the gospel contribute to the effort to reconstruct such a source: The presence of the series of wonder stories in the narrative, the unique use of the word, *sēmeia* ("signs"), to designate such wonders, the numbering of the signs in 2:11 and 4:54, and the reference to signs in the conclusion of the gospel. It is further proposed that the delicate and complicated attitude toward the role of signs in nurturing faith found throughout the gospel is explained by the fact that the evangelist was using a collection of wonder stories which purported a view of signs about which there was some reservation on the part of the author of the gospel. What is proposed is that there was a collection of the wonders of Jesus circulating within the Johannine community prior to the writing of the gospel. That collection was absorbed in part into the content of the gospel. Efforts to reconstruct such a signs source from the gospel vary. At one extreme is the argument that it contained not only the wonders narrated in the gospel, but also the calling of the disciples in 1:19–51 and a passion story. At the other extreme is the suggestion that the collection was little more than seven wonder stories told consecutively. Some such thesis is embraced by a large number of Johannine scholars, but by no means has agreement been reached on such a proposal. See also SIGNS/SEMEIA SOURCE.

A second hypothesis is that a *saying source* was employed by the fourth evangelist. However, discourse has proven to be even more difficult for the source critic than narrative material. This is due, in large part, to the homogeneous style and content of the discourses. Still, at least two efforts are worthy of mention here. The first is Rudolf Bultmann's famous "Revelation Discourses" hypothesis in which he argued that the fourth evangelist employed a collection of sayings which originated in a pre-Christian gnostic community. The second is a less developed theory which argues that the discourses in part stem from homilies originating in the Johannine community which were collected and then incorporated into the gospel. One clue to such homilies in the Johannine discourses has been their midrashic quality, that is, the way in which they often elucidated an OT passage (e.g. 6:25–59). The effort to delineate a sayings source has not only been difficult; it has been rare. When it has been undertaken, it has been met with little scholarly acceptance.

Finally, many would agree that, if the evangelist was not dependent upon the Synoptic Gospels, the passion narrative reflects the influence of a source. Efforts to reconstruct such a *passion source* are seldom attempted. It is, nonetheless, widely assumed that some such source of a passion narrative was at the evangelist's disposal.

In general it must be concluded that the source analysis of the Fourth Gospel has been unsuccessful in delineating clear blocks of material which have been incorporated into the gospel from earlier documents. The enterprise has failed to influence scholarly treatment of the gospel in any comprehensive way.

**3. Theories of Composition and Redaction.** The solution to the difficulties of the Fourth Gospel may reside less in the question of the sources employed by the fourth evangelist than in the process by which the document was composed. Those difficulties often cited by source critics as the criteria for the isolation and reconstruction of the sources adapted by the author may better be explained by the process by which the gospel was written. What is proposed is that the gospel was not written in its entirety by its author in one single, short period of time. Rather, it is the result of a process which may have involved several editions of the gospel, plus revision at the hand of still another or several authors. Such "developmental" theories of composition have become widely discussed and embraced in scholarly circles.

For purposes of summary it may be said that these theories of composition fall into two types. The first emphasizes that the composition process involved a number of stages in which the gospel was gradually expanded into its present form. The earliest stage might have entailed the production of a "pre-gospel" out of oral tradition (and perhaps on the basis of some early literary source). That pre-gospel was then edited and expanded on a number of occasions until it reached a completed form. Often it is argued that there is no reason to think that a single author was not responsible for this whole of the process. The completed gospel then underwent some final revisions, most likely at the hand of another author (the redactor).

Less influential has been the proposals which suggest that the process involved a "basic gospel" which has been revised a number of times. The "basic gospel" hypothesis imagines a less evolutionary emergence of the present gospel and is less inclined to attribute so much of the process to a single author. A foundational and complete gospel was produced. That document was then radically revised once or twice at the hands of several persons and finally (perhaps) revised in minor ways to produce the present gospel. It is usually argued that the extensive revisions involved reordering of the basic gospel. For instance, the narrative of the cleansing of the Temple was placed toward the close of the ministry of Jesus in the basic gospel and moved in one of the subsequent revisions; and the three Passover structures of the present gospel were imposed upon the basic gospel in a later revision.

It is generally recognized that some revision-redaction of the gospel did take place, regardless of how one views the process of composition. Chap. 21 is almost universally acknowledged as a later addition to the gospel which ended at 20:31. Such testimony to the work of a redactor has encouraged scholars to look for redaction elsewhere in the gospel. Some understand that the completed gospel underwent extensive redaction with numerous additions, others that the final redaction was minimal (e.g., only the addition of chap. 21). The passages which seem to address the sacraments are sometimes thought to be redactional. Some maintain that "water and" in 3:5 and the discourse in 6:51–59 are insertions of a later hand by one interested in strengthening the explicit sacramental teachings of the gospel. It has been recently argued that portions of chaps. 13–17 come from a redactor at the time of the writing of the Johannine epistles some ten years or more after the completion of the gospel. While it has often been maintained that the prologue in 1:1–18 was a hymn incorporated into the gospel, it has also been argued that this passage was added to the gospel after its completion.

While none of these theories—a literary dependence upon one or more of the Synoptic Gospels, the use of other sources, or the process of composition—adequately solves all of the problems posed by the Fourth Gospel, they each make contributions toward a better way of reading the document. While often these three distinct approaches to the composition of the gospel are set in opposition to each other, there is no reason to view them as exclusive of one another. That is to say that the author of the gospel may have used one or more of the synoptics along with other sources in a lengthy process of composition.

**G. Theology**

The theological nature of the Fourth Gospel has long been recognized. It is clear that the fourth evangelist was concerned to nurture the readers through the explication of a number of theological themes important to the Johannine community. It is clear, too, that the evangelist possessed a certain theological acumen. Therefore, the analysis of the gospel in terms of its religious teachings has persistently been one of the major efforts of the scholarly enterprise.

But it has not been an easy task, for the gospel evades systematic and clear elucidation. Among the significant tasks for the theological critic are these: First, some religious-philosophical setting must be established for the concepts used in the gospel. This has not been easy, and efforts to focus the religious background of the thought of the gospel have run the gamut of the options in the 1st century Greco-Roman world. Increasingly, however, a strong case has emerged for looking first of all to the Hebraic tradition and Judaism for the conceptuality which most influenced the fourth evangelist. Second, the theological critic must employ conceptual patterns which convey the thought of the author without doing violence to them. In particular this has involved the task of suspending, insofar as possible, modern conceptuality to allow the concepts of the gospel to speak for themselves. Third, the theological critic must come to grips with the conceptual tensions (or "paradoxes") expressed in the gospel and try to

understand the theological method of a writer who employed such tensions. Fourth, the theological critic must contend with the fact that theological themes are hopelessly intertwined with one another in the Fourth Gospel, so that it is nearly impossible to isolate one theme for elucidation without thereby being forced to treat a number of related themes.

Notwithstanding such difficulties in the task, there is much to be learned from John with regard to the view of one segment of early Christianity.

**1. Christ.** At the heart of the theological concern of the fourth evangelist stands a view of Christ and everything else seems inseparably tied into that view. But typical of the mind(s) represented in the gospel that the singularly significant view is marvelously complex and is comprised of a series of motifs. The gospel explores a variety of images as means of expressing the relationship between Jesus and God and between Jesus and humanity.

While one may be suspicious that any distinction between "person" (or "nature") and "function" (or "work") is a modern and not a Johannine one, it appears to be the case that the evangelist strove to articulate the unique function and identity of Jesus. The gospel accomplishes this task by means of a number of images used of Christ.

**a. God and the Word of God.** Among the images employed to express the identity of Jesus are two which make the bold assertion that Jesus is God. The first of these is the use of the title, *logos* (Word), for Jesus in 1:1–18. The search for the religious and philosophical background out of which this title was drawn has led only to the recognition of the enormous breadth of meaning the word carried in 1st century Greek. It had associations with the creative and prophetic work of God in the OT and had become identified with both Torah and Wisdom in Jewish thought. Among Hellenists the word had a philosophical heritage which equated it, among other things, with the rational center of being itself. Very likely the word was chosen for its wide meaning, encompassing as it did both Hellenistic and Hebraic shades of meaning. Typical of the evangelist's love of words with multiple meanings, it engages the reader—regardless of his or her background—on the very first page of the gospel. It is clear, however, that the evangelist meant to claim that Jesus was the self-expression of God—the revealed, public side of the divine being. By claiming that Jesus is the Word of God the author supposes that Jesus is the divine medium of communication with humanity.

The Word is said both to be God and to be with *(pros)* God (1:1). The language suggests both identification with God and distinctive individuality—a paradoxical relationship typical of Johannine christological reflection. The existence of the Word precedes creation, and it is through the Word that creation is accomplished (1:2–3). The Word, therefore, is the "life" and "light" of humanity, i.e., the source of authentic and meaningful existence. Through the Word God sought to restore the divine human relationship, empowering humans to become "children of God," although such efforts were rejected (1:10–12). In Jesus the Word became incarnate and manifested the identity and nature of God (1:14).

As the prologue began with the assertion that Jesus (the Word) is God, so it would appear to end. 1:18 is marred by a textual problem but may have originally spoken of Jesus as the "only God"*(monogenēs theos).* As the gospel began with the assertion that Jesus is God, so the gospel concludes with the confession of Thomas, "My Lord and my God" (20:28). Thus by identifying Jesus with the Word and attributing to him the title, God, the fourth evangelist boldly claims the divine identity of the central figure of the gospel. This is reinforced by the fact that Jesus is made to claim that to know and to see him is to know and see the Father (8:19; 14:9), a further articulation of 1:18.

Several additional suggestions have been offered with regard to the meaning of the confession, "Lord and God," in 20:28. The first is that the two titles encompass both the common name for the deity in Hellenistic and Jewish thought of the 1st century. Consequently, Thomas' confession makes a universal claim for the divinity of Christ. The second suggestion is that in Hellenistic Judaism the title, God, represented the creative power of the deity, and the title, Lord, the eschatological power of the deity. Thus, Thomas' confession is understood to attribute the two definitive divine powers to Christ.

It should be noted that pre-existence is claimed for Jesus in 17:24 as well as 1:1. (8:58 may also imply such a view.) While such a claim is not unique to the Fourth Gospel (cf., e.g., Col 1:15–16), nowhere else is it accompanied with such a clear identification of Christ with God.

This high and unequaled NT assertion regarding Jesus demonstrates the author's concern to say that Jesus is the one in whom humans encounter the true revelation of God. That concern is manifested in the other images used of Jesus. But associated with it is the necessity to claim that Jesus is related to the One he reveals. In this case, the claim is made that he is fully identified with the God whom he reveals.

**b. The "I Am".** Another image of Jesus, equally bold, may also address the concern to proclaim Jesus' identification with the One he reveals. One of the unique features of the gospel is the frequent appearance of the emphatic "I am"*(egō eimi)* on the lips of Jesus. These are of three types. The first is the formula with a predicate (e.g., 11:25). Although this formula has been discussed in terms of a peculiar revelatory expression of a revealer god, it may be explained as a simple emphatic assertion. The second appearance of the formula is with an implied predicate (e.g., 6:20). But it is the third type which is most provocative. It is the use of the absolute "I am" without either an explicit or implicit predicate. Such expressions occur at least four times (8:24, 28, 58; 13:19).

There is common agreement that the use of the bare "I am" suggests at least a claim for divine authority, if not divine identity. There is less agreement as to the religious setting from which such a formula was drawn. The Hermetic writings, for instance, provide ample evidence of the propensity for the god to speak with the "I am" expression. Still, evidence for the absolute use of the formula is not readily found in Hellenistic literature. It seems clear that the usage is drawn from the OT tradition and suggests the sacred name of God in Exod 3:14. The LXX employs the "I am" in Isa 41:4; 43:10; 46:4 in rendering the speech of Yahweh.

The absolute formula implies Jesus' self-claim of divine identity and authority. This is borne out in a number of passages in the gospel. With the utterance of the *egō eimi* in 6:20 the boat wondrously reaches land immediately. In 8:58 the expression evokes the effort to stone Jesus. In the story of the arrest of Jesus the simple, "I am," in reply to the guards' inquiry causes them to fall back upon the ground (18:6). Such a use of the absolute formula suggests that the formula accompanied with a predicate is no less a revelatory expression.

The sacred name for God is placed on the lips of Jesus as a means by which the evangelist claims divine status for the main character of the story. In effect, the evangelist has employed another means of suggesting the divine identity and function of Jesus.

**c. Son Titles.** One of the most frequent titles for Jesus in the Gospel of John is "son."“The Son" is used seventeen times. "Son of man" is found thirteen times; "Son of God" eight times; "only Son" three times; and "only Son of God" once. It is clear that the son titles represented an important image in the thought of the fourth evangelist and one by which special claims for the identity and function of Jesus are made.

The simple title, "son," suggests an intimate relationship between God and Christ. It is said that the Father loves the Son (3:35), gives him authority (17:2), and bestows on him the power of judgment (5:22, 27). The Son does nothing on his own but only imitates the Father (6:38) and teaches only what has been given to him to say (8:28, 40; 12:49–50; 17:8, 14, 16–18). While the Father and the Son are said to be one (10:30; 17:11, 22), the Son is dependent on the Father (5:30, 36) and obeys the Father (8:25; 10:15; 15:10, 15). The Father is greater than the Son (14:28). Significantly, it is claimed that a response to the Son constitutes a response to God (3:18; 12:47–48). Divine functions are assigned to the Son, e.g., to bestow life and eternal life (6:44; 3:36).

As if to underline the uniqueness of the relationship implied in sonship, the evangelist four times uses the expression, "only"*(monogenēs)* to modify a son title (1:14; 3:16, 18; and possibly 1:18). This would seem to guard against any tendency to reduce the significance of the title to that which might be claimed by a human who stands in relationship with God as a "son".

Whether the son title was intended to suggest function exclusively is frequently debated. It is clear that, as the Father's Son, Jesus is given functions preserved elsewhere for God only (e.g., judgment, 8:16, resurrection of the dead, 6:39–40, and bestowal of life, 10:28; 11:25–26). But function here seems to

make a correlative claim for divine identity. The son title connotes a unique bond of both identity and function between Jesus and God.

The titles, Son and only Son, are unique to the Fourth Gospel and its christology (cf., however, Matt 11:27). But the evangelist also employs the two more traditional son titles, "Son of man" and "Son of God". The first is used in two associations it has in the Synoptic Gospels, namely, with the cross and eschatological themes. The Johannine Son of man appears in conjunction with the expressions "lifted up" (3:14; 8:28; 12:34), "glorified" (12:23, 34; 13:31, 32), and "ascending" (3:13; 6:62)—all Johannine articulations of the meaning of the cross (cf. 2 below). 1:51 is still another use of the Son of man title which some argue is associated with the cross. The evangelist also uses the title to speak of the benefits of the crucifixion (6:27, 53). But it further appears in conjunction with judgment, which is said to be both present (9:39) and at the end of the age (5:27).

The less frequent title, Son of God, appears most often in its traditional role as a messianic designation (1:34, 49; 10:36; 11:27; 19:7; 20:31). It is likewise used in connection with eschatological themes, namely, judgment (3:18) and resurrection (5:25).

It is clear that the evangelist has employed the "Son of man" and "Son of God" titles from Christian tradition, but modified them in accord with the peculiar Johannine perspective. The traditional use of the "Son of man" title in association with the cross and eschatology is preserved but not without the special Johannine view of the two themes. The "Son of God" title is continued as a messianic claim but is set within the context of the Johannine understanding of what he is and does (e.g., he bestows "life," 20:31).

Most significantly the evangelist and/or the community fashioned the titles, Son and only Son, as a means to express all that was preserved in the two older son titles and perhaps even more. Through their unique son titles they sought to explore the relationship between Christ and God and to bring to a bolder and more radical affirmation the claim of absolute identity between the two without sacrificing the unique individuality of each.

**d. The One Sent.** Perhaps the most prominent of the images employed for Jesus in the gospel is that of one who has been sent (e.g., 5:24, 30; 10:36; 11:42; 12:44–45; 17:8; 20:21). The verbs employed in these statements alternate between *apostellō* and *pempō.* Efforts to discern some nuance of difference between the meaning of the two verbs with regard to the sending of Jesus have been attempted but with little success. It appears, rather, that the evangelist varies the verb as a means of stylistic richness and nothing more.

Christ here is conceived of as a special envoy of God within the conceptuality of the 1st century Greco-Roman world. It has been suggested that the formula of being a "sent one" is investiture language whereby the envoy was given the authority of the sender and should, therefore, be accorded the same dignity as the sender. But the language also recalls the ancient Hebraic notion of the prophet of God, sent with the "Word of the Lord".

The result of this sort of language is to say once again that a response to Christ constitutes a response to God, which is perhaps the central theme of Jesus christological thought. It suggests that Jesus is one given a divine commission and standing in a special relationship with the divine Sender. Above all, however, it constitutes the christological credentials of the Johannine Jesus—his mission from the Father is what validates his claims (17:21).

**e. Origin and Destiny.** Being sent connotes origin and that image is tied with the picture of the Johannine Jesus as one who has come into this world from another realm and will eventually depart again to return to his original home. This picture is comprised of a number of metaphors for the origin and destiny of Jesus.

Jesus does not belong to this world but to some heavenly realm (8:23; 17:16; 18:36). He is then from "above"(*anō,* 8:23; *epanō,* 3:31), as opposed to others who are from "below"*(katō).* Jesus' origin is unknown to those who do not believe and is crucial knowledge for a proper understanding of his identity (8:14).

So Jesus is said to have descended (*katabainō,* 3:13; 6:33, 38, 41, 42, 50, 51, 58) and will once again ascend (*anabainō,* 3:13; 6:62; 20:17). The same language of movement is used of Jesus' return to the

Father—he is said "to go away"(*hypagō,* 7:33; 8:14, 21, 22; 13:3, 33, 36; 14:4, 5; 16:5, 10, 17). The metaphor uses space to speak of the unique origin and destiny of Jesus.

Such images of the origin and destiny of Jesus fit the christology of the gospel within the dualistic structure of the evangelist's thought (cf. 3 below) and present Jesus as a "foreigner" in this worldly realm. As such Jesus is portrayed as one who comes from the divine into the human realm there to reveal that which humans must know about God and themselves to live an authentic life as it was intended by the Creator. This image seems to say in different words what is suggested by the image of Jesus as God's special envoy.

Through use of these five images, along with less frequent ones, the fourth evangelist has attempted to structure a claim for the absolute uniqueness of Jesus. Jesus is, above all, one who reveals God and the salvific intent of God. But such a revelation is possible only for one who participates in a special relationship with God. That relationship, the evangelist claims, is of a such a kind that Christ may be given the titles and functions of divinity.

But we miss the point of Johannine christology if we fail to see the evangelist's purpose is this portrayal. It is not simply to present a case for the divinity of Christ. That may have been one of the issues pressed upon the Johannine Christians by the dialogue with the synagogue. The purpose of the evangelist was not without an apologetic dimension. But it is the kerygmatic dimension which surfaces as central. The evangelist wants to say through the christological images that it is alone in the revelation of God in Christ that humans gain access to the benefits of a proper relationship with their Creator. The purpose of the christology of the gospel is to say that one's relationship with Christ is determinative of one's relationship with God. That kerygmatic purpose, too, has its roots in the relationship of the Johannine community with the synagogue, for it is the Christians' affirmation of Christ which gives them their essential identity over against their Jewish opponents.

**2. The Cross.** Soteriology is hardly separable from christology in the Fourth Gospel, since it is the view of Christ as the revealer of the Father which constitutes the salvific opportunity for humanity. Revelation comprises the central soteriological theme. The revelation is in itself saving (e.g., 14:7). But at the heart of the revelation is the cross and resurrection, and the Johannine view of the cross is like none other in the NT. Through a variety of themes the evangelist describes of the meaning of Jesus' death.

**a. Enthronement.** The cross is viewed in the Fourth Gospel as the enthronement of Jesus as king. This is evident in a number of ways. First, the expression, "lifted up"*(hypsoō)* is used four times to refer to the crucifixion (3:14; 8:28; 12:32, 34). These passages have been said to function in a manner similar to the three passion predictions of the synoptic tradition (e.g., Mark 8:31; 9:12; 10:33–34). As noted above (C.4), the Greek verb was used of both the lifting up of one on a cross and the enthronement of a royal figure. With this verb the evangelist expresses the enigma of the cross—it is both a scandalous death and the act by which Christ assumes his rightful position as king of humanity.

Second, the enthronement motif is expressed in the ironic title placed on the cross by Pilate, "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews" (19:19), as well as by the discussion of kingship in the trial of Jesus before Pilate. It is in that discussion that the essential question emerges—is it Caesar or Christ who is the authentic king (18:33; 19:15)? There, too, the true nature of Christ's kingship is articulated (18:36).

Third, it is the kingly posture of Jesus throughout the trial and crucifixion which underlines the meaning of the cross as an enthronement. Jesus is never really a victim throughout this ordeal but is always in control of the situation. He allows himself to be arrested (18:1–11) and is able to alter the course of events should he choose to do so (19:11). His death is a voluntary act in which he hands over his spirit (19:30). He is buried in a virgin tomb, as a king would be buried (19:41).

It is in the cross, then, that the true identity of Jesus is declared, as he is elevated to his status as the rightful ruler of creation.

**b. Glorification and Ascension.** The fourth evangelist understands the cross as a "glorification" of Jesus—the act by which divine presence is poured out upon Jesus. "Glory"*(doxa)* in Johannine theology seems to mean the revelation of God's presence. In Christ the divine reality is perceived through the eyes of faith (1:14; 2:11). "Glorification," therefore, is the manifestation of that divine presence.

Jesus is made to speak of the cross as his glorification (e.g., 12:23; 17:1, 5). The evangelist uses the expression almost as a synonym for crucifixion (e.g., 7:39; 12:16). The glorification of Christ is the glorification of God (13:31–32; 17:1). Consequently, as the cross reveals the true identity of Son, it reveals the presence and identity of the Father. It is in the cross that God makes the divine presence known to the world. This is to say that the cross is salvific in that the cross is the revelation of God.

Closely aligned with the theme of glorification is that of ascension. The cross is viewed as part of the process by which Jesus returns to his divine origin. It is closely tied to the resurrection as a part of the ascending process, since Jesus ascends to his Father in the act of rising from the dead after having laid down his life (20:17). The cross and the resurrection are the means by which Jesus departs ("goes away,"*hypagō,* 16:7). It is the completion of the sojourn of the revealer of God in this human realm (19:30).

It is evident that the evangelist saw the crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension as a single event in which time distinctions were transcended. Consequently, the cross is not viewed as the tragedy overcome in the resurrection, as much as it is taken to be the first stage of a revelatory occurrence. The cross cannot be separated from the resurrection, nor the resurrection from the cross. Both are dimensions of the manifestation of the divine presence in connection with the person and ministry of Jesus.

Again, the ascension-return theme is understood as revelation of God, and revelation is understood to have salvific effect.

**c. The New Passover.** The Passover pervades the entirety of the ministry of Jesus (2:13; 6:4; 11:55). The fourth evangelist obviously wanted to set the Christ event within the framework of the Exodus-Passover theme (cf., 6:1–59). In the passion story this is equally clear. Jesus is made to die at the very time the lambs are being slaughtered in preparation for the Passover meal that same evening (19:14—cf. B.2 above). The symbolism suggests that Christ is to be viewed as the new Passover lamb by which God liberates humanity from oppression, just as Israel was freed from slavery in Egypt with the first Passover. The point would seem to be that the cross is the revelation of God which unleashes a power to free humans from oppressive forces which hamper their being children of God (1:12). The title, "lamb of God," in 1:29 and 36 may mean the Passover lamb, although it has also been understood to refer to the sacrificial lamb or the apocalyptic lamb of Revelation.

This poses the question of whether one is to find in the Fourth Gospel the understanding of the cross as cultic sacrifice, as this is expressed, for instance, in 1 John 2:2. While Jesus' death is clearly viewed as an act of sacrifice (e.g., 15:13), the effort to explicate this theme in terms of analogies drawn from sacrificial cultic worship are notably absent. That the killing of the lambs for the Passover meal was regarded as a sacrifice by 1st century Judaism is uncertain. The lamb of God is said to "take away the sins of the world" (1:29), and that may be the one clear fragment of a cultic analogy for the death of Jesus to be found in the gospel. However, given the meaning of the passion narrative, it is safer to assume that the evangelist understood Jesus as the Passover lamb who removed sin by virtue of the revelation that frees humans from sin.

**d. The Supreme Act of Divine Love.** Jesus interprets his death as the supreme act of love (15:13)—an act which transforms the relationship of the believers to him from that of servants to "friends". The cross, therefore, emerges as the model of divine love.

Recognizing the cross as the revelation of God's love for humanity sheds light upon five other significant passages. First, the cross is spoken of as the divine "drawing"*(helkō)* of humans to God (12:32). If the cross is the supreme act of divine love, the drawing power is the power of love. Second, the cross is presented in parabolic form in 12:24. It is a death which yields results, as the planting of a seed produces growth. The death of Jesus is understood as the sprouting of divine love—the revelation of that love which saves humans from their predicament.

Third, the cross is presented in an acted parable in the foot washing. The washing of the disciples' feet is interpreted as a cleansing. The cleansing is a washing in the love mentioned in 3:16. Fourth, in 11:50 the cross is declared to be the death of one person on behalf of the whole people. It is an act of self-giving love for the sake of the results it yields for others.

Finally, the cross creates a new family of God (19:26–27). This is an often debated passage, but the proposal is that it be seen as the closure of the theme introduced in 1:12. By the cross the believers, represented by the beloved disciple, are brought into Jesus' family, represented by the mother of Jesus. It is an expression of love which draws humans together into a new family grouping (cf. 11:52).

Again, the meaning of the cross is found in its revelatory character. As it reveals the love of God for humans, it saves them from life in alienated lovelessness.

**3. Dualism.** The readers of the Fourth Gospel are made to feel that they stand in the midst of a divided reality. The entire thought of the gospel is framed within the bounds of a dualism between that which represents authentic life in relationship with God and that which represents inauthentic life without relationship with God.

The dualism is presented in the gospel with a series of symbolic polarities: Light and darkness (e.g., 1:5), above and below (e.g., 8:23), life and death (e.g., 3:36), truth and falsehood or lie (e.g., 8:44–45), heaven and earth (e.g., 3:31), God and the devil (8:42–44). In every case Christ is the representative of the positive pole, and believers are aligned with that pole. Opponents are, on the other hand, affiliated with the negative pole—that which opposes God, Christ, and the believer.

Two other dualistic symbols dominate the gospel. The first is the pejorative use of the word, "world"*(kosmos).* In some cases, the world is used in a neutral sense to describe the realm of human life and activity (e.g., 1:9; 16:21). But more often the word seems to stand for the realm of evil set over against the revelation. The world hates the believer but embraces the unbeliever (7:7; 15:18). Christ and the believers are not of the world, while unbelievers are (8:23; 15:19; 17:14). The "ruler" of the world is the satanic figure (12:31; 14:30). The world cannot receive the Spirit (14:17) and rejoices in Jesus' suffering (16:20). The world produces tribulation for the believers (16:33).

It is obvious that "world" is sometimes used to represent one of the negative poles of the Johannine dualism as a cipher for that which is opposed to Christ and the revelation.

Another dualistic symbol employed by the evangelist is the negative references to "the Jews". There is a variety of uses of this term in the gospel, to be sure. In some cases it is used in a purely descriptive sense of the Jewish people and their heritage (e.g., 4:22). Other times it is used of a crowd of people, and there seems to be no negative flavor to the expression (e.g., 11:19). The Jews are sometimes said to be among those who believe in Jesus (e.g., 8:31).

But more often the term designates opponents of Jesus who are hostile to him and his message. Examples include 5:16, 18; 6:41; 7:1; 9:18, 22; 10:31; 11:8; 18:12; 19:14–15. Many efforts have been made to explain these pejorative uses of the expression. It has been proposed that "the Jews" means Judeans, as opposed to Galileans, and that sometimes does appear to be the case (e.g., 11:19). It is also clear that the term functions to designate the religious leaders, so that it may be used interchangeably with "the Pharisees" (e.g., 9:13 and 18) and the "chief priests" (19:14 and 15). But often "the Jews" stands for those who are unbelievers, hostile to Jesus and the revelation.

What is the reason for this dualistic scheme? It is one of the features of Johannine theology best understood in terms of the setting of the gospel (cf. D.2 above). The Johannine community expelled from the synagogue has a sense of themselves as an enclave of believers in a hostile world. The mentality has been described as "sectarian," meaning that they conceived of themselves as the possessors of the truth while all those around them live in error. Because of this dualistic social reality, the community imposed such a dualistic scheme upon the cosmos. They experienced their own fellowship as "light" over against the "darkness" of unbelief, and hence understood the whole of reality in this manner. The pejorative use of the term "the world" reflects their sense that the majority in their environment were hostile to them and their beliefs. Because their primary opponents were the Jews of the synagogue, the major opponents of Jesus are spoken of as "the Jews". It is clear that the evangelist had no interest in condemning the Jewish people as a whole and that the pejorative use of "the Jews" only reflects the concrete situation in which the community lived.

The degree to which the evangelist understood this dualism as cosmic is often discussed. In some sense it is surely the case that the whole of reality was conceived of as divided between truth and falsehood. But

more important is the fact that the dualism of the gospel presents the readers with two alternatives by which they may live their lives—by faith or by unbelief. The primary function of the dualism is then "existential". That is to say, the impact of the dualistic language is to lead the readers to the point of decision with regard to Christ, i.e., the revelation. By the use of this scheme the evangelist wanted to reinforce the community in their unpopular stand in favor of Christ. But it is their faith in particular which marks them off from the others in their community.

**4. Faith.** It is through the acceptance of Christ and the revelation that one affiliates with the realm of the "light,""truth," and the "world above". It is by faith that persons move from out of the "world" to become part of the community of God's children. Faith is, then, the positive human response to the revelatory act of God in Christ. It is the personal appropriation of the revelation and its benefits.

The object of the verb "believe"*(pisteuein)* is almost without exception Jesus (cf. 14:1 for a rare exception). The most common constructions with the verb are three in number. The most frequent is "believe in," using the preposition *eis* (e.g. 1:12; 3:18; 12:46). This construction seems to denote a personal allegiance to Jesus. The second construction is the verb with Jesus or his words and works as objects (e.g., 2:22; 4:21; 8:46; 10:37–38; 14:11). Simple trust of Jesus and his message is suggested by this use of the verb. Something quite different is implied by the third construction, the use of the verb with "that"*(hoti)*. In this case, belief has as its object a statement about Jesus (e.g., 8:24; 14:10; 16:30; 17:8).

So, faith is a personal alignment of oneself with Jesus and entrusting him with confidence. But it is also a willingness to accept certain doctrinal statements about Jesus' identity and mission. For the evangelist all of this was part of the process of the faith acceptance of the revelation. It is instructive that for the Johannine community the personal trust of Jesus could not be separated from, but flowed into, the acceptance of creedal statements concerning him. In the Fourth Gospel one witnesses the movement of the understanding of faith toward an intellectual consent to certain propositions about Jesus.

The basis or ground of faith in the Fourth Gospel varies as well. In some cases it is the words of Jesus which become the foundation of faith (e.g., 4:50), in others the works of Jesus (e.g., 10:38; 14:11). Somewhat confusing is the role of the signs as the basis of faith. In a number of passages it is affirmed that the signs do evoke faith and that they are intended to do so (e.g., 2:11, 23; 6:26; 20:30–31). Elsewhere the impression is given that signs are less than a desirable basis of faith (e.g., 4:48; 6:14–15, 30; 10:41). 20:29 may be a clue to the Johannine understanding of signs in relation to faith. Faith is nurtured by the experience of signs and wonders, but the most mature faith does not depend upon "seeing signs" or marvels (cf. 14:11).

Believing is connected with "seeing" and "hearing" Jesus. To "see" Jesus holds within itself the possibility of seeing God (14:8–9), and to "hear" him is an invitation to hear the Father (5:24). By this association it is suggested that faith involves a willingness to perceive beyond the historical Jesus the One whom he reveals. Likewise, faith is associated with knowing (e.g., 8:31–32; 10:38; 6:69; 17:8). Faith as trust involves the intimate relationship between persons and Jesus implied in the Hebraic sense of "know"*(yāda‘)* and produces a certain confidence in the believer.

The noun, faith *(pistis)*, never appears in the Fourth Gospel but the verb always does. This suggests the dynamic character of the act of believing, as the evangelist understood it. Faith is conceived not as a static possession but as a process of trust.

One further characteristic of faith in the Fourth Gospel is on the surface confusing. The evangelist alternates between speaking of faith as if it were an act for which humans are responsible and as if it were a gift for which God alone is responsible. Examples of the first are found in the invitation to believe (e.g., 12:44; 19:35; 20:31) and the command to believe (12:36; 14:11). It is also expressed in the narrative of 6:66–69 in which the freedom to withdraw faith is presumed.

But examples of the second are numerous. Believers are those "given"*(didōmi)* to Jesus (e.g., 6:37; 17:2). They are "drawn"*(helkō)* by the Father (6:44). Believers are determined by their affiliation—whether they are "hearers" of God (8:47), children of God or of the Devil (8:44), "sheep" of Jesus (10:3), or "of the world" (14:17). Other passages which suggest the dominant role of God in determining faith are 12:39–40 and 15:16.

This apparent contradiction is resolved in several different ways by interpreters. Some stress one or the other of the two views represented in the gospel, while others suggest that the contradictory views constitute an intentional paradox.

It may be that this is an instance of a tension between tradition and the evangelist's redaction, supposing that one view is traditional and the other redactional. Whether or not that is the case, the result is that the evangelist holds in tension two quite contradictory thoughts, namely, that humans are free either to believe or not and belief is wholly determined by God's gift of faith. The thought of the gospel balances these two truths with the result that humans are not allowed to credit their faith to their own will but still are responsible for the absence of faith. Faith is ultimately a gift of God, but it is a gift for which humans alone are responsible to accept or reject. The relationship with God offered to humans in Christ is entirely a gift for which humans can take no credit but for the rejection of which they must bear responsibility.

**5. Eschatology.** The classical ideological tension in the Fourth Gospel is encountered when one attempts an analysis of what the evangelist teaches with regard to the acts of God at the end time. It has long been recognized that the fourth evangelist claims that the ultimate gifts of God, usually associated with the end times of history, are already accessible to the believer in Christ. This claim is made, however, without compromising the future dimension of those gifts. In effect there are two types of eschatological thought in the Fourth Gospel.

The first is the classical futuristic eschatology in which the events of the end times are spoken of as standing out in a future time—resurrection (e.g., 6:39–40, 54), judgment (e.g., 12:48), and eternal life (e.g., 12:25). The promised return of Jesus is mentioned in 14:3, 18, 28, and the intervening time is conceived as a period of tribulation (chaps. 15 and 16) in typical eschatological fashion.

But a present, realized eschatology stands alongside of the futuristic one. Resurrection is conceived as the experience of coming to faith in Jesus (e.g., 5:24) and is a present reality in Christ (11:25–26). Judgment is a present reality for believers (e.g., 3:18), and along with it eternal life is already a possession of—and not simply a promise to—the believers (e.g., 5:24). It is implied that the parousia has occurred in the giving of the Spirit (e.g., 14:3; 16:7).

These apparently contradictory views are not found, as one might suspect, in different parts of the gospel, but rather in close proximity to one another. For instance, in 5:24–26 a present eschatology is asserted and in 5:27–29 a futuristic one. The promise of a future resurrection of the dead is declared in 6:39, 40b, 44b, and 54b; but the believer is said to already have eternal life in 6:40a, 47, 51, 54a, and 58.

Again interpreters are divided on the solution to the juxtaposing of these views. It is suggested that one was the evangelist's view and that the other was the view of a redactor. It is argued that the evangelist intended one as the primary view, and the other to be interpreted in the light of the first. The fact that the views are found side by side in the gospel suggests, however, that here again the evangelist employed a tradition which had one eschatological view and supplemented it with the other view.

It has been proposed that still a third view of eschatology may be present in chaps. 14 and 17. In the first of these chaps. the heavenly home awaiting believers is discussed. It appears to some that the evangelist has in mind the access to this heavenly abode immediately upon death (e.g., 14:3). Chap. 17 speaks of the heavenly perfection and unity the believers will be accorded (e.g., 17:11, 23). However, such an interpretation remains uncertain.

The evangelist seemed to want to say that these eschatological realities are present in the life of the believer, although there is still a future and unfulfilled quality to them. The result of the evangelist's view is that believers are invited to turn their attention from the future to appreciate the quality of Christian existence in the present. But part of that Christian life style is to stand suspended between the present and the future. The evangelist may have wanted to correct an excessively future orientation without dispensing with the value of the future for the believer.

**6. The Spirit.** Surely one basis for the affirmation of the present eschatological realities in the Christian community is the way in which the evangelist conceived of the presence of the Spirit of God. Because of the presence of the Spirit, eternal life and resurrection are likewise present. The pneumatology of the gospel is rich and intriguing. It is comprised of two components.

The first is the role of the Spirit presented in the major part of the gospel. In many of these passages the Spirit is thought of in a manner not unlike that found elsewhere in the NT. The Spirit is the presence of God (4:24), and the power and character of God given to Jesus (1:32, 33; 3:34). The Spirit provides new life for believers and is the power which moves one into a new existence (3:5–8; 4:23; 6:63). These ideas are found expressed in the unique Johannine style, of course, but they are similar to views of the Spirit expressed in other early Christian literature.

The second dimension of the Johannine pneumatology is, however, unique to the Fourth Gospel, namely, the concept of the Spirit as the Paraclete ("Counselor,"*paraklētos*). This view is found exclusively in a series of four passages within the farewell discourses—14:15–17, 26; 15:26–27; 16:7–11, 12–14. Here the Spirit is called the Paraclete. The word had associations with two different environments in Hellenistic Greek. It was a common forensic term, meaning one who speaks on behalf of another, supports, and intercedes for another in a legal setting. However, it was also used in the religious realm of one who brought words of eschatological comfort to the afflicted. It was also used of the proclaimer of religious truth. The Greek word is found only in the Fourth Gospel and in 1 John 2:1 in the NT. See also PARACLETE.

The religious background of the concept of the Paraclete has been explored with several different conclusions. One influential view suggests that the concept came to the Johannine community out of Jewish angelology of the intertestamental period.

The word may have been chosen for its rich and multiple meanings in a manner similar to the use of the word *logos* in 1:1–18. The evangelist (and/or the Johannine community) sought to enliven and enrich the meaning of the Spirit by designating it with this new word—a word which captured and articulated more of the Christian conviction about the identity and work of the Spirit than was possible in more traditional language. In typical Johannine fashion language is used to break open new meaning.

In the Paraclete passages it is said that the origin of the Spirit is divine. It is sent by the Father at the request of the Son (14:16) and in Jesus' name (14:26), or is sent by Jesus himself from the Father (15:26; 16:13). The Paraclete is termed "another Paraclete" (14:16), "the Spirit of Truth" (14:17; 15:26; 16:13), and "the Holy Spirit" (14:26). It comes only as a result of Jesus' departure (16:7, 8, 13). The function of the Paraclete has to do primarily with the believers' life together. The believers alone recognize the Paraclete (14:17), and it dwells within them (14:16–17). For the believers the Paraclete does a number of things. It teaches them (16:13), announces what will happen in the future (16:13), declares what belongs to Christ and what does not (16:14), glorifies (16:14) and witnesses to Christ (15:26), reminds persons of what Jesus said (14:26), and speaks only what it hears and not out of itself (16:13). With regard to those outside the community of faith the Paraclete is unknown and unrecognized (14:17). Consequently the Paraclete functions as a judge of the world (16:8–11).

The Spirit conceived as Paraclete accomplishes a number of things for the fourth evangelist and the Johannine community. (1) It makes Christ present to compensate for what was experienced as abandonment and loss by his departure. (2) It may have answered the doubt caused by the delay of the parousia. (3) It provided a divine strength for the community amid its crisis of isolation from the synagogue. (4) It provided a means by which persons separated by time from the historical revelation in Christ could avail themselves of its benefits. (5) It brought assurance of knowing that the community of faith was correct and the world wrong as to the identity of Christ. (6) It made present the benefits of the Christian life, including eternal life, resurrection, and release from judgment. (7) It provided divine guidance for the interpretation of the Johannine tradition in the light of the crisis caused by the expulsion from the synagogue.

The view of the Spirit in the gospel revises a traditional understanding of the Spirit with a new dimension and new meaning. In particular, it elucidates the role of the Spirit in making the revelation of God in Christ present for the believer.

**7. The Sacraments.** No other issue so divides modern scholarship as that of the view of the sacraments in the Gospel of John. The debate centers around several facts about the gospel: (1) the apparent silence of

the gospel regarding baptism and eucharist, and (2) the way in which some passages seem to speak of those sacramental acts in a veiled or symbolic manner.

The first fact is that the Fourth Gospel presents the reader with no institution of the eucharist. In the place where the synoptics narrate the origin of the eucharist stands the account of the foot washing (13:1–10). The last meal Jesus celebrates with his disciples before his passion is not a Passover meal at all. Thus one of the basic features of the institution scenes in the synoptics is missing. Furthermore, there is no account of the baptism of Jesus, and there is confusion about whether or not Jesus practiced baptism (compare 3:22 and 4:2). Water baptism is treated critically and assigned strictly to the Baptizer in contrast with Spirit baptism (1:26, 31, 33). One is left with the impression that the sacraments of baptism and eucharist did not figure in the theology of the fourth evangelist.

The second fact with which we must contend, however, is that the gospel employs a number of symbols which, at least to the modern readers, call to mind these two sacraments. Many interpreters take the mention of water in 3:5 as a reference to baptismal water and understand 2:1–11 as a veiled allusion to baptism. Most would read 6:51–59 eucharistically. It has been proposed that the foot washing is a symbolic reference to one of the sacraments. 19:34 is also taken by some to mean that the water of baptism and the blood of the eucharist come from the side of Jesus as a result of his death. Still other passages suggest the sacraments to other interpreters (e.g., 15:1–10).

Efforts to understand these two disconcerting facts range widely. Some understand the evangelist to have been a profound sacramentarian who sought to explicate the meaning of the sacraments rather than to narrate their founding. It is thought that the evangelist may have taken the institutional accounts for granted and saw no reason to retell them. The feeding of the multitude and the bread of life discourse in chap. 6, it is proposed, is an effort to read the eucharist back into the ministry of Jesus, thus making any account of an institution of the meal redundant. The discourse in chap. 3 really has to do with the way in which baptism is the means by which the Spirit brings its gift of new life, contend some.

At the other extreme are those who would argue that the evangelist was either an antisacramentarian or else ignorant of the sacraments. They would argue that there is an effort to direct the attention of the readers away from such physical signs as sacraments. It has been proposed that the sacramental passages of the gospel ("water and" at 3:5 and the discourse in 6:51–59) are the results of efforts of a later redactor to write the sacraments into the original gospel which made no mention of them.

Midway between the two extremes are interpreters who proffer that the evangelist sought to revise a view of baptism and the eucharist. For instance, it is argued that the effort was to direct attention to the spiritual meaning of these rites and away from the physical elements involved in them (as in the insistence that Jesus baptizes with the Spirit and not with water—1:26, 33).

The problem is a difficult one, but one might conclude that there is little in the gospel which must be taken as reference to the sacraments. If the gospel did go through a process of composition in which additional materials were added to the document in the light of new experiences in the Johannine community, it may be that the baptismal and eucharistic hints are additions made at a later stage in the composition process. It may be that the community upon its expulsion from the synagogue did not know or practice the sacraments. This would have been the case as a result of their thoroughly Jewish/Christian orientation. Later, however, baptism and the eucharist were introduced or reemphasized as part of their new identity as Christians separated from Judaism. This would account for the fact that the eucharistic section of the bread of life discourse (6:51–59) seems to stand out as a secondary revision of the earlier discourse. It would also explain why there is fleeting reference to water in 3:5. The result is that in the final form of the gospel, as we know it, the sacraments have only begun to emerge as significant. Perhaps in that final stage of composition some of the narratives and sayings of Jesus were beginning to be understood in terms of their sacramental importance.

**8. The Church.** If little can be said with confidence about the role of the sacraments in the Johannine community, little more can be said with regard to its own ecclesiological self-understanding. Interpreters have asserted that there is no developed doctrine of the Church in the gospel. But others have found extensive reference to a view of the Church in the same document. There are a number of important

features of the self-understanding of the community which are ecclesiological in nature, even if one cannot justifiably claim on their basis a full Johannine doctrine of the Church.

First, the Johannine community understood itself as living under the influence of the Paraclete through whom the presence of Christ was made real (cf. 6 above). It is not far from the truth to characterize the Johannine church as charismatic (or, better, pneumatic) insofar as it gained its life and existence from the gift of the Spirit. The second thing which can be said of the Johannine community is that it conceived itself as the enclave of the children of God within a world that shared a far different orientation (1:12; cf. 3 above). To a large degree these two characteristics give the Johannine church its definitive shape.

Third, however, it must be said that the Johannine church understood itself as wedded inseparably to Christ. This is evident in the figure of the vine and branches (15:1–7), as well as in the recurrence of the concept of the mutual indwelling of Christ in the believers and believers in Christ (e.g., 6:56; 17:21, 26). The self-understanding of the Johannine community is christocentric.

Fourth, the Johannine community understood itself as a body sent in mission (4:35–38). Their mission is understood once again on a christocentric model. They are sent, even as Christ was sent (e.g., 17:18; 20:21).

Finally, the Church as it is presented to us in the gospel is a diverse and inclusive community. The mission to the Samaritans suggested by 4:1–42 implies that the community may have contained Samaritans and perhaps others of a diverse background. The tension between the Jewish and Hellenistic features of the gospel may be explained by the fact that persons of both backgrounds were part of the community. Furthermore, the prominence of women in the Gospel of John suggests that the community was inclusive in membership and leadership. Mary Magdalene is honored as the first to meet the resurrected Christ and to be sent forth with the news of the resurrection (20:11–18), and other women are portrayed in a positive manner (e.g., 4:1–42; 12:1–8).

**H. Value**

The value of the Fourth Gospel was debated in the early Church and continues to be a controversial subject. However, a number of clear contributions are made by this gospel. Not least among them is its literary quality (cf. C above). But two other kinds of contributions may be narrowed out for further discussion.

**1. The Historical Jesus.** In past decades the Fourth Gospel has been dismissed as valueless when it came to the investigation of the historical Jesus. It was thought that John was the "spiritual" or theological gospel that had little interest in the history of the founder of Christianity. More recently, however, that view has been shown to be false for several reasons. First, redaction criticism has demonstrated that the Synoptic Gospels are equally as interested in advancing certain theological ideas as is the fourth. The synoptics as well as John put history to the service of proclamation. Second, the study of the Fourth Gospel has opened avenues for a different assessment of its historical basis. It is rooted in a primitive tradition, just as are the synoptics. It is not necessarily dated as late as some would have thought a century ago (cf. E.1 above). Traditional words and acts of Jesus may in principle be presented in the Fourth Gospel.

In particular there is something to be said for the historicity of the three year ministry of Jesus, as presented in the Fourth Gospel. To be sure, the threefold Passover scheme may be present for theological reasons, but it may nonetheless reflect historical reality. Furthermore, there is no reason to doubt in principle that some of the unique narratives of the Fourth Gospel may have historical roots (e.g., a mission to the Samaritans, 4:1–42). Nor are the words of Jesus necessarily only the product of the mind of the fourth evangelist or the Johannine community. It has been proposed that the discourses may have been a form of midrash of traditional sayings of Jesus. It is possible, therefore, that in the discourse passages there resides authentic words of Jesus which have been reinterpreted in the light of the situation of the community.

This is not to argue that the Johannine gospel presents us with a faithful portrayal of the historical Jesus. Clearly that portrayal is thoroughly filtered through Johannine conceptuality and concerns, and the theological interests of the evangelist figure far more prominently than does the representation of history.

But the point is that the value of the Fourth Gospel as a source for understanding the historical Jesus is in general no different than that of the other gospels. It must be critically mined for what might be historical, and each individual saying and each feature of every narrative must be evaluated. It may well be that something of the historical Jesus can be discerned amid the Johannine narratives and discourses.

**2. Religious Value.** Clearly the greatest contribution of the Fourth Gospel lies in its theological teachings. The Christian church has in practice made the Fourth Gospel definitive for a number of its doctrines, in particular the views of Christ, the Spirit, and the Trinity. But it may be that the religious value of the document lies as much in what it exemplifies theologically as what it specifically teaches.

The gospel represents the results of the efforts of a religious community to define its identity amid a life-threatening situation. In doing that the fourth evangelist invoked the tradition of the community and, so far as we can detect, presented that tradition as one of the resources by which the community could survive its situation. The Fourth Gospel exemplifies, first of all, the way in which critical situations necessitate the redefinition of identity and the use of religious tradition for that purpose.

But the evangelist was not content simply to repeat the traditional as an answer to the question of Christian identity. There is ample evidence that the tradition of the Church was reinterpreted, expanded, and reshaped in an effort to make it useful to the Christians in the midst of their crisis. The methodology of the evangelist was to interpret tradition in the light of experience. The implication is that tradition is valuable not in and of itself but only as it is interpreted in the light of contemporary experience and need.

The value of this methodology is that it teaches the contemporary religious community that its traditions must always be read and reread in the light of experience. The value of tradition is lost if it is only propagated for its own sake—repeated as a static content to be received and recited generation after generation. Rather, the value of tradition is found in its very dynamic quality whereby it is subjected to new study and new interpretation within a specific, concrete historical situation.

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ROBERT KYSAR

**JOIADA** (PERSON) [Heb *yôyādāʿ* (יוֹיָדָע)]. Var. JEHOIADA. A name which means "Yahu knows".

Joiada (*Iōdae, Iōada*) is the contracted form of Jehoiada found elsewhere in the OT and used alternately in English versions (Neh 13:28; Neh 3:6 KJV).

**1.** A son of Paseah who worked with Messullam to repair the "Old Gate" on the Wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh 3:6).

**2.** A postexilic high priest listed in genealogies as the son of Eliashib (Neh 12:10–11, 22; 13:28). There are two problems with these chronologies. First, there is some confusion concerning the listing of Joiada father of Jonathan (Neh 12:11) and Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan as the succession of high priests (Neh 12:22). Other passages (Ezra 2:43; Neh 12:23) designate Eliashib as the father of Johanan. Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC) notes that these two passages (Ezra 2:43; Neh 12:23) are related and may refer to another Eliashib and Johanan since they were common names. Also in the chronologies of the high priests (Neh 12:10–11; 22), the use of the word, son, does not necessarily mean father and son relationship. Joiada could be Johanan's brother or he could be Eliashib's grandson. Second, there is a problem with the time span of the list given. The list Eliashib to Joiada to Jonathan to Jaddua suggests a time span of 150 years. Williamson (1977) proposes that it is likely that some of the names of high priests have not been included.

Joiada's son who married the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite (Neh 13:28) is used to describe the enforcement of Nehemiah's ban on foreign marriages. The son was banished from Judah but there is no evidence that Joiada's family was punished in any other way.

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GARY C. AUGUSTIN

**JOIAKIM** (PERSON) [Heb *yôyāqîm* (יוֹיָקִים)]. A son of Jeshua, the high priest and father of Eliashib (Neh 12:10, 12, 16). His name means "Yahweh raises up" and is a variation of Jehoiakim. His name also occurs in Josephus's *Antiquities,* where he is noted as having died during the Feast of Tabernacles. Because his son Eliashib served as high priest during the time of Nehemiah, his tenure of office can be dated roughly to the early 5th century B.C.
JAMES M. KENNEDY

**JOIARIB** (PERSON) [Heb *yôyārîb* (יוֹיָרִיב)]. Var. JEHOIARIB. A personal name formed with the theophoric element *yô* (an alternate form uses *yĕhô*) and the imperfect of the Hebrew verb *rîb* which means "Yahweh will contend,""Yahweh contends," or "may Yahweh contend" in the sense of conducting a lawsuit or legal case on behalf of someone (*IPN,* 201, 245). The variety of forms of the name and the question whether, in certain instances, it is patronymic makes uncertain a determination of the number of individuals who bear it.

1. One of eleven (Ezra 8:16) sent by Ezra to Iddo at "Casiphia the place" with a request for "ministers for the house of our God" (v 17). He and another—Elnathan—are described as "men of understanding." It has been suggested that both names should be deleted (as does 1 Esdr 8:42–43—Eng 8:43–44) as a marginal gloss (Rudolph *Esra und Nehemia* HAT, 80; Williamson *Ezra-Nehemiah* WBC, 113); that the

name may be a longer form of the previously listed Jarib (see Noth *IPN*, 201). This person's name appears in the LXX as *Iōarib* which is also the Greek spelling (RSV Joarib) of the ancestral head of the priestly family from which the family of Mattathias claimed descent (1 Macc 2:1 Codex Vaticanus; 14:29; Jos *Ant* 12.6.1 = *Iōaribos* where the name describes a priestly "division").

2. The son of Zechariah and father of Adaiah (Neh 11:5) who is listed in a linear genealogy of Maaseiah, one of the sons of Judah, who lived in Jerusalem following the return from Exile. His name in the LXX appears variously as *Iōiarib* (Codex Alexandrinus), *Iōreim* (original reading of Codex Sinaiticus) and *Iōrib* (Codex Vaticanus and the corrector of Codex Sinaiticus).

3. One whose name appears in several lists of priests who returned from the Babylonian exile. In the list preserved in Neh 11:10–13, *yôyārîb* (*Iōrib* = codices Vaticanus and Alexandrinus; *Iōreim* = Codex Sinaiticus) is described as the father of Jedaiah (11:10) who is the first-listed of six (Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 322, 325), five (Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 187, 236) or four (Rudolph *Esra und Nehemia* HAT, 184, who believes *yākîn* is an error for *ben* thus making *yôyārîb* the "son of" Seraiah) houses or groupings of priests whose number totals 1,192. The list in Neh 12:1–7 numbers twenty-two "heads of the priests and of their relatives in the days of Jeshua" the high priest. *Yôyārîb* (LXX = *Iōiarib*) is listed seventeenth (12:6) of those who came up from Babylon with Zerubbabel the governor and Jeshua. In this list, which Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 360) and Blenkinsopp (*Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 334) believe depends upon the Joiakim list (Neh 12:12–21), the priestly patronymics are represented as actual immigrants. The "master list" (Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 335) in Neh 12:12–21 numbers twenty-one priestly "fathers' houses" with their corresponding "heads" during the time of the high priest Joiakim, the son of Jeshua (Neh 12:10), thus representing the generation after the return. The house or family of *yôyārîb* (LXX = *Iōiarib*) is positioned sixteenth in this list with Mattenai as its head (12:19).

There are two lists in 1 Chronicles where the name of *yĕhôyārîb* (see JEHOIARIB), a "head of a house of a father" of priests (24:4, 6), appears and is assumed to be identical to the *yôyārîb* mentioned in #3 above. The list in 1 Chr 24:7–18 numbers twenty-four divisions of Aaronide priests. This, according to Winter (1956: 216), was sufficient for each division to officiate in the Temple twice a year for a turn of one week according to the lunar calendar (48 seven-day-weeks). The Chronicler attributes this priestly organization of his own day to David (*HJP²* 2: 247) who acted concurrently with representatives of the two recognized branches of the Aaronic priesthood (vv 1–3). This "procedure"*(mišpāṭ)* rested on divine command given to Aaron (v 19). The entire context, suggests Welch (1939: 86–87), reflects an impasse on the constitution of the higher clergy during the period of the Return which required resolution by appeal to a higher (and more revered) authority. The final development of priestly organization in the Hebrew Bible appears to have been reached with this enumeration (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 162; Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 239) although attempts to date it vary. The method of organization was that of lots (vv 5, 7) and the first lot fell to *yĕhôyārîb* (*Iarib;* Codex Vaticanus = *Iareim*) (24:7). Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 161–62) attributes this primary positioning to a genealogical connection with the Hasmoneans (see #1 above) during whose time the redaction of 1 Chronicles 24 occurred. The list in 1 Chr 9:10–13 numbers six priestly "heads of their fathers' houses." Here *yĕhôyārîb* (Codex Vaticanus = *Iōarim,* Codex Alexandrinus = *Iōareib*) is listed second following Jedaiah, a positioning which Rothstein (*Chronik* KAT, 436) attributes to listing the sequence from the standpoint of the Eleazar line rather than from the line of Ithamar to which he believes *yĕhôyārîb* belongs. Because Jedaiah precedes *yĕhôyārîb* here and *yôyārîb* in Neh 11:10 (where the former is called the son of the latter) and because Jedaiah follows *yĕhôyārîb* in 1 Chr 24:7 and *yôyārîb* in Neh 12:6, 19, it has been assumed that *yĕhôyārîb* and *yôyārîb* are variant spellings of the same patronymic.

*Yĕhôyārîb* is also mentioned in the Talmudic literature: *b. Taʿan.* 29a, where the priestly division so named is described as being on duty when the temple was destroyed; *m. Baba Qamma* 9:12 with corresponding Gemara (*b. Baba Qamma* 111a), where payments and offerings to priestly divisions related to committed robberies are regulated.

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RODNEY H. SHEARER

**JOKDEAM** (PLACE) [Heb *yoqdĕʿām* (יָקְדְּעָם)]. A town situated in the south-central hill country of Judah (Josh 15:56), within the same district as Maon. This settlement is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). One common, but very tentative, suggestion places the ancient town at modern Khirbet er-Raqqa (M.R. 160096), located approximately 7 km S of Hebron (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 389). LXX B provides the alternative reading *iorkeam,* suggesting a possible relationship between this settlement and a place known as Jorkeam, which appears as a metaphorical descendent of Hebron in 1 Chr 2:44.
WADE R. KOTTER

**JOKIM** (PERSON) [Heb *yôqîm* (יוֹקִים)]. An individual of Judah, son of Shelah (1 Chr 4:22). The Vulgate seems to reflect a Rabbinic tradition linking Jokim with Elimelech of the book of Ruth. This passage reflects a partial or total conquest of Moab of which Jokim may have taken part.
DAVID CHANNING SMITH

**JOKMEAM** (PLACE) [Heb *yoqmŏʿām* or *yoqmĕʿām* (יָקְמְעָם)]. A levitical city of the Kohathites in Ephraim (1 Chr 6:53—Eng 6:68). In Josh 21:22, the corresponding place in the parallel list is taken by KIBZAIM. According to 1 Chr 23:19 and 24:23, a Hebronite levitical family bore the similar name Jekameam (Heb *yĕqamʿām*), and one could conjecture that since David assigned Hebronite levites to duties on the west side of the Jordan (according to 1 Chr 26:30) perhaps the family of Jekameam should be associated with the levitical city Jokmeam.

Jokmeam also appears as one of the cities in Solomon's fifth administrative district (1 Kgs 4:12). Judging from its placement after Abelmeholah and its placement at the end of the list of towns in that district, some have sought its location on the Ephraimite side in the Jordan valley and have suggested an identification with Tell el-Mazâr (M.R. 195171). According to this perspective, Jokmeam of 1 Kgs 4:12 is the same as the levitical city in 1 Chr 6:53—Eng 6:68. Alternatively, some scholars consider the elements in 1 Kgs 4:12b to be out of order or that some of the elements are explanatory additions, and they interpret that the verse describes the territory of Solomon's fifth district first from W to E from Taanach to Bethshean, and then from S to N extending as far as Jokmeam. According to this perspective, Jokmeam is an alternative spelling or a corruption for Jokneam of Zebulun (Josh 12:22, 19:11, 21:34). See also Aharoni *LBHG,* p. 313; Gray *I and II Kings* OTL, p. 134.
WESLEY I. TOEWS

**JOKNEAM** (PLACE) [Heb *yoqnĕʿām* (יָקְנְעָם)]. A city in the Jezreel valley, mentioned in connection with the borders of the tribe of Zebulun and as a Levitical city (Josh 19:11; 21:34). Its king is mentioned in the list of rulers defeated by Joshua (Josh 12:22). The many LXX variants *(iek[o]nam, iekman, iekommam)* indicate some confusion of the labials. The place may be referred to in Judith (7:3) as Cyamon. Eusebius mentions a Kammona (which Jerome rendered as Cimona) located on the road from Legio (near Megiddo) to Ptolemais (= Acco), six miles from the former (*Onomast.* 116.21), which is precisely where Tel Yoqneam lies (M.R. 160229). In the Crusader period this site was called Caymont or Mons-Cain, from which derived the Arabic name of the site, Tell Qeimun.

**A. Description of the Site**

Tell Qeimun (or Tel Yoqneam) dominates the exit of Wadi Milḥ in the Jezreel valley, hence its strategic importance throughout history. The site is first mentioned in a topographical list of sites in Asia conquered by Thutmoses III: number 113 on this list, *ʿn qnʿm,* should most probably be read *ʿn (y)qnʿm,* "the spring of Jokneam." Numbers 112 and 114 on that list are *ḥrqt* (Helkath) and *kbʿ* (Gaba), identified respectively with Tel Qashish and Tel Shush to the N and S of Qeimun/Yoqneam. The tell itself measures

some 40 dunams as it rises steeply to a height of 60 m above its surroundings. The highest point of the site is in its SW corner, from which the surface of the site more gradually slopes to the N and E. Due to the sloping terrain, the buildings of all periods were built upon, and supported by, a series of terraces.

**B. The Excavation**

The excavation of Tel Yoqneam is the focus of a regional archaeological research project, the Yoqneam Regional Project. See Fig. JOK.01. See also QASHISH, TEL; QIRI, TELL. The site has been excavated since 1977; nine seasons have so far been carried out, and one or two additional seasons are planned in order to reach the earliest (EB) levels of occupation. Several areas have so far been tested, but the main effort was focused in area A (and B) in the N and NW of the site, where an area of about 2 dunams (ca. 5 percent of the site's surface) is being investigated. Twenty-three layers of occupation have been encountered so far spanning MB I through the Ottoman period. Pottery found out of context indicates occupation at the site also during MB I and the EB Age. Such a long time span of ca. 4500 years is very unusual, and is so far unattested at any other site in Palestine, except Jerusalem. Neighboring Megiddo, for example, was abandoned 2000 years before Yoqneam. Not in all periods, however, did the occupation extend over the entire site: during the Mamluk, Byzantine, and Roman periods, for example, occupation was limited to the southern, high part of the site.

**1. Bronze Age.** The MB and LB strata so far have been unearthed only in two deep sections, located in the NW part of the Tel. During MB I, Yoqneam was fortified by a 3 m wide mudbrick wall, which was substituted in MB II by another fortification wall, only the inner face of its lowest course has been preserved in the area thus far excavated. No trace of any LB fortification has, however, been encountered, and it seems that the site was unfortified. The transition between MB and LB appears to have been peaceful since no sign of destruction between strata XXI and XX was noted. The ceramic assemblages of both periods are varied. An impression of a scarab on a bowl found out of context should be attributed to Amenemhet III (stratum XXIII). The practice of infant burials in jars under the house floors is characteristic of strata XXI–XX. The LB settlement ended in a great disaster evidenced by a 1.5 m thick destruction layer.

**2. Iron Age.** After the LB destruction, which occurred probably in the second half of the 13th century B.C., the site was abandoned for a period of time, and was reoccupied towards the end of the 12th or early 11th century B.C. This settlement was unfortified, however; the houses situated at the edge of the site were built so that they formed a continuous defensive line. There are no clear cut criteria by which we can identify the ethnicity of the inhabitants of the site at the time (strata XVIII–XVII). It should be noted that Philistine pottery is extremely rare. By the end of the 11th century B.C. Yoqneam was violently destroyed (stratum XVII). In one of the buildings consumed by the conflagration, two installations designed for the production of olive oil were uncovered. Also found was a large amount of pottery, some of which was clearly imported from the Phoenician coast. Two knives and a sickle blade, all made of iron, are noteworthy. The entire assemblage shows a very close affinity to that of Megiddo VI A, which was also destroyed in a large conflagration at that time. The cause of this destruction is not yet clear: it could have been military (the Israelite conquest of the Canaanite enclaves in the valleys during the time of David?) or natural (the shattered nature of some of the walls suggests that the site was destroyed by an earthquake).

A very massive casemate wall was erected in Yoqneam in the 10th century, which in turn was substituted in the 9th century by an equally massive double wall. These two fortification systems, exposed over a length of ca. 60 m, are very impressive insofar as they were carefully planned and constructed, and accompanied by fine drainage systems. The city's water system should be dated to that period: it has not yet been entirely excavated, but its location (inside the defenses on the NW corner of the tower) has clearly been established. Strata XIV–XII represent a well-fortified Israelite town situated on the NW border of the kingdom facing Phoenicia. Indeed, a large part of the ceramic assemblage as well as other finds attributable to these strata exhibit a distinctively "Phoenician flavor."

Stratum XI reflects a rather limited occupation of the site, in part reusing houses of the previous stratum and partly built on top of the defenses (which were then no longer in use). This settlement probably

represents the Assyrian control of the region following the campaign of Tiglath-pileser III in 733/2. No trace of destruction was noted between Strata XII–XI.

**3. Persian and Hellenistic Periods.** It appears that Yoqneam was rather intensively occupied during the Persian period (6th–4th centuries B.C.) even though it is not mentioned in the records of that time. The architectural features as well as several characteristics of the ceramic assemblage clearly indicate close contacts with the Phoenician coast. An ostracon on which were inscribed Hebrew, Phoenician, and Persian names was discovered, clearly demonstrating the "cosmopolitan" nature of Yoqneam (undoubtedly due to its location on an important international route). The remains of the Hellenistic period are rather scanty, including mainly an isolated watchtower on the N side of the site, several coins, and a ceramic assemblage including simple local ware, megarian bowls, terra sigilata, and wine jars imported from the island of Rhodes.

**4. Later Periods.** The early Islamic settlement (stratum IV: Late 9th/Early 10th century C.E.) is not known from any record of the time. This is a well-planned urban settlement, as evidenced by the regular layout of the streets and by the uniform planning and construction of the houses. Among the ceramic finds were some Egyptian imports. In the Crusader period, Yoqneam was encircled by a defensive wall. A square fortress with corner towers was built on the SW acropolis, and to its E was a church. Although its construction is massive, several features seem to indicate that the church was built in haste, and probably was never completed. The written records indicate that in 1139 Yoqneʿam/Caymont became the administrative center of the region. The site is last mentioned in the Crusader period in a contract dated 1283.

During the Mamluk period (14th–15th centuries) the settlement was confined to the S, higher part of the site: several phases of construction were distinguished in houses which were built over the ruined church and in its vicinity. A violent transition between the Crusader and Mamluk settlements is indicated. Literary sources mention a caravanserai built on the summit of the site by Dahir al-ʿUmar, the Bedouin ruler of the Galilee in the 18th century. This structure was apparently incorporated into the remains of the Crusader fortress, and its remains—which cover the entire area of the acropolis—are still noticeable above ground.

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AMNON BEN-TOR

**JOKSHAN** (PERSON) [Heb *yoqšān* (יָקְשָׁן)]. A clan name in the genealogy of Abraham by his wife Keturah in Gen 25:2. Jokshan is the second of seven sons born to Keturah. He is described in 25:3 as the father of Sheba and Dedan. This designation is problematic because of two statements in the genealogies in Genesis 10. In the Cushite genealogy of Gen 10:7 Sheba and Dedan are listed as the sons of Raamah. Then, in Gen 10:28, Sheba is described as one of the Arabian tribes descended from Joktan. Winnett (1970: 189) rejects the equation of Jokshan with Joktan on etymological grounds. He suggests that the people of the city of Raamah considered themselves to be descendants of an "eponymous ancestor" named Jokshan. The Dedanites and Sabeans, who later lived in Raamah, simply took up this ancestral line as well.

Like the other sons of Keturah, Jokshan is described as receiving gifts from his father Abraham. However, he was not to share in the inheritance of the land of Canaan and was sent "eastward to the east country" (Gen 10:6).

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**JOKTAN** (PERSON) [Heb *yoqṭān* (יָקְטָן)]. Son of Eber, brother of Peleg, and father of thirteen descendants, whose settlements ranged from Mesha to Sephar, in the hill country to the east (Gen 10: 25–30). As a descendant of Shem, Joktan represents that part of the line which, in the Table of Nations, is found in SW Arabia. There is a possible relationship between the name and a figure remembered as the ancestor of the S Arabs, *Qaḥṭān* (Winnett 1970: 181; Simons *GTTOT*, 48–49).

Although it is unclear whether Joktan is a prefixed verbal form of the Sabaean root *qṭn* (cf. Ryckmans 1934 1: 190; Biella 1982: 452), its meaning, "to be small," is associated with this root in West Semitic and appears in geographic names such as Qatna. Its possible appearance here as the last named figure of the Table of Nations to have descendants listed, raises the question of a word play between Joktan and Jepheth, the first named figure in the Table. Jepheth's name is related to the concept of enlarging *(ptḥ)* in the word play of Gen 9:27, and is also a prefixed verbal form.

The relationship of Joktan to Jokshan, the son of Abraham and Keturah, in Gen 25:2, 3, is not clear. Despite the fact that both figures have "sons" named Sheba and Dedan, the equation of the two names is linguistically implausible, and all ancient versions follow the Hebrew in distinguishing the two. Further, since both are geographic names, the different ancestry in the two chapters may reflect distinct peoples among the inhabitants of both Sheba and Dedan.

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RICHARD S. HESS

**JOKTHEEL** (PLACE) [Heb *yoqtĕ'ēl* (יָקְתְאֵל)]. **1.** A town situated in the Shephelah, or low-lands, of Judah (Jos 15:38), within the same district as Lachish. This settlement is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). It has been suggested (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 386) that Joktheel may be the same place as Jekuthiel, a place name which appears in 1 Chr 4:18 as the "father" of Zanoah and the "uncle" of Socoh. If this is the case, then a location in the vicinity of Zanoah and Socoh seems likely, although it is not possible at the present time to provide a more precise identification.

**2.** New name given to the Edomite stronghold Sela (modern Petra) after its capture by Amaziah (2 Kgs 14:7).

WADE R. KOTTER

**JONADAB** (PERSON) [Heb *yonādāb* (יְנָדָב)]. Var. JEHONADAB. The name of two men in the OT. The name may mean "Yahu is liberal," "… is noble," and it has been found on an ancient Heb seal (*TPNAH*, 82, 351).

**1.** The son of Shimeah, David's brother. He is a friend of Amnon, and advises Amnon how to seduce his sister Tamar (2 Sam 13:3–5). Two years later, it is Jonadab who reassures David that only Amnon has been killed by Absalom, and not all of David's sons (13:32–35). 2 Sam 13:5 has the variant *yĕhônādāb* in all mss. Several mss of the LXX (codices Vaticanus, Alexandrinus, Coisilianus, and Basiliano-Vaticanus) have *iōnadam/b* in 2 Sam 13:3a, however. The Gk Lucian recension and 4QSam[a] read *(yĕ)hônātōn* in 2 Sam 13:3a, confusing Jonadab with Jonathon (see below).

The RSV renders the description of Jonadab in v 3 as "a crafty man". This is misleading, since the Heb literally means "wise". The rabbis elaborated this as "wise for doing evil" (*Sanh.* 21a). McCarter believes that the word "friend" used to describe Jonadab's relationship to Amnon is a technical term for a routine matchmaker, with parallels in Akk terms for a best man (*2 Samuel* AB, 321). The "King's Friend" may have been an actual official; and if part of Amnon's motivation for raping his sister was to succeed to the

throne through a matrilineal claim (*ISBE* 2: 977), then Jonadab may have intended to raise himself to this office by helping Amnon. Certainly Jonadab's cool reaction to the news of Amnon's death seems to rule against a true friendship (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 333).

Jonadab may be the same as the Jonathan, also son of David's brother Shimeah (or SHIMEI), who slew a Gittite giant in 2 Sam 21:21 and 1 Chr 20:7. See JONATHAN (PERSON) #5; *IDB* 2: 964. In 2 Sam 21:21, most Gk uncials and many cursive mss, as well as the Syr, have *Iōnadab.* In 1 Chr 20:7, the Syr has Jonadab. This and the confusion of Jonadab and Jonathan in some mss of 2 Sam 13:3a make equating the two possible. McCarter, however, believes that Jonathan and Jonadab were brothers, and there was an ancient tendency to identify them (*2 Samuel* AB, 451).

ROBERT D. MILLER II

**2.** The son of Rechab and the founder of the Rechabite community (2 Kgs 10:15–28, Jer 35:6–7, 1 Chr 2:55) during the reign of Jehu (842–815 B.C.E.). In 2 Kgs 10:15–20, Jonadab accompanies Jehu during his massacre of the followers of Baal. The participation of Jonadab in the revolt of Jehu and zealous purge of the worshippers of Baal are indications of the fanatical devotion to Yahweh of Jonadab and his Rechabite followers.

Jeremiah's dealings with Rechabites in Jeremiah 35 provide further insight into Jonadab and the Rechabites. When Jeremiah offers the Rechabites wine during their visit to the temple, the Rechabites respond quoting the command of Jonadab: "You shall not drink wine, neither you nor your sons; you shall not build a house; you shall not sow seed; you shall not plant or have a vineyard, but you shall live in tents all your days, that you may live long days in the land where you sojourn" (Jer 35:6–7).

While the historical accuracy of the quotation is impossible to verify, it is the only clue available apart from 2 Kings 10 about the possible perspective of Jonadab and the Rechabite community. The quotation suggests that Jonadab and the Rechabites expressed Yahwistic faith by shunning settled life, rejecting agriculture, and holding to some form of pastoralist ideal (cf. Carroll *Jeremiah* OTL, 653; Bright *Jeremiah* AB, 190). Such expression of Yahwism would certainly be consistent with the fervid anti-Baalist crusade in which Jonadab participated with Jehu. 2 Chr 2:55 associates Rechab, Jonadab's father, with the Kenites. See KENITES. If authentic, this connection could support the pastoralist ideal suggested by Jer 35:6–7 (cf. Gottwald 1979: 577).

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J. M. BRACKE

**JONAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yônâ* (יוֹנָה)]. 1. Jonah, son of Amittai. See JONAH, BOOK OF.

2. One of six Levites who divorced their foreign wives during Ezra's reform (1 Esdr 9:23; Gk *iōanes*). The parallel account in Ezra 10:23 also lists six Levites but differs from 1 Esdras in that it records the name "Eliezer" instead of "Jonah". The difficulties of identifying individuals such as Jonah raise questions about the sources of and literary relationships among Ezra, Nehemiah, and 1 Esdras.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**JONAH, BOOK OF.** A book of the OT/Hebrew Bible, the fifth in the collection of "Minor Prophets," recounting the story of Jonah, son of Amittai, who was called by God to prophesy against Nineveh.

The book of Jonah is one of the most familiar and popular in the Bible, yet it contains many puzzles. It is difficult to classify and to date. Its precise message is hard to determine. On the face of it it is a very simple, direct narrative, yet it has produced a wide variety of interpretations. The number of questions it raises can be multiplied: Is it "history" or a "story"? What could it have meant to those who included it in the Biblical canon? Is it a unity or the work of various hands? For example, does Jonah's long, psalm-like prayer in chapter 2 belong to the original book or was it added later? Is the book in the "right" place in the Bible? It is located among the prophetic writings but is the only one which consists solely of a story about the prophet, and the only "prophecy" it contains consists of five words in the Hebrew. What connection, if any, is there between the Jonah of the Book and the person of the same name in 2 Kgs 14:25?

To these, and many other questions, there are no simple answers and much critical debate. Furthermore any evaluation should also recognize the remarkable power of the book to move, stimulate, and challenge readers of different religious traditions for over two millennia.

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A. Content and Structure
B. Literary Character
    1. Poetry and Prose
    2. Narrative Devices
    3. Genre
C. Date and Authorship
D. Status of Text and Canonical Position
E. Theological Ideas and Motifs

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**A. Content and Structure**

The book of Jonah, like any composition or work of art, is a self-contained world, one that works by its own rules and logic. Some rules it shares with the rest of the Bible, others are unique. So it is valuable to gain some understanding of how the book is constructed and what methods the author employs, its "internal" system, before asking "external" questions about the authorship, dating, and place in the Bible.

The book divides neatly into two parallel sections of two chapters each (Lohfink 1961; Landes 1967; Cohn 1969; Magonet 1976). Both sections contain certain "key words" whose recurrence highlights the comparison between them. Chapter 1 begins with God telling Jonah to *"arise"* and *"go"* to Nineveh and *"call out"* against it. When Jonah does indeed *"arise"* (1:3), as we would expect of an obedient prophet, it is, however, to flee in the opposite direction, to Tarshish, probably S Spain, at the other end of the world. In response, God unleashes the powers of nature to force him back. On the ship is a pagan crew of sailors who try to understand what is happening to them. They identify Jonah as the cause, seek to discover why and recognize the hand of God in the storm. They do their best to save Jonah. His invitation to them to throw him overboard may be seen as an exercise in self-sacrifice on their behalf or a manifestation of his own death wish—though his "correct" answer would have been a request to be taken back to Jaffa. However, by asking them to throw him overboard, rather than merely jumping himself, he brings them into another difficulty. Trapped between doing nothing, and thus drowning, or throwing him overboard, and thus being punished by death for shedding innocent blood, they pray to God who alone can resolve this "double-bind": "let us not *perish*" (1:14). They throw Jonah overboard and the storm abates. The sailors offer sacrifices and make vows to Israel's God and perhaps, as later Jewish tradition suggests, "convert" thereby to Israel's faith.

Chapter 2 sees Jonah saved from drowning by a "great fish" and praying to God from its belly. God responds and the fish vomits him out.

Chapter 3 introduces a second call, in almost identical language to that of chapter One, utilizing the same three terms: *"arise,""go"* and *"call out"*. This time Jonah obeys completely, he *"arises"* and *"goes"* to Nineveh (3:3) and *"calls out"* (3:4). His few words to the Ninevites, another pagan community equivalent to the sailors, lead them to repent. Even though Jonah's decree offers no hope, their king argues that God might change His mind in response to their change in behavior, if they turn aside from their evil way and their violence. His hope is expressed using the same term that the captain and sailors had: "that we *perish* not" (3:6, 9). God sees how they turn from evil and does not destroy them.

Chapter 4 finds an angry Jonah again praying to God, as in Chapter Two, though here God's response is given in more detail as a dialogue, expressed in words and actions, ensues between them. God "appoints" three more natural agencies to act upon Jonah. As a result, Jonah's desire to die because of his "ideological" distress at the forgiving of Nineveh is replaced by a desire to die because of physical distress (compare 4:3–4 and 4:8–9). In a final question God suggests that Jonah felt "pity" for the plant that gave him shade, something never formerly said about Jonah's actual feelings, surely he could see by

analogy why God should have pity on Nineveh with its myriad citizens and animals. The book ends with this question and challenge.

In very general terms chapters 1 and 3 put Jonah in the context of the outer "pagan" world. In both cases the leader of the pagans (the captain, the king) acknowledges that there is a single divine power to whom they turn. It is important to note that two different terms for "God" are used here in quite specific ways. The Heb *ʾelōhîm,* usually translated as "God," is a general term for God (and also divine beings, "other gods,""angels" and powerful human beings)—it is used here as the supreme divine power. The *tetragrammaton, YHWH,* is Israel's name for the supreme God of the world, but with whom Israel has a special covenantal relationship. Whereas the sailors identify the "God"*(ʾelōhîm)* who saves them as Israel's God, and thus make vows to *YHWH,* the Ninevites make an act of repentance before "God"*(ʾelōhîm)* but do not make that step of acknowledging *YHWH.*

Chapters 2 and 4 contain the inner discussion between Jonah and God represented in the language of prayer, of divine responses in words and actions, and some physical activity directed against Jonah's body. The two parts of the Book can be represented in the following table:

Table 1: Structure of the Book of Jonah

| *CHAPTER ONE* | *CHAPTER THREE* |
|---|---|
| Call (Arise, Go, Call) (v 2) | Call (Arise, Go, Call) (v 2) |
| Jonah arises—flees to Tarshis (v 3) | Jonah arises—goes to Neneveh (v 3) |
| God acts—storm (v 4) | Jonah acts—prophesies destruction (v 4) |
| Sailors call to their gods (v 5) | Ninevites believe, fast, and don sackcloth (v 5) |
| Captain identifies *ʾelōhîm*'s power behind the storm (v 6) | King dons sackcloth, issues decree, seeks *ʾelōhîm*'s will (vv 6–8) |
| Sailors seek *YHWH*'s will (vv 7–13) | |
| Sailors pray to *YHWH*: "let us not perish" (v 14) | King orders Ninevites to pray to *ʾelōhîm*: "lest we perish" (v 9) |
| Storm abates (v 15) | God "relents" (v 10) |
| *CHAPTER TWO* | *CHAPTER FOUR* |
| Jonah saved | Jonah angry |
| Jonah prays | Jonah prays |
| God responds | God responds |

The symmetry of this structure helps us recognize certain elements of the story that we might otherwise overlook. The parallels between the sailors with their captain and the Ninevites with their king indicate that the former are not merely an accidental background against the story of Jonah's flight. Like the Ninevites they are representatives of the "pagan" world. Like them, they too acknowledge the hand of God in the world, but unlike them they go further in identifying that universal "God" through the name that Israel uses and may indeed come to join Israel. There is therefore a graded universalism within the book. Jonah becomes an instrument for spreading divine knowledge in the world whether consciously obedient or not.

**B. Literary Character**

**1. Poetry and Prose.** The book is for the most part a narrative. The "Psalm" in chapter 2 interrupts the story and is a different literary genre. This, among other factors, has led scholars to assume it is an addition. However, there is no *a priori* reason why a biblical book should not contain a mixture of genres or why the same author should not be capable of varying style to suit the point that is to be made. Moreover, recent work suggests that there is no hard and fast line of division between "poetry" and "prose" within the Bible, and that in the case of "poetry" it is more accurate to speak of "heightened

language" within Hebrew texts, most of which have some sort of metrical component (Kugel 1981; Christensen 1987).

**2. Narrative Devices. a. Word Repetitions.** We have already noted that the repetition of the words associated with Jonah's "call" provide a method for comparing the two sections of the book, or, in terms of the narrative itself, comparing the consequences of Jonah's disobedience and ultimate obedience to God's word. This feature of word repetition is particularly common within the book and allows for "subliminal" messages to be conveyed to the reader. A few examples illustrate the effect:

**(1) "Go down."** The Hebrew root *yārad* occurs three times in the first chapter: Jonah "goes down" to Jaffa and "goes down" into the ship (1:3), during the storm he "goes down" into the inner part of the ship (1:5). In the "Psalm" in chapter 2 he says that he "went down" to the bottoms of the mountains (2:7). In addition there is a word play in 1:5, only recognizable in the Hebrew, where the statement that he "fell into a deep sleep" is expressed as *wayyērādam* in which *yārad* can clearly be heard. There is thus a continuous hint that Jonah's flight from God is not merely "horizontal" to another part of the world, but actually a "descent," ultimately into death and the underworld.

**(2) "Great."** One of the most frequently repeated words in the book is the term *gādôl,* meaning "great." Among those so designated are: Nineveh (1:2; 3:2, 3; 4:11); the storm wind (1:4) and the storm (1:4, 12); the fear of the sailors (1:10, 16); the fish (2:1); the "great ones" of Nineveh (3:5, 7); and Jonah's anger (4:1). It is also present as a verb meaning to "raise a child," but here in terms of Jonah not "raising" (growing) the plant (4:10). When one remembers that biblical Hebrew uses adjectives very sparingly and that this repetition is quite obtrusive, some explanation is demanded. It may imply that all the events in the story are "larger than life" and suggest that for the author and initial audience this was perceived as a sort of parable rather than true history. Other explanations are possible, but it is a factor that must be taken into account in any evaluation of the story.

**(3) "Appointing."** In the same vein it is very obvious that four "miraculous" events in the book are introduced by the same verbal root *mānāh,* "to count, number, reckon" and here "appoint": the great fish (2:1); the "plant" (4:6); the worm (4:7); and the wind (4:8). When we couple this information with the awareness that in each case a different divine name *ʾelōhîm* (sometimes with the definite article—*haʾelōhîm* or *YHWH*), or a combination of the two, is used, the reader becomes aware that something more is being conveyed.

Again, the precise nuance, is a matter of interpretation, but such features require careful consideration. In this particular case the repetition of the same verbal form with a different subject each time forces the reader to examine the implications of the different usage of divine names on each occasion and suggests that they are not random changes. Whereas in chapters 1 and 3 the use of names is related to the religious perceptions of the "pagan world," the use in chapters 2 and 4 seems to relate to the "private" internal dialogue between Jonah and God. Thus the fish that saves Jonah is "appointed" by *YHWH,* whereas the worm and the wind are "appointed" by variants of the name *ʾelōhîm.* The plant itself, which has a twofold purpose—expressed as a powerful word-play in the Hebrew "to be a shade" over Jonah *(lihyoÆt ṣēl),* but also to "rescue him"*(lĕhaṣṣîl lô)* from his anger/evil (4:6)—is introduced by both divine names in combination *(YHWH-ʾelōhîm).* Though many commentators assume this division of names is arbitrary, given the general precision with which words are used throughout the book, this seems unlikely. A possible explanation is that for these two chapters a different system of interpreting the names is in operation, a prefiguration of the later Rabbinic view that they represented two different divine attributes—*ʾelōhîm* suggesting God's attribute of justice, *YHWH,* God's attribute of mercy (Strikowsky 1976). Thus the fish that saves Jonah is a "merciful" act, the worm and wind are part of the process of educating Jonah on his own physical person, and the plant, with its double function, to save and to instruct, serves both purposes. Again, other explanations may be possible, but the precision of the utilization of the names must be taken into account.

**(4) "Evil."** One final example is also highly suggestive, particularly because it shows the variety of meanings contained within the individual Heb root. Thus the word *rāʿâ* refers to the "evil" of the Ninevites that has risen up to God (1:2); the "great evil" of the storm according to the sailors (1:7, 8); and

the "evil way" from which the king of Nineveh asks his citizens to turn back (3:8). It is this latter that introduces the most striking sequence utilizing this word. In 3:10, God sees that they turn from their "evil" way, and repents of the "evil" (i.e. punishment) that He had intended to do to them. But this will be experienced by Jonah as "a great evil" (4:1), a phrase usually translated in terms of Jonah being "displeased." Again, the significance of this is subject to a variety of interpretations, but the "evil" that shifts between the Ninevites, God, and Jonah within the space of two verses, binds the three "characters" of the story together at this crucial moment.

**b. Use of Quotations.** A feature of the book is the presence of a number of sentences and phrases that resemble passages from elsewhere in the Bible (Feuillet 1947; Fränkel 1967; Ackerman 1981). There is a relationship between 4:2 and Exodus 34:6–7 and other passages which we will explore further in the next section. The "Psalm" contains apparent "quotes" from other Psalms—compare 2:4 with Ps 42:8; Jonah 4:5 and 4:9 with Ps 31:23 and 31:7 respectively (see further below). The argument of the king of Nineveh that God might repent if they "turn from their evil way" reflects Jer 18:7, 8, 11; 26:3, 13, 19. Other statements (including the miraculous interventions and his request to die) reflect the episode of Elijah's flight from Jezebel into the desert (compare Jonah 4:8 with 1 Kgs 19:4). Jonah's argument with God (4:2) echoes the language of the children of Israel confronted by the Red Sea on escaping from Egypt (Exod 14:12).

When such parallel passages occur in different parts of the Bible, a number of possible explanations exist: that A quotes B; that B quotes A; that both have a common source; that both were edited in later; that it is purely a coincidence. The relatively large number of such apparent "quotations" and allusions in Jonah is suggestive of a conscious literary ploy by the author, though each case must be argued on its own merits. Nevertheless the contrast between the behavior of Jonah and that of Elijah, the irony of the king of Nineveh quoting Jeremiah's theology back at Jonah, as well as Jonah's use of God's "attributes," all complement the narrative and seem to conform with the author's overall strategy of reversing expectations and conventions.

**c. Ironic Inversion.** There is one major narrative device that runs throughout the book. We noted above that when God tells Jonah to "arise" and "go," our conditioning as readers of the Bible is to anticipate an obedient response—but our expectations are subverted when Jonah indeed arises, but to go in the opposite direction. The "hero," with whom we would expect to identify, acts in an inexcusable way. Conversely, in the same general way, the sailors, and more shockingly the "evil" Ninevites, behave in exemplary fashion: the former trying to save Jonah and displaying piety and integrity; the latter, in the person of the king, taking the mechanical responses of fasting and sackcloth into the higher dimension of turning away from evil and violence. In short the author reverses the conventions of biblical narrative in terms of the encounter between a prophet and the people, and between Israel and the outside world.

**(1) Jonah Prays—Chapter 4.** This technique of challenging the reader's natural identification with Jonah recurs in the presentation of Jonah's various statements throughout the book. The most shocking occurs in his prayer to God in the final chapter. What begins as a standard prayer formula "Please Lord" (4:2) (compare the identical opening words of the captain of the sailors, 1:14) concludes with the standard formula used in petitionary prayer, though somewhat disturbing in its content: "now, Lord, take, *please,* my soul from me …" (Compare the negative formula of the captain in his petition: "*please* let us not perish …"). But Jonah's prayerful opening is interrupted as his anger bursts through (4:2): "Is that not my word when I was back on my own land …" But the reader is further shocked when Jonah quotes against God as an accusation the time-honored formula of God's "attributes" of mercy and compassion—"I knew you were a God who is gracious and compassionate, slow to anger and great in mercy and repenting of evil." This formula, expressed in its fullest form as God's response to Moses' request to learn about God's glory (Exod 34:6–7), recurs or is echoed in numerous variations (Num 14:18; Ps 103:8–13; Nah 1:3; Joel 2:13–14). Only here is it thrown back at God as an accusation, when God extends this compassion and willingness to forgive Nineveh. Thus Jonah's prayer, though it utilizes the correct opening and closing terminology, is quite inappropriate.

**(2) Jonah Prays—Chapter 2.** This device may also be operating in the case of the "Psalm" of chapter 2, which has been identified as a later addition, one of the grounds being its apparent inappropriateness—Jonah giving a psalm of thanksgiving when he is not yet saved (although he has been saved from drowning). Another problem is the absence of any reference in the "Psalm" to his mission or any acknowledgment that he was wrong in fleeing from God. If the author tends to put "inappropriate" prayers into the mouth of Jonah, these absences become quite significant. Jonah is willing to thank God for getting him out of trouble, but not to acknowledge his own responsibility in getting into trouble in the first place. Compare (2:4) "You cast me in …" and the concluding "You brought me up …" (2:7).

Arguments about the "genuineness" of the "Psalm" fall into two general categories: psychological or stylistic. The former include the suggestions given above that it is inappropriate. Since the "Psalm" does suggest that Jonah is capable of some degree of personal repentance and piety, those who wish to paint him as particularly unredeemable argue that it portrays a Jonah different from the rest of the book. However, since their case depends on excluding the "Psalm" from consideration, their argument is circular. (Incidently, that Jonah could compose a "psalm" while in the belly of a fish is no more absurd than the notion that he could survive in one for three days. Attempts to collect cases of sailors who underwent such an experience are unconvincing.)

Among the "stylistic" arguments, the one that the rest of the book is "prose" and this "poetry" is weak, considering the mixture of poetry and prose in other biblical books. The similarity of the "Psalm" to other "thanksgiving psalms," particularly in its opening and closing sentences, has reinforced the view that it belonged originally to such a collection and was edited into the book. Since the narrative part invokes the cultic area of sacrifices and vows (1:16), it is not inappropriate to have Jonah compose a typical cultic thanksgiving psalm to express his gratitude. More to the point, Jonah's "Psalm" differs significantly from others in the Psalter by maintaining the narrative form in the way it organizes the terminology of the "underworld," so that Jonah's descent is presented as a geographical sequence.

Furthermore, the "Psalm" contains two instances of a key word or phrase being repeated in a strategic manner. Twice Jonah is "surrounded" (the identical form of the Hebrew verb appearing both times)—by the "streams" (surface currents) in v 4 and by the "deep" in v 6; twice he invokes "Your holy temple"—he looks to it (v 5); his prayer reaches it (v 8). Thus, his physical descent is contrasted with his "spiritual" ascent. This technique of repeating a word or phrase accompanied each time by additional words is also used in the narrative sections of the Book, which would again suggest a common author.

Whereas the opening and closing verses of the "Psalm" and the initial description of the stages of his descent echo similar phrases in other "Psalms" (compare 2:4 with Ps 42:8), during the second phase where he sinks into the very depths, the language is uniquely that of Jonah with no echo elsewhere. Jonah's descent from conventional experience is matched by a move beyond conventional language. The use of phrases from elsewhere in the Bible, with a strong possibility of deliberate borrowing, echoes the technique apparently used in the narrative parts of the book and again points to a common authorship.

A different approach to the authenticity of the "Psalm" is in terms of the structure of the book as a whole, whereby Jonah's "descent" is seen as the mirror-image of the "ascent" of the Ninevites in chapter 3 (Magonet 1976: 60–63).

All the above views can be argued in various ways; however, it is also evident that the narrative part of the book does seem to be dependent on the actual content of the "Psalm" itself (Ackerman 1981). The "Psalm" might be there precisely to indicate the inappropriateness of Jonah's response, in line with other similar inadequacies he has shown. This might explain the comic touch of the fish "vomiting" him out—the word used being particularly strong and implying some disgust. But more specifically, Jonah's closing words include the promise to make a major sacrifice of thanksgiving to God and pay his vows—the language being virtually identical to that of the sailors. Presumably this can only be done in the Temple. Jonah is thus ready to return to Jerusalem and make the appropriate pious gesture in gratitude for being saved. That is why God has to call him "a second time" at the beginning of chapter 3. This repetition of the call is not merely a stylistic device but, in terms of the story, is a necessary reminder to Jonah that he still has an unfulfilled task to complete.

**3. Genre.** Until the modern period, the historicity of the book, with a few exceptions, seems to have been taken for granted. Thus the references to the sign of Jonah in the Gospels (Matt 12:38–41; Luke 11:29–32) have been important for establishing the "truth" of the book for Christians. Likewise the reading of the book on the Jewish Day of Atonement *(Yom Kippur),* the most solemn day of the Jewish calendar, has given it considerable educational and moral force within the Jewish tradition.

With the rise of historical criticism came the search for sources, as well as scepticism about the miraculous elements and the lack of evidence in external sources of a massive act of "repentance" in Nineveh. This led, in turn, to conservative attempts to "prove" its historical truth. This concern has waned, at least in scholarly circles, and has been replaced with an attempt to identify the precise "genre" of the book: Is it a parable or legend, a folk tale or didactic story? Is it a "satire," or is the humor better defined as "irony" (Good 1965; Rauber 1970; Holbert 1981; Ackerman 1981; Golka 1986)? Should one avoid Western categories altogether and turn instead to biblical or rabbinic terminology in trying to define it—is it thus a *mashal* (a term used of proverbial and parabolic materials) or a *midrash* (a category of Rabbinic exegesis that also includes short parables)? Certainly the book is closer in tone to individual tales about Elijah or Elisha, or to the story of Balaam (Numbers 22–24) than to the historical books as a whole or the historical anecdotes within Isaiah and Jeremiah.

To a large extent these attempts reflect a scientific interest in precise definition and categorization of the biblical materials. However, on another level they may nevertheless indicate a concern with preserving the "religious truth" of the book in an age when its "historical truth" can no longer be assumed. The absence of consensus on an appropriate descriptive term reflects the difficulty of such an exercise given the limited amount of biblical and extra-biblical materials with which to compare it and the unique character of the book itself.

**C. Date and Authorship**

Dating the book is problematic because there is virtually no direct information and everything has to be derived by internal evidence of varying degrees of trustworthiness (see Wolff, *Dodekapropheton* BK; Allen; *Joel, Obadiah* ... NICOT).

It is notable that there is no time signature to the book itself, listing the kings during whose reign he prophesied, unlike the majority of the prophetic books. Even if these are late editorial additions, they give a starting point for investigation. The absence of a date may be because the author, and subsequently the editors, assumed that the reader would identify the Jonah of the book as the Jonah of 2 Kgs 14:25, in which case no such additional information was needed. However, it must also be noted that the absence of a time may accord with other features of the author's literary technique. For example, Jonah is not referred to as a prophet throughout the book. This could also be because of assuming the Kings reference, but its effect is to make Jonah an anonymous individual, out of time, struggling with an unacceptable word of God.

Given the lack of direct evidence, scholars have had to work with a variety of factors, linguistic and historical, to determine the date.

The use of words and phrases that reflect Aramaic usage has been seen as pointing to a late date for the book. However, some of the words relating to the sea voyage may be technical maritime terms, possibly Phoenician in origin, which could have been available at any period. Other grammatical constructions may reflect the earlier influence of Aramaic in the N kingdom. In general, the number of such forms is suggestive of a post-exilic date, but there is no conclusive evidence.

The statement in 3:3 that Nineveh "was" a great city, suggests that it was no longer in existence at the time of composition, i.e., after 612 B.C.

Earlier assumptions that the "universalism" of the book reflect a protest against the strong particularistic attitudes of the returning exiles cannot be proven, and universalistic views may be found in earlier biblical materials.

We have already noted above the possible presence of "quotations" from other parts of the Bible, both within the narrative and "Psalm" section of the book. If these are accepted as deliberate utilizations of material from elsewhere in the Bible, they are again suggestive of a relatively late date of composition.

In general the nature of the book and the various considerations given above suggest that it is not the work of the 8th century prophet Jonah mentioned in Kings, and that the book is a much later composition, though suggested dates range from the 6th to the 4th century. The same dating problems make it impossible to determine the authorship, once the prophet himself has been excluded.

**D. Status of Text and Canonical Position**

The text of the book has been remarkably well preserved. The most thorough recent study (Trible 1963: 1–65) indicates the presence and absence of a number of *matres lectionis* which affect the spelling of the words, but not their meaning. The genuineness of a couple of words is questioned because of their unusual form or on metrical grounds, but none of these have major consequences. Similarly the ancient versions raise no significant questions about the MT.

No record is preserved of any dispute about its place in the canon among the Twelve "Minor Prophets," despite its major difference in style to the others. It may owe its place there to the identification of Jonah with the prophet in 2 Kings 14. This would account for its location in the first half of the collection, which is probably based upon the chronological view held at the time of compilation (Wolff, *Dodekapropheton* BK, 53).

**E. Theological Issues and Motifs**

The use of a narrative form affects the way the book is perceived and received. The onus is placed very firmly upon the reader to interpret the events described. For example, no reason is given in the opening chapter for Jonah's flight from God. This leaves the reader with the responsibility of "gap-filling" about this crucial question. Given the role of Nineveh in Israelite history (the capital of the Assyrian Empire that destroyed the N Kingdom), the reader may well sympathize with an Israelite prophet who refused to go there to preach. But this brings the reader, like Jonah himself, into direct conflict with God's express command, so that the reader is forced to identify with, and even share, the tension experienced by the "hero." Even the explanation offered by Jonah in chapter 4 does not resolve the initial question. Jonah quotes good religious traditions about God being "compassionate and merciful" (see discussion above) but it is still not clear to what he is actually objecting. This leads inevitably to a whole range of possible interpretations, all of which have surfaced in classical religious traditions and modern scholarship (Bickerman 1967; Allen, *Joel, Obadiah ...* NICOT, 188–191). For example, Jonah was jealous that God's special love for Israel was here being extended to those he considered as Israel's enemies—the particularistic/universalistic conflict; Jonah was committed to a God of strict justice and was scandalized by God's compassion for those he considered to be wicked and due for severe punishment—the justice/mercy conflict. These and other interpretations may be argued out and different weight may be given to the various viewpoints depending on the reader's own concerns or interests.

The significance of this is not that one or the other view is right or wrong, but rather that it is in the nature of "narrative" to be suggestive and allusive in this way rather than to be assertive or dogmatic. The exercise of exploring the possible reasons is as much a part of the "message" of the book as the story itself because it, too, demands that the reader continually reassess his or her view of events and motivations. The reader, like Jonah, is forced to re-evaluate an understanding of the world and of God's will. It is therefore erroneous to focus solely on the character of Jonah and condemn him as a "narrow, chauvinistic, hater of Gentiles" as some extreme interpretations with anti-Jewish overtones have suggested (Golka 1986); it is equally erroneous to identify totally with the author as a sublime, universalistic, almost "pre-Christian Christian" as have others for whom the Hebrew Bible is read in the light of the Christian canon. The narrator who "knows" what is going on, the characters who appear in the story, and the reader who encounters the book, all play their part in a process of interpretation. Thus the nature of the book and the awareness of these implications is vital for an attempt to understand and evaluate it.

We began by listing a series of questions raised by the book and it is worth remembering that it concludes with a question. "If you (Jonah) can have pity … should not I (God) have pity …" No answer is offered by the text but various exegetical and liturgical traditions have tended to assume that Jonah said "yes," and was suitably repentant. This need not be the case, and given the frequency with which the author breaks conventions, it is probably best to leave the matter open—or, as the whole thrust of the

narrative has been, to leave it to the reader to respond to the challenge posed equally to Jonah and the reader. For that, after all, is the culminating effect of the narrator's strategy of demanding the reader's engagement. The book is subversive in its inversion of conventions and challenging of stereotypes and prejudices. Thus, despite its unconventional narrative form, its place among the prophetic books is ultimately appropriate. It clearly addresses the issue of the relationship of Israel to the outside world, represented as two major tendencies. Yet the polemic does not overwhelm its artistic values. Most strikingly a relatively small vocabulary (for example, the repetition of two verbs alone creates the vivid effect of the storm) is used to considerable effect and creates multiple dimensions of meaning. The significant echoes of other biblical events or narratives provide reference points that lead to startling new understandings, both of the event cited and of the character of Jonah himself. In this, at least, the Book seems to stand within the tradition of interpretation through parable that was to become Rabbinic *midrash.*

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JONATHAN MAGONET

**JONAM** (PERSON) [Gk *Iōnam* (Ἰωναμ)]. The father of Joseph (not the "supposed father" of Jesus) and son of Eliakim, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:30). Gk *Iōnam* is read in B, Leningrad and Oxford, and most of the versions, but there is a significant variant Gk *Iōnan,* found in A, G, H, L, and Vulgate. D omits the name, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. The name Jonam occurs nowhere else in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, and falls within a list of eighteen otherwise unknown descendants of David's son Nathan (Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB, 501). Kuhn (1923: 208–9) argues that two seemingly parallel lists of names—Luke 3:23–26 (Jesus to Mattathias) and 3:29–31 (Joshua/Jesus to Mattatha)—were originally identical, the first perhaps reflecting a Hebrew context and the second, in an Aramaic context, tracing Mary's line of descent (since it does not mention Joseph as Jesus' father). Jonam, in the 2d list, corresponds to Nahum, in the 1st list. According to Kuhn, Gk *Naoum* representing Heb *nḥwm* was corrupted to Gk *Anoum* representing Heb *ḥnw* or *ḥnn* (cf. Neh 3:30 in LXX B). Gk *Iōnam,* Kuhn believes, is itself a corruption of Gk *Iōanam,* found for Gk *Iōanan* in 1 Chr 3:24a. (Gk *Iōnan* is also found in variants for Gk *Iōanan.*) With no textual variants for Jonah and Nahum to support confusion of the two in the NT, Kuhn's theory has little plausibility.

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**JONATHAN** (PERSON) [Heb *yônātān* (יוֹנָתָן); *yĕhônātān*]. The names Jonathan and Jehonathan (Heb "Yahweh has given") appear to be used interchangeably.

1. A Levite from the town of Bethlehem in Judah, who, according to Judges 17–18, founded a priesthood at Laish (later called Dan). This Levite, whose name (Jonathan) is provided only at the close of the narrative (Judg 18:30), was hired by the Ephraimite Micah to serve as priest in his private shrine (17:7–13). The Danites, searching for new territory, received a favorable oracle from Jonathan as they journeyed northward. The narrative relates that Jonathan was later persuaded by the Danites to serve as the first priest at the new sanctuary at Dan. The image taken from Micah's shrine was housed in this Danite tribal sanctuary (18:11–31). The priesthood founded by Jonathan is said to have continued until the people went into captivity (734 or 722/1 B.C.E.; 18:30).

Jonathan is reported to be a direct descendant of Moses through Gershom (18:30). The MT, however, through the addition of the letter *nun* to the name of Moses (rather than being incorporated into the text, this has been suspended above the line and inserted between the first two consonants of the name Moses), has altered the name of Moses (cf. the versions) to that of Manasseh (the apostate king).

2. See JONATHAN SON OF SAUL.

3. Son of Abiathar, who, together with Zadok, served as priest during the reign of king David (2 Sam 15:36; 1 Kgs 1:42). Stationed at En-rogel at the time of Absalom's revolt, Jonathan and Zadok's son Ahimaaz acted as couriers, conveying to David information pertaining to Absalom's plans which was supplied by the spy Hushai. Upon being discovered and forced to flee, they were assisted in escaping from Absalom's men by a woman at Bahurim, who hid them in a well (2 Sam 15:24–29, 32–37; 17:17–22). It was Jonathan who later brought to Adonijah the news that Solomon had been anointed king (1 Kgs 1:41–48). Solomon removed Abiathar from his office of priest and banished him to Anathoth (1 Kgs 2:26–27). Since Jonathan was also an active supporter of Adonijah, it can be assumed that he shared the fate of his father.

4. King David's uncle (Heb *dôd;* so RSV, JB, NAB; NEB reads "nephew"[cf. 1 Chr 20:7]) and a member of his personal staff (1 Chr 27:32). As usually translated, 27:32 states that Jonathan shared with Jehiel son of Hachmoni the task of tutoring David's sons (see RSV). However, a preferred translation of 27:32 is probably one which does not take Heb *hû*ʾ ("he") with v 32b. The text thus names only Jehiel as the one responsible for such tutoring of David's sons (cf. LXX). Jonathan, who is referred to as a man of understanding and learning, was David's counselor.

5. Son of Shimei or Shimea, David's brother. He slew a Philistine giant at Gath (2 Sam 21:20–21; 1 Chr 20:6–7). His name is given as Jonadab in some mss of the LXX (cf. 1 Sam 13:3). The Philistine slain by Jonathan is one of four warriors identified in 2 Sam 21:15–22 as being among the *yĕlîdê hārāpâ.* As traditionally understood, this designation refers to those who were descendants of Raphah, eponymous ancestor of the Rephaim, a legendary race of giants (RSV translates "descended from the giants"). More recently, however, it has been argued that the Philistine *yĕlîdê hārāpâ* was an elite corps of warriors dedicated to a deity. The corps was so designated either because of its emblem, the scimitar, or because *rp*ʾ (a divine epithet) was the patron deity of the corps (see the discussions in L'Heureux and Willesen).

6. One of David's thirty mighty men (2 Sam 23:32; 1 Chr 11:34; see DAVID'S CHAMPIONS). For the MT's "the sons of Jashen, Jonathan, Shammah the Hararite" in 2 Sam 23:32–33 (see RSV), a suggested reading is "Hashem the Gizonite; Jonathan son of (cf. some mss of LXX) Shammah the Hararite" (see, e.g., NEB; cf. 1 Chr 11:34). In 1 Chr 11:34 Jonathan is identified as the son of Shagee rather than as the son of Shammah (2 Sam 23:32; cf. also 23:11).

7. Son of Uzziah. He was in charge of the royal supplies in the provincial towns, villages, and fortresses during the reign of David (1 Chr 27:25).

8. One of the Levites who formed part of a commission sent by Jehoshaphat to teach the law in the cities of Judah (2 Chr 17:8; Jehonathan in RSV and other English translations).

9. A high-ranking government official who held the position of *sōpēr* during the reign of Jehoiakim (Jer 37:15, 20; 38:26). It is probable that Jonathan's office was that of state or royal secretary. He was preceded in this office by Elishama (Jer 36:12, 20–21). The prophet Jeremiah, accused of having deserted to the Babylonians (Jer 37:11–16), was imprisoned in the house of Jonathan, which had been made into a prison.

10. One of the two sons of Kareah who, following the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/6 B.C.E., chose to join Gedaliah, the ruler of Judah, at his administrative center at Mizpah (Jer 40:8 in the MT). However, as is indicated by the LXX and the parallel passage in 2 Kgs 25:23, the MT's "and Johanan and Jonathan sons of Kareah" is to be emended to read "and Johanan son of Kareah" (see RSV, JB, NAB; the NEB follows the MT).

11. The father of Ebed, one of the "heads of their fathers' houses" who returned from exile with Ezra (Ezra 8:1, 6). Ebed, a member of the Adin phratry *(mišpāḥâ),* was accompanied by the 50 male members of his extended family (Ezra 8:6; 1 Esdr 8:32 has Obed and 250 men).

12. A priest named as one of those who were heads of priestly families in the time of the high priest Joiakim (Neh 12:12–21). He is the head of the family of Malluch (12:14; the MT reads "Malluchi"[cf. however Neh 12:2]).

13. Another priest named in the list of those who were heads of priestly families in the time of the high priest Joiakim (Neh 12:12–21). He is the head of the family of Shemaiah (12:18; JEHONATHAN in RSV and other English translations).

14. A high priest who held office in the post-exilic period. He was the son of Joiada and the father of Jaddua (Neh 12:10–11). The name Jonathan, however, is undoubtedly a scribal error for Johanan (cf. the list of high priests in Neh 12:22; also Neh 12:23). It is known that the high priest during the time of Nehemiah was Eliashib (Neh 3:1, 20). Johanan is identified as the grandson of Eliashib in Neh 12:10, but as the son of Eliashib in Neh 12:23 (although it is possible that Heb *ben* is to be translated as "grandson" in Neh 12:23; cf. NEB, JB). Further, according to Ezra 10:6 (1 Esdr 9:1), Ezra retired to the temple chamber of Jehohanan (Johanan) son of Eliashib. While it is possible that the Jehohanan (Johanan) of Ezra 10:6 is to be identified with the high priest Johanan mentioned in Nehemiah 12 (cf., e.g., the NEB's translation of Heb *ben* as "grandson" in Ezra 10:6), this is far from certain. Such an identification would lend support to the view that a late date for Ezra is to be preferred (from the Elephantine papyri [*CAP,* 30.18, 31.17], we know that a Johanan served as high priest during the reign of Darius II). However, with respect to the high priestly genealogy in Neh 12:10–11, it has recently been suggested that one of the occurrences of the two names Eliashib and Johanan has fallen out of the text by haplography (Cross 1975: 10). According to this hypothesis, the sequence of high priests is as follows: Eliashib I, Johanan I (b. ca. 520 and a contemporary of Ezra), Eliashib II (b. ca. 495 and a contemporary of Nehemiah), Joiada, Johanan II (b. ca. 445; it is this Johanan whose name appears in the Elephantine papyri).

15. The father of Zechariah, one of the Levites who participated in the dedication of the rebuilt walls of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah (Neh 12:35; the reference to the priests at the beginning of v 35 [MT reads "of the sons of the priests"] is probably to be taken with vv 33–34). In Neh 12:35, the ancestry of Zechariah and Jonathan is traced back to Asaph, the founder of a guild of temple musicians.

16. A priest who is reported to have led the prayers at a sacrifice during the time of Nehemiah (2 Macc 1:23).

17. Son of Asahel. One of four men who, according to Ezra 10:15 in the MT, stood opposed to either Ezra's reform measures relating to the putting away of foreign wives, or (and this is probably how 10:15 is to be understood) the procedure by which these measures were to be carried out. The ambiguity of the Hebrew text is reflected in most English translations (cf. however the JB, which reads "were opposed to this procedure"). The LXX reads "only Jonathan … and Jazias … were with me in this" for the MT's "were opposed to this."

18. A Jerahmeelite. Son of Jada, brother of Jethen, and father of Peleth and Zaza (1 Chr 2:32–33).

19. Son of Mattathias and leader of the Maccabeans 160–143 B.C.E. Mattathias, who belonged to the priestly family of Joarib (alternately Jehoiarib; cf. 1 Chr 24:7), was a native of Jerusalem who later settled

with his family in Modein (1 Macc 2:1). Following the death of his brother Judas in 160 B.C.E., Jonathan, who was nicknamed Apphus (2:2), was quickly recognized as military leader by his own people (9:28–31). Jonathan later attained a position of considerable power and influence when he was able to take advantage of the unstable political situation within the Seleucid empire. Rival claimants to the throne sought Jonathan's support. In order to secure such support, Alexander Balas, a pretender to the throne, appointed Jonathan high priest in 152 B.C.E. (10:15–21). Alexander also appointed Jonathan general and governor of a province (10:65). When Demetrius II Nicator came to power, the privileges extended to Jonathan by Alexander were confirmed. But when Demetrius refused to remove a Syrian garrison from the Acra in Jerusalem, Jonathan threw in his lot with Antiochus, the son of Alexander Balas. Antiochus was supported in his bid for the throne by the general Trypho. Trypho, however, though ostensibly championing the cause of Antiochus, was in fact seeking to secure the kingdom for himself. In the belief that his own ambitions were threatened by Jonathan, Trypho, through an act of deception, had Jonathan imprisoned in Ptolemais. Jonathan was executed by Trypho and buried near Baskama in Gilead in 143 B.C.E. (12:39–48; 13:12–23). The bones of Jonathan were later taken by Simon and placed in a family grave in Modein (13:25–30). Jonathan was succeeded by his brother Simon. With his assumption of both religious and civil power, Jonathan may be regarded as the one who laid the foundations for the later Hasmonean dynasty (142–63 B.C.E.).

20. A general, who, in 142 B.C.E., was sent by Simon Maccabeus with a large army to fortify the garrison established a year earlier in the coastal port of Joppa (cf. 1 Macc 12:33–34; 14:5) and to expel the occupants from the city (1 Macc 13:11). He was the son of Absalom (who is possibly to be identified with Absalom father of Mattathias [1 Macc 11:70]).

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JOHN M. BERRIDGE

**JONATHAN SON OF SAUL.** Jonathan was the oldest son of Saul, son of Kish, and his wife Ahinoam, daughter of Ahimaaz. He was the heir to the Saulide throne of Israel before his untimely death at Mt. Gilboa. The throne eventually passed on to David, who is portrayed as having been a very close personal friend of Jonathan.

**A. Jonathan from a Literary Perspective**

Most of the passages that involve Jonathan appear to have been written to justify David's replacement of the Saulide house on the throne of Israel. Their literary dimension must accordingly be examined fully before any judgment can be made concerning their underlying historical veracity.

Jonathan's opening appearance in the Bible is in 1 Sam 13:2–3, when, as commander of one of Israel's battalions during a planned campaign against the Philistine garrisons controlling the Michmash pass, he is depicted as attacking the Philistine garrison at Gibeah/Geba prematurely, instead of waiting for his father to launch a simultaneous attack against the Philistine garrison at Michmash, on the other side of the wadi, with the remaining Israelite forces. This initial victory forces Saul to have to retreat to Gibeah/Geba, leaving the Michmash outpost intact, and to draw up a new strategy to cope with the Philistine retaliation, which would now include reinforcement troops from the Philistine plain. Needing his own reinforcements, Saul leaves Jonathan at Gibeah/Geba with some troops and goes to Gilgal to muster additional men. While Saul is at Gilgal, Yahweh rejects him as king over Israel for disobeying a divine command, in favor of a new candidate, who is "a man after His own heart" (13:14).

1 Samuel 14 implies that Jonathan, the heir-elect, is the new candidate for king in its recounting of how Jonathan puts his trust in the Lord by following his heart and bravely venturing across the wadi with his weapons bearer, gains access to the Philistine outpost by being mistaken as an Israelite deserter, and slays 20 enemy soldiers, thereby throwing the Philistine forces into chaos and launching what becomes a victorious battle for Israel (14:1–23). Yet Jonathan inadvertently breaks a divinely invoked food ban that his father had imposed on the troops in his absence and fails to repent when he learns the truth (14:24–

30). His deed is discovered by oracular consultation with Yahweh through the Urim and Thummim, who declares him to be guilty (14:36–44). Although the troops ransom Jonathan, believing that he has had Yahweh's favor that day in battle (14:45), it is revealed, after the confirmation that Saul has been irrevocably rejected by Yahweh (1 Samuel 15) that David, not Jonathan, is the new candidate whom Yahweh has chosen. Jonathan, the heir to the throne, has been rejected from the kingship because of his insubordination. David is secretly anointed by Samuel to confirm his designation as king-elect (16:1–14).

1 Samuel 13–14 play the dual role of depicting Saul's rejection from the kingship for disobedience to prophetically mediated divine command and of depicting Jonathan's rejection from the role of king-elect for insubordination. The account of Jonathan's rejection appears to have been structured by using the tripartite kingship ritual pattern—the designation of the king-elect, his testing through a military deed, and his subsequent confirmation by coronation after his successful completion of the military deed (Halpern 1981: 125–48; Edelman 1984: 197–99). The first step is presumed because of Jonathan's status as heir-elect by birth. It is also hinted at by Samuel's going, immediately after Saul's rejection at Gilgal (13:15), to Gibeah, where Jonathan is stationed. The second step is represented by the episode in 14:1–23, where Jonathan follows the inclinations of "his heart" by trusting in Yahweh. The third step is aborted because of Jonathan's failure in his testing after his breaking of the divinely imposed food ban (14:24–44). The same pattern can be seen to have been used to structure the account of Saul's rise to the kingship and of David's succession to the throne of Israel. See SAUL.

Jonathan's next appearance is immediately after David's slaying of Goliath, where he is said to have "loved" David as his own soul and to have made a covenant with David, giving him his (royal) robe, his armor, his sword, his bow, and his girdle (1 Sam 18:1–4). At this point David replaces Jonathan as military commander and is reported to have been successful wherever Saul sent him and to have gained the support of all the people and Saul's servants (18:5). The verb *love* in Hebrew can have political overtones, referring to a treaty relationship, and appears to be used in this way in the Jonathan passages (Thompson 1974). These narratives seem to be intended to demonstrate Jonathan's acceptance of Yahweh's earlier negative judgment of him in chaps. 13–14 and his willingness to recognize David as Yahweh's new candidate to succeed Saul on the throne of Israel. He does this by formally binding himself to David in a covenant and by passing his weapons to David, an act which is a gesture of political surrender (2 Sam 8:7, 11, 12; 2 Kgs 11:10).

Most of the remaining scenes in 1 Samuel in which Jonathan appears stress his covenant relationship with David and affirm his knowledge and acceptance of David's status as king-elect, while simultaneously revealing Saul's progressive acquiescence in Yahweh's choice. In 1 Sam 19:1–7 Saul becomes jealous of David's military success and esteem and orders Jonathan and his servants to kill David. It is stated in this context that "Jonathan delighted much in David." Because of their covenant Jonathan warns David to hide, argues on David's behalf before his father, and persuades him to remove his death sentence against David. He then restores David to the court.

After another attempt on his life by Saul, David goes to Jonathan and asks why Saul seeks his life (20:1–42). Jonathan agrees to help David in any way possible (v 4) and swears to apprise David of his father's intention, whether good or evil, saying "may Yahweh be with you as he has been with my father." In the revealing speech in vv 14–17, Jonathan asks David not to cut off his loyalty to Jonathan's house forever and not to let the name of Jonathan be cut off from the house of David in the future, when Yahweh will cut off all of David's enemies from the face of the earth. Jonathan has him swear to keep this promise "by his love for him," i.e., on the basis of their existing covenant relationship (v 17). When Saul learns that Jonathan has excused David from the New Moon feast, he curses him and orders him to send for David so that he can be killed, in order to enable Jonathan's kingdom to be established (vv 30–31). Jonathan questions why David should be put to death (v 32), thereby emphasizing his acceptance of David as the new king-elect of Israel, in contrast to Saul's refusal to accept the divine plan. The chapter ends with Jonathan's warning David of Saul's intention to kill him and with another reference to the covenant entered into by Jonathan and David and the oath sworn in the name of Yahweh to maintain peaceful relations between David's and Jonathan's descendants forever.

In the subsequent accounts of Saul's pursuit of David through the Wilderness of Judah, Saul's explicit knowledge of the covenant between Jonathan and David is revealed (22:7–8), after which Jonathan is reported to go to David while he is in hiding at Horesh in the Wilderness of Ziph to strengthen David's hand in God (23:17). The two then renew their covenant before Yahweh, after which Jonathan returns home (23:17–18). In this final scene between Jonathan and David, the narrator's message is completely revealed in Jonathan's direct confession that David, not he, will be the next king over Israel and that Saul also knows this fact. Jonathan's death at Gilboa is briefly reported in 31:2.

There is an allusion to the covenant between Jonathan and David toward the end of the lament over Saul and Jonathan, quoted from the Book of Jashar in 2 Sam 1:19–27. In v 26 David is quoted as saying, "I am distressed for you, my brother Jonathan; very pleasant have you been to me; your love to me was beautiful, surpassing the love of women." It should be noted that this is the only statement in the first person in the lament and that it is placed almost as a superscript and introduced by a statement that refers back to v 19. In addition, it is framed by parallel phrases in vv 25 and 27. Although David is said in v 17 to have written the lament personally, his authorship may be questioned and, along with it, the originality of v 26 (Edelman 1988). In view of the use of the covenant theme and the related verb *love* to describe the covenant relationship as a literary device to portray Jonathan's acceptance of David as the divinely chosen heir to Saul, the secondary introduction of the theme into the lament would be a logical way to give the theme an air of authenticity.

The theme of the covenant between Jonathan and David continues in 2 Samuel in connection with David's actions on behalf of Meribaal, Jonathan's young, crippled son. In 2 Sam 9:1 David is portrayed as asking, "Is there still anyone left of the house of Saul, that I may show him kindness for Jonathan's sake?" Upon learning from a former servant of the Saulide house of Meribaal's existence, David has him brought to the court and restores to him the Saulide family estates, "For I will show you kindness for the sake of your father Jonathan" (9:7). In a related incident David is said to have spared Meribaal from being one of the seven Saulides sacrificed by the Gibeonites to end a three-year famine, "Because of the oath of Yahweh that was between them, between David and Jonathan, the son of Saul" (21:7). It is generally recognized that historically, Meribaal's escape from sacrifice was almost certainly due to David's ignorance of his existence and that his subsequent discovery led to his becoming a mandatory member of the king's table, so that he could be constantly scrutinized by David's servants. See MERIB-BAAL.

A slightly different approach to the Jonathan narratives suggests that Jonathan should be understood to function on a literary level as a mediator between Saul and David and as a king-elect who abdicates his throne to David. This proposal is based on a structural analysis of 1 Samuel 13–31, in which it is discerned that narrative sections concerning Jonathan (18:1–5; 19:1–7; 20:1–21:1—Eng 20:1–42; 23:15b–18) have been artfully alternated with sections involving Saul and David (16:14–17:58; 18:6–30; 19:8–25; 21:2–23:15a [with other material]; 23:19 ff. [with much other material]). The resulting narrative is seen to be introduced by a preamble recounting Saul's rejection (chaps. 13–15) and a focal scene recounting David's anointing (16:1–13). According to this understanding of the narrative structure, the theme of the covenant between David and Jonathan functions literarily as a means of identifying the two, while Jonathan's conveyance of his royal armor and sword to David (18:1–5) is Jonathan's symbolic abdication as heir-elect in favor of David (Jobling 1976).

**B. The Historical Jonathan**

Very little is known about Jonathan after one removes the literary patterning outlined above and seeks for information about his career. Both 1 Sam 14:49 and 1 Chr 8:33; 9:39 name him as the eldest son of Saul, a relationship which would have made him the heir to the Saulide throne. He died alongside his father and two of his younger brothers, Abinadab and Malchishua, at Mt. Gilboa, during the unsuccessful Israelite campaign against Beth-shan. At the time of his death, he had a young son, Meribaal, who was probably an infant or toddler. This suggests that he was perhaps 30 or 31 years old when he died, assuming that comparative figures for marriage ages for males in the ANE, 27 through 31, were applicable to ancient Israel and to royalty (Roth 1987). No figures are given in the Bible.

It is unlikely that Jonathan fought at the battle of the Michmash pass, as currently portrayed in 1 Samuel 13–14. If one presumes that the corrupted regnal figure for Saul in 1 Sam 13:1 was 22 years old, Jonathan would probably have only been an 8–10-year-old child at the time of the battle; and the legal age for military service was 20 (Num 26:2, 4). The location of the two Philistine outposts in E Benjamin and Mt. Ephraim on opposite sides of the Wâdī Suweinit would have required their elimination during the early years of Saul's reign, so that he could secure his E flank and prevent periodic Philistine incursion through his territory to man the garrisons. In addition, his victory would have given him control over the E half of one of the main E-W routes from the Philistine plain to the Jordan valley. It appears that the biblical narrator has used a Saulide-era battle as the backdrop for his theological portrayal of Jonathan's rejection as king-elect in favor of David; but, perhaps unknowingly, he has chosen one that Jonathan could not possibly have participated in.

The historicity of the covenant between David and Jonathan is difficult to judge but probably also has been developed by the biblical narrator in order to convey his message. While Jonathan may have been good friends with David while he was at the Saulide court, subsequent historical developments weigh against their having entered into a covenant in which Jonathan would have recognized the divine choice of David as Saul's successor to the Israelite throne. After Saul and Jonathan both died at Gilboa, Saul's youngest son, Eshbaal, acceded to the throne, indicating the acceptance of the principle of dynastic succession from the founding of the Israelite monarchy. It was only in the wake of Eshbaal's murder, which David may have arranged (see ESHBAAL), that David gained the Saulide throne in place of another inexperienced Saulide, possibly claiming to be a legitimate candidate on the basis of optative affiliation, because of his marriage to Saul's daughter Merab (Tsevat 1958). The theme of the covenant and "love" between David and Jonathan seems to ignore the actual course of history, a disregard which suggests in turn its literary origin.

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

**JOPPA** (PLACE) [Heb *yāpô* (יָפוֹ)]. A town on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea mentioned in connection with the original tribal territory of Dan (Josh 19:46). When Solomon built the Jerusalem temple—and again when the temple was rebuilt in the postexilic period—timbers from Lebanon were shipped to Joppa, where they were unloaded and carried overland to Jerusalem (2 Chr 2:15—Eng 2:16; Ezra 3:7). It was in Joppa that Jonah hired a ship to carry him to Tarshish "away from the presence of the Lord" (1:3). In the NT Joppa is mentioned in connection with Peter's missionary activity (Acts 9:36ff.).

**A. Identification and History**

Biblical Joppa can be securely identified with modern Jaffa (M.R. 126162), a city situated on the top of a high hill just S of Tel Aviv. Since antiquity the city has been a way station for conquerors traveling from Egypt northward or from the N countries southward. It was also the first stop for pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem. It is not surprising therefore that Joppa is frequently mentioned in the Bible and in numerous ancient records.

The name Joppa is derived from the Phoenician word meaning "the beautiful"; in Greek the town was called *Ioppe* and in Arabic *Yâfâ el-ʿAtiqa,* "ancient Jaffa." The earliest mention of Joppa is in connection with its capture by Thutmose III in the 15th century B.C. (*ANET,* 242). It is mentioned again in the Harris

papyrus, which is a folktale describing the capture of Joppa by a strategy reminiscent of the story of Ali Baba and the 40 thieves and the legend of the Trojan horse (*ANET,* 22–23). Joppa is mentioned subsequently in two of the Amarna Letters, which inform us that in the 14th century the city was an Egyptian stronghold containing royal granaries. In papyrus Anastasi I, a satiric letter apparently of the 13th century, an Egyptian royal official gives an account of his experience in Joppa (*ANET,* 475ff., esp. 478). The name of Joppa is inscribed on the "prism stele" of King Sennacherib of Assyria, found in his palace at Nineveh; it relates that on his way to fight King Hezekiah of Judah he took Joppa and a number of towns in its vicinity, an event which occurred about 700 B.C. (*ANET,* 287).

The inscription of Eshmunezer, king of Sidon (dated probably to the 6th century B.C.), relates that as an expression of gratitude from the "Lord of Kings" (king of Persia), he received two harbor towns on the Palestinian coast, Joppa and Dor (*ANET,* 662). The Sidonian occupation of Joppa in the Persian period is also known from the description of the coastal towns of Syria and Palestine attributed to the Greek voyager Scylax. In the Hellenistic period Joppa was colonized by Greeks. The papyri of Zenon, an Egyptian treasury official who visited the country in 259/258 B.C. during the reign of Ptolemy II, shed some light on the history of the city in his time. In the Hasmonean period the city was captured from the Seleucids and became the port of Judea. During the war with the Romans, it was destroyed first by Cestius Gallus and then by Vespasian but was quickly rebuilt. From this period onward Joppa is frequently mentioned by Greek and Roman historians.

**B. Excavations**

From 1948 to 1950 P. L. O. Guy carried out the first exploratory excavations in Joppa. In 1952 Guy's excavations were continued down to virgin soil (Bowman, Isserlin, and Row 1955). The excavators established that the earliest remains at that spot were sherds dating from the 5th century B.C. and that the site was uninhabited prior to that date. They also discovered a structure from the 4th or 3d century B.C. of which only the floor of one of the rooms was preserved. The walls of the building were repaired in the 2d century B.C., and in the following century the level of the floor was raised. During the Byzantine period the area was settled anew.

In 1955 J. Kaplan undertook a systematic excavation of ancient Joppa. By 1964 three areas (A, B, C) in different sections of the mound had been excavated during six seasons of excavations. Limited soundings were also carried out in the clock square of Joppa, in which was discovered part of the cemetery of the gentile population of Joppa, dated to the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods.

**1. Area A.** Seven occupation levels, the latest dating from the 1st century B.C., were excavated here; and the following stratification was established.

Level I, just beneath the surface, was dated to the Hellenistic period. This level is divided into two sublevels, I-A and I-B. Level I-A contained a section of a wall of dressed stone, 2.2 m wide, with a casemate construction adjoining it. They date from the 1st century B.C., i.e., from the Hasmonean period. In level I-B the corner of a square fortress, also built of dressed stone, was uncovered, with a wall 2.5 m wide. The fortress was dated to the 3d century B.C. To this level was also assigned a group of five round, stone floors, 0.8–1.2 m in diameter, each with a small, stone basin. These floors were found in the S section of the excavation and had no connection with the walls. Level II here was dated to the Persian period. A section of a dressed stone wall, 2.5 m wide, and some adjacent structures were cleared. The wall dates from the second half of the 5th century B.C. and was apparently built by the Sidonians.

Level III, dating to the Iron Age, was also divided into two sublevels. Remains of sublevel III-A, preserved at the E edge of the excavation, contained a rough stone wall, approximately 0.8 m thick, adjoining a stone floor sloping eastward. These structures were assigned to the 8th century B.C. Level III-B, found at the W edge of the excavation, contained a section of a courtyard with a floor of beaten earth and an ash pit nearby, with Philistine sherds of the 11th century B.C.

Likewise, level IV (LB IIB) also consists of two sublevels. Sublevel IV-A contained the threshold of the citadel gate and two entrance walls, 18 m long and 4 m apart, built of gray mud bricks. The walls run in an E-W direction from the gate into the citadel. The passageway between the walls was paved with stone and pebbles. The walls and gate were destroyed by fire, apparently late in the 13th century B.C. The

bronze hinge of the gate was discovered in situ near the bottom of the left jamb. Beneath these structures were the remains of sublevel IV-B, which included the lower part of an earlier gate, fallen stone doorjambs, and two entrance walls, all of which followed the same line as the structures of sublevel IV-A. It is clear that sublevel IV-A had been built on the ruins of a previous occupation level, IV-B, which had also been burned, apparently earlier in the 13th century (in the published interim reports, sublevel IV-B appears as level V). Inscribed upon four of the stone jambs were the five titles of Rameses II and part of his name, and it appears that the inscriptions were originally set symmetrically on both sides of the gateway. The gate and the entrance walls dating from the time of Rameses had been dug deep into the E part of the ruined citadel of Joppa. As a result, remains from the 18th to 14th centuries B.C. situated to the N and S of the entrance walls lay at a higher level than the threshold of Rameses' gate. These strata were only partially cleared.

In level V (LB IIA) some building remains were found, as well as a small silo built of rough stones set between the S entrance wall of Rameses' gate and parts of the structures of level VI S of it. Quantities of potsherds of the 14th century B.C. were found in the silo and its vicinity.

Level VI (LB I) contained some remains of mud-brick buildings on stone foundations. North of the N entrance wall a locus of pottery vessels was uncovered, including bichrome and gray-burnished ware. South of the entrance wall was a heap of sherds probably thrown there when the inhabitants had cleared an adjacent area. These broken vessels are of Cypriot origin and include base ring and monochrome type wares. Level VI is dated from the second half of the 16th century to the second half of the 15th century B.C.

The lowest level excavated (VII) was dated to the MB III period. Sections of two brick walls were found at the N and S edges of the excavated area. It seems that subsequently occupation levels VI–IV were concentrated in the space between these two walls. The outer face of the N wall did not adjoin any visible glacis, while the S wall was set on a rampart of beaten earth and kurkar. This rampart belongs to an earlier, unexcavated layer, probably level VIII. Level VII is tentatively dated to the period between the second half of the 17th century and the first half of the 16th century B.C.

The excavations in area A were resumed in 1970, and the area was extended on the S and W sides. Here, too, as in the excavations in the 1950s, settlement strata of the Early Arabic, Byzantine, and Roman periods were missing. Some scattered remains attest the destruction and damage caused to these strata in the past century. The same is true for the remains from the late Second Temple and Hasmonean periods found in Joppa. In these new excavations in area A, once again reasonably well-preserved strata begin in the early part of the Hellenistic period (level I). The remains consisted mainly of sections of walls built of brick-shaped ashlar blocks set on their narrow end. These walls were often constructed on top of the Persian period walls. A fieldstone altar (2.4 × 2.4 m) was uncovered in square L-4, standing in a room the measurements of which were only 3.9 × 5.3 m. This type of cult hall is also known from the same period in Cyprus.

Persian period remains (level II) covered almost the entire excavated area, dating from the second half of the 5th century to the Macedonian conquest, i.e., to the period in which the Sidonians held Joppa. Several building stages of that period were discovered, notably sections of walls of a large store building for keeping imported goods and Attic vessels, extending from E to W across the entire area. In its W part were found fragments of mud-brick floor and the entrance was paved with large stones. The walls were built of regularly spaced ashlar pilasters with a fill of fieldstones between them, and several coins of Straton I were found among the stones. In the excavations in the 1950s, great heaps of blacksmith's waste had been discovered in various places apparently above the Persian stratum; this waste was also found in the subsequent excavations, along with part of a forge. Two coins of Alexander the Great were found in one heap of the waste. The floor of the forge, black from the soot mixed into it, was cleared near W.800 of the store building; a container was set against the wall, an iron sickle lay on its bottom, and a knife lay nearby. It was apparently the remains of a furnace for heating the metal to be worked. All evidence suggests that this iron smithy was in use when the large store building was already in ruins. In square K-3,

an early Persian stratum, the foundations of a pre-5th-century building were discovered under the ashlar walls. This stratum was designated stratum II-B, and that of the ashlar structures stratum II-A.

In the new excavations in level III, the Israelite period (Iron Age II) contained no building remains, only layers of earth mixed with ashes. At the bottom of this stratum were found two cattle burials dug into the Iron I stratum, with stone markers nearby. The burial of the cattle whole clearly points to some religious ritual; and indeed, it appears that this had been a sacred site hundreds of years earlier (see below). A different picture emerged under the ashlar blocks of the Persian stratum in squares $I^2$–$I^3$. Here an Iron II stratum was found, and underneath it was an Iron I stratum. In depressions and pits belonging to this last level was found Philistine pottery of the 11th century B.C. The pits and depressions were partly dug into a layer of rubble and clay bricks fallen from a nearby structure.

Under these strata were cleared the foundations of a long hall. A citadel with mud-brick walls was attached to it on the S side. The hall measured 4.4 m × 5.8 m and was entered from the N. The floor was covered with a coat of white plaster, and on it were two round, stone bases of wooden columns which had supported the beams of the roof. The pottery finds were meager; however, the skull of a lion, with half of a scarab seal near its teeth, was found on the floor, suggesting that the building was a temple where a lion cult was practiced. Despite the paucity of the pottery finds, the building could be dated from the end of the 13th century to the beginning of the 12th century B.C. The N temple at Beth-shean from the time of Rameses III, which is identical in plan with this Joppa structure, also supports this date. The inscription on the half scarab found near the lion's teeth contained the name of Queen Tiy, wife of Amenhotep III; but it should be remembered that scarabs of kings of the 18th and 19th Dynasties continued to be used as talismans or jewelry for generations afterward (therefore they cannot serve as conclusive evidence for dating remains).

**2. Area B.** Excavations in this area were concentrated in the premises of the Ḥammam building adjoining the Jaffa Museum and on the slope to the W of it. In the Ḥammam a sandwich-built glacis sloping from W to E was uncovered. The external revetment was made of thin stone slabs which rested on layers of sandy soil. Beneath them were courses of mud bricks laid in a layer of gray soil. The potsherds unearthed in this layer indicated that the glacis is not later than the 8th century B.C., making it contemporary with level III-A in area A.

Beneath the brick and gray layer, the excavation revealed a thick layer of kurkar, indicating that there must have been an earlier glacis here. Indeed, layers of beaten earth and kurkar were found also on the slope of the Ḥammam, situated at a lower level than the 8th century glacis and resting on the E slope of a rampart of beaten earth. This rampart dates to the 18th century B.C., i.e., to the beginning of the Hyksos period. It probably enclosed Joppa in a square area.

**3. Area C.** The excavation of this area revealed six occupation levels and a catacomb built of dressed stone. The levels of this area are later than those excavated in area A and in effect represent a continuity of them.

The first (upper) level contained a rough mosaic floor from the 6th–7th centuries A.D. The second level had structures from the 5th century A.D., situated immediately beneath the mosaic floor. In the third level was found a section of a large 4th-century A.D. building built on thick rubble foundations and containing a floor made of large stone slabs. The fourth level, dating from the 3d century A.D., contained a section of foundations lying under the stone floor slabs of the large building of the previous occupation level. That previous building was a two-room structure in the fifth level (dating to the beginning of the 2d century); its foundations were sunk deep into the earlier levels. In this level were found pottery, a stone bowl, a bronze jug, and a hoard of bronze and silver coins, all not later than the reign of Trajan. The sixth level contained a section of a private dwelling from the 1st century A.D. with a courtyard and cistern. A doorway, approximately 2 m high, of which two jambs had survived, was situated in the wall facing the courtyard. Numerous pottery vessels and lamps were found on the floor of the courtyard. Behind the E wall of the fifth occupation level was uncovered part of the courtyard of a burial cave of extremely fine construction—with ashlar blocks laid as headers and stretchers. The catacomb consisted of three chambers. The first was damaged by the collapse of the ceiling, and its entrance was blocked with ashlar

stones, and the ceiling of the second chamber was also destroyed. The third, the front chamber, had been reconstructed after the collapse of its ceiling; it was fitted with a new roof supported by arches of ashlar stone. These supported stone slabs that formed the floor of a private dwelling erected above the chamber.

Among the artifacts found in area C were two Greek inscriptions. One of them, engraved on limestone, reports (in three identical versions) that during the reign of Trajan a man named Judah was the *agoranomos* of Joppa. The second is a fragment of a votive inscription from the 3d century B.C. which mentions Ptolemy IV Philopator. Many jar handles with Greek and Latin stamps were also found, as well as a tile fragment with the stamp of the Tenth Legion and a pyramidal seal engraved with the name "Ariston."

**4. Area Y.** Area Y, located near St. Peter's Church at the intersection of Mifratz Shlomo Street and the Ring road, was first excavated in August 1964 and again in May 1968. Some remains were found beneath the square in front of the church. The site is located W of the W glacis of the Joppa citadel. The area was not inhabited prior to the Persian period, and its finds consisted mainly of tombs and various installations (see above, the results of the excavation carried out nearby by the Leeds Expedition). Two strata of settlement—a Hellenistic and a Persian—were uncovered in area Y; beneath the latter was virgin clay soil containing tombs and other MB installations.

Hellenistic remains were found immediately below the ruins of modern buildings. In the S part of the area, a section of an ashlar structure was uncovered with walls preserved to a height of 1 m. The N part of the area contained the corner of a large building, also built of ashlar, in which were several square rooms side by side. This building may have been part of the Joppa agora. The Persian period is represented only by layers of ashes. There were no building remains, although many fragments of Attic pottery were found. An infant burial in a jar, dating from the 17th century B.C., was discovered in the virgin soil. In addition to the remains of the body, it contained a red-burnished juglet, and outside near the burial was a scarab seal of the Hyksos type. In the N part of the site, two furnaces dug into the loam were discovered. One furnace was almost intact, except for its vaulted roof. It was constructed over a MB tomb containing funerary offerings and a scarab seal. A bed of ashes and pits dug into the loam in the E part of the area were found filled with ashes and animal bones. These remains date from LB I. In one of the pits were found full-length bones of domestic animals preserved from the upper end to the hoof. These finds suggest that a cult place was located close by.

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**JORAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yôrâ* (יוֹרָה)]. Var. HARIPH. Head of a family of Babylonian exiles who are listed as returnees under the leadership of Zerubbabel and others (Ezra 2:18). In the parallel lists (Neh 7:24 = 1 Esdr 5:16) the name is Hariph. Since Jorah carries the meaning of "autumn rain" and Hariph also refers to "autumn," these are apparently two forms of the same family name. The leader of this clan affixed the family name Hariph to the covenant document of Nehemiah in Neh 10:20—Eng 10:19. The absence of Sheshbazzar's name from the list of Ezra 2 raises questions about its connection with the preceding chapter and about the relationship between Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel. For discussion of this problem, see AKKUB.

Many do not regard the list and covenant of Nehemiah 10 as belonging originally in this context. Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 325–30) surveys various views about the origins of this list. He concludes that it was compiled from other lists in Ezra and Nehemiah in order to be attached to the terms of an agreement drawn up by Nehemiah following his reforms of Nehemiah 13. This document was then kept in the temple archives until being inserted into its present position. (See also Clines *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 199–200; Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 174–75; Jepsen 1954: 87–106.)

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**JORAI** (PERSON) [Heb *yôray* (יוֹרַי)]. A Gadite who was a son of Abihail and one of seven kinsmen who are named alongside four (or three; see SHAPHAT) tribal leaders (1 Chr 5:13). "Jorai" is possibly the abbreviated form of a longer name that meant "Yahu has seen." Jorai and his kinsmen lived opposite the Reubenites in "Bashan as far as Salecah" and "in Gilead, in Bashan … and in all the pasture lands of Sharon to their limits" (1 Chr 5:11, 17). Neither Jorai nor the others named in the Chronicler's genealogy for Gad (1 Chr 5:11–17) appear in other lists of Gadites (Gen 46:16; Num 26:15–18; 1 Chr 12:9–16—Eng 12:8–15). See also JACAN.
M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**JORAM** (PERSON) [Heb *yôrām* (יוֹרָם)]. Var. JEHORAM. **1.** King of Judah, son and successor of Jehoshaphat. The years of his reign are variously reckoned as (852) 847–845 B.C.E. (Begrich 1929; and Jepsen 1979), (853) 848–841 B.C.E. (Thiele 1965), or 850–843 B.C.E. (Andersen 1969).

Information concerning the reign of Joram is found in 1 Kgs 22:51—Eng 22:50; 2 Kgs 8:16–24; 2 Chronicles 21. In addition, his name appears in synchronistic dating lists and truncated genealogies in 2 Kgs 1:17; 8:25; 8:29 (= 2 Chr 22:6); 2 Kgs 11:2 (= 2 Chr 22:11); 2 Kgs 12:19—Eng 12:18; 1 Chr 3:11; 2 Chr 22:1. The reports concerning Joram in the books of Kings rest to a large extent upon traditional material that goes back to the annals of the Judean kings and that was taken over by the Deuteronomistic redactors when they composed these books. In contrast to the brief survey of the reign of Joram given by the Deuteronomistic redactors (2 Kgs 8:16–24), the Chronicler devoted a whole chapter to Joram (2 Chronicles 21).

The chronological statements concerning the time when Joram ascended to the throne are contradictory. According to 2 Kgs 8:16 he began to rule in the fifth year of Joram of Israel. Conversely, 2 Kgs 1:17 says that the Israelite Joram became king in the second year of the reign of Joram of Judah. The discrepancy between these two statements is obvious. This discrepancy is the likely reason why the statement in 2 Kgs 1:17 was simply left out of the translation. The discrepancy can be explained by assuming that Joram took over a regency for his father, Jehoshaphat, while the latter was still alive. For reasons unknown to us (illness? cf. 1 Kgs 15:23; 2 Kgs 15:5), Jehoshaphat transferred the affairs of government to his son Joram in 852 B.C.E. (following Jepsen). The synchronism in 1 Kgs 1:17 must then refer to the time when Joram's regency began. Following the death of his father, Jehoshaphat, in 847 B.C.E. (again following Jepsen), Joram then reigned as sole monarch. It is this latter date which is in mind in 1 Kgs 22:51—Eng 22:50 and 2 Kgs 8:16. The *wîhôšāpāṭ melek yĕhûdāh* of 8:16 ("and Jehoshaphat, king of Judah"—often understood to mean "Jehoshaphat was yet king of Judah") goes back to a scribal error and is to be expunged; it allows the false impression that the numerical statements in the verse refer to a time when Jehoshaphat was still alive. According to 2 Kgs 8:17 Joram was 32 years old when he began his reign, and he reigned for eight years. These statements should rather be taken as referring to the total length of time that Joram exercised ruling powers, beginning from the start of his regency. He ruled as sole monarch for hardly more than two years.

Both as regent and as king Joram most likely continued the policy of alliance with the Omride royal house of the N kingdom, a policy which his father, Jehoshaphat, had already pursued successfully. In the year 867 B.C.E. (following the chronology of Jepsen), while he was still the crown prince, Joram had married the Omride princess Athaliah. This had been a diplomatic marriage, a security for the policies of peace and cooperation that had recently arisen in the wake of the rapprochement between the two neighboring states that had gone through a protracted period of hostile relations following the breakup of

the United Kingdom (926 B.C.E.). Athaliah was not actually a daughter of Ahab, as 2 Kgs 8:18 (which does not identify her by name) indicates; rather, following the Hebrew text of 2 Kgs 8:26, she was a daughter of Omri *(bat-ʿomrî)* and a sister of Ahab.

Historical information relating to the time of Joram's reign is scanty. According to 2 Kgs 8:20–22 the Edomites shook off Judean overlordship at this time and gained their independence. This tidbit of information agrees with what is said back in 1 Kgs 22:48–49—Eng 22:47–48, where it is presupposed that the territory of Edom was being administered by a Judean governor. However, the reference to the Edomite revolt pays no attention to 2 Kgs 3:4–27, with its mention of an Edomite king whose existence at this time is in any case a matter of dispute.

According to 2 Kgs 8:21–22 Joram led a campaign against the rebellious Edomites but, despite a victory in the field, could not subdue the rebellion. The biblical text here creates a very confused picture; one suspects that, in reality, Judah experienced a defeat at the hands of the Edomites. This rebellion marked the effective end of Judean hegemony over Edom; further attempts to subdue this neighboring folk to the S (cf. 2 Kgs 14:7) were unsuccessful.

Finally, during the reign of Joram the city of Libnah (Tell Bornat, in the W hill country) also declared its independence. The political background to this event remains unclear, and whatever effect it had seems to have been only temporary.

The Deuteronomistic redactors of the books of Kings, in their theological estimation of Joram, reproach him for religious misbehavior, although they do not more precisely specify the nature of that misbehavior. In the opinion of the Deuteronomists, it was Joram's marriage to Athaliah that was ultimately responsible for his errant religious behavior; for she led Joram along the "way of the house of Ahab" (2 Kgs 8:18). This remark insinuates that Joram had an inclination toward veneration of Baal. It remains questionable, however, whether this remark also indicates that the king took steps in the direction of official toleration of cultic activities in honor of that Canaanite deity.

The Chronicler, building on the Deuteronomistic representation of the history of Joram, constructs out of the reports in the books of Kings and various other sources a depiction of Joram which is still more condemnatory (2 Chronicles 21). Along with the core tradition concerning Joram in the books of Kings (2 Chr 21:1 = 1 Kgs 22:51—Eng 22:50; 2 Chr 21:5–10 = 2 Kgs 8:17–22), the Chronicler also takes over the Deuteronomistic judgment concerning him (2 Chr 21:6 = 2 Kgs 8:18). Indeed, the Chronicler sharpens that judgment through the added accusation that Joram fostered the cult of the high places and led his subjects astray into the practice of idolatry (2 Chr 21:11). In his material which is not found in the Deuteronomistic History the Chronicler ascribes to Joram a terrible and bloody crime: he had his brothers, whom their father, Jehoshaphat, had provided with riches and had endowed with fortified cities, slain without exception (2 Chr 21:2–4). Beyond that the Chronicler cites from a legendary letter of the prophet Elijah (a letter which the prophet could only have dictated proleptically before his death) in which divine punishment is proclaimed upon Joram for his crimes against both humanity and Yahweh—a punishment which is to befall not only Joram himself but also his children, his wives, and his possessions (2 Chr 21:12–15). The carrying out of the predicted punishment is then reported without delay. Bands of Philistines and Arabs fall upon Judah and carry off not only the treasures of the royal palace, but also the wives of the king and all of his sons except for the youngest, Ahaziah (2 Chr 21:16–17; note the text-critical apparatus in *BHS* on MT's *yĕhôʾāhāz* in v 17b; in 22:1 it is reported that the sons were slain by the band of raiders). Joram himself died in agony of an illness of the bowels. The populace refused to mark his passing with the appropriate funerary ceremonies and denied him burial in the tombs of the kings (2 Chr 21:18–20). The whole of 1 Chronicles 21 is thus stamped by the pattern: guilt–prophetic pronouncement of judgment–fulfillment of prophetic pronouncement. Even though the Chronicler might have reached back to previously existent traditions in his own material, still these traditions exhibit characteristics suggesting a relatively late time of origin. They contribute hardly anything to the reconstruction of the historical Joram, but they do show how the theologically negative picture of him was sharpened with the passage of time.

Joram is also mentioned in the NT. Since the family tree of Jesus as given by Matthew includes the kings of the Davidic lineage among the forebears of Jesus, Joram occupies a place in that genealogical succession (Matt 1:8).

**2.** King of Israel, son of Ahab, the successor to his brother Ahaziah. The determinations of the years of his reign show only modest differences: 851–845 B.C.E. (Begrich 1929; and Jepsen 1979), 852–841 B.C.E. (Thiele 1965), and 853–842 B.C.E. (Andersen 1969).

The block of material from 2 Kgs 1:17 to 9:26 is assigned to the time of Joram. In addition, Joram is mentioned again in 2 Kgs 9:29 and is referred to in 2 Chr 22:5–7. In actuality, however, the textual material relating to Joram is considerably less than all this: 2 Kgs 8:16–24 concerns the roughly contemporary Judean king Joram; 2 Kings 2, 2 Kings 4, 2 Kgs 6:1–7, and 2 Kgs 8:7–15 are exclusively traditions about prophets, although they do demonstrate that the prophetic groups which gathered about Elisha belong to the time of Joram's reign. Moreover, even the texts which speak of the battles with the Syrians (2 Kgs 6:8–7:20) or presuppose some sort of subjection to the Aramean state of Damascus (2 Kings 5) hardly stem from the time of Joram's rule. These narratives nowhere mention the name of Joram; they speak only of the "king of Israel." It is possible that these anonymous traditions, which came out of the circles of the prophetic groups, have been arranged in a chronologically inappropriate place. Their historical statements fit in much better with the constellation of political realities at the time of the Jehu dynasty, especially under the kings Jehoahaz and Joash.

Finally, the historical background to the narrative in 2 Kgs 3:5–27 is also not immune to questioning. This narrative reports on a campaign which Joram carried out against the Moabites in conjunction with Jehoshaphat of Judah and with the king of Edom. At the very least the reference to a king of Edom, who is not here named, is an anachronism at the time of Joram and Jehoshaphat (cf. 1 Kgs 22:48–49—Eng 22:47–48—along with 2 Kgs 8:20–22). It is not impossible that the text of 2 Kgs 3:5–27 was originally transmitted without the name of the king to whom it historically belonged and was transmitted anonymously for a time. If this is so, then it is quite possible that it applies to some other historical situation, namely, to one during the era of the Jehu dynasty. To be sure, the probability of such dislocation is not so strong for the text at hand as it is for the traditions transmitted by 2 Kgs 6:8–7:20. In any case the material relating to the end of Joram in 2 Kgs 8:28–9:26 is historically reliable.

Joram ascended the throne after the brief reign of his brother Ahaziah, who died as the result of an accident and did not leave behind a son (2 Kgs 1:2, 17). Joram undoubtedly held fast to an external policy of peaceful alliances with the neighboring states and a domestic policy of equal treatment of both the Canaanite and the Israelite elements of the population. Such policies had been inaugurated already in the time of Omri, had been practiced in exemplary fashion by Ahab, and had certainly been continued by Ahaziah. The statement, which apparently goes back to the annals of the Israelite kings, to the effect that Joram removed the cultic pillar of Baal that his father, Ahab, had set up (2 Kgs 3:2), could indicate that in his religious policy Joram struck some sort of compromise with the Yahwistic circles that had taken up a position of opposition to the Omride ruling house. However, it would be difficult to see in this gesture any fundamental altering of the principle of equal treatment in matters pertaining to religion, since the Baal temple in Samaria continued to stand and was only done away with by Jehu (2 Kgs 10:25–27). A traditio-historical perspective upon the Elijah traditions even gives the impression that the influence of Jezebel upon the administering of governmental affairs considerably increased after the death of Ahab during the reigns of Ahaziah and Joram. After the accession of Ahaziah to the throne, Jezebel entered upon the rank of "queen mother"(*gĕbîrâ,* 2 Kgs 10:13), a position which granted her considerable opportunities for influencing policies dealing with domestic and religious matters. Possibly Jezebel used the dignity of her office as "queen mother" to counteract the inclinations of Joram in the direction of an easing of tensions with the Yahwistic factions; she may well have been active in promoting Canaanite ways in socio-cultural and religious matters, in furthering syncretistic practices and the veneration of Baal, and in generally suppressing the influence of genuinely Israelite traditions. However, her efforts actually led to a heightening of tensions within the populace. Finally, in the revolution of Jehu, these tensions exploded and cost Joram and Jezebel their lives.

In his foreign policy Joram nurtured a good relationship with the small neighboring state of Judah and its kings Jehoshaphat, Joram, and Ahaziah. Athaliah, the sister of Joram's father (2 Kgs 8:26), had married into the Judean royal house and, from her base in Jerusalem, certainly served as a guarantee of friendly relations. Further evidence of these friendly relations is the visit of Ahaziah of Judah to the wounded Joram in Jezreel (2 Kgs 8:29; 9:16, 21–29) and the sojourn in the N kingdom of members of the Davidic ruling house at the same time (2 Kgs 10:12–14). Although it is not expressly so stated, one can reliably assume that the treaty-based relationship with the Phoenicians, which had been set up earlier by Omri through the marriage of Ahab and Jezebel, also was maintained under Joram.

On the basis of the historical circumstances at the time, it does not seem at all improbable that Joram militarily confronted the growing Moabite threat upon the Israelite settlement region in the vicinity N of Seil Heidan. On his victory stele the Moabite king Mesha reports having enjoyed considerable successes in Israelite territory (*ANET,* 320–21), such that the settlements of the tribe of Gad were severely oppressed. So it is not difficult to imagine that Joram reacted to the expansion by the Moabites with a military campaign (2 Kgs 3:4–27), one which he carried out in alliance with Jehoshaphat—but not with a king of Edom, since at the time none such yet existed. (The references to a king of Edom in vv 9, 12, and 26 are to be regarded as secondary additions to the text.) If there was such a campaign, it finally terminated without definitive success for Israel. While such a campaign is historically probable in itself, it is not easy to explain why the allies attacked Moab from the S, across Judean and Edomite territory, instead of going by way of the Israelite settlements in the N part of the Moabite sphere of influence. The fact that the stele of the Moabite king Mesha—erected only some time later—makes no mention of this campaign also complicates matters.

Because of the lack of any clear information in the sources, it is difficult to evaluate the relationship of Joram to the Arameans and the Assyrians. Under the impact of the increasing Assyrian drive toward expansion, Joram's father, Ahab, had set aside the latent animosities with the Aramean state of Damascus and had, in alliance with Hadadezer of Damascus and Irḫuleni of Hamath, put an end to the advance into Syria of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III at the Battle of Qarqar (853 B.C.E.). Three other campaigns which Shalmaneser III led into Syria fell during the reign of Joram, namely, the campaigns in the 10th, 11th, and 14th years of Shalmaneser's reign (849, 848, and 845 B.C.E.).

On each of these occasions, Shalmaneser was confronted by a coalition of Syrian and Palestinian states under the leadership of Hadadezer of Damascus. Even though the Assyrian inscriptions claim that this coalition suffered defeat every time, nonetheless the Assyrian army was each time compelled to turn back. In other words the alliance functioned for as long as Hadadezer was alive; and he did indeed succeed in repulsing the Assyrian invasion into Syria—though certainly at a heavy cost. The Assyrian sources (*ANET,* 279–80) never mention the name of Joram of Israel, nor do they in any other fashion clearly confirm the participation of Israelite contingents in the battles. This silence in the Assyrian sources gives the impression that Joram had backed out of the anti-Assyrian coalition. Such a conclusion is not to be ruled out. Given the way in which the Assyrian inscriptions are worded, however, this conclusion is also not probable. Already in the texts which refer to the first campaign of Shalmaneser III and the Battle of Qarqar, Ahab of Israel is explicitly mentioned only in a single version, the so-called Monolith inscription (col. ii, lines 90–102; *ANET,* 278–79). In the other copies of this annalistic text, the name of Ahab does not appear (*ANET,* 279; cf. Timm 1982: 185–89). One can therefore assume that reference to the participation of Israel is included in the summarizing phrases to be found in the increasingly stereotyped reports concerning the later campaigns of Shalmaneser. If that is so, then Joram did hold fast to the policy of alliance with Aram-Damascus, Aram-Hamath, and the other small Syro-Palestinian states and did indeed contribute to the resistance against the Assyrian advance. Under these circumstances it is very unlikely that he would have gotten involved in a battle with the Arameans of Damascus, a battle of such proportions that the very existence of Israel was threatened, as is presupposed in 2 Kgs 6:8–7:20.

The end of the anti-Assyrian coalition and therewith also of the alliance between Israel and Aram came about through a change of ruling power in Damascus. Hadadezer, the king who had been at the head of the alliance, died. The accession of Hazael to the throne led to the collapse of the united front that had up

to this point protected both Syria and Palestine from Assyrian hegemony. The old animosities between the former allies apparently resurfaced. According to 2 Kgs 8:28–29 and 9:14–15 Joram led the Israelite army to the defense of the Transjordanian border town of Ramoth-gilead, which was being attacked by the Arameans under Hazael. Joram was wounded in this conflict and returned to Jezreel to recuperate. During his absence the field commander Jehu was anointed as monarch in Ramoth-gilead by a disciple of the prophet Elisha and then proclaimed as king by the officers (2 Kgs 9:1–14). Before news of all of this could spread, Jehu hastened back to Jezreel and there killed the unsuspecting king Joram, who had actually gone out to meet Jehu (2 Kgs 9:15–24). The site of the bloody deed is identified as the piece of property which had belonged to Naboth of Jezreel (2 Kgs 9:25–26), whom Ahab had had killed. Thus the death of Joram appears as the fulfillment of a divine oracle which had once proclaimed retribution for Ahab on precisely this spot, even though it is upon Joram that the retribution actually falls. After he had dispatched the king, Jehu also had the queen mother, Jezebel, thrown out of a window of the palace (2 Kgs 9:30–37). Then, following the traditional practice of usurpers (cf. 1 Kgs 15:29; 16:11), he had the remaining members of the "house of Ahab" slain (2 Kgs 10:1–11, 17). This slaughter not only put an end to the Omride dynasty, which had ruled in Israel for more than three decades (882–845 B.C.E., following the chronology of Jepsen); but it also obliterated the whole royal line that stemmed from Omri. Jehu established a new dynasty, one which was to rule over Israel for nearly a century.

In their introduction (2 Kgs 3:2–3) the Deuteronomistic redactors give Joram the same negative evaluation that they give to the other kings of the N kingdom, although they ameliorate it somewhat in comparison to their evaluation of Joram's parents, Ahab and Jezebel—this because Joram had removed the cultic pillar of Baal. In the work of the Chronicler, which mentions the kings of N Israel only tangentially, Joram appears in conjunction with Ahaziah of Judah. The Chronicler's material consists of an excerpt from 2 Kings 8 (2 Chr 22:5–6 = 2 Kgs 8:28–29) and of a summary of an episode from 2 Kings 9 to which the Chronicler has added theological commentary (2 Chr 22:7 = 2 Kgs 9:21–23). The broader context (2 Chr 22:4–9) clarifies the Chronicler's intention, which is to show that Ahaziah of Judah opened himself to the pernicious influence of Joram and his family and was punished by God for having done so. The punishment fell when Ahaziah got entangled in the revolution of Jehu and the downfall of Joram and met his own end in the process. The Chronicler's interest thus rests totally on the fate of the Judean king, while Joram serves only as a background figure.

**3.** A Levite, a member of the house of Amram, and a descendant of Moses' son Eliezer (1 Chr 26:25; cf. 23:6–24). He appears in a list of Levites to whom have been entrusted the oversight of the temple treasures, which is to say of the implements pertaining to the sacrifices and the other cultic activities as well as of the dedicated gifts (1 Chr 26:20–28). While the text is set in the time of David, it more likely reflects arrangements in the postexilic Jerusalem temple. Joram belongs to that particular group which has the responsibility of administering the dedicated gifts.

**4.** A priest from the time of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 17:8) who was sent out along with another priest, eight Levites, and five high officials in order to instruct the people in the Book of the Law of God. It is unlikely that any older tradition lies behind this notice about instructing the people, in contrast to what one reads in 2 Chr 19:4–11.

**5.** An Aramean prince, son of King Toi of Hamath (2 Sam 8:10). After David's victory over the Aramean king Hadadezer of Zobah, who had been in conflict with Hamath, Toi sent his son to David at Jerusalem with costly gifts (8:9–12). The real name of this Aramean prince was almost certainly Hadoram, as given in the parallel passage in 1 Chr 18:10. For an Aramean to be named Joram would be most surprising, since this form of the name contains the theophoric element *Ya[hweh]*. The appearance of the name Joram for an Aramean prince has been taken as evidence for a subjection of Hamath to the overlordship of David, an event which led to changing the name of the successor to the throne of Hamath (Malamat 1963: 6–8; 1983: 18, 39–42). However, it is more likely that in 2 Sam 8:10 we are dealing with a scribal error, since the LXX here attests essentially the same form of the name as appears in 1 Chr 18:10.

**6.** A brother of Tibni, the individual who briefly contested Omri for the throne of Israel (1 Kgs 16:21–22). The reference has it that both Tibni and Joram died and thereby cleared the way for Omri to become king. To be sure, the phrase "Joram, his brother" does not appear in the Hebrew text of v 22; it is to be found only in the LXX version. Since the origin of this additional phrase in the LXX cannot be explained, a strong claim is made for its originality; for unknown reasons, it must have fallen out of the Hebrew text. This state of affairs has certain consequences for the interpretation of the verse. If the death of both brothers can be related in one breath, then the supposition lies close at hand that these brothers met some sort of violent end rather than natural deaths.

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WINFRIED THIEL

TRANS. CHARLES MUENCHOW

**JORDAN RIVER** [Heb *yardēn* (יַרְדֵּן)]. The river that runs from Mt. Hermon S to the Dead Sea, thus separating the W part of ancient Palestine (Cisjordan, West Jordan, "Canaan,""the promised land"[Num 34:10–12; Josh 22:35]) from the E part (Transjordan, East Jordan, "East Palestine"[Glueck 1968]). It is common to differentiate between the Upper Jordan river (N of the Sea of Galilee) and the Lower Jordan river (S of the Sea of Galilee). The Lower Jordan river was the dividing line between the two halves of the tribe of Manasseh (Josh 16:7), and it also constituted the W boundary of the tribes of Reuben and Gad (Numbers 32); thus two and one-half of the Israelite tribes resided outside the "promised land." It also constituted the W boundary of the earlier kingdoms of Sihon and Og (Deut 1:4). The Upper Jordan was the E boundary of the tribe of Naphtali (Josh 19:33–34), while the Lower Jordan was the E boundary of the tribes of Issachar (Josh 19:22), Ephraim (16:7), Benjamin (18:2), and Judah (15:5).

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A. “Jordan” in Ancient Texts
B. The Name
C. Geological History
D. The Upper Jordan River
    1. The Sources of the Jordan
    2. The Huleh Basin Area
    3. The Sea of Galilee
E. The Lower Jordan River
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    4. Fords and Bridges
F. The Jordan River as Religious Symbol

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**A. “Jordan” in Ancient Texts**

The Heb *yardēn* appears 181 times in the OT, mostly (165 times) with the definite article; so it is usually “the Jordan.” Most references are in the historical narratives of Genesis–Kings and Chronicles, with only 10 references appearing elsewhere. The LXX, the Apocrypha, and NT (15 references) use *Iordanēs.* The oldest references to the Jordan, however, appear in 19th Dyn. Egyptian records as *ya-ar-du-na* (see *ANET,* 242), one of which (*ANET,* 477) addresses the important question of how best to cross the river. The first biblical reference is in the story of Abram and Lot (Gen 13:10), in which Lot chooses the plain or circle (Heb *kkr*) of the Jordan for his flocks. The location is uncertain. Elsewhere the word is used for the S Jordan valley around Jericho (Deut 34:3) and also for the middle Jordan valley around Succoth and Zarethan (1 Kgs 7:46). Glueck (1968: 79) claims that *kkr* is the *ghor* (see C below), and only secondarily applies to separate locales. Since Lot ends up in Sodom (usually located at the S end of the Dead Sea), it is possible that the plain there was fertile and therefore considered a *ghor (kkr).*

The Jordan river figures prominently in the story of the Israelites’ entrance into the promised land (Joshua 1–4). Moses was not permitted to cross it with the other Israelites (Deuteronomy 34; cf. Num 20:10–13; Deut 32:48–52), and the Jordan was a clear natural landmark for establishing tribal boundaries (see above). In fact 117 of the biblical references to the Jordan river mention it in connection either with this crossing or with these boundaries. Indeed, it is in this context (of crossing and boundary) that the Jordan river continues to stand as a powerful theological symbol or metaphor within both Judaism and Christianity (see F below).

Various judges and their troops fought back and forth and beside this boundary line (e.g., Judg 3:28; 6:33; 7:24; 8:4; 12:5–6; cf. 1 Sam 13:5–7); David likewise crossed and recrossed it both in victory and in defeat (2 Sam 10:17; 16:14; 17:22–24; 19:15–18, 31–41; etc.). Elijah and Elisha repeated Joshua’s feat of stopping or splitting the water’s flow (2 Kings 2; 6:1–7); and Elisha told Naaman the Syrian to bathe in its waters to cure himself of leprosy (2 Kgs 5:12). Isa 9:1 foretells of a new glory for Galilee beside the Jordan, and the “jungle of the Jordan” figures in the prophecies of Jeremiah (12:5; 49:19; 50:44) and Zechariah (11:3). In the NT Jesus and many other Jews were baptized by John the Baptist in the Jordan (Mark 1:1–11 and parallels).

**B. The Name**

There is some debate on the meaning of the name of the river, Heb *yardēn.* Some translate it as “the descender,” from the Semitic *yrd*, “to descend”; thus it is “the river that comes down” (BDB, 432–34). McKenzie (1965), however, thinks this is improbable; and Gehman (*WDB* [1970 ed.] “Jordan”) calls this a popular etymology.

Cohen (*IDB* 2: 973–78) thinks the name is Aramaic; it may even ultimately be non-Semitic. He notes that *-dn* may reflect the Indo-Aryan *don*, “river”; cf. Danube, Don, Dniester), while *yr-* could be Indo-European for “year”; thus *yrdn* could mean “perennial river” (see Aharoni *LBHG,* 111). It is also called

the river of Dan. Alden (1975) translates *yardēn* as "water judges." The "water" is derived from the Hurrian *iar,* "water," and in Heb *dan* means "judges"; thus *yardēn* means "the water (or river) of Dan."

Kenyon (*HDB* rev. ed., "Jordan") notes as fanciful Jerome's derivation of the name Jordan from the names of two rivers, the "Jor" and the "Dan." Smick says that Jerome's "jor" is derived from *yĕ›ōr,* "stream" (equivalent to Gk *hreithron*); thus *yrdn* represents "the stream of Dan." Smick (1973: 26–31), following Gordon (1959: 122, n. 19), argues persuasively that *yardēn* simply means "river": the Hebrew use of the definite article along with it suggests that it is a common noun, not a proper name. For example, in the works of Homer, Nestor refers to the Celadon in Elis of the Peloponnisos as *Iardanou amphi hreethra* (*Il.* 7.135), and Menelaus came to Crete, where the Cydonians dwelt *Iardano amphi hreethra* (*Od.* 3.292). Smick translates this phrase (used for two different rivers) as "on both sides of the streams of the river"; thus *Iardanos* is an old E Mediterranean word for "river."

Another term for the Jordan in Arabic is *esh-Sheri'a,* "the watering place" or *esh-Sheri'a el-Kebireh,* "the big water." Some call the entire river *el-Urdan/Urdunn,* "Jordan," others use this term only to refer to the Lower Jordan river, while still others use the term to refer only to the Upper Jordan river, calling the lower Jordan *esh-Shriat* (pl. of *sheri'a*), "the fords." Har-el (1978: 65, quoting Horowitz), says the upper Jordan was called *el-kabir,* while the lower Jordan was the "Lesser"*(el-Urdun es-saghir).*

**C. Geological History**

The Jordan river runs through 124 miles of the Great Rift valley, a 4000-mile-long tectonic fault zone stretching from Turkey to E Africa. Some 20 million years ago a shift begun in the subsurface plates beneath the continents created a massive fracture in the earth's surface. Two faults in the earth's crust run parallel from Mozambique and Lake Nyasa N through Ethiopia, the Red Sea, Aqaba, the Wâdī el-Arabah, the Dead Sea, and the Jordan river. The edges of the two continental plates are clearly visible on maps as the two sides of the Red Sea and of the Jordan valley. Further N there is a single fault through the Bekaa valley of Lebanon and the Ghab marshes of Syria. This fault divides the Lebanon mountain range (Jebel Libnan) from the Anti-lebanon. The latter includes the biblical Mt. Amana (Cant 4:8; Jebel Zebadani) in the central region and Mt. Hermon at the S end. A ridge, the Jebel Bir ed-Dahr, separates the Jordan river from the Litani (Leontes) river in Lebanon.

The Lower Jordan valley portion of the Great Rift was formed by further faulting over 2 million years ago. It is the lowest spot on earth, reaching 2570 ft below sea level at the bottom of the Dead Sea. Between ca. 70,000 and 14,000 B.P. the area from Galilee to the Dead Sea was a single body of water, which has been called the Lisan Lake. In the following post-pluvial period, the Lisan Lake dried up, leaving the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea, with the Lower Jordan river gradually eroding its way between the two across this old lake bed.

The Rift valley averages 6 miles wide, but it is only 1.5 miles wide at Marj 'Ayoun in the extreme N, 4 miles wide at the Sea of Galilee, 7 miles wide at Beth-shan, and 15 miles wide at Jericho. Cretaceous (65–136 million years ago) limestone, dolomite, and chalk are found along the edges of the Great Rift. The Rift valley has several levels. One level, ca. 650 feet above the river, is geologically Pliocene (2–13 million years ago). Lower down, about 150 feet above the Jordan's waters, is the ghor ("bottom" or "depression") of the Quaternary period (2 million years ago to the present). The river area itself (i.e., the floodplain) is called the *zor* (Arabic for "thicket"). Between the *zor* and the *ghor* are some eroded marl hills called *katar* which, together with the *ghor,* once constituted the bottom of the ancient Lisan Lake.

In biblical times the *zor* was called "the jungle (Heb *gā›ôn*) of the Jordan" (Jer 12:5; 49:19; 50:44; Zech 11:3). Here *gā›ôn* (lit. "pride") may mean "swelling up" in the spring flood. Hebrew *gā›ôn* also means "luxuriant growth," so "pride" could be an anthropomorphism of the river's "pride" in its vegetation. The salt-tolerant Euphrates poplar and the Jordan tamarisk are characteristic of the Jordan's banks. There are also willows, acacia, Dead Sea "apples of Sodom" (a wild grape), oleander, thistles, reeds, broom plant, and underbrush. In earlier times this "jungle" of trees and brush was between 200 yards to a mile wide and was the home of lions (which became extinct there in the 19th century), leopards, boars, ibex (all three still present ca. 1900). Foxes, hyenas, and jackals are still present in the *zor,* as are 100 species of birds (23 of which are unique to the Jordan valley and 45 of which use the valley as a migration route).

With the advent of modern drainage and the extension of cultivation into the area, the *zor* had begun to diminish.

Except for the river itself and its tributaries, the valley is rather dry. Rainfall in the Huleh basin is ca. 22 inches a year, while at Jericho it is less than 3.5 inches a year. The summers are hot, averaging 80°F at Huleh and 90°F at Jericho (even reaching 130°F on occasion). The winters, however, are mild, averaging between 52 and 57°F in the Huleh and at Jericho.

**D. The Upper Jordan River**

**1. The Sources of the Jordan.** There are four sources for the Jordan, fed by the melting snows on Mt. Hermon (ca. 9232 ft above sea level). The westernmost source is the Bareighit (’Iyon/’Ayoun), a stream beginning in a short valley at the S end of the Jebel Bir ed-Dahr. There are springs at Marj ’Ayoun (Jdeidah), 1650 ft above sea level, S of Ijon (M.R. 205308) and N of modern Metullah (at the N tip of modern Israel’s border with Lebanon). About 1.5 miles S of Metullah the stream flows past Abel-beth-maacah (M.R. 204296). There are spectacular 60-foot falls at et-Tannur. Several maps show the Bareighit flowing into the Huleh swamp (*GP*, 192; Smick 1973: 192), but others show it joining the 24-mile-long Hasbani less than 1 mile before the latter joins the remaining sources (the text of *GP*, 192 says that the Bareighit joins the Hasbani just before the marshes). See Fig. JOR.01.

The Hasbani is the next westernmost source of the Jordan river, beginning halfway between Damascus and Sidon (1800 ft above sea level) on the W slope of Mt. Hermon near Hasbaya (Baal-gad) in Lebanon. It crosses the modern Lebanon-Israel border at Jisr al-Gharje (ca. 400 ft above sea level). The third source of the Jordan river is the Leddan, which starts at the S end of Mt. Hermon in the springs of ʿAin Leddan (altitude of ca. 500 ft), W and SW of Dan (Tell el-Qadi; M.R. 211294). The Leddan runs only 4 miles before joining the Banias.

The Banias is the fourth and easternmost source of the Jordan river. It is 6 miles long, and starts 2 miles further E of the Leddan in a large cave 1200 ft above sea level at the base of Mt. Hermon. The cave was considered the home of a god, which the Greeks identified as Pan (giving the name Paneas to the city and district, whence the modern Banias). Herod the Great built a temple here to Augustus Caesar. His son, Philip the Tetrarch, added to the site and called it Caesarea Philippi after Tiberius Caesar and himself (see also Matt 16:13–20; Mark 8:27). The Banias joins the Leddan at Sede Nehemiya (M.R. 208288), and a half mile further the Hasbani joins them. The mingled waters split a few miles further and at one time flowed on in separate channels as the Jordan and the Turan (Tara?) through the marshes and into old Lake Huleh.

**2. The Huleh Basin Area.** The Huleh basin or depression (ca. 14 miles long by ca. 5 miles wide) is about 15 miles N of the Sea of Galilee. At the S end of the basin is the former Lake Huleh (perhaps Meron; Josh 11:5–7; Josephus’ Semechonitis). The marsh may have been a source of reeds for the papyrus manufactured in ancient Phoenicia. In the 1950s both the marsh and the lake were drained (except for an 800-acre wildlife preserve at the S end of the old lake), providing 15,000 acres of new farmland. Today, Israel’s W canal drains the Jordan section, and the E canal the Turan flow. The triangular-shaped Lake Huleh was originally 2 miles wide by 3 miles long, and from 9 to 17 feet deep. In the hills W of the former marsh is Kedesh (M.R. 200279).

On the W edge is Einan (ʿAin Mallaha), found in 1954 during the drainage operations. Several strata of round houses and numerous burials were found dating from the Natufian culture of the Mesolithic (ca. 14,000 B.C.; Pritchard [1987: 16] dates it ca. 10,300–8500 B.C.). The people had sickle blades, but it is not clear whether these were used in harvesting wild grain or if it is possible that they already had some domesticated grain. In any event this marks the beginning of an agricultural tradition around the Jordan river that extends through the biblical period into the present. Beisamun is also located on the W side of Huleh (Pritchard [1987: 26] shows it SW of Huleh). Here a Pre-Pottery Neolithic culture from ca. 7000 B.C. preserved the skulls of their dead and remolded the features in plaster (a number of these have also been found further S at Jericho).

Jisr Banat Yaʿaqub (Heb Gesher Benot Yaʿakob, “Bridge of the Daughters of Jacob”) is 2.5 miles S of Huleh (before it was drained). The name is derived from the Crusader convent of the Daughters of St.

James (Jacob) located there. To its W were found Pleistocene deposits (2 million to 10 thousand B.C.; Pritchard [1987: 16] says 1.5 million to 90 thousand B.C.), including elephant, deer, horse, bison, pig, and rhinoceros remains, along with flint and basalt bifacial axes dating ca. from 300,000 to 100,000 B.P. (Anati 1963: 67).

**3. The Sea of Galilee.** Below the Jisr Banat Ya῾aqub the Jordan river flows 7.5 miles through a gorge as much as 1000 feet deep, cut through Pleistocene basalt. It enters a plain about a mile N of the Sea of Galilee. The Sea of Galilee is 12 miles long and 7 miles wide, reaching as deep as 150 feet in one place. It is the lowest freshwater lake in the world and is an important fishing area. There are 35 species of fish in the Jordan river, 16 of which are unique to the Jordan. In Greco-Roman times the fish were salted for export at Magdala, one of several settlements around Galilee.

**E. The Lower Jordan River**

**1. South of Galilee.** The Jordan river flows out of the S end of the Sea of Galilee. A mile S is Tell Ali, a Neolithic site with some remains like Beismun and Jericho. A similar culture is found further S at Munhata. East of the Jordan and N of the Yarmūk is the site of Shaar HaGolan (M.R. 208233), where the Neolithic Yarmūkian culture was first discovered in 1943, dating from ca. 5000 B.C. (Pritchard says 6000–5000 B.C. for both Munhata and Shaar HaGolan). It is significant both for its more than 100 "art" pieces (including human figurines carved in pebbles and molded in clay) and for its pottery decorated in a herringbone pattern.

Two miles S of Galilee are the mounds of Maskana and el-Ubeidiya (M.R. 205232), where excavators have found evidence of the Pebble Culture (ca. 600,000–300,000 B.P.; Aharoni [1978: 13] says 900,000–700,000 B.P.; Pritchard [1987: 16] says 1.5 million–90 thousand B.P.). At Ubeidiya skull fragments from this culture were found (Anati 1963: 31, 59–60), and animal remains included alligator, elephant, hippopotamus, and rhinoceros.

**2. The River's Course.** The Lower Jordan river flows S to the Dead Sea, which is ca. 50 miles long, 10 miles wide, 1285 feet below sea level, and (in places) another 1285 feet deep. Any fish still in the Jordan river of course die when they reach the 35 percent salt water of the Dead Sea. On a map the Jordan runs 124 miles, but the actual course of the river is actually twice that long because it twists and turns so much. This is especially true of the Lower Jordan river, which is 65 miles long when measured in a straight line between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea, but actually winds on for 135 miles. It ranges from 2 to 10 feet deep and is ca. 100 feet wide. Its shallowness, swiftness, and tortuous course make it unnavigable, although U.S. Navy Lt. W. F. Lynch (1849: 265) floated two flat-bottomed boats from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea in 1848 and reported 27 threatening rapids and many lesser ones. Anati (1963: 15), however, claims it is navigable in most parts and affords easy communication throughout the valley, although he may have meant that it could be easily crossed.

**3. Tributaries.** The Jordan river traditionally flooded in the spring (Josh 3:15), when its rushing waters carried a great deal of silt downstream, forming deltas at the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea. Lynch (1849: 267) measured the waters as 11 feet deep in April. According to the Bible the Israelites walked across the Jordan river during the spring flood (Josh 3:10–17; 4:1–24; cf. Ps 114:3, 5), when the waters were miraculously parted or stopped. The latter (an actual blockage in the flow of the Jordan river) is attested on several occasions in the recent past. It was blocked at Damiyah for 16 hours in A.D. 1267 and again in 1907. In 1927 it was blocked for more than 21 hours. Schattner (1962: 54) reports several stoppages lasting for a few hours, such as one at Kefar Ruppin (between Beth-shan and Pella) in 1956.

Part of the flood and perennial waters comes from springs and tributaries along the way. Because of the rain-shadow effect on the E slopes of the Cisjordanian hill country, there are fewer tributaries feeding into the Jordan river from the W. However, because rainfall is often abundant in the hills of Transjordan, the tributaries flowing into the Jordan river from the E are more numerous and more voluminous. The more abundant water from the E tributaries helps explain why there were more settlements on the E side of the Jordan valley than on the W side. See also JORDAN VALLEY.

The northernmost tributary flowing from the E is the Yarmūk, which flows out of ancient Bashan and Gilead. It is not mentioned in the Bible, but today it forms part of the boundary between Syria and the

Hashemite kingdom of Jordan. The Yarmūk enters the Jordan 5 miles S of the Sea of Galilee, almost doubling the water volume of the Jordan. Among the other wadis flowing into the Jordan from the E are the Arab (which joins the Jordan about 4 miles below the Yarmūk), the Taiyiba, the Ziqlab, the Jurm, the Yabis (perhaps the Cherith of 1 Kgs 17:3), the Kufrinja (draining the Ajlun area), the Rajib, the Zerqa (biblical Jabbok, Gen 32:22), the Shu‹eib (the biblical "waters of Nimrin," Isa 15:6), the Kafrein, and the Hisban (Wâdī Rama, which joins the Kafrein before entering the Jordan; together they are sometimes called the Wâdī Abu-Gharaba). These last three tributaries form the plains of Moab (Num 22:1).

The fewer W tributaries of the Jordan river are also important. In the N the Wâdī Bireh (Naḥal Tabor) flows from the vicinity of Nazareth and enters the Jordan just below the Yarmūk and above the Arab. The Wâdī el-Jalud (Naḥal Harod; Judg 7:1ff.) flows from Gilboa, the Jezreel valley, and the Beth-shan area. The Wâdī Fari‹ah is fed by ‹Ain Fari‹ah (biblical Tirzah) and enters the Jordan below the Zerqa. At the S end of the valley, the strong springs at Jericho compensate for this area's lack of rainfall and made the large oasis there attractive for settlement as early as the Natufian period (Mesolithic, ca. 12,000–10,000 B.P.). Carbon 14 tests suggest the first settlement at Jericho was ca. 8000 B.C. Jericho also receives some water from Wâdī Qilt, another candidate for the Cherith (1 Kgs 17:3).

Whereas the four sources of the Upper Jordan river (see D.1 above) drain an area of 2735 $km^2$ (17 percent of the total area that feeds into the Jordan river), the tributaries of the Lower Jordan river drain 13,600 $km^2$. Of this, 2000 $km^2$ represent ancient Samaria and Judea (12 percent of the total area feeding into the Jordan), while the remaining 11,600 $km^2$ (71 percent) constitute ancient Bashan, Gilead, and Ammon. The flow of the Jordan has ranged from 8 to 35 billion cubic feet per year, with an average of 20 billion cubic feet per year above the Galilee. Below the Galilee the Yarmāk adds ca. 17 billion cubic feet per year, and the Zerqa adds ca. 1.6 billion cubic feet per year (although the flow is irregular). (The Jordanian E Ghor Canal today diverts part of the Yarmāk's waters away from the Jordan river, while the Israeli canal from Huleh to Beth-shan diverts 11 billion cubic feet per year into the water-supply grid of Israel.)

**4. Fords and Bridges.** Fords build up wherever tributaries deposit enough silt to create sandbars. Condor counted 60 fords, one of the northernmost fords of the lower Jordan being the Makhadat Umm es-Sisan at the Wâdī Arab (ca. 8.5 miles S of the Sea of Galilee). Another ford is the one at Beth-barah (Judg 7:24) below Beth-shan. The Damiya ford (at the Wâdī Zerqa) was at the biblical site of Adam (M.R. 201167), while the Roranije ford was at the mouth of the Wâdī Shu‹eib (M.R. 201143). There are two fords within 8 miles of Jericho: al-Maghtas (at the end of the Wâdī Qilt) and the el-Henu (half a mile to its S). The former (M.R. 202137) has been a favorite pilgrimage spot as the supposed location of Bethany beyond the Jordan, the site of Jesus' baptism. Lynch (1849: 255) and Brown (*John 1–12* 44) record a tradition that this was also the place where Joshua and the Israelites crossed (cf. Boling *Joshua* 170, also map p. 137).

The Jordan was first bridged by the Romans. Roman remains are found in several places: (1) just below Galilee; (2) 5 miles S at the mouth of the Wâdī Yarmūk; and (3) at Damiyah. In more recent times the main bridge over the Upper Jordan has been the Jisr Banat Ya‹aqub (M.R. 209268). The main bridges over the Lower Jordan include the Degania and Ashdot-Ya‹acob (M.R. 204229); the Jisr el-Majami (at the Wâdīs Arab and Bireh/Tabor); the Sheikh Hussein (M.R. 205211); the Damiya (M.R. 201167); the Allenby over the Roranije ford E of Jericho (M.R. 201143); and the Abdallah SE of Jericho (M.R. 201135) on a road opened in 1958 from Amman to Jerusalem.

**F. The Jordan River as Religious Symbol**

Most pilgrims to the Jordan river experience at least a slight disappointment that results when its relatively small physical size fails to measure up to their prior mental image of it. Indeed, because so many of the biblical references to the Jordan appear in connection with boundaries and crossings and because notions of "boundary crossings" are often laden with symbolic and metaphoric connotations of a religious nature, it is not surprising that the Jordan river has become a significant *metaphysical* reality within Judaism and Christianity.

Such a use of the Jordan river as religious metaphor may even have begun in biblical times. Indeed, in Psalm 42 "land of Jordan" (v 7) seems to be a poetic name for the netherworld (Dahood *Psalms I* AB, 258; Smick 1973: 101). The Jordan as a symbol of crossing from life to death (or from this world to heaven) seems to underlie Heb 3:17–19, and it continues to find expression in numerous Christian hymns ("Roll, Jordan, Roll"; "Jordan River is Deep and Wide"; "On Jordan's Stormy Banks I Stand"; and "I Won't Have to Cross Jordan Alone"). Glueck's statement that the river is "of limitless sanctity to many millions of people" (1968: 19) perhaps overstates the case, but its importance is extended as a symbol or a metaphor of momentous, climactic, and often miraculous events.

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**JORDAN VALLEY.** The Jordan valley, part of the huge Miocene rift which extends from N Syria to Central Africa, in the section between Lake Tiberias (= Sea of Galilee) and Aqaba, is entirely below sea level. From the freshwater Lake Tiberias (ca. 212 m below sea level), the Jordan river meanders S and empties into the salty, sterile Dead Sea (ca. 394 m below sea level). From here the valley broadens into the Wâdī Araba to Aqaba. The total length from Tiberias to Aqaba is ca. 380 km, while from Tiberias to the Dead Sea is 105 km. The levels of both Tiberias and the Dead Sea fluctuate greatly, but the level of the Dead Sea is consistently dropping and its salinity is increasing.

**A. Geography**

The relatively flat floor of the valley is called the *ghor* and in the N is 3.5 km wide (almost all of which is on the E side), whereas closer to the Dead Sea it widens to ca. 10 to 13 km. The Jordan river meanders through a small secondary valley, about 30 to 60 m deep, called the *zor*. Along the edge of the *zor* rising up to the *ghor* proper are the barren, generally uncultivable, marl hills of the *katar*.

On the E and W sides of the valley are hills which rise to 600–1200 m above sea level. These enclose the valley for its entire length and help to keep temperatures mild during the winter. The valley floor formed slowly from the continuous erosion of soil from the hills, mainly via the 14 major and secondary wadis which flow into the Jordan and the Dead Sea. The main tributary into the Jordan river is the Yarmūk river, with the second being the river Zerqa (Jabbok). Nine other wadis flow from the E hills—Wâdīs Arab, Ziqlab, Jurm, Yabis, Kufrinja, Rajib, Shu῾eib, Kafrein, and Hisban.

Rainfall occurs only between October and May, with an annual mean of 380 mm in the N and 164 mm in the Wâdī Araba. Temperatures also vary, with the S generally a few degrees warmer all year-round than the N. The mean summer temperature is 30.5°C (86.9°F), with mean extreme at 41.5°C (106.7°F); and the mean winter temperature is 14°C (57.2°F), with mean extreme at 5.3°C (41.5°F).

Population and settlement have varied throughout the valley's history, though it is likely there has always been a nomadic population, a fact which makes the extent of settlement difficult to estimate. Today, more than 70,000 people live in the valley, encouraged by extensive government projects for

rehabitation and development of the some 360,000 dunams of cultivable land between the Yarmūk river and the Dead Sea.

**B. Exploration**

In the 19th century travelers to the area without exception reported nomadic occupation and some degree of cultivation. In 1811 the explorer Burckhardt observed a combination of "luxuriant growth" and some "parched desert" with some cultivation by the nomadic settlers.

In the 1840s several small surveys were conducted by the British and American navies. In 1847 the British made a five-week boat trip down the Jordan river into the Dead Sea. The following year saw the American exploration. Between 1875 and 1877 an American archaeologist with the American-Palestine Exploration Society, S. Merrill, explored the area E of the river.

However, not until the 1920s were any archaeological surveys conducted in the area. The first of these was by W. F. Albright (Albright 1926). In the 1930s N. Glueck made the first detailed survey of the E half of the valley between Tiberias and Aqaba. He discovered a total of 90 sites, observing that they were mainly in the *ghor* area rather than *zor*.

In 1953 DeContenson and Mellaart surveyed the area between Tiberias and the Dead Sea, the same area surveyed in detail by the 1975–76 survey project. This latter project, directed by M. Ibrahim, K. Yassine, and J. Sauer, sought to provide a comprehensive examination of this area, to visit already known sites, and to locate new ones. The survey found a total of 224 sites and confirmed that most sites (representing all periods from Neolithic to Ottoman) were located near wadis and springs. One quarter of the sites were between the Wâdīs Kufrinja and Zerqa, probably the best irrigated and most fertile region and the most extensively used throughout history. This contrasts with the 23-km stretch between the Wâdīs Zerqa and Shu‹eib, where the *katar* is extensive and there are no perennial streams.

In 1985 an intensive survey of the E foothills between Sweimeh, near the Dead Sea, and the Wâdī Jurm was directed by M. Muheisen. The survey sought to locate Paleolithic settlements and cave shelters. More than 100 such sites were recorded, the most important of which was Abu Habil.

In 1973 a survey of the E foothills of the S *ghor* between the Dead Sea and the Red Sea also revealed extensive occupation, notably in the EB, such as Bâb edh Dhrâ‹, Numeira, and Tell el Khalifeh. This survey was complemented by the Bergmuseum metallurgical survey of metal mining and smelting sites in the S *ghor*.

The early archaeological, historical, and anthropological heritage of the Jordan valley is now threatened by its development for farming, irrigation, housing, and roadworks in addition to the effects of ongoing military activity. These facts led to the establishment by the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology of the Yarmūk University of the "Jordan Valley Project," a long-range and broad-scope plan to document the social history of the valley through collations of bibliographies, atlases, photographs, and videos. This is complemented by fieldwork, including selecting MA theses, on aspects of the Jordan valley and currently the study of irrigation systems (ancient and modern), forms of housing and shelter, village plans, and settlement patterns.

All these surveys have revealed constant occupation in various regions of the valley from the Neolithic to Mamluk periods. This evidence is supported by an increasing amount of excavation work being conducted in the valley. Upwards of some 20 sites have been or are being excavated between Tiberias and the Dead Sea. Sites like Pella and the Wâdī Hammeh, Tell el-Hayyat, Tell es-Sa‹idiyeh, Tell Abu Hamid, Tell Deir‹Alla, and Tell Mazar are all multiperiod tell sites and, except for Pella, which is located in the foothills, are easily identified mounds in the central valley floor. Other sites of only one or a few occupation periods that have had major excavations include Tell Shuneh North, Kataret es-Samra, Tell Umm Hammad, Tiwal esh-Sharqi, and Tuleilat Ghassul. However, much more work remains to be done, especially since so much rich archaeological evidence is being threatened by the development of the valley.

The following summary of settlement periods is based largely on surveys and evidence supplied by these excavations. The archaeological evidence of the valley dates to about 10,000 B.C., with evidence from the foothills dating to ca. 400,000 B.C. and still-earlier material from the highlands and deserts.

The valley seems often to have experienced changes in climate and settlement, though a nomadic presence has probably always existed. After about 5000 B.C., coincidental with a drying phase, the population apparently shifted northward. The Wâdī Kafrein area was much wetter even as recently as five centuries ago—possibly swampy and malarial—whereas the Wâdī Yabis region was much cooler and drier.

Surveys and excavations have shown the E Bank historically to be more settled than the W because of more numerous and consistent water sources. However, the E and W were clearly linked by trade routes to the Mediterranean from centers in central Jordan and Damascus. A relatively easy E–W route through Beth-shan to Haifa avoided travel through the hills of Lebanon. There were also secondary Roman roads linking Amman to Damiya via Salt and the Decapolis centers of Gerasa and Gadara to the Jordan valley.

**C. Through the Chalcolithic**

All Pre-Pottery flint sites found in the 1975–76 survey were near or on the first rise of the E foothills, usually near wadis. The Muheisen survey revealed Paleolithic occupation in rock-shelters and caves up in the foothills.

The Neolithic/Chalcolithic evidence shows extensive occupation in the E foothills near wadis, on the valley floor, on the edge of the *katar* hills, and in the *zor*. Most sites were concentrated along primary wadis and near water sources and appear to have been open agricultural settlements. The evidence of the first settlement sites between ca. 10,000 and 6000 B.C. is from the S area in the Wâdīs Nimrin and Shu‹eib across the valley from Jericho. After 6000 B.C. domesticated agriculture was established in the valley, with evidence from Jericho and Ghassul of wheat and barley cultivation and sheep and goat domestication. Significant architectural features of this period are the stone dolmens in the foothills about 50 to 100 m above the valley floor overlooking Ghassul and Damiyeh. In the S *ghor* the farming community of Bâb edh Dhrâ‹ has yielded pottery from ca. 4500 B.C.

**D. The Early Bronze Age**

Early Bronze sites, generally more defined than earlier Neolithic-Chalcolithic sites, seem to have been mostly fortified villages or cities. Generally they are located along the E foothills, sometimes on the edge of the *katar,* and particularly on isolated foothills overlooking the valley floor. EB I pottery was found at sites over the entire valley, but later EB II–III material was detected only in the area just N of the Dead Sea.

The EB IV (2300–1950 B.C.) is well represented in the valley in settlement sites and tombs. Located again near wadis, most communities were unfortified farming communities—their proliferation implies an increase in population. Located across the valley in the foothills, along the valley floor, and on the edge of the *katar* hills, many sites reveal an abundance of basalt saddle querns suggesting agricultural communities. One of the largest of these is Tell Umm Hammad, near the Wâdī Zerqa. Tombs were usually cut into the *katar* hills, with narrow shafts leading into single, oval-shaped chambers.

**E. The Middle Bronze Age**

Some MB I–III (1950–1550 B.C.) sites were rebuilt over earlier ruins, though most were founded *de novo.* The number of sites is less than the EB, with most of the settlements in the central and N parts of the valley; no clear evidence emerges from the S region near the Dead Sea. Some sites have evidence of minor stone structures and probably represent small to medium-sized villages. They are distributed in the lower E foothills, the valley floor, the edge of the *katar,* and the *zor* itself.

**F. The Late Bronze Age**

The LB Age (1550–1200 B.C.) is less well represented than many other periods. The sites are concentrated between the Wâdīs Yabis and Zerqa, in the foothills (e.g., Pella), the valley floor (e.g., Tell Deir ‹Alla and Mazar), and near the *katar* (Tell es-Sa‹idiyeh). Deir ‹Alla appears to have been the most prominent of these and probably served as a religious center. Most LB sites were reoccupied in the Iron Age and later, some becoming very large settlements.

**G. The Iron Age**

Iron I (1200–918 B.C.) sites usually were located in already developed areas and continued to be occupied into the Iron II period. One small site has been identified in the S (Rashidiyeh West), and several large sites in the N, (e.g., Tell Deir ʿAlla, Pella, Tell Al-Maʿajajeh, and Tell Mazar).

While there was some continued occupation from Iron Age I into Iron Age II, most sites seem to have been abandoned until the Hellenistic, Roman-Byzantine, or Islamic periods. Some, however, show evidence of Persian settlement (e.g., Tell el-Maʿajajeh, Tell Mazar, and Tell ʿAmmata).

**H. Hellenistic Through Byzantine Periods**

Hellenistic settlements are found across the valley from the foothills to the *zor* and usually on sites with evidence of earlier occupation. Most reveal habitation into the Early Roman period.

The Roman-Nabatean era (63 B.C.–A.D. 324) saw the formation of the Decapolis, which included the valley sites of Pella and Beth-shan.

In the S *ghor* the Nabateans constructed an impressive irrigation system at Wâdī Telah, S of the Dead Sea. The dam directed water through a 500-m stone canal to a large pool in the hills. From there it was diverted into irrigation channels to irrigate a large area on the valley floor.

Early Roman sites are well represented throughout the valley, usually on the ruins of earlier occupation. Most were continuously occupied, but some were temporarily abandoned until later Byzantine and Islamic periods. The population density apparently increased from the Hellenistic phase, with better-developed and larger-scale Roman agricultural systems.

The Late Roman phase is less well represented, mostly on sites occupied from the Early Roman period, with no new major sites established. Road milestones have been found near the main Jordan valley road close to Khirbet Sleikhat, Keraymeh South, and El-Hamra.

The increase in population and site density in the Byzantine era shows settlement expansion into the barren area between the Wâdīs Zerqa and Nimrin, with evidence of cisterns to store water. The Late Byzantine period shows the same density with apparently agricultural communities located throughout the valley, especially on the valley floor.

**I. The Umayyad Period**

The Umayyad occupation (ca. A.D. 630–730) reveals a less extensive occupation with settlement declining sharply, probably reflecting the move of the capital from Damascus to Baghdad. Irrigation systems and agricultural settlements continue, with the area S of the Wâdī Zerqa showing large reservoirs and connected canal systems.

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MOAWIYAH M. IBRAHIM


**JORDAN, JUNGLE OF** (PLACE) [Heb *gāʾôn hayyardēn* (גְּאוֹן הַיַּרְדֵּן)]. The vegetative growth along the river bed as the Lower (Galilee to Dead Sea) Jordan river winds its way through the floodplain called the *zor* 20 to 150 feet below the valley floor called the *ghor*.

The *zor* ranges from 200 yards to a mile across. *Zor* has been translated "thicket." The tropical heat and spring floods have produced a tangled thicket of vines, the Jordan tamarisk, willow, the Euphrates poplar, oleander, reeds, thorns, thistles, and other plants. Har-el (1978: 71) notes the reeds in the water, the cane, strip bushes (especially the wild orache, genus *Atriplex*), the trees plus bramble, asparagus, licorice, etc. The willow is characteristic of the N section of the river. The oleander flourishes in gravel and large stones.

The jungle provided cover for wild animals, including lions (Jer 49:19; 50:44; Zech 11:3). In 1848 Lynch (1849: 212, 226) saw "tiger" (leopard; Har-el 1978: 72) tracks and wild boar. There were jackals, hyenas, desert rats, otters, and as recently as 1898, bears. This may have made it a place of danger (Jer 12:5) though in this passage (5d) the contrast to running on safe ground (5c) may refer to stumbling in the tangle. While the tangle has receded somewhat in the face of modern agriculture, there are still some animals. Glueck (1968: 78) refers to jackals and wolves. To this wild life one should add many species of birds. Lynch (1849: 267) sighted wild ducks, herons, snipes, gulls, pigeons, partridges, hawks, storks, and swallows.

The Heb word *gā›ôn* comes from the root *g›h,* which means "to rise up" and hence the nouns "pride" and "exaltation." The KJV translates Zech 11:3 as the "pride of the Jordan," which BDB (145) takes as majesty (Job 38:11, "majesty of thy waves"), referring to the green and shady banks. BDB notes a variant of "swelling" as referring to the agitated waters of the river, which is how the KJV translates the three Jeremiah references. Holladay (*CHAL*, 52) suggests "height" of the waves for Job 38:11 and for the thicket of the Jordan of Jer 12:5. Glueck (1968: 78) says the thorns and thistles grow shoulder high. Lynch (1849: 227) described thorn bushes so large and abundant they looked like apple orchards, and there were 5-foot-high *kelakh* with up to 35 stamen each 10 inches long. He also noted deadwood caught in the branches of trees 15 feet above the ground, suggesting the depth of the spring floods (1849: 217, 246–48).

The LXX for Jer 12:5 and Zech 11:3 translates *gā›ôn* with *phryagma,* which Liddell and Scott render as the neighing of a spirited horse, and hence they metaphorically apply it to arrogance (LSJM, 1958). This supports the KJV translation "pride," but it anthropomorphizes the Jordan; "jungle" makes sense in our terms today.

Glueck (1968: 77) and Schattner (1962) claim the Jordan floodwaters deposit no silt like the Nile, while Har-el (1978: 71) claims the fertile soil which settles at the pride of the Jordan contributes to its fertility and its lush plant life.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**JORDAN, PREHISTORY OF.** Interest in the prehistoric archaeology of Jordan might be traced back to the late 19th century, when Doughty remarked on several "flint instruments" that must have represented "an human labour … [by an] old human kindred which inhabited the land so long before the Semitic race" (Doughty 1921: 74, 76–77). Doughty's astonishment (1921: 74) at these obviously ancient products of humanity was not widely shared by his contemporaries passing through the land E of the Jordan river, nor were the immediately succeeding generations of travelers and pilgrims much interested in these old relics from a time that preceded biblical accounts of human history in the region. Nevertheless, shortly after the turn of the century several surveys had revealed the wealth of Stone Age human presence in this largely unexplored and poorly described area (e.g., Field 1960; Rhotert 1938; Zeuner 1957).

Despite a handful of concerted archaeological excavations and explorations (e.g., Kirkbride 1958, 1966; Waechter and Seton-Williams 1938; Huckriede and Wiesemann 1968) in the 2d and 3d quarters of the 20th century, it has been only within the last 10 to 15 years that the pace of prehistoric research in Jordan

has accelerated. As a consequence, only the general outlines of Jordan's Stone Age past have emerged with any systematic clarity, and detailed reconstructions of lifeways in extreme antiquity cannot yet match the results obtained elsewhere in the Levant, such as Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria, where fieldwork has had a long and intensive history. Nevertheless, recent campaigns in Jordan have demonstrated that although overall trends common to the greater Levant are paralleled in the mountains, valleys, high plateaus, and deserts of Jordan, the region also demonstrates some remarkable aspects of local innovation and influence.

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A. Lower Paleolithic
    1. Early Acheulean
    2. Middle Acheulean
    3. Late Acheulean
B. Middle Paleolithic
C. Upper Paleolithic
D. Epipaleolithic Period
E. Neolithic Period
    1. PPNA Phase
    2. PPNB Phase
    3. PPNC Phase
    4. Pottery Neolithic A Phase
    5. Pottery Neolithic B Phase

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**A. Lower Paleolithic (ca. 1,000,000–100,000 B.P.)**

**1. Early Acheulean (ca. 1,000,000–500,000 B.P.).** Early evidence for human occupation is rare in Jordan, as it is elsewhere in the Near East, for a combination of reasons. Because these early ancestors lived in small groups that rarely stayed at one location for an appreciable amount of time, the accumulation of artifacts (principally chipped stone tools and debris) left for later archaeological discovery was numerically small and sparsely distributed over the landscape. The extreme age also allowed a long period of time for erosive forces to destroy Lower Paleolithic sites or to cover them from view by increasing depths of sedimentary deposits.

Despite these limitations, one site in Jordan appears to be an extremely ancient campsite. Located on a high terrace near Pella, the site of Abu Khas (Villiers 1983) overlooks the deep Jordan valley to the W. Hundreds of tools and thousands of flakes lie in a slightly disturbed sedimentary complex. The exclusive use of stone hammers (or hard hammer technique) to fashion the tools resulted in relatively crude specimens with distinctively sinuous cutting edges. Both technologically and typologically, the artifacts from Abu Khas resemble the stone tool industry from ʿUbeidiya, a site on the W bank at the S tip of Lake Tiberias that has been dated to more than 680,000 B.P. (Bar Yosef 1975: 574–75, 589). No animal remains were found at Abu Khas, but the variety of stone tools indicates that the inhabitants found the site to be a lucrative hunting location to which they returned frequently. No human fossils have been discovered either, although it is assumed that, as was the case at ʿUbeidiya (Tobias 1966), the inhabitants belonged to *Homo erectus*.

**2. Middle Acheulean (ca. 500,000–250,000 B.P.).** As was the case for the Early Acheulean, sites that can be ascribed to the Middle Acheulean period are also rare in Jordan and the rest of the Levant. Although lifestyles of the two periods were essentially similar, a distinction is seen in how the later *Homo erectus* hunters made their tools. The principal innovation was the use of "soft hammers" (animal bone, antler, or wood) to finish the process of implement manufacture, resulting in tools with straighter and more efficient cutting edges. In addition, small flakes of chert and flint became more important elements in the tool kits in the forms of knives, scrapers, and other "light-duty" implements.

In a small wadi along the S edge of Jebel Uweinid, near Azraq in the E desert, a heavily eroded series of hand axes, cleavers, and a few flakes that have been assigned to the Middle Acheulean were discovered in

1981 (Rollefson 1984). The location of the site suggests that it may have been selected because it was on a natural animal track between the springs and lake shores of Azraq and the grazing afforded in the hilly country to the SW.

**3. Late Acheulean (ca. 250,000–100,000 B.P.).** In definite contrast to the previous stages of the Lower Paleolithic, the Late Acheulean period is well represented throughout the region. The techniques used to make stone tools were refined to the extent that implements were often shaped to an elegance and symmetry that did not relate only to the utility of the artifacts. Heavy butchering tools became smaller and more easily manipulated, and the light-duty flake tools became an elaborate component of the tool kit. One particular method of tool manufacture, the Levalloisian techniques, began to assume great importance among the Neanderthal groups that now occupied the countryside, and well-formed spear points and knives appeared with consistent frequency.

The small Neanderthal hunting groups maintained the economic patterns of their forebears; their movements from one hunting location to another were dictated by the availability of game, plant resources, and water. Some sites appear to have been very favorable to the Late Acheulean people in Jordan, for artifact layers contain dense accumulations of stone tools at several oasis locations in the Azraq basin such as ʿAin el-Assad (Harding 1967: 155; Rollefson 1983a) and C-Spring (Garrard et al. 1987; Copeland fc.). On the other hand, the vast majority of Late Acheulean sites throughout the land were small in size; and the few numbers of artifacts at each indicate the short duration of occupation.

One outstanding Late Acheulean site in S Jordan offers a clear glimpse of a particular Neanderthal strategy of timing the hunt with the seasonal migration of game from winter grazing grounds deep in the Wâdī Araba to spring and summer vegetation in the highlands. This site, Fjaje, is actually a complex of Late Acheulean sites that extends 15 to 20 km along the semicircular rim of the Wâdī Araba escarpment, near Shobak. In the S section of this extensive distribution of hand axes and flake tools is the main campsite, a large (ca. 15 acres) area where a variety of different artifact types are concentrated (Rollefson 1981, 1985). The location of the Fjaje complex astride a major animal migration route is interpreted as a seasonal (springtime) meeting place where a relatively large number of Neanderthal hunting bands came to cooperate in a temporarily abundant "harvest" of animals that were concentrated in the wadi system on their way back to highland pasturage.

**B. Middle Paleolithic (ca. 100,000–40,000 B.C.)**

Many prehistoric archaeological surveys have revealed that Middle Paleolithic sites are more numerous than for any other period in the prehistoric past (e.g., MacDonald et al. 1983; Rollefson fc. a, b). The mobile hunting and gathering mode of life common to the Lower Paleolithic was maintained throughout the Middle Paleolithic period, although Neanderthals of the latter period developed a different approach to acquire and process organic and inorganic resources necessary for their survival. This cultural development is most clearly seen in the chipped-stone tool kit, where the large and relatively complex Acheulean hand axes and cleavers were replaced by smaller and more diversified Mousterian flake tools. Levalloisian techniques that were popular in many Late Acheulean sites became a prominent method of tool manufacture in almost all Middle Paleolithic camps, prompting the term *Levalloiso-Mousterian* for the material culture of the later Neanderthals (cf. Garrod and Bate 1937). A second cultural manifestation that used the Levalloisian techniques, called the Yabrudian, is known from restricted locations in Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine (e.g., Jelinek 1982), but with the possible exception of the far NE section of Jordan (Copeland and Hours 1981), the Levantine Mousterian, dominated by the Levalloisian techniques of tool manufacture, is characteristic of the area E of the Jordan Rift valley system.

Most of the known Middle Paleolithic assemblages in Jordan come from eroded or wind-deflated surface sites, and the rarity of in situ sites has greatly hindered detailed interpretations of the daily lives of Mousterian Neanderthals in Jordan. Nevertheless, a small protected rock-shelter in the Wâdī el-Ali between Tafila and el-Hasa (Clark et al. 1988) contains undisturbed stone tools, debris, and animal remains that will enhance the reconstruction of Neanderthal lifeways. Another rock-shelter in the Ras en-Naqb region of S Jordan also appears to contain undisturbed Middle Paleolithic deposits that promise to expand our understanding of Middle Paleolithic strategies and adaptations (Henry et al. 1983).

**C. Upper Paleolithic (ca. 40,000–17,000 B.C.)**

Recent archaeological surveys have shown a dramatic decrease in the number of sites attributable to the appearance of modern *Homo sapiens* hunters in Jordan (e.g., MacDonald, Rollefson, and Roller 1982; MacDonald et al. 1983; Rollefson fc. a, b). Comparable decreases in site numbers elsewhere in the Levant were shown to be correlated with paleoclimatic data that portrayed a colder and increasingly more desertified landscape throughout the Near East (Bar Yosef 1981), and the combination of the desiccation and the reduced Upper Paleolithic evidence was often interpreted as reflecting a starkly reduced population. But when one compares the number of sites per thousand years, the figures for the longer-lasting Middle Paleolithic are comparable in magnitude to those of the briefer Upper Paleolithic. The relatively larger size of some of the Upper Paleolithic sites further suggests that the population of the region may actually have increased despite a deterioration of the environment (cf. Rollefson fc. a).

Recent publications on Upper Paleolithic sites in Palestine have argued that two distinct cultural traditions occur near the coast and in the Negeb desert (Gilead 1981; Marks 1981). One of these, the Ahmarian, is characterized by large numbers of small blades, bladelets, and points but few end scrapers and burins. The other tradition is called the Levantine Aurignacian, which is dominated by end scrapers and burins made on sizable blades and flakes, while more diminutive elements are rare. The Ahmarian appears to span the entirety of the Upper Paleolithic time period, although no absolute dates older than ca. 27,000 B.C. are known for the Levantine Aurignacian.

Currently the information from Jordanian in situ Upper Paleolithic sites is scanty, but it appears from preliminary excavation reports that the Upper Paleolithic dichotomy of Palestine is also present in Jordan. Two sites investigated by Henry in the Wâdī Rum region indicate Levantine Aurignacian affiliations (Henry 1982: 430), and the huge Site 618 at the head of the Wâdī el-Hasa drainage is evidently Ahmarian (Clark et al. 1988). The case for Upper Paleolithic traditions in the greater Azraq basin remains open to interpretation (cf. Garrard et al. 1985; Garrard, Byrd, and Betts 1986). Few details are yet available from anywhere in Jordan to flesh out the skeletal framework of this long but poorly known period of human development.

**D. Epipaleolithic Period (ca. 17,000–8,500 B.C.)**

The closing millennia of the Pleistocene epoch witnessed considerable variation in terms of climate change, subsistence economy, settlement patterns, and stone tool production.

The *Kebaran complex* is a generic term that covers marked regional variability in the Sinai, Palestine, and Jordan in terms of the presence and relative frequencies of specific stone tool types and the techniques used to produce them. Nevertheless, this geographic cultural diversity is loosely linked together by the dominance of microlithic tools (made on bladelets less than 50 mm long and 10 mm wide) that are supplemented by end scrapers and burins of larger dimensions. Ground-stone implements (mortars, pestles, and "bowls") appear in some quantity in Palestinian Kebaran sites (Bar Yosef 1981: 395), although such indicators of the intensive collection of wild plant resources have not been reported from Jordan. Here, Kebaran period sites (ca. 17,000–12,500 B.C.) have been found principally in the modern desert regions of the country, such as near Ras en-Naqb (Henry 1982, 1983), the E desert/steppe (Muheisen 1983; Garrard, Byrd, and Betts 1986), and the Wâdī el-Hasa drainage of W central Jordan (Clark et al. 1988; Clark, Majchrowicz, and Coinman fc.; cf. MacDonald et al. 1983). Since it appears that the climate of this period may have been even drier than at present (Garrard et al. 1987), it is not surprising that grinding stones are absent at Jordanian Kebaran sites.

Beginning at about 12,500 B.C. the environment throughout the Near East appears to have become somewhat cooler and moister than in the Kebaran period. Following the climatic change, possibly reflecting increasingly available plant and animal resources, human exploitation of modern desert regions became intensified. A palpable change in chipped-stone tools is also evident, for microliths took on regular shapes such as rectangles, trapeziums, and triangles, giving rise to the term *Geometric Kebaran* for the cultural period. Numerous sites from the Geometric Kebaran phase are known from Palestine and Sinai (Bar Yosef 1981), although known sites in Jordan from this time remain relatively scarce (Henry

1983; cf. Muheisen 1983). Ground-stone artifacts occur only sporadically, and it appears that seed or nut processing, if practiced at all, followed other methods not preserved in the archaeological record.

Throughout the Kebaran and Geometric Kebaran phases, the settlement pattern of Epipaleolithic hunting-and-gathering groups appears to have consisted of base camps that were occupied for several weeks or more at a time, while smaller sites reflect temporary specialized activities such as hunting camps or transient stations. The location of small sites in the highland zones and larger, probably more permanent sites at lower elevations suggests a transhumant pattern of settlement (Henry 1983: 135; Bar Yosef 1981: 395).

The last phase of the Epipaleolithic lasts from ca. 10,000–8,500 B.C. and signals a growing momentum in socio-economic aspects that, by the end of the phase, become virtually indistinguishable from the succeeding Early Neolithic period. Like the preceding Kebaran and Geometric Kebaran stone tool industries, this period exhibits marked geographic variation in tools and technologies (e.g., Henry 1983; Clark 1984; Byrd 1987) which have prompted a growing number of named variants that tend to add unnecessary complexity for a summary of developments. Since *the Natufian* is a term that has specific meanings for several prehistorians, for the sake of convenience all of the Late Epipaleolithic manifestations in Jordan will be subsumed under this Natufian label (cf. discussion in Bar Yosef 1981: 398; Henry 1983: 136).

Known settlements of the Natufian period are relatively numerous in Jordan; and as the result of several recent intensive surveys, they have been found in extremely diverse environments, including the Jordan valley (Edwards in McNicoll et al. 1984), the arid and semiarid sections of the Wâdī el-Hasa drainage (MacDonald et al. 1983; Byrd and Rollefson 1984; Clark et al. 1988), the arid and semiarid Transjordanian plateau (Kirkbride 1966; Byrd 1987; Henry and Turnbull 1985), and the bleak E basalt desert (Betts 1982). Site sizes range from small camps of several hundred $m^2$ in Wâdī Judayid in the Ras en-Naqb region (Henry and Turnbull 1985) or even smaller at Site 14/7, NE of Azraq (Betts 1982), up to several thousand $m^2$ at Tabaqa (Byrd and Rollefson 1984) and in the Wâdī Hammeh (Edwards in McNicoll et al. 1984; Edwards et al. 1988). The larger sites probably reflect a considerable degree of residential permanence that was made possible as the consequence of intensive plant collection, especially cereal grains. The crescent-shaped lunate microlith is the "hallmark" of the Natufian tool assemblage; but the presence of grinding stones, mortars, and tools with sickle sheen indicates a growing dependence on those plant resources that would become domesticated by the close of this period. Indeed, suggestions that Natufian groups had initiated the process of human control over cereal crops (Gebel 1984: 7) seem well-founded.

At the present time the elaborate artwork and burial practices known from Palestinian Natufian sites such as ʾAin Mallaha (*DBSup* 8: 372–81) and el-Wad (Garrod and Bate 1937: 9–19) are not well represented in Jordan, but the carved stone "wall" decorations at Wâdī Hammeh 27 (Edwards et al. 1988) and a possible Natufian cemetery near Tabaqa along the Wâdī el-Hasa (Rollefson in MacDonald et al. 1983: 316) offer promise for similar artistic and ritual parallels.

**E. Neolithic Period (ca. 8500–4000 B.C.)**

The Neolithic developments in the Near East represent a continuation of Late Epipaleolithic trends in increasing cultural control of wild resources. This relatively long period of economic and social transformations has been subdivided into five phases: the aceramic Neolithic consists of Pre-Pottery Neolithic A or PPNA (ca. 8500–7500 B.C., the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B or PPNB (ca. 7500–6000 B.C.) (Kenyon 1979; cf. Moore 1982), and the Pre-Pottery Neolithic C or PPNC (ca. 6000–5750 B.C.). Pottery manufacture became established in the 6th millennium and characterizes Pottery Neolithic A or PNA (ca. 5500–4750 B.C.) and Pottery Neolithic B or PNB (ca. 4750–4000 B.C.). These dates are tentative, however, since very few reliable absolute dates are available for ceramic Neolithic developments (cf. Weinstein 1984: 304–5).

**1. PPNA Phase (ca. 8500–7500 B.C.).** The earliest Neolithic phase has been tentatively identified at only one site in Jordan, at Sabra 1 near Petra (Gebel 1983). By contrast, Syria (Moore 1975) and Palestine have a considerable number of PPNA sites (e.g., Kenyon 1979; Bar Yosef, Gopher, and Goring-Morris

1980; Noy, Friedman, and Burian 1981; Ronen and Lechevallier 1985). During this period sites reflect a great degree of variation in size and inferred population, and permanent village settlement was made possible by the agricultural contributions of wheat and barley species. No definite indications of animal husbandry are known from PPNA sites, for animal bone reflects only hunted species.

**2. PPNB Phase (ca. 7500–6000 B.C.).** In contrast to the relative scarcity of PPNA sites in the Near East, permanent villages of the PPNB period are numerous throughout the area; and Jordan reflects this regional growth very well. Farming settlements range in size from only a few acres at the hamlet of Khirbet Hammam (Rollefson and Kafafi 1985), to medium-sized villages at Beidha (Kirkbride 1966) near Petra and Shuʿeib (Rollefson fc. c), above the Jordan valley, to enormous townlike expanses of 30 acres or more at Basta in S Jordan (Gebel et al. 1988) and ʿAin Ghazal near Amman (Rollefson and Simmons 1986). Permanent settlements were founded in areas with sufficient rainfall to support farming, and the domestication of goats contributed to the animal protein in the diet of PPNB peoples (e.g., Köhler-Rollefson and Rollefson 1987). Smaller temporary camps and settlements were scattered in large numbers throughout the more arid parts of Jordan, including the S steppes and plateaus (MacDonald et al. 1983; Rollefson fc. a) and E steppes and deserts (Betts 1986; Waechter and Seton-Williams 1938; Garrard, Byrd, and Betts 1986).

PPNB architecture was solid, roomy, and sophisticated (Banning and Byrd 1984, fc.). Burial practices are well documented at Beidha (Kirkbride 1966), Basta (Gebel et al. 1988), and especially at ʿAin Ghazal (Rolston in Rollefson et al. 1985; Rollefson 1983b, 1986). The plastered-skull cult manifested so dramatically at Jericho (Kenyon 1979: 34–36) is known in Jordan only at ʿAin Ghazal (Rollefson 1983b). Small clay figurines of humans and animals are numerous in PPNB sites; and they appear to have fertility and "luck" connotations in many cases, although there is strong evidence that a "cattle cult" may have had important religious significance (Köhler-Rollefson 1985; McAdam pers. com.; Rollefson 1986: 50).

Perhaps the most impressive feature of the PPNB period is the elaborate human statuary found at Jericho (Garstang 1935: 166–67) and more recently at ʿAin Ghazal (Tubb 1985; Rollefson and Simmons 1988). It is likely that the statuary is connected with ancestor worship, although on a larger scale than the family orientation suggested for the plastered-skull cult (Tubb and Rollefson fc.).

The closing centuries of the PPNB period have posed a major problem to scholars interested in the Neolithic of the Levant. Throughout S Lebanon, S Syria, Palestine, and Jordan there was a consistent abandonment of farming villages by the end of the 7th millennium; some of the villages had been continuously occupied for more than 2000 years. Although some pollen evidence had supported the interpretation of a regional decrease in rainfall, recent research has strongly challenged this conclusion (van Zeist 1985: 201). Furthermore, ʿAin Ghazal did not suffer this fate until well into the 6th millennium (ca. 5750 B.C.), and the site's location at the border of rainfall farming indicates that climatic patterns did not deteriorate to levels incapable of sustaining dry farming.

An alternative hypothesis has been developed that entails the basic incompatibility of agriculture and goat herding (Köhler-Rollefson 1985) and the added impact of systematic deforestation for architectural requirements (Rollefson fc. d; Köhler-Rollefson and Rollefson 1987): in essence, PPNB populations simply degraded the environment around permanent settlements (and attendant sources of water) to such an extent that permanent occupation by even relatively small populations was no longer possible.

**3. PPNC Phase (ca. 6000–5750 B.C.).** While all of the known PPNB villages in the S Levant became deserted by ca. 6000 B.C., with the possible exception of Tell Ramad, near Damascus (de Contenson and van Liere 1966), the settlement at ʿAin Ghazal continued to prosper and even grow for another few centuries. But the ecological pressures suffered by its sister settlements were also felt at ʿAin Ghazal; and major changes in architecture, subsistence economy, lithic technology, and ritual all reflect a distinctive cultural character that has been called the PPNC phase (Rollefson and Simmons 1988; Köhler-Rollefson and Rollefson 1987). Evidence of agricultural practices was poorly preserved, but there are clear indications that expanded animal husbandry (including goats, cattle, pigs, dogs, and perhaps sheep) was supplemented by hunting expeditions into nearby steppe and desert regions to the E. Although ʿAin Ghazal remained a huge permanent settlement, there are suggestions that a sizable proportion of the

population may have lived there on a seasonal basis in cadence with the development of seminomadic pastoralism (Köhler-Rollefson 1985).

**4. Pottery Neolithic A Phase (ca. 5500–4750 B.C.).** The absence of permanent settlements in Palestine, S Syria, and Jordan (except ʿAin Ghazal) appears to have lasted until sometime in the latter half of the 6th millennium, when some sites were eventually resettled on a permanent basis (e.g., Jericho [Kenyon 1979] and Munhata [Perrot 1966]) and new ones were established. In Jordan several new permanent villages or hamlets of small size were founded in the N (Kafafi 1985; Gebel and Muheisen 1985) and S (Bennett 1980). ʿAin Ghazal also witnessed resettlement, but in view of the unsubstantial architecture, habitation appears to have been only on a temporary, probably seasonal basis that coincided with nomadic pastoralism (Rollefson and Simmons 1986; Köhler-Rollefson and Rollefson 1987). The known permanent settlements in Jordan are near small-flow springs outside the traditional PPNB area, and farming and hunting appear to have been the mainstays of these hamlets. The production of well-made pottery, with characteristic Yarmoukian features (Stekelis 1972), is found on all W Jordanian sites of this period. Overall, the absolute population of the region seems to have declined markedly, although activity in the steppes and deserts of E Jordan may have supported considerable populations of nomadic and seminomadic pastoralists and hunters (Betts 1986). Many of the enigmatic "burin sites" of E and S Jordan may date from this period of increased exploitation of arid lands, but little reliable dating evidence is available to substantiate this interpretation (but see Rollefson 1988).

**5. Pottery Neolithic B Phase (ca. 4750–4000 B.C.).** This period of Neolithic development is known from several sites in Palestine, including Jericho (Kenyon 1979); but to date no parallels have been found in Jordan. Ceramic innovations and the reestablishment of substantial architecture set this phase apart from the PNA at Jericho, and the phase appears to merge into later Chalcolithic developments. Indeed, it may be the case that Tuleilat Ghassul (cf. Hennessy 1969), a substantial village across the Jordan valley from Jericho, may include a transition from the final Neolithic to earliest Chalcolithic phase. Other PNB sites may exist in Jordan, but if this is the case, they may be buried beneath some of the larger tells in the N part of the country such as Pella (cf. Rollefson fc. e) and Tell Husn, near Irbid (C. Johnson, pers. com.).

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**JORIM** (PERSON) [Gk *Iōrim* (Ἰωριμ)]. The father of Eliezer and son of Matthat according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:29). Jorim is omitted in D, which substitutes a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31; and 2 Esdr 10:18 B reads Gk *Iōreim,* as one of the sons of the priests who married foreign women, in proximity to Gk *Eliezer*. The name Jorim occurs nowhere else in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, and falls within a list of 18 otherwise unknown descendants of David's son Nathan (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 501). Kuhn (1923: 208–9) argues that two seemingly parallel lists of names—Luke 3:23–26 (Jesus to Mattathias) and 3:29–31 (Joshua/Jesus to Mattatha)—were originally identical, the first perhaps reflecting a Hebrew context and the second, in an Aramaic context, tracing Mary's line of descent (since it does not mention Joseph as Jesus' father). However, Jorim, in the second list, does not have a corresponding name in the first list.

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**JORKEAM** (PLACE) [Heb *yorqăʿām* (יָרְקְעָם)]. A village in Judah occupied by the Hebronite clan of Caleb (1 Chr 2:44). The formula "x the father of y," used throughout the list in which this name

appears, leaves the impression that the names are those of persons, though here the Chronicler uses it to denote places (y founded by x). The $LXX^B$ is quite possibly correct in reading Jokdeam in place of Jorkeam, so linking the place with the Jokdeam of Josh 15:56. The location, in either case, is set in the hill country of Judah, quite near Hebron.

ELMER H. DYCK

**JOSECH** (PERSON) [Gk *Iōsēch* (Ἰωσηχ)]. The father of Semein and son of Joda according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:26). There is some textual uncertainty here. Greek *Iōsēch* is read in numerous Gk mss and several early versions, but Gk *Iōsēph* is read in other mss, the Vulgate, and the TR (Tischendorf). Josech is omitted in D, which substitutes a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. The name Josech falls within a list of 17 ancestors of Jesus who are otherwise unknown in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 500); and is not remotely similar to any of the names in 1 Chr 3:19–20.

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**JOSEPH** (PERSON) [Heb *yôsēp* (יוֹסֵף)]. Several persons in the OT, Apocrypha, and NT bear this name.

1. See JOSEPH, SON OF JACOB.
2. The father of Igal, the individual selected from the tribe of Issachar to spy out the land of Canaan (Num 13:7).
3. A Levite who was one of the "sons of Asaph" (1 Chr 25:2, 9).
4. One of the Israelites who, at the time of Ezra, had married a foreign wife (Ezra 10:42 = 1 Esdr 9:34).
5. A priest during the postexilic period, at the time when Joiakim was high priest (Neh 12:14).
6. Ancestor of Judith, who is the heroine of the deuterocanonical book of Judith (Jdt 8:1). The heroine is introduced immediately with what the writer considers most important, that is, her Jewish lineage. With a list of at least 16 ancestors, this genealogy is the longest for all women given in the Bible. Of the Hebrew names mentioned, only the three most distant, Salamiel, Sarasadai, and Israel, may likely refer to well-known historical persons. There is no specific information about the identity of the others listed. If the genealogy is authentic, there are obviously many omissions; but since the book of Judith is generally considered to be a novelette, the genealogy may well be fictitious. However, the use of a genealogy in introducing a significant person in salvation history is consistent with biblical tradition and emphasizes the importance in the mind of the writer of belonging to this people. There are various scholarly opinions about this genealogy, but none establishes certainty (Moore *Judith* 185–88).
7. Son of Zechariah and a commander in Judea (1 Macc 5:18) during the period when Judas Maccabeus was in control of the territory (164–161 B.C.E.). Reports of repression of Jews by Gentiles in Gilead and Galilee brought Judas and Jonathan to march on Gilead with a force of 8000 and their brother Simon with 3000 to Galilee (5:20). Joseph, son of Zechariah, and Azariah, a leader of the people, were left in Judea with the rest of the forces to guard it. They were expressly instructed not to engage in battle with the gentiles until the return of Judas and Simon (5:18–19). When the Maccabee brothers were known to have subdued the territories and brought the oppressed Jews to Judea for safety, Joseph and Azariah ignored orders and launched a campaign against Jamnia, where they were severely routed and suffered great losses (5:55–62). The writer of the account uses the opportunity to indicate that deliverance was to come through the family of the Maccabees (*HJP²* 1: 164–65).
8. One of the Maccabee brothers in the epitome of Jason of Cyrene (2 Macc 8:22). The five-volume history, which was the work of Jason, is now lost; but his abridgment of it is available to us as 2 Maccabees. This parallels 1 Maccabees 1:10–7:50. The writer of 1 Maccabees names the sons of Mattathias as John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan (1 Macc 2:2). Jason of Cyrene speaks of "Joseph" instead of "John" among the five brothers (2 Macc 8:22). The passage in 2 Maccabees is difficult for at least two reasons. The army is divided into four parts, leaving Eleazar without forces. Also,

the transferral of the name "Joseph" for "John" raises questions. Goldstein attempts an understanding of the text which could see Joseph, son of Zechariah, and also Azariah (1 Macc 5:18) as half-brothers of the five sons of Mattathias (*2 Maccabees* AB, 299–300). See #7. Thus Joseph and John would be two different persons, and there would be seven brothers in all. Others simply see Joseph as a variant for John, and thus the number of brothers would remain at five (RSV 2 Macc 8:22 n.).

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9. See JOSEPH, HUSBAND OF MARY.

10. The reported "brother" of James, and Simon, and Judas, and Jesus and possibly the son of Mary, the mother of Jesus (Matt 13:55). There is much textual variance at this point, although Gk *Iōsēph* receives a B rating in *UBSGNT* (for variant readings see *NovTG*[26]). Mark 6:3 in a similar list (cf. 15:40, 47; see below #11) has Gk *Iōsētos,* though with significant textual variants, for Gk *Iosē* and a few for *Iōsēph* (again see *NovTG*[26]). If it is true, as many scholars believe, that Gk *Iosēs* follows the Galilean pronunciation of the Heb *ywsp,* then, on the basis of this factor and other significant contextual features, Matt 13:55 and Mark 6:3 may be parallels at this point (see e.g., Swete 1898: 107). There are three major views about the status of Joseph and the others as "brothers" of Jesus. The Hebrew or Aramaic word for "brother" has a wide enough semantic range to allow that these may be half-brothers of Jesus by way of a previous marriage for Joseph, Jesus' "supposed father" ("Epiphanian" view, now rarely held); or they may be cousins of Jesus as sons of Mary's sister, possibly named Mary wife of Clopas ("Hieronymian" view); or they may be the actual physical brothers of Jesus and sons of Mary by Joseph ("Helvidian" view). The first view is often associated with an Orthodox perspective; the second with a Roman Catholic perspective (e.g., McHugh [1975: 200–253], who gives a thorough treatment of the issues, although he proposes a fourth solution with three different Marys); and the third with a Protestant perspective (e.g., Mayor 1897: v–vlvii), although this is not always the case (cf. Lightfoot 1856: 256–91, who was an Epiphanian). In light of other references to Jesus' brothers, especially in the Greek-language environments of 1 Cor 9:5; Gal 1:19; Acts 1:14; and John 2:12; 7:2–8, and on biblical rather than problematic theological criteria, it is most plausible to see Joseph here as an actual brother of Jesus and the son of Mary by Joseph (e.g., Hill *Matthew* NCB, 222). Regardless of his familial relations, nothing more is known of this Joseph than his possible citation in Matt 27:56 (#11 below).

11. The reported "brother" of James and son of a woman named Mary, one of the three women watching the crucifixion (Matt 27:56). There is much variance in the Greek mss. Some mss read *Iōsēph* while others read *Iōsē;* and there are slight variations in syntax, including a reading which adds another Mary. At Mark 15:40 and 47 there are variants for Gk *Iōsētos* and *Iōsē,* and a few for *Iōsēph* (cf. Mark 6:3 in #10 above). Whereas most scholars are agreed that Mark 15:40 and 47 refer to another Mary (probably the wife of Clopas) and her son, on the basis of citation of James as "the younger" and the unclear means of reference concerning whether it is Mary the mother of Jesus (contra Gundry 1982: 579), the major question is whether the Joseph of Matt 27:56 is the same Joseph as the one in Matt 13:55. Some believe that Matt 27:56 refers to an undetermined Mary with two otherwise unknown children (Hill, 356); others assert that this Mary is the "other Mary" of Matt 27:61 and 28:1 (Schnackenburg 1987: 282); others equate this Mary with Mary the wife of Clopas in John 19:25 (McNeile 1915: 425; Brown 1978: 69); and still others believe that this Mary, James, and Joseph are the same as in Matt 13:55 (McHugh 1975: 241), although it does not necessarily follow that Joseph is a son of Mary the mother of Jesus. Regardless of his familial relations, nothing more is known of this Joseph than his possible citation in Matt 13:55 (#10 above).

12. The father of Jannai and son of Mattathias according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:24). This Joseph is omitted by D, which substitutes a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. This Joseph falls within a list of 17 ancestors of Jesus who are otherwise unknown in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 500), except for Luke 3:30 and reference to Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus. Kuhn (1923: 208–9) believes that the two Josephs of Luke 3:24 and 30 were originally identical, both derived from a common list that subsequently formed the basis for two parallel lists in

Luke's genealogy: 3:26–29, Jesus to Mattathias; and 3:29–31, Joshua/Jesus to Mattatha; the first perhaps reflecting a Hebrew context and the second, in an Aramaic context, tracing Mary's line of descent (since it does not mention Joseph as Jesus' father). This proposal has not proved convincing to most scholars.

13. The father of Judah and son of Jonam according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:30). This Joseph is omitted by D, which substitutes a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. This Joseph falls within a list of 18 ancestors of Jesus who are otherwise unknown in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy (Fitzmyer, 501), except for Luke 3:24 and reference to Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus. Although Jeremias (1969: 296) believes that it is anachronistic for Luke to include this name here, since it first appears as a personal name in the postexilic period (e.g., Ezra 10:42; Neh 12:14; 1 Chr 25:2, 9), caution must be exercised in light of the limited nature of the available evidence and the possibility that 1 Chronicles is historically reliable at this point. See above (#12) on Kuhn's proposal.

14. See JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA.

15. The unsuccessful of two followers of Jesus, the other being Matthias, from whom the replacement apostle for Judas was chosen, also called Barsabbas and surnamed Justus (Acts 1:23). This Joseph is distinguished from others named Joseph by his patronymic in Aramaic meaning either "son of the Sabbath" or "son of the elder" (D pc read Gk *Barnaban,* obviously confused with Joseph called Barnabas in Acts 4:36; see #16 below). Following the custom of many Jews of the time, he also had a Latin name, Justus, resembling his Jewish name (cf. Matt 16:17; Acts 13:9; 17:5), probably used in his dealings with gentiles. This Joseph is not the Judas Barsabbas of Acts 15:22. Nothing further is known of him, except that Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.9–10) records a legend of Papias from the daughters of Philip that Joseph "drank poison but by the Lord's grace suffered no harm."

16. A Levite from Cyprus and member of the Church of Acts who sold a field and brought the proceeds to the apostles; also known as Barnabas, which is said to mean "son of encouragement" (Acts 4:36). Greek *Iōsēs* is read in C Majority and syr$^{h}$, but Gk *Iōsēph* is clearly the correct reading. There have been various explanations of how "son of encouragement" is derived from Barnabas (see Brock 1974). This significant individual in the history of the Church (not to be confused with Joseph Barsabbas in Acts 1:23; see #15 above) is known by the name Barnabas elsewhere in the NT. See also BARNABAS.

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**JOSEPH AND ASENETH.** An apocryphal Jewish romance which recounts the conversion of the gentile Aseneth to the God of Israel, her marriage to the patriarch Joseph, and the conflicts surrounding that conversion and marriage. The story is a midrashic elaboration of Gen 41:45, 50–52; and 46:20, which briefly mention Joseph's marriage to Asenath (LXX Aseneth), daughter of Potiphera (LXX Pentephres), priest of On (Heliopolis).

After much neglect by biblical scholars because of the 5th-century date and the Christian character assigned to the apocryphon in several early publications (Batiffol 1889–90: 7–18, 30–37), *Joseph and Aseneth* is now recognized to be a Jewish composition from around the turn of the eras (Burchard 1965: 99–106, 143–51). For this reason it is often included in the OT Pseudepigrapha and is considered significant for the study of early Judaism and Christian origins.

**A. Contents**

The story falls into two parts. The first, chaps. 1–21, begins with Aseneth, the exceptionally beautiful virgin daughter of Pentephres, priest of Heliopolis and chief nobleman of pharaoh, voluntarily secluded in her ornate quarters in order to avoid the many suitors who seek her hand in marriage. When Joseph, who is touring Egypt to gather grain, announces plans to dine in the house of Pentephres, Aseneth arrogantly refuses her father's suggestion that she be given to Joseph in marriage. When Joseph arrives, she is so impressed with his beauty that she changes her mind and falls madly in love with him. However, Joseph spurns her because, in his words:

> It is not proper for a man who worships God, who blesses with his mouth the living God and eats blessed bread of life and drinks a blessed cup of immortality and is anointed with blessed ointment of incorruption, to kiss a strange woman, who blesses with her mouth dead and dumb idols and eats from their table bread of strangling and drinks from their libation a cup of deceit and is anointed with ointment of destruction. (8:5)

After praying for Aseneth's conversion, Joseph leaves, promising to return in a week. In the meantime Aseneth repudiates her idols and penitently turns to the God of Israel. She is then visited by a "man from heaven," who announces the heavenly acknowledgment of her conversion and describes the blessings that now accrue to her. Foremost among these are life and immortality, in which Aseneth participates symbolically by eating a mysterious honeycomb, which is said to be the same immortal food as that eaten by the angels in paradise. When Joseph returns, he greets and kisses the gloriously transfigured Aseneth. The couple is married by pharaoh amid elaborate festivities, and from their union are born Manasseh and Ephraim.

In the second part of the story, chaps. 22–29, pharaoh's son becomes jealous of Joseph and enlists the aid of Joseph's brothers, Dan, Gad, Naphtali, and Asher, to murder Joseph and abduct Aseneth. The plot fails because of timely divine intervention and the efforts of some of Joseph's other brothers, especially Simeon, Levi, and Benjamin. Pharaoh's son is mortally wounded during the conflict; and when the grief-stricken pharaoh also dies, Joseph becomes king of Egypt.

**B. Text**

*Joseph and Aseneth* is extant in 16 Greek manuscripts and numerous versional witnesses. Of the two principal forms of the story, one about two-thirds as long as the other, the longer form lies closer to the original in the judgment of most specialists (Burchard 1970: 3–34), although a number of modern studies and translations have been based on the short recension (Philonenko 1968: 125–226) because of the lack of a critical edition of the long text.

**C. Original Language**

*Joseph and Aseneth* was almost certainly composed in Greek. Semitisms abound, but these reflect strong Septuagintal influence and are no more than should be expected from Greek-speaking Hellenistic Judaism. The significance of the word play on the name Aseneth in 15:7 is not apparent in Greek, but attempts to explain this word play in Hebrew and Aramaic are themselves problematic and would not in any case prove the existence of a Semitic original. Frequently used words which have no Semitic equivalents, such as *athanasia,* "immortality" and *aphtharsia,* "incorruption" are among the compelling evidences for a Gk original.

**D. Religious Character**

The once-predominant view that *Joseph and Aseneth* is a Christian composition has given way to the consensus that the work is Jewish. Although some scholars maintain that there are a few Christian interpolations (Holtz 1968: 482–97), the work is devoid of any distinctively Christian traits while being replete with elements which have strong affinities in Hellenistic Judaism.

In spite of the consensus that *Joseph and Aseneth* is Jewish, attempts to relate the Judaism reflected in the work to one of the known Jewish groups of the time have been unsuccessful. Alleged points of contact with the Essenes, Therapeutae, Merkabah mystics, and gnostic groups are overshadowed by more fundamental differences. Similarly, the superficial parallels which some have noted between Aseneth's

conversion and mystery initiation do not justify the claim that the Judaism represented in the work was shaped appreciably by the mystery religions.

The type of Judaism represented in *Joseph and Aseneth* existed in dynamic tension with gentiles and struggled to maintain a distinctive Jewish identity. Table fellowship and intermarriage with gentiles, including the marriage of a convert and a born Jew, were live issues. Conversion to Judaism carried the possibility of ostracism from former gentile family and associates. The story seems also to reflect considerable discord within the Jewish community centering on the perception of the convert. Since it is these sociological dimensions of conversion to Judaism that are central and determinative in shaping the narrative, it is more difficult than many have supposed to extrapolate the ritual formalities and theological understanding of conversion for purposes of history-of-religions comparisons (Chesnutt 1988: 21–48). The curious juxtaposition of blatant syncretism with an explicit concern to resist assimilation compounds the problem of characterizing the Judaism reflected in *Joseph and Aseneth*.

**E. Provenance**

The apocryphon seems to have been composed in Egypt. The pervasive tension between Jews and Egyptians and between the God of Israel and the Egyptian gods is developed in such a way as to suggest that the Egyptian setting of the story was dictated not merely by the biblical framework, but also by the milieu in which the author and his community actually lived. In addition, Egyptian elements are discernible in various individual motifs. For example, contemporaneous perceptions of the Egyptian goddess Neith seem to have influenced the portrayal of Aseneth at some points.

**F. Date**

The extensive dependence of *Joseph and Aseneth* on the various parts of the LXX (Delling 1978: 29–56) indicates a date of composition no earlier than ca. 100 B.C. Since the story reflects a time when there was concern about and a realistic possibility of gentile conversions to Judaism, it must have been written before the measures against Judaism which Hadrian imposed at the time of the Second Revolt in A.D. 132–35. If an Egyptian provenance is assumed, *Joseph and Aseneth* must have been written prior to the period A.D. 115–17, during which the Jewish pogrom under Trajan resulted in the virtual annihilation of Egyptian Jewry. A more specific date within these broad limits is difficult to determine, but the conciliatory attitude toward gentiles fits better before than after A.D. 70, and in Egypt such an outlook fits better before than after the pogrom against Alexandrian Jews in A.D. 38. The absence of reference to the Romans and the depiction of Egypt as an independent country with rulers favorably disposed toward Jews may reflect the Ptolemaic period in Egypt before the Roman takeover in 30 B.C., but this is by no means certain.

**G. Readership and Purpose**

Although some have understood *Joseph and Aseneth* as missionary propaganda designed to win gentiles to the Jewish faith, the author's assumption that his readers are familiar with the patriarchal narratives and can understand other allusions to Scripture makes it more likely that he envisioned a readership primarily Jewish or at least of those who already stood very close to Judaism. Moreover, his repeated use of the formula "it is not proper for a man (woman) who worships God to …" (8:5, 7; 21:1; 23:9, 12; 29:3) and his other ways of defining the conduct befitting "those who worship God" (23:10; 28:5, 7) are clearly directed inward, to Jews, and not outward.

Not even the polemic against idolatry indicates that the work was written for gentiles. Jews themselves needed to be reminded of their distinctiveness vis à vis gentiles and of the danger of assimilation to gentile religion and culture. Moreover, Jews who were less than accommodating toward gentile converts and who doubted the propriety of marriage to converts needed reassurance that true conversion entailed the utter repudiation of idols and therefore that marriage to a convert was no concession to idolatry. Such intramural concerns seem best to account for the detailed narrative of Aseneth's renunciation of idolatry and everything associated with it. There is no indication that this critique of idolatry is calculated to attract outsiders.

The exalted estimation of the convert in *Joseph and Aseneth* suggests that one of the primary purposes of the work was to enhance the status of converts within the Jewish community (Chesnutt 1988: 37–43).

Through the story the author shows that converts to Judaism are beneficiaries of all the blessings and privileges of the people of God and that as such they are to be received fully into the community of Israel and are suitable mates for Jews. The author even has God's own chief angel appear in the story to provide heavenly endorsement of the conversion and marriage of the prototypical proselyte.

At the same time the author is obviously concerned to extol Jewish life and religion and to warn against exogamy and idolatry, perhaps in order to show that the openness to gentile converts is no concession to pagan idolatry and its corrupting effect and no threat to a distinctive Jewish self-identity. Since Aseneth was unacceptable as a wife for Joseph until she renounced her idols, her story entails no concession to idolatry. Similarly, opposition to exogamy is not abandoned but confirmed in the story; Aseneth could marry a "son of God" only because she had become a "daughter of the Most High" (6:3, 5; 18:11; 21:4). Neither does full acceptance of the convert entail any diminution of the blessed status enjoyed by Jews as the people of God; these blessings are in fact affirmed and articulated at great length in *Joseph and Aseneth,* but with the emphasis that the Jew by conversion participates in them every bit as fully as the Jew by birth. Membership in the people of God according to this apocryphon is not even determined by ethnic descent but by acknowledgment of the true God and is characterized by "proper" conduct. Thus the true convert is on equal footing with the Jew by birth, and the latter must avoid the contamination of idols and engage in "proper" conduct in order to retain God's favor. "Proper" conduct is defined to include not only the avoidance of gentile impurity but also the treatment of both Jews and gentiles with magnanimity and respect in situations of conflict (8:5; 21:1; 23:9, 12; 29:3; see also 28:5, 14).

**H. Special Problems**

Among the most interesting and problematic features of *Joseph and Aseneth* are the formulaic references to the bread of life, cup of immortality, and ointment of incorruption (8:5–7, 9; 15:5; 16:16; 19:5; 21:21). These have most commonly been supposed to reflect some sort of sacred meal, perhaps related to the sacred meals attested in other ancient sources. A minority view is that the reference is not to a ritual meal at all but to the everyday Jewish meal, which itself had a solemn religious character, or to the entire Jewish way of life. Aseneth never actually receives any bread, cup, or ointment anywhere in the narrative; instead, she eats a piece of honeycomb and is then said to have eaten bread of life, drunk a cup of immortality, and been anointed with ointment of incorruption. The honeycomb probably represents manna; in any case both the honeycomb and the triadic formula with which it is equated symbolize the access to life which is the unique privilege of those who worship the God of Israel.

The triad of bread, cup, and ointment is reminiscent of the biblical formula "grain, wine, and oil" and, like that formula, summarizes the staples of Jewish life. Moreover, food, drink, and oil are precisely those items regarded in Jewish tradition as most susceptible to impurity by association with idolatry. Therefore whether the triadic formula in *Joseph and Aseneth* echoes some special Jewish ritual which is set over against pagan rites or simply originated in the peculiarly Jewish use of the staple commodities of life in contrast to the defiling food, drink, and oil of the gentile world, it certainly functions as a representative expression for Jewish life in a gentile environment.

The episode involving the bees in 16:17–23 is notoriously enigmatic. The incident serves to accentuate the importance of the honeycomb as a symbol of life and immortality, and the miraculous appearance and disappearance of the comb and the bees at the command of the man from heaven function to confirm the veracity of this heavenly visitor's pronouncements to Aseneth, but the symbolism in the description of the bees and their strange behavior has defied explanation.

Investigation into the history-of-religions affinities of this apocryphon and its significance for the study of Christian origins continues. Expressions such as "son of God,""bread of life" (cf. John 6), and "cup of blessing" (cf. 1 Cor 10:16); theological ideas such as the conceptions of God, sin, repentance, and salvation; images of conversion such as new creation and emergence from death to life; and liturgical and paraenetic patterns such as the prayers and the "then-now" paradigm illustrate the significance of *Joseph and Aseneth* for the study of the NT and Christian origins.

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**JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA.** A reportedly good, righteous, and rich member of the Sanhedrin, who was expecting the kingdom of God and had become a follower of Jesus and who received from Pilate the body of Jesus for burial in his own tomb (Mark 15:43, 45; Matt 27:57, 59; Luke 23:50–51; John 19:38).

Two issues arise when discussing Joseph of Arimathea. First is the location of Arimathea. New Testament Arimathea is probably to be identified with the Judean city W of the hill country of Ephraim and NW of Jerusalem known in Hebrew as Ramah, Ramathaim-zophim, or Rathamin (see Rogerson NAB, 148; Fitzmyer *Luke 10–24* AB, 1526), although Eusebius places it near Lydda to the SW (*Onomast.* 144.28; cf. 1 Macc 11:34; Josephus *Ant* 13.127). This city, which played a part in the life of Samuel and his parents (1 Sam 1:1, 19; 2:11; 7:17; 8:4), is specified as a "Jewish town" by Luke (23:50), possibly to help non-Jewish readers (Marshall *Luke* NIGTC, 880). The Greek text at Mark 15:43 and John 19:38 allows the interpretation that when Jesus' crucifixion took place, Joseph came directly "from Arimathea" to participate in the events surrounding it (if the prepositional phrase modifies the verb of motion) or, more likely, that he was originally from the city of Arimathea and presumably now living elsewhere, probably in Jerusalem (if the prepositional phrase modifies the name Joseph). The textual variant in Mark 15:43 and John 19:38, with the word *the* before the prepositional phrase *from Arimathea* (see *NovTG*[26]) argues for the latter interpretation.

The second and more important issue regarding Joseph of Arimathea is the motivation for his act of burial (see Broer 1972: 175–83, 190–98; esp. Brown 1988). Schreiber (1981) has recently focused upon the redactional differences among the gospel accounts with Mark emphasizing Joseph as the renowned leader of the Jews, Matthew as the disciple of Jesus, Luke as the Sanhedrin member, and John as a disciple fearful of the Jews. This description raises several crucial questions which must be decided before Joseph's motivation can be determined. First, there is the question of whether Joseph was a member of his

local village council or whether he was a member of the Jerusalem Sanhedrin. According to Mark 15:43 he was a "respected" (see Swete 1898: 369 on *euskēmōn*) or possibly "rich" member of a council, and according to Luke 23:50 he was a good and just man. Although the term used for "council" in Mark 15:43 and Luke 23:50 was probably not a technical term at this stage in its usage (see Taylor 1959: 600; followed by Broer, 1972: 175–77, who states that even though Luke believes Joseph was a member of the Sanhedrin, Mark does not make this indication; cf. Lührmann *Markusevangelium* HNT, 267), four facts argue that he was a member of the Jerusalem council: (1) he appears to have been a wealthy landowner (Matt 27:57; Jeremias 1969: 96; some scholars think Matthew inserted this on the assumption that such an important figure would have to be wealthy; McNeile 1915: 426; cf. Barrick 1977); (2) he reportedly did not consent in the decisions or actions regarding Jesus (Luke 23:51; see Fitzmyer, 1526); (3) the word for council, used with reference to the Sanhedrin by Josephus (*JW* 2.405), is not modified to specify any other than the one in Jerusalem (see Marshall, 879); and (4) he is associated with Nicodemus, a member of the Jerusalem Sanhedrin (John 19:39; Brown *John 13–21* AB, 939).

The second factor is Joseph's relation to Jesus. Mark 15:43 and Luke 23:50 say that he was looking forward to the kingdom of God, which would not distinguish him from many other Jews of the time, especially the Pharisees. Matthew (27:57) goes further and specifies that he "was a follower" of Jesus (there is a textual variant here which does not affect this point), although possibly a secret one (see John 19:38, with the term *disciple*, although on the basis of textual variants regarding who came to take the body, Murphy-O'Connor [1974: 266–67] believes that Joseph is a later interpolation in the story; contra Brown *John 13–21* AB, 938; cf. Curtis 1972: 442–43). The facts that Joseph reportedly was involved in Jesus' burial, that Matthew does not limit discipleship exclusively to the Twelve, and that instruction of the disciple probably entailed acceptance of the coming kingdom give witness to his being more than a passive observer of Jesus (Wilkins 1988: 160–67; contra Bonnard *Matthieu* CNT, 408–9; cf. Brown [1988: 240–44], who believes that Joseph could have acted simply out of pious motives as a faithful member of the Sanhedrin).

A third factor is the prescriptions in Jewish law regarding the burial of bodies. According to Roman law execution signaled the sacrifice of all of the victim's earthly possessions and left the right of burial only to the good favor of the magistrate, although the body was often released to relatives. Jewish law on the contrary held that burial was a duty to be performed even for enemies (Jos. *JW* 3.361ff.), and according to Deut 21:23 and rabbinic law the body was not to hang on a cross after sundown (see Lane *Mark* NICNT, 577–78; Brown 1988: 234–38 for details). Joseph, as a leader of the Jews, and out of respect for Jewish law, especially in light of his apparent dissent from the voting for Jesus' execution (Luke 23:51), and possibly as a favor to Jesus' followers and as a friend of Pilate (*Gospel of Peter* 2.3), felt compelled to request from Pilate the right to bury him. But this motive faces the difficulty of why Joseph would have risked ceremonial uncleanness (*ISBE* 2: 1131; perhaps servants helped him; see Brown *John 13–21* AB, 940), to say nothing of his political and religious careers (John 19:38; cf. Mark 15:43, where Joseph "took courage" to go to Pilate), for such a criminal as Jesus. As depicted in the Gospels, Joseph at the least probably felt that Jesus' message of the coming of the kingdom warranted this one final act of devotion (Gould *Mark* ICC, 297–98), with Matthew seeing this as a further sign of Joseph's being a follower. The NT documents agree that Joseph, with help from others (though no family members), prepared and laid Jesus' body in a tomb and rolled a stone across the opening. John 19:41 states that the new tomb was in a garden near the place of crucifixion. The fact that the tomb was unused by members of his family may indicate that Joseph had recently come from Arimathea and possibly had made his fortune in Jerusalem, with his family tomb still in his village of origin, although the special circumstances of Jesus' death as a criminal may have required a special tomb (see Kee *IDB* 3: 980).

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**JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA, NARRATIVE BY.** See VIRGIN, ASSUMPTION OF THE; PILATE, ACTS OF.

**JOSEPH, HISTORY OF.** The document known as the *History of Joseph* is extant in six Greek papyrus fragments, three of which are housed in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Lindsay 1885: 304), two in the British Museum (Milne 1927: 187–90; Denis 1970: 235–36; Kenyon 1893: 225, 227), and one in the Louvre (Ricci 1902: 431). The Bodleian fragments appear to be written in the same 6th- or 7th-century hand as those of the British Museum and thus probably originated from the same manuscript. The single fragment which is preserved in the Louvre is written in a different hand and duplicates part of the text contained in the fragments belonging to the British Museum. The Louvre fragment therefore represents a second manuscript copy of the *History of Joseph.*

The extremely fragmentary nature of the text which has survived on papyrus allows very little to be known about the document itself. The title, *History of Joseph,* is artificial, having been arbitrarily assigned to this text by H. J. M. Milne, who edited the fragments belonging to the British Museum (Milne 1927: 187). This appellation is due to the repeated occurrence of the names of the Hebrew patriarch Joseph and his father, Jacob, within the legible lines of the papyrus fragments. Mention is made also of a pharaoh, and of Joseph's brothers Reuben and Simeon, and of ten brothers collectively. Apart from such proper names and titles, the fragments of the *History of Joseph* consist of disjointed letters, words, and phrases representing a minimum of continuous text.

More information concerning the nature of this document may be deduced, however, from a comparison of the extant text of the *History of Joseph* with the corresponding passages of the biblical book of Genesis. A number of apparent points of contact between these two texts suggest that the *History of Joseph* does generally follow the story line of the biblical account of the patriarch Joseph. Discernible among the surviving fragments of the *History of Joseph* are possible references to Joseph's appointment by pharaoh to a position of authority over Egypt and his handling of the available grain before and during the famine, the confrontation between Joseph as a ruler of Egypt and his ten brothers who had come to him from Canaan to buy grain, the discussion between the brothers while in prison acknowledging the consequences of their former mistreatment of their brother Joseph, the return of nine of the brothers to Canaan and their report to their father, Jacob, concerning what had transpired in Egypt, and Jacob's lamentation about losing his son Simeon as he had formerly lost Joseph (*OTP* 2: 467).

A more precise assessment of the relationship between the biblical text and the *History of Joseph* may be obtained by closer scrutiny of the lines of the recto of fragment 227 in the British Museum (*OTP* 2: 469–70). A single biblical verse (Gen 42:29) describing the return of Joseph's brothers to Canaan and their report to their father appears to be somewhat embellished in the *History of Joseph* by the inclusion of details of a dialogue between Jacob and his sons and the emotion expressed by the father after seeing only nine sons return without Simeon. Such liberal treatment of the biblical text by the author of this pseudepigraphon and the absence of verbal agreements with the text of Genesis would seem to characterize this document as a paraphrase of the biblical story of Joseph. This would allow the *History of Joseph* to be categorized tentatively as a midrashic expansion of at least part of the OT book of Genesis.

In spite of the extreme paucity of actual text which is available for study, certain elements can be identified in the *History of Joseph* which may provide clues as to the theological orientation of this document. One of the principal themes of the surviving parts of the *History of Joseph* seems to be a

tendency to elevate and thus exemplify the person of Joseph. This is demonstrated by several instances in the text where Joseph is referred to as "king of the people,""one who feeds the Egyptians," and "savior of Egypt" (*OTP* 2: 469). This observation is further supported by references to the God of Israel as the "God of Joseph," even within a context in which Joseph's father, the patriarch Jacob, is present.

Perhaps the single most distinctive characteristic of the extant text of the *History of Joseph* is the phrase "Joseph, remembering Jacob," which occurs partially at least 11 times among the surviving fragments of this document. Such an excessively high proportion of repetitions of a single phrase within so limited an amount of text indicates that this phrase must have been a central theme of at least the segment of text represented among the extant papyri of the present pseudepigraphon. It is perhaps significant that the two occurrences of the phrase "Joseph, remembering Jacob" on the recto of the Louvre fragment are immediately followed by a vacant space deliberately created by the scribe in the text of the papyrus; this could indicate a liturgical use for this document. It has been suggested that the emphasis apparently placed upon the remembrance of his father, Jacob, by Joseph might betray a Sitz im Leben in which oppression of the Jews would necessitate a stricter observance of their national and religious traditions (*OTP* 2: 469).

The parameters for dating the *History of Joseph* are established by the date of the papyri themselves and by certain affinities with earlier documents. On paleographic grounds the 6th- or 7th-century date of the papyri containing the *History of Joseph* defines the terminus ad quem for this document. Parallels with such early pseudepigrapha as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and *Joseph and Aseneth* raise the possibility that the *History of Joseph* may have originated at least several centuries earlier.

The *History of Joseph* shares its central theme of "Joseph, remembering Jacob" with the *Testament of Joseph* (3:3), where Joseph intimates that he was able to resist the advances of the Egyptian Potiphar's wife by remembering the words of his father, Jacob. The exaltation of Joseph, which was described above as one of the prominent themes of the *History of Joseph,* also appears to be one of the identifying characteristics of the pseudepigraphon *Joseph and Aseneth* (*OTP* 2: 469). Further indication of a possible connection between these two documents perhaps may be seen in *Joseph and Aseneth* (25:6), where Joseph is described as king, giver of food, and savior, roles which coincide with the three principal concepts of Joseph projected in the *History of Joseph.*

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**JOSEPH, HUSBAND OF MARY** (PERSON) [Gk *Iōsēph* (Ἰωσηφ)]. The supposed father of Jesus and husband of Mary the mother of Jesus (Luke 3:23; Matt 1:16).

There are several important issues to discuss regarding Joseph, the husband of Mary. First, Joseph is mentioned in Matthew, Luke, and John but does not appear in Mark, except indirectly at 6:3 in a few manuscripts (see *NovTG*[26]), which read "the son of the carpenter." Apart from John (1:45; 6:42), where Jesus is twice referred to as the "son of Joseph" (see Sproston 1985), Joseph is only mentioned in the birth and childhood stories about Jesus. Matthew gives the most detailed information, recounting that when Mary was betrothed to Joseph (1:18), she was found to be pregnant, and Joseph, being a "just man and unwilling to put her to shame," was going to divorce her (1:19), when an angel appeared and told him that the child was conceived of the Holy Spirit (1:20). When Joseph awoke, he took Mary as his wife (1:24). After the visit of the wise men, Joseph was again warned in a dream about a plot by Herod against his child and was commanded to take him to Egypt (2:13), where the parents and child remained until after Herod's death (2:19). Luke also mentions that Mary was betrothed to Joseph when she was told that she would conceive a son, recording that Joseph went up from Galilee with Mary to Bethlehem, "because he

was of the house and lineage of David" (2:4), during Quirinius' enrollment, where the family was later visited by shepherds after the birth of the child (2:16).

The limitation of the Joseph material to Matthew and Luke has led some scholars to speculate that Joseph, possibly significantly older than Mary at the time of their marriage, died sometime after Jesus' 12th year (Luke 2:41–50) and before the beginning of his ministry. This hypothesis gains strength from the fact that Mark, mentioning nothing of Jesus' life before his baptism, nowhere mentions Joseph. The apocryphal NT documents contain other Joseph traditions which are compatible with this scenario. For example, *Prot. Jas.* 9.2 says that Joseph was an old man who already had children; and the *History of Joseph the Carpenter* records in some detail that Joseph lived to be 111 years old, having married at 40, and having been married for 49 years, and producing six children before his first wife died. He then lived with Mary for two years before Jesus' birth and would have died during Jesus' twenties.

A second issue surrounds Joseph's origin. Matthew does not mention Joseph's hometown, but Luke states (2:4) that "Joseph also went up from Galilee, from the city of Nazareth, to Judea, to the city of David, which is called Bethlehem." Matthew only mentions that Jesus was born in Bethlehem but that when Joseph brought his family back from Egypt, he was afraid to return to Judea because of the reign of Archelaus; and having been warned in a dream, he went to Nazareth in Galilee. Whereas some scholars find a persistent tension in these accounts (e.g., Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 406), choosing instead to focus exclusively on the centrality of Bethlehem, they are not inherently incompatible. It is plausible that Joseph was originally from Bethlehem, but that something, possibly his business or a family migration years earlier, resulted in his or his family's residing in Nazareth for an extended period of time, before he returned to Bethlehem for the enrollment under Quirinius (cf. *IDB* 2: 979; *ISBE* 2: 1130).

A third issue is the character of Joseph and his response to learning that Mary was pregnant. Matt 1:19 describes Joseph as "being a just man and unwilling to put [Mary] to shame," when he learned of her pregnancy. Before using this verse to comment upon Joseph's character, it is important to mention the status of Mary and Joseph's relationship when Joseph learned of her pregnancy. Matt 1:18 says that "before they [Mary and Joseph] came together," Mary was found to be pregnant. Traditionally this verse has been interpreted as supporting the concept of the virgin birth, with the verb "come together" understood as referring to sexual intercourse. Some more recent commentators have suggested that the verb refers to living together, with no reference to sexual intercourse. The customs of betrothal in Palestine during this time probably entailed a legal arrangement whereby the intent of a complete marriage between two partners was arranged by the man and a representative of the woman. Whereas there is some evidence that sexual intercourse was involved in effecting the betrothal (much of the evidence appears to be later), usually this involved monetary payment, with the betrothed couple refraining from sexual intercourse until the formal marriage. There is a large quantity of evidence which shows that the virginity of the bride was to be desired. See VIRGIN. In any case if the woman was found to have had sexual intercourse with anyone other than her betrothed husband, a divorce or annulment could be effected if she was at fault. That Mary was a virgin during the time she was betrothed to Joseph is indicated by Matt 1:25, which says that Joseph did not know Mary until after the birth of Jesus (McHugh 1975: 157–63).

The cause of Joseph's wanting to divorce Mary secretly upon learning that she was pregnant has led to the following interpretations: Joseph suspected that Mary had been sexually unfaithful and possibly was preserving his own reputation; he was completely bewildered at this development because of her supposed virginity; he had a legal, if not moral, obligation to divorce a woman who was to bear the child of another man, though he desired to preserve her reputation; Joseph, being a compassionate man, desired to spare Mary shame; and a recently revived proposal that Joseph knew of the virgin conception and felt inadequate to be involved with such a marvelous act or to expose Mary to possible ridicule (McHugh 1975: 164–72; Bulbeck 1948; cf. Cantwell 1982: 305–12). Before any of these solutions can be adopted, it is necessary to understand what it means that Joseph was "just" in light of his not being willing to expose Mary publicly. Some of the views are that Joseph was discreet in not wanting to expose her publicly (Spicq 1964: 207); that Joseph was kind or merciful and therefore unwilling to expose Mary

publicly; that Joseph had respect or awe for God's plan and therefore was unwilling to expose her publicly; and that Joseph was obedient to the OT law but unwilling to expose her publicly (Brown 1977: 125–27). Although Brown argues for the fourth position, the linkage by "and" of the participle with "just" and the negated participle "not willing" makes a more likely understanding that Joseph, a man devoted to the righteous standards of the OT and thus within his rights to divorce Mary publicly, chose a less public or even more lenient divorce, rather than a public accusation, when it became obvious in her physical appearance that she was pregnant (see Carson 1984: 74–75, 81; following Hill 1964–65; cf. Brown 1977: 128; Tosato 1979; Gundry 1982: 21–22; Pesch 1967: 83). Joseph's high moral standards and his desire not to bring undue infamy on his betrothed, Mary, are in keeping with his character as elsewhere exemplified in the biblical account. He is recorded as taking Mary with him to Bethlehem for the enrollment even though women did not need to be present, as being responsive to the several dreams which informed him about the special nature of Mary's child, and as taking special care to preserve the child's life by fleeing to Egypt, besides fulfilling necessary purification rites after birth of the child. Brown (1977: 228–29) sees Matthew as rewriting "a pre-Matthean narrative associating the birth of Jesus, son of Joseph, with the patriarch Joseph and the birth of Moses," while Carson (1984: 90–91) suggests a parallel with Jacob's fleeing the famine in Canaan (Genesis 46). Joseph was apparently regarded by Mary as holding authority in her son's life when in speaking to Jesus she refers to Joseph as "your father" (Luke 2:48). Note however that Joseph is not called the "father" of Jesus in Matthew 2 (Machen 1930: 175–76), even though it is arguably true that Matthew's account of Jesus' infancy is presented from Joseph's perspective, as opposed to Mary's perspective in Luke (see Stendahl 1983: 57). Davies and Allison (*Matthew* ICC, 182; cf. Brown, 1977: 111–12) note that Joseph, Jesus' father, like OT Joseph had a father named Jacob, went to Egypt, had dreams about the future, was chaste, and was disinclined to shame others, thus pointing to the possibility of a Joseph typology in Luke 1–2.

The fourth issue concerns reference to Joseph in the genealogies of Matthew (1:16) and Luke (3:23). One of the first noticeable differences between the two is that in Matthew's genealogy Jacob is the father of Joseph, the husband of Mary, but in Luke's genealogy Joseph is the son of Heli. This issue is of less concern here than it is in relation to Heli, Matthat, and Matthan. See MATTHAT; GENEALOGY. Matthew's and Luke's genealogies follow the line of Joseph, who is apparently designated as Jesus' legal father and a descendant in the line of David (Luke 2:4; 3:23; see Cranfield 1988: 180; cf. Matt 1:1; Luke 1:27, where "of the house of David" refers to Joseph; the badly attested textual variant in Matt 1:16, which reads that "Joseph … was the father of Jesus," is undoubtedly to be rejected; see *TCGNT*, 2–7). More significant for discussion of Joseph is the parenthetical phrase in Luke 3:23, "as was supposed," with reference to Jesus being the son of Joseph (a textual variant places "son" after the phrase, but this does not affect interpretation). Some scholars have taken the article following Joseph, *tou*, as referring to "son," making the parenthetical comment read "of Joseph as was supposed" (Godet 1890: 143). This supposedly alleviates the problem with the variants in the genealogies, with Heli the father of Mary, but this understanding is to be rejected. First it is based on a change of punctuation added by later editors. Second it requires an unnatural relationship between *tou* and what is its normal appositional antecedent, the preceding name (see Machen 1930: 203–4; Marshall *Luke* NIGTC, 162). The best understanding is "being a son, as was supposed, of Joseph, the son of …" There are two major interpretations of the phrase. The first is that Luke was uncertain about the historical accuracy of the entire genealogy, or he realized that Jesus' descent had already become a matter of polemical dispute (Johnson 1969: 230–31). A second alternative, more likely in light of the statements mentioned above regarding Joseph's response to Mary's becoming pregnant, is that the gospel writer knew that in fact Joseph was not the physical father of Jesus and that the phrase was added possibly to avoid misunderstanding in relation to Luke 1–2 (Marshall, 162).

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**JOSEPH, PRAYER OF.** The pseudepigraphon known as the *Prayer of Joseph* has survived only in three fragments preserved in the writings of the Christian Father Origen and in references to Origen in Gregory, Basil, Eusebius, and Procopius. Fragment A, the largest of the three, is only nine sentences long and is quoted in Origen's *Commentary on John* 2.31 [25]. Fragment B, which is only one sentence, comes to us from Origen's *Philocalia* (23.15) compiled by Saints Gregory and Basil. It is also cited in Eusebius' *Preparation for the Gospel* 6.2 and in Procopius' *On Genesis.* Fragment C, also one sentence, similarly comes to us from Origen's *Philocalia* through Gregory and Basil. Thus only eleven sentences out of eleven hundred lines, the original length of the document according to Nicephorus, have survived. However, the Prayer is named in several of the ancient lists besides Nicephorus, such as the Sixty Books and the canon lists of Mechitar of Ayrivank and Pseudo-Athanasius. Clearly the Prayer had a wide circulation in antiquity.

With such a small sample of the text surviving, it is hazardous to conclude too much about the character of the original. Mutually exclusive hypotheses have been proposed on the questions of date, original language, and provenance. However, in recent scholarship a slight preference is perhaps discernible for the *Prayer of Joseph*'s being understood as a product of the 1st century C.E. originally written either in Aramaic or Greek by a Jewish author.

In fragment A Jacob describes events associated with his wrestling with the angel at Peniel (Genesis 32). Fragment B suggests that Jacob is addressing his account to Joseph; and this, of course, raises the possibility that the document properly belongs to the genre of testamentary literature. Jacob reveals that in a preexistence, before he entered into mortality, he was one of the chief angels of God, a ruling spirit, and that his name in this preexistent state was *Israel,* which he interprets as meaning "man seeing God." Jacob further explains that in his angelic preexistence he was "the archangel of the power of the Lord,""the chief captain among the sons of God," and the "firstborn of every living thing."

Jacob identifies the angel with whom he wrestled as Uriel and describes the contest in distinctly negative terms. Apparently Uriel, described here as the eighth in rank after Israel among the ruling angels of God, was attempting to establish preeminence over his superior by attacking him in his mortal condition. Jacob's victory seems based upon his knowing the name of his attacker and his own angel name and rank and his calling upon God "by the inextinguishable name," likely some esoteric name of Yahweh. The emphasis on the power of names, the preexistence of Jacob as the ruling angel Israel, and the identification of a hostile Uriel as the angelic antagonist of Genesis 32 are the remarkable theological features of the *Prayer of Joseph.*

In the second fragment Jacob seems to be addressing Joseph and perhaps also his grandsons Ephraim and Manasseh. He explains that he has "read in the tablets of heaven all that shall befall you and your sons." The heavenly tablets are known from *Jubilees* and the Enoch literature; the vision of the future and

its transmission by the seer to his posterity are commonplaces in the Pseudepigrapha and other literature of the period and are elsewhere attributed to Adam, Enoch, and Moses.

The third fragment reiterates the identity of Jacob as the preexistent angel Israel, "a chief captain of the power of the Lord." It further adds that Jacob was reminded of his preexistent identity by his encounter with the angel Uriel.

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**JOSEPH, SON OF JACOB.** The 11th son of the patriarch Jacob, and the principal character in the biblical narrative of Genesis 37–50.

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A. The Name
B. The Tribe
C. The Story
  1. Theme: Familial Strife
  2. Plot
  3. Theological Concerns
D. Sources
E. Genres
  1. Sitz im Leben
  2. Dating
F. Purpose of the Story

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**A. The Name**

The name itself derives from the Hebrew verb *ysp.* It maintains its verbal form with an appropriate meaning: "He adds." The popular etymology for the name in Gen 30:24 suggests that the divine name was the subject of the verb and that the meaning of the name is: "May the Lord add (to me another son)." Indeed, it is clear that names of this type commonly employed an additional element, the name of the deity who would underwrite the power of the name given to a human. From extrabiblical sources, for example, the name "Jacob-El" illustrates the form. That combination is implied by the explanation of the name Joseph. But this hypothetical long form is not attested in the OT traditions about Joseph.

**B. The Tribe**

The OT tradition about Joseph does not include him in the list of Israel's patriarchs, instead listing these as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Exod 2:24; 3:6, 15; 4:5; etc.). Joseph belongs to the next generation, as one of the eponymic "fathers" of the twelve tribes of Israel (so, Josh 18:11; Judg 1:22; 2 Sam 19:21; 1 Kgs 11:28).

The tradition remembers that the tribe of Joseph was divided, perhaps at the time in the history of the tradition when Levi ceased functioning as a secular tribe: the subdivision of Joseph yielded two tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh, incidentally preserving the number twelve, a structural constant in the political organization. This division appears in the narrative concerning the Joseph tradition in Gen 48:1–12 and in the report of the patriarchal blessing in vv 13–20. The same tradition is reflected in Josh 14:4; 16:4; 17:17, and in the Blessing of Moses in Deuteronomy 33. In Deut 33:13–17 Moses blesses the tribe of Joseph. But the final line, v 17b, recognizes the split in the structure of the Joseph tribe between Ephraim and Manasseh. Moreover, the Joseph unit becomes a symbol for the N kingdom, the nation of Israel, in contrast to the S kingdom, the nation of Judah (Ezek 5:6; 37:19; Obad 18; Zech 10:6).

**C. The Story**

For the OT tradition it is important to note not only that Joseph is the son of Jacob, one of a group of brothers who give their names to the twelve-tribe union that comprises Israel, but also that Joseph is the son of Rachel, the favorite wife of Jacob. The birth story sets the Joseph tradition into the form of a popular tale. Rachel, the favorite wife, had been barren. Leah, the sister of Rachel and the second wife of Jacob, had given birth to Reuben and Simeon. Rachel had adopted the son of her servant, Bilhah, and named him Naphtali. But only after the competition had taken Leah through six sons did Rachel finally break free from her barren status. The text makes the event explicitly an act of intervention from God: "God remembered Rachel … and opened her womb." Thus, just as in the Abraham saga, where Sarah had been barren and in competition with Hagar, so in the Jacob saga, Rachel, who once was barren, gives birth to a son in the midst of family competition, indeed, family strife. That son is Joseph.

**1. Theme: Familial Strife.** Moreover, the birth story for Joseph has as its context other traditions surrounding strife in the family. The strife theme belongs to the complex of narrative motifs developed throughout the range of the Abraham saga and the Jacob saga. Indeed, the position of the death report for Jacob in Genesis 49 suggests that the Joseph tradition has been bound into the structure of the Jacob saga. From its larger context the Joseph story inherits a milieu of strife.

The position of the Joseph death report in Gen 50:22–26, an element which forms a counterpoint to the Joseph birth story, suggests that the patterns of a Joseph saga can still be seen in the Genesis narrative. Moreover, immediately preceding the Joseph death report, a recapitulation of motifs from earlier stages of the Joseph narrative suggests that at Joseph's death, the family so marked by strife has still found no reconciliation. In this small segment of narrative, the brothers approach Joseph, who holds the power of life and death over them, and weave a tale about Jacob's last wishes for reconciliation between the brothers and Joseph. Joseph responds favorably and grants his forgiveness to his brothers and, through that act, makes his contribution to reconciliation for the family. But the storyteller suggests by the particular construction of the scene that the reconciliation achieved is in fact a sham. The brothers' story about Jacob's last wish has no parallel in the preceding narratives. The brothers apparently intended to deceive Joseph in order to gain asylum. And with that act of deception, the story of a broken and suspicious family comes to an end.

**2. Plot.** A carefully constructed narrative about Joseph appears in the middle of the larger saga about Jacob with its emphasis on strife that breaks a family apart. This narrative about Joseph stands within the limits of the hypothetical Joseph saga, which is framed by a birth report and a death report. This narrative is different from the surrounding stories about Jacob and his family. It is not a collection of individual tales constructed into a family saga. It is a unit from the first scene to the last. It begins in 37:1 with a notation that "Jacob dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings, in the land of Canaan." And it ends in 47:27 with an exact parallel to its beginnings, the only two changes reflecting the consequence of the long, connected story: "Israel dwelt in the land of Egypt, in the land of Goshen."

The structure of the story framed by these two parallel sentences reveals a clearly constructed plot: (1) exposition (Gen 37:1–4); (2) complication (Gen 37:5–36); (3) digression (Genesis 39–41); (4) complication (Genesis 42–44); (5) denouement (Genesis 45); and (6) conclusion (Gen 46:1–47:27). Moreover, the unifying theme for the development of this plot is the same as the one that dominates the Abraham saga and the Jacob saga: strife in the family. Some indication of a critical role for the promise theme in the patriarchal traditions appears here. For example, in Joseph's speech, 45:4b–13, Joseph avers that "God sent me before you to preserve life … God sent me before you to preserve for you a remnant on earth and to keep alive for you many survivors. So it was not you who sent me here, but God …" The many survivors fulfill the promise for great posterity, the promise that descendants would become a great nation. But the dominant theme in the Joseph story is strife in a family, broken family structures, and eventually, reconciliation that restores the family to a position of unity. The nature of that reconciliation is a key for the Joseph traditions in the Pentateuch, indeed, for the theological structure of the Pentateuch itself.

In the middle of the rather tight structure for the Joseph story, Genesis 39–41 represents a discrete, perhaps originally independent story about Joseph. The story has been used by the author of the larger

narrative about Joseph. But in the present position as digression in the movement of narrative about Joseph and his brothers, this unit reveals its character as a story within a story, a story with its own independent structure, genre, and intention. The structure of the independent story comprises three distinct scenes, each designed to depict Joseph as the ideal administrator. The first scene, chap. 39, sets Joseph in Potiphar's house. Finding favor in Potiphar's sight because of his skill as administrator in the house, Joseph rises to the position of overseer in the house. When Potiphar's wife attempts to seduce him, he refuses, not only because to submit would be a "sin against God," but also because it would violate the responsibility he carried as administrator of Potiphar's house. His refusal brought false accusation from the woman and prison from Potiphar, but clearly that fate occurs with Joseph's integrity intact. In prison he rises to a position of trust in the eyes of the captain of the guard, receiving responsibility for two of the pharaoh's servants jailed when they had fallen from the pharaoh's favor. The servants dream prophetic dreams, report them to Joseph, and despite the negative meaning of one, receive interpretations from Joseph. Forgotten by the fortunate servant restored to the pharaoh's favor, Joseph waits in prison until the pharaoh dreams a dream. When none of the pharaoh's professional wise men could interpret it, the servant from the prison recalls Joseph's abilities and recommends him to the pharaoh. Called to the royal chambers, Joseph interprets the royal dream. The pharaoh heeds Joseph's suggestion to appoint a steward for the grain collected during the years of plenty. That steward should be wise and perceptive (the virtues characteristic for an administrator of skill); and since Joseph meets those virtues, he is appointed to the post.

As a complete story, this depiction of Joseph shows a pattern of virtue for all administrators to imitate. But in the larger Joseph story, the digression serves the narrative function of transition. It transports Joseph, the brash but abused brother in Jacob's family, from his position in Canaan to his position in Egypt, where, in his new position of power, he may in turn choose to be brash and abusive.

The second complication in the structure of the Joseph story reverses the role of the principals as they appeared in the first complication. In the first complication Joseph is brash but at the mercy of his brothers. Indeed, the brothers manufacture a story to deceive the old father and set the stage for the broken family. In the second complication Joseph is still brash. But in this case, the unsuspecting brothers are at the mercy of the strange Egyptian who controls the food reserves. Joseph toys with them before he breaks the tension of the scene. First, he accuses them of spying. In order to prove their innocence, the brothers must return to their homes in order to bring the youngest son of Jacob and Rachel to the mysterious vizier. But in the process, they must leave a brother in Egypt, in prison, to await their return with proof of their true identity.

The brothers delay their return to Egypt, however, until the food bought in their first trip had been consumed. The reason for the delay rests with the father's reluctance to send the youngest son of Rachel to such an uncertain fate. But in addition, the narrator heightens the sense of fate hanging over the brothers: when they had arrived at a resting-place on the journey to their homes after the first trip to Egypt, they discovered their money hidden in the sacks of grain. Without their knowledge Joseph had ordered the money be hidden in their sacks, but the discovery brought no joy. It does not disclose an act of reconciliation offered by Joseph to his brothers. It brought fear. "At this their hearts failed them … 'What is this that God has done to us?' " With fate so mysterious, the brothers leave a brother in prison. When necessity finally weighed more heavily than their reluctance to return, they petitioned their father for permission to take Benjamin, the youngest son of Rachel, and return for a new round of provisions. With great fear and only after the strongest possible guarantee from Judah, Jacob agreed. And the brothers set out for Egypt again. In Egypt they gain an audience with the mysterious vizier, only to learn that no charge of theft lies against them. Their anxiety had had no ground in reality. They introduce their younger brother, arrange for the grain, and set out with all of the brothers in the company. All appears to be in order.

At this point Joseph springs the final trap. A servant overtakes the brothers' caravan and accuses them of stealing the divining cup of the Egyptian. Protesting their innocence, the brothers submit to a search with a vow that any guilty brother found with the cup would die and the others would become slaves to

the mysterious vizier. The storyteller's skill holds the audience in suspense while he depicts the Egyptian searching each bag from the oldest brother to the youngest. (A similar technique for maintaining suspense appears in Genesis 31.) And again, the storyteller (or Joseph) springs his trap. The object of the search had been hidden in Benjamin's bag. Benjamin would have to die, and the other brothers would become slaves. In that dire crisis the brothers return to Egypt in order to appear before the Egyptian.

The tension in the scene builds to a climax as the brothers present themselves to the Egyptian. The brothers expect to hear the judgment pronounced against them in accord with the oath. But in that setting, Judah offers himself in the place of the younger brother (cf. Moses in Exod 32:32). At the highest point of tension, Joseph breaks the charade and identifies himself as Joseph to his brothers (45:1–3). The revelation might have been depicted as good news. The brothers might assume that now they would be free of the judgment against them. But the storyteller controls the scene by observing that the brothers were dismayed when they learned Joseph's identity. Joseph, even as brother, had the power of life and death over the guilty group. He could now openly seek his revenge. But the story moves in the opposite direction. Instead of death for the guilty brothers, Joseph "fell on his brother Benjamin's neck and wept (cf. Gen 33:4) … and he kissed all of his brothers and wept on them, and after that his brothers talked to him." The reconciliation among the brothers contrasts with the negative image in 37:4.

The conclusion carries the dramatic turning point in the story to a smooth ending. Joseph makes arrangements with his brothers for transporting the families still at home in Canaan, including the father, Jacob, to Egypt. The point is, of course, that in Egypt Jacob and the family (the children of Israel) would be under Joseph's protection. But against the backdrop of the larger narrative, the transportation of the family to Egypt represents the reconciliation of a family broken apart by the strife among the brothers.

**3. Theological Concerns.** The theological character of that reconciliation is important to note. (1) Joseph avers that his own move to Egypt was the result, not of the evil intended against him by the brothers, but of the good intended for him and for many survivors (the descendants of Jacob/Israel or perhaps all the families of the world who eat from the bounty stored by Joseph in Egypt) from the hand of God. (2) But the story is not primarily about God's intervention to save the day; it is also about Joseph's initiative, even in the face of hostility, to save the day for all the people of the world. It is also about Joseph's initiative to save the day for his brothers and his father. To be sure, he sports with them; there is no reconciliation in that. But finally, he welcomes his family to Egypt and shows them how to prepare for their future. The family disregarded a tragic past and committed themselves to one another in a common future. As a result, the reconciliation that appeared elusive for the patriarchal generation came to some fruition through Joseph. (3) Joseph's wisdom and perception influence not only the story within the story (Genesis 39–41), but also the entire structure of the narrative. Joseph's integrity as administrator facilitates reconciliation of the family.

**D. Sources**

The Joseph story has served OT scholars as a showcase for evidence that can be used to support identification of the classical pentateuchal sources. The Priestly source does not appear in the narrative to any significant extent. Indeed, even the few fragments defined by source critics as a part of P can be understood more adequately as intrinsic parts of the whole. Gen 37:1–2, for example, serves as a key in the parallel that marks the beginning and ending of the story and cannot be explained as an imitation of the Priestly formula about the generations of Israel.

The more important argument about sources in the Joseph story asserts that in the middle of the predominantly J narrative fragments of the E source appear and that this can be detected by the significant presence of repetitions and duplications of material. For example, the brothers of Joseph appear as the sons of Israel (J) or the sons of Jacob (E). A compassionate brother, at first Judah (J), then Reuben (E), defends Joseph against the plan to sell him to the Ishmaelites (J) or simply to let him fall into the hands of the Midianites (E). Joseph becomes the slave of an unnamed Egyptian whose wife attempts to seduce him (J) or the slave of Potiphar, the captain of the prison (E). Joseph becomes the administrator of the land of Egypt (J), but he has responsibility for the pharaoh's household (E). The sons of Israel (J) or of Jacob (E) come to Egypt. Joseph accuses them of seeking advantage in Egypt (J) or of being spies (E). On their

return they find their money hidden in their sacks of grain at an inn on the way to their home (J) and the rest of the money when they arrive at home (E). On the second journey they are invited to settle in Egypt by Joseph (E) and by the pharaoh (J).

Yet, more recent examination of the story softens the argument for two sources by suggesting that one author can use repetition as a narrative technique for emphasis, perhaps simply for variety. Perhaps two brothers could be depicted as compassionate by a single source. Perhaps the mysterious Egyptian could accuse the sons of Jacob of general exploration seeking advantage, then of a more specific act, spying for military advantage. The strongest argument for two sources in the Joseph story is the doublet represented by the reference in 37:25 to the Ishmaelites, then the reference in 37:27 to the Midianites. The doublet is compounded in 37:36 with a note that the Midianites sold Joseph in Egypt to Potiphar, while 39:1 notes that Potiphar had bought Joseph from the Ishmaelites. This apparent doublet disappears, however, if one recognizes that the words "Midianite traders passed by" in 37:28 are a gloss. If these words were not in the text, then the brothers would be the subject of the verbs in v 28: "They drew Joseph up and lifted him out of the pit and sold him to the Ishmaelites for twenty shekels of silver and they (the Ishmaelites) took Joseph to Egypt." The gloss could have arisen to shield the other sons of Israel against the charge of selling a brother into slavery, a crime punishable by death (Deut 24:7). Moreover, to treat the reference to the Midianites in vv 28 and 36 as glosses removes the obvious contradiction in the story. Verse 28 reports that the Midianites sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites, while verse 36 reports that they sold him to Potiphar.

These observations support more recent analysis of the Joseph story that concludes that the story is fundamentally a unit, the work of one hand. It is easy to argue that that hand belongs to the Yahwist (J). The Joseph story fits appropriately in the larger structure of the Yahwist. The Yahwist has used the Joseph story to bridge the gap between patriarchs in Canaan and Israelites in Egypt. But there is no clear evidence that the author who constructed the lengthy narrative, the Joseph story, was the Yahwist. The appropriate conclusion seems to be that the Yahwist has used a carefully constructed, distinct story about Joseph as the structural bridge for the larger narrative about Israel's early history. While the Yahwist might have been the author, this conclusion cannot be firmly supported.

Questions about sources for the Joseph story must move the reader not only through observations about the classical sources for the Pentateuch as they might or might not appear in the Joseph story, but also through observations about other sources employed in the construction of the story. For example, the story within the story (Genesis 39–41) represents a distinct element in the structure of the Joseph story as it now appears. What can be said about the tradition preserved in that story? An Egyptian narrative, commonly called the "Tale of the Two Brothers," describes the events in the relationship of two brothers. The younger brother lived with his older brother and his wife. It was his duty to work in the older brother's fields; and in return the older brother provided food, shelter, and clothes for the younger brother. The younger brother was highly successful in his work, producing a good return from the cattle in his care. On one trip from the field to the older brother's house in order to obtain seed for planting, the younger brother encountered the seductive invitation of the elder brother's wife. The younger brother refused the invitation. But the woman manufactured false evidence and accused him of an attack. Her husband then created a plan to kill his younger brother. Saved by a message from a cow in his care, the younger brother fled. The story continues beyond its parallel with Joseph. But the pattern at the beginning of the tale suggests a plot in common with the account of Joseph in the house of Potiphar.

A second Egyptian story relevant for understanding the Joseph traditions is the "Tale of Sinuhe." This story enlarges the picture of relationships between Palestine and Egypt. Sinuhe, an Egyptian official who left his homeland in voluntary exile, met hospitality in the various stages of his journey. Indeed, the ideal relationships developed by the young man in foreign courts suggest that, like Joseph, Sinuhe served as a model for a courtier in a period of relative prosperity. And he carries that model back to his home and his own people.

It is possible that these Egyptian stories undergird the Joseph story, particularly the story within the story. This observation does not suggest that the author of the Joseph story has used the Egyptian parallels

in the same way that he used the story within the story to build his narrative; rather it suggests only that the narrative motifs were part of the culture that gave rise to the Joseph story.

The pattern of the Joseph story puts greater weight on the creativity of the author. To be sure, the author used traditions of storytelling such as the "Tale of the Two Brothers" in the construction of the Joseph story. And the traditions of the promise to the fathers or the strife within the family represent building blocks for the narrative. The Joseph story does reveal its position in the history of Israel's tradition and, indeed, in the tradition of storytelling in the ANE world. Yet, the significance of the Joseph story lies in its own unique construction with its own unique functions and intention.

**E. Genres**

The genre of the Joseph story supports this description of the constructional uniqueness in the structure of its narration. A consensus is that the Joseph story is a novella, a genre category that facilitates the original conceptions of an artist rather than the patterns of a traditional folk story handed down from one generation to the next. It may be the case that a tale lies behind this extended story of Joseph, a brief story that would have concentrated on the event that broke the unity of Jacob's family and then the event that would have brought them together again. A novella is a creative construction by the author, designed to meet the author's distinctive goals. The author presents not simply what happened long ago and far away, but rather what happened and continues to happen so that the traditions carried by the plot structure capture each new audience. Historical figures and events are caught up into an imaginative fabric produced by the creative activity of the author. Its concern is not to report historical events; it is to build a plot that will hold the audience through its development to a point of climax. And in its development, it reflects the process of life that can give identity to its audience. Indeed, the genre facilitates construction of the plot so that particular facets in the process of life can have an impact on the audience as forceful influences in that quest for identity.

The story within the story (chaps. 39–41) can be isolated from the longer novella and analyzed for itself. The patterns of three scenes in this story depict the ideal shape of the administrator in a household, in a prison, and finally in the royal court. As ideal administrator, the hero emerges as a figure whose virtues can be imitated by all subsequent administrators. Joseph sets the pace for all who exercise responsibility in the organization of a superior. As the ideal whose virtues can be imitated by future generations, this figure functions as the hero of a legend. The story about Joseph, who rises from rags to riches, is a legend designed to show courtiers what responsibility in their profession looks like. It should be clear that classification of this story, so similar to narratives from Egypt, does not define historicity in the Joseph story. The rise from rags to riches may be accurate history describing how one of Israel's ancestors in fact rose to power in Egypt. It may be a story of magnificent imagination, influenced by similar tales and legends from Egypt. To define the story as legend does not establish or deny historicity for the tradition that Joseph was an Egyptian vizier. It shows simply that the story depicts Joseph as the administrator whose virtues should be imitated by all subsequent administrators.

**1. Sitz im Leben.** The question about setting for these levels of tradition in the Joseph story is more difficult. The legend shows evidence of setting in the circles of ANE wisdom. The hero at the center of the legend depicts the virtues of *wisdom* and *perception,* virtues that enable any person to function as administrator in a royal court, a prison, a complex household (cf. 1 Kgs 3:3–15). That wisdom legend influences the larger novella. Yet, it does not necessitate the conclusion that the novella is also a wisdom story. The setting for the novella is a literary one, the productivity of the author who imposes his own mark onto the shape of the story. That the author knows the cultural constructions of Egypt reveals a cosmopolitan milieu. It might be reasonable to imagine that the author was at home in the enlightenment supported by the royal court, perhaps even the cultural activity of the Solomonic court. That the author had access to a wisdom legend suggests familiarity with wisdom resources. But with the same manner of caution that guards against identification of the author of the story as the Yahwist, so caution guards against ready identification of the setting for the story as a whole as wisdom. At most it can be said that it is a carefully constructed artwork from the hand of an author.

**2. Dating.** The question of the historical situation for the Joseph novella hides two questions: (1) when did the author of the novella compose the story? and (2) what is the period in which the Joseph story is set? If the Sitz im Leben defined above (the enlightenment of the royal court) has any merit, then the time for the construction of the novella might be set in the Solomonic court or some period shortly after that time when the patronage of the king could have supported such artistic composition. That time, roughly the 10th century B.C., would correspond to the period traditionally identified as the time for the origin of the Yahwist's production of the whole narrative tradition.

At least two important pieces of extrabiblical evidence have been appealed to in order to date the era in which the Joseph novella is set. A number of documents (most notably, the Amarna Letters) attest to the LB period. These were rootless people living on the fringe of society. It is possible that the OT term *Hebrew* is related to this widespread term. See HABIRU, HAPIRU. When Potiphar's wife accuses Joseph of an attack to her husband, she calls him a *Hebrew*, as if the term were derogatory. One might inquire whether the *habiru* might have been involved among the people noted by an Egyptian frontier official in a report about passage of people in and out of Egypt during periods of famine. Other documents attest to the invasions of the Hyksos, a Semitic people who usurped political control in Egypt during a period from 1700 to 1550 B.C. See HYKSOS. It is possible that these people were more favorable to people like Joseph and his family, and it is also possible that the reference to a pharaoh "who did not know Joseph" (Exod 1:8) recalls a period when the Hyksos leadership in Egypt was rejected in favor of a new dynasty of native Egyptian kings.

Yet, it is important to note that none of the documents from the 2d millennium mention Joseph and his brothers by name. The documents serve only to establish that the Joseph story builds its plot with careful attention to cultural detail from a particular period. The story employs historical verisimilitude effectively. But the effective description of a culture that did in fact exist does not establish the historicity of the events and personalities set out in the Joseph novella, nor does it deny it. The story has value *as a story,* not as an object that leads its audience behind the story to some other reality such as the factual, historical events involving Joseph, his brothers, and his father. The same point can be made about the definition of the genre for the story. To define the story as novella does not mean that the description of the events in the plot is simply fiction. Nothing in the designation of the genre denies the possibility that the plot structure reflects historical events. But the designation of the genre does not enable the critic to move behind the story to reconstruct the process of history.

**F. Purpose of the Story**

The Joseph novella has at least two significant intentions. (1) It intends to depict the ideal power figure. Joseph, the vizier of Egypt, uses his power not only to facilitate the reconciliation of his family and their security during devastating years of famine, but also to preserve people from all the neighboring world who come to him for food. He administers the grain reserves in Egypt without prejudice for one group of people or another. The twin virtues of wisdom and perception become the virtues that all persons in positions of power should have (1 Kgs 3:12; cf. also Ps 105:16–22). (2) The novella also bridges the OT traditions about the patriarchal fathers in Canaan (Genesis 11–38) and those about the Israelites in Egypt (Exodus). One should not conclude from this observation that the Joseph novella has no value in and of itself. Its value within its own construct comes to light particularly in the second stage of its account of movement from Canaan to Egypt. Reconciliation comes to a family torn apart by strife by moving beyond contention to consider prospects for the future. The death report about Joseph, with its bond concerning Joseph's bones as part of the move back to Canaan (cf. Exod 13:19; Josh 24:32), expands the Joseph tradition into the future stages of Israel's life on the land. At this point of transition, the Joseph story plays an essential role in the shape of Israel's traditions. The structure of the Pentateuch/Hexateuch shows a problem not only in the position of the Sinai traditions within the framework of the whole, but also in the relationship between the patriarchal theme and the Exodus theme. What kind of relationship did the patriarchal traditions, with their focus on strife/promise have with the Exodus tradition, with its focus on redemption from oppression? The Joseph novella answers the question. But the answer lies not simply in having Jacob in Canaan become Israel in Egypt. The promise theme from Gen 12:1–3 finds no explicit

point of contact here; implicitly it appears in the act of God through Joseph to save a remnant of Jacob's people. But promise language does not appear.

In place of the promise language, the content of the entire Joseph story revolves around the issue of strife that breaks a family apart. And as a story about strife, the Joseph novella fits the context in the patriarchal theme generally; and the Joseph novella in particular is focused upon that strife. How can a family torn apart by strife be reconciled? Or, more to the point of the theology reflected in Gen 12:1–3, how can a family broken apart by strife serve as a vehicle for God's blessing? The answer to the question posed for the entire patriarchal theme is that given by Joseph's leadership: the family turns from the strife in the past to a commitment to each other for a common future. That intimacy is secured in the symbol of the Joseph tradition with the oath to bury Joseph's bones with the family in Canaan. The familial intimacy lost in the Garden and in the struggles among people during the periods of the Flood and the Tower of Babel could be restored among the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob through their mutual commitment to a common future. Moreover, the power exercised by Joseph over the Egyptians but also over the family facilitates reconciliation. The Joseph story ends on a note of common hope, indeed, a note of union for the future.

Yet, the Joseph tradition does not end uniformly on a note of reconciliation. The death report for Jacob illustrates the continued break in the family and suggests that the final reconciliation in the people of God is projected beyond the patriarchal people to the next generation. The question posed (by the Yahwist?) in the Joseph narrative is thus: Will a reconciliation restore the intimacy of God's people in the next generation? That facet of manipulation, that ploy of deception, in contrast to the Joseph novella recalls the negative element in the patriarchal sagas and anticipates the negative element in the Moses saga. God acts for the sake of the people. But the people show tragically a negative, rebellious side. In what manner can reconciliation for these people ever occur? For further discussion, see commentaries on Genesis in AB, OTL, BKAT, IBC, and FOTL

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GEORGE W. COATS

**JOSEPHUS** (PERSON). A 1st-century Jewish politician, soldier, and historian, whose writings constitute important sources for our understanding of biblical history and of the political history of Roman Palestine in the 1st century C.E.

Josephus was born in 37 C.E. and was given the Hebrew name Joseph ben Mattathias. His mother was a descendant of the Hasmonean family that had ruled Jerusalem a century earlier, and by birthright he was a priest. In Jerusalem he received a superb education, and at the age of 27 (in 64 C.E.) he led a delegation to the court of the Roman emperor Nero. Two years later he was pressed to serve as the general of the Jewish forces in Galilee in the revolt against Rome. He was captured and afterwards became a Roman citizen and pensioner of the Flavian emperors Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. He is most widely known by the Roman name he then acquired, Flavius Josephus (or simply "Josephus").

In Rome Josephus resided in an apartment within the emperor's house and devoted much of his time to writing. In part his works were addressed to his fellow Jews, justifying to them not only Roman conduct during the Jewish War, but also his own personal conduct in switching loyalties. However, his writings were also designed to justify Jewish culture and religion to an interested and sometimes sympathetic Roman audience. The earliest of his extant writings is the *Bellum Judaicarum* (or *Jewish War*), which was apparently drafted initially in Aramaic and then translated into Greek 5 to 10 years after the 70 C.E. destruction of Jerusalem. His second work, *Antiquitates Judaicae* (or *Jewish Antiquities*), was published more than a decade later; it was much longer, and recounts Jewish history from creation to the Jewish War, and contains some valuable historical information. His last two works, probably published shortly

before his death, include the *Vita* (or *Life*), an autobiography intended primarily to defend his conduct during the Jewish War 30 years earlier, and *Contra Apionem* (or *Against Apion*), an apologetic defense of Judaism against a wave of anti-Semitism emanating from Alexandria. Josephus probably died ca. 100 C.E., several years after Trajan had become emperor in Rome. His writings, while generally ignored by fellow Jews, were preserved by Christians not only because they chronicled generally and so well the "time between the testaments," but also because they contained specific references to John the Baptist, Jesus of Nazareth, and Jesus' brother James.

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A. *Life*
B. Other Works
1. The Jewish War
2. *The Jewish Antiquities*
3. *Against Apion*
C. Josephus on Jewish Law
D. Language and Style of Josephus
E. Josephus' Influence
F. The Text of Josephus
G. Paraphrases and Translations
H. Scholarship on Josephus

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**A. *Life***

Josephus is the author of the first autobiography that has come down to us from antiquity, but this work *(Life*) is for the most part a defense of his mission as a general in Galilee and contains few other details about his life. Some scholars believe that the bulk of its content was actually written shortly after the war itself—prior to the publication of his *Jewish War* (ca. 75–79 C.E.)—but that it was revised, supplemented, and updated prior to its publication ca. 95 C.E. The only pagan writers who do refer to events in the life of Josephus—the 2d-century Suetonius (*Vespasian* 5.6) and Appian (fragment 17) and the 3d-century Dio Cassius (66.1)—mention only his prediction that the Flavian Vespasian would become emperor (though there are slight discrepancies in these accounts). Josephus is never mentioned in the Talmudic corpus, unless he is the anonymous philosopher in Rome whose aid was solicited by four rabbis intent on persuading Domitian to annul his earlier decision to exterminate the Jews of the Roman Empire (*Der. Er. Rab.* 5).

Josephus (*Life* 1 §5) indicates that he was born in the first year of the reign of Gaius Caligula (37 C.E.). He also says that he was descended on both his parents' sides from the first of the 24 courses of priests and, on his mother's side, from the royal Hasmoneans (*Life* 1 §2). Consequently, it has even been suggested that Josephus may have had ambitions to be not only high priest, but also king of Judea, though the fact that his opponents apparently never mentioned such ambitions militates against such a view.

The first event which Josephus mentions about his life occurred when, at the age of 14 (*Life* 2 §9), the chief priests and leaders of Jerusalem constantly came to him for information about the laws. The motif of the precocious youngster who amazes his teachers is, however, commonplace, being found also in the biographies of Moses, Homer, Aeschines, Alexander the Great, Apollonius of Rhodes, Augustus, Ovid, Nicolaus of Damascus, Apollonius of Tyana, and Jesus. Likewise, the statement (*Life* 2 §10–12) that Josephus spent time (from the ages of 16 to 19) with the various sects of Jews (Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes) in order to select the best is similar to the motif found in the lives of Nicolaus of Damascus, Apollonius of Tyana, Justin, and Galen. Josephus also says that he spent three years with an otherwise unknown hermit named Bannus, but there is a problem in the text, since Josephus says that he was 19 when he completed both his experimentation with the sects and his sojourn with Bannus. Josephus then decided to join the Pharisees, though one would have expected him to favor the Sadducees, who were more closely affiliated with the priests and were more conservative than the Pharisees. But apparently

Josephus realized that his ambitions would be better served by joining the Pharisees, since they were more popular with the masses (*Ant* 18.1.3 §15).

Josephus is silent about his activities between the ages of 19 and 26, but we may conjecture that it was particularly during these years that he made great progress in the study of Greek language and literature. In the year 64, when he was only 27, he was entrusted with the very delicate mission of securing the release of some priests who were imprisoned in Rome (*Life* 3 §13). Josephus' success was due to his resourcefulness in obtaining the help both of Aliturus, a Jewish actor in Nero's court, and of Nero's mistress, Poppaea Sabina, who was a "sympathizer" with Judaism (perhaps a so-called "semi-proselyte"). The fact that the emperor gave some gifts to Josephus (whereas we would have expected Josephus to send gifts to the emperor) could be explained most readily if we assume that Nero hoped thereby to persuade Josephus to use his influence to defuse the impending Jewish revolt against Rome. We do not know whether Josephus attempted such a mission, but in any case the revolt did break out two years later.

When the revolt did occur, the revolutionary council appointed Josephus to serve as general in Galilee, clearly the most important theater of the war since the Romans, who were based in Syria, were almost certain to strike there first in their march toward Jerusalem. It is remarkable that Josephus should have been chosen when he was a mere 29 years old and (as far as we know) without any military experience. Indeed, Josephus himself apparently has two contradictory accounts of this appointment. In the first (*JW* 2.20.3 §562–68), written apparently sometime between 75 and 79 (i.e., within a decade of the revolt), he indicates that he was named to conduct the war by the revolutionaries after they had won over to their side the moderates, whether by persuasion or by force. In the *Life* (4 §17), published approximately two decades later, Josephus declares that the coalition of Jewish leaders, who favored pacification, appointed him with the intention that he would try to induce the rebels to fight only in self-defense, whereas actually they hoped that the Roman general, Cestius Gallus, would prevail. Especially incriminating is Josephus' statement that he declined to give grain to the revolutionary leader John of Gischala since he intended to keep it either for his own use or *for the Romans* (*Life* 13 §72). If Josephus had really been sincere in opposing the Romans, we may suggest that he should have followed the model of the Maccabees in their war against the Syrian Greeks two centuries earlier and fought like a guerrilla. His decision instead to remain in Jotapata played to the Romans' strength, which was siege warfare. Moreover, if and when things seemed hopeless, he should have retreated toward Jerusalem and joined his forces with those defending that city, which was much better fortified than Jotapata.

The later account (in the *Life*) would appear to correct the earlier one (in *JW*); and Josephus could afford to tell the truth, since now he was famous and honored. In defecting to the Romans, he was merely following the wishes of the council which had appointed him. One possible way of reconciling the two versions is to say that initially Josephus sincerely attempted to fight against Rome, but that when he saw that it was hopeless, he went over to the Roman side. The fact that upon his surrender to the Romans at Jotapata he received a tract of land outside Jerusalem, some sacred books (presumably Torah scrolls), the liberation of some friends, Roman citizenship, lodging in the former palace of the Roman general Vespasian, and a pension would indicate that he had done something significant to ingratiate himself with the Romans. His prediction that Vespasian would become emperor has often been compared with that of Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai's prediction (*Giṭ.* 56a–b); however, the two should be differentiated, since Johanan asked and received nothing for himself. That two people independently might have made the same prediction does not seem implausible in view of the fact that Vespasian was clearly the most experienced Roman general of the time; indeed, Josephus (*JW* 6.5.4 §312), Suetonius (*Vespasian* 4), and Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.13) all indicate that there was a prediction in the air that someone from Judea would become ruler of the world at that time.

Moreover, it is hard to believe that it was by mere chance that Josephus and another of his men were the last two who survived the suicide pact at Jotapata; it seems more likely, as the Slavonic version of *JW* (3.8.7 §391) would have it, that Josephus had carefully manipulated the lots. His action is hardly excused by the fact that Josephus was not alone in siding with the Romans (the Jewish king Agrippa II also did so) or that he felt that he had to survive in order to write the history of the period and in order to defend the

Jews against anti-Semitic attacks. On the other hand, Josephus may have been sincerely convinced first, that the war was a terrible mistake, since an independent state was hardly a sine qua non for Judaism; second, that the Jews had been given considerable privileges by the Romans; and, third, that they were well on their way to converting the Empire to Judaism. If the revolutionary council had indeed been sincere in prosecuting the war, it should have made a greater effort to enlist the support of Jewish communities outside Palestine, especially in Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and Babylonia (each of which had an estimated million Jews). It should also have attempted to entice the Parthians, the traditional and often successful opponent of the Romans, to coordinate the attack and to induce various other discontented rebel tribes to coordinate their revolts. However, the fact that we do not have the accounts of Josephus and his opponents, such as Justus of Tiberias, means that we have a one-sided view; yet the fact that Josephus himself did not destroy his own self-incriminating record leads us to believe in its essential truthfulness. And even if we did have Justus' work, there is no guarantee that it would be more reliable than that of Josephus; after all, Justus could hardly have served for so many years as court secretary to Agrippa II, a puppet of the Romans, unless he, too, had been a lackey of the Romans. Indeed, Josephus and Justus seem to have been rivals precisely because they were so similar in their outlook.

**B. Other Works**

**1. *The Jewish War.*** In the introduction to his *Jewish War* (= *JW*), Josephus, following the example of his model, Thucydides, presents a raison d'être for his work by vehemently criticizing his predecessors (none of whom is extant) for their inaccuracies, their bloated rhetoric, and their prejudice. He declares that he composed his work originally in his ancestral language—presumably Aramaic (though some have suggested that it was in Hebrew)—to be sent to the barbarians of the upper country (Babylonia and Parthia) apparently as a warning for them not to repeat the mistake of clashing with the Roman Empire (*JW* 1. Proem 1 §3). Not a single fragment of this Aramaic/Hebrew version has come down to us, presumably because of the bitterness felt by the Jews toward Josephus, whom they regarded as a despicable traitor. But the very title of his work, "Concerning the Jewish War," betrays that it was written from the point of view of the Romans (cf. other Roman works such as "Concerning the Punic War" and "Concerning the Gallic War"). Josephus himself, with the help of assistants, then proceeded to translate it into Greek. This help must have been considerable since very few Aramaisms or Hebraisms remain in our Greek text (which is written in an excellent Greek style, far superior to that of *Ant*, which was completed more than a decade later).

The date of the composition of *JW* has usually been given as the end of Vespasian's reign or the beginning of Titus' reign (ca. 79), since it has a negative attitude toward Alienus Caecina, who, after originally deserting to Vespasian, was put to death by Titus for conspiracy (*JW* 4.11.2–3 §634–44). There seems reason to believe, however, that the 7th and last book of *JW* was composed toward the end of the century during the reign of Domitian, inasmuch as it shows adulation for Domitian (7.4.2 §85–88; there is almost total disregard for him in the first six books) and inasmuch as the rate of elision of final vowels is also markedly different. The book is decidedly incoherent, and parts of it may even have been written in the reign of Nerva or in the early years of Trajan's reign at the end of the century. Moreover, Book 6, culminating in the poignant account of the destruction of the temple, provides an admirable close to the work.

As sources, Josephus, of course, drew upon his own experience as a general in Galilee and later as an adviser to Titus. He also utilized the memoirs of Vespasian and Titus (*Life* 65 §342, 358); it is perhaps to these that Josephus owes his generally accurate topographical information. In addition, Josephus indicates that King Agrippa II orally had provided additional information. Though Josephus agrees with the Talmudic rabbis in condemning the revolutionaries, in stressing the internal division among the Jews, and in describing the terrible famine that afflicted the inhabitants of Jerusalem, he mentions by name only one of them, Rabban Gamaliel; and there is no direct indication of his indebtedness to Talmudic tradition concerning the war. In particular, he disagrees with the rabbis when he omits their mention of the courage of the Jewish captives and when he declares that Titus urged that the temple be spared (*JW* 6.4.3 §241); whereas the rabbis (in agreement with the 4th-century Christian historian Sulpicius Severus) declare that

Titus favored its destruction. Josephus' bias may be indicated by the fact that he ignores altogether the fact that during the war many Romans sided with the Jewish revolutionaries (a fact even the Roman historian Dio Cassius noted).

As to the causes of the war, Josephus completely neglects the messianic element (as he does the messianic prophecies in Daniel), broad hints of which are to be found in Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.13) and Suetonius (*Vespasian* 4). Moreover, inasmuch as the other two great revolts against Rome (115–117 and 132–135) were messianic and inasmuch as even Josephus himself describes the appearance of Menahem, the rebel leader, as resembling that of a king (*JW* 2.17.8 §434)—hence like a political messiah—we may guess that there was indeed a messianic aspect to the revolt.

Josephus neglected two other causes of the war. One was the increasing power within Rome of anti-Semitic freedmen of Greek origin who resented the idea of a Jewish "nation within a nation." The second was the pagan resentment of the tremendous Jewish success in winning converts to Judaism, which seemed well on its way to becoming the major religion of the Empire. We may also guess that Josephus, in his eagerness to be apologetic, chose to de-emphasize as a factor the dissension between Jews and non-Jews in Palestine. It has also been suggested that Josephus, who was himself descended from the Hasmoneans, suppressed the connection between them and the revolutionaries he despised. Moreover, like most ancient historians, Josephus pays little attention to the social and economic causes of the war, such as overpopulation, uneven distribution of land, and heavy taxation. In addition, Josephus assigns the blame for the war to one sect, the Fourth Philosophy; whereas the Jerusalem Talmud (*Šabb.* 10.5.29b) ascribes the fall of the temple to the existence of no fewer than 24 sects. Finally, to judge from Josephus, the revolt was foolhardy; whereas actually it would have had a good chance of success if it had enlisted more support among Jews throughout the Empire and in Babylonia and had coordinated its efforts with those of the Parthians and various barbarian tribes.

The turning point of the war was the siege of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E. According to Josephus (*JW* 6.4.3 §241) Titus, in a meeting with his staff, urged that the temple be spared. However, although the 4th-century Christian historian Sulpicius Severus was clearly aware of Josephus' account, he, nevertheless, states that Titus decreed the destruction of the temple (*Chronica* 2.30.6–7). Inasmuch as Sulpicius Severus used Tacitus in the chapter just before this, it has been suggested that his source was a lost part of Tacitus' *Hist.* and that this, in turn, was based on a lost work of Antonius Julianus, who was actually present at Titus' council (*JW* 6.4.3 §238). Both the Talmud (*Giṭ.* 56b) and Dio Cassius (6.65) support Josephus' account; and the proem to the poem of Valerius Flaccus likewise seems to accord with it, since it speaks of Titus' conquest of Jerusalem "as he hurls the brands and spreads havoc in every tower," the most prominent building in Jerusalem being the temple. Moreover, Josephus seems to contradict himself when he states that it was Titus who ordered the city and the temple to be burned (*JW* 7.1.1 §1) and when he likewise declares that Titus captured and set fire to the temple (*Ant* 20.10.5 §250). One cannot therefore avoid the conclusion that in his main account of the destruction of the temple in *JW* Josephus attempted to whitewash Titus by stressing his clemency.

Josephus' spectacular account of the capture of Masada has been the subject of much scholarly debate. The recent excavations of the site by Yadin have, on the whole, confirmed Josephus' reliability; indeed, the very name of the Sicarii leader who defended the fortress, Ben-Jair, has been found inscribed on a potsherd. There are some discrepancies, however: (1) Josephus says that Herod's palace was on the W slope, whereas actually it is on the N slope; (2) he says that the columns of the palace were monolithic, whereas in actuality they were made up of several sections; (3) the Roman siege works are much more complicated than those mentioned by Josephus; (4) the fact that some of the casement apartments were found burned while others were not contradicts Josephus' statement that all of them were burned; (5) Josephus says that the food of the defenders had been burned, whereas Yadin found that some of it had been preserved; (6) Josephus says that there were 960 who committed suicide, whereas Yadin found only 25 skeletons; (7) Yadin found 11 ostraca with names inscribed on them, whereas Josephus (*JW* 7.9.1 §395) says that 10 were chosen by lot for the gruesome task of killing the rest; and (8) Josephus makes no mention at all of the connection between the Sicarii of Masada and the Dead Sea sect, whereas the

discovery of a scroll of liturgies based on the peculiar calendar of the Qumran sect strongly indicates a connection.

Of course, Josephus was not present at Masada; and he admits that his account is based on the evidence of a single woman who had managed to hide and thus to survive (*JW* 7.9.2 §404). We may also note that Josephus, who hardly admired the intellectual power of women, describes her as "superior in sagacity and training to most of her sex." Moreover, Josephus was so fiercely hated that he had to be careful of what he wrote. In addition, there must have been many Romans (and Jewish captives who had assisted them) who had participated in the siege who could challenge any misrepresentation made by Josephus. If in this account Josephus intended to raise the stature of the Roman commander, Flavius Silva, a member of the same imperial family which had adopted him, he could have done so much more effectively by depicting the Jewish defenders as fighting to the last man instead of committing suicide. Finally, Josephus declares that the Romans, upon entering Masada, acknowledged the greatness of the daring of the Sicarii, the nobility of their resolve, and their contempt for death (*JW* 7.9.2 §405–6). Josephus would have been loath to make such a statement in view of his negative evaluation of the Sicarii as among the most despicable of the five revolutionary groups (*JW* 7.8.1 §262). Therefore his account of the fall of Masada is all the more likely to be true.

Of course, the two speeches which Josephus puts into the mouth of Eleazar ben-Jair are artificial and belong to the tradition of most classical historians. In ben-Jair's second speech the presence of passages closely corresponding to Posidonius, Euripides, and particularly Plato (e.g., on the relationship of body and soul and on the nature of immortality, especially as couched in Platonic and Stoic phraseology) support the view that these speeches were penned in Josephus' scriptorium, presumably with the help of his Greek assistants. It would seem unusual for Eleazar ben-Jair, a member of a sect known for its extreme piety, to have such an intimate knowledge of Plato, especially since, as Josephus says, pious Jews were utterly antipathetic toward the study of other languages and literatures (*Ant* 20.12.1 §264). The propriety of suicide was much debated at this very time in Greek and Roman philosophical circles; and Josephus' discussion may well be directed toward this audience.

As to whether the suicide itself actually took place, it has been objected that the Sicarii, as pious Jews, must have realized that suicide would be a terrible sin according to Jewish law—technically, no less than murder—and that it could only be justified when one was certain that he would be forced to worship idols, commit murder, or engage in an illicit sexual act (all this was later codified in Jewish law, but none of it applied at Masada). As guerrillas, moreover, the Jews should have fought to the last man, especially since they were well armed and had plenty of water and food. However, we should note that the number of defenders could hardly have exceeded 200 to 300 (since the 967 people at Masada included women and children) and that the Sicarii were pious in their own peculiar way and followed their own Halakah, just as they did when they engaged in a raid on Passover (*JW* 4.7.2 §402), when such attacks would normally be prohibited. There was, moreover, a precedent for the mass suicide, namely, that at Gamala (*JW* 4.1.10 §79–81), where more than 5000 took their own lives. Finally, we must remember that the Sicarii were fanatics who were no longer acting rationally. It has been suggested that perhaps the Romans murdered the defenders and that Josephus attempted to cover up for them as he did for Titus in connection with the burning of the temple. But the fact that the Sicarii were admired by the Romans—a statement one would never expect from Josephus—would seem to militate against such a theory.

**2. *The Jewish Antiquities.*** Written about a decade after *JW*, Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* (= *Ant*) sets out to survey the history of the Hebrew people from their biblical beginnings up to the time of the Jewish War of 66–70 C.E. Josephus' treatment of biblical episodes is noteworthy insofar as it raises questions about the type of biblical text he used and the type of interpretation he practiced. His treatment of postbiblical events is noteworthy because it sheds some light on an otherwise poorly attested period. His treatment of 1st-century events is noteworthy because in some places it overlaps with the early chapters of *JW* and because it provides independent testimony to important NT persons and events.

**a. The Biblical Period.** Josephus' opening statement, that he will set forth the "precise details" of what is written in the Scriptures, "neither adding nor omitting anything," (*Ant* 1. Proem 2 §5) has occasioned

much amazement, since he has modified the Bible, sometimes drastically, on almost every page. The question of the meaning of Josephus' statement is of great importance, since it involves the issue of how much liberty one was permitted in interpreting the Bible during this period. It is unsatisfactory to say that Josephus was counting on the ignorance of his readers since the Jews of the Diaspora certainly knew the LXX, which they believed to be divinely inspired and which differs drastically in many places from Josephus' paraphrase. Moreover, Pseudo-Longinus' (9.9) highly laudatory—and casual—paraphrase of Gen 1:3, 9, 10 in a work of literary criticism dating presumably from the 1st century C.E., shows that the LXX was well-known; the vast number of converts to Judaism during the two centuries before Josephus would seem to indicate that it was widely used by Jewish missionaries.

Others have suggested that the phrase "neither adding nor omitting anything" is a traditional and meaningless way of affirming one's accuracy, as may be seen by its use by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the 1st century and by Lucian in the 2d century. That Josephus' phrase is not necessarily to be taken literally would seem to be indicated by the fact that the gospel of Matthew uses similar language (in 5:17–18), even though portions of the law *were* in fact abolished by Jesus' disciples in his own lifetime.

Actually the phrase is taken from Deut 4:2: "You shall not add to the word which I command you, neither shall you diminish from it, that you may keep the commandments of the Lord your God which I command you." Josephus understood the phrase in the sense which is apparent from this verse and which accords with rabbinic exegesis; namely, that one is not permitted to add to or subtract from the *commandments* and that one is permitted latitude in interpreting only the narrative portions of the Pentateuch. An alternative suggestion is that Josephus included in "Scriptures" not only the written Bible but also Jewish tradition generally. This would imply that some of the midrashic interpretation of the Bible had been committed to writing by Josephus' time, since we find midrashic materials in such Hellenistic Jewish writers as Artapanus, Eupolemus, Ezekiel the tragedian, and Philo. While such a statement four decades ago would have been considered most unlikely (inasmuch as the earliest rabbinic midrashic commentaries on the Bible date from a century after Josephus', we now have midrashim among the Dead Sea Scrolls dating from the century *before* Josephus which he parallels at several points. To this may be added the midrashim in the work ascribed to Philo entitled *Biblical Antiquities,* which is apparently contemporaneous with *Ant*.

Moreover, there would seem to be a precedent for modifying the sacred LXX text which Josephus (*Ant* 1. Proem 3 §10) cites as justifying his presentation of biblical history to gentiles. Even the rabbis (*Meg.* 9a), in obvious praise, refer to the miraculous way in which the translation was accomplished, despite the fact that deliberate changes were made in the process of translation. The fact that three major recensions had emerged by the time of Jerome, despite the curse placed on those who ventured to add, or transpose, or subtract (*Let. Aris.* 306), shows that the curse was not taken too seriously.

When we examine how Josephus handles the actual biblical narrative, we find that he had two audiences in mind. The fact that he cited the LXX as a precedent for his work shows that he was directing his work to gentiles with apologetic intent, since that translation originally had been commissioned by King Ptolemy Philadelphus. Indeed, he specifically declares (*Ant* 1. Proem 2 §5) that his work was undertaken in the belief that the whole Greek world would find it worthy of attention. Again, at the very end of the work, he boasts that no one else would have been equal to the task of issuing so accurate a treatise for the Greeks (*Ant* 20.12.1 §262). On the other hand, we should also expect that Josephus would seek a Jewish audience for his work, since it would seem that the majority of the Jews in the Mediterranean world were Greek speaking; hence they would be a natural audience for his work. Indeed, that Josephus has a Jewish audiences in mind for his treatise is indicated by the fact that he highlights certain episodes—notably the incident of Israel's sin with the Midianite women (Num 25:1–9), which he expands greatly (*Ant* 4.6.7–12 §§131–35), and Samson's relations with foreign women (Judg 14:1–16; *Ant* 5.8.5–12 §§285–317)—in order to combat the increasing assimilation of Jews with gentiles.

In this portion of his narrative, there are many details shared with his presumed contemporary Pseudo-Philo, apparently indicating a common source used by both (whether written or, more probably, oral). Josephus' tendency to give names and other such details which are missing in the Bible (e.g., the name of

the man who inspired the building of the Tower of Babel [Nimrod], and the name of Pharaoh's daughter who adopted Moses [Thermuthis]) may be due to the influence of rabbinic midrashim. The same details are sometimes found in certain pseudepigraphic works such as *Jub.* and *L.A.B.* and in such sectarian works as the Samaritan Asatir and 1QapGen. In addition, Josephus seems to have employed a Hellenistic Jewish tradition. In particular the Hellenistic Jewish writers might have provided Josephus both with an excellent precedent for rewriting the Bible and with a stylistic model (though he does not cite their works as a forerunner for his own). This would have been especially true of Philo, who writes such excellent Greek. However, Josephus mentions Philo only once (*Ant* 18.8.1 §259–60) and refers to other Jewish writers on only one other occasion (and even then he refers to them as if they were pagans; *AgAp* 1.23 §218). Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that Philo's question as to why the Torah begins with creation rather than with the laws (*Op* 1.1–3) is paralleled in *Ant* 1. Proem 4 §21 and also that Philo's description of Abraham's attack on the Assyrians (*Abr* 40.230–35) is paralleled in *Ant* 1.10.1 §177. Furthermore, Philo's interpretation of the names Abel and Ishmael (*Migr* 13.74; *Mut* 37.202) is paralleled in *Ant* 1.2.1 §52 and 1.10.4 §190, while Philo's allegorical interpretation of the tabernacle and priestly garments (*Vita Mos* II.18, 21, 24) is closely paralleled in *Ant* 3.7.7 §179–87. Hölscher (PW 9) held that Josephus' single source was a Hellenistic Jewish midrash, a claim that seems extreme, especially since we have no trace of such a work.

We must not, however, exclude the possibility that Josephus introduced details of his own, particularly for apologetic reasons. In particular the fact that his portraits of such biblical personalities as Abraham, Moses, Samson, Saul, David, and Solomon are consistent in emphasizing their cardinal virtues (as well as the dramatic and erotic elements) and in de-emphasizing theological and magical elements would seem to indicate a personal imprint rather than a stage in the development of the midrashic tradition. In view of the fact that during the many years he lived in Rome Josephus apparently had no occupation other than writing and that he apparently composed an average of only about ten lines a day, we should expect a careful and consistent composition. We may also discern the influence of contemporary events upon Josephus' reconstruction of the biblical past. For example, his elaboration of the sacrifice of Isaac seems to have been influenced by the martyrdom during the Maccabean revolt. In his elaboration of the story of his namesake, Joseph, who likewise was accused falsely, Josephus seems to have portrayed himself. He likewise appears to have identified personally with the prophet Jeremiah, who also suffered at the hands of his fellow Jews, as well as with Daniel, Esther, and Mordecai, who suffered for their convictions. Moreover, he seems to have identified himself with King Saul, whom he viewed as a martyred general like himself.

An important question centers around the issue of the biblical text that Josephus had at his disposal. It is important because the answer would help shed significant light on the state of the text in 1st-century Palestine, almost a millennium before our first extant complete Hebrew manuscript. Josephus seems to have had in his possession texts in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek; and he varied in his use of them from biblical book to book. In view of the fact that in Josephus' time there were a number of divergent Hebrew and Greek texts of the Bible, we cannot be sure which version he used at any given time, especially since he usually paraphrased and elaborated rather than translated. Nor must we discount the possibility that Josephus followed a tradition independent of both the MT and the LXX, as may be seen from the fact that he agrees with Pseudo-Philo in some places that diverge from both the MT and the LXX.

The fact that Josephus was himself writing in Greek would make it seem likely that his chief textual source was the LXX, especially since he cited it as a precedent for presenting the history of the Jews to a non-Jewish audience (*Ant* 1. Proem 3 §10–12) and since he devoted so much space paraphrasing the account of the translation given in *Let. Aris.* (*Ant* 12.2.1–15 §11–118), hardly what one would expect in a work which is essentially a political and military rather than a cultural and religious history of the Jews. And yet, the very fact that he paraphrased the Bible in Greek would seem to indicate that he hoped to improve on that rendering, since there would hardly be much point otherwise in a new version. Hence it is not surprising that where the style of the LXX is more polished, as in the Additions to Esther or in 1 Esdras, he adheres more closely to its text. And yet, to have ignored the LXX, in view of the tremendous

regard in which that version was held, would have been looked upon as an attempt to hide something. Nevertheless, even when Josephus agrees with the LXX, this is not necessarily an indication that he had the LXX text before him, since he may have incorporated an exegetical tradition which had been known earlier to the translators of the LXX. Finally, the biblical texts found at Qumran indicate that the differences between the Hebrew and the Greek texts were not so great as had been previously thought.

As to Josephus' possible use of an Aramaic Targum, we must not forget that Aramaic was Josephus' mother tongue, as it was for Jews generally in Palestine at that time. While it is true that the earliest Targum, that of Onkelos, dates from the 2d century C.E., no doubt the practice of translating the Bible into Aramaic was much older; indeed, the fact that its origin is attributed to Ezra in the 5th century B.C.E. (*Meg.* 3a) meant that it had the sanctity and the authority associated with the great Ezra, the second Moses (*t. Sanh.* 4.7). The very fact that the Targums, at least as we know them, permit themselves considerable latitude in paraphrasing the text must have attracted Josephus to them. If Josephus is indeed much freer in vocabulary, style, order, and content in his rendering of biblical material in the first five books of *Antiquities* than in Books 6–11 (as seems to be the case), it may well be that the reason for this is the availability of Targums for these earlier books. Josephus probably utilized a Hebrew text and/or an Aramaic Targum as a basis for his elaboration of the books of the Pentateuch, especially since Josephus probably heard a portion of the Pentateuch read weekly in the synagogue, along with a Targum. And yet, where he seems to be following the Hebrew, this may be due merely to an attempt to avoid using the same word as the LXX (cf. his paraphrase of *Let. Aris.,* where he is almost pathological in avoiding the same language).

In the book of Joshua, Josephus seems closer to the MT; whereas for Judges and Ruth he is relatively free, perhaps because he was using a Targum. The most interesting case is that of the book of Samuel, where, to judge from the Dead Sea fragments, Josephus favored a Greek text in a Proto-Lucianic version, though not to the total exclusion of the Hebrew, since, at the very least, he heard portions from Samuel during readings of the *haftaroth* in the synagogue on seven Sabbaths and holy days. To say, as does Kahle (1959: 229–37), that Josephus agrees with Proto-Lucian because Christian copyists modified his text (as they presumably did Philo's quotations from the Bible) is to fail to explain why these copyists restricted their revisions to only certain books of the Bible. For Ezra, Josephus particularly (but not exclusively) employed the apocryphal book of Esdras because of its superior Greek style, its elimination of some chronological difficulties, and its romantic interest in the debate as to whether wine, the king, or a woman is most powerful. For Esther, Josephus used a Greek text, notably because he found it to be stylistically more polished than the rest of the Greek Bible.

As to the changes which Josephus made in his version of the biblical narrative, Josephus declares in his preface that he proposes to set forth the details in their proper order *(taxin),* using a military term implying a battle array (as if he were about to marshal troops in literary battle, presumably against anti-Semites). Whereas Moses, he says, had left his writings in disarray, just as he had received them from God (*Ant* 4.8.4 §197), we see that Josephus rearranged them following the "thematic" school of a number of Hellenistic historians, thus juxtaposing those items which belonged together on the basis of subject, regardless of chronology and source, and removing theological difficulties and contradictions inherent in the narrative. For example, he substitutes the verb *ektisen,* "founded" for the LXX's *epoiēsen,* "made" to avoid the impression that God created the world out of preexistent matter (*Ant* 1.1.1 §27). Similarly, he omits the plural verb in "let us make man in our image," since it would seem from this that God was a plurality of powers or had assistants (*Ant* 1.1.1 §32). Again, when he deals with chronological difficulties in the biblical ascription of unusual longevity to the patriarchs, he cites precedents in Greek and non-Greek literature and furthermore rationalizes by noting other factors, such as their diet, which contributed to their long life spans (*Ant* 1.3.9 §107–8); yet even here he closes as do Herodotus and other ancient historians, with the formula, "On these matters let everyone decide according to his fancy." Again, he often seeks to avoid anthropomorphisms, such as the one implied in the Hebrew word *měraḥepet,* "moving" (Gen 1:2; cf. *Ant* 1.1.1 §27). Sometimes his goal is to provide better motivation or to eliminate obscurity, as in his explanation of the "strange" fire (Lev 10:1) which Nadab and Abihu brought (*Ant*

3.1.7 §209). Sometimes he is concerned with how his work will sound to the ear; hence, for example, he says that he is inclined to omit the names of the 70 descendants of Jacob who went down to Egypt because they would sound strange to a Greek ear but that he includes them, nonetheless, only in order to refute the anti-Semitic charge that the Israelites were of Egyptian rather than of Mesopotamian origin (*Ant* 2.7.4 §176–77). Another goal is to enhance the sense of drama, so that, for example, he adds that Samuel was tossing with sleeplessness the night God instructed him to select a king (*Ant* 6.3.3 §37). Moreover, Josephus increases the irony, for example, by using the word for happiness on five occasions in the brief pericope describing Abraham's intended sacrifice of Isaac (*Ant* 1.13.1–4 §222–36). Josephus uses allegory only occasionally, perhaps in reaction to Philo; one case, however, where he does appeal to allegory is in explaining various articles in the temple (*Ant* 3.7.7 §179–87). Finally, Josephus, in reformulating the biblical narrative, focuses to an even greater degree on certain key personalities, such as Abraham, Joseph, Moses, Samson, Saul, David, and Solomon.

As to Hellenizations in *Ant*, Thackeray (1929: 100–124) devised a kind of Documentary Hypothesis for the later books, postulating that for Books 15 and 16 Josephus had an assistant who had a particular love of Greek poetry, especially Sophocles, and for Books 17 through 19 another assistant who had a penchant for Thucydides. The truth is, however, that there are many Sophoclean and Thucydidean elements in the earlier books as well. Moreover, while Josephus (*AgAp* 1.9 §50) admits that he had helpers for *JW* (presumably his first published work), he says nothing about such for *Ant.* Indeed, many of the Sophoclean and Thucydidean phrases may have come to him through other writers he knew, notably Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Finally, whereas he may have needed assistants to help him with the Greek of *JW*, which he wrote shortly after his arrival in Rome, he must have improved his knowledge of Greek during the intervening years preceding his completion of *Ant.*

In his rewriting of the Bible, Josephus is clearly indebted to the Greek tragedians. Thus the paradoxical juxtaposition of *apora* and *porima* (*Ant* 1.14 Proem 3 §14) is found in only one other ancient author (Aesch. *PV* 904). Josephus' indebtedness to Sophocles is seen in his extrabiblical statement, so reminiscent of *Oedipus the King*, that all were mentally blinded as by a riddle in finding a solution to the problem confronting King Solomon. We may add that especially in the account of the binding of Isaac (*Ant* 1.13.1–4 §222–36) there are many reminiscences of Euripides (esp. Eur. *IA*), who was the most popular dramatist of the Hellenistic period.

Josephus' developed picture of the original bliss of mankind (*Ant* 1.1.4 §46) is clearly indebted to Homer and Hesiod, as is the phrase that Isaac was born on the threshold of Abraham's old age (*epi gērōs oudōi; Ant* 1.13.1 §222). The concept of a periodic destruction of the earth alternately by fire and water has its parallel in Plato (*Ti.* 22C), though it is found in rabbinic sources as well. Josephus' indebtedness to Herodotus (2.75) is manifest in his description of the ibis that helped put to flight the winged serpents encountered on the march through the desert to Ethiopia (*Ant* 2.10.2 §247). Occasionally direct comparisons with pagan sources are possible. Thus Josephus would have his readers compare Noah's Flood with that of Deucalion, implied by the fact that he used the same word for God's giving of advice to Noah (*hypothemenou*; *Ant* 1.3.2 §76) as is employed for Prometheus' giving of advice to Deucalion (Apollodorus 1.7.2); this is confirmed by the fact that instead of LXX *kibōtos,* Josephus uses the word *larnax* for Noah's ark, the same word Apollodorus used for Deucalion's ark.

The most striking form of Hellenization occurs in Josephus' description of biblical heroes (Abraham, Joseph, Moses, Samson, Saul, David, Solomon, Esther) in terms of the four cardinal virtues, the external qualities such as good birth and handsome stature, and the spiritual attribute of piety. Josephus' motives may well have been apologetic since the Jews had been accused of being misanthropic and of having failed to produce marvelous men (*AgAp* 2.12 §135). Thus, for example, Josephus omits the scene where Hagar weeps after having been cast out by Sarah (Gen 21:16; cf. *Ant* 1.12.3 §218), since such a scene might support the charge that Abraham lacked piety. In response to the blood libel with which the Jews had been charged (*AgAp* 2.8 §91–96), Josephus inserts a speech wherein God declares that he does not crave human blood, in direct contrast to Artemis, who rejoices in human sacrifice (Eur. *IA* 1524–25).

Moreover, in his biblical modifications, Josephus appeals to political, military, and geographic interests. Thus, in his version of the rebellion of Korah (*Ant* 4.2.1 §12), he stresses the theme of civil strife *(stasis),* so familiar to readers of Thucydides (3.82–84). Likewise, Josephus' graphic description of the sequence of luxury, voluptuousness, love of gain, gross recklessness, disdain for order and for the laws, and grave sedition corrupting the aristocracy (*Ant* 5.2.7 §132–35) is one familiar to readers of Polybius and Livy.

Josephus likewise appeals to the philosophical interests of his readers by comparing the religious groups of the Jews to the Greek philosophical schools (*Life* 2 §12; *Ant* 15.10.4 §371). In particular, since Stoicism was the favorite philosophy of Hellenistic intellectuals, he frequently employs Stoic terminology; thus the key Stoic word *pronoia,* "providence," appears no fewer than 74 times in the first half of *Ant.* Moreover, Josephus goes out of his way in his paraphrase of the book of Daniel to note how mistaken are the Epicureans, who exclude providence *(pronoian)* from human life (*Ant* 10.11.7 §278).

Josephus also introduces a number of typical dramatic motifs, in particular the concept of *hubris* ("insolence,""overweening pride") and its consequences. For example, he describes the generation of the Tower of Babel in terms of the typical tragic sequence of prosperity, insolence, and punishment (*Ant* 1.4.2 §113). Likewise, he condemns Haman for not bearing his good fortune wisely and for not making the best use of his prosperity with prudent reason (*Ant* 11.6.12 §277), terms familiar to Greek tragedy. An indication that Josephus is thinking of the language of tragedy may be seen in his comment (in connection with Saul's slaughter of the priests of Nob) that it is characteristic of men, when they attain power, to lay aside their moderate and just ways "as if they were stage-masks" (*Ant* 6.12.7 §264).

Finally, to make his narrative more appealing, Josephus introduces romantic motifs reminiscent of Homer, Herodotus, Xenophon, and Hellenistic novels. The erotic motif is particularly evident in Pharaoh's meeting with Sarah (*Ant* 1.8.1 §165), in the infatuation of Potiphar's wife with Joseph (*Ant* 2.4.2–5 §41–59), in Moses' marriage to the Ethiopian princess (*Ant* 2.10.2 §252–53), and in the account of Ahasuerus' actually falling in love with Esther (*Ant* 11.6.2 §202).

On the other hand, despite the fact that Josephus admits his theological and moralistic purpose in his preface, he actually downplays the theological element in *Ant.* Thus he gives a purely practical reason for circumcision—namely, the desire to prevent assimilation—rather than the connection with the covenant between God and Abraham (Gen 17:10–11; cf. *Ant* 1.10.5 §192). Again, whereas the rabbis have Abraham appeal to Isaac to sacrifice himself for the sanctification of God's name, in Josephus Abraham makes no such appeal (*Ant* 1.13.3 §228–31). Moreover, in his version of Samson, Josephus omits miraculous details and thus diminishes the role of God. In addition, most strikingly, in his entire adaptation of the narrative of Ruth, Josephus nowhere mentions God, whereas there are 17 references to God in the biblical story. That Josephus does not de-emphasize the role of God in his account of Moses may be due to the fact that the Greeks believed that great leaders, such as the Spartan Lycurgus, had to be divinely directed. Again, whereas in the book of Esther there is not a single reference to God, the LXX and Josephus, for apologetic reasons, supply this lack in several places. As to miracles, Josephus frequently tells his readers to make up their own minds—a formula found in Herodotus, Thucydides, and many other ancient historians.

**b. The Postbiblical Period.** Josephus' account of the postbiblical period is very uneven. There are some figures (such as Herod) or events (such as the accession of the Roman emperor Claudius) for which he provides extraordinary detail; there are others—e.g., the period from Ezra to Alexander—for which he is extraordinarily skimpy. This brevity may be explained most simply by postulating that Josephus had few sources for this period; but two other factors may have been at work: (1) the Jews had achieved almost nothing of importance; and (2) Josephus, bearing in mind that his history would consist of only 20 books, sought to emphasize the period of the Hasmoneans, his ancestral family, and their rivals, the Herodians.

As for Alexander, the fact that Josephus' account of Alexander's meeting with the high priest (*Ant* 11.8.5 §329–39) is closely paralleled by the account in the Samaritan. Second Chronicle of the meeting between Alexander and the Samaritan high priest would seem to confirm its historicity. The notion that Jerusalem was at that time hardly worth visiting is not convincing; the fact that the oldest Gk and Lat

sources do not mention such a visit and the suggestion that Josephus introduced it for merely apologetic reasons are hardly conclusive, since the Talmud and Samaritan sources quite independently have a similar tradition.

Josephus' extensive summary of *Let. Aris.* is remarkable for the fact that although it closely adheres to the content of the original, it constantly modifies the language, particularly with Stoic terminology, so that there is only one instance where as many as 12 words of the original have been retained. We may wonder why Josephus, in a history of the Jews, devotes such an inordinately long space to what is, at best, a peripheral historical incident; but Josephus' aim may well have been to provide a precedent for an appeal to the Flavians to allow the Jews to practice their ancestral religion (this time after the disastrous revolt against Rome). The changes that are made are intended primarily to render the account less offensive to non-Jews.

Josephus likewise closely parallels 1 Maccabees (*Ant* 12.5.2–13.6.6). Differences may be explained either by the hypothesis that Josephus had both a Hebrew and a Greek text, or that he had only a Greek text, probably in a more accurate and full form than ours, which he adapted for his Greco-Roman readers. In addition, however, as a descendant of the Hasmoneans, Josephus must have had access to oral traditions and was, at times, more objective than the author of 1 Maccabees, who was closer in point of time to the events themselves. Josephus' additions are generally geographical and topographical; and they supply the names of participants, the number of casualties, and motives, perhaps obtaining this information from a Hellenistic historian (presumably Nicolaus of Damascus). Josephus has also increased admiration for his ancestors Mattathias and Judas. Finally, Josephus, in his attempt to differentiate between the Maccabees and the revolutionaries of his own day, has emphasized the ideal of martyrdom; whereas 1 Maccabees attributes the victory to God, Josephus attributes it to the piety of the soldiers. One mystery is Josephus' failure to use the last three chapters of 1 Maccabees, whether because they were missing from Josephus' copy or because Josephus viewed Nicolaus of Damascus as a superior source from that point on. And yet, it is surprising that Josephus used Nicolaus as much as he did, since the latter (as Herod's secretary) was presumably opposed to Josephus' Hasmonean ancestors. To say, as some scholars have, that Josephus has no independent value for this period is to deny what seems most reasonable, namely that Josephus, as a direct descendant of the Hasmoneans, had oral traditions from his family.

Among Josephus' major sources for the Roman period were the decrees apparently available either from the imperial archives in Rome, or through Nicolaus of Damascus, or through Josephus' close friend Agrippa II. Most scholars accept their authenticity, even though Josephus' version often does not correspond with the style known to us from inscriptions and despite the invitation to the reader to check their accuracy (this is a mere formality, since in antiquity it was very difficult to locate any given piece of information because of inadequate filing systems).

There is no figure in all antiquity about whom we have more detailed information than Herod; and by far our chief authority is Josephus, whose main source was Nicolaus of Damascus. Josephus himself, as a Hasmonean, is clearly prejudiced against Herod, particularly in *Ant*, basing himself perhaps on oral traditions derived from his Hasmonean ancestors, Herod's bitter opponents. Most studies have confirmed the disparaging picture rendered by Josephus; but the recent magisterial work by Schalit (1968) attempts to rehabilitate him as one who sincerely believed that the Jews could attain peace and prosperity only through cooperating with the Pax Romana. However, despite Josephus' judicious comments, we may question whether or not the Jews were, in fact, far more prosperous at the end of Herod's reign (4 B.C.E.) than they were at the beginning (37 B.C.E.) and whether or not his vast building program solved the problem of unemployment. If Herod was really well-disposed toward Rome, we may well ask why Josephus, who was similarly so loyal, should have been so negative toward him. Also if Herod claimed to be the Messiah, as seems clear from Epiphanius, we may ask why Josephus, in his bitter and exhaustive account, did not mention this, since a political messiah by definition would be a rebel against the Roman Empire, and this would have defamed Herod's reputation completely. Yet we would seem to be justified in viewing skeptically Herod's account of how Cleopatra had attempted to seduce him and how he was

dissuaded only with difficulty from killing her (cited in *Ant* 15.4.2 §97–103). Such a story may well have arisen when Herod attempted to enter the good graces of Octavian, who had come to power after defeating Antony and Cleopatra.

Occasionally we are fortunate enough to be able to check Josephus' account of specific incidents. One example is in connection with the expulsion of the Jews from Rome in 19 C.E. (*Ant* 18.3.5 §81–84). Josephus would have us believe that the Jews were expelled because four Jewish scoundrels pocketed for themselves the gifts for the Jerusalem temple which a certain noble Roman proselyte named Fulvia had entrusted to them. It seems hard to believe that Tiberius, who was the emperor at this time and who was noted for his strict adherence to legal procedure, would have expelled all the Jews without a trial because of the misdeeds of a few. More credible is the account of Dio Cassius (57.18.5a) that the Jews were expelled because of their success in converting to Judaism so many Romans, including some of high birth. In view of the offense, Tacitus (*Ann.* 2.85) seems to imply more plausibly that the expulsion was restricted to proselytes—those "tainted with this superstition." In view of the fact that the Jews had on an earlier occasion (139 B.C.E.) likewise been expelled from the city because of proselyting activities (Val. Max. 1.33), Dio's account seems preferable to that of Josephus; thus the key to the incident is what Josephus mentions only incidentally—the fact that Fulvia was a proselyte.

As for the period of the procurators (1st century C.E.), we are fortunate to have another account with which to check Josephus' report of an incident associated with Pontius Pilate (*Ant* 18.3.1 §55–59; *JW* 2.9.2–3 §169–74). However, this second account (Philo *Gaium* 18 §299–305) is so different that the question has been raised as to whether it refers to the same incident as Josephus. In Philo, Pilate brings into Jerusalem shields without images; whereas in Josephus he brings in standards with images. In Philo the incident occurs after several years of misrule by Pilate, whereas in Josephus it comes at the beginning of his procuratorship. In Philo the people appeal unsuccessfully to Pilate, apparently in Jerusalem; whereas in Josephus they appeal successfully in Caesarea. In this case, though Philo is contemporary with Pilate and less involved, he is probably less reliable than Josephus, since he is writing, presumably from hearsay, an apologetic work about events which occurred some distance from his home.

We may well wonder why Josephus devoted so much space to an account of the assassination of the emperor Caligula and the accession of Claudius (*Ant* 19.1.1–4.6 §1–273), events only tangentially related to Jewish history, especially in light of the fact that there is not much of a parallel account in *JW* (2.11.1–5 §204–14; there are usually extensive parallels to almost all other incidents). We may suggest that the key is Josephus' friendship with Agrippa II, the son of the man (Agrippa I) who, according to Josephus, was responsible for Claudius' assumption of the throne. To some degree the length of the narrative may be due simply to the availability of an extensive narrative, whether by Cluvius Rufus, as Mommsen (1870) conjectured, or in other sources, notably details derived orally from Agrippa II.

**c. Josephus and Christian History.** The chief reason why Josephus' works have survived in their entirety is that they contain references to John the Baptist, to James the brother of Jesus, and, above all, to Jesus himself (the so-called *Testimonium Flavianum;* see below).

There can be little doubt as to the authenticity of Josephus' reference to John the Baptist (*Ant* 18 §116–19), especially since the language is particularly typical of this part of *Ant*, since it contains two different forms of the word *baptism* (which an interpolator would almost certainly have avoided), since it is approximately twice as long as the Jesus passage and yet has no reference to the connection between John and Jesus, and, above all, since the reason given for John's death contradicts the Gospels. Moreover, the 3d-century Origen, who explicitly states that Josephus did not believe in Jesus as Christ, cites this passage. As to the relative lengths of the passages about John and Jesus, it may be that John was originally the more important of the two or that Josephus was wary of speaking about messianic movements, such as the one connected with the name of Jesus, inasmuch as this ipso facto involved revolt against Rome. As to the discrepancy between Josephus and the Gospels, one possible solution is to suggest that the two accounts supplement one another: the Christians, as moralists, emphasized that John had provoked Herod Antipas with his moral rebuke (Mark 6:17–18); but Josephus, as a political historian, stressed that John had been executed because it was feared that, with his ability to attract crowds, he

would lead a revolt. In any case if the passage about John had been interpolated by a Christian, we would have expected some reference to John's connection with Jesus. Finally, Josephus' account seems to be historically valid; since he praises him as a "good man," we should have expected Josephus to agree with the Gospels in giving the cause of John's death; whereas the political charge against John clearly embarrassed Josephus, who so fiercely opposed all revolutionary stirrings.

Most scholars have regarded the so-called *Testimonium Flavianum*—Josephus' reference to Jesus Christ—as interpolated, at least in part. In this passage (*Ant* 18.3.3 §63–64) Josephus notes that during the procuratorship of Pontius Pilate "there lived Jesus, a wise man, if indeed one ought to call him a man." He reports that he accomplished surprising feats, and taught many people, and "won over many Jews and many Greeks." The text then baldly claims that "he was the Messiah" and reports how Pilate had him crucified and how, on the third day, he appeared alive to those who loved him, as had been previously prophesied. We should note, however, that aside from this passage and possibly those about John and James, there are no other passages in Josephus the authenticity of which has been questioned; therefore the burden of proof rests upon anyone who argues that these are later interpolations.

Though this passage is found in all the Gk mss of Josephus (the earliest of which, to be sure, dates from the 11th century) and in all the versions (including the Lat translation of Cassiodorus, which dates from the 6th century), Origen, who cites five passages also from Book 18 of *Ant*, expresses wonder that Josephus did not admit "Jesus to be the Christ" (*comm. in Mt.* 10.17) and elsewhere states that Josephus "disbelieved in Jesus as Christ" (*Cels.* 1.47). The implication of these statements is that in the 3d century Origen could find in *Ant* some passage about Jesus but that it was basically neutral (if it had been negative, Origen probably would have attacked Josephus sharply instead of merely expressing wonder). Moreover, the fact that Josephus refers to Jesus in his reference to James the brother of "the aforementioned Christ" (*Ant* 20.9.1 §200)—a passage the authenticity of which has been almost universally acknowledged—indicates that Jesus had been mentioned previously.

The fact that there are no fewer than 11 Christian writers prior to the 4th-century Eusebius (who quotes it in three different forms) and no fewer than 5 between Eusebius and Jerome, all of whom knew Josephus' works and yet did not refer to the *Testimonium,* constitutes a strong argument that the passage originally did not exist in its present form. If it had been original, it would have been a powerful argument in polemics against the Jews, especially since one charge (as early as the middle of the 2d century) was that Jesus had never lived at all and was, in fact, a figment of Christian imagination (Just. *dial.* 8). The fact that there was a passage about Jesus in *Ant* may help to explain the Talmud's silence about Josephus, since the very mention of Jesus in a neutral sense would most probably have been frowned upon by the rabbis. Further indications that the original version of the *Testimonium* was different from its present form come from Agapius, a 10th-century Christian Arab, whose version of the *Testimonium* does not read "if indeed we ought to call him a man," omits references to Jesus' miracles and to the role of Jewish leaders in accusing Jesus, states not that Jesus appeared to his disciples on the third day but that his disciples reported this, and (most important) that he was "perhaps the Messiah," rather than "he was the Messiah." This is further reinforced by the fact that another Christian, Michael the Syrian, says, in his (12th-century) version of the *Testimonium,* that Jesus "was thought to be the Messiah" (so also Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus* 13; though one wonders how a believing Christian could have cited such a text without recording a strong reaction against it).

Furthermore, we may note that the passages about John, Jesus, and James (see below) do not appear in the parallel passages in *JW*; and we may therefore be suspicious that the lines about them in *Ant* were interpolated. However, this may be due to the fact that the Christians had become more important in the interval between the publication of the two works. As to the language of the *Testimonium,* Thackeray (1929: 141) has noted the remarkable fact that the phrase "such people as accept the truth gladly"*(hēdonēi)* is characteristic of precisely this portion of *Ant* since we find it eight times in Books 17–19 (allegedly the work of Josephus' Thucydidean assistant) and nowhere else in Josephus. The word *hēdonēi* could hardly have been interpolated by a Christian, since it has a pejorative connotation, though we must be careful not to impute too much significance to the choice of individual words in a passage

which consists of two short paragraphs (there are also other places in the *Testimonium* which are characteristic not of Josephus but of Eusebius).

However, if Josephus did insert a passage of some sort about Jesus, we may well ask what his motive was. Laqueur suggested that, having alienated the Jews by his behavior in the war against Rome and by his use of the LXX, Josephus turned to the Christians, who had not participated in the rebellion against Rome and who believed that the LXX was divinely inspired, in the hope that they would purchase his work (1920: 274ff.). But there is no evidence that Josephus needed any further financial support, since he apparently had a very comfortable imperial pension. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that Josephus would have sought to gain the very small Christian audience when it would probably have meant alienating the much larger potential audience of Hellenistic Jews (who also regarded the LXX as authoritative).

As a Jew, Josephus might well have acknowledged someone to be the Messiah without necessarily being excluded from the Jewish fold; but since the concept of messiah at this time had definite overtones of revolution and political independence, Josephus, as a loyal member of the Roman royal family, could hardly have recognized Jesus as such. Indeed, Josephus avoids the use of the term *messiah,* except here and in *Ant* 20.9.1 §200 (also in connection with Jesus).

The passage about the death of James the brother of Jesus (*Ant* 20.9.1) has been regarded as authentic by almost all scholars, since the language is thoroughly Josephan; yet it sharply diverges from the eulogy of the high priest Ananus, as found in *JW* 4.5.2 §319–20. But there are numerous contradictions between the *JW* and the *Ant* passages; and, in any case, Origen in the 3d century did have a text about James, since he explicitly says (*comm. in Mt.* 10.7) that Josephus bore witness to so much righteousness in James (though our *Ant* text has no such direct encomium).

A word may be said about several other passages in Josephus which are paralleled by the NT. Josephus speaks of a census by Quirinius, governor of Syria, at the time when Archelaus was removed from his position as ethnarch in 6 or 7 C.E. (*Ant* 17.13.5–18.1.1); whereas Luke 2:1–5 speaks of the census as taking place at the time of Jesus' birth, near the end of the reign of Herod (4 B.C.E.). It seems hard to believe that there had been an earlier census under Quirinius, since Quirinius is not listed in any source as one of the governors of Syria during the reign of Herod and since, moreover, Josephus (*Ant* 18.1.1 §3) declares that the census shocked the Jews (this implies that it was unprecedented). Moreover, if there had been an earlier census, Josephus would most probably, in accordance with his custom, have made a cross-reference to it.

Furthermore, Josephus mentions a certain Theudas, an impostor who persuaded the masses to follow him in the expectation that he would fulfill his promise that the Jordan river would part at his command but who, together with many followers, was slain by the armed forces of the procurator Fadus (*Ant* 20.5.1 §97–98). Luke likewise mentions a Theudas who was slain and whose followers were dispersed, presumably after attempting a revolutionary movement (Acts 5:36). Despite the chronological discrepancy (Acts sets it before Judas' revolt in 6 C.E., while Josephus sets it ca. 44 C.E.), it is tempting, especially in view of the unusual nature of the name Theudas, to identify the two. Another parallel occurs in connection with the false prophet from Egypt (*JW* 2.13.5 §261–63; *Ant* 20.8.6 §169–72), 400 of whose followers were killed by the soldiers of the procurator Felix (the passage in *JW* gives the number of his followers as 30,000); Acts 21:38 speaks of the Egyptian revolutionary but gives the number of his followers as 4000. See EGYPTIAN, THE.

**3. *Against Apion.*** In writing his work *Against Apion* (= *AgAp*), published in the last years of his life, Josephus followed the precedent of other Greek apologists. A work attacking the Greeks might well have made a positive impression upon chauvinistic Romans, since Roman intellectuals had ambivalent feelings toward the Greeks, who had been their mentors in almost every field. It has also been conjectured that Josephus was particularly eager to defend his Jewish countrymen against anti-Semitic movements in order to win his way back into their good graces after his disgraceful surrender to the Romans. A third purpose may have been to supply a handbook to Jewish missionaries and propagandists in their efforts, which in Josephus' day were notably successful, though there was no way in antiquity for books to be produced in large numbers.

Josephus was not the only Jewish apologist of his day, as is clear from the fact that Philo wrote similar works (*In Flaccum* and *Hypothetica*); indeed, the latter work, in its brief summary of Jewish law, seems to have served as a model for the second part of *AgAp* (2.14 §145–41, §295). In addition to Philo, another forerunner of Josephus was Dionysius of Halicarnassus, whose *Roman Antiquities*—especially its encomium of Rome (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom* 1.4–2.29)—apparently served as a model for *Ant* (at least in title and in number of books). Both Dionysius and Josephus, in turn, follow the standard rhetorical pattern for such encomiums as described later and more fully in a handbook by Menander of Laodicea (3d century). Inasmuch as this handbook prescribes the same order of topics in both encomiums and invectives, Josephus is apparently following the order of topics which his opponent Apion, who was a grammarian, presumably adopted.

One of the charges of the anti-Semites was that the Jews had come late to civilized life. Josephus, like other Oriental intellectuals and like the Greco-Jewish historian Demetrius in the 3d century B.C.E., challenges this hypothesis by modifying biblical chronology so as to make the Jews contemporary with personalities and events of Greek history. It has been debated whether Josephus actually found the selections which he cites from numerous Greek authors or whether he invented them. However, we must assume that the citations are authentic unless proven otherwise, not only because it would have been difficult, with Josephus' admittedly limited knowledge of Greek, to forge passages in various styles, but also because he himself was under constant attack from his numerous enemies and therefore had to take precautions to avoid the damning charge of falsifying his sources.

**C. Josephus on Jewish Law**

Inasmuch as Josephus' works were issued more than a century before the codification of the Mishnah by Rabbi Judah the Prince, they, together with the works of his older contemporary Philo, are a most important source for our knowledge of the state of Jewish law in the 1st century. Moreover, since Josephus was born in Jerusalem and, according to his own report, had such an excellent education in Halakah (Jewish law) that by the age of 14 he was constantly consulted about the laws by the chief priests and the leaders of Jerusalem (see above), he is a much more valuable source than Philo, who lived in Alexandria, who (so far as we can tell) possessed a minimal knowledge of Hebrew, and who apparently never studied with the great sages of his era, such as Shemaiah, Abtalyon, Hillel, and Shammai. Josephus' knowledge of Jewish law was apparently acknowledged by the other Pharisees, since they comment that if the Galileans' devotion to him was due to his expert knowledge of Pharisaic laws they, too, were learned (*Life* 39 §198). Likewise, Josephus boasts (*Ant* 20.12.1 §263) that his fellow Jews admit that he far excelled them in Jewish learning, the most important component of which was clearly law. Finally, the fact that he indicates his intention to write a work on the laws (*Ant* 20.12.1 §268) in which he proposes also to explain the reasons for the laws (*Ant* 1. Proem 4 §25) further indicates how well versed in law he considered himself to be. The very fact that he included a long summary of the laws in Books 3 and 4 of *Ant*, which is a historical work (whereas other historians, such as Dion. Hal. and Livy, did not) is an indication that he was directing his survey to non-Jewish readers for apologetic purposes (since, as he self-consciously says [*Ant* 4.8.4 §196], the survey is consonant with Moses' reputation for virtue). We may also suggest that his summary might have proved useful to Jewish missionaries. Indeed, if we are to take Josephus at all seriously when he promises neither to add to nor to subtract from Scripture, which certainly includes Jewish law, his presentation should be of great value.

There are many instances in *Ant* where Josephus agrees with the system of Jewish law as we have it codified in later rabbinic writings. A few of the many examples are: (1) he agrees with *m. Para* 5.3 that a lamb to be offered for sacrifice should be one year old (3.9.1 §226); (2) he agrees with *m. Sanh.* that blasphemers are not merely to be stoned (Lev 24:14–16) but also to be hanged (4.8.6 §202); (3) he agrees with *Ber.* 27b that there are two required daily prayers (4.8.13 §212); (4) he declares (with *Sipre* 109b) that women's testimony is unacceptable (4.8.15 §219); (5) he concurs with *Sanh.* 2a, 20b that a king must consult the Sanhedrin of 71 before entering upon a voluntary war (4.8.17 §224); (6) like *Mak.* 22a he states that the number of lashes to be inflicted upon a lawbreaker is not 40 but 39 (4.8.21 §238); (7) like *Giṭ.* 90a he believes that divorce is permissible for any reason whatsoever (4.8.23 §253); and (8) he states

(4.8.27 §271) that one must pay double not only for the theft of animals but also for the theft of money (*B. Qam.* 64b). Concerning lost property, Josephus differentiates on the basis of whether the object is found in a private or public place (4.8.29 §274) and indicates that one must proclaim publicly where the object has been found (cf. *m. B. Meṣ.* 2.1). Also, one should not be punished if the person he injured lives for several days before dying (*Ant* 4.8.33 §277; cf. *t. B. Qam.* 9.5–6). Josephus opposes costly shrouds (*AgAp* 2.26 §205; cf. *Mo῾ed Qat*. 27b; *Ketub.* 8b), and he even agrees with the oral tradition (*t. B. Meṣ.* 2.29) in placing the law concerning pointing out the road to a lost traveler immediately after the law concerning lost objects (*Ant* 4.8.29, 31 §274, 276).

There are, however, a number of places where Josephus disagrees with the rabbis; and this raises the question whether Josephus reflects an earlier stage of the oral law. Such an hypothesis would apparently be supported by the fact that Philo (*Spec Leg* I–IV), CD, and especially 11QTemple likewise record laws, including much oral law, in a systematic way. Indeed, the newly discovered manuscript of the Talmud (*῾Abod. Zar*. 8b) states that Rabbi Judah ben-Baba, a younger contemporary of Josephus, records laws of fines. Again, the fact that Josephus breaks down each biblical law into more precisely defined cases would seem to reflect a written legal code.

There are a number of possible explanations for Josephus' deviations from the rabbinic formulation of the oral law. In the first place, since Josephus wrote *Ant* in Rome many years after his departure from Jerusalem and had little or no contact with Talmudic rabbis there, he may have forgotten what he had learned; but this seems unlikely because memories were so carefully cultivated in those days and because Josephus had so many enemies that he had to be careful not to give occasion for a charge of heresy. Apologetic reasons seem to lie behind many of Josephus' revisions of Jewish law, just as they lie behind his recasting of the biblical narratives. Thus, whereas the Bible (Lev 19:14; Deut 27:18) declares that one must not put a stumbling block in front of the blind, Josephus extends this by declaring that one must point out the road to those who are ignorant of it (*Ant* 4.8.31 §276). Here Josephus would seem to be responding to the charge of those anti-Semites, such as Juvenal (*Satires* 14.103), who had accused the Jews of failing to point out the road to non-Jews. Similarly, by adding the detail that those who dig wells must cover them not to prevent others from drawing water but rather to protect passersby from falling into them (*Ant* 4.8.37 §283), he is answering the charge of those—such as Juvenal (14.104)—who had declared that Jews direct "none but the circumcised to the desired fountain."

Apologetic motives likewise seem to lie behind Josephus' nonbiblical and non-Talmudic equation of abortion with infanticide (*AgAp* 2.24 §202), since otherwise the law applicable to Jews would appear to be more lenient than the Noachian law applicable to gentiles, which (*Sanh.* 57b), through an interpretation of Gen 9:6, forbids killing a fetus in utero. In particular, Josephus must have felt uneasy that Jewish law on this subject was more lenient than that of Plato (*Ap.;* Plutarch, *De Placitis Philosophorum* 5.15), who states that a fetus is a living being (the rabbis [*Sanh.* 72b] declared that an abortion is permissible if the fetus is endangering the life of the mother).

Likewise, Josephus may have had an apologetic motive both in stating that the law with regard to the rebellious child applied to daughters no less than to sons (*Ant* 4.8.24 §263; the rabbis [*m. Sanh.* 8:1] restrict the law to sons alone) and in declaring that the mere intention of doing wrong to one's parents is subject to immediate punishment by death (*AgAp* 2.30 §217). Here his motive may have been to show that the Jews were no more permissive toward children than were the Romans, who were noted for their strictness. Josephus' statement (*AgAp* 2.27 §207) that it is a capital crime for a judge to accept bribes (there is no such law in the Talmud) similarly was occasioned apparently by the fact that it might appear that Jewish law was less severe than both Noachide law, which required the death penalty, and Roman law (*Lex Cornelia testimentaria,* 81 B.C.E.), which inflicted the penalty of exile upon such a judge.

Again, especially in light of the very successful Jewish missionary movement, Josephus' omission of the prohibition of converting Ammonites and Moabites to Judaism until the tenth generation (Deut 23:4) and Edomites and Egyptians until the third generation (Deut 23:7–8) may be explained by Josephus' eagerness to answer the anti-Semitic charge that the Jews were exclusivistic and misanthropic. If, indeed, Josephus also omits the child sacrifice to Moloch (Lev 18:21)—whereas one would expect him to

mention this in order to contrast it with the Jewish opposition to human sacrifice—this may be due to the fact that it was no longer being practiced. Likewise, if Josephus does not omit the seemingly embarrassing law that one may charge interest from a non-Jew but not from a Jew (Deut 23:21; cf. *Ant* 4.8.25 §266), which would appear to play into the hands of anti-Semites, the reason may be that he was eager to attract non-Jews to Judaism; and interest-free loans may well have proved a major attraction.

Another possible explanation for Josephus' deviations is that he had sectarian leanings. Indeed, Yadin has noted that there are parallels between Josephus' classification of the laws and that of the author of 11QTemple and recalls that Josephus himself stated that he had spent several years with the Essenes and with a hermit named Bannus (*Life* 2 §9–12). Indeed, there are even parallels in detail: e.g., both 11QTemple (63.5) and Josephus (*Ant* 4.8.16 §222) declare that the public officers of the nearest town are to wash their hands in holy water over the head of a heifer in expiation for an undetected murderer, whereas the Bible (Deut 21:6) does not specify the head. Again, whereas the Bible (1 Kgs 21:13) says that there were two false witnesses against Naboth, Josephus (*Ant* 8.8.8 §358) mentions three, apparently in accord with CD (9.17, 22), which likewise requires three witnesses in capital cases.

Still another explanation for Josephus' version of Jewish law is that he may be following Philo. Indeed, there are no fewer than four instances where Josephus' interpretation of law agrees with that of Philo in the latter's *Hypothetica* (even though so little of this work has survived): (1) the public reading of the Torah on the Sabbath (*AgAp* 2.17 §175), (2) the death penalty for abortion (*AgAp* 2.24 §202), (3) the prohibition of concealing anything from friends (*AgAp* 2.27 §207), and (4) the prohibition of killing animals that have taken refuge in one's home (*AgAp* 2.29 §213). While it is true that these are also paralleled in rabbinic sources, the rabbinic parallels are not quite so precise as those in Philo. In particular we may cite the striking parallel in language between Philo (*Hypothetica* 7.9) and Josephus (*AgAp* 2.29 §213) in the statement of the law concerning the animal that has taken refuge in one's home as a suppliant.

As we have suggested above, Josephus may likewise have been influenced by Roman law in an effort to smooth his way with his Roman audience, though admittedly he nowhere indicates that he had studied or admired Roman law and, indeed, insists on the unique excellence of Jewish law (*Ant* 1. Proem 4 §22–23; *AgAp* 2.16 §163). We may, however, note that Josephus' statement that a thief, if unable to pay the penalty imposed upon him, is to become the slave of the aggrieved party (*Ant* 4.8.27 §272) is paralleled neither in the Bible nor in the Talmud, but rather in Roman law.

Another explanation of Josephus' deviations may be that he confuses commands with advice. Thus his statement, which is without parallel, that the law commands *(keleuei)* that in seeking a spouse one should not be influenced by a dowry (*AgAp* 2.24 §200) may be mere advice, since the verb *keleuei* (like the Latin *iubeo* to which it corresponds) may mean "recommends" or "advises," as indeed it seems to mean in *Life* 75 §414. The Talmud (*Qidd.* 70a) has similar advice, that one should not choose a wife for the sake of her money.

We may be surprised that Josephus is occasionally less liberal than the rabbis, notably in his attitude toward artistic representation. Thus he is ready to lead the Jews of Galilee to destroy the palace of Herod the Tetrarch because it had been decorated with images of animals (*Life* 12 §65); and he condemns King Solomon for placing the images of bulls and lions in the temple (*Ant* 8.7.5 §195), whereas even the Bible itself (1 Kgs 7:25; 10:20) contains no such rebuke and the rabbis actually state that all faces are permissible except that of a human (*ʿAbod. Zar*. 43b). The explanation here may be that the rabbis were realistic enough to perceive that the masses of the people were liberal in their interpretation of the laws concerning art work, as indicated by the artistic representation that has come down to us; hence they made no attempt to stop them. Josephus, on the other hand, had no "constituency" and hence felt that he could afford to maintain an unyielding posture; indeed, he may have felt a necessity to do so while among the Galileans, who were known for their religious zealotry.

**D. Language and Style of Josephus**

With the completion of K. H. Rengstorf's (1973–83) concordance of Josephus (except for the small portion of *AgAp* [2.5–9 §51–113] which is extant only in Latin), we are now in a position to examine

Josephus' language against the backdrop of that of his predecessors and contemporaries. This concordance, we may remark, lists every occurrence of every word (with the exception of a very few common words), has a very high degree of accuracy, is very generous in quoting lemmas, lists noteworthy textual variants, and often cites the Latin translation of Josephus. Unfortunately, unlike the truncated dictionary of Josephus by Thackeray and Marcus (1930–55), it usually does not give the meaning of the word in a given passage but merely lists all the meanings at the beginning of the entry. Moreover, it omits the context for prepositions, conjunctions, pronouns, numbers, and particles, though it is precisely such words that are often the key to the appreciation of the author's style; and it is not sufficiently analytical with regard to Josephus' grammar.

Ladouceur (1977) has demonstrated that in declensional and conjugational forms, Josephus, far from being dependent upon any single author, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, fluctuates freely between classical and postclassical usage; and much of his grammatical usage is paralleled in Polybius and in Attic inscriptions of the first century B.C.E.

As to Josephus' employment of assistants, it is ironic that no one has been able to pinpoint the influence of assistants in *JW*, Josephus' earliest work, in which he himself says he received such help (*AgAp* 1.9 §50); but while Josephus says nothing of obtaining such assistance for *Ant*, Thackeray (1929: 115) claims to have found signs of it in *Ant* 15 and 16 (an assistant well versed in Sophocles) and 17–19 (an assistant steeped in Thucydides). Moreover, there is no indication of the work of assistants in *AgAp*, Josephus' final and most polished work. In addition, the influence of Sophocles and of Thucydides was so pervasive in other Greek writers of this period, notably Dionysius of Halicarnassus, that it is at least as likely that Josephus' language was influenced directly by those writers as indirectly through the alleged assistants. The fact that Josephus used Strabo as a major source in *Ant* 13–15 shows that there is no sharp dividing line at the beginning of Book 15, as Thackeray claims. In addition, we may note that Nicolaus of Damascus, who was Josephus' main source for *Ant* 14–17, was steeped in Sophocles and thus may have been a source of the Sophoclean element in Josephus. Inasmuch as Josephus wrote *Ant* after spending over 20 years in Rome in a Greek-speaking environment, we may suppose that during this interval he perfected his knowledge of Greek to the point where assistants were not needed; in any case if he needed assistants for *Ant*, he should have required them also for the *Life* and *AgAp*, which were written immediately thereafter. As to the occurrence of poetic words and Ionic prose forms in Josephus, they may simply represent a non-Attic dialectical contribution to the *koine*, as seen in the papyri, and should not be used as unambiguous evidence of the literary influence.

In his narrative style Josephus appears to have followed the pattern of his Greek predecessors. Thus his use of double narrative—i.e., two stories on the same theme (e.g., *Ant* 18.3.4 §66–80; and 18.3.5 §81–84)—is in accord with the literary technique of the tragic school of Hellenistic historians. Again, in his suicide narratives, he follows the pattern found in many Greek and Roman writers; and this, we may suggest, would tend to impugn the historical value of such accounts.

Book 7 of *JW* presents a special problem. On the basis of a study of crasis and elision, Morton and Michaelson (1973) have concluded that there is a marked difference between Book 7 and the other books of *JW*, though, of course, this may indicate only that Book 7 did not benefit from the careful editing that the other books received. Moreover, there are sharply different rates of elision for the various parts of *AgAp*, whereas no one has seriously doubted the unity of that work. In the most recent study of Book 7, Schwartz (1985) concludes, on the basis of content rather than of style, that the book consists of three strands, the first composed in 79–81 C.E. (the date usually assigned to the whole work), the second in 82–83 C.E., and the third early in Trajan's reign (ca. 100 C.E.). One other interesting result of the work of Morton and Michaelson is that *Life* and *JW* have a definite stylistic relationship and presumably a common source; this would appear to suggest an answer to a persistent question in Josephan scholarship, namely, whether the *Life* is largely based upon a work which was utilized by Josephus for *JW* many years earlier.

As we have noted, we do not have a single fragment of any Aramaic version of *JW*; and there is no evidence that the Slavonic version is dependent on it. Indeed, despite Josephus' statement (*JW* 1. Proem 1

§3) that he originally composed the work for the benefit of the Jews of the "upper country" (presumably in Aramaic, the language of the Babylonian Jews), doubt has been expressed that he composed such a version at all. But Josephus seems to have been fully at home in Aramaic, since he apparently used a source in that language (presumably in the Babylonian dialect) for his extended account of Asinaeus and Anilaeus (Schalit 1965).

Despite his long residence in Rome, there is no conclusive evidence that Josephus knew Latin. Indeed, since such a large percentage of the intellectuals there were fully conversant in Greek, he probably saw no need to learn Latin. The only Roman writer he mentions by name is Livy (*Ant* 14.4.3 §68). Mommsen (1870) suggested that Josephus' source for the lengthy account of the assassination of Caligula and the accession of Claudius was a Latin history by Cluvius Rufus, since Cluvius (according to an emendation, *Ant* 19.1.13 §91–92) is said to have given an apt quotation from Homer, an anecdote which would seem to be derived from Cluvius himself. It has also been noted that Josephus' style in Book 19 is more metaphoric and more highly colored than is usual for him. But aside from the fact that there is no indication that Cluvius' history (which is now lost) covered the period of Caligula and Claudius, the rhetorical style may have come from another writer within the same rhetorical tradition; and the fact that Josephus' account places such stress on the role of Agrippa I in these events would seem to indicate the likelihood that his source (or one of his major sources) was an oral tradition from the family of Agrippa, with which Josephus was very close.

**E. Josephus' Influence**

Josephus seems to have been ignored by classical writers; indeed, the only pagan writer who definitely knows the works of Josephus is the 3d-century Porphyry, who (*De Abstinentia ab Esu Animalium* 4.11) refers (*Abst.* 4.11) to Josephus' discussion of the Essenes in *JW*, Ant, and *AgAp* (there is no allusion to them in our text of *AgAp*, however).

Josephus' influence becomes most noticeable in the Church Fathers. In particular we may cite his influence upon the Greek Hegesippus, Hippolytus, Origen, Theophilus, Eusebius, John Chrysostom, and Pseudo-Kaisarios, as well as upon the Latin Minucius Felix, Tertullian, Jerome, and Augustine. Indeed, for writers such as Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome, Josephus was the most useful source for confirming the Bible. Jerome (*Epistula ad Eustochium* 22.35 = *Patrologia Latina* 22.421) praises Josephus as a second Livy; and, in fact, so marked was his favor for Josephus that during his lifetime it was thought that he had translated *JW* into Latin. Indeed, the Church Fathers found in *JW* a strong affinity with NT themes, especially the significance of the destruction of the temple and its connection with the passion of Jesus.

During the Middle Ages Josephus was regarded as an authority in such diverse fields as biblical exegesis, allegory, chronology, arithmetic, astronomy, natural history, geography, military tactics, grammar, etymology, and theology. For Christians who were cut off from the direct Jewish tradition, it was Josephus who supplied pilgrims with their knowledge of the Holy Land. In catalogues of medieval libraries his works commonly appear with the Church Fathers. In the monastery of Cluny, Josephus is listed as one of the authors whose works were read during Lent. His influence was even greater then than it has been in modern times because he was said to have written certain works which are generally regarded as spurious, notably *4 Maccabees* and *Hegesippus*, as well as, of course, the paragraphs about Jesus in *Ant.* We may note, in particular, the influence of Josephus upon such medieval Latin authors as Bede, Rabanus Maurus, Fulcher of Chartres, and, above all, Peter Comestor, whose *Historia Scholastica*, written in the 12th century, soon became the most popular book in Europe. An indication of Josephus' influence upon this work is the fact that Comestor is often a clue to restoring the original text of the Latin translation of Josephus, and vice versa. Josephus' influence may also be seen in the popularity of the legend of Josephus the physician who cured Titus of a swollen leg (cited in Landolfus Sagax's *Historia miscella* [ca. 1000] and in the 13th-century *Sachsenspiegel*).

Among Byzantine Greek authors whom Josephus influenced we may cite George Hamartolos, Malalas, Zonaras, the anonymous author of *De obsidione toleranda*, Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, and the anonymous author of *Palaea Historica.* Josephus was unknown among Jewish writers during the Middle

Ages; but the influence of Josippon (see below) was profound on such Jewish commentators as Rashi in the 11th century and the Franco-German Tosafists in the two centuries thereafter.

During the Renaissance the enormous popularity of Josephus may be gauged from the fact that between 1450 and 1700 there were more editions of *Ant* (73) and of *JW* (68) than of any other historical work in Greek. The 14th-century Nicolas of Lyre was greatly indebted to Josephus in his biblical commentary. During this period, as in the Middle Ages, Josephus was ignored by Jewish writers, with the notable exception of Abrabanel in the 15th century and Azariah dei Rossi in the 16th century. As to the popularity of Josippon, it has even been suggested that this paraphrase was a link in the chain of events which culminated in the readmission of the Jews to England by Cromwell.

The influence of Josephus upon modern literature has been profound but has been documented fully only for Spanish literature (in an unpublished study). Until our own days a common sight in many homes was a copy of Josephus alongside the Christian Bible since his works bridged the chronological gap between the OT and NT. Among strict English Protestants only Josephus and the Bible were permitted to be read on Sunday. The growing sanctity of the Hebrew Scriptures in England by the end of the 16th century led playwrights to turn to the Apocrypha and Josephus for source material, in particular for plays about Herod. In the period before the American Revolution, the earliest book by a Jewish author (other than the Bible) printed in America was L'Estrange's 1719 translation of *JW*. The second book of Jewish authorship printed in America was Morvvyne's 1722 translation of Josippon.

In French literature we may note Josephus' influence on Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire. In Italian he was particularly influential on Petrarch. In Spanish literature he especially influenced such writers as Alfonso the Learned, Lope de Vega, and Tirso de Molina. Josephus' popularity was particularly great among Spanish Conversos (the so-called Marranos), who practiced their Judaism secretly after their conversion to Christianity in the 14th and 15th centuries and who found in Josephus an author who was both accepted by the Church (because of the *Testimonium Flavianum*) and proud of his Jewish heritage and faith. In German literature his influence is particularly to be seen in the 20th-century Lion Feuchtwanger's very popular, and largely autobiographical, trilogy about him (1932, 1936, 1942).

**F. The Text of Josephus**

So far as we can tell, all the writings of Josephus have been preserved, thanks to the interest of the Christian Church. There are 133 manuscripts of some or all of his works; but the earliest of these dates from the 11th century; and the text, especially of *Ant*, is often in doubt. Only one papyrus fragment of his works has been found (of *JW* 2.20.6–7 §576–79; and 2.20.7–8 §582–84), but it consists of only 38 complete words and 74 words in part. The fact, however, that there are no fewer than nine places (several of them, to be sure, based on somewhat shaky conjectures deriving from the number of letters in a line) where the fragment differs from known manuscripts leads one to think that the text of *JW*, which is in much better shape than that of *Ant*, is even less secure than has been supposed. The fact that the papyrus agrees now with one group of our extant manuscripts and now with another leads one to suggest that a century ago the editor of the definitive text of Josephus, Benedictus Niese, relied excessively on one family of manuscripts. Hence, for example, in the famous episode at Masada (in *JW* 7), we should now have less confidence in the reliability of the text. Another clue to the unreliability of the text that we possess may be found in the fact that the Church Fathers of the 3d and 4th centuries (Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome) declare that, according to Josephus, Jerusalem was destroyed because of the murder of James the Just, a statement nowhere to be found in our present text of Josephus. While such statements may represent tendentious writing, they may also reflect a text different from ours. Similarly, as Shlomo Pines has noted, there are statements in the 10th-century Arabic historian Agapius allegedly drawn from Josephus which are not in our texts (1971: 49–63).

The best modern edition of the Gk text remains the *editio maior* of Niese (7 vols., 1885–95), which has a much more conservative and full apparatus criticus than his *editio minor* (6 vols., 1888–95). Of the complete or partial Gk mss mentioned by Schreckenberg (1972), 50 were unknown to Niese, though only 2 of these are apparently of any major significance. Naber's edition (1888–96), which appeared almost

simultaneously with that of Niese, has a smoother and more readable text than that of Niese but is too free with emendations and has numerous errors in the apparatus criticus.

**G. Paraphrases and Translations**

There are two translations into Latin, the first a free paraphrase of *JW* dating from the 4th century and ascribed to a certain Hegesippus, and the second a more literal translation of the works (with the exception of *Life*) made under the direction of Cassiodorus in the 6th century. Inasmuch as our earliest Greek mss date from the 11th century, these Latin versions, especially that ascribed to Cassiodorus, are of considerable value for the reconstruction of the text; they have not been fully exploited hitherto for this purpose, partly because we have critical editions solely for *AgAp* and the first five books of *Ant* (the latter, moreover, is based on only a few of the 171 manuscripts, its stemma is less than careful, and manuscripts are cited irregularly and inconsistently).

We have a Syriac version of Book 6 of *JW*. Its editor, Heimann Kottek (1886), has conjectured that the translator had before him a portion of the Aramaic original; but inasmuch as that original is completely lost, it is difficult to substantiate this claim.

A Hebrew paraphrase of *JW* was apparently prepared in S Italy in the 10th century (though Zeitlin [1962–63] has dated it as early as the 3d or 4th century). Its author is known as Josippon, and this paraphrase has come down to us in three very different recensions; the work has now, for the first time, been scientifically edited by D. Flusser. See JOSIPPON. Josippon's chief source was, it seems, Hegesippus, though he also shows knowledge of the Apocrypha and of the Latin translation of the first 16 books of *Ant.* In terms of purpose, whereas Josephus views the war between the Jews and the Romans as one for national liberty, Josippon looks upon it as a holy war. He thus emphasizes two opposite trends—submission to the Romans and willingness to suffer martyrdom. The sole translation of this work into English is that of Peter Morvvyne in 1558, but it was based upon an abbreviated Latin version. A translation of the full text from the original Hebrew is now being prepared by Steven Bowman of the University of Cincinnati.

Another paraphrase, dating from the 11th century, was made into Old Russian, the definitive edition of which has been issued by Meščerskij (1958). Eisler (1929–30) suggested that this version is at least partially based on Josephus' original Aramaic version of *JW*, but this is problematic since its grammatical constructions only occasionally deviate from the Greek text. There are translations of this version into French and German, but not into English. It has been suggested, though hardly conclusively, that this version was used in the ideological struggle against the Khazars, who had been converted to Judaism in the 8th century.

What is of particular interest in the Slavonic text is the additions pertaining to John the Baptist and Jesus, though, curiously, neither of them is mentioned by name. It seems hardly likely that a Jew (i.e., Josephus) could have written "according to the law of *their* fathers" or "they [i.e., the Jews] crucified him," as we find in the Slavonic text. (An English translation of the passages pertaining to John and Jesus is to be found at the end of the 3d volume of the Loeb Library translation of Josephus.)

For many years the standard translation of Josephus' works into English was that of William Whiston in 1737, which has been reprinted at least 217 times. The translation has undoubted virility, but is based on Haverkamp's inferior 1726 text, is full of outright errors, and in its notes has such strange notions as that Josephus was an Ebionite Christian and a bishop of Jerusalem.

The Loeb Classical Library edition, by Henry St. J. Thackeray et al. (originally in nine volumes, now reprinted in ten volumes [London, 1926–65]) contains an eclectic Greek text which is dependent on Niese and Naber, with relatively few original emendations. The translation is often rather free, the commentary (frequently indebted to Reinach's French edition) is increasingly full, and there are a number of useful appendixes, especially bibliographical, in the last four volumes. Geoffrey A. Williamson's 1959 translation of *JW* (revised by E. Mary Smallwood in 1981) is popular and readable, having removed passages which appear to interrupt the narrative. Gaalya Cornfeld's 1982 translation of *JW* is often closely related to Thackeray's Loeb version; it has an extensive commentary and lavish illustrations but contains many errors.

**H. Scholarship on Josephus**

There is no classical or Jewish author for whom we have more complete or more fully annotated bibliographies than Josephus. Schreckenberg (1968), covering the period from the appearance of the editio princeps of the Latin translation in 1470 to 1965, lists 2207 entries; but the arrangement is year by year instead of by subject matter; there are numerous omissions; summaries are missing from a large number of items; and there are many errors, as is inevitable in this kind of work. His supplement (1979), arranged alphabetically by author, in which he attempts to be complete through 1975, has 1453 entries. Feldman (1986) has approximately 2600 entries, arranged alphabetically by author, of which about 900 cover the period from 1976 through 1984, while approximately 1900 are items that Schreckenberg missed, and the remainder contain summaries where Schreckenberg lacked them. This work also supplies indexes of citations and of Gk words in Josephus, both of which are missing from Schreckenberg's second volume. It also lists nearly 300 corrigenda for Schreckenberg's first volume and about 200 for his second volume.

Feldman (1984) also lists 5543 entries, arranging the subject matter according to 29 major topics and 428 subtopics and presenting not only summaries but, in most cases, criticisms, often at length, of the various items and, for all major problems, an evaluation of the state of the question. He also gives a list of desideratums in the field and the reasons why such works are needed. (Corrigenda to this volume will be found in Feldman 1986.) The most recent critical bibliographies of Josephus are those by Bilde (1988) and Feldman (in Feldman and Hata 1989: 330–448).

As to works about Josephus, Hölscher (PW 9: 1934–2000) has written the most influential general survey, in which he deals especially with Josephus' sources. His theory that for *Ant* Josephus made uncritical use of an intermediate lost Hellenistic midrash is based on the hypothesis, popular with scholars of his era, that ancient authors would have found it most difficult to consult more than one source at a time; this is largely contested today.

The most original and most challenging work on Josephus remains that by Laqueur (1920), who concludes that Josephus' works reflect the circumstances of the time when he wrote, a point that has now been further developed by Schwartz (1985). The fairest and most comprehensive overall survey remains the semipopular series of lectures delivered by Henry St. J. Thackeray (1929). His most original theory, developed at some length in the work, that Josephus employed an assistant who was well versed in Sophocles for Books 15 and 16 of *Ant* and another assistant who was well acquainted with Thucydides for Books 17 through 19, has been challenged, since Sophoclean and Thucydidean words appear throughout Josephus' works (see above). Moreover, in his chapter on the *Testimonium Flavianum,* Thackeray was unduly influenced by the irrepressible Eisler (1929–30).

Shutt (1961) is concerned primarily with the relationship between Josephus' language and style and those of Nicolaus of Damascus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Polybius, and Strabo. His conclusions are hardly convincing, however, since many of the words cited are hardly unique with those authors.

Cohen (1979) has written the most challenging and most influential book since Laqueur (1920), to whom he is much indebted. Cohen suggests that Josephus used a preliminary draft for both *JW* and *Life* but that he modified it less in *Life*; however, such a theory is hard to substantiate, since we do not have a single fragment of the memoir; and we may well ask why Josephus did not use such a document for all the material common to *JW* and *Life*. Moreover, Cohen is hypercritical of Josephus' credibility except when it fits into his own theory that Josephus indeed originally backed the revolt against the Romans as he admits. Cohen argues that after Josephus surrendered, he invented a moderate faction to make it appear that he had not been alone in his defection.

Rajak (1983) in a useful, if less challenging, corrective to Cohen, interprets Josephus' social, educational, and linguistic background in the light of what can be known of his contemporaries and their attitudes. The book focuses on the Jewish revolt against the Romans, which the author interprets in the comparative light of other revolutions. Two collections of essays by various scholars have also appeared (Feldman and Hata 1987, 1989).

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**JOSES** (PERSON) [Gk *Iōsēs* (Ἰωσης)]. Greek equivalent of the Hebrew Joseph (Mark 6:3 = Matt 13:55; Mark 15:40 = Matt 27:56).

**1.** Brother of Jesus (Mark 6:3). The meaning of the word *brother* is uncertain. It is simplest to understand Jesus' brothers as the sons of Joseph and Mary born after Jesus. In general the early Church Fathers understood them to be the children of Joseph by a previous marriage. Beginning with Jerome, many have held that they were Jesus' cousins, the children of Mary's sister. See JESUS, BROTHERS AND SISTERS OF.

**2.** Son of one of the women named Mary who witnessed Jesus' crucifixion (Mark 15:40) and burial (Mark 15:47). Some argue that this Mary was the sister of Jesus' mother (John 19:25); and thus Joses was Jesus' cousin, to be identified with the Joses in #1 above. Both Joseses listed above probably needed no further identification because they were well-known to the first readers of the gospel. In Acts 4:36 some manuscripts read Joses for Joseph, the given name of Barnabas, Paul's companion.
GARETH LEE COCKERILL

**JOSHAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yôshâ* (יוֹסָהָה)]. A descendant of Simeon (1 Chr 4:34), described as one of the "princes in their families" (1 Chr 4:38). The name may mean "Yahweh is a gift." In the LXX the name appears as *Ios[e]ia.* (Lucian reads *Ioas;* the Vg *Iosa.*) See Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 62.
CRAIG A. EVANS

**JOSHAPHAT** (PERSON) [Heb *yôšāpāṭ* (יוֹשָׁפָט)]. **1.** A Mithnite, one of David's warriors, a member of "the Thirty" (1 Chr 11:43). The addition in Chronicles (1 Chr 11:41b–47) to the list in 2 Sam 23:8–39 (= 1 Chr 11:8–41a) contains several references to cities or regions in Transjordan (Reuben, Ashteroth, Aroer, Moab), and it is possible that "Mithnite" (LXX$^{B,S}$ "Bethanite"), the descriptive adjective

applied to Joshaphat, refers to an otherwise unknown locality in that region (along with other terms in the list: Mahavite, Mezobaite; see Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 103–4). The total number of names in the list exceeds 30; by reading *šālîšîm,* "officers" instead of *šĕlōšîm,* "thirty" this list would name members of David's officer corps rather than a distinctive military unit called "the Thirty." The Chronicler has doubled the list of warriors who supported David (1 Chr 11:41b–12:40) beyond that contained in the parallel narrative (2 Sam 23:8–39 = 1 Chr 11:10–41a); the source for these additional lists can only be a matter of conjecture. The long list reflects his concern to show "all Israel" united in support for David, a characteristic theme of the Chronicler's history.

**2.** One of the priests appointed by David to blow trumpets during the transfer of the ark from the house of Obed-edom to Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:24).

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**JOSHAVIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yôšawyâ* (יוֹשַׁוְיָה)]. A son of Elnaam and brother of Jeribai (1 Chr 11:46), one of the mighty men of David's armies (1 Chr 11:46). These names appear in a list occasionally described as the "additional" mighty men—16 in number (1 Chr 11:41b–47)—since they are not included in the parallel list in 2 Sam 23:24–39 (= 1 Chr 11:26–41a). The origin of this additional list has been disputed: some consider it a postexilic fabrication, yet the E Jordanian locale suggested by the names (e.g., all the known sites are E of the Jordan: Reuben, v 42; Ashteroth … Aroer, v 44; Moab, v 46) appears to be an unlikely invention, considering the suspicion regarding this area after the Exile. That David would have support from Moab is not surprising, considering (1) his Moabite ancestry (Ruth 4:18–22) and (2) the sequestering of his parents there (1 Sam 22:3–4). This list probably was an additional fragment available to the Chronicler (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 104), so we suggest that Joshaviah was a Transjordanian war hero who joined David's forces. See also DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

JOHN C. ENDRES

**JOSHBEKASHAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yošbĕqāšâ* (יָשְׁבְּקָשָׁה)]. One of the 14 sons of Heman who were appointed to prophesy with musical instruments under the direction of their father and the king (1 Chr 25:4). Joshbekashah received the 17th lot cast to determine duties (1 Chr 25:24). Scholars have long suggested that the final nine names in 1 Chr 25:4 can be read as a liturgical prayer. For instance, Joshbekashah could be understood as a participial form of the verb *yšb* followed by the word *qāšâ,* a feminine adjective which is used elsewhere as a noun (Ps 60:5—Eng 60:3). The resulting translation would be "sitting (in) adversity," and the phrase would form part of the fourth line of the liturgical prayer reconstructed by scholars. For a reconstruction and translation of the prayer, a summary of interpretative possibilities, and bibliography, see ELIATHAH.

J. CLINTON MCCANN, JR.

**JOSHEB-BASSHEBETH** (PERSON) [Heb *yōšeb baššebet* (יֹשֵׁב בַּשֶּׁבֶת)]. Found only at 2 Sam 23:8, the name belongs to one of David's mighty men. See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS. The name is unusual in form in the Hebrew onomasticon; the name Jashobeam at the corresponding point in 1 Chr 11:11 has led to explanation of Josheb-basshebeth as a corruption of an original **yišba῾al* (so *IPN,* 247). The name was perhaps first altered by dysphemic pronunciation of the theophoric element as *bōšet* (see also ISH-BOSHETH).

PHILIP C. SCHMITZ

**JOSHIBIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yôšibyâ* (יוֹשִׁבְיָה)]. Son of Seriah, a descendant of Simeon (1 Chr 4:35), described as one of the "princes in their families" (1 Chr 4:38). The name probably means

"Yahweh causes to dwell." In the LXX the name appears as *Isabia.* See Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 62.

CRAIG A. EVANS

**JOSHUA** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhôšūaʿ* (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ)]. Var. JESHUA. Five persons in the Bible bear this name. Outside the biblical corpus, Joshua ben Hananiah was an important early rabbinic sage (#6 below).

1. The man who served as Moses' "servant"/"minister" (Heb *mĕšārēt:* Exod 24:13; Josh 1:1) during the wilderness period, and subsequently led the Israelite entry into Canaan, and apportioned the land to the respective tribes. Joshua's territorial inheritance (Josh 19:49–50), his burial site (Josh 24:30), and the genealogical note in 1 Chr 7:27 all indicate that he belonged to the tribe of Ephraim. Num 13:16 reports that Moses renamed Hoshea as Joshua ("Yahweh is salvation"), apparently to explain why a person living in a generation born before the sacred Tetragrammaton was revealed (Exod 6:3) was given a "Yahweh" name.

Joshua first appeared in the Bible as a warrior who fought, at Moses' command, against the Amalekites (Exod 17:9–13). As a sort of cultic apprentice, he accompanied Moses onto Mt. Sinai (Exod 24:13; 32:15–18); and he served at the tent of meeting (Exod 33:11; cf. Acts 7:44–45). Among the 12 spies sent to reconnoiter Canaan (Numbers 13–14), only Joshua and Caleb trusted that Yahweh could lead Israel to victory in the promised land.

As Moses approached the time of his death, the Lord instructed him to designate Joshua as his successor (Num 27:12–23; Deut 3:23–28); and the book of Joshua relates how Joshua faithfully carried out the commands of Moses as he executed the double task of leading the Israelites into the promised land and putting them in possession of it (cf. Lohfink 1962). Following Israel's settlement in Canaan, Joshua led the gathered Israelites in a renewal of the covenant with Yahweh (Joshua 24).

Efforts to reconstruct the history of the traditions underlying the Joshua stories have usually concluded that most of the references to Joshua in the Pentateuch are secondary insertions (Möhlenbrink 1943; Noth *HPT*, 175–77) and therefore do not reflect historical reality. For example, a critical reading of Num 13:30–31; Deut 1:34–37; and Josh 14:6–8 suggests that there was a preliminary stage of the spy story of Numbers 13–14 in which there was only one spy—Caleb—who exhibited appropriate faith in Yahweh. See CALEB. Because tradition assigns Moses and Joshua to tribes (Levi and Ephraim) which probably had different historical origins and settlement histories (cf. Ramsey 1981: 65–68, 84–88), there is some question as to whether the two men were historically associated with each other.

According to a widely held thesis, the entire block of material from Joshua through 2 Kings in the Hebrew Bible was composed by an individual or a school, the Deuteronomistic Historian(s) (Dtr), who lived in the late 7th to mid-6th century B.C. (Noth *NDH*; cf. Cross *CMHE*, 274–89) and utilized a variety of sources, of varying historical value. Some tradition critics have concluded that the sources for Joshua 2–9 belonged to the genre of *etiological sagas* and have minimal historical value (Alt *KlSchr*, 176–92; Noth *Josua* HAT, 11–12; Fohrer 1968: 200–201). In any case it is frequently questioned whether the Ephraimite Joshua would likely have been a central figure in events leading to occupation of Benjaminite territory (Joshua 2–9). Some historians (e.g., Alt *KlSchr*, 176–92; Gottwald 1979: 153) theorize that Joshua established a reputation as a warrior in the battle of Beth-horon (Josh 10:1–15), a site on Ephraimite soil. This reputation, plus his decisive role in the Shechem assembly (Joshua 24) led to his name's being incorporated into other stories of neighboring regions. Noth (*Josua* HAT, 61, 139) acknowledged Joshua's role in the Shechem assembly but believed that the original hero of the battle of Beth-horon was a now-unknown Benjaminite hero whom Joshua displaced as the account was transmitted. Another proposal (Weinfeld 1988: 329–32) is that it was Joshua's settlement of Timnath-serah (Josh 19:50) that established his military reputation and eventually led to a magnified role. Yet another theory is that virtually the entire body of Joshua material is fiction created by Dtr and even later writers (Van Seters 1983: 322–37).

A different group of scholars has argued that etiology can be shown not to have been a controlling motive in the Conquest stories and that the testimony of archaeological evidence generally confirms the

historicity of these narratives (cf. Albright 1963: 24–34). Consequently, while acknowledging that the settlement in Canaan was more complicated than the account in Joshua implies, they have credited to Joshua a historical role which is much closer to that reported in the OT (cf. *IDB* 2: 546–48; *BHI*, 129–43; de Vaux *EHI*, 593–680; Boling and Wright *Joshua* 72; but see 212 and 243–44).

The sources underlying the accounts of the territorial assignments (Joshua 13–21) are dated to the period of the Monarchy by most scholars (Soggin *Joshua* OTL, 11–14; Gottwald 1979: 155–63) and therefore cannot be taken as reflecting actual events from Joshua's day. Bright (*IDB* 2: 545) and Gottwald (1979: 160), who may be taken as representatives of the conservative and the revisionist wings of critical historical scholarship, respectively, concur that it was Dtr who introduced the motif of Joshua presiding over the allotment of the promised land.

The historical reconstructions just mentioned all rely to a considerable degree on inferences about stages of the traditions' development prior to the final form of the narrative. Another approach to the Joshua material, less interested in recovering the historical facts, examines the literary or theological characterization of Joshua in the canonical text. What understandings of Joshua are proffered by the narrative now before us (which is the one stage of the tradition of whose shape we can be certain)?

Close reading reveals that the biblical narrative portrays Joshua as more than just a successor to Moses. Numerous passages seem consciously to portray him as an antitype of Moses (cf. Wenham 1971: 145–46; Childs *IOTS*, 245). The Lord assures Joshua that the divine presence will accompany him as it did Moses (Josh 1:5; 3:7; cf. 4:14). The crossing of the Jordan, led by Joshua, is described as analogous to the crossing of the Red Sea (Josh 4:23). Joshua's encounter with the commander of the army of Yahweh (Josh 5:13–15) exhibits a striking resemblance to Moses' encounter with the angel of Yahweh at the burning bush (Exod 3:2–5). Joshua exercises the authority to reinterpret or even suspend divine commands spoken to Moses (Josh 6:17; 8:27; cf. Polzin 1980: 73–145). Joshua 12 juxtaposes a summary of Joshua's military feats (vv 7–24) to those of Moses (vv 1–6). Joshua's assignment of the inheritances for nine and one-half tribes W of the Jordan is paralleled to the similar work by Moses for the Transjordanian tribes (Josh 13:8–33 = 14:1–19:51). Joshua's function as covenant mediator in Joshua 24 resembles that of Moses at Sinai (Exodus 20–24). The note of Joshua's death (Josh 24:29) assigns to him the epithet "servant of Yahweh," which was frequently used of Moses (e.g., Josh 1:1; 8:31).

The canonical tradition, of course, does not grant Joshua status fully equal with that of Moses. A few passages explicitly assign Joshua a role inferior to that of Moses (Num 11:26–29; 27:20–21). Also, the deeds of Moses outstrip those of Joshua; and the signs and wonders performed by Moses are much more numerous (e.g., Exodus 7–11; 14:21–31; 15:22–25; 17:1–7; Num 20:2–13). Joshua functions occasionally as an intercessor for the people (cf. Josh 7:6–9), but not nearly so often as Moses (e.g., see Exod 32:11–14; Num 11:2; 12:13; 14:13–19; 21:7). In addition, Joshua's speaking for the Lord (see further below) is not nearly so extensive as is Moses' (cf. numerous passages in Deuteronomy); and the teaching and law giving of Moses are normative for both Joshua and the Israelites (e.g., Josh 1:7–8, 13; 4:10; 8:30–35; 11:12–15; 22:2; 23:6). Finally, the NT contains a scant 3 references to Joshua, in contrast to around 80 for Moses.

The portrait of Joshua contains a number of elements which elsewhere appear in connection with kings. The commissioning episode in Num 27:15–23 speaks of Joshua as one who will "go out and come in" before the people of Israel, that they may not be as "sheep which have no shepherd." This terminology refers to leadership in battle, usually associated with a royal figure (e.g., 2 Sam 5:2; 1 Kgs 22:17; 2 Kgs 11:8). The charge to Joshua in Josh 1:2–9 utilizes language associated with the installation of monarchs (cf. Deut 17:18–20; 1 Kgs 2:1–5; Porter 1970). Nelson (1981) submits that the parallels between Joshua and King Josiah (in whose time Dtr likely lived and wrote) are especially notable and that the Joshua story provided historical precedent for Josiah's revolutionary reforms. The description of faithful Josiah in 2 Kgs 22:2 is the only text besides Josh 1:7 and 23:6 to express total obedience to the law by the phrase borrowed from Deut 17:20, "turning not from it to the right hand or to the left." Both Joshua and Josiah gathered everyone to hear the Book of the Law and renew the covenant (Josh 8:30–35; 2 Kgs 23:2–3).

The Passover celebration in Josh 5:10–12 may be seen as a model for Josiah's observance (2 Kgs 23:21–23).

Later Jewish traditions referred to Joshua as a prophet (Sir 46:1; *Eup.* [Eus. *Praep. Evang.* 9.30.1]; Jos. *Ant* 4.7.2; 4.8.46), and this characterization is not without foundation in the biblical narratives. It is true that certain Priestly texts imply that, unlike Moses, Joshua needed priestly mediation (Num 27:15–23; Josh 14:1; 19:51). But in the book of Joshua, the Lord often speaks directly to Joshua (e.g., Josh 1:1; 3:7; 4:1, 15; 8:18; 20:1). Joshua uses the prophetic formula, "Thus says Yahweh" (Josh 7:13; 24:2). 1 Kgs 16:34, in an allusion to Josh 6:26, reports the fulfillment of "the word of Yahweh, which he spoke by Joshua the son of Nun." As did the later prophets, Joshua exercises the intercessory function (Josh 7:6–9; cf. 2 Esdr 7:107) in a fashion similar to Moses (Exod 32:11–13; Num 14:13–19). It is not entirely impossible that the author considered Joshua to be the "prophet like Moses" referred to in Deut 18:15–19.

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**2.** The reputed governor of Jerusalem during the reign of King Josiah (2 Kgs 23:8). He is linked, probably on the basis of his position as governor, with the high places of the "gates" (or, following other pointings, "satyrs" or "genii"; see Jones *Kings* NCBC, 621), which high places were destroyed at the entrance of the city. Although the exact location of the two gates referred to is unknown (Robinson *2 Kings* CBC, 220), it is probable that one standing in the city gate had the door to Joshua's home on his left (Rehm *Kings* EB, 215). Yadin thinks that the reference in the verse is not to a gate in Jerusalem but to a gate in Beer-sheba which was near the governor's house. He believes that he has found the *bāmôt* (the word for "high places" may be translated as a singular item) referred to (see Shanks 1977: 4–12; contra Rainey 1977, who sees the altar as dismantled probably by Hezekiah before 701 B.C.). There is no further biblical or extrabiblical record of this Joshua (Rehm *Kings* EB, 223).

**3.** A son of Jehozadak, and the high priest and consequently religious leader to whom the 6th-century prophet Haggai delivered his message, along with Zerubbabel, governor of Judah (Hag 1:1; 2:2). Jehozadak was son of Seraiah (1 Chr 6:14–15), the chief priest killed by Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah after the destruction of Jerusalem (cf. 2 Kgs 25:18ff.; Jer 52:24ff.), and brother of Ezra the scribe (Ezra 7:1). Joshua and his brother were apparently born and reared in Babylon and were among the earliest to return from Exile. This description has been questioned by many scholars, especially in relation to the faithfulness of the Chronicler's account and the succession of the priesthood (see Mitchell, et al. *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and Jonah* ICC, 44). The book of Haggai records that Joshua was receptive to Haggai's exhortation regarding the condition of the temple (Hag 2:4) and that he, along with the remnant of the people, obeyed the voice of God and worked at rebuilding it (Hag 1:12, 14). Zechariah (6:11) says that when a group of exiles returned from Babylon, Zechariah was instructed by God to take their silver and gold and make a crown to put upon the head of Joshua, calling him Branch, as a symbol of his rebuilding the temple. But Mitchell et al. question whether this was the original reading, since this command contradicts other teaching in Zechariah and Haggai which says that Zerubbabel fulfilled the messianic prophecies. Thus Zerubbabel's name may have been used here and corrected by a later scribe

who wanted to align this account with history, since no descendant of Zerubbabel is recorded as becoming high priest of the entire community (Mitchell et al., 185–86). Other scholars posit that both were crowned, and some that the text is correct as it stands (see Barker 1977). This person is probably the same one known in Ezra and Nehemiah as JESHUA, son of Jozadak, in which case the only other pertinent information about this Joshua is that some of his descendants married foreign women (Ezra 10:18; Baldwin *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi* TOTC, 39).

**4.** A man from Beth-shemesh who owned a field in which the ark of the covenant stopped on its return from the Philistines to the people of Israel in Kiriath-jearim (1 Sam 6:14). Possibly reference is to the man who owned the field during the time of the narrator of the account (McCarter (*1 Samuel* AB, 136). The ark is recorded as being placed upon or beside a stone in his field (the stone did not serve as an altar, as v 14 might imply—see Gordon 1986: 102; contra Rehm *Samuel* EB, 19, n. 14), while the cart on which the ark was riding was split up so that a sacrifice of the milch cows pulling it could be made (1 Sam 6:18). McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 137) contends that reference to the stone adds verisimilitude to the story, and Klein (*1 Samuel* WBC, 59) notes that the narrator does not recognize the apparent conflict of this sacrifice of cows with the OT law which mandated unblemished males (Lev 1:3; 22:19), possibly evidencing the antiquity of the elements in the account. There is no other record of this Joshua.

**5.** The father of Er and son of Eliezer according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:29). Joshua is omitted in D, which substitutes a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. The name Joshua as an ancestor of Jesus occurs nowhere else in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, and falls within a list of 18 otherwise unknown descendants of David's son Nathan (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 501). Joshua is not included in Kuhn's (1923: 207–11) discussion of the supposed parallel lists of names in Luke 3:23–26 and 29–31.

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**6.** Joshua ben Hananiah was a Palestinian rabbinic sage active during the early period of Yavneh (Jamnia), from the destruction of the temple in 70 to before the Bar Kokhba rebellion. *M. ʾAbot* 2:8 lists him as a disciple of Yohanan ben Zakkai, the putative founder of rabbinism. No ancient source outside of rabbinic literature attests to Joshua's existence.

The earliest and most historically useful materials about Joshua are halakic opinions that first appear in the Mishnah, ca. A.D. 200, perhaps 75 years after his death. These materials, nearly one-third of which are in the order of Purities *(Ṭohorot),* were not redacted independently; and Joshua rarely appears alone in them. In over three-quarters of them his teaching is reported with that of sages or a named master, and nearly half of the earliest materials are disputes with Eliezer ben Hyrcanus. Akiba appears to have been a major tradent of Joshua's opinions.

Because Joshua's early teachings are so integrated with those of other masters and so shaped by the redaction of the Mishnah, they do not display a distinctive religious philosophy. However, in a set of disputes with Eliezer (*m. Ter* 8:1–3; *Pesaḥ.* 6:5; *Šabb.* 19:4), Joshua rules that if a person performs a forbidden act under the assumption that it is permitted, he/she should not be penalized for the improper behavior. This view of the importance of intention in determining liability, particularly for handling heave offering, is important in teachings assigned to Ushan masters but not Yavneans; and it appears to be the dominant view of the Mishnah as a whole. Joshua's teaching may have played a role in the development of early rabbinism's position on the question of intention, especially in matters pertaining to the cult.

The early materials contain little biographical information about Joshua. *M. Maʿas. Š.* 5:9 implies that he was a Levite, and a long narrative at *m. Roš Haš.* 2:8–9 depicts him in opposition to Gamaliel II's declaration of the new moon and thus in conflict with the Yavnean patriarchate.

Later materials also depict Joshua as an opponent of the patriarchate (*y. Ber*. 4:1 7c–d; *Taʿan.* 4:1 67d; *b. Ber*. 27b–28a). Other traditions place him in Peqiʾin (*b. Sanh.* 32a) and allege that he was a poor needle maker or blacksmith (*y. Ber.* 4:1 7d; *b. Ber*28a).

Joshua is perhaps best known because of the story of the oven of Akhnai (*b. B. Meṣ.* 59b), in which, by quoting Deut 30:12 ("It [the Torah] is not in heaven"), he in principle rejects divine intervention in the interpretation of Scripture. He is alleged to have joined Eliezer in effecting Yohanan ben Zakkai's escape from Jerusalem in 70 (*ʾAbot R. Nat.* A, chap. 4, B; chap. 6; *b. Giṭ.* 56a; *Lam. Rab.* 1.5.31) and to have opposed a Jewish rebellion against Hadrian (*Gen. Rab.* 64:10). The provenance and historicity of these later, mostly legendary, materials are difficult to determine. See also *EncJud* 10: 279–81; Avery-Peck 1985: 272–73.

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**JOSHUA, BOOK OF.** The sixth book of the Hebrew Bible and first book of the Former Prophets in the OT canon. It describes the Israelite invasion of Canaan, followed by division of the land into territories assigned by sacred lot to the tribes of Israel. It is titled after the central figure in the book, Joshua son of Nun.

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A. Outline of Contents
B. Context and Canonical Form
    1. Classic Theme of Biblical Tradition
    2. Stories and Lists in Editorial Frameworks
C. The Book of Joshua in Modern Study
    1. The Primary History: Tetrateuch and Deuteronomistic Corpus
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**A. Outline of Contents**

The canonical book of Joshua follows a roughly sequential pattern. There are five major parts to the book: (1) theological moblization and entrance into the land (1:1–5:12); (2) the warfare in Canaan (5:13–11:23); (3) the inheritance (12:1–19:51); (4) provisions for keeping the peace and the teaching (20:1–21:45); (5) threat of civil war and how to avoid it (22:1–34); and (6) end of the era (23:1–24:33). Each of these, in turn, can be subdivided into smaller parts.

1. Theological Moblization and Entrance into the Land (1:1–5:12)
    a. Marching Orders (1:1–18)
    b. Reconnaissance of Jericho (2:1–24)
    c. Crossing the Jordan (3:1–4:18)
    d. Encampment at Gilgal (4:19–5:12)
        (1) Ecumenical Rationale and Royal Reaction (4:19–5:1)
        (2) Resumption of Circumcision (5:2–9)
        (3) Resumption of Passover (5:10–12)
2. Warfare in Canaan (5:13–11:23)
    a. First Phase: South and Central Hills (5:13–10:43)

(1) The Angelic Commander (5:13–15)
(2) Jericho: Destruction and Curse (6:1–27)
(3) Ai ("The Ruin"): Two Battles (7:1–8:29)
(4) Shechem Covenant (8:30–35)
(5) South-central Canaan (9:1–10:39)
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b. Second Phase: Hazor and the Far North (11:1–15)
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4. Provisions for Keeping the Peace and the Teaching (20:1–21:45)
a. Cities of Refuge, to Counter Blood Feud (20:1–9)
b. Residential and Pasture Rights for the Levites (21:1–42)
c. Summary: Yahweh True to His Word (21:43–45)
5. Threat of Civil War and How to Avoid It (22:1–34)
a. Transjordanian Tribes: Exhortation, Blessing, Dismissal (22:1–8)
b. Religious Strife and Resolution without Joshua (22:9–34)
6. End of the Era (23:1–24:33)
a. Joshua's Farewell Address; Ending in Threat (23:1–16)
b. The Shechem Covenant; Beginning with Promise (24:1–28)
c. Various Burial Notices (24:29–33)

**B. Context and Canonical Form**

**1. Classic Theme of Biblical Tradition.** The book of Joshua—which presupposes and continues a story line that begins in the book of Exodus (how Yahweh liberated a group of state slaves in Egypt and reconstituted them, by covenant in the Sinai Wilderness, to be a special possession of Yahweh, who claims ownership of all the earth) and continues through Numbers (a generation spent wandering in the wilderness) and Deuteronomy (renewal of covenant on Moab)—recounts a classic theme in biblical tradition: how Israel came to be established in the land of Canaan. Yahweh gave Israel a land on which to live, astride the Jordan, with Yahweh as their only sovereign. Many city-kingdoms had been destroyed (Joshua 1–12), the redistributed land generally pacified (chaps. 13–22), and the covenant renewed yet again (chaps. 23–24).

The "Conquest" as Yahweh's gift, a supreme example of divine grace, was a recurring motif in stories told for both edification and entertainment, in which parents and teacher-priests explained to children and worshippers the meaning of their life together as Israelites (Joshua 2–11). It was a theme regularly sung in worship, exalting Yahweh as the ultimate power at work in the world—protecting the weak and breaking the chains of bondage—so that in the Bible love and justice became virtual synonyms, also known as righteousness (see for example, Pss 44:1–8; 78:54–55; 80:8–9, 11; 105:43–45; 106:34–38; 114:1–8; 135:10–12; 136:17–22).

Prophets in Israel and Judah used the same theme, in many of the same ways, but more frequently as expressions of God's prior beneficence, forming the background to the Sovereign's indictment for breach of covenant (see for example Hosea 11; 13:4–6; Amos 2:9–10; Micah 4–6; Jer 2:6–7; 32:20–23; Ezek 20:5–6).

It is a curious fact, however, that in their allusions to the "Conquest" era, psalmists and prophets make only generalized references to the takeover of W Palestine (recounted at length in Joshua), while frequently making specific reference to the prior era, the movement into Transjordan under leadership of

Moses (stories in Numbers 21–35, which are only summarized briefly in Joshua through a flashback in 13:8–33). Thus the book of Joshua reflects a complicated process of tradition formation and literary composition, extending from experiences which early generated nuclear stories to the time of the final editors, reflecting both the spectacular rise and tragic fall of the N and S monarchies (Wright *Joshua* AB, 5–27). It is the long history of some 600 years subsequent to the career of Joshua that will explain the didactic arrangement and rhetorical structure of the finished book, incorporating complementary perspectives from the end of the monarchic era. The old story of victorious entrance into the land that was God's gift was edited for the last time not long before or after the Babylonian invasions of 598 and 587 B.C.E. It is less widely recognized, perhaps, that the idealized story of Joshua as military commander par excellence was finally told with a lively sense of humor and priestly self-irony, of a sort rarely encountered outside the ancient Scriptures.

**2. Stories and Lists in Editorial Frameworks.** While mere mention of Joshua may evoke mental images of massive invasion by a unified national army, proceeding to victories of something like genocidal proportions (an image which indeed seems to be mirrored in a number of editorial passages of Joshua), the arrangement of the book and close reading evoke a different image; but one not so quick to come to sharp focus. Fully one-fifth of the total book is devoted to the crossing of the Jordan and preparations for the first battle, at the choice oasis of Jericho. Following the introduction of Joshua as commander who is to be strictly obedient to Yahweh's *tôrâ* in chap. 1, incongruities abound. Spies sent from Shittim to reconnoiter "all the land," proceed only as far as Jericho and the house of Rahab the harlot, who speaks as though she had been intently studying the book of Deuteronomy. Thus the spies, providentially, learn all that they need to know concerning "all the land."

After the elaborately detailed, ritually ordered crossing of the Jordan from Shittim to Gilgal (3:1–4:18), again providentially facilitated, the army encamped at Gilgal allows itself to be temporarily incapacitated by undergoing the ritual surgery of circumcision and then celebrates the Passover. Neither circumcision nor Passover was observed during the wilderness period according to the text, but both would become indispensable marks of Jewish identity after the Babylonian invasions and deportations. Their resumption has high didactic value at just this point in the story line.

The second major segment of the book tells a mere handful of warfare stories, beginning abruptly with an obscure pericope announcing the arrival of a heavenly warrior on holy ground (5:13–15). The unit makes sure in any case that we know who was ultimately and truly in command at the fall of Jericho, and it was not Joshua.

The victory at Jericho in chap. 6 similarly shows timely collaboration of (1) strict obedience to Yahweh's command and (2) Providence, when the walls tumble down. And yet, after all their obedient efforts, the Israelites would not be allowed to enjoy the fruits of victory. Jericho is cursed by Joshua for some unspecified reason and placed forever off-limits to Israelite settlement. Furthermore, Joshua had specified that no booty for private gain was to be taken from Jericho.

While the performance of Joshua and Israel at Jericho is presented as nearly flawless, it is just the opposite at Ai (or, more precisely Ha-Ai, "The Ruin") in the second warfare story (chap. 7). Here a serious miscalculation of opposing strength (and, it may be implied, failure to consult the oracle) led to a nearly disastrous defeat. An elaborate accounting for the defeat is given in the story of Achan's violation of the booty decree *(ḥerem)* at Jericho. In the sequel to this defeat, victory is providentially assured as Yahweh takes direct command, ordering an ambush behind the town and then drawing defenders out of "The Ruin." Scholars regularly note literary affinities with the strategy for final victory of "Israel," after two resounding defeats, in the civil war with Benjamin which concludes the wider era (Judges 20).

In Joshua the story line takes us next, for a brief interlude, to the north-central hill country, the Shechem valley, flanked by Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Ebal. On the latter Joshua built an altar. He wrote on the stones a copy of Yahweh's *tôrâ* (cf. chap. 1) and read it all, "the blessing and the curse," to the people assembled before the levitical priests charged with protective custody of Yahweh's covenant ark. In the LXX this note about the Shechem assembly is placed *after* the general Canaanite reaction, which is described next in MT.

In chap. 9 the story line returns, as abruptly as it had digressed in 8:30, to the south-central highlands, where a summit gathering of Canaanite kings is underway, while Joshua and the fighting force are to be found at Gilgal. The Hivite residents of Gibeon, speaking for a tetrapolis of villages on the N flank of Jerusalem and claiming to be, like Joshua and his followers, brand-new immigrants, trick the leaders of Israel into a defensive alliance. It is specified that Israelite leaders failed to consult the oracle. The Gibeonite embassy is familiar with the Exodus and Transjordanian conquest tradition (9:9–10), as well as Deuteronomic teaching regarding relations with distant and nearby towns (Deuteronomy 20), but makes no reference to anything that has happened thus far in Joshua 1–8. When the ruse is discovered, "the leaders of the Israelite congregation" propose a solution that assigns lowest social status (temple slaves) to the Gibeonites, which they readily accept; and Joshua is relieved of direct responsibility for the beginning of the affair. Scholars regularly note literary affinities with the tragicomic sequel to the Benjaminite civil war (Judges 21), where the "elders" similarly find an ingenious, if considerably less than admirable, way to maintain a distinctive, twelve-tribe Israelite identity.

In chap. 10 the Israelite-Gibeonite treaty triggers a coalescence of Gibeon's nearby S kingly neighbors: Adonizedek (of Jerusalem), Hoham (Hebron), Piram (Jarmuth), Japhia (Lachish), and Debir (Eglon). Joshua and the force are summoned from Gilgal, and Gibeon is spared because Yahweh providentially marshals heavenly forces (sun and moon) to participate in the right cause, that is, keeping treaty faith (10:1–14). Then, as though unaware of v 15, where Joshua and all Israel return to Gilgal, the chapter continues with another preformed story (vv 16–27) about Joshua's pursuit and capture of the five kings in a cave at Makkedah, followed by their execution and exposure of the corpses. The chapter continues with yet another distinct unit (vv 28–39) reporting successes against seven opponents as sequel to the defense of Gibeon. The list begins with Makkedah and proceeds to Libnah. In addition to Lachish and Hebron from the preceding units, it includes Eglon and Debir (both now as *town* names) and centers in a reference to Horam of Gezer, whose forces this unit understands were also involved in the Canaanite muster.

Nothing more is said, whether in narrative or archival form, in the second major segment of Joshua about warfare in the center and the S, which is hyperbolically summarized to include the Negeb (10:40–42). Except for digression to the Shechem neighborhood (8:30–35) and the sequel to the defense of Gibeon (10:16–39), all the action occurs in the narrowly restricted area that will be inherited by Benjamin (assigned and occupied, 18:11–23) and Dan (assigned but not successfully settled, 19:40–48; cf. Judg 1:34; 18:1–31).

If the convocation between Ebal and Gerizim (8:30–35) is somehow supposed to account for "all the land" between the latitude of Gibeon and the Esdraelon, then one brief story alone (11:1–23) is told to account for the entire N third of the Cisjordanian territorial claims (Esdraelon and Galilee). The victory against a mighty coalition of kings headed by Jabin of Hazor was accomplished by a strategem (hamstringing the chariot horses) considered by the narrator to be truly inspired. And it was followed through to a genocidal conclusion, down the chain of command: Yahweh to Moses, Moses to Joshua, Joshua to the Israelite forces (11:14–15). This is clearly rhetorical exaggeration, as indicated by a general summary statement (11:16–22), before we read that Joshua gave it for an inheritance to Israel "and the land was at rest from warfare" (v 23). At this point there is an abrupt transition in chap. 12; and the reader moves onto very different literary terrain, the description of territorial allotments to the tribes.

After devoting a mere one-fourth of the book to "Conquest" (chaps. 6–11, 16 columns in RSV format) but appearing to leave large geographic gaps, the finished book devotes equal space (16 columns in RSV) to redistribution of the land, leaving no gaps. Without prejudging questions of historicity (to which we shall return below), the reader encounters a mixture of idealization and redactional corrective which together yield a bifocal perspective on the entire era. In the remainder of this description it will be necessary, here and there, to include additional critical commentary.

Chapter 12 serves as a retrospective introduction to the land division, listing 31 kings on both sides of the Jordan who had been defeated by the people of Israel and had their land repossessed. The chapter has long been recognized as, in some way, secondary to the story line because it includes a number of kings and towns not mentioned anywhere else in the book.

Chapter 13, where Joshua has attained a ripe old age, begins with Yahweh reminding the aged commander of all the land that yet remained to be conquered (13:1–6), thus providing an expansive corrective to the preceding hyperbolic summaries. Then, instead of Joshua's proceeding directly to allotments for the nine and one-half tribes in Cisjordan, as he is commanded to do in v 7, narrative action is suspended for a lengthy review of the Transjordanian territories previously assigned by Moses. The section is replete with references to the narrative tradition of Numbers 21ff., takes special notice of arrested developments in central and N Transjordan (Geshur and Maacath, v 13), and twice emphasizes exceptional status for Levites (vv 14 and 33).

Chapter 14 begins as though the assignment of land to the Cisjordanian tribes is, at last, about to begin. The place of assembly is not specified; and it is now Eleazar the priest and Joshua (in that order) who preside over the sacred lot, as they do also in the summary to the section (19:51); and Shiloh (after 18:1) is specified as the place of assembly. In chap. 14, however, after a brief summary of Moses' assignment by lot to the Transjordanian tribes we read how Joshua at Gilgal (sic) receives an embassy from Judah pressing the specific claim of Caleb's clan to Hebron, promised by Moses and now honored by Joshua (14:6–15a). The unit is perhaps to be read as a flashback, although the syntax in v 6 is not disjunctive. In any case with Caleb's capture of Hebron (specifically offsetting the earlier, generalized claim to capture of Hebron by Joshua and all Israel) another Conquest story was preserved, after which we read again and for the last time that "the land was at rest from warfare" (14:15b). The repetition of this formula looks like a standard framing device, enclosing material and interests which have been either presupposed or overlooked thus far and providing the division of Cisjordan with a new introduction. The new introduction gives a priority to the priestly role in events and decision making that is otherwise played down in Joshua, except for the ritual processions, the passing references to the oracle before battle, and two appearances of the Levites as custodians of the ark of the covenant. With this "corrective," description of Cisjordanian allotments will, at last, begin.

Chapter 15 (3 of the 16 columns for the "inheritance" in RSV) is all about Judah. A description of borders (vv 1–12) and a list of towns which are readily but variously grouped by scholars into twelve districts (vv 20–62) frame another story of conquest by clans, not tribes or "all Israel" (Caleb at Hebron again and Othniel at Debir). The second is a doublet of Judg 1:11–15. While scholars generally suspect that the description of borders for Judah, and the remaining tribes, reflects a complicated history beginning in the premonarchic era, there is general agreement that the segmented list of cities in Judah reflects administrative organization from the time of David or later. The list includes a number of towns which are not otherwise mentioned in the early tradition and/or appear from archaeology to have been first settled in the 10th century or later.

Chapters 16 and 17 are all about the sons of Joseph. There is more than likely some historical connection between tribal alignments known from 18th-century Mari texts ("sons of the left [the north]" and "yaminites [southerners]") and the biblical Rachel tribes (Joseph and Benjamin). Here, however, Joseph is counted as two tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh, with the latter already partly settled E of the Jordan. The S border of "Joseph," shared with Benjamin and Dan, is sketchily described (16:1–3), before the specific description of Ephraim begins, giving a more detailed description of its border with W Manasseh (16:5–8). We also learn that there are Ephraimite towns which lie entirely within the territory of Manasseh (v 9), while Canaanites survive in Gezer "to this day" (v 10) when the redactor was living.

The inheritance of Manasseh (17:1–13) shows a distinctive form. After a general introduction (v 1), this section falls into two parts concerned with subgroups (vv 2–6) and borders (vv 7–13). First mentioned is allotment of Gilead and Bashan, in N Transjordan, to Machir, here described as the firstborn of Manasseh and "father" of Gilead. Machir (simply "son of Manasseh" in 13:31) appears to be a constituency originally concentrated in Cisjordan, where an element of it persists effectively as late as the Song of Deborah (Judg 5:14), but eventually shifted in part to Transjordan. At the outset of chap. 17 there is no hint that this assignment in Transjordan happened in the Mosaic era (thus reinforcing the scholarly hunch that chap. 13 belongs to a secondary or "corrective" stratum). Next comes a list of the rest of Manasseh's clans (a number of which do double-duty as place names in north-central Cisjordan): Abiezer, Helek,

Asriel, Shechem, Hepher, and Shemida (v 2). Two of the six, Helek and Shemida, also appear as prominent locales in the Samaria ostraca.

The distinctive description of Manasseh's inheritance continues, with allotment to daughters of Zelophehad (of the clan of "Hepher" in v 2) because he had no male heirs (vv 3–6). That is, the territory of Hepher is subdivided as inheritance for the five daughters (Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah), where again the personal name, e.g., Tirzah, may also appear as a prominent place name. The result is a total of ten shares for W Manasseh. Here again, what looks like a supplementary and exceptional insertion has the priest Eleazar and Joshua, in that order, presiding.

Finally the territory of W Manasseh is described (17:7–13) in a form that intersperses border description and town list. For description of the N territories there was apparently no archival source comparable to that in the S for Judah and, as we shall see, Benjamin.

Chapter 17 concludes with yet another story where Joshua alone presides as judge (as with Caleb's petition in 14:6–15). At issue now is Ephraim's complaint about receiving only one portion (as compared, by implication, with W Manasseh's ten). Joshua's solution is to direct Ephraim to the forested hill country, with instructions to clear it and thus expand Ephraim's inhabitable terrain.

With all of chaps. 14–17 devoted to Judah and the Joseph tribes, allotments for the remaining seven Cisjordanian tribes are briefly reported, without narrative interruption. These allotments are made on the basis of an extensive land description ordered by Joshua, who alone is mentioned as presiding, in an expansive introduction to the section (18:1–10). The place of assembly is now specified as Shiloh, as in the stories of Samuel at the end of the premonarchic era.

For Benjamin the description returns to the pattern displayed for Judah, its neighbor on the S: borders (18:11–20) and segmented town list (18:21–28). The towns are numerous and close together, clustered in two groups. The E cluster (vv 21–24) includes a portion of territory extending considerably N of the border with Joseph. Here it is not a matter of making exceptions for residential, farming, or grazing rights of one tribe within territory of another (as in 16:9; 17:8; and passages pertaining to Levites). Rather, the description seems to reflect a time after the split of the monarchy when Benjamin and SE Ephraim were both administered from Jerusalem. It is probable that in a much earlier period Benjamin had ranged much farther S of its "border" with Judah, since the names of groups best known among the "Benjaminites" at Mari in the 17th century survive as extinct clans (Er and Onan, Genesis 38) in Judahite traditions (Albright 1973: 7–8). "Biblical" Benjamin was at last crowded into a narrow corridor stretching across the watershed and down to the Jordan.

Simeon's towns (19:1–9), with no trace of boundary description, fall entirely within the larger territory of Judah. It appears from the story in Genesis 34, at Shechem, that Simeon (together with Levi) had at an early period ranged much farther N.

Zebulun's inheritance (19:10–16) was a part of the poorer S extremity of the Galilee mountains and a contiguous wedge out into the Jezreel plain.

For Issachar (19:17–23) there is even less attempt to trace a border. Three fixed reference points are given (Jezreel, Tabor, Jordan river) with two segments of a town listed interspersed. Issachar, whose name means "hired man," would be the center of continuing struggle to control the fertile fields and strategic crossroads in the Jezreel, not finally won for Israel until the days of Deborah and Barak (Judges 4–5).

To Asher (19:24–31) fell one of the most prosperous areas in the land, the lush plain of Acco and its narrow N reaches as far as Rosh ha-Niqra (ancient "Ladder of Tyre"), together with territory inland from the great Canaanite cities farther N along the modern Lebanese coast. It is not clear, however, that Tyre and Sidon were considered part of Israelite territory. Again, the description is not highly unified. A fabled man named "Qazardi, chief of Aser" in papyrus Anastasi I (*ANET*, 477) may belong to the pre-Yahwist constituency called Asher. No doubt the earlier concentration of Asherites was on the W slopes of lower Galilee. Qazardi's territory has deep ravines.

Naphtali's description, borders and town list, is more coherent (19:32–39). Controlling the major trade routes connecting the coastal plain and port of Acco with all points N and NE, Naphtali enjoyed the heartland of Galilee.

Finally, Dan's entry (19:40–48) has two parts. The first (vv 40–47a) describes Dan's original allotment on the coastal plain (where its neighbors were Judah, Benjamin, and Ephraim), resembling the general form variously employed throughout these chaps.: here a few elements of border description, but mostly towns listed without directional connectives. The second part (vv 47b–48) reports continued local resistance to Dan's claim and the tribe's relocation in the far N (see Judges 17–18). In the earliest period the people of Dan may have been known as seafarers (Judg 5:17). The name is plausibly connected with one of the Sea Peoples, the Dananu, and the move to relocate in the N may well be related to events represented by destruction of Tel Qasile (founded by Sea Peoples) and its resettlement by another such group, most likely the Shardan (Yadin 1968: 9–23).

The conclusion to this third major segment of the book (19:49–51) is also in two parts. The first reports that Joshua's request for the town of Timnath-serah in the Ephraimite highlands as his personal inheritance was answered affirmatively by Yahweh and granted by the assembly. This rounds off the second phase of land division, which began in 19:1 at Shiloh, with Joshua alone named in the text. It is followed by another note in v 51, where the priest Eleazar and Joshua (in that order) have completed the task they began in 14:1.

At the end of chap. 19, with the story of Conquest told (chaps. 1–11) and redistribution of land by sacred lot completed (chaps. 12–19), the reader is left to wonder perhaps about the tribe of Levi, whose place among the "twelve tribes" seems to have been filled by division of the great N tribe of Joseph (Ephraim and Manasseh). Or, if one were not inclined to wonder about Levi, one might proceed directly to Joshua's farewell address (chap. 23) and the "all Israel" covenant at Shechem (chap. 24), with no sense of a gap but a sure sense of redundancy in the final chapters.

Chapters 20–22 must therefore be of high rhetorical significance in the canonical book. Two social institutions are here singled out for special attention before proceeding in chap. 22 to the story of Israel's life on the land, astride the Jordan river, as Yahweh's gracious gift.

The cities of refuge (chap. 20) are a special group of six towns (which also appear in the following list of levitical towns (chap. 21). There are three on each side of the Jordan (N, central, and S), designated to provide protective asylum for one who might otherwise become the innocent target of private vengeance. The plan is announced by Moses (Num 35:9–34), and the three Transjordanian towns are so designated by Moses (Deut 4:41–43), leaving appointment of three in Cisjordan as a matter for exhortation by Moses (Deut 19:1–13). While it has been argued that the system is a late (7th-century) development (McKeating 1975: 53–55), there is no reference to the institution in the historical books of 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, and 1 and 2 Chronicles; and nowhere after establishment of monarchy and strong central government are they presupposed (they were no longer needed). They are either historical (and early) or utopian, much more likely the former; for there are remarkably few examples of private vengeance in the Bible. Classic examples are seen in the stories of Gideon (Judges 8) and the anonymous N Levite (Judges 19–20), both of whom are presented in scathing caricature, probably for this reason. Cain is the exception, the guilty one who is, nevertheless, protected by deity. But Cain was not Israelite; he lived, as it were, in prehistory, as part of the universal human problem, in early Yahwist perspective. That problem is only compounded when human "vengeance" acquires rival religious sponsorship, as will nearly happen in Joshua 22.

Chapter 21 at last accounts for the Dispersion of Levites, who are to have residential and grazing rights at specified towns, 48 in all, in each of the 12 territories. Three questions persist in critical study: (1) the origin and purpose of the system, (2) the background of the surviving list (with parallels in 1 Chr 6:39–66—Eng 54–81, and (3) the effect of redactional use in Joshua 21 (see below, especially C.1 and C.5).

The summary which follows this section (Josh 21:43–45) makes no reference, direct or otherwise, to the refuge cities and levitical towns of chaps. 20–21 but follows coherently the end of chap. 19, from which it

has been detached for insertion of these two key institutions. At last all is in readiness for the story of Israel's life in Transjordan and Canaan.

After Joshua's blessing and dismissal of the Transjordanian tribes at Shiloh (22:1–9), we plunge abruptly into a story of near civil war on the E-W axis. At issue is an altar near the Jordan (on which side is not clear), built by the E tribes to the alarm of the W tribes. Outright warfare is only averted by lengthy negotiation (the logic of the arguments unfathomable). The only hero is the head of the W embassy Phinehas ben Eleazar the priest. Joshua is not mentioned in the story. Another incongruity: this Phinehas, here presiding at Shiloh, is apparently a predecessor of the ranking Aaronite priest at Bethel, whom the Israelites will tardily consult in the warfare with Benjamin at the end of the wider era (Judg 20:27–29), there at last to receive another reliable oracle. The story here has a happy ending. The W tribes are satisfied and the E tribes give a confessional sentence name to their altar: "There is a witness between us / Yahweh is truly God!" (22:34). It is impossible to suppress the rhetorical relationship between the stories in Josh 22:10–34 and Judg 19–20; the first a close brush with civil war on the E-W axis (early in the era), the other a tragically costly civil war on the N-S axis of Cisjordan (at the end of the era).

Joshua's farewell address in chap. 23 (place unspecified), returns to the subject of an unfinished conquest. Further success, we read, will depend upon following most scrupulously "all that is written in the book of the law of Moses" (v 6), so as to maintain Israel's Yahwist identity. The summary command is "to love Yahweh your God" (v 11), after which the speech spirals downward to end in a bone-jarring warning: threat of exile and total national destruction, disappearance from among the family of nations.

The book concludes in chap. 24 with an expansive description of the covenant of all the tribes at Shechem, where Joshua presides (vv 1–28, 31). The narrative is interrupted in vv 29–30 for the notice of Joshua's death and burial at Timnath-serah, together with the flint knives used in the circumcision at Gilgal (according to LXX). Also buried at Shechem were the bones of Joseph, in a burial plot legally purchased by his father Jacob. Eleazar also died, to be buried in "the Gibeah" ("the hill?" See LXX) belonging to Phinehas his son. Thus, among the worthies of the era, it is Eleazar who gets the last word in the MT. The LXX continues, describing apostasy that introduces the following era of the judges.

In both LXX and MT the book of Joshua appears to end twice: once with Joshua's threatening exhortation (at Shiloh, if we take a lead from preceding context), and again with the people-forming promises at Shechem.

**C. The Book of Joshua in Modern Study**

As the preceding review of contents suggests, the book of Joshua raises many and complicated questions for the interpreter. How should one understand the evidence for a process preserving stories over a span of centuries but also reflecting historical developments during the interim between original event and final telling? What should one make of the obvious interest in certain towns and not others as places of assembly and the role of Yahweh's portable throne (ark of the covenant)? How does archaeology, especially with a rising interest in ancient Israel's social world, contribute to understanding of the text? What about the still-earlier beginning of the story line in Genesis 12–50, which is also in the background of the classic theme of new constitution at Sinai? Who were the traditionalists who contributed to the bifocal perspective in the canonical book, and what was their social location down the centuries?

**1. The Primary History: Tetrateuch and Deuteronomistic Corpus.** There is now a broad scholarly consensus that Joshua is, in some sense, a "Deuteronomistic" book. Deuteronomy presents itself as a collection of farewell speeches by Moses, given as he presides over a renewal of the Sinai covenant, with the people of Israel poised for invasion from a base in the "plains of Moab." The latter topographical term refers to the location of repeated Moabite incursions on the W edge of the Transjordanian plateau near the escarpment and N of the recognized political border of Moab at the Arnon. Deuteronomy, it is agreed on all hands, shows a pattern for the organization and governance of Israel, and for the role of Moses, that is modeled on forms and practices of international diplomacy. Moses is ambassador-mediator between God and the people as subjects of sworn allegiance to Yahweh—the only Sovereign of the universe.

Yahweh as Divine Warrior and Israel's Commander in Chief will redistribute the land as tribal "inheritances." The Heb term *nahălâ,* "inheritance" stands for the suzerain's grant of a plot of ground (hence a "fief" or "estate") in exchange for the promise of military service upon call.

With Ten Commandments describing binding basic policy of the realm (Deuteronomy 5) and with lengthy exhortation effectively obliterating any distinction between loyalty and love in relationship to Yahweh (chaps. 6–11), Deuteronomy sets forth the conditions upon which alone the Conquest will succeed and endure (chaps. 12–26), with alternatives clear: blessing or curse (chaps. 27–28). Glimpses of a preexilic process toward "canonization" of Deuteronomic teaching are seen in the accounts of reforms sponsored by the Jerusalem kings: Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18:1–3; 2 Chronicles 29–31) and Josiah (2 Kings 22–23; 2 Chronicles 34–35), where details of the reforms look like mirror images, only occasionally blurred, of the Deuteronomic "legislation."

The book of Joshua belongs therefore, together with Deuteronomy, as a confessional introduction to the generally unified story of Israel's life on the land astride the Jordan that unfolds from Joshua through 2 Kings (Wright *Joshua* AB, 41–66). Deuteronomistic influence in Joshua is seen most directly in the framework which underscores the field commander's dependence upon the book of the Torah, that is, the "treaty teaching" (Josh 1:7–8; 23:6), and Joshua's attentiveness to the word of Yahweh as Commander in Chief (throughout).

Yet the book also displays the sorts of structural and linguistic disjunctures (doublets, contradictions, lexical and stylistic variations which appear to cluster) that have encouraged attempts to trace the narrative sources of Genesis–Numbers (J, E, P) into the book of Joshua and beyond. Such source criticism has generally attributed the bulk of chaps. 1–11 to E, with the qualification that D has recast stories to such an extent that J is almost entirely suppressed and little survives of E that is unrevised. The P source is not present as a narrative source except perhaps in chap. 22 (which, however, is most unlike P stories in the books preceding Deuteronomy). On the other hand, it was P, as argued by many scholars, that provided archival material for the bulk of the chapters on land division. But if so, there are surprisingly scant traces of specifically "Priestly" editing, if the concerns of the latter are characteristically represented by such material as Leviticus and Ezekiel. Joshua's farewell address is widely recognized by source critics as a Deuteronomistic composition, while chap. 24 stems from a Deuteronomistic rewrite of E. In all this one encounters an influence of D so pervasive in narratives (with corresponding absence of P) that there is little to sustain further search for tetrateuchal sources in Joshua, along the older lines. The quest has been mostly abandoned. Scholars now posit a Primary History comprised of: (1) a Tetrateuch, book of Genesis–Numbers (epic sources of the peoples' origins framing large blocks of "Priestly" materials), introducing (2) a "Deuteronomistic History" in Joshua–2 Kings (Freedman, *IDB* 3: 711–27).

By far the clearest rhetorical connections of Deuteronomy are with the books which follow it. In addition to the framework passages in Joshua, noted above, compare the speeches of chief protagonists in Joshua, beginning with the speeches of Yahweh (1:2–9; also 3:7–8; 6:2; 7:10–15; 8:1, 18; 11:6; 13:1–7; 20:2) and Joshua (1:10–11, 13–15; also 3:5–6, 9–10; 4:21–24; 19:20, 23; 23:2–16; 24:1–15).

Deuteronomistic influence is also found within stories. In the spy story it is notably Rahab the non-Israelite who uses Deuteronomic reasoning (2:1–11). The embassy from Gibeon depends on a knowledge of Deuteronomic regulations for different approaches to near and distant cities (Deuteronomy 20) in its negotiations with Israelite leaders (9:7–10), whereas the latter can find no such precedent in order to undo the problematic covenant (9:16–25). In these stories we note a sharp contrast with signs of Deuteronomistic influence in stories of the later premonarchic period. In the book of Judges, the marks of Deuteronomistic rhetoric are largely confined to framework passages, and the old stories are left unrevised because they illustrate subsequent hard times that led to the establishment of monarchy. In Joshua, however, the old stories are retold in such a way as to present the leadership of Joshua as ideal, yet not itself adequate without timely collaboration of Yahweh and the cosmic army.

The two Shechem scenes (8:30–35 and chap. 24) proceed from direct command of Moses in Deuteronomy 27. The chain of command is emphasized (1:7–8) and reemphasized (4:10; 11:11–14, 20, 23): Yahweh to Moses, Moses' *tôrâ* to Joshua, Joshua to the people.

**2. History of Traditions.** More productive than the older approach via literary source documents has been the recent half century of efforts to reconstruct the origins of narrative and archival materials taken up in Joshua in relation to various tribal constituencies that formed Israel in the pre-state period and their major religious centers.

Both the arrangements at the crossing of the Jordan to set up 12 stones at Gilgal as a memorial of the miraculous event (chaps. 3–4) and the proceedings at the capture of Jericho (chap. 6) read like accounts of liturgical happenings. Together they frame the notices about circumcision and Passover at Gilgal. From this point on, Joshua and the people are found frequently at Gilgal (9:6; 10:6, 15, 43; 14:6). At the end of the wider era, the Benjaminite Saul will become king at Gilgal (1 Sam 11:12–15; cf. 13:2–15a) in one stratum of the text.

It is a credible conclusion that nearly one-fourth of the book of Joshua reflects the story-telling and liturgical reenactment of "conquest" at a Gilgal sanctuary, which continued to flourish (2 Kgs 2:1; 4–38) long after the legitimating role had been taken over by royal sanctuaries: Jerusalem in the S, Bethel and Dan in the N. Thereafter Gilgal is denounced by prophets from both the N and the S (Hos 4:15; 9:15; 12:11; Amos 4:14; 5:15).

It is possible to make out broad lines of the "ritual conquest" formerly celebrated at Gilgal, as worked out originally by Kraus (1951) and others (esp. Soggin 1966), later appropriated in the Jerusalem cultus and postmonarchic circles (Cross *CMHE*, 103–11):

1. The people sanctify themselves as for a divinely sanctioned war, or to approach a sanctuary (Josh 3:5).
2. The covenant ark, throne of the deity and war palladium, is carried in solemn procession (= battle array) to the Gilgal sanctuary.
3. The Jordan, temporarily dammed, plays the role of the Red Sea.
4. Twelve stones are set up at the sanctuary (cf. Exod 24:4), symbolic of the covenanted tribes.
5. The fighting force is circumcised and the Passover celebrated.
6. The angelic general of Yahweh's army appears at the holy place.

Within this configuration, however, it is the interlude for resumption of circumcision and Passover that present serious disjunctions in the progress of the narrative, where, like the angelic commander, they are never again echoed in the book. It is more likely that the notices about circumcision and Passover are secondary in the story line and that the arrival of the commander launches the second large segment of the book.

With the exception of (1) Achan's execution and burial (at a site presumably in Judah), (2) the diversion to Shechem (in the heartland of "Joseph"), and (3) the S campaign as sequel to defense of Gibeon (backbone of Judah), all of the action in chaps. 2–10 takes place in territory that will be finally assigned to Benjamin (18:11–28). If the narrative configuration of these chapters reflects the compilers' indebtedness to an early Gilgal version of the crossing plus a handful of more narrowly "Benjaminite" stories, it will explain the absence of specific allusions to the Transjordanian conquest led by Moses, except in disjunctive and supplementary contexts (e.g., 1:12–18; 13:1–14:15; 17:3–6).

Apart from the story of the victory against Jabin's forces in Galilee, with no clear signs of place attachment in this case (and considerable debate about the story's relationship to tradition represented in Judges 4–5), N tradition in the narratives of Joshua is confined to the two scenes at Shechem (8:30–35; and 24:1–28). The two units represent at least a chronological disagreement: did the Shechem assembly precede or follow the redistribution of the land? It is the first of these scenes that is most often regarded by critics as secondary, on stylistic grounds. If it therefore serves as chronological corrective to chap. 24, then there is no clear indication of where the first phase of land reform in Cisjordan (chaps. 14–17) occurs. The MT has Joshua presiding at Gilgal in the Gibeon story (9:6; 10:6, 15) and returning there after the S campaign (10:43). The LXX, however, lacking 10:15 and 43, may be the better text. The one remaining reference to Joshua at Gilgal (14:6) may be read as flashback (reading the converted imperfect Heb verb as a pluperfect). In other words it appears that there was a strong tradition according to which the Shechem assembly was presupposition, not consequence, of the warfare outside of "Benjamin." This leaves a strong presumption that the center for the first phase of land division in Cisjordan (chaps. 14–17)

was at Shechem. Those chapters in fact deal only with the most extensive tribal territories, Judah and the Joseph tribes, using lists, to be sure, which in present form are not earlier than the period of the divided monarchy. Thus it is not surprising that elsewhere the clearest evidence of a more extensive document describing borders and listing towns enclosed thereby is confined to Benjamin, narrowly confined between Judah and Joseph at the beginning of the Shiloh-phase allotments (18:11–28). This use of an archive from the period of the Monarchy tallies well with the claims of the warfare stories. We may suspect that Benjamin's turf was so war torn that the tribe was unable to consolidate its own territorial claim until the Shiloh phase.

The genesis of Shiloh tradition is obscure. Shiloh is abruptly mentioned for the first time in 18:1 as the starting point for a survey of Cisjordan, to provide the basis for territories of the seven remaining constituencies. Shiloh elsewhere plays a prominent role only late in the wider era, when Gilgal is once again prominent. It may be that the eclipse of Shechem and the shift to Shiloh were historically related to the aspirations of Gideon and the sequel, counterrevolution at Shechem, represented by the story of Abimelech (Judges 8–9), which is reasonably correlated with a massive destruction stratum at the site (Tell Balata) from the third quarter of the 12th century (give or take a decade). If the shift to Shiloh occurred early in the movement to restore a monarchy in the central highlands, Joshua's presence in chapters 18–19 is entirely plausible. The stories of Gideon and Abimelech would seriously blur the idealized Conquest picture and were appropriately reserved for "Book Two" of Israel's life in the land. The subsequent eclipse of Shiloh, surely due to Philistine offensives into the highlands, left Gilgal in the Jordan valley as the place of the muster at the end of the wider era (as it had been in the beginning) and the elevation of Saul.

Turning from Benjamin to the remaining territorial description (chap. 19), debate continues as to whether the borders are "ideal" or "real" and, in either case, how old in formulation. With the evidence that Solomon's administrative districts (1 Kings 4) would render the Joshua borders dysfunctional, it is likely that chap. 19 is a mixture of reality and ideality, with memory and resources both fragmentary.

**3. Archaeology and Social World.** Energy recently spent in debating the pertinence of archaeology for interpretation of Joshua (Wright *Joshua* AB, 74–80) is as nothing compared to the pace of exploration and excavation on both sides of the Jordan in the same period (Boling 1988). Here it will be better to reserve judgment about what archaeology can and cannot do, while describing what archaeologists have found that may be pertinent.

A 13th-century setting for the Exodus and career of Moses (toward the end of the century, better than early) is holding well. A recent attempt to lower the end of the MB (ca. 1500 B.C.E.) so as to accommodate a 15th-century date for Moses (Bimson 1981) encounters awesome head winds from experienced field archaeologists. At the same time the data that confound do not go away.

The site of Jericho (Tell es-Sultan), once a strongly fortified city with an urban tradition going back to a Pre-Pottery Neolithic era, appears to have been little, if anything, more than the residence of a local strongman at a defunct town site in the 14th century, with no surviving evidence of occupation in the 13th century. A variation on the theory that Jericho was scene of a "ritual conquest" combines evidence from archaeology and medical history (Hulse 1971), reading the story of Jericho as the ritual cursing of a disease-ridden oasis. If so, the unique treatment of Jericho as manifesting public health policy will make sense, as well as the execution of Achan and family together with contaminated objects in an effort at control of pestilential disease (Boling, *Joshua* AB, 214–15; 1983). There are indications that the "ban" (Heb *ḥerem*) improbably generalized to virtually genocidal proportions by the Deuteronomistic Historians, originated in such ad hoc degrees (Meyers 1978). For yet another possible explanation of the gap between narrative and strata at Jericho, see below.

The site of Ha-Ai, if identified with et-Tell (which also means "The Ruin"), had been a massive walled city in the EB but was virtually uninhabited throughout most of the 2d millennium, until a small unwalled village is found nestled within the remnants of defense walls already a thousand years old, early in Iron I. It has often been assumed therefore that while the battle of Jericho is mostly liturgical (Soggin, *Joshua* OTL, 83–88), the story of The Ruin is entirely etiological. Alternatively it has been argued that the name

Ha-Ai is secondary, in a story that originally recounted the capture of nearby Bethel (Judg 1:22–26), which was destroyed and soon reoccupied, as known from excavations (*IB* 2: 583–84). Yet another proposal sees incoming Israelites finally retelling far older Conquest stories, from the expulsion of the Hyksos and earlier (Jericho and The Ruin), in stereotypical form, but with Joshua as military hero.

No such ready rationalizations are available to account for the shape and content of the Gibeon story, where LB evidence at the site of el-Jib is confined to tombs, and the town site, if occupied, was another unwalled village, like Ha-Ai, at the end of the 13th century, and a number of others in the vicinity.

It is with the diversion to Shechem (8:30–35) and the S sequel to the defense of Gibeon (chap. 10) and then Hazor in Galilee that the correlation of stories and stratigraphy improves. There was a late 14th-century destruction of Shechem, whether accidental or otherwise is, of course, not known from excavation. If that destruction of Shechem may be related to the tradition about Jacob's claim to the area by right of conquest (Gen 48:22, in contrast to the legal purchase of a burial plot, according to Josh 24:32), then it appears to have been followed by a generally peaceful period of nearly 200 years, until the third quarter of the 12th century, with a massive destruction sealing Abimelech's local reversion to monarchy at Shechem. Excavations reveal that it was at some time during this period that an altar and sacred area, without any nearby settlement, were flourishing on Mt. Ebal (Zertal 1985). See also EBAL, MOUNT.

A roll call of the S opposition is inconclusive. According to biblical tradition Jerusalem remained a small but strongly fortified Canaanite highland city until it was taken by David. Nothing from extensive excavations on the S spur of Jerusalem ("City of David") suggests otherwise.

Evidence from Hebron is minimal (because of restricted access for excavations of an area of continuous occupation to the present) and unpublished. Jarmuth, if located at Tell Yarmuth, had meager LB presence; it was a small hamlet or burial ground. Lachish was destroyed ca. 1160 B.C.E. Eglon, with Tell el-Hesi now ruled out, is unknown archaeologically; likewise Makkedah. Libnah, best identified with Tell Bornat, has yet to be extensively uncovered. Debir, if located at Tell Beit-Mirsim, was destroyed in the late 13th century. If identified with Khirbet Rabud, which now appears best on general topographical grounds, there is no evidence of destruction within the era.

The possible correlations between narrative claims and excavated strata thus appear minimal. On the other hand, the idioms "put to the sword" or "put under the ban"*(ḥerem),* used formulaically in the material, may not mean total destruction, if the purpose was the elimination of royal opposition in order to take over habitable towns and if the *ḥerem* was originally an ad hoc decree regarding the taking of booty or protection against epidemic and the like.

Finally, to complete the roll call, if the destruction of Canaanite Hazor is correctly dated to the second quarter of the 13th century, then the chronological range appears too broad for one commander's lifetime. Yet it is spacious enough to include many other sites, especially in the S hills, which suffered destruction (some of them more than once) in the last phase of the LB and beginning of the Iron I period. Excavations attest to an exceedingly turbulent scene up and down the Canaanite corridor throughout the period. Much of the turbulence seems, however, to have been avoided for the better part of 200 years by the population centering in Shechem. How many of the destruction levels were due to natural causes, how many reflect inter–city-state warfare, and the extent to which Joshua 2–12 represents either cause or response are now unanswered questions calling forth new approaches. Especially helpful is the recent escalation of surface surveys on both sides of the Jordan, when combined with results of controlled excavations and subjected to queries and investigative methods originally at home in the social sciences.

Archaeological surveys in recent years have shown that, in the same 200 years framed by destruction layers at Shechem, the hill country to the N of Shechem and to the S as far as the latitude of Hebron saw a blossoming of small unwalled settlements for the first time in history, with a parallel development in upper Galilee. Between Hebron and Shechem alone the number of villages in a 4200 $km^2$ area surveyed increased from 23 in LB to 114 in Iron I (Stager 1981). The settlements were occupied by families practicing a subsistence agricultural economy based on dry farming (Hopkins 1985). Development of the settlements required enormous investments of labor to construct the necessary agricultural terraces. The

villagers were considerably poorer than the higher social strata that lived inside the great walled cities of the plains, but without any marks of distinctiveness in their material culture that are not subject to continuing intense debate. Some of these highland families were probably newcomers from N and E. Many were surely refugees or pioneers, retreating from the intercity warfare, subscription, taxation, and exploitative demands for agricultural surplus in the old city-state centers, much of which is vividly illustrated, for the 14th century, in the Amarna Letters. Still others of these farming families must represent an outward spread of population from the Shechem vale, where the settlement of new villages begins in the 14th century (Campbell 1968), when Labayu and sons clearly care little about Egyptian sovereignty and are accused of having given Shechem over to the *habiru.* The latter term (like biblical "Hebrew") is a general label for societal marginals and not a synonym for Israelite, although many early Israelites were, or had been, "Hebrews." This looks like a strong link between a destruction level, on the one hand, and Amarna and the Bible, on the other.

Data for the study of demographic patterns and urbanization on both sides of the Jordan are now massive. In a control sample of 77 excavated sites (Gonen 1984) the transition from MB to the first phase of the LB saw a reduction in number of towns by more than half (from 54 to 24). Town life picked up again in the 14th century, and by the 13th century the number of occupied sites in the sample was back to the MB levels (56 sites). When results of regional surface surveys were added to the picture, the disruption at the MB/LB transition in Cisjordan is even sharper; evidence for LB is only 37 percent of the total for MB. Furthermore, the LB settlements in the sample were greatly reduced in size and most often unwalled. There was an early shift of concentration to the coastal plain and important communication routes. The highlands suffered initially from a process of desertion. However, as the highlands were resettled throughout LB, the percentage of small (11 to 50 dunams) and medium-sized (51–100 dunams) settlements remained rather constant; but the number of tiny settlements (10 dunams or less) increased fourfold by the end of the LB. Finally, it appears that the total area occupied by the 13th-century sites was, nevertheless, only about 45 percent of the area for the MB II settlements.

Comparison with the E Jordan valley, always ideally suited for the most intensive agriculture, is instructive. In the N half of the valley alone (between the Yarmūk and the W Rajib), a recent survey recorded 106 sites, 52 of them new additions to the archaeological map (Ibrahim, Sauer, and Yassine 1976). There the reduction in number of sites from MB II (25 sites) to LB (13 sites) and the situation in Iron I (23 sites) are amazingly close to the Cisjordanian sample. Again, the earlier transition was far more disruptive than the later one, as 8 of the 13 LB sites continued into Iron I (Boling 1988).

The pattern on the Transjordanian plateau is different but not unrelated. Survey of 346 sites between the Yarmūk and the Zarqa (biblical Jabbok) produced evidence for MB II at 21 sites, LB at 23 sites, and Iron I at 77 sites (Mittman 1970). However, only 4 of the MB II sites continued into LB, while 19 of the LB sites continued into Iron I. Again, the earlier transition was far more turbulent.

In contrast to the picture previously drawn on the basis of N. Glueck's pioneering survey work, there is now abundant evidence for settled LB population in central Transjordan (from the Zarqa to the Mujib, biblical Arnon), especially in the upper bend of the Zarqa. However, the settled LB population, at about the same level as in MB II, is found in obviously new alignments at widely scattered sites throughout LB until a veritable explosion of new settlements occurs in Iron I (Boling 1988).

Survey on the "Moab" plateau (585 sites) between the two grand canyons (Mujib and Hasa, biblical Zered) shows a distribution of sedentary population in MB II, ca. 5.3 percent of all sites in the survey (Miller 1979a, 1979b; Mattingly 1983), approximating the situation in the N (6.1 percent of the 346 sites in the N Jordan survey). Here the major difference in MB II is a number of walled towns in the N but a total absence of such sites on the S plateau between EB and Iron I. In the N there developed much earlier a tradition of city-state polity, which is reflected in both the biblical and extrabiblical references. Most striking, however, is a sharp increase in the number of sites in "Moab" (up from 31 sites in MB II to 75 sites in LB), still unwalled. In other words while the density of settlements declined by half in the N Jordan valley and while population was regrouping throughout N Jordan, the percentage of LB settlements reflected in the surveys more than doubled on the S plateau (up from 5.3 percent for MB II

"Moab," to 12.8 percent in LB) and nearly doubled that in the N. The territorial state of Moab, snugly situated between the two grand canyons, had thus emerged, with a much smaller state, Ammon, at the desert fringe lagging not far behind.

To summarize the picture on the E-W axis as currently reflected in archaeological evidence, we see widespread political chaos and social disintegration at the end of the MB period, the decades when Egypt was successful in expelling the Hyksos and in reclaiming the cities of Canaan and Transjordan for a native Egyptian dynasty. Initial decline of the few power centers in the Cisjordanian highlands was followed by gradual resettlement of the hill country from within and without the land. Refugees and/or dropouts from the old power centers of the plains and valleys moved into the empty highlands and onto the Transjordanian plateau, where there were few fortified towns S of the Yarmūk and none S of the Mujib. In both areas, W highlands and E plateau, they could practice a subsistence agriculture without also having to support an urban elite.

The other increment to the populations E and W came from the widespread collapse of the international peace. The initial desertion of the highlands and fragility of new LB alignments in N and central Transjordan made them also a happy hunting ground for other newcomers from the N and NE, such as the Amorite kingdoms of Sihon and Og, as well as from the S.

The biblical conquest of Transjordan came from the S, where the picture is still far from clear. Excavations in the heartland of "Edom" (at Umm el-Biyarah, Tawilan, and Buseirah) produced no evidence for a wide-ranging territorial state until well into Iron II, 8th to 6th centuries B.C.E. More recently, a survey of over 1000 sites on the S bank of the Wâdī el-Hasa and tributaries (thus only the N extremity of "Edom") found no definite MB pottery; and LB evidence was almost nonexistent. There appear to have been a series of small but permanent settlements along the S bank of the Wâdī el-Hasa by the early 12th century (MacDonald 1982, 1983a, 1983b, 1984), which now look like spillover from the burgeoning population on the "Moab" plateau just to the N. Thus the kings of Edom, who ruled a territorial state from Bosrah in the 8th century and later, may well have had lesser and local predecessors here and there, even contemporaries, each claiming locally the prerogatives of *mlk*, "king".

While the formation of a major territorial kingdom of Edom was long preceded by Moab's head start in the N, it also lagged behind a flourishing network of settlements to the S, in the coastal wadis of the N Hejaz from the end of the LB (Ingraham et al. 1981). This was the heartland of biblical Midian. The far-flung commercial reach of this culture is now well documented in the distribution of the so-called "Midianite" pottery, which emanates chiefly from two sites, Tayma and Qurayya; the latter is also the best candidate for the place name (Beth)-Yhwh in Egyptian topographical lists of Amenhotep (Gk Amenophis) III (1386–1349) and Rameses II (1279–1213; Kitchen 1982: 238–39).

There is therefore much to be said for the biblical story line, recounting "conquest" in Transjordan led by Moses, where especially Moab and Midianites pose the opposition, separately or together, in the region immediately N of the Arnon. If the stories in Numbers 21ff. are judged on source-critical grounds to be a late monarchic (or even postexilic) redaction, we may observe that another set of stories, with action centering in the same places, will be needed to comprehend the shifting demographic patterns, at the LB–Iron I transition, which are emerging with ever greater clarity (Boling 1988).

From another angle of vision, researches into modern *segmentary societies*, especially as correlated with lineage systems, are directly pertinent to study of Joshua and the tribal organization of ancient Israel (Wilson 1984; Frick 1985). In societies which display segmentary lineage systems, political organization is regularly based on genealogical reckoning and operative descent rules. As societal segments move from one place to another, experience expansion, or decline because of whatever circumstances, new alignments result and genealogy in time adjusts to affirm the newer arrangements, which will be widely accepted as the way it has always been. That ancient Israel in the pre-state period was in many respects comparable to such lineage-based societies is a hunch now energetically pursued. When the lineage-based society develops into a state, the "official" genealogy will prefer the lineal form, while various societal segments will continue to tell their own stories. As a result, we have, finally, the complementary perspectives within the finished book of Joshua. The final edition, we have suggested, was designed to be

supportive of life in the postmonarchic situation. It draws deeply on traditionary roots going back not only to the post-Mosaic followers of Joshua, but all the way to a pre-Mosaic "Israel." That early "prehistory" is equally important for critical interpretation of Joshua.

**4. Elohistic Israel and Yahwistic Israel.** The clearest sources for history of the normative twelve-tribe system are the lengthy poems incorporated in Genesis–Judges, five in particular, to which may be applied the principles of sequence dating originally at home in archaeology. The five major units comprising the corpus may be understood on stylistic and historico-linguistic grounds as premonarchic in all essentials. The poems may be arranged in chronological sequence, either in order of composition or in order of content. An earlier date of composition is no guarantee of higher historicity; a later composition may in fact reflect accurately a considerably earlier situation. The proposed sequence (Freedman 1979, 1980) followed in Table 1 has turned out to be remarkably in phase with the shifting demographic pattern outlined above.

Table 1: Early Hebrew Poems

| Poem | Content | Composition |
|---|---|---|
| Genesis 49 | 14th–13th | 11th |
| Exodus 15 | 13th–12th | 12th |
| Numbers 23–24 | 12th | 11th |
| Deuteronomy 33 | 12th | 11th |
| Judges 5 | 12th | 12th |

In the Testaments of Jacob (Genesis 49), twelve tribes are named in the clearest compact witness to earliest Israel. Several of the testaments are worth noting in particular. Though Reuben is "firstborn" (on which side of the Jordan Reuben lives is not clear), Judah has the most exalted status (vv 9–12), with no compelling reason to regard that status as anachronistic. Joseph is one tribe which may have ranged on both sides of the Jordan (as reflected in the later prose narratives of the patriarchs), N and S of the Jabbok, in a period prior to formation of the Amorite kingdoms (which in turn probably postdates destruction of Ugarit; ca. 1200) and long before the Yahwist organization under Eleazar and Joshua redefined old "tribal" areas. Simeon and Levi are denounced for their violence (vv 5–7) in terms which indicate that they are being evicted from the Israel organization. What is said of Gad, who apart from Joseph may alone represent a Transjordanian constituency in Genesis 49, fits very well with the demographic patterns and the suggestion that the Amorite kingdoms were recent newcomers to the region flanking the Jabbok. The defeat of Sihon, when it came, would be greatly facilitated by Israelites already, and for a long time, in residence there as part of a variegated sedentary population. Thus we may understand King Mesha's 9th-century claim that "the people of Gad had lived *m-ʿ-lm"* (from ancient times) in the land of Moab's recent expansion, N of the Arnon. And if Jephthah's career falls in the 11th century, his argument that Israel had lived alongside Ammonite territory for "three hundred years" would be an approximately accurate round number. Genesis 49 thus describes pre-Yahwistic Israel in a poem where other divine names are preferred: El, Shaddai, and probably ʿAli. This earliest Israel had its center for some time in an El-berit sanctuary at Shechem in the early post-Amarna period. Earliest Israel was crushed by Merneptah roughly a century later, so decisively that in the second major poem of the corpus the name Israel does not occur.

In the Song of the Sea (Exodus 15), there is no hint of a lineage system, no connection with patriarchal traditions or promises about the land of Canaan. The horizon of the poem is limited to the S wilderness, traditional home of Yahweh (see above, on the LB settlements in N Hejaz). The Song of the Sea links the tradition of the Exodus from Egypt with the crossing of the sea and march through the wilderness to the sacred mountain, holy habitation of Yahweh, somewhere in Sinai. The four peoples who are struck dumb with terror at Yahweh's redemptive activity (Philistia, Edom, Moab, Canaan) can only have coexisted in their traditionally assigned territories during the 12th century B.C.E.

The Oracles of Balaam in Numbers 23–24 concern "Israel" in Transjordan, but there is no tribal roster. The poet's concern does not yet include Canaan. Moabite "occupation forces"N of the Arnon are confronted, we suggest, with elements of Yahwistic Israel and Elohistic Israel now making common cause: tent-dwelling newcomers (more to the S and E?) and village-farmer sympathizers (surely more on the N = Gad). We must, apparently, understand that the dismantling of Sihon's kingdom had only cleared the way for an early attempt at Moabite expansion N of the Arnon, in a region yet to be consolidated as "Reuben" (Boling 1988: 30–35, 60–61). Such a reading helps to account for the collaboration of the "elders of Midian" (Num 22:7) on Moab's side in the affair. It is likely that Midianite commercial interests were by this time counting on Moabite "protection" against the mounting resistance of an expanding Yahwist movement, with nascent disruption of the caravan trade, soon to be celebrated at length in the Song of Deborah, from the highlands of Cisjordan (Chaney 1983). That Midianites were now to be found in considerable strength N of the Arnon is clear from the story of Beth-peor (Numbers 25).

In the Testaments of Moses (Deuteronomy 33) the tribal roster reappears. Here Judah has fallen on hard times (v 7). The eclipse of Judah may be connected with the Egyptian ruler Merneptah's campaign (ca. 1235 B.C.), if we are not already into the Philistine period. Reuben, wherever situated, seems to be in equally dire straits (v 6). Simeon appears to have withdrawn from central Cisjordan to the N Negeb (Josh 19:1–9) after its ouster in Genesis 49. If so, it has now gone under, passed over in silence; it will only retain a place in idealized prose genealogies. Simeon's slot is here filled by division of a greatly expanded Joseph, who gets the most expansive treatment (vv 13–17). Levi appears to have undergone a transformation. Evicted for its violence in Genesis 49, Levi is now the zealous keeper of the oracle and instructor in how to keep Yahweh's covenant. If the name refers to elements of a single tribe (which is easier to comprehend than the disappearance of a "secular" Levi to be replaced by a "sacral" tribe of the same name), then it is reasonable to think that some of the levitical families made their way to Egypt, after banishment in Genesis 49, there to undergo religious conversion, thanks to Moses, and emerge as a "palace guard" in the newly constituted alternative kingdom. The revival of Levi led at last to rival priestly houses, deeply entrenched in both the N and S kingdoms after Solomon, as cultivators of the prose tradition.

Finally, in the Song of Deborah (Judges 5), the organization "Israel" appears to consist of ten territorially based tribes. Here again it is Judah that is most conspicuous for its absence, and we are deep into the Philistine period. Judah has joined Simeon; but unlike Simeon, Judah will revive to engulf the territory where Simeon had sought to relocate (Josh 15:20–63). Two Transjordanian constituencies are faulted for not answering the call to arms: Gilead (= E Manasseh) and Reuben. That there is no mention of Gad suggests that Moab has once again expanded N of the Arnon (cf. the story of Ehud vs. Eglon in Judg 3:12–30), so that Gad's earlier residence there is receding into the "ancient times" to which Mesha refers in the 9th century B.C.E. Lack of any mention or allusion to Levi in Judges 5 has always been a major crux. But the omission is not very surprising in a roll call of *territorially-based* tribes. If Deuteronomy 33 represents an earlier situation, with Levi already elevated as teacher and oracle keeper for "Yahwist Israel" on the move, the levitical families are now already dispersed. Levi comes in for neither praise nor blame in Judges 5, we may suspect, because its members are functioning, in effect, as muster officers in every other tribe on both sides of the Jordan and with very mixed success.

The transition from Elohistic Israel to Yahwistic Israel had far-reaching political implications (Mendenhall 1962, 1973) working for societal transformation (Gottwald 1979): governance by God and the rule of ethic. Effective first in Transjordan, the reform movement centered for a period at Shechem (Josh 8:30–35), which because of its revolutionary implications was at least played down in circles close to the Jerusalem throne (in favor of Shiloh). There it was emphasized that Joshua's covenanting came at the end, after conquest and land division were complete (chap. 24).

**5. Levitical Sponsorship: Dtn, Dtr 1, Dtr 2.** While the pioneering study of the "Deuteronomistic" work regarded it as a product of the Exile or later (Noth *ÜgS*), interpretation which regards the work as merely etiology of national destruction is inadequate. In the canonical book of Joshua (and throughout the

Former Prophets) we recognize signs of at least two major "editions," both of them making use of older stories and both of them shaped by a rediscovered book of Mosaic Torah. We have adopted the symbols *Dtr 1*, *Dtr 2*, and *Dtn* as convenient shorthand.

Dtr 1 stands for the major portion of the books Joshua–2 Kings. It represents a late preexilic enterprise, from the time of the reforming king Josiah. The work was clearly designed to be supportive of life under a reformed Davidic monarchy, and the figure of Joshua is presented as an ideal for the Jerusalem king in matters military, legitimating Josiah's reconquest of Cisjordan in a period of Assyrian weakness. While the battles in Joshua 6–11 are presented as examples of properly holy warfare, they are also the last such prior to Josiah. For Judges 2 begins with announcement that Yahweh will no longer participate in expansionist warfare against Canaanites.

Dtr 2 stands for a subsequent edition, addressed to a drastically altered situation. The bulk of Dtr 2 may be exilic, but it need be only post-Josianic to make sense. There is thus an unresolved tension running throughout the Dtr corpus.

Dtn stands for the bulk of Deut 4:44–28:68, an old Book of the Law of Moses which so effectively accounted for demise of the N kingdom that it became in Josiah's day, with a new introduction, theological preface to the entire story from Moses to Mosaic revival in the late 7th century B.C.E. Without the explicit regulation of kingship in Deut 17:14–20, Dtn is neither promonarchic nor antimonarchic. It is simply amonarchic and stems from no "royal" sanctuary. The best guess is that Dtn comes from certain levitical circles claiming premonarchic legitimacy, concentrated mostly in the N originally and calling for a grass-roots renewal of covenant on the Sinai/Moab/Shechem pattern. It is a reasonable working hypothesis that the tradition is rooted in the experience of some levitical families left stranded in Egypt, after events reflected in the story of Genesis 34 and the poetry of Gen 49:5–7, while other levitical families acquired legitimacy with the Yahwist takeover and reform (to various degrees) at sanctuaries of the older Israelite lineage system. Sociologically the Levites in the lineage-based society may be understood as a quasi-guild structure, a professional "caste," which one might enter by choice or appointment, not alone by heredity (Polk 1979; Gottwald 1979). Dispersal of the levitical carriers of militant Yahwism throughout the territory of the other "tribes" was institutionalized in the system of levitical towns (Joshua 21). This probably began, indeed, in the premonarchic period; for subsequent levitical history was very different in the N and S kingdoms; and there is nowhere any hint of a functioning system of levitical towns anywhere in the books of Samuel and Kings, except most indirectly.

The alienation of many N Levites must have begun as early as Solomon's reign, with exploitative fiscal policies draining the N, to the economic and military advantage of the S. The list of towns in Joshua 21 reflects a series of monarchic adaptations. The Gershonites (21:27–33) were consigned en masse to the distant N. The name Gershon/m—first son of Levi in the standard genealogy of Exod 6:16–19—also appears as a patronymic of Moses' grandson Jonathan, founder of the priesthood at Dan (Judg 18:30). It is likely that Gershon/m was the name of a major division of Levi alternatively called "Mushites" in the fragmentary genealogy of Num 26:58a (Cross *CMHE*, 197–98). The Gershonites/Mushites, claiming Moses as their priestly progenitor, functioned in N towns, a number of which first became "Israelite," it appears, thanks to David's conquests. After banishment of the Mushite priest Abiathar (originally of Shiloh) from Jerusalem early in Solomon's reign, priesthood in Jerusalem became the exclusive prerogative of the Zadokites, whose Aaronite legitimacy was rooted in David's early power base at Hebron (Cross *CMHE*, 207–15).

It is descendants of those N Levites at premonarchic sanctuaries (predominantly Mushite) that are the best candidates for producers of nuclear Dtn. They were spurred on by such actions as Solomon's sale of the Cabul district, which contained three or four "Gershonite" towns (Abdon, Rehob, Mishal, and possibly Helkath), to Hiram of Tyre (Halpern 1974: 523). Nor did the N administration do anything to heal the breach, which was doubtless widened by early relocation of the N capital away from Shechem and by Jeroboam's priestly appointments at Bethel (originally Aaronite; Judg 20:26–28) and at the high places (non-levitical; 1 Kgs 12:31). The Chronicler reports that Rehoboam was able for three years to exploit a newfound support among the victims of Jeroboam's priestly assignments (2 Chr 11:13–14, 17).

From such a milieu, out and away from the great royal sanctuaries, Dtn took documentary shape (and likely also the specific contents of the town lists in Joshua 21) in relation to the late 8th-century reform of Hezekiah, after the fall of the N kingdom (2 Kings 18 = 2 Chronicles 29). There must have been a major flight from the N after the fall of Samaria (721 B.C.E.), when Jerusalem saw enormous expansion, exploding onto the W ridge. Thus it is not surprising to find evidence of rival priestly houses both drawing upon Dtn, with one of them closer to the Jerusalem throne and dominating formation of the literature until the untimely death of Josiah.

Further evidence of the unresolved tension is the use of a distinctive formula in the numerous references to levitical personnel. There are "the priests the Levites" (Deut 18:1); and there is "the Levite" or "all the tribe of Levi" (Deut 12:12, 18; 16:11, 14; 26:11, 13). "The priests the Levites" are the most prestigious; in Joshua they carry and guard the ark of Yahweh's covenant (Josh 3:3; 8:33). But when Deuteronomy refers to "the Levite" or "all the tribe of Levi" (persons in need of special benevolence, along with other unlanded persons: aliens, widows, orphans), context generally indicates client priests in much larger numbers. It was for them, as the teachers of Israel, that provisions had been made in the institution of levitical towns. Thus Dtn was careful to stipulate that every Levite shall have the same prerogatives of priesthood at the most prestigious of sanctuaries, the one especially distinguished by Yahweh's choice (Deut 18:6). In Deut 18:1, where "the priests the Levites" is immediately explained appositionally (but without a conjunction) as "all the tribe of Levi," we may thus have a gloss claiming for all levitical males the same prestigious status of "the priests the Levites," status stemming from the very early period.

In summary, we may recognize in Dtr 1 the penultimate product of a long experience and process of tradition formation in the land, telling the story from Moses to Josiah (2 Kgs 22–23), and from a predominantly S Aaronite perspective. Joshua is presented as military commander par excellence and as such a model for Jerusalem kings, who may use the power of the throne to implement the teaching of Moses. But the effort died with Josiah. We may recognize in Dtr 2 the contributions of other levitical families, fleeing S after 721 B.C.E., with their own "Mushite" and "N Aaronite" memories of the way it had been and with Dtn's promise of full priestly status at "the place which Yahweh shall choose," only to be outmaneuvered there (2 Kgs 23:9, which puts it in the best possible light: it was their own fault). The book of Joshua ends therefore on a different note; for Dtr 2 supplies the only cracks discernible in the portrait of Joshua, displays an interest in an Israel much more extensive than Josiah's Cisjordan kingdom, recalls the important role of N priesthoods in the premonarchic decision making, and in general commends a way of looking at the past that will be positively supportive of life in Exile. For Israel the postmonarchic "congregation" is direct descendant of Israel the premonarchic "assembly." Joshua's farewell address unmistakably anticipates exile, but the two chapters framing it are entirely upbeat, making the point that in order to maintain identity as Israel it will be better to keep talking (chap. 22) and renewing promises to God and to one another (chap. 24).

The structure of the book of Joshua in final form is integrally related to the book of Judges. This is evident in Table 2. See JUDGES, BOOK OF. In this arrangement pericopes represented by the first column (the "Josianic" edition) make virtually continuous reading, with rarely any noticeable gaps. Not so the second column, which in a variety of ways annotates and supplements the first edition, with scant indication of overwriting it. The result is a sobering reminder of how impossible it is for one historian to know all of the truth and how difficult it is indeed to tell all the truth that one knows.

Table 2: Book of Joshua

| *Dtr 1* | | *Dtr 2* |
|---|---|---|
| I. Mobilization and Entrance | | |
| Yahweh, Joshua, and Israel | 1:1–11 | |
| | 1:13–18 | E Jordanian tribes |
| | 2:1–24 | Rehab's house |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Opening the river | 3:1–16 | |
| | | 3:17–4:8 | Twelve stones |
| | | (4:9) | Twelve other (LXX) stones |
| | Crossing the river | 4:10–11 | |
| | | 4:12–13 | E Jordanian tribes |
| | Closing the river | 4:19–5:12 | Cultic encampment |
| | II. Warfare | | |
| | The commander | 5:13–15 | |
| | Intervention I: Jericho | 6:1–21 | |
| | | 6:22–25 | The Rahab splice |
| | The curse on Jericho | 6:26–27 | |
| | Defeat at The Ruin | 7:1–26 | |
| | Second attack on the Ruin | 8:1–2 | |
| | | 8:3–11 | Judges 20 prefigured: part 1 |
| | Intervention II: The Ruin | 8:12–19 | |
| | | 8:20–25 | Judges 20 prefigured: part II |
| | The sign | 8:26–29 | |
| | | 8:30–35 | Shechem: chronological corrective |
| | Gibeon treaty | 9:1–15 | |
| | | 9:16–27 | Judges 21 prefigured |
| | Intervention III: Keeping faith | 10:1–11 | |
| | | 10:12–15 | Sun and Moon (cf. Joshua at the Ruin) |
| | Sequel | 10:16–43 | |
| | A N coalition | 11:1–15 | |
| | Concluding summary | 11:16–23 | |
| | III. Inheritance of Land | | |
| SHECHEM | | 12:1–21 | Former lords |
| phase | | 13:1–23 | Transjordanian flashback |
| | | 14:1–15 | Special introduction to Judah |
| | Judah and Ephriam | 15:1–16:10 | |
| | Manasseh, E. and W. | 17:1–2 | |
| | | 17:3–6 | Daughters of Zelophehad |
| | W Manasseh | 17:7–13 | |
| | Joshua as judge | 17:14–18 | |
| SHILOH | seven more estates | 18:1–19:48 | |
| phase | Joshua’s estates | 19:49–50 | |
| | | 19:51 | Conclusion to Part III |
| | IV. Two Key Institutuions | | |
| | | 20:1–9 | Asylum towns |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 21:1–42 | Levitical towns |
| Conclusions to Partd I–III | 21:43–45 | |
| V. How to Avoid Civil War | | |
| | 22:1–34 | Phinehas ben Eleazar |
| | 23:1–16 | Final warning |
| Shechem covenant | 24:1–28 | |

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**JOSHUA, PSALMS OF** (*4Q378–379)*. Two highly fragmentary manuscripts from Qumran Cave 4 (*4Q378* and *4Q379*) contain an otherwise unknown work which has come to be known as the *Psalms of*

*Joshua.* The text had a narrative framework that followed the outline of events in the biblical book of Joshua. The death of Moses, the succession of Joshua, the crossing of the Jordan, and the destruction of Jericho are all referred to. In contrast to the canonical Joshua, however, much of the material preserved in the *Psalms of Joshua* consists of admonitory speeches, prayers, songs, and curses. The style is strongly biblicizing, with occasional quotations from the biblical text (esp. Deuteronomy and Joshua). Where identifiable, the biblical text type is Septuagintal.

It is unlikely that the document was composed by the Qumran community. Neither the content nor the diction shows any affinity with the distinctive theology or terminology of Qumran sectarian writings (e.g., the *Rule of the Community* or the *Thanksgiving Hymns*). The *Psalms of Joshua* uses divine names avoided in Qumran compositions *(yhwh, ʾĕlōhîm, ʾĕlôah)* and does not use the term favored at Qumran *(ʾēl).* Moreover, the *Psalms of Joshua* is cited as an authoritative text in a Qumran composition *(4QTestimonia).* The only clue to a more specific provenance is the reference to the date of the crossing of the Jordan that identifies it as a jubilee year. The same calculation is implied by *Jub.* 50:4.

The date of composition is extremely difficult to fix. An expanded form of the curse of Josh 6:26 on the one who rebuilds Jericho may contain a historical allusion to the activity of the Hasmonean ruler Simon (reigned 142–134 B.C.E.), but the case is not conclusive. The expanded curse is quoted in the *Testimonia.* That text consists of a series of four quotations. The first three are from the Pentateuch and were apparently understood as prophecies of an eschatological prophet, a royal messiah, and a priestly messiah. The fourth is the curse from the *Psalms of Joshua,* which was apparently also given eschatological significance.

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**JOSIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yōʾšiyyāh (û)* (יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ)]. The root of the name is probably *ʾwš,* “to give” (Gordon *UT*, 354a, no. 117); compare also *yōʾwšiyyāhû* (Jer 27:1), Joash, and *yāʾûš* of the Lachish Letters (from *yāhûyāʾûš* or *ʾelyāʾûš,* “Yahweh/God shall grant”[Gibson *TSSI* 1: 37]), and Ug *ʾušn,* “gift”. The root may, however, be *yšy,* “Yahweh brings forth” (Bauer 1930: 77), or Arabic *ʾasā,* “to heal” (Noth *IPN*, 212; 1956: 326).

1. King of Judah ca. 640–609 B.C.E.; son and successor of Amon. Josiah after his father’s murder was made king by the “people of the land” (2 Kgs 21:24; 2 Chr 33:25), designating especially the Judean landowners enjoying full citizen rights (*THAT* 2: 299–300). He came to the throne at the age of eight and reigned for 31 years (2 Kgs 22:1; 2 Chr 34:1). His mother was Jedidah, daughter of Adaiah of Bozkath (cf. Josh 15:39).

a. Josiah’s Reform in the Sources. The early years of Josiah’s reign are presented in different ways by the sources. Chronicles records that in the 8th year of his reign (ca. 632 B.C.E.) Josiah began to seek the God of David his father (2 Chr 34:3a). This indicates an “inner attitude of loyalty towards God” (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 95). In the 12th year of his reign (628/627 B.C.E.), he began to purge Judah and Jerusalem of the high places with their attendant cult objects (vv 3b–5) and then extended his efforts to Manasseh, Ephraim, and Simeon, as far as Naphtali (vv 6–7). In the 18th year of his reign (622/621 B.C.E.), after the finding of the Book of the Law in the temple, he carried out a great reform program (34:8–35:19).

But the author of Kings mentions only the reform in the 18th year of Josiah (2 Kgs 22:3), though this too extended beyond the borders of Judah and included the “cities of Samaria” (23:19), that is, the territory of the former N kingdom.

Another difference between the biblical sources concerns the reform of the cult. According to 2 Kings 23 Josiah removed both the Canaanite cult and the foreign emblems of worship. According to Chronicles only the Canaanite cult was removed. Manasseh had already purged the foreign idols (2 Chr 33:15). Chronicles’ picture in 34:3b–7 is, however, essentially dependent on 2 Kings 23 (Williamson *Chronicles,* 397–99).

b. Civil War in Assyria and the Reform. For Chronicles, Josiah's reform begin in 628/627 B.C.E., coinciding with the beginning of civil war in Assyria (Cross and Freedman 1953: 56–58; Cazelles 1981: 25, n. 17). According to the Babylonian Chronicle (Wiseman 1956), Sin-shar-ishkun and Sin-shum-lishir revolted against Assur-etel-ilani in 627 B.C.E. By 626 Nabopolassar, king of the Babylonian marshland, had joined the war. In the same year he and Sin-shar-ishkun, when Assur-etel-ilani's army posed a serious threat to them both, appear to have agreed to recognize each other as kings of Babylon and Assyria respectively (Reade 1970: 4). These events allowed Josiah gradually to assert his independence and extend the reform into the former territory of the kingdom of Israel. Political objectives influenced the move into the N provinces (Nelson 1983: 183–84). Both Egypt and Judah wished to avoid a concentration of power in Asia and consequently supported the weaker party, Assyria. It is conceivable that Josiah remained a nominal vassal of Assyria right up to the end. But the call to reform was primarily religious, being voiced above all by those responsible for the law book (McKay 1973: 43).

c. The Law Book and the Reform. The account in Kings indeed considers the reform entirely a consequence of the law book's discovery; and it may be that Chronicles, if it is not drawing on a separate tradition (Cross and Freedman 1953: 57), prefers to spread out the reform in order to illustrate the theme of righteousness rewarded (Williamson *Chronicles,* 401–2). The piety of Josiah is shown earlier than in Kings; and the repairs to the temple, which in Kings were the occasion for the finding of the law book, now become an integral part of the reform.

The law book itself functions as a reward for Josiah's faithfulness as well as an encouragement to further obedience. In addition, because Josiah responds to the book's demands, he is told by the prophetess Huldah that he will not witness the destruction of Jerusalem but will die "in peace" (2 Chr 34:28), perhaps with the sense that the state will still be intact (Gray *1–2 Kings* OTL, 727).

d. Elements in the Reform. McKay (1973: 28–29) points out that Kings distinguishes three main aspects in Josiah's reform: the purge of the temple and its precincts, the destruction of the high places in Jerusalem and Judah, and the desecration of the sanctuaries in the old N kingdom (2 Kgs 23:4–20, 24). Chronicles provides a similar structure, but the purge of the temple is ascribed to Manasseh (2 Chr 33:15–16)—a notice which is quite possibly historical but probably marks a very limited action (Williamson *Chronicles,* 394–95). The reform may well have begun before the discovery of the law book, though this early stage was not confined to removing foreign cults (McKay 1973: 28–44) and the waning of Assyrian influence will have been a contributory factor (Cross and Freedman 1953; Rose 1977: 52, n. 15; Mayes 1978); but the Chronicler's account does not prove that its author has preserved an independent record of it (Williamson *Chronicles,* 398).

The territorial extent of Josiah's reform in the former N kingdom has been questioned (Rose 1977: 61, n. 49; Nelson 1981: 537–38), but the Meṣad Ḥashavyahu (Yabneh-Yam) inscriptions seem to show that N Philistia was under Josiah's control (Naveh 1960; Christensen 1984: 678), so that a substantial advance into the N territory would appear to have been feasible. Josiah and Pharaoh Psamtik I (ca. 664–609 B.C.E.) were probably allies, and Egypt will have been able to use the coastal route for its military operations in the N (Cazelles 1981: 31; Nelson 1983: 183–89).

e. The Finding of the Law Book. The law book which influenced Josiah's reform was found in the temple according to the account in 2 Kings 22, but when and by whom it was composed remain obscure. The narrative of repairs to the temple, which forms the context for the discovery of the law book, strongly resembles the story of King Joash's temple restoration in 2 Kings 12 and is therefore sometimes judged to be an invention of a Deuteronomistic Historian (Dietrich 1977: 18–22; Mayes *Deuteronomy* NCBC, 90–91). The account of the discovery of the law book has also been thought unhistorical (Mayes *Deuteronomy,* 85–103), even a "discovery legend"*(Auffindungslegende)* with the aim of legitimating the reform (Diebner and Nauerth 1984). While one may accept Deuteronomistic influence on the portrayal of these matters, to regard their substance as fiction seems to allow the historian a greater measure of freedom in respect of his sources than he is likely to have enjoyed (*NDH,* 84–88). It is preferable to follow the common opinion that the document existed and forms at least part of our book of Deuteronomy (Lundbom 1976; Dietrich 1977; Scharbert 1981: 45, n. 21).

f. Josiah in the Deuteronomistic History. Josiah plays an important role in the Deuteronomistic History. When Jeroboam I established a countercultus to Jerusalem in Bethel and Dan, his great sin (1 Kgs 12:26–33), an unnamed prophet foretold Josiah's destruction of Bethel (13:2). Josiah alone of the kings, not excepting David, escaped all criticism (2 Kgs 22:2) and gave his full attention to fulfilling the law of Moses (23:25a; see Cross *CMHE*, 283). The cultus was centralized according to the ancient law of the sanctuary; no doubt this move was influenced at least in part by a desire to possess the dues going to the Levites who controlled the country sanctuaries (Claburn 1973) and to ensure that royal control of all public worship, which had existed since Sennacherib left Hezekiah little more than Jerusalem, should continue (Levin 1984: 352).

g. The Passover. The climax of the reform was the celebration of the Passover (2 Kgs 23:21–23; 2 Chr 35:1–19). The narrative in Kings has been judged to be the work of a postexilic redactor (Levin 1984: 353–54, 371), but the Passover may have been removed from the family circle and centralized at the temple as a Yahwistic response to the child sacrifice practiced in the vicinity (Delcor 1982). Josiah's work for the true God reaches a climax in covenant renewal (Nelson 1981: 536). 2 Chronicles 35 offers a more detailed description of the Passover feast (vv 1–19) with emphasis on the role of the priests, Levites, and singers.

h. The Fall of the Assyrian Empire. Outside events do not appear in the biblical record until 609 B.C.E., but the Assyrian kings' grip on their own empire was growing steadily weaker (Garelli and Nikiprowetzky 1974: 125–28). In 623 Assur-etel-ilani died at Nippur while besieging Sin-shar-ishkun, who then marched on Nineveh and mounted the Assyrian throne. Meanwhile Cyaxares, a Mede who had succeeded in imposing his authority over Scythian and Persian tribes, proceeded to attack the E Assyrian provinces. By 616 Nabopolassar controlled all Babylonia. In 614 Assur fell to Cyaxares, and in 612 the Medes and Babylonians captured Nineveh, and the last Assyrian king, Assur-uballit II, withdrew to Haran. Meanwhile Egypt had been trying to help Assyria since at least 616—the Babylonian Chronicle features a gap between 623 and 616—when Nabopolassar encountered the army of Psamtik I (ca. 664–609 B.C.E.) on the Euphrates. Nevertheless, Nabopolassar captured Haran in 610 and in roughly the same year Psamtik I died.

i. Josiah's Death. The new pharaoh, Neco II (ca. 609–594 B.C.E.), continuing his father's policy, quickly marched N to help the Assyrians. At Megiddo he killed Josiah, whose body was then taken to Jerusalem for burial (2 Kgs 23:29–30). Chronicles provides a reason for his early and violent death by stating that he went to fight Neco, disobeying the word of God spoken by the pharaoh, "I am not coming against you this day, but against the house with which I am at war; and God has commanded me to make haste. Cease opposing God, who is with me, lest he destroy you" (2 Chr 35:21). Josiah was mortally wounded in the ensuing battle, but died in Jerusalem, and was mourned by Jerusalem and Judah (vv 20–24). This account may, however, depend on a revised and expanded form of that in Kings (Williamson 1982, 1987), or it may represent the Chronicler's own reworking of Kings (Begg 1987).

It is generally thought (e.g., Malamat 1973) that Josiah died trying to stop Neco, though he had apparently not interfered in 616 or 610. More attractive is the view (Nelson 1983: 188) that Josiah went out from Megiddo, a Judean fortress, as was Meṣad Ḥashavyahu much farther S, to welcome his ally Neco, intending to open the pass for the Egyptian forces. But Neco wanted the strategically placed Megiddo, which controlled his communications with Egypt, for himself. Unwilling to allow an ally who might change sides the opportunity of blocking his retreat before a victorious army, he killed Josiah by treachery, putting into Megiddo an Egyptian garrison. Judah will have been demoralized and unable to make an effective response.

j. Jeremiah on Josiah. For the Deuteronomistic Historian, Josiah was an outstanding king (2 Kgs 23:25), perhaps even Judah's most perfect ruler (Nelson 1981: 540). Yet Jeremiah took little notice of him. It has been argued by supporters of a low chronology that Jeremiah's prophetic career began only after the death of Josiah (Whitley 1968; Holladay 1980, 1981, 1983; Levin 1981); but although caution is necessary in linking Jeremiah's oracles with what we know of the sequence of historical events (Ackroyd 1984: 50), the evidence adduced for a low chronology is not conclusive (Scharbert 1981: 41, 46).

Jeremiah compares Josiah favorably with Jehoiakim: "Did not your father eat and drink and do justice and righteousness" (Jer 22:15). The precise force of the expression "eat and drink" is obscure, but it may simply mean that, although he kept a royal court and enjoyed life, he still practiced justice (Smend 1977: 452–54).

Josiah's motives for cultic reform were not purely religious, and it is likely that even in his lifetime its limited effect on the people was perceptible. He met his death in a political dispute. This Jeremiah saw, and his cool appraisal of Josiah furnishes a corrective to the enthusiasm of the Deuteronomistic Historian.

2. Son of Zephaniah, to whose house three Jews from the Exile bring gifts (Zech 6:10). It is not certain whether or not he should be identified with the son of Zephaniah in v 14.

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ROBERT ALTHANN

**JOSIPHIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yôsipyâ* (יוֹסִפְיָה)]. The father of one of the family heads—Shelomith—who, with 160 males, returned with Ezra from exile in Babylon during the reign of the

Persian king Artaxerxes (Ezra 8:10; 1 Esdr 8:36). His inclusion among the sons of Bani is supplied by the LXX (but not Codex Vaticanus) of Ezra and by 1 Esdras. His theophoric name, with an imperfect form of Heb *ysp* followed by the contracted proper name of the deity, gives expression, according to Noth (*IPN*, 212), to the wish for additional children—"may Yahweh add to (those children already born)."

RODNEY H. SHEARER

**JOSIPPON, BOOK OF.** A version of the writings of Flavius JOSEPHUS dating to the medieval period and written in a superb biblical Hebrew style. The book begins with the list of Japheth's descendants (Gen 10:2–5), which the author identifies with existing nations of his own day. A fabulous history of ancient Italy follows (based on unhistorical sources from the early Middle Ages). Then the book proceeds to its real aim: the presentation of the history of the Second Temple period, ending with the fall of Masada.

**A. Introduction**

For the past 500 years this book has been available in two different forms, each reflected in a different printed edition. The older of these editions (the editio princeps), based on a condensed and carelessly restyled form of the original, was published in Mantua around 1480 and has had little influence on modern scholarship. The second printed edition, based on an expanded and rewritten form of the original, was published in Constantinople in 1510 and became the source of all subsequent printings (most recently reedited by H. Huminer [1971]). Until recently the Constantinople edition was the form of Josippon most familiar to both scholars and other interested readers, and it is properly regarded as a pseudepigraphon (a writing falsely attributed to Josephus).

However, a third critical edition of Josippon has recently been prepared (Flusser 1978–80), based not on these printed editions but rather on the original manuscript evidence itself; and it now appears that originally the book of Josippon was not intended to be a pseudepigraphon. Consequently, we are now in a position to make some confident claims about the original form and to understand how the two printed editions came to depart from it.

**B. The Original Form**

**1. Authorship.** Among the extant mss of Josippon are three based on a manuscript copied by Rabbi Gershom ben-Judah (ca. A.D. 960–1028), who probably made his copy to use as a textbook on Second Temple history. One of these three mss preserves the original author's note that he wrote and translated "from the book of Joseph (i.e., Josephus) ben-Gurion the priest in the year 885 from the destruction." Since it was customary then to reckon the destruction of the temple from the year A.D. 68, we can conclude that the book was written in A.D. 953. This accords well with the up-to-date description of Japheth's descendants that begins the book. There, the author states that the Hungarians were already settled along the river Danube, a situation that did not exist prior to A.D. 895–899. Similarly, he refers to the Muslim conquest of Tarsus (in Asia Minor) and to the ongoing Muslim-Byzantine conflict, yet he is still unaware of the Byzantine recapture of Tarsus in 965. This is exactly the perspective of an author writing in the middle of the 10th century.

The author was self-conscious of his work as a historian, and states: "I have collected stories from the book of Joseph ben-Gurion and from the books of other authors who wrote down the deeds of our ancestors, and I compiled them in one scroll." The name of this author, however, did not appear on the work itself and was soon forgotten; consequently, the book became known simply as the "Book of Joseph ben-Gurion" or, in Latin, "Josephus Gorionides" (a confused reference to Flavius Josephus; see B.2 below). Since Josephus was quoted therein as the main source for the book, it erroneously came to be ascribed to this 1st-century writer himself (a mistake that was deliberately compounded by the person who prepared the version on which the Constantinople edition was based; see C below). Thus the book also came to be known generally as *Sefer Josippon* ("Josippon" being the Judeo-Greek form for Josephus), although the name Josippon itself does not appear in the original texts of the book. The fact that the book was known by this Judeo-Greek title indicates that its first readers were Byzantine Jews.

The anonymous author of this medieval book apparently lived in S Italy, which at that time was a center of Jewish culture and of Hebrew literary activity. This S Italian provenance is reflected not only by some Italian words which crept into the text, but also by the author's familiarity with the region, including his firsthand knowledge of the environs of Naples, the town in which he presumably lived and wrote.

**2. Sources.** Although the book was written in biblical Hebrew, the anonymous author was far better versed in Latin literature than in postbiblical Hebrew rabbinic sources. And even though S Italy at the time was under the sway of Byzantine civilization, where the official language was Greek, the author was apparently unable to utilize sources written in Greek. Thus, in examining the sources used in the writing of this book, we must appreciate the importance of the author's background education in Latin.

Two main sources were utilized in the composition of the main part of the book dealing with the Second Temple period. The first was a Latin mss containing 16 of the 20 books of Josephus' *Ant* and a paraphrase of Josephus' *JW*. This Latin paraphrase, commonly called *Hegesippus*, was written around A.D. 370; and it is noteworthy that the four extant Latin mss of this paraphrase were all written in Italy, where the author of Josippon lived and wrote. Like *Hegesippus*, the book of Josippon ends with the fall of Masada. Although it is not certain, it also appears that the author of Josippon knew some scattered bits of information from *JW* itself; and he also refers to Josephus' *AgAp*. The author's second main source for Second Temple history was the Apocrypha (in the Vulgate). In his description of the Maccabean period, the author depends on 1–2 Maccabees, which he combined in order to present a clearer picture of the events. From 1 Esdras 3–4 he based his description of the contest of the three young men, in which Zerubbabel was victorious. His stories about Daniel's victory over Bel and the dragon and about Esther and Mordecai are recounted according to the apocryphal additions to Daniel and Esther. An additional source for Esther's prayer is the prayer of Aseneth as it appeared in one of the Latin translations of *Joseph and Aseneth*, a Jewish romance originally written in Greek (Flusser 1985).

In composing that portion of the book dealing with the history of ancient Italy and the founding of Rome, the author drew upon various legends contained in early medieval Latin sources, which themselves were obscure and have not been preserved. However, it is possible to detect some of the more reliable roots of these sources; e.g., there is a later elaboration of the chronicle by the Church Father Jerome, a reference to Cyrus' death from the patristic historian Orosius (ca. 400), a reference to the beginning of Roman history from the Roman poet Virgil, and a reference to the war with Hannibal from Titus Livius.

Thus, when following his main historical sources, the original author of the book of Josippon was a responsible historian with excellent historical insight, whose integrity as a historian shaped his use of sources and limited his use of fables and other fantastic stories. This is in marked contrast with the person who prepared the pseudepigraphic version on which the Constantinople edition was based (see C below).

**3. Impact.** Because it was directed to readers unfamiliar with Latin and Greek, the book of Josippon quickly became a first-rate source of information about the Second Temple period for both Jews and Arabs—an Arabic translation had been completed by the time of the Arab scholar Ibn-Hazm (ca. 1063), who referred to the book by name (see Wellhausen 1897; Pines 1985). Jewish biblical and Talmudic scholars who did not know the OT Apocrypha and believed that the book was written by Josephus himself (including such famous commentators as Rashi [ca. 1100]), all used the book of Josippon in their treatises and commentaries.

However, the book of Josippon did not satisfy those Christians (and Muslims) who thought that from it they could learn what Josephus had recorded about Jesus and the rise of Christianity. Because the last four books of Josephus' *Ant* were not accessible to him, the author of Josippon himself was unaware of the passages about Jesus (*Ant* 18.3.3 §63–64), about his brother James' martyrdom (20.9.1 §200), and about John the Baptist (18 §116–19). However, because he utilized *Hegesippus*, he was familiar with its passages alluding to Christian subjects; but with the exception of a reference to John the Baptist, he omitted these passages altogether. Thus the original author of Josippon wrote nothing about Jesus.

Nonetheless, in two extant mss of Josippon (and partially in a third) a small text, written in imitation of Josippon's style, was interpolated (see Levi 1932; Flusser 1978–80: 1, appendix). Written sometime before 1150, this interpolation contains a confused and polemical story about Jesus and the beginnings of

Christianity along with a story about Susanna (derived from the OT Apocrypha). The stories are set during the reign of the emperor Caligula (A.D. 37–41); thus the hero of the Susanna story is renamed from Daniel to Nahman. In this text Jesus' claims are connected with those of the insane Caligula, showing that this interpolation was influenced by the earlier (Aramaic) form of the medieval Jewish story *Toledot Yeshu* ("The History of Jesus"), which was blatantly anti-Christian. This interpolation was subsequently condensed into a note of only a few lines. Only vestiges of this note appear in the Mantua printed edition of 1480, probably the result of censorship. This brief note about Jesus is also preserved in only one of the two mss on which the 1510 Constantinople edition was based; in the other it was deleted by an ecclesiastical censor. It was then omitted in all subsequent printed editions, from the first Constantinople print (1510) on.

**C. Subsequent (Constantinople) Form**

As noted above, from the recent study of the mss evidence, we now know that the original author of the book of Josippon was a learned Jew keenly aware of his responsibilities as a historian. He did not pretend that his work was written by Josephus, but rather cited Josephus as his main source. On the whole his references to Josephus are basically correct; however, he refers to Josephus incorrectly as "Joseph ben-Gurion," when in fact his real Hebrew name was "Joseph ben-Matthias." Here the original author of Josippon was simply misled by his Latin source (*Heges.* III.3.27, based upon *JW* 2 §253), where "Joseph the son of Gorion" is named first among the Jewish leaders of the war.

However, no one can claim that the subsequent author of the expanded form of the book of Josippon—the form underlying the Constantinople printed edition—was a responsible historian. Although he himself did not lack Jewish or secular knowledge, his secondary reformulation of the book of Josippon was written in the spirit of unrestrained medieval fantasy, incorporating a number of fictitious elements. For example, he invented an imaginary description of the crowning of Vespasian in Rome (by a Pope!), patterned according to the custom of crowning medieval emperors.

This author made one other change that had a significant impact on how the book of Josippon would be viewed in the centuries following: he converted it into a pseudepigraphon. He took advantage of three things to create a book that no longer simply cited Josephus as a main source but actually now claimed to have been written by Josephus himself. The first of these was the fact that the name of the original author had been forgotten, and thus, since Josephus is often expressly quoted in the book, it was—from the 11th century on—commonly ascribed to Josephus himself. The second was the title that had come to be associated with the book—*Sefer Josippon*, "the book *of* Josippus/Josephus." The third was the knowledge that, before writing *JW* in Greek for his Roman audience, the 1st-century Josephus composed it in his native language (*JW* 1. Proem 1 §3), a version of *JW* that has not survived. See JOSEPHUS. Thus he cast his revision of Josippon in such a way as to portray Josephus speaking in the first person about himself and about the purpose of his book, giving the false impression that this expanded form of the Hebrew Josippon was the lost original that Josephus had initially written for fellow Jews. This, of course, greatly enhanced the reputation of this work, since many medieval Jews, Christians, and Muslims believed this false ascription of authorship to Flavius Josephus.

It appears that this recasting of the original Josippon occurred during the first half of the 12th century, and no later than ca. 1160. Sometime in the 14th century it was edited by Judah Leon Mosconi, whose edition became the basis of the Constantinople printed edition of 1510. This edition immediately became the standard; and from the 16th century on it was translated into Yiddish, Ladino, Latin, German, English, Czech, and Polish. Thus, until the recent preparation of a new critical edition, only this secondary revision of Josippon was known. Modern scholars were quick to recognize its pseudepigraphic character but to view it, nevertheless, as an important source of medieval Jewish folklore containing vestiges of ancient Jewish sources and legends.

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**JOTAPATA** (PLACE). See IOTAPE (PLACE).

**JOTBAH** (PLACE) [Heb *yoṭbâ* (יָטְבָה)]. The hometown of Haruz, whose daughter Meshullemeth married Manasseh, king of Judah, and gave birth to his son and heir Amon (2 Kgs 21:19). Forrer (1920: 61) has suggested that the place name *[ ]-at-bi-ta* that appears in the annals of Tiglath-pileser III, describing his 732 B.C.E. campaign to Galilee (*ANET,* 283), be restored to *ia-at-bi-te* and be identified with biblical Jotbah. According to the annals 650 prisoners were exiled from this place.

It has also been suggested that Jotbah be identified with "Jotapata," the fortress where Josephus was besieged by Vespasian (*JW* 3.141–334), with ʿYŏdpatʷ(*M. ʿArak.* 9:6; Klein 1939: 163), and with "Yōṭbat" of Talmudic literature (*t. Nida* 3:11; *b. Nida* 20A). All four have been identified with Khirbet Shifāt (M.R. 176248) N of the Beth Netofa valley. The finds from this site and its situation conform to Josephus' very dramatic description of Jotapata. See also IOTAPE (PLACE). However, in recent surveys (Meyers, et al. 1978: 6) Iron Age finds have not been found at the site; Gal (1982: 22, 117) therefore suggests that the biblical Jotbah be identified with Kerem el-Ras (M.R. 181239). The land adjoining this ten acre site is called Jifat, and the pottery collected there dates from the 10th to the 8th century B.C.E.

It is significant that the grandson of MESHULLEMETH of Jotbah, King Josiah, married Zebudah, a woman from the town of Rumah (2 Kgs 23: 36). Rumah is either identified with Khirbet Ruma (M.R. 177243) or is located in its vicinity. This site is near both proposed locations of Jotbah, 6 km NE of Kerem el-Ras and 10 km S of Khirbet Shifāt.

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**JOTBATHAH** (PLACE) [Heb *yoṭbātâ* (יָטְבָתָה)]. The 18th encampment of the Israelites, after leaving the Wilderness of Sinai, as listed in Num 33:33–34, where it is placed between Hor-haggidgad and Abronah. In Deut 10:7 it is listed as the station after Gudgodah. The Deuteronomy passage also relates that the area was well supplied with water, which probably is the basis for its name: "Pleasantness." Suggested locations include et-Taba, the source of a marshy winter lake near the Wâdī Ghadhaghed (Abel *GP,* 216; Simons *GTTOT,* 259, and map IIIc; M.R. 153922), and the vicinity of Tabeh, about 11 km SW of Eilat (Aharoni *LBHG,* 199–200; Rothenberg 1961: 163–64; M.R. 139878). Robinson visited the latter area but did not mention it in connection with the biblical site (1856: 160–61). For a discussion of the location of any of the places associated with the journey of the Israelites from Egypt through Sinai, see DOPHKAH.

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**JOTHAM** (PERSON) [Heb *yôtām* (יוֹתָם)]. 1. The son of Jahdai, a Judahite who belonged to the clan of Caleb (1 Chr 2:47).

2. The youngest of the 70 sons of Jerubbaal, who was also known as Gideon (Judg 9:5; cf. 8:30). By hiding himself, Jotham escaped the fury of his half-brother Abimelech who, with the help of hired rascals, murdered the remaining sons of Jerubbaal. With these rivals eliminated, the citizens of Shechem made Abimelech their king (Judg 9:6). Once informed about Abimelech's investiture, Jotham went to the top of Mt. Gerizim overlooking Shechem and projected his voice to those standing in the valley below. By means of a powerful fable (Judg 9:8–15), Jotham rebuked the men of Shechem who had supported Abimelech's conspiracy. This intricately structured fable discloses that when the trees sought for a king to rule over them, they were turned down by the olive, the fig, and the vine, which were thoroughly committed to their ordinary and useful functions. But when the bramble was offered the kingship, it accepted. The irony is powerful. If the olive, the fig, and the vine are understood agricultural symbols of goodness, it follows that the bramble would be an easily recognized symbol of uselessness.

In the ensuing application (Judg 9:16–20), the fable is interpreted against Abimelech's supporters, who have not acted "in good faith and honor" (vv 16, 19). Having forgotten the risks that Jerubbaal had taken in their behalf, they sponsored the slaying of his legitimate sons and rallied around a scoundrel of their own clan. Jotham concluded his speech with a curse against Shechem and its king that was fulfilled three years later when the city was demolished and Abimelech was struck by a lethal millstone hurled by a nameless woman (Judg 9:53–54). Lindars (1973: 361) argues that by speaking a fable, Jotham chose to express his criticism obliquely. His listeners were induced to ponder their role in making Abimelech king. But whatever the style of his critique, Jotham was required to flee for his life. In this deftly framed attack, Jotham articulated an antimonarchic sentiment that was popular among the more conservative members of the Israelite tribal confederacy.

3. The son of Uzziah (presumably the throne name for Azariah; 2 Kgs 15:32; 1 Chr 3:12) who first served as regent (ca. 750–742 B.C.E.) before succeeding his father as king of Judah (ca. 742–735 B.C.E.). His mother was Jerusha, "the daughter of Zadok" (2 Kgs 15:33), likely "the hereditary priest in Jerusalem" (Gray *1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 629). Though neither 2 Kings 15 nor 2 Chronicles 27 provides more than a cursory treatment of Jotham's reign, both sources report that he ascended to the Jerusalem throne at the age of 25 and ruled for 16 years (2 Kgs 15:33; 2 Chr 27:1). After a consideration of Jotham's historical context, which is partially clouded by perplexing chronological references, we shall note how this Judean king is respectively treated by the Deuteronomistic Historian and the Chronicler.

a. Jotham's Historical Context. Though on occasion Judah was required to acknowledge the supremacy of Israel under Jeroboam II (ca. 786–746 B.C.E.), the reigns of Uzziah (ca. 783–742 B.C.E.) and Jotham constituted a period of prosperity for Judah. Having mended Jerusalem's defenses, reorganized its army, and restored the distant Edomite site of Elath (Ezion-geber?) as a Judean seaport (2 Kgs 14:22), Uzziah bequeathed a sturdy kingdom to his son. Whereas Uzziah undoubtedly retained the title of king as long as he lived, the leprosy that he suffered toward the end of his regal tenure rendered him incapable of performing the duties of his office. Thus Jotham, as the crown prince, took charge of the affairs of state (2 Kgs 15:5–6; 2 Chr 26:21). The discovery of a signet ring with a seal bearing the Hebrew inscription *lytm,* "Belonging to Jotham" in the period III city at Tell el-Kheleifeh (possibly Ezion-geber) seems to buttress the biblical witness that during the 8th century B.C.E. Judah's monarchs extended their influence into Edom. While the matter is less than unequivocal, the lack of any additional title (e.g., "of the king") makes Uzziah's son Jotham a likely referent. Glueck (1959: 167–68) perceives this ring to be the badge of office of the person who was appointed to govern this region in Jotham's behalf.

It is impossible to establish a precise chronology for Jotham. According to 2 Kgs 15:30 Hoshea became king of Israel during "the twentieth year of Jotham the son of Uzziah." This synchronism is contradicted by 2 Kgs 17:1, which links Hoshea's arrival on the Israelite throne with the rule of Jotham's son Ahaz. Nor can 2 Kgs 15:30 be reconciled with the notation in 2 Kgs 15:33 that Jotham's rule spanned 16 years, unless his period as regent of Judah is to be added to 16 years of independent rule. It is more likely, however, that the 16-year figure encompasses Jotham's functions as both regent and king. Given the credibility of the synchronism in 2 Kgs 15:32, which links the advent of Jotham's rule with the second year of Pekah's tenure as king of Israel, perhaps Jotham's role as regent began in ca. 750 B.C.E.; and with

Uzziah's death in ca. 742 B.C.E., his status shifted from regent to monarch (Albright 1945: 21). Since certain knowledge about the length of Jotham's tenure is beyond our reach, Gray (70, 628) advances the reasonable proposal that Pekah's second year as Israel's sovereign may signal Jotham's assumption of duties as regent and that 2 Kgs 15:33 credits Jotham with a six-year reign (perhaps "when cyphers instead of words were used,"Heb *šēš* [six] was misread as *šēš ʿeśrē* [sixteen]). Finally, the Chronicler's presentation of Jotham of Judah and Jeroboam II of Israel as contemporaries (1 Chr 5:17) poses no problem so long as the former is understood to have the status of regent.

b. Jotham in the Deuteronomistic History. Jotham is introduced as the one who governed "the people of the land" once his father Azariah (Uzziah) had become divinely stricken with leprosy (2 Kgs 15:5). In his ritually unclean condition, Uzziah would be dependent on his son for the execution of regal functions. In 2 Kgs 15:32–38 the focus narrows on Jotham himself. Following mention of his age when he entered the regal office, length of tenure, and mother's name (2 Kgs 15:33), a formulaic phrase assesses Jotham in an approving manner. As had Uzziah before him (2 Kgs 15:3), Jotham "did what was right in the eyes of the Lord" (2 Kgs 15:34). Even so, since Jotham failed to demolish the "high places" (Heb *bāmôt*), his people persisted in their religious apostasy (2 Kgs 15:35a—the wording replicates that used in the presentations of Amaziah's reign in 14:4 and Uzziah's in 15:4). Prior to mention of Jotham's death, burial, and replacement on the throne by his son Ahaz (2 Kgs 15:38), two more distinctive disclosures are made about his reign. First, Jotham is credited with having constructed "the upper gate of the house of the Lord" (2 Kgs 15:35b). Presumably this is the N gate within the Jerusalem temple compound to which Jer 20:2 and Ezek 9:2 allude. Second, the Syro-Ephraimite coalition involving two staunch anti-Assyrian monarchs, Pekah, king of Israel and Rezin, king of Aram, is depicted as emerging during Jotham's period of rule; and the havoc it played with Judah is perceived as divinely instigated (2 Kgs 15:37). Though the crisis would escalate during the reign of Ahaz (see Isa 7:1–8:15), Judah felt discomfort even as Jotham governed.

c. Jotham in Chronicles. Though the Chronicler's portrayal of Jotham (2 Chr 27:1–9) shares much in common with its Deuteronomistic antecedent, one noteworthy deletion and several new particulars serve to intensify this monarch's virtue and competence. On the one hand, the impact of the Syro-Ephraimite coalition on Judah is not even hinted. On the other, Jotham is presented as a devout man of faith, master builder, and triumphant leader in the battlefield. As one who "ordered his ways" before the deity (2 Chr 27:6), Jotham's righteousness is set, in general terms, over against his people's proclivity for "corrupt practices," and, in specific terms, over against his father Uzziah's intrusion as a lay person into the sacred precincts of the Jerusalem temple which brought on his leprosy (2 Chr 27:2; cf. 26:16–21). The king's building program extended well beyond the "upper gate" of the temple complex. Concentrating on "the wall of Ophel" (2 Chr 27:3) to the S, Jotham seems to have augmented Uzziah's earlier efforts at strengthening Jerusalem's defenses (an activity in which Hezekiah [2 Chr 32:5] and Manasseh [2 Chr 33:14] would later engage; see Simons 1952: 330–31). Moreover, Jotham improved Judah's position by constructing cities in the Judean highlands and erecting "forts and towers" in the wooded regions (2 Chr 27:4). The superlative aspect of the Chronicler's report, however, is discernible in his disclosure regarding Jotham's triumph over the nomadic Meunites, who infiltrated Judah—here we accept the conjecture of Miller and Hayes (*HAIJ,* 311) that "Ammonites" in the Heb text (2 Chr 27:5) should be corrected to "Meunites." The amount of tribute that the enemy rendered to Jotham (27:5), estimated by Myers (*2 Chronicles* AB, 156) as 3.25 tons of silver and 65,000 bushels each of wheat and flour, is manifestly exaggerated. Though the Chronicler does not present Jotham's accomplishments in a dispassionate manner, the impression he gives that this Judean king was skilled in matters of national defense has an authentic ring to it.

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J. KENNETH KUNTZ

**JOY.** The experience of deliverance and the anticipation of salvation provide the most significant occasions for rejoicing among the people of God in the OT. The coming of the Messiah, who delivers his people and brings salvation becomes the basis for rejoicing in the NT. The response of joy, gladness, or happiness is not only a deep inward feeling, but is expressed in celebration when God's people gather together.

The idea of joy is most commonly expressed in the OT by *śimḥâ/śamaḥ* and in the NT by *chara/chairō.* Among the other 12 Hebrew roots used for some aspect of joy, the most frequent are *gyl, rnn, śwś,* and *ʿlz.* The LXX prefers the Gk word *euphrainō* to translate *śamaḥ* and inclines toward *agalliaō* (its first occurrence in Greek literature) to translate *gyl*, the latter expressions more commonly used of exultant joy. Although *chara/chairō* are not the prominent words for joy in the LXX, they become so in the NT perhaps because of their common use during the time of the NT. They are found, for instance, in a papyrus expressing the joy of friends on the occasion of a marriage (*P. Oxy.* 3313.4, 20). In addition to the terms *euphrainō* and *agalliaō,* the NT also employs *makarios/makarizo,* commonly translated "blessed" or "happy," and *kauchasthai/kauchēma,* "boast."

In the OT rejoicing is frequently expressed in connection with the feasts; in fact, they are called "times of rejoicing" (Num 10:10). Recalling God's marvelous act of delivering Israel from bondage, the Feasts of Passover and Unleavened Bread were occasions of great joy (2 Chr 30:21–27; Ezra 6:22; cf. also Psalms 95 and 98). Communal exultation also characterized the Feasts of Pentecost and Tabernacles (Deut 16:11, 14, 15; Lev 23:40) at which times the people of Israel were enjoined to remember that they were once slaves in Egypt (Deut 16:12). Similarly, the Feast of Purim was celebrated with joy and gladness to celebrate divine deliverance from potential annihilation under Persian rule (Esth 8:17).

Yahweh's effective help in battle gave occasion for expressing joy (2 Chr 20:27) as so often illustrated in the Psalms (Pss 9:2; 13:7; 21:1; 109:28). The knowledge of the nearness and protection of God in times of need and distress brought joy (Ps 16:9). One could find joy in sensing God's presence at any time as in Ps 16:11: "You fill me with joy in your presence" (cf. Ps 21:6).

Past deliverance gave Israel hope for the future. In particular the Prophets point to the joy yet to be experienced, an eschatological joy. This can be seen especially in Isaiah 40–66, where there are numerous references to joy and rejoicing. This celebration is connected not only with the salvation of Israel (Isa 44:23; 65:14–19; cf. also Zeph 3:14–17; Zech 2:10), but with the gift of salvation God is preparing for all humankind (Isa 56:7). The righteous will ultimately experience everlasting joy (Isa 51:11).

Israel's corporate joy was commonly expressed in great celebration. Musical instruments often accompanied singing and dancing (1 Sam 18:6). David had in fact appointed the Levites "to sing joyful songs" to the accompaniment of musical instruments such as lyres, harps, and cymbals (1 Chr 15:17). The intensity of celebration was sometimes quite high as illustrated by the account of the anointing of Solomon as king of Israel: "And all the people went up after him, playing on pipes, and rejoicing with great joy, so that the earth was split by their noise" (1 Kgs 1:40; RSV). The book of Psalms gives numerous examples of the joyous songs of praise, or victory, sung by the people of God (e.g., Psalms 33 and 95).

Not only do God's people rejoice, but God himself is represented as rejoicing "in his works" (Ps 104:31) and in his people (Deut 30:9; Pss 147:11; 149:4; Zeph 3:17). Joy does not always have religious connotations in the OT. Good wine can bring joy (Ps 104:15; Judg 9:13), and so also should a birthday (Job 3:7), and the years of one's youth or old age (Eccl 11:8–9).

The NT era was inaugurated by the cry of the angel of the Lord: "Do not be afraid; for behold, I bring you good news of a great joy which will come to all the people; for to you is born this day in the city of David a Savior, who is Christ the Lord" (Luke 2:10–11). The appearance of the Messiah providing salvation for all humankind permeates every NT book with the mood of joy. Schramm thus aptly observes, "this cry of joy is a fitting title for the whole NT" (Otto and Schramm 1980: 94).

Among the first three gospels Luke especially highlights the soteriological aspect of joy (Gulin 1932–36, 1: 99). The parables of the lost sheep, the lost coin, and the prodigal son reveal the joyous response of the father (and the angels) when one sinner repents and is saved (Luke 15, esp. vv 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 32). Conversely, there is joy for the one who receives salvation (Luke 19:6; cf. Matt 13:44). The progress of the salvation of God extending to the gentiles becomes a significant occasion of joy in the book of Acts (Acts 11:23; 13:48; 15:3). The gentiles who are saved are filled with joy (8:8, 39).

All the redeemed are brought into a close union with Christ, where they experience great joy. Abiding in Christ brings "fullness of joy," according to John (John 15:11). Paul likewise finds the ultimate source of the believer's joy stemming from being "in Christ" (Phil 4:4; 3:1). It is upon this premise that he encourages his readers to let joyfulness be a constant characteristic of their daily lives (cf. also 1 Thess 5:16). Paul also sees the experience of joy as a result of the indwelling of the spirit (1 Thess 1:6; Rom 14:17; cf. also Acts 8:39). He in fact describes joy as a "fruit" of the Spirit's presence (Gal 5:22).

The life of discipleship is a life of increasing joy—joy not only in growing in the faith (e.g., Phil 1:25), but in helping others grow in the faith. The NT is replete with references to the joy of those involved in the mission of the Church and the edification of its members. Paul rejoiced when he saw the successful spread of the gospel (Phil 1:18) and on occasions when he had indication of spiritual growth among the members of the churches (e.g., Phlm 7; 1 Thess 3:9; Rom 16:19; Col 2:5). When Paul discerned a positive response on the part of the Corinthians to his tearful visit and sorrowful letter, he told them of his great joy (2 Chr 7:4, 7, 9, 13, 16). John likewise rejoiced in the obedience of his community (2 John 4; 3 John 3, 4).

The NT is much less explicit than the OT about the manner in which joy is expressed. There is no doubt that joy was understood in terms of a deep inward experience, but this inner disposition likely found tangible expression in the Christian communities when they gathered. It would probably be safe to assume that the OT concept of joyous celebration with jubilant singing and praise to God provided a model for the NT congregations. The NT does stress that joy is to be shared (Rom 12:12; 2 Cor 7:13) and even employs a word *(sugchairō)* that emphasizes the shared nature of joy (1 Cor 12:26; Phil 2:17–18; Luke 15:6, 9).

The deep-rooted joy of the Christian is not abated when the circumstances of daily life are adverse. Joy is experienced in suffering and even persecution. This was the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5:11–12) and the experience of the early Church (Acts 5:41; cf. 1 Thess 1:6). Paul exemplified this possibility of joy in suffering in his own life (2 Cor 7:4; Col 1:24) and encouraged his churches to follow suit (Phil 2:17–18). Suffering is prominent in the background to the statements concerning joy in 1 Peter and Hebrews. Eschatological anticipation, however, provided incentive for rejoicing even when one's personal property was plundered (Heb 10:34) or when one faced persecution (1 Pet 4:13). The early Church looked forward to the second advent of Christ as a time of joy (Matt 25:21, 23). The ultimate triumph of God and "the marriage of the Lamb" will consummate the joy of God and all his people (19:7) and result in cries of "Hallelujah!" (Rev 19:1, 3, 4, 6).

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CLINTON E. ARNOLD

**JOZABAD** (PERSON) [Heb *yôzābād* (יוֹזָבָד)]. Jozabad occurs only in postexilic biblical writings.

While it was quite possibly a common Judean name in the Persian period, the Chronicler seems to have retrojected anachronistically the name of a levitical treasurer from the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (#6) to legitimate his portrayal of the reigns of Hezekiah (#3) and Josiah (#4).

**1.** A Benjaminite warrior, who, according to the Chronicler, joined David's forces at Ziklag before David became king (1 Chr 12:5—Eng 12:4). See JERIMOTH. The Chronicler associates Jozabad with Gedar, a town in S Judah.

**2.** Two Manassites, who, according to the Chronicler, deserted their kinsman Saul to join the forces of David at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:21—Eng 12:20).

**3.** According to the Chronicler a levitical overseer of surplus temple offerings gathered during Hezekiah's temple reforms (2 Chr 31:13). The Chronistic style of the chapter clearly demarcates it as the Chronicler's own invention. The Chronicler seems to have taken the name of a levitical overseer of temple revenues from the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (see #6) and applied it anachronistically to legitimate his portrayal of the reforms of Hezekiah.

**4.** A levitical prince who donated sacrificial animals for Josiah's Passover (2 Chr 35:9). As Josiah's Passover evidences the Chronicler's style, Jozabad represents the Chronicler's use of a levitical name from his own day to legitimate his narrative of an earlier period. Given substantial onomastic overlap with 2 Chronicles 31, the Chronicler uses the name Jozabad to show continuity between Josiah's Passover and Hezekiah's reforms. 1 Esdr 1:9 reads "Joram" rather than "Jozabad."

**5.** A member of the priestly family of Passhur who lived in the Persian province of Judea during the mission of Ezra (Ezra 10:22). Jozabad's family, the family of Passhur, composed the largest priestly clan to return from Exile with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:38), though it ultimately disappeared from the Second Temple priestly houses. Despite, or perhaps on account of, his priestly lineage, this Jozabad had married a non-Judean wife. He consented to divorce her during the reforms of Ezra under the threat of complete ostracism from the Jerusalem temple state. For the authenticity of the list of Ezra 10, see JERIMOTH. 1 Esdr 9:22 reads Gedaliah instead of Jozabad.

**6.** A prominent levitical temple official in the Jerusalem temple during the mission of Ezra (Ezra 8:33). From the brief description of his duties in Ezra 8:34, Jozabad aided in the administration of temple treasuries (see 1 Chr 26:20–28). Jozabad's family had returned to Judah from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:40). Their prominence among the levitical families may help explain his important social position within the Judean temple state (see also Ezra 3:9; Neh 9:4–5; 10:10–11—Eng 9–10; 12:8). See JESHUA (PERSON). While certainty is not possible, this Jozabad most likely married a non-Judean wife and consented to divorce her under the threat of complete ostracism from the Jerusalem temple state (Ezra 10:23). He later was among the levitical teachers who interpreted the Torah to the people at Ezra's public reading (Neh 8:7). It is also possible that this same levitical Jozabad appears again during Nehemiah's governorship as an administrator of the outside work of the temple (Neh 11:16), a duty seemingly associated with the temple treasuries (see 1 Chr 26:20–32). The precise attribution is difficult, however, because of the contested date of Nehemiah 11. Kellermann (1966: 209–27) argues that the list reveals the inhabitants of Jerusalem in the years immediately before Exile, while Blenkinsopp (*Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 322–27) argues that the list reflects the years subsequent to Nehemiah, to which Jozabad may represent a later addition to fill out the lists. Williamson's hypothesis (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 344–49) that Nehemiah 11 reflects another account of Nehemiah's repopulation of Jerusalem (see Nehemiah 7), however, seems to account best for the available data. If so, in Jozabad we have a brief example of a levitical temple official whose career spanned the missions of both Ezra and Nehemiah.

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**JOZACAR** (PERSON) [Heb *yôzākār* (יוֹזָכָר)]. A servant of Joash, king of Judah, who, with Jehozabad, conspired against the king and killed him (2 Kgs 12:22—Eng 12:21). In some mss he is called Jozabad, instead of Jozacar. This variation can be accounted for as a copyist's error wherein the *bet* is read as a *qop* and the *dalet* as a *reš.* In 2 Chr 24:26 he is named Zabad, a shortened form of Jozabad.

PAULINE A. VIVIANO

**JOZADAK** (PERSON) [Heb *yôṣādāq* (יוֹצָדָק)]. Var. JEHOZADAK. The father of Jeshua, a priest contemporary with Zerubbabel (Ezra 3:2, 8; 5:2; 10:18; 1 Esdr 5:5, 48, 56; 6:2; 9:19; Sir 49:12), and the grandfather of Joiakim, a priest contemporary with Nehemiah (Neh 12:26). The name is a shortened form of Jehozadak, which means "Yahweh is righteous." The shortened form is used for this individual in Ezra-Nehemiah along with Jeshua *(yēšûaʿ),* a shortened form of Joshua *(yĕhôšūaʿ).* The longer forms for these two individuals are preserved in 1 Chronicles, Haggai, and Zechariah. For a full discussion of this variant, see JEHOZADAK.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

**JUBAL** (PERSON) [Heb *yûbāl* (יוּבָל)]. Son of Lamech and Adah and the brother of Jabal, a descendant of Cain (Gen 4:21). Jubal is described as the father of lyre and pipe players. Jubal's association with the pipe and his relation to Jabal, who may have been associated with nomadic shepherding, have led to comparisons between him and the Greek shepherd god Pan, inventor of the lyre (Westermann 1984: 331); Wenham *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 113). Two other possible connections with music include (1) the name of Jubal's half-sister, Naamah, which may suggest the playing of music (cf. Ug *nʿm*); and (2) the similarity between the name Jubal and the Hebrew word for the ram's horn (Heb *yôbēl*), which was blown to proclaim special days and seasons (*EncMiqr* 3:582; Gabriel 1959: 417). As a passive participle derived from the root *ybl* (see JABAL), Jubal may mean something like "brought in the procession," possibly reflecting the appearance of this root in the *yôbēl,* the jubilee year (North 1964: 380).

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RICHARD S. HESS

**JUBILEE, YEAR OF.** Leviticus 25 details the biblical system of jubilee. The Hebrew term at the center of this system, *yôbēl,* "jubilee" has an uncertain etymology. The most common view is that *yôbēl* means "ram" (cf. Phoen *ybl*), since ram's horn was used for trumpets and the year of jubilee was announced by the blowing of the trumpet. But the word used in the instructions of Lev 25:9 is the more common *šôpar.* Elsewhere, however, *yôbēl* or *qeren hayyôbēl,* "the horn of the ram" or *šôpĕrôt hayyôbĕlîm,* "trumpets of rams" are expressions used for trumpets (e.g., Exod 19:13; Josh 6:4–8, 13). The word *jubilee,* derived from *yôbēl,* is etymologically unconnected with Lat *jubilare* and its English derivative "jubilation."

The year of jubilee came at the end of the cycle of 7 Sabbatical Years. Lev 25:8–10 specifies it as the 50th year, though some scholars believe it may have been actually the 49th—i.e., the 7th Sabbatical Year. In this year there was a proclamation of liberty to Israelites who had become enslaved for debt, and a restoration of land to families who had been compelled to sell it out of economic need in the previous 50 years. Instructions concerning the jubilee and its relation to the procedures of land and slave redemption are found entirely in Leviticus 25. But it is also referred to in Leviticus 26 and 27 in other contexts.

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A. Socioeconomic Background
  1. Israelite Kinship Structure
  2. Israelite Land Tenure
B. Theological Basis
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**A. Socioeconomic Background**

The jubilee was in essence an economic institution. It had two main points of concern: the family and the land. It was rooted therefore in the kinship structure of Israelite society and the system of land tenure that was based upon it.

**1. Israelite Kinship Structure.** Israel had a three-tier pattern of kinship, comprising the tribe, the clan, and the household. Gideon's modest reply to his angelic visitor shows us all three: "Look at my clan—it is the weakest in the tribe of Manasseh; and I am the least in my father's house" (Judg 6:15). The last two smaller units had greater social and economic importance than the tribe in terms of benefits and responsibilities relating to individual Israelites. The father's house (Heb *bêt ʾāb*) was a place of authority, even for married adults like Gideon (Judg 6:27; 8:20). It was also the place of security and protection (Judg 6:30–32). The clan was a larger grouping of a number of fathers' houses and an important subsection of the tribe (Heb *mišpāḥâ*). The clans were named after the grandsons of Jacob or other members of the patriarchal family tree (see Numbers 26 and 1 Chronicles 4–8), thereby acknowledging that they were units of recognizable kinship (see Kartveit 1989). But sometimes the clan name was attached to the territorial area of its settlement, such as a village or group of villages. The clan had important responsibility in the preservation of the land allotted to its constituent households. The jubilee was primarily for the economic protection of the smallest mf these units—the father's house. However, in Leviticus 25, it is interwoven with the economic practice of the redemption of land and persons; and those redemption procedures were primarily for the protection of, and the responsibility of, the clan. The two sets of provision were complementary, as we shall see. See FAMILY for full description of Israel's kinship terminology and structure.

**2. Israelite Land Tenure.** Whatever may have been the process by which the Israelites emerged in Canaan, once they were able to establish control over most of the land, they operated a system of land tenure that was based on these kinship units. Thus the territory was allotted to tribes, "according to their clans," and within the clans each household had its portion or "heritage."Judges 21:24 describes the Israelite soldiers returning each to his tribe, to his clan, and to his (household) inheritance. This system had two features that stand in complete contrast to the preceding pattern of Canaanite economic structure as described from the biblical perspective.

**a. Equitable Distribution.** In Canaan the land was owned by city-state kings and their nobles, with the bulk of the population as taxpaying tenant farmers. In Israel the initial division of the land was explicitly to the clans and households within the tribes, under the general rubric that each receive land according to size and need. The documentary evidence for this is to be found in the tribal lists of Numbers 26 (especially vv 52–56) and in the detailed territorial division of land recorded in Joshua 13–21, where the repetition of the phrase "according to their clans" indicates the intention that the land should be distributed throughout the whole kinship system as widely as possible.

**b. Inalienability.** In order to protect this system of kinship distribution, family land was made inalienable. That is, it was not to be bought and sold as a commercial asset, but was to remain as far as possible within the extended family or at least within the circle of families in the clan. It was this principle which lay behind Naboth's refusal to sell his patrimony to Ahab (1 Kings 21), and it is most explicit in the economic regulations of Leviticus 25.

**B. Theological Basis**

Lev 25:23 can be translated as follows: "The land shall not be sold permanently, for the land belongs to me; for you are 'guests'and 'residents'with me." This statement, at the heart of the chapter describing the jubilee, provides the hinge between the social and economic system described above and its theological

rationale. Following the inalienability rule, the chapter presents the two theological factors upon which the jubilee and related laws are based: the theology of the land and the status of the Israelites.

**1. The Theology of Land.** One of the central pillars of the faith of the Israelites was that the land they inhabited was Yahweh's land. It had been his even before Israel entered it (Exod 15:13, 17). This theme is found often in the Prophets and Psalms, as part of Israel's cultic tradition. At the same time, although ultimately owned by Yahweh, the land had been promised and then given to Israel in the course of the redemptive history. It was their "inheritance" (Deuteronomy passim), a kinship term appointing Israel as heir of Yahweh.

This dual tradition of the land—divine ownership and divine gift—was associated in some way with every major thread in Israel's theology. The promise of land was an essential part of the patriarchal election tradition. The land was the goal of the Exodus redemption tradition. The maintenance of the covenant relationship and the security of life in the land were bound together. Divine judgment eventually meant expulsion from the land, until the restored relationship was symbolized in the return to the land.

The land, then, stood like a fulcrum in the relationship between God and Israel (cf. its position in Lev 26:40–45). It was a monumental, tangible witness both to that divine control of history within which the relationship had been established and also to the moral and practical demands entailed by that relationship. For the Israelite, living as his family on his allotted share of Yahweh's land was proof of his membership in God's "family" and became the focus of his practical response to God's grace. Nothing that concerned the land was free from theological and ethical dimensions—as every harvest reminded him (Deuteronomy 26).

**2. The Status of the Israelites.** The Israelites are described in two ways in Leviticus 25.

**a. Guests and Residents.** "You are guests and residents [RSV; "aliens and tenants" in NIV] with me" (v 23). These terms, *gērîm wĕtôšābîm,* describe a class of people who resided among the Israelites in Canaan, but were not ethnic Israelites. They may have been descendants of the dispossessed Canaanites, or immigrants. They had no stake in the tenure of the land, but survived by hiring out their services as residential employees (laborers, craftsmen, etc.) for Israelite landowning households. Provided the household remained economically viable, its resident alien employees enjoyed both protection and security. But otherwise, their position could be perilous. Hence they are frequently mentioned in Israel's law as the objects of particular concern for justice because of their vulnerability.

The Israelites were to regard their status before God as analogous to that of their own residential dependents to themselves. Thus they had no ultimate title to the land—it was owned by God. Nevertheless, they could enjoy secure benefits of it under his protection and in dependence on him. So the terms are not a denial of rights, but rather an identification of specific classes of people as having a relationship of protected dependency.

The practical effect of this model for Israel's relationship with God is seen in vv 35, 40, and 53. If all Israelites share this status before God, then the impoverished or indebted sibling is to be regarded and treated in the same way as God regards and treats all Israel.

**b. Slaves.** "They are my slaves whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt" (vv 42, 55). Three times in this chapter the Exodus is mentioned, twice more in the following chapter (26:13, 45). It was regarded as an act of redemption in which God had "bought" Israel for himself. Freed from slavery to Egypt, they were now slaves of God himself. Therefore nobody could now claim as his own private property a fellow Israelite, who belonged by right of purchase to God alone. The Exodus redemption thus provided the historical and theological model for the social and economic practice of redemption and jubilee. Those who are God's freed slaves are not to make slaves of one another (25:39, 42). This weight of theological tradition concentrated into 25:23 gives a seriousness to the economic measures outlined in the rest of the chapter.

**C. Exegetical Outline**

**1. Detailed Analysis of Leviticus 25.** Leviticus 25 is a complex chapter in which several different economic practices have been thrown closely together, along with parenthetic sections and exceptive clauses. Source critics have come to no kind of consensus over alleged documentary division of the

material, and the multiplicity of theories is little help in understanding the chapter. However, in its present form, the text has some definable paragraphs that guide us through its provisions.

**a. Vv 1–7.** The chapter opens with the law of the SABBATICAL YEAR on the land. This is an expansion of the fallow year law of Exod 23:10–11, which was also further developed in Deut 15:1–2 into a year in which debts (or more probably the pledges given for loans) were to be remitted.

**b. Vv 8–12.** The jubilee is then introduced as the 50th year to follow the 7th Sabbatical Year. Verse 10 presents the twin concepts that are fundamental to the whole institution, namely, liberty and return: liberty—from the burden of debt and the bondage it may have entailed; return—both to the ancestral property if it had been mortgaged to a creditor, and to the family which may have been split up through debt servitude. It was these two components of the jubilee, freedom and restoration, that entered into the metaphoric and eschatological use of the jubilee in prophetic and later NT thought.

**c. Vv 13–17.** The financial implications of a recurring jubilee are then spelled out. The apparent sale of a piece of land really amounted only to a sale of the use of the land. So an approaching jubilee diminished the cost for the purchaser, inasmuch as he was buying the number of harvests until the jubilee restored the land to its original owner.

**d. Vv 18–22.** At this point some exhortation is inserted to encourage the observance of the sabbatical regulations, by promising special blessing in the preceding year. The theological principle was that obedience to the economic legislation of Israel would require, not prudential calculations, but faith in the ability of Yahweh to provide through his control of nature as well as history.

**e. Vv 23–24.** These central verses in the chapter constitute a heading to the remaining paragraphs, which are primarily concerned with the economic redemption of land and persons, interwoven with the jubilee. We have already noted the major theological traditions embodied in them.

**f. Vv 25–55.** We come now to the practical details of redemption and jubilee. In these verses there are three descending stages of poverty with required responses, interrupted by parenthetic sections dealing with houses in cities, and Levite properties (29–34), and non-Israelite slaves (44–46). The stages are marked off by the introductory phrase, "If your brother becomes poor" (25, 35, 39, 47). Probably this phrase introduced an original series of redemption procedures, unconnected with the jubilee. The addition of jubilee regulations complicates matters in places but functions as a necessary complement to the effects of redemption.

**(1) Stage 1 (25–28).** Initially, having fallen on hard times (for any reason—none is specified), the Israelite landowner sells, or offers to sell, some of his land. To keep it within the family, in line with the inalienability principle, it was first of all the duty of the nearest kinsman (the *gō·ēl*) either to preempt it (if it was still on offer) or to redeem it (if it had been sold). Second, the seller himself retained the right to redeem it for himself, if he later recovered the means to do so. Third, in any case, the property, whether sold or redeemed by a kinsman, reverted to the original family in the year of jubilee.

**(2) Exception (i): (29–31).** The above rules did not apply to dwelling places in the walled cities. This was probably because the primary intention of the redemption and jubilee provisions was to preserve the economic viability of families through the secure possession of their inherited land. City houses were not part of that productive economic base, and so did not need to be subject to indefinite redemption rights or jubilee return to seller. However, village dwellings were treated as part of the rural scene and therefore were included.

**(3) Exception (ii): (32–34).** This is a rider to exception (i). Since the Levites as a tribe had no inherited share in the land but were allotted certain towns, their dwellings in them were to be subject to normal redemption and jubilee provisions.

**(4) Stage 2 (35–38).** If the poorer brother's plight worsens and he still cannot stay solvent, presumably even after several such sales, it then becomes the duty of the kinsman to maintain him as a dependent laborer by means of interest-free loans.

**(5) Stage 3a (39–43).** In the event of a total economic collapse, such that the poorer kinsman has no more land left to sell or pledge for loans, he and his whole family sell themselves to—enter the bonded service of—the wealthier kinsman. The latter, however, is commanded in strong and repeated terms, not

to treat the debtor Israelite like a slave, but rather as a resident employee. This undesirable state of affairs is to continue only until the next jubilee—i.e., not more than one more generation. Then the debtor and/or his children (the original debtor may have died, but the next generation were to benefit from the jubilee, vv 41, 54), were to recover their original patrimony of land and be enabled to make a fresh start.

**(6) Exception (iii) (44–46).** This is a reminder that the redemption and jubilee provisions applied to Israelites and not to foreign slaves or resident aliens. This reinforces the point that they were primarily concerned with the distribution of land and the viability of Israelite families, neither of which applied to the nonlandowning population.

**(7) Stage 3b (47–55).** If a man had entered this debt bondage outside the clan, then an obligation lay on the whole clan to prevent this loss of a whole family by exercising their duty to redeem him. The list of potential kinsman-redeemers in vv 48–49 shows how the responsibility moved outward from the nearest kinsman to the extent of the clan itself ("family" in RSV v 49 is a misleading translation for Heb *mišpāḥâ*, "clan"). The whole clan had the duty of preserving its constituent families and their inherited land. It also had the duty to see that a non-Israelite creditor behaved as an Israelite should toward an Israelite debtor and that the jubilee provision was adhered to eventually.

**2. Summary.** From this analysis of the chapter, it can be seen that there were two main differences between the redemption and jubilee provisions. (1) Timing. Redemption was a duty that could be exercised at any time, locally, as circumstances required, whereas jubilee was twice a century as a national event. (2) Purpose. The main aim of redemption was the preservation of the land and persons of the clan, whereas the main beneficiary of the jubilee was the extended family, or "father's house." The jubilee therefore functioned as a necessary override to the practice of redemption. The regular operation of redemption over a period could result in the whole territory of a clan coming into the hands of a few wealthier families, with the rest of the families in the clan in a kind of debt servitude, living as dependent tenants of the wealthy—i.e., precisely the kind of land-tenure system that Israel had overturned. The jubilee was thus a mechanism to prevent this and to preserve the socioeconomic fabric of multiple household land tenure with the comparative equality and independent viability of the smallest family-plus-land units.

Now these household units held a central place in the experience and expression of Israel's covenant relationship with God, as can be seen from their role in social, military, judicial, cultic, and educational spheres. See FAMILY. In the light of this centrality of the family, the jubilee can be seen as more than merely an economic regulator (and certainly more than the utopian measure of social justice it is sometimes portrayed as). In attempting to maintain or restore the viability of such households, it was in fact aimed at preserving a fundamental dimension of Israel's relationship with Yahweh. We noticed this already in considering the weight of theological tradition packed into v 23. Three reminders of the Exodus and its implications (38, 42, 55) reinforce the point. This in turn explains why the neglect of these institutions, bemoaned in the following chapter (Leviticus 26) led not merely to economic distress but also to a broken relationship and eventual Exile—a connection also very clearly perceived by the Prophets.

**D. Historical Question**

But did it ever happen? Were the jubilee regulations real and practicable legislation, or were they academic and utopian? While there is evidence that kinship redemption was practiced (Jeremiah 32, Ruth 4), there is simply no evidence of a national jubilee in the extant historical documents of Israel (though some would discern an allusion to a jubilee year in Isa 37:30, where a double year of fallow seems to be envisaged; but it may refer merely to the disastrous effect of invasion). This silence does not, of course, prove that it never did happen. Nor can we say that it was economically impossible and so could not have happened, because there is evidence from other ANE civilizations of periodic nationwide remissions of debt in connection with the accession of a new king. However this ANE evidence comes from centuries earlier than the origins of OT Israel (Gordon 1953; Finkelstein 1961; Lewy 1958).

Nevertheless, scholars are divided: some see the law as a late, idealistic, formulation from the same period as the Holiness Code within the Priestly compilation to which this part of Leviticus is usually

assigned (Ginzberg 1932; *AncIsr;* Westbrook 1971). Others regard the jubilee as part of Israel's earliest, premonarchic, laws, which fell into disuse. This latter position is more commonly held by those scholars who have done most research into the ANE parallels and the sociological background (Schaeffer 1922; Jirku 1929; van der Ploeg 1972; Stein 1953; North 1954; Wildberger 1956; *IDBSup,* 496–98. Gottwald regards the redemption provisions, but not the jubilee, as reflecting "old conditions"[1979: 264]).

We have seen that the aim of the jubilee was to maintain or restore the socioeconomic basis of the nation's covenant relationship with God. This would reduce the likelihood of its being an exilic invention in view of evidence that there developed in the later period a loosening of the ancient family-land basis in the future vision of an expanded people of God that would include foreigners and eunuchs, (Isa 54:1; 56:3–7). Israel's identity and relationship with God would no longer be so closely tied to a social system in which kinship and land ownership were determinative of one's standing within the religious community. It is hard to see what purpose would have been served by framing new idealistic legislation designed to preserve those very things. Conversely, it makes sense to see the jubilee as a very ancient law which fell into neglect during Israel's history in the land, not so much because it was economically impossible, as because it became irrelevant to the scale of social disruption. The jubilee presupposes a situation where a man, though in severe debt, still technically holds the title to his family's land and could be restored to full ownership of it. But from the time of Solomon on this must have become meaningless for growing numbers of families as they fell victim to the acids of debt, slavery, royal intrusion and confiscation, and total dispossession. Many were uprooted and pushed off their ancestral land altogether. After a few generations they had nothing to be restored to in any practicable sense (Mic 2:2, 9; Isa 5:8). This would explain why the jubilee is never appealed to by any of the prophets as an economic proposal (though its ideals are reflected metaphorically). In the only occasion when a slave release is mentioned by a prophet (Jeremiah 34) the law appealed to was the Sabbatical Year release of Hebrew slaves (Exod 21:1–7; Deut 15:12–18)—not the jubilee. The people in question were fellow Judeans, but they were effectively landless (a definitive feature of the "Hebrew" class), not mortgaged debtors who could be restored to their property. The story shows how fragile and transient their actual release was.

**E. Ethical Development**

**1. In the OT.** We have seen that the jubilee had two major thrusts: release/liberty and return/restoration. Both of these lent themselves readily to the process of transfer from the strictly economic provision of the jubilee itself to a wider metaphoric application. There are allusive echoes of the jubilee particularly in later Isaiah. The mission of the Servant of Yahweh in Deutero-Isaiah has strong elements of the restorative plan of God for his people, aimed specifically at the weak and oppressed (Isa 42:1–7). Isaiah 58 is an attack on cultic observance without social justice and calls for liberation of the oppressed (v 6), specifically focusing on one's own kinship obligations (v 7). Most clearly of all, Isaiah 61 uses jubilee images to portray the one anointed as the herald of Yahweh to "evangelize" the poor, to proclaim liberty to the captives—using the word *dĕrôr* which is the explicitly jubilary word for release—and to announce the year of Yahweh's favor, almost certainly an allusion to a jubilee year. The ideas of redemption and return are combined in the future vision of Isaiah 35 and put alongside a transformation of nature itself. Thus in the OT the jubilee attracted an eschatological imagery while maintaining an ethical application in the present. Therefore it could be used to portray God's final intervention for messianic redemption and restoration; but it could also support ethical challenge for justice to the oppressed in contemporary history.

**2. In the NT.** Jesus announced the inbreaking of the eschatological reign of God. He claimed that the hopes of restoration and messianic reversal were being fulfilled in his own ministry. The "Nazareth manifesto" (Luke 4:16–30) is the clearest, programmatic statement of this and quotes directly from Isaiah 61, which is strongly influenced by jubilee concepts. Scholars are agreed that Jesus made use of jubilary imagery, though there is division over exactly what he meant by it. Some have argued that Jesus called for a literal enactment of the levitical jubilee (Trocmé 1961; Yoder 1972). Others, noting that Jesus used the prophetic texts and not the levitical law, argue that he was merely using jubilary language as a way of showing the kind of response required by the arrival of the kingdom of God, without intending an actual

national jubilee. Sloan (1977) notes that Jesus' use of *aphēsis* carries both the sense of spiritual forgiveness of sin and also literal and financial remission of actual debts. Thus, the original background of economic *dĕrôr* has been preserved in Jesus' challenge concerning ethical response to the kingdom of God. Ringe (1985) traces the interweaving of major jubilee images into various parts of the gospel narratives and the teaching of Jesus (e.g., the beatitudes, the response to John the Baptist [Matt 11:2–6], the parable of the banquet [Luke 14:12–24], various episodes of forgiveness, teaching on debts [Matt 18:21–35], etc.). The evidence is broad and conforms to the pattern already set in the OT—namely, the jubilee as a model or image for the kingdom of God embodies both eschatological affirmation and ethical demand. Likewise in Acts the jubilary concept of eschatological restoration is found in the otherwise unique idea of *apokatastasis.* It occurs in Acts 1:6 and 3:21, related to God's final restoration of Israel and all things. Significantly, the early Church responded to this hope at the level of economic mutual help—thus fulfilling the sabbatical hopes of Deuteronomy 15 (Acts 4:34 is virtually a quotation of Deut 15:4).

**3. Contemporary Application.** Without envisaging any literal enactment of its provisions, the jubilee still remains a powerful model in formulating Christian biblical ethics. Its primary assumptions and objectives can be distilled and used as a guide and critique for our own ethical agenda in the modern world.

**a. Economically.** The jubilee existed to protect a form of land tenure that was based on an equitable and widespread distribution of the land and to prevent the accumulation of ownership in the hands of a wealthy few. This echoes the creation principle that the whole earth is given by God to all humanity, who act as co-stewards of its resources. There is a parallel between the affirmation of Lev 25:23, in respect of Israel, that "the land is mine," and the affirmation of Psalm 24, in respect of humanity as a whole, that "the earth is the Lord's and everything in it, the world and all who live in it." The moral principles of the jubilee are therefore universalizable on the basis of the moral consistency of God. What he required of Israel reflects what in principle he desires for humanity—namely broadly equitable distribution of the resources of the earth, especially land, and a curb on the tendency to accumulation with its inevitable oppression and alienation. The jubilee thus stands as a critique not only of massive private accumulation of land and related wealth, but also of large-scale forms of collectivism or nationalization which destroy any meaningful sense of personal or family ownership.

**b. Socially.** The jubilee embodied a practical concern for the family unit. In Israel's case this meant the extended family, the "father's house," which was a sizable group of related nuclear families descended in the male line from a living progenitor, including up to three or four generations. This was the smallest unit in Israel's kinship structure; and it was the focus of identity, status, responsibility, and security for the individual Israelite. It was this that the jubilee aimed to protect and periodically to restore if necessary. Notably, it did so, not by merely "moral" means—i.e., appealing for greater family cohesion or admonishing parents and children—but by legislating for specific structural mechanisms to regulate the economic effects of debt. Family morality was meaningless if families were being split up and dispossessed by economic forces that rendered them powerless (Neh 5:1–5). The jubilee aimed to restore social dignity and participation to families through maintaining or restoring their economic viability. The economic collapse of a family in one generation was not to condemn all future generations to the bondage of perpetual indebtedness. Such principles and objectives are certainly not irrelevant to welfare legislation or indeed any legislation with socioeconomic implications.

**c. Theologically.** The jubilee was based upon several central affirmations of Israel's faith, and the importance of these should not be overlooked when assessing its relevance to Christian ethic and mission. Like the rest of the sabbatical provisions, the jubilee proclaimed the sovereignty of God over time and nature; and obedience to it would require submission to that sovereignty; hence the year is dubbed "holy,""a Sabbath to Yahweh," to be observed out of the "fear of Yahweh." Furthermore, observing the fallow year dimension would also require faith in God's providence as the one who could command blessing in the natural order. Additional motivation for the law is provided by repeated appeals to the knowledge of God's historical act of redemption, the Exodus and all it had meant for Israel. And to this historical dimension was added the cultic and "present" experience of forgiveness in the fact that the

jubilee was proclaimed on the Day of Atonement. To know yourself forgiven by God was to issue in practical remission of debts and bondages for fellow Israelites. And, as we have seen, the inbuilt future hope of the literal jubilee blended with an eschatological hope of God's final restoration of humanity and nature to his original purpose. To apply the jubilee model, then, requires that people face the sovereignty of God, trust his providence, know his redemptive action, experience his atonement, practice his justice, and hope in his promise. The wholeness of the model embraces the Church's evangelistic mission, its personal and social ethics, and its future hope.

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CHRISTOPHER J. H. WRIGHT

**JUBILEES, BOOK OF.** *Jubilees* presents itself as the account of a revelation which was disclosed to Moses on Mt. Sinai. After a prefatory chapter in which the Lord tells Moses in advance about Israel's apostasies and eventual repentance, the book takes the form of a first-person narrative recited by an "angel of the presence" whom the deity had instructed to tell Moses about everything "from the beginning of creation till My sanctuary has been built among them for all eternity" (1:27 [quotations from *Jubilees* are from Charles 1902]). The revelation proves to be a heavily edited rehearsal of the material from Genesis 1 to Exodus 20, all of which is encased in a chronology which divides time into units of 49 years (= jubilees), each of which consists of seven "weeks of years." The author does not include all of the biblical text, but he does follow the story line of Genesis–Exodus and often augments his base with additional details and at times with entirely new accounts (e.g., the war between Esau and Jacob [37:1–38:14]).

**A. Texts and Titles**

The commonly accepted theory about the textual evolution of *Jubilees* is that it was written in Hebrew, translated from Hebrew into Greek and possibly into Syriac, and rendered from Greek into Latin and Ethiopic. The Hebrew original and the Greek version were lost long ago; in fact, Western scholars had no text of the book until the 19th century, when Ethiopic and Latin copies first became available. Today, the

entire text is preserved only in Ethiopic (the book enjoyed canonical status in the Abyssinian church); 27 copies of this granddaughter version have been identified to date. The Latin translation exists now in one manuscript (a palimpsest) which contains more than one-fourth of the text. The Greek version remains lost; only citations of it in some Greek and Latin writings from the patristic and Byzantine periods have survived. The Syriac version, if there ever was one, is visible presently only through 29 citations which have been found in an anonymous chronicle and which reproduce all, or more frequently parts, of about 137 verses. Fragments from 12 manuscripts of the original Hebrew version have been discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls; nevertheless, only a few of these have been published. Though a fragment of another copy was reportedly found at Masada, this now appears not to be part of a Hebrew text of *Jubilees.*

The book received different names throughout its long textual journey. Its Hebrew title (if that is the proper word) is apparently given in CD 16:2–3, where it is cited and called "the book of the Divisions of the Times for Their Jubilees and Weeks." In Greek it circulated under several names: *Jubilees* (also attested in Syriac), the Little Genesis (seemingly the more common designation; the reason for the adjective is unknown), or, among other possibilities, the *Apocalypse of Moses.* The Ethiopic title is the same as the one in CD 16:2–3: the book of the Division(s) of the Times, or simply Division(s).

**B. Date and Authorship**

From the time that *Jubilees* became known in Europe until the end of the 19th century, scholars generally dated it to the 1st century C.E. The work of Bohn and Charles around the turn of the century led to a new agreement (apart from a few wildly divergent views, such as that of Zeitlin) that the book was composed at some point in the 2d century B.C.E. Bohn placed it in the middle of the century, Charles at the end. Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and of fragments of *Jubilees* among them, the question of date has been approached from new angles. The paleographically determined date of some of the Hebrew fragments (4Qm 16 Jub$^{a}$ and 4Qm 17 Jub$^{a}$) is ca. 100 B.C.E.—a date which virtually requires that one adopt an earlier time of composition than the one Charles defended. It seems clear that the book, which neither commands nor reflects separation from the remainder of the Jewish population but which manifests striking similarities with important teachings of the Scrolls, was written before the Qumran community was formed. There is no consensus about when this group exiled itself from the rest of the nation, but most scholars would now agree that the exodus to Qumran transpired during the high priestly tenure of either Jonathan (152–142) or Simon (142–134). This would imply that *Jubilees* was written no later than ca. 150–140 B.C.E. Several students of the book have found in it allusions to Maccabean wars; if they are correct, the book could not antedate ca. 166. However, others have argued that these allusions are open to other interpretations and that the apocalyptic passage in *Jubilees* 23 makes no reference to either the decrees of Antiochus IV forbidding the practice of Judaism (167) nor to the Maccabean response to these edicts. Nickelsburg and Goldstein have inferred from these circumstances that the book was written before 167. It should be added, though, that *Jubilees* 23 shares the standard opaqueness of apocalyptic language and that some passages in it have been interpreted by Charles and Davenport as references to the Maccabean uprising (e.g., v 20). Moreover, 4:19 may allude to *1 Enoch* 83–90, which was written, it seems, after ca. 164 B.C.E. In general one may say that the book was probably written at some point between 170 and 140.

There is strong reason to believe that *Jubilees* was written by a priest. This follows from the nature of the book with its heavy emphasis on priestly concerns, from the special attention devoted to the line of righteous men through whom the sacerdotal legislation was transmitted from earliest times, and from the extraordinary status of Levi among the sons of Jacob.

In addition to repeating and often expanding many passages which modern scholars assign to the priestly editor of the Pentateuch (e.g., creation according to Genesis 1, circumcision in Genesis 17), *Jubilees* adds numerous sections which betray the writer's priestly bent. Sections about sabbath laws, which appear in chaps. 2 (vv 1, 17–33) and 50 (vv 6–13), form a kind of *inclusio* around the narratives of the book. The sacred calendar exercises the author frequently: it was revealed to Enoch (4:17–18); some features of it were clarified by the events of the Flood (6:23–38); and festivals were celebrated properly

by the patriarchs on the exact dates for them (Weeks: 6:17–22; 15:1–2; 44:1–4; cf. 22:1–6; Tabernacles: 16:20–31; 32:4–7, 27–29; Unleavened Bread: 18:18–19; 49:22–23; Atonement: 34:18–19; for Passover, see 49:1–22a). The writer also deals regularly with sacrifices: Adam offered one upon leaving Eden (3:27); Enoch burns incense on the mount in Eden (4:25); Noah makes atonement for the earth (6:1–4; cf. 7:3–5; and Gen 8:20); Abraham provides extensive instructions about procedures and the woods which may be used in sacrifice (21:7–16); and the descriptions of festival celebrations include notices about the offerings presented (e.g., 15:1–2; 16:20–31). Among other priestly concerns, mention should be made of the prohibition of consuming blood (6:7–14 [cf. Gen 9:6]; 7:31–32; 21:6, 17–18); tithes (13:25–27; 32:2, 5, 8–15); circumcision (15:25–34; 20:3); separation of the holy race from the nations (22:16–18; 25:4–10; cf. 27:10; 30:6–16; see also 16:17–18; 22:12); and avoidance of impurity and uncleanness (e.g., 3:8–14; 6:37; 7:20–21; 11:17; 16:5–6; 20:3–7; 21:21–23; 22:16–23; 23:14, 17, 21; etc.). In view of all this, it comes as no surprise to learn that the descendants of Isaac are to become "a kingdom and priests and a holy nation" (16:18).

These and other priestly laws were transmitted in writing by a line of righteous heroes from earliest times. Enoch, who was the first to learn how to write (4:17), passed along teachings to Methuselah, who in turn transmitted them to Lamech, from whom Noah received them (7:38–39; the context deals with firstfruits and the year of release). Noah gave to his son Shem his book about medicines (a priestly domain) for combating the effects of the evil spirits (10:14). Later, Abraham learned to read the books of his fathers (12:27; cf. 21:10, where Enoch and Noah are mentioned), and he handed this lore to Jacob (12:27; cf. 21:10, where Enoch and Noah are mentioned), and he handed this lore to Jacob (39:6–7). Finally, the writer notes that Jacob gave all of his books and those of his ancestors to Levi "that he might preserve them and renew them for his children until this day" (45:16).

Levi, the third son of Jacob, lent his name to the tribe of Levites and thus was the titular ancestor of Israel's priests according to the Bible. Yet nothing is said there about his actually functioning as a priest. In *Jubilees,* however, Levi himself becomes the divinely ordained priest who begins serving in this capacity at an early age. In Gen 49:5–7 Jacob criticized Levi and Simeon for their massacre of the Shechemites, but the author of *Jubilees* claims that the two brothers were regarded as righteous for their act and that Levi's descendants were eternally chosen for the priesthood on the basis of what their ancestor had done in Shechem (30:17–20). When Jacob brought his sons Levi and Judah to see his aged parents, Isaac took Levi (the older of the two) by his right hand and blessed him first (31:12–17). He prophesied that he and his descendants would forever be priests, princes, judges, and chiefs of the nation, that they would teach, and bless, and eat at the divine table. Only later did Isaac bless Judah, whom he had taken by his left hand (vv 18–20). In chap. 32 Jacob is pictured as counting his sons backward and thus arriving at Levi as the tenth (he was the third oldest of the 12). To him there fell the "portion of the Lord, and his father clothed him in the garments of the priesthood and filled his hands" (i.e., he ordained him [32:3]). In this context, which speaks of tithing, one reads that Levi presided as priest at Bethel (v 9). Jacob, just before his death, delivered all of his books and those of his fathers to Levi (45:16).

This strong sacerdotal emphasis in the book probably reflects the office of the author, while the prominence of Levi mirrors the lofty status of the high priest in Second Temple Judaism. Students of the legal material in *Jubilees* have recognized that it does not correspond with the traditions of either the Pharisees or the Sadducees, but that it stands closer to what is known of Essene halakah. The Qumran literature has documented their thesis; the 364-day solar calendar is just one fundamental point on which *Jubilees* and the scrolls (including now the Temple Scroll) agree. It is likely, then, that the priestly author belonged to the movement that was later called Essene, whatever may have been its original name.

**C. Theology**

The first chapter of *Jubilees* places the narrative of chaps. 2–50 in a new context compared with Genesis–Exodus. The Lord, who reveals to Moses "the earlier and the later history of the division of all the days of the law and of the testimony" (1:4), informs him that he is to record the revelation "in a book in order that their generations may see how I have not forsaken them for all the evil which they have wrought in transgressing the covenant which I establish between Me and thee for their generations this

day on Mt. Sinai. And thus it will come to pass when all these things come upon them, that they will recognise that I am more righteous than they in all their judgments and in all their actions, and they will recognise that I have been truly with them" (vv 5–6). The audience for whom the book is intended clearly lives long after Moses' time, and it must be convinced of divine fidelity and the urgency of maintaining the covenant. After Israel's apostasy in the land (vv 7–12) and subsequent captivity (vv 13–14) are predicted, the Lord informs Moses that the exiles will repent (v 15) and that he will shower his favors upon them—including the building of his eternal sanctuary among them (vv 16–18). Moses intercedes for the people unsuccessfully (vv 19–21), but God reiterates that only after confession of sin and repentance will a new time dawn—a time when they shall never again turn from the Lord (vv 22–25). Some future generation, presumably that of the author, must receive this message of God's faithfulness, Israel's infidelity, and the power of confession, repentance, and obedience to the covenantal stipulations to open a new day in the covenantal relationship between the Lord and his holy people.

One should view the author's eschatological teachings in the context of the Law and Israel's future. Israel, which had received the covenant, had failed to obey its stipulations (cf. 23:16, 19; 15:33–34; etc.). Both chaps. 1 and 23 survey the great difficulties which will beset the apostate nation because it has violated covenant and command; but both also point toward a change and the way in which it is to be accomplished and picture the contours of a new, ideal age (for chap. 1, see above). Here again the legal focus is transparent. After depicting the punishments which Israel will endure (23:22–25), the author writes (v 26):

> And in those days the children will begin to study the laws,
> And to seek the commandments,
> And to return to the path of righteousness.

Then the span of human life, which had been shortened because of evil, will be lengthened until it approaches 1000 years. (vv 27–28)

> And all their days they will complete and live in peace and in joy,
> And there will be no Satan nor any evil destroyer;
> For all their days will be days of blessing and healing. (v 29)

The writer envisages neither a messiah (though Levi and Judah and their descendants are at the center of his interests [see especially 31:12–20]) nor a resurrection of the dead. A messiah is never mentioned, and the phrase "rise up" in 23:30 almost certainly has a different meaning in its context. Rather, of the departed righteous the author says:

> And their bones will rest in the earth,
> And their spirits will have much joy. (v 31ab)

But of those who will live in the new age he writes: "And their souls will cleave to Me and to all My commandments, and they will fulfil My commandments, and I shall be their Father and they will be My children" (1:24). At that time the Lord will live forever with Israel in his sanctuary on Mt. Zion (1:17, 27–29; cf. 4:26).

The author's teachings about the centrality of the Law and its importance for the future also allow one to place in context his practice of founding essential legal practices in the time of the ancients of Genesis rather than in the age of Moses. For example, the different periods of impurity for a woman after bearing a male or female child are based on the time Adam and Eve spent outside the Garden before being led into it (3:8–14; see Lev 12:2–5). The lex talionis harks back to Cain, who killed Abel with a stone and was himself killed by one when his house collapsed on him (4:31–32; cf. Exod 21:24; Lev 24:19–20; Deut 19:21). Noah first celebrated the Festival of Weeks (see 6:17–22) and later Abraham, too, observed this holiday, which became the anniversary of the Noahic, Abrahamic, and Mosaic covenants (6:17–22; 15:1–2). The Festivals of Tabernacles (16:20–23; 32:4–9, 27–29) and Unleavened Bread (18:18–19) and the Day of Atonement (34:17–19, which commemorates Jacob's torment on learning of Joseph's "death") also were introduced in the age of the fathers. The author's reason for antedating these practices can only be surmised, but it is clear that he wished to impress upon his audience that these essential acts of obedience to the covenant were not the innovations of a later age that were imposed upon the religion of

the patriarchs. They had been in force since earliest times, were inscribed immutably and eternally on the heavenly tablets (of the numerous cases, see, for example, 3:10, 31; 6:17; 15:25; 16:28–29; etc.), and in some instances were practiced in heaven (Sabbath [2:30]; Festival of Weeks [6:18]; circumcision [15:27]). These provisions were to be observed scrupulously in the present if the ideal future was to be realized.

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**JUCAL** (PERSON) [Heb *yûkal* (יוּכַל)]. See JEHUCAL (PERSON).

**JUDAH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhûdâ* (יְהוּדָה)]. The name of several individuals mentioned in the Bible.

**1.** The fourth son of Jacob and eponymous ancestor of the tribe of Judah. See JUDAH (PLACE).

**2.** A Levite in the postexilic period, an ancestor of Kadmiel, who heads one of three families charged with the oversight of the rebuilding and repairing of the temple (Ezra 3:9). Evidently Judah represents a leading family, for his family and offspring supervised this momentous reconstruction project. The term "workmen" (RSV, i.e., those whom Judah's family supervised), may refer either to the levitical foremen or to the common laborers. The "work" which is supervised represents the Heb word *mĕlāʾkâ* rather than *ʿăbōdâ.* It has been convincingly demonstrated that *mĕlāʾkâ* refers expressly to an enterprise calling for skill and workmanship, while *ʿăbōdâ* refers to raw or unskilled labor (Milgrom 1970). It is thus an appropriate term to use to describe a project as sacred and demanding such dexterity as temple repairs.

A problem appears when Ezra 3:9 is compared with Ezra 2:40. In the latter, Kadmiel is listed as one of the two branches of the family of Hodaviah (or Hodevah in Neh 7:43), not of Judah as in 3:9. This suggests that Hodaviah/Hodevah and Judah are probably the same person. While the meaning of "Judah" still remains uncertain, that of "Hodaviah" appears quite transparent—"Give praise/thanks to Yahweh." Nevertheless, "Judah" more than likely has some connection with the Heb verb *yādâ* (*Hipʿil,* "give thanks,""praise"), as Hodaviah clearly has. Given then that both names are built from the same verb, it is quite possible that Hodaviah is the more correct of the two, but that the more familiar "Judah" slipped into the text.

It is not uncommon for a Hebrew name to be borne by several persons throughout the OT. Surprisingly, the names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob appear only in connection with the patriarchs. No father or mother named a son after one of these legends, as we do with a George Washington Carver or a Martin

Luther King. It is with the fourth generation of the patriarchs, Judah, that others bear a patriarchal name; and all are in the postexilic period; and most are Levites. If the name has something to do with praise or giving thanks, it is an appropriate one to have, given the release by Cyrus, the return to Canaan, the rebuilding of the temple, and the opportunity of a fresh start.

**3.** One of ten Levites who during the postexilic period had taken a foreign wife and at the urging of Ezra divorced her (Ezra 10:23, LXX *Iodom/Ioydas*). Nothing is said here of what happened to his foreign wife and other divorcées after the divorces were finalized. In addition to Judah, other culprits with ancient names guilty of indiscreet marriages include a Benjamin in v 32 and an Amram in v 34.

It is interesting that Ezra 10:13 identifies the ceremony of marriage dissolution as a "work"*(mĕlāʾkâ),* the same word used for the work on the temple (see above). This is clearly a temporary project, but the nuance of "skilled" work is palpably absent this time.

**4.** One of the Benjaminites (maybe) who lived in Jerusalem in the days of Nehemiah and whose father's name was Hassenuah (Neh 11:9). His office was that of "second over the city." His colleague, Joel, was chief administrator of the city. It is not totally clear whether or not these two were also Benjaminites (as are those named in vv 7–8). Perhaps they were Judeans. Would two Benjaminites occupy the two top administrative positions in rebuilt Jerusalem?

His father's name—Hassenuah—is interesting. It means "the hated/unloved one" if one allows the interchangeability of the sibilants *śin* and *samek* (cf. Gen 29:31, Leah was "hated"[*śĕnûʾâ*]). On the other hand, Ezra 2:35 mentions the large family (3630) of Senaah [a place name?]; and this may be the origin of Hassenuah.

**5.** A Levite who, along with seven other Levites, returned with Zerubbabel from Exile (Neh 12:8). More than likely he is the same as the Hodaviah of Ezra 2:40 (or the Judah of Ezra 3:9). See #2 above.

**6.** Prince of Judah who took part in the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 12:34). However, it is possible that the seven names listed in Neh 12:33–34 (of which our Judah is one) are in fact priests and not laity. One reason for opting for this is that v 41 lists seven priests who accompanied the other half of the twin procession. Thus the seven names of vv 33–34 balance the seven names of v 41 (and these latter are clearly sacerdotal people).

**7.** Priest and a musician who took part in the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem, specifically in the processional embrace of the city and its walls (Neh 12:36). He is possibly a descendant of the Levite musician mentioned in #5.

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8. The father of Simeon and son of Joseph (not the "supposed father" of Jesus) according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:30). Judah is omitted in D, which substitutes a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. Apart from the patriarch Judah mentioned in Luke 3:33, this name appears in a list of 18 otherwise unknown descendants of David's son Nathan (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 501). Although Jeremias (1969: 296) believes that it is anachronistic for Luke to include this name here, since it first appears as a personal name in the postexilic period (e.g., Ezra 3:9; 10:23; Neh 11:9), caution must be exercised in light of the limited nature of the available evidence. Kuhn (1923: 208–9) argues that two seemingly parallel lists of names—Luke 3:23–26 (Jesus to Mattathias) and 3:29–31 (Joshua/Jesus to Mattatha)—were originally identical, the first perhaps reflecting a Hebrew context and the second, in an Aramaic context, tracing Mary's line of descent (since it does not mention Joseph as Jesus' father). Judah (Gk *Iouda*), in the second list, corresponds to Jannai, in the first list. With no textual variants for either name to support confusion of the two, Kuhn's theory has little plausibility.

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**JUDAH** (PLACE) [Heb *yĕhûdâ* (יְהוּדָה)]. Var. JUDEA. The name of an Israelite tribe in S Cisjordan, as well as the name of the territory associated with that tribe and the name of the kingdom that, after the death of Solomon, controlled that territory. See also JUDAH, HILL COUNTRY OF.

**A. Judah, Son of Jacob**

The eponym of the tribe of Judah was born to Jacob as his fourth son by his wife Leah (Gen 29:35). In Akkadian sources we find the name forms *ya-á-du*, *ya-a-ḫu-du* and *ya-ku-du.* This is similar to the *yĕhûd* or *yahûd* from the Persian period. An inscription found in a rock-cut tomb in W Judah, that most probably dates back to the 7th or 6th century B.C.E., has *hry yhd,* "the mountains of Judah." On Arad Ostracon 40 the text is unfortunately damaged after *yĕhûd* (l.13); it is therefore not certain that *-āh* followed, as is often assumed.

Both the etymology and the original meaning are disputed. There is, however, a growing consensus that the original meaning was geographic: Mt. Judah. Compare expressions such as *ʾereṣ yĕhûdâ* (Amos 7:12), *midbar yĕhûdâ* (Judg 1:16), *negeb yĕhûdâ* (1 Sam 27:10). Consequently, the main tribe of this area was called after its territory. The last step was the name *yĕhûdâ* as the name of a state.

Apart from the eponym, the use of *yĕhûdâ* as a personal name seems to be postexilic. It is a striking fact that a name *yĕhûdâ* until now has not been found among the hundreds of extrabiblical personal names discovered on ostraca and seals. This could speak in favor of Lipínski's hypothesis that the name is related to Arabic *wahda/yahda*, "ravine"/"canyon." But a derivation of the root *yhd (Hopʿal)* is more probable, as was suggested by W. F. Albright as early as 1927. This was recently defended again by A. R. Millard (1974). The ending *-āh* could be a shortening of a theophoric element (see *TPNAH,* 165).

**B. The Place of Judah in the System of Twelve Tribes**

There is not one system of twelve tribes in the OT, but two. See GAD (PERSON). Judah has a prominent place in both systems. But this is also due to the fact that both systems follow an ancient tradition of border description: starting in the SE and moving clockwise. This tradition is already found in the old border description of Canaan (cf. Num 34:1–12).

Already in the last century many historians found the appearance of Judah in the twelve-tribe system suspicious. The old Song of Deborah (Judges 5) does not mention a tribe of Judah. This tribe is not even blamed for its absence. This must mean that the author did not even expect Judeans to fight with "all-Israel" in this very important battle. The questions arose whether Judah was a part of premonarchic "Israel," or whether there was a tribe of Judah at all before the time of David (for the history of this discussion see de Geus 1976: chap. 1). In general there were and still are the following possibilities.

1. A tribe of Judah never existed. "Judah" was the name of the state that was created by David in the mountains of Judah (territory). It consisted from the start of several different groups. Hebron was the center of this state.

2.a. There did exist a "Judah" in the time of the judges. But it was rather a "Greater Judah"; from the start it was a confederation of several different groups. German scholars like Noth spoke of a S six-tribe amphictyony around Hebron, consisting of Judah, Simeon, Levi, Calebites, Kenites, and Jerahmeelites. This S confederation originally had nothing to do with the N amphictyony, called "Israel." Only after David became king also over the N tribes did Judah (with Levi and Simeon) become included in the system. Some even thought that the twelve-tribe system was especially created to defend the admission of the S groups into "Israel."

2.b. There did indeed exist a Greater Judah in the S. But this Judah was completely independent of the N. At the same time, however, the S and the much larger N group had so much in common that they considered each other as brothers (cf. 2 Sam 19:40–44).

3. There existed during the period of the judges an "Israel" of which also the S tribes Judah, Simeon, and Levi (but not the other three) were always a part. The separate developments in the N and in the S are to be explained from the geographic isolation of the S groups.

When trying to reconstruct the early history of the tribe of Judah, one should remember three important facts. The first is that later sources describe former Judah with the later state of Judah in mind. The second

is that our most important source for premonarchic Israel, the book of Judges, has in general a N outlook. The role of Judah in Judges is only marginal. But this does not mean that Judah did not exist. The third fact is the geographic isolation of the S tribes because of the Hivite-Jebusite enclaves along the line Gezer-Jerusalem. Jerusalem was only integrated into Israel by David, and Gezer became Israelite as a gift from pharaoh to Solomon (1 Kgs 9:16).

**C. Settlement**

Until very recently the prevailing opinion among OT scholars was that the tribe of Judah had been far more successful in its settlement than the N tribes. The fact that we find hardly any settlement traditions about Judah should mean that this was a peaceful process in the S, without any great conflicts like those that were "remembered" much later (Auld 1975: 285; de Vaux 1970: 125). As a result of this absence of great conflicts, the relations of the ancient Judeans with the peoples surrounding them were much more relaxed than was the case in the N. Compare the case in which a Bethlehemite family sought refuge in Moab, and the way the Moabite Ruth was absorbed, or the relations with the Philistines in the time of Samson. Even the eponym of the tribe sees no objection to marrying a Canaanite woman (Gen 38:2). His friend Hirah from Adullam, too, is often considered as being a Canaanite. Also the cooperation with other groups, some of them non-Israelites, such as Kenites and Calebites, illustrates this typical Judean quality. In 1 Samuel 25 we hear of the Calebite Nabal, who has his business among Judeans but who lives in his own Calebite village of Maon.

Literary research has long been undecided as to whether the settlement of the Judeans (with the Simeonites) occurred from the S and was therefore separate from that of the N tribes, or whether for Judah and other tribes the movement was from N to S, with Judah being part of a greater movement. Memories of a settlement from the S are the originally Simeonite and Calebite traditions about Hormah, Hebron, and Arad (Numbers 13–14, 20; Joshua 14–15; Judges 1). Hesitatingly de Vaux (1970: 131) concludes that it is more probable that all six groups that were to form Greater Judah came from the S. This, of course, is consistent with the first possibility mentioned above.

Judges 1, on the other hand, tells us how Judah and Simeon set off to conquer their inheritance from the N. This relies on the N location of Bezek (Judg 1:4) and its identification with Khirbet Ibziq (M.R. 187197). In all traditions Judah is closely connected with Simeon. In Genesis 34 we find a connection between Simeon and Levi with Shechem. Another argument for the N origin of Judah is that one of their leading clans, that of Ephrath, came from the N. Ephrath settled in or around Bethlehem (de Vaux 1970; Demsky 1986–87). Such a N origin for the Judeans is more consistent with possibility 3, and to a lesser degree, with possibility 2.b.

Modern archaeological research has eliminated two of the three popular "models" for the Israelite settlement (Lemche 1985; Finkelstein *AIS*). The first model, that of a military conquest by intruding foreign tribes, finds no archaeological support whatever. The second, of a revolt of peasants and slaves against the Canaanite LB city-states, is at least very improbable for Judah: there were very few LB towns. The only towns that existed at the end of the LB were Tell Beit Mirsim, Debir (= Khirbet Rabud), and Jerusalem. Bethlehem existed in the Amarna Age, as "a town in the land of Jerusalem" (EA 290). During the 14th or 13th century it became uninhabited. Hebron also existed in the Amarna Age as a residence of a chieftain. But also here we have to suppose a hiatus in habitation at the end of the LB. (Other possibilities of LB towns that continue into the Early Iron Age are Beth-zur and Khirbet Jedur [*AIS*, 52].) This leaves at the moment only the third model, that of gradual sedentarization involving only smaller and local conflicts with indigenous pastoral groups (*AIS*, 351; de Geus 1976; 164–71). Archaeological research has also shown that there were only very few Iron Age I sites in Judah. Up until now intensive surveys have resulted in only ten such sites (*AIS*, 353). And the material culture of these sites is best explained from the N, where Iron Age I settlement was much denser. See MANASSEH (PLACE). Therefore it seems certain that the Iron Age settlers, who were to become the tribe of Judah, were emigrants from the central Ephraimite hills. The above mentioned "wedge" of Hivite and Canaanite towns separated them from their N kinsmen at the time when they became fully sedentary. A separate development in the material culture,

especially in ceramics, between N and S becomes visible early in the Iron Age I. Also this testifies to the isolation of the S groups.

**D. Territory**

The core of the Judahite territory was the mountain ridge between Bethlehem and Hebron. In the N the territory was confined by the Benjaminites and the possessions of the Jebusites. To the E lay the desert of Judah. In the S, around Hebron and toward the desert of the Negeb, lay the territories of allied groups. We know almost nothing about the extension of the tribal territory to the W. One can suspect that any expansion went in that direction and that this brought about the conflicts with the Philistines. In the 11th century B.C. the Philistines were involved in a process of expansion to the E and NE. There are possibly some indications for a Judean expansion toward the NW (Miller and Hayes *HAIJ*, 106). The OT gives us no information on the original tribal area of Judah. No tribal borders are given. The border description we find now in Joshua 15 is in fact a part of the old border description of Canaan. The N border is simply the S border of Benjamin in reversed order. The town list of Josh 15:21–62 contains a document from the later Monarchy (Aharoni *LBHG*, 87, 248–53, 347).

**E. Greater Judah**

An essential feature of all old traditions about the tribe of Judah is that the tribe rarely operated alone. It was probably too small to do so. From the earliest times it cooperated with Simeon. For later generations these two tribes were regarded more or less as one and the same tribe. Most of the villages assigned to Simeon are also assigned to Judah. And all of them are situated within the boundaries designated for Judah (*HAIJ*, 103). Calebites, Othnielites, Kenites, Jerahmielites, and possibly Levites were also confederates of the Judeans. Thanks to the analysis of 1 Sam 30:27–31 by Zobel (1975: 253–77) we know more about this ancient confederation. In view of the unimportant settlement period of the Judeans, one suspects that this confederation around Hebron already existed when the Judeans (and Simeonites?) joined it. Zobel showed convincingly that this confederation was not the work of David himself. It existed before him. We do not know what brought these groups together. Was it the continuing importance of Hebron as cultic center of the S? Or do we have to think of a more or less automatic development into larger units as a result of population expansion and increasing production? Did Hebron, as the central marketplace, in this way become the center of an early state? Or do we have to reckon with external factors? Outside pressure could have come from the Philistines; but one could also think of the Amalekites, who seem to have been the most important threat in earlier times.

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**JUDAH THE MACCABEE.** See JUDAS MACCABEUS (PERSON).

**JUDAH THE PRINCE, RABBI.** Rabbinic leader and patriarch (*nāśîʾ*)during the late 2d century C.E. Judah's great accomplishment was to consolidate the hegemony of the rabbinic movement—with the patriarch at its head—over the organized Jewish community of Palestine. His patriarchate represents the end of all challenge to his family's right to that office; and during his lifetime the descent of the patriarchal dynasty from Hillel the Elder was finally accepted as historical fact (see Levi 1895); at his death, Judah explicitly bequeathed the title of *nāśîʾ* to one of his sons (*b. Ketub.* 103b).

Judah's success is reflected in the numerous legends that make him the intimate personal friend of the Roman emperor, always called Antoninus in these stories but in fact (if there is any historical kernel to them at all) probably one of the Severan dynasty. His wealth also was legendary (*b. Meṣ*. 85a), and one of his strategies for achieving political stabilization after the wars of the previous century was to bring about an alliance between the patriarchate and the remaining wealthy Jewish families of the land. This strategy provoked resentment (*b. Erub.* 86a), some of which was directed at his own uneducated sons-in-law (*j. Moʿed Qaṭ.* 3.1, 81c; *b. Ned.* 51a), but achieved success when the Roman authorities confirmed patriarchal control over the autonomous Jewish judiciary in Palestine (see Alon 1977: 401–2, 411–12, 428–29). Judah's relationship with the Roman authorities is also reflected in several legal innovations attempted by him that would have had the effect of softening continued Jewish hatred of Rome for having destroyed Jerusalem and its temple. Into this category can be placed Judah's proposal to eliminate the annual fast commemorating the destruction (*b. Meg.* 5b) and possibly as well his willingness to exempt several important centers outside Judea proper from the obligation to tithe agricultural produce (*j. Dem.* 2.1 22c; *b. Ḥul.*6b). In the latter case Judah is reported to have defended his action with the claim that every generation's leadership is expected to institute some alteration in the received tradition. During Judah's lifetime the practice of dividing leadership over the rabbinate among several individuals was apparently temporarily suspended; and after his death his successors retained the power to grant rabbinic ordination, a power previously held by all rabbis with respect to their own disciples (*j. Sanh.* 1.2 19a). In the end Judah was remembered as the first since Moses who had "combined Torah and [political] greatness in one place" (*b. Giṭ.* 59a; see also *t. Sanh.*11.8).

Judah's best-known achievement is that the Mishnah was compiled under his leadership and then circulated under his name. There is no consensus among modern scholars as to the intended function of the Mishnah, the actual method by which it was put together, or Judah's own role in this process (see Neusner 1973); but this text resembling a kind of legal syllabus rapidly became the main focus of rabbinic study of oral Torah both in Israel and in Babylonia; and the Talmud which eventually emerged as the fundamental document of rabbinic Judaism took the form of an elaborate commentary on the Mishnah.

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ROBERT GOLDENBERG

**JUDAH, ADMINISTRATION OF (POSTEXILE).** See PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (POSTEXILIC JUDEAN OFFICIALS).

**JUDAH, HILL COUNTRY OF** (PLACE) [Heb *har yĕhûdâ* (הַר יְהוּדָה)]. Named by association with the territory allotted to the tribe whose eponymous ancestor was Judah, the fourth son of Jacob and Leah (Gen 29:35; 49:2–4, 8–12).

The hill country of Judah formed the core of what at first was a tribal territory, then in the time of David a state the capital of which was at Hebron, and again after the civil war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam and later the province of a foreign government. The hill country of Judah is located in the S part of the mountain ridge which extends from the Jezreel valley in the N to the Negeb. The expression "hill country of Judah" is used only twice in the Bible: Josh 21:11 and Luke 1:65. However, the physical setting is well understood. Judah is situated S of a line drawn due W from the N shore of the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean. As distinct from the Wilderness of Judah and the Shephelah, the hill country encompasses approximately 250 square miles (ca. 640 $km^2$)—slightly less than the land area of New York City.

The S border of the tribal territory of Judah is described in Josh 15:1–5 as extending S from the Dead Sea to the Wilderness of Zin, then turning W to a point S of Kadesh-Barnea, then curving NW to the brook of Egypt (Wâdī el-Arish) and the Mediterranean. On the E Judah is bounded by the Dead Sea, and on the W, the Mediterranean. On the N Judah shares a border with Benjamin (NE) and Dan (NW) (Josh 15:5–12; cf. 18:11–20).

The hill country of Judah is caused by an arching of the earth's crust (anticline) in which the hard Cenomanian limestone is exposed along the top of the ridge and the W slopes of the arch. The ridge of the Judean arch lies roughly NNE by SSW, paralleling the Mediterranean shore and reaching an elevation of ca. 3350 feet at Hebron; Jerusalem is at ca. 2700 feet. This hard limestone is bedded in layers which create natural terracing and which erode into deep v-shaped canyons. This limestone weathers to form a rich, fertile, reddish soil called terra rossa, which is excellent for vineyards and fruit trees (esp. olive and almond). This is the land of terraced farming.

The hill country presently receives 16"–30" (400mm–750mm) annual rainfall depending on location. As weather patterns move in from the W over the Mediterranean and drop most of their precipitation on the W side of the ridge, the runoff water has eroded deep v-shaped canyons into the hard-bedded limestone as it flows from the watershed back toward the Mediterranean Sea. Topography seems to have made the area somewhat "closed" and provincial. The deep E-W canyons make travel from N to S in Judah most difficult if not impossible except along the ridge. These canyons also make it very difficult to ascend into the hill country from the coastal plain to the W, thereby providing some measure of protection for the people in the hill country as well as causing a degree of isolation in certain periods of history. To the W at ca. 1050 feet a relatively thin layer of soft Senonian chalk is exposed, having been weathered into a narrow "chalk moat" lying virtually N-S and providing a natural line of communication as well as separating the hill country of Judah from the Shephelah or foot hills to the W. The Shephelah provided a natural buffer between the wide-open coastal plain and the hill country of Judah. To the E lies the Wilderness of Judah.

PAUL WAYNE FERRIS JR.

**JUDAH, WILDERNESS OF** (PLACE) [Heb *midbar yĕhûdâ* (מִדְבַּר יְהוּדָה)]. The Wilderness of Judah is an area roughly 10 miles (16 km) wide by 30 miles (50 km) long located E of a line rising out of the Jordan valley from the Wâdī Auja, ca. 4.5 miles (7km) N of Jericho, passing within a half mile to the E of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The specific name Wilderness of Judah is used only twice in biblical narrative (Judg 1:16; Matt 3:1) and once in the title of a psalm (Ps 63). Most commonly it is simply referred to as "the wilderness." The Wilderness of Judah is bounded on the E by the Dead Sea and the sheer cliffs jutting up to 1300 feet (400 m), delimiting the Rift valley; on the N by the hill country of Ephraim; on the S by the Negeb; and on the W by the rather visible demarcation between the hard Cenomanian limestone of the hill country of Judah and the softer Senonian chalk of the Wilderness of Judah.

The Wilderness of Judah makes up the E slope of the Judean arch. Its soft Senonian chalky limestone and clay weathers into a light brown, less fertile rendzina soil, which will support grasses and grains when there is sufficient moisture. Situated on the lee side of the central hill country, the Wilderness of Judah receives only 4"–12" (100 mm–300 mm) annual rainfall, far less than locations only a few thousand yards to the W.

Although the soft chalky limestone erodes into more rolling terrain, and because it erodes more easily, the wadis cut through into the underlying hard Cenomanian limestone and form deep E-W canyons as they cut their way E to the Rift valley below. This makes N-S travel in the Wilderness of Judah as impossible as it is on the W of the Judean arch.

Because it is on the edge of the arable land, this is the "pasture" land where shepherds graze their flocks and herds. The scarcity of water, the meager fertility, and the difficulty of travel combine to make the Wilderness of Judah a place of severity and testing and a place of refuge (e.g., 1 Sam 22:4; 23:29; 24:1, 22; cf. Psalm 57; 2 Samuel 15–16; Psalm 63; Jeremiah 9; Matthew 3–4; *JW* 6.326, 351, 366). It also figures significantly in prophetic imagery (e.g., Isa 32:15–16; 35; 40). It was to the Wilderness of Judah that John the Baptist had withdrawn, preaching the gospel of the kingdom (Matthew 3), when he introduced Jesus' public ministry. It was in the Wilderness of Judah that Jesus faced his threefold temptation (Matthew 4). It was to the Wilderness of Judah that many of the early Church retired to a hermitic or monastic pursuit of holiness.

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**JUDAISM.** This entry consists of 7 articles surveying Judaism from the time of the Babylonian exile (586 B.C.E.) to the Mishnaic period and beyond (ca. 3d century C.E.). The 1st article provides a broad survey of the diversity of Judaisms that flourished in the Greco-Roman period, both in Palestine and throughout the larger Mediterranean world. The 2d article focuses particularly on diverse forms of Judaism within Palestine. The 3d and 4th articles respectively survey Judaism in Egypt and North Africa, while the 5th examines Judaism in the ancient city of Rome. The 6th article covers Judaism in Babylonia, while the 7th surveys Judaism in the Mishnaic period.

### *JUDAISM IN THE GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD*

The purpose of this article is to provide an overview of Judaism in the period between 63 B.C.E. and 200 C.E.

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  1. The Temple in Palestinian Judaisms Before 70 C.E.
  2. The Temple in Diaspora Judaisms
  3. The Temple After 70 C.E.
C. The Pharisees
D. The Sadducees
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K. Judaism and the Attraction of Judaism in the Diaspora
L. Philo
M. The Bible Rewritten
N. Testaments and Apocalypses
O. The LXX and the Role of Scripture

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#### A. Introduction

During the decade of the 1980s the study of early Judaism reached a watershed. The longstanding assumption that Jewish religious belief and practice were largely uniform and consistent throughout the ancient Mediterranean was abandoned. The evidence of archaeology, particularly synagogue art, made untenable George Foot Moore's notion of rabbinic Judaism as "normative Judaism"—the dominant and

legitimate form of Jewish religion—against which variants could be judged inauthentic or heretical. When studied critically and inductively, the major written sources—Ben Sira, the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the works of Josephus and of Philo, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Mishna—appeared to reinforce one another only very generally and sometimes very little. It became clear that no single set of data, either from literature or archaeology, could characterize the varied expressions of Jewish religious life and belief in the ancient world. The consensus that Jewish religion from ca. 330 B.C.E. to 200 C.E. exhibited an "almost unlimited diversity and variety" (Kraft and Nickelsburg 1986: 2) found full expression in the model of multiple Judaisms, each representing a discrete system and program. The aim of this entry is to describe important aspects of this diversity.

The model of multiple Judaisms depicts them as distinct but not disparate. It suggests that they are too divergent to be seen as simply variations of a single pattern. Rather, like offspring from the same parents, the different Judaisms possess aspects of a common legacy, but not necessarily the same aspects, or in the same way, or in the same proportion. For example, Jewish writings from both Palestine and the diaspora exhibit diverse understandings of common religious rituals and concepts. Even so basic a rite as circumcision is used and interpreted differently in the Hebrew Bible, Paul, 1 Maccabees, Josephus, and Philo (Smith 1982). Likewise, the concept of the messiah, long thought essential to all forms of Jewish religion, is in fact employed only in some texts of this period and then inconsistently (Neusner, et al. 1987). These examples illustrate the complexity of the data and justify the model of multiple Judaisms.

Because it attempts to preserve diversity and avoid harmonization, the model of multiple Judaisms raises anew the problems of definition and classification. The model requires a theoretical framework that justifies classifying the varied Judaisms together, that explains their commonalities. But that framework cannot suppress the differences between and among the Judaisms, and it must supply the means to separate one Judaism from another. The framework for multiple Judaisms must simultaneously distinguish Judaism from not-Judaism and avoid collapsing the diverse Judaisms to a single Judaism.

For these purposes, two standard ways of defining early Judaism will not serve. The conventional theological definition, which presents Judaism as essentially a religion of covenant-maintenance with Yahweh, who is understood to be the one real god, is too monolithic to capture adequately the diversity the model proposes. The standard ethnic definition—which presents Judaism as the religious behavior of all groups identified, by themselves or by others, as Jews—fails to supply any larger category at all.

Constructing an appropriate framework within which to situate the diverse Judaisms is complicated by the character of the data. A proper definition of any Judaism should describe "a worldview and a way of life that together come to expression in the social world of a group of Jews" (Neusner et al. 1987: ix). Despite recent archaeological discoveries, particularly in the state of Israel, most of the evidence for ancient Jewish religious life is literary. Although most Jewish documents illustrate a worldview and recommend at least aspects of a way of life, the relationships of the texts to concrete social groups is neither clear nor certain. For example, the collective character of the Mishna suggests that a specific community stands behind it and was shaped by it. But the same cannot be said for all the Jewish writings of the Greco-Roman period. For instance, the mere presence of a document at Qumran does not tell how it was regarded by the Dead Sea community. The problem is even more acute with anonymous or pseudepigraphic works and those authored by individuals. It often is impossible to show that the worldview and way of life promulgated by an important Jewish text ever affected a group of Jews. Thus, description of the varied Judaisms of the ancient Mediterranean is necessarily partial, and much of it is limited to worldview.

Moreover, the conventional challenges of literary evidence to any historical research apply fully to the study of early Judaism. No author is disinterested, and separating a text's biases and interests from the historical information it supplies is never simple. Flavius Josephus has reasons for presenting Jewish religion as he does, and in some instances scholarship is unable to penetrate beneath them. Likewise, on the basis of its redaction, the Mishna can only be supposed to supply a highly particular 3d century perspective on 1st century Palestinian Jewish religion.

Although the multiplicity of Judaisms emerges clearly in the Hellenistic period and obviously was accelerated by the impact of Hellenistic culture, the ingredients of these divisions are already evident in the Persian period. The transformation of Israelite religion caused by the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 B.C., the cessation of the sacrificial cult, and the Babylonian Exile supplies the contours of the larger Judaic framework within which the various Judaisms developed.

That framework consists of 4 components: (1) the Temple, (2) Israelite scripture, (3) nonscriptural or extrascriptural tradition, and (4) apocalypticism. These components are all, to some degree, scholarly constructions, but each, except apocalypticism, corresponds to a category or term in the written sources themselves. All the Judaisms of the Greco-Roman period drew on a transformed Israelite legacy comprised of these 4 components. But they did not draw on it in the same way nor from each of the 4 in equal measure, nor in most cases even from all of them. Each Judaism can be analytically described and distinguished from others in terms of these components.

In reality, of course, none of these components existed in isolation. Indeed, all, in different ways, are implicated in one another. Moreover, each of them, if taken as the final locus of authority of a Judaism, has the capacity to absorb or even nullify the other 3 components. For instance, an apocalyptic Judaism could, and did, negate the importance of the Temple and levitical conduct; and a Judaism based on a levitical tradition, as was early rabbinism, could surpass the meaning of scripture's words and suppress the supernaturalism and eschatology of apocalyptic speculation.

It also is important to note that the components *temple, scripture,* and *tradition* are empty categories that were filled in differently by different Judaisms. In some Judaisms the temple was a concrete reality; for others it was a metaphor or an idealization. Likewise scripture. It is not only that different Judaisms focused on different parts of scripture or interpreted the same parts in conflicting ways. Rather, there was no single scripture that all Judaisms employed. Greek-speaking Jews, primarily but not exclusively in the diaspora, rarely resorted to a Hebrew text but instead used the Septuagint (LXX). Although the LXX was known to be a translation, the Judaisms that used it accorded it the de facto status of an original; as in the case of Paul and Philo, they used its language, syntax, etc. as the basis of interpretation. The *Letter of Aristeas* legitimated the status of the LXX with the suggestion that it was divinely inspired. By contrast, in Rabbinic Judaism the Targums—translations of the Hebrew Bible into Aramaic (usually dated after 200)—were always treated as interpretations, never as scripture. Hence, different Judaisms not only read scripture differently; textually and linguistically, they read different scriptures.

The component of nonscriptural or extrascriptural tradition also varied from Judaism to Judaism. Some Judaisms appear to have been heirs to distinctive levitical traditions that supplemented and complemented, but sometimes contradicted, scripture. Others drew on nonscriptural versions of scriptural materials, which made minor biblical figures and themes objects of great interest.

This article examines the nature of the diverse early Judaisms in three ways. First it examines one major component of the larger framework, the Temple, to illustrate the varied ways it was understood and appropriated in different Judaisms of the period (see B. below). Next it reviews the data about the major Judaisms of this period both within Israel and in the diaspora, with a brief excursus on Josephus, a key source for many of them (see C.-L. below). In the last 3 sections (M.-O.) it briefly considers some of the varieties of the treatment of scripture and scriptural traditions.

**B. The Temple**

The Temple in Jerusalem was a central feature for a number of Judaisms in the Greco-Roman period. Following the return to Jerusalem from exile in Babylon (ca. 535 B.C.E.), the Temple was rebuilt under Zerubbabel. Cyrus, the king of Persia, had both encouraged the rebuilding of the Temple and provided funds for the construction (Josephus, *Ant* 11.1–3). The Temple was rebuilt once again and expanded under King Herod toward the end of the 1st century B.C.E. The importance of the Temple for the Jewish people and for certain Judaisms can be seen not only in this persistence in maintaining and rebuilding the Temple, but also in the prominent place the Temple holds in the Jewish literature of the Greco-Roman period.

The Temple was the symbolic center for a number of Judaisms until after its destruction by the Romans in 70 C.E. Even in the Mishna, the first collection of writings produced by rabbinic Judaism (edited ca. 200 C.E.), the Temple, though destroyed, continued as an essential, symbolic institution and structure for that Judaism. The desecrations of the Temple under Antiochus Epiphanes (165 B.C.E.) and under Pompey (65 B.C.E.) are recorded respectively, in the book of Daniel and the *Psalms of Solomon.* Offenses against the Temple contributed to Jewish revolts against foreign domination in the case of the Maccabean revolt (165 B.C.E.), the first revolt against Rome in 66 C.E., and the Bar Kokhba rebellion of 133 C.E.

**1. The Temple in Palestinian Judaisms Before 70 C.E.** The Temple in Jerusalem was the most prominent institution in Judea. As the center of the cult of Yahweh and the seat of native Jewish, as opposed to Roman, rule, it represented both the forgiveness of sins and the hope for national sovereignty. Its grandeur and massive size suggest that considerable resources were required for its maintenance, which evidently was a national priority (Strange, *ANRW* 2/19/1: 655). Despite the Temple's imposing physical presence and undeniable cultural centrality, most of the surviving written evidence reflects the views of its critics rather than of the Judaism represented by its personnel and administration.

Differences of opinion about how the Temple should be run and who should perform the cultic rites are important factors in distinguishing the various Palestinian Judaisms from one another. For example, the Temple was an essential feature of the religion of the Qumran community. The rank or order (Heb *serek*) of the community members was organized according to levels of purity or holiness which approximated those of the Temple in Jerusalem. In its organization and self-understanding, Qumran replicated the Temple (Schiffman 1975: 60ff.).

The Damascus Document (CD) from Qumran is explicit about the priests who profane the Temple and fail to observe the distinction between clean and unclean (CD 5.2ff.). These so-called false priests "teach lies,""prophesy falsely," and lead the people to exchange the "law engraved on their hearts for the *smooth things* they speak" (1QH 4). The War Scroll, which describes the final battle between the sons of light and the sons of darkness, reveals the community's belief that after this holy war they would reconstitute the Temple in its pure and true form (Vermes 1980: 122–23). The extreme concern with purity and matters of inclusion and exclusion from the community at Qumran are derived primarily from the levitical codes in Leviticus 13 and 21, which deal with the disqualification of priests from Temple service (Schiffman 1989: 69). In the Dead Sea Scrolls these levitical regulations, which originally pertained only to the priests and their service in the Temple, are applied to the entire Qumran community. Qumran idealized the Temple in its community structure. The community understood itself as the *true* Temple, and ordered its life to accord with its tradition of how the Temple in Jerusalem should be run. In the view of the Qumran community, false priests now control the Temple; but soon God would intervene and restore the true priests, and "true People of God" (cf. War Scroll 3)—the Qumran community itself—to the Temple in Jerusalem.

Fragments of *Jubilees*, a book that records the things revealed to Moses during his 40 days spent on Mt. Sinai, were found at Qumran (see CD 16.2–4). *Jubilees* is concerned with ritual purity, Sabbath laws, tithes, circumcision, incest, calendrical issues, and sacrifice. Obedience to these laws is its central message. The book, which dates from between 161–140 B.C.E., is "a primitive history rewritten from the standpoint of ritual law" (Charlesworth, *OTP* 2: 35–46). The author appears to be from priestly circles. Unlike other texts at Qumran, *Jubilees* lacks evidence of a break or hostility toward the Temple in Jerusalem. While the Temple is central in both *Jubilees* and the Dead Sea Scrolls, *Jubilees* appears to represent a period prior to the decisive break between the Qumran sectarians and the priests and Temple in Jerusalem.

The attack almost certainly on the leadership in the Jerusalem Temple is particularly strident in the mid-1st century B.C.E. *Psalms of Solomon.* The "sinners" are repeatedly described as *anomia*, or lawless (*Pss. Sol.* 1:8; 2:3, 12; 4:1, 8, 12). They are profaners who live in hypocrisy and strive to impress others (chap. 4). They have stolen from the Temple's sanctuary, and have no regard for the distinction between pure and impure (2:3–13; 8:11ff.). Similarly, two documents from the so-called Pseudepigrapha, the *Testament of Levi* and *The Lives of the Prophets,* say that the priests of the Temple have profaned the priesthood,

defiled the altar of the sanctuary, and behaved shamefully behind the veil (Heb *dabir*) of the Temple (*T. Levi* 16:2–4; 14:4–6; *Liv. Pro.* 3:15ff.). The *dabir* of the Temple is torn in *T. Levi* 10:3 to expose the deeds of the priests on the other side.

It appears that the 1st century C.E. Jewish popular movement centered on Jesus of Nazareth was also at points hostile toward the Temple. In Mark, the earliest Gospel, Jesus responds negatively to a disciple's comment about the beauty of the Temple: "Do you see these great buildings? Not one stone will be left upon another which will not be torn down" (Mark 13:2). In Mark 14:58 and 15:29 it is charged that Jesus meant (in 13:2) he would tear the Temple down, though in 14:56 the narrator claims this is not what Jesus said. Also, the Synoptics report that when Jesus died the veil of the Temple was torn in two. While the precise meaning of this symbolic act is debated, some have understood this as a devaluation of the Temple.

The Samaritans constituted an important pre-70 Palestinian Jewish group which was essentially Temple-based. The Samaritans were in competition and conflict with the Temple in Jerusalem and claimed that the true center of Yahweh's cult was ancient Shechem and Mt. Gerizim, not Zion. This naturally met with opposition from the Jerusalem priests. However the Temple looms large also in the life of the Samaritans and the history of the Samaritan schism and debate. They too made Temple and Temple traditions central to their religious life and behavior.

The symbol and the system of the Temple informed the debates among the Judaisms of pre-70 Palestine (Blenkinsopp 1981). Those debates were not only theoretical; they convey the sense of a real place that varied groups sought to control and, in some cases, perhaps to supplant.

**2. The Temple in Diaspora Judaisms.** Even outside the land of Israel, where travel to Jerusalem was difficult and rare, differences among Judaisms can be understood in terms of the Temple. For example, the evidence of the Jews in Egypt presents three distinct perspectives on the Temple.

Despite Deuteronomy's stricture that Yahweh has only one valid sanctuary—"the place God will choose as a dwelling for God's name," widely assumed to be Jerusalem—Jewish sacrificial worship administered by priests and levites was carried out in Egypt. A temple was built at Leontopolis, by the priest Onias (either III or IV), sometime in the 2d century B.C.E. and was closed by the Romans in 74 C.E. (Hayward 1982). Josephus (*JW* 7.436) claims that it functioned for 343 years. It may have influenced the author of the Third Sibyl (Collins 1983: 63, 71, 95). The 1st century B.C.E. work known as *3 Maccabees* offers a different view; it reveres the Jerusalem Temple (Anderson, *OTP* 2: 509–64). A third perspective on the Temple, one typical of diaspora Jews shaped by Hellenistic philosophy, appears in the works of Philo of Alexandria. Philo devotes a large portion of *Special Laws* I to a discussion and description of the Temple, the priests in the Temple, their vestments, the qualifications for the priests and high priest, the animals used for sacrifice, and the requirements of the worshipper in the Temple.

For an audience that clearly knows little about Temple worship and sacrifice, Philo explains that among the 12 tribes of Israel one was selected, on its special merit, for the priestly office. There are tithes and revenues collected for the Temple, which are to continue eternally. The priests must have no deformity, bodily imperfection, or skin disorder. They are to symbolize perfection of the soul (*Spec Leg* I.80). In *Spec Leg* I. 83ff. Philo describes the vestments of the priests in great detail. These vestments symbolize the cosmos (the heavens, stars, and "sublunar" regions). As he does to the levitical rules and the Decalogue throughout *Special Laws*, Philo allegorizes the Temple, the priests, and the legislation associated with the cult to represent platonic types imbedded in the very structure of the cosmos. The Temple in Jerusalem, for Philo's audience, is treated as a "cosmic mystery" (Goodenough 1940: 208), and described as a representation of the eternal virtues and *logos* of the cosmos.

A similar transformation takes place in the NT epistle to the Hebrews, which speaks symbolically, or typologically about the Temple. There Jesus is spoken of both as the *perfect* high priest and *perfect* sacrifice. In heaven is the "true tabernacle which the Lord has pitched" (Heb 8:2). Those who are priests on earth "serve a copy, a mere shadow of the heavenly" (8:5). As with Philo, the images and symbols of the Temple remain central for the author of Hebrews. However, the meaning of these symbols, and of the

Temple itself has been transformed. The Temple, its priests, laws, and sacrifices, are earthly, imperfect types for perfect and abiding cosmic mysteries and truths.

Another figure associated with the Jewish diaspora is Paul of Tarsus. The Temple was important to Paul, but only as an image and only when understood to represent the community. "Do you not know you are the Temple of God? If any man destroys the Temple of God, God will destroy him, for the Temple of God is holy, and that is what you are" (1 Cor 3:16). For Paul the community becomes the locus of holiness and sanctity. In this vein, though in a somewhat allegorical manner, he applies levitical legislation and the notion of sacrifice to a man corrupting the community with impure behavior (Gk *porneia*; 1 Corinthians 5).

Though often transformed and reappropriated, the structure, function, and legal framework of the Temple supplied the fundamental model for religious activity and self-understanding for varied diaspora Judaisms. Despite the divergent understandings of the Temple and its meanings—understandings that range from the strongly literal to the extremely figurative—few Jewish groups before 70 appear to have anticipated having a religion with no Temple at all. The intense disagreement about the operation and significance of the institution attests to its widespread importance.

**3. The Temple After 70 C.E.** The Temple's destruction necessitated the development of strategies of reinterpretation, even for those pre-70 Judaisms that in effect had bypassed the Temple in their religious practice. Even Pharisees and those who came to be called Christians, who fared well in the post-70 period and whose systems did not require a literal Temple, still laid claim to traditions that produced the Temple, and each had to account for its significance.

Following the destruction of the Temple, various Judaisms turned to other aspects of their heritages to adapt to the changed reality in the post-70 period. All of them, to be sure, turned to scripture, which had been a basic component of the Jewish cultural framework since the Persian period. In addition, texts such as *2 Baruch, 4 Baruch,* and *4 Ezra* reflect the increasing emergence of what they call "the law" as a response to the Temple's loss.

The Temple's destruction appears to have created a religious and cultural upheaval. Several documents from the post-70 period, assigned to the Pseudepigrapha, explicitly reflect on the destruction of the Temple and its meaning. Many attempt to trace this event to some injustice or "faithlessness." The *Apocalypse of Abraham* 27 describes the destruction of the Temple, which it claims is a result of "evil works" (*OTP* 1: 702).

The 587 B.C.E. destruction of the Temple is depicted allegorically in *2 Baruch* in order to address the destruction of the Temple in the time of the author. In *2 Baruch* 6 the Temple is destroyed and the veil, the mercy seat, the tables, the vestments, and the vessels are all taken away. These items are stored in the earth, "until the last times,""until the moment that it will be said that it will be restored forever." In *2 Bar.* 10:18 the priests of the Temple take the keys to the sanctuary and cast them into heaven saying, "take these keys, guard your house yourself, for we have been found false stewards." Essentially the same passage is contained in *4 Bar.* 4:4, and a similar passage can be found in *ʾAbot R. Nat.* 4 (Goldin 1955: 37).

After the destruction, all that Israel has left is God and God's "law" which will last forever (*2 Bar.* 77:5; 85:3). The righteous are those who keep "the law.""The law" is God's gift to Israel (*4 Ezra* 3:19; 7:22ff.; 8:28). The importance of the scribe, and the renaissance of figures like Baruch and Ezra, support the role of the law in the post-70 period.

This "law" is thought to derive largely from behavioral regulations that initially supposed and were intended for the Temple system and service. In certain respects, the continuation (and in some cases the intensification) of "legal" issues and concerns in the post-70 period testifies to the importance of the Temple even after its destruction. For a number of groups within Judaism in the post-70 period, the levitical system persisted long after the institution for which it was designed had disappeared. This is dramatically evident in the Mishna, the first collection of the teachings of the rabbis.

Although the Temple had been destroyed for over a century, the Mishna discusses the Temple and Temple issues as if the building were still standing. Over half of the tractates of the Mishna, in fact,

pertain to the Temple. Tractate *Qodašim,* for example, contains discussions about issues central to the Temple, such as sacrifices and vows. Although the Mishna's treatment of the Temple may be a utopian fantasy or a hope for the cult's future restoration (Neusner 1989), the document provides a strategy and a means for the adaptation and continuity of the levitical religion the Temple had represented and promulgated.

**C. The Pharisees**

Of the pre-70 Jewish groups, the Pharisees are perhaps the best known, because of their role as Jesus' principal opponents in some gospel narratives. But Josephus and early rabbinic literature also provide information about them (Neusner 1971). Indeed, Josephus claims to have been a Pharisee (*Life* 9–12), and Paul's enigmatic assertion that he was a Pharisee "as to law" (Phil 3:4–6) is often taken as a claim of membership in the Pharisaic group.

Josephus (*JW* 2.8.2–14; *Ant* 18.1.2–6) lists the Pharisees as one of the three sects or philosophical schools (Gk *hairesis*) among the Jews. The others are the Sadducees and the Essenes. In Josephus, the Pharisees appear primarily as a political interest group. In modern sociological terms, they were from the retainer class (Saldarini 1988). With no political power of their own, the Pharisees depended on good relations with the ruling class to achieve their goals for Jewish society. Josephus reports that the Pharisees gained and then lost the support of John Hyrcanus, who ruled the Hasmonean kingdom from 134–104 B.C.E. (cf. *b. Qid.* 66a).

A similar story (*JW* 1.5.2) describes how the Pharisees gained the favor of Queen Alexandra, widow and successor of Hyrcanus' son, Alexander Janneaus, who had succeeded his father after a futile struggle for power between his brothers Aristobulus and Antigonus. According to Josephus, during Alexandra's rule (76–67 B.C.E.) the Pharisees became the real administrators of the state, with the power "to bind and to loose," and enjoyed royal authority. *Ant* 13.15.5ff. recounts Alexander's deathbed advice to Alexandra to work with the Pharisees to ensure her successful reign. Because the Pharisees are the "most accurate interpreters of the law," they are respected by and popular with the people, who do whatever the Pharisees say. The Gospels' highly stylized conflict stories, which ally the Pharisees with the Herodians against Jesus, suggest continued Pharisaic collaboration with political powers during the reign of Herod (37–4 B.C.E.). These stories depict the Pharisees as a political interest group, but they do not reveal a political program or the focus of the Pharisees' interests.

Josephus' reports about the Pharisees' beliefs address general philosophical matters, not matters of Jewish communal practice. In *Jewish War* (2.8.14) and *Antiquities* (18.1.3–4) he describes the positions of the Pharisees and Sadducees on such issues as fate, free will, the immortality of the soul, and reward and punishment. The Pharisees, he says, believe that the soul is imperishable, and that the souls of the wicked are punished eternally. They believe in fate, free will, and God. They make no concession to luxury, show respect for their elders, and follow the guidance of reason and what is good. Worship is conducted according to their views, which are influential among the people. They cultivate harmonious relationships with one another and with the community. In *Life* he compares the Pharisees to Stoics. Taken together, these statements do not constitute a program for reforming Palestinian Jewish society and do not suggest what might have been at stake in the Pharisees' political activity.

A hint about the Pharisees' goals may appear in Josephus' claim (*Ant* 13.10.6) that the Pharisees observe "traditions of the fathers" not recorded in the law of Moses, traditions the Sadducees reject (Baumgarten 1987). Regrettably, Josephus does not discuss the content of these traditions, which can only be conjectured on the basis of the NT and early rabbinic literature.

The Gospels depict the Pharisees primarily as debate partners for Jesus and report almost nothing of their role in larger Palestinian society. A few positive pictures notwithstanding (John 3; Acts 5), the Gospels usually present the Pharisees negatively, as a religious type antithetical to Jesus and his teaching. The contention between the Pharisees and Jesus tends to be about issues of purity, Sabbath observance, fasting, and tithing. The dispute between Jesus and the Pharisees about eating with unclean hands becomes the occasion to contrast the Pharisees' "traditions of the elders" with the commandments of God (Mark 7:1–23 and Matt 15:1–20). The Gospel stories depict the Pharisees at least as a lay group

concerned with applying its own tradition of levitical piety to the context of everyday life and commerce (Neusner 1973).

Although the use of rabbinic materials for the study of the Pharisees is complicated by problems of redaction and dating, it is widely assumed that early rabbinism either derived from or appropriated much of the pre-70 Pharisaic agenda. Seven disputes between Pharisees and Sadducees from the Mishna and Tosefta focus largely on issues of purity. Moreover, if the earliest stratum of the Mishna is assumed to reflect Pharisaic concerns, then there is clear overlap between the rabbinic picture of the Pharisees and that of the Gospels (Neusner 1971).

The character of the sources permits only a schematic picture of the Pharisees; a nuanced description is not possible. On the basis of the way those sources reinforce one another, the Pharisees appear as a lay group that drew on a discrete, nonscriptural tradition of levitical piety and attempted through political means to reform Palestinian Jewish society to conform to that tradition.

**D. The Sadducees**

Information about the Sadducees is both more sparse and more questionable than what is known of the Pharisees. No Jewish source was composed from the Sadducean point of view: no figure from antiquity identifies as a Sadducee; no Jewish movement or group claims Sadducean descent. In the sources that mention them—Josephus, the Gospels, and rabbinic literature—the Sadducees tend to be coupled with the Pharisees and rarely appear alone. Josephus claims to have been a Pharisee, and the Pharisees may have been gaining power and acceptance in Palestine after the Temple's destruction, when he wrote. Thus, his description of the Sadducees may be biased against them (Cohen 1979). In rabbinic literature, the Sadducees are treated almost as outsiders (Saldarini 1988: 301).

Because they are so often coupled with the Pharisees, in Josephus the Sadducees resemble a political interest group, and in the Gospels they appear as opponents of the Jesus movement. Likewise, in rabbinic literature their disputes with the Pharisees follow the Pharisaic agenda and focus mainly on issues of purity.

Materials in all three sources agree that the Sadducees deny resurrection of the dead (*Ant* 18.1.4; Mark 12:18; *b. Sanh.* 90b, *Abot R. Nat.* A, 5). Josephus adds that they do not believe in fate, accept no observance "apart from the laws" (*Ant* 18.1.4), and reject traditions of the Pharisees (*Ant* 13.10.6). These scant reports cannot justify a judgment that the Saducees were scriptural literalists or had no traditions of their own. Sadducees may have been a part of the ruling elite, but they cannot be identified with it (Saldarini 1988). On the basis of the sources, it is difficult to say much about the kind of Judaism the Sadducees represent.

**E. The Essenes**

The third of Josephus' three *haireseis* are the Essenes. Philo (ca. 40 C.E.), in *Every Good Man is Free* (12–13; 75–91), and *Hypothetica* 11.1–18 (preserved in Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*), and Pliny the Elder, in *Natural History* 5.15.73, ca. 77 C.E., also mention the Essenes, but their accounts are of slight historical importance (Beall 1988). The contents of the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS), discovered in caves along wadi Qumran in 1947, and the descriptions of Josephus provide the most information about the Essenes. Although the issue is still debated, the DSS are almost universally regarded as documents from a monastic-like Essene community that lived near the shores of the Dead Sea (Cross 1980). The scrolls cover a period approximately from Hasmonean expansion (ca. 150–120 B.C.E.) to the destruction of the community by the Romans (ca. 70–72 C.E.), and they describe the beliefs, order, construction, theology, and some of the history of the community (Cross 1969; Charlesworth 1979–81). Certain scrolls, as in the case of the Damascus Document, seem to have been written outside of Qumran and may even pre-date the Qumran community. The scrolls are not monolithic. They were written over a substantial period of time, and their views on issues of the Temple, law, the Romans, and communal order suggest some variety even within the broad rubric of Essene Judaism (Davies 1982; Murphy-O'Connor 1974).

The most widely accepted theory of the origins of the Qumran community assumes that these Essenes withdrew to the desert to protest what they regarded as the illegitimate Hasmonean claim to the high priesthood. The Essenes' hostility to the Temple's leadership surfaces in several sources, including

Josephus. The literature of Qumran denounces the priesthood in Jerusalem as false and profaners (cf. CD 1; 1 QS 7,11). The centerpiece of Qumran ideology is the expectation that God will soon act, judge, and condemn these false leaders and priests, and will restore the Qumran community to the Temple in Jerusalem and the high priesthood. The so-called Teacher of Righteousness, whom the scrolls depict as the founder of the community, may have been deposed as high priest and exiled when the Hasmoneans assumed control of the Temple.

According to Josephus, the Essenes are Jews by birth and have more "mutual affection" than other groups (*JW* 2.8.2–13). They turn aside from pleasures as evil and regard as a virtue self-control and not succumbing to passions. They "despise riches," transfer their property to the sect upon joining, and hold all things in common. Josephus says the Essenes regard marriage with contempt and will adopt other people's children as if they were their own. They dress simply, avoid all kinds of "defilements," and have no city of their own.

The Essenes apparently had pockets in many cities, and offered hospitality and support to other members who were passing through. They rigorously avoided contact with outsiders and were strictly warned about speaking ill of the group. The community had a series of strict punishments for violations of purity regulations, for failure to abide the rules of the community, or for denegrating the community in either language or action (Forkman 1972). The community ordered itself along the lines of the Temple in Jerusalem. The various members and initiates were organized in order of their standing in the community, the number of years they had been members, and the degree of purity they had achieved (Schiffman 1975). In their life, actions, and self-understanding the Essenes sought to replicate the Temple.

The Qumran community also valued the role and authority of scripture. The DSS evidence a distinctive type of exegesis referred to as *pesher*.The stories and passages from scripture were understood strictly in terms of the history and destiny of the community (Fitzmyer 1974). Some of the prophetic literature, especially Habakkuk and the Psalms, figure prominently in Qumran's distinctive scriptural interpretation. The recently published Temple Scroll details the community's eschatological hopes about the Temple in Jerusalem, and the War Scroll depicts the holy war waged by God on behalf of the community against the wicked priests and the *kittim*, the term the community seems to have applied to the Romans (Vermes 1980).

The doctrine of the Essenes, Josephus writes in *Ant* 18.1.2, 5 (11, 18–22), is to leave all things to God. They regard souls as immortal and strive to fulfill paths of righteousness. He claims the Essenes are more virtuous than either Greeks or barbarians. Their wisdom is, to those who have experienced it, "inescapable bait." This description—typical of Jewish apologetic literature of this period—is designed to appeal to non-Jewish, Greco-Roman readers. By emphasizing the Essenes' asceticism, the wisdom of their teaching, and their dedication to their beliefs and lifestyle, Josephus aims to make their religious practices appear admirable, virtuous, and worthy of emulation.

The Judaism of the Essenes, as represented in the DSS, exhibits the components of the Judaic framework that emerged during the Persian period. Though withdrawn from the Temple and disapproving of its current leadership, the Qumran community clearly expected to gain control of the institution and the administration of its rites. Qumran Judaism, therefore, was Temple-centered in a concrete, this-worldly sense. The community expected to achieve victory as the result of an eschatological war, which among other things would bring a definitive end to the present political order. Thus, the Qumran worldview had a pronounced apocalyptic element.

As a virtual community in exile, Qumran had to devise rules for behavior both to maintain the community's distinctive life in the present and to prepare for the new order of the future. In so doing, it devised a "unique system of Jewish law," some of which was based on biblical exegesis and some not (Schiffman 1983: xi). Although the DSS do not claim the community's practice as inherited tradition, the duration of the community and its likely origin as the result of intra-priestly conflict suggest that it may have followed nonscriptural levitical traditions different from those applied by the Jerusalem priesthood.

Finally, the Qumran community justified its apocalyptic vision and its distinctive levitical practices with interpretation of scripture, and it is obvious that scripture was an important source of religious authority

and legitimation. In contrast to other Judaisms, the evidence for the Essene Judaism of Qumran displays the components of Temple, tradition, scripture, and apocalyptic with unusual definition and balance.

The Essenes are not mentioned in the NT or rabbinic literature, and there is no trace of their Judaism after 70 C.E. Because of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, we know more about the Essenes than the other *haireseis* Josephus mentions. But there is little evidence that their Judaism had a significant impact on ancient Palestinian Jewish society.

**F. Josephus**

Because so much information about the Judaisms in the Greco-Roman period comes from Josephus, he deserves brief consideration on his own. The sheer amount of his writing and its impact on the history of Judaism sets Josephus apart from other writers of this period.

Josephus was born ca. 37 C.E. into a priestly family. Though he claims to have chosen the way of the Pharisees after studying several Jewish philosophies, no clear Pharisaic tendency is evident in his interpretation of Judaism. However, his writing does exhibit sympathy toward the Judean ruling classes and their attempts to retain control of Jewish society and suppress the popular movements that challenged Roman rule (Saldarini 1988: 81; Rajak 1984). Whether or not this thoroughgoing prejudice renders his history too biased to be useful continues to be discussed (Cohen 1979; compare Moehring, *ANRW* 2/21/2: 864–944 and Saldarini).

Josephus commanded rebel troops in Galilee during the first revolt against Rome, perhaps because he, like others of the Judean ruling class, anticipated the loss of Roman support and opted for popularity with the Jewish masses (Goodman 1987). Sensing defeat, Josephus surrendered to Rome and sided with Vespasian and his son Titus. Josephus' prediction that Vespasian would become Emperor (*JW* 3.3.9) helped endear him to the *Caesarea familia*. Josephus went to Rome as a client of the Flavians and wrote *The Jewish War.* Sponsored by others he wrote *Antiquities of the Jews* which included, as an appendix, his *Life*.

Josephus wrote *Jewish War* sometime during the reign of Titus (ca. 80), and *Antiquities* later (ca. 94). Later still he produced a short apologetic work, entitled *Contra Apion,* defending Judaism against a variety of charges. Josephus used several sources for his history, including Nicolaus of Damascus, other popular traditions, and the Bible (Schwartz 1983; Attridge 1986). His narrative of the politics and struggle for power in Roman Palestine exhibits a primary interest in the relation of the Jewish state and religion, and the Jewish ruling class, to the empires and powers that surround it. Josephus writes from the perspective of the upper class and balances a loyalty (perhaps resigned) to Rome with a dedication and loyalty to the Jewish people and religion. He speaks positively of rulers and groups who bring order and criticizes those who are destabilizing.

Throughout this political history the reader is given substantial information about the religious practices and convictions of the Jewish people. Loyalty to Torah, to the Temple, to the learned and disciplined nature of many Jewish groups are all features regularly encountered in Josephus' descriptions of Judaism(s). Josephus is an apologist for Jewish religion in the Roman world, and he addressed a largely Roman audience. He describes the history and beliefs of the Jewish people in a manner both understandable and appealing to his audience. Josephus is an invaluable source for the history of the Judaisms of Palestine, and his writings constitute a significant chapter in the embrace of and interest in Judaism by the wider Greco-Roman world.

**G. The "Fourth Philosophy" and Other Popular Movements**

In addition to the three *haireseis,* Josephus also refers to a variety of other 1st century Palestinian Jewish groups that scholarship now classifies as popular movements. The best known of these is the "Fourth Philosophy," but the list also includes the Zealots, the *Sicarii,* various prophetic, messianic, or royal groups, and even social bandits. All of these played a role in the rebellion against Rome, which is their common trait in Josephus' account of them.

Josephus' hostility to such rebel groups is well known, and not surprisingly his descriptions of them are truncated and focus almost exclusively on political or military matters. But many of these movements, according to Josephus, justified their action in religious terms, as expressions of loyalty or obedience to

Israel's God. Thus, there may have been Palestinian Judaisms in which piety could lead to revolution. On the basis of what is known of the Bar Kokhba rebellion (132–35 C.E.), this option retained considerable appeal and resilience through the reigns of both Trajan and Hadrian (*m. Sota* 9.14). However, for various political purposes, the preserved literary sources—from Ben Sira to the Mishna—discourage revolution as a legitimate expression of devotion to the God of Israel. Thus, although the popular movements merit treatment in this overview, a secure interpretation of any of them as a Judaism is impossible to attain.

In Josephus' account, the Fourth Philosophy appears primarily as a tax-resistance movement. The Romans had deposed Herod's son Archelaus, imposed their own direct rule in Judea, and charged Quirinius, a Syrian legate, to conduct an assessment of how much tax could be extracted from the territories (Horsley and Hanson 1985: 190ff.). Josephus writes that "a Galilean named Judas was urging his countrymen to resist (the assessment), reproaching them should they submit to paying taxes to the Romans and tolerate human masters after serving God alone. Judas was a teacher [Gk *sophistes*], with his own party, in no way similar to others" (*JW* 2.118).

In *Antiquities* 18 Josephus writes that Judas was from Gamala, in Gaulanitis (actually not Galilee), and that he was "in league" with Zaddok the Pharisee and had pressed hard for the resistance to the assessment. Judas claimed these taxes were nothing short of slavery and urged the nation to "claim its freedom." If they would succeed in their resistance, said Judas, "the Jews would pave the way for good fortune; if they fail, they would at least obtain glory and honor for their high ideals." Of course, they could be confident that God would join them in their fight. Josephus writes that the people listened to this "with relish," and that Judas and Zaddok succeeded in establishing "an alien fourth philosophy" among the Jews. "When their numbers grew they filled the nation with unrest, and were at the root of the afflictions which ultimately enveloped it."

Josephus stresses that the Fourth Philosophy was formed in response to unjust rules and inept local Roman governors and legates. But in his account, the burden of new taxes and fidelity to the traditions and laws of the Jews provoked the formation of this revolutionary movement and drove it to rebellion. He says (*Antiquities* 18) that the beliefs and behavior of the Fourth Philosophy closely resembled those of the Pharisees, except for their unusual commitment to freedom.

The tensions related to the formation and rise of the Fourth Philosophy are responsible for a variety of anti-Roman movements between the death of Herod the Great and the Bar-Kokhba revolt in 133 C.E. Syrian domination, which lead to the Maccabean revolt, and subsequent Roman domination from 66 B.C.E. on, frequently resulted in irreconcilable choices for Jews between their loyalty to their beliefs and nation and their service to foreign rulers. While there were periods of relative calm and cooperation between Romans and Jews in Palestine, the imposition of taxes, expansive building projects (especially under Herod), conflicting foreign beliefs, and insensitivity to native Jewish religion provoked unrest and resistance.

One example of such social unrest and resistance has recently been referred to as "social banditry" (Horsley and Hanson 1985). The socioeconomic inequities in Palestine under Roman rule resulted in a rather widespread robbing of the rich (or whoever had resources) by the peasantry of Palestine. Both in *Life* 77 and *JW* 4.84 Josephus describes groups of brigands (Gk *lestai*), and he mentions in particular that Gischala (in upper Galilee) had been "infiltrated by a sizable gang of brigands." Other incidents involving brigands are found in *JW* 3.434; 2.541ff., and elsewhere. The reality of brigandry points to the breakdown of Palestinian society and widespread dissatisfaction with Roman rule. The brigands represent the beginning of fairly comprehensive resistance to Roman domination in the pre-66 period.

This period of unrest in Palestine also provoked a number of popular or charismatic leaders. Some were referred to as "king," others "prophets," and others "messiah." In the Galilean city of Sepphoris Judas, the son of Ezekias, a well-known brigand chief, led a raid and revolt at the death of Herod ca. 4 B.C.E. (*Ant* 17.271ff.). A servant of King Herod named Simon, "spurred on by chaotic social conditions, dared to don the diadem, and was proclaimed king by some fanatical men, because he thought himself more worthy of this than any other" (*Ant* 17.273). This Simon led a popular revolt, plundering royal palaces throughout the land, until captured and beheaded. In *Antiquities* 17 Josephus also describes Anthronges, a man of

renown, who aspired to be king. He and his 4 brothers each had followers, and were not afraid to die. They fought hard against Roman and Herodian troops. "Whenever seditious bands came across someone suitable," writes Josephus, "that person could be set up as king" (*Ant* 17.278–85). Indeed, Judas the Galileans' son, Menachem, was a leader in the first revolt and was hailed in Jerusalem as a king (*JW* 2.433ff.).

Several literate groups employed the term "messiah" for a leader, or expected leader. The mid-1st century B.C.E. *Psalms of Solomon* (17:32), the DSS (Vermes 1980: 118ff.), and some strands of the Jesus tradition within Palestine used this term to describe their leader. When discussing popular movements, however, Josephus assiduously avoids the term "messiah." The emergence of the figure Menachem in 66 C.E. among the popular resistance group the Sicarii—the "dagger men"—has been viewed by some as a brief episode of messianism among this group, and the Bar Kokhba revolt of 133 is treated in later rabbinic tradition as a "Messianic movement" (Horsley and Hanson 1985: 118; 127ff.).

There were also several "prophetic movements" in the 1st century. These leaders attempted to identify with the Israelite prophets of old and reiterated their message of a nation that had strayed from the commands of God, impending judgment, and the hope of vindication and restoration. Josephus describes in some detail one Theudas who persuaded most of the "common people" to take their possessions and follow him to the river Jordan. He said he was a prophet, and that at his command he could divide the river (*Ant* 20.97–98). Fadus, the governor of Judea, had Theudas captured and beheaded. Josephus also describes an Egyptian Jewish prophet who, though a charlatan, was credible enough to rally about 30,000 "dupes," and to incite them to try to storm Jerusalem. Many were killed or captured, but the Egyptian escaped (*JW* 2.261ff.). John the Baptist, mentioned in the Gospels as related ideologically, if not by kinship, to Jesus of Nazareth, is depicted as a prophetic leader in the tradition of Isaiah or Elijah. There were others, including the Zealots and various resistance groups which coalesced after the start of the 66 revolt to fight against Rome.

"Charismatic Judaism" is a modern scholarly term that identifies a supposed popular form of piety, primarily centered in Galilee. This scholarly construction would also qualify as a "popular movement." The figures usually associated with this putative Judaism are Honi the Circle-maker (*m. Taʿan.*3.8; *b. Taʿan.*23a; *j. Taʿan.*81d), Haninah ben Dosa (*m. Ber.* 5.5; *t. Ber.*3.20; *m. Soṭa*9.15; *ʾAbot* 9–10), and Jesus of Nazareth.

In the primary passage about Honi, Honi prays unsuccessfully for rain, and then draws a circle, stands inside it, and refuses to move until God makes it rain. His actions appear to be a version of a magical rite. After the rain falls, Simeon b. Shetah rebukes Honi's behavior but declines to excommunicate him. Josephus also refers to a certain Onias who once prayed successfully for rain to end a drought during the time of Hyrcanus II, but was stoned to death for refusing to issue a curse on Hyrcanus' brother and rival Aristobulus II (*Ant* 1.22–25).

The passage about Haninah in *m. Ber.* claims that, when he prayed for the sick, he knew by the fluency of his prayer who would live or die (5.5). Tosefta *Ber.* 3.3 assigns a nearly identical saying to Akiba, so there is no way securely to attribute either saying to Haninah. The Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds (*Ber.* 34b and 9d respectively), contain stories of Haninah's successful prayer for healing of Rabban Gamaliel's son. Thus, Haninah is celebrated in rabbinic tradition primarily for the efficacy of his prayer, not for a distinctive kind of Judaism.

A fundamental problem with the classification "charismatic Judaism" is that it is based on biographical information about a few figures, mostly from a handful of late rabbinic passages. But rabbinic documents are dominated by consensus, and their sense of the individual—of separate existences—is minimal. The documents do not lend themselves easily to biographical reconstruction (Green 1981: 18–19). The scholarly category of charismatic Judaism also relies on strained analogies with Jesus of Nazareth (Vermes 1983: 42, 49). Rabbinic traditions about such figures do not provide evidence for a distinctive Galilean Judaism.

The many popular movements in this period resulted from social unrest, a failure of the ruling class, and Roman maladministration. The religious aspirations and traditions of Israel supported the hope of

freedom from foreign domination and/or the social ills that plagued society. The identification with these religious traditions and hopes were the means by which many popular leaders gathered support and a substantial following.

**H. Jesus-Centered Judaism**

The beginning and early stages of the Jesus movement are depicted in the four NT Gospels written 40–70 years after Jesus' death in 33 C.E. These Gospels are stylized narratives which purport to tell the story of the life of Jesus, but do so with a focus on the issues confronting the people by or for whom the Gospels were written.

It is anachronistic, though still commonplace, to identify the Jesus movement of 1st century Palestine as "Christianity." In its historical and religious context and in its varied forms, the Jesus movement was a type of *Judaism* and was viewed as such by non-Jews. The classification "Christianity" sets the Jesus movement over against Judaism and also obscures important differences within this Judaism. Jesus-centered Judaism was not monolithic. The internal differences within this Judaism parallel those that distinguished other Judaisms from one another. Some variants of this Judaism stressed scripture, tradition, and aspects of levitical piety, while others were dominated by apocalypticism.

Mark's gospel, for example, is thoroughly apocalyptic in orientation (Mack 1988; Kee 1977). The day of the Son of Man, the woes and birth pangs which precede the end of the age, the arrival of the kingdom of God, and the struggle with evil powers are central features of Mark. These apocalyptic themes are highlighted in Mark 13, but in fact run throughout the gospel. The apocalyptic nature of Jesus-centered Judaism fits well into the volatile and fragmented milieu of Palestine in the 1st century (Horsley 1987). Matthew, on the other hand, while still maintaining an apocalyptic component, stresses issues of law, tradition, and levitical piety.

Where Mark does not engage issues of Sabbath observance (Mark 2) or food laws (Mark 7), Matthew enters into lengthy debate on the validity of his community's interpretation of these laws (Overman 1990). Both Matthew and Mark develop traditions grounded within Israelite history which are meant to support their respective versions of Jesus-centered Judaism. The popular, traditional figures of Moses, Isaiah, or one of the prophets are used in support of the portrayal of Jesus and the sort of Judaism the writers wished to present. In the so-called Q source common to Matthew and Luke, popular oral sayings about Israelite heroes and traditions combine with an apocalypticism in order to present this particular form of Jesus-centered Judaism (Mack 1988; Kloppenborg 1989).

A central feature of the Gospels is the hostility between Jesus and the Jewish religious authorities. The so-called conflict stories in the Gospels usually concern a dispute over some aspect of Jewish law or tradition (Hultgren 1979). A stock feature of all the gospels is Jesus healing on the Sabbath, or his followers violating purity regulations. These acts lead to an encounter between Jesus and the Jewish authorities who are described somewhat indiscriminately as scribes, Pharisees, chief priests, Sadducees, the elders of the people, or some combination of these groups. By whatever name, these groups are intended to represent the opposition to the Jesus movement in 1st century Palestine.

In the conflict stories Jesus and his followers are accused by the religious authorities of violating the laws and traditions of Israel. This provides an occasion for Jesus to introduce his interpretation of scripture and enter into debate with these authorities over the role and meaning of scripture, tradition, and religious practice. Jesus is frequently portrayed as citing scripture, alluding to a famous Israelite prophet, or telling a story or parable that can be related to Israelite tradition and history.

The relationship between the Jesus movement and the Temple in Jerusalem remains a matter of considerable debate (Sanders 1985). Jesus goes up to the Temple when in Jerusalem, and his act of driving out the money changers is depicted as a defense of the purpose and role of the Temple in Jewish religious life (Mark 11:15–18). However, Jesus' threat against the Temple, saying he would destroy it and build another, emerges clearly in the Gospel trial scenes, and plays a significant role in Jesus' death (Juel 1977). At his death the Temple veil is torn in two. Whether this should be read as a denunciation of the Temple as an institution or just the current Temple personnel (or something else altogether) is a debated question.

There were varieties of Jesus-centered Judaism. What these disparate groups held in common was their allegiance to the person of Jesus, which distinguished them collectively from all other Judaisms. However, each Jesus-centered Jewish community portrayed and described him in its own way. Otherwise, Jesus-centered Judaisms reflected the diversity found among the other Judaisms of this period.

**I. The Samaritans**

In terms of the larger Judaic framework, Samaritanism (though often called a sect) constituted a Judaism during the Greco-Roman period. The Samaritans claimed Shechem and the adjacent Mt. Gerizim as their historic cultural and religio-cultic center. They claimed to be the descendants of the tribes of Ephraim, Manasseh, and Levi, and to represent faithful, continuous worship of Yahweh from the time of the Israelite conquest of Canaan. What finally separated the Samaritans from the Jews who were loyal to the cult in Judah was the question of which was the true holy place, Jerusalem or Shechem (Purvis, *CHJ* 2: 591–613). Samaritans condemned the leadership in Jerusalem and its Temple cult as an aberration.

Those loyal to the Jerusalem Temple tended to charge that Samaritans were not Jews but syncretistic in life and belief, in some sense half-Yahwistic and half-pagan. This claim goes back to 2 Kings 17, and persisted as late as the writings of Josephus (*Ant* 9.288) and the NT gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John. In Luke and John, Samaritans represent in a novel way the inclusion of the other or outsider into true Israel. These stories in Luke or John, along with Matt 10:5, represent some animosity between Samaritans and the Judaism centered on the Jerusalem cult in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Originally, worship of the God of Israel took place near Shechem, on Gerizim, long before a cult was established in Jerusalem. For various reasons, as Israelite history progressed Jerusalem became more and more the exclusive sacred center of the Israelites.

Samaritanism represents a clear objection to this development. This tension developed following the return of the exiles from Babylon and is apparent in the postexilic documents of Ezra, Nehemiah, and 1 Esdras. While friction between the two groups is demonstrable during the Persian period, the tension between Samaritan Judaism and Jerusalem-based Judaism was most pronounced in the Hellenistic period. The temple on Mt. Gerizim, according to both literary and archaeological record, was built around the time of Alexander the Great (*Ant* 11.302ff.). The sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim was destroyed by the Hasmonean leader John Hyrcanus ca. 128 B.C.E., and some 20 years later Shechem was razed. Excavations have shown that the Temple was rebuilt during the reign of Hadrian (Purvis 1986: 88).

Samaritan Judaism was clearly Temple oriented and centered. Like other Judaisms, Samaritanism also had a dispersion. There were Samaritan diaspora communities as far away as Rome, Thessalonica, and the island of Delos. Two inscriptions from Delos clarify the importance of the Temple and cultic worship for the Samaritans, even when far removed from Mt. Gerizim (Kraabel 1984).

The second important component of Samaritan Judaism is the Samaritan Pentateuch, written after the destruction of the Temple on Gerizim during the reign of John Hyrcanus. Samaritans responded to this crisis by reaffirming their claim to be the true carriers of faith in Yahweh, and their conviction that Gerizim, though now in ruins, remained the true place for worship of God, and not Jerusalem. The edition of the Pentateuch drafted by the Samaritans promoted this claim. The ideology of the Samaritan Pentateuch is evident in its emphasis on Gerizim and Shechem and its downplaying of Jerusalem and Zion. Certain lengthy interpolations in Deuteronomy and at the end of the 10 commandments in Exodus seek to establish the position that God already established Shechem and Gerizim as the true place of worship and that Jerusalem and its priesthood were the latecomers (Purvis, *CHJ* 2: 612). In the view of the Samaritans, the Jerusalemites were inauthentic. These differences about both Temple and scripture distinguish Samaritan Judaism from other Judaisms.

**J. Early Rabbinic Judaism**

The principal source of information about early rabbinic Judaism is the Mishna, a philosophical legal treatise written in Hebrew and produced in Palestine about 200 C.E. under the auspices of the Patriarch Judah I, known familiarly as Rabbi. The Mishna is the first collection of the rabbis' own tradition and teaching, primarily on matters of *halakhah* (religious law and practice). Much of the Mishna is anonymous—so that the document often seems to speak for itself. However, it also contains opinions,

disputes, and occasionally stories about or in the names of approximately 150 sages, who are dated from the 2d century B.C.E. to the beginning of the 3d century C.E. The bulk of the attributed material is reported in the names of fewer than 20 rabbis, primarily from 3 generations (roughly from the destruction of the Temple in 70 to the aftermath of the Bar Kokhba rebellion in 132–35).

The Mishna does not follow scripture's organization and does not present itself as an interpretation of scripture, which it cites with relative infrequency. Rather, the document is divided into 6 large sections or orders—*Zera*ʿ*im* ("seeds," agriculture), *Mo*ʿ*ed* ("appointed times," festivals), *Našim*("women," marriage and family law), *Neziqin* ("damages," civil law), *Qodašim* ("holy things," the rules of the Temple cult), and *Tohorot* ("purities," uncleanness taboos)—that together constitute 63 tractates. The Mishna is the foundation document of rabbinic Judaism. The rest of rabbinic writings, including the collections of scriptural exegesis called *midrash,* are now thought to postdate the Mishna. The Tosefta and the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds, the major collections of halakhic teaching, assume the Mishna and follow its organization.

The entire Mishna appears to have been redacted at once and according to a strict literary agenda. The sayings of discrete sages appear in a limited set of highly disciplined rhetorical forms that distinguish neither individual nor generation but are ubiquitous throughout the document. Moreover, rabbinic literature in general is collective, avoids biography as a genre, and fabricates tales about sages to illustrate idealized rabbinic values. Stories about early rabbis in later rabbinic literature cannot be supposed to have historical verisimilitude or reliability. Thus, it is impossible responsibly to present the story of early rabbinism in terms of the teachings and deeds of discrete rabbinic teachers. Rather, the history of rabbinism is best told in terms of the documents the rabbis produced.

The Mishna's Judaism emerged in the aftermath of the Temple's destruction in 70 and addressed the problem of how to sanctify the life of the people Israel in the absence of a cult. The Mishnaic answer is the promulgation of a levitical religion, which transformed priestly behavior and extended it to the life of the entire people in the natural and social world. The Mishna's piety consisted of a host of behaviors—food, purity, and kinship taboos; observance of Sabbath, holy days, and festivals; prayer—that promulgated levitical categories.

Jacob Neusner's revolutionary work shows that the earliest stratum of the Mishna's ideas, from before 70, deals with special laws of marriage, rules about when sexual relations may take place, and eating domestic meals in a state of purity, as if one were a priest. These concerns, along with the Mishna's assumptions about tithing and distinctive Sabbath observance, appear central to the agenda of the Pharisees, from whom rabbinic Judaism is thought to derive.

The next layer of the Mishna's ideas, from 70–135, focuses on taxes paid to the poor and the priests and on the conduct of the Temple cult itself. It also addresses taboos affecting the production of crops and on the ritual of the red cow, which raises the question of how to achieve purity outside of the Temple. The final layer of Mishnaic teachings constitutes a "range of topics so expanded that laws came to full expression to govern not merely the collective life of a small group but the political and social affairs of a whole nation" (Neusner 1989: 51). It includes civil and criminal law, the conduct of the cult, the documents necessary for the transfer of property, and the relationship between those expert in rabbinic teaching and those who are not.

It is important to note that more than half of the Mishna's contents pertain to matters of the cult—an astonishing trait of a document allegedly completed nearly 130 years after sacrifices had ceased and the Temple destroyed. Thus, in addition to its concern for the achievement of holiness in the realm of the everyday, the Mishna also has a strong utopian element (Neusner 1988: 48).

The shift in the Mishna's Judaism from a focus on the Temple to the entire nation of Israel as the locus of holiness was accompanied by the key and distinctive Mishnaic doctrine that the human being is the center of creation and has "the power, effected through an act of sheer human will or intentionality, to inaugurate and initiate those corresponding processes—sanctification and uncleanness—which play so critical a role in the Mishnah's account of reality. The will of the human being, expressed through the deed of the human being, is the active power in the world" (Neusner 1989: 199).

The Judaism of the Mishna draws on scripture but does not present itself as scriptural. It is surely Temple-oriented, but it treats the Temple as part of an idealized vision of a world to be achieved. Though utopian, the Mishna's Judaism eschews apocalyptic and supernaturalism. Much of the halakhic teaching in the Mishna draws on and elaborates rabbinic tradition, which may have its origins with the Pharisees.

The well-known rabbinic doctrines of the dual Torah (oral and written) and of the study of Torah as an act of piety, though sometimes implicit in the Mishna's passages, receive their fullest expression in the post-Mishnaic tractate *ʾAbot* and in later rabbinic literature.

**K. Judaism and the Attraction of Judaism in the Diaspora**

As in Palestine, Jewish religion in the diaspora was diverse. The evidence precludes any claims for a monolithic diaspora Judaism. The highly philosophical writings of Philo express a diaspora Judaism certainly different from that practiced by the Jews in Egypt whose worship centered on the temple in Leontopolis. Josephus' historiography and his version of Jewish history in *Antiquities* reflects another Judaism informed by issues of Roman influence and domination. Paul's letter to the Romans or Juvenal's *Satire* 14 both reflect the involvement of gentiles in the Jewish community in Rome, which left a distinctive mark on Judaism there, and the city of Sardis reflects still another expression of Judaism in a thriving Jewish community in Asia Minor. The identity and nature of Judaism in the diaspora varied from locale to locale, from community to community. Three distinct communities help illustrate the strength and diversity of the Judaisms in the diaspora.

A large Jewish community existed in Rome from at least the 2d century B.C.E. By the turn of the eras there were 20,000–50,000 Jews in Rome (Penna 1982: 328). The Jewish community in Rome was sizable and at times worrisome to the Romans. Both the emperors Tiberius and later Claudius cracked down on the Jews. The so-called Claudian edict is reported by Suetonius (*Claudius* 25.4) and Dio Cassius 60.6.6. The Dio Cassius text states the Jews were forbidden to assemble in Rome, while the Suetonius text claims they were expelled. Dio's report probably represents an initial restriction against assembling ca. 41 which was followed by an expulsion under Claudius in 49 C.E. (Smallwood 1976: 215). Despite occasional political confrontations, the Jews in Rome continued to grow in number and influence. In the early 2d century Juvenal's *Satires* 14 relates with obvious consternation the inroads the Jewish religion was making into Roman society.

Alexandria was another Roman center with a large Jewish population. Jews in and around Alexandria produced a number of literate and prolific authors. Figures such as Aristobulus and Philo, and such documents as the *Sibylline Oracles* Book 3, the LXX, and the *Letter of Aristeas* are examples of the literature and *litterati* generated by the Jewish culture in this city. The Jewish community in Alexandria can be traced back at least until the 3d–4th century B.C.E. A number of scholars hold that the synagogue had its origin in Egypt, perhaps in Alexandrian Jewry (Hengel 1975). The literature from Alexandria provides an important example of the life and worldview of some diaspora Jews.

A third significant Jewish center was that of Sardis. Jews had settled in Sardis from the 3d century B.C.E., and the size and influence of this diaspora community continued to grow, as the epigraphical and archaeological evidence from Sardis shows (Kraabel 1978; 1982). Josephus mentions Sardis and the Jewish community in *Ant* 16.171; 14.259, and several times in *Antiquities* 11. The Jewish community in Sardis played an important role in the larger life and culture of the city as well as that part of Asia Minor. The Sardis synagogue in particular, an enormous and striking building, given to the Jewish community by the city *boule*, symbolizes the presence and impact of the Jewish community on the city. The synagogue occupies a central and prominent place in the layout and structure of the city (Kraabel 1978). The Sardis diaspora community has come to symbolize the success, so to speak, of diaspora Judaism in the Greco-Roman period throughout the Greek East. While there were certainly periods of persecution and stress, many diaspora communities sunk roots into the Greco-Roman culture, making a sizable impact on the life and culture of the cities and settings where these Jewish communities flourished.

In the diaspora (and in Palestine as well), Jewish communities gathered together in local or domestic settings, such as a home or a generic public building (White 1990). Scholars have tended to suppose that the formal, developed, and elaborate character of 3d to 5th century synagogues also applied to the

gathering places of the earlier Greco-Roman period. But the common buildings that have been excavated at Gamala or Magdala in Palestine or at Delos or Ostia in the diaspora—which have been identified as "synagogues"—are small, simple structures that lack the traits of the later synagogues. In the period 63 B.C.E.–200 C.E., whether in inscriptions, the NT, or Josephus, it is better to understand the term "synagogue" to mean a public gathering or town hall rather than as a technical term for a religious institution specifically for Jewish worship (Meyers and Kraabel 1986: 175–210; Overman 1990: 56–61). During the 2d or 3d centuries, the elaborate synagogue building began to develop. By the late Roman period, such synagogues were scattered throughout the Greco-Roman world. Often, as in the cases of Sardis, Ostia, or Stobi, these were significant (even magnificent) buildings. Whether in the more refined and replete synagogues that appeared after 200, or in the plain and often domestic setting of the earlier Greco-Roman period, most Judaisms of the diaspora were in some sense synagogue-based (Kee 1990).

So far as we know, diaspora Jews understood themselves as part of historic Israel, albeit separated by an expanse of miles and culture. They made use of many of the traditions, rituals, and above all scriptures common to Israel. Yet Jews in the diaspora did develop a variety of distinctive traits when compared with their Palestinian counterparts. By all accounts, diaspora Judaism, as a result of the role of the synagogue, dispensed with a priesthood. Synagogue gatherings were administered by lay people. Also, the sacrifices performed by the priests in Jerusalem were not replicated in the diaspora synagogues. Diaspora Jews retained the scriptures and provided a prominent place for them in their life and worship. This was the Greek Bible or LXX. The Jewish writers of the diaspora were thoroughly steeped in the LXX, as well as in Hellenistic philosophy, literature, and historiography. The LXX became a vital vehicle for diaspora Jews to create a religious and cultural discourse that was both traditional and accessible to the broader Greco-Roman world (Kraabel 1987).

Both Philo and Josephus represent examples of diaspora Jews who use elements and traditions common to many Judaisms in Palestine, yet adapt them to the culture and audience for which their writings were intended. Josephus likens the three *haireseis* in Palestine to Greek philosophy. He stresses in particular their view of fate and free will. When retelling the history of the Jews in *Antiquities,* he relates the great traditions and heroes of Israel's history in language and terms familiar to his Greco-Roman, largely non-Jewish readers. This is particularly true with his portrayal of Moses as the perfect lawgiver (Tiede 1972).

Philo also stresses scripture. He interprets Jewish history and religion using allegorical exegesis informed by Platonic and Stoic principles. The categories and figures of historic Israel are transformed by Philo. Moses, the patriarchs, the historic traditions, sources of authority, and myths of Israel merge with the dominant philosophies and influences of his culture. The result is a striking synthesis of historic Jewish traditions and beliefs and Greco-Roman philosophy and culture.

The interplay between these two vast categories was carried on throughout the diaspora. The result was a diversity of Judaisms, all of which put their own distinctive stamp on the process of this dynamic cultural synthesis.

Exponents of Jesus-centered Judaism in the diaspora, such as Paul or Luke, faced many of the same issues that confronted Josephus or Philo. Both Luke and Paul draw repeatedly from the scriptures, traditions, and heroes of Israel. Yet this is done with an eye toward the life and questions faced by their respective diaspora communities. For example, along with the scriptures, Luke reflects the influence of Stoic philosophy. Typical of the cultural diversity characteristic of diaspora Jews, Luke's highly stylized portrait of Paul in Acts depicts a cosmopolitan man who is equally at home in the Jewish synagogue, among the Greek philosophers, or holding forth in the Roman court. These were the cultural arenas that were part of the world of diaspora Jews.

The writings of Paul reflect issues which confronted many diaspora Jews when encountering the gentile world. The letters to the Romans and Galatians take up questions about the role of traditional Jewish practices, such as circumcision and dietary laws, in the urban centers of the Greco-Roman world. Paul spoke within Judaism. He said he was a Jew, of the tribe of Benjamin, and unto the law a Pharisee (Phil 3:5). The history and heroes of Israelite tradition and religion provide much of the framework for Paul's explanation of Judaism. The figure of Abraham is central to Paul's interpretation of Judaism in the

diaspora for both Jews and gentiles (Romans 4; Galatians 3). Paul frequently takes up issues of law and scriptural debate, drawing heavily from the LXX; his view of history and the future is informed by an apocalyptic worldview similar to many Jews in Palestine. In the face of opposing views and factions, Paul also claims his interpretation of Judaism is authentic (Georgi 1985; Luedemann 1989). The challenge that faced Paul, like many other diaspora Jews, was how historic Judaism, as he understood it, related to gentiles who were increasingly becoming a part of the life of Jewish communities in the diaspora.

Diaspora Jews did tend to retain certain cultic practices; modified food laws, circumcision, and Sabbath observance. But in general it was the task of diaspora communities to fashion and appropriate Judaism in cultural and religious contexts quite different from those of Palestine. However well accepted, Jews were still minorities in these great urban centers, and the Jews of the diaspora were daily confronted with philosophies, political realities, and religions that constituted in some manner a challenge, if not a threat, to their religion. Judaisms in the diaspora cultivated a dynamic interaction with the elements of the Greco-Roman world which surrounded it.

Some of the events that shaped Jewish identity and religion in Palestine were not part of the experience of many diaspora Jews. The Babylonian exile, Seleucid domination, the Maccabean revolt and expansionism, Roman occupation of Palestine in 63, or even the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. may have only been stories diaspora Jews heard but were not part of their own diaspora experience. These critical historical events in Palestine, then, would have played a much smaller role in shaping Jewish religion in the diaspora. As a result of these and other differences, the varieties of religious expression within diaspora Judaism tended to vary from traditional "Palestinian Judaism" in some significant respects. For example they made important aspects of traditional Judaism portable or symbolic; the scriptures, the Temple, the land, even the synagogue community itself. Many Jews outside of Palestine grafted a Jewish theology of diaspora onto the Greco-Roman culture and social structure (Kraabel 1987: 58). The literature, philosophy, and at points the religions of the broader Greco-Roman world influenced and coalesced with traditional aspects of Judaism.

As Judaism in the diaspora transformed and appropriated aspects of the culture around it, many in the broader Greco-Roman world found themselves attracted to Judaism. This dynamic between diaspora Jews and Greco-Roman culture is an important chapter in the story of Jewish religion in the diaspora. The influence of many diaspora communities can be seen in the attraction it held for many in the gentile world. The celebrated case of the Roman family in Juvenal's 14th Satire has already been mentioned, however this is by no means an unusual case. Josephus throughout his works mentions many cases of gentile respect and enthusiasm for Judaism. *Antiquities* records at least 7 instances of conversion to Judaism by a gentile (Cohen 1987: 419). *Antiquities* also talks about adherants, and not only those who become circumcised and convert to Judaism. *Contra Apion* 2.282 mentions Greeks who respect and emulate the Jewish religion. Speaking of the Jews of Antioch, Josephus writes, "they were constantly attracting to their religious ceremonies many Greeks, and these they had incorporated in some measure with themselves" (*JW* 7.3.3).

Further, the life of the synagogues of some of these diaspora communities reveal more evidence for the appeal of diaspora Judaism to non-Jews. Acomonea in Asia Minor, for example, had a gentile benefactor, Julia Severa. Sardis itself is evidence of the popularity of Judaism, at least in that city. Also, the NT, particularly the Acts of the Apostles, speaks of a class or group of gentiles, called "God-fearers," who can be found in and around the diaspora synagogues. While there has been some debate about the existence of such a group this does accurately reflect the interest Judaism had in the diaspora setting among non-Jews (Overman 1988). An inscription from Aphrodisias which mentions certain "God-fearers" (Gk *Theosebes*) may in fact represent a group of gentile sympathizers. However the inscription was not found *in situ*, and a number of other questions remain (Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987; Gager 1986).

The presence of "God-fearers" of "proselytes" around the synagogue does not suggest, as Martin Hengel claimed in an astonishing sentence, that Judaism "had to stoop to constant and ultimately untenable compromises" (1974, 1: 313). On the contrary, diaspora Judaism and Greco-Roman culture engaged in a lively exchange and religious and cultural give-and-take for a number of centuries. The

attraction and on occasion conversion of many in the gentile world to Judaism is proof of the vitality and strength of Judaism in the diaspora. Further, it demonstrates how well these diaspora communities engaged, adopted, and transformed certain elements of the broader Greco-Roman world, in order to forge a resilient and diversified Judaism in the great cities and centers of the diaspora.

**L. Philo**

One of the primary sources for Jewish life in the diaspora is Philo Judeus. Philo was a wealthy and influential Jew of Alexandria who left an extensive body of literature. Much of Philo's work is devoted to explaining Judaism to a gentile audience. In this regard Philo faced the same essential task faced by most diaspora communities. In his treatment of the Jerusalem Temple Philo not only spiritualized and placed the Temple in a neo-platonic framework, but he explained the Temple as if he were addressing an audience which had little or no knowledge of it. This theme is carried throughout most of Philo's work. According to E. R. Goodenough, Philo's *Embassy to Gaius* and *Against Flaccus* comprise part of Philo's apologetic literature. It has been suggested that in these two documents we find more autobiographical material concerning Philo, and they are thus a source for understanding Philo the man, as well as the philosopher and statesman (Goodenough 1940: 34ff.).

As the title indicates, his *Apology for the Jews* also falls into this category of apologetic material, as does his short essay on the *Contemplative Life.* An important document in the Philonic corpus that intended to introduce a gentile audience to the substance of the Jewish faith and life is Philo's *Life* of Moses. In this work Moses emerges as the ideal figure, prophet or hero. It is worth bearing in mind that simply because Moses is defined in "Hellenistic" terms and depicted in so-called Hellenistic guise, even to the point of being called a "divine man," this does not suggest that this work is intended strictly for a non-Jewish audience (Tiede 1972: 107ff.). Philo's language and thought also provide insight into the nature and philosophical worldview of diaspora Jews as well as gentiles in Alexandria.

Philo treats Moses and Israel's patriarchs in such a way as to stress their virtue *(arete),* in accordance with the dominant ethics and values of Hellenistic Stoic philosophy. In his treatment of the great men of the Jewish tradition, Philo appeals to the widely accepted and reiterated paradigm of Cynic-Stoic ethics and ideals. It is the virtue and wisdom of Moses, and then of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, which elevate them to the level of ideal men. Similarly, Moses is portrayed as the ideal lawgiver, priest, king, or *man of God.*

Philo's ideal treatment of the patriarchs can be seen in the second major division of his work, the *Exposition of the Law.* This division of Philo's work comprises at least 9 treatises; *On the Creation of the World, On Abraham, On Isaac, On Jacob, On Joseph, On the Decalogue, Special Laws* (in 4 books), *On Virtues,* and *Rewards and Punishments.* This is the major portion of Philo's work, and it is his distinctive treatment of the law and related themes and heroes which has in many circles become the hallmark of Philo's work. Throughout this multi-volume work Philo tries to align the history, heroes, and laws of Israel with the widely accepted laws and philosophy of the broader Greco-Roman culture. *On the Creation of the World,* for example, appears to be patterned on Plato's *Timaeus,* and utilizes such venerable Greek philosophical notions as the *logos,* natural law, and Platonic forms. Similarly, *On Virtues* provides a general summary of Jewish legal principles according to classical Greek virtues.

In *Special Laws,* Philo takes up specific issues relating to Jewish law. These four books follow the *Decalogue,* where Philo has said all other laws follow from these ten. Concerning Jewish law, Philo's treatment of circumcision is of particular interest. In *Special laws* I Philo, as is characteristic of his work throughout, allegorizes Jewish circumcision in a way which diverts attention from the act of circumcision itself and focuses instead on the symbolic value of the act. Philo writes that circumcision is "the excision of pleasures which bewitch the mind … The legislators thought it good to dock the organ which ministers to such intercourse, thus making circumcision the figure of the excision of the excessive and superfluous pleasure, not only of one pleasure, but of all the other pleasures signified by one, and that the most imperious." Throughout his work Philo allegorizes the command and act of circumcision, characterizing circumcision as a nearly, but not quite, symbolic circumcision of one's ethics, if not one's heart; (*Spec Leg* I.305; *Migr.* 92; Borgen 1987). Indeed for Philo, the symbols and traditions of historic Judaism,

whether the Temple, scripture, or levitical rules, are almost always transformed into symbolic categories that appeal to both Jews and gentiles in his Alexandrian setting.

Philo represents the fusion of Hellenistic philosophy, notably Stoicism and Neoplatonism, with the historic faith and figures of Israel. In the hands of Philo, the religion of the Jews becomes an *oikoumene,* a monotheistic religion that can embrace and contain the religions and philosophies of the world. The timeless truths, precepts, and virtues of the cosmos are contained in the traditions and religion of the Jews. Philo brought profound expression to this claim in his corpus. A primary vehicle for promoting and explaining Judaism, whether to Jews or non-Jews, was his treatment and exposition of scripture. *On Virtues, On Special Laws, Questions and Answers to Exodus, The Life of Moses* and more reveal that scripture, in the form of the LXX, was a central source of authority for Philo and the window through which he could, with the help of his creative, allegorical, and symbolic exegesis, reach his audience.

**M. The Bible Rewritten**

An important and widespread phenomenon within Judaism in the Greco-Roman period was the appearance of a number of documents that retold the stories and history of the Bible. Sometimes this reiteration of biblical stories and heroes took the form of copying a genre derived from the Bible (Psalms, Apocalypses, histories), or these stories and figures were passed on in the form of narratives that constituted a cross between biblical histories and ancient romances. *Joseph and Asneth, 3* and *4 Maccabees* and the *Testament of the 12 Patriarchs* are examples of the latter. These are Jewish narrative writings which are supported and inspired by canonical stories and figures.

The Jews of the postbiblical era were not the first to engage in this work. Within the Hebrew Bible, Chronicles is the first book to draft a rewritten history of Israel. This type of literary activity flourished in the Greco-Roman period. Much of this vast body of material has been collected and edited by J. Charlesworth in *OTP.* This literature comes forth with such force that one would be remiss not to represent it as a significant aspect of Jewish religion and life in the Greco-Roman period. Documents such as *Pseudo-Philo, Jubilees, Paralipomena of Jeremiah,* the *Ascension of Isaiah,* and Josephus' multivolume *Antiquities of the Jews,* along with many others can all be classified as literature which retells the biblical story in the postbiblical period. Because there is a great deal of biblical material and important interpretation of biblical figures and history in *1 Enoch, 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra,* and of course Philo, these can also be included in this category.

Interpretation of scripture, response to the destruction of the Temple in 70, the casting of Jewish history and heroes in Hellenistic terms, and issues related to eschatology and authority are just some of the themes these documents take up. Some of these works were originally written in Greek, while others reveal they are Greek translations of an earlier Hebrew version. Some works focus on a specific part of the Bible. *Jubilees* retells material from Gen 1:1 through Exod 12:50. *The Assumption of Moses* is a valediction by Moses based on Deuteronomy 31–34; *Pseudo-Philo* is an expansion of accounts in the Pentateuch, Joshua-Judges, and 1 and 2 Samuel; the last 15 columns of the Temple Scroll from Qumran retell a section of Deuteronomy (Harrington 1986).

The 1st century B.C.E. *Psalms of Solomon,* and the 1st century *Odes of Solomon* are both examples of Jewish literature from this period which emulate a genre from the Bible itself. Related to this, many documents from this period seize upon biblical heroes and figures to tell their story, and invest their message with an authority they otherwise would lack. The biblical figure of Jeremiah is such a person in this period, as is his scribe Baruch. The same can be said for Ezra the scribe, Moses, and many of the patriarchs. The message and authority of these texts and stories were supported by appeal to the great figures and stories of Israel's biblical history. The authors and people behind these many texts were clearly biblically centered, though naturally their interpretations varied from text to text and place to place.

The phenomenon of retelling the biblical story, and reiterating and fashioning stories about biblical heroes served a variety of purposes. Each text, and each story from the respective documents, must be examined on its own terms to decipher the purpose and message of this retold history. The books of *2 Baruch, 4 Ezra,* or the *Assumption of Isaiah* are all different with distinct messages. However, within this

category of rewritten biblical history and legend, some general comments can be made. First, the retelling of Israel's history was certainly educational (it reminded people of what they might otherwise forget). But more importantly, this phenomenon points to the issues of self-definition and understanding. The widespread phenomenon of rewriting the Bible in this period was a result of the need on the part of Jews both at home and in the diaspora to clarify who they were, whose they were, and what the future held for them. One understands oneself primarily through the past in which one places oneself. This is clearly the case with many Jewish communities in this period. By appeal to the past, and the recasting of scriptural history and Israel's biblical heroes, a variety of Jewish communities were able to redefine and redirect themselves.

**N. Testaments and Apocalypses**

Related to the phenomenon of rewriting the Bible, or retelling Israel's history, is the growth of two similar types of literature in the Greco-Roman period, one commonly called "Testaments" and the other "Apocalypses." These categories are somewhat artificial. Some "Apocalypses" are not technically apocalypses, and some "Testaments" are not testaments as such (Kolenkow 1986). Most of this, however, is essentially the result of scholarly debates over names and genres that historically have been rather arbitrarily assigned to this literature. The literature of Enoch; the *Sybylline Oracles;* the *Testament of Moses;* the *Apocalypse of Abraham;* certain literature from Qumran and from Paul (1 Thessalonians); and the early Jesus tradition (Q; the Gospel of Mark) are among the many documents which represent this social and literary development within the Judaisms of this period. Along with the new edition of much of this literature edited by Charlesworth, there has recently been a renewed interest in the scholarship and study of many of these documents (see Collins 1987).

In addition to being in some sense scripturally oriented this literature also reflects the importance and persistence of apocalypticism within several of the Judaisms of the Greco-Roman period. Most of these texts, *2 Baruch, 4 Ezra,* the Apocalypses and Testaments mentioned above, and many more documents reveal the prominence and importance of apocalyptic. In addition to the long-held connection between wisdom literature and apocalyptic, some of the basic traits of apocalyptic are a highly developed eschatology, belief in heavenly visits, revelations, and the tenaciously held belief in the in-breaking of God in the near future. God's action is usually expected to amend the difficulties of the present, judge the offenders of the author and community, and vindicate the "righteous." Apocalypticism usually envisions a decisive end to the present order, and it is compatible with both a levitical system such as Qumran, or an antinomian Judaism such as Paul's.

Recently scholarship has come to recognize the role political oppression and struggle played in many of the apocalyptic documents and movements (Horsley 1987). The role of political domination and the impact of Roman imperial power and rule should not be underestimated in evaluating the shape and nature of various Jewish movements and literature in this period. The Testaments and Apocalypses, along with several of the groups mentioned above, are powerful testimony to this reality within Judaism in the Greco-Roman period.

The final throes of apocalypticism can be seen early in the 2d century C.E. *The Apocalypse of Abraham,* the Book of Revelation, *2 Baruch,* or *4 Ezra*—and in a more overtly political sense, the Bar-Kokhba revolt—represent the final act of apocalypticism within Judaism. By the second half of the 2d century and the dawn of the rabbinic period, documents with an apocalyptic orientation all but disappear. While there is a small amount of evidence of apocalyptic in rabbinic literature, rabbinism generally avoided apocalypticism (Saldarini 1975). As a major tendency in Jewish religion, the apocalyptic worldview did not survive the 2d century, at least in the literature, and can be restricted to having played a role—a major role—within Judaism of this formative and fluid period, but not beyond.

**O. The LXX and the Role of Scripture**

Among the contributions made by the many different forms and varieties of Judaism in this period, one of the most enduring was the translation and interpretation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek; the so-called Septuagint (LXX). The translation and origin of the LXX is related in the highly stylized work, *The Letter of Aristeas.* Aristeas tells the story of the request by Demetrius, head of the library at Alexandria, to

Ptolemy II (285–246 B.C.E.) to send a delegation to Jerusalem asking that the High Priest Eleazar appoint 6 elders from each of the 12 tribes, "who possess skill in the law and ability to translate," in order to render the Hebrew text of the Bible into Greek (39) (Orlinsky, *CHJ* 2: 534–62). This translation was to be deposited in the royal library.

The letter goes on to tell about the translation itself and the enthusiastic reception it received from "all the people" when it was read aloud. *Aristeas* 308–11 claims that the translation received a great ovation, and the priests and elders declared that it was so good (accurate) that no revision of any sort should take place: the text should stand as is. The section concludes by noting that this work "should be preserved imperishable and unchanged forever." The repeated claims of authority and authenticity concerning the translation suggest that the LXX did not receive an immediate and ubiquitous reception. Clearly the author of the *Letter of Aristeas* offers an apology for the LXX and its inspired, accurate, and abiding status. The author hopes the translation will be viewed by Alexandrian Jews as their inspired holy writ.

It is undeniable, however, that the LXX quickly became the Bible of diaspora Jews. The authors of the NT use the LXX. Paul and Luke, for example, make extensive use of it and demonstrate far more than a passing acquaintance with it.

To speak of *the* LXX (i.e., in the singular) is misleading for it suggests that there was *one* LXX which came into being at a particular point in time and in one place. The LXX, despite the myth recorded in *Aristeas,* was not a single, fixed document in the mid-3d century B.C.E. There were many manuscripts and transmissions, and certain books were rendered into Greek at different times by different people. Isaiah, for example, may be 100 to 150 years later than the Pentateuch. The various authors, translations, and versions of the LXX, or parts thereof, are expressions, or *interpretations* of a type of Judaism in a diaspora setting.

Josephus' use of scripture is an interesting case in point. Which text and language(s) Josephus used when referring to biblical passages is still contested among scholars (Feldman 1984: 130ff.). At points, apparently, Josephus used some form of a Greek translation of the Hebrew, some version of the LXX. Philo used the LXX extensively, but rewrote it freely and continued to provide new formulations and emphases (Collins 1983: 12). Authors from this period who refer to biblical passages in the Greek do not often agree on the content, let alone the message or interpretation of the text.

According to Philo, by the mid-1st century C.E. in Alexandria, there was a holiday that celebrated the translation of the LXX, in which both Jews and Greeks participated (*Vita Mos* II.41). Given this claim, even if exaggerated, and given the extensive use of the LXX by Philo and others throughout the Greek-speaking world, it is plausible to conclude that the LXX was read and received throughout the diaspora as the diaspora Jewish Bible or "holy writ." As V. Tcherikover (1958) observed, the *Letter of Aristeas* stands near the beginning of a long process of cultural and religious development within diaspora communities. Philo, on the other hand, may well stand at the apex of this historical and theological development within diaspora Judaisms. That development was Judaism, in varying forms and shades in the diaspora, presenting traditional Jewish monotheism combined with a universal philosophy inherited from the Greco-Roman world. For these communities, the Greek Bible was their centerpiece. Interpretation, allegorization, and the integration of these scriptures with the dominant philosophies of the day became the hallmark of diaspora literature. While Jews in the diaspora laid claim to the scriptures and stories of Jews in Palestine, they were not finally reading, or hearing, the same Bible. The LXX is related to the Hebrew text(s), but it is not the same. Any translation is by necessity an *interpretation,* and the LXX is no exception.

While the tendencies of the LXX interpreters are still not fully understood, the work done on LXX Isaiah provides an example of this broader point concerning the LXX. The agenda of LXX Isaiah included advocacy for the inclusion of non-Jews and the consistent expansion of the Greek concept of *nomos* to include certain connotations which were part of the language and ethos of Hellenistic philosophy and religion (Seeligmann 1948; Olley 1978). The translator(s) of Isaiah emphasized the importance of constructive interaction with non-Jews. Therefore it is not surprising that LXX Isaiah provides a prominent place for the central Greek notion and term *oikoumene.* In the hands of the

translators, LXX Isaiah articulates a worldwide monotheistic religion that combines traditional Hebrew stories and belief with Greek philosophy and religion. In order to accomplish this the translators had to transform salient notions and terms from the Hebrew text to better fit the message and the world in which the message was to be conveyed. While LXX Isaiah is clearly related to its Hebrew antecedent, it provides an interpretation, not simply a reiteration, of the religion and life of that Hebrew text. The LXX is not the same Bible as its Hebrew counterpart, but rather provides an *interpretation* of it.

The importance of the translation and impact of the LXX is difficult to overstate. The literature, holy writ, and traditions of Judaism(s) which were historically tied to Palestine became easily accessible, and in many places were enthusiastically received in the broader Greco-Roman world due to the Greek Bible. Moreover, the LXX also signals the emergence of the importance of scripture generally within many Judaisms during this period (regardless of whether those scriptures were in Greek or Hebrew). In the Greek-speaking world the importance of scripture for Philo, Paul, Luke, or a host of Hellenistic Jewish authors is unmistakable (Holladay 1983; Collins 1983). For Qumran, *2 Baruch, 4 Ezra,* and Josephus, the importance of scripture and the scriptural tradition emerges with force. While not always citing scripture explicitly, it is clear these authors, and whoever it is they address or represent, assign significant importance and authority to these scriptural traditions.

The emergence of the role of scripture for apologetic and polemical reasons, as well as for the purposes of self-definition and education is an important feature of many Judaisms in this period (Overman 1990: 23–30). The precise meaning and use of the notions of "scripture,""law," and the "traditions" about scripture and law vary from place to place and from author to author. These are not static or fixed ideas and categories. Various Judaisms naturally understood and interpreted these concepts, texts, and traditions differently. However, they all assign authority and prominence to this scriptural tradition with Jewish history and culture, however they understood it, and they all use that tradition to define, defend, and articulate *Judaism* as they understood it and practiced it.

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## *PALESTINIAN JUDAISM*

Judaism emerged in Palestine during the period following the return from Babylonian exile in 538 B.C.E., and Palestine remained a center of the reigious, cultural, and intellectual development of Judaism for centuries. The chronology of Judaism's development in Palestine can be broadly outlined. The textual sources for emerging and developing Judaism can be categorized by type. And the major issues which united and divided Jews in this period can be examined as evidence of the unity and diversity of Palestinian Judaism.

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A. Chronology
1. Where to Begin
2. Where to End
3. Some Important Midpoints
B. Nature of the Extant Sources
1. Individually Authored Writings
2. Writings of an Identifiable Group
3. Pseudepigraphic Writings
4. Rabbinic Writings
5. Nonliterary Sources and Non-Jewish Writings
C. Issues Which United and Divided
1. The Temple and Its Priesthood
2. Scripture and Its Interpretation
3. Foreign Domination and Its Termination

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### A. Chronology

**1. Where to Begin.** While the idea of "Judaism" as denoting the way of life of the Jewish people or a portion thereof is *traditionally* traced back to the revelation of the Torah to the Israelites at Mt. Sinai in the time of Moses, historically it can be traced back only to the period following the return from the Babylonian Exile in 538 B.C.E., commonly referred to as the Second Temple period. While the Gk term *ioudaioi* for Jews (rather than simply Judeans) is first attested in inscriptions from the 3d century B.C. in Ptolemaic Egypt, the Gk term *ioudaïsmos,* from which the English "Judaism" derives and for which there is no ancient Hebrew or Aramaic equivalent, is not attested until the 2d century B.C.E. Then it first appears in the context of recounting the struggle, internal as well as external, between Judaism and Hellenism during the Maccabean Revolt of 167–164 (2 Macc 2:21; 8:1; 14:38). Although the history of Judaism is very much rooted in the Hebrew Bible, it is neither synonymous nor simply continuous with that text. Rather, the matrix of beliefs, practices, and institutions that comes to define the subsequent history of Judaism in all its diversity may be said first to take recognizable shape in the context and as a consequence of the extended and complex encounter between Israelite society and the broader international cultural matrix we call Hellenism.

That encounter was to have a deep impact on virtually every aspect of Israelite society and culture, albeit to varying extents in different locations and at different socioeconomic strata. Its beginnings may be dated roughly to the conquest by Alexander the Great in 331 B.C.E. of Palestine and the surrounding Mediterranean lands in which Israelite diasporan communities were already found or soon to be

established. That historical juncture, more simply denoted as the beginning of the 3d century B.C.E., marks therefore the opening bracket of the present survey, even though the preceding period will be regarded as its backdrop.

**2. Where to End.** The concluding historical bracket for present purposes is more difficult to determine. Postbiblical Judaism was not consolidated, in relative terms to be sure, until the emergence of the rabbinic movement as the dominant religious force in Jewish society in the centuries following the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. That process of transformation had roots in the period preceding the destruction and was accelerated as one of its consequences; but it only comes to literary expression in the 3d century C.E., starting at the beginning of that century with the "publication" by Rabbi Judah the Patriarch of the Mishnah, a pedagogic digest of rabbinic rules *(halakhah)* accompanied at times by exemplifying narratives *(aggadah).* While both those rules and narratives may derive from the actual teachings and deeds of sages of the preceding centuries, in their present rhetorical refiguration they attest most directly to the social and intellectual agenda of the early 3d century patriarchate in its program of solidifying the rabbinic class and extending its influence into the larger Jewish society of Palestine. To a lesser extent, they attest to the Jewish diaspora, notwithstanding resistance from within and without rabbinic circles.

The ancillary, less-tightly structured Tosephta, or supplement, to the Mishnah not only gives us a sense of the Mishnah's high degree of rhetorical redaction, but also of the extent to which its succinct laws and narratives required the amplification of interpretation. In other words, most of what we think we know of the lives and teachings of the mishnaic sages known as the *tanna'im* (first 2 centuries C.E.) has been filtered through the works of the post-mishnaic *amora'im* (3d through 4th centuries C.E. in Palestine). The same can be said for the other major rabbinic constructions of the 3d century, those being the earliest collections of rabbinic scriptural commentary or midrash (the Mekiltas, the Sifra, and the Sifres); while incorporating traditional raw materials with long prehistories, they configure them according to the pedagogical plans and purposes of those 3d-century documents.

We therefore have virtually no internal or external direct witnesses to Judaism of Palestine between the year 90 C.E. and the early 3d century (the major exception being the letters and other archaeological finds associated with the rebel leader Bar Kokhba/Kosiba from around 132–135 C.E.). If we wish to look critically at post-Temple Judaism we must extend our sights into the early and mid 3d century C.E., from whence our first literary evidence derives. It is also then that the important institution of the synagogue, having had a history extending at least as far back as the 3d century B.C.E. (but in Ptolemaic Egypt), now emerges into clear archaeological view on Palestinian soil. But there is another reason for including the 3d century within our historical brackets, and that has to do with the ascension of Christianity in the late 3d and especially early 4th centuries, boosted by its new toleration, then advocation, by the Roman empire initiated by the Emperor Constantine (d. 337). For it is around then that Palestinian Judaism's continuing transformation has to be seen no longer mainly in terms of its encounter with the high culture of pagan Hellenism (first Greek and then Roman), but in its encounter with an increasingly self-confident and assertive Hellenistic Christianity—which had appropriated for its own elect self-understanding the very symbols and scriptures that Judaism had once thought were its alone.

**3. Some Important Midpoints.** If the 3d century B.C.E. marks the beginnings of an intensive encounter between Judaism and Hellenism, and the 3d century C.E. marks a relative solidification of that transformation as it prepared to face a new (and in many ways more serious) challenge, then this crucial 600-year period in the history of Judaism may be divided virtually in half by the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple by Rome in 70 C.E. Before that date, the many varieties of Judaism defined themselves, whether positively or negatively, in relation to the paramountcy—religious, social, and political—of the Temple. After that date, the single variety of Judaism that eventually survived the Temple's loss did so in part by providing compelling alternatives to its priestly functions and functionaries, even while preserving the symbolic power of its memory in new or refigured forms of religious enactment. Once again, notwithstanding rabbinic Judaism's important roots in and similarities to at least some varieties of late Second Temple Judaism, it is neither synonymous nor simply continuous with any of them.

Finally, two other watershed events, already mentioned, subdivide the two halves of our story, with each event centering on the Jerusalem Temple, in the first instance as a presence to be contested and in the second as an absence to be restored: the Maccabean Revolt in 167–164 B.C.E. and the Bar Kokhba Revolt of 132–35 C.E. The Maccabean Revolt can be seen with hindsight as a successful struggle to prevent the complete Hellenization, voluntarily from within and under compulsion from without, of Judaism as centered in the Temple and its city of Jerusalem. However, the revolt's larger goals of a complete end to foreign domination and the restoration of Israelite sovereignty were only briefly to be achieved; they were frustrated by Rome's conquest of Palestine in 63 B.C.E., when the Hasmonean descendants of the Maccabees were effectively removed from power and replaced by Rome with the Idumaean Herod and his incompetent and insensitive Roman successors. But the hopes engendered by the Maccabean Revolt of a complete national and religious redemption yet to come remained very much alive, albeit in a variety of forms, contributing to the sequence of events that led to the Great Revolt against Rome in 66–74 C.E.

The Bar Kokhba revolt, some 60 years later, can be seen not only as a military failure to restore the ravaged Temple and its city to their former states of glory. More important, it was a shocking repudiation of the very hope that an end to the present order of foreign domination could be expected soon or could be hastened by human acts on the political plane of history. The tragic consequences of the Bar Kokhba revolt were to be a major contributing factor in the full-fledged emergence of rabbinic Judaism, both socially and literarily, during the next century.

**B. Nature of the Extant Sources**

Our ability to describe ancient Judaism of Palestine, both in its overall character and in its more specific varieties, is severely hampered by the nature of our ancient sources. The difficulties of using rabbinic writings, the earliest of which can be dated in the 3d century C.E., to reconstruct the history of Judaism in the period of the Second Temple have already been noted. In the Second Temple period itself, there is a rich abundance of Jewish sources of diverse types and from a variety of socioreligious perspectives, yet these do not make historical reconstructions less complex: These very differences in perspective produce pictures that are often in discord with one another when they overlap and that leave gaping holes when they do not. These sources are mainly literary and can be divided among 3 types of "authorship": (1) works of named individuals, (2) ideological expressions of an identifiable group, and (3) writings pseudepigraphically attributed to a biblical seer.

**1. Individually Authored Writings.** In the first category are works by only two known Palestinian Jewish authors: the early 3d century B.C.E. wisdom collection of Yeshua Ben Sira (included in the Apocrypha), and the late 1st century C.E. Jewish history *(Antiquitates Judaicae),* account of the revolt of 70 C.E. *(Bello Judaico),* defense of Judaism *(Contra Apionem),* and autobiography *(Vita)* of Flavius Josephus (37–ca. 100 C.E.). Josephus, although he lived most of his life in Palestine, produced all of his works in Rome, in part under Roman patronage and largely as apologia, whether for Rome's conduct in the war, for his own conduct in the same, or for Judaism against pagan vilification.

These two writers, while having lived in very different times and having produced very different types of writings, had much in common: They were both members of a priestly, aristocratic, significantly Hellenized, and politically active Jewish intelligentsia, and considered themselves to have been divinely inspired mediators of Israel's scriptures, teachings, and history to their respective times of transition. Ben Sira gives a firsthand view of Hellenized scribal wisdom during the seeming calm before the Maccabean storm. Josephus provides the sole continuous narrative history of postbiblical Judaism, drawing upon extensive Jewish and Roman sources as well as personal experience. In seeking to extend the story of Israel from its biblical beginnings into his own stormy time, Josephus draws his models from the conventions of non-Jewish Greco-Roman historiography. In the course, however, he provides extensive descriptions of the major varieties of Judaism of the period between the Maccabean Revolt and the destruction of the Temple.

For both Ben Sira and Josephus, it is difficult to determine to what extent their writings are broadly representative of Jewish society and culture of their times, or to what degree they are limited by the skewed vantage of their particular personal, political, or social circumstances. For example, when Ben

Sira (38:24–39:11) provides a glowing encomium to the sagely Jewish scribe (our only such ancient description) as one who is financially independent enough to devote himself to piety, learning, worldliness, and political influence, is he describing himself; the scribal class of his time; or some ideal type? Similarly, given Ben Sira's strong priestly proclivities, are we to assume a close if not inseparable link between Jewish scribalism and the priesthood in his time or only in himself?

Likewise with respect to Josephus, on whom modern historians are so dependent in reconstructing so many aspects of Jewish history and Judaism of late Second Temple times: To what extent are his schematic portrayals of Judaism's 3 or 4 "philosophies" or "schools"*(hairēseis),* as he calls them (*JW* 2.119–66; *Ant* 13.171–73; 18:11–25; *Life* 10–12), colored by his desire to present Judaism in philosophical terms attractive to a Hellenized audience (whether Jewish or non-Jewish)? Does he wish to suggest apologetically that all of the respectable Greco-Roman philosophical currents of his time can be found among this one people, or to argue polemically on behalf of one of those philosophies, namely the Pharisees, as the most attractive and responsible occupiers of the moderate middle way? Similarly, to what extent may Josephus' portrayals of the various Jewish nationalist insurrectionists of the 1st century C.E.—groups for whom we have hardly any other sources—be taken at face value? This applies especially to those involved in the revolt of 70 C.E. To what extent should Josephus' views be tempered in light of his desire to remove blame for the failed revolt and its disastrous consequences from Rome, from the Jews as a whole, or from himself, and place it squarely on these irrational hotheads?

**2. Writings of an Identifiable Group.** If in the first category there are only two named Jewish individuals whose works have been preserved, in the second category there is only one Second Temple Jewish group whose own writings have survived. That is the community at Qumran, usually identified with, or at least thought to be a part of, the Essene movement, long known secondarily from ancient sources (Josephus, Philo of Alexandria, and Pliny), but whose own writings, included among the Dead Sea Scrolls, have only recently come to the light of scholarship and publication. Which of these scrolls are the product of, and therefore directly reflective of, this community, its history, practices, and ideology, and which were simply preserved in their library, the products of different times or groups? Turning to these scrolls for which there is a consensus that they are indeed "sectarian," to what extent are their representations of the past events and present practices of the Qumran community to be trusted, and to what extent are they idealized or stylized projections either from present self-understandings to past origins, or from future expectations to present circumstances?

The difficulties in employing the specifically "sectarian" Dead Sea Scrolls for historiographic purposes apply not only to our reconstruction of the Judaism of the Qumran community itself and its satellite "camps," but also to our understanding of Second Temple Judaism more generally. Since the Qumran community is the *only* Second Temple group from which we have substantial firsthand data, it is tempting (indeed often necessary) to extrapolate from it to other varieties of ancient Judaism, or to the overall character of Jewish life and institutions, about which we have much less direct evidence. Yet given the highly rhetorical and introverted nature of these writings, such extrapolation poses great difficulties. To what extent should we presume that this group defines the nature of Jewish "sectarianism" more generally? For example, might we surmise that other such groups (Pharisees and early followers of Jesus) were similarly organized or similarly viewed themselves in absolute distinction from those outside their community and from the institutions centered in the Temple? To what extent can we use these scrolls' denigrative symbolic allusions to other groups (perhaps the Pharisees and the Sadducees) to inform us of the nature of those groups? To what extent can we infer the nature of "normative" Jewish practice (to the extent that such existed, at least in the Temple and under the influence of its priesthood) from the community's self-defining repudiation of those practices?

**3. Pseudepigraphic Writings.** The third type of literary sources, of which we have the largest number, are those that are attributed to a venerated biblical authority (e.g., Enoch, Abraham, the 12 patriarchs, Moses, Solomon, Baruch, Daniel, Ezra). Such a pseudepigraphic writing may convey an account of a heavenly vision (apocalypse) or divine revelation which was vouchsafed to a biblical seer, perhaps hinted at but never fully recorded in what came to be considered canonical Scriptures. Or it may convey the

concealed final words (testament) of exhortation and prediction of a biblical patriarch to his biological or spiritual progeny. For these works, we know the identities neither of their historical authors nor of their historical communities of "readers." To the extent that some of them were preserved among the Dead Sea Scrolls or at Masada, we can connect them, indirectly at least, with a known group which considered them to be sufficiently consistent with their own self-understandings to warrant their copying and safekeeping.

Like the writings of Ben Sira and Josephus, the many pseudepigraphic writings from the period 300 B.C.E.–100 C.E. were preserved by various Christian churches, who considered their hortatory or predictive messages to be particularly appropriate to *their* own self-understandings, often with the added assistance of editorial glosses or reframings. Aside from the Dead Sea Scrolls, archaeological remains, and the sparse ancient testimonies of Greco-Roman pagans, most extant sources for Second Temple Judaism were preserved because they suited the needs of later Christian churches. Presumably much more was written, perhaps of very different nature from what has survived, but was not preserved because it did not suit the canonical tastes of the post-70 C.E. rabbinic and early Christian "victors."

This is not to deny the immense importance of the extensive pseudepigraphic literature that has survived, but to recall how few pieces of the puzzle of ancient Judaism are available with which to reconstruct its picture. The surviving texts often seem to have been produced by, or at least for, small groups that considered themselves to be part of a covenantal elect, notwithstanding their seeming pariah status vis-à-vis the larger Jewish society and its central institutions. Such groups probably sought and found in these pseudepigraphic writings confirmation of their socioreligious self-understandings in terms of a formerly revealed but presently concealed larger divine plan, both moral and historical, whose realization, often thought to be imminent, would redress the present imbalance of power and vindicate their readers' sufferings. The specific literary conceits of such texts were part of their rhetorical message: Their privileged readers could experience being exhorted by ancient covenantal patriarchs and seers, or could gain visionary access to a heavenly, undefiled holy realm, in either case fortifying through the experience of such knowledge their elect self-understandings in the midst of discordant historical circumstances.

But who were such groups? How large or widespread might they have been? What would have been their socioreligious profiles? Might they together have constituted a movement, or should they be differentiated more precisely one from the other? How might they have been related to named groups or individuals known to us from other sources? Or might we be mistaken in thinking in terms of coherent groups at all? Do these writings denote the mood of the time, or reactions to it?

**4. Rabbinic Writings.** Having previously noted the difficulties of employing rabbinic texts, all edited in their present forms no earlier than the early 3d century C.E., for reconstructing pre-70 C.E. Judaism, let us now stress that even for the period after 90 C.E., for which historiography is largely dependent on rabbinic sources, their historiographic employment is still fraught with problems. Like the Dead Sea Scrolls (from which rabbinic texts obviously differ in many significant ways), we are dealing with a collective, intramural literature that is not the simple product of a single author. Rabbinic texts sometimes explicitly and otherwise implicitly claim to be transmitting an ancestral heritage that goes back ultimately to the revelation at Sinai. However, they are also texts that subtly yet radically transform received traditions so as to attune them rhetorically to the rabbinic movement's program of training new disciples and socializing them through the very dialectic of their Torah studies into a cohesive class which would be confident in its self-understanding as Israel's divinely authorized teachers, judges, and leaders. In so doing, 3d century rabbinic texts may be expected to project such self-empowering rabbinic self-images back—not only onto their considered biblical antecedents, but also onto the rabbinic founding figures (e.g., Hillel, Rabban Yoḥanan Ben Zakkai, Rabbi Akiba) of earlier generations. Notwithstanding this primary, introverted nature and function of early rabbinic texts, they emerge at precisely the time when the rabbinic class itself emerges as a major force in broader Jewish society, largely through the strengthening of the Patriarchate under Judah the Patriarch at the beginning of the 3d century C.E. Under the leadership of Judah and his successors, the newly expanded and solidified class of sages sought to

position themselves so as to transform Israel's practices, institutions, and self-understandings along rabbinic lines.

Thus, there are two intertwined transformations underway that not only are reflected in the earliest rabbinic texts but to which those texts discursively contribute: the transformation of rabbinic society itself and that of its relation with Jewish society more broadly. For this reason, both legal (halakhic) and narrative (aggadic) texts cannot be assumed to be representational of their own historical settings, whether rabbinic or extra-rabbinic, in any simple way. For example, we cannot assume that stories about rabbinic sages happened as told; or that rabbinic rules were broadly normative at the time of their formulation. Rather, such rabbinic representations have to be evaluated in complex relation to the rhetorical nature of their discursive contexts, and wherever possible to the sparse but significant contemporary evidence of extra-rabbinical sources. Only by such critical analysis can historians understand the relation of these texts to the sociohistorical contexts and emerging religious system of which they are to some extent symptomatic, and which they are yet in the process of transforming.

**5. Nonliterary Sources and Non-Jewish Writings.** The above concentration on Jewish literary sources should not be taken to minimize the importance of our nonliterary sources for Judaism of Palestine of the same period. For the most part, however, nonliterary sources from this period must also be interpreted before they can be employed, and it is usually necessary to interpret them in relation to our known literary sources. Often the pictures derived from nonliterary sources enable us to complement or supplement those derived from literary sources, but just as often they force us to reconsider our accustomed ways of reading and interpreting those literary sources.

For the late Second Temple period, recent nonliterary discoveries of particular significance derive from excavations along the W and S walls of the Jerusalem Temple, from the discovery of Herodian priestly villas nearby, from the Qumran encampment, and from Herod's fortress and palace and the remains of Masada. From the period between the fall of the Temple and the 3d century C.E. there is very little archaeological evidence, except for the important letters, writs, coins, and other finds from the so-called Bar Kokhba caves of Wadi Murabba‘at and Naḥal Ḥever. In the 3d century this relative archaeological silence comes to an end with the proliferation of Galilean synagogue remains, coinciding with the emergence of rabbinic literature. Also significant for the period of rabbinic emergence are the archaeological remains of the catacombs at Beth Shearim, and more recently those of the urban centers of Caesarea, Sepphoris, and Beth Shean (Scythopolis). Another important ancillary source, but once again literary, are the scattered references to Jews and Judaism in non-Jewish Greek and Latin writers, both Christian and pagan, although most of these derive from outside of Palestine.

## C. Issues Which United and Divided

In light of the above, it is impossible to paint a single picture of Judaism in Palestine in late antiquity. Our sources, for the most part rhetorically written from some partisan position or another, do not permit a simple description of what Jews in general (the man or woman "in the street") of that time believed or practiced. Those common characteristics of Judaism which from an "outside" perspective may be said (and were said) to have distinguished the Jews as a group from the surrounding Greco-Roman cultures and religions (e.g., Sabbath and festival observances, Temple rites, dietary and purity rules, sexual modesty), when viewed from an "inside" perspective may be said to have been precisely the issues which deeply divided the Jews (and hence Judaism) of antiquity. Rather than smoothing over these differences and divisions in order to obtain some composite picture of how ancient Judaism might have looked from an undifferentiating distance, it is preferable to delineate those issues which define both the common concerns and the differing responses that repeatedly recur in our extant sources in all of their diversity of perspective. For the sake of convenience, they may be grouped under three headings.

**1. The Temple and Its Priesthood.** At the center of Judaism of the Second Temple period was the Jerusalem Temple itself, rebuilt after the destruction of 586 B.C.E. in 515 B.C.E. But this rebuilt Temple was not simply a restoration of what had previously been. Sacrificial worship was now for the first time centralized in one place, even though there were those who thought that cultic centralization need not preclude the establishment of sites of worship and the application of purity strictures elsewhere in Israel.

The centralization of sacrificial worship in Second Temple times was in part due to the strictures of the book of Deuteronomy, newly incorporated into a Torah canon, and in part due to the desire of the ruling Persian empire and its successors to locate local political and religious authority in one place and under one leadership, that leadership (with some notable exceptions) having been the Temple's priesthood (see Ezra 1:3–4; 7:13–24). But if the Temple and priesthood benefited from the political and economic backing of the empire, it also functioned at its will. While in covenantal terms the priesthood and their service mediated between God and Israel, maintaining the equilibrium of that tipsy balance, then in Second Temple times they similarly served as mediators between Israel's foreign rulers and its local populace.

Thus, the Temple was now the national center not only of worship, both daily and festival, but also of political and judicial authority—and controversy. It is not surprising therefore that virtually every major conflict, both internal—whether deriving from differences regarding Israel's covenantal duties or from tensions between its socioeconomic strata—and external—between the local populace and its foreign rulers—repeatedly centered on the Temple and its priesthood. Notwithstanding the unifying role of the Temple, to which all Jews were expected to contribute and to which very large numbers flocked for the 3 annual pilgrimage festivals, it was also a source and focus of deep divisions from the very time of its rebuilding. In fact, it may be said that precisely because of its centrality, as the primary national institution and symbol, the Temple was a magnet for national and religious tensions.

From the time of the Maccabean Revolt in particular, Temple-centered tensions intensified: Not all were happy with the Hellenization of its wealthy upper priesthood; not all recognized the genealogical legitimacy of its High Priests; not all considered its practices to be in compliance with proper standards of levitical purity. Some even questioned whether such a Temple, built at the direction of a foreign empire rather than a truly anointed Israelite leader, was a proper divine abode at all. Some participated fully in the Temple services notwithstanding their discontents; others sought to reform it; others attempted to wrest control from the reigning priesthood. Still others declared their alienation and exile from it, developing alternative forms of worship, alternative purity realms and priestly hierarchies, and even alternative routes of access to a heavenly Temple unsullied by the worldly forces of evil and pollution.

The very centralization of religious worship and authority in the Second Temple necessitated, for some at least, the need for decentralized complements (e.g., the synagogue and Pharisaic fellowship) or alternatives (e.g., the Qumran camp), even while the Temple was still standing. But once it was destroyed, the need to create or locate alternative media of worship and atonement, alternative loci for human access to the divine presence, became even more pressing. In short, how would Israel become a "kingdom of Priests and a holy nation" (Exod 19:6) without its priestly, holy center? The rabbinic response to this crisis was not to discredit the destroyed Temple or its priesthood—quite to the contrary, they kept Temple and priesthood symbolically and intellectually alive—but to shift Judaism's primary focus from Temple to Torah and from priests to sages, and to make of Torah study and practice (including the study of priestly matters and the practice of ritual purity) the central religious acts of which they themselves would be the officiants. Rabbinic Judaism, like that of the Qumran community before it (see 1QS 9:3–6; 4QFlor 1:7), viewed Torah deeds as occupying the central religious place once held by the performance of Temple sacrifices. Even without a sanctuary, Israel could sanctify God's name and their collective life through prayer and the study and practice of His Torah (for examples from early rabbinic literature, see Fraade 1990).

**2. Scripture and Its Interpretation.** The "returnees" from the Babylonian Exile introduced another change that was to be central in defining and dividing Judaism of the Second Temple period: the establishment of the "Torah of Moses" as Israel's commonly held canonical charter around 450 B.C.E. (Nehemiah 8). Again, this was the consequence not only of internal needs: interpreting their Exile and Return in prophetic covenantal terms, the restored Judean community required the establishment of a commonly acknowledged expression of those terms. It was the consequence also of external, imperial dictates. The Persian empire and its successors (with some notable exceptions) sought to rule its subject peoples by allowing them autonomy of local rule under their own laws and legal authorities, to which the

empire would lend its authoritative backing in return for payment of taxes and peaceful conduct (see Ezra 7:25–26; and the "Passover Papyrus" from Elephantine).

But the composite and didactic nature of this Torah text, with its many repetitions and gaps, required that it be interpreted and amplified before it could be societally implemented in any systematic way. Most immediately such interpretation was required to set the Temple and its priesthood on their properly functioning courses: the Temple's plan, the sacrificial procedures, the priestly rotations, the cultic-festal calendar, purity strictures, etc. But other areas of Israel's covenantal obligations also needed to be regularized to the extent possible: Sabbath, diet, tithing, marriage and divorce, etc. The authority to interpret and adjudicate Torah law rested with professional scribes closely associated with the priesthood.

Naturally, those groups that questioned the central priesthood's legitimacy or conduct also questioned the authority and interpretations of their allied scribes. They propounded and practiced alternative rules (to them they were not the alternatives but the originals), and would justify their rules through the citation or rephrasing of Scripture. But often they simply claimed that their rules had been divinely conveyed through a prophetic teacher; or through a long-hidden revelatory writing by an ancient biblical seer which they were now privileged to possess, to read, and to follow.

Such disaffected groups would also comment upon, but more often simply "rewrite," biblical narratives, poems, and prophecies in such a way as to justify their self-understandings as the true inheritors of Israel's covenantal code—the central actors in Israel's sacred history. That history they might interpret, not simply as a continuous line from the biblical past to the historical present, but as a prologue to the imminent consummation of history by a reenactment of the primeval cataclysm in which God vanquished the forces of evil and vindicated the persevering righteous few.

How precisely such rewritten scriptures were understood in relation to what came to be considered canonical Scripture is not always clear: Were they complements, supplements, or substitutes? The Qumran community in some writings seems to have distinguished between Scripture and its commentary or interpretation (e.g., the *pesharim*, and the scriptural citations of the Damascus Document), while in others it seems to have substituted rewritten Torah for Torah (e.g., the Temple Scroll). The Pharisees, according to Josephus and the NT, viewed the nonscriptural legal traditions of which they were the self-proclaimed advocates and authorities as the inherited "traditions/laws of the elders/ancestors" (*Ant* 13.297, 408; 17.41; Matt 15:2; Mark 7:3, 5), for which they claimed divine authorization (*Ant* 17.41). Later rabbinic writings, beginning in the 3d century C.E., redrew this distinction as being one between written Torah and oral Torah. *Both* were revealed by God to Moses and Israel at Mt. Sinai, and the two together constituted the complementary totality of revelation: Written Torah was closed and forever immutable, while its oral (rabbinic) amplification was open and forever fluid. Implicit in these differences in approach to Scripture and its supplementation was the question of the continuity of revelation: How and by whom was new knowledge—whether of correct conduct, of the cosmos and humanity's place therein, of divine justice, or of Israel's sacred history—to be revealed? And what was the relation of such newly revealed or discovered knowledge to that which was commonly acknowledged as Israel's Torah?

But another important development, evidenced already in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QS 6:6–8; 8:12–16), comes to full expression in early rabbinic literature: The very engagement in study, whether of the Torah itself or of its authoritative amplifications, could itself be experienced as a redemptive act of divine service—an enactment of the covenant rather than simply the means toward its fulfillment—and this, ideally at least, for a society as a whole and not just for its scribal virtuosi.

**3. Foreign Domination and Its Termination.** With the help of the classical prophets, the Babylonian returnees and their descendants interpreted their Exile and Return in positive covenantal terms: God had not only punished Israel for its infidelity, but had demonstrated His own fidelity by employing the Persian king Cyrus to redeem a righteous remnant and reestablish both them and His house in Jerusalem. But these very same prophetic understandings engendered the expectation that foreign rule, like foreign exile, would soon come to an end and Davidic rule be restored (e.g., Amos 9:11; Isa 11:1), thereby completing the redemptive plan whose beginning had been so dramatically experienced. As time dragged on, and as one ruling empire was succeeded by another (Persian, Macedonian, Ptolemaic, Seleucid, and eventually

Roman), the question "How much longer?" grew all the more urgent. When prophecies seem to fail, or at least to be delayed, the first response is to reinterpret them. Thus, when the Seleucid Antiochus IV upset the equilibrium of Jewish religious and political autonomy, the consequent tumult had to be placed within the received prophetic scheme: Jeremiah's predicted 70 years between Israel's exile and final vindication (Jer 25:11–14; 29:10) had been divinely decoded as 70 weeks of years for the exilic seer Daniel (Dan 9:24–27) so as to point roughly to the time of the Maccabean Revolt. Then Syrian rule, itself encoded as the final horn of the last of four beasts (Daniel 7), would fall, after which Israel's salvation would immediately follow (for similar calculations see CD 1:3–12; *1 En.* 93:9–10).

Even so, what was to be Israel's role in this divine drama now entering its final act? For those who rejected the Hellenizing reforms forced upon them from within and without, there were essentially two alternatives: armed revolt against the Hellenizers and Syrian forces (emphasized in 1 Maccabees), or passive resistance and martyrdom in the face of their edicts (emphasized in 2 Maccabees). But behind this choice lay a more fundamental question: Was Israel's sacred history totally in divine hands—He alone bringing it to its redemptive end, both employing and terminating foreign rule according to His plan? Or did it require some human assistance—a demonstration of the readiness of Israel's pious to rid themselves of the defiling foreign influences in their midst? The Maccabean Revolt, in the context of the most acute encounter between Judaism and Hellenism, brought this dilemma to its first clear expression. Both responses presumed that *divine* intervention would be required to bring the events to their redemptive consummation; the question was the required *human* role in a sacred history that was rapidly approaching its long-anticipated climax.

But once again that climax was delayed, and its delay became even more irksome with the rule of Rome beginning in 63 B.C.E. Although Rome preserved the rudiments of local autonomy, the disintegration of Hasmonean rule meant that Roman rule pressed harder and closer to home in its administrative and military presence in Palestine, and especially in Jerusalem. And since the Roman emperor was regarded as a deity, the presence of his image on coins, statues, and military standards meant that subservience to Rome added religious insult to political injury. A series of skirmishes and insurrections, beginning under Herod's rule (37–4 B.C.E.) and extending through the period of Roman governors and procurators ensued. These stemmed in part from the incompetency and insensitivity of Roman rulers and their agents, and in part from a growing irritability and impatience of the local population. But also to be figured into the volatile situation were growing internal Jewish socioeconomic and religious cleavages and tensions, which often became interlaced with resentment against Roman rule and anticipation of its end.

Many self-proclaimed prophets, miracle workers, and would-be kings (some examples, about whom we know only from Josephus, being the "sophists" Judas and Matthias, Judah the Galilean who founded the "Fourth Philosophy," and a prophetic miracle worker named Theudas) appeared on the scene; they tapped into such popular anti-Roman sentiments only to be cut down, thereby frustrating the expectations that had been placed in them. One such figure may have been Jesus of Nazareth, whose followers, however, maintained and transformed their faith in him after his crucifixion by Rome.

The ignominy of Roman rule, the unrelenting pressures of socioeconomic cleavage, and the intensification of internal religious conflict led many to reflect upon the nature and origins of evil in a world they had been taught was created and guided by an omnipotent and benevolent God. The Deuteronomic scheme of reward and punishment no longer provided an adequate explanation. The sacrificial immune system was no longer up to the job. More radical diagnoses and cures were sought. For those to whom Rome itself epitomized the very force of evil and darkness which ruled the world and under which they suffered, the elimination of that rule would represent much more than just a political release. Jeremiah's 70 years of Babylonian rule, reinterpreted by Daniel to extend to Syria as the last of the wicked beasts, was now reinterpreted to extend to and hopefully terminate with Rome's rule (*2 Baruch* 38).

Once again three alternatives of human response presented themselves: accommodation, passive resistance, and active revolt. According to Josephus, these three paths were followed respectively by, among others, the Pharisees, the Essenes, and the Zealots. With the cessation of the Temple sacrifices on

behalf of the Roman emperor in 66 C.E., the political, socioeconomic, and religious combustibles ignited, both in war with Rome and in equally violent internal fighting, resulting after 4 years in the destruction of the Temple and the ravaging of its city, and after another 4 years in the elimination of the last remaining Jewish resistance at Masada.

Once again, some Jews interpreted the catastrophe as an immediate prelude to the end, which would soon come if only Israel returned to the terms of the Torah *(2 Baruch)*, while others counseled that the righteous should simply sit tight while God's inscrutable plan ran its course *(4 Ezra).* For yet others, the utter failure of the revolt and the dashing of its engendered expectations, the loss of Israel's atoning center, and the intensification of Roman rule with its consequent economic burdens—these were too much to bear. Some were led to apostasy and others to a dualistic renunciation of this world so as to pursue personal salvation in otherworldly realms.

But for many, the hope for the overthrow of Rome on the plane of history, to be followed by the restoration of Jerusalem, the Temple, and Davidic messianic rule, remained very much alive, albeit temporarily deferred. That deferral seemed to some to be coming to an end in 132, when once again the violation by the Roman emperor Hadrian of Jewish religious and political sensitivities sparked a major Jewish revolt under the religio-military charge of Simon Bar Kokhba (actually, Kosiba, his messianic nom de guerre being an interpretation of Num 24:17), whose leadership and possible early successes were understood in redemptive terms. The disastrous consequences of this failed revolt—the building of a pagan Roman temple on the site of the former Jewish temple, the de-Judaizing of Jerusalem and its surrounding Judea, tremendous loss of life, and severe economic hardship—resulted not only in a major (but by no means complete) population shift to the Galilee. It led also, under eventual rabbinic leadership, to an equally significant shift in attitude toward foreign rule and Israel's human role in history.

The post-Bar Kokhba rabbinic sages despised Rome and what it represented, even as they accommodated to the reality of its rule. If, in biblical terms, Israel was Jacob and Rome was Esau, then their struggle in the womb of history would continue, but as one between competing cultures and not armies. That struggle would eventually end with Jacob succeeding on the heels of Esau, but the time for that succession would be determined by God and not humans.

It was not that Israel had no role to play toward that end, but rather that its role was now conceived to lie on the inner rather than outer plane of history. Its internal life, both social and religious, required a radical restructuring and redirecting in accord with the divine plan of Torah (as rabbinically construed). Even while accommodating to the brute realities of the Roman kingdom, Israel could experience the joys of the heavenly kingdom by attuning its collective life to the laws and narratives of the written Torah as interpreted in the oral. Israel's task now was not to rid itself of Roman rule but to bring its collective life under heavenly rule; not to rebuild the centralized Temple but to fashion and frequent decentralized institutions (such as the synagogue) for worship and the experience of God's transcending presence in the midst of historical exile. While Rome was evil and would eventually be removed, battle needed to be waged more immediately with the inclination to do evil within each person. The weapons necessary for bringing that inner evil under control were to be brandished in the communal life of Torah study and practice. As the Roman empire declined and was Christianized, the terms of the struggle and the hope for its eventual termination remained essentially the same, but with Esau reinterpreted—as Jeremiah's 70 years had once been—to refer now to Christendom.

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STEVEN D. FRAADE

## *JUDAISM IN EGYPT*

The connection of the Jews with Egypt goes back into the distant past of the 2d millennium B.C. The memory of the captivity and the Exodus has been central to the Jews throughout the centuries and has contributed much to the identity of the people. Evidence of Jewish settlement in Egypt comes from a later time, however (Davies and Finkelstein *CHJ* 1: 375–76). Emigration took place around 600 B.C., increased by the capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the First Temple by the Babylonians in 587. Documentation for this emigration is found in Jer 44:11: "The word came to Jeremiah concerning all the Jews that dwelt in the land of Egypt, at Migdol, at Tah'panhes, at Memphis, and in the land of Pathros …"

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A. Preludes
B. The Hellenistic Period
1. From Alexander to Ptolemy VI
2. From Ptolemy VI to the Roman Conquest
C. The Roman Period
D. Status of the Jews

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### A. Preludes

A series of Aramaic papyri of the 5th century found at Elephantine Island, opposite Aswan in S Egypt, has revealed that there was a military colony of Jews on the island (Davies and Finkelstein *CHJ* 1: 376–400; Sayce and Cowley 1906; Sachau 1911; Porten 1986). They had a temple with pillars of stone and 5 stone gateways. There was an altar for sacrifices to their god Yahu. In addition there are other gods, such as Anath and Bethel. Thus, the religion of these Jews tended to be syncretistic, such as presupposed by Jeremiah in the word of God addressed against the Egyptian Jews: "Why do you provoke me to anger with the works of your hands, turning incense to other gods in the land of Egypt" (44:8). The temple at Elephantine existed before the Persian king Cambyses invaded Egypt in 525 B.C.

An order issued by the authority of Darius II in 419 B.C. instructs the colony to celebrate the Feast of Unleavened Bread and probably the Passover. There are also probably references on the ostraca found to the Day of Preparation and the Sabbath. The relations between these Jews and their neighbors worsened, and in the year 410 B.C. the priest of the Egyptian god Khnum, the patron god of Elephantine, with the aid of the local Persian commander, Waidrang, stirred up the Egyptians to attack the Jews, destroy their temple, and stop all sacrifice. The Jews wrote to Bagohi, the Persian governor of Judea, and to others, such as the high priest in Jerusalem, Joḥanan. Another copy went to the Samarian governor's two sons, Delaiah and Shelemiah. In these letters they tried to enlist support for the restoration of the temple. The authorization was given that the "altar house of the God of Heaven" should be rebuilt so that "the meal-offering and incense" may again be offered. Thus no permission of animal sacrifices was given.

In 404 B.C., Egypt revolted against the Persians and won independence. A letter reporting the accession of the Egyptian King Nepherites, written in 399 B.C., is the latest dated document. The earliest dated document was written in 495 B.C. Thus these papyri give direct information covering about a century of the life of this Jewish community, which was founded at an even earlier date.

The Jews were organized as a combined temple community and a sociomilitary community. As members of the military garrison the Jews served together with non-Jews in the same detachment, but the leaders were non-Jews, Persian, and other nationals. The governor and the garrison commander exercised both civil-judicial and military functions. These seem to have been Persian, and so also the police. A person with a Hebrew name was ʾAnani the Scribe (and) chancellor at the court of satrap Arsames in Memphis. Although the leaders at Elephantine seem to have been non-Jews, the garrison as such must have been predominantly Jewish, since it was known as "the Jewish force." The Jews had their own priests and other leaders who represented them. One of the leaders had the name of Jedaniah, who was in charge of the communal archives and the temple treasures. Intermarriage with non-Jews is documented, and there was also participation in Jewish observance on the Sabbath by non-Jews who either had become proselytes or were active symphathizers.

The existence of the Jewish temple at Elephantine in Egypt, as well as the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim, the temple at Araq el-Emir in Transjordan, and Onias' temple at Leontopolis in Egypt show that the Deuteronomic program of centralized and exclusive worship in the Jerusalem temple was not put into effect among Jews everywhere. The temple and the Jewish military colony at Elephantine testify to a rich variety within Jewish religion and life at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. Its origin has been connected with the statement in the *Letter of Aristeas* that Jews went as auxiliaries to fight in the army of the Egyptian king Psammetichus against the king of the Ethiopians. The ruler referred to is probably Psammetichus I, who largely relied on foreign mercenaries in his fight for uniting Egypt as an independent kingdom. Some of the Jews who took part in the campaign against the Ethiopians might then have been stationed at Elephantine.

No corresponding line can be drawn of the history of the Elephantine Jewish community after the latest datable document from 399 B.C. No traceable evidence for its continued existence has been found. The community might have been removed from the island. In any case, it disappears from the scene of history.

**B. The Hellenistic Period**

**1. From Alexander to Ptolemy VI (332–181 B.C.).** The history of the Jews under Macedonian/Ptolemaic rule falls into two sub-periods, the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor serving as a dividing line. During the period before the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (181–45 B.C.) the Jews settled in towns and in the country and gradually grew in sufficient number to form communities of their own within the general structure of the Ptolemaic society. The period from the beginning of Ptolemy VI Philometor until the Roman conquest (181–30 B.C.) was the time in which the Jews in Egypt fully flourished (*CPJ* 1: 189).

As background, the general political context needs be sketched. Alexander the Great conquered Egypt in 332 B.C., and after his death in 323 B.C. his senior generals, the Diadochi, formed a collective group of rulers. One of the generals, Ptolemy, was satrap of Egypt. When the collective leadership broke up, the empire was divided into 3 main parts: the kingdom of Antigonid Macedonia, the Seleucid kingdom in W Asia, and the Ptolemaic kingdom in Egypt.

Ptolemy I, called Soter, managed to defend his position in Egypt and founded the Ptolemaic dynasty. Egypt became an independent "Macedonian" kingdom, engaged in hard struggle to maintain its independence and to play a leading role in the affairs of the Hellenistic world. Alexandria, the city founded by Alexander, became the capital, and from this N center of Egypt, in close approximity to the other centers of Greek civilization, the Ptolemies ruled over the long and narrow country created by the river Nile. Since the native Egyptians regarded the Ptolemies as an alien government—in spite of all the Egyptian traditions taken over by these rulers—the Ptolemies employed Macedonians, Greeks, and people from other non-Egyptian nations in their administration and army. Moreover, many prisoners of war from various nations were brought to Egypt as slaves (Rostovtzeff 1941, 1: 1–43, 255–422).

In the Seleucid realm, a decentralized administrative system prevailed, built on a reorganization of the old Persian satrapies. The government of Ptolemaic Egypt, on the other hand, became a highly centralized and more ruthlessly efficient version of the ancient Pharaonic system. This reorganization took mainly place during Ptolemy I Soter ([323] 304–284 B.C.) and Ptolemy II Philadelphus (284–246 B.C.). The

whole land was the personal possession, the "house," of the king. The first man in the state beside the king was the *dioketes,* who bore responsibility for the entire possessions and income of the king. Egypt had of old been divided into *nomes,* and these into *toparchies.* The local administrative unit was the village. The chief officials were the military *strategos,* and the *oikonomos* for economic matters. The leading officials were usually Greeks and Macedonians (Hengel 1974: 1.18–9).

The encounter of the Jews with Hellenistic Egypt, therefore, took place within the framework of the Ptolemies' military and economic expansions. According to Josephus (*JW* 2 §487; *AgAp* 2 §35) Alexander the Great gave the Jews permission to settle in Alexandria on a basis of equal rights with the Greeks. They received this favor from Alexander in return for their loyalty to him. Josephus' reports on this do not appear to be credible. They have a clear apologetic motive, and seem to be composed with the aim of ascribing the privileges accorded the Jews of Alexandria to Alexander the Great himself. Josephus' statement about the equal rights of Jews and the Greek full citizens of Alexandria is very much debated in recent research (Tcherikover 1966: 272; Kasher 1985: 2; *CPJ* 1, 1957: 1–3).

Josephus has more reliable information on the immigration of Jews from Palestine to Egypt during the interim period of Alexander's successors, the Diadochi (323–301 B.C.). Ptolemy I Soter conquered Palestine for the first time in 320 B.C.; he conquered it again in 312 B.C., 302 B.C., and finally in 301 B.C. It is probable that in the course of these wars numerous Jewish prisoners were taken into Egypt, as also is told in the *Letter of Aristeas* (12–14). According to Aristeas (12–27, 37), 100,000 Jewish captives were brought to Egypt, of whom 30,000 were placed in fortresses, and the rest, i.e., old men and children, Ptolemy gave to his soldiers as slaves. Ptolemy II Philadelphus (284–246 B.C.) gave amnesty and freedom to the slaves.

Some Jews seemed to follow Ptolemy I voluntarily, as exemplified by the high priest Hezekiah and some of his friends who followed him. Josephus, drawing on material from Hecataeus of Abdera, tells that Hezekiah and the other Jews following the battle of Gaza, 312 B.C., received in writing the conditions attaching to their settlement and political status, and emmigrated (*AgAp* 1 §186–89). The historical value of Josephus' report is disputed among scholars. Recent research has shown, however, that the sections in Josephus, *AgAp* 1 §183–204, do not render material from a Jewish forger but information derived from the work of the authentic Hecataeus, a contemporarian of Alexander and Ptolemy I (Kasher 1985: 2–3; Tcherikover 1966: 272–73 and 426–27). In another passage Josephus (*AgAp* 1 §194) reports that after Alexander's death myriads of Jews migrated to Egypt and Phoenicia in consequence of the disturbed condition of Syria.

The Jews settled all over Egypt, in the towns and in the country. Although living in Egypt, their ties with Jerusalem and Palestine remained strong and communication was made the easier by the fact that for about 100 years (301–198 B.C.) Palestine was one of the Ptolemies' foreign possessions.

Some places, such as in Migdol, Tahpanhes, Noph/Memphis, and the land of Pathros (i.e. the S country) were inhabited by Jews already from the time of the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 44:1). The settlement in various places in Lower Egypt is attested by inscriptions, some of which come from the 3d century. Numerous papyri from the middle of the 3d century and later, give evidence of Jewish population in the villages and towns of the Fayûm (*CPJ* 1: 3). The evidence for Jewish presence in Upper Egypt during the 3d century is meager. The existence of a Jewish community at Elephantine in Upper Egypt until about 400 B.C., Jeremiah's reference to the land of Pathros, and the attestation of ostraca of Jewish settlements in the 2d century B.C. indicate that some Jews lived also in that part of the country during the 3d century B.C. This conclusion is supported by evidence for the existence of a synagogue in Upper Egypt already in the 3d century B.C. (*CPJ* 1: 3–4.8).

Besides this synagogue at an unknown place in Upper Egypt, 3d century synagogues are known to have existed in Schedia, Crocodilopolis-Arsinoe, and Alexandrou-Nesos. Since the synagogues were centers of Jewish religious, political, and cultural life, the reference to a synagogue indicates that there was an organized Jewish community at that place.

The inscription at Schedia (Kafr ed Dauwar, 20 km SE of Alexandria) contains the dedication of a synagogue: "in honor of King Ptolemy and Queen Berenice his sister and wife and their children, the

Jews built the *proseuche.*" A similar inscription has been found in Crocodilopolis-Arsinoe, the main city, the metropolis, of the Fayûm district (about 100 km S of Cairo): "in honor of King Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and Queen Berenice, his wife and sister and their children, the Jews in Crocodilopolis (dedicated) the *proseuche.*" In Alexandou-Nesos, another town in the Fayûm district, a juridical papyri dated 218 B.C., contains a petition of an unnamed woman, complaining that a local Jew, Dorotheos, had stolen her cloak. She reports that Dorotheos fled to the synagogue holding the cloak. By the intervention of a person by the name of Lezelmis the cloak was deposited with the synagogue verger, Nikomachos, to keep till the case was tried (*CPJ* 1: 8, 239–41; *CPJ* 3: 141, 164; Kasher 1985: 138, 144–46).

What was the nature of these communities? The dedication of the synagogues to the king show that the Jewish communities recognized the king and were recognized by him. The dedications are on behalf of the reigning sovereign in the same way as are the pagan dedications, but direct ruler worship was avoided by the Jews (Fraser 1972, 1: 226–27, 282–83, 298–99, cf. Philo, *Gaium* 137–38, 141–42, 356–57; Jos. *Ant* 12 §67; Kasher 1985: 30, 257, n. 92). The recognition of the synagogue by the king implied that he had given the Jews a legal status as a community, most probably in the form of a *politeuma.*

The settlers from various ethnic groups were in many places organized as such *politeumata.* Such communities in Egypt were the politeumata of Idumaeans, Phrygians, Cretans, Lycians, Cilicians, and Boeotians. The legal status of such a *politeuma* has not been clarified at every point, but basically it was the confirmation by the king that an ethnic community was permitted—within limits—to live in accordance with its ancestral laws. In the case of the Jews, this meant the right to live according to the Laws of Moses (*CPJ* 1: 6–8; Tcherikover 1966: 299–301; Kasher 1985: 30, 41). It is probable that the high priest Hezekiah, who joined Ptolemy in 312 B.C., received the charter of such a *politeuma,* an event which Josephus cited Hecataeus as relating: that Ptolemy I gathered Jews who were prepared to follow him to Egypt and read to them a document: "For he possessed (the conditions) of their settlement and their political constitution (drawn up) in writing" (*AgAp* 1 §189). A variant of the formula 'to live according to their ancestral laws'was also used by the Seleucid King Antiochus III on the occasion of his conquest of Jerusalem in 198 B.C. (*CPJ* 1: 7 and note 19; *Ant* 12 §142). Moreover, in the *Letter of Aristeas* 310 the Jewish community of Alexandria is called *politeuma.*

The largest Jewish community in Egypt was this one in Alexandria. The first authentic evidence of the presence of Jews in Alexandria is given by Aramaic and Greek inscriptions from the necropolis of Ibrahamiya in the environs of the town, probably of the reign of Ptolemy I or II (*CPJ* 1: 3, n. 8 and *CPJ* 3: 138–39). The Alexandrian literature, especially the translation of the Bible into Greek, testifies to the strength and vitality of the Jewish community of Alexandria already from the 3d century B.C.

The main occupations for the Jews in Egypt were military service and agriculture. Although the Ptolemies identified themselves with Pharaonic and other Egyptian traditions, they were aliens among the native Egyptians. As noted earlier, they depended therefore upon Macedonian and other non-Egyptian military personnel for their power. Accordingly numerous Jews served in the army as soldiers on duty or as soldiers of the reserves. To lessen the cost of maintaining an army, and to make the military forces identify themselves with the government, the Ptolemies adopted the policy of settling large number of soldiers in special military colonies, where in return for a plot of farmland they were obliged to return to active service upon call. This plot of land was liable to be withdrawn and restored to the king's possession, yet, in the process of time, it became gradually a permanent possession and could as such be inherited by the leaseholder's (the *cleruch's*) children. The terms used to designate such a military colony was *katoikiai* or *cleruchies.* (*CPJ* 1: 11–15).

There is no evidence for self-contained Jewish military units in the 3d century B.C. Josephus (JW 2 §487) reports that Alexandrian Jews were permitted to take the title of Macedonians, which probably meant that some Jews served in the Macedonian unit. The possibility should not be excluded, however, that there were separate Jewish units or sub-units at places where the Jews were numerous enough to form fairly large communities, such as in the Fayûm. (Kasher 1985: 40–48). Some Jews served as officers, such as Eleazar, son of Nicolaus, who, according to an inscription at the Fayûm, served as *hegemon.* This term generally designated a high officer next in the rank to the *strategos* (*CPJ* 3: 163; Kasher 1985: 46).

The other main occupation for Jews in the 3d century B.C. was agriculture. Having received allotments from the king, many soldiers were at the same time farmers. Other Jews were lease-holders, "king's peasants," field hands, vine-dressers, shepherds, and so on. Jews also held positions in the police and in the governmental administration. A renegade Jew, Dositheos, son of Drimylos, served as one of the 2 heads of the royal secretariate; later he was called to the highest priestly office in Egypt—that of being priest in the ruler-cult as the eponymous priest of Alexander and the deified Ptolemies. He served during the reigns of Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246–21 B.C.) and Ptolemy IV Philopator (221–204 B.C.), (*CPJ* 1: 230–36; Kasher 1985: 60).

As the Jews penetrated into Ptolemaic Egypt, Hebrew and Aramaic gradually ceased to serve as spoken and literary languages, especially in Alexandria, but also increasingly in other parts of Egypt, as seen from inscriptions and papyri written in Greek. Since the Jewish communities within limits were permitted to follow the ancestral laws, the knowledge of the laws of Moses was a fundamental need for the Jews themselves, and to a varying degree also for their sovereigns and employers, the different levels of the Ptolemaic administration (cf. Kasher 1985: 5; *CPJ* 1: 31; Tcherikover 1966: 348).

The Gk translation of the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint (the Translation of the Seventy), probably was initiated during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (284–246 B.C.) and was (with the exception of the book of Daniel) completed towards the mid-2d century B.C. The Greek spoken and written by the Jews reflected their background. The Septuagint (LXX) contains many Hebraisms; and a learned Greek, Cleomedes, gibes at the rude folk dialect used in the synagogues. The translators to some extent modified the Hebrew text, at times drawing on some of the current exegetical traditions (*CPJ* 1: 30–32; Tcherikover 1966: 348; Fraser 1972, 1: 689–90). The legendary story about the translation as recorded in the *Letter of Aristeas* is discussed below.

The LXX served as basis for the Jewish Alexandrian literature. The pieces preserved of this literature from the 3d century are largely found in Eusebius, *Preparatio Evangelica.* Eusebius had 5 fragments of Demetrius, and Clement of Alexandria preserves still another fragment. Demetrius wrote in the 3d century B.C. under Ptolemy IV Philopator (221–204 B.C.), probably in Alexandria. His work was apparently called *On the Kings of Judaea.* The fragments mainly concerned the patriarchal history of the LXX Pentateuch and were probably part of the preface to an account of the Judaean monarchy. He formulates the biblical history in the form of Greek chronological historiography, corresponding to the chronological presentation of Egyptian history by the Egyptian priest Manetho, who also lived in the 3d century B.C. The goal which Demetrius and Manetho had in common was to demonstrate the considerable age of the respective national traditions (Hengel 1974, 1: 69; Fraser 1972, 1: 690–94; Attridge 1984: 246–97; *ANRW* 2/20/1: 248–51). Demetrius is also an exegete. He builds his book on the LXX and raises exegetical problems and gives answers (cf. the exegetical form of *quaestiones et solutiones*).

Eusebius has also preserved parts of the drama *The Exodus* written in Greek iambic trimeter by one Ezekiel, otherwise unknown. The tragedy covered most of the life of Moses in a version which for the most part followed the Septuagint translation quite closely, from Moses' birth to the Exodus with the crossing of the Red Sea, the destruction of the Egyptians, and closing with a description of the oasis Elim. A remarkable departure from the LXX text is found in a dialogue between Moses and his father-in-law, in which Moses describes a dream. In his dream Moses is conveyed to Sinai's peak, where he sees a gigantic throne and upon it, God himself in human semblance. God bids him approach the throne, gives him the sceptre, seats him on the throne, and crowns him. From the throne, Moses beholds the whole universe. According to the interpretation, Moses will cause a great throne to arise, and he himself will rule over mortals. Morever, he will see all things in the present, past, and future.

The fragments place emphasis on the Passover, and they express a cosmic understanding of Jewish existence. Moses' cosmic kingship implies a claim by the Jewish nation to be the ruler of the world. Accordingly, the opposing Egyptians who fought against the Jews, were destroyed. The tragedy shows how an Egyptian Jew employs Greek literary form to interpret Jewish self-understanding. The tragedy was written during the second half of the 3d century or the first half of the 2d century B.C. (Nickelsburg 1984: 125–30; Fraser 1972, 1: 707–8; Cf. Borgen 1984: 267–68). See EZEKIEL THE TRAGEDIAN.

The Egyptian priest Manetho counselled Ptolemy I Soter on native religion, and in his history of Egypt he also interpreted the Exodus of the Hebrew people. He represented them as mixed up with a crowd of Egyptian lepers and others, who for various maladies were condemned to banishment from Egypt. Manetho's work reflects the hostility of Egyptians to foreigners, and especially to Jews (*AgAp* 1 §229; 2 §1–15; *ANRW* 2/20/2: 41–52; Fraser 1972, 1: 508–9). At the same time his polemic against the Jews testifies to the fact that they represented an important factor in Egyptian society already.

**2. From Ptolemy VI to the Roman Conquest (181–30 B.C.).** The Jews of Egypt not only consolidated their positions during the period from Ptolemy VI Philometor (181–145 B.C.) to the Roman conquest in 30 B.C., but they became a considerable military and political force. The background was the weakening of the Ptolemaic government since the mismanagement of the Egyptian economy by Ptolemy IV Philopator and Ptolemy V Epiphanes (204–181 B.C.). The Ptolemaic relationships with the native Egyptians deteriorated, fomenting local revolts. Moreover, the foreign policy of the Seleucids in Antioch grew more aggressive, and they consistently were on the military offensive. Family quarrels and court intrigues drained the strength of the Ptolemaic dynasty from the inside. When the Ptolemaic kings called for assistance from Rome, the new power in the West, Egypt became almost a client of Rome. In 198 B.C. Antiochus III (222–187 B.C.) conquered Palestine, and in 170 B.C. Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.) invaded Egypt, but had to withdraw upon the ultimatum given him by the Roman envoy Popilius Laenas (Tcherikover 1966: 73–89; Rostovtzeff 1941, 2: 705 and 871; Wilson *IDB* 2: 55–56; Fraser 1972, 1: 119–20).

When the relation between Jerusalem and the Seleucid occupants grew tense, pro-Ptolemaic sympathies developed in the city, and shortly before the Maccabean revolt in 167, many Jews emigrated to Egypt. Of special importance is the emigration of Onias of the Jerusalem high priestly family.

According to Josephus (*JW* 1 §33 and 7 §423), the high priest of Jerusalem, Onias III, fled to Egypt during the persecution by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.) in 175 B.C. Conversely, Josephus presented another version (*Ant* 13 §62 and 12 §387) in which he connected the emigration to Egypt with the appointment of Alcimus to the high priesthood in Jerusalem, about 162–160 B.C. When Onias IV realized that the Seleucid authorities had managed to abolish his family's claim to the high priesthood, he left for Egypt. In Egypt he found an ally in Ptolemy VI Philometer. V. A. Tcherikover, after having analyzed the passages in detail, reached the conclusion that the account in Josephus' *Antiquities* is the more reliable one (Tcherikover 1966: 228–31; 276–77; Kasher 1985: 7).

Onias IV and his sons Helkias and Hananiah had a remarkable career in Egypt. Onias was priest and warrior and was given an important role to play in Ptolemy VI's counter-move against the threatening power of the Seleucids. Onias and his Jewish followers formed a military force of some size, and they were settled in the Leontopolis district about 190 kilometers SE of Alexandria. The settlement is today identified as Tel el-Yehoudieh, 3 km S of present-day Shibin el Qanatir. Onias built a temple, and the area along the E branches of the Nile Delta was called "the Land of Onias." The settlement and the temple were probably built some years after Onias and his followers had emigrated to Egypt; that is, when Onias had gained a reputation as a good general and had organized around him a Jewish force of military value. V. A. Tcherikover suggests that the date of the founding of the military settlement *(katoikia)* might have been some time before the death of Ptolemy VI Philometor in 145 B.C. (Tcherikover 1966: 277–80; *CPJ* 1: 2 and 19–21). The location of this military center was strategically important, and the fact that the Jews were assigned the defense of such a sensitive area for about 100 years indicates their strong position in Ptolemaic politics (Kasher 1985: 7–8). Their alliance with the Ptolemaic rulers also proved that they favored a centralized government and wanted to mark themselves off from the native Egyptians.

The many intrigues and conflicts within the weakened Ptolemaic dynasty caused problems, however. In the conflict between Ptolemy VI Philometor and his younger brother, Ptolemy VII Euergetes II (Physcon), the power of the population increased, and for a century populace, especially in Alexandria, played a decisive and disastrous part in Egyptian politics. The death of Ptolemy VI Philometor in 145 left Queen Cleopatra II and her son to face Ptolemy VII, who ruled Cyrene. Onias, his friend Dositheus, and the Jewish soldiers were the leading force in support of Cleopatra. The Queen could not withstand

Ptolemy VII Euergetes II, however, and she was forced to marry him. He then ruled as king from 145–116 B.C. Ptolemy VII turned against the supporters of the late Philometor. Accordingly, he persecuted the Jews. Josephus tells that when preparing to attack Onias, Ptolemy VII decided to exterminate the Jews of the country and ordered that they should be thrown naked and fettered at the feet of drunken elephants. The elephants, however, left the Jews untouched and attacked the king's men, killing many of them. When the king saw that the Jews were not hurt, he repented of his evil intent. The Jews instituted a festival in memory of this day of salvation (*AgAp* 2 §53–55). The story, although legendary, is probably based on a version of some actual danger (Fraser 1972, 1: 1 and 121; Tcherikover 1966: 282; *CPJ* 1: 21–22).

The relationship between Ptolemy VII and the Jews was normalized, as seen by the fact that synagogues were dedicated to him. Such a move from the king might have been furthered by the native Egyptians' numerous revolts, and an unrest in the Greek population of Alexandria.

When Ptolemy VII died, his niece-wife, Cleopatra III reigned from 116 to 101 B.C. Cleopatra chose her younger son Ptolemy X Alexander I to be co-regent. The Alexandrians compelled her to depose him and allow the older son, Ptolemy IX Lathyrus, to share her throne. In the subsequent tension and conflicts between the Queen, her sons, and the population, the Queen's control of the capital and the country was largely built on the loyal support of the Jews. The sons of Onias IV, Helkias and Hananiah, were appointed high officers in the Queen's army. Josephus tells that Cleopatra appointed the two Jewish generals "at the head of the whole army." Although probably an exaggeration, the statement testifies to their leading position in the army also beyond the Jewish units (Ant 13 §349). When Ptolemy IX Lathyrus, having fled to Cyprus, conducted a campaign against his mother with Seleucid help, Cleopatra entered into an alliance with the Hasmonean king Alexander Janneus (*CPJ* 1: 23, and *CPJ* 3: 141–42; Tcherikover 1966: 283).

The Jewish leaders were not simply military supporters of the Queen, they also influenced her in her political decisions. When Cleopatra went to Palestine in the years 104–102 B.C. against the Seleucids and Ptolemy IX Lathyrus, some of her advisers recommended her to betray her ally, King Janneus, and seize the country for herself. Hananiah said, "I would have you know, that this wrong to the king will turn all the Jews who dwell in your kingdom into your foes" (*Ant* 13 §354). Moreover, this incident shows that Hananiah, although of high priestly family from Jerusalem, recognized the Hasmonean government and did not try to return to Jerusalem and its temple. Hananiah's brother, Helkias, had been killed in one of the battles fought in Palestine (Tcherikover 1966: 283–84; Kasher 1985: 11).

Cleopatra's younger son, Ptolemy X Alexander I had been recalled to Alexandria in 107 B.C. and was her co-regent, until he murdered her in 101 B.C. Ptolemy X Alexander I was expelled in 89 B.C. by the Alexandrian populace, the army, and his older brother, Ptolemy IX Lathyrus, known as Soter II, who gained the support of the Alexandrians due to the popularity of his wife, Berenice IV. In 88 B.C. there seems to have been a persecution of the Jews in Alexandria, but further details are not known (Kasher 1985: 12; Fraser 1972, 1: 123–24).

During the half of the century from Ptolemy IX Lathyrus' (Soter II) death in 80 B.C. to the death of Cleopatra VII in 30 B.C., the conflicts between the Alexandrians and the Ptolemies continued almost without interruption. Josephus tells of two incidents in which the Jews were directly involved. The first took place during the turbulent reign of the Roman "puppet," Ptolemy XI Auletes. In 58 B.C. he was forced to leave the city, and in 55 B.C. the Roman proconsul of Syria, Gabinus, whose cavalry was commanded by Marc Antony, marched to Egypt to restore Ptolemy XI Auletes to the throne. The guarding of Pelusium in NE Egypt was in Jewish hands, and through the interference of Rome's friend Antipater, the strong man in Jerusalem, the Jews allowed the Romans to pass through Pelusium without any hindrance and to enter Egypt (Tcherikover 1966: 284; Kasher 1985: 12–13).

In a similar way, the Jewish garrison at Pelusium yielded to pressure from Jerusalem in 48 B.C., when Julius Caesar was at Alexandria in a very unfavorable situation. When King Mithridates of Pergamum went with auxiliary troops to extricate him, he at first met opposition from the Jewish garrison at Pelusium. Antipater showed the Jews a letter from the high priest, Hyrcanus II, and persuaded them to

change their allegiance and even to provide Mithridates with supplies needed for the journey (Tcherikover 1966: 284; Smallwood 1976: 37–38).

Although the Egyptian Queen Cleopatra VII had outstanding leadership abilities, the reign of the Ptolemaic dynasty was approaching its end. The Roman Antony and the Egyptian Queen were defeated by Octavian in the battle at Actium in 31 B.C., and Antony and Cleopatra ended their lives subsequently. The Romans annexed Egypt in 30 B.C. and made it into a province. A new era had begun.

In this most-glorious period of the Egyptian Jews insofar as political history is concerned, what is known about their religious and cultural life?

Various synagogues are referred to in inscriptions from this period (*CPJ* 1: 139–40; Schürer *HJP¹* 3/1: 47–50):

(a.) Two synagogues in Alexandria are referred to: one from Hadra, dated to the 2d century B.C. ("to God, the Highest … the sacred precinct and the *proseuche* and its appurtenances"); and one from the Gabbary quarter of SW Alexandria, dated to 37 B.C. ("In honor of the queen and the king, to the great God who listens to prayer, Alypos made the *proseuche* in the 15th year, Mecheir …").

(b.) Two inscriptions in Athribis in the S part of the Delta are probably to be dated to the 2d century B.C. ("In honor of King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra, Ptolemaios son of Epikydes chief of police and the Jews in Athribis (dedicated) the *proseuche* to the supreme God," and "In honor of King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra and their children, Hermeas and his wife Philotera and their children (gave) this place for sitting for the *proseuche*").

(c.) Two inscriptions attest the presence of synagogues in the W Delta, both dated between 143 and 117 B.C. One is in Xenephyris ("In honor of King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra his sister and Queen Cleopatra his wife, the Jews of Xenephyris (built) the gateway of the *proseuche* when Theodoros and Achillion were *prostatai*), the other is in Nitriai ("In honor of King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra his sister and Queen Cleopatra his wife, the benefactors, the Jews in Nitriai (dedicated) the *proseuche* and its appurtenances").

(d.) As for upper Egypt, a large number of ostraca have been found in the vicinity of Thebes with Hebrew names inscribed on them. Most of these ostraca refer to the reigns of Ptolemy VI Philometor (181–45 B.C.) and Ptolemy Euergetes II (145–16 B.C.) (*CPJ* 1: 194–226).

Thus the Jewish population was spread out over all of Egypt. Usually the synagogues served as the community centers. An exception of special interest is Onias' temple and the Land of Onias. At Leontopolis (Tell el-Yehoudieh) in the nome of Heliopolis, an extensive number of Jewish epitaphs has been found. The remains of Onias' temple are thought to have been identified in the same Tell. Originally it was probably meant to compete with Jerusalem Temple, and to express rejection of its high priest. Later this claim seems to have been modified, so that the Jewish garrison at Pelusium in 48 B.C. complied to the letter from the high priest in Jerusalem, Hyrcanus II, and let the army of Mithridates pass through the town (*JW* 1 §33; 7 §436; Schürer *HJP¹* 3/1: 145–47; Tcherikover 1966: 275–84; Kasher 1985: 119–35; *CPJ* 3: 145–63). For Egyptian Jews in general, there is no evidence that Onias' temple became a serious alternative to the Temple in Jerusalem (*CPJ* 1: 45).

Josephus tells that Onias asked Ptolemy to build a temple to make it possible for him to worship God after the manner of his fathers. The temple was built on the pattern of the Temple in Jerusalem. Thus Onias' temple shows that those who belonged to it stressed the continuity with the traditions from Jerusalem (*JW* 1 §33; *Ant* 12 §389, in contradiction with *JW* 7 §425–32; see also Kasher 1985: 132–35; Hayward 1982: 429–43). Josephus likewise conveys their need for legitimation for having a temple in Egypt. They based it on a prediction by the prophet Isaiah, as stated in a letter purported by Josephus to have been written by Onias: "For this is indeed what the prophet Isaiah foretold, 'There shall be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God,'and many other such things did he prophesy concerning this place." The reference is to Isa 19:18–19. Onias was both high priest and warrior, and the Jewish community on the Land of Onias was a military settlement. They had a temple and a fortress, and they received help from God in their military activity (*Ant* 13 §65 and 68).

The main Jewish community in Egypt, the one in Alexandria, continued to express its religious convictions in literary forms. *Aristobulus,* the *Letter of Aristeas,* and the *Sibylline Oracles* 3, belong to this period. Aristobulus came from a high-priestly family and lived at the time of Ptolemy VI Philometor (181–145). His work has the form of an exegetical dialogue, where he answers questions raised by the Ptolemaic king (Borgen 1984: 274–79; 1987a: 8–9). See also ARISTOBULUS.

The author of the *Letter of Aristeas,* addressed to Aristeas' brother Philocrates, presents himself as a Greek courtier of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. He tells about a series of events connected with the Gk translation of the Torah. According to *Let. Aris.* the translation took place during the early part of the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, and was done by 70 Jewish scholars sent from the high priest in Jerusalem upon request from King Ptolemy. The date when the letter was written is uncertain, but it presupposes the existence of the LXX translation. A date in the middle or second half of the 2d century B.C. is probable, and in spite of its own claim to have been written by a non-Jew, a Jew must have been the real author (*ANRW* 2/20/1: 83–85; Fraser 1972, 1: 698–704; Kasher 1985: 208–11). See also ARISTEAS, LETTER OF. The *Sibylline Oracles* also use a pagan figure as medium, the prophetess named Sibyl. *Sib.Or.* 3 in the standard collection is Jewish. Its main corpus has been dated to the time of Ptolemy VI Philometor (181–145 B.C.) (Collins 1984: 365–71).

These books have several features in common. They all express a positive attitude to the Ptolemaic rulers: *Aristob.* has an exegetical dialogue with King Ptolemy. *Aristeas* tells how King Ptolemy II Philadelphus wants copies of Jewish books for his library, and how he entertains the Jewish scholars. In *Sib. Or.* 3 a Ptolemaic king, probably Ptolemy VI Philometor or his anticipated successor, is endorsed as a virtual Messiah (3:162–95, 652–56; Collins 1984: 366–67). See also SIBYLLINE ORACLES.

All 3 books place emphasis on what Jews and gentiles have in common. Both Aristobulus and Aristeas agree that when the Greek poets and philosophers speak of "Zeus," they mean the true God whom the Jews worship. Similarly, in 2 Jewish inscriptions from Ptolemaic times found in Upper Egypt, Pan, as the universal god, seems to be identified with the God of the Jews (Hengel 1974, 1: 264). The Sibyl (3: 97–161) draws on myths and legends which were familiar to the gentiles. At the same time, all 3 books exalt the Jews, their philosophy, and religion and express a feeling of Jewish superiority. Aristobulus states that Jewish philosophy, found in the laws of Moses, has many points of agreement with the Greeks, whose philosophers and legislators learned from Moses. The pagan Aristeas makes King Ptolemy to express admiration of the Jewish Temple, worship, wisdom and laws; the Jewish sages exceed the philosophers in their wisdom. The Sibyl appeals to the Greeks to refrain from idolatry and adultery, and prophesies that people from all countries will send gifts and worship in the Temple in Jerusalem. The Jews carry the moral leadership of the human race.

*Let. Aris.* and especially the *Sibylline Oracles* level criticism against idolatry. *Let. Aris.* contrasts the one God, the Creator, with the idols and idolatry of the Egyptians. The Sibyl offers very sharp criticism of Romans and Greeks for their idolatry and adultery. Also in the fragments of *Aristob.* there is a similar statement: Orpheus and Aretus, in quotations given, had no holy concepts of God since they used polytheistic names of the One God. Both *Let. Aris.* and *Sib. Or.* 3 present the views of Jewish communities for whom Jerusalem and its Temple were the center. Aristeas describes the Temple and its cult, the city and the country, and tells about the gifts to the Temple from King Ptolemy. *Sib. Or.* 3 shows great interest in the Jerusalem Temple. The Greeks can avoid disaster by sending sacrifices to the Jewish Temple. The people from all countries will come confessing their sins and acknowledge the God who is worshipped in the Jerusalem Temple.

Both *Let. Aris.* and *Sib. Or.* 3 deal with politics. Aristeas pictures the ideal kingship and the ideals of his rule. The Sibyl idealizes Ptolemy VI Philometor, and throughout the book emphasizes warfare. The Jews play a role in some of the military actions, although the hope is expressed of a life of peace around the Temple in Jerusalem.

In different ways the writings take up a position in 2 fronts. On the one hand they go against Jewish isolationists, on the other hand they avoid assimilation and apostasy by stressing allegiance to some distinctive marks of Judaism, such as the Temple of Jerusalem and Jewish standards. Moreover, Aristeas

defends Jewish observances, such as the dietary laws; Aristobulus glorifies the Sabbath and discusses the celebration of the Passover.

Another book from this period, *On The Jews* by the historian Artapanus, is more syncretistic (Fraser 1972: 1. 704–6; Attridge 1984: 166–68). Artapanus probably wrote his book in Alexandria in the 2d century B.C. The fragments preserved by Eusebius and Clement tell about Abraham, Joseph, and Moses. His concern is similar to that of Aristobulus, Aristeas, and the Sibyl: He weaves Jewish and non-Jewish elements together, so as to glorify the Jewish people. He reflects an Egyptian environment outside the Hellenistic circles connected with the Ptolemaic administration. Artapanus pictures Moses as the father of Egyptian civilization including the political organization of the country. Moses is even seen as father of Egyptian polytheistic religion, and the Egyptian priests bestow on him semi-divine honors. He is called Hermes (= Thoth) because he has interpreted the sacred letters of the hieroglyphic script. Moses is moreover pictured as a successful warrior against the Ethiopians, in command of a peasant army. Even in this role he ends up being loved by the Ethiopians so that they submit to circumcision, as also do some of the priests.

Artapanus shows kinship with Ezekiel the Tragedian in giving Moses divine attributes, but he does it in a syncretistic way. In his glorification of Moses and in his version of the salvation of the Jews in the Exodus, Artapanus is in direct opposition to the anti-Jewish account of Moses given by the Egyptian priest Manetho.

Thus, the literature from the period between Ptolemy VI Philometor and the Roman conquest reflects the tension within the Jewish communities with a wide range of attitudes from assimilation to separation. Typical for the literature is the attempt to combine distinctive Jewish observances with a fusion of Jewish and Greek ideas or Jewish and Egyptian ideas. The superiority of the Jewish religion is stressed, and in the end time the Jewish nation will play an exalted role among the nations.

**C. The Roman Period**

In many respects the transfer into Roman rule meant discontinuity with the Ptolemaic past (*CPJ* 1: 55–65; Tcherikover 1963: 1–8; Kasher 1985: 18–20). The Ptolemaic capital had become a provincial city in the Roman Empire. The Roman prefect in the *praetorium* replaced the Ptolemy and his court in the palace. The Roman legions replaced the multi-ethnic Ptolemaic army. From now on, the resources of Egypt and Alexandria had to serve the needs and aims of the new rulers and their home base, Rome. Nevertheless, the victory of Augustus had brought to an end the Ptolemaic dynasty which had proved itself unable to rule effectively. At first, therefore, the Roman conquest meant fresh life into a decaying administration. The result was economic progress. Apart from the appointment of the prefect, Augustus and his early successors only changed so much as was necessary to control the bureaucracy and make it more efficient.

Philo tells that Augustus confirmed the rights of the Jewish community to live in accordance with their ancestral laws (*Flacc* 50 and *Gaium* 152–58). Nevertheless, they entered into a new situation in important areas. They were eliminated as a military factor along with the Ptolemaic army as a whole, even though their realization of being dependent on the central government had caused them to change their allegiance from the Ptolemaic dynasty to the Romans. Nevertheless, it was the Greeks that the Romans used in their administration and to whom they gave privileges. The problem was how to distinguish Greek from non-Greek among the rather mixed population of Egypt. In 4–5 B.C. it was decided that the criterion was to be gymnasium education.

A few Jews continued the tradition of Dositheus, Onias, Helkias, and Hananiah and had high posts in the government of the country, now in the Roman administration. The most prominent examples were Philo's brother Alexander and his son Tiberius Alexander. Alexander was *alabarch,* which probably meant that he was custom superintendent on the E side of the Nile. He was also steward of the property of Antonia, mother of the emperor Claudius. Tiberius Alexander attained the high offices of procurator of Palestine, prefect of Egypt, highest ranking officer in Titus' army in the Jewish war, and probably prefect of the guard in Rome. Alexander remained faithful to Judaism, and donated the gold plating of the 9 gates of the Temple court in Jerusalem. His son, Tiberius Alexander, left his ancestral religion, as had

Dositheus, son of Drimylos, in the 3d century B.C. (*CPJ* 1: 49, n. 4; *CPJ* 2: 188–90; Smallwood 1976: 257–59; Kasher 1985: 347).

On the whole it proved more difficult for Jews to meet the requirements for entering governmental posts, although Philo indicates that it still was possible, since he admonishes Jews who pursue education with no motive higher than from desire of an office under the rulers (Tcherikover 1963: 14–15; Borgen 1981: 122–29; Mendelson 1982: 44–46; Borgen 1984: 254–56; *ANRW* 2/21/1: 115–17).

During the period between 30 B.C. and A.D. 117, three armed uprisings and revolts demonstrate that the situation of the Egyptian Jews was deteriorating and moving towards their extermination: the armed uprising at the death of emperor Gaius Caligula in A.D. 41; the impact of the Jewish war in Palestine on the tensions in Egypt, 66 and 70–73 A.D.; and the suicidal messianic revolution of Jews in Cyrene and Egypt in the years A.D. 115–17.

What were the causes and circumstances for these tragic events to take place? The main reason for the crisis in 38–41 A.D. was the growing conflict between the Jews and the Greeks, and Gaius Caligula's enforcement of the emperor worship (Philo, *Flacc*; Gaium; Bell 1926: 14–30; Smallwood 1976: 237–50; *CPJ* 1, 1957: 65–74; *ANRW* 2/21/1: 429–36). The Greeks wanted a ruling from the prefect Flaccus on the constitutional question of Jewish status in the city, and they succeeded in getting Flaccus to issue an edict making the Jews to be "foreigners and aliens." They were now aliens without the right of domicile, and without the rights to have an administration of their own under the leadership of the council of elders.

Flaccus issued this edict after the anti-Jewish forces exploited the visit of the Jewish King Agrippa by setting up a lunatic named Carabas in royal robes in the gymnasium and saluting him as king in a mocking scene. Then the crowd clamored for the installation of images of the emperor in the synagogues. A cruel pogrom followed. The Jews were driven together into a ghetto, and members of the Jewish council of elders were arrested and tortured so severely that some died. An embassy of 5 persons, headed by Philo, was sent to Rome for the purpose of explaining to Gaius Caligula the traditional rights of the Jewish community. The Greeks sent a counter-embassy, headed by the anti-Jewish writer Apion. Philo's mission was a complete failure.

Suddenly the situation changed. In A.D. 41, Gaius Caligula was assassinated and Claudius succeeded him. The Alexandrian Jews started an armed uprising against the Greeks, and they received help by Jews from Egypt and from Palestine. Roman intervention put an end to the conflict, and Claudius issued an edict giving back to the Jews the rights held before the pogrom started, reinstating the *politeuma* and protecting the synagogues. The struggle before the emperor continued. Finally he settled the questions in a letter (*CPJ* 2: 36–55; Bell 1976: 1–37). He confirmed the rights of the Jews, chastised both ethnic groups for their share in the disturbances in Alexandria, and forbade Jews to participate in the activities in the gymnasium and to take gymnasium education. Claudius stated explicitly that the Jews lived "in a city not their own."

In A.D. 66 the Alexandrian Greek polis wanted the emperor Nero to cancel the Jews' rights in the city. In the same year Nero decided to recognize the exclusive sovereignty of the Greek polis in Caesarea Maritima over all residents in the city, thereby cancelling the rights of the Jewish community. According to Josephus a number of Jews entered the amphitheatre in Alexandria where the members of the polis were deliberating on the subject of an embassy to be sent to Nero. The Greeks tried to capture the Jews, got hold of three of them, and took them away to be burned alive. This aroused the whole Jewish community who attempted to set fire to the amphitheatre. The Roman Prefect, Philo's nephew Tiberius Alexander, crushed the Jewish revolt. The soldiers killed the Jews, burned and plundered their houses. The Jews tried to oppose the Roman troops with arms, but they were totally routed. According to Josephus 50,000 Jews were killed (*CPJ* 1: 78–79).

The Jewish community structure was not abolished, however. The council of elders as institution remained intact. In A.D. 73 some Jewish guerrilla fighters, the Sicarii, fled from Palestine to Egypt, and instigated the Egyptian Jews to revolt under the slogan "No lord but God." After the Sicarii had killed some of the moderate Jews of rank, the leaders of the council of elders in Alexandria called a general assembly and charged the Sicarii for causing dangerous trouble. The assembly seized 600 Sicarii on the

spot. The Sicarii who escaped farther into Egypt were arrested and brought back to Alexandria. All were put to death by the Romans. Moreover, the Romans, fearing that the Jews might again join together in revolutionary actions, demolished Onias' temple. This indicates that this temple was still a center of militant Judaism (*JW* 7 §409–20 and 433–36).

The suicidal revolution in A.D. 115–17 involved the Jews in Alexandria and Egypt, in Cyrene, and on Cyprus (*CPJ* 1: 89–90; Tcherikover 1963: 28–32; Hengel 1983: 655–86; Smallwood 1976: 397). The Jews "as if shaken by a strong rebellious spirit," attacked their Greek and Egyptian neighbors. At first the Jews were victorious, but then began to suffer defeats; when it developed into a war with the Romans they were crushed. All who participated in the war fought to exterminate the enemy.

The Jewish revolt was messianic in character. Its aim was to destroy pagans and their polytheistic temples and to establish Jewish control of the whole area, probably also with the final aim of delivering Judea and Jerusalem from Roman occupation. The aim was the liquidation of the Roman regime and the setting up of a new Jewish commonwealth, whose task was to inaugurate the messianic era. In Cyrene a Jewish messiah appeared, King Loukuas-Andreas (Hengel 1983: 655–86).

The revolution was crushed by the Roman legions. In many places the Jewish population was almost totally annihilated. The great synagogue as well as other synagogues and buildings in Alexandria and in all of Egypt were demolished. Some Jews, mainly in Alexandria it seems, survived, but the strength of Egyptian Jews had been broken forever. In this way the more than 700 years of Jewish settlement and history in Egypt had virtually come to an end, and it took more than a century for Jewish life in Egypt to reawaken.

**D. Status of the Jews**

After this historical survey some further comments should be made with regard to the status of the Jewish communities.

Philo declares that there were a million Jews resident in Alexandria and the country from the slope into Libya to the boundaries of Ethiopia (*Flacc* 43). They worked in many professions (*CPJ* 1: 48–55). In Alexandria there were many synagogues scattered all over the city. One of the synagogues was larger and more beautiful than the others (*Gaium* 134–35; cf *t. Sukk.* 4:6; *b. Sukk.* 516; *j. Sukk.* 5:55a; Kasher 1985: 349–51). Of the 5 quarters of Alexandria, 2 were called Jewish because most of the Jews inhabited them. In the other sections of the city there were many Jews scattered about (Philo *Flacc* 55). Papyri, ostraca, and inscriptions also testify to the Jewish habitation all over Egypt in the later Ptolemaic and early Roman periods (*CPJ* 3: 197–209).

The organization of the Jewish communities varied in different places. In Alexandria there was a united corporation of the large Jewish community. According to the *Letter of Aristeas*, the Jewish community formed a *politeuma* at whose head stood elders and leaders. From the time of Strabo (about 63 B.C. to some time after A.D. 21) there was an *ethnarch* at the head. Strabo defines his function: He "governs the people and adjudicates suits and supervises contracts and ordinances just as if he were head *(archon)* of a sovereign state" (Stern 1976: 278). According to Philo (*Flacc* 74), a *genarch*, who was presumably identical with the *ethnarch*, died when Magius Maximus was to become prefect of Egypt for the second time in A.D. 11–12. At that time Augustus reintroduced a council of elders, the *gerusia*, who assumed the leadership, although the office of *ethnarch* does not seem to have been abolished. The degree of autonomy of Alexandrian Jewry may have been made possible by the fact that Alexandria from Augustus had no city council (Stern 1976: 280; Kasher 1985: 254–55).

Similar forms of organization probably existed in the places of Egypt where the Jewish communities were of sufficient size. Thus, the Jewish *politarch* at Leontopolis may have been the equivalent of the *ethnarch* in Alexandria (Kasher 1985: 127). Of course, the priestly military leadership of the Land of Onias gave this community a distinction of its own during the time of Onias IV and his sons.

Both in the Ptolemaic period and the Roman period the rights of the Jews of Egypt were generally, as already shown, based on the formula that they were permitted to live and have government according to their ancestral laws and customs. The implications and applications of this formula depended, however,

on the interplay among the Jewish communities, the political authorities, and the other groups in the country.

Certain rights were commonly recognized: to worship their God; to own and gather in synagogues as community property; to keep the Sabbath and celebrate the feasts of the New Moon, of Passover/Unleavened Bread, of the Weeks, the Day of atonement, the feast of Tabernacles, etc. (Philo *Spec Leg* II:39–222; cf *Gaium* 116–18). The celebration of the other feasts, such as the celebration of the Septuagint at Pharos (Philo *Vita Mos* II:41–42) and the celebration of the feast in memory of their deliverance when Ptolemy VII Euergetes II (Physeon) wished to have them killed by elephants (Schürer *HJP²* 3/1: 145).

Tensions existed at some of these points, however. Philo refers to a Roman prefect who attempted to compel Jews to do service to him on the Sabbath and in this way do away with the law of the seventh day and other laws (*Somn* 2 §123–32). On the other hand there were Jews who internalized the meaning of the observances to such a degree that they did not comply to the external customs and regulations (Philo *Migr* 89–93; Borgen 1984: 260–61; 1987b).

One specific point in their laws which the Romans permitted them to follow was the right to pay the tax to be transmitted to the Temple in Jerusalem (*Gaium* 311–17; *Ant* 14 §216 and 16 §160–66; Rajak 1985: 23). Strabo, the Talmud, and a papyrus testify to the existence of Jewish legal institutions in Egypt, based on the office of *ethnarch* and/or the council of elders. According to Strabo, the *ethnarch* presided over the courts and supervised contracts. The supervision of contracts is indirectly confirmed by the papyrus recording the registration of a loan contract between two Jews of Alexandria in 13 B.C. at the Jewish records office (Stern 1976: 280–82; *t. Pe‘a* 4:6; *t. Ketub.* 3:1; *CPJ* 2: 8–10). Finally, the *ethnarch* supervised the implementation of the edicts of the Roman authorities (Applebaum 1984: 474).

Against this background it is a problem that according to papyri found at Abusir el-Meleq (approximately 130 km SE of Alexandria) the Jews to a large extent resorted to non-Jewish tribunals both in the Ptolemaic and Roman times. The reason seems to be that the jurisdiction of the Jewish court was not compulsory, at least not in cases of general nature. Moreover, legal documents from Fayûm in the 3d and 2d centuries B.C. show that the Jews freely used the Hellenistic laws of Ptolemaic Egypt. M. Stern supposes that Jewish organization and law were not yet established in those military settlements at that time (*CPJ* 1: 32–36; *CPJ* 2: 1–24; Stern 1976: 280–82).

In some respects the Jews had a more-favorable or at least equal status to that of the “Greek” citizens of Alexandria. The Jews were permitted to have their own council of elders, while the Greek citizens were denied a corresponding council (Lewis 1985: 29). In case of corporal punishment, the Jews were punished with the same kind of flogging as the Greek citizens (Philo *Flacc* 78–80).

In other areas the situation of the Jews was less favorable. Augustus introduced a capitation tax, the *laographia,* payable by the male population of Egypt between the ages of 14 and 60 or 62 (*CPJ* 1: 59–65; Smallwood 1976: 231–34). The Greek citizens of Alexandria were exempted, while the Greek members of the capitals, the *metropoleis,* of the *nomes,* paid a reduced rate. The criterion for this concession was the Greek education, and from A.D. 4/5 the “members of the gymnasium” were recognized as a class. The Jews in Egypt in general were classified as non-Greeks and made liable for the tax. Those who could prove that they met the criterion for Greek citizenship were treated as the Greeks. This increased the tension between the Greeks and the Jews, and was one of the causes of the conflict in Alexandria in A.D. 38.

After the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 and the victory of the Romans in the Jewish War, the Jewish tax, *fiscus Judaicus,* was founded. The Jews had to pay the tax previously paid to the Temple of Jerusalem to the Templa of Jupiter Capitolinus. This tax was an additional burden beyond the other taxes levied on the Jews in Egypt (*CPJ* 1: 80–82). All through the Ptolemaic and Roman periods a delicate balance existed between the Jews’ refusal to recognize divine attributes of the political heads of state and their expression of loyal acceptance of their rule. The dedication of the synagogues to the political head of state is documented by archaeological findings for members of the Ptolemaic dynasty, but not for the Roman emperors, as far as Egypt is concerned. Philo, in *Gaium* 133, tells, however, that

honorific inscriptions and emblems in honor of the emperors were placed in the synagogues (cf. *Flacc* 48–49; Smallwood 1970: 220–21). Upon the accession of Gaius Caligula, the Jewish community of Alexandria expressed their loyalty by passing a resolution in Gaius' honor. Flaccus did not forward this resolution to Gaius Caligula, however (*Flacc* 97–103). Philo praises Augustus for ordering sacrifices of whole burnt offerings to be carried out daily at his expense in the Temple of Jerusalem as a tribute to the most high God (*Gaium* 157–317). This delicate balance between the political authority of the emperors and the exclusive claim of the monotheistic worship of the Jewish nation was upset when Gaius Caligula demanded that images of the emperor be placed in the synagogues and in the Temple of Jerusalem (*Flacc* 41–50; *Gaium* 134–35, 188, 203, 346).

During the late Ptolemaic and the early Roman periods the literary output of Egyptian Jews reached its height. In addition to the monumental works of Philo, the Wisdom of Solomon, the *Third Book of Maccabees* and *Sibylline Oracles* 5 seem to belong to these 200 years.

The Wisdom of SolomonSolomon was probably written sometime between 200 B.C. and A.D. 50, most probably during the 1st century B.C. (Schürer *HJP²* 3/1: 568–79; Nickelsburg 1981: 175–85). The central theme is the view that God's cosmic Wisdom is sought and made known to the King of Israel, Solomon, and is seen to be at work in the history of Israel and its worship of the One God. God's deliverance of the righteous and his warfare against the ungodly is the subject of the first part (Wis 1:1–6:11). This "book of eschatology" is framed by exhortations addressed to rulers, kings, and judges. In the second part, "the book of wisdom" (Wis 6:12–9:18) the king, writing in the first person, directs the attention of his royal colleagues to his own example, as seekers of God's wisdom. In the third part, Wisdom of Solomon 10–19, the blessings of godliness and the curse of ungodliness is seen in the different fates of the Israelites and the Egyptians in the biblical story. A lengthy and sharp attack on idolatry occurs in Wisdom 13–15.

The book Wisdom of SolomonSolomon outlines the cosmic significance of Jewish existence; interprets the universal role of Israel, represented here by the king, presumably Solomon; and attacks Egyptian idolatry on the basis of Israel's monotheism. Some Greek philosophical concepts have been "conquered" and made to serve Jewish self-understanding and Jewish imperial ideology.

The *Third Book of Maccabees* is an aetiological romance probably written at the beginning of the Roman period to explain an already existing festival, and to provide the Jews of Alexandria with ammunition in their struggle against the resident Greeks (Schürer *HJP²* 3/1: 537–42 with criticism of Kasher 1985: 211–32; Nickelsburg 1981: 169–72). The main basis for the book seems to have been an older aetiological legend, recorded by Josephus in *AgAp* 2 §5. As already stated earlier, according to this legend Ptolemy VII Physcon cast the Jews, who supported Cleopatra, before drunken elephants. These turned instead against the king's friends, and the king changed his plans.

In *3 Maccabees* this story seems to have been transferred back to the time of Ptolemy IV Philopator and woven together with the problems the Jews faced when that king wanted the Jews and others to worship Dionysus as condition for giving them full citizenship. The book offers support to the view that the Jews had an intermediate status higher than the native Egyptians, but lower than the full citizens of Alexandria. The king removed the privileges of the Jews and degraded them to the rank of natives. Their previous state was that of an ethnic *politeuma* in exile "worshipping God, and living according to his law they held themselves apart in the matter of food." They had the Jerusalem Temple as their religious center. On the condition that they entered into the royal cult of Dionysus they could obtain full citizenship. The end result was that the king issued a letter of protection for the Jews to all the governors in the provinces and permitted the Jews to put to death apostates among their own people.

Philo's numerous works bring together many of the elements found in earlier literature (Borgen 1984: 233–82; *ANRW* 2/21/1: 98–154):

(1) The positive evaluation of the Ptolemaic rulers, found in the *Letter of Aristeas,* in *Aristobulus,* and the *Sibylline Oracles* 3, is also expressed by Philo in his praise of King Ptolemy II Philadelphus (*Vita Mos* II:28–31) and his positive evaluation of the Ptolemaic kings in *Gaium* 138–39. He extends this positive view to the Roman rulers Augustus and Tiberius (*Gaium* 141–61). This positive attitude is conditioned upon their recognition of the rights of the Jews to live in accordance with the laws of their ancestors and

to worship the One God. Accordingly, Gaius Caligula and the prefect Flaccus are under the judgment of God for their removal of the privileges of the Jews and their attempt to force them to worship the emperor (Stemberger 1983: 43–48; Borgen 1987b: 275–76).

(2) Philo continues the approach seen especially in the *Letter of Aristeas,* in *Aristobulus,* and the Wisdom of SolomonSolomon to interpret the laws of Moses and Jewish existence in general by means of Greek ideas and religious traditions. According to Philo, the authentic philosophy is formulated by Moses, and Greek philosophy contains elements of this true philosophy and is at some points derived from the teachings of Moses.

(3) The sharp polemic against polytheistic cult expressed in writings such as the *Sibylline Oracles* 3, the Wisdom of Solomon, and *3 Maccabees* is also found in Philo's writings. Philo even advocates death penalty for renegades to be executed on the spot, corresponding to the killing of Jewish apostates according to *3 Macc.* (*Spec Leg* I:54–55 and 315–16; Alon 1977: 112–24).

(4) The universal role of the Jewish people is a central theme in Jewish literature in Egypt. According to Philo, Moses was appointed king of a nation destined to offer prayer forever on behalf of the human race (*Vita Mos* I:149; cf. *Spec Leg* I:97; *Gaium* 3–4). The translation of the laws of Moses into Greek made God's cosmic laws known to the Greek-speaking world. Other peoples have begun to honor these laws, and Philo expresses the wish and hope that the time will come when all nations will cast aside their ancestral customs and honor the laws of Moses alone (*Vita Mos* II:43–44).

The quality of the life of the Jewish nation when they adhere to the cosmic principles given them in the Laws of Moses will bring victory over their enemies, and the Jewish nation will be the head of all nations (*Praem* 79–172). Philo favors the achievement of this aim by peaceful means, but he does not exclude the possibility of military warfare (*Virt* 22–50; *Praem* 93–95). He even draws on the expectation of an eschatological warrior-king, who will be a Jewish world emperor (*Praem* 95 and *Vita Mos* 1 §290, based on LXX Num 24:7). Moreover, the diaspora Jews will return to their home land (*Praem* 164–65). Philo himself oscillates between military and spiritual warfare, but he testifies to the existence of a militant eschatology in the Jewish community, ideas which probably inspired the Jews to take up arms at the death of Gaius Caligula in A.D. 41, and in the revolts of A.D. 66 and A.D. 115–17.

(5) Philo continues the tendency found in the earlier writings to stress the superiority of the Jewish nation. Philo's emphasis of the God-given role of the Jewish nation suggests that he did not only fight for equal rights for the Jews, but claimed that the call of the Jews was to be the head nation with other nations as their vassals (*ANRW* 2/21/1: 109–11).

(6) Philo testifies to the continuation of ideological attacks of the Jews from the non-Jews. His treatises *De confusione linguarum* and *De mutatione nominum* defend the Laws of Moses and Jewish institutions against apostates who are inclined to mock. And in *Apologia pra Iudaeis* he defends the Jews against attacks and criticism akin to the negative interpretation of Moses by the Egyptian historian Manetho and others. Thus, Philo tells that there were people who abused Moses as an impostor and prating mountebank (*Apol. Jud.* 6:2).

In this connection it should be mentioned that Josephus *Against Apion,* the anti-Jewish *Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs,* and Gnostic writings prove that there was a broad stream of anti-Semitic tradition, attitudes, and literature in Egypt. The Jewish polemic against aspects of pagan culture and against some of the other ethnic groups, such as the Egyptians, was at times as pointed. Thus, the *Sib.Or.* 5, written towards the end of the 1st century A.D., is openly hostile to the gentiles in Egypt and Rome (Schürer *HJP²* 3/1: 595–608; Kasher 1985: 327–45; *ANRW* 2/21/1: 340–41; Collins *ANRW* 2/20/1: 436–38; Tcherikover 1963: 1–32; Hengel 1983: 655–85). An eschatological savior will appear, the adversaries will be destroyed, and a glorious Jerusalem will appear.

The Jewish expansion by ideological and peaceful means was defeated by the persecution of Alexandrian Jews in A.D. 38 and the subsequent edict by Claudius: the Jews were to be content with their established privileges in a city which was not their own (*CPJ* 1: 69–74; *CPJ* 2: 36–55; Smallwood 1976: 246–50).

Accordingly, the God-given universal calling of the Jewish nation could not be fulfilled by peaceful means. The militaristic eschatology was the alternative, and the fierce revolution in A.D. 115 was a logical result. The establishment of a Jewish empire by military means failed, however, and led instead to disastrous destruction in A.D. 117 rather than to a new age with the Jewish nation as the head.

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PEDER BORGEN

## *JEWS IN NORTH AFRICA*

Pre-Hellenistic Hebrew seals found at Zliten (Tripolitania in W Libya) and at Cyrene (E Libya), also an amphora inscribed with Hebrew letters at Busetta (Tripolitania) suggest the presence of Jews in N Africa before the Ptolemaic conquest of Cyrenaica. The Jews of Jerba and Boreion, indeed, claimed settlement from the time of Solomon. Jews, probably military colonists, were introduced into N Africa by Ptolemy Lagos in the late 4th century B.C.E., occupying the royal reserves. One of the new Jewish villages may have been Kafarodis (Heb "new village"). A Jewish paramilitary settlement has been identified at Ein Targhuna. The Jewish element in Cyrene was influenced by the Hasmonean revolt in Judea; the book *2 Maccabees*, of which only an abridgment remains, was the work of the Cyrenean Jason. In the 2d century B.C.E., when N Africa was reunited with Ptolemaic Egypt (145 B.C.E.), a fresh wave of Jews entered the region.

In the early 1st century B.C.E. the 5 cities of Cyrenaica (Cyrene, Barka, Berenice, Teucheira, Ptolemais) became independent, and Roman contractors took over the royal lands as sheep runs. The expansion S

under the Ptolemies had caused a decline in agriculture, as the Libyans of the S could no longer move N in the summer with their flocks, whose manure was lost to the agriculture of the fertile mountains. The Roman contractors' flocks further restricted the Libyan cultivators, and the Jewish settlers of the royal lands suffered and were probably evicted.

A considerable part of the Jewish population lived in Cyrene, Berenice (Benghazi), Apollonia, Ptolemais, Barka, and Teucheira. There is evidence of the existence of synagogues at Cyrene, Berenice, and Boreion; the affluent community of Berenice also owned an amphitheatre for assembly, and the community was administered by a board of archons. Apollonia and Ptolemais have yielded Jewish funerary inscriptions. A number of Jewish tombs with Gk inscriptions have been studied at Teucheira, revealing a poor community of low cultural level, which also suffered a high infant mortality rate. A few of the inhabitants possessed Roman citizenship, and some Libyan influence was perceptible. This community may have reached Teucheira from Egypt in the late 2d century B.C.E., when a small group appears to have been educated in the city's gymnasium. The known inscriptions cease in 94 C.E. Some young Jews were admitted to the gymnasia of Cyrene and Ptolemais at the end of the 1st century B.C.E., and one Elazaros son of Jason held an important post in the administration of Cyrene during Nero's reign.

In the late 1st century B.C.E. the Cyreneans endeavored to prevent the Jews from transmitting the half-shekel tax due to the Temple of Jerusalem. The Roman government overruled the city's opposition, and from the proceedings it is evident that the Jews of Cyrene were privileged noncitizens exempt from the tax normally paid by that class. In the year 73 C.E. an extreme activist, Jonathan, who had fled from Judea, appeared at Cyrene and initiated an anti-Roman movement. The richer Jews warned the governor and the movement was suppressed, but the governor seized the opportunity to execute 3,000 wealthy Jews and to confiscate their property. This act paved the way for revolt; in 115 C.E. there broke out the great Jewish rising which lasted 3 years and raged through Cyrene, Egypt, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia. The destruction in Cyrene has been amply revealed by archaeology, and other places damaged were Balagrae, Teucheira, and probably Berenice. Marmarica also suffered heavily. It would seem that Jews returned to Cyrenaica only at the end of the 2d century.

Jewish communities in the W countries of N Africa do not seem to have been influenced by the revolt. A large number of Jews from Judea are thought to have been resettled in the Syrtis in central Libya (*Iscina Locus Augusti Iudaeorum*—Medinet e-Sultan), others in Carthage. It is unknown when the first Jewish communities reached NW Africa (Tunis, Numidia, Algeria, Morocco). Rabbi Akiba visited the country in the early 2d century; Volubilis has yielded an inscription of Mishnaic date. Judah the Prince (late 2d century C.E.) said that Judaism extended from Tyre to Carthage, where several mishnaic scholars were active. For the Jews of Africa the later 2d century initiated a period of prosperity which lasted until the end of the 3d century. Both proselytes and gentiles practicing Jewish rites began to appear. Something is known of the Jewish cemetery at Gamart near Carthage. Synagogues are known in Tunis at Carthage, Hamam Lif, Utica, Tozar, Henshir Dju'ana, Qirwan, Yehudiyah, Sidi Brahim, and Sousse; in Numidia at Hippo, Simitu, Henshir Fuara, Kesur al Halphun, and Tipasa; in Mauritania at Sitifis, Oziah, Aumale, Cherchel, Volubilis, and Constantine. A synagogue certainly existed at Oea (Tripolitania), and another at Boreion in the same region. The organization of the synagogues probably derived from Roman influence: The posts of archisynagogos, archon, grammateus, and gerusiarch are known among the synagogue officials.

The emperor Constantine's Edict of Toleration in 313 presaged the end of the toleration of Judaism. Christianity had spread throughout N Africa in the course of the 4th century. Largely due to the pressure of the Christian church an increasing number of laws progressively restricted Jewish rights and reduced their communities to an oppressed minority.

A highly controversial question is that of Judaism and its influence on the Berbers, the original natives of N Africa who spoke a Semitic language. The Greeks and others claimed that they were Canaanites who had been expelled from Palestine by Joshua, but this was a politically inspired invention. Ibn Khaldun, writing in the 12th century, was the first to record (with due caution) the possible existence of judaizing Berbers in the Aures mountains (Numidia), in W Tripolitania, and in Mauretania. As Jewish

proselytization was impossible under Byzantine and Islamic rule, any such activity would have belonged at the latest to the 3d century C.E.; it has been pointed out that traditions of Judaeo-Berbers are found in areas which had been inhabited by Jews in the Roman period. Further, Libyan proselytes were known to R. Hoshayah, Tertullian, and Saint Augustine. Libyan influences were present at Teucheira; there were Libyan converts in Cyrene, in E Cyrenaica, and even in Jaffa. The Jewish Berber queen Dahya el-Kahina, who gallantly fought the Muslim invaders in the Aures, may therefore be something more than a myth.

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SHIMON APPLEBAUM

## *JUDAISM IN ROME*

Paul's epistle to the Romans and the book of Acts inform us about the presence of Jews at Rome in the 1st century. The information they supply is indirect and within a theological context; nevertheless, they are sufficient for us to realize that the Christian community of Rome, both in its historical origin and in its internal structure, was closely bound to the Judaism of the capital of the empire (see *StadtrChr*). Consequently, in order to know about the church of Rome it is absolutely necessary to know about the life of the Jews. The Letter to the Romans clearly presupposes a substantial Jewish component of that Christian community, as can be deduced both from the terminology used ("Jewish" and "Israel" occur 11 times; see especially Rom 2:17, but also 1:16, 2:9, 10, 28, 29; etc.) as well as from the themes treated (e.g., the value of the Mosaic law and the salvation of the people of Israel). The Acts of the Apostles in its concluding chapter mentions two meetings Paul had in Rome with the Jews of the city, first with the "most important ones" (28:17) and then with "many" others (28:23). Even if these meetings did not produce great results, their positioning at the climax of the book emphasizes the importance which Luke attached to them. Also, the writer devotes a much greater attention to the Jews of Rome than that which he gives to the members of the Roman church itself (both groups, however, are described as "brothers"; 28:15, 17). These two sources attest to the period ca. A.D. 50–60. But the history of the Jews at Rome begins much earlier, and it extends beyond into the following centuries.

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A. History of Jewish Presence at Rome
B. Internal Organization of the Jewish Community
C. Size of the Jewish Community
D. Location in the City
E. Social Status
F. Typical Religious Beliefs

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### A. History of Jewish Presence at Rome

A number of sources, some of which have the advantage of being contemporaneous with the information supplied, provide us with data about the history of Jews in Rome. Valerius Maximus (writing at the time of Tiberius) provides an historical note about the earliest presence of the Jews at Rome. Referring to events of 139 B.C., he notes that in this year the *Praetor Peregrinus* (the municipal authority in charge of foreigners) expelled from Rome the astrologers and the Caldeans; besides that, he "forced the Jews to head back to their homes, who had tried to spoil Roman customs with the religious cult of Jupiter Sabazius" (*Facta ac Dicta Memorabilia* 1.3.3). According to the literary sources, the only historical possiblity for the first arrival of the Jews in Rome coincides with one or more of the three delegations sent from Palestine at the time of the Maccabee brothers ca. mid-2d cent B.C.: Judas (1 Macc 8:17–32), Jonathan (1 Macc 12:1–4), and Simon (1 Macc 14:24). It is unclear just what the "cult of Jupiter

Sabazius" was. This could be a corruption for *YHWH ṣĕbā᾽ôt.,* an allusion to the feast of the sabbath, or a witness to a syncretistic form of Judaism from Asia Minor (which was the native land of god Sabazius).

A more certain date for Jewish arrival in Rome coincides with Pompey's conquest of Palestine and Jerusalem in 63 B.C., a conquest which consisted of forced importation (see Philo *Gaium* 155; Josephus *Ant* 14.71.120; *JW* 1.154.180). We do not know the extent to which commercial motivations may have influenced this policy (in contrast, probably, to the Jewish communities in the port cities of Pozzuoli and Ostia). In any case, already in October of 59 B.C. Marcus Tullius Cicero referred to a crowd *(turba)* of Roman Jews that was present during his speech defending the governor of Asia, who had been accused of extorting from the Jews of that province (*Flacc.* 66). Likewise, in the 1st century B.C. we have statements alluding especially to the Jews' zeal in winning converts (see Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.138–44 [esp. 142–143]; 1.5.97–104; 1.9.60–73; see also Ov. *Ars Am.* 1.76).

The more-extensive information we have comes from the 1st century A.D. While Augustus was generous in their regard (see *Gaium* 154–58), the emperor Tiberius (14–37) in the year 19 had a certain number of Jews deported to Sardinia (Josephus *Ant* 18.81–84; Suet. *Tib.* 36; Tac. *Ann.* 11.28; Dio Cassius *Hist.* 57.18). There is also the much-discussed decree of the emperor Claudius (41–54), which can be dated to A.D. 49 or even earlier to 41. According to the famous text of Suetonius, Claudius "expelled from Rome Jews continually causing disturbance, Chrestus being the instigator" (*Claud.* 25); but on the other hand, according to another text "He did not expel them, but ordered them not to hold meetings while still continuing in their traditional way of life" (Dio Cass. *Hist.* 60.6.6). It is possible to harmonize the two accounts by suggesting that Claudius did not drive from Rome *all* the Jews, but only those involved in a riot (and thus the statement of Acts 18:2 would have to be judged exaggerated). Under the emperor Nero (54–68) Jews must have enjoyed complete freedom; indeed, even Nero's second wife, Poppaea Sabina, was at least sympathetic toward Judaism, if not in fact a proselyte (*Ant* 20.195 describes her as "God-fearing"). The situation worsened under Vespasian (69–79) who, after the conquest of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, turned the annual tax for the Temple of Jerusalem, now destroyed, into a tax for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus: (Josephus *JW* 7.218; Dio Cass. *Hist.* 66.7.2; we also know that Domitian was later extremely rigorous in collecting it [Suet. *Dom.* 12]).

The presence and life of the Roman Jews in the 2d–4th centuries is abundantly and directly documented in the burial inscriptions of the 6 or 7 Jewish catacombs (similar to those of the Christians) thus far uncovered near some of the roads leading out from Rome (1 near the Via Portuensis; 3 next to the Via Appia; 1 along the Via Labicana; 1 double catacomb close to the Via Nomentana); these served as cemeteries for the different Jewish communities of the city. Taken together they have provided us with about 580 inscriptions, of which 75 percent are in Greek, while the remainder are mostly in Latin (only 3 are in Hebrew, 1 is in Aramaic, and 2 are bilingual, of which 1 is Greek-Latin and the other Aramaic-Greek). The oldest of these cemeteries was certainly the so-called Catacombs of Monteverde close to the Via Portuensis (today it no longer exists because of a cave-in during the 1920s). It served the Jews of the Trastevere Quarter, who according to Philo made up the oldest Jewish settlement in Rome.

**B. Internal Organization of the Jewish Community**

These catacomb inscriptions provide important information about the internal organization of the different groups of Roman Jews. Roman Jews, as opposed to those of Alexandria (see *Ant* 12.108; 14.117; Philo *Flacc.* 74), were not grouped together in a single social entity; they did not form a true and properly called *politeuma.* Rather, they were subdivided into various communities designated by the term *synagogē* (this title never indicates a place of worship, which instead was called *proseucha,* from its use as a place for "prayer"[see *CIL* VI: 9821; *Gaium* 156; Juv. *Satira* 3.296]; besides, archeology has not yet brought to light any remains of such buildings, while the beautiful ruins of the synagogue of nearby Ostia are well known).

At present, 11 Jewish communities have been documented (2 others are under discussion). In all probability 5 of these preceded Paul's arrival in Rome. The oldest could possibly be the one named "of the Hebrews" (set up when it was the only one in existence), followed by the one of the *Vernaculi* (constituted, in contrast to the preceding one, by the Jews already born in Rome). There follow 3 others,

distinguished by the name of their respective benefactors, all of the Augustan period: those of the *Augustenses,* of the *Agrippenses,* and of the *Volumnenses.* The remaining 6, certainly of later date, bear the following names: *Campenses, Suburenses, Calcarenses,* "Tripolitani,""of Elaias," and "of Scina."

There is no documentation for a higher administrative body which might have presided over all these groups. Only in the 4th century do we know of the title *archigerousiarchēs* (from the Villa Torlonia catacomb in the Via Nomentana), but it is possible that here we are dealing with an honorific title restricted to only one "synagogue." The internal structure of the different communities consisted of a number of offices attested on burial inscriptions. They can be listed as follows according to the order of their importance:

First were the *gerousiarchēs,* who presided over the council of the elders in charge of the administration of each community and the safeguarding of its religious, judicial, and financial interests (in fact the members of the council were called "presbyters").

Second were the *archontes,* who made up the executive committee of the individual councils; elected for a year, they could be re-elected and in practice held the effective control of the community (there also existed the position of "archon designate," inasmuch as the title is also assigned to children).

Third was the *grammateus,* who acted not only as a "Doctor of the Law" but also as secretary or chancellor.

Finally, there were also a "general collector" in charge of gathering funds destined for the common coffer; an administrator of the common goods; an attorney (i.e., the legal protector of the community); the *archisynagogus,* who concerned himself with the place of worship and presided over the religious assemblies (the title often appears even among pagan communities of the Greek world); and a minister, similar to a sacristan for the service of the synagogue. Other honorific titles included "father/mother of the synagogue" (reserved for men/women of special merit) and "priest" (indicating only levitical ancestry, since outside Jerusalem there was no priestly ministry either after or before A.D. 70).

Apart from the disputed ordinance of Claudius mentioned above, these communities must have enjoyed guaranteed juridical security. In fact, Julius Caesar's legislation in favor of the Jews is well-known, and it was substantially retained in force all the way to Constantine (the package of laws is found in *Ant* 14.185–246). It comprised 3 principal privileges: full freedom of association and worship, exemption from military service, and the power to constitute separate tribunals. In particular, the Jews of Rome—like all Jews in the Empire—were exempted from all the religious cults of the state, including that of the emperor. Consequently, scholars have noted some problems with Dio Cassius' note that the emperor Domitian in A.D. 95 executed the consul Flavius Clemens and "many others who were deviating toward Jewish customs: of them only some were put to death, others were deprived of their goods" (*Hist.* 67.14). The same historian reports that Domitian's successor, Nerva, forbade accusing anyone "neither of ungodliness nor of Jewish way of life" (*Hist.* 68.1.2). Inasmuch as Judaism was a *religio licita,* it is possible that we have here a veiled allusion to Christianity, even if it had a distinctively Jewish stamp (that is already understood in Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.18.4).

**C. Size of the Jewish Community**

The number of Jews in Rome must have varied according to the historical periods. Since Cicero's type of literary oration tends to amplify the colorings of his discourse, we should be cautious in interpreting his comments about a Jewish *turba* ("crowd"; see above). The first certain information concerns the year 4 B.C., when up to 8,000 Roman Jews accompanied a delegation from Palestine requesting Augustus to unify Palestine with the province of Syria after the death of Herod the Great (*Ant* 17.300). In addition, we know that in A.D. 19 Tiberius exiled to Sardinia 4,000 Jewish youths old enough to bear arms (Tac. *Ann.* 11.85.4; Suet. *Tib.* 36). If we take into account the relationship between these youths and their respective families, we can legitimately deduce that at the time of St. Paul the Jews at Rome numbered around 20,000 (out of a total population of nearly 1,000,000). The circumstances probably changed as a result of the Jewish war. In fact, according to Josephus, 100,000 Jewish slaves were sold in A.D. 70 at a low price (*JW* 6.420); it is quite reasonable to suppose that a large part of this human merchandise ended up in the capital of the empire (Martialis also refers to Jews who had come to Rome from Jerusalem after its

destruction; *Epigr.* 7.55). Both Martialis and Juvenal provide us with interesting details about their impoverished condition between the end of the 1st century and the beginning of the 2d century (see E. below).

**D. Location in the City**

In contrast to Alexandria, where the Jews occupied 2 out of the 5 quarters of the city (*Flacc.* 55), at Rome they were distributed in various areas. However, in all probability, they were more numerous and resided for longer periods of time in the Trastevere section of the city; indeed, that is the only section Philo recounts for the time of Augustus (*Gaium* 155), which is confirmed by the relative antiquity of the Jewish catacomb of Monteverde (see above). But the Jews were also present in at least 4 other parts of the city. One was the popular and ill-famed quarter of the Subura, from which one of the Roman "synagogues" takes its name (see above). The same must be said for the Campus Martius (the name of another of the "synagogues"; see above), while the location of the *Calcarenses* "synagogue" is uncertain (it comes from *calcaria* = lime-kiln). Perhaps it was located in the neighborhood of the place where Diocletian later built his baths (in front of the modern Stazione Termini). Another area of Jewish settlement was in the vicinity of the *Porta Capena,* opposite the Circus Maximus (see Juvenal's *Satira* 3.11–14); but here settlement seems to have been a matter of almost gypsy-like encampments. We also know that a Jew lived near the *macellum* (= market), probably on the Caelian hill (see Frey *CII,* 210).

**E. Social Status**

The Jews of Rome must have had a middle-low tenor of life. Certainly no conclusion can be drawn from the presence in Rome of the Herodian family members Agrippa I (friend of Caligula and of Claudius) and of his daughter Berenice (paramour of Titus; Suet. *Tit.* 7; Dio Cass. *Hist.* 66.15.3–4). Already the very beginnings of the Jewish presence at Rome were due to a small nucleus of "prisoners of war later freed by their masters" (*Gaium* 155; see above). Explicit references to Jewish slaves are very rare (a woman by the name of *Acme* was in the service of Livia, the wife of Augustus, *Ant* 17.134, 141; a circumcised slave was in the service of Trimalchio in the *Satyricon* (68.6) of Petronius Arbiter; on the other hand, the obscene verse of Mart. *Epigr.* 7.35.4 has metaphorical meaning). Jewish mercantile activities are not attested, but we are informed about handicraft works (see Acts 18:2) and activities associated with the theater (see Josephus, *Life* 3; Mart. *Epigr.* 7.82; 11.94). We also know about a Jewish dealer in brimstone matches (Mart. *Epigr.* 1.41), about a woman who foretold the future and "for a few coins sells all the dreams you want" (Juvenal, *Satira* 6.543, 546f), and about a young beggar (Mart. *Epigr.* 12.57.13).

The Jewish catacombs provide other pieces of evidence, which generally reveal a prevalent condition of poverty. The family burial rooms are very few, and even fewer are those decorated with paintings. Likewise, the sarcophagi are rare and not very elaborate; many tombs are completely without any epitaph; and even the inscriptions are more often than not rudimentary, containing evident grammatical mistakes. This source mentions a painter (*CII,* 109), a butcher (*CII,* 210), and a teacher (*CII,* 133; see also 201 and 508). It is not clear whether any socially prestigeous persons came from the "synagogues" of Rome; the case of Josephus cannot be cited as evidence for Roman Judaism, since his education and status were achieved prior to his stay in Rome. An exception could be Caecilius of Calacte, literary critic of the Augustan period (and probably a Jew), against whom the anonymous author of *On the Sublime* (see 1.1f; 4.2; 8.4; 32.1, 8) argues. In any case, no comparison is possible between the Jews of Rome and those of Alexandria.

**F. Typical Religious Beliefs**

Pagan literary sources (including Horatius, Ovid, Seneca, Persius, Martial, Juvenal) attest to two typical Jewish practices which apparently particularly impressed the citizens of Rome: circumcision and observance of the Sabbath (see especially Pers. *Satira* 5.179–88). But there is also reference to abstinence from pork and to fasting in general. Likewise the Romans were surprised by the concept of a divinity not capable of being represented artistically (see Juv., *Satira* 14.97; Petronius, Fr. 37; Lucanus, *Pharsalia* 11.593), which could be viewed as a contempt for the gods (see Tac. *Hist.* 5.13).

On the tombstones of the Jewish catacombs there often appear decorations which represent typical objects of worship: the *menorah* (7-branched candlestick), the *aron* (synagogue shrine for the Torah

scrolls), the *shofar* (ram's horn trumpet which sounded the beginning of the New Year), the *etrog* (citrus fruit for the feast of the Tabernacles), and the *lulab* (small branch for the same feast). The catacomb of the Randanini Vineyard (on the Via Appia) also exhibits wall paintings of obvious pagan origin, such as the goddess Fortuna crowning a young naked man (perhaps evidence of syncretism?).

One would expect the inscriptions to emphasize the typical Jewish (i.e., Pharisaical) hope in the resurrection, inasmuch as they deal with death; however, such a hope has very little documentation. The longest and most important text relating to resurrection-belief is that of *Regina,* from the name of the deceased, datable in the 2d century (see *CII,* 476, line 6: *Nam sperare potest ideo quod surgat in aevom promissum,* "One is able to hope, because he/she will rise in the promised age"). This perhaps attests to a syncretistic adaptation to the religious concepts of the pagan surroundings, even if one must consider the stereotyped repetition of the epigraphic formulae (which can also reflect more the thought of the marble worker than of the one commissioning the inscription). For example, quite often there recurs the formula of probable pagan origin: "Take courage, no one is immortal!" (*CII,* 314, 335, 380, 401, 450) and "Friends, I am waiting for you here!" (*CII,* 32). We would say that in addition to containing a good wish for peace, these inscriptions generally limited themselves to underlining the moral qualities of the deceased, such as marital fidelity (*CII,* 457), pious observance of the Law (*CII,* I 72, 111, 132, 509), and regular attendance at the synagogue (*CII,* 321); once the deceased is designated as a "singer of the psalms" (Fasola 1976: 19–20). About one dead person we read simply: *bene vixit in judaismo* ("he lived well in Judaism"*CII,* 537); perhaps that was the best praise.

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ROMANO PENNA


## *BABYLONIAN JUDAISM*

The Babylonian exile may have begun in the days of King Jehoiakim (609–598 B.C.E.) as implied in Dan 1:1; 2 Chr 36:6–7 and by Josephus (*AgAp* 1:19). Evidently this exile was only of limited extent. But in the spring of 598 B.C.E., Nebuchadnezzar exiled Jehoiachin the king of Judah to Babylon, together with a considerable segment of the upper class of Judean society. Among the exiles were government authorities (2 Kgs 24:14–15; Jer 24:1; 29:2), the nobility of Judah and Jerusalem (Jer 27:2), lords of estates, and the "men of might" who were subject to military conscription (2 Kgs 24:15–16). Also exiled were the priests and prophets (Jer 29:1), the craftsmen and smiths (Jer 29:1–2), and many residents of the coastal plain and the S (Negeb) of Palestine (Jer 13:18–19).

The deportation of the government and the religious leadership helped maintain the Judean national and religious distinctiveness in the midst of a pagan population whose external ritual was magnificent and whose monumental temples seemed exotic and impressive. This situation challenged the leaders, who labored to prevent the absorption of the exiles into their alien surroundings. Indeed, the fact that the Babylonian exile has continued to exist down to our generation is proof of its having maintained to a great degree its religious and ethnic distinctiveness.

The Babylonian exile is called *haggôlâ* or *gôlâ* ("the exile" or simply "exile") in the Bible (Ezra 1:1) as well as in the literature of the Mishnaic period, (*m. Šeqal.* 2.4) and the literature of the Talmudic sages (*b. Roš Haš.* 23b). This appelation may derive from the perception of the high qualitative level of the exiles to Babylon, or perhaps is an allusion to their large population which expanded over the course of time.

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A. Economic Status

B. Civil and Legal Standing
C. Leaders and Leadership
D. Intellectual and Religious Life

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**A. Economic Status**

We cannot learn much about the economic status of the exiles from the books of Ezekiel, Jeremiah, Second Isaiah, or Daniel. From Ezekiel (1:1) we learn that the exiles were settled near the river Chebar by their captors. This region is well-watered, and it is very fertile. The prophet Ezekiel himself evidently lived in Tel-abib (Ezek 3:15); his activities extended from 593 to 571 B.C.E.

From the books of Ezra and Nehemiah we learn that some of the exiles became wealthy. They assisted their fellow Jews who went on pilgrimages to Jerusalem and sent with them expensive gifts for the building of the Temple (Ezra 1:4–6; 8:25–32). It is said of the "heads of fathers' houses" who made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem that "They gave after their ability into the treasury of the work three score and one thousand darics of gold, and five thousand pounds of silver, and one hundred priests' tunics" (Ezra 2:69). We also learn of pilgrims to Jerusalem who brought with them servants and assorted pack animals (Ezra 2:65–66; Neh 7:67–68).

More details concerning the economic status of the exiles can be learned from tablets unearthed in Babylonian excavations and published by E. F. Weidner (1939). From them we learn of Jewish craftsmen employed in the large construction projects of Nebuchadnezzar. They were brought to the city of Babylon together with many other craftsmen from Tyre, Byblos, and Aradus. We also learn that Judean exiles of good family, headed by King Jehoiachin, his family, and his nobles, were maintained by special allocations from the royal treasury. This substantiates the biblical account of the release and the provisions for King Jehoiachin (2 Kgs 25:27–30).

We glean additional details from the archives of the house of Murašu which dated back to 455–403 B.C.E. The house of Murašu was located in Nippur, 90 km SW of Babylon. The documents deal with moneylenders, hirers and leasers of lands, tax collectors, and people who served as middlemen between landowners and agricultural workers. From them we learn of Jewish workers whose task it was to irrigate fields, Jewish fishermen, and a Jewish shepherd. Of the more than 150 officials mentioned in these documents, 13 of them were Jews. See also MURASHÛ, ARCHIVE OF.

The caravan trade in Babylon expanded during this period, and the demand for merchandise was increasing. The prices of many consumer goods rose, especially the prices of food commodities. We may assume that the Jewish farmers, along with the others, reaped economic benefits from this development. Josephus (*Ant* 11.3) reports that many of the exiles did not return to Judea after the declaration of Cyrus, because they did not want to abandon their possessions. The exiles evidently felt quite content to remain in the foreign country of Babylon, following the advice of the prophet Jeremiah (29:5–7).

In the Seleucid Period, local agriculture made great strides forward. It became diversified through the introduction of new varieties of crops, which were brought from countries lying to the west. Naturally, agriculture flourished, demand increased, and prices rose. Jewish farmers excelled, and we find interesting evidence of this in documents from the end of the 3d century B.C.E. Antiochus III, the king of Seleucia (223–187 B.C.E.), was in the E part of his kingdom subduing an uprising against his authority. While there he heard about revolts against his rule in Lydia and Phrygia. He wrote the following to Zeuxis, the head of the satrapy of Lydia (according to Polybius 16.1, 8), approximately in the year 201: "I determined to transport 2,000 Jewish families with their effects from Mesopotamia and Babylonia to the fortresses and most important places. For I am convinced that they will be loyal guardians of our interests because of their piety to [their] God, and I know that they have had the testimony of my forefathers to their good faith and eagerness to do as they are asked … and since I have promised it, use their own laws. And when you have brought them to the places mentioned, you shall give each of them a place to build a house and cultivate and plant with vines, etc." (*Ant* 12.149–52).

Many researchers have dealt with the disputed authenticity of this letter. However, when it is linked with other evidence, we can see that the letter as a whole is historical, although perhaps not in every detail (Marcus 1957).

The Mishnah tells us about a Jewish farmer from Babylon: "Ben Antinus brought up first fruits from Babylon and they would not accept them … lest it should be established as an obligation" (*m. Ḥal* 4.11). The man was "an important man"*(Midr. Tan.),* the owner of an agricultural estate. To judge by his Hellenistic name (according to some mss his name was Titus), it is possible that he lived and was active in the Seleucid period. This Mishnah continues: "Joseph the priest brought the first fruits of his wine and oil, and they did not accept them from him." Since the 2 occurrences are related in one continuous passage, we may assume that the farmer, as well, came up from Babylon, bringing with him wine from his vineyard and oil from his olive orchard.

We are not well enough informed about the Parthian period to know much about the economic activities of the Jews of Babylon at that time. However, we can accept the assumption that no great occupational changes took place, since in the ancient world it was customary for sons to continue in their fathers' vocation. We learn of the wealth of the Jews of Babylon and of their generosity from a tradition that deals with the bringing of the shekel tax from the lands of the diaspora to the Temple. It tells of the offerings made to the priests by the Jews of Babylon and Media: "This was the richest [fund] of all of them, for in it were golden istras and golden darics" (*t. Šeqal.* 2.4). Josephus tells how the Jews of Babylon gathered and kept in the city of Nisibis the pledged donations and the half-shekels they paid, and that from there they brought them up to Jerusalem, tens of thousands of Jews traveling together, because of the fear of highwaymen (*Ant* 18.312). King Herod (37–4 B.C.E.) was anxious to protect the pilgrims from Babylon. He learned that Zamaris, a military commander, had left Babylon leading 500 soldiers, including cavalry and archers, and had arrived in Syria. Herod convinced them to settle in the toparchy of Batanaea, and there he built them a settlement called Bathyra, so that they would maintain the security of the Jews coming up to Jerusalem.

Josephus also tells us of Jewish merchants in royal courts who employed their influence to convert royalty to Judaism in Adiabene, including Izates I (35–60 C.E.), Queen Helena, her brother, and her husband Monobazus I. Also, Josephus writes at great length about a merchant named Ananias who had access to the court of Abennerigus the king of Charax Spasinu (lies between the mouths of the Tigris and the Euphrates). Izates, who was staying at Abennerigus's court in keeping with his father's command, there converted to Judaism under the influence of Ananias and with the mediation of the ladies of the court (*Ant* 20.17–35). Josephus also tells of another Jew, Eleazar, who came from Galilee and urged Izates to be circumcised (*Ant* 20.43).

We do not know where these first merchants came from. In any case, their presence and their religious influence in royal courts is important information, because we cannot assume that they carried on their activities only through contacts with non-Jews, without any personal contact with local Jews.

We also learn of Abba Bar Abba, who lived at the end of the 2d century C.E. and who is referred to in the Talmud and in midrash as Abuha Deshmuel ("The Father of Shmuel," his illustrious son). He dealt in silks and fabrics, often far from his city of Nehardea. He became a wealthy merchant and was also the owner of a large estate (Beer 1982).

From Josephus we also learn about the poorer Jews of Babylon. He tells us about an insurrection led by two brothers, Anilaeus and Assinaeus. Their father died, and their mother turned them over to a weaver so that they would learn his trade (which was not very respectable in middle class circles at that time and place). Other poor young people rallied around them. (For more on this insurrection, see below).

**B. Civil and Legal Standing**

According to later rabbinic tradition, Nebuchadnezzar treated the prisoner exiles very cruelly (*Midr. Pss.*, Psalm 137). But evidently the reference is to the brutal treatment of the Jewish prisoners from Palestine by the Romans after the destruction of the Second Temple. From the book of Daniel we learn that Nebuchadnezzar issued an order to bring to his court some "of the children of Israel, and of the seed royal, and of the nobles … to stand in the king's palace" (Dan 1:3–4). However, Josephus tells us that

King Darius gave much exceptional honor to Daniel (*Ant* 10.263–264). According to the LXX, Daniel was appointed to a very high post in the kingdom. As is well known, Cyrus showed tolerance to many religions in his kingdom. He restored ruined temples and ritual sites destroyed by his predecessors, and he actively supported them with money and various ritual necessities (*ANET*, 316–17). This was also true of the destroyed temple in Jerusalem (Ezra 1:5–11). We have no knowledge of the treatment of the Jews in his kingdom by Cambyses (530–522 B.C.E.), who was Cyrus's successor. However, concerning their treatment by Cambyses's successor, Darius I, it is said in the book of Ezra (6:8–12) that he approved the construction of the temple in Jerusalem, despite the opposition of various ethnic groups.

The historical truth of the book of Esther is questionable, but in any case we do not find in it information concerning an anti-Jewish government policy. We learn that Ahasuerus (perhaps Xerxes I, 486–465 B.C.E.), his nobles, and his advisors were frivolous and hedonistic. This is corroborated by other sources. R. G. Kent (1953: 150) reports an inscription bearing the king's declaration that he had destroyed the temples of foreign gods and had forbade their worship. From the book of Esther we learn of competition and jealousy among nobles and officials in the king's court. The book of Daniel (6:4–9) tells how nobles and advisors became jealous of Daniel and tried to destroy his status in the royal court. They also denounced the three young men—Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-nego—to the king, and they were consequently thrown into the fiery furnace (Dan 3:8–12). In short, these were common intrigues, not an expression of deliberate policy. Thus it is possible to sum up the religious policies of the Achaemenian kings in the words of Ghirshman: "… the Achaemenians were particularly well-disposed towards monotheistic peoples, above all the Jews."

In the beginning of the Seleucid period, Alexander the Great promised freedom of religion in Palestine to the high priest in Jerusalem, as well as exemption from payment of taxes every sabbatical year. The high priest requested the king to grant freedom of worship to the Jews of Babylon as well, and the king agreed. He also asked Jewish soldiers to enlist in his army (*Ant* 11.338–39). Many researchers have investigated the authenticity of this meeting between Alexander and the high priest (Marcus 1951). In any case, further on we see that Alexander's relationship with the Jews of Babylon was marked by understanding for their religious precepts.

Seleucus Nicator (312–281/280 B.C.E.) granted the Jews equal civil rights, similar to those granted the Macedonians and the Greeks in the new cities established by him throughout his empire and in Syria, including Antioch the capital (*Ant* 12.119). According to Josephus, this was not temporary policy. He tells us that the attitude of Antiochus II (262–247/6 B.C.E.) to the Jews was tolerant (*Ant* 12.125), as well. Furthermore, Antiochus III (223–187 B.C.E.), whom the Jews of Palestine aided in his war against the Ptolemaians (*Ant* 12.134, 138, 142) granted the Jews the right to maintain the purity and holiness of Jerusalem, and he levied heavy fines on those who did not abide by the law. We cannot assume that the king dealt with Jews according to a double standard, that he was partial to the Jews of Palestine but treated the Jews of Babylonia differently, unless we find that he had some special reason to do so. We know of a case of a double standard of this type in the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.E.), who employed extremely harsh measures against the Jews of Palestine, out of urgent economic necessity and because of internal struggles in Jerusalem between Hellenists and their antagonists.

As for the military service of the Jews of the Seleucid empire, it should be borne in mind that the rulers had an army of mercenaries from Macedonia and Greece. However, an urgent need to suppress rebellious ethnic groups brought about the necessity for a vigorous conscription. In the reign of Seleucis I and Antiochus I, the kings drafted young men of the generation born in the Macedonian and Greek settlements established under royal sponsorship. But this did not satisfy their needs, so they were forced to mobilize auxiliary forces from among various peoples in their kingdom, including Jews (Stern 1974: 43 n. 200).

The rise of a new dynasty that had a cultural and religious policy of a different character than that of the Seleucids, was of great importance for the Jews of Babylon. The change began in the middle of the 3d century B.C.E. At that time, a number of states in E Seleucia rebelled, including Bactria, Parthia, Armenia, and others. The leader most dangerous to the future of the Seleucid kingdom was Arsakes, the first king of Parthia. The dynasty destined to conquer Seleucia and to rule over it until 224/226 was named after

him. It was then conquered by Ardashir I, the founder of the new Sassanian empire; this occupation of course lasted a long time. Between 160–140 B.C.E. Mithridates I (171–137), the king of Parthia, successfully conquered Elymais, Media, Persis, Characene, Babylonia, and Assyria and became the founder of the kingdom of Parthia, although he still had many battles to fight in Iran.

Many Jews lived in those countries, and we do not know what became of them. In any case, it is worth mentioning the relationship of Antiochus Sidates (138–129 B.C.E.) to the Jews. As he was besieging Jerusalem, John Hyrcanus requested of him a cessation of hostilities for the 7 days of the Feast of Tabernacles. The king agreed, and in addition he sent presents for the sacred worship and the treasury (*Ant* 13.242–44). Nicolas of Damascus says of this king: "After defeating Indates, the Parthian general … Antiochus remained there two days at the request of the Jew Hyrcanus because of a festival of his nation on which it was not customary for Jews to march out." And Josephus continues and explains: "Nor does he speak falsely in saying this; for the festival of Pentecost had come around, following the Sabbath, and we are not permitted to march either on the Sabbath or on a festival" (*Ant* 13.251–52).

In summing up this study of the civil and legal standing of the Jews of Babylon in the days of the Seleucids, it can be said that as a rule the relationship of the Seleucid kings to the Jews was tolerant. Further on we deal with the influence of their Hellenistic culture on the Jews in their kingdom. In any case, we are told of priests from Babylon who stayed in the Temple in Jerusalem on the Day of Atonement (*m. Yoma* 6.4) and even took an active part in the worship (*m. Menaḥ* 11.7). As has already been noted, many Jews went up to Jerusalem from Babylon. Out of consideration for them a number of religious laws were established, for example: "They intercalate the year only when … and because of the residents of the exilic communities, who have not been able to go forth from their homes" (*t. Sanh.* 2.12), or a different formulation: "They intercalate the year only when … and because of the residents of the exilic communities who have left their homes and could not otherwise reach [Jerusalem] in time" (*Sanh.* 11a). The lawmakers were also concerned about the pilgrims' peaceful return to Babylon after the Feast of Tabernacles, so they postponed the prayers for rain until "fifteen days after the Feast, to give time for the last of the Israelites to reach the Euphrates" (*m. Taʿan.* 1.3). It is extremely difficult to determine just when these laws were enacted, whether in Seleucid or in Parthian times, in the days of the descendants of Arsakes.

We also learn of dignitaries from Persia who ate at the table of Alexander Janneus (103–76 B.C.E.). The visitors reminded the king that in their last visit they had met a man who addressed them with "words of wisdom." They were referring to Simon ben Shetach, the king's brother-in-law, who was forced by him to run away to Egypt (*Gen. Rab.* 91:3). And Josephus tells us that Herod appointed Ananel of Babylon to the position of high priest in Jerusalem (*Ant* 15.22, 39). Josephus supplies us with additional instructive information on the Parthians who invaded Syria in 40 B.C.E. and enthroned Antigonus, the last of the Hasmoneans, who was the enemy of Rome and the lackey of Parthia. Antigonus issued an order to cut off an ear of John Hyrcanus, so that as a deformed person he would not be able to officiate as high priest (*Ant* 14.366). The Parthians took Hyrcanus with them as a prisoner to Babylon. He was received there with great honor by the local Jews and by Jews from nearby countries, and the Parthian King Phraates IV (approximately 40–3/2 B.C.E.) freed him from his chains and allowed him to live among his people in Babylon. They saw in him a king and a high priest, and they honored him accordingly (*Ant* 15.12–15).

The Parthian kingdom is not notable for having had a centralized government. It was a quasi-feudal state that suffered from internal disputes between various vassals and rival candidates for the throne, because the throne was not hereditary but elected (i.e., it was elected by or subject to confirmation by a majority of the nobility). So it is not surprising that in the days of King Artabanus III (38–12), when dissension increased in his kingdom, 2 young men from Nehardea, Asinaeus and Anilaeus, rebelled against him. Other young people rallied around them. They acquired arms and built themselves a fortress. They proceeded to intimidate their neighbors, to rob cattle from the herds in their vicinity, and to broaden the scope of their authority over their surroundings. At first the authorities were unable to suppress them, and their rule lasted from 20 to 35 C.E. They lost control due to an internal dispute over the marriage of Anilaeus to a non-Jewish woman (see below). The alien woman put poison in Asinaeus's food because

she feared that he would convince his brother to banish her from his house, since their marriage was not in keeping with Jewish law. Anilaeus was left alone at the head of his men. He fought against villages ruled by Mithridates, who was the son-in-law of King Artabanus. Mithridates was defeated, and he became Anilaeus's prisoner, but Analaeus freed him in order to forestall the king's intervention. After some time, Anilaeus was killed, and with his death the rebellion of the 2 brothers came to an end (*Ant* 18.314–70). Josephus describes the aftermath of the rebellion in these words: "The Babylonians were now rid of the pressure imposed by Anilaeus, which had curbed their hatred against the Jews—for in general they always quarreled with them because of the contrariety of their laws, and whichever party happened to feel more self-confident would initiate an attack on the other. Accordingly, now that Anilaeus and his men were no more, the Babylonians began to attack the Jews" (*Ant* 18.371).

Josephus continues with the tale of the Jews' flight to the city of Seleucia, where they took refuge from their attackers. There were many Macedonian residents in the city, which had a Greek majority, and many Syrians who had citizenship rights. For 5 years, until approximately 40/41, none of these groups harmed the Jewish residents. But the ethnic groups were continuously involved in conflicts, especially the Greeks and the Syrians. In one of the quarrels, the Jews allied themselves with the Syrians against the Greeks. The Greeks were reluctant to give up their dominant position in the city, and little by little they managed to win the Syrians over to their side. As a sign of the bond of fidelity and friendship that now united the former enemies, they fell upon the Jews and slaughtered 50,000 of them or more. Only a small number of Jews managed to escape to Ctesiphon, which was situated near Seleucia. Josephus continues: "All the Jewish people in this region now became terrified of both the Babylonians and the Seleucians since all the Syrians who were citizens of these places fell in line with the Seleucians and made war against the Jews their policy. Most of the Jews flocked to Neardea and Nisibis, where they were safe because these cities were fortified and were furthermore populated by men who were valiant fighters every one" (*Ant* 18.378–79).

At the beginning of the 2d century C.E., Marcus Ulpius Traianus, the emperor of Rome (98–117 C.E.), conquered Ctesiphon, the capital of Parthia, and advanced into Babylon. Behind his back a great part of the population of Mesopotamia, including Jews, rose up against the Roman armies. This uprising and the great Jewish insurrection against the Romans (ca. 114–117), which broke out in Cyrene and spread from there to Egypt, Cyprus and, finally, to Mesopotamia, forced the Romans to retreat (*CAH* 9: 236–52). The Jews' participation in the insurrection is an indication of the Babylonian Jews' hatred toward the Romans, "the destroyers of the Temple," and of their preference for the Parthian authorities, the descendants of "the builders of the Temple" (Cyrus). This empathy for the Parthians was widespread in Palestine, as well. Rabbi Judah the Prince exchanged presents with King Artabanus V of Parthia (*j. Peʾa* 1.1). Some researchers do not identify Artabanus with the king himself (Dinari 1978). Rabbi Judah the Prince, upon learning of this Parthian king's defeat at the hands of Ardashir I (which brought the Parthian regime to an end), said, "The bond has been sundered" (*m. ʿAbod. Zar.* 10b–11a).

**C. Leaders and Leadership**

In a later chronicle, *Seder ʿOlam Zuta* (composed circa the 8th century), the anonymous author presents a list of exhilarchs. The list is headed by Jehoiachin the king of Judah. A listing of the entire dynasty follows (Neubauer 1895: 74–77). However, it is apparent that the compiler copied the earliest names from the listing in 1 Chr 3:18ff., and that he did not have before him a tradition concerning the later exhilarchs who held the office until the 3d century C.E. The author's tendency is clear; he wanted to show the ancient origins of the institution and the genealogy of the exhilarchs of his time, starting with the house of David. In the Talmud we hear for the first time of the son of the exhilarch Rabbi Nathan who, according to the commentaries of Gaonim (Heads of Academies), went up to Palestine in the third or fourth decade of the 2d century (Beer 1976). Nevertheless, we cannot rule out the possibility that among the heads of Babylonian Jewry were descendants of Jehoiachin. It is unthinkable that the Jews of Babylon, whose numbers increased greatly over the generations and whose places of residence were spread out over a large area, could continue to exist as a socioreligious formation without centralized leadership, which was recognized by the authorities and whose task it was to look after their political and religious needs.

The descendants of Jehoiachin, who were recognized leaders in both Babylon and Palestine, included Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, "governor of Judah" (Hag 1:1), and Sheshbazzar, "the prince of Judah" (Ezra 1:8). Some scholars maintain that Sheshbazzar is in fact identical to Zerubbabel. As already noted, we cannot rule out the possibility that there were other leaders in Babylon who were descendants of Jehoiachin, but whose names were not preserved. We cannot compare the fate of the sons of David in Palestine to that of their relatives in Babylon, because in Palestine the sons of David were pushed aside by the high priesthood following the renewal of the divine service in the Temple. Of course, no such situation existed in Babylon. Perhaps those priests who did not go up to Palestine and continued to live in Babylon became nothing more than teachers of the law. Note Ezra's title as it is referred to in the letter of Artaxerxes: "the priest, the scribe of the Law of the God of heaven" (Ezra 7:21) or "a ready scribe in the Law of Moses" (Ezra 7:6) or "the priest, the scribe, even the scribe of the commandments of the Lord, and of his statutes to Israel" (v 11). The aspect of the law is strongly stressed, not the aspect of the priesthood or the ritual.

Other leaders of the Jewish community in Babylon should not be overlooked, including Ezekiel the son of Buzi, Ahab the son of Kolaiah, and Zedekiah the son of Maaseiah (Jer 29:21–23). We have no information concerning the genealogy of Nehemiah the son of Hacaliah (Neh 1:1). Similarly, his duties as the chief cupbearer of King Artaxerxes I (464–424 B.C.E.) and his appellation, "Tirshatha" (Neh 7:65), have not been sufficiently clarified. Mordecai should also be mentioned here. According to the book of Esther, he was of the lineage of Kish (Esth 2:5), and it is not clear if the reference is to Kish, the father of King Saul. The young men Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah filled unclearly defined positions in the court of Nebuchadnezzar. "The elders" should also be included in this list of leaders. Theirs was a very ancient institution in Israel. In Babylon the elders may have carried on most of their activities on a local level (Jer 29:1; Ezek 8:1).

Knowledge concerning Jewish leadership in Babylon during the Seleucid Period is unclear. But since we are dealing with a very traditional society, it cannot be assumed that the leadership underwent revolutionary changes, except that prophecy probably ceased to function in Babylon but continued in its Palestinian counterpart. Since we do not find evidence from that period concerning scholars who taught the law to individuals and the public, we may assume that the priests filled the role of "maintainers of the law." It is instructive to note that similar processes took place in Palestine and Babylon: the circle of students and teachers of the law, outside the priesthood, slowly widened. We hear of men learned in the law in Babylon of the Parthian period, such as Hillel the Elder and Nahum the Mede. Both of them resettled in Palestine. On the other hand, Rabbi Judah the son of Bathyra lived in Nisibis and maintained contact with those in charge of the Temple in Jerusalem (*j. Pesaḥ.* 3b). Acts 2:9 mentions pilgrimages to Jerusalem during this period. However, after the destruction of the Second Temple there was an increase in the number of Jews who left Palestine and went down to Babylon, and their numbers increased after the Bar Kokhba war. The most famous wise man forced to leave Palestine, because he was influenced by heretical ideas, was Hananiah the nephew of Rabbi Joshua. His religious activities in Babylon caused negative reactions in Palestine (Neusner 1969).

**D. Intellectual and Religious Life**

The biblical text provides little information about either the intellectual or religious life of Babylonian Jewry. In the book of Ezekiel there is no evidence of the exiles observing practical religious precepts. There is some mention of them in the books of Daniel and Esther: piety and devotion, attention to the ritual propriety of food and drink, attention to three prayers a day in the direction of Jerusalem, fasts, and customs related to mourning. Also, in the book of Tobit we find mention of knowledge of the Pentateuch and the words of the prophets, the giving of charity, the observance of the Feast of Weeks, and strict observance of burial according to the law.

We do not have any evidence concerning when and where synagogues were first founded. Were they a creation of the Babylonian exile? Perhaps the exiles brought with them the custom to pray in public. Furthermore, we have no evidence of the existence of schools for children or adults among the Jews of Babylon. We do have knowledge of the existence of such institutions among the general Babylonian

population. The Babylonians in high social circles conducted a lively intellectual life (*CHJ* 1: 342–58; Bickerman 1988: 51–65, 91–100). Presumably this atmosphere influenced certain Jewish groups in Babylon. However, the Jews' objective need to maintain their distinctiveness had a decisive influence on them with regard to their study and the observance of their religious duties in their pagan surroundings.

More information can be gleaned from what is *not* mentioned in the Murašu tablets: none of the documents containing Jewish names was signed on the Sabbath or on a Feast Day (Zadok 1976). This is a very significant fact for scholars studying the religious situation of the lower strata of Jewish society at that time because, for the most part, the documents deal with that segment of society. It is more difficult to draw conclusions concerning the relationship of the people mentioned in the texts to the Jewish religion. Many of the names listed were common among various Semitic peoples. Even names of clearly Jewish origin, such as "Shabtai" or "Haggai," are not necessarily names belonging to Jews. These names appear in pagan Phoenician and Palmyran sources. Bickerman (*CHJ* 1: 342–58) pointed out the informative phenomenon of fathers whose names were definitely pagan, but who gave their children theophoric names containing components such as *-yahu* or *-yah.* He explains this phenomenon in the following manner: the parents were given pagan names when the belief in YHWH weakened, before the return to Zion. However, after the return to Zion, the rebuilding of the temple, and the renewal of the divine service, the religious faith in God became stronger, and children were again given names having the divine name as components. Indeed, names such as Benaiah, Benael, Pedaiah, and Menachem refer to the return to Zion, the rebuilding of the Temple, and the renewal of the ritual. Although among those going up with Ezra to Jerusalem we also find—alongside names such as Obadiah, Shechaniah, and Johanan—W Semitic names (e.g., Daniel, Jahaziel, and Michael), as well as Babylonian and Iranian names (e.g., Hattush, Bigvai, and Azgad; Ezra 8:2–19; Neh 7:7–62) and even clearly pagan theophoric names (e.g., Mordecai, Esther, and Zerubbabel), this cannot be viewed as proof of the Jews' assimilation by choice into their surroundings. It is possible that the names of functionaries or officials were changed by their superiors into names common in the general society. The most well-known case of this type is the one involving Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, whose names were changed by official decree to Belteshazzar, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego (Dan 1:6–7).

A very important influence of the environment on the Jews of Babylon was their acceptance of the Aramaic language, which was the *lingua franca* in the Persian kingdom from the 5th century B.C.E. onward. At the same time, the Aramaic script replaced the ancient Hebrew script. Another important change was the one that took place in the Hebrew calendar. The months were now referred to by their Babylonian names, even though some of them were named after pagan gods. It seems that these influences in Achaemenian times did not adversely affect the Jews' essential belief in One God, the creator of the world and its administrator, who commanded Israel to observe his precepts, especially to observe the Sabbath. Sabbath observance caused the Jews of Babylon to become a distinct ethnic and religious body. Second Isaiah mentions several times the importance of this religious obligation (Isa 56:2, 4, 6; 58:13).

The Jews of Babylon possessed an alert historical consciousness, which was manifested in many ways. From the sources we learn of prayer in the direction of Jerusalem (Dan 6:11); of the observance of four fasts, accompanied by weeping and mourning, related to the events of the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple (Zech 7:3, 5; 8:19); of fasts accompanied by the spreading of sackcloth and ashes (Isaiah 58:5; Esth 4:13); of confession of sins; and of prayer for redemption. More strictly observant Jews of Babylon put into practice the procedures of mourning, because of the destruction of the Temple and the Exile, and they are known as "mourners of Zion" (Isa 61:3). According to Josephus, some Jews of Babylon did not use the oil of aliens (*Ant* 12.120; *Life* 74).

The words of Hecataeus of Abdera (4th and 3d centuries B.C.E.) may be accepted as a summary of the situation: "neither the slander of their neighbors … nor the frequent outrages of Persian kings and satraps can shake their determination; for these laws, naked and defenseless, they face tortures and death in its most terrible form, rather than repudiate the faith of their forefathers" (*AgAp* 1.191). Josephus then brings a number of examples to verify his statement. According to one of them, Alexander the Great was once in

Babylon. There he commanded his soldiers to rebuild the destroyed temple of Bel. The Jews among them refused to take part in the reconstruction of a pagan temple, and they were punished with flogging and heavy fines for refusing an order. However, finally, perhaps after their refusal was explained to the king, he freed them and exempted them from participating in the reconstruction (*AgAp* 1.191). This incident is indicative of Alexander's treatment of the Jews, and it is in keeping with his promise to the high priest, as mentioned earlier. This was probably the attitude of the Seleucid kings toward the Jews, as long as they were not beset with economic difficulties (Rostovtzeff 1964, 1: 507; 2: 695–96, 1282; 3: 1427 n. 234). But when they were in financial straits, especially in order to meet payments to the Romans, they would loot the treasures concealed in various temples, including the one in Jerusalem, and this finally brought about the Maccabean insurrection (2 Macc 3:3–15).

As a rule, the Parthians were indifferent in their relationships to the various religions in their kingdom. However, in connection with the Asinaeus and Anilaeus affair we learn of a case in which Sabbath observance played a role. Josephus tells us that the satrap of Babylon planned to attack the camp of the two brothers on the Sabbath, because he knew that on that day they do not conduct war (*Ant* 18.318–19). This is an indication that non-Jews were aware of the Babylonian Jews' observance of the Sabbath. However, Asinaeus did fight on the Sabbath, despite the protests of his soldiers. Josephus also tells us of another case concerning Mithridates, the son-in-law of King Artabanus, who also wanted to fight the two brothers on the Sabbath (*Ant* 18.354). This is important evidence of the religious level of the Babylonian Jewish public with regard to Sabbath observance. Also instructive is this community's abstention from intermarriage. According to Josephus, Asinaeus married a non-Jewish woman, and in so doing he aroused the anger of his men. They considered this marriage to be a sin that might cause a great calamity to befall them (*Ant* 18.340, 349–52). These two fundamentals—Sabbath observance and abstention from intermarriage by the lower social strata—are in themselves enough to explain the Babylonian Jews' maintenance of their distinctiveness for generations in a pagan environment. But in order to observe these fundamentals to the point of self-sacrifice, in cases such as those indicated by Josephus, they must have had some sort of education for religious duties.

The first learned men, "scholars of the Law," of whom we hear in Babylon and its environs date back to the Parthian Period. We do not know if these scholars studied in Jerusalem or in Babylon. Hillel the Elder studied in Palestine under Shemaiah and Abtalion (*j. Pesaḥ.* 66a), and even though the Palestinians diparaged him ("What can be expected from a Babylonian?"*j. Pesaḥ* 6:1), they nevertheless admitted that he had learned the whole body of Jewish learning in Babylon. They said: "For three reasons did Hillel come up from Babylon," and the Jerusalem Talmud (*Pesaḥ* 6:1) sums up, "He expounded and he consented and he went up and he accepted the law." In other words, the law or laws that he expounded in Babylon were accepted in Jerusalem (Ginzberg 1976: 356 n. 4). We have no knowledge from sources in the Second Temple period of study of the law in Babylon. Rabbi Simon ben Lakish, who lived in the 3d century C.E. and who lived and was active mostly in Tiberias, asserted that three people who came up (to Palestine) brought with them from Babylon "learning and established it in Palestine. They are Ezra, Hillel, and Rabbi Hiyya the Great" (*m. Sukk.* 20.6a). Rabbi Akiba met in Nehardea a scholar named Nehemiah who passed on to him a law in the name of Rabban Gamaliel the Elder (*m. Yebam.* 16.7).

We have more evidence of relations between the Jews of Babylon and the Jews of Palestine in the Parthian Period. Queen Helena went up to Jerusalem in the 1st century C.E. (*Nazir* 3.6) to pray there and to sacrifice thank-offerings (*Ant* 20.49). She donated a golden candelabrum to the Temple and "a golden tablet on which was written the [Num 5:12–28] passage concerning the suspected adulteress" (*Yoma* 3.10). Also "Monobazus the King would make all the handles of the utensils of the Day of Atonement out of gold (*Yoma* 3.10). When Helena came to Jerusalem she found that there was a great famine in the land. She sent emissaries at her expense to Alexandria in Egypt to buy grain, and to Cyprus to buy cakes of dried figs to distribute to the needy. It is also said that upon his hearing of the famine in Jerusalem, Izates the son of Queen Helena sent large sums of money to the heads of the city (*Ant* 20.51–53). It is said of King Monobazus that "he arose and wasted his treasures in two droughts" (*t. Peʾa* 4:18). A relative of the kings of Adiabene, whose name was also Monobazus, fought alongside the Jewish combatants against the

Romans in the war of the destruction (*JW* 2.520). But not only Jews and proselytes made pilgrimages to Jerusalem. A non-Jew joined a caravan of pilgrims, and upon his return to Nisibis he told Rabbi Judah ben Bathyra about his trip (*b. Pesah.* 3b).

King Herod's appointment of Ananel from Babylon to the high priesthood in Jerusalem (*Ant* 15.39, 41) throws interesting light on Herod's policies. If this information is true, we have important evidence of relations between priests in Babylon and their colleagues in Palestine, as already pointed out. Indirectly we learn from Josephus of the maintenance of genealogical records of the priests in Babylon. Indeed, in another passage Josephus tells us of the archives in Jerusalem in which the genealogical records of the priests—from Egypt and Babylon as well as those from Palestine—were kept (*AgAp* 1.33). One of the foundations upon which Babylonian Jewry maintained itself as an independent religious formation and as a part of the entire community of Israel was the Hebrew calendar. In order to keep the festivals at a single, fixed time, messengers went from Palestine to Babylon or bonfires were lit on mountaintops so that they could be seen in Babylon, thus informing the Jews of Babylon when the new moon appeared and enabling them to calculate the dates of the festivals (*m. Roš Haš.*2.4). When it was decided to intercalate a year, the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem notified the Diaspora, including Babylon and Media, to that effect (*t. Sanh.* 2.6, 7). We also know of Rabbi Akiba, who lived in the first half of the 2d century C.E., who proclaimed a leap year in Nehardea (*b. Yebam.* 16.7).

After the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E., and especially after the war of Bar Kokhba (132–35 C.E.), some scholars went down from Palestine to Babylon. The arrival of "Abba the Tall," Rab, in approximately 219, brought about a period of prosperity in the study of the Law in Babylon. Rab in Sura and Shmuel in Nehardea gave public instruction in the Law and trained many pupils. In this period academies were established, and they continued to exert an influence on Jews, not only in Babylon but throughout all the lands of their dispersion, as late as the 12th century.

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MOSHE BEER

TRANS. MENAHEM EREZ


## *JUDAISM IN THE MISHNAIC PERIOD*

The early 1st through 3d centuries C.E. are commonly referred to as the Mishnaic period, a recognition of the centrality of the corpus of the Mishna (a 3d century Hebrew compilation of traditions, see below) within rabbinic Judaism, the dominant religious system of the Jews from the 3d century up to the modern period. These years are also known as the late Hellenistic, or the Roman, or the Early Christian period,

depending on the context of the reference. In this complex and turbulent transitional era new systems replaced the Temple-centered Israelite religious and political structures that had endured during the previous millennium.

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A. Continuity with Israelite Religion
B. Historical Discontinuities and Developments
C. Religious Systems
D. Clerical Leadership
E. At Yavneh
F. At Usha
G. The Role of Women
H. Textual Production and Advances
I. Revision of Theology
J. Revision of Ritual
K. Establishment of Rabbinic Culture and Continuity with Subsequent Forms of Judaism

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**A. Continuity with Israelite Religion**

In many respects Judaism of this period perpetuates major elements of the myth and ritual of ancient Israel. The idea of the centrality and sacrality of the territory of Israel and of Jerusalem derive from Israelite antecedents. The period witnessed the canonization of biblical literature under rabbinic sponsorship, and with it the acceptance of theological ideas and frameworks of Israelite origin within rabbinic communities. One focus was the emphasis on Torah and scribal ideals. Other influences included the use of the Hebrew language for sacred writing and prayer (though Aramaic was the common language of the market place and Greek was used in official communications) and the continued espousal of many symbols out of Israelite culture. The rabbinic calendar was built directly upon the Israelite model, with a few notable additions and modifications. Dietary regulations in rabbinism drew heavily on antecedents from older Israelite practice and the cult, but the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. by Rome necessitated significant modifications.

Obviously, the forced cessation of the cult led to the abandonment of the rituals of sacrifice, though the details of past practices were subjects of much concern in rabbinic literature. The practice of the earlier Israelite system of purity and uncleanness also was suspended with the demise of the Temple, though rabbinic teachers maintained an active interest in debating and delineating the rules for cultic purity. Together, rules for sacrifice and purity occupy about one-third of the Mishnaic corpus. The remainder deals with agricultural, festival, familial, and civil matters.

**B. Historical Discontinuities and Developments**

Several key historical and social forces shaped Judaism in this period. The destruction of the Temple and the subsequent Roman imperial domination of Israel deprived Jewish leaders of meaningful political power and forced them to turn inward for fresh expressions of Jewish identity. The failure of a messianic rebellion against Rome under the leadership of Simeon bar Kokhba with support from leading rabbis in 132–35 C.E. left little doubt of the futility of hope for the restoration of political independence under the Judaic leadership of that age. In this period the influence of quasi-governmental Jewish authorities, such as the patriarchate, declined and the authority of the rabbinate, internal to the Jewish communities of the Near East (Israel and Babylonia), increased. The rise and spread of Christianity and other serious competing religious systems in the area in this epoch demanded that Judaic religious leaders articulate new understandings of Israelite destiny.

The irrepressible hope for redemption from political subjugation led to complex speculation on the nature of the promise of messianic redemption, a subject of Israelite contemplation in earlier ages (cf. biblical depictions in Isaiah and Micah). Overall, the rabbinic emphasis on Torah overshadowed and even eclipsed many of the major themes of alternative theological world views inherent in the received Israelite heritage.

**C. Religious Systems**

The amalgam constituting rabbinic Judaism which took shape in the Mishnaic period drew on the contributions of several immediate Jewish predecessor and contemporaneous groups and ignored or rejected others. The rabbis themselves claimed to be heirs of the Pharisees, a group of politically active Judean pietists of the 1st century. Mainly concerned with the Sabbath, agricultural taboos, and rules of purity, this society established a model of table fellowship and religious literacy emulated within later rabbinic circles. By way of contrast, the authors of the NT Gospels adopted a caricatured and stylized view of the Pharisees and typecast them as the opponents of Jesus.

The integration of an apocalyptic perspective is less apparent within the later rabbinic synthesis of Judean religious attitudes of the 1st century. Recent theories argue that apocalyptic speculation is a mode of expressing alienation from the corridors of political power and social resistance to external control. As rabbinic views evolved they tended tacitly to condone national powerlessness, dismissing it as irrelevant to the present and ultimate reality they envisioned; in the process they thereby devalued apocalyptic expressions, which loomed as threats to the stability of rabbinic society. Likewise they rejected miracle-working charismatic holy men (cf. the story of Honi the Circle Drawer, *m. Ta‹an.* 3:8).

Rabbinic synthesizers correspondingly downplayed the major dimensions of other Judaic systems which did not express values and concerns sympathetic to their social condition and philosophical tendencies. The Sadducees, about whom we possess little systematic evidence, appear within rabbinic traditions as adversaries whose theological views were rejected. We also have incomplete data concerning early communities of mystics, though many scholars assume that merkabah (chariot-throne) and other forms of Jewish mysticism have their roots in the Mishnaic period.

The Dead Sea community serves as an informative example of an intermediary system of Judaism of the early part of this era. The residents of the village of Qumran left ample evidence of their apocalyptic-messianic theology and social organization and ritual, locating this community on a historical continuum between Israelite and early Hellenistic forms of religion on the one hand, and early Christian communal patterns on the other. Although small in number and insignificant in cultural influence, the Qumran example illustrates a stage of Judaic development prior to the incipient rabbinic and early Christian alternatives.

Major communities of diaspora Judaism (i.e. outside the Land of Israel) in this age were located in Alexandria, Babylonia, and in Asia Minor. The writings of Philo illustrate the philosophical literacy achieved by the Greek-speaking Jews of Alexandria and, according to some interpretations, they demonstrate the emergence of a cosmic-mystical form of Judaic speculation. The Jewish community of Babylonia shows signs of growth in this time but takes a position of leadership only after the transition to Sassanian rule (226 C.E.) and the decline of the community in Israel in the 3d and 4th centuries. In Asia Minor, archaeological evidence substantiates the existence and influence of Jews within communities like Sardis and indicates the central positions they occupied within the social structures of the towns of the area.

**D. Clerical Leadership**

In this era, the axis of Judaic leadership shifted from national political figures associated with the Temple in Jerusalem, provincial princes and hereditary priests, to local authority vested in rabbinic scribal holy men in villages and towns. Imperial Roman authorities encouraged similar transfers of prerogative throughout the Near East to better facilitate the ultimate arrogation of dominance and control within the empire. These historical developments are echoed in the internal rabbinic traditions themselves. The narrative account for instance of the founding of the first rabbinic academy at Yavneh by Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai portrays the master emerging from a besieged Jerusalem, obtaining the sanction of Roman authority, and establishing an authorized center of Torah study at the defenseless coastal town (*›Abot R. Nat.* 4).

The rapid rise of rabbinism may be associated in part with the sanctioned ascendence of local holy men, ascetics, miracle workers, dream interpreters, and magicians throughout the area. Consequently, factors including changes in patterns of leadership, the greater literacy of the age attributable to minor

technological advances in writing (such as the adoption of the codex for publication and dissemination of knowledge), and the breakdown of priestly custody over the authorized canon all contributed to the successful expansion of the influence of the rabbinic class.

As other forms of local authority lost influence, rabbis increased their political engagement with governmental forces; they became adept at balancing their need to hold sway within their communities and at the same time to refrain from challenging the external forces which governed their land and lives from without. The Judaic system they established, with adaptation and accretion along the way, provided for centuries a viable set of social, political, and philosophical structures for the Jewish community in the subsequent historical settings under Roman, Babylonian, Islamic, and medieval Christian European domination. We know of the life and teachings of hundreds of rabbinic figures. The following mention of the activities of a few illustrates the character of rabbinic leadership in this era.

**E. At Yavneh**

The period ensuing upon the destruction of the Temple and founding of the Yavnean center was a time of internal conflict, self-definition, and transition. See JAMNIA (JABNEH), COUNCIL OF. Influential leaders of the epoch included Rabbis Yohanan ben Zakkai and his disciples, Joshua, and Eliezer *(m. Abot 2:8),* and numerous others such as Akiba, Ishmael, Gamaliel, and Eleazar ben Azariah.

Akiba ben Joseph was among the best known sages of this time. His extensive ventures included engagement in rabbinic legislation, biblical exegesis, mystical speculation, and (ill-fated) political activism and martyrdom in support of the Bar Kokhba revolt.

His contemporary, Joshua ben Hananiah was rabbi in Jerusalem and later at Yavneh and Peki›in in Israel (1st and 2d centuries C.E.). As a Levite, it is assumed that he sang in the Temple before it was destroyed. He then took up the trade of needle maker or blacksmith.

With Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, Joshua is said to have carried Yohanan ben Zakkai out of Jerusalem in a coffin during the siege of the city (*b. Giṭ.* 56a). During his later career he was the center of some contention within rabbinic circles. Several sources recount his humiliation by the Patriarch, Gamaliel (*b. Roš Haš.* 25a). Joshua's dispute with Gamaliel over the requirement to recite the evening prayer brought about the events which lead to the deposition of Gamaliel and ascension of Eleazar ben Azariah to the patriarchate (*b. Ber.* 28a). Eleazar exemplified the wealthy adherent of the rabbinic movement, a man of prominent ancestry who sought conciliation between the contending factions of the sages and those who supported the interests of the priestly and patriarchal followers.

Joshua is also associated with a dispute with Eliezer ben Hyrcanus over the ritual cleanness of the tiled ovens of Akhnai. Joshua ruled that these ovens were unclean; Eliezer said they were clean. Eliezer invoked a heavenly voice on his own behalf to prove his position correct. Joshua responded with the famous declaration: "The Law is not in heaven" (a reference to Deut 30:12), i.e., the rabbis alone have the authority to decide matters of the law, not some supernatural voice, or even a direct revelation. Many other legal disputes between Joshua and Eliezer ben Hyrcanus appear in rabbinic sources. According to tradition he engaged in discourses with political figures and various groups: the Roman emperor Hadrian; with the elders of Athens; with the Jews of Alexandria.

**F. At Usha**

The generation following in the aftermath of the failed revolt (132–135 C.E.) was a time of systematization and standardization within Judaic thought and practice. Judah, Meir, Simeon ben Gamaliel, and Simeon bar Yohai are representative of this generation's central rabbinic authorities.

Judah bar Ilai was a Rabbi of the 2d century C.E. in Usha, in the lower Galilee in Israel. He was a student of Akiba and Tarfon, was ordained by Judah ben Baba, and survived the Hadrianic persecutions. Numerous traditions attributed to Judah and his contemporaries Meir, Simeon, and Yose are preserved in rabbinic literature.

Judah's legal sayings illustrate some of the concerns and activities of the rabbis of his generation. Several of his rulings, for example, deal with the standardization of rabbinic liturgy (*m. Ber.* 4:1) and the regulation of prayer (*m. Ber.* 4:7, *t. Ber.* 1:9, *t. Ber.* 3:5) and daily liturgical blessings (*t. Ber.* 6:18). Other rules ascribed to Judah emphasize the importance of concentration and intention during the performance

of rituals (*t. Ber.* 2:2), or with the importance of maintaining the proper frame of mind during recitation of prayers (*m. Ber.* 2:2). Judah also is associated with legislation concerning the recitation of blessings over foods (*m. Ber.* 6:4, *t. Ber.* 4:4–5), with blessings over natural wonders, both those for which one is permitted to recite blessings (*m. Ber.* 9:2) and those for which one is forbidden to recite because it would appear to be a form of idolatry (*t. Ber.* 6:6).

Judah's contemporary, Meir was a descendant of a family of proselytes which traced its line back to the Roman emperor Nero. He was a student of both Akiba and Ishmael and is listed as one of the 7 disciples of Akiba who issued a famous edict concerning the calendar. He also was one of the 5 rabbis ordained by Judah ben Baba during the Hadrianic persecutions. He was married to Beruryah, one of the few learned women mentioned in the Talmud. Meir was thus involved in her tragic life (discussed below) and in the events of the Bar Kokhba war.

Meir was associated with the legendary Elisha ben Abuya, the well-known heretic of his time, known also as Aher (the "other"). Some rabbinic sources depict Meir as Aher's would-be disciple and is also said to have been called after Elisha's death to extinguish the fire of his burning tomb.

Meir is prominently linked to the major rabbinic legislative and political activities of his generation. He is said to have served as *ḥākām,* sage, in the Ushan court. His technical ability to defend both sides of opposing legal viewpoints was greatly extolled. Ultimately, his opposition to the patriarch Simeon ben Gamaliel, is said to have been the basis for his exile from Israel.

Legal rulings ascribed to Meir comprise an important part of the earliest rabbinic compilations, Mishna and Tosefta. His role in these works is so important that the Talmud stipulates that any anonymous ruling in the Mishna is to be attributed to Meir; hence the corpus of his traditions was one of the primary documents used in its redaction.

Meir's dicta deal with most of the central values of rabbinic Judaism in its period of systematization in the latter half of the 2d century. An illustration of a tradition attributed to him indicates his understanding of rabbinic ritual as a coherent system of practice:

> R. Meir used to say, "There is no man in Israel who does not perform one hundred commandments each day [and recite over them one hundred blessings] … And there is no man in Israel who is not surrounded by [reminders of the] commandments: [Every person wears] phylacteries on his head, phylacteries on his arm, has a mezuzah on his doorpost and four fringes on his garment around him …"[*t. Ber.* 6:24–25].

Simeon ben Gamaliel (II), another Rabbi of this period held the hereditary office of patriarch or president. He studied Greek and supported a policy of peace with Rome. According to one Talmudic source, two of his rabbinic colleagues, Meir and Nathan, sought to oust Simeon from his position as patriarch during a struggle for power within the ranks of rabbinic leadership. In the Talmudic account of the political tension, the 2 masters became angry when Simeon decreed that the students in the academy should not stand in their honor when they entered the college. They then conspired to test Simeon on an obscure tractate of the law in order to bring him to disgrace. One of Simeon's supporters prepared him in the laws of this tractate and he was able to pass the test. He then banished Meir and Nathan from the academy. Nonetheless they continued to send messages with legal problems to the college. The leaders of the academy then recognized that they should readmit the two, and did so (*b. Hor.* 13b). The account demonstrates how one episode of internal strife was brought to resolution through compromise.

Among the other rules attributed to Simeon was his statement that not all who wish to recite God's name in the prayers may do so (*m. Ber.* 4:8), showing a restrictive view regarding the use of divine names for liturgical purposes. Simeon's legal views were almost always decisive. The Talmud declares that the law follows in accordance with Simeon Ben Gamaliel in all instances except for three (*b. Ketub.* 77a).

Another prototype of rabbinic leadership was Simeon bar Yohai, a 2d century C.E. rabbinic leader, mystic, and ascetic of the generation of rabbinic activity at Usha in the Galilee. Simeon was one of the two most prominent students of Akiba (with Meir), another of the five rabbis ordained during the Hadrianic persecutions following the Bar Kokhba revolt. According to the version of the incident in the Babylonian Talmud (*Ber.* 28a), he was the student who provoked the deposition of Gamaliel from the

position of patriarch of Israel by bringing up in the academy the issue of whether the recitation of the evening prayer was obligatory or optional.

Simeon is the subject of many rabbinic legends. Best known is the story of his hiding in a cave with his son after having been sentenced to death by the Romans. According to some versions of the story when he emerged from the cave after 12 years and saw that people were not engaged solely in the study of Torah, his mystical gaze set the world afire with only a glance (*b. Šabb.* 33b), and a heavenly voice reprimanded him and sent him back to the cave for another year.

Simeon's rulings cover most of the major topics taken up in rabbinic sources. On the importance of the study of the Torah for instance, he says, "If I had been at Mt. Sinai at the time the Torah was given to Israel, I would have asked God to endow man with two mouths, one to talk of the Torah and one to attend to his other needs." On further reflection, he retracted this saying, "But the world can barely withstand the slander of [persons with] one [mouth]. It would be all the worse if [each individual] had two [mouths] (*j. Ber.* 3b)."

The Talmud uses Simeon as the paradigm of a scholar totally immersed in the study of the Torah. Accordingly a rabbi of his caliber would not be required to interrupt his study even for the important and timely daily recitation of the *šĕma‘* (Deut 6:4) (*j. Ber.* i.3b).

Medieval Jewish mystics identified him as the (pseudonymous) author of the Zohar, one of the most important rabbinic mystical compilations. He was also associated with the day of *lag bĕ‘omer,* the 18th of Iyar, a mystical festival celebrated to this day at the traditional place of his burial in Meron in the Galilee in Israel.

One of the more famous messianic sayings attributed to him declares that if the Jews properly observed 2 consecutive Sabbaths, they would be redeemed (*b. Šabb.* 118b). He is assigned authorship of the Midrashic compilations of Sifre Numbers and Deuteronomy (*b. San.* 86a) and of the Mekhilta of R. Simeon Bar Yohai to the book of Exodus. Several short apocalyptic mystical compilations are also linked with his name.

**G. The Role of Women**

Beruryah (2d century C.E.) was one of the few famous women in rabbinic Judaism of late antiquity, a rare woman scholar in that male-dominated culture. She was the daughter of Hananyah ben Teradyon and was wife of Meir. Rabbinic traditions portrayed Beruryah as a sensitive yet assertive figure. The Talmud recounted anecdotes illustrating Beruryah's piety, compassion, and wit. In one source she admonished her husband Meir not to be angry at his enemies and not to pray for their death. She suggested that instead he pray that their sins cease and that they repent (*b. Ber.* 10a).

When two of her sons died one Sabbath day, a story in the Midrash reported that she delayed telling her husband until Saturday night when he had finished observing the Sabbath in peace (Midrash to Proverbs 31:10). The Talmud also narrated anecdotes of Beruryah's sharp wit. When Yose the Galilean asked her for directions on the road, she derided him for speaking too much with a woman (*b. ‘Erub.* 53b).

The folklore surrounding Beruryah was extensive and poignant. Accounts which weave together the rabbinic sources retold the tragic events of Beruryah's life and the life of her family. According to tradition, not only did two of her sons die suddenly on a Sabbath day, but her father was martyred in the Bar Kokhba rebellion, her sister was taken captive to Rome, and her brother became a brigand (possibly an anti-Roman terrorist) and was murdered. The drama of her life climaxed in the so-called Beruryah incident. She was said in an 11th century tradition preserved by Rashi (commentary to *b. ‘Abod. Zar.* 18b) to have mocked a misogynistic rabbinic tradition which labelled women as flighty. Meir was said to have sent a student to tempt her to discredit her criticism. Tragically, she was thought to have committed suicide after submitting to the advances of her husband's disciple.

Beruryah's public involvement in rabbinic affairs and instruction was clearly an exception to the prevailing propensities and expectations of that society. Contemporary study reveals the ambivalence toward women within this era of rabbinism. Mishna's framers regarded women alternatively in some circumstances as possessors of legal rights and duties, in others as chattels subservient to men. Mainly in matters pertaining to sexual and reproductive function, Mishna treated wives, levirate widows, and minors

as property. Divorcees and widows in Mishnaic law controlled their own sexuality and property. However, critical analysis of the evidence confirms that women were deemed nonentities in almost all public social circumstances, and were denied access to most forms of intellectual and political pursuits and achievements.

**H. Textual Production and Advances**

The Mishna, published after the turn of the 3d century, stood as the single most authoritative compilation of the early rabbinic estate. It was a composite of the religious statements of rabbis from prior to the destruction of the Temple to the time of its publication. Mishna appears to be a legal code. More precisely it is a study book of legal statements, disputes, lists, and anecdotes detailing the views of hundreds of named rabbinic authorities and containing accompanying anonymous statements—assumed by some to stem from Hellenistic or ancient Israelite times—on various practical and theoretical subjects of concern to the early rabbis. It is a unique compilation in style and content whose influence extends far beyond its time and place.

Recent critical analysis has delineated the specifics of Mishnaic literary form and diction, the contributions of rabbinic masters of each of 4 generations, and the theological assumptions and creative contributions of each tractate as coherent expressions of rabbinic worldviews. A rabbi of the Mishnaic period is called a *tannā›* (pl. *tannā›îm*, teacher), to distinguish him from a rabbi of the later Talmudic era, designated an *›ămôrā›* (pl. *›amôrā›îm*).

The Tosefta is a companion document and a systematic appendix to Mishna. Though the date of its publication is not certain, analysis has shown it to be a composite, in part Mishna commentary, in part supplementary to Mishna, and in part a repository of independent rabbinic teachings.

The collections of rabbinic scriptural interpretations, the books of midrash, frequently cite the authorities of the Mishnaic age, thus ostensibly serving as a major source of data for the period. Current advances in the study of major works of rabbinic midrash have better described the composite nature of that literature and confirmed the post-Mishnaic date of some of those collections. Contemporary research on Sifra (a midrash on the book of Leviticus), Sifre to Numbers and to Deuteronomy, Mekhilta to Exodus, Genesis Rabbah, and Leviticus Rabbah has shown that early midrash compilations rest on distinctive conceptual foundations meant to articulate coherent theological postures and to justify social and political contexts to communities of Jews of late antiquity of the time of their redaction.

The post-Mishnaic rabbinic collective literature in the Babylonian Talmud and the Talmud of the land of Israel are both dependent for their organizational structure, content and authority, on the development, publication and dominance of Mishna in the prior age. The Talmuds contain a fair amount of baraita traditions, traditions thought to be from Mishnaic times, often concerning or attributed to the rabbis of the Mishnaic period.

Recent scholarship has tended to critically limit the value of discrete traditions within Mishna and other early rabbinic texts as sources of evidence for the historical reconstruction of the period, emphasizing the distorting influence of the *tendenz* of the documents' editors and their complex redactional histories. Apart from highlighting these problems and pitfalls for using the early texts, great advances have been made in the past two decades in understanding the underlying rabbinic religious system the documents as a whole express. The previously prevailing view that treated the evidence of rabbinic literature as disconnected and anecdotal has been superseded by recent more critically integrative and analytically sophisticated assessment of the evidence within its cultural context, illustrated best by the work of Jacob Neusner and his students.

**I. Revision of Theology**

The most consequential advance for the history of Judaism during this era within rabbinism is the establishment of a Torah-dominated theology. Rabbinic claims to authority rested on their asserted association with the revelation at Mt. Sinai through the concept of the dual Torah. This ideology postulated that Moses received as divine revelation both the written Torah (i.e. the Pentateuch) and a concomitant oral Torah. The latter was memorized and passed from teacher to student for generations and constitutes the substance of the rabbinic teachings finally set down in writing in Mishna. The rabbis did

not specify all those elements of their teachings which go back to Sinai, nor did they claim to present the divinely revealed *ipsissima verba* of such traditions. The sages of the early age also did not adequately account for the nature of Mishna, replete with its disputed rules and statements and direct attributions to late antique authorities, in light of their implicit claim that it represented the revealed instruction of a millennium earlier.

The theological underpinnings of the rabbinic system relied more for their potency on the authority of the personality of the rabbi who represented an embodiment of the Torah, and accordingly of divine revelation, than on a tight, internal and deductive, philosophical logic.

The basic theological postulates and practices of the rabbinic system sustained the centrality of the concept and symbol of Torah. The rabbis asserted that the study of Torah was the central ritual act of Judaism, equivalent to all other obligatory actions combined. Accompanying doctrine urging restraint against the abuses of power was present within the system's assertions, for instance, that Torah had to be studied for its own sake, not as a tool for political or economic gain.

The rabbis began in this era to transform or "rabbinize" Israelite heritage based on their values and priorities. They reexamined Israelite myth, affixing a rabbinic veneer to its narrative. In their complex recasting of traditions, the sages imputed rabbinic traits to the heroes of ancient Israel, from the patriarchs to Moses (called *rabbēnu,* "our rabbi"), David, and other major figures; like the later masters, they studied Torah and kept the commandments. Rabbinic literary expressions depicted God himself as supreme rabbi with personality traits closely akin to the sages.

The rabbinic Judaism of this period enunciated a stable religious system, defiant of the vicissitudes of historical change. Within rabbinic Torah-centered theology, apocalyptic attitudes played a peripheral role. Depiction of and retreat from evil as a main form of expressing a social basis of intensified passive-aggressive, retreat-engagement with political challenge was basically uncharacteristic of the mainstream of rabbinic conceptualization. Instead rabbis institutionalized a view of messianism promising salvation without emphasizing immediate deliverance. Rabbinic limitations on and utilizations of the messianic idea vary in later ages usually intensifying subsequent to periods of persecution.

**J. Revision of Ritual**

Within Judaism of the Mishnaic period, the process of the "rabbinization" of Israelite festivals engendered revision of numerous rituals and restatement of the mythic basis for cyclical celebrations. Passover was formerly a springtime festival of rebirth with connections to the biblical accounts of the exodus from Egypt and was centered on the ritual offering and consumption of the paschal lamb. The rabbis established the *sēder,* a structured fellowship meal, as the primary festive ritual and mandated the recitation of a *hāggādâ,* rabbinic expositions of scriptural passages combined with liturgical recitations and songs and the manipulation of special foods and objects. This mode of celebration downplayed references to the preceding cultic forms of celebration, and focused instead on the Israelite narrative roots as subjects for rabbinic exposition.

The feast of *Šaḇ·ôt* (Pentecost) also took on new meaning as a celebration of the revelation of the Torah on Mt. Sinai, in contrast to its prior central purpose as a feast of the first fruits brought to the temple in Jerusalem. In later times the revision of the pilgrimage festivals led to such additional changes as the establishment of *Sõīmḥat tôr̲* (the festival of rejoicing for the Torah) on the last day of *škkôt* (Tabernacles).

Rabbinic scribal values made study of the Torah the central ritual, as noted. In the synagogue the scroll itself was utilized as a symbol and object in worship. It was housed in a prominent niche in synagogues and used for the periodic readings throughout the year. In this era the Jews employed a cycle for reading the Torah on sabbaths in public on a triennial basis, as well as readings on Mondays and Thursdays, fast days, and new moons; there was a special sequence of readings for the festivals.

Earliest inscriptions in synagogues, such as the Theodotus inscription (1st century C.E.), refer to the "purposes of reciting the law and studying the commandments." However, the equivocal implications of limited material evidence of synagogues from the first 2 centuries C.E. make it difficult to ascertain whether the rabbis as a group had significant influence in the institutions or even to what degree

synagogues predominated as central religious structures. Evidence from subsequent periods in Israel and the Diaspora (4th to 6th centuries C.E.) suggests that later rabbis did not play a dominant role in the construction or administration of these assembly halls.

Whatever their role in public synagogues may have been, rabbis did undertake to institutionalize the rituals of prayer during the Mishnaic era. The two major liturgies were the *šĕma‹*, a litany of earlier scribal origins, and the Prayer of Eighteen Blessings (the *‹amîdâ*), a priestly and patriarchal liturgy, incorporated into rabbinic ritual at Yavneh.

The *šĕma‹* consisted of biblical verses which emphasized the theological themes such as the unity of God, the need to love God, to keep the commandments, and references to reward and punishment, alongside of supporting rabbinic liturgy, which made reference to the classical mythic themes of creation and redemption and emphasized the virtues of Torah study.

By contrast, the Prayer of Eighteen Blessings made overt entreaty for the messianic redemption, the restoration of Davidic kingship, and condemnation of the heretics; for independent legal authority; and for the rebuilding of the Temple; it included the priestly benediction.

The ultimate regularization of these liturgies and their forms and the integration of the components of prayer into composite services resulted from historical and social processes of conflict between factions supporting patriarchal and priestly authority within the community and groups representing the ascent of rabbinic influence.

One perspective on the stages of conflict and compromise, resulting in the conflation of interests and texts is compressed and dramatically recounted in the narrative of the deposition of Gamaliel II (*b. Ber.* 27b–28a, *j. Ber.* 4:1) mentioned above. In that account the rabbis unseated the patriarch after a dispute over a liturgical issue: the obligation to recite the prayer in the evening. Major shifts in the control of the academy ensued and the patriarch ultimately was forced to accept a diminished role in the governance of the community.

**K. Establishment of Rabbinic Culture and Continuity with Subsequent Forms of Judaism**

By the close of the Mishnaic period rabbinic myth, ritual, and social patterns pervaded the Jewish populations of Israel and Babylonia and constituted a dominant cultural force. Subsequently, Jewish intellectuals developed a philosophical rabbinism in the Middle Ages under the influence of classical traditions, originally preserved within Islamic culture.

Other Jewish thinkers developed mystical forms of rabbinic expression which became widespread within the popular culture of the Jews. Although competing forms of non-rabbinic Judaism arose regularly (such as Karaism in the early Middle Ages), the Judaic system which took initial shape in the Mishnaic era dominated until the modern age. Modern Orthodox Judaism perpetuates forms of Torah-centered rabbinism. Even those new Judaic systems which developed after the enlightenment and reformation of Judaism in early 19th century Europe, maintained some continuities with the rabbinic heritage. Reform Judaism rejected rabbinism, but developed its own form of rabbinate. And modern Zionism, as complex as it was, drew heavily on previous Judaic symbolic expression. The flag of the state of Israel, for example, according to a principal interpretation, recalls in its design the stripes of the sages' prayer shawl, of antecedent ages going back through the Mishnaic period; the chief rabbinate of the state of Israel derives its authority from the Judaic world views of the dual Torah which took shape in the formative Mishnaic era.

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**JUDAIZING.** In the ancient sources, the noun "Judaizer" and the verb "to Judaize" refer primarily to the actions of gentiles. While the verb can be used to designate the forced conversion of gentiles to Judaism, it normally refers to the taking over of Jewish customs by gentiles without conversion. Gaston argues that those who encourage others "to Judaize" may be either Jews, Christian Jews, or Gentiles and for the sake of terminological precision should never be referred to specifically as "Judaizers" (1986: 35–36).

The Greek verb "to Judaize" is found only in the NT in Gal 2:14. In this text, Paul confronts Cephas: "If you, though a Jew, live as a Gentile and not as a Jew, how can you compel the Gentiles to live as Jews?" The clear implication is that gentiles are being compelled to live according to Jewish customs. Moreover, Paul argues in Galatians that for gentiles to be required to assume the obligations of the Mosaic law threatens the integrity of the gospel. At issue for Paul is the manner in which gentiles lay claim to righteousness. The controversy in Galatians is not with Judaism as such but with those who argue that the gentiles must be circumcised and assume the obligations of the Mosaic law (Sandmel 1979: 112; see also Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia).

Outside of the NT, Esther 8:17 (LXX) recounts that many gentiles declared themselves to be Jews because they feared the Jews. Plutarch (*Cic.* 7:6) also states that a freed slave named Caecilius was said to be given to Jewish practices. Josephus tells of a certain Metilus who spared his life by promising to become a Jew, even to the point of circumcision (*JW* 2.17.10). He also writes of a time in Syria when the Syrians thought "they had rid themselves of the Jews, still each city had its Judaizers, who aroused suspicion" (*JW* 2.18.2). Ignatius denounces those who are Christians and yet live according to Judaism (*Magn.* 8:1). In their case, they have not received grace. Moreover, according to Ignatius, it is "monstrous" to speak of Christ and to practice Judaism (*Magn.* 10:3). What Ignatius means by the term "Judaism" is a matter of debate (Gaston 1986: 36–38), but that there is some connection between the condemned practice and Judaism is evident. In the *Acts of Pilate* 2:1, we read that Pilate's wife feared God and favored the customs of the Jews. Finally, in Canon 29 of the Council of Laodicea, those who "Judaize" are strongly condemned (Mansi 1759: cols. 563–604, Canon 29).

These sources indicate that either because of fear or genuine attraction there were those who embraced Jewish practices. This also suggestes that Judaism was a dynamic religious phenomenon. Moreover, the authors of these writings were apparently compelled to acknowledge the tendency "to Judaize." The respective authors' motives in mentioning "Judaizers" may not always be evident, but that does not refute the clear indication that there were non-Jews who embraced Jewish customs.

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**JUDAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Ioudas* (Ἰουδας)]. Greek form of the Hebrew name Judah.

**1.** See JUDAS MACCABEUS.

**2.** Son of Chalphi, and a commander of the army of Jonathan, who along with Mattathias the son of Absalom, remained faithful to Jonathan when the rest of his army deserted him (1 Macc 11:70). At the

outset of his reign Demetrius II Nicator (Seleucid ruler 145–139 and 129–125 B.C.) repeated the promises of his father to Jonathan to grant favors to the Jews (cf. 1 Macc 10:25–45) in exchange for Jonathan's help in fighting Trypho, a former supporter of Alexander Balas. Demetrius II sent officers with a large army to intercept Jonathan, who was gathering troops throughout Palestine. The opposition set an ambush for Jonathan and his army at Hazor, causing all of his men to flee except for the two commanders. According to 1 Macc 11:72, Jonathan attacked, apparently single-handedly, and put the enemy to flight, causing his soldiers to rejoin him for the battle. Pointing to Josephus (*Ant* 13.5.7 §161), who reports that about fifty men remained loyal to Jonathan, Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 442–43) surmises that the commanders were named in order to flatter their families, and that some subordinates of the commanders must also have remained loyal.

**3.** Son of Simon, the younger brother of Judas Maccabeus. In 138 B.C. Simon dispatched his two sons Judas and John (1 Macc 16:2) to fight against Cendebeus, commander of Seleucid forces along the coast of Judah, quartered at the newly fortified city of Kedron (1 Macc 15:41). John called out an army of 20,000 and advanced on Cendebeus. They met in a plain outside Modein, where John's forces defeated the enemy and Judas was wounded (16:4–9). Four years later Simon took his sons Mattathias and Judas with him on their final tour of the area around Jericho. At a banquet held in the fortress at the town of Dok, all three men were ambushed by Simon's ambitious son-in-law Ptolemy, who hoped to gain favor with the Seleucid ruler Antiochus VII Sidetes by killing Simon.

**4.** Coauthor of a letter purportedly sent to Aristobulus and other Jews in Egypt (2 Macc 1:10). This Judas is not identified further, but scholars often assume that reference is to Judas Maccabeus. If this assumption is correct, the author perhaps placed Judas's name in the letter in order to connect more closely the introductory letters (1:1–9 and 1:10–2:18) of 2 Maccabees to the story of Judas which follows. In any case, the letter is possibly spurious and the inclusion of the single name "Judas" seems out of place.

**5.** The brother of Jesus, mentioned by Jesus' townspeople (Mark 6:3 = Matt 13:55). Jesus had come to his own part of the country or hometown (Gk *patris*), but was unable to perform many miracles there. The townspeople were offended by his works and wisdom and sneered that they knew his father, mother, and brothers James, Joses, Judas, and Simon. Scholars generally assume that the town in question was Nazareth, though neither Mark nor Matthew identifies it and Mark had previously (2:1) reported that Jesus was at his house *(oikos)* in Capernaum. The reference to Judas as Jesus' brother most naturally suggests common parentage, though some early Church fathers thought Judas and the others were sons of Joseph by a previous marriage, and Jerome contended that the Gk word *adelphai* meant "cousins."

Early tradition ascribed the book of Jude (a shortened form of the name Judas) to this brother. Scholars are divided over the matter. On the one hand, the book is generally dated around the end of the 1st century, too late for even a younger brother of Jesus, and it seems to look back upon the time of the apostles (v 17). On the other hand, it is difficult to understand why someone would choose as a pseudonym the name of so obscure a person. (See JUDE, EPISTLE OF; also *Mark* NCBC).

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6. The disciple who betrayed Jesus. See JUDAS ISCARIOT.

7. Another of the twelve disciples, other than Judas Iscariot. In Luke 6:14–16 and in Acts 1:13 he is described as Judas *iakōbou,* "son of James" (not "brother" as in several versions). The James intended here has not been conclusively identified. In John 14:22 Judas is mentioned as "Judas (not Iscariot)," although Brown maintains that this refers to yet another Judas (*John* 641).

This Judas is usually identified with the Thaddeus mentioned in the lists of Matt 10:3 and Mark 3:18. Brown believes that this equation is a mistaken tradition based on attempted gospel harmonies (*John* 641; also Barrett 1956: 388). If Judas and Thaddeus are the same person, then Thaddeus and Lebbaeus, the equivalent found in some mss, were likely hypocoristic names used to avoid confusion with Judas Iscariot. Brown (*John* 641) believes that the " (not Iscariot)" in John 14:22 is a later scribal addition, and

the 5th century OL codex Veronensis reads "Judas *sed alius*" ("the other") in John 14:22; thus the earliest text may have read simply "Judas," with later changes being made to distinguish him from Judas Iscariot (Barrett 1956: 388).

Judas is not to be equated with Judas the brother of Jesus (#5 above; *ISBE* 2: 1115; cf. Koester 1965: 296–97). Neither is he the same as the author of the book of Jude, as was maintained by Tertullian (Barclay 1960: 198). The identity of Judas is further confused by a variety of other ms readings for John 14:22. In the Curetonian Syr Gospels (2d–7th centuries) he is " (Judas) Thomas"= Judas the Twin (*Acts* NICNT, 44, n. 46). In the Sinaitic Syr (2d–7th centuries) only "Thomas" is present. This is part of the Syriac tradition that Judas and Thomas are the same person (*Gos. Thom.* 80:10). In the Coptic Sahidic (3d–6th centuries), however, he is "Judas the Cananean," intended to equate him with the apostle Simon the Cananean (*John* AB, 641). The OL codices Vercellinis, Veronensis, Sangermanensis, and Claromontanus (all 4th–9th centuries) all read "Judas Zealotes" for the name in the list of Acts 1:13, as does the *Epistola Apostolorum* (before 150 A.D.; Lake and Cadbury 1932: 14).

Whatever his identity, the only event the Gospels record of his career is John 14:22, where he asks Jesus, "Lord, how is it that you will manifest yourself to us, and not to the world?"

8. Judas Barsabbas. See BARSABBAS (PERSON).

9. The owner of a home in Damascus where Paul stayed before his baptism by Ananias (Acts 9:11). Judas may have been a Christian; if not, he was not hostile to the movement. The Gk text reads *iouda,* not *ioudas* (Bruce *Acts* NIGTC, 201). The home of Judas is said to have been on the "street called Straight." This would have been either the decumanas or the cardo, the two perpendicular main roads of every Roman town. Tradition has identified the road of Acts 9:11 with the E-W Darb el-Mostakim, and has placed Judas's house near the W end (Bruce *Acts* NICNT, 199). Outside of the NT, reference has been found of two theaters in Damascus located on a street "called Straight" (Negev 1972: 88).

It may be that Luke included the name of Judas either because of his interest in people who hosted early Christians (Williams *Acts* BHNTC, 123: cf. Simon the tanner in Acts 10:6 and Mnason in Acts 21:16), or because such details are characteristic of visions such as Ananias' (Lake and Cadbury 1932: 102).

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**10.** A Jew from Galilee who led a rebellion against Roman authority in A.D. 6. In Acts 5:37 Gamaliel mentions Judas of Galilee and Theudas as leaders of movements that failed because they were not of God. The Jewish historian Josephus is our main source of information about him (*Ant* 18.1.1–6; *JW* 2.8.1). He calls him Judas the Galilean, but says that he was born in Gaulonitis E of the Sea of Galilee. Judas may have been called "the Galilean" because Galilee was the center of his rebellion or because nearby Gaulonitis was associated with Galilee.

Josephus accuses Judas of sowing the seeds of rebellion that led to the Jewish war of independence in A.D. 66 and to the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70. Judas and a Pharisee named Zaddok formed a Jewish sect that Josephus compares to the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. The members of this sect were in agreement with the Pharisees except in their passionate belief that the Jews should submit to the rule of God alone. For this belief they were willing to suffer hardship and death. Although Josephus does not give a name for Judas' followers many scholars have identified them with the Zealots.

The census of A.D. 6 was the occasion of Judas' rebellion. In that year, at the request of the Jews, Archelaus, son of Herod the Great, was deposed as tetrarch of Judea and Samaria. Archelaus had been a client of Rome, but now the area he had ruled came under direct Roman control as part of the province of Syria. In order to establish a basis for taxation, Quirinius, the governor of Syria, held a census of the population and property of this territory now under his supervision.

Many pious Jews probably saw this census as an encroachment on God's right to number His people and on His ownership of their land. The high priest was able to convince most people to go along with the new order. Judas, however, taught that only God could be called "master" (Gk *despotēs*) and that to submit to the census was to deny His lordship. God would deliver His people only when they rose up in armed rebellion against this outrage.

Judas' sons followed the example of their father. Menahem was a leader of the rebellion in Jerusalem shortly before the war with Rome (*JW* 2.17.8–9). Two more of his sons, James and Simon, were crucified by the Romans (*Ant* 20.5.2). Eleazar, probably Judas' grandson, led the defense of the fortress at Masada after the fall of Jerusalem (*JW* 7.8.1). See Hengel (1989: 76–145) for further information.

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**JUDAS ISCARIOT.** One of the twelve disciples of Jesus, possibly from Judea, who served as treasurer of the itinerant group. His name always appears last in the lists of the Twelve and he is described as assisting the authorities in capturing Jesus. Judas Iscariot is mentioned twenty times in the four gospels and twice in Acts. Although he is designated as "one of the Twelve" in Matthew (26:14, 47) and Mark (14:10), and listed among them in Luke (6:16) as well as in Mark (3:19) and Matthew (10:4), he is not a central figure in the events portrayed.

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A. The Name
B. The Act of Judas
C. Judas as One of the Twelve
D. Judas in the Four Gospels
    1. Mark
    2. Matthew
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    1. The Apostolic Fathers
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F. Judas in Recent Discussion

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**A. The Name**

Judas Iscariot appears in five different forms: (a) the original name, *Judas*, the Hellenized form of the Hebrew name *Yĕhûdâ* (Mark 14:43; Matt 26:25, 47; 27:3; Luke 22:47f; Acts 1:16, 25; John 13:29; 18:2f, 5); (b) *Judas Iscarioth* (Mark 3:19; 14:10; Luke 6:16; and as v 1 Matt 10:4 and Luke 22:47), which is the Semitic form of Iscariot; (c) *Judas Iscariot*, the Greek form (Matt 10:3; 26:14; Luke 22:3; John 6:71; 12:4; 13:2, 26; 14:22; and as variant readings in Mark 3:19; 14:10, 43; Luke 6:16); (d) *Judas, the one called Judas Iscariot* (Matt 26:14; Luke 22:3; John 6:71); and (e) *Judas, son of Simon Iscariot* (John 6:71; 13:2, 26).

The term "Iscariot" did not belong, at first, to the name itself but emerged to distinguish this Judas from many others of that name (cf. Luke 6:16; Acts 1:13; John 14:22). Schwarz lists nine interpretations of the term "Iscariot" and adds another of his own (Schwarz 1988). These fall into four main groups:

(i) Some hold that the term "Iscariot" indicates that Judas belonged to the group of the Sicarii: dagger-wielding assassins (Cullmann 1956: 15; 1970: 21–23; 1966); and thus they concluded Judas was a member of the Zealot party.

(ii) Others suggest that the term is derived from the Heb *šāqar* and designates the "false one." This highlights the character of Judas by alluding in his surname to his act of deception and betrayal (Torrey 1943; Gärtner 1971).

(iii) Others believe that the word designates his deed. He was a "deliverer" (root *škr*), and thus *ho paradidous* is a simple translation of (I)Skariot (h). It has been noted that the LXX of Isa 19:4 translates the *Pi'el* of *škr* ("capture and hand over") with Gk *paradidomi,* the same word used in Mark 3:19 to designate Judas (*ho paradidous,* "the one who betrayed him"). Morin (1973) takes the Markan designation to be a literal translation of *(i)skariot,* "the one handing over." Still others suggest that it refers to what Judas did for a living, concluding that he was a red dyer (Ehrman 1978; Arbeitman 1980) or a fruit grower (Krauss 1902).

(iv) Some believe that the name Iscariot indicates hometown. Was Judas perhaps the only one of the Twelve from Judea, from the village of Kerioth (Josh 15:25)? Billerbeck gives many cases where the Heb *'iš* is connected with a hometown and calls this "the right explanation" (1922: 537; so also Haugg 1930: 76 and Dalman 1929: 28–29). Askaroth or Askar, near Shechem, has also been suggested (Dalman 1935: 213). Schwarz (1988) proposes that the original Aramaic yields the translation "the man from the city"= Jerusalem. This is supported by evidence from the Targums where the formula appears frequently at least in the plural, "men from the city," and the word *keriotha* is often used to mean Jerusalem. If those who suggest that the term "Iscariot" came into use only after Judas' death are correct (Torrey 1943; Vogler 1985) then it is also possible that not even the evangelists knew what it meant (Dalman 1902: 51–52).

Although it seems plausible (Klauck 1987) to interpret "Iscariot" as designating place of origin there is no consensus on this or on the place designated.

**B. The Act of Judas**

The usual word for the deed of Judas is *paradidonai,* which occurs 122 times in the NT, 57 times in connection with the capture of Jesus. It appears 18 times in the Gospels in the general sense; e.g., "It is necessary for the Son of Man to be handed over." The verb is connected directly with Judas 44 times. The word is many-layered, appearing often in the NT without reference to Judas (Popkes 1967).

For example, it is used of the chief priests who deliver Jesus to Pilate (Mark 15:1, 10; Matt 27:2, 18; Luke 24:20; John 18:30, 35); to describe his being delivered over to the "Jews" (John 18:36), or by the contemporaries of the apostles (Acts 3:13). Pilate "hands [Jesus] over" to be crucified (Matt 27:26; Mark 15:15; Luke 23:25; John 19:16). It is striking that Judas is never mentioned without some reference to this act; apart from it Judas has no recognizable identity in any of the Gospels.

In Luke 6:16 the noun *prodotes* (traitor) stands in its place, and in Acts 1:16 Judas is designated as the *hodegos,* the one who pointed the way to those who sought to take Jesus captive. However, most often Judas is simply noted as the "one who handed him over."

Judas is never mentioned by Paul, although Paul repeats the tradition of Jesus being handed over without specifying who did it (1 Cor 11:27). The same verb is used by Paul in theological contexts as in Rom 4:25: "Jesus was delivered to death for our misdeeds." In Rom 8:32 it is God who delivers his own son, and in Gal 2:20 Jesus delivers himself to death (so also Eph 5:2, 25). This widespread variation in usage of the term suggests caution in translating *paradidonai* as "betray." That translation is, in fact, quite peripheral in biblical literature (Klauck 1987: 45). The oldest occurrence of the word in connection with Jesus' capture occurs in 1 Cor 11:23b, where Judas is not mentioned by name. The tradition of *Judas* as betrayer was not found in Paul or in the earliest layers of the tradition.

Recent studies (Klauck 1987; Vogler 1985) of the pre-Synoptic layers of the tradition have led to two important conclusions. First, Judas was neither a symbolic figure nor a product of kerygmatic imagination, but a clearly recognizable historical figure, i.e., an actual disciple of Jesus. His designated name, Iscariot, comes from a Semitic milieu; and our knowledge that he belongs to the circle of the Twelve also rests on tradition which comes from the Aramaic-speaking Church. Missing from the earliest traditions are any aspects of the paid informant who, in remorse, later commits suicide. We have portrayed rather a man who is no worse than his colleagues in the circle of the disciples and who received as much recognition from Jesus as did the rest and may have been honored by Jesus in this singular mission. The subsequent understanding of his action as a "betrayal" may come from the Aramaic-speaking Church, which later felt compelled to make Judas at least partially responsible for the death of

Jesus. It was covered up with a theological rationalization of the death of Jesus in which Judas became a villain.

Second, the interpretation of the deed of Judas was soon changed, for as the Church began to interpret the death of Jesus, an increasingly larger degree of blame was placed on Judas. He was initially remembered only as the first who had parted company with Jesus even though all the other disciples likewise had occasion to abandon Jesus, leaving him dying on the cross attended only by a few female followers. However, Judas' initial abandonment was eventually seen as a betrayal, and, eventually, the Church used the term "betrayer" to designate his deed, at times (Mark 14:21) avoiding the use of his name (Vogler 1985: 37; cf. Klauck 1987: 48–76).

**C. Judas as One of the Twelve**

The term "the Twelve" designates the inner circle of the disciples of Jesus. It occurs once in Paul, eleven times in Mark, eight times in Matthew, nine times in Luke–Acts, and four times in John. Judas' attachment to this group has posed theological problems since antiquity. These problems are even more acute if Jesus himself established this group and chose Judas to be a part of it.

The earliest reference to the Twelve is found in 1 Cor 15:5. As the negative tradition about Judas formed, it mentioned only eleven disciples at the post-resurrection appearances (Matt 28:16; Luke 24:9, 33; Mark 16:14; Acts 1:26; cf. 1:13). Given the theological difficulties of including Judas among the Twelve, it seems highly likely that the tradition of his attachment to the Twelve rests on historical fact. The more the community reflected on the capture and trial of Jesus and on Judas' role, the more critically they judged Judas' actions. They were, however, unable to conceal his place among the Twelve.

**D. Judas in the Four Gospels**

The negative portrayal of Judas can be seen by examining the evidence from the Gospels, written a generation or two after the events.

**1. Mark.** Mark says very little about Judas, and attributes his action to no particular motive. He is simply the one who handed Jesus over (3:19; 14:10, 44). Three parts of the Judas tradition that Mark appropriated from an earlier source are traceable:

**a.** In 14:43, 46, perhaps the oldest layer of redaction, it is simply reported that while Jesus was speaking, Judas, one of the Twelve, appeared with an armed crowd sent by the chief priests, lawyers, and elders, who seized Jesus and held him fast. The designation "Iscariot" is missing, and the verb *paradidonai* is not attached directly to Judas, attesting to the antiquity of the tradition.

**b.** Slightly more recent are the two reports in 14:18 and 14:21. The first states that as they sat at supper Jesus predicted that one of them, now eating with them, would hand him over. The second states that while Jesus' death is necessary, it is too bad for the person who will hand him over. This tradition is promoting the view that the death of Jesus was no accident, that Jesus had a premonition of it, and that, indeed, it was according to the divine plan revealed in Scripture (Gerhardsson 1981).

**c.** A later development is evident in 14:10, where mention is made of a financial reward offered by the leaders.

According to Vogler (1985: 55–56), the final redaction of Mark reflects the following concerns:

(1) Judas was not just any false brother who had smuggled himself into the inner circle of the Twelve but was "chosen of God and of Jesus Christ." Judas had a place in the community, even participating in the Last Supper. He belonged to the core of the Church (cf. Klauck 1987: 63).

(2) Just as Jesus and his circle of disciples could not protect themselves from the defection of Judas, neither can the Church protect itself from defectors.

(3) Just as the Church is not certain that there will be no defectors, so the individual believer is never certain whether he/she may not ultimately become a defector. The question "Not I, surely?" (14:19) leads the readers of Mark to ask this critical question of themselves.

(4) Defection means not only changing one's loyalty but also brings a curse, or at least a woe (14:21). Perhaps it can even be connected with the anathema of the early Church, and in the later Church the term "kiss of Judas" refers to any act of defection.

**2. Matthew.** Matthew offers nothing by way of tradition that is not found in Mark, but the redactional development is notable. Three texts (26:15, 25, 50) are taken over from Mark but developed. In one of them Matthew quotes Judas directly (26:15), thus livening up the narrative and providing Judas with some new features. To each of the three texts he has added new materials (Vogler 1985: 71).

(a) In 26:14–16 Matthew adds the detail that Judas received money for turning Jesus in. There is no explanation of the reason for this. In the anointing story Matthew states that "the *disciples*" were indignant at the waste (26:8), while Mark has *"certain of those present"*(but Mark escalates their anger by mentioning it twice [14:4, 5], and gives no indication that Judas might be driven by love for money).

(b) In Matt 26:20–25 Judas is portrayed as an unscrupulous man. Although he has already put into action his plan to betray Jesus (26:14) and should not even be there eating with them, still in the hearing of the others he asks: "Could it be I?"

(c) Matt 26:47–50 highlights this character trait when Judas brazenly meets Jesus in the garden with a kiss and the appellation: "Hail, Rabbi." In Mark he greets him with the words "Rabbi, Rabbi," and in all three Synoptic Gospels he kisses (in Luke he is about to kiss) Jesus. In Matthew the ruthless Judas of questionable moral background carries out his act, seeks repentance by trying to return the money (Matt 27:3–5), throws it down in the Temple, and goes out and hangs himself (27:5).

To heighten this dark picture of Judas, Matthew draws sharp contrasts between Judas' behavior and that of others around him: the woman who anoints Jesus' feet (26:6–13), the disciples at the table (26:20–35), and finally between Judas and Jesus himself (26:47–56).

Matthew's account stands alone in describing Judas' remorse and even his confession of guilt (27:3–10). The account is unlike that of Luke, but at no point does Matthew pass judgment on Judas or ascribe any ulterior motive to his deed.

In Matthew, Jesus relates to Judas in all gentleness during those last days, as seen especially from his greeting in the garden. According to Luke, Jesus addressed him by name, saying: "Judas, do you hand over the Son of Man with a kiss?" (Luke 22:48). But Matthew has Jesus using a word he uses for no other person in direct address: "Friend, what are you here for?" (Matt 26:50). The Greek word *hetairos* ("friend") occurs only in Matthew and each time as direct address; twice in parables (20:13; 22:12) and once here. In all cases the one addressed is committing an ungrateful action against the one who has been generous. Here it highlights the very important relationship of trust which exists between Jesus and Judas.

Matthew's portrait of Judas is based on traditions found in Mark's gospel, except for the account of his death preserved in 27:3–10. Matthew's redaction of the Markan materials is noteworthy. The narrative becomes more lively by the introduction of direct address in 26:15, 25, 50. More important, Matthew has added new dimensions to the portrait of Judas. In 26:14–16 he provides additional information about the amount of money Judas received. In another passage (26:20–25) Jesus traces Judas' deed back to the inherent nature of Judas: "It would have been better for that man if he had never been born" (24, cf. Mark 14:20–21; Luke 22:22). In Matthew's account the perversity of Judas is heightened by the fact that he has already taken steps, as one of the Twelve, to betray Jesus (26:14–16), and despite this joined the others in the final meal.

It is hardly correct that "seen from a purely human standpoint, [Jesus] must have hated Judas like poison" (Guardini 1964: 416). Rather, Matthew's portrait of Judas serves as an example to the community. The transgressor, or the betrayer, is openly exposed. Peter, from Galilee, finds his way to genuine repentance, whereas Judas, from Judea, in spite of his remorse exercises the final judgment on himself. This represents a considerable escalation of the debt laid on Judas.

**3. Lukan Tradition.** In the Lukan writings there are four separate pieces of tradition dealing with Judas:

**a. Luke 22:1–6.** While Matthew suggests that Judas acted because of love for money, Luke goes considerably beyond that and attributes it to the entrance of Satan into Judas (22:3). This fits with Luke's notion that the devil left Jesus for a season (Luke 4:13) now to return, and through one of the Twelve, Satan will now bring the conflict between God and Satan to a decisive stage. Luke does not, like Mark and Matthew, have Jesus rebuke Peter with the words: "Get you behind me Satan" (Mark 8:33; Matt

16:23). Only in Luke does Satan enter Judas. Luke, furthermore, sets Judas on equal footing with the chief priests and officers of the Temple because he goes to negotiate with them. They want to take Jesus into captivity but cannot because of the crowds (19:47; 20:19). Luke provides a reason for Judas' deed and also prepares for the act that made it possible to capture Jesus. Just as Ananias is possessed by Satan in Acts 5:3, so here Satan takes over Judas and sets the execution of Jesus into motion. But Luke also portrays Judas as acting in partnership with the upper levels of authority in Judaism.

**b. Luke 22:21–23.** It is remarkable that in Luke's description of the Last Supper Judas stays until the very end; indeed, he is not even exposed as a traitor at this meal. If Matthew and Mark have avoided the problem of having Judas participate in this most intimate meal with Jesus by exposing him at the outset, Luke introduces a different problem: How can the betrayer, possessed as he is of Satan, participate in the inner circle of the Twelve with Jesus? Luke affirms that even in this intimate circle a betrayer, indeed one possessed of Satan, can be present. He is known to Jesus (22:21–23) but not exposed. Instead, in Luke's narrative the disciples break out into a jealous dispute about who among them ranks the highest. Perhaps it is Luke's way of saying that the act of betrayal is not restricted to one person alone, and although Judas' act is singular, there is in this context also a reminder that Peter will deny his Lord three times, in spite of his assurances that he will not.

**c. Luke 22:47–53.** The words "with … Judas … at their head" (v 47) are Luke's own, stressing Judas' leadership role. He does not actually depict Judas kissing Jesus, although it is clear that he intends to do so. Jesus addresses Judas by name with no qualifiers, signifying an early tradition. Most striking is also the way in which Judas is interrogated by Jesus (v 48); "the hour of darkness may now reign" (v 53), but ultimately Jesus is in charge. As Grundmann (*Luke* THKNT) has said: "The One who has come to free those sitting in darkness … came under their power himself through those who served it. Their hour will however be ended by his hour and the power of darkness will be overcome through his victory."

**d. Acts 1:16–20.** At the center of this narrative stands Peter, acting as an interpreter of the act of Judas. Missing is any reference to Satan; instead, Peter (through Luke's redaction) speaks of the way in which Scripture was fulfilled through the deeds of Judas. Nothing is said of a betrayal, rather, his deed is described as "acting as a guide to those who arrested Jesus" (Acts 1:16). To be sure, as Lüthi (1955: 113) has noted, while Matthew attributes an immoral dimension to Judas' financial negotiations, here it is explicitly described as "the price of his villainy" or unrighteousness. Luke sees *adikia* as related to *mamona* (16:8), and while his account of the death of Judas is clearly secondary to that of Matthew, neither one necessarily reflects historical reality. Luke tied it to two OT texts: Pss 69:26 and 109:8.

As for elements of the tradition, Luke offers little information about Judas that is not found elsewhere in the NT. Yet the shape and form which he gives it is uniquely his own, directed no doubt to his own community. By now it is clear that a supernatural element is needed to explain his action, and thus Satan is introduced for the first time. By having Judas at the Last Supper throughout the evening, Luke shows that satanic powers can permeate the very inner circle of believers when they meet with their Lord. His Judas does not seek repentance. He ends his own life even though "he had this ministry with us" (Acts 1:17). But Luke's understanding of salvation history also includes the victory of Jesus over Judas, the victory of good over evil, of light over darkness.

**4. The Gospel of John.** There are a total of five references to Judas Iscariot in the Fourth Gospel.

**a. John 6:64–71.** Unique is the introduction of Judas' unbelief so early in the ministry of Jesus. While the Synoptic Gospels have also introduced Judas when naming the Twelve, they have only identified him further with the words "the one who handed him over." John, however, introduces Judas here to show that Jesus is aware that, although he chose Twelve, "yet one of you is a devil" (v 70). Later, of "the Jews" Jesus says that their "father is the devil" (8:44). Here John's concern is to affirm that Jesus knew everything: "Jesus knew from the first who those were that did not believe and who it was that would betray him" (6:64). Where Luke speaks of Satan entering into Judas, John states flatly: "One of you is a devil" (6:70). John's gloss explains that "he meant Judas, son of Simon Iscariot."

**b. John 12:1–8.** John's editing of the anointing story builds on certain traditional materials, e.g., only here does John refer to Judas as "Iscariot" and only here does he use the expression *heis tōn mathētōn,*

"one of the disciples." He prefers the term *ek tōn mathētōn,* and he uses the traditional formula "the one who was to betray him." What is new in this story is the notice that Judas served as treasurer and, secondly, that he was a thief who used to pilfer the money put into the common purse. Since the narrative reads well without any reference to Judas whatever, this could well be a later Johannine redactional addition. Since no group can long survive without confidence in its treasurer, and since the other gospels do not mention it, we may assume that John is here adding later gossip for which there is no historical evidence. It does, however, fit into his overall attempt to demonize Judas.

**c. John 13:2–30.** The context is the footwashing and the Last Supper. Judas serves as the backdrop of the foot-washing, for having spoken of his willingness to demonstrate the love Jesus had for his own, the narrative abruptly jars us with: "The devil had already put it into the mind of Judas … to betray him." We are led to believe that Judas participates in the washing of the feet without objection. The gloss in v 10 addresses the matter; Jesus was aware of who would betray him. He also knows whom he has chosen, but one of them is excluded from this choice, "the one who eats bread with me has lifted his heel against me." Jesus is then described as being in "deep agitation of spirit" (v 21) because of the betrayal. The scene is similar to that of the Synoptics: the disciples ask who is it, and finally by dipping bread in the dish and giving it to Judas the secret is revealed. "As soon as Judas had received it, Satan entered him." When Jesus tells him, "Do quickly what you have to do," no one at the table understood what he meant. The perplexity of the disciples also indicates that Judas was not an "outsider" from the start. Rather, the reference to Satan entering him after he ate the bread indicates that Judas was a believer like the other disciples. He fully participated in their common life with Jesus. Twice John says that he received the bread (v 27, 30). But for John light and darkness are essential parts of moral reality, and when Judas departs he takes leave of the light and goes out into the darkness.

**d. John 17:12.** Even in the great prayer of Jesus recorded in chap. 17, the discordant note of Judas is sounded, although he is not named. "Not one of them is lost except the son of perdition who must be lost, for Scripture has to be fulfilled." The divine will is here applied to Judas, and he is called something similar to the son of iniquity (2 Thess 2:3), i.e., someone born from and destined for iniquity. Judas appears here more like an automaton than a free, willing person.

**e. John 18:1–11.** What is striking here is the mechanical behavior Judas displays. Described only as "Judas, the betrayer" he appears as the leader of the contingent of soldiers and police provided by the chief priests and the Pharisees, equipped with torches, weapons, and lanterns. John confines himself simply to saying that after Jesus had come forward to ask them whom they were seeking and had identified himself, "there stood Judas the traitor with them" (v 5).

For John there is no genuine interaction between Jesus and Judas. The latter represents the evil darkness and he comes across the stage as an actor merely playing his part. Jesus can only rebuke him for murmuring about the waste of money at the anointing. John blames that solely on Judas and for the worst of motives.

In the final scene in Gethsemane in John's account Jesus says nothing to Judas. Luke leaves open the question whether Judas kissed Jesus in the garden, but John portrays no interaction at all between the two. For him the realm of darkness cannot touch the Lord of Light, and he damns Judas into darkness. It may make good drama, but we have moved far from a description of the actual historical situation.

**E. Judas in Later Christian Tradition**

**1. The Apostolic Fathers.** The *Shepherd of Hermas* alludes to betrayers in *Herm. Sim.* viii.6.4 who cannot escape death. Although Judas is not named, he could be in mind. In *Herm. Sim.* ix.19.1–2 there is an allusion to Judas, since all betrayers are condemned to death with no hope of repentance. In the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (#6) it is said that those who betrayed Polycarp will receive the same punishment as Judas. In the Fragment of Papias transmitted by Irenaeus (*Haer.* 5.33.3f.) it is said that Jesus met unbelief in Judas, and that he had been told he would not see the Kingdom of Heaven (Hennecke 1963–65, 2: 62–63). Papias shared the Fourth Gospel's assessment of Judas. In the Papias fragment transmitted by Apollinaris of Laodicea (about 310–390), there is a gruesome and detailed account of Judas' death. Although it takes some elements from Luke's account, it goes much beyond it, presenting Judas as "a

model of great ungodliness" (cf. Gk *mega de asebeias hypodeigma*) to terrorize the reader and to prevent others from taking the path of betrayal.

**2. NT Apocrypha.** The *Gospel of the Ebionites* (first half of 2d century) mentions Judas (the) Iscariot as the twelfth disciple (1) with no reference to the betrayal. The *Gospel of Peter,* the earliest noncanonical account of the passion (dated about 150), also has no reference to Judas or to his deed or his fate (14:59). In the *Acts of Peter,* Peter, smitten with sharp affliction, complains about the devil and his manifold artistries, mentioning in particular his influence on Judas: "You forced Judas, my fellow-disciple and fellow-apostle, to act in a godless manner, so that he delivered up our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall punish you for it" (8). In the *Acts of John* appears the following: "I am your God, but not the God of the Traitor" (96). The radical dualism is evident.

In the *Acts of Thomas* (3d century, E Syria) the devil brags, "I am the one who stirred up Judas and bribed him to deliver up the Christ" (32). A later reference in the same work warns the reader: "Abstain … from thievery, which enticed Judas Iscariot and brought him to hanging" (84).

The *Acts of Pilate* (latter half of 4th century) contains an extensive legend about the death of Judas, meant to fit in between Matt 27:5a and 27:6. In this episode, Judas goes home and discusses his plan with his wife, who tries to dissuade him, but through a miracle he is proved right that Jesus will be raised up in three days (*Acts Pilate* pt. I; James 1955: 116). The *Arabic Infancy Gospel* presents a legend which shows that already in early childhood Judas was possessed of the devil (35).

The Coptic *Book of the Resurrection of Christ by Bartholomew* describes Jesus' encounter with Judas in hell: "he turned to Judas Iscariot and uttered a long rebuke, and described the sufferings which he must endure. Thirty names of sins are given, which are the snakes which were sent to devour him." After the harrowing of hell, only three souls are found there: Herod, Judas, and Cain (James 1955: 183). One fragment states that the reason Judas could not be redeemed from hell is that before his hanging he had worshipped the devil in the form of a snake (Vogler 1985: 130). A further Coptic fragment deals with a miracle of feeding in which Judas, even before he had decided to betray Jesus, remained aloof from the other disciples and did not receive bread to distribute to the crowd (Vogler 1985: 131).

Against this strong tide of rejection of Judas, it is interesting to note that according to Irenaeus, Theodoret, and Epiphanius there existed a *Gospel of Judas.* Unfortunately, nothing remains of it, but it would appear to have emerged from a group of gnostics who did not concur in the wholesale condemnation of Judas. Instead they celebrated the mystery of his betrayal and read the *Gospel of Judas* as holy writing (Hennecke 1963–65, 1: 313–14), as suggested by Irenaeus: "Others again allow Cain to be born of higher power and confess Esau, Korah, the Sodomites, and others as their relatives, which although they are hated by their creator, yet he did them no great harm. For the Sophia took from them what belonged to them as her own. The betrayer Judas knew this, he alone recognized the truth and completed the mystery of betrayal; he separated all earthly and heavenly matters. This composition they call the Gospel of Judas" (*Haer.* 1.31.1). Apparently this group felt that Judas rendered a great service by handing Jesus over to his enemies, thus bringing about the salvation of humanity. Above all, it is clear from the discoveries at Nag Hammadi that there still remained people within the early Church who could treat Judas without polemic as a human being, not as a demonic creature. In the Dialogue of the Savior he appears as a normal, inquisitive disciple alongside Matthew and Mariam (Robinson 1977: 229–38).

The evidence for this positive interest in Judas is remarkable. It could well be the forerunner of the positive interest many Jews displayed in Judas, and indeed may be inherent in the early gospel accounts. Any attempts, however, to allow the historical Judas to emerge were in time overshadowed by a reading of the gospel in which people are divided into good people and bad people, and according to which bad people have no hope of redemption. It is hard to find support in the texts for such an attitude on the part of Jesus toward Judas.

**F. Judas in Recent Discussion**

The numerous novels about Judas in the 20th century, and their revisions of the traditional point of view (not to mention contemporary movies or musicals in which he figures) signals the continuing search for the Judas of history. From a theological perspective, the carefully nuanced discussion of Judas by Karl

Barth (1957: 458–507) indicates that the issue is more complex than either the gnostic gospels of the 2d century or the canonical gospels of the 1st century admit.

The dilemma which the NT texts pose is that Judas is clearly a disciple of Jesus from early on. He enjoyed the trust of Jesus and the respect and confidence of the group. The paltry sum for which he allegedly "betrays" Jesus is hardly an adequate motive to account for the action. It is impossible to ascertain what is being betrayed. Certainly if Jesus did not want to allow himself to be captured on that night he had plenty of opportunity to flee. Is it possible that Judas did not so much betray Jesus as was betrayed by him, i.e., that the hopes and wishes of Judas, along with those of the other disciples, were dashed when Jesus had his opportunity to confront the powers? Was Judas in fact selected by Jesus personally to be the agent who would make contact with the authorities to avoid tumult or a riot, and that the remorse of Judas came only as it became clear to him that Jesus, too, would die and not establish his kingdom?

The sources do not reveal answers to these questions, but there has been much discussion of this issue from at least the time of Origen, who first posed the theological questions (Laeuchli 1953). As Origen already noted, the discrepant accounts of the various Gospels create the historical problem, which precedes the theological problem. Thus the gospel writers have, in their own way, contributed to the enigma of the life and work of Judas Iscariot, an enigma which defies easy solution. In no other person do the elements of free will and divine providence come together so ambiguously. No doubt this is the reason why Judas has held such a compelling attraction for theologians and artists over the centuries and does even now. In a study of Judas, history and theology came together. But even more directly, ethics as well, for those who condemn Judas, and especially those who use him to fuel the fires of anti-Semitism, have not learned the meaning of Christ's death, which was meant to put an end to all judgment and condemnation. Is it too much to suggest that whatever Judas did, he too was covered by the intercessory prayer of Jesus from the cross: "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do"?

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WILLIAM KLASSEN

**JUDAS MACCABEUS.** The leader of the Jewish revolt against the religious persecutions of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. He was of a priestly family of the *mišmar* (tribe) of Jehoiarib (1 Chr 24:7). His family home was the village of Modiin, on the western slopes of the Judean hill country. He was the third son among five (1 Macc 2:2) of his father Mattathias.

Judas Maccabeus became the leader of the revolt after his father died, at about the end of 166 B.C.E. He led it from guerrilla warfare into a full-fledged revolt against Seleucid rule and he won some battles of great military importance, showing an outstanding military talent. He also took the warfare beyond the borders of Judea and entered into diplomatic relations with Rome. These two activities became major lines of policy in the development of the Hasmonean house later on.

We may assume that he was chosen to be the leader of the revolt after Mattathias' death, though he was not his eldest son, either because of some former military experience or because of the talent he showed in the exploits during the earlier stages of the revolt. Regardless, he was not a village boy or a farmer who became a military leader, but a son of an important family, which opposed the Hellenization and its supporters. According to 2 Maccabees he was forced to leave Jerusalem at the beginning of the persecution, which indicates that he was staying there at that time (1 Macc 5:27) and was not in his hometown of Modiin.

Judas' military career is covered by our two principal sources, 1 Maccabees and 2 Maccabees. We will list below his battles and military exploits. Judas' first known battle was against Apollonius, who came from Samaria (1 Macc 3:10), where he was probably a governor. Apollonius was defeated somewhere on his way toward Jerusalem, and fell on the battlefield. The battle took place probably toward the end of 166. Shortly afterward Judas defeated Seron at Beth-Horon (1 Maccabees 3:13–26). Seron was probably an officer at the coastal region.

Judas' third and most important battle was at Emmaus. In this battle he was forced to use new tactics because his opponent, Gorgias, was a better commander and had under his command a bigger army. Judas indeed used more complicated maneuvers and counter-movements than before. Intelligence, ruse, night march, moral exhortation, consideration of topographical conditions, and discipline—all were used in Emmaus. The Syrian forces were defeated and retreated to the coastal plain, in about the first half of 165 B.C.E.

In the battle of Beth-Zur, the Syrian commander was Lysias, the regent of the W part of the Seleucid Empire. Lysias tried to invade Judea from the S, but was stopped by Judas at Beth-Zur. Scholars think that he was not defeated by Judas, but left the country for political reasons.

After Lysias' retreat, Judas Maccabeus took over the Temple Mount and cleansed the Temple of the impurities caused by the Hellenizers and the Seleucid garrison (December, 164 B.C.E.). The following year (163 B.C.E.) saw the expeditions of the Maccabees to save Jews in Galilee and Transjordan, who were threatened by their enemies.

Encouraged by these successful exploits, Judas attacked Akra, the fortress of the Seleucid garrison and the shelter of the Hellenizers, his internal enemies. To this attack on the most vital base of the Seleucid suzerainty in Judea, Lysias, now the regent of the new boy-king Antiochus V, reacted forcefully by a second expedition led by himself and accompanied by the king (spring 162 B.C.E.).

Lysias had with him a greater army than ever before, including elephants. He invaded Judea again from the S and put a siege on Beth-Zur, which surrendered to him. Then he beat off Judas at Beth-Zecharia and followed him to Jerusalem, where he besieged him in the Temple Mount. It looked as if the revolt had come to its end, and it would only be a matter of time till the besieged would surrender. But Judas

Maccabeus and his followers defended themselves courageously and before being able to take the place, Lysias was forced to return to Antiochia because of internal problems. He raised the siege and made a treaty with the insurgents.

Whatever the situation in Judea at that time, Judas did not acquiesce to it. Yet the new Seleucid king, Demetrius I, was not ready to let Judas be active in Judea or to change the arrangements made by the Seleucid government.

At first Nicanor, who was appointed *Strategos* (military governor) of Judea, negotiated with Judas (*mala fide* according to 1 Macc 7:27–30; *bona fide* according to 2 Macc 14:18–28), but when this failed they met on the battlefield. First in Kefar Salma, where Nicanor was repulsed and retreated to the Akra, and later at Adasa, where he was killed and his army dispersed (on the 13th of Adar, 161 B.C.E.).

At this juncture, before the battle of Adasa, when Judas Maccabeus was in all probability awaiting a new expedition to be sent by Demetrius to retaliate and to crush the revolt, he sent an ambassador to Rome to seek support against this impending threat. The result was a treaty between the Romans and the Jews (1 Macc 8:23–32). But this treaty did not prevent Demetrius from sending Bacchides to Judea. Bacchides' army met Judas at Elasa. The Jewish forces were defeated and Judas Maccabeus fell on the battlefield (160 B.C.E.).

A list of battles is not enough to estimate Judas' generalship, statesmanship, and leadership. We have to estimate his achievements within the context of that period. Judas is the person who contributed most to the repel of the persecution, decreed by Antiochus IV and instigated by the Hellenizers. This achievement was a direct result of the inability of the Hellenizers to rule Judea and the incessant demand on the Seleucid government to allocate armies to support them and to pursue the religious persecution ordered by the king. Judas Maccabeus is the person under whose leadership the rebels made this policy untenable and instead of settling the situation to the benefit of the Seleucid government turned it into an unsustainable expense.

Using the Jewish potential power to the utmost, Judas Maccabeus caused not only a change of Seleucid policy, but also the dimunition of the influence of the Hellenized nobility in Judea with the Seleucid government. This was a beginning of a change in Jewish society, which ended in it expelling the Hellenized component and rebuilding on new foundations.

Judas' activity was not limited to Judea alone, and his succor expeditions paved the way for the conquest of Israel and the foundation of a Jewish state all over the country.

Though mainly a warrior, Judas Maccabeus was well aware of the importance of diplomacy for the achievement of his aims. These aims were beyond the immediate war against Antiochus' policy, and they were, so it seems, national and political, and perhaps also dynastic. Judas took the important step toward involving Rome in the struggle against the Seleucids and was also involved in negotiations with the Seleucid authorities. Although Judas' diplomatic activity was futile, it showed the way to his followers.

His most impressive achievements were military. His leadership attracted his people and he made of his supporters an army. He knew the means to win on the battlefield, but he could not (or it was premature at the time) turn his military achievements into political gains. This was done by his brothers.

Judas Maccabeus is admired in 2 Maccabees, he is highly appreciated in 1 Maccabees, and he is critically or skeptically viewed in the book of Daniel, where he is called (according to most commentators) "a little help" (Dan 11:34). Historically, his achievements were tremendous, though they may have sown seeds of future problems.

URIEL RAPPAPORT

**JUDE, EPISTLE OF.** The Epistle of Jude was written to warn against false teachers and is found as the 26th book in the NT canon.

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A. Form and Structure
B. Literary Relationships
C. Theological Character

D. The Opponents
E. Date
F. Authorship
G. Destination
H. Message

———

**A. Form and Structure**

A careful analysis of the structure of Jude is essential to an adequate understanding of it:

1–2 Address and Greeting

3–4 Occasion and Theme

3 A. The Appeal to Contend for the Faith

4 B. The Background to the appeal: The False Teachers, Their Charecter and Judgment

(forming Introductory Statements of Theme for $B^1$)

5–23 Body of the letter

5–19 $B^1$. The Background: A Midrash on Four Prophecies of the Doom of the Ungodly

5–7 *"Text" 1: Three Old Testament Types*

8–10 + interpretation

(9) including secondary "texts" 1a: Michael and the Devil

11 *"Text" 2: Three More Old Testament Types*

12–13 + interpretation

(12–13) including secondary allusions

14–15 *"Text" 3: A Very Ancient Prophecy*

16 + interpretation

17–18 *"Text" 4: A Very Modern Prophecy*

19 + interpretation

20–23 $A^1$. The Appeal

24–25 Concluding Doxology

This analysis should make clear that in form Jude is a letter which contains (in vv 4–19) a "midrash" or section of formal exegesis. It is important to notice how the initial statement of the theme of the letter (vv 3–4) contains two parts (A and B) which correspond, in reverse order, to the two parts of the body of the letter ($B^1$ and $A^1$). The main purpose of the letter is the appeal "to contend for the faith" which is announced in v 3 and spelled out in vv 20–23. But v 4 explains that this appeal is needed because the readers are in danger of being seriously misled by certain false teachers. The claim made in v 4 that these teachers are people whose ungodly behavior has already been condemned by God is then substantiated by the exegetical section (vv 5–19) which argues that they are the ungodly people of the last days to whom many scriptural types and prophecies of judgment refer. Despite its length and central position, the discussion of the false teachers (vv 4–19) is not the main object of the letter. It establishes the danger in which the readers are placed by the influence of the false teachers and so performs an essential role as background to the appeal, but the real climax of the letter is reached only in the exhortations of vv 20–23. In vv 4–19 Jude establishes the need for his readers to "contend for the faith," but only in vv 20–23 does he explain what "contending for the faith" involves. Thus his negative polemic against the false teachers is subordinate to the positive Christian teaching of vv 20–23.

Further explanation of the structure of the "midrash" (vv 4–19) is needed. This is a very carefully composed piece of scriptural commentary which argues for the statement made in v 4. Though the form of argument will be strange to modern readers, its hermeneutical presuppositions and exegetical methods

were widely accepted in contemporary Judaism and can be paralleled especially from the Qumran commentaries on Scripture (the *pešarîm*), as well as from some other parts of the NT (e.g. 1 Pet 2:4–10).

There are four main "texts" (vv 5–7, 11, 14–15, 17–18), each followed by a section of interpretation (vv 8–10, 12–13, 16, 19). These "texts"*function* as texts in the midrash, but are not all scriptural quotations: in fact, none is an actual quotation from our canonical OT. The first pair of "texts" (1 and 2) are summaries of Scripture: three groups of people (in text 1) and three individuals (in text 2) who were famous scriptural examples of divine judgment and here function as types of the false teachers who are similarly doomed to judgment. "Texts"3 and 4 form a second pair, this time of verbal prophecies of the false teachers. "Text"3 is quoted from *1 En.* 1:9 and "text"4 from oral tradition of the apocalyptic teaching of the apostles: they show that the false teachers and their doom have been prophesied from the very earliest times up to the most recent times.

Despite the somewhat anomalous nature of the "texts," the midrashic structure of texts followed by interpretations is clear, since the distinction between text and interpretation is marked in three ways: (1) The tense of the verbs in the "texts" is past or future, referring to types in the past or prophesying the future (in "texts"2 and 3 the aorists are prophetic past tenses), whereas the interpretations use present tenses, referring to the fulfillment of the types and prophecies at the present time, i.e. in the form of Jude's opponents. (2) Phrases with *houtoi* ("these people") are used in a formulaic way to introduce each section of interpretation. These resemble similar formulae used in the Qumran commentaries (4QFlor 1:2, 3, 11, 12, 17; 4QpIsa 3:7, 9, 10, 12; 4QpIsa$^{b}$ 2:6–7, 10) and occasionally elsewhere (Gal 4:24; 2 Tim 3:8). In Jude they serve to identify the false teachers as the people to whom the prophecies refer, and so make the transition from the prophecy to its application to the false teachers. In each case the interpretation then describes the false teachers in a way which conforms to the prophecy. (3) Introductory formulae introduce "texts"1, 3 and 4, and distinguish "texts"3 and 4 from the preceding sections of interpretation. "Text"2 lacks an introductory formula, but is sufficiently marked out by its form as a prophetic woe-oracle.

In addition to the four main "texts," there is a secondary "text" (1a), which is introduced in v 9 to help the interpretation of "text"1. This is a summary of an apocryphal account of the death of Moses. The use of such a secondary text in the course of the interpretation of another text can be paralleled in the Qumran commentaries, as can the incorporation of implicit allusions to other texts in the course of the interpretation of a given text, a practice which Jude adopts in vv 12–13, where there are allusions to Ezek 34:2; Prov 25:14; Isa 57:20; *1 En.* 80:6.

Exegetical techniques used in the midrash include the lavish use of catchword connections. Words from the same stem are used to link "texts" together (the practice known by the rabbis as *gezera sawa*), to link a "text" to its interpretation, and to link the introductory statement of theme (v 4) to the "texts." For example, the catchword "ungodly" links "texts"3 and 4 (vv 15, 18), and both these "texts" to v 4. But not all the catchword connections are visible in English translations. Again, such use of catchword connections can be amply paralleled at Qumran and elsewhere (e.g. 1 Pet 2:4–10).

Thus Jude's midrash resembles the Qumran commentaries in its use of exegetical formulas (especially the *houtoi* phrases) and exegetical methods (especially catchword connections). In form it resembles especially the so-called "thematic *pešarîm*" (such as 4QFlor). It also shares with the Qumran commentaries, as also with much early Christian exegesis, the hermeneutical presupposition that Scripture is prophetic of the last times in which the interpreter and his community are living, and indeed actually refers to themselves and their enemies. It seems that Jude's midrash is an unusually sustained and elaborate exercise in the kind of scriptural exegesis which must have been typical of the early Church from an early date and declined to the extent that Christianity moved away from its Palestinian Jewish origins.

**B. Literary Relationships**

Many of Jude's pervasive allusions to the OT have already been noticed in section A. Scholars have often supposed that Jude, like most NT writers, used the LXX version, but the evidence is in fact against this. He uses some standard items of Jewish Greek vocabulary and idiom, which are found in the LXX, but none of his many allusions to specific verses of the OT echoes the language of the LXX. Moreover,

some of his allusions depend on a meaning of the Hebrew text which is not rendered in the LXX. In two cases (Prov 25:14: Jude 12; Isa 57:20: Jude 13) the LXX gives a quite different sense from that of the Hebrew, and Jude is plainly following the Hebrew. In a third case (Ezek 34:2: Jude 12), while Jude's dependence on the LXX is not impossible, his allusion is closer to the Hebrew. It seems, therefore, that it was with the Hebrew Bible that Jude was really familiar. When he wished to allude to it, he did not stop to find the LXX translation, but made his own translation, in terms appropriate to the style and content of his work.

Jude evidently set high value not only on Jewish Scriptures which are now canonical, but also on apocryphal works. Besides his explicit quotation from *1 Enoch* in vv 14–15 (*1 En.* 1:9), there are further allusions in v 6 (cf. *1 En.* 10:4–6, 12; 12:4; 15:3; 15:7; and perhaps also *2 En.* 7:2; 18:4–6) and in v 13 (*1 En.* 80:6), while the scheme of four metaphors from nature in vv 12b–13 seems to relate to *1 En.* 2:1–5:4; 80:2–7. We cannot be sure of the extent of the Enochic corpus he knew, but he was evidently very familiar with parts of our *1 Enoch.* He treats Enoch, whose prestige he indicates in the phrase "the seventh from Adam" (Jude 14; cf. *1 En.* 60:8; 93:5; *Jub.* 7:39), as an authoritative prophet. Since he also treats an oral prophecy of the apostles (v 18) as authoritative prophecy, we do not have to conclude that he had a canon of Scripture which included the Enoch literature along with OT books. He may (like the author of *4 Ezra* 14) have treated apocalypses such as *1 Enoch* as authoritative literature alongside the OT canon. The evidence is not sufficient to determine the exact status the Enoch literature held for Jude. As for his text of Enoch, there are some indications in v 6 and vv 14–15 that he knew the Aramaic original rather than, or as well as, the Greek version, though since the relevant chapters of *1 Enoch* in Greek are extant only in one manuscript, we cannot be entirely sure that he did not know a form of the Greek text closer to the Aramaic than ours.

Another apocryphal work was the source of Jude's reference to the dispute over the body of Moses (v 9). This story is no longer extant in the form Jude knew it, but from various sources it can be reconstructed with high probability and in some detail (see Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter* WBC, 47–48, 65–76), as follows:

> Joshua accompanied Moses up Mount Nebo, where God showed Moses the land of promise. Moses then sent Joshua back, saying, "Go down to the people and tell them that Moses is dead." When Joshua had gone down to the people, Moses died. God sent the archangel Michael to remove the body of Moses to another place and to bury it there, but Samma'el, the devil, opposed him, disputing Moses' right to honorable burial. [The text may also have said that the devil wished to take the body down to the people, so that they would make it an object of worship.] Michael and the devil engaged in a dispute over the body. The devil slandered Moses, charging him with murder, because he slew the Egyptian and hid his body in the sand. But Michael, not tolerating the slander against Moses, said, "May the Lord rebuke you, devil!" At that the devil took flight, and Michael removed the body to the place commanded by God. Thus no one saw the burial-place of Moses.

This story may have been known to Jude as the ending of the *Testament of Moses,* whose extant Latin text breaks off before the end. The probability of this would be increased if, as some scholars have thought, there are allusions elsewhere in Jude to the extant text of the *Testament of Moses* (Jude 16: cf. *T. Mos.* 7:7, 9; 5:5; Jude 3: cf. *T. Mos.* 4:8), but these alleged allusions are far from certain.

That there is a close relationship between Jude and 2 Peter is obvious to any careful reader. The resemblances are largely between Jude 4–13, 16–18, and 2 Pet 2:1–18; 3:1–3. Almost all scholars have agreed that in view of the degree of close verbal resemblance the relationship must be a literary one. The view that Jude is dependent on 2 Peter was once common, but in the last half-century has received almost no support from scholars. A few recent writers have postulated a common source used by Jude and 2 Peter, but by far the most widely accepted view is that 2 Peter is dependent on Jude. A strong reason to prefer this view is that while much of the content and some of the words of Jude 4–19 reappear in 2 Peter, Jude's elaborate midrashic structure and exegetical techniques do not. It is much more difficult to imagine Jude constructing his complex midrash from the material in 2 Peter than to imagine the author of 2 Peter discarding the midrashic features of Jude's work as he reused some of the material for other purposes.

It has sometimes been claimed that Jude shows acquaintance with the Pauline literature, but the terminology Jude shares with Paul is really no more than the common vocabulary of the early Church.

**C. Theological Character**

In much recent scholarship Jude has been placed, along with other "late"NT writings, under the general umbrella of "early Catholicism." In part, this is a result of associating Jude closely with 2 Peter, which is generally classified as "early Catholic." However, it is a mistake to suppose that because material from Jude has been taken over by 2 Peter, the context and character of the two letters are similar. Careful redaction-critical study of 2 Peter's use of Jude shows that the author has adapted the material he borrowed from Jude for a different context and a different purpose.

Jude's language about "the faith" in vv 3 and 20 also contributes to the judgment that the work is "early Catholic." Jude is supposed to view the Christian message as a fixed body of credal belief which is authoritatively transmitted from the apostolic age. However, the objective use of *pistis* ("faith") to mean "what is believed" can be paralleled in Paul (Gal 1:23), where it refers simply to the gospel. The notion of a body of orthodox doctrine needs no more to be read into Jude's use of the term than it does into Paul's. The concept of tradition in Jude 3 can also be amply paralleled in Paul, who frequently refers his readers back to the traditions he delivered to them when he founded their churches as an unalterable standard of Christian truth (e.g. 1 Cor 11:2, 23; 15:3; 2 Cor 11:4; Gal 1:8–9).

Two further features, in addition to the development of fixed credal orthodoxy, which are usually considered characteristic of "early Catholicism" are the fading of the imminent eschatological expectation and the growth of institutionalized office in the Church. In Jude, however, the Parousia hope is lively and pervades the letter (vv 1, 14, 21, 24). The whole argument of the midrash (vv 4–19) hinges on the expectation that Jude's opponents are to be judged by the Lord at his Parousia and so presupposes an imminent Parousia. As for ecclesiastical officials, they are not so much as mentioned in Jude. Jude's opponents were evidently charismatics who claimed prophetic revelations, but his response is not the "early Catholic" one of restricting charismatic activity to ecclesiastical officials or subjecting it to their control. He addresses not officials but the whole community, who all enjoy the inspiration of the Spirit in charismatic prayer (v 20) and are all responsible for upholding the gospel (v 3). The usefulness of the general concept of "early Catholicism" is in any case beginning to be seriously questioned, but it should at least be quite clear that it is inapplicable to Jude.

The evidence points rather to Palestinian apocalyptic Jewish Christianity as the milieu to which Jude belongs. We have seen (in section A) that the midrash section (vv 4–19) shows the author to be an accomplished practitioner of Jewish exegesis of a kind which can be most closely paralleled in the Qumran literature and is not typical of the literature of Diaspora Judaism. His use of the Enoch literature and the apocryphal account of the death of Moses point in the same direction, as does his dependence on the Hebrew Bible (see section B above).

**D. The Opponents**

The opponents against whom Jude warns his readers have usually been thought to be gnostics. Few modern scholars are willing to identify them with a specific gnostic sect, and many speak cautiously only of "incipient Gnosticism," such as may also be characteristic of Paul's opponents in Corinth or the Nicolaitans in Revelation. However, secure exegetical evidence for specifically gnostic teachings cannot be found in Jude. His polemic seems entirely aimed against the opponents' practice and advocacy of immorality: they must, therefore, have been people who were *in principle* libertines. Their immorality must have been real, not a polemical slur, since it is the sole reason for Jude's attack on them. He is not casting aspersions on the morality of people he really disagrees with for other reasons. Everything he says about them can be directly related to their antinomianism. This antinomianism could have been one of the streams which flowed into later Gnosticism, but it is not itself distinctively gnostic.

The opponents were evidently itinerant charismatics who had arrived in the church or churches to which Jude writes. They reject all moral authority, whether that of the law of Moses (vv 8–10) or that of Christ himself (vv 4, 8). Their denial of Christ as Master and Lord (v 4) is not to be understood as a doctrinal error, but as rejection of his moral demands: by their immoral practice they in effect disown him as

Master and repudiate his authority as Lord. Evidently they understood the grace of God in Christ (v 4) as a deliverance from all external moral constraint, so that the man who possesses the Spirit (v 19 is Jude's response to this claim) becomes the only judge of his own actions, subject to no other authority. Like the Corinthians, whose slogan was "All things are lawful for me" (1 Cor 6:12; 10:23), they take Christian freedom to mean that the really spiritual person is free from the constraints of conventional morality. In their indulgence in sexual misconduct (vv 6–8, 10), they may have been deliberately flouting accepted standards of Jewish morality and conforming to the greater permissiveness of pagan society. For their authority to behave in this way, they appealed to their charismatic inspiration, manifested in prophetic visions ("dreaming,"v 8, is a pejorative reference to these), in which perhaps they received revelations of the heavenly world and their own exalted status in it.

The most puzzling feature of the opponents, their attitude to angels (vv 8–10), is probably to be understood with reference to angels as guardians of the Law and of the moral order of the world. When accused of sin by the standard of the law of Moses or of the order of creation, they spoke disparagingly of the angels who gave the Law and administered the moral order of the world, alleging that these angels were motivated by ill-will toward humanity. Such an attitude to the angels of the Law does resemble the views of many later gnostics, but it stops far short of the cosmological dualism characteristic of these gnostics, for whom the hostile angels were the creators and lords of the material world.

Jude's opponents were not simply members of the Church, but teachers: vv 11–13 portray them, with appropriate OT types, as people who lead others astray and, notably, as shepherds who feed themselves instead of the flock. They were present at the Church's fellowship meals (v 12), where no doubt they imparted their prophecies and teachings to the Church. They gathered their own faction of followers, who considered themselves truly in possession of the Spirit (v 19).

It is possible, though by no means certain, that Pauline teaching may have had some influence on the opponents. They could have been taking to an extreme and misinterpreting Paul's teaching about grace and the Law. Not only did Paul himself recognize and oppose the danger of an antinomian distortion of his teaching on Christian freedom (Rom 3:8; 6:1, 15; Gal 5:13), but also the blaspheming of angels, so distinctive of Jude's opponents (vv 8–10), is not too distant from some of Paul's treatment of the angels of the Law and "the elemental spirits of the world" (Gal 3:20; 4:3; 8–9; Col 2:8–23; Rom 8:33–39).

**E. Date**

In the history of scholarship Jude has been assigned to a very wide range of dates, from the 50s to the late 2d century. Recent scholars are not inclined to date the work very far into the 2d century, but many consider a date relatively late in the 1st century to be probable. However, the most important factor in this opinion is the classification of Jude as an "early Catholic" work, which we have already seen to be unjustified (section C above). Nor does the character of the opponents' teaching (see section D above) require a late date, since it is not developed Gnosticism.

A late date has also been deduced from v 17, in which the author is often thought to be looking back on the apostolic age as an era now past. However, this is by no means a necessary understanding of the verse and is probably a mistaken one. It is not the apostles themselves, but their predictions, which belong to the past. As in vv 3 and 5, Jude is recalling his readers to the instruction they received at their conversion, from the apostles who founded their churches. The apocalyptic prophecy of v 17 formed part of the initial Christian teaching which was given to these churches at their foundation. Understood in this way, Jude's statement is parallel to many of Paul's in which he refers his readers back to the teaching he gave them when he established their churches (1 Cor 15:1–3; Gal 1:9; 1 Thess 4:1–2; 2 Thess 2:5), with the one difference that, since Jude is evidently writing to churches he did not found himself, he speaks of the apostles' teaching rather than his own (but cf. Rom 6:7; 16:17). If v 18 ("they said to *you*") means that Jude's readers themselves had heard the apostles' preaching at the time of the founding of their churches, then the passage suggests an earlier rather than a later date for the letter.

If 2 Peter is dependent on Jude (see section B above), then the date of 2 Peter is a *terminus ad quem* for Jude, but scholarly opinions on the date of 2 Peter differ almost as much as do those on the date of Jude. Perhaps all that can be said, in general, is that the letter of Jude gives a general impression of

primitiveness and contains nothing that requires a late date. It could very plausibly be dated in the 50s, and might be one of the earliest of the NT writings.

**F. Authorship**

The letter is attributed to "Judas, a servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James" (v 1). This Judas (traditionally in English "Jude") has usually been identified as Judas the brother of Jesus, who is mentioned in Matt 13:55; Mark 6:3; and Hegesippus (*apud* Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.19.1–20.6). Other identifications have occasionally been suggested, but are implausible because they do not satisfactorily account for "brother of James." Since for purposes of identification reference would normally be made to one's father, not one's brother, the James in question must have been very well-known. The only man in the early Church who could be called simply James without risk of ambiguity was James the Lord's brother.

However, the question arises whether the letter was really written by Judas the brother of Jesus or is a pseudepigraphal work attributed to Jude by a later writer. There is no scholarly consensus on this point. Against the pseudepigraphal hypothesis, it has sometimes been argued that Jude was too obscure a figure in the early Church for a later writer to adopt him as a pseudonym that would lend authority to his work. Though this may be true of large parts of the early Church, it would not be true of Palestinian Jewish-Christian circles, where the blood relations of Jesus were prominent in the leadership of the churches until well into the 2d century, or in East Syrian Christianity, whose favorite apostle, Judas Thomas, came to be considered the twin brother of Jesus and thereby identified with Judas the brother of Jesus. However, it is unlikely that a pseudepigraphal work from either of these contexts would have described Jude in the way he is identified in v 1. A Syrian writer would certainly have called his pseudonym Judas *Thomas* (or Didymus), as Syrian Christian literature always does. A Jewish-Christian writer would surely have given Jude his common title "brother of the Lord," which, in such circles, would not only distinguish him from other Judases, but would indicate his authoritative status. That this title is not used is much more easily explained if the letter is authentic. Not wishing to claim an authority based on mere blood-relationship to Jesus, Jude avoids calling himself "brother of the Lord," which readers would have taken (especially in a letter opening) as his claim to authority. Instead, he bases his authority to address his readers on his being "a servant of Jesus Christ" (cf. Phil 1:1).

Of Judas the brother of Jesus, we know little. One of the four brothers, probably younger than James (Matt 13:55; Mark 6:3), he was presumably, like the other brothers, not a follower of Jesus during his ministry (Mark 3:21, 31), but became a believer after the resurrection (Acts 1:14). According to 1 Cor 9:5, Jesus' brothers became traveling missionaries, and this general reference probably includes Jude, especially as it most likely does not include James, who seems to have remained in Jerusalem. Jude's missionary labors would most probably be among Jews, but not necessarily in Palestine: he could have gone to the Diaspora. Julius Africanus (*apud* Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 1.7.14) says that the family of Jesus spread the gospel throughout Palestine, starting from Nazareth and Cochaba (most likely Kaukab in Galilee, northwest of Sepphoris, rather than Kaukab in Transjordan): this confirms both the missionary role and other indications that the family remained based in Galilee.

The only other possibly reliable information is Hegesippus' story (*apud* Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.*, 3.19.1–20.8) about the grandsons of Jude (whose names are given in another fragment as Zechariah and James). As descendants of David and related to Jesus the Messiah, they were denounced as politically dangerous and brought before the emperor Domitian. But when they explained that they were only poor farmers, working with their own calloused hands, and that the messianic kingdom they expected was heavenly and eschatological, the emperor dismissed them as harmless and ordered the persecution of the Church to stop. Hegesippus adds that they became leaders of the churches and survived until the reign of Trajan. No doubt the story preserves some historical memory, but it has a clearly apologetic thrust in showing that the emperor himself had recognized that Jewish Christianity was not a political danger, while the trial before Domitian himself and especially his ordering persecution to cease as a result are improbable. Thus it would be unwise to trust the chronological implications of the story: that Jude had grandsons who were adult in the reign of Domitian and (even less trustworthy because not stated by Hegesippus) that Jude

himself was then dead. But if Jude, as one of the younger brothers of Jesus, were born ca. A.D. 10, he could have had grandsons aged thirty in A.D. 90, when he himself would be eighty. Thus, even if the letter had to be dated fairly late in the 1st century, it could still be an authentic letter of Jude. But, as we have seen (section E), there is no reason to date it so late.

A late dating of Jude is the major reason why many scholars have concluded it must be pseudepigraphal. If we reject that reason, there remains only one obstacle to its authenticity: the language of the letter, which has often been said to be Greek too good to be attributable to a Galilean Jew of peasant stock. Although the author was certainly a Semitic speaker who habitually used the OT in Hebrew and probably read the book of Enoch in Aramaic (see section B), his command of literary Greek is quite impressive. However, this should not be exaggerated. A wide vocabulary, which Jude has, is easier to acquire than skills in grammar and style, which are adequate but not remarkable in Jude. The kind of skills he shows (see Bauckham *Jude, 2 Peter* WBC, 6–7) are the rhetorical skills which a Jewish preacher in Greek would need to acquire and which he could acquire from familiarity with Jewish literature in Greek and from much listening to Jewish and Christian sermons. It is not easy to estimate how competent in Greek a Galilean Jew would have been, but in Jude's case, if his missionary career took him among Greek-speaking Jews, there seems no reason why he should not have acquired the degree of competence displayed in this letter.

Finally, it should be noted that the character of the letter—its exegetical methods (section A above), its indebtedness to Palestinian Jewish literature (section B above) and haggadic traditions, its apocalyptic perspective (section C above)—is entirely consistent with authorship by a Palestinian Jewish-Christian leader of the first generation, as Judas the brother of Jesus was. The preservation of this short letter in the NT therefore affords us a rare glimpse into those early Palestinian Christian circles in which Jesus' own blood relations were leaders.

**G. Destination**

Little can be said about the destination of the letter. The formal opening (vv 1–2) identifies it as a real letter, and, as the specific occasion for writing (v 4: itinerant teachers from elsewhere have been misleading the readers) and the particular characteristics of the opponents (section D above) indicate, it is not a general letter to all Christians, but an occasional letter to a specific church or group of churches. The latter possibility might explain the failure to specify a place in v 1, but specific destinations were sometimes omitted when letters were later copied for the benefit of a wider readership.

Both the identity of the author and the Jewishness of his letter suggest that the recipients would probably be Jewish Christians. On the other hand, although antinomianism was not unknown in 1st-century Judaism, the antinomian teaching of the opponents points most plausibly to a gentile environment (as with the antinomian problems in Paul's Corinth and in the churches of the book of Revelation). Perhaps we should think of a predominantly, but not exclusively, Jewish-Christian community in a gentile environment.

**H. Message**

In appreciating the message of Jude, it is important to bear in mind the structure explained in section A above. The purpose of the letter, to urge the readers "to carry on the fight for the faith" (v 3), is really only fulfilled in vv 20–23. The exegetical section (vv 4–19) about the false teachers establishes the danger they pose to the readers, while vv 20–23 explain how the readers should respond to this danger, or, more positively, how, in the light of this danger, they are "to carry on the fight for the faith." The danger is antinomianism, the claim that the gospel frees Christians from moral obligation. Such teaching and the immoral behavior which follows from it incur divine judgment: this point is made by identifying the opponents as the sinners of the last days whose judgment has been predicted all along. The true gospel, on the other hand, which Jude's readers must maintain in the face of antinomian teaching is a gospel with necessary moral implications. It must be lived out in a way of Christian life which Jude summarizes in four injunctions in vv 21–22: (1) the gospel ("your most holy faith") received from the apostles, with its clear moral implications, must be the foundation on which the Christian community is to be built; (2) prayer under the inspiration of the Spirit shows a reliance on God to be distinguished from the prophetic

inspiration claimed by the opponents; (3) the readers must maintain their place in God's love by obeying his will; (4) they must live in expectation of the Lord's coming, when he will show mercy to those who remain faithful to him. Thus obedient discipleship leads to eschatological salvation, by contrast with the path of immorality, which is leading the antinomians to eschatological judgment.

Jude's denunciation of the opponents, because of the serious danger they pose to his readers, is accompanied by a genuine pastoral concern not only for those they have led astray but even for the opponents themselves. Although the text of vv 22–23, which advises the readers on how to deal with the opponents and their followers, is uncertain, the general advice is clear: to exercise Christian love, but in connection with great care to avoid the contaminating effect of the opponents' influence.

The doxology (vv 24–25), which has often been admired, depends on liturgical tradition, but is nevertheless framed to conclude the message of the book. It is in effect a confident prayer that God will preserve the readers from the spiritual disaster with which the false teaching threatens them, and bring them to the destiny he intends for them, when they will be presented as perfect sacrifices in his heavenly temple. All the concerns of the letter are finally aimed at this goal: that the Church should be fit to be offered to God's glory.

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**JUDEA** (PLACE) [Heb *yĕhûdâ* (יְהוּדָה)]. See JUDAH (PLACE).

**JUDEA, RIDGE OF.** See RIDGE OF JUDEA (PLACE).

**JUDEIDEH, TELL** (M.R. 141115). An ancient site in the Shephelah, about 2 km N of Beth-govrin, situated 398 m above sea level.

It is generally agreed that the site is to be identified with Moresheth-gath—the birthplace of the prophet Micah (Mic 1:1; Jer 26:18), and was one of the cities captured by Sennacherib in his campaign against Judah in 701 B.C. (Mic 1:14). The book of Micah places Moresheth-gath in the vicinity of Lachish and Mareshah (Mic 1:13–15). Eusebius (*Onomast.* 134.10), Hieronymus, and the Medeba Map locate the site N of Beth-govrin. The city is to be reckoned among those which Rehoboam fortified, if the reading "Moresheth-gath and Mareshah" is accepted for "and Gath and Mareshah" in 2 Chr 11:8.

The ancient settlement was spread over the natural hill, an elongated rectangular area about 580 m long. Excavations have concentrated on the S part of the hill at the site of the walled citadel.

Little was uncovered from the Bronze Age, apart from a few graves. From the scanty material published in the excavators' report (Bliss and Macalister 1902), it is difficult to assign exact dates to this material. The excavators were of the opinion that the site was abandoned at the end of the Bronze Age and remained unoccupied until the end of the Judean kingdom.

Three main periods are distinguishable in the Iron Age: (1) Pre-Israelite (i.e., Canaanite); (2) Jewish (Israelite II); and (3) Hellenistic-Roman. In the vicinity of the mound, graves belonging to the Iron Age and the Roman period were found. From the Iron Age II, 37 handles stamped with *lmlk* seals were discovered. The handles include the two- and four-winged types as well as reference to the four cities (Ziph, Hebron, Socoh, *mmšt*). Building remains were also found.

The main finds belong to the Roman period. In the Early Roman period, there was a military enclosure on the S part of the hill. The enclosure was surrounded by a wall which had four double-winged gates flanked by square internal towers. The main streets passed through the gates and crossed at right angles in the center of the enclosure in a manner typical of military camps. The headquarters in the center consisted of two buildings. The W building was square and had eight rooms arranged around a courtyard. The E building was Hellenistic in plan with rooms arranged around an enclosed courtyard, having a peristyle of eight columns and a pool in the center. See Fig. JUD.01. Nothing was found in the buildings to indicate their dates, but on the basis of their style the buildings should be assigned to the time of the Herodian dynasty.

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**JUDGE, JUDGING.** The OT uses several different terms to express the idea of "judge" or "judging." These occur both as nouns and as verbs.

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A. The Noun "Judge"
1. The Root *Špṭ* in Akkadian Literature
2. The *Šāpiṭum*, "Judge," in Extrabiblical Literature
3. The Usage of the Root *Špṭ* in the OT
4. The Role of the *Šôpēṭ* in the OT
5. The Usage of *Dyn* in Extrabiblical Literature
6. The Root *Dyn* in the OT
7. Others Who Judged in Israel

B. Judging (Verb)

C. Judging and Ruling
1. Synonyms
2. God Judges the Whole Earth

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**A. The Noun "Judge"**

Although the roots *špṭ* and *dyn* are often used in parallel in the OT and in the literature of the ANE, there is evidence suggesting that originally they were not synonymous in meaning. The *šôpēṭ*, unlike the *dayyān,* was an undifferentiated executive appointed to play several administrative roles which included deciding cases. The translation of *šôpēṭ* to mean "undifferentiated executive" is comprehensive and more apt than "judge" (*CMHE* 219 no. 3).

**1. The Root *Špṭ* in Akkadian Literature.** In Akkadian there are two homonymous roots: *špṭ* I and *špṭ* II. *Špṭ* I is often used in parallel with *dyn* when used in connection with legal matters. *Špṭ* II, on the other hand, means "to threaten" or "to warn." It is significant that when it refers to "threat," or "warning,"*špṭ* appears only in the OB period as attested in the Mari texts. The substantive *šāpiṭum,* "judge," is not

attested until after the OB period (ca. 2000–1600 B.C.). This strongly suggests that the agent *šāpiṭum* was originally West Semitic and was introduced into the Akkadian language and administrative system by the Amorites. Prior to their arrival, the title for "judge" was *dayyānu (m),* an official who decided cases like a modern law-court judge or magistrate. This fact is supported by the fact that the root *dyn* is used forensically in all Semitic languages. While the *dayyānu (m),* "law-court judge," only decided cases which the litigants brought to him, the *šāpiṭum,* "judge," as an undifferentiated executive, performed many other functions which included deciding cases of litigants under his jurisdiction.

**2. The *Šāpiṭum,* "Judge," in Extrabiblical Literature.** In the Mari documents, the agent *šāpiṭum* was a person whom the king *(šarrum)* appointed to perform some special tasks. His authority was delegated to him in order that he might assist in the administration of a territory or in conducting military campaigns (cf. *ARM* 1, 73: 45–53). The functions of the *šāpiṭum* included that of "arbitrating" in domestic affairs of litigants within his jurisdiction (*ARM* 8, 84: 1–10). He was also appointed by the *šarrum* to act as a territorial governor (cf. Kupper 1957; *ARM* 2, 98: 7–14).

**3. The Usage of the Root *Špṭ*** in the OT. The term *šôpēṭ* is a participle of the verb *šāpaṭ* which, because it is multifarious in meaning, is translated "decide,""judge,""rule,""govern,""vindicate,""deliver,"etc. In the English versions of the Bible, it is uniformly and erroneously translated "judge." This universal rendering of *šāpaṭ* is very unfortunate because it conceals other meanings which elucidate the appointment and function of the *šôpēṭ* in Israel. Whereas the root *dyn* occurs only 25 times, the root *špṭ* is attested in 180 references in the *Qal.* To distinguish between *dyn* and *špṭ* as used in the OT, close attention should be paid to their contexts. Extrabiblical literatures, which are older than the OT, should also be consulted to elucidate the original usage and to realize the changes which may have taken place in the usage of *špṭ* diachronically. The fact that among the Semitic people *dyn* is overwhelmingly used in legal documents and in reports of legal decisions suggests that it was the original forensic term denoting "to judge." It is also significant that when the root *špṭ* is used with *bên ... ûbên,* ("between …") it generally refers to the restoration of *šālôm* which prevailed prior to the prevailing strife or dispute (Gen 16:5; Judg 16:27).

**4. The Role of the *Šôpēṭ* in the OT.** The substantive *šôpēṭ* is used with reference to both God and humans. This is similar to the usage of *šāpiṭum* in Akkadian literature. Just as the *šāpiṭum* exercised authority delegated to him by the *šarrum* or by the deity, similarly the *šôpēṭ* of the book of Judges exercised authority delegated to him by Yahweh, the *šôpēt kol hā‹āreṣ,* "the Judge of all the earth," (Gen 18:25). That one was chosen by God to function as *šôpēṭ* was signified by the spirit of God which descended upon that person (Judg 2:16; 3:9, etc.). Yahweh had the authority to appoint and depose a *šôpēṭ,* "judge" (cf. Ps 82:1–8). The role of Yahweh as *šôpēṭ par excellence* compares to that of the Canaanite patron deity 'El who appointed the gods Ba‹l, Yamm, and Mot to function as judges, under his authority (cf. *CTA* 6.VI.28–29).

The main task for which the judges were appointed was to maintain harmonious relations among the Israelites. The judge made legal decisions in civil disputes (Judg 4:5; 1 Sam 7:15; cf. 2 Sam 15:4). Most of the disputes which related to the *šôpēṭ* were those which concerned the welfare of the poor, the widow, the orphan, and the stranger (Psalm 82; Jer 5:28–29; 22:15; Deut 1:16–17, etc.). In this function the judges did not always pass a verdict which justified the plaintiff and condemned the defendant. The judges often acted as arbitrators, i.e., restorers of *šālôm* which prevailed before the onset of strife or hostilities (Gen 16:5; 19:9; Judg 11:27). For this reason, if those who were wronged failed to acquire justice from human judges, they summoned Yahweh, the Judge preeminent, to intervene (Ps 6:7–9; Ps 82:8). Because Yahweh was considered righteous in all his judgments, an innocent person who felt he had been judged unjustly directly appealed to Yahweh to judge (*špṭ*) him, that is, "to deliver,""to vindicate," or "to reward" him according to God's criterion of retribution (Ps 26:1; cf. Judg 11:27). The root *špṭ* in both Akkadian and Hebrew usage also referred to the "administering,""ruling," or "governing" of a territory. This is the general meaning of *špṭ* in the book of Judges (Judg 3:10; 4:4; 1 Sam 7:6; cf. *ARM* 1, 73: 45–53).

In the Akkadian texts of Mari, apart from governing a territory, a *šāpiṭum,* "judge," also commanded armies against enemies of the king (*ARM* 2, 98: 7–14). This compares very closely to the roles played by the judges in premonarchical Israel: they led armies and delivered the Israelites from their oppressors and enemies, e.g., Judg 1:16, "The Lord raised up judges, who saved them …"; Judg 3:10, "… he judged Israel; he went out to war." In this usage, the term *špṭ* refers to "delivering" or "saving," (Heb *yšʿ*).

**5. The Usage of *Dyn* in Extrabiblical Literature.** The root generally used in legal decision-making in Semitic languages is *dyn.* This is evidenced in the Akkadian texts, e.g., the Code of Hammurabi in which the legal term for making a decision or judgment on a case is *dyn,* "to judge" in a forensic sense (*AHW* p. 171). The term *dyn* is also found in Arabic, Aramaic, and Syriac bearing the same legal meanings. Thus in Akkadian the term *dînum* refers to the verdict passed by the *dayyānu (m),* "law-court judge," or by the *šāpiṭu (m),* "judge," i.e., "undifferentiated executive" (cf. *ARM* 8, 83 and 87). In Ugaritic, on the other hand, the root *dyn* is used in parallel with *tpṭ,* e.g., *ydn dn ʾlmnt, ytpṭ tpṭ ytm,* "He [Dan'il] judged the cases of the widow, he presided over the orphans' lawsuits" (*CTA* 17.V.6–8 cf. *CTA* 16.IV.45–47). The Ugaritic usage compares to Hebrew where *špṭ* and *dyn* are also used in parallel (Ps 9:5; Isa 3:13–14; Jer 5:28). This wide usage indicates that the root has a very long history.

**6. The Root *Dyn* in the OT.** The usage of the root *dyn* in the OT is similar to its use in Ugaritic texts. In both literatures, the roots *dyn* and *špṭ* are used in parallel in a way which suggests close similarity in meaning, though not necessarily implying synonymy. The root *dyn* is sparsely used in Hebrew and Aramaic and only accounts for twenty-five occurrences. Besides 2 Sam 19:10—Eng 19:9 where the root *dyn* is in the *Nipʿal* form, all other usages are in the *Qal* form. The substantive *dyn* is attested in twenty-four references which generally bear the meaning "judgment" in a juridical sense. In Prov 22:10, the root *dyn* in the term *mādôn,* "strife," appears in parallel use with *qālôn,* "abuse." In this reference, *dyn* has lost its juridical meaning and may be translated "quarreling" (cf. 2 Sam 19:10—Eng 19:9; Eccl 6:10).

**7. Others Who Judged in Israel.** As Judge *par excellence* and king (Jer 21:12; 22:16; Ps 72:2; Prov 31:5, 8, 9) God appointed human judges who deputized for him in the administration of justice. In many ancient communities, advanced age was a status position, which symbolized one's authority reflected in his wisdom based on his experience with life. Thus a tribal leader (Gen 49:16), or a high priest (Zech 3:7) or one who achieved the status of leadership by virtue of military valor, e.g., a premonarchical judge, was expected also to decide cases as a judge. Similarly, by virtue of his position, the king was expected to judge *(špṭ),* i.e., dispense justice *(mišpāṭ)* by protecting the poor, the widow, the orphan, and the stranger against exploitation by the rich or the strong. Thus the phrase *ʿāsāh mišpāṭ ûṣĕdāqāh,* "to execute justice and righteousness," refers to the maintenance or restoration of justice and equity among the citizens of his state.

**B. Judging (Verb)**

In the OT as well as in the ANE in general, the root *špṭ* referred both to the judging of the people and to the ruling or governing of a territory. Because it is multifarious in meaning the root *špṭ* can only be translated correctly by paying close attention to the context in which it is used. Thus in Zech 7:9 *špṭ* can best be translated "to render judgment" or "to condemn" (Ezek 23:45). In Deut 1:16–17, *mišpāṭ* refers to "deciding a case" but in 1 Kgs 7:7 it means "the place of judgment." At Mari, the *šāpiṭum,* as ruler of a territory, also acted as a judge who settled disputes in the area of his jurisdiction. Similarly, in premonarchical Israel, the *šôpēṭ* decided cases just like the *dayyānu (m)* of the ANE. A king also acted as a judge (cf. 2 Sam 8:15). Because to rule or govern a territory also implied maintaining peace by preventing situations which disturbed *šālôm,* it is from the root *špṭ* that the terms for judging and ruling are derived. In several other contexts, the Hebrew term *mišpāṭ* refers to "judgment,""custom,""right," and "statute." When the term *mišpāṭ* is used with *ʿāsāh,* it is best rendered by the meaning "to execute judgment/justice" (Ezek 39:21). In Amos 5:24 and Mic 6:8 *mišpāṭ* means "justice." The term *šĕpāṭîm,* which always appears in the plural, as well as *šĕpôṭ* (2 Chr 20:9 and Ezek 23:10), is rendered by the meaning "acts of judgment." When used with *ʿāsāh, šĕpāṭîm,* it refers to the infliction of punishment (Exod 12:12; Num 33:4; Ezek 5:10, *passim*).

In the OT the root *dyn* is not widely attested even though its parallel usage suggests that it was used as a synonym of *špṭ*. In some contexts, the root *dyn*, like *špṭ*, also bears the meaning "to govern" or "to judge." While *mišpāṭ* refers to justice as the rendering of judgment, the Heb term *dîn* refers solely to "decision" or "judgment" in a juridical sense.

Since peace was the main concern of justice in Israel, there are other terms which, according to the context, can be best translated "judgment"; e.g., in the RSV *taʿam* (Ps 119:66) is translated "taste,""judgment," as referring to discernment granted by Yahweh. The other term, *pāqad ʿal,* "to visit upon," strictly means "to punish," i.e., "to execute judgment." In several contexts the Hebrew verb *rîb* is to be rendered "to contend,""to strive" (Judg 11:25; 1 Sam 25:29). There are some words which seem to be derived from the root *dyn*, which are uncertain in meaning, e.g., *šaddîn* in Job 19:29; (Pope *Job* AB, 147–48).

**C. Judging and Ruling**

The Mari texts evince that judging and ruling could be performed by the same person, the *šāpiṭum*. The *šāpiṭum* was appointed to administer a territory in the absence of the *šarrum* (cf. Kupper 1957: 581; *ˌBaḫdin-Lim …"*). He was also appointed as a commander during a military campaign (cf. *ARM* 1, 73: 45–53). Because of his prominent position in the community the *šāpiṭum* also judged the people in their domestic quarrels (*ARM* 8, 84: 1–11). In the Ugaritic literature, Dan'il as king was also expected to judge or administer justice for defenseless people such as the widow, the orphan, and the sojourner (*CTA* 16.IV.45–54). The OT shows that the premonarchical rulers (*šôpĕṭîm*) conducted military campaigns (Judg 2:16; 3:10), governed the state (Judg 10:3; 12:7), and also administered justice (Judg 4:4). The root *špṭ* is therefore multifarious in meaning in both the Akkadian and the OT. The best meaning of the term in every usage is determined only by paying close attention to the context in which *špṭ* is used.

In the OT, which is written primarily for teaching the way of the Lord to the people of Israel, the term *špṭ* ("to judge") was not used forensically in the administration of civil law. Judging was a divine role delegated by Yahweh himself to those he anointed to become leaders in politics as well as to those he appointed judges in judicial affairs. Judges were therefore strictly required to judge impartially irrespective of the statuses of the litigants (Exod 23:26; Deut 1:16–17). To maintain pure justice in settling disputes, the judges were admonished not to accept bribes because bribes blind the eyes of judges (Deut 23:2–3; Isa 1:23; 5:23; 10:1; Amos 5:12; 6:12; Mic 3:11; 7:3; Prov 6:19; 12:17; 18:15).

**1. Synonyms.** The term *šāp̄aṭ* is synonymous with *dyn* particularly in its wider meaning of "judging" or "the administration of justice." Though *dyn* is sparsely used in the OT, its synonymity with *špṭ* is indicated by their parallel use. At all events, *dyn*, as attested in extrabiblical literature, was the term used in legal decision-making processes. Only the context in which *dyn* is used will determine its best nuance. In Jer 21:12, for lack of the most appropriate word, the RSV has correctly rendered *dinû … mišpāṭ* as "Execute … justice." That *dyn* is used forensically is elucidated by the context which shows that the oppressed person wants justice because he has been robbed by wicked people whom, apparently, he knew. Similarly, in Jer 22:16 the fact that *dān* and *déÆn* are used in connection with the needy and the poor, people who were defenseless (cf. Ps 72:2; Prov 20:8; 31:5–9), implies that the root *dyn* is used in connection with the execution of justice. The root *špṭ*, though used synonymously with *dyn*, is normally a special term which implies righteousness and holiness on the part of the people who judge (*špṭ*). Because Yahweh was originally regarded as the sole Judge of the whole world (Gen 8:25), *špṭ* as well as its derivative *mšpṭ* implies a morally good character on the part of those who judge (*špṭ*). In general, however, the root *dyn* should be rendered synonymously with *špṭ*, particularly when it is used in the OT without contextual hints. The substantive *dîn* could therefore refer to "justice" and "legal rights" whereas the verbal form referred to "judging," that is "rendering justice [to]."

**2. God Judges the Whole Earth.** In the OT Yahweh is regarded as the just Judge of the whole world—an attribute which is also affirmed of Shamash in Mesopotamia. According to Ecclesiastes and Job and from the complaint of the prophets, for example, Jeremiah, the justice of God's judgment was not always clear. From the experience of those who were unjustly treated by the wicked, people realized that God either delayed to act or even deceived them (Jer 20:17). For this reason those wronged by evil people had

to demand God's hearing or judgment (Ps 17:12; 26:1–12; 43:1, etc.). Because, as Creator of the world, God is universal, it is he who judges the nations with justice, requiting every person justly (Gen 15:14; 1 Sam 2:10; Ps 76:8-9; 110:6).

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TEMBA L. J. MAFICO

**JUDGES, BOOK OF.** The seventh book of the Hebrew Bible and second book of the Former Prophets in the Jewish canon of Scripture adopted by the early Christian church as the OT. Judges is a collection of stories about persons and events of the premonarchy period in ancient Israel, arranged to present an edifying history of the period extending from the death of Joshua to the establishment of monarchy as told in 1 Samuel. The historiography of Judges is essentially religious, displaying various qualities of leadership along with problematics of Yahwist peoplehood, when "there was no king in Israel," and each one "did what was right, as he saw it" (17:6; 21:25). The title "Judges" reflects a public activity and/or office of the leaders, especially in times of hardship and oppression, about whom the stories were told. The authority of the leaders is dependent upon Yahweh, whose role as divine warrior is subordinated to his role as divine judge (11:27) and subject to the general duty of law, whether local or international, to conform with standards of justice (Good 1985: 399).

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A. Outline of Judges
B. Context and Canonical Form
    1. A Persistent Problematic
    2. Stories in Didactic Editorial Framework
C. The Book of Judges in Modern Study
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    2. Judges as Historiography
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    4. Levitical Sponsorship? Dtn, Dtr 1, Dtr 2

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**A. Outline of Judges**

The present book of Judges is composed of three parts. The first is an introduction summarizing the Conquest and the final settlement in Canaan (Judg 1:1–3:6). The second part is the history of the judges proper (3:7–15:20), which is itself composed of two subsections: one treating an initial phase of judges' activities (Othniel, Ehud, Deborah and Barak, and Gideon, culminating in the account of two "minor" judges; 10:1–5); and the other treating a subsequent phase of judges' activities, beginning with 10:6–16, and then reviewing the exploits of Jephthah, three "minor" judges, and finally Samson (ending in 15:1–20). The third part is a series of supplementary stories, including another story about Samson (chap. 16), about Micah's shrine and Micah's Levite (chaps. 17–18), and about the rape and murder of a Levite's concubine (chap. 19) and the civil war that followed (chaps. 20–21).

**B. Context and Canonical Form**

**1. A Persistent Problematic.** The book of Judges, which presupposes and continues the story line that began in the book of Exodus and came to a climax in the book of Joshua, deals with a fundamental problematic of biblical religion; that of living a life of faithful obedience to the expressed will of Yahweh. Exodus recounts how Yahweh liberated a group of state slaves in Egypt and reconstituted them by covenant in the Sinai wilderness to be his own special possession governed directly by Yahweh through the mediation of Moses. After a generation of moving about Sinai and S Transjordan (Numbers), and a

renewal of the covenant in Moab (Deuteronomy), the book of Joshua tells of Israel's entry and settlement in Canaan. The book of Joshua ends with yet another renewal of covenant, this time at Shechem, and with the notice of Joshua's death.

In picking up the story at this point, the book of Judges must deal with a pair of implicit questions: (1) How will reconstituted Israel now conduct its affairs as the people of Yahweh settled in their God-given home? and (2) How will Israel be governed now that there is no Moses or Joshua to exercise leadership?

It is a curious fact that those who are remembered as leaders in the book of Judges are rarely mentioned elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. Apart from a doublet (cf. Judg 1:11–15 and Josh 15:13–19) and a brief genealogical interest in Othniel (1 Chr 4:13) and Ehud (1 Chr 7:10; 8:6), the list of echoes is limited to Jerubbaal (Gideon) in 1 Sam 12:11 (cf. 2 Sam 11:21), Jephthah in 1 Sam 12:11, Bedan (Abdon?) in 1 Sam 12:11, and Jair (where interest centers, however, in Jair's villages: Num 32:41; Deut 3:14; Josh 13:30; 1 Kgs 4:13; 1 Chr 2:22–23). The prophet-kingmaker Samuel at the outset of the following era was also remembered as the last of the judges (1 Sam 7:15–8:3), but the memory was rarely evoked.

The opposition in the era gets nearly equal attention elsewhere: Sisera (1 Sam 13:9) together with Jabin (Ps 83:9), Zeba and Zalmunnah (Ps 83:11, cf. "day of Midian" in Isa 9:4 and defeat of Midian at Oreb in Isa 8:1–3). Also see reference to the demise of Abimelech (2 Sam 11:21).

In a pair of deuterocanonical and NT writings (Sir 46:11–12 and Heb 11:32) the interest is entirely on the leaders, praised as a group in the former, and with names specified in the latter (Gideon, Barak, Samson, Jephthah—in that "uncanonical" order). That the list in Heb 11:32 is out of phase with the canonical book and mentions only half of the Deborah-Barak team combines with other indicators of theological perspective to suggest that rhetorical and didactic-ethical concerns outweighed strict chronological sequence (if it was accurately remembered) in the organization of the book of Judges.

**2. Stories in Didactic Editorial Framework. a. The Outer Framework.** The canonical book is framed by a question-and-answer repeated from chap. 1, and a generalization echoing throughout the final chapters. At the outset, sometime after the death of Joshua, the Israelites make inquiry: "Who shall go up first for us to do battle" against the Canaanites? Whether the anticipated warfare is, from Israel's side, offensive or defensive as sequel to Joshua is unclear. In any case, the oracle answers: "Judah shall go up" (1:1–2). After initial successes in the S (1:3–19) qualified by corrective notices about Caleb at Hebron (1:20), Jebusites in Jerusalem (1:21), and Joseph's takeover of Bethel in the near N (1:22–26), the progress of land settlement deteriorates so that by the end of the chapter Israel is in nearly disastrous straits. The beginning of chap. 2 finds "all the Israelites" at Bochim (= Bethel?) weeping (Heb *bōkîm*) before Yahweh, in response to which the oracle brings bad news: because of Israel's covenant breaking, Yahweh will no longer evict Canaanites (2:1–5).

Late in the judges era, after recounting a civil war that would have obliterated Benjamin (chap. 20), except for a punitive raid on Jabesh-gilead and the premeditated abduction of women at a Shiloh vintage festival (chap. 21), the book concludes with a sweeping but ambiguous generalization providing a rationale for monarchy: "In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did what was right, as he saw it" (21:25). Out of context that statement might describe either a bad scene (anarchy) or a good one (governance by internalized ethic).

The same generalization and the same question-and-answer have already occurred in close proximity (but in reverse sequence) in the concluding chapters (chaps. 17–20). Here, however, Israel would be mobilized for civil, not offensive or defensive, warfare. The stage is set by two stories in chap. 17, concerning a northerner, Micah an Ephraimite. In the first story Micah acquires a molten image for divinatory purposes (17:1–5), and in the second hires a young Levite from Bethlehem in Judah to be his priest and thus secure Yahweh's favor (17:7–13). As connective between stories we read the identical statement (17:6) with which the book ends: "In those days … no king …" Here the cliché unquestionably describes a bad scene, where the target of polemic is a N sanctuary, and not "all Israel." In the body of the book "all Israel" is in fact mentioned explicitly only once (8:27), specifically as "playing the harlot" with Gideon's ephod (another divinatory object).

The stories of Micah's free-lance N establishment are in turn followed by a grim account of conquest at Dan, where Micah's Levite (hired out from under Micah) founds a priestly house tracing descent from Moses (18:30), "throughout the period that the House of God was at Shiloh" (18:31).

Juxtaposed with these stories about the corrupting exploitation of a young Levite from the S is the account in chap. 19 of a well-established Levite from the N who journeys S to Bethlehem to reclaim his runaway concubine-wife. Despite his own implication in permitting the subsequent rape and murder of the woman, at Gibeah in Benjamin en route home, this Levite as self-designated leader rallies the Israelite militia for private vengeance. With the forces mustered and ready at Mizpah, we hear the same questions as at the outset of the era: "Who shall go up first for us?" And the same oracular answer: "Judah will go first" (20:18). But there would be two resounding defeats before the Israelites inquire, at last, at Bethel (where the ark of the covenant was then to be found), and receive a reliable oracle (20:26)!

From this description of the outer framework it should be clear that the book of Judges displays a clash of perspectives and tensions within its organization which are deeply rooted in the different histories of northern and southern, eastern and western constituencies of Israel from very early times. The storytellers and redactors thus reflect the tug of competing loyalties to various sanctuary sites and the teaching of their personnel, down the years.

**b. Introduction (1:1–3:6).** The book's introduction is complex. All of 1:1–2:5, as described above, is prologue, summary recapitulation at the outset of the era following Joshua's death and burial which is now told again (2:6–10 read as past perfect: "Joshua had died …") in a text strikingly similar to Josh 24:28–31, but with the sequence appropriately revised for introduction to the new era.

The next segment (2:11–23) sets forth the pattern of the period, beginning with a formula that regularly introduces each of the "savior" judges: "Israelites did what was evil in Yahweh's sight" (2:11; 3:2; 4:1; 6:1; 10:6; 13:1), "they prostrated themselves to other gods," the Baals and the Ashtaroth. Such behavior was followed invariably by the victory of oppressors, as Yahweh had promised (2:11–15). It was, equally, an era which also experienced the compassion of Yahweh, who raised up a leader to rescue them. Yahweh was motivated to do so by the sound of their suffering. Yet at the death of the leader, they "turned and behaved more corruptly than their fathers, following other gods," so that at last Yahweh let the enemies remain "without evicting them at once" (2:16–23).

Chap. 3 begins with the ironic explanation that the peoples which Yahweh allowed to remain (Philistines, Canaanites, Sidonians, Hivites, Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, and Jebusites) were to be there for one purpose: that the future generations of Israelites might have direct experience of warfare and thus be covenantally tested (3:1–4). An ominous side effect, however, was intermarriage and apostasy (3:5–6).

Thus ends the introduction to the era. In the stories which follow, relief at any pressure point, whether from invasion or from resident enclaves within the land, is understood as deliverance for "Israel," no matter how local the threat and the organized resistance. The body of the book is in two parts, as signaled by a special introduction to Jephthah in chap. 11.

**c. History with the Judges, Part One. (1) Othniel (3:7–11).** The story of Othniel ben Kenaz versus the oppressor Cushan-rishathaim comes first and is most obscure. Othniel's origin is in the S hills around Hebron. Cushan's base was probably Armon-harim ("Hill-country Fortress") not Aram-naharaim (Mesopotamia); the latter would result from a common scribal lapse, with the introduction of word-dividers and spacing in written texts. The story displays the exemplary relationship between a local leader activated to display Yahweh's spirit and a populace petitioning Yahweh for collective relief. "Yahweh's spirit" will only next be mentioned in 6:34. In this example story, "to judge" is to mobilize and successfully lead the people in defensive warfare, which in this case produced "40 years" of pacification, till Othniel died.

**(2) Ehud (3:12–30).** The second of the savior judges is a left-handed Benjaminite. The name Benjaminite means "son of the right hand [the south]," but there is more than wordplay involved. Left-handedness, considered peculiar and unnatural, was notably frequent in this tribe (see Judg 20:16; and cf. 1 Chr 12:2). The left-handedness may have been artificially induced (binding the right arms of the young children) so as to produce superior warriors. Left-handed persons have a distinct advantage in physical

combat, especially in regard to ancient armaments and defenses (Halpern 1988: 40–43). Ehud is activated by Yahweh in response to the Moabite incursion and oppression from field headquarters at the City of Palms (probably the Jericho oasis). Eglon ("young bull") was famed for his obesity, and is slain by Ehud in a single-handed act of diplomatic treachery. Eglon's forces were stampeded and men from the highlands of Mount Ephraim joined in the pursuit. The result was "80 years" of peace.

**(3) Shamgar** was another single-handed deliverer, versus an entire Philistine brigade (3:31). That he was an Anathite may point to a hometown Beth-Anath in Galilee. More likely the label identifies Shamgar as a (former?) mercenary, relating his background to a military contingent under tutelage of the fertility/warrior goddess Anath. Defeat of the Philistines was deliverance for the Israelites. No specifically Yahwist claims are made for Shamgar.

**(4) Deborah and Barak,** that is, "Honey Bee" and "Lightning" (4:1–24) display collaboration of a "judge" (Barak, Heb 11:32) and a prophetess, the wife of Lappidoth (that is, "Flashes"). Deborah's oracular activity and leadership of the militia makes her the heroic one, in a story told at the expense of Barak. Oppression is blamed on "Jabin, king of Canaan," mentioned as such only in the introductory and concluding verses. Verse 17 refers in a flashback to "Jabin, King of Hazor," thus recalling an older treaty which explains the presence of Heber's Kenite clan in the far N and the setting for Heber's wife, Jael. Opposition in the field is headed by Sisera who commands 900 especially sturdy chariots constructed with iron fittings. Sisera's name is non-Semitic, probably of Anatolian origin, as was the knowledge of iron technology. Prodded and accompanied by Deborah, Barak musters forces from Naphtali and Zebulun at a northern Kedesh, and on Mount Tabor, while Sisera's force assembles near Tabor, at the Kishon river. Yahweh confounds the opposition (the narrative does not say how), and Sisera flees N on foot, with Barak in hot pursuit. If the narrative implies that Heber's clan had changed sides (4:17), Jael was an exception. She slays Sisera while he is enjoying her hospitality; and so Deborah's taunting prophecy (4:9) is fulfilled. Barak arrives at the scene too late to take any credit, but returns in time for the celebration.

**(5) The Song of Deborah and Barak** (5:1–31) is a priceless piece of archaic Hebrew poetry which offers direct access to religion and polity of the Yahwist organization in the late 12th–early 11th centuries B.C.E. In the form of a victory hymn, the song celebrates the theophany of Yahweh as experienced by those who participated at the rout of Sisera's chariotry, thanks to a timely cloudburst and flash flood. For "the stars in their courses" (source of rain?) "fought against Sisera" (5:20).

It was a battle for control of the broad and fertile Esdraelon plain, pegged to the time of Shamgar and Jael (5:6a), spurred on by Israel's successful control of the caravan routes through the highlands of Ephraim and Galilee (5:6b–7), interrupted only by Canaanite control of the intervening plain. In this far older song it is a coalition of "kings of Canaan" whose forces Sisera commands.

While the prose story highlights *dramatis personnae* and mentions only the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali, the older song calls the tribal roll, for praise or blame as appropriate. Six of the W tribes are variously lauded for responding to the muster: Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir (= W Manasseh?), Zebulun, Issachar, and Naphtali. Two coastal tribes, Asher and Dan, are faulted for what sounds like subservience to Sea Peoples. Two Transjordan constituencies are faulted for staying at home: Reuben and Gilead (= E Manasseh?). Two territorial tribes are treated with silence: Judah and Gad. There is similarly no mention of Levi, which, however, is not surprising in a roster of territorially based units.

Absence of Judah suggests that the events occurred well along in the Philistine period, which rendered Judah totally ineffectual and posed a threat of complete encirclement for the Joseph tribes. Silence concerning Gad in Transjordan most likely reflects one of Moab's incursions into the territory N of its recognized border at the Arnon. Such incursions happened frequently enough that Gad's territory, near the Transjordan escarpment, is known elsewhere in scripture as "plains of Moab."

The song has the highland peasantry pitted against the professional soldiery of the feudal elite from older city-state centers of the plains and the Galilean crossroads at Hazor. After lauding Deborah as a "mother in Israel" (for giving the right oracular answer?), the song turns at last to imagining the scene at Harosheth-haggoim, where Sisera's mother is inquiring anxiously about the tardiness of her son's return, only to be ironically reassured by "the wisest of her captains' ladies" that they are surely enjoying the

spoils of war. Verse 31 is a chiastic couplet, quite distinct from the sort of repetitive and seconding patterns that occur throughout the song, and probably represents what Deborah and Barak sang in the prose narrative tradition, prior to incorporation of the archaic victory hymn. Again the land was pacified, for 40 years.

**(6) Gideon,** that is, "Hacker," gets proportionately far more attention than any other figure in the book (6:1–8:35). He was a savior who nearly became king. The crisis surmounted by this man from the Abiezrite clan of W Manasseh, depradations by Midianites and other easterners at harvesttime, was an annually recurring one, which left the Israelite peasantry desolate after pillaging that ranged as far S as Gaza. These Midianites probably represent a later wave of immigration from E Anatolia (as distinct from the earlier Midianites of Mosaic tradition, most likely also from the N), who brought with them the domesticated camels which made them such effective tax collectors. Description of the Midianite oppressors as Yahweh's response to Israel's relapse (6:1–6) is the most elaborate thus far and will be matched only by the introduction of Jephthah (10:6–9). When the people petition Yahweh for relief, Yahweh sends a prophet, the only one to be mentioned in the book, who brings Yahweh's indictment, a warning for breach of covenant (Heb *rîb*, verbal element in the name Jerubbaal).

Similarly, the stories of Gideon's authentication as leader are without close parallel. A recruiting angel appears in human form to confront Gideon under an oak (sacred tree?) at Ophrah which belongs to his father Joash (note Yahwist name), while Gideon is beating out wheat in a winepress so as to conceal his activity from Midianites in the neighborhood. In the interview which follows, Gideon demands a sign that he is in fact dealing with Yahweh, and is convinced by the sign that he must soon die! Reassured to the contrary by Yahweh, Gideon promptly builds an altar for Yahweh at Ophrah (still there in the narrator's day) and sacrifices a bull upon it, according to Yahweh's instructions. He names the altar: "He Creates Peace/Well-Being" (6:11–24). The socioreligious practice is illustrated by the "Bull site" in Manasseh, an open Iron Age I cult place (Mazar 1982; Kochavi 1985).

Only now does the reason for Gideon's initial reluctance, and his nickname "Hacker," become clear. He is to be a reformer, charged with dismantling his father's Baal-altar and chopping down the Asherah alongside it. When the townsmen object after the fact, Joash the apostate advises it will be better to let Baal press his own case, thus ironically legitimating the given name of his son, Jerubbaal, "Let Baal Sue" (6:25–32). The reader is thus reminded of Yahweh's indictment brought by a prophet at the beginning of the Gideon stories. This story explains how Judge Hacker, son of the apostate Joash, could properly wear a Baal-name, which occurs with increasing frequency in chaps. 7 and 8.

The remainder of chap. 6 describes the opposing forces: Midianites, Amalekites, and easterners versus the peasants' militia from Manasseh, Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali, mustered by Gideon, who is now clothed with Yahweh's spirit (6:33–35). But Gideon will hold out for another confirmatory sign. The fleece test, when Yahweh is also able to do it in reverse, convinces Gideon that God has told him the truth (6:36–40).

In chap. 7, "Jerubbaal" (that is, Gideon), according to the text, stations the troops, and Yahweh readies his force by drastically reducing their numbers. Now it is Yahweh who tests the warriors, selecting from the 22 muster units 300 of the less alert, those who incautiously lap at the water like dogs. The initial victory will be Yahweh's alone (7:1–8). With the force thus drastically reduced, Gideon is advised by Yahweh to conduct a nighttime reconnaissance, from which Gideon learns that the outcome of battle is adequately foreseen in the Midianite camp (7:8–15). The 300 men are divided into three units, for a nighttime surprise attack from the camp's perimeter. Each warrior is heavily laden with a trumpet in one hand and a flaming torch inside a heavy ceramic jar in the other. With simultaneous blowing of trumpets and shattering of jars, the opposition is stampeded by the sound and light terror, turning first upon one another and then to disorganized flight. Gideon and the militia had not yet done any fighting, and Yahweh had won, as promised (7:16–22).

Israelites rallied from Naphtali, Asher, and Manasseh give chase. Gideon now sends "envoys" (plural of "angel" in 6:11) throughout all of Mount Ephraim. The tardily mustered Ephraimites capture and execute two Midianite kings, Oreb and Zeeb, bring their amputated heads to Gideon in Transjordan, and voice

their indignation at not being summoned at the outset. They are appeased by Gideon's explanation that it was Yahweh's prerogative to give them Oreb and Zeeb (7:23–8:3), for Gideon is on the trail of two others.

The bulk of chap. 8 concerns Gideon in Transjordan. The men of Succoth and Penuel are not persuaded that Gideon's business deserves their provisioning; and Gideon, notably, makes no reference to Yahweh's legitimation. This is Gideon's war; the victory this time will be Gideon's (8:4–9). And so it happens. The two kings Zebah and Zalmunna are taken alive at Karkor and brought to Succoth and Penuel which are, as Gideon had promised, terrorized before the kings are executed. The narrator has withheld until now information that goes a long way toward explaining the caricature of Gideon as savior-judge throughout these chapters. Whereas it was a prime concern of the early Yahwist movement to curtail the vendetta (cf. Deut 32:35 and the institution of cities of refuge), Gideon had taken the Israelite militia into Transjordan in pursuit of blood vengeance. There was also rich booty (8:4–21).

The final narrative segment tells how Gideon, for a good Israelite reason, declined the offer of dynastic rule. He requested instead contributions of the valuables taken as booty, out of which he made an ephod, an elaborate priestly vestment worn (or displayed to be consulted) as having divinatory value. "And all Israel"[its only occurrence in the body of the book] "prostituted themselves there." Still, the land had been pacified for 40 years (8:22–28).

In a few compact editorial verses which make a rough transition (8:29–32), the reader is introduced to the house of Jerubbaal: numerous wives and 70 sons plus Abimelech, whose mother was a slave-wife from Shechem. Finally we read that Gideon died at a ripe old age, to be buried in the tomb of his father. With Gideon dead, the good that he had done was quickly forgotten, along with Yahweh's acts of salvation. Israelites prostituted themselves to a deity called "Baal of the covenant" (alternatively "El of the covenant"), and worshiped at Shechem in the stories which follow.

**(7) Abimelech's Career** is the organizational midpoint of the book. Archaeological evidence will be assessed below which strongly suggests that the careers of Deborah and Barak were roughly contemporary or slightly later than Abimelech. In any case, considerations of space suggest that the stories in Judges are arranged so as to center rhetorically in the abortive experiment with monarchy at Shechem, where covenant renewal had climaxed the preceding era. In BHS 10 pages are required for chaps. 1–5, 11 pages are given over to Gideon and Abimelech alone (chaps. 6–9), and 20 pages suffice for all that follows (chaps. 10–21).

Unlike the achievements of his father Gideon, which are entertainingly narrated with sustained tension between favorable and unfavorable valuations, Abimelech's story is told by an extremely hostile narrator. The name Abimelech, "My Father is King," is ambiguous, the referent of "Father" being either Gideon or the God of Israel. The name recurs with unparalleled frequency (39 times in 57 verses).

Abimelech's path to power as king of the Shechem city-state, which is reverting to Bronze Age governance in the story, is rapidly recounted: negotiations through his mother's connections with the Shechem elite, appropriation of funds from the Shechem temple in order to hire mercenaries, liquidation of the 70 brothers with the exception of Jotham, the youngest, who hid away, and coronation near a (sacred?) oak at the Shechem fortress (9:1–6).

Jotham's fable addressed to the Shechem elite, telling about the trees who set forth to anoint a king over them but who could only persuade the worthless bramble to accept the office (9:7–15a) is followed by Jotham's statement of readiness to let the rightness of their action be proved or disproved by appropriate blessing or curse (i.e., historical process), whereupon Jotham flees, not to be mentioned again in Scripture outside the chapter (9:15b–21).

In addition to being king at Shechem (never explicitly king "in Israel"), Abimelech also became, like his father, field commander (Heb *śar*) of the Israel militia, for three years. The split loyalty is presented as his undoing: God sends an evil spirit between Abimelech and the Shechem elite. The mention of "God" in v 23 will be echoed twice in vv 56–57 (the name Yahweh is totally absent), signaling the narrator's theological valuation, which otherwise is left to the tone of the narrative plus Jotham's pronouncement.

Gaal ben Ebed ("Loathsome, son of Slave"), a full-blooded Shechemite, undermines Abimelech's kingship, objecting to Abimelech's half-Shechemite genealogy. The coup is thwarted when Abimelech's appointee as Shechem commandant, Zebul ("Big Shot"), gets wind of the matter and sends word to Abimelech. Gaal is enticed out of the city for open combat and Gaal escapes, but there are many casualties (9:26–41).

Abimelech retaliates for the Shechemite support of Gaal by ambushing and slaughtering Shechem's peasants in the fields, following up the slaughter by seizing the city, razing it, and sowing it with salt, presumably thus laying it under another curse (9:42–45).

Probably v 45 refers only to the poorer quarters of the lower city, as known from excavations. For the next scene has the Shechem elite crowding into the "stronghold of covenant-El's temple." Abimelech's force sets fire to the place and the elite perish in the building's destruction (9:46–49).

There was a similar structure at Thebez called "Strong's Tower," where Abimelech fought his final campaign and died an ignominious death—he drew too close to the structure and "a certain woman" threw down an upper millstone which crushed his skull (9:50–54).

The summary is brief. Seeing that Abimelech was dead, the Israelites "went away, each to his own place" (9:55), a statement adumbrating the disbanding of the militia at the end of the era (21:24). Abimelech had experienced justice, as had the Shechem elite; Jotham's invocation of historical process had been the right word at the right time (9:57).

**(8) Two "Minor" Judges** follow Abimelech. First, "in order to save [salvage?] Israel" arose Tola ("Worm"?), a man of Issachar who lived (presumably as "resident alien") at Shamir in the hill country of Ephraim. Tola is the first of five who are said to have "judged" Israel, but about whom very little information and no warfare stories survive. Was their activity strictly local? Were they also saviors? Perhaps Tola was thought to have saved Israel by presiding over disputes in such a way that violence was mostly avoided. The list of five is broken open and used to frame the stories about Jephthah, presumably because Jephthah was remembered in both ways: presiding over both internal and external relations, and resorting to military force only when diplomatic recourse was exhausted (see below). Jephthah's name may well have occurred in the same archive as the other five.

With Jair the Gileadite, second in the minor-judge sequence, the center of attention shifts to N Transjordan. The political effectiveness of Jair is represented in genealogical metaphor: he had 30 sons in 30 towns, still called "villages of Jair" at the time of composition and redaction. That Tola judged for "23 years" and Jair for "22 years" (not round numbers) suggests an archival source concerning local or regional administration.

**d. History with the Judges, Part Two. (1) Introduction (10:6–16).** These verses ironically echo the first introduction (esp. 2:11–3:6), listing all the oppressors of part one, with whose deities Israelites had become entangled, and including Ammonites who will next become the chief oppressors. This time, however, crying out to Yahweh is inadequate. The gods must go. Upon their removal, the plight of Israel becomes intolerable to Yahweh.

**(2) Jephthah.** His story unfolds with inverted rhetorical relationship to those whose stories are told in part one. Jephthah's family is well-to-do (cf. Gideon) but he is the son of a prostitute, driven out by the sons of his father's wife. His military prowess comes to be certified by activity of a mercenary band which rallies around him at Tob, near the modern border between Syria and Jordan (11:1–3). Ammonite expansion in central Transjordan mounts to the point where Jephthah is summoned by the elders to take charge of the militia as *qāṣîn* (a ranking officer in Joshua's organization, Josh 10:24). Jephthah, however, holds out for highest rank, in covenanting at Mizpah, a Yahwist sanctuary in central Transjordan, location uncertain (11:4–11).

Jephthah first acts vis-à-vis the Ammonites (like Moses before him and prophets after him) as ambassador of Yahweh to earthly courts, in this case a foreign court under the supposed sovereignty of Chemosh, who elsewhere is god of Moab (not Ammon). The dispute is over territory N of the recognized Moabite border at the Arnon, territory with a long history of rival Ammonite/Moabite/Israelite claims. In two embassies Jephthah is presented as making every effort to settle the matter by diplomacy before

taking to the field, where Yahweh would be the judge (11:12–28). Only now, in relation to Jephthah's tour to muster the militia, is there reference to Jephthah's manifestation of Yahweh's spirit (11:29). Jephthah seems thus to be presented at the outset of "part 2" as an exemplary leader, apparently the best since Deborah in chaps. 5 and 6.

But Jephthah was not flawless. The sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter in literal fulfillment of a vow (whether hastily worded in reference to livestock or implying a state of desperation before the battle) shows Jephthah and his family marked for tragedy. The cultural background of the women's annual lamentation on the hills, legitimated by the story, remains obscure.

As the next and final Jephthah units show, the tragic dimension of Jephthah's career was not confined to his family. Here there is a brief account of intertribal war, Jephthah's force versus Ephraimites west of the Jordan, precipitated by jealousy of Jephthah's Transjordanian achievements, to which the Ephraimites claim not to have been invited. Negotiations quickly evolve into violence, with heavy Ephraimite casualties (12:1–4), followed by the execution of Ephraimite fugitives at the Jordan crossings, fugitives recognized by a dialect difference: Ephraimites cannot produce the sibilant in "Shibboleth" to the satisfaction of the Gileadite sentries. Jephthah is not mentioned in this final unit, however (12:5–6). The long section closes with a rubric familiar from the "minor judge" list, according to which Jephthah had "judged Israel six years."

**(3) Three More "Minor Judges"** exercise leadership west of the Jordan river: Ibzan of Bethlehem (most likely in Zebulun) for 7 years, Elon of Aijalon (specifically in Zebulun) for 10 years, and Abdon of Pirathon (in Ephraim) for 8 years (12:8–15). No warfare stories are told.

**(4) Samson** ("Little Sun") belongs to a Danite family living in the region flanked by Judah and the Philistine frontier. Concluding formulas in 15:20 and 16:31, familiar from each of the minor-judges and Jephthah materials, are a distinct redactional signal to two blocks of material.

One group of stories (13:1–15:20) explain and display Samson's prodigious strength, recounting the young man's exploits on the western frontier, thus legitimating the claim in 15:20, where "judged Israel" refers to defeated Philistines. There is no indication that in Samson's case it had anything to do with management of intertribal conflict.

In chap. 13, after the notice about the resumption of doing evil and the consequent 40 years of Philistine oppression, Samson's surpassing physical strength is explained as the result of a prenatal agreement between his mother and an angelic ambassador of Yahweh (cf. recruitment of Gideon in chap. 6). The envoy gave her the news that she was bearing a son. The son would be a Nazirite (Num 6:13–21) from birth, who would begin the liberation of Israel from the Philistines; she was to begin at once observing the Nazirite vow. Here the unnamed mother is much quicker to get the message than is the father, Manoah, ponderous head of the house who is presented as something of an isolationist in face of the prolonged Philistine threat.

Chaps. 14 and 15 show Samuel's strength and virility as sadly subversive of the charismatic promise while also legitimating the assertion that he "judged Israel." First there is the eye-catching Philistine woman whom he wheedles his parents into visiting as prospective daughter-in-law, "for she is the right one in my eyes" (14:1–3). This anticipates the formulaic cliché which echoes at the end of the era (17:6; 21:25). En route to Timnah for the parental negotiations, Samson slays a young lion barehanded; and on a subsequent visit he finds the carcass full of bees—and honey. It was widely understood that honey held enlightening and courage-producing potential (1 Sam 14:24–30). Thus it might have been a sign which Samson either failed to recognize or else suppressed by not telling his parents where he found the honey. The story sets the stage for a seven-day wedding feast at Timnah, where Samson propounds a riddle and makes a wager with his "thirty friends" (public functionaries?). They, however, cheat by threatening the bride to extract the answer to the riddle. Their breach of faith brings on Samson a manifestation of Yahweh's spirit, so that the problematic marriage is providentially annulled, but not without the death of 30 other Philistines with whose garments and gear Samson pays his wager obligation. The bride, unbeknownst to Samson, becomes the wife of Samson's best man. The chapter makes it clear that Samson

has the requisite physical prowess to be a deliverer; it is lack of civic commitment that will make him a tragic figure.

In chap. 15 Samson returns sometime later to visit his "bride," and is so enraged by the alternative offer of her younger sister that his fury is unleashed (no mention of Yahweh's spirit this time). He captures 300 jackals, ties them tail to tail with a torch between each pair, and turns them loose in fields, vineyards, and orchards. Philistines retaliate by executing the bride and her father, to which Samson responds by smiting Philistines "leg on thigh." Having in effect just announced his retirement, Samson retreats to Judah and hides out in a cave at Etam, location uncertain (15:1–8).

But his retirement was not to last. Philistines deploy themselves against Lehi ("Jawbone") in Judah, demanding Samson's extradition, to which Samson agrees, provided that the Judahites themselves do not try to harm him. As Yahweh's spirit empowers him, Samson promptly breaks free of the new ropes with which he is bound, picks up a donkey jawbone, lays low a whole contingent of Philistines, composes a brief poetic couplet on the subject, and is about to die of thirst when, at last, he addresses Yahweh directly in 15:18, and his prayer is answered. There are clearly etiological elements in the chapter, all subordinate or secondary to the characterization of "Little Sun," of whom it could at last be said that he "judged Israel" (15:9–20).

Chapter 16 adds two stories which underscore the tragic element: first a brief unit about a one-night visit to a prostitute in Gaza (16:1–3), followed by a prolonged love affair with Delilah ("Flirty") of Vineyard Valley (RSV "Valley of Sorek"; Nahal Sarar, which begins about 13 miles SW of Jerusalem, guarded in ancient times by the town of Beth-shemesh). The stories are shaped by tradition's uniform characterization of Samson, but they are not two versions of the same story. It is implied that Judge Samson learned nothing from the near-fatal Gaza escapade, and nearly destroyed Israel as a result of the Delilah affair.

The cutting of the Nazirite's hair was public recognition of release from a vow (which in this case had been made for him) and discharge from active duty (Num 6:13–20). Thus Israel was left for a while without the Nazirite judge during the Philistine crisis. But Samson's hair would grow again, and Samson could voluntarily reenlist, to achieve a momentary settling of accounts with Philistines. Samson is thus presented as a tragicomic figure. While he ran afoul through his lusty self-interest, consequent suffering evoked a new confession, and he died honorably while effecting Yahweh's justice toward Philistine terror. The concluding formula in 16:31 ("He had judged …"), repeated from 15:20 but in perfect tense and disjunctive syntax, strongly suggests a second compiler. Chaps. 14 and 15 answer the question: Whatever became of "Little Sun," prodigal son of Manoah? He judged Israel. Chap. 16 answers the question: What became of Judge Samson?

**(5) Micah's Place.** The S Danite setting of the Samson stories formed a natural bridge to the concluding framework stories described briefly above (B.2). These stores begin in chap. 17, with the blossoming of Micah's religious establishment in the N (probably early Bethel). Micah ("Who is like Yahweh?") is another prodigal, but one whose doting mother is a sponser of divinatory equipment for Micah's shrine (17:1–5). In the sequel, Micah employs as his priest a young itinerant Levite from Bethlehem in Judah (17:7–13). The connective between stories is the first full statement of the assertion with which the book will end: "In those days, there was no king in Israel. Each one did what was right in his own eyes" (17:6). Here the assertion clearly describes a bad scene; it is S polemic aimed at a N sanctuary.

**(6) The Migration of Dan.** The polemic intensifies in chap. 18, which begins with a partial echo: "no king in Israel." Here Micah's place is "providentially" deprived of its divinatory equipment and priest, stolen and hired away by the Danites who, because of continued resistance to their settlement along the coast, are moving to the far N. The town of Laish, peaceably isolated, is an unsuspecting sitting duck for the Danites, who promptly rebuild and rename it ("Dan") and install there Micah's image and the young Levite who is at last identified as Jonathan, grandson of Moses! Here ends a S version of the founding of what would become the other infamous northern royal sanctuary, controlled by a rival branch of the Mosaic priesthood throughout the period that the "House of God" (i.e., the legitimate one, with another branch of Mosaic family) was at Shiloh (18:1–31).

**(7) The Anonymous Levite and the Gibeah Outrage.** Chapter 19 begins with an echo of the anarchy formula "no king in Israel," but in syntactical form that suggests yet another block of preformed narrative to follow. This story too unfolds on the N-S axis, with strongly inverted rhetorical relation to the preceding chaps. 17 and 18. Here it is a prosperous Levite from Ephraim, whose troubles begin when his concubine-wife becomes angry and runs off S to the home of her father at Bethlehem in Judah. When the Levite follows to reclaim her, he is feasted by her father for the better part of a week. Getting a late start for home on the fifth day, they are able to proceed only as far as Gibeah in Benjamin, where once again the Levite enjoys lavish hospitality as a sojourner, but thanks only to another prosperous Ephraimite who is likewise a "resident alien" in Benjamin. In a scene which echoes the story of Lot at Sodom (Genesis 19), protection of the stranger does not here extend to the concubine-wife, who is offered by the Levite to local hooligans who are terrorizing the place. The woman is found by the offended Levite next morning, raped and dead at the door. He transports the body home to Ephraim, carves the corpse into twelve pieces (cf. 1 Sam 11:7 and 1 Kgs 11:30–39) and sends them off to all the tribes witht eh call to muster. He has in effect set himself up as "judge"—for civil war in pursuit of private vengeance (cf. Gideon in Transjordan, chap. 8). But it will get worse before it gets better.

**(8) The "Unholy" War** (chap. 20). The warfare against Benjamin, it is specified, involved "all Israel" (20:1) for the first time since a similar specification about the harlotry at Gideon's ephod (8:27). In chaps. 20–21 Israel is distinctively the *qāhāl,* "assembly" (21:5) or *ʿēdâ*, "congregation" (21:10, 13, 16); this is genuinely early usage and not itself a sign of postexilic editing in priestly circles (Anderson 1970; Hurvits 1972; 1974; Boling 1983). The story perhaps originated in the suppression of a Benjaminite independence movement (Schunk 1963: 69–70). Here the bitterly ironic caricature of institutional life savagely turned toward "national" self-destruction continues. Two calamitous defeats by those who represent "Israel" come on the heels of oracular advice received at W Mizpah, specifying that Judah should go first to battle, as in 1:2. Only upon the third muster and inquiry, at Bethel while the ark of Yahweh's covenant is there, is the oracle reliable and victory achieved. Here, in contrast to 2:1–5 and chapter 17, the attitude toward Bethel is not polemical. The warfare left only 500 survivors hiding out, all males.

**(9) Resolution** (chap. 21). When at the outset of the final scenes, the people inquire at Bethel to learn why it has come aobut that one tribe is nearly extinct, the oracle is silent. They are thrown back upon their own devices and conclude that another small civil war will be advisable, to slaughter the men of Jabesh-gilead, who had not rallied against Benjamin (the E-W axis again), and to capture virgins for the 500 Benjaminites. The expenditionary force returns, however, with only 400 women. Another 100 are secured by the Benjaminites, thanks to the reasoning of Israel's elders, who propose a Benjaminite raid on Shiloh at festival time and offer a theologically foolproof rationale. If Shilioh's fathers and brothers come to complain, the elders will be able to say: "We did them a gracious deed. For we [the elders] did not take them; neither did you give in to them." And so it happened in the story. In response to the picture of tragic anarchy leading to the brink of national suicide, the final chapter of Judges draws upon the comic vision: "In those days there was no king in Israel" (except Yahweh, that is); "every man did what was right, as he saw it" (governed by internalized ethic, that is). Lamenting the atrocious behaviors, the book concludes by commending an enduring principle for decision-making in the maintenance of community for the well-being of every family.

## C. The Book of Judges in Modern Study

Judges poses many and complicated questions. How to understand the evidence for a process preserving stores over a span of centuries and for editorial activity which reflects historical developments between original event and final telling? What to make of the narrators' and redactors' interest in certain towns and not others as places of assembly and oracular inquiry? How to correlate results of archaeological exploration, and critical study of ancient Israel's social world, with literary criticsm? Who were the traditionists who generated the stories and what can be said of their soceal location down the centuries to the final compilation and redaction?

**1. Judges as Narrative Art.** The structure of Judges is distinctive, with indications of successive editing throughout introductory and concluding chapters, but much less frequently in the connections

between stories that make up the body of the book. Rarely did the redational activity in the body of the book invade essential contents of narratives. This is in striking contrast to the preceding book, where the model leadership of Joshua is displayed in highly stylized narrative. Thus early Israel's narrative art survives in its purest form in Judges. An appropriate label for such stories is "histrical romance," a category better known from the classical world where they appear regularly in one of two genres: ideal and comic. The ideal genre tells of a well-known figure in popular language for popular delight as well as edification. The comic genre is a more sophisticated one, appearing less frequently, and intended for more discrimination attention. Stories that comprise the body of Judges correspond mainly to the "ideal" genre, that is, stories of leaders whose varying Yahwistic effectiveness is evaluted in the telling. The outer framework gives abundant evidence of the comic vision.

**2. Judges as Historiography.** The first products of Israelite history-writing do not appear until the 10th century B.C.E., when historiography answered a new need for the Davidic empire's self-understanding. Two major works stem from the Solomonic era and/or its immediate sequel. One is the "Court History of David" (2 Sam 9:20) or "Succession Document" (if it continues in 1 Kings 1–2). To the same period belongs the essential compilation of old materials that form the epic core of Genesis through Numbers. The main story line of the epic core is identified by the symbol "J," as it represents a version of origins which attained favored status in Jerusalem and Judah and notably uses the divine name Yahweh in stories referring to periods long preceding Moses. Other lexical and stylistic contrasts, as well as theological ones, distinguish the J material from its originally N (Ephraimite) counterpart, committed to writing perhaps a century later, after the split at the death of Solomon. The northern or "E"version prefers the generic noun Elohim and avoids use of the proper name Yahweh until the latter is revealed to Moses in Exodus 3. In general, material in Genesis-Numbers displays a simpler, earthier, livelier account than does E. The latter has its own theological perspective, with concentration upon angelic messengers, miracles, and related concerns. At Sinai, for example, J revels in the splendor of Yahweh's theophany (Exodus 19), while it is E that contributes the revelation of the divine will (Exodus 20), according to most critics. In general we may say that while J was not uncritically supportive of the Davidic establishment, E sought to undergird a Mosaic revival in the north. It is generally agreed that J and E were brought together in the S after the destruction of the N kingdom had shown that Moses and the prophets spoke the truth. Finally the corpus was supplemented and reedited in the 6th century B.C.E. by priests who were in exile in Babylonia.

It is not clear how far the epic core told the story after Moses. After a long interruption by the bulk of Deuteronomy, the JE material resurfaces in Deuteronomy 34, reporting the death and burial of Moses. Attempts to trace the JE story line into Joshua-Judges (see the classic commentaries of Burney [1970] and Moore [Judges ICC]) and beyond have met with little agreement among critics. It is often suspected that Judges 1 is J's account of conquest, at last yielding pride of place to an E account (the bulk of Joshua 1–11), but if so the trail then peters out.

More persuasive and productive than the older approach to literary source-strata has been the recent half-century of efforts to reconstruct the origins of stories and archival materials in relation to the various tribal constituencies that comprised Israel in the pre-state period. At the same time a broad consensus has formed around the relation of Joshua-2 Kings to the preceding book of Deuteronomy. The result is a primary History comprised of (1) the Tetrateuch (Genesis-Numbers), and (2) a Deuteronomic corpus (Deuteronomy-2 Kings) which did not undergo a priestly redaction. The two have been dovetailed together so that the lengthy speeches of Moses (Deuteronomy 1–33) precede the old narrative account of his death and burial.

The core of Deuteronomy (essentially 4:44–27:26) presents itself as the farewell speech of Moses, delivered in the plains of Moab as he presides over renewal of the Sinai covenant, with the people poised for entry into the land of promise. Deuteronomy displays a pattern for the organization and governance of the tribal league, and for the role of Moses thus far as well as prophets in the future, in analogy to forms and practices of international diplomacy. Israel is the Kingdom of Yahweh, formed and ever reformable, thanks to the Sovereign's stipulation of binding basic policy (Decalog) for the development of legal tradition.

With the core of Deuteronomy given a new frame (1st and 3d speeches) to serve as introduction, the books of Joshua-2 Kings follow as the result of a full-scale chronicling project, mainly completed in the period of Judahite revival under King Josiah (ca. 640–609). Deuteronomy is the basis for one of two themes pervading the corpus: ancient covenantal curses account for the demise of the N kingdom. That disaster of 721 B.C.E. only heightened one of Deuteronomy's enduring concerns, to find provision for jobless Levites at the central Yahwist sanctuary (Deut 18:1–8). Provision for such teacher-priests, in turn, presents the most notable discrepancy between Deuteronomic platform and Josianic policy (2 Kgs 23:9).

The second recurring theme of Samuel and Kings-God's promises to David-was undergirded by Judah's experience: nearly 400 years with a single dynasty in power. With the destruction of Jerusalem and Judah (587) the corpus underwent a finale editing, ending with release of the Davidic king Jehoiachin from a Babylonian prison (2 Kgs 25:27–30).

Evidence for the growth of the book of Judges corresponds in general to the foregoing description of the larger corpus: an old didactic collection of preformed narrative units was redacted intwo major stages, Josianic and post-Josianic.

Traditions taken up in the book of Judges are thus neither so much promonarchical or antimonarchical as they are amonarchical and pro-Mosaic, with the rule of ethic and governance by Yahweh alone making the difference between anarchy and community well-being, i.e., premonarchic memories are adapted for the postmonarchic era.

**3. Archaeology and Social World**. For a 13th-century setting of the exodus and career of Moses (better later in the century than earlier) and for the problematics of reading archaeological dataalongside biblical texts, see JOSHUA, BOOK OF, section C.3.

If Judges 1 is read as a flashback, then despite Joshua's achievement there was a period after his death when the situation deteriorated to the point where many towns and regions had in effect to be "conquered" all over again. On any reading of the chapter it is impossible to square the stories entirely with evidence from excavations and surveys. On the one hand, archaeology in the Judahite hill country and Shephelah has documented widespread upheaval in the period ca. 1250–1150 B.C.E. On the other hand, a number of plausibly identified biblical sites in the far S, towns which are said to have been conquered or settled in Joshua-Judges, were not actually founded until the 10th century when Israel had become, under David, a territorialstate, controlling a small empire. Given the frequency and ease with which an ancient population (and its town name) could relocate after major destruction (with often a natural cause) to a promising nearby site, it is probably futile to seek one-for-one correlations with the brief notices brought together in Judges 1.

Of the major places of assembly in Judges only the location of Gilgal (2:1), somewhere near Jericho and, in any case, not a sizable "ruin," is uncertain.

Recent excavations at Tell Dan point to mid-12th century for its takeover. Bethel (modern Beitin), figuring prominently in the outer framework of Judges (1:22–26; 20:18; 21:2) is probably identical with Bochim in 2:1–5, as well as the target of polemic in the Micah stories (chap. 17). The site shows a 13th-century destruction followed almost at once by resettlement.

Bethel is also a point of reference for locating the sacred tree where Deborah held forth (4:5), in whose story "Jabin King of Canaan who reigned in Hazor" is at the root of resistance to the Israelite caravan trade through the plain of Esdraelon. Hazor (Tell el-Qedah) saw a destruction of the LB city in the second quarter of the 13th century. But in the earliest Iron Age town (presumably "Israelite") there is a characteristic Canaanite temple with corresponding furnishings, It was in this period that N Galilee saw a rapid spread of new, unwalled, upland settlements, and terrace farming, for the first time in history. The data thus attest to shifting demographic patterns in the far north providing a plausible setting for the flashback to the era of the Jabin (Joshua 11) whose policy at Hazor explains the subsequent move of a Kenite clan to the far N, and Jael's presence in Judges 4 and 5, which celebrate victory "at Taanach by Megiddo's stream." Extensive excavations at Megiddo and Taanach show a significant occupational gap at the former. Megiddo was abandoned or lightly occupied from ca. 1125 to the beginning of the first Iron Age town there, ca. 1100–1050. Taanach in the 12th century was, like Hazor, not extensively occupied,

and was destroyed ca. 1125. The team of Deborah and Barak may thus plausibly be located in the second half of the 12th century.

Likewise Abimelech at Chechem. There was a destruction of the LB city in the 14th century (cause unknown), but it was soon reoccupied and followed by an interlude of roughly 200 years before it was destroyed again, in the middle to late 12th century. The latter destruction may reasonably be correlated with the story of Abimelech in chap.9.

The same long interlude at Shechem saw a blossoming of unwalled settlements, for the first time in history, throughout the hill country to the N of Shechem and to the S as far as Hebron. Like the roughly contemporary phenomenon in N Galilee, these settlements were occupied by families practicing a subsistence agricultural economy based on construction of terraces for dry-farming (see JOSHUA, BOOK OF, section C.3; and Stager 1985).

These developments centering in the Shechem area may in turn be viewed against the background of Shechem's pragmatic stance vis-á-vis Egyptian administration in the 14th century, as seen in the activities and attitudes of Labayu and his sons, in the Amarna correspondence (Campbell 1960). Whatever the cause of the 14th-century destruction of Shechem, it did not curtail a movement toward functional independence in the wider area.

Shiloh and the W Mizpah figure only in the outer framework, and both may well have emerged as prominent in the wake of Shechem's destruction. Mizpah (probably Tell en-Nasbeh) was one of the many new settlements atop the hill country in the late 13th-early 12th centuries. Shiloh was an out-of-the-way rallying point, a town site which had lain in ruins largely uninhabited throughout the LB Age. It became another of the flourishing farming settlements and probably had a small temple in the prestate period. With subsequent destruction of Shiloh by the Philistines, the place of Israelite muster once again became Gilgal, in the days of Samuel and Saul.

The Philistine crisis which generated the Samson stories was not finally surmounted until the establishment of monarchy with Saul and the transformation of Israel into a territorial state centered in W Palestine under David and Solomon. In this respect, Israel lagged some two centuries behind developments in Transjordan where a strong territorial state, Moab, was already in place on the plateau S of the Arnon, with a smaller Ammonite state at the desert fringe of Gilead, in the era of Moses (see Sauer 1986). In the case of Israel it was not so much cultural lag as it was communal preference and sworn allegiance to a divine Sovereign which undergirded resistance and rebellion. Conflicting Ammonite, Moabite, and Israelite claims N of the Arnon, and Jephthah's negotiations in chap. 11, now make sense in view of shifting demographic patterns as reconstructed from the excavations and surveys in Transjordan. See also JOSHUA, BOOK OF, section C.3. The re-emergence of Israel as an effective tribal organization happened first in Transjordan, to which point it was nearly pushed back by the time of Samuel.

Early Israel was, in many respects, what anthropologists call a segmented society with correlated lineage systems. In such societies political organizatin is regularly based on genealogical reckoning and operative desccent rules. As segments move from one place to another, undergo expansion or decline due to whatever circumstances, new adjustments result and genealogy, in time, adjusts to affirm the new arrangements, which come to be widely accepted as the way it has always been. Something similar happens with chronology. The large round numbers assigned to careers of savior-judges, and the more plausible shorter careers of "minor judges" (with some in both categories very likely contemporaries), are arranged end-to-end for an improbable lengthy era.

The hypothesis that early Israel was such a segmented society helps to understand the tensions which pervade the book of Judges, on both the N-S axis and the E-W axis. Some of these roots go deep, not only to the post-Joshua constituencies and their leaders in times of crisis, but on into the pre-Mosaic and pre-Yahwistic period of "Elohistic" Israel (see also JOSHUA, BOOK OF, section C.4).

**4. Levitical Sponsorship? Dtn, Dtr 1, Dtr 2**. While it is clear that the finished book of Judges shortly foresees or soon follows the dismantling of state and temple in 587, interpretation is inadequate which regards the book and the larger corpus as mainly an etiology of national destruction. Throughout the Former Prophets are signs of at least two major "edition," both of them making use of older units and

large blocks of material, and both of them shaped by a book of Mosaic Torah. Dtn, Dtr 1, and Dtr 2 are convenient shorthand for this sequence of editions.

*Dtr 1* forms the major portion of the Former Prophets, a late preexilic product probably from the reign of the reforming King Josiah. Designed to be supportive of life under a monarchy reformed according to the law of Moses, it presents Joshua as an ideal for the king in matters military, while the stories of Judges are left unrevised to display the problematics of life without monarchy.

*Dtr 2* is a subsequent edition. It may be exilic, but need only be post-Josianic to account for the editorial editions.

*Dtn* is the bulk of Deut 4:44–28:68, an old Book of the Law of Moses, rediscovered in Josiah's day, which effectively accounted for the demise of the N kingdom. Given a new introduction, it became a theological preface to the story unfolding from the era of Moses to the Mosaic revival, late 7th century B.C.E. *Dtn* is neither promonarchical nor antimonarchical, without the explicit regulation of kingship in Deut 17:14–20, which therefore appears to be secondary. Clearly *Dtn* stems from no "royal" sanctuary. It most likely stems from levitical circles claiming premonarchical legitimacy, mostly in the N, and calling for grassroots covenant renewal on the Sinai/Moab/Shechem pattern. Continuing rivalry of levitical-priestly families claiming descent from Aaron (Jerusalem, Bethel, Hebron) or Moses (Dan, Shiloh, and probably Shechem) explains many tensions in the traditions. See also JOSHUA, BOOK OF, section C.5.

With the collapse of the N kingdom and a flooding of refugees and immigrants into the S, and with Josiah's closure of sanctuaries a century later but without adequate provision for unemployed priests, the constituencies would be in place in Jerusalem to account for the contrasts between *Dtr 1* and *Dtr 2*. The former (mainly Aaronite) frames a collection of stories with polemic against Bethel and Dan, and centers in the demolition of Shechem. *Dtr 2* (mainly Mushite) is clearest in the tragicomic frame around the entire era: united in chap. 1 for offensive war but on the ropes by the end of the chapter, reunited at last but for civil war which nearly eliminates a tribe at the end of the era.

The main configuration of the structure of Judges may thus be presented in schematic outline (see Fig. JUD.02).

Slavish reliance upon archaic institutions which had displaced Yahweh's governance (i.e., "going by the book") is consigned to the past. The chaos and despair that descended on Judah in the wake of Josiah's death is countered by a comic vision that has rediscovered an enduring center of religious faith in public life. For commentaries, see Boling Judges and Joshua in AB, Hoppe Joshua Judges OTM, commentaries on Joshua/Judges/Ruth in NCBC (gray) and ATD (Hertzberg), and commentaries on Judges in CBC (Martin), OTGuides (Mayes), IB(Myers), and OTL (Soggin). For further discussion, see *CMHE*; Freedman *IDB* 3: 711–27; and *WHJP* 3/2: 23–38, 3/7: 129–63.

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**JUDGMENT, DAY OF.** See DAY OF JUDGMENT.

**JUDGMENT, HALL OF** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾulām hammišpāṭ* (אֻלָם הַמִּשְׁפָּט)]. One of the buildings associated with Solomon's palace complex (1 Kgs 7:7). The context of the passage suggests that this was another name for the main ceremonial hall, or "Hall of the Throne" (throne room), where one might have an official audience with the king. The text seems to list the major compartments of the palace complex as one would logically encounter them moving from the (public) entrance to the (private) living quarters: one first had to pass through the Hall of Pillars to reach the Hall of Judgment. Assuming that Solomon's palace was constructed along the typical lines of the Syro-Phoenician *bīt hilāni,* the "Hall of Pillars" would correspond to the portico and front hall of the typical *bīt hilāni,* while the "Hall of Judgment" would be the large room behind it. Not only was this room equipped with a dais for the throne, it seems to have been furnished with either an open hearth or a portable brazier (Jer 36:22), as attested in other *bīt hilānis* (see Ussishkin 1973).

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**JUDITH** (PERSON) [Heb *yĕhûdît* (יְהוּדִית)]. 1. The wife of Esau and daughter of Beeri the Hittite (Gen 26:34). Hoffner (1969: 32) has shown that the names of persons called "Hittites" in the OT are almost all good Semitic names, e.g., Ephron, Gen 23:8; Adah, Gen 36:2; Ahimelech, I Sam 26:6; etc. Judith is a good Semitic name from Heb *yĕhûd* (plus the feminine gentilic suffix), meaning "Jewess." Therefore, it is most likely that Judith is part of a group of Canaanites living in the hills near Hebron and not a Hittite from Anatolia. This conclusion is also supported by Gen 36:2 where Esau took wives from the Canaanites, including Adah the daughter of Elon the Hittite, and by Gen 28:1 where Isaac charges Jacob not to marry one of the Canaanite women (as Esau had done, cf. Gen 27:46).

2. Heroine of the book of Judith (Gk *Ioudith*), daughter of Merari and widow of Manasseh (Jdt 8:1–2). Her genealogy, extending back 16 generations, is one of the longest in the OT and indicates her importance. Using her beauty and courage she enticed Holofernes, general of Nebuchadnezzar, and cut off his head. This enabled her to deliver the Hebrew people from a seemingly invincible foe. In addition, her piety and patriotism are models for emulation.

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**JUDITH, BOOK OF.** Named after its heroine (Gk *Ioudith* = Heb *yhwdyt*, "Jewess"), this book, whose central theme is "The Omnipotent Lord has foiled them by the hand of a female" (Jdt 16:5), is regarded by Jews and Protestants as apocryphal, and by Roman Catholics since the decrees of the Council of Trent in 1546 as deuterocanonical.

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A. Summary
B. Historicity
C. "Explanations" for the Book's Errors
D. The So-Called "Imbalance" of the Book
E. The Prose and Poetic (16:1–17) Accounts
F. Genre
G. Irony: The Key to the Book
H. Religious Views and Values
    1. In Speeches, Prayers, and Conversations
    2. The Heroine's Character
I. Original Language
J. Author and Place of Composition
K. Date of Book
L. Canonicity
    1. Among Jews
    2. Among Christians
M. The LXX of Judith
N. Other Ancient Versions

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**A. Summary**

The content of the book may be summarized as follows. In the twelfth year of his reign Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Assyrians, left his capital Nineveh to wage war against the Median king, Arphaxad. While many of Nebuchadnezzar's subjects in the east rallied to his aid, those in the west, from Cilicia in the north to Ethiopia in the south, scoffed at his appeal for help. Unable to do anything about it at the time, he swore that some day he would punish them for it. Finally, in his 18th year (the year after he had destroyed Arphaxad and his "invincible" city, Ecbatana) Nebuchadnezzar decided to avenge himself on the west (chap. 1).

Summoning Holofernes, his greatest general, Nebuchadnezzar spelled out his plans for revenge: those nations who would submit to Holofernes by offering tokens of earth and water Nebuchadnezzar would personally deal with later; meanwhile those refusing to submit to Holofernes were to be slaughtered and looted without mercy.

So Holofernes marshaled an enormous army of 120,000 choice infantrymen, 12,000 mounted bowmen, as well as the support people and supplies needed for such an army. Starting out from Nineveh, they made the trek to Bectileth in N Cilicia in just three days. Then the army hacked its way through Put and Lud, plundering Rassisites and Ishmaelites in the process. Crossing the Euphrates River and proceeding through Mesopotamia, Holofernes' army then razed the walled towns along Wadi Abron and occupied Cilicia. Many people and towns were destroyed by him, including Midianites and peoples in the plain. Seacoast towns such as Sidon, Tyre, Okina, Azotus, and Ascalon (chap. 2) threw themselves upon his mercy, saying, "Come and treat us as you see fit." Holofernes not only tore down their sanctuaries and sacred poles, but even commanded that everyone should worship Nebuchadnezzar as god—and him only!

Holofernes' army then advanced toward Esdraelon and camped between Geba and Scythopolis (chap. 3). The Israelites in Judea, who only a short time before had returned from exile and had just recently rededicated their Temple at Jerusalem, were terrified. The territory of Samaria and cities like Kona, Beth-horon, Belmain, and Jericho secured their hilltops and prepared for war. Joakim, the high priest in

Jerusalem at the time, specifically ordered Bethulia and Bethomesthaim, near Dothan, to secure the passes (since access to Judea and Jerusalem was through a narrow pass wide enough for only two men at a time to pass).

Israelites throughout Judea—priests, men, women, children, even animals—wore sackcloth, and were fasting and praying for themselves and especially for their Temple at Jerusalem (chap 4).

When Holofernes learned of this resistance, he was both surprised and angered. Demanding information on the Israelites, he got a full report from one Achior, leader of the Ammonites. Achior told how the Israelites had lived first in Chaldea, next in Mesopotamia, and then in Canaan. There they grew rich until a terrible famine forced them to Egypt, where they were ultimately enslaved by Pharaoh. Through the intervention of their god, they left Egypt, their god even drying up the Red Sea for them. They lived in the Sinai for a while, but then invaded the land of the Amorites, driving out its inhabitants. "And as long as they did not sin against their god," Achior said, "they prospered." But the Israelites sinned so much that finally their god allowed them to be conquered and exiled to a foreign land, from which they had just recently returned. If these people were sinning now, Achior was certain, their god would let the Assyrians conquer them. But if not, then the Assyrians could not defeat them (chap. 5).

Holofernes and his staff scoffed at Achior's counsel. He "rewarded" Achior by setting him in a place where the Israelites might find him and adopt him as a friend. Thus, Achior would share their fate, death at the hands of the Assyrians.

Once the Bethulians found Achior and heard his story, they renewed their prayers while Uzziah, their chief magistrate, took Achior into his own home (chap. 6).

Holofernes, on the advice of the leaders of Esau and Moab, seized the water sources of Bethulia, thereby assuring that the town would die either of starvation or thirst. And indeed after thirty-four days of siege, the cisterns of Bethulia were going dry and its people were collapsing in the streets. The situation was so desperate that its citizens demanded that their magistrates surrender the city, arguing that it was better to be living Assyrian slaves than "free" Israelite corpses. Uzziah offered them a compromise: if there was no relief from God within the next five days, then they would surrender the city (chap. 7).

Everyone in Bethulia accepted the compromise except one person, Judith, daughter of Merari. This beautiful and wealthy young widow of Manasseh was best known for her piety (since the untimely death of her husband almost three and a half years earlier, she had devoted herself to prayer and to fasting on all days except when they were prohibited). No one ever spoke ill of her. She summoned the three magistrates to her place and upbraided them, scolding them for trying to put God to the test. She insisted that God will do as he pleases, unmoved by the ploys of men. God might very well be testing his people in the present crisis, for, unlike some earlier occasions, he was not punishing them now inasmuch as they had not sinned against him. To Uzziah's snide suggestion that she, being such a righteous woman, should intercede for the people, Judith offered a counterproposal: she and her maid would leave town that night, and within five days the Lord would deliver Israel by her hand. The magistrates promptly gave her their blessing (chap. 8).

But first Judith, covered with sackcloth and ashes, prayed to the Lord, begging him for the same support he had granted her ancestor Simeon when he avenged Hamor's rape of Dinah. She begged God to crush the Assyrian forces threatening Jerusalem and its Temple. She also prayed for a beguiling tongue and a strong hand to overthrow her enemy (chap. 9).

Her spiritual preparation completed, Judith bathed and put on her most fetching attire, so that every male who saw her, be he Israelite or Gentile, was struck by her beauty. Then, with the blessing of the town fathers, she and her maidservant left Bethulia, taking with them only enough kosher rations for a few days.

As the two made their way through the valley, they were arrested by an Assyrian patrol, who, captivated by Judith's beauty, ended up personally escorting them to Holofernes' tent (chap. 10).

Holofernes' efforts to reassure Judith were clearly unnecessary, for she immediately took charge. She shamelessly flattered him on his accomplishments, assuring him, "I will say nothing false to 'my lord'this night" and "If you follow the advice of your maidservant, God will accomplish something through you,

and ‘my lord’will not fail to achieve his ends.” She told Holofernes about what had transpired between Achior and the Bethulians. Moreover, Judith confirmed Achior’s words to the Assyrians: Israel could not fall to the Assyrians unless it had sinned against God—and, Israel was about to do exactly that! The siege of Bethulia would shortly prompt its citizens to eat and drink things forbidden by their God. When they did that, they would deserve to die at Assyrian hands. Therefore she would remain in camp, leaving it only at night with her maid to pray. When God revealed to her that the impending sacrilege had occurred, then she herself would guide Holofernes’ army to Jerusalem without loss of life or limb.

Delighted by her information and beauty, Holofernes believed her every word (chap. 11). To his invitation that she share his dinner, Judith declined, insisting that “Your servant will not exhaust her [kosher] supplies before the Lord God accomplishes by my hand what he has planned.”

Until late that night and for the next three days Judith stayed in her own tent, leaving the Assyrian camp only at night to bathe and then pray, after which she would eat her one meal of the day. But on the fourth day Holofernes, intent on seducing her, invited her to a small dinner party in his tent. “Dressed to kill,” Judith accepted his invitation, saying, “I will do whatever ‘my lord’ desires right away, and it will be something to boast of until my dying day.”

His lust welling up within him, Holofernes drank so much wine (chap. 12) that by the time everyone but Judith had tactfully withdrawn for the evening, he was sprawled on his couch, dead drunk. Judith, taking his sword and praying for strength, struck Holofernes’ neck twice, chopping his head off and then rolling his body onto the floor. Next she grabbed his canopy and had her maid drop the head into her sack. The two of them then, as usual, left the camp “to pray.”

Arriving in Bethulia, Judith told everyone what God had done, how he had shattered the enemy by the hand of a mere female. As she offered Holofernes’ head as evidence, she assured them that her “honor” was still intact (chap. 13).

Judith then mapped out the strategy for the next day. The Bethulians were to act as if they were coming down to fight, whereupon the Assyrians would alert their general, only to find him and themselves headless. *Then* the Israelites would attack.

That settled, Judith had Achior brought to her. On seeing the severed head, Achior collapsed. After hearing her story, Achior firmly believed in Israel’s God, to the extent of his being circumcised and becoming a Jew, as are his descendants to this day.

The next day it all happened exactly as Judith had planned. The Assyrians panicked when they learned about Holofernes (chap. 14). Not only did the Bethulians attack them, but so did Israelites from all their cities far and wide, pursuing the Assyrians as far as Damascus. Looting the Assyrian camp took an entire month, during which time the high priest Joakim and the Jewish Council came down from Jerusalem to visit the scene and congratulate Judith. Then she and the people gradually worked their way toward Jerusalem, the women dancing along the route and the warriors, armed and garlanded, marching behind them (chap. 15).

Along the way Judith sang a psalm that told of the murderous boasts of the Assyrians, how “the Omnipotent Lord had foiled them by the hand of a female,” and how “Her sandal ravished his eyes; her beauty captivated his mind; and the sword slashed through his neck!” She also insisted that burnt offerings were of little significance to God; rather, he was impressed by a person’s fear of him.

Once back home, Judith remained there for the rest of her life. Although many men wanted her, she remained a celibate. Before dying at the ripe old age of 105, she manumitted her faithful maidservant and distributed her property among her closest relatives on both sides of the family. For the rest of Judith’s life—and for a long time afterward—no one dared to threaten her people (chap. 16).

The preceding summary has been unusually detailed so as to enable the reader to perceive some of the book’s strengths and weaknesses. The story, at least as presented in the Greek, is well told, especially chapters 10–13, which are a masterpiece of irony. The character and personality of both Judith and Holofernes are most vividly drawn. (Even supporting characters like Nebuchadnezzar, Uzziah, and Achior seem to have a life of their own.) And whether or not one agrees with the book’s theology and

ethics, its religious concerns and values are effectively expressed in the story's plot, speeches, and prayers. Nonetheless, the book bristles with problems.

**B. Historicity**

The story purports to be a historical account, and indeed it has many of the outward trappings of one, including various kinds of dates and numerous well-known and unknown (but not improbable) ethnic, personal, and place names. Even more important perhaps, apart from a few improbable details and obvious embellishments for literary effect, such as the Palestinian "Thermopylae" in Jdt 4:7 (see Momigliano 1982: 227–28), the story has a quite believable plot. Divine or miraculous intervention is virtually absent, the book's frequent allusions to praying and fasting notwithstanding. It is Judith and her courageous people who destroy the enemy. Thus a present-day scholar like Montague (1973: 8) can conclude that the author of Judith

> reworked … a story whose historical nucleus went back two centuries to the Persian period … there is a historical nucleus which gave rise to the Judith tradition, though this nucleus is now difficult to recover.

But as long ago as 1689, when Capellus characterized the book as "a most silly fable" (*Commentarii et notae criticae in Vet. Test.*, p. 575), scholars have questioned the story's historicity because of its shocking carelessness with well-established historical and geographical facts: "The use by its author of Jewish history from the Bible is marked by either freedom or recklessness about such matters as chronology" (Sandmel 1978: 62). The most flagrant "errors" are, of course, those in the opening verse: "It was in the *twelfth* year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, who ruled over the *Assyrians* from his capital *Nineveh* …," because, as most students of the Bible know, Nebuchadnezzar was king of Babylonia, not Assyria, and Nineveh was destroyed in 612 B.C., that is, several years *before* Nebuchadnezzar came to the throne. Finally, the twelfth year of Nebuchadnezzar would have been the fourth year of the reign of Zedekiah (cf. Jer 32:1), Judah's last king in the *pre*exilic period; yet elsewhere in Judith the story is set in the *post*exilic period (cf. 4:3, 6; 5:18–19). These are but the story's most egregious historical "blunders."

As for the book's geographical errors, Holofernes' enormous army accomplished the 300-mile trek from Nineveh to N Cilicia in *three days* (2:21), then fought its way through Put and Lud ([2:23], countries usually identified by scholars as Libya in Africa and Lydia in Asia Minor), only to find itself crossing the Euphrates and going west *through Mesopotamia* (2:24) to Cilicia (2:25)! Even though Holofernes' itinerary along the Palestinian coast appears more geographically correct, his attack against Bethulia and Judea seems to come from the north (cf. 4:6; 8:21; 11:14, 19); yet 7:17–18 suggests that his attack came from the south, the latter view being also that of the Vulgate and its Aramaic source (see below).

With 4:6, geographical errors give place to geographical ignorance and uncertainty, for five of the eight Israelite cities mentioned there are unidentifiable. Worst of all, the location of Bethulia, which is mentioned 19 times in the text (but nowhere else in the Bible!) and whose setting includes a number of geographical and topographical clues (cf. 3:10; 4:6; 6:11; 7:12–13; 10:10–11; 11:19) is *totally unknown.* See BETHULIA (PLACE). Nonetheless, some historical atlases (e.g., *MBA,* 132) "locate" it on one of their maps.

All this being the case, it is perhaps a bit surprising that Achior's summary of Israel's history is (given, of course, its brevity and purpose) a reasonably accurate one, albeit from a Deuteronomistic point of view.

**C. "Explanations" for the Book's Errors**

Scholarly efforts over the past century to preserve some semblance of historicity for the Judith story have taken three major tacks, each with a number of "minor" variations supplied by its later proponents.

Steinmetzer (1907) proposed the "evolving text" theory. The original story, Steinmetzer argued, concerned events in the days of Ashurbanipal of Assyria (668–627 B.C.) but was later given a new setting in the days of Cyrus the Great of Persia (550–530 B.C.), and still later, of Artaxerxes I Longimanus (465–424 B.C.), also of Persia; the narrative was finally adapted to the events and atmosphere of the days of the infamous Antiochus IV Epiphanes of Syria (175–163 B.C.). Thus, the theory "explained" the various elements in the Judith story that were appropriate for a particular historical time and place.

The second theory was the "pseudonym hypothesis," according to which, for one reason or another, all the characters in Judith were deliberately disguised historical personages. Thus, for example, Judith's

"Nebuchadnezzar" and "Holofernes" actually represented the Emperor Trajan and Lusius Quietus or Pompey and his general Scaurus or Antiochus IV Epiphanes and his general Nicanor. But even though the pseudonym theory now looks better, especially in light of the Essene practice in the Dead Sea literature of giving well-known persons a disguised name, the theory fails insofar as full and exact parallels for all the characters within a particular scenario or historical period seem lacking.

The third, and probably the most popular hypothesis, is the "two-accounts theory," in which the Judith story (chaps. 4–16) was combined with the "historical" account of a pagan king's war in the east and west (chaps. 1–3). On the basis of internal onomastic and historical clues, scholars have variously identified Judith's "Nebuchadnezzar" as Ashurbanipal of Assyria; Artaxerxes III Ochus of Persia (358–338 B.C.)—who actually had a general named Holofernes and an advisor named Bagoas; Antiochus IV Epiphanes of Syria; or Demetrius I Soter of Syria (162–150 B.C.), not to mention "Nebuchadnezzar IV" and others. (For details, see Pfeiffer 1949: 295–96; and Soubigiou *Judith* SBJ 4: 490.)

The postexilic setting of the story (cf. 4:3; 5:19), the presence of Persian terms (e.g., *kidaris,* "turban," in 4:14; and *akinakēs,* "sword," in 13:6) and practices ("to prepare earth and water" in 2:7) as well as authentic names of that period (e.g., Judith [see Heltzer 1980], Holofernes, Bagoas, and Joakim), plus (with the exception of "Scythopolis" in 3:10 and "Azotus" in 3:28) the absence of Greek personal and place names—all make it quite likely that the storyteller utilized information, possibly oral in form, from the time of Artaxerxes III (*HJP²* 3/1: 218). But if so, the story in its present form was written much later.

**D. The So-Called "Imbalance" of the Book**

The oft-cited charge that chaps. 1–7 (i.e., the story prior to Judith's appearance) are detractive and peripheral to the "real" story (i.e., Judith 8–16) has been refuted, hopefully once and for all, by Craven (1977; 1983). She has shown that chaps. 1–7, in a number of ways and on a variety of levels, serve as an effective and indispensable foil for chaps. 8–16. In the first half of Judith, Nebuchadnezzar and Holofernes, resorting to fear and brute, masculine force, won many battles; but Judith, with her "soft" feminine beauty and wiles, reinforced by her religious faith, won the war. Israelite men hid behind their city walls (Judith 4–6) while Judith and her maid went out to meet the enemy face-to-face (Judith 10–13).

Craven's compositional analysis proves that the book is made of a whole cloth and was intended from the beginning as a balanced and proportional narrative. As shown in Fig. JUD.03 (see Craven 1977: 60, 87–88), each half of the book has a threefold chiastic structure and a distinctive thematic repetition, namely, *fear* or its denial in Judith 1–7, and *beauty* and its effects in 8–16. In terms of both content and form, then, Section D (Judith's triumph over Holofernes) is the heart of the story as well as the center of the chiastic structure.

In some respects, the book of Judith is misnamed. Its message and structure would have been more clearly perceived if down through the ages it had had a more appropriate title, such as "Beast and the Beauty."

**E. The Prose and Poetic (16:1–17) Accounts**

Like the story of the Canaanite oppression in Judges 4 and 5, the tale of Judith has both a prose (Judith 1–15) and a poetic version (16:1–17).

Although scholars debate whether the poetic version in Judith was composed before, after, or at the same time as the prose narrative, Jansen (1936: 63–71) and others (Dancy, *Judith* CBC; and Moore, *Judith* AB, 252–57) maintain that the author of the prose account adopted a synagogal psalm—one patterned after the song of triumph par excellence, namely, the Song of the Sea in Exodus 15 (see Skehan 1963)—and adapted it; i.e., substituted what is now 16:5–10 (a masterpiece of irony) for the "incident" originally recounted in the synagogal hymn. If so, then it is likely that 16:13–17 are, even as they claim to be, "a new song" (16:13), that is, they represent an even later addition. In comparison with the rest of the song and the prose account, vv 13–17 are inferior in literary style and theologically different, in that they contain "apocalyptic/eschatological" elements (16:15, 17) and deemphasize the cultus (16:16).

**F. Genre**

If Judith is not history, then what is it? Over the past century three general types of answers have been given, each having a number of variations. Many students of the book have agreed that it is a *novel,* but

they have disagreed as to the particular type. Is it "a Jewish novel" (Altheim and Stiehl 1963: 200–1), "a Jewish-Hellenistic novel"(Zenger 1981: 437), "a religious novel" (Andrews 1954: 35), "a short historical novel which carries a strong religious message" (Dancy *Judith* CBC, 67), or "a quasi-historical novel" (Metzger 1957: 51)?

Others have maintained that Judith is some type of *folktale:* "an epic rescue story" combining the themes of the Faithful Wife and the Female Warrior (so Coote in Alonso-Schökel 1974: 21–26; Thompson 1955–58, type 888), or a tale exemplifying "the perennial battle of the sexes" (so Dundes in Alonso-Schökel 1974: 28–29), or "an example narrative," with suprahistorical or metahistorical dimensions in which Nebuchadnezzar is a type of Anti-Yahweh (Haag 1963: 38–42).

Still other scholars have characterized the book as an *apocalypse:* one with eschatological aspects (so Scholz 1885), or "an apocalyptic parable" (Lefèvre, *SDB* 4: 1315–21), or an expression of *Heilsgeschichte* ("Salvation History") portraying a battle essentially between Yahweh and Anti-Yahweh (Dreissen 1953: 81), or a synthesis of two genres, the haggadic and the apocalyptic (Steinmann 1953: 129; Delcor 1967).

Doran (1986: 304) rightly cautions against reading Judith "in too allegorical a manner." It may be that those who subscribe to the apocalyptic/eschatological interpretation have put an undue emphasis on Jdt 16:15a and 17, neither of which need necessarily be interpreted in an apocalyptic or eschatological sense and, in any case, may not have been part of the text originally (so Jansen 1936; Moore, *Judith* AB, 251–52, 253–57). It should also be noted that Holofernes, not Nebuchadnezzar, is the villain who gets his deserved punishment.

All things considered, the book of Judith is best regarded as a folktale which offers an example story of a pious widow who, strengthened by her religious faith, courageously took matters into her own hands and defeated the enemy.

**G. Irony: The Key to the Book**

No biblical book is so quintessentially ironic as Judith. Failure to recognize this fact has been a primary reason for a number of misinterpretations of the book. The author of Judith was an ironist *extraordinaire* who, because he often meant the opposite of what he said, was sometimes misunderstood. A perfect case in point is the very first verse of Judith. Torrey (1945: 89) rightly maintained that Judith's ancient audience would have understood that verse as ironic, even as a modern reader would understand a story which began, "It happened at the time when Napoleon Bonaparte was king of England, and Otto von Bismarck was on the throne in Mexico." The storyteller, speculated Torrey, might even have given his listeners "a solemn wink" as he delivered his opening sentence.

Judith herself is certainly an ironic figure: a beautiful and desirable widow, she lived the life of a celibate after her husband's death; a childless widow, she gave spiritual and political rebirth to her people; a wealthy woman, she spent most of her life fasting; very feminine in appearance, she brutally murdered Holofernes with her own two hands.

Holofernes, too, is an ironic figure: able to conquer the entire west, he was unable to conquer Bethulia; intending to master Judith, he was mastered by her—by the very sword with which he himself had used to claim the lives of so many others.

Even the minor characters are ironic. Achior, a seasoned warrior, fainted upon seeing the decapitated head. A man of action, Achior was also a wise man, almost an Ahikar *redivivus* (Cazelles 1951). See ACHIOR (PERSON). A pagan Ammonite, Achior from the beginning showed more faith in Israel's God than did the Israelite magistrate of Bethulia, Uzziah (= "God is my strength"), who in "womanly" fashion hid behind the safety of high walls while Judith, in "manly" fashion, went out to meet the enemy face-to-face. (On the "serial androgyny" of Judith, see Montley 1978.) King Nebuchadnezzar, "Lord of the whole world" (2:5) could not conquer Israel. The Assyrian soldiers who arrested Judith ended up escorting her to Holofernes' quarters, a perfect example of the captive taking captive the captors.

Good (1965: 81–82) has shown that there are several forms of irony in the OT, including

*punctual* irony, the use of words and expressions of ironic intention … at, more or less isolated, "points" … *episodic* irony … an entire episode with an ironic aim or intent … [and] *thematic* irony, the conjunction of a number of episodes all of which point to an ironic theme or motif.

All three types of irony abound in Judith. Of the numerous examples of *punctual* irony, one might note the following: "So who are you, Achior, … that *you play the prophet,* … advising us not to make war against the people of Israel because their god will protect them? *Who is god except Nebuchadnezzar? He will send his forces and wipe them off the face of the earth! Their god won't save them.*" (6:2); *"My servants will now 'deliver' you* to the hill country … *You will not die—until you are destroyed with them!"* (6:6–7); *"God did well to send you* [said Holofernes to Judith] … to give strength to our hands and destruction to those who insulted my lord … If you do as you have promised, … *you shall ... be famous throughout the world"* (11:22–23).

As for *episodic* irony, the punctual ironic statements taken together in the exchange between Holofernes and Achior (e.g., 5:5, 20–21, 23–24; 6:2, 3, 5, 7–9) or those in the exchanges between Holofernes and Judith (e.g., 11:1, 5–6, 16, 22, 23; 12:4, 14, 18) constitute splendid examples. Moreover, when these two episodes are taken together, *thematic* irony is created, i.e., Achior spoke the truth and was *not* believed while Judith dissimulated, equivocated, and outright lied—and was believed!

The heroine's relationship with all the males in the story—the elders, the Assyrian soldiers, Achior—is ironic, but especially so with Holofernes. For as Winter so nicely put it, "Holofernes, on seeing Judith, loses his head before it has been cut off" (*IDB* 2: 1024). For the brutal murder itself, the author uses most erotic terms: "Her sandal *ravished* his eyes; her beauty *captivated* his mind; and the sword *slashed through* his neck!" (16:9). Given the patriarchal character of Judith's day, one can scarcely imagine a more ironic theme than the book's central one: "The Omnipotent Lord has foiled them by the hand of a female" (16:5). (For a more detailed analysis of irony in Judith, see *Judith* AB, 78–85.)

**H. Religious Views and Values**

The theological views and values of the author are skillfully conveyed in two ways: (1) explicitly by the speeches, prayers, and conversations of the characters; and (2) implicitly by the actions of the characters, especially Judith.

**1. In Speeches, Prayers, and Conversations.** In Judith, neither God's various titles (4:2, 11; 5:8; 6:19, 21; 7:28; 8:11; 9:2, 7, 11, 12; 13:18) nor his attributes (see 4:13; 8:14, 20; 9:2, 11, 12; 16:13, 15) are in any way unusual or noteworthy. As in other postexilic books, Yahweh is the Creator of the Universe and the Lord of History (see 9:5, 13; 13:18) who has guided Israel from the days of the patriarchs (5:26; 8:26; 9:2–4) down through the postexilic period (5:17–19; 8:18–20), and will continue to do so until the very end (16:17).

God's covenant with Israel is interpreted largely in Deuteronomistic terms (5:17–18, 20–21; 8:20; 11:10). Consequently, there is a very strong emphasis on the importance of Jerusalem (4:2; 10:8; 11:19; 15:9; 16:18), its Temple (4:2–3, 12; 8:21, 24; 9:8, 13; 16:20), and everything associated with it, including its altar and utensils (4:14–15), high priest (4:6), the priests and Levites (4:14–15), and various kinds of sacrifices and offerings (4:14; 9:1; 11:13; 16:18 [16:16 notwithstanding]). The efficacy of prayer, fasting, and wearing sackcloth (4:11–15; 8:5–6; 9:1) is unquestioned. Judith's concerns for *kašrût* are central to her character as well as to the plot (10:5; 11:11–15; 12:4, 19).

With the exception of almsgiving and the baptizing of gentile converts to Judaism (14:10), virtually all the traditional Jewish practices of Maccabean Pharisaism are mentioned. Were it not for the sweeping authority of the high priest (4:6) and the very strenuous fasting of Judith herself (8:6), a much earlier date could be assigned Judith's Pharisaism.

**2. The Heroine's Character.** As for religious values expressed by *the actions* of Judith, the storyteller obviously subscribed, without any reservations, to two very popular but highly debatable aphorisms, namely, "All's fair in love and war" and "The end justifies the means." He was also clearly suggesting that courage and cleverness, Pharasaic piety and ardent patriotism, undergirded by a strong faith in Yahweh, held not only Judith in fine stead but would do the same for other Jews in any time or place.

Such a message helps to explain the story's popularity among Jews despite its omission from the Jewish canon.

No one doubts Judith's cleverness or courage. But many have questioned her character and conduct. To be sure, she prayed constantly and fasted frequently (8:4–8); she ate only kosher foods even in the crises of life (12:1–2, 19); she honored the memory of her deceased husband by never remarrying; and she did all the proper things right before she died (16:22–24). But in her dealings with Holofernes she was a shameless flatterer (11:7–8), a bold-faced liar (11:12–14, 18–19), and a ruthless assassin (13:7–8; "a clever and resourceful assassin"[Nickelsburg 1981: 106]).

While Bissell's indictment (1886: 163) of her is obviously expressed in Victorian language and reflects a clearly Victorian sexual morality, it still expresses adequately the thoughts and feelings of many who have either rejected the book or accepted it, albeit with reservations:

> The character [of Judith] … is objectionable … from a moral standpoint … Her way is strewn with deception from first to last … she would have been willing even to have yielded her body to this lascivious Assyrian for the sake of accomplishing her purpose … That God in his providence interposed to prevent such a crime, cannot relieve her of the odium attaching to her conduct … there are elements of moral turpitude …

Nonetheless, by the standards of *her* day and *her* people, Judith *was* deeply religious (8:8), one who prayed to God even as she chopped off Holofernes' head (13:7). In fact, the author of Judith could very well have described her as "the saint who murdered for her people." (The word "saint" is used here not in the sense of one who is morally "perfect" but, rather, of one who is totally dedicated to one's God.)

**I. Original Language**

Even if Aramaic was the original language of the Judith story (so Bruns 1954: 12–14), the LXX gives every indication of being a translation of a Hebrew text. Variant readings in the LXX point in this direction (see 8:21; 10:3; 12:16; 16:11, 15) as do certain awkward words and phrases which are best explained by positing the misreading of a Hebrew word which resembles in appearance the one presupposed by the extant Greek rendering (see 1:8; 2:2; 3:9; 12:7; see especially Zimmermann 1938).

Then, too, a number of Hebrew idioms are rendered quite literally by the Greek, e.g., "all flesh" (2:3); "on the left," i.e., north (2:21); "a month of days" (3:10); "generation after generation" (8:32); and "to speak peace" (15:8). Finally, the ubiquitous paratactic construction (i.e., "and" followed by the verb); the infinitive absolute construction (2:13; 6:4; 7:15; 9:4); the abundance of resumptive pronouns (10:2; 16:3, 5); the superabundance of *spodra* (Gk for Heb *m*ʿ*d,* "very"); instances of hendiadys (2:12; 7:18; 8:5; 9:8; 10:3; 14:10; 16:1)—these and other features regularly remind a reader that Judith is a translation from the Hebrew. (For further details, see Cowley, *APOT* 1: 244; Enslin 1972: 40–41.)

**J. Author and Place of Composition**

Several lines of evidence suggest that the author of Judith was a Palestinian Jew (although Luria [1975: 328–41] argues for a Syrian provenance) and probably an early Pharisee. First, the *Vorlage* of the Greek Judith was Hebrew. Second, the central events of the story (i.e., chaps. 4–16) take place in Palestine itself, where the author evidenced a better grasp of geography than he did in those areas outside Palestine (i.e., in chaps. 1–3). Third, the religious ideas of the book are Palestinian and Pharisaic, with no traces of either Sadducean (Craven 1983: 118–21; but see Mantel 1976: 60–80) or Alexandrian influence.

**K. Date of Book**

Judith contains basic and unmistakable Hellenistic elements. There are, for example, "details of fact" characteristic of that period, including the wearing of garlands (Jdt 3:7), the use of olive wreaths (15:13), reclining while eating (12:15), and, most important of all for the Judith story, worshiping a king as god (3:8). Institutional arrangements first characteristic of the Maccabean/Hasmonean periods are also present in the book, namely, the sweeping political and military powers of the high priest (4:6) and the supremacy of the Jerusalem Council over other Jewish councils (4:6, 8; 11:14).

Even more significant, a number of items in the Judith story are reminiscent of the general "plot," spirit, terminology, and traditions of the days of Judas Maccabeus (167–161 B.C.), who fought at Jamnia, Azotus, and Beth-horon as well as at other prominent towns mentioned in Judith. Especially striking are

the parallels between the Judith story and the defeat of Nicanor, a general of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, as narrated in 1 Macc 7:43–50:

> So the armies met in battle on the thirteenth day of the month of Adar. *The army of Nicanor was crushed, and he himself was the first to fall in battle. When his army saw that Nicanor had fallen, they threw down their arms and fled. The Jews pursued them a day's journey … And men came out of all the villages of Judea round about, and* … drove them back to their pursuers … *Then the Jews seized the spoils and the plunder, and they cut off Nicanor's head … and brought them and displayed them just outside Jerusalem. The people rejoiced and celebrated that day* as a day of great gladness. And they decreed that this day should be celebrated each year on the fourteenth of Adar. *So the land of Judah had rest for a few days.* (italics added)

The central threat in the book of Judith (i.e., that a mortal king had to be worshiped as god [3:8]) is identical with that of another book composed in the days of Judas Maccabeus, namely, the book of Daniel, where in chap. 3, for instance, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, thinly veiled as "Nebuchadnezzar," demands that he be worshiped as a god.

But some other evidence in Judith suggests an even later date for the book, one in the Hasmonean period (135–63 B.C.). Inasmuch as Azotus, Scythopolis, Mount Gerizim, Shechem, and all the territory of Samaria were independent of Israel until conquered by John Hyrcanus I (135–104 B.C.), the very open and friendly attitude of Jerusalem toward Samaria and its territories (so Jdt 4:4, 6) as well as the total absence of idolatry throughout the land (so Jdt 8:18–20) strongly suggests that the Judith story received its final form sometime after 107 B.C., i.e., after the Samaritan Temple of Mount Gerizim had been destroyed and Samaritan territory had been "integrated" into the Judean state.

While one might argue that because the above-mentioned places were also part of the even larger kingdom of Alexander Janneus (103–78 B.C.) and therefore Judith could have been written in his day (so *HJP²* 3/1: 218–19), it should be noted that the book does not reflect the very devisive and vicious sectarianism of Janneus' day when Pharisees and Sadducees persecuted and killed one another in great numbers. Thus, the religious views of Judith are more appropriate for the days of Hyrcanus than for those of Janneus; for they are essentially those of early Pharisaism, and they are not belligerently sectarian in character, that is, they are not anti-Sadducee or anti-Essene in emphasis.

**L. Canonicity**

**1. Among Jews.** The books of Esther and Judith each feature a beautiful Jewess whose courage and wiles save her people from certain destruction. The book of Esther mentions neither God nor any religious institutions or practices except fasting, while the book of Judith, filled as it is with allusions to God and numerous religious beliefs and practices, pulsates with the blood and spirit of Pharisaic piety. Yet it was the book of Esther, admittedly only after a long debate, that ultimately became part of the Jewish canon. For details, see ESTHER, BOOK OF.

In spite of the fact that Judith was part of the "Alexandrian Canon" (i.e., biblical and apocryphal works translated into Greek for those Jews who could not read Hebrew), there is no evidence that in Palestine Judith was ever regarded as canonical. Evidently it was not used by the Essenes at Qumran, or at least no trace of it has been found there among the Dead Sea Scrolls. The rabbis at Jamnia who established the canon of the Hebrew Bible around A.D. 90 may have rejected the book because, contrary to the prohibition in Deut 23:3, Achior, an *Ammonite,* was accepted into the Jewish religion (so Steinmann 1953: 61–62); or possibly Judith represented too "liberated" a woman for the rabbis to memorialize (so Craven 1983: 117–18); but most likely, the book ran counter to Halakah (i.e., Talmudic Law), whereby a gentile convert to Judaism had to be circumcised *and baptized* in order to become a Jew, and Achior was not baptized (so Orlinsky 1974: 218). In any event, the story of Judith, or of a woman who did something comparable to what Judith did, has remained a popular story among Jews for the last two thousand years, as the existence of numerous Midrashim attest (see below).

**2. Among Christians.** Although some Greek Fathers in the Eastern Church accepted Judith as canonical (e.g., Clement of Alexandria [A.D. 150?–?215], the Council of Nicaea [325], and Junilius [fl. ca. 542]), more did not. Judith was rejected by Melito of Sardis (fl. ca. 167), Origen (185?–254), Athanasius

of Alexandria (293?–373), Cyril of Jerusalem (315?–386), and a host of others. (For details on these Church Fathers, see Altaner 1960; *HJP²* 3/1: 220.) In the West the situation was quite different. Apart from Jerome (A.D. 340?–420), who evidently spoke approvingly of the fact that the Jews of his day did not regard the book as canonical, western Church Fathers routinely accepted it, including Hilary of Poitiers (315?–?367), Augustine (354–430), the Council of Carthage (397), and others.

Appreciated more by those Fathers who put a high premium on celibacy (see Moore, *Judith* AB, 64), Judith did not have a book-length commentary written on it until that of Rhabanus Maurus (780?–856). The book's canonicity was not again questioned until the time of the Protestant and Catholic reformations of the 16th century. Then, following the lead of both the Jews and Martin Luther (the latter viewing it as an allegorical passion play), Protestants came to regard the book as apocryphal, while the Roman Catholic Church in its decrees at the Council of Trent in 1546 called Judith, along with other "apocryphal" books, deuterocanonical.

**M. The LXX of Judith**

Despite the absence of a Hebrew *Vorlage* with which to compare it, the LXX of Judith appears to be a very literal rendering of the Hebrew syntax and idiom. Then, too, many of the niceties of "good" (i.e., classical) Greek are either lacking or underrepresented. Genitive absolutes, subordinate clauses, and Greek particles are especially underused (for details, see Cowley, *APOT* 1: 244). Paradoxically, the book evidences a rich and flexible Greek vocabulary, especially in those areas of great interest to its translator, notably military terms and words for "sin" and "the Temple" (for further details, see Enslin 1972: 41). The translation was made no later than the 1st century A.D., since Clement of Rome (30?–?99) alluded to Judith in *1 Clem* 55:4–5.

**N. Other Ancient Versions**

The Old Latin (OL) of Judith, like other books of the apocrypha, is a translation of the LXX rather than of a Semitic text. By contrast, Jerome's Latin Vulgate (or Vg) is a paraphrase of a then-current Aramaic text and attempts to bring the OL into closer conformity with it (see Voigt 1925). His translation varies considerably from the text of the LXX. Of the 340 verses in the LXX, the Vg omits 43 verses entirely and omits large parts of 45 more. It also adds 32 verses which have no counterpart in either the LXX or the OL. Some of these variants clearly reflect Jerome's Aramaic *Vorlage* (see Moore, *Judith* AB, 95–97, 100–1). Whether that Aramaic text was based upon an older Hebrew account or upon the LXX is unclear.

The so-called ancient "Hebrew versions" of Judith are actually medieval Hebrew translations of the Latin (see Meyer 1922; Grintz 1957), not independent witnesses to another and older Semitic tradition of the Judith story (but so Dubarle 1958; 1961; 1966; 1969; 1975). Likewise, the dozen or so Midrashim ("expositions") dating to the Middle Ages (Gaster 1893–94; Dubarle 1966), seem closely related to the LXX and/or the Vg. (so *HJP²* 3/1: 219ff.). The Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopic versions of Judith, as with other books of the apocrypha, are literal translations of the LXX. Unfortunately, only the Greek (*OTG* 3/1; Hanhart 1979) and the Vulgate (*Librae Iudith,* 1950) have scientific editions of Judith.

Taken together, the preceding evidence indicates that the ancient versions of Judith, including the usually helpful Vulgate, are of little help in establishing the original text of the LXX.

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**JULIA** (PERSON) [Gk *Ioulia* (Ἰουλια)]. A Roman Christian who received greetings from Paul in Rom 16:15. That Julia was the wife (or sister) of Philologus because she is coupled with him in v 15 is only a possibility. She was probably a gentile Christian. See NEREUS (PERSON). "Julia" was the Lat name of the *gens Julia* (Lampe *StadtrChr,* 66–67, 146, 152–53, 296). Women were often called by the name of their *gens* without cognomen. Three groups carried the name "Julius/Julia": the noble members of the famous *gens;* the provincials who had received Roman citizenship from Caesar or Augustus (and these provincials' descendants); and the numerous freed (wo)men of the *gens* with their descendants. The third group outnumbered the members of the first two. It is most likely, therefore, that the Christian Julia was a freed slave of the *gens Julia* or a descendant of a freed slave of this *gens.* Either way, she probably had Roman citizenship: slave masters with famous *gens* names like "Julius/ia" possessed Roman citizenship and in most cases passed it on to their slaves on the occasion of their release; the freed slaves bequeathed the citizenship and the *gens* name to their freeborn children. Slave masters of the *gens Julia* were the emperors Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula, but many other patrons also carried the *gens* name and passed it on to their freed (wo)men (cf. e.g., Tacitus *Hist.* 1.76, *Ann.* 3.40; 15.50; 13.10). That Julia was an imperial freedwoman (cf. Phil 4:22; Christians in the emperor's household) is therefore one possibility among others.

PETER LAMPE

**JULIUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Ioulios* (Ἰουλιος)]. A centurion of the Augustan cohort who guarded Paul on his sea voyage from Caesarea to Rome (Acts 27:1–44). Julius was a common Roman name, made famous by Julius Caesar. Yet the centurion was probably not a Roman citizen, since his unit was an auxiliary cohort whose men did not receive citizenship until the completion of their 25 years' service (Webster 1985: 142–43).

During his trial before Governor Porcius Festus, Paul had appealed to Caesar, so the governor sent him to Rome under the guard of Julius and some of his soldiers. Julius treated Paul kindly on the journey, allowing him to visit friends when the ship stopped at the port of Sidon (27:3). After the vessel reached Myra, the centurion transferred Paul to another ship bound for Rome. He disregarded Paul's warning against further sailing as the dangerous winter season approached, agreeing with the ship's captain and owner to continue the voyage (27:9–11). As they sailed past Crete, a severe storm struck the ship, pummeling it for 14 days. When the ship finally ran aground on a shoal just off Malta, the soldiers planned to kill Paul and the other prisoners to keep them from escaping. But Julius stopped them, thus saving Paul's life (27:41–43). He also ordered all 276 passengers and crew to swim or float on wooden planks to shore, a plan which enabled every person aboard to be saved from drowning (27:43–44).

Scholars have questioned the historicity of various aspects of Julius' role in the entire travel narrative. Broughton (1933: 443–44) expressed surprise that a prisoner as important as Paul was not entrusted to a higher-ranking officer. Ramsay hypothesized that Julius might have been one of the *frumentarii,* a special corps of officer-couriers who acted as secret police, and could well have escorted a prisoner bound for Rome (1925: 314–15). But Sherwin-White has shown that the *frumentarii* did not begin functioning as secret police until early in the 2d century C.E.; in Paul's time they merely supervised grain shipments (1963: 109). More likely possibilities are that Julius served in a police role as a *praepositus* (chief of detachment) or else was assigned to escort Paul to Rome as part of his duties on Festus' administrative staff (Watson 1969: 145; Webster 1985: 270).

According to Conzelmann, an army centurion such as Julius would have had little voice in the seafaring decisions affecting the ship (*Acts* Hermeneia, 216), whereas Luke portrays him conferring as an equal with the ship's captain and owner (27:9–12). Haenchen likewise discounts the possibility that Julius would have paid any attention to the opinions of one of his own prisoners such as Paul (*Acts* MeyerK, 708–11). More conservative scholars such as Marshall defend the historicity of Luke's portrayal of both Julius and Paul (*Acts* TNTC).

Julius' role in Lucan theology has not received due attention. Luke focuses more attention on Julius than any other person except Paul in the long travel narrative in Acts 27–28. While Julius does not become a Christian as does the more famous centurion Cornelius in Acts 10, he does act as the friendly gentile par excellence. By allowing Paul to visit friends in Sidon and by saving him from the threatening soldiers, Julius shows how gentiles and Christians can treat each other with mutual respect. That mutual respect pays off too, as God works through Paul's prophecy (27:21–26, 31) and Julius' commands (27:42–44) to save both the gentiles and Christians after the shipwreck. Surely Luke intends Julius' relationship with Paul to be a model for friendly, mutually beneficial relationships between gentiles and Christians.

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**JULIUS CAESAR.** Perhaps the most celebrated personality of ancient Rome, Gaius Julius Caesar, as the first Roman emperor, laid the foundations of the aristocratic Roman Empire that ruled the

Mediterranean area and much of Europe. The principal connected sources, apart from Caesar's own writings, are Suetonius' *Life* of Julius Caesar and Plutarch's *Life* of Caesar, though there are numerous references in contemporary and later ancient authors, since even in the ancient world Caesar was a historically fascinating figure who was seen to have instituted a major change in the Roman world. Born in 100 B.C. (or perhaps 102) of a patrician family already developing the myth of a divine origin, Caesar followed a typical "public" career in order to become involved in politics. His progress through the various positions normally held was quite regular: military and diplomatic service in the late 80s and in the 70s, quaestor (financial assistant) in 69 or 68, aedile (superintendent of public buildings and works) in 65, and praetor (administrator of justice) in 62. In addition, in 63 he was elected by popular vote to the life position of *pontifex maximus.* At the same time he was building his political influence, becoming involved in a number of schemes (including suspicion of involvement in the "conspiracy" led by Catiline). In some of these he was linked with the rich and powerful senator M. Licinius Crassus, while his political activity showed an increasingly popular line. Following his praetorship, Caesar was made governor of the province of Further Spain where he first displayed his skill as a military commander.

On his return from Spain Caesar joined an informal political alliance (the so-called "First Triumvirate") with Pompey and Crassus (since all three were having requests blocked by a group of conservatives in the senate) to secure the consulship of 59. Caesar's daughter Julia was married to Pompey to cement the alliance. Their opponents got Bibulus in as Caesar's colleague, and Caesar had to use force to push through legislation to satisfy the coalition's various requests. Caesar received a special command of several provinces with a large army for 5 years, but it was mainly in Transalpine Gaul that he spent the next 9 years (58–50) adding large areas to the Roman empire. The campaigning was sometimes difficult, and occasional atrocities were committed against defeated native tribes, but in the end Caesar achieved an important conquest. The campaign also secured for him a loyal and seasoned army and a large amount of booty (which he used to pay off his enormous debts and to distribute as bribes in order to broaden his political influence).

Toward the end of his command in Gaul, the die-hard conservatives in the senate, afraid of Caesar's rising power, threatened to prosecute him for the illegalities of his first consulship and so bring about his political extinction. They won Pompey over to their side, even though he had renewed his political alliance with Caesar in 56. The ambition for power which each had meant that they would almost inevitably come into collision; the deaths of Julia in 54 and Crassus in 53 widened the breach. To protect his own position, Caesar crossed the river Rubicon (the border of his province) and invaded Italy on January 10, 49.

With his more seasoned army Caesar soon gained control of Italy, leading Pompey to withdraw to Greece with many of the senators. Caesar turned first to defeating forces loyal to Pompey in Spain, before crossing to Greece where he eventually defeated Pompey at Pharsalus in August 48. He pursued Pompey to Egypt but arrived to find his opponent had already been murdered by the local ruling dynasty in an attempt to gain his favor. With some difficulty due to lack of troops, Caesar then spent the winter extricating himself from a domestic quarrel in Egypt which ended with the establishment of Cleopatra, now his mistress, on the throne. He then defeated a Pontic army, which had invaded Asia Minor, at Zela in August 47. He returned to Rome but in January 46 had to go to N Africa where he conducted a 4-month campaign against the Pompeian forces assembled there, which ended with a major battle at Thapsus. The wars now seemed over and Caesar returned to Rome to celebrate a fourfold triumph for his Gallic, Alexandrian, Pontic, and African victories. But in 45 he had to fight his hardest campaign against the remnants of the Pompeian forces led by Pompey's sons in Spain, culminating in victory at Munda.

During these years Caesar sponsored an extensive and diverse range of legislation, but it is not clear whether this program was merely haphazard and incomplete, or whether Caesar had some long-term plan to alter the whole face of the Roman constitution. There is controversy too over Caesar's personal intentions. He continued to use the titles and powers of the republican constitution, since they cast a veil of legality over his position and actions. However, there was an unusual accumulation of offices, the dictatorship particularly being used in new and abnormal ways (culminating in the grant to him of the

dictatorship for life early in 44). In combination with unprecedented and highly extravagant honors, these offices showed that Caesar was concentrating power in his own hands, perhaps because his desire and flair for administrative efficiency saw some sort of monarchy as the only practical solution to the problems which had faced the republican form of government for the last 100 years. At the time of his death Caesar was planning campaigns against Parthia and Dacia; they may have been partly an excuse to avoid a decision about what to do with the state.

Caesar also received emblems of royalty: a purple robe, statues, a gilt chair in the senate. There were some abortive attempts to offer him a crown, but these were not pressed due to the unpopularity of the idea of monarchy among the Romans. Allied to the question of monarchy is the question whether Caesar wished to be deified. There were some signs, including a senatorial decree for a temple and *flamen* (priest) for him. This suggests that full deification was planned, but the decree was not implemented until after his death.

Caesar's often-publicized "clemency" did much to conciliate the aristocracy. But his unusual powers and excessive honors, his disregard for republican procedure, the suspicion that he wished to be *rex* (king), alienated even men of his own party and he was assassinated on the Ides (15th) of March 44 in a conspiracy led by Brutus and Cassius. His death left a vacuum until his grandnephew Octavian, adopted as his son in his will, emerged to take up where his adoptive father had left off.

Caesar was married three times, but there were scandals throughout his life linking him with persons of both sexes; of his numerous mistresses the most famous were Servilia, the half-sister of Cato and mother of Brutus, and Cleopatra. As a person Caesar was extravagant, versatile, affable, and highly cultured. As a commander he had the ability to grasp the right moment for action and to gain the loyalty of his men. As an orator he was reputed to be second only to the great Cicero. As a writer his style was lucid and compressed, free of rhetoric, with simple but well-chosen vocabulary. His writings, in the new genre known as *commentarii,* include seven books on his Gallic campaigns, and three books on the civil wars; while they are masterly descriptions of warfare, they also served the purpose of propaganda for Caesar's achievements.

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**JUNIAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Iounia* (Ἰουνια)]. The only woman who is called an "apostle" in the NT (Rom 16:7). She was born a Jew, and is closely associated to Andronicus. Her name was the Lat name of the *gens Junia* (see the material in Lampe 1985 and *StadtrChr,* 66–67, 146–47, 152–53, 296). Women were often called by the name of their *gens* without cognomen (similar examples are Mary [Rom 16:6] and Julia [Rom 16:15]). Two groups carried the name of the *gens Junia:* the noble members of the famous *gens,* and the freed (wo)men of the *gens* with their descendants. The second group outnumbered the first. The chances therefore are that the Christian Junia was a freed slave of the *gens.* Either way, she probably had Roman citizenship: slave masters with famous *gens* names like "Junius/ia" possessed Roman citizenship and in most cases passed it on to their slaves on the occasion of their emancipation; the freed slaves bequeathed the *gens* name and the citizenship to their freeborn children. Without exception, the Church Fathers in late antiquity identified Andronicus' partner in Rom 16:7 as a woman, as did minuscule 33 in the 9th century which records *iounia* with an acute accent. Only later medieval copyists of Rom 16:7 could not imagine a woman being an apostle and wrote the masculine name "Junias." This latter name did not exist in antiquity; its explanation as a Greek abbreviation of the Latin name "Junianus" is unlikely.

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PETER LAMPE

**JUSHAB-HESED** (PERSON) [Heb *yûšab ḥesed* (יוּשַׁב חֶסֶד)]. A son of Zerubbabel (1 Chr 3:20).

The verse here preserves a second group of Zerubbabel's offspring, distinct from those in v 19. It has been suggested that this group of children was listed separately because they were born after the return to Palestine (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 57; Rudolph *Chronicles* HAT, 29). The name, which may reflect the hopes of the time, means, "kindness will be returned." The Greek codex Alexandrinus renders the name *Asobaesd* (= Heb *yāšôb (ha)ḥesed*).

RUSSELL FULLER

**JUST, JUSTICE.** The English language does not distinguish between the two Hebrew terms *mišpāṭ,* "justice," and *dîn,* "judgment." The substantive *mišpāṭ,* like the root *špṭ* from which it is derived, is multifarious in meaning. In the Mari documents, the meanings of the root *špṭ,* according to various contexts, include "to rule,""to govern,""to command [an army],""to judge [in a forensic sense],""to arbitrate [in a dispute],""to warn,""to punish," and "to vindicate." Consequently, the substantive *mišpāṭ* yields a variety of meanings such as "justice,""judgment,""rights,""vindication,""deliverance,""custom,""norm." Although some contexts of *mišpāṭ* show that the root *špṭ* and the substantive *mišpāṭ* were also used in a forensic sense, there is strong evidence that attests that originally the substantive *mišpāṭ* referred to the restoration of a situation or environment which promoted equity and harmony *(šālôm)* in a community. When referring to purely legal matters, the Semitic root normally used is *dyn* ("to judge") and the substantive *dîn* referred to a decision reached in a legal court. In several biblical passages, however, both *dyn* and *špṭ* are used in parallel contexts which present them as synonyms (1 Sam 24:15; Jer 5:28; 21:12; Isa 3:13–14; Prov 31:9; Ps 7:9; 72:1–4). Similar usage of *špṭ* is also reflected in the Ugaritic literature with reference to the gods Baal, Yamm, and Mot, and to the legendary kings Kirta and Aqhat. The usage of the root *špṭ* in the OT is therefore greatly elucidated by a comparison with other Semitic languages. To arrive at the best meaning of justice in the OT, it is therefore important to pay close attention to every context in which it is used.

**A. God as Judge and Guardian of Justice**

The Israelites, like other Semitic people in the ANE, regarded the deity as the Judge of the whole earth (Gen 18:25). God's universal judgeship was based on the fact that it was He who created the world and established equity and justice (Ps 99:1–4). He was thus regarded as the source and guardian of justice because justice and righteousness are his very nature and attributes (Ps 97:2). In several biblical passages, the two terms "righteousness"*(ṣĕdāqâ)* and "justice"*(mišpāṭ)* are used synonymously (Amos 5:24; Gen 18:19). Justice was central among the Israelites because they were very much concerned with social relationships among themselves as a people covenanted to God and also among the nations surrounding them. In this connection, as Judge *(šôpēṭ),* God would administer justice by punishing those whose conduct made the lives of others very difficult in the world (Ps 94:2–4). God was thus summoned to judge the nations for their disregard of justice in their social dealings with other people (Ps 9:7–9). It is not piety which God required of humans, but the practicing of justice and righteousness (Amos 5:21–24; Mic 6:6–8). In the OT, God's justice is manifested in his retribution to all people and nations according to their just deserts. Those who felt unjustly treated by others in social, economic, and political relationships summoned God to judge them, that is, to do them justice by saving them from their enemies or oppressors (Ps 7:6–11). In several other texts in the book of Psalms, when the Israelites summoned God to judge *(špṭ)* them, they were calling him to avenge them of their enemies simply as vindication for their own uprightness (Ps 17:2; 26:1–3; 28:3–4). It appears that the Israelites based God's retributive justice on the principle of judgment by ordeal. In this type of judgment, the innocent, that is, the righteous *(ṣaddîq),* would be vindicated while the wicked would be requited according to their unrighteousness. This is best illustrated in the quarrel between the Israelites and the Ammonites. Jephthah, as judge of Israel, tried to prove the Israelites' innocence to the king of the Ammonites. When his explanation of the situation failed to convince the king of the Ammonites, Jephthah summoned Yahweh, the Judge *(haššôpēṭ),* to decide the

case between the Israelites and the Ammonites. Military victory by the Israelites was construed to mean vindication for the Israelites' innocence while a decisive defeat inflicted on the Ammonites was seen as God's judgment *(mišpâṭ)* and punishment for the Ammonites' unprovoked aggression (Judg 11:27; cf. Gen 16:5).

**B. Fairness of God's Justice**

The Israelites expected God's justice to be fair because it issued from God who was a righteous Judge (Ps 7:11; 9:8; 119:137; 145:17). Those who were appointed to the office of judge *(dayyān* or *šôpēṭ)* or magistrate were expected to reflect God's holy nature (Exod 18:21). Consequently, when executing justice, the judges *(šôpĕṭîm)* were to be absolutely fair, realizing that they were acting as agents or deputies of the holy God (Deut 1:16–17; cf. Exod 18:21–23). In this light, the so-called judges *(šôpĕṭîm)* of the book of Judges were appointed by God to act for him as administrators of justice in two ways. In a military emergency, they liberated the Israelites by commanding military campaigns against the aggressive enemies who threatened their freedom and peace *(šālôm).* In peacetime, the judges administered justice by deciding disputes arising among their people (Judg 4:4–5). That these judges were just and righteous people is implied in the Deuteronomistic summary statement that when they died, the children of Israel forgot the way of the Lord (Judg 2:17–19).

**C. God's Justice in Relation to the Poor**

In several biblical passages, particularly in the Psalms and the Prophets, God is portrayed as having a special concern for the poor, particularly the widow, the fatherless, and the oppressed (Ps 10:17–18; 82:1–8; cf. 109:16). When they summoned God to judge them, the poor and oppressed did not expect him to reward them with material benefits beyond those they were normally entitled to in order to lead a normal good life. When they sold their produce and services, they expected a fair deal from the merchants (Amos 2:6–7). Ownership of land and property, freedom and security, constituted their inalienable human rights endowed upon them by God, their creator. For this reason, passages which refer to justice *(mišpāṭ)* of the poor are in actual fact referring to the rights of the poor (Jer 5:28). Therefore, justice *(mišpāṭ)* does not solely refer to moral norm, but also refers to basic human rights. For this reason, when the prophet Amos refers to the poor as the righteous *(ṣaddîq),* he is referring to their being on the right with respect to their dispute with the oppressors over the infringement of their basic rights. It was therefore natural that the people oppressed by the economic, social, and political systems and others, such as the sojourners, who experienced some injustices, should appeal to God to intervene in order that their rights *(mišpāṭ)* might be restored (Ps 146:7–9; cf. 119:153–59). Since God requites all people according to their just deserts, those who felt innocent of any wrongdoing against other people, and who had not transgressed God's law, summoned God to test, try, or examine them to verify their uprightness in order that he might judge *(špṭ)* them accordingly (Ps 139:23–24). In making this summons, God was invoked to reward the wicked according to their wickedness and the upright in heart according to their righteousness (Ps 94:1–3). God judges in order to restore the lost rights of the oppressed (Ps 76:9). He establishes justice in the world by eliminating inequalities (Ps 113:4–9). God's justice aims at creating an egalitarian community in which all classes of people maintain their basic human rights. See also JUDGE, JUDGING; POOR, POVERTY.

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TEMBA L. J. MAFICO

**JUSTIFICATION.** A term that describes the event whereby persons are set or declared to be in right relation to God. The word is often used to summarize the central message of the gospel proclaimed by Paul. Despite its historic importance in Christian dogmatic tradition, however, especially in Protestantism, the noun "justification" rarely appears in the Bible. The classic Pauline statements concerning the justification of human beings (e.g., Gal 2:15–16; Rom 5:1) characteristically employ forms of the verb *dikaioun* ("to justify"). The noun *dikaiosynē,* which appears frequently in Paul and elsewhere in the NT, is more appropriately translated by the word "righteousness" or, as in common classical and Hellenistic

usage, “justice.” Strictly speaking, only in Rom 4:25 and 5:18 does the word *dikaiōsis* (“justification”) appear. In Rom 5:16 the noun *dikaiōma,* here set in opposition to *katakrima* (“condemnation”), probably means “pronouncement of acquittal.” See also the RIGHTEOUSNESS articles.

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A. Terminology
B. Hebrew Scriptures and
C. Qumran
D. Early Christian Traditions
E. Paul
F. Other NT Writings
G. Conclusion

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**A. Terminology**

Both in the OT and in the NT the terms “just, justification, justify” usually translate exactly the same linguistic stock represented elsewhere in English translation by “righteous, righteousness.” The English language regrettably lacks a verb etymologically akin to “righteousness.” (Scholars such as Grobel and Sanders have sought to remedy the deficiency by exhuming an old Anglo-Saxon verb, “to rightwise”[= to justify, set right], but this proposal has not elicited enthusiastic acceptance.) Consequently, English translations of the Bible are generally unable to convey the close linguistic linkage between “the righteousness of God” and the justification of persons. The difficulty is illustrated by the RSV translation of Rom 3:26: “It was to prove at the present time that he [God] himself is righteous [*dikaion*] and that he justifies [*dikaiounta*] him who has faith in Jesus.” This is not merely a Pauline pun; the verbal connection reflects an underlying theological coherence. In order to grasp this coherence and to appreciate the distinctive early Christian development of this complex of ideas, it is necessary to trace the functions of “righteousness/justification” language in the OT and in Jewish tradition.

**B. Hebrew Scriptures and LXX**

“Justification” as a theological concept has its metaphorical roots in legal language. To be “justified” is to be proved right or innocent before the bar. In the world portrayed by Israel’s Scriptures, legal judgment is executed within the framework of the covenant with Yahweh; consequently, “righteousness”(*ṣĕdāqâ,* rendered by the LXX as *dikaiosynē*) in this context is a relational term which means faithful adherence to the structure of obligations established by the covenant. An excellent illustration of this is provided by Gen 38:1–26: Tamar, pretending to be a prostitute, tricks Judah into fathering her sons, but is pronounced “more righteous” than he, because he has defaulted on his obligation to her (cf. Deut 25:5–10). The oblique phrasing of Gen 15:6 (Abraham’s trust in God’s promise was “reckoned” as righteousness) may reflect the writer’s sensitivity to the anomaly here: despite the absence of any explicit covenant relationship at that point in the narrative, Abraham is granted a standing before God normally ascribed only to participants in the Mosaic covenant. (Paul was later to capitalize upon the scrupulous turn of phrase: see Rom 4:3–8.)

Of course, precisely because “righteousness” characterizes faithful adherence to the covenant relationship, the term can be predicated of Yahweh no less than of the human covenant partners. God’s righteousness is manifest in his resolute faithfulness to the covenant with Israel. Indeed, in the lament Psalms, the psalmist can frequently appeal to God’s righteousness as a way of invoking the Deuteronomic covenant promises: if God is truly righteous, he will surely confer the promised deliverance and blessing (cf. Ps 31:1; 71:2). In some cases, as in Psalm 143, it is suggested that God, in his righteousness, will (or should) come to the aid of Israel on the grounds of the covenant relationship, apart from any consideration of Israel’s worthiness (see esp. vv 2, 11–12); because the honor of God’s name is at stake, he will not only judge and punish but also “vindicate his people” (Ps 135:13–14; cf. Ps 43:1). Both in intercession and in praise, *ṣĕdāqâ/dikaiosynē* can become a summary description of God’s mighty salvific deeds on Israel’s behalf (Ps 71:15–19; 98:2). Thus, the term characterizes not merely an abstract attribute of God but an aspect of the divine character made manifest in the action of claiming and delivering Israel.

Under the circumstances of the Exile, however, claims concerning God's unwavering faithfulness to the covenant became intensely problematical. How can God be described as righteous if he abandons Israel to her enemies? Particularly in Deutero-Isaiah, God's righteousness becomes the ground and content of an eschatological hope for the setting right of human historical experience: despite present appearances to the contrary, God will reveal his righteousness in a way which will vindicate Israel's trust in him, thus leading all nations to acknowledge his cosmic lordship. (Cf. Isa 51:4b–5 [LXX]: "For the Law will go forth from me, / And my judgment will go forth as a light to the nations. / My righteousness draws near quickly, / And my salvation will go forth as a light, / And in my arm will nations hope.") In contexts such as these, the idea of God's righteousness becomes strongly associated with the ideas of deliverance and *vindication;* the latter notion is further reinforced by the LXX rendering of *ṣedeq/ṣĕdāqâ* as *dikaiosynē.* In Isa 50:7–9, for example, a passage full of legal imagery, the prophet describes God as "he who vindicates me"*(ho dikaiōsas me)* before all accusers and adversaries.

**C. Qumran**

The Qumran literature provides evidence for the further development of the concept of God's righteousness/justification within an apocalyptic sectarian form of Judaism. A much-discussed passage from the community's Manual of Discipline describes the hope of God's righteousness in terms reminiscent of the canonical Psalms but with heightened emphasis on the idea that God's righteousness will effect forgiveness and cleansing of sins.

> As for me, my judgment [*mišpāṭî*] is with God.
> In his hand are the perfection of my way
> and the uprightness of my heart.
> He will wipe out my transgression through his righteousness [*ṣidqôtāw*] …
> As for me, if I stumble, the mercies of God shall be my eternal salvation.
> If I stagger because of the sin of flesh,
> my judgment [*mišpāṭî*] shall be
> by the righteousness of God [*ṣidqat ʾēl*] which endures for ever.

(1QS 11:2–3,12)

Some translations of this text have attempted to underscore its "Pauline" flavor by translating *mišpāṭî* as "my justification." This interpretation is probably slightly misleading: more to the point is the recognition that the passage portrays God's righteousness as the ground of hope for a speaker who acknowledges his own sinfulness. There is no reason to suppose that this Qumran conception had a direct influence on the formation of early Christian teaching about justification; rather, 1QS bears witness to the ongoing vitality within Judaism of the belief in God's righteousness as the basis for Israel's hope of vindication. Here again the expectation of justification is closely bound to the idea of covenant. The people of Qumran anticipate justification precisely because they participate in a community which seeks to live in faithful adherence to a particular understanding of God's covenant with Israel; consequently, they expect the God of the covenant to vindicate them in the final judgment.

**D. Early Christian Traditions**

The earliest Christians formulated their teaching about justification and about the righteousness of God in a linguistic and theological environment conditioned decisively by Jewish scripture and tradition. Consequently, the Christian understanding of justification represents a development of Jewish tradition rather than an innovation. Indeed, the traditions of Jesus' teaching preserved in the Synoptic Gospels use the language of justification infrequently; where these traditions do speak of "being justified," they typically carry the basic sense of being "proved right," as in the proverbial saying, "Wisdom is justified by her children" (Luke 7:35; cf. Matt 11:19: "… by her works"!). Two Lukan passages (Luke 10:29; 16:15) portray the desire for justification as a superficial seeking for human approval. In the parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector, on the other hand, Luke uses "justification" language with something of its characteristic OT covenant resonance: the tax collector "went down to his house justified" in the sense that he stood in right relation to God. Matthew 12:37 offers the single instance in the Gospels of an eschatological referent for justification language: "I tell you, on the day of judgment men will render

account for every careless word they utter; for by your words you will be justified, and by your words you will be condemned." Here the root imagery of the law court is projected into a vision of final divine judgment (cf. Matt 25:31–46). In none of this material does "justification" receive an interpretation different from conventional Jewish usage.

Arguably the earliest distinctively Christian usage of language about justification centers on Jesus as "the Righteous One"*(ho dikaios)*, the messianic figure who is unjustly rejected and killed (Acts 3:14; 7:52) but subsequently vindicated *(edikaiōthē)* by God (1 Tim 3:16) through the resurrection. Such christological conceptions are a natural outgrowth of the earliest Church's hermeneutical convention of interpreting the lament Psalms as prophetic prefigurations of the Christ's passion; the result is that the traditional hope for God's vindication of Israel becomes focused upon and enacted through the cross and resurrection. Within this framework of thought, Jesus' death was interpreted as having a vicarious sacrificial significance: "For Christ also died for sins once for all, the Righteous One for the unrighteous [*dikaios hyper adikōn*]" (1 Peter 3:18). While these formulations appear in texts written later than the Pauline epistles, in each case there is good reason to think that they preserve common early Christian tradition. (For discussion of the idea of Jesus' death as saving event in the context of Jewish thought, especially *4 Maccabees,* see Williams 1975.)

**E. Paul**

In the Pauline letters, there are a number of passages often regarded as citations of pre-Pauline liturgical or confessional traditions that refer to Christ as "our righteousness" (1 Cor 1:30) or to his death as a vicariously efficacious one whereby "we might become the righteousness of God" (2 Cor 5:21) or to baptism as the instrumentality through which "you were washed, you were sanctified, you were justified [*edikaiōthēte*] in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God" (1 Cor 6:11). Whether these formulations are pre-Pauline or not, they bear witness to the same sphere of Jewish-Christian theological conceptualities reflected in other NT writings: justification is interpreted as God's act of deliverance wrought through Jesus Christ, the Righteous One, whose sacrificial death avails for the salvation of the covenant people. This tradition is epitomized in the confessional formula of Rom 4:25, which (probably echoing Isaiah 53) acclaims "Jesus our Lord, who was put to death for our trespasses and raised for our justification [*dikaiōsis*].[w]This formula, by connecting justification with resurrection, underscores the connotation of "vindication" present in the terminology. None of these passages makes the characteristically Pauline linkage between justification and faith, nor is there any polemical antithesis here between Christ and the Torah.

Even the doctrine of justification by faith is presented by Paul as a commonly held conviction of early Jewish Christianity. In his account of the confrontation at Antioch, Paul represents himself as having said to Peter, "We ourselves, who are Jews by birth and not gentile sinners, since we know that a person is not justified by works of the Law but through the faith of Jesus Christ, even we have put our trust in Christ Jesus in order that we might be justified out of the faith of Christ and not out of works of the Law, because out of works of the Law 'no one shall be justified' " (Gal 2:15–16, citing Ps 143:2). According to Paul's account of the matter, all parties were agreed on the affirmation that persons are justified *dia pisteōs Iēsou Christou* ("through the faith of Jesus Christ": on the translation of this phrase, see below); the controversy at Antioch concerned the social and ritual implications of this confession. Whether Paul's claim is in fact true or whether it is a rhetorical tactic is difficult to say. Early Christians would generally have shared Paul's belief that Christ's death and resurrection were the basis for justification (see the discussion of pre-Pauline formulations above); it seems likely, then, that Paul's original contribution to the discussion was his inference that this truth now abrogated any necessity for gentile converts to be circumcised and to obey the Jewish dietary laws. Consequently, the doctrine of justification by faith became Paul's theological warrant for an understanding of the Church as a new people of God in which Jews and gentiles could be united in table fellowship (cf. Dahl 1977).

The precise relation between faith and justification is a difficult exegetical issue. Traditionally, Paul's expression *dia/ek pisteōs Iēsou Christou* in Gal 2:16 (cf. 3:22; Rom 3:22, 26) has been understood to mean "through believing in Jesus Christ" (objective genitive). The texts would then establish a dichotomy

between two different modes of human religious disposition: seeking justification through "works of the Law" versus through believing in Jesus Christ (cf. also Rom 4:1–8 for the antithesis between "works" and "faith"; the dichotomy would have appeared odd to Jewish Christians, as attested by James 2:18–26). A number of recent studies (Williams 1980; 1987; Johnson 1982; Hays 1983; 1987) have argued instead for an interpretation of *dia/ek pisteōs Iēsou Christou* as "through Jesus Christ's faithfulness" (subjective genitive). On this reading, texts such as Gal 2:16 would juxtapose human striving to Christ's accomplished act of obedient self-sacrifice. This interpretation would be consistent with the view of justification articulated in Rom 5:18–19: "Then as the trespass of one [Adam] led to condemnation for all, so also the righteous act [*dikaiōma*] of one [Christ] leads to the justification [*dikaiōsis*] of life for all. For just as by the disobedience of one [Adam] many were made sinners, so also by the obedience of one [Christ] will many be made righteous [*dikaioi*]." Here Christ's act of obedience is explicitly interpreted as vicariously efficacious for the justification of "many." The differences between these interpretations of "faith of Jesus Christ" should not be exaggerated: both stress the death and resurrection of Jesus as the decisive act of God upon which justification depends, and both agree in regarding trust/faith as the appropriate response to this divine act. Furthermore, on either reading, Paul emphatically dissociates justification from the Law, which finally has no power to give life (Gal 3:21), and associates it with a relation to Jesus Christ. To do otherwise, in Paul's view, would be to deny the efficacy or necessity of Christ's death, and thus to "nullify the grace of God; for if righteousness [*dikaiosynē*] were through the Law, then Christ died to no purpose" (Gal 2:21).

In Galatians, confronting an acute pastoral crisis, Paul pushes this line of theological reflection to radical conclusions about the incompatibility of Torah and Christ: "… if you receive circumcision, Christ will be of no advantage to you … You are severed from Christ, you who would be justified by the Law; you have fallen away from grace" (Gal 5:2, 4). In the subsequent letter to the Romans, however, he steers a more moderate course, developing other lines of thought already foreshadowed in Galatians (cf. Gal 3:8–9; 3:23–25; 4:21): though the Law has no power to accomplish the justification of the ungodly, it already points toward God's ultimate purpose, which has now been fully revealed in the gospel. The Law bears witness that God always intended to reveal his righteousness through Jesus Christ in such a way that Jews and gentiles alike will experience salvation, just as Isaiah prophesied (Rom 1:16–17, 15:8–12). Thus, Paul's development of "the righteousness of God" in Romans deliberately picks up motifs from Deutero-Isaiah, portraying God's righteousness as his covenant-faithfulness, which manifests itself in the act of eschatological deliverance. This is the meaning of Paul's claim that although "the righteousness of God has been manifested apart from Law" (i.e., in Jesus Christ), nonetheless "the Law and the prophets bear witness to it" (Rom 3:21–22), as the story of Abraham illustrates (Romans 4).

Once it is recognized that "the righteousness of God" in Romans is deliberately explicated in terms of this OT covenant conceptuality, it becomes apparent that the term refers neither to an abstract ideal of divine distributive justice nor to a legal status or moral character imputed or conveyed by God to human beings. It refers rather to God's own unshakable faithfulness. (Piper [1983: 203] interprets God's righteousness as an "unswerving commitment always to preserve the honor of his name and display his glory.") Insofar as "righteousness" may be ascribed to the human beneficiaries of God's grace (cf. passages such as Phil 3:9; Rom 9:30–10:4), this righteousness should be interpreted primarily in terms of the covenant relationship to God and membership within the covenant community.

In view of these exegetical observations, the traditional debate in Christian theology over whether justification is "forensic" or "ethical" demands reformulation. "Righteousness" refers to God's covenant-faithfulness which declares persons full participants in the community of God's people. This declaration has a quasi-legal dimension, but there is no question here of a legal fiction whereby God juggles his heavenly account books and pretends not to notice human sin. The legal language points rather to the formal inclusion of those who once were "not my people" in a concrete historical community of the "sons of the living God" (Rom 9:25–26). (Justification is only one of the metaphors that Paul can use to describe this act of inclusion by grace; elsewhere he can speak, for example, of "adoption," as in Gal 4:5 and Rom 8:15.) On the other hand, though the gift of incorporation into this community neither

presupposes a prerequisite moral uprightness on the part of the recipients (Rom 5:6–11) nor offers a magical transformation of moral character, participation in the covenant community carries with it a very definite normative demand for radical obedience to God (Rom 6:1–19; 12:1–2), because the very purpose of the covenant community is to manifest God's righteous design for his human creatures.

This interpretation of justification as God's act of claiming and vindicating a covenant community also precludes the individualistic error of treating justification as the believer's personal experience of forgiveness and deliverance from a subjective sense of guilt (Stendahl [1976] has stressed the absence of these categories in Paul). Paul, in Romans, does not begin with a human predicament and then present justification as the solution to it (cf. Sanders 1977; 1983). Rather, he assumes as a starting point the kerygmatic proclamation that God has acted to justify Jews and gentiles alike on the same ground. This proclamation raises the issue of God's righteousness as a theological problem. If God justifies people apart from Torah, does that mean he has capriciously abandoned his special covenant relationship with Israel? The problem is one of theodicy: "What shall we say, then? Is there injustice on God's part?" (Rom 9:14). The bulk of Romans then is a defense of God's righteousness, as assertion that God is faithful to his promises precisely in the act of justifying people through Jesus rather than through Torah. Thus, Romans deals with "justification" on two levels: (1) the "justification" of persons who are placed in right covenant relation to God through God's act in Christ and their response to it in faith; and (2) the "justification" of God's integrity in so acting.

**F. Other NT Writings**

In the rest of the NT, "justification" plays a relatively minor role. As the brief survey (above) of justification in the traditions of Jesus' teaching suggests, none of the gospel writers emphasizes justification as a major theological motif. The vocabulary of righteousness/justification is negligible in John (cf. John 16:8, 10 for the only instances) and altogether absent from Mark. Matthew has several sayings, especially in the Sermon on the Mount, that portray righteousness *(dikaiosynē)* as the goal of human hope or conduct (5:6, 10, 20; 6:1, 33; cf. 3:15). Some of these texts, in which righteousness is closely identified with "the kingdom of God" (5:6, 10; 6:33), might plausibly be interpreted in a manner consistent with Paul's understanding of the eschatological manifestation of the righteousness of God, but others (5:20 and 6:1) clearly refer to human moral performance. Luke's parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector (18:9–14) appears to reflect a "Pauline" understanding of justification, but Luke's failure to develop this theme in Acts suggests that the real point of the parable is the contrast between pride and repentance rather than between "justification by works" and "justification by faith." The only reference in Acts to justification appears in Paul's synagogue speech in 13:38–39: "Through this man forgiveness of sins is proclaimed to you, and by him every one that believes is freed [*dikaioutai*] from everything from which you could not be freed [*dikaiōthēnai*] by the Law of Moses." Here the connection with belief and the antithesis to the Law are faithful echoes of Pauline theology, but the use of *dikaioun* with *apo* (literally "justified from") is peculiar, and the link with "forgiveness of sins" is characteristically Lukan. The effect of this single, rather awkward, reference is simply to highlight the complete absence of justification as a theme of Christian proclamation elsewhere in Acts.

In the later NT epistles, there are two important passages that reflect a continuing concern about the Pauline formulation of the doctrine of justification. Titus 3:5–7 is a full and emphatic restatement of the doctrine, linking justification more directly with baptism than Paul did (but cf. 1 Cor 6:11) and reaffirming the Pauline denial of works as the means of justification: "… not because of deeds done by us in righteousness, but in virtue of his own mercy … which he poured out upon us richly through Jesus Christ our Savior, so that we might be justified by his grace and become heirs in hope of eternal life." The diction is more inflated than Paul's, and nothing is said here about faith, but the overall position is clearly a deft summary and extension of Paul's characteristic teaching on justification, preserving the Pauline heritage in a later historical setting.

The Letter of James, on the other hand, contains a notorious passage (2:14–26) which has often been read as a frontal assault on the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith: "You see that a person is justified by works and not by faith alone" (2:24). Briefly, it must be maintained that the understanding of

"justification by faith alone" against which this polemic is aimed represents a caricature of the Pauline position (cf. Reumann 1982). Paul, like James, was insistent that faith is manifest in active obedience, and (interestingly) Paul never uses the expression "justification by faith *alone*" (*sola fide* is a slogan of the Reformation, not of Paul). The teaching of James is a corrective against a distortion that Paul himself vehemently forswore (Rom 3:8; 6:1–2). We will probably never know whether such a position was actually championed by a "hyper-Pauline" antinomian wing of the Pauline school (certainly the Pastorals represent a quite different direction of development of the Pauline tradition) or whether James has constructed a rhetorical "straw man," representing his own misinterpretation of the Pauline tradition. In either case, the conflict between James and Paul on "faith and works" is more a matter of terminology than of theological substance. If there is a material difference between the two writers, it is to be found rather in the fact that James' remarks never in any way link justification to God's redemptive act in Christ. See also JAMES, EPISTLE OF.

**G. Conclusion**

"Justification" has its roots in prophetic interpretation of God's covenant with Israel. Particularly in Deutero-Isaiah, God's righteousness provides the grounding for the hope of a future event whereby God will not only demonstrate his faithfulness to Israel but also extend salvation to the gentiles. Though Jesus apparently did not adopt this motif as a central theme of his preaching, the early Jewish-Christian communities began to interpret Jesus' death and resurrection as the event through which this eschatological covenant promise was brought to fulfillment. Paul placed the idea of the righteousness of God near the center of his own theological reflection and stressed its inclusive dimension: God's eschatological righteousness revealed in Jesus Christ necessarily entails the justification of Jew and gentile on equal terms. Justification, consequently, cannot be abstracted from the formation of the "Israel of God" (Gal 6:16), a palpable historical community in which Jews and gentiles bear witness together to the grace of God. Whatever the reason (and many have been suggested), Paul's powerful and highly nuanced understanding of justification does not appear to have been widely influential in the early Church. Only much later was it "rediscovered" through hermeneutical innovations that allowed Augustine and Luther to reinterpret it for their own times as an antidote to Pelagianism and as a word of reassurance to the terrified introspective conscience (cf. Stendahl 1976). Historical criticism suggests, however, that Paul's understanding of justification must be interpreted resolutely in terms of OT affirmations of God's faithfulness to the covenant, a faithfulness surprisingly but definitively confirmed through Christ's death and resurrection (Rom 15:8). This reading of justification in Paul opens the possibility of new hermeneutical applications in a century haunted anew by questions of theodicy.

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RICHARD B. HAYS

**JUSTIN MARTYR** (PERSON). Justin Martyr was the most significant of the 2d-century apologists for Christianity. He was born in Samaria, lived for a time at Ephesus, and finally conducted a training school for Christians at Rome until his martyrdom about 165. His most famous pupil was the Syrian Tatian, who later modified his teaching and left the Church.

Justin's first work seems to have been his treatise *Against All Heresies*, opposed to the Samaritans Simon Magus (Acts 8?) and Menander, as well as Marcion. See MARCION, GOSPEL OF. Later he composed his *Apology* now divided into two parts. The work is addressed to Antoninus Pius and his two adopted sons. Its date may be given by Justin's insistence on eternal fire for the wicked, for in the year 156 Polycarp of Smyrna, favorably received at Rome the year before, was burned alive after threatening his judge with "eternal fire." Justin's essay begins with the demand to investigate accusations and explains what Christians believe and do. The so-called "second apology" looks like a continuation of the first, perhaps with more emphasis on the philosophy espoused by the future emperor Marcus Aurelius.

The *Apology* begins with a refutation of anti-Christian slanders and a description of Christian moral teaching. It continues with a lengthy discussion of OT prophecy as fulfilled in Christ, with remarks about philosophy along the way. It ends with fairly full and important descriptions of baptism and eucharist (filling in the gap between the *Didache* and Hippolytus) and a quotation of a letter from Hadrian against informers. The second part asks the emperor to "subscribe" to Justin's petition.

Later he wrote his *Dialogue with the Jew Trypho,* in which texts like those in the *Apology* are given more complete exegesis and Trypho presents Jewish interpretations. The most important features are (1) the OT text(s) used by Justin, and (2) his picture of the nascent New Testament:

(1) In the OT exegesis of the *Apology*, Justin used "testimony sources" with texts already chosen by Christians, whereas in the *Dialogue* he used texts transmitted by Jews. He thought that the testimony texts were authentic, while the other version(s) had been corrupted. When he claimed in the *Dialogue* that Jews had cut predictions of Christ out of their text he was comparing their version(s) with his own Christian book (Skarsaune 1987).

(2) The "New Testament" of Justin is especially interesting because he certainly knew the major Pauline epistles but never quoted from them, presumably because of the confusion over the epistles caused by Marcion's radical revisions. He knew and referred to the Apocalypse of John. He also knew several Gospels, which he sometimes identified for Greek readers as "memorabilia of the apostles" somewhat like the *Memorabilia of Socrates* by Xenophon. In his christological exegesis of Psalm 21 (22) (*Dial.* 99–107) he refers to the "memorabilia"13 times, including one reference to the "memorabilia of Peter" for information found only in Mark 3:16–17 (partly Luke 6:14 D). This seems to show he knows Mark as a book, just as *Apol.* 61.4 reflects John 3:3, 5. He thus uses "the memorabilia compiled by the apostles and those who followed them" (*Dial.* 103.8). Other passages, however, are based on mixtures of texts which may well go back to traditions or anthologies before Justin's time (Bellinzoni 1967). This is not to say that he knew a pre-Tatianic *Diatessaron.* Both kinds of quotations are obviously opposed to Marcion's special edition. There seem to be no traces of Hebrews, the Pastoral Epistles, or the Catholic or General Epistles in Justin's writings.

His theology also deserves attention, for in regard to Christ he has taken the Logos doctrine developed in Hellenistic Judaism after Philo and combined it with a picture of prophecy fulfilled as set forth in his testimony book(s). What holds the two together is insistence upon the incarnation of the Logos, even though he never cites John 1:14.

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**JUSTUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Iystos* (Ἰυστος)]. **1.** The surname of Joseph, also called Barsabbas, a person put forward by the apostles along with Matthias as a candidate to replace Judas (Acts 1:23). Matthias and not Joseph Justus was the person on whom the lot fell and who was subsequently enrolled with the eleven apostles (1:26). Based on the criteria given for the candidates, Joseph Justus would have been one of those who accompanied the apostles "during all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John until the day when he was taken up from us" (1:21–22). The name Justus (righteousness) was not uncommon among Jews and proselytes living in the Greco-Roman world. This epithet, implying obedience and devotion to the Jewish Law, was perhaps given to him by other Jews.

**2.** Titius Justus, a Corinthian "worshipper of God" whose house was next to the synagogue (Acts 18:7). As a "worshipper of God" (Gk *sebomenos ton theon*), this gentile must have heard Paul speak about Jesus during Paul's stay in Corinth in the early 50s on his second journey. When Paul angrily separated himself from the synagogue, stating, according to Luke, "from now on I will go to the gentiles" (18:6), it was to the house of Titius Justus he went. Presumably Paul used this man's house for teaching and church meetings, although he probably continued to live with Prisca and Aquila (cf. 18:3). Acts does not say explicitly whether Titius Justus actually became a Christian. During Paul's Corinthian visit on his third journey (with Prisca and Aquila no longer living in Corinth) his, as well as the Church's, host was a certain Gaius (Rom 16:23), leading some commentators to harmonize Acts 18:7 and Rom 16:23. They have proposed that Titius Justus and Gaius, because each was Paul's host, were thus the same person whose full Roman *tria nomina* would have been Gaius Titius Justus (Goodspeed 1950: 382–83). The manuscript readings for Acts 18:7 offer the following variations: rather than "Titius Justus" (e.g., as in mss p. 74, B), some have "Titus Justus" (e.g., Sinaiticus, E); a few have only "Justus" (e.g., A); and a very few read only "Titus" (e.g., some Vg mss). The second and fourth readings have led some to guess that this Corinthian was the Titus of Paul's letters, but there is nothing further to support that proposal.

Acts locates the house of Titius Justus in Corinth next to the synagogue. In 1898 a heavy stone, a fragmented plinth once part of the lintel of a doorway, was found on the Lechaion Road in Corinth bearing the inscription in Greek "Synagogue of the Hebrews" (Finegan 1981: 152). Because of the style of the lettering, it has been dated after the time of Paul. The synagogue it marked was probably the successor to the one in which Paul preached, probably on the same site. The inscription is poorly cut, suggesting that the synagogue members were not wealthy (cf. Paul's characterization of the Corinthians in 1 Cor 1:26). Because the stone is quite heavy, it probably lies close to the synagogue site. On that assumption, archaeologists point out that the synagogue was not far from the marketplace, on the east side of the Lechaion Road and in a predominantly residential district. The same description would thus hold for the house of Titius Justus if Acts is correct in locating it "next door" (18:7).

**3.** Jesus Justus, a Jewish Christian who sent greetings to the Colossians along with Paul from his place of imprisonment (Col 4:11). Jesus (the Greek form of Joshua or Jeshua) was his Jewish name. It was common for Jews to have this name (cf. Acts 13:6) up until the 2d cent. C.E. Justus was his Latin surname, which denoted loyal observance of the law, and was probably given to him because of his reputation. He is named along with Aristarchus and Mark as being the only "men of the circumcision" among Paul's "fellow workers for the kingdom of God" who were with Paul during his imprisonment. The presence of these Jewish-Christian missionaries was comforting to Paul (Col 4:11). This would be particularly the

case in light of the earlier crisis at Antioch (Gal 2:11–12), and its aftereffects (cf. Gal; Phil 3) when Paul was opposed by many Jewish-Christian missionaries.

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**JUTTAH** (PLACE) [Heb *yuṭṭâ* (יֻטָּה)]. A levitical city assigned to the tribe of Judah which appears in Josh 21:16, but omitted from the Chronicle's Hebrew text although found in some LXX versions of the Chronicler. Besides being mentioned in the Joshua levitical city list, Juttah appears in only one other OT text, the allotment lists of Judah in Josh 15:55. It is described as being in the SE hill country district of Maon along with Carmel and Ziph.

The first geographer to describe Juttah was Eusebius (*Onomast.* 108: 8–10). Eusebius wrote that *Iettan* was a very large Jewish village 18 Roman miles from Eleutheropolis in the middle of Darome in the Negeb. The site is not mentioned again until 1714 when Relandi (1714: 870) quoted the two Joshua texts and Eusebius. He suggested that Juttah was the birthplace of John the Baptist and the home of Zachariah and Elizabeth. Relandi argued that *polis Iouda* (city of Judah) of Luke 1:39 should read *polis Iouta* (city of Juttah). As with most of Relandi's commentaries, no identification is made.

It was E. Robinson (1841: 190) who made the first positive association of biblical Juttah with the village Yaṭṭā (M.R. 158095). Located in the Ziph district, just E of Hebron at the edge of the Judean wilderness, Yaṭṭā has been identified with biblical Juttah by Guérin (1869: 205–6), Wright (*WHAB,* 125) Aharoni (*LBHG,* 379), and Boling (1985: 25). The strategic location of this ancient city is important because of the watershed road that passes Yaṭṭā. This road extends N to Hebron, Jerusalem, and Shechem, and S to Eshtemoaʿ, Arad, and Mormah. There have been very few archaeological surveys conducted at Yaṭṭā and no excavations. The only historical period that has been identified is Byzantine, although the occupation of the site is obviously much older. Today a large Palestinian village which holds the biblical name sits on the site. Until an excavation is done, the ancient occupation of Yaṭṭā will be unknown. See Peterson 1977: 551–56.

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JOHN L. PETERSON

# K

**KAB** [Heb *qab* (קַב)]. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**KABZEEL** (PLACE) [Heb *qabṣĕʾēl* (קַבְצְאֵל)]. Var. JEKABZEEL. A city in S Judah listed as part of Judah's inheritance (Josh 15:21). It was known traditionally for supplying great warriors (see 2 Sam 23:20 and 1 Chr 11:22). The Chronicler lists Kabzeel as one of the towns reoccupied after the Exile (1 Chr 11:22). The variant Jekabzeel mentioned in Neh 11:25 is most likely the same city. According to Aharoni (*LBHG* [1967 ed]: 295–98) we can identify Kabzeel-Jekabzeel with Tell Gharreh (M.R. 148071) midway between Beer-sheba and Arad. See IRA, TEL. He also suggested that the town was probably named after a man or clan (*LBHG* [1967 ed]: 97). Since, however, the Bible does not mention any people with a similar name, it is just as likely that the name arose from its root meaning, "a gathering place"; compare the modern Hebrew word *kibbutz* denoting a collective farm or settlement.
TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**KADESH-BARNEA** (PLACE) [Heb *qādeš barnēaʿ* (קָדֵשׁ בַּרְנֵעַ)]. Var. KADESH; KEDESH; MERIBATH-KADESH. A site in N Sinai where the Israelites camped before their entrance into Canaan. It was also known simply as Kadesh (Num 13:26; cf. Deut 1:19) or Kedesh (Josh 15:23). The first part of the name of the site appears to derive from the Hebrew root *qdš,* referring to "holiness" or "separateness"; the meaning of the second element is unknown. According to Gen 14:7, Kadesh-barnea was the scene of Chedorlaomer's defeat of the Amalekites, when it was also known as Enmishpat. Kadesh-barnea was the site of some significant developments in Israel's history. After their departure from Mt. Sinai, the Israelites traveled to Kadesh-barnea, from whence the twelve spies were sent into Canaan; as a result of Israel's discouragement and ensuing complaints when they heard the report of ten of the spies, Yahweh sentenced Israel to wander in the wilderness for forty years (Numbers 13–14). It was at Kadesh-barnea that Miriam, sister of Moses and Aaron, died and was buried (Num 20:1). It was also the setting where Moses disobeyed Yahweh's command when he struck the rock to provide water rather than speaking to it (Num 20:2–13); this disobedience was the basis for Moses' exclusion from entry into the promised land. After Israel's entrance into Canaan, the site is mentioned as part of the S border of Judah (Josh 15:1–3).

**A. Location**

During the early 1800s, the search for Kadesh-barnea concentrated in the Arabah because of the reference in Num 20:16, which places the site on the border of Edom. The search shifted W in the latter part of the century because of problems correlating the Arabah locations with the geographical descriptions in the Bible. Some suggested that Kadesh-barnea should be identified with ʿAin Qedeis, an oasis in the N Sinai which also seemed to preserve the name of the site. However, the name apparently did not preserve any real tradition, since ʿAin Qedeis, too, failed to conform to the biblical descriptions of the site and its location. In 1905 N. Schmidt (1910) recognized that the biblical texts conformed better with remains near ʿAin el-Qudeirat (M.R. 096006) and suggested that this was the region in which Kadesh-barnea should be located. C. L. Woolley and T. E. Lawrence (1914–15) made an extensive study of the region soon after and confirmed Schmidt's conclusion, and their identification has essentially been universally accepted since.

The site now recognized as Kadesh-barnea is located near ʿAin el-Qudeirat in the Wadi el-ʿAin. It rests near the junction of a road leading from Suez to Beer-sheba/Hebron and the road branching from the Via Maris near el-Arish leading to ʿAqaba. This area is now the largest oasis in the N Sinai and has a spring that produces about 40 $m^3$ of water per hour (Dothan 1965).

**B. Excavation History**

Woolley and Lawrence conducted a three-day excavation at the site in 1914, enough to provide a basic outline of the upper fortress. M. Dothan reexcavated the site in 1956 and discovered the Persian levels as well as two fortresses dating from the Iron Age II. The excavations by R. Cohen in 1972–82 supplied significant additional detail to the earlier excavations.

**1. The Earliest Fortress.** The excavations revealed three superimposed fortresses dating from the 10th century B.C. to the 7th–6th century B.C., followed by some Persian occupation. The bottom fortress lay under some 5 m of debris and was a large (ca. 27 m diameter) oval fortress with casemate outer walls. It rested on the E edge of the site and was later bisected by the upper two fortresses. A large multiroom building was located separate from the oval fortress to the W (i.e., under and just inside the NW corner of the upper two levels). It contained a room (ca. 4 m by 6 m) with stone benches lining the walls. The ceramic collection of this stratum was characteristically 10th century B.C., but consisted of wheel-made pottery and a handmade pottery often found in the Negeb now referred to as "Negebite" ware. The ceramic repertoire included large pithoi storejars, juglets, flasks, lamps, kraters, cooking pots, various sizes of bowls, and chalices. Among the small finds were three iron arrowheads and an "eye of Horus," along with a faience statuette.

The date of the ceramic collection and layout of the site are consistent to suggest that the fortress was constructed during the time of Solomon. It was probably one of a series of fortresses built to protect the S border of Israel. Perhaps it was destroyed during the raids into Canaan by Shishak (cf. 1 Kgs 14:25–28).

**2. The Middle Fortress.** After an occupational gap of about two centuries, the site (in contrast to the other fortresses along the S border) was rebuilt. The new construction neither followed nor reused the earlier remains. The new fortress was rectangular (ca. 60 × 40 m) and had solid walls (ca. 4 m thick). Eight projecting towers were incorporated into its design with one at each corner and one at the midpoint along each of the walls. See Fig. KAD.01. The walls were in turn protected by a defensive complex consisting of an earth glacis which sloped down to a retaining wall about 2.5 m high, beyond which was a 4-m-wide moat measuring 2.5 m deep.

A wide street (ca. 3.5 m) bisected the interior of the fortress. While there were buildings on both sides of the street, some special features were on the W end of the fortress. In the NW corner (built over the remains of the separated large building with stone benches of the earlier period) was a building in which were found mudbrick installations with traces of fire and large numbers of animal bones. Immediately across the street to the S was a cistern with a 10-m-diameter shaft, which was lined on the lower levels with large stones and plaster. Twenty-five steps descended into the cistern providing access. The cistern was fed from the spring outside the fortress to the S via a plastered conduit which carried the water under the rampart. The cistern had a capacity of ca. 180 $m^3$. Just to the E of the cistern was a large rectangular room (ca. 5.5 m by 3.8 m) which may have been a silo; a smaller (ca. 2 m diameter) circular silo was nearby.

Outside the fortress on the N were located several round granaries (which contained a fairly large number of camel bones) and a room attached to the fortress in which was found an oven with a complete handmade cooking pot inside of it. The ceramics of this fortress, like that of the lower fortress, exhibited a mixture of wheel–made pottery (typically 8th–7th centuries B.C.) and handmade Negebite ware.

Uzziah may have directed the construction of this fortress; he tried to fortify the S part of Judah (2 Chr 26:10). Its destruction apparently came at the end of Manasseh's reign in the middle of the 7th century B.C.

**3. The Upper Fortress.** The upper fortress followed essentially the same external plan as the middle fortress with the exception that the outer walls were casemate instead of solid. See Fig. KAD.01. The glacis and moat continued in use. The interior layout of the fortress changed, although the cistern continued in use (however, from a higher level). In the NW corner the special character of the architecture continued and the excavators found three rectangular rooms which opened onto a large stone pavement. On the pavement stood a large circular structure (ca. 1.9 m) built of mudbrick and preserved to a height of ca. 1.2 m. This structure was filled with a thick layer of ashes and next to it were found a small incense burner, many ceramic vessels, and animal bones. In view of the kinds of finds located in the NW quadrant

and the special architectural features (e.g., the stone benches along the walls in the lowest level; cf. Dever 1987) it might be suggested that this constituted a shrine either for the personnel of the site or for the region. This stratum also yielded a typical collection of wheel-made and handmade Negebite ceramic pieces of the 7th century B.C. In addition, ceramic figurine fragments of the head of a horse and a pinch-face male were found which may originally have been part of a "horse and rider" figurine.

Cohen suggests that this fortress was built during the time of Josiah and that it was destroyed as part of Nebuchadnezzar's campaign when he destroyed Jerusalem (1983: XVII).

**4. Persian Period.** The site was reoccupied during the Persian period with no apparent architectural addition or repair to the defensive walls. The occupants apparently lived in some of the remaining casemate rooms and, as was common for the Persian period, dug various pits on the site.

**5. Ostraca.** Several ostraca have been found, most indicating some kind of accounting system. It is unclear whether the hieratic numbers were for actual accounting purposes or represented student exercises. Of special significance, however, are the appearances of a sign for the shekel; a reference from the Persian levels to a *gerah* (the smallest Hebrew unit of weight measurement, ca. 0.50 gram); references to a "thousand" *(ʾalep)* and to "thousands" *(ʾalepîm);* what appears to be a fragment of an abecedary with the Hebrew sequence of *zayin, h\et, t\et;* and a reference to a sherd of unclear context to an *ʾeškār* (perhaps an allusion to an offering or gift [cf. Ps 72:10]).

**C. Peculiarities and Problems**

A peculiar feature of the site is the fact that no gate has been found to provide access to the inside. While the upper fortress had experienced some erosion, it seems clear from the nature of the glacis and lower ramparts that there was no typical gate into the fortress. Nor has the middle fortress yielded evidence of a gate. The lower fortress may have had one, but the excavations have not been extensive enough to locate it. Perhaps access was via ladders, which would have eliminated the weakness of a break in the wall for a gate.

A beleaguering point is the fact that the excavations have produced no evidence of a large number of people having stayed at the site any time during when the Exodus is postulated to have occurred. While there are remains of settlements in the vicinity from the EB II period (Beit-Arieh and Gophna 1976; 1981), these are obviously much too early to have anything to do with the Israelites. There are at least three lines by which to address this dilemma: (1) perhaps the site is not Kadesh-barnea of the Hebrew Bible; (2) evidence may yet be unearthed to corroborate the presence of a large group of people in the LB/Iron Age, since the excavations have not exhausted the site; or (3) a growing number of scholars suggest that the Exodus, at least in the way the Hebrew Bible portrays the event, did not occur, in which case one should not necessarily expect to find evidence of Israel's LB/early Iron Age I occupation.

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**KADESH-ON-THE-ORONTES.** A city located strategically alongside the Orontes River in Syria on the site of Tell Nebi Mend (34° 34′ N; 36° 33′ E), and which flourished in the LB Age. Its inhabitants apparently included Hurrian, Aryan, and Semitic elements. The earliest mention of the city is in the annals

of Thutmose III (1479–1425 B.C.), who conquered it. Although the Hittite Šuppiluliumas (1375–1335 B.C.) reduced Shutatarra, king of Kadesh, to a vassal, a number of Amarna Letters indicate that Aitakama, son of Shutatarra, also pursued relations with Amenhotep IV (1353–1335 B.C.). Aitakama was eventually assassinated by his pro-Hittite son Ariteshub. Despite conquest by the Egyptian king Seti I (1306–1290 B.C.), Kadesh was an ally of the Hittites by the time of the Battle of Kadesh (ca. 1285 B.C.).

The Battle of Kadesh resulted from the attempt of Rameses II (1290–1224 B.C.) to wrest the city from Muwatallis the Hittite. The Egyptian army was divided into four divisions named Amon, Re, Ptah, and Sutekh. A few miles S of Kadesh, two enemy spies, disguised as deserters, misled Rameses into thinking that the Hittite army had fled toward Aleppo, about 120 miles to the N. In fact, the Hittite army, perhaps 20,000 strong, was hiding on the E side of Kadesh. Shortly after the Amon division, commanded by Rameses himself, had set up a temporary rendezvous camp NW of Kadesh, the Hittite chariotry pounced upon the Re division which was still SW of Kadesh en route to the campsite. The Re division fled toward Rameses' position where he, with the aid of brilliant leadership and mercenaries who arrived just in time, successfully rallied his troops after the initial chaos. But the outcome was at best a stalemate for Rameses, and he eventually settled for a truce which included Hittite control of Kadesh. See also Klengel 1969: 139–77.

The Egyptians commemorated the battle in two extraordinarily detailed written versions and in captioned pictographic reliefs. J. Breasted (*ARE* 3: 124, 135–36, 142) and M. Lichtheim (*AEL* 2: 57–60), among others, designate one of the written versions as the prose Record (or the Bulletin) and the other as the Poem. A. Gardiner (1960), however, argued that both accounts should be classified as prose. Based on a study of the form and genres of Egyptian military documents, A. Spalinger (1983: 153–73, 238) concludes that both "Bulletin" and "Poem" are poor labels, and that one should include military diary traditions in any discussion of the genre of the accounts of the battle.

Archaeological excavations by M. Pezard in 1921 and 1922 produced the Stele of Seti I, and a flawed report (edited posthumously) which suggested significant occupation of Kadesh between the end of the LB and the onset of the Seleucid period (cf. Noth, 1948: 233). However, the invasion of the Sea Peoples ca. 1200 seems to have ended the historical record of Kadesh, and it remained unoccupied until a city named Laodicea was built on the remains during the Seleucid era.

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**KADMIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *qadmî᾽ēl* (קַדְמִיאֵל)]. A Levite associated with various activities during and following the return from Exile, although it has been suggested that the name appears primarily as a designation of a levitical family (Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* NCBC, 60). Concerning the return itself, Kadmiel made his way to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:40; Neh 7:43; 12:8; 1 Esdr 5:26). Though the genealogical records in this case are somewhat unclear (Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 13), he was one of only a few Levites who did so (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 35). In helping to establish the postexilic community, Kadmiel served in a supervisory role during the rebuilding of the temple (Ezra 3:9; 1 Esdr 5:58), led worship in the public ceremonies prior to the establishment of the new covenant (Neh 9:4), and supported this covenant by "sealing" it (Neh 10:10—Eng10:10). Finally, in an appended list in Nehemiah, Kadmiel is characterized as a man of praise and thanksgiving (Neh 12:24).

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**KADMONITES** [Heb *qadmōnî* (קַדְמֹנִי)]. One of ten groups of people found in a list of pre-Israelite inhabitants of the land promised to Abraham (Gen 15:19). Literally translated the name would be

"Easterners." Koehler and Baumgartner (*HALAT* 3: 1002) identify this group with the *bĕnê qedem* "people of the East" (Gen 29:1; Judg 6:3, 33; 7:12; 8:10; 1 Kgs 5:10; Isa 11:14; Jer 49:28; Ezek 25:4, 10; Job 1:3). The latter "ethnographic collective name" is used "for the Syro-Arabian desert, mainly nomads or semi-nomads" (*GTTOT*, 13). While the translational equivalents of these two expressions are nearly identical and the expressions arise from the same root *qdm,* "east", it is not certain that they refer to the same people. Since the term "Kadmonites" is only found in Gen 15:19, the best indication of its meaning can be determined from its placement within the list. Ishida (1979: 483–84) suggests that the list of nations in Gen 15:19–21 is geographically arranged from S to N and reflects the extent of the Davidic empire. He thinks that the first three names of the list (Kenites, Kenizzites, Kadmonites) "represent the foreign elements in the South whose absorption into the tribe of Judah was complete by the time of David" (1979: 484).

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STEPHEN A. REED

**KAIN** (PLACE) [Heb *qayin* (קַיִן)]. Appears in the enumeration of cities in districts belonging to Judah (Josh 15:57). Its grouping with several other towns of fairly certain identification, namely Maon, Carmel, Ziph, and Juttah, leads to a plausible identification of Kain with en-Nebi Yaqin (M.R. 164100). However, LXX in Josh 15:57 omits the name Kain and counts only nine cities in its list rather than ten as in the MT. Then possibly Kain in the MT should be understood as a genitive which was added to qualify the preceding proper noun Zanoah (i.e., Zanoah of Kain, i.e., Zanoah of the Kenites) in order to distinguish it from the Zanoah of Josh 15:34. If this is correct, Kain must be understood as the singular collective noun for Kenites. Both the interpretations as a collective noun and as a proper place name have been applied to *qayin* in Num 24:22 and Judg 4:11.

WESLEY I. TOEWS

**KAIWAN** (DEITY). See SAKKUTH AND KAIWAN (DEITIES).

**KALLAI** (PERSON) [Heb *qallāy* (קַלָּי)]. A head of a priestly family mentioned only in Neh 12:20 as one of some 20 priestly heads serving in the days of Joiakim (vv 12–21). Recently, H. G. M. Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 359–60) has argued that this list probably predates the transcription of the similar list found in vv 1–7 of the same chapter. See AMOK. The name "Kallai," as well as all the other names which follow Malluchi (i.e., the entirety of vv 14a–21), are omitted in the major manuscripts. A similar situation obtains for the LXX of vv 1–7.

Commentators are generally agreed that the list of priestly families found in vv 12–21 is composite in nature, the last six families (vv 19–21) representing a secondary addition to the list to bring it into closer conformity with the actual priestly hierarchy in later times. Thus, the name "Kallai" may well not have appeared at all on the original list. Furthermore, Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 357, n. 20a) suspects that the Heb *qallāy,* otherwise unattested, represents a scribal device to fill a gap which had resulted from the loss of a name from the list (note that a name is clearly lacking after Miniamin in v 17). Elsewhere (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 343, n. 8a) he points to a number of doubtful passages in which rhyming names are set next to each other, probably as an attempt to salvage some meaning from a corrupt text. The line "of Sallai, Kallai" (Neh 12:20a) may thus fall into this category as well. If the name "Kallai" is to be retained as authentic, it may best be explained as an abbreviation of a fuller name such as the "Kelaiah" of Ezra 10:23 (see Bowman *IB* 3: 788).

WILLIAM H. BARNES

**KAMON** (PLACE) [Heb *qāmôn* (קָמוֹן)]. The burial place of Jair the Gileadite (Judg 10:5), one of the minor judges of Israel. One might expect that if Jair was a Gileadite, he was from Gilead in Transjordan, and perhaps he was buried in his place of origin (*EHI*, 787). Keil and Delitzsch (n.d., 372–73) offer an

alternate assumption, however, that since Jair judged Israel (i.e., not just Gilead), he may very well have been living in, and buried in, Cisjordan. Eusebius and Jerome cited Kammona in the Esdraelon, possibly the Cyamon (Gk *Kyamōn*) of Judith 7:3, possibly Tell Qeimun (M.R. 160230), the Jokmeam of 1 Kgs 4:12. Most interpreters, however, look toward Gilead. This thought is heightened by Judg 10:4, which tells us he had 30 sons who had 30 cities, called Havvoth-jair, "the villages of Jair." These "tent cities" are referred to in Num 32:41, where Jair the son of Manasseh conquered their villages (of Gilead?) and called them Havvoth-jair. This Jair was Machir's grandson (1 Chr 2:21–23), great-grandson of Manasseh, and thus great-great-grandson of Joseph, son of Jacob. Deut 3:14 tells of his conquest of Argob, that is Bashan, and that he called the villages Havvoth-jair. Some scholars think these verses all refer to the same man while others think the conqueror and the judge are two different people. There is a further problem in the identification of Gilead, which some see as N of the Yarmuk, i.e., Bashan as in Deut 3:14. Some see it as S of the Jabbok River while most see it as N of the Jabbok, S of the Yarmuk. That puts Kamon in this area if it is related to Jair as "Gileadite." The name is preserved in Qamm (M.R. 218221) and Qumeim, halfway between the Sea of Galilee and Ramoth-gilead. These two villages are on either side of the present road, about 6 and 7 miles respectively S-SE of Umm Qeis (M.R. 214229), on the way to modern Irbid (Beth-arbel [M.R. 229218], Hos 10:14). There is no archaeological evidence here for the Iron Age. The area was not settled before the Roman period. Kamon has also been identified with Qanawat in Jabal Druze but others think this is much too far E. Simons (*GTTOT*, 134) suggested Krak-Canatha between Dera'a and Souweida. It may also be the name of a clan territory. Jdt 4:4 refers to Kona, which has been suggested as Qoman. Simons (*GTTOT*, 298, 497) does not agree. It is too obviously a literary adaptation of Gen 14:15, though one can note the word there is Hobah. Polybius' *History* 5.70, 12, refers to Kamoun, a site taken by Antiochus in his war with Ptolemy Philopator. The reference follows immediately after his capture of Scythopolis and in conjunction with his conquest of Pella, Abila, Gadara, etc., in Gilead (Gehman *NWDB*, 533). The site is identified with Hanzir, 5 miles E of Pella (M.R. 207206). It is N of the Jabbok. Iron Age I and Hellenistic type potsherds have been found on the site.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**KANAH** (PLACE) [Heb *qānâ* (קָנָה)]. This name is used for both a town (Josh 19:28) and a river or stream (Josh 16:8; 17:9).

**1.** The latter is usually identified with the Wadi Qanah, though Kallai (*HGB*, 153) has pointed out there is no proof of this. It is just the similarity of names (Robinson 1856: 3.135; *SWP* 2: 299; *SWP* 4: 248). Biblically it is the natural boundary between the Hebrew tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. The biblical description is that it is a wadi running W from the watershed at the head of the Micmethath valley 4 miles SW of Shechem. It flows W past Tappuah. When it enters the Sharon plain, it becomes today the Wadi Yasin, passes S of the Arab village of Jaljuliya (M.R. 145173; Gilgal, Josh 12:23?) and turns NW. Then it turns 90 degrees to join with the Wadi el-Ishkar which flows SW to join the Wadi Aujeh (the modern Yarkon River) near Tell el-Mukhmar, an Iron Age mound (Danelius 1958: 38). The Yarkon flows W-SW past Tell el-Qasileh (M.R. 130167) and reaches the sea 3.5 miles N of Joppa (Jaffa/Tel Aviv), between Joppa and Arsuf (Apollonia). Kanah means "reeds." Guerin, influenced by the reeds, argues in favor of Nehr al-Falik 5 miles N of Arsuf. He identified it with Nahr el-Kasab, the river of reeds, mentioned by Beha ad-Din, a Muslim historian. But this last must be the Nahr el-Mafjir (M.R. 193143), 13 miles further N (Ewing *ISBE* 3: 1789). Eva Danelius was curious about the 90 degree turn into the Ishkar. Local tradition said the wadi once ran N of Jaljuliya. She found that W. M. Thomson (1893) cited Kitto that the river Arsuf which enters the sea between Em Khalid and El Haram is the biblical Kanah. There is no river Arsuf now. El Haram is the mosque of Sidna Ali near Arsuf. She traced the Kanah's mouth to 1.5 miles N

of Arsuf, 11.5 miles N of Joppa. Thus Ephraim reached further N than the current drain of the Wadi Qanah today.

**2.** Josh 19:24–31 describes the territory allotted to the tribe of Asher. Some interpreters see the S border touching the Carmel range while others see it reaching S of Carmel to below Dor. Asher's E border followed Zebulun and then Naphtali. The border continues in the N to Cabul (v 27), Ebron, Rehob, Hammon, Kanah, as far as Sidon the Great (v 28). Most commentators relate Kanah to Qana between Tibnin and Tyre, 7 miles SE of Tyre (*HGB*, 212; *GP* 2: 412). This is the *q-n* of Egyptian lists: Thutmose III (no. 26); Seti I; Rameses II (1290–1224 B.C.) 8th-year reliefs (*ANET*, 256). This site is distinguished from the NT site of Cana of Galilee, 9 miles NE of Nazareth, today's Khirbet Qana (M.R. 178247; not Kafr Canna), the native place of the apostle Nathanael (John 21:2) and the site of Jesus' first miracle (John 2:1–11; 4:46–54).

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**KAP.** The eleventh letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

**KAPPA.** The tenth letter of the Greek alphabet.

**KAREAH** (PERSON) [Heb *qārēaḥ* (קָרֵחַ)]. The father of Johanan and Jonathan, two of the captains of the Judean forces in the open country (2 Kgs 25:23; Jer 40:8). These captains, including the sons of Kareah, approached Gedeliah shortly after the Exile of 587 B.C., and Gedeliah urged their cooperation with the Babylonians. Apart from his sons, nothing else is known of Kareah. The LXX lacks Jonathan and includes only Johanan as the son of Kareah. Jonathan could have easily been dropped from the text through haplography (Carroll *Jeremiah* OTL, 703). In Jeremiah 41–43, the narrative mentions only Johanan, son of Kareah (Jer 41:11; 42:1, 8; 43:2), and Jonathan is not mentioned apart from Jer 40:8. It is perhaps because Jonathan plays no role in the subsequent narrative that the RSV follows the LXX at Jer 40:8, and identifies only Johanan as the son of Kareah. In Hebrew, the name means "bald."

JOHN M. BRACKE

**KARKA** (PLACE) [Heb *qarqaʿ* (קַרְקַע)]. A station named in the description of the extreme southern border of the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:3). This place, whose name perhaps means "floor" (of earth?), is located between Addar and Azmon. The absence of Karka in Numbers 34, a parallel passage, is presumably a scribal error. The location of this ancient border station is unknown, although Aharoni (*LBHG*, 665) has proposed a tentative identification with Ain Qoseimeh (M.R. 089007), one of three small wells in the vicinity of the oasis of ʿAin el-Qudeirat (Kadesh-barnea?).

WADE R. KOTTER

**KARKOR** (PLACE) [Heb *qarqōr* (קַרְקֹר)]. According to Judg 8:10, Zebah and Zalmunna, the kings of Midian, were in Karkor. Gideon had surprised the Midianites with his 300 men in the famous story in Judges 7. The Midianites fled across the Jordan and Gideon pursued them, indicating that Karkor is in Transjordan. The hosts of Midian had been decimated, but there were still 15,000 who could regroup under their chiefs Zebah and Zalmunna. Apparently they did not think they would be pursued, for they relaxed and did not even post a guard. However, Gideon followed the caravan route E of Nobah and Jogbehah, attacked the army, and captured the two kings.

Karkor means simply "ground." The location of the site is often considered unknown. Some have suggested it is the Karkara or Qarqar S of Hamath, mentioned by Shalmaneser III (*ANET*, 278–79) and Sargon II (*ANET*, 285). Simons (*GTTOT*, 295) suggests this indicates that it was a popular name. However, this Qarqar is located in the N, while the context of Judg 8:10–13 suggests that the site was not only in Transjordan but that Gideon and his troops were traveling E, not N. Simons notes that while the

location is unknown, v 11 places it on or near the N-S desert highway, roughly on the same line as the pilgrim highway from Damascus to Mecca. Thus it passed E of Jogbehah, and Gideon pursued his quarry E of Nobah and Jogbehah. This puts Qarqar on the Wadi Sirhan in the N Hegaz, 150 miles from Jogbehah and 50 miles SE of the oasis of Azraq. To Simons, this is not a probable location. But Myers (*IB* 2: 746) accepts the Sirhan location as do Boling (*Judges* AB, 156) and Aharoni (*LBHG*, 241). Keil and Delitzsch (n.d., 353) cite Eusebius and Jerome on their identification of Karkor with the castle of Carcaria, a day's journey from Petra. Keil considers that wrong, since it is too far. The ruins of Nowakis and Jebeiha are NW of Amman. Burckhardt (1822: 612) mentioned a ruin in the neighborhood called Karkagheisch, on the left side of the road from Salt to Amman, 1.5 hours NW of Amman. This would seem to be a more logical place for the Karkor of Judg 8:10. Myers (*IB* 2) relates Jogbehah in Num 32:35 to Jubeihat (M.R. 231159), 15 miles SE of Penuel. Nobah (Num 32:42) was nearby. Boling claims Nobah's location is unknown but relates Jogbehah to Khirbet el-Ajbeihat, 7 miles NW of Amman.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**KARNAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *qarnayim* (קַרְנַיִם)]. See ASHTEROTH-KARNAIM (PLACE).

**KARTAH** (PLACE) [Heb *qartâ* (קַרְתָּה)]. Levitical city assigned to the tribe of Zebulun, which appears in Josh 21:34. There is no parallel to Kartah in the Zebulun listing in 1 Chronicles 6, nor does the city appear outside of Joshua 21. In 1 Chronicles 6 only two cities are named: Rimmono and Tabor, neither of which are mentioned in Joshua 21. There is no record of Kartah in any nonbiblical texts and consequently there are many problems surrounding the identification of this site.

Albright (*ARI*, 209) maintained that the Zebulun list of levitical cities in Joshua is "curiously corrupt." Kartah, he argued, is a repeat of Kartan from Naphtali two verses above. Albright argued that the Chronicles variant of Tabor was correct, eliminating Kartah altogether. Following Albright, Aharoni (*LBHG*, 237) reconstructed the thirty-eighth "original" levitical city as [Chisloth?]-tabor, and identified Chisloth-tabor with Iksal, a city approximately 5 km due W of Mt. Tabor.

It seems probable that in Joshua, Kartah is a repetition from the Naphtali list, and that the Chronicler has preserved the original listing. There is good reason to identify the Tabor of 1 Chr 6:62—Eng6:77 with Chisloth-tabor. In Josh 19:12, the boundary of Zebulun is described as going "eastward toward the sunrise to the boundary of Chisloth-tabor"; hence Chisloth-tabor is on the E boundary of Zebulun.

Iksal (M.R. 180232) is located on the E edge of the Esdraelon Plain on a low rocky ridge. Immediately to the N are the hills of the lower Galilee. The focus of all archaeological work at Iksal has been on rock-cut tombs and caves, although the earliest date given to the tombs is Roman. There is no indication of any earlier occupation at Iksal.

While Albright argued for Tabor on textual critical grounds, Abel (*GP*, 299), Wright (*WHAB*, 123), and Peterson (1977: 114–15) concentrated on geographical issues. There is evidence geographically to support Iksal as the levitical city in Zebulun. The major drawback to Iksal is the lack of archaeological information dating to the Iron or LB periods. Until there is further archaeological work done at Iksal, the ancient occupation of this possible site for Chisloth-tabor remains unknown.

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JOHN L. PETERSON

**KARTAN** (PLACE) [Heb *qartân* (קַרְתָּן)]. Third levitical city mentioned in the Joshua list for Naphtali (21:32). In 1 Chr 6:61—Eng6:76 the third Naphtali city is Kiriathaim. Aharoni (*LBHG*, 105) interprets this as a variation on the same name. Years before, Albright (1945: 72) had argued the same position by maintaining the name is preserved in its Galilaean dialectical form in the Chronicler. The only OT reference to Kartan (Kiriathaim) is in the Levitical City lists. It does not appear in the Naphtali distribution list of Joshua nor is it mentioned in any nonbiblical lists. There is no agreement among scholars when it comes to identifying Kartan with an ancient site. However, there are two tells considered possible candidates: Khirbet el-Quneitireh (Tell Raqqat) and Khirbet el-Qureiyeh.

Tell Raqqat (M.R. 199245) has been tentatively identified as Kartan by Aharoni (*LBHG*, 380). It is located 1 km N of modern Tiberias on a hill rising just above Ain el-Fulîyeh. There are impressive sightlines from Tell Raqqat. Extending to the N is the coast of the Sea of Galilee. Here the important Via Maris trade route connected with the Trunk Highway between Egypt and Damascus at Hazor. Directly to the NW of Tell Raqqat is the narrow Arbel Pass, flanked by mountains on both sides. To the S of Tell Raqqat the coastal road continues through Tiberias and Hammath.

Tell Raqqat was mentioned by early geographers, but very few descriptions of the site were given. E. Robinson (1841: 394) passed Tell Raqqat on his visit to the Galilee in 1838, but did not give any details. G. A. Smith (1899: 289–90) commented that Tiberias occupied the site or the neighborhood of Tell Raqqat. There have been numerous visits to the site by archaeologists. Albright (1926: 26) made the first identification at the site by identifying the EB and MB periods. He then argued that the Iron Age town was either under the Bronze Age site or under modern-day Tiberias. In 1949 R. Amiran identified Iron Age pottery. In 1952 an excavation was conducted at Tell Raqqat by the Israel Department of Antiquities (see Aharoni 1953). EB, MB, LB, much Iron Age and a few Persian, Byzantine, and Arab pottery was identified. The levitical city survey made the same identification (except for the Persian) and found each century in Iron I and Iron II represented. In his levitical city study, Peterson (1977: 95) suggested that Tell Raqqat was biblical Hammath, dating from the EB period to Iron II inclusively. During the Roman period Hammath moved to Hammân Ṭabrîyeh, where it flourished during the Roman and Byzantine periods.

Khirbet el-Qureiyeh has been identified with biblical Kartan by G. E. Wright (*WHAB*, 125) and J. Simons (*GTTOT*, 206). The tell is located just N of the present boundary of Israel in the Lebanese mountains of upper Galilee. Khirbet el-Qureiyeh is approximately 6 km W and 1 km N of Tell Qades. This site is close to Aytarun (M.R. 194280), a Lebanese village 3 km N and 3 km W of the present boundary. Because of the plateaus and mountains in upper Galilee, transportation is difficult. The nearest road passing to the S is at Tell Qades. It is not surprising that no geographer ever mentioned Khirbet el-Qureiyeh in their travels.

Nevertheless, following G. E. Wright, Peterson and more recently Boling (1985: 25) have identified Kartan with Khirbet el-Qureiyeh, a site located in the NW section of Naphtali, only a few km from Asher and within 20 km of the Phoenician city, Tyre.

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JOHN L. PETERSON

**KASHRUTH.** See MEAL CUSTOMS (JEWISH DIETARY LAWS).

**KASSITE LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

**KATTATH** (PLACE) [Heb *qaṭṭāt* (קַטָּת)]. A town in the territory of the tribe of Zebulun (Josh 19:15). The majority of scholars equate Kattath with the Kitron of Judg 1:30, since both toponyms occur in verses which also mention the town of Nahalal (see Boling *Judges* AB, 445). However, Kallai (*HGB*, 418) notes that there is no reason to assume that the two toponyms are either variants of or derived via scribal errors from a single original place name.

Abel (*GP* 2: 415) took note of traditions which located Kattath at Kh. Qutteneh (M.R. 153226). While both the ancient and modern names are superficially similar, the ruin is located on the SW slopes of Mt. Carmel, well outside the area which the tribe of Zebulun seems to have controlled. The exact location of Kattath remains unknown, but Aharoni suggested that the NW edge of the Jezreel Valley is the region in which Kattath should be sought (*LBHG*, 235).

MELVIN HUNT

**KEBARA CAVE** (M.R. 144218). Kebara Cave is to date the southernmost of the known prehistoric cave sites on Mt. Carmel. It is located on its W flanks, about 3 km from the Mediterranean Sea, and 13 km S of *Naḥal Ha-Me῾arot* (Wadi el-Mughara). The cave is situated 60 m above sea level and consists of a large hall, with an open chimney, 20 m above, in the ceiling.

The Kebara Cave was discovered by M. Stekelis in 1929. A trial sounding was conducted in 1930 by D. Garrod and T. D. McCown which revealed Natufian remains. F. Turville-Petre and D. Baines conducted additional excavations the following year.

The stratigraphy in the cave, established by Turville-Petre and synthesized after his death by Garrod, is as follows: layer A: Bronze Age to Recent; layer B: Lower Natufian; layer C: Kebaran; layers $D_1$ and $D_2$: Aurignacian; layer E: Aurignacian; and layer F: Levalloiso-Mousterian.

Further excavations were conducted between 1951 and 1965 by M. Stekelis, who noticed that the stratified remains dip markedly toward the center of the cave. His excavations concentrated on the Upper Paleolithic (Aurignacian) layers and especially the Mousterian levels, to a depth of 8.5 m below the surface. The bedrock was not reached.

Since 1982, Kebara Cave is being excavated by a Joint Israeli-French team, headed by O. Bar-Yosef, B. Vandermeersch, and B. Arensburg.

The following geologically based units have been established: I–III Upper Paleolithic; IV–VI Transitional Period (or industry of a mixed nature); and VII–XIII Mousterian.

Kebara gave its name to an Epipaleolithic flint industry—the Kebaran—typified by predominantly microlithic tools.

Layer A, the most recent stratum, contained sherds from the Bronze Age to recent times.

Layer B is attributed to the Lower Natufian. A collective burial pit was uncovered which contained adult and infant skeletons. Noteworthy among the flint tools were the numerous sickle blades and lunates, many of which were retouched with Helewan retouch. The rich assemblage of bone tools included points, bipoints, hooks, harpoons, needles, combs, and four sickle hafts decorated with carved animal heads. The jewelry consisted of pear-shaped bone pendants, pierced bones, teeth, and shells. Among the basalt objects, some were decorated.

Layer C consists of the Kebapan industry with microliths greatly outnumbering normal-sized tools. Among the microliths, a characteristic backed bladelet, obliquely truncated, known by the name "Kebaran bladelet" is well represented.

Layers D and E are assigned to the local Aurignacian. Layer D, with its two sublayers, parallels the Upper Paleolithic IV of the Neuville division. It is characterized by many-nosed and steep scrapers.

Layer E parallels the Upper Paleolithic III and is characterized by a large number of El-Wad points, and a decrease in the number of the Aurignacian scrapers. One of the main characteristics of the Aurignacian levels is a preponderance of large circular hearths, with remains of charred animal bones.

Layer F is assigned to an upper phase of the Mousterian. Several living floors were distinguished, marked by hearths with charcoal and ashes, broken animal bones and teeth, as well as numerous flint

tools. A concentration of refuse along the walls marked the kitchen midden areas. Gazelle, *Dama, Capra sp.,* and *Cervus elaphus* were the most common animals hunted.

The flint industry is characterized by a high proportion of well-made delicate flakes, blades, and points in Levalloisian technique as well as many side scrapers of various types.

A $C_{14}$ date of 41,000 ± 1,000 B.P. was obtained for the upper part of the Mousterian layer.

In 1965 at a lower level, the buried skeleton of a 7-month-old infant with Neanderthal characteristics was unearthed. Another Neanderthal skeleton, that of a young man, was found in a recent excavation in unit XI.

The overall picture which emerges from the finds is that the Kebara Cave served as a multi-activity center—as a home base, a workshop for tool making, and as a burial site.

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TAMAR SCHICK

**KEDAR** (PERSON) [Heb *qēdār* (קֵדָר)]. The second son of Ishmael (Gen 25:13; 1 Chr 1:29). The "sons of Ishmael" constituted a group of N Arabian tribes who flourished from the 8th through the 4th centuries B.C. Kedar, attested from 738 B.C. well into the Hellenistic period, was the most powerful among them (Eph'al 1982: 223–27; Knauf 1989: 66, 96–108). See ISHMAELITES.

In Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian texts, the name of the tribe is given as *Qidr, Qidar/Qidâr, Qadr, Qadar/Qadâr,* and *Qudar/Qudâr* (Eph'al 1982: 223–24). As a personal name, *qdr* occurs in Safaitic, Thamudic, Nabatean *(qdrw),* and Standard Arabic (*Qidr* and *Qudâr*). Among more recent bedouin tribes, there were *Qudêriyyah* and *Qudêrât.* The names are derived from Ar *qadara* "to decree" or "to possess power"; this etymology matches the role played by the tribe of Kedar within the Ishmaelite confederacy (Knauf 1989: 66).

In Jer 2:10 (late 7th century B.C.), Kedar and the *Kittîm* ("Cypriots," Greeks) mark the E and the W end of the world as it was known to the prophet. Jer 49:28–33, an "oracle against a proud desert power" (Dumbrell 1972), may reflect Nebuchadnezzar's Arabian campaign of 599/598 B.C. Kedar is mentioned in the heading and in the introduction of the oracle only (v 28), and may belong to its final editing rather than to its first utterance. Verses 29–33 call the inhabitants of the desert, who own camels, sheep, and tents, "kingdom of Hazor" (v 28), "inhabitants of Hazor" (v 30), and "Hazor" (v 33). "Hazor" does not refer to the well-known city in N Palestine, but to "the country of *ḥăṣērîm,"* hamlets and/or fortified enclosures (cf. Gen 25:16; Isa 42:11). The description of the Arab hair style in Jer 49:32 refers back to Jer 25:23–24, where the expression "the people with the edge of their hair cropped" denotes the bedouin.

Iconographically, this "Arabian hairdress" is well attested from the 6th century B.C. to the 1st century A.D. (Knauf 1989: 103 n. 564).

Ezek 27:21, a part of the list dealing with the "trade partners of Tyre," credits the "princes of Kedar" with delivering sheep to the Phoenicians. Because this list still considers Edom to be a flourishing area (27:16), it should antedate Edom's conquest by Nabonidus in 553/552 B.C. For "Trito-Isaiah," the Kedarites are still paradigmatic sheep-breeders, Isa 60:7 (late 6th century B.C.). Knauf (1989: 109) assumes that "Kedar and Nebaioth" in Isa 60:7 already refer to the Nabateans, who, as a clan or a subtribe of Kedar, had immigrated into Edom in the course of the 6th century. A cuneiform tablet from Ṭawîlân near Petra, dated to the 1st year of Darius (probably Darius I, i.e., 521/520 B.C.), contains a contract for the delivery of small cattle to Harran in N Syria (Dalley 1984).

"Deutero-Isaiah," who believes Kedar to live in the desert as well as between rocks and mountains (Isa 42:11), may equally have located Kedar in the country that previously was Edom (the LXX renders *yšby sl*ʿ "rock-people" as "inhabitants of Petra"). No firm date can be proposed for Isa 21:16–17. The two verses announce Kedar's doom within three years, and characterize the Kedarites as bowmen (v 17; cf. Gen 21:20). These verses form an appendix (in prose and of unknown date) to the poetical oracle "on the wilderness" (Isa 21:13–15), which may comment on Nabonidus' march of conquest in 552 B.C. (Galling 1963; Lindsay 1976). The author of this appendix may have added his note on Kedar, because he missed the bedouin in 21:13–15, where only two N Arabian cities, Dedan and Tema, are mentioned. Relations between Tema and Kedar are documented in Babylonian cuneiform correspondence (*UET* IV 167, 5–11; Ebeling 1949: 163–64, #303; Knauf 1989: 75, n. 393), and in an Aramaic inscription on a jar (5th/4th centuries B.C.) found at Tema (Livingstone et al. 1983: 108), which reads: "1 wine. Kedar."

Psalm 120 is either a lament by an exile in bedouin country (cf. the arrows and the charcoal from juniper wood, a typical plant of the N Arabian desert [v 4]), or a complaint by a peaceful mind who compares his compatriots (in postexilic Jerusalem?) to bloodthirsty bedouin (vv 2–7). Meshech, evoked in parallel to the "tents of Kedar" in v 5, may not refer to a region in Asia Minor (as in Gen 10:2; Ezek 27:13; 32:26; 38:2; 39:1), but rather to a clan or subtribe of Kedar, Ar **Mâsik* (Knauf 1989: 72, n. 363).

Geshem, Nehemiah's adversary (see GESHEM) who controlled S Palestine and Sinai, S Transjordan and NW Arabia around the middle of the 5th century B.C., originated from the tribe of Kedar, according to an inscription left behind at Tell el-Maskhûta by his son (Dumbrell 1971). The realm of these two Kedarites comprised all of the later *Arabia Petraea.* This observation lends support to the assumption that the Nabateans emerged out of the Kedarites. Two texts from the 3d century B.C. refer to the Nabateans under the name of Kedar: Cant 1:5 and the Minaean "lists of hierodules".

Cant 1:5 mentions the black tents of the tribes of Kedar and *Shalmah* (see SHALMA, which MT vocalizes as "Solomon"). In the 3d century B.C., Shalmah was a tribe to the S of the Nabateans. This does not leave many choices among the contemporary Arab tribes for the identification of Kedar.

The so-called Minaean "lists of hierodules" (for the texts, cf. Garbini 1974: 115–24, M 392–97) are actually epigraphic marriage certificates, set up in the main temple of the Minaean capital by merchants from one of their trading colonies in Arabia or on the shores of the Mediterranean who had married women from their guest country and now publicly announced their marriages back at home. These lists, mainly from the 3d century B.C., contain all the "addresses" of their trading partners known from other sources—with the exception of the Nabateans. All major native cities or tribes of the wives can be identified—with the exception of Kedar, who occur three times in these lists. Thus, from Cant 1:5 and the Minaean lists it can be concluded that the Nabateans were known as Kedarites to at least some of their neighbors as late as the 3d century B.C. (Knauf 1989: 106–8).

Pliny the Elder is the last author who referred to Kedar. According to *HN* 5. 11 (12), 65, the *Cedrei* live S of the Sinai peninsula, the *Cauchbei* (sic!) E of them, and both have the Nabateans for neighbors. This geography does not make sense. Pliny may quote a source from the 4th/3d centuries B.C. which he did not fully understand. His source may have tried to depict the emancipation of the new Nabatean tribe from its previous subordinate role within the tribe of Kedar.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**KEDEMAH** (PERSON) [Heb *qēdmâ* (קֵדְמָה)]. A son of Ishmael (Gen 25:15; 1 Chr 1:31). All the sons of Ishmael are prominent N Arabian tribes or cities of the 1st millennium B.C. (see ISHMAELITES), more or less amply attested as such in both biblical and extrabiblical sources—with the exception of Kedemah. For Kedemah as a personal name, one may compare Ar (and Safaitic) *Qudâmah.* Because Kedemah figures last in the list of Ishmael's twelve sons, the name can be interpreted as a personification of the "people of the East" (Heb *qedem;* see EAST, PEOPLE OF THE) which was added to the sons of Ishmael in order to make them number twelve (Knauf 1989: 81).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**KEDEMOTH** (PLACE) [Heb *qĕdēmôt* (קְדֵמוֹת)]. Third levitical city allotted to the tribe of Reuben. In Josh 21:37, Kedemoth is missing from the MT and the verse must be reconstructed. In 1 Chr 6:64—Eng6:79, the verse is intact. Besides the two references to Kedemoth as a levitical city, it appears in two other verses in the OT. In Deut 2:26, Moses sends messengers "from the wilderness of Kedemoth" to Sihon in an attempt to receive permission for the Hebrews to pass through Sihon's land. This request is denied. It is important to note the phrase "wilderness of Kedemoth," for this is one of the few geographical descriptions given relating to this city. The other reference to Kedemoth is in the distribution/inheritance list of Reuben in Josh 13:18, which supplies no additional information.

Outside of the OT, only Eusebius (*Onomast.* 114: 5–6) in the 4th century makes reference to this levitical city. Briefly he restates Deut 2:26, asserting that Moses sent messengers from the wilderness of Kedemoth to Sihon, king of the Amorites. As early as Eusebius, the exact location of this site was probably lost and no further mention is made of the site until modern geographers started to associate different archaeological sites with the biblical city.

There is not universal agreement regarding the location of biblical Kedemoth and the geographers give their suggestions tentatively. Kedemoth is a town situated N of the Arnon. It is probably an outpost toward the desert. It is impossible to define its location more precisely. Three possible sites are usually considered to be Kedemoth: Qasr ez-Zaʿferan, es-Saliyeh, and er-Remeil.

There are two Qasr ez-Zaʿferans, located about 1 km apart. The mounds are approximately 10 to 12 km to the E of Khirbet Libb and 4 to 5 km to the NNW of Tell el-Medeiyineh. Both are located in a group of low hills and although the other hills do not seem to be fortified, these two mounds were.

The most N mound was the main settlement; this Glueck has called Qasr ez-Zaʿferan I. It is the larger of the two sites, and a Nabatean fortress had been built on the foundation of an earlier and larger structure. The pottery found at Qasr ez-Zaʿferan I was Early Iron I, Early Iron II and Nabatean.

Qasr ez-Zaʿferan II is located about 1 km S of ez-Zaʿferan I. There is also a large Nabatean fortress built with the same type of blocks as the fortress at ez-Zaʿferan. Most of the sherds found belonged to the Nabatean period, together with plain and painted Byzantine. A few sherds could be dated to Early Iron I. Glueck (1934: 30) argued that the Iron I sherds were carried to ez-Zaʿferan II, as he believed the site was not actually occupied during Early Iron I. There were also decorated Moabite sherds. The most serious

argument against this identification has been raised by van Zyl (1960: 75, 85). He has maintained that Qasr ez-Za῾feran is located too far to the N and would like to see it placed more to the SE. Van Zyl argues this on the grounds of Num 21:13 and Deut 2:26, that Kedemoth should be located N of the Arnon River on the E edge of the desert. The site he proposes for biblical Kedemoth is es-Saliyeh.

Es-Saliyeh is located N of Qasr Abu el-Kharaq on the N side of Wadi Salieyh. It is a large site, situated on a rise at the S edge of a fertile plateau. Presumably, es-Saliyeh depended upon the cultivation of its arable land. At the site there remain many ruined buildings, cisterns, and low mounds, dating to the early Iron Age and rebuilt by the Nabateans. The pottery found at es-Saliyeh has included LB, Early Iron I–II and Nabatean sherds. Van Zyl maintains that es-Saliyeh is biblical Kedemoth because it borders the desert. Although the description in the MT does not explicitly state that Kedemoth borders the desert (the reference need not be to more than pasture lands), the argument is interesting particularly because es-Saliyeh lies right on the W edge of the Desert of Kedemoth.

The third suggestion for the location of biblical Kedemoth is er-Remeil, situated about 3.5 km SW of Khirbet el-Medeiyineh. From the S it overlooks the Wadi re-Remeil, which is an extension of the Wadi eth-Themed. Positioned on a high point, er-Remeil can be seen for kilometers in all directions. At this site we have another example of the extensive fortress system in Moab during the Iron Age. The pottery that has been identified at er-Rumeil dates to the 9th and 8th centuries B.C.

The levitical city Kedemoth was probably located at es-Saliyeh. The biblical texts regarding this city are scanty and there are no references to it outside of the Bible; however, Van Zyl's reconstruction is convincing. See Peterson 1977: 671–86.

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JOHN L. PETERSON

**KEDESH** (PLACE) [Heb *qedeš* (קֶדֶשׁ)]. **1.** A variant form of KADESH-BARNEA.

**2.** A levitical city in Issachar (1 Chr 6:57), assigned to the sons of Gershon. The parallel version (Josh 21:28) is KISHION; therefore, some scholars maintained that the version in 1 Chr 6:57 is a corruption inspired by Kedesh in Galilee in 1 Chr 6:61.

Scholars supporting the version of 1 Chr 6:57 identify Kedesh with Tell Abu Kudeis, a small mound in the Jezreel valley between Taanach and Megiddo. Some scholars advanced the theory that this mound should also be identified with Kedesh near where Sisera was killed (Judg 4:11). Others maintain that this event occurred near Kedesh in Naphtali (see #3 below), where also Barak would have gathered his people in the battle against Sisera (Judg 4:6). However, this latter view has been rejected by scholars who maintain that the two are different localities and that Kedesh in Naphtali should be located near the plain of Zaanaim (literally "Alon Besananim," Judg 4:11) which is between Mount Tabor and the Jordan river. They claim that it is implausible that Sisera fled "on his feet" (Judg 4:17) all the way to Kedesh in Naphtali, which was among Israelite possessions. In addition, Judg 5:19 places the battle "in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo," which supports the identification of Tel Abu Kudeis with the place where Sisera died.

The excavations in Tel Abu Kudeis revealed finds dating from the 12th century B.C.E. (which is, according to many, the date of the Deborah War) to the 9th century B.C.E. Among the finds in level IV (9th century), are a sanctuary and a four-horn altar which testify to a tradition of a sacred place. See also Kallai *HGB*, 228, 232–35, 472; *Historical Ency. of Palestine* 4: 816 (in Hebrew); *EAEHL* 3: 702–3.

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RAMI ARAV

**3.** The first levitical city mentioned in the Naphtali distribution in Galilee. Besides occurring in the levitical city lists of Josh 21:32 and 1 Chr 6:61—Eng6:76, Kedesh is one of the Cities of Refuge (Josh 20:7). It appears as one of the cities given in the allotment to Naphtali (Josh 19:37). In other OT accounts the king of Kedesh was defeated by Joshua (Josh 12:22), although Noth (*Josua* HAT, 73) argues that this Kedesh must be identified with the Kedesh in the Jezreel valley. Kedesh was the home of Barak (Judg 4:6) and it is where Deborah and Barak gathered their followers for the battle with Sisera (Judg 4:1–10). Aharoni (*LBHG*, 223–24) associates the Kedesh in Naphtali of the Deborah narrative with Kh. Qedish (M.R. 202237). 2 Kgs 15:29 tells how Tiglath-pileser, during the reign of Pekah, captured Kedesh and took the people captive. It was here that Jonathan Maccabeus defeated the army of Demetrius (1 Macc 11:63, 73) and it is mentioned in Josephus (*JW* 2.459) as being a Tyrian village.

There is basic agreement that Kedesh in Galilee is to be identified with Tell Qades (M.R. 200279), located in the hill country NW of Lake Huleh in upper Galilee. It lies in the E zone overlooking the N part of the Jordan valley. Tell Qades' location is strategic for the whole Galilee region. It stands at one end of a small but fertile plain. This area has spacious tablelands with an abundance of springs. The highest parts of upper Galilee are mountainous, making habitation difficult and transportation nearly impossible. One of the major roads from the Jordan valley to the Phoenician coast passed by Tell Qades leading W to Abdon and Achzib in the Acco Plain. This was a rugged road—the climb out of the Jordan valley is steep and treacherous, while the continuation of the road in the mountains as it passes Tell Qades on its way to the W coast is difficult. This was nevertheless one of the major lines of communication, making Kedesh one of the most important cities in upper Galilee.

E. Robinson (1841: 355) first identified Tell Qades with biblical Kedesh in Naphtali. He made his identification by associating the name of Tell Qades with biblical Kedesh. The early geographers, including C. W. Wilson, C. R. Conder, and H. H. Kitchener (*SWP* 1: 228) and Guérin (1880: 355–62), all concentrated their efforts on the tombs and mausoleums. It was not until Albright's visit in 1925 (1925: 12) that the different historical periods were identified. Since Albright there have been numerous surveys and soundings conducted at Tell Qades, including a probe conducted by Y. Aharoni (1953: 263). The occupations that have been identified through probes and surveys include the EB, MB, LB, Iron I, Iron II, Hellenistic, Roman, and Arab periods. See also Peterson 1977: 67–76.

Tell Qades is one of the most northern sites associated with the levitical cities W of the Jordan. This means that this refuge city was not only strategically located geographically, but it was also an important communication center between the Canaanites/Phoenicians/Tyrians and Israel. See also QADES, TELL.

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**KEDRON** (PLACE) [Gk *Kedrōn* (Κεδρων)]. A town fortified by Cendebeus, one of the commanders of Antiochus VII, who wanted to use the town as a staging area for raids against Judea ca. 139–138 B.C. (1 Macc 15:38–41). This action provoked a military response from Simon the Maccabee and his sons, who routed Cendebeus' forces and forced them to retreat to Kedron (1 Macc 16:1–9); it is not clear whether Kedron was then destroyed by the Maccabean force (v 10 seems to imply that only Azotus was burned; but see Goldstein, *1 Maccabees* AB, 522). The passages clearly indicate that Kedron was in the coastal plain (15:38) located in the vicinity of Jamnia and Azotus (Ashdod), not too far from Gazara (=Gezer). Abel (*GP*) was the first to identify Kedron with the village of Qaṭrā (M.R. 129136), which may be derived

from an original Qiṭron (*GTTOT,* 147). Such a location would have accommodated military forays up the Sorek valley into the Shephelah and W hill country of Judah.

GARY A. HERION

**KEFAR BIR‹AM** (M.R. 189272). The Arabic name for a Roman ruin NW of Gush Halav (see GISCALA) and just NE of Sasa, located alongside an abandoned Maronite village. Bir‹am is the site where two ancient synagogues have been reported. One of these has not survived but was said by medieval Jewish travelers to be in the village. When H. Kohl and C. Watzinger surveyed the site in 1905, the remains of the synagogue in the town had already been lost. The discussion, therefore, focuses only on the restored remains of the synagogue just S of the modern village.

The site is not mentioned in any ancient sources, but was doubtless a very important Jewish town by the 3d century C.E. (Middle Roman times). Gush Halav is one of very few other settlements in this general area to have had two synagogues, which underscores the importance of the settlement. Depending on the identification of ancient MEIRON with Mero of Josephus, it is possible that Bir‹am was outside the borders of Israel and was in the municipality of Tyre (Avi-Yonah 1977: 134), which might explain its absence in ancient sources.

The synagogue was restored by the Israel Department of Antiquities and is maintained by the National Parks Authority, but no excavation report on the site exists. It is a monumental basilical structure 15.2 m wide and 20 m long, with a triple doorway on its S facade that is oriented S toward Jerusalem. A well-preserved porch, 5.35 m wide and supported by eight columns, runs the length of the facade. In conception and design the synagogue is similar to Meiron, which also has a porch at the S end. The facade wall of the synagogue is particularly well-preserved and is constructed of ashlar stones. The central portal, 2.65 m high and 1.42 m wide, is elegant with its lintel depicting two Winged victories bearing a wreath. The figures, however, have been purposefully destroyed. Windows have been placed above each of the three portals; on the sill of the E window is the Hebrew inscription: "Built by Eliezer Son of Yudan."

The interior of the building is paved with large flagstones. Only one column and several pedestals were found *in situ.* Judging from the pedestals and capitals found in the porch, the columns had attic bases and the capitals were molded with ovolo, cavetto, and abacus. The central nave is surrounded by aisles on all three sides. Two rows of six columns run N–S, and two additional columns close the N end where two heart-shaped columns stand in the corners. Although Avigad (1977: 707) follows Kohl and Watzinger in drawing an entrance on the E wall, it is not clear that there is justification for it (Kohl and Watzinger 1916: Pl. XII). Indeed, the Israelis have restored the W wall with a side entrance. No remains of any upper story were found.

The synagogue is among the best-preserved ruins in all of Israel today and presents a dramatic picture of the remnants of the Galilean highland culture from Roman times.

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ERIC M. MEYERS

**KEFAR GIL‹ADI** (M.R. 203294). A modern kibbutz in the extreme N of Israel ca. 20 km E of Tyre. Two sites have long been known in the area—the large mound N of the kibbutz where the former Arab village of Abil el-Qamḥ once stood (M.R. 204296; identified with biblical Abel-beth-maacah, *GP* 2: 354), and Khirbet Niḥa, which lies NW of the kibbutz and was occupied from the 1st century B.C. on. In 1957 a survey was conducted in the area surrounding this kibbutz, revealing the existence of three new sites: (1) a site NE of the Rawaḥina spring which yielded Neolithic and Chalcolithic remains (see A below); (2) an area of tombs and mausoleums S of the kibbutz, called Givat ha-Shoket (see B below); and (3) a small, flat mound near a spring S of Givat ha-Shoket (see C below).

**A. The Rawaḥina Spring Site**

During excavations in 1957 and 1962, an area of 200 square dunams was exposed containing four distinguishable strata (3 Chalcolithic and 1 Neolithic). The top stratum (I) contained the lower portions of round stone silos, the pottery of which resembles Ghassulian ware. In strata II–III were uncovered foundations of a building containing pottery similar to the Chalcolithic ware of Jericho VIII and Wadi Rabah (level II).

Stratum IV contained two older occupation phases: IVa (the upper phase) contained both a wall over 1 m thick built of large rubble stone, and a clay fertility figurine; IVb (the lower and oldest phase) rested on virgin soil. The flint tools (axes, adzes, hoes, blades, sickle blades, arrowheads, and spearheads) were similar in both phases, and most of the pottery from both phases resembles the "dark-faced burnished ware" known from Cilicia and the Amuq plain (see Hole 1959). In phase IVb were found sherds of cord-marked ware known from excavations at Tabat el-Ḥamam in N Syria (Braidwood 1940). Radiocarbon tests of charcoal from that phase fixed a date of ca. 6900 B.C. (± 320 years), thus the pottery from this phase represents some of the earliest found in the ancient Near East, roughly comparable in date to the earliest pottery excavated at Chatal Hüyük in Anatolia. These Neolithic remains found near the Rawaḥina spring are much closer in character to those found in Neolithic sites in Lebanon and Syria than are those excavated further S in Palestine (Kaplan 1959).

**B. The Givat Ha-Shoket Mausoleum**

The excavations here in 1961 exposed the lower part of a Roman period mausoleum (9 × 9 m) with walls 1.8 m thick (Kaplan 1967). Three superimposed layers of burials were found on the floor. The topmost level (stratum I) yielded an empty sarcophagus, with the name "Hezekiah" inscribed on one of its short sides.

The intermediate level (stratum II) included a complex of 7 rectangular graves filling a cavity below the floor of the mausoleum. Although most of the graves contained coffins made of thin lead sheets, one had a heavy lead coffin ornamented with reliefs depicting Hercules in a gabled frame, a roaring lion also in a gabled frame, Corinthian columns, and panels depicting grape clusters, vine tendrils, and birds. Inside it was found a rare gold diadem inlaid with semiprecious stones and also a gold chain bracelet with greenish stones. Several glass vessels of the 3d century A.D. were found in some of the graves.

The lower level (stratum III), stratigraphically underlying the 7 graves, yielded a marble sarcophagus partly concealed in the rock. One of its long sides bore a Gk inscription (painted in red) with the name "Heraklides." Inside was a sheet-lead coffin (actually the inner lining of a wooden coffin) containing a human skeleton.

This stratigraphy suggests that the mausoleum was actually used for burials in two separate periods. Hezekiah's sarcophagus actually constitutes the oldest artifact in the mausoleum; indeed, the mausoleum seems to have been built originally to preserve it, probably by Heraklides, his son, who hoped to be buried there himself. Apparently when the pit was dug for Heraklides' own sarcophagus, Hezekiah's was shifted aside and then later restored to its original place. This first period dates not later than the Severan dynasty (A.D. 193–235), and accounts for the remains in strata I and III. The second period begins in the time of Diocletian, when the first graves in stratum II were dug beneath the floor of the mausoleum ca. A.D. 290–295; the final grave was probably dug ca. A.D. 310. Once again, the sarcophagus of Hezekiah was moved aside during the digging of these tombs, and later was returned to its original location (thus its final stratigraphic position *above* stratum II).

**C. The Mound S of Givat Ha-Shoket**

This small mound was occupied mainly in the Israelite period, and may well be biblical Janoah, one of the towns in Naphtali conquered by Tiglath-pileser III (2 Kgs 15:29). This identification is based both on the fact that Janoah appears in the biblical list after Ijon and Abel-beth-maachah, and before Kedesh and Hazor, and on the similarity between its name and that of Khirbet Niḥa nearby (which was only occupied from the 1st century B.C. on, when the area of Givat ha-Shoket served as its cemetery).

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JACOB KAPLAN

**KEHELATHAH** (PLACE) [Heb *qĕhelātâ* (קְהֵלָתָה)]. The seventh encampment of the Israelites after leaving the wilderness of Sinai, as listed in Num 33:22–23, where it is placed between Rissah and Mount Shepher. Many scholars suggest that this is a duplicate for Makheloth in Num 33:25–26, since LXX preserves very similar names for both: Makellath in 33:22–23 and Makeloth in 33:25–26 (*GTTOT*, 256). Both names also have similar meanings, "assembly," or the like. A suggested location is Kuntilet Ajjrud, also called Kuntilet Qraye (*GP*, 214; M.R. 094956). For a discussion of the location of any of the places associated with the journey of the Israelites from Egypt through Sinai, see DOPHKAH.

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JEFFREY R. ZORN

**KEILAH** (PLACE) [Heb *qĕʿîlâ* (קְעִילָה)]. A fortified town of Judah (Josh 15:44; Kallai HGB, 335). Keilah was located in the E part of the Shephelah about 13.5 km NW of Hebron. The important role Keilah played in OT history is reflected in references to the site both in the Bible (Josh 15:44; 1 Samuel 23; 1 Chr 4:29; Neh 3:17–18) and the Amarna Tablets. Today scholars identify the ancient town with the present-day site of Kh. Qila (M.R. 150113; Aharoni *LBHG*, 123; Kallai *HGB*, 381, 385).

During the Amarna period, Keilah was caught in a struggle between two Canaanite city-state kings, Shuwardata of Hebron, and Abdu-Ḫeba of Jerusalem. Located near the border between the two regions, the troops of Keilah became part of Shuwardata's military force as he made encroachments on Abdu-Ḫeba's territory. Abdu-Ḫeba, who saw Shuwardata's tactics as a violation of the agreement between the city-states and Egypt, protested the violation and the use of the troops of Keilah, and appealed for assistance to the king of Egypt (*ANET*, 489, nos. 289 and 290; Aharoni *LBHG*, 174).

Several features combined to make Keilah an important site at different times in biblical history. It was located in the E or upper part of the Shephelah, the band of the Shephelah nearest the central hill country. It was situated on a N-S route which connected a number of sites in the E Shephelah (*RAB*, 85, 87). It was a fortified town which had "gates and bars" (1 Sam 23:7), perhaps part of a line of fortresses running N and S in the E Shephelah. Also, the E Shephelah, including the area in which Keilah was located, most likely was forested. Perhaps for this reason the area around Keilah was not heavily populated, especially during the 2d millennium B.C.E. (*RAB*, 86). However, the thickets of the forest offered protection for those seeking refuge.

David attempted to use Keilah as his headquarters and a place of refuge from Saul. He gained control of the site in a battle with the Philistines who had attacked the town and robbed the threshing floors of the inhabitants (1 Sam 23:1–6). However, his attempted plan was foiled by the citizens of Keilah, who apparently were loyal to the authority of Saul (1 Sam 23:7–13).

During the period of the divided kingdom, Keilah, along with eight other towns, was a part of the district of Mareshah (*LBHG*, 353). During the period of restoration, the Persian period, Keilah was a district capital near the SW border of the province of Judah, a province which had been drastically reduced in size (*LBHG*, 416–18). Apparently Keilah and other towns in that district were repaired and resettled by the returnees from Babylonian territory (Neh 3:17–18). According to Eusebius, the prophet Habakkuk was buried at Keilah.
LAMOINE F. DEVRIES

**KEISAN, TELL** (M.R. 164253). A site in the middle of the plain of Acre.

**A. Name and Identification**

The modern Arabic name of the site, Tell Keisan, may signify "of treachery" and is attested from the 12th century onward in Arab chronicles. It presumably refers to a military event now forgotten. None of the proposed identifications of Keisan with a biblical city is convincing. Kishion in Josh 19:20 (R.

Dussaud and A. Alt) relies on the similarity of sound with Tel Qison (or Kison) read on certain maps, but the name is mistaken; besides, the Kishon runs much farther to the S. The same comment applies to Allammelech (Josh 19:26): the wadi of that name passes too far to the S. Achshaph (Josh 19:25) is a more serious candidate, since it is often mentioned in association with Acco. See ACHSHAPH. The papyrus Anastasi I speaks of Achshaph and seems to place it to the S of Acco, which is not the case with Tell Keisan, and implies that a city separates the two, which is not possible. But this Egyptian text is not easy to interpret. Another possibility is Mishal (Josh 19:26; Y. Aharoni), but no argument supports this view; three or four other cities mentioned in the list of Joshua are also possible candidates, but there is no means of deciding among them. Therefore any reference to the Bible is problematic, and it is best to be somewhat cautious. It is probable that this region was never under Israelite control. The lists in Joshua owe a great deal to later redactors, and may derive from a register of postexilic Jewish communities. One theory suggests that Keisan was one of the twenty cities granted by Solomon to the king of Tyre (1 Kgs 9:11–13), and hence belonged to the region of Kabul. There is a village with this name about 8 km from Keisan, but it is unclear if it should be identified with the Kabul of 1 Kings 9:10–14. The text of Kings mentions Kabul in Galilee without any further details. According to the list in Joshua 19, Kabul is situated rather to the N, in what is now S Lebanon. The village of Kabul is the Cabor of the Crusaders, which may reflect an older place name close to the Arabic *kebir,* for example, and would suggest that the Kabul of today is a recent name. In any case, the Bible tells us that Solomon's gift did not please the king of Tyre, which would not fit the agricultural and commercial wealth of the plain of Acco. What is true is that Keisan belongs to the frontier region between the hills of lower Galilee and the coast (S Phoenicia).

**B. Description**

The tell is an imposing mass in the heart of the plain of Acco. The flat, oval summit (250 m × 300 m) dominates the plain at a height of 28 m. It is 8 km from the sea as the crow flies, and only 4 km from the hills of lower Galilee. Prehistoric inhabitants occupied the site when it was only a rocky knoll near the swamps and the riverbank which provided abundant game. Later its position in the center of the fertile plain would make it an excellent agricultural site. Hunting (both birds and animals) and fishing in the marshes, rich agricultural land, close proximity to both sea and mountain, meant that Keisan was an important link between the herdsmen of the hill country and the traders of the coast. This contributed to its prosperity throughout three millennia, a prosperity founded on a balanced economy integrating all systems of exchange. Keisan was a rich market town at the crossroads of highways leading from Tell Abu Hawam (Haifa) to Hazor and Damascus, and from Acco to Megiddo, Beth-shan and Transjordan.

**C. History of Excavations**

An English expedition in 1935 and 1936 directed by J. Garstang and A. Rowe was interrupted by the disturbances in Palestine at that time: much damage was done, and the expedition house was burned down. Even worse, most of the documents and finds which had been taken to Liverpool, the headquarters of the expedition, were destroyed by bombing in 1941. In 1970, the Ecole Biblique conducted 8 campaigns between 1971 and 1980 under the successive direction of J. Prignaud, J. Briend, and J.-B. Humbert.

**D. The Results of the Excavations**

The English excavation had shown that the town was founded at the beginning of the EB, when it enjoyed its greatest extension, within mudbrick ramparts.

In the MB, the city was less extensive, but had a cyclopean rampart about halfway down the slope. The well, more than 20 m deep, was dug at the foot of the tell in the MB and has continued to provide water in such quantity that it served for irrigating nearby gardens until the beginning of this century. From this time come the structural blocks which bear Egyptian hieroglyphs which may date from the campaign of Seti I, who marched from Megiddo toward Tyre and Sidon in 1303 B.C.

The excavations in 1936 revealed a prosperous settlement in the 13th century and throughout Iron Age I, but suggested a complete gap for Iron Age II, after 900 B.C. The Ecole Biblique was particularly interested in the period from 1200 B.C. Its findings confirmed the importance of Iron Age I, but were able to show continuity of occupation from that time until the 2d century B.C.

The deepest level (13) lay under a thick destruction layer. The pottery fits perfectly into the LB tradition, but also has specific features of Iron Age I. It is a transitional style. The presence of Mycenaean IIIC shows that Sea Peoples had settled in the area before the destruction of Keisan. The destruction may have been the result of a new wave of Sea Peoples looking for somewhere to settle, but it may equally have been due to some local struggle, which apparently characterized the entire LB period. This level is the one which sees the beginning of the Iron Age, and it would appear that in archaeology there is no *event* which marks the transition from Bronze to Iron.

The following level (12) certainly belonged to another group whose hold on the site was precarious: the structures are modest, and the first sherds called "Philistine" make their appearance. Before the end of the 12th century, the town was solidly reconstructed (level 11), but was occupied for only a short time. It was soon destroyed or abandoned, and was only redeveloped with poor structures of mudbrick, at three or four stages during the first half of the 11th century. Under some influence difficult to define, reconstruction was undertaken vigorously (level 9) and in accordance with an elaborate scheme of town planning: series of module-type houses forming a solid line at the top of the slope, arranged to prevent the incursion of raiders into the city which was without a rampart. The module was divided into two or four compartments which had some affinity with the "four-room house" which was to be characteristic of the Iron Age. A type of pottery appeared which integrated Cypriot and Levantine features with the earlier basis inherited from the Mycenaeans. In fact, throughout the entire Iron Age I, the Palestinian coast constantly received new population groups and influences coming by way of the sea. The prosperity attested in the 11th century witnesses to a period of peace and an undeniably successful economy. The exceptional thickness of sediments from Iron I contrasts with the thinness of those from other sites of the region for the same period. This is probably because Keisan, positioned inland from the coast while dominating a rich territory, became the refuge-site in a period of prolonged disturbance. Regardless, level 9 was eventually destroyed by fire ca. 1000 B.C. marking the end of a period of prosperity which had lasted for a millennium. The final examples of the "Philistine" pottery disappeared. It would be arbitrary to see in the destruction of Keisan the effects of the campaign of King David in the N of Palestine, which is of questionable historicity. Instead, the destruction should be seen as the work of a tide of Aramean nomads who, at a moment when the Levant was destabilized, came up against Galilee and the rich kingdom of Tyre to which Keisan belonged.

The renewal of occupation (level 8) occurred immediately, but once again was undistinguished, bearing a clear Phoenician imprint. Still, the modest scale of the settlement is striking: Keisan was a little village on the edge of the kingdom of Tyre during the period of the Israelite monarchy (levels 7, 6, 5). This interpretation reflects the results of archaeological investigation into the whole of this region. Despite several cities which are better constructed—the so-called "Solomonic" cities—the sites of ancient Israel never recovered the prosperity they had enjoyed in the Bronze Age.

For this reason, the upswing which followed the Neo-Assyrian occupation (level 4) looks like a real renaissance. It is known that the new power practiced systematic displacement of populations. Keisan, although there is no trace of destruction, was reconstructed according to a totally new plan, and with smaller houses. Possibly a group deported by the imperial power was the new blood which Keisan needed. In any case, the quantity, quality, and novelty of the pottery undeniably marks a radical change. However, the influence comes not from the E but from the N. The influence of Phoenicia was never greater, and the same is true of its openness to Cyprus. The administration of the conquerors was tolerant but nonetheless effective, as inferred from a cuneiform tablet giving a list of rations for workers; overseas trade was certainly encouraged. Each house excavated contained at least one of the large loop-handled amphoras which have been found in great number in the chariot tombs of Cyprus in the 7th century B.C. It is not known what they held, in spite of the brief inscriptions which are sometimes on them; oil was exported from Palestine. Keisan belonged to a region which was like a Cypriot commercial "factory." There are abundant remains of new types of jars: smaller, lighter, better baked, with the strength required for overseas trade; these have been found in 7th century B.C. contexts as far as the coasts of Spain and the Atlantic coast of Morocco, and show the vitality of the commercial ports of the Levant.

However, two consecutive destructions affected the site—perhaps punitive expeditions of Assurbanipal in the middle of the 7th century. It is possible that a gap in occupation preceded the Persian period (level 3).

Keisan was rebuilt, but it ceased to be an administrative center. However, its function was an interchange between the hill country and the sea continued for several centuries of peace, which favored commerce. The link with the Mediterranean remained essential, and trade with the Greek islands and the coasts of Asia expanded continuously until the 3d century. With the creation of Acco/Ptolemais as regional capital, Keisan became nothing more that a suburb of this great Hellenistic port (level 2).

Keisan was finally abandoned before the end of the 2d century B.C. The campaign of Simon Maccabeus against Ptolemais in 163 B.C. may have rendered the final death-blow. Keisan did, however, have two revivals, the first during the time of Justinian, when a church was built on the summit (level 1); the second, when Saladin chose the strategic point which dominates Acre from which to direct the siege of 1189.

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**KELAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *qēlāyâ* (קְלָיָה)]. Var. KELITA. One of the Levites who married a foreign woman during the era of Ezra's mission (Ezra 10:23 = 1 Esdr 9:23). The text indicates that Kelaiah is also known as Kelita *(qĕlîṭā)*. Even Noth, in his exhaustive study of Hebrew names, concedes that the meaning of the name is uncertain (*IPN* 256). For further discussion, see BEDEIAH.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

**KELITA** (PERSON) [Heb *qĕlîṭā* (קְלִיטָא)]. Var. KELAIAH. One of the Levites who, along with various priests and laymen, listened to Ezra and agreed to renounce their foreign wives and children (Ezra 10:23; 1 Esdr 9:23). Kelita's legacy, however, is not limited simply to the renunciation of mixed marriages. He was among those who provided interpretive assistance during the great reading of the Law in the time of Ezra (Neh 8:7; 1 Esdr 9:48). In addition, following the public confession of sin concerning Israel's past failings, he joined in with other officials and laity in supporting and "sealing" a new covenant (Neh 10:11—Eng10:10). According to Ezra 10:23 and 1 Esdr 9:23, Kelita is a name associated with a certain Kelaiah (Heb *qēlāyāh*). Rather than being a gloss mistakenly identifying two otherwise distinct individuals, Kelita appears to be a descriptive nickname indicating a crippled or stunted condition (see root *qālaṭ, BDB,* 886). Once the nickname is provided, the real name goes unmentioned.

TERRY L. BRENSINGER

**KEMUEL** (PERSON) [Heb *qĕmû'ēl* (קְמוּאֵל)]. Three individuals mentioned in the Hebrew Bible have this name, the origin and meaning of which are not known. The transcription of the name is also unclear, as evidenced by the rendition of *Samouel* in the LXX (Vatican). There do not seem to be any occurrences of the name in extrabiblical literature (*IPN,* 256).

**1.** The son of Nahor, father of Aram (Gen 22:21).

**2.** The son of Shiphtan, a leader of the tribe of Ephraim appointed to help distribute the land to the children of Israel (Num 34:24).

**3.** The father of Hashabiah, a leader of the Levites who served King David (1 Chr 27:17).

RAPHAEL I. PANITZ

**KENAN** (PERSON) [Heb *qênān* (קֵינָן)]. Var. CAINAN. Son of Enosh, when Enosh was 90 years old (Gen 5:9–14). When Kenan was 70 years old, his son Mahalalel was born. Kenan lived a total of 910

years. The similarity of names in the genealogies of Genesis 4 and 5 has led to comparison of Kenan with Cain of Genesis 4. Just as Cain was the son of Adam (whose name means "man, humanity"), so Kenan was the son of Enosh (whose name also means "man, humanity"; Wilson 1977: 161 n. 63).

The first three consonants of both Cain and Kenan are the same, *qyn* (see CAIN). Kenan differs from Cain in the addition of a *nun* at the end of the name, vocalized *-ān* in the MT (and in all versions). Such an ending, along with *-ōn,* is common in West Semitic personal names of all periods (Noth *IPN*, 38; Huffmon *APNM*, 135–38; Sivan 1984: 97; Silverman 1985: 125). Suggestions have been made to identify this ending with a diminutive sense (Noth *IPN*, 38) and to render Kenan as "little Cain," i.e., a second Cain (Diakonoff 1982: 17). However, Noth's other examples need not be interpreted as diminutives. Instead, the general identification of *-ān* as a hypocoristic suffix better accords with the evidence.

Perhaps this shortened "Cain" name should be compared with Tubal-Cain. See TUBAL-CAIN. If Tubal-Cain is to be understood as a two-element name (rather than as two separate names), it demonstrates the existence of longer constructions in names using the *qyn* element. Therefore, Kenan could be a hypocoristic form of a longer name. For another use of the *-ān* ending in a Genesis 1–11 personal name, see HARAN (PERSON). A deity bearing the same name as Kenan *(qynn)* is attested in Sabean inscriptions in Old South Arabic (Ryckmans 1934: 30).

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RICHARD S. HESS

**KENATH** (PLACE) [Heb *qĕnat* (קְנַת)]. A town in Bashan which was taken by the Manassite Nobah, whose name was given to the site (Num 32:42). In a later campaign against Gilead, after the division of the Israelite monarchy, Geshur and Aram captured Kenath (1 Chr 2:23). Because the Gadite settlement of Jogbehah is mentioned both in Num 32:35, in the same context as Kenath (v 42), and in Judg 8:11, on the same caravan route as Nobah, it is possible that Kenath and Nobah were alternative regional designations or local place names. Kallai (1983) concludes that Nobah is a region which encompasses other localities, including Kenath. See HAVVOTH-JAIR; JOGBEHAH; NOBAH (PLACE).

The name Kenath appears in the Egyptian Execration Texts, an itinerary of Thutmose III, and the Amarna Tablets. In later times Kenath was known as Kanatha, one of the Decapolis. Though it is sometimes linked with Kerak-Kanata, Kenath is possibly identified with El Qanawât, located about 3 miles NE of Es Suweīdiya, Syria.

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**KENAZ** (PERSON) [Heb *qĕnaz* (קְנַז)]. KENIZZITE. **1.** The son of Eliphaz, the firstborn son of Esau and Adah (Gen 36:11; 1 Chr 1:36), who functioned as an Edomite clan chief (Gen 36:15, 42; 1 Chr 1:53). Though Kenaz of Gen 36:11 is ordinarily understood to be the eponymous ancestor of the Kenizzites (Gen 15:19), this connection is not buttressed by hard evidence.

**2.** The younger brother of Caleb and father of Othniel (Josh 15:17; Judg 1:13; 3:9, 11). In 1 Chr 4:13 Kenaz is credited with a second son, Seraiah.

**3.** The grandson of Caleb through Elah (1 Chr 4:15). The plural gentilic adjective "Kenizzites" surfaces but once in the OT (Gen 15:19), within a promise that Yahweh makes to Abraham in a theophany. Listed

in second position, just after the Kenites, this is one of ten peoples whose land Yahweh intends to deliver to Abraham's descendants. In the singular form, this gentilic adjective is thrice attested (Num 32:12; Josh 14:6, 14) in the phrase "Caleb the son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite." This predication probably should be associated with the Kenizzites of Gen 15:19.

The Kenizzites were a non-Israelite ethnic group that presumably penetrated the Negeb from the SE. What little is known about them emerges mainly from a consideration of their wider geopolitical context. Toward the close of the LB Age and the onset of the Iron Age (ca. 1300–1100 B.C.E.), the S portion of Palestine's central hill country was occupied by diverse tribal groups. These included the Judahites, the Calebites, the Othnielites, the Simeonites, the Korahites, the Jerahmeelites, the Kenites, as well as the Kenizzites. Though scholars lack the necessary data for reconstructing the early history of these tribes in any detail, it is nonetheless clear that, owing to the prominence of David and the increasingly sturdy position of the tribe of Judah from whence he came, these S tribes were eventually subsumed under the category of "Greater Judah" (*HAIJ*, 103). From the narrative in Numbers 13–14, we may infer that the Calebites settled into the city of Hebron and subjected its quite promising agricultural environs to their advantage. In Josh 15:13–19 (and Judg 1:11–15, its parallel), the spotlight falls on the Othnielites. We are told that Othniel, the son of Kenaz, the younger brother of Caleb, took possession of the city of Debir (Tell Beit Mirsim?) SW of Hebron. Though the text is too laconic to be of much help to biblical historians, it does attest that the Othnielites, residing in the hill country directly SW of Hebron, clustered around Debir. To the SE of Hebron, the Kenites held sway in the vicinity of Arad (Judg 1:16). The precise extent of the territories claimed by the Calebites, the Othnielites, and the Kenites is unknowable, and, as de Vaux (*EHI*, 538) observes, there was some territorial overlap.

Several biblical genealogies denote that the Kenizzites, Calebites, and Othnielites were closely related tribal groups, and that from their tent encampments along the foothills of S Palestine, all three maintained intimate associations with their eastern Edomite neighbors. Caleb and Othniel are both recognized for their genealogical linkage with Kenaz. In Num 32:12 and Josh 14:6, 14, Caleb is identified as "the son of Jephunneh the Kenizzite," and in Judg 1:13 and 3:9, Othniel is said to be "the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother." Kenaz, in turn, takes his place in the Edomite genealogy of Genesis 36. Finally, in the Wadi Arabah, a region rich in mineral deposits to the S of the Dead Sea, the Kenizzites cultivated close ties with the Kenites, from whom they undoubtedly learned the art of mining and metallurgy (Glueck 1940: 83). In due course, the Kenizzites and other neighboring S tribal groups became thoroughly absorbed by Judah.

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J. KENNETH KUNTZ

**KENITES** [Heb *qênî* (קֵינִי)]. The Kenites—or more correctly the Qenites—were a community or clan whose ancestry was traced to an eponym, biblical Cain (Heb *qayin*). The Kenites constituted a non-Israelite group, frequenting the wilderness near Sinai, that may have been responsible for mediating the religion of Israel's god, Yhwh, to Moses. This view is conjectural, based on hints in legendary texts about Israel's history before or just after its entry into the land. It locates the era of Kenite influence in an era largely inaccessible to archaeologists, epigraphers, and historians—a time Abraham Malamat rightly calls the era of Israel's "proto-history" (1983; cf. Soggin 1979).

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A. Kenites as Cain's Descendants
B. Kenites in the Iron Age
C. Kenites and Israelite Proto-History

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**A. Kenites as Cain's Descendants**

Our knowledge of the Kenites in the Iron Age, when Israel occupied its land, is limited to a few texts only (Josh 15:57; Judges 4–5; Judg 1:16; 1 Sam 15:6; 27:10; 30:29; 1 Chr 2:55). There has been widespread agreement that the etymology of the term "Kenite" implies that the Kenites were itinerant smiths (*AncIsr*, 478–79; *ARI*, 96): the root, *qyn*, can form the basis for words meaning "to forge," or "a metal-worker," in Arabic, Syriac, and Palmyrene. A derived term designates part of a spear (2 Sam 21:16; Wyatt 1986: 89); the context suggests a spearhead (of ca. 6.5 lbs), but it may be the shaft, in which case the root is unrelated (cf. CAD *qanû*). Proponents of this hypothesis observe that Gen 4:22 identifies Tubal-cain, a descendant of Cain *(qyn),* as the founder and "patron saint" of metallurgy. The element "Tubal" is to be explained on the basis of the fact that Tabal was a renowned center of metallurgy in SE Cappadocia (see Elat 1977: 53).

It seems most probable that it was the wordplay with Cain's name *(qyn)*—a root having to do with artisanship—that led the biblical narrator (J) in Genesis 4 (or his oral sources) to identify a scion of Cain as the first metallurgist, and to give him a name reminiscent of that of Tabal. Thus, another form of the root, *qynh,* denotes a song of lament (this, too, has a parallel in Arabic); thus another of Lamech's offspring in Gen 4:21 becomes the archetypal musician. The name Cain is attested both as a Nabatean personal name (J. T. Milik and J. Starcky *apud ARNA* 146:23; 157:107:3; 108:2) and, with preformative *ʾalep,* as a Sabean clan name (*DOSA*, 454). It is uncertain, then, if the biblical Kenites are named after an occupation (tinkerer or songster?) or if they drew their appellation from a particular figure. Even if it began as an occupational term, by the time of our texts it had an ethnic denotation—and may bear no relation to the economic activity of Kenites in Canaan.

This alternative does not refute the assumption that the Kenites were itinerant tinkerers and musical specialists. One of Cain's offspring, after all, is the "father of those who dwell with tents and cattle" (Gen 4:20), a condition characterizing the later Kenites (see below). On the other hand, Cain himself (or, originally, possibly Enoch) is said to have built the first walled town (Gen 4:17: *bnh* + town); yet Kenites were not sedentary.

In essence, the Kenite traditions in Gen 4:17–24 depict Cain as a prime culture-hero, an almost Promethean figure in the development of the civilized arts (cf. Wyatt 1986). Cain is the first human horticulturalist (Gen 4:2), and therefore the author of the first technological advance (cf. Marx and Engels 1938: 7). Yhwh, like Aeschylus' Zeus quite possibly intent on retarding human development (cf. Gen 3:22; 6:3; 11:6, all J), rejects the fruits of Cain's labor, and prefers the products of husbandry (Gen 4:3–4). He condemns Cain, ironically, to a nomadic existence as punishment for murder (4:8–12).

Although outcasts, Kenites pioneer the arts of city building, tent dwelling, herding, music, and metal work, as well as agriculture. One might infer from P's account, in which Cain's line is folded into Seth's (Genesis 5—with the order and the gutturals garbled), that the Kenites of Genesis 4 should have been eradicated in the Flood. This is, however, far from being J's implication, despite the fact that he deliberately provides for two branches of descent from Adam (Gen 4:25–26): the accursed, yet protected Kenites (and Gen 4:15, 24) mediate the blessings of civilization to all humankind. This apparent inconsistency is one of the reasons critics have sometimes attempted to discover a pre-history in the J materials, including a core of "nomadic" tribal traditions (as Beltz 1974).

**B. Kenites in the Iron Age**

The oldest information about the Kenites is preserved in the Song of Deborah (Judg 5:24–27). There, Jael is "the woman of the Kenite *ḥbr."* The late prose interpretation of the song, in Judges 4 (Halpern 1988), takes *ḥbr* to be the name of an individual, Heber (Jael's husband). But it may equally denote the "community" of the Kenites, identical to the nomadic unit of the Mari *ḫibrum* (Malamat 1962: 144–46).

In the Song of Deborah, it is certain at any rate that the Kenites dwell in tents and pasture dairy herds: Jael is praised above "[other] women of the tent" as distinct from women in houses (Judg 5:24); and, when Sisera, the general of the Canaanite army, asks for a drink, she serves him milk in a ceramic krater, possibly with human or animal figures (5:25), like wares found at Iron I Tell en-Nasbeh, Tell Beit Mirsim, and, most recently, Shiloh (Finkelstein, Bunimovitz, and Lederman 1985: 135) and Tell el-Hammah (Cahill, Lipton, and Tarler 1988). Clearly conceived of as non-Israelite even in this early

context, Jael is an archetypal Kenite. It merits remark that her camp can be no farther S than the Jezreel valley; the Song of Deborah does not even hint that such a N location is in any sense inappropriate for a Kenite.

The Judges 4 prose interpretation of Judg 5:24–27 stems either from the hand of the Deuteronomistic Historian, in the late 7th century B.C.E., or from a slightly older source (ca. 700). It retains the elements of Kenite dairy production, their residence in tents, and their status as "allies" of the Israelites (hence the need to explain why Sisera would take refuge among them—4:17; Halpern 1988). It does adduce a nomad's wineskin rather than mention a ceramic krater (Judg 4:19). It adds, too, the implication that Jael was the proprietress of her own tent (4:17)—it was normal, among polygamous pastoralists, for each wife to preside over her own establishment, in a discrete tent, a convention also visible in the Jacob cycle (Gen 30:16). For discretion's sake, this remains the practice today. But most of all, the late prose source feels compelled to explain that Jael's camp had wandered N (to the vicinity of Kedesh in Naphtali in the far N, in the prose interpretation), away from the standard pastures of the Kenite community (4:11). By the time of the prose writer, the Kenites were identified chiefly with the S.

A few other sources confirm these conclusions from the Song of Deborah. An oracle of Balaam in Num 24:21–22 speaks of the age-old residence of Cain in "the rock," or perhaps Sela in Edom—an interesting comment given that the only Kenite personal name surely known to us in the historical period, Jael, means "mountain goat." Balaam's oracle is linked to another on Amalek, another S community. 1 Sam 15:5–6, in a pre-Deuteronomistic source of 1 Samuel, relates that Saul met Kenites in the company of Amalekites at the "city of Amalek" S of Carmel in SE Judah (cf. 1 Sam 15:5, 12). Saul spared the Kenites, Amalek's fellow-travelers, because of earlier relations between the Kenites and Israel. Like Gen 15:19, a late piece, and the other passages cited to this point, 1 Samuel 15 identifies the Kenites as alien to Israel. The linkage to Amalek is of special interest, since Amalek was Judah's great competitor, in the 11th century B.C.E. for the desert hinterland of the S hill country.

The location of the Kenites in the SE (on the border of Judah with Edom) is attested in texts from various eras. In the 7th century, Josh 15:22, 57 (on the date, see Alt 1925) locate settlements named Kinah (Heb *qînâ*) and Kain (Heb *qayin*) in the southernmost and southeastern reaches of Judah. Judg 1:16 also locates the descendants of the Kenite in the SE: this Deuteronomistic passage, which may stem from an earlier source, has a group of Kenites descended from Moses' in-laws joining the Judahites in conquests S of Arad (cf. Num 10:29–32). The Kenites start from "the city of palms"—probably Jericho (Deut 34:3; 2 Chr 28:15), but identified in the Talmud with Zoar (*m. Yebam.* 16:7). Here again the Kenites appear as collaborators, on the border with Edom (cf. also Boling *Judges* AB, 57; *YGC*, 40–42). Two earlier texts, 1 Sam 27:10 and 30:29, probably refer not to Kenites in the S, but to Kenizzites (so LXX and 4QSam[a]).

In sum, the Kenites are identifiable as an Iron Age pastoral community occupying the wilderness S and E of Arad. The reference in Judg 5:24–27 might tempt us to suppose that, in search of summer pastures, they sometimes migrated as far N as the Jezreel, or even to the S end of the Bekaa Valley (Judges 4). But the language of Judg 4:11 has another implication: Heber "had separated" from the Kenites, from the children of Hobab, Moses' in-law. The issue here is lineage fission—the Kenites in the N were a branch community of those near Arad.

1 Chr 2:55 confirms this inference. It speaks of a Kenite migration to Judah (to Jabez; cf. 1 Chr 4:9–10) from "Hammath, the father of the house of Rechab." This must be in the N. The only known Hammath in Israelite territory was located on Naphtalite soil (Josh 19:35; probably Tell el-Hamma [M.R. 197197], 12 km S of Beth-shan; cf. Hammon in 1 Chr 6:61). It may have been "Hammath of the house of Rechab" (cf. Jer 35:18, "house of the Rechabites"; note Levenson 1976 on the communal nature of Rechab): the Rechabites originated in the N (2 Kgs 10:15, 23); and, in the mid-9th century B.C.E., they developed a regimen of ascetic nonagricultural nomadism (Jer 35:6–10). It is almost as though the Rechabites had assumed the status of the accursed Cain (Gen 4:11–12), doomed to live without tillage because of his earlier carnage. The Rechabites may therefore have been a lineage of a N Kenite community. Even if they were not, connubium between them and the Kenites is not difficult to imagine. Eventually, some of the Rechabites also found their way into Judah, where the depredations of Nebuchadnezzar induced them

ultimately to take refuge in Jerusalem (Jer 35:11). The Kenite encampment at Jabez was probably related to the Rechabite withdrawal to Judah.

Because the Kenites near Arad were linked to Moses (Judg 1:16; 4:11) and Moses' in-laws were linked to a Midianite priesthood (Exod 2:17–21; 3:1; 18:1–5), B. Mazar (1965) has argued that the Kenites presided at the well-known Israelite sanctuary at Arad (see Aharoni 1968: 27–28), as well as at a high place in the vicinity of Kedesh in Naphtali (Judg 4:11). Mazar's view has attracted widespread support. However, there is no sure sign of a *temenos* at Arad before the shrine built by David or Solomon; this would have been served by the priestly agents of the United Monarchy. Judg 1:16 speaks of a Kenite presence *south* of Arad, not in it (*VGC*, 40–41 n. 82), and later ostraca at Arad attest to the presence of Korahites, among other (Aaronid?) priestly elements, but give no indication of a Kenite role there (see *AI* 49, 50, 54). There may be further indications that the Midianite-Kenite cultic tradition called for a tent (not a stone) shrine (below, C), much as Solomon had to incorporate the earlier Israelite tent into his cultic establishment. The links between any Kenites related to Moses and the Arad temple are in fact unsubstantiated (Ussishkin 1988).

There are, however, indications that the Kenites enjoyed a certain status as ritual specialists or as the beneficiaries of a special relationship with Yhwh. The marking of their eponym, Cain, and Yhwh's promise of divine protection to him (Gen 4:15) were apparently elements projected back into prehistory by the later Kenites—the elements were appropriated by Yahwistic tradition. It would be erroneous to revert to the notion of a "desert ideal" embodied by the Kenites and Rechabites, among others—S. Talmon (1966: 31–37) has shown the bankruptcy of that theory. But it is interesting to note that the "mark of Cain" has a parallel in what seems to be a prophetic hairstyle or tonsure (2 Kgs 2:23; 1 Kgs 20:37–41; Ezek 9:4–8; cf. Zech 13:4, 6, with allusions to Elijah and to Amos). This was probably a mark (like the Akkadian *abbuttu;* see Mendelsohn 1932: 31–37) of Yhwh's proprietorship (cf. Deut 6:8; Ezek 9:4–6), though another sort of mutilation (as Exod 21:6; Deut 15:17) is also possible. That the prophet was thought to enjoy personal protection comparable to Cain's is a convention of Israelite social usage evinced in various passages (including 1 Kgs 20:35–36; 22:26–28; Jer 26:16).

Like the Kenites, prophets sometimes claimed to have been torn from the land. Properly, the Levites were also landless (Deut 18:1), and like pastoral nomads may have had common pastures (as Lev 25:34). The association of landlessness with murder is of course explicit in the case of Cain. It leads to the accusation leveled against the eponym of Levi as well (and Simeon) in Gen 34:25–31; 49:5–7. It is probably no coincidence, then, that in the national folklore the archetypal Levite, Moses, begins his career as a murderer (Exod 2:11–12)—of a foreigner, not a brother. Moses' face, too, was reputed in one tradition to have been disfigured (Exod 34:29–35, P), again through an encounter with Yhwh.

Both some prophets (Hos 12:14; Jer 15:1) and some Levites (*CMHE*, 195–215) traced their guilds to Moses—Elijah's flight to Horeb recapitulates Moses' epiphany there on the same understanding (1 Kgs 19:8–19). The paradigmatic revelation is, of course, that at Sinai, in the pasturelands of Moses' Midianite-Kenite father-in-law (Exod 3:1). Sinai is also the locus of Levi's first commission, according to an anti-Aaronic Levitic tradition (Exodus 32). All these links between certain strands of Israelite prophecy, the Levitic orders, and the Kenites center on the person of Moses. This suggests that there was a strong strain of primitivism connected with Moses in the Israelite cult. It reached a height, perhaps, in the mid-9th century during the careers of Elijah, Elisha, and Jonadab ben-Rechab. The Kenites either served as a model for primitivist movements or themselves embodied one. In either case, they will have enjoyed a sacral cachet that distinguished them from other pastoral nomads on the fringes of Judah and Israel.

In sum, the Kenites of Iron II Israel appear to have been a pastoral community, with a mixed dairy and meat production strategy (see Hesse 1986: 22 for an example), focused on lands in the vicinity of Arad. The rise of Kenite settlements in the 7th century suggests the regularization of their commerce with the state. This was presumably part of Manasseh's and Josiah's systematic resettlement of the hinterland in that era; and Kenite caravans may have played a substantial role in channeling the S trade through Jerusalem and the Assyrian province of Samerina (further, Halpern fc.). Nevertheless, the Balaam oracle also suggests that some Kenites were deported by Assyria (Num 24:22), presumably during a Sargonid

campaign in Arabia, but possibly as early as Tiglath-pileser III's war with the Arabs in 734–733. The priestly or cultic dimensions of the Kenite clan were probably restricted to shrines along the pilgrimage route to Mt. Sinai—Kadesh-barnea, perhaps, and Sinai itself. Other than the name, Yhwh of Teman, represented at Kuntillet ʿAjrud, their ministry has left no plain residue in the archaeological or biblical record.

**C. Kenites and Israelite Proto-History**

The relationship specifically between the Kenites and Moses is explicit in two texts only, both Deuteronomistic (or just earlier): Judg 1:16 and 4:11. These speak of "Hobab, the father-in-law of Moses." In the Pentateuch, Moses' father-in-law is named variously as Jethro (Exod 3:1; 18:1—E) or Reuel (Exod 2:18; Num 10:29—J). There have been various attempts to reconcile these differences (see Albright 1963). The most successful has been that which identifies Reuel in J (Exod 2:18; Num 10:29) as a scribal insertion meant to sustain a harmonization that makes both Jethro and Hobab not the father-in-law (*ḥtn*, vocalized *ḥōtēn*) but the brothers-in-law (*ḥtn*, vocalized *ḥātān*) of Moses (Bacon 1891: 111–12). In fact, the dissonance arises from variants in the oral tradition, probably based on familiarity with different groups of S nomads; it is probable, however, that the Judges texts reflect a misreading of J in Num 10:29 ("Hobab the son of Reuel the father-in-law of Moses") to imply that Hobab, not Reuel (as Exod 2:18), was the father's name. In any event, an easier harmonization would be to attribute to Moses more than a single wife.

Despite their difference on the name of Moses' father-in-law, the pentateuchal sources concur that Moses' in-laws were "Midianites." This element is absent from the texts in Judges, which describe Hobab as a Kenite. Scholars circumvent the problem by placing the Kenites in an early Midianite league (Dumbrell 1975; see Rowley 1950: 152–53), just as later (1 Sam 15:6) they came to be affiliated with Amalek. There is no evidence for or against this view (see further below).

The fact that J and E locate Moses' first encounter with Yhwh during his residence among his Midianite in-laws, and the fact that J speaks of Yahwism long before Moses, while E and P claim the name Yhwh was first revealed at Sinai (Horeb), spawned a thesis in the 19th century that Yhwh was a Kenite or Midianite deity. This thesis, which has consistently found staunch advocates, is commonly called the Kenite or Midianite hypothesis (for its history, starting with F. W. Ghillany writing under the pseudonym R. von der Alm in 1862, see Rowley 1950: 151ff.; 1963; cf. de Vaux 1969). Recent supporters cite possible Egyptian references, in the 14th–13th centuries B.C.E., to a "Yhwh Bedouin Land" (see *CTAED*, 121–22), perhaps near a place named Reuel and thus associated with Kenites (Weinfeld 1987: 305). This suggests worship of the god, somewhere in the region of Edom, before the development of a nation, Israel (Freedman 1987: 329; Weinfeld 1987: 309–10). Yhwh, after all, in the earliest Israelite poetry, was "the one of Sinai" (Judg 5:5), who marched to Israel's rescue from the Edomite southland (Judg 5:4; Deut 33:2). However, there is some question (Astour 1979: 30) as to whether the Egyptian epigraphs refer to the god Yhwh or to an abbreviated personal name (of the known form, Yahwi-DN).

Two archaeological arguments for the Kenite hypothesis merit brief attention. The excavations at biblical Timna, just N of Eilat, uncovered a 12th-century B.C.E. temple. This temple was characterized by what archaeologists call "Midianite" pottery. And, it was apparently a tent-shrine, much like the tabernacle in the biblical tradition. Inside it, the excavators uncovered a copper snake (Rothenberg 1972: 151–62). Curiously, the only zoomorphic icon associated with Moses in any source earlier than P is a copper snake called Nehushtan (2 Kgs 18:4; Num 21:9). The tent-shrine, if that indeed is what it was, is not altogether unexpected on the desert fringe, but it may be that Israel's notions of its early cult were in part shaped by Midianite-Kenite models. Snakes, too, were common icons in the Mediterranean basin: bronze serpent figurines have also been found at Megiddo (LB IIB), Hazor (LB IIA and IIB), Gezer (MB and LB IIA) and Tel Mevorakh (LB IIA), and it will not do to make too much of the coincidence (Stern 1984: 21–22 and Dever 1987: 230 supply further references).

The other archaeological indication of an early Israelite-Kenite nexus is even more circumstantial: the floruit of Midianite culture in the era of Israel's emergence into history. It is increasingly evident that, in the absence of a national state in LB II-Iron IA Edom, a mercantile culture, based in the region of

Qurayyah, dominated NW Arabia (Rothenberg and Glass 1983: 101–14). This culture, identified on the basis of biblical evidence as Midianite, sent out tendrils through S Canaan to the coast and Egypt, and along the King's Highway at least as far as Amman.

Synthesizing this data, Cross has suggested (in an unpublished paper) that an Israelite Exodus through or sojourn in Edom would have meant important contacts with Midian. Further, any migration northward in Transjordan toward the traditional Reubenite springboard for the invasion of Canaan must have followed the routes controlled by Midianite traders. Cross has also added an entirely fresh dimension to the literary case for a Kenite influence. He argues that Levites who looked to Moses as the founder of their order preserved memories both of the association between Moses and Midian (in J and E) and of Moses' activity in the area of Reuben in Transjordan. In the Mesha stele, and in the tradition that Moses declaimed Deuteronomy from the valley opposite Beth-peor, Cross finds evidence of an Iron II Israelite shrine in Reuben, in territory verging on that of the old Midianite confederacy.

More significantly, Cross has identified amid a welter of polemic against other Levites in the Aaronid source in the Pentateuch (Lev 10:1–7; Numbers 16–17) a strong strain denouncing precisely the Midianite traditions of the Mosaic (Mushite) Levites. J and E speak of Moses' marriage without any hint of censure—this, despite the fact that J's portrait of the serpent in the Garden of Eden (Genesis 3) does not, on the whole, commend itself as sympathetic to E's Mosaic snake icon (further below; contrast Soggin 1975: 99–102 on J as anti-Canaanite). But in Num 25:6–15, the Aaronid source (P) assails the Midianites as those who debauched Israel in the plain of Moab at Baal-peor: it was by taking action against the Midianites that Phinehas, the son of Aaron, secured an eternal priestly franchise to his line. Similarly, P portrays the Midianites as Israel's archenemies in Num 31:1–12; in this text, P even reverses the generally positive view that J and E take of Balaam because of Balaam's association with the villains of Numbers 25 (Num 22:7). P has a strong dislike for Midian, and holds it in the same sort of contempt that J (Exod 17:8–14) and Deuteronomy (25:17) reserved for the Amalekites: the Midianites are the first object of Israelite Holy War.

Cross has found more than P's polemic. He has found a riposte to it in the E source: E is the probable purveyor of the most open attack on Aaron in the Bible, the story of the golden calf in Exodus 32; it is the source of the story of Moses' snake, Nehushtan (Num 21:4–9). E also has links to Deuteronomy and is probably to be identified wth the Mushites (Friedman 1987). In Numbers 12, E recounts a story in which Aaron and Miriam denounce Moses' marriage to a Cushite wife—Cross identifies her as stemming from Cushan, a clan of the Midianite confederacy. Yhwh intervenes decisively on Moses' behalf. A more direct response to the Aaronid assaults on Midian could hardly be written (*CMHE*, 198–206).

To Cross's argument, we may add the consideration that P's polemic against Midian can have had no relevance whatsoever in P's own time: the Midianite league disappeared at the end of the 12th century, and Israelites attributed its demise to Gideon (Judges 7–8), whose victory Isaiah holds up as a model act of Yhwh (9:3; 10:26). In fact, Midian had flourished in a commercial condominium with Egypt. With the withdrawal of the Egyptian empire into Africa in the mid-12th century B.C.E. and the rise of new kingdoms in Canaan and Transjordan—the successor-states to Asian Egypt—trade languished, and Midian lost her middleman monopoly to inland hills centers to the N (for the archaeological data, note Sauer 1986: 10). This is the political background to the regularization of the Negeb settlements in the 11th century B.C.E., when increasing settlement by elements like the Kenizzites gradually led to the imposition of state authority from the N (cf. Finkelstein 1984). In any event, the only Midianites of which P could have known in Iron II were those in the background of the Mushite priesthoods. Thus, P treats Midian on the model of Amalek solely to attack his cultic competitors.

Cross's analysis of the literature suggests that the Mushite-Midianite network was a fixture of early Israelite tradition. Aaronic priests attacked it, as a target in their ongoing exchange with Mushites—P, alone among the pentateuchal sources, gives no hint of a link between Moses and Midian. And Mushite orders defended the connection, openly in Numbers 12. The ground for this tradition has been exposed in excavations in Israel, Egypt, S Transjordan, and the Hejaz. Some theological interaction between the

Transjordanian and Israelite settlers who homesteaded the Canaanite hills in Iron I and the traders of S Edom and N Arabia must therefore be conceded.

There are two points, however, on which the Kenite hypothesis requires qualification. The first is minor. Mushite traditions of kinship with the Midianites cannot be traced back tangibly to the period in which Midian still cohered as a local power. There is always the possibility, therefore, that recollections of Midianite domination in the region inspired the tradition. Too much weight should not be accorded this alternative; but it is worth remembering that the folklore is not history, and stops short of being authoritative testimony.

The second point is more significant. Numbers 12 speaks of a Cushite wife of Moses, not a Kenite. And J and E tie Moses to Midian. Similarly, Hab 3:7 employs Midian and Cushan as poetic complements. Conversely, 1 Samuel 15, which speaks rather cryptically of a Kenite bond with all Israel in the course of the Exodus, associates the Kenites with Amalek, not Midian. Amalek was another tribe or clan in the southlands of 11th-century Edom and Judah. What fuses Midian to the Kenites, and the Kenites to Moses (note *EHI*, 331)?

The two (Deuteronomistic) texts that explicitly describe an unmediated relationship between Moses and the Kenites (Judg 1:16; 4:11) tie Moses to a Hobab. J, in Num 10:29, identifies Hobab as a "son of Reuel, the Midianite." Reuel, incidentally, was the name of another (non-Amalekite) Edomite tribe (Gen 36:13, 17; further, Weinfeld 1987: 305 on the place name in a topographic list of Rameses III). It is possible that the invocation specifically of the Kenites, rather than the Midianites (or others) generally, represents a skillful parry to the Aaronid thrust against Midian. The Kenites in the Iron Age were celebrated aliens of the Israelites (see A above), who had produced the folk-heroine Jael. Appealing to the Kenites as the S nomadic party from whom Moses took his wife will have stilled the polemical rapier. Thus, the early traditions (J, E) are vague about the distinctive identity of Moses' in-laws. The version set out in Judg 1:16 and 4:11 may have appropriated actual Kenite claims; it may reflect cultic cooperation between Kenites and Levites in the S; it may even reflect Kenite exploitation of the pilgrimage routes to Kedesh and Sinai. Whether it preserves an authentic recollection remains an open question.

If one can speak with any assurance about any aspect of the Exodus, then the group that experienced Egyptian bondage or the succor at the sea (Exod 15:1–18) furnished a national myth, a national identity, for the Iron I Israelites. In disseminating this myth, the landless Levites became Israel's primary ritual specialists. Since these priests brought with them a gospel of a god located at Sinai, in Midian, it is reasonable to look for their concrete origins there: in the national folklore, naturally, their forebear had to be an Israelite; the memory of involvement with Midianite elements (or S nomadic elements) was preserved with that of the home of their god. Later, their traditions of connubium with Midianites came under the guns of the Aaronid temple priesthood. By that time, however, their history, and their old cultic practice, were fixed in doctrine.

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**KENIZZITE** [Heb *qĕnīzzî* (קְנִזִּי)]. See KENAZ (PERSON).

**KERAK** (M.R. 217066). A site in ancient Moab situated above Wadi el-Kerak which drains the Moabite plateau into the Jordan valley (this site should not be confused with Kh. Kerak on the SW shore of the Galilee, which has proved important in ceramic typology and chronology of the EB period; see KHIRBET KERAK WARE and BETH-YERAH).

**A. Name and Identification**

The Arabic name *al-Karak* derives from Aramaic *karḵā* "the walled town, city"; the root *krk*, meaning "to circumvent; to enclose," is peculiar to Aramaic. The name of the site in the Hellenistic-Roman-Byzantine periods was *Karakmōbā* "the fortress-city of Moab," attested, in various spellings (*Charach-*, *Charak-*) since Claudius Ptolemaeus (middle of 2d century A.D.; cf. Canova 1954: LXI). Presumably, the name *Karakmōbā* derives from the Persian period, when Aramaic was the official language of the administration.

The Moabite name of Kerak is unknown. Generally, the Moabite city (or cities) of Kir (Isa 15:1), Kir-heres (Jer 48:31, 36; Isa 16:11), and Kir-hareseth (Isa 16:7; 2 Kgs 3:25) are identified with Kerak (Musil 1907: 58; Glueck 1935: 4; Abel, *GP* 2: 418–19). This, however, is difficult to prove. Kir occurs only once (Isa 15:1), where it stands in parallelism with Ar. If Ar refers to a landscape, not to a city, Kir was probably the capital of this district. In Moabite, **qīr* denotes "city" (*KAI* 181.11, 12, 24, 29). Ar was probably the region between Wadi Mūjib and Wadi el-Ḥasā (Weippert 1979: 18); its natural center is er-Rabbah, ancient Rabbathmoba. Kir-heres/Hareseth is used parallel to "Moab" in Isa 16:7, 11; Jer 48:31, 36. In Jer 46:38, "Moab" is a designation of a city, too, i.e., the capital city of Moab, which is in accordance with Late Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian usage. These texts attest that Kir-heres/Hareseth was, at a time, the capital of Moab. They do not say much about its location. The same holds true for 2 Kgs 3:25. In 2 Kgs 3:4–27, only vv 4–6 contain reliable information (Bartlett 1983: 145). What really happened in this war is documented in the inscription of Mesha (*KAI* 181). According to this inscription,

Dibon was the capital of Moab in Mesha's days. If one should look for Kir-heres/Hareseth S of Wadi Mūjib, both er-Rabbah and el-Kerak are reasonable candidates for the location (cf. Iron Age evidence from er-Rabbah; Miller 1982). Only excavations at both sites could help to settle the question. *Qîr Ḥăreśet/Ḥereś* probably means "city of the woodland" (cf. Arabic *ḥirš* "wood"). If the absence of large-scale Iron Age settlement activity in the Wadi el-Kerak means that the wadi slopes were wooded in the Iron Age, the name could be an argument in favor of Kerak. There is, however, not enough information available from the Moabite plateau for the Iron Age. On the other hand, Kerak lay off the major roads of the Iron Age and the Roman-Byzantine periods; er-Rabba did not (Worschech and Knauf 1985).

**B. Description**

Kerak occupies the upper ridge of a spur protruding into Wadi el-Kerak from the S. Steep slopes on the N, E, and W sides protect the settlement. A moat excavated by the Crusaders on the S side separates the town from the ridge, and adds to its natural strength. Apart from this, and according to the Madaba mosaic map, Byzantine Kerak had the same extent as had the Crusader through Ottoman city, the wall of which is still preserved. In order to reach their fields on the Moabite plateau or in Wadi el-Kerak, the inhabitants of Kerak had to cover wide distances. In the last century, some spent their summers in tents on their fields. For water, they depended on cisterns, or brought water from springs in Wadi el-Kerak.

**C. History of Exploration**

The archaeological data for the history of Kerak and the upper part of Wadi el-Kerak consists of only surface surveys. From 1896 to 1902, A. Musil spent several months in Kerak and left an unsurpassed account of the ethnography of the late Ottoman city, and the topography and ecology of its surroundings (Musil 1907: 45–62 and passim). W. F. Albright visited Kerak in 1924 (Albright 1924: 10–11), and N. Glueck passed there in 1934 (Glueck 1935: 4). Both picked up "Moabite" (that is 9th/8th through 6th/5th centuries B.C.) and later pottery from the site. From 1936 to 1939, R. Canova, an Italian classicist lived in Kerak and collected inscriptions, mostly Greek Byzantine tombstones, from the city and its vicinity (Bagatti 1978). Canova's book (Canova 1954) is the only historical and archaeological monograph published on Kerak until now. The upper part of Wadi el-Kerak, the immediate environment of the site, was surveyed by J. M. Miller's survey of the Moabite plateau in 1982, by H. Donner and E. A. Knauf in 1983 (Donner and Knauf 1985), by S. Mittmann and E. A. Knauf in spring 1984, and by U. Worschech and E. A. Knauf in summer 1984 (Worschech 1985: 61).

**D. History of Occupation**

In the late Ottoman period, the whole area between Wadi Mūjib and Wadi el-Ḥasā was known as *arḍ el-Kerak* "the land of Kerak" (Musil 1907: 1). This reflects the fact that Kerak was the center of that region in times of insecurity and instability, when permanent settlement retreated into the wadis W of the plateau. In times of high security and high density of settlements on the plateau, the natural center of this region was er-Rabbah, Rabbathmoba "the capital of Moab."

The EB Age predecessor of Kerak, a walled town, is situated W of Kerak in Wadi el-Kerak, overlooking ʿAin es-Sārah, and was called Khirbet ez-Zuṭṭ until recently (today eṣ-Ṣāliḥīyeh). Evidence for MB, LB, and early Iron Age occupation is sparse in Wadi el-Kerak, which was, however, intensely settled by agricultural communities from the Nabatean through the Ottoman period (1st–20th centuries A.D.). Kerak must have been a major city since, at least, the 9th century B.C. This is attested by a fragment of a Moabite royal inscription, probably left by Mesha (Reed and Winnett 1963; Freedman 1964), and by fragments of Iron Age monumental architectural decoration from Kerak (a lion's relief in basalt; Canova 1954: 8) and from ʿAin es-Sārah below Kerak (a proto-aeolic capital; Donner and Knauf 1985). Note, houever, that the wadi system to the N of Wadi el-Kerak, Wadi Ibn Ḥammād, was not under Moabite control until the time of Mesha (*KAI* 181.31–33; Worschech and Knauf 1986: 84–85). If Kerak had not been already the administrative center of its region at the end of the Moabite kingdom, it became the center in the Persian period (539/520–332 B.C.). This seems to be attested by the name of the site in classical antiquity (see above), and may indirectly be attested by an inscription in official Aramaic, dated to the fifteenth year of some ruler (probably Ptolemaeus II), which contains a remarkable number of Arabic names and words (Milik 1959: 330–41; Lipiński 1975: 261–62). Both with their seat of

administration, and their language of administration (on a local level), the Ptolemies may have taken over Persian usage.

Nabatean presence at Kerak is attested by the fragment of a half-bust with parallels at Petra, Kh. et-Tannūr, and Kh. el-Mesheirfeh (Musil 1907: 53 fig. 18). Charachmoba had the status of a *polis* at the time of Hadrian, and minted coins under Elagabal (Piccirillo and Spijkerman 1978: 108–15). In the Byzantine period, Kerak became a bishopric. The regional center of the Arḍ el-Kerak in the Roman, Byzantine, and Umayyad periods, however, was er-Rabbah. The center shifted back to Kerak with the Crusaders in 1142 (Mayer 1987). Regained by the Muslims in 1188, Kerak remained the administrative center for S Jordan throughout the Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman periods (Bakhit 1982).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**KEREN-HAPPUCH** (PERSON) [Heb *qeren happûk* (קֶרֶן הַפּוּךְ)]. The third of Job's daughters born to him after the restoration of his fortunes (42:14). The name means literally "horn of antimony" (cf. Driver and Gray, *Job* ICC). The typical Hebrew word for "horn" here certainly means "container" or "flask" (cf. 1 Sam 16:1 and 1 Kgs 1:39 for analogous usages). "Antimony" is a black powder still used as mascara to darken the edges of the eyes in order to contrast with the natural color of the eye. Note Jezebel's failed attempt to woo the maniacal Jehu by "painting her eyes" (2 Kgs 9:30) and Jeremiah's scornful description of the evil Jerusalem as a harlot, seeking to "enlarge your eyes with paint" (Jer 4:30). As in the names of her two sisters, "Turtle-dove" and "Cassia," the name Keren-Happuch appears to have been chosen to refer to the beauty and charm of the girl: "In all the land no women were found more beautiful than Job's daughters" (42:15). See also JEMIMAH; KEZIAH.

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**KERIOTH** (PLACE) [Heb *qĕrîyôt* (קְרִיּוֹת)]. Hebrew word for "cities" and a proper noun, a well fortified town in Moab's tableland mentioned in oracles of Jeremiah (48:24, 41) and Amos (2:2). Although the use of definite articles in Jer 48:41 and Amos 2:2 seem to support the LXX's translation "the cities," in Amos 2:2, it is probable that all three appearances of Kerioth in the OT refer to the name

of a town. Most decisive is the reference to Mesha's dragging of the *ariel* of Ataroth before Kemosh at Kerioth (Mesha Inscription, line 13). A number of archaeological sites have been identified with ancient Kerioth, including el-Qereiyat (M.R. 215105), SE of Kh. ʿAṭṭarus, and Kh. Aleiyan (M.R. 233104), NE of Dhiban.

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

**KERIOTH-HEZRON** (PLACE) [Heb *qĕrîyôt* (קְרִיּוֹת) *ḥeṣrôn*]. A settlement of the tribe of Judah (Josh 15:25). Kerioth-hezron is only mentioned this one time, where it is listed among the settlements occupied by Judah in the aftermath of the conquest. Though the present literary context of the Judean town list is set in the period of Joshua, its original setting was as part of a post-Solomonic administrative division of the S kingdom. The date for the establishment of this system is debated, with suggestions ranging from the early 9th to the late 7th centuries B.C. Kerioth-hezron is in the southernmost district of Judah, the Negeb.

The location of Kerioth-hezron is problematic. In the list it is placed between Hazor-hadattah and Amam. Some scholars read these as separate names, Kerioth (and) Hezron, assuming that a *waw* has been lost. Hazor-hadattah means "New Hazor," and Kerioth-hezron is qualified by "that is, Hazor." It seems that the author intended to make clear that he was referring to two towns in the same region with similar names. The name means "towns of Hezron." Hezron was a descendent of Judah (1 Chr 2:3, 5); his sons, Jerahmeel, Ram, and Caleb all settled to the south of Jerusalem (1 Chr 2:9). If Aharoni is correct, the Jerahmeelites settled in the vicinity of Arad (1979: 216), while Caleb centered around Hebron (Josh 14:6–15). Kerioth-hezron may lie between Hebron and Arad. A possible location is Khirbet el-Qaryatein, 8.5 km north of Arad (M.R. 161083). See also *GP* and *LBHG*.

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**KERMES INSECT.** See ZOOLOGY.

**KEROS** (PERSON) [Heb *qîrōs* (קִירֹס)]. A temple servant who was the progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubabbel (Ezra 2:44 = Neh 7:47 = 1 Esdr 5:29 [Gk *kēras*]).

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**KERYGMA PETROU.** See PETER, PREACHING OF.

**KETAB** (PERSON) [Gk *Kētab* (Κηταβ)]. A temple servant who was the progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:30). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, this family does not appear in their lists of returning exiles (see Ezra 2:46; Neh 7:48). Differences such as this raise questions about the literary relationships among the texts.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**KETHIB AND QERE.** A variance in the Masoretic Text between "what is written" (Heb *kĕtîb*) in the consonantal text and "what is read" (Heb *qĕrê*) according to the tradition of vocalization. These variances arose for a variety of reasons over the centuries of textual transmission, and are noted in several sources. The causes and classifications Kethib and Qere notations figure significantly in the biblical scholar's understanding of the transmission and interpretation of the Hebrew Bible. See MASORETIC TEXT.

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A. Terminology
B. Sources
    1. Marginal notes
    2. Masoretic lists
C. Origins of *kĕtîb* (K) and *qĕrê* (Q) Notes
D. Classes and Causes of K/Q Variations

1. Nonstandard Orthography in the K
2. Variations Due to Language Change
3. Scribal Errors in the K
4. Scribal Errors in the Parent Text of the Q
5. Variant Textual Traditions
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**A. Terminology**

The words *kĕtîb* and *qĕrê* are Masoretic terms used with reference to texts in the Hebrew Bible in which the received reading tradition, the *qĕrê,* suggests an orthography which is at variance with what is written in the consonantal text, the *kĕtîb.* The difference in orthography is usually more substantial than the placement of vowel letters, but *kĕtîb* and *qĕrê* notes will comment on unusual cases of *mālēʾ* (full) or *ḥāsēr* (defective) spellings.

The words *kĕtîb* and *qĕrê* are Aram *Peʿil* participles meaning "what is written" and "what is read," respectively. The traditional pronunciation of the word *qry* as *qĕrî* arose by analogy with the vocalization of the word *ktyb.* The term *qry* has been interpreted both as an imperative form and as a participle. Its identity as a passive participle can be determined, however, by analogy with the use of the term *ktyb* in Masoretic notes of the type *ktybn wlʾ qryyn* (plural for: "written but not read").

The following abbreviations will be used in this article:

A The Aleppo Codex
C The codex of the Prophets found in the Cairo Geniza
K *kĕtîb*
K/Q *kĕtîb* and *qĕrê*
L Leningrad Codex B 19A
Mp Masora parva
Q *qĕrê*

**B. Sources**

There are two major sources for identifying instances of K/Q variations: (1) notes in the Mp of the Hebrew Bible; (2) independent Masoretic lists of K/Q situations. In addition, the various mss and editions provide instances of the class known as *qĕrê perpetuum* "perpetual *qĕrê,"* as well as unnoted cases resembling those identified in sources (1) and (2).

The class of *qĕrê perpetuum* comprises words never subject to K/Q notes, although their pronunciation implies an orthography different from the written text. It includes three proper names: the Tetragrammaton *yhwh* (pronounced *ʾădōnay*), Jerusalem, and Issachar. The pronunciation of *hwʾ* as *hîʾ* in the Pentateuch is often considered to be another *qĕrê perpetuum,* but this depends on the ms. In L, *hwʾ* is subject to a Q note in the Mp of the Pentateuch four times: Lev 6:18, 22; 13:20; Deut 13:16.

**1. Marginal notes.** Marginal annotations of K/Q situations do not appear in synagogue scrolls because these scrolls can contain only the unvocalized consonantal text if they are to be used liturgically. Some early pointed mss also do not mark K/Q situations. Examples of K/Q notes in the Mp of various mss may be found in Fig. KET.01.

**a. Tiberian.** It is the K/Q notes of the Mp from the Tiberian tradition which are most often referred to in discussions about *kĕtîb* and *qĕrê.* The manner in which they appear has been described in detail by Yeivin (1980 §§93–97). K/Q notes do not stand out from other Masoretic notes in the Mp of fully developed Tiberian mss. In less developed or complete mss, K/Q notes stand out as a class. They are the only kind of note from the Mp to be recorded in most printed editions. Some editions note the Q by printing it in the margin with its vocalization and leave the corresponding K unvocalized. Mss associate the vowels of the Q with the corresponding K and leave the consonants of the Q in the margin unvocalized. In either case, it is understood that the vowels in question belong to the Q and not the K (Yeivin 1980 §§94, 97).

K/Q readings are usually recorded by placing a small circle (the typical indicator of a note in the Mp) over the K with a marginal note indicating the Q reading over the word *qry* which appears in the margin

of mss either written in full (infrequently) or in abbreviated form (commonly). It is typical for the entire wording of the Q to be recorded in mss like L and A, but some of their K/Q notes record only the letter of syllable actually affected by the Q (see Fig. KET.01 (a)). Earlier mss are more likely to have abbreviated citations. So, e.g., C has more partial Q citations than L or A.

Another K/Q indicator is the marginal sign that resembles a somewhat thick and elongated *zayin* or final *nun* (see Fig. KET.01 (b)). It is usually dotted. This sign is also found in mss with Palestinian and Babylonian pointing. Neither the origin nor the distribution of this sign have been adequately explained. Despite various efforts to identify it as an abbreviation, the sign may simply be a mark which happens to look like a final *nun* or a *zayin.* Its distribution is puzzling. For example, in L of the former prophets, it is only found at Judg 20:13. It occurs twice in the book of Psalms (Pss 105:28; 129:3), but thirteen times in Job. Printed editions often neglect to record it (but cf. *BHK* on Judg 20:13). They either register only the term *qry* which usually accompanies this sign or substitute a note using *qry* for the original as, e.g., Job 39:30 in *BHK* and *BHS.*

Some notes use the word Heb *yattîr* "additional, superfluous," and its abbreviations to mark a Q form (see Fig. KET.01 (c)). This term is not as common as *qĕrê* and is limited to cases in which the *kĕtîb* has a letter which is not heard in the pronunciation of the text. Manuscripts will not only vary internally with regard to the use of *qry* or *ytyr,* but will also differ between themselves in the use of this term (see Fig. KET.01 (e)).

The terms *qry* and *ytyr,* and the *nun*-like sign may all be considered formal markers of cases of K/Q variance. K/Q cases are also subject to other forms of Masoretic notation. Fig. KET.01 (d) records the use of the Masoretic term *sĕbîr* (pl. = *sĕbîrîn*) to mark a situation which may also be subject to a K/Q note. The significance of *sbyr* has been debated. It was likely used to mark an unusual phrase or word in the *kĕtîb* and to warn against a correction to another form (Barr 1981: 23–24). The terms *qry* and *sbyr* can be distinguished by the source of error they refer to in L. K/Q notes mark passages where the reading tradition might lead a scribe to alter the K, but the *sbyr* also marks places where a correction might be motivated by unusual syntax in the text such as a lack of agreement in gender or number (e.g., Gen 19:23; Num 13:22; 1 Kgs 22:43). The number of *sbyr* notes in different mss varies and it is not uncommon to find one ms list as a *sbyr* what another ms records as a *qry* (Yeivin 1980 §109).

Even within a single ms, a situation may be recorded in one place with a K/Q note and in another with different Masoretic terminology. This is particularly true of cases involving vowel letters. The Mp of L on Gen 13:3 marks the unusual spelling of Heb *ʾhlh* meaning "his tent" with the note "*waw* is read." But elsewhere, the Mp notes that the word *ʾhlh* appears four times with the vowel letter *he* standing for *ḥolem* (Gen 9:21; 12:8; 35:21). Different mss will also vary in the designation of cases of unusual or defective spellings as K/Q situations (see Fig. KET.01 (f)).

Manuscripts can also vary in their placement of the vowels of the Q in conjunction with the consonants of the K. This is most obvious when K/Q notes point to a case of inverted consonants. The preference in a ms like L is to place the vowels in the order that they are found in the Q. Manuscript A, however, prefers to invert the vowels in order to place them under their proper consonants. This difference between A and L stems from the disagreement between Karaite and Rabbinate Masoretes as to whether only the consonantal text was given to Moses at Sinai, or whether the divine revelation also disclosed the vowel signs and accents. The latter position was held by the Karaites (and so also by A), whereas L generally follows the Rabbinate line (Yeivin 1962: 146–49).

It is well known that mss and editions of the Hebrew Bible differ in the number of K/Q notes which they contain in their Mp. A major reason for this inconsistency arises from the fact that K/Q examples are not noted systematically in the Mp. In L, for example, the K/Q on *nʿr* / *nʿrh* is faithfully noted in Deuteronomy 22 but never in Genesis 24. Through the centuries there has been a trend toward greater systematization of the various texts of the Masorah found in the mss. The body of K/Q notes published by Jacob ben Hayyim in the second Rabbinic Bible is a compilation of those found in various mss. Ginsburg's collation of editions found anywhere from 901 to 1353 recorded K/Q notes (Ginsburg 1869: 723). In the case of L, a fairly accurate facsimile of the Mp may be found in *BHK.* The edition of the Mp

prepared for *BHS* adds many more K/Q notes in an effort to harmonize the notes of the Mp with those of the *masora finalis* and *masora magna* of L. But students using *BHS* are apt to arrive at a false impression about the number of K/Q notes the Mp of L contains and also about the manner in which some of them are registered.

**b. Palestinian.** Evidence for the manner in which K/Q notes appear in the margin of Palestinian mss has been collected by Revell (1977: 238–47). Examples of this tradition are found in Fig. KET.01 (g). It is common to find the marginal mark which resembles a (dotted) *zayin* or final *nun* used with no further note. K/Q notes may also consist only of a dot or double dot over the affected part of the K with no further note or only two dots written beside the line containing the K. There are also a number of cases where the double dot or *nun*-like mark occur in conjunction with the dot(s) over the K. Where the consonants of the Q were originally recorded in the margin, abbreviated citations of the Q slightly exceed full citations of the Q. Palestinian biblical mss represent a popular text type which shows little independence from the Tiberian tradition in their Masoretic notes (Revell 1974: 87).

**c. Babylonian.** Babylonian mss show various degrees of independence from the Tiberian tradition. To date, no comprehensive study of their K/Q notes has been published. The texts on which these remarks are based were published by Kahle (1913). The Babylonian tradition has a variety of ways in which it records K/Q cases; only the more frequent will be described here. Instead of the Tiberian circle, the supralinear marker is usually an abbreviation of the term *ktyb.* The marginal note records the corresponding Q with the abbreviation for *ktyb* above it and the abbreviation for *qry* below it. Babylonian mss may point the Q as well as the K. It is not uncommon for a ms simply to register the *qry* in the margin and leave the *ktyb* unmarked.

Babylonian mss are important to compare with Tiberian texts because many of them stem from the schools of Masoretes identified as the *madinḥā›ê* (Easterners), whereas the Tiberian schools tend to represent the *ma‹arbā›ê* (Westerners). Most of the recorded differences between the Easterners and the Westerners are matters of K/Q (see, e.g., the list of Gordis 1937: 214–15). Variations attributed to the Easterners and Westerners in the standard Masoretic list affect about 10 percent of K/Q situations in the Prophets and Writings. But the proportion of disagreement on K/Q readings between Babylonian and Tiberian mss is even greater (Yeivin 1980 §96).

**2. Masoretic lists.** Testimony to the oldest independent list of K/Q variants is found in *b. Ned.* 37b:

> Rabbi Isaac said, "The pronunciation of the scribes (*mqr› swprym*), the omissions of the scribes (*‹yṭwr swprym*), words read which are not written in the text (*qryyn wl› ktybn*), and words written in the text but not read (*ktybn wl› qryyn*) are a law of Moses from Sinai."

The text continues with examples of each of these classes. R. Isaac belonged to the third generation of ›Amoraim and taught in Babylon toward the close of the 3d century C.E.

The K/Q classes of "read but not written," and "written but not read" are also mentioned in tractate *Sop.* (6: 8–9). *Sop.* was compiled sometime after the final redaction of the Babylonian Talmud. It is usually dated to the Gaonic period about the middle of the 8th century C.E. *Sop.* also lists the following K/Q situations: words written *l›* but read as *lw* and vice versa (6: 5–6), the K/Q *y‹wl / y‹yl* (6: 7), words written in the singular but pronounced as plural (7: 1), words written with a *he* which is not pronounced and vice versa (7: 2), words written as one word but read as two and vice versa (7: 3), and words spelled with a *waw* but read as with a *yod* vowel letter (7: 4). Similar lists also occur in the collative lists of the *masora magna.* Lists of this kind are rare in the *masora magna* of L, but see, e.g., no. 782 in Weil's edition (1971): "Fourteen words written with the vowel letter *he* but read with the vowel letter *waw*." The systematic compilation of lists of this kind eventually resulted in independent Masoretic treatises of the type known as *›oklah we›oklah* (Lyons 1974: 62). Lists of K/Q situations are prominent in these treatises. See, e.g., lists nos. 80, 81, 97–100, and 105–59 in the edition of Frensdorff (1972), originally published in 1864.

### C. Origins of *kĕtîb* (K) and *qĕrê* (Q) Notes

Discussion of the origins of K/Q notes must distinguish the question about how the notations of K/Q situations came to be composed, from questions concerning the origins of the variations they record. The

position taken here is that the K/Q variations represent alternate traditions, each accepted in a certain circle. The K represents the written tradition accepted by the scribes who copied the consonantal text, while the Q represents the oral reading tradition accepted by the readers and synagogue schools (Breuer 1981: 261). K/Q notes, whether recorded in lists or in the Mp of mss, are the work of the Masoretes, the scholars who produced the first pointed biblical mss. The Masoretic scribes knew by heart what was to be read, the Q. Precisely where the Q did not agree with the K, there was a danger that the Q might affect the orthography of the K. Hence, passages were noted where the Q suggested an orthography at variance with the K. This is in accord with the dominant character of Masoretic operations which throughout are meant to safeguard the copying of the consonantal text (Barr 1981: 36–37).

Two arguments can be advanced in favor of the view that the Masoretes are the creators of K/Q notes. First, there is no evidence for marginal notations of K/Q cases before the time of the Masoretes. Second, the K/Q notes in the Mp cannot be divorced in either terminology or function from the bulk of Masoretic activity.

The argument from manuscript evidence is weakened because of the gap in evidence between the finds of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the earliest Masoretic mss. It is noteworthy, however, that biblical mss found among the Dead Sea Scrolls contain no system of marginal notation corresponding to K/Q situations. The evidence of the early versions does not shed any light on this problem, either. There is no decisive preference shown in the LXX for either the K or the Q (Yeivin 1980 §106). The Targums prefer the Q (Sperber 1973: 132–33). But this is to be expected given their origins as translations of the synagogue readings. Several passages in rabbinic literature show knowledge of discrepancies between the consonantal text and the received reading tradition. Some even use the formula "it is written, but we read," e.g., *b. Menaḥ.* 89b on Lev 23:13; *ʿErub.* 26a on 2 Kgs 20:4; cf. also *Gen. Rab.* 34:8 on Gen 8:17 (for further examples see Bamberger 1923: 232–39; Yeivin 1980 §105). But the evidence falls short of indicating that the rabbis knew about the presence of marginal notes to the K.

Positive evidence for the Masoretic origins of K/Q notes comes from a consideration of their form and function. They are written in the same script and form as other notes in the Mp. The functional vocabulary applied to K/Q cases is also applied to other situations in the Mp. For instance, the note on *šmnt* in L at Num 3:29 reads, "defective in the whole Bible and always read (*qry*) in this way with one exception." The note on *wph* in Josh 18:8 reads "occurs twice, once written (*ktyb*) *pe he* and once written *pe ʾalep.*" This is a common kind of note in the Mp.

As with other types of notes in the Mp, a number of K/Q notes are at odds with the details of the text. In L, Exod 16:7, Ezek 6:3, and Ezra 10:44 have a Q which equals the K. Other texts have notes which are erroneous, such as those on Ps 99:6 and Dan 2:35 in L. These kinds of inconsistencies indicate that K/Q notes were not simply derived from the ms to which they were attached. The majority were probably taken from older sources transmitted in Masoretic circles (Rubinstein 1961: 129–30).

One must also consider the fact that K/Q readings figure prominently in Masoretic lists of the collative type. The composition of *Sop.* points to the beginning of Masoretic work as the enumeration of various known features of the orthography of the consonantal text and their arrangement into lists (Yeivin 1980 §150). It is significant that this same tractate has a number of lists of K/Q situations. It is likely that the various details of the Mp including those of K/Q were first transmitted in Masoretic lists (Rubinstein 1965: 16–17). Many of these lists probably first circulated orally before they were written down, either in the form of the Mp or *masora magna* (Lyons 1974: 63–64).

The view articulated here is in opposition to two other opinions about the origin of K/Q notes: (1) that the marginal Q notes are the result of a process of manuscript collation and represent a record of variant readings; (2) that the Q notes were meant to correct the K where it was supposed to be in error. These theories are not mutually exclusive and some have proposed that the collection of K/Q notes is a result of both ms collation and correction.

The collation theory was first put forward by David Kimḥi (ca. 1160–1235). Kimḥi suggested in his introduction to the Former Prophets that Ezra found the state of biblical mss in disarray because of the Babylonian exile. Variant readings were resolved by the device of the K/Q notes inserted in the ms

margin. Theories related to this view have been prominent in later critical scholarship (Bamberger 1930: 39–41; Gordis 1937: 9–12). In this century, both Gordis (1937) and Orlinsky (1960) have proposed theories of ms collation to explain the origins of the K/Q notes in the Mp. A suggestive text they (and others) have pointed to in this regard has been the report of *j. Taʿan.* 4: 2:68a and its parallels (Talmon 1962: 16–17):

> Three scrolls of the Torah were found in the Temple Court: the *mʿwnh* scroll, the *zʿṭwṭy* scroll, and the *hyʾ* scroll. In one of them they found written *mʿwnʾ lhy qdm* (Deut 33:27) and in the other two they found written *mʿwnh;* they adopted the reading of the two and discarded the reading of the one. In one they found written *wyšlḥ ʾt zʿṭwṭy bny yśrʾl* (Exod 24:5) and in the other two they found written *wyšlḥ ʾt nʿry bny yśrʾl*; they adopted the two and discarded the one. In one they found *hyʾ* written nine times, and in the other two they found it written eleven times; they adopted the two and discarded the one.

Gordis's theory of a pre-Masoretic collation is vulnerable to the observations about the Masoretic origins of K/Q notes made above. Orlinsky was more sensitive to the relationship between the placement of notes in the Mp and the beginning of Masoretic activity than Gordis. But it is highly uncertain that ms collation was a characteristic type of Masoretic activity as he suggests (Barr 1981: 21). Recent study of the report of the three scrolls has denied that it speaks of ms collation, but instead reports on the process whereby three nonconforming scrolls were discarded from use (Talmon 1962: 15–18). A related problem is the presence of just one Q for each K in the Mp. It would be quite natural for the transmission process to generate multiple variants for a single text (Rubinstein 1959: 128). In fact, the existence of just one Q for any K is a difficulty for all collation theories. It is explained, however, by the assumption that the Masoretes combined the reading tradition they knew with the ms they chose to point. There need only be one Q for each K because the reading tradition was considered in relation to only one ms.

Sperber contended that most of the Hebrew Bible was transmitted in two recensions, one of which is represented by the K and the other which is represented by the Q (1943: 299–311). The scribes sought to preserve the details of these two recensions when they standardized the MT. They used the technique of K/Q to preserve one recension in the K and the other in the Q. It is possible that some K/Q readings are derived from different recensions (see D.5 below). But this idea is no explanation for the composition of K/Q notes, nor can it be extrapolated into a general principle which will explain the origins of all the variants the K/Q system records.

The first to propose the correction theory was Abrabanel (ca. 1437–1508) in the introduction to his commentary on Jeremiah. He suggested that Ezra and his followers found that the sacred books contained irregular expressions, and loose and ungrammatical phrases arising from carelessness and ignorance of the inspired writers. These were corrected by the Q notes found in the Mp. Modern support for the view that K/Q notes are the result of critical work on erroneous readings usually uses the correction theory as a supplement to the textual collation theory (e.g., Ginsburg 1869: 723–24; Würthwein 1979: 17–18).

A decisive blow to the correction theory arises from the probability that the K/Q notes are the work of the Masoretes. The Masoretes labored to preserve the text as accurately as possible in the form in which they received it. Correction of the text is incompatible with the goals of Masoretic activity (Gordis 1937: 19–20). It is likely, however, that some variants recorded in the K/Q system are corrections or alterations which originated in the reading tradition (see D.6 below).

**D. Classes and Causes of K/Q Variations**

The classification of K/Q cases can proceed on two separate levels. First, K/Q readings may be described formally, i.e., in terms of the orthographic differences that they entail. Second, K/Q situations may be classified in terms of the various reasons for their creation. It will often happen that variants which show similarity on the level of form will have arisen due to different pressures on the K and Q traditions.

Masoretic lists of the collative type contain formal descriptions of K/Q variations. Elias Levita (1538: 182–95) suggested a sevenfold division of K/Q variants which is still useful: (a) letters of words read in the Q but not written in the K and vice versa; (b) letters interchanged between the K and Q; (c) transpositions of letters (metathesis); (d) two words in sequence with the first having a letter belonging to

the second and vice versa; (e) words read but not written and vice versa; (f) expressions written as one word but pronounced as two and vice versa; (g) substitutions or euphemisms. A catalogue of K/Q readings classified according to this system appears in Bamberger (1923: 221–29). More modern attempts at classifications have generally combined analyses of the formal distinctions between K/Q readings and their causes. Among the most notable are those of Ginsburg (1869), Gordis (1937), and Barr (1981).

A traditional view of the origin of the K/Q notes holds that the Q represents the ordinary meaning of the text while the K represents some hidden or mystical meaning. Both were regarded by this view as equally inspired and to have originated with Moses. It is apparent, however, that the divergences between the K and the Q are the result of a long and complex history of transmission. The variations recorded by the K/Q system are due to a number of different causes. These include textual variations, dialectical differences, and correctional and epexegetical tendencies of the Q. Others are recorded because the K was written before the spelling conventions marked by the Q were standardized.

A detailed account of the etiology for each K/Q situation in a ms like L demands a book-length study, but no such work has appeared since it was undertaken by Gordis. The kinds of pressures which have created K/Q readings are generally indicated below. The examples have been taken from the Mp of L. In every case, they are only illustrative and are not to be taken as exhaustive.

**1. Nonstandard Orthography in the K.** A large number of K/Q notes record divergences in the orthography of the K and are meant to prevent correction of the K to the standard orthography of the word pronounced in the Q. These notes affect cases like the following:

**a. 3 masc. sing. suffix on plural nouns.** For example, *mṭb‹tw / mṭb‹tyw* Exod 28:28. Lachish letter 3:18 contains the spelling *w›nšw* meaning "and his men." It is likely that the K is a traditional consonantal spelling of the later full orthography which the Q indicates is standard (Orlinsky 1943: 271–72).

**b. Unusual mālē› spellings.** Examples include notes on words spelled with a double *yod* and a defective *ḥolem,* e.g., *ṣbyym / ṣbwym* Gen 14:8; *ḥolem* marked by *›alep,* e.g., *l› / lw* Exod 21:8; and *šureq* marked by *he,* e.g., Lev 21:5.

**c. Unusual ḥaser spellings.** Note *lk / lkh* in Num 23:13. Another candidate which might be included here is the variation *n‹r / n‹rh* in Deuteronomy 22. It is possible, however, that this example could be better analyzed as a lexical variant (see sec. D.2. below) in which the epicene *n‹r* found in the K has been resolved into its feminine counterpart in the Q.

**2. Variations Due to Language Change.** This class contains important evidence for dating the relative age of the language represented by the Q. For instance, in the case of the reading tradition for biblical Aramaic, it can be shown that it represents a language similar to the Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls. But some features of the Q point to a later form of that dialect (Morrow and Clarke 1986: 421–22).

**a. Phonological shifts.** This class refers to shifts in sound which have not resulted in morphological change in the inflection of the word. Examples include:

(1) Quiescence. Note that *hqly›* (1 Sam 17:17) and *wšyṣy›* (Ezra 6:15) are both examples of words which have the annotation *ytyr›* "superfluous *›alep"* in the Mp. The danger that such a word might be written without the silent consonant can be illustrated by the K/Q on *mby / mby›* in Jer 39:16.

(2) Reduction of *ḥolem.* A number of phrases with one major stress are marked by joining the words in question together with *maqqep.* It is typical in this situation for the /o/ vowel to reduce from tone-long *ḥolem* to *qameṣ qaṭan,* e.g., *lš›wl* (1 Sam 22:15) and *y‹bwr* (Isa 26:20). It is possible that the vocalization of *bmwty* in Deut 32:13 has also arisen because of a stress shift (BDB, 119). Another explanation could be suggested, however, on the basis of orthography found in 1QIsa[a] where the vowel letter *waw* is used to mark short vowels (see Kutscher 1974: 147–48).

(3) Dissimilation of the consonant *yod* to *›alep* when preceded by *qameṣ* and followed by another vowel in biblical Aramaic. This shift occurs in nouns which are in the feminine absolute state, e.g., *rby‹yh / rby><h* (Dan 2:40); in the masculine determined state, e.g., *kśdy› / kšd›h* (Dan 5:30); and in many plural gentilics, e.g., *lkśdy› / lkśd›y* (Dan 2:5).

**b. Morphological Shifts.** Examples include:

(1) Replacement of the archaic 3 fem. pl. ending. For example, *špkh* / *špkw* (Deut 21:7); *nṣth / ns\tw* (Jer 2:15).

(2) Loss of the archaic 2 fem. sing. ending. It is not clear whether the K in all cases represents a form that was pronounced when it was written or whether the ending had already fallen out of use. Typical forms include *w›ty / w›t* (Judg 17:2); *lmdty / lmdt* (Jer 2:33).

(3) Replacement of the 3 fem. sing., 2 masc. sing., and 1 person pl. suffix forms on plural nouns with their singular counterparts in biblical Aramaic. For example, *brglyh / brglh* (Dan 7:7); *l‹bdyk / l‹bdk* (Dan 2:4); *›ytyn› / ›ytn›* (Dan 3:18).

**c. Dialectical Variants.** A number of differences between the K and Q amount to variations in word formation with no change in semantic meaning. It often is difficult to determine whether the choice made in the Q is textually based or dialectical, i.e., the Q arose from a dialect of Hebrew that preferred a different form of the word than found in the K. Nominal variants of this sort include the alternation of *qrw› / qry›* in Num 1:16; 26:9; *›swr / ›syr* in Gen 39:20 and *šbyt / sbwt* in Ezek 16:53. Dialectical differences may also be implied by the K/Q notes on variants between *Qal* and *Hip‹il* forms of the root *lwn* in Exod 16:2; Num 14:36; and 16:11. Cf. also *wyyrš / wywrš* in Num 21:32.

**3. Scribal Errors in the K.** A number of K/Q situations seem to have arisen because of scribal errors in the K. Barr cites 1 Sam 4:13, 1 Kgs 22:49, and Ezek 25:7 as examples of scribal error in the K (1981: 34–35). Typical errors include haplography, e.g., *wyštḥw / wyštḥww* (Gen 27:29); *bnymn / bny bnymn* (Judg 20:13); errors in word division, e.g., *›šdt / ›š dt* (Deut 33:2); *mnhs‹rh / mn hs‹rh* (Job 38:1); and metathesis, e.g., *wtr›nh / wt›rnh* (1 Sam 14:27).

K/Q variants have also arisen because of confusion in the writing of consonants. It is possible that some K/Q arose as two different interpretations of an ambiguous grapheme (Barr 1981: 27–28). For example, *waw* and *yod* are often indistinguishable in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Common consonantal confusions include:

a. *waw* / *yod* interchange, e.g., *tnw›wn / tny›wn* (Num 32:7). The Q is correct, the root *nw›* is only used in the *Hip‹il* in biblical Hebrew; cf. Num 32:9.

b. *reš* / *dalet* interchange, e.g., *›‹bd / ›‹bwr* (Jer 2:20). The consonants *reš* and *dalet* are easily confused in most Hebrew scripts.

c. *bet* / *kap* interchange, e.g., *wybw* / *wykw* (2 Kgs 3:24).

**4. Scribal Errors in the Parent Text of the Q.** This is less frequent than the incidence of scribal errors in the K. A number of difficult cases in the vocalization of the Q suggest that its tradents took as authoritative a ms or ms tradition which had an error. A case in point is the alternation *rbyt* / *rbt* in Dan 4:19. There is no justification for the 3 fem. sing. suggested by the Q and it appears to be based on an error (Morrow and Clarke 1986: 416). See also McCarthy's discussion of the Q *b‹yny* in 2 Sam 16:12 (1981: 81–83).

**5. Variant Textual Traditions.** This possibility is suggested by the Masoretic lists of words read but not written and words written but not read. The early form of the list of words read but not written in *Ned.* 37b mentions seven cases: 2 Sam 8:3; 16:23; Jer 31:38; 50:29; Ruth 2:11 (*›t*); 3:5, 17. The standard list contains ten examples. There is no reference to Ruth 2:11 and the list is augmented with Judg 20:13; 2 Sam 18:20; 2 Kgs 19:31, 37. The early form of the list of words written but not read has five examples: Deut 6:25 (*z›t*); 2 Kgs 5:18; Jer 51:3; Ezek 48:16; Ruth 3:12. The standard list has eight examples. It leaves out Deut 6:25 and adds 2 Sam 13:33; 15:21; Jer 38:16; 39:12 (*IDBSup*, 719). These texts have to be examined on a case by case basis to determine if an authentic textual variant underlies each one. Nevertheless, the tradition in general indicates the probability that the Q and K diverge at times because of different textual traditions.

Evidence of textual traditions in the K/Q also seems indicated where the Q of Samuel and Kings is in many cases the K of Chronicles and no Q is recorded there. Compare, e.g., 2 Sam 23:8–9, 13, 15–16, 18, 20–21 and 1 Chr 11:11–12, 15, 17–18, 20, 22–23. Sperber took this kind of correspondence as evidence that the Q was based on a recension of the Deuteronomistic History separate from the K (1943: 303–9).

**6. Epexegetical Alterations of the K.** Some K/Q variations are probably the result of alterations by the tradents of the Q in order to clarify the meaning of the text. Classes of epexegetical alterations include:

**a. Grammatical Corrections.** A probable case of grammatical correction is attested in the alternation of *whyh* / *whyw* when the subject is *twṣ›wt* as in Num 34:3; Josh 15:4; 18:12, 14, 19. The K agrees with the Q in Num 34:9 and Josh 17:18; cf. also Josh 19:29. Gordis considered this variant to be due to the loss of the archaic 3 fem. pl. ending (1937: 104–5). But a verb does not have to agree with its subject in number or gender in biblical Hebrew if it precedes it (*GKC* §145o). These Q readings are likely a correction to a simpler grammatical form which anticipates the kind of change the Masoretic *sbyr* notes aim to prevent.

This class may also include certain cases of variation between short and long imperfect forms, e.g., Josh 7:21; Jer 3:7; 17:8; and gender variations such as *›ḥd / ›ḥt* in 2 Sam 23:8 and *hw› / hy›* in Isa 30:33. The latter alternation is similar to the preference shown for pronouncing 3 fem. pl. verbs and suffixes in the Q of biblical Aramaic. See, e.g., *npqw* / *npqh* (Dan 5:5); *bynyhwn* / *bynyhyn* (Dan 7:8).

**b. Euphemisms.** One form of this kind of alteration is the euphemistic replacement of words based on roots such as *šgl* and *‹pl* with milder forms, cf. Deut 28:27, 30; 1 Sam 5:6, 12. The K/Q *šn›w / śn›y* in 2 Sam 5:8 has probably resulted from a desire to protect David's character (McCarthy 1981: 230–31). A euphemistic substitution can also be found in the alternation of *bgd / b›gd* in Gen 30:11. Both of these Q readings were likely generated in a manner similar to the midrashic *›al tiqrê* ("do not read") technique. According to McCarthy (1981: 166), similar techniques generated most of the readings now preserved in the rabbinic lists of the "emendations of the scribes" (*tiqqûnê sôpĕrîm*).

**c. Expansions.** An expansion in the Q may be indicated by the prepositional phrase *›ly* in Ruth 3:5, 17 found in the lists of words read but not written. The addition of *waw* in the Q is attested in Lam 5:3, 5. This kind of expansionary tendency is often found in the versions. The rabbinic tradition of the "corrections of the scribes" (*‹iṭṭûrê sûpĕrîm*) is related to this phenomenon.

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**KETHUBIM.** The third section of the Jewish division of the Hebrew Bible meaning "writings" (Heb *kĕtûbîm*), known also as the Hagiographa from the Greek term meaning "holy writings." This division includes the books of Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles (Song of Solomon), Qoheleth (Ecclesiastes), Lamentations, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and 1–2 Chronicles.

**KETURAH** (PERSON) [Heb *qĕṭûrâ* (קְטוּרָה)]. The third wife of Abraham, after Sarah and Hagar (Gen 25:1–4; 1 Chr 1:32–33). As far as they can be identified, her children and grandchildren were prominent Arabian or Aramean tribes or cities. See MEDAN; MIDIAN; ISHBAK; SHUAH; SHEBA; DEDAN. Medan, Midian, Dedan, and Sheba/Saba were situated along the "incense route" through W Arabia, and Shuah was involved in Sabean commerce as early as the second half of the 8th century B.C. "Keturah" is not attested as a personal name. It is reasonable to suggest that Keturah is a personification of the incense trade (cf. Heb *qĕṭōret* "incense"; *qĕṭôrâ* "incense offering"; Eph'al 1982: 231–33). Within a concept of geography in terms of genealogy as it is encountered in the OT, Keturah links to Abraham those Arabian tribes and cities which were not included among the descendants of Hagar.

The date of the geographical list constituted by the "sons of Keturah" is difficult to ascertain. Whereas some of its elements, like the "sons of Midian" (Gen 25:4), may antedate the 8th century B.C. (Knauf 1988: 85–86), the list as a whole presupposes the establishment of the "incense route" in the course of the 8th century B.C. Because it does not mention the Minaeans, who gained supremacy over the Arabian trade in the 4th century B.C., the list can be assumed to have been finalized before 400 B.C. (Knauf 1988: 168).

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**KEYS OF THE KINGDOM.** In Matt 16:19 the giving over of the "keys of the kingdom of heaven" (*tas kleidas tés basileias tōn ouranōn*) is part of the three-part promise of Jesus to Peter, who had confessed Jesus to be "the Christ, the Son of the living God." As the Petrine confession represents a post-Easter formulation of the Church's Easter faith, so the promise made to Peter reflects Matthew's understanding of the Church and relates to the ecclesiastic situation after the Resurrection.

The logion of v 19 is but loosely linked to the image of the Church built on Peter (Cephas)—the "rock." The imagery of the building is maintained but the metaphor is mixed. In v 19 Peter is depicted as one having the power of a householder, the image of the keys having been evoked by the image of the gates of Hades. Nonetheless, the mixed metaphors incline many scholars to think that the two sayings (vv 18, 19) enjoyed an independent existence at some point in the existence of the Palestinian Jewish-Christian church.

Some hold that v 19 alludes to Isa 22:15–25, in which an oracle is expressed apropos of Eliakim, the successor to the deposed Shebna: "I will place on his shoulder the key of the house of David; he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open" (Isa 22:22). In this case, Peter would appear to fulfill something of a prime ministerial role in the kingdom of heaven. Allusion is certainly made to the Isaian text in Rev 3:7 ("the holy one, the true one, who has the key to David, who opens and no one shall shut, who shuts and no one opens"), apparently in reference to Jesus. In an earlier passage (Rev 1:18), Revelation had described Jesus as having the keys of Death and Hades. There is, however, no clear reference to Isaiah 22 in Matt 16:19 and the attempted Aramaic retroversions would seem to argue against its plausibility.

In Jewish tradition, the key of David refers to the authority of the teachers of the Law. Luke cites a Q tradition in which reference is made to a key (the key of knowledge in Luke's formulation) held by lawyers (Luke 11:52). The Matthean version of the saying, a woe addressed to the scribes and Pharisees "because you shut the kingdom of heaven against men; for you neither enter yourselves, nor allow those

who would enter to go in" (Matt 23:13), without explicit reference to a key, serves as a negative parallel to Matt 16:19. Thus "the keys of the kingdom of heaven" would seem to indicate that Peter enjoyed an authority like that of the teachers of the Law, but in contradistinction to them. He represents something of a chief rabbi for the Matthean community.

The present wording of Matt 16:19a, specified and reinforced by the binding and loosing logion of v 19b–c, is clearly a Matthean formulation ("kingdom of heaven"). The emphasis of the image is primarily positive; its primary reference is to a power allowing entrance into the kingdom. The Matthean language may be compared with the earlier eschatological understanding whereby entrance into the kingdom is effected by means of belief in the gospel which had been preached. Matthew's phraseology affirms the eschatological significance of Peter's commission to preach. In its post-resurrectional setting, the image symbolizes Peter's plenipotentiary authority over the Church and may well also have reference to Peter's power to gather the community together, to interpret the Scriptures, and to exercise various disciplinary functions within the community. The household imagery affirms Peter's full power over the Church and confirms that the exercise of that power is sanctioned by the risen One. See also *TDNT* 3:744–53.

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**KEZIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *qĕsîʿâ* (קְסִיעָה)]. The second of Job's daughters born to him after the restoration of his fortunes (42:14). The name means "cassia plant," and refers to the aromatic cassia which is mentioned in Ps 45:9 [—Eng 45:8] along with myrrh and aloes. The principle ancient versions are agreed in this identification, the LXX reading *kesia* and the Vulgate *cassia.* Dhorme (1967) assumes that the reference is to the aromatic cassia which is today called cinnamon or canella. Not only do the names of Job's daughters refer in some way to their beauty and charm, but the three together present assonantal relationships. Jemimah and Keziah clearly offer final syllabic rhyme, while Keziah and Keren-happuch offer first syllable assonance. See also JEMIMAH; KEREN-HAPPUCH.

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**KHAFAJE.** A site in Iraq on the left bank of the Diyala river, SE of tell Asmar. Particularly vigorous clandestine excavations shortly after the first World War brought this region of the lower branch of the Diyala to the attention of the scientific community, and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago decided in 1929 to explore four of its principal tells: Asmar, Ischaeli, Agrab, and Khafaje.

The latter site, formed of a group of three principal hills (A, B-C and D) of unequal importance and belonging to different periods, has proved to be quite rich. P. Delougaz directed the research for the first seven expeditions under the sponsorship of the Oriental Institute (1930 to 1937) and under a joint expedition of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and the American Schools of Oriental Research for the two final campaigns in 1937 and 1938.

Tell D, about 400 m by 250 m, has been only minimally explored; it contains, apparently, the ruins of a small fortress and two temples, one dedicated to Sin. The name of this installation is unknown.

Tell B-C, of larger dimensions (more than 500 m by 400 m) is a fortress built by the son of Hammurabi and known by the name of *Dur-Samsuiluna* ("fortress of Samsuiluna"). Behind an enclosure wall of 5 m thickness, a large residence of 1200 square m has been found, but the excavations have not been continued long enough to give a precise image of the installation.

It is tell A that has been the object of the most thorough research. Oblong in shape (about 900 m by 400 m), the city that it contains was known at the end of the 3d millennium by the name "Tuttub." However, its history results more from knowledge gathered from archaeological finds than from textual sources, which have not been found in great number. Its origins are found in the Predynastic period, without doubt

during the phase generally known by the name of Jemdet-Nasr, about 3000 B.C.E.; it is during this period that the five first phases of the temple of Sin are dated. It is possible that the city was most often under the control of Eshnunna (tell Asmar), but it is impossible to know the course of events for this early period. However, its real importance, at least if one trusts the monuments that have been unearthed, dates from the Early Dynastic Period, when the improvements to the Oval Temple show that the city possessed the means to undertake works of enormous size. It is to this period that the largest number of discovered monuments belong. But following this period, the city again enjoyed real importance, at least during certain periods. The foundations of a large edifice dated from the Agade period found in the N part of the city show that it still felt the need to construct buildings that clearly fell into the category of palaces. In addition, around 1900 Tuttub freed itself from the natural dominance of Eshnunna, its neighbor, and for about thirty years knew independence. The incorporation of the region into the empire of Hammurabi, in the 18th century, was accompanied by a weakening and a growing poverty that proved the end to urban life in Tuttub as in all the other neighboring cities.

The major ruin is clearly the Oval Temple. The first of the sanctuaries of this type to have been found in Mesopotamia, it presents an organization that expresses spatially the progression from the profane toward the sacred by a progressive elevation of the levels of occupation. The general form, irregular, is created by an approximately ellipsoidal enclosure of 74 m by 54 m oriented NW-SE about 40 cm higher than the surrounding surface; one reaches this slightly elevated level by a single entrance to the NW that gives onto an open space tightly associated with D House located to the N between the two enclosures. Almost facing the entrance, a monumental doorway allows one to enter into an almost concentric second enclosure in which a stairway of four steps marks a new level of elevation. One then arrives in a large trapezoidal courtyard with rooms located all around its perimeter. Two functions were without doubt intended: to allow the completion of rites that took place outdoors and to allow access to the terrace six meters above that takes up all of the SE part; although no trace has been found, a temple which formed the apex of the progression was probably located on the summit.

Among the material remains that have been collected are several stone statuettes, a votive plaque, and a group of three standing copper statuettes on a circular pedestal with four feet. We do not know the name of the deity worshiped in the Oval Temple, but the sanctuary seems to be characteristic of the Early Dynastic Period. It was built during the course of the second phase of the period (ED II) and seems to have been in use up until the empire of Agade, having undergone several reconstructions and alterations.

The Temple of Sin is located about 50 m to the E; it is in reality a small sanctuary whose notoriety comes more from the minute study undertaken by the excavators than from the importance of the location. The oldest phase recovered goes back to the Jemdet-Nasr period and the most recent has been fixed at the end of the Early Dynastic; ten major architectural phases allow us to follow the evolution of the small urban temple and its alterations; the most important part consists of a rectangular room NW-SE equipped with a platform built against the NW wall (the location of the throne of the god) and sometimes parallelepiped or cylindrical pedestals (probably offering tables). The adjoining structures were located along the two sides; toward the E extended a courtyard that was important for the course of the history of the building. Also of note is a third temple dedicated to Nintu, and above all, the very curious small walled quarter of which the significance is not very well understood.

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**KHALIL, RAMAT EL-.** See RAMAT EL-KHALIL (M.R. 160107).

**KHELEIFEH, TELL EL-** (M.R. 147884). The site of Tell el-Kheleifeh is located approximately 500 m from the N shore of the Gulf of Aqaba, roughly equidistant between modern Eilat and Aqaba. This low mudbrick mound was first surveyed in 1933 by the German explorer Fritz Frank, who identified the site with biblical Ezion-geber (Frank 1934). Having conducted a surface survey of Tell el-Kheleifeh in 1937, Nelson Glueck directed three seasons of excavation (1938–1940) and discerned six major periods of occupation with three subphases (Glueck 1938a; 1938b; 1939; 1940a; 1965). The occupational horizons were dated between the Iron I and Persian periods. Glueck accepted Frank's identification of Tell el-Kheleifeh with biblical Ezion-geber and, though some uncertainty is reflected in his field records and later publications, the equation remained the underlying premise for the interpretation of the site's occupational history.

A reappraisal of Glueck's excavations in light of advances in the science of archaeology, particularly refinements in pottery typology, has suggested the need for significant refinement and revision of his conclusions (Pratico 1982; 1985). The most important datum involves revision of the site's chronological horizons as indicated by the study of the pottery. The site's pottery cannot be dated earlier than the 9th century B.C., and this early limit is suggested only by isolated forms. The horizon as a whole appears to date between the 8th and early 6th centuries B.C. with a presence attested as late as the 4th century B.C. The horizons of the site's architectural traditions are too broad to provide definitive chronological refinement. Tell el-Kheleifeh, therefore, provides no clear archaeological indications, ceramic or architectural, for an identification with Ezion-geber of Israel's wilderness traditions (Num 33:35–36), the 10th century (1 Kgs 9:26–28), or the 9th century (1 Kgs 22:47–48).

Tell el-Kheleifeh was occupied in two major architectural phases: casemate fortress and fortified settlement. The earliest phase consisted of a casemate square (approximately 45 m on each side) which surrounded a courtyard that was apparently devoid of architecture with the exception of one monumental building (13.20 × 12.30 m), constructed on the "four-room" plan. Glueck originally identified this structure as a smelting furnace but later abandoned this interpretation, designating the building as a citadel. The best architectural parallels to the earliest phase are provided by the casemate fortresses of the central Negeb (Cohen 1979; cf. also 1970; 1976; Meshel 1975; 1977). The latter are generally dated to the 10th century B.C., a date which is not consistent with the suggested chronology of the extant Tell el-Kheleifeh pottery. Unfortunately, Glueck's methodology and recording system preclude precise determination of the date of the casemate fortresses phase.

After the destruction of the casemate fortress, the plan of Tell el-Kheleifeh was radically changed. The fortress was replaced by a significantly larger settlement with an offsets/insets wall and a four-chambered gateway. A large section of the earlier casemate fortress was retained, creating an inner enclosure or courtyard in the NW quadrant of the new offsets/insets plan. The N and W perimeters of the earlier casemate wall were now outside the offsets/insets fortification which also destroyed a portion of the N wall of the four-room building.

The plan of the fortified settlement phase is best paralleled by the citadels of Tell Arad X–VIII (Herzog et al. 1984). Similar features include an element of monumental architecture in the NW corner (though dissimilar in function), a main N-S street on the settlement's E side, inner-wall structures of similar plan and function, a gateway of the four-chambered plan and the offsets/insets fortification which created similar dimensions for each of the settlements.

The pottery which can be associated with the levels of the offsets/insets settlement dates between the 8th and early 6th centuries B.C. These dates are also indicated by certain of the epigraphic materials and studies in comparative architecture. Though the data are lean, both architectural and ceramic, the occupational history of Tell el-Kheleifeh continued beyond the Iron Age, perhaps as late as the 4th century B.C.

The identification of Tell el-Kheleifeh is both an archaeological and a historical problem. One may argue the identification from the perspectives of possibility or probability, but the problem of verification precludes examination of the site in the context of biblical Ezion-geber and/or Elath. The biblical notices

pertaining to these two sites are of special importance, however, for providing a rough chronological framework relative to Judean or Edomite control or influence over the region. The methodological prerequisite for the reappraisal of Glueck's excavations must be the demand for uncensored archaeological data. Tell el-Kheleifeh must be allowed to tell its own story in its own language. Allowing Glueck's data to speak apart from the historical contours of Ezion-geber and Elath has produced a significantly different version for this chapter in the study of Syro-Palestinian archaeology.

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**KHIRBET.** Geographic names containing the element "khirbet," meaning "ruin," may be found alphabetized under the second element of the name; for example: ISKANDER, KHIRBET; ADER, KHIRBET.

**KHIRBET KERAK WARE.** This term designates a distinctive assemblage of ceramic forms found at a number of sites in Palestine, Syria, and E Anatolia dating to the EB III. The name "Khirbet Kerak Ware" was given to this pottery group by W. F. Albright in the 1930s when the ware was first found in large quantities on the SW shore of the Sea of Galilee at the site of Khirbet Kerak, now known as BETH-YERAH (M.R. 204235), one of the major international trade centers of the EB III. (Kh. Kerak should not be confused with the Jordanian site of KERAK.)

**A. Forms and Decoration**

Smaller forms include upright-sided and sinuous-sided bowls. Sinuous-sided pots and kraters have been found among the larger vessels. A third category includes conical lids, biconical stands, and U-shaped pot stands.

Khirbet Kerak Ware is distinguished by its bidirectional burnished-surface and "metallic" ware, yet especially larger vessels are frequently made of poorly levigated clay often with some medium to large inclusions. It seems that only small upright-sided bowls had a slip applied before burnishing. Lids and U-shaped stands were usually left unburnished.

The sinuous-sided bowls, sinuous-sided pots and kraters have brownish-orange to brown rims and interior surfaces, while the exterior, excluding the rim, is black. The upright-sided bowls are brownish-orange over the entire surface. The surface colors of the lids and U-shaped stands ranges from tan to gray.

Decorations range from simple knobs and lines (esp. on the smaller bowls) to chevrons, spirals, and polygons (esp. on larger pots and kraters) to anthropoid faces on the U-shaped stands. The decorations are

made before the burnish is applied and may be either fluted or raised, although there are a few examples where the decoration was etched through the burnished surface after the vessel was fired.

**B. Provenience of Khirbet Kerak Ware**

The earliest extant Khirbet Kerak Ware, dated ca. 2800 B.C.E., was found in E Anatolia and S Russia and bears many similarities to E Anatolian polished ware of the era immediately preceding (Amiran 1952; Lamb 1954; Burney 1958). The pottery appeared suddenly in N Canaan ca. 2700 B.C.E. during EB IIIa (Hennessy 1967; Callaway 1972). Scholars postulate that KKW appeared in Canaan either as an import from the Trans-Caucasus region or as a result of a major migration of an ethnic group (possibly the Hurrians; Burney 1958) from this region through Syria to N Canaan with settlement along some of the region's major trade routes. Significant quantities have been found as well at sites in the Ḥabur and 'Amuq regions of N Syria, at the Syrian coastal site of Ugarit and at several sites in the N Jordan valley and the Esdraelon Plain in N Canaan. Smaller quantities have been found at peripheral sites.

Assemblages of KKW found at various Canaanite sites show some unique variations in technique which set them apart from the wares found in Syria and Anatolia. Furthermore, some standard Canaanite forms (e.g., holemouth jars and simple bowls) were incorporated into the KKW repertoire at certain Canaanite sites through the application of the specialized burnishing and color typical of this ware. Both these features would indicate that the KKW found in Canaan was not imported from Syria and Anatolia.

Testing by neutron activation analysis and petrographic analysis of KKW found at Palestinian and Syrian sites has indicated that wherever this pottery is found in significant quantities, nearly all of it was manufactured locally at or near the site. It seems in the light of the few nonlocal sherds found at sites such as Beth-Yerah that perhaps initially some vessels were imported to Canaanite sites before local manufacture of the ware was established. Meager quantities have been found at S Canaanite sites. Initial testing of pieces from sites such as Jericho indicates that the pottery was not locally made but rather imported from major production centers in N Canaan. (viz., Beth-Yerah).

KKW remains one of the main diagnostic pottery forms in determining EB III levels at archaeological tells in the Levant today.

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**KHORSABAD.** The name of a village in N Iraq which designates the site of ancient Dur-Sharrukin (fortress of Sargon), a city founded by Sargon II of Assyria. The work began around 713 B.C. and the city was inaugurated in 707 B.C. as the capital of the empire; but it was never finished because Sargon II died in 705 B.C. and his successor Sennacherib, abandoned the city to return to Nineveh.

The site is famous for the profusion of discoveries that have been found there, and also because it was there that the very first digs were conducted in Mesopotamia. In fact, P. E. Botta, the French consul in Mosul in 1842, who was actively interested in orientalism, decided to dig at the site of Nineveh, neighbor of Mosul and soon after at Khorsabad, 15 kms N-NE of the Assyrian capital; it was a matter therefore of finding real proof of this Assyrian civilization, known only up to that time in biblical sources (the campaigns of Sennacherib, Ezekiel's prophecies and the adventures of Jonah) and through a few superficial discoveries that aroused curiosity without bringing any solutions to the questions that were

being asked on the origins of Christianity and Judaism. Nevertheless the initial research conducted at Nineveh was deceiving, while the works being conducted at Khorsabad were crowned with success: on the third day monumental *bas-reliefs* filled with inscriptions were found.

The reverberations of these initial discoveries were sufficient for Paris to begin proceedings with *la Porte* in order to insure the continuation of exploration and sent Flandin to secure the design and the unearthing of the monuments uncovered. The first excavation, finished in October 1844, was accompanied by the shipment of the recovered reliefs to France and the opening of the Assyrian museum in the Louvre palace. V. Place in 1852 again took up the exploration in the tells of the Assyrian triangle and most particularly at Khorsabad; he brought to light an important part of the Sargon Palace, but most of the reliefs and statues he found were lost in a shipwreck in 1855 at Korna, near the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates. The Khorsabad tell was not explored for more than 60 years after that. It was the University of Chicago that decided to take up again the excavations in 1928; the most active digs took place from 1930–35 under the direction of G. Loud. These excavations revolved around the region of the Sargon Palace, a gate to the city and the old city itself. Finally a few research and conservation works were conducted on the site these last few years by the Iraqis.

The old city measures 1800 m × 1700 m and is enclosed behind an enclosure of 24 meters thick (in coarse bricks on top of a stone bedrock). We do not really know the interior organization of the city since the dig only explored small areas; however, we were able to enumerate the existence of seven doors in two facing walls, the north face possessing only one. On the western flank closely linked to the enclosure and in the proximity of the fifth door, the palace of the heir-apparent, Sennacherib, was found on a terrace. On the north face, straddling the enclosure, a terrace was installed that supported the great palace of Sargon. A ziggurat was found more than 40 m high and with layered paints (white, black, purple, and blue) which was dedicated to six divinities: Sin, Adad, Ea, Shamash, Ninurta, and Ningal. At the foot of this terrace was an area of private houses, enclosed by a wall opened toward the city by two monumental gates, where there had been constructed the great residences attributed to members of the royal family and the great dignitaries of the empire. The temple of Nabu, set on a terrace that was connected to the one that supported the great royal palace by a stone bridge, rose up between these residences.

The Sargon palace was planned according to the fundamental principles of Assyrian residences. A great public courtyard, approximately square in shape, containing the majority of administrative annexes consisted of the first unit; it had access to a rectangular courtyard decorated with orthostats in relief.

The renown of Dur-Sharrukin derives, without doubt, less from architecture than the bas-reliefs and monumental full-relief sculpture that were discovered, like the androcephalous bulls. Starting with the first dig and during the course of the excavations that followed on this site, an extraordinary dossier of Assyrian art was brought to light. The court scenes, the religious themes, and the representations of war, all meaning to glorify or protect the sovereign, are at the same time creations of rare quality by sculptors from the Assyrian period.

The epigraphic harvest from the excavations was just as important. The inscriptions on the bas-reliefs or on the doorway flagstones, the list of the Assyrian kings (more than 100 sovereigns between the beginning of the 2d millennium and the 8th century) provide an incomparable source for the history of the Assyrian empire.

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**KIBROTH-HATTAAVAH** (PLACE) [Heb *qibrot* (קִבְרֹת) *hatta῾awâ* (הַתַּאֲוָה)]. The first encampment of the Israelites, after leaving the wilderness of Sinai, as listed in Num 33:16–17, where it is placed between the wilderness of Sinai and Hazeroth. After leaving Sinai, the Israelites complained to

Moses about a lack of meat (Num 11:4–6). When Moses brought this before his God, the Lord caused a flock of quails to fall to the ground near the Israelite camp. Though they were able to feast now, a great plague from God came upon them even as they were eating, killing many people. It is this incident which gave the site its name: "The Graves of Craving" (Num 11:31–35, Deut 9:22). Unfortunately the name does not help in the identification of the site. A suggested location is Rueis el-Ebeirig, NE of Jebel Musa, and between the latter site and ʿAin el-Hazerah, often identified with Hazeroth, the next station in the list (*GP*, 214, 417; Palmer 1872: 212–14, 252, 418–19, 423; *GTTOT*, 255 and note 224; M.R. 076797). For a discussion of the location of any of the places associated with the journey of the Israelites from Egypt through Sinai, see DOPHKAH.

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## KIBZAIM (PLACE) [Heb *qibṣayim* (קִבְצַיִם)]. Third Levitical city in the Ephraim list (Josh 21:22).

The parallel city in the Levitical City list in 1 Chronicles is Jokmeam (1 Chr 6:52—Eng 6:68). Albright (1945: 67–68) has argued through a text-critical study that Kibzaim and Jokmeam are individual cities, but B. Mazar (1957: 198) has argued that the place name Jokmeam was taken from the name of the Levitic family who settled there. In his list, Mazar reads Jokmeam for Kibzaim. Both Kibzaim and Jokmeam appear only once in the OT; in each instance it is in a Levitical City list. There is no reference to either city in any extrabiblical sources. Because these two cities are so obscure, any identification becomes speculative. See JOKMEAM.

Tell el-Qusin (M.R. 167182) has been identified as biblical Kibzaim by Abel (*GP*, 417), but Y. Aharoni (*LBHG*, 325) has identified the site with the Samaria Ostraca's Kozah. The site is located 2 km N and 9 km W of Nablus. About 5 km due N of Qusin is Sebaste (biblical Samaria). Situated on a mountain, Qusin is surrounded by a broad, major valley. On its E and N sides is the important Nablus-Jenin road. In the valley to the W and S is a Wadi that joins other wadies which flow to the Mediterranean. There have been a few surveys conducted at Tell el-Qusin revealing pottery from the EB, Iron I, Iron II, Persian, Byzantine, and Ottoman periods. One serious problem with the identification of Qusin with biblical Kibzaim is that Qusin clearly lies in the tribe of Manasseh, not in Ephraim. Consequently this identification is not acceptable, and Aharoni's suggestion that Tell el-Qusin is Kozah is more likely correct.

Z. Kallai has identified Tell esh-Sheikh Dhiâb (M.R. 190161) with biblical Jokmeam. It is located in the Judean Desert, 22 km N of Jericho and 2.5 km NW of Khirbet Faṣâyil. The tell is situated at the foot of the Judean hills on the edge of the Jordan River valley about 9 km due W of the river. Tell esh-Sheikh Dhiâb is surrounded on three sides (N, S, W) by hills, while the flat valley lies to the E. Between Sheikh Dhiâb and the W mountains is the Wadi Faṣâyil. There have been some archaeological surveys conducted at Tell esh-Sheikh Dhiâb and a wide distribution of pottery has been found including Chalcolithic, EB, MB, Iron I, Iron II, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Arabic.

The third city to have been identified with biblical Kibzaim and/or Jokmeam is Tell el-Mazar (M.R. 196171). Mazar (1957: 198) has been a leading exponent favoring the identification of biblical Kibzaim/Jokmeam with Tell el-Mazar. Mazar thinks that Kibzaim and Jokmeam are one and the same city, claiming that the settlement of Kibzaim was called Jokmeam after the family of Levites living there. This family, the Jekameamites, were descendants of the priestly family of Hebron. Mazar points out that "the same town" is mentioned in 1 Kgs 4:12. It is located on "the extreme S border of the fifth administrative district of Solomon." A problem with this text is that this city is located in Zebulun and its name has been understood to be a scribal error for Jokmeam. Therefore Mazar harmonizes the 2 lists by simply stating that Kibzaim changed to Jokmeam by the time of the Chronicler because the city took on the name of the levitical family that had originally settled Kibzaim.

Tell el-Mazar is located near the lower end of the widening plain of the Wadi el-Far‹ah, which merges with the plain of the W side of the Jordan Valley. Because the Wadi el-Far‹ah flows continuously it irrigates the land along its sides as well as the rich fields of the merged plains of the Wadi el-Far‹ah and the Jordan Valley. Tell Mazar controlled the highway leading to the hill country by way of Wadi el-Far‹ah and the highway to Transjordan via Wadi Zerqa. It was also on a N–S route which ran on the W side of the Jordan Ghôr. The archaeological surveys that have been conducted at Tell el-Mazar indicate occupation during the Iron I, Iron II, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Arab periods.

With regard to the problem of Kibzaim/Jokmeam, Kallai's suggestion that Jokmeam is to be identified with Tell esh-Sheikh Dhiâb is the most probable identification. This would then associate with Tell el-Mazar, a site that has a longer occupational history, with the border town of Ataroth in Josh 16:7, although Ataroth like Jokmeam is mentioned only once in the Bible. Simon's recommendation that Tell Qusin is biblical Kibzaim is unacceptable on geographical grounds, which strengthens, if not proves, the opinion that Kibzaim and Jokmeam are separate cities. As a result Kibzaim goes unidentified while Jokmeam and Tell esh-Sheikh Dhiâb are associated together as one of the eastern cities in Ephraim. See Peterson 1977: 249–74.

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**KID.** See ZOOLOGY.

## KIDRON, BROOK OF (PLACE) [Heb *naḥal qidrôn* (נַחַל קִדְרוֹן)]. A valley just E of the old walled city of Jerusalem, separating it from the Mount of Olives. The valley descends from the N, just W of Mt. Scopus, past St. Stephen's Gate of the Old City where it is known in modern Arabic as Wadi Sitti Maryam (Valley of St. Mary, since the traditional tomb of Mary is in the wadi). It continues southward as Wadi en-Nar ("Valley of Fire," because of its dry, parched wadi bed during most of the year, excepting in times of heavy rain). The name *qidrôn* apparently means "dark," "not clear," or "turbid" because of stirred up sediment. It is first mentioned in the OT in 2 Sam 15:23. After joining with the Hinnom Valley, S of Jerusalem, Kidron then courses SE into the wilderness of Judea and empties into the Dead Sea about 10 miles S of the mouth of the Jordan. Because of debris accumulation, the Kidron Valley is 10–50 feet higher than in ancient times.

In the times of the OT kings, the Kidron Valley was probably identified with, at least in part, the King's Garden (2 Kgs 25:4; Neh 3:15); the kings apparently owned land in the area. Water which flowed down the W side of the Kidron Valley through the water channel, and water which may have been diverted from the Siloam tunnel of Hezekiah (2 Kgs 20:20) watered the S end of the Kidron Valley near its confluence with the Hinnom Valley to produce a lush garden (cf. the "palace garden," 2 Kgs 21:18).

That the Kidron was also known as the King's Valley (seemingly located close to Jerusalem, possibly E of it, cf. Gen 14:17–18, and in which Absalom set up his monumental pillar, 2 Sam 18:18) is problematic. The Bible does not make this identification explicit, and the association can only be inferred as associated with En-rogel which is at the lower end of the Kidron (see Mazar 1975: 156). It might be argued that the name "King's Valley" derived from its proximity just E of the palace of David in the City of David (2 Sam 5:9; cf. 1 Kgs 3:1) on the W slopes of the Kidron Valley and S of where the temple platform was later constructed. Of the location of the Valley of the Kings, Josephus only indicates (*Ant* 7.243) that in it Absalom set up a marble column two stadia (ca. 1,200 feet) from Jerusalem, but from which direction from the city and from which part of the city he does not say.

Since David "was buried in the City of David" (1 Kgs 2:10; i.e., in the neighborhood of the city where the royal family owned property) and the kings of Judah during the Divided Monarchy were often buried there as well, it is possible that these royal tombs can be identified with some in the Kidron Valley. The City of David in which a number of kings are said to have been buried (cf. 1 Kgs 2:10; 11:43; 14:31; 15:8; 15:24; 22:50; 2 Kgs 8:24; 9:28; 12:21; 15:7; etc.) was on the SE ridge between the Kidron and Tyropoeon Valleys, just N of the modern Pool of Siloam. In this locale, in the S part of the City of David, near the E wall and along the W slope of the Kidron, R. Weill in 1913–14 found a group of four tombs horizontally cut into the bedrock, two with vertical shafts, and one with a stone bench to hold a coffin. These may be the tombs of David mentioned in Neh 3:15 near "the stairs that go down from the City of David," and it may be the place where Hezekiah was buried "in the ascent of the tombs of the sons of David" (2 Chr 32:33), "that is, the crest of the ridge" (Mazar 1975: 183). Many scholars believe that these were the royal burial tombs (although this is uncertain), and that they are to be distinguished from the other tombs recently found on the E slope of the W hill, opposite the temple platform (see Mazar 1975: 183). See below for discussion of tombs on the E slope of the Kidron Valley.

The Kidron Valley was also famous for the Gihon (meaning, "a bursting forth," "gusher") Spring, also called in Arabic today, Ain Sitti Maryam, "Spring of Mary," located at the foot of the City of David on the W slope of the valley. In ancient times the Gihon was the primary water supply for Jerusalem. Hezekiah eventually directed the spring's flow by digging a tunnel (Hezekiah's Tunnel) to a pool at the S end of the City of David (2 Kgs 20:20), and blocked "the upper outlet of the Gihon Spring" (2 Chr 32:30), which suggests that part of the water could have been diverted to help irrigate the Kidron Valley gardens. See SILOAM, POOL OF.

On the E side of the Kidron Valley, opposite the City of David, is the modern village of Silwan, in the middle of which are the remains of ancient tombs, some of monumental character, which were the burial places for certain royal officials and perhaps for some of the kings of Judah. One such tomb, showing evidence of Egyptian influence, is called in Arabic, "The Tomb of the Daughter of Pharaoh" (Mare 1987: 116; but it is unknown who was actually buried in it). Other ancient tombs, from the MB and LB, have been found opposite the walled city of Jerusalem in the Dominus Flevit area (Mare 1987: 44–46), and still other ancient tombs (EB and Iron Age II) have been found on the W side of the valley below the temple platform (Mare 1987: 45). At the lower end of the Kidron Valley, at its confluence with the Hinnom Valley, is the spring En-rogel, perhaps also part of a royal irrigation source.

The Kidron Valley was considered the E boundary of Jerusalem, and when David crossed the Kidron to escape the rebellion of his son, Absalom (2 Sam 15:23), he passed beyond the jurisdiction of the city; beyond the valley, on the Mount of Olives, David was among friends (2 Sam 15:32). This E boundary jurisdiction is also emphasized in the warning Solomon gave to Shimei that he not leave Jerusalem and cross the Kidron, lest he die (1 Kgs 2:37).

In the Kidron Valley and on its E slopes, opposite Jerusalem and the City of David, foreign cult worship was practiced in defiance of the worship of the Lord. At a place called the Mount of Corruption (cf. 2 Kgs 23:13; see CORRUPTION, MOUNT OF), probably on the S slope of the Mount of Olives near modern Silwan, Solomon desecrated the name of the Lord by erecting cult high places for Ashtoreth, Chemosh, and Molech (1 Kgs 11:7) which Josiah later destroyed (2 Kgs 23:13). In the same valley, King Asa buried the Asherah that his grandmother, the queen mother Maacah, had set up (1 Kgs 15:13). Here, too, Hezekiah took all the cult objects that represented unclean worship out of the temple of the Lord (2 Chr 29:16), and further "removed the altars that were in Jerusalem, and all the altars for burning incense they took away and threw into the Kidron Valley" (2 Chr 30:14). The high priest, Hilkiah, under orders from Josiah, took the Asherah from the temple and burned it in the Kidron Valley (2 Kgs 23:6) and destroyed the altars that the kings of Judah had built on the roof near the upper chamber of Ahaz, and also the altars Manassah had erected in the two courts of the temple (2 Kgs 23:12).

Hezekiah's purge of false worship from the temple was either incomplete, or heathen practices were reintroduced after Hezekiah's time, because Josiah later removed from the temple "all the articles made for Baal and Asherah and all the starry hosts" (i.e., heathen astral cults) and he "burned them outside

Jerusalem in the fields of the Kidron" (2 Kgs 23:4). The desecration of these "fields," along with their use as a place of burial may have been viewed as a place of desolation similar to how the Hinnom Valley was viewed (Jer 7:32).

In the NT the Kidron Valley is only mentioned in John 18:1, which tells how Jesus crossed it and went into an olive grove at Gethsemane (Matt 26:36), at the foot of the Mount of Olives. In this same valley not far S of Gethsemane, Jesus must have passed the funerary monuments now popularly known as the tombs of Jehoshaphat, Absalom, James the Less, and Zachariah—tombs, however, which are misnamed and were actually built in the period from the second half of the 2d century B.C. to the first half of the 1st century A.D. (Mare 1987: 194–97).

The Kidron Valley has also been identified by Jews, Christians, and Muslims with the Valley of Jehoshaphat and associated with the final judgment. See JEHOSHAPHAT, VALLEY OF. Some have associated the Kidron Valley with Ezekiel's future river (Ezekiel 47) flowing E and S from Jerusalem to the Dead Sea.

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W. HAROLD MARE

**KILAN** (PERSON) [Gk *Kilan* (Κιλαν)]. Progenitor of a family which returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:15). Although 1 Esdras is often assumed to have been compiled from Ezra and Nehemiah, this family does not appear in their lists of returning exiles (see Ezra 2:16; Neh 7:21). Differences such as this raise questions about the literary relationships among the texts.

MICHAEL DAVID MCGEHEE

**KILN** [Heb *kibšān* (כִּבְשָׁן)]. The Hebrew word for kiln comes from the root *kābaš,* "to subdue," "bring into bondage," and is used three times in the OT: Gen 19:28, Exod 9:8, 10, and Exod 19:18. In Gen 19:28, the smoke from the burning cities of Sodom and Gomorrah rose like the smoke from a *kibšān.* Similarly, in Exod 19:18, the smoke from Mt. Sinai rose like the smoke from a *kibšān.* When a kiln is being fired, smoke rises rapidly from the exit flue due to the high velocity of the hot exhaust gases. These descriptions, therefore, most likely refer to smoke that was being forced into the air by means of hot gases. There is always abundant ash in the vicinity of a kiln as a result of the combustion of the various materials used as fuel. It was the ash from a *kibšān* which Moses sprinkled before Pharaoh in Exod 9:10 and which caused boils to break out on man and beast.

Two types of pottery kilns were used in ancient Palestine: the vertical or up-draft kiln and the horizontal or down-draft kiln. The vertical kiln was by far the most frequently used type. Both the vertical and horizontal kiln had all the elements of a modern kiln: a fire box where fuel is burned and heat generated, a chamber where the pottery is placed and which retains heat, and a flue or exit from which the spent gases escape. This arrangement creates a draft that pulls air into the fire box and moves hot gases through the stacked vessels and out the exit flue. Heat is transferred directly to the vessels by convection and indirectly by radiation after the surfaces of the walls of the kiln become red hot (Rhodes 1968: 13, 15).

The vertical kiln reached its definitive design form in the EB Age and has remained more or less unchanged to the present day. In this design, the vessels to be fired are placed in a chamber above a fire box, the two being separated by a partition floor supported by a wall or central pillar. See Fig. KIL.01. A fire is built in the entrance to the fire box. Hot gases then rise through flue holes in the partition floor, pass through the stack of vessels in the upper chamber and out the vent at the top, thus the designation "up-draft" kiln. Temperatures in the kiln are controlled by the intensity of the fire and the amount of draft. The draft can be regulated by adjusting the size of the air inlet opening, the size of the flue holes in the partition floor (before firing) and the size of the exit flue. For examples of well-preserved vertical kilns

from the biblical period, see Pritchard 1978: 117–23 and Van Beek 1977: 172–73 (pictured in Rye 1981: fig. 1). For a description of a contemporary vertical kiln in the Middle East today, see Franken 1969: 94–95.

A major shortcoming of the vertical kiln is that it is difficult to maintain a constant temperature throughout the pottery chamber. As a result, there is often uneven firing of the wares. In the horizontal kiln, which represents a more sophisticated design than the simple up-draft kiln, this difficulty is overcome. Its design differs from the vertical kiln in that the elements are arranged along a horizontal rather than a vertical axis. See Fig. KIL.01. A fire box is located at the front and an exit flue at the back. In between, the vessels are stacked in a chamber for firing. A baffle or a row of pots is placed at the back of the fire box so as to direct the hot gases to the top of the pottery chamber. The gases are then drawn down through the stack of pots and out the exit flue, leading to the designation "down draft" kiln (Scott 1965: 382, 393; Rye 1981: 100).

Constant temperature is maintained in the pottery chamber of a horizontal kiln by diminishing the cross section in going from the front of the kiln to the back. This is accomplished by reducing the height or width of the pottery chamber, or both. Thus, as the gases cool as heat is transferred to the vessels, the velocity of the gases increases. This results in a more even amount of heat being transferred to all vessels in the chamber, regardless of location (Rhodes 1968: 20). As with the vertical kiln, the draft of the horizontal kiln can be controlled by adjusting the size of the air inlet opening and the exit flue. For examples of horizontal kilns from the biblical period, see Dothan 1971: 92. For contemporary examples of horizontal kilns, see Foster 1956: 396–97 and Hankey 1968: 30, 31.

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**KINAH** (PLACE) [Heb *qînâ* (קִינָה)]. A town (Josh 15:22) mentioned in a list of cities (Josh 15:21–62) which presumably derives from the time of Josiah. The LXX, which reads *kina* in the Codex Alexandrinus and, by metathesis, *Ikam* in the Codex Vaticanus, perhaps also refers to this site in addition to the MT in the list of Simeonite cities (Josh 19:2–8), where *keimath* is mentioned (Kallai *HGB,* 352). Among other sites mentioned, Kinah was situated in the Negeb, on the Edomite border (Josh 15:21–32). Because of the possibility that a site may receive a new name while the old name persists in its immediate vicinity (Aharoni *LBHG* [1967 ed], 112) it is likely that the Wādi el-Qēni points to biblical Kinah. An earlier suggestion located Kinah at Kh. Ṭaiyīb (M.R. 163081), about 5 km N–NE of the present city of Arad (Aharoni 1970: 21). In recent times Kinah has frequently been connected with Kh. Ghazze (Heb Ḥorvat ʿUza, M.R. 165068), 6.5 km SW of Arad. See UZA, HORVAT.

In the time of Josiah, the *khirbe* was a strategically important site along Judah's SE border on the road to Edom (Keel and Küchler 1982: 233–34). This site, which consisted of a sizable fortress and an open settlement in the 7th to 6th centuries B.C. (Aharoni 1958: 33–35), dominates the Wādi el-Qēni. The excavations conducted there since 1982 have yielded ostraca comparable with those found in Arad (Beit-Arieh and Cresson 1985: 96). Reconstruction of one of the Arad sherds mentions Kinah along with Arad as logistic centers of the area (Aharoni 1981: 46–49). The name "Kinah" may reflect colonization by Kenites of the E part of the Beer-sheba depression.

When the Seleucid army under Antiochus XII lost a battle with the Nabateans S of the Judean mountains (Josephus, *Ant* 13.387–91; *JW* 1.99–102), the remnant of the army retired to ‘a village called Kana’ (*Ant* 13.391; *JW* 1.102). The site of this retreat, which probably took place in 86/85 B.C., could have been the biblical Kinah (*GP* 2: 149).

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RÜDIGER LIWAK

**KING AND KINGSHIP.** The term “king” is used as a title to refer to a male sovereign ruler who exercises authority over a defined territorial area, the state. The position of the king may be purely or partly hereditary or, as in some cases, elective. The king acts as a central symbol for the territory and population he rules over, as well as symbolizing its prosperity, fertility, and security. Kingship refers variously to the rank, authority, or office and dignity of the king, including the exercise of power over the subjects of the state. These two terms are applied to states which vary considerably in degree of social development, size of population or territorial extent. They are used of small agrarian polities of the past which have centered on a sovereign ruler as well as of much larger monarchies, including modern industrialized societies.

The inauguration and development of kingship in Israel was one of the most significant episodes in its history, affecting the formation and transformation of traditions now preserved within the Hebrew Bible. King and kingship have had a profound influence on the history of the community, its religious and literary traditions. The monarchies of Israel and Judah lasted little more than four centuries, were small in comparison with the surrounding riverine cultures of Egypt and Mesopotamia, but left an indelible mark upon the religious traditions of mankind. The ideology which grew up around Israelite and Judean kingship proved to be of immense significance for the development of messianic beliefs which have shaped major world religious traditions. An understanding of king and kingship in Israel forms part of the broader investigation of social anthropologists and historians into the formation and development of early state societies. It is also an essential element in trying to understand and appreciate the religious movements and ideas which culminated in the formation of the canon of the Hebrew Bible.

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A. The Definition and Nature of Kingship
B. The Introduction of Kingship into Israel
C. The Formation of the State
D. Royal Ideology
E. Yahweh as King
F. The Royal Ideal
G. The Nature of the King
H. The Nature of Israelite Kingship
I. Royal Religion and Ideology
J. The Temple-Palace Complex
K. Royal Propaganda

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**A. The Definition and Nature of Kingship**

Monarchy is the most common form of government in agrarian societies throughout history. The development of the state with the king as the central symbolic figure represents a major stage in the evolution of political systems. The king was responsible for the maintenance of law and order within a defined territory through the use of a professional and permanent military force and a dedicated central bureaucracy. There is considerable evidence for Israel to suggest that the bureaucracy was modeled upon

Egyptian patterns (Mettinger 1971; Heaton 1974). Such states were politically centralized societies based on social stratification and specialization and dependent upon the extraction of an agricultural surplus from the peasantry in order to provide for the subsistence needs of the royal elite and its religious and political specialists. The king had the power to command the payment of various forms of taxation, the rendering of services, and the obeying of law. The central bureaucracy provided a means whereby the king was able to control the various levels of government responsible for the military, economic, legal, and ritual activities of a network of urban centers and villages within the territorial boundaries of the state.

The king as the *owner* of the institutions of the state was able to control the agrarian economy. Probably the most important aspect of kingship therefore in an agrarian society was the ownership of agricultural land. The development of a monarchy meant in reality the transfer of sovereignty over agricultural land from the villages to the king. In practice, arable land was granted to various royal functionaries (cf. 1 Samuel 22) as hereditary estates, securing patrimonial land tenure in return for taxes and military service. Alternatively, prebendal land grants were made to various officials as payment for their duties in the central administration of the state. Although in theory such prebendal estates were in return for official duties, it was not uncommon for such lands to become hereditary. Elite landlords extracted from their peasant cultivators as much as 50 percent or more of all produce in the form of taxation and rent. They in turn paid taxes, rent and labor to the king. Such systems of land tenure and taxation maintained and reinforced the distribution of power and privilege of a stratified agrarian society such as the kingdoms of Israel and Judah.

The Hebrew Bible uses derivatives of the root *mlk* to denote this form of government. *Melek* is the designation for a "king," whereas other derivatives of the root *mlk* denote "kingship," "kingdom," "to be king/reign," etc. The notion of "dominion" or "rule" is also expressed by the root *mšl.* It is interesting, in light of the above discussion, to note that the basic meaning of the Arabic root *mlk* is "to own completely" and may indicate a similar basic meaning of the Hebrew *melek.* It is an intriguing feature of Semitic languages that Hebrew has *melek* for "king" and *śar* for "official," "prince," while Akkadian has *šarru* "king" and *māliku* "counsellor" (Mettinger 1976: 296). The noun *melek* is used frequently in the Hebrew Bible to refer to neighboring or foreign monarchies, including Canaanite city states, Philistia, Ammon, Edom, Moab, Hamath, Aram, Tyre, etc. The most frequent usage, however, is reserved for the ruler of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel.

In the biblical traditions which relate to the introduction of kingship into Israel, Saul is anointed by Samuel as *nāgîd* over Israel (1 Sam 9:16; 10:1). The meaning of the noun *nāgîd* has proven to be particularly elusive and engendered a long yet inconclusive debate. Alt (1966) concluded that it referred to one who was designated to be leader by Yahweh, wheras *melek* designated an office conferred by the people's acclaim. Richter's extensive treatment (1965) concluded that the term underwent a complex development: it was originally a pre-monarchic title for a military leader and denoted a position quite distinct from *melek.* Cross (*CMHE,* 220–21), following an earlier suggestion of Albright, appeals to the Aramaic Sefire inscriptions for his view that *nāgîd* means commander. He emphasizes continuity with the charismatic leadership of the judges, as opposed to the dynastic kingship of David and Solomon designated by the term *melek.* Ishida (1977: 50) rejects the view that it was originally a title for the charismatic war leader in the pre-monarchic period. Instead he concludes that it denotes the "king designate" of Yahweh. Similarly Mettinger (1976: 151–84), who offers a thorough review of previous literature, suggests that it was originally a secular term for the "crown prince" designated by the reigning king; its theological use as a divine designation came later. Recently, Flanagan (1981: 67) has advocated the view that *nāgîd* indicates the chiefly power of Saul and David prior to the emergence of the early state and a fully developed kingship.

**B. The Introduction of Kingship into Israel**

The complex processes which led to the introduction of kingship, that is, the formation of an Israelite state, have continued to generate scholarly debate and research. Discussions of how kingship was introduced into Israel can be divided into two broad categories. The most common approach has been and continues to be a literary investigation and analysis of the traditions within the Hebrew Bible which relate

to the rise of the monarchy. In recent years reconstructions of the formation of an Israelite state have drawn more extensively and consciously on social scientific studies and methods, particularly anthropological studies of state formation. This has given rise to alternative approaches which do not necessarily rely upon detailed literary analysis of biblical texts. This type of work has focused upon the links between environment, economy, trade, demography, settlement patterns, and so on, as part of the processes which culminated in the rise of an Israelite state and the introduction of kingship into Israel (Gottwald 1986; Frick 1986; Chaney 1986; Coote and Whitelam 1986).

The classical work of Alt (1966) has been influential in shaping the debate on the nature of the formation of an Israelite state in Palestine. His investigations were based upon a detailed treatment of biblical and extrabiblical material combined with an analysis of topography. According to Alt, Israel had gradually infiltrated into the scarcely populated hinterland of the hill country over a protracted period of time, possibly centuries. The areas where Israel settled were dictated by the military superiority of the city-states of the lowlands which were much too strong for the Israelites to confront. The rise of an Israelite state was the direct result of the threat posed by Philistine domination (1966: 183, 188, 195–96). This is a view that has proven to be extremely influential in the history of scholarship since it is reiterated in the majority of standard textbooks on the history of Israel.

For Alt, Saul's charismatic leadership was the starting point of the inauguration of kingship into Israel, but this was a title conferred by public acclaim. Initially it was designed as a defensive response to the Philistine threat and did not involve any notion of hereditary kingship. Alt sees this as a major change brought about during the reigns of David and Solomon in an attempt to hold together through a personal union the kingdoms of Israel and Judah along with the city-state monarchies of Ziklag and Jerusalem. A further suggestion of Alt, which still remains to be properly investigated, was that the initial structure of the Israelite state found its closest parallels in the near contemporary east Jordanian states of Ammon, Moab, and Edom.

Detailed studies of biblical texts pertaining to the introduction of kingship into Israel have formed a major part of the research effort into this area. It has long been a basic assumption that 1 Samuel 7–15 contains a valuable though complex account of the introduction of the monarchy in Israel. It is also widely acknowledged that the utilization of this material is made difficult by its composite nature and theological interpretation of the introduction of kingship. The history of the analysis of these chapters has been dominated by attempts to identify various literary strata. The traditional identification of two sources, one early and pro-monarchical (1 Sam 9:1–19:16; 11:1–11, 15; 13–14) and the other late and anti-monarchical (1 Sam 7:3–17; 8; 10:17–27; 11:12–14), has dominated the discussion of this narrative complex. Despite various refinements of this source-critical analysis or subsequent attempts to find three sources, it has remained influential in the discussion. It has also been assumed that 1 Sam 11:1–15 preserves the most authentic account of how Saul became king, although recent literary studies have raised serious questions about the use of such material for historical reconstruction.

The combination of Alt's view that kingship was the result of external pressure and interpretations of biblical material as anti-monarchic has led to widespread acceptance of the notion that the monarchy was an institution alien to early Israel. These arguments take various forms but all depend to a large extent upon the interpretation of texts within the books of Judges and Samuel. From this point of view Israel is described as a theocracy ruled by the heavenly king who endowed various earthly "judges" with charismatic power to deliver the community from foreign oppressors. The refusal of Gideon to accept the offer of a dynastic form of kingship (Judg 8:22–23) is seen as central evidence for a rejection of a dynastic monarchy by early Israel. The abortive attempt at monarchy by Abimelech (Judges 9) and Jotham's parable (Judg 9:7–15) against the nature of earthly kingship are used as corroborative evidence of this opposition to kingship. The acceptance of the existence of anti-monarchic passages in 1 Samuel 8–12 is central to this idea that early Israel was opposed to the introduction of a monarchy. From this point of view the monarchy is seen as an institution "alien" to Israel's origins and its essential nature. However, as with the discussion of the "anti-monarchic" material in 1 Samuel 8–12, scholars disagree on the dating of the Judges material. Views differ as to whether it is late Deuteronomistic material or reflects

contemporary concerns about the nature of kingship as opposed to some theocratic nature of early Israel. Furthermore, Buccellati (1967) demonstrated that the conception of Israelite kingship as alien denies the dynamics of internal social development.

Ishida (1977: 30) accepts the theological shaping of the narratives but argues that they accurately reflect the sectional/factional conflicts involved in the development of new political situations. They reflect the dynamic development of social and political conditions. This is in line with Mendelsohn's influential view (1958), based upon comparisons with Ugaritic evidence, that 1 Samuel 8 reflects contemporary opposition to the introduction of monarchy. Crüsemann (1978), drawing upon anthropological studies of segmentary societies from the work of Sigrist, also sees the opposition to the inauguration to kingship as contemporary with the monarchy rather than as a late Deuteronomic redaction. Popular unrest during the reign of David provided fertile ground for the growth of anti-monarchical literature. The anti-monarchic attitude, he believes, stems from the opposition of segmentary societies to centralization and was expressed more fully during the Solomonic era.

The growth of interest in the potential and utilization of social scientific research for biblical studies has led to new ways of viewing the nature and development of Israelite kingship. Recent changes in approaches to ways of reading biblical narratives, especially new literary and canonical studies, have combined with this renewed interest in the application of social scientific methods and research to open up the debate on how the Israelite state arose. An important area of recent study has focused on the transition from pre-state Israel to the formation of a state with an hereditary kingship and its centralized institutions.

**C. The Formation of the State**

The evolutionary anthropologist E. Service (1962; 1975) was responsible for identifying the stages of development of sociopolitical societies through increasingly more complex forms. He identified four stages of development: band, tribe, chiefdom, and state. He subsequently realized that bands and tribes were practically indistinguishable. In particular, the study of such segmentary societies, especially chiefdoms, has been utilized in order to shed light on the crucial period of the transition from tribal confederation to state. Flanagan (1981) has argued on the basis of a study of biblical genealogies in comparison with anthropological studies that the periods of Saul and David were chiefdoms. Similarly, Frick (1979; 1985; 1986) has tested information about chiefdoms against the biblical data and has produced an extensive treatment of early Israel as a chiefdom. Such studies have identified important areas of future research which ought to add to our understanding of the complex developments which led eventually to the early monarchy in Israel.

Anthropological studies on state formation have also been used to suggest new ways of understanding the introduction of kingship into Israel. A variety of studies of Israelite state formation (Frick 1985; 1986; Coote and Whitelam 1986; 1987; Hauer 1986) suggest that the rise of the Israelite monarchy was due to a complex interrelationship of different factors. They all call into question the standard view that the origin of the Israelite state was due to Philistine pressure alone. In effect they stress the importance of internal developments in combination with various external pressures.

Hauer (1986), Coote and Whitelam (1986; 1987) and Otto (1986) draw upon a modified version of Carneiro's theory (1970) that circumscription had an important role to play in state origins. They emphasize the environmental and social constraints which operated as a counterweight against the tendency to disintegrate and eventually led to centralization. The geographical and social location of early Israel in the central highlands and southern Palestine was circumscribed by semiarid steppe and desert regions along with the network of lowland city-states, the Philistines, the Midianites, and the Amalekites. Frick (1985: 136–88) and Coote and Whitelam (1986; 1987), following Marfoe (1980), have drawn attention to the importance of highland farming strategies, such as terracing and intensive orchard cultivation, which demanded long-term investment, as important factors in the process of centralization. These studies also identify the pressure of demographic growth on circumscribed resources as an important factor in agricultural intensification which contributed to the move toward centralization and eventually resulted in the introduction of kingship into Israel.

The emphasis upon the complex interrelationship between various internal and external factors extends the study of the rise of kingship beyond many traditional approaches to understanding the biblical text. Future research, dependent to a large extent upon archaeological work at present being conducted in the region, needs to shed light on the relationship between the inauguration of kingship in Israel and the rise of almost simultaneous state formations in Edom, Moab, and Ammon.

**D. Royal Ideology**

One of the distinguishing features of early agrarian states is the way in which a network of beliefs grew up around and in association with the king. The justification and legitimation of the king's rule was of paramount importance. The dissemination of a royal ideology containing important images, attitudes, and ideals associated with kingship was carried out by a centralized bureaucracy and specialists. Such ideals of kingship can be found in literary traditions, ceremonial, and iconography in many different societies. The scepter (Ps 45:6), the crown (2 Sam 1:10; 2 Kgs 11:12; Pss 89:39; 132:18), and the throne (2 Sam 14:9; 1 Kgs 2:12) were all important symbols of kingship expressing the justness and legitimacy of the king's reign. Royal or official state religion was a crucial element in the legitimization and reinforcement of the social structure with its distribution of power and privilege.

The Hebrew Bible provides the major source for understanding the central elements of Israelite royal ideology. Archaeological material offers important, though limited evidence, which adds to this understanding. Attempts to reconstruct royal ideology remain tentative due to the fragmentary stature of the source material and continuing disputes over the dates or use of texts. The justification of kingship with its centralized social structure was based upon a guarantee of order, security, prosperity, fertility, etc., in return for loyalty and subservience. The manner and means by which such royal ideology was disseminated to the population of the state or even to potential enemies outside the territorial boundaries is also an important aspect of the study of king and kingship in Israel.

A vast wealth of textual and iconographic material dealing with kingship has been preserved from many different ANE societies spanning a vast geographical and temporal expanse. This material reveals many important formal correspondences covering ideas of kingship in these different societies. British and Scandinavian scholars (Hooke 1933; 1935; 1958; Engnell 1943; Widengren 1955), the so-called "myth and ritual" and Uppsala schools, tried to identify a common cultic pattern of divine kingship throughout the ANE. Their work provides an important landmark in the debate on the divine or sacral nature of the king and the various rites and ceremonies of kingship. Their conclusions, however, have been challenged by subsequent scholarship (Frankfort 1948).

It is important to remember that the formal similarities in the ideal picture of kingship throughout the ANE do not necessarily mean that the practical application and understanding of the functions of the king would have been the same in all societies. Particular ideologies were part of whole social systems and must be understood as far as possible in systemic terms before cross-cultural comparisons can be meaningfully carried out (Chaney 1986). Our evidence for Judean and Israelite royal ideology is fragmentary and often difficult to interpret; it is not even clear what differences there were between the two kingdoms. It is of immense value to be able to compare this evidence with material from similar agrarian kingships in order to suggest questions and lines of research into the organization and dynamics of the whole social system under consideration. But it is essential to consider differences as well as mere formal similarities since various factors such as environmental constraints may have played an important part in shaping different ways in which monarchies functioned.

**E. Yahweh as King**

One of the most important features of kingship in many different societies is the concept of the deity as king and the relationship with the earthly occupant of the throne. Thus the study of Yahweh's kingship has important implications for understanding the concepts of king and kingship in Israelite thought. The origin and nature of the concept of Yahweh's kingship in Israel has been the source of considerable debate. It is a matter of some controversy whether or not the idea was an important feature of Israelite religion from an early date. References to Yahweh as king in the Pentateuch and Deuteronomistic History (Exod 15:18; Num 23:21; Judg 8:23; 1 Sam 8:7; 10:19; 12:12) are notoriously difficult to date. It is a

common concept throughout the Near East that the god, or high god, was the king of the state or polity. This was an important element of royal ideologies since the king ruled as the earthly representative of his god. In general terms it can be said that the earthly king's rule, or at least the ideal aspects of kingship, was merely a reflection of the heavenly king's rule.

The theme of Yahweh's kingship is given its most explicit treatment in the Psalter and, to a lesser extent, in the prophetic literature of the Hebrew Bible. H. Gunkel's (and J. Begrich 1933) classic study of psalm types identified Psalms 47, 93, and 96–99 as Enthronement Psalms celebrating Yahweh's kingship. He has been followed by H.-J. Kraus (1951) and C. Westermann (1965) in seeing these psalms as late and eschatological. In contrast, S. Mowinckel's pioneering study (1922, 1962) remains influential. He extended this category of psalms to include Psalms 95 and 100 while Mowinckel also pointed out that a number of other psalms were closely associated with this group in subject matter (Psalms 8; 15; 24; 29; 33; 46; 48; 50; 66a; 75; 76; 81; 82; 84; 87; 114; 118; 132; 149; as well as Exod 15:1–18). Furthermore, he produced a strong case for seeing these psalms as part of the important monarchic autumn festival.

The Enthronement Psalms deal with Yahweh's accession to his royal throne and exercise of royal power over the divine council, creation, and Israel. Yahweh is declared as king (Pss 47:6–8; 93:1; 96:10; 97:1; 98:6; 99:1), by virtue of his victory over the forces of chaos as represented by the primeval waters (Ps 93:3–4). Yahweh is able to subdue all opposition and guarantee the security of Israel (Pss 47:3–4, 8–9; 97:3, 7, 9; 98:2; 99:1–2). The guarantee of order, *mišpāṭ*, peace, security and well-being, is fundamental to Yahweh's kingship. He is depicted as the divine Judge (Pss 96:10–13; 97:2, 8; 98:9; 99:4). The theme of Yahweh's kingship is developed in very similar terms in the large collection of psalms which Mowinckel associated with the Enthronement Psalms. Yahweh's claim to kingship stems from his victory over the waters of chaos or rebellious sea monsters (Pss 74:12–14; 89:10–11) as well as earthly opponents (Pss 48:3–4; 68:30). He is the king of the gods in the divine council and responsible for the guarantee of justice and peace among the underprivileged (Psalm 82; cf. Deuteronomy 32). The very base of his throne is established upon justice and righteousness (Ps 89:14). Yahweh as king is able to order and sustain his creation (Pss 24:1; 74:15–17; 89:11–12; 29; 68:9).

The recurrent phrase *yhwh mālak,* announcing Yahweh's kingship, is a feature of the Enthronement Psalms. The translation and meaning of this phrase has been the subject of considerable debate. Kraus, following Gunkel, believed that the verb was a prophetic perfect which pointed to an eschatological understanding of these psalms. Mowinckel believed that it referred to something new and important that had just taken place, and therefore he translated it as "Yahweh has become king" (see also Lipiński 1963). Others argue that it refers to an enduring and lasting condition and ought to be translated as "Yahweh is king." Gray (1979: 20–25) has a good discussion of the various suggestions. It may be better to think of psalms which celebrate Yahweh's enduring kingship since theologically there is not a time when Yahweh was not king (Ps 93:2). In the context of the canon as a whole, rather than a supposed historical context, all aspects of this phrase as past, present, and future combine in the assertion that Yahweh was, is, and continues to be king.

Mowinckel's reconstruction of a New Year Enthronement festival to celebrate Yahweh's kingship has become one of the landmarks of biblical scholarship. The so-called "myth and ritual school" drew upon his research in extending the discussion of the nature of this Israelite festival with a comparison of similar ideas and themes elsewhere in the ANE, particularly the Babylonian *akītu* festival. Mowinckel identified the celebration of Yahweh's enthronement at the New Year Festival with the Feast of Tabernacles (*Sukkoth*). The debate has continued as to the nature and main characteristics of this festival. A. Weiser (1962), for instance, interpreted the Enthronement Psalms in the context of a Covenant festival which celebrated the Exodus at the central sanctuary of the Israelite league. Kraus (1951) envisages the celebration of Yahweh's kingship at a royal Zion-festival which celebrated the divine election of Jerusalem and the Davidic dynasty. For him, as for Gunkel, the emphasis upon the kingship of Yahweh did not take place until after the end of the Davidic dynasty in 587 B.C.E. However, Mowinckel's arguments have carried the greatest support in locating the celebration of Yahweh's kingship at the great autumnal festival of the New Year in the Jerusalem temple. The principal aspects of this celebration were

the kingship of Yahweh, the defeat of the waters of chaos, the creation of the world, and the defeat of Israel's enemies. The Enthronement Psalms present Yahweh as the Divine Warrior who subdues the waters of chaos and then rises to judge the earth and thereby guarantee justice and order.

The prophetic literature treats similar themes of Yahweh's kingship. Although this is not always explicit in various oracles such ideas clearly underlie much of the prophetic material. The themes of Yahweh's kingship, his victory over the primeval forces of chaos, the defeat of earthly enemies, and the salvation of Israel all feature in this literature (Isa 24:21–23; 41:21–24; 44:6–7; 52:7; Jer 10:6–10; Zech 14:9, 16–17; Zeph 3:14–19). The concept of the Day of Yahweh, which has been particularly controversial in biblical scholarship, treats ideas similar to the conception of Yahweh's kingship in the Enthronement Psalms. A notable feature of the use of these ideas in the prophetic literature is that the twin themes of salvation and judgment, including of course the judgment and punishment of Israel, are closely related. The complex nature of prophetic literature with the interweaving of oracles and later interpretations makes it notoriously difficult to try to date individual passages. However, clearly Yahweh's royal attributes as Divine Warrior and Judge remain important themes in Israel's religious traditions as preserved in the Hebrew Bible.

**F. The Royal Ideal**

The expectation that the king's ideal attributes correspond to the central elements of Yahweh's kingship reflects the importance of religious legitimation in the establishment and maintenance of royal power in early agrarian states. The royal psalms (Psalms 2; 45; 72; 101; 110), which were identified by Gunkel, provide the clearest evidence for the main themes of Israelite, or rather Davidic royal ideology. Once again Mowinckel extended this group of psalms (Psalms 28; 44; 60; 61; 63; 64; 66; 68; 80; 83; 118; and 1 Sam 2:1–10) and argued that they had their setting at the great autumnal festival. Eaton (1976) and Mettinger (1976) have recently reassessed this material and argued for the inclusion of a wider range of material, including 2 Sam 23:1–7, as evidence for the royal ideal. The greatest problems of interpretation stem from disagreements over how to understand the nature of the language applied to the king: whether it is to be taken literally or to be understood as court hyperbole. The history of this debate also covers attempts to reconstruct the use of this material at the autumn or other festivals.

Considerations of the king's precise role in cultic rites have again formed part of the extensive yet inconclusive debate on the reconstruction of the great autumnal festival as a celebration of Yahweh's kingship. Johnson (1967) and Eaton (1976) are recent representatives of the view that the king took part in a great sacral drama of humiliation and then glorification as part of the annual renewal of kingship. Their views represent a more moderate position than the earlier advocates of the myth and ritual school who saw this drama as being linked to the king's divine nature. Considerable doubt surrounds attempts to reconstruct the autumn festival and its central features (Mettinger 1976: 3–4, 308). However, it is generally recognized that most of the royal psalms and associated material, as hymns from the royal sanctuary, provide crucial evidence for the complex of beliefs associated with the king in Israel.

The king was the central symbol of the social system. His prime function was the establishment and maintenance of order throughout the kingdom. The king's functions as warrior (1 Sam 8:20), judge (1 Sam 8:5; 2 Sam 12:1–15; 14:1–24; 15:1–6; 1 Kgs 3; 21:1–20; 2 Chr 19:4–11), and priest (1 Sam 13:10; 14:33–35; 2 Sam 6:13, 17; 24:25; 1 Kgs 3:4, 15; 8:62; 9:25; 12:32; 13:1; etc.) are all interrelated elements of this fundamental task. They were all essential to the maintenance of a divinely ordained order which was conceived of in cosmic terms and covered all aspects of a society's and individual's existence. This notion of kingship is evidenced from vast literary deposits throughout the ANE from Mesopotamia, through Syria-Palestine to Egypt over many centuries. Royal Sumerian hymns, the well-known prologues and epilogues to the law codes of Lipit-Ishtar and Hammurabi, and various royal inscriptions and documents from Egypt offer a strikingly similar view of the nature of kingship. Lipit-Ishtar of Sumer was divinely commissioned by Anu and Enlil "to establish justice in the land, to banish complaints, to turn back enmity and rebellion by the force of arms, (and) to bring well-being to the Sumerians and Akkadians" (*ANET*, 159). The prologue to Hammurabi's law code later echoed almost exactly this understanding of the kingly task.

In Mesopotamia the term *mēšarum* designated divine, cosmic order as the responsibility of the king, while in Egypt the Pharaoh was responsible for preserving *maʿat.* The true exercise of his duty as warrior was to protect and defend the state against internal and external military threat; as judge, to guarantee order through the establishment of justice; and as priest, to guarantee cultic order, so that the well-being of the kingdom was maintained through the fulfillment of the wishes of the divine realm. Both *mēšarum* and *maʿat* are often translated by the term "justice." Both terms, however, have a much wider connotation than the normal meaning of the English word justice. They denote the importance of "justice," "order," and "truth" for the whole of society and entail the notions of well-being, fertility, and prosperity. They are the gifts of the gods to the king who is the earthly representative of the divine realm and charged with the task of ushering in *mēšarum/maʿat* on his accession to the throne.

The importance of this idea in Egyptian royal ideology is illustrated in the myth of creation. Re was celebrated as expelling the powers of chaos through his act of creation. The establishment of *maʿat,* also personified as the daughter of Re, was fundamental to the very structure of creation. The Pharaoh as "Lord of *maʿat,"* an epithet given to Re, preserved and protected Re's creation. The constant threat to world order posed by the powers of chaos was realized at the time of the Pharoah's death. The accession of a new Pharaoh to the throne expelled chaos and reestablished *maʿat.*

In Mesopotamia, the Babylonian creation epic *enuma elish* functioned as a justification for monarchy. It illustrates similar ideas about the ideal nature of kingship. There Marduk, who proves himself fit to be king of the gods, expels chaos by defeating the sea monster Tiamat in a dramatic battle. The law codes and other royal inscriptions provide the clearest evidence for the king's duty to establish and maintain a divinely ordained order. The Ugaritic legends of Krt and Aqht along with more fragmentary royal inscriptions throughout the Levant point to the widespread acceptance of similar ideas about the ideal nature of the king.

The Israelite royal psalms witness to similar notions about the functions of kingship. Psalm 72 is generally, though not universally, accepted as part of the enthronement ceremony of the king thereby proclaiming the ideal aspirations and hopes for the new reign. This psalm embodies most of the main elements of the ideals of kingship. The request (Ps 72:1–2) that the king be granted the divine gift of justice, *mišpāṭ,* is tied to the fertility and prosperity of the nation as a whole. His basic duty is then to preserve and protect the order and harmony of the kingdom and thereby the whole of Yahweh's creation (Ps 72:3, 5–7, 15–17). He is promised universal dominion and the defeat of his enemies, i.e., the defeat and expulsion of chaos (Ps 72:8–11). All these themes are found expressed in the other royal psalms and associated material in the Hebrew Bible. The king is the fount of justice (Pss 45:4, 6; 101; 2 Sam 23:3), fertility and prosperity (Pss 45:2, 8–9; 111:3; 2 Sam 23:4), and order (Pss 45:3; 101; 110:1–2, 5–7; 89:21–23; 2 Sam 23:6–7).

**G. The Nature of the King**

These themes of justice and fertility, the maintenance of cosmic and natural order, and universal dominion are the same themes and attributes of Yahweh's kingship celebrated in the Enthronement Psalms. The nature of the precise relationship between Yahweh and the king has been the subject of an intense and extensive debate. A major difficulty here is whether the exulted language of the royal psalms is to be taken literally or treated as court style or hyperbole.

The claim is advanced in a number of royal psalms and other texts that the king was the "son" or "first-born" of Yahweh, while Yahweh was the "father" of the king (Pss 2:7; 89:27; 2 Sam 7:14; cf. Isa 9:6). This is clearly an important ideological claim which underlies the right of the occupant of the throne to rule on behalf of the deity of the state. The precise meaning of such claims is the subject of an unresolved dispute. Scholars such as Hooke (1933; 1935; 1958), Engnell (1943) and Widengren (1955) defended the position that the Israelite king was of divine descent. Their appeals to analogous beliefs throughout the ANE have been decisively challenged. It is conceded that the Egyptian Pharaoh was believed to have been the offspring of Re and worshipped as the incarnation of Horus, Osiris, and Seth. Frankfort (1948) has been the most influential in challenging similar interpretations of Mesopotamian material. The Hittite king it is argued was not deified until after his death. One of the epithets of Keret at Ugarit was the

"offspring of El." But Gray (1969; 1979), and others, deny any notion of the divine nature of the Ugaritic king, the emphasis rather being upon his sacral status.

The evidence within the Hebrew Bible for Israelite beliefs about the nature of the king is particularly problematic. The well-known *crux interpretum* in Ps 45:6 has figured prominently in this debate. The problem is whether or not the king was addressed as and thought to be "god" (*ʾĕlohîm*). Those who deny he was a god-king offer various explanations as to the understanding of the MT. The most common of which are to take this term as an adjective referring to the king's "divine throne," to argue for textual corruption through haplography, or to assume that the verse contains an ellipsis. Similar problems arise with Isa 9:6 which G. von Rad (1966) saw as analogous to the Egyptian royal protocol containing the Pharaoh's throne names at the time of his coronation. Suggestions that the king was addressed as "mighty god" (*ʾēl gibb̃r*) have been strongly contested. Alternative explanations understand the term in a metaphorical rather than literal sense as referring to the king's special nature which sets him apart from the human sphere (cf. Isa 10:21; Jer 32:18).

This is also a common understanding of the "father"-"son" relationship between Yahweh and the king. Thus the decree of Yahweh in Ps 2:7 that "You are my son, today I have begotten you" is interpreted as a formula of adoption on the day of the king's coronation. The king is understood to have a special relationship with Yahweh which sets him apart from other mortals. However, this divine sonship is an expression of the sacral importance and functions of the king rather than the expression of a belief in the divine nature of the king. The divine qualities of the king, his god-like abilities, are referred to frequently (2 Sam 14:17, 20; 1 Kgs 3:4–15; 16–28; 4:29–34; 10:1–9, 24; Isa 11:2–4). Mettinger (1976: 260–75) represents the more general understanding that the king's divine sonship was not understood in mythological terms as literally a divine descent, but rather an expression of a special relationship which began only at the time of the king's accession to the throne. Frick has recently (1986: 32) suggested on the basis of African comparisons that it was the kingship rather than the king which was thought to be divine. The fact that the prophetic material does not attack royal claims to divinity is often cited as crucial, even if silent, evidence that the king in Israel was not understood to be divine.

It is more common to talk of the sacral nature of the king. This finds expression particularly in the ritual of anointing which accompanies the coronation. There are only two brief descriptions of the royal enthronement ceremony in the Hebrew Bible (1 Kgs 1:32–40; 2 Kings 11). The proclamation of the king as "the anointed of Yahweh" (*māšîaḥ yhwh*; 1 Sam 24:6, 10; 26:9, 11, 16, 23; 2 Sam 1:14, 16) implies the inviolable and sacrosanct nature of the king's person (cf. 2 Sam 19:21–22; 1 Kgs 21:10, 13). The term is used most frequently in the Hebrew Bible to refer to the Davidic king in Judah, although it is used in other contexts of various individuals. However, there is no consensus as to the specific significance of the rite. Kutsch (1963) remains the most extensive treatment of the rite and its significance throughout the ANE where it ranges in use from the transfer of property to the delegation of authority. Mettinger (1976: 185–94) has a useful review of previous literature on the subject. He identifies a development in the Israelite rite of anointing the king from a secular authorization by the people to a divine designation through the priest. The title was clearly an important ideological claim to the king's legitimacy and right to rule. It is closely linked in this respect to the divine promise of a Davidic dynasty in perpetuity (2 Sam 7:8–16; Ps 89:19–37).

The kingly ideal of the royal psalms, the special character of the king through his unique relationship with Yahweh, and the title *māšîaḥ yhwh* provided the foundations for the development of messianic beliefs of later Judaism and Christianity. The ideal of a future ruler in prophetic oracles was coached in royal terms (Isa 9:6–7; 11:1–5; Jer 23:5–6; Mic 5:2–4; Zech 9:9–10). Later messianic expectations had their origins in the process of reinterpretation of this ideal and the promises to the Davidic dynasty following the traumatic defeat and loss of kingship at the hands of the Babylonians in 587 B.C.E.

**H. The Nature of Israelite Kingship**

There has been considerable debate about the precise nature of kingship in Israel: whether or not it was dynastic or charismatic, elective or absolute. Alt put forward the view that the monarchy of Saul was charismatic and that the N kingdom of Israel did not accept the dynastic principle until the time of Omri.

This influential idea shaped a great deal of scholarly research into many different aspects of the nature of Israelite kingship. It has been decisively overturned by Buccellati (1967) and Ishida (1977) who provide extrabiblical and biblical evidence (1 Sam 20:31; 2 Sam 2:8–11; 1 Kgs 14:10–14; 15:28–29; 16:3–4, 7, 11–12) that a dynastic understanding of kingship was a basic feature of ancient Near Eastern, including early Israelite, kingship.

Israelite kingship is frequently seen as governed or restrained by covenantal obligations. Von Rad (1966) identified the problematic *ʿēdût* of the coronation ceremony (2 Kgs 11:12) with the Egyptian royal protocol containing throne names and the rights and duties of kingship. The term *hoq* (Ps 2:7) and *ʿēdût* are frequently understood as some form of document or inscription containing the rights of kingship or the terms of the Davidic covenant. This is often compared with the *mišpāṭ* of the kingdom (1 Sam 10:25; cf. 8:11) and the so-called law of the king (Deut 17:14–20) as evidence for a constitutional understanding of Israelite kingship. Halpern (1981) provides an extensive treatment of the various aspects of this problem. He concludes that Judean and Israelite monarchies were determined by legal constraints.

Many of these passages are extremely ambiguous and notoriously difficult to date. The repeated use of the root *špṭ* in 1 Samuel 8 and 10:25, with its dual meaning of "govern" and "judge," clearly represents the basic functions of kingship in early agrarian states. However, the negative tone of these passages and Deut 17:14–20, whether a Deuteronomistic assessment of kingship or not, illustrates the striking differentiation between the ideal presentation of the duties of kingship and the stark reality of a society subject to the widespread powers of a highly centralized agrarian monarchy. Whitelam (1979) offers an extensive survey of royal influence and effect upon the administration of justice (cf. Macholz 1972a, b). There is no consensus on the question of whether or not the king promulgated law or radically reorganized the judicial system. Given the problematic nature of the evidence it is inevitable that many questions concerning the exact nature of the principles governing Israelite and Judean kingship will remain unsolved.

**I. Royal Religion and Ideology**

One of the most striking features of all early agrarian states, from Egypt and Mesopotamia to the Indus Valley and Mesoamerica, was the use of religion to establish and preserve the exercise of royal power in a centrally organized society. The *enuma eliš* is one of the best known state foundation myths which legitimizes the royal status quo. Israelite kingship was no exception in using state religion to legitimize and maintain royal rule (see Ahlström 1982). The king, as noted above, was presented as the chosen of the deity with the right to rule on earth as the god's representative. He was responsible for the organization and administration of the cult including cultic reform (1 Kgs 15:12–15; 2 Kgs 18:1–7; 22:3–23:23).

The Hebrew Bible provides ample evidence of syncretistic elements of royal and popular religion during the monarchic period (Jer 44:17–18; 2:27; Ezek 20:30–31; Mic 5:13–14; 2 Kgs 21:7; etc.). The sustained condemnation of royal religious apostasy from the theological perspective of the Deuteronomistic Historian and the prophetic critique of the cult (Amos 5:21–27; Isa 1:10–17; Jeremiah 7; etc.) illustrate clearly this feature of the ritual system. Archaeological evidence from various Israelite shrines, the inscriptions from Kuntillet Ajrud, and, to some extent, the evidence from Elephantine have added significantly to the understanding of cultic practices during the monarchic period. The syncretistic royal cult is seen by many as further evidence that kingship was alien to early Israel. Mendenhall (1975) has strongly advocated this position with his assessment of the monarchy under David and Solomon as representing a rapid reversion to LB Age paganism. The reconstruction of a premonarchic Israelite cult is difficult and controversial thus making it difficult to draw comparisons with later monarchic developments. Further research is needed to ascertain how the royal cult with all its syncretistic features functioned within Israelite society as a whole.

**J. The Temple-Palace Complex**

One of the major responsibilities of ANE kingship was the provision of a temple for the god of the state. This act of temple building provided the symbolic expression of the god as the guarantor of the state and the dynasty (2 Sam 5:12). The temple above all else defined the political, economic, and religious center. It was, thereby, a symbolic statement of the king's relationship with the god and his divine right to rule.

The temple, among other things represented heaven upon earth (Ps 1:4). As the dwelling place of the deity upon earth, situated next to the king's palace and part of the same complex, it symbolized the king's special relationship with the divine world and the political and religious center of the state. In Judah, this was expressed in the royal Davidic ideology of a double election of Jerusalem as the dwelling place of Yahweh and the promise to David of a dynasty in perpetuity (2 Sam 7:1–17; Ps 89:1–37). Similarly Jeroboam's renovation and promotion of Bethel in the north was a statement of his own sovereignty and special relationship with the deity of the state.

The temple-palace complex was the central, organizing, unifying institution in the ANE. It not only legitimated the political role of the king but was central to the economic structure of the state (1 Kings 5–9). The maintenance of the ritual system of the temple formed part of the king's control of the state economy. The state cult required a heavy investment of labor and resources. But it also drew vast resources to the royal court and cult as tribute, taxation, and sacrificial inputs. In return, the royal cult system was presented ideologically as a guarantee of fertility and prosperity for the general population.

A vast literature has been devoted to the Solomonic temple in Jerusalem (Businck 1970; Gutmann 1976). Much of the discussion has focused on the ancient Near Eastern prototypes and architectural patterns. In recent years, more interest has been shown in examining how the temple and its rites formed an essential element of the political ideology of the royal state (Meyers 1983; Lundquist 1982; Whitelam 1986). Foreign patterns and symbols were appropriated by and mediated through the royal bureaucracy in order to symbolize fundamental aspects of the king's relation to the deity. The symbolic aspects of the temple and palace were extremely complex and worked on many different levels. The fortified exterior of the Solomonic temple was visual and immediately conveyed the important notion of power and authority (Meyers 1983). By contrast, the complex iconography of the interior, portraying more sophisticated images of the king's importance, was seen only by the royal court, urban elite, and religious functionaries.

**K. Royal Propaganda**

Royal ideology was disseminated in a number of ways and directed at many different audiences. The reigns of David and Solomon were typical of early state formations in the development of monumental art and architecture. The investment of labor and vast resources in the building of royal fortifications, temple-palace complexes, and other public buildings was repaid by their importance in displaying the king's might, power, and wealth to all potential enemies. The visibility, simplicity, and size provided impressive displays of royal power. The use of ashlar masonry in the Solomonic gates at Megiddo and Gezer and its use in other royal buildings offered striking and immediate images of the king's power. The other most common architectural feature of royal buildings was the so-called Proto-Aeolic capital found at Jerusalem, Hazor, Megiddo, Samaria, and Ramat Rahel. These features were important symbols of royal power and the king's right to rule. The royal fortifications made explicit the protection offered by the state against external and internal military threat. Border fortifications were important symbols of the king's power which guaranteed protection while at the same time defined the limits of the state.

The use of literary material to propagate and disseminate royal ideology is less well understood and less secure. The so-called Succession Narrative (1 Samuel 9–1 Kings 2) was seen by Rost (1982) as Solomonic propaganda. It has recently been compared, along with other material in the books of Samuel, with the Hittite "apology of Hattusilis" which seeks to legitimize a usurper to the throne (McCarter 1980; 1981; Whitelam 1984). Recent development in new literary and canonical studies have challenged long held presuppositions about the social location of biblical texts or how they can be used for historical reconstruction. This forms part of a continuing debate which will shape much future research into the nature of kingship in early Israel.

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**KING JAMES VERSION.** See VERSIONS, ENGLISH.

**KING'S GARDEN** (PLACE) [Heb *gan hammelek* (גַּן הַמֶּלֶךְ)]. A garden area in the Kidron Valley near the City of David, just below the terraced structures of the city, near the wall of the Pool of Siloam (Neh 3:15), near the gate between the two walls (Jer 39:4; 52:7). It, no doubt, extended just E and S of the City of David to take advantage of the intermittent flow of water coming down from the Kidron brook. It also took advantage of "the gently flowing waters of Shiloah" (Isa 8:6) coming from the water channel which had been cut along the W side of the valley. Other sources of water were the overflow from the Pool of Siloam (which was fed from the Gihon waters coming through Hezekiah's Tunnel; 2 Kgs 20:20; 2 Chr 32:30 [Mare 1987: 123]), and water issuing from the spring En-rogel (cf. Josephus *Ant* 9.10,4 §225) near the confluence of the Kidron and the Hinnom Valleys (cf. Mare 1987: 108, 176; Simons 1952: 109, 127, 193).

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**KING'S HIGHWAY** (PLACE) [Heb *derek hammelek* (דֶּרֶךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ)]. The great roadway traversing the Transjordan from N to S along the desert border, connecting Damascus with the Gulf of Aqabah. The name is derived from the OT (Num 20:17; 21:22) and may not have been the actual name for the route, but rather a reference to an official road otherwise known as "the highway" (Num 20:16). The N section of the highway was known as "the way of Bashan" because the road went from Heshbon to Ashtaroth, the capital of Bashan (Num 21:33; Deut 3:1). The King's Highway facilitated the export of precious perfumes from S Arabia and competed for international commerce with the *Via Maris* (or "the way of the sea"), the other important international highway which crossed Palestine along the Mediterranean coast.

The earliest biblical reference to the King's Highway was the campaign described in Genesis 14. Under the leadership of Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, the four kings of the north campaigned from Ashtaroth and Karnaim in Bashan, to Ham in N Gilead, then to Shaveh-kiriathaim on the Moabite plateau, to the southernmost point of Elath on the Gulf of Aqabah and then back to Enmishpat (Kadesh-barnea). Ashtaroth, Karnaim, and Elath were located on the highway, and Ham was not far from it. Kiriathaim was more to the W (see Josh 13:19) and the location of Shaveh is unknown.

The King's Highway was also mentioned in connection with the wilderness wanderings, as the Israelites marched from Kadesh-barnea to the plains of Moab opposite Jericho (Num 21:10; 33:43–49). At Kadesh-barnea the Israelites asked permission to use the roadway (Num 20:19; 21:22), but were refused access by the kings of Edom (Num 20:14–21) and Moab (Judg 11:17; see also Num 21:21–35) and were forced to seek an alternate route (Num 21:4; Deut 2:8). Some scholars, relying on speculative identifications of several sites listed in the biblical itinerary, believe that the Israelites marched from Kadesh-barnea across the N end of Edom and then followed the King's Highway northward. If correct, then the stations listed in Num 21:11–20 and 33:44–46 must also have been located along the King's Highway.

The alternate route, however, went "by the way of the Red Sea, to go around the land of Edom" (Num 21:4; cf. Judg 11:18). The Israelites moved from Kadesh-barnea S to Elath and then N to the southern end of Edom. From there they traveled on an alternate route located E of the King's Highway, called "the way of the wilderness of Edom" and "the way of the wilderness of Moab," along the fringes of the desert (Deut 2:8; not according to RSV). This eastern route paralleled the King's Highway and circumnavigated the four major wadis and their deep canyons: the Yarmuk, the Jabbok, the Arnon, and the Zered. "The way of the wilderness of Edom" and "the way of the wilderness of Moab" followed the most convenient topographical line, the same course that the modern railroad follows, avoiding the difficult fords on the King's Highway. The alternate road rejoined the King's Highway at Rabbath-ammon, a strategic site for

controlling both routes. The disadvantage of this route was that it was farther out in the desert, where settlements and water supplies were sparse.

Because of the special military and economic advantages afforded by the King's Highway, the route became a strategic focalpoint in Israel's later political controversies. David secured absolute control over this important roadway (2 Chr 19:7; see also 1 Kgs 4:24) and Solomon capitalized on the new avenue of trade to the S (1 Kgs 9:26–10:22; 2 Chr 8:17–9:21). After the death of Solomon, both the Moabites (2 Kgs 1:1; 3:4–27; and the Mesha Stele) and the Edomites (2 Kgs 8:20–22; 2 Chr 21:8–10) regained temporary control over the highway. Their control was eclipsed by the Arameans who, under Ben-hadad I and Hazael, expanded their authority in the Transjordan to include the King's Highway (2 Kgs 10:32–33; see Mazar 1962: 103–8). After the decline of the Arameans, both Israel (2 Kgs 14:25, 28) and Judah (2 Kgs 14:7; cf. however, 2 Kgs 14:7–14 and 2 Chr 25:5–24; and see 2 Kgs 14:22; 2 Chr 26:2) regained control of the King's Highway.

The road maintained its significance throughout antiquity. When the Assyrians conquered Damascus and the Transjordan, the King's Highway also opened avenues to Arabia. The road was rebuilt by the Roman Emperor Trajan in 106 C.E. A modern road known as the Tariq es-Sultani follows the same route as the ancient road.

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**KING'S POOL** (PLACE) [Heb *bĕrēkat hammelek* (בְּרֵכַת הַמֶּלֶךְ)]. According to Neh 2:14, the King's Pool was in the vicinity of the Fountain Gate, which from its name is to be connected with a source of water, no doubt the spring En-rogel in the Kidron Valley. The Water Gate was farther N in the vicinity of the Gihon Spring (Neh 3:26; Simons 1952: 121). The Fountain Gate is mentioned again in Neh 3:15 in connection with the wall of the Pool of Siloam. Thus the Pool of Siloam and the King's Pool seem to be alternative names for the same reservoir located near the King's Garden, the overflow of which would supply additional water to that garden (Mare 1987: 123; Simons 1952: 193). The King's Pool appropriately continued to carry that designation into Nehemiah's time, no doubt because Hezekiah, the king, was its builder (2 Kgs 20:20).

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**KING'S VALLEY** (PLACE). See SHAVEH, VALLEY OF; KIDRON, BROOK OF.

**KINGDOM OF GOD, KINGDOM OF HEAVEN.** The "Kingdom of God/Heaven" is a subject of major importance in the Bible for two primary reasons: its frequency in the first three canonical (synoptic) gospels of the NT, and the conviction that it stands at the very center of the message of the historical Jesus. Its meaning, which is derived from a world of oriental monarchs and monarchies that is very different from modern Western democracies, has been interpreted in various ways. Historically it has been associated with the future state of the resurrected, immortal blessed; the Church; monastic contemplation; mystical ecstasy; pious religious experience; the progressively redeemed society inspired by love; the future transformation of this world; apocalyptic hope for the next world; and an open-ended symbol possible of many interpretations.

This entry explores this concept in two articles. The first surveys the concept of the "Kingdom of God/Heaven" as it is presented in the Hebrew Bible, in early Judaism, and in the Greco-Roman world. The second surveys its use in the New Testament and in other early Christian writings.

***OT, EARLY JUDAISM, AND HELLENISTIC USAGE***

A. Linguistic Considerations
B. The Old Testament

C. Daniel and Palestinian Pseudepigrapha
    1. Daniel
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    4. *Psalms of Solomon*
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H. Hellenistic Kingship
I. The Stoics and Cynics
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    1. Tobit, Additions to Esther, 2 Maccabees, *3 Maccabees*
    2. *Sibylline Oracles*
    3. *4 Maccabees*
    4. The Wisdom of Solomon
    5. Philo of Alexandria

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**A. Linguistic Considerations**

"The Kingdom of God" literally translates Gk *hē basileia tou theou,* and is found in NT texts, especially Mark, Luke, and Acts. The variant preferred by Matthew, "the Kingdom of Heaven," or literally, "the Kingdom of the Heavens" (Gk *hē basileia tōn ouranōn*), corresponds to Heb *malkût šāmayîm* or Aram *malktā› dišmayā›*. The conventional argument is that the plural "heavens" in this variant does not refer simply to the transcendent realm, but is a "circumlocution," an expression which avoids uttering or writing the Divine Name (YHWH); if so, "the Kingdom of (the) Heaven(s)" is equivalent to "the Kingdom of God" (Dalman). There are other equivalent Jewish and NT expressions, for example, "the Kingdom" and "the Kingdom of the Father." It has usually been argued that the "Kingdom of God/Heaven" is not primarily spatial, territorial, political, or national; therefore, it should be translated as "kingly rule," "reign," or "sovereignty" rather than "kingdom" (Dalman). While this view still predominates, it has recently been challenged (Koch; Buchanon; see below). Even if one maintains this view, the political, economic, and social dimensions of ancient oriental kingship by way of analogy must not be forgotten.

**B. The Old Testament**

The expression "Kingdom of Heaven" (Heb *malkût šāmayîm*) is not found in the OT; this fact has led some scholars to deny its importance in that literature. However, the expression "Kingdom of YHWH" does occur (1 Chr 28:5; 2 Chr 13:8) and there are a few indirect references to YHWH's kingdom by means of a personal pronoun (1 Chr 17:14; Pss 103:19; 145:11, 12, 13) or the equivalent (Ps 22:28; Obad 21; 1 Chr 29:11; cf. Aram Dan 4:3, 34; 7:27 + 2:44). There are also many passages which refer to YHWH as "king" *(melek)* or as "reigning" (*yimlōk,* etc.). These passages indicate that God was imagined as the reigning king over Israel, all peoples, and, indeed, nature itself. Thus, other scholars have concluded that

although the exact phrase is missing, the *idea* of the Kingdom of God is present, indeed even widespread, in the Hebrew Scriptures (Bright; Patrick; Schnackenburg; Perrin).

The idea of the Kingdom of God in the Hebrew Scriptures has usually been related to a widespread polytheistic nature myth among the peoples of ANE monarchies; that is, in creating the world, God acted as a primordial, sacral king who defeated the evil powers. God then sustained his creation by making the land fertile. Expressions of the Israelite adaptation of this nature myth are enshrined in certain "enthronement psalms" (Pss 47, 93, 96–99) which have as a frequent refrain, "YHWH has become king!" (e.g., Pss 93:1; 96:10; 97:1). These psalms were probably recited in Israel's adaptation of an annual New Year's festival when the actual reigning, earthly king was enthroned. If so, a certain correlation between heavenly and earthly kings is implied. However, for the Israelites there was only one God, YHWH, who had delivered his people from bondage in Egypt and had given them the promised land (Deut 6:20–24; 26:5b–10; Josh 24:2b–13). YHWH reigned as king not only over nature, but also over history when he redeemed and sustained his people (Exod 15; Isa 30:7; 41:9; Pss 87:4; 89:11; 136). The myth had clear national-political overtones.

The implied Kingdom of God was not equivalent to the kingdom of Israel. Though Israel adapted Near Eastern ideas of "divine kingship" for the earthly king, God and the king were not identical; the god/king of the world was also the god/king over the people of Israel, and therefore superior to any earthly "divine king." Correspondingly, there was also tension between these two kingdoms. Moreover, the prophets were often critical of the monarchy. In this context, there developed a hope for a better Kingdom of God in the future (Isa 33:22; 52:7–11). The prophet Isaiah wrote: "For YHWH is our judge, YHWH is our lawgiver, YHWH is our king; he will save us" (33:22).

**C. Daniel and Palestinian Pseudepigrapha**

Most of this literature is strongly dominated by apocalyptic eschatology, the major exception being the *Psalms of Solomon.* Interestingly, that document contains the only precise reference to "the Kingdom of God" (*Ps. Sol.* 17:3). As in the case of the Hebrew Scriptures, some scholars conclude from the single reference that the apocrypha and the pseudepigrapha are not very important for understanding the Kingdom of God; as in the case of the Hebrew Scriptures, however, others argue that the *idea* of the Kingdom of God is implied in general kingdom references and references to God as king, largely in apocalyptic contexts (Lattke; Collins). See APOCALYPSES AND APOCALYPTICISM.

**1. Daniel.** Canonical Daniel is considered here primarily because of its late date (ca. 165 B.C.E.) and the apocalyptic orientation of its last six chaps. Daniel contains three types of Kingdom references (Collins). (a) Daniel 1–6 portrays the schema of four world kingdoms succeeded by a final, eternal, *earthly* kingdom "set up" by God (Dan 2:44; cf. Daniel 7; cf. the Roman chronicler, Aemilius Sura, ca. 175 B.C.E.; *Syb. Or.* 4, 1st century B.C.E.), which is presumably the Jewish nation. (b) This human kingdom can be distinguished from the "everlasting kingdom" of God superior to all human kingdoms (Dan 4:25); it is mentioned in short hymns of the same section (4:3 = Aram 3:33; 4:34–35 = Aram 4:31–32; 6:26) and shows influence of the enthronement psalms (see above). (c) The four-kingdoms scheme is taken up again in the apocalyptic section (Daniel 7–12) where they are represented as beasts from the sea (the "combat myth"), but now they are succeeded by everlasting "dominion, glory, and kingdom" conferred by God, the Ancient of Days, on "one like a Son of Man" (7:13–14); subsequently this kingdom is received by "the Holy Ones of the Most High" who are to possess it forever, and to whom all other kingdoms are subject (7:18; cf. 7:27). In Daniel, the Son of Man seems to be identified with the "Holy Ones," but who are they? The Jewish people as a whole? A sect of pious, righteous Jews, that is, the *hasîdîm* or "Holy Ones" (1 Macc 1:62–63; 2:29–42; 2 Macc 14:6; cf. Dan 11:33–35; 12)? The angels in the likeness of human beings (Dan 8:13; *1 En.* 14:22–23), with the Son of Man as Michael, Israel's heavenly representative (cf. 1QM 17:7; Collins)? If the latter is correct, the earthly rule of the Jewish people would be paralleled by the heavenly rule of the angels. To make matters more complicated, all three Kingdom ideas seem to merge in Daniel 7.

**2. *Jubilees* 1:28.** The book of *Jubilees* (mid-2d century B.C. Palestinian Jewish document originally written in Hebrew; fragments from the QL) refers in 1:28 to God as a "king" who rules "upon Mount Zion forever and ever."

**3. *1 Enoch.*** There are various ideas about the final period of history in the composite work called *1 Enoch* (early 2d century to the late 1st century B.C.E.). (a) In the Book of Watchers (*1 En.* 1–36), the elect people of God, including those who are resurrected (*1 En.* 22), will live in a final paradisiacal state on earth where God, whose throne is on a mountain, is an "eternal King," "King of Kings," or "King of the Universe" (9:4; 25:7; 12:3; 25:3–5; 27:3). (b) In the Book of Dream Visions (*1 En.* 83–90) God is addressed in prayer as follows: "Lord King, great and powerful in your majesty, Lord of the whole creation of heaven, King of Kings and God of the whole world" (*1 En.* 84:2). (c) In the Animal Apocalypse (*1 En.* 85–90) the Lord judges and then sits on his earthly throne "in the pleasant land" (Israel), a transformation of the earth which seems to involve a resurrection (*1 En.* 90:20). (d) In the Apocalypse of Weeks (*1 En.* 93:1–10; 91:12–17) there is reference to both historical and eschatological temples, judgment, and the final consummation. (e) The Book of the Similitudes (*1 En.* 37–71; probably early 1st century C.E.) is the most apocalyptic and closely related to Daniel. In it, the Lord of Spirits, who is once called "King (Lord?) over all kings" (63:4; cf. 4:29), sets the Son of Man on his throne of glory (68:1; 62:5; cf. 69:29). "That Son of Man," who is also "messiah," assumes traditional kingly functions (in heaven? cf. 48:10; 52:4) and judges and destroys all the earthly kings (cf. 46:4–5; 48:4–5; 62–63).

In short, in *1 Enoch* God is called king and the Son of Man is a king/"messiah." There are several paradisiacal states mentioned, and there is great stress on the final judgment of all the kings and kingdoms of the world by both figures.

**4. *Psalms of Solomon.*** The *Psalms of Solomon* (63 B.C.E.; Gk and Syr extant; original Heb) speaks of the now familiar themes of God as "king of the heavens, judging even kings and rulers" (*Pss. Sol.* 2:30) and God as "Lord, our king for evermore" (17:1). Most important, it contains the only explicit reference in the apocryphal and pseudepigraphal literature to the precise expression "the Kingdom of God": "And the Kingdom of God is forever over the nations in judgment" (17:3; cf. Exod 15:18 and sec. G.5 below). Thereafter, the messiah-king, the "Son of David," is prophesied to rule over a restored national-earthly kingdom (Duling 1973). The question is how this important "Kingdom of God" reference should be interpreted. Because of the Son of David's role, it has been usually taken in a national-political sense; yet, because nationalistic ideas fade in the rest of the passage (17:33–38) and there are some apocalyptic emphases in relation to resurrection of the dead (3:12; 13:11; 14:3; 15:13) and to the superiority of God's rule over earthly kingdoms (e.g., 17:7, 22–25), the Kingdom has also been interpreted apocalyptically (Perrin 1963).

**5. *Testament of Moses.*** The *Testament of Moses* (from the Maccabean period down to the period contemporary with Jesus) purports to be Moses' last words to his successor Joshua (cf. Deuteronomy 31–34). It comes close to the apocalypse genre and it is full of predictions about the future. The portrayal of the history of Israel as a revelation of sin and punishment (*T. Mos.* 2–7) culminates in eschatological crisis (perhaps the persecution of Antiochus IV Epiphanes beginning in 168 B.C.E.) and the martyrdom of a certain Taxo (8–9; cf. the *maskîlîm*, "those who are wise," in Dan 11:35), whose death seems to bring on God's apocalyptic judgment. This is followed by an eschatological hymn (*T. Mos.* 10) which stresses the destruction of the evil one, cosmic apocalyptic events, and the exaltation of Israel to the heavens (10:9; cf. Daniel 12). The eschatological hymn contains the most important verses for the Kingdom:

(1) Then *his/God's/Kingdom* will appear throughout his whole creation.
Then the devil will have an end.
Yea, sorrow will be led away with him.
.....
(3) For the Heavenly One will arise from his kingly throne.
Yea, he will go forth from his holy habitation with indignation and wrath on behalf of his sons.
(*T. Mos.* 10:1, 3, trans. J. Priest)

Again, when the Kingdom appears, there will be destruction; as with Daniel and the *Similitudes of Enoch*, it is brought about by God and his angels, not by a human agent.

**6. *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.*** The composite Testaments (2d century B.C.E.? probably written in Greek; contain Jewish elements and Christian redaction) are especially known for their two messiahs conception. In the *Testament of Benjamin* 9:1 "the kingdom of the Lord" will be taken from "among you" because (with few exceptions) "you will be sexually promiscuous like the promiscuity of the Sodomites." In 10:7 the patriarchs will be raised up over their respective tribes and prostrate themselves before "the King of heaven" *(basileus tōn ouranōn*), after which the general resurrection and judgment occur. The *Testament of Dan* 5:7–13 is an apocalyptic eschatological poem in which God wins his war against Beliar and grants paradisiacal peace to his saints in the New Jerusalem. The last verse, which shows some signs of Christian reworking, includes the passing reference:

> The Holy One of Israel will rule over *(basileuon)* them (in humility and poverty,
> and he who trusts in him shall reign in truth in the heavens.)

(*T. Dan.* 5:13, trans. H. C. Kee)

**7. Summary.** Palestinian Jewish literature, with the exception of the *Psalms of Solomon*, is heavily dominated by apocalyptic eschatology; this literature contains casual references to God as king, to his heavenly and universal reign, to the superiority of his (or the Son of Man's) reign over human kingdoms, to the final judgment, and to the final paradisiacal state of his people, usually (though not always) on earth. The only explicit reference to the expression "the Kingdom of God," *Pss. Sol.* 17:3, occurs in a mildly nationalistic text, which nonetheless has some apocalyptic overtones; thus, some scholars have also interpreted the reference apocalyptically.

It should be noted that there is a social significance to the Kingdom references in this literature. The major theme is the ultimate vindication of the persecuted "elect" against the powerful and mighty kingdoms of the world. These "elect" represent the perceived negative social experience ("alienation," "anomie"), if not the actual persecution, of marginal groups/sects.

**D. The Dead Sea Scrolls**

The Dead Sea Scrolls (latter 2d century B.C.E. to 1st century C.E.; mainly Heb; also Aram, Gk) contain several terms for "kingdom," that is, *malkût* (ca. 15 times); *mělukāh* (twice); *mamlākāh* (once); *memšālāh* (31 times); *miśrāh* (3 times) (Viviano 1987a).

Although a number of these are references to the kingdoms of this world, there are eleven references to God as "king" *(melek)* (e.g., 1QH 10.8, a hymn) and there occurs the verb "to reign" (Heb *mālak*) in a citation of Exodus 15:18, "Yah/w/eh will reign *(yimlôk)* for ever and ever" (4QFlor. 1:3, a commentary; cf. 1QM 12:3?). One also finds the "dominion" *(mamšālāh)* of God over all things in contrast to the rule of the demon Beliel (1QS 1:18, 23–24; 2:19–21; cf. 1QS 9:24: *mimšol*; cf. Viviano 1987a).

The main and most important references to God as king and to his kingdom are in the *War Scroll* (Lattke; Viviano 1987a). There God is called "King of Honor" (1QM 12:8; cf. 19:1) and perhaps "King of Kings" (14:6 based on 4QMa). There is also mention of the eschatological kingdom of *Israel* in Jerusalem, a kingdom established by the priestly Prince of the Congregation. Thus, "kingdom" is also associated with peace, justice, and a purified cult in a renewed temple (Exod; 1QM 12:3, 16; 19:8; cf. 1QSb 3–5; 10:12; 17:8). Closest to the NT "Kingdom of God" language are the statements, "And to the God of Israel shall be the Kingdom, and by the saints of his people will he display might" (1QM 6:6) and, "You, O God, resplendent in the glory of *your Kingdom* … (1QM 12:7). Thus, God will intervene on behalf of his people—in the latter case through his angels—in the war against earthly kingdoms, and he will establish a kingdom of justice (12:10) and blessing (12:12). The key passage (1QM 12:7–15) probably closes with the earthly rule of God's people, Israel, over the nations (1QM 12:16–17, damaged; cf. 1QM 19:8, also damaged). This would imply a correlation between the kingdom of God and the earthly kingdom of a purified Israel, a distinctly political connotation.

The political dimension of the War Scroll recalls the defeat of "Manasseh" (= Alexander Jannaeus 103–76 B.C.E.?) in the final age (cf. 4QpNah 3:10–4:9) and, of course, the Davidic messianism of the scrolls:

"For to him / the Messiah of Israel / and to his seed was granted the covenant of kingship over his people for everlasting generations" (4QPB 1:4; cf. 4QFlor. 10–13).

The social dimensions of the Kingdom are also clear, especially in the following example: "The Master shall bless the Prince of the Congregation … and shall renew for him the covenant of the community that he may establish the kingdom of his people forever, / that he may judge the poor with righteousness and / dispense justice with / equity to the oppressed / of the land …" (1QSb 5:20–21).

In summary, the Dead Sea Scrolls contain references to God as King and Israel as an eschatological Kingdom. There is, nonetheless, a nationalistic expectation in which God intervenes on behalf of his people, and a promise of a renewed covenant in which there will be justice and peace for the poor and oppressed. As with the apocalyptic literature, the correlation between the Kingdom and a purified, priest-directed Israel ruling over the nations reflects the perceived negative social experience of a marginal group, presumably the Essenes (see C, above).

**E. Josephus**

The ancient Jewish historian Josephus has many references to the words "king" and "kingdom," especially in relation to a political office or government over a territory (citations in Buchanon). Some modern scholars have argued that among the revolutionary "Zealots" the Kingdom of God must have been conceived in this-worldly terms, that is, as equivalent to the people of God politically liberated from Rome (e.g., Brandon; Hengel). While this reconstruction has merit in the light of Jewish ideas in general, there are two major problems: (1) the surviving writings of Josephus contain no explicit Kingdom of God sayings in relation to revolutionary movements; and (2) the scholarly convention of positing a single, ongoing revolutionary Zealot movement in 1st-century Palestine has been challenged.

**F. Jewish Prayers**

**1. The Kaddish Prayer.** This Aramaic synagogue prayer reads:

> Magnified and sanctified be his great name in the world that he has created according to his will.
> May he establish his Kingdom *(malkŭtêḥ)* in your lifetime and in your days and in your lifetime of all the house of Israel, even speedily and at a near time.

The Kaddish represents an eschatological hope for the establishment (not "coming") of "his (= God's) Kingdom" in the near future. The major question is its date. The prayer is preserved in the more formal Aramaic of the later Rabbinic schools (Elbogen) and is not specifically mentioned as part of the synagogue liturgy before the 6th century C.E. (*EncJud* 10: 661). Yet, the prayer contains simple eschatological ideas, does not mention the destruction of the Temple, and is similar to other early Jewish prayers, as well as to the Lord's Prayer (Matt 6:10; Luke 11:21). Thus, the Kaddish remains a possible, but debated, parallel to the Kingdom of God teaching in the Lord's prayer (Matt 6:10 = Luke 11:2).

**2. Benediction Eleven of the Synagogue Prayers.** In the eschatological portions (petitions 10–14) of the synagogue prayers called the "Eighteen Benedictions" (*Shemoneh Esreh,* or *Amidah*), Benediction Eleven speaks of a future time when Israel will no longer be under foreign domination, when YHWH will be king: "Restore our judges as of old and our counsellors as in the beginning; put away from us sorrow and sighing; and be alone King *(ûmĕlôk)* over us, O Y-Y, in mercy and compassion, in grace and justice! Blessed art You, O Y-Y, a king *(melek)* who loves grace and righteousness." There is no explicit reference to the "Kingdom of God." More distinctive and therefore probably more noteworthy is the fourteenth benediction, which expresses hope for the Kingdom of the Messiah from the house of David (Lattke).

**G. Rabbinic Literature**

The Rabbis often referred to God as King and to His kingdom in nonpolitical terms. Their most frequent and characteristic expression is "to take the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven upon oneself," which refers especially to difficulties incurred by those who confess the oneness of God in the *Shemaʿ* (Deut 6:4–9) and accept the demands of Torah. While the Rabbinic literature in general is later than the NT, it is argued that a few of these references may date back to the late 1st century C.E. (Dalman; Lattke; Chilton 1978, 1979). In any case, some of the earliest references are found in the following documents.

**1. Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael on Exodus.** In material ascribed to Rabbi Eliezar ben Hyrcanos, student of Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai (a 1st century Palestinian teacher), this commentary on Exod 17:14 states, "R. Eleazar says: When will the name of these people (= Israel's enemies, the Amalekites) be blotted out? At the time when idolatry will be eradicated together with its worshippers, and God will be recognized throughout the world as the One, *and His kingdom will be established for all eternity*" (Lauterbach). This comment is followed by quotations of Zech 14:3, 9 (cf. *Tg. Zech.* 14:9). Here, the Kingdom seems to be universal.

**2. Sipre Leviticus 20:26.** Rabbi Eleazar ben Azariah (ca. 100 C.E.) is said to have spoken of "the yoke of the Kingdom" as attempting not to transgress the purity laws.

**3. Sipre Deuteronomy 113.** This commentary on Deuteronomy states that the manifestation of God's rule began with Abraham: "Before our father Abraham came into the world, God was, as it were, only the King of heaven: but when Abraham came, he made Him King over heaven and earth."

**4. Talmuds.** Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakkai (ca. 80 C.E.) is said to have contrasted "the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven" with "the yoke of flesh and blood," that is, human governments (*y. Qidd.* 59b). Rabbi Gamaliel II from the early 2d century C.E. is said to have spoken about the "yoke" of the Kingdom in terms of monotheism as confessed by reciting the *Shema‹* (Deut 6:4–9) and the commandments (cf. Str-B 1: 177); An example is found in *b. Ber.* 2.2, from about 150 C.E.:

> R. Joshua b. Korḥa said: Why does the section *Hear, O Israel* (Deut 6:4–9) precede / the section / *And it shall come to pass if ye shall harken / diligently to my commandments/?*—so that a man may first take upon himself the yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven (*‹ôl malkût sûāmayîm*) and afterward take upon him the yoke of the commandments (*‹ôl miṣôt*).

**5. Targums.** Over a period of several centuries beginning already in pre-70 C.E. Temple days, Aramaic paraphrases of the Hebrew text were made for Aramaic-speaking Jews of the synagogues who no longer understood classical Hebrew. Eventually, under the direction of the Rabbis, these were set down in writing. In contrast to the rarity of *explicit* "Kingdom of God/Heaven" references in the Jewish literature discussed so far, the Latter Prophets Targum (the Targum Jonathan) has ten explicit references to "the Kingdom of YHWH" (esp. *malkûtā› daY-Y*) in 8 contexts (*Tg. Isa.* 24:23; 31:4; 40:9; 52:7; *Tg. Ezek.* 7:7, 10; *Tg. Obad.* 21; *Tg. Mic.* 4:7, 8; *Tg. Zech.* 14:9). The Palestinian *Targum Neofiti* I on the Pentateuch, which may be basically pre-Christian (McNamara), comments on the Exodus at the Red Sea (*Tg. Exod.* 15:18): "For His (= the Holy One's) is the crown of kingship; and He is the King of kings in this world, and His is the kingship in the world to come. And His it is and shall be for ever and ever" (cf. *Tg. Onkelos Exod.* 15:18; Mekilta Rabbi Nathan Exod 15:18; *Pss. Sol.* 17:3). The relative frequency of "Kingdom of God" language in the Targums, the fact that the expression is not associated with the Law (as in the remaining Rabbinic literature, see above), and the eschatological tone of the paraphrases are striking and have revived discussion about the possible relation of these paraphrases to sayings attributed to Jesus in the NT (Chilton; Koch; Buchanon).

The *Targum Jonathan* adds "Kingdom of Y-Y" or "Kingdom of your God" to the Hebrew text. In Heb Zech 14:9 the catchword "king" *(melek)* in "YHWH will be king over all the earth" (on "that day," the day of judgment) evokes the "Kingdom of God" interpretation: *"the Kingdom of God (malkûtā› daY-Y) will be revealed on earth to all humankind in the future";* that is, the fact that YHWH will reign in the future is interpreted to mean that an already present reign of God will be made manifest universally in the future. A reference to Zech 14:9 in relation to the Kingdom in Mekilta Exod 17:14 suggests that the Targumic interpretation may be from the 1st century.

In Obad 21 the term "kingdom" in the Hebrew text ("the kingdom *(hammelûkā›)* shall be the Lord's") is rendered *"the Kingdom of God (malkûtā› daY-Y) will be revealed upon all the dwellers of the earth,"* a similar wording as in *Tg. Zech.* 14:9, suggesting a common tradition. In both passages, the Kingdom is universal, as it is in Mekilta Exodus.

In the four Isaiah passages, three contain no *m-l-k* ("to reign") root in the original Hebrew. Yet, the Targum consistently renders the activity of YHWH as "Kingdom of God" (*malkuÆtaµ < daY-Y*). The phrase "YHWH of hosts will descend to fight upon Mount Zion" in Hebrew Isa 31:4 is again seen as a

future revelation of the Kingdom, that is, "the kingdom of Y-Y of hosts *will be revealed to dwell* on Mount Zion." The link of the Kingdom with YHWH and the revelation on Mount Zion is found again in *Tg. Isa.* 24:23 where "YHWH of hosts will reign *(mālak)* on Mount Zion" becomes "the *Kingdom* of God (*malkûtā› daY-Y*) of hosts will *be revealed* on Mount Zion." Similarly, "behold your God" spoken by the herald of good tidings (to?) Zion/Jerusalem in Hebrew Isa 40:9 becomes "*the Kingdom of* your (pl.) God is *revealed*" (followed by God's self-revelation "in power"; cf. Mark 9:1) and "Your God reigns" in Hebrew Isa 52:7, spoken by the one who publishes salvation and says to Zion, is given almost the same exact paraphrase ("your" is sing.). In these Isaiah Targums, the place of revelation, Mount Zion, is clear and the imagery sounds more militaristic.

The final passages are in Ezekiel and Micah. In Ezek 7:7(10) your "doom (crown?) has come (to you)" in reference to the day of the Lord is rendered "the *kingdom* is *revealed upon* you." In Mic 4:7b, 8, the context is a prophecy about Israel's glorious future and the restoration of the Davidic throne. This is clearly a more nationalistic context and both Biblical and Targumic texts deserve to be quoted in full:

7b) and the Lord will reign (*mālak*) upon them in Mount Zion
from this time forth and for evermore.
8) And you, O tower of the flock,
hill of the daughter of Zion,
to you it will come,
the former dominion (*memšalā›*) will come,
the kingdom (*mamleket*) of the daughter of Jerusalem.

The Targum paraphrases:

and *the kingdom of* Y-Y will *be revealed* upon them in Mount Zion
from this time forth and for evermore.
and you, *Messiah of Israel that is hidden from before the sins of the congregation of Zion,*
to you *the kingdom* is about to come,
even the former dominion will come *to* the kingdom of the *congregation* of Jerusalem.

In this more complex interpretation, there are three references to the kingdom: (1) the familiar Kingdom of God revealed on Mount Zion some time in the future; (2) the kingdom which will "come to" the "Messiah of Israel" who is currently hidden because of the sins of "the congregation of Zion"; and (3) the kingdom of the "congregation of Jerusalem" to which the "former dominion" "will come." It would appear that the kingdom that comes to the Messiah is equivalent to the "former dominion" which comes to the Kingdom of the congregation of Israel, and that both are related to the eschatological Kingdom of God to be revealed on Mount Zion, but hindered because of the sins of the congregation of Zion. In other words, the Kingdom of God, the Kingdom of the Messiah, and the dominion of Israel over the nations are related (Koch). The question here is whether this overtly nationalistic text is early enough to belong with the others (so Chilton).

**H. Hellenistic Kingship**

In the period of classical Greece, the major idea about *basileia* ("kingdom," "rule") was that the (philosopher-) king transcends common law; he is subject to a higher, Natural Law. By the Hellenistic Age, this view was modified in the light of ideologies about oriental Divine Kingship and Hellenistic absolute monarchies (Goodenough). Pythagorean philosophical fragments concluded that the king *is* the higher law, or Animate Law; he is one who represents and reveals divine Natural Law in his kingdom. He is therefore divine, and acts as a god in leading the military, dispensing justice, and carrying out his priestly functions as leader of the religious cult.

> Now the king bears the same relation to the city-state *(polis)* as God to the world; and the city-state *(polis)* is in the same relation to the world as the king is to God. For the city-state, made as it is by a harmonizing together of many different elements, is an imitation of the order and harmony of the world, while the king who has an absolute rulership, and is himself Animate Law, has been metamorphosed into a deity among men. (Diotogenes *On Kingship,* quoted by Stob. 4.7.61 [Goodenough, 68]).

Such a king is not subject to passion; he is subject to virtue. He is a "wise man," a "lawful imitator and servant of God" (Pseudo-Sthenidas in Stob. 4.7.63 [Goodenough, 73–74]). In a passage which seems to bring together traditional Greek ideas and oriental sun symbolism, the Pythagorean Ecphantus stated,

> … the earthly king can fall short in no particular of the virtue of the heavenly king; but just as the king is an alien and foreign thing which has come down from heaven to man, so anyone would suppose that his virtues were the work of God, and have become the king's through God (Stob. 4.7.66 [Goodenough, 77–78]).

Plutarch concluded that the king is not only the incarnation of the Law; he is the incarnation of the divine Logos (*Ad principem ineruditum* in *Mor.* 10 [LCL]). In short, "rule/kingdom" *(basileia)* became a projected metaphor for the virtuous rule of the superior being.

**I. The Stoics and Cynics**

Stoics and Cynics applied the popular Hellenistic philosophical ideas about the king to the wise man. For the Stoics, the sage was the only true king; the city-state *(polis)* was blessed and stable if it had a sage in it.

The Cynic sage could be portrayed as a king, his kingdom being a countercultural "kingdom" (*basileia;* Höistad). He was "sent" by God to correct the human predicament and offer true enlightenment. Correspondingly, the true king was typified by such countercultural virtues; the tyrant was typified by vices (Epic. *Disc.* 3.22.63, 76, 80). Since the sage lived "according to (true) nature" *(kata physin)* or was governed by the *logos* or *sophia,* and embodied a *basileia* of countercultural virtue, in some sense he was divine; there is no mention, however, of "Kingdom *of God.*"

**J. Literature of the Jewish Diaspora**

In the literature of the Jewish people outside of Palestine, the idea of the reign of God as king is quite prevalent, though the expression is rare (Wis 10:10; Philo *Spec Leg* 4.164; cf. Wis 6:4). Sometimes the idea has an apocalyptic sense. In more philosophical texts, it reflects Hellenistic kingship and wisdom philosophy and it takes on spiritual or ethical connotations.

**1. Tobit, Additions to Esther, 2 Maccabees, *3 Maccabees.*** Hellenistic Jewish prayers address God as King. A prayer in Tobit (originally Aram; before 200 B.C.E.; uncertain provenance, although probably from the Diaspora [Nickelsburg]) refers to God as "King of the ages" (13:6, 10), "King of heaven" (13:7, 11), and "the great King" (13:15). Similarly, in prayers in the Additions to Esther 13:9–17 (originally Heb?) God's name is added to Esther when Mordecai addresses him as "O Lord God and King, God of Abraham …" (13:15) and Esther calls him "our King" (14:3b) and "O King of the gods and Master of all dominion" (14:12). 2 Maccabees (Gk; perhaps 1st century B.C.E. Egypt) contains a priestly sacrificial prayer in 1:24–29 which begins, "O Lord, Lord God, Creator of all things, who art awe-inspiring and strong and just and merciful, who alone art King *(basileus)* …" In general, God is the creator, lawgiver, and just judge and is called the "King of the Universe" (7:9: *tou kosmoubasileus*), as he is throughout Jewish liturgical prayer. In this case he will raise the martyrs who died for the Torah (probably under Antiochus IV Epiphanes); he is also called "King of Kings" (13:4) as one who has control over history. In *3 Maccabees* (composite Gk; probably early 1st century B.C.E. Egypt) the prayer of Simon the High Priest addresses God as "Lord, Lord, King of the heavens, ruler of all creation, holy among the holy ones, sovereign, conqueror of all …" (2:2), and the prayer of Eleazar begins, "King, great in power, Most High, all-conquering God, who governs the whole creation with mercy …" (6:2).

**2. *Sibylline Oracles.*** Most of the third oracle of the *Sibylline Oracles* (composite; from the 2d century B.C.E. to the 7th century C.E.; Diaspora) comes from 2d century B.C.E. Diaspora Egypt (Collins). Like Daniel, it has a list of world kingdoms (*Sib. Or.* 3:156–61), as well as historical kings of deliverance (e.g., 3:286 [Cyrus]; 3:192–93 [Ptolemy VI?]). Also, God "the Great (immortal) King" (3:55, 499, 560, 616, 716, 808) will raise up an eschatological kingdom that is apparently different from the reigns of the historical kings, but it is nonetheless an earthly kingdom with the Jerusalem temple as the goal of pilgrimage for all nations (3:767–95). A late addition close to the time of Christianity (after the Roman conquest of Egypt, 31 B.C.E.) expects that "the most great kingdom of the immortal King will become manifest over men" (3:47–48), be ruled by a "holy prince" (perhaps a Jewish messiah), and be the

occasion for "the judgment of the Great King, immortal God" (3:56). Such ideas are somewhat like those found in the Targums.

The fourth oracle (ca. 80 C.E.) has the schema of four world kingdoms in a context of apocalyptic destruction, resurrection, and final judgment, but it does not have a final "Kingdom of God." A final addition to the fifth oracle inserted just before the Diaspora Revolt in 115 C.E. tells of judgment brought by "a certain king sent from God" (5:108), and later he is said to descend from heaven and to refashion Jerusalem (5:414–28). However, it is finally God who is the King (5:499), and the dominant emphasis is on his universal eschatological kingdom, an earthly kingdom with its center at Jerusalem.

**3. *4 Maccabees.*** In *4 Maccabees* (Greek; probably 1st century C.E.; possibly Antioch), if man lives his life by the Law, which is given to the intellect, he will "reign over a kingdom" characterized by the four cardinal virtues (2:23). Eleazar, who stoically follows the Law in opposition to tyrant and torture, is called "great king, ruler of the passions" (7:10).

**4. The Wisdom of Solomon.** In the Wisdom of Solomon (Gk; 1st century B.C.E. Egypt or Syria) a sage who identifies himself with Solomon combines apocalyptic (1:1–6:11) and wisdom (6:12–9:18) materials with God's acts of judgment in history (10–19). The document contrasts the tyrants without wisdom, who oppress their innocent righteous victims, with the eternal order of God's creation as characterized by hidden wisdom and the conviction that God will surely vindicate his people. The Lord will "overturn the thrones of rulers" (5:23) and eternally "reign over" the resurrected righteous who will judge the nations and "rule over" the peoples (3:8; 5:16). Addressing the fictional "kings of the earth" (6:1) as "servants of His (= the Lord's) Kingdom" who did not rule rightly (6:4), the sage shows that those monarchs who desire wisdom will receive it (6:9–11) and will participate in God's Kingdom after death:

6:17) The beginning of wisdom is the most sincere desire for instruction
and concern for instruction is love of her,
18) and love of her is the keeping of her laws,
and giving heed to her laws is assurance of immortality,
19) and immortality brings on near to God;
20) so the desire for wisdom leads to a kingdom *(basileia).*

The advise that follows: "honor wisdom that you may reign forever" (Wis 6:21).

In the "book of wisdom," as the history of Israel's saints and sinners shows, Jacob is praised by being shown "the Kingdom of God":

10:9) Wisdom rescued from troubles those who served her.
10) When a righteous man fled from his brother's wrath.
she guided him on straight paths;
she showed him the Kingdom of God *(basileia tou theou),*
and gave him knowledge of angels …

In short, the Wisdom of Solomon, while influenced by apocalyptic ideas reminiscent of Daniel, does not expect a Kingdom of God on earth; rather, the Kingdom of God tends to be identified with wisdom and righteousness, and thus with immortality granted to those who have virtue. The influence of Hellenistic popular philosophy is apparent.

**5. Philo of Alexandria.** The Kingdom in writings of Philo of Alexandria, a contemporary of Jesus, also betrays the influence of Hellenistic popular philosophy. The term "kingdom" *(basileia)* can refer to the control exercised by the mind *(nous)* or wisdom *(sophia)* over the sage. This *basileia* is also equivalent to "wisdom" *(sophia)* or "virtue" *aretē);* a life lived in accord with it can be designated "kingdom of the sage" *(basileia tou sophou),* which is superior to the *basileia* of empirical kings (*TDNT* 1; Mack; cf. *Miqr Abr* 197; *Som* 2.244). Thus, "God grants the kingdom of the sage *(basileia tou sophou),* and the man of excellence receives it," and as a result, "he [the sage] brings no harm to anyone, but the acquisition and enjoyment of good things to all his subjects, to whom he is the herald of peace and order" (*Abr* 261).

Philo also mentions the "Kingdom of God." Since the requirements of the Mosaic Torah are consistent with the patterns of the created order *(physis),* the wise king will "write" a copy of the Torah on his soul;

in so doing, he takes on the image of the "archetype, the Kingdom of God" (*Spec Leg* 4.164; cf. *Mut* Nom 135; *Som* 285).

**Bibliography**

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DENNIS C. DULING

## *NEW TESTAMENT AND EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE*

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### A. Gospel of Mark

The Gospel of Mark contains 20 references to the word "kingdom," 14 of which are to the "Kingdom of God" and 6 to the word "king" *(basileus)* as ironic references to Jesus. Mark 1:14–15 states: "Now after John was arrested, Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God, and saying, 'The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand *(ēngiken);* repent, and believe in the gospel.' " Location and technical vocabulary suggest that this saying is "Markan" and programmatic. The perfect tense in Greek *(ēngiken)* is *past* with *present* implications; yet, the *future* is implied insofar as the Kingdom is not yet present with full apocalyptic "power" (cf. 9:1; 14:25; 15:43). The temporal ambiguity may also suggest that the Kingdom has symbolic meaning, as does "Galilee" (Kelber). This tension about time also corresponds to the Kingdom's presence as mysteriously hidden, incomprehensible to outsiders, such as religious authorities, but revealed to insiders (Mark 4:10–12 [Isa 6:9–10]; 4:26–29; 4:30–32; contrast *Gos. Thom.* 20; 21). However, the boundaries about insiders/outsiders become uncertain (4:31–8:21) when Jesus encounters resistance from his family (6:1–6a; cf. 3:20–35) and misunderstanding from his disciples (6:52; 8:17, 21).

The central section (8:22–10:52) contains a key apocalyptic saying, Mark 9:1: "Truly, I say to you, there are some standing here who will never taste death before they see the Kingdom of God come *(elēlythyian)* in power." This unusual "seeing" the Kingdom "come (perfect participle *elēlythyian)* in power" was composed by Mark with the advent of the Son of Man (8:38; 13:20) and the Messianic Banquet (14:25) in mind (Perrin 1967). What has been "at hand" and mysteriously present but hidden will be seen in the future in its apocalyptic fullness.

There are six other Kingdom sayings in this central section (9:47; 10:14, 15; 10:23, 24, 25). The apocalyptic goal of the "way" that goes through suffering service is the Kingdom (9:47; 10:15, 23, 24, 25). To "enter," one must not be led into (individual?) temptation (9:47) and one must be childlike (Mark 10:14, 15). While one saying about "entering" is clearly future (10:15), baptismal symbolism (10:14: "hinder," cf. Acts 8:36 and 10:47; 10:15: the simile "like a child"; "enter," cf. John 3:3, 5; cf. also Matt 18:3; *Gos. Thom.* 22), the quality of "possessing" the Kingdom (Mark 10:14; cf. Matt 5:3), and the likelihood that the Markan author changed the language to "receiving the Kingdom" (10:15; cf. "receiving *the child*" in Mark 9:37; Luke 18:17; Matt 18:5; cf. also 10:40) suggest the continuing present dimension. Within the same central section, Mark elaborates the story of the rich young man (Mark 10:17–22) with two Kingdom sayings (10:23, 24b) about the difficulty of "entering" the kingdom on the part of those who have riches. He then adds the well-known aphorism, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God" (Mark 10:25). In the final, Jerusalem section (11:1–16:8), the "good scribe" who is "not far" from the Kingdom by agreeing with Jesus' summation of the Law as love of God and neighbor (Mark 12:34) seems to mark an added ethical dimension to the Kingdom of God. In short, "entering" the Kingdom has present dimensions and requires an "ethic" which reverses accepted social norms: "But many that are first will be last, and the last first" (10:31).

The last saying of Jesus is in the concluding frame of a discipleship section (Donahue 1973) of the Last Supper scene, Mark 14:25: "Truly I say to you, I shall not drink again of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the Kingdom of God." "That day" shows that Jesus' final Passover anticipates another, future meal "in the Kingdom of God." It is not clear whether the disciples will be present (contrast Matt 26:29).

The final Kingdom saying says that Joseph of Arimathea was also "looking for the Kingdom of God" (15:42). This is apparently an apocalyptic reference.

The most eschatological (9:1; 14:25), christological (1:15), and communal (4:11) Kingdom sayings have been composed by Mark himself. The coming of God's mysterious Kingdom is set within a larger apocalyptic drama extending from the prophets to the End (Perrin and Duling; Mack). It will reach its fullest expression in the future. However, it is already mysteriously present in the work and words of Jesus Christ, God's suffering Son, an authoritative and powerful miracle worker, preacher, and teacher from Galilee. He overcomes demonic opposition but is temporarily defeated by a human political opposition (Ambrozic; Kelber). This special quality of kingship is revered in the Greco-Roman world in general and Judaism in particular (Robbins). It is present to those who in contrast to the outsiders understand and follow Jesus, that is, those who love the one God and the neighbor as oneself, who are childlike, and who resist temptation. Does Mark intend to include the disciples (Weeden and Kelber vs. Kee and Tannehill 1977)? Does mysterious presence of the Kingdom persist into the writer's time, or is it past and future, and therefore absent for the period of the writer (Boring 1987)?

**B. *Secret Gospel of Mark***

In a recently discovered letter of Clement of Alexandria, Clement describes a "more-spiritual gospel" of Mark written for the instruction of the initiated (M. Smith 1973a; 1973b), the "Secret Gospel of Mark." See MARK, SECRET GOSPEL OF. Some modern critics speculate that perhaps canonical Mark and *Secret Mark* came from a common tradition (M. Smith 1973a; 1973b), or that canonical Mark was a purged form of "Secret Mark" (M. Smith; Koester 1983; Crossan 1985; contrast Brown 1974). If so, *Secret Mark* was earlier, not later, than canonical Mark.

Clement quotes from a passage in *Secret Mark* not found in canonical Mark at 10:34; there is also reference back to this passage in his version of 10:46. The new passage is related to the Lazarus episode

in John (John 11; cf. M. Smith 1973a; Brown 1974). It tells about the arrival of the Jesus group at Bethany, the request of a woman for Jesus' help in relation to her young brother who had died ("Son of David, have mercy on me," cf. Mark 10:47–48), the resuscitation of the youth who was rich and loved Jesus, Jesus' command that "after six days" (cf. Mark 9:2) the youth came to Jesus at night "wearing a linen cloth over his naked body," Jesus' teaching "the mystery of the kingdom of God" (cf. Mark 4:10–12), and Jesus' departure to the other side of the Jordan.

Teaching the mystery of the Kingdom of God in this context seems to imply some connection with a nocturnal initiation rite of baptism, as well as what was believed to have been Jesus' own baptismal practice (esp. the baptism sayings in Mark 10:38–39; cf. also the "young man" who fled from the garden naked, Mark 14:51–52; 1 Cor 2:7; Eph 1:9–13; 5:32; 6:19; *Gos. Thom.* 37, 62; Hipp. *Trad. ap.* 21). It may therefore shed light on various baptismal practices related to the kingdom (M. Smith 1973a; 1973b; Koester 1983; Crossan 1985; J. Smith; see A, above; and below).

**C. Gospel of Matthew**

Statistically, a commanding 54 references to "kingdom" and 38 to "Kingdom of Heaven/God" or its equivalents are scattered throughout Matthew. The vast majority of these are to "Kingdom of Heaven" (32 references; 4 "Kingdom of God" references). All are spoken by, or related to, Jesus but one (Matt 3:2: John the Baptist), and the majority are located in Matthew's five great discourses (30 references). God is given the widespread oriental designation "Great King" only in Matt 5:35 (cf. 22:2, 7, 11, 13). The gospel affirms that Jesus is descended from David, addressed as "Son of David" usually in healing contexts (Duling 1978), and is mockingly called "King of the Jews/Israel" in the trial scene (chap. 27) and "the King" by Jerusalem crowds (21:5). The future, judging Son of Man, who is correlated with "the least of these," is also called "the King" in his kingdom (25:34, 40).

Matthew has a special emphasis on preaching "the gospel of the Kingdom." Key summaries (4:23; 9:35; cf. 5–7; 8–9) emphasize that Jesus was a Galilean wanderer who went about teaching in "their" synagogues, preaching "the gospel of the Kingdom," and "healing every disease and infirmity among the people." Jesus is preeminently preacher and teacher of "the gospel of the Kingdom" (cf. 10:7; 28:20). However, when Matthew also says that this gospel "… will be preached throughout the whole world as a testimony to the nations" (24:14; cf. 26:13), the later gentile mission is in view. In such sayings, the Kingdom preaching *of* Jesus merges with the Kingdom preaching *about* Jesus himself.

Jesus' inaugural proclamation, "Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand *ēngiken)"* (4:17; cf. Mark 1:15) and the Baptist's anticipation of this proclamation (3:2; cf. Q) show that the future Kingdom is in some sense already present both spatially and temporally (Kingsbury), especially with reference to the God who "draws near" in his Son who, in turn, is now known on earth (1:23; 18:20; 28:20). There are a few other past/present sayings that imply christology. Matthew 11:12 states: "From the days of John the Baptist until now the Kingdom of Heaven has suffered violence *(biazetai),* and those of violence *(biastai)* snatch it away *(harpazousin).*" Matthew reinterprets this Q saying (= Luke 16:16) probably to refer to demonic forces and their human agents which "snatch away" (cf. 12:29 *harpasai* and 13:19 *harpazei*) the Kingdom in the interim between John and Jesus. In another slightly modified saying from Q, Jesus defends himself against a "witchcraft" accusation (Neyrey): "But if it is by the Spirit of God that I cast out demons, then the Kingdom of God has come upon *(ephthasen)* you." These sayings should be compared to those which stress the "present earthly" Son of Man (8:20; 9:6; 11:19; 12:8, 32; 13:37), the "suffering" Son of Man (17:22; 20:18–19; cf. 16:21), the risen "Lord" as object of worship (8:2, 6, 8, 25; 14:28, 30; 15:22; 17:15; 20:30?, 31, 33), the ironic references to Jesus as earthly king (2:2; 27:11, 29, 37, 42), and the correlation of the King/Son of man with those who are unfortunate (25:34, 40; cf. 5:3, 10). Certain parables also imply the growth of the Kingdom from small beginnings (e.g., 13:33, the leaven [Q]). Presumably Jesus and his teaching are also present to Matthew's church (Kingsbury and Meier). This conclusion has been taken one step further by claiming that "the gospel of the Kingdom" also refers to Matthew's *literary document*, a "capsule-summary" of his work (Kingsbury; Matt 13:19; cf. Mark 4:15).

Most frequent and more dominating in Matthew are the eschatological sayings (5:19 [twice], 20; 6:10; 7:10, 21; 8:11, 12; 13:38, 41, 43, 47; 16:28; 18:1, 3; 19:23, 24?; 21:31?; 23:13?; 25:1; 26:29). Jesus'

prayer, "Thy Kingdom come" from Q (Matt 6:10 = Luke 11:2), falls into this category. A number of sayings extend the Markan metaphor of "entering" the Kingdom in the future (5:20; 7:21; 18:3; 19:23, 24; 23:13; cf. 7:14; 18:8, 9 ["life"]; 25:21, 23 ["the joy of your master"]; cf. also "shut" [23:13] and "narrow gate" [7:13]). Quite distinctive are those future sayings that refer to an alternative Kingdom, especially of the apocalyptic Son of Man (13:41; 16:28; cf. 20:21) who is the final judge. An example is, "The Son of man will send his angels, and they will gather out of *his Kingdom* all causes of sin and all evil-doers and throw them into the furnace of fire; there men will weep and gnash their teeth. Then the righteous will shine like the sun in *the Kingdom of their Father*" (13:41–43a). Here, the Kingdom of the Son of Man seems to be a provisional Kingdom which includes both righteous and unrighteous; it is presumably the Matthaean community. It is distinct from the Kingdom of the Father which will include only "the righteous." This view is supported by the parable of the Last Judgment (25:31) where the Son of Man, who is "King" (25:34, 40), will separate the sheep from the goats. Only "the righteous" will inherit "the Kingdom prepared … from the foundation of the world" and that is because of their good works (25:34–46). Other parables of the Kingdom reinforce the distinction between insiders and outsiders at the eschatological judgment (e.g., the weeds, 13:24–30; the net, 13:47–50; the ten maidens, 25:1–13).

There are also Kingdom sayings with ethical and communal implications. The joy of finding and/or risking all can be found in the parables (13:44, 45). The works, or "fruits" (e.g., 7:16, 20) of "the righteous" who will ultimately be permitted to "enter" are measured by the standard of "righteousness" typified by Jesus who fulfills all righteousness (3:15) or by John the Baptist who is believed by the tax collectors and harlots (21:31–32). The norm is the "higher righteousness" (5:17–20; 21:23, 32, 43). "Therefore I tell you, the Kingdom of God will be taken away from you and given to a nation producing the fruits of it" (21:43; 27:25). Those who are not worthy (22:1–14) or who cannot humble themselves like children (18:3–4) and, despite positive hints about the urban rich (esp. 5:3), "the rich" (19:23, 24) will have special difficulty entering the Kingdom. The Kingdom of God is also opposed by supernatural forces, namely, the Kingdom of Satan (12:26), the "Tempter" (4:3) or "Evil One" (6:13; 13:19). This opposition is highlighted by the continual battle between Jesus and Satan (12:25–37).

Despite the spurning of "offices" found in Judaism (23:8–12), the Kingdom sayings in Matthew can be related to an inevitable institutionalization in the Matthaean community. For example, there are authoritative roles, functions, and corresponding social structures that include discipline (esp. 16:19; cf. 18:15–20; Duling 1987).

In summary, the Kingdom of Heaven in Matthew is the message of Jesus (and John the Baptist), but also the message about Jesus. It is anticipated in the present which flows from the past, and it grows mysteriously; it is anticipated in the Matthaean community, which shows some hints of emerging institutionalism, but the Church is not yet the Kingdom. It is therefore temporal and primarily eschatological and christological. However, it is also spatial. It "draws near" with Jesus; it is some place the righteous will "enter." The prerequisites for "entering" are ethical: with Jesus (and John) as models, it is imperative to strive for the higher righteousness and "bear fruit," which implies concern for those who have been dealt a bad hand (Matt 25:40). Those who are outsiders, primarily Pharisaic opponents, are dominated by the Kingdom of Satan.

**D. Luke-Acts**

The term "kingdom" occurs 46 times in the gospel and 8 times in Acts. The most common expression is "the Kingdom of God" (Luke: 32 references; Acts: 6 references; 10 from Mark, 8 from Q, 17 with no parallels). In the gospel, all Kingdom sayings are spoken by Jesus except 3 (Luke 1:33; 4:5; 19:11); in Acts the sayings are generally continuations of Jesus' preaching by the apostles, especially Paul. "King" *(basileus)* occurs in the gospel 11 times, in Acts 20 times. Most are references to earthly kings. Jesus himself is called "king" only in (false) charges (Luke 23:2, 3; Acts 17:7), mocking contexts (Luke 23:37, 38), or the Jerusalem crowds' acclamation (Luke 19:38). Yet, Luke-Acts claims that Jesus is descended from King David and, through the resurrection/exaltation, the recipient of the royal promises to David and his sons (Luke 1:32; 3:31; Acts 2:30; 13:22–23, 33–40).

The first reference to the Kingdom in Luke-Acts is Luke 4:43: "I must preach the good news of the Kingdom of God to the *other cities* also; for I was sent for this purpose" (4:43). Despite the reference to "other cities," it is striking that earlier programmatic passages at Nazareth and Capernaum (4:31–37) do not explicitly refer to the Kingdom (contrast Mark 1:15 and Matt 4:17). Moreover, the reference is casual; it comes late in the narrative; and it lacks Mark's and Matthew's characteristic language (Kingdom "at hand," *ēngiken*). This shift in perspective demands explanation. One approach has been to relate the Lukan Kingdom to the Lukan "history of salvation" (Conzelmann modified; cf. Perrin-Duling). A key Lukan reformulation of a Q saying (see F below) at Luke 16:16 reads: "The law and the prophets were *until* John; *since then* the good news of the Kingdom of God is preached, and every one enters it violently" (cf. Acts 10:37–38; 13:25). The "law and the prophets" mark out the old era of Israel; the Baptist marks a transition (Luke 1–2) to the new era of the Kingdom proclamation ("since then"); and the Ascension marks another transition to the era of the Church (Luke 24:51, $P^{75}$). Creation occurs at the very beginning (Acts 14, 17) and the Parousia and Judgment will be in the *distant* future (e.g., Acts 1:6–7; 10:42). See PAROUSIA. Correspondingly, the Kingdom is associated with the period of Jesus and the continuing proclamation of simply "the Kingdom" by the apostles in the Church (Luke 9:2; Q [?] 9:60; cf. Acts 8:12; 20:25; 28:23, 31). Other generalized sayings in which Jesus "proclaims," "brings," and/or "speaks about" the Kingdom confirm this perspective (Luke 8:1; 9:11; Acts 1:3).

There are, to be sure, traditional sayings from the tradition that speak of, or imply, that the Kingdom of God is future (Luke 13:28–29 [Q]; 18:24–25 = Mark 10:23; cf. the future Kingdom of Jesus in Luke 22:29, 30; 23:42), and some speak of its "nearness." However, the two types are not usually correlated. For example, "The Kingdom of God has come near *(ēngiken)* to you" (Luke 10:9) is what the disciples are supposed to say *after they heal the sick* (similarly, 10:11). An apparent exception to this tendency is the Son of Man's coming in a cloud with power and great glory (Luke 21:27 = Mark 13:24) in connection with the Kingdom: "when you see these things taking place [the withered fig tree], you know that the Kingdom of God is near *(engus).* Truly I say to you, this generation will not pass away till all has taken place" (Luke 21:31–33; cf. 21:35). Nonetheless, the actual time of the "return" of the Son of Man is not quite clear (21:7–26, 32–33), especially if "this generation" refers to Luke's generation.

Observations about the "coming" of the Kingdom produce a similar result. Two traditional sayings (11:2 [Q]: "Your Kingdom come"; 22:18 [Mark 14:25]: "… I shall not drink of the fruit of the vine until the Kingdom of God comes") do not stress its nearness. While Luke maintains a traditional apocalyptic Son of Man saying (9:26: "taste before death"; cf. Mark 8:38; Matt 16:27–28), he appears to avoid the apocalyptic Kingdom "come in power" (= Mark 9:1) and to add a "presentizing" expression (9:23: taking up one's cross daily; see however 21:27). Luke 17:20–21, makes a similar point: "Being asked by the Pharisees when the Kingdom of God was coming, he answered them, "The Kingdom of God is not coming with signs to be observed; (21) nor will they say, 'Lo, here it is!' or 'There!' for behold, the Kingdom of God is in the midst of you *(entos hymōn)*." The context deals with the day(s) of the Son of Man (17:22–24), but some delay is expected (17:25) and the Kingdom saying rejects (merely preliminary? [see H.3 below]) apocalyptic signs (the resurrection at Jerusalem? cf. 17:11; 19:11); the Kingdom is already present "among you." Luke 19:11 may be related: "As they [the crowd, cf. 19:3] heard these things, he proceeded to tell a parable, because he was near to Jerusalem, and because they supposed that the kingdom of God was to appear *(anaphainō)* immediately." The parable of the pounds that follows (19:11–27; cf. Matt 25:14–30) implies a delay of the Parousia: "Trade with these [pounds] until I come." In addition, the Q saying in Luke 11:20, "But if it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the Kingdom of God has come upon *(ephthasen)* you," associates the presence of the Kingdom with miracle working (cf. Luke 9:2; 9:11; 10:9). For Luke the Kingdom is not tied to the delayed Parousia; indeed, "seeing the Kingdom" suggests some other perception—perhaps the Transfiguration (9:26, 32), or the "power" of the Holy Spirit (Luke 4:16–30, the Spirit only on Jesus, cf. healing in 10:9 and 11:20; Acts 1:8, the Spirit on the community).

Luke also builds upon his sources to stress that the Kingdom has ethical implications. "Seeking" his Kingdom as a priority reduces anxiety for material things which nonetheless will accrue (12:31, from Q);

the Father "gives" the Kingdom to the "little flock" that sells possessions, shows charity to the poor, and the like (12:32, expanded from a Q context); the Kingdom of God "belongs" to the little children (18:16; Mark 10:14); whoever does not "receive" the Kingdom of God like a child shall not "enter" it (18:24; Mark 10:15); it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to "enter" the Kingdom of God (18:25); finally, the wandering follower who leaves home and family "for the sake of the Kingdom of God" (Mark 10:29: "for the sake of the gospel!") has a reward that illustrates present-future tension in Luke-Acts, for he will "… receive manifold more in this time, and in the age to come eternal life" (18:29).

Finally, Luke's Kingdom of God points to a view of Jesus, a group, and ethics. The initial Kingdom saying in 4:43 could subtly imply what has been said and done at Nazareth and Capernaum after all (see above), that is, the arrival of the Spirit-filled prophet-Messiah who preaches good news to the poor, release to the captives, recovering of sight to the blind, liberty of the oppressed, the acceptable year of the Lord, and healing for the gentiles (4:16–30, at Nazareth); and who works miracles (4:31–41, at Capernaum) (Völkel; Merk; Tannehill 1986). To be a witness to Jesus means to continue this sort of "Kingdom" proclamation (Luke 9:60; 10:9; Acts 1:8; 8:12; 19:8; 20:25; 28:23, 31); but it is also to bear witness to the Proclaimer who is the prophet-Messiah, the one who suffers, dies, rises, and ascends in fulfillment of the Scripture (Luke 24:26–27; Acts 17:3; 28:23, 31): the risen and exalted Lord Jesus Christ (Acts 8:12; 28:23, 31). At the same time, continuing the Kingdom proclamation and living it as Jesus lived it "daily"—one "enters" the Kingdom through tribulations (Acts 14:22)—brings with it a passionate concern for political, social, and economic realities of Christians of all walks of life, especially women, the poor, the sick, and imprisoned. Perhaps the Lukan author is a client who, of all the gospel writers, wishes to legitimate to his "most excellent" patron Theophilus (Luke 1:3; Acts 1:1) an urban social group that is moving beyond its sectarian beginnings toward some "ecclesiastical" organization in the mainstream of society (cf. Esler).

**E. Johannine Literature**

The explicit language of the Kingdom of God in the gospel of John is limited to two sayings (3:3, 5) and three virtually equivalent sayings about "my (= Jesus') Kingdom" in one verse (18:36). God is not called "King," but there are 15 direct references and one indirect reference to Jesus as "King"; most of these have a questioning or mocking (ironic) sense.

In John 3 Nicodemus claims that Jesus' signs show that Jesus has been sent from God (3:1–8). Jesus responds: "Truly, truly, I say to you, unless one is born *anōthen* ("again" or "from above") he cannot *see* the Kingdom of God" (3:3). Nicodemus understands *anōthen* in the sense of being born "again" literally from the womb (3:4). Jesus reinterprets: "Truly, truly, I say to you, unless one is born *of water and the Spirit,* he cannot *enter* the Kingdom of God" (3:5). Most interpreters agree that the evangelist had access to a Jesus tradition about "seeing"/"entering" the Kingdom of God (John 3:3; cf. Mark 9:1; 10:15; Matt 18:3; Luke 18:17) and that he interpreted it in terms of his view of Jesus as the "Man from heaven" (Meeks 1972). Either the evangelist interpreted "born *anōthen"* as a nonliteral "born again" in the sense of "born of the Spirit" (3:5), which he then related to his belief about the descending-ascending Son of Man (3:10–21), and a later ecclesiastical redactor added "water and" to make the connection with baptism (Bultmann); or the tradition already included "water and" in relation to baptism (see A and B above, and also below) and he reinterpreted born *anōthen* to mean either "born from above" in the sense of begotten by a heavenly Father "from above," just as Jesus/Son of Man (3:9–21, 31–36; Brown *John 1–12* ), or as an eschatological cleansing and heavenly instruction; that is, as the agency of the Law has now been replaced by the agency of Jesus (Lindars).

Whether related to the tradition of baptism or not, the evangelist interprets "to see" or "to enter" the Kingdom of God as to be born *anōthen,* for the Son is born *anōthen* (3:31), as the Spirit is *anōthen* (John 14–16). The meaning is present-spatial, not future-temporal (cf. Barrett). Thus, Jesus responds to Pilate's political question about his status as "king": "*My* kingdom is not of this world" (18:36). Similarly, while Jesus is confessed and hailed as "king of Israel" (1:49; 12:13), he is already "king of the Jews" in some ironic sense (18; 19). For the believer, to "see" or "enter" the Kingdom of God is to have "eternal life"

(3:15, 16)—*already.* This Johannine viewpoint may reflect a Johannine "otherworldly" sect (Meeks 1972), though there have also been attempts to connect this group with other early Christian groups (Brown 1974).

Why is the Kingdom teaching so sparse in the Fourth Gospel? The usual suggestion is that John has little or no futuristic eschatology. Another possibility is that the Kingdom is sometimes being used negatively by competing gnostic groups within the Johannine circle (Hodgson).

**F. "Q" Source**

Scholars who accept the Two Source Theory reconstruct a source behind Matthew and Luke called "Q" and designate chapter and verse in it with the Lukan chapter and verse. Apart from a general Kingdom reference (Q 4:5), Q contains 8 or 9 explicit references to the Kingdom of God, two variations (Q 12:31 $P^{45}$; 11:2), two sayings often defended as Q sayings (Luke 9:60; 9:62), and another saying which probably implies a reference to the Kingdom of God (Q 12:2).

The first clear Kingdom of God reference is the beatitude "blessed are you poor for yours is the Kingdom of God" (Q 6:20). Beatitudes are a form of wisdom instruction, and wisdom instruction normally reinforces accepted social norms and values. This beatitude, however, is an "anti-beatitude" (Betz) that subverts values about poverty and riches; it supports a "radical wisdom of the Kingdom" (Kloppenborg). Some scholars are reminded of the Cynics' countercultural idealization of poverty (Theissen; Mack; otherwise Horsley 1987; see H.6). The following three Q beatitudes (hunger, sorrow, and persecution) are also "anti-beatitudes." All four point to a community that experiences itself as poor, hungry, sorrowful, and persecuted.

The next Kingdom saying is Q 7:28, "I tell you, among those born of women none is greater than John; yet he who is least in the Kingdom of God (Matt 11:11b: Kingdom of Heaven) is greater than he" (Q 7:28; cf. *Gos. Thom.* 46b). The emphasis of the latter part of this saying is on the higher value of the one who is least in the Kingdom (probably not Jesus). The inclusion of John in the former part of the saying corresponds to the earlier form of Q 16:16 in Matthew 11:12: "From the days of John the Baptist until now the Kingdom of Heaven has suffered violence *(biazetai),* and men of violence *(biastai)* take it by force." In this form, John, like Jesus/Son of Man, is a Kingdom envoy against the violent opponents (see C), just as he joins Jesus against the outsiders ("this generation") in his preaching of repentance and judgment (Q 3:16–17).

Luke 9:60, "Leave the dead to bury their own dead; but as for you, go and proclaim the Kingdom of God" (if it is in Q) is part of an instruction on discipleship and mission modeled on the homeless Son of Man (Q 9:58; cf. Q 9:57–62; 10:2–16, 21–24). This saying subverts the social norm to bury one's parents (*m. Ber.* 3:1). Similarly, Luke 9:62 juxtaposed to Luke 9:61 (if they are in Q) states that the one who follows the homeless Jesus and who is fit for the Kingdom need not bid farewell to the family, as did Elisha (1 Kgs 19:19–21). Both sayings express the "radical wisdom of the Kingdom."

The command to the disciples to heal and to say, "The Kingdom of God has come near to you" (Q 10:9) is similar in form and content to Q 11:20, "But if it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the Kingdom of God has come upon you." Here the Kingdom is manifest by Jesus' exorcisms (cf. also Q 7:22; cf. 4:1–13; 7:7–8; 17:6). In the first saying, miracle working is associated with the homeless, provisionless, wandering missionary (Q 10:2–12); in the second, the opponents label Jesus' exorcisms as the deeds of Beelzebul (Q 11:15–19). Jesus is defended by counter-labeling: "this generation" which rejects Jesus' Kingdom preaching and miracle working activity is in league with Beelzebul and deserves judgment (Q 11:29–32). The opposition between God's and Satan's Kingdoms has apocalyptic overtones.

"Your (sing.) Kingdom come" (Q 11:2) is an address to God as Father. It begins a section on prayer in which God as patron provides for the daily needs of community members, and its orientation is future (contrast Q 11:20; cf. 19:9). If it is correlated with "Give us each day our daily bread" (Q 11:3; cf. Q 12:22–31), it points to a way of life.

Q 13:28 and 13:29 are better represented by the single, unified saying in Matthew 8:11–12: "I tell you, many will come from east and west and sit at table with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the Kingdom of Heaven, while the sons of the Kingdom will be thrown into the outer darkness; there men will weep and

gnash their teeth." This prophetic pronouncement states that the "sons of the Kingdom," probably Israel, will be excluded from the Kingdom, but that the gentiles will be included; presumably the mission to the gentiles is in view (cf. Q 7:1–10; 10:13–15; 11:31–32). Preaching in the gentile mission (Q 12:2–7) stresses that which is hidden (Q 12:2), perhaps an implied reference to the Kingdom; it would then be related to the Kingdom parables, the Mustard Seed (Q 13:18) and the Leaven (Q 13:20), which stress that what is small and hidden will grow to large proportions.

It has been generally recognized that Q is dominated by two types of material, wisdom sayings and prophetic/apocalyptic sayings; these are probably two literary strata (Lührmann; Jacobson; Kloppenborg). The conventional argument is that the prophetic/apocalyptic sayings are earlier (e.g., Schultz), a view often correlated with the historical Jesus as an apocalyptic prophet (see H.3 and H.4). Recently, it has also been argued on the analogy of the *Gospel of Thomas* (see G) that most of the eschatology and especially the apocalyptic Son of Man is a later accretion to Q (Koester). Another analysis (Kloppenborg) says that six "wisdom speeches" portraying Jesus as a teacher (Q1) may have been later modified by apocalyptic words and prophetic announcements of judgment against "this generation" (attributed to the Baptist and Jesus/Son of Man), by openness to the gentiles, and by the Deuteronomic perspective that God punishes an impenitent Israel (Q2). Wisdom teaching has been transformed by conflict with the synagogue into apocalyptic/prophetic polemic. The temptation story (Q 4:1–13) pushes the genre toward historical "biography" (Q3; contrast *Gos. Thom.*). There are ten Kingdom sayings in the earlier "wisdom speeches" stratum (Q 6:20; 9:60; 9:62; 10:9; 11:2; [12:2]; 13:18; 13:20; 13:28; 13:29) and three in the "announcement of judgment" stratum (7:28; 11:20; 16:16). Other scholars, however, claim that some of the wisdom sayings were actually spoken by early Christian *prophets* (Boring 1982).

In any case, the Kingdom is related to a radical, nonnormative ethic of a group that affirms the virtues of voluntary poverty, nonviolence, love of enemies, and discipleship as a separation from family and home, ideas perhaps reminiscent of Cynic virtues. Other apocalyptic/prophetic sayings of Q appear to be correlated with the rejection of Jesus (and John) by "this generation" (= Israel), especially the rejection of Jesus' preaching and miracle working as manifestations of that Kingdom. Implied is a rejection of God, wisdom, the prophets sent to Israel, and indeed the Q preachers/healers themselves, for whom Jesus as Son of Man is a role model. While the ostensible recipients of such sayings are outsiders ("this generation"), the actual recipients are undoubtedly insiders, the members of the "Q community," which experiences itself as a totally committed, elect group which is rejected, persecuted, and in protest against normative society (and other groups).

**G. *Gospel of Thomas***

Of the 114 sayings attributed to Jesus in the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* (1st century C.E. Syria or Egypt?) about 20% (22 sayings) refer explicitly to the "Kingdom of Heaven/God." The form of expression often varies from synoptic usage, often in the same saying, and the *Gos. Thom.* also has Kingdom references where the Synoptic Gospel sayings have none and vice versa. The most frequent expression is simply "the Kingdom" (12 references), then "the kingdom of the (my) Father" (7 references), while the more familiar "Kingdom of Heaven" occurs only 3 times.

It is striking that the Kingdom in *Gos. Thom.* is not apocalyptic. In *Gos. Thom.* 3a, the "Kingdom *within* you (pl.)"clearly refers to knowledge *within,* or knowledge of the self (cf. Luke 17:21; *Gos. Mary* 8:14–21). However, in *Gos. Thom.* 3b the Kingdom is also "*outside of* you (pl.)." *Gos. Thom.* 113, which explicitly denies apocalyptic eschatology, also claims that the Kingdom is *without,* that is "spread out upon the earth" where it awaits discovery. Non-apocalyptic, mysterious presence is also found in other sayings (*Gos. Thom.* 18; 51). Most scholars have concluded that such references imply the gnostic "knowledge" *(gnōsis).* However, wisdom alone is also possible (Davies), especially when *Gos. Thom.* 3b seems to know a wisdom midrash based on Deut 30:10–15 in which wisdom and light are both *within* the wise man and *throughout all creation* (cf. Job 28:12–15; Bar 3:29–4:1; Sir 1:1–10, 14; also Rom 10:5–10).

The cluster of sayings around *Gos. Thom.* 3 (e.g., *Gos. Thom.*2–6) shows that it is important to "seek and find" the mysteriously present Kingdom (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 27, 49, 76) and this activity can also refer to

seeking and finding Jesus, who is wisdom, light, and the "Living One" (*Gos. Thom.* 24, 38, 43, 52, 59, 77, 80, 91, 92, 94, 108). When one does find it (him), (s)he becomes childlike, has "Life," and is faced with ethical demands (King). *Gos. Thom.* 49, unique to *Gos. Thom.*, adds, "Jesus said, 'Blessed are the solitary and the elect, for you will find the Kingdom. For you are from it and to it you will return' "; and *Gos. Thom.* 82 states, "Jesus said, 'He who is near me is near the fire, and he who is far from me is far from the Kingdom.' "

"Entering the Kingdom" in reference to becoming like children in *Gos. Thom.* 22 (from "Thomas" himself, so King) probably symbolizes the initiation of the Thomas group by baptism. A primitive baptismal practice (cf. Jewish proselyte baptism and the Hellenistic Mysteries) also lies behind *Gos. Thom.* 37 and 21: the disciples undress, are naked and are unashamed, tread upon their garments, and become like little children, all of which symbolizes a return to the primal innocence and sinlessness of Adam and Eve in the Garden prior to the Fall (J. Smith; Meeks 1982; cf. Gen 3:15; cf. 1 Cor 12:13; Gal 3:28; Col 3:11). Becoming a child in *Gos. Thom.* 22 is becoming a "single one" (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 4, 16, 23; probably redactional, so Davies), a status which denies the dualities of "the world," especially male and female. Being "acquainted with the Kingdom" as a little child is also being superior to the Baptist (cf. esp. Luke 7:24–35 = Matt 11:7–19).

In connection with "entering the Kingdom," *Gos. Thom.* 114 must be considered: "Simon Peter said to them, 'Let Mary leave us, because women are not worthy of the Life.' Jesus said, 'Look, I shall guide her so that I will make her male, in order that she also may become a living spirit, being like you males. For every woman who makes herself male will enter the Kingdom of Heaven.' " This saying has been interpreted as an original male androgyny, as a contrast between this world ("the female") and the spirit ("the male"), and as a reference to celibacy (cf. King). It might imply that there were women in the Thomas group. Yet, it may be an addition since it does not accord with the denial of male (as well as female) sexuality in the androgyny of *Gos. Thom.* 22 (Davies).

Further impressions about the Kingdom and the Thomas group can be discovered by looking at four cases where *Gos. Thom.* adds Kingdom references to traditions paralleled in the synoptics (21, 99, 103, 107; Cameron; King). In the Lost Sheep (107; cf. Luke 15:3 = Matt 18:12), "finding" the "largest sheep" is probably redactional (cf. 8:1: "large fish"; 20: "large branch"; 96: "large loaves"; Cameron). It has usually been interpreted as *gnōsis* (Gärtner), though again it may be wisdom (Davies). A group emphasis is to be found in *Gos. Thom.* 21:3 and the related beatitude in 103 (the Thief in the Night; cf. Matt 24:42–44 = Luke 12:39–40; Mark 3:27; Matt 12:29) which are concerned with the identification of the Kingdom with "house" that must be protected from outsiders (not apocalyptic "watching"). The last of the four sayings, *Gos. Thom.* 99, states that those who "enter the Kingdom" are the true brothers and mother who do God's will (cf. Mark 3:31–35 = Matt 12:46–50 = Luke 8:19–21). Other ethical emphases are the demand for strictness in fasting in order to "find" the Kingdom (*Gos. Thom.* 27 [= POxy 1]) and "Thomas' " antibusiness theme tacked on to the parable of the Banquet: "Businessmen and merchants shall not enter the places of my Father" (*Gos. Thom.* 64:2; cf. 54; Luke 6:20; Matt 5:3).

Of the fourteen Thomas parables, nine refer explicitly to the Kingdom and three of them are unique to *Gos. Thom.* (21:1; 97; 98). *Gos. Thom.* 21:1 (Children in the Field) is one of two key baptism passages (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 37); it fits the childlike innocence of "entering" the Kingdom group by baptism (J. Smith). The loss of meal from the broken-handled jar in *Gos. Thom.* 97 might refer to the wise person's ability to see what is foolish (King). The parable of the Sword in *Gos. Thom.* 98 seems to refer to the wise person's preparation for overcoming powerful enemies, that is, it reflects conflict with outsiders.

Turning to Matthean parallels, the Weeds with its reference to the future harvest in *Gos. Thom.* 57 (= Matt 13:24–30) lacks Matthew's allegorical, apocalyptic associations (Matt 13:36–43); it probably refers simply to the wise person's dealing craftily with enemies. The Pearl in *Gos. Thom.* 76:1 is given an ascetic conclusion that points to spiritual wealth (76:2: "the treasure which does not perish"; contrast Matt 13:45). The Treasure in *Gos. Thom.* 109 is usually considered to be a gnostic interpretation of Matt 13:44 (cf. also *Midr. Cant.* 4:12 and Aesop's fables; Grant and Freedman) because the father and the son "did

not know" about the treasure (see, however, Hedrick); if "lending at interest" at the conclusion is taken literally, not "spiritually," it sharply conflicts with *Gos. Thom.* 95 (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 64:2; 54).

The two parables which parallel Q are the Leaven (*Gos. Thom.* 96:1; cf. Luke 13:20–21 = Matt 13:33) and the Lost Sheep (*Gos. Thom.* 107; cf. Luke 15:4–7 = Matt 18:12–13). The "large loaves" in the former and the "largest sheep" in the latter are redactional and refer (if not to *gnōsis* then) to wisdom. The theme of "searching" for the largest sheep also recalls seeking and finding wisdom (cf. "finding" the "large fish").

Finally, the Mustard Seed in *Gos. Thom.* 20 (Mark 4:30–32 = Matt 13:31–32 = Luke 13:18–19), which takes the form of an "aphoristic dialogue" (Crossan 1983), does not have the OT allusions found in the synoptics (Dan 4:21; Ezek 17:23 or 31:6). This has been taken as "gnosticizing" ("plowed ground" = gnostic laboring; "large branch" = the "heavenly man"; tiny seed = *gnōsis;* cf. Montefiore and Turner). However, one could also interpret the tiny seed as wisdom (again, the "large branch," cf. 8:1; 96:1; 107). This is the only Thomas parable which compares the Kingdom to an inanimate object (R. Cameron), reinforcing the possibility that the Kingdom in *Gos. Thom.* implies "belonging to the group/community" (King).

In summary, the Kingdom in *Gos. Thom.,* as in the gospel of John, is a present reality. It has usually been associated with gnostic "knowledge"; a current alternative is to see it as wisdom, especially since the Kingdom is not only within the self but outside the self. Many metaphors express this mysterious theme, for example, the notion of "largeness." Group overtones and ethical norms abound. "Entering the Kingdom" seems to be analogous to entering the Thomas group by means of baptism. The resulting new life is expressed as becoming a "single one," a status equivalent to the innocent child who, like Adam and Eve in the Garden before the Fall, is not characterized by the dualities of "the world." Presumably, the initiated insider has "found" the Kingdom that is within and without, and at the same time (s)he is mysteriously unified with Jesus. Finally, the purity of the group is defended against outsiders.

**H. The Historical Jesus and the Kingdom**

The attempt to interpret the Kingdom of God in the message and life of Jesus demands critical correlation of meanings of the Kingdom of God in Jesus' environment, in the Christian Gospels and Acts, and in Jesus' teaching critically reconstructed. There are many obstacles, notably the relative paucity of explicit "Kingdom of God" sayings in non-Christian texts and the centrality of the Kingdom in the Christian evangelists, who do not define it and indeed contribute to its form and content. The question of Jesus' teaching concerning the Kingdom of God is therefore part of a larger "question of the historical Jesus." See JESUS.

**1. The Political Kingdom.** There have been two major approaches to the political view of Jesus' Kingdom teaching: (1) setting Jesus within the political movements of 1st century Palestine and (2) comparing his teaching to analogous Kingdom sayings found in the Aramaic Targums politically interpreted. These approaches can overlap.

The first approach attempts to trace the history of the revolutionary "Zealot" movement in Josephus; it then views Jesus in relation to that history (esp. Brandon; cf. Bammel and Moule). Accordingly, Christian evangelists in the late 1st century C.E. transformed the revolutionist Jesus into a nonpolitical pacifist because they feared that Christianity would be confused with the Jews who had recently revolted against Rome (66–70 C.E.). Remnants of Jesus as revolutionist can nevertheless be found, for example, crucifixion between two "brigands" for sedition, the *titulus* "King of the Jews," and a disciple named Simon the "Zealot" (Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13). It is inferred that Jesus' Kingdom was of necessity political.

A second, more moderate, approach stresses the Targum Jonathan to Isaiah (Koch; cf. already Reimarus; also Buchanon). The two Kingdoms in the Targum—the eschatological "self-revelation" of the Kingdom of God in the present and the future eschatological Kingdom that "comes to" the Messiah related to the dominion of Jerusalem over the nations—is a reflective separation (cf. also Matthew and Paul) of what Jesus had blended together when he spoke of the eschatological presence, yet "coming," of the Kingdom of God (Koch, based esp. on *Tg. Mic.* 4:7).

Both approaches have been combined in an even more extreme position: the Kingdom of Heaven was a code word for God's *political* restoration of the Davidic kingdom with Jesus as king and his followers as his chief counselors (Buchanon).

The political-historical approach boldly accepts political realism and faces the apolitical redactional tendencies in the Gospels. Its weaknesses are: (1) it neglects the *teaching* of Jesus (e.g., Matt 5:44, "Love your enemies …"; the parables); (2) Josephus does not refer to "the Kingdom of God"; (3) there may have been no ongoing, unified Zealot movement in Palestine (M. Smith 1971; Horsley and Hanson); and (4) the traditional characterization of Galilee as revolutionary may be inaccurate (cf. e.g., Freyne; Mack). The use of the Targums has the advantage that they contain ten Jewish references to "the Kingdom of God" (Koch; Chilton) which may have political overtones (Koch). The difficulties are: (1) dating the references (esp. *Tg. Mic.* 4:7) and (2) the extent of the political nuances (cf. Chilton). Radical political reconstructions (Buchanon) face the same difficulties. A more subtle approach relates *God's* ultimate overthrow of repressive political forces to Jesus' *nonviolent social-economic-religious* revolution (e.g., Horsley; Sanders' "restoration theology"; cf. Borg; see H.3).

**2. The Kingdom and Present Ethical Action.** The present ethical approach has drawn on the rabbinic literature and the present-oriented sayings of Jesus (Dalman; Dodd; Vermes; Flusser). If freedom from the yoke of Rome (*Tg. Zech.* 14:9) had not yet happened because Israel had failed to keep "the yoke of the Torah" (*Tg. Ezek.* 2:10; *Sipre Deut.* 32:29), the Kingdom of Heaven among the rabbis was nonapocalyptic and anti-Zealot (Flusser; cf. *Abot de Rabbi Nathan; Mekilta of Rabbi Nathan* on Exod 15:18; *t. Soṭa* 14:4 [1st century C.E.]; *Ketub.* 66b). Yet, individuals who take the yoke of the Torah upon themselves may be members of the Kingdom already in the present (*Pirqe Abot* 3:6; see Flusser).

The best-known approach to the Jesus-related and present Kingdom is called "realized eschatology" (Dodd; cf. Flusser). This position claims that Jesus' present sayings (e.g., *ephthasen*, "has come," Luke 11:20) are determinative for his future sayings (e.g., *engiken*, "at hand," Mark 1:15). For example, "repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand" (Mark 1:15) means that human beings should work for the Kingdom; or the future messianic banquet (Matt 8:11 = Luke 13:28; Mark 14:25) means "the transcendental order beyond time and space" (Dodd). The parables of the Kingdom demonstrate its presence; ethics provide a "moral ideal" for those who have already accepted it. Thus, the emphasis lies on the Kingdom "in the midst of you" (Luke 17:21) or that "has come upon you" (Luke 11:20); it has suffered violence since the days of John the Baptist (Matt 11:12). Related approaches have gone in two directions: either an individual submission to God (Vermes) or a social message for the poor, the hungry, the meek, the mourners, and the persecuted (Matt 5:3–6, 10 = Luke 6:20–22; Flusser).

This position rightly stresses the present ethical implications of the Kingdom. However, the "transcendental order beyond time and space" sounds too Platonic (see, however, *T. Mos.* 10). There are other questions. The present ethical emphasis may not be timeless and does not easily fit apocalyptic eschatology; there is considerable caution about using mostly later rabbinic texts about the Law for interpreting Jesus; and some suspect that modern, democratic ethical ideals about individual equality and social welfare may have influenced these interpretations.

**3. The Future Apocalyptic Kingdom.** The dominant alternative of the last century has been to stress the context of Jewish apocalyptic eschatology for the Kingdom: *God*, not revolutionary human beings, will act to redeem his people in the *future* by judging worldly kingdoms, destroying his people's Satanic enemies, and reversing the present order of the world. Either Jesus' apocalyptic *sayings* (esp. Weiss; in part, Hiers; see H.4) or his apocalyptic *life* (Schweitzer; Sanders; in part, Hiers) is emphasized.

The key *sayings* speak of the Kingdom "at hand" interpreted apocalyptically (*ēngiken* in Mark 1:15; Matt 4:17; 10:7; Luke 10:9; 10:11; and *engus estin* in Luke 21:31): the Kingdom coming "in power" (Mark 9:1); drinking wine new in the Kingdom of God (Mark 14:25 = Matt 26:29; cf. Luke 22:18); and for some, related passages about the apocalyptic Son of Man, the defeat of Satan in exorcisms, the signs of the End, and final judgment. The "present" sayings cause more difficulty. The Kingdom "has come" *(ephthasen)* is interpreted in a future sense (Aramaic *mětā;* so Weiss; cf. Luke 10:9) and "has come [*ephthasen*] upon you" by exorcisms (Luke 11:20 = Matt 12:28) is said to mean *preparation* for the

nearness of the Kingdom, not presence. The Kingdom "… not coming with signs to be observed …" (Luke 17:20–21a) denies only *accompanying* signs; and the Kingdom "in the midst of you" (17:21b) can refer to the future in Aramaic. Finally, the difficult saying about the Kingdom's suffering violence since John (Matt 11:12 = Luke 16:16) can mean that between John and Jesus there was a period of tribulation followed by the final victory of God's Kingdom on earth (Hiers). The parables make a contrast between present and near future.

In the classic approach called "thoroughgoing eschatology" (Schweitzer), Jesus' whole *life* was so absorbed by his expectation of the coming Kingdom that he sought to *bring it about* by taking the preliminary "messianic woes" upon himself in his suffering passion. Jesus' ethics meant repentance *before the End,* or "interim ethics."

A recent apocalyptic approach to Jesus' *life* stresses that the dominant scholarly focus on unique *sayings* predisposes the interpreter to see Jesus as a teacher isolated from Judaism; also, it does not explain why he was executed as an insurrectionist (Sanders). The key event in Jesus' life was his overturning the tables in the Jerusalem temple (Mark 11:15–19 = Matt 21:12–13 = Luke 19:45–48) interpreted as a prophetic, symbolic act about temple destruction (cf. Mark 13:1–2 = Matt 24:1–3 = Luke 21:5–7; Mark 14:57–58 = Matt 26:60b–61). This event was consistent with "Jewish restoration theology." While sayings in general are less important, the significant ones deal with the usual apocalyptic themes. Related *Kingdom* sayings are "entering" the Kingdom (Matt 7:21; Mark 10:15 = Matt 18:3 = Luke 18:17; Mark 10:23 = Matt 19:23 = Luke 18:24); "Thy Kingdom come" (Matt 6:10 = Luke 11:2); sitting at Jesus' right hand in the Kingdom (Matt 20:21; cf. Mark 10:37 ["glory"]); drinking new wine in the Kingdom (Mark 14:25 = Matt 26:29 = Luke 22:18); and a parable (Matt 20:1–16). "Present" Kingdom sayings (Luke 11:20 = Matt 12:28; Luke 17:21) are either less important or interpreted as future (Matt 11:11–12 = Luke 7:28).

Decisive for this view are the "almost indisputable" facts of eschatological setting for John, Jesus, and the early apostles. Jesus was a "restoration prophet," or an "eschatological charismatic" who held a version of "Jewish restoration theology" (cf. Theudas and "the Egyptian," *Ant* 20.97, 169–70). However, the Kingdom was not conceived in military/political terms (cf. e.g., Horsley; contrast Buchanon).

Two general questions about the apocalyptic approach constantly arise: (1) Was the apocalyptic ethos in 1st century Palestinian Judaism as widespread and dominant? (2) If it was, did Jesus' teaching and life conform to it, or were he and/or his teaching distinctive (the form critical "criterion of dissimilarity")? Specifically, how determinative should the temple "cleansing" story be for the meaning of the Kingdom (Evans)?

**4. The Modified Apocalyptic Kingdom.** Many 20th century critics have accepted a modified "reduced apocalyptic" position (Bultmann 1958). Correspondingly, Jesus rejected the usual cosmic signs by stressing the imminence of the Kingdom, and by seeing his own prophetic, but non-Messianic, activity as the sign of its dawning, though not yet present, character—an "already, not yet" emphasis. Thus, Jesus summoned hearers to repent, warned them of impending disaster, proclaimed deliverance to those who heeded the message, anticipated the Kingdom in his meals (Luke 22:15–18); while the Kingdom was wholly future, he affirmed that it was already dawning in his exorcisms (Luke 11:20: "has come"), was "in the midst of" the people (Luke 17:21), and offered hope to the poor, hungry, and weeping (Luke 6:20–21). There is a dialectic between present and future; one is in the crisis of decision in such a way that chronological time is collapsed into each new existential moment of decision (the "NOW").

A modification of this position (Perrin 1963) concludes that of both Judaism and the teaching of Jesus the following can be stated: (1) *malkût (ā)* referred to the "kingly rule" of God (Dalman); (2) the Kingdom was an apocalyptic "concept" (Weiss) centered on two central themes: (a) God's final and decisive intervention in human history and human experience and (b) the resulting final state of the redeemed. The major difference between Judaism and Jesus is that Jesus used the Kingdom of God expression and returned to the *prophetic* understanding which avoided linear, apocalyptic time schemes. Again, a tension between present and future exists; it is part of the existential experience of the individual hearer. The ethics of the Kingdom is a response to the experience of this tension.

Some judge that these views destroy the futurity of the apocalyptic Kingdom and that they are too existentialistic and individualistic; others note that the focus on *distinctive sayings* isolates Jesus from Judaism (esp. Sanders). Nonetheless, many modifications and variations of this view exist. A somewhat related view has arisen in more recent literary and Targumic interpretations.

**5. The Atemporal Kingdom.** There is a distinction between literal language with one-to-one meanings and open-ended language with a variety of possible meanings, that is, between "sign" and "symbol" (Ricoeur) or "steno symbol" and "tensive symbol" (Wheelwright). It is possible similarly to distinguish between apocalyptic "sign" (Jewish and early Christian texts) and the Kingdom "symbol" (Jesus) limited only by the constraints of Israel's cultural myth (see Perrin 1976). This "literary turn" has been paralleled by renewed doubt about the extent of apocalyptic eschatology on Jesus (see above and H.6). The most important sayings are the traditionally "present" ones (e.g., Luke 11:20; 17:20–21; Matt 11:12). This perspective is also related to other literary discussions in NT study such as symbol and myth (Wilder), parable as metaphor (Funk) or "aesthetic object" (Via), and the language of "reversal" which shatters the world of accepted values (Crossan 1973). Correspondingly, the Kingdom of God symbol challenged Jesus' hearers to take the myth of God's activity on behalf of his people with renewed seriousness (Perrin 1976).

While the contrast between Jewish/early Christian apocalyptic "sign" and Jesus' Kingdom "symbol" has been too sharply drawn (Perrin 1976 admitted that the Kingdom in the Kaddish prayer is a symbol), and there is disagreement about whether the whole phrase "Kingdom of God" is a symbol, this interpretation of the Kingdom has produced a number of responses (cf. Duling 1984). One view attempts to correlate atemporal "structuralist" readings of certain parables with "present" Kingdom sayings to arrive at a preconceptual, intuitive insight into the Kingdom symbol as that which shatters one's familiar world and creates a new world; this, it is said, was Jesus' experience of God (Scott; cf. Crossan 1973). Another possibility (Breech) draws on the three most important "present" sayings (Luke 11:20; 17:20–21; Matt 11:12) and recategorizes other sayings (Luke 9:62; Mark 10:15, 23b, 25) to demonstrate that Jesus did not "shatter the world" but was a poet who taught about Palestinian peasant life with gentle humor (cf. Wilder), "demythologized" the Kingdom (cf. Perrin 1963), and shattered *religious expectation.* These atemporal, literary orientations to Jesus' Kingdom teaching are important for bringing out the richness of Jesus' Kingdom language. The problem some scholars see is that they, like existentialist interpretations before them, do not always take seriously enough the ancient, concrete, sociohistorical context.

Finally, the distinctive Targumic Kingdom passages have also been interpreted in an atemporal manner (Chilton 1978, 1979). Accordingly, the Targum's most nationalistic-political interpretation (*Tg. Mic.* 4:7–8) is a late 4th-century C.E. narrowing of the earlier Targumic interpretations. These stress that the Kingdom points to a revelation of a dynamic, powerful, personal God who was and is and is to come (cf. Isa 41:4) and who acts on behalf of his people. As such, they can be seen to cohere with Jesus' atemporal, nonpolitical Kingdom teaching. However, others have taken the Kingdom sayings in the Targums in a more political sense (Koch; Buchanon).

**6. The Kingdom, Wisdom, and Gnosticism.** Curiously, the modern literary atemporal approach to the kingdom has a distant analogy in the internalized Kingdom of the *Gospel of Thomas,* which contains no apocalyptic Son of Man expectation or apocalyptic kingdom sayings (see G above). The question is whether *Gos. Thom.* is a "gnosticizing" interpretation and elaboration of Jesus' most original sayings (Koester) or a wisdom interpretation (Davies).

A somewhat different wisdom orientation to the Kingdom built on popular (esp. Cynic) philosophy has emerged (Mack 1988). It draws on recent archaeology (Meyers and Strange) and the study of pre-70 C.E. Judaism (Smith 1978; Neusner) to establish that Galilee was *not* dominated by the three factors usually said to influence Jesus' view of the Kingdom: politically revolutionary Zealots, Pharisaic/rabbinic legal-ethical teaching, and apocalyptic fervor. Rather, Galilee had become "an epitome of Hellenistic culture" (Mack 1988). If the earliest literary stratum of Q was wisdom (Kloppenborg); if certain of Jesus' proverbs were "countercultural"; if Jesus' pronouncements were Greek *chreiai,* that is, clever wisdom sayings which challenge accepted norms and values; and if Jesus' wisdom can be described as "aphoristic," that

is, short sayings that were formally like proverbs, but unlike proverbs in challenging ancestral authority and conventional wisdom with individual authority and personal insight (Crossan 1983)—then perhaps Jesus might be seen in relation to a popularized combination of Cynic "metic" wisdom and Hebrew wisdom. Among the Cynics the sage is "King," and the sage's countercultural wisdom and itinerant vocation become a special sort of "Kingdom." If correct, the conventional view of Jesus as the prophet of the apocalyptic Kingdom was a later, imaginative creation of early Christian communities whose group formation involved opposition from and toward outsiders, that is, the synagogue (esp. the gospel of Mark). This perspective about Jesus is said to cohere with his three major "present" Kingdom sayings (Luke 11:20; 17:20–21; Matt 11:12).

Debate about this recent interpretation should continue in the following areas: Will the non-apocalyptic *Gos. Thom.* bear the weight some give it? What is the relative importance of Q and/or its wisdom stratum for Jesus' Kingdom teaching? Can one reduce the influence of the Pharisaic Jews in the Galilee of Jesus' day (see Saldarini)? Will archaeology so revolutionize discussions of S Galilee that one can really see it as an "epitome of Hellenistic culture" (see Freyne)? Will the dominating apocalyptic/prophetic perspective be so easily removed from discussions of the Kingdom (see Boring)? To what extent are countercultural wisdom and countercultural prophecy cut from the same or similar cloth?

**7. Summary.** The discussion of the Kingdom of God in the life and teaching of Jesus has been dominated in modern times by the extent to which its meaning has been determined by Jewish apocalyptic eschatology. The both/and, present/future "reduced apocalyptic" view of Jesus' Kingdom sayings that emerged as a consensus in a previous generation can still be found, but the contours of alternative positions have also surfaced. The radical political perspective on Jesus' Kingdom teaching is still current, but it remains a minority position; if a more modest version related to social, economic, and religious factors continues to be developed, it will not have the advantage of parallel Kingdom references in Josephus; Kingdom *ideas* in the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature and/or eschatological Kingdom *sayings* in the Targums will have to fill in the gap, but they must contend with dating issues, especially in the case of *Tg. Mic.* 4:7–8.

The more extreme apocalyptic position on Jesus' *life* as a basis for his Kingdom *teaching* has persisted as a minority position. A modified alternative to this perspective has been developed in relation to "Jewish restoration theology." Its advantage is the general apocalyptic context of much of early Judaism and early Christianity; its major difficulty is sustaining a perspective on Jesus' life in the face of critical methods that argue that the apocalyptic flavor of the Synoptic Gospels derives from early Christianity.

The "ethical" interpretations of the Kingdom still persist, and there is every indication that they will be developed further by those interested in the social dimensions of the Jesus group/movement and various early Christian groups/movements. It is interesting to note that the present sayings on which the ethical approaches have been based have also been correlated with "countercultural" wisdom in relation to the early strata of Q and in some cases the gnostic trajectory). All countercultural challenges to normative values have ethical implications, as the traditional prophetic interpretations have indicated.

Finally, the atemporal literary approaches now abound, especially in North America. While the sociohistorical dimension in these perspectives has been somewhat muted, in part they have emerged as a warning that all interpretations, from the evangelists to the present, will never totally contain the full import of Jesus' message about the Kingdom of God.

**I. The Writings of Paul**

Three of Paul's seven undisputed letters contain six explicit references to "Kingdom of God," and two other references to the Kingdom in relation to God. Four of the six references refer to "inheriting the Kingdom" (1 Cor 6:9, 10; 15:50; Gal 5:21). Distinctive form (the definite article "the" *(hē)* is missing and the use of "inherit" in Gal 5:21 is unique to Galatians; cf. Matt 25:34; cf. 19:29; Mark 10:17 = Luke 10:25; Luke 18:18) and common content (all four sayings are apocalyptic) point to a stereotyped pre-Pauline tradition. In 1 Cor 15:50, "flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God" refers to the future resurrection of the transformed, spiritual body. The two references in 1 Cor 6:9–10 and one in Galatians 5:21 point to the future apocalyptic judgment in the form of a "threat" saying: "the unrighteous,"

characterized by vices, "will not inherit" the Kingdom of God (unless they have been "washed," 1 Cor 6:11); implied is that those characterized by virtues will inherit the Kingdom (Gal 5:22–23). This moral division implies group boundaries marked by rites of entry, that is, baptism (cf. Rom 6:1–6; Gal 3:28; 1 Cor 5:9–13; Meeks 1982).

1 Cor 15:24 is also apocalyptic and implies an anticipatory Kingdom, that is, the reign of Christ: "Then comes the end when he delivers the Kingdom to God the Father after destroying every rule and every authority and power." The anticipatory Kingdom may also be implied in 1 Thess 2:12 in a possible baptism context (*axios;* cf. Phil 1:27): "We exhorted each one of you and encouraged you and charged you to lead a life worthy of God, who calls you into his own Kingdom and glory." The anticipatory presence of the Kingdom is implied again in Paul's attempt to steer the middle course between the extremes of asceticism and libertinism in food practices (cf. Theissen 1982); the "antithetical definition formula" (Haufe) says: "For the Kingdom of God is not food and drink but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit" (Rom 14:17). In a similar formula, 1 Cor 4:20 states: "For the Kingdom of God does not consist in talk but in power." Here the positive reference is apparently to miracle working (esp. 2 Cor 12:12; cf. Mark 9:1; Luke 11:20 = Matt 12:28).

In short, the undisputed writings of Paul point to a tension between the present, anticipatory "Kingdom of Christ," which in some passages seems to imply an anticipatory "Kingdom of God," and the future apocalyptic consummation of the Kingdom of God at the End. Because the contexts often imply baptism, Paul has probably remolded baptismal traditions about the Kingdom for proclamations and exhortations related to group boundaries (Donfried; Meeks 1982).

**J. The Pauline School**

**1. 2 Thessalonians.** In a highly apocalyptic context about judgment "in that day" (2 Thess 1:10), the Paulinist hopes that the recipients of the letter may be made "worthy" *(axios)* of the Kingdom of God for which they are suffering (1:5). Here, the future Kingdom dominates, but is correlated with present suffering in the group.

**2. Colossians.** In contrast, Colossians 1:13–14 introduces the Colossians hymn about the present reign of the cosmic Christ (Col 1:15–20): "he has delivered us from the dominion of darkness and transferred us to the Kingdom of his beloved Son, in whom we have redemption, the forgiveness of sins" (Col 1:13–14). Here, the Christians already possess citizenship in "the Kingdom of the beloved Son" in so far as they are "saints of light" who are victorious over darkness; perhaps the terms "part" *(tēn merida),* "lot" *(tou klērou),* and "saints of light" in the previous verse (Col 1:12) imply heavenly communion with angelic beings (cf. Heb *gōral,* "lot" in QL). In any case, purity and group boundaries are present, although "the kingdom of the beloved Son" is more comprehensive than the church. The same meaning seems to be present in the expression "fellow workers for the Kingdom of God" (Col 4:11).

**3. Ephesians.** The christology of Christ's present, cosmic reign and its implications for the growing institution have also influenced Eph 5:5: "Be sure of this, that no fornicator or impure man, or one who is covetous (that is, an idolator), has any inheritance in the Kingdom of Christ and of God." The Kingdom of Christ and the Kingdom of God again overlap and are already present, albeit in hidden form; group purity is in view (on "inheriting" the Kingdom in Paul, see I above).

**4. 2 Timothy.** Finally, in 2 Tim 4:1 Christ's function as final judge does not clearly distinguish the eschatological Kingdom of Christ from the eschatological Kingdom of God: "I charge you in the presence of God and of Christ Jesus who is to judge the living and the dead, and by his appearing and his kingdom." In 2 Tim 4:18 the author says, "The Lord will rescue me from every evil and save me for his heavenly kingdom. To him be the glory for ever and ever. Amen." Here the author contrasts his present perilous existence on earth with hope for the future after death.

The writings of the Pauline School show that tension between the Kingdom of Christ and the Kingdom of God has often become somewhat muted. In 2 Thessalonians the focus seems to be totally future; this view resurfaces in 2 Timothy. In Colossians and Ephesians, however, the focus is present, and that is consistent with the cosmic Christ and the developing institution of the church. Finally, in Colossians, Ephesians, and 2 Timothy the two Kingdoms seem to merge, although not completely.

**K. Other Canonical Christian Literature**

**1. James.** In the form of a rhetorical question (Jas 2:5), the literal poor "before the world" are "rich" with respect to faith and "heirs of the kingdom which he has promised to those who love him" (cf. 1:9–11 [Isa 40:6; Jer 9:23–24]; 2:5–12; 5:1–6). They are also models of the pious who endure under trial (1:12; texts in Dibelius-Greeven). The theme has strong roots in the Jewish Scriptures and writings, as well as in the Lukan form of the teaching of Jesus (Luke 6:20). The Kingdom saying has apocalyptic overtones ("heirs"; "promised") and social implications (rich and poor).

**2. Hebrews.** In Heb 12:28, the pilgrim people are being warned to be grateful for receiving "a kingdom that cannot be shaken." As the context makes clear (cf. Heb 12:26–27, [Hag 2:6]), "what has been shaken" refers to transitory earthly copies or shadows of the true, eternal heavenly realities that are already provisionally present for Christians, to be consummated only in the future (11:27; cf. 2:5; 6:5; 9:11; 10:1; 13:14). The response should be "acceptable worship, with reverence and awe; for our God is a consuming fire." Otherwise, Scriptural language about "thy (= God's) Kingdom" which is "forever" (Ps. 45:6) is used in relation to the Son (Heb 1:8; cf. manuscript variations) who is a priest according to the order of Melchizedek, the "*king* of Salem, priest of the Most High God," the "*king* of righteousness," "the *king* of peace" (Heb 7:1–2). Finally, some heroes of faith are described as those who have conquered (earthly) kingdoms and enforced justice (11:33).

**3. Revelation.** Only two of the nine explicit references to the term "kingdom" in the book of Revelation refer to God (11:15; 12:10). Nonetheless, royal symbolism pervades the book and the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev 21:1–22:5) has been equated with the cosmic Kingdom of God (Schnackenburg).

God, Christ, the witnesses/martyrs, and earthly rulers are portrayed in royal terms. God is a great king sitting on his throne in the heavenly courtroom (Revelation 4). He is praised by the persecuted martyrs in heaven as the "King of the nations (ages?)," an apparent reference to the pilgrimage of the nations to Mount Zion (15:3–4 [Jer 10:7; Ps 86:9; Isa 2:1–2; cf. Mic 4:1–4; Jer 16:19]). Jesus Christ, the slain lamb (3:21; 22:3; chap. 5) who "has conquered" by his death, is also enthroned on God's throne. He is the royal Davidic king (esp. 17:14; 21:7; 22:16), "the prince of the kings of the earth" (1:5; cf. 15:3 [some manuscripts]), "King of kings," and "Lord of lords" (17:14; 19:16; cf. Deut 10:17). Correspondingly, at the trumpet call of the seventh angel the kingdom of the world will be transformed into the "Kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ" who will reign forever (11:15; cf. 10:7). In another vision (12:1–17), "the Kingdom of our God," accompanied with the salvation, the power, and "the authority of his Christ" (12:10), "have come" when Satan and his angels have been cast down from heaven to the earth. Since the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of the Messiah seem to be coterminous (cf. 3:21; 22:1, 3), the question must be raised whether the 1,000-year "millennial reign" of Christ (20:1–6) is an interregnum before the final Kingdom of God (Schnackenburg).

Finally, the one who conquers, loves his followers, and has freed them from their sins by his blood, makes *them* a "kingdom, priests to his God and Father" (1:5b–6) or "a kingdom and priests to our God" (5:10; cf. 20:6; Exod 19:6; Isa 61:6; *Jub.* 16:18); "they shall reign on earth" (5:10; cf. 20:6; 22:5). While their struggle with the earthly kingdoms persists in the present, they will have a share in the final reign of God and Christ. This appears to be anticipated when John of Patmos shares the "kingdom" of those to whom he writes, those who are enduring tribulation and patient endurance under the temporary sway of the kingdoms of the earth (1:9).

In summary, when the powers of Satan are defeated, the Kingdom of God and of his Christ that now rule in heaven will prevail over the earthly kingdoms that are temporarily under the power of the Beast (16:10; 17:12, 17–18); it will be a cosmic reign over heaven, earth, and the underworld; it will transform the kingdoms of the world, will be centered in the new Jerusalem on earth, and rule will be shared with the faithful (3:21; 22:3–5). Apocalyptic religious themes related to perceived experiences of political, social, and economic oppression lead to the strongest political implications about the Kingdom of God in the NT.

**4. 2 Peter.** An attempt to reassert the apocalyptic expectation and hope in the face of the delay of the Parousia and against "false teachers" is found in 2 Pet 3:1–13. In 2 Pet 1:10–11 those who are zealous in

the calling—purity in the group is highlighted—are promised "an entrance into the eternal kingdom of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ" (cf. 3:13, 18). Though this "entering" language is familiar from the Gospels (e.g., Mark 10:15 = Matt 18:3 = Luke 18:17; John 3:5), it is the kingdom of Christ, the Patron/Benefactor, that is stressed (cf. Eph 5:5).

**L. Patristic Literature: A Summary**

Many of the Kingdom references in the Church Fathers are quotations and allusions from the Bible (Lampe; Ferguson; Viviano 1987b). In the early period (2d century), statements generally fall into three categories. First, there are polemics against various opponents to show that the Christians are the true heirs of the Kingdom (e.g., Just. *Dial.* 140; Iren. *haer.* 3.21.9; cf. Matt 8:11–13). Second, there are polemics against the gnostic tendency to see the Kingdom as interior (e.g., Hipp. *haer.* 5.2–3; *2 Clem.* 12). Third, there is the opposite tendency, namely, apologetics show that the Christian view of the Kingdom is not politically subversive, even though "kingdom" is the normal word for "empire" (e.g., *1 Clem.* 61:1; Athenag. *Leg.* 18). In the two latter cases, the eschatological, heavenly, angelic nature of the Kingdom is generally emphasized (e.g., *1 Clem.* 42:3; *Did.* 16; Ign *Eph.* 16:1; Polyc. *Phil.* 5:3; *2 Clem.* 11:7; Hegesippus in Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.20.4), though millennialist views of an interregnum on earth occasionally appear (Papias in Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.12). In all of these cases an emerging corporate self-definition occurs. It may also be that Christian use of pagan wisdom sayings brought about a reference to wisdom as the Kingdom of God (*Sent. Sex.* 311).

With 3d century Origen there was a shift to a more internal, spiritual-mystical meaning of the Kingdom (*or.* 25); with the Constantinian era and the legitimate acceptance of Christianity, earthly political dimensions of the Kingdom were correlated with the Empire; and with Augustine's *City of God* a correlation of the present Church with the millennial Kingdom was introduced, despite the possibility that chaff was mixed with the wheat, and despite the possibility that those outside the Church might ultimately be in the final, heavenly, perfected Kingdom (cf. 20:9).

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DENNIS C. DULING

**KINGDOMS, BOOKS OF.** The four books (1–4 Kingdoms) in the LXX which correspond to what is more commonly known as 1–2 Samuel through 1–2 Kings. Also called the Books of Reigns.

**KINGFISHER.** See ZOOLOGY.

**KINGS, BOOK OF 1–2.** The eleventh and twelfth books in the Bible (Catholic and Protestant canons). In the Jewish canon Kings is found in the second division of the Hebrew Bible, known as *nĕbî᾽îm,* "Prophets," where it constitutes the fourth book of the "Former Prophets," after Joshua, Judges, and Samuel.

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    1. Literary Structure
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**A. Title and Place in the Canon**

The division of Kings into two books is an artificial one from the standpoint of contents (the history of King Ahaziah of Israel bridges the gap, 1 Kgs 22:51–2 Kgs 1:18); like the books of Samuel, the two books of Kings were originally one. In the textual tradition of the Hebrew Bible, this practice is attested no earlier than certain medieval manuscripts, and it first appears in print in Daniel Bomberg's *Biblia Rabbinica* (1516–17), explicitly under the influence of non-Jewish versions, presumably the LXX (Greek) and Vg (Latin) (Ginsburg 1966: 930–31; Bedouelle 1989: 78). Likewise, the separation between Samuel and Kings does not reflect a genuine change in subject matter as the narrative of 1 Kings 1–2 forms a natural continuation of the characters and events in 2 Samuel 9–20. Gk mss of the Lucianic recension place the division between Samuel and Kings at 1 Kgs 2:11, after the death of David. Some scholars believe that a change in Gk translators occurs at that point, and conclude therefore that Kings originally began at 1 Kgs 2:12 (Thackeray 1923: 18–19); others find the Lucianic evidence inconclusive and surmise that the text began elsewhere (Tov 1984: 117). The tradition of beginning the book of Kings at 1 Kgs 1:1 is ancient. The earliest known Heb manuscripts of Kings, some leather fragments preserved among the Dead Sea scrolls, were copied no earlier than the 1st century B.C.E. and appear to indicate that the scroll began at 1 Kgs 1:1 (Milik, 1962: 171–72; Shenkel, 1968: 123). The Septuagint presents the books of Samuel and Kings under the rubric of *Basileiōn a-d,* "1–4 Reigns"; Kings comprise the third and fourth books of this unity, corresponding to *tertius, quartus Regum liber* (3 and 4 Kings) of the Vg. In the Peshiṭta (Syriac tradition), "3 Kings" ends at 2 Kgs 2:18 (Gottlieb and Hammershaimb 1976: i).

In Christian and Jewish canons, the books comprising the "Former Prophets" recount a theological history of the nation, beginning with the conquest of the land of Canaan in Joshua and concluding with the destruction of Jerusalem and the Babylonian Exile in 2 Kings. This "history" is couched in terms of a pattern of prophecy and fulfillment that accepts as normative the Law of Moses as promulgated in Deuteronomy.

**B. Outline**

1. The Reign of Solomon (1 Kgs 1:1–11:43)
   a. Solomon's Securing of the Throne and The Death of David (1 Kgs 1:1–2:46)
   b. Solomon's Reign (1 Kgs 3:1–11:43)
      (1) Solomon the Wise (1 Kgs 3:1–4:34)
      (2) Solomon's Construction of the Temple and His Palaces in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 5:1–7:51)
      (3) Solomon's Dedication of the Temple (1 Kgs 8:1–66)
      (4) Incidents from the Reign of Solomon: Theophany, Forced Levy, Visit of the Queen of Sheba, Economic Exploits (1 Kgs 9:1–10:29)
      (5) Solomon the Foolish (1 Kgs 11:1–43)
2. Synoptic History of the Divided Monarchy to the Fall of the Northern Kingdom (1 Kgs 12:1–2 Kgs 17:41)
   a. Division of Solomon's Kingdom (1 Kgs 12:1–13:34)
      (1) Division of the Kingdom: Rehoboam, King of Judah, and Jeroboam I, King of Israel (1 Kgs 12:1–20)
      (2) Prophecy of Shemaiah in Judah and Response (1 Kgs 12:21–24)
      (3) The Sin of Jeroboam I (1 Kgs 12:25–33)
      (4) Prophetic Polemics Against the Northern Kingdom and the House of Jeroboam I (1 Kgs 13:1–14:20)
   b. Synchronized History of the Divided Monarchy to the Elijah Stories (1 Kgs 14:21–16:34)
      (1) Rehoboam, Abijam, and Asa, Kings of Judah (1 Kgs 14:21–15:24)
      (2) Nadab, Baasha, Elah, Zimri, Omri, and Ahab, Kings of Israel (1 Kgs 15:25–16:34)
   c. The Elijah Cycle (1 Kgs 17:1–2 Kgs 1:18)
      (1) The Elijah Stories: Three-Year Drought, Raising of the Phoenician Widow's Son, Contest on Mount Carmel, Flight to Horeb, Call of Elisha, Episode of Naboth's Vineyard (1 Kgs 17:1–19:21; 21:1–29)
      (2) Prophetic Stories Surrounding the Syro-Israelite Wars: Ben-Hadad, King of Syria; Ahab, King of Israel; Jehoshaphat, King of Judah; the Prophet Micaiah versus the False Prophets (1 Kgs 20:1–43; 22:1–40)
      (3) Jehoshaphat, King of Judah (1 Kgs 22:41–50)
      (4) Ahaziah, King of Israel (1 Kgs 22:51–2 Kgs 1:18)
   d. The Elisha Cycle (2 Kgs 2:1–8:29)
      (1) The Prophetic Succession From Elijah to Elisha (2 Kgs 2:1–25)
      (2) Joram (Jehoram), King of Israel (2 Kgs 3:1–27)
      (3) The Elisha Stories (2 Kgs 4:1–8:15; 9:1–3; 13:14–21)
      (4) Jehoram (Joram) and Ahaziah, Kings of Judah (2 Kgs 8:16–29)
   e. Synchronized History of the Divided Monarchy to the Fall of Israel (2 Kgs 9:1–17:41)
      (1) Jehu, King of Israel (2 Kgs 9:1–10:36)
      (2) Athaliah, Queen of Judah and the Accession and Reign of Joash, King of Judah (2 Kgs 11:1–12:21)
      (3) Jehoahaz and Jehoash, Kings of Israel; the Death of Elisha the Prophet (2 Kgs 13:1–25)
      (4) Amaziah, King of Judah (2 Kgs 14:1–22)
      (5) Jeroboam II, King of Israel (2 Kgs 14:23–29)
      (6) Azariah (Uzziah), King of Judah (2 Kgs 15:1–7)

(7) Zechariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah, Kings of Israel: Assyrian Aggression (2 Kgs 15:8–31)
(8) Jotham and Ahaz, Kings of Judah (2 Kgs 15:32–16:20)
(9) Hoshea, King of Israel, and the Fall of Israel to the Assyrians; Theological Rationale for the Fall; Samaritan Origins (2 Kgs 17:1–41)

3. The Kingdom of Judah from Hezekiah to the Babylonian Exile (2 Kgs 18:1–25:30)
a. Hezekiah, King of Judah: Religious Reform and Assyrian Invasion; Isaiah the Prophet (2 Kgs 18:1–20:21)
b. Manasseh and Amon, Kings of Judah (2 Kgs 21:1–26)
c. Josiah, King of Judah: Discovery of the Book of the Law and Religious Reform (2 Kgs 22:1–23:30)
d. Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah, Kings of Judah: Babylonian Aggression and Fall of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 23:31–25:21)
e. Judah Under Babylonian Administration: Gedaliah (2 Kgs 25:22–26)
f. In Babylon, in Exile: Upgrading of Jehoiachin, King of Judah, from Prison to House Arrest (2 Kgs 25:27–30)

**C. Sources and Text**

**1. Sources.** The book of Kings deals with events covering roughly 400 years of Palestinian history. Like any historical work, its narrative account is based on a variety of sources, some of which are identified in the text, though most are not. These sources have been subject to sustained editing and literary adaptation, which result in a creative and unique literary composition whose very complexity continues to baffle those who would surgically isolate the original sources from the document called Kings that appears in the Bible. To further complicate matters, it is widely agreed that Kings is but part of a larger composition in the Hebrew Bible conventionally known as the Deuteronomistic History (Deuteronomy–2 Kings) in which the key religio-political ideals of Deuteronomy are used to describe and judge the checkered "history" of the People of Israel, from the conquest of Canaan to the fall of Judah to the Babylonians. It is well to emphasize at the outset that there is no manuscript evidence for a discrete "Deuteronomistic History" or sundry pre-deuteronomistic sources; they are working hypotheses the tentativeness of which is illustrated by the proliferation of theories and concomitant lack of consensus among scholars today.

**a. Sources Identified in Kings.** Kings makes reference to three sources of information: the "Book of the Deeds of Solomon" (1 Kgs 11:41), the "Book of the Daily Deeds/Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" (1 Kgs 14:29; 15:7, 23; 22:45, etc.), and the "Book of the Daily Deeds/Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (1 Kgs 14:19; 15:31; 16:5, 14, etc.). Formulaic expressions used when these sources are cited indicate that the biblical information is to be understood as an extract from a larger work; no trace of the corresponding original and independent work is known to exist. Scholars have long assumed that the genre of these sources is comparable to other ANE historical archives such as Egyptian, Persian and Hellenistic daybooks maintained by court functionaries (Van Seters 1981: 175–76).

Again, it is commonly supposed that the kings of Judah and Israel maintained state archives in the form of annals that recorded such events as royal accessions and deaths, military campaigns and invasions, monumental building enterprises, and perhaps records from the state cult, including prophecies and royally sponsored innovations. Actual chronographic records of particular kings with notices of significant political and cultic events are extensively attested for the Neo-Babylonian kings (TCS 5: 70–111). It is also likely that "king-lists," probably analogous to specimens recovered from Mesopotamia, were compiled at some point for the rulers of Judah and Israel. Judging from the heterogeneous information supplied in 1 Kings, one should not automatically assume that the "Book of the Deeds of Solomon" was of the same genre as the two previously mentioned "Books of the Daily Deeds." The former contains an account of Solomon's reign and includes extensive cultic and building data (1 Kgs 6:1–8:66), contradictory figures for teams of forced labor (1 Kgs 5:16 vs. 9:23), lists of high officials and taxation districts (1 Kgs 4:1–19), trade and foreign relations (1 Kgs 5:1–12; 10:1–29); visions and folkloristic accounts of his "wisdom" (1 Kgs 3:3–28; 4:29–34; 9:1–9) and an itemized condemnation and

sentence for apostasy (1 Kgs 11:1–40). Efforts to precisely describe the authorship, extent, and genre of these three pre-deuteronomistic sources must remain in the realm of conjecture.

The Talmud ascribes the authorship of Kings to the prophet Jeremiah (*B. Bat.* 15a; Montgomery and Gehman *Kings* ICC, 1), in keeping with a tendency to legitimate scriptural sources by attributing them to notable "literary" figures in the Hebrew Bible (compare Solomon). Attempts to identify the occupation of the author or authors of Kings ("scribe," "priest," "court official," "Wisdom teacher," etc.) are part and parcel with the task of identifying the sources, the editor(s) of the sources, and their original purpose or genre ("king-list," "prophetic history," "temple records," "programmatic reform document," etc.).

**b. Source criticism.** Wellhausen, building on the insights of Kuenen, argued that composition of a Deuteronomistic History (DtrH) from a welter of pre-existing sources was inspired by the religious reform of Josiah (ca. 621), which was itself motivated by the discovery of the book of Deuteronomy hidden in the temple. The tradition that the "book of the law" which was found in the Jerusalem temple at the time of Josiah was part of the canonical Deuteronomy is at least as ancient as Origen and entered the modern critical arena through de Wette's dissertation of 1805. According to Wellhausen, the compiler of DtrH, for the book of Kings, created a chronological framework by inserting a formula at the beginning and conclusion of the narrative accounts of the Judahite and Israelite kings, thus synchronizing their reigns and providing other information of a historical nature, in addition to giving a "verdict" regarding the cultic purity of their reign. The compiler was also responsible for a number of extended narratives in the form of commentaries which reflect the judgments of history in accordance with the religious tenets of Deuteronomy, specifically, the uncompromising demands for Yahwistic monotheism. Since the "glamor" of Josiah's reform colored the balance of the composition, the major redaction of DtrH, including Kings, probably took place no later than 600 B.C.E. (Wellhausen 1889: 298–301). An "appendix," carrying the history of the Judahite monarchy from the death of Josiah to the release of Jehoiachin from prison ca. 561 B.C.E., and other features scattered throughout Kings indicate a redaction during the Exile. Wellhausen related the Exilic redaction of Kings to the activity of the Priestly source in the "Hexateuch" (Genesis-Joshua). Much of the source-critical work dealing with DtrH by Wellhausen and scholars influenced by him was concerned with demonstrating the continuity of Pentateuchal sources from Joshua through 2 Kings ("JEDP").

Contrary to Wellhausen's belief, deuteronomistic language and theology is diagnostic neither of authorship nor of date of composition. Close parallels to "deuteronomistic theology" can be found in the Mesha Stone (Moab, 9th century) and Assurbanipal's annals (Assyria, 7th century). Deuteronomistic catchphrases and theology are readily imitated, as witness Tobit, 1 Maccabees, and *Jubilees,* Jewish texts of the Persian and Hellenistic period.

According to Noth, Deuteronomy through 2 Kings was authored by an individual or individuals from the point of view of the Deuteronomic Law. Earlier collections of pre-deuteronomistic narratives that dealt with key moments and figures in the history of Israel were assembled into a larger unified work, DtrH, during the Exile by a Judean author. Noth's analysis concluded that the sources identified by Wellhausen in Genesis through Numbers (J, E, P) had no intrinsic continuity with those found in Joshua through Kings; the general theological coherence and repetitive phraseology in Deuteronomy through 2 Kings led him to attribute it to the work of a single editor (*NDH*, 9–12). Although scholars before Noth had posited an Exilic redaction for Kings (König 1893: 267–69), none had made such an elegant argument for the unity of the composition. Evidence for this single work stems primarily from a linguistic analysis of repeated phrases and terminology, and secondarily from the chronological schema and the series of speeches and evaluations which reflect the theology of Deuteronomy. The Deuteronomistic Historian (DTR) was at his greatest liberty to express his theological evaluation in the book of Kings. The inconsistencies in DtrH that fuel the redaction-critical approach were attributed by Noth to DTR's respect for his sources (Noth NDH, 84), as well as to materials inserted by post-DTR redactors which conflicted with the underlying DtrH.

Childs (*IOTS*, 286–87) registers three major critiques of Noth: (1) objection to the proposition that DtrH was composed by a single author with a unified historical and theological outlook; (2) the problem with

the dating of DTR; the majority opinion at the moment is pushing for a considerable portion of preexilic redaction and perhaps authorship; and (3) dissatisfaction with Noth's thesis regarding DTR's supposed concentration on the negative lesson of history. Von Rad, for example, championed the view that the dynastic promise to David informs the entire work, concluding with an optimistic notice of the release of Jehoiachin from prison, while H. W. Wolff (1975: 90–100) argues that the theme of the necessity of repentance and "return" to Yahweh is central to the author.

Smend and his followers propose a threefold redactional process for the deuteronomistic history during the Exile. Unlike Noth, the Smend school locates the inconsistencies and perceived internal contradictions in DtrH (Smend's DtrG) in the activity of two redactors with unified theological agendas (Smend 1978: 120–25; 134–39). The first, DtrP, opposed the monarchy (contrary to DtrH) and added both prophetic comments and extended speeches to DtrH (Dietrich 1972: 107–109; 134–48). Likewise, the final redactor, DtrN, made contributions which attempted to moderate the anti-monarchic stance of DtrP by insisting that the Davidic dynasty would endure if the sacred Law was maintained (Veijola 1975: 138–42). The presupposition which guides the redaction-critical efforts of this school entails the assumption that DtrH was without internal contradictions as a theological and historical work. Contradictions present in the canonical Kings are explained as "additions" of two exilic redactors at odds with the thought of DtrH, and assumes both DtrP and DtrN are subject to detection, with varying degrees of certainty, by the modern redaction critic. Halpern challenges the Smend school and similar approaches by posing the question why, if the goal of the later redactors DtrP and DtrN was to reform the message of the source, they did not completely rewrite it instead of juxtaposing conflicting narratives (1988: 112).

Cross's enormously popular thesis represents a revival of the critical assumptions of Wellhausen and Kuenen that dominated the field up to the publication of Noth's seminal study. For Cross, DtrH was composition of a redactor during the reign of Josiah, king of Judah; it originally ended with 2 Kgs 23:25. This redactor, whom Cross identifies as $Dtr^1$, emphasized a "call" for the "return" to Yahwistic monotheism, the unconditional promise of eternal kingship made to the Davidic lineage, and the consequences of the "sin of Jeroboam" for the Northern Kingdom (Cross *CMHE*, 278–85; 287–89). Noth's understanding of the emphasis on national judgment in DtrH is challenged by Cross's notion of $Dtr^1$ as embodying a call for return to Yahwistic monotheism under Josiah and a reunification of the Divided Monarchy. $Dtr^2$, the exilic redactor(s) that updated $Dtr^1$, made the promise of "eternal" kingship to the Davidids conditional on their fidelity to Yahweh, thus providing a theological retreat for the political disasters of the Exile. $Dtr^2$ blames the fall of Jerusalem on the inexpiable sin of Manasseh, a feint by which the redactor could "salvage" the theology of the Josianic Reform without implicating the kings of Judah that followed Josiah with abrogating his efforts at reform (*CMHE*, 285–87; Halpern 1988: 113–14). The viability of Cross's $Dtr^1$ rides on his construction of the religious and political aims of the Josianic reform and its chronology; any challenge to the theory's historicity would seriously undermine its credibility.

Several studies have investigated the possibility of pre-deuteronomistic redaction in Kings, that is, the nature and extent of the editorial work on the sources available to DTR prior to the composition of DtrH. Jepsen believed that ca. 580 B.C.E. a priestly redactor composed a history of the monarchy extending from Solomon to Hezekiah by combining "political" sources which contained a record of Solomon's rule, a synchronized history of the Divided Kingdom, and a "priestly" record from Jerusalem (Jepsen 1956: 10, 22–23, 106). Primarily on the basis of lexical evidence and regnal formulas, Helga Weippert seeks to demonstrate a threefold redaction of Kings. The first redaction predated DtrH, for it covered the history of the Divided Kingdom from Jehoshaphat of Judah and Joram of Israel down to Ahaz of Judah and Hoshea of Israel; she concludes it was compiled during the reign of Hezekiah (Weippert 1972: 319–23). Lemaire, building on the work of Weippert, finds evidence of a composition written at the time of Jehoshaphat in the mid-9th century; he proposes seven levels of redaction in Kings (1986: 232).

The sizable corpus of prophetic narratives in Samuel-Kings has suggested to some the existence of a pre-deuteronomistic "prophetic history." Garbini, analyzing several literary motifs, posits the existence of a narrative created during the reign of Jehu of Israel. Citing examples from Judges 9 through 2 Kings 10,

he concludes that it was composed by a prophetic school opposed to the monarchy (Garbini 1979: 31–35). Building on the research of McCarter and Veijola, McKenzie offers another theory regarding an 8th-century prophetic source, arguing that most of 1 Kgs 17–2 Kgs 13 was composed by a "Prophetic Historian" (McKenzie 1985: 216).

Both Hoffmann and Van Seters understand DtrH to be a unified work produced by an author living in the postexilic period. Hoffmann sees cultic reform as the major theme of DtrH; the composition was intended as an object lesson to foster religious conformity within the postexilic Jewish community by rehearsing the history of the political disasters that befell the people of Israel whenever they compromised their fidelity to Yahweh. Hoffmann is pessimistic about the possibility of isolating pre-deuteronomistic sources in DtrH due to the author's thoroughgoing integration and stylization of his sources (1980: 316–17). Van Seters studies the compositional technique of DTR in light of the historiography of Herodotus and parallels from the ANE. He sees the inconsistencies in DtrH as reflecting the author's tolerance of inconsistency in his sources (Van Seters 1983: 258–64; 320–21). Rofé finds evidence for a postexilic dating of the accounts of Ahab's Syrian wars and the Naboth's Vineyard incident (1 Kgs 20:1–21:1–16); he argues that the formation of the Former Prophets is more adequately viewed as a process lasting some 400 years, from the 8th century to the latter end of the Persian period (1988: 103).

Peckham describes two levels of redaction in DtrH. The first ($Dtr^1$) is pre-deuteronomistic and preexilic in composition; it focused on the Davidic dynasty and the law of centralization and extended from Deuteronomy through 2 Kings 19:37 (Hezekiah, king of Judah). The second redaction ($Dtr^2$) culminated in Genesis through 2 Kgs 25, building on forms of the classic Pentateuchal sources J, E, and P: "the principal author and historian is $Dtr^2$, who rewrote these sources as the history of Israel from creation to the fall of Jerusalem" (Peckham 1985: 1). Other recent studies attempt to relate the formation of the Pentateuch to the activity of DTR (O'Brien 1989: 18, n. 54). Provan, on the basis of the regnal formulas and the treatment of the *bāmôt* ("high places, sanctuaries"), also posits a twofold redaction of DtrH: the first, probably Josianic in date, begins with Judges 17–21 or 1 Samuel 1 and concludes with 2 Kings 19 (Hezekiah); its major theme is cult centralization, and it concludes with the portrayal of Hezekiah as a second David. The second redaction was exilic and endeavored to bring the history of Judah up to date by blaming the Exile on the apostasy of the Judean kings (Provan 1988: 171–73).

The burgeoning diversity of conjectures regarding sources and dating does not inspire confidence in the historical reliability of source- and redaction-critical efforts in Kings. One detects a current readiness on the part of many scholars to isolate pre-deuteronomistic redaction (= sources) in Kings; there is, at the same, an impressive scholarly constituency arguing for a postexilic dating for much of the Former Prophets.

**2. Text.** Textual criticism has as "its highest achievable end the reconstruction of the biblical text in the form in which it was current during a certain period" (Mulder 1988: 103). It is likely that the MT represents but one of the Hebrew texts in circulation during the 4th and 3d centuries B.C.E. Textual criticism is useful for correcting errors in the transmission of the MT and establishing the textual traditions behind the versions of the Hebrew Bible; there is no justification, however, for employing the tools of textual criticism to recover the "autograph" or "Urtext" of any part of the Hebrew Bible. Normally, the salient manuscripts are limited to Heb, Gk, Aram, Syr, Lat, and, in the case of the Pentateuch, Samaritan.

**a. General Textual History of the Hebrew Bible.** The discovery of the Dead Sea scrolls in 1947 pushed the date of the earliest known manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible back a thousand years to the 3d century B.C.E. Surprisingly, textual analysis of these manuscripts demonstrated that major variants in text traditions, assumed to have been created by the rigorous standardization of canonic texts in Jewish and Christian circles around the 1st and 2d centuries A.D., were actually well developed centuries earlier. Variations from the MT attested principally in the Gk versions preserve a record of the development of the pre-MT of the Hebrew Bible (Talmon *QHBT,* 1–5). It should be emphasized that the "autograph text" of Kings, in the unlikely event that one ever existed at all, in light of the documented plethora of sources

and editorial hands, would perforce date to a period preceding the divergent textual traditions preserved in the Dead Sea manuscripts.

**b. Manuscript Tradition of Kings: Heb, Gk, Lat, Aram, Syr.** The Heb manuscripts of Kings recovered from Qumran, unlike the extensive remains of the Samuel scrolls, consist of a series of leather and papyrus fragments that rarely add up to a discernible column from the original scroll. Texts identified and published to date include, from cave 5Q, 1 Kgs 1:1, 16–17, 27–37 (Milik 1962: 171–72); from 6Q, 1 Kgs 3:12–14; 12:28–31; 22:28–31; 2 Kgs 5:26; 6:32; 7:8–10; 7:20–8:5; 9:1–2; 10:19–21 (Baillet 1962: 107–12). Unpublished portions of a scroll from 4Q of 1 Kgs 7 and 8 reportedly remain in the possession of Frank Moore Cross (Shenkel 1968: 123, n. 14). Unfortunately, the paucity of Kings manuscript attestations from Qumran provides scant hope for resolving the current scholarly debate over the value of the Gk witnesses for correcting the MT; it is incautious to extrapolate, from Qumran, the same textual history for Kings from what is known of Samuel.

The findings at Qumran have served to reemphasize the importance of the Gk witnesses for research on the early textual tradition of the Hebrew Bible. An influential theory championed by Cross and his students is that of the "three local recensions texts" to explain the textual history of the Hebrew Bible between the 5th and 1st centuries B.C.E. Cross postulates a "proto-Hebrew" text of the Bible as the source of Palestinian and Babylonian recensions for use by local Jewish communities no later than 400 B.C.E. The Palestinian recension was, ultimately, the textual source of the Samaritan Pentateuch, whereas the Babylonian recension culminated in the "proto-MT." The earliest Gk versions were translations of a Heb text prepared for Egyptian Jews from the Palestinian recension. Texts based on the Palestinian recension are "characterized by conflation, glosses, synoptic additions, and other evidence of intense scribal activity" (Cross *QHBT*, 283). Cross claims that the LXX version of Samuel-Kings was prepared from an Egyptian Heb text that gained independence from its parent Palestinian tradition not later than 300 B.C.E. and which was "updated" in the 2d or 1st century B.C.E. by correcting it against Heb manuscripts in the Palestinian textual tradition. This "updating" of the LXX is recoverable today in part from "proto-Lucian" manuscripts. Cross contends that, since the Gk manuscript tradition that attests to the "proto-Lucianic" recension of the Hebrew Bible preserves readings from a translation of a Heb text predating the final form of the MT, and, since the MT of Samuel-Kings shows extensive textual corruption, "proto-Lucianic" readings may be profitably used to reconstruct a more pristine text for these books (Cross *QHBT*, 191–92; Klein 1974: 27–50). This approach has been most assiduously applied to the textual study of Samuel because of the extensive Heb manuscript corpus from Qumran (4QSam), a substantial portion of which agrees with "proto-Lucian" against the MT and the LXX.

Cross's "three local recensions texts" theory has come under heavy criticism in recent scholarship, due in part to its presuppositions regarding the scribal activities of Babylonian Jews from the Persian Period to the Common Era, of which virtually nothing is known, and to the theory's over-simplification. According to Tov, in addition to the Heb text-forms which correspond to the LXX, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the MT which has been found at Qumran (Cross's Egyptian, Palestinian, and Babylonian recensional traditions, respectively), one and possibly three other text-forms have been identified (Mulder 1988: 102, 104). The utility of "proto-Lucian" for textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible was recognized long before the discovery of the Dead Sea scrolls, and therefore is not dependent on the validity of the "three local recensions texts" theory (Marcos 1984: 169; Tov 1988: 186–87).

There is considerable ongoing debate about the nature of the Gk versions of Kings and their usefulness for textual criticism. The LXX varies from the MT in both arrangement and content; compare the order of 1 Kgs 4–11 and 20–21 (LXX) (Swete 1914: 232). The LXX account of Jeroboam I and the division of the United Monarchy (1 Kgs 12:24a–z) supplies novel and sometimes contradictory information to the account found in the MT and elsewhere in the LXX. The summarizing "miscellanies" regarding Solomon's reign found after 1 Kgs 2:35 and 2:46 (LXX) have no consecutive counterparts in the MT. As an illustration of the use of the LXX and "proto-Lucian" for text-critical work in Kings, consider 1 Kgs 22:32 "and they turned against him to fight, and Jehoshaphat cried out" (MT); "and they surrounded him to fight, and Jehoshaphat cried out" (LXX); "and they surrounded him to fight, and Jehoshaphat cried out,

and the Lord saved him" ("proto-Lucian"); 1 Chr 18:31 "and they surrounded him to fight, and Jehoshaphat cried out, and Yahweh saved him" (MT) (Klein 1974: 50). While "proto-Lucian" Kings agrees with MT Chronicles against MT and LXX Kings, little is gained by accepting the longer text over the shorter.

There are weighty objections to the rather optimistic view that text-critical work favoring Gk versions can often restore a more "pristine" Heb text for Kings. Substantial departures from the MT, such as 1 Kgs 12:24a–z (LXX), generally provide better evidence of midrashic reworkings of the Heb text than solid clues for "textual archaeology" (Gooding 1967, 1976; Evans 1983). Gooding in particular has argued that the extensive rearrangement of the text found in the LXX (and "proto-Lucian") reflects a desire on the part of the translator to portray Solomon as wise, greatly enhancing the evil character of Jeroboam I while tending to whitewash the flaws of David, Solomon, and, curiously, Ahab (Gooding 1969). The Lucianic reading of 2 Kgs 17:2 "corrects" the MT's slightly positive evaluation of Hoshea, the last king of Israel, making him the most wicked Israelite king of all and therefore patently deserving of a doomed kingdom (Burney 1903: 329). It would be rash to assume that wherever "proto-Lucian" and other witnesses to the oldest traditions of Gk translations of Kings diverge from the MT the latter should be brought into conformity with the former. The integrity of textual criticism depends upon examination of each verse, variant by variant, using all versional evidence at one's disposal, raising the possibility at each step that a given textual variant may be due to theological or literary polishing, as well as the usual alterations due to the accumulation of errors and erring corrections.

The OL version of Kings was based primarily, though not exclusively, on the Gk translations, and provides an important witness to Lucianic readings (Burney 1903: xxxv–xxxvi; Trebolle Barrera 1986: 94; Kedar 1988: 308–11). The Vg, Jerome's authoritative Lat translation of the Old and New Testament (ca. 390–405 C.E.), is based on a Heb text identical or very similar to the MT for the books of Kings, though in places it is evident Jerome was influenced by the OL and various earlier Gk versions (White 1902: 883–85; Driver *NHT*, liv). Claims that he was particularly dependent on the Gk version known as Symmachus are exaggerated (Kedar 1988: 323).

The Targum (= Aramaic translation) of Former Prophets, Targum Jonathan, is clearly based on the same textual tradition as the MT; unlike most Targums of the Hebrew Bible, it generally avoids extended midrashic expansions of the underlying text, adhering instead to a literalistic style of translation. The basic translation of Targum Jonathan was probably made before 135 C.E., in Palestine, although redaction may have continued in Babylonia up to the Arab conquest (Burney 1903: xxxi–xxxii; Harrington and Saldarini 1987: 3–4; Smolar and Aberbach 1983: xxviii).

The Peshiṭta (Syriac version) of Former Prophets is not attested in manuscript before the 6th century C.E. In general, it is thought that the Heb textual tradition underlying the Peshiṭta is very close to or identical with the MT. Some scholars stress the possibility that, for Peshiṭta Pentateuch and possibly other portions of the Bible, translators worked from Targums and not directly from the MT. Berlinger, in one of the few studies devoted exclusively to Peshiṭta Kings, adduced evidence that the translator consulted Targum Jonathan in difficult places (Dirksen 1988: 258, 291; on manuscript families in Peshiṭta Kings and their chronology, see Dirksen 1989).

**D. Chronology**

1 and 2 Kings offers a variety of chronological notices regarding the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel and contemporary events in the surrounding kingdoms. The rigid regnal formulas that give the work its distinctive historical ambience provide two complementary systems of dating: (1) the total span of years covered by the reign of each king, e.g., "Amaziah the son of Ahab … reigned two years over Israel" (1 Kgs 22:51), and (2) a synchronism between the accession date of the king of one kingdom and the contemporary regnal date of the other, e.g. "Amaziah … began to reign over Israel in Samaria in the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah …" (1 Kgs 22:51). Other dates include "internal" developments, such as the time from the Exodus to the founding of the Jerusalem Temple by Solomon (1 Kgs 6:1), international events, e.g., Pharaoh Shishak's invasion of Palestine (1 Kgs 14:25), and the age of

a king at the time of accession, e.g., "Jehoshaphat was thirty-five years old when he began to reign …" (1 Kgs 22:42).

A few minutes' labor with a hand calculator will convince the reader not only of serious discrepancies between tallies of the individual regnal years of the kings of Judah and Israel but of outright contradictions between different citations of the same chronological event. For example, 143 years and seven months is the total for the reigns of the Israelite kings from Jehu through Hoshea; for the corresponding reigns in Judah, the tally is 166 years. Joram (Jehoram) of Israel began his reign in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat of Judah in 2 Kgs 3:1. In 2 Kgs 1:17, the same Joram is said to begin his reign in the second year of the son of Jehoshaphat. Omri came to the throne of Israel in the thirty-first year of Asa of Judah and is said to have reigned twelve years (1 Kgs 16:23). Omri's son is said to have become king in the thirty-eighth year of Asa (1 Kgs 16:29); but 31 years + 12 years = 38 years. Furthermore, Asa reportedly ruled only forty-one years (1 Kgs 15:10). If the information in 1 Kgs 15:10 is accurate, Asa had been dead at least a year before Omri's son ascended the throne.

Critical scholarship has adopted three major approaches to the vexatious arithmetic of Kings. The first operates on the suspicion that the dates were a product of free composition and numerological speculation; these dates were fabricated to fill in a largely fictional scheme of cultic and national "history" extending from creation to the Exile (Genesis–2 Kings) and to endow the text with an air of historical verisimilitude (Begrich 1929: 10–15). Few modern scholars would unreservedly subscribe to this approach; most would claim that the number of correspondences between datable ANE and biblical events outweighs the limited evidence of purely typological schematization like 1 Kgs 6:1. A less draconian form of this stratagem assumes that the author(s) in their lack of concern with precise chronography rounded off the figures of the reigns at will.

The second approach, which has won widespread acceptance today, accepts as axiomatic that the figures of the MT, or the textual traditions underlying it, are basically correct; this is to say, the regnal dates in Kings can somehow be made to correspond to an absolute chronology (B.C.E.). There are essentially three ways this axiom has resulted in concrete scholarship. (1) The first method maintains that discrepant figures are due to textual corruptions and subsequent scribal efforts at correction. The usual solution is to amend the text by accepting the accuracy of a given date and, from that Archimedean point, "adjusting" all figures perceived to be in error until a coherent sequence of reigns for each kingdom is established (Burney 1903: xli–xliv). Practitioners of this method frequently rely on the handful of events that can be more or less correlated with extra-biblical sources, e.g. the Battle of Qarqar, in which Ahab, King of Israel, participated (853 B.C.E.); the first Fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians (March 16, 597 B.C.E.). (2) The second method assumes that regnal years were reckoned from different calendars in use during the Divided Monarchy; one began at Tishri, the indigenous autumnal New Year, the other in the Spring (Nisan); there is an ongoing debate as to whether Israel used one system and Judah another, and if so, how the chronology of Kings is affected (Thiele 1983: 51–54). In accordance with Assyro-Babylonian practice, the regnal dates of a king were calculated from the date of the first New Year that fell within his reign until his death; the days, weeks, or months of his reign that elapsed before that first New Year were not formally ascribed to his reign. It is maintained that many discrepancies in the MT can be explained by breaking the silence of the biblical text regarding regnal antedating and postdating, and by noting when the change occurred from a Tishri to a Nisan calendar (Hayes and Hooker 1988: 12–15; 87–88). While it is generally accepted that the earliest calendar in use during the Divided Monarchy was based on a Tishri New Year and that Nisan dating was used in Palestine during the Persian Period, there is no compelling biblical indication that a formal change in calendar occurred during the reign of Josiah (contra Hayes and Hooker 1988: 87) or any other king of Judah or Israel (Mowinckel 1932: 175); this method of reconciling the regnal dates in Kings must be viewed as highly speculative. (3) The third and last major methodological variation within this approach assumes the existence of co-regencies (when a king and his successor held joint rule), most plausibly for the reigns of David and Solomon (1 Kgs 1:38–40; 2:10–12) and Ahaziah (Uzziah) and Jotham (2 Kgs 15:5); the years of the co-regency were ascribed to both kings, thus throwing off the total (Begrich 1929: 44–54). Thiele identifies a total of 9 co-regencies and

overlapping reigns for the kings of Judah and Israel (1983: 61–65). Although co-regencies are attested at various times and places in the ANE, a lack of consensus regarding their indication in the biblical text limits the usefulness of this assumption for disentangling the chronology of Kings. More sophisticated studies employ all of these approaches.

Proponents of the third approach to dating in Kings acknowledge the seriousness of the chronological incoherence of the MT but argue that the OG version bears witness to a separate Heb textual tradition that is primary; the chronology in the MT is derivative and secondary (Burney 1903: xli; Shenkel 1968: 37–42; 109–11). Critics of this approach focus on the selective use made by its advocates of the Gk textual tradition, e.g., from Omri of Israel (1 Kgs 16:23) to Joram of Israel (2 Kgs 1:18 [LXX]). Critics also stress the strong possibility that the internal coherence of this tradition reflects a later effort at making sense of the same or a similar chronological system preserved in the MT, and provides no independent witness (Thiele 1983: 88–101).

Although chronological information useful for ordering events and determining length of reigns is found in Kings, efforts to comprehensively convert the dates in Kings to absolute dating (B.C.E.) yield results which are approximate at best. A fact lost sight of in most studies of chronology in Kings is the nature of the text: it is a *theological* history; a precise and accurate exposition of historical events was not the primary concern of the authors. For example, Kings can distort its sources in the service of making a theological point. Sennacherib, the Assyrian king whose emissary blasphemed Yahweh, dies in the temple of his god at the hands of his sons immediately following his siege of Jerusalem (= 701 B.C.E.) according to 2 Kgs 19:36–37; in fact, the historical Sennacherib died in 681 B.C.E. Literary juxtaposition situates the rise of Solomon's "adversaries" *śāṭān)* (Hadad the Edomite, Rezon the Syrian, and Jeroboam the Ephraimite) in his sinful old age (1 Kgs 11:14–40). These political scourges expressed proof of Yahweh's displeasure over Solomon's cultic infidelity in his dotage (1 Kgs 11:9–13), whereas, as historical threats to the political order, they probably dated anywhere from Solomon's accession to his death.

**E. Literary Structure in Kings and Kings as Literature**

1 and 2 Kings has earned an undeserved reputation as a pedestrian assemblage of names and numbers. The composition as a whole gives evidence of meticulous attention to detail through a unifying structure and schematization of themes; it contains a wealth of character sketches, nuanced dialogue, and dramatic scenes of a high order of literary finesse that reward a sensitive reading.

**1. Literary Structure.** 1–2 Kings is organized chronologically by reign. The distinct historiographic format of Kings derives from the stereotyped regnal formula which brackets the entry and exit of most monarchs on the historical scene. As a literary device, the repetitive enumeration of the vital statistics of the kings of Judah and Israel, dynast and usurper alike, reinforces the inexorable march of their kingdoms toward the fulfillment of prophesied doom. For the kings of Israel, a representative accession formula is:

> In the *x* year of PN (proper name), king of Judah, PN the son of PN began to reign over all Israel at Tirzah/Samaria, and reigned for *x* years. He did what was evil in the eyes of Yahweh.

Jehu is given no accession formula (2 Kgs 9–10:36). For the death of an Israelite king, with minor variations,

> Now the rest of the deeds of PN, and all that he did, are they not written in the Book of the Daily Deeds of the Kings of Israel? And PN slept with his fathers, and was buried at Tirzah/Samaria; and PN (his son) reigned in his stead.

For the accession of a king of Judah, the formula reads

> PN the son of PN began to reign over Judah in the *x* year of PN king of Israel. PN was *x* years old when he began to reign, and he reigned *x* years in Jerusalem. His mother's name was PN the daughter of PN. And PN did what was good/evil in the eyes of Yahweh.

Athaliah the Omride is given no accession formula (2 Kgs 11:1–20). For the death of a king of Judah,

> Now the rest of the deeds of PN, and all that he did, are they not written in the Book of the Daily Deeds of the Kings of Judah? PN slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers in the city of David his father; and PN his son reigned in his stead.

In overall structure, the contents of Kings are organized into three sections: the reign of Solomon (1 Kgs 1:1–11:43), a synoptic history of the Divided Monarchy to the fall of the Northern Kingdom (1 Kgs 12:1–2 Kgs 17:41), and the Kingdom of Judah alone, from Hezekiah to the Babylonian Exile (2 Kgs 18:1–25:30). Savran (1987: 148–49) describes a chiastic structure of leading themes that lends the work a dynamic literary and theological unity:

| | |
|---|---|
| *A* Solomon/United Monarchy | 1 Kgs 1:1–11:25 |
| *B* Jeroboam/Rehobaom; division of kingdom | 1 Kgs 11:26–14:31 |
| *C* kings of Judah/Israel | 1 Kgs 15:1–16:22 |
| *D* Omride dynasty; rise and fall of Baal cult in Israel and Judah | 1 Kgs 16:23–2 Kgs 12 |
| *C'* kings of Judah/Israel | 2 Kgs 13–16 |
| *B'* fall of Northern Kingdom | 2 Kgs 17 |
| *A'* kingdom of Judah | 2 Kgs 18–25 |

The framing sections *A* and *A´* focus on the rise and fall of the Davidic dynasty (the promising accession of Solomon [1 Kgs 3–10] in contrast to the inglorious fates of Zedekiah and Jehoiachin [2 Kgs 24–25]) and the parallel fortunes of the national shrine in Jerusalem (the founding of the Temple by Solomon [1 Kgs 6–8] versus its desecration by Manasseh [2 Kgs 21], including a brief repristinization by Josiah [2 Kgs 22–23] and systematic destruction by the Babylonians [2 Kgs 25]).

Sections *B* and *B´* mimic the fate of Judah as they chronicle the genesis of the "sin of Jeroboam" and its divinely ordained outcome in the fall of the Northern Kingdom. Jeroboam, chosen king by God through prophetic proxy, fatally poisons his legacy by consecrating the notorious golden calves as a breakaway cult for his newly founded kingdom (1 Kgs 11:35–39; 12:25–33). The Northern Kingdom suffered its misfortune on account of the "sin of Jeroboam" (2 Kgs 17:21–23); like her sister nation, Judah, she was laid waste and led into exile by a Mesopotamian superpower. Sections *C* and *C´* dwell on the warlike relations between Israel and Judah through most of the Divided Monarchy; chronologically, the balance of their history as competing states is compressed into these five pithy chapters.

Section *D* is the literary pivot of the work; roughly forty years of history, one-tenth of the total covered in Kings, occupies over one-third of the chapters in 1–2 Kings. At issue in this crucial section is the history of the royal sponsorship of the Baal cult in Israel and Judah and the prophetic and priestly response. The Baal cult is founded by the ruling Omrides under Phoenician influence in a manner reminiscent of Jeroboam's apostasy; ultimately it is violently extirpated in Israel at prophetic initiative (2 Kings 9–10) and, in Judah, under the leadership of a priest (2 Kings 11). The Elijah and Elisha cycles (1 Kgs 17:1–2 Kgs 8:29) are extended collections of miracle stories that pit the faithful prophets of Yahweh against the idolatrous policies of Israel; whether the prophets lead the king to military triumph or humiliatingly denounce his crimes, the superiority of the "men of God" to the forces of the crown is never in question. As Savran observes, the depiction of the prophetic succession from Elijah to Elisha, at the heart of this section (2 Kings 2), is unique in the Hebrew Bible and underscores the enduring prophetic "mission" bearing the irresistible Word of God to the fluctuating succession of temporal monarchs (1987: 149).

**2. Themes. a. "Right Cult" versus "Wrong Cult."** Major speeches and dramatic confrontations in Kings, such as Solomon's dedicatory prayer (1 Kgs 8:23–60), the *ex eventu* prophecy against Jeroboam (1 Kgs 13:1–10), Elijah's contest with the prophets of Baal on Mt. Carmel (1 Kgs 18:20–40), the fall of the Northern Kingdom (2 Kgs 17:7–18) and the Rabshakeh's address to Jerusalem (2 Kgs 18:19–25; 27–35), center on the opposition between the stringent demands of monotheistic Yahwism and competing religious traditions. The ecumenical spirit is utterly condemned. The king of Judah who wins highest marks after the archetypal king David is Josiah, whose meritorious conduct centered on his ejection of non-Yahwistic paraphernalia and practices from the Temple and who reinstituted the Passover (2 Kgs 23:1–25). The worst king was Manasseh, who viciously "made Judah to sin with his idols" (2 Kgs 21:11) by promoting a plethora of non-Yahwistic religious practices. The fundamental and ultimately fatal

illegitimacy of the Northern Kingdom is due to the "sin of Jeroboam," that is, a national cult neither purely Yahwistic (by the standards of DTR) nor centralized in Jerusalem.

**b. Jerusalem Temple.** The object of the cult was Yahweh; "the city which thou [Yahweh] has chosen, and the house which I [Solomon] have built for thy name" is Jerusalem and its Temple (1 Kgs 8:48). Half of Solomon's reign in 1 Kings is taken up with the building preparation, description, and dedication of the Temple (5:1–9:9). Its construction demonstrates Solomon's obedience to Yahweh and the fulfillment of Yahweh's promise to David. In Kings, the Temple which contains the Ark of the Covenant concretely symbolizes the reciprocal covenant between the descendants of David and Yahweh, namely, that in exchange for the exclusive worship of Yahweh he (Yahweh) would preserve the Kingdom of Judah. The violation of the Temple's covenantal function by Manasseh's introduction of non-Yahwistic cults is credited with its destruction by the Babylonians as divinely sanctioned punishment (2 Kgs 21:10–15; 23:26–27).

**c. Prophecy and Fulfillment.** In contrast to the prophetic corpus in the Hebrew Bible, virtually every prophecy (by a true prophet) in Kings is pointedly linked with its fulfillment in the realm of history. The repeated actualization of the prophetic word of God in the face of political opposition serves to drive home the theological lessons of the author. Four prophecies dominate the work: (1) the promise made to David by Nathan the prophet that a descendent shall rule over his kingdom and build a temple to Yahweh (2 Sam 7:11–16) (fulfilled by the accession of Solomon to the throne and the construction of the Jerusalem Temple); (2) the prophet Ahijah's prediction of the division of the United Monarchy by reason of Solomon's apostasy (1 Kgs 11:29–39); (3) the prophet Ahijah's prediction of the fall and exile of Israel as due to the "sin of Jeroboam" (1 Kgs 14:15–16); (4) the fall and exile of Judah, predicted by the prophet Isaiah (2 Kgs 20:17–18) and the prophetess Huldah (2 Kgs 22:16–17) (Savran 1987: 161). The famous *ex eventu* prophecy in 1 Kgs 13:1–10, supposedly uttered at the time of Jeroboam I, forecast Josiah's "cult reform" at Bethel some three hundred years later and is melodramatically drawn to Josiah's attention in 2 Kgs 23:16–18.

**d. Dynastic Promise.** The promise made to David in 2 Sam 7:11–13, that Yahweh will establish the throne of his descendants "forever," is made conditional on the conduct of the king in 1 Kgs 9:4–7 and is used to justify the persistence of the nation through external dangers and cultic defections. The restructuring of the original prophecy transforms the destruction of the Southern Kingdom into an object lesson illustrating the horrifying consequence of royal disloyalty to Yahweh (2 Kgs 21:10–15). The idealized figure of David, a paragon of fidelity to Yahweh, is held up as a template for the reigns of several kings and as a summary judgment in their regnal formula: "and he [Josiah] did what was right in the eyes of Yahweh, and walked in all the way of David his father" (2 Kgs 22:2).

**3. Characterization. a. Yahweh.** In Kings, Yahweh speaks in Deuteronomic theology, whether imparted directly (1 Kgs 3:11–14; 9:3–9; 2 Kgs 23:27) or through the lips of the prophets (1 Kgs 11:31–39; 13:3; 14:7–11; etc.). Unlike the two-dimensional human personae in Kings whose emotions and motivations are rarely described, the mind and feelings of Yahweh are unambiguously transparent to the author. Yahweh is pleased (1 Kgs 3:10), angry (1 Kgs 11:9, etc.), or jealous (1 Kgs 14:22). He is moved to act out of loyalty or concern (1 Kgs 11:12; 2 Kgs 13:4); most extraordinarily of all, Yahweh's motivations and influence over the affairs of history are specifiable (2 Kgs 10:32; 17:18, 20; 24:3–4; Nelson 1988: 45–46). Prophets routinely bear the message of God to human ears; Yahweh communicates only once through the written word (the book of the law found in the Temple, 2 Kgs 22:19; 23:3). Exceptionally, Yahweh addresses Solomon directly through the medium of dreams (1 Kgs 3:11–14; 9:3–9).

**b. Solomon.** The reign of Solomon, like that of his father David, is literarily partitioned into two phases: "good king" and "bad king." Initially Solomon exemplifies the ideal king by the standards of the ANE: he fosters the national cult by building a temple in his capital city and establishing a sacrificial system (1 Kgs 5:1–8:66), he promotes the cause of justice (the trial of two harlots, 1 Kgs 3:16–27), he brings political peace, military might, and economic prosperity to his realm (1 Kgs 4:24–26; 10:14–29), and he is supernaturally endowed with wisdom (1 Kgs 3:3–28; 4:29–34; 10:23–25). After he secures the throne by

the customary assassination of rival claimants (1 Kgs 2:23–25; Athaliah is condemned for the same practice in 2 Kgs 11), he leads an exemplary career as a pious and hugely successful monarch until he dedicates the Temple. In his second vision at Gibeon a warning note is sounded: if Solomon or his descendants prove unfaithful to Yahweh, the kingdom and its temple will fall (1 Kgs 9:6–9). In spite of, or perhaps at the price of the international prestige, luxury, and wealth that accrued to him (1 Kgs 9:10–10:29), Solomon's foreign policy led him to cultic shipwreck. In 1 Kgs 11:1–40 Solomon in his old age becomes the "bad king": he commits apostasy to accommodate his foreign wives and incurs the displeasure of Yahweh (11:9–13) which, by literary juxtaposition, led to the creation of two international and one domestic adversaries at the close of his career (11:14–40).

**c. Elijah.** At several points the figure of Elijah the prophet is pointedly cast as a second Moses. Elijah is the greatest exponent of inflexible Yahwistic monotheism in Kings; both the lone figures of Moses and Elijah stalwartly represent the true faith in defiance of the overwhelming might of pagan nations, pharaonic Egypt and Omride Israel. Elijah's public contest against the pagan god and prophets on Mt. Carmel echoes the episode of the Golden Calf in the Wilderness; both figures lead the People of Israel to renew their covenant with Yahweh (1 Kgs 18:19–40; Exod 32). Both Elijah and Moses journey to Mt. Horeb at divine summons and there experience a theophany (1 Kgs 19:1–18; Exod 3:1–4:17; 33:17–23). The description of the succession of Elijah by Elisha as prophetic leader, complete with Elisha's parting of the Jordan and crossing over to Jericho from Transjordan, duplicates Moses' commissioning of Joshua and the latter's entry into the Promised Land (2 Kgs 2:1–15; Num 27:12–23; Josh 1–3). Even the deaths of Elijah and Moses are mysteries shrouded in divine silence (2 Kgs 2:1–18; Deut 34:1–6; Carroll 1969: 409–10; Carlson 1969: 437–39).

**d. Women.** In the main, women who engage in power politics in Kings are assigned a negative role. An exception is Bathsheba, the mother of Solomon, who engineered her son's succession to David's kingdom; she is portrayed as acting under the direction of Nathan, a faithful Yahwistic prophet, and thus escapes censure (1 Kgs 1:11–31). The Queen of Sheba serves as a foil to lend spectacle to Solomon's international importance and legendary wisdom (1 Kgs 10:1–13). Thereafter, women of temporal authority in Kings live to commit idolatry. Solomon's foreign wives lead the once-wise king into apostasy in his dotage (1 Kgs 11:1–10). Jezebel, a Phoenician princess who married into the Omride House of Israel, arguably bears the most flagrantly wicked personality in the Hebrew Bible. In contrast to her husband, Ahab, she is shrewd, decisive, ruthless, and terrifying in her machinations against Yahwism and traditional Israelite values, and she is held responsible for inciting Ahab to do evil (1 Kgs 18:19; 19:1–3; 21:1–26). At the command of the arch-Yahwist Jehu, she dies with a flair, hurling a sophisticated double entendre at her murderer (2 Kgs 9:31). Athaliah, daughter of Jezebel and the only reigning queen of Judah, supports a Baal cult in Jerusalem and attempts to wipe out the Davidic dynasty (2 Kings 11). She alone of Judahite monarchs is not introduced with the customary regnal formula: her royal credentials are impugned through silence.

**4. Genres. a. Miracle Stories.** Although the heaviest concentration of miracle stories in Kings occurs in the Elijah and Elisha cycles, miraculous events liberally pepper the narrative. Form critical approaches to miracle stories (legenda) usually emphasize their folkloristic kernel, which has often been "sophisticated" by adding a moral or having it demonstrate a loftier theological value. Virtually every miracle story in Kings strives to magnify or legitimate the figure of a prophet by demonstrating his ability to exercise control over supernatural phenomena. One hundred soldiers and their disrespectful captains are consumed by fire called down from heaven by Elijah, showing one and all that he is a "man of God" (2 Kgs 1:9–12). Several miracle stories appear to function primarily as aretalogies, stories intended simply to glorify the figure of a prophet as a wonder worker. Forty-two children are mangled by bears for pestering a prophet (2 Kgs 2:23–24); a borrowed axehead lost in water is caused to float (2 Kgs 6:1–7); a corpse is revivified because it touches the bones of Elisha (2 Kgs 13:21). Other stories use the miraculous as a didactic measure to win belief in the living God (Rofé 1974: 145). The divine vindication of the prophet Elijah over the prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel cause "all the people of Israel" to declare "Yahweh, he is God; Yahweh, he is God" (1 Kgs 18:39). Elijah resurrects a dead child in the name of Yahweh (1 Kgs

17:21–22); evidence of the miracle prompts the revived child's mother to confess, "Now I know that you are a man of God, and that the word of Yahweh in your mouth is true" (17:24). In 2 Kings 5 the Syrian Naaman is cured of his leprosy by washing in a river at the direction of Elisha; his response: "Behold, I know that there is no God in all the earth but in Israel" (5:15). The miraculous destruction of the altar at Bethel and withering of King Jeroboam I's hand in 1 Kings 13 is dramatically linked by prophecy to the activity of Josiah of Judah in Bethel some three hundred years later; literarily, this prophetic vignette tethers the careers of Jeroboam I, chief architect of cultic mischief in the Northern Kingdom, and Josiah, the reformer-king extraordinaire of Judah.

**b. Legitimation Apologetic.** 2 Kings 11 describes how the Omride Athaliah came to power in Judah by massacring all potential Davidic claimants to the throne—all but one, Joash, who was hidden by an aunt in the Jerusalem Temple for six years with the cooperation of the priest Jehoiada. In Joash's seventh year Jehoiada engineered a coup d'état by revealing him to troops loyal to David and "the people of the land." Historically, the concealment of an infant in the royal chapel for six years from Athaliah and her followers is improbable, to say the least. The form of the story follows a literary pattern attested other places in the Hebrew Bible (Moses, Hadad of Edom in 1 Kgs 11:14–22) and in the ancient world, namely, the Tale of the Hero Exposed at Birth. A child of noble birth must be abandoned; it is saved from certain death, raised by a human, adopted by royalty (a Davidic princess) and a servitor of a god (a priest of Yahweh); ultimately he becomes king. Versions of this tale were used to support the royal claims of Sargon II, Cyrus, and various pseudo-sons of Nabonidus, probably all usurpers: it is a stock legitimation birth narrative for royal pretenders (Handy 1988).

**c. The Cult Reform.** Positively evaluated cult reforms in Kings (Asa, Jehu, Joash/Jehoiada, Hezekiah, Josiah) inevitably show a return to "traditional" religion (monotheistic Yahwism). They are never depicted as capricious innovations undertaken at the king's whimsy or as religio-political capitulations to foreign powers. The validity of the greatest cult reform, that of Josiah's, is guaranteed by the prophetess Huldah (2 Kgs 22:14–20); comparable texts in Assyrian sources validate a projected reform through a series of favorable omens. Negatively evaluated cult reforms (Jeroboam I, Ahab, Ahaz, Manasseh) entail innovation or a return to Canaanite practices by introducing a plurality of deities and rites into the preexisting (Yahwistic) cultus. Such innovations, unsanctioned by prophet or priest, force the hapless people into sin (1 Kgs 12:30; 2 Kgs 21:16). Since every Israelite king, including Jehu (2 Kgs 10:31), was guilty of the "sin of Jeroboam" (the fostering of Yahwism and other cults outside a Jerusalem context), they were all religious innovators in the literary historiography of Kings.

The narrative of the "anti-reformer" Manasseh of Judah in 2 Kgs 21:1–18 shows evidence of thematic patterning from the perspective of the Josianic reform; Manasseh (re-)introduces into the Jersualem cult the same triad of non-Yahwistic deities that Josiah removes, Baal, Asherah, and the Host of Heaven (2 Kgs 21:3; 23:4). The literary portrait of Manasseh has been executed in such a manner as to cause him to appear as the evil antitype of Josiah, the depths of his cultic apostasy adding luster by contrast to Josiah's return to "old time religion" (Hoffmann 1980: 162–67; Spieckermann 1982: 163). The destruction of the high places, sacred pillars and female cult image in Hezekiah's reform (2 Kgs 18:4) is a stock figure in Kings which clashes harshly with the apostasy of Manasseh; Hezekiah's political resistance to the pagan Assyrians and their contempt for his reform (2 Kgs 18:19–25) theologically prepares the way for the thoroughgoing purge of foreign cults by Josiah.

**F. History and Historiography in Kings**

1 and 2 Kings is a theological history; it does not attempt to offer an objective or dispassionate reportage of the "facts." Its authors were primarily concerned with the didactic possibilities of the reigns of their kings for illustrating the interplay of the divine and human wills in light of the present (the Jewish community for whom Kings was written). A "history" in the modern academic sense of the word denotes, among other things, a document that consciously and critically weighs the accuracy of its sources and makes no appeal to supernatural causation as a means of explaining the course of historical events. As the title intimates, Kings provides historical datum on the reigns of Israel's and Judah's monarchs; names and dates follow chronologically, interspersed with domestic and international events deemed salient by the

author. In common with other historical works from antiquity, private conversations (Jezebel and Ahab, 1 Kgs 21:5–7), prayers (Hezekiah alone in the Temple, 2 Kgs 19:14–19), and actions of which no record could reasonably be expected to exist, miracles (the blinding and capture by Elisha of a Syrian army, 2 Kgs 6:11–23) and miraculous interpretations of events (the withdrawal of the Assyrian siege from Jerusalem, 2 Kgs 19:35–36) are integral to the literary artistry of the composition. Despite the focus on the royal court and national cult, Kings provides only isolated notice of national economic status; social, political, and military history; international relations; achievements in the arts; or even utilitarian material culture—what people wore, slept on, and cooked their meals in. Likewise, as a "history" devoted to the interaction of king and cult, there is surprisingly little information on the priesthood and other temple functionaries, specific oracles or omens by which the will of the national god influenced military and political decisions of the monarchy, the fiscal apparatus governing the organic relationship between royal taxes, tribute, and temple revenues, etc.

1 and 2 Chronicles is also a theological history of the Chosen People, beginning with Adam and concluding with Cyrus' Edict to the Judahite exiles. Because its synoptic narrative of the Divided Monarchy provides details "missing" in 1–2 Kings, generations of historians have selectively utilized it to create a conflated or harmonized image of "sacred history." More so than DTR, the Chronicler altered his sources and introduced *midrašim* to "rectify" his historical datum according to the exigencies of his theological program; the historical value of Chronicles is slender, and should be used with great caution for the purposes of historical reconstruction.

The relatively meagre success of Syro-Palestinian archaeology at verifying or refuting various historical assertions in Kings turns upon the nature of material remains surviving from antiquity and upon the particular interests of the authors that guided their selection of topics for inclusion in the text. The most conspicuous remains to date are traces of monumental architecture unearthed or exposed at the site of large urban centers (generally *tells*), for instance, the stone foundations of city walls, gates, palaces. Unfortunately, such vestiges of the past, when bereft of inscriptions or representative artwork that would positively identify the rulers who ordered their construction, are historically ambiguous. The organics preferred for writing Hebrew (wood, leather, papyrus) decompose rapidly in the climate of Palestine outside the immediate environs of the Dead Sea; hence, the predictable paucity of textual remains from the period of Kings unearthed by Syro-Palestinian archaeologists. The modern typologies developed to account for the chronological and geographical progression of pottery designs rarely, if ever, are subtle enough to distinguish between the reigns of specific Israelite and Judahite kings; thus, potsherds alone will not provide the criteria necessary for distinguishing whether, for instance, the Hazor city gates of Stratum X were built by Solomon, or Ahab, or perhaps even Jeroboam II.

**1. Religion in Judah and Israel.** The guiding concerns of the authors of Kings were focused upon the illustration of a pattern of prophecy and fulfillment from rise to fall of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, specifically, the fidelity of the rulers and people to the religio-political vision outlined in Deuteronomy. The monumental remains that one would expect to correspond to the descriptions provided in Kings, for example, the elaborate specifications of the temple of Solomon and the royal palace in Jerusalem (1 Kings 6–7, clearly the dominant architectural achievements in the text), cannot be verified due to the legal and political impossibility of conducting archaeological investigations on the site of the central Temple Mount. The construction of the Temple was reportedly a collaborative Phoenicio-Israelite enterprise; the iconography of its decoration and ornamentation described in Kings (cherubim, lions, bulls, floral motifs, pomegranates, palm trees, 1 Kgs 6:23–7:37) is consonant with known Phoenician and North Syrian artistic traditions, as is the design of the floor plan (Busink 1970: 261–67).

The biblical portrayal of the Solomonic Temple as exclusively devoted to Yahweh worship from its inauguration to its destruction, with sharply defined "paganizing" interludes, is both anachronistic and tendentious. Archaeological research does not support the notion that monotheistic Yahwism was normative for either the people or rulers of the Divided Monarchy. Clay figurines (most frequently of bulls, horses, and nude women), probably cultic in origin, have been excavated in profusion at Jerusalem and at other urban sites in Palestine in contexts sufficiently diverse to rule out the likelihood that they

were manufactured exclusively during the reigns of religiously "permissive" kings like Ahab and Manasseh (Ahlström 1984: 136–38). Similarly, research in onomastics (the formation of proper names) for the period indicates the great popularity that the national god Yahweh enjoyed as the divine element in proper names in both Judah and Israel, but not to the exclusion of other divine names (Tigay 1986: 37–41); a comparable onomastic milieu prevailed in other contemporary West Semitic kingdoms. Reports of cult centralization in Jerusalem during the reigns of Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18:22) and Josiah (2 Kgs 23:5–14, 24) are neither confirmed nor challenged by excavation findings (Ussishkin 1988: 156).

Regarding the historical verisimilitude of the presentation of the cult in Kings, the Baal cult is a case in point. According to literary division *D* (1 Kgs 16:23–2 Kings 12), following Savran, this cult in Israel received royal patronage under the Omrides, only to be bloodily purged from the land under the fanatical usurper Jehu (2 Kgs 10:18–28). In Judah, the Jerusalem temple to Baal, sanctioned if not erected by Athaliah, Omride scion, was said to have been destroyed by a popular movement led by a Yahwistic priest (2 Kings 11). The historiography of Kings therefore intimates that a full-blown Baal cult lasted around forty years, revived later by Manasseh in Judah, only to be liquidated by the reformer-king Josiah. In Syro-Palestine, Baal worship is a documented fact from at least ca. 1500 B.C.E. to 200 C.E. There is ample evidence both from Kings itself and from archaeological research that the state cults of both Judah and Israel were cults of many gods, with Yahweh at the apex of both pantheons throughout the Divided Monarchy (Ahlström 1982: 69–71; 1984: 137; Lemche 1988: 229; Mulder 1989: 55–58). There is a virtual flood of recent scholarship acknowledging the worship of the goddess Asherah alongside Yahweh in Judah (Day 1986: 391–99).

**2. Kings and Rulers.** Generally speaking, the names and order of reigns of the monarchs of Israel and Judah in Kings are historically accurate. The chronological proximity, prevailing political relationship between the two Kingdoms, kinship, and identical names of Joram of Israel and Jehoram (Joram) of Judah (2 Kgs 1:17; 8:16, 25) have suggested to some scholars that the two are one and the same person; perhaps the biblical historiographers were confused (Miller and Hayes 1986: 280–82). Failure to provide Jehu of Israel and Athaliah of Judah with standard regnal formulas may reflect dramatic license (the Israelite Jehu alone is anointed as king by Yahwistic prophet (2 Kgs 9:6) or the author's covert polemic against their right to the throne, 2 Kgs 11:1–3. From both biblical and epigraphic evidence, it has been suggested that Gedaliah, appointed to rule Judah by the Babylonians following the deportation of king Zedekiah to Babylon, was actually installed as a vassal king (2 Kgs 25:22–25; Miller and Hayes 1986: 421–24). The reluctance of the author of Kings to call non-Davidic rulers of Judah "king" (or "queen") may account for Gedaliah's curious lack of titles (*RSV* supplies "governor" in 2 Kgs 25:22, 23).

Determination of the historicity of particular events in Kings is realistically restricted to rational inference from what is known from the better documented Egyptian and Mesopotamian kingdoms to the internal affairs of the relatively obscure West Semitic kingdoms of Judah and Israel. Most studies on Kings draw attention to the notable disparity between the substantial military and political achievements of Omri and Ahab of Israel, which are known from excavations and textual sources (Assyrian and Moabite), and the Bible's cryptic (six verses for Omri, 1 Kgs 16:23–28) or pointedly unflattering accounts of their reigns (six chapters on Ahab, most of which contrast his personal and political weaknesses with the effective dynamism of the prophet Elijah, 1 Kgs 16:29–22:40). The Elijah and Elisha cycles are coterminous with the reigns of the Omrides and Jehu; the overriding goal of the author to subordinate political to prophetic power led to the inclusion or composition of much folkloristic material, rendering the actual sequence of historical events difficult or impossible to recover (1 Kings 17–2 Kings 10). Hezekiah, whose headstrong foreign policy provoked Assyrian military countermoves which brought Judah to the brink of national destruction and the reduction of its territory to Jerusalem and its environs, "did what was right in the eyes of Yahweh" (2 Kgs 18:3). His son Manasseh held the reins of state longer than any other Judahite king and successfully steered his kingdom as an Assyrian vassal-state through the various administrations of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Assurbanipal. It is extremely likely that, like other Assyrian vassals, it was both expedient and obligatory for Manasseh to support Assyrian cults and practices in the Jerusalem Temple and elsewhere (Spieckermann 1982: 170, 319–22; Würthwein *Könige*

ATD, 441–42); perhaps for this, and for returning the national cult to the status quo that existed before Hezekiah's cultic innovations, his reign incurs the severest condemnation of any ruler in Kings (2 Kgs 21:1–18; Ahlström 1982: 75–81).

It is to the credit of DTR as an historian that the informing Deuteronomic principles of reward for obedience and prophetic fulfillment were set aside for Josiah of Judah, the prize example in Kings of aggressive obedience to the Deuteronomic ideology. The king is struck down on the battlefield, apparently giving the lie to Huldah's prophecy (2 Kgs 23:29–30; 22:20).

**3. Military History.** Painting with the broadest possible strokes, the outline of military and political history set forth in Kings appears to correspond to what really happened. The Solomonic "Empire" (the actual extent and value of Solomon's geographical holdings may have been subject to considerable exaggeration in the Hebrew Bible) arose in the Western Asian power vacuum following an eclipse of the Egyptian, Hittite, and Assyrian superpowers. The effective division of the imperial heartland into two rival kingdoms, Israel and Judah, resulted in swiftly shifting alliances and vassalships between them and their neighboring states (Philistine, Phoenician, Aramaean, Ammonite, Moabite, Edomite), moves characteristic of small nations jockeying for power and survival. The expansion of the two Mesopotamian conquest nations, Assyria and Babylonia, led ultimately to lopsided military confrontations in which the territories of both Israel and Judah were devastated, their capital cities destroyed, and their populations subjected to mass deportation, all time-tested measures calculated to break down political resistance and national identity.

The account of Pharaoh Shishak's invasion of Palestine in 1 Kgs 14:25–26 mentions only Jerusalem and the booty he carried off from the Temple and palace; the literary nuancing of the narrative emphasizes the political weakness of Rehoboam, Solomon's unworthy successor (1 Kgs 14:27–30). The Egyptian account of the invasion fails to mention Jerusalem; it lists more cities taken in the territories of Israel and Syria than in Judah. The biblical historiographer appears to have been more anxious to portray Shishak's activity in Palestine as a blow to Rehoboam's prestige than as a significant military incident for the fledgling Northern Kingdom (*ANET*, 263–64; *LBHG*, 323–30; Ahlström 1982: 56–57). The date given in Kings, "the fifth year of King Rehoboam," cannot be tested due to chronological uncertainties in both Egyptian and Hebrew sources.

The date, geography and identity of the kings involved in the central Syro-Israelite wars are tentative by reason of the highly legendary nature of the biblical narratives (the Elijah and Elisha cycles), coupled with the anonymous titling of the "King of Israel" in 1 Kings 20 (use of Ahab's name is probably secondary); 22:1–36; 2 Kgs 6:8–7:20; 8:7–15. The royal Syrian names Ben-Hadad (Aramaean Bar-Hadad) and Hazael, attested in extra-biblical sources, were probably held by more than one ruler in Kings; a clear succession of kings of Damascus from the Rezon associated with Solomon (10th century, 1 Kgs 11:23–25) to the Rezin associated with Pekah of Israel (late 8th century, 2 Kgs 15:37) is impossible to determine. The relative military strength and weakness of the Syro-Palestinian states prior to the western campaigns of Tiglath-pileser III in the 8th century are difficult to assess; the contradictory state of military preparedness imputed to Ahab's Israel by the historiography of 1 Kgs 20–22:40 is decidedly at odds with the rank of Ahab in the international coalition described in the Kurkh Monolith of Shalmaneser III (Borger 1984: 360–62). Descriptions of Syro-Israelite military confrontations in Kings outside the Elijah-Elisha cycles (1 Kgs 15:16–22; 2 Kgs 12:17–16:9) are probably more historically informative than those within the cycles; see Miller and Hayes (1986: 250–87).

The terse description of the fall of the Northern Kingdom to the Assyrians (2 Kgs 17:1–6) and subsequent happenings in the province of *Samerina* (2 Kgs 17:24–41) telescope a number of events. Although Shalmaneser V probably captured the capital city, Samaria, in 722, the city had to be retaken in 720 by Sargon II, who was responsible for the massive deportations of the kingdom's inhabitants. The account of the cultic mixing of the Yahwism and idolatry practiced by the natives and newly imported aliens under the unnamed "King of Assyria" in 2 Kgs 17:24–33 is an anachronistic and polemic description of the origins of the Samaritans.

Kings appears to describe two separate campaigns of Sennacherib against Judah: in the first, 2 Kgs 18:13–16, a victorious Sennacherib receives submission from Hezekiah and booty stripped from palace and temple; in the second, 2 Kgs 18:17–19:37, a high official from the Assyrian court, cognizant of Hezekiah's cult reforms, parleys with the defenders in the local Palestinian dialect. The prophet Isaiah emboldens the Judahite king to resist; the Assyrian army is miraculously slaughtered by the angel of Yahweh; Sennacherib returns empty-handed to Nineveh, to be ingloriously slain by his sons "in the house of Nisroch, his god" (2 Kgs 19:37). Assyrian and Babylonian sources provide no reasonable justification for supposing that Sennacherib undertook a second campaign to Palestine after 701 B.C.E.; it is quite clear that at that time Judah was conquered by a savagely punitive military offensive (Ussishkin 1982: 19–58; 67–126), and that Hezekiah purchased his capital city, Jerusalem, and his life by paying a massive bribe to the Assyrian king and offering submission (for the Assyrian annal account of Sennacherib's third campaign, see Borger 1984: 388–90). The two biblical accounts each provide selected items of accurate information regarding the same historical campaign, even though the "miraculous" delivery of Jerusalem in the second account, and probably the dramatic rhetoric of the Rabshakeh's speeches, are theologically motivated fiction.

The surrender of Jerusalem to Nebuchadnezzar II and capture of Jehoiachin (2 Kgs 24:10–17) is datable in cuneiform sources to March 16, 597 B.C.E. (Cogan and Tadmor *II Kings* AB, 311). The biblical account of the subsequent sack of Jerusalem and second Judahite exile (2 Kgs 24:18–25:21; Jer 39:1–14; 52:1–27) is the only extensive documentation to survive; excavations at various fortified cities in Judah bear witness to the punitive devastation wrought by the Babylonians. "The fall of the city [Jerusalem] and the exile of many of its citizens marked a watershed in Judean history and have left fissure marks radiating throughout the Hebrew Scriptures" (Miller and Hayes 1986: 416).

## G. Theology

**1. Deity.** The god, Yahweh, that was worshipped in the Solomonic Temple of Jerusalem was the only living God; belief in any other god or goddess was both illusory and sinful; compare the story of Elijah versus the prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel (1 Kgs 18:19–40), and Hezekiah's prayer, a transparent example of Deuteronomic theology (2 Kgs 19:14–19). Yahweh is god of all nations, a point ironically driven home in the speech of the Assyrian Rabshakeh (2 Kgs 18:25); Yahweh's forgiveness is available to the faithful even in exile (1 Kgs 8:46–53). The most heinous of sins committed in Kings are cultic (tolerance and proliferation of non-Yahwistic worship), not ethical (murder, theft, perjury). In the historiography of Kings, monotheistic Yahwism dates to the time of Moses; "later" paganizing rulers of Israel and Judah consistently ignored the example of David and "orthodox" prophetic exhortations.

**2. History.** Deuteronomic theology is rooted in the particular historical circumstances of a western Asiatic people. The infidelity of the kings and people of Israel was punished according to Deuteronomic law "in order to demonstrate how Israel's continual disobedience to the laws of God finally caused the nation to be destroyed through divine judgment" (*IOTS*, 286). It is fairly said that, in Kings, history is how the prophets see it. The Divine Will, against which humans cannot successfully resist, is made known through the prophets (2 Kgs 17:13; 21:10–15 ) and through Deuteronomic law (2 Kgs 22:16). Nevertheless, history and Deuteronomic theology engage in sporadic conflict: God lies through the prophets (1 Kgs 22:19–23); unconditional dynastic promises are modified (1 Kgs 9:4–9); Josiah, the one king who fulfills the Deuteronomic law "with all his heart, and with all his soul and with all his might" (2 Kgs 23:23) dies before a heathen Pharaoh. The raw and ambiguous stuff of history, even that of the Chosen People, occasionally overflows the boundaries fixed by the theological agenda of the author(s) of Kings.

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**KINGSHIP, SACRAL.** See SACRAL KINGSHIP.

**KINSHIP.** See FAMILY.

**KIR** (PLACE) [Heb *qîr* (קִיר)]. Apparently the name of two places mentioned in the Hebrew Bible. The word *qîr* in Hebrew means "wall," but in Moabite it means "city."

**1.** A Moabite town (Isa 15:1), probably the same as Kir-Hareseth (Isa 16:7), modern Kerak. Although the LXX of Isa 15:1 has *to teichos,* "the wall, fortress," most translations regard Heb *qîr* as a proper name. Isaiah introduced his oracle against Kir by referring to the sudden destruction of Ar and Kir; the former is often identified with Rabbah, but this is far from certain. Thus, after citing two of Moab's most important towns, Isaiah 15–16 lists many other Moabite places names, all of which stand under Yahweh's judgment.

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**2.** The original home of the Arameans (Amos 9:7), and the place to which they were exiled by the Assyrians (2 Kgs 16:9; cf. Amos 1:5). Kir is also mentioned (along with Elam) in Isa 22:6. LXX$^{A}$ translates Kir as the Libyan Cyrene in 2 Kgs 16:9 (followed by Vg), but otherwise Kir is not a place in the LXX. For this verse, in place of the proper name, the Greek has *apōkisen,* "removed." It has *ek bothrou* for Amos 9:7: God brought the Syrians "from the deep (the ditch, the pit)." This could be an enclosure for the reception of exiles, or it could be the writer's sense of humor, his opinion of the enemy Arameans. The Greek for Amos 1:5 is *epiklētos:* the Syrians shall be led captive. The LXX of Isa 22:6 describes a "gathering" (Gk *synagōgē*) for battle.

John Gray (*1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 633) identified *qîr* "as a common noun, 'the city,' i.e., the Assyrian capital Nineveh, cf. Istambul, a corruption of *eis ten polin* ('to the city'). The Assyrians regularly referred to their holy city of Assur as 'the City,' and the deportation to 'the City' may refer to dedication of prisoners of war. There is, we think, no connection with *qîr* named in Amos 9:7 as the original home of the Arameans. This we regard as a corruption of qeraqir, cf. Arabic broken plural, meaning 'waterholes' or oases of the North Arabian steppe." The origins of or the native land of the Arameans (Amos 9:7) is obscure so this verse is not helpful in itself. Assyro-Babylonian literature of the 14th century B.C. refers to Arimi, or Ahlame, nomads wandering in the wilderness W of Mesopotamia (Gehman *NWDB,* 57). Arameans appear in the fourth-year records (*ANET,* 275) of Tiglath-pileser I (1115–1077). May (*Amos* OTL, 157–58) notes the migration of Arameans into the area in the early 12th century. Such data would not rule out an Aramean origin in the desert near S Mesopotamia as more or less "adjacent" to today's Iran.

Prophetic oracles were poetry, however, and perhaps Amos's metaphor should not be taken too literally. He was making a theological point about God's power over various people and lands, and God's concern with others, not just the Israelites. There may also be a threat (Amos 1:5) that as the Syrians can be sent back to where they came from, so can the Israelites (cf. Gordon *IDB* 3: 36). May (*Amos* OTL, 31) offers the interpretation that Yahweh will send the Arameans back to Kir, obliterating their accomplishments,

"the complete abrogation of the proud political history of the Arameans" (Wolff *Joel and Amos* Hermeneia, 157). Yahweh makes history and cancels it.

It has been suggested that Elam and Kir in Isa 22:6 are sources of mercenaries in the Assyrian army. The association of the two countries suggest proximity in geography, but Amos 9:7 has Egypt, Caphtor (Crete?), and Kir together, so one might doubt the proximity as necessary. Still, one could guess Kir is a country in Mesopotamia on the basis of Isa 22:6. Isa 21:2 relates Elam and Media, so this might strengthen the proximity view of Elam and Kir in Isa 22:6. Gehman (*NWDB*, 540) noted the identification of Kir with the plain between the Tigris River and Elam. Astour (*IDBSup*, 524) relates *qîr*, West Semitic for "wall," with the Akk *duru*, as a translation of the city-name Der, E of the lower Tigris, on the main road from Elam to Babylon. Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.) transferred its citizens to Damascus in 738, and in 732 exiled Damascus citizens to Duru. In the Neo-Babylonian period, it was the capital of the province of Gutium. Its governor, Gubaru, joined Cyrus and was the first with his troops to enter Babylon in 539. If this identification of the biblical Kir is correct, one would expect that among Gubaru's troops were descendants of the Damascenes from 732 B.C.

Several scholars have suggested the identification of Kir as a country by the river Kur *(Kuros, Kurros)* which begins in N Armenia, runs into the Araxes, and flows to the Caspian Sea (Keil n.d.a., 404; n.d.b. 244–45). Another alternate suggestion for Kir is the one noted above by Gehman. Kir may be the mountain region, el-Kaiyara, a range that marks the N boundary of Syria.

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**KIR-HARESETH** (PLACE) [Heb *qîr ḥăreśet* (קִיר חֲרֶשֶׂת)]. A capital of ancient Moab identified with modern Kerak (M.R. 217066), located ca. 17 miles S of the Arnon and 11 miles E of the Dead Sea. Strategically located on a promontory that overlooks the Dead Sea, Kerak sits astride a major intersection of the King's Highway and the E–W road across the plateau. This position has witnessed many important events in the region's history, in the days of Mesha (2 Kgs 3:25–27), during the Crusades, and into the present. Kir-hareseth is mentioned in Isa 16:7, and Kir-heres, an alternate name, appears in the oracles of Isa 16:11 and Jer 48:31, 36. KIR (Isa 15:1) is probably the same town.

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**KIRIATH-ARBA** (PLACE) [Heb *qiryat ʾarbaʿ* (קִרְיַת אַרְבַּע)]. The former name of Hebron (cf. Gen 23:2; Josh 14:15; Judg 1:10; etc.) This name is associated with several significant events. The death of Sarah is placed here, and she is buried in the nearby Cave of Machpelah (Gen 23:2). Jacob/Israel comes to Kiriath-arba (here also identified as Mamre) and there witnesses his father Isaac's death (Gen 35:27). Kiriath-arba/Hebron is given to Caleb on account of his faithfulness in the episode of the aborted southern invasion of Canaan (see the narrative at Numbers 13 and 14). Here it is noted that the one after whom this city is named was one of the Anakim, who were said to be especially imposing (Josh 14:15, cf. Num 13:32–33). This information is repeated in Josh 15:13, where Caleb's portion is shown to be among the people of Judah. Kiriath-arba is specifically placed in the hill district of Judah (Josh 15:54), is said to be a City of Refuge (Josh 20:7), and is reassigned as a Levitical City (Josh 21:11–12). In a postexilic text, the equation of Kiriath-arba with Hebron is no longer made when the city is listed as one of those in which the returning exiles lived (Neh 11:25).

The name "Kiriath-arba" means "city of four," perhaps a reference to a cluster of four cities in the Hebron area (Aner, Eshcol, Mamre, and Hebron; see Boling *Joshua* AB, 358, and the citation there) or a veiled divine name having Babylonian or Hurrian elements (on the first see Burney 1918: 43–44; on the second, see Blenkinsopp 1972: 113 n. 9). On the issue of the Levitical Cities, see Hauer 1982 and the bibliography cited there.

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**KIRIATH-BAAL** (PLACE) [Heb *qīryat* (קִרְיַת) *baʿal*]. See KIRIATH-JEARIM.

**KIRIATH-HUZOTH** (PLACE) [Heb *qiryat ḥūṣôt* (קִרְיַת חֻצוֹת)]. The city to which Balak first took Balaam following the latter's arrival in Moabite territory (Num 22:39). Once there, Balak offered sacrifices prior to Balaam's oracular activity (Num 22:41–24:25). Although the precise location of Kiriath-huzoth defies identification, it was apparently near Bamoth-baal (Num 22:41). Joshua 13:17 places Bamoth-baal in the tableland of Heshbon, territory then allotted to the tribe of Reuben. The City of Moab (Num 22:36), from which Barak and Balaam left on their way to Kiriath-huzoth, apparently was located near the Arnon River, and Kiriath-huzoth was probably situated somewhere between it and Bamoth-baal to the N. If so, Balak led Balaam into territory once lost by Moab to the Amorite king Sihon (Num 21:26) and which had been since regained by Moab or neutralized by the Israelites.

According to Rabbinic tradition, Kiriath-huzoth can be identified with a certain Bîrôšâ, perhaps the site of el-Barrishî near Rabbah *(Tg. Jonathan).* However, such a location is seemingly too far N to suit the description in Numbers 22. More reasonable is Abel's suggestion of el-Qeryeh, situated some 7.5 miles NE of Dibon (*GP* 2: 421). For Heb *qiryat ḥūṣôt* ("city of streets"), the LXX reads *poleis epauleōn* ("city of residences"). Probably behind this translation stands an original Heb *qîryat ḥăṣērōt* ("city of courts").
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**KIRIATH-JEARIM** (PLACE) [Heb *qiryat yĕʿārîm* (קִרְיַת יְעָרִים)]. Var. KIRIATHARIM; KIRIATH-BAAL. A city which lay at the intersection of the boundary of Judah (Josh 15:9) and the W boundary of Benjamin (Josh 18:14 and 18:28). Kiriath-jearim is listed in the cities of Judah in the hill country district (Josh 15:60). Kiriath-jearim was also associated with the original tribal claim of Dan who encamped there on their way to Laish/Dan (Judg 18:12). The site has been identified as modern Tell el-Achar, about 8 miles N of Jerusalem (Cooke 1925; McCarter *1 Samuel* 137).

Kiriath-jearim figures prominently in two narratives, the pact with the Gibeonites (Joshua 9 and 10) and the narrative about the Ark of the Covenant (esp. 1 Samuel 6 and 7). In the first of these stories, Kiriath-jearim appears as one of the cities from which the Gibeonites came (Josh 9:17; the other cities are Gibeon, Chephirah, and Beeroth). Together these cities controlled the northwest approaches to Jerusalem (Boling *Joshua* 266). It would appear that there are two different versions of this incident, one which records an account of treaty relations with indigenous elements, and another which explains this treaty as the result of duplicity on the part of the Gibeonites.

Kiriath-jearim appears in the narrative of the wanderings of the Ark following its capture by the Philistines as the city to which the Ark was sent upon its return by the Philistines (1 Sam 6:19–7:2). From the fact that the Ark was sent to Kiriath-jearim it may be inferred that the city was a cultic center of at least a minor sort. From here the Ark was taken by David to Jerusalem (2 Sam 6:2, where "Baalah" is to be taken as a reference to Kiriath-jearim—cf. Josh 15:9, 1 Chr 13:6, and the textual analysis in McCarter *1 Samuel* 162–63). The transfer of the Ark from Kiriath-jearim to Jerusalem is also mentioned in 2 Chr 1:4.

In addition to 2 Sam 6:2 mentioned above, Kiriath-jearim is referred to as "Baalah" in Josh 15:9 and as "Kiriath-Baal" in Josh 15:60 and 18:14. The first of these names can be rendered "wife" or "lady," with reference to the goddess Asherah/Anat/etc. (Boling *Joshua* 369), and the second can be taken as an example of demythologizing, where Canaanite god and goddess elements in place-names are replaced by

more palatable substitutes. As it stands, "Kiriath-jearim" means "city of woods" (*BDB,* 900). See the discussion in Boling *Joshua* AB, 267, 369.

Kiriath-jearim is also listed as the hometown of Jeremiah's rival Uriah (Jer 26:20), thus confirming its cultic stature; and as a city in the census of the returned exiles (Neh 7:29; cf. Ezra 2:25 where it appears as Kiriatharim).

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**KIRIATH-SANNAH** (PLACE) [Heb *qiryat-sannâ* (קִרְיַת־סַנָּה)]. According to Josh 15:49, the former name of the city of Debir. Precisely because this reading is problematic, Noth (1935: 44–50) assumed that the text indeed originally listed Kiriath-sannah, and that the equation with Debir was a later gloss. Orlinski (1939) offered a rebuttal, noting that the LXX reads *polis grammatōn hautē (estin) Dabir,* "city of books, i.e., Debir." Elsewhere the LXX uses *polis grammatōn* ("city of books") to render "Kiriath-sepher," which is elsewhere identified as the former name of Debir (Josh 15:15–17). The reading of *qryt-snh* is therefore probably erroneous, and the text probably originally read "Kiriath-sepher."

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**KIRIATH-SEPHER** (PLACE) [Heb *qiryat-sēper* (קִרְיַת־סֵפֶר)]. Alternative name of a Canaanite, and later Judahite, town located in the SW hill country of Judah. It later became known as Debir. The name Kiriath-Sepher means something like "scribe town" or perhaps "town of the treaty-stele" (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 293). The only OT passages to use the ancient name (Josh 15:15–16=Judg 1:11–12) tell us that Caleb, following his capture of Hebron, promised the hand of his daughter Achsah to whomever would take Kiriath-Sepher/Debir. This task is said to have been accomplished by Caleb's nephew Othniel (Josh 15:17=Judg 1:13). Although these verses show signs of subsequent editorial activity, they most likely depend on an ancient tradition which may well record the memory of actual historical events (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 373–76). See DEBIR (PLACE) for a discussion of the controversy surrounding the location of this ancient town.

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**KIRIATHAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *qiryātayim* (קִרְיָתַיִם)]. **1.** A town in Moab's tableland assigned to the tribe of Reuben (Num 32:37; Josh 13:19). The Mesha Inscription (line 10) says that Mesha rebuilt Kiriathaim; this town was still in Moabite hands when Jeremiah (48:1, 23) and Ezekiel (25:9) pronounced oracles against Moab. A number of sites have been identified as ancient Kiriathaim: (a) el-Qereiyat (M.R. 215105), ca. 5 miles NW of Dhiban; (b) Kh. el Qureiyeh, ca. 6 miles W of Medeba; (c) Qaryat el-Mekhaiyet (M.R. 220128), ca. 3 miles WNW of Medeba; and (d) Jalul, ca. 3 miles E of Medeba. Shaveh-kiriathaim, the "plain of Kiriathaim" (Gen 14:5) may be associated with the Kiriathaim in the territory of Reuben.

**2.** A levitical city in the territory of Naphtali (I Chr 6:76), probably the same as Kartan (Josh 21:32), probably identified with modern Kh. el-Qureiyeh.

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**KIRIATHARIM** (PLACE). See KIRIATH-JEARIM.

**KISH** (PERSON) [Heb *qîš* (קִישׁ)]. The name of five individuals. Its etymology is uncertain. One proposal relates it to Akk *qāšu,* "bestow," and *qīštu,* "gift" (*IPN,* 171 n. 3). Another relates it to *qyš h/qyš* in the Aramaic inscriptions from Higr and compares it with the Arabic tribal and personal name *qais* (Nöldeke 1886: 167).

**1.** The father of Saul, first king of Israel; Kish is likewise the son of Abiel and brother of Ner. He was a member of the Benjaminite clan of Matri (1 Sam 10:21). His patrimonial land holdings appear to have been located at Zela, where he was buried (2 Sam 21:14).

Kish achieved the status of *gibbôr ḥayil*, "wealthy citizen" or "member of the landed, taxable class of citizenry" (1 Sam 9:1). The phrase is frequently used to describe elite military ranking as well as possession of material substance and social status (McKane 1957–58: 28–31). It seems likely that military officers and mercenaries received landed property and the associated gentry status in return for their military service and loyalty to a liege majesty (Weber 1952: 16–18, 24–25, 47, contra McKane 1957–58: 32–33). Kish probably earned his status as a landowner of social standing through mercenary service to the ruler(s) of an unnamed city-state within Benjamin (1 Sam 9:1). The city in question could have been Gibeon, particularly in light of the report in 1 Chr 8:33 and 9:39 that Kish was a descendant of the founder of Gibeon.

Since it is likely that the Saulide genealmgy in Chronicles was artificially grafted onto a list of postexilic clans who resettled the site (see NER), the historicity of Kish's association with the city must remain uncertain, even if probable. Saul's confiscation of Gibeonite land during his reign (2 Sam 21:1–3) would have led to the acquisition of royal estates in the city, though it is not clear whether they could have become part of his inherited estate (Ben-Barak 1981: 79–84). If some of these lands were included among the holdings of Saul that David restored to Meribaal (2 Sam 9:7; 19:29) and which would then have been passed on to his descendants, the Chronicler might have been familiar with the association of the Saulide family with Gibeon and could have assumed that Saul's ancestors began that association.

**2.** The son of Mahli and brother of Eleazer, who was a member of the levitical division of Merari. His eldest son apparently was Jerahmeel (1 Chr 24:29). Kish is reported to have been among the Levites who were numbered in a census in the days of David. He is to have served at the "house of Yahweh," the main sanctuary in Jerusalem. His sons are said to have married their female cousins, the daughters of Eleazer, to preserve the line of Mahli (1 Chr 23:21–23). Many consider the intermarriage to fulfill the guidelines laid out in Num 36:6–9 in the case of Zelophehad's daughters (i.e., Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 265; Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 161). However, the provision in Numbers is designed to maintain inherited property within its traditional tribe. Since Levites were government agents (Ahlström 1982: 47–51) and were not to have received patrimonial lands (Deut 18:1–8; Josh 13:14), intermarriage would seem to make more sense as an adaptation of the Levirate law in Deut 25:5–10, which is designed to perpetuate a family line through the marriage of a widow to the dead husband's brother.

**3.** The son of Abdi and a Levite belonging to the division of Merari (2 Chr 29:12). He is to have participated in the cleansing of the temple in Jerusalem in response to Hezekiah's command to reconsecrate the sanctuary and remove its impurities after its temporary closure by his predecessor Ahaz (2 Chr 28:24–26; 29:6–7). He is one of two representatives for Merari and is said to have assembled his brethren (29:15), suggesting that he was in a position of authority within his levitical division at the time. The list of fourteen Levites among which his name appears seems to be a stylized presentation designed to show how all the main branches of the levitical families responded equally to Hezekiah's command and worked together (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 354). Two representatives each are assigned to the four main levitical divisions of Kohath, Merari, Gershom, and Elizaphan (see 1 Chr 15:4–10 for the less familiar Elizaphan) and the three families of levitical singers, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun.

Following the standard ideology of the Chronicler, the Levites serve as subordinates to the priests. They were to have been restricted to the cleansing of the temple court area, while the priests cleansed the innermost part of the sanctuary (29:15). The Levites were then to have disposed of the refuse gathered by the priests from the inner sanctuary by removing it to the Kidron Valley (29:16), a long-standing burial ground (i.e., 2 Kgs 23:6) whose associated impurity made it a logical nearby dumping ground for the impure material.

**4.** A Benjaminite named as a distant relative of Esther; he was to have been the great-grandfather of Mordecai who adopted and reared Esther, the daughter of his uncle Abihail, after she was orphaned (Esth 2:5).

The accuracy of the genealogy given for Mordecai in Esth 2:5 has been debated. Some have accepted it as a genuine list of Mordecai's immediate three forebears (i.e., Cassel 1888: 52–53; Hoschander 1923: 17; Gerlemann *Esther* BKAT, 77). Others, following Josephus and the creators of the Targums of the book, have regarded Shimei and Kish to have been remote ancestors, Kish the father of Saul (1 Sam 9:1; 14:51; 1 Chr 8:33) and Shimei the Benjaminite rebel in the days of David (2 Sam 16:5; 1 Kgs 2:8, 36, 40). While accepting Jair possibly to be Mordecai's actual father, they believe that the author of Esther deliberately skipped over intermediate genealogical links to highlight Mordecai's well-known ancestors and so foreshadow the new face-off between Saul's descendant and Haman, the descendant of Agag, king of the Amalekites (Haupt 1907–08: 115; Paton *Esther* ICC, 176–78; *Esther* KAT, 299; Moore *Esther* AB, 19; R. Gordis 1974: 27). In 1 Samuel 15, Saul had been ordered by God to exterminate Agag and all his people and possessions but reportedly had spared his enemy's life. In Esther, his descendant Mordecai causes Agag's descendant to be killed, leading to a belated literary fulfillment of the divine command to Saul made centuries earlier.

Kish's identity as Mordecai's great-grandfather or the father of King Saul is further influenced by how one understands the grammatical force of the relative pronoun *ʾăšer* that begins v 6, following Kish's name and the phrase *ʾîš yĕmînî*, "a (Ben)jaminite man." Most agree that the relative pronoun must modify Kish, the subject of the sentence, understanding the intervening three-generation genealogy to be, in effect, a parenthetical statement interrupting normal narrative flow. However, since *ʾăšer* is thought to have developed from a demonstrative pronoun that would have stood immediately after the noun to which it referred (GKC, §138), grammatically, *ʾăšer* would most logically refer to the immediately preceeding phrase, "a Benjaminite man," which in turn is in apposition to the name Kish. Mordecai has already been identified as a Jew at the beginning of v 5 and so needs no further introduction as a Benjaminite. In addition, if the relative clause introduced by *ăšer* is associated with Mordecai, it results in a man who is over 116 years old at the time of the story, the reign of Xerxes (465–425 B.C.), since the person is question was part of the first wave of deportation in the wake of Jehoiachin's surrender in March, 597 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 24:10–17). By contrast, in having the relative clause modify Kish, the span from the first deportation to the early reign of Xerxes is bridged by four generations, a very plausible situation. Others have emphasized as well that had Kish, the father of King Saul, been Mordecai's intended ancestor, the author almost certainly would have referred to Saul by name to formalize the connection (i.e. Cassel 1888: 53; Hoschander 1923: 17).

Mordecai's ancestor Kish would have been considered a member of the army, the court, the temple staff, or the artisans of Jerusalem exiled with Jehoiachin, and would have been a fellow exile with the prophet Ezekiel. His family tree strongly suggests that he was to have been understood to have been a Levite, a member of the Merari division. He is said to have been the father of Shimei and the grandfather of Jair, in addition to his relations to Mordecai and Abihail. The name Kish appears elsewhere in 1 Chr 6:44, 23:21–23 and 2 Chr 29:12 as a clan or personal name associated with Merari. Shimei is listed as a clan of Merari in 1 Chr 6:29, while Abihail is the patronymic of the leader of the divisions of Merari during the idealized wilderness wanderings in Num 3:35. In light of the apparent attempt to root Esther's family in levitical Merari origins, the fictional nature of her family tree is likely. Thus Kish may not have been a real person who was exiled under Jehoiachin, but may represent a use of the Merarite clan of Kish to represent a fictitious ancestor.

In addition to the clear links with Merari, Esther's relatives have connections with Saul. Kish was Saul's father and is specifically named as a Benjaminite in 1 Sam 9:1. Shimei was a Benjaminite who cursed David as he fled Jerusalem during Absalom's coup and accused him of exterminating the Saulide royal family (2 Sam 16:5; 1 Kgs 2:8, 36, 40), while Jair recalls the site of Kiriath-Jearim, the reported site of the Ark during Saul's reign (1 Sam 7:1–2). When combined with the characterization of Haman as "the Agagite" (3:1), it is difficult to escape the allusions to 1 Samuel 15, as many have noted.

However, the secondary nature of the Saulide links needs to be considered carefully. The Greek rendering of Haman's epithet does not presume Hebrew *hʾggy,* "the Agagite," but rather, *hgʾgy,* "the Goagite," or *hbgy*, "the Bagoite," depending on the manuscript. The first seems to reflect a Persian title of

honor meaning "man of authority" (Cassel 1888: 89), while the second seems to be related to the Persian word *baga,* "God" (Hoschander 1923: 22; contrast Haupt 1907–08: 123). In the context of the story it would be most appropriate for Haman to bear a title of Persian origin, since he is a court official. Therefore it seems likely that his original title was corrupted through letter transposition to read "the Agagite," which in turn may have led to the secondary association of Mordecai's forefather Kish with his well-known namesake the father of King Saul. With this development the appositive phrase "man of (Ben)jamin" at the end of v 6 may have been secondarily inserted in order to allude to Saul's genealogy in 1 Sam 9:1. It should be noted that the identical phrase *ʾîš yĕmînî,* without the *ben* element, occurs after Aphiah, and while intended to refer to the first of seven generations (see BECORATH), may have been mistaken by a scribe or copyist to refer back redundantly to Kish. The proposed insertion would have reinforced for the perceptive reader the resulting play on the Saul-Agag story in 1 Samuel 15, while obscuring the original Merarite connections.

**5.** The son of Jeiel and founder of the postexilic settlement at Gibeon (1 Chr 8:29–30; 9:35–36). His status as the premonarchic founder of the site (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 85–86) or its postexilic rebuilder is often considered unclear (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 80; Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 62). However, his postexilic context is apparent from the remark that he and his sons lived opposite their kinsmen in Jerusalem (8:32; 9:38). The comment presumes the lot-casting procedure used to resettle Jerusalem in Neh 11:1–2, which would have removed the unnamed kinsmen from their recently resettled home in Gibeon to the former capital city as part of an official provincial decree or decision. Many of the tribal genealogies in 1 Chronicles 2–9 contain late "updates" that provide information about the population of the postexilic community of Jehud. It is conceivable that he was a distant descendant of Kish ben Abiel and that he was named after his forefather. His choice to resettle Gibeon may have been due to his preexilic ancestral links to the site.

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**KISH** (PLACE). Ancient city of Babylonia, situated on a now dead branch of the Euphrates, 15 kms E of Babylon. This city does not appear in biblical texts, but it draws its prestige from the role it played during the Early Dynastic periods (first half of the 3d millennium), for the appeal it held for the Mesopotamian sovereigns (the title of King of Kish), and for the longevity of its existence.

The site is formed from a series of tells of fairly substantial size. They cover a primarily E–W band for nearly 5 km in length and more than 1.5 km in width. The principal ones are el-Khazneh, el-Oheimir, and the Ingharra group, bordered to the N by the Bender tell and to the S by the A tell; others, designated by letters, were the objects of important varied research. It has been shown in excavations conducted by different teams and by MacGuire Gibson, that in its present state, these tells do not represent in any way the old city within its natural limits, but that we can recognize there the vestiges of the changes of an urban habitat through the vicissitudes of a long existence, linked to the transfer of natural water lanes and to the construction of canals. It is, therefore, impossible to present a clear image of the configuration, of the limits and of the ancient city's organization.

Visited by many travelers in the 19th century, the site was identified with the ancient city of Kish by G. Smith in 1873. Clandestine digs which took place at the beginning of the 20th century brought to the market an abundance of cuneiform tablets. That prompted Abby H. de Genouillac to excavate there at the

beginning of 1912. After the First World War, exploration started up again from 1923 to 1933 by the Herbert Weld and Field Museum of Natural History of Chicago, under the successive direction of S. Langdon, E. Mackay, and C. Watelin. Unfortunately, the results were incompletely published and indicate a mediocre archaeological standard.

The beginnings of the ancient city go back to the end of the 4th millennium or to the beginning of the 3d, that is to say, to the last predynastic phase, according to the major sounding taken from the west of Ingharra tell. According to the king-lists, certainly compiled at a fairly late date, it is at Kish that Kingship descended from heaven and was given to men; it is thus that these same lists attribute four dynasties to the ancient city. This could show that the remembrance of a repeated domination of the city over the Babylonian world, perhaps expanded to Sumer on certain occasions, was maintained under a mythic form and would explain also the prestige wielded by the title of king of Kish over the larger part of the great Mesopotamian sovereigns; it is also thought that one can recognize in these remembrances indications of the role played by the city in the development of the monarchic power in Mesopotamia. It is from Kish again that tradition has Sargon leaving for Akkad when engaged in the formation of his empire. Moreover, archaeology seems to confirm the importance of the city in this period. It is in effect at the end of ED II and at the beginning of ED III that one must fix two important monuments of the city: Palace A and the "Plano-Convex Building" that represent two of the oldest examples of monumental civil architecture; the cemetery that was located in the ruins of the palace also belongs to the end of the same period. But the transfer of the capital from Kish to Akkad by Sargon marks, in fact, the end of the primacy of the old city that will henceforth play a rather small role up until the Sassanids. The archaeological evidence attests to some fairly important installations from the Old Babylonian period (tell el-Oheimir) with habitation and ziggurat, diverse installations, tombs and a Neo-Babylonian fort in tells X and W, and ziggurats and particularly imposing temples from the same period as at Ingharra, an undoubtedly Parthian fortress in the Bender tell, and finally, palaces and Sassanid residences in tell H. The longevity of the installation is thus remarkable, but the quarters seem to have been displaced over the course of time, and the city never regained its great importance—not even, it seems, during the period of the large temples from the Ingharra tell.

Among the monuments worthy of attention, one must note Palace A and the Plano-Convex Building because they are perhaps the oldest remains of royal architecture. Of the first, which takes its name from the small tell that contained its ruins, only two buildings have been found on the sides of a mostly open space: a majestic staircase created the entrance to the northern building, a four-columned portico, the façade of the second. They appeared to be independent, but in reality, links existed from one building to the other on the level of the first floor; the staircases show that this floor extended over the entire surface of the buildings, and the architectural analysis leads one to place the apartments and the reception rooms there, the ground floor having been occupied by stores and services. The room with four columns of the southern building owes this particularity to the fact that it had to support a wall on the upper level and not, as has long been thought, because it had some kind of special function. The Plano-Convex Building, located more than 1500 m to the N of the palace in an isolated setting, is also very incomplete; its organization is apparently more confused, but one can make out the principles that govern the monumental architecture of the Early Dynastic periods. Even if nothing proves it with certainty, it is traditional to consider both of these buildings as palaces: in any case they offer no religious characteristics.

On the other hand, the buildings unearthed by Genouillac, Mackay, and Watelin on the Ingharra tell are two temples from the Neo-Babylonian period, perhaps constructed by Nebuchadnezzar (4th century) of large dimensions and conceived according to a classical plan for the period: in the center a large, almost square courtyard surrounded by a simple or double crown of elongated rooms (annex chapels, treasuries, stores, priests' rooms) with a cella on the facing side, eventually preceded by an antecella with a cultic niche. Two ziggurats were closely associated with these two temples.

The site has given few important objects. One will note, however, some fairly rich funerary material for the Early Dynastic periods (in particular, tombs containing vases, weapons, copper bridles) and the Neo-Babylonian period.

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TRANS. STEPHEN ROSOFF

**KISHI** (PERSON) [Heb *qîšî* (קִישִׁי)]. See KUSHAIAH (PERSON).

**KISHION** (PLACE) [Heb *qišyôn* (קִשְׁיוֹן)]. Levitical city allotted to the Gershonites and found in the distribution list to Issachar (Josh 19:20; 21:28). There is no parallel to Kishion in the Levitical City list in 1 Chronicles. Outside of the biblical record there is one possible reference to Kishion, in the Thutmose III list of conquered towns. *q-š-n* is the thirty-seventh city in this 15th century Egyptian list (Yeiven 1950) and it has been identified with biblical Kishion. Because of the uncertainty of the location of Kishion, there is wide disagreement about with which tell it should be associated. Three sites are usually considered to be candidates for Kishion: Tell el-Ajjul, Tell el-Muqarqash, and Khirbet Qasyûn.

Tell el-Ajjul (M.R. 185225) has been identified as a possible site for biblical Kishion by Abel (*GP*, 61–62, 422–23). The tell is located 2 km SW of En-dor, 7 km SSW of Mt. Tabor. The view rivals that of Mt. Tabor, with the entire Esdraelon Plain to the crest of the Jordan rift seen to the N, E, and W. There are several wadis cutting the surface of the land, indicating a plentiful water supply around the tell. Ajjul is magnificent, but the tell is all but sherdless; however, there is scanty evidence of ancient structures. The archaeological surveys conducted at Ajjul indicate occupation during Iron I, Iron II, Roman/Byzantine, Hellenistic, and Medieval periods.

Albright (1926: 231) was the first to identify Tell el-Muqarqash (M.R. 194228) with biblical Kishion. Originally Albright (1923: 12) had associated the site with Beth-shemesh, but he changed his position in 1926 in favor of Kishion. Albright used *qšn* in the Thutmose list as one of the determinatives in choosing Tell el-Muqarqash, just as Abel had done with Tell el-Ajjul. Muqarqash is located 7 km SE of Mt. Tabor, on the Wadi esh-Sherrar, at the junction of two valleys. The land around the tell is rich agriculturally and there is an excellent water supply for it is here that the Wadi Siran empties its waters into Wadi esh-Sherrar. The archaeological surveys conducted at Muqarqash have found occupation at the site during the Iron I, Iron II, and Byzantine periods.

The third site associated with biblical Kishion is Khirbet Qasyûn (M.R. 187229). Aharoni (*LBHG*, 148) has been the exponent of this identification, although he identifies it with a question mark in the campaign list of Thutmose III. He arrived at his conclusion by associating the name in the Thutmose list *(q-š-n)* with "Tell Qisyon." However, there is a problem. The name Khirbet Qasyûn is recent. The older 1:20,000 Palestine map calls the site El-Khirba. It was not until 1946 that Zimbalist (1946) discovered the site and first proposed its identification with the biblical Kishion.

Khirbet Qasyûn is located 2 km S of the base of Mt. Tabor in the Esdraelon Plain. The land around Qasyûn is important for understanding this site because it stands so much in the shadow of Mt. Tabor. There are three mounds that make up Khirbet Qasyûn: the one to the E is the lowest and smallest of the three; the one to the NNW and the one to the W with a S appendage are of equal height. Six different archaeological surveys have been conducted at Khirbet Qasyûn and pottery has been identified from the EB, MB, LB, Iron I, Iron II, Hellenistic and Roman/Byzantine periods. If the old Arabic root of this tell had been associated with Qasyûn, there would be good reason to associate it with biblical Kishion.

However, because the original name was el-Khirba, there is no strong reason to make this identification. Overall, Tell el-Muqarqash is the preferred site for biblical Kishion. See also Peterson 1977: 141–65; Saarisalo 1927–28: 68.

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**KISHON** (PLACE) [Heb *qišyôn* (קִשְׁיוֹן)]. A river mentioned in the Bible in connection with the battle of Deborah (Judg 4:7, 13; 5:21; Ps 83:10 [—Eng 83:9]) and with the contest between Elijah and the Priests of Baal on Mt. Carmel (1 Kgs 18:40). The usual identification is with Wadi al-Muqatta that drains the Jezreel westward, flowing N of the Carmel reaching the Mediterranean at Haifa. In modern Hebrew this had been named Kishon River.

However, Zori (Zimbalist) suggested that the Kishon of the battle of Deborah is to be identified with Wadi el-Bira (Nahal Tabor) that flows E from Mt. Tabor to the Jordan (Zimbalist 1946–47). A site close to the sources of this river is called Tel Kishyon (M.R. 187229). En-dor, associated with the battle of Deborah (Ps 83:11—Eng 83:10), is in the same region. It is apparently this river that appears on Hieronymus' map as the river Kishon (Rohricht 1890: map 12), and in the 14th century Eshtori ha-Parhi noted that this river was called *qison* in Arabic, and thus he also identified it as the Kishon (Edelman 1852: 21b, 47a). Both Zori and Eshtori ha-Parhi imply that there were two rivers by the name of Kishon. Most scholars, however, believe there was only one river; taking the phrase "Taanach on the waters of Megiddo" (Judg 5:19) as evidence that the battle of Deborah took place near these towns, they insist that the River Kishon should be located in the same vicinity. This also accords with the lower section of the same river being the Kishon of 1 Kings 18 (i.e., near Mt. Carmel).

In the song of Deborah, the Kishon appears in poetic parallelism with Heb *nahal qĕdûmîm* (AV "ancient river"; RSV "onrushing torrent"). Abel suggests that the version in LXX A and other manuscripts, Kaduseim, is closer to the original, and understands this to have designated "the river of Kadesh," suggesting that "Kadesh" here is Tell abu Qudeis (M.R. 170218) between Megiddo and Taanach (*GP*, I: 469). Similarly, Abel suggests that the river Pacida/Pagida, Pliny's alternative name for the river Belus (*HN* V.17–75), is the Kishon and that it is perhaps the Latin translation of Kishon (both connected to the meaning "to lay a trap").

The name Kishon does not appear in the descriptions of the tribal territories in Joshua, but sections of Wadi el-Muqatta (the Kishon) were almost certainly the border between Asher and Manasseh (there called Shihor-Libnath; Josh 19:26), the border between Zebulun and Manasseh ("the river that is before Jokneam"; Josh 19:11), and perhaps also the border between Issachar and Manasseh.

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RAFAEL FRANKEL

**KISS (NT).** Placing the lips upon a person or thing as a mark of homage or affection. It is a common phenomenon in many religions; generally directed towards inanimate objects (*RGG*$^3$, 4: 190). Early Christian sources confine their prescriptions of the kiss to a greeting between two people. Its practice within community strengthens the ties of affection that exist in the fellowship.

**A. NT Usage**

The noun "kiss" *(philēma)* is mentioned seven times in the NT. Two of these occurrences are in Luke: Jesus suggests to Simon his host that he expected a welcoming kiss from him when he entered his house (7:45), and asks Judas about kissing the Son of Man when he was handed over (22:48). The other NT occurrences of the noun appear in connection with the verb "greet" in the imperative mood: four times in Paul (*philēma hagion* "holy kiss": Rom 16:16; 1 Cor 16:20; 2 Cor 13:12; 1 Thess 5:26), and once in 1 Pet 5:14 (where it is called the *philēma agapēs,* "kiss of love." The verb *kataphileō* appears six times—once each in Matthew (26:49) and Mark (14:45) in connection with Judas, and three times in Luke: the woman who expressed her love to Jesus is commended for kissing his feet (7:38, 45); and the father greets the returning prodigal by falling upon his neck and kissing him (15:20). Acts portrays Paul's emotional farewell from the Ephesian elders: "they wrapped their arms around Paul and kissed him" (20:37). In these two instances it includes an embrace and the placing of the lips of one person on either the lips or the cheek of another. One case involves a woman kissing a man; the rest presumably refer to men kissing each other. Only the heterosexual instance has possible erotic connotations; all are public.

**B. The Kiss in Ancient Judaism**

There is no agreement on the origins or significance of this practice in Judaism or Christianity. Hofmann (1938) first gave the kiss major attention and concluded that its roots were animistic and that the holy kiss was a means of conveying power from one person to another. Blank (*IDB* 3: 40) describes the holy kiss as a "ceremonious greeting comparable to the practice reflected in the OT." Perella takes it primarily in a liturgical sense, as conveying the Holy Spirit (1969: 18–23), or related to prayer (so also Stählin *TDNT* 9:139).

Analogies have been sought in the practices of Judaism, but without shedding much light on Jewish practices of the Second Temple period. Josephus uses the noun *philēma* four times exclusively in the death scene at Masada, when the fathers bid farewell to their loved ones before they massacre them (*JW* 7.391). In the Hebrew Bible it is said that Jacob kissed Rachel at their first meeting (Gen 29:11). The story created problems; some Jewish commentators explained that Jacob subsequently wept because those who saw him kiss Rachel insinuated that he would introduce some new form of licentiousness. (John Calvin was so offended by the story that he insisted the biblical text must have inverted the order; *first* Jacob introduced himself and then he kissed Rachel!) In Josephus it is Rachel that weeps, and there is no kiss, although Jacob is "overcome with love for the maid" and "amazed" at her beauty, and Rachel "flung her arms around Jacob" (*Ant* 1.288–91). When Jacob and his family left without notice, Laban complained that he was not even able to kiss his daughters and grandchildren farewell (Gen 31:28). There are two other instances in which the kiss crosses the sexual barrier without censure: one is in Esther's encounter with King Artaxerxes, a pagan although her husband (AddEsth 15:8–12); the other concerns Raguel, who kissed his daughter (Tob 10:12). There is no evidence that non-relatives could kiss each other without censure.

In Judaism three types of kisses were considered valid: the kiss of reverence, the kiss of reunion or reconciliation (Gen 45:15), and the kiss of farewell. No general admonition to kiss each other is to be found in Jewish sources (Low 1921). The highly symbolic use of the kiss in Philo does not lead to the conclusion that the kiss of peace was practiced as a "formal and ceremonial institution of the Jewish synagogue" (Perella 1969: 15–16).

The story of *Joseph and Asenath* (Burchard 1983) has the fullest range of references to the kiss. It is certainly pre-Christian, although there are Christian interpolations. Asenath greets her parents with a kiss (4:1) and her father in turn kisses her (4:7). When Joseph arrives, her father urges her first to greet Joseph. After they have exchanged greetings he urges her, "Go and kiss your brother." As she moves toward Joseph to kiss him, Joseph stretches forth his right hand, lays it between her breasts, and says: "It is not fitting for a god-fearing man who blesses the living God with his lips … to kiss a foreign woman …" (8:4–5). He goes on: "But a god-fearing man will kiss his mother, and his sisters born of his mother, and the sisters related to him, and the wife he sleeps with, who bless the living God with their mouth. Similarly it is not proper for a god-fearing woman to kiss a strange man, for it is an abomination before God" (8:6–7).

The male custodians of Asenath show no reluctance to kiss her when she is depressed (18:3). After her conversion to Judaism, Joseph kisses Asenath without hesitation. Indeed, the scene of their reunion—while dominated by the three kisses by which he imparts the spirits of life, wisdom, and truth—distinguishes clearly between their warm greeting, embraces and the kiss itself. The interaction between erotic motifs and others is finely drawn.

In the quasi-enthronement scene (20:1–4) Asenath's willingness to serve Joseph as a slave are natural steps toward the climax in which the erotic dimensions of the feet washing interact with the servant motif. Joseph draws Asenath by the right hand and kisses her (hand?), and she kisses his head and takes her place by his right hand on the throne. In the betrothal scene Pharaoh "turned them around to face each other and led their mouths towards each other and brought their lips together and they kissed each other" (21:7). In a similar vein, when Asenath first met Jacob, he called her to himself, blessed her, kissed her, and she "stretched out her hands and she put her arms around the neck of Jacob … and kissed him" (22:9). Finally, in her attempts to moderate the anger of Joseph's brother, Simeon, she "stretched out her right hand and touched the beard of Simon and kissed him" and was able to persuade him to act kindly toward his enemies. Levi likewise kissed her hand as he recognized that she was interested in the life and not the death of the enemies (28:14–15). The kiss appears here as a reverential greeting, a part of a reunion, as an act with erotic overtones, and as a part of a reconciliation.

We conclude that by the first century the kiss was not seen as a merely formal act by devout Jews. Like Egyptian men and women who would not kiss Greek lips defiled by animal sacrifice (Herodotus 2.41) and later Christians who would not kiss pagans, Jews had also set restrictions. At the same time the freedom of expressing feelings of warmth and intimacy is evident in *Joseph and Asenath.* In the Second Temple period it is quite probable that among Jews the public kiss was not generally practiced: one commentary on Genesis (*Gen.Rab.* 70 [45b]) writes: "In general kissing leads to immorality: there are however three exceptions, namely kissing someone to honour that person [Samuel kissing Saul, 1 Sam 10:5], or kissing upon seeing someone after a long absence [Aaron kissed Moses, Exod 4:27], and the farewell kiss [as when Orpah kissed Naomi (Ruth 1:14)]." R. Tanchuma added the kissing of relatives: Jacob kissed Rachel (Gen 29:11; Str-B 1.995–96). Kissing of a cultic object is rejected (1 Kgs 19:18), and Hosea (13:2) ridicules those who even kiss calves while they slaughter people. Job is proud that he has not even kissed his hand in homage to idols (Job 31:26–27).

**C. The Kiss in Greco-Roman Society**

In Greco-Roman society the role of the public kiss changes with the levels of society and geographic location. It is reported that the elder Cato cast Manilius out of the Senate because he kissed his wife in the presence of his daughters. He allowed his wife to hug him only during a thunderstorm, and expressed his delight when Jupiter thundered! (Plut. *Cato* 17E). Julius Caesar is said to have been kissed by his mother on the way to the polls (Suetonius 13), and later, Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* 3.12) rules that a man is never to kiss his wife in the presence of domestics, and never even to greet her in the presence of slaves.

Greco-Roman society treated the public kiss, both hetero- and homosexual, with considerable reticence (PWSup 5: 513). Dio Chrysostom portrays the return of a young lad from the hunt who gives his betrothed a kiss with the hare he has caught (*Orat.* 7:67). But Dio, when he approached and kissed the two hunters with whom he had been reunited, was ridiculed, and he "understood that in the cities people do not kiss one another" (*Orat.* 7:59).

The kiss is practiced at a time of reunion of loved ones or after a long period of separation. A special place seems to have belonged to the kiss exchanged by slaves who discovered their spiritual kinship as slaves (Aristophanes *Frogs* 754), and a newly inducted robber chief was greeted with a kiss of welcome (Apul. *Met.* 7.9). Plutarch (*Mor.: Bravery of Women* 244) seeks to explain the Roman custom of women kissing their kinsmen "on their lips," and wonders whether it was a way for men to test whether their wives had been drinking wine in their absence, or a sign of reconciliation after the Trojan women burned their ships to end their wandering (where he appeals to Aristotle [Frag. 609]); or something bestowed on women as a sign of privilege bringing honor and power in the household, or finally as a "token of kinship" in which "affection proceeded only so far as a kiss" (265B–E).

Plutarch's life of Fabius Maximus contains an incident in which Minucius admits that he is not competent to lead and goes over to Fabius' tent. There, after a speech, he embraces Fabius and kisses him. The soldiers do the same thing and embrace each other and kiss each other. Joy reigns in the whole encampment (18). Clearly the kiss serves here to confirm reconciliation.

Whatever the Greco-Roman world did to encourage or discourage kissing, it cannot be described as a source of the Pauline admonition. It may however be the case (as Thraede [1968–69: 143, n. 48] suggests) that the public kiss of greeting was becoming the fashion in the early imperial period. If public kissing was becoming a formal custom, it may have been easier for the church to make the public kiss into a group rule and provide it with a deeper motivation.

**D. The Holy Kiss**

There is general agreement that the "holy kiss" had its origin in the practice which emerged in the early church among the believers themselves, with the impetus probably coming from the shape of their life with Jesus himself. Nothing analogous to it is to be found among any Greco-Roman societies, nor indeed at Qumran. Lowrie (1955: 242), following Cabrol (*DACL* 2: 117–30), has suggested that Jesus originated the practice. Judas kissed Jesus in the garden, a sign which would convey one message to outsiders but would be the usual form of greeting and hence arouse no suspicions to the inside group. Others see the beginnings of the kiss in the post-resurrection appearances (Benko 1986: 82). While clearly the erotic kiss is virtually unmentioned in the NT, there is no polemic against it.

The Song of Songs, which most explicitly lauds the erotic kiss, was interpreted in 1st-century Judaism as an allegory. Christianity also did not find the Song's uninhibited affirmation of the kiss as a means of erotic communication of love congenial. The kiss as an erotic form of communication had an uneasy place in the canon. The OT scriptures warn of the dangers of the "woman's kiss" (Prov 7:13) but also depict its erotic delights without inhibition (Cant 1:2; 8:1; note that the latter sees the kiss as an unshameful public act).

The erotic element is present in Luke 7:36–50, where objection is taken to Jesus' allowing his feet to be publicly kissed by a woman (cf. Ov. *Ars* 2.534; Epict. *Disc.* 4.1.17). Interpreters are inclined to interpret the woman's continued kissing of Jesus' feet as an act of gratitude (Godet 1887: 357) or more frequently as an act of reverence (Marshall *Luke* NICNT, 309). Stählin affirms that "the kiss is the decisive embodiment of *agape*" and that the "significance of the whole event is here gathered up in the kiss (*TDNT* 9:138–46). Few follow Schlatter's view that Luke saw it as an act of "expressing her burning love for Jesus in response to the way he had expressed to her his singular authority" (Schlatter 1960: 264). It would be incorrect to describe her action as an erotic act; nevertheless, her act itself and Jesus' acceptance of it, in the light of his reference to it as he criticizes his host's lack of grace, borders on the public display of affection decried in Proverbs and praised in the love poems of Song of Songs. Jesus risked receiving kisses of love from a person of unsavory reputation.

In contrast, the free and uninhibited exchange of kisses with maidens as part of an evening of play which leads to sleeping together "as a brother, not as a husband" with relative strangers depicted in the Shepherd of Hermas seeks to prove something quite different. Is it that the erotic element has been conquered as an enemy? (*Herm. Sim.* 9:11). Equally difficult to interpret is the *Gospel of Philip*'s affirmation: "It is by a kiss that the perfect conceive and give birth. For this reason we also kiss one another. We receive conception from the grace which is in each other" (59). The same Gospel reports that Jesus kissed Mary Magdalene often on her mouth and that the other disciples were offended (63–64; Perella 1969: 18–23).

Paul four times urges his readers to practice the "holy kiss" (not the "kiss of peace" as the NEB renders it in each of the four passages). Ethical teachers are not noted for urging people to kiss; many, following the Stoics, attained stature by showing people the value of and means whereby they could restrain expressions of ardor. Paul puts no restrictions on his command. In the earliest instance, the conclusion of 1 Thessalonians, with the request to his readers to pray for him, then adds: "Greet all the brethren *en philēmati hagiō* (with a holy kiss)" (5:26). The second half of this sentence is not to be used to narrow the

meaning of the first half (Lightfoot 1902: 90); *all* members of the community are meant here, not merely the elders or the males.

In the remaining three references in the letters to Corinth and Rome he urges them to greet "each other" with the holy kiss. Since this admonition is in the midst of a discussion of greetings to and from others, it seems evident that the reason for this imperative is to assure that the mutual greeting not be neglected. The frequency of the imperative suggests that this new practice needs encouragement.

The social context of the practice involves the form of salutations emerging among the first Christians. Each of the occurrences of the "holy kiss" appears in the context of greetings, and Paul appears to have taken leadership in establishing literary greetings; indeed, he may well have been the first to draw up lists of people to greet (*TDNT* 1:495). He was certainly the first popular ethical teacher known to instruct members of a mixed social group to greet each other with a kiss.

The addition of the adjective *hagios* clearly puts the Pauline admonition in a class by itself. It is a "sacred kiss." The imperative need not be limited to one's own gender for the protection of the holy kiss resides in what it communicates. It was not an erotic act, but an act meant to express *agapē,* as 1 Peter saw clearly. Paul is as liberated in attitudes toward women as Jesus himself had been, and in comparison with his Jewish and Hellenistic moralists, only Musonius Rufus comes close to him (Klassen 1984). In each of the instances in which heterosexual kissing is done in biblical narratives the male takes the initiative, except in Luke. Paul opens the door to a situation in which a woman will give a man unrelated to her a holy kiss in public.

Thraede concludes that the common thread in all five cases of the holy kiss is its position at the conclusion of a letter (1968–69). Four times in greetings appearing in the postscript it is embedded in variants of commands to greet people. Of the seven genuine Pauline letters, four have this command. Hofmann's suggestion "that the demand can only be followed when the church is gathered and hears the letter read … in the assembly of the congregation in worship" (Hofmann 1938: 23–24) restricts the admonition too narrowly. It is more likely that Paul saw the holy kiss as something Christians should practice wherever they met. The most frequent meeting place would be the assemblies several times a week, but it can hardly be restricted to one context, not even to those times of worship associated with the action of the Holy Spirit (Kreider 1987: 31). There is certainly no evidence in the NT that it was connected with the Eucharist; indeed that connection does not appear until Justin Martyr.

The holy kiss is to be seen in a living context of people who are building a new social reality, rather than in restrictive eucharistic or liturgical terms, laden as these terms are in any case with centuries of dispute and controversy (Selwyn 1952: 244). Before we describe it as "one of the most ancient of rituals" (Bigg *1 Peter* ICC, 198) we must try to understand how it departs from 1st-century usage and what purpose it was meant to serve.

Wayne Meeks (1974: 182) has isolated the revolutionary concept of humanity expressed in Gal 3:28 and affirmed in baptism. Paul draws the concept of holiness into the regular workaday world in which people live out the oneness which they have experienced in baptism and the church. If the Christians at Philippi and elsewhere were to be greeted as "saints" (4:21), the "holy kiss" is nothing more than the kiss which "saints" give each other when they meet. The admonitions to kiss one another serve to stress the liberty to express without inhibition to all people of whatever background, rank or gender, the ardor of *agape* in any context. The "holy kiss" is a public declaration of the affirmation of faith: "In Christ there is neither male nor female, Jew nor Greek, slave nor free" (Gal 3:28).

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**KITE.** See ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).

**KITRON** (PLACE) [Heb *qiṭrôn* (קִטְרוֹן)]. A town in the territory of Zebulun from which the Israelites were unable to expel the Canaanite inhabitants (Judg 1:30). Kitron is often equated with the Kattath of Josh 19:15 (*LBHG*, 235), because both occur only in passages with Nahalal. Kallai has noted, however, that there are neither compelling textual nor linguistic reasons to equate the two towns, which he believes should be considered separately (*HGB*, 418). The statement that the Israelites could not conquer the town led Albright to argue that it must be located in a plain, where the Canaanites could be assumed to hold the military advantage (1921–22). Despite a lack of evidence to indicate that Zebulun control extended into the Plain of Acco, Albright located Kitron at Tell Qurdaneh/Tel Afeq (M.R. 160250), while Abel (*GP* 2: 423) supported the suggestion to locate Kitron at Tell el-Far (M.R. 160242). It seems unlikely that the location of Zebulunite towns should be found in the Plain of Acco. Aharoni's suggestion to seek Kitron's location along the fringes of the NW Jezreel Valley seems more plausible.

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**KITTIM** [Heb *kittîm* (כִּתִּים)]. In the Table of Nations, the word refers to the descendants of Javan (Gen 10:4; cf. 1 Chr 1:7), but in other passages, the word refers to a place (cf. Num 24:24; Dan 11:30; 1 Macc 1:1).

The Kittim are descendants of Javan, grandson of Noah through Japheth, according to the Table of Nations (Gen 10:4; and the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 1:7). They are associated with peoples from the region of the Aegean and the E Mediterranean. Balaam notes this maritime link in his fourth oracle (Num 24:24), where he predicts that ships from Kittim will cause difficulties for Assur, apparently the Assyrians, and Eber, possibly ancestors of the Hebrews (see Gen 10:21–25). This likely refers to the incursion of the Sea Peoples into the Levant during the 13th century B.C. Daniel 11:30 also mentions ships of the Kittim, and Jer 2:10 and Ezek 27:6 refer to its maritime setting. In the last text, their area is a source of wood used in the construction of Phoenician ships. It is also to be the source of the news of the destruction of the main Phoenician city, Tyre, according to Isa 23:1. Its distance from Phoenicia is stressed in Isa 23:12, since even flight to that far place will not provide refuge. Distance is also stressed in Jer 2:10.

The Heb term is apparently derived from the name of the town of Kition (Phoen *kt* or *kty;* Eg *ktn;* cf. Josephus *Ant* 1.28), which is near modern Larnaca on the south-central coast of Cyprus. It was a site of major importance from at least the Bronze Age (Barnett 1975: 370, 376). Some of the OT references could refer to the city itself, but the term seems to have expanded its scope to cover the entire area (Num 24:24; Isa 23:1; Ezek 27:6).

Even further expansion of the term is evident in some of the early versions of the OT and in the Apocrypha. 1 Macc 1:1 refers to Kittim as the birthplace of Alexander the Great, who is identified in that verse as "Alexander of Macedonia." The term has thus expanded its usage westward to signify the Greek peninsula. It is even further extended by the Targum Onkelos in its reading of Kittim in Num 24:24 as Rome. The Vulgate reads this verse as Italy, as it also does Ezek 27:6 and Dan 11:30. It seems that the

term might have become proverbial, referring to a location or people far distant from Israel's customary purview, much as Timbuktu is used in American English. This would well fit the context of Num 24:24, Isa 23:12, Jer 2:10, and Dan 11:30. The Syriac Peshitta also stressed the geographical distance of Kittim by reading it as China (Cathay).

In the ostraca from the late 7th century B.C. found at Arad in the Judean desert, mention is made of Kittim with Greek names (Aharoni 1968:11). This could point to the existence of Greek, if not Cypriot, soldiers in the service of the Israelite king, Josiah.

The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk reflects the historical and socioreligious context of its Essene authors during the Roman occupation of Palestine. The Pesher interprets the Chaldeans who will oppress Israel according to the canonical Habakkuk text (1:6) as the Kittim (2.12). In the Pesher, these Kittim have dominion over an Israel which is apostate in the eyes of the separatist Qumran community. These Kittim will come from far coastlands to inflict atrocities on all peoples (3.9–11), and their power will cause universal fear (3.4). Their distant maritime homeland and their apparent domination of Israel at the time of the Pesher itself support the interpretation of the Kittim as the Romans. Some propose a Syrian identification, but this locale does not appear to be sufficiently distant to fit the context (Brownlee 1979: 70).

Kittim are also mentioned in *Jub* 24:28–29, where they seem to be an archetypical, ultimate enemy who will confront the Philistines as the result of a curse upon them. No clear understanding of their identity, however, is possible from the context.

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**KNOWLEDGE, INTERPRETATION OF** (NHC XI,*1*). The first of two Valentinian tractates occupying the first half of Nag Hammadi Codex XI, and written in the first of the two scribal hands responsible for the inscription of that codex. The language of composition is a rather standard Subakhmimic dialect of the Coptic language, bearing many resemblances to the compositional language of Codex I (the "Jung Codex"), whose inscriptional hand is quite similar to that of Codex XI, and whose contents are for the most part also Valentinian. The text bears a subscript title (and evidence of a superscript title as well) "The Interpretation of Knowledge," which, however, does not reappear elsewhere in the body of the tractate, nor is there any reference made to it elsewhere in ancient literature. The entire ms has suffered extensive damage, necessitating extensive reconstruction.

The style and structure of *Interp. Know.* is that of a homily, perhaps meant to be delivered during a service of worship. Frequently the author speaks in the second person plural, as if addressing a congregation of which he is a member. The content of the last third of *Interp. Know.* seems aimed at a community which the author regards as beset with jealousy over the issue of spiritual gifts possessed by some members but not others, such as the ability to address the congregation. Those who possess such gifts seem to regard those who do not as ignorant, while the latter regard the former with envy.

The author attacks this situation by reminding the congregation that the oneness of the divine Father and the humiliation undergone by the Savior, as well as his offer of forgiveness of sins and release from death, are the true criteria for the behavior and attitude of the members toward one another. Using Paul's metaphor of church as the body and its members, as well as the deutero-Pauline metaphor of Christ as the head of the body, the author reminds them that, in spite of the diversity of gifts, all participate in the same body and head. Indeed, all together share the same power and grace which enables some to speak and others to understand. Therefore, any demonstration of jealousy or hate is a sign of ignorance and unwillingness to receive the grace of the Savior, which ought to be gratefully received even if it is manifested through the spiritual gifts of certain of the members. As plants have roots which are entirely intermingled, but may have many fruits, all should become equal, like the roots.

Throughout *Interp. Know.*, the author illustrates these points with passages drawn from the NT gospels (especially Matthew), which are mainly used to characterize the teaching of the Savior in the first half of the tractate, and in the second half, which is mostly parenetical in content, from the Pauline letters (especially Romans and 1 Corinthians), as well as the deutero-Pauline letters Colossians and Ephesians. The passages selected are topically arranged, often conflated with one another, and generally quoted imprecisely, as if from memory.

Most importantly, although the author clearly uses the theological terminology common to most early Christian texts, extensive use is also made of Valentinian Christian terminology and theology to illustrate certain points. For example, *Interp. Know.* begins with a distinction between those who believe because of signs and wonders and appearances of the resurrected Jesus in corporeal form, and those who can envision the presence of the Savior apart from such aids, a notion common to the Gospel of John and most gnostic Christianity. Nevertheless, the author maintains the superiority of both these approaches to a total lack of faith on the part of ordinary people who inhabit the "world" ("the place of unbelief and death"). The text then goes on to discuss what appears to be the descent of Sophia (i.e., Lady Wisdom, here called "word" and "virgin") and her receipt of a "husband," apparently the Savior, his encasing the unformed offspring of Sophia into "nets of flesh" subject to the "energies," and his subsequent descent and crucifixion: "And he was crucified and died—not his own death, for he did not deserve to be killed because of the Church of mortals. They removed him so that they might keep him in the Church. And he answered her with humiliations." The text then goes on to distinguish between two teachers, a teacher of immortality, and another teacher who uses the scriptures to teach us "about our death," presumably the Demiurge or Creator God of the OT. Instead, the good teacher, the Savior, teaches about the true and only Father; he teaches what seems to be the female seed of Sophia to accept not an earthly form, but rather the form that exists with the Father. In his redemptive descent, the Savior has "become small" and taken on a "garment of condemnation" (a visible form) in order to bear his members (the seed) aloft on his "shoulders," in order that they might enter the divine world "through the rib whence you came" (meaning to undergo a separation of the spirit from the beastly passions, a play on John 19:34; cf. Clement of Alexandria *Exc. Thdot.* 42.2; 61.3). It is Sophia who provided the flesh in which the Savior appeared, and which received the descending "majesty" (Gk *megethos*) so that the Savior might enter the "one who was disgraced" (i.e., the visible Jesus) for the salvation of the seed. The author also distinguishes between the salvific activity of the visible Jesus ("the one who was reproached") from that of "the one who was redeemed": from the former, believers receive forgiveness of sins; from the latter they receive grace. Such concepts are thoroughly at home in Valentinianism, especially in such texts as *The Gospel of Truth* (NHC I,*3:* 16,31–43,24) and Clement of Alexandria's *Excerpts from Theodotus*.

Throughout *Interp. Know.* the author seems to distinguish between ordinary Christians (in Valentinian terms, the "psychics" or "called") and Christians possessed of a higher insight (in Valentinian terms, the "pneumatics" or "elect"). The former believe through visible signs and see salvation as granted by the visible Savior, while the latter already possess a natural vision of the Savior independent of the witness to his corporeal passion and resurrection and seem already to live in the aeonic Church. Nevertheless, the essential point scored by the author is that both groups have the same Savior, and although some now already experience salvation, when the "consummation" occurs (apparently when Sophia is "completed" by (i.e., joined with) the Savior, "the [psychic] seeds that remain will endure until the All is separated and takes shape" (by the union of the aeonic male angels brought by the Savior with the female [psychic] seed produced by the Savior from Sophia's passions). Thus there should be no divisiveness in the Church, since all have the same Savior, and thus all will be saved eventually.

Given these characteristics, one would tend to place *Interp. Know.* at a point after the rise of a corpus of Christian writings which included minimally one or more gospels, a collection of Pauline and deutero-Pauline letters, and the development of an exegetical technique that would be widely recognized in Valentinian circles, say around A.D. 200, but before the composition of most of the Nag Hammadi Codices, around A.D. 350.

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**KNOWLEDGE, TREE OF.** See TREE OF KNOWLEDGE AND TREE OF LIFE.

**KOA** [Heb *qôaʿ* (קוֹעַ)]. People mentioned in a military setting in Ezek 23:23. It forms a pair with SHOA. It is equally unknown apart from this passage, where it is named as part of the Babylonian army. Generally it is tentatively identified with the Quti, but the lack of phonetic correspondence presents an overwhelming difficulty (Zadok 1978: 179; Hallo *RLA* 3: 719). Eichrodt (*Ezekiel* OTL, 328) recognized wordplay in the three names Pekod (punishment), Shoa (cry for help), and Koa, which he related to shrieking. Although it is unlikely that a related verb occurs in the OT (Baumgartner *HALAT* 3: 1042), one may cite the postbiblical Heb *qiʿqēaʿ* "cackle" (cf. Syr *qĕʿâ* "cry out"). Seemingly it was this desire for artistic paronomasia that caused a distortion of the name, so that the prophet could draw a passionate picture of Judah's fate.

From the 3d millennium the Quti, also known as "Guti" and so "Gutians," were established and vigorous denizens of an area E of the Tigris, on both sides of the Lower Zab, although by the 1st millennium the term tended to be geographical rather than gentilic and was used more vaguely of the Transtigridian region (Hallo *RLA* 3: 718–19). It was the Babylonian governor of the Guti, Ugbaru, who went over to the Persian king Cyrus and captured Babylon for him. See SHOA for fuller treatment.

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**KOHATH** (PERSON) [Heb *qĕhāt* (קְהָת)*; qŏhāt* (קָהָת)]. KOHATHITE. A son of Levi, i.e., a tribe of Levites. The name, vocalized in some Hebrew mss *qŏhāt* but in most *qĕhāt,* is of uncertain etymology. It seems cognate to the Ugaritic name *ʾAqht* and syllabic *A-qá-tum* (Nougayrol 1965: 34); perhaps it is related to the Phoenician name rendered in Egyptian as *ıÙ3wmqht3* (Albright 1928: 245) and to the late Hebrew name *to (w)qhat* (2 Chr 34:22). The root might be *qht,* but it would be otherwise unknown in Semitic. The Hebrew root *qhy,* "to be blunt," is a possible source, but the sense would be odd for a personal name. Since hollow roots are known to replace the middle radical with *he* in Aramaic (e.g., Aram *rhṭ,* Heb *rwṣ*), we cannot rule out the roots *qwt* and *qwy,* which in Arabic connote "sustenance" and "power." Most likely, however, the root is *yqh,* for the loss of an initial *yod* and the addition of a feminine suffix would form the infinitive construct of such roots. For example, the root *yld* generates *ledet, lat* (< **lidt*), and *lēdâ* (< **lidat*), or the root *yʿd* both *ʿēt* (< **ʿidt*) and *ʿēdâ* (< **ʿidat*). Similarly, a root *yqh* might have had archaic infinitives **qiht* and **qihat.* The former would ordinarily have become **qaht* and the latter **qēhâ.* But the form **qiht* might also have, irregularly, become *qĕhat;* note that *dĕbaš* and *šĕʾār* probably come from **dibš* and **šíʾr.* Another possibility is that by Philippi's "law" **qiht* > **qaht,* which came to be pronounced **qāt;* in this case *qĕhāt* would be a development analogous to *bĕʾēr* < **bēr.* By any explanation the vocalization *qĕhāt* is to be preferred to *qŏhāt;* note that the LXX has *Kaath.* At any rate the root *yqh* also appears in Hebrew in the construct noun *yqht* (Gen 49:10); some discern another example in Prov 30:17, but see Thomas (1941) and Greenfield (1958: 212ff.). The root *yqh* seems to mean "to obey" or "command," for such are the senses of *wqh* in Arabic and Old South Arabic; the latter even has a noun *qht* meaning "command" or "obedience" (*DOSA,* 144–45). Akk *waqû,* "await," might

also be a cognate, but it could also be a metathetic variant of *qu››u* (Heb *qiwwâ*) with the same meaning. If *yqh* is the root of the names Kohath, Tokhath, and Aqhat, they probably mean "obedience."

We know nothing of Kohath the son of Levi save his lifespan of 133 years (Exod 6:18). But he is in fact the personification of a clan, not an historical individual. The rest of our discussion will hence be devoted to the clan of Kohath.

The three sons of Levi according to the Zadokite genealogies were Gershon, Kohath, and Merari (Gen 46:11; Exod 6:16; Num 3:17; 26:57; 1 Chr 5:27—Eng 6:2; 6:1—Eng6:16; 23:6). Ordinarily this order would imply that the Kohathites were of secondary rank, yet the Zadokite priests of Jerusalem claimed descent from Aaron, the eldest son of Amram, the eldest son of Kohath. Furthermore, their duties in the desert and the location of their cities show that Kohath was the most important levitical tribe during the monarchy, and so they precede the Gershonites, as in Num 4:24–45; 1 Chr 15:5–7; 2 Chr 29:12. One supposes that the genealogy crystallized in a day before the Kohathite ascendency, when either the Aaronides had not yet gained supremacy or had not affiliated themselves with Kohath. Of these possibilities the former is more likely; otherwise, why would the Aaronides revise their place in the genealogy and not reverse the order Gershon, Kohath?

According to priestly tradition, the Kohathites of the desert period, except for the house of Amram (Num 3:38), camped on the S side of the Tabernacle (Num 3:29). Their duty was to transport by hand the most sacred paraphernalia—ark, table, candelabra, altars, etc. (Num 3:31; 4:15–20; 7:9)—once they had been safely wrapped by the Aaronide priests (Num 4:5–15, 17–20). At that time the clan supposedly numbered 8,600 males more than one month old (Num 3:28), or 2,750 between the ages of 30 and 50, the career ages of cultic personnel (Num 4:36). It is believed that these census figures originate in later Israelite history.

Similarly, the assignment to the tribe of Levi of 48 cities, ascribed to the age of Joshua by the Bible, probably derives from the 8th century (Peterson 1977; Boling *Joshua* AB, 492–97). Be that as it may, to the various subclans of Kohath the following are assigned: to the house of Aaron, thirteen cities in the S heartland of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin, including the Judean capital Hebron and the cult city Gibeon (Josh 21:4, 10–19; 1 Chr 6:39–45—Eng vv 54–60); to the rest of Kohath, ten towns in Ephraim, Dan, and Manasseh, including the old national center Shechem (Josh 21:5, 20–26; 1 Chr 6:46, 51–55—Eng vv 61, 66–70). In other words, as might be expected, the Aaronides were based in the S, and the Kohathites as a whole were ensconced in the center of the country.

The Kohathites periodically appear in the Chronicler's survey of history. These materials, largely genealogical, are often of dubious authenticity, as the same individuals may appear as contemporaries of both David and Hezekiah, or Josiah and Ezra. The following is a report of what Chronicles says, but much of it may not reflect preexilic tradition.

First, Samuel is supposed to be a member of the house of Korah, according to the two genealogies in 1 Chr 6:7–13, 18–23. This may well be accurate, for 1 Sam 1:1 says only that Elkanah was an Ephraimite, i.e., that his family came from the area of Bethlehem, Kiriath-jearim, and Gedor in Judah. Hence they might be either Judahites or S Levites that migrated to the N. If the Chronicler is correct, the house of Kohath looms all the larger in Israelite history: besides the priests of Jerusalem, the prophet Samuel belongs in its ranks.

The second of the above-mentioned genealogies takes us into David's time, when Heman the singer, Samuel's grandson, serves in David's tent (1 Chr 6:18—Eng v 33). 1 Chr 15:5–10 says that one Uriel leads 120 Kohathite priests. This passage follows a different schema from the genealogical passages, inasmuch as Kohath, Merari, Gershon, Elizaphan, Hebron, and Uzziel are accorded equal status (v 11). 1 Chr 24:20–25 lists the subdivisions of the Kohathite Levites (to be distinguished from the Aaronide Amramites, the priests); note that Hebron must be restored to the beginning of v 23. The four Kohathite families are also included among the Levites keeping the sacred treasury in David's time (1 Chr 26:23).

Under Jehoshaphat we hear of Kohathites and Korahites together singing Yahweh's praises (2 Chr 20:19); here it does not seem that Korah is a family of Kohath as in the genealogies.

In Hezekiah's time the leader of the Kohathites is said to have been Joel the son of Azariah (2 Chr 29:12). Here Kohath, Merari, Gershon, Elizaphan, Heman, and Jeduthun seem to be of equal status (vv 12–14).

Josiah employs Zechariah and Mushullam of the house of Kohath to make music during his reconstruction of the Temple (2 Chr 34:12). In fact these men are probably Levites of Ezra's day (Ezra 8:16; Neh 8:4) retrojected into the 7th century.

Finally, in the restoration Kohathites are in charge of the Sabbath bread (1 Chr 9:32). However, the more reliable sources in Ezra and Nehemiah do not refer to the house of Kohath.

The genealogies ascribe to Kohath four sons; i.e., the Kohathites consisted of four sub-clans: Amram, Yizhar, Hebron, and Uzziel (Exod 6:18; Num 3:19, 27; 1 Chr 5:28—Eng 6:2; 6:3—Eng v 18; 23:12). 1 Chr 6:7—Eng v 22 lists one Amminadab as a sub-clan of Kohath, but this seems to be an error; we expect instead Izhar (the reading of Greek Codex Alexandrinus), elsewhere the father of Korah (Exod 6:21; Num 16:1; 1 Chr 6:22–23—Eng vv 37–38). The error could have arisen from the graphic similarity of Amram and Amminadab (admittedly slight), or perhaps Amminadab is an intrusion from the genealogy of Uzziel (1 Chr 15:10). Otherwise the sources are unanimous as to the composition of the house of Kohath.

The major ambiguities concerning the house of Kohath are its relation to the house of Amram and the relation of the house of Amram to the priesthood. The problem is analogous to the relation of the priests and Levites: at times they are opposed groups, at times the priests are the chief Levites. And just as some believed that all Levites were entitled to priesthood (see LEVITES AND PRIESTS), it seems that the Aaronides contested with other Kohathites the right to sacrifice to Yahweh, for Korah is of the house of Kohath (Num 16:1). In other words, the term "Kohathite," like "Levites," has both an inclusive and an exclusive sense. When used exclusively these terms refer only to nonpriestly members of the group in question. Hence while Elizaphan, the son of Uzziel, is the leader of the Kohathites in the desert (Num 3:30; note the prominence of Elizaphan in 1 Chr 15:8 and 2 Chr 29:13) the supreme leader of all the Levites is Eleazar, the son of Aaron. In Numbers 4, while the Kohathites are allowed to carry the holy paraphernalia, they must first be wrapped by the Aaronides. Joshua 21 and 1 Chronicles 6, in the list of levitical cities, take care to distinguish the Aaronides from "the rest of the sons of Kohath." 1 Chr 23:13–14 makes it clear that while the Aaronide half of the house of Amram is set apart by Yahweh to be his priests, the Mosaic half is reckoned to the Levites.

It may be that the figure of Amram was a creation of the genealogist to link Moses and Aaron; in the older, Elohistic source, it is unlikely that they are considered actual brothers, but rather fellow members of the tribe Levi (Exod 4:14). Thus it is probable that in older traditions Amram was not the father of *both* Moses and Aaron.

Since all our genealogical information on the Levites comes from the Aaronide priests of Jerusalem (note that Exod 2:1 does not even tell us the name of Moses' parents), we do not know how others organized the levitic clans. Surely there were differences, since location in a genealogy is a reflection of social status. As noted above, that Kohath is the second son of Levi is thus a telling admission that another group of Levites, the Gershonites, made a widely accepted claim to preeminence among the clans of Levi.

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WILLIAM H. PROPP

**KOLA** (PLACE) [Gk *Kōla* (Κωλα)]. A site mentioned in the book of Judith, otherwise unknown (Jdt 15:4). It is possible that the site should be equated with Kona (Jdt 4:4), but this identification is unclear. See KONA. According to the passage in which it appears, Kola must be fairly close to Bethuliah. See BETHULIA. The text gives no other clues as to its location. The site is sometimes equated with Holon (Josh 15:21; 21:15), a village in the hill country of Judah, usually located SW of Hebron. See HOLON. This location is probably incorrect for Kola, since Bethuliah is in the Samaritan hill country. Given the genre of the book of Judith, it is probable that the name is fictitious.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**KOLAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *qôlāyâ* (קוֹלָיָה)]. **1.** The father of Pedaiah and an ancestor of Sallu, a Benjaminite and provincial leader who agreed to settle in Jerusalem (Neh 11:7). Although Sallu's line is referred to in both the list in Nehemiah 11 and 1 Chronicles 9 (cf. v 7), Kolaiah is not mentioned. This, like other differences in the two lists, suggest that there is no direct literary relationship between the two lists (contra Kellermann 1966: 208–27 and Mowinckel 1964: 146–47). Some, however, have conjectured that both writers were dependent upon common archival materials (*HSAT* 2: 42–43; Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* Century Bible, 187; cf. Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 185). In any event, the presence of Kolaiah in the list provides no further evidence of use in resolving the problem. The name may mean "voice of Yahweh" (cf. *IDB* 3: 49). If, however, it is an alternative pronunciation for the name Kolaiah, which is found in the LXX of Ezr 10:23, then it may be more difficult to be certain of the name's significance (Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* Century Bible, 189). The latter may mean "accepted" or even "dwarf" (Brockington Ibid., 115).

**2.** Father of the false prophet Ahab, who is mentioned in Jer 29:21.

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**KOM, KHIRBET EL-** (M.R. 146104). A strategically important fortified town-site in the Judean hill country, W. of Hebron, situated at the head of the small Wâdī eṣ-Ṣaffar near the Wâdī Qubeibeh (Naḥal Lachish), one of the main access routes from the coastal plain to Hebron and the central hill country. From the standpoint of economic and political geography it is associated with the Shephelah (Dorsey 1980: 189; Rainey 1980). Lachish (11 km to the W-NW) is plainly visible from Kh. el-Kom.

***ARCHAEOLOGY***

**A. Identification**

The Arabic name means "ruins of the pile/heap," although a derivation from *qawm,* "fellow tribesmen, kindred: tribe, race, people, nation" is not impossible. The modern names of the site (an alternative name of Tell ʾAbyad, referring to the white color of the local Senonian chalk outcroppings, was also offered by local informants) give no clue to its ancient name. A likely candidate is Makkedah (Josh 10:10–29; 12:16; 15:41), described by Eusebius as lying 8 Roman miles to the E of Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrîn; *Onomast.* 126.22–25); the name may be preserved in transmuted form by Kh. Beit Maqdûm, less than 1 km away (Holzinger 1901: 39, et alia, cited in Dorsey 1980: 188; cf. also Rainey 1980: 196–97). This latter site is, indeed, very close to 8 Roman miles SE of Beit Jibrîn.

Survey work in the area indicates that the earliest occupation for Kh. Beit Maqdûm is Iron IIB, but the bulk of the pottery stems from the Byzantine period and later (Kochavi 1972: 60, 83–84, Site 136, listed as Kh. Beit Maqdûs; cf. Dorsey 1980: 190 n. 7), which suggests a possible shift of the name from a defunct site (Kh. el-Kôm) to a nearby living one in late antiquity. A further point to support the identity of Kh. el-Kom with Makkedah is the fact that the region is characterized by karstic caverns, fitting the character of Makkedah as narrated in Josh 10:16–27, in which five Canaanite kings initially found refuge,

and where they eventually were buried. Against the identification is the fact that, despite extensive survey and excavation, Kh. el-Kôm has yielded no trace of LB occupation (cf. Josh 12:16), nor any trace of Iron Age I. Since all but one (Josh 15:37–41) of the biblical traditions involving Makkedah are set in the Conquest period, the lack of LB/Iron Age I remains poses a serious problem for the identification, or one must be prepared to ignore much of what the book of Joshua says about the S Conquest tradition; the tradition may instead reflect relationships as understood in later times (the list of "the kings of the land" cited in Josh 12:9–24 also includes the king of Arad, which was similarly unoccupied for more than a millennium prior to its Iron I resettlement).

The proposed identification of Kh. el-Kôm with biblical Shaphir (Mic 1:1), based upon the Arabic Wâdī eṣ 3Ṣaffar (Abel *GP* 2: 447–48), is more tenuous, since, as Dorsey points out (1980: 192), biblical *š* should become Arabic *s*, or, rarely, *š,* but not *ṣ*.

**B. Ancient Significance**

Kh. el-Kôm's significance in the EB II–IV has yet to be worked out. However, during the Iron Age II, probably beginning already in the late 10th/early 9th century (Holladay 1970: 176–77), the strongly fortified site probably formed part of the overall defensive network guarding the approaches to Hebron and thence to Jerusalem. If the identification with Makkedah is accepted, Josh 15:37–41 places the site in the S administrative district of the Shephelah (Rainey 1980: 194–97). Olive presses (not *in situ*) found at Kh. el-Kôm indicate one important aspect of the Iron II site's economy, linking it in this respect to nearby Tell Beit Mirsim and the Philistine site of Ekron (cf. Gitin and Dothan 1987: 206–21). The site was deserted or, at best, lightly occupied during the Persian period, but was reoccupied and refortified during the Hellenistic Period (Holladay 1970; 1971)—possibly as briefly as from ca. 332 or 301 B.C. to 276 B.C. (Geraty 1983: 546). During this period, Kh. el-Kôm seems to have been a pacifying element of the Greek central administration, projecting government power into an area of Idumean strength (Geraty 1983: 546; cf. Amiran 1953: 68–78). Personal names witnessed in the Kh. el-Kôm ostraca (below) include those of Arabic, Aramean, Edomite, Egyptian, Greek, Jewish, and Nabatean origin (Geraty 1983: 545–46), testifying to a polyglot, multicultural environment suitable to a quasi-frontier setting, and probably implying trade linkages with more distant areas.

Although at least two strong wells of modest antiquity are located within a 1-km radius, the Iron II town depended heavily upon cisterns carved in the soft chalky rock, which does not require lime plaster linings. Large underground stables/sheepfolds at the site and elsewhere in the vicinity seem to derive from the Hellenistic period and may indicate a major pastoralist orientation during that period. It is most likely, however, that some or all of them were originally large cisterns. In that case, irrigation gardening may have played a role in the site's subsistence strategy. Byzantine surface remains occur in the region, particularly at Kh. Beit Maqdum, but neither the Israeli survey, the earlier salvage work, nor the 1971 Canadian excavations found any evidence of occupation of that period at Kh. el-Kôm, thus reducing the probability that the outsized cisterns/stables were of Byzantine origin.

**C. Significance to Modern Scholarship**

Apart from its general economic and strategic implications, and pending publication of the pottery and small finds, Kh. el-Kôm's chief importance to modern scholarship derives from: (1) inscriptions discovered prior to and during the course of salvage work in the Iron Age II cemetery (Dever 1970); (2) a collection of ostraca from the Hellenistic village (Geraty 1983); and (3) the publication to two of the more than 100 Iron II tombs discovered by tomb robbers at the site (Dever 1970).

The most important Israelite inscriptions are from tombs. Inscriptions 1 and 2, respectively on the left of the doorway and over the doorway to Chamber 3 of Tomb 1, read: "Belonging to ʿOphai, the son of Nethanyahu, (is) this tomb chamber" (Dever 1970: 151–56); and "belonging to ʿUzza, son [or daughter] of Nethanyahu" (Dever 1970: 156–58; Barag 1970: 216–18). Inscription 3, from Tomb 1, is the second longest funerary inscription (after the Royal Steward's Tomb inscription; Avigad 1953) yet discovered from the OT period. Together with the accompanying deeply incised and strangely inverted "hand of Fatimah" motif, the inscription constitutes one of the most important contemporary literary testimonies to syncretistic or heterodox Judean religious practices (Dever 1984: 22, 30–31; Zevit 1984; Holladay 1987:

275–80; see also PALESTINIAN FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS). This evidence derives, minimally, from the last years of the Judean monarchy, or, maximally, from the period stretching from the late 8th century to the early 6th century. Although most of the inscription is clear, a detailed reading of the inscription is difficult (Dever 1970: 159–69). Following, for the most part, Z. Zevit (1984: 43–46), it reads:

[Belonging to] Uryahu, the prosperous, his inscription.
Blessed by Uryahu by YHWH
and from his enemies, Oh Asherata, save him.
By Abiyahu.
[?]?? and to Asherata
[?] A[she]rata

Other Judean inscriptions were purchased in the antiquities market and have been traced to the site. These include a typical 8th–7th century Judean wine decanter with *lyḥml,* "belonging to Yaḥmu/ol," deeply incised upon the shoulder; a late Judean folded-rim bowl with *ʾl*, "El" or "God," incised on the interior, just below the rim; and a group of 11 inscribed late Judean weights (Dever 1970: 169–87). An internally burnished saucer of uncertain origin bearing the inscription *lšl* on its base has also provisionally been linked to Kh. el-Kôm (Lemaire 1977).

The Hellenistic ostraca, collectively termed the "Khirbet el-Kôm Ostraca," consist of two ostraca from fill operations connected with the Hellenistic rebuilding of the town's defenses, plus a small household archive of six ostraca which includes a wholly Greek ostracon and the first bilingual Aramaic (Edomite?)-Greek ostracon yet found in Palestine (Geraty 1975; 1981; 1983).

The bilingual docket records a loan made by one *Qôs-yadaʿ,* an Edomite (or, at this time, Idumean) *kapēlos,* or, possibly, "publican," to the Greek *Nikēratos* (for a varying interpretation, cf. Skaist 1978). Of special significance is the exact dating of the transaction: "the 12th of *Tammuz* (*Panēmos* in the Greek section), year 6." The year date probably refers to the 6th year of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, i.e., 277 B.C. (Geraty 1983: 545). Found lying on the floor of an abandoned Hellenistic house, together with numerous loom weights, it probably comes from the final years of the site's occupation. Other data, mostly onomastic, gleaned from the ostraca have already been cited above.

The multichambered Iron Age II tombs, particularly Tomb I, with its carefully carved body recesses, are valuable extensions to the S tomb typology already known from Tell en-Naṣbeh, the environs of Jerusalem, Beth-shemesh, Lachish, Kh. Beit Lei, Dhahriyeh *(Tell ez-Zaherîyeh),* and Tel Ḥalif.

**D. History of Excavation and Site History**

Initial salvage work at the site was conducted in 1967 by W. G. Dever, after antiquities appearing on the market earlier in the year had been traced back to Kh. el-Kôm. Further salvage excavations, which sought to provide firm archaeological contexts for the Iron II epigraphic, funerary, and ceramic remains discovered by Dever (1970), were conducted in 1971 by J. S. Holladay, Jr., accompanied by J. Strange (Holladay 1970; 1971). The results of the three major excavation areas, all on the perimeter of the tell, harmonize well with the archaeological profiles of other Shephelah sites such as Tell ʿAitun and Tell Beit Mirsim.

Field 1 was in an olive orchard just inside the easternmost walled area, where EB II–III levels were discovered within 15 cm of the present surface. This area also included Hellenistic and Iron II intrusions, including a one-room (wine?) cellar and an early bottle-shaped cistern, in which was a good collection of (provisionally dated) 9th-century pottery. The Iron II town wall proved to have been set in an open-sided trench dug to bedrock and appears to have been the first fortification wall at the site.

Field 2 was to the S, beneath a threshing floor. This area yielded Hellenistic remains (courtyards and casemate rooms butted the defensive wall system) beneath which were late Iron Age II remains; EB and Chalcolithic materials were then found on the underlying rock surface. Some of the series of Judean weights published by Dever purportedly came from an area only 20 or 30 m farther W.

Field 3 lay some 200 m farther E, in the area of the town gate. A two-entry (two-roomed with benches) gate of the late Iron Age II period succeeded an earlier, probably originally four-roomed, gateway of the

early Iron Age II period. In its last Iron II phase, Kh. el-Kôm was fortified with a solid "offsets"-style wall not entirely dissimilar to the "offsets" wall at Tell Arad or Tell en-Naṣbeh. The Iron II gate was rebuilt and refurbished at the beginning of the Hellenistic occupation of the site. This town-site, though substantial and well built, was short lived, probably beginning soon after either 332 B.C. or 301 B.C., and was possibly abandoned as early as 276 B.C. (Geraty 1983: 546). The site remained deserted until its reoccupation during the post–World War I *pax britannica* (Amiran 1953: 68–78, 205–09).

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JOHN S. HOLLADAY, JR.

## *OSTRACA*

Khirbet el-Kôm is the modern Arabic name given to a village that overlies an ancient site that goes back to the EB Age. It is situated almost midway between Hebron and Lachish, overlooking the Shephelah of S Palestine (M.R. 146104; also known as Khirbet el-Qôm). It first came to the attention of archaeologists when large-scale robbing of antiquities occurred after the outbreak of the Arab-Israeli hostilities in 1967. Late that year, W. G. Dever undertook a salvage excavation of some Iron Age tombs in the vicinity and published the Iron Age epigraphic finds (1969–70). In order to set these important Hebrew inscriptions in their stratigraphic context before further robbing, and before new building in the modern village precluded excavation of the occupational levels of the ancient town proper, John S. Holladay, Jr., undertook new salvage work in 1971 (1971: 175–77), choosing three widely separated fields on the W, S, and E edges of the village for detailed stratigraphic investigation. Eight ostraca came from the latter two, Field II (S) consisting primarily of a Hellenistic structure rebuilt on the foundations of an Iron Age structure against the city wall, and Field III (E) a Hellenistic rebuilding of an Iron Age city gate.

Ostraca numbers 1–6 came from a single room in the final phase of a Hellenistic structure rebuilt on Iron Age foundations against the city wall (Field II), and appear to be records from the archives of Qos-yada‹ bin Hanna›, an Idumean moneylender (called a *kapēlos* in one of the inscriptions). The locus from which the first four ostraca came was delimited laterally by the four walls of the structure's "west room," entered from another room to the E. To judge from the support pillar or pedestal (built up of large superimposed stones) in the center of this room, it had probably been roofed, perhaps even with a second floor. When this superstructure collapsed, it filled the (approximately) 2.5-m-square room with debris to a depth of 80 cm. The lower half of this detritus was the locus from which ostraca numbers 5 and 6 came, the change in locus numbers having been made when it had become certain that excavation of the room's last living surface had begun. The field reading of the sherds from the upper locus included undistinguished, EB, Iron Age II, Persian, and Hellenistic, though the call for the sherds from the lower locus and especially the floor itself was confined to undistinguished and Hellenistic. In addition to these

sherds, many of which yielded restorable vessels, bone and various types of organic material were found, along with a chalkstone loomweight, ten unbaked clay loomweights, two whetstones, a worked bone instrument, fragments of a large chalkstone basin, a fragment of light greenish-blue faience, and the following iron objects: nail, spatula (?), point, and tanged blade.

The script of ostraca numbers 1, 2, 4, and 5 is Aramaic, though the language is ostensibly Edomite. The script and language of number 6 is Greek. Perhaps of greatest interest is number 3, a 9-line bilingual (Edomite and Greek) which contains a double date in a 6th year of an unspecified king or era. The combined evidence of Aramaic and Greek paleography along with other chronological factors suggest the 6th year of Ptolemy II Philadelphus: 277 B.C. Thus these ostraca provide the first firm 3d-century peg for the Palestinian Aramaic and Greek scripts—a notable contribution to LXX text criticism and the palaeographical study of the manuscripts from Qumran.

Ostraca numbers 7 and 8 came from foundation trenches of the initial Hellenistic rebuild of the Iron Age city gate in Field III. Though the inscriptions are poorly preserved, they are clearly in an Aramaic script of the late 4th century B.C.

These ostraca are among the few primary sources for the history of Palestine, its life, language, and onomasticon in the late 4th and early 3d centuries. Judging from the apparent language and name of the *kapēlos,* we have what is our first primary evidence of Edomite (or by this time, Idumaean) presence in the area. Whatever his exact profession as a *kapēlos,* it appears to have brought Qos-yada‹ into contact with Nabateans, Arameans, Jews (?), Greeks, Arabs, and Egyptians (to judge from the personal names mentioned in the ostraca). Though the script of the ostraca appears to be similar, if not identical, with Aramaic, their locale, the Qos name of the *kapēlos,* the use of *bn* rather than *br,* and *Hiph‹il* rather than *›Aph‹el,* suggest a strong Canaanite influence if not a full-blown Edomite dialect. Ostraca numbers 3 and 6 may be the earliest extant indigenous Greek inscriptions to be found in Palestine. The evidence of the corpus must be considered when defining the Greek term *kapēlos.* Though normally translated something like "retailer" or "peddler," perhaps its meaning must now include in its scope the profession implied in the ostraca, i.e., "moneylender." This may have a bearing on the usage of the word in Isa 1:22 (LXX) and 2 Cor 2:17.

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**KONA** (PLACE) [Gk *Kōna* (Κωνα)]. A site mentioned in the book of Judith which is otherwise unknown (Jdt 4:4). Kona is one of the towns which prepares to meet the onslaught of Holofernes as he comes down from the N. It is located, according to the author of Judith, N of Jerusalem. The name was early corrupted in certain Greek manuscripts to "villages" (Gk *kōmas*), indicating that the name was unfamiliar from a very early period (see also Old Latin$^{S}$, Syriac). Stummer (1947: 16) makes a tentative identification with Kamon, the village in Gilead of the judge Jair (Judg 10:5). See KAMON. He identifies this with modern Qamm, 3 miles N of Taiyibeh (M.R. 218221). Aharoni and Avi-Yonah (*MBA*) also indicate this as a possibility, as well as Camus, according to Polybius one of the cities conquered by Antiochus III (Polyb. 5.54–56). Camus is located NE of Pella. These identifications are possible only if one accepts the equation Kona equals Kamon. Given the genre of the book of Judith, it is entirely possible that the name is fictitious.

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SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**KORAH** (PERSON) [Heb *qōraḥ* (קֹרַח)]. KORAHITES. Names based on *qrḥ,* "bald, bald head," are frequently attested in Semitic languages. In addition to several individuals named Korah, there is also the biblical Kareah, Qrḥ in Ugaritic and Arad Ostracon 49:2; Akkadian *Qar-ḫa-a* and *Qa-ri-ḫi;* Thamudic Qrḥ; Nabatean Qrḥ, Qrḥw, Qrḥh; and Arabic Qāriḥ, Qarāḥ, etc.

**1.** Son of Esau and Oholibamah (Gen 36:5, 14, 18; 1 Chr 1:35). However, Gen 36:16 lists him as a son of Eliphaz, and therefore Esau's grandson. He is credited with being one of the "tribal chiefs" (Heb *allûpîm*) of Edom, and as such his name probably represents a tribe or clan within the Esauite/Edomite tribal system.

ULRICH HÜBNER

**2.** One of the principal families involved in leadership in the Jerusalem temple. The earliest attestation to the role of the Korahites is perhaps to be seen in 2 Chr 20:19, where the Korahites are listed alongside the Kohathites as leading the people in praise. Though it is generally assumed that the temple arrangements as projected by Chronicles are postexilic, this reference must date to a time prior to the development of the formal postexilic levitical genealogy. Here the Korahites and the Kohathites are parallel and equal participants in the cultic leadership, a state that conflicts with the later tradition which establishes Kohath as one of the primary eponyms of levitical leadership and the Korahites as but one sub-subgroup of the Kohathites.

The note in Num 26:58 likewise reflects a relatively early tradition, listing the family of Korah as one of five major levitical families. Already, however, we most likely see a development in which the levitical families of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari have established themselves as dominant phratries, and the major families—Libni, Hebron, Mahli, Mushi, and Korah—are understood to be the major representatives of these phratries. According to the genealogy of Exodus 6, Libni is the son of Gershom, Hebron of Kohath, Mahli and Mushi of Merari, and Korah the grandson of Kohath.

The early importance of the Korahites in Israelite worship is also attested to by the numerous psalms derived from the "Korahite Psalter" (Psalms 42, 44–49, 84–85, 87–88). The "prophesying" of an Asaphite Levite (2 Chr 20:14–17), along with the connection of both Korah and Asaph to cultic psalmody, has led many to make a connection between preexilic cultic prophecy and the development of the postexilic temple offices.

The early prominence of the Korahites in the postexilic (and possibly already preexilic) temple apparently faded during subsequent generations. Although there is genealogical instability, the dominant tradition establishes them as a sub-subgroup of the Kohathites. The various genealogies are as follows:

Exod 6:18 presents the shortest genealogy:

Kohath → Izhar → Korah, with the sons of Korah listed horizontally as Assir, Elkanah, and Abiasaph

1 Chr 6:22–24 extends the horizontal dimension vertically:

Kohath → Amminadab → Korah → Assir → Elkanah → Ebiasaph → Assir → Tahath → Uriel → Uzziah → Shaul

1Chr 6:31 presents an even lengthier vertical genealogy:

Kohath → Izhar → Korah → Ebiasaph → Assir→ Tahath → Zephaniah → Azariah → Joel → Elkanah → Amasai → Mahath → Elkanah → Zuph → Toah → Eliel → Jeroham → Elkanah → Samuel → Joel → Heman the Singer

In all three genealogies Korah is listed in third position in the Kohathite phratry. Although some would attempt to locate Korah's origins outside of the tribe of Levi, and although these genealogies obviously attest to variation in the tradition, noticably with regard to the name of Korah's father and the horizontal vs. vertical treatment of his "sons," there is little reason to deny him levitical status.

There is significant evidence, however, that the status of the Kohathites was diminished in the later postexilic period. In 1 Chr 23:12–20 a genealogy of the Kohathites is once again presented, but now with Korah conspicuously absent (v 18; cf. 24:22).

This reduction of the Kohathites to oblivion is likely the subject of the polemic underlying the major story of Korah and his followers in Numbers 16. It is generally acknowledged that the narrative in

Numbers 16 is a composite of at least two stories: an Epic tradition (JE) concerning the civil/political conflict between Dathan and Abiram, in which they charge Moses with "making himself a prince" over the people (v 13); and a priestly tradition concerning the cultic/religious conflict between the Korahites and Aaron over the exclusive claims of Aaron to the priesthood (v 3). Some would further seek to distinguish between an early priestly narrative and a later priestly editing of the entire complex. What is clear, however, is that in this priestly narrative the Korahites have dared to challenge the exclusivity of the Aaronide claims to the priesthood and, as a result of a trial by ordeal, are consumed by the very fire which they desire to usurp (v 35). Although some have sought to place the origins of the story of Korah in the period of the early monarchy, this priestly narrative is certainly to be understood as attesting to the intense struggle for the control of temple prerogatives in the postexilic community. It is generally assumed that the Levites had full priestly authority in preexilic Israel, but that with Deuteronomy and Josiah's reform movement there ensued a tremendous power struggle which was eventually won by the Zadokite priests. The postexilic "settlement" may have broadened this to include some non-Zadokites, who were now subsumed, along with the Zadokites themselves, into a newly contrived "Aaronide" genealogy. Whether the Korahites were among former groups of levitical priestly groups who went into exile or whether they were a prominent levitical group which functioned in Palestine during the exile (so Budd *Numbers* WBC, 190) is unclear. What is clear, however, is that the Korahites were among the major losers in this power struggle. The genealogy in Exod 6:16–25 suggests that the tradition located the Korahites as the "cousins" of the Aaronides, i.e., they were very close to the center of power—but not close enough. The social struggle between the Korahites and the Aaronides concluded with the Aaronides consolidating their power and the Korahites reduced further and further to the periphery. In spite of the obviously contrived note in Num 26:11, the clear message of the priestly propaganda in Numbers 16 is that the Korahites were on the verge of social extinction, reduced to gatekeepers (1 Chr 9:19; 26:1, 19) and temple bakers (1 Chr 9:31). Any other Levites who would encroach upon Aaronide prerogatives would meet the same fate. They have the altar covering, hammered out of the 250 censers of Korah's followers, as a witness.

**3.** A member in the genealogy of Caleb, according to 1 Chr 2:43 (Caleb ((ρ)) Mesha ((ρ)) Hebron ((ρ)) Korah; but contrast 2:18–19). Given the number of geographical place names in the genealogies of 1 Chronicles 2, the name Korah might likewise be taken as the name of a city. Though the tradition clearly associates Caleb with the city of Hebron, it is not necessary to assume that Korah must have been in the same environs. In fact, the genealogies of 1 Chr 2:18–24 suggest that a genealogical relationship was thought to exist between Judah and Gilead. Given such ambiguity, it is possible that the note in 1 Chr 12:1–7 might be accurate. There the town of Korah is associated with the tribe of Benjamin. According to this text, it is from this town, as from the other Benjaminite towns of Gibeah, Anathoth, Gibeon, and Gederah, that several of Saul's kinfolk defected to David's ranks at Ziklag. However, this tradition has no attestation in the Deuteronomistic History, and may reflect a late and spurious tradition.

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**KORE** (PERSON) [Heb *qôrē*ʾ (קֹרֵא)]. Two individuals in the Hebrew Bible bear this name. The name Kore, "partridge" (possibly onomatopoeic from the cooing of the bird, or else to be translated, "caller, calling-bird," from the Heb root *qārā*ʾ, "to call"), probably belongs to the category of animal names used as nicknames (cf. *IPN*, 229–30; McCullough *IDB* 3: 661).

**1.** A Levite of the house of Korah, ancestor of the temple gatekeepers Meshelemiah (1 Chr 26:1) and Shallum (9:19). Although both Meshelemiah and Shallum are placed in the time of David (cf. 25:1; also cf. Meshelemiah, where it is argued that both names probably refer to the same person), another (?) Shallum (apparently the one mentioned in 9:17, as well as in Ezra 2:42 = Neh 7:45) is probably to be

dated to after the Babylonian Exile, over 300 years later (cf. also 1 Chr 9:1–2). One may note at this juncture the remarkable blending of at least four different epochs of Israelite and Judahite history to be found in 1 Chronicles 9: the wilderness period (vv 19–20), the time of Samuel (v 22), the time of David (vv 21–22), and the postexilic time of composition of the list (vv 2, 17). It should be noted in passing that the so-called "Chronicler," despite the title which biblical scholarship has commonly assigned to the author of this work, is evidently far more concerned with emphasizing the levitical origins of the various cultic functionaries of the postexilic period, than he is with chronological exactitude (cf. Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC 136–37).

**2.** A Levite, son of Imnah, keeper of the east gate in the days of King Hezekiah (2 Chr 31:14). Possibly he was named after the Davidic Kore (see above), also a Levite, whose son Shallum likewise was stationed at the east gate (1 Chr 9:17–19; but see above concerning v 17), a position of some prominence (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 376). For an analogous duplication of levitic names in the 10th and the 8th centuries, see ABDI. Evidently, the 8th-century Kore was a man of great trust, for he was given charge not only of the freewill offerings presented to the temple (for the priests stationed in Jerusalem), but also the distribution of the priestly and levitical portions in the outlying "cities of the priests" (2 Chr 31:15; cf. 1 Chr 6:39–45—Eng 6:54–60; also Dillard *2 Chronicles* WBC, 251; and Myers *2 Chronicles* AB, 184). In this latter task, he was assisted by six officials, presumably all Levites as well (2 Chr 31:15–16), although the text is somewhat unclear (cf. Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 376–77). In any case, Kore son of Imnah is yet another example of a prominent and upright Levite from the period of the monarchy, by means of which the Chronicler is able to contrast levitical faithfulness (one of his favorite themes) with the lack of the same among the priests (cf., e.g., his sharp comment in 2 Chr 29:34, again referring to the days of Hezekiah).

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**KOSHER.** See MEAL CUSTOMS (JEWISH DIETARY LAWS).

**KOZ** (PERSON) [Heb *qôṣ* (קוֹץ)]. Listed among the descendants of Judah (1 Chr 4:8). Nothing is otherwise known of him. The abrupt appearance of the name in the genealogy suggests to some commentators that it has dropped out as a result of haplography and should be appended to the end of 1 Chr 4:7 (Curtis *Chronicles* ICC, 107; Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 59).

H. C. LO

**KUE** (PLACE) [Heb *qōweh* (קֹוֶה)*; qōwē‹* (קֹוֵא)]. Name of a Neo-Hittite kingdom which occupied a fertile lowland area in SE Turkey (classical Cilicia *campestris*) during the first half of the 1st millennium B.C.E. It was bordered by the Taurus mountains on the N, by the Mediterranean on the S, and by the Amanus Mountains in the E. Access was controlled by the Cilician Gates in the Taurus Mountains and by the Syro-Cilician Gates in the Amanus range. Kue (Akk *qu-we*) was inhabited by Luwian and Hurrian populations which sometimes called themselves Danunites, a word related to Adana, the name of a chief city. Kue has been subsumed under various names, including Kizzuwatna in the Hittite period (1650–1200) and Cilicia (Gk *Kilikia*—cf. *Ḫilakku*, the Akk name of an ethnic group in Kue) in the Greco-Roman period.

Although some older versions (e.g., KJV) do not render it as a place-name, Kue is now recognized as the place from which Solomon procured horses in 1 Kgs 10:28 (= 2 Chr 1:16). However, the extent to which 1 Kgs 10:28 may be used to reconstruct Solomon's trading activities is a matter of dispute. According to Y. Ikeda (1982), 1 Kgs 10:28 provides solid evidence that Solomon held a dominant position as a middleman who supplied horses from Kue and chariots from Egypt to a wide range of kingdoms. D. Schley (1987), in contrast, views the passage as poetic hyperbole from which little of historical value may be extracted.

Kue was part of the anti-Assyrian coalition at the Battle of Qarqar in 853, and Shalmaneser III (860–825) attempted to subdue Kue in 839, at which time it was ruled by Kate. Shalmaneser installed Kirri,

brother of Kate after two more campaigns in 834 and 833. Kue joined Arpad in a somewhat successful alliance against Adad-nirari III in 796, but Urikki of Kue paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser in 732. In 715 Sargon (722–705) helped Kue to regain territory lost to Midas of Phrygia, and by 709 it was clearly an Assyrian province governed by Ashur-sharra-usur. Although Sennacherib deported some of its people to Assyria after Kue's revolt (ca. 700), Assyrian sources suggest that his control, and that of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, was intermittent and short-lived.

An important, but controversial, source for the history of Kue is the Luwian-Phoenician bilingual inscription found in 1946–47 at Karatepe, a hilltop site by the Ceyhan River in Turkey. The text commemorates the founding of the city of Azitawaddiya and the promotion of Azitawadda by Awarikus king of Adana and member of the Muksas dynasty. Whether Awarikus is to be identified with Urikki, the king of Kue contemporaneous with Tiglath-pileser and Sargon, is still debated. Also controversial are the proposed dates which have ranged from before 860 to after 705.

Neo-Babylonian records designate Neo-Hittite Kue as Khume, but its political status remains unclear during this period. Nebuchadrezzar claims to have conquered Cilicia around 592, but it is not certain that Kue/Khume was subsumed under Cilicia at that time. Cilicia, under various kings named Syennesis, had some independence during the Persian period. During the Greco-Roman period, however, the area once occupied by Kue became known almost exclusively as Cilicia, and only bare traces of its Neo-Hittite past remained. See also *CAH*$^2$ 3/1: 372–441.

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HECTOR AVALOS

**KUNTILLET ʿAJRUD** (M.R. 094954). The Arabic name, meaning "hill of the water-source," of a site located in N Sinai. Ruins of the site date to the 8th century B.C. (the time of the Israelite monarchy), and various remains suggest that it served as some sort of a religious center. Of particular significance are inscriptional references to "Yahweh of Samaria and his Asherah" and to "Yahweh of Teman," which provide important evidence of the complex nature of Israelite religion during the OT period (Meshel 1979; and relevant articles in *AIR*.

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A. Location
B. Initial Exploration of the Site
C. Recent Excavations
  1. Structural and Pottery Remains
    a. The Western Structure
    b. The Eastern Structure
  2. Textile Remains
  3. Epigraphic Remains
  4. Artistic Remains
D. Conclusion

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**A. Location**

Kuntillet ʿAjrûd is located approximately 50 km south of Kadesh-barnea and about 15 km W of Darb el-Ghazza, a road which since antiquity has run N–S, connecting Quseima and Kadesh-barnea to Elat and S Sinai. The isolated hill rises prominently from the broad valley of Wadi Quraiya (or "wadi of the small building"), which forms a natural W–E route. See Fig. KUN.01. The top of the hill is a long and narrow plateau, and the actual ruins are found at its W end. At the foot of the hill there is a concentration of shallow wells providing one of the few reliable sources of water in this arid and isolated area. These wells made this site an important crossroads in the past—a fact also recorded on old maps of the modern period.

The combination of water and crossroads undoubtedly contributed to the selection of the site for a small settlement.

**B. Initial Exploration of the Site**

The site has long been known to travelers. Edward Palmer, one of the first explorers of Sinai, visited the site in 1869. He arranged an exploratory dig at the site during which the first written find was discovered: the letter ʾ*alef* incised on a fragment, which Palmer mistook for a Greek *alpha.* Palmer erred greatly in dating the site, and identified it with the Roman "Gypsaria," which on the "Tabula Peutingeriana" appears between "Elusa" (Halutza) and "Aila" (Eilat).

In 1902 the surveyor H. Musil visited the site. He arrived after hearing a rumor about the discovery of an ancient inscription there. He described in colorful detail the violent confrontation with the local bedouin, who tried to stop him from ascending the hill (since they considered it to be a sacred place). Prof. Beno Rothenberg visited the site after the Six-Day War in 1967, and dated it correctly to the Israelite period. Dr. Ze'ev Meshel visited in 1970 and later directed three seasons of excavation at the site (October 1975–April 1976).

**C. Recent Excavations**

**1. Structural and Pottery Remains.** The site contains two structures: a main structure (A) spanning the width of the W end of the plateau; and a secondary structure (B) 10 meters to its E. The structures differ greatly from one another in the state of their preservation. See Fig. KUN.02.

**a. The Western Structure.** The walls of structure A are at points preserved to a height of 1.5 meters. The building itself extends over an area of approximately 15 × 25 meters. It is rectangular, with four corner rooms protruding outward (resembling "towers") and with indirect entry from a small eastern vestibule. The plan initially seems to resemble a small fortress, similar in appearance to the Israelite citadel-with-towers found at Kadesh-barnea, Arad, and ʿUza. Structure A differs, however, in a number of important respects: it lacks the casemate walls typical of these fortresses, and its remains are unusual for a fortress and suggest a different type of function altogether.

Structure A was entered through a small exterior court area (locus 15) surrounded by stone benches. The benches, floor, and walls were plastered with white plaster. Some of the pieces of plaster that were in the debris on the floor were adorned with colorful pictures of a figure sitting on a throne and various floral motifs. It seems that part of the inner walls of this exterior court area were colorfully adorned at a specific height above that which was preserved.

From the court area, one entered the main structure proper by first passing through a small gate room (locus 5), turning left into a narrow room divided into two wings, whose walls were surrounded by plastered stone benches. This "bench room" (locus 6) extends N–S across the entire width of the building and apparently was the most important part of the site. The plastered stone benches take up most of the area, with only a narrow passage remaining between them, suggesting that the main function of the room is to be associated with the benches, not the passageway. An additional function is suggested by the manner in which the wings of the bench room are connected to the two corner rooms at their respective ends (loci 7 and 13). These have no usual doorway but instead are connected to the bench room by very narrow "windows" whose sills are formed by the lateral benches themselves. By examining these benches it became clear that they had been constructed in a second phase, thus partially blocking the small openings that were present in the first phase of the building. Apparently these openings were merely structural features serving no other purposes, and the first phase was merely the stage of the building's construction.

The fragments of plaster that had dropped from the walls of the bench room included two Hebrew inscriptions written in Phoenician script. A part of a third inscription was found *in situ* about 1.5 m above the floor level on the N doorpost of the entrance leading to the main courtyard of structure A. This, along with other evidence discovered near other doorways (see below), possibly testifies to the sort of practice advocated in Deut 6:9—"And you shall write them upon the doorposts of your house, and on your gates."

In addition to these plaster inscriptions, most of the other significant finds were discovered in the bench room, in the corner rooms abutting its two wings, and in adjoining parts of the structure. These included

two large pithoi adorned with inscriptions and pictures (see 3.e below), and stone bowls of various sizes, four of which had the names of donors incised on their rims (see 3.c). In general, the pottery in this part of the structure was comprised essentially of small vessels such as flasks, lamps, juglets, and bowls, quite different from the pottery found in the other rooms of the structure (primarily pithoi and storage jars). The bulk of the pottery was found in the two corner rooms, which perhaps served as *favissa* depositories for vessels that initially had been displayed on the benches. The bench room's design and its remains (particularly the inscriptional remains—see below) suggest that here travelers could honor the Israelite god by offering various items to him.

The two long rooms to the S and W of the main courtyard served as storerooms for hoarding food supplies: in fact, the bases of the pithoi and large storage jars housed here were discovered still *in situ*, firmly embedded in the hard-earth floor and covered by the fragments of their own upper parts. Names, inscriptions, and letters of the alphabet were written on the shoulders of many of these larger vessels (see 3.a–b below). These vessels were stored so compactly that it is difficult to imagine how someone could have moved about to sort through them. The larger pithoi (1 meter in height and more than 0.5 meter in diameter) were concentrated mainly in the W storeroom, from one end to the other. At the E end of the S storeroom the builders took advantage of the natural depression in the bedrock to construct a type of cellar (locus 8). Among the items that had either fallen or been tossed into the cellar were a large woven sieve, whole pomegranates, fragments of wooden containers, and many tree branches that served as rafters. Next to the entrance of the S storeroom was found a large stone bowl bearing an inscription (see 3.c below), apparently dragged here from the bench room area. Among the debris around the entrance to the W storeroom were discovered fragments of another plaster inscription. One could guess that originally it, too, was written on the doorpost. (A picture drawn in red, black, and yellow was also discovered on one of the stones of the doorpost of the S storeroom.)

The main courtyard was essentially empty except for two "kitchens" (loci 51, 101) at the SW and SE corners near flights of stairs apparently leading to the roof. In each "kitchen" were found three ovens which, judging from their respective floor levels, were used consecutively, not simultaneously. It is difficult to determine how long each oven was in service, but it is safe to assume that the oven sequence corresponds to the total time-span the site was occupied.

Structure A is well preserved, making it possible to ascertain some interesting details about its construction. The walls were built of unhewn chalk cut from local deposits. At a height of about 1.2 m a middle layer of (mostly tamarisk) branches was placed lengthwise and crosswise, thereby strengthening the wall by forming an intermediate layer separating the lower course of stone from the upper one. This technique was obviously well known since it was used in the construction of the Jerusalem temple (1 Kgs 7:12), although at Kuntillet ʿAjrûd this technique was obviously applied on a more modest scale. A superior whitewashed plaster covered the walls, floors, and benches of the entry complex and the bench room, but all the other walls were covered in mud plaster mixed with straw. The ceilings were made of branches of local trees, most of which were found in the debris of the rooms. It seems that the entire structure was built with a single, preplanned design and a specific purpose already in mind. The dimensions and orientation of the structure were laid out with respect to the oblong surface of the plateau. The actual construction, however, was not perfect: the lines of the walls are not straight, the widths of the rooms are not uniform, and the two wings of the bench room are far from symmetrical.

**b. The Eastern Structure.** In contrast to structure A, structure B is poorly preserved, and its layout and design have not become clear. The white plaster that covered all its remaining parts and the many decorated plaster fragments found in its debris (particularly near doorways), however, suggests that the building was elegantly adorned with murals. It is possible that this was an anterior entrance to the main structure; it is also possible that this structure is an E wing to an entrance courtyard between the two structures. Although it seems unlikely, it is furthermore possible that the two structures were not contemporaneous and that the E structure slightly preceeded the W one.

In the N part of structure B was a long room that originally extended to the edge of the plateau (locus 159); its floor and walls were covered with white plaster. The entrance to the room was from the W; the

doorway was indicated by two pillasters projecting out from the line of the wall, around which were found fragments of decorated plaster. Some traces of walls from the S part of the structure also remained.

Because the site was occupied for a relatively brief time span, the large mass of pottery discovered there presents interesting analysis. If the site indeed can be dated to ca. 800 B.C.E., then the pottery corpus from Kuntillet ʿAjrûd could serve as an important comparative standard for identifying contemporaneous levels at other sites. Analysis of similar pottery forms suggest that four different areas could have been a source for most of the pottery types: the S coast, central Judah, the N kingdom of Israel (i.e., Ephraim), and Phoenicia. Surprisingly, the site yielded no "Negeb-type pottery" supposedly associated with the nomadic inhabitants of the area.

**2. Textile Remains.** Kuntillet ʿAjrûd is unique in that it yields textile remains from the period of the Israelite monarchy. About one hundred cloth fragments, almost all of linen (only seven of wool) were discovered among the ruins. A. Sheffer (1978) details the superior quality of the threads and the unique characteristics of the fabrics. It has been noted that, in violation of biblical law (Lev 19:9; Deut 22:9–11), some of these fabrics were made by combining wool and linen (on one piece red woolen threads were interwoven with blue linen ones.) Loom weights and wooden beams found at the site confirm the possibility that actual weaving was done there. In light of the preponderance of linen fabrics from the site, it is worth pointing out that according to the OT the "holy garments" of the Jerusalem priests were supposed to be woven of linen (Ezek 44:17–18). The Bible also indicates that weaving activities were often associated with cultic establishments (2 Kgs 23:17). These factors, in addition to the inscriptional remains, suggest that the site was inhabited by priests.

**3. Epigraphic Remains.** The most important finds attesting to the significance, uniqueness, and nature of the site are the Hebrew inscriptions and pictures. The inscriptions, some written in ancient Hebrew script and some written in Phoenician script, can be categorized as follows:

**a. Letters incised on pottery prior to firing.** On the shoulders of most of the pithoi recovered from (mainly the storerooms of) the site—and only on this type of vessel—are one or two letters. The most frequent letter is the *ʾalef,* while the letter *yod* is more scarce, and twice the combination *qop-reš* appears. Thus far we know about similar inscriptions only from the excavations of the City of David (Jerusalem); incisions of the letter *ṭet* were found there also on the shoulders of an identical type of pithoi. This strengthens the assumption that these letters are abbreviations indicating types of offerings and "tithes," a practice described a millennium later in the Mishna (*Maʿaser* Sheni 4:11) and Tosefta (*Maʿaser Sheni* 5:6). Thus it is possible that *qop-reš* indicates *qorbān* ("offering"), that *yod* indicates *maʿăśēr* ("tithe"), and that *ʾalef* indicates "first harvest," either in a temporal or superlative sense. In any case, the letters were incised prior to firing. Neutron activation examination of the clay of the pithoi proved that they were made in the vicinity of Jerusalem. This perhaps reinforces the suggestion that priests lived at the site and received supplies in the forms of these sacrifices and tithes.

**b. Inscriptions incised on the pottery subsequent to firing.** Among the seven such inscriptions written on the shoulders of storage jars are four reading *lśrʿr,* obviously to be read *leśar ʿîr,* " (belonging or were sent) to a city official" (i.e., an official in charge of the place). It is thought that at least part of the supply was consigned to him or registered at the site in his name.

**c. Inscriptions incised on the rims of stone bowls.** Among the four inscriptions of this type, the most complete one reads: *lʿbdyw bn ʿdnh brk hʾ lyhw,* " (was given) by Obadio son of Adnah; may he be blessed by YHW (H)." These stone bowls were apparently dedicated to the god of Israel by donors who sought his blessings.

**d. Inscriptions written in ink on plaster walls.** Fragments of three such graffiti inscriptions, written in Phoenician script but in the Hebrew language, were found in the bench room, while parts of another two, written in ancient Hebrew script, were found in the debris of the entrance to the W storeroom. Only one inscription was found *in situ* on the N doorpost of the opening leading from the bench room to the courtyard, but it was the most fragmentary and faded. Several phrases could be read on the second, two-line inscription:

[ … *y*]*ʾrk (w).ym (y)m.wyšbʿw*[ …]*tnw.l*[*y*]*hwh*[ ]*tymn.wl*[ ]*ʾšrt*[*h*]

[ …]*hyṭ (y)b.yhwh.hty*[*mn.w*ʾ*šrth* …]

This is a blessing or prayer addressed to "Yahweh of Teman and his Asherah." The third inscription is obviously a piece of an ancient theophany describing the revelation of God in language echoing the OT:

…]/*wbzr (w)ḥ.*ʾ*l.br*[ …

…]/*wyms (w)n.hr (y)m*/*wyd (w)k (w)n.gbn (wny)m*[ …

…]*wšdš.*ʾ*ly*[ …

…]*lbrk.b*ʿ*l.by (w)m mlḥ*[*mh*]

…]*lsm (.)*ʾ*l.by (w)m mlḥ*[*mh*]

It is noteworthy that Baal and God (Heb ʾ*ēl*) are mentioned here in poetic parallelism, in connection to a possible reference to a "day of war" *(ỹm milḥamâ).*

**e. Inscriptions (and pictures) written on pottery.** The main examplars of this type are two large pithoi decorated with inscriptions and pictures in red ink. They were found (broken), one in the bench room and the other at the E end of the adjoining courtyard. The large pithoi had been used as convenient surfaces for writing and drawing. It is reasonable to suppose that the pithoi had been moved here for that purpose from the storerooms, since on their respective shoulders were also incised the letters ʾ*alef* and *qop-reš*.

Among the inscriptions are four repetitions of the alphabet, with the letter *pe* preceding the letter *ayin* and not following it. There is also a list of personal names, as well as a text containing phrases echoed in the OT:

*kl* ʾ*šr yš*ʾ *(y)l m*ʾ *(y)š ḥ (w)nn h (w)*ʾ[ ]*wntn lh yhwh klbbh*

There are two blessings written on pottery which on the one hand resemble typical epistolary-greeting formulas, and on the other hand resemble the priestly benediction. One of these (see Fig. KUN.03) was written above two figures of the (Egyptian-in-origin) god Bes, and may be reconstructed as follows:

ʾ*mr* ʾ[*šy*]*w hm*[*l*]*k* ʾ*mr lyhl*[ ]*wlyw*ʿ*šh wl*[ ] *brkt (y)* ʾ*tkm lyhwh šmrn wl*ʾ*šrth.*

If this reconstruction is sound, it is possible that we have in ʾ*šyw hmlk* a transposition of the name *yw*ʾ*š,* Joash, referring to the king *(hmlk)* of Israel who reigned from Samaria (ca. 801–786 B.C.E.), perhaps providing an important synchronism for dating the site. The second blessing reads: ʾ*mr* ʾ*mryw* ʾ*mr l*ʾ*d (w)ny h[ ]l[ ]* ʾ*t (h) brktk lyhwh t (y)mn wl*ʾ*šrth ybrkk wyš mrk wyhy* ʿ*m* ʾ*d (w)ny* [ …]. These inscriptions, with their references to "Yahweh of Samaria (or of Teman) and his Asherah," have generated a great deal of scholarly discussion (see Meshel 1979: Dever 1984; and discussions in *AIR*). Not only do they shed light on the cultic and religious character of the site, but they also provide revealing glimpses into the history of Israelite religion.

**4. Artistic Remains.** The quantity and variety of pictorial and decorative art found at Kuntillet ʿAjrûd were unprecedented for an Israelite site. This art was drawn on the plaster of the walls, on doorposts, on pottery (primarily on the two large pithoi mentioned above), and also on one of the stones in the jamb of the central opening to the S storeroom.

The two pithoi depict various divine, human, and animal figures. On one of them, beside two representations of the god Bes, a female figure is portrayed seated and playing a lyre. See Fig. KUN.03. The familiar "tree of life flanked by two goats" motif is also found on this vessel, as well as pictures of a lion, a procession of animals, and a cow licking the tail of a suckling calf. On the other vessel are depicted five figures raising their hands in a gesture of prayer, and an archer raising a bow. Even though most of these artistic motifs are well known from the Syro-Phoenician world, the actual renderings themselves are here very crude and perhaps also reflect "Arab" N desert influence. Despite their lack of artistic proficiency, the Kuntillet ʿAjrûd artists were familiar with and influenced by the prevailing art styles of the time, and they appreciated the significance of duplicating those styles. In short, the pictures are an expression of "folk art" as opposed to professional "court art."

Just as the inscriptions on the pithoi were not all written by the same person on one specific occasion, so also the pictures seem to reflect various hands. While it is difficult to draw definitive conclusions about such things, it has been suggested that, according to style and line, three different artists can be identified, at least one of whom drew on both pithoi (Beck 1982).

The plaster art (in black, red, and yellow ink) differs in some respects from that drawn on the pithoi, primarily in being more decorative in character. From the E building (structure B) were recovered many fragments of decorative art: a running pattern (perhaps a frame) surrounded by two rows of lotus flowers and two rows of intertwined circles; a geometric checkerboard pattern with red and yellow squares; but also a picture of people standing atop a fortified wall. The fragments of plaster found near the exterior court of structure A (locus 15) were restored revealing a large red, black, and yellow picture of a figure sitting on a throne smelling a lotus flower. (A third picture of a figure sitting on a throne was also discovered on a pottery fragment.) Some fragments revealed that in several sections there were at least two layers of plaster one over the other.

There is no clear answer to whether or not the artist responsible for the decorative art on the plaster also drew the pictorial scenes on the pithoi; while the Syro-Phoenician artistic influence is common to both, the technical quality of the plaster art is superior to that of the pithoi art, and the respective subject matters tend to be different. Most of the artistic parallels are dated to the 9th–7th centuries, generally corroborating the conclusion that the site was occupied around the year 800 B.C.E.

**D. Conclusion**

The unusual finds (especially the inscriptions and pictures) testify to the uniqueness of the site. The subject matter of the inscriptions, the references to various deities, and the presence of dedicated vessels all suggest that Kuntillet ʿAjrûd was a religious center; however, the lack of things usually associated with ritual sacrifice (e.g., altars) and the architectural layout of the site indicate that the remains are not those of a temple. It appears that the site may have served as a "wayside shrine" that, due to its location, was associated with journeys of the Israelite kings to Elat and to Ezion-geber, and perhaps also with the travels of pilgrims to S Sinai. These were able to journey S along the Darb el-Ghazza from Kadesh-barnea, stopping at the place to make dedications to Israel's god in the bench room of the main building.

The strong N (Israelite, not Judean) influence in the remains seems to connect Kuntillet ʿAjrûd with the N kingdom of Israel or with one of the Judean kings closely aligned with the N kingdom of Israel. This N influence is evident in the reference to "Yahweh of Samaria," in the Phoenician-style writing, in the cosmopolitan style and motifs of the decorative and pictorial artwork, in the pottery types, and in the onomastic conventions (names ending in *-yau*, and not *-yahu*). The site, occupied for only a few years, was likely inhabited by a small group of priests dispatched from the N kingdom of Israel with an officer *(śr ʿr)* at their head. They were sustained by the various sacrifices and tithes that were sent as provisions primarily from Judah; in return, they rendered their cultic services to travelers.

The date of the site, determined by typological and paleographic analysis, and by the need to identify an historical period in which N Israelite influence over Judah was especially strong, points to the period after the death of Jehoshaphat of Judah (ca. 850 B.C.E.). The reigns of Jehoram, Ahaziah, and Athaliah (between 850 and 837 B.C.E.) seem distinct possibilities. However, the period of Joash king of Israel (ca. 801–786 B.C.E.), who captured Amaziah king of Judah, broke down the wall of Jerusalem, and seized the treasures of the Jerusalem temple and palace (2 Kgs 14:1–16 = 2 Chr 25:1–24) seems especially well suited. This would be reinforced if the reconstruction of *ʾšyw hmlk* on the top line of the Bes figurine inscription indeed is a reference to Joash. It may tentatively be suggested that Joash intended to gain direct access to the Red Sea, and that this was the reason for the war between the two kings. The victory of Joash is reflected in the construction of the buildings at Kuntillet ʿAjrûd, and accounts for the concurrent references to the "Yahweh of Samaria" and the "Yahweh of Teman"; i.e., Samaria's god (as well as its king) having dominion over the entire region through which one reached "Teman" (meaning "the far south").

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**KUSH** (PLACE). From the early 12th Dynasty the name Kush applied to the territory lying S of Semna at the 2d cataract on the Nile river, and was often paired with *Wawat* (Lower Nubia) between the 1st and 2d cataracts (Posener 1958). The name was later extended as a term for Nubia in general. Both the region and its inhabitants are mentioned a number of times in the Bible; see CUSH (PERSON) and ETHIOPIA (PLACE).

**A. Early History**

The appearance of Kush in Egyptian texts is probably to be associated with the dominance of a people known as the C-group or *Medja* (Arkell 1961: 46–48; Emery 1965: 133–35). The threat of these barbarians to Egyptian interests in the S explains the efforts expended by Amenemhet I and Senwosret I (20th cent. B.C.) to reconquer *Wawat* (Trigger 1965: 94) and to secure the land between the two cataracts by means of fortresses (Reisner 1960; Emery 1965: 143–45). The tribes of Kush figure most prominently of all foreign peoples in the Execration Texts of the 12th and 13th Dynasties (Posener 1940; 1987), an indication of Egyptian inability to control the land S of the 2d cataract. Roughly contemporary with the Hyksos conquest of the lower Nile valley and delta, most of the Nubian forts erected by the Egyptians were destroyed, and Egyptian monuments either effaced or carried off by the Nubians to adorn their own towns. Thereafter, while the Hyksos ruled from Avaris, an amorphous kingdom is attested in the territory S of the 1st cataract, governed by a "ruler of Kush" and centered upon the site of Kerma, 35 miles N of Dongola (Säve-söderbergh 1956; Smith 1976: 80–83; Wenig, *LÄ* 3: 409–10). An erstwhile ally of Hyksos power in the delta, Kush was subjected to repeated attacks by the early kings of the 18th Dynasty, and under Thutmose I (ca. 1525–1514 B.C.) was finally brought under Egyptian control as far S as Hagar el-Merwa. While records of punitive campaigns appear sporadically throughout the New Kingdom, e.g., under Hatshepsut, Thutmose IV, Amenophis III, Akhenaten, Tutankhamun, and Rameses II, these were in the main "training" razzias, intended as much to "blood" the troops as to quell revolts.

**B. Kush Under the Egyptian Empire**

By the close of the reign of Thutmose III (ca. 1504–1451 B.C.) the political role of the Nubian chieftains had been terminated in favor of an administration modeled on that of Egypt. From the rank of a lowly fortress commandant, appointed *ad hoc* to run the new territorial acquisitions in the S, had developed the office of "King's son of the Southern Countries" (later "King's Son of Kush"), a viceroy responsible directly to the king and holding the cabinet rank of "king's scribe" (Habachi 1981: 65–110; *LÄ* 3: 630–40). From certainly the middle of the 18th Dynasty, the viceroy of Kush was placed in charge of the gold-producing regions of the S, with jurisdiction from the 3d nome of Upper Egypt *(Nekhen)* to the S limit of Egyptian control at *Karoy* (Habachi *LÄ* 3: 630). The viceroy's headquarters was usually located at Aniba, and its presence was indicated by the rock shrines across the river at Kasr Ibrim.

The viceroy enjoyed the services of two deputy governors, one for Kush and the other for Wawat; and the administration was divided into departments similar to those in Egypt: treasury, granary, livestock, mines, defense (cf. the "garrison of Kush"), etc. (Reisner 1960; Donadoni, in Endesfelder et al 1977). The countryside was organized in Egyptian fashion into towns and townships administered by mayors. The natural resources and farm produce of Kush loom large in the annual imposts of the Egyptian empire and include large amounts of gold, grain, cattle, incense, ebony, ivory, and slaves (Emery 1965: 184–85; Adams 1981).

Apart from the influence of bureaucratic models and the damaging effect of Egypt's insatiety, Kush under the empire felt the impact of Egyptian culture and religion as did no other part of the ancient world (O'Connor, *AESH* 260–64). This influence radiated from the large, land-owning temples constructed during the New Kingdom along the Nile, each dedicated to the worship of the royal genius, and each functioning as a focus for a colonial settlement (Säve-söderbergh 1941: 200–203). While native gods were not suppressed, they were overshadowed by the cult of Amun transplanted from Thebes to Debod, Wady es-Sebua, and (especially) Gebel Barkal. Egyptian colonists in moderate numbers were found in Kush, and their presence aided in the acculturation of the natives to Egyptian civilization, including burial

practices, a process all but complete by the end of the New Kingdom (O'Connor, *AESH* 263–65; Säve-söderbergh 1969). In addition to Egyptians, it became customary to exile captive Asiatics or recalcitrant Apiru to Kush (Habachi 1981: 185–96) while Nubians were called N to Egypt and her Asiatic empire to serve as domestics, settlers, and policemen (Klengel, in Endesfelder et al 1977).

Textual and archaeological evidence of Egyptian control of Kush ceases abruptly under Rameses XI (ca. 1106–1076 B.C.), and during the civil war involving the king and the last known functioning viceroy, Paynehsi. Thereafter, for three centuries settlements lay abandoned, trade lapsed, and between the first two cataracts population declined (Trigger 1965: 112–14).

**C. 25th Dynasty (ca. 780–656 B.C.)**

Kush, as the term is used in the OT ("Cush") and other textual sources of Iron II date, refers to the political and cultural entity which took shape in Napata (Gebel Barkal) in the early first millennium B.C., and contributed the 25th dynasty to Egyptian history (Leclant 1985). Although attested in the cemetery at Kurru (Dunham 1950) from the early 9th century B.C., the ruling family of the resuscitated Kushite state does not come into the light of history until the ruler Alara of the early 8th century B.C. (Arkell 1961: 116). Thereafter, the geopolitical thrust of Kushite history was for two centuries toward the N exactly coincident with the counterthrust of Assyria W and S toward the Nile. The hegemony of the Nubian ruler Kashta (mid-8th cent.) was acknowledged at Elephantine, as was that of his successor Piankhy (ca. 735–712 B.C.) at Thebes and later as far N as the Dakhleh oasis. Piankhy, through a successful military campaign as far N as Memphis, terminated the erstwhile attempt by Tefnakht, prince of Sais, to reunite Egypt by main force. His brother Shabako (712–698 B.C.) completed the task by invading Egypt (711 B.C.), killing Bocchoris (Bakhenranef), Tefnakht's son (= 24th Dyn.), and annexing the country to Kush (Redford 1985).

The 25th Dynasty replaced the quiescent foreign policy of the later Libyan dynasts with its own northward expansion. Kush intervened forcefully and unexpectedly at Eltekeh (701 B.C.), battling Sennacherib to a standstill; Shebitku (698–690 B.C.) broadcast his designs in Asia in his titulary (Redford 1985: 14, fig. 3). The Kawa inventory lists prove that Taharqa (690–664 B.C.) campaigned actively in western Asia during the first decade of his reign (Spalinger 1978), maintaining alliances with the Phoenician cities (Katzenstein 1973: 263–65). The awareness of the strength and fighting potential of the Kushites which appears suddenly in the Bible (Isa 18:1; Jer 46:9; Ezek 38:5, etc.) dates from these halcyon days of 25th Dynasty dominion.

Culturally the 25th Dynasty of indigenous Nubian origin, with a heavy overlay of acquired Egyptian traits. Although subject in the past to debate (Arkell 1961: 114–15; Emery 1965: 208), the royal family probably sprang from the line of local chieftains long since converted to the worship of Amun of Napata. The old-fashioned piety and fanatical puritanism displayed by the ruling family, characteristic of proselytes, explains the contempt with which they regarded the Egyptians of their time. While many aspects of Napatan culture (e.g., burial practices; Lloyd, *AESH* 269) continue to show native derivation, the kings aped the pharaohs by carving triumphal texts in the Egyptian language and script and by adorning their temples with reliefs in Egyptian style. In art, the 25th Dynasty enjoyed the inspiration of surviving New Kingdom monuments in the S (Wenig 1978: 56, 63), and rapidly became the exponent of the new "archaizing" style (Redford 1986: 328–31).

Egypt under the Kushites experienced a political and cultural revival. Control over the Thebaid was secured, in mimicry of the 23rd Dynasty, by the appointment of a Kushite princess to the office of Divine Worshipper of Amun at Thebes, and Kushites or local sympathizers to municipal and priestly offices in that city (Leclant 1954; 1961; Habachi 1981: 247–57). No major change was effected in the political system in Lower and Middle Egypt, the "Libyan" dynasts being allowed to retain their patrimonies (Yoyotte 1961). Their relatives, however, were transplanted to Kush in the temple service of local gods. Thebes underwent a building boom during the regime of the 25th Dynasty (Leclant 1965), and temples were generously endowed. The army was greatly favored, thriving under royal patronage.

**D. Withdrawal and Decline**

In spite of his spirited involvement in W Asian affairs, Taharqa found it strategically impossible to prevent the Assyrians from massing in S Palestine. After a successful defense of the delta against Esarhaddon in 674 B.C., Taharqa was defeated by the Assyrians in 671 and forced to flee S. The country was again invaded in 666 and 663 B.C. (Spalinger 1974a; 1974b). From safe havens in Napata and Thebes, both Taharqa and his successor Tanwetaman attempted to regain lost ground (Burstein 1984), but were quickly ejected by the Assyrians. Lacking any popular support in Middle Egypt or the delta, the 25th Dynasty could only stand by and watch as the descendants of Bocchoris, whom Shabako had put to death, eased out the Assyrians and reunited Egypt from Sais in the N.

The history of Kush after 663 B.C. is a melancholy tale of successive defeats and ultimate isolation in the S. Psamtik (Psammetichus) I, founder of the 26th Dynasty, wrested Thebes from Kush in 656 B.C. (Caminos 1964) and planted a frontier garrison at Elephantine, now transformed once again into the effectual point of demarcation between Egypt and Kush. Necho II (610–595 B.C.) dispatched a punitive expedition against Kush, while the great invasion of Psamtik II in 593 B.C. completely defeated the Kushite forces and resulted in the destruction of Napata (Sauneron and Yoyotte 1952; Habachi 1981: 259–69). It is perhaps as a consequence of this defeat that Kushite slaves found their way into Asia (cf. Jer 38:7). Subsequently the monuments of the 25th Dynasty in Egypt were desecrated and their memory anathematized. The descendants of the 25th Dynasty, after the destruction of Napata, came increasingly to favor a S location (Meroe) as their capital, although the necropoleis at Napata were not immediately given up (Arkell 1961: 144–73). Increasingly cut off in their S fastness, the kings of Kush presided over a declining culture, graphically reflected in the progressive degeneration of those things ultimately borrowed from Egypt, i.e., script, art, and architecture.

Among classical authors and in the Bible, recollection of Kush (RSV "Cush," "Ethiopia") and the 25th Dynasty is garbled. The name "Kush" is seldom found in classical authors (who preferred the slightly pejorative "Aethiopia"), although it has survived in Near Eastern and African traditions. See also ETHIOPIA (PLACE). Taharqa is remembered as a conqueror (Strabo 15.1.6), but dated too early (2 Kgs 19:9; Avaux 1973); Shabako and Shebitku are remembered erroneously as tribal eponyms (Astour 1965). The defection of a mercenary garrison from Elephantine to Kush lived on in tradition (Hdt. 2.30), but was wrongly dated. The strong impression Kush of the 25th Dynasty had made fostered the anachronistic appearance of Kushites in much earlier history. For example, Joab in the 10th cent. B.C. is given a Kushite runner (2 Sam 18:21–23—cf. their reputation as swift runners under Taharqa; Moussa 1981), and a dubious Kushite "invasion" by an otherwise unknown Zerah is conjured up for the early 9th century B.C. (2 Chr 14:9–13). It is uncertain whether the marriage of Moses to a "Cushite woman" (Num 12:1) derives from a tradition of Bronze Age date, or is a late anachronism (Shinan 1978); certainly Judaic apologia of Ptolemaic times dwell heavily on a fanciful campaign of Moses against Ethiopia (Rajak 1978), possibly constructed solely on the basis of the passage in Numbers (Collins, *OTP* 2: 895, n. 45).

The presence of Egyptian monuments of ostensible antiquity on the Sudanese Nile and the "Egyptian" appearance of Meroitic culture gave rise in some circles to the late Hellenistic belief that Egyptian civilization had come from Kush. In the polemical romance literature of the Persian and Ptolemaic periods, Kush figures as the refuge whither the defeated pharaoh flees and whence he emerges to expel the foreigners from Egypt (Redford 1986: 276–96).

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DONALD B. REDFORD

**KUSHAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *qûšāyāhû* (קוּשָׁיָהוּ)]. Var. KISHI. A Levite, a descendant of Merari and father of Ethan (1 Chr 15:17). Kushaiah should probably be identified with Kishi of 1 Chr 6:29—Eng6:44. The LXX supports identifying Kushaiah with Kishi, reading *kisaiou* in 1 Chr 15:17 and *kisai* in 1 Chr 6:29—Eng6:44. The same person may be mentioned in 2 Chr 29:12, which speaks of Kish the son of Abdi. The origin of the name Kushaiah is unknown; Noth (*IPN*, 32) suggested that it was an imperative form but was unable to isolate the root word.
TOM WAYNE WILLETT

# L

**L.** The abbreviation used in NT source criticism for the solely Lukan material in the Synoptic Gospels. See SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

**LAADAH** (PERSON) [Heb *laʿdâ* (לַעְדָּה)]. An individual of the tribe of Judah, from the line of Shelah (1 Chr 4:21). He was the son of Er, though not the Er who was the firstborn of Judah. He is called the father of Mareshah. Mareshah in this case might denote a son or a city which has been identified as Tell Sandahannah (M.R. 140111) in the Shephelah.
DAVID CHANNING SMITH

**LABAN** (PERSON) [Heb *lābān* (לָבָן)]. Name of the son of Bethuel (Gen 28:5). In Gen 29:5 he is called "the son of Nahor"; however, this expression should be understood in the sense of "grandson" or "descendant." According to the genealogy given in the book of Genesis, Terah was the father of Abraham (Abram), Nahor, and Haran (Gen 11:27). Nahor, through his wife Milcah, was the father of eight children (Gen 22:20–22). His eighth son, Bethuel, was the father of Rebekah (Gen 22:23) and of Laban (Gen 25:20). Laban was the father of Leah and Rachel (Gen 29:16); Leah and Rachel later became Jacob's wives. He also had several sons (Gen 30:35; 31:1) who probably were born after Jacob joined Laban's family through his marriage to Leah and Rachel. Noth has said that this genealogy was artificially created in order to show the kinship between the Israelites and the Arameans (Noth *HPT*, 217).

Laban lived in the "city of Nahor" (Gen 24:10), which in several places is identified with Haran (Gen 27:43; 29:4). The same area is also identified as Paddan-aram (28:2, 5). He is called an Aramean (25:20; 28:5; 31:20, 24). Jacob is also called an Aramean in Deut 26:5. This designation may express affinity between the early Israelites and the Aramean tribes.

Laban first appears in the stories of Abraham. After the death of Sarah (Gen 23:1–20), Abraham tried to find a wife for his son Isaac. Abraham sent his servant Eliezer, a Damascene slave (Gen 15:2–3), to go to Aram-naharaim (Mesopotamia) to find a wife for his son (Gen 24:1–9). Eliezer went to the city of Nahor (Gen 24:10) and went to the house of Bethuel to obtain his daughter Rebekah as a wife for Isaac. Laban met Eliezer, invited him to come to his house, and provided for the needs of his animals (Gen 24:28–32). Laban is an active participant in the transaction that led Rebekah to go with Eliezer to the land of Canaan. The picture of Laban portrayed on this occasion is that of a man who acted out of self interest and ambitious desires (Gen 24:30, 53).

Laban appears next in the Jacob cycle. When Jacob fled from his father's house to escape the wrath of his brother Esau (Gen 27:41–45), he went to the house of Laban, his uncle. Jacob lived with and worked for Laban twenty years as a herdsman (Gen 31:38, 41). For seven of these years Jacob worked to obtain Rachel as his wife, and for another seven he worked with the same purpose because Laban had deceived Jacob on his wedding night and had given him Leah, his oldest daughter. Jacob worked another six years caring for Laban's herd. Recent archaeological discoveries have contributed much information to the understanding of the Jacob-Laban narratives. Scholars have seen in the relationship between Jacob and Laban some parallels with the adoption and marriage customs practiced in northern Mesopotamia as recorded in the Nuzi tablets, but this view has been challenged by Van Seters (1969). Morrison (1983: 156) has said that the agreement between Jacob and Laban, sealed by these marriages, bears "a strong resemblance to Old Babylonian herding contracts." The basic element of this contract was Jacob's promise to work as a herdsman for Laban in return for his two wives and certain types of livestock.

After having lived with Laban twenty years, Jacob became a very rich man. Laban and his sons "did not regard him with favor as before" (Gen 31:2). For this reason Jacob fled with his wives, his sons, and his flocks to return to the land of Canaan. When Laban heard that Jacob had fled and had apparently stolen

his household gods (Teraphim, Gen 31:19), he went after Jacob and met him at Gilead, in Transjordan (Gen 31:25). Scholars have debated whether possession of these household gods indicated possession of inheritance rights as indicated in some Nuzi texts (Greenberg 1962). At that time God appeared to Laban in a dream (Gen 31:24) admonishing him not to harm Jacob. When Laban met Jacob they entered into a covenant. According to Noth (*HPT*, 92), this covenant probably represents an early boundary agreement between Israelites and Arameans which settled border disputes over territory claimed in Transjordan by both groups (Gen 31:52). The covenant was sealed by an oath when Laban called on the God of Nahor and Jacob called on the God of Abraham, the gods of their fathers (Gen 31:53) as their witnesses to the covenant (Alt 1968: 23–24). A monument celebrating the event was erected. Laban called it in Aramaic Jegar-sahadutha (*yĕgar śahădûtā*ʾ), and Jacob called it in Hebrew Galeed (*galʿēd*). Both words mean "heap of witness."

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**LABAN** (PLACE) [Heb *lābān* (לָבָן)]. One of the Exodus encampments of the Israelites, mentioned in only a very general way in Deut 1:1 along with Hazeroth and Dizahab, suggesting that it be located somewhere in the Sinai. It may be the same as the Libnah listed in Num 33:20–21 between Rimmon-perez and Rissah, which is the sixth Israelite encampment after leaving the wilderness of Sinai. However, in Deuteronomy, Laban is listed before Hazeroth, while in Numbers, Hazeroth precedes Libnah; this is not a serious difficulty because the organizing principles of the two lists are not clear. It may also be that they are two different stations. If the equation is accepted, a possible location is in the wadi el-Beidha, which like Laban means "whiteness" (*GP*, 214; M.R. 122925). For a discussion of the location of any of the places associated with the journey of the Israelites from Egypt through Sinai, see DOPHKAH.

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**LACCUNUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Lakkounos* (Λακκουνος)]. One of the sons of Addi who returned with Ezra (1 Esdr 9:31). He was one of the Israelites who had foreign wives and had to put them away with their children in accordance with Ezra's reform. The name does not appear in the parallel list in the book of Ezra (cf. 10:30).

JIN HEE HAN

**LACE.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**LACEDAEMONIANS.** The Lacedaemonians were inhabitants of the Greek Pelopponese. Lacedaemonia, later called Sparta, was originally the name of a city-state settled during the Dorian invasion (ca. 1000 B.C.E.). Sparta supplanted Lacedaemonia as the capital of the SE Pelopponese and the region was then known as Laconia. After the Spartans conquered the Messenians to their west in the 7th century, the combined territory was subsequently known as Lacedaemonia. The name "Lacedaemonians" is found only once in the LXX (2 Macc 5:9), and the name "Sparta" is likewise referred to once (1 Macc 14:16); however, "Spartans" occurs nine times in 1 Maccabees 12–15.

There are several factors that seem to indicate that the Jews of Jerusalem cultivated political contacts with the Lacedaemonians. Friendly relations between Jerusalem and Sparta existed from the time of the high priesthood of Onias I (320–290 B.C.E.). Surprisingly, the Jews claimed that the Lacedaemonians were common descendants from Abraham (1 Macc 12:21). Jason, the high priest, sought refuge among the Jews of Sparta after his failure to occupy Jerusalem (2 Macc 5:9; and Jos. *Ant* 12. 5.1.238; and 15.3.1.). A letter from Jonathan to the Spartans and their reply in 146 B.C.E. may suggest that the

Maccabeans sought to reestablish relations with the Lacedaemonians (1 Macc 12:6–18; and Jos. *Ant* 13:5.8; and 12.4.10). A brief letter from the Spartan authorities to Simon, the high priest and Jonathon's successor, appears in 1 Macc 14:20–22. Finally, the letter sent to the nations requesting the recipients to abstain from further hostilities against the Jews specifically names Sparta (1 Macc 15:23; and Jos. *Ant* 14.8.5). The Maccabean Jewish political agenda was motivated in part by the fact that Jewish settlements existed in the Pelopponese from the 2d century B.C.E. and partially because of the positive political and philosophical benefits of having contacts with mainland Greek culture as opposed to Syrian Hellenism.
SCOTT T. CARROLL

**LACHISH** (PLACE) [Heb *lākîš* (לָכִישׁ)]. A central biblical city in the Shephelah. Its king participated in the coalition of the S kings against Joshua and the Israelites, and it became the object of one of Israel's sieges (Josh 10). Rehoboam fortified the city after the division of the kingdom (2 Chr 11:9), and it was later the scene of the assassination of Amaziah (2 Kgs 14:19). When Sennacherib attacked Judah, it was while he was besieging Lachish that he sent the Rabshakeh to Hezekiah to try to intimidate him into surrender (2 Kgs 18:14–17; 19:8). Sennacherib later commemorated his conquest of Lachish by paneling the walls of one of the rooms of his palace in Nineveh with scenes of the siege. The city is mentioned in Jer 34:7 as one of two (with Azekah) cities in Judah still to hold out against the armies of Nebuchadnezzar.

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A. Site and Identification
B. History of Excavations
1. Wellcome-Marston Expedition
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1. Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and Early Bronze
2. Early Bronze IV
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4. Late Bronze Age
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**A. Site and Identification**

The ancient city is represented by a major mound, Tell ed-Duweir, now called Tel Lachish (M.R. 135108). The site (including the slopes) covers an area of ca. 30 acres. Water was obtained from wells, one of which was uncovered at the NE corner of the site. Lachish is situated near Nahal Lachish (Wadi Ghafr), along which extended a main route from the coastal plain to the Hebron hills.

In 1878 Conder suggested the identification of ancient Lachish with Tell el-Hesi. This identification was later supported by the discovery there of a cuneiform letter apparently sent from Lachish and dated to the el-Amarna period. In 1929 Albright proposed the identification of Lachish with Tell el-Duweir. He based his suggestion on Eusebius (*Onomast.* 120.20), who states that Lachish was a village located on the 7th mile, along the road from Eleutheropolis (Beth-Guvrin) to Gaza. All archaeological data recovered from Tel Lachish support Albright's suggestion, which is generally accepted today. However, the identification is based solely on circumstantial evidence, hence the dissenting views (see Ahlström 1980 and response by Davies 1982).

**B. History of Excavations**

**1. Wellcome-Marston Expedition.** Large-scale excavations were initiated in 1932 by a British expedition directed by J. L. Starkey, ably aided by L. Harding and O. Tufnell. The expedition was financed by Sir Henry Wellcome, and later by him and Sir Charles Marston. The excavations came to an end in 1938, following Starkey's murder by bandits. Starkey published only brief preliminary excavation

reports (Starkey 1933; 1934; 1935; 1936; 1937a; 1937b; Inge 1938), and Tufnell later completed the publication work (Tufnell 1953; Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940; Tufnell et al. 1958).

The British excavations were carried out both on the site and in the surrounding areas. The NW corner of the site was excavated to prepare a location to dump the soil from the excavations on the summit. The shoot constructed at this point and the huge dump indicate to the present-day visitor the large scale of the digging carried out here. The Levels II–I city gates, outer revetment, Level I Residency and Solar Shrine, Great Shaft, Judean palace-fort, and the Fosse Temple at the bottom of the NW corner are the most important remains uncovered on the mound proper. In addition, a sectional trench was cut at the NE corner and remains of the earlier periods were uncovered at the NE slope. In 1935, the "Lachish letters" were recovered in the city gate—undoubtedly Starkey's most important discovery. Large areas were cleared outside the site, uncovering numerous tombs from different periods, as well as Bronze Age settlements on the hills to the W and N of the site. Starkey and his associates were trained by Flinders Petrie, and followed his methods. Considering its time, it was an excellent excavation, and hardly any of Starkey's stratigraphic observations and conclusions (with the exception of the Assyrian siege ramp) were changed in the course of the renewed excavations.

**2. Aharoni's Excavations.** Excavations limited in scope and scale were carried out by Y. Aharoni in the Solar Shrine area in 1966 and 1968 (Aharoni 1975). Aharoni was at that time excavating at Arad, and believed that the ground plan of the Judean shrine uncovered at Arad resembled that of the Solar Shrine. This theory prompted the excavation at Lachish. Various remains of Levels VI to I were uncovered beneath the Solar Shrine, the most important of them the Level V Cult Room.

**3. Renewed Excavations.** In 1973, systematic excavations were renewed at Lachish aiming at a long-term study of the site and its material culture (Ussishkin 1978; 1983). The excavations are directed by D. Ussishkin and have largely continued adjacent to Starkey's excavated areas on the mound. The expedition pays particular attention to excavation methodology and combines the baulk/debris-layer method (known as the Wheeler-Kenyon method) and the locus-to-architecture method (known as the horizontal method).

The main excavation field is Area, a long, narrow section cutting through the upper edge of the mound on its W side. See Fig. LAC.01. The plan is to reach virgin soil; the work, however, progresses slowly, and so far, excavations have reached the LB strata. Other excavation fields include Area P—the Judean palace-fort and monumental Bronze Age structures beneath its N end; Area D near the SE corner of the palace-fort; Area G—the Judean city-gates; and Area R—a sectional trench at the SW corner of the site where the Assyrian army forced its way into the city in 701 B.C. A comprehensive reconstruction program of the Judean city-gate is also being carried out. In addition, Y. Dagan has conducted a comprehensive surface survey of the surrounding region.

In order to maintain continuity from one excavation to the next, the renewed excavations have used the British system in dividing into city levels and its enumeration system for Levels VI–I. However, for the stratigraphy beneath Level VI, the strata must be renumbered since it is impossible to accommodate all the MB and LB strata within Starkey's Levels VIII and VII. The renumbering will be completed as soon as the relevant strata are uncovered and studied in Area S, which serves as the key excavation area for determining the site's stratigraphy. So far, with the excavation and study of the stratum underlying Level VI in area S, it has been labeled "Level VII." Temporarily, all strata in Area P beneath Level VI have been labeled P-1 to P-5.

**C. Summary of Excavations**

**1. Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and Early Bronze.** Prehistoric flint implements were recovered in the surrounding area. A group of flint implements recovered on the mound (Rosen 1988–89) probably indicate the existence of a Pottery Neolithic site in one of the surrounding valleys.

Ghassulian pottery fragments recovered on the site probably indicate that the mound was already settled during the Chalcolithic/Ghassulian period. Remains from the end of the Chalcolithic and the beginning of the EB were recovered by the British on the NE slope of the mound and at the NW settlement extending on the ridge NW of the mound. The people settled in caves, artificially enlarged and transformed into

comfortable dwellings, which contained sunken hearths and lined storage pits. A dolmen found on the NW ridge probably relates to that settlement.

We may assume that during EB II–III the mound was extensively settled, but very little is known at present about it. Remains from this period were found in Starkey's NE section, in Area D at the center of the site, and in tombs. Much EB pottery, including numerous fragments of KHIRBET KERAK WARE, was recovered from the debris the early defenders used to build the counter-ramp in 701 B.C. (see below).

**Chronological Table (Dates B.C.)**

| Periods and Dates | Lachish Levels | Special Data |
|---|---|---|
| Pottery Neolithic | | Site in vicinity |
| Chalcolithic-EB IVA (3500–2200) | | Settlement on mound |
| EB IVB-C (2200–2000) | | Area 1500; cemetery 2000; NW settlement |
| MB I (2000–1800) | ? | |
| MB II–III (1800–1550); | Starkey's L. VIII [P-5, P-4] | |

… ca. 1550; destruction by fire …

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| LB I (1550–1400) | | Fosse Temple I |
| LB IIA (1400–1300) | Starkey's L. VII | Fosse Temple II |
| LB IIB (1300–1200) | Level VII [P-1] | Fosse Temple III |

… ca. 1200; destruction by fire …

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Iron Age IA-B (1200–1130) | Level VI | |

… ca. 1150–1130; Destruction by fire …

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Iron Age IB (1130–1000) | Gap in settlement | |
| Iron Age IC (1000–930) | Level V | United Monarchy |

… ca. 925; destruction by fire (?) …

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Iron Age IIA-c (930–586) | Level IV | Divided Monarchy |
| | Level III | |

… 701; destruction by fire …

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Gap in settlement | |
| | Level II | |

… 588/586; destruction by fire …

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Babylonian-Hellenistic (586–31) | Level I | |

**2. Early Bronze IV**

During this period (also labeled MB I or EB–MB Intermediate Period), the mound was apparently abandoned, and settlement seems to have shifted to surrounding ridges. Caves in Area 1500, and part of the NW settlement located on the ridge to the W of the mound, which included a number of domestic buildings, were uncovered by the British. Notably, a group of small copper ingots was also found there. A large burial ground (Cemetery 2000) extended along the slope of the ridge to the N of the settlement, on which 120 rock-cut tombs were uncovered, few of them intact. Many of the tombs were too small to contain more than a single tightly flexed body, and nearly all traces of human remains have disappeared.

**3. Middle Bronze Age.** Relatively little is known about the MB city. In fact, all the remains so far excavated date to MB II–III (=MB IIB–C), and nothing is known about the settlement in MB I. The excavated remains include the fortifications, the palace, a cult place, Starkey's Level VIII in the NE section, and tombs.

A glacis was erected around the city, becoming the core of the present impressive shape of the site with its steep slopes and angled corners. The glacis was studied by the British near the NW corner. It was composed of nearly horizontal layers of fill capped by a lime-plastered sloping surface. Significantly, a

freestanding city wall, topping the glacis along the upper edge of the site, was not found at this point. A fosse was cut in the rock along the bottom of the glacis at least along the W side of the mound.

The center of the site was crowned by a huge palace. Its NW wing was uncovered in Area P (Level P-4); most of the edifice extends beneath the later Judean palace-fort and its courtyard. The palace is characterized by massive brick walls, and it is built above an earlier edifice of a similar nature (Level P-5). A number of huge stone slabs incorporated in the palace's walls and floors probably originate in the earlier edifice. The palace was destroyed by a severe fire which marks the end of the MB city. Following the destruction, the palace was reoccupied, and some rooms were used for industrial purposes (Level P-3).

Remains of a cult place were uncovered in Area D, near the SW corner of the Judean palace-fort. The structure was mostly destroyed, but votive pottery and concentrations of animal bones were recovered. Tombs of that period were excavated by the British, noticeable among them Tomb 1502, which contained a dagger bearing an inscription in Canaanite alphabetic script.

**4. Late Bronze Age.** Immediately following the destruction of the MB city the settlement apparently dwindled and deteriorated, and only later did it gradually develop and regain its importance, culminating in the final Canaanite city of Level VI. Lachish is mentioned in Papyrus Hermitage 1116A dated to the 19th or 20th year of Amenhotep II (1427–1402 B.C.), which is the earliest reference to the city in an external source. The papyrus records presentations by Egyptian officials of grain and beer to envoys of various Canaanite cities, including Lachish (Weinstein 1981: 13). A number of cuneiform letters found in el-Amarna and dating to the 14th century B.C. were sent from Lachish. Another cuniform letter from that period, sent from an Egyptian official probably residing at Lachish to his superior, was found at Tell el-Hesi. Apparently, as testified by these letters, during the el-Amarna period Lachish was one of the most important city-states in southern Canaan.

Significantly, Lachish may have been unfortified throughout the LB Age. It seems that the MB fortifications were no longer in use, and a temple was thus erected in the disused fosse (see below). Remains of buildings along the edge of the site assigned to Levels VII and VI, dated to the 13th to 12th centuries B.C., were uncovered in Starkey's sectional trench in the NE corner and in Area S. Those buildings prove that a proper city wall had not been erected during that period, but it is possible that the buildings along the edge of the mound were in fact connected to one another and formed a fortified belt. However, during the 14th century B.C., the entire excavated area up to the edge of the mound in Area S formed an open, undeveloped field; hence, at least during the el-Amarna period Lachish was not fortified either by a city wall or a belt of buildings.

Relatively little is known about the settlement on the summit between the end of the MB and Level VII. Some remains were uncovered in the NE section (Starkey's Level VII), in Area P (Levels P-3 and P-2), and beneath Level VII in Area S.

Some time after the destruction of the MB city a small sanctuary was founded in the disused fosse near the NW corner of the site (Tufnell, Inge, and Harding 1940). It was later rebuilt twice, its three phases labeled by the British as Fosse Temples I to III. The original temple was a modest structure; it formed a rectangle oriented along a N-S axis, measuring ca. 10 by 5 m with subsidiary rooms on the W and N. An altar in the form of a bench with three projections adjoined the S wall of the shrine. Many of the finds were uncovered in *favissae* surrounding the building. The finds from Fosse Temple I include an imported Mycenaean kylix and beautiful "bichrome ware" vessels. Ca. 1400 B.C. the original sanctuary was replaced by Fosse Temple II. The position of the building was maintained, but the new structure was much larger in size and a new chamber was added on the S side. A number of benches for placing offerings were constructed along the walls of the main hall.

The remains of Level VII domestic structures in Area A (and possibly Level P-1 in Area P) and Fosse Temple III represent the 13th-century city (Ussishkin 1985). It was destroyed by fire. Fosse Temple III resembled the previous one, but had an enlarged altar and an additional room on the S side; many rich finds were uncovered beneath its destruction debris. They include a group of carved ivories, faience vessels, and Egyptian scarabs and jewelry.

Level VI represents the last, prosperous Canaanite city probably built shortly after the destruction of Level VII. Level VI shows a cultural continuity from Level VII, but the city was rebuilt along entirely different lines: in Area P the Level VII domestic structures were replaced by a public building; the fosse temple was not rebuilt, and a new temple was built in the acropolis, possibly as part of the royal compound.

Level VI shows strong affinities with Egypt during the reign of Rameses III (1182–1151 B.C.—low chronology of Wente and Van Siclen). The Egyptian presence is primarily indicated by a number of bowl fragments inscribed in hieratic script. Goldwasser (1982; 1984) recently restudied these bowls in conjunction with the hieratic bowls from Tel Sera‘. The bowls constitute the documentation of the *šmw* (harvest tax) paid to an Egyptian religious institution, probably associated with a local temple (such as the Level VI temple). According to Goldwasser, the recording of the harvest tax on votive bowls reflects the economic exploitation of S Canaan by the Egyptian authorities via the religious establishment. This would imply that Lachish was under direct Egyptian control, together with S Canaan. The strong connections with Egypt are also reflected in the architecture of the acropolis temple, in the bronze object bearing a cartouche of Rameses III found in the city gate area (see below), and in two anthropoid clay coffins, one bearing a pseudo-hieroglyphic inscription, found in a tomb near the mound.

The main complex of the acropolis temple consists of an antechamber, the main hall, and the cella, as one ascends the slope. The entrances to the three units are built along a straight axis, oriented W–E, passing through the center of the main complex. See Fig. LAC.02. The main hall is rectangular, measuring ca. 16 by 13 m. Two massive columns bases found in the center of the main hall indicate that the roof, spanned by cedar of Lebanon beams (Clamer and Ussishkin 1977: 73), was supported by two columns. A monumental staircase made of stone slabs led the way to the cella. Three octagonal columns found here apparently flanked two niches built along the wall to the left of the staircase. Numerous fragments of painted plaster indicate that parts of the walls in the hall were decorated. The finds are few since the rich equipment of the temple seems to have been vandalized and robbed prior to when the temple was set on fire. Of special interest is a gold plaque portraying a nude Canaanite goddess standing on a horse (Clamer 1980). This plaque, and a graffito depicting a standing god (?), apparently indicate that this was a Canaanite (rather than Egyptian) sanctuary.

The layout of the acropolis temple (like that of the Level VI temple at Beth-shan) originates in Egypt. Its plan resembles shrines in el-Amarna and in the workmen’s camp at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère 1948; 1952). The best analogy is Chapel G at Deir el-Medineh, which although smaller in size, consists of an antechamber, a main hall with two central columns and cella, with the entrances aligned along a central axis (Bruyère 1952: 21–27, Pls. I, V–VI). Many other elements in the temple, such as the octagonal columns, the staircase, and the painted plaster, and many of the finds, also originate in Egypt. Finally, it seems that the temple, having three units and entrances along a single, straight axis, was built according to a plan which later served as a prototype for Solomon’s temple in Jerusalem. Significantly, however, unlike the acropolis temple, Solomon’s temple was oriented from E–W, with its entrance facing E. The two massive columns in the main hall of the acropolis temple can illustrate the biblical account of the Philistine temple of Dagon in Gaze which was pulled down by Samson (Judg 16:23–30).

No Philistine painted pottery—neither monochrome (the so-called “locally made Mycenaean IIIC:1b”) nor bichrome pottery—was found in any of the excavations, except for a few sherds in a cave on the N slope which apparently remained open following the destruction of Level VI. This fact seems to have far-reaching implications. Tel Lachish lies only a short distance from both the coastal plain and from two significant Philistine centers—Tel Miqne and Tel Zafit (identified with ancient Ekron and Gath, respectively). Philistine bichrome pottery, however, was found at sites further inland from Tel Lachish, for example at Tel Beth-shemesh, Tel Eton, and Tell Beit Mirsim. Considering the geographical position and the size and prosperity of the Level VI city, it is difficult to imagine that nearby Philistine cities could have coexisted with Lachish without some Philistine pottery reaching the latter. Hence it appears that Lachish was not settled at the time that painted Philistine pottery was produced in the nearby region, and

that this pottery dates in the main to the period following the destruction of Level VI, i.e., to the last third of the 12th century B.C., or even later (see below).

The Level VI city was destroyed by fire. The destruction was complete and the population liquidated or driven out. Following the catastrophe, the site was abandoned until the 10th century B.C.

A cache of bronze objects, which included a broken object bearing a cartouche of Rameses III, was found in a probe cut beneath the Judean city gate. The cache was sealed beneath the destruction debris of Level VI, and hence this destruction could have occurred either during the later part of the reign of Rameses III (1182–1151 B.C.—low chronology of Wente and Van Siclen) or later. It seems possible that the sudden downfall of Lachish coincided with the Egyptian loss of control over S Canaan ca. 1130 B.C. Without Egyptian protection, Lachish became easy prey for attack.

Evidence for the sudden destruction was found in Area S. The Level VI public edifice seems to have been turned to living quarters for refugees prior to its destruction. Human remains sealed beneath the destruction debris included bones of an adult, two children and an infant, apparently trapped when the catastrophe occurred.

With the absence of inscriptions, the identity of the conquering enemy remains a matter of speculation. One suggestion (Tufnell 1953: 52) is that the Level VI city was destroyed by the Sea Peoples. In that case the complete destruction and subsequent abandonment of the site could be compared to the fate of Alalakh and Ugarit, whose final destructions are attributed to the invading Sea Peoples. The founding of Philistine Ekron nearby and the diffusion of Philistine pottery in the region can easily be explained if it is assumed that they destroyed Canaanite Lachish. As a corollary to such a reconstruction, the invasion of the Sea Peoples was a prime factor in the collapse of Egyptian authority and military control over S Canaan, which left unfortified cities such as Lachish completely vulnerable.

The second possibility, argued by Albright (1937: 23–24; 1939: 20–22), is that the Level VI city was destroyed by the Israelites, as described in Josh 10:31–32. The biblical description fits the archaeological data: a large Canaanite city destroyed by fire; absence of fortifications, enabling the conquest of the city in a swift attack; and complete desertion of the razed city explained by the annihilation of the populace. On the other hand, the motive for the destruction remains obscure, since the Israelites did not settle here, nor in the surrounding region, until a much later date.

Consequently, the adoption or rejection of this possibility depends largely on whether or not the biblical source is accepted as having a sound historical basis. Acceptance of this viewpoint, however, leads to two corollaries: (1) A cardinal event in the biblical tradition of the Israelite conquest is thus dated to the middle of the 12th century B.C. or even later; and (2) Canaanite Hazor was destroyed in the 13th century, and no later than 1230 B.C. If it is assumed that Hazor was also conquered by the Israelites in accordance with Josh 11:10–11, the biblical description of a swift campaign by Joshua's forces is then incompatible with the archaeological evidence for the destruction of two major Canaanite cities which were separated by about a century.

Seven or eight brief inscriptions written in Canaanite alphabetic script were recovered at Lachish (see most recent summary by Puech 1986–87), thus making it the cardinal site in Canaan proper for the study of this script. The earliest inscription, engraved on a bronze dagger blade found in a MB tomb, contains four signs. It is best read vertically as *trnz*, possibly a name. An important inscription is painted on the shoulder of a ewer found in Fosse Temple II. The best reading to date is that of Cross (1954: 19–21): "Mattan. An offering to my lady ʾElat.[w] A two-line fragmentary inscription was recently found in Level VI in Area S (Ussishkin 1983: 155–57, fig. 25). The two lines are read in boustraphedon fashion by Cross (1984) and Puech (1986–87).

**5. Iron Age. a. Level V.** Following a long period of abandonment a new settlement was established. Remains of small domestic buildings were uncovered in different parts of the site. The settlement was not fortified, but building remains uncovered in Area S indicate the possibility that the settlement was protected by a belt of houses located along the upper periphery.

A cult room was uncovered by Aharoni (1975) in the Solar Shrine area. The cultic equipment included a stone altar, four pottery incense burners, and a number of pottery chalices. Aharoni also identified cultic

remains in the open area beside the room, including a stone stele and *favissae*. The cult room was destroyed by an intense fire, and remains of the Level V destruction could also be discerned in Area S.

The construction and destruction dates of Level V cannot be fixed with certainty as long as the dating of the red-slipped, irregularly burnished pottery which characterizes this city level remains problematic. It seems that Level V dates to the period of the United Monarchy, and its destruction is usually ascribed to Shishak's campaign in ca. 925 B.C.

**b. Level IV.** Level IV marks the construction of a large fortified city, making Lachish the strongest and most important city in Judah after Jerusalem. The construction of Level IV cannot be dated on the basis of archaeological data. It seems that the decision to turn Lachish into a fortified city followed new strategic needs of Judah arising as a result of the division of the United Monarchy. If that is so, the foundation of Level IV should be ascribed to one of the earlier kings of Judah, possibly Rehoboam (928–911 B.C.), Asa (908–867 B.C.), or Jehoshaphat (870–846 B.C.).

Lachish is mentioned in 2 Chr 11:5–12, 23 as one of the cities fortified by Rehoboam. This reference has recently been explained in four different ways. First, it was suggested that the entire list dates to the reign of Hezekiah Na›aman 1986) or Josiah (Fritz 1981). Second, it was suggested by Aharoni (1975: 41) and Yadin (1980: 21–22) that Level IV should be ascribed to Rehoboam. Third, Ussishkin indicates that the Level IV city represents an exceptionally strong Judean fort; it is difficult to associate it with Rehoboam's list in which Lachish is named among fifteen fortified towns, most of which are of secondary importance. The archaeological data agrees with the dating of Level IV to Rehoboam's reign, irrespective of the period from which the text may derive. Fourth, it was suggested by Tufnell (1953: 53–54) and by Ussishkin (1978: 93) that Palace A should be ascribed to Rehoboam. This suggestion was based on the stratigraphic assumption that Palace A (i.e., Podium A) was a monumental structure antedating the construction of Palace B in Level IV. Hence the conclusion that Palace A was an isolated fortress built at a later phase of Level V, and that it should be identified with Rehoboam's fortifications. It now appears that Palace A was an integral part of Palace B (see below).

Lachish was surrounded by a massive fortification system. The sole city gate was on the SW side. An ascending roadway led from the bottom of the site to an outer city gate, constructed as a bastion projecting from the line of the slope. Behind the outer gate the passage led through a courtyard to an inner gate, a large, six-chambered gatehouse. An outer revetment surrounded the site halfway down the slope; it supported a glacis which reached the bottom of the main city wall extending along the upper periphery of the site. The outer revetment apparently functioned as an outer obstacle preventing attackers from reaching the main wall, and except for a few places it was not manned in a time of siege.

The center of the city was crowned by the palace-fort (Palace B), obviously the seat of the Judean governor. The edifice was built on a raised foundation podium, and is all that remains after the superstructure was totally destroyed in antiquity. The foundation podium has two parts, labeled Podia A and B by the British. It is generally believed that Podium A represents an earlier edifice, Palace A, which was later incorporated into Palace B (whose present remains thus include Podia A and B). Some now believe that Podium A was an integral part of Palace B and that it is separated from Podium B and constructed in a different style for technical reasons.

Palace B had two annexed buildings—one on the N, which was probably a storehouse, and one on the S, which was either a storehouse or a stable (see below). The latter was labeled "government storehouse" by Starkey. A massive "enclosure wall" connected the SW corner of Palace B and the main city wall. The surface of the ground in this area sloped towards the city wall and was lime plastered.

The large, square "Great Shaft" hewn in the rock was uncovered by the British on the E side of the site. Since it is ca. 22.5 m deep, some have suggested that it is an unfinished water system, but it seems more likely that it was the quarry which supplied stones for the Level IV structures. A well ca. 44 m deep was uncovered near the outer revetment at the NE edge of the site, and probably formed the main water source of the city.

No domestic structures dating to the earlier phase of Level IV were uncovered. A house dated to the later phase of this level was uncovered in Area S, indicating that as time passed people started to settle in the garrison city.

2 Kgs 14:19 and 2 Chr 25:27 reveal that when a rebellion broke out in Jerusalem against Amaziah (798–769 B.C.), he fled to Lachish and was killed there by the rebels. Apparently when Amaziah saw that Jerusalem was lost to the rebels he fled to the next most important fortified city in Judah.

All the monumental structures (except the city walls), as well as the domestic building in Area S, were rebuilt in Level III, indicating their destruction at the end of Level IV. However, no remains of a willful destruction were discerned. M. Kochavi raised the possibility (oral information) that the destruction of Level IV resulted from an earthquake, e.g., the earthquake which occurred ca. 760 B.C., during the reign of Uzziah (Amos 1:1; Zech 14:5).

**c. Level III.** Level III is marked by the rebuilding of the city gate, the palace-fort complex, and the enclosure wall. See Fig. LAC.03. More people apparently settled at Lachish and a large number of domestic buildings have been uncovered in the area S of the palace fort and the enclosure wall. Various structures flanked the roadway leading from the city gate to the palace-fort.

Most impressive is the enlarged palace-fort complex. Podea A and B of the former Palace B, were extended by the addition of Podium C, which served as the foundation for the construction of the new edifice, Palace C. It is the largest structure so far known in ancient Israel, measuring ca. 76 by 36 m. The superstructure did not survive except some sections of flooring. The entrance was through a monumental staircase. The palace-fort and the two annexed buildings opened into a large paved courtyard surrounded by a stone fence which was added on the E side.

The S annexed building is of special interest. The Level IV "government storehouse" contained two rectangular units, each divided into three subunits. In Level III the structure ("Building 1034") was rebuilt and enlarged and had four such units. The building resembles the "stable compounds" in Megiddo (Lamon and Shipton 1939: 32–47), and thus also the "storehouse" at Tel Beer-sheba (Herzog 1973: 23–30). The Megiddo buildings were identified at the time as stables for horses, but this suggestion was contested by Pritchard (1970), and later by Aharoni (1982) and Herzog (1973: 26–30), who interpreted the Tel Beer-sheba building as a storehouse. Herr (1988) suggested that these buildings served as marketplaces. In following the argumentation of Yadin (1976) and Holladay (1986), we believe that these buildings—and hence the S annexed building at Lachish as well—were stables for horses.

The above assumption leads to further conclusions. In following Lamon and Shipton (1939: 35), it seems that the Level III stables which opened into a large courtyard housed chariotry units, the spacious courtyard serving as training and parading ground for the chariots. On the basis of the Megiddo and Tel Beer-sheba structures, it can be estimated that each unit in the Lachish building could house about 25 horses, hence the conclusion that the Level IV Judean garrison included a unit of 50 cavalry horses, while the Level III garrison included a chariotry unit of 50 chariots and 100 horses. The assumed connection of the Level III city with chariots fits the lamentation of Micah (Mic 1:13), who associates Lachish with chariots, and to the portrayal in the Lachish reliefs (see below) of burning vehicles, probably chariots, being thrown by the defenders on the Assyrian attackers. The importance of the assumed Lachish chariot unit in the Judean army is apparent in view of the fact that the written sources hardly refer to cavalry and chariotry units in Judah, and their relative weakness during this period is implied from Isaiah (Isa 31:1) and from the speech of Rabshakeh (2 Kgs 18:23–24; Isa 36:8–9).

**(1) The Assyrian Conquest.** It is now generally agreed (Ussishkin 1977) that the Level III city was conquered and destroyed by Sennacherib king of Assyria in 701 B.C. In Judah, Sennacherib attacked Lachish before turning to Jerusalem. He established his headquarters at Lachish (2 Kgs 18:14, 17; Isa 36:2, 37:8; 2 Chr 32:9) and from there sent a task force to challenge Hezekiah in Jerusalem. This fact as well as the "Lachish reliefs" (see below) prove the special military importance of Lachish during that period. The destruction of the Level III city was complete, and its inhabitants were deported. The desolate site was probably included in that part of Judah which was turned over by Sennacherib to the Philistine kings.

Remains of the destruction by fire were discerned in all Level III structures. Large amounts of pottery vessels were sealed beneath the debris. This well-dated assemblage forms a basis for dating the pottery of Judah in that period (Aharoni and Aharoni 1976; Zimhoni fc.).

The main Assyrian attack was carried out in the SW corner of the city, and the archaeological discoveries in this area enable us to reconstruct the battle which took place (Ussishkin fc.). Deep valleys surrounded Lachish on all sides except for the SW corner, where a topographical saddle connected the site with the neighboring hillock. The fortifications were especially strong at this point, the outer revetment merging with the main city wall, together forming a massive tower. Still, the SW corner was the most vulnerable and most logical point of Lachish to assault. It seems that the site of the Assyrian camp can be restored with much certainty on the hillock to the SW, opposite the SW corner of the site, where the modern village is now situated. However, no remains of the assumed camp could be found there.

A huge siege ramp was laid by the Assyrians at the southwest corner, this being the oldest siege ramp and the only Assyrian one which is known today. See Fig. LAC.04. Unfortunately, a large part of it was removed unknowingly by the British expedition. The siege ramp was 70–75 m wide and 50–60 m long along its central axis, and its top reached the outer revetment wall. It was made of boulders probably collected in the surrounding fields and heaped against the slope of the mound. It is estimated that between 13,000 and 19,000 tons of stone were dumped here. The stones of the upper layer of the ramp were found stuck together by hard mortar to create a compact surface. The upper edge of the ramp was crowned with an earth platform which provided a level platform on which the siege machines could stand at the foot of the wall.

When the defenders saw the Assyrians laying a siege ramp, they laid a counter-ramp along the inside of the city wall, opposite the siege ramp. It was ca. 120 m long, and its apex rose ca. 3 m above the top of the city wall, thus creating a new defense line higher than the previous one. The counter-ramp is composed of layers of debris (taken from the earlier levels of the mound) and layers of limestone chips dumped in an orderly manner.

Once the fortification line along the top of the walls collapsed, the Assyrians raised the siege ramp above the outer revetment, a move which enabled them to attack the new defense line erected on top of the counter-ramp. The second stage of the siege ramp is also composed of boulders, many of which show signs of burning.

Remains of weapons, ammunition, and equipment were found in the excavation, mostly at the foot of the city wall. They include a bronze helmet crest, scales of armor, sling stones, many iron arrowheads (850 arrowheads were found near the city wall at the point of attack), and a number of bone carved arrowheads. A fragment of an iron chain (ca. 37 cm long) and 12 large perforated stones were found near the point of attack and apparently were used by the defenders to attack and unbalance the siege machines. Each of the perforated stones weighs 100–200 kg, and remains of burnt ropes were discovered in the holes of two of them. These stones hung on ropes and probably were dropped from the top of the wall on the siege machines, or were moved to and fro like a pendulum in an attempt to damage them.

A mass burial which possibly was associated with the Assyrian conquest was uncovered by Starkey in several of the caves on the W slope of the mound. Disarticulated skeletons were dumped in a disorderly manner. Strewn throughout the bone deposits was pottery that indicated a date after 701 B.C. for the mass burials. It was estimated that about 1500 individuals were buried here. A total of 695 skulls were brought to London and studied by Risdon (1939). They belonged to men, women, and children—obviously civilians. Curiously, the crania indicate these people bore a close racial resemblance to the population of Egypt at that time. Three of the skulls were trepanned; one man survived long enough after the operation for the bone to heal while the other two men died shortly after the surgical procedure.

**(2) The "Lachish Reliefs."** When Sennacherib constructed his royal palace at Nineveh (Kuyunjik), he commissioned a set of stone reliefs to commemorate the conquest of Lachish. The reliefs decorated the walls of a large room (No. XXXVI) which had a central position in a large ceremonial unit of the palace. The architectural position of the reliefs, their length, and detailed portrayals emphasize the special importance of this victory for Sennacherib. Layard excavated part of the palace between 1847 and 1851.

He uncovered Room XXXVI and brought most of the Lachish reliefs to the British Museum in London (Layard 1853a: Pls. 20–24; 1853b; Paterson 1915: Pls. 68–76; Ussishkin 1982: 67–118).

The Lachish reliefs covered all the walls of the rectangular room. The total length of the entire series was 26.85 m while the length of the presently preserved dado is ca. 18.85 m. From left to right the series depicted Assyrian horses and charioteers (this part is now missing), Assyrian infantry attacking the city, the besieged city (portrayed in the center of the series opposite the entrance to the room), Assyrian soldiers carrying booty and the deported Lachishites leaving their city, Judean captives, Sennacherib sitting on his throne facing Lachish, the royal tent and chariots, and the Assyrian camp.

The attacked city is shown in much detail. In the center is the city gate attacked by a siege machine, and to its right is the main siege ramp, on which six siege machines are deployed. A large structure, probably the palace-fort, is shown above the city gate. The city walls, manned by Judean warriors, are shown at both ends of the city. An analysis of the relief leads to the conclusion that the artist, although limited by the possibilities of the Assyrian schematic style, attempted to portray a realistic view of the city (Barnett 1958; Ussishkin 1980; 1982: 118–26). Lachish is shown as if viewed from a certain point located on the slope of the hillock SW of the mound. This point seems to be where Sennacherib sat on his throne, probably in front of the Assyrian camp, and commanded his army assailing the walls. Accordingly, I believe that the relief portrays Lachish as viewed by the Assyrian monarch from his command post, and in fact he is depicted in the relief sitting on his throne and facing the city. However, see ICONOGRAPHY.

**(3) Royal Judean Storage Jars.** Tel Lachish is a cardinal site for the study of the royal seal impressions for three reasons: (1) they were found in datable stratigraphic contexts; (2) some of the storage jars which carried them could be restored; and (3) at Lachish were recovered more stamped handles than in any other site. By 1983, 383 royal stamps and 54 "private" stamps from Lachish were counted (Ussishkin 1983: 163–64). Of the royal stamps, 85.9% were of the four-winged type, about two thirds of the latter bearing the city name Hebron.

All seal impressions were stamped on handles of storage jars of Type 484 according to Tufnell's classification (1953: 315–16; Pl. 95:484). See Fig. LAC.05. While some of these storage jars were stamped, many others were not stamped at all. One group of unstamped jars slightly differs from the typical ones, but is certainly related to them (Zimhoni fc.). A neutron activation analysis (Mommsen, Perlman, and Yellin 1984) indicated that the Type 484 storage jars were all made of similar clay from the region of the Shephelah, hence the conclusion that they were all produced in one center not far from Lachish. Lemaire's observation (1981) that only 22 seals, divided into six series, were used in stamping the jars, supports this conclusion.

Ten stamped royal jars, as well as numerous unstamped ones, could be restored, and allow the following conclusions. First, all kinds of jars—those bearing a four-winged symbol, those bearing a two-winged one, and those unstamped—were used concurrently. Second, all of them were found in Level III rooms sealed beneath the destruction debris (Lance 1971). Hence it is clear that they were produced during the reign of Hezekiah, shortly before 701 B.C. (Ussishkin 1977). This datum fits Na›aman's views (1979; 1986) that the royal storage jars were produced by the government of Judah as part of the preparations to meet the Assyrian invasion. Third, the measured capacity of the stamped jars is not uniform (between 39.75 and 51.80 liters), an indication that the stamps were not a royal guarantee of capacity. Fourth, there is no consistent pattern nor any uniform ruling for the application of stamps onto the four handles of each jar. Fifth, a "private stamp" was sometimes impressed together with a royal stamp on the same jar (Ussishkin 1976), supporting the conclusion that owners of the "private stamps" were either officials associated with the jars' production center, or potters at that center (Diringer 1949). Significantly, as noticed by Zimhoni (fc.), a large part of both the royal, and "private" impressions were carelessly applied and apparently were not meant to be read later. See STAMPS, ROYAL JAR HANDLE.

**d. Level II.** Following a period of abandonment, the settlement was renewed and refortified, probably during the reign of Josiah (639–609 B.C.). The Level II town was poorer and sparsely populated and its fortifications weaker than those of Level III.

A smaller city gate complex was built on the ruins of the former one. A rectangular courtyard separated the outer and inner gates, and a number of rooms opened into it. The "Lachish letters" (see below) uncovered in one of those rooms hint that the city's headquarters was located here. The outer revetment was apparently repaired and a new main city wall constructed of stone extended above the ruins of the previous one. The palace-fort was not rebuilt, and its ruins loomed in the center of the city.

A number of small houses, mostly of domestic character, were uncovered along the E side of the ruined palace-fort, in the Solar Shrine area, near the city gate, and in the SW corner of the site, but many other areas were found devoid of Level II remains.

Level II was destroyed by fire during the Babylonian conquest of Judah in 588/6 B.C. Jeremiah (34:7) mentions Lachish as one of the Judean strongholds attacked by Nebuchadnezzar. Large assemblages of pottery vessels were sealed beneath the destruction debris of the buildings, forming an indicative assemblage of the first decade of the 6th century B.C. (Aharoni and Aharoni 1976; Zimhoni fc.). Of special interest are storage jars whose handles are stamped by a rosette emblem; 23 of these stamped handles were found at Lachish.

**e. Hebrew Inscriptions.** While hardly any inscriptions were found in association with Level III (except for the royal seal impressions) a relatively large number of Hebrew ostraca, inscriptions on pottery vessels, bullae, Hebrew seals, and inscribed weights were found in Level II. Most important are the "Lachish letters" found sealed beneath the destruction debris in a room in the city gate complex (Torczyner et al. 1938; Lemaire 1977). These ostraca represent correspondence most of which were addressed to "my lord Yaush," an army commander at Lachish, shortly before the Babylonian destruction. They were sent by a subordinate stationed at some point where he could watch the signals from Azekah and Lachish. Recently Yadin (1984) suggested that the "Lachish letters" are in fact copies or drafts of letters sent from Lachish to the commander in Jerusalem. A few inscriptions on vessels were found in the Level II storerooms near the city gate (Ussishkin 1978: 81–88; Lemaire 1980); two of them define types of wine kept in the vessels. Two jar inscriptions from Lachish mention dates, "in the fourth" and "in the ninth"—probably regnal years of Zedekiah king of Judah. Finally, seventeen bullae stamped with Hebrew seal impressions still bearing traces of papyri and strings on the reverse side were found by Aharoni (1975) in a juglet in a Level II building.

**6. Post-Iron Age. a. Level I.** This level spans the Babylonian, Persian, and the beginning of the Hellenistic periods. The settlement was probably abandoned for a while following the Level II destruction. Judeans returning from the Babylonian exile settled here (Neh 11:30), and during the Persian period Lachish was rebuilt as a governmental center. The city gate and city wall were restored, and a palace (the Residency), a temple (the Solar Shrine), and a few large buildings were erected on the summit.

The Residency was constructed on the foundation podium of the Judean palace-fort, which was cleared of the debris of the Palace C superstructure. However, the new edifice was smaller than the previous one. The building contained a large, square court and two porticoes opened to it. Hence its plan combined that of an Assyrian open-court house and a N Syrian *bit-hilani*. The square column bases in the porticos are cut in Persian style. At the end of Level I the Residency was settled by squatters. The Solar Shrine, measuring ca. 27 by 17 m, was built NE of the Residency in similar style, and both were probably contemporary. Its entrance faced E, hence the name given by Starkey. A bronze lamp and a limestone altar are the most important finds from the shrine. Among the finds from Level I are imported Greek pottery and many small stone incense altars found in caves at the foot of the mound.

The settlement came to an end during the earlier part of the Hellenistic period. The settlement pattern shifted to Marissa, and then to Eleutheropolis (Beth-Govrin). The reason for this shift is not clear. The Roman road from Eleutheropolis to Gaza passed near Lachish (as stated by Eusebius), and a segment of the road was uncovered by Starkey; other segments were recently identified and surveyed by Y. Dagan (oral information).

A large number of coins from different periods were found on the surface of the tell, indicating that the summit was continuously cultivated. Some areas of the summit contained burials termed "medieval graves" by the British. They were usually devoid of any burial offerings, and their date is unknown. The

latest remains of the site are trenches, cartridges, and coins from Israel's War of Independence in 1948 A.D., when an Israeli unit was stationed on the tell.

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DAVID USSISHKIN

**LACHISH LETTERS.** In the course of the six archaeological excavations conducted by the Wellcome-Mars-ton Archaeological Research Expedition at Tell ed-Duweir (ancient Lachish) between 1932 and 1938, twenty-one inscribed ostraca were found which, together with another ostracon discovered by Y. Aharoni in 1966 at the site of the city's so-called "Solar Shrine," perhaps comprise the single most significant corpus of Hebrew epigraphic material to have thus far come to light. All the ostraca appear to date to the last phase of Judahite occupation (Level 2), thus to the city destroyed in Nebuchadrezzar's conquest of Judah in 586 B.C.E. Their contribution to the study of ancient Hebrew—paleography and orthography, grammar and syntax—and its epistolographic tradition is surpassed only by their historical value as a witness to the situation prevailing in Judah during the final days of the Davidic State.

In the *editio princeps,* Torczyner (1938) labeled, albeit loosely, the eighteen ostraca recovered in 1935 just inside the city's outer-gate "letters." However, they and the ostraca of 1938 (nos. 19–21) and 1966 (no. 22) represent a heterogeneous collection. Nos. 10, 14, 15, and 21 are practically unreadable (Lemaire 1977: 139); while no. 20 is in fact an inscription on a jar, having been found together with other fragments of the same storage vessel just E of the palace-fortress (Lemaire 1977: 134–35). Since of the ostraca that remain, nos. 1, 11, 19, and 22 are lists of proper names, composed for administrative purposes, this leaves only nos. 2–6, 8–9, 12–13, and 16–18 that may with some confidence be identified as letters or parts thereof (Pardee 1982: 12). While several ostraca (nos. 2, 6–8, 18) originally came from the same pot and apparently were written by the same hand, the enormous quantity of jar fragments found with them, many blackened by fire (Torczyner 1938: 11), gives little endorsement to the search for a unitary explanatory context for these or a majority of the preserved ostraca (Pardee 1982: 77).

Among the ostraca discovered in 1935, nos. 1–15 and 18 belong to a single cache taken from the burnt deposit of a room adjoining the outer gate, plausibly identified as the guardroom. As such, it was a place where messages are likely to have been received by the commander of the fortress (Starkey 1938: 11–12). Indeed, where the relationship between sender and recipient can be determined, the letters belonging to this group appear to be addressed without exception from an inferior to a superior. Regrettably, the inferior is mentioned only once by name, in no. 3:1 identified as Hoshaiah; three times, however, in nos. 2:1, 3:2, and 6:1, the recipient is identified as Yaosh, who may, on the basis of allusions contained in the letters as well as the address "my lord," reasonably be identified as the commander of the fortress itself. Broadly speaking, the letters, where sufficiently preserved to permit a decision, are of the nature of military correspondence (Pardee 1982: 159), revealing Yaosh's wide-ranging involvement in, and concern for, administrative, political, and military issues of local and national importance.

**A. Language**

The language of the letters reflects throughout the popular Hebrew spoken in Judah in the early 6th century. Here we may call attention to the noncontraction of diphthongs, characteristic of the south, as well as to the use of shorter, popular grammatical speech forms, reflected in many portions of the MT's consonantal text. New to the Hebrew lexicon are several items found in the letters, such as the expression *ʿt kym*, "right now," (2:3) or *lnṣḥ*, "ever," (3:10); rare Hebrew words are also found, as *dlt* (4:3),

indicating some type of writing material, or *mśʾt* (4:10), used for "fire signal." Of interest are the occurrences of the formula of courtesy *my ʿbdk klb ky*, "Who is your servant (but) a dog that …," used by an inferior addressing Yaosh (2:3–4), and the oath formula *ḥyhwh*, "As Yahweh lives …" (3:9). While generally the orthography reflects preexilic practice in the use *matres lectionis*, at least one instance of an internal *mater lectionis* (viz. *hʿyrh*, 4:7), in a context where the reading is undisputed, indicates the onset of postexilic practice, found also sporadically in the Arad Ostraca.

The Lachish Letters, though characteristically allusive in their subject matter rather than discursive, provide, because of their length and relatively nonstereotypical language, an important source for the study of Hebrew grammar and syntax in the early sixth century B.C.E. In its use of long and elaborate syntactical structures, the language of the letters is in fact reminiscent of the Deuteronomist and especially the prose style of Jeremiah. This puts an additional burden upon the modern translator/interpreter. For a straightforward analysis is encumbered by the necessity of reconstructing a context for the letters' characteristically elliptical phraseology (a context presumed alike by the original sender and receiver) and by the limitations on analysis the ostraca's state of preservation imposes.

**B. Epistolography**

The Lachish Letters, though limited to communications from an inferior to a superior submitting reports or requesting directives, furnish valuable data on current epistolary style and practice. In addition to the variety of greeting formulas employed (e.g., "May Yahweh have my lord hear good news right now, right now …" 2:1–3), several formal features immediately stand out. The *praescriptio* consists of (1) an address ("to my lord"), with or without the name of the recipient, and lacking (except in one letter) the name of the sender, followed by the greeting (above); or (2) simply a greeting formula without an address. The body of the letter is then introduced either by the familiar transitional particle *wʿt*, "and now," or, unique to Lachish, the formula noted above, "Who is your servant (but) a dog that …" No closing formulas, such as emerge in the letters of the Bar Kokhba period, follow the body of the letter proper.

**C. Historical Significance**

The most important of the letters historically are nos. 3, 4, and 6. While none of the allusions or names contained in them, with the possible exception of no. 4, can be correlated precisely with biblical personages or events, the letters mirror to a remarkable degree the troubled atmosphere prevailing in Judah on the eve of its conquest, transparent in the biblical account of the prophet Jeremiah.

Letter no. 3, a letter of Hoshaiah to Yaosh and the longest Hebrew letter dating to the monarchy, appears to report in fact on just the sort of embassy to obtain Egyptian assistance alluded to in Ezek 17:15 and against which Jeremiah (37:7) railed so vehemently. "And to your servant it has been reported that the general of the army, Coniah, son of Elnathan, has gone down to enter Egypt, and he has sent to fetch from here Hodaviah, the son of Ahijah, and his men" (13–18). Could Coniah, son of Elnathan, mentioned here, be related to Elnathan, son of Achbor, sent by King Jehoiakim to Egypt to arrest the prophet Uriah (Jer 26:22)? The letter concludes with the tantalizing report that Hoshaiah is dispatching to Yaosh the letter of one Tobiah, the servant of the king, that came to a man by the name of Shallum through the mediation of an unnamed prophet, containing the message "Beware!" Unfortunately, it is impossible to specify the object of this laconic warning; and although the prophet employed to convey the letter may have been known both to Hoshaiah and Yaosh, every attempt to identify him with a biblical prophet must remain hypothetical. The impression conveyed by the letter generally of intense political maneuvering and factional disunity, nevertheless, accords well with what we know from the Bible.

The most intriguing of all the letters is no. 4, even if the interpretation of its enigmatic contents has been the subject of considerable dispute. At issue are, in particular, two statements made in the body of the letter which, on one interpretation, allude to the abandonment of Beth-harapid (4–6), an outpost of unknown location, and to the fall of Azekah, ten miles north of Lachish, mentioned in Jer 34:6–7 as one of two fortresses including Lachish left remaining to Judah before Jerusalem's fall: "And may (my lord) know that we are watching for the signals of Lachish according to all the signs which my lord gave. For we do not see Azekah" (10–13). If so, this letter must date to the final critical phase of the Babylonian campaign, shortly before the capture of Lachish itself. But on another, if less accepted reading, the letter

may simply allude to preparations for imminent invasion, i.e., the evacuation of small towns and the testing of a system of fire signals to warn of the enemy's advance (Pardee 1982: 95).

The interpretation of no. 6 is problematic as well, because at several key points in the letter the writing is almost totally effaced. But the unquestionable reference in lines 5–6 to the negative effect that certain statements being made are having on the situation makes probable an allusion to the circulation of letters from high-placed Judean officials that were demoralizing in the face of the Babylonian threat. This accords with what we know in the Bible both of Zedekiah's own vacillation in the rebellion and of the support Jeremiah received from influential members of Judah's nobility.

It can only be hoped that technical advances in the instrumentation used for epigraphic analysis will in the future enable scholars to refine their conclusions concerning these and other matters of interpretation, making possible a fuller appreciation of this important corpus of ancient Hebrew letters and documents.

The texts of selected Lachish letters are available with German translation and notes in *KAI,* 192–99. English translations include *ANET,* 322 (by W. F. Albright), and, with Hebrew text and notes, *TSSI* 1: 32–49.

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ROBERT A. DI VITO

**LADAN** (PERSON) [Heb *la·dān* (לַעְדָּן)]. **1.** A descendant of Ephraim and therefore a descendant of Joshua, the hero of the Conquest (1 Chr 7:26). Ladan is the son of Tahan and father of Ammihud. The only other listing of the Ephraimite clan is in Num 26:35–36, and Ladan is not found there. However, some of the names prior to Ammihud are found in the Numbers passage.

**2.** A Gershonite Levite (1 Chr 23:7–8; 26:21). Gershon is elsewhere in the OT Gershom, indicating perhaps divergent authorship. Gershon, Kohath, and Merari were the sons of Levi. The first son of Gershon is otherwise Libni (1 Chr 6:2—Eng6:17; Exod 6:17; Num 3:21) but Ladan in 1 Chr 23:7–8 and 26:21. Ladan has three sons: Jehiel, Zetham, and Joel, according to 23:8. Libni (6:5—Eng 6:20) has one son, Jahath (cf. 23:10). This Jehiel is found also in 1 Chr 26:21–22 (spelled Jehieli) as a Gershonite whose sons Zetham and Joel were over the treasuries of Yahweh's temple. The phrase "these were the heads of the family of Ladan" (1 Chr 23:9) seems out of place and requires some textual emendations (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 158).

M. STEPHEN DAVIS

**LADDER OF TYRE** (PLACE) [Gk *klimax Tyrou* (κλιμαξ Τυρου)]. A distinctive geofeature which marked the N boundary of the Seleucid eparchy of Paralia over which Antiochus VI made Simon Maccabeus responsible (1 Macc 11:59; *Ant* 13.5.5. §146). Josephus, in locating Simon's territory, described the Ladder of Tyre as being 100 stadia N of Acre and the highest mountain in Galilee and Carmel (*JW* 2.10.2). This feature along the coast was also reportedly the northernmost boundary of the harvest of murex shells used in the production of purple dye (Totius Orbis Descriptio 29). The description which includes Carmel is problematic since Mt. Carmel, at 550 m, is higher than the ridges N of Acre which have a maximum elevation of 300 m. However, N of the plain of Acre there are several precipitous promontories which extend into the Mediterranean. These ridges prevented easy communication between Acre and Tyre along the coast. The climbing involved in traversing this route may have been the origin of the toponym "Ladder of Tyre." It has also been observed that when viewed collectively from the S, these ridges provide an image of rungs whereby one may ascend to Tyre. The promontories Ras Musheirefeh,

Ras en-Nakurah, and Ras el-ʿAbyadh separately are all possible candidates for this location. Simons (*GTTOT*, 416) assigns the toponym "Ladder of Tyre" as a collective name for the series of promontories S of Tyre that extend into the Mediterranean.
ROBERT W. SMITH

**LADY, ELECT.** See ELECT LADY.

**LAEL** (PERSON) [Heb *lāʾēl* (לָאֵל)]. According to Num 3:24, the father of Eliasaph, the leader of the Gershonite subdivision (father's house) of the tribe of Levi. Noth (*IPN*, 32, 153) proposed a translation of the name such as "belonging to God," or "God's special possession," and suggested that it expressed a close relation between God and the name bearer while attributing no particular aspect to that relation.
RICHARD D. WEIS

**LAGASH.** The name of an important Sumerian city-state from the 3d millennium of which two urban centers have been found and partially excavated: Tello (= Girsu) and el-Hiba (= Lagash). Tello was the first site to produce important vestiges of Sumerian civilization. In 1877, E. de Sarzec, French Vice-Consul in Bassorah, having learned that statues had been found by clandestine excavators, undertook excavations there. At the end of the first four seasons, he announced in 1881 the importance of his discoveries. Up until his death in 1900, he had led eleven excavations in all. G. Cros continued exploration from 1903 to 1909 (four excavations), then H. de Genouillac returned to the site three times from 1929 to 1931 and A. Parrot led two digs there from 1931 to 1933. These twenty excavations have brought to light rich and varied material (statues, steles, cylinder seals, tablets, etc.) that for a long time have been the base of our knowledge of Sumerian civilization. However, much is still unknown about the city and its architecture. Between the regular excavations, clandestine digs devastated the site and dumped onto the market thousands of objects and tablets whose origins were unknown. But this destructive pillaging is not the only thing responsible: research was often conducted without careful methods, without knowledge of the unbaked brick architecture and without consideration of stratigraphy. Thus it is more the objects and tablets that allow one to talk about Tello than the archaeology itself.

However, exploration recently undertaken at El-Hiba, if it is continued, will help in compensating for certain gaps in the archaeological knowledge. This site, the largest of the S tells with more than 500 hectares, is found about 20 km to the NE of Tello. It was excavated for the first time in 1887 by R. Koldewey, who found only a large necropolis there. In 1968 an American group engaged in a systematic study of the site, and thus far five excavations have been conducted under the direction of V. E. Crawford and D. P. Hansen, the first four in 1968–69, 1970–71, 1972–73, and 1975–76. The results have still been published only partially, but the research deals in particular with two sanctuaries from the Early Dynastic period that show the interest there will be to continue the exploration.

The work and the study of the tablets suggest that Lagash was a state composed of several urban centers; the capital was without doubt in El-Hiba itself, but Tello-Girsu during antiquity was certainly (if one refers to its extended area and the quality of the finds found by the French team) a city of equal importance, perhaps with a more religious vocation.

It is during the 3d millennium that Lagash played a large role. The site of Tello had been occupied since the Ubaid period, and material from Uruk and Jemdet Nasr have been found. It is, however, impossible to evaluate the role of the importance of the city during this long period. It is during the Early Dynastic III period that the inscriptions bring to light the active role played by certain of the *ensi* (i.e., rulers) of Lagash, some of whom are Urnanshe, Eannatum, Entemena and Urukagina. The famous Stele of the Vultures (now in the Louvre Museum) that was drawn up to commemorate the victory of Lagash over Umma, illustrate thus the territorial rivalries and the certainly tumultuous life of the cities of Sumer. The rich and varied material—statuettes, most often fragmentary reliefs, sometimes called New Year plaques; masses of sculpted armaments, like that of Mesilim; different arms and tools out of bronze; the very beautiful Entemena vase, in silver, on which a leontocephalous eagle linking animals was engraved four times; fragments of engraved shell; cylindrical seals; foundation figurines, etc.—come without doubt for

the most part from the temple consecrated to the principal god Ningirsu; the architecture of this temple is unfortunately practically unknown. At El-Hiba, however, the beginning of excavations at the Ibgal Temple of the goddess Inanna looks like a promising example of religious architecture; the last of the three levels seems to link the building to a series of oval or circular temples. At El-Hiba, the Ibgal of Inanna, of which the last phase was built by Eannatum, and the Bagara of Ningirsu are still very rare examples of the real importance of the city. The Old Akkadian period does not seem to have left marked traces, but at Lagash one finds evidence of Gudea and the beginning of the Neo-Sumerian renaissance after the dark age of Guti around 2150 B.C. The reconstruction of the temple of Ningirsu at Tello is known to us only through texts (cylinder A of Gudea); it clearly reveals important commercial trade relations because materials from the mountains of Amanus were brought to the site as well as from the gulf countries of Magan and Meluhha. But what shows at the same time, the real strength and originality of Lagash at this moment, is the collection of diorite statues of Gudea. See Fig. ART.14 in the article Art and Architecture—Mesopotamian Art and Architecture. The hydraulic works that have been unearthed on the eastern tell of Tello also clearly show the high degree of technology attained by the Sumerian civilization.

However, it is not Lagash but Ur that becomes the center of the empire and the focus of the Sumerian renaissance. With the Ur III period, Lagash is no longer an important center, but nevertheless, Tello and El-Hiba have provided architectural material that attests to a relative survival of the city during the course of the second and first millennia. See also *RLA* sub "Lagash."

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JEAN-CL. MARGUERON
TRANS. STEPHEN ROSOFF

**LAHAD** (PERSON) [Heb *lāhad* (לָהַד)]. Listed among the descendants of Judah (1 Chr 4:2). Nothing is otherwise known of him.

**LAHAV** (PLACE). See HALIF, TEL.

**LAHMAM** (PLACE) [Heb *laḥmām* (לַחְמָם)]. Town situated in the Shephelah, or lowlands, of Judah (Josh 15:40), within the same district as Lachish. Although the MT reads *laḥmās*, the vast majority of manuscripts support reading a final *mem*, which is easily confused with *samek*, especially in the square script (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 380). This settlement is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The ancient settlement is most probably to be located at Khirbet el-Lahm (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 386), located approximately 4.5 km S of Beit Jibrin (M.R. 140108).

WADE R. KOTTER

**LAHMI** (PERSON) [Heb *laḥmî* (לַחְמִי)]. A Philistine, the brother of Goliath the Gittite, slain by Elhanan according to 1 Chr 20:5. The parallel passage in 2 Sam 21:19 depicts Elhanan as the slayer not of Goliath's brother but of Goliath himself, which would appear to contradict the information in 1 Samuel 17, in which David vanquishes Goliath. However, in spite of attempts to identify David and Elhanan and thereby relieve a tension in the biblical text (see GOLIATH), it is most often felt that the name of Goliath is secondary in 1 Sam 17:4 and 23. Thus the question is whether Elhanan slew Goliath or his brother, Lahmi. Where the MT of 2 Sam 21:19 refers to Elhanan as "the Bethlehemite" *bŏt hallaḥmî ʾēt*, 1 Chr 20:5 reads the object "Lahmi, the brother of" *ʾet-laḥmî ʾăhî*, in which the *laḥmî* element of

"Bethlehemite" has become an independent personal noun. In this case it appears most likely that 2 Sam 21:19 preserves the original version. Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 142) cautions against automatically assuming that the Chronicler deliberately changed his source in order to relieve the tension between the deed ascribed to David in 1 Samuel 17 and the one ascribed to Elhanan in 2 Samuel 21 and raises the possibility that the Chronicler may have been attempting to make comprehensible a difficult *Vorlage*.
CARL S. EHRLICH

**LAISH** (PERSON) [Heb *layiš* (לַיִשׁ)]. Father of Palti, the husband of Michal, the daughter of Saul (1 Sam 25:44, 2 Sam 3:15 [ketib *lwš*]). Michal had been previously married to David, but after he fell into disfavor with Saul, the Israelite king gave his daughter to the son of Laish. When David assumed the kingship, Michal was returned to him, with Palti experiencing much grief. The name "Laish" means "lion," the use of animal names not being an uncommon practice in Israel. The person was named because of a particular trait of the animal that was valued (Noth *IPN,* 229–30). Laish came from Gallim, which was probably located in Benjamin, on a route on which the Assyrian army advanced to Jerusalem in the late 8th century B.C. (cf. Isa 10:30).
STEPHEN G. DEMPSTER

**LAISH** (PLACE) [Heb *layiš* (לַיִשׁ)]. Var. LESHEM. A city in the extreme N of Canaan (M.R. 211294) that at least a part of the Israelite tribe of Dan (cf. Mazar 1960) attacked and conquered and made their new home (Judges 18). Josh 19:47 mentions that the name of the site before the appearance of the Danites was Leshem (Heb *lešem*) instead of Laish. However, according to both accounts, the Danites renamed the town Dan after their ancestral heritage (Judg 18:29; Josh 19:47). Malamat (1970: 171) says simply that the Joshua account is "possibly corrupt," while Boling and Wright (*Joshua* 466) suggest that in Leshem the "final *m* may be enclitic." The LXX offers some differences from the MT account of Joshua, and in an amplified discussion states that Dan was unable to settle in their allotment and that the tribe of Judah conquered *Lachis* naming it *Lasendak* (LXX Josh 19:48). This reference tends to imply that the site was located in S Canaan. It is unclear if Judah then gave the town to Dan. Earlier extrabiblical historical accounts and archaeological excavations make clear that the city of Laish (and the later city of Dan) should be located in the far N of Canaan.

Laish is mentioned as one of the objects of the Egyptian curses in the Execration Texts (Posener 1940: E59) in a context along with Hazor; it is also mentioned in the royal archives at Mari, also in association with Hazor (Malamat 1970). The Mari text records the shipment of ca. 8.33 minas (ca. 4.5 kg) of tin to Laish (Malamat 1971). Additionally, the excavations have discovered an inscription whose reconstructed reading appears to be a dedication to the god who was at Dan. The inscription was written in Greek and Aramaic, and Biran suggests that it dates from the early 2d century B.C. (1981a: 145–47).

Laish is N of the Huleh basin, on a main branch road which passes from the Mediterranean inland to Damascus and Syria. Copious perennial springs surround the site and combine to become one of the tributaries of the Jordan river.

The excavations at Laish (see more detailed discussion in DAN [PLACE]) have provided indications of a significant (ca. 50 acres) EB II–III settlement (Biran 1987: 101–102), but the exposure has not been extensive enough to clarify the nature of the social organization. The MB city, however, is represented in both domestic (Biran *EAEHL* 1: 315–16) and monumental architecture, as well as tombs. The excavations have uncovered an impressively built MB tomb with a rich collection of wares, which Biran suggests was associated with one of the high ranking families of the city (1986: 173–79). The MB city was protected with a massive sloping earth rampart which had been laid against a stone core. On the SE corner of the fortification system was found an intact arched mudbrick city gate and tower complex (Biran 1981b). This gate and fortification system may have belonged to the city mentioned in both the Mari and Execration Texts. Furthermore, the reference to Dan in Gen 14:14, when Abraham pursued the four kings of Mesopotamia to rescue his nephew, Lot, may be an allusion to the city associated with this fortification system (Biran 1984: 19). (Obviously, the reference in Genesis is to "Laish"; the reference to "Dan" is an

anachronism, since the town did not receive that name until much later.) Surprisingly, the gate complex was apparently deliberately buried, probably because of foundational or structural defects (Biran 1984: 7–9).

While Laish was not the largest site in the area (cf. Hazor at over 700 dunams), it was still large (ca. 200 dunams), implying a sizable population. That the rulers of Laish were able to organize and command crews to construct the ramparts and gate complex, then bury the gate and perhaps construct another elsewhere, implies the presence of a strong, centralized ruling power. Such power might be that to which the Egyptians were reacting when they cited the city of Laish in their Execration Texts. The importation of a large quantity of tin from Mari also implies it had economic power, probably as a center of metallurgy and as a redistribution center for finished products. LB Laish is attested in Thutmose III's list of Canaanite cities (No. 31: *ANET,* 242), but evidence of his campaign at Laish has not been located in the excavations. One find, however, indicates contact with Egypt during this period: a red granite statuette of a seated man, inscribed with the name Nefertem. The style is indicative of the 19th Dyn. (ca. 14th century B.C.; Biran 1987: 105). The richness of LB Laish can be inferred from the Mycenaean tomb (387) with its ceramic repertoire of imported wares (Biran 1974: 34) which in turn "presupposes the existence of a large and wealthy community in the 14th–13th centuries B.C." (Biran 1980: 172–73). Some areas of stratified LB remains have come to light, and in one was found an exquisite ceramic plaque of a dancer playing a lute (Biran 1986: 168–73). It is unclear exactly what defenses the LB community had, since none have been located for this period—apparently they relied upon the old MB fortification ramparts (Biran 1969: 122–23; 1987: 104). Perhaps a weakened fortification system is part of what is reflected in the analysis by the spies in Judg 18:7, which describes the people of Laish as those who "dwelt in security, … quiet and unsuspecting." The phrase that the people of Laish lived "after the manner of the Sidonians" (Heb *kĕmišpat ṣidōnîm*) has been interpreted generally either to refer to commercial enterprises as the basis of the economy (cf. Moore *Judges* ICC: 390) or to a non-military and peaceful nature (cf. Boling *Judges* AB, 260, 263; Klein 1988: 156–57).

It was against this LB city that the Danites mustered their forces; the city apparently received no defensive assistance from their neighboring powers (Judg 18:7, 28). The text states that the Danites burned the town (v 27), but no evidence for a widespread destruction by fire on this transitional horizon has been found at the site. There is, however, evidence of a change as seen in the sudden appearance of numerous pits and the collar-rim storejar. Biran suggests that these features might indicate the appearance of the Danites (Biran 1987: 105–06).

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DALE W. MANOR

**LAISHAH** (PLACE) [Heb *layšâ* (לַיְשָׁה)]. A site NE of Jerusalem (Isa 10:30). It is mentioned in a text in which an "enemy from the north" launches a surprise attack on Jerusalem along a byway which

runs E of the main road from Shechem to Jerusalem. The discussion as to whether Isa 10:27b–34 reflects a real event or is a visionary anticipation (Wildberger *Jesaja* BK [1–12], 425–29), may be based on a false alternative, since it is conceivable that both military and cultic recollections could have been combined (Christensen 1976: 395–97), and so together have influenced expectations of the future (Clements 1980: 118–19). The redactional structure of Isaiah 10 makes it likely that the Assyrians were the enemy in question (see vv 5–15, 33–34).

The identification of Laishah with el-ʿIsāwīje (M.R. 174134), which has been continuously suggested since it was first proposed by Dalman (1916: 53–54), is based on uncertain etymological considerations. Dalman thought that Laishah was Arabic misunderstood as el-ʿAyšā (i.e., feminine proper name plus definite article) and then confused with ʿIsa (Esau, Jesus). However, topographical and archaeological reasons exclude the almost inaccessible el-ʿIsāwīje. Other sites in the vicinity of Jerusalem are to be preferred, in particular probably (Donner 1968: 54) Kh. Rās et-Tawīl (M.R. 173138).

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RÜDIGER LIWAK

**LAKKUM** (PLACE) [Heb *laqqûm* (לַקּוּם)]. A town in the allotment of Naphtali (Josh 19:33).

Lakkum appears in a list of border sites, and it is the last site mentioned in an apparent line along Wadi Fajjas toward the Jordan river. Most scholars identify Lakkum with Khirbet el-Mansurah (M.R. 202233), about 11 miles NW of Tiberias (see, for instance, Woudstra 1981: 291). W. S. LaSor (*ISBE* 3: 61), however, notes that "this location seems too far from the Jordan."

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DAVID SALTER WILLIAMS

**LAMB.** The common sheep (*ovis aries*) has been domesticated in various subspecies for 8,000 years, beginning in western Asia. As one of the first animals to be domesticated, the sheep is also the most completely domesticated—indeed, hyperdomesticated—of all animals. Though several species of wild sheep survive, feral sheep—that is, escaped domesticated sheep living in the wild—are unknown. Domesticated sheep never truly escape, they merely stray, for sheep without a shepherd are incapable of surviving. Food, water, defense against predators, even reproduction—for all these, the sheep requires human intervention and assistance. And in this regard, the sheep is more "human" than any other animal. That is, culture has replaced nature in the sheep's life as it has in the life of humankind. Sheep need human care as humans need human care, and this isomorphism of need proved a powerful stimulus to the religious imagination first of Ancient Israel and later of Early Christianity.

**A. The Lamb in the Mind of Ancient Israel**

The literary imagination of Ancient Israel was not, in general, a fabulist imagination. The sentimental, didactic spirit of Aesop is Greek, not Israelite. With a very few exceptions, there are no talking animals in the OT, and certainly no animal protagonists, no animals with private lives or personalities. The one extremely striking exception to this rule is the 23d Psalm, in which the Psalmist speak as a sheep—"The Lord is my shepherd," etc.—and recounts the various ways in which his vulnerabilities are respected. Sheep will not drink from streams, only from pools; therefore, "By restful waters he leads me." They will not lower their heads into buckets or troughs; therefore, "My cup is overflowing." The animal husbandry in this psalm has often been discussed. Less often noted is the evidence it provides of the unique appeal of the sheep as a psychological surrogate for human weakness and innocent helplessness.

The equation of sheep with man is striking as well in the story of the binding of Isaac. Here, of course, the equation is not one of grown sheep and adult man but of lamb and child, the young of both species

being alike in their touching inability to tell friend from foe. "God will provide the lamb," Abraham says to Isaac (Gen 22:8), all the while expecting to slay his son. Isaac believes his father, trusting just as the lamb, anthropomorphized, seems to trust when it is led unresisting to the slaughterground.

The equation of lamb and child is made in another way at 2 Sam 12:3–4: "The poor man had nothing but a ewe lamb, one only, a small one he had bought. This he fed, and it grew up with him and his children, eating his bread, drinking from his cup, sleeping on his breast; it was like a daughter to him." Here, the prophet Nathan is comparing Uriah the Hittite's love for his wife Bathsheba to the love a poor man might feel for a cherished lamb. King David, who has abused Uriah by seducing Bathsheba, is overwhelmed by the parable—overwhelmed as he could not have been if, in the Israelite cultural context, quasiparental fondness for a lamb were outlandish or repulsive.

These examples, though suggestive, prove only that the lamb was available as a metaphor to the Ancient Israelite literary mind. They do not prove that it was heavily used. Ancient Israel was a pastoral nation; and most of the time, when the OT makes reference to a lamb, it is a real lamb that is intended.

This is notably true of the Passover lamb of Exodus 12. At Yahweh's instruction, the Israelites slay a lamb and splash its blood on their lintels so that Yahweh will "pass over" their houses when he passes through Egypt slaying the firstborn of the land. The lamb's blood is a signal here, not a symbol. And as for the relationship between Yahweh and the slain lamb, it is one of simple instrumentality. Indeed, Yahweh in these chapters of the OT is supremely unlamblike. The slaying of the firstborn of Egypt is the first of his great acts as the Divine Warrior, leading his people Israel to victory over Egypt. Two chapters later, after the crossing of the Red Sea, Moses exults (Exod 15:1–3): "Yahweh I sing: he has covered himself in glory,/ Horse and rider he has thrown into the sea … Yahweh is a warrior; Yahweh is his name."

In Yahweh's covenant with Israel, provision is made (Exodus 29; Numbers 28 and 29) for the sacrifice of lambs at various times, including the annual commemoration of Passover itself. Nowhere in the covenant, however, is the suggestion ever remotely made that Yahweh himself is or has any special relationship—much less anything approaching identification—with the sacrificial lamb (or with any other sacrificial animals). Yahweh, though "a God of tenderness and compassion, slow to wrath, rich in kindness and faithfulness" (Exod 34:6), remains a warrior. On the rare occasions when the OT uses animal imagery to speak of him, the imagery it chooses is appropriate to his central identity; thus, lion imagery in Isa 31:4; Jer 49:19; 50:44; Hos 5:14; Amos 1:2; Hos 11:10; 13:7ff. To this general statement there is just one highly circumscribed but still striking exception.

The exception is the work of the writer whom biblical scholarship calls "Deutero-Isaiah," the author of Isaiah 40–55. These chapters contain a much-discussed set of "Servant Songs," in which redemption and victory are promised to a suffering servant of Yahweh, a victim almost certainly to be identified with Israel. A crucial passage in one of these songs (Isa 53:6–7) reads:

> We had all gone astray like sheep,
> each taking his own way,
> and Yahweh burdened him
> with the sins of all of us.
> Harshly dealt with, he bore it humbly,
> he never opened his mouth
> like a lamb that is led to the slaughterhouse,
> like a sheep that is dumb before its shearers
> never opening its mouth.

The lamb in this passage is not to be identified with the paschal (Passover) lamb of Israel. The sufferer who is compared to the lamb is not necessarily to be identified with the Messiah. Neither the lamb nor the servant is by any means to be identified with Yahweh himself. The passage remains a pregnant one, however, because of the imaginative advance it makes in employing the lamb as a metaphor and a matrix for thought. More than just an innocent sufferer, the lamb here is a surrogate sufferer; not just a blameless victim, then, but also in some way a vicarious victim. The broad compatibility of this metaphor with the

victim-substitution stories of the binding of Isaac and the sparing of the firstborn of Israel is clear, but there is a difference. Here the center of sympathy is, remarkably, the lamb rather than Isaac unbound or the Sons of Israel unslain. The same emotional displacement occurs in the 23d Psalm, but there, "I" am a cherished sheep, while here, "he" is a slain lamb, a shorn sheep.

**B. The Lamb of God in Early Christianity**

Growth and development in any religious tradition typically proceed by the progressive expansion of once minor motifs and the corresponding neglect of once major ones. The expansion of the lamb motif is an extraordinary example of this process.

The New Testament—in fact, Christianity itself—is an interpretation of the death of Jesus in the light of the Hebrew scriptures. From the beginning, Christians have differed somewhat in their interpretations of that death; but the interpretation that, early and late, has attracted most adherents is that found in the Johannine literature; that is, in the Fourth Gospel, the letters of John, and the book of Revelation.

It is in this body of literature that we find expressed the theological understanding of the death of Jesus that was already embodied in Christian ritual at the time when Paul began his own reflection upon Jesus and upon Christian practice as he found it (cf. 1 Cor 5:7–8). In its final bold form, Johannine thought interprets the death of Jesus as a reenactment of God's redemption of Israel out of captivity in Egypt. But in this new redemption, (1) Israel is the entire human race, (2) Egypt is human sinfulness and oppression, and (3) the Redeemer (God) and the instrument of redemption (the Paschal Lamb) are mutually identified by being jointly identified with the person of Jesus Christ slain and risen.

The radical inversions of the Johannine soteriology provided a way for Jesus' disciples to understand the horror of his execution as a paradoxical accomplishment rather than as a simple defeat. But this was not the only reason for the success of this interpretation. At the start of the Christian era, Judaism, though old as a national religion, was relatively young as an international religion. The Johannine theology, as a reconceptualization of Jewish revelation, succeeded in part because it addressed two major conflicts affecting Judaism as lived and practiced in settings of permanent diaspora. If Paul was the Apostle to the gentiles and Luke the gentile Evangelist, John (or the Johannine School) served as the Evangelist of the Jewish Diaspora.

The Johannine inversions arose as an imaginative synthesis of scriptural references to the lamb with remembered facts about the life and, above all, the death of Jesus. In John 1:29–36, John the Baptist addresses Jesus as "the Lamb of God" in a passage written deliberately to link OT passages and motifs that, as we have noted, were originally separate: the Paschal Lamb and the lamblike Suffering Servant. Later in the Fourth Gospel, Jesus emphasizes that his life will be comprehensible only in his death, "when I am lifted up" (John 12:32). His crucifixion, at Passover, is described in a way that repeatedly draws attention to the season and underlines his identity as a new Passover victim; thus the Evangelist emphasizes his unprotesting, lamblike silence (19:9) and the fact that his bones, like those of the Paschal Lamb, are not broken (19:36).

The Fourth Gospel is also, among the four gospels, the one that goes furthest toward identifying Jesus with God: "In the beginning was the Word. The Word was with God, and the Word was God" (John 1:1); "The Father and I are one" (10:30); and similar statements. Students of the Johannine literature distinguish stages in this identification, but the direction is clear from the start. The sheep/man isomorphism that remained, for the most part, undeveloped in the OT is exploited in this part of the NT as the character of the messiah is expanded downward to identity with the sacrificial animal and upward to identity with God Himself.

It is in the book of Revelation, however, that the nearest approach is made and the fullest expression given to what we might call Christianity's mystical syllogism:

Jesus is the Lamb.
Jesus is God.
Therefore, the Lamb is God.

Twenty-nine of the thirty-four NT occurrences of "lamb" occur in this book, which is called "apocalypsis" or "revelation," not only and perhaps not principally because of what it reveals about the

course of events in (or beyond) the Roman Empire but because of what it reveals about the identity and character of God. The book of Revelation is the culminating theophany of the NT; and like the theophany on Mount Sinai, it follows, interprets, and memorializes a preceding drama of redemption.

By opening with John's letters to the seven churches of Asia Minor, the book of Revelation proclaims its own literary identity as a work addressed to the larger Mediterranean ecumene where the Jewish Diaspora and, dependent upon it, the new Christian Church resides. Immediately following this, in Revelation 4–5, comes the opening, and utterly decisive, portion of the theophany: God entrusts the Scroll of the Seven Seals—in effect, history itself—to the Lamb, and the Lamb himself is then worshipped as inseparable and practically indistinguishable from God: "In my vision, I heard the sound of an immense number of angels gathered round the throne and the animals and the elders; there were ten thousand times ten thousand of them and thousands upon thousands, shouting, 'The Lamb that was sacrificed is worthy to be given power, riches, wisdom, strength, honor, glory, and blessing.' Then I heard all the living things in creation—everything that lives in the air, and on the ground, and under the ground, and in the sea, crying, 'To the One who is sitting on the throne and to the Lamb, be all praise, honor, glory and power, for ever and ever.' And the four animals said, 'Amen'; and the elders prostrated themselves to worship" (Rev 5:11–14).

At one level, the book of Revelation is a triumphant, theophanic epilogue to the Johannine passion narrative. At another, it is a profoundly ironic conclusion to the Bible as a whole. For though the Lamb is honored as God, God is nonetheless inseparable henceforth from the Lamb—a sacrificed, slain lamb (Rev 5:6), to whom all history and humankind have now been entrusted. Though the preexilic prophets presented the Babylonian Captivity as the judgment and action of God rather than the defeat of God, Israel had to struggle to retain her faith in God's power as the centuries passed and no redemption comparable to the Exodus was forthcoming. Had God abandoned his Chosen People, or was he perhaps as helpless as they? The NT vision of the Lamb-God, truly triumphant but truly slain, is one kind of answer.

Taken as a vision of the end of time, the book of Revelation seems to pair with the book of Genesis as the end pairs with the beginning. But the central preoccupation of the Bible is not with temporal beginnings and endings. It is rather with histories of betrayal, revenge and oppression, on the one hand, and histories of covenant fidelity, forgiveness and liberation, on the other. If human history in general is an endless cycle of violence, one crime begetting another and another, how can the cycle ever be broken? It can be broken—the Johannine interpretation of the death of Jesus hints (if it does not quite propose)—if and only if the ultimately responsible party, God himself, pays the ultimate price in a sacrificial, atoning death.

Since all individual acts of violence are justified by reference to prior acts of violence, all are ultimately unsuccessful as they fail to return to the beginning of the chain. By the same token, once this return to the source of violence has been accomplished by an act of divine violence against God, no further, individual, human acts of retribution are necessary and therefore none are justified. The ultimate vengeance has already been exacted. It is thus that the Lamb of God "takes away the sin of the world" (John 1:19), thus that we are "washed in the blood of the Lamb" (Rev 7:14). The covenant of the blood of the Lamb promises victory to those who, like the Lamb, are unable to tell friend from foe.

And this covenant—the marriage of the Lamb to "the new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven" (Rev 21:2)—is to embrace all humankind. When the covenant formula of Ezekiel is quoted a verse later—"They shall be his people, and he will be their God" (Rev 21:3; Ezek 37:27), language once restricted to Israel is used, quite pointedly, without such restriction. Diaspora Judaism faced an obvious inner tension on this point: its God claimed general jurisdiction over humankind but acknowledged a particular responsibility for Israel. That tension was to be addressed in various ways as the history of Jewish thought continued to unfold in overwhelmingly gentile settings. Johannine Christianity addressed the same tension by a radical broadening of the divine responsibility. In effect, after the Gospel According to John identifies a new redemptive event in the death and resurrection of Jesus, the book of Revelation writes a new covenant and builds a new ritual around it. (Cf. 1 Cor 5:7: "Christ, our Passover, has been sacrificed; therefore let us keep the feast.")

The process by which, on the one hand, Jesus was identified with the pre-existent God and, on the other, God Himself was reconceived as simultaneously a warrior and a victim, was largely but not entirely complete by the end of the NT period (for an example of its use in early proselytism, see Acts 8:26–40). Its further trajectory in the history of the early Church may be charted, in part, iconographically. By the 4th century, no motif, including that of the cross itself, is more prominent than that of the Lamb, and none is presented in more highly interpreted, content-laden ways. The Lamb is often seen holding the pennon of victory crooked in one of its forelegs. In the apse of Old St. Peter's in Rome, the Lamb stands before the empty cross. In the church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, Rome, the Lamb is portrayed, after Revelation 22, on a mount from which flow streams of living water. These and other Lamb motifs appear again and again in 4th-century Spain, France, Germany, and Italy.

The Lamb motif has remained prominent into modern times in the popular piety of all branches of Christianity. The Eastern Orthodox church imprints the Lamb on its communion bread. The Roman Catholic church, at least until the Second Vatican Council, employed a sacramental called the "Agnus Dei," blessed wax in a lambskin packet. The popular hymnody of the Protestant churches cherishes the Lamb motif as no other ("Washed in the Blood of the Lamb" and many other hymns).

The same motif, however, has inspired stupendous Byzantine mosaics and such masterpieces of music as the opening antiphonal lament of J. S. Bach's "St. Matthew Passion" and the "Hallelujah Chorus" of Frederick Handel's "Messiah." If there is one adjective that one would not think of applying to that chorus, it is "ironic." And yet the notion of the God-Man, Redeemer-Victim, Warrior-Lamb is inescapably paradoxical and even ironic, with an irony that must surely have been appreciated by the artist who first put the victory pennon in the lamb's tiny foreleg and surely was appreciated by the author of the Fourth Gospel whose Jesus, the only deeply and repeatedly ironic voice in the entire Bible, was its creator.

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JOHN R. MILES

**LAMBDA.** The eleventh letter of the Greek alphabet.

**LAME, LAMENESS.** Lameness may be defined as a compromised ability to walk or otherwise use limbs due to any of several pathological or other crippling conditions. Lameness may result from (1) trauma, as in healed breaks with malunion of the bone; (2) metabolic diseases; (3) nutritional diseases, such as rickets (vitamin D deficiency); (4) degenerative diseases, such as arthritis; (5) congenital defects of the skeleton, such as the dysplasias; and (6) infectious diseases, such as polio. In modern times "lameness" might include minor problems such as limping or periodic gimpiness. However, a study of the biblical examples of lameness indicate that severe crippling disability is meant by the various terms discussed here. This is made clear by several descriptions of lameness. The legs of the lame hung

uselessly (Prov 26:7, the Hebrew of which is difficult, perhaps meaning "drawn up," thus "unequal in length"). Lameness required the victim to ride animals instead of walking (2 Sam 19:26). Lameness so disabled victims that they lay around markets and city gates of Jerusalem begging and annoying travelers (2 Sam 5:6), often having to be carried by family members to strategic locations daily in order to beg for alms (Acts 3:1–3). One NT period lame man was unable to set himself in the waters of the pool of Bethesda at the moment of the healing surge even after attempts to do so for many years (John 5:3).

**A. Lameness in the OT**

The OT uses several words to denote lameness or a crippled condition. Most common is the Hebrew *pisēaḥ*, "lame" (for which the LXX translates *xōlos*). Also found is *nākēh*, "stricken, wounded"; *ḥoreb*, "withered"; and *ṣela‘*, "limping, stumbling." Also, three men of the name *Pāsēaḥ*, literally "Limper," are known in the Bible (1 Chr 4:12; Ezra 2:49 [= Neh 7:51]; Neh 3:6). However, it is difficult at best to establish any diagnostic inferences which may be associated with these terms. *Ḥoreb* (lit. "dried up") seems to mean "withered," or something similar, apparently used as a reference to shrunken, emaciated, or retracted muscles (Zech 11:17), but this term is rarely used in the Hebrew Bible with reference to physiology. *Nākēh* seems clearer in meaning but is very general, indicating only that the lame person has been smitten or afflicted in the limbs, etc. (2 Sam 4:4, 9:3; Ps 35:15). *Pisēaḥ*, "lame," is particularly unclear etymologically. Verbal forms of the root are used to describe lameness of traumatic origin in 2 Sam 4:4, but in 1 Kgs 18:26 apparently to describe a type of ritual dance (?) or ritual staggering (?) near the altar of Baal, but the sense of this verse is admittedly difficult. The Arabic cognate *fasaḫa* means "to be dislocated without breaking the bones." *Ṣela‘*, "limping," "staggering," is often used figuratively of downfall or calamity (Ps 38:18; Jer 20:10; Job 18:12). The etymology here is very uncertain also, but if related to the Hebrew verb *ṣāla‘*[1], it may originally have implied curvature, bent or bowed limbs. Clearly, it is difficult or impossible to reliably define any particular kind or cause of lameness, from a medical diagnostic point of view, of most of the Hebrew words which encompass the meaning "lameness" or "crippling."

Lameness occurs in several contexts in the OT. In levitical law, descendants of Aaron were unacceptable for the priesthood, but not impure, if they were lame or disfigured (Lev 21:16–18). Similarly sacrificial animals were also excluded as the burnt offering if lame (Deut 15:19–21), although they could still be used for certain personal offerings. Elsewhere, Mephibosheth, Jonathan's son, "fell and was [permanently] lame/crippled in both feet"—clearly lameness of traumatic etiology (2 Sam 4:4, 9:3, 19:27). In the OT as with the NT, most instances of lameness are mentioned paired together with blindness, revealing the impact of both conditions upon society and underscoring their severity. Both conditions made the victim dependent upon society, both were utterly incurable, both prevented the victim from being productive and self-sustaining. Thus the lame and the blind were an annoyance to visitors to Jerusalem probably because of their ceaseless begging for donations (2 Sam 5:6). The lame (and blind) were subjected to scorn and were outcasts of society (Jer 31:8). However, Job the Perfect was "eyes to the blind and feet to the lame" (Job 29:15), reflecting sympathetic and humanistic elements toward the disabled in late OT thought, a theme appearing also in the NT and Pseudepigrapha. Visionary pronouncements look to the day when even "the lame [being slow and stumbling] will be able to carry off loot [with the swiftness of a thief]," and that eventually "the lame will leap [with agileness] like a stag" (Isa 33:23, 35:6). In Jer 31:8 the lame will be included among the previously dispersed masses of returning Israel.

**B. Lameness in the NT**

In later Greek, *xōlos*, which indicates "lameness," or better, "crippling," is used of both legs (feet) and also arms (hands). In the NT the terminology of lame or crippling conditions is still more vague than that of the OT in terms of medical derivations and understanding, except where a particular verse may expatiate on a specific kind of lameness. In the NT, unlike the OT, the majority of instances of lameness occur within the context of miraculous healings of such permanently disabled victims. Reports of miraculous healings of the lame and blind at the hand of Jesus circulated periodically (Matt 11:5, 15:31, 21:14, etc.), and the Apostle Paul once healed a lame man as well (Acts 14:8). Jesus encouraged his

followers not to invite their influential friends to elaborate dinners, but rather beggars, the lame and crippled (Luke 14:12–13). The lame often sought healing influences from the pool of Bethesda, whose waters were believed to possess healing properties (John 5:3). Congenital crippling is twice clearly mentioned in the NT, where each victim was "lame from his mother's womb, who never had walked" (Acts 3:1–3, 14:8). The lame were carried daily by family members to the gate of the (second) temple, where they loitered or lay begging for donations from pious worshippers (Acts 3:1–3).

**C. Lameness in the Pseudepigrapha**

Generally, the character of lameness as presented above does not change in pseudepigraphic texts. *Second Ezra* 2:21 commands "do not ridicule a lame man, protect the maimed" (cf. also *4 Ezra* 2:21). In the extant fragments of the *Apocryphon of Ezekiel,* preserved in Clement of Alexandria, *Paedogogus* 1:9[a], God promises healing to the lame (*OTP* 1: 495), and in the eschatological portions of the *Sibylline Oracles* (8: 206), the oracle also promises swift racing to the lame (*OTP* 1: 423). The pairing of lameness with blindness is very apparent in the "Story of the Lame Man and the Blind Man" found in the *Apocryphon of Ezekiel* (*OTP* 1: 487).

**D. The Archaeological Context of Lameness**

Soft tissues with associated injury and disease which may result in lameness are usually not recovered with excavated skeletal remains. Except for some human remains from Egypt (i.e., mummies), only skeletal defects which resulted in lameness and crippling would be expected to survive in ancient burials. There are many examples. The archaeological survey of Nubia produced skeletons with a variety of conditions, especially improperly set and healed broken bones, which were probably a common cause of lameness and crippling (Smith and Wood-Jones 1910; El-Batrawi 1935). Simple osteoarthritis ("wear-and-tear" arthritis associated with age) also no doubt occasionally accounted for some instances of lameness. Infectious diseases also were responsible for some forms of lameness. Pharaoh Siptah, whose mummy is in the Cairo Museum, clearly was crippled probably as a result of polio (Harris and Wente 1980: 293–95 and Plates 8.25–26). The sculpture and art of the ancient Egyptians also provides evidence of various conditions which made their victims lame. A good example is stela A from the 18th Dyn. which depicts the lame priest Ruma with a disfigured lower leg, also typical of polio (Wells 1964: 269 and plate 44).

Occasionally, the presence of ancient human remains is unnecessary for the demonstration of crippling or lameness, and from Palestine there is one unusual example. While the skeleton of the famous Babata from the time of Bar Kokhba and the Second Revolt has never been identified, most of her personal belongings, including the largest single cache of personal documents ever found in Palestine, have been found in the famous Cave of Letters in Nahal Hever. See BAR KOKHBA (LETTERS). Among them were her sandals, of which one was normally fashioned, the other oddly misshaped to conform to the peculiar contours of her pathologically defective foot. Clearly the famous Babata had a crippling condition (Yadin 1963).

**E. Conclusion**

Apparently all the examples of "lameness" in the Bible actually refer to severe crippling disabilities and not to cases of minor limping. However, most of the examples of lameness are so vaguely described that accurate diagnosis of the cause is impossible and only the incurable and chronic nature of the crippling conditions are obvious.

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**LAMECH** (PERSON) [Heb *lemek* (לֶמֶךְ); *lāmek* (לָמֶךְ)]. **1.** Son of Methushael, husband of Adah and Zillah, and father of Jabal, Jubal, Tubal-cain, and Naamah; a descendant of Cain (Gen 4:18–24). No clearly negative evaluation is given of this first reported case of polygamy, even though it is a deviation from the norm (Wenham *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 112). The Song of Lamech, addressed to his wives, describes Lamech's expectation of seventy-sevenfold vengeance against whomsoever would assault him, above and beyond the sevenfold vengeance to be taken against anyone who slays Cain (cf. Gen 4:15). The repetition of these sevens and Lamech's being the seventh in Adam's line makes it difficult to avoid the impression that the number is intended to convey the idea of completion (Cassuto 1961: 243; Sasson 1978: 173). With Lamech, his family, and his song, there is a completion of the Cainite line. The references to Cain in the names of the offspring and in the poem form both a literary inclusio and, in the case of the poem, supposedly a culmination of the murderous character trait of this line.

Studies have noted the emphasis upon metalworking associated with Cain's son, Tubal-Cain, and the Kenite background of the genealogy (Sawyer 1986: 159–64). They have associated the poem with a sword, to which songs were dedicated in ancient Mesopotamia and among nomads (Speiser *Genesis* AB, 37; Westermann 1984: 334–37). However, the association of poem with sword is not clear from the text. Gevirtz (1963:25) understood the song as a statement of great pride in murderous vengeance and a taunting mockery of subsequent retribution. He also observed a gradual disintegration of correspondences in the word pairs of each of the couplets in the poem. Thus the parallelism of the first couplet (Adah and Zillah / wives of Lamech; hear my voice / give ear to my speech) is the closest, while that of the third couplet (seven / seventy-seven; Cain / Lamech) is the least similar (cf. Stuart 1976: 97, 99). The "man" (*ʾîš*) and the "boy" (*yeled*) of the second couplet represent a single individual: a youth in his prime (Cassuto 1961: 242; Gevirtz 1963: 30–34; Wenham *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 114).

The root *l-m-k* does not exist in West Semitic. The Arabic *ylmk*, "strong man," has been compared (*HALAT* 2: 505), as has the Sumerian LUMGA, the title of the god Ea as patron of music (Landersdorfer 1916: 19; Gabriel 1959: 415; Westermann 1984: 329), and the Akkadian *lumakku*, the title of a priest of lower rank appearing in lexical texts (Cassuto 1961: 233). A few personal names with an *l-m-k* element are found in the 3d millennium B.C. (Gevirtz 1963: 26), and at Mari in the 2d millennium B.C. (Limet 1976: 161).

**2.** Son of Methuselah, when Methuselah was 187 years old (Gen 5:25–31). At 182 years of age, Lamech sired Noah. In the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1 QapGen cols. I–V), Lamech is portrayed as being concerned about the paternity of his son, Noah, until he is reassured by his wife, Bat-Enosh, and by Enoch (Fitzmyer 1966: 69–87). As with the Cainite Lamech of Genesis 4, the number seven here plays an important role: Lamech lives 777 years, and he is seventh from Enosh in the line of Seth (Jacob 1934: 166–67; Cassuto 1961: 243). While a common origin for both Lamechs has been posited, it is clear that the present text makes a stark distinction between the two: the descendant of Cain lusted for vengeance, the father of Noah hoped.

The normal genealogical formula describing the line of Seth in Genesis 5 is interrupted in the description of Lamech to note that Lamech verbalized this hope when naming his son Noah. He foretold that Noah would bring rest from the labor and toil of "our hands out of the ground which Yahweh has cursed" (v 29). It is not clear from the text that Lamech thereby expected his son either to be a "messianic" deliverer or that he would restore the world to an Edenic state. Source critics have usually understood v 29 to be a J gloss in an otherwise P genealogy (von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 72). In the context of Genesis 6–9, Noah indeed provides Lamech's posterity with "comfort" (Parunak 1975; *TWAT* 5: 366–84) by serving as the agent of humanity's deliverance from the flood by making a sacrifice that prompted Yahweh to promise never again to curse the land, and by instituting the practice of viticulture (Gen 8:20–22; cf. Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 133–34; Clines 1972–73; Wenham *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 128–29).

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**LAMED.** The twelfth letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

**LAMENTATIONS, BOOK OF.** Lamentations consists of a series of five poems on the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. The poems do not narrate in order the events of the fall of the city, but through a variety of speakers they give vivid short pictures of the horrors of the siege and its aftermath, reflect on the causes of the calamity, and appeal for mercy to the God who brought about the ruin of his own city and temple. In later Jewish liturgical practice, Lamentations was associated with the 9th of Ab, when various destructions of the state, the city, and the temple are commemorated, and this practice may go back to earliest exilic times (see Jer 41:5; Zech 7:3–5; 8:19).

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A. Contents and Plan of the Book
B. The Name of the Book
C. Place in the Canon
D. Date
E. Authorship
F. Place of Composition
G. Acrostic Form
H. Meter, Parallelism, and Other Aspects of Poetics
I. Relation to Sumerian Laments
J. Text

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**A. Contents and Plan of the Book**

Neither narrative nor logical sequence is a dominant feature in contributing structure to Lamentations, where acrostics are of greater formal importance, and thus the poems are hard to outline and summarize without giving a false impression. Yet there are elements of plot and plan in the book.

Chapter one is a depiction of the anguish of Zion, the holy city, moving from an observer's point of view (vv 1–11) to the outcry of the city itself (vv 12–22). The principal themes of the book are announced in this first poem, including the paradox of the God who turns on his own city and temple, the elect people who are rejected, and the interplay of individual and community experience of suffering and reflection on its causes.

Chapter two is much like chapter one, but is occupied more with a statement of the cause of the city's destruction ("the Lord became an enemy," v 5), and does not make much use of the technique of personifying the city or community as a single suffering individual. Since God himself has been the destroyer, the city must "cry from the heart to the Lord!" (v 18).

Chapter three is marked as climactic within the book by its formal elaborateness. The speaker is an individual, so that this poem in its own way returns to a theme announced already in chapter one. However, the city here is not the bereaved mother, but an anonymous male ("I am the man who has been through trouble," v 1). Though opinions differ as to precisely how this figure is to be understood, it is clear that the poem impressively presents a spiritual progress: a sufferer achieves patient faith (vv 1–39)

and calls on his people to share his return to God (vv 40–41), ending in a prayer of the whole community for relief of suffering (vv 42–66).

Chapter four is a return to depiction of the horrors of the siege and the fall of the city, a series of vignettes without tight structure, ending in an imprecation against the Edomites (treacherous allies) and a blessing on Zion (vv 21–22). Coming after chapter three, it suggests that the heights of spiritual renewal envisioned in that chapter are as yet hopes and aspirations rather than present realities for the suffering people.

Chapter five is a fitting liturgical close to the book. It has many features in common with the communal laments which occur in the book of Psalms (44; 60; 74; 79; 80; 83; 89), and culminates, like them, in an appeal to God for help. Even so, the pronounced stress on the persistence of the present misery makes it much like the other four poems in the book.

**B. The Name of the Book**

The English title "Lamentations" goes back through the Latin (*threni*) and Greek (*threnoi*) to a Hebrew title, *qînôt*, meaning "laments," attested in the Babylonian Talmud (*b. Bat.* 14b) and elsewhere in early Rabbinic writings. In the Hebrew Bible, as commonly in Jewish tradition, the book is titled *ʾekah*, "How!", from its first word, a practice attested for other books of the Pentateuch (thus Heb *bĕrēšît*, "In the beginning" = Genesis, etc.) and the book of Proverbs (Heb *mišlê*, "The proverbs of …").

Often manuscripts of ancient Bible translations or printed editions add, after the initial "Lamentations," the words "of Jeremiah" or "of Jeremiah the prophet," expressing a very common tradition concerning the authorship of the work.

**C. Place in the Canon**

There is no attested ancient controversy over whether Lamentations should be included in the canon, but there is considerable difference as to its position, a matter related to traditions concerning authorship.

In the common Jewish threefold division of the scriptures, the book always is placed somewhere among the "Writings" (*Ketubim*), though its exact location within that group has varied. The Babylonian Talmud (*b. Bat.* 14b) knows of an order of the Writings that is approximately chronological, so that Lamentations is set after books supposed to be by Solomon and just before other supposedly exilic or postexilic books, Daniel and Esther. More commonly, Lamentations is classed as one of the five short books called the *Megillot*, the "Scrolls." Within that group it is placed either "chronologically" (thus Ruth, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther), or liturgically, following the order of the festivals with which each Scroll is associated in developed liturgical practice, beginning with Passover; in this latter case the order is Song of Songs (Passover), Ruth (Weeks; *Shabuoth*; Pentecost), Lamentations (the Ninth of Ab), Ecclesiastes (Sukkoth; Booths), and Esther (Purim).

The other, markedly different, ordering puts Lamentations after the book of Jeremiah, as though by that prophet (often another work associated with Jeremiah, Baruch, comes between the two). This positioning is found already in Septuagint manuscripts and is continued in the Latin Vulgate and generally in English Bibles. From Josephus' description of the canon (*AgAp* 1.8) it can be inferred that such an order was known to him, and presumably to other Jews of his time (1st century C.E.) as well.

**D. Date**

Although there is no evidence outside the book itself that permits us to date its composition, and though the rather nonspecific historical references within the book only dictate that it was written after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., the traditional and common-sense view remains the most plausible, that is, that Lamentations as a whole was completed not long after the siege and destruction of the city by the Babylonians. The horrors of the siege seem to be vividly present to the memory of the author or authors, and no turn of fortunes for the shattered people has occurred or is expected in the near future. Thus a date after 586 and well before 538, when Cyrus permitted the Jews to return from exile, is most likely, though Ackroyd (1973) justly emphasizes that our evidence for dating, especially chaps. 3–5, is extremely slender.

Scholars have attempted to date the composition of the five poems relative to one another, based on historical references or stylistic characteristics (see for example, Rudolph *Ruth-Hohe Lied-Klagelieder*

KAT), but the evidence at our disposal is probably insufficient to make any such attempt widely convincing.

**E. Authorship**

Although one very ancient tradition ascribes Lamentations to Jeremiah, practically unanimous modern critical opinion holds the book to be anonymous. Before examining the issue, it is in place to observe that the authorship is not decisively important for understanding these poems of lament, because their author, whoever he was, expresses the historical experience of a community more than the personal experiences or opinions of one individual, and, as emphasized by Lanahan (1974), assumes a variety of *personae,* or speaking voices.

Nothing in the Bible expressly attributes our canonical book of Lamentations to Jeremiah the prophet, but the seeds for such an ascription are present in the general tendency to ascribe originally anonymous works to prominent figures, such as Moses, David, Solomon, and in the statement that Jeremiah, a "weeping" prophet (Jer 8:23—Eng 9:1), who lived through the fall of Jerusalem, wrote a "lament" or "laments" (2 Chr 35:25) over Josiah. Perhaps it is from such origins that there grows the ascription found already in the LXX, at the head of the book: "… Jeremiah sat weeping and composed this lament over Jerusalem and said …" The LXX order of books associates it with Jeremiah. In various ways the Targum, the Syriac (Peshitta), and Vulgate make the same ascription to Jeremiah, as do the Babylonian Talmud (*B. Bat.* 15a) and other rabbinic works, which quote the book in the form: "Jeremiah says …"

As noted above, the Hebrew Bible itself does not place Lamentations with the book of Jeremiah, a tradition continued in some uncommon but ancient listings of the books of Scripture. This impressive evidence of the book's original anonymity is bolstered by critical examination of the content of the book, for while it is not impossible that Jeremiah could have written it, some of its ideas seem implausible or incongruous as coming from him. In the question of reliance on help from foreign powers, contrast Lam 4:17, which refers to the poignant longing of the people ("we") for aid from Egypt, with Jer 2:18 or 37:5–10, where the prophet denounces alliances and predicts their failure; on the destruction of the temple, compare Lam 1:10, with its reference to God's forbidding nations to enter the sanctuary, with Jer 7:14, where the prophet in God's name predicted this dire event; in Lam 4:20 King Zedekiah is "the breath of our nostrils, the anointed of Yahweh," on whom the common hopes of the people depended, while in Jer 37:17 the prophet clearly predicted his capture by the Babylonians. Could Jeremiah, active as a prophet through this whole tragic time, have lamented, "Her prophets find no vision from Yahweh"? (2:9). (Studies made to date of lexical and grammatical usage of the book are not conclusive as to authorship.) In the end it seems much easier to suppose that a series of anonymous compositions, whether by one poet or by several, came to be attributed to Jeremiah, early but erroneously, than to suppose that a genuine work by the prophet came to be separated from his name. Beyond this it has proved impossible to suggest a plausible alternate as author, or to determine whether only one person or several are involved. Similarly, recent examinations of the theological traditions on which the book draws, by Kraus (*Klagelieder* BKAT) and Gottwald (1962), leading to depictions of the author(s) as from among the priests or cult prophets of Jerusalem, are best regarded as to some degree plausible but not conclusive. More extreme, and less convincing, is the theory of Brunet (1968), according to which Lamentations is a kind of polemic against Jeremiah.

**F. Place of Composition**

Either Lamentations was written in Judah, the view that no doubt would be first to suggest itself to a reader, or it was written by a Jew in exile somewhere else who happened to know what was going on in Judah and was more interested in conditions there than in Babylon, Egypt, or wherever he was. One may argue about probabilities in this matter, but very little is at stake for the interpretation of the book.

**G. Acrostic Form**

All five poems in Lamentations are formally related in some way to the alphabet. This is least noticeable in chap. 5, which conforms to the alphabet only in having 22 lines, one for each letter in the Hebrew alphabet. (The attempt of Bergler [1977] to find a word acrostic in chap. 5 is strained and unconvincing.) In chaps. 1 and 2 each stanza has three lines, and the initial word of the first stanza begins

with the first letter of the alphabet (*ʾalep*), the second stanza begins with a word starting with the second letter (*bet*), and so on through the alphabet. Chapter 4 follows the same scheme but has two-line stanzas. The most elaborate acrostic is chap. 3, with three-line stanzas in which each line begins with the appropriate letter: three *ʾalep* lines, three *bet* lines, and so on.

It is likely that biblical alphabetic acrostics (aside from Lamentations 1–4, Psalms 9–10, 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, 145, and Prov 31:10–31, which are complete or nearly complete acrostics) owe their origin ultimately to Mesopotamian acrostics, of which extant examples predate any datable biblical acrostics, though Akkadian acrostics are, of course, syllabic rather than alphabetic. The general idea of conforming poetic structure to the writing system or a meaningful sequence of the initial signs of poetic lines arose first in Mesopotamia.

The purpose of the acrostic form with relation to Lamentations is uncertain. It has been proposed, on the basis of observed use of acrostics in literature generally, that the acrostic is to aid the memory, or display artistic skill, or express the notion of completeness, as if to imply that everything from start to finish has been said, and each of these views is to some degree plausible. Aesthetically, it seems that the somewhat rigid bounds which the acrostic sets contribute a desirable limit to a subject matter that might otherwise run on and on. One might compare the function of sonnet form in Italian or English literature. An unintended effect of the acrostic form has been that it makes Lamentations a favorite starting point for modern scholarly investigation of Hebrew poetic form and diction, including metrical studies, since the fundamental question of where lines begin and end is largely settled by the acrostic pattern (Freedman 1972).

In the MT, the order of the letters in chaps. 2, 3, and 4 is different from the usual Hebrew order; here *pe* comes before *ʿayin* (as if, in an English acrostic, *p* were put before *o*). In a recently published Qumran manuscript of Lamentations this divergent order is found also in chap. 1, though it cannot be automatically assumed that this represents the original reading, the author's intention. The Greek of Proverbs 31 and Psalm 34 seems also to reflect this divergent order. A very early ostracon containing the alphabet, published by Kochavi (1977; cf. Demsky 1977), of about 1200 B.C.E., from a site in Judah, and abecedaries of about 800 B.C.E.—from Kuntillet ʿAjrud in the S Negev (see Meshel 1978) also have the order *pe-ʿayin*, and it has been supposed that in them and in Lamentations we have evidence of an authentic early Hebrew tradition of alphabetic order divergent from the Ugaritic and Phoenician order that became dominant. Naveh (1978), however, justly cautions that, at least in the earlier ostracon, the writing is unskilled in the extreme, and that in it there is another reversal of order, *ḥet-zayin*, which is simply a mistake by the schoolboy writer.

**H. Meter, Parallelism, and Other Aspects of Poetics**

The surprisingly large place in studies of Hebrew poetics occupied by Lamentations is in part due to its dominantly acrostic form, and to a peculiarity of meter first described by Budde (1882). Budde discovered in Lamentations chaps. 1–4 (5 is different) a poetic line of two unequal parts, the first one longer by at least one word. Moreover, Budde held that this unbalanced rhythm was specifically related to the lament, and named it *qinah* meter.

Budde himself recognized in Lamentations the presence of numerous lines diverging from this pattern, and others have argued for still more balanced lines in the book, but it remains true that the unbalanced line is dominant. On the other hand, it seems less certain that this rhythm was necessarily associated with laments in ancient Hebrew usage, for laments occur without this rhythm (e.g., 2 Sam 1:17–27) and the rhythm occurs outside of laments. Since Budde's time, of course, many attempts have been made to present more refined and accurate theories of Hebrew meter, involving counting of accents, or, most recently, syllables; although many of these discussions have involved Lamentations significantly, they are best studies in the larger context of Hebrew poetics as a whole; in broad outline, Budde's discovery remains valid. The more refined and minute study of Freedman (1972), based on counting of syllables, confirms that Budde was correct in isolating chaps. 1–4 (acrostic chapters as following distinctive metrical practices.

In addition to its distinctively metrical character, Lamentations, like other biblical Hebrew poetry, exhibits a pervasive parallelism between poetic units (cola or lines). Moreover, the word order in the sentences of Lamentations diverges markedly from patterns of order in prose (Hillers 1974). It is plausible to suppose that unusual word orders are employed for the sake of rhythm or parallelism, but this cannot yet be demonstrated.

Cross (1983) attempts to exploit a contrast of Lamentations, as written poetry, with earlier oral poetry, but such a contrast has proved most problematic even in branches of literature where oral and written composition can be directly observed, and in ancient Hebrew literature (and Near Eastern literature in general) there is even less by way of an observable basis for such a distinction.

Like other biblical writings, especially poetic compositions, Lamentations has been restudied with profit from the point of view of recently discovered Northwest Semitic writings, especially Ugaritic, with an effect on our views of text, language, and poetics. Such an approach is represented, in varying degrees, in Dahood (1978), McDaniel (1968a; 1968b), and Hillers (*Lamentations* AB).

**I. Relation to Sumerian Laments**

Gunkel (1929) attempted to relate Lamentations to the genre of funeral songs discussed earlier by Jahnow (1923), but since the five chapters of Lamentations all seem to be late and impure examples of the type, as he himself stated, this sort of form-critical approach has not proved especially decisive for understanding the book.

A more striking association of Lamentations with a specific literary tradition was proposed by the biblical scholar Kraus (*Klagelieder* BKAT), and from the Assyriological point of view especially by the Sumerologist S. N. Kramer (1969; *ANET,* 611–19). Lamentations is supposed to descend from an ultimately Sumerian tradition of laments over ruined cities and temples.

There are now five principal extant compositions belonging to the Sumerian literary genre "Lament over the ruined city and temple," including laments over Ur, Sumer and Ur, Nippur, Eridu, and Uruk, composed during the Isin-Larsa period (1950–1700 B.C.E.) and thereafter copied as part of the Old Babylonian scribal school curriculum. Several may presently be studied in translations by Kramer (1969; *ANET,* 611–19) and Green (1978; 1984), and editions and translations of others are forthcoming (see Gwaltney 1983). These earliest Sumerian city-laments are related to a general Mesopotamian literary and liturgical tradition of congregational laments that continues down to Seleucid times (see Kutscher 1975; Cohen 1981). Gwaltney (1983) sees in these "lineal descendants" of the older city-laments the link between the ultimately Sumerian tradition and the biblical book of Lamentations.

In assessing the relation of the early Sumerian laments to the biblical book, note that the recurrent historical situation which evokes these poems is extraordinarily close: a city, in the sense of a focus of a human and divine community, has been destroyed by enemies; paradoxically it has been allowed to perish by its own god(s), the result being a physical, social, and spiritual crisis. There are frequent and striking resemblances in details of expression between these compositions (and the related "Curse of Agade"; see Cooper 1983) and the biblical Lamentations. On the other hand, as stressed by McDaniel (1968a; 1968b), the great similarity of the subject matter would be expected inevitably to produce many resemblances in form even if there were no literary influence or connection involved. And the whole question cannot be discussed apart from a clear general conception of the relation between Mesopotamian and Israelite literature (Hillers *Lamentations,* AB; Tigay 1976), which is not presently available. In detail, note that the major Sumerian laments may contain a reversal of fortunes: the god turns his favor to the people again, the city flourishes as never before, and similar good things happen, as in the "lament" over Nippur, where the joyful part of the poem is about twice as long as the complaint; this element, of course, is entirely absent from the biblical book. In any case, however, it remains true that it is most instructive for the student of the biblical Lamentations to read them together with Sumerian laments, if only as a reminder of how much historical and religious experience Israel shared with other ancient Near Eastern communities.

**J. Text**

In the book of Lamentations the MT itself seems to be in a good state of preservation. The ancient versions offer little help in clearing up difficulties since they give a text not essentially different from the

traditional Hebrew text; this conclusion has emerged from prolonged and intensive study of the text of Lamentations, culminating in the recent works of Rudolph (1938), Albrektson (1963), and Gottlieb (1978). Some new insight into how this situation came about is provided by recent theoretical views on the history of the Hebrew text and versions, and new manuscript evidence.

According to one recent theory held in various forms by Barthèlemy (1963: 33, 138–60) and Cross (1964: 233), the Greek text of Lamentations belongs to the so-called *kaige* recension, a type of Greek text which has deliberately been brought into line with the emerging Masoretic text, the result being that it is of little use in correcting the Hebrew. (The Septuagint text has recently been re-edited by Ziegler [1976]). Among the Dead Sea scrolls so far published is one sizable manuscript containing portions of chap. 1 (4QLam[a]; see Cross 1983), with notable variants from the Masoretic text; perhaps in time this will yield a new view of the early textual history of the book, in the context of study of the Qumran biblical text as a whole. There are also several fragments of the canonical book (3QLam; 5QLama, 5QLamb) and two sectarian compositions (4Q179 = 4QapLam; 4Q501) which weave in significant bits of the text.

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DELBERT R. HILLERS

**LAMPSTAND** [Heb *mĕnôrâ* (מְנוֹרָה)]. (In some English versions of the Bible the Hebrew *mĕnôrâ* is translated by the anachronistic word "candlestick.") Since lamps were the normal source of light other than daylight in the biblical world, one would expect stands to hold them to have been items of everyday usage. The furniture of a room described in 2 Kgs 4:10 includes a lampstand; and many examples of ceramic stands, at least some of which might be construed as lampstands, have been found in archaeological excavations. However, lampstands have rarely been found, archaeologically, in domestic contexts (Smith 1964: 9–11). Aside from the 2 Kings passage, all the biblical mentions of lampstands refer to golden objects used in sacred contexts.

Lampstands as receptacles for light-giving vessels were part of the sacred furniture in the central Israelite shrines or sanctuaries described in the Bible. The light given off by the lamps served to illuminate the interior of the sanctuary, and it also functioned as part of a set of ritual objects or acts, appealing to all the senses, that were part of the established priestly ritual (Haran 1978: 208–21). However, the lights or lamps were not the same as the stands on which they were placed. The nature of those stands varied during the long history of ancient Israel's cultic institutions.

**A. Tabernacle Lampstand**

The earliest of Israel's lampstand traditions belongs to pre-temple times, that is, to the tent or tabernacle associated with the premonarchic period. Of the forty-one occurrences of "lampstand" in the Hebrew Bible, more of them (26) deal with the tabernacle menorah or lampstand than with those of the subsequent Israelite shrines (either the Jerusalem temple built by Solomon and continuing, though with alterations over the centuries, until the destruction of Jerusalem; or the restored temple built in the early postexilic period and remodeled or rebuilt several times thereafter until the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E.).

The lampstand of the tabernacle (*miškān*) is mentioned in various places in the priestly writings of the Pentateuch, but the chief descriptive passages are found in the tabernacle texts of Exodus (Exod 25:31–40 and 37:17–24). Although the priestly texts in their final form are probably exilic or postexilic in date, biblical scholarship has established the greater antiquity of much of the priestly material, including traditions dealing with the tabernacle. Thorough study of the lampstand texts, from the perspectives of philosophy, archaeology, and art history, has established a basic reality for that biblical artifact that can be located in the Mosaic era, the end of the LB Age (see Meyers 1976: 182–84 and *passim*).

The Hebrew word for lampstand is ambiguous in what it represents in the priestly texts. Sometimes (e.g., Exod 26:35; 40:4; Num 8:2–3), it indicates a branched object, that is, a central shaft with three branches coming forth from each side. This arrangement produces seven receptacles for lamps: one on each of the six branches, and one on the central shaft. At other points the biblical references to the tabernacle lampstand (as in Exod 25:31–35; 37:17–21), refer only to the central shaft, which constitutes the actual stand for the lamps, with the branches thus being part of the symbolic shape of the appurtenance but not part of its functional aspect.

The latter instances make it clear that the seven lamps associated with the lampstand are not themselves to be construed as being physically part of the lampstand. They are discrete objects, and in at least two instances (Exod 27:20; Lev 24:2–3, and perhaps also Exod 25:37) a tradition of a single lamp rather than seven lamps can be discerned. In the case of both the seven lamps and the single one, these actual light sources were to be placed on the central shaft or stand and *not* on the end of the branches (see Lev 24:4). The idea of a seven-branched lampstand is the result of early post-biblical Jewish interpretations (in graphic and textual sources) of the Exodus texts, but it is not intrinsic to the biblical description itself.

The existence of apparently contradictory information about the number of lamps can be related to the conflation of two sanctuary traditions, the tent of meeting and the tabernacle. The single-lamp passages contain references to the tent of meeting, whereas the seven lamp texts are in the context of tabernacle data.

The biblical descriptions of the lampstand contain many technical terms that are very specific in their meaning and that help reconstruct the form of the object, the workmanship used in fashioning it, as well

as its symbolic value. Perhaps the key to understanding its fundamental form and identity is the pair of words, *yarēk wēqāneh*, that designate the central shaft, or lampstand proper. This pair, mistakenly translated "base and shaft" by the RSV, is actually a hendiadys denoting a cylindrical form that flares outward at its lower end, thereby forming a stable base. This feature makes it possible for the lampstand to be freestanding. There is no description of a tripodal or of a stepped base, one or the other of which appear in nearly all post-biblical descriptions or depictions of the lampstand.

Its basic cylindrical form, flaring at the bottom and possibly also at the top, places the lampstand typologically within the category of stands recovered in ceramic form in archaeological excavations in Palestine and appearing, in metal and stone form, in artistic renderings all over the ANE. Such stands were used to hold a variety of vessels, such as bowls, jars, incense dishes, offering platters, and, of course, lamps.

The other technical terms used to describe the whole lampstand are noteworthy for being part of the vocabulary of plant forms in ancient Israel. Moreover, the botanical aspects of the terminology relate to features of graphic renderings of plant forms especially as they appear in Egyptian art. The very term *qāneh*, representing "branch" and also appearing in the pair of words for the central shaft described above, is a generic word for "reed." It specifies the *arundo donax*, or Persian reed, a gigantic grass commonly found along the edges of bodies of water or water courses, the latter exemplified by the Nile. In nearly all other, nonpriestly biblical texts mentioning this reed, it has an Egyptian context and even symbolized Egypt (as in Isa 36:6 = 2 Kgs 18:21).

Another pair, *kaptōr wĕperah*, is best translated as a hendiadys: "floral capital" rather than RSV "capital and flower." It, too, is botanical in its vocabulary and Egyptian in its artistic orientation. These floral capitals, along with the somewhat enigmatic rounded bowls (*gĕbi ʿîm*) with almond-shaped inlay, were repeated three times on each branch and four times on the central shaft. This repetition functions as an artistic motif conveying permanence or continuity.

The presence of botanical terms, and the basic central shaft-plus-six-branches form, give the impression of a tree-shaped object. As such—and apart from its functional role as a holder of lamp(s)—the lampstand constitutes a conventional form appearing in depictions widespread in NE iconography (see Perrot 1937; Vincent 1924). This convention is derived from a stylized tree of life design and symbolizes such themes as the fertility of nature and the sustenance of life. The specific form of the branched lampstand of Exodus is closest to examples that are found at the end of the LB Age, or the age of Moses. See also TREE OF KNOWLEDGE AND TREE OF LIFE.

Since most ANE examples of the tree of life motif apparently represent the fertility-granting and life-giving powers of various deities, the presence of such a form in the aniconographic Israelite cult can perhaps be construed as the use of a powerful religious symbol to represent the presence of the unseen God of Israel. As a demythologized tree symbol, it served along with other aspects of the tabernacle, as God's residence, to assure God's availability to the Israelites or their priestly representatives.

The technology involved in shaping this complex appurtenance is not perfectly understood. The material, "pure gold," puts the lampstand in the category of furnishings for the interior of the tabernacle. It also points to a kind of metallurgy associated with Egyptian workmanship (Meyers 1976: 41–43). The fact that the lampstand was to be made all of one piece indicates the usage of sheet gold, or gold foil, which probably would have been shaped by a rubbing process (*miqšâ*) over a wooden form.

**B. Lampstands of Solomon's Temple**

The image of a single, branched lampstand, vivid from the tabernacle texts and from postbiblical Jewish art, should not obscure the fact that the temple built by Solomon in Jerusalem contained ten lampstands (1 Kgs 7:49 = 2 Chr 4:7). Furthermore, there is no indication that those objects were branched. The only detail of their shape is the mention of their "flowers." The Solomonic lampstands were probably the cylindrical stands with flaring bottoms and tops that are represented in the central shaft of the tabernacle stand. The lamps that rested on these stands in the Jerusalem temple were likely to have been the seven-spouted bowl lamps typically found in cultic contexts in archaeological strata of the Iron II period, the time of the Solomonic temple. Not only does the temple lampstand differ in number and decoration from

the one described in Exodus; it also involved a different technological tradition. The "pure gold" for the Solomonic stands is indicated by a term different from that used for the tabernacle lampstand. The term in Kings is related to the Tyrian workmanship of the Jerusalem temple.

Without the branches, and with ten stands being used, it is doubtful that the symbolic value of these lampstands was the same as for the single tabernacle one. Rather, the light-giving property of the lamps they held apparently was their most significant attribute. Arboreal symbolism in the Jerusalem temple was present in other forms: in the trees carved on the cedar panels (1 Kgs 6:15, 18, 29) and cypress door (1 Kgs 6:34–35), and perhaps also in a sacred grove in the temple precincts (cf. Ps 52:8).

The lampstands commissioned by Solomon are not mentioned again in the Hebrew Bible. A possible exception is Jer 52:17. However, since that passage lists "lampstands" in an inventory of minor cultic appurtenances or utensils, it is doubtful that the main sanctuary lampstands are meant. Thus it is difficult to know whether or not the original ten lampstands of gold survived until the Babylonian conquest of 587 B.C.E. They may have been replaced during one of the periodic refurbishings of the temple (Meyers 1981), or they may have been relinquished in an earlier Judean encounter with a foreign power.

**C. Postexilic Lampstands**

The temple was restored early in the postexilic period, in the late 6th century, under the guidance of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah and under the leadership of the governor Zerubbabel and the chief priest Joshua. But the Bible gives no indication that the reestablished temple contained one or more lampstands. Most of our information about the cultic furniture of the rebuilt temple comes from extrabiblical sources, such as Philo, Josephus, the Talmud, and graphic renderings (Meyers 1979). Such sources from late in the postexilic period, or even after the destruction of the rebuilt temple in 70 C.E., are more likely to reflect the last known temple lampstand, since the restored temple was itself rebuilt at least several times (cf. 1 Macc 1:21; 4:49), most grandly in its last existing form as the Herodian temple. Those sources preserve a single lampstand tradition.

The nature and number of lampstands at the beginning of the postbiblical period may, however, be informed by one prophetic passage, Zech 4:1–6 and 11–14, which predates the completion of the temple restoration project. Zechariah's vision includes a golden lampstand. The description of the stand, which has its own complex and to some extent fanciful terminology, clearly depicts a single lampstand and not ten of them. In that sense, it relies upon the pentateuchal traditions. Such a reliance is typical of many of the characteristics of the semi-autonomous community established in Judah in the late 6th century. Zechariah apparently envisioned the rebuilt temple with a lampstand just like the one presented in the tabernacle texts. But such an appurtenance would have been fabricated according to Persian period or late Iron Age styles and technologies rather than according to archaic LB or early Iron Age ones (see Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8* AB, 227–40).

Zechariah's lampstand has its idiosyncratic qualities. On a symbolic level, it seems to combine the importance of the tree-of-life form of the tabernacle tradition with the light-giving aspects of the temple stands. The former is represented in Zechariah's vision by the presence of two olive trees flanking the golden lampstand. And the latter is expressed in the prophet's explanation of the symbolic value of the seven seven-spouted lamps resting on the stand (for which no branches are mentioned): "These seven are the eyes of Yahweh which range through all the earth" (Zech 4:10b).

Whether or not Zechariah's vision was ever translated into reality cannot be established except in the fact that the single lampstand tradition resumes by the time of the Roman conquest of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. However, the idea of visionary and symbolic temple furnishings gets played out once more, and extravagantly, in Revelation (1:12, 13, 20; 2:1; 11:4). There, the golden lampstands are seven in number (except in 11:4). The sacred number seven is combined with the sacred furniture of the temple in the apocalyptic imagery of this NT book.

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**LANCE.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

**LAND.** The frequent occurrence of various terms designating land, and the central role land plays in certain narratives, testify to the importance of this concept in the Bible. But while the concept is ubiquitous, the different units of the OT provide various ideological perspectives and theological nuances. Similarly, while the use of this term in the NT displays an awareness of the centrality of this concept, its meaning is further transformed through the motivations of its individual authors.

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A. Old Testament
1. Terminology
2. Israel's Land
3. Theology: The Land Theme in the OT
B. New Testament
1. Terminology
2. Theology

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## A. Old Testament

**1. Terminology.** In the vast majority of instances (RSV ca. 1620 times) "land" translates Hebrew *ʾereṣ*, a word that can also be rendered by "earth" (RSV ca. 660 times), "ground" (RSV 107 times), "country" (RSV 83 times) and by several less frequent terms (see EARTH for cognates and for a discussion of original meaning). In addition, "land" frequently translates *ʾădāmâ* (RSV ca. 105 times), also rendered "ground" (RSV 67 times), "earth" (RSV 37 times), "soil" (RSV 6 times), "country" (RSV 2 times), and occasionally, *śadeh* (usually rendered "field"). In spite of their frequent rendition by the same English "land," *ʾereṣ* and *ʾădāmâ* are seldom synonyms (never, according to Rost [1965: 77, 80], but Plöger [1967: 128] offers a few exceptions for Deut 4:38, 40; 11:8f.; 12:1; 26:2, 15).

"Land" is the usual translation of *ʾereṣ* when it refers to (a) a specific geographical region (e.g., "land of Ararat," 2 Kgs 19:37), or (b) the territory of a specific people (e.g., "land of the Kenites," Gen 15:19); while "earth" is the usual translation when *ʾereṣ* refers to the realm of human habitation (generally EARTH). The plural (*ʾĕrāṣôt*) is compatible with this usage, though relatively infrequent (ca. 70 times; e.g., Gen 41:54). In some instances, however, the translation of *ʾereṣ* as "earth" or "land" will depend on more complex exegetical decisions (e.g., Lev 25:23).

In the majority of instances of type b, the land in question is identified in some way as promised to, claimed, or possessed by Israel or a part of Israel (e.g., "land of Judah," Deut 34:2), although the explicit designation "land of Israel" is rare (see below). At other times, genitive combinations or adjectival phrases characterize the extent and quality of the land (e.g., "the whole land," Gen 13:9; "fatness of the land," Gen 27:28; "fertile" [lit. "good"] land, Judg 18:9). Often "land" locates a group of people (e.g., "elders of the land," Gen 50:7). On occasion, "land" can be personified (e.g., "captivity of the land," Judg 18:30; "the land rested," Josh 3:11; "the land mourns," Hos 4:3).

*ʾădāmâ* is primarily a nonpolitical term designating the agricultural land that sustains a sedentary population, in contrast to "wilderness" (*midbār*), while *ʾereṣ* includes the latter (Rost 1965: 77, 81). As such, *ʾădāmâ* is usually owned by a person (head of household) or group (e.g., "your/their land," Deut 7:13). God's ultimate ownership is assumed and expressed (Isa 14:2 [*ʾadmat YHWH*], cf. Hos 9:3; Josh 22:4 [*ʾereṣ ʾĕḥuzzatkem*]), and Israel owns it by virtue of his gift (Deut 26:15). The expression "land of Israel" (*ʾadmat yiśraʾēl*), however, is peculiar to Ezekiel (16 times), which Rost (1965: 78) takes to express the nonpolitical nature of that prophet's land expectations. While all agricultural land forms a collective unity—there is only one instance of the plural (*ʾădāmôt*, Ps 49:12—Eng 49:11); the reference in

numerous OT contexts is to the portion of Israel or subgroups of Israel. In this respect, *ʾădāmâ*, like *ʾereṣ*, is a key term sustaining the OT's land theology.

**2. Israel's Land. a. Israel's Relationship to the Land.** In the majority of contexts, "land" is identified as the land to which Israel has a claim (see "Theology," below). It is characterized as anticipated (e.g., "the whole land before you," Gen 13:9), as highly desirable and praiseworthy (Deut 8:7–10), as the "good land" (especially in Deuteronomy), and as a "land flowing with milk and honey" (e.g., Exod 3:17).

Parenthetically, the two common English designations "Promised Land" and "Holy Land," though correctly expressing central theological concerns (see "Theology," below), are not characteristic for the OT. The Hebrew language has no words for "promise, to promise"; where such occur in Eng translation (e.g., Deut 9:28, RSV), they usually render the common Hebrew verbs "to speak" or "to say." The term "Holy Land" (*ʾadmat haqqōdeš*) occurs only in Zech 2:16—Eng2:12, with reference to the eschatological future, and then in 2 Macc 1:7 (cf. Davies 1974: 29f.; Hanhart 1983: 128, 130). Its holiness, where expressed or implied, is not an inherent status, but totally dependent on God's decision to be present in or withdraw from it.

The most frequent designation of the land is also a reminder that it did not belong to Israel originally: "land of Canaan/the Canaanites" (JE, P, e.g., Gen. 12:5; 23:2; seldom in Deuteronomy [Deut 1:7; 11:30; 32:49]). Frequently this point is made in a formulaic listing of the original owners:

> I promise that I will bring you up out of the affliction of Egypt, to the land of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Amorites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites, a land flowing with milk and honey. (Exod 3:17)

This listing appears in the earliest Pentateuchal sources already, but finds its echoes elsewhere within and beyond the Pentateuch, up to the time of Ezra (9:1) and Nehemiah (9:8). In the majority of cases, the list contains six members, generally those of Exod 3:17 (above), with the Canaanites, Amorites, and Hittites vying for first position, and the Jebusites almost always at the end. However, the list never became a fixed formula; it ranges from three members (Exod 23:28) to ten (Gen 15:19f.), with variations in nations listed and in their order. Thus it is safe to assume that it is not merely repeated as a cliché, but gives evidence of ongoing reflection in Israel on the fact that nations other than Israel were the original owners of the land (see "Theology," below). Of course, this previous ownership can be expressed with reference to one nation only, above all, the Canaanites (e.g., Josh 17:16) but sometimes the Amorites (Num 21:31), though it appears that the latter are frequently limited as to residency (e.g., east of the Jordan, Josh 7:7; the hill country, Num 13:29; etc.).

This previous ownership and Israel's subsequent acquisition of the land, are appropriately expressed by a characteristic verbal vocabulary. God promises (*ʾāmar* [lit., "says"], *dābar* [lit., "speaks"; *Piʿel*]) or swears (*šābaʿ [Nipʿal]*) to bring Israel into the land (*bôʾ [Hipʿil]*), or to give the land to Israel (*nātan*). Israel is to go (go up, enter) into the land (*bôʾ, ʿālâ*), go over [the Jordan] into the land (*ʾābar*), possess the land (*yāraš*), receive the land as inheritance (*naḥălâ*), divide the land (*ḥālaq [Nipʿal]*), and dwell in the land (*yāšab*). Thus Israel receives a land not originally her own, by God's initiative and agency, but cooperates in its takeover. (Of course, there are many passages that simply assume Israel's eventual acquisition of the land and refer to the latter, in some way or other, as Israel's land, either by possessive adjectives [e.g., "your land," Deut 28:24], or by contextual implication.)

Israel's relationship to this land is further characterized by the nouns "inheritance" (*naḥălâ*), "possession" (*ʾăḥuzzâ*), and "rest" (*mĕnûḥâ*), together with their respective verbal stems. "Inheritance" designates the land as transferred to Israel by God without the right of sale (Wanke *THAT* 2: 56; cf. 1 Kings 21:3f.). The emphasis falls on God as the one who has authority to dispose of land belonging to him, and on Israel's inalienable right to retain such land as God confers.

As to the nature of the transfer, two interpretations have been proposed: (a) Scholars generally have derived *naḥălâ* from the realm of inheritance law; (therefore the Eng "inheritance"). (b) Forshey (1973), on the other hand, has plausibly argued for the origination of *naḥălâ* as a term of special land tenure granted by a feudal lord to a devoted servant as a fief. Since such a fief was hereditary, the term was eventually extended to include the meaning "inheritance" in later OT sources. He cautions, however, that

the root *nḥl* has very wide connotations, making it impossible to interpret it in terms of a single model (235). In either case, the giving of *naḥălâ* points to a very personal bond between God and Israel, rather than to an impersonal commercial, legal, or military transaction.

The transfer itself is described variously as made to the tribes of Israel with their subdivisions, or to Israel as a whole. Division of the *naḥălâ* among the tribes is found mainly in Numbers (e.g., 26:52–56), Joshua (e.g., 11:23; 13:7–8), and Ezekiel (e.g., 48:29). It is to take place by lot (e.g., Num 26:55; Josh 11:23; Ezek 45:1) each tribal unit receiving its "allotment" ( *ḥeleq*; e.g., Josh 11:23). Only the Levites are excluded from this distribution; their inheritance consists of the tithe (e.g., Num 18:21–26; 26:62), certain cities (e.g., Num 35:2; Josh 14:4), their share in the sacrifices (e.g., Josh 13:14; Deut 18:1f.), and ultimately God and his service (e.g., Josh 13:33; 18:7; Deut 10:8f.; cf. Ezek 44:28). The apportioning of the *naḥălâ* to Israel as a whole is found mainly in Deuteronomy (e.g., 4:38; 12:9; 15:4). Occasionally, *naḥălâ* refers to the land holdings of individual Israelite household heads (e.g., Josh 4:9; 1 Kgs 21:3f.; Ruth 4:5, 10).

Less frequent is the designation of the land as God's *naḥălâ*, probably with reference to his claim to original ownership (e.g., 1 Sam 26:19; Jer 2:7; just as Israel, his people, is often called his *naḥălâ*, e.g., Deut 4:20; 32:8f.). Forshey (1973: 236f.) points out, further, that the reference to Israel as God's *naḥălâ*, largely exilic, may have been a theological means to link the people closely to Yahweh in spite of their removal from the land. He suggests the translation "possession" as appropriate for most instances.

Another term defining Israel's relationship to the land as acquired ownership is "possession" (*ʾăḥuzzâ*). Its verbal root "seize, grasp, take hold" suggests again that the land, now Israel's "possession," had once been in other hands. The land of Canaan was given by God to Israel as its possession (e.g., Lev 14:34; Deut 32:49). Like *naḥălâ*, it can refer to the land holding of Israel as a whole or of individual tribes, clans, and households. In most instances it refers to land and real estate that is handed down through the generations and should not be sold (e.g., Lev 25:10ff. *passim*; 27:22–24). Sometimes, however, it is extended to include property generally. Its closeness to "land" and "inheritance" is expressed in such construct phrases as "land of your possession" (RSV: "your land;" *ʾereṣ ʾăḥuzzatkem*; Josh 22:19), "inheritance of their possession" (*naḥălat ʾăḥuzzātām*; Num 35:2), and "the possession of our inheritance" (*ʾăḥuzzat naḥĕlātēnû*; Num 32:32). In spite of their closeness of connotation, however, *naḥălâ* and *ʾăḥuzzâ* are not fully synonymous; *ʾăḥuzzâ* is the more general, juridicially abstract concept designating possession of land (Horst 1961: 155).

The land is also the destination of Israel's wandering, and as such, its place of rest. Both the verbal expression "give rest" (*ňaḥ, [Hipʿil]*) and its nominal derivative "rest" (*mĕnûḥâ*) express this, particularly within Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic theology. As a distinctive aspect of God's land promise, rest can be expected by Israel only upon crossing the Jordan and occupying the heartland of Canaan (Deut 12:9f.; 25:19; cf. 3:20, see below). There God grants rest to his people in stages, beginning with the conquest (Josh 1:13, 15; 14:15; 22:4; 23:1) and culminating in the era of David and Solomon (2 Sam 7:1, 11; 1 Kgs 5:4; 8:56). The essence of this rest is "tangible peace granted to a nation plagued by enemies and weary of wandering" (von Rad 1966b: 155). Just as the land can be called God's inheritance, the land (and particularly the temple) can also be called his rest (Ps 95:11; 2 Chr 6:41). That Israel's access to God's gift of rest is contingent on faithfulness and endangered by rebellion, is the warning of Ps 95:11.

While the concepts inheritance, possession, and rest emphasize the divine intention and authorization for Israel to possess this land and find rest in it, other texts maintain God's ultimate ownership of the land, and Israel's calling to live in it as "strangers and sojourners" (*gērîm wĕtôšābîm*) in the land/on the earth (Lev 25:23; cf. Josh 22:19; Pss 24:1; 39:13—Eng 39:12; 119:19; Jer 2:7; 16:18).

However, the eventually expected appellation of the land acquired by Israel as "land of Israel" (*ʾereṣ yišrāʾēl*) occurs only once in an older text (1 Sam 13:19, besides a few references to the N kingdom only), 3 times in Ezekiel (27:17; 40:2; 47:18; for *ʾadmat yišrāʾēl*, see above), and 5 times in Chronicles (1 Chr 13:2 [MT pl.]; 22:2; 2 Chr 2:17—Eng2:16; 30:25; 34:7). Wildberger (1956: 407, n. 15) sees this as a conscious, theologically motivated avoidance of a known term, while Ohler (1979: 58) ponders whether Israel was unable to perceive this "land" as a unity. The latter seems highly unlikely, however, in view of

Israel's focused land theology (see below). Israel's contingent hold on a land not originally hers may have been the theological motivation for the reserve in the use of "land of Israel," but we cannot be sure.

**b. The Extent of Israel's Land.** A perplexing question concerns the extent of Israel's land. Two comprehensive "maps" are respectively reflected in many passages:

1. Num 34:1–12 explicitly defines the "land of Canaan" as extending from the Brook of Egypt (*naḥlâ miṣrayim*) to the Entrance of Hamath (*lĕbô᾽ ḥĕmāt*), and from the Jordan/Dead Sea to the Mediterranean Sea. East Jordan is excluded. Many passages and events mark Israel's crossing of the Jordan as the beginning of the occupation (e.g., Deut 12:10; Josh 5:10–12). Numbers 32 and Joshua 22 offer a legitimation of the actual settlement of parts of East Jordan (called "unclean," in contrast to Canaan, "the LORD's land," Josh 22:19) by Israelite tribes.

2. Deut 11:24 offers much broader boundaries, including East and West Jordan, "from the River, the river Euphrates, to the western sea." In keeping with this picture, Deuteronomy 2 promises East Jordan, except the territories of Moab and Ammon, to Israel and sees the crossing of the Arnon as the beginning of Israel's holy war of conquest against the nations. The settlement of Israelite tribes in East Jordan apparently presents no problem (Deut 3:12–20; Josh 13:8–12).

Weinfeld (1983: 59–75, esp. 65f., leaning on B. Mazar and R. de Vaux) has plausibly argued that the first "map" (Num 34:1–12) represents Israel's older, pre-deutero- Ÿ nomic claim, patterned on the old Egyptian province of Canaan as it emerged after the battle of Kadesh (ca. 1285 B.C.). It is reflected, in addition to the texts mentioned, in Josh 13:4; Judg 3:3; 1 Kgs 8:65; 2 Kgs 14:25; Amos 6:14; and it also offered the blueprint for Ezekiel's vision (Ezek 47:16–20). The second "map" (Deut 11:24), in this schema, originated in the expansive era of the Davidic-Solomonic empire, was formulated in grand, utopian ancient Near Eastern royal terminology (river to river, sea to sea, etc.), and received its final crystallization by "the so-called Deuteronomic author or school" in the Josianic era. This perspective is reflected or presupposed, besides the passages listed, in Gen 15:18; Exod 23:31; Pss 72:8; 80:12—Eng 80:11; 89:26—Eng 89:25; Josh 1:4; Deut 1:7; Zech 9:10; and others.

The characterization of map 2 as Deuteronomic is not without problems, however. Diepold (1972: 29–41, 56–64) distinguishes between a land limitation to West Jordan in Deuteronomy, with occasional redactional additions taking the wider view (e.g., 11:24), and a perspective of the Deuteronomistic History (including most of Deuteronomy 1–3 and 34) that envisions the land to include East Jordan up to the Euphrates. Numerous literary-critical decisions underlie both hypotheses, and it seems doubtful whether we can reach clear territorial definitions for Israel's land beyond conclusions for a particular canonical document or a limited historical context and period.

It is significant that several, especially later, documents exhibit much less well-defined geographical conceptions of the land. Thus Jeremiah, with his prominent theology of land (Diepold 1972: 105–39, 155–76; Martens 1972; Brueggemann 1974; Epp-Tiessen 1981; Zimmerli 1985), reflected little on its extent, assuming it to be basically the West Jordan area where the people of God actually lived, while the Deuteronomistic additions to Jeremiah reflect the remnant area of Judah, together with the lost southern territories of the Shephelah, the hill country, and the Negeb (Diepold 1972: 54f., 70f.). In the postexilic era, limited terms like "Judah and Jerusalem" increasingly describe the land (e.g., Ezra 4:6). The very freedom with which the documents and their redactors vary in their perspectives indicates that the concept of Israel's land is held together by an inner core of identity (see "Theology," below) rather than by geographical or ideological definition.

For our geographical understanding of Israel's land in the OT generally, a multiple perspective must be maintained: its heartland was the West Jordan region "from Dan to Beersheba" (e.g., Judg 20:1), with the exclusion of more or less of the Mediterranean coastal plain. Based on the reality of settlement and political control, the East Jordan region, excluding Edom, Moab, and Ammon, was generally also included. Occasionally, perhaps inspired by the extent of David's kingdom, all the lands up to the Euphrates were included in visionary statements (e.g., Deut 1:6–8; 11:24; Josh 1:3–4).

**3. Theology: The Land Theme in the OT.** The land theme is so ubiquitous that it may have greater claim to be the central motif in the OT than any other, including "covenant" (cf. the theological surveys of

Wildberger 1956: 404–22; von Waldow 1974: 493–508; Davies 1974; and esp. Brueggemann 1977). It is nuanced differently in different books and compositional units, yet the tensions thus created are never such as to deflect altogether from a broad central narrative thrust pervading the canonical documents. An attempt will be made to sketch that narrative. Historical, form-critical, and traditio-historical matters will be considered from time to time.

**a. The Pentateuch.** The Pentateuchal narrative identifies the earth (*ʾereṣ*) as God's creation (Gen 1:1, 9f.), intended to be the source of all plant and animal life (1:11, 24), and as the habitat for human beings who are to administer it (1:28f.). Through his very name, the collective "Adam" (*ʾādām*), and the image of his formation "of dust from the ground" (*ʾădāmâ*), the human creature is closely linked to the soil (2:7). He is to experience it first in the garden graciously provided by God (2:8). To "till and keep" (lit. "to serve and watch over") this garden is to be his (after the creation of woman, their) task as God's steward(s), enjoying its produce within God-set limits (2:15–17). When humans claim the master role, "like God" (3:1–7), their task of filling the earth and caring for it is encumbered by a "heavy burden" (*ʿiṣṣābôn*, RSV: "pain" in 3:16, "toil" in 3:17); they are driven from the garden (3:22–24), but their task remains, and the earth (land) will continue to be the source of their livelihood (3:19, 23).

Abel and Cain continue this task as "keeper of sheep" and "tiller of the ground" (*ʿōbēd ʾădāmâ*). When Cain spills his brother's blood, however, he becomes "cursed from the ground," the latter no longer yielding "its strength" to him; paradigmatically for later "defilers" of the land, he becomes "a fugitive and a wanderer on the earth (*bāʾāreṣ*)," though not without God's protection (4:8–16). Sin continues to endanger human existence on the earth through the great Flood, God preserving only a remnant of animate life (6:5–7:24). God graciously confirms the human commission to fill and administer the earth (8:17; 9:1–2, 7), promising that he "will never again curse the ground (*hāʾădāmâ*) because of man" (8:21). A repeated human effort at establishing an autonomous identity ("a name") through entrenching themselves geographically by building "a city, and a tower with its top in the heavens" evokes the judgment of God who "scattered them abroad from there over the face of the earth (*hāʾāreṣ*)" (11:1–9).

In this manner, the two traditionally assumed literary sources J and P intertwine in the Primaeval History (Genesis 1–11) to present a theology in which land is God's gracious gift and task for humanity under the sovereign rule of God. These are constantly threatened by the human tendency to seek autonomous rule over the land, resulting in its loss and in a life of uprooted wandering, but it is precisely then that God's grace and protection become most palpable. Thus a dialectic results, between "landedness" as God's greatest gift and man's greatest temptation, and "landlessness" as God's judgment and yet the context for the highest experience of God's grace (Brueggemann 1977 *passim*). It is this paradox that governs much of the subsequent land motif in the OT.

Abraham is promised a great name, many descendants, and God's blessing, on the provision that he uproot himself from his Mesopotamian homeland to go "to the land that I will show you" (12:1–3). The unknown land sought by Abraham in faith is later identified as Canaan (12:6–7), and the promise of its possession is repeated to Abraham and his descendants throughout the Pentateuch (Gen 13:15; 15:7, 18; 17:8; 22:17; 26:3; 28:4, 13; 35:12; 48:4; 50:24; Exod 3:8; 6:4–8; 13:5; 32:13; 33:1; Num 10:29; 14:23; 32:11; Deut 6:18, 23; 8:1; 9:5, 28; 10:11; 11:8–9, 21; 26:3, 15; 28:11; 31:7, 20; 34:4; cf. Josh 1:6; 5:6; Judg 2:1). Nonetheless, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob live in the land as sojourners (Gen 17:8; 23:4; 26:3; 28:4; 35:27; 36:7; 37:1; Exod 6:4), until the family of Jacob/Israel, overtly driven by famine, but on a deeper level, guided by God, leaves Canaan again to settle in Egypt. Only a burial plot, the field and cave of Machpelah, bought by Abraham to bury Sarah, becomes their permanent possession in Canaan, and therewith a proleptic sign of the fulfillment of God's promise (Genesis 23). In Egypt, Israel multiplies to become a great people in accordance with God's promise, in the fertile but foreign land of Goshen (Gen 47:5–6; Exodus 1).

According to A. Alt's widely accepted characterization of Patriarchal religion (Alt 1966b), the land promise originated in the faith of seminomadic groups that the God of the Father would grant them land, in a limited context and in their own lifetime. R. C. Clements (1967: 23–46), partly based on Cross (1962) and others, sees the historical kernel of the land promise in an ancient covenant in which the El-deity

(possibly El Shaddai) at Mamre, as owner of that territory, promises the land of the Kenites, Kenizzites, and Kadmonites to Abraham and his descendants. This promise was eventually extended to all of Judah and, through David, to all Israel and the whole land of Canaan. As such, it became the dominant theological theme of the Hexateuch, the expectation of immediate fulfillment having been advanced to the conquest under Joshua and to the Davidic-Solomonic era (Clements 1967: 57; von Rad 1966d: 83).

The book of Exodus introduces the Israelites as a numerous people enslaved in a foreign land (Exodus 1). Moses becomes God's chosen instrument to lead them out of Egypt toward the goal of the land promised to the Patriarchs (Exod 3:7–8; 6:2–8). The faithlessness and murmuring of the people prevents a direct entry into Canaan, however (Numbers 14; 26:63–65; 32:6–15; Deut 2:14–15), and results in forty years of wilderness wanderings with untold hardships, until the rebelling generation has died and a new generation stands at the Jordan, on the brink of entering the land. Moses is merely allowed to see it from afar (Deut 34:1–5). Yet this very time in the wilderness becomes a time of experiencing God's constant presence and preservation, including the conclusion of the covenant with God at Mt. Sinai and the receiving of the covenant laws he requires Israel to keep. Many of the latter regulate Israel's life in the promised land, which is also called God's own property (Lev 25:23). Among them are the laws governing the sabbath year (Exod 23:10–11; Lev 25:1–7), the jubilee year (Lev 25:8–55), and first fruits (*bikkûrîm*; Exod 23:16, 19; 34:22, 26; Lev 2:12;28:26; *rēʾšît*, Lev 23:10; Num 18:12; Deut 18:4; 26:10).

The law codes now embedded in the covenant narrative are of diverse historical origin but are gathered here as covenantal law of Moses to indicate that their authority ultimately derives from the will of God. G. von Rad (1966d, followed by W. D. Davies [1974: 15–35] and others) has pointed out that the themes of "promised land" and "Yahweh's land" may be derived from originally separate traditions. The former was introduced into the Pentateuch by the Yahwist (see above). The latter, at home in the cult and the legal materials, may go back to the Canaanite view that each land belongs to its own god (thus von Waldow 1974: 494), though von Rad (1966d: 88) prefers to think of an early, Yahwistic origin. (For the synthesis of R. C. Clements [1967: 27–28], see above.) Whatever its origin, the concept of Yahweh's ownerships of the land of Canaan has been integrated fully into the biblical faith that God rules/owns the whole world, including Canaan (e.g., Exod 19:5). An important theological consequence of the notion of Yahweh's ownership of this specific land has remained highly effective in the Old Testament's land theology, namely, the notion that the Israelites (and by extrapolation, all humans) are "strangers and sojourners" (*gērîm wĕtôšābîm*), or in modern terms, God's long-term guests on his land/earth (Lev 25:23; Ps 39:13—Eng 39:12; 1 Chr 29:15; cf. Heb 11:13; 1 Pet 2:11).

**b. Deuteronomy.** In the form of three farewell speeches of Moses (Deuteronomy 1–4; 5–28; 29–30) in the plains of Moab on the eve of crossing the Jordan into the promised land, Deuteronomy recasts the preceding narrative into its own distinctive theological mold, with the land at its center (Plöger 1967: 60–100; Diepold 1972: 76–104).

According to M. Noth *(NDH)* and many others after him, it seems likely that the first speech of Moses (Deuteronomy 1–4) was prefixed to an older version of Deuteronomy by the Deuteronomistic Historian and consequently reflects the perspectives of the Deuteronomistic History (see below). God is about to fulfill his oath sworn to the fathers by bringing Israel into the land to inherit it. While Israel is to participate actively by going into it to take possession of it, the success will depend totally on God. He will subdue the former owners of the land and give it to Israel as a gift. It is a good land, praiseworthy in most glowing terms (e.g., Deut 8:7–9). It is the tangible token of God's faithfulness, the concrete expression of the covenant relationship, and the goal of Israel's wanderings where the people will find rest (12:9). But the land, like the original garden of Eden, constitutes a task for Israel. Its careful administration according to covenant law (rehearsed in chaps. 12–26), in single-hearted love and devotion to God will sustain Israel's claim to its possession and its blessings (e.g., 6:4–15; 8:11–20; 11:26–32; 28). Any deviation from God's statutes, commandments, and ordinances, and in particular the sin of idolatry that characterized the previous owners, will swiftly bring down on Israel the covenant curses, the last and worst of which is a return to Egypt (28:68). Thus the land becomes the touchstone for life or death; it is given out of God's free grace, but retained by means of obedience.

In a few passages (e.g., Deut 6:17–18) it appears as if keeping the law is already a precondition for receiving the land, but P. Diepold is surely right in suggesting that Deuteronomy addresses a people already committed voluntarily to the Sinai covenant; this people is not called to initial commitment now, but to ethical earnestness. The actual keeping of the laws of Deuteronomy, however, makes sense only in the land (Diepold 1972: 90–102).

It is noteworthy that the Pentateuch/Torah ends at the Jordan, stopping short of the actual occupation of the land, especially since the "small historical credos" or summaries (von Rad 1966c; e.g., Deut 26:5b–9) always include the occupation. Scholars have accounted for this in three main ways:

1. Some refuse to recognize the "Pentateuch" as the legitimate delimitation, preferring to include the book of Joshua, featuring the conquest, into a "Hexateuch" (von Rad 1966a).

2. Others assume, with Noth (*HPT,* 16), that the conquest theme was eliminated from the older Pentateuchal sources in the Priestly redaction. It survived, however, through the incorporation of older conquest materials into the Deuteronomistic History.

3. Most recently, R. Rendtorff (1985: 162f.) has argued that the Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic school prepared the (probably first) collection of Pentateuchal materials, as well as that of the subsequent books, initially "without any fundamental break."

Whatever the literary prehistory may have been, the present delimitation must surely be seen (with J. A. Sanders 1972: 25–53; cf. also Rendtorff 1985: 162f.), as a deliberate canonical decision by a community that had lost the land again, but was able to define its identity as a landless people in terms of a still unfulfilled greater promise that lay in the future. Thus the actual occupation of the land from the time of Joshua to the loss of the land in 722 and 587 B.C., was relegated to the status of "foretaste," with the ultimate fulfillment still ahead, in the (eschatological) future.

**c. The Deuteronomistic History.** The Deuteronomistic History (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings) in its final overall redactional unity, constitutes an assessment of Israel's performance in the land and of God's inevitable response to it (Noth *NDH,* 89–99). The book of Joshua presents the occupation of the land as a swift and total subjection of the Canaanites in a holy war waged by Yahweh, who gives the land to Israel (chaps. 1–12). At his command, Joshua distributes the land to each tribe, clan, and family (chaps. 13–22).

According to the historical reconstruction of A. Alt (1966a) and M. Noth (*NHI,* 68–84), no such massive conquest took place. Instead, various seminomadic elements of the later "Israel" infiltrated the settled agricultural areas, acquiring peacefully (therefore the technical term *Landnahme*) the more sparsely populated areas in the course of their search for pasture.

This reconstruction has, in turn, been challenged by the "revolutionary" theory proposed, in different forms, by G. Mendenhall (1962: 66–87) and N. Gottwald (1979: 210–220). Both assume that the eventual control of the land by the "tribes of Yahweh" (Gottwald's term) was achieved through some form of takeover of the socially stratified Canaanite city states by the combined onslaught of disadvantaged elements in the population seeking the establishment of an egalitarian society, joining forces "with a nuclear group of invaders and/or infiltrators from the desert" (Gottwald 1979: 210). As no consensus in this matter has emerged, all discussion must necessarily proceed again and again from the canonical data.

In the book of Judges, allowance is made for unconquered Canaanite enclaves (1:19–35; 3:1–6). Israel's hold on the land is repeatedly threatened by enemies, as a direct result of the people's disloyalty to Yahweh. Repentance prompts Yahweh to raise a deliverer ("judge") who leads Israel in defeating the enemy in holy war and continues to "judge" Israel until the cycle repeats itself (e.g., Judg 3:7–11). In the Samson stories (chaps. 13–16), increasing pressure from the Philistines is felt, while Israel is in a state of lawlessness and decay (chaps. 17–21).

This sets the stage for the introduction of kingship, leading to the extensive empire of David and Solomon (2 Samuel 2–1 Kings 11), the division of that empire into the kingdoms of Israel and Judah (1 Kings 12), the eventual defeat of these, and the exiling of their populations by the Assyrians and Babylonians in 722 and 587 B.C., respectively. In his long and nuanced account, the final author of the Deuteronomistic History assesses Israel's faithfulness or unfaithfulness to Yahweh, applying especially the yardstick of David's loyalty to Yahweh to all subsequent kings. This results in the demonstration of

the inevitability of the loss of the land. Israel, led by all its kings from Jeroboam I on, had embarked on a course of apostasy (summarized in 2 Kings 17). While the indictment of Israel is generally for idolatry, the story of Ahab's criminal acquisition of Naboth's "inheritance" (*naḥălâ*; 1 Kings 21) makes clear that Canaanite perspectives constituted a significant threat to Yahwistic land laws and land theology. For Judah, periods of relative faithfulness, especially under Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18:1–8) and Josiah (2 Kgs 22:1–23:28), were outweighed by persistent unfaithfulness, peaking in the era of Manasseh (2 Kgs 21:1–18; 23:26–27). Yahweh could not but revoke the gift of the land and cast his people into exile and captivity, as formerly in Egypt. Some scholars find in the Deuteronomistic History intimations of hope for a future restoration (Brueggemann 1968; von Rad *ROTT:* 1.343, 346; Wolff 1966: 131–58), while others see in it a theodicy of Yahweh's final judgment (Noth *NDH,* 97–99).

**d. Chronicles.** Based largely on the Deuteronomistic History, Chronicles nevertheless yields a considerably different, much less central view of the land. The era of Joshua and the Judges is reflected only in certain genealogical references to names. There is no conquest; Joshua is mentioned briefly as living in the land (1 Chr 7:27). While the kings after David and Solomon are scrupulously assessed as to their faithfulness, the Chronicler does not survey by this means the vast panorama of Israel's covenant faithfulness in the land, as the Deuteronomic Historian does, but depicts instead the meticulous justice of God in the life of each king (*ROTT:* 1.348–50). That the Chronicler does not deny the cumulative impetus of a history of sin towards the loss of the land, and that he sees the restoration under Cyrus as the effect of God's grace to an Israel that had served its time in exile "until the land had enjoyed its sabbaths," is evidenced in his concluding words (2 Chr 36:15–23). Nevertheless, these themes seem marginal rather than central.

S. Japhet (1979: 205–218) has argued that the Chronicler intentionally presents a history of Israel which, in contrast to most OT sources, pictures a "people of Israel in the land of Israel, as a continuous and uninterrupted reality from Jacob/Israel on" (218). Japhet may be right respecting the Chronicler's assumptions, but considering the relatively few and obscure clues on which she builds her case, it is hard to accept the deliberate intentionality she attributes to the Chronicler in this respect.

**e. The Literary Prophets to the End of the Exile.** Although the literary prophets stand outside the flow of the large narrative complexes (Pentateuch, Deuteronomistic History, Chronicler's History), they provide distinctive supplementary perspectives. Land is of central theological importance to all of them. Furthermore, they are historically correlated with that narrative by their (editorially supplied) headings. The emergence of a powerful class of landowners oppressing and/or displacing the small peasant from his inherited portion (*naḥălâ*) is the common indictment by Amos (3:9–10; 5:11; 6:4–7; 8:4, 6), Isaiah (3:13–15; 5:9–10; 10:1–2) and Micah (2:1–4; 3:1–3; 7:2–3), following Elijah's condemnation of Ahab's violence against Naboth (see above). All presuppose an obligation to administer in God's land a justice that involves equitable distribution of the land and its fruits. For Amos and Micah, this responsibility is rooted in God's expulsion of the previous inhabitants and his gift of the land to Israel coming out of Egypt (Amos 2:9; 9:7; Mic 6:4–5). For Isaiah, Israel's responsibility emerges from a pristine state of righteousness of Jerusalem/Zion. Amos and Micah announce God's judgment in the form of land loss and exile (Amos 4:1–3; 5:27; 6:7; 7:11; 9:4, 9, 15; Mic 1:16; 2:4; 4:10; 5:2—Eng5:3), while Isaiah emphasizes the humiliation of Jerusalem (and Judah) through Assyrian military onslaught (1:7–9, 24–25; 3:18–26; 5:26–30; 7:20; 10:5–6; etc.).

Hosea and Jeremiah, steeped in the exodus tradition (Hos 2:17—Eng2:15; 11:1; 12:14—Eng12:14; 13:4; Jer 2:6; 7:22, 25; 31:32), extol an ideal time in the wilderness (Hos 2:16–17—Eng2:14–15; 9:10; 13:5; Jer 2:2, 6; cf. 31:2–3), and indict the people for unfaithfulness in the land (Hos 2:3–17—Eng2:1–15; 4:1–3, etc.). For Hosea, and for Jeremiah in his wake, this unfaithfulness takes the form of Canaanite or syncretistic fertility worship (Baalism) that seeks to ensure the fertility of the land through magical, often sexual, rites (Hos 2:7–15—Eng2:5–13; 4:14–15; 7:16; 9:10; 11:2; 13:1–2; Jer 2:4–8, 20–25; 3:1–5, 6–10; 5:7–8; 13:20–27). The theme of social justice plays a lesser role in Hosea (4:1–3; 10:12–13; 12:7–9—Eng12:6-8), but reemerges prominently in Jeremiah (2:34–35; 5:28; 6:13; 7:9; 21:12; 22:3, 13–17). Like Amos and Micah, both prophets announce God's judgment in the form of land devastation, loss, and exile

(Hos 8:13; 9:3, 6, 17; 10:6; 11:5; Jer 4:23–28; 5:14–17; 8:10; 9:10, 11–15—Eng9:11, 12–16; 10:18–22; 12:7–13; 13:24; 15:2, 14; 38:2; etc.).

The books of Amos, Micah, Hosea, and Jeremiah visualize a return of the people to the land (Amos 9:9–15; Hos 3:5; 11:11; Mic 4:6–7; 5:2–3—Eng5:3–4; 7:11, 14, 15–20; Jer 12:15; 16:14–15; 23:7–8; 29:10–14; 30:1–3, 10–11;31; 32:15 [for a full listing and discussion, see Martens 1972]), while Isaiah mainly projects the purification and exaltation of Jerusalem/Zion as the center of God's rule over the whole earth (2:2–4 = Mic 4:1–3; 4:2–6; 8:23–9:6—Eng 9:1–7; 10:20–27; 11:6–9; 12; 16:4–5; 17:12–14; 19:16–25; etc.).

A reminder is in order that we are sketching the picture offered by the canonical texts. The statement in the previous paragraph particularly takes into account many passages judged by various scholars to be secondary: the conclusion of Amos (9:11–15); Hos 2:18–25—Eng2:16–23; Isa 2:2–4; Micah 4–5; Jeremiah 30–33; and others. In the case of Isaiah, the canonical combination of the words of the Jerusalem prophet with later prophecies, primarily in chaps. 40–66, not only strengthens the emphasis on restoration, but fuses the theme of purification and exaltation of Jerusalem with that of return from exile by way of a new exodus (see below).

The whole range of prophetic motifs discussed so far is appropriated, shaped, and expanded in the book of Ezekiel. Taking up the Abrahamic promise (33:24; cf. 20:42), Israel's origins in foreign lands (16:3, 45), and her stay in Egypt (20; 23:3), while scarcely mentioning a conquest (cf. 20:28), the book highlights Israel's unfaithfulness through idolatry (6:1–7, 13; 8; 14:1–11; 16:15–22) as the basis for land loss and exile. It gives less attention to social injustice (but cf. 22:6–12). Characteristically for Ezekiel the land is "Israel's land"; both *ʾereṣ* and *ʾădāmâ* are used (with the same meaning, according to Zimmerli 1985: 255). It is described lovingly as "the most glorious of all lands" (20:6; cf. Jer 3:19; Dan 8:9; 11:16, 41, 45; Zimmerli 1985: 253). Yahweh's future, however, according to Ezekiel (and Jeremiah before him, cf. Jeremiah 29) lies with those who have taken up exile (11:15–16). They will be "revived" by Yahweh (37:1–14) and will return to the land (11:17–21; 20:40–44; 34:11–16; 37:15–28 [for a full listing and discussion, cf. Martens 1972]). In fact, Yahweh himself has taken leave of his house and his city to "emigrate" with the exiles (chaps. 8–11) and will return with them eventually to the temple (43:1–5) in a land restored according to the elaborate blueprint laid out in chaps. 47–48. The latter is a combination of a realistically reconstituted Israel with images of supramundane symbolism. Central to it is the equitable distribution of the land to all Israel, including the sojourners (47:13–23), according to a tribal pattern grouped around the sanctuary (48:1–29).

Deutero-Isaiah (Isaiah 40–55) also announces to the exiles in Babylon the dawning of a new age, patterned typologically on Israel's salvation history, from creation to the occupation of the land (Anderson 1962: 177–95). While the accent falls on the new exodus, the salient land motifs of the Pentateuch and Joshua, combined with the significance of Zion in Jerusalemite theology (cf. Isa 2:2–4), play an important role. A new Israel redeemed from Babylon (48:20–21) will be led by God through a wilderness, turned into a Garden of Eden (40:3–5; 41:17–20; 42:14–16; 43:14–21; 48:21; 51:3) into her own land (49:8–12). There Jerusalem/Zion will become the exalted center for the whole earth (49:14–18; 52:1–10), when the Lord takes up residence in it (52:8; cf. Ezek 43:1–5).

**f. The Postexilic Era.** With its translation into an eschatological future, as seen in Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah and adumbrated in earlier prophets (cf. Hos 2:18–25—Eng2:16–23; Isa 11:6–9), the OT's land theme has reached its ultimate narrative limit. There can be no expectation of its further extension once a redeemed people finds eschatological rest in the presence of God. This, together with the loss of sovereign control of the land by the Jews, accounts for the fact that "in the literature of the postexilic period there is an undeniable relocation of interest away from the land to the broadly human" (Davies 1974: 115; see pp. 110–15, he refers specifically to the books of Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Esther, Jonah, and parts of Daniel).

This is only a partial picture, however. Their eschatological horizons did not preclude Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah from linking their prophecies to a concrete return to Palestine. Jeremiah had stated in totally non-eschatological terms that "houses and fields and vineyards shall again be bought in this land"

(32:15) after an exile of 70 years (25:11–12; 29:10). Consequently, the Edict of Cyrus (Ezra 1:2–4; 6:1–5) and the subsequent return and rebuilding of a Jewish presence around Jerusalem and the temple (Ezra, Nehemiah) could at least in part be considered as fulfilment of prophecy and as a sign of God's impending universal rule.

Hanson (1979: 209–211, and throughout) has made it plausible that sociological tensions between a dominant priestly party and a suppressed visionary party in postexilic Jerusalem increasingly drove the latter from a "realized eschatology" to apocalyptic, eschatological expectations.

Hanhart (1983: 128–30) distinguishes between an early and a late postexilic phase. The former (basically the Persian period) is marked by the joy over the newly received land after a penance of 70 years that had restored to the land the sabbath years withheld earlier (2 Chr 36:21–23). The latter (basically the Greek period) is marked by a renewed lament over the impending punishment of Jerusalem for her guilt newly incurred after the exile (Isa 27:9–11).

However one thinks of these analyses, they support the observation that the land-motif remained of highest importance in the postexilic era. This is further supported if we remember that the Priestly source of the Tetrateuch was completed in the postexilic era (as Davies also notes, 1974: 115), and that the canonization process that gave preeminence to the land-dominated Pentateuch/Torah also falls into this era.

One must ask, further, whether the postexilic shift of emphasis "from the land to the broadly human" (Davies, see above), to the extent that it is valid, really represents a shift away from the land. Where Israel's relationship to the nations (Jonah, if it is postexilic) is treated, or where existence in the diaspora is shown to be possible and even positive, as in Esther and Daniel, the land is still the reference point for Israel's identity. For late postexilic prophecy (Deutero-Zechariah; Isaiah 24–27), Hanhart (1983: 131–33) has pointed out the significance of a new fluidity between the meaning of *ʾereṣ* as "land" and "earth." God's judgment and salvation of the *ʾereṣ* (of Israel, in the remnant form of Judah/Jerusalem) becomes increasingly a sign of God's acts with *ʾereṣ* (the whole earth). As Hanhart (1983: 128) remarks, "Die geschichtliche Erfahrung der nach-exilischen Prophetie ist das leidende Land als Symbol der leidenden Erde, ihre eschatologische Schau ist das erlöste Land als Symbol der erlösten Erde."

This is further illustrated in Joel (assuming a postexilic date), where the locust plague befalls the land (of Israel), but extends (from 2:1 on) to the whole earth (Hanhart 1983: 137, n. 3).

**B. New Testament**

**1. Terminology.** In most instances (RSV 43 times), "land" renders Greek *gē,* the standard LXX equivalent of both *ʾereṣ* and *ʾădāmâ*. Gk *gē* can also mean "earth" (see EARTH), "country, region" and "soil, ground." As translations of *gē*, "land" occurs in the following usages: (a) "Land of Israel" (Matt 2:20f.); (b) "land + name" (Sodom and Gomorrah, Matt 10:15; 11:24; Judea, John 3:22; Chaldeans, Acts 7:4; Canaan, Acts 13:19; Egypt, Acts 13:17; Jude 5); (c) "land" in contrast to water/sea (Matt 14:24, 34; Mark 4:1; 6:47, 53; Luke 5:3, 11; 8:27; John 6:21; 21:8, 9; Acts 27:43f.; Heb 11:29; Rev 10:2, 5, 8); (d) "land" as territory, area (Matt 27:45 = Mark 15:33 = Luke 23:44 [possibly "earth"]; Luke 4:25; Acts 27:39); (e) "land" as "ground, soil" (Luke 14:35; Heb 6:7); and (f) "this land" (Acts 7:4); and (g) "land of promise" (Heb 11:9).

In seven further instances, "land" occurs in a quotation or paraphrase from the OT: Matt 2:6 ("land of Judah," Mic 5:1—Eng5:2); 4:15 ("land of Zebulun, land of Naphtali," Isa 8:23—Eng9:1); Acts 7:3 ("the land which I will show you," Gen 12:1); Acts 7:6 ("aliens in a land belonging to others," Gen 15:13), Acts 7:29 ("land of Midian," Exod 2:15), Acts 7:40 ("land of Egypt," Exod 32:1); and Heb 8:9 ("land of Egypt," Jer 31:32).

As translation of *agros*, "land" occurs three times in the combination "house(s) or/and … lands" (Matt 19:29; Mark 10:29f.). "Land" renders *chōra* in the phrases "the land of a rich man" (Luke 12:16) and "they were nearing land" (Acts 27:27), and *chōrion* in four instances treats land as an economic commodity (Acts 4:34; 5:3, 8; 28:7). Further, three occurrences of land in the RSV are supplied by the translators on the basis of the context (Luke 4:26; Acts 27:14; 2 Cor 10:16). In addition, *tēn gēn* in Matt 5:5, usually translated "earth," could possibly be rendered "land."

**2. Theology.** Apart from the introduction of OT land perspectives carried forward in quotations or allusions from the OT introduced for reasons other than their land theology, only four texts warrant any scrutiny for possible theological implications:

a. In Matt 2:20f. the angel of the Lord tells Joseph, "Take the child and his mother with you and go back to the land of Israel" (*eis gēn ʾIsraēl*; v 20), and Joseph complies immediately (v 21). Here we encounter twice the expression "land of Israel" (equivalent to Heb *ʾereṣ yiśrāʾēl*) so conspicuously avoided in the OT (see above). While no overt theological interpretation is offered, it seems certain that a parallelism between the journey of Israel's messiah and the earlier journey of Israel from Egypt to the promised land, now "Israel's land," is intended (cf. 2:15 and Hos 11:1). In that case, this naming of the land would appear to suggest a certain continuing validity of the OT's theological meaning of that land.

b. The third beatitude calls the meek happy, "for they shall inherit the earth/land" (*tēn gēn,* Matt 5:5). As all the beatitudes characterize citizenship in the kingdom of God, G. Strecker (1983: 193) may be right in considering the land to be spiritualized here (cf. Mark 10:14; Luke 22:28–30). On the other hand, a certain realism of land ownership could also be in view, although the extent of such kingdom-land (Israel? the earth?) remains undefined.

c. "Land" occurs six times in Stephen's speech in Acts 7 (vv 3, 4, 4, 6, 29, 40), where Stephen's Jewish hearers are reminded of their history of wandering between Mesopotamia and Egypt. While Stephen affirms the promise of the land to Abraham (vv 3, 17) and its divinely empowered conquest by Joshua (v 45), it is possible to see in his speech a certain negative slant against Judaism's claim to the land. Abraham did not experience the fulfillment of the land promise (v 5). Israel's time of closeness to God was the wilderness period (vv 44–45). Their stay in the land was marked by idolatry leading to exile, and the building of the Temple by Solomon seems an ill-considered, if not rebellious, act of confining the Lord of the universe (vv 47–51; Townsend 1972: 12).

d. Finally, the "land of promise" to Abraham is mentioned in Heb 11:9 (his "inheritance," v 8), but only for the purpose of reinterpretation. In keeping with the theology of Hebrews (see below), the writer emphasizes that Abraham and the other patriarchs were "strangers and exiles on the earth" (*ʾepi tēs gēs;* also "upon the land"), "seeking a homeland" (*patrida,* v 14), and "a better country, that is, a heavenly one" (v 16). Here the land realism of the OT is totally dissolved, not only for the NT era, but even retrospectively for Abraham.

These four texts, then, suggest both continuity and transformation in the NT's response to the OT's land theology. This observation will be confirmed by our study of certain less direct evidence (below). The paucity of theological material identifiable by the key word "land" raises the question whether that theme, so ubiquitous in the OT, has lost its significance in the NT, or whether it comes to expression in different ways. W. D. Davies, having pointed out the meager occurrence of specific references to the land in the Apocrypha, the Pseudepigrapha, and the Qumran scrolls (1974: 49), finds in an extensive investigation (1974: 49–158) that a "certainty of the ultimately indissoluble connection between Israel and the land was living and widespread in the world within which Christianity emerged" (1974: 157). Might the same not be true of emerging Christianity and its Scriptures? A full investigation would transcend the scope of this article; only a few directions can be indicated here in a sampling way. In doing so, we will focus on the canonical sources, rejecting (with Davies 1974: 336–44, Hengel 1971, Klassen 1984: 72–109, and others) the notion that the "historical" Jesus had zealotlike, violent insurrectionist (Brandon 1967) or less violent but nevertheless also revolutionary (Townsend 1972) aspirations to liberate the land from Roman rule.

On the side of the NT's continuity with the OT's land motifs, the following observations are pertinent:

a. The Gospels portray Jesus as a Jew linked genealogically (Matt 1:1–17, 20; Luke 3:23–37), but also geographically (Matt 2:1–6; Luke 2:4) to Israel generally and to the lineage and kingship of David in particular (e.g., Matt 9:27; cf. Rom 1:3). Despite the significance of other places (and Galilee as a whole; see below), Jerusalem retained a central importance in his ministry. He carried out his ministry within the approximate boundaries of OT "Israel," including Judah (Alt 1961), limiting his mission to the "house of Israel" (Matt 10:5–6; 15:24; Manson 1964), highlighting this limitation by occasional and conscious extensions of it to gentiles and/or gentile territory (e.g., Matt 8:5–13 = Luke 7:1–10; Mark 7:24–30 = Matt

15:21–28). The fact that the extension of his mission to the gentiles by the early Church seemed radical and tension-filled (Acts 10; 15) confirms the above characterization of the ministry of Jesus.

b. The Jesus of the Gospels also lived as a Jew with respect to the law, the synagogue and the Temple (e.g., Matt 5:17–18; Luke 2:49; 4:16; 6:6–7; 22:8). Again, his departures from Pharisaic-Rabbinic perspectives at some points, mainly (though not only) relating to the Sabbath (e.g., Mark 3:1–6 and parallels), merely highlights his extensive acceptance of the law with its close links to land and Temple. These departures are part of the tradition of reinterpretation in light of either their earlier and original, or their final, eschatological significance. In this faithfulness to the law, he was again followed by the early Church (Acts 2:46; 3:1; 5:42; 21:20; Gal 2:7–9), and by Jewish (Ebionite) Christians for a long time (Strecker 1983: 196–99). The reduction of legal obligations for gentiles took the form of a spirit-guided innovation (Acts 10; 15) which resulted in a theologico-geographical parallel existence of Jewish and gentile Christianity, rather than the abrogation of the OT and Jewish geographical-legal *realia* (Davies' term).

c. The extension of the gospel to the gentiles is in itself not a contravention of OT land theology, but can be seen as the development or fulfillment, even in geographical terms, of a variety of OT motifs, such as the Abrahamic blessing for the nations (Gen 12:3). God's concern for the nations as expressed in the prophetic "foreign nations oracles" (e.g., Amos 1:3–2:3), in the book of Jonah, and especially in the theme of the eschatological significance of God's work in and with Israel for all nations (e.g., Isa 2:2–4 = Mic 4:1–3; Isa 19:23–25; 49:6; 56:7).

d. Even the conscious and innovative extension, most evident in the missionary activity of Paul, retains Jerusalem as its starting point (Acts 1:8; 2; 8:1; 11:27) and, in a certain sense, its center (Acts 8:14; 9:26–30, cf. Gal 1:18–19; 15:1–35; 16:4). For himself, as a Jew, Paul retains the validity of the law and the Temple (Acts 21:17–26), albeit with some modifications, such as table-fellowship with the gentiles (Gal 2:11–14). Most significant is his apparent validation of the eschatological significance of the Jerusalem Temple in 2 Thess 2:4 (Davies 1974: 193f.).

On the other hand, new approaches to land and land-related motifs in the NT are patently clear. Three types of evidence can be distinguished: abrogation, symbolization, and transformation and extension. It goes without saying that the boundaries between these usages are often fluid.

a. Abrogation of the OT's land theology or aspects thereof, in explicit terms, is not frequent in the NT. It finds its clearest expression in Hebrews. Here, even the historical promise of land to Abraham, though acknowledged (11:8–16), is retroactively redirected to "a better country, that is, a heavenly one" (11:16, see above). Elsewhere, the land is excluded from the Abrahamic promise (6:13). While the fall of Jericho is mentioned (11:30), the occupation of the land is omitted. The saints are described as "strangers and exiles" (11:13), "wandering over deserts and mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth (or land?)" (11:38). Strangers and exiles does not mean here long-term guests in God's land (cf. Lev 25:23, see above), but geographically footloose wanderers toward eternity. Israel's covenant, law, cultus, and priesthood are shadows of their higher, heavenly parallels and must pass away (8:13). Christ is the heavenly high priest after the order of Melchizedek, who is "without father or mother or genealogy," being "king of Salem, that is king of peace," i.e., no longer the earthly city of Gen 14:18 (7:2–3). Christ the high priest, who died "outside the gate" (13:12) as a one-time sacrifice, officiates in a "heavenly sanctuary" (8:5), also called "Mt. Zion … the heavenly Jerusalem" (12:22), where he will give rest [the OT equivalent of the promised land, see above] to the saved (chaps. 2–3). In everything, the *realia* of the OT are bracketed out as ephemeral shadows of nongeographical, nonphysical eternal realities.

Possibly the rejection of the Temple in the speech of Stephen (Acts 7; see above) expresses a similar perspective.

We must also list here, however, the fact that the references to land promises and land theology, so ubiquitous in the OT, are mentioned sparingly, as already discussed.

There are aspects of the theology of Paul that may belong here, too. Davies (1974: 164–220) notes that Paul, as a Jew, must have been keenly aware of the *realia* of Judaism, and that it is therefore the more remarkable that he hardly refers to the land or to any theological significance of geography. Abraham is,

for him, the model of faith leading to righteousness. "Paul ignores completely the territorial aspect of the promise" (Davies 1974: 178). Davies sees this not only as absence of concern for the land, but as deliberate rejection. The land-related law, for Paul, is an interlude, now completed, between the universal promise to Abraham and its fulfillment in Jesus Christ (p. 179). Davies can speak of the "deterritorializing of the promise," which is now "located," not in a place but in the person of Jesus Christ (p. 179). While all this is undoubtedly true, we will need to return to Paul in our next two sections.

b. Symbolization. We are concerned here with NT uses of the OT's land motifs in such a way as to carry forward their meanings without their geographical realism. For the most part, the new meanings are anchored either in Jesus and his church, or in an eschatological, transcendent future. The common denominator for both is the (present and/or future) kingdom of God. In the context of Hebrews, we already noted the transformation of "land," "Mt. Zion," "inheritance," and "rest" into images of heavenly salvation. "Wilderness" (some translations: "lonely place") becomes the context of temptation (e.g., Matt 4:1–11 = Luke 4:1–13), but also of encounter with God (e.g., Luke 5:16). "Mountain" signifies manifestation of God (e.g., Mark 9:2–8 = Matt 17:1–8 = Luke 9:28–36), while "sea" symbolizes the unruly powers to be subjected to God's rule (e.g., Mark 4:35–41 = Matt 8:23–27 = Luke 8:22–25). "Temple" is, especially for Paul, the presence of God in the believer and the church (e.g., 1 Cor 3:16f.; but cf. our discussion of 2 Thess 2:4, above). "Jerusalem/Zion" comes to mean the eternal goal of the Christian's pilgrimage, the ultimate presence of God (Heb 11:10; 12:22; Rev 21:1–4).

In the gospel of John, the meaning of land motifs is repeatedly projected onto the person of Jesus. He, not Jacob's well, is the source of life-giving water (4:7–15). He, not the Pool of Bethesda, offers healing (5:2–9). He is the bread of life, the manna in the wilderness (6:31–35). His body is the Temple that will be destroyed and resurrected (2:18–21).

With less recourse to geographical terminology, Paul also focuses the land promises of the OT on Jesus, who is the entrance to the believers' inheritance (Gal 3:29–4:7), and in whom the promise to Abraham is fulfilled (Gal 3:15–18; Rom 4:16). While his "localization" of many of the OT's land-related *realia* (goal of promise, inheritance) "in Christ" can be seen as a rejection of the theological relevance of place, it is also true that the incarnate Christ himself represents a certain realism of geographical presence associated with the places of his ministry and the memories that attach to them. This realism of the incarnation then continues in the presence of the resurrected Christ in his body, the church, and its members, repeatedly referred to as "temple" by Paul (1 Cor 3:16–17; Davies 1974: 187).

Davies also recognizes this new realism in Christ, both geographical and transcendent, and finds in it the common denominator for the twofold emphasis to which his extensive investigation of land theology in the Pauline, Synoptic, Johannine (gospel) materials and of Jesus himself leads him: (1) "It is justifiable to speak of the *realia* [land, Jerusalem, Temple] of Judaism as being 'spiritualized' in the Christian dispensation" (Davies 1974: 366). (2) As Jesus had lived in a particular land, "the space and spaces which he occupied took on significance, so that the *realia* of Judaism continued as *realia* in Christianity" (366). The "reconciling principle," for Davies (367), is the person of Jesus Christ: "The New Testament finds holy space wherever Christ is or has been; it personalizes 'holy space' in Christ."

c. Transformation and Extension. In his conclusions just presented, and throughout his investigation, Davies partly acknowledges but largely deemphasizes or rejects a new theologico-geographical realism in the NT. This new "geography of faith" appears to the present writer to be the theologically most significant legacy of the OT's land themes in the NT (Janzen 1973). We noted above that Jesus' limitation of his mission to "Israel" suggests a certain intentionality in the geographical pattern of his ministry. There is a wealth of evidence in the gospels, in Acts, and in the Pauline writings that such an intentionality far exceeded the mere limitation of Jesus' own mission, and later expansion of it, into the gentile world. It appears that Jesus and the early Church, far from being aterritorial in theology, believed and lived out a new theologico-geographical realism. This consisted, in part, of the acceptance of earlier Israelite-Jewish *realia* (see above); in part, of the transformation of these, not only into symbolic meanings (see above), but into new geographical patterns and perspectives; and in part, of the creation of new geographical *realia* for faith.

The most prominent proposal in this direction is the so-called Lohmeyer-Lightfoot Theory (Lohmeyer 1936; Lightfoot 1937), which finds in Mark, and less prominently in Matthew, a geographical theology centering in Galilee as the new "holy land." There Jesus began his ministry, called his disciples, experienced the transfiguration. Galileans were his first followers, and became almost synonymous with "Christians." Jerusalem was the place of opposition and rejection. While the resurrection took place in Jerusalem, the parousia would come in Galilee (Mark 14:28; 16:7). There the church was founded. It was the land that dwelt in darkness, but saw a great light (Matt 4:15–16, cf. Isa 8:23–9:1—Eng9:1–2).

Davies (1974: 221–43) and G. Stemberger (1974: 409–38) reject this thesis as a "uniform pattern" (Stemberger 1974: 435), but Stemberger, has to admit "a certain emphasis on Galilee in the gospels" (435). "That Christ had chosen to exercise his ministry in Galilee, this fact underlined the paradox of the incarnation … It is precisely to the despised and lowly people that Christ comes" (436), Galilee being of low regard in that time. Whether or not the many ramifications of the Lohmeyer-Lightfoot theory can be substantiated or not, is less important than the now widely recognized fact that a new, Christian geographical realism is at work here, taking up the OT notion of the election of a geographical area, but no longer attaching such election to the land as understood in the OT.

For the gospel of Luke, H. Conzelmann (1961: 18–94) has demonstrated a remarkably rich and nuanced geographical symbolism as the carrier of that gospel's theological message. In contrast to Mark and Matthew, Jerusalem, rather than Galilee, is the goal and focus of Jesus' mission. His Galilean ministry serves the purpose of gathering witnesses (almost synonymous with "Galileans") who will travel with him to Jerusalem. They become witnesses by way of election. Jesus' natural relatives do not qualify as such. Rejected in his home town, Nazareth, Jesus chooses Capernaum, a town without sacred history, as the center of his activity, foreshadowing the movement of the gospel from Jews to Gentiles, presented later in the book of Acts.

In a long journey symbolizing his acceptance of his passion, Jesus reaches Jerusalem, where all prophets must die. He enters the city in a non-eschatological, nonpolitical act and cleanses the Temple, signifying the Church's claim to be the true Israel (Conzelmann 1961: 75). Contrary to the disciples' mistaken notion, however, Jerusalem is not the place of the parousia; the latter is still in the distant future. Instead, it is the place of the birth of the Church, from which witnesses will be led by the Spirit into all the world, a story told in Acts.

For the gospel of John, Nazareth, and in a sense, all Galilee, is the carrier of the *scandalon* of the incarnation. Over against Jesus' origin in Nazareth and Galilee, from where nothing good (1:46), and certainly no eschatological figure (7:41, 52), is expected, stands the evidence that he is from above (8:23). This is recognized by the Galileans, who receive him (1:43–51; 2:11; 4:45, 53–54), and to a lesser degree by the Samaritans (4:39–42). Meeks (1966: 165) points out that, on the other hand, "the journeys to Jerusalem in John, symbolize the coming of the redeemer to 'his own' and his rejection by them, while the emphasized movement from Judea to Galilee (especially 4:43–54) symbolizes the redeemer's acceptance by others, who thereby become truly 'children of God,' the real Israel." Once again, a new "sacred geography" has become the carrier of Christology.

It is less important whether the analyses of the theologico-geographical patterning of the gospels, sketched here in barest outline, can be substantiated in the forms presented. Nor are we concerned here with the precise relationship of the geographical data of the life of the "historical" Jesus to their theological interpretations in the different gospels. The important observation in our investigation of the NT's response to the OT's land theology consists of seeing considerable evidence for the significance of geography in the NT's theology. Regions, places, and journeys remain means capable of being drawn into God's service, i.e., of becoming "holy."

Instead of a static acceptance of the "holy land" and the "holy places" of the OT, the NT sees God as drawing geographical *realia,* old and new, into his service in connection with his new self-revelation in Jesus Christ. This divine employment of geography continues in the early Church, as presented in Acts. There it is the Spirit that effects the spread of the gospel from Jerusalem (in keeping with Lukan geographical theology) to "all Judea, Samaria, and to the ends of the earth" (Acts 1:8), in a divinely led

and empowered geographical strategy (see also Acts 13:1–4; 16:6–10; 19:21; Gal 2:1–2; Matt 28:28). New lands and places are chosen, thereby becoming "holy." A certain static land theology has been broken open in such a way as to designate all places on the map as potentially holy, contingent on God's election through the Spirit (cf. Exod 20:24).

It is in this sense also that John 4:23 must be understood. To worship God "in spirit and in truth" is not to negate the ongoing significance of place in favor of an interiorized or otherworldly faith. It means to recognize the potential of all lands and places—of the whole ecosystem—to be chosen by the transcendent God of the Bible to work signs of his election and presence.

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W. JANZEN

**LAND LAWS.** See LAW, BIBLICAL AND ANE; also FAMILY.

**LANGUAGES.** This entry examines the various languages that are associated with the biblical text and the ANE and Mediterranean cultures of which the biblical writers were a part. It consists of 16 separate articles, the first of which provides a systematic survey and overview of the plethora of languages that constituted the ancient world of the Bible. There follow articles on Akkadian, Aramaic, Byblos Syllabic, Coptic, Egyptian, Ethiopic, Greek, Hebrew, Hittite, Hurrian, the languages of Iran, Latin, Phoenician, South Arabian, and Ugaritic.

### *INTRODUCTORY SURVEY*

The many languages attested in the ANE records are most conveniently surveyed according to their classification into language families.

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A. The Afroasiatic Language Family
  1. The Semitic Languages
    a. East Semitic
    b. West Semitic

(1) South Semitic
(2) Central Semitic
2. Egyptian
B. The Indo-European Language Family
1. Anatolian
2. Indo-Iranian (Aryan)
3. Hellenic
4. Phrygian
C. Hurrian and Urartian
1. Hurrian
2. Urartian
D. Other Languages
1. Sumerian
2. Elamite
3. Qutian
4. Hattic
5. Kassite
E. Undeciphered Languages and Scripts
1. Cretan and Cypriot Scripts
2. Byblian Hieroglyphs
3. Deir ʿAllā Clay Tablets
4. Meroitic

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**A. The Afroasiatic Language Family**

For much of the ancient period the most widespread group of languages spoken in the Near East was the Semitic group, which will be described in detail below. The Semitic languages constitute one branch of a large language family now usually called Afroasiatic (or Afrasian; formerly Hamito-Semitic). The Afroasiatic family comprises six branches: (1) *Semitic* (see below, A.1); (2) *Egyptian* (see below, A.2); (3) *Berber:* several modern languages and dialects distributed across N Africa from Egypt to Mauritania, such as *Shilḥ, Tamazight, Kabyle,* and *Tuareg* (in which an early consonantal alphabet continues to be used); perhaps also an ancient language, often called *Numidian,* attested in alphabetic (consonantal) inscriptions from Libya, one of which is dated 139 B.C.E. (despite the existence of a few Numidian-Punic and Numidian-Latin bilinguals, the language remains virtually unintelligible); (4) *Cushitic:* a group of some 40 languages spoken by about 15 million people in east central Africa (Ethiopia, Somalia, Kenya), such as *Oromo, Somali, Afar-Saho, Sidamo, Agaw,* and *Beja;* no ancient representatives of this branch are attested; (5) *Omotic:* about 40 languages spoken by just over a million people, mostly in W Ethiopia; previously classified as, and still considered by some scholars to be, a western subbranch of Cushitic; no ancient Omotic languages received written form; and (6) *Chadic:* a large group containing at least 125 languages in several subgroups spoken in W Africa (Cameroun, Chad, Niger, Nigeria); the most important member is *Hausa,* spoken by about 25 million people in Nigeria, Niger, and elsewhere; none of the Chadic languages is attested before the modern period.

**1. The Semitic Languages.** Semitic, a relatively close-knit family of highly inflected languages, has the longest recorded history of any linguistic group, spanning the period from the mid-3d millennium B.C.E. with Akkadian and Eblaite to the present day with Arabic, Amharic, and Hebrew. See Fig. LAN.01.

The Proto-Semitic phonological repertoire may be reconstructed as having contained three vowels, *a, i, u,* which could occur short or long (*ā, ī, ū*), and 29 consonants (all still distinguished in Old South Arabian); the consonants may be arranged according to their probable phonetic features as follows (traditional symbols appear in parentheses; Faber 1985, 1989):

Reconstruction of Probable Phonological Features of the Proto-Semitic Consonants

| manner | | stops | | | | affricates | | | | fricatives | | | approximants | | nasals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| place | voiced | voiceless | emphatic | | voiced | voiceless | emphatic | | voiced | voiceless | emphatic | | voiced | | voiced |
| bilabial | *b* | *p* | | | | | | | | | | | *w* | | *m* |
| interdental | | | | | | | | | ð | Θ | Θˀ (Ọ) | | | | |
| dental | *d* | *t* | *tˀ (ṭ)* | | | | | | | | | | *r* | | *n* |
| alveolar central | | | | | *dz ɟ (z)* | *ts ɟ (s)* | *tsɟˀ (ṣ)* | | | *s (š)* | | | | | |
| alveolar lateral | | | | | | | *(t)ɬɟ*(ð) | | | *ɬ (ś)* | | | *l* | | |
| palatal | | | | | | | | | | | | | *y* | | |
| velar | *g* | *k* | *kˀ (q)* | | | | | | *γ(ǵ)* | *x (ḫ)* | | | | | |
| pharyngeal | | | | | | | | | ʿ | *ḥ* | | | | | |
| glottal | | ʾ | | | | | | | | *h* | | | | | |

Semitic morphology is strongly characterized, especially in its verbal forms, by what are termed discontinuous morphemes, which usually consist of three consonants; for example, the semantic field "to rule" is conveyed in Hebrew (and other Semitic languages) by the consonant sequence *m-l-k*; precise meaning and morphological information is conveyed by various modifications to this sequence, as in *timlōk*, "you (m.s.) will rule"; *himlîk*, "he caused to rule"; *melek*, "king"; *malkâ*, "queen"; *mĕlûkâ*, "kingship"; and *mamlākâ*, "kingdom."

Nouns in Proto-Semitic may be reconstructed as having three inflectional cases, each marked in the singular by one of the short vowels: e.g., nominative **baʿlum*, "lord," genitive **baʿlim*, and accusative **baʿlam*. The final *-m* on these forms (→ *-n* in Arabic) originally marked the form as free, or not bound to a following genitive element, as opposed to the bound, or construct, form, as in **baʿlu baytim*, "lord (nom.) of the house," or **baʿlu-kă̆*, "your (masc. sing.) lord (nom.)." The noun exhibits two genders, masculine and feminine, the latter usually marked by one of a set of allomorphs, the most common of which are *-at* and *-t*, as in **baʿlum*, "lord," and **baʿlatum*, "lady." There are three numbers, singular, dual, and plural. Plurals are marked either by external endings, probably proper only to adjectives at first, as in **šalimum*, "whole," masc. pl. nom. **šalimūna* (gen.-acc. *-īna*; → *-ūma/-īma* in some languages), fem. pl. nom. **šalimātum* (gen.-acc. *-ātim*), or by modification of the pattern, as in classical Ethiopic (Geʿez) *dabr*, "mountain," pl. *ʾadbār* (broken plurals; vestiges of this feature remain in languages that have otherwise generalized the external pl. markers, as in Hebrew *gibʿâ* < **gibʿatum*, "hill," pl. *gĕbāʿōt* < **gibaʿātum*).

The finite forms of the verb in early Semitic were undoubtedly very similar to the Akkadian preterite and durative forms, i.e., two conjugations inflected with prefixes (and suffixes in certain persons): a perfective form that functioned both as a past tense and as an injunctive (jussive), as in **yaqbir*, "he buried, may he bury" (m. pl. **yaqbirū*, "they buried, may they bury," 2fs **taqbirī*, "you buried, may you bury," etc.); and an imperfective form in which the middle consonant of the root was doubled, as in **yvqabbar*, "he buries, will bury" (m. pl. **yvqabbarū*, "they …"; 2fs **tvqabbarī*, "you …"). In addition, each verbal stem had associated with it an adjective (e.g., **qabir-*, "buried") that could be inflected by means of subject pronoun suffixes to form a predication, as in **qabir-a*, "he is/was buried"; **qabir-at*, "she …"; **qabir- (ā)kŭ*, "I …"; **qabir-tă̆*, "you (m.s.) …" Verbal roots also usually occurred in a number of stems characterized by internal changes, by prefixes (some of which became infixes in some languages), or by a combination of these features: e.g., **yišlam*, "he became whole," vs. **yušallim*, "he made whole"; **yaʿbur*, "he went across," vs. **yušaʿbir* (in some languages **yuhaʿbir*), "he took across." The number and actual shape of these verbal stems varies among the languages, and their precise reconstruction in the proto-language remains unclear.

Many schemes of classification have been proposed during the course of research on Semitic during the last century and more. In the following outline the attested Semitic branches and languages will be

presented essentially according to the genetic classification suggested by R. Hetzron (1976), with minor modifications.

**a. East Semitic.** This earliest-attested branch of Semitic includes only Akkadian and Eblaite. *Akkadian* was the language of the Semitic people of ancient Mesopotamia. Although it is not clear when the first speakers of Akkadian arrived in Mesopotamia, the earliest texts containing Akkadian material date from about 2600 B.C.E. Akkadian is written from left to right in the logo-syllabic cuneiform script borrowed from the unrelated Sumerian language (see below, D.1.). The long history of the language comprises a number of dialects: in the earliest period, ca. 2600–1950, the various regional dialects are collectively labeled *Old Akkadian;* thereafter, the *Assyrian* language in N Mesopotamia is differentiated from the *Babylonian* language in S Mesopotamia, and both Assyrian and Babylonian are further subdivided chronologically into Old (1950–1500), Middle (1500–1000), and Neo- (1000–625) phases; after the demise of Assyria and its language in ca. 625, Late Babylonian continues until the 1st century C.E., when the last Akkadian texts were written. See the separate entry on Akkadian (below).

*Eblaite* (also Eblaic) is the Semitic language of the Syrian city of Ebla, attested on cuneiform tablets dating to the 24th–23rd centuries B.C.E. Considered by some, especially when its discovery was first announced in the mid-1970s, to be an early dialect of NW Semitic, it now seems more likely that Eblaite is most closely related to Akkadian, since it shares a number of significant linguistic innovations with the latter. The difficulties of Eblaite orthographic practice, which often differs from its contemporary Mesopotamian counterpart, continue to make both readings and classification difficult, however.

**b. West Semitic.** A major linguistic innovation that sets the rest of the Semitic family apart from the Eastern branch is the development of the verbal adjective with a subject suffix pronoun, as in **qabir-a,* "he is/was buried," into an active, perfective verb form, often with a vowel change: **qabar-a*, "he (has) buried." This development is attested in all "West Semitic" languages, that is, all Semitic languages apart from Akkadian and Eblaite. The earlier perfective form **yaqbir* was usually retained in its injunctive sense, "let him bury"; in some languages it also continued as a past-tense form, though now in secondary constructions, such as the Hebrew consecutive form *way-yiqbōr*, "and he buried." "West Semitic" can be subdivided into South Semitic and Central Semitic languages.

**(1) South Semitic.** The South Semitic languages exhibit the innovative perfective form **qabara*. The suffixes denoting the first person singular and all second persons of this form in South Semitic have *-k-*, whereas in the Central Semitic languages (see (2) below) these suffixes have *-t-*: compare classical Ethiopic (Geʿez) *qabarku*, "I buried," *qabarka*, "you (m.s.) buried;" Mehri (Modern South Arabian) *qəbə́rk*, "I/you (m.s.) buried;" but Arabic *qabartu*, "I buried," *qabarta*, "you (m.s.) buried." In a more significant distinction, the South Semitic branch, unlike the Central, retains the early Semitic imperfective form, as in the following forms for "he buries": Geʿez *yeqabber*, Mehri *yəqáwbər* (< **yəqōbər*, in which the originally doubled middle **-bb-* has been simplified); but Arabic *yaqbiru*. South Semitic comprises two subbranches, the South Arabian and the Ethiopian.

**(a) South Arabian.** There are two groups of South Arabian languages, ancient and modern. The relatedness of the two groups has often been assumed, partly because they overlap to some extent geographically and partly for sounder linguistic reasons, such as shared items of vocabulary and, in some instances, of morphology. Recently, however, the classification of the ancient group as part of the South branch of Semitic, and thus as closely related (or even ancestral) to the modern group, has been called into question with the suggestion that it belongs rather to Central Semitic (Voigt 1987).

The Old (or Epigraphic) South Arabian languages, for which the collective term *Ṣayhadic* has recently been proposed (Beeston 1984), are the following: *Sabaean* (or Sabaic; 6th century B.C.E., perhaps earlier, to 6th century C.E.); *Minaean* (or Minaic; 4th–2d centuries B.C.E.); *Qatabanian* (Qatabanic; 5th or 4th century B.C.E. to 3d C.E.); *Ḥaḍramitic* (4th century B.C.E. to 3d C.E.). These languages are attested in several thousand inscriptions, most of which have been found in the area covered by today's Yemen, although a few inscriptions have also come to light elsewhere in Arabia and even in Egypt, in old trading colonies. The best represented of the languages by far is Sabean, the other languages each being attested by a relative handful of inscriptions. The majority of the inscriptions are monumental in character, written

boustrophedon in the earliest texts but consistently right to left thereafter, in a lapidary alphabetic script in which all 29 of the original Proto-Semitic consonants are distinctly represented. A few texts, however, are written in a cursive script that is not fully deciphered. The script is essentially consonantal in nature, although it is likely that *w* and *y* are used in some instances for *ū* and *ī*, respectively. Both the classification of these languages, which are usually regarded as part of South Semitic, and the nature of their relationship to the Modern South Arabian languages require further investigation. See the separate entry on South Arabian languages (below).

Modern South Arabian languages, currently spoken in Mahra province in Yemen and in Dhofar province in W Oman, probably share a common ancestor within the South Semitic branch. The languages are *Mehri,* with some 60,000 speakers of several dialects (including *Northern* or *Negd, Southern* or *Coastal;* note also the closely related *Ḥarsūsi,* and *Baṭḥari*); *Jibbāli* (formerly also referred to as Śḥeri or, incorrectly, as Šḫawri), with about 5,000 speakers (again, with several dialects, including that of the *Kūrya Mūrya* islands); *Soqoṭri,* with about 6,000 speakers on the islands of Soqoṭra, and *ʿAbd el-Kūri* (a subdialect); and *Hōbyōt,* with a small but indeterminate number of speakers. These languages are of considerable importance for the reconstruction of early Semitic, but have until recently not received the scholarly attention they deserve because of the uncertain reliability of the information about them; this situation began to improve greatly in recent years with the work of the late T. M. Johnstone. The languages have been known to Western scholarship only since the mid-19th century; they have no ancient forms, unless they may be considered direct descendants of one or more of the inscriptional Old South Arabian languages. As has been noted, however, the relationship between the ancient and modern groups is not clear. Two significant features argue for a close connection, at least with the Old South Arabian language Ḥaḍramitic: the form of the third person pronouns may be reconstructed for common Modern South Arabian as having begun with **š* in the masc. and **s* in the fem., a curious pairing otherwise found in Semitic only in Ḥaḍramitic; the Modern South Arabian languages share with Ḥaḍramitic the preposition *h-*, "to, for."

**(b) Ethiopian.** Although no Ethiopian Semitic is attested before the common era, it is likely that the ancestor of these languages, which was closely related to the ancestor of the Modern South Arabian languages (and perhaps of the Old South Arabian tongues as well; see above), arrived in the horn of E Africa from the Arabian peninsula early in the 1st millennium B.C.E. Ethiopian Semitic has two subbranches, a northern and a southern; all of the languages exhibit some degree of influence from the Cushite language family, but the influence is markedly greater in the southern branch.

Northern Ethiopian comprises two modern languages, *Tigre* and *Tigrinya* (spoken in the northern Ethiopian provinces of Eritrea and Tigre), and, of greater importance to biblical studies, *Geʿez* (classical Ethiopic), the literary language of the Ethiopian Christian church. Literary Geʿez was probably based on the spoken language of Aksum in N Ethiopia, shortly after the Christianization of the country in the 4th century. In addition to a few monumental inscriptions from the 4th century and earlier, Geʿez is represented by an extensive Christian literature, much of it composed between the 5th and 10th centuries; at that time the spoken language probably died out with the fall of the Aksum empire, but Geʿez continued to be used in a frozen literary form until recent times. Much of the literature is either translated from or based on models in other languages (especially Greek), but there is also a large corpus of material composed in Geʿez. The earliest inscriptions are written in the Old South Arabian monumental script; the latter was adapted to a manuscript form (written from left to right) and furnished with diacritics to represent all but one of the Geʿez vowels distinctly. Most Geʿez manuscripts that have been preserved date back only to the 14th century, although a few may be from as early as the 12th or even the 11th century. See the separate entry on Ethiopic (below).

South Ethiopic comprises some 20 languages in two main subbranches (each of which has further divisions), including *Amharic*, the national language of modern Ethiopia, attested as a written language (in the Geʿez script) since the 16th century C.E.; *Harari,* the language of the city of Harar; *Gafat,* which recently died out; *Chaha;* and others.

**(2) Central Semitic.** The Central branch of Semitic shares with South Semitic the form *qabara* as an active perfective verb. As noted above, it differs from South Semitic in marking the first person singular and all second persons of that form by suffixes with *-t-* (as in Arabic *qabarta* and Hebrew *qābartā*, "you (m.s.) buried") rather than by suffixes with *-k-*. More importantly, Central Semitic exhibits a new form for the imperfective verb, the middle radical of which is not doubled (vs. South, East, and Proto-Semitic), and in which singular forms end in *-u* while masc. pl. forms end in *-ūna*, as in Arabic *yaqbiru*, "he buries," and *yaqbirūna*, "they (m.) bury." The origin of this imperfective is probably to be sought in the old subordinate (subjunctive) form attested in Akkadian (**yaqbir-u*, "who buried"; Hamori 1973). In Hebrew with the loss of final short vowels, the Central Semitic distinction between perfective/jussive **yaqbir*, "let him bury," and imperfective **yaqbiru*, "he buries," was lost in most verbs, as in *yiqbōr,* with both meanings; some verb types preserve the distinction, however, such as *yāqûm* < **yaqūmu,* "he stands," vs. *yāqōm* < **yaqum*, "may he stand"; *yibneh* < **yabniyu*, "he builds," vs. *yíben* < **yabni (y),* "let him build"; the alternative plural form *yiqběrûn,* "they will bury," which is always imperfective (i.e., never used for jussive or consecutive past tense; Hoftijzer 1985), also reflects the Central Semitic plural *yaqbirūna.*

The internal classification of the Central Semitic languages is a much debated topic. The scheme presented here suggests a bipartite division of Central Semitic into an Arabian branch and a Syro-Palestinian branch, the latter essentially consisting of the languages traditionally referred to as "Northwest Semitic."

**(a) Arabian.** The Arabian branch of Central Semitic comprises classical Arabic along with its antecedent inscriptional dialects and its colloquial spoken descendants.

Pre-Islamic inscriptions that are written in alphabetic scripts derived from the Old South Arabian and that exhibit close linguistic affinities with later classical Arabic are termed *Old* (or *Early*) *North Arabic.* Several dialects are distinguished: *Thamūdic,* comprising some 1,000 graffiti found in W and central N Arabia (especially in Midian), from the 6th century B.C.E. to the 4th century C.E., and including *Taymanite*, an early sub-branch in a special script found around the oasis of Tayma; *Dedānite* and later *Liḥyānite* inscriptions from the oasis of al-ʿUlā, ancient Dedān (NW Arabia), from the 5th or 6th century B.C.E.; *Ṣafāʾitic,* attested in over 15,000 graffiti, found in the region E of Damascus as far as Dura Europos and S to the northernmost reaches of modern Saudi Arabia, and dating from the 1st century B.C.E. to the 3d century C.E.; *Ḥasaean* (or Ḥasāʾitic), thus far some 30 texts, mostly funerary inscriptions, from al-Ḥasā in NE Saudi Arabia near the Persian Gulf.

Classical *Arabic*, the literary language of Islam, originated in the poetic *koinē* of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabs, with influence from the Qurʾān, which exhibits features of the dialect of Mecca spoken by Muḥammad. The classical period of this language was the 8th and 9th centuries C.E. during which time it was systematized and standardized by grammarians in the cities of Kufa and Basra. Modern standard literary Arabic essentially exhibits the classical grammar, with updated vocabulary. Throughout the history of literary Arabic, the grammar of which was more or less fixed, spoken dialects have naturally existed and developed over time. Today there are many spoken forms of Arabic, often mutually unintelligible; these dialects have not usually received written form. Instances of literary Arabic that exhibit the influence of the spoken dialects are termed Middle Arabic.

Arabic is written from right to left with an alphabet that was borrowed from the Aramaic script used by the Nabateans (Arabic speakers who wrote in Aramaic) and modified to include six additional consonantal phonemes; in the consonantal script ʾ, *w*, and *y* are normally used to represent the long vowels *ā, ū,* and *ī,* respectively. In the 8th century the use of diacritics to indicate vowels, doubling, and other features was borrowed from Syriac.

**(b) Syro-Palestinian ("Northwest Semitic").** The languages in this branch all share at least two linguistic innovations vis-à-vis common Central Semitic. One is the change of initial **w* to *y,* as in **warada* > **yarada* (> Hebrew *yārad*), "he descended," and **warx* > **yarx* (> Hebrew *yeraḥ*), "month." A more significant innovation occurred in the morphology: for the large group of monosyllabic triradical nouns, that is, *qatl, qitl,* and *qutl* forms, plurals came to be formed regularly and obligatorily by both

inserting *a* between the second and third radicals and affixing the external plural markers (thus, *qatalūna, qitalātum,* and the like; cf. Hebrew *melek* < **malk*-, "king;" pl. *mĕlākîm* < **malakīma*).

**(i) Early Dialects and Names, including "Amorite."** The term *Amorite* is commonly used to refer to the large number of Semitic personal names attested in cuneiform sources from the late 3d and early 2d millennia B.C.E. that exhibit non-Akkadian, i.e., "West Semitic," features. The most recent collection lists over 6,000 such names (Gelb et al. 1980). Because some of the names exhibit typical NW Semitic features, such as the change of initial **w* to **y* (as in *ia-di-du-um*, "beloved," <√**wdd*, *ia-qa-rum*, "precious," <√**wqr*), the entire corpus of names is often labeled Northwest Semitic. But the corpus presents many severe practical difficulties from a linguistic point of view: it is negatively defined, simply as non-Akkadian Semitic; it spans the entire Near East and half a millennium; and it is not subject to normal linguistic tests for meaning, structure, and development, since names may lack any firm connection to the language spoken by their bearer. It is likely, therefore, that these names represent not a single language, or even necessarily a continuum of closely related dialects, but rather a diverse set of languages. It is a priori quite possibly, for example, that only some of the names reflect dialects that may be classified as Central Semitic, and only a subset of those as Northwest Semitic. (That some dialectal variations are exhibited by the names themselves has long been known.) Thus, since "Amorite" is not a linguistic unity, or even, perhaps, a linguistic entity, it is difficult to say anything meaningful about phonology, morphology, or classification that would obtain across the entire set of names.

Other early West Semitic names are attested in Egyptian sources, such as the Execration Texts (vases and statuettes inscribed with the names of foreign vassals, including Syro-Palestinian rulers, 20th–19th centuries B.C.E.), and lists of slaves' names (18th century). Among these names, many of which resemble many of those described above from cuneiform sources, are some with specifically NW Semitic features, such as initial **w* > *y* (e.g., *yq€ ʿmw*, probably for */yaqar-ʿammu/*, "ʿAmmu-is-precious," with *yaqar* < **waqar*). Syro-Palestinian place names also appear in Egyptian texts over a long span of time, and these also provide some information about the history of the Semitic dialects in that area.

Inscriptions from both Palestine and the Sinai in an early, pictographic alphabet are generally held to reflect an archaic form of NW Semitic. The inscriptions found in Palestine probably date to the 17th–13th centuries B.C.E.; the date of those found at Serābīṭ el-Khādem in the Sinai is uncertain (15th century?). While a few letter combinations can be read with some confidence, such as *lbʿlt,* "for the Lady," much of the interpretation of these inscriptions remains uncertain.

Late Bronze period Akkadian texts from sites in Syria and Palestine contain many non-Akkadian Semitic names and, occasionally, non-Akkadian Semitic common words and constructions, reflecting the scribes' native languages. The problems discussed above in connection with the earlier "Amorite" names also apply to these forms, especially to the names. For the common words, particularly when they appear as glosses, there is at least a linguistic context on which to base an interpretation. Again, however, it is difficult to differentiate the various languages and dialects that are undoubtedly reflected in these texts; some forms in texts found at el-Amarna in Egypt exhibit distinctly Canaanite features, for which see under (iii) below.

**(ii) Ugaritic.** The language of the ancient city of Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra), *Ugaritic* was written from left to right on clay tablets with an indigenous alphabetic cuneiform script. The total number of texts and fragments published to date is over 1,100, all of them written during the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.E., although some may be copies of earlier compositions. The largest group are the economic or administrative texts; other genres attested are literary texts (myths and epics), rituals, letters, and a few contracts. Because the Ugaritic alphabet did not normally indicate vowels (except with the glottal stop ʾ), much of the phonology and morphology of Ugaritic is only partly understood. Some evidence for the vocalization of Ugaritic is provided by over 300 non-Akkadian words that appear in Akkadian texts found at Ras Shamra that were written by local scribes; these forms display features of the scribes' native language.

The classification of Ugaritic as a NW Semitic language is generally accepted. Its position within NW Semitic, however, has been a matter of considerable debate; some scholars consider Ugaritic to be a

dialect of Canaanite, while others, noting that it does not participate in a number of Canaanite innovations (see (iii) below), argue that Ugaritic represents a separate branch of NW Semitic distinct from both Canaanite and Aramaic. See the separate entry on Ugaritic (below).

**(iii) Canaanite.** The Canaanite languages may be identified as those sharing the following innovations: the change of common NW Semitic **qattila* and **haqtila* to **qittila* and **hiqtila* in the perfects of the so-called "intensive" and causative conjugations, respectively (cf. Hebrew *Pi‹ēl* and *Hip‹îl*); the change of the first person sg. pronoun, originally **›anākŭ*, first to **›anōkŭ* with the unconditioned change of **ā* > **ō* (the "Canaanite shift") and then to **›anōkĭ* with dissimilation, and the concomitant (and more significant) change of **-tŭ* to **-tĭ* as the marker of the first person sg. in the suffix conjugation (i.e., **qabartŭ*(ρ) **qabartĭ* "I buried"; cf. Hebrew *qābartî*); and the generalization of the allomorph **-nŭ* for the first person plural, originally proper only to the independent pronoun and the suffix conjugation, now as the possessive suffix and the accusative suffix as well (i.e., as the suffix, respectively, on nouns and verbs, as in Hebrew *sûsēnû*, "our horse," and *šĕmārānû*, "he guarded us"). Apart from the Canaanite evidence in the Akkadian Amarna letters, the various Canaanite languages begin to be recorded in the first half of the 1st millennium B.C.E., all written from right to left in a 22-letter consonantal alphabet developed by the Phoenicians.

Among the Akkadian texts found at the site of el-Amarna (ancient Akhetaten) in Egypt were many letters from the mayors of the Egyptian king's vassal cities in Syria and Palestine. The language of the letters from some of these cities, such as Byblos, Gezer, Jerusalem, and Shechem, is a kind of creole in which the vocabulary is mostly Akkadian (with some local words and phrases) but the morphology and the syntax reflect the local NW Semitic dialects. In some instances the presence of one or more of the diagnostic innovations noted above identifies the underlying dialects as Canaanite: *ru-šu-nu /rōšu-nŭ/* "our head" (EA 264:18, provenance uncertain; cf. Hebrew *rō (›)š-ḗnû*, vs. Akkadian *rēš-ni*); *a-nu-ki /›anōkĭ/*, "I" (EA 287:66, 69, from Jerusalem; cf. Heb. *›ānōkî* vs. Akk. *anāku*) and *mu-še-er-ti*, "I sent" (with *-ti* for "I"; ibid.: 53); *ḫi-iḫ-bi-e [hiḫbi›e] < /hiḫbi›a/*, "he concealed" (EA 256:7, from Piḥilu/Pella; cf. Hebrew *hiḥbî›*).

*Phoenician* is the language of the Phoenician city-states of Byblos, Tyre, Sidon, and others, and of their surrounding areas and colonies. While the dialects of the various cities differed from one another to some degree, the Byblos dialect, the earliest attested, exhibits enough idiosyncrasies to be considered a branch of Phoenician separate from the others, which may be termed "Standard." Byblian texts are attested from the 10th century B.C.E., to the 1st century C.E.; Standard Phoenician inscriptions from Phoenicia proper, from Syria, and from the Mediterranean date from the 9th to 2d centuries B.C.E. The Phoenician dialect of the Tyrian colony at Carthage (Phoenician *qart ḥadašt,* "new city") and its colonies is *Punic*, attested from the 5th century B.C.E.; after the fall of Carthage in 146 B.C.E., inscriptions are referred to as Neo-Punic. The Phoenicians originated the 22-letter form of the linear alphabet later borrowed by speakers of other 1st-millennium languages, including Hebrew and Aramaic. See the separate entry on Phoenician (below).

*Hebrew*, by far the best-known Canaanite language, is first attested in epigraphic sources in the late 10th century B.C.E. Parts of the biblical text, however, particularly the older poetry, may stem from as early as the 12th century B.C.E.; the dialect (or dialects) represented by this early biblical material, which may be termed *Archaic Hebrew*, exhibits a number of distinctive features lost in most later Hebrew texts. The term *Classical Hebrew* may be used to denote biblical and epigraphic texts written from the beginning of the monarchy until the exile, while post-exilic texts, which show a number of linguistic developments, may be referred to as *Late Classical Hebrew*. The inscriptional remains give evidence of at least two main dialects of Hebrew during the biblical period, a S dialect, also called Judean, and a N dialect, also called Israelean. Dialectal distinctions were undoubtedly also present in biblical texts originally as well, but editorial harmonizing has tended to neutralize such distinctions, so that a relatively uniform language is reflected, probably the standard official Jerusalem dialect; nevertheless, some dialect variation remains, particularly in certain books, such as Job and Ecclesiastes.

Hebrew probably ceased to be a spoken language of daily life in most areas, replaced by Aramaic, a century or more before the turn of the era. The *Middle Hebrew* period, from the 2d century B.C.E. to the 5th C.E., comprises the Hebrew of texts found at Qumran, Samaritan Hebrew, and the Hebrew of the Mishna, each of which reflects a distinct dialect (or several dialects). Qumran Hebrew is a literary dialect, for the most part a deliberate attempt to reproduce the Late Classical language, though elements of the vernacular often appear. Mishnaic Hebrew, on the other hand, does not descend directly from classical Hebrew, at least not from the standard Jerusalem dialect of most of the Bible; rather, it is a written version of a vernacular language that probably reflects the continuation of a separate Hebrew dialect strain, with some connections to earlier northern Hebrew. In the *Medieval* period Hebrew continued as a written language, with writers drawing on both biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew to create a wide variety of literature. In the last century Hebrew was revived as a spoken language, and *Modern Hebrew* thrives today as the language of the state of Israel. See the separate entry on Hebrew (below).

*Moabite* is attested in one well-preserved 34-line inscription, promulgated by the Moabite king Mesha in the mid-9th century B.C.E., and in two small fragments (one of which is also by Mesha); there are also a number of seals from Moab that bear individual's names (ca. 9th–6th centuries). Although it exhibits a number of distinctive features, Moabite is considered by many scholars to be the language most similar to biblical Hebrew. The *Ammonite* language is known from fewer than a dozen inscriptions dating from the 9th to 6th centuries B.C.E., although there are also over a hundred seals bearing names that have been identified as Ammonite on paleographical or semantic grounds, or on the basis of their find-spots. *Edomite*, attested only in a very small number of ostraca and perhaps in names on a few seals (ca. 8th–6th centuries B.C.E.), is poorly known because of the meager corpus; it appears to be very closely related to Hebrew and Moabite. See also EPIGRAPHY, TRANSJORDANIAN.

**(iv) Aramaic.** All Aramaic dialects exhibit the following shared linguistic innovations, among others: the change of what was probably a vocalic **ṇ* to **r* in the words for "son," "daughter," and "two" (e.g., for "son": **bṇ* > **bir;* Testen 1985); the generalization of **-nă̄* as the suffix of the first person plural in all environments, in contradistinction to Canaanite **-nū̆* (see above); the rise of a new causative-reflexive conjugation, **hittaqtal* (vs. earlier Semitic ** (v)štaqtala);* and the loss of the passive *n*-stem (as in the Hebrew *Nip*ʿ*al*). All Aramaic dialects except for the modern spoken languages are written from right to left in the 22-letter alphabet borrowed from the Phoenicians, although there are many paleographical variants of the script among the forms of the language.

*Old Aramaic,* as the earliest phase of the language is known, is attested in a small number of inscriptions, some of them quite long, from the mid-9th century to the 6th century B.C.E., beginning with the bilingual Akkadian-Aramaic stele from Tell Fakhariya in N Syria. Most of these inscriptions exhibit one or more idiosyncratic linguistic features relative to the others, indicating dialectal diversity rather than the presence of any standard dialect.

Aramaic became an official language during the Persian Empire (6th–4th centuries B.C.E.), a development that both widened the use of the language and yielded a standard dialect, called *Official* or *Imperial Aramaic,* which is attested in a large number of texts on papyrus found in Egypt (some written in Egypt, some, e.g., in Persia) and Palestine; the *Biblical Aramaic* of the book of Ezra may also be placed here. After the breakup of the Persian empire, dialectal variation among Aramaic text groups became prominent once again.

The period from the 3d century B.C.E. to the 2d century C.E. has yielded a large number of Aramaic texts, which collectively may be labeled *Middle Aramaic;* inscriptional dialects of this period from Syria and Transjordan are *Nabatean, Palmyrene, Ḥatran,* and *Old Syriac* (the latter based on the dialect spoken in and around the city of Edessa). In Palestine a written dialect that has been termed *Standard Literary Aramaic* is attested in the Aramaic of the biblical book of Daniel, in the many texts in Aramaic from Qumran, and in the Aramaic of Targums Onqelos and Jonathan. Other Palestinian Aramaic texts of this period are the Bar Kokhba letters, tomb inscriptions, and words and phrases quoted in the Mishnah and the Christian New Testament. Scattered texts have also been found, e.g., in Egypt and as far afield as Afghanistan.

From the 3d century C.E. on we may distinguish three main branches of *Late Aramaic:* (1) *Late Western Aramaic* comprises *Galilean* (or *Jewish*) *Aramaic,* the language of the Palestinian Talmud, Midrashim, and Targums, as well as synagogue and funerary inscriptions; *Judean* or *Christian Palestinian Aramaic* (also called Syro-Palestinian or Palestinian Syriac); and *Samaritan Aramaic.* (2) *Late Eastern Aramaic* comprises *Babylonian Aramaic,* the language of the Babylonian Talmud; *Mandaic,* the language of the gnostic Mandaeans in S Babylonia; and the dialect of a substantial number of magical incantations on bowls, from the 4th–7th centuries C.E. (3) Literary *Syriac,* based on Old Syriac and exhibiting features found in both Western and Eastern Aramaic, is the language of a vast Christian literature from the 4th to 13th centuries C.E. An eastern (Nestorian) and a western (Jacobite) dialect are recognized. Syriac began to decline as a spoken language with the spread of Islam in the 7th century, and eventually it died out.

*Modern Aramaic* languages continue to be spoken in pockets of communities in various parts of the Near East and, as the result of relatively recent migrations, in countries like the Soviet Union, Sweden, and the United States. Four main branches of Neo-Aramaic dialects are known: *Western,* spoken only in three villages NE of Damascus (Christian Maʿlūla and Muslim Jubbʿadīn and Baḫʿa); *Central,* consisting of *Ṭuroyo* (several dialects) and *Mlaḥsō,* spoken in villages in SE Turkey; *Eastern* (also called *Neo-Syriac,* although there is no direct link with classical Syriac), a large group of often significantly divergent dialects spoken by several hundred thousand people, originally in and near Kurdistan but now widely scattered; and *Neo-Mandaic,* which is spoken by a small number of Mandaeans in Ahwāz in W Iran. See the separate entry on Aramaic (below).

**(v) Other.** The dialect of a long but fragmentary alphabetic inscription on plaster found at Deir ʿAlla in Jordan, dated to the mid-8th century B.C.E., has variously been labeled Canaanite and Aramaic by scholars. The reason for the debate is that the dialect exhibits features found in both of those language groups. It seems unlikely, however, that any of those features may be considered significant shared innovations; rather, there is no clear evidence in the Deir ʿAlla text for any of the diagnostic features listed above for Canaanite and for Aramaic. Thus, from the point of view of genetic linguistic classification, it is probably better to conclude that the Deir ʿAlla dialect is neither Canaanite nor Aramaic, but rather continues still another, independent branch of NW Semitic. It is likely that there were other dialects in the 1st millennium, thus far undiscovered, that were likewise unaffected by the innovations that characterize either Canaanite or Aramaic, spoken in communities away from the large Aramaic- and Canaanite-speaking centers. See also DEIR ʿALLA.

**2. Egyptian.** The second main branch (and the earliest-attested member) of the Afroasiatic language family—and history's second-earliest recorded language (after Sumerian; see D.1. below)—is *Egyptian,* the language of the inhabitants of ancient Egypt. Several chronological phases of the Egyptian language may be distinguished: *Old Egyptian,* in dynasties I–VIII (ca. 3100–2160); *Middle Egyptian* in dynasties IX–XVII (ca. 2160–1567); *New* (or *Late*) *Egyptian* in dynasties XVIII–XXX and later (ca. 1567 B.C.E.–394 C.E.); *Demotic,* the language of texts written in demotic script (see below), which overlaps New Egyptian in part, appearing from dynasty XXV to the late Roman period (ca. 715 B.C.E.–470 C.E.); and *Coptic,* from the 3d to 16th centuries C.E., possibly later. That there were also geographical variations of dialect in all of these periods is certain, but directly evidenced only for Coptic; for the earlier stages of the language only a standard dialect normally received written form. The Egyptians probably borrowed the idea of writing from the Sumerians, but the script devised by them was completely indigenous. The hieroglyphic script, in which the original pictographs remain fully recognizable, remained in use for monumental texts and on papyrus from the earliest period until after the turn of the era; hieratic, a cursive script attested from the Old Kingdom on in which the pictographs become stylized to the point where they are not recognizable, was used for writing more quickly with a reed pen; demotic script, which first appeared in the late 8th century B.C.E., was a still more cursive form of writing derived from hieratic. Coptic, the late stage of the Egyptian language spoken by the Christian Copts, was written with the Greek alphabet to which seven additional letters, derived from hieroglyphs, were added to represent sounds not found in Greek.

For the genetic relationship between Egyptian and Semitic, we may point to a number of morphological features, such as the independent pronoun *ıÙnk,* "I" (cf. Akkadian *anāku,* Hebrew *ʾānōkî*); the pronominal suffixes *-ıÙ,* "my;" *-k,* "your" (m. sg.), and *-n,* "our" (cf. Hebrew *-î/-ya, -kā, -nû,* respectively); the form called the Old Perfective, as in *snb. kwıÙ,* "I being healthy," which corresponds formally and semantically to the Akkadian predicative verbal adjective ("stative"), as in *šalm-āku,* "I am healthy." The remoteness of the Egyptian-Semitic relationship, on the other hand, may be illustrated by noting the extreme dearth of clear cognates between the vocabularies of the two language groups. See the separate entries on Egyptian language and writing and on Coptic (below).

**B. The Indo-European Language Family**

Of the many branches of this vast family (in chronological order of attestation: Anatolian, Indo-Iranian, Hellenic, Italic, Celtic, Germanic, Armenian, Tocharian, Balto-Slavic, Albanian; in addition there are several minor, unclassified languages), only a few are represented in ancient Near East documents.

**1. Anatolian.** The most prominent member of this branch is *Hittite,* the earliest Indo-European language attested. Though the term "Hittite" is current in modern scholarly usage, the language was called Nesite by its speakers; it is not to be confused with the autochthonous, unrelated Hattic language (see D.4. below). Hittite was the language of the Indo-Europeans who settled in central Anatolia, and it became the language of the Hittite kingdom. Some 25,000 texts span the 18th to 13th centuries B.C.E.; these include historical texts, laws and legal texts, letters mythological texts, rituals and cultic texts, hymns and prayers, omens, and economic documents. The vast majority of these texts, which were written on clay tablets with the logo-syllabic cuneiform system indigenous to Mesopotamia, were discovered at the site of Boğazköy, ancient Ḫattusas, capital of the Hittite empire. See the separate entry on Hittite (below).

Two other Anatolian Indo-European languages attested in the cuneiform texts found at Boğazköy are *Palaic* (from Palā in NW Anatolia; texts from ca. 1650–1400) and *Luwian* (or *Luvian;* from Luwiya, later Arzawa, in W Anatolia; ca. 1400–1200), in which a few rituals and other religious texts are written; Luwian texts outnumber those in Palaic, but the number of both pales in comparison to the large corpus of Hittite texts. A dialect of Luwian is also written with an indigenous hieroglyphic script appearing on Hittite empire seals beginning in the 15th century B.C.E. and especially on N Syrian monuments from the 10th to 8th centuries B.C.E. The longest text in this *Hieroglyphic Luwian* (formerly termed "Hieroglyphic Hittite") apears in an 8th-century bilingual inscription (with Phoenician) from Karatepe in Cilicia.

Also attested in the 1st millennium B.C.E. are several members of the Anatolian family written in alphabetic scripts. *Lydian,* the language of Lydia on the W coast of Asia Minor, is attested in some 100 inscriptions, mostly epitaphs from Sardis dating from the 5th (or perhaps the 6th) to 4th centuries; there are in addition two Lydian-Greek bilinguals and a longer Lydian-Aramaic bilingual. Lydian is written from right to left in a script derived from Greek. *Lycian,* the language of Lycia in SW Asia Minor, is preserved in about 100 coin legends and 150 epitaphs from the 5th and 4th centuries, many of the latter Lycian-Greek bilinguals; an important historical inscription in an archaic form of Lycian appears on a stele from Xanthos, and a trilingual Lycian-Greek-Aramaic text, a decree establishing a new cult, was found near the same site in A.D. 1973. The Lycian script is likewise derived from Greek, and while similar (though not identical) to the Lydian, it is written from left to right. Inscriptions from Caria in SW Asia Minor (between Lydia and Lycia), and several graffiti from Egypt and Nubia in the same script, have been labeled *Carian.* Like the Lydian and Lycian, the Carian script appears to be derived for the most part from Greek, although there are many deviations. The more than 100 inscriptions, nearly all of which are very brief (although one text is 14 lines long), date to the 7th or early 6th century B.C.E. The Carian language as known from names and from a few glosses in Greek texts remains very poorly understood but has recently been shown to belong to the Anatolian branch of Indo-European. For Phrygian, see B.4. below.

**2. Indo-Iranian (Aryan).** A number of Indo-Iranian and divine names (such as Indra and Varuna) appear in Hurrian (see C.1.) royal names and other Hurrian contexts from the mid-2d millennium B.C.E. In addition, a tractate dealing with horse training, written in Hittite by a Hurrian specialist, contains several Indo-Iranian technical terms, as do some forms, also concerning horses, found in Akkadian texts written

at the Hurrian site of Nuzi. A few of these terms found their way into some of the Semitic languages, as probably in *maryanni,* "charioteer," in Ugaritic. The historical and cultural implications of the presence of these Indo-Iranian forms in Hurro-Hittite contexts are debated. The Indic stock of this large branch (Sanskrit, Prakrit, and their descendants) had otherwise little impact on the linguistic landscape of the ANE.

Two Old Iranian languages are well attested. *Avestan* is an E variety of Iranian in which are written, in a script ultimately derived from Aramaic, sacred Zoroastrian texts, some of which (the Gāthā's) may go back to 600 B.C.E. *Old Persian,* a SW variety of Iranian appearing from the reign of Darius (522–486 B.C.E.) to that of Artaxerxes III (359–338), was one of the official languages the Achaemenid rulers of the Persian empire used for royal inscriptions; it is written in a reduced cuneiform script (only 42 signs: 36 syllabic, 5 word-signs, 1 word divider). Old Persian is the ancestor of the Middle Iranian languages, whose main representative is *Pahlavi,* the language of the Parthians (250 B.C. to 226 C.E.) and Sassanians (226–652 C.E.) and a large corpus of Zoroastrian texts. Other Old Iranian languages, such as *Median* (the language of the Medes), *Parthian,* and *Scythian,* remain sparsely attested and poorly understood. See the separate entry on the languages of Iran (below).

**3. Hellenic.** This branch of Indo-European contains only the various dialects of the *Greek* language. The earliest dialect attested, now usually termed Mycenaean Greek, was written on clay tablets in the syllabic script called Linear B (deciphered in 1952; for Linear A and other Cretan scripts, see E.2. below). The script contains 87 syllabic signs and a number of ideograms. Over 4,500 Linear B tablets, dating from the end of the 14th to the beginning of the 12th century B.C.E., have been discovered at Knossos in Crete, at Pylos, Tiryns, and Mycenae in the Peloponnese, and at Thebes, Eleusis, and Orchomenos in central Greece. Most of the texts are inventories of personnel, animals, rations, weapons, and the like.

The Homeric poems may have been written down as early as 800 B.C.E., while the earliest alphabetic Greek inscriptions attested thus far date to the late 8th century B.C.E. Linguists recognize a number of Greek dialects, the most prominent of which are Aeolic, Doric, and Ionic-Attic; the Attic branch of the latter, the dialect of Athens, yielded the *koinē* or "common" Greek of the Hellenistic period, and the Greek of the Christian New Testament. See the separate entry on Greek (below).

**4. Phrygian.** The language of ancient Phrygia, with its capital at Gordion in W central Asia Minor, is recorded in two groups of inscriptions. *Old Phrygian,* written in a native alphabet derived from the Greek, consists of over 90 inscriptions from the 8th to the 4th centuries B.C.E.; inscriptions may be written from left to right, from right to left, or boustrophedon. *New* or *Late Phrygian* appears in some 110 texts from the 2d and 3d centuries C.E., written in the Greek alphabet. Although it is an Indo-European language that was spoken in Asia Minor, Phrygian is not a member of the Anatolian branch (see B.1. above). Phrygian seems for now to constitute a separate branch, although the ancient Greeks and some modern linguists consider it to be related to *Thracian,* a poorly attested Indo-European language spoken in W Asia Minor and in the E Balkans, in a Thraco-Phrygian branch. Some also believe Phrygian and Thracian to be related to Armenian.

**C. Hurrian and Urartian**

Although these two extinct languages are not closely related, their common ancestry is now well established. The classification of Hurro-Urartian as a branch of one of the Caucasian language groups, especially the NE Caucasian languages, has been proposed but not proved. The Hurro-Urartian group contributed a number of loanwords to Hittite, Akkadian, and a very early stage of Old Armenian.

**1. Hurrian.** Texts in the language of the ancient Hurrians (biblical Horites) are attested from the 20th to the 12th centuries B.C.E. from several sites in N Syria and Anatolia, including Mari, Ugarit, Emar, and especially Ḫattusas (modern Boğazköy). Like most 2d-millennium languages, Hurrian was usually written in Mesopotamian-style syllabic cuneiform, although a few texts from Ugarit were also written in that city's indigenous alphabetic cuneiform script. The longest Hurrian text, which until recently was the source of most of our understanding of Hurrian grammar, is a 500-line letter sent by Tushratta, king of Mittanni, to the Egyptian pharaoh Amenophis III early in the 14th century. The majority of Hurrian texts are cultic in nature, although a few mythological and other literary texts, some omens, and a small number

of lexical texts are also attested. Despite many advances, not a few details of Hurrian grammar and vocabulary have remained obscure; a long bilingual Hurrian-Hittite literary text, recently discovered at Ḫattusas, is expected to elucidate some of the difficulties, however. See the separate entry on Hurrian (below).

**2. Urartian.** The language of the kingdom of Urarṭu (near Lake Van in E Turkey; cf. biblical Ararat), *Urartian* is attested in texts dating from the end of the 9th century to the beginning of the 6th century B.C.E. The majority of the texts—several hundred in number—are monumental royal inscriptions in stone (building inscriptions, dedications, and, rarely, annals), whereas only some 20 Urartian clay tablets, administrative in content, have been published. While most texts are written in Mesopotamian cuneiform, Urartian was also recorded in two hieroglyphic scripts, a local variety that remains poorly understood, and, at one site (Altintepe), the Anatolian variety used for Luwian (see B.1. above).

**D. Other Languages**

A number of languages of the ANE, some of them well documented, appear to be isolates, that is, languages with no known relatives. They are presented in this section in the chronological order of their appearance.

**1. Sumerian.** The first written language, Sumerian was the language of early inhabitants of S Mesopotamia. Sumerian texts are attested beginning in the Uruk IV period, ca. 3100 B.C.E. Although the writing of the earliest texts is almost entirely pictographic, so that the underlying language is not obvious, the use of a few signs for homonymous words, such as *gi*, "reed," for *gi*, "to return," assures us that the language of these texts is in fact Sumerian. Much of the earliest textual material, however, is extremely difficult to understand, since it exhibits many signs that did not survive into later periods. Further, for much of the early period, the scribes used the writing system to record not the exact pronunciation, morphology, and syntax of a text but rather the main items or catchwords, as a mnemonic device; thus, much of the structure of the language must be reconstructed from later texts written when the scribes were more often not native Sumerian speakers but rather Akkadian speakers who had learned Sumerian as a dead, literary language. The earliest writing was pictographic, inscribed in clay tablets, but it evolved over the centuries into cuneiform—wedge-shaped signs impressed into clay with a reed stylus. The Sumerian cuneiform system was eventually borrowed by speakers of Akkadian, Eblaite, Hurrian and Urartian, Hittite, and Elamite to write their languages.

Sumerian may be divided into several chronological phases: *Old Sumerian*, from the earliest period to about 2100, which includes texts from Lagash and other sites dating to the Early Dynastic III period (26th–24th centuries), texts from the Sargonic period (23d–22d centuries), and inscriptions of Gudea, ruler of Lagash in the late 22d century; *Neo-Sumerian*, ca. 2100–1900, which comprises the vast numbers of administrative and legal documents of the Ur III dynasty, and other texts; and *Late Sumerian*, from 1900 on. The date of the death of Sumerian as a spoken language is debated, but it was almost certainly a strictly literary language by the end of the Old Babylonian period (ca. 1900–1600); some scholars have argued that Sumerian had died out as a living language already by the Ur III period (ca. 2100–2000).

The most commonly attested dialect of Sumerian is called *eme-gir*$_{15}$, which may mean "princely language." Another dialect is the *eme-sal*, which may mean "thin language" (or "fine" or "high-pitched"), used in some literary texts when the speaker is a woman or a *gala* (lamentation) priest. Regional dialects undoubtedly also existed, but are not evidenced in the textual material.

A wide variety of Sumerian texts is attested. Economic texts, attested already in the earliest period, are by far the largest group, comprising perhaps some 90 percent of Sumerian documents. Both legal texts and royal inscriptions are recorded from the Early Dynastic period on. There are many genres of literary texts: myths, epics, proverbs, hymns, prayers, and incantations. The various series of lexical lists, the dictionary- and encyclopedia-style texts by which the Sumerian scholars organized their knowledge and taught their writing system, appear by 3000; later, Akkadian scribes used these series, to which they appended glosses in their own language, to learn Sumerian.

Sumerian is an agglutinative language, i.e., one that combines discrete morphemes more or less unaltered in chains to form words, as in *é dumu- (a)n (i)-ak-a*, literally "house son-his-of-in" for "in his

son's house." Sumerian also exhibits ergative constructions, in which the case of the subject of an intransitive verb is the same as that of the object of a transitive verb, as in the endingless *(-ø)* form *é,* "house," in the following examples: *lugal-e é-ø in-dù,* literally "king-by (= by the king) house was-built" for "the king built the house"; *é-ø ba-šub,* "the house collapsed."

**2. Elamite.** Elamite was the language of the early inhabitants of Elam, an area of SW Iran corresponding roughly to the modern province of Khuzistan. Scholars divide the attested history of the Elamite language into four periods. *Old Elamite,* beginning in the 23d century, comprises a very small number of texts, one of which is a document mentioning the Old Akkadian ruler Naram-Sin. *Middle Elamite* dates to the 13th–11th centuries, when Elam was a major political power in the Near East; with rare exception the many texts from this period, from the sites of Susa and Choga Zanbil (and others), are royal building and votive inscriptions on bricks (one of which is an Elamite-Akkadian bilingual), although a few royal historical texts also occur. After a gap of several centuries in which no Elamite texts are attested, *Neo-Elamite* texts begin to appear in the 8th century B.C.E. In addition to the genres found in the Middle Elamite corpus, Neo-Elamite also comprises several hundred administrative texts from Susa, over 30 letters, and a literary text containing omens. The Elamite language continued in use after the fall of the last indigenous Elamite dynasty about 640 B.C.E., and a few texts are also known from the period when Elam was under Babylonian rule in the 6th century. Under the Achaemenid dynasty, Elamite was an official language alongside Old Persian and Babylonian. *Achaemenid Elamite* is attested in over 3,000 administrative tablets from Persepolis, a few letters, and several dozen trilingual royal inscriptions; the latter, in Old Persian, Babylonian, and Elamite, provided the foundation for the decipherment of these languages during the last century. The longest and most important trilingual is the rock inscription of Darius I (522–486) at Behistun; the Elamite version is over 300 lines long. The last Elamite inscriptions date to the mid-4th century B.C.E.

Elamite inscriptions from the 23d century onward are written in the logo-syllabic cuneiform script borrowed from the Elamites' neighbors in Mesopotamia. Another writing system, an indigenous pictographic script called Proto-Elamite, was used in Elam during the 3d millennium on tablets from Susa, Tepe Yahya, and Tall-i Malyan (Anshan), among others. It is first attested on economic tablets found in archaeological strata dated to about 3000, and later on royal inscriptions from the Old Akkadian period (ca. 23d/22d century); in the latter period it sometimes appears on monuments that also bear cuneiform Akkadian inscriptions. Since the Proto-Elamite script remains essentially undeciphered, it is not certain that the language represented is in fact Elamite. A genetic connection between Elamite and the Dravidian language family in India has occasionally been suggested, but has not gained general acceptance.

**3. Qutian.** The language of the Quti (um) (Guti[um]) tribes of the central Zagros mountain region is referred to as Qutian. Since no texts written in Qutian have been found, virtually nothing is known about the language. It is attested only in a small number of entries in Mesopotamian synonym lists that cite foreign words, and in several dozen personal names in the Sumerian king list and a few other texts from the end of the 3d and beginning of the 2d millennia; it may also be the source of a few substratum vocabulary items in Sumerian.

**4. Hattic.** Hattic is the name given to the language of the pre-Indo-European (i.e., pre-Hittite-speaking) inhabitants of N central Anatolia in the 3d and early 2d millennia. Hattic was transmitted by its linguistic supplanters, the Hittites, as a religious language, the language of the local central Anatolian gods. Thus, Hattic texts, all of which come from Boğazköy, ancient Ḫattusas, span the same period of time as that covered by Hittite (18th–13th centuries), and are likewise written in Mesopotamian cuneiform. Other evidence for Hattic is found in proper names, both in Hittite texts and in the earlier Old Assyrian texts from the Anatolian trading colony at Kültepe (ancient Kanesh; 19th–18th centuries). All Hattic texts are of a religious character; they include rituals for temple foundations and consecrations, myths, incantations, prayers, festivals, songs, antiphonies, litanies, and invocations of deities. Hattic material often appears as recitations within Hittite texts, and in some instances, Hattic texts are provided with Hittite translations. Since such translations are frequently of dubious precision, and since copies of Hattic

texts are often full of errors, it seems likely that, at least by the period of the Hittite empire (from the 14th century), Hattic was learned by the Hittite scribes as a dead language; it is quite possible, however, that away from Ḫattusas (especially to the NE) Hattic continued to be spoken until a much later time.

Because of the fragmentary nature of most texts containing Hattic, and because of the uncertain reliability of the Hittite translations in the bilingual texts, our understanding of Hattic grammar and vocabulary remains very limited, although it is clear that Hattic had a strong influence on the grammar and vocabulary of the Indo-European Hittite and Palaic languages (less so on Luwian) that replaced it in central Anatolia. Attempts to classify Hattic as a member of one or another of the Caucasian language groups have been made, but in the poor state of our present knowledge of Hattic, such a genetic relationship is not demonstrable.

**5. Kassite.** The language of the Kassites, a people from the central Zagros mountains (modern Luristan), some of whose members established a dynasty that ruled Babylonia for over 400 years (16th–12th centuries), remains poorly documented and poorly understood. As is true of Qutian, there are neither texts nor complete sentences written entirely in Kassite. The most important sources for Kassite are a vocabulary text giving 16 divine names and 32 common nouns in Kassite with their Akkadian equivalents; a tablet from the library of Assurbanipal (7th century) that lists non-Akkadian royal and other personal names, some of them Kassite, with Akkadian equivalents; over a dozen Akkadian texts from the Kassite period involving horse breeding and containing a number of Kassite terms having to do with horses; and a few Kassite words found in other Akkadian lexical texts or as loanwords into Akkadian. In addition to these sources, many Kassite personal, geographical, and divine names appear in Mesopotamian texts, especially during the Kassite period, but also occasionally earlier in the Old Babylonian period and later into the 1st millennium.

**E. Undeciphered Languages and Scripts**

A number of scripts attested in the ANE and Mediterranean remain undeciphered, and the languages they represent are unknown. In other cases the script can be read but the language still escapes our understanding. Some of the more prominent of these challenges are reviewed briefly here in the likely chronological order of their first appearance.

**1. Cretan and Cypriot Scripts.** *Cretan Hieroglyphic,* the first writing to appear on the island of Crete, dates from the 20th to 17th centuries B.C.E. and has some 140 signs; inscriptions most often appear on stone seals, more rarely on clay. From this script, or one similar to it, there developed two cursive linear scripts that are normally inscribed on clay tablets. The later of these, *Linear B,* records Mycenaean Greek, as noted above (B.3.). The earlier script, referred to as *Linear A,* has some 80 syllabic signs as well as ideograms. Since many of the signs correspond to signs in Linear B, much of Linear A can be read with some confidence, but the small number of texts (only 200–300 tablets, the largest number from Haghia Triada, a palace in S Crete), their brevity, and the lack of bilinguals have led to much debate concerning both the interpretation of the texts in general and even the language they record; the language has been identified, among other suggestions, as a form of NW Semitic, as a dialect of Luwian (Anatolian Indo-European), and as Greek, but none of these identifications has gained wide acceptance. Linear A, which began to appear in the 18th century, continued in use until the end of Minoan civilization, about 1450 B.C.E.

A small number of texts found at sites on Crete and dating to the 6th to 3d centuries B.C.E. are written in Greek characters, but record a language, usually called *Eteocretan,* that has resisted interpretation, despite the existence of a few bilinguals with Greek translations. The relationship between Eteocretan and the language or languages represented by Cretan Hieroglyphic and Linear A also remains uncertain.

The *Phaistos Disk* is a round clay tablet 61/2 inches in diameter discovered during excavations at the palace of Phaistos in S Crete in 1908 and dated stratigraphically to the 17th century B.C.E. The disk is inscribed on both sides with a pictographic script that is not apparently related to other Cretan scripts. The number of individual pictographs used on the disk is 45, a fact that suggests a syllabic script. The most noteworthy aspect of the writing is that the signs were not incised or drawn into the clay, but rather made by impressing stamps, in history's first example of movable type. None of the numerous attempts at

deciphering the relatively short text has gained acceptance; the language of the inscription has thus also remained unknown.

Sites in Cyprus have yielded a small number of texts on clay dating from about 1500 to 1150 in a syllabic script (written from left to right), related to those used on Crete (particularly Linear A) and termed *Cypro-Minoan,* apparently an adaptation of the Cretan writing for the recording of an autochthonous Cypriot language, which remains undeciphered. The Cypro-Minoan script forms an intermediary link between the Cretan scripts and another, later *Cypriot* or *Eteo-Cypriot* syllabic script, usually written from right to left; while one such inscription dates to the 11th century and a few to the 8th, most are attested from the 6th to 1st centuries B.C.E. The majority of the texts written in this scrit record a dialect of Greek (sometimes, especially later, with bilinguals in standard Greek), but a few are in a still-undeciphered, probably indigenous language.

**2. Byblian Hieroglyphs.** A group of nine or ten texts was discovered in Byblos between 1928 and 1932. The texts stem from the Bronze Age, but a more precise dating has not been possible. The inscriptions, written on stone and bronze and ranging in length from 3 to 41 lines, are written in a hieroglyphic script apparently derived, ultimately, from the Egyptian. The number of distinct signs is variously thought to be from fewer than 65 to more than 100, but both extremes indicate that the script is largely syllabic in nature. The language is usually assumed to be Semitic, though not on any sound linguistic basis. An attempted decipherment has recently appeared (Mendenhall 1985), in which it is claimed that the inscriptions date to the late 3d millennium and reflect an archaic form of West Semitic; however, reviewers have not found the decipherment plausible. See the separate entry on Byblos Syllabic (below).

**3. Deir ʿAlla Clay Tablets.** Three inscribed rectangular clay tablets dating to about 1200 B.C.E. were discovered in 1964 at the site of Deir ʿAlla in Jordan. The number of characters attested in the three inscriptions is over 50, so that the script was most probably syllabic in nature. Some of the characters resemble the earlier Cretan Linear A script, but whether there is in fact a connection between the two remains unclear. The inscriptions and their language are as yet undeciphered.

**4. Meroitic.** Meroitic is a language recorded in inscriptions from the ancient kingdom of Meroë in lower Nubia from the 1st century B.C.E. to the 3d or 4th century C.E. The script exists in two varieties: a lapidary, in which the signs are hieroglyphs borrowed from Egyptian, and a cursive. The writing contains only 23 characters and is thus essentially alphabetic in nature. The phonetic values of the signs are known, so that the texts can be read, but certain interpretation of them has so far remained elusive, partly because of the absence of bilinguals and partly because the language represented by the inscriptions has not been successfully shown to be related to any other.

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JOHN HUEHNERGARD

## *AKKADIAN*

Akkadian was a Semitic language spoken and written in ancient Mesopotamia in the pre-Christian period. Abundant documents written in the various dialects of Akkadian have been recovered by archaeologists. The language is usually classified as East Semitic, in distinction to West Semitic languages such as Hebrew, Aramaic, Amorite, and Arabic. The name "Akkadian" derives from the city of Akkad, the seat of a Semitic-speaking dynasty in S Mesopotamia in the mid-3d millennium B.C.; occasionally, both in antiquity and in modern times, the language has also been called Assyrian or Babylonian, from its two major dialects.

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### A. Introduction

Akkadian is the oldest-known Semitic language, attested in texts spanning a period of over 2,600 years. The language was the vehicle of a highly developed and historically minded culture that made extensive use of writing; for this reason, and because documents written in it were generally inscribed on virtually indestructible clay tablets rather than on more perishable material such as papyrus, Akkadian textual documentation is the most extensive we possess for any ancient Semitic language, containing literary and religious works, lists of Akkadian and Sumerian words and grammatical forms and other learned compilations, and political, legal, economic, and personal records (for a full survey of Akkadian texts see *HKL* and Reiner 1978).

In the 3d millennium, speakers of Akkadian in Mesopotamia lived alongside the Sumerians, whose language is unrelated to Semitic or any other known language family. Sumerian is attested in texts from as early as ca. 3000 B.C., and it probably survived as a spoken language until ca. 1700 B.C. or later. The relationship between Sumerians and Akkadians has been compared to that between the ancient Romans and the peoples of medieval Europe: Sumerian culture, religion, scholarship, and language left a lasting impression on Akkadian language and culture (von Soden 1960). For example, the cuneiform writing system which had originally been used to write Sumerian was adapted to write Akkadian, and, with relatively minor modifications, it remained in use for over two and a half millennia. This system, originally comprising a larger number of signs, was reduced to some 600 signs by ca. 2000 B.C.; many of these were pictographic in origin, while others appear to have been conventional schematic representations of words. Inscribed with a stylus on clay tablets, the signs gradually acquired a

characteristically "cuneiform" ("wedge-shaped") appearance. The signs often have multiple values, with the context indicating which value is actually being used; they may represent either words ("king," "old," "come," etc.) or syllables used to write words phonetically (*ba, ab, bab,* etc.). The complexity of this writing system resulted in the restriction of its use to a professional scribal and scholarly class, but in their hands it became the instrument of a millennial tradition of learning and record-keeping. In the course of time, the same system was borrowed to write other languages such as Hurrian, Hittite, and Urartian.

The Akkadian language and culture were unknown or forgotten in classical and medieval times. Occasional isolated cuneiform texts were made known in Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries, but in substance the discovery, publication, and decipherment of Akkadian texts was the achievement of the mid and late 19th century. The major figures involved in this decipherment included the German G. F. Grotefend, the Irishman E. Hincks, and the Englishman H. C. Rawlinson. Building upon prior advances in the decipherment of Old Persian and beginning with trilingual Akkadian/Old Persian/Elamite texts (such as the Behistun Inscription), these and other scholars during the 1840s and 1850s determined that the Akkadian inscriptions represented a Semitic language related to Arabic and Hebrew, that the signs could have multiple values, and that they represented not simple consonants (as in Hebrew or Arabic script) but either syllables or complete words. Once an initial identification of sign values had been achieved, further interpretation of texts was aided both by sign lists and word lists found at Nineveh in the 1840s, and by the similarity of many Akkadian lexemes with those of Hebrew and Arabic. By the late 1850s a fairly accurate interpretation of historical texts was possible, and further research moved on to comprehensive lexicology and to the publication and interpretation of the continually increasing textual corpus of Akkadian. (On the history of decipherment, see Kramer 1963: 6–32.)

In the long history of its attestation, Akkadian naturally underwent changes, and it is customary to distinguish various dialectical forms of it, both in its homeland and in other linguistic areas to which the use of Akkadian spread. The following paragraphs will survey this evolution.

**B. Third-Millennium Akkadian**

The first stage in the history of the Akkadian language is the Old Akkadian period. The language is first attested in personal names found in texts of the Fara period, ca. 2600 B.C. (Biggs 1967), but from ca. 2350 to 1950 B.C. we find texts fully written in Old Akkadian (OAkk; Gelb 1957: 3). Within this span, the period producing the greatest number of extant texts is that of the dynasty of Sargon of Akkad (ca. 2350–2150 B.C.). Prior to this we have only occasional texts, and afterwards there was a temporary return to the use of Sumerian in official documents. With the exception of a few religious texts, these OAkk writings cannot be truly classified as "literary"; they consist mainly of historical and dedicatory inscriptions of royal and private persons and letters, as well as economic, administrative, and legal texts. The writing system had not yet been given the precision it would later have in the expression of Akkadian phonemes: initial homorganic voiced and voiceless stops were still not graphically distinguished from one another (e.g., the same sign is used to write the syllables *da, ta,* and *ṭa,* etc.), the later aleph sign representing the glottal stop in conjunction with a vowel was not yet in use, and consonant doubling and vowel length were not normally represented. For the linguistic historian and the comparative Semitist, the OAkk texts are important because they exemplify early phonological and morphological characteristics of the language that would later be lost, such as the presence of Semitic *ś* and ʿ (which would later be merged with other phonemes), the absence of later vowel contraction, and the use of a productive dual.

**C. Early Second-Millennium Dialects**

**1. Old Babylonian.** In 2d-millennium texts we find the first attested dialect differentiation between southern Akkadian (Babylonian) and northern Akkadian (Assyrian). Old Babylonian (OB), the earliest form taken by the southern dialect, is found in texts dating from ca. 1950 B.C. to the end of the dynasty of Hammurabi of Babylon, ca. 1530 B.C. The period of Hammurabi himself and his immediate predecessors and successors is especially important because it was associated with the establishment of a careful chancery style of writing Akkadian, an innovation that affected the writing of royal and private inscriptions, letters, and business and administrative documents. Here, syllabic writing was generally preferred to logographic, and a number of signs current in OAkk were dropped from active use:

preliminary measures were taken to distinguish initial voiced, voiceless, and emphatic stops; new means of representing the aleph were devised; and double consonants were normally represented graphically. Within OB itself, regional subdialectic traits are discernible in Mari, Elam, the Diyala area, and elsewhere. This was a time of great literary productivity: epics, hymns, and prayers were written in a somewhat more archaic form of OB (the so-called hymnic-epic dialect: von Soden 1931–33; Groneberg 1971) which was to remain an ideal literary standard throughout the remaining history of the language.

Because of its internal consistency and its later literary influence, OB is generally regarded as the classical stage of Akkadian; therefore, a brief description of its characteristics will indicate the principle characteristics of classical Akkadian. The *phonemic inventory* of Akkadian is reduced, by comparison with that of other Semitic languages such as classical Arabic. The vowels include long and short *a, e, i,* and *u;* consonants are ʾ (aleph), *b, d, g, ḫ, y, k, l, m, n, p, q, r, s, ṣ* (ṣade), *š* (*šin*), *t, ṭ* (*ṭet*), *w,* and *z.* Pronunciation of vowels is similar to that of vowels in Latin or German; that of consonants resembles English except for ʾ (glottal stop), *ḫ* (velar, like *ch* in German *ach*), *š* (= sh), and the velarized or "emphatic" consonants *q, ṣ,* and *ṭ.* Nominal and verbal roots are generally triconsonantal. Verbs are conjugated in four main stems: a basic stem, a stem with doubled second-root consonant (corresponding to Heb *Piʿel*, and denoting plurality or intensity), a causative stem with infix *š*, and a passive stem with infix *n*. Each of these stems, and other stems derived from them, may have the following forms: present or durative, preterite or punctual, perfect, atemporal stative, imperative, infinitive, and active and passive participle. In the noun, masculine and feminine are distinguished, the latter usually marked by a morpheme *-t.* The noun has singular, plural, and vestigial remains of an earlier, regularly used dual. There are three cases (nominative, genitive, and accusative) marked by different final vowels (or case endings: *-u, -i, -a*). Most case endings also include a final, nonfunctional *-m* ("mimation"), a feature which disappears in Akkadian after the OB period (Reiner 1966 and 1970; von Soden *GAG;* Riemschneider 1977: Caplice 1988).

**2. Old Assyrian.** Although Old Assyrian (OA) is contemporaneous with OB, the OA texts that have been discovered so far were written within a more restricted period (1950–1750 B.C.). Aside from a single incantation and a few royal inscriptions from the capital city Aššur, all OA texts are letters and business documents found at Kültepe and other Assyrian merchant colonies in W Anatolia. The writing system has a more restricted battery of signs than that used in the south, and is more archaic in its external form. The signs are also less informative: as in OAkk, initial homorganic voiced and voiceless stops are still represented by the same sign, and consonant doubling is not regularly indicated. The language is also more conservative than OB, particularly in resisting vocalic contraction. A persistent characteristic of Assyrian in all periods is the so-called Assyrian vowel harmony: short *a* in an open syllable is assimilated to the vowel of the following syllable: thus, the Assyrian equivalent of Babylonian *iṣbatu, ittaṣi,* would be *iṣbutu, ittiṣi.* It is noteworthy that Assyrian literary texts of all periods, whether copies of imported Babylonian texts or native Assyrian compositions (including the increasingly lengthy inscriptions of Assyrian kings), generally employ the Babylonian dialect, with occasional grammatical Assyrianisms (see Hecker 1968).

**D. Late Second-Millennium Dialects**

**1. "Standard Babylonian."** The Kassite domination of Babylonia that began after the downfall of the Hammurabi dynasty (ca. 1595 B.C.) disrupted literary and other scribal activities; consequently, the second half of the 2d millennium is generally not very well represented in direct textual remains. Nevertheless, this was clearly a period of great importance in the history of the Akkadian language and literature, involving a sifting of the OB literary inheritance. Some texts were discarded, presumably, at least in part, for theological reasons; others were reformulated in a new and standardized "canonical" form that henceforth remained normative as long as texts were written in Akkadian (von Soden 1953). These literary texts were couched in a form of Akkadian usually called "Standard Babylonian" (in German, *jungbabylonisch*), a specifically literary "dialect" loosely modeled on the OB literary language. The most noteworthy divergences of Standard Babylonian (SB) from OB are the loss of mimation in noun and pronoun and the reduction of case endings to *-u* for nominative and accusative singular, *-i* for genitive

singular, and *-ī* or *-ē* for all cases of plural. Though influenced in these and sometimes in other ways by the contemporary spoken language, which increasingly diverged from it, SB remained in essence the norm for almost all literary and religious works until the end of Akkadian literary production. Texts in SB, although sparse in number for the remainder of the 2d millennium, increase thereafter, particularly in the 8th and 7th centuries. The library assembled by Assurbanipal at Nineveh (ca. 625 B.C.), and excavated by Layard, Rassam, and others, is a particularly rich source of such literary texts.

**2. Middle Babylonian/Assyrian and Peripheral Dialects.** In contrast to the "Standard Babylonian," which was primarily a literary dialect, Middle Babylonian (MB) and Middle Assyrian (MA) represent spoken vernacular dialects of S and N Mesopotamia in the second half of the 2d millennium (ca. 1530–1000 B.C.). Middle Babylonian (Aro 1955 and 1957) is rather sparsely attested in day-to-day documents such as letters and contracts. Middle Assyrian (Mayer 1971) is somewhat better attested, in a law code (cf. *ANET*, 180–8), rituals, a series of harem decrees, letters, and some royal inscriptions. It was in this period that Akkadian came to be used as an international lingua franca in Egypt, Syria-Palestine, Anatolia, Iran, and N Mesopotamian Hurrian centers like Nuzi. Texts discovered at sites such as el-Amarna, Ugarit, Boghazköy, and Nuzi attest the so-called "peripheral dialects" of Akkadian, in which the Akkadian sources contain aspects of the respective local language of the scribes. Texts of this period, whether from Mesopotamia or the peripheral areas, are most strikingly distinguished from those of the preceding area by (1) consonantal shifts—for example, *š* before a dental or another sibilant becomes *l* (e.g., OB *ištən, ušziz* becomes MB/MA *ilten, ulziz*), (2) loss of mimation, and (3) toward the end of the millennium, loss of functionally distinct case endings. There are also some noteworthy differences between MA and MB: MA reflects (1) vowel harmony—for example, initial *wa-* becomes *u-*, and *š* before a labial becomes *s* (e.g. OB *wašbat* in MA becomes *usbat*), and (2) velarization or partial assimilation of infixed *t* to preceding *q* (Bab *iqtanarrab* = Ass *iqṭanarrab*).

## E. First-Millennium Akkadian

**1. Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian (ca. 1000–625 B.C.).** Ending with the fall of the Assyrian kingdom, these dialects are attested mainly in letters and contracts, though Neo-Assyrian (NA) was also used in treaties and occasionally in literary and religious texts. Both dialects show the increasing influence of Aramaic, especially in the loss of case endings, the adoption of the Aram preposition *la*, "to, from," and replacement of *nīnu*, "we," by *anīnu* under influence of Aram *ʾanaḥnā*. Assyrian continued to be more resistant to change than Babylonian; thus, vowel contraction in final positions or in hollow verbs is resisted in the sequences *ia, iu, ua* (e.g., Bab *bikâ, annû, ikân* remain uncontracted in Ass *bikiā, anniu, ikūan*).

**2. Late Babylonian (615 B.C.–1st century A.D.).** This is the language of the Chaldean, Persian, and Seleucid-Arsacid periods. It is even more strongly influenced by Aramaic and is found in royal inscriptions, letters, and economic documents. The Greek language became used increasingly by the Babylonian upper class after the Macedonian conquest of Babylon (333 B.C.), and Akkadian documents become increasingly scarce, their use being limited mainly to the dwindling temple complexes that tried in vain to preserve and promote the old ways. The very last attested cuneiform documents date to ca. A.D. 50 and deal mostly with astrological subjects.

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RICHARD I. CAPLICE

## *ARAMAIC*

Aramaic is the best-attested and longest-attested member of the NW Semitic subfamily of languages (which also includes *inter alia* Hebrew, Phoenician, Ugaritic, Moabite, Ammonite, and Edomite). The relatively small proportion of the biblical text preserved in an Aramaic original (Dan 2:4–7:28; Ezra 4:8–68 and 7:12–26; Jeremiah 10:11; Gen 31:47 [two words] as well as isolated words and phrases in Christian Scriptures) belies the importance of this language for biblical studies and for religious studies in general, for Aramaic was the primary international language of literature and communication throughout the Near East from ca. 600 B.C.E. to ca. 700 C.E. and was the major spoken language of Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia in the formative periods of Christianity and rabbinic Judaism.

Jesus and his disciples, according to the stories in the Gospels, spoke Aramaic. Parts of the later books of the Hebrew Bible, as well as portions of the Gospels and Acts, are often thought to be translations from Aramaic originals, but even if not they are undoubtedly strongly "Aramaized" in their diction. Late biblical Hebrew and rabbinic Hebrew were heavily influenced by Aramaic in both grammar and vocabulary. Two of the major translation traditions of the Hebrew Bible—the Syriac Peshitta and the Jewish Targums—are in Aramaic, as are substantial portions of rabbinic literature, the entire literary corpus of Syriac Christianity, and that of the Mandaeans (a non-Christian gnostic sect of S Mesopotamia). After the Moslem conquest, Arabic gradually displaced Aramaic as the literary and colloquial language of the Near East. Isolated pockets of Modern Aramaic speech still remain to this day, and the study and use of classical Syriac as a learned, religious language has never stopped. Indeed, it has witnessed somewhat of a revival in recent decades (see *EJ* 3: 259–87).

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A. The Periods and Sources of Aramaic
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### A. The Periods and Sources of Aramaic

Aramaic is attested over a period of almost 3,000 years, during which time there occurred great changes of grammar, lexical stock, and usage. It has generally proved helpful for analysis to divide the several Aramaic dialects into periods, groups, and subgroups based both on chronology and geography. Although no universally accepted scheme of such classificatory phases exists, and new discoveries regularly alter our picture—especially for the sparsely attested older dialects—the general shape of the outline is clear. The following scheme represents that adopted by the major research project in the field—the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon—and incorporates discoveries through the mid-1980s.

**1. Old Aramaic (to ca. 612 B.C.E.).** This period witnessed the rise of the Arameans as a major force in ANE history, the adoption of their language as an international language of diplomacy in the latter days of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, and the dispersal of Aramaic-speaking peoples from Egypt to Lower Mesopotamia as a result of the Assyrian policies of deportation. The scattered and generally brief remains of inscriptions on imperishable materials preserved from these times are enough to demonstrate that an international standard dialect had not yet been developed. The extant texts may be grouped into several dialects:

**a. Standard Syrian (or Western Old Aramaic).** These inscriptions, of very limited chronological (mid-9th to end of 8th century B.C.E.) and geographic spread (within a radius of about 100 km centered on Aleppo) include:

BR-HDD: A brief dedication of a stela to Melqart (the god of Tyre) by BR-HDD, king of Aram.

Zakkur: A stela dedicated to the god Iluwer by Zakkur, king of Hamath. Its text is reminiscent of many of the Psalms of Thanksgiving.

Sefire: Three stelae containing the text of a treaty between Mati‘el, king of Arpad, and BR-G›YH, king of KTK, apparently the governor of one of the Neo-Assyrian Syrian provinces (perhaps Šamši-Ilu of Bit-Adini [Lemaire and Durand 1984]). This text is our best extrabiblical source for the West Semitic tradition of covenantal blessings and curses.

Nerab: Funeral stelae of two priests of the moon-god, Śehr.

BR-RKB: See Samalian, below.

**b. Samalian.** At modern Zinçirli, dynasts of the Neo-Hittite kingdom of Sam›al (also referred to by some scholars as Ya›udi) wrote their dedicatory inscriptions first in Phoenician (KLMW), then in a local, highly idiosyncratic Aramaic dialect (the so-called Hadad and PNMW inscriptions), and, finally, in standard, Syrian Old Aramaic (BR-RKB).

**c. Fakhariyah.** A bilingual, Neo-Assyrian and Aramaic inscription on a statue. The script and orthography of this inscription are of major importance for the history of the alphabet (Kaufman 1986).

**d. Mesopotamian.** Primarily consists of brief economic and legal texts and endorsements scratched on clay tablets (Fales 1986; Kaufman 1989). Not surprisingly, both the Fakhariyah and Mesopotamian dialects evidence a substantial amount of Akkadian influence.

**e. Deir ‘Alla.** This important but fragmentary text, painted on the plaster walls of a cultic installation, recounts a vision of "Balaam, son of Beor," the Transjordanian prophet known from Numbers 22–24. The fact that some scholars classify the language of this text as a Canaanite, rather than an Aramaic, dialect, illustrates that there is no demonstrable dividing line (or, in linguistic terms, a bundle of isoglosses) separating Canaanite and Aramaic at this time. See DEIR ‘ALLA (TEXTS).

**2. Imperial Aramaic (or "Official Aramaic"; to ca. 200 B.C.E.).** During this period Aramaic spread far beyond the borders of its native lands over the vast territories of the Neo-Babylonian and even larger Persian empires—from Upper Egypt to Asia Minor and eastward to the Indian subcontinent. Unfortunately, only a remnant of the undoubtedly once vast corpus of administrative documents, records, and letters that held these empires together has been preserved, for such texts were written in ink on perishable materials, in sharp contrast to the more durable cuneiform clay tablets of earlier W Asiatic cultures. (A single syllabic cuneiform Aramaic text, an incantation from Uruk, is known. Though from Hellenistic times, its archaizing language may be ascribed to this period.) Isolated monumental stone inscriptions have been found in the various peripheral regions (e.g., Sheik Fadl in Egypt, Teima in Arabia, Daskyleion in Asia Minor), but none, surprisingly enough, in the core regions of Syria and Mesopotamia.

The bulk of the finds, however, is from Egypt, where the dry climate led to the preservation of papyrus and leather along with the expected ostraca and stone inscriptions. The major Egyptian finds are (1) papyrus archives of the Jewish military garrison at Elephantine/Syene (including deeds of sale, marriage contracts, formal letters to the authorities in Jerusalem, and fragments of literary materials); (2) the correspondence of the Persian satrap of Egypt, Arsames; (3) a packet of letters sent to family members residing at Syene and Luxor, discovered at Hermopolis; and (4) Saqqarah: a late-7th-century papyrus letter from a Philistine king (perhaps of Ekron) asking help of pharaoh against the king of Babylon; and legal and economic records on papyri and ostraca from the 5th and 4th centuries.

The Aramaic "official" letters in the book of Ezra are almost certainly composed in Imperial Aramaic, for both their language and their epistolary style are appropriate to the period.

More fascinating for their historical context than their content are the fragmentary papyrus deeds of sale, dating from mid-4th-century Samaria, discovered in a cave of the Wadi Daliyeh, near Jericho, along with the skeletons of about 200 people who had apparently fled from the approaching Macedonian army. See DALIYEH, WADI ED- (M.R. 189155).

From a linguistic perspective, what characterizes this period above all is that it witnessed the development of a literary, standard form of both the language and its orthography—an ideal to be strived for, at least in literary texts and formal documents. The model for this standard appears to have been Babylonian Aramaic as spoken and written by educated Persians. This ideal, in the guise of Standard Literary Aramaic, was to last more than a thousand years.

**3. Middle Aramaic (to ca. 250 C.E.).** In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, Greek replaced Aramaic as the administrative language of the Near East, while in the various Aramaic-speaking regions the dialects began to develop independently of one another. Written Aramaic, however, as is the case with most written languages, by providing a somewhat artificial, cross-dialectal uniformity, continued to serve as a vehicle of communication within and among the various groups. For this purpose, the literary standard developed in the previous period, Standard Literary Aramaic, was used, but lexical and grammatical differences based on the language(s) and dialect(s) of the local population are always evident. It is helpful to divide the texts surviving from this period into two major categories: epigraphic and canonical.

**a. Epigraphic.** (1) Palmyrene: dedicatory and honorific inscriptions and a decree of duty tariffs from the independent Syrian desert oasis trading city of Tadmor/Palmyra (earliest: 33 B.C.E.). Many of the texts are Greek bilinguals.

(2) Nabatean: tomb and votive texts from the Arab kingdom of Petra (earliest: 170 B.C.E.). A hoard of legal papyri from the Bar Kokhba period was discovered in one of the Naḥal Ḥever caves.

(3) Hatran: dedicatory inscriptions from the important, 2d-century C.E. Parthian kingdom of Hatra. A smaller, similar group was found at nearby Assur.

(4) Other: isolated inscriptions from Syria (especially Dura-Europos), Asia Minor, Armenia, Georgia, Media, Parthia, Persia, and Babylonia. Archival materials from the Judean desert are also to be placed here.

**b. Canonical. (1) Daniel.** The Aramaic portions of this biblical book (in contrast to the material in Ezra) clearly belong to this dialect rather than to Imperial Aramaic.

**(2) Jewish Literary Aramaic. (a) Qumran.** Among the Dead Sea Scrolls, much (if not most) of the nonsectarian, parabiblical material is in Aramaic. This includes the *Genesis Apocryphon,* the *Targum of Job,* the books of *Enoch,* and the *Testament of Levi.*

**(b) Targum Onkelos/Jonathan.** Although the only reliable mss stem ultimately from the Babylonian academies, the consonantal texts of Targum Onkelos to the Torah and Jonathan to the Prophets apparently originated in Palestine in this period.

**(c) Legal Formulas.** Preserved in rabbinic literature are texts and formulas of an authentic Aramaic tradition.

**(3) Middle Iranian Ideograms.** After a brief flirtation with cuneiform for their monumental inscriptions ("Old Persian"), the Persians adopted the Aramaic script for writing their language; and,

perhaps under the cuneiform model, in both Parthian and Pehlevi, Aramaic ideograms were used to indicate some Persian lexical units.

**(4) Demotic Material.** Also, apparently, from the earliest part of this period is the Aramaic material preserved in the demotic script on papyrus Amherst 63, which includes several hymns in a mixed Canaanite/Aramaic dialect and, in relatively good Aramaic, the lengthy story of the conflict between the two royal Assyrian brothers Asshurbanipal and Shamashshumukin. The decipherment of this material has been a slow process, but it is already clear that many unexpected features appear in the Aramaic of this text. Since Standard Literary Aramaic is very much a function of orthographic tradition, the occurrence here of such unexpected forms should not be a great surprise.

**4. Late Aramaic (to ca. 1200 C.E.).** The bulk of our evidence for Aramaic comes from the vast literature and occasional inscriptions of this period. During the early centuries of this period Aramaic dialects were still widely spoken. During the second half of this period, however, Arabic had already displaced Aramaic as the spoken language of much of the population. Consequently, many of our texts were composed and/or transmitted by persons whose Aramaic dialect was only a learned language. Although the dialects of this period were previously divided into two branches (Eastern and Western), it now seems best to think rather of three: Palestinian, Syrian, and Babylonian.

**a. Palestinian.** (1) **Jewish.** (a) Inscriptions (mostly from synagogues); (b) Targumic: the dialect of the Palestinian Targums (Neofiti, Genizah fragments, and the Fragment Targum); (c) Galilean: the dialect of the Talmud and midrashim of Palestine (so-called "Yerushalmi").

**(2) Christian.** Christian Palestinian Aramaic is attested in a small group of inscriptions, bible translations, and liturgical lectionaries from the Judean region written in Syriac script.

**(3) Samaritan.** Two different translations of the Torah, liturgical poetry, and some literary/exegetical works are preserved from this group. The reading tradition of the modern Samaritan priests is a valuable linguistic source here, as it is for their Hebrew tradition.

**b. Syrian. (1) Syriac.** The liturgical language of Eastern Christianity is by far the best documented Aramaic dialect. A vast and varied literature in two (Eastern/Nestorian, Western/Jacobite) dialects and orthographies has been preserved, as well as small collections of epigraphic and archival materials. The orthography of Syriac is based on Standard Literary Aramaic, while its lexicon and grammar are primarily that of the city of Edessa.

**(2) Late Jewish Literary Aramaic.** This literary dialect, only recently recognized, served for the composition of Aramaic parabiblical and liturgical texts (the best known of them being Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Targum Psalms, and the canonical Targum of Job) and in some cases (Tobit and perhaps others) for the translation into Aramaic of works whose presumed Hebrew or Aramaic original had been lost. Like other literary dialects, it borrows heavily from its forebears, in this case Biblical Aramaic, Jewish Literary Aramaic, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic. Like most rabbinic materials, the texts have suffered greatly in transmission and often give the impression of massive inconsistency. Recent studies have revealed, however, that this is a real, albeit literary dialect with its own grammar and lexicon, whose lexical affinities point to a close relationship with the Syriac-speaking region.

**c. Babylonian. (1) Jewish.** The spoken language of the Jews of Babylonia, preserved primarily in large parts of the Babylonian Talmud. Slightly different dialects are found on "magic bowls" (incantations written on pottery bowls) and in the halakic literature of the post-Talmudic Babylonian sages (*ga›onîm*). The written and oral traditions of the Jews of Yemen are particularly important sources for this material.

**(2) Mandaic.** The spoken and literary language of a non-Christian gnostic sect. The sect itself is generally thought to have Palestinian origins, but its language is totally at home in Mesopotamia.

**5. Modern Aramaic (to the present day).** These dialects can be divided into the same three geographic groups.

**a. Western.** Here Aramaic is still spoken only in the town of Ma'lula (ca. 30 miles NNE of Damascus) and surrounding villages. The vocabulary is heavily Arabized.

**b. Syrian.** Western Syrian (Turoyo) is the language of Jacobite Christians in the region of Tur-ʿAbdin in SE Turkey. This dialect is the descendant of something very like classical Syriac. Eastern Syrian is spoken in the Kurdistani regions of Iraq, Iran, Turkey, and Azerbaijan by Christians and, formerly, by Jews. Substantial communities of the former are now found in North America. The Jewish speakers have mostly settled in Israel. These dialects are widely spoken by their respective communities and have been studied extensively during the past century. It has become clear that they are not the descendants of any known literary Aramaic dialect.

**c. Babylonian.** Mandaic is still used, at least until recently, by some Mandaeans in southernmost Iraq and adjacent areas in Iran.

In addition, in recent years classical Syriac has undergone somewhat of a revival as a learned vehicle of communication for Syriac Christians, both in the Middle East and among immigrant communities in Europe and North America.

**B. Linguistic Overview**

The following summary presupposes a basic acquaintance with the structure of Aramaic's better known cognate language, Biblical Hebrew.

**1. Old Aramaic. a. Phonology.** In this period the Proto-Semitic phonemic inventory survives virtually unchanged, though some minor changes in articulation seem to be indicated. Since the linear consonantal alphabet used for Aramaic, borrowed from a Canaanite/Phoenician source, had only 22 graphemes, however, several of the characters had to be polyphonous: Thus

*šin* indicates: *š, ś,* and *t̲*.
*samek* (at Fakhariyah only) indicates both *s* and *t̲*.
*zayin* indicates *z* and *d̲*.
*ṣade* indicates *ṣ* and *ẓ*.
*qop* indicates *q* and *ḳ* (probably a velar spirant by this time).
*ḥet* indicates *ḥ* and *ḫ*.
ʿ*ayin* indicates ʿ and *ġ*.

That these consonantal phonemes still survived (rather than having merged with their graphic equivalent) is surmised largely on the basis of their independent histories in the subsequent dialects. In the case of *ḫ* and *ġ*, however, evidence for their existence is primarily extrapolated from the fact that they are still regularly distinguished in the demotic papyrus (see above). The result of these orthographic choices is (with the exception of *qop*) to give these texts an appearance very similar to that of Canaanite, a fact that has led some scholars to unwarranted claims of Canaanite influence in grammar, vocabulary, and style. The consonant *nun* is assimilated to a following consonant: ʾ*t*, "you."

**b. Morphology. (1) Nouns.** The most notable difference between Aramaic and the other NW Semitic dialects is the presence of the suffixed definite article *-ā (ʾ).* Probably in origin the same form as the Hebrew and Phoenician *ha-*, the suffixation of this deictic element gives Aramaic the appearance of having three noun states (absolute, construct, emphatic [or determined]) rather than two (absolute and construct) as in Hebrew. The morphology of noun affixes is set out paradigmatically in Table 1.

| | absolute | construct | emphatic |
|---|---|---|---|
| m. sg. | *mlk* | *mlk* | *mlkʾ* |
| m. pl. | *mlkn (-īn)* | *mlky (-ay)* | *mlkyʾ (-ayyāʾ)* |
| f. sg. | *mlkh (-a[h])* | *mlkt (-at)* | *mlktʾ (-atāʾ)* |
| f. pl. | *mlkn (-ān)* | *mlkt (-āt)* | *mlktʾ (-atāʾ)* |

Note, vis-à-vis Hebrew, the final *nun* as opposed to Hebrew *mem* in the m. pl. abs. and likewise the *nun* in the f. pl. abs. instead of the expected *taw*. Standard Old Aramaic does seem to use the *taw* f. pl. for attributive adjectives, however; thus *lḥyt*, "bad" (Sefire III:2).

It is in its noun morphology where the Samalian dialect differs most markedly from the other early Aramaic dialects. It uses no orthographically indicated definite article and has f. pl. in *-t*. Its most distinctive feature, however, is surely the absence of *nunation* on the plural accompanying the retention of

case distinction; thus *ʾlhw* is nominative, while *ʾlhy* is the oblique (accusative/genitive) form for "gods." The Deir ʿAlla plaster text yields no evidence of a definite article.

**(2) Verbs.** The three basic conjugations (stems) are the basic stem (*Peʿal: katab/yiktub*, etc.), factitive stem (*Paʿel: kattib*), and causative stem (*Hapʿel: haktib*). Passives are expressed by internal vowel modification of the active form (presumably using the vowel pattern *u-a* in the derived conjugations as in Hebrew; Middle Aramaic has a basic passive stem *Peʿīl* in the perfect—identical with the passive participle—but no evidence for such a form is found this early.) No certain *Nipʿal* is attested in normative Aramaic, though it does occur at Deir ʿAlla and, possibly, in Samalian. Reflexive/middle stems with a *taw* augment (*ʾtpʿl*), which will soon begin to replace the internal passives, are still rare in this period. At Fakhariyah, the reflexive of the basic stem still has infixed *taw*, as in Arabic and Ugaritic. Attested verb formatives are shown in Table 2.

Suffixing formatives:

| | sing. | pl. |
|---|---|---|
| 1c | *–t* | *–n* |
| 2m | *–t* | *–tm* |
| 3m | | *–w* |
| 3f | *–t* | |

Prefixing/suffixing formatives:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1c | *ʾ–* | *n–* |
| 2m | *t–* | *t– –n* |
| 3m | *y–* | *y– –n* |
| 3f | *t–* | *y– –n* |

Additionally, a separate jussive form exists, differing morphologically (and orthographically) from the imperfect in its absence of nunation in the 3 m pl. and 2 m pl. (and, presumably, the 2 f. s, as in later Aramaic) and in final weak roots, where the imperfect ends in *-h* (presumably /ē/), the jussive in *-y* (probably, simply /ī/). The two forms are also distinct when they have pronominal suffixes, where (as in Hebrew) the imperfect inserts the so-called "energic" *nun* between the stem and the suffix, while the jussive does not. Samalian uses jussive-like forms for the imperfect as well (cf. Heb *yktbw*). In Fakhariyah, Mesopotamian, and Samalian, the 3d person jussive may take a *lamed* preformative instead of a *yod* (cf. the Akkadian precative), a form that was to be the ancestor of the later *l-/n-* preformative of the E Aramaic dialects. It is now clear that the so-called "imperfect consecutive" narrative tense was common to Old Syrian Aramaic and Hebrew. Its former designation "converted imperfect" is a misnomer. It is a remnant of the archaic prefixing preterite tense surviving from some earlier stage of the Semitic languages and still to be found in Old Aramaic (in the Zakkur inscription and at Deir ʿAlla, but not at Sam'al). It is one of many grammatical and lexical isoglosses in respect to which Hebrew groups with Aramaic rather than Phoenician.

In its nominal forms, too, Old Aramaic now appears to be much closer to Hebrew than previously thought. In Syrian Old Aramaic a distinct "infinitive absolute" is attested (cf. Sefire III:2 *hskr thskrhm*, "you shall certainly hand them over"). The infinitive absolute is formed without suffixes; in contrast, the "construct" infinitives (verbal nouns) of the derived stems have a feminine ending (*ḥzyh*, "to see": *lhmtty*, "to kill me"). Pronouns suffixed to these construct infinitives are morphologically like affixes to nouns rather than affixes to verbs. In the basic stem, Fakhariyah has infinitives with the *mem* preformative (known from later Aramaic), whereas the other dialects (again like Hebrew) have so far yielded only forms without the *mem*. On the other hand, at Fakhariyah the derived stem verbal noun seems to be without feminine ending. The *Peʿal* passive participle is *Peʿīl* (cf. Heb *Pāʿûl*).

**c. Syntax.** The various verbal forms are used in constructions virtually identical to constructions found in classical Hebrew prose, although the word order is, perhaps, a bit more free. Except for the Fakhariyah bilingual, the distinctive verb-final word order of formal Imperial Aramaic has not yet made its

appearance. Only in Fakhariyah and Mesopotamian do we encounter genitive constructions using the old determinative pronoun (later, the relative) *zy* (*ḏī* > *dī* > *d-*). Complex definite direct objects may be introduced by the particle *ʾyt* (*ʾiyāt* > *yt* in later Western Aramaic; cf. Hebrew *ʾet*). Verbal phrases subordinated to a main verb use the verbal noun if the relationship is telic, but otherwise the imperfect seems to be preferred. This gives rise to the distinctive double negative *lʾkhl lʾšlḥ*, "I shall not be able to send."

**2. Imperial Aramaic. a. Phonology.** The graphic representation of consonants begins to change noticeably, presumably as a result of phoneme mergers and the ensuing or concomitant introduction of the spirantization of stops (the "rafe" pronunciation of the *begad-kepat* consonants in Hebrew, a phenomenon surely due to Aramaic influence). Though in this period archaizing orthographies are common (particularly with *z* for historical *ḏ* and *q* for original *ḍ*), the language here starts to employ the consonantal inventory it will have in subsequent dialects. These mergers are: *ṯ* > *t*, *ḏ* > *d*, *ḍ* > *ʿ*, *ẓ* > *ṣ*, *ḫ* > *ḥ* (though in some dialects the reverse may have been the case), *ġ* > *ʿ*. The initial tendency for *ś* to merge with *s* probably can also be ascribed to this period, since it is common to all subsequent dialects. The other distinctively Aramaic phonological feature—the reduction of short vowels in open unstressed syllables—also seems to have had its start in this period, at least for *i/u* vowels.

A noteworthy feature of the formal language (the base of Standard Literary Aramaic) is frequent nasalization, a process whose orthographic manifestation is the dissimilation of long ("doubled") consonants into *nun* + consonant. In some of these forms—e.g., *ʾnt (h)*, "you"—the *nun* is etymologically correct but had been assimilated in Old Aramaic. In others (e.g., *mndʿ*, "knowledge"), it is strictly a phonetic phenomenon.

**b. Morphology.** The semi-demotic language of the personal letters evidences features that are later to appear in the formal language: weakening of the *HapʿEl* (*hktb/yhktb*) to *apʿEl* (*ʾktb/yktb*), and substitution of *nun* for *mem* on the plural pronominal suffixes. The later Western Aramaic features of *-n* on the 3 pl. perfect of IIIy verbs and *mem* preformative of derived stem infinitives are also found. Changes in the formal language include the simplification of the infinitive to a single form (*PeʿAl mktb*), the use of 3 m. pl. forms for 3 f. pl., and the first appearance of the determined plural ending *-ē*. This form appears first on gentilics and collectives, and later, in the Eastern dialects, will replace *-ayyā* as the normal ending of the masculine plural.

**c. Syntax.** Morphosyntactic developments characterizing Imperial Aramaic involve the restriction of some features of the language and the expansion of others. The use of internal passives is limited in favor of the *ʾt-* preformative stems (only *ʾetpeʿEl* and *ʾetpaʿAl* are attested in this period). Internal passives seem to have survived the longest in the causative conjugation. Biblical Aramaic word-initial *ht-* is probably a Hebraism.

The imperative/jussive contrast is sporadically neutralized. The participle, used only as a substantive in Old Aramaic, is employed as a present tense verb. In personal letters a compound tense develops which uses the participle with forms of the verb *hwy*, "to be"; this compound tense becomes common in the later dialects. The "imperfect consecutive" disappears as a narrative tense.

The distribution of particles undergoes considerable change. The particle *ʾyt* (later *yt*), which marks definite direct objects, is supplanted by the prefix *l-* affixed to the object. Use of *dy/zy* (later Aramaic *d-*) as a determined pronoun marking genitival constructions becomes widespread.

Word order remains generally unchanged in the demotic and archival materials. In the formal language of the official letters (and in Biblical Aramaic), however, verb final constructions become very common, probably due to the influence of Persian, an Indo-European language.

**3. Later Dialects. a. Phonology.** Short vowels in unstressed syllables are reduced and, in some cases, totally elided. The vocalization traditions indicate that in the period after the loss of final case vowels, stress was generally on the final syllable of the word, although the modern dialects (and some reading traditions) show a strong tendency toward penultimate stress (the phonological situation that had obtained prior to the loss of those vowels). Weakening of the laryngeal/pharyngeal consonants is characteristic

both of Palestinian dialects (Samaritan and some Galilean) and of Babylonian. In Syriac and Babylonian, final unstressed long vowels are elided, as are final liquids, nasals, and interdentals in Babylonian.

Characteristic of all Aramaic dialects, indeed of all Semitic languages, is variation of vowel quality in different environments of stress and syllable length, even though such changes are indicated only irregularly in the schemes of vowel pointing introduced in Late Aramaic. Typically, front and back vowels are raised in closed stressed syllables and lowered in closed unstressed syllables. In Western Syriac, all mid and low long vowels are raised; thus *ō* > *ū, ē* > *ī*, and *ā* > *ō.* In some dialects simplification of diphthongs is similarly conditioned; in others (notably Syriac), *ay* and *aw* are tenaciously preserved (almost certainly due to secondary restoration) in the reading traditions.

**b. Morphology.** In Hatran, Syriac (occasionally in Palmyrene), and Babylonian, *-ē* has become the normal m. pl. emphatic suffix.

The *Hap‹el* reflexive/passive *›ettap‹al* (< *›ethap‹al*) occurs in all later branches of Aramaic. After the demise of the internal passives, then, the following symmetrical pattern of stem formation is distinctive to Aramaic:

Basic: *kĕṯaḇ ›eṯkēteḇ*

Factitive: *katteḇ ›eṯkattaḇ*

Causative: *›aḵteḇ ›ettaḵtaḇ*

Though a substantial group of derived stems with the prefixes *š-* and *s-* occur, some borrowed from Akkadian, others, no doubt, survivals from an earlier stage of the language (e.g., *šaḵlel,* "to complete"; *ša‹beḏ*, "to enslave"), the *Šap‹el* is not a productive causative conjugation in Aramaic.

The infinitives of the derived stems continue to show substantial variation, e.g., for the *Hap‹el:*

SLA *›aḵtāḇā* (*›aḵtābū-* before suffixes)

Western *maḵtāḇā* (but *›aḵtāḇā* as a verbal noun)

Syriac *maktāḇū*

Babyl *›aḵtōbē* (also in proto-Eastern Neo-Aram.)

As the original participle (*kāṯeḇ*) becomes a tense, a new, nominal participle *kāṯōḇ* frequently appears.

In Babylonian, the precative preformative *l-* is the normal prefix of the preformative tense (sometimes *n-*), while in Classical Syriac *n-* (presumably simply a phonetic variant of *l-*) is used.

In Palestinian Jewish Targumic and Galilean the prefix of the 1 c.s. imperfect is *n-* (instead of *›-*).

**c. Syntax.** In Eastern Aramaic the system of nominal states is restructured so that the emphatic (old determined) form becomes the normal form of the noun. Thus *malkā* means "the king" or "a king." The old absolute is preserved in predicate nominatives and distributive constructions, as well as with numerals. The use of both the construct state and the bound form with pronominal suffixes becomes more and more limited over time. Palestinian Jewish Targumic tends to avoid the use of pronominal suffixes on verbs as well.

Internal passives, at first limited to the perfect, are finally replaced by the *›t-* stems.

In most dialects, participles have eventually become a full-fledged present, even displacing the imperfect as a general present-future. (The imperfect, then, is restricted to use as a modal form.) In Syrian and Babylonian the pronouns are joined enclitically to the participle as subject markers: *kāṯeḇ* + *›ănā* > *kāṯeḇnā.* (In Western Aramaic the pronouns preceded the participle; this is the origin of the present-future forms at Ma‹lula.)

Proto-Eastern Neo-Aramaic develops a new past tense from the passive participle that totally displaces the old perfect: *kĕtīb-lī,* "I wrote." Ultimately, the present-future system is reshaped as well: The present-future (old participle) entirely displaces the old imperfect, and new present tense forms are developed.

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## *BYBLOS SYLLABIC INSCRIPTIONS*

A group of inscriptions excavated by a French expedition to Byblos (modern Jebeil) between 1929 and 1932. The tiny corpus consists of three monumental inscriptions on stone (one of which is undeciphered, and probably in a different language or writing system than the others), and six stamped with a blunt chisel on copper plates or "spatulas." Two more inscriptions in a related but undecipherable system were discovered in further excavations in 1982. From the meager archaeological evidence available, and from internal evidence, the texts represent the dialect of Byblos (and presumably of the E Mediterranean coastal region) of the late phases of the EB Age, though the texts themselves may date as late as the Egyptian 12th Dynasty (the date assigned by the excavator M. Dunand), but certainly no later than ca. 1800 B.C. The texts were very well published in 1945 (Dunand). Though an attempt at decipherment was published in 1952 by E. Dhorme, it was not accepted since it made no attempt to identify the vowels and the syllabary included an entirely unacceptable number of variant signs for the same consonant. The content as read yielded no new information of any significance and consisted of vague ritual formulas mentioning mostly Egyptian deities. An attempt at linguistic analysis by Sobelmann (1961) was useless and did not attempt an actual reading of a single sign. In 1985 after decades of work on the texts, George E. Mendenhall published a decipherment and tentative translation of the texts, with a number of improved readings based on infrared photographs of the texts, as well as a grammatical analysis.

### A. The Writing System

As Professor Dunand abundantly illustrated in his publication of the texts, the syllabary is clearly inspired by the Egyptian hieroglyphic system, and in fact it is the most important link known between the hieroglyphs and the Canaanite alphabet that scholars have sought since the 19th century, though not all of the syllabic signs can be thus explained. The texts yield 64 different signs, all except two of which designate a consonant (24 in all) plus a following vowel *a, i,* or *u.* See Fig. LAN.02. One sign has been read as a ligature that yields a closed syllable, and another sign seems to designate a vowelless, i.e., alphabetic, final *mim.* Because of the consonant + vowel nature of the syllabary, neither closed syllables nor doubled consonants can be indicated directly. As also in the Eblaite and the Mycenaean Linear B systems, there are numerous instances of "dead vowels." This occurs when a syllabic sign was used to indicate a consonant only, usually when a closed syllable was called for by the grammatical context. It is quite probable that this usage was later extended to drop the notation of vowels entirely, resulting in the much simpler Canaanite alphabetic system.

The signs in this syllabic system very probably were originally pictographic representations of common objects, and a number are identical to Egyptian hieroglyphs, indicating the close relationship. Yet already in this archaic writing system many of the signs had already become so stylized or abbreviated that the original pictograph is either entirely unrecognizable or can be presumed only from later alphabetic forms, especially the Proto-Sinaitic signary that is typologically much more archaic. The first consonant-vowel syllable in the name of the object represented became the phonetic value of the sign—the acrophonic principle.

Most of the signs of the later Canaanite, Proto-Sinaitic, and Eastern (i.e., pre-Islamic Arabic) alphabets derive either from the Byblos syllabic set or from some closely related source. It is especially intriguing and significant that the Canaanite and Eastern alphabets in several cases used different signs from the same series, since there were theoretically three signs for each consonant (*Ca, Ci, Cu*). For example, for the consonant */d/* the Canaanite alphabet used the syllabic sign for phonetic *du,* which represented a fish ("Old Coastal Semitic" [see below] *dugg* became Canaanite *dag*), in form a triangle (i.e., delta) with tail fins. The Eastern alphabets used the *da* sign, which actually represented a door leaf. The later loss of any connection between phonetic value and pictorial representation is indicated by the fact that the Canaanites gave the door *name (dalet/delta)* to the fish sign. Similarly, for the consonant */p/,* the Canaanite alphabet continued the use of a highly abbreviated form of the *pa* sign (of unknown meaning), while the Eastern alphabets used the *pu* sign, a circle that doubtless represented the mouth saying *pu.* Similarly, for *ṣade* the Canaanite alphabet used the *ṣa* sign, which perhaps represented a scimitar, while the Eastern alphabet used the *ṣi* sign, which represented a growing vegetative shoot (Heb *ṣīṣ*).

In view of the similar syllabic structure and the similarity of some signs, it is probable that the Minoan/Mycenean linear systems were dependent at least by stimulus diffusion upon the Byblos syllabic system.

**B. The Language**

The language itself is termed "Old Coastal Semitic" (OCS) to distinguish it from Canaanite and Ugaritic. The contrasts to Ugaritic in every way are so great that they cannot be placed in the same category. The language of these texts is very archaic and pristine, in the sense that there is very little in the language that can be derived from some earlier form, while a very large amount can be seen to be that from which later Arabic and Canaanite forms or meanings derived. Thus it furnishes the basis for understanding the process of language change and language blending that resulted in the Canaanite language of the MB and LB periods. This process of hybridization (or blending, or creolization—all three terms have been used to describe a very well-known process in historical linguistics) took place some time between 2000 and 1700 B.C. and resulted in a new language termed "Canaanite" that was not structurally a continuity of either language complex involved. The linguistic influence that brought an end to OCS in the urban populations of the E Mediterranean coastal region was certainly a complex of "inland dialects" from N and NE Syria, especially Amorite. This process was in turn the result of still poorly understood events that attended the destruction of the EB Age urban civilizations of the coastal region, and the influx of populations from inland Syria who, at least by the 18th century, had become politically dominant in the coastal regions, as the Amorites had also become in 19th-century Mesopotamia.

These enormous linguistic changes that resulted in the Ugaritic and other Canaanite dialects were the major reason why these texts were not deciphered decades ago. Everyone who worked on them assumed that the language would have to be much like Phoenician (Dhorme) or Ugaritic. In fact, Ugaritic was almost entirely irrelevant and useless to the decipherment process, but various Arabic sources were astonishingly productive of meaningful cognates. A sample of the vocabulary indicates that 52 percent of the lexical items have Arabic cognates, while only 13 percent are Common Semitic. Approximately 25 percent of the vocabulary can be classified as Common West Semitic (which now, of course, includes pre-Islamic Arabic, Ethiopic, and Classical Arabic), and 10 percent of the vocabulary have no identifiable external cognates, which is to be expected from such an archaic dialect.

Only 24 consonants are attested over against the 30 alphabetic signs (actually only 27 different consonants) of Ugaritic, and 29 in pre-Islamic Arabic. A major reason for the reduced number of signs is the sharply limited number of velarized consonants (so-called "emphatics"). Only the *ṣade* and the *qof* are present, and the elaboration of velarization is thus seen to be a later linguistic development yielding the *ṭeth, ẓa,* and *dad.* It is of course possible that the extremely small corpus by accident did not include words with some of these consonants, but no other writing system of the time includes specific signs for these missing consonants, as well as for the *ġayin* which also does not occur in these documents.

The "hollow verbs" (*mediae waw/yod*) of later Semitic dialects are purely triconsonantal, with the *w* written when preceded and followed by a vowel. It is often represented as zero in a syllable containing a

*/u/* vowel, as in the *figura etymologica ḥa-wu-bu+ma ta-ḥū-ba+m* (probably reflecting a theoretical original **ta-aḥ-wu-ba+m*), "you are certainly guilty." Diphthongs are written as two syllables, as in *ba-yi-ta+hu,* "his house," but several roots that later yield diphthongs have a medial */he/* instead of *waw/yod,* as in *ya-tu-ha-ʿ[i]-hi-du,* "they have bound themselves by covenant," and the startling form *ra-ha-ʿa,* "he has done evil." This proves that the Hebrew roots listed as *rʿ* and *ršʿ* are the same root, derived from two very archaic dialects at a time when the contrast between */h/* and */s/* was still operative (as in the *s-* and *h-* causatives in Old South Arabic dialects).

The verbal system is very complex, as one would expect from such an archaic dialect, and its description needs further study. It is very probable that there is a tense contrast between the present-future form *ya-qa-ta-lu* and the preterite *ya-qa-ti-lu,* as in E Semitic and Ethiopic. There are a variety of verbal nouns, as in Arabic, and their translation is often very difficult, even when the root meaning is reasonably clear. There are causatives written with both the */s/* sign and with the */h/.*

**C. The Contents**

The stone inscriptions were in poor condition and very difficult to decipher, but what could be gained from them fits well with their probable function as building inscriptions or dedications. The copper inscriptions are all legal or political in nature, and this is to be expected because valuable copper was used for the preservation of written documents that were presumably very important to the persons involved.

The longest document (Text D) is something akin to a political constitution issued by the king, beginning with the phrase: *ha-wa-tū ḥu-ru-ba-ʿi-l (u),* "the words of Hur-Baal," exactly the introductory formula used by Hittite kings in their international suzerainty treaties at least half a millennium later. The document also contains in archaic and terse form most of the elements of the later treaty form (see COVENANT), including the curses and blessings, and a reference to the king's prior mighty acts.

Other documents include one certain (and another probable) marriage contract, in which the bride is designated by a passive participle *ru-ḥi-ma-tu,* "betrothed" (lit. "beloved"). The same word is used in Hos 1:6. The longer document seems to include a blessing formula, but more interestingly a threat against anyone who mistreats the *ra-ḥi-ma-ta* (cf. Judg 5:30), for which the only parallel known so far is found in the Jacob narrative at Gen 31:50.

One spatula records the elevation of a certain citizen to the status of *ra-ba-ṣu-ti,* "commissarship," and another records the solution of a legal dispute by an oracular response that stems from a deity named *ṭi-nu-ta,* doubtless the much later Carthaginian goddess Tanit. Aside from the inclusion of *ba-ʿil* in the royal name, the only other reference to a deity in the entire corpus is in the political constitution (Text D), where the punishment of a malefactor is to be carried out by his *li-ʾi-mu+hu,* which is taken to be his deified ancestor(s). This cultural feature that implies ancestor worship is also illustrated by the obelisk temple of Byblos, which includes steles of the *naos* type in which figures of the deceased were placed.

These texts have yielded an abundance of insights into the archaic language, thought patterns, and culture of the EB Age coastal region. Perhaps even more important is the demonstration of certain cultural and linguistic patterns or forms that were attested millennia later in radically different geographical and cultural contexts. In view of the fact that there is no evidence for any population in the Arabian peninsula in those regions contiguous to the highly populated Syro-Palestinian areas between the end of the Chalcolithic and the end of the LB ages, there can be little doubt that the Arabic complex of languages had its origins in the coastal regions of Lebanon and Palestine in the highly developed culture of the W Semitic EB Age. As is so often the case, the purest illustration of pristine language was preserved not in the place of origin but in what paleobotanists term "relict" areas, in this case the isolation of the Arabian desert and the fringe areas of the Fertile Crescent.

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## *COPTIC LANGUAGE*

The native language of Egypt as attested in manuscripts surviving from the 3d century C.E. onward, expressed in a writing system fundamentally different from that of the older Egyptian scripts. Coptic is the last phase in the long history of the Egyptian language, which gave way gradually to Arabic beginning in about the 11th century.

In addition to being the language of a region prominent throughout antiquity, Coptic is important to students of the Christian Bible in two principal respects. First, Coptic manuscripts preserve many noncanonical early Christian books that survive in no other language, or survive only imperfectly apart from Coptic. Such books are precious remains of the diverse literary tradition out of which the Bible was formed, providing valuable information about the intellectual and social milieu of early Christianity. Some of these books, most notably *The Gospel of Thomas*, *The Apocryphon of James*, and *The Dialogue of the Savior*, are essential sources for the study of Jesus' sayings. See also THOMAS, GOSPEL OF (NHC II, *2*); JAMES, APOCRYPHON OF (NHC I, *2*); and DIALOGUE OF THE SAVIOR (NHC III, *5*). Second, since the LXX and the NT were being translated into Coptic during the 3d century C.E., the Coptic version is based on Gk mss which are significantly older than the vast majority of extant witnesses. The Coptic evidence has yet to be applied systematically to the textual criticism of the Greek Bible.

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### A. Old Coptic

When Alexander the Great wrested control of Egypt from the Persians in 332 B.C.E., two standards of written Egyptian were current: Middle Egyptian, the classical stage of the language written in the hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts, and Demotic, a more recent development written in the demotic script. The three scripts in use were graphically related forms of a single complicated writing system. They were the tools of scribes and priests whose conservative professions perpetuated their use into the 5th century C.E. But the two linguistic stages expressed in these scripts were largely fossilized, left behind by the spoken language as it continued to evolve (Sethe 1925). Alexander's successors in Egypt established Greek as the country's primary administrative language and nurtured the spread of Hellenism and the growth of Alexandria into an international center of Hellenistic learning. A knowledge of Greek became a prerequisite for economic, social, and intellectual advancement. Greek remained the dominant language even after Egypt was conquered by the Romans in 30 B.C.E. Egyptian as spoken by the mass of peasants was a language without a written form.

Greek not only conveyed political and cultural prestige, but also it was written in an alphabetic script superior in any practical sense to the Egyptian writing system. It is not surprising that people soon began to experiment with using the Greek alphabet to transliterate Egyptian (Quaegebeur 1982). By the 2d century C.E., alphabets made up of mixtures of Greek and demotic characters were being used by some scribes to transliterate Egyptian magical and astrological texts. About a dozen such texts survive, dating from the first four centuries C.E. (Griffith 1901; Kasser 1980–81: 237–70; Satzinger 1984). Although these texts are grouped under the heading "Old Coptic," they are diverse linguistically, and it is doubtful that any of them were much more representative of the contemporary spoken language than were other Egyptian texts of the same period written in the hieroglyphic, hieratic, or demotic scripts. The Old Coptic texts seem to be products of the same scribal circles that were perpetuating Egypt's archaic literary tradition.

**B. Standardization of the Coptic Alphabet and Birth of Coptic Literature**

The Coptic alphabet is a standardized form of the Old Coptic scripts; it comprises the entire Greek alphabet and several letters derived from the demotic script. See Fig. LAN.03. But in contrast to its Old Coptic antecedents, the Coptic alphabet was used to represent the spoken language of the time, and thus it ushered in a new epoch in the history of Egyptian literature.

**1. Probable Role of the Christian Mission.** There is no direct evidence for when, where, and by whom the standardization of the Coptic alphabet was brought about. The oldest surviving Coptic manuscripts were copied in the 3d and 4th centuries C.E. They are mostly translations of books from the Bible, like an early 4th-century papyrus codex in the British Library that contains Deuteronomy, Jonah, Acts, and the beginning of *The Apocalypse of Elijah* (Layton 1987: 3–5). The evidence of such manuscripts suggests that the impetus to provide colloquial Egyptian with a new written form came from the Christian mission (Steindorff 1950; Kasser 1962). The first Egyptian Christians no doubt spoke Greek, and at some point the new religion won converts who spoke both Greek and Egyptian. Probably beginning in the later part of the 2d century, the Christian mission reached deeper into the population and embraced native Egyptians who knew little or no Greek. In order to win these converts, it was necessary to express the Christian message orally in Egyptian. To a religious movement increasingly dependent on an authoritative corpus of writings, the advantages of having written translations of the Holy Scriptures would have been obvious.

The rudiments of a new writing system were already available in the Old Coptic scripts. But the early Coptic translators' use of the new alphabet was far more sophisticated than any previous attempts, and the growing Church was an institution that could promote the use of the alphabet and maintain a standard. Nevertheless, the initial translation of the Bible was not necessarily the result of a centralized and carefully planned effort; rather, it seems that various translators, working independently, prepared a variety of translations using the new alphabetic writing system. Only later were those translations revised into a more or less standard version. Since the oldest Coptic literature also includes translations of gnostic and Manichaean books, the possibility cannot be ruled out entirely that the standardization of the alphabet was the work of some heterodox or even heretical religious group, against whom orthodox Christians entered into literary competition. But even if this was the case, the evidence of the surviving manuscripts leaves no doubt that Coptic literature reached its maturity in the care of the Christian Church and the allied monastic movement.

Early in the 4th century, a tradition of literacy in Coptic was established by the Pachomian monastic communities, and the few surviving works of Pachomius himself (d. 346) mark a rebirth of Egyptian literature (Orlandi 1986: 53–74). The large number of Coptic manuscripts that survive from the 4th century, as well as the variety they display in dialect and content, indicates both the vitality of the new literary movement and the diversity of those who participated in it. Much of this activity involved translating selected works from Greek. Biblical books, apocrypha, and patristic and hagiographic works always predominated. From the beginning, Coptic literature was almost exclusively religious and largely Christian. The first native author to utilize fully the rhetorical potential of Coptic was the monastic leader Shenoute, a skillful stylist and fiery orator whose numerous sermons and letters were composed during

the later decades of the 4th century and the first half of the 5th. After the Council of Chalcedon in 451, the increasingly isolated and nationalistic character of the Egyptian Monophysite church motivated a modest but steady flow of original Coptic literature, at least in part consciously opposed to pro-Chalcedonian literary activity in Greek.

**2. Dialectology.** The question of the genesis of the Coptic writing system is related to the problem of Coptic dialects. In so far as the new alphabet was a system of phonetic transcription, it facilitated the written representation of differences among varieties of the spoken language. At first sight, the manuscripts surviving from the first several centuries of the Coptic period display what may seem to be a chaotic assortment of orthographic, morphological, and syntactic variants. But the apparent chaos can be reduced significantly by a careful sorting of the manuscripts according to linguistic criteria, the resultant groups presumably representing dialects of Coptic. Precisely how many dialects are to be defined by such a procedure is a matter of dispute, depending on differences both of theory and of method. Locating the dialects geographically is also problematic, because more often than not the provenance of a given work or manuscript is uncertain. But since the habitable part of Egypt south of the Nile Delta is the relatively thin strip of land lining the river valley, it is reasonable to suppose that a linear arrangement of the dialects according to their degrees of similarity to one another will reflect their geographical distribution along this part of the Nile. Numerical evaluations of distinctive dialectal features make it possible to construct a serial ranking of this sort, and the dialect map that emerges generally corroborates the conclusions that can be drawn from other types of evidence (Worrell 1934: 63–143; Kahle 1954: 1: 193–290; Vergote 1961; Kasser 1980–81; Hintze 1984; Funk 1988).

So far as can be judged from their written expression, the difference between the variety of Coptic spoken in the Nile Delta and that spoken in the south probably was great enough to have impeded communication between speakers from those two regions, but not so great as to have disguised the fact that they were speaking the same language (compare dialects *B* and *L5* in Table 1). Presumably, the variation in the language spoken along the Nile between the two extremities was gradual enough to form a dialect continuum. It is likely that Coptic literature was born in a limited number of restricted locales along this continuum: in cities, where roughly uniform ways of speaking would have been recognized locally as "normal." These local norms of speech were expressed in writing with varying degrees of orthographic consistency. What can be recognized as "dialects" in the manuscripts are these norms of written Coptic, representing the speech norms of specific nodes on the Egyptian dialect continuum.

Table 1

Coptic Dialectal Versions of John 3:14–15

| | | |

REL/they/going to- raise OBJ- the- son of- the- man so that

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *(B)* | *ouon niben* | *eth-* | *nahti* | *ero-f* | *ntef-* | | *či* |
| *(F4)* | *ouan nibi* | *et-ne-l-* | *pisteuin* | *ela-f* | *nf-* | | *ji* |
| *(S)* | *ouon nim* | *et-* | *pisteue* | *ero-f* | *efe-* | | *kō* |
| *(L5)* | *ouan nim* | *et- r-* | *pisteue* | *ara-f* | *efna-* | | *kou* |
| | one every | REL-do- | believe | in him | FOCUS/he going to- | | put |
| *(B)* | | *m-* | *pi-* | *ōnh* | *n-* | *eneh* | |
| *(F4)* | | *n-* | *ou-* | *ōnh* | *n- ša-* | *eneh* | |
| *(S)* | *na-f hraei nhēt-f* | *n-* | *ou-* | *ōnh* | *ša-* | *eneh* | |
| *(L5)* | *ne-f nhēt-f* | *n-* | *ou-* | *ōōnh* | *ša-* | *anēhe* | |
| | to -him in him | OBJ- | a- | life | to- | eternity | |

Note: *F4* is an ealry form of *F*; the translation is of th *L5* version (OBJ =preposition marking direct object; REL = relative converter).

**3. Numerous Early Dialects and the Status of Sahidic as a Standard.** The number of dialects discernible in the earliest extant Coptic literature has increased steadily with the continual discovery and publication of previously unknown manuscripts. At present it is possible to distinguish more than a dozen dialects (Funk 1988). The extent to which these dialects are attested varies considerably, from isolated fragments to quantities of complete manuscripts. It is difficult to know whether the varying degrees of attestation are reflections of the relative literary productivity of the different dialects or simply accidents of preservation.

The vast majority of early Coptic manuscripts are written in the Sahidic dialect (sometimes called Thebaic in older scholarship; abbreviated *S*). The wide diffusion of this dialect is indicative of its status as a literary standard. *S* was well suited to the role of literary standard because of its dialectal neutrality: it shared many features with the other dialects, and relatively few of its features were peculiar to itself. Assuming that *S* was a local dialect at the beginning of the Coptic period, it would probably have been spoken in the area south of Oxyrhynchus (modern El Bahnasa) and roughly midway between the two extreme poles of the dialect continuum, hence perhaps around Hermopolis (modern El Ashmûnein). There are reasons, however, for assuming that *S* was already a widely used colloquial standard before the Coptic period. If so, probably it had ceased to coincide exactly with the local dialect from which it developed, and hence this parent dialect cannot necessarily be located on the basis of the Coptic evidence alone (Satzinger 1985). It also follows from this assumption that the initial center of the diffusion of *S* as a literary standard cannot be determined on purely linguistic grounds; in any case, soon there were multiple centers of its diffusion.

Most of the other Coptic dialects did not survive as literary vehicles beyond the 6th century. Nonetheless, there is relatively extensive attestation for enough of them to indicate that people in various cities took an active interest in the dissemination of Coptic literature in local varieties of the language. Oxyrhynchite (also called Middle Egyptian; abbreviated *M*) was the dialect of middle Egypt, around Oxyrhynchus. The southernmost dialect was Achmimic *(A)*, a standardization of the language as spoken around Panopolis (modern Akhmîm) or farther south. Locating *A* is complicated by the question of its relationship to the dialect of a peculiar manuscript of Proverbs that may date from as early as the 3d century C.E. (Kasser 1960; 1982: 67 n. 1). This manuscript displays an alphabet and an orthographic system quite different from the other Coptic dialects, and strikingly reminiscent of the Old Coptic scripts. But the language of the manuscript is indisputably a dialect of Coptic (known as dialect *P*), most similar to *A* but similar also to dialects north of *A* on the dialect continuum. The problem is raised (Nagel 1965) by linguistic parallels in later nonliterary texts found in situ that show that *P* was probably the dialect of Thebes (modern Luxor). If so, *A* would seem to have been centered still farther south, a possibility contradicted by evidence for locating it at Panopolis, or even at Thebes.

On the dialect continuum south of *S* but north of *A* and *P*, hence in the region around Lycopolis (modern Asyût), there were three dialects similar enough to one another that initially scholars grouped them under a single name: Subachmimic (also called Lycopolitan; the three dialects are distinguished as *L4*, *L5*, and *L6;* Funk 1985). Whereas *L5* and the other early dialects that coexisted with *S* were used for the most part to translate books of the Bible and a selection of noncanonical early Christian works, the two other Lycopolitan dialects were used extensively for translating gnostic *(L6)* and Manichaean *(L4)* works. It is possible that the disappearance of *L4* and *L6* as literary vehicles was due to the Church's organized suppression of the kind of literature with which they are associated, but probably the general disappearance of early dialects as literary vehicles reflected the dominance of *S* and the resultant development of a literary culture increasingly independent of the actual spoken language of any given region.

Faiyumic (sometimes called Bashmuric or Middle Egyptian in older scholarship; abbreviated *F*) was the dialect of the Faiyûm Oasis (around Arsinoe, modern El Faiyûm). Bohairic (sometimes called Memphitic, or simply Coptic, in older scholarship; abbreviated *B*) was the dialect of the Nile Delta, at least in its western part. Both of these dialects were used for early translations of the Bible, but unlike most of the other early dialects, they continued in use beyond the 6th century. Because the Egyptian climate is much less conducive to the preservation of manuscripts in the Nile Delta than in southern Egypt, early evidence for *B* is particularly scarce, especially from before the 8th century.

**C. Death of Egyptian**

Despite the remarkable growth of Coptic literature, Greek continued to be the primary language of Egypt's literary culture. It was not until Egypt was conquered by the Arabs in A.D. 641 that Greek slipped at last from its dominant status. Literary activity in Coptic continued unabated (Orlandi 1986: 75–81), and its use also for personal correspondence and business documents increased dramatically. But now the language of the rulers was Arabic, and their initial religious tolerance soon waned. By the end of the 8th century, Coptic was beginning to wither under persecution along with the religion that had given it its written expression. Two centuries later, literacy in Coptic was becoming a rarity. In the meantime, the Bohairic dialect had achieved a degree of standardization comparable to that of Sahidic. Partly through translations from the latter dialect, Bohairic and Faiyumic literature had begun to blossom. As Egyptian now began to die out, it was the Church in the narrowest sense that was the last bastion of Coptic literature. Bohairic, the dialect of the region that was home to the central authority of the Church, lived longest.

In an effort to preserve some knowledge of their dying language, a series of scholars, beginning in the 11th century, undertook to compile Arabic glossaries of Coptic words, accompanied by simple observations on Coptic grammar, written in Arabic. The unsophisticated grammatical tradition thus born in the Bohairic dialect lasted until the 14th century, but it soon served as no more than an aid to the proper translation of Coptic texts into Arabic (Mallon 1906–7; Samir 1986). After a written history of more than four thousand years the Egyptian language was dead, leaving Arabic as the language of Egypt, as it is today.

Egyptian Christianity, however, was not abolished, and Bohairic Coptic remained the official liturgical language of the Egyptian church. But although the priests continued to pronounce at least parts of their services in Coptic, gradually even in church Arabic became the primary tongue. Still, the Egyptian Christians' reverence for Coptic as the language of their religion meant that monastic scribes continued to copy and preserve Coptic manuscripts, now mostly with accompanying Arabic translations, and hence they made possible a significantly different survival of their ancestral language, a survival outside of Egypt.

**D. Growth of Coptic Studies and Egyptology in Europe**

The Vatican's collection of oriental manuscripts seems already to have included a small number of Coptic-Arabic bilinguals when the library was founded by Pope Nicholas V in the middle of the 15th century. These are the first Coptic manuscripts of which there is any certain record in Europe. It is likely that they were brought to Italy by the Coptic delegates to the Council of Florence in A.D. 1441 (Levi della

Vida 1939: 29–88; the oldest certain attestation of Coptic manuscripts in the Vatican collection dates from 1481). From this period onward there was frequent contact between the Roman and Coptic churches, and soon Coptic became a subject of interest to scholars studying oriental languages.

The first published accounts of Coptic appeared early in the 16th century (Postel 1538; Ambrogio 1539). At this time, a knowledge of Coptic amounted to little more than a knowledge of the Coptic alphabet. The first manuscript to be brought from Egypt to Europe containing a copy of one of the medieval Coptic-Arabic grammatical works written as the Egyptian language was dying did not arrive until 1591. Giovanni Battista Raimondi (d. 1614), director of the Typographia Medicea in Rome, dreamed of using this Coptic manuscript and others to rescue the Egyptian language from oblivion and to prepare a printed edition of the Coptic Bible, but his dreams came to nothing and the manuscripts he had assembled were neglected (Saltini 1860; Levi della Vida 1939: 263–68).

When the Italian pilgrim Pietro della Valle (1586–1652) returned to Rome from the Far East in 1626, his collection of oriental manuscripts included several Coptic-Arabic bilinguals that he had acquired in Egypt near the start of his journey a decade before. Two of his manuscripts were anthologies of several of the medieval Coptic-Arabic grammatical works, similar to the manuscript that had inspired Raimondi. Della Valle, too, having recognized at once the importance of such books for the recovery of the lost language of Egypt, entrusted the edition and translation of the more substantial grammatical manuscript to Tommaso Obicini, a specialist in Arabic. In preparation for the publication of Obicini's work, della Valle oversaw the production of a font of movable Coptic type at the printing press of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide (Emmel 1987). But although Obicini made significant progress, he died in 1632 without having completed his work, and somehow his notes disappeared (not to be discovered until three hundred years later; van Lantschoot 1948).

In the meantime, the publication of della Valle's manuscript had been awaited with eagerness by an eminent patron of scholarship, Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637), who had tried to arrange for the inclusion of Coptic among the languages of the great Polyglot Bible then in preparation in Paris (Gravit 1938). Although the study of Coptic progressed too slowly for this particular ambition to be realized, in 1643 it was one of Peiresc's protégés who finally published an edition of the Coptic grammatical manuscript in della Valle's collection (Kircher 1643). The editor was Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680), who thus laid the foundations on which the study of Egyptian would eventually grow into a scholarly discipline in Europe (Quatremère 1808: 45–109, 294–98).

The medieval grammars were soon surpassed by insights drawn from the study of increasingly large numbers of Coptic manuscripts brought out of Egypt. By the beginning of the 19th century, when the Rosetta Stone was first being studied, Coptic was well enough known that it could play a crucial role in the decipherment of texts written in the older Egyptian scripts. Toward the end of that century, the study of the entire history of Egyptian was put on a firm footing by Adolf Erman (1854–1937) and the "Berlin School" of Egyptology, where the fundamental importance of Coptic for the study of the earlier stages of Egyptian was fully recognized (Polotsky 1987: 14–15). In recent decades, the most fruitful work on Coptic has been a quest, pioneered by H. J. Polotsky, for a comprehensive synchronic description of its grammatical system (Polotsky 1971: 99–271, 341–438; 1968; 1970; 1985a; 1985b; 1988).

**E. The Coptic Writing System**

The Coptic alphabet is illustrated in Fig. LAN.03. The alphabet represented seven vowels (*a, e, ē, i, o, u, ō*), two of which (*i, u*) also had corresponding consonantal values, and fourteen distinct consonants (fifteen in Achmimic and Bohairic). It is not known exactly how Coptic was pronounced. The inventors of the Coptic writing system took over the Greek alphabet according to its classical values, and it may be supposed that pronouncing Coptic texts according to those values will yield a reasonable reconstruction of how Coptic sounded, at least about the time it was first given written expression. However, even after this pronunciation is modified on the basis of the internal evidence of Coptic manuscripts, it no doubt remains approximate at best.

The care with which the Coptic writing system was initially worked out is illustrated by one orthographic feature in particular. Coptic scribes did not usually leave space between words. It was a

peculiarity of Coptic that this way of writing often resulted in strings of consonants, the correct articulation of which may not have been immediately obvious. To alleviate this problem, a diacritical mark placed above the line of writing was used to mark syllables formed not with vowels but with syllabic consonants (like the syllabic n in the second syllable of "button"). For example, in Sahidic *hmpkōhtmpfčntf,* "superlinear strokes" placed over *hm, ht, m, pf, čn,* and *tf* indicate the syllabification *hm-pkō-ht-m-pf-čn-tf.*

**F. Grammar**

The extensive attestation of the Sahidic dialect, both chronologically and in content, as well as its dialectal neutrality, makes it the most appropriate starting point for learning Coptic. It is on Sahidic that the following brief description of some Coptic grammatical features is based. In the examples, dashes separate morphemes that combine into a prosodic unit, which is generally defined by a single accented syllable. Abbreviations for citing nonbiblical examples follow Crum (1939); OT references follow the numbering of the LXX (ed. Rahlfs).

**1. Basic Sentence Types.** Coptic displays at least four basic sentence types. The *tripartite sentence,* or *verbal sentence,* contains three basic elements, in a fixed order: a "conjugation base" encoding information such as tense; a subject (either a noun phrase or a pronoun); and a verb (infinitive).

(1) *a-p-noute ti na-u n-saoul*

PAST-the god give to-them OBJ-Saul

"God gave them Saul." (Acts 13:21)

(2) *a-f-ti na-u n-ou-oeik*

PAST-he-give to-them OBJ-a-bread

"He gave them bread." (John 6:31)

There are four "sentence conjugation bases," with distinct affirmative and negative forms (e.g., the negative of *a-* is *mpe-*): (1) *perfect* ("he gave, he has given"); (2) *"not yet"* (negative only, "he has not yet given"); (3) *aorist* ("he gives," by nature, or whenever certain circumstances obtain; not a present tense); (4) *future,* known as "Energetic Future" or, unhappily, "Third Future" ("he will give," but mostly used in constructions where it has modal meanings such as "he might give"). There is also a set of "clause conjugation bases," which are used in the same pattern (the "Tripartite Conjugation Pattern": base + subject + verb), but which form dependent clauses and are negatived by an additional morpheme (*tm-*): (1) *conjunctive* (various uses, most often in some sense continuative of a grammatical structure in a preceding clause); (2) *future conjunctive* ("… and he will give"); (3) *temporal* ("when he had given …"); (4) *"until"* ("… until he gives"); (5) *conditional* ("when/if he gives …"); (6) *protatic* ("if he gives …"; Shisha-Halevy 1974); and (7) *apodotic* ("… then he gives"; Shisha-Halevy 1973). The tripartite pattern occurs in exx. 1, 2, 13–15, 18–22, and 24.

The *bipartite sentence* (the "Bipartite Conjugation Pattern") contains two basic elements, in a fixed order: a subject (either a noun phrase or a pronoun), and one of four types of predicate. The predicate is either adverbial (mostly locative prepositional phrases; ex. 3), or an infinitive (exx. 4, 16–20), or a *stative* (exx. 6, 23, 25), or the verbal auxiliary *na-* (exx. 7, 8). The bipartite sentence serves as a present tense, as do the two remaining sentence types.

(3) *f-hm-p-jaeie*

he-in-the-wilderness

"He is in the wilderness." (Matt 24:26)

(4) *p-joeis sooun n-te-hiē n-n-dikaios*

the-lord know OBJ-the-way of the-righteous

"The Lord knows the way of the righteous." (Ps 1:6)

The stative (also called *qualitative*) is a verb form used only in the bipartite sentence; generally it has the meaning of a statal passive. In exx. 5 and 6 the infinitive *tajro* ("steady") is compared with the stative *tajrēu* ("in the state of having been *steadied*").

(5) *f-tajro m-p-hēt m-p-rōme*

it-steady OBJ-the heart of-the-man

"It steadies man's heart." (ShA 1 429)

(6) *pef-hēt tajrēu*

his-heart steadied

"His heart is steady." (Ps 111:8—Eng 112:8)

The verbal auxiliary *na-* ("going to"), followed by a verb (infinitive only, never stative), is used in the bipartite sentence to form the most common expression of the future.

(7) *f-na-ti nē-tn n-ke-paraklētos*

he-going to give to-you OBJ-another-counselor

"He will give you anohter Counselor." (John 14:16)

The bipartite sentence and the two remaining sentence types are negatived by a discontinuous morpheme.

(8) *n-f-na-ti an m-pef-ouoein*

NEG-it-going to-give NEG OBJ-its-light

"It will not give its light." (Mark 13:24)

The *nominal sentence* is constructed around a set of personal pronouns that serve as subjects in the pattern. For the first and second persons, these pronouns are proclitic forms of the independent personal pronouns; they precede the nominal predicate.

(9) *ntk-ou-šonte*

you-a-thornbush

"You are a thornbush." (ShMIF 23 42)

For the third person, the subject pronouns are a suppletive group, morphologically related to the definite article and the demonstratives; they follow the predicate.

(10) *na-snēu ne*

my-brothers they

"They are my brothers." (ShMIF 23 41)

The third-person type of nominal sentence serves, at least formally, as the nucleus of a more complex expanded type, in which the subject pronoun sometimes functions simply as a copula.

(11) *p-hēbs m-p-sōma pe p-bal*

the-lamp of-the-body it the-eye

"The eye is the lamp of the body." (Matt 6:22)

The fourth basic sentence type is defined by a small group of predicates, mostly expressive of qualities, that take a nominal or pronominal subject as a suffix.

(12) *nanou-paei*

be good-this

"This is good." (1 Tim 2:3)

**2. Object Incorporation.** The defining property of a syntactically transitive verb in Coptic is the ability of its infinitive to incorporate a direct object.

(13) *a-apa pesunthios nej-p-daimōnion ebol*

PAST-Apa Pesunthios cast-the-demon outward

"Apa Pesunthios cast out the demon." (Bap 114)

(14) *a-f-noj-ou* *ebol*

PAST-Apa Pesunthios outward

"He cast them out." (Mark 1:34)

If the direct object of a transitive verb is not incorporated, it is marked by a preposition (*n-* with nouns, *mmo-* with pronouns).

(15) *n-f-nouje* *ebol* *n-n-daimonion*

CONJUNCTIVE-he-cast outward OBJ-the-demons

"… and he will cast out the demons." (B Mar 239)

(16) *k-nouje* *mmo-ou* *ebol*

You-cast OBJ-them outward

"You are casting them out." (BMar)

Incorporation is the rule when the direct object is a noun without any article; such nouns are devoid of gender and number and generally have a nonreferential or generic meaning.

(17) *ti-nej-diamonion ebol*

I-cast-demon outward

"I cast out demons." ("I exorcise.") (Luke 13:32)

As a rule, incorporation occurs in the bipartite sentence only in the latter circumstance. But in the tripartite sentence, pronominal direct objects, too, are most often incorporated, and there is variation between incorporation and nonincorporation of the direct object when it is a noun with an article (definite or indefinite).

**3. Sentence Conversion.** A remarkable feature of Coptic grammar is the way in which a basic sentence can be *converted* (or *transposed*) by prefixes into: (1) *preterit* time; (2) an adverbial (*circumstantial*) clause; (3) a *relative* clause; or (4) a focalizing construction (called a "Second Tense," in contrast to an unconverted "first" tense). The preterit conversion serves primarily to provide background information relevant to a larger context. Ex. 18 is preceded immediately by the narrative statement, "We came to Miletus."

(18) *ne-a-paulos* *gar krine …* *ne-f-čepē* *gar …*

PRET-PAST-Paul for decide … PRET-he-hasten for …

"For Paul had decided …; for he was hastening …" (Acts 20:16)

The circumstantial conversion forms a subordinate clause with a wide variety of uses (the converter encoding something like "the circumstances being that …").

(19) *a-f-šaje* *e-f-smou* *e-p-noute*

PAST-he-speak CIRC-he-bless OBJ-the-god

"He spoke, blessing God." (Luke 1:64)

(20) *eti* *e-f-šaje* *a-p-alektōr* *moute*

still CIRC-he-speak PAST-the-cock crow

"While he was still speaking, the cock crowed." (Luke 22:60)

The relative conversion forms a clause that is subordinate to a preceding definite antecedent; as a rule, the antecedent is represented in the relative clause itself by a pronoun. Compare ex. 22 with ex. 21.

(21) *a-n-daimonion* *ei* *ebol* *hm-p-rōme*

PAST-the-demons come outward from-the-man

"The demons came out of the man." (Luke 8:33)

(22) *p-rōme* *ent-a n-daimonion* *ei* *ebol* *nhēt-f*

the-man REL-PAST-the demons come outward from-him

"the man from whom the demons had gone" (Luke 8:38)

The function of the second tense conversion is to focus on, or emphasize, an adverbial element in the sentence. Like the preterit conversion, the use of a second tense usually depends on a context larger than a single sentence. In the following example, the focus is on the prepositional phrase *e-p-satanas.* Compare the statement, "You belong to Satan," with ex. 23.

(23) *e-k-ēp* *e-p-satanas*

FOCUS-you-belong to-the-Satan

"It is to Satan that you belong." (ShMIF 23 40)

**4. Cleft Sentence.** The combination of a relative clause with a nominal sentence of the type illustrated in ex. 10 creates a cleft sentence in which a nominal or pronominal constituent is focalized. Compare the statement, "The Lord your God has chosen you," with ex. 24.

(24) *ntok pe ent-a-p-joeis* *pek-noute sotp-k*

you it REL-PAST-the-lord your god choose-you

"It is you that the Lord your God has choosen." (Deut 7:6)

**5. Adjectival Modification.** The Coptic lexicon contains very few words that can be classed as adjectives. Adjectival modification of a noun is achieved by syntactic means: a relative or circumstantial clause (depending on whether the noun is definitely determined or not);

(25) *hen-šaje* *e-u-šoueit*

some-words CIRC-they-vain

"vain words" (Eph 5:6)

or an indefinitely determined noun in a nominal sentence;

(26) *hen-epra* *ne* *neei-šaje*

some-vanity they these-words

"The words are vain." (ShC 73 206)

or the relational preposition *n-* with a nondetermined noun.

(27) *nek-šaje* *n-epra*

your-words RELATION-vanity

"your vain words" (ShMIF 23 42)

**6. Other Features.** The case-roles of the various participants in the action of a verb are marked either by position (syntactic subject, incorporated direct object) or by prepositions (exx. 1, 2, etc.). The passive in progress is expressed by the use of a nonreferential third-person-plural subject: "they are choosing him" = "he is being chosen." Interrogative sentences are formed by using interrogative pronouns or particles, without altering the word order of the basic sentence types. Imperative sentences are formed by using infinitives apart from conjugation, with object incorporation occurring as it does in the tripartite pattern.

## G. Coptic Today

The study of Coptic remains an essential part of the discipline of Egyptology. But because the content of Coptic literature is primarily relevant to the history of Christianity, Coptology (also called Coptic Studies) has begun to emerge as a distinct discipline with close ties to Egyptology on the one hand and to biblical and Christian historical studies on the other. A movement to revive Coptic as a spoken language was begun by Egyptian Christians late in the 19th century; the Egyptian church now urges its adherents to learn a modified form of the Bohairic dialect, as yet with only qualified success.

## H. Basic Reference Works

Comprehensive bibliographies of Coptic Studies are Kammerer 1950; Simon, Quecke, and du Bourguet 1949–76; and Biedenkopf-Ziehner 1972–80. T. Orlandi's *Coptic Bibliography* (Rome: Centro Italiano Microfiches), issued on microfiche, is updated biannually by printed supplements and entirely revised in annual editions.

The standard and indispensable dictionary of Coptic is Crum 1939. Of more specialized interest are Černý 1975; Westendorf 1965–77; and Vycichl 1983. Smith 1983 is convenient for beginners. There is as yet no dictionary of the large number of words borrowed by Coptic from Greek.

Overall, the best Coptic grammar is still Stern 1880, but fundamental advances have been made by Polotsky (especially 1944; 1960; 1962; 1988), all of whose works are essential. Possibly seminal is Shisha-Halevy 1986. Lambdin 1983 is helpful for beginners.

Students of the Coptic versions of the Bible must consult scattered editions of individual manuscripts, essential guides to which are Vaschalde 1919–33; Till 1959; Nagel 1983–84; Nagel 1984b; and Schmitz and Mink 1986. Lefort, Wilmet, and Draguet 1950–60 is a useful concordance to the Sahidic NT.

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## *EGYPTIAN LANGUAGE AND WRITING*

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A. Linguistic Position
B. History
C. Writing
D. Phonology
E. Grammar

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### A. Linguistic Position

Egyptian is a member of the Afroasiatic language group, occupying one of the five or six main branches of this linguistic family (Semitic, Berber, Egyptian, Cushitic, Chadic, and possibly Omotic). Unlike the other branches, Egyptian is represented by a single language.

In most respects, Egyptian seems closest to the Asiatic (Semitic) languages—possibly only because our knowledge of the African languages is both poorer and from a much later historical era than either Egyptian or Semitic. Egyptian exhibits many common Afroasiatic features: (1) consonantal root structures; (2) masculine/feminine gender, with feminine marked by final *-t;* (3) plural in *-w* (m.) and *-wt* (f); (4) independent and suffixed pronouns: e.g., *jnk,* "I," *-j,* "my"; (5) stative (qualitative) form of the

verb: e.g., *ḥtp.kw,* "I am content"; and (6) lexical morphological features, such as nouns of instrument in *m-*, causative stem in *s-*, reflexive stem in *n-*.

Unlike African languages, Egyptian shares with Semitic a predominantly triconsonantal root structure (close to two thirds of all verb roots in one representative early text corpus) and an active dual (m. *-wj*, f *-tj*). The vocalic patterns of many of its nouns, where these can be reconstructed, are also similar to those of Semitic nouns: for example, an active participle with the pattern *ā-i*, as in **ḥātip,* "content," reflected in cuneiform *ḫa-ti-ip* (Osing 1976: 128).

Unlike Semitic, Egyptian has no known case system and no prefixed verbal conjugation. Several of its features are found in African but not Semitic languages: (1) an "indirect" genitival construction, with the adjectival form of the preposition *jn,* "to, for": e.g., *prw jnj sn.k,* "house of (belonging to) your brother"; the direct genitival construct is also common (*prw sn.k*); (2) roots with two to six radicals, many with full or partial reduplication: e.g., *sn,* "kiss, smell," *snsn,* "associate with"; *ṯḥn,* "shine," *ṯḥnḥn* "glitter"; and (3) passive forms with reduplicated final radical: e.g., *ḫmmj,* "unknown," from *ḫm,* "not know"; *nḥmm,* "will be taken," from *nḥm,* "take" (productive only in the oldest stage of Egyptian).

Egyptian has a vocabulary of about a hundred roots found also in Berber and Cushitic languages: for example, *gmj,* "find" = Berber *egmi,* "seek"; *nfr,* "perfect, good" = Bedja *nefir,* "pleasant." A few hieroglyphic phonograms reflect an earlier Semitic vocabulary that has been supplanted in historical times by native or non-Semitic words: for instance, Egyptian *ḏrt,* "hand" (related to the root *nḏr,* "grasp"), replacing earlier **jd* (preserved in the hieroglyph of a human hand, with the value *d*; also in the word *djw,* "five"); or Egyptian *jrt,* "eye" (possibly related to Cushitic and Chadic *il/iil* "eye"), replacing earlier **ʿ(j)n* (reflected in the hieroglyph of a human eye, used in writing the word *ʿn,* "beautiful").

**B. History**

Egyptian comprises two major historical phases (see section E below), each of which is represented by several distinct stages of development.

The language first appears in writing about 3300 B.C., in proper names, titles, and captions. Its first continuous text—essentially an expanded list of one individual's titles—dates from the end of Dynasty 3 (ca. 2750 B.C.) and marks the beginning of Old Egyptian, the earliest well-known stage of the language. Old Egyptian is preserved in tomb biographies, royal decrees, and an extensive series of religious (funerary) texts. It is roughly contemporary with the historical period of the Old Kingdom (OK) (Dyn. 3–6, ca. 2800–2300 B.C.).

Old Egyptian is closely related to the second major stage, that of Middle Egyptian. Also known as Classical Egyptian, this stage is represented in nearly every genre of Egyptian text: letters, accounts, stories, official and biographical inscriptions, and religious texts. As a living language, it spanned the period from the end of the OK approximately to the beginning of the New Kingdom (Dyn. 6–17, ca. 2300–1600 B.C.). Even when replaced in the popular, and later written, speech it remained the language of temple and official inscriptions throughout the history of pagan Egypt. In the New Kingdom (NK) (Dyn. 18–19, ca. 1600–1200 B.C.) and later, its grammar and vocabulary were heavily influenced by that of the contemporary language, but in most respects it retained the features of its classical stage of the Middle Kingdom (MK; Dyn. 12, ca. 2000–1800 B.C.).

The earlier historical phase represented by Old and Middle Egyptian differs significantly from that of the later, and final, phase of the language. Elements of this final phase are already visible in the colloquial speech (insofar as it was recorded) at the end of the MK, if not before. It first entered the written language as one of the reforms instituted by the "heretic" pharaoh Akhenaten, at the end of Dyn. 18 (ca. 1350 B.C.). Its earliest written stage, known as Late Egyptian, became the language of all but monumental inscriptions from the Ramesside to Saite periods (Dyn. 19–26, ca. 1300–650 B.C.).

For much of its 600-year history, Late Egyptian gives the impression of reflecting fairly closely the contemporary colloquial idiom. Under the pharaoh Psamtik (Psammetichus) I (ca. 650 B.C.), a new script was introduced, reflecting also newer grammatical features. This script and its stage of the language are known as Demotic ("popular"). True to its name, Demotic was at first used for commercial and other everyday documents, but under the Ptolemies (after 332 B.C.). it was expanded to religious and literary

genres as well. Demotic remained in use alongside the monumental language until the middle of the 5th century A.D.

With the advent of Christianity, the pagan associations of the older scripts prompted the adoption of a new writing system based on the Greek alphabet. Both the alphabet and the language written in it—the final stage of Egyptian—are known as Coptic (probably from Greek *aigyptios,* "Egyptian," itself a rendering of Egyptian *ḥwt-k€ -ptḥ,* a designation of ancient Memphis). The Coptic alphabet first appears in magical papyri from the end of the 1st century A.D., where it was added to the (vowelless) Demotic to ensure proper pronunciation of key words. It was adopted as a full-fledged writing system in the 3d century A.D., when it was used for Egyptian translations of the Bible and for other Christian texts.

Coptic was influenced by Greek not only in its alphabet but also in vocabulary. Some two thousand Greek words appear in Coptic, replacing or supplementing older native words. Coptic is also the first stage of Egyptian to show clear dialectical variants, mostly in morphology and phonology. Differences in dialect probably existed throughout Egyptian history—one text of Dyn. 19 (ca. 1200 B.C.) describes obscure phraseology as being "like the speech of a Delta man with a man from Aswan"—but they are concealed by both the standardized nature and the purely consonantal structure of earlier scripts. Some seven major and eight minor Coptic dialects have been identified. Of these, Saidic (from Arabic *al-ṣaʿīd,* "Southern Egypt") was the major ecclesiastical and literary dialect from the 4th to 10th centuries A.D. In the 10th century, Bohairic (from Arabic *al-buḥairah,* "Northern Egypt") was adopted as the official language of the Coptic Church, and it eventually supplanted the other dialects. Bohairic remains the liturgical language of the Church today, but Coptic disappeared as a spoken language probably by the 15th century A.D. Knowledge of Coptic, however, provided the key to the modern recovery of the earlier language, beginning with Jean-François Champollion's decipherment of the Rosetta Stone in the early 19th century.

**C. Writing**

Egyptian is written in one of four major scripts: hieroglyphic, hieratic, Demotic, and Coptic. With the exception of Coptic, all represent the consonantal rather than the full phonological structure of the spoken language, a feature that Egyptian shares with Semitic writing systems. The vocalized forms preserved in Coptic—and, to a lesser extent, in older cuneiform transcriptions—allow for partial reconstruction of earlier phonology: for example, Coptic *šmoun,* "eight" < **ḫamān ŭw,* which is reflected in cuneiform *ḫa-ma-an* (Osing 1976: 476).

Hieroglyphic is both the earliest and most widely attested script. It appears as early as the predynastic period (before 3200 B.C.) and remained in use until the 5th century A.D. Both the system and the orthography of its signs seem to have been first standardized at the beginning of the OK. Hieroglyphic writing consists essentially of two kinds of signs: ideograms, representing things, actions, or concepts; and phonograms, representing sounds. The simplest—and probably the first—ideograms are those that depict concrete things or actions, such as a scarab beetle ("beetle") or a pair of striding legs ("walk, move"). More abstract images are conveyed by an extended use of signs from this inventory, on the rebus principle: for example, the scarab beetle (*ḫprr,* "beetle") is used to write words with the root *ḫpr,* "develop."

Phonograms were developed on the same principle. These represent one or more consonantal sounds: for example, the sign for [p] (a reed stool) from **păj,* "stool" (Coptic *pai*), or that for [r] (a human mouth) from **răj,* "mouth" (Coptic *ro*), but also biliteral *pr* (a simple house plan) from **pār ŭw,* "house" (Coptic *pōr,* cuneiform *pa-ru* [Osing 1976: 477]).

In all, about five hundred signs were in common use in Classical Egyptian hieroglyphic. Words could be written ideographically (usually only for concrete things, such as *prw,* "house") or purely phonographically; but most often the two values were combined, as in HOUSE-PLAN (*pr*) plus MOUTH (*r*) plus WALKING-LEGS, for *pr (j),* "go forth." Ideograms are often placed at the end of words spelled with phonograms, as "determinatives" indicating the genus or kind of action to which the word refers (for instance, the walking-legs sign in the preceding example).

Hieroglyphic writing employs no marks of punctuation. Texts could be written left to right or right to left, either horizontally or in vertical columns. The signs usually face the direction from which the text is read. The Egyptians did not distinguish hieroglyphic writing from other representations of reality, such as statues or scenes in relief. Both were a *tjt,* "symbol," rather than an accurate representation of reality. Hieroglyphic signs were often carved with the same detail as other pictorial elements of a scene. Conversely, statues or relief representations were themselves a kind of hieroglyph, a phenomenon most often illustrated in the animal-headed Egyptian gods—as, for instance, in the beetle-headed human form representing *ḫprj,* "the Developing One" (a form of the sun-god). Hieroglyphic was generally employed on the same kinds of permanent media used for representations, usually carved or painted on stone or wood. It remained the preferred form for monumental inscriptions throughout Egyptian history. With rare exceptions, only the early phase of the language (Old-Middle/Classical Egyptian) is written in hieroglyphs.

A simpler form of the hieroglyphic signs was used for writing on less permanent media, such as papyri, with reed pen and ink. This, in turn, was probably (though not demonstrably) the origin of hieratic, a purely cursive form of hieroglyphic. For the most part, hieratic bears the same relationship to hieroglyphic that modern handwriting does to printing. Hieratic was written from right to left, usually in horizontal lines, in ink on materials such as papyri, ostraca, linen, and leather. Hieratic signs are attested almost as early as hieroglyphic. By the time of the MK (and probably earlier), hieratic was the standard script for letters, accounts, and literature; most of the great literary works of Classical Egyptian are preserved in hieratic. It was also the writing system that Egyptian scribes learned first. Both Old and Middle Egyptian are represented in hieratic, and Late Egyptian almost exclusively so.

By the 21st Dyn. (ca. 1000 B.C.), administrative hieratic had developed a hand significantly different from that of other hieratic documents. Called "abnormal hieratic," this script was in use until the Saite period (Dyn. 26, ca. 650 B.C.), when it was replaced by Demotic, which developed from it. Demotic writing is characterized by extremely brief signs and numerous ligatures. Though ultimately based on hieroglyphic, it bears no resemblance to the original signs. Demotic is also the sole script of the stage of the language with the same name. Hieratic, like hieroglyphic, remained in use alongside the newer writing, but it was reserved primarily for religious papyri written in the older (semi-Classical language. Like hieratic, Demotic was written from right to left, with pen and ink, primarily on perishable materials. Occasionally, however, it was used to inscribe official documents on stone—as in the decree of Ptolemy V Epiphanes (196 B.C.) on the Rosetta Stone, carved in both hieroglyphic and Demotic as well as Greek.

Although they were aware of the syllabic, and later alphabetic, scripts of Semitic languages, the Egyptians never reduced the inventory of their own signs to either a syllabary or an alphabet. Several times in its history Egyptian did develop a system for rendering the phonology of foreign names and loanwords with groups of signs, sometimes equivalent to monosyllabic Egyptian words: for example, *jj-š€ -pj-j€ -r'* (Dyn. 18, ca. 1500 B.C.) = Canaanite **yašūp-ʾil* (Albright 1934: 34). Hieroglyphic also seems to be the basis of the Proto-Sinaitic script, in which some thirty signs were used to form an alphabet for writing a non-Egyptian language. Although the language and precise date of Proto-Sinaitic are still uncertain, the alphabet itself seems to have been created acrophonically based on Semitic counterparts of the words represented by the Egyptian signs: for example, the hieroglyph of a man's head (Eg *tpj,* "head") for [r] (Semitic *ra'š,* "head"). The apparent similarity of this script to Proto-Canaanite suggests that it may be the origin of the principle of alphabetic writing (Giveon *LA* 4: 1156–59).

The Egyptian language itself was written alphabetically in its final stage. Coptic uses the 24 letters of the Greek alphabet, plus seven derived from Demotic, primarily for sounds not present in Greek (*š, f, h, ḫ, c* = [$t^{y}$], *g* = [$k^{y}$/$t^{yh}$], and a monogram for *ti*).

**D. Phonology**

Although Coptic is the first stage of Egyptian to record vowels as well as consonants, the vocalic inventory of earlier stages has been reconstructed with the help of Coptic and older cuneiform transcriptions. Egyptian seems to have shared the common Semitic vowels [a], [i], and [u]. Length was determined by morphology, with long vowels in open stressed syllables, short vowels in closed stressed

syllables, and indeterminate vowels elsewhere: e.g., **j ř̆ăk > erok*, "to you" (m.s.), **j ř̆aṯ n̆ > erōtn,* "to you" (pl.). Sometime between Dyn. 19 and 25 (ca. 1200–700 B.C.), the language underwent a general vowel-shift from the original system to that found in Coptic (*ă > ŏ, ĭ > ă, ŭ > ĕ;* and *ā > ō/ū, ī > ī/ē, ū > ē̄*).

The earliest stages of the language display 24 consonants, transcribed as follows: *æ, j* (or *ı̀Ù*), *ʿ, w, b, p, f, m, n, r, h, ḥ, ḫ, ḫ, z* (or *s*), *s* (or *ś*), *š, q* (or *ḳ*), *g, t, ṯ, d, ḏ.* In Coptic these have been reduced to 14 or 15 in most dialects: *b, p, f, m, n, r/l, h/ḥ, s, š, k, g* = [k$^{y}$], *t, c* = [t$^{y}$], with original *æ, ʿ,* and *j* occasionally reflected in doubled vowels (e.g., **ḥāʿ š > hōōs,* "herself"). Coptic descendants of *j* (where preserved) and *w* are phonologically equivalent to vocalic [ī] (/ei/) and [ū] (/ou/): e.g., *ouōbš* < **wābiḥ,* "white" (adjective), but *oubáš* < **w b̆áḥ,* "become white" (infinitive). This may have been true of *j* and *w* in earlier stages as well, since both are often omitted in writing (like vowels).

The gradual reduction of the original 24-consonant inventory to that of Coptic is visible historically. By Middle Egyptian, *z* is no longer phonologically distinct from *s*, and *ṯ* and *ḏ* show evidence of reduction to *t* and *d*, respectively, in some words. Late Egyptian reflects the beginnings of both the eventual loss of the voiced stops—*d > t, ḏ > ṯ, g > k;* Coptic *b* is probably a (voiceless?) labial spirant—and the reduction of the four spirants *h, ḥ, ḫ, ḫ* to one or two (*h* or *h/ḫ*, depending on dialect).

The original sound of many Egyptian consonants is uncertain. That transcribed as *æ* is generally thought to have been a glottal stop (*ʾalep*), but in Semitic loanwords in Old and Middle Egyptian it appears to correspond to Semitic [r]: for example, *kæmw*, later *kæmw*, "vineyard" = Semitic *karm.* In Coptic, however, its reflex is usually zero: e.g., **æāp ḏ > ōbt,* "bird," **wāæ ḏ > ouōt,* "fresh," as well as **kaæm w̆ > gōm.* The correspondence between *æ* and Semitic [r] may not indicate so much a value like [r] for *æ* as a dissimilarity between Semitic [r] and Egyptian /r/.

The consonant transliterated *r* corresponds to *r* or *l* in Semitic loanwords in Late Egyptian (e.g., *jbærjj* = Canaanite *ʾabir,* "stallion") and in Coptic reflexes of Egyptian words, where the distinction between *r* and *l* is partly dialectical (**rām ṯ̆,* "man" > Saidic *rōme,* Fayumic *lōmi*). Already in Old Egyptian, *r* seems to be regularly altered to € or *j* in syllable-final position (though this is not always reflected in writing): e.g., *ḏrt* (**ḏār ṯ̆*) > Coptic *tōre,* "hand," but *ḏæt.k* (**ḏărt ḳ̆*) > *tootk,* "your hand"; *ḥqr* (**ḥ q̆ăr*) > *hko,* "hunger," but *ḥqr.tj* (**ḥ q̆ărt ǰ*) > *hkoeit*, "hungry." The consonant [l] may have existed in dialects earlier than Coptic, but it is not represented phonemically in writing before Demotic (unless older /r/ = [l]?). Coptic *l* derives from earlier *n* (e.g., *las* < **nĭs,* "tongue" = Semitic *lis*) as well as from earlier *r*. Earlier scripts may represent [l] by the groups *æn* and (in Late Egyptian) *nr:* for example, *dng/dæg/dæng,* "dwarf" (= **dlg*?); *bnr* > Coptic *bol,* "out."

The consonants *z* and *s* are generally thought to represent the voiced/voiceless spirants [z] and [s], but *z* has also been analyzed as [ts]. Since [z], if present, would seem to have been the only voiced spirant (other than pharyngeal *ʿ*) in the original inventory, the phoneme *z* may instead have represented an original voiceless [th], later assimilated to [s] as in many colloquial Arabic dialects. The consonant *ḫ* is equivalent to *š* in the oldest stage (dialect?) of the language, but by Middle Egyptian it has become a distinct phoneme. Its value is generally assumed to have been similar to that of [ç] (*ch* in German *ich*), while *ḥ* represented [x] (*ch* in German *ach*). But the two may also have represented a consonantal pair distinguished by palatalization (*ḥ* = [x] vs. *ḫ* = [x$^{y}$]), or voiced/voiceless spirants *ḥ* = [gh] (Arabic *ghain*) and *ḫ* = [x].

The three original consonants *q, k,* and *g* are reduced in Coptic to the voiceless stop [k] or its palatalized counterpart *g* = [k$^{y}$], with *q* generally > Saidic *k, k* > *k* or *g,* and *g* > *g* or *k.* These correspondences suggest an original distinction *q* = [g] (later > [k] when the voiced stops were lost), *k* = [k], and *g* = [k$^{y}$]. The three are generally interpreted, however, as uvular [q] (Arabic *qaf*) and velar [k] and [g], respectively.

Similarly, the pairs *d/t* and *ḏ/ṯ* are thought to have represented the voiced/voiceless dental stops [d]/[t] and their palatalized counterparts [d$^{y}$]/[t$^{y}$]. But *d/t* have also been analyzed as the voiceless stops [ṭ]/[t],

with *ḏ/ṯ* their palatalized alternants [ȼ]/[c], where [ṯ] and [ȼ] are similar to Ethiopic [ṭ] and [ṭ$^{y}$], respectively. In words in which they have not coalesced with *d/t*, the pair *ḏ/ṯ* generally corresponds to Coptic *c* = [t$^{y}$], a palatalized counterpart of Coptic *t* (< *d/t*).

Finally, the Bohairic dialect of Coptic also uses aspiration as a phonological feature in the stops: *p* vs. *p* $^{h}$, *t* vs. *t* $^{h}$, *k* vs. *k* $^{h}$, and *c* vs. *c* $^{h}$, where the aspirated letters are represented by Greek *phi, theta,* and *chi*, and the Coptic letter *gima* (= Saidic [k $^{y}$]). The extent to which this feature may have existed in earlier dialects or stages of the language is unknown, but its existence in Coptic suggests that it may also underlie some of the phonological alternants of the older scripts.

**E. Grammar**

The elements of Egyptian syntax can be grouped into four parts of speech: noun, adjective, adverb, and verb.

The noun category includes both nouns and pronouns. Gender is marked lexically (zero, *-w*, or *-j* for masculine; *-t* for feminine). Plural and dual number is indicated phonologically by *-w* and *-wj* for masculine, *-wt* and *-tj* for feminine: *sn,* "brother," *snw,* "brothers," *snwj,* "two brothers"; *snt,* "sister," *snwt,* "sisters," *sntj,* "two sisters." Syntactic usage is marked by position in the sentence or phrase rather than by case. Genitival relationships may be indicated by direct conjunction of two nouns (probably accompanied by changes in stress and phonology), or by suffix pronouns: e.g., *prw sn.j,* "house of my brother." Two nouns may also be linked by the "indirect" genitive (see section A above). The accusative (verbal object) is distinguished by position. Personal pronouns generally correspond to those found in Semitic languages: *jnk,* "I" (proclitic), *wj,* "I, me" (enclitic), *-j,* "my" (affixed).

Egyptian adjectives are for the most part noun equivalents and can be used independently as nouns. Those that modify a preceding noun agree with it in gender and (less regularly) number. Direct modification is a construction that disappeared gradually in the history of the language. By the advent of Coptic, most attributive adjectives had been replaced by a genitival or relative construction: e.g., *snt ꜥ€ t,* "big sister" = Coptic *nog n-sōne*, literally "big-one of sister."

The category of adverb includes primitive adverbs (*dj,* "here"), prepositional adverbs (*jmj,* "there," from *m,* "in"), and prepositional phrases (*m nwt tn,* "in this village"). Nouns and verbs can also function syntactically as adverbs.

The category of verb encompasses all verb forms, including those that function syntactically as nouns, adjectives, or adverbs. The earliest inventory includes five categories of inflection: (1) the suffix conjugation, in which morphological features, and pronominal subjects, are signaled by suffixes: *ꜥnḫ.s,* "she lives," *ꜥnḫ.n.s,* "she has lived"; (2) the stative (old perfective), corresponding in form to the Afroasiatic stative/qualitative: *ꜥnḫ.tj,* "she is alive"; (3) the imperative: *ꜥnḫ,* "live!"; (4) the attributive forms, including participles and relative forms: *ꜥnḫt,* " (she) who lives," *nwt ꜥnḫt.s jmj,* "village in which she lives"; and (5) the infinitival forms: *ꜥnḫ,* "to live." By the time of Coptic, these had been reduced to two productive forms—the infinitive and stative—for most verbs.

All four syntactic elements can function as sentence predicates. Nominal sentences, with the pattern *A B,* are statements of identity. Either element can be a noun or pronoun: *jnk sn.k,* "I (am) your brother"; *pen-son pe,* "He (is) our brother" (Gen 37:27). The bipartite pattern is often expanded by means of the enclitic pronoun *pw* > *pe* (3 m.s.): *snt.k pw spdt,* "Your sister (is) Sothis"; *pai pe pa-snof,* "This (is) my blood" (Matt 26:28).

Statements of quality are expressed by adjectival sentences, a variant of the bipartite nominal pattern in which the first element is an immutable (m.s.) adjective: *m€ ꜥ sj,* "She (is) correct." These are primarily a feature of Old to Late Egyptian. In Demotic they are replaced by a form of the adjective-verb; and in Coptic by a nominal-sentence construction in which the adjective is treated as an undefined noun: *ou-me te,* "It (is) correct" (literally, "a correct one"; John 5:32).

Sentences with adverbial predicates are essentially statements of location or state. These follow the pattern *A Adv: sn.k dj = pek-son tai,* "Your brother (is) here."

Verbal predicates express action. Strictly speaking, such sentences are those in which the word order is verb-subject-object-adverb and in which the verb itself is predicate: *qd sn.j prw.f m nwt tn,* "My brother

built his house in this village" (literally, "build brother–my house–his in village this"). Various forms of the verb, however, can also function as nominal, adjectival, or adverbial predicate in other, "nonverbal" sentences: *mrr.f jrr.f,* "When he likes, he acts" (literally, "That-he-likes [is] that-he-acts," an *A B* nominal sentence), *ḥ‹ sw,* "He is jubilant" (an adjectival sentence, in which *ḥ‹* is an active participle), *tek-sōne onh,* "Your sister is alive" (an adverbial sentence, in which *onh* is the stative form of *ōnh,* "live").

Historically, the Egyptian language shows two dominant, and related, trends. One of these is the gradual loss of the (pure) verbal sentence. Earlier verb forms are replaced by "pseudoverbal" constructions built largely on the adverbial-sentence pattern: *‹nḫ.s,* "She lives" > *st ḥr ‹nḫ = Coptic s-ōnh, literally "She (is) upon living"; ‹nḫt, " (she) who lives" > ntt ḥr ‹nḫ = Coptic et-ōnh, literally " (she) who (is) upon living."*

The second historical trend, coincident with the first, is the replacement of synthetic forms (marked by internal changes) to analytic ones (marked by the accretion of discrete morphemes): *‹nḫ.s,* "May she live" > Demotic *my-jr.s-‹nḫ* = Coptic *mares-ōnh,* literally "Let her-do living." This historical process affected not only verbs but other parts of speech as well: e.g., *sn.k,* "your brother" > *p€ jj.k sn* = Coptic *pek-son,* literally "the-your brother."

On the basis of these changes, the language can be divided into a synthetic phase, represented by Old/Middle Egyptian, and an analytic phase, visible in Late Egyptian through Coptic. Because all Egyptian scripts except Coptic do not fully reveal a word's morphology, the grammar of the analytic phase is more visible, and therefore better understood, than that of its synthetic ancestor. In Old and Middle Egyptian, the existence of inflected forms is deduced through morphological changes that may be visible in one or more—but not all—root classes. The attributive forms of the verb, for example, are known to have distinguished two synthetic forms (labeled "perfective" and "imperfective") because of the alternation of unmarked vs. geminated forms visible primarily in final-*j* roots: e.g., (f.s.) active participles *mst* and *msst,* from *msj,* "give birth."

The major questions still unanswered in the study of Egyptian grammar have to do with the number and meaning of inflected forms that were present in the suffix conjugation of Old and Middle Egyptian. The simplest written form of this verbal category, called the *sḏm.f* (based on the paradigm verb *sḏm,* "hear"), probably conceals at least four distinct forms in the earliest stage of the language. All four are visible in the irregular verb *jnj,* "fetch" (*jn.f, jnn.f, jnt.f,* and *jnw.f*), but most roots show only one, two, or three written forms: *sḏm.f,* "he hears" (root *sḏm*); *m€ .f* vs. *m€ € .f,* "he sees" (root *m€ €* ); *msj.s* vs. *mss.s* vs. *msjw.s,* "she gives birth" (root *msj*). Of these, one form (*jnt.f* / *m€ .f* / *msj.s*) expresses the subjunctive (jussive, optative, etc.). The form in final *w,* with its paradigmatic counterparts (*jnw.f* / *m€ € .f* / *msjw.s*), seems to be a future tense, later replaced by the subjunctive and an analytic form.

The remaining two *sḏm.f* forms are distinguished primarily by the presence of gemination in some roots: *jn.f* / *m€ .f* / *msj.s* vs. *jnn.f* / m€ € .f / *mss.s.* By analogy with the attributive forms, these were originally thought to express a contrast between "perfective" (completed or single actions) and "imperfective" (incomplete or multiple actions), respectively. In the analytic verbal systems, however, there is a major syntactic distinction, reflected morphologically, between forms in which the focus of attention is on the verbal action itself ("First Tenses") and those in which it is directed to an adverbial adjunct ("Second Tenses"): e.g., Demotic *jw.f-hy r-ḥr.f* > Coptic *f-hi ehraf,* "It falls on him," vs. *jjr.f-hy r-ḥr.f* > Coptic *ef-hi ehraf,* "It is on him that it falls." The latter appears to be syntactically an adverbial-predicate construction in which a nominal (attributive) form of the verb functions as subject to the adverbial phrase: literally, "How/That it falls (is) on him." The same distinction has been proposed for the synthetic verb: e.g., *h€ .f ḥr.f,* "It descends on him," vs. *h€ € .f ḥr.f,* "It is on him that it descends."

There is a good deal of evidence in favor of this analysis, and the model of the analytic tenses has become widely accepted for the synthetic verbal system as well. More recently, however, questions have been raised as to the adequacy of the analytic model to explain all observable features of the synthetic forms (Englund and Frandsen 1987). The forms of the analytic verb distinguish primarily time (e.g., past, present, future) and syntactic function. In contrast, those of the synthetic verb seem to express primarily aspect (e.g., completed vs. incomplete) and mood (indicative, subjunctive). When and how the synthetic

verb developed the features visible in its analytic descendants are questions that have yet to be fully answered.

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JAMES P. ALLEN

## *ETHIOPIC*

The study of the Semitic Ethiopic dialects has become an important discipline in the Near Eastern field. As W. Leslau (1959) has noted, these dialects can be divided into two groups: North Ethiopic (abbreviated hereafter NE) and South Ethiopic (abbreviated hereafter SE). NE includes Geez, which is the oldest dialect, and two modern dialects, Tigré and Tigrinya. SE comprises Amharic, Argobba, Harari, Gafat, and Guragé. Guragé is a dialect cluster, and for typological reasons this cluster has been called "Gunnān-Guragé" by R. Hetzron (1977). All the Ethiopic dialects exhibit features which comparative linguists find worthy of note. A few of these features, which will be discussed below, include an important difference between the morphology of the basic verb types of NE and SE, the development of a direct object suffix in NE and SE, and the existence of a main verb marker forms in SE.

### A. The *Qatala* and *Qattala* Verb Stems

Two of the basic verb types of Ethiopic have been described by T. Lambdin (1978) as follows:

G verbs—simple root + stem vowel pattern: G = Grundstamm (basic stem).

D verbs—root + doubling (D) of the second radical + stem vowel pattern.

The perfect tense of G verbs (often described by linguists as *qatala*) in NE is characterized by a single middle consonant, whereas in many of the SE dialects the perfect tense of G verbs has a doubled middle radical (described by linguists as *qattala*). The pattern of the G perfect in NE is found in other Semitic languages, but the SE pattern with a geminated middle radical is not attested elsewhere. For the purposes of comparative Semitic philology, it is important to determine whether the doubling which occurs in the SE G perfect is a Proto-Semitic phenomenon or merely a characteristic which can be explained by a development within SE itself.

This problem of gemination is depicted by the following table, which gives the G and D patterns of the perfect and imperfect tenses in Geez (a NE dialect) and Amharic (a SE dialect):

| | Geez (NE) | Amharic (SE) |
|---|---|---|

| | G | D | G | D |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Perfect | *qatala* | *qattala* | *qattala* | *qattala* |
| Imperfect | *yeqattel* | *yeqēttel* | *yeqatl* | *yeqattel* |

In addition to the different NE and SE stem patterns for the G perfect, one can also see from the table that in the NE the G imperfect has a doubled middle radical (*ye* is a prefix), whereas in SE the same form has a single middle radical. It should be noted that in two NE dialects, Tigrinya and Tigré, the geminated middle radical of the G imperfect is simplified when subject suffixes are added. W. Leslau (1953) uses this phenomenon as one of his major arguments in favor of the secondary nature of the *yeqattel* form in Ethiopic. His suggestion that the form **yeqatl (u)* be reconstructed as the PE G imperfect is based on his view that **yeqatl (u)* can be derived from Proto-Semitic **yaqtulu* and on the fact that certain SE dialects have a *yeqatlu* imperfect form. However, it is possible that the *-u* of the SE imperfect form is related to the complicated problem of main verb markers, which will be discussed below and, therefore, should not be traced back to Proto-Semitic. H. Nyberg (1932), J. Polotsky (1949), and R. Hetzron (1972), on the other hand, have suggested that the NE *yeqattel* form is primary and that the loss of gemination in the SE G imperfect is related to the phonetic principle underlying the loss of gemination which occurs in the G imperfect of Tigrinya and Tigré as the result of adding suffixes. According to this view, the loss of gemination, originally associated only with the addition of suffixes, spread to all forms of the G imperfect in SE. However, the phenomenon of the loss of gemination in the G imperfect as the result of adding suffixes is probably restricted to Tigrinya and Tigré and, therefore, does not shed light on the development of SE *yeqatl.* Thus, it is necessary to seek an explanation which would account for both the loss of gemination in the SE G imperfect and the introduction of this characteristic in the G perfect. It is likely that the D perfect of Proto-SE changed from **qattala* to **qēttala,* as suggested by Polotsky (1938), since this form is actually attested in some of the SE dialects. As a result of this change, *ē* became the stem vowel of both the D perfect and imperfect as opposed to the G stem vowel *a.* It was at this point that an analogy may have occurred between the perfect and imperfect form of G and D verbs, affecting the form of the G imperfect:

D G

**qēttala*: **yeqēttel* :: **qatala*: **yeqatel*

The result of this analogy would have been the simplification of the geminated middle consonant of the G imperfect (*yeqatel*). At this early stage of SE, the G and D stems for the perfect and imperfect tenses could be symbolically described as follows: G (s s) and D (d d). However, evidence from the SE dialect Endegen, as described by W. Leslau (1976), suggests that a phonological process contributed to the collapse of the contrast G (s s) / D (d d). In this dialect, the G perfect normally has a simple middle radical (*qatala*), but there are, nevertheless, some G perfect forms with a geminated middle consonant. These verbs appear to be historically related to verbs whose last radical was *ʾ, *ʿ, or **ḥ.* These final radicals were evidently assimilated by the middle radical, resulting in the gemination of the middle radical. It is likely that a similar development occurred in the proto-stages of other SE dialects, but in these dialects, the perfect with a geminated middle radical was standardized for all root types.

**B. The Direct Object Suffix**

In Ethiopic, the pronominal object of a transitive verb is regularly expressed by a suffix attached directly to the verb. The forms of the direct object suffix in Geez (a NE dialect) are as follows: 1 c.s. *-ni,* 2 m.s. *-ka,* 2 f.s. *-ki,* 3 m.s. *-o/-hu,* 3 f.s. *-ā/-hā,* 1 c.pl. *-na,* 2 m.pl. *-kemu,* 2 f.pl. *-ken,* 3 m.pl. *-omu/-homu,* 3 f.pl. *-on/-hon.* Thus, in order to say, "They found me," one would attach the suffix *-ni* to *rakabu,* resulting in the form *rakabuni.* In SE, some of the forms of the direct object suffix differ considerably from the forms in Geez. This divergence is due primarily to the influence of two types of copulative elements which can be described as the *n* copula and the *t* copula. The *n* copula of SE is historically related to the Geez introductory particle *na-,* which is used to prepose and emphasize a pronominal element. Examples of this inflected particle are *naya* and *nayo,* meaning "as for me" and "as for him" respectively. The *t*

copula originated in sentences employing the third person pronoun *wet* as a neutralized copula, which was reduced to *t* because of its enclitic nature: **āna- *wet* > **āna- *t,* "It is I." Both the *n* and *t* copulas were inflected for all persons and numbers. In order to see the influence of the copula on the SE direct object suffix forms, one can cite some of the attested suffixal forms in two SE dialects, Amharic and Chaha. In Amharic, the *t* copula was influential. For example, the original form **-ā* of the 3 f.s. direct object suffix was replaced by the 3 f.s. ending *-āt* of the copula. The 3 m.s. direct object allomorph *-t,* which is used after subject suffixes ending in *-u,* is also related to the copula. Since there is evidence of a *t* copula in Old Amharic (Goldenberg 1976), it is reasonable to assume that the *t* of 3 f.s. *-āt* and the 3 m.s. *t* which is added to *-u* reflect the old *t* copula. In Chaha, it was the *n* copula which affected the forms of the direct object suffix, as can be seen from the following list: 2 m.s. *-nāka,* 2 f.s. *-nāxi,* 3 m.s. *-ne,* 3 f.s. *-nā,* 1 c.pl. *-nda,* 2 c.pl. *-nāku,* 3 c.pl. *-no.*

**C. Main Verb Marker Forms in SE**

One of the major differences between the verbal inflection of NE and SE is the introduction of main verb markers in SE. In the SE dialect Chaha, the perfect always ends in -m when it is in a positive main clause. In a subordinate or negative clause, the final *-m* of the perfect is omitted, as the following examples show:

(1) Main clause: *naqaram,* "he pulled out";
(2) Subordinate clause: *ya-naqara,* "he who pulled out";
(3) Negative clause: *an-naqara,* "he did not pull out."

It is well known that the morphological distinction between main and subordinate verbs exists in the Cushitic languages, and since SE has a Cushitic substratum, it is reasonable to assume that main verb marking, as a morphological category, was borrowed by SE from Cushitic (Hetzron 1972). However, it is difficult to establish the origin of the actual forms of the main verb markers as they exist in SE. R. Hetzron (1972) has stated that some of the SE dialects used the Proto-Semitic imperfect elements **-u* and **-na/-ni* for main verb markers. In order to support this theory, Hetzron compares the SE dialects which have imperfect forms ending in *-u* with Arabic which has the imperfect form *yaqtulu,* pl. *yaqtulūna.* Such a theory would necessitate the reconstruction of **yaqtulu* for Proto-Ethiopic, but since there is no trace whatever of such a form in the linguistically conservative northern dialects, including ancient Geez, and no certain evidence for such a form elsewhere in the southern languages, it seems methodologically implausible to reconstruct **yaqtulu* for Proto-Ethiopic.

It is possible that the copula was one of the sources of the main verb marker forms in SE. The use of this form of the copula as a main verb marker may have originated in the cleft sentence construction. For example, in Soddo the relative verb form (i.e., *ya* + subordinate perfect or subordinate relative imperfect) combined with the copula *(e)n* is used for a simple statement in which no relative meaning is involved. The following example of this construction is taken from W. Leslau (1968):

*zi addiya ba ṭobbeyā mula yaššila-n,* "this river was known all over Ethiopia"; lit. "this river in Ethiopia everywhere that was known it is."

Since this cleft sentence construction functions as a main sentence, it is possible that the copula *-n* which was attached to the verb was felt to be a main verb marker, and it should be noted that a final *-n* appears on some forms of Soddo main verbs. Another possible source for main verb markers is the form of the definite article as attached to the verb of a relative clause modifying a definite noun. The 3 f.s. and 1 c.s. perfect forms of Soddo verbs in relative clauses modifying an indefinite noun are as follows:

| | Definite | Indefinite |
|---|---|---|
| 3 f.s. | *yaqattalatti* | *yaqattalat* |
| 1 c.s. | *yaqattalki* | *yaqattalkw* |

The initial *ya-* of the above forms is the relative pronoun. According to Leslau (1968), the final *-i* of the definite forms is the article. A final *-i* also appears on the 3 f.s. and 1 c.s. forms of the Soddo main perfect, *qattalatti* and *qattalki,* respectively. The subordinate counterparts of these forms are 3 f.s. *qattalat* and 1

c.s. *qattalkw,* which are identical to the 3 f.s. and 1 c.s. forms of the perfect in a relative clause modifying an indefinite noun.

Finally, it should be noted that the main verb marker *-m,* mentioned above, may be related to the emphatic particle *-ma* of Geez and *-m* of Amharic. Thus, there are several possible sources within Ethiopic for the forms of the main verb markers. It is, therefore, unnecessary to look to Proto-Semitic for the origins of these forms.

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H. LEE PERKINS


## *GREEK*

The Greek language has played several roles in connection with the Bible of Jews and Christians. Apart from the fact that the Greeks and their language are mentioned in it, there occur first of all some Greek loanwords in the later books of the Masoretic Text (MT). Second, Greek is the language of one of the oldest versions of the OT, the Septuagint (LXX), which was probably antedated only by the earliest Aramaic Targums. It is, furthermore, the original language of some additional books in the LXX canon not included in the MT canon. See also CANON. Finally, it is Greek in which the NT has come down to us, parts of which (Pauline letters) are undoubtedly to be seen as original compositions. As the order of these different aspects reflects the increasing importance of Greek with regard to the Jewish people, it will be appropriate to subdivide this article in accordance with it.

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A. Greek in the Hebrew-Aramaic Bible and in Palestine
B. Greek in Egypt and as the Language of the LXX
C. Koine Greek
D. The LXX as Translation
E. The Greek of the LXX
    1. Phonology
    2. Morphology
    3. Syntax and Semantics
F. Greek as the Language of the NT
G. The Greek of the NT
H. Atticism


———

### A. Greek in the Hebrew-Aramaic Bible and in Palestine

Among the very first loanwords taken over from a foreign language is usually the name of that language and that of its speakers, although it often escapes notice that foreign names are to be considered as loans, too. The name of a foreign people may actually be (that is, within the foreign country itself) the name only of part of the nation as a whole, such as a well-known tribe or a still smaller subgroup. Further, it is also usual for such names to be completely adapted to the nature of the receptor language. These three general remarks apply also to the name by which Greece or the Greeks are known in the Hebrew Bible, *Yāwān,* who is mentioned by the author of Genesis in the Table of Nations (10:4–5; cf. 1 Chr 1:5–7); see

also JAVAN (PERSON) as one of Noah's grandsons together with his offspring, "… each with his language, by their families, in their nations" (Gen 10:4). The name *Yāwān,* the first Greek loanword known in Hebrew, is the name of the eponymous ancestor of all the Greeks, although he is the same as *Iōn,* the ancestor only of one of the Greek tribes, the Ionians, who are called *Iaones* by Homer (*Il.* 13.685). The name must have been taken over at a rather early date because it still contains the *w,* a sound which died out before the date of the earliest Ionic-Attic inscriptions and literary texts, and before the subsequent vowel-contraction could have taken place; that is, before **Iawon* had become *Iōn.*

In the OT, *Yāwān* is further mentioned by Ezekiel as one of the commercial partners of Phoenician Tyre (27:13), and the "sons of the Ionians" (Heb *bĕnê-hayyĕwānîm*) are reported by the prophet Joel to have bought Jewish slaves from the Phoenicians and the Philistines (4:6). Finally, Alexander the Great is called in Daniel "the king of *Yāwān"* (8:21). In the Assyrian language, Ionia is referred to as *māt Yaman.* The usurper *Yamani,* who ascended the throne of Ashdod and fled to Egypt in 711 B.C. before the advancing Sargon II, may have been a Greek who was given a familiar name (nickname) after his nationality. Greeks, whose actual presence in Palestine before the Exile can at least be assumed, were the mercenary soldiers of King Josiah who are mentioned several times as *Kittiyīm* in the Arad ostraca, and they may have been Greeks from *Kition* in Cyprus; in fact, the *Kittîm* figure as sons of *Yawan* in Gen 10:4. A Greek visitor to Palestine who is known by name is Antimenidas, an elder brother of the lyric poet Alcaeus. He fought in the Babylonian army and was probably involved in one of Nebuchadnezzar's campaigns against Ashkelon.

Two further Greek loanwords in the OT are names of coins, *ʾădarkōnîm* or "darics" and *darkĕmônîm* or "drachmae." Both words have in common that they were taken over in the genitive plural, *dareikōn* and *darchmōn,* as the genitive of price happens to be the case in which names of coins most often appear in bills and contracts. To these genitives was then added the Hebrew plural ending *-îm.* As the "daric" was a coin that was originally called after Darius I, its appearance in the history of King David half a millennium earlier is grossly anachronistic in 1 Chr 29:7, whereas its occurrence in Ezra 8:27 is unsurprising; the mention of "drachmae," however, in Neh 7:69–71 is also against the historical context. As the final redaction of all three books—Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles—is dated to the first part of the Hellenistic period (350–300 B.C.), the use of these Greek words in Hebrew texts is easily explained by the fact that Greek was then the official language of Palestine as a province of the Macedonian Empire, the language of all legal and professional texts.

After Alexander's arrival in Palestine, a number of Greek towns were founded and colonized and some existing towns reorganized after the model of the polis, especially in the territory that was later called the DECAPOLIS (Ten-City League), which soon became a flourishing center of Hellenistic culture. It brought forth such a famous man as Menippus of Gadara (*fl.*275 B.C.), the Cynic author whose writings have been influential throughout antiquity and inspired Varro and Lucian. Instances of towns with Greek names are *Dion,* called after the holy city of the Macedonians at the N foot of Mt. Olympus; *Pella,* formerly Paḥel, but renamed after the Macedonians' royal residence; further *Skythopolis* (Beth-Shan); and somewhat later *Philadelphia,* called after Ptolemy II Philadelphus, the new name of Rabbah "of the children of ʿAmmon." The other parts of Palestine, Galilee, Samaria, Philistia, and Idumea (south of Judea) were also subject to a constantly increasing Hellenization, as is shown for Idumea, for instance, by the many tombs with Greek inscriptions at Marissa. Even the relatively small area inhabited by Jews—Jerusalem and the surrounding districts—could not resist this strong cultural influence, which was officially stimulated. Many priests belonged to the "Hellenistic" party. The high priests Jason (till 172 B.C.) and his successor Menelaus even adopted Greek names; so also did the somewhat earlier rabbi, Antigonus of Socho (ca. 200 B.C.), one of the "fathers" quoted in *Pirqê-Abôt* (1:3); his pupil Boethus; the Jewish envoys sent to Rome and Sparta; and their fathers, Numenius son of Antiochus and Antipater son of Jason (1 Macc 12:16). All of these persons, of course, had Hebrew names as well, but were better known by their Greek names.

The Maccabean uprising, therefore, was not so much directed against the Hellenistic culture as such, which, moreover, was then already over a hundred and sixty years old, but it was triggered off when

Antiochus IV went as far as endeavoring to Hellenize the Jerusalem temple and its cult. In this connection, it is a telling detail that the only Jew who predicts the downfall of this Hellenistic king, the author of the book of Daniel (7:25–27), does not refrain from using Greek words in the Aramaic text. When he tells about the musical instruments that Nebuchadnezzar's musicians are playing (3:5–7), four of the six instruments mentioned bear Greek names: *qaytĕrōs* (*kitharis*), *sabbĕkā'* (*sambykē*), *pĕsantērîn* (*psaltērion*), *sumpōnyāh* (*symphōnia*); it is true, however, that *kitharis* and *sambykē,* in their turn, may be very old loanwords in Greek as well. It seems a bit improbable to assume that these words were deliberately introduced here to lend an unfavorable color to the whole pagan pageant of the gold idol, because in that case the author would have taken care to use a Greek word for the idol itself.

It is not surprising, therefore, that according to some indications Jerusalem was the place where Jewish knowledge of the Greek language was concentrated, and where it was taught. According to the legendary *Letter of Aristeas,* which relates the story of the origin of the LXX, the translation was made for the library of King Ptolemy II (ca. 275 B.C.) by seventy-two Jewish priests who had been summoned to come to Alexandria from Jerusalem. Although this story is certainly etiological fiction pretending to be history, the presuppositions on which it rests cannot be too wild, and the most central presupposition is of course that Jerusalem priests knew Greek. See SEPTUAGINT.

A further indication is given by the postscript added to the LXX version of the book of Esther. It runs as follows: "In the 4th year of the reign of King Ptolemy and Cleopatra, Dositheus, who said that he was a priest and a Levite, and his son Ptolemaeus have brought the foregoing Purim letter, which they said was sent and had been translated by Lysimachus son of Ptolemaeus of the people of Jerusalem" (Esth 10:3[l]). If this refers to the first Ptolemy who married a Cleopatra, the king must be Ptolemy V, who started reigning in 204 B.C., but who married Cleopatra only in 194, so the 4th year of their joint rule would be around 190 B.C. Several Ptolemies after him, however, also had wives called Cleopatra, and a later date is therefore quite possible, such as 114 B.C. (Ptolemy VIII) or 77 B.C. (Ptolemy XII).

The Second Book of Maccabees, too, was sent as a festal letter to the "Jewish brethren in Egypt" by their brothers in Jerusalem and Judea, at least according to the letter prefixed to this book (1:1). This letter is dated to the 188th year of the Seleucids (124–123 B.C.), and it also mentions an earlier letter written in 143–142 B.C.

These three testimonies all point in the same direction; namely, that Jerusalem was a center of Jewish teaching and mastery of the Greek language, and that it functioned in maintaining contacts with the Greek-speaking Jews in the Diaspora, especially with those living in Egypt.

**B. Greek in Egypt and as the Language of the LXX**

Much more pronounced was the role which Greek played in Egypt in connection with the Jews. With the arrival of Alexander the Great (332 B.C.), Greek had of course become the official language of Egypt, but great numbers of Greeks had been in Egypt earlier than in Palestine. Apart from such incidental visits as the legendary sojourns of Helen and Menelaus (*Od.* 3.300) and of Pythagoras (D.L. 8.3), more regular contacts seem to have started with the settlement of merchants from Miletus and the subsequent foundation of their trading center in Naucratis on the W Canopic branch of the Nile (ca. 650 B.C.). Charaxus, brother of the poetess Sappho, is known to have been there on business. Around 560 B.C., the pharaoh Amasis (Ahmose) made this harbor the only place where Greeks were allowed to trade in Egypt, and it continued as such well into the Roman period. In addition to these merchants, many Ionian soldiers stayed in the country, serving as mercenaries in the army of the king of the 26th Dyn.: Greek armies and generals (Chabrias; King Agesilaus of Sparta) were also employed by the 29th and 30th Dyn.

The presence of a large number of Jews in Egypt before the Hellenistic period is likewise an established fact. The prophet Jeremiah was forced to settle there, together with many others who had remained in Palestine after the Exile (Jer 43:5–7). Possibly, however, the book of Deuteronomy, which reflects King Josiah's legal reform, implies that one of his predecessors (that is before 640 B.C.) had bought horses in Egypt and paid with Israelite slaves (17:16). The Aramaic papyri from Elephantine, too, show that a Jewish garrison was stationed there at the southernmost border of Egypt during the 5th century. And

finally, the *Letter of Aristeas* (12–14) makes mention of many Jewish prisoners of war who were taken to Egypt by Ptolemy I (323–283 B.C.).

When Alexandria, which had at first been founded only as a harbor for the Macedonian navy, was chosen instead of Memphis as the capital of Ptolemaic Egypt soon after 323 B.C., it rapidly expanded into a cosmopolis. It was natural for foreigners, such as Greeks and Jews, to concentrate there, although many of them also lived and worked in the country. Quite naturally, in order to communicate they made use of the official language of the new rulers rather than the vernacular Egyptian or Aramaic. The Elephantine papyri show that the Jews in Egypt in their daily life had given up Hebrew for Aramaic, the language of the Persian government, and no doubt they continued to use Aramaic for some time among themselves after Egypt had been liberated from Persian rule. The fact, however, that the Hebrew OT had to be translated into Greek shows that after some time many of them no longer understood Hebrew and Aramaic and could not make use of Aramaic Targums (if they ever had them in Egypt in this early period).

According to *Aristeas,* Ptolemy II motivated the creation of the LXX version with two arguments. First, he wanted the library at Alexandria to contain a copy of the Jewish law. This may reflect the historical reality of a specific juridical need: the king may have wished to enable his officials to consult that law code to which such large minorities in Egypt and Palestine—which then formed part of his kingdom—constantly referred.

Second, it is expressly stated that Ptolemy wanted to bestow a favor through it (the LXX) upon the freed Jewish slaves living in Egypt, on the Jews in the Diaspora, and on those yet to be born (*Aristeas* 38; Jos. *Ant* 12.48). This makes sense only if it reflects a reality in which many if not most Jews outside of Palestine could not (or could not sufficiently) read and understand the Hebrew Torah, but spoke and were well versed in Greek. In fact, Aristeas at the end of his letter relates how the completed Greek version was read in Alexandria to the assembled Jews, who approved of it and even asked for a copy (*Aristeas* 308; Jos. *Ant* 12.107–8).

**C. Koine Greek**

The language of the LXX is not the Ionian dialect of the merchants from Miletus who dwelt in Naucratis, nor that of the inscriptions which the Ionian soldiers of Psammetichus II (594–588) scratched in the legs of the colossal statue of Ramesses II when they got as far S as Abū-Simbel (*SIG* no. 1); rather, it is the language which Alexander's army half a century earlier had imported to Palestine, Egypt, and the whole Near East as far as the river Indus. It was the mainly Attic idiom which in that army served to bridge the dialectical differences between the Macedonians, Thessalians, Athenians, and other Greeks of whom it was composed, and it was for that reason called the *koinē dialektos* or "common dialect" in contradistinction to the local dialects such as Doric and Boeotian. Koine Greek did not arise, however, within the Macedonian army or owe its existence to Hellenism; rather, the preexistence of Koine Greek itself was one of the historical factors which made the phenomenon of Hellenism possible. This new function of Attic had not so much to do with the status it had acquired as a literary language as with the situation within the Delian Confederacy in which Athens played such a prominent role that it could impose its own dialect as some kind of lingua franca on the other members. As a common vehicle of communication, it functioned mainly in the mercantile sector and could also be used in mixed Greek expeditions of a military character, such as the Anabasis of which Xenophon reports. It soon started to replace the other dialects in their homelands, beginning with its nearest of kin, the Ionian dialect, but not without taking over a number of the other dialect's peculiarities—especially that of the Macedonians, whose dialect—though today considered Greek—was most aberrant and stood in the need of such a common dialect. Koine Greek was therefore adopted by the royal court and the army. In fact, the army with which Alexander crossed over into Asia could not have functioned well without Koine Greek, for more than half of the soldiers had been recruited outside of Macedonia proper and came from different parts of Greece.

When the Attic of the classical period adopted its new role, it did not remain unaltered; it began to show slight traces of what in linguistics is called a process of *creolization.* This means that in circumstances in

which a group of people who speak different dialects or languages has to adopt one of these as its common language, the language or dialect chosen is simplified to the extent that the categories (sounds, forms, word order) that have no equivalent or are not found in the replaced languages are abandoned.

This meant that Attic, when taken over by other Greeks, had to drop some of its phonological peculiarities. The clusters *-tt-* and *-rr-* shifted in favor of what the majority of dialects had, *-ss-* and *-rs-*, in such words as *thalassa, prassō,* and *arsēn, tharseō.* It gave up the peculiar declension of *leōs, neōs* for the regularly declined *laos, naos;* the curious second- and third-person aorist optatives in *-seias* and *-seie (n)* were replaced by the more normal in *-sais* and *-sai.* Since the language used by merchants, sailors, and soldiers could hardly be considered the literary or standard variety, the tendencies present in the substandard language go unchecked when it is adopted and spoken by foreigners. This, then, may account for such phenomena as the loss of the dual number (which was already a fact in some other dialects as well), the tendency to restrict the use of the optative to head clauses, the increasing use of plural verbs with neuter plural subjects, and the re-use or re-implication in the same sentence of a noun or pronoun that had already been used in the genitive absolute. A contribution stemming from the commercial sector is probably the standardization of the compound numerals between "ten" and "twenty": *hennea kai deka, henneakaideka,* and *henos deontes/-a eikosi* all became *deka-hennea* in accordance with *eikosi-hennea,* but *deka-heis* and *deka-dyo* did not endure; their successors *hendeka* and *dōdeka* are still used in Modern Greek.

Somewhat later (ca. 300 B.C.) was the persistent replacement of the third-person plural of the imperatives in *-ntōn* and *-sthōn* by those ending in *-tōsan* and *-sthōsan,* although these had already been used by Euripides and Thucydides (but not in official texts of treaties).

The vocabulary also changed, subject as it was to an inevitable evolution. It affected even such ordinary words as *hyei,* "it rains," and *naus,* "ship," which were gradually replaced by *brechei* and *ploion; naus* probably disappeared because it had such an irregular declension. Many new words were also made, especially in the governmental sphere: *achyropraktōr,* "collector of chaff (-tax)"; *archiphylakitēs,* "commandant of the police"; *sitologos,* "keeper of the public granary"; and *toparchēs,* "governor of a district," among others.

**D. The LXX as Translation**

It seems logical, and it is certainly probable, that the Pentateuch was the first section of the OT to be translated; and, in accordance with *Aristeas* 30 ("the books of the Law of the Jews together with a few others"), that it was translated en bloc (ca. 275 B.C.). Whether or not the "translation" may in reality have been a process of compilation and revision of earlier endeavors, the fact remains that the Greek of the Pentateuch is of far better quality than the Greek of the other translated books, which is always of a lesser quality and sometimes inferior (as is the Greek of Jeremiah 29–51). The language of the Pentateuch is to a certain extent uniform in that it contains specific renderings for some Hebrew words and phrases which are absent in the books translated later. In these there is not only much less uniformity, but within a number of books (1–4 Kingdoms, Jeremiah, Ezekiel), portions can be discerned which are the work of different translators using various methods and styles of translation. See also SEPTUAGINT.

As translations may range from literal to paraphrasing, it stands to reason that they betray the Hebrew original more or less according to the same scale. There are even parts of books in which Hebrew words have been allowed to stand transliterated (untranslated); for instance, in Jeremiah 29–51. The words *mābô› haššĕlîšî,* "the third entrance," at Jer 38:14 in the MT are represented by *oikian aselisi* at 45:14 in the LXX. Apparently the translator knew how to vocalize his model but not what to do with the word in the context. A very curious instance is the phrase *hōy Adōn,* "Alas, lord!" at 34:5, which was evidently considered as Greek in Hebrew letters, since it is matched by *heōs hądou* (41:5; B,S,A). In the first part, however, of Jeremiah LXX, which is a much better translation, the same phrase has been rendered by the correct *oimmoi Kyrie* at 22:18 (*oimmoi* is a frequent spelling in LXX mss for *oimoi*). Of course there are also cases of nontranslation which are quite justified, such as *hin* and *oiphi* in Num 15:4, these being transliterations of *hin* and *›êpâ,* because these measures had no exact equivalents in the Greek world.

Furthermore, there are translations which are too literal or stereotypical to make good sense. Ps 77:54 reads *oros hagiasmatos autou,* "the mountain of His sanctification," which perhaps renders *har-qodšô,* "His Holy mountain" (MT has here *gĕbûl-qodšô,* "His holy land"). Since *ʾānōkî* or *ʾănî,* "I," must sometimes in nominal sentences be translated by "I am," some books (Judges, 2–3-4 Kingdoms) wrongly translate *ʾānōkî* + verb by *egō eimi* + verb (Judg 6:18: *egō eimi kathēsomai*). The infinitive *lēʾmôr* can in most cases (that is, when the speaker is subject of the sentence) be rendered by *legōn,* "saying." Where this is not so, the LXX often has *legōn* in an ungrammatical way; e.g., Gen 22:20 (*anēngelē tǫ Abraam legontes,* "the message was brought to Abraham that …"; cf. Rev 11:1) and Gen 45:16 (*kai dieboēthē hē phōnē eis ton oikon Pharaō legontes*; cf. Rev 4:1), in which the participle has the wrong number and gender. Finally, throughout the LXX the Hebrew infinitive absolute is rendered by the un-Greek combination of participle with finite verb of the same stem; e.g., Exod 3:4 (*idōn eidon,* "I have *certainly* seen"; cf. Eph 5:5).

Apart from such Hebraistic translations, there is in *all* the translated books a much simpler and more monotonous word order than in nonbiblical Greek, and a style full of repetitions, through which the original Hebrew is still more or less visible.

All these phenomena together certainly distinguish the Greek used in the translation of the LXX and of many books of the Apocrypha from Greek as it was written by non-Jews. It does not, however, mean that this idiom is to be regarded as the written reflection of a special Jewish dialect of Greek, comparable to Yiddish (spoken) in Eastern Europe among German Jews) and Judeo-Spanish (used in Saloniki). The retaining of the Hebrew word order and of many Hebrew turns certainly stems from the desire to render the Torah as faithfully as possible. This is also proved by the translator Aquila, who went much further in this respect and apparently wanted to correct the LXX on a number of points. The best known instance is his rendition of the Heb accusative particle *ʾet* by *syn* with accusative (Gen 1:1), because elsewhere *ʾet* can indeed mean "with." At Isa 9:5 he translated *ʾăbî-ʿad,* "father of eternity," by *patēr eti* because *ʿad* means (1) "eternity" and (2) "still, yet." On the other hand, when Jewish authors do not translate but do compose their works in Greek (as did Philo of Alexandria and St. Paul) the occurrence of Semitisms is either zero or very incidental, and their word order is as varied as that used by native Greeks. Within the LXX canon itself, the nontranslations of 2–3-4 Maccabees are written in excellent idiomatic Greek. The Fourth Book of Maccabees, which was written toward the end of the 1st century A.D., even follows the Atticistic literary mode of imitating the Attic of the classical period and reintroducing old-fashioned grammar and vocabulary. Hence, the author of *4 Maccabees* has used *-tt-* again in such words as *glottan* (10:17, 21), but used *glossa* at 10:19, and used the optative in subordinate clauses (9:27; 19:1; 11:13).

All this does not of course rule out the possibility that some Jews had an accent when speaking Greek. Josephus himself confesses that he never succeeded in acquiring a correct pronunciation of Greek (*Ant* 20.263). And of course, in accordance with the extent to which the foreign language was mastered by a specific individual, that person may have used many, few or no Semitisms at all.

**E. The Greek of the LXX**

**1. Phonology.** The LXX mss do not reflect the orthography of the autographs but that of their own times (4th century A.D. or later). Only the Greco-Egyptian papyri of the Ptolemaic period can give an impression of the phonetic changes that were taking place when the LXX was being made. It appears then that *ei* and *i* were confused in the 3d century B.C., as were *oi* and *ō,* and that "iota adscript" was disappearing; there had been confusion between *ai* and *e* and between *oi* and *y* since the 2d century B.C. So the earliest mss of the LXX Pentateuch may have contained only the former group of confusions, and those of the later translated books may have had all of them. However, the further confusion of *ei-i* and *ē* in Bible mss dates back only to the 2d century A.D. and cannot, therefore, have figured in any LXX or NT autographs. In a single case, the mss tradition appears to be trustworthy as far as orthography goes. That is, where the mss have *-tt-* instead of *-ss-* in such later Atticistic works as *4 Maccabees* (and not only in the comparatives *kreittōn* and *elattōn,* which were more often exceptional in this respect).

**2. Morphology.** Here, the trustworthiness of the mss is much greater, as appears from the fact that they have transmitted phenomena that are practically restricted to the LXX in Greek literature, such as the

third-plural ending *-osan* for *-on* in second aorists, which in its turn was later generally replaced by *-an.* The LXX mss then bear witness to the following formal peculiarities:

**a. Declension.** First-declension nouns in *-ra* and fem. perf. participles in *-uia* have gen. sing. in *-ēs* and dat. sing. in *-ē* like *thalassa.* In the second declension, there are fluctuations between types (*ho*) *hippos* and (third declension) (*to*) *oros;* vocative of *theos* is *thee;* Attic second-declension *leōs, neōs* replaced by *laos, naos; nous, chous* are declined like *bous,* hence gen. sing. *noos* (even in *4 Macc* 1:35) and dat. sing. *noi; ostoun* and *osteon* occur both, but gen. sing. *osteou* and dat. sg. *osteǭ* are usually uncontracted. Third declension acc. sing. sometimes *-an,* and that of adjectives and personal names in *-ēs* is *-ēn;* acc. sing. masc. of *pas* sometimes *pan;* acc. pl. sometimes in *-es,* especially *tessares* (on the analogy of nom. and acc. *treis*) and in participles (2 Esdr 23:15 B; acc. pl. of type *basileus*: *-eas* and *-eis;* acc. pl. of *bous* and type *pitys*: *-as;* the adjective *plērēs* is often an indeclinable; the dual number has been given up in all declensions.

**b. Reduplication.** Under Hebrew influence, substantives are sometimes reduplicated, having a distributive value, e.g., Exod 8:10 (MT 8:14)—*kai synēgagon autous thimōnias-thimōnias,* "and they gathered them [the dead frogs] together in heaps" (cf. Mark 6:39–49 under Aramaic influence), or a generalizing value, e.g., Lev 17:3—*anthrōpos-anthrōpos tōn huiōn Israēl* "every man of the sons of Israel." Doubled adjectives have an intensive value, as in Isa 26:20—*mikron hoson-hoson,* "a very short time" (cf. Luke 5:3 D; Heb 10:37).

**c. Numerals.** *Deka-treis,* etc., and *treiskaidekatos,* etc., have replaced *treiskaideka* and *tritos kai dekatos;* only *hendeka* is found, not *deka-heis,* but *dōdeka* and *deka-dyo* occur side by side. Reduplicated numerals have a distributive value, e.g., Gen 7:2–3: *hepta-hepta* and *dyo-dyo,* "each time seven," "each time two" (cf. Mark 6:7); doubled numerals occurred, however, also in nonbiblical Greek: Soph *frg.* 201 *(Eris) mian-mian.*

**d. Verbs.** *Personal endings.* The dual number has completely disappeared. The endings of the second aorist *-on, -es,* etc., are often replaced by *-a, -as,* etc., the third person being in *-an* or in *-osan,* as in Gen 18:8: *ephagosan;* in the imperfect such replacements are rare, as in Judg 6:3 (B): *anebainan,* and Jer 5:26: *synelambanosan;* the ending *-san* is also found in imperfects of contracts—Job 1:4 (B*, S*): *epoiousan,* and Judg 11:5 (A): *epolemousan,* and in optatives—Deut 33:16: *elthoisan,* and Deut 1:44: *poiēsaisan;* and it has completely replaced the older endings of the third-person-plural imperatives, both active and medio-passive, as in Gen 1:14: *estōsan,* Lev 20:10: *thanatousthōsan,* and Gen 1:14: *genēthētōsan.* The third-person plural of the perfect in *-asi* could be replaced by *-an,* as in Deut 11:7 (B): *heōrakan.*

*Tenses.* Present-Imperfect: beginning merging of *-aō* and *-eō* in contracted verbs, as in 2 Macc 7:7 (A): *epērōtoun;* verbs in *-mi* are changed into verbs in *-ō*: *hista (n)ō, titheō, didoō.* Aorist: compounds of *-agō* may have regular aorists in *-ēa;* verbs in *-ainō* and *-airō* always have aorists in *-ana, -ara;* there is a preference for passive aorists without *-th-*, like *ekrybēn, epeskepēn.* Perfect-Pluperfect: *-n-* before *-metha, -menos,* etc., no longer changes into *-sy-;* as in Num 5:13: *memiammenē;* in the pluperfect the characteristic ending is *- (k)ei-* in all persons, and the augment is often absent. Augment: *boulomai, dynamai, theloμ,* and *mellō* have *ē-;* the temporal augment is often absent in verbs beginning with *aut (o)-, eu-,* and *oi-;* incidentally, verbs have two augments, as in Jer 47:7: *parakatetheto* (cf. Mark 3:5).

**e. Hebrew Influence?** In the field of Greek forms proper, hardly anything can be ascribed to Hebrew influence except for the reduplication of substantives. It is possible that the use of the expression *kol-zākār,* "all that is male," in some contexts together for persons and animals such as cattle and sheep, which happen to be referred to in Greek by neuter words (*probata, ktēnē*), induced the translators to choose the *neuter* adjective *pan arsenikon.* Due to the lexical meaning "male" of the whole expression, it was probably misunderstood at times as also having the masculine grammatical gender. This could easily happen in passages such as Gen 34:15, where *pan arsenikon* follows upon and refers to *pas arsēn* (34:14), and this may have led to the use of *pan* as acc. sing. masc., for instance, in Dan 11:37 (Theod): *epi pan theon.*

**3. Syntax and Semantics. a. Substantives.** *Number.* The singular may be generic in the somewhat restricted sense that it indicates all the representatives of the kind that happen to be present in the

situation, as in Exod 8:2—*kai anebibasthē ho batrachos kai ekalypsen tēn gēn Aigyptou,* "and the *frogs* came up [out of the Nile] and covered the land of Egypt"; in such cases, the accompanying verb is sometimes in the plural, as in Judg 15:10 (B)—*kai eipan anēr Iouda,* and (A)—*kai eipan autois pas anēr Iouda.*

*Nominative.* Used with the article as vocative, as in Aristophanes and Plato, but much more frequently due to Hebrew, e.g., 3 Kgdms 18:26—*epakouson hēmōn ho Baal.* The nom. can also be used at the head of a sentence to indicate the "topic," which is then followed by a "comment" clause containing a resumptive pronoun, as in Ps 102(103): 15—*anthrōpos, hōsei chortos hai hēmerai autou,* "man, like grass (are) his days." Contrary to Greek usage, appositions sometimes stand in the nom. case without congruity with the antecedent, as in Gen 11:29—"and the name of the wife of Nachor (was) Melcha, the daughter *of* Harran, the father (*patēr*) of Melcha and the father (*patēr*) of Jescha," with *patēr* used both times instead of *patros* (cf. Rev 1:5; 2:20).

*Genitive.* The genitive absolute indicates circumstances that are different from those of either the subject or the (in)direct object of the sentence. Very incidentally, however, the circumstances of subject or object are also referred to in Classical Greek by a gen. abs. (Plato *Resp.* 8.547b *biazomenōn … hōmologēsan*), but in Koine Greek this usage became quite normal; hence, Dan 8:1—"and I saw (*eidon*) … when I was in Susa (*emou ontos*)," and Tob 1:4 (B,A)—"when I was (*hote ēmēn*) in my country … when I was still young (*neōterou mou ontos*)."

*Dative and accusative.* Often used with verbs of the same stem or with verbs having a roughly equivalent meaning, in order to render the Hebrew absolute infinitives and cognate objects, as in Gen 2:17—*thanatǭ apothaneisthe*, "you will certainly die" (cf. Exod 19:12: *thanatǭ teleutēsei*), and Gen 27:33—*exestē … ekstasin megalēn* (cf. Judg 15:8—*epataxen … plēgēn megalēn*—and Luke 2:9).

*Comparison of Adjectives.* The comparative form has both the comparative and the superlative values: *meizōn* = "greater," "greatest," while the superlative form has only the "elative" value: *megistos* = "very great." Since *proteros* and *eschateros,* however, have fallen into disuse, *prōtos,* besides meaning "first," also means "earlier"; and *eschatos,* besides meaning "last," also means "later." Moreover, the positive degree can also function as comparative in accordance with Hebrew, which has no degrees of comparison, as in Gen 49:12—"his teeth are whiter (*leukoi*) than (*ē*) milk"; Exod 8:11—"the Lord is greater (*megas*) than (*para*) all the gods"; Ruth 4:15—"who is better (*agathē*) for you than (*hyper*) seven sons" (cf. Mark 9:43, 45, 47; Luke 13:2).

*Pronouns. Personal.* LXX Greek shows an overuse of personal pronouns (genitives after substantives, accusatives after verbs) which is due to the frequency of the Hebrew pronominal suffixes. *Possessives. Emos, sos,* etc., have been replaced generally by the genitives of the personal pronouns, except in the book of Proverbs. *Reflexives. Heautous,* etc., are also used for "ourselves" and "yourselves." Typical Hebrew is the use of "his soul" and "his bones" as reflexive pronouns.

*Relatives.* The former difference between the indispensable relative *hos, hē, ho* and the dispensable *hostis, hētis, hoti* is being given up. The use of the so-called "resumptive" personal pronouns and adverbs with relative pronouns is due to the fact that Hebrew has no relative pronoun but does have a relative conjunction (*ʾăšer*), as in Gen 1:11—*xylon … poioun karpon, hou to sperma autou en autǭ;* Gen 33:19—*agrou, hou estēsen ekei tēn skēnēn;* Deut 9:28—*tēn gēn, hothen exēgages hēmas ekeithen* (cf. Mark 7:25; Rev 3:8; 12:16).

*Demonstratives.* Fem. *hautē* may have neuter value like Hebrew fem. *zōt,* as in Judg 15:7 (B)—"if you do this" (*houtōs tautēn,* MT *kā-zōt*).

*Definite Article.* Used in the sing. to indicate (1) a representative of the whole kind, Amos 5:19—"as if a man fled from a lion (*tou leontos*) and a bear (*hē arkos*) met him … and a serpent (*ho ophis*) bit him"; (2) all representatives present of the kind, as in Exod 8:2—*kai anebibasthe ho batrachos kai ekalypsen ten gen Aigyptou.* Nouns followed by depending gentitives may lack the article because the Hebrew construct state never has it, as in Nah 1:1—*biblion horaseōs Naoum* (lit. "book of vision of Nahum"). The article *tou* with the infinitive, which was frequent in Thucydides, is used freely with final-consecutive or

explicative force (Ps 26(27):4), sometimes even with such verbs as *dynamai* (Ps 39(40):13) and *archomai* (2 Chr 3:1).

*Indefinite Pronouns.* "Nobody, no one" is *ou/mē ... pas* or *pas ... ou/mē* in accordance with Hebrew *lō ... kōl* or *kōl ... lō*.

**b. Verbs.** *General.* Frequently with prepositions instead of oblique cases only, in accordance with Hebrew, as in Judg 21:7—*omnuein en* (cf. Matt 5:34). Finite forms are often replaced by *eimi, ginomai,* or *hyparchō* with participle. This is also classical, but in the LXX more frequent under Hebrew influence, as in Gen 4:14—*esomai stenōn kai tremōn.* Some intransitive verbs are used also as causatives in the LXX, as in Judg 9:6 (A,B)—"and they made Abimelech king (*ebasileusan*)," and 4 Kgdms 17:21: "and he made them sin (*exhēmarten*)."

*Middle and Passive.* The tendency is to use in fut. and aor. either the middle or the passive form only; the passive forms may then have also the reflexive value. There is also a tendency to replace fut. middle deponents like *akousomai* by an active like *akousō.*

*Tense.* The fut. ind. is often used to express a command like the Hebrew jussive, as in Exod 8:1—*eiselthe pros Pharaō kai ereis autō,* "you will go before pharaoh and you will say to him …"

*Moods.* The optative tends to be restricted to the expression of wishes, the conjunctive taking its place in subordinate clauses, except in the Atticistic *4 Maccabees.* Participles are often used as finite verbs, e.g., Judg 13:19—"and Manoe and his wife were watching" (*blepontes* only). Participles and infinitives may be continued not by a coordinated part. or inf. but by a finite verb, e.g., Isa 14:17—*ho theis tēn oikoumenēn holēn erēmon kai tas poleis katheilen* (cf. Rev 1:5–6). Participles are often combined with finite verbs of the same stem to render the Hebrew infinitive absolute: Gen 22:17—*eulogōn eulogēsō se kai plēthynōn plēthynō to sperma sou.*

**c. Prepositions.** The tendency is to drop semantic distinctions when combinable with different cases, like *epi* with gen., dat., or acc. The preposition *apo* is used with gen. often instead of partitive gen. only; *para* and *hyper* with acc. express comparative value of positive degree; *eis* with acc. is confused with *en* plus dat.: Gen 37:17—"and he found them in (*eis*) Dothaim," and Exod 4:21—"which I gave into your hands" (*en tais chersin sou*); *en* with dat. is often circumstantial-instrumental, ousting *meta* and *syn:* Exod 6:1—*en gar cheiri krataią exapostelei autous.* New prepositions, mostly compounds and all with gen. case: *apanōthen, hypokatōthen, (ap-, kat-)enanti, (kat-)enōpion, opisō, katopisthen, kyklothen;* translated from Hebrew: *ana, apo, kata, pro* with *prosōpou* or *porsōpon* and followed by genitive.

**d. Conjunctions, Particles.** Direct questions are introduced by *ei*: Gen 17:17—*ei tǭ hekatontaetei genēsetai,* "will there be born (a child) to a hundred-year-old?"; *ei* also introduces negative, *ei mē* positive oaths: Gen 14:23—*ei ... lēmpsomai,* "that I shall certainly not accept"; in relative clauses *ean* is often equivalent to *an,* e.g., in Gen 2:19 and NT *passim.*

In the LXX there is a definite overuse of *kai,* "and," because Hebrew favors *wĕ-,* "and," above temporal, causal, final-consecutive, and other conjunctions, and because *kai* also renders the initial *wa-* of the OT narrative tense *wayyiqtōl.* Hence, *kai* is frequent, heading almost every sentence in Genesis. The frequency of *kai* is probably a Hebraism in Revelation.) The frequent Hebrew deictic word *hinnê* is rendered by *idou:* Amos 7:1, 4, 7, 8. Because Biblical Hebrew hardly ever uses a special construction for reported speech, the conjunction *hoti,* if it is used at all, is a *hoti recitativum* (i.e., introducing indirect discourse): Gen 12:13—*eipón oun hoti adelphē autou eimi,* "say then: 'I am his sister' " (the MT is different in that it has indirect speech in the choice of the pronoun and personal suffix: *ʾimrî-nāʾ ʾăḥōtîʾāt,* "say you are my sister"); very common therefore are concatenations of direct speech such as Exod 9:1—"And the Lord said to Moses: 'Go to pharaoh and say to him: "Thus speaks the Lord, the god of the Hebrews: 'let my people go so that they may serve Me' " ' ".

**e. Word Order.** It is in this field together with that of style that the underlying Hebrew exercises its influence most strongly. It is essentially a V S O (verb-subject-object) language, with deviations in contrastive clauses, and it is the frequency of this order in the LXX which strikes an experienced reader as un-Greek, not the order as such. Furthermore, the order in noun groups is absolutely fixed: dependent genitives, adjectives, and demonstratives always follow the substantive and in this order, which in

translation-Greek results in, e.g., Dan 4:5— (Theod) *pneuma theou hagion*—and Dan 3:28 (LXX)—*tēn polin sou tēn hagian* (cf. Rom 7:24—*ek tou sōmatos tou thanatou toutou* "from this body of death," where the demonstrative pron. is attributive to *sōmatos*).

**f. Style.** One of the most characteristic features of the Hebrew style is that it favors repetitions. Whereas a native Greek would probably have written at Gen 12:1 something like **ek tēs sēs gēs, syngeneias te kai patrikou oikou,* it is the typical Hebrew repetition of preposition, article, and personal suffix which is reproduced in the LXX: *exelthe ek tēs gēs sou kai ek tēs syngeneias sou kai ek tou oikou tou patros sou,* "He departed from his land, and from his kinfolk, and from the house of his father." Compare also the repetition of "all" in Gen 8:1—"and God remembered Noah and *all* the animals and *all* the cattle and *all* the birds and *all* the reptiles"—after these different categories have already been mentioned, each time preceded by "all," in 7:14, and the repetition of the degrees of relationship at Gen 11:31, which have already been demonstrated in 11:27–28. Even where such pieces may stem from different sources, a Greek compiler would have taken care to cancel things already mentioned. But repetition, be it by synonyms or another means, is even the structural principle of Hebrew poetry. There are three doublets in the two opening lines of Lamech's Song in Gen 4:23:

Ada and Sella, listen to my voice,
wives of Lamech, give ear to my words.

A further characteristic of Hebrew style is the mentioning of every stage of a series of successive actions. Hence in Gen 11:31, it is not said that "Terah led Abram out of Chaldea" but that "Terah *took* Abram … and led them out" (cf. the verb *lambanō* also in Mark 14:22 and Rev 10:9); frequent, too, are such sequences as "he spoke and said," "he called and said," and "it happened that" followed by the principal event (*kai egeneto* in various constructions).

It is this relative monotony in word order, the repetitive style, the mention of things that may be taken for granted, and also the marked frequency of nominal (verbless) sentences and phrases, which make the Greek of the translated LXX books so different from the nonbiblical Greek style and also from that of the nontranslations in the LXX canon like 2–3-4 Maccabees.

**g. Vocabulary.** It stands to reason that there were also changes in vocabulary, either because new words were coined and new senses were attributed to words already in use, or because specific words became more frequent than before while others fell into disuse. New words are *bdelygma* (to *bdelyssomai*) in Lev 5:2; *enōtizomai,* specially coined to match *akouō* in Lamech's Song in Gen 4:23; *thysiastērion* (to *thysia*) in Gen 8:20; *peritomē* (to *peritemno*) in Gen 17:13; and *sabbatizō* in Exod 16:30. New senses are carried by *kibōtos,* "ark" (of Noah), in Gen 6:14; *dēloi* in Num 27:21 or *dēlōsis* in Lev 8:18, meaning "the Urim"; *prostithēmi,* "to go on with" or "to do further," in Gen 4:2; and *hypsēla,* "offering heights," in 3 Kgdms 3:2.

More frequent through the Israelitic-Jewish context are *alsē,* "sacred groves," in Deut 7:5; *kibōtos,* "ark" (of testimony) in Exod 25:9(10); *ho Pantokratōr* in 2 Kgdms 5:10; *peritemnō* in Gen 17:10; and *skēnē tou martyriou* in Exod 27:21. Finally, some expressions have been rendered word for word into Greek, e.g., Gen 23:15—*ana meson emou kai sou ti an eiē touto?*—and 3 Kgdms 17:18—*ti emoi kai soi?* (cf. Mark 1:24 and John 2:4, but also Epictetus 1.22, 15—*ti moi kai autō?*).

**F. Greek as the Language of the NT**

In Palestine, only Jerusalem and some territory around it constituted a center of Jewish population, to which some districts in Galilee were later added. In its earliest years, the Hasmonean state might have done without Greek alongside Hebrew as an official language, but as soon as the boundaries were extended this meant that Hellenistic towns and territories were added to it, such as Philistia, Idumea, Samaria, and parts of Galilee, and that the use of Greek was an inevitable necessity. In fact, the Hasmonean princes soon started to adopt additional Greek names and to strike bilingual coinage. Their rule did not prove a break in Hellenism; Palestine was no less affected by Greek culture than the other countries in the Near East. It produced a number of Hellenistic scholars: Menippus and Meleager of Gadara; the philosophers Philodemus, also from Gadara, and Antiochus of Ashkelon (teacher to Cicero); and, from the latter town also, the grammarians Dorotheus and Ptolemy; and still others.

King Herod I was an enthusiastic promoter of Greek culture, and he embellished Jerusalem and many other towns with theatres, colonnades, and aqueducts in the Hellenistic style. In the 1st century A.D., the country was Hellenized to the extent that the usual way of communication between the different population groups can only have been Greek, and because Greek was at least understood by a wandering preacher like Jesus, who met with Decapolitans (Matt 4:25) and Diaspora Jews (John 12:20–21; cf. 7:35), and who had many Greek followers according to Josephus (*Ant* 18.63). It should not therefore come as a surprise that some of the NT authors were able to write excellent Greek. Paul, for example, probably went at a very young age from Tarsus to Jerusalem and learned Greek there; and James, supposedly Jesus' brother, could have learned the language. Because the NT, as we have it, was addressed to the Western Diaspora, which spoke Greek, it was written in that language, even the letter that went as far west as Rome. The Jews there also used Greek, as is shown by their inscriptions in the catacombs and by Theodotus, son of Vettenus, a Jew who returned from Italy (where his father, an archisynagogue, got his Latin name) and built a synagogue complex in Jerusalem of which the memorial inscription in Greek is still extant (*CIJ* no. 1404). In fact, even among the Jews in Palestine, Greek was a current idiom. The majority of the ossuaries (bone containers) found around Jerusalem are inscribed in Greek (the minority are inscribed in Hebrew-Aramaic), and the tomb of the so-called "Goliath family" contained coffins with both Greek and Hebrew inscriptions. See PALESTINIAN FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS.

**G. The Greek of the NT**

The Greek of the NT shows the same diversity and differences in quality as the books making up the LXX canon. Original compositions like Paul's and James' letters and the Epistle to the Hebrews are in good Greek, relatively free of Semitisms; the Letter of Jude even overdoes the un-Hebraistic word order by placing as many adjectives, participles, and genitives as possible with the substantives. Writings which at least partly depend on an oral Aramaic tradition, such as the Gospels, show the influence of that language in the confusion of relative and final-consecutive clauses due to the ambiguous particle *di-*, which may head both. Finally, the mastery of Greek by the author of Revelation, which of all NT books is most strongly suspected to be a translation, must simply be classified as insufficient; the author uses participles as finite verbs and incongruent appositions in the nominative, and his word order and style as well as his overuse of *kai* betray a very strong Semitic influence. All the NT books, however, have Hebraisms in the quotations from either the LXX or other versions like Theodotion (Acts 7:34—*idōn eidon*—from Exod 3:7, and many more).

As compared with what must have been the phonology of the later LXX books, we must assume that the NT autographs showed about the same development in that all diphthongs had become monophthongs, and the difference between long and short vowels had been leveled. Almost all the morphological and syntactical peculiarities of LXX Greek are also to be found in the NT with very few exceptions, such as *pan* as acc. sg. masc. and *egō eimi* for *egō.* Some trends, however, have gone further, like the normalization and simplification of the verb system: the future of verbs in *-azō* and *-izō* is no longer (as in the LXX), in *-aō* and *-ieō,* but in *-asō* and *-isō;* future participles and infinitives are practically absent; aor. ind. and perf. inf. are beginning to merge, as is shown for instance by 1 John 1:1—*ho heōrakamen … ho etheasametha.* The demonstrative pronoun *hode, hēde, tode,* which was still current in the LXX, is falling into disuse in the NT.

In the field of vocabulary, the NT favors some specific terms, but without developing a separate "Christian language." More frequently used than elsewhere are such words as *baptizein, euangelion, euangelizesthai, aphesis, aphiein* ("to forgive"), *stauros,* and *Christos.* Neologisms are perhaps *aposynagōgos*—"expelled from the synagogue" (John 9:22), *kardiognōstēs*—"knower of hearts" (Acts 1:24), *moschopoiein*—"to make a golden calf" (Acts 7:41), and *phagos*—"glutton" (Matt 11:19). Christian loanwords from Hebrew are *amēn, hallēlouia,* and *hōsanna.*

**H. Atticism**

Like the latest books of the LXX canon, the whole NT was written in the period of beginning Atticism. Apart from such incidental cases as *-tt-* in *elatton* and *kreittonos* in Heb 7:7, both of which may have been permanent exceptions, it is only Acts which shows some Atticistic tendencies. It is here only that the old-

fashioned word *naun* is used (27:41) by the side of *ploion* (27:37, 39, 44), that optatives are found in dependent clauses (17:27; 27:12, 39), and that the obsolete future participles (8:27; 22:5; 24:11, 17) and future infinitives (11:28; 24:15; 27:10) are mainly present in the NT.

Only the author of Acts varies his style in accordance with the Greek stylistic ideal, which manifests itself in his use of alternating synonyms in one and the same context. In the story of Ananias and Sapphira (5:1–11) and its introduction (4:32–37), he uses three different words for "to sell": *pōleō* (4:34, 37), *piprask*ō (4:34; 5:4), and *apodidomai* (5:8); in the pericope of the apostles' imprisonment there are three words for "prison": *tērēsis dēmosia* (5:18), *phylakē* (5:19, 22), and *desmōterion* (5:21, 23). Compare in the story of the jailkeeper in Philippi the words *phylakē* (16:23, 24, 27) and *desmoterion* (16:26); the use of *naus* besides *ploion* may also be a case in point. He has two words for "many": *polloi* and *hikanoi,* two for "one another": *heautous* (28:29) and *allēlous* and the expression *allos pros allon* (2:12), two words for "other": *allos* and *heteros,* three for "to be": *eimi, ginomai,* and *hyparchō,* and there are some six for "the next day": *hē aurion, hē epaurion, hē hetera, hē epiousa, hē echomenē hemēra,* and *deuteraioi.* It is even thinkable that such a variant as *ēlthamen* (28:14) between *ēlthomen* (28:13) and *eisēlthomen* (28:16) goes back to the original and was deliberately chosen; compare also the shift from 1st declension sg. *Lystran* (14:6 and 16:1) to 2d declension pl. *Lystrois* (14:7 and 16:2). The variation between *Ierousalēm* and *Hierosolyma* has an extra dimension: the former is mainly used in contexts where in reality the conversation should be assumed to have been carried on in Aramaic (with some exceptions).

This stylistic tendency then may shed some light on the literary taste of both the author and Theophilus, his first addressee. Nevertheless, there are also Semitisms in Acts, such as the frequency of the periphrastic conjugation (1:10, 13, 14; 2:5, and elsewhere; on these, see Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB).

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GERARD MUSSIES

## *HEBREW*

Hebrew is the language of the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible and of Judaism since antiquity. It is the language of a vast literature, religious and secular, spanning three millennia.

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A. Hebrew as a Language Name
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### A. Hebrew as a Language Name

The subject of this article has been commonly called Hebrew by its own community only during the last thousand years or so. The earliest biblical reference to the Hebrew language names it "the language of Canaan" (Isa 19:18), and aptly so, since Hebrew is the best attested and best known form of Canaanite. Elsewhere in the Bible (2 Kgs 18:26, 28 = Isa 26:13 = 2 Chr 32:18; Isa 36:11; Neh 13:24), the language is referred to as *yehûdît,* "Judahite" or "Jewish," in contrast to Aramaic, which by then had emerged as a medium of international trade and diplomacy. In the literature of later antiquity, the language is usually called "the holy tongue," with reference to the biblical corpus, and the "tongue of the sages," when referring to the language of the oral tradition—what is called rabbinic or mishnaic or tannaitic Hebrew. It is here that we come across the first explicit reference to divergent literary styles.

When the term *ʿibrî,* "Hebrew," appears in the Bible (e.g., Gen 39:14; 41:12; Exod 2:11; Jon 1:9), it does not refer to a language but rather to an ethnicity. It occurs almost always as a synonym of the more commonly encountered "sons of Israel" when the in-group came in contact with the out-group. Only with reference to the categorization of native-born versus foreign slaves does it appear as an in-group ethnic term (Exod 21:2; Deut 15:12). While the term "Hebrew" as a language reference appears in the Talmud, it very rarely refers to what we call Hebrew. In one citation, most opinions assert that this reference to "Hebrew" refers to some outland dialect of Aramaic (*b. Meg.* 18a; see Rashi's commentary *ad loc.*). Another possibility is that this specific reference is to the Georgian language, the term *ʿibrî,* "Hebrew," being used because of its similarity to the term the Greeks used for these people, the *Iberatoi.* In medieval Hebrew, such updating of biblical toponyms and ethnic labels on the basis of vague phonetic similarity was commonplace. The designation *Gomer* for Germany is an example.

The designation "Hebrew" appears in the Talmud in one other linguistic context, referring to the old Canaanite alphabet, which is called "Hebrew writing" as contrasted with "Assyrian writing" (*b. Meg.* 3a). The newer alphabetic style, at least in the shape of its letters, replaced the older one throughout the Near East during the early Persian Empire period, evolving into the "square character" and its cursive derivatives which are in use today. See HEBREW SCRIPTS.

Curiously enough, the term “Hebrew” as the in-group common reference to its language is a borrowing from Arabic, first introduced by Saadia Gaon (882–942 C.E.) in his grammatical writings (Skoss 1955). The new designation entered the Hebrew language only when Jews began to write their grammatical studies in their own language a few centuries later.

The entire extent of the Canaanite language area was a narrow belt along the E Mediterranean shoreline, stretching from N Syria southward to the Sinai. Phoenician is the usual designation for the Canaanite spoken north of Israel, although the Phoenician colonizers of North Africa called themselves Canaanites and named their new country, centering around Carthage, Canaan. See PHOENICIA, HISTORY OF.

Other than as the language of ancient Phoenician colonialism, Canaanite never assumed a major role in the ancient world. Rome defeated its archrival Carthage in the west, and in the Levant Aramaic, originally used east of the Phoenician hill country, gradually spread its domain. As the language of the Jews, Hebrew was the mother tongue of only Jerusalem and its environs at the beginning of the Common Era. In the northern domains of the expanded Hasmonean Kingdom of Judea a form of Aramaic was spoken, simply because the local population carried on the speech habits of their ancestors who were converted to Judaism during the reign of John Hyrcanus I. The Idumeans to the south, who had been converted at about the same time, continued to speak their ancestral Canaanite tongue.

Hebrew probably ceased to be a living language (in the sense of a community mother tongue) around the year 200 C.E. as the result of the Bar Kokhba disaster, when the population of Judea was decimated and the survivors fled northward to the Galilee.

Judging from the literary evidence, however, the survivors were not really aware of what was happening to them linguistically, for the Aramaic which they spoke as a family language was symbiotically linked to the Hebrew they continued to use for more formal purposes. Hebrew and the several varieties of Aramaic, quite distinct from each other as languages in every other way, now were treated as mere styles of one community language. These same speakers, nonetheless, always regarded the Syriac variety of Aramaic to be a separate language.

Hebrew qua Hebrew continued throughout the ages as the medium of intense literary activity and also as a spoken lingua franca. It was revived as a mother tongue late in the 19th and early in the 20th centuries.

GENE SCHRAMM

**B. Linguistic Affiliation**

**1. Afroasiatic.** The family of languages to which Hebrew belongs is grouped by linguists in a phylum called Afroasiatic. The geographical range of Afroasiatic covers northern and central Africa and western Asia. In time, Afroasiatic languages are attested from the 3d millennium B.C.E. (although some languages of the phylum must have existed for at least a millennium before this) until the present (on the classification of Afroasiatic, see Ruhlen 1987).

The Afroasiatic phylum has five or six members: Egyptian (later called Coptic, now extinct) and Berber in N Africa, the Chadic family (whose best-known member is Hausa) in sub-Saharan Africa, the Cushitic-Omotic family in the Horn of Africa, and the Semitic family, which includes Arabic and Hebrew. Many of the features of Semitic languages in general and of Hebrew in particular are best viewed in the larger context of Afroasiatic affiliation.

**2. Semitic.** Hebrew belongs to the family of Afroasiatic languages commonly referred to as Semitic languages. The major division of this family is between East Semitic and West Semitic (on the classification of Semitic languages, see the introductory survey at the beginning of this entry). East Semitic incorporates the group of dialects called Akkadian; West Semitic includes the Northwest Semitic languages, Arabic, and South Semitic.

**3. Northwest Semitic.** The Northwest Semitic languages comprise the Canaanite group and Aramaic. Evidence for early Northwest Semitic begins in the 3d millennium (if one admits some of the features of the language of Ebla) and continues to the end of the LB II period (around 1200 B.C.E.; see especially the article on Ugaritic below). Some of the distinctive features of Canaanite can be observed in these early Northwest Semitic samples, but the distinction between Canaanite and Aramaic remains difficult to

impose until the Iron II period. A recent survey concludes that the Iron Age languages of Syria-Palestine are best viewed as a continuum having Phoenician as one of its poles and Aramaic as the other (Garr 1985: 229). Hebrew is probably to be located near the center of this cline (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 8–9 n. 20).

The Canaanite languages include Phoenician (which distinguishes the minority dialect of Byblos from the more widespread dialect of Tyre and Sidon), Hebrew (which distinguishes a northern dialect, probably centered in Samaria, from a southern, the dialect of Jerusalem and Judah), Ammonite, Moabite, and Edomite. The language of the Deir ʿAlla texts should perhaps also be included. See DEIR ʿALLA, TELL (TEXTS).

**C. Early History of Hebrew**

**1. Prehistory.** The upheavals which rearranged the political geography of Syria-Palestine during the transition from LB II to Iron I (that is, about 1400–1200 B.C.E.) produced corresponding changes in the linguistic map. It is probably during this period that Hebrew can be said to have emerged as a distinct language (although the continuity of many earlier Northwest Semitic features must not be ignored).

Some poetic passages of the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Exodus 15; Judges 5) have been dated to this early period on the basis of certain archaic features of their language, but no extrabiblical text identifiable as Hebrew survives from this period. (A very useful handbook of dated inscriptional texts is that compiled by Jaroš [1982]; texts 1–7 of this collection date from LB I to the end of LB II. The bibliography by Suder [1984] is incomplete and already passing out of date; the Chronological Index of Inscriptions [pp. 113–20] is nonetheless a helpful guide. The most important recent study of early alphabetic texts is by E. Puech [1986]; the interest of Puech's investigation is the development of the writing system rather than the language. Older handbooks include *KAI* 182–200; *TSSI* vol. 1.)

**2. Iron Age Hebrew.** The earliest written evidence of Hebrew comes from the archaeological period Iron IIB–C (800–586 B.C.E.). Hebrew must have existed as a spoken language earlier, and texts were undoubtedly composed in it; but none survives (beyond some archaic portions of the Hebrew Bible). Smelik (1987: 9) considers the archaeological record sufficient to warrant the conclusion that writing was not used widely in Israel until the 8th century, literacy being restricted before that time to the royal court and select officials.

During the Iron Age, Hebrew existed in at least two dialects: northern, or "Israelian" (a term coined by H. L. Ginsberg), and southern, or "Judahite." Evidence of the northern dialect is epigraphic and spotty; the southern dialect, by contrast, is abundantly attested in inscriptions and much of the text of the Hebrew Bible.

Israelian Hebrew is the language of the Samaria ostraca, administrative documents written on pottery fragments unearthed during excavation of the northern capital. See SAMARIA (PLACE). The ostraca fall into two groups, datable to 795–794 B.C.E. and 776 B.C.E., respectively (Jaroš 1982: 57). Their texts are brief and formulaic, offering a poor sample of the language. But their consistent use of the date formula *bšt (h)-* (followed by a number or numerals), "In (the) year x," shows that the language, at least with respect to this formulaic feature, follows the usage of Phoenician as opposed to Judahite, which employs the form *šnh* for "year" (see *DISO*, 312–13). Other inscriptions found in the region of the N kingdom may also give evidence of the language (see, e.g., *TSSI*, vol. 1, pp. 15–20).

J. W. Wesselius has recently (1987) asserted that the language of the Deir ʿAlla texts is Israelian Hebrew, and that the fragments of a story about Balaam written in ink on plaster found at the site constitute the first-known literary text in the language of the N kingdom. Morphological details of those texts make the argument linguistically problematic, and its acceptance must await the verdict of scholarly judgment.

With the deportation of the N kingdom in 722 B.C.E., Israelian Hebrew became a negligible dialect, and it eventually vanished altogether.

The dialect of Judah can be recognized in inscriptions from numerous sites. A seven-line inscription on a limestone tablet discovered at Gezer in 1908 is frequently called the "Gezer Calendar" because it appears to tally the months of the year according to agricultural activities conducted in successive

seasons. Although its language is often said to be Hebrew, it exhibits morphological features distinct from other samples of (Judahite) Hebrew, both epigraphic and biblical (see *KAI*, vol. 2, pp. 181–82; *TSSI* 1: 1–2 ["an archaic Hebrew dialect"]; Jaroš 1982 no.11 [pp. 37–38]).

The inscription on a privately owned scarab of uncertain provenance dates paleographically to the late 10th or early 9th century B.C.E. (Jaroš 1982 no. 13 [pp. 39–40]). The Yahwistic name of its owner, *zryhw,* is spelled in a manner characteristic of later Judahite and may warrant the linguistic classification of the two-word text as "Hebrew."

The corpus of extant Hebrew (the term will be used hereinafter for the dialect of Judah unless otherwise specified) expands considerably in the 8th century B.C.E. Inscribed seals, benedictions, and letters written in ink on pottery fragments (ostraca), and commemorative and funerary texts engraved in stone show the language in use in public and private contexts, in religious and more "secular" settings, at "official" and "unofficial" levels. Major texts include the SILOAM INSCRIPTION from Jerusalem, the tomb inscription from Khirbet el-Qom (see PALESTINIAN FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS), letters from ARAD, and the LACHISH LETTERS.

The language of these nonbiblical Hebrew texts is not appreciably different from the stratum called Classical Hebrew found throughout the Primary History and in segments of the Major Prophets from the Hebrew Bible. The inscriptional record thus places beyond cavil the conclusion that the MT preserves significant samples of the language of Iron Age Judah in its successive phases. There are, however, indications that the phonological analysis represented in the Masoretic vocalization of the consonantal text is at many points a later adaptation of earlier speech traditions (see D.1. below).

Extrabiblical Hebrew offers an important control on attempts at relative and absolute dating of the linguistic strata of biblical books. The diachronic study of morphological and syntactic features permits limited statements about changes in the language over time (Adams and Adams 1977 is an example; Kutscher 1982 is a posthumously published attempt at a continuous history of Hebrew; see the further comments by Waltke and O'Connor [1990: 13–15]). The extent and significance of linguistic change as it affected Hebrew can be assessed variously; attention to change, however, need not divert the reader of biblical texts from the evident continuity of the language.

**3. Persian and Hellenistic Periods.** A broad distinction can be made between Classical Hebrew, by which is meant essentially the language of Judah before the Babylonian Exile (586 B.C.E.), and Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH), by which is meant essentially Hebrew of the Persian period (the term has gained currency since its use by Polzin 1976). The typology of LBH developed by Polzin has more recently been extended to a larger corpus of biblical texts by A. Hill (*WLSGF*, 77–89), tracing a body of characteristic features of LBH in the postexilic prophets. The coordination of relative with absolute dates ventured in Hill's study must remain tentative (as the author cautions [p. 84]), but such studies show the importance of diachronic arguments in the linguistic analysis of Hebrew.

Some of the distinctive features of LBH are attributable to the increased use of Aramaic by speakers of Hebrew after the Exile. There is evidence from the biblical text itself of concern to preserve the speech community of the "language of Judah" from the influence of Canaanite languages other than Hebrew (Neh 13:24; the "language of Ashdod" might have been Aramaic, but the peculiar designation suggests a Canaanite dialect). The statement in Neh 8:8 that the law of God was read "clearly" (Heb *mĕpôraš;* RSV marg. "with interpretation") has been taken to mean that in the postexilic period Classical Hebrew was no longer fully intelligible to the general populace.

Hebrew continued in use as a literary language in the Hellenistic period, and biblical books perhaps to be dated in this period show evidence of further linguistic change. The language of Qohelet has occasioned much study; the book's content contributes to the impression of Hellenistic influence (on the language, see Delsman 1982 and Fredericks 1988 [against late dating], but note the demurral of Schoors 1989). The Song of Songs is almost commonly set in the Hellenistic period, largely on the basis of linguistic arguments (see, e.g., Eissfeldt 1965: 490, 766). Esther is probably also a product of the Hellenistic age (Eissfeldt 1965: 510). The date of the Hebrew portions of Daniel has been a point of controversy; a date after 167 B.C.E. is generally held. See DANIEL, BOOK OF.

The book of Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach (or Ben Sira), was composed in Hebrew about 180 B.C.E., but the Hebrew text was neglected for centuries and rediscovered only in modern times (Di Lella 1966; Skehan and Di Lella *Wisdom of Ben Sira* 51–61). A Greek translation produced by Ben Sira's grandson after 132 B.C.E. is included among the books of the Apocrypha.
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**D. Structural Overview**

**1. Phonology.** Properly speaking, this description deals primarily with the orthographic system, with educated guesses as to what the language may have sounded like at any one time in any given location.

The West Semitic alphabet in which Hebrew is written consists of twenty-two signs, representing six glides, two resonants, and fourteen obstruents. The glides are usually transcribed as /w/ for the rounded labial, /y/ for the unrounded palatal, and /ʾ, h, ḥ, ʿ/ for the glottals; the resonants are /r/ and /l/. Most authorities assume, on the basis of Greek and Latin letter transcriptions and comparative Semitic correspondences, that the broad sound values approximate those of Arabic. The obstruents are the two nasals /m/ and /n/, and thirteen orals, divided into the categories of labial, dental, palatal, and velar, intersected by the oppositions of stop:fricative and plain:emphatic.

Almost all authorities agree on the schematization of the sound values of the Tiberian Hebrew consonantal system shown in Table 1.

Table 1: The Obstruents

| labial | | | dental | | | | palatal | | | velar |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| p | | t | ṭ | s | ṣ | | š | | k | q |
| b | | d | | z | | | | | g | |
| m | | n | | | | | | | | |

The tradition of pronouncing Hebrew reflected in the Tiberian Masora divided the six plain stopped obstruents into twelve, with an additional stop:spirant opposition: /p:f, b:v, t:t̲, d:d̲, k:x/, and /g:g̲/. Originally, the realization of these six letters as either stops or spirants was predictable in terms of the immediate phonological environment: when following a vowel and not geminated, the spirant was sounded, while the stop was the default realization. But in time, with modifications occurring in the syllabic structure, the situation changed, and the consonantal inventory was increased marginally as a result.

The status of the sibilants is another area of disagreement, and for good reason, because there are many indications, in Hebrew as well as in other Semitic languages, of persistent instability in the silibant inventory. The Tiberian Masora distinguishes two consonants for the second-to-last letter of the alphabet: with a diacritic dot to the upper left, the letter is called *śin* and is transcribed as /ś/; with a diacritic dot to the right, it is called *šin* and is transcribed as /š/.

Together with the letter *samek,* there is no doubt that the three entities reflect a Proto-Semitic system of three separate phonemes. Whether or not the three were ever realized as separate phonemes in Hebrew is not as clear. The several traditions of liturgical pronunciation show different variations on the realization of these letters. In some instances, the three are merged into two sounds, in others into one. One Moroccan pronunciation tradition, for example, has *śin* and *šin* leveled as /š/ in opposition to *samek,* which is realized as /s/; the Samaritan tradition agrees with the Moroccan in this instance. One Lithuanian variety of Ashkenazic pronunciation levels all three to /s/. The classical payyetanic poet Qallir (6th century?) rhymes all three, although the precise realization is not to be recovered. No surviving liturgical tradition exhibits three separate sounds; nor is there any evidence that such a threefold realization ever existed in Hebrew. The prevalent traditions suggest that the Tiberians pronounced *śin* and *samek* both as /s/, as opposed to *šin,* which they sounded as /š/.

The letters transcribed with subdots (to include /q/, which is frequently transcribed as /q̣/), called emphatics, are usually considered to have been pharyngealized or velarized, on the order of the Arabic cognate sounds. Greek letter transcriptions, both from Hebrew to Greek and from Greek to Hebrew,

suggest that they differed from the plain counterparts in that aspiration was lacking as a coarticulatory feature, and this certainly agrees with the Arabic evidence.

The glottal glides are interpreted as the equivalents of the cognate Arabic sounds; there is certain evidence indicating that the merging of these four sounds took place independently in many areas at different times, resulting in either two or even one sound for the four letters.

The schematization of the full inventory of the Hebrew alphabet as modified by the Tiberian consonantal diacritics, counting *śin* and *samek* as homophonous graphemes, is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: The Twenty-two Letters and Their Sound Values

| labial | | | | dental | | | | | palatal | | | velar | | | glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| p | f | | t | t̲ | ṭ | s | ṣ | | š | | k | x | | ʾ | h |
| b | v | | d | d̲ | | z | | | | | g | ḡ | | ḥ | ʿ |
| m | | | | | n | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | r | | l | | | | | | | | | |
| w | | | | | | | | | y | | | | | | |

The vocalic system of the Tiberians can be interpreted in conflicting ways. Nine essential vowel diacritics exist, most of which are named in accordance with the manner of their articulation. The term *ḥîreq*, for example, meaning "cleft," is the name of the diacritic representing the high front vowel /i/; *šûreq,* meaning "whistle," designates the high back rounded vowel /u/; *pataḥ*, meaning "open," is the name of the low (or open) vowel /a/.

There is considerable disagreement whether or not the two vowel signs *šûreq* and *qibbuṣ* represent contrastive long and short varieties of /u/, and this question is tied into the overall issue of constrastive vowel length for Tiberian Hebrew. Vocalic length for Hebrew is not mentioned at all until the 13th-century grammar of Radaq, and it is quite certain that he was describing a morphophonemic feature. But later interpretations of Radaq's description, possibly influenced by features of Latin and Arabic, ascribed phonemic vowel length to the Tiberian system, in spite of contradictory evidence from the medieval tradition of metrics. Furthermore, no Jewish pronunciation tradition shows any evidence of phonemic vowel length.

In this connection, the status of the four Tiberian *šĕwâ* signs is to be considered as well. The Tiberians themselves describe the sounds represented by these symbols in a way that suggests very strongly that they were open transitions rather than true vowels. With these considerations, therefore, the probability is very great that the Tiberian vowel system was a seven-fold one, schematized in Table 3.

Table 3: The Tiberian Vowels

| Front | | | | | | Back |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i | | | | | | u |
| | e | | | | o | |
| | | ɛ | | ə | | |
| | | | a | | | |

Besides the diacritics added to indicate consonantal modification and those introduced to represent the vocalic inventory, another set of diacritics were devised to represent in portmanteau fashion the features of stress and intonation. Two such systems exist, one specific to the three books of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job, and the other for the remaining twenty-one books of the Jewish canon. These *ṭĕʿāmîm* or "accents" evolved in time to serve as cantillation symbols in the performance tradition, although the musical values for the former subsystem have been completely lost.

**2. Grammatical Features.** Features of the Hebrew language include both agreement and switch concord of grammatical gender and number within the phrase and within the clause. Two grammatical genders, typically labeled "masculine" and "feminine," exist. There are three grammatical numbers, a singular referring to one of a kind and a plural referring to two or more, plus a marginal dual category referring to two and only two of a kind. The dual is restricted in its occurrence to a very short list of nouns

of measure, although a similarly formed plural suffix denoting bilateral symmetry also exists for nouns referring to paired body parts.

Gender and number are signaled in both the nominal and verbal systems. Noun phrases typically exhibit total agreement of gender and number, with the head noun governing the attributive and demonstrative adjectives. The numerical phrase, however, exhibits the relatively rare feature of switch concord, in which the gender assignment of the head noun and the numerical qualifier have opposite genders.

In the clause, the subject governs the verb, which agrees with it at least in part. When the subject is a binomial and follows the verb, the verb frequently agrees with only the first term of the binomial; when the verb follows the subject, the agreement is complete. Examples of both types may be found in the opening verses of Exodus 15 and Judges 5. In the former citation, the verb agrees with the initial noun "Moses" and is masculine singular; in the latter, it is feminine singular, agreeing with "Deborah." The second verb in each sequence is masculine plural, governed by the plurality inherent in the binomial expression. The gender of the plural verb exhibits yet another feature, namely the neutrality of the "masculine" gender, a neutrality held to be universal for all languages in which a binary gender system is linked to sex. Thus, while the two genders are labeled "masculine" and "feminine," the "masculine" is in reality an unassigned category.

The finite verbal system shows both prefixed and suffixed personal paradigms. For the last century and more, many authorities have viewed the content of the finite verb to be aspectual rather than tense, denoting actions as finished or ongoing rather than in past or present-future time. The native grammatical tradition, however, drawing on Arabic grammatical theory and models since the early Middle Ages, always described the verb system in terms of tense. More recent linguistic analyses would tend to favor the medieval assessment. Of particular interest, especially in biblical literature and medieval belletristic texts, is the apparent flip-flop of prefixing (present-future) and suffixing (past) forms in coordinated verb phrases, referred to as the *waw*-conversive or *waw*-consecutive phenomenon. In reality, what happens is an optional but very frequent sequence of tense situation which results in the neutralization of tense reference in coordinated verbs. This neutralization of time reference is extended in poetry as well to juxtaposed clauses without explicit coordination.

**3. Parts of Speech.** The Hebrew language distinguishes the following word classes and subclasses in a formal manner.

**a. Nominals.** Nominals are all words that may occur as the subject of a clause and include the principal subclasses of pronouns, proper nouns, and substantives. Personal pronouns, interrogatives, and demonstratives are partially analyzable and are defined by lists. Personal names, also partially analyzable, are characterized by gender assignment and absence of pluralization or dependency. Substantives are subdivided into nouns of variable gender and nouns of assigned gender.

**b. Verbals.** Verbals comprise those items that may occur as the heads of predicate phrases, include the existentials, adjectives and verbs per se.

The existentials comprise a short list of expressions denoting existence or being and constitute a rudimentary present tense system for biblical style and the basis of derivation for a full present tense system for later Hebrew. Adjectives are primarily participles, which is to say verbal in their derivation, although there are several adjectival categories that are derived from nouns. Adjectives thus differ from nouns of variable gender (words like "king" and "queen," "horse" and "mare") syntactically.

The finite verbal system consists of two indicative sets, a direct command imperative limited to the second persons, and a parallel but partial indirect command, the jussive/cohortative system. One of the indicative paradigms is formed by personal prefixes and gender/number suffixes added to a stem; the other is formed by a fused set of personal and gender/number suffixes associated with a second verb stem. The imperative is formed by gender/number suffixes attached to a stem marginally different from the prefixed indicative verb, while the jussive/cohortative is formed by the addition of personal prefixes as well as gender/number suffixes.

Nonfinite forms of the verb include verbal adverbs (the "absolute" infinitives of traditional grammars) and the true ("construct") infinitive.

**c. Enumeratives.** The enumeratives include an adjective for the word "one," a defective noun of symmetry for the word "two," substantives for the higher items, including "hundred," "thousand," and "myriad," and true numerals for the items between "three" and the multiples of ten. Switch concord occurs as the distinctive syntactic feature in numerical phrases between "three" and "nineteen."

**d. Particles.** The term particle is the traditional designation for all residual classes that are neither analyzable nor derivable. This includes the categories of coordinating conjunctions, adverbials, subordinators, and relativizers. The conjunctions and relativizers are defined only by list.

**e. Adverbials.** Other than those adverbs that are derived within the verbal system, this category includes a short list of unanalyzable forms, quantifiers like "also" and "even," and temporals such as "then" and "now."

**4. Morphological Typology.** For the past millennium, grammatical and lexicographical tradition has described all verbs and most nouns as being derived from stems that in turn are formed by the interdigitation of a consonantal root expressing lexical content and a vocalic pattern, with an optional augment, expressing grammatical content. This typology bears a superficial resemblance to the structures "begin-began-begun," familiar from English. A residue of the nominals and the rest of the word classes are not analyzable in this manner but are contiguous linear entities. This typology has been held for all of the Semitic languages until recently; the newer opposing view has favored the notion that the derivation of words proceeds from a linear contiguous root modified by affixation and apophony, i.e., a regular substitution of sounds that inherently signals change in grammatical meaning (Kuryłowicz 1964).

## E. Hebrew Literature

Literary activity in the Hebrew language has been going on without significant interruption for a period of more than three thousand years, producing a rich and variegated corpus of material that has very few peers in terms of its contribution to world civilization.

It should come as no surprise that during its long history the Hebrew language has undergone many changes. When we categorize the recorded differences of grammatical usage within the framework of a literary chronology, the familiar divisions of biblical, Tannaitic, medieval, and modern literary periods emerge, most frequently considered to be discrete entities with clear boundaries. Grammars have been written accounting for biblical and Tannaitic Hebrew and, most recently, for the modern language as well, sometimes giving the impression that the literatures of these different eras have little to do with each other and that the grammatical differences typical of each period are consistent and distinctive enough to warrant separate grammatical treatment. Without denying the partial validity of these observations at all, one might suggest that the conventional conclusions appear to be somewhat off target.

The language of the biblical Hebrew corpus, which is virtually all that has been preserved from the first thousand years of literary activity, is first of all not a standardized language. It is actually specious to think in terms of biblical Hebrew as anything other than a literary reference without making serious qualifications. True enough, a standard of language has emerged from within the biblical corpus, but this standard is partially the product of the medieval grammarians and partly that of the poets, chroniclers, critics, commentators, and others who determined literary usage and style only much later on in history. And this standard, to be sure, is based only on the most frequently occurring morphological and syntactic constructions found in biblical prose narrative text, with some admixture of Tannaitic norms.

The standardized distillate that has come to be known as biblical Hebrew has had an enormous impact on later literary Hebrew, since the literary corpus with which it has been confused has never ceased to be primary in its own influence on later generations. But if there is really an older corpus of Hebrew literature that embodies a normative language of sorts, it is that of Jewish liturgy. The collections of prayer, embodied in the *Siddur* (order of prayer) and the *Maḥzor* (cycle of prayer), originated during the period of the Second Commonwealth and are largely attributed to Ezra the Scribe, the men of the Great Synagogue, and their successors. Liturgy first appears in crystallized form much later on in the Gaonic age—from the time of the completion of the Babylonian Talmud until the high Middle Ages, roughly the period between 600 and 1100 C.E.

The *Siddur* has been the primary textbook of elementary education throughout the Jewish world for centuries. Containing as it does large segments of biblical as well as Mishnaic material together with the prayers and blessings themselves, it combines religious instruction with an introduction to the language and its literature. The Jewish child received his training from a text that was largely composed in a standardized language but that also included other, nonstandardized styles.

Literacy in Hebrew, prior to the period of generalized secular public eduction, was the norm for the male in Jewish communities almost without exception. In addition to the daily, Sabbath, and festival prayers, the Jewish boy studied the Pentateuch and the Prophets and, in this connection, learned to read and utilize the works of the principal commentators. Once the essentials had been acquired, studies in the Mishnah were added, followed shortly by intensive reading of the essential tractates of the Babylonian Talmud, again with the principal commentaries. This much was the basic curriculum. Advanced students then went on to study the codes of law, generally to receive rabbinic ordination. The Babylonian Talmud is written principally in a late form of eastern Aramaic, a language quite different from Hebrew, although still genetically related to it. Yet students did not study Aramaic as another language; nor did they even study Hebrew in a formal way. They learned these languages as they learned and mastered the literature. So thorough was the linguistic internalization that if any consciousness came to the surface, a text was identified as Aramaic or Hebrew not because of the overt linguistic signs but because of identification with the source corpus. The language symbiosis first encountered in the 3d century thus continued on even in other areas and other speech communities.

It would be too much to claim that only the grammarians were fully aware of the not so subtle differences between Hebrew and Aramaic or between one variety of Hebrew and another. It is quite likely, however, that the grammarians were the only ones who really cared and paid attention to things of that sort. Consider how often the ordinary user of English or any other language thinks that the language he or she speaks and hears in conversation is really grammatically the same as the one heard on the TV news programs or read in the morning newspaper.

This is not a trivial point to make. If the medieval Jewish poet wrote a masterpiece in a language he did not speak, he was the peer of his Moslem counterpart who also wrote his masterpiece in an Arabic he did not speak. And many a medieval Jew was equally as much at ease in literary Hebrew as in literary Arabic. To belabor this a bit more, it is no exaggeration to say that the language of choice in the literature of medieval Spain, whether Hebrew, Arabic, or a Romance tongue, was dictated by the literary genre and not by the speech community to which the author belonged. Epics were composed in Gallego, troubador ballads in Catalan, and chronicles in Aragonese. Castillian, it appears, was reserved for the most prosaic and least artistic purposes for a very long period of time.

In the medieval Jewish community, genre likewise imposed its dictates. Chronicles were written in loose imitation of the biblical prose narratives, poetry in a stricter biblical style, and legal literature in a style reminiscent sometimes of straight Mishnaic usage, and at other times in the Babylonian Talmudic mixture of Aramaic and Hebrew. Philosophical treatises were composed in Arabic until necessity imposed the switch to Hebrew late in the 12th century.

The age of the Bible comprises the first thousand years of Hebrew literary history. Jewish tradition attributes the earliest texts of the Bible to Moses, and biblical critical scholarship will agree with this, at least in part. Most critics are in agreement that the latest biblical texts come from the age of the Hasmonean dynasty, a little more than halfway through the period of the Second Commonwealth. The Bible makes mention of other books that we know of by name only. A handful of inscriptions from the First Temple period are known to us through archaeological digs, and more recently the Hebrew text of the apocryphal Ecclesiasticus was twice discovered. But except for the liturgical material ascribed by the Talmud to Ezra and the men of the Great Synagogue, the contents of the Hebrew Bible remain the legacy of this long period of time.

The Bible itself comes down in several stages and processes. The Pentateuch was possibly a canonical text by the time the First Temple was destroyed, and the books of the Prophets may have achieved official recognition during the Persian period. We simply do not know for sure. The works composing the

Hagiographa, the third and last division of the Bible according to Jewish tradition, were not formally admitted to the canon until some twenty years after the destruction of the Second Temple. Certain elements of the Hagiographa, including the psalms that had been incorporated into the temple liturgy, had already received at least de facto recognition as canonical texts. But it was the Sanhedrin at Yahweh in the year 90 C.E. that put the final stamp of approval to Ruth and Esther, for example, and excluded Ecclesiasticus and Judith from the Scriptures.

At about the same time that Ben Sira composed Ecclesiasticus in excellent imitation of classical biblical style (that is, about 180 B.C.E.), a newer literature began to emerge. This was the literature of what has come to be known as Tannaitic Hebrew, named after the masters of the Mishnah, its principal classical text, although the earliest midrashic works were not only older but more numerous.

This newer literature was originally an oral one. Just when it was committed to writing is not really certain. Mishnaic material was redacted by Rabbi Akiba just prior to the Bar Kokhba disaster, and a second redaction took place at the hands of Rabbi Meir a generation or so later. The final text of "Our Mishnah," as it is referred to, is the work of Rabbi Judah the Prince at some time between 200 and 225 C.E. But the Mishnah may not have been committed to writing until its text became the focus of the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds, which means the period between the years 400 and 500 C.E., or even somewhat later.

Tannaitic literature is quite different from biblical literature. Some morphological and syntactic constructions of high frequency in the corpus of the Bible hardly occur in the Mishnah, and there are structures typical of tannaitic literature that are rare or lacking in the Bible. But these differences, upon close examination, turn out to be far more trivial than startling, because the underlying grammatical processes are quite the same. Thus, the important difference is more stylistic than grammatical.

One example will suffice for the moment. There are two relative pronouns in the language, a longer form and a shorter prefixed one. In biblical text, the longer form is the one more frequently encountered. The shorter form occurs both in the earliest and latest contributions to the corpus, but appears only in poetic text. In the Mishnah, the situation is reversed. The short form is the norm, almost to the exclusion of the longer one, and the poetic overtones have completely disappeared.

Tannaitic style is characterized by a terseness that is surprising to those brought up in biblical literature. Clauses are very frequently juxtaposed without intervening conjunctions, and "little" grammatical function words tend to undergo ellipsis, producing an effect that may be viewed impressionistically as telegraphic. The aphorisms of the popular Mishnaic tractate *Pirqe ʾAbot* (*Chapters of the Fathers*) resemble the book of Proverbs in content alone. Otherwise, they are entirely different in style, being prosaic rather than poetic, and lacking the cadences, the phonological play, and tightness of encoding so typical of biblical Wisdom Literature.

Tannaitic prose narratives (the genre of the Aggadah) tend to be more dramatic than their biblical counterparts and startlingly different. The same terseness is there, but they are illuminated by the juxtaposition of biblical quotes embedded in the narrative fabric—one important reason why it is impossible to appreciate tannaitic literature without a thorough grounding in the Bible. The reverse is also very true. Tannaitic reworking of biblical material is so innovative that the reader is constantly faced with astonishing new ways of interpreting the older body of literature. A marvelous tannaitic statement, for example, takes the superscription of Psalm 92 to mean that the Sabbath Day personified was coauthor of the poem together with Adam!

The Tannaitic Age is also the period of early liturgical compilation. Some of the daily and sabbath prayers are quoted at least in part in the Talmud, and the last chapter of the Mishnaic tractate *Pesaḥim* is essentially a detailed outline of the Haggadah of Passover, still in use today. Mystical treatises and mystical poems begin to appear during this period, and a recently discovered handbook on magic reveals a less lofty kind of spirituality, providing instruction on how to win a horse race or upstage one's rival in love, all in good imitation of Mishnaic style (Margalioth 1966). This is also the period of the recently discovered Dead Sea Scrolls (on the language of which see Qimron 1986).

This period of late antiquity, just prior to the emergence of Islam, evidences a revolution in poetic style. Some of the early mystical poems produced at this time and later incorporated into the liturgy show the earliest evidence of experimentation with end-of-line rhyme incorporated within a metrical matrix of strict word count. By the early or mid 6th century, rhyme is already highly conventionalized, as demonstrated by the compositions of Elazar ha-Qallir and his purported teacher Yannai, who inaugurated a brand new style and school of esoteric and highly innovative poetry that dominated the literary scene for some five centuries. A second literary revolution was launched by Saadia Gaon in the late 9th and early 10th centuries. An Egyptian by birth, coming from an obscure community in the Fayyum oasis, Saadia propelled himself into the middle of a battle for supremacy waged between the rabbis of Baghdad and Jerusalem and ended up as the controversial but masterful Gaon of Sura, the first and perhaps only non-Babylonian known to have held this prestigious office. Saadia was a superb Arabist, as is apparent from his literary output, and he loved Arabic poetry. He found the older Qallirian style of Hebrew versification to be tiresome, for that school of poetry had by now outlived its creativity through sheer longevity.

Saadia was a master not only of Arabic literature but of Arabic grammarianship as well. He wrote, in Arabic, the first grammatical description of Hebrew, which included the earliest known grammatical statements comparing Hebrew, Arabic, and Aramaic. He produced, as well, the first dictionary of the Hebrew language—and a rhyming dictionary at that—for the benefit of his contemporary poets who lacked, in his estimation, the imaginativeness and good taste required for successful metrical composition. Saadia wrote, also in Arabic, some of the earliest commentaries on the Bible and the earliest commentary to the Mishnah. He translated the entire Bible into Arabic, a translation long used by oriental communities. In addition, Saadia produced some Hebrew poetry, considered by some to be quite good in quality though never reaching the majestic heights of his literary heirs.

Along with the standard curriculum in Jewish Law, Saadia taught metrics. Among his more talented students was a certain Dunash ibn Labrat who came to Baghdad from his native Morocco and, upon completion of his studies, returned to the West and settled in Spain. Joining the Jewish community of Cordova, the capital of the Omayyad caliphate in Andalusia, he attached himself to the court of Ḥisdai ibn Shaprut, a grandee and leader of the Jewish community, ultimately to become Hishdai's principal protégé. Dunash was certainly not the first person to write Hebrew poetry in Spain, but he was to become the first poet of the new Spanish school, which, in turn, dominated the literary scene for the next five centuries.

The Golden Age in Spain was an age of classical revival. Where the Qallirian style was highly idiosyncratic, neither biblical nor mishnaic nor anything else really, the poets of Spain, following Saadia's metrical preferences as taught to them by Dunash, adhered very closely to biblical style. Their poetry had the added features of rhyme—inherited essentially from the Qallirians but modified according to Saadianic conventions—and of meter, borrowed from the Arabic and adapted, again via Saadia, to suit Hebrew syllabic structure.

From Andalusia, the neoclassical style spread, first northward to Christian Spain and the Provence, and then to Italy, N France, England, and Germany. The Spanish school was far more creative and flexible than the older Qallirian school had been. Influences from the poetic styles of the non-Jewish environment are apparent in the girdle songs written in imitation of the colloquial Arabic style, troubador ballads in the Provençal model, and sonnets of the Petrarchian school that begin to appear in Hebrew a full generation before Petrarch himself. In addition to the metrical compositions, both secular and liturgical, there arose a new literature of the romance, a Hebrew translational link in a literary chain that began in India, advanced to Persia and then the Arab world, and wound up in the picaresque novel of Romance Spain.

Throughout all of this time, we see chronicles and books of family pedigree, mystical tracts, the ever-growing legal literature, the biblical and Talmudic commentaries, and the supercommentaries. Not much of it was to be passed down to modern times directly. Communities declined and simply disappeared; others suffered persecution and destruction or banishment. Books were burned. Quite understandably, there were priorities, and these dictated, on the whole, that only that material of first-rank community importance—whatever was legal and religious in significance rather than secular or frivolous—be preserved.

The chance discovery of an obscure Cairo synagogue by a pair of English lady tourists a century ago, however, released a flood of documents of immeasurable importance. The contents of the Cairo Geniza constitute one of the most remarkable documentary finds in recent history, far larger and far more significant than the more famous Dead Sea discoveries. Many of its documents, now scattered in libraries from Leningrad to San Francisco, have been published; many more remain waiting for scholars trained and motivated to carry on.

As Christian Europe approached its Renaissance, the Jewish world turned increasingly inward. Although secular literary activity continued, it steadily decreased in both quantity and quality and, by the 18th century, came virtually to a standstill. The French Revolution, which inaugurated the period of modern Jewish history, had little immediate and direct influence on Hebrew literary activity. But by the end of the 19th century, a new literary revival, centered in Russia and spreading from there to Ottoman Palestine, was on the upswing.

This literary revival coincided with but was not limited to the rise of political Zionism. Nor is it to be completely equated with the parallel and contemporary revival of Hebrew as a colloquial mother tongue, with which it is often confused. The revival of spoken Hebrew is most commonly associated with the figure of Eliezer Ben Yehudah, who certainly undertook to speak nothing but Hebrew upon settling in Jerusalem. But although Hebrew did in fact become the language of his family and of some of his friends and neighbors, the rebirth of the colloquial had other origins, more mundane and more pragmatic in scope.

For centuries, Hebrew had been used as a spoken language, as a lingua franca for Jews who chanced to come together but possessed no common mother tongue. By the middle of the 19th century, before the rise of Zionism, the Jews of Jerusalem, crowded into the smallest quarter of the Old City, constituted a majority of that town's population. Predominantly Sephardic in origin, they possessed as a community no common language. Some spoke Ladino, the descendant of preexilic Spanish, others Persian, and others one or another form of colloquial Arabic.

Of necessity, Hebrew was the language of the marketplace. Had the population been essentially Ashkenazic, perhaps Yiddish would have served instead. The prevailing demography, however, dictated not only Hebrew to be the language of the community, but also Hebrew as pronounced in the Sephardic manner. Hebrew thus remained the language of the marketplace in Jerusalem and the other principal towns, like Hebron, Tiberias, Zefat, and Jaffa. Its colloquial revival succeeded because Hebrew became the exclusive language of the nursery in the early Zionist settlements. While these early settlers—the parents—struggled with a language they knew perhaps bookishly well, their offspring acquired this new Hebrew fluently from the cradle.

The desire to establish Hebrew as the national language did not go unchallenged. Yiddish was a serious contender, but the Zionist dream won out with the aid of socialist experimentation. The language struggle was over by 1925, the year in which the Hebrew University was inaugurated.

Modern Hebrew literature began with a short period of intense experimentation in the belletristic use of a language that had not been artistically exercised for some time. The initial efforts do not measure up to the quality of material produced in the parallel Yiddish literary movement, but an updated standard literary language rapidly emerged, and writers were publishing in every genre imaginable. The success of the modern Hebrew literary revival was recently crowned by the recognition implicit in naming the late S. Y. Agnon to the fellowship of Nobel laureates.

Linguists are not surprised, and may even be delighted, to observe that Hebrew has since taken on a new life of its own. Originally based on a literary standard slightly modified by usage in the old *yĕšîbôt,* the colloquial has undergone a complete transformation. A rich literature is once again being produced by writers who speak Hebrew as their mother tongue but write in a language quite as different as any literary language when compared with its colloquial analogue.

**F. Hebrew Language Scholarship**

The history and evolution of the biblical text is not all that there is to tell. Hebrew was originally written in an alphabet of twenty-two letters that essentially represented only consonants. The vowels of Hebrew

were not systematically represented in writing, since they were only sporadically hinted at by the ambivalent use of the letters cognate to English "w" and "y." Dialectal differences certainly existed; these are mentioned both in the Bible and in the Talmud. We have no way of knowing what the language sounded like; we are limited to formulating educated guesses as to the phonetic properties of the consonants, the vowels, and the other features (including the prosodies). In the course of time, the language underwent change, as do all languages. Changes in the consonantism and the vowel system continued, even after the language ceased to be the mother tongue of a Jewish community. These occurred in spite of the fact that the public reading of the biblical text was rigorously bound by a strict oral tradition.

There existed a class of professional memorizers, some who specialized in the biblical text, called Qara᾽im, "readers," and others who specialized in the legal traditions, called Tanna᾽im, "repeaters." The recitation tradition was supposed to be rigorous and unchanging, but the Talmud provides information indicating that some "readers" were less skilled than others and rendered spurious readings (*B. Bat.* 30a). More important to our purposes, the tradition of oral recitation proliferated into traditions that tended to diverge as do language dialects, and indeed must have diverged according to the natural development of different liturgical dialects in various parts of the Jewish world. To the best of our knowledge, by the end of the 8th century C.E., there were three principal dialect areas. In the Mediterranean basin, Hebrew was pronounced with a five-vowel system. Further to the east, in Baghdad, Hebrew was a six-vowel language. The final product of biblical redaction, that which we call the Tiberian Masoretic text, is based on a seven-vowel dialect (Schramm 1964).

It is commonly and erroneously believed that the Masoretes, who produced the definitive biblical text, applied the vowel signs, accents, and other diacritics in their redaction according to their understanding of the text. While they certainly had an exegetical tradition on which to rely, the results of their labors indicate that they operated in a very different way. Certainly, the text that they produced is full of difficult readings, some of which would have been certainly replaced by simpler equivalents, if this were indeed the way they worked. That they employed a very different method of operation is to be seen in many ways.

The Tiberian annotational apparatus includes many comments, expressed in various specific ways, that all translate into the modern editorial term *sic.* Other comments present alternative renderings. In all instances, these readings point not to an intellectual choice between variants but to an effort at preserving a received tradition. Their intention was not to create a text based on a standardized language but rather to preserve and transmit a performance standard. The only intellectual decision they made was to record as faithfully as possible the pronunciation tradition that they considered to be the most prestigious (Ben-Asher 1879).

The biblical corpus has always been viewed as consisting of two separate coequal domains, namely the manuscript (written) tradition and the performance (oral) tradition. In copying a Torah scroll, the scribe was bound to copy his text as a virtual facsimile of all other authorized Torah scrolls, with leeway to do little more than reduce or enlarge the page size of the parchment leaves. Everything else had to be true and exact and scaled to the template. The copyist faithfully began each line with the same first word, ended each line with the exact last word, and included the same number of lines and the same blank spaces which indicated the pericopes. An oversized letter was reproduced as oversized, a minuscule was copied as a minuscule. Upside-down letters, backward letters, and flawed letters—all were faithfully reproduced as seen. Even the mysterious dots that appear here and there over letters were copied. A Torah scroll that failed to be a faithful replica of its authentic prototype was unfit for use and had to be duly corrected.

The performance tradition was equally demanding. The synagogue functionary, the reader who was appointed to cantillate the biblical text, had to pronounce the consonants, vowels, stresses, and junctures in the manner that he learned from his teacher. Any error in performance was corrected immediately before the lection could be resumed. But since the text was "read," only the oral tradition was to be committed to memory, and the reader was required to follow along the manuscript with a pointer. The

rote memorization of the performance tradition by the professional reader was as sacrosanct in its domain as was the scribal fidelity to the written tradition.

The task of the Masoretes in producing their redaction was not a mindless one. Without having the benefit of any explicit phonological theory, they analyzed the sound system of the liturgical tradition they ultimately chose and invented graphic symbols to represent the sounds together with an apparatus of marginal notes to call attention to all sorts of oddities and significant statistical occurrences. They also left a sophisticated literature to accompany their redaction in the form of commentary (Ben-Asher 1879). It is clear from this literature that what they accomplished was in every way an old school linguistic phonemic analysis.

The Tiberian Masoretes were not alone in their endeavors. Parallel efforts were under way in Baghdad, where a slightly different liturgical tradition served as the base. The Tiberians, however, were far more rigorous in their method, and this is why their text became quickly and almost universally the text of preference in all of the communities throughout the Diaspora. As adopted by different communities, however, the new orthography was pronounced in accordance with the native performance tradition. The Tiberian orthography, true to its liturgical base, was not representative of the actual pronunciation in the communities to which it spread.

There is a question as to what motivated the production of a Masoretic text to begin with. It is not really reasonable to believe that these labors were undertaken because the professional readers were dying out, as is assumed by some. Professional readers exist to this very day. Their training is far less arduous, but that is becaue they can rely on the printed MT, a visual aid their spiritual ancestors bequeathed to them. Moreover, they can enjoy the benefits of today's technology, which provides the cantillation model via tape recordings.

Far more reasonable is the possibility that the activity of the Masoretes was provoked by the religious controversies of their day. The obvious causal factor is Karaism, a sect in the spiritual paradigm of the Sadducees who were in authority a thousand years earlier. The Karaites (a later designation, but etymologically the same as the term used to designate the professional "readers") rejected the validity of the Oral Law and the rabbinic establishment whose authority was based on the Talmud. Karaite jurisprudence was a fundamentalist one, returning to the biblical text alone as the source of all law, supplemented only by explicit rules for permissible exegesis. The need for a definitive biblical text, with complete representation of all the meaningful phonological segments, was an urgent one for both sides in this religious schism. Indeed there are those scholars who believe the Masoretes were themselves Karaites.

While this may have been the case (although the evidence is far from conclusive), there would have been no Masoretic Text at all save for this sectarian split. The initial grammarians who rose in the wake of the Masoretes were in all likelihood Karaite as well, as were the very first authors of the commentaries. Rabbanite scholars, spiritual heirs to the Pharisees, fought fire with fire and proceeded to write their own grammars and commentaries very soon thereafter.

In their methodology, the Masoretes were indebted to the Syrian Christian scholars who performed a similar task in their community and to the Moslems who provided an orthographic vocalism for the Quran. What the Masoretes accomplished, however, was far beyond that which was produced by their teachers.

This same religious schism produced the first Hebrew grammatical studies and dictionaries. And here, too, there is an indebtedness to the world of Islam. Just as the early Islamicized Persians needed grammars of Arabic and dictionaries for their nascent religious needs, the Karaites, having rejected the entire body of oral tradition, needed grammars and dictionaries for the parsing and understanding of biblical text.

They produced the earliest grammatical works, which were written in Arabic and based on the grammatical model provided for Arabic. To take the place of rabbanite midrash, the Karaites produced the first biblical commentaries, a genre similarly borrowed from Islam and also written in Arabic. The rabbanites entered the polemic fray very quickly, under the leadership of Saadia Gaon, whose grammatical works received widespread attention (Skoss 1955).

R. Shlomo Yiṣḥaqi—better known by his acronym Rashi—who lived in the French Rhineland a century later, cites Saadia as well as the Karaite scholar Yefet ben Ali very frequently in his biblical commentary, the earliest to be written in Hebrew. It is not known whether Rashi knew Arabic or whether he had the benefit of Hebrew translations, but within another century other Jewish scholars were writing grammars and producing dictionaries in Hebrew. Foremost of these was R. David Qimḥi (1160–1235 C.E.), known by his acronym Radaq, whose *Mikhlol* (*Compendium*) was one of the most sophisticated grammars yet produced and whose lexicon *Sefer ha-Shorashim* (Book of Roots) remained the standard dictionary for a very long time.

Radaq's most significant contribution was a brilliant statement of the Hebrew vowel system that ironically was soon completely misinterpreted. He was the first grammarian to write about long and short vowels in Hebrew. From his discussion and especially from the examples he cites, it is evident that he is thinking in terms of what we today call morphophonemic length, not phonetic or phonemic length. While the metrical conventions he knew exceedingly well recognized long and short syllables for Hebrew versification, the short syllables were *šĕwâ* syllables, not syllables containing vowels. All vowels, except for certain instances of the high back rounded vowel u, when this vowel was treated as a *šĕwâ,* were metrically equal. For Radaq, a short vowel was one that was reducible to *šĕwâ* upon the operation of the several morphological processes. The identical vowel in another environment that was not reducible to *šĕwâ* was what he considered to be a long vowel.

What may have transformed Radaq's contribution into a serious misunderstanding was the result of two factors. The first was the translation of the *Mikhlol* into Latin, in which language phonemic vowel length was real. The second was the introduction of Arabic studies into Christian Europe. Arabic, unlike Hebrew, has phonemic vowel length. Somehow, and this view has unfortunately persisted to our very day, Arabic came to be regarded as the model of what a Semitic language ought to be. It was therefore natural to believe that Hebrew had to have a vowel structure very much like that of Arabic.

More recently, biblical studies in European scholarly circles have stimulated additional grammatical and lexicographic productivity. Foremost is the name of Gesenius, whose works in both areas have undergone several editions, including the most recent editions by other scholars who have recognized their indebtedness to Gesenius by making his name the generic equivalent of biblical Hebrew grammars and dictionaries. (The grammars: in German, GK, GKB; in English, GKC. The lexicons: in German, GesB; in English,BDB. Recent study of Hebrew is surveyed by Waldman [1989]).

Grammatical consideration of Tannaitic Hebrew has come into its own only recently with the publication of a reference grammar first in Hebrew and later in an English translation (Segal 1927). Studies in modern Hebrew are primarily, but not exclusively, the product of Israeli scholars, many of whom worked under the aegis of the Vaad ha-Lashon (the Language Council) in the days of the British Mandate, and of the National Language Academy since the independence of Israel.

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GENE M. SCHRAMM

## *HITTITE*

The language generally known today as "Hittite" was actually referred to by its speakers as "Nesite," after the city of Kaneš/Neša (modern Kültepe, near Kayseri in central Turkey). Early researchers naturally, but prematurely, assigned the appellation "Hittite" to the language of the Hittite state, but the ancients themselves applied this term to the indigenous tongue of central Anatolia, which was gradually supplanted by Indo-European languages during the early 2d millennium B.C. Since this fact became known only after much had already been written about "Hittite," the designation has been retained for the Indo-European idiom, while the earlier language in Anatolia is now called "Hattic" (Güterbock 1959).

Hittite is the earliest attested member of the Indo-European language family, documented by cuneiform tablets written during the 17th through the 13th centuries B.C. Hittite is also the best known representative of the Anatolian branch of Indo-European, which also includes Palaic and Luwian from the 2d millennium, as well as Lydian and Lycian of the Classical period. It is now known that the "Hieroglyphic Hittite" employed in Syria and SE Anatolia in the early 1st millennium is actually a dialect of the older Luwian. Finally, while certainly an Indo-European language spoken in Anatolia, Phrygian entered this area later and is not closely related to these tongues. The poorly understood Carian and Etruscan languages are no longer generally assigned to the Indo-European family (Kammenhuber 1969: 134–61; Oettinger 1978).

Some controversy exists over the relationship of the Anatolian group to the other Indo-European languages. Most authorities hold that Anatolian is a branch on a equal footing with all other subfamilies, such as Indo-Iranian or Germanic (Kammenhuber 1961). Adherents of the "Indo-Hittite hypothesis," however, stress that a number of grammatical features set Anatolian apart from the remainder of the family; these features include the extremely simple morphology of the verb and the absence of a feminine gender from the nominal inflection. This situation might be explained by postulating the separation of Anatolian from the language group at a very early time, leaving the common ancestor of the other tongues a significant period of independent development before additional divergence occurred (Cowgill 1975). That is, Anatolian is perhaps an "aunt" rather than a "sister" of the other branches of Indo-European. The matter remains for the moment unresolved.

The bulk of the Hittite material, an estimated 25,000 tablets and fragments, has been recovered from the ruins of a single city, the Hittite capital Ḫattuša. Today, this is the site of the Turkish village of Boğazköy (Boğazkale), located approximately 100 miles E of Ankara. A few texts have also been found at Maşat Höyük in Turkey (Alp 1980), at Ras Shamra/Ugarit and Meskene/Emar in Syria (Laroche 1980), and at other scattered locations.

Two Hittite letters were among the tablets discovered in 1887 at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt (Knudtzon 1902), and explorations conducted by E. Chantre at Boğazköy in 1893–1894 produced a number of fragments in this language, but philological research into Hittite began in earnest only after the excavations of H. Winkler and Th. Makridi at the Hittite capital from 1906 through 1912 (Bittel 1970: 7–10). In 1915 the decipherment of Hittite was announced (Hrozný 1915), and as a result of the efforts of

such pioneers as B. Hrozný, E. Forrer, F. Sommer, J. Friedrich, A. Goetze, E. Sturtevant, and H. Ehelolf, great progress was soon made in publishing the textual material, recovering the basic grammar of Hittite, translating important groups of texts, and analyzing the language from the perspective of Indo-European linguistics. Today, it is possible to understand most Hittite texts, although some uncertainties, chiefly lexical and phonological, remain.

Initial study of the Hittite documents was made easier by the scribal practice of indicating many words by an Akkadian or Sumerian writing ("ideogram"), rather than by spelling them phonetically in Hittite. Since the Mesopotamian languages were already well understood, it was often possible to discern the basic content of a text before Hittite had been fully deciphered. A negative consequence of this scribal habit, however, is that we still remain uncertain about a number of very common Hittite words, such as those for "son" and "horse," for which ideograms were consistently employed. While the graphic representation of Hittite abounds with "Sumerograms" and "Akkadograms," the language itself was little influenced by these Mesopotamian idioms. On the other hand, the Hittite lexicon was greatly enriched by borrowings from Hattic (chiefly in the area of political institutions), from Hurrian (particularly in the religious sphere), and from the closely related Luwian.

The tablets found at Boğazköy were originally written to serve the needs of the government of the Hittite kings in all its aspects, religious and secular. Therefore, texts of greatly varied genre were produced (Güterbock 1964; Laroche 1971), although most ephemeral economic documents were inscribed on wood, which perished long ago (Otten 1955: 79–80). Attested are royal and bureaucratic correspondence, as well as administrative documents such as land grants and instructions for officials. The Hittite kings issued a law code and contracted treaties with vassals and equals. They extolled their manly deeds in annals and justified their conduct before the gods in prayers. Other religious texts recovered include programs for the ceremonies of the state cult and rituals for life crises such as birth and death. Additional rituals were intended to counteract sorcery, disease, or other misfortune. Records of divination make up another large group of texts. Finally, scholarly material employed in scribal education presents translations of foreign literature, as well as such portions of the Mesopotamian scribal curriculum as lexical texts and astrological handbooks (Beckman 1983). Much of this scholarly material is bilingual (Akkadian-Hittite) or trilingual (Sumerian-Akkadian-Hittite) in form. In addition, a significant number of the Boğazköy texts were composed in whole or in part in foreign languages—in Akkadian, Hattic, Hurrian, Luwian, or Palaic (Forrer 1919).

The Indo-European migrations into Anatolia probably took place during the second half of the 3d millennium B.C., but opinion is divided as to just when speakers of Hittite arrived, as well as to the direction from which they came. In any case, the appearance of Hittite personal names and loanwords of Hittite origin in Akkadian documents of the Assyrian trading colonies demonstrates their presence by the 19th century B.C. (Macqueen 1986: 26–35). It is significant that the variety of cuneiform script employed in Hittite texts differs entirely from that used by the Assyrian merchants. The cuneiform of the Boğazköy texts resembles most closely the systems of early 2d millennium N Syria, from which it was probably imported by the Hittite kings of the 17th century who campaigned successfully in this area (Laroche 1978: 739–48). It seems that speakers of Anatolian had been illiterate before this time.

The tablets composing the Hittite archives were to a large extent broken and scattered about Ḫattuša in antiquity, as a result not only of the destruction which brought the Hittite period to an end, but also because of the rebuilding efforts of later inhabitants of the site (Otten 1955: 71–74). This state of affairs, combined with the absence of a native chronological system in the cuneiform records, forced scholars initially to date texts entirely on the basis of an interpretation of their contents. Since Hittite rulers shared a rather small number of throne names, and many texts contain no proper nouns at all, this situation was unsatisfactory.

However, in 1952 a fragmentary tablet displaying peculiarities of script and presentation of text was discovered in an archaeologically certain Old Hittite level at Boğazköy (Otten 1953). This key has allowed scholars to identify other pieces sharing these formal characteristics as products of the earliest period of Hittite literacy. In turn, the distinctive textual features of Old Hittite texts—grammar,

orthography, lexicon—may be abstracted from this corpus. Finally, this process makes it possible to recognize later manuscripts of earlier compositions, since scribes seldom modernized completely the material which they recopied. Thus bodies of texts belonging to the Old Hittite (17th and 16th centuries), Middle Hittite (15th century), and New Hittite (14th and 13th centuries) periods of the language have been established (Neu and Rüster 1973; Košak 1980). Although significant differences of opinion persist among Hittitologists concerning details (Heinhold-Krahmer et al. 1979), it is along such lines that much of the most important recent research in Hittite has been carried out.

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GARY BECKMAN

## *HURRIAN*

Hurrian is the name of the language spoken and written by the ancient Hurrians. The earliest Hurrian text dates to the first half of the 20th century B.C.E. (late Akkad or Ur III period); inscribed on a limestone tablet held by a bronze lion, it records a temple foundation by Tish-atal of Urkish. Among the thousands of Akkadian (Old Babylonian) texts from Mari, dating to the 18th century, were also found seven Hurrian texts; most of these are cultic in nature, although one is a fragment of a royal letter. The

longest Hurrian text is a letter of nearly 500 lines sent by Tushratta, king of Mittanni, to the Egyptian pharaoh Amenophis III in the first half of the 14th century; the letter is the only Hurrian text in the famous archive of cuneiform texts found at el-Amarna in Egypt (see further below). The largest number of Hurrian texts have been found among the clay tablets excavated at Boğazköy, ancient Hattusas, the capital of the Hittite empire; the majority of these texts, which date to the 14th–13th centuries B.C.E., are rituals, although there are some omens and a few mythological texts. The Syrian seaport of Ugarit, where texts in Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, Egyptian, and the local Ugaritic language have been unearthed, has also yielded a significant number of Hurrian texts from the same period as those found at Boğazköy. Some 40 of the Ugarit texts, like Hurrian texts from other sites, are written in the same logo-syllabic cuneiform script as the Mesopotamian languages (Sumerian and Akkadian) and Hittite; of these, 30 cultic texts and one letter are written entirely in Hurrian, but there are also a short Hurrian-Akkadian bilingual literary text, a Sumerian-Hurrian bilingual lexical text, and several exemplars of a Sumerian-Akkadian-Hurrian-Ugaritic vocabulary. Besides the syllabic cuneiform texts, however, Ugarit has yielded a few Hurrian texts written in the indigenous alphabetic cuneiform. Excavations during the 1970s at the site of Emar on the Euphrates also produced a few Hurrian divination texts written in Mesopotamian cuneiform and dating to the 14th–13th centuries. In addition to the texts listed here that are actually written in Hurrian, the phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary of Hurrian are also present to varying degrees as substrate influences in the grammar of the Akkadian texts written by scribes in the latter half of the 2d millennium at sites such as Alalakh, Emar, Hattusas, Nuzi, and Ugarit, and in the el-Amarna letters of the Mittannian king Tushratta. Hurrian personal names also abound in texts from sites across N Mesopotamia and Syria as well as Anatolia through much of the 2d millennium B.C.E.

Despite the relatively large number of texts found, Hurrian vocabulary and grammar, and therefore Hurrian texts, have remained imperfectly understood. This circumstance has been the result of two factors. One difficulty is that Hurrian has as its only certain linguistic relative Urartian, the language of Urarṭu around Lake Van (E Turkey), attested in the 9th–6th centuries B.C.E. (There have also been attempts to classify Hurrian and Urartian as a branch of the Caucasian languages; the connection, if valid, is very remote.) While comparison with Urartian can help to clarify some Hurrian features, Urartian is not a direct descendant of Hurrian and is itself not fully understood. The linguistic isolation of Hurrian and Urartian means that researchers cannot look to similar related languages to explicate features of grammar. In such cases, a sufficiently long bilingual text is usually needed to serve as a key to the language. Until recently much of the reconstruction of the grammar of Hurrian was accomplished on the basis of the very long Hurrian letter of Tushratta found at el-Amarna in Egypt (see above). Because that text deals with many of the same diplomatic issues that concern the Akkadian texts in the el-Amarna corpus, a close reading of frequently occurring parallel Akkadian and Hurrian phrases has enabled scholars to ascertain many of the features of Hurrian morphology and syntax, though many uncertainties have persisted. In the 1983 and 1985 excavations at Boğazköy/Hattusas, however, a multitablet bilingual Hurrian-Hittite literary text dating to about 1400 B.C.E. was discovered (Otten and Rüster 1991); comparison of the Hurrian text with its well-understood Hittite translation promises to clarify many points of Hurrian grammar and to add considerably to our knowledge of the Hurrian lexicon.

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## *LANGUAGES OF ANCIENT IRAN*

The ancient empires of the Iranian-speaking Medes and Achaemenids (559–330 B.C.) and, following the interregnum of Alexander and the Seleucids, the empires of the Parthians (247 B.C.–A.D. 227), and Sassanians (227–651 A.D.), all of which spanned the entire Near East at one time or another, played a major role in the political, intellectual, and religious history of the ANE, and thus in Judaism, Christianity, and the gnostic religions of the Mandaeans and Manichaeism. This role was continued to a lesser degree by Iranian dynasties after Islamization in the middle of the 7th century A.D. Jewish, Christian, and Mandaean communities have remained in these areas since antiquity.

The Iranian languages belong to the Indo-Iranian (Aryan) branch of Indo-European languages (see Schmitt 1987). Originating in central Asia, speakers of Iranian began to spread from about 1000 B.C. throughout the southern parts of Eurasia from China to Europe, and eventually entered the Iranian plateau and Afghanistan (Grantovskij 1970; Ghirshman 1977; Burrow 1973; Mayrhofer 1974). Today, Iranian languages are concentrated in Iran and Afghanistan, but are also found in the Caucasus, central Asia, W China, on the Arab side of the Persian Gulf, and in Iraq, Syria, and Turkey (Geiger and Kuhn 1895–1904; Schmitt 1989; Spuler, 1958; Rastorgueva 1975; Abaev et al. 1979–82; Oranskij 1977). The most numerous non-Iranian languages are Turkic, and these have permeated central Asia and large areas of Afghanistan and Iran (some 20 percent of the Iranian population).

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A. Old Iranian
B. Middle Iranian Languages
C. New Iranian Languages
D. Diachrony
E. Religious Minorities
F. Language Contact
G. Aramaic
H. Writing Systems

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### A. Old Iranian

The court language (often called Old Persian) of the Achaemenid dynasty is represented by a rather limited corpus of inscriptions and is based on the local language of the SW Iranian province of Parsa (Greek *persis,* "Persia," modern Fars; Kent 1953; Brandenstein and Mayrhofer 1964). Avestan (probably a calque on Greek *epistēmē,* "received knowledge"), the sacred language of the Zoroastrians was originally spoken perhaps in NE Iran or central Asia and is represented by a much more extensive corpus of texts, ranging from the Gathas of Zarathustra (of uncertain date, but possibly 1000 B.C.) to texts composed by priests during late-Achaemenid and possibly later times. The oldest preserved mss date from the 13th century A.D. (Jackson 1892; Reichelt 1909; Beekes 1988). Median, spoken in central Iran and the language of the predecessors of the Achaemenids (see Mayrhofer 1968), and other Old Iranian languages such as Scythian in S Russia and Old Parthian in E Iran, are known only by a small number of words and names scattered throughout the writings of other languages.

**B. Middle Iranian Languages**

Middle Iranian languages show a clear dialectal division into West Iranian, viz. Parthian and Middle Persian, and East Iranian, represented by the remainder. Parthian was the official language of the Parthians and was spoken in NE and probably also NW Iran. There are also extensive texts in Manichaean Parthian found in Chinese Turkistan which evidence the continuation of Parthian as one of the languages of the Manichaean Church in E Iran and central Asia until about the 10th century A.D. (Ghilain 1939; Heston 1976; Brunner 1977). Middle Persian, the official language of the Sassanians (227–651 A.D.) and thus also of their state religion, Zorastrianism, is also attested in various forms, the most extensive texts being written in so-called (Book-) Pahlavi. Most of these date from the 9th century A.D. but represent an earlier stage of the language. This language was also used by Christians. Middle Persian was one of the church languages of the Manichaeans in E Iran and central Asia, Mani (d. 277 A.D.) himself having composed a book in this language for Shapur I. The language continued to be used until the 11th century A.D. in both churches, as evidenced, for example, by the signatures of witnesses on a copperplate grant to the Syrian Church in S India (possibly 9th century A.D.) and by some local dynasties (Nyberg 1964, 1974; Heston 1976; Brunner 1977; MacKenzie 1971).

The eastern Middle Iranian languages, viz. Alanian, Khwarezmian (Henning 1955; Heston 1976), Sogdian (Gershevitch 1954), Saka (Emmerick 1968), and Skytho-Sarmatian and Bactrian (Humbach 1966), were spoken from S Russia to central Asia (including N Afghanistan), and in western China.

**C. New Iranian Languages**

(New) Persian emerged after Islamization as the dominant language of Persia. It was, and largely still is, the lingua franca in most of these areas, and it also was the adopted court language of the Mogul sultanate of Delhi in India (1526–1857 A.D.). It is spoken in a number of varieties, the three most important of which are Iranian Persian (Windfuhr 1979; Lazard 1963), Dari in Afghanistan, and Tajiki in Soviet Tajikistan. Together with other Perside dialects, these constitute the so-called "Southwest" Iranian dialects. The other West Iranian dialects include Kurdish in the W and NW, from the Soviet Caucasus, E Turkey, E Syria, and N Iraq to NW Iran, and scattered through much of Iran (MacKenzie 1961), and Baluchi in the east, stretching from the city of Merv in Soviet Turkmenistan to the Gulf into S Afghanistan and Pakistan (Elfenbein 1966).

East Iranian dialects include isolated Ossetic, the successor of Alanian, in the N Caucasus (Abaev 1964). The remainder are located in Afghanistan, the Hindukush, and the Pamirs, most importantly Pashto, the official language of Afghanistan besides Persian, which is found in SE Afghanistan and in neighboring regions of Pakistan (Morgenstierne 1927; Penzl 1955).

**D. Diachrony**

Linguistically, the Old Iranian languages continue the highly inflectional character of Indo-European. The tendency toward simplification is already seen in Old Persian in the 4th century B.C., largely concomitant with a shift in stress patterns, such that the original synthetic inflection was largely lost and replaced by analytic constructions. Middle Persian and Parthian are the result of those changes. The existence of masculine/feminine gender in several modern dialects of NW Iran shows that these dialects are a continuation of Old and Middle languages which must have been distinct from Middle Persian and Parthian. Similarly, the modern East Iranian languages continue the inherited inflection to some degree. On the other hand, all modern languages and dialects, including Persian, developed new formations and categorical distinctions, resulting in radically restructured morphosemantic verbal and case systems (Tedesco 1921; Lentz 1926; Windfuhr 1975).

**E. Religious Minorities**

Of the old religious minorities, the Zoroastrians, concentrated in the desert cities of Yazd and Kerman, have retained their central W Iranian dialect. The Armenian and Georgian Christians in and near the central city of Esfahan have retained their Indo-European Armenian and Caucasian Georgian language, respectively.

Many Jewish communities have adopted Persian. Judeo-Persian has a long-standing literary history. In fact, the oldest preserved texts in New Persian are written in the Hebrew script: a private letter from the

8th century A.D., found near Khotan in Chinese Turkistan; three brief inscriptions, dated 752 A.D., found in E Afghanistan; and a 9th-century inscription found in S India in Travancore. These texts are evidence for the use of the new vernacular by minorities as opposed to the continued official use of Pahlavi, Sogdian, and of course the new dominant language, Arabic. Many contemporary Jewish communities in Iran have retained the local Iranian dialects (Lazard 1968, 1974), while the Muslim population switched to Persian. Of particular interest is a "secret" language, called Lotera›i, which is used by Jews throughout Iran (Yarshater 1977). While the nominal and verbal morphology is Iranian (usually the local dialect), the vocabulary is replete with Semitic words, mostly Hebrew but also Aramaic. It appears that the latter reflects the original situation, which may go back to antiquity, while the former were absorbed later. Compare, for example, the following sentence in Lotera›i with the same in the dialect of Golpayegan (compare Book-Pahlavi, below):

ANNI BĀY -un b (e) -EZ -on xiābān, š-on vā- (e)-EZ -on
mon g -un be -š -on xiābān, š-on o var-e -gard -on

I want to go out (lit. in the street); I shall go and return.

Yarshater (1977: 2) analyzes this as follows: ANNI < Heb *›ani,* "I"; BĀY < Aram *bāy,* "want"; EZ < Aram/Heb *‹zl,* "to go." Golpaygani *-un/-on* is a first singular ending, *be-* a subjunctive prefix, *vā-/var-* is verbal prefix "back," *e-* is an imperfective prefix, here marking the future.

**F. Language Contact**

In view of the fact that Old Iranian and much of Middle Iranian is not well attested, Iranian loans in contemporary non-Iranian languages are an important source for the diachrony and dialectology of Iranian linguistics. Those languages include Elamite, the language of the predecessors of the Achaemenids in Fars and one of the administrative languages at Persepolis (Paper 1955), Akkadian, Armenian (since Achaemenid times), and, to a lesser degree, Old Egyptian, Greek, Lydian and Lycian, Latin, Indic, and, later, Arabic (Mayrhofer 1971; Schmitt 1973; Hinz 1975; Mayrhofer 1978; Schmitt 1978; Rossi 1981).

**G. Aramaic**

The Neo-Aramaic dialects of the contemporary Jewish, Christian, and Mandaean minorities and the Iranian languages form one of the most striking cases of linguistic symbiosis. It has lasted for some 2,500 years, with both Aramaic and Iranian fairly well known throughout this time. The most decisive event in this relationship was the adoption of Aramaic as the administrative language of the Achaemenid empire. While Aramaic influence on Iranian is limited (Weryho 1971), the main recipient was Eastern Aramaic from the 6th century B.C. on, most noticeably in the lexicon with many of the typically Indo-European Iranian compounds, most dramatically in Babylonian Middle Aramaic. Included were not only Iranian names and titles but also administrative, military, and everyday terms (e.g., *dt* [Dan 6:8, etc.] < OP *dāta,* "law, justice," and the compound noun *dtbr›* [Dan 3:2–3] < OP *dāta-bāra,* "judge"). They are found in the Aramaic parts of Daniel and Ezra (also in the Hebrew of Ezra, Esther, Nehemiah, and Daniel; i.e., the books dealing with the Achaemenid period), and in Aramaic inscriptions and other texts found throughout the empire from Egypt, Asia Minor, and the Caucasus all the way to Afghanistan. Included in this group are texts on papyrus and leather from Egypt, such as the so-called Driver documents (13 letters, apparently sent to Egypt from Babylonia or Persia in the later 5th century B.C., which are replete with Old Persian loans), a translation of two royal inscriptions, the administrative clay tablets from Persepolis, and legends on coins, seals, mortars, and pestles. Middle Iranian loanwords are found in the rabbinic writings of Babylon such as the Talmud and the Midrash, in Babylonian magic texts, and in Christian writings in E Syriac. The majority of these Middle Iranian loans are not Persian but NW Iranian, reflecting the Parthian dialect of the Arsacid rulers, and possibly also symbiotic Iranian dialects. That is the case with the Neo-Aramaic dialects in Iranian and Iraqi Kurdistan today, which naturally show much greater interference from neighboring Iranian dialects such as Kurdish (Telegdi 1935).

Linguistically more significant, this contact led to the radical restructuring of the East Aramaic tense system. Specifically, Old Persian had developed a new periphrastic past tense based on the perfect participle in which the agent (subject) is expressed not by the direct (nominative) case but by the oblique (dative/genitive) case, whereas the patient (direct object) is in the direct case and/or marked by the

personal ending. This also developed in East Aramaic, e.g., OP *mana kṛtam asti*, "I have made," lit. "to, by me made it is," and E Aram. *šmyʿ-ly*, "I have heard," where the participle *šmyʿ* is followed by *ly*, which is from *l-y*, originally "by, to me" (Kutscher 1977: 70–89; Polotzky 1979. This past tense construction, later confined to transitive-causative verbs, is not to be mistaken as a "passive," which continued to exist, was not confined to the past, and did not allow the mention of the agent.)

**H. Writing Systems**

Most Iranian scripts are varieties of, and developments from, Aramaic. See ARAMAIC SCRIPT. The exceptions are the 36 signs of the Old Persian cuneiform (Diakonoff 1970; LeCoq 1974; Windfuhr 1970), Bactrian written in a variety of the Greek alphabet (evidence for the Greek intermezzo in Afghanistan and central Asia), and Saka, which is written in a form of central Asian Brahmi, the origin of which is still debated. Religion played a major part in the adoption or use of a script. Thus, with Mani being a native speaker of Aramaic, Manichaean Parthian and Middle Persian are written in a script most similar to Aramaic. Khwarezmian and Buddhist Sogdian are written in another form of Aramaic, Manichaean Sogdian is in the Manichaean script, and Christian Sogdian is written in the Syriac script.

Quite early Aramaic began to be used heterographically so that Aramaic words, not infrequently in inflected forms, could stand as symbols for Iranian ones. Later, Iranian endings, or parts of Iranian words, began to be added as a mnemonic device. The final stage of Sassanian Middle Persian writing, i.e., the cursive Book-Pahlavi of the Zoroastrian writings, mostly dating from the 9th century, still retains many heterographs. For example:

GBRʾ ZY *pyl* TMH *dyt* MN-W LWT-H *gwspn-dʾn pd dšt kwp* YḤWWNt ḤWH-*d*

*mard i pīr anōh dīd kē abāg gospandān pad dast kōf būd hēnd*

"There he saw some old men who lived on plains and mountains with their sheep" (Brunner 1977: 4). The adjectival construct with GBRʾ ZY *pyl* stands for Persian */mard ī pīr/*, "man-relational marker-old" = "old man," TMH for */anōh/,* "there," MN-W for */kē/,* "who," LWT-H for */abāg/,* "with," *t* in YḤWWNt to mark participial *t* and *d* to mark the third person plural copula */hēnd/* in the periphrastic past YḤWWNt ḤWH-*d* for */būt hēnd/,* "they were, have been."

In this writing system, the letter shapes had partially merged so that the original 22 letters were reduced to 14. (On the development of the Middle Iranian scripts, specifically Book-Pahlavi, see Henning *apud* Spuler 1958: 21–40; Kutscher 1970: 393–99; Nyberg 1974 2: 1–7, Humbach 1974; Humbach and Skjaervo 1983 3/2: 132–9; Delauney 1985). In order to record the then orthodox pronunciation of the sacred Avestan texts as accurately as possible, an ingenious Avestan alphabet was invented during Sassanid times (possibly the 6th century A.D.), based on the Book-Pahlavi script. Its 48 (originally 60) signs distinguish not only long and short vowels but also minute conditioned variants of the consonants, aspiration, palatalization, etc. (Morgenstierne 1942; Windfuhr 1972).

Finally, Late Khwarezmian is written in Arabic. In fact, the Arabic script is now used for all literary modern Iranian languages except those used in the Soviet Union.

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GERNOT L. WINDFUHR

## *LATIN*

Originally the language of Latium, the region of Italy in which Rome is situated. It became the dominant language of the W Mediterranean with the expansion of Roman power. Colloquial or "Vulgar"

Latin, spoken in various provinces of the Roman Empire, in the course of time developed into the Romance languages of France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Switzerland, and Romania.

**A. The Latin Language**

Latin belongs to the Italic branch of the Indo-European (IE) family of languages. The Italic branch comprised both Q and P languages or dialects, according to how the unvoiced Indo-European labiovelar sound was represented by *qu* (as in Lat *quattuor,* "four," from IE *$*q^w$etwor*) or by *p* (as in Oscan *petora,* Umbrian *petur,* "four"); Latin was a Q language.

IE intervocalic *s* became *r* in Latin; thus the genitive plural of *ā-stems* (IE **āsōm*) became *-arum* (contrast Gk *-aōn,* contracting to *-ōn,* with the disappearance of intervocalic *s*).

Of the IE cases, Latin retains the ablative, not only in its original ablative sense (denoting separation) but in the instrumental sense as well. The locative survives in place names and in a few common nouns (e.g., *domi,* "at home").

Latin forms the genitive singular of *o*-stems in *-ī,* which was taken over also by *ā*-stems (the ending *-ae,* as in *aqua vitae,* was formerly a dissyllable, *-āī*). The original IE genitive singular of *ā*-stems survives in *paterfamilias*.

Latin has no definite article; the situations in which its absence leads to ambiguity are fewer than might be expected. (The translator of the Rheims NT of 1582 used the Latin Vg as his base, but paid regard to the Gk text when deciding whether or not to use the Eng definite article.)

The Latin passive is formed by the addition of *-r* (e.g., *amor,* "I am loved," alongside *amo,* "I love"), as in other Italic languages or dialects and the neighboring Celtic languages and also in the remote Hittite and Tocharian languages.

The aorist (past historic) and perfect tenses have fallen together into one Latin form, called the perfect; e.g., *amavi* means either "I loved" or "I have loved."

Except in deponent verbs (verbs passive in form but active in meaning), Latin has no perfect participle active. In the NT this gives rise to some theological problems: in Heb 1:3, for example, the Gk aorist participle, "having made purification," is rendered in Vg by the present participle, "making purification," which obscures, or indeed contradicts, the point which the author intends to make.

Latin was the official language of Roman colonies in the east and west alike, and it was the language of the Roman armies wherever they were stationed; but in the E Mediterranean, Greek was never displaced from its position as the language of culture and general communication which it had held since Alexander the Great's conquests.

**B. Latin Literature**

The earliest specimens of Latin writing are inscriptions dating from the 5th century B.C. onward. Latin literature in the proper sense begins in the second half of the 3d century B.C., with Livius Andronicus, who translated Homer's *Odyssey* into Latin, and Naevius, author of an epic poem on the Punic War. Both of these authors used the native Saturnian meter, but it was soon displaced by imported Greek meters like the hexameter, used by Ennius (239–169 B.C.) for his *Annales,* an epic poem on the history of Rome. In the same period, Plautus and Terence presented the motifs and techniques of the Attic New Comedy in Latin dress.

But Roman genius made sure that Latin literature was no mere copy of Greek models but had a character and distinction of its own. Lucretius (*ca.* 55 B.C.) bent the hexameter to didactic use in his six books *On the Nature of Things,* an exposition of Epicurean philosophy. Cicero (d. 43 B.C.), in his orations, letters, and philosophical treatises, raised Latin prose to a level which has remained unsurpassed. Virgil's *Aeneid* (between 29 and 19 B.C.), for all its indebtedness to Homeric epic poetry, is an independent work of genius. Horace (65–8 B.C.) has by his *Odes* endeared himself to appreciative readers of all succeeding generations. Livy (59 B.C.–A.D. 17) wrote the history of Rome in 142 volumes, of which 35 are extant. These are some of the names which justify the description of this phase of Latin literature as the golden age.

To the silver age belong the philospher and tragedian Seneca (d. A.D. 65), his nephew the epic writer Lucan, the encyclopedist Pliny the Elder (d. A.D. 79), and his nephew the letter writer Pliny the Younger;

the satirist Juvenal; Tacitus, Rome's greatest historian; the biographer Suetonius; and Apuleius, whose *Golden Ass* is a splendid example of early novel-writing. There was a falling away of literary power in the following generations, but new life was breathed into Latin prose by the Latin church fathers.

**C. Latin in the NT**

Latin plays only a marginal role in the NT. It was one of the three languages of the "title" fastened above Jesus' head on the cross (John 19:20). There is a sprinkling of loanwords from Latin in the Greek NT: *assarius,* "penny" (Matt 10:29; Luke 12:6); *census,* "taxes" (Mark 12:14, etc.); *centurio,* "centurion" (Mark 15:39); *colonia,* "colony" (Acts 16:12); *custodia,* "guard" (Matt 27:65); *denarius* (Mark 6:37, etc.); *flagello,* "scourge" (Mark 15:15 = Matt 27:26); *forum* (Acts 28:15); *legio,* "legion" (Mark 5:9, etc.); *libertinus,* "freedman" (Acts 6:9); *linteum,* "towel" (John 13:4–5); *macellum,* "meat market" (1 Cor 10:25); *membrana,* "parchment" (2 Tim 4:13); *mille* (sc. *passus*), "mile" (Matt 5:41); *modius,* "bushel" (Mark 4:21 = Matt 5:15 = Luke 11:33); *paenula,* "cloak" (2 Tim 4:13); *praetorium,* "palace," "praetorian guard" (Mark 15:16 = Matt 27:27; John 18:28, etc.; Acts 23:35; Phil 1:13); *quadrans,* "penny" (Matt 5:26; Mark 12:42); *semicinctium,* "apron" (Acts 19:12); *sicarius,* "assassin" (Acts 21:38); *speculator,* "soldier of the guard" (Mark 6:27; found also as a loanword in rabbinical Heb *spiglaṭor,* with the same sense, "executioner"), *sudarium,* "napkin," "handkerchief" (Luke 19:20; John 11:44; 20:7; Acts 19:12); *taberna,* "tavern" (Acts 28:15); *titulus,* "title" (John 19:19–20).

Paul may have been able to claim his citizenship rights in Latin, *civis Romanus sum* (cf. Acts 16:37; 22:25; 25:11). He would have heard Latin spoken in Roman colonies such as Philippi and Corinth (although his chief associations were with Greek-speaking residents) and in his contacts with the Roman army. When he planned to evangelize Spain (Rom 15:24, 29) he must have been prepared to use Latin as his regular means of communication there; perhaps it was to gain fluency in it that he visited the Latin-speaking province of Illyricum (Rom 15:19). In Rome, however, Greek would serve him adequately: the city was completely bilingual, and the Roman church was Greek-speaking until the end of the 2d century.

**D. Latin in the Church**

Latin appears to have come first into Christian use in the Roman province of Africa, whose capital city, Carthage, became a Roman colony in 146 B.C. It was here that the first Latin Christian literature appeared, preeminently the writings of Tertullian of Carthage, which belong to the years A.D. 196–212. Parts, at least, of the Bible were available in a Latin version in Africa in the last quarter of the 2d century. In 180, the church of Scillium, near Carthage, possessed a copy (evidently in Latin) of Paul's letters. Tertullian quotes extensively from the Latin scriptures and Cyprian, bishop of Carthage (249–257), uses a practically complete Latin Bible.

Pope Victor I (ca. A.D. 190) is said to have been the first Latin-speaking bishop of Rome (Hier. *Vir. Ill.* 34). The first substantial contribution to Latin Christian literature produced in Rome was Novatian's treatise *On the Trinity* (ca. A.D. 250).

In the following centuries, Latin literature was enriched by a succession of gifted Christian writers, including Hilary, bishop of Poitiers (d. 367), author of the work *On the Trinity;* Ambrose, bishop of Milan (339–397), preacher and exegete; Jerome, who produced (among many other things) the first Latin translation of the OT direct from Hebrew; Pelagius (ca. 350–430), commentator on Paul's letters and the first British author; and Augustine of Hippo (354–430), "assuredly the greatest man that ever wrote Latin" (Souter 1927: 139), whose intellectual and spiritual powers, finding expression in a long succession of outstanding treatises and letters, have to this day exercised a profound influence on Christian thinking in the Western tradition.

Throughout W Europe for many centuries, Latin remained the language of church, law, and scholarship. Moreover, outstanding literary works in prose and poetry continued to appear in Latin until the 18th century. In his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People (Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum),* Bede of Jarrow (673–735), a man of wide and deep learning, showed himself a master of the historian's art. The Irish scholar Johannes Scotus Erigena (815–877), translator of Pseudo-Dionysius' *Celestial Hierarchy* into Latin, produced original philosophical studies. Abelard (1079–1142) showed his best literary qualities in his letters and hymns rather than in his controversial writings.

Although in the reformed churches Latin was largely displaced by the vernacular tongues, it continued to be used as a literary medium. Luther and Calvin wrote in Latin as well as in German and French, respectively; and in the following century, John Milton wrote in Latin (both prose and poetry) as well as in English. Only in the second half of the 20th century, with the encouragement of vernacular liturgy, has Latin ceased to be the invariable liturgical language in the Roman Catholic Church.

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F. F. BRUCE

## *PHOENICIAN*

The term Phoenician properly denotes those dialects of Canaanite spoken in antiquity in the region of the Lebanon (Phoenicia). Canaanite, called "the speech of Canaan" by its native speakers (Isa 19:18), was the indigenous Northwest Semitic language of all ancient Lebanon and the biblical land of Canaan. To the Canaanite family of languages also belonged the regional dialects of Judean (Hebrew), Moabite, Ammonite, and Edomite. Two dialects of Phoenician Canaanite are known: Byblian, the language of the city-state of Byblos, and Tyro-Sidonian, that of the city-states of Tyre and Sidon and their dependencies in central and S Lebanon. With the political and economic ascendancy in Phoenicia of Tyre and Sidon in the 1st millennium B.C.E., Tyro-Sidonian Phoenician emerged as the common language or *koinē* of all Phoenicians; although Byblian continued to be the official tongue of the city of Byblos, its linguistic importance was negligible. Trade and overseas expansion, already in process at the end of the 2d millennium B.C.E., carried and transplanted Tyro-Sidonian Phoenician far beyond Phoenicia to Cyprus, Greece, N Africa, SW Spain and the Balearic Islands, W Sicily, Sardinia, and Malta. Western Phoenician (Punic), the language of the Carthaginian state and its vast empire, rivaled in importance Greek and Latin in classical antiquity; it survived in N Africa well into the Christian period, counting among its native speakers the Roman emperor Septimius Severus, the poet Apuleius, and the Church Father Augustine of Hippo.

Classical Phoenician, specifically the Tyro-Sidonian (TS) of Lebanon proper and the Phoenician kingdoms and communities in Cyprus and Greece, was essentially similar to Hebrew (Heb) except for minor dialectal differences. Accordingly, the relatedness of TS and Heb may be described succinctly in terms of these differences.

### A. Alphabet and Writing

Phoenician was written in a regional variety of the Proto-Sinaitic linear alphabet especially adapted to its 22-consonant inventory. It was this 22-letter alphabet, together with the Phoenician names of the letters, that was subsequently borrowed by other Canaanite-speaking peoples, including the Israelites, and by the Arameans and later the Greeks. Phoenician orthography was always purely consonantal; although the system of the *matres lectionis* (vowel letters) used in Hebrew, Moabite, and Aramaic was known to the Phoenicians, it was rarely used by them.

### B. Phonology

The phoneme /z/ was pronounced [zd] or [zz], and /ṣ/ was pronounced [st], [ts], or [ss]. Proto-Semitic /š ś s/ had fallen together as [s], as in the Ephraimite dialect of Canaanite (see Judg 12:4–6); thus, the absence of the sound [š], which made it impossible for the Ephraimite to "pronounce correctly" Judean /šibbólet/, made it possible for St. Augustine to relate Punic *salus* [salūs] = Heb /šalōš/, "three, trinity," to Latin *salūs,* "salvation" (see Aug. *Ad Rom.* inch. Exp. 13). Phoenician did, however, represent the reflexes of /š ś/ by the alphabet letter *š;* only rarely by the letter *s*. The Proto-Semitic vowel /a/ had three reflexes in Phoenician: (1) [a] in an open unstressed syllable, (2) [e] or [i] in a closed unstressed syllable, and (3) commonly but not always [o] in a stressed syllable: TS /hessūs/ = Heb /hassūs/, "the horse"; TS /banó/ =

Heb /baná/, “he built.” Proto-Canaanite /ō/ had the reflexes (1) [ō] in a closed unstressed syllable and (2) [ū] in an open unstressed and commonly but not always in a closed stressed syllable: TS /dōbrīm/ = Heb /dōbĕrīm/, “they say”; TS /dūbér/ = Heb /dōbér/, “he says”; TS /śanūt/ = Heb /šānōt/, “years.” The Proto-Semitic diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ were contracted to [ō] or [ū] and [ē] or [ī], respectively, under all conditions.

**C. Noun and Adjective**

The feminine singular afformative is always /-ót/: TS /milkót/ = Heb /malká/, “queen.” The nouns “father” and “brother” have the stems /ʾabū-/ and /ʾaḥū-/, respectively, in the construct state and with suffixal pronouns: TS /ʾabūnóm/ = Heb /ʾăbīhém/, “their father.” Some nouns have forms different from those in Hebrew in the singular and plural: TS /śatt/ = Heb /šaná/, “year”; TS /ʾīsīm/ = Heb /ʾănāšīm/, “men”; TS /māqūmīm/ = Heb /měqōmōt/, “places.” Some nouns common in TS are uncommon or unknown in Heb: the word for “gold” is /hārūṣ/, the common Heb word /zāhāb/ being unattested; “foot” is always /paʿm/, never /regel/; “great,” “large,” is /ʾiddīr/ or /kibbīr/, never /gādôl/; “small” is /ṣaʿīr/, never /qāṭān/; and “beautiful” is /śippīr/, not /yāpe/.

**D. Pronouns**

For “I” TS has /ʾānīki/ = Heb /ʾānōkî/; “you” (second masculine singular) was /ʾátta/, with stress on the initial syllable, in contrast to Heb ultima-stressed /ʾattā/. For “they” TS has the common gender pronoun *hmt* (pronunciation unknown). The possessive pronoun “our” is /-ón (u)/ = Heb /-énu/, and “your” (masculine plural) is /-kom/ = Heb /-kem/. In the third person, the TS possessive pronouns have complementary forms: /-o/, “his,” /-a/, “her,” and /-óm/, “their” (common gender), are used when the nouns are in the nominative or accusative case, but /-i/, “his, her,” and /-nóm/, “their,” are used when in the genitive case. When the noun ends in a vowel, the forms are /-yò/, “his”; /-yà/, “her”; and /-nom/, “their.” The demonstrative pronouns are /zde/ and /zdō/ for the masculine and feminine singular, respectively, and /ʾillī/ for the common plural; when used adjectivally, the demonstratives follow the noun and do not as a rule receive the definite article: TS /heqqart zdō/ = Heb /haqqiryâ hazzōt/. The relative pronoun is /ʾīś/ = Heb /ʾăšer/; unlike its Heb counterpart, it is regularly used with participles. For “all, every, each,” TS has /kil (l)/, corresponding to Heb /kol (l)/. TS does not have the adjective /ʾaḥēr/, “other, another,” of Heb; “another” is expressed either by the adjective /zor/ or the ordinal /śenī/, and “the other” by the construct plural noun *ʾḥry* (pronunciation unknown): TS /ʾarūn zor/ or /ʾarūn śenī/, “another coffin,” = Heb /ʾārôn ʾaḥēr/; TS *ʾḥry hbtm* = Heb /habbātîm haʾăḥērîm/, “the other houses.”[w]

**E. Verb**

The suffixing form (past perfective) of the causative stem in TS is /yiCCeC/ = Heb /hiCCìC/: TS /yiqdeś/ = Heb /hiqdīš/, “he dedicated.” The third feminine singular of the suffixing form (past perfective) of all classes of verbs, including III*y*, ends in /-a/: TS /baná/ = Heb /bānĕtâ/, “she built.” A distinction in inflection between indicative and nonindicative exists in the second and third person plural of the prefixing form of the verb: /yelekūn/, “they will go” (indicative) but /yelekū/, “let them go!” (jussive). The form /wayyiCCoC/ of Heb expressing past perfective action is unknown in TS; instead, TS uses the infinitive absolute with following subject (noun or independent personal pronoun): TS / (wa) katūb ʾānīki/ = Heb /wāʾ ektōb/, “I wrote.” TS makes extensive use of the infinitive construct /liCCūC/ as a surrogate for the future tense, the jussive, and the imperative. Some verbs in TS have forms somewhat different from those in Hebrew: TS /yaton/ = Heb /nātan/, “he gave”; TS /ḥawo/ = Heb /ḥāyâ/, “he lived.” Some verbs in TS are uncommon or unknown in Hebrew and vice versa: TS /ṭ-n-ʾ/ (*Qal, Piʿel* and *Yipʿel*), “to set up”; TS /ḥ-z-y/ = Heb /r-ʾ-y/, “to see” (unknown in TS); TS /k-n/ (*Qal*) = Heb /h-y-y/, “to be”; TS /ḥ-m-d/ and /ḥ-b-b/ (*Yipʿel*) = Heb /ʾ-h-b/, “to love” (unknown in TS); TS /p-ʿ-l/ = Heb /ʿ-ś-y/, “to do, make.”

**F. Other Parts of Speech**

The preposition *b-* /bi-/ has the free variant *ʾb-* /ʾef-/, with prothetic vowel and spirantization of the bilabial, as well as the predictable variant *bn-* before suffixal pronouns: TS *bn* /bVnó/ = Heb /bō/, “in him.” The preposition /ʿal/ has the free variant /ʿalt/, with excrescent -t. TS does not have the preposition /ʿim/ of Hebrew, using rather /ʾit (t)/. The conjunction /ʾô/, “or,” of Hebrew is unknown, with TS using

/ʾim/ instead. For "in order that," TS has *lkn* (pronunciation unknown) = Heb /lĕmáʿan/. The negative particle *lʾ* /lō/ of Heb is unknown; TS uses /ʾī/, /bal/, or /ʾībál/ to negate the indicative mood. For the accusative particle TS has the complementary forms *ʾt* /ʾot/, used immediately before a noun with possessive pronoun, and *ʾyt* (pronunciation unknown) used in all other cases; the accusative particle governs the genitive case of the noun, which must then receive the appropriate form of the possessive pronoun.

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CHARLES R. KRAHMALKOV


## *PRE-ISLAMIC SOUTH ARABIAN*

For the present purpose, South Arabia is approximately congruous with modern N and S Yemen (the Yemen Arab Republic and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen). In this area there are many thousands of inscriptions dating from some time in the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. down to the mid-6th century A.D. Almost all of those anterior to the latter 3d century A.D. are drafted in four languages commonly called Minaic, Sabaic, Qatabanic, and Hadramitic, on the basis of a listing of the four most important *folks* (ethnē) of S Arabia by the 3d-century B.C. Greek geographer Eratosthenes. Inscriptions in the first three cluster in the valleys and montane plains draining into the sand desert called by Arab geographers the Ṣayhad (on modern maps Ramlat al-Sabʿatayn); and even the Hadramites, whose inscriptions are rather widely spread in the E part of the domain, had their "metropolis" Shabwa not in the Wadi Hadramawt proper but on the E border of the Ṣayhad. It is thus convenient to group these four languages as "Ṣayhadic," rather than "Old (or Epigraphic) South Arabian," because a few inscriptions have been found, mostly to the south of the Ṣayhadic area, in a still undeciphered language which is certainly none of the four known Ṣayhadic languages.

At the NW end of the Ṣayhadic belt, the Wadi Jawf is linguistically divided, with Minaic in the E part and Sabaic in the W part; Sabaic also covers a large area comprising the high plateaus S of the Wadi Jawf, and the oases at a lower level E of the high plateau area, including the Sabaean "metropolis" Marib. Qatabanic is centered on the Wadis Ḥarīb and Bayḥān with the area S thereof.

Some Ṣayhadic texts are found well outside the S Arabian area: notably at Dedan (modern al-Ulā), where there was a Minaean trading establishment, and at Samhar (modern Khor Rori), a little east of Sallalah in what is now part of the sultanate of Oman. Additionally, there is a very small scattering of inscriptions spread over an even more extensive area: those in Egypt and the Mediterranean island of Delos reflect S Arabian trading interests; those in central Arabia are a result of military expeditions.

The earliest South Arabian inscriptions known are Sabaic; use of the other three languages began (so far as their epigraphic record goes) slightly later, and continued in the case of Minaic down to about 100 B.C., in the case of Qatabanic and Hadramitic to about the beginning of the 3d century A.D. Sabaic continued in use through the 4th to 6th centuries, but with features which suggest that it may by that time have been developing into something more like a "learned" prestigious language than one actively spoken. Because in that period the political control of the whole of S Arabia was in the hands of the so-called Tubbaʿ kings, who were of Himyarite stock, it is possible that Sabaic was yielding to Himyaritic: this is an Arabian dialect, albeit one rather more divergent than most from the general average of Arabic dialects, and showing more archaic features.

Muslim writers were acquainted with the history of only the three centuries immediately preceding Islam, and consequently applied the term Himyaritic to all pre-Islamic inscriptions (and other material remains); European scholars of the 19th century tended to echo this, by calling all Ṣayhadic texts "Himyaritic," but this is a complete misnomer.

All S Arabian pre-Islamic languages are written in the South Arabian variety of the South Semitic alphabet, including 29 letters, in contrast with the limited repertory of 22 letters found in the Phoenician-Hebrew-Aramaic group of alphabets. But the two script families did share a common origin in the remote past. Other members of the South Semitic script family are the old North Arabian scripts and Ethiopic (the latter deriving apparently directly from South Arabian). But the South Arabian script was not limited to rendering South Arabian languages, whether Ṣayhadic or another; it was also used for Hasaitic (an old-Arabian language of the al-Ḥasā area in E Arabia), and for Arabic in Qaryat al-Faw (an important caravan city on the route linking Najran with NE Arabia); although the few inscriptions from Najran appear to be Sabaic, the population probably spoke Arabic, using Sabaic as a prestigious language in the same way that the Arabic speakers of Palmyra used Aramaic for epigraphic purposes.

Alongside the monumental variety of South Arabian script, we now have a handful of documents on wood in a highly cursive script (based, however, on the monumental script) and apparently used for epistolary purposes. This script is extremely difficult to read, and though work is now proceeding on decipherment of the texts, it will be a long time before satisfactory results can be expected.

The South Arabian alphabet is basically consonantal, with no notation for short vowels and none for long *ā* (apart from a single instance, a late text of the Tubbaʿ period in which the Jewish name Yahuda is spelt in Aramaic fashion as *Yhwdʾ*); it remains disputable to what extent *w* and *y* may have been used as vowel letters. Nor is there in general any notation for consonant length (a lack found also in Ethiopic, despite the fact that the latter has evolved a system of vowel notation); Minaic texts, however, do show some half-dozen words in which duplication of a consonant may plausibly be thought to represent length of the consonant, as in Greek, although this manner of noting the feature is totally unknown in any other Semitic alphabetic script. All this manifestly places severe restrictions on our knowledge of the linguistic structures.

The Ṣayhadic languages are unmistakably Semitic, but they are made distinct from all other Semitic languages by the use of an affixed *-n* (in Hadramitic *-hn*) with the function of a definite article, so that Arabic speakers consciously equated it with their own prefixed *al-*. Also noteworthy is the maintenance of three unvoiced sibilant phonemes, a feature shared with a group of languages still spoken today in the Sallalah region and the island of Socotra, of which the main representative is Mahri; these possess besides */s/* and */š/* a further phoneme with lateral articulation (rather like Welsh */ll/*). So far as cognates in other Semitic languages can be detected, over 80 percent of the cases show the following correspondences:

| **Ṣayhadic** | **Mahric** | **Hebrew** | **Arabic** |
|---|---|---|---|
| $s^1$ | */š/* | *š (šin)* | *s* |
| $s^2$ | lateral */ś/* | *ś (śin)* | *š* |
| $s^3$ | */š/* | *s (samek)* | *s* |

The shape of the letter $s^3$ closely resembles that of a Northwest Semitic *samek* at the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C.; and while the shape of $s^2$ is that of the ambiguous Northwest Semitic *śin/šin,* the cognates suggest that its value was that of the *śin*—whatever that may have been. The extra letter shape would thus have been $s^1$, which looks like a differentiated version of *s*.

The other letters additional to the 22-letter alphabet are the six which Arabic has over and above the latter, and their shapes are mainly secondarily developed forms: *ḡ* based on *g*, *ḏ* on *d*, *ḫ* on *h*, *ḍ* on *ṭ*, *ẓ* on *ṣ* (indeed, these two often interchange), and *ṯ* for which rather oddly the closest resemblance in shape is *y*.

Another general feature of Ṣayhadic is frequent assimilation of *n* to a following consonant (other than a laryngeal or glottal) when the two are continuous. Assimilated and nonassimilated spellings, however, are almost equally common.

Within the Ṣayhadic family, there is a cleavage between Sabaic and the other three. Sabaic has *h-* as the prefix of the causative verb-stem and *-h-* in third person affix pronouns (cf. Heb *Hipʿīl*, *-oh, -ah, -hem*), while the others have $s^1$ (cf. Akkad *šaprus, -šu, -šum;* Syr *šapʿel;* Mahric causative verb-stem in *š-* and sibilant pronoun affixes). Some texts, however, show a mixture of both sibilant and *h* forms; and, as elements in personal names, *h-* verb-stem formations are almost universal. The verb-stem formant *h-* is retained in the imperfect and the participle (in contrast with Hebrew).

A peculiarity of Hadramitic is loss of phonemic distinction between $s^3$ and *ṯ*, and between *z* and *ḏ*, so that the two letters in each pair are used indifferently. Also notable in Hadramitic is a consonantal differentiation in the third person sing. affix pronoun: masc. $-s^1$, fem. $-s^3$ or *ṯ* (paralleled in Mahric by masc. *-š,* fem. -s); elsewhere in Ṣayhadic the consonantal base of these pronouns is uniform for both genders.

Qatabanic has a *b-* prefix for the indicative imperfect verb, without which the verb has a jussive or optative force. Imperfects in *b-* occur sporadically in Minaic, but without sufficient evidence of their value.

In earlier Sabaic, and in the other three languages, the numeral 3 has the form $s^2lt$ *(t),* but in Sabaic from about the 1st century A.D. this is replaced by *tlt (t).* One notes that the noun-stem affix which appears in Ugaritic and Akkadian as *-t* is in Ṣayhadic always so spelt, and never (as in the Hebrew and Arabic non-construct forms) with *-h.*

There are some traces of a verbal perfect-tense inflection with first person sing. and second persons marked by *-k,* as is the case in Ethiopic and Mahric, in Himyaritic (where it may be due to the Ṣayhadic substratum), and in some of the present-day Arabic dialects of Yemen (presumably inherited from Himyaritic).

The Marib area and the highlands west of it exhibit what may be termed standard Sabaic; but to the north and south there are texts showing dialectal peculiarities. One such dialect, for which textual evidence in any quantity has only just become available, is that of the Radmān folk, in the southeast corner of present-day N Yemen around the town of Radāʿ, and thus in close proximity to the Qatabanic area; as might be expected, this shows some admixture of forms recalling Qatabanic. Another dialect is evidenced in a small group of texts from around Haram in the Wadi Jawf, which have the preposition *mn,* "from," whereas in all other parts of the Ṣayhadic domain "from" is expressed exclusively by *bn* (very common) or *ln* (occasionally in Sabaic); it can be surmised that these forms are expansions with the differentiated meaning "from" as well as, respectively, "in, at" and "to, for." Ṣayhadic has only one preposition meaning "to, for" covering the ranges of Hebrew *lĕ-,* Arabic *li-* and Hebrew *ʾel,* and Arabic *ʾilā:* this preposition is in Sabaic and Qatabanic *l-,* in Minaic *k-,* in Hadramitic *h-.*

Sabaic, and to a partial extent Minaic, has two imperfect verb forms, one simple, the other characterized by affixed *-n.* While the latter is often used in main verbs with a jussive or optative sense, it also occurs frequently in subordinate clauses of all kinds, including relative ones; it is thus in no way parallel functionally to the Arabic "energetic" *-n* forms.

In its use of nominal "broken" or internal plurals, Ṣayhadic outdoes all other Semitic languages; such plurals are almost universally used, even for denominals in *-y;* e.g., *ṣrwḥy,* "man of Ṣirwāḥ," pl. *ʾṣrḥ,* where Arabic would admit only *Ṣirwāḥiyyūn.* Barely a dozen Ṣayhadic nouns, such as *bn,* "son," *ym,* "day," etc., are attested with external masc. pl. forms, additionally to internal ones.

A feature to which the term "consecutive infinitive" has been applied is that where two or more verbs are immediately (without intervening words) coordinated with each other, the normal rule is that only the first exhibits the appropriate morphological markers of the finite verb in respect to gender, number, and tense, while the following ones are devoid of those markers, thus showing a quasi-infinitival form, although semantically they have the same gender, number, and tense implications as the leading verb.

Lack of vocalization is especially frustrating in regard to the verbal system. The graphic forms show only a base-stem *fʿl* and derivative stems *hfʿl*/$s^1fʿl$, *tfʿl, ftʿl* and $s^1tfʿl$ (and a few Minaic examples of *fʿʿl,* see above). A **nfʿl* stem is completely unattested; but it has to be noted that in Mahric and Ethiopic the *n-* prefix stem is confined to verbs from quadriliteral roots, of which only one is attested in Ṣayhadic, and

that is a *hfʿl* stem. It remains uncertain how far these graphic forms may conceal a variety of vocalizations; though one Sabaic form at least, *ts*$^{2}$*m* (from root *s*$^{2}$*ym*), might be thought to demonstrate a *tafaʿla* stem, which exists in Ethiopic though not in Arabic. At all events, one must not allow the inadequate graphic evidence to mislead one into inferring that the verb system had more similarity to the Arabic one than to the Ethiopic or Mahric systems.

Relatively little work has been done so far on syntax. One does, however, gain the general impression that Ṣayhadic had a fairly close resemblance to Arabic in this domain, with a few notable exceptions. It is regular for two or more substantives to govern a single genitive jointly, contrary to the classical Arabic rule that the form "the (X + Y) of Z" must be rephrased as "the X of Z and its Y." An asyndetic relative clause, or a prepositional phrase qualifying a substantive, may be treated like genitives in that the governing substantive has the morphological form of a "construct" (i.e., a substantive followed by a possessive pronoun or another substantive in the genitive), whereas this feature is in Arabic generally restricted to cases where the governing substantive is a time word (e.g., *sanata māta,* "the year he died").

A lexical survey is hampered by the interpretational divergencies (sometimes bizarrely extreme) among scholars. Many of these have tended to pillage Lane's *Arabic Lexicon* in their search for cognates, with too little regard for the fact that the medieval Arab lexicographers (on whose work Lane is based) often cite as the meaning of a word a connotation derivable solely from a particular context and quite inapplicable outside that context. Nor should it be forgotten that the bulk of our inscriptions antedate Arabic by at least half a millennium, in which time there is ample scope for substantial semantic shifts. But subject to these cautions, it is true that the tendency in the last few decades, for scholars to have recourse increasingly to the vocabulary of Arabic for explaining Ṣayhadic, has had considerable pragmatic success.

The Ṣayhadic lexicon retains some old Semitic words that have totally disappeared from the Arabic vocabulary, such as *ʾbn,* "stone," and *ʿḍ,* "wood." Sabaic *lbʾ,* "lion, lioness," survives in Arabic only in the feminine *labuʾah,* while what has now become the *vox propria* for "lion" in Arabic, *ʾasad,* is revealed as originating in a metaphor by Ṣayhadic *ʾs*$^{1}$*d,* "warrior." Minaic *rtkl* has the same sense as Hebrew and Aramaic *rkl,* "to trade," whereas Arabic *rakala* means only "to kick." Ṣayhadic *kwr,* "mountain," and *nwd,* "wind," survive at the present day in Yemeni dialectical usage, though unknown in standard Arabic or in any other Semitic language.

Both the Ethiopic and the Mahric languages have provided useful materials: *fṯḥ,* "lawsuit," recalls Ethiopic *fätäḥ,* "law"; the numeral *ṭd,* "one," exists in Mahri as *ṭad;* and *ḥbr* (designating something that damages crops) is better connected with Jibbali (Mahric) *ḥor* < *ḥbr,* "cold," than, as hitherto thought, with Hebrew *ḥěběr,* "sorcery." Sometimes the search for cognates is fruitless: when we read in a Minaic inscription on a sarcophagus, "This sarcophagus is that of so-and-so … who *fqr* in the 22d year of Ptolemy," it is absurd to suppose that the verb can mean anything except "died," although this sense of the root is found nowhere else in Semitic.

As might be expected, Sabaic vocabulary of the 4th–6th centuries shows an increasing convergence with Arabic. One interesting example is the root meaning "join together": in normal everyday Arabic this is *ǧamaʿa,* which, however, makes its first epigraphic appearance in the 6th century A.D.; earlier Ṣayhadic appears (judging from derivatives) to have used in this sense *krb,* while in Arabic *karaba* means "draw near, approximate," with a secondary development "to oppress," and then "to grieve" (transitive).

In the 4th–6th centuries we encounter also a certain number of loanwords, mainly from Syriac; e.g., *bʿt,* "church"; *qs*$^{1}$*s*$^{1}$, "Christian priest" (Syriac *qěšišo*); *brk,* "bless." Before that period loanwords are decidedly sparse. In some early texts we have a priestly title *ʾfklt* (pl.), Akk *apkallu;* in the 2d–3d centuries A.D., *ṯf,* "tablet," Akk (ultimately Sum) *ṭuppu.* Also of this latter period are a few terms evidently still considered foreign, and applied only with reference to non-Ṣayhadic-speaking peoples: Habashite (Abyssinian) military contingents are referred to as *ʾḥzb* (Ethiopic *ḥězb*), and among the spoils taken from Habashites are listed *dglmt,* "bracelets, anklets," (Ethiopic *děgělma*).

Considered overall, the content of the Ṣayhadic monumental inscriptions is starkly archival in character: building records, dedications, funerary texts, legal enactments, "victory" texts, and so forth. They are

uniformly drafted in the third person, and we have less than half a dozen showing a first or second person form; the cursive texts may be expected eventually to enlarge our knowledge in this respect. But the 1st–3d centuries A.D., which are much more amply documented than any other period, provide us with a large number of texts recording the presentation of votive offerings to deities, and these throw valuable light on everyday life. There is a small group of so-called "pentitential" texts, recording expiation for ritual offenses, particularly against ritual purity; the rules inferable from these bear a strong likeness to purity codes prevalent throughout the ANE. (On the modern languages of this region, see the Introductory Survey at the beginning of this entry.)

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## *UGARITIC*

The native language employed in the city and kingdom of Ugarit in the LB Age is called Ugaritic.

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A. Languages in Ugarit

B. The Language

1. Classification

2. Script, Phonology, and Vocalization

3. Principal Features
4. Geographical Distribution
C. Relation to Biblical Hebrew

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**A. Languages in Ugarit**

During the LB Age, the city-state of Ugarit flourished as a cosmopolitan center of trade and commerce. As a result of its international character, several languages and various scripts were employed in the city. In addition to the native language, Ugaritic, evidence has survived of use at the same time of Akkadian, Hittite, Hurrian, and other languages. Some of these (e.g., Akkadian) were principally employed in the context of international trade and diplomacy; others (e.g., Hurrian) may reflect the mixed ethnic population within the city-state. The variety of languages was paralleled by the use of various scripts, including alphabetic cuneiform (used especially for Ugaritic itself), syllabic cuneiform, and hieroglyphic. Our knowledge of languages employed in Ugarit is based entirely on inscriptions, which include both archival texts and short inscriptions on monuments, tools, and other items. The multilingual context of the city-state had an influence on the native language, revealed both in loanwords and occasional grammatical forms. In addition, a few quadrilingual vocabularies have survived, in which Hurrian, Sumerian, and Akkadian equivalents of Ugaritic words are provided. One must suppose that professional scribes at Ugarit would have been multilingual in order to function properly in their profession.

**B. The Language**

**1. Classification.** The Semitic languages are commonly classified into three principal groups on a broadly geographical basis which corresponds conveniently, though not exactly, to linguistic divisions: East Semitic, Northwest Semitic, and South Semitic. There is general agreement that Ugaritic is a Northwest Semitic language, although there is continuing debate as to the precise subclassification of Ugaritic within the Northwest Semitic grouping. Some scholars assign Ugaritic to the "Canaanite" division of Northwest Semitic, though in fact the use of this term for languages of the 2d millennium B.C., like Ugaritic, involves historical and geographical difficulties. It is better to restrict its use, at least as a linguistic term, to the period after 1000 B.C., when the Northwest Semitic languages are known with certainty to have been split into two groups, Canaanite (i.e., Hebrew, Phoenician, Moabite) and Aramaic. Ugaritic does not, in fact, share all the characteristics of the later Canaanite. Thus one of these characteristics is the shifting of long stressed /a/ vowels to long /o/. For example, the feminine plural noun-ending in /-āt/ becomes /-ōt/. Ugaritic does not share this feature, whereas Hebrew does. In this context it is wiser to regard Ugaritic simply as a pre-Canaanite Northwest Semitic language.

There is no doubt, however, that Ugaritic has many affinities, both lexical and grammatical, with such languages as biblical Hebrew, Phoenician, and Moabite. It also has some affinities with Aramaic (for example, the shifting of the Proto-Semitic consonant /ḏ/ to /d/, against Hebrew /z/ and some lexica). We should note also links with the earlier Amorite (known to us only through personal names of the Mari period) and evidence of continuity with Eblaite. In summary, despite uncertainty over the subclassification of Ugaritic, it is agreed that it shares much with biblical Hebrew: a large, common lexical stock, certain fundamental grammatical similarities, and some common features of idiom and style.

**2. Script, Phonology, and Vocalization.** The native language of Ugarit had its own script, a form of alphabetic cuneiform, probably invented by the scribes of Ugarit, perhaps in the 15th century B.C. It combines the graphic principles of syllabic cuneiform (i.e., wedge-shaped marks on clay), with which the scribes of Syria were familiar, with the principle of the consonantal alphabet, which may have been learned from Byblos in the S. There were other, linear, consonantal scripts in use in the mid-2d millennium B.C., including the "Proto-Sinaitic" scripts of Sinai and Palestine. The normal Ugaritic script, written left to right, employed 30 symbols, though a shorter form of the alphabet, written right to left, has survived in a few texts (see below). The Ugaritic script tradition died out when the city was destroyed or soon afterwards and the innovative center of script development shifted S to Phoenicia.

The consonantal Ugaritic alphabet employs a wider range of symbols and represents a wider range of consonants than have survived in biblical Hebrew. Separate signs, for example for /ḥ/ and /ẖ/ and /ʿ/ and /ǵ/, suggest a phonology akin to Arabic rather than Hebrew (though there is evidence that Hebrew had more sounds than the Hebrew script could adequately represent). Vowels were not normally separately represented in the Ugaritic script. Hence, one cannot describe the script as alphabetic in the modern sense: it was left to the Greeks to develop an alphabet which included consonants *and* vowels as separate signs. Ugaritic is thus like Hebrew (for which the elaborate vocalization system was developed in the postbiblical period). However, in Ugaritic the letter ʾ*alep*, the glottal stop, was written in three different forms to indicate the accompanying vowel. This, along with some Ugaritic texts and word lists written in the syllabic script normally used for Akkadian (a script which *does* represent vowels), enables us to establish a fairly clear idea of the vocalization of Ugaritic words. This vocalization is partly based on comparative Semitic grammar, especially comparison with Akkadian and Arabic.

**3. Principal Features.** Although the settlement of Ugarit goes back to the Neolithic period, and its importance grew from ca. 2000 B.C., all our sources of information on the linguistic situation in Ugarit come from the LB Age, ca. 1400–1200 B.C. This is too short a period of time, given the limited sources, in which to trace precisely chronological developments and change in the Ugaritic language. Some of the Ugaritic texts, because of their conservative nature, may preserve archaic linguistic features; a few of the administrative texts, from the last years of Ugarit prior to its destruction, reflect later modifications in the form of the language. Although Ugaritic ceased to be used after ca. 1200 B.C., it may be noted that Ugaritic had a direct linguistic and literary heir in Phoenician (of which relatively little is preserved) and some features of ancient Ugaritic are claimed to survive in the Arabic of the nearby modern city of Latakia (Badre et al. 1976: 105, 116, 125). From the perspective of comparative studies with the Bible, it needs to be remembered that all the evidence of Ugaritic is considerably earlier than any of the direct evidence for Hebrew.

More than 1,300 texts in the Ugaritic language have been recovered from Ras Shamra and nearby sites. The majority of these texts (economic, administrative, etc.) are in a standard form of the Ugaritic language, although the prose style is often abbreviated, almost shorthand, in the manner of such texts. A more elevated form of the language, marked by literary style and elegance, is found in the poetic texts (approximately 50 in number, though some are very long) and in some prose texts, such as letters and descriptions of religious rituals, many of which were found in royal and priestly archives. These texts of distinctive poetic style were probably the work of professional scribes, with the more mundane economic and practical texts reflecting the needs of merchants and administrators.

Unvocalized Ugaritic in transliteration looks very similar to unvocalized Hebrew in transliteration. There are, however, some major grammatical differences in addition to the phonological differences already alluded to. Nouns have case endings (as in Classical Arabic and Akkadian). Reconstruction, based on the methods of recovering vocalization referred to above, allows us to distinguish, for example, nominative, accusative, and genitive singular (/kussiʾu/, /kussiʾa/, /kussiʾi/, "chair, throne"). The dual is fully operative in Ugaritic. Another obvious feature is the absence of any definite article. The verbal "tenses" (if they can be so called) are perfect *qṭl* and imperfect *yqṭl* as in Hebrew, Arabic, etc., though the use of the two is complex. The *yqṭl* form is frequently used for descriptions of past events, especially when one verb follows another in a descriptive sequence. In vocabulary, Ugaritic shares much with the Canaanite languages, though there are also many words shared with Akkadian. Some may be loanwords; others may go back to a much earlier stratum of Syrian Semitic, having been used already in Eblaite.

The poetic style of the literary texts (mythology and legends) shares the characteristics of Semitic poetry throughout the ANE and especially of the Northwest Semitic area. A notable feature of the poetic texts is the dominance of various forms of parallelism, together with related features such as formulaic language and the use of conventional word pairs in poetic parallel. Although the texts that have survived in the Ugaritic language provide some insight into the written forms of the language, they provide only partial understanding of what might have been the spoken forms of Ugaritic in everyday life.

**4. Geographical Distribution.** Inscriptions in the Ugaritic script and closely related scripts have been found over a wide area, but the evidence is hard to interpret. It is not always possible to be sure that an inscription in the Ugaritic script is in the Ugaritic language, since the inscriptions from outside Ugarit itself are invariably very short. One, from Sarepta, is thought to be in Phoenician. Nor is it possible to be sure that Ugaritic was normally used in the place where such an inscription has been found, since the particular text might be the product of an expatriate Ugaritian or the result of trade.

In general terms, Ugaritic was used in the city-state of Ugarit. The boundaries of the state changed from time to time, but they may have extended as far N as the Jebel el-ʿAqra (later Mt. Casius), E into the Orontes valley, and S as far as Tell Sukas (on the coast south of Latakia). Within this broad geographical area, inscriptions in Ugaritic have been found at Ras Shamra (Ugarit itself), Minet el-Beida (the nearby port), Ras Ibn Hani (a few km SW), and Tell Sukas. All these inscriptions (with the exception of three from Ras Shamra) are in the longer, conventional alphabet and presumably reflect the standard dialect of Ugaritic. A text in a variant form of the short alphabet, written right to left, was found at Tell Nebi Mend (ancient Qadesh) in the Orontes valley (Millard 1976: 459–60); whether this region was ever part of the kingdom of Ugarit is uncertain, though the dialect represented by the inscription may differ slightly from that in use in Ugarit itself.

Further inscriptions in the Ugaritic script have been found in regions that were never part of the kingdom of Ugarit (Craigie 1983: 153–57): Tell Taanach, Mt. Tabor, Kamid el-Loz, Beth Shemesh, and Sarepta. All these inscriptions are in a shorter form of the alphabetic cuneiform script, some reading left to right (Sarepta, Tell Taanach), some reading right to left (Mt. Tabor, Beth Shemesh), or some reading in both directions (Kamid el-Loz).

During a Swedish excavation at Hala Sultan Tekke in S Cyprus (1981), a silver bowl was discovered containing a short inscription in a form of the Ugaritic script. It is by no means certain, however, that Ugaritic was spoken in Cyprus (except, perhaps, by Ugaritic merchants), and the bowl was probably imported from the nearby Syrian coast. (See further Bordreuil 1983: 7–15.)

## C. Relation to Biblical Hebrew

Despite the debate over classification, the rediscovery of the Ugaritic language has been of immense value for the study of biblical Hebrew (and vice versa). In the area of lexicography, a knowledge of Ugaritic words has frequently shed light on the meaning of otherwise obscure Hebrew words. To give but one example, in Prov 26:23 the obscurity of the Hebrew text has been resolved on the basis of recognition of the fact that a Hebrew scribe had at some stage corrupted a word corresponding to Ugaritic *spsg*, "glaze." The importance of Ugaritic in this context will be clear from the consultation of modern commentaries on biblical books, especially poetic books. Perhaps the 3-volume Psalms commentary in the AB series by Mitchell Dahood is the richest in the application of Ugaritic material to the elucidation of biblical Hebrew texts. Dahood's new meanings for Hebrew words were not always well enough supported by Hebrew evidence from context, but his approach is reflected in numerous monographs on individual OT books.

In the study of grammar (e.g., the forms and function of verbs, the usage of prepositions), Ugaritic has illuminated our knowledge of Hebrew, particularly with respect to archaic forms. Features like the rarity of the definite article and the use of the imperfect verb form for past action are seen also in Hebrew poetry. Hebrew's strange switching of verb forms in the "*wāw*-consecutive" may be partly explicable from comparison with Ugaritic. There are traces of case endings in Classical Hebrew: the /-īm/ masculine plural ending contains within it the /-ī/ which was originally an oblique case ending matched by a nominative /-ū/. The Hebrew prepositions have been the subject of renewed study in the light of Ugaritic usage.

The parallelism of Ugaritic poetry, the use of formulaic language and idiomatic expressions, and other features have contributed greatly to the study of Hebrew poetry. The Ugaritic language is a particularly valuable resource in the study of archaic and poetic aspects of the Hebrew Bible.

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**LAODICEA** (PLACE) [Gk *Laodikeia* (Λαοδικεια)]. A city in the Lycus valley of SW Phrygia, hence called *Laodicea ad Lycum* to distinguish it from other cities of the same name.

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A. The Hellenistic and Roman City
B. Jewish Settlement
C. The Church of Laodicea

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**A. The Hellenistic and Roman City**

Laodicea was founded by the Seleucid king Antiochus II and named in honor of his wife, Laodice, between his accession to the throne in 261 B.C. and his divorcing her in 253 B.C. According to the elder Pliny (*HN* 5.105), it was built on the site of an older settlement first called Diospolis and later Rhoas. The name Diospolis ("city of Zeus") might reflect the fact that Zeus was the chief deity of the place, as he was of Laodicea.

Laodicea stands on the S bank of the Lycus (modern Çürük-su), between two lesser streams, the Asopus (modern Gümüş-çay) on the W and the Capsus (modern Başli-çay) on the E. It is situated 10 or 11 miles downstream from Colossae and 6 miles S of Hierapolis. At Laodicea a northbound road left the Iconium-Ephesus highway and ran by Hierapolis to Philadelphia and the Hermus valley. The ruins of Laodicea are plainly visible 5 miles N of Denizli, between the villages of Eskihisar to the S and Goncali to the N.

One of the earliest appearances of Laodicea in history was when Achaeus, rebelling against his cousin Antiochus III, had himself crowned king there in 220 B.C. (Polyb. 5.57.5). The city rapidly increased in importance, to the point where it rivaled and then surpassed its older neighbor Colossae.

By the Peace of Apamea, imposed by the Romans on the Seleucids in 188 B.C., the region in which Laodicea lay was transferred from Seleucid sovereignty to that of the kings of Pergamum. When the kingdom of Pergamum, bequeathed by its last ruler to the Romans, was reconstituted as the Roman province of Asia, Laodicea and its neighbors were thenceforth under Roman control (129 B.C.).

Laodicea was one of the few cities of Asia to hold out against Mithridates VI, king of Pontus, when he overran the province in 88 B.C. It similarly held out against Labienus when he invaded the province at the head of a Parthian army in 40 B.C.; as a reward for the city's loyalty to Rome, Mark Antony conferred Roman citizenship on several leading Laodiceans.

Laodicea belonged to a *conventus,* or assize district, to which Hierapolis, Hydrela, Themisonium, and Cibyra also belonged. Although it was called the Cibyratic *conventus,* its court actually met at Laodicea (Plin. *HN* 5.105). From Cicero, to whose jurisdiction Laodicea and the other cities of the Cibyratic *conventus* belonged during his proconsulship of Cilicia (51–50 B.C.), we learn that it was a center of financial and banking operations (*Att.* 5.15; *Fam.* 3.5), as well as a place where gladiatorial shows were to be seen (*Att.* 6.3.9). Strabo (12.8.16) attests its economic prosperity at the beginning of the 1st century A.D.

Laodicea suffered severely from earthquakes. One is recorded in the principate of Augustus: the case for relieving the Laodiceans, with the people of Thyatira and Chios, was presented to the Roman senate by Tiberius, the emperor's stepson (Suet. *Tib.* 8). A later earthquake in A.D. 60 devastated the area. Laodicea was destroyed, but was rebuilt from its own resources without state assistance (Tac. *Ann.* 14.27.1).

In addition to its natural resources, Laodicea profited from the munificence of some of its leading citizens, among whom special mention is made of Hieron, who in the 1st century B.C. bequeathed over 2,000 talents to the city and adorned it with many fine public works, and of the family of Zeno the orator (Strab. 12.8.16). Zeno led the Laodiceans in their resistance to Labienus, and he was the first of them to be rewarded with Roman citizenship by Antony: he figures thenceforward as Marcus Antonius Zeno.

The family of Zeno enjoyed a brief period of splendor. His son Polemon, who had aided his father in resisting Labienus, was appointed by Antony king of Cilicia Tracheia, which he ruled from Iconium; after Antony's defeat and death (30 B.C.), he made his peace with Octavian (the future Emperor Augustus), who made him king of Pontus and the Bosporus.

Laodicea was noted for its textile products: the local wool, said to be even softer than that of Miletus, was raven-black in color—the result, according to Vitruvius (*De Arch.* 8.3.14), of the water drunk by the sheep. It appears, moreover, to have been the chief medical center of Phrygia. Its medical school may have been sponsored by the temple of the Anatolian deity Mēn Karou, about 13 miles W of the city. There is no evidence for the suggestion made by Ramsay (1895: 52) that Mēn Karou was Hellenized as Asklēpios. Neither is there positive evidence for the frequently repeated statement (as in Ramsay 1909: 419) that the "eyesalve" (*kollyrion*) produced in Laodicea (cf. Rev 3:18) was a preparation made from powdered Phrygian stone, recommended by Galen (*De sanitate tuenda* 6.12) as a specific for eye complaints, though it was quite possibly so.

Over and above their worship of Zeus and Mēn, the Laodiceans consulted the oracle of Apollo at Klaros in Ionia, to which they sent an annual delegation. The title *neōkoros,* "temple warden" (cf. Acts 19:35), was conferred on the city by Commodus (180–192) for its devotion to the imperial cult; the title was withdrawn after his death but restored by Caracalla (211–218) in the form "*Neōkoros* of Commodus and Caracalla."

With the reorganization of the Roman Empire toward the end of the 4th century A.D., Laodicea became the seat of government of the newly established province of Phrygia Pacatiana, mentioned in the endnote to 1 Timothy in later manuscripts and the KJV: "The first to Timothy was written from Laodicea, which is the chiefest city of Phrygia Pacatiana."

The site was partly excavated in 1961–1963 by an archaeological party from Laval University in Quebec, led by Jean des Gagniers. In particular, they completely cleared the nymphaeum, or public fountain house (des Gagniers 1969). The water supply for this came from the spring now called Başpinar in the upper part of Denizli: an aqueduct (part of which still survives) carried the water from that spring by force of gravity to a clearing basin on the S side of Laodicea, and from there it was piped under pressure (Weber 1898–1904) to a water tower that fed a water basin and feeding chambers, which in turn fed the fountains.

The nymphaeum, which apparently dates from the early 3d century A.D., contained a life-size statue of Isia. It was repeatedly reconstructed. The square water basin in the SW quarter was converted into a closed chamber that served as a Christian meeting place.

Other recognizable structures include an odeum or council chamber, two theaters (a larger one of Greek date and a smaller one of Roman date), the gymnasium (less probably a bathhouse) with a dedicatory inscription to Hadrian and his wife Sabina (A.D. 123/124), and an "amphitheatral" stadium (as it is called in inscriptions) of the exceptional length of 380 yards, dedicated to Vespasian by a wealthy citizen in A.D. 79 and formally consecrated by the proconsul of Asia (father of the future Emperor Trajan). This stadium was used not only for athletic contests but also for gladiatorial shows.

The tower-flanked triple arch, at what is now called the Ephesian Gate, W of the city, was dedicated to Domitian (A.D. 81–96). Practically all the recognizable buildings are of later date than the earthquake of A.D. 60.

In A.D. 494, there was another devastating earthquake, from which Laodicea seems never to have recovered, although it survived after a fashion until the Turkish conquest.

**B. Jewish Settlement**

When Antiochus III, shortly after 213 B.C., settled 2,000 Jewish families from Babylonia in Lydia and Phrygia, to help to stabilize those two disaffected and recently reconquered areas of his empire (Joseph. *Ant* 12.149), many of them evidently made their home in Laodicea. Laodicea was one of the centers to which the proceeds of the half-shekel tax paid annually by male Jews in the area were brought for transmission. In 62 B.C., the half-shekels brought together in Laodicea amounted to the equivalent of 20 Roman pounds (Cic. *Flac.* 68); from this it has been calculated that over 9,000 half-shekels were collected in and around Laodicea. The Jewish population of Laodicea and its vicinity must have been considerable.

According to Josephus (*Ant* 14.241–3), the magistrates of Laodicea sent a letter ca. 45 B.C. to a high Roman official, probably the proconsul of Asia, confirming that, in accordance with his instructions, they would not impede the liberty of Jewish residents to observe the Sabbath and other practices of their religion.

**C. The Church of Laodicea**

Laodicea was probably evangelized, with the other cities of the Lycus valley, during Paul's Ephesian ministry (Acts 19:10)—not by Paul in person but, it appears, by his colleague Epaphras (Col 4:13). Nevertheless, Paul regarded those cities as part of his appointed mission field, and he had a sense of pastoral responsibility for their churches (Col 2:1). He mentions the church of Laodicea in his letter to the Colossians: he asks the Colossian Christians to convey his greetings to those in Laodicea (among whom "Nympha and the church in her house" are specially mentioned), and he directs that this letter be read also in the Laodicean church, and that the Colossians read "the letter from Laodicea" (Col 4:16). The "letter from Laodicea" (possibly a letter of Paul's to be procured by the Colossian church "from Laodicea") is unknown to us: it has been suggested, not implausibly, that it was destroyed in the earthquake of A.D. 60. The letter has been identified with the canonical Letter to the Ephesians; this identification, first made by Marcion (ca. A.D. 144), has little probability. Later an apocryphal "Letter to the Laodiceans" (a mere cento of Pauline phrases) enjoyed a wide circulation in Western Europe; a Middle English version of it appears in several copies of the Wycliffite NT. It ceased to be included among the NT writings from the Reformation onward.

The church of Laodicea was one of the seven churches of Asia addressed in Revelation. In the letter to Laodicea (Rev 3:14–22), the church is rebuked for allowing the wealth and comfort enjoyed by the Laodiceans in general to blunt the edge of its Christian confession: materially affluent and self-sufficient, it was spiritually "wretched, pitiable, poor, blind and naked." The city's economic prosperity, eye ointment, and wool could do nothing to help this spiritual destitution. The lukewarmness for which, thanks to this letter, the name of Laodicea has become proverbial, may reflect the condition of the city's water supply. The water supplied by the spring at Başpinar, it is suggested, was tepid and nauseous by the time it was piped to Laodicea, unlike the therapeutic hot water of Hierapolis or the refreshing cold water of Colossae (Rudwick and Green 1958); hence the Lord's words, "Would that you were cold or hot!"

The warning was apparently effective: the church of Laodicea continued for long to maintain its Christian witness. Between A.D. 161 and 167 a bishop of Laodicea, Sagaris by name, suffered martyrdom. In his time, said Melito, bishop of Sardis, at the beginning of his *Easter Festival,* there was much debate at Laodicea about the proper day for the celebration of Easter (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.26.3). Sagaris was a Quartodeciman, holding (with Melito himself and other church leaders in the province of Asia, including Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna) that Easter should coincide with the Jewish Passover, on Nisan 14, regardless of the day of the week, in opposition to the growing body of Christian opinion which held that Easter should always be celebrated on the first day of the week, on which Jesus rose from the dead. Sagaris' part in the debate is invoked by Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, another champion of the Quartodeciman position, in a letter on the subject which he addressed ca. A.D. 190 to Victor, bishop of Rome (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.24.5). Polycrates and other Quartodecimans appealed to the precedent of John, the beloved disciple, who spent his last years in the province of Asia.

A church synod held at Laodicea around A.D. 363 promulgated 60 rulings—the Canons of Laodicea—which were acknowledged by later church councils as a basis for canon law.

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**LAODICEANS, EPISTLE TO THE.** (1) A letter specified in Col 4:16 to be obtained from Laodicea and read by the Christians of Colossae; and (2) an apocryphal letter attributed to Paul and purporting to be the letter of Col 4:16, found in numerous medieval Latin and some Western vernacular mss of the NT.

The reference in Col 4:16 to a letter which the Colossians were to obtain "from Laodicea" has created a puzzle which has not yet received a generally accepted solution. From the 2d century to the present, there have been numerous endeavors to identify this letter, ranging from Marcion's retitling of Ephesians as Laodiceans (Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 5:17) to the denial that the letter ever existed. However, throughout the medieval period it was widely identified in the West with the apocryphal Letter to the Laodiceans. (See Enslin *IDB* 3: 71–72.)

**A. The Apocryphal Letter to the Laodiceans**

From the 4th century on, various patristic voices, both Eastern and Western, warned of a fraudulent Letter to the Laodiceans circulating under Paul's name (references, with texts, in Pink 1925: 179–82). While no such letter appears in any ancient NT Greek manuscript, an apocryphal Letter to the Laodiceans was known in the Eastern Church at least as early as Theodore of Mopsuestia (ca. 350–428 C.E.). He declared it inauthentic on the grounds that Col 4:16 does not refer to a letter written by Paul but to a (lost) letter from the Laodiceans to Paul. This view became normative in the Eastern Church.

It was otherwise in the West. Numerous Latin and some vernacular mss from the 6th to the 15th centuries contain an *ad Laodicenses* in varying positions among the Pauline letters (partial list of mss in Lightfoot 1884: 280–83). Although no explicit canonical claims were ever made for it (Gregory the Great, ca. 540–604 C.E., came close with his statement that Paul wrote 15 letters; *Moralia in Job* 35: 20), the manuscript evidence demonstrates that Laodiceans was considered genuine by a large portion of Western Christendom, despite the dominant tradition of a 14-letter Pauline corpus and the pronouncement of the Second Council of Nicaea (787 C.E.) against this "fabricated epistle."

During the 16th century, Laodiceans lost much of its popularity. The matter was officially settled for the Roman Catholics by the publication of a list of biblical books (*De Canonicis Scripturis,* 1546 C.E.) from which Laodiceans was excluded by the Council of Trent (1545–1563 C.E.). The letter also fell into disfavor among the Protestants, who perhaps were influenced by the disdain with which Erasmus (1469–1536 C.E.) regarded it; and so, for the first time, all major branches of the Church were united in declaring Laodiceans non-Pauline.

Yet, a few voices continued to speak in its defense. For example, the letter was included in Elias Hutter's Polyglot NT (1599 C.E.). The Heb, Gk, and Lat texts of Laodiceans in this publication were edited, revised, and republished in 1661 C.E. (Ebied 1966: 247). This latter edition perhaps was the original from which the triglot Laodiceans, discovered in the 1960s, was copied and published in 1679 C.E. (Ebied 1966: 243–44).

Modern scholars, however, are unanimous in regarding the apocryphal Laodiceans as a forgery. Its origins lie in a time well beyond the 1st century, and whatever value it may have relates to the later interpretation of Paul, not to Paul himself. Harnack (1924: 134–49) held it to be the Laodiceans mentioned in the Muratorian Canon (see also Quispel 1950). There, two letters, *ad Laudicenses* and *ad Alexandrinos*, are said to have been forged in Paul's name to promote Marcion's heresy (*finctae ad haeresem Marcionis*). To many scholars, however, it is not obvious that the apocryphal Laodiceans contains any of Marcion's distinctive emphases, even if it does incorporate some of his textual emendations to Paul's letters, as Harnack claimed. On the other hand, there is no evidence outside the Muratorian Canon of a second apocryphal Laodiceans.

The origin of the apocryphal letter is not later than the 4th century; it was known by Theodore of Mopsuestia, as noted above, and others, including Jerome (ca. 342–420 C.E.) and Augustine (354–430 C.E.). If the Muratorian Canon comes from the 4th-century East rather than the 2d-century West (Sundberg 1973), then there is no testimony to the letter's existence prior to the 4th century. Opinion is divided regarding a Lat or a Gk original, though the evidence for the latter is substantial (Lightfoot 1884: 289–91).

Slightly shorter than Philemon, Laodiceans is basically a collection of sentences and phrases from Paul's letters (critical Lat text and his translation into Gk in Lightfoot 1884: 285–92; Eng translation in James 1924: 478–79, Schneemelcher 1965: 131–32). The epistle's opening—"Paul, an apostle not of men and not through man, but through Jesus Christ …"—is obviously an echo of Gal 1:1. Dependence on Philippians is particularly evident: "For my life is in Christ and to die is joy" (v 8; cf. Phil 1:21); "And what is pure, true, proper, just and lovely, do" (v 15; cf. Phil 4:8); "That you may have the same love and be of one mind" (v 9b; cf. Phil 2:2). Most telling of all is the conclusion: "And see that this epistle is read to the Colossians and that of the Colossians among you"—obviously designed to reflect Col 4:16, "And when this letter has been read among you, see that it is read by the Laodiceans and that you read the letter from Laodicea." (For further parallels, see Schneemelcher 1965: 132.)

No motive for the composition of the apocryphal Laodiceans is apparent other than a desire to complete the Pauline corpus by supplying the letter of Col 4:16, thereby continuing the production of popular Christian texts in the pseudepigraphical tradition. Its persistence throughout the Middle Ages may be due to its incorporation of a number of doctrinal terms, concepts, and affirmations particularly important to the medieval Church, such as Paul's divinely appointed apostolate; the persons, though not the title itself, of the Trinity—God the Father, the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit; the day of judgment; salvation as eternal life; the mercy of Christ; rejoicing in suffering; the fear of God; standing firm in faith and resisting those who would lead astray; the truth of the Gospel; and intercessory prayer by a saint (Paul). With popular orthodoxy affirmed in so many ways in such a short writing, it is not surprising that literary and historical questions about it seemed unimportant to many medieval Christians. For them, Origen's words concerning Hebrews would have been appropriately applied to Laodiceans—its contents were worthy of Paul; therefore, it should continue to be treated as Paul's.

**B. The Letter of Colossians 4:16**

The apocryphal letter, therefore, proved to be a durable solution to the problem posed by Col 4:16, at least until the modern period. But other solutions have been proposed. A large portion of the early Gk discussion of Col 4:16 seems to have been aimed at strengthening the case against the apocryphal Laodiceans. As mentioned above, the argument was advanced that the wording of Col 4:16 (*tēn ek Laodikeias*—"the <letter> from Laodicea") indicates that the letter was not written to but from Laodicea. While this interpretation would allow Laodiceans to be written either by or to Paul (i.e., a letter which Paul wrote while at Laodicea or a letter from the Laodiceans to Paul), in either case it rules out a letter written by Paul to Laodicea (Lightfoot 1884: 273–74).

However, while it is grammatically possible to interpret Col 4:16 in this way, the immediate context requires a different interpretation. The letter is represented as exchangeable with Colossians. Two communities, only a three- or four-hour walk apart on a highway, receive two different letters. The author

of Colossians urges its recipients to ensure that each community reads both letters. The word "from" indicates not place of writing but place of access to the letter.

Whether Marcion's renaming of Ephesians as Laodiceans was based on the close textual relationship between Ephesians and Colossians or nothing more than Col 4:16 is uncertain. Marcion's solution has also been urged in more recent times (Lightfoot 1884: 279). Another alternative was presented in its most extensive form by John Knox (1935), who argued that the letter of Col 4:16 is the Letter to Philemon. Both views rest on questionable though different assumptions and have little scholarly following today. Earlier suggestions that Galatians, 1 Timothy, one of the Thessalonian letters, or 1 John was the original Laodiceans are not worth serious consideration (Anger 1843: 16–21; Lightfoot 1884: 272–76).

The apocryphal Laodiceans of course was not written by Paul. But did Paul write the letter of Col 4:16? The issue has become more complicated in recent years by increasing skepticism concerning the Pauline authorship of Colossians itself. If Colossians was not written by Paul, then the only textual evidence in the canonical Pauline writings for a letter of his to Laodicea is removed. On the assumption of a Pauline Colossians, a case can be made that the letter of Col 4:16 was not written by Paul but by the member of the Laodicean-Colossian community highly recommended in Colossians, i.e., Epaphras (Anderson 1966). However, a non-Pauline Colossians makes the very existence of an epistle to the Laodiceans problematic. Indeed, it is possible that the Laodiceans mentioned in Col 4:14 never existed except in the mind of the Deutero-Paulinist who wrote Colossians. On the other hand, it could be argued that Col 4:16, even if part of a pseudepigraph, is intended to validate another writing. Otherwise, its presence in Colossians is difficult to explain.

The identity of Laodiceans has also been approached as a canonical question: how a companion epistle of Colossians could have been lost when its value and use should have been guaranteed by Col 4:16. The trail of this line of reasoning has led to the proposition that the Epistle to the Hebrews, an integral part of the Pauline corpus in the East from the 2d century on, and Laodiceans are one and the same (Anderson 1975).

However, the identity of the letter mentioned in Col 4:16 is so closely related to unresolved questions regarding the origin and purpose of Colossians that further progress on the first must await a more complete understanding of Colossians as a whole. Pauline authorship of Colossians is less critical for this matter than its purpose and the call for an exchange of letters. Until a credible alternative emerges, it is best to assume that Col 4:16 refers to a real letter, whoever the author(s) of this letter and of Colossians may be. But whether that letter is extant under another name or was lost prior to the formation of the canon awaits a definitive statement.

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**LAPPIDOTH** (PERSON) [Heb *lappîdôt* (לַפִּידוֹת)]. Husband of Deborah the prophetess, living in the tribal hill country of Ephraim, between Ramah and Bethel (Judg 4:4). The derivation of his name is uncertain, but it probably is a feminine abstract form [Heb *-ôt*] of *lappîd*, meaning "torch" or "lightning" (*HALAT*, 506–7). The temptation to associate his name with Barak, also meaning "lightning," has been

irresistible (Boling *Judges* AB, 95). The fact that the text identifies Barak as originating in the N part of Israel (Kadesh in Naphtali; Judg 4:6) makes this highly unlikely (cf. Soggin *Judges* AB, 64).
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**LARSA.** An important Sumerian city that played a very active role in the beginning of the 2d millennium B.C. The city was built on the site of the present tell Senkéré about 20 km E of Uruk and about 40 km N of Ur. The Euphrates, which now runs more to the S, was able to irrigate the region then by means of a canal.

The tell was noticed by travelers as early as 1832, but the first excavation was undertaken by W. K. Loftus in 1854, when he took soundings from the high point of the tell. The inscribed bricks that were thus gathered allowed him to identify the Senkéré tell with ancient Larsa. Following Loftus, W. Andrae worked there for several days in 1903. But the attention of orientalists has mainly been attracted by the quality of the objects—the famous adorer of Larsa or the group of three standing ibexes, but also the large number of tablets—that came from clandestine excavations shortly after World War I. The exploration of the site was thus engaged under the direction of A. Parrot; the first excavation took place in the spring of 1933, but the second and the third did not occur until 1967. The fourth and fifth excavations were directed by J. Marqueron in 1969 and 1970. Since 1974, under the direction of J.-L. Huot, seven new excavations have taken place. In addition the region of Larsa was included in the survey done by R. McC. Adams and H. J. Nissen in order to study the organization of rivers and canals in S Babylonia.

The ovoid tell covers 2,000 m from N to S and 1,800 m from E to W. The average altitude is rather low, only 7 to 8 m in height, but the culminating point, which is the site of the temple of Shamash, the great sanctuary of the city called the Ebabbar, reaches 22 m.

Around this pole the village reaches down to a much lower level, with, in the region N of the Ebabbar, the domain of the palaces, including that of Nur-Adad. On the periphery, and more particularly on the E side, a rise in altitude could correspond to sectors occupied in earlier periods. The excavations are not advanced enough to provide any precise knowledge of the history of the city. It appears that its origins could go back to the Ubaid period, but nothing can be said about this period or the one following it. The oldest monument known to this day is the palace built by Nur-Adad (1865–1850 B.C.), and the texts are numerous for this period but practically absent for the 3d millennium. Larsa, in fact, only took on real importance after Gungunum defeated Isin (1932 B.C.), when he hoped to find there the heritage of the 3d Dynasty of Ur. From that time on, for a century and a half, Larsa was a dominant power; but it was never able to manipulate the existing equilibrium to its own advantage. When Hammurabi of Babylonia (1792–1750) took control of S Mesopotamia, he reduced Larsa to the rank of provincial capital. The city seems to have no longer played a major role in history, but it would remain important up until the Neo-Babylonian period and still knew activity even during the Hellenistic and Parthian periods.

One of the reasons for this long existence comes from the fact that the village sheltered one of the two large Mesopotamian sanctuaries dedicated to the solar cult. Larsa thus appears as the great center of the god Shamash (UTU in Sumerian), symbol of life, of light, and the expression of justice. It is understood that even after having to renounce all political pretensions, the city continued to exist thanks to its principal sanctuary, the Ebabbar. The excavations have not yet succeeded in pinpointing its origins, but its extreme antiquity is certain. It is apparently to the Old Babylonian period that one must credit the monumental form of the temple that is known, but the existence of certain rooms which are clearly unbalanced in their placement on the tell show an important transformation of the original plan, of which some vestiges have been found. The conception of the monument is grandiose: from tell Ebabbar, a succession of sanctuaries and paths join the ziggurat in a row of almost 300 m in length. The heart of the city is thus occupied by this unique complex that remained in this general form until the end of the 11th century B.C. In the 1st millennium, the temple seems to have been confined to the Ebabbar tell itself.

The second monument studied is the palace of Nur-Adad, which seems to be a very clear example, although incomplete, of palatial architecture from the beginning of the 2d millennium. Circumstances impeded Nur-Adad from finishing the palace and, for some unknown reason, none of his successors took

it up again. The excavation has thus given us a building that has never been inhabited and that exactly reflects the thinking of the architect who conceived it. The official courtyard, the throne room, the administration sector, a small sector of stores, and the common areas appear very clearly in the parts that have been uncovered.

Despite the intensity of the clandestine pillaging, the regular digs have uncovered some very beautiful objects: a large statue (61 cm) of a seated person, of which the head is missing; an androcephalous bull of a Neo-Sumerian type; the kudurru of Kudur-Enlil with superimposed registers lined with divine symbols; and above all the kudurru of Nazi-Marutash, decorated with a superb dog of Gula, a real *chef-d'oeuvre* of animal sculpture. Finally, a very beautiful collection of gold objects consisting of tools and finished products of a rare quality came from a cache found under the floor of a room of the Ebabbar. For further discussion, see *RLA* sub "Larsa."

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**LASEA** (PLACE) [Gk *Lasaia* (Λασαια)]. A city located along the S coast of Crete about 5 miles E of Fair Havens or Kaloi Limenes. The ship carrying Paul, during his voyage to Italy, anchored at Fair Havens and supplies were probably obtained from nearby Lasea (Acts 27:8). The captain of the ship decided not to winter there, despite Paul's warnings, and sailed on to the W into a storm which wrecked the ship.

The textual variations in the spelling of the city's name may reflect an uncertainty of the location of the site. The relatively dense distribution of cities on Crete may have led to the confusion. Some scholars have equated Lasea with the Lasos mentioned by Pliny (*HN* 4.12.59). A Mediterranean survey team led by T. A. B. Spratt located ruins near Fair Havens which have been identified with Lasea. The ruins of the city have never been systematically explored, but several early tholos tombs in the vicinity have been documented.

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**LASHA** (PLACE) [Heb *lešaʿ* (לֶשַׁע)]. One of the places mentioned in Gen 10:19 which defined the limits of the territory of the Canaanites. Since the passage reads "in the direction of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboiim, as far as Lasha," some scholars have assumed that Lasha represents the SE boundary of Canaanite land and have sought a location for it along the SE shore of the Dead Sea. Ancient and rabbinic tradition equated it with Kallirrhoe (modern Wadi Zerqa Maʿin), the hot springs and health resort of Herod the Great, but modern archaeological work in that area has provided no support for the identification. Others, by emendation of the name, have equated the place with Laish (Dan) and therefore have seen it as a N boundary of Canaan. Neither identification can be proved, and thus Lasha's location remains unknown.

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GARY H. OLLER

**LASHARON** (PLACE) [Heb *laššārôn* (לַשָּׁרוֹן)]. The king of Lasharon is listed as one of the 31 Canaanite kings defeated by Joshua (Josh 12:18). Since the name Lasharon occurs nowhere else in either the OT or other ancient sources, and is accompanied in the same verse by Aphek (M.R. 143168), most scholars accept the LXX reading of the verse, "King of Aphek of/belonging to Sharon" (*LBHG,* 230). The

Sharon is a geographical term used to describe the coastal plain located roughly between the Carmel and the Aphek region. Since there are Apheks in Asher and in Transjordan, it would not be unreasonable to specify in the text which Aphek was meant in this passage. See APHEK (PLACE).

Boling rejects this solution, suggesting that Lasharon could stand independently for the N coastal plain as a whole, which he notes would have been swampy and sparsely settled in antiquity (*Joshua* AB, 328). This does not explain why such a nonurban region would have a "king" like the towns in the rest of the list. If Lasharon is an independent location, it remains unidentified.

MELVIN HUNT

**LAST SUPPER.** According to the NT, Jesus of Nazareth was present at a final meal with his disciples on the night before his death (1 Cor 11:23–25; Mark 14:22–25; Matt 26:26–29; Luke 22:15–20; cf. John 6:51c). What actually happened at the Last Supper? Numerous analyses of the Last Supper have led to a remarkable variety of interpretations, many of which appear to have been influenced by the confessional stances of their proponents. In an effort to answer historical questions about the Last Supper, first some general observations will be made; then it will be asked whether the Last Supper was a Passover meal; and finally there will be an attempt to determine what Jesus said and did, and the significance of his words and actions.

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A. General Observations
B. Was the Last Supper a Passover Meal?
C. The Words of Jesus
D. Questions of Meaning

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**A. General Observations**

From the 3d century B.C. onward, there was a growing Hellenistic influence on Judaism, including Judaism in Palestine. This influence touched on most aspects of life, including table customs and feasts. The history of religions provides two analogies to the Last Supper: the significance of community meals in the OT and in contemporary Judaism (under the influence of Qumran) and the use of eschatological metaphors related to meals. C. Burchard (1987: 118–19; but see Lindars 1987: 193–96) suggests that perhaps *Joseph and Aseneth* can help explain why the central rite of Christianity was a solemn act of consuming bread and drinking from a cup, why gestures concerning these were remembered and attributed to Jesus, and why a narrative about these acts was formed at all. To be sure, the meals of the earthly Jesus can be compared to numerous noncultic friendship and family meals, and for the ancient oriental a common meal bound the table companions in fellowship. Jewish customs provide the background for understanding Jesus' actions at the Last Supper, whose framework was that of a Jewish festive meal, but not necessarily that of a Passover (Delling *TRE* 1: 49; Klauck 1982: 330–31; 369–70). According to von Meding (1975: 544–52), the historical background of the Last Supper is to be found in the ritual meal of Jeremiah (16:7), designed to console those who grieve. However, in this investigation one does well to recall Toynbee's caution that the uniformity of human nature sometimes produces similar results in similar situations where there can be no suspicion of any historical bridge by which the tradition could have been mediated from one culture to another. For instance, all human beings eat, and when they do most of them seek companionship with one another and with their god (Metzger 1968: 10–11). Moreover, some of the data postdates the NT evidence, and consequently should only with caution be used to explain it.

The NT texts themselves may well not lead us back to Jesus' own words but rather to an earlier report about those words. There is also the likelihood of an oral tradition in which there would be a considerable variability in the wording. Certainly, the texts that we now have do not postdate the actual event by many years, and the apostles who were present naturally functioned as a kind of check on what was said. However, we are not sure whether Jesus at the Last Supper used Hebrew or Aramaic or a combination of both. Jesus might have spoken in Aramaic; but as scholars (e.g., Fitzmyer 1979: 1–27, 38–43, 85–113;

Hurst 1986: 72–73) stress, the mother tongue of Jesus is meagerly represented, so a skepticism toward older approaches used in reconstructing the language of Jesus is a healthy trend.

Most scholars now agree that Jesus' words and actions at the Last Supper should be understood in terms of his whole ministry. One fact of that ministry universally agreed on is that Jesus ate fellowship meals, at least some of which included sinners. This acceptance of sinners and outcasts into table fellowship implies forgiveness (e.g., Mark 2:15–17; Luke 5:29–32; 7:36–50; 15:1–2; 19:1–10; Reumann 1985: 4). Likewise, whatever the historical facts behind the feedings of the multitude (Mark 6:30–44; 8:1–10), they were fellowship meals. On the other hand, the first explicit references in the NT to an agape meal are in 2 Pet 2:13(?) and Jude 12.

In addition, granted the historical validity of Peter's identification of Jesus at Caesarea Philippi as "Messiah," what did the disciples think, thereafter, of meals they ate with Jesus? Did they view them as anticipations of the messianic banquet? The Last Supper would probably, at a minimum, have been Jesus' final act of fellowship with his disciples and an anticipation of the messianic banquet that he would share with them in the coming of the kingdom.

The vast majority of scholars recognize that Jesus ate a final meal with his disciples. Actually, the "breaking of bread" and "blessing" (thanksgiving) would have been typical of a Jewish meal, and there simply was not enough time for a cultic legend to develop (Marxsen 1952–53: 303). Also, it is the only one of Jesus' meals that can be dated, and the report about it could easily enough have been based on what those who were there remembered. Besides, some historical elements can be detected in the gospel account as a whole. For example, both Luke and Paul retain a reference to the meal between the liturgical actions over the bread and wine (Luke 22:20; 1 Cor 11:25), and there are two unprecedented actions of Jesus: he passed a single cup among his disciples, and, as a prophet, he explained his own symbolic gesture. Marxsen (1979: 102–8) is less sanguine about establishing the historical reality of the Last Supper.

Without yet entering into the question of literary genre, two reflections should be made about the Last Supper. It is questionable whether "parabolic" adequately explains Jesus' words and actions. Rather, Jesus performs an efficacious sign, a prophetic symbolic act. As Ezekiel (5:1–5) had identified his hair with Jerusalem, so Jesus has identified himself with the bread and wine (Beck 1970: 192–97). However, "symbolic" is not to be opposed to "real"; on the contrary, the symbolic is the depth dimension of the real (Léon-Dufour 1987: 10, 162–65). The Last Supper likewise resembles a farewell meal. This is the context in which it now appears in Luke 22:14–38, and John 13–17 supports such an understanding (cf. Gen 27:1–40; *Jub* 22:1–9; 31:22; *T. Napht.* 1:1–4; 9:2). The solemn nature of a farewell meal marks the significance of what is said by the one departing (Friedrich 1978: 310–14).

**B. Was the Last Supper a Passover Meal?**

Although a number of scholars identify the Last Supper as a Passover meal, a description of which is given in the Mishna (*Pesaḥ* 10; cf. Str-B 4/1: 41–76), the majority are still not convinced of this interpretation. However, many would concede that Jesus ate his final meal in a Passover atmosphere; there was, after all, the proximity of the feast. The cause of this scholarly disagreement is that, although the Synoptics identify the Last Supper as a Passover meal (Mark 14:12–16 parr.; Luke 22:15), John (13:1–2; cf. 19:14, 31, 36) does not. Jesus' Jewish opponents did not enter the praetorium so that they might not be defiled, but so that they could eat the Passover to be held after Jesus died (John 18:28).

The main proponent of the Last Supper as a Passover meal is Jeremias (1977: 15–88), and Leaney (1967: 51) provides a partial listing of scholars on both sides of this debate. The following are the weightier reasons for the claim that the Last Supper was a Passover meal. The Last Supper took place in the evening and extended into the night (1 Cor 11:23; cf. Mark 14:17; John 13:30), when it was obligatory that the Passover be eaten. Normally, the Jewish main meal was in the afternoon. Jews in the time of Jesus sat at ordinary meals, but the Passover ordinance was that they should recline as a symbol of liberty. In fact, Jesus and his disciples reclined at the Last Supper. A dish of hors d'oeuvres precedes the breaking of bread only at the Passover, and this dish is referred to in Mark 14:20; Matt 26:23, and John 13:26. It was customary on the Passover night to give alms to the poor (cf. John 13:29). Wine was drunk at the

Last Supper, and the drinking of wine was obligatory at the Passover. The Last Supper concluded with the singing of a hymn (Mark 14:26; Matt 26:30), which would have been the second part (Psalms 114 or 115–118) of the *hallēl* which closed the Passover meal. After the meal, Jesus did not return to Bethany but went to the Mount of Olives, for after the Passover, one was supposed to stay within a certain distance of Jerusalem, which included Gethsemane but not Bethany. The Passover *haggadâ,* according to which the person presiding explained the various elements in the meal as it progressed, probably suggested Jesus' words over the bread and wine (Barclay 1967: 20–34; Ruckstuhl 1985: 41–44).

Opponents of this view have pointed out that a Jewish festive meal (cf. Str-B 4/2: 611–39) would satisfy most of these claims for the Last Supper as a Passover meal. Moreover, the mention of Jerusalem and of the *hallēl* belong to the redactional framework of the narratives. Further, in the days prior to his arrest, Jesus and his disciples would for reasons of security have met at night, so the meal at that time would not necessarily have been a Passover (Kahlefeld 1980: 42–43). More specifically, scholars raise the following objections to the claim that the Last Supper was a Passover meal. (1) Jesus shared his last meal with only the Twelve, a community of men, but a Passover was a family affair, with women and children present. Nor is Jesus portrayed as the paterfamilias, who would normally have left to an honored guest the closing blessing over the cup (Kuhn 1957: 83–4). (2) The Greek noun *azyma* is the proper designation of unleavened bread, but *artos,* "bread," occurs in the institution accounts (Mark 14:22; Matt 26:26; Luke 22:19; 1 Cor 11:23). (3) No mention is made of the paschal lamb or the bitter herbs (Bornkamm 1959: 149; see Mark 14:20; Matt 26:23; John 13:26). (4) The accounts speak of a common cup, whereas at the Passover, individual cups were used. (5) Mark 14:1–2 (= Matt 26:1–2; Luke 22:1) preserves the correct chronology, two days before the Passover and the feast of unleavened bread; the Synoptics mention the chief priests' and scribes' desire to arrest Jesus by stealth and to kill him, but "not during the feast, lest there be a tumult of the people" (Mark 14:2). This correct date is contradicted later in the text (Mark 14:43–50) when Jesus is arrested on the feast (i.e., the night of the 15th of Nisan). Likewise, Jeremias' translation of *Mē en tę̄ heortę̄* (RSV: "Not during the feast"; Matt 26:5; Mark 14:2) as "not in the presence of the festival crowd" is questionable. (6) On the festival day, the 15th of Nisan, some of the following events mentioned could not possibly have occurred: the carrying of arms (Mark 14:43 = Matt 26:47; Mark 14:47–49 = Matt 26:51–55; Luke 22:38), the session of the Sanhedrin and the condemnation of Jesus to death, the coming of Simon of Cyrene "from the country," Jesus' burial and the purchase of linen by Joseph of Arimathaea. (7) Jesus celebrated a different type of Jewish meal with his apostles, e.g., a *kîddûš,* a *ḥabûrâ* (Gamber 1987: 6–8, 31), or a solemn or festive Jewish meal. The most original tradition (Mark) has several features which correspond to the structure of the Essene cultic meal, and the daily meals of the Essenes were certainly analogous to those of the Jerusalem church (Kuhn 1957; 78–93). More likely, the Last Supper was a *tôdâ,* a liturgical meal accompanied by words of praise and proclamation, but not necessarily literally a sacrifice (Léon-Dufour 1987: 38–45; Giraudo 1981: 174–77; cf. 81–360). (8) Finally, the Jewish Passover meal was celebrated only once annually. How, in the early Church, did the custom develop that the Lord's Supper was regularly celebrated?

Proponents of the argument that the Last Supper was a Passover meal attempt to answer each of these objections. It is quite certain that the word *artos* can be used for unleavened bread, and the institution narratives are primarily cultic formulas of the early Church. Thus, the emphasis is on Jesus' words over the bread and wine, rather than on what was important at the ordinary Passover. Jeremias' translation of Mark 14:2 may be questionable, but pilgrims were already in Jerusalem several days before the feast, and the Jewish officials would have been concerned about their reaction to Jesus' arrest. Finally, the events indicated could have happened on the festival day. Soldiers and ordinary individuals, for defense, could bear arms on festival days or the Sabbath. Moreover, in spite of the prohibitions of executions on festival days, the rabbis held that in a few special cases (enumerated in Deuteronomy) the death penalty had to be carried out on the feast. Jesus, as a false prophet, would be one of these special cases (Deut 13:5). There is the additional technicality that the Romans, not the Jewish officials, were the ones who carried out the execution. The fact that Simon of Cyrene was "coming from the country" does not necessarily mean that he had been working in the fields on the festival day. It was too early in the day to be coming from the

fields, and he may have been coming to the temple for morning service. Of course, he may not have been a Jew. Buying and selling were forbidden on the Sabbath and on feast days, but exceptions were made for real needs, like a death (Str-B 2: 812–34; b., *Šabb.* 151a; *t., Šabb.* 17.13; cf. John 13:29). Finally, the *qiddûš* was a prayer of sanctification said at the beginning of the Sabbath or of a festival meal by the head of the household over a cup of wine to be drunk by him and the others who were present. The Sabbath *qiddûš* always took place on Friday evening after sunset, when the Sabbath began, not earlier. A *ḥăbûrâ* was a religious fellowship, and Pliny (*Ep.* 10.96.7) apparently viewed the Christian celebration in this way. But a *ḥăbûrâ* had particular concerns: observance of the Torah and performance of religious duties, including attendance at special ritual meals held in connection with circumcision, engagements, weddings, and funerals. Jesus and his disciples did not form such a fellowship (Higgins 1954: 13–23; Kilpatrick 1983: 67–68).

It is not possible to show that the Essene meal influenced the account of the Last Supper. The three definite texts (1QS 6.4–6; 1QSa 2.17–21; Josephus *JW* 2.130–31) about the Essene meal are laconic. This meal was celebrated twice daily, but not in the evening, and no women were present. Women may have been present at the Last Supper, and the order of blessings, instructions, and prayers at that meal differs from the order of the Essene meal. Moreover, at the Essene meal the benedictions were made by a priest who had precedence over everyone else present, and we are not sure that the Essenes drank wine at their meal (Jeremias 1977: 31–6, 46). However, that the Last Supper may have been a *tôdâ* meal appears to be a real possibility.

Other solutions have been proposed to explain why the Synoptics and John do not agree that the Last Supper was a Passover meal. There is, of course, the possibility that Jesus anticipated the Passover. Moreover, different calculations for the time of the Passover could have arisen, because Galileans, for various reasons, could have had trouble determining the exact time of the full moon. Finally, the Jews of Jerusalem may have postponed the Passover so as not to have two consecutive days of rest (Nolle 1948: 44–45).

Billerbeck proposes that two calendars were a day out of step with each other in the year of the Last Supper. These two calendars are alleged to have come into existence because of a dispute between the Sadducees and Pharisees, and were realized because extra days had to be inserted to keep the lunar calendar in harmony with the solar one, or because there had been a difficulty in determining the date of the new moon.

A. Jaubert (1957: 105–36) likewise argues that two calendars existed at the time. The official, priestly calendar was lunar, and that of Qumran, solar. John is correct by the official Jerusalem calendar, and the Synoptics are correct in terms of the calendar used at Qumran and, perhaps, in Galilee. According to the solar calendar, the Passover would have been on Wednesday. This would allow two whole days, from Tuesday evening to Friday afternoon, to account for the following gospel data: the paschal meal; the arrest at Gethsemane; the double trial before the Jewish officials; the trial before Pilate, with a visit to Herod followed by another session before Pilate; and finally the sentence, procession to Calvary, and death (Johnston 1957: 109–13; Vogt 1955: 403–13). However, Jaubert's theory has not commanded wide assent.

H. Hoehner assumes the existence of two different methods for calculating the hours of a day: sunset to sunset or sunrise to sunrise. The Galileans and the Pharisees would have used the latter method, and so celebrated their Passover one day earlier. But this theory would have Jesus celebrating the Passover on Nisan 14, which seems most unlikely. Billerbeck's theory appears to be the most reasonable of these three calendrical theories (Marshall 1981: 71–75).

Leaney (1967: 52–53, 62) contends that a considerable amount of weight has been given to the Fourth Gospel as a historical document, but that this is unwarranted. Certainly, all four gospels are strongly influenced by theological interests. Nonetheless, to suppose that the most obviously theological of them all can correct the others on details of history is extremely hazardous. According to John, Jesus is the lamb of God (John 1:29, 36) and was handed over to be crucified at the exact time when the Passover lambs were beginning to be sacrificed in the temple (John 19:14). Moreover, the anointing of Jesus at

Bethany takes place six days before the Passover, when the lamb for the meal was chosen (John 12:1); and when Jesus' legs are not broken, this is understood as the fulfillment of the verse "Not a bone of him will be broken," part of the prescription for the treatment of the Passover lamb (John 19:36; cf. Exod 12:46; Num 9:12). This theological concern of John (cf. 1 Cor 5:7) would explain why he does not identify the Last Supper as a Passover meal. Furthermore, since a number of the indications that the Last Supper was a Passover meal are to be found in John's gospel, Ruckstuhl (1985: 43–44) claims that originally John's gospel saw the Last Supper as a Passover meal just as do the Synoptics. On the other hand, the earliest neutral Christian tradition and the evidence from astronomy support the chronology given in John's gospel (Ogg 1965: 96; Strobel 1977: 64–78, 450–56).

Were the Last Supper a Passover meal, the relationship between the old covenant and the new and between promise and fulfillment could be better clarified. But above all, at a Passover meal, Jesus' words of interpretation and the command of repetition would more easily be understood (Jeremias 1977: 88; cf. 1972: 201–3). However, none of the above theories about the Last Supper as a Passover meal has won the day.

**C. The Words of Jesus**

The NT texts (1 Cor 11:23–25; Mark 14:22–25; Matt 26:26–29; Luke 22:15–20; cf. John 6:51c) are the primary sources for determining what can be said historically about the Last Supper. Originally, these reports were handed on as units independent of the passion narrative (Schelkle 1976: 388), and their correct literary form is "etiology," which as such says nothing about the historical question, but only grounds and reflects the community's practice (Léon-Dufour 1987: 161; Neuenzeit 1960: 96–100). Since scholars regularly limit themselves to the "institution narratives" in their efforts to determine what happened at the Last Supper, this presentation will do likewise. But this is not to deny that Jesus at the Last Supper said and did more than is contained in these narratives; nor to accept the view that notices like the denials of Judas or of Peter are without historical basis. I will generally follow the lead of Merklein (1977: 88–101, 235–44) in the historical analysis of these texts.

Matthew follows Mark's account, but he does make some stylistic improvements. He adds "eat" to the words over the bread to parallel "drink" of the wine and makes the liturgical expansion, "for the forgiveness of sins." All of the other texts preserve some more primitive elements than does Mark (Hahn 1986: 247). For instance, we find "on the night" (1 Cor 11:23) and "after supper" (11:25) in Paul; in Luke (22:19–20), the double eschatological perspective and the omission of the copulative (*estin;* cf. v 19) with the word over the wine; and in John (6:51), the translation variant "flesh" (Jeremias 1977: 189).

Despite the fact that the shorter text of Luke 22:15–19a (omitting vv 19b–20) is claimed to be the more difficult reading, and that the normal tendency of its chief witness, Codex Bezae ("D"), is to expand a text, which it does not do in this case, nevertheless, most scholars follow Schürmann (1951: 364–92, 522–41; 1955: 15–132; Hook 1974: 624–30) and accept the longer text (Luke 22:15–20). The structure suggested by Petzer (1984: 249–52) for these verses gives support to this opinion. Actually, the longer text may be the more difficult reading, since one must now explain the presence of two cups and why one of them precedes Jesus' words over the bread. These difficulties probably explain why the Syriac versions have three different rearrangements of the texts (Barclay 1967: 38–39; see Metzger 1971: 173–77).

The Lukan and Pauline texts probably go back to the same traditional strand but are not dependent on one another. To be sure, Paul wrote first, but Luke (22:19–20) does not reproduce Paul's syntax in *touto mou estin,* "This is my," or *en tō̧ emō̧ haimati*, " (in) my blood," nor both commands of repetition (1 Cor 11:24–25). Moreover, the Lukan use of *didomenon,* "given," with the words over the bread, and the absence of *estin* from the words of the cup, may be explained by an Aramaic (Hebrew?) original. These points, plus a few characteristics noted below, lead to the conclusion that Luke is closer than Paul to the original form of their common traditions.

Mark's institution narrative is more consistently near the Semitic idiom. Jeremias (1972: 200) finds no fewer than 23 Semiticisms in Mark 14:22–25. Compared with 1 Cor 11:23–25, Mark relies more heavily on "and" and follows the Semitic syntax of genitives and verbs. The text in 1 Cor 11:24–25 does not show these clear traces of Semitic syntax; it also reduces the emphasis on blood (Kilpatrick 1983: 20–27).

There appear, then, to have been two traditional strands: Mark (Matthew) and Luke/Paul. Perhaps John 6:51c, "… and the bread which I shall give for the life of the world is my flesh," represents a third strand, although it bears a strong and developed resemblance to Luke 22:19 (cf. 1 Cor 11:24): "This is my body which is given for you."

The wording of these different strands provides a guide in reconstructing the phrasing of the oldest Aramaic or Hebrew tradition. The words "he took bread … broke … said/saying '… this is my body' " belong to the oldest tradition, because these words are common to both strands of tradition. Aramaic *gûp* may have been used for "body" (Dalman 1929: 130–31), but the implication would be the whole person, not the contrast "body (flesh) and blood." Mark's "blessed" (*eulogēsas* [14:22 = Matt 26:26]) is more likely to be original than the Lukan/Pauline "when he had given thanks" *(eucharistēsas),* because the verb *eulogein* translates Heb *bārak,* "bless," in LXX; in the tradition of prayer, *bārak* introduces Jewish festive meals. The Greek verb *eucharistein,* by contrast, never translates *bārak* in LXX; it is found only in apocryphal books for which no Semitic original is extant. "He gave" (*edōken*) could also belong to the original, for although Paul does not have it, it is logically presupposed. Moreover, the fact that Luke has it does not necessarily mean that he took it over from Mark. On the other hand, Mark does not mention the Lukan/Pauline "which is for you." Actually, Luke/Paul may well be the more original because the Markan reading could have been influenced by the liturgical unity of the words over the bread and wine. This unification allows the Markan tradition to place the phrasing after the cup and to apply it to both actions. In reality, a whole meal separated these events, and in such a case the Markan phrasing without further explanation would not have been understandable. Moreover, the Lukan/Pauline tradition finds support in John 6:51c, "for the life of the world." On the other hand, the Markan expression "for many" is to be preferred since it is more Semitic and corresponds better with the earthly Jesus' concern for all. The import of the phrase would be much like that of Mark 10:45: "For the Son of Man also came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many."

Luke once has the command, "do this in remembrance of me"; Paul, twice (Luke 22:19c; 1 Cor 11:24c, 25c). If this command was original, the Markan tradition omitted it. Yet Paul's text leaves the impression of having expanded on the directive. Benoit (1939: 386) astutely observed, "A rubric is not stated, but executed," and if the Last Supper were a Passover meal, repetition of the injunction would follow naturally (cf. Exod 12:14, 26–27; 13:3, 7–9). The English translation which best renders all the nuances of the Greek is "Do this as my memorial" (Chenderlin 1982: 2). Jeremias' proposed paraphrase of the command (1972: 198), "Continue to bind yourself in table-fellowship to the messianic community that God may remember me," has not won wide acceptance. Certainly, the early Christians believed that they were to repeat the Last Supper event. Jesus did choose bread, a life-sustaining food, to express his lasting presence among his followers (Léon-Dufour 1987: 174–75).

The Lukan/Pauline "after supper" accords with the protocol of a Jewish meal, because the blessing of the cup was done after the meal (Kahlefeld 1980: 46–47). This wording was suppressed by the Markan tradition when it joined the cup with the bread.

The Markan "And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks he gave it to them" seems to be an effort to parallel the report about the cup with that about the bread. A similar effort is made by the Lukan/Pauline "likewise" or "in the same way" in "And likewise the cup." It is impossible to decide on the original wording, but there is no need to deny the fact that Jesus made reference to the cup.

The Lukan/Pauline words over the cup are older than those of Mark. Again, the Markan tradition, "This is my blood," parallels what is said about the bread. That the Lukan/Pauline "This cup (which is poured out for you is the new covenant) in my blood" would have been changed from such a parallel to its present phrasing is hard to imagine. Also, the Lukan text has no copulative verb and thus is closer to the Semitic original. The Markan tradition has placed the chief emphasis on the elements (i.e., bread and wine) and moves in the direction of a sacramental consideration. Moreover, the Markan wording, which draws a closer connection between Jesus and the blood, would be more repulsive to a Jewish audience. Finally, the Markan "and they all drank of it" is secondary. It somewhat parallels the "Take, (eat)" said of the bread and makes explicit an assumed action by the apostles.

A few scholars see the words over the cup to be a formula *ex eventu* (i.e., composed after the event). Thus, the Last Supper would have been a celebration *sub una* (under one species, bread), and the parallel actions and words related to the cup developed later as a counterpart to the bread narrative (see Beck 1970: 195–96). The Acts of the Apostles does speak only of "the breaking of bread," and the church in Syria during the first few centuries apparently knew of only one element at the Lord's Supper (Léon-Dufour 1987: 176). Also, the earthly Jesus' fellowship meals with his disciples may not have included wine. But the phrasing in Acts is an abbreviation and should not be taken to indicate only one element (Higgins 1954: 56–63). Very likely, the two kinds of meals that Jesus ate with his disciples only gradually were united, and the one viewed as more important prevailed (cf. Schürmann 1970: 68–70).

Both traditional strands relate the cup to a covenant motif. The Lukan/Pauline tradition sees an eschatological fulfillment of the prophetic promise of a "new covenant" (Jer 31:31), while the Markan one is typological and views Jesus' death as a repetition of the OT covenant sacrifice (Exod 24:8: "blood of the covenant"). To eliminate a covenant motif from the original tradition appears unjustified, given its presence in both traditions, but "covenant" does not occur in any of the sayings attributed to Jesus elsewhere in the gospel. Whether Jesus designated this covenant as "new" or in reference to Exod 24:8 is another question. Jeremias (1977: 194–95) earlier held on grammatical grounds that *tēs diathēkēs* (Mark 14:24: "of the covenant") was a later addition; in Aramaic a noun with a personal pronoun suffix cannot be followed by a genitive. But Jeremias has recognized that his linguistic objection was based on the false assumption that the sequence in Greek must have been that of the Semitic original. Besides, Emerton (1955: 238–40) has pointed out that in Syriac, a Semitic language akin to Aramaic, a suffix can stand for a noun in the genitive different from the one that follows it.

Significantly, the Qumran documents demonstrate that the idea of covenant was much alive at the time, and it should be noted that Exod 24:8 and Ezek 16:6 were used in the Haggadah to interpret the wine of the Passover as blood, making covenant between God and the people (Leaney 1967: 57). Lang (1975: 526–29) and Wagner (1975: 543–44) hold that "new covenant" is part of the oldest recoverable tradition. It could be argued that there was a reformulation of the cup-saying to give it a form parallel to the bread-saying. As a result of this process, the allusion to Exod 24:8 became all the clearer, and the word "new" was dropped, because a covenant established by Jesus' blood would ipso facto be to a different covenant from the Mosaic covenant and could only allude to the new covenant of Jeremiah (Marshall 1981: 45–46, 91–92). The original wording would have been "new covenant."

"Of my blood of the covenant," the Markan tradition writes, "which is poured out for many." Luke specifies the cup with the words "for you," while Paul does not. Were these words originally joined to the bread and only attached to the blood after the two actions were united, with reference to the intervening meal having been dropped? If "this is my body" and "this is my blood" are both left without explanation, there would be more confusion than communication. So either the redemptive theme and the covenant motif go back to Jesus, or at least one of them does; otherwise the words of Jesus are to be rejected in their entirety. This last position is difficult, if one accepts the eschatological statement of Jesus in Mark 14:25 (cf. Luke 22:15–18; 1 Cor 11:26), in which Jesus does give a positive interpretation of his death.

Mark 14:25 (Temple 1960–61: 77–85) and Luke 22:15–18 (cf. 1 Cor 11:26) introduce an eschatological aspect and provide a positive interpretation of Jesus' death. Mark 14:25 stands at the end of the account, while the passage in Luke 22:15–18 stands before it. Luke's placement may be more correct, and Schürmann (1953: 1–74, 123) has claimed that the Luke 22:15–18 text is an independent report and the oldest tradition of the Last Supper. Occasionally, Mark 14:25 is considered an abbreviation of these verses, but more probably Luke 22:15–18 is a further development of the former (Pesch 1978: 26–31). Luke 22:18 is less Semitic and so less original than Mark (Higgins 1954: 37). Merklein (1977: 236) contends that, since the authenticity of Mark 14:25 is hardly to be disputed (cf. Hahn 1986: 246–47; Léon-Dufour 1987: 165–68, 171), it can serve as a heuristic key in determining what Jesus did at the Last Supper. It allows us to conclude two things: Jesus reckoned with his proximate violent death (that of a prophet), yet he maintained the value of his message about the coming of the kingdom. In fact, a regular feature of Jewish thought is the messianic banquet God will prepare for his people (cf. Zeph 1:7; *1 Enoch*

62:14; *2 Enoch* 42:5). Jesus would not have needed tremendous prescience to realize his dangerous situation, and he did anticipate a resurrection of the dead. Moreover, the messianic banquet figures in his teachings (e.g., Luke 13:28–29; 22:30). It should be noted that a few scholars have proposed that Mark 14:25 is to be identified with the original words over the cup.

For Jeremias (1977: 207–18), the Luke 22:15–18 passage informs us of Jesus' avowal of abstinence on behalf of Israel. Jeremias sees the avowal confirmed by the practice of the Quartodecimans who, inspired by this example, fasted for the Jews during the night of the Passover and only ate their agape and Eucharist at 3 A.M.—the next morning. The Quartodecimans read and explained Exodus 12 and awaited Jesus' second coming at their Passover. Jeremias' student Lohse (1953: 62–89, 136–37) supports this position. However, G. Ogg (1965: 89–92) is less certain that the Quartodecimans fasted for the Jews; rather, he contends, it was a fast for the death of Jesus. In fact, Jeremias has not convinced many scholars of the historicity of such an avowal.

**D. Questions of Meaning**

Granted that we may not be able to get back to the original report about the Last Supper, what meaning is to be attributed to what we can recover? There is rather complete certainty about a number of items. Jesus did celebrate the Last Supper, and his words over the bread and wine were unique. The Last Supper was a fellowship meal like those he had celebrated any number of times with his disciples. These meals implied an acceptance of everyone, sinners included. But the Last Supper was also a thanksgiving or a blessing. Although thanksgiving was a part of every Jewish meal, nonetheless the Last Supper's joyful aspect was balanced by the sobering awareness that it was also a farewell meal. We simply cannot determine whether it was a Passover meal or not; however, a reasonable assumption is that it was celebrated in a Passover atmosphere. If it were not a Passover meal, it may well have been a *tôdâ* meal of praise and proclamation.

During the course of the meal, Jesus, in prophetic manner, identified himself with both the bread and the wine in the cup. At a meal people are fed, and Jesus did identify himself in some way with this nourishment.

There is no reason to deny that Jesus was aware of his forthcoming death and saw it as part of God's eschatological salvific activity (Schürmann 1973: 353–60). Almost everyone will agree that Jesus' death, as was his life, was for others. Such an understanding corresponds well with what we can determine about the earthly Jesus. Less enthusiasm has been shown for the contention that Jesus interpreted his death in terms of Isa 52:13–53:12 (but see Pesch 1978: 89–111). On the other hand, Jesus apparently spoke of a covenant; moreover, the evidence seems to favor his having spoken of a "new" covenant. The mention of covenant and blood implies sacrifice, and this, plus other actions of Jesus, may have led to the repetition of the meal. In fact, it was repeated. Finally, the vast majority of scholars accept the eschatological dimension of the Last Supper as a messianic banquet celebrated in anticipation of the coming kingdom (cf. Günther 1985: 41–64).

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**LASTHENES** (PERSON) [Gk *Lasthenēs* (Λασθενης)]. A native of Crete who became a high official under Demetrius II Nicator, a Seleucid king. Josephus informs us that Lasthenes served as this king's mercenary chief in Crete during the latter's accession (*Ant* 13.4.3.86), which he ultimately realized with a political victory over Alexander Balas (1 Macc 10:67). Lasthenes' main military contribution to Demetrius was assistance in aiding the latter's landing in Cilicia, ca. 147 B.C. Diodorus infers that Lasthenes later became the chief minister proper (Diodorus 33.4) of Demetrius, and possibly the governor of Coele-Syria (1 Macc 10:69). Lasthenes' importance surfaces in a written exchange between Demetrius and Jonathan the Hasmonean, the high priest (1 Macc 11:20–37). The king, trying to flatter the Jews, recites his earlier letter sent to Lasthenes (1 Macc 10:22–26). Ironically, the first usage of the Demetrius-Lasthenes letter was to win support away from Jonathan, whereas the reference to the same letter (1 Macc 11:20–37) is now employed to flatter the same Jonathan. Lasthenes is referred to as "kinsman" and "father," which are court titles rather than indications of blood relationships. "Kinsmen of the King," who were much older than the king, such as Lasthenes was to Demetrius, probably received the title of "father" as well (Bickerman 1938: 42–43).

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**LATIN LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (LATIN).

**LATIN VERSIONS.** See VERSIONS, ANCIENT (LATIN)

**LAVER** [Heb *kiyyôr* (כִּיּוֹר)*;* Gk *loutron* (λουτρον)]. Bronze washbasin situated in both the tabernacle and temple courtyards. Although situated in the cultic precincts, the laver itself was not a ritual object. The tabernacle laver (Exod 30:18, 29; 31:9; 35:16; 38:8; 39:39; 40:7, 11, 30; Lev 8:11) was filled with water for the priests to use in washing their hands and feet (Exod 30:17–21). Made of the mirrors of the "women who ministered at the door of the tent of meeting" (Exod 38:8), it was placed on a bronze base between the altar and the entrance to the tabernacle.

The temple passages in 1 Kings contain a description of ten bronze lavers (1 Kgs 7:38), each supported by an elaborate stand (1 Kgs 7:27–37). The lavers themselves were bronze bowls, each with a capacity of forty baths (ca. 243 gallons). The stands were incredibly ornate. Each was 4 cubits square (ca. 6.5 ft square) and 3 cubits high (ca. 5 ft). The sides were set with framed panels decorated with animals—lions, oxen—and cherubim in relief. The frames themselves were decorated with "beveled work." Each stand rested on four bronze wheels, each 1.5 cubits high, with bronze axles, thus forming a sort of cart. Projecting 1 cubit upward from the stands at each corner were supports, decorated with wreaths, and holding a band or ring ("crown"), 0.5 cubit high, in which the laver itself was placed. The band was paneled, perhaps in metope divisions, and decorated with cherubim, lions, and palm trees.

Various archaeological discoveries contribute to an understanding of what lavers looked like (Paul and Dever 1973: 258–59). Metal lavers from Megiddo and Ras Shamra provide some information, as do some Cypriot bases. In particular, carriage bases from Larnaka have wheels, and one is decorated with a sphinx, a lion, a chariot, and two figures. Also, an 8th-century bowl from Salamis is made of bronze and rests on a tripod stand decorated with fanciful animals.

All of these artifacts feature some elements in common with the Solomonic lavers, but none can provide an exact parallel for these elaborate courtyard furnishings. If the biblical depiction is to be taken literally, the lavers would have been far taller than an average person. Thus, it is difficult to comprehend how they

may have been used. Furthermore, it is unlikely that the relatively small wheels could have supported the stand, the laver, and nearly a ton of water.

Whatever the reality of the lavers was, they did not survive as long as the temple did. King Ahaz partially dismantled them (2 Kgs 16:17), removing the frames and the laver. But the stands themselves may have survived until the Babylonian conquest (2 Kgs 25:13, 16; Jer 52:17, 20).

The lavers were essential for priestly purification, and they may also have had symbolic value. The Hebrew word has been related to the Akkadian *kiuri,* or *ki-ùr,* meaning "copper caldron." This term may go back to a Sumerian term meaning "foundation of the earth" (*ARI,* 152–54). If so, the lavers participated in the cosmic terminology that characterizes many aspects of the vocabulary used for the Jerusalem temple.

The NT word *loutron* is translated "washing." It is the same as the LXX word for "lavers" and is used metaphorically in relation to baptism (Titus 3:5; Eph 5:26). See also SEA, MOLTEN.

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**LAW** [Heb *tôrâ* (תּוֹרָה)*;* Gk *nomos* (νομος)]. This entry consists of three articles, one surveying law as a cultural phenomenon in the ANE world in which the Hebrew Bible emerged, one examining the various forms of law present in the Hebrew Bible, and one surveying religious law in early Judaism of the NT period.

### *BIBLICAL AND ANE LAW*

The considerable amount of evidence available from both the Bible and ANE sources makes a comparison of laws possible. The sources, social systems, types of cases, and principles behind juridical decisions require detailed treatment.

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A. Sources Available for Study
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**A. Sources Available for Study**

The Bible preserves several significant collections of laws: the Decalogue, the Covenant Code, the Holiness Code, and the Deuteronomic laws. These collections, although not labeled as such by the ancient writers, have been identified as literary units by modern scholars. Most, but not all of the formally stated biblical laws are found in these pentateuchal collections; and supplementary knowledge of biblical legal practices comes from narrative accounts and other, nonlegal books. But the Bible remains the single most important source for the study of Israelite society and culture. Modern archaeology, to be sure, has recovered meaningful data relating to some aspects of life in biblical times; however, the disappointingly small quantity of extrabiblical ancient Hebrew written records limits the ability of scholars to reconstruct and describe cultural features such as the nature and practices of biblical law beyond that which is recorded in the Bible itself.

Archaeology has been significantly more successful in providing knowledge about law in non-Israelite societies, particularly for those ancient communities of people who wrote their records on clay tablets in cuneiform scripts. These ancient cultures, namely the Sumerians, Babylonians, Assyrians, and Hittites, have yielded collections of their laws as well as of contemporary public and private documents describing a full range of legal and economic activities. The major law collections of the ANE are the Codes of Urnammu (CU, see *ANET*, 523–25), Lipit-Ishtar (LI, see *ANET*, 159–61), and Hammurapi (CH, see *ANET*, 163–80); the Laws of Eshnunna (LE, see *ANET*, 161–63); the Middle Assyrian Laws (AL, see *ANET*, 180–88); and the Hittite Laws (HL, see *ANET*, 188–97). They are supplemented by fragments recording additional Sumerian and Neo-Babylonian laws, as well as by scribal textbooks and other legal compositions such as royal edicts and treaties.

The contemporary ancient legal documents can be numbered in the thousands. They record the legal transactions from the everyday life of individuals and families. They come from many cities in western Asia and cover a span of over two thousand years. The sheer quantity of these ANE materials has created a discipline and discourse which are carried on separately from consideration of parallels or similarities to biblical laws and legal traditions. These nonbiblical materials need to be analyzed on several levels. One task or level is to sift through the documents of everyday life in an effort to describe the actual legal practices of the time. A second task is to compare the practices of everyday life with the provisions contained in the law collections in order to see if they are identical. A third task is to compare the legal practices of various periods and places. The comparative study of biblical and ANE law relates to this third level of analysis. Many legal practices and problems described in the Bible also appear in the nonbiblical ANE traditions. While there are, to be sure, cultural differences between these ancient societies, there are also similarities. The task of comparative study is to look at both differences and similarities in an effort to better understand the nature and scope of biblical laws and legal practices within their ancient setting.

**B. Oral and Written Laws**

**1. In the Ancient Near East.** It has become increasingly clear that the formal law collections, both in the OT and in the ANE, were not intended to be complete codes of law. The term "code" is still often applied and may be retained, provided that one realizes the term's noncomprehensive nature. A good illustration of the phenomenon can be seen in comparing the Eshnunna Laws (LE) with the Laws or "Code" of Hammurapi (CH). Both collections were written within a century of one another and emanate

from virtually the same cultural milieu in Babylonia. Legal areas mentioned in both collections, for example, are the hire of wagons and boats (LE 3–5; CH 236–39, 275–77). The Laws of Hammurapi add a case (CH 240) dealing with losses due to collision and sinking of a craft, whereas the Eshnunna laws add another case, not covered at all in the Hammurapi laws, dealing with loss caused by someone using a vessel without the owner's permission (LE 6). Both additions seem to be valid cases that could have fairly been considered by either society in its respective law collection.

The collection of Eshnunna laws, which is about one fourth the size of the Hammurapi laws, includes additional provisions not found in the larger corpus. Thus, for example, one finds the hire of harvest workers (LE 7–9) and of a fuller (LE 14); a slave woman who covertly passed her child to a free family (LE 33–35); a bailee falsely claiming the theft of bailed goods in his possession (LE 36); the sale of an inheritance share by one of two heirs (LE 38); a biting by a mad dog whose owner was previously publicly admonished (LE 56–57); and a battery causing injury to a finger or collarbone (LE 43,46).

The Eshnunna laws, moreover, also contain cases which, while not found in the Hammurapi laws, do appear in other ANE legal compositions or in the Bible. For example, loan fraud (LE 20) is covered in the Edict of Ammiṣaduqa 5, 7 (Kraus 1984: 172–74); the rape of a slave woman (LE 31) is also dealt with in the "Code" of Urnammu (CU 8); the required payment for wet nurses (LE 32) is covered in the school composition *ana ittišu* III iii 45–50 (CAD L, p. 293 *lubuštu;* M pt. 2, p. 265–66 *mušēniqtu*); the redemption of a house sold for debt (LE 39) is dealt with in Lev 25:29–34; the case of an ox goring and killing another ox (LE 53) is discussed in Exod 21:35.

The incomplete nature of these Babylonian law collections is further demonstrated by other, significant omissions. There are important legal areas which were, clearly, fully operative in Babylonian society, since they are abundantly reflected in the contemporary documents. Some of these areas are even mentioned in the "codes" in a tangential or passing fashion, but the activities themselves do not appear as the primary subject of a law paragraph or provision. So, for example, one finds no cases directly dealing with arson, treason, theft of livestock, surety, barter, murder, manumission, or sale. The omission of such common cultural areas in the law collections can hardly be the result of any design or plan, particularly when one considers that, in the Hittite laws, some of these same areas are omitted while others like arson (HL 98–100), murder (HL 1–6), and livestock theft (HL 57–70) are included.

It is apparent, from all such omissions as described above, both of major concepts and of individual cases or provisions, that the validity of the Babylonian laws did not depend upon their being written down. The law collections themselves, moreover, appear as secondary inclusions within larger, nonlegal, literary frameworks: building inscriptions, monuments, and scribal textbooks and exercises. Even for royal edicts and treaties, there was likewise significant oral activity connected with their execution and promulgation. Writing functioned primarily as a means of disseminating and remembering information. The act of writing was not necessarily an inherent part of legal process; documents were not written for all transactions but, apparently, mainly for cases arising out of complicated, potentially contestable life situations. Thus, for example, real estate sales and manumissions, more often than not, were recorded inasmuch as the new owners or freed slaves needed proof of the change in status. But many other transactions, including marriage, division of property, adoption (without manumission), sale of immovables, and most criminal proceedings, typically do not appear to have required regular use of written records.

**2. In the Bible.** The biblical law collections, even when considered *in toto,* fall short of including all of the legal areas operative in ancient Israelite society. There are, first of all, categories which appear in the ANE laws but which are absent or unregulated in the OT law collections. Many of these categories are, however, alluded to in the Bible; thus, it is certain that they were operative in Israelite society. So, for example, robbery (tangentially mentioned in Lev 5:21–26—Eng 6:2–7; 19:13), hire of wet nurses, lease and rental of property, surety (cf. Gen 43:9; Prov 6:1; 20:16), hire of labor (cf. Lev 19:13; Job 7:2), bride-price and dowry (cf. Exod 22:16; 1 Sam 18:25), and sale (e.g., Isa 24:2; 2 Sam 24:24; etc.). In connection with sale, Jer 32:11 mentions the "sealed deed of purchase … and the open copy." This custom finds parallels in the Dead Sea Scrolls (*DJD* 2: 244–46), the Elephantine papyri (Porten 1968: 198–99), and the

Mishnah (*B. Bat.* 10:1). This type of document is ultimately derived from the practice of using an inscribed and sealed clay envelope to contain and protect a cuneiform document; the text written on the inner tablet was duplicated on the outside envelope.

Some of the other "missing laws" also appear in the Mishnah. While one cannot assert that all regulations of the Mishnah go back to the biblical period, some laws apparently do, at least to the extent that they can be shown to have ANE parallels. For example, the Babylonian laws treat the case of how to dispose of marital gifts and property in a situation where either the bride or groom-to-be has died before the wedding. This case appears in LE 17 and CH 163–64. The case is not discussed in the Bible but does appear in the Mishnah (*B. Bat.* 9:5). Another such case is "assault" upon the dignity of an individual by slapping his face. This case is considered in LE 42 and CH 202–4, and in the Mishnah (*B. Qam.* 8:6); this offensive act is also addressed by the NT (Matt 5:39, Luke 6:29).

One can look again to the Mishnah for "preservation" of laws dealing with rental of houses and lease of fields (*B. Meṣ.* 8:6–9, 10:1–10). These activities are highly visible both in the Laws of Hammurapi (CH 42–47, E–G) and the contemporary cuneiform documents. An arrangement modeled after a field lease may be reflected in Lev 25:15–16. Another such example is the special class of dowry property (Akk *mulūgu;* Heb *mĕlōg*) and the type of property for which the user is responsible regardless of loss (Akk *ul imūtū,* "they shall not have died," said typically of livestock and thus described as *ṣōn barzel,* "iron sheep," in the Mishnah; cf. *Yebam.* 7:1, *B. Meṣ.* 5:6).

The paucity of ancient Hebrew records limits real knowledge about the use of writing in Israelite legal practice. Scholars have noted the absence of writing; for example, in the description of Abraham's purchase of the cave of Machpelah (Genesis 23) as well as in the redemption of Naomi's family property in Ruth 4:1–12. But documents were written for the redemption of family property by Jeremiah (Jer 32:6–14) and were prescribed for divorce in Deut 24:1–3, Isa 50:1, and Jer 3:8. Some scholars have seen the use of written documents as a late development, perhaps reflecting increased foreign influences and sophistications (cf. further Job 31:35). The biblical law collections, however, are all represented as part of orally delivered addresses or sermons. The renewal or rereading of the law is similarly depicted; the laws are read out to the populace in Deut 31:10–13, 2 Kgs 23:1–3, and Neh 8:1–9:3. So it would seem that in ancient Israel, as for her Near Eastern neighbors, writing was not an indispensable feature of the legal tradition and practice but functioned, rather, as an aid to memory (cf. Deut 31:22–26; Josh 24:26).

**C. Authority and Law**

**1. In the Ancient Near East.** The laws are upheld by the king as part of his duty of governance. The king is responsible for ruling the people in accordance with principles of justice and equity; the king functions as a judge for his subjects and from time to time also issues public decrees in order to afford redress to various groups of free citizens who have been disadvantaged due to debt. But the king is not the primary author or originator of the law. Even in their "codes," kings do not claim to have invented or discovered the laws they present.

The administration of justice, however, did not fall solely on the king. In addition, cases were heard by local courts of village elders, councils, or residential districts (Akk *šībūt alim, puḫrum, bābtum*); commercial affairs were regulated by the merchants of the city (Akk *kārum*). Cases also came before courts convened under the jurisdiction of provincial civil and military officials who, on some occasions, also functioned as judges. Temple priests were at times also judges, although more frequently they were involved in an ancillary way, administering an oath or ordeal for evidentiary purposes. All of these local courts, unlike the royal court of the king, were composed of three or more individuals who formed judicial collegia. The verdicts of judges were accorded great respect; in Mesopotamia, litigants who contested judgments were subject to heavy fines, mutilation, or death. In Ḫatti, one who rejected the verdict of the king had his house torn down; but one who rejected the verdict of the king's judge could suffer the death penalty (HL 173). This severe protection of authority is paralleled in Deut 17:8–13.

**2. In the Bible.** The royal court of the king appears in the OT (e.g., 2 Sam 15:2–6; 1 Kgs 3:28); a legend about Solomon portrays him as the ideal monarch and judge who sought and attained a quality of wisdom sufficient to judge (RSV "govern") his people in the most excellent fashion (1 Kgs 3:9–12).

There were also local judiciaries consisting of village elders (e.g., Deut 21:2–3; 1 Kgs 21:8–11; Ruth 4:2, 9–11) or town councils (e.g., Deut 35:7–9; Ezek 16:40). The Bible speaks of specially appointed judges who presumably took their authority from the king or from the central government (2 Chr 19:5; Deut 16:18; Mic 3:9; 7:3).

Priests appear to play a noticeably larger role as judges in ancient Israel. They are pictured as functioning alongside of other royal appointees (2 Chr 19:8–11), alongside of the king himself (Deut 17:18–20), or even acting alone as if there were no other governmental structure (Deut 17:8–13; Ezek 44:23–24). Scholars have assigned this enhanced role for priests to the experiences of the Persian period, when Judea possessed only local government, led by the priestly elite in Jerusalem. Priests play only a cultic role during the early monarchy (2 Sam 20:26–27; 1 Kgs 4:4–5).

The ultimate authority of the laws was seen as coming from God. In this respect, Israelite society was very different from other ANE societies. Yet there are laws recorded in the Bible that do come from the reigning kings. There is, for example, the law of booty decreed by David (1 Sam 30:24–25); the terms used to describe this law, Heb *ḥōq, mišpāṭ*, are used also in the Pentateuch to describe divinely given laws (e.g., Lev 26:46; Deut 4:1, 5, 8; Ps 147:19). One thus cannot look to terminology as an indicator of divine origin since other terms used to denote law are likewise also operative in the human sphere. Thus, Heb *tôrâ* (Prov 1:8; 6:20; 13:14; 31:26) and *miṣwâ* (Prov 6:20; Jer 32:11; 35:16, 18; Isa 29:13; 2 Kgs 18:36) describe the instructions or commands of parents and monarchs. In a similar fashion, Heb *piqûd* and *ʿēdût* also arise, respectively, out of backgrounds that are taken from the sphere of human actions; namely, of assignment and of solemn stipulations accepted under oath (Tadmor 1982: 142–52). All of these terms relate to communications given by those in authority and imply the duty of the receiver or listener to obey. The authority could be parent, elder, government official, priest, king, or God.

Prophets do not appear to have functioned as judges, but were connected to the transmission of laws to Israel. The laws are pictured as coming to Israel through the agency of the prophets, especially Moses; and the term *tôrâ,* pl. *tôrôt*, eventually came to be used to describe any and all laws given by God to Israel via the prophets (Deut 4:8, 44; Jer 26:4–5; Lam 2:9; Neh 8:1, 8, 14). The laws in the Pentateuch are represented as spoken directly by God to Moses, who, not surprisingly therefore, is described as the prophet of highest rank (Num 12:6–8; Deut 34:10). Prophets otherwise do not appear to have played any role in the judiciary or in the everyday administration of justice, although there are a few attempts to create a link between the prophets and the judiciary. One case is the story of Jethro and Moses, where Moses is advised (Exod 18:21) to "choose able men from all the people such as fear God, men who are trustworthy and who hate a bribe." These men are then appointed to serve as judges of the "lower courts" under Moses. Another link appears in the hybrid career of Samuel who, in addition to serving as a priest under Eli (1 Sam 3:1), also was a "seer" (1 Sam 9:9), led his people to military victory (1 Sam 7:10–14), and together with his sons served as judge (1 Sam 7:15–8:3).

**3. Law and Ethics.** The linking of God to law added an important ethical dimension to the worldview of ancient Israel. Since God was the source of law, the failure to observe the law became an offense against the deity. This linking, however, also succeeded in placing ethics in the matrix of human history and fostered the concept of ethical standards to which God was also responsibly connected. One sees this, for example, in the protestations of Job and in the argument of Abraham (Exod 18:23–25); "… Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" This ethical idealism is very much present in the speeches of the prophets (cf., for example, 1 Kgs 21:17–19; Isa 1:15–17; Jer 22:13–17; Amos 5:12–15; 8:4–6; Mic 3:9–11, etc.). The other ANE cultures of course also believed in ethics, but they did not achieve this concept of an integrated moral universe.

**4. Covenant.** The laws in the Pentateuch are connected to the concept of the covenant, i.e., of bonds and agreements that were made between God, the sovereign Lord, and Israel, his subject people. The biblical covenants were modeled after the formal agreements or treaties that existed between monarchs and their vassals in the political sphere of the ancient world. Similarities in ceremony and detail have been noted; they include "the cutting of the covenant," which was accompanied by the slaughter of a sacrificial animal; public assembly; oaths of allegiance or agreement; invocation of the gods, and their curses upon

those who violated the oaths or agreements (Weinfeld 1972: 59–146). However, the biblical covenants differ from the ANE treaties in that what were originally stipulations of allegiance or agreement (Josh 24:1–27) became much expanded and transformed into paragraphs of laws and commandments. Through their acceptance of the covenant, these were seen as becoming binding upon the Israelites (Exod 19:4–8; 24:3–8; Deut 5:1–5; 26:16–27:8).

Covenant is central to the presentation of the pentateuchal laws and commandments. The occasions of making and renewing the covenant became in fact settings for revealing and restating some or all of the laws (2 Kgs 23:1–3; Jer 34:8–22; Ezra 9–10; Nehemiah 9–13). The covenant also carried with it important theological ideas: the divine authority to command; the obligation of Israel to obey; the meting out of reward and punishment for keeping or disobeying the laws; the concept of an awesome but still intimate relationship between God and his people; authority for those individuals or groups who were seen as custodians or teachers of the law; and a continuing, eternal bond between God, the sovereign, and Israel, his vassal.

The ANE treaties were not used as vehicles for presentation of laws to the population in general. Their stipulations remained rooted in the actual political contexts in which they were written. They deal with political matters of loyalty, dealings with hostile powers, military activity and support, extradition of fugitives, and the like (McCarthy 1978: 82–83, 103, 107–121). There are, of course, also political covenants or treaties in the Bible (Gen 21:22–32; 31:44–54; 1 Kgs 20:34); and these are similar in character to their ANE counterparts. But the concept of a connection between divine covenant and divine law is solely a product of Israelite theology. See also COVENANT.

**5. Apodictic Law.** Some scholars, following Alt (1934: 134–71) have linked covenant with biblical laws or precepts formulated in "apodictic style." This term describes what Alt saw as categorical, unconditional formulations of laws, including those presented in the imperative form; that is, words and commandments spoken by God in direct address to the Israelites. The subject matter of these laws, more often than not, could be described as dealing with the "sacral realm of human relations with the divine"; i.e., moral pronouncements of general character rather than the illustrative situations of case law. The apodictically formulated laws relate to the religious as well as to the secular realm of life. Alt saw them as uniquely Israelite in origin, in contrast with the "casuistic" or case law which was part of a common heritage shared with the Canaanites and other Near Eastern peoples (see F.1. below).

Other scholars, however, have noted that second person imperative statements occasionally also appear in the Hittite vassal treaties alongside of the more common casuistically formulated ones (McCarthy 1978: 60–62, 82–83). There are noncasuistic formulations to be found even in the otherwise overwhelmingly casuistically styled ANE law collections. These also occur in the extensive nonlegal literature; e.g., in moral directives, wisdom compositions, or curse formulations (Paul 1970: 112–24). Second person address is frequently found in Hittite and Akkadian religious rituals (*ANET*, 207–10, 334–45). This usage offers a valid parallel to the frequent use of second person statements in the cultic commandments and procedures contained in the Pentateuch. Apodictic statements are therefore not unique to ancient Israel; they can be seen as deriving from contexts involving sermons, moral exhortations, and rituals.

**D. Shared Social Norms**

There are a number of striking parallels between some biblical and ANE laws; the similarities are so close that they invite comment and explanation. Certain similarities may derive from societal norms that were held in common by both ancient Israel and her neighbors. So, for example, one finds common attitudes and prohibitions against sorcery (Exod 22:17; Lev 20:27; Deut 18:10–14; CH 2; AL A47; HL 44, 170), kidnapping and sale of the abducted person (Exod 21:6; Deut 24:7; CH 14; and with less severe penalties, HL 19–20), and false witness (Exod 20:16; 23:1–3; Deut 5:20; 19:16–21; CU 25–26; CH 1, 3, 4). There is a call for honesty in dealing with others; e.g., a condemnation of judges who take bribes (Exod 23:8; Deut 16:19) and of merchants who sell with false weights and measures (Lev 19:36; Deut 25:13–15; CH 108). Since these offenses were often concealed from public knowledge, the ancient societies turned to their deity for appropriate punishments and rewards (Prov 20:23; Reiner 1958: 14, l.

46; Lambert 1960: 132–33, l. 97–102, 107–21). The ancient kings recognized, as their duty, the standardization of weights and measures (e.g., Yildiz 1981, the prologue; cf. Ezek 45:9–12).

There are common attitudes respecting property rights. Thus, one finds laws condemning the moving of boundary markers between properties (Deut 19:14; 27:17; AL B8–9; HL 168–69; Reiner 1958: 14, l. 46). The Bible and the Hittite laws, perhaps by coincidence, perhaps by tradition (see sec. F.1. below), juxtapose laws dealing with damage to a neighbor's property by trespassing animal or fire (Exod 22:4–5; HL 98–99, 105–7). There is recognition of a duty for property owners to protect others from the consequences of negligent acts of omission. In the Bible, one finds this duty expressed in the cases of the missing parapet (Deut 22:8) and the unfilled pit (Exod 21:33). In Babylonia, one finds this concept in the case of the farmer who failed to maintain or shut off irrigation channels shared with his neighbors (CH 53, 55). There are shared values relating to the return of lost property. Deut 21:2–11 and HL 71 are very similar cases dealing with the holding of a lost animal whose master cannot be identified. Both traditions include positive statements on the virtue of returning the lost animal or object to its owner (Deut 2:1; HL 45). There are also common laws about the responsibility for goods (Exod 22:7–9; CH 120; LE 36) and animals (Exod 22:12–13; CH 266–67; *ANET*, 525–26; Sumerian laws 9–10) left in safekeeping.

One finds common customs as well as common values. Many of these appear in the area of family; e.g., the giving of an extra share of inheritance to the first born. This right is vouchsafed even in the case of a second marriage (Deut 21:15–17; AL B1; *ANET*, 198, Neo-Babylonian laws par. 15; CAD E, p. 78, *elâtu* A). There are provisions dealing with obligations of the husband to both wives should he take a second wife (Exod 21:10–12; CL 24–28; CH 148–49, 170–71; Falkenstein 1956: 8–9; Schorr 1913: 316–17). Sons are usually the heirs, but daughters did inherit in the absence of sons (Numbers 27; 36; cf. Job 42:15; Thureau-Dangin 1907: 72, l. 44–45; CL 22; Civil 1965: 4–5; CH 180–81). Childlessness, i.e., having no heir at all, was a problem that could only be partly alleviated. For the widow left without children, there was levirate marriage (Gen 38:8–11, 26; Deut 25:5–10; Ruth 4; see also AL A30, 33, 43; HL 193). Adoption was another alternative; it was very common in Babylonia, Assyria, and N Syria in the 2d millennium (cf. CAD M pt. 1, pp. 319–21 *mārūtu,* 306 *mārtūtu*). Adoption is poorly attested in the Bible; but one finds awareness of the practice in 1 Chr 2:34–36, as well as fragments of formulas in 2 Sam 7:14 and Ps 2:7. Legitimation of children born of a slave concubine was another possibility (Gen 35:22–26; Prov 17:2; CH 170–71). A childless wife, at times, is even seen as providing her husband with a free (Frymer-Kensky 1981: 211–12; Greengus 1975: 13–24) or slave concubine (Genesis 16; 20:1–8; CH 144–46). There are common practices relating to divorce, e.g., in the recitation of oral formulas in Babylonia, the Elephantine papyri, and the Bible (Greengus 1969: 518–20), along with "stripping" the divorcée or widow who remarried of her husband's assets (Hos 2:4–5; Huehnergard 1985).

**E. Laws Protecting the Family**

**1. Sexual Taboos.** There are shared norms in the sphere of incest taboos. One thus finds common prohibitions against a man having sexual relations with his mother (Lev 18:7; CH 157; HL 189), daughter-in-law (Lev 18:15; 20:12; Deut 27:23; CH 155), daughter (Lev 18:10—actually for a granddaughter; there is no statement on a daughter, but the taboo can be inferred *a fortiori*—CH 154; HL 189 [and stepdaughter in 195]), or father's wife (Lev 18:8; 20:12; Deut 27:20; HL 190). For this last offense, a less severe penalty is given in CH 158; namely, being expelled as an heir. HL 190, moreover, does not consider relations with a father's wife to be a sin after the death of the father. These alternative views of this type of incest is echoed in the earlier history of Israel. Reuben, who had sexual relations with his father's concubine Bilhah (Gen 35:22), was likewise expelled from his position as chief heir by Jacob (Gen 49:3-4). The custom of taking one's father's wives after his death is also visible in the stories surrounding Absalom (2 Sam 16:22; 20:3) and Adonijah (1 Kgs 2:13–25).

Common sexual mores are visible again in the prohibition against a man having sexual relations with two related women, i.e., two sisters or a mother and daughter. The former situation is condemned in Lev 18:18 and HL 194, but was earlier permitted for the marriage of Jacob (Gen 29:21–30). The Hittites extended this prohibition even to half sisters or cousins of the woman in question; cf. the treaty of Šuppiluliumas I with Ḫuqqana of Ḫajaša (Haase 1984: 81–82). Sexual relations with a mother and

daughter is prohibited in Lev 18:17; 20:14; HL 191. HL 194, 200, however, did not extend the full force of this taboo to two slave or captive women. There appears to have been a comparable prohibition against a woman having sexual relations with two men who were brothers or father and son. This latter situation is condemned in Amos 2:7; condemnation of both situations may be inferred, among the Hittites, from HL 194, which releases the taboo penalty for a slave woman. The situation of two brothers is condemned in the treaty with Ḫuqqana. The Bible does not discuss the situation of two brothers having sexual relations with an unmarried woman, but condemns it with the married wife of a brother (Lev 18:16; similarly, HL 195). One also finds commonly shared sexual taboos against bestiality (Lev 18:23; 20:15–16; Deut 27:21; HL 187–88, 200) and male homosexuality (Lev 18:22; 20:13; AL A19–20).

In Lev 18:3 and 27–29, it is implied that the Egyptians and the native peoples of Canaan did not observe the same taboos that were enjoined upon Israel. There is, unfortunately, no real data available for the sexual attitudes of the Canaanites, and the data for Egypt are likewise insufficient. But the cumulative evidence given above for the Hittites, Babylonians, and Assyrians suggests that the Israelites were neither the first nor only people to honor such taboos.

**2. Adultery.** The mores relating to adultery were similar but not uniform. In ancient Israel, if a married or betrothed woman committed adultery, both she and her paramour had to die (Lev 18:20; 20:10; Deut 22:20–24; Ezek 16:38–42); if the wife was a slave, then there was no penalty except that the paramour was required to provide a guilt offering (Lev 19:20–22). This case of adultery with a consenting slave wife has no ANE parallel. Babylonian and Assyrian laws also treat the case where a free married woman entrapped a man who did not know her status; in such cases, the wife dies but the man goes free (Yildiz 1981, law 7; AL A14, 22–23). The ANE laws also add another level of handling: if the husband wishes to spare his guilty wife, he may do so in Ḫatti and Assyria (he may also punish or mutilate her); but in every case, the same level of punishment meted out to the wife is also meted out to her lover (CH 129; AL A13, 15; HL 197–98). For these ANE societies, the wife and her lover shared the same penalty as long as they were both equally guilty of adultery. The biblical laws do not discuss any mitigating circumstances or variant handling; Prov 6:34–35 can be interpreted as depicting the rage of a betrayed husband who refused ransom or compensation from his wife's paramour. But one must recognize that ransom for adultery is so far not widely attested either in the Bible or in the ANE. There is a case of monetary compensation along with an exculpatory oath for near adultery in AL A22. This case has been compared with the mollifying gifts and the exculpatory declaration made by Abimelech to Abraham for the near adultery in Genesis 20. The case of a wife who is accused by a third party of adultery appears in the ANE law collections but not in the Bible (CU 11; CH 132; AL A17); the wife had to vindicate herself by submitting to an ordeal. The wife who was not accused but whose husband merely suspected her of adultery had to take an oath in CH 131. In such a case, Num 5:11–31 has an ordeal-like ceremony in addition to the oath.

The ANE laws, as pointed out above, do not have a parallel case to Lev 19:20–22 dealing with adultery with a consenting slave wife, but they do treat another situation, absent in the Bible, of the rape of a virgin slave girl (Yildiz 1981, laws 6–8). Finkelstein (1966: 360) has suggested that the slave's consent may have been meaningless; the penalty for rape may be seen as damage to property. The biblical law requiring a guilt offering may thus perhaps be a way of attaching some "guilt" to an otherwise unpunished or unpunishable act.

**3. Rape.** The laws on rape are similar in all of the ANE cultures. In the case of an unmarried virgin, the rapist pays a fine and must marry the woman and never divorce her; the Assyrian laws add talionic retaliation against the rapist's wife if he is already married (Deut 22:28; AL A55). The Sumerian laws 7–8 (*ANET*, 525–26) add mitigating factors: if the girl was in the street with her parents' knowledge, the rapist may or may not marry the girl. In the case of the betrothed or married woman, the penalty is death for the rapist and the woman goes free if one can presume that she struggled and was coerced. If the rape occurred in a remote spot, such as the fields or the mountains, the wife is presumed to have cried out and is thus innocent of wrongdoing. If the attack took place in the town, the woman is presumed guilty if she did not cry out (Deut 22:23–28; CH 130; LE 26; HL 197; AL A12, 16). The Assyrian laws (AL A23) add a further mitigation: in the case of the entrapped wife who was raped in town but who did not cry out

when released, her paramour and procuress suffer the death penalty but the laws leave her punishment up to her husband.

**F. Personal Injuries**

**1. A Common Legal Tradition.** Certain laws which are found in the Bible and in the ANE collections not only deal with the same subject material but do so in a way that includes remarkably similar details. Prime examples are the personal injury laws of the goring ox and the pregnant woman who is struck and miscarries (described below). The repeated use of these specialized (some scholars say unusual and unlikely) life situations as the setting for illustrating what moderns might call principles of negligence and liability suggests that these laws might in fact be part of a literary or scholastic tradition, created for the purpose of teaching these principles. The law codes of the ANE, moreover, almost invariably present the laws in casuistic or case form. The casuistic style is very much the preferred mode of presentation in the scribal traditions of Mesopotamia and her neighbors. This mode occurs not only in law but also in the analytic literature of such things as omens, divination, and medical symptoms. In this vast, casuistically styled literature, the protasis states the problem while the remedy or interpretation appears in the apodosis. Then, too, there is the fact of the existence of ancient schools and the observed retention and transmission of such "classics" as the Code of Hammurapi in these schools over the centuries. See EDUCATION (MESOPOTAMIA). Because of these factors, scholars have looked for cultural sharing among ancient Israel, Babylon, Assyria, and Ḫatti. Some scholars, notably Alt (1934: 112–29), saw the Covenant Code, which contains the greatest number of parallels to the case laws of the other ANE law codes, as the oldest set of biblical laws. The basic materials of the Covenant Code, he suggested, might have been borrowed from the Canaanites, who held them in common with the other ANE peoples from whom law collections are known. Other scholars (Müller 1903: 210–44; Speiser 1963; Cardascia 1977; Westbrook 1988: 1–8) have visualized a continuing tradition of a Near Eastern common law in which ancient Israel more directly shared. At this stage of knowledge, however, the actual mechanisms of cultural contact and transmission still remain elusive (Finkelstein 1981: 17–20).

**2. The Goring Ox.** In the biblical version of the goring ox cases, the ox that gored a human must be stoned and its flesh not eaten. The Mesopotamian parallel cases say nothing at all about the fate of the ox (Exod 21:28–32, 35–36; CH 250–52; LE 53–54). Some scholars (Müller 1903: 165; Finkelstein 1981: 26–29) have explained the punishment of the ox as a religious value: the goring ox has "transgressed" the boundaries of the natural order by attacking a human being, whether free or slave. The idea of punishing animals is not confined to Israel; the Hittite laws (HL 199) present the case of an ox or a pig which leaped upon a man (apparently with sexual intent); the ox is to be killed but not the pig.

**3. Miscarriage.** In the case dealing with the pregnant mother who dies when she is struck and miscarries, some of the ANE laws (CH 209–14; AL A21, 50–53) impose the death penalty, while others (Civil 1965: 4–6) require only compensation. The laws that impose the death penalty, moreover, also allow talionic reprisal against the pregnant wife or daughter of the man responsible. If the pregnant woman was a slave or a member of a lower social class, then the laws require only compensation.

A second case, which the above laws also present, is the situation in which the foetus dies but the mother survives. In all of the laws, the penalty is then only monetary. Sumerian laws 1–2 (*ANET*, 525–26), moreover, vary the penalty according to whether the blow was accidental or intentional. The Assyrian laws (AL A53) discuss one additional case, not treated by any other collection, dealing with the woman who induces her own abortion; the death penalty is given.

The biblical cases (Exod 21:22–24) have been subject to various interpretations, due to uncertainty about two Heb words: *ʾāsôn* and *pĕlīlîm* (RSV "harm, judges"). In the first case, where there is no *ʾāsôn*, the striker pays compensation in (accordance with the) *pĕlīlîm*. In the second case, where there is *ʾāsn*, the consequence is talion, with the death penalty. The traditional interpretation of these verses follows the ANE parallel cases and takes *ʾāsôn* to denote the death of the mother. Accordingly, in the first case, where compensation is given, only the foetus dies; in the second case, which leads to talion, both mother and foetus are lost. Among modern scholars, Speiser (1963) has suggested interpreting *pĕlīlîm* in accordance with HL 17–18, where the compensation given for the foetus varies according to how close it

was to birth. But other scholars have put forth other interpretations, claiming that *ʾāsôn* refers to the child rather than to the mother. For Jackson (1973), the first case deals with a premature but live child; the second deals with a stillborn child. For Westbrook (1986), the child in both cases dies; he interprets *ʾāsôn* as "unknown perpetrator"; the first case has an identified striker, but the second does not. He suggests that Exod 21:24 ("you shall give life for life") must be understood as compensation rather than as a death penalty. These alternative interpretations are defensible in view of the uncertainty about the meaning of the two words mentioned; however, they fail to explain the ANE parallel cases, as well as the fact that the traditional interpretation itself also has a long history, going back to rabbinic times.

**4. Battery.** The ancient personal injury laws dealing with battery exhibit remarkable parallels between ancient Israel and her neighbors. The catalogue of selected injuries listed in the Bible, i.e., eye, tooth, bone, hand, foot, etc., is very similar to what is found in other collections. These selections could simply be the product of shared human experience. But they could also be the product of a scholastic tradition, especially since one finds them associated with the rubric of talionic retribution.

The cases are numerous and varied. The Bible treats these injuries together as a group in several places (Exod 21:24–25; Lev 24:19–20, 22; Deut 19:21). In the other ancient codes the injuries are listed either separately or in smaller groups. Thus, eye (CH 196; LE 42; HL 7), tooth (CH 200; LE 42; CU 19; HL 7), foot (CU 15; HL 11), bone (CH 197; LE 45, CU 16), finger (LE 43), hand (LE 44; HL 11), nose (CU 17; LE 42; HL 13–14), ear (LE 42; HL 15), and collarbone (LE 46).

In general, the laws make the striking party subject to talion in all cases where the injury is permanent. The mitigating circumstances of intention are admitted in CH 206–7 in a case where the injury could have led to the death of the victim. In the same situation, Exod 21:18–19 omits consideration of intent. Both of these codes, however, make the striking party responsible for the victim's medical care and incapacitation. HL 10 also includes responsibility for medical costs and incapacitation in a case of a debilitating head injury.

There are two other cases of battery worthy of mention that involve talion. One is the case of the woman who in a fight assaults a man's genitals. The woman is punished by mutilation both in the Bible (Deut 25:11) and in the Assyrian laws (AL A8). The other case is the son who strikes his father or mother; he is punished by mutilation in CH 195 (this case mentions only the father) and by death in Exod 21:5.

**5. Talion and Compensation.** The presence of talion in the Bible and in the laws of Babylonia under Hammurapi and the absence of talion in the laws of Sumer, Eshnunna, and Ḫatti have stimulated scholarly discussion and debate. Previously, many scholars had argued that whereas earlier societies practiced talionic retribution, i.e., corporal punishments comparable to the injuries suffered, later and perhaps more enlightened societies renounced talion for monetary compensation. However, there were problems with this view after the ANE "codes" were discovered. For example, why in the Code of Hammurapi are personal injuries to freemen punished by talion but injuries suffered by lower social classes or slaves only punished by monetary compensation? Also, why do the codes in Eshnunna and Sumer, which are earlier in time than Hammurapi, know only compensation and no talion? A. S. Diamond (1957) has argued that this is the case because the simpler, less developed societies preferred to settle injuries through compensation; talion is not primitive but a later development, reflecting the advancing power of the state. Freemen are then protected by the more serious consequences of talion while slaves and lower classes are left with the older system of compensation. Talion is developed in order to give maximum protection to the rights of free citizens, both in the ANE and Israel. Diamond suggests that in societies where social stratification is present, talion also serves to remove the differences between rich and poor freemen; the wealthy person cannot then just "buy off" the damage caused by his offense.

Westbrook (1988: 41–47) argues that the division between talion and compensation has been overstated; in fact, both modes of settlement coexist at all times, in ancient Israel and in the ANE. The inclusion of either compensation or talion in a given law formulation is the product of didactic selection; the laws should not be read in contrastive but in complementary fashion. To sustain this view, however, one must address a number of problems. Among them are: (1) the need to reconstruct talionic reprisals into the laws where they are not absent, notably the law "codes" of Urnammu, Eshnunna, and Ḫatti; (2)

the need to insert compensation into cases which state only talion; and (3) the need to take notice of the apparently simultaneous practices of applying talion to injuries sustained by the upper classes but requiring only compensation for injuries against lower social groups.

**G. Homicide**

**1. In the Bible.** The laws of all ancient societies uniformly condemn murder, but there are differences in the punishments meted out. Biblical law continued the tribalistic practice of allowing the kinfolk of the victim to take blood revenge against the slayer or his family members. Blood revenge was practiced during the early monarchy (2 Sam 14:7–11). The account of David's handing over the sons of Saul to the Gibeonites (2 Sam 21:1–15) shows that this talionic death penalty coexisted with the alternative of compensation. In Num 35:31–34, however, compensation for intentional homicide is strongly condemned. Additional reform came about through rejection of the earlier practice of extending responsibility to family members for crimes committed by an individual (2 Kgs 14:5–6; Deut 24:16; Ezekiel 18). In Num 35:9–28 and Josh 20:1–9, the concept of a city of refuge to protect accidental slayers from blood revenge is introduced; there is also an attempt to enforce some process of proof by two witnesses before vengeance could be taken against a murderer.

**2. In the Ancient Near East.** One finds the coexistence of compensation and blood revenge in Assyria in all periods (AL A10; B2; Roth 1987; CAD D, p. 79, *damu*). But among the Hittites one finds only compensation (HL 1–5); indeed, a letter of Ḫattusilis III to Kadašman-Enlil of Babylonia (ca. 1270 B.C.) explains that the slaying of Babylonian merchants in N Syria could only be redressed through compensation, and that it was not customary for the Hittites to give the death penalty for murder (Klengel 1980; Haase 1984: 86; *ANET*, 547). Murder of a member of the royal family, however, according to the edict of Telepinu, might be punished either by compensation or by the death of the murderer; the choice was left to the family (Haase 1984: 52–53). The situation in Babylonia was apparently different. While there is no case dealing directly with murder in the Code of Hammurapi, CH 153 metes out the death penalty to a wife who is an accessory to the murder of her husband. This same offense also led to the death penalty in an earlier, Sumerian record of a trial for homicide (*ANET*, 542).

**3. Modern Perspectives on Ancient Values.** The rejection of compensation for homicide in Num 35:31–34 has been taken by some scholars to reflect a deeply held principle; namely, that intentional homicide could never be assuaged except by the death of the murderer, as in Gen 9:5–6. These scholars see this rejection of compensation as marking an important cultural divergence between ancient Israel and her neighbors; it is a principle that reflects a high regard for the sanctity of human life (Müller 1903: 212; Greenberg 1960 and 1986).

Other scholars, however, have argued in almost the opposite fashion. They take the absence of the death penalty for murder, as well as its limited use overall in the Hittite laws, to be a mark of significant moral advancement in that society. They point to the stated abandonment of talionic penalties, e.g., in HL 92, 161–67, as further signs of this moral development (Haase 1987: 103).

**4. Unsolved Murder.** In the Bible (Deut 21:1–9), there is "guilt" attached to the magistrates (elders and judges) of the nearest neighboring community. They remove this guilt by an expiation ceremony which includes the killing of a heifer at a nearby stream, the washing of hands, and an exculpatory declaration by the magistrates. There is no compensation for the family of the victim, probably in keeping with the strong aversion to compensation discussed above.

The Hittite laws, which favor compensation, place the burden of the compensation on the property owners of the area where the murder took place (HL 6). The Hittite laws, further, include the case of the unsolved murder of a traveling merchant; here again, as in the letter of Ḫattusilis III cited above, there is compensation for the merchant and for any lost goods (HL 5).

The Babylonian laws (CH 23–24) address the case of the unsolved murder in connection with robbery. Here, too, the magistrates of the local community must give restitution for the goods and compensation for the victim. The same seems to have been true at Nuzi several centuries later (Gordon 1936).

**H. Theft**

**1. In the Bible.** Biblical responses to theft are varied: simple compensation is given to a keeper of livestock or shepherd from whom animals are stolen (Exod 22:10); the thief himself, however, if caught, must pay double if the stolen animals are recovered—and he must pay fourfold or fivefold (depending upon whether sheep or cattle are involved) for animals no longer recoverable. An impecunious thief could be sold into slavery (Exod 22:1). The theft of other personal property is covered in Exod 22:2. A thief breaking in during the day must not be killed, but a thief in the night could be slain without bloodguilt. One may also find readiness to apply capital punishment for theft in the statements made by David in 2 Sam 12:5–6, by Jacob in Gen 31:32, and by Joseph's brothers in Gen 44:9–10. Theft of property belonging to God (*ḥērem*) fwas punished by death (Josh 7:1, 18–25).

**2. In the Ancient Near East.** The Hittite laws treat theft in great detail. One finds penalties for the theft of certain domestic animals (ox, sheep, goat, horse, ass, mule) ranging from twice to fifteen times their value, depending upon the animal, its gender, age, etc. (HL 57–70). Theft of swine is punished by a lesser, monetary fine to the owner, ranging from six to twelve shekels, depending on the quality of the animal; theft of a piglet resulted in a smaller penalty (HL 81–85). Theft of other personal property was also punished by monetary fines along with restitution of the stolen objects. The penalties ranged from three to twelve shekels, depending on whether the thief was a freeman or a slave, the object stolen, the place, (i.e., whether in the barn or in the house), whether before or after the theft, etc. A slave might also be mutilated if he stole from a stranger's house (HL 91–97, 119–25, 127–43). Smaller monetary penalties were exacted from thieves who took produce from the garden or the orchard or stole timber (HL 101–4). The theft of bricks was to be repaid twofold (HL 128).

Theft of royal property could be punished by monetary fines; however, the theft of a bronze spear from the palace was punishable by death (HL 126). Theft or misappropriation of gold, silver, garments, or bronze implements belonging to a god's temple was also punished by death (*ANET*, 208).

In the laws of Babylonia, one finds parallels to the biblical cases of the housebreaking thief. The Eshnunna laws (LE 12–13) make the same distinction of whether the theft is by day or night: if by day, the penalty is compensation; if by night, the penalty is death. The penalty is the same whether the thief is found in the barn or in the house. The Hammurapi laws (CH 21) offer yet another parallel; a thief who is caught tunneling into a house shall be killed and hanged in front of his tunnel. The Laws of Hammurapi contain the most severe penalties for theft. Sellers and receivers of stolen goods belonging to a private person, a palace, or a temple receive the death penalty (CH 6, 9–13); looters and receivers of valuable property from minors or slaves are similarly punished (CH 7, 25). If a person, entrusted with a store of grain in order to look after farm activities (i.e., planting, feeding livestock) then steals the grain, the penalty is to cut off his hand if he is caught doing so; after the fact, the penalty is monetary. But the thief who cannot pay is subject to further physical violence: being dragged by oxen (CH 253–56).

Some scholars consider the death penalty for theft in the Laws of Hammurapi to represent an extreme point of view, one not in keeping with general Babylonian attitudes and practices. These scholars point to lesser penalties for theft even within the Laws of Hammurapi themselves and believe that the noncapital penalties are the earlier and more generally accepted laws of Babylonian society. Thus, for example, theft of timber was subject to monetary fine (CH 59) just as it is in the earlier Sumerian laws of Lipit-Ishtar (CL 10), in the Hittite laws (HL 128), and in the later, Neo-Babylonian laws (*ANET*, 197, par. 7—a case of a woman stealing brushwood). Monetary penalties are also given for theft of cattle (CH 8, 265), agricultural implements (CH 259–60), gold, silver, and other valuables consigned for transport or sale (CH 106–7, 112).

Further evidence for monetary penalties comes from four ancient documents of the kingdom of Eshnunna. In two trial proceedings for thieves (one free, one slave) caught while housebreaking, the civil magistrates bound the thieves over to the house owners for penal servitude (Greengus 1986: 157–59, 171–73; *ANET*, 545). This punishment finds its parallel in the sale of the thief in Exod 22:1, mentioned above. In the other two cases, thieves apprehended after the theft were likewise sentenced by the courts to monetary penalties (*RLA* 4: 249; Simmons 1960: 28–29).

The Assyrian laws (AL A3–4) contain a series of paragraphs dealing with restriction on a married woman's handling of domestic property; the stated penalty for taking and receiving these goods was death. However, theft of a stranger's property by a married woman was punished by compensation to the victim and mutilation of the woman by her husband (AL A5). If she stole temple property, the punishment was left up to the god's oracle (AL A1). AL C8 deals with the theft of animals and personal property; the penalties are monetary and a beating, plus a period of laboring for the king. If the thief is judged by the king himself, then the penalty would depend on the king's decision. However, just as in Babylonia, extant documents from the later Neo-Assyrian period repeatedly attest only to theft being punished by monetary penalties (CAD S, pp. 188–89, *sartu*).

**I. Cultic Law**

The ANE law collections have only infrequent references to cult or religious worship and practice. One may cite, for example, HL 166, which deals with a prohibition against mixed seeding that parallels Lev 19:19 and Deut 22:9; or CH 160, which, like Lev 19:23–25, suggests that new fruits were reckoned ready to be eaten in the fifth year of cultivation. The Hittite laws dealing with sexual taboos repeatedly use the term *ḫurkel,* "abomination," to describe these offenses (see sec. E.1. above). HL 25 levies penalties against one who fouls cisterns or vessels. But such examples are few in comparison to the biblical law collections which regulate many cultic and religious activities. The inclusion of such material in the Bible may be because the Bible received its final shaping during the latter half of the 1st millennium, during a time when ancient Israel became a small, theocratically governed province under Persian and Greek rule. The temple and its cult was one of the few areas that remained under indigenous, Israelite control. The exclusion of cultic laws in the ANE law collections may, correspondingly, have something to do with the subordinate roles of temples in autonomous, monarchal states.

Cultic regulations are by no means lacking in the ANE. In addition to the rituals cited above (sec. C.5.), one may also mention the Punic cult tariffs from Marseilles and Carthage (*ANET*, 656–57). Such regulations, however, do not appear as part of the royal law collections, which restrict themselves to situations of potential conflict arising out of person-to-person relationships. The biblical laws, which emanate from God, also include relationships between persons and deity. This extra or wider view may be considered another reason for the latitude of materials included in the pentateuchal laws.

**J. Law and Social Welfare**

**1. Debts and Slavery.** There was recognition, both in Israel and in the ANE, of social problems and dislocations caused by economic disparities and hardships. Especially severe was the problem of debt, which could force an individual to give up his property, home, fields, and eventually even his freedom. There is evidence in the laws of attempts to address these social and economic problems through relief-giving measures and regulations. The rights of a borrower with respect to items of his property pledged to his creditor are the subject of laws in the Bible (Exod 22:25–27; Deut 24:6, 10–13, 17; cf. Amos 2:8; 2 Kgs 4:1) and in the ANE (e.g., CH 49–52, 113, 241; AL C4, 9, G; CAD K, p. 308, *katû,* M pt. 1, pp. 372–73, *maškanu*). There is concern about persons who are distrained or enslaved because of their debts; such a person must be released after six years in the Bible (Exod 21:2–11; Deut 15:12–18) and after three years in Babylonia (CH 117). In the Assyrian laws (AL A39, 48) and in the Bible (Exod 21:7–11), one finds attempts to mitigate the consequences of debt slavery for unmarried women. There are laws aimed at preventing the ill-treatment of individuals, free or slave, who are left in pledge (e.g., LE 22–24; CH 115–16, 118–19; CAD K, p. 460, *kiššatu*). The Bible, too, has laws bearing on the ill-treatment of distrained persons (Lev 25:39, 43, 53); and one may also look to Exod 21:20–21, 26–27, as a piece of a larger social policy protecting all types of slaves. Deut 23:15–16 departs from the other Near Eastern law collections by forbidding the return of a fugitive slave to his master. The Near Eastern laws consider return to be a duty (CU 14; CL 12–13; CH 15–20; HL 22–24).

**2. Redemption and Release.** Property and persons who passed out of the possession of debtors into the hands of creditors could often be redeemed (e.g., Lev 25:25–28, 47–55; Jer 32:6–15; Ruth 4:1–12; LE 39; CH 118–19; AL A48; CAD I/J, pp. 171–72, *iptirū*). Otherwise, the forfeiture or sale became final. But even in such cases, there was relief in the form of periodic "jubilees," or years of release, when properties

might go back to the original owners. In the Bible, this event is termed *dĕrôr* or *yôbēl* (e.g., Lev 25:10–13, 23, 28, 31, 50, 54; Jer 34:8–16; Ezek 46:17). While the release for persons came after six years of servitude, the release for property was periodically set to occur every fifty years, irrespective of when the forfeiture or sale occurred (Lev 25:8–12).

In Mesopotamian sources, one finds an array of terms designating release; most importantly, Sumerian *ama.ar.gi$_4$, níg.si.sá,* and their Akkadian counterparts *andurāru mīšaru, kubussû* (cf. CAD A pt. 2, pp. 115–17; M pt. 2, pp. 116–17; K, pp. 489–90). These releases were most often associated with the accession of a new king or his "jubilee," celebrated some decades later. Typically, the release effected relief for various unpaid taxes on lands and harvests, cancellation of outstanding loans, discharge of debt hostages and slaves, annulment of property sales due to debts, or recompense for their loss.

The term *mīšaru,* often used in parallel with *kittu,* "truth," very early came to be a general term for "justice, equity." This development has been noted, especially in comparison with its Hebrew cognate *mêšārîm,* which is similarly translated. The question for biblical scholars, however, is to determine whether *mêšārîm,* like its cognate, also had a more specific meaning as a term denoting a royal release. There are frequent poetic images of God as king; and among these passages, one finds descriptions of his ruling the world *bĕmêšārîm,* "with equity" (e.g., Pss 9:9; 96:10; 98:9). One must also consider the fact that the social and economic factors which required relief were operative at all times, after the Exile as well as before. In Neh 5:1–13 is an episode similar to that of Jer 34:8–16; one finds persons and property being lost due to debt and a resolution to release secured by solemn oath. Nehemiah's release is not described by any specific term, but it may be seen as part of a continuing history of welfare actions in ancient Israel. Scholars have also pointed out that it is perhaps not accidental that the first laws of the Covenant Code are those dealing with debt slavery and release (Weinfeld 1982). The biblical laws prohibiting the taking of interest on loans may be seen as yet another attempt to alleviate the problems of debtors (e.g., Exod 22:24; Lev 25:35–38; Deut 23:20–21; Ezek 18:17; Amos 5:11). Elsewhere, usury was regulated but not forbidden, e.g., in Babylonia (CH L; LE 18; Greengus 1986: 194–96). The negative view of usury may reflect the experiences and attitudes of a largely agrarian Israelite society. This condition may likewise be the reason for the absence of biblical laws regulating the activities of merchants, professions, traders, and craftsmen.

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SAMUEL GREENGUS

## *FORMS OF BIBLICAL LAW*

In addition to categorizing biblical texts according to content, scholars classify texts according to their literary form. In the case of those passages which clearly articulate laws, the form has not been so easy to classify.

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A. Alt's Categories
B. Criticism of Alt's Categories
C. A Syntactical Categorization
  1. Laws in the Conditional Form
    a. "When/If" Form
    b. Relative Form
    c. Participial Form
  2. Laws in the Unconditional Form
    a. Direct Address
    b. Third Person Jussive
D. The Setting in Life of the Biblical Legal Forms

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### A. Alt's Categories

Biblical laws mostly follow the pattern of the ANE law collections. However, while legal forms in these corpora are relatively few, those found in the Bible vary greatly in number and composition. The forms of biblical laws have been studied by a number of scholars, including Jirku, Jepsen, and Mowinckel. But it is A. Alt's essay (1967), "Die Ursprünge des israelitischen Rechts," first published in 1934, that has dominated the field of biblical law for a long time.

Alt noted that a number of legal forms were juxtaposed in the book of the covenant and, using the tools of form criticism, set out to differentiate between them by identifying two major types: "casuistic" and "apodictic." A "casuistic" law, Alt pointed out, is one that is built on the sequence of a protasis and an apodosis of a conditional sentence. The main case is introduced by the Hebrew conjunction *kî* ("granted" or "supposing that") and subsidiary cases by the weaker Heb *ʾim* "if." In its pure form, Alt added, all parties in the law are referred to in the third person. As an example, he quoted Exod 21:18–19, "Supposing men quarrel and one strikes the other with a stone or with his … and the man [who was struck] does not die but keeps his bed … if then the man rises again and supported on his staff can walk in

the street, he that struck him shall be clear, only he shall pay for the loss of his time, and shall have him thoroughly healed" (Alt 1967: 114).

Laws formulated in the "apodictic style," Alt stated, are generally rhythmic and terse; metrical in form; fundamental, categorical, and inclusive in character; they usually appear in series. He identified four groups: (1) laws introduced by an active participle and followed by the Heb formula *môt yûmāt* (e.g., Exod 21:12, 15–17); (2) a list of curses which begin with the Heb predicate *ʾarûr*, "cursed" (e.g., Deut 27:15–26); (3) three short series consisting of prohibitions in the second person singular (i.e., Lev 18:7–17; Exod 22:17, 20, 21, 27a–b [with interpolations], and Exod 23:1–3, 6–9 [with interpolations]; and (4) the Decalogue, where, as he put it, "the categorical negative is the strongest unifying element in the whole list" (Alt 1967: 153).

**B. Criticism of Alt's Categories**

Alt's distinction between "casuistic" and "apodictic" legal forms was accepted by many leading scholars, including W. F. Albright, U. Cassuto, W. J. Harrelson, R. A. F. Mackenzie, R. H. Pfeiffer, M. Noth, G. von Rad, and R. de Vaux. Even those who disagreed with some of his points continued to operate with his categories and terminology.

Naturally, Alt's classic division did not remain unchallenged, but further research showed a few shortcomings.

First, Alt did not recognize "mixed forms." Rather, he maintained that any deviation from the basic casuistic form was "a secondary variation in which stylistic elements of other forms have crept in" (Alt 1967: 114). This, however, led many scholars to contradictory conclusions. For instance, whereas O. Eissfeldt, who accepted Alt's division, considered the law in Exod 21:2 ("When you acquire … ) as casuistic, J. van der Ploeg, another Alt follower, excluded it from this category.

Second, the participial forms presented a special problem. Alt had placed them among the apodictic laws, and in fact argued that they best exemplified the category itself; but other scholars, including M. Noth, J. J. Stamm, and M. E. Andrew, pointed to the description of the legal consequence as being reminiscent of the casuistic laws. Therefore, some followed Alt and placed the participial laws among apodictic (for example, H. J. Boecker, J. G. Williams, Pfeiffer, and Harrelson), while others (for instance, W. Kornfeld, R. Kilian) preferred to consider them casuistic.

Third, some scholars who have accepted Alt's two major divisions took a further step and provided subcategories based on content. For example, D. Patrick (1973) identified two different types of casuistic laws: (1) remedial law, where a penalty is prescribed in the apodosis (e.g., Exod 21:22); and (2) primary law which clarifies the rights and duties of the parties (e.g., Exod 21:2–6). Gilmer (1975) divided the casuistic "If-you" form into four subgroups: (1) the humanitarian If-you formulation; (2) the ceremonial If-you formulation; (3) the Holy War If-you formulation; and (4) the juridical If-you formulation.

Another group of scholars, however, went beyond Alt's divisions and proposed different categories. For example, Cazelles (1946) offered four groups of laws: (1) casuistic; (2) participial; (3) direct style formula; (4) conditional formula in direct style. F. L. Horton (1971) outlined them as follows: (1) participial; (2) casuistic, including mixed and relative forms ("he who …"); (3) apodictic, including prohibitions (Heb *loʾ* plus an imperfect verb form), wisdom prohibitives (Heb *ʾal* plus a jussive verb), and positive commandments. Lowenstamm (*EncMiqr* 5: 625–28) went even further and identified six different forms: (1) casuistic; (2) priestly ("he who …"); (3) commands or prohibitions in the third person; (4) commands and prohibitions in the second person; (5) participial; (6) mixed.

Fourth, beyond the issue of categories, some scholars raise questions about terminology. Boecker (1980), for example, replaces "apodictic" with the label "normative law." Gerstenberger (1965b) calls the second person prohibitions ("you shall not …") "prohibitives." W. Richter (1966) prefers to refer to the negative commands, Heb *ʾal* plus a jussive verb, as "vetitive." Even though Bright (1973) points out that there is a difference between the "*loʾ* prohibitive" (mostly found in law) and the "*ʾal* prohibitive" (most suitable for wisdom), others argue that it is difficult to discern a distinction in force between the two. Sonsino (1980) argues that the term "apodictic/apodeictic," first proposed by Alt, is far from being adequate to refer to biblical law. This word actually means, "of clear demonstration, established on

incontrovertible evidence" (*OED* 1: 387). It was used in Aristotelian logic to express certainty and absolute truth. As such, it is not appropriate to describe biblical laws which are considered products of divine revelation and not the result of logical conclusions.

**C. A Syntactical Categorization**

A study of legal forms in the Hebrew Bible shows that it is possible to group them in two categories based on their syntactical structure. Some biblical laws describe a case and then stipulate a legal consequence. Others present no case information. The first laws are retrospective and look back at a situation or a fact. The second type is prospective, absolute, and unconditional. On the basis of this distinction, the first type can be called "conditional," and the second "unconditional."

**1. Laws in the Conditional Form. a. "When/If" Form.** In this type, the protasis describing a case is introduced by the Heb particle *kî* ("when" or "in the case that"). The subordinate cases are introduced by Heb *ʾim* ("if"), *ʾô* ("or"), *ʾak ʾim* ("but if"), or "*wĕhāyâ ʾim* ("and if"). Three subgroups of this type can be identified:

**(1) "When he."** This is the predominant form in the ANE law collections. The protasis is introduced in Sum by TUKUM.BI, in Akk by *šumma* and, in Hit by *takku.* This form corresponds to Alt's casuistic laws. The verbs are usually in the third person imperfect, singular or plural. For example, "When a man steals an ox or a sheep, and slaughters it or sells it, he shall pay five oxen for the ox, and four sheep for the sheep" (Exod 21:37,JPSV). An important variation of this form is when the protasis is introduced by Heb *ʾiš kî* ("a man, when he …"), such as in Lev 24:17, "If a man kills any human being, he shall be put to death."

**(2) "When you."** In this form, both the protasis and apodosis contain verbs in the second person singular or plural. For example, "When you make a loan of any sort to your neighbor, you must not enter his house to seize his pledge: (Deut 24:10, JPSV).

**(3) Mixed Forms.** Here the protasis is in the third person and the apodosis in the second, such as in Deut 22:23–24, "When a virgin is pledged …, you shall bring …"; or conversely the protasis is in the second person and the apodosis is the third, as for example, "When you acquire a Hebrew slave, he shall serve …" (Exod 21:2).

**b. Relative Form.** The protasis here is introduced by the subject plus Heb *ʾăšer* ("who"), or simply by *ʾăšer* (Akk *awīlum ša,* or only *ša;* Hit *LÚ kuiš*). Two subgroups can be identified.

**(1) Third Person Forms.** See Lev 20:12, "A man who (*ʾiš ʾăšer*) lies with his daughter-in-law, both of them shall be put to death."

**(2) Mixed Forms.** There are a few examples of this form, found in cases where the verb in the protasis is in the third person imperfect, whereas the apodosis contains a verb in the first person perfect (e.g., "And whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel … that eateth any manner of blood, I will set My face against …" Lev 17:10, JPSV). The verb can also be in the second person perfect with *waw* consecutive, as in Lev 20:16, "A woman who approached any beast to mate with it, you shall kill (*wĕhāragtâ*) the woman and the beast …"

**c. Participial Form.** Here the protasis is introduced by a verb in the participial form and the apodosis, formulated in the third person, specifies the legal consequence, usually the death penalty. For example, "He who fatally strikes a man (lit. "the striker to death") shall be put to death" (Exod 21:12).

**2. Laws in the Unconditional Form. a. Direct Address.**

**(1) Positive Commands. (a) Second Person.** For example, "You shall make an altar of earth …" (Exod 20:24).

**(b) Imperative.** For example, "Honor your father …" (Exod 20:12).

**(c) Infinitive Absolute.** For example, "Remember (*zākôr*) the sabbath day …" (Exod 20:8).

**(2) Negative Commands.** Either with Heb *loʾ* plus a verb in the imperfect, such as "You shall not commit adultery" (Exod 20:14), or Heb *ʾal* and a verb in the jussive, such as "Do not degrade (*ʾal tĕḥallēl*) your daughter …" (Lev 19:29).

**b. Third Person Jussive. (1) Positive Commands.** For example, "The guilt offering shall be slaughtered …" (Lev 7:2).

**(2) Negative Commands.** For example, "They shall not shave smooth any part of their heads …" (Lev 7:2).

**D. The Setting in Life of the Biblical Legal Forms**

The origin and setting in life (*Sitz im leben*) of the biblical legal forms are obscure. One school of thought, represented by Alt, maintains that the so-called casuistic laws derive from a pre-Israelite period, perhaps the Canaanite legal system. On the other hand, as Alt argued, the so-called apodictic laws are Israelite in origin and emerged out of a cultic setting (see Deut 27:15–26; 31:9–13), namely, the "renewal of covenant" ceremony.

It is important to note, however, that there is a difference between the original setting in life which gave rise to a particular form, and the secondary setting in which the particular form became prevalent. Furthermore, as Gerstenberger (1965b) pointed out, it is highly problematic to place all the apodictic clauses within one cultic festival. Obviously, it is easier to identify secondary settings which employ specific forms by studying the different literary genres in the Bible. It is more difficult, if not impossible, to discover the original life setting which created the form.

Alt's assumption that the Israelites took over the casuistic form from the Canaanites has not been proved, inasmuch as no Canaanite law collection has yet been found. The dominant "when he" form was well known in the ANE law collections. See introductory article above. There is also no evidence, either biblical or extrabiblical, that the legal courts were the originators of the casuistic form, even though many scholars, including Alt, put forth a claim for this assumption. The original life setting of the "when he/you" form remains unknown.

The participial form was classified by Alt as part of the apodictic laws and he pointed to the curses in Deuteronomy 27 as its setting. However, it is highly doubtful whether curses are indeed laws. Some scholars (for example, F. Horton, R. H. Pfeiffer, S. Sandmel, H. Brichto, R. Sonsino) have argued that curses are basically part of liturgy or prayers, not of laws, although they are part of treaty formulas.

The contention that apodictic laws were purely an Israelite creation has already been disproved by many scholars who pointed out similar forms in ANE law collections, especially, the second person positive or negative commands. Also, there is little biblical evidence for a so-called covenant renewal ceremony, which presumably gave rise to the apodictic form. Nor is there proof that it ever took place periodically, in spite of Alt's contention.

Fohrer (1968) rightfully maintained that the directive "do this" or "do not do this" is as old as history itself. It is only when these commands or prohibitions form "series" that one can speak of patterns and look for a life setting. Gerstenberger (1965b), using the example of Jonadab ben Rechab's short prohibitions in Jer 35:6–7, argued that the original setting of the "prohibitives" is to be found in the instruction given within the tribe (i.e., Sippenethos). With regard to the "relative" form, Yaron (1962) observed that it is often used in proclamations and was most likely taken over by the legislators to express norms of conduct.

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RIFAT SONSINO


## *LAW IN JUDAISM OF THE NT PERIOD*

Most generally, "law" meant "divine revelation." It could refer to the totality of revelation or to any part of it. It included commandments (do not murder), admonitions and advice (treasures gained by wickedness do not profit), theological affirmations (the Lord is one), stories (the Exodus), worship (the Psalms), and more. These examples are all taken from the Bible, the primary (although not the only) expression of the law or revelation of the God of Israel. A proper appreciation of Jewish "nomism" requires that this range of meaning be grasped. The Mosaic code was given after the Exodus from Egypt, and "law" embraces both the story of God's gracious deliverance of the Israelite people and the requirements that were laid upon them—as well as the subsequent stories of failure and forgiveness.

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**A. Range and Meaning**

Jews who knew other societies tended to identify the law of God with the values of the other cultures, with the result that the range of meaning embraced by the word "law" expanded still further. Thus Ben Sira equated universal Wisdom with the Jewish law (Sirach 24), and Philo attempted the much more difficult task of equating the law of Moses with cosmic order, the "law of nature" which governs the universe. The person who observes the Jewish law is thereby a loyal *kosmopolitēs,* citizen of the universe, observing the "sacred words of nature" (*Op* 3; *Spec Leg* 2.13). One who studies the "particular enactments" of the Mosaic law will find that they agree with "the principles of eternal nature" (*Vita Mos* 2.52; cf. 2.48–52). This is hard to show in detail, but Philo had allegory on his side.

Judaism is correctly called a religion of law, but this has not meant the reduction of philosophy, art, and science to the level of requirements which can be given in one sentence and either obeyed or not, but rather the expansion of the meaning of "law." It was once thought that the translation of Heb *tôrâ* by Gk *nomos* resulted in a narrowing of the conception of law from God's way in general to specific requirements. This has now been shown not to be correct. The semantic range of the words is approximately the same (Pasinya 1973; *IDBSup,* 909–11; when corrected by these and other studies, Dodd 1935: 25–41 still repays study).

In recent years scholars have rightly been concerned to correct the view that Judaism was "legalistic" in the pejorative sense, and this has led to the emphasis that *tôrâ* and *nomos* mean not only "law" but also "grace." When this emphasis is accepted, the characterization of 1st-century Jews as being "zealous for the law" (Rom 10:2) means not that they sought meritorious achievement and thereby became self-righteous, but rather that they lived faithfully within the covenant which was given by God's grace. The present author has argued that the context of grace is clear throughout Jewish literature of the period 200 B.C.E. to C.E. 200 and also that Paul, when criticizing "works of law," was not accusing his fellow Jews of legalistic self-righteousness (Sanders 1977; 1983). These points, however, should not prevent us from seeing that the words *tôrâ* and *nomos* usually mean "law" in our sense of the word.

While any part of revelation could be called part of God's law, both the Heb and Gk terms were especially used for commandments and prohibitions which are observable, or for the scrolls in which they are written down. When Josephus summarized "the laws and the constitution" (*Ant* 4.8.3 §194), he listed and explained commandments. In discussing the Greek translation of Hebrew Scripture, he spoke of the desire of Ptolemy II of Egypt to have a translation of "our law and the political constitution," but he added that the king had managed to obtain only the part containing "the law," not the entirety of sacred Scripture (*hoi hieroi grammatoi; Ant* 1.Proem.3 §11–13). Philo spoke of the Ten Commandments (*deka logoi*, "ten words") as "written laws" which had been "promulgated" by Moses. After discussing them he turned to the rest of the Mosaic legislation (*Dec* 1–2; *Spec Leg* I.1). The Ten Commandments are "general laws," while the others are "special" or "particular laws" (*Spec Leg* II.189). The "essentials of the law" in *Ḥag.* 1:8 are the commandments which are solidly based in Scripture, and the law which is read in *Roš. Haš.* 4:6 and *Meg.* 4:1–2 is distinguished from the Prophets.

Thus while a complete catalogue of occurrences of *tôrâ* and *nomos* would produce the range of meaning indicated in the first paragraph, the words usually mean "law." This discussion will take up law in this narrower sense, though we shall return to its place in Jewish thought more generally.

**B. Sources**

The sources potentially include all of Jewish literature over a range of some centuries. The Jewish literature which can be shown to have been written in the 1st century C.E. is this: the works of Philo and Josephus, several of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and a few works in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (e.g. *T. Mos.*, 4 Ezra, Ps.–Philo, some of *Sib. Or.*, probably *T. Job*). The earliest layer of rabbinic literature reflects the first century but may not have been written until later. Both earlier and later sources, however, are relevant to understanding the conception of law in the NT period, e.g. Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon, 1 Maccabees, *Psalms of Solomon, Jubilees.* For one topic, oral law, it is necessary to consider the entire Mishnah and Tosefta. The sources which are employed most are Josephus, Philo, the DSS, and the earliest layer of the Mishnah. There are fairly short surveys of the Jewish law in Philo's *Hypothetica* and Josephus's *AgAp* 2.22–30 §190–219. (There is a relationship of literary dependence between these two texts, either because Josephus knew the *Hypothetica* or because of reliance on a common source, possibly also used by Pseudo-Phocylides. See e.g. van der Horst in *OTP* 2: 566.) More detailed accounts of the legislation are in Philo's *Dec* and *Spec Leg* and in Josephus's *Ant* 4.8.4–43 §196–301.

**C. Character and Contents**

The most striking characteristic of Jewish law is that the "religious" law covered everything. Moses "did not make religion [*eusebeia,* "piety"] a department of virtue, but the various virtues … departments of religion." Unlike other cultures, in Judaism "religion governs all … actions and occupations and speech" (Jos. *AgAp*2.16 §170–71). They are not distributed among religious law, civil law, and philosophy.

Outsiders might speak of Jewish "ancestral laws" or "customs," and Josephus attributes these terms to gentiles (*Ant* 14.7.2 §116; 14.10.8 §213, 216; and frequently). He could use them himself (14.10.11 §223 and elsewhere), as could Philo (*Spec Leg* II.148). Josephus, Philo, and other Jews, however, regarded the "ancestral customs" as the will of God. The moral of Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities* was to teach that people prosper who "conform to the will of God," by which he meant the law (1. Proem 3 §14). Philo stated the case fully: While all people guard their own customs (*ethe*), this is especially true of the Jewish people. They hold "that the laws (*nomoi*) are oracles vouchsafed by God," a doctrine in which they are trained "from their earliest years" (*Gaium* 210). Moses is called by some the "legislator," but by others the "interpreter" of the sacred laws (*Vita Mos* I.1–2), which reflects Philo's view that they come from God. God himself spoke the Ten Commandments (*Spec Leg* II.189). The highest of God's powers is the legislative (*Sacr* 131). The Jews did not regard their "customs" as of human origin.

These two points, when combined, give the peculiar characteristic of Jewish law: all of life is to be governed by God's will. Scholars sometimes attribute this view to the Pharisees (Rhoads 1976: 34), but it springs from Scripture itself and was common to all forms of Judaism.

It was indicated above that "law" might go beyond "Scripture," and it has been customary to speak of the development of "oral law" in postbiblical Judaism. If all of life was to be lived in accordance with the will of God, the "will of God" had to be more comprehensive than what is found in Scripture. We shall understand better how the contents of the law could grow when we take up Interpretation (see E.).

**D. Basic Distinctions**

The Jewish law may be categorized in two ways: (1) Laws govern either (a) relations between humans and God or (b) relations among humans (with implications for the human-divine relationship). (2) Transgressions of the law are either (a) involuntary or (b) intentional. These categories are quite clear in Lev 5:21—Eng5:15; 6:1. In these lines are seen the distinctions between unwitting and intentional transgression, and between sins against God (the holy things of the Lord) and those against both God and "the neighbor" (against the Lord by deceiving the neighbor).

Philo, with his eye on this passage, distinguished the categories in the same way and noted that they determined how atonement is made for transgression (*Spec Leg* I 234, based on Lev 15:14–19; 1.235–38, based on Lev 16:1–7). Atonement brings forgiveness (*Spec Leg* I 235; Lev 6:7), but in the case of transgression against a fellow human redress of the wrong was to precede the sacrifice (Philo ibid.; cf. Matt 5:23–24), a point not directly made in Leviticus. These passages do not cover all cases, but they exemplify the principles of categorizing the law and determining appropriate atonements. Knowledge of these basic categories seems to have been common in Judaism.

Modern scholars often try to divide the law into "ritual" and "ethical" categories, but this is an anachronistic and usually misleading division. (This was pointed out many years ago by Lake [1932: 207], but not often heeded.) In such analyses the "moral law" is often considered to be embodied in the Ten Commandments, but this puts the commandments governing use of the Lord's name, the Sabbath, and graven images into the "ethical" division, where they clearly do not belong. Similarly some say that the "Noachian" commandments—those thought to have been given to all the descendants of Noah, and therefore to be required of gentiles (see G. below)—are "moral" commandments. (See e.g., Simon 1986: 163–66.) But these, too, include idolatry and blasphemy. People often think of the early Church as accepting the "ethical" commandments; again this is seen to be the wrong categorization. According to Acts, the commandments which the Jerusalem church wished to impose on gentile converts included the prohibitions against idolatry and eating meat with the blood in it—neither one "moral" (Acts 15:20). The major laws which govern relations between humans and God—such as the prohibition of idolatry—were maintained in all branches of Judaism, and many were inherited by Christianity. The commandments "between human and human" have of course been deeply influential.

The anachronism of the moral/ritual distinction is seen in another way: "ritual" commandments not infrequently have an "ethical" aspect. Thus tithing (a "ritual" requirement) included charity (a "moral" duty), and the laws of the Sabbath provided rest for laborers and even for animals (Deut 5:14). There are certain overlaps between the ancient category of "commandments which govern relations with God" and the modern one of "ritual law," and between the ancient "commandments which govern relations with fellow humans" and the modern "ethical law," but no more than overlaps. First-century Jews did not see a difference between the commandment not to eat holy food when ritually impure and the requirement to pay part of the tithes to the poor—except for the difference in penalty. The same God gave both commandments, and loyalty to him required obedience of them equally.

Modern critics of ancient Judaism often think that it was overly preoccupied with "ritual" commandments. Besides the fact that this is an error in categorization, it is anachronistic in an even more profound way. In the context of the ancient world, what distinguished Judaism was that it included not only commandments between God and humans, but also commandments between human and human. It refused to separate religious cult from everyday behavior, thus drawing the latter into the realm of the former.

**E. Interpretation**

It belongs to the nature of law that it must be interpreted and applied. If, as in the case of Judaism, all of life is to be lived in accordance with God's will, the demands on interpretation are heavy. First-century

Judaism did not call on individuals to decide in each encounter what it meant to love the Lord and the neighbor. Rather, certain ways of observing commandments grew over the years and became part of the law itself. Most observant Jews (and it will be argued below that most Jews were observant) were probably not conscious of living by interpretations of laws, but understood the law in light of the interpretation.

The biblical laws are by no means specific enough to cover all cases, and custom filled in the gaps. Further, biblical laws on the same topic sometimes disagree, and interpretations were required. Understanding biblical interpretation is fundamental to understanding Judaism, especially since in the NT period the various groups, parties, and sects presented their differences as being based on interpretation of Scripture (whatever the socio-politico-economic factors which are now thought to explain the groupings). To grapple with interpretation and tradition, and when these were included in "law" and not, and to understand how groups disagreed on interpretation, we may best take some examples.

**1. Examples of Interpretation. a. Tithing.** There are basically two different tithing laws in the Bible. Deuteronomy requires that one-tenth of agricultural crops and the firstlings of the flock and herd be taken to Jerusalem and eaten there, or converted into money which is spent in Jerusalem. Every third year, however (that is, the third and sixth years of each seven-year cycle), the tithe was not consumed in Jerusalem, but was given to the Levites and the poor (Deut 14:22–29; cf. 12:17–19). The second set of tithing laws, found in Numbers and Nehemiah, requires that one-tenth of crops and herds (counting adult animals as well as firstlings) be given to the Levites, who in turn tithe to the priests (Num 18:21–24; Neh 10:37–38). It is possible that Lev 27:30–33 preserves a third tithing law: one-tenth "to the Lord" could mean "directly to the priests," without making provision for the Levites. It is simplest, however, to read Leviticus in light of Numbers.

The 1st-century Jews, taking the entire Scripture to be the revealed will of God, naturally had to obey each set of laws. They were conflated in at least two different ways. Josephus (presumably reflecting the views of the priestly aristocracy) said that every year one-tenth was given to the Levites and one-tenth consumed in Jerusalem. In the third and sixth years there was a third tithe, to be given to the poor (*Ant* 4.4.3 §68; 4.8.8, 22 §205, 240; for three tithes cf. Tob 1:7–8). Rabbinic literature (possibly representing Pharisaic interpretation) requires only two tithes each year: the Deuteronomic, which is either "second tithe" (spent in Jerusalem in years one, two, four, and five) or the "poor tithe" (years three and six), and the Levitical, which is given each year except the seventh to the Levites (summarized in Danby 1933: 66 n. 9). If one assumes that all interpreters accepted that tithing laws did not apply in the sabbatical (seventh) year, these two opinions yield the following results: in each seven-year cycle there were, according to Josephus, fourteen tithes; according to the rabbis, twelve.

If these different opinions existed at the same time, which seems to have been the case, people must have been conscious of the difference. Presumably both the aristocratic priests and the Pharisees (assuming that rabbinic interpretation represents their views) saw their position as "interpretation" of the written law, the simple application of what it says, not as a supplement or "tradition" alongside it.

**b. Sabbath.** Biblical laws on the Sabbath are not numerous. Exodus 16 prohibits gathering food and cooking; the fourth commandment forbids "work" (Exod 20:8–11; Deut 5:12–15); Exod 34:21 explicitly includes plowing time and harvest as periods when the Sabbath must be observed, thus ruling out the appeal to "exceptional circumstances" as justifying nonobservance; Exod 35:3 prohibits making a fire; Num 15:32–36 shows that gathering firewood was forbidden and specifies the punishment for transgression as stoning; Num 28:9 *requires* sabbath offerings; Neh 10:31 forbids buying goods even from non-Jews; Neh 13:15–22 prohibits carrying burdens through the gates of Jerusalem and specifies several forms of agricultural labor as being forbidden; Jer 17:19–27 forbids bearing a burden through the gates of Jerusalem and even carrying it out of one's house.

Observance of the sabbath law depended on agreement with regard to the definition of "work." Even in the ancient world the conception of work varied a bit from time to time and group to group. The Bible does not explicitly include fighting as an activity forbidden on the Sabbath, and in the stories of warfare in the Bible the Sabbath does not figure; but sometime during the Persian or the Hellenistic period it came to

be understood that fighting is "work." Warfare is included in a list of activities forbidden on the Sabbath in *Jubilees* (mid-2d century B.C.E.), but without the special stress that would indicate that the point was debated (*Jub.* 50:12). Some years earlier, at the beginning of the struggle which resulted in independence from Seleucid rule, a group of pietists was attacked on the Sabbath and destroyed because they would not fight. After this it was decided to fight in self-defense (1 Macc 2:29–42), and this was interpreted to mean only if directly attacked. The law as thus interpreted (fighting is work) and amended (fighting is permitted in case of direct attack) seems to have been accepted by all, not just the specially pious. This rule was observed in 63 B.C.E. by the followers of Aristobulus II, who was a friend of the "eminent" and an enemy of the Pharisees (*JW* 1.7.3 §145–47; cf. Dio Cass. *Hist.* 37.16.2–4; on party allegiance, see *Ant* 13.16.2 §411). In the parallel account in *Ant* 14.4.2–3 Josephus states that "the law" permits defense on the Sabbath only in the case of direct attack (§63). When, at the beginning of the war against Rome in C.E. 66, the Jews attacked on the Sabbath, Josephus, at least in retrospect, regarded them as forsaking religion (*eusebeia*; *JW* 2.19.2 §518). That Jewish refusal to fight on the Sabbath counted as an ancestral law is proved by the fact that Rome respected it, and Jews were excused from military service in the empire (e.g. *Ant* 14.10.12 §225–27).

The basic rule not to fight was apparently an unconscious interpretation of the sabbath law. The decision to fight if directly attacked was not, to our knowledge, justified by biblical interpretation, but was a rule of practice adopted by common agreement. It is noteworthy that Josephus calls them both "law": Custom and tradition, both unconscious and conscious, could become law. We may assume that in the 1st century there were many traditional practices which were accepted by everyone as being part of sabbath law.

**2. Interpretation of the Law in Common Judaism.** It is not possible to give a full list of interpreted laws as they were accepted by Jews generally, nor would it be feasible even if it were possible. We may, however, get some idea of the contents of law practiced by most Jews and the way in which it was interpreted if we consider (a) developments of the Ten Commandments, (b) the laws for which the Jews were famous (or infamous), and (c) commandments which are said to be in the law but which in fact are not (these were probably practiced quite widely). Some items are in more than one of the following categories.

**a. Developments of the Ten Commandments. (1) The prohibition of idolatry** in the first two commandments was interpreted to mean that Jews could participate in the common Greco-Roman culture to only a limited degree. Sacrifices were offered on *behalf* of the emperor, but the possible interpretation that they were offered to him was carefully avoided, even by Herod (Smallwood 1981: 83, 148). Jews were exempt from the requirement of participating in pagan rites or in the cult of the emperor (Smallwood 1981: 147, 345). Jews did not, however (with rare exceptions), attack pagan temples or idols, doubtless for practical reasons; but this restraint was justified exegetically by the Gk translation of Exod 22:28—Gk 22:27, "do not revile gods" (Philo, *Vita Mos* II.26 §205; *Spec Leg* I 7 §53; Josephus, *Ant* 4.8.10 §207; *AgAp* 2.33 §237).

Worship of the one God, which is assumed in the first two commandments, was meticulously kept. The sanctity of the Temple was observed by all until the final stages of the war against Rome (for example, Josephus was safe from Menahem when he took refuge in the priests' court: *Life* 5 §20–21); the Jews were allowed by Rome to execute gentiles who went beyond the Court of the Gentiles (*JW* 6.2.4 §126; pietist groups complained that the priesthood did not maintain strict enough standards (*Pss. Sol*. 8:11–12; CD 4. 18; 5.6–7); the ordinary people sometimes attacked or accused unworthy priests (*Ant* 13.13.5 §372; *JW* 2.1.2 §7); throngs came to the Temple, both from Palestine and abroad, especially at the pilgrimage festivals (e.g. *JW* 6.9.4 §423–28); money came from all over the known world into its coffers (see F.). In the Diaspora, besides sending money and gifts to the Temple and occasionally making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Jews came together locally for worship and study. The rights to assemble and to have a "place of their own"—allowed to few groups—seem to have been the most prized privileges in the Jewish Diaspora. In the series of decrees listed in *Ant* 14, these rights are mentioned most often (*Ant* 14.10.8 §213–16; 14.10.12 §227; 14.10.16 §234; 14.10.17 §235; 14.10.20 §242; 14.10.21 §245; 14.10.23 §257–58; 14.10.24 §260–61; on these, see F. below).

**(2) Sexual Laws** were elaborated, especially in the Diaspora, and Jewish condemnation of homosexual practice became more pronounced than the prohibition of adultery (*Let. Arist.* 152–53; *Spec Leg* III.37–42 and frequently in Philo *AgAp* 2.24 §199; *Sib. Or.* 2.73; 3.596; 5.430; probably Wis 14:26; *Ps-Phoc.* 3; Rom 1:26–27; 1 Cor 6:9.) Philo also condemned prostitution, claiming that the law requires the death penalty (*Jos* 43; cf. *Spec Leg* III.51; *Hypoth* 7.1). Both Philo and Josephus said that sex is only for procreation (*Jos* 43; *AgAp* 2.24 §199). Various forms of sexual transgression are condemned in Wis 14:24,26; *Sib. Or.* 5.430; Paul's vice lists; and many other places.

**(3) "You shall not murder"** was applied against the Greek practice of exposing infants (e.g. *Sib. Or.* 3.765). (In the pagan view it was not murder.)

**(4) "You shall not steal"** and other laws forbidding dishonesty were encapsulated in the epigram, "do not pick up what you do not lay down" (*AgAp* 2.27 §208; *Hypoth* 7:6, immediately after the epigrammatic version of Lev 19:18).

**(5) The sabbath law,** as we saw above, was further developed.

**b. Laws for which Jews were Famous.** Pagan comments reveal that in the Greco-Roman world Jews were famous (or infamous) for the laws governing circumcision, Sabbath, food, and the worship of a single, invisible God. The Jewish desire to maintain their own worship was recognized throughout the empire [E.2.a. (1)]. Jews were by no means alone in practicing circumcision, and all cultures have calendrical rites. Nevertheless, all four points brought criticism from pagans, which sometimes was thoughtful but which usually took the form of ridicule. (For Sabbath, food, and circumcision see the passages conveniently collected in Whittaker 1984: 63–85; see further the index in Stern 1976–84; for ridicule of the worship of an invisible God, see *AgAp* 2.7 §80–81.)

**c. Laws Attributed to Moses which are not in the Pentateuch. (1) Fighting** is forbidden on the Sabbath, except in case of direct attack (E.1.b. above).

**(2) Prayer twice each day.** The Bible requires that the commandments be recalled "when you lie down and when you rise" (Deut 6:7), and many people fulfilled this obligation by saying the passage in which it occurs (the *Shema',* Deut 6:4–9 or only vv 4–5). Around this requirement grew the practice of praying twice a day as well, and Josephus regards this as part of the Mosaic law (*Ant* 4.8.13 §212–13). That Jews prayed every morning is implied by *Sib. Or.* 3:591–92. The rabbis expected prayer three times a day (*Ber.* 4:1), but in Qumran twice a day was the rule (1QS 9.26–10.1). The practice seems to have been widespread. The main thrust was probably thanksgiving (so Josephus).

**(3) Attendance at synagogue and study of the Scripture on the Sabbath.** This is regarded as part of the Mosaic law by both Philo (*Op* 128) and Josephus (*AgAp* 2.17 §175), and it is included in the Ten Commandments by Pseudo-Philo (*L.A.B.* 11:8).

**(4) Education of children.** Josephus attributes to Moses the requirement that children be taught to read and to learn the "laws and the deeds of their forefathers" (*AgAp* 2.25 §204).

**(5) Purity laws.** Jews throughout the world seem to have practiced extrabiblical purity laws, though not necessarily the same ones. In Palestine the use of standardized immersion pools was common (though more than one standard is attested) in order to facilitate the washings which are prescribed in the Bible. The pools themselves, however, are not biblical. In the Diaspora we learn of hand washing (*Let. Arist.* 305–6), and the construction of synagogues near natural water sources points to ablutions of some sort. The practice of building houses of prayer near the sea is said to be the Jews' "ancestral custom" in the decree of Halicarnassus (*Ant* 14.10.23 §258; cf. Acts 16:13). Philo considered it to be part of the Mosaic law that husband and wife should wash after intercourse before touching anything else (*Spec Leg* III.63). In *Sib. Or.* 3:592–93 there is a reference to morning ablutions. The extrabiblical purifications in the Diaspora may have arisen to compensate for the loss of those which the Bible requires for entering the Temple.

**(6) The prohibition of abortion** is attributed to Moses by Josephus (*AgAp* 2.24 §199–203).

**(7) Burial rites** were considered to be part of the law (*Hypoth* 7.7; *AgAp* 2.26 §205; cf. Tob 1:17).

**(8) Animals** were said to be protected by the law, especially if they take refuge in one's house (*Hypoth* 7.7,9; *AgAp* 2.29 §213).

**(9) The binding force of vows** was expanded by Philo (*Hypoth* 7.3–4; cf. the elaboration of oaths by the Pharisees according to Matt 23:16–22).

This is not a complete list of new "Mosaic" laws, but it indicates the way in which the law could grow to cover aspects of life not explicitly mentioned in the Bible. The points which were probably commonly accepted were the prohibition of fighting of the Sabbath; praying twice each day; attending synagogue on the Sabbath; teaching children the law (nos. 1–4). Most Jews probably extended the purity laws (5) in one or more ways. The other cases may not have been common, but they show the way in which the law naturally developed.

In some cases we can imagine the process of interpretation of the biblical law. Philo's new rule that nothing can be touched after intercourse may be compared to the biblical commandment not to touch holy things or enter the temple after intercourse and before purification (combining Lev 15:16–18,31; 22:3). The hallowing of other parts of life, especially in the Diaspora, is a natural development. Hand washing might be a partial imitation of the priesthood (cf. Exod 30:18–21), but more likely it is an application of Ps 24:4 ("clean hands and a pure heart"; cf. Deut 21:6 and the explanation in *Let. Arist* 306). Hand washing in the Diaspora was probably influenced by pagan practice. (For ablutions in Greek religion see Ginouvès 1962: 309–10.) The instruction of children is required by Deut 6:7, and in the 1st century it was probably a self-evident interpretation to think that this included teaching them to read. Conceivably studying the law every seven days is derived from Deut 31:10, which requires that it be read in public every seven years. That prayer should accompany the recitation of the *Shemaʿ* may have been self-evident. Whether or not these suggestions adequately explain the development of various laws, the principle in any case is clear: the law was lived, and this meant that it was interpreted, either unconsciously or self-consciously, and applied to cases which are not explicitly mentioned in it.

**3. Pharisaic Interpretation and Traditions. a. Pharisaic Interpretation of the Law.** Here we shall be concerned to illustrate, not canvass completely, Pharisaic interpretation of the law. We may take sabbath law as the main example. Pharisaic sabbath concerns can be at least partially reconstructed by studying the passages attributed to named Pharisees or to the Houses (Schools) of Hillel and Shammai. (The Houses discussions are for the most part one generation after the destruction of the temple in C.E. 70, but it is presumed that they maintain pre-70 Pharisaic traditions. The study of Pharisaic law is made possible by Neusner 1971 as modified by Sanders 1989.) The bulk of the surviving material consists of unresolved debates, so that often one cannot say what Pharisaic "law" was. An example is the question of giving work to gentiles which cannot be finished before the Sabbath begins, a practice which was prohibited by the House of Shammai but permitted by the House of Hillel (*Šabb.* 1:8). The topic may be regarded as a question of "interpretation": Does it matter who does the work? There were also debates between the houses over whether or not work which had been begun before the Sabbath could proceed if no further human effort was required: Could a bundle of flax finish drying in the warm oven (*Šabb.* 1:6)? This debate is part of the general interpretive question, what counts as work?

**b. Pharisaic Traditions and the Question of Oral Law.** All Pharisees, however, seem to have agreed on a very interesting development of sabbath rules. It is a conception indicated by the word *ʿêrûb*, "the fusion of sabbath limits" (Danby). By the erection of cross-beams, for example, all the houses in a courtyard or along an alley could be "fused" into one house, and then vessels containing food could be carried from house to house, thus permitting communal dining on the Sabbath (despite Jer 17:19–27). Sadducees did not accept such traditions, and one who lived in the same group of houses could prevent this custom by taking possession of the walkway first (*ʿErub.* 6:1).

The Pharisees did not pretend that the Bible allows the "fusion of sabbath limits," and this development is a "tradition" (Gk *paradosis*, Heb *qbl*). One of the chief characteristics of Pharisaism was the development of "traditions" which altered or supplemented the written law: "The Pharisees had handed down [*paredosan*] certain regulations [*nomima*] from [their] forebears [*ek paterōn diadochēs*], which are not recorded in the laws of Moses, and which on this account are rejected by the Sadducean group" (*Ant* 13.10.6 §297); "regulations [*nomina*] introduced by the Pharisees in accordance with the tradition

[*paradosis*] of their fathers" (*Ant* 13.16.2 §408; see also Mark 7:3). The characteristic of "traditions" is that they are understood by neither proponents nor opponents to be interpretations of the Bible.

Did the Pharisees consider their "traditions" to be law? Until very recently the unanimous view has been that they did—that Pharisees held that they and their predecessors had inherited from the holy men of Israel, all the way back to Moses, traditions which were of equal standing with the written law. This view has been based on two foundations: In *ʾAbot* 1:1–2:8 there is a chain of transmission of *tôrâ* which runs from Moses to Hillel and Shammai; and which then branches, being continued both by Hillel's physical descendants and by his disciple Johanan b. Zakkai and his students. *Tôrâ* in this passage has been interpreted as including the Pharisaic traditions, which are then seen to be called "law." The second important piece of evidence is the statement which is ascribed to Hillel in *Šabb.* 31a (= *ARNA 15*) that there are two *tôrôt,* one the oral law (*tôrâ šebeʿal peh*).

Before 1985 it could already be seen that this view is subject to challenge. Davies (*IDB* 3: 91) recognized that the term "oral law" is neither early nor widespread, and his discussion shows that he did not take the single ascription to Hillel to prove that Pharisees accepted a "two-fold law," written and oral. Other scholars also noted that the term for nonbiblical rules, according to Josephus, the NT, and early rabbinic literature, was not "oral law" but "tradition." Further, Rivkin (1984: 86–87) maintained that Pharisees held only other Pharisees responsible for observing their special rules. Observing them made one a Pharisee, but to be an obedient Jew one need only observe biblical law. Rivkin nevertheless used the term "two-fold law" to describe the Pharisaic legal corpus (Rivkin 1978).

Jacob Neusner, however, has argued that the entire theory of an oral law, coeval with the written law and equal in authority, is a late creation. The story about Hillel in *Šabb.* 31a, in which the term "oral law" occurs, is a retrojection from the time of the Babylonian Talmud (1985: 144–45). In the earliest rabbinic document, the Mishnah, no passage "demands the meaning 'not-written-down-Torah,' " and the implication of the regular distinction between "words of Torah" and "teachings of scribes" "precludes the conception of two Torahs of *equal* standing and authority, both deriving from God's revelation to Moses at Mount Sinai" (Neusner 1985: 26). The matter is actually not quite that clear, since Neusner considers *ʾAbot* not to be part of the Mishnah, but rather to date entirely from the time of the latest names in it, which puts it fifty years later than the Mishnah (1985: 6, 32). This principle, however, would take several other tractates out of the Mishnah. It is better to follow the usual practice of assuming that *ʾAbot* grew and that it contains late additions, rather than that it was written as a kind of pseudepigraphical work in the middle of the 3d century. When it is returned to the Mishnah, the matter changes a bit. The *tôrâ* in *ʾAbot* 1:1, which is said to have been handed down from generation to generation, cannot be the written law, since it is never maintained that the Pharisees and rabbis had a monopoly on that. It is, thus, nonwritten. But does it include the peculiarly Pharisaic *traditions* or only their *interpretations?* There is no answer within the tractate, which contains maxims but no legal discussions.

Neusner's challenge to the theory of "oral law" which goes back to Moses and was equal to the written law must be taken seriously, though when he excluded *ʾAbot* he made the case too easy. His second point is more persuasive: the Mishnah distinguishes between the words of the scribes and those of *tôrâ* in such a way as to "preclude" the view that the words of the scribes were *tôrâ.* Neusner's evidence (1985: 24–25) is not, however, complete. He intended to consider passages in which *tôrâ* and "words of the scribes" appear together, but some were omitted, and other passages on the words of the scribes were also relevant. Second, the meaning of the word *hălākâ* must be taken into account. Third, and most important of all, it is necessary to consider the passages which trace a rule to Moses.

A full study of the occurrences in the Mishnah and Tosefta of the three terms "words of the scribes," *hălākâ* and "Moses on Mount Sinai" is given in Sanders 1989. The results, which confirm Neusner's view, are these: (1) The words of the scribes are lower in importance than the words of the Bible (*tôrâ*), and transgression of scribal rulings is not considered to be real transgression. Thus, for example, according to *Para* 11:4–5 those who are impure only according to the words of the scribes may enter the temple. (2) The term *hălākâ* is often equivalent to "words of the scribes." In *ʿOr.* 3:9 *hălākâ* seems to be one grade closer to *tôrâ* than are the words of the scribes, but in other instances the meaning is the same:

traditional rulings which do not need to be proved by argument in order to be accepted within the group (the rabbis and possibly the Pharisees before them). They are, however, lower in status than the *tôrâ* (e.g. *Ned.* 4:3). (3) In several passages *hălākâ* is used together with the phrase "received [as a tradition]" (usually *meqūbbāl ʾănî*). In these cases the traditional *hălākâ* is regarded as correct (e.g. *Yebam.* 8:3), but it is not equated with *tôrâ.* (4) *Hălākâ* is *tôrâ* only when it is interpretation of *miqrāʾ* ("what is written) or of *tôrâ.* Thus in *Ḥag.* 1:8 *hălākôt* are "the essentials of the law" only when they are based on scriptural law. (5) Rulings which are "received as tradition," even when not called *hălākâ,* are often authoritative (e.g. *Zebaḥ.* 1:3 = *Yad.* 4:2). (6) Tradition (by whatever name) *may be rejected.* This is the case if it is the opinion of an authority who was outvoted at the time (*ʿEd.* 1:6) or if there is a conflicting tradition (*Giṭ.* 6:7). A rabbi might also doubt that the report is true (*Ohol.* 16:1). Even after hearing a tradition the rabbis may debate the issue anyway (*Yebam.* 16:7). (7) Tradition may only supplement exegesis (*t. Pisha* 4:14 Lieberman; Zuckermandel 4:2), or a proof by exegesis may be appended (*t. Sukk.* 3:1). (8) A special subgroup of traditional *hălākôt* consists of rulings which go back to Moses on Mt. Sinai. These last are never said to be "oral law": they are rather *hălākôt,* and presumably like other *hălākôt* which are not *interpretations* of the written law, they are inferior to the *tôrâ.* (9) None of the major Pharisaic traditions (e.g. *ʿêrûb*) is proved by any of the terms included in this survey. (10) In every case of a rule which was "received as tradition," it was known to only one rabbi, and therefore it was not part of regular rabbinic instruction. This counts very strongly against the view that these terms indicate Mosaic law. We may consider two examples: One of the *hălākôt* which is said to be from Moses on Sinai was known only to R. Eliezer, and it is cited as a postscript after the story of a lengthy debate conducted in ignorance of it (*Yad.* 4:3 = *t. Yad.* 2:15–16). In another case R. Akiba hears a tradition, said to go back to Gamaliel I, when he is in Babylonia. On his return to Israel he asks the Pharisee's grandson, Gamaliel II, about it. The latter then remembers that his grandfather had made the ruling in question. There follows a debate on the topic which is not influenced by the tradition (*Yebam.* 16:7).

Since a study of the terminology for traditional rules in the Mishnah and Tosefta supports Neusner's study of the word *tôrâ* in the same two collections, we may conclude that the rabbis of the Mishnaic period did not hold the dogma of oral law which has been attributed to them. Presumably the same is true of the pre-70 Pharisees, on the assumption that the rabbis of the Mishnah and Tosefta would not have given their "traditions" a lower status than they had enjoyed among the pre-70 Pharisees.

We have not proved that the Pharisees did not observe common and widely known extrabiblical traditions. On the contrary, we can be sure that they did. "The fusion of sabbath limits" is the best example, but probably hand washing should be included here as well. This extrabiblical practice is probably attested in the Diaspora earlier than in Palestine (*Let. Arist.* 305–6; the date of this text is not certain). The Pharisees, however, do seem to have practiced it (*Ber.* 8:2). What is striking is that these traditions are not said to go back to Moses on Sinai.

It is equally important to note that rabbinic literature, which discusses them extensively, posits neither penalty nor atonement for transgression. We noted that *Para* 11:4–5 explicitly states that a person who is impure according to "the words of the scribes" may nevertheless enter the Temple without being considered to have profaned it. The Pharisees, if judged by early rabbinic literature, did not equate their extrabiblical traditions with the Mosaic law.

If Pharisees consciously kept their peculiar traditions separate from the law, they are to be seen, despite their willingness to introduce innovations, as deeply conservative. They intended not to change the biblical law. They regarded their *interpretations* of the law as correct, and it may be assumed that they tried to have them enforced in society as a whole. But their traditions were their own: they made them Pharisees. In this context it is significant that Josephus said of the Pharisees both that they were regarded as the most "precise" (*akribēs*) interpreters (*JW* 1.5.2 §110; 2.8.14 §162; *Life* 38 §191; cf. *Ant* 18.1.15 §15, "exegesis") and that they followed "traditions" (*paradosis, nomima*) which the Sadducees rejected because they are not part of the written law (*Ant* 13.10.6 §296–97; 13.16.2 §408; 18.1.3 §12). These two aspects, it appears, should be kept distinct.

This view of Pharisaic tradition places them in the mainstream of thought in the Hellenistic period, which venerated tradition but did not consider it the equivalent of law. In a passage which may be indebted to Aristotle (so Colson 1939: 8, 435), Philo distinguishes between "customs" (*ethē*), which are "unwritten laws," and the written laws. The one who obeys only the latter "acts under the admonition of restraint and the fear of punishment," while the one who obeys the customs displays voluntary virtue (*Spec Leg* 148–50; cf. *Gaium* 115). The Pharisees intentionally went beyond the letter of the law, and they seem to have considered themselves to be doing so voluntarily, rather than because they "knew" more laws than did others and thought that obedience to these further laws was strictly required.

**4. Essene Interpretation.** The Essenes had numerous nonbiblical sabbath laws (staying with the same main example). According to Josephus they would not light a fire, remove a vessel "or even go to stool" on the Sabbath (*JW* 2.8.9 §147). The *Damascus Document* contains a long list of sabbath laws: the sectarian Sabbath began early, "when the sun's orb is distant by its own fullness from the gate" behind which it would set. Not only was the conduct of business forbidden, but so was speaking about work. One should not walk more than about 500 yards from home, edible fruit and other food could not be picked up, water could not be drawn or carried, perfume (or medicine) could not be worn—and so on (CD 10:14–11:18). Although most of the Sabbath regulations are not justified exegetically, one of them is: "Let no one offer on the altar on the Sabbath [any offering] except the burnt-offering of the Sabbath; for thus it is written: 'apart from your sabbath-offerings' " (CD 11.17–18, trans. Rabin 1958). The last phrase is taken from Lev 23:38. The context is ignored, as is common in ancient exegesis. According to Leviticus, on festival days special offerings were presented "besides" or "apart from"—that is, in addition to—the ordinary offerings of the day. According to CD, on the Sabbath one may bring no offerings "apart from sabbath offerings" rather than "in addition to them," thus reversing the plain meaning of the text. (Sabbath offerings had to be brought because of Num 23:9.)

The justification of the sabbath rules which are not supported exegetically is apparently given in CD 6.18–19: those who enter the covenant are "to keep the Sabbath day according to its exact rules and the appointed days and the fast day according to the finding of the members of the new covenant in the land of Damascus." "New covenant" here may be governed only by the appointed (festival) days and the fast (the Day of Atonement), but in principle the sect was willing to claim that its covenant was at least partially "new" and therefore different. This new covenant contained "hidden things" not previously known (CD 3:14). Similarly in one of the scrolls which represents the monastic community at Qumran a new member is required to take an oath to "return" to the "law of Moses" according to "all that was revealed of it to the sons of Zadok" (1QS 5:8–9). In this formulation the "law of Moses" includes the traditional Scriptures but also new revelations to the Zadokite priests, and the door is left open for there to be more: the partitive "of it" (*mimmennâ*) implies that more yet may be revealed.

The Temple Scroll (11QTemple) takes this position to its logical conclusion: it attributes a revision of substantial parts of the Hebrew Bible directly to God by use of the first person, and new laws are created. Thus, for example, a verse in Nehemiah is used in developing laws for a new festival, called by Yadin (1985: 102) the "Feast of the Wood Offering."

Thus both of the known branches of the Essenes (represented by CD and 1QS respectively) had it both ways: they accepted "the law of Moses" as their guide; they introduced new laws and claimed that they were new revelations from the same source. Their handling of and claims for the new sectarian rules contrast sharply with the Pharisees' position on their peculiar traditions.

**5. Authoritative Interpreters.** Once it is realized that law must be interpreted, the question of who the interpreters are becomes vital. Traditionally in Judaism the priests were the teachers and interpreters of the law, assisted by the Levites (Deut 31:9; Neh 8:3–9). During the Persian and Hellenistic periods, local government was headed by the high priest. According to Sir 45:17 the priests were the nations' teachers; and the Hasmoneans, originally ordinary priests, assumed the high priesthood and its authority before they took the title "king." In Herod's day no one else had much authority, but during the periods of direct Roman rule of Judaea (C.E. 6–41; 44–66) the prefects/procurators lived in Caesarea, and the chief priests

were relied on to provide local government in Jerusalem (Sanders 1985: 194–98; 270; 312–17; cf. Goodman 1987).

Modern scholars have often denied that the priests still served as teachers and authoritative interpreters of the law in the NT period, proposing that the Pharisees had assumed that role. It is sometimes even said that the priests no longer cared to interpret the law, and one scholar has pushed this back to the time of Ezra, stating that he was a scribe and not a priest (despite Ezra 7:1–5; Neh 8:9) (Maccoby 1980: 61–62; Rajak 1983: 19). Appeal is made to Josephus' statement that the Sadducees (the dominant party among the priestly aristocracy) could accomplish nothing, since the masses preferred the Pharisees (*Ant* 18.1.4 §17). In other passages, however, Josephus states that the priests were the recognized authorities (especially *AgAp* 2.21 §184–89; *Ant* 14.3.2 §41; 20.10.5 §251). The second view is supported by the individual narratives in Josephus, the Gospels, and Acts of trials and of times of crisis, when the priests demonstrated their influence both with the crowds and with the Romans.

Even in the Diaspora, priests interpreted the law. In discussing the synagogue service Philo said that either a priest or an elder read and expounded the law (*Hypoth* 7.13), and other evidence indicates that priests retained their identity and influence in the Diaspora (*AgAp* 1.7 §32; Kraabel 1981: 84). We may conclude that in general the priests fulfilled their traditional office of interpreting the law (see also Neusner 1971: III, 230, 296).

There were also, however, lay teachers who often had considerable influence, as the story of Judas and Matthias (probably Pharisees) makes clear (*JW* 1.23.2–4 §648–55; 2.1.2–3 §4–13). The Pharisees, the Essenes and possibly other pietist groups had their own recognized authorities. Many Pharisaic regulations had to do with domestic arrangements with regard to work on the Sabbath and other holy days, avoiding corpse impurity, and other matters. There was also debate about public behavior which was in the control of the individual, such as whether or not to lay one's hands on the head of a sacrificial animal offered on a "festival day," when most forms of work were forbidden (*Ḥag.* 2:2–3). In only one instance is a Pharisee assigned a law which determined public policy: the *prosbûl*, a legal device for ensuring the collection of a loan during the sabbatical year, is attributed to Hillel (*Sipre Deut* 113; *Šeb.* 10:3–6). It is possible, however, that this regulation was not originated by him, since it is attested elsewhere (DJD 2 100–4 no. 18).

That Pharisees in particular were equipped, as were priests, with the education which allowed them to interpret the law is made clear by a story in Josephus. The council (*koinon*) in Jerusalem, at the behest of Simeon b. Gamaliel, decided to send a commission to investigate Josephus' conduct of the preparation for war in Galilee. The four commissioners were "of different classes of society but of equal standing in education," since those who were "of the lower ranks" *(dēmotikoi)* were Pharisees. The non-Pharisaic member was descended from high priests. The test was not knowledge of military tactics, but of the "laws" or "ancestral customs" (*Life* 39 §196–98).

Who followed which interpretation when there was a conflict is hard to know. We noted (E.1.a.) that the tithing laws were interpreted differently by the aristocratic priests and the Pharisees (if represented by the rabbis). Since priests and Levites collected the tithes in person (*Life* 12 §63; *t. Peah* 4:3), their interpretation doubtless often prevailed; but a group of farmers might band together and insist on separating tithes according to the more lenient Pharisaic interpretation.

The overall picture is this: (1) Many aspects of life were lived in accord with the law as commonly interpreted. (2) The priests retained their authority as interpreters of the law. During the Roman period the priestly aristocracy ruled Jerusalem, but priests were influential elsewhere. (3) Lay teachers of the law were also influential and at least sometimes had considerable followings. (4) Pietist groups could follow their own interpreters in many areas of life, especially private ones.

**F. Knowledge and Observance of the Law**

Josephus claimed that Jews differed from members of other societies because of their knowledge of and obedience to the law. "Should anyone of our nation be questioned about the laws, he would repeat them all more readily than his own name." He continued, "a transgressor is a rarity; evasion of punishment by excuses an impossibility" (*AgAp* 2.18 §178; cf. *Hypoth* 7.14). Both Philo (*Gaium* 192; *Hypoth* 6.9) and

Josephus held that Jews were willing to die for the law, and Josephus especially used this statement to prove general Jewish loyalty to the law (*AgAp* 2.32 §234; see 30–32 §218–35; *Ant* 15.7.8 §248). Despite this claim, some—such as Josephus himself—preferred life to dying for the law. Nevertheless the history of the period shows that his claim was largely true. Again and again Jews faced death rather than transgress the law or allow profanation of the city and the temple (e.g., the Roman standards at the time of Pilate and the statue which Gaius ordered to be placed in the temple, *Ant* 18.3.1 §55–59; 18.8.2–5 §261–83). Gaius's threat led Philo to predict a worldwide revolt (*Gaium* 213–15; cf. 159, 192–215), and it is very likely that this would have been the consequence had the act been carried out. The cry, "no master but God" (*Ant* 18.1.6 §23), never ceased to rally people who were willing to die for the law. Hadrian's proscription of circumcision was probably a major cause of the second revolt (*HJP²* 1: 536–40).

The willingness to fight and die if need be might be said to have been motivated only by "nationalism," not by attachment to the observance of the law. Apart from the difficulty of distinguishing national identity from loyalty to the Mosaic code, there is further evidence of Jewish observance. Most generally, it should be borne in mind that true atheism was virtually unknown in the ancient world. Jews believed that God had given his law and that he took note of obedience and transgression. Popular indifference is less likely in that climate than in the modern one.

In giving more specific evidence, we begin with the Diaspora. Jews were famous throughout the empire for the persistence with which they maintained their "ancestral customs." We saw (E.2.b.) that they were ridiculed for their dietary laws and for keeping the Sabbath. In mixed cities gentiles exploited Jewish devotion to the Sabbath by bringing legal charges on the day of rest and in other ways (*Ant* 16.2.4 §45). Jews throughout the world paid the temple tax. Here the proof is simple: after the first revolt against Rome, the tax was directed to other purposes, and it was reimposed after the second revolt (Smallwood 1981: 345, 371–78, 480, 515–16). Several Jewish authors testify to the wealth which poured into the temple from the half-shekel tax, firstfruits and free-will offerings (*Let. Arist.* 40; *Gaium* 156; *Spec Leg* I.77–78; *Ant* 16.6.7 §172; 18.9.1 §312–13, all referring to offerings from the Diaspora), and these again may not be doubted. More than one avaricious gentile saw the temple as a source of wealth: it was plundered by Antiochus Epiphanes IV (1 Macc 1:21–24; *Ant* 12.5.4 §248–50), by Crassus (*Ant* 14.7.1 §105), and by Sabinus, procurator of Syria ca. 4 B.C.E. (*JW* 2.3.3 §50). Although Pilate confiscated sacred money to build an aquaduct, he did not plunder the temple treasury (*JW* 2.9.4 §175).

We can get a good idea of the publicly obvious laws which Jews in the Diaspora wished to observe by analyzing the proclamations and letters quoted in *Ant* 14. After Julius Caesar defeated Pompey and decided to bestow favor on the Jews, cities throughout the empire passed decrees either restoring Jewish rights or establishing them. Permission to assemble, to have common meals, to have a place of their own, and especially to keep the Sabbath heads the list. This complex of rights is followed by freedom from military service (sometimes connected with sabbath observance), permission to observe their rites and to give money for them, the right to have their "native food" supplied in the market, and permission to decide their own affairs (*Ant* 14.10.1–26 §185–268, esp. 214–64). Several of these items would not be at issue in Palestine, and other important observances would not have been mentioned because they were not subject to public observation or control. It is noteworthy that circumcision is not in the list. At that point in the history of the empire cultural homogeneity was not considered, and so circumcision was not an issue. When, almost 200 years later, Hadrian forbade circumcision, the consequences were disastrous, as we noted above. Circumcision was, however, known to be a distinguishing mark of Jews (E.2.b.). Despite the limitations of the evidence which these decrees provide, the list of practices, and in fact the existence of the decrees, support the view of general Jewish observance of the main laws.

This evidence from the Diaspora can be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to Palestine, but more evidence can be cited. We may focus on the "common people." Modern scholars frequently say that the vast majority of Jews "neither knew nor followed the law," or that they were ignorant of it or "lukewarm" about obeying it (Lohse 1976: 80; Davies 1984: 17; Rhoads 1976: 33; Neusner 1986: 54). The only evidence from ancient sources which can be cited is John 7:49: "This crowd, who do not know the law, are accursed," which is taken to prove either that the generality of Jews did not know or keep the law, or that

the Pharisees believed that they did not (the first view: Lohse 1976: 80; the second view: Jeremias 1969: 266). The same scholars would not take a single sentence in John as proving something about Jesus, and it can hardly be taken as satisfactory evidence for the common people of Palestine or the Pharisees. Against it stand all other sources.

No opinion could less-well reflect the overwhelming impression given by ancient literature, both Jewish and pagan, than the view that ordinary Jews neither knew nor observed the law. Even the Mishnah supports the opposite view. The rabbis, for example, thought that the ordinary people would protect items which belonged to a priest from contracting corpse impurity (*Ṭohar.* 8:2); they held them to be trustworthy about Second Tithe (*Ṭ. Yom* 4:5); and they regarded them as trustworthy with regard to the priests' portion of the Levitical tithe (*Dem.* 1:3). The rabbis, presumably following the Pharisees, had special tithing and purity laws which the common people did not keep, and these have given the wrong impression to scholars who have not distinguished the Pharisaic/rabbinic view of biblical law from their view of party "traditions." The learned and the pious did not think of the ordinary people as transgressing the major biblical laws.

Archaeology lends some support to the view that the laws were commonly observed. Numerous immersion pools have been found both in Jerusalem and elsewhere. With regard to the most difficult form of impurity to remove, corpse impurity, we may note Josephus's statements that Antipas had a hard time populating Tiberias, since it was built on a graveyard (*Ant* 18.2.3 §36–38). Philo regarded it as routine that pilgrims to the temple were kept outside for a week while they were purified of corpse impurity (*Spec Leg* I.261). During the brief reign of Archelaus there was a substantial riot which was caused, among other things, by his refusal to depose his high priest in favor of "a man of greater piety and purity" (*JW* 2.1.2 §7).

We may suppose that most Jews, both in Israel and in the Diaspora, observed most of the law. (For a slightly different but well-nuanced view of observance in Galilee, as judged by the 2d century rabbis, see Goodman 1983: 102–11.)

With regard to knowledge of the law, attendance at synagogue once a week was customary and was often regarded as a law, and so people heard the Bible read and expounded (E.2.c. (3); see further *Ant* 16.2.4 §43, "quoting" Nicolaus of Damascus; *Hypoth* 7.13; *Gaium* 156; *Hel. Syn. Pr.* 5:14–18). Synagogues (or houses of prayer) existed wherever there were Jews, and they fulfilled their function. Even without attending synagogues, Jews would learn the essentials of the religion and of the national way of life. The sabbath rest, the obligation of circumcision, the special dietary laws, and the reasons for the festivals would have been understood by all who lived within a Jewish community. Gentiles were widely acquainted with these practices (though sometimes imperfectly), and some found them attractive. The public importance of the feasts of pilgrimage (Passover, Booths, and Weeks), and of the fast day (the Day of Atonement), ensured that the relevant biblical passages were known.

Josephus, Philo, Pseudo-Aristeas, and others who waxed lyrical about Jewish knowledge and observance of the law of course engaged in idealization, and general education among the populace did not lead to universal obedience. But the fact of Jewish education in the biblical law and the rest of Scripture is undeniable, as is the overall loyalty of Jews throughout the world to the law.

Christian scholars have often supposed that Jewish law is extremely difficult: the laws were too numerous to know, let alone perform (in Bultmann's neat but ill-informed phrase, 1956: 66). This is not true. Josephus was correct when he wrote that the laws are "simple and familiar" (*AgAp* 2.22 §190). Rabbinic discussions of purity are involved and a bit difficult, but not many needed to follow them. In any case even these laws are easier than modern tax law—and they are less voluminous. Biblical law itself is simple and fairly small in volume. Most laws and semi-legal practices are obeyed by routine: waking, saying the morning prayers, blessing the bread, not killing or robbing anyone on the way to one's workplace, not cutting down one's enemy's fruit trees, listening quietly when lectured by one's parent—thus are fulfilled many laws each day.

**G. Gentiles and the Jewish Law**

Since the God who gave the law also created the universe, many Jews thought that his will should have been evident to all, at least to some degree. Philo equated the "law of nature" with the Jewish law (section A). This is an extreme position if one tries to harmonize Plato, Aristotle, and Moses. At another level of intellectual effort, however, many Jews would have agreed. Their God really had created the world, and his full will had been made known through Moses and the other prophets. In the new age there would be a common law for all (*Sib. Or.* 3.757–59). Gentiles had missed the revelation, but they should be able to discover some of it at least. This is put eloquently and gently in Wisdom 13 (Gentiles are "little to be blamed" for mistaking the creation for the creator, though they should have seen more clearly; praying to their own artifacts, however, is stupid and completely without excuse), with less nuance by Paul (Rom 1:18–23), and encouragingly by Philo (as did Abraham, others may study the world of sense perception and "come to find the likeness of the invisible world of mind," *Migr* 105; cf. 192–95 and often).

When it comes to particular laws, it is difficult to make good generalizations about Jewish expectations of gentiles. According to Pseudo-Philo, gentiles should know all the law and will be judged by it (*L.A.B.* 11:1–2). Few expected this much, and Noah was looked to as the source of laws which could be held to be universally binding. In *Jub.* 7:20 he is said to order his sons to do justice, "cover the shame of their flesh," bless the creator, honor father and mother, love the neighbor, and avoid sexual immorality and pollution. With great emphasis he warns that anyone who eats blood will be destroyed (7:28–33). This makes a total of seven commandments. In *t.* ʿ*Abod. Zar.* 8:4 it is said that Noah gave his sons seven commandments, and six are then named: the establishment of courts and five prohibitions—idolatry, cursing the Name, incest, murder, and robbery. There are additions to this list in 8:6,8, based on Deut 18:10–11. Subsequently, rabbis would try both to employ the number seven and to take account of the commandments which appear in the Bible before the giving of the law on Mt. Sinai. (For these see *EncJud* 12: 1189–90; *EncJud* 12: 1190–91.) The list of prohibitions in Acts 15:29 ignores muder, incest, and robbery (forbidden throughout the world) and names only prohibitions which are peculiar to Judaism, but which many Jews seem to have thought gentiles should observe (avoiding meat with blood in it and meat offered to idols).

**H. Epitomes of the Law**

Epitomizing—often called summarizing—the law probably springs not from the feeling that the laws are too many and too burdensome, but from the desire to grasp the heart of the matter. The legal books of the Bible offer their own epitomes of the major categories of the law—commandments which govern relations between humans and God and those which govern relations among humans. The Deuteronomist seems to have intended the *Shema*ʿ (Deut 6:4–9) to be a partial summary of the laws which had just been given (the Ten Commandments). "The Lord our God is one Lord" recalls the first two commandments. Similarly the author of Leviticus 19 grouped together several commandments which govern relations among humans and then concluded with summary statements: "you shall love your neighbor as yourself"; "you shall love [the stranger] as yourself" (Lev 19:18, 34). Jesus' statement that Deut 6:4–5 and Lev 19:18 are the greatest would not have surprised many (Mark 12:28–31). Philo singled out these same two commandments as giving the general burden of the law, though he put them in his own words: "God asks nothing … difficult, but only … just to love Him"; the law "stands preeminent in enjoining fellowship and humanity" (*Spec Leg* I.299,324). Similarly he noted that "two main heads" stand above all else in the law: "one of duty to God as shown by piety (*eusebeias*) and holiness (*hosiotētos*), one of duty to fellow humans as shown by humanity (*philanthrōpia*) and justice (*dikaiosynē*)" (*Spec Leg* II.63).

Many Jews observed the commandment in the *Shema*ʿ to place the laws on their doors and to wear them. According to Josephus, Jews posted on their doors and bound on their arms "the greatest of the benefits they have received from God" (*Ant* 4.8.13 §212–13). We cannot be sure what the passages were which he had in mind. One may assume that the Ten Commandments and part of the *Shema*ʿ were included (as on the Nash Papyrus); possibly part of Deuteronomy beginning with 10:12, which is reminiscent of the *Shema*ʿ (as on a *mezûzâ* parchment found in Qumran cave 8); possibly the Ten Commandments, the *Shema*ʿ, Deut 11:13–21 and Num 15:37–41 (according to *Tam.* 5:1 the passages said twice daily by the priests). Traditional Jewish practice has been to put into the phylacteries (tephillîn) the

four passages in which the wearing of "these words" on the hand and forehead are commanded: Exod 13:1–10; 13:11–16; Deut 6:4–9; 11:13–21. These passages singly or collectively summarize the main understanding of common-denominator Judaism: God chose the people, will preserve them, and requires obedience to the law.

There are also one-line summaries of the law, and these do not include the commandment to love God—perhaps because the passage was said every day and so was assumed. The best-known instance of a one-commandment summary of the law is a story told of Hillel, who said to a would-be proselyte, "What is hateful to you, do not to your neighbor: that is the whole Torah, while the rest is commentary thereof; go and learn it" (*Šabb.* 31a). Possibly this story is no more reliable than is the connected one about the oral law. In any case, the formula "what is hateful to you, do not to your neighbor" predates Hillel. It is found in Tob 4:15, written sometime in the 2d century B.C.E. There, however, it is one of a list of wise admonitions, not an epitome of the law. Philo gives a similar statement at the head of a list of laws and customs which exemplify it (*Hypoth* 7.6). The positive form of this principle is attributed to Jesus: "Whatever you wish that men would do to you, do so to them; for this is the law and the prophets" (Matt 7:12). These formulations, while all based on Lev 19:18, are cast in an epigrammatic mold. Finally, we note that Paul summarized the law by quoting Lev 19:18 (Gal 5:14; Rom 13:8–10). In the second instance he also cited the commandments not to commit adultery, not to kill, not to steal and not to covet. Interestingly, he then explained that since "love does no wrong to a neighbor" it "is the fulfilling of the law" (13:10). That is, Paul knew the negative form of the saying and found it useful.

One cannot determine the full contents of a teacher's ethics or theology from an epitome. Philo follows the negative love commandment with both negative and positive admonitions, such as, "If the poor or the cripple beg food of him he must give it as an offering of religion to God" (*Hypoth* 7.6). The epitomes of the law based on Lev 19:18 leave out of account the commandments which govern the human-divine relationship, but this does not mean that the person who employed the epitome would have tolerated idols (in the case of Paul, note Rom 1:23). Too much should not be expected of one-line statements of "the whole law," and we gather from them a basic thrust rather than a principle which truly encapsulates the entirety of the law. The rabbis subsequently offered numerous summaries or "cores" of the law, most of which are listed in Sanders 1977: 112–14.

**I. Theological Context**

Both theologically and chronologically election (or, more generally, grace) comes before the law, reward and punishment come afterward. All forms of Judaism of the period which are known to us regard the obligation to obey the law as the response to God's choice and deliverance of the Jewish people, and likewise they all regard him as reliable and just in giving recompense. Evidence from the main bodies of literature is given in Sanders 1977. The covenantal context of the Jewish law is clear throughout the rest of the literature (e.g. Ps.-Philo, *L.A.B.* 11:1–5; 13:10 and often; *Hel. Syn. Pr.* 4:38–40; 12:56–57), but it has been so often denied that we should add two representative statements by Josephus: at the sacrifices Jews (or possibly priests) do not ask God for blessings, "for He has given them spontaneously and put them at the disposal of all, but for capacity to receive, and, having received, to keep them" (*AgAp* 2.23 §197). Discussing the (supposed) requirement of the law to pray at dawn and bedtime, Josephus states that Jews should give thanks to God for the gifts which he has given them through the deliverance from Egypt, and they should post on their doors and their arms "the greatest of the benefits they have received from God," thus showing to all "the loving care with which God surrounds them" (*Ant* 4.8.13 §212–13).

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E. P. SANDERS

**LAW, TABLETS OF THE.** See TABLETS OF THE LAW.

**LAYING ON OF HANDS.** See HANDS, LAYING ON OF.

**LAZARUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Lazaros* (Λαζαρος)]. The name of Lazarus, an abbreviated transcription of *El-azar* ("God helps"), appears in the NT only in the gospel of John and a short parable in Luke 16:19–31. It is the only proper name to appear in a NT parable attributed to Jesus. The Lazarus of the parable is a poor man who stands in contrast to a rich man, not only in life, but also after death, when their respective roles are reversed: Lazarus is in the bosom of Abraham, whereas the rich man is in Hades. The parable concludes with a significant logion, "If they do not hear Moses and the prophets, neither will they be convinced if some one should rise from the dead" (Luke 16:41), thereby suggesting a link between a man named Lazarus and teaching about the resurrection in early Christian tradition.

The Lazarus of the Fourth Gospel, an inhabitant of the town of Bethany and the brother of Martha and Mary, was raised from the dead by Jesus and was present at a meal six days before Jesus' final Passover, at which time his sister Mary anointed the feet of Jesus in preparation for Jesus' burial (John 11:1–12:11). This Lazarus, repeatedly described as loved by Jesus (John 11:3, 5, 36) and once as his friend (John 11:11), is one of the principal named disciples in the Fourth Gospel, even though his role is admittedly a passive one. He never makes an explicit profession of faith in Jesus, nor does he ever speak. The gospel shows no particular interest in his person or his personal history.

The literary form of the narrative in which he appears generally corresponds to that of the miracle story, but its dialogical structure and metaphorical character set it apart from the typical miracle stories of the Bible and the ancient world. Johannine style characteristics are found throughout the narrative in such a way as to impart a Johannine character to the entire account in its present form. Nonetheless scholars are convinced that the literary history of the narrative is quite complex. Its very complexity undermines attempts to determine precisely the earlier strata of tradition.

As to the origins of the Johannine story, scholarly opinion falls under three headings. Some scholars continue to hold that the raising of Lazarus was an historical event. Others hold that the Johannine story is a conflation of various material in Luke, particularly the parable of Luke 16:19–31 and the Martha and

Mary story of Luke 10:38–42, along with the stories of the raising of Jairus' daughter (Luke 8:40–56; par., Matt 9:18–25; Mark 5:21–43) and the son of the widow of Nain (7:11–17). A third group holds that there is a common tradition behind the Lazarus story in John and the various other NT accounts of raisings from the dead.

Many scholars draw attention to the possible influence of popular legends and biblical motifs upon the Johannine narrative. Thus they eschew attempts to reconstitute factual events. The majority of scholars, in fact, consider that the search for facticity admits of no solution and that the argument over the historicity of the story is misguided. As a thoroughly Johannine story, the account is dramatic and largely symbolic; facts, as such, do not form its central theme.

The Johannine story is dramatically placed at the end of Jesus' public ministry, just before the Passion of Jesus, to which it directly leads (John 11:45–53; 12:10–11; cf. Mark 11:18; Luke 19:47–48). It is the last in the Fourth Gospel's series of signs, the import of which is principally christological. Although the traditions behind the story of the raising of Lazarus may have been influenced by an attempt to deal with the delay of the Parousia (John 11:6; cf. 1 Thess 4:13–17), the Johannine story is essentially a proclamation of Jesus' power over sickness and death. It is a portrayal of Jesus self-revelation as "the resurrection and the life" (John 11:25). As a narrative figure, Lazarus is the symbol of the authority, power, and significance of Jesus as the Resurrection and Life. He represents the disciple of Jesus who has died, and who will be raised because Jesus has been glorified (John 11:4, 40).

On the narrative level, Lazarus' four days in the tomb (John 11:6, 17, 39; cf. vv 13–14) point to the reality of his death. His death, though real, is not ultimate. Human death serves a divine purpose and is overcome through the resurrection effected through the power of Jesus. The gospel carefully distinguishes between the resurrection of the disciple (a resuscitation) and that of Jesus (a true resurrection). This is symbolized in the wrapping cloths: while Lazarus is unwrapped, Jesus leaves the wrappings behind (John 11:44; 20:4–7).

In the *Secret Gospel of Mark* Lazarus is cited, without specific mention of his name, as one blessed by Jesus and raised from the dead by Jesus at Bethany. Later tradition identified him as the bishop of Kition on Cyprus (Eastern tradition) or Marseilles (Western tradition). The British exegete J. N. Sanders held that Lazarus was the beloved disciple of the Fourth Gospel (John 13:21–26; 19:25–27; 20:2–10; cf. 18:15–16).

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RAYMOND F. COLLINS


**LAZARUS AND DIVES.** Only the Gospel of Luke has preserved a story that has come to be known as the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (16:19–31). It tells of a rich man who, while alive, used to dress in purple and linen and to feast daily (v 19), and of Lazarus, a crippled, sick, and destitute man who used to lie at the rich man's gate in hopes of receiving leftovers from the latter's table (vv 20–21). After their deaths, however, Lazarus is secure in Abraham's bosom (v 22), whereas the rich man is in torment in Hades (v 23). He appeals to Abraham for mercy and specifically for Lazarus to come and relieve his thirst (v 23). Abraham, however, denies the request because an impassable chasm separates them (vv 24–26). The rich man then asks that Lazarus be sent to his five living brothers to warn them of a similar fate,

but Abraham again denies the request, saying that they have Moses and the prophets (vv 27–29). When the rich man insists that only an appearance of one from the dead would cause them to repent, Abraham retorts that those who do not listen to Moses and the prophets are not likely to believe someone raised from the dead either (vv 30–31).

**A. Distinctive Features**

This parable is among the forty-odd parables of Jesus which are preserved in the canonical gospels. Indeed, the word "odd," now used in its more usual sense, may be the best way to describe this parable, at least initially, for interpreters have long noted its many unusual features. For example, when compared with the other parables, which focus on ordinary experiences, this one's depiction of life beyond the grave is immediately striking (Creed 1953: 209), and, on closer inspection, its surface and deep structures are likewise idiosyncratic (Funk 1982: 36, 40, 54). But what has most often drawn attention is the otherwise unprecedented use of a named character in a parable. Indeed, the surprising appearance of the poor man with the name Lazarus (who is not to be identified with the Lazarus of John 11) prompted some patristic commentators to classify this story as a "narrative" rather than as a "parable" (Plummer Luke ICC, 391). They were presumably thinking of a rhetorical definition of parable (*parabolē*) as a literary form which draws on ordinary or daily experiences and does not use specific or named individuals (John Doxapatres, *Hom. in Aphthon.* 3 [Walz 1835: 2.273]). In any case, the presence of a name for the poor man also prompted some copyists to name the rich man as well. Thus early on, the copyist of $P^{75}$ names him Neues, whereas others over the centuries call him Nineve, Finaeus, or Phinees. In the late Middle Ages readers of the Latin Vulgate began to regard the adjective *dives* ("rich") as a proper name (*Rich*ard, as it were) (Cadbury 1962; cf. Grobel 1963–64: 381–82). Thus the title of this article: Lazarus *and Dives*.

**B. History of Interpretation**

For most of this century the view of Adolf Jülicher, Hugo Gressmann, and, to a lesser extent, Rudolf Bultmann have established the way that scholars approach and interpret this parable. Jülicher (1910: 2.634) divided the parable into two parts (vv 19–26 and 27–31) since he regarded the latter verses, which concern the fate of the five brothers, to be only loosely connected to the story about Lazarus and Dives. Gressman (1918) then proposed an Egyptian folktale of reversal as the source of the first part of the parable (vv 19–26) and claimed that the parable thereby had two points, one for each part, with Jesus' new conclusion to the folktale (vv 27–31) being the more important one (for the folktale itself: Griffith 1900: 42–43). This history of religions proposal seemingly confirmed Jülicher's literary analysis. Finally, Bultmann (1963: 203), approaching the parable as a form critic, asked whether one or both parts of the parable go back to Jesus himself, or are merely (as he thought) the product of the Church. How enduring and influential these literary, history of religions, and form critical studies have been is immediately apparent from a perusal of the articles, commentaries, and monographs on this parable since their time (Hock 1987: 448–51).

And yet, several recent studies of the parable hint at a new interpretation. For example, the parable's literary unity has received a sustained and sophisticated defense (Schnider and Stegner 1978–79). In addition, while some have pressed the parallels between the parable and Egyptian folktale (Grobel 1963–64), others have noted important differences (Fitzmyer *Luke X–XXIV* AB, 1127) or denied the relevance of the folktale altogether (Pax 1975: 267). In fact, the parallels are neither as close nor as explanatory as the constant citation of the folktale would suggest, and certainly not helpful precisely where the parable is most opaque, that is, in providing a rationale for the reversal in fortunes of Lazarus and Dives. Accordingly, some scholars have sought clarifying parallels in such Jewish sources as *1 Enoch* 92–105 (Nickelsburg 1978–79; Esler 1987: 189–91). But the closest parallel so far adduced comes from the mid-2d century sophist, Lucian of Samosata, whose highly Cynicized *Cataplus (Trip to Hades)* not only treats the theme of wealth and poverty, as does the Enoch literature, but also contains parallels in characters, plot, and dialogue which that literature does not (Hock 1987: 457–61). Indeed, the parallels are so close—the deaths of a rich man and poor man, their subsequent reversal in Hades, and the futile attempts of the rich man to change his new situation—that Lucian's and Luke's stories may ultimately go back to a common source: the Cynic Menippus' *Nekyia,* or *Trip to Hades* (cf. Diog. Laert. 6.101). In any case, the

greater length of Lucian's *Cataplus* permits clarification of details in the parable—for example, the hedonistic and presumably immoral life-style implicit in Dives' characterization by reference to his fine clothing and sumptuous dining. More important, this greater length includes the plausible explanation for Lazarus' and Dives' reversal in fortune. Thus, in the light of Lucian's account, the reversal is not so much because of Dives' neglect of Lazarus outside his gate and Lazarus' faith in God, as so many interpreters have claimed (Hock 1987: 453 n. 28 and 454 n. 29); rather, it is because of Dives' wealth and the immoral hedonism which wealth allows and Lazarus' poverty which assures his purity and virtue (Hock 1987: 460–61).

Finally, Bultmann's denial of authenticity to this parable has met with some approval (Mealand 1980: 39–40; Horn 1983: 152, 181), though more often for vv 27–31 only (Crossan 1973: 66–67; Schottroff and Stegemann 1978: 38). But given the new views regarding the parable's literary unity and background, it seems appropriate to reopen this question and ask: Where should the origin of this parable be placed? To be sure, the parable is consistent with Lukan redaction with its emphasis on wealth and poverty (Esler 1987: 164–69), but pre-Lukan features in the parable already indicate that it is earlier than the redactor (Mealand 1980: 32). Indeed, similar views on wealth and poverty also appear earlier in Mark's gospel (4:19; 8:36; 10:17–27) and in Q (e.g., Matt 5:3 = Luke 6:20 and Matt 22:1–10 = Luke 14:15–24). Still, one might stop short of tracing the parable all the way back to Jesus, preferring instead to follow D. Mealand (1980: 48–49) in assigning the origins of the parable to the late 40s of the 1st century in Jerusalem when the Church faced a local famine. But such a sharp critique of wealth as that found in the parable hardly requires so specific an occasion, as the subject was a constant theme of Cynic philosophizing (see CYNICS) and was even a part of the sophists' repertoire (Russell 1983: 27–30). In addition, their repertoire also included the testimony of those from the dead, learned early on in the rhetorical exercise known as *eidolopoiia* (Aphth. *Rhetor.* 11 [Rabe 1926: 34]), which obviates the problem of Lazarus's return from the grave as presupposing the resurrection of Jesus (Mealand 1980: 48). And finally the Cynic tone to the parable need not cause a problem, given the Hellenization of Palestine in general and even the birthplace of Menippus in nearby Gadara (Strabo, 16.2.29). The parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus would therefore seem to have a good claim to authenticity.

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RONALD F. HOCK

**LEAH** (PERSON) [Heb *lēʾâ* (לֵאָה)]. The elder daughter of Laban, sister of Rachel; Jacob's first wife and mother of six sons and a daughter. Leah's name probably means "cow"; her sister Rachel's, "ewe."

The stories of Genesis 12–50 focus on the threefold promise to the patriarch Abraham of land, descendants, and a great name (Gen 12:1–3), and how this promise is passed on from father to son. The narratives about the matriarchs, then, are not primarily about the women themselves as individuals, but rather about their roles as the legitimate or "correct" wife and mother of the male successor. The question of who is the correct wife, mother of the heir, should be seen in the context of marriage and kinship systems of the Israelite society. Marriage alliances here are endogamous, i.e., within one's own tribe or social group. Lines of descent are patrilineal, traced through the father instead of the mother.

Jacob's mother, Rebekah, expresses to Isaac her fear that Jacob would marry a Hittite woman, i.e., marry exogamously (Gen 27:46). Isaac then commands Jacob, "Arise and go to Paddan-aram to the house of Bethuel your mother's father; and take as wife from there one of the daughters of Laban your mother's brother" (Gen 28:2). Leah (and Rachel) are related endogamously to their husband Jacob as matrilateral cross-cousins: Jacob's mother's brother's daughters. See Wander (1981) and Donaldson (1981) regarding the complexities of such endogamous patrilineal relationships.

Several recent studies show that the biblical stories of the matriarchs follow a literary paradigm whereby the legitimate wife is paired with a rival co-wife who possesses certain characteristics that the other lacks (Brenner 1985; 1986; Cohen 1983). The competition and jealousy between the two are the destructive consequences of the patriarchal and polygamous society where the narratives are played out. Both sides represent incomplete womanhood, shadowy reflections of the other. Because of the asymmetry of both entities, the two women are locked in conflict until one can expel the other or the other dies. The person of Leah must therefore be studied along with her complement, Rachel.

Leah and Rachel are sisters married to the same man. Rachel is described as beautiful and lovely, and Leah's eyes are described as *rakkôt* (Gen 29:17). The word *rakkôt* is usually translated as "weak," but its more usual meaning is "tender" and "soft." In Deut 28:54, 56 and Isa 47:1, it denotes refinement and delicacy of breeding. Leah has often been maligned as unattractive, this focus on physical beauty sometimes interpreted as the reason Jacob loved Rachel more. However, it could be as Cohen (1983) suggests that while Rachel was more outwardly beautiful, her sister may have been more sensitive and kind—tender of spirit.

The identities of both women revolve around the common desire to bear sons for their husband. This is an expectation of the patriarchal society in which both live, of the women themselves, and also of the narrative structure of the text which concerns God's promise to the patriarchs of land, posterity, and a great name. The texts relate the bitter competition between the two sisters to realize their goal of sons for Jacob.

Leah, the older sister, the first wife, is unloved by her husband. But she is very fertile. She gives birth to six biological sons (Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun; Gen 29:31–35; 30:14–20), two adoptive sons through her maid Zilpah (Gad and Asher; Gen 30:9–13), and a daughter named Dinah (Gen 30:21). Rachel is the younger sister, subordinate to Leah in the household as second wife, but cherishes her husband's love. Nevertheless, she is barren.

The climax of the two sisters' rivalry is over the mandrakes that Leah's son, Reuben, found for his mother (Gen 30:14–20). Mandrakes were considered an aphrodisiac and an aid to fertility. When Rachel asks for some from Leah, Leah bitterly reproaches her sister. Apparently, Jacob has been spending more time in Rachel's bed than in Leah's. Rachel agrees that for the mandrakes Jacob can spend the night with her. In an amusing episode, Jacob encounters Leah after a day's work in the field. Leah remarks that he must sleep with her, for she has "hired" him for the price of her son's mandrakes. Leah conceives in that union, but ostensibly the mandrakes worked for Rachel. She finally bears Joseph for her husband with the wish that she can bear another. Unfortunately, the next son born to Rachel, Benjamin, will result in her death due to a hard labor (Gen 35:16–19). The rivalry between the sisters ends, but at the price of one sister's death.

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**LEATHER.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**LEAVEN.** See MEAL CUSTOMS (JEWISH DIETARY LAWS).

**LEBANA** (PERSON) [Heb *lĕbānâ* (לְבָנָה)]. The name of a family of temple-servants who returned to Palestine with Zerubbabel shortly after 538 B.C.E., the end of the Babylonian exile. The name appears in Ezra 2:45 in the phrase "the sons of Lebanah" (Gk *labanō*), where the temple-servants are distinguished from the people of Israel, the priests, and the Levites. The parallel passage Neh 7:46–56 lists "the sons of Lebana" in Neh 7:48 (Gk *labana*), and the later parallel 1 Esdr 5:29 follows Ezra 2:45 with "the sons of Lebanah" (Gk *labana*). The word is found in some manuscripts as *lĕbānāʾ*, which has given rise to minor differences in transliteration. The Eng versions favor "Lebanah."

STEVEN R. SWANSON

**LEBANON** [Heb *lĕbānôn* (לְבָנוֹן)]. The name of this region in the Levant (from the semitic root *lbn*, "to be white"), which in the historical books of the OT is generally preceded by the definite article, presumably alludes to the whiteness of the country's mountains when covered with snow (Jer 18:13). Lebanon's ancient boundaries are not sharply delineated in ancient sources, but probably were much like those of modern Lebanon except that the narrow strip of Phoenician territory on the Mediterranean coast where Tyre, Sidon, and other cities were located was not regarded as part of the region.

**A. Geography and History**

Lebanon's varied terrain consists of three major features. Parallel with the coastal plain, the Lebanon Mountains (referred to simply as "[the] Lebanon" or occasionally "Mt. Lebanon" in the OT [Judg 3:3]) rise to an elevation of more than 10,000 ft (3,300 m). Parts of the W slopes of this 100-mile (160-km) chain, benefiting from westerly Mediterranean winds, receive an average of 60 in (150 cm) of precipitation during the rainy winter season, which in higher elevations falls as snow. The E slopes descend to the fertile Beqaʿ, a N extension of the Jordan Valley, which lies some 3,700 feet (1,100 m) above sea level. Although biblical writers were aware of its existence, the Beqaʿ is seldom mentioned in the OT; it appears as the "valley of Lebanon" in Josh 11:17 and 12:7. The region's only major perennial river, the Litani, commences in the N-central part of the valley and flows SW until it debouches near Tyre on the S coast. East of the Beqaʿ rise the more arid Anti-lebanon (i.e., "behind the Lebanon") Mountains, which, although somewhat lower than the W range, include at their S extremity Mt. Hermon, the summit of which has an elevation of some 9,200 ft (3,000 m). The Anti-lebanon is mentioned much less frequently in the OT than is the Lebanon range; it appears in Josh 13:5 as "Lebanon toward the rising sun." In several instances, however, the LXX appropriately translates the Heb "Lebanon" as "Anti-lebanon" (Deut 1:7, 3:25, 11–24; Josh 1:4, 9:1).

During the past hundred years archaeological excavations have been conducted at many sites in Lebanon, but much remains to be learned about the history of the region. Human habitation began in the Stone Age and can be followed through successive periods of Near Eastern history. Small and relatively defenseless, but occupying a strategic position in the Levant, the region was repeatedly invaded and conquered over the centuries. During the 2d and 1st millennia B.C., Lebanon participated in the broad cultural trends of the MB–LB, Iron Age, and Hellenistic Age, but the prosperity of the Beqaʿ and the sparsely settled hill country was modest by comparison with that of the coastal Phoenician cities. In the Roman period a cult center at Baalbek in the Beqaʿ became known throughout the empire for its magnificent complex of temples.

**B. In the OT**

Lebanon is mentioned nearly 70 times in the OT. The region was never part of the kingdom of Israel, although the book of Joshua asserts that Joshua conquered territory as far N as the town of Baal-gad at the S end of the Beqaʿ (Josh 11:17, 12:7, 13:5–6), and represents God as declaring that he would give to Israel all of the territory "from the Negev to Lebanon" (Josh 1:4; cf. Deut 11:24). According to 1 Kgs 9:19 (= 2 Chr. 8:6), the S part of Lebanon was under Israelite hegemony for a brief time during the reign of Solomon, who is said to have carried out building projects "in Jerusalem, in the Lebanon, and throughout his whole dominion."

Although frequently harsh in their condemnation of Edom, Moab, Philistia, Syria, and other nations around Israel, the biblical writers almost always refer to Lebanon in a positive, or at least neutral, way, in part because it was a geographical region rather than a kingdom. Numerous passages allude to the richness of the country. The agricultural abundance of the Beqaʿ is mentioned in Ps 72:16, where hope is expressed that the reign of a good king will cause crops to flourish like those of Lebanon. The region's wine is said to be famous (Hos 14:7). Lebanon is sometimes linked poetically with Sharon, Bashan, and Carmel, all of which were relatively fertile regions. In Isa 33:9 the prophet describes the desolation of Lebanon when God is not present (cf. Nah. 1:4), and two chapters later celebrates the restoration of Zion, when the wilderness will bloom and "the glory of Lebanon" will be given to the land (Isa 35:2; cf. 60:13).

So positive and compelling was the imagery of Lebanon for biblical writers that at times "Lebanon" was used almost as a poetic surrogate for "Israel." In contemplating the return of Jews from Egypt and Assyria in the postexilic period, Zechariah declares that God will gather the exiles "into Gilead and Lebanon, until there is no more room for them" (Zech 10:10–11). Although not among the tribes of Israel, Gilead had historically close connections with the N tribes. The terms "Gilead" and "Lebanon" are again linked in Jer. 22:6 (cf. v 23), where they appear as metaphors for Judah in her coming destruction; there are, however, no negative connotations regarding Gilead and Lebanon themselves, for God declares through the prophet that both Gilead and "the heights of Lebanon" are dear to him.

Particularly valued by the Israelites and other prophets of the E Mediterranean region were Lebanon's forests of pine, fir, cypress, cedar, and other trees (see Brown 1969: 140–212). The W slopes of the Lebanon range provided a superb climate for evergreen trees, whch were valued for the size and durability of their timber and even the fragrant odor of some of the wood (Hos 14:6; cf. Cant 4:11). The primeval forests, a few remnants of which survived into the 20th century in isolated places in the mountains, had been less depleted during the early biblical period than the oak forests of Palestine and Transjordan. The cutting of Lebanon's timber was initially a monopoly of the coastal cities, and later of the monarchs of conquering empires. Some of the wood was used regionally in the manufacture of ships (Ezek 27:5), and some was exported at considerable profit. As early as the 4th millennium B.C., Egypt was a purchaser of timber from Lebanon for use in the construction of buildings and boats. The OT contains numerous allusions to wood from Lebanon in connection with the Temple in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 5:6–14 = 2 Chr 2:7–16) and Solomon's "House of the Forest of Lebanon" (1 Kgs 10:21 = 2 Chr 9:20; cf. 1 Kgs 7:2 and 10:17). The Song of SolomonSolomon states—either factually or figuratively—that Solomon's palanquin was made of the wood of Lebanon (Cant 3:9). By the time of Hezekiah's rule in Judah in the late 8th century B.C., the forests of Lebanon had already suffered considerable depredation, most recently at the hands of Assyrian monarchs (2 Kgs 19:23 = Isa 37:24; Isa 10:34), who continued the royal monopoly. Around 520 B.C. Cyrus of Persia permitted timber to be brought from Lebanon for the reconstruction of the Temple in Jerusalem (Ezra 3:7).

Of all the evergreen trees of Lebanon, the cedar made the deepest impression upon the writers of the OT. Solomon is said to have delivered scholarly discourses on plants, "from the cedar that is in Lebanon to the hyssop that grows out of the wall" (1 Kgs 4:33). The cedars are cited a number of times as metaphors of loftiness and nobility (Isa 2:13, 10:34). Ps 104:16 declares that the trees of Yahweh are as green and leafy as the cedars of Lebanon. In Judg 9:15 Jotham's parable of the trees likens the people of the city of Shechem to the cedars of Lebanon. Ps 92:12 envisions the righteous person growing as tall as a cedar of Lebanon, while the Song of SolomonSolomon alludes to the bridegroom's legs being as sturdy

and noble as the cedars of Lebanon (Cant 5:15). Not infrequently the cedars appear as a direct or implied metaphor for a ruler or an empire. Davidic kings of Judah are sometimes so designated, e.g., Isa 14:8 and Ezek 17:3. In Jer 22:6 the disobedience of Judah and her king is likened to the felling of the choicest timbers in Lebanon, and in v 20 of the same chapter Lebanon and Basham appear in poetic parallelism in a similar context. In 2 Kgs 14:9 (= 2 Chr 25:18) Jehoash, king of Israel, sends to Amaziah, king of Judah, a message in which he likens the two rulers to a thistle and a cedar on Lebanon, and immediately afterward likens himself to a wild beast of Lebanon. On occasion a non-Israelite ruler or empire is likened to a cedar of Lebanon (Isa 10:34; Ezek 31:3–18), but only as an opportunity for a prophet to point out how poorly the empire lived up to that noble image and how deserving it is of punishment. Habakkuk singles out the region as an instance of violence wrongly done to it—perhaps, it has been suggested, the felling of its trees (Hab 2:17).

Some allusions to Lebanon have overtones of myths about N Canaanite deities venerated in the mountains, e.g., Cant 4:8 "Come with me from Lebanon, descend from the top of Amana, from the peak of Senir and Hermon" (cf.7:4). Although applied to Lebanon within the context of the OT, some of the more cosmological allusions to Lebanon or Hermon may, like ones pertaining to Zion as the "Mount of the Lord," perhaps have had their origins in the much older Canaanite religion.

**C. In the NT.** The NT does not mention Lebanon as such. There is no evidence that Jesus ever visited the region, although MT 16:13 records that he went into the district of Caesarea Philippi (Dan, or Panias) in the extreme N part of Palestine. Attempts to identify the "high mountain" of Jesus' transfiguration (Matt 17:1–11 and parallels) with Mt. Hermon in Lebanon must remain speculative, especially since Mt. Tabor in N Palestine is the traditional location of that episode. Tyre and Sidon appear in the NT, but, as in the OT period, the coastal region was regarded as part of Phoenicia rather than of Lebanon (cf. Mark 7:24–31).

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ROBERT HOUSTON SMITH

**LEBANON, HOUSE OF.** See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

**LEBAOTH** (PLACE) [Heb *lĕbāʾôt* (לְבָאוֹת)]. See BETH-LABAOTH (PLACE).

**LEBBAEUS** (PERSON). See THADDEUS (PERSON).

**LEBONAH** (PLACE) [Heb *lĕbônâ* (לְבוֹנָה)]. A town in the hill country of Ephraim to the N of Shiloh (Judg 21:19). The exact location is disputed; both El-Lubban (M.R. 173164) and Lubban Sherqujeh have been suggested as possible sites. Though mentioned only once in the OT, it was apparently of sufficient importance to serve as a reference point for the location of Shiloh. See *HAB* and *GTTOT*.

ELMER DYCK

**LECAH** (PLACE) [Heb *lēkâ* (לֵכָה)]. A community founded by Er, son of Judah (1 Chr 4:21). The name is mentioned only this once; the location is unknown. The suggestion that the name might be a corruption of Lachish (as hinted by Aharoni, *LBHG*, 227) is untestable. The Chronicler adopts the genealogical formula "x the father of y" to describe the relationship between a community and its founder, so that the name is to be taken as that of a community rather than that of a person (so NEB).

ELMER DYCK

**LECTIONARY.** A lectionary is a collection of selected scriptural readings used in worship and arranged according to the liturgical year.

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A. Early Jewish Lectionaries
B. Early Christian Lectionaries

1. The Byzantine Lectionaries
2. Construction and Text Sequence
3. Origins and History of the Lection Systems
4. Lectionaries of Other Regions of the Church
5. Text-critical Value of the Lectionaries

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**A. Early Jewish Lectionaries**

Evidence for the regular reading of the Law and the Prophets in worship during the 1st century C.E. is found in Josephus, Philo, and the NT. In *AgAp* 2.17.175, Josephus writes that Moses instituted the regular reading of the law. As the supreme form of instruction, the law was to be heard weekly in order that the assembled community should obtain a thorough and accurate knowledge of it. Philo (*Somn* II 18.127) also reflects an apparent sabbath practice of reading and expounding the holy books. In Acts 15:21, Luke states that Moses is ready every sabbath in the synagogues. Likewise, according to Acts 13:14–15 and Luke 4:16–17, the Law and the Prophets are read in the context of synagogue worship. Guilding (1960: 6) also cites the preface to Sirach as reflecting a 2d century B.C.E. practice in which the law was read publicly by Jews in Egypt. However, the precise meaning of this text is not clear. Even so, the evidence clearly points to regular readings from the Law and the Prophets in synagogue worship during the 1st century C.E. This practice certainly appears to derive from a much earlier date, but direct literary evidence is insufficient to document it.

It is less clear if these readings were conducted according to a fixed pattern or lectionary. By the time of the Mishnah, however, a regular pattern of readings is reflected (*m. Meg.* 3:4, 4:2–10). In *t. Meg.* 3:10 and *b. Meg.* 31b, the consecutive nature of the Torah readings for the sabbath afternoon, Monday, and Thursday services is indicated. Moreover, *m. Meg.* 4:10 and *t. Meg.* 3:4 imply that prophetic texts were also read according to a fixed pattern. *j. Meg.* 4:75a and *Sop.* 21:4 have been cited as evidence that Jewish tradition recognized stages in lectionary development (Guilding 1960: 8). In these texts, the lessons for the festivals and special sabbaths were thought to have been instituted by Moses, whereas the readings for the sabbath afternoons, Mondays, and Thursdays were considered to have been established by Ezra. From the beginning of the 3d century C.E., the evidence testifies to a regular pattern of readings from the Law and the Prophets in synagogue worship. However, the late date of this evidence makes its use, as witness to Jewish practice in the 1st century C.E. or earlier, methodologically problematic (Crockett 1966: 13–46; Heinemann 1968: 41–48; Morris 1964: 13–34).

Still unclear is the type of lectionary reflected in these Jewish texts. In *b. Meg.* 29b, it is written that the people of Palestine complete the reading of the Pentateuch in three years. Likewise, in *m. Meg.* 4:2–4, it states that the sabbath law is to be read by at least seven people, no one of whom may read fewer than three verses. Hence, the reading of the Law would consist of at least 21 verses. A lesson of this length read on each sabbath would correspond to a three-year cycle. It is indicated in *b. Meg.* 23a that the *Haftarah,* in order to correspond to the reading of the Law, should also consist of at least 21 verses. It may be that traces of a triennial lectionary can also be seen in the Masoretic divisions known as Sedarim, since these divisions accord roughly with a three-year cycle. It has also been argued that the Halakic Midrashim, *Mek., Sipra, Sipre,* reflect a Palestinian triennial lectionary (Guilding 1960: 9).

The starting date of this supposed lectionary (Nisan or Tishri) is also a matter of debate and conjecture (Büchler 1893: 420–68; 1894: 1–73; Guilding 1960: 11–20). Finally, Guilding argues that the hegemony of the Babylonian Gaonate eventually led to the replacement of the triennial lectionary by an annual lectionary in all but a few localities (1960: 8; cf. Crockett 1966: 23–24; Jacobs 1905: 254).

The arguments for a fixed triennial lectionary at an early date have been challenged. It has been noted that the NT does not mention a lectionary. Indeed, the evidence suggests that organized cycles of Sunday readings are not found in Christian circles until at least the 4th century (Dix 1945: 360–61). Furthermore, it is unclear whether the reference to three years in *b. Meg.* 29b is intended to be literal or approximate. There is no evidence that this cycle began at a fixed point or that it was used uniformly in all localities. If a lack of uniformity existed in the Amoraic period and perhaps later, it is argued that more could not be

expected of an earlier period (Crockett 1966: 13–35; Heinemann 1968: 41–48; Morris 1964: 15–34). Hence, the topic of early Jewish lectionaries has provoked considerable debate.

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JAMES W. AAGESON

**B. Early Christian Lectionaries**

**1. The Byzantine Lectionaries.** The liturgical books which the Greek Orthodox Church uses to this day include, along with the fixed and variable parts of liturgies and other offices, *to euaggelion* (in contrast to the *tetraeuaggelon*, the normal ms of the Gospels) and *ho apostolos,* occasionally combined into *to apostoloeuaggelon.* All of these books stand in a fixed tradition of content and form which reaches back to the early Middle Ages and thus well into the time of the tradition of manuscripts.

Thus it is that altogether almost 40 percent of all extant Gk mss of the NT also belong to these liturgical books. These liturgical mss with NT texts are collected under the designation *Lectionaries* and are listed independently. These represent an alternative to those mss (and accordingly to those text editions) which attach to consecutive offerings of verses in the NT information about the days on which the indicated Gospel or Epistle sections are to be read in worship. Whereas these latter editions always appear as an index, in which the sequence of the days of the church year and references to NT pericopes to be read are collected, the lectionaries offer, instead, exactly in the sequence according to which they are to be read, the actual text of NT passages.

A prerequisite for the emergence of such lectionaries is firm ecclesial organization which regulates the sequence of the celebrations of the church year, the liturgical arrangement of these celebrations, and the determination of Bible texts, prayers, hymns, etc. to be read. However, for historical reasons, such organization is nowhere imaginable before the 4th century. But since 95 percent of the 2,252 extant lectionary mss and fragments, i.e., over 2,000, show uniform arrangement in reference to the succession of days and celebrations and to the choice of pericopes, something more must stand behind these mss: a world church, such as it arose from the 5th to the 7th century in the Byzantine church with its center in Constantinople, dominant for Eastern Christianity.

**2. Construction and Text Sequence.** The succession of days in these Byzantine lectionaries conforms, of course, to the church year. Beginning with Easter Sunday and continuing for the holy season up to Pentecost, pericopes from Acts and John are offered for each day, including the weekdays. For the subsequent time lasting 16 or 17 weeks through September 14 (Holy Cross Day), the majority of lectionaries offer readings for Saturdays and Sundays (*sabbatokyriakar*) from Matthew and Pauline Epistles. Thereupon follows a similar 17-week period, up through the end of January or beginning of February and the pre-Lenten season, with readings for Saturdays and Sundays from Paul and Luke. It is otherwise in both of these latter periods with the mss intended for use in cloisters, for, since the liturgy is celebrated daily, the mss show readings for all days. In this case the Pauline Epistles as well as Matthew and Luke do not suffice, whereupon, in each period from the 12th or 13th week on are offered also readings mostly from Mark; and at the end of these periods are offered from the *Apostolos* readings from the Catholic Epistles.

During Lent (*tessarakostē*) the liturgy with the sacrifice of the mass is only celebrated on weekends; whereupon, for these days there are only NT texts, which come predominantly from Hebrews and Mark. On the weekdays, with the liturgy of previously consecrated elements (*prohēgiasmenōn*), the OT is read, which the rest of the time only finds use in other offices. During Holy Week, with its special, daily celebrations, up to Easter Eve, the Passion narratives of the Gospels are read.

Regularly following this cycle (the so-called *Synaxarion*), which is dependent upon the variable period of Easter, is a second cycle fixed on dates, beginning with the Byzantine new year on September 1. This series of days (known as *Menologion*) offers readings for a fixed calendar of celebrations of the Lord, Mary, and mainly the Apostles (e.g. Christmas, Epiphany, the Annunciation, Saints Peter and Paul). This cycle later expanded to include the many celebrations of the fathers, saints, and martyrs. Standard pericopes were predominantly read for these, which were then only notated, since they were, as a rule, already transcribed.

Combinations of readings and references for "special occasions" (*eis diaphorous mnēmas*), i.e. celebrations of explicitly local character or the pastoral offices (burial, etc), complete the Byzantine lectionaries.

**3. Origins and History of the Lection Systems.** The assignation of pericopes to reading cycles and individual celebrations is characteristic for the history of the origins of the lection systems and should be explained with reference to the development of Gospel pericopes in the Byzantine church. It is doubtless the case that for the central celebrations of Christendom, along with their preparatory celebrations and afterwards, germane pericopes were read: the baptism narrative for Epiphany (January 6—celebrated in the East into the fourth and fifth centuries with a function analogous to Christmas in the West), Luke 1:24ff for other high feasts such as the central celebration of Mary on March 25 (*annuntiatio, euaggelismos*), etc. Here one sees certainly the oldest stratum of the pericope system. The same obtains for the celebration of the Passion with its several modes of celebration in different regions of the Church.

Along with this basic situation with regard to pericopes, which is widely similar in all spheres of the Church, certain documents or groups of documents are read at certain times of the year in consonance with synagogue usage, as is evidenced in the homilies of the Church Fathers. Later, with the further evolution of the lection system, issues the determination of fixed reading sequences, first for Sundays, the weekly celebration of the resurrection of Christ. The Byzantine church affixed pericopes from John to the weeks after Easter, pericopes from Matthew to the weeks after Pentecost, and pericopes from Luke to the time from September on. These Sunday sequences offer in the unfolding of the Gospels the most important depictions from the life of Jesus or central addresses. Certainly for the Saturday celebrations of the liturgy during the same periods of time a series of pericopes from the same Gospels were chosen, a form of sequential reading of selected pericopes in the order of the book (so-called *Bahnlesung*), omitting texts already used.

The remainder of the text of the Gospels is used for pericopes which are read, principally in cloisters, in the liturgies on the rest of the weekdays, except during the weeks when the Gospel of John is read.

It can be demonstrated from the nature of pericope choices and from the bounded tradition in the lectionaries that the phases above are also a matter of successive historical developments which extend into the 7th and 8th centuries. Theologians have long falsely regarded the temporal order of these stages of development, setting it into premature times. C. R. Gregory identified temporal developments and maintained that he was able to place them from the beginning to the end of the 2d century. American lectionary scholars (who for a long time worked alone in the study of lectionaries, e.g., K. and S. Lake, E. C. Colwell, B. M. Metzger, A. Wikgren, and their students) modified this position and claimed to be able to date the Byzantine lectionary system from the 4th or 5th century. A. Ehrhard and the Hagiographies and, then, OT scholar A. Rahlfs proved that the concluding formation of the Byzantine lection system must have lasted into the early 8th century, an opinion which is fully substantiated by the age of extant manuscripts. That the book of Revelation was not used in the Byzantine lection system also is not contradictory. The book was recognized as canonical in the East from the 4th century, but it has its own tradition and history which make it quite independent of NT manuscripts.

The arrangement of pericopes in the lectionaries displays some peculiarities. After a standard introductory formula (*tō kairō ekeinō, eipen ho kyrios, adelphoi,* or the like), follow most often changes in the text's form. These are to acquaint the hearer with pertinent details of the reading which one otherwise could glean from the context. Occasionally at the end of the lection special key words are appended.

Connectors of insertions or harmony-like combinations of the narratives of different Gospels also occur. Many of these details found their way into the mss of the continuous text.

**4. Lectionaries of Other Regions of the Church.** The discovery in 1975 at the Sinai Cloister of ten new lectionaries has issued in new insights and points of view regarding the contruction of the lection system and of lectionaries. These Gk mss did not evidence the Byzantine system as was supposed, although they assumed the outward appearance of the Byzantine lectionaries. It was striking that these lectionaries offered only one cycle and that they inserted movable feasts, celebrations, and weeks of fasting between celebrations on fixed dates, using only Sunday readings. Between Easter and Pentecost, but with other demarcations, one reads from John; the following sixteen Sundays utilize pericopes from Matthew, the next fourteen Sundays readings from Mark, and the six Sundays in Lent the gospel of Luke.

It is further obvious that the readings for Easter and Eastertide are offered in connection with Holy Week. All told the sequence of pericopes, at the end of which stand pericopes for special occasions, proceeds one and a half times during the year. Because all witnesses are damaged at the beginning and at the end and differ in detail from one another, a uniform beginning (sometime in the spring) or end of the church year cannot be identified as is the case with the Byzantine lectionaries.

However, these new lectionaries, as well as others which were earlier already regarded as "outsider" mss, show some commonalities with the lection system from Jerusalem, which at that time was only extant in Armenian and Georgian manuscripts. This holds for the succession of celebrations as well as for the selection of pericopes. But as the Georgian lectionaries represent a later stage of development in relation to the Armenian lectionaries, so also the newfound Gk lectionaries in relation to the Georgian lectionaries. Their derivation from Jerusalem, however, is clear and can be shown with reference to the sequence of pericopes—their demarcations as well as rich arrangement for Holy Week. Indeed there is also a certain influence from Byzantium, especially in the externals such as introductory formulas and organization of the mss, which were written in the time from the late 8th century to the early 10th century.

A first publication of a sequence of pericopes from a comparable ms by G. Garitte in 1977 drew little notice. By virtue of the newfound lectionaries, this article has come into its own; however, a comprehensive discussion of the issues will be possible only after the publication of the Sinai lectionaries.

The Byzantine influence in these newfound lectionaries becomes ever more apparent, since one observes the following curiosities: in four of the new Sinai lectionaries there is a succession of days typical of the Jerusalem lection system, with its juxtaposition of fixed-date and movable feasts which continue beyond the bounds of Easter; and there are pericopes which display the specific delineation of the Byzantine lection system. The mss date from the time from the 11th to 13th centuries.

Besides the two groups there are in the list of lectionary mss witnesses that are not to be associated with the Byzantine lection system. Rather, these mss demonstrate an open relationship to Egypt—either they are bilingual Greek-Coptic or demonstrably discovered in Egypt. These display a prototype of the Coptic lection system, so also the few papyri (also from the sands of Egypt) with text that is not written progressively, offering only pericopes: P1 (papyrus Florence, 3d century), P3 (papyrus Vienna, 6th to 7th century), P6 (papyrus Strasbourg, 4th century), P34 (papyrus Vienna, 6th century), and P44 (papyrus New York, 6th to 7th century).

**5. Text-critical Value of the Lectionaries.** Miraculous text-critical worth has long been expected of the lectionaries, since their date of origin was at one time set too early, and also because it was maintained, on the basis of general experience and scanty examination, that all of the elements related to the liturgy, closely conditioned by tradition, must also preserve in the lectionaries the reading style of the earliest times. The systematic examination of the lectionaries in Chicago in the 1930's had a sobering effect. Certainly the early Byzantine reading styles determined the textual character of certain series of pericopes in the Byzantine lectionaries, which led some to maintain that the lectionaries were related to the so-called Caesarea text. The basic character of the text, however, is Byzantine. This obtains for the readings from the *Apostolos* as well. Therefore, the lectionaries have text-critical worth only for later tradition history, in specific, for the history of Byzantine texts.

The early Byzantine, and even pre-Byzantine, elements in the lectionaries with the late Jerusalem lection system support this set of suppositions. More accurate details can be expected only after the publication of the new Sinai mss, a joint venture of the Hiera Synod of Sinai Monks and the Institut fuer neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, Muenster. See TEXTUAL CRITICISM (NT).

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**LEEKS.** See FLORA.

**LEFT, LEFT HAND.** The Hebrew word *śĕmō᾽l* indicates the left, the left side, or the left hand. It is used often with *yāmîn* to form a pair, left and right. When used as a general direction, left referred to north (Gen 14:15; Josh 19:27), the direction to one's left when one faced east.

There are a few instances where left has a negative connotation: "A wise man's heart inclines him toward the right, but a fool's heart toward the left" (Eccl 10:2). Likewise the separation of the sheep from the goats in Matthew 25, may suggest a negative connotation for the left: the goats who are to be condemned are placed on the left, while the sheep who are to be blessed are placed on the right. But most often neither right nor left is given a special connotation. In many cases, the path is a straight one from which one is not to depart, either to the right or to the left (Deut 5:32).

Left-handedness was unusual in ancient Israel, as in our culture. Few references are made to ones who were left-handed. In general, the right hand was primary, holding the major weapon, while the left hand held the defensive weapon. The right hand held the sword while the left held the shield. The right hand held the arrow and pulled the cord, while the left hand held the bow. Some specially skilled warriors were trained to use their left hand, thus giving them an advantage in combat situations. As such they were not natural left-handers, but had their right hands bound so that they were forced to become ambidextrous. Ehud was one such ambidextrous warrior. Because he could use the left hand as well as the right, he was able to hide his weapon and assassinate Eglon, king of Moab, striking him from the unexpected left side (Halpern 1988: 41; cf. EHUD). Among the warriors of Benjamin were 700 left-handed warriors (Judg 20:16), likewise ambidextrous.

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**LEGATE.** See PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (ROMAN).

**LEGION** [Gk *legiōn* (λεγιων)]. See ROMAN ARMY.

**LEHABIM** [Heb *lĕhābîm* (לְהָבִים)]. Var. LUBIM. Descendants of Egypt according to the Table of Nations (Gen 10:13; cf. 1 Chr 1:11) who, according to the genealogies, is a son of Ham and grandson of Noah. While not direct, Semitic kinsmen of Israel, their association with Israel's powerful Egyptian neighbor make them a significant people to the writers of the genealogies. The Hebrew form of the name in the MT is not found outside these genealogies, so no further information is available. There is a widely held view that this is an alternate spelling of *lûbîm.* These are the Libyans, who are mentioned elsewhere in the OT (Nah 3:9; Dan 11:43; 2 Chr 12:3; 16:8). They lived in N Africa, immediately W of Egypt, so

would geographically fit their position in the genealogies. The proposed reading is supported by the rendering of the name in the LXX.
DAVID W. BAKER

**LEHEM** (PLACE) [Heb *leḥem* (לֶחֶם)]. A possible place name somewhere in the territory of the tribe of Judah, and is so rendered by the RSV (1 Chr 4:22). However, no such place has been identified. The name appears in a recorded event concerning two Judahites, Joash and Saraph, who had returned to Judah after a period of having ruled in Moab (or possibly having married Moabites). The Heb *wĕyāšuḇî lāḥem* presents some difficulty since various translations are possible.

1. It can be taken as a personal name, Jashubi Lehem, as done by the KJV, NKJV, NASB, and NIV. The verse would then read "… Joash and Saraph who ruled in Moab and Jashubi Lehem." Such a reading, however, does not simplify the identification and perhaps creates further ambiguity as to whether Jashubi Lehem is a place's or person's name.

2. As has been suggested, perhaps the phrase is not even a name but should be emended as evidenced in the Gk *apestrepsen autous*. The Hebrew would then read *wayyāšuḇû lāhem,* "but they returned" (lit. "returned to themselves"). Thus the verse would read "… Joash and Saraph, who ruled in Moab, but returned." Similar idioms or idiomatic forms are attested in Num 22:34; Deut 5:30; and 1 Sam 26:12.

3. Lehem in this verse could possibly be a shortened form of Bethlehem, as so rendered by the JB and TEV. If so, the verse would read "… Joash and Saraph, who ruled in Moab and returned to Bethlehem." This reading would appear to fit the Judahite context of the verse better.

4. Another possibility is to consider Lehem as a geographical name and to emend the reading to *wĕyōšḇê leḥem,* "and the inhabitants of Lehem." The probability of this reading is enforced by the presence of *wĕyōšḇê* and *yāšḇû* in v 23 (cf. *ʾanšê rēḵāh* of 1 Chr 4:12).

5. It is also possible to read *wĕyōšḇê leḥem,* "and the inhabitants of bread," to parallel *weyōšḇê nĕṭāʿîm,* "and the inhabitants of planters," in v 23. Both *leḥem* and *nĕṭāʿîm* should then be treated as names of agricultural districts for the royal workers.
WANN M. FANWAR

**LEHI** (PLACE) [Heb *leḥî* (לֶחִי)]. An unknown location, it appears in the Bible as a geographical designation in Judg 15:9, 14, 17, 19. (Otherwise *leḥî* appears in the Scriptures 21 times referring to the cheek, jawbone of a human being or an animal.) It is situated along the Philistine frontier and the lowland of the tribe of Judah, a site where the Judeans surrendered Samson to the Philistines. The place name also ties in with the description of Samson's exploits: slaying a thousand Philistines with the jawbone of a deadly donkey, and the miracle performed by God to quench Samson's thirst.

The Judeo-Aramaic variants *leḥî; lĕḥāyat; liḥyāʾ; lĕḥāytāʾ;* and Arabic *laḥy (un)* are cognate with the biblical *leḥî.* Generally, the words are translated as "cheek," "jawbone." Yet, the connection of the biblical form and the variety of the Judeo-Aramaic forms with the Akk *līt*u or *lētu (m)* suggests a wider range of meanings. The Akkadian adds also the connotations of the "side" and metaphorically "side of an object," and "side of a topographical feature." These meanings, while prevalent in the Targumim and Rabbinical sources, have never been utilized.

Scholars tended to view *leḥî* in Judges as a geographical place name. Among the prominent suggestions for a possible identification are Khirbet Lāqīya (M.R. 136081) close to Beer-sheba and Beit Jibrin (M.R. 140112). Both, however, are much too far from the place where Samson engaged the Philistines. Likewise, Abel's (*GP*, 369) proposal of Beit ʿAṭāb is also farfetched. The most prevalent identification is with Kh. eṣ-Ṣiyyāgh (M.R. 149128) at the mouth of Wādi en-Najīl 2 km S of ʿArtūf and 7 km E of Timnah. The meaning of the Arabic place name is "the Ruin of the Goldsmiths." The assumption is that the Arabic place name eṣ-Ṣiyyāgh represents the word *siagōn,* the Greek cognate of the Hebrew term *leḥî,* "cheek" "jaw," which appears in the Greek translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and in Jerome's Latin translation of Eusebius' *Onomasticon.* However, the resemblance of sound between the first two syllables even if possible to indicate relationship between the Greek word and the place name obviously represents

a later tradition from post-OT times transmitted through Greek-speaking people and Christians. Further, there is no indication that the Greek translators perceived *siagōn* to mean a place name rather than a mere translation of the Hebrew word. Indeed Josephus (*Ant* 5 §300), who refers to *siagōn* as a place name, expressly says: "a spot which today is called *siagōn* = jawbone … but which of old was nameless." This leaves the above suggestion topographically valueless.

Taking another direction, Burney (*Judges* LBS, 371) suggests that *leḥî* is a geological formation reminiscent of a jawbone. He proposed the sawlike teeth appearance of Wādi Isma‹īn, a possible location since it may resemble a jawbone, but his evidence remains inconclusive.

The consensus among the scholars then is that *leḥî* denotes a specific place but there is no agreement as to its identification. Accordingly, it makes sense to seek the meaning of the word elsewhere. The neglected collateral evidence of the Akkadian sources is an essential clue for providing an alternative meaning for the term *leḥî*.

The Akkadian turns of speech in which the term *līt*u occurs show that metaphorically the cheek or the lower jawbone are employed for "border" or "limit" or "circumference." It is current in Akkadian literary sources and has been established as employing the metaphorical meanings by C. H. Gordon (1936: 81–2). It was the practice of the Nuzians to describe topographical features in terms of the lower facial part. Thus when they depict the beginning of the city limits they use the term "*le-et*," "jawbone" of the city. In the same vein, a boundary of a parcel of real estate transfer is described as "along the "cheek" (i.e., "bank") of the PN canal." *Litu* therefore is an essential word in recording limits in the Nuzian legal documents. It seems that biblical *leḥî* follows its Akkadian forerunner. Accordingly, *leḥî* as a place is not a specific place name, but, as its Nuzian prototype, means any border—in this case the entire borderline between the Judeans and the Philistines.

Further, it is significant that in all passages where biblical *leḥî* connotes the physical cheek, jawbone, the Targumim substitute the biblical *leḥi* with a different Aramaic term.

Judeo-Aramaic variants of *leḥî*, however, are employed only in translating biblical terms associated with limits of districts or borders. It is only in Judges 15 and specifically in reference to *leḥî* (which according to the Targum designates a regional geographical description) that the Targum is meticulous in employing the biblical term *leḥî*, which resembles mostly its cognate *lētu* phonetically as well as semantically.

It also stands to reason that the deployment of Philistine troops is along the entire border rather than in a specific location. The proposal gains cogency from the use of the verb *wayyinnāṭĕšû* (Judg 15:9) "they were deployed." The only other employment of the verb *nṭš* in the *Nip‹al* in warfare occurs in 2 Sam 5:17; 22 where the Philistines deploy troops over a wide geographical region to seize David, just as in the present case they spread out their soldiers to capture Samson. There and here *nṭš* is characteristic of army deployment for searching a specific foe (i.e., David and Samson) rather than for a siege of a particular location. Furthermore, the Masoretic pointing of the word *balleḥî* (Judg 15:9, 19) definitely implies a common noun rather than a proper noun of a place. Thus enigmatic *leḥî* embraces an old meaning already embedded in its Akkadian precursor *līt*u.

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MEIR LUBETSKI

**LEHUN** (M.R. 231097). A site located in the Madaba district (biblical Moab), on the N plateau of the Wadi Mojib (biblical Arnon), 7 km SE of Dhiban (biblical Dibon) and 3 km E of Ara'ir (biblical Aroer). The site, measuring 1100 m (N–S) by 600 m (E–W), has been excavated by a Belgian team directed by Dr. P. Naster (1977–84) and Dr. D. Homès-Fredericq (1977–88).

A chalcolithic settlement is attested by a number of surface flints and a few sherds. An EB I A-B tomb (ca. 3200–3100 B.C.) was found at the edge of the plateau in area B3. More than 130 ceramics, often undamaged, were discovered in a layer of 40 cm height. They can be compared with the pottery found in

the cemetery of Bab edh-Dhra of the same period. An EB settlement in area C1 has still to be excavated (Homès-Fredericq 1986: 87–94).

At the end of the LB Age, an extensive village was located in area D: houses with ovens, silos, cooking pots, and storage jars, as well as a scarab of the 20th dynasty, were excavated. In the S part, chosen for its strategic position overlooking the Arnon valley toward the Dead Sea, the LB houses were levelled in the beginning of the Iron Age: their walls were used as foundations for a fortress (measuring 33–37 m [E–W] by 43 m [N–S]), built probably at the same period as the settlements of Balu'ah, Ader, and Medeniyeh. This fortification system may reflect the need of the Moabite kings to protect their possessions from the invasions mentioned in the Bible and from nomadic tribes.

The large amount of storage jars found in it suggests its use as a storage fortress, possibly built to supply the garrisons of Ara'ir. The breaks in the fortification walls and the filling in of the casemate rooms with stones attest different attacks of the building. A new year's bottle of the Saite period (7th–6th century B.C.) shows that Lehun was once more in contact with Egypt (Homès-Fredericq 1982).

The N part of the site seems to have been important in the Nabataean period both as an agricultural market and as a religious center: a square Nabataean temple (with sides measuring 6.25 m), built of local limestone, is decorated with the embossed technique popular in Palestine during the 1st century A.D. (Homès-Fredericq 1989). The pottery remains corroborate this date. An altar measuring 2 × 1.25 m, leaning to the E wall, shows a typical oriental pattern. In the 1988 season the temple was restored to a height of 3.4 m. A larger building in sector A1 (unexcavated) probably belongs to the same period.

A Byzantine or Early Islamic bell-shaped cistern has been discovered near an Islamic settlement in area A2, on the W slope of the wadi Lehun. A small road separates the presumed Islamic village from a late Mamluk mosque (15th century A.D.). A coin, discovered on the floor, gives a *post quem* dating for the mosque as after the late 14th century A.D.

Remains of Late Islamic walls and Ottoman houses and pipes show that the village of Lehun has been continuously occupied up until modern times.

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**LEJJŪN** (M.R. 228072). A site located in biblical Moab, ca. 40 km E of the Dead Sea at an elevation of ca. 700 m above sea level. A perennial spring feeds the Wadi Lejjūn, a tributary of the Wadi Mūjib. The site lies in a shallow valley surrounded by low hills on all sides but the E. Although situated near the edge of the desert, the site receives rainfall sufficient for dry farming of wheat in winter.

The earliest settlement now attested at Lejjūn is a substantial fortified city of the EB Age, as yet unexcavated. Kh. el-Fityān, a Roman *castellum* 1.5 km NW of the spring, seems to have been built over a Moabite fort. In the early Roman period, a Nabatean watchpost (Rujm Beni Yasser) was constructed on a hill 1.5 km E of the spring. Occupation resumed ca. A.D. 300 with the construction of a Roman legionary fortress for *legio IV Martia,* the smaller *castellum* of Fityān, and the reoccupation and reconstruction of Yasser. The site was then known as "Betthorus," if the commonly held identification is accepted, and was a key element in the Roman fortified frontier, the *Limes Arabicus.* The *limes* was intended to control the incursions of neighboring nomadic Arab tribes from the desert. The modern Arabic name, "Lejjūn," seems to be an Arabic corruption of the Latin *"legio."*

Excavations begun in 1980 by the Limes Arabicus Project have examined the legionary fortress, Fityān, Yasser, and the Roman forts of Qaṣr Bshīr, 15 km NE of Lejjūn, and Da῾jāniya, 75 km S of Lejjūn.

The rectangular legionary fortress (242 × 190 m, 4.6 hectares) is typical of Roman military architecture. The main building materials were limestone, chert, and basalt. The enclosure wall is pierced by four gates,

one in the middle of each wall. Twenty U-shaped interval towers and four circular angle towers project from the wall. A major street (*via praetoria*) extends from the E gate to the center of the fortress; another major street (*via principalis*) runs from the N gate to the S and meets the *via praetoria* in the center of the fortress. Here is situated the headquarters building (*principia;* 63.5 × 52.5 m). This building consists of a large outer courtyard, a transverse inner courtyard, and a range of official rooms in the rear, including offices and the *aedes* or shrine of the legionary standards. The *aedes* is entered through a monumental entrance that once contained a barred iron gate, which permitted soldiers to view the sacred legionary standards, but insured the security of the shrine.

The E half of the fortress is devoted to long blocks of barracks. Their plan suggests an original legionary complement of 2,000 men. After an earthquake in 363, the original barracks were demolished and replaced by only half the former number, suggesting a reduction of 50 percent in the size of the legion in the late 4th century. The barracks have yielded evidence about the equipment, diet, and activities of the rank and file Roman legionaries.

A church is located within the fortress near the N gate. It appears to have been erected about 500 and was destroyed by the earthquake of 551. It is basilical in plan (24 × 13 m) with a narthex, apse, and sacristy. The church is small and rather shoddy, even by the modest standards of Transjordan. It lacks marble, mosaics, and frescoes. The date of the church and other evidence suggest that the bulk of the legion converted rather late to Christianity. Moreover, the pagan cult of the standards in the *principia* appears to have survived into the early 6th century.

Outside the fortress an extensive *vicus* or civilian settlement grew up. A large rectangular structure (35 × 28 m) excavated in the western *vicus* apparently served as a *mansio* or inn. It was built early in the 4th century, but was destroyed by the earthquake of 363. In the E *vicus* a Roman temple has been excavated; it also was built about A.D. 300 and testifies to the paganism of the original garrison.

A complex of hydrological installations is associated with the fortress, including a dam that conserved the outflow of the spring, two water channels that extended from the spring to the fortress, and a reservoir within the fortress.

Soundings at Kh. el-Fityān revealed a much smaller fort or *castellum* atop the steep N bank of the Wadi Lejjūn. The fort commands an excellent view in all directions and probably served as the hub of an observation and signaling system radiating from Lejjūn. The fort was erected contemporaneously with the legionary fortress about A.D. 300 and was occupied until the 5th century.

The watchpost of Rujm Beni Yasser, originally a Nabatean foundation of the 1st century B.C. or A.D., was reoccupied and enlarged by the Roman legionaries ca. 300. Like Fityān, it served as a component of the signaling system until abandoned during the 5th century.

The legionary fortress was built in the reign of Diocletian (284–305) as part of a massive military buildup in this sector of the frontier against nomadic Arab raids. There is as yet little direct evidence that the garrison evolved into *limitanei,* or hereditary peasant militia, as implied by the *Codex Theodosianus* in the early 5th century. Another earthquake in 502 damaged the barracks and the *principia.* The final occupation in the early 6th century suggests a reduced and rather rundown garrison. The ancillary posts, such as Fityān, Yasser, and Bshīr, were now abandoned. This may be associated with the demobilization of some *limitanei* by Justinian along the eastern frontier ca. 530. A final earthquake in 551 ended ancient occupation of the site.

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**LEMUEL** (PERSON) [Heb *lĕmû᾽ēl* (לְמוּאֵל)]. The king of Massa, whose words (received from his mother) are recorded in Proverbs 31. Virtually nothing is known of Lemuel except that his territory or tribe was Massa (31:1). Massa is listed among Ishmael's "descendants" (Gen 25:14), but its location remains uncertain. See AGUR; MASSA. Keil and Delitzsch identified it as either N Arabia or a region in the Hauran mountains (1873: 263). Some interpreters read the Heb *massā᾽* as "burden/oracle" rather than a place name. Keil and Delitzsch, however, pointed out that the designation "oracle" normally identifies a speech conveying God's judgment (261), and there is no hint of judgment in this passage. The name, "Lemuel" has been understood as a symbolic reference to Solomon (for the meaning of the name, see W. McKane *Proverbs* OTL, 408). Jewish rabbis translated it literally, "towards God" which was understood as a name for Solomon, according to Cohen (*Proverbs* SonB, 209). This could be related to the otherwise obscure LXX reading ("spoken *by God*"), where "Lemuel" has been translated rather than recognized as a proper name.

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**LEND.** See INTEREST AND USURY IN THE GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD.

**LEOPARD.** See ZOOLOGY.

**LEPROSY.** A disease in humans (also known as Hansen's disease) caused by the bacillus *Mycobacterium leprae.* This term "leprosy" is commonly used (more for convenience than medical accuracy) as a translation of Hebrew *ṣāraʿat* in the OT and Gk *lepra* in the NT. Scholars now generally agree that OT *sāraʿat* is not leprosy nor does it include it and that NT *lepra,* if it refers at all to leprosy, does so only as one among many skin conditions. See also SICKNESS AND DISEASE. This discussion will use the transliterations *ṣāraʿat* or *lepra* when speaking of the biblical condition and reserve the term leprosy for true leprosy. *ṣāraʿat* in the OT describes phenomenologically discrete lesions or defects which are found on human skin, in fabrics (cloth and leather), and on walls of houses. *lepra* in the NT is used of human skin diseases, following the OT tradition.

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A. In the OT
1. Scientific Diagnostic Suppositions
a. In persons
b. In fabrics and houses
2. Sin and *ṣāraʿat*
3. Pollution Effect
4. Purification Rites
5. Why is *ṣāraʿat* Impure?
B. In the NT

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**A. In the OT**

The major discussion of *ṣāraʿat* is in Leviticus 13–14 of the Priestly legislation (= P) of the Pentateuch. Lev 13:1–46 treats the diagnosis of the condition in people; 13:47–59 treats its diagnosis in fabrics; 14:1–32 contains the prescriptions for the purification of people after recovering from the condition; and 14:33–53 discusses the diagnosis of the condition in houses and purification after their renovation. (Lev 14:54–57 is a titular subscript to both chapters.) P discusses *ṣāraʿat* elsewhere in Lev 22:4 and Num 5:2. Outside P, the condition is discussed in Exod 4:6–7; Num 12:10–15; Deut 24:8; 2 Sam 3:29; 2 Kgs 5:1–27; 7:3–10; 15:5 = 2 Chr 26:16–21. It is unclear if Job's ailment (Job 2:7–13) is to be considered *ṣāraʿat* (cf. 18:13).

**1. Scientific Diagnostic Suppositions. a. In Persons.** A major concern of scholars has been to describe what *ṣāraʿat* is scientifically. While they agree that in fabrics and houses it is a fungal growth, they have

been slower in coming to a consensus about what the lesions or infections in humans are from a medical point of view. This situation is mainly due to problematic terminology in Leviticus 13–14 (such as *śēt, sappahat, baheret* [all types of inflammations, cf. 13:2, etc.]; *ʿamōq/šāpāl* "deep" [what is meant by this is unclear; cf. 13:3, 4, 20, 21, etc.]; *kēhâ/kēhê* "fade (?); faint, dull (?)" [cf. 13:6, 21, 26, etc.]). This terminology can only be properly understood after a medical diagnosis of the conditions has been made; it cannot be a priori a major aid for determining what diseases the prescriptions intend. Another problem in diagnosing *ṣāraʿat* is that the narratives and laws only give a very general description of the lesions. Even the detailed text of Leviticus 13 gives only enough description of the lesions that constitute *ṣāraʿat* so that a given condition may be determined to be pure or impure. They do not give full medical descriptions. This lack of description often allows for only broad, nonspecific, and consequently somewhat tentative conclusions (cf. Sussman 1967: 209–10). And finally, in some places P gives symptoms that are plainly undiagnosable according to modern medical knowledge.

Despite these problems, scholars have reached some agreement about the probable diagnosis of *ṣāraʿat* in humans. The most certain conclusion is that it is not leprosy and does not include it. The main argument for this is that the symptoms Leviticus describes do not suggest leprosy:

(1) The symptoms of leprosy progress very slowly over a period of several years. The swift development of *ṣāraʿat* required by quarantine periods of seven days (Lev 13:4, 5, 21, 26, 31, 33) does not fit leprosy.

(2) Leprosy is not curable without drug therapy; but Leviticus 13–14 indicate that a person may recover from *ṣāraʿat.*

(3) Leprosy is not primarily an exfoliative disease as is the case with *ṣāraʿat.*

(4) Though leprosy in darker skinned people could show hypopigmentation of the skin, the hair does not characteristically turn white or yellow as is required for some types of *ṣāraʿat* (Lev 13:3, 10, 20, 25, 30).

(5) Leprosy is not associated with boils or blisters (the meaning of *šĕhîn* is uncertain) and burns as a secondary manifestation (Lev 13:18–23, 24–28).

(6) One symptom of advanced leprosy is the loss of feeling accompanying nerve destruction. Leviticus 13 does not discuss such a prominent symptom.

(7) And Leviticus 13 does not discuss the necrosis and destruction of the feet, hands, and facial bones associated with advanced leprosy.

If these considerations do not entirely rule out leprosy, at most it would be only one among many skin diseases that could be considered *ṣāraʿat.* But it is doubtful if leprosy existed at all in the ANE at the time of the OT so that it might be considered *ṣāraʿat.* No certain historical attestations of the disease exist (in documents or in material finds) in this area of the world before the time of Alexander the Great. Only about this time do Greek writers start talking about leprosy (mainly under the term *elephantiasis*). Human paleopathological specimens prior to the 6th century C.E. do not show skeletal changes that are characteristic of leprosy. Many passages from texts from the ANE and some archaeological data from before 300 B.C.E. which have been explained as indicating the existence of leprosy are extremely ambiguous and do not refer decisively to leprosy (Lowe 1947: 57–59; Moller-Christensen 1967; Hulse 1975: 87–90; Dols 1979: 314–18).

While it is easy to say what *ṣāraʿat* is not, it is more difficult to say what it is. Taking the non-P texts first, one finds a very general description of the symptoms. A frequently recurring description in these passages is that the lesion is "like snow" (Exod 4:6; Num 12:10; 2 Kgs 5:27). This may refer more to the flakiness of the lesion than to its color (the adjective "white" which appears in some translations of these passages is not in the Hebrew). Num 12:12, in which Aaron pleads Miriam's cause, gives a more vivid description of the condition: "Let her not be like a dead (fetus) which when it comes out of its mother's womb half of its flesh is eaten!" Though this is hyperbolic it nevertheless indicates that *ṣāraʿat* is to a certain extent exfoliative or desquamative. A fetus that has died in the womb takes on a reddish color which lasts for the first few days after death. After this period it becomes an odd brown-gray. As it continues to become macerated in utero before finally being expelled, the skin is shed in large sheets.

The evidence from the non-P texts does not allow for specific conclusions, but it is at least evident that *ṣāraʿat* is a disease or group of diseases in which there is flaking or exfoliation of the skin. Such symptoms are a prominent feature of skin diseases such as psoriasis, eczema, seborrhea, and certain mycotic infections.

The evidence from the P texts though more specific (yet to a certain extent unintelligible) does not contradict the picture gained from the non-P texts. Seven sections in Leviticus 13 discuss various conditions in human skin (vv 2–8, 9–17, 18–23, 24–28, 29–37, 38–39, 40–44; see D. Wright's chart summarizing the symptomatology in J. Milgrom *Leviticus* AB, on Leviticus 13). The diagnosis of 2 of these from a modern medical perspective is quite certain. Lev 13:40–41 clearly talk of normal balding of the head (alopecia; on Lev 13:42–44, see below). Lev 13:38–39 speak of multiple faint (or dull) white spots (*bĕhārōt*) on the skin, called *bōhaq.* This is probably one variety of leukoderma known as vitiligo in which patches of the skin and hair lose their pigmentation. Small to very large areas of the skin surface can be affected. It should be noted in vitiligo the skin does not flake. As we will see below, flaking is associated with possible unclean conditions. (Surprisingly, Lev 13:28–29 does not talk of the existence of depigmented hair common in vitiligo.) Both baldness and vitiligo are clean conditions (i.e., they are not *ṣāraʿat*).

The cases in the other sections of Leviticus 13 are more difficult to diagnose. Lev 13:2–8 can be subdivided into two cases: a general case in vv 2–3 and a dependent subcase in 4–8. The descriptions of the spots that can be called *ṣāraʿat* in Lev 13:4–8 are too general to allow specific medical identification. The symptoms are, summarily, a flaky patch of skin (presumably indicated by the color white, cf. the white and red-white spots or lesions with raw flesh in Lev 13:10, 14–16, 19, 24) without white hair or "deepness" which either spreads after one week or stays the same or spreads after two weeks. These symptoms fit many types of skin diseases such as psoriasis, seborrhoeic dermatitis, certain mycotic infections, patchy eczema and pityriasis rosea (cf. Hulse 1975: 96). This diagnosis correlates with the view of *ṣāraʿat* found outside P.

The diagnosis of the spots (a *śĕʾēt, sappaḥat,* or *baheret*) in Lev 13:2–3, on the other hand, is difficult, if not impossible. The main symptom here is whiteness of hair. It also has "deepness" which appears to require involvement of the skin, a visible subcutaneous lesion. And it is also may have flakiness: other cases of a *baheret* or *śĕʾēt* later in the chapter are described as white or red-white which suggests flakiness for these types of lesions (see the preceding paragraph). The condition is not vitiligo (which appears to be described in Lev 13:38–39), since it is generally not associated with flakiness or a subcutaneous lesion. While medical experts can suggest various rarer types of conditions which could fit the difficult and vague description of Lev 13:2–3 (e.g., some types of nevi), it is possible, knowing the systematic propensities of P, that this source has described a disease which does not reflect medical reality, perhaps by conflating symptoms of separate diseases thought to be impure.

The latter possibility is attractive since elsewhere in these regulations we find clear evidence of ideological systematization: (1) The term *ṣāraʿat* is applied to not only human skin diseases, but to phenomenologically discrete defects in fabrics and houses. (2) The literary and prescriptive structure of the *ṣāraʿat* rules for persons, fabrics, and houses is very similar. (3) Seven-day quarantine periods are prescribed for each of these three cases though the conditions are discrete. (4) The three cases focus on the color of the lesions as the main or initial criterion for diagnosis.

Other sections in Leviticus 13 describe what seem to be unreal conditions as well as symptoms that are roughly diagnosable, as in Lev 13:2–8. Lev 13:18–23 and 24–28 are parallel to each other and speak of secondary lesions arising from a boil or blister. The conditions that are initially judged to be *ṣāraʿat*—lesions with "deepness" and white hair—seem to be artificial like those in Lev 13:2–3. On the other hand, lesions developing from boils and burns that are quarantined because they lack white hair and "deepness" and then spread are *ṣāraʿat* and reflect the same real medical conditions as Lev 13:4–8.

Lev 13:9–17 is parallel to vv 2–8 (note the resumptive repetition of v 2 in v 9). The case of Lev 13:10–11 (a white *śĕʾēt* with white hair and ulcerated skin [*miḥyat bāśār ḥay;* cf. 1 Sam 2:15]; called a chronic or advanced *ṣāraʿat* lesion) seems to be an unreal condition. The ensuing verses discuss the case where

the lesion expands so that it covers the entire skin. If it does this so that no ulcerated skin appears the lesion is pure (Lev 13:12–13; the lack of ulcerated skin is implicit from v 14). If ulcerated skin reappears, it is *ṣāraʿat* (Lev 13:14–15). If the ulcerated skin turns white again (i.e., flakiness without ulceration), it is pure (Lev 13:16–17). The point of Lev 13:12–17 is not to show a paradox (i.e., a small spot is unclean but a lesion that covers the whole body is clean), but to show that a lesion that does not have ulcerated skin is clean even though it may cover the whole body. This is a good case of how the symptomatology may be idealistic and not realistic. It is doubtful that in reality a lesion would cover the whole body. Such a description is a legal stratagem. In terms of a medical description, if the condition of white hair in Lev 13:9–11 is not to be carried through Lev 13:12–17, a condition such as psoriasis which may cover large parts of the body and develop broken or raw skin may be intended. If white hair is implicitly present in the cases in Lev 13:12–17, then it appears to be an unreal condition.

Lev 13:29–37 treats conditions of hair on the head or in the beard. The main case (Lev 13:30) speaks of a "plague" (*negaʿ* )which is "deep" and in which there is thin yellow (or copper colored, *ṣāhōb,* cf. Ezra 8:27) hair. This condition is a type of *ṣāraʿat* called *neteq.* Some have suggested that this may be diagnosed medically as favus, a mycotic infection with *Trichophyton schoenleinii* which can cause color changes in the hair, hair loss, and patches of scaling skin. In the ANE however, inadequate nutrition must always be considered a significant etiology for disease. For example, Kwashiorkor, a protein deficiency syndrome, which is still seen in Arab children, is associated with a copper-red to yellow colored fine hair and scaling of the skin (Wilkinson 1977: 166; Fitzpatrick et al. 1979: 1020–23).

Lev 13:31–37, a subcase of Lev 13:29–30, speaks of cases where "deepness" and black hair (and presumably yellow/copper-colored hair) do not initially appear in the suspected *negaʿ* spot. (This lack of black hair and presumably yellow/copper-colored hair may imply a hair loss has occurred at the spot.) If the spot spreads after one or two quarantine periods it is presumably *ṣāraʿat.* These symptoms are general enough to allow the same diagnosis as in Lev 13:4–8.

Finally, Lev 13:42–44 (which depends on the discussion of baldness in Lev 13:40–41) states that if a red-white *negaʿ* appears in the bald area of someone's head that looks like a *ṣāraʿat* condition, it is to be considered such.

To summarize the character of the human conditions, both non-P texts and parts of the P legislation consider *ṣāraʿat* to consist of several types of skin lesions which exhibit exfoliation or scaling of the skin and which persist and do not exhibit a course of healing within the prescribed quarantine periods. It seems that P has elaborated upon this basic symptomatology extrapolating other symptoms which are consistent with its system of purity and impurity but which do not reflect medical reality.

**b. In Fabrics and Houses.** In comparison to human lesions, the general diagnosis of *ṣāraʿat* in fabrics and walls of houses is relatively easy (see Lev 13:47–58 and 14:34–45). The condition basically consists of greenish or reddish spots that spread after a seven-day quarantine period. These defects appear to be different types of mycotic growths. *ṣāraʿat* in a house, for example, may be one of several types of wood-destroying or wood-staining fungi, which may have brown, pink, red, blue, and grayish-olive colors (Hunt and Garratt 1967: 23–43). Only greenish and reddish defects are considered *ṣāraʿat;* gray black or dark brown fungal spots are implicitly considered clean. Akkadian texts shows that fungal growths were portents of evil in Mesopotamia (see *CAD* 8: 133 and Caplice 1974).

**2. Sin and** *ṣāraʿat.* The OT often (though not always; cf. Exod 4:6) attributes the appearance of *ṣāraʿat* to God's punishment for sinful behavior. Naaman is cured from *ṣāraʿat* when he humbles himself, but scheming and deceitful Gehazi is cursed with it (2 Kgs 5). When King Uzziah acted arrogantly by illicitly offering incense in the temple, *ṣāraʿat* broke out in his forehead (2 Chr 26:16–21; cf. 2 Kgs 15:5). Miriam, complaining about Moses' marriage and leadership, was cursed with it (Num 12:10–15; cf. Deut 24:8–9). David curses Joab and his posterity with *ṣāraʿat* for the murder of Abner (2 Sam 3:29). P once attributes the condition to God's hand (Lev 14:34). (On skin diseases as punishment, see also Deut 28:27, 35). The OT is not alone in this explanation. Other cultures similarly attribute various skin diseases and real leprosy to sin (in Christianity and Islam, cf. Dols 1983; in China, cf. Skinsnes 1964: 23–24, 29; ancient Persia, cf. Herodotus 1.138; in ancient Mesopotamia, cf. Kinnier-Wilson 1966). This of course is

just part of the larger tendency of premodern societies to attribute disease to supernatural causes. It must be noted, however, that though the OT may explain *ṣāraʿat* as arising from sin, having the disease itself with its concomitant impurity is not a sin. Particularly in P, having this type of impurity is not a sinful state; only mishandling it is. See UNCLEAN AND CLEAN.

**3. Pollution Effect.** The rules in Leviticus 13–14 are not just interested in diagnosing *ṣāraʿat* but have more as their goal the proper control of the condition since it is one of the more severe impurities in P. Not only can those persons and things suffering *ṣāraʿat* pollute holy items and therefore need to be kept separate from the sacred sphere (cf. Lev 22:4), affected persons and things are also able to communicate a level of impurity to profane (i.e., nonholy or common) persons and objects.

To be sure, P actually (and surprisingly) says little about the strength of the condition's impurity in regard to the profane. It only treats the effect of a suspected house (Lev 14:36, 46–47). The effect of unclean persons and fabrics, however, can be deduced. It is reasonable to suppose that persons and fabrics polluted at least like a suspected house. A suspected house pollutes anyone who enters it with a minor impurity lasting one day. Anyone who enters and tarries in this house has a slightly more severe impurity, requiring laundering, which lasts, according to the context of this rule and other purity laws, one day (cf. Wright 1987: 206–8). By analogy, being in the same enclosure with an affected person or fabric would pollute similarly. Another indication of the severity of the impurity is the extensive purification rites required (Lev 14:1–32, 48–53). As other impurities that need extensive purification rites communicate impurity to the profane sphere (e.g., those with abnormal genital discharges, Lev 15:1–15, 25–30; one corpse contaminated, Numbers 19), so would be the case with *ṣāraʿat.* The rabbis came to the conclusion that one who had *ṣāraʿat* polluted not only by being in the same enclosure with other persons and things (*m. Neg.* 8:8; 13:17, 11; *Kelim* 1:4), but like one with an abnormal genital discharge (*m. Zabim* 5:6; see DISCHARGE).

In addition to a person diagnosed as having *ṣāraʿat,* there is evidence to indicate that a person merely suspected of the disease could also pollute the profane sphere. A person who has been quarantined for two weeks but is in the end declared clean needs to launder (Lev 13:6, 34). After this prescription the text adds "and he shall be clean." Moreover, that a suspected house can pollute the profane sphere suggests that a suspected person should be able to pollute similarly. From the analogy with the house, one may conclude that a suspected person pollutes much like diagnosed persons which pollute like suspected houses (such is the conclusion of the Rabbis, *m. Meg.* 1:7; *Neg.* 8:8). This picture must be qualified slightly, for the person who is suspected for one week but who is afterwards declared clean is not required to launder (cf. Lev 13:23, 28). This hints that there may be a slight difference in the degree of impurity between one who is suspected for one week and one suspected for two weeks (cf. Wright 1987: 210–12).

Because of their ability to pollute the profane sphere, persons and things diagnosed or suspected of *ṣāraʿat* need to be restricted in or excluded from the area of human habitation or be otherwise destroyed. Lev 13:46 prescribes that those with *ṣāraʿat* must live outside the habitation (cf. Num 5:2–3). This restriction of *ṣāraʿat* affected persons is reflected outside P in Num 12:14–15; 2 Kgs 7:3–10 and perhaps 2 Kgs 15:5 = 2 Chr 26:21. Persons suspected of *ṣāraʿat* are to be shut up or quarantined (probably restricted in their homes) during the period of suspicion (Lev 13:4, 5, 21, 26, 31, 33). A suspected house is cleared out and shut up (indicating restricted access during this period; Lev 14:36–38). Suspected fabrics are quarantined as well (Lev 13:50, 54). *ṣāraʿat* infected building materials are to be disposed of outside the habitation in an unclean place (Lev 14:40, 41, 45) and fabrics incorrigibly infected are to be burned (Lev 13:52, 55, 57).

**4. Purification Rites.** The chapters from Leviticus prescribe purification rites for persons, houses, and fabrics that have recovered from the condition or that are declared clean after having been suspected.

The purification of persons is the most extensive (Lev 14:1–32). It consists of three parts: (a) 14:2–7: bird blood and water is sprinkled on the healed person by means of a live bird, cedar wood, crimson material, and hyssop. This sprinkling appears to remove impurity from the person. The live bird is sent away to remove the impurity from the person and locale (cf. the scapegoat in Lev 16:21–22). (b) 14:8–9: the person bathes, launders, and shaves at the beginning and end of a seven-day intermediate period. The

requirement to wait a week before full impurity is achieved may be to make sure the lesion has really healed and would hence be similar to the seven-day quarantine periods in Leviticus 13. The healed person still can pollute to some degree and must dwell outside his tent (cf. Wright 1987: 212–13). And (c) 14:10–32: the person brings sacrifices and blood and oil is placed on his ear, thumb, and toe of the healed person (cf. Exod 29:19–21; Lev 8:22–30). By these rites, the person who was formerly excluded from society is readmitted to full communal and spiritual life.

A person suspected of *ṣāraʿat* for two weeks but declared clean purifies by laundering his or her clothing (Lev 13:6, 34). Bathing may be included since P often leaves this requirement unsaid (Wright 1987: 185 n. 38). In view of this, bathing may also be necessary for a suspected person after one week (Lev 13:23, 28).

The purification of a renovated house follows essentially the same rite as that used for the first part of a healed person's purification (Lev 14:49–53). A mixture of bird blood and water is sprinkled on the house by means of a live bird, cedar wood, crimson material, and hyssop. The live bird is sent outside the city into the open country, dispelling the impurity.

As for fabrics, the purification rite is so brief as to be almost missed: a fabric from which a suspected spot has disappeared is to be washed (Lev 13:58). The washing in v 54 (not the same as that in v 58) is for removing the spot, not purification.

The purification rites just discussed do not cure *ṣāraʿat* lesions; they only purify from residual impurity after the spot has been removed or disappeared, or has been determined not to be *ṣāraʿat.* Notably, though P prescribes means for removing *ṣāraʿat* spots from fabrics and houses (cf. the first washing in Lev 13:54 and the tearing out of the spot in v 56; also the removal of infected building materials and their replacement in Lev 14:40–42: note these are all very practical, not ritualistic, procedures), it does not prescribe any cure for *ṣāraʿat* in persons. The only place where healing of human *ṣāraʿat* is found is in 2 Kgs 5 where Elisha prescribes a ritual for Naaman. Significantly, it is a prophet who prescribes the healing rite, not a priest. This bifurcation of duties fits into the larger OT picture where prophets heal and priests diagnose (cf. 1 Kgs 17:17–24; 2 Kgs 4:17–37; 20:7 = Isa 38:2; Jesus follows the prophetic ideal in his healing of those with *lepra;* see below).

**5. Why is *ṣāraʿat* Impure?** A question of much interest is why *ṣāraʿat* is considered unclean. O. Skinsnes (1964) has shown in his study of leprosy in China that social reactions to skin diseases may be similar in unrelated cultures. That is, people have a common natural aversion toward skin diseases; fears of such arise naturally and independently. This natural fear can be explained by M. Douglas' theory of impurity (1966): what is considered impure is largely that which is irregular or out of place. Against the norm of whole, healthy skin, skin diseases are abnormal; hence they are shunned. J. Milgrom (*Leviticus* AB, on Leviticus 13–14) sheds light on this psychological aversion by arguing, as many biblical exegetes have in the past, that *ṣāraʿat* is impure because it is connected with death. In the Bible, *ṣāraʿat* was already connected with death (cf. Num 12:12; cf. Job 18:13) and later Jewish tradition looked on *ṣāraʿat* as living death.

The foregoing helps to explain how aversion towards skin diseases may arise or be perpetuated in the biblical world, but it does not explain how or why a particular society, or part of that society (such as the P writers), formulated their view the ways they did. Social-anthropological and structuralist approaches are particularly helpful in explaining systems of purity rules. See UNCLEAN AND CLEAN (OT). Douglas argues (1966: 114–28) that purity rules that pertain to what leaves and enters the body reflect the society's larger concern for what happens at its social borders. The restrictions placed on the body mirror larger social concerns. J. Pilch (1981), building on Douglas, argues that *ṣāraʿat* rules also reflect this concern about the integrity of social borders since the condition is one that affects the surfaces of bodies, houses (their walls), and fabrics. Correct control of these superficial impurities images the society's concern to control its social boundaries.

**B. In the NT**

References to *lepra* in the NT are found only in the Gospels. The context of most instances is Jesus' miraculous power to heal (Matt 8:1–4 = Mark 1:40 = Luke 5:12 = 16; Matt 11:5 = Luke 7:22; Luke

17:11–19). Jesus also charged his twelve disciples to do works similar to his including healing of those with *lepra* (Matt 10:8). Once Jesus makes reference to the healing of Naaman (Luke 4:27). Another story has Jesus staying at the house of Simon who was affected with *lepra* (Matt 26:6 = Mark 14:3). It is also possible that the disease of Lazarus in Luke 16:20 was *lepra*.

These references follow OT tradition. The LXX uses *lepra* to translate OT *ṣāraʿat.* The use of *katharizō* "to purify" of Jesus' healing acts (Matt 8:2–3 = Mark 1:40–42 = Luke 5:12–13; Luke 4:27; Matt 10:8; Matt 11:5 = Luke 7:22; Luke 17:14, 17) also reveals dependence on OT tradition. This indicates that the same types of diseases termed *ṣāraʿat* in the OT figure in the NT. That *lepra* has a connotation equivalent to OT *ṣāraʿat* is also evident in Greek medical writers who most often use it to signify exfoliative skin diseases in general. These writers reserve the term *elephas* or *elephantiasis* for true leprosy.

There is some evidence, however, suggesting that though the NT term *lepra* followed OT tradition concerning *ṣāraʿat,* true leprosy could have been included under the term *lepra.* The best historical reconstruction of the spread of leprosy argues that the disease appeared in the Near East about 300 B.C.E. (at this time the Greek physicians in Alexandria became familiar with the disease) and began to spread to Italy, for example, just two centuries later. This allows the possibility that the disease existed in Palestine shortly before the time of Jesus. Some Greek writers, too, confused the beginning stages of leprosy with other skin diseases called *lepra.* This shows that people at the time of the NT could have included leprosy under the term *lepra* (see Dols 1979: 314–18).

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**LESBOS** (PLACE). See MITYLENE (PLACE).

**LESHEM** (PLACE) [Heb *lešem* (לֶשֶׁם)]. Var. LAISH. A city mentioned in Josh 19:47 which the Danites captured, but which is called LAISH in Judg 18:7, 27. The LXX of Joshua reads neither Leshem nor Laish, but Lachish (Gk *Lachis*). This shift probably indicates an effort on the part of the translators (or the source from which they worked) to correct what they perceived to be an error in the MT, which put

the Danites so far N of their original inheritance. Both LXX texts of Judges (A and B), however, read Laish (Gk *Laisa*).
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**LETHECH** [Heb *letek* (לֶתֶךְ)]. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

**LETTERS.** This entry consists of three separate articles surveying epistolography in the biblical world. The first covers the many letters written in Hebrew that have been discovered as a result of archaeological work. The second examines Aramaic letters and letter types. The third examines Greco-Roman letter-writing conventions, providing an important backdrop to our understanding of NT literature.

## *HEBREW LETTERS*

Archaeologists have discovered many letters written in the Hebrew language and dealing with a variety of different subjects.

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A. The Study of Hebrew Letters
B. The Corpora
C. The Formulae
D. Transition to Body
E. Letter Types
F. Fragments of Letters Preserved in the Hebrew Bible

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### A. The Study of Hebrew Letters

The study of Hebrew epistolography in the biblical period only became genuinely possible with the discovery of letters from extrabiblical contexts. This is true because so few remnants of epistolary formulae are present in the letter fragments preserved in the Hebrew Bible and because of the historiographic problems of the Hebrew Bible. There were some early attempts at the study of the biblical Hebrew letters (especially Beer 1913; Marty 1939) but not until the publication of the Lachish ostraca was it possible, for example, to understand the phrase *wʿth,* which may be roughly translated "and now," (2 Kgs 5:6; 10:2) as an authentic remnant of the epistolographic style (*EncMiqr* 4: 972). The major groups of extrabiblical letters are those from Tell ed-Duweir (Tel Lachish in Hebrew), excavated in the 1930s and from Tel Arad, excavated in the 1960s. The *editiones principes* of these texts were primarily concerned with philological and historical questions (extensive bibliographies are to be found in Pardee 1982 and only the primary publications will be indicated here below). Loewenstamm's 1962 study (*EncMiqr* 4: 966–74) was path-breaking, and since then Pardee has provided an overview (1978b) and a *Handbook* (1982). These studies were in many ways dependent on the study of Aramaic epistolography, for which documents were discovered earlier (see the following article).

In spite of the insights afforded by these extrabiblical documents, however, knowledge of Hebrew epistolography in the pre-Medieval periods is still extremely scanty because of the dearth of documents (there are a total of 48 epistolary documents between ca. 700 B.C. and 135 A.D.) and because of the concentration of these few witnesses into discrete groups, as defined both geographically (Lachish, Arad, Meṣad Ḥashavyahu, Dead Sea) and chronologically (ca. 700–586 B.C., A.D. 132–135). These two factors give relatively clear snapshots of certain letter-types from particular places and time periods but leave massive periods and areas totally unaccounted for. As a result the history and interrelationships of many epistolary features are at present untraceable.

### B. The Corpora

The oldest Hebrew letters presently known are from the early or middle of the 7th century: Murabbaʿāt 17, Arad 40, and Meṣad Ḥashavyahu (dates uncertain; see Pardee 1982: 117; 1978b: 323; and 1978a: 34 for bibliography). The first of these texts also has the distinction of being the only one of the pre-Christian Hebrew letters discovered to date to have been written on papyrus, all others being ostraca. Unfortunately, this document is the first stage of a palimpsest and only a few words are presently readable. The other two

are in much better condition. Indeed, the Meṣad Ḥashavyahu ostracon is almost complete (Naveh 1960; 1962). This "letter" consists of a plea addressed by a reaper (*qṣr*) to his superior (*ʾdny hśr*) asking that a garment be returned to him that had been confiscated by a certain Hoshayahu ben Shabay, whose title is not given. Arad 40 is from 2 persons, addressed to the father of one of them ("Your son Gemar[yahu], as well as Neḥemyahu, (hereby) sen[d greetings to (you)] Malkiyahu").

Most of the *Arad letters (AI)* are convincingly dated to immediately before the final conquest of Judaea by Babylonian and Edomite forces in 597 B.C. (Lemaire 1977: 231–35) and most of them consist of orders from superior to inferior to release foodstuffs from the Arad storehouses. Three of them contain kinship terms in the address (16, 24, 40) and one is clearly from inferior to superior (18: *ʾl ʾdny ʾlyšb* "To my lord Elyashib"). One enigmatic Arad text (88) begins *ʾny mlkty* "I have become king"; it is not classified here as a letter because it contains no epistolary formula and because it is so lacunary as to preclude determining whether or not it was functioning to effect "communication between two or more persons who cannot communicate orally" (the working definition of a letter given in Pardee 1982: 2). See also ARAD OSTRACA.

The *Lachish letters* (Torczyner 1938) are dated to about ten years after the Arad texts, that is, shortly before the Babylonian invasion which resulted in the capture of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. The mention of Lachish by name in one of the texts without any indication that the writer was at Lachish (4:10) may imply either that Tell ed-Duweir does not represent the site of ancient Lachish or that Lachish 4 was brought there from another site (Pardee 1982: 94; cf. Ahlström 1983; Yadin 1981/1984). The remarkable correlations between the siege ramp at Lachish and the ramp illustrated in Sennacherib's reliefs (Ussishkin 1982) seem to constitute a strong argument in favor of the latter solution, while the fact that several of the texts from the site (but not including text 4) were written on sherds from a single pot found alongside uninscribed sherds from the same pot (Pardee 1982: 77; Yadin 1981/1984: 182) seems to constitute a strong argument in favor of the former solution. The majority view is that the formulation "we are watching for/over the Lachish signals" (*ʾl mšʾt lkš nṣnw šmrm*) does not constitute a problem for the identification of Tell ed-Duweir with Lachish (e.g., Yadin 1981/1984: 181–82), though those who make the assumption do not explain why Lachish is not identified as being the writer's location. Perhaps the best explanation is that the writer was physically at Lachish when writing but was responsible for a broader district and could, therefore, refer to all the towns within the district simply by name.

The Lachish letters are primarily military in nature, though the only unveiled reference to political and military activities speaks of an embassy to Egypt by a certain Konyahu ben Elnatan who is called śr hṣbʾ "General of the Army" (3:13–18). The apparent ease of movement at the time of this letter as well as references to the sending and receiving of letters (5, 6, 12, 16, 18) and to the harvesting and distribution of crops (5, 9) have led some commentators (Lemaire 1977: 139–43; Pardee 1982: 77–78) to date the documents prior to the Babylonian invasion of 588 B.C. rather than shortly before the termination of the invasion in 586, as has generally been thought. See also LACHISH LETTERS.

The letters found among the Dead Sea Scrolls have all come from sites other than the main caves associated with Qumran; that is, from caves in Wadi Murabbaʿât (Milik 1961), Naḥal Ḥever (Yadin 1961), and Naḥal Ṣeʾelim (Milik 1957: 21). They were found alongside letters (and other texts) in Aramaic and Greek; all the documents seem to have found their way to the caves at the time of the Bar Kokhba revolt. The epistolary documents originated in Bar Kokhba's own circles and were in some cases written by Shimon ben/bar Kosiba himself (e.g., Hebrew letters Murabbaʿât 43, Naḥal Ḥever 5/6 12).

These letters deal with provisioning the forces of the revolt and with various problems of discipline (Murabbaʿât 43 "I swear by the heavens: Should harm come to any one of the Galileans who are with you, I'll put your feet in fetters as I did to ben Aflul"; Naḥal Ḥever 4/6 12 "Well-off you are—eating and drinking from the goods of Beth-Israel and not giving a thought to your brothers"). One document (Murabbaʿât 42) is formally very distinctive in that it contains a list of witnesses; it functions as a letter of attestation regarding the proper ownership of a cow that had been purchased (or seized) by a member of the revolting forces (cf. the Aramaic letters which contain lists of witnesses). See also BAR KOKHBA (LETTERS).

**C. The Formulae**

The Hebrew letters are more limited in number and in type than the Aramaic letters. Because the number of formulae is thus correspondingly reduced our ability to interpret the proper usage and the function of each formula is severely limited. The most complete Hebrew letters of the biblical period consist of address, greetings, transition to body, and body. All of these elements are optional, including the body (though there are no Hebrew letters of the type, there are Ugaritic letters which consist entirely of formulae).

The letters of the Bar Kokhba period include these elements and closing formulae as well. The use of the epistolary formulae appears to have been much more rigidly prescribed in this period, for the address and the greeting formula *šlwm* are always present, where verifiable, in this corpus of texts.

The *address* may consist either of a simple prepositional phrase or of a complete verbal sentence. The simplest formula is *ʾl* + PN, "To PN …" (Arad 1–8, 10–12, 14, 17); this may be expanded by the insertion of a title, *ʾl ʾdny* + PN, "To my lord PN …" (Arad 18, Lachish 2, 6). The only address formula in the Bar Kokhba letters is prepositional, but includes reference to both the sender and the addressee: *mn* PN (+ title) *ʿl* PN (+ title), "From PN to PN …" The verbal formula usually includes the verb *šlḥ*, "to send," as an epistolary perfect (Pardee 1983; Pardee and Whiting 1987) plus the phrase *lšlm* "to greet" (literally "for well-being"), e.g., *ʾḥk ḥnnyhw šlḥ lšlm ʾlyšb wlšlm bytk* "Your brother Ḥananyahu (hereby) sends greetings to (you) Elyashib and to your household" (Arad 16). This greeting formula thus contains an element of greeting but may itself be followed by another greeting formula (*brk* "to bless" [see below]).

Four of the Lachish letters (4, 5, 8, 9) and the judicial plea from Meṣad Ḥashavyahu contain no address formula. Because of similarities with other Lachish letters it is unlikely that this omission may be interpreted as indicative of a different origin for the letters in question. Either the address formula was not considered necessary because of a particular circumstance of transmission, as we have argued to be the case with the Meṣad Ḥashavyahu text (Pardee 1982: 23), or else all of these documents represent drafts, as Delekat (1970: 454) has suggested for the Meṣad Ḥashavyahu text and as Yadin (1981/1984) has surmised for the Lachish examples.

All of the Hebrew letters of which the relevant lines are preserved contain as part of the introductory formulae either the name, an epithet, or both of the recipient. The identification of the sender is much less frequent, however: seventeen of the Hebrew letters contain no marker whatever of the sender's identity. A clear chronological division may be seen here, for the sender is always identified in the Bar Kokhba letters.

*Greeting formulae* are always expressed verbally in the older corpora; there are five basic verbal expressions: (1) "to bless": *brktk lyhwh,* "I hereby bless you to YHWH" (Arad 16, 21, 40; compare the same formula in *Aramaic letters); (2) "to inquire": *yhwh yšʾl lšlmk,* "May YHWH inquire after your well-being" (Arad 18; also in Aramaic letters as well as in Ugaritic); (3) "to cause to hear": *yhwh yšmʿ ʾt ʾdny šmʿt šlm wṭb ʿt kym*, "May YHWH cause my lord to hear news of well-being and good (i.e., the best possible news) at this very time" (Lachish 5; with variants in Lachish 2–4, 8, 9); (4) "to cause to see": *yrʾ yhwh ʾt ʾdny ʾt hʿt hzh šlm,* "May YHWH cause my lord to see this time in well-being"; (5) "to send": *šlḥ šlḥt ʾt šlm bytk,* "I (hereby) send heartfelt greetings to your household" (Murabbaʿât 17). These greetings are always, where verifiable, from inferior to superior or between equals, never from superior to inferior.

All of the Bar Kokhba letters contain, where the relevant part of the text is extant, the one-word greeting formula *šlwm,* "Greetings."

**D. Transition to Body**

Most of the letters from the older corpora have an explicit marker of transition from the opening formulae to the body of the letter. This is the phrase *wʿt,* literally translated "and now," but the rhetorical function of which is to indicate a transition from a preamble of any sort to the purpose of the statement or from "topic to "comment" (Pardee 1985: 148). It is only omitted in five of the earlier Hebrew letters (Arad 4, 12; Lachish 2, 5, 6) and in the Lachish examples is in a sense replaced by the self-abasement formula *my ʿbdk klb ky,* "Who is your servant but a dog that …" This formula of transition is the only

epistolary formula that has been retained as such in the epistolary fragments preserved in the Hebrew Bible (2 Kgs 5:6; 10:2).

The Bar Kokhba letters contain a formulaically similar phrase, the particle *š* (paralleled in the Bar Kokhba Aramaic letters by the particle *d (y)*, the equivalent of *š*). It is positioned between the greeting and the body and must be considered a vestigial formula, for it functions contextually neither as a conjunction nor as a relative pronoun. Unfortunately, the data for the history of this usage are missing and we cannot say for the present how the formula developed. It must have been sensed as awkward, for it is only present in half the letters for which the relevant section is extant and published (present in Murabba‹ât 42, 43; absent from Murabba‹ât 46; 5/6b Ḥever 12).

The body of the extant Hebrew letters differs considerably from that of the Aramaic letters, for while the latter contain extensive formulaic sections, such is not the case with the Hebrew letters. Indeed, one can only identify certain epistolary *topoi* of a very general character which have to do with the nature of things normally discussed in a letter (questions of sending, giving, returning an answer, etc.: Pardee 1982: 150). This important empirical difference is probably a result of the paucity of extant documents and of the nature of the documents themselves (brief texts on ostraca) rather than a reflection of a difference in manner of expression between Hebrew speakers and Aramaic speakers.

In the earlier period *closing greetings* were not used in letters written on ostraca—which is to say there are no examples of closing greetings from the earlier letters, for the end of Murabba‹ât 17, the only Hebrew letter on papyrus from this period, is not extant. In the letters from the time of Bar Kokhba, however, closing greetings were only omitted in one letter (Murabba‹ât 43), elsewhere consisting of a form of the verb *hwh* "to be" + *šlwm,* as in *›hwh šlwm wkl byt yšr›l*, "May it be well with you and with all of Beth-Israel" (Murabba‹ât 42; see also Murabba‹ât 44, 46, 48; relevant section not extant in all other published documents).

The Bar Kokhba letters were also signed, which was not the case with earlier letters. There were four *signature formulae:* (1) that of the sender: PN *ktbh,* "PN has written (= dictated) it" (Murabba‹ât 42, [43], 46, 48); (2) that of the principal party in an agreement: PN *‹l npsw̌h,* "PN upon his 'life' " (Murabba‹ât 42); (3) that of a witness: PN *‹d,* "PN: witness" (ibid.); and (4) that of a notary (?): PN *m‹yd,* "PN attests" (ibid.).

**E. Letter Types**

The limited corpus, made up of relatively brief texts that are often badly damaged, precludes an analysis of letter types such as is possible for the Aramaic letters. It is quite possible that the Hebrew letters fit more or less well into the same categories but on the basis of the present documentation this is not certain.

The most consistently different corpora are the ones defined chronologically: the early letters differ from those of the Bar Kokhba era both in actual formulae and in optionality of use of the formulae (for details, see above). The greeting formulae of the Lachish letters are different from those of the Arad group, a fact that is difficult to explain, for the two sites were only separated by a few kilometers and the two corpora are only separated in time by about a decade. Aside from these major and obvious differences, certain features overlap from one corpus to another and one cannot define a document or a corpus in terms of one criterion or set of criteria. Nor, because of the various limitations already mentioned, can we determine the origin or explain the preference for certain formulae (e.g., the difference between the Lachish and Arad greeting formulae). Not even content can be used as a criterion because virtually all of the letters come from military contexts and show a disconcerting sameness of interests and allusions. There are, of course, some exceptions to the sameness: the poor reaper begging to have his outer garment returned (Meṣad Ḥashavyahu); the subservient officer of the Lachish documents who insists that he can read the letters sent to him and that he has permitted no intelligence leaks; the personal touches of the Arad letters addressed to kin as opposed to the general terseness of the letters from superiors to inferiors; the wrangling over property that is typical of an army that has to live off the land (Murabba‹ât 42); the documents signed by Shimon ben/bar Kosiba himself, which have restored this figure from legendary status (Son of the Star) to that of a real revolutionary commander. These distinctive features are more easily perceivable because of epistolary considerations (e.g., we know that it is Bar

Kosiba speaking because he has signed the letter; the list of witnesses in Murabbaʿât 42 is unique in the Hebrew corpus) or if the formulaic elements are defined in epistolary terms (e.g., the more effusive greetings in the letters between kin).

**F. Fragments of Letters Preserved in the Hebrew Bible**

There are eleven letter fragments in the Hebrew Bible that are reported in direct speech in contexts where a written missive is mentioned specifically (Pardee 1982: 169–82; for a broader study, where the mention of a written document is not placed as a limitation, see Knutson 1975): 2 Sam 11:15; 1 Kgs 21:9–10; 2 Kgs 5:6; 10:2–3, 6 (two letters); 19:10–13 = Isa 37:10–13; Jer 29:4–23, 26–28 (two letters); Neh 6:6–7; 2 Chr 2:11–15; 21:12–15. The contents of various letters and decrees are given in indirect speech in Esth 1:22; 3:13; 9:21; 2 Chr 30:1.

Because the epistolary formulae are not preserved (with the exception of *wʿth* in 2 Kgs 5:6; 10:2), not a great deal can be said about these texts in epistolary terms. The body of the extrabiblical letters has already been characterized as largely nonformulaic and the same can be said of the biblical documents. When dealing with the biblical texts one must contend with the additional problems of authorship and date, authenticity (in the present case, authenticity and/or exactness of the "quotation" from the "real" letter), and accuracy of transmission that are not present when dealing with the original epistolary documents.

It can be said in general that the epistolary fragments in the Hebrew Bible are of a brevity and sobriety that bespeaks authenticity of form if not necessarily of content. For example, *wʿth kbwʾ hspr hzh ʾlyk hnh šlḥty ʾlyk ʾt-nʿmn ʿbdy wʾsptw mṣrʿtw,* "And now, when this letter reaches you, I will have sent my servant Naaman to you for you to heal him of his leprosy (2 Kgs 5:6)." Whether or not the king of Syria ever sent one of his officials to the king of Israel in order that the latter have him healed of a skin disease, the letter, with the authentic touches in *wʿth* and in the epistolary *topos* of a reference to the present letter, is a perfectly plausible example of an ancient Hebrew letter. Other letter fragments, however, contain international professions of faith (2 Chr 2:10–15) and long discourses (Jer 29:4–23) that stand without parallel in the extrabiblical documents.

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D. PARDEE

## *ARAMAIC LETTERS*

Apart from a handful of texts in literary transmission (e.g., Dan 3:31–33—Eng 4:1-3; 6:26–28; Ezra 4:11–16, 17–22; 5:7b–17; 6:6–12; 7:12–26), published Aramaic letters from biblical times comprise some 70 examples written on papyrus or prepared skin, and some 46 brief messages written on ostraca. The vast majority of these letters are written in Imperial Aramaic. For a detailed listing see Fitzmyer's charts (1981: 40–46).

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A. Terminology
B. The Modern Study of Aramaic Letters
C. The Corpus
D. Formulaic Features
    1. External Formulae
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E. The Main Aramaic Letter Types
    1. Egyptian-Style Family Correspondence
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    3. The Style of the Persian Chanceries
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**A. Terminology**

The main Aramaic words used to designate letters (Dion 1981b) were *spr* and *ʾgrh.* The word *spr* can stand for many forms of the written word; curiously, this word only refers to letters in Egyptian family correspondence, where it is the term regularly used. As for *ʾgrh/ʾgrt (ʾ)* (Akk *egirtu*), this loanword too could originally receive other applications, but it soon became the general term for "letter," and it is widely used in our corpus. Other terms, many reflecting the cosmopolitan character of Imperial Aramaic, are either used sporadically (the Iranian words *ptgm,* "message," and *nštwn* "document," in Segal 1983: No. 125; Gk *qrtys* is not clearly a letter) or with specialized meanings (*ṭʿm,* "order," cf. Akk *ṭêmu; qbylh,* "complaint"; *zkrn,* "memorandum").

**B. The Modern Study of Aramaic Letters**

The study of Aramaic epistolography is a young discipline. The first Aramaic fascicule of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (1889) contained only two fragmentary letters yielding any sense (nos. 144 and 152); the first one had been found in 1824. After the discoveries at Elephantine (1893–1909) and the basic philological work required for their publication, scholars focused their attention on the historical import of this find. In the 1970s a more literary approach to the letters emerged, stimulated by renewed interest in the form of NT epistles. In 1974 Fitzmyer (see now 1981) opened the way with a definitive description of the corpus and of the formal elements found in the letters. Alexander (1978) and Porten (1978; 1982) contributed many insights to the study of nonbiblical letters from the Persian era. Dion (1979; 1981a; 1982) extended to the other pre-Christian collections the analysis of formulary and *Sitz-im-Leben* exemplified by Whitehead's unpublished dissertation (1974) on the letters of Aršam. Any progress in the systematic study of ancient letter writing must rely on the efforts of philologists like B. Porten, excellently seconded by A. Yardeni, whose papyrological reconstructions deserve particular attention (see, above all, *TAD* ).

**C. The Corpus**

The earliest example of an Aramaic letter is a 7th century ostracon from Assur (*KAI* 233), in a Mesopotamian form of Old Aramaic. This lengthy message deals with the business of high-placed servants of Assurbanipal, and is stylistically related to Neo-Assyrian royal correspondence (Dion 1979: 555–58). Next comes a document in Imperial Aramaic of the Neo-Babylonian period, the fragmentary papyrus letter of Adon, king of Ekron in Philistia (*TAD* A1.1). This is the first manifestation in Aramaic of an all-purpose letter type, best represented in the late 5th century by 15 papyri from Elephantine in Upper Egypt (*CAP*). These documents are largely centered on the crisis which came to a head in 410 B.C.

with the destruction of the Yaho Temple of the Jewish garrison. Many ostraca, from the same community or nearby Aswan, show simplified forms of the same style (Dion 1982: 533–37).

A batch of 8 papyrus letters of another type (BK; see *TAD* A2.1–7), found at Hermopolis West and probably written in Memphis early in the 5th century, represent a different form of Egyptian Imperial Aramaic, with Western dialectical features. These letters embody the correspondence of fairly Egyptianized gentile families of Syrian origin; however, three other letters basically of this type and also from Lower Egypt (Bresciani 1960; see *TAD* A3.3–4), were apparently addressed to Jews of Elephantine.

More than 13 letters on skin in East Imperial Aramaic (Driver 1954; henceforth referred to as *AD*), found at an unknown Egyptian site, belong to the archive of the satrap Aršam; they were written ca. 410–407 B.C. and deal with the administration of Aršam's Egyptian estate. The same forms are observed in a letter on papyrus found at Elephantine (*CAP* 26), which conveys the satrap's detailed instructions for repairs to a ship.

In 1966–67 and 1971–73, British excavations at Saqqarah (Segal 1983) yielded 202 fragmentary papyri and a handful of ostraca carrying texts in Imperial Aramaic, largely from the 4th century B.C. Dozens could be letters of an official/financial character (Segal 1983: 8 n. 9); unfortunately, all seem to have lost their decisive introductory formulae. Most interesting is No. 26, dealing with sanctions against Ionians and Carians in "the harbor" (Memphis?).

The last important batch of papyri comes from what may be regarded as the very end of biblical times, the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome (A.D. 132–35). The eight letters of Simeon Bar Kosiba, Prince of Israel, are written in vernacular Palestinian Aramaic. They were found in the "Cave of Letters" in Nahal Hever, and are only available in preliminary publication (Yadin 1961; henceforth referred to as *Hev.*). These letters form part of a much larger collection of Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek documents from this period, discovered in the Judean Desert in the vicinity of En-gedi. See BAR KOKHBA (LETTERS).

**D. Formulaic Features**

**1. External Formulae.** A certain set of stereotyped expressions regularly functions as an external frame around the message proper. These formulae are used to direct the letter to its recipient *(Address);* to establish contact (*Initial Greeting* plus *Introductory Particle* [Aram *wkʿt* or variants], "And now"); to end contact *(Closing Greeting);* and finally—in official letters—to record details useful to archives/chanceries (scribe's *Colophon; Docket* pointing out the letter's object). *Secondary Greetings* to or from third parties ("Greetings, So-and-so!"; "So-and-so asks how you are"), planted at random in and around the Body of letters to friends or family, marginally belong here; but our remarks will be limited to those formulae which occur through most of the documentation.

Two *Addresses* are always present (Porten 1983): an External Address, written on the back of the rolled-up papyrus; and an Internal one, placed at the beginning of the letter. Both formulae observe the same conventions in the crucial order of precedence between the names of sender and recipient; but the external address includes information (patronyms, etc.) omitted in the internal one. *Initial Greetings* also occur in several forms, important in distinguishing between the main letter types. Some are centered on the noun *šlm* (literally: "well-being"); one uses the verb *brk* ("to bless").

(In the following list of formulae and throughout the rest of this article, parentheses indicate the possibility of omission, and brackets indicate the possibility of variation; translations are rather stiffly literal, so as to reflect the Aramaic wording as clearly and consistently as possible.)

**a. Well-being (šlm).** A good example of this type of initial greeting is the following: *šlm [mrʾy] [ʾlhyʾ] (klʾ) yšʾlw (śgyʾ) bkl ʿdn* "May (all) [the gods] seek the well-being of [my Lord] [abundantly] at all times." This can be traced back to the LB Age through Hebrew, Neo-Assyrian/Neo-Babylonian, Ugaritic, and peripheral Middle Babylonian examples (Dion 1982: 541–46). Expanded forms occur, formulaic phrases of similar intent being appended to this one. A second example is this: *šlm wšrrt śgyʾ hwšrt lk* "I send you well-being and good health in abundance" (more greetings may be appended). A third example is the following: *šlm wḥyn šlḥt lk* "I send you well-being and life."

**b. Blessing (*brk*).** A good example of this type is the following: *brk[tk] l[Ptḥ] zy yḥzny* [or *yḥwny*] *ʾp[k] bšlm* "[I] bless you by [Ptah], that he may allow me to see [or show me] your face in well-being." The

model is an Egyptian formula, documented in demotic since the 6th century B.C., with antecedents going back to the 19th Dynasty (Alexander 1978: 159; Couroyer 1978; Dion 1979: nn. 82 and 104).

**2. Internal Formulae.** Much of what is found within the body of an Aramaic letter is also formulaic in character, stereotyped expressions for ubiquitous needs and banal sentiments often being elicited by topics discussed in the letters. Many expressions, which occur only once in the small Aramaic corpus, are shown to be formulaic by parallels in other epistolographic traditions (Dion 1981a; 1982).

Some examples of such formulaic expressions appear in official letters and business letters: (1) *ʾyty [ly ʾlp ḥdh bydkm]* "There is [one boat of mine in your hands]" (this *ʾyty* + a noun is often used to introduce a topic); (2) *ʾp [qdmt znh] (ʾgrh) ʿl znh šlḥ[n]* "Even previously we have sent a letter about this;" (3) *ʾtʿst ʿl [ʾgwrʾ zk]* "Take thought for [that temple];" (4) *hn ʿl mrʾn [kwt] ṭb* "If it seems good to our lord;" (5) *kzy ʾgrtʾ [zʾ] tmṭʾ [ʿlyk]* "Whenever [this] letter reaches [you];" (6) *lʿbq* "Right away;" (7) *[ʿbdk ydnyh wknwth kn] ʾmrn* "Thus say [your servant Yedaniah and his colleagues]" (this is often used to introduce a statement); (8) *ʿl znh šlḥn hwdʿn* "This is why we send this information;" and (9) *śm ṭʿm* "Issue an order."

Other examples of formulaic expressions appear in letters written to friends and family: (1) *ʾl tṣpw ly* "Do not worry about me;" (2) *lkn ʾnh yṣp* "I am worrying about you" (this formula readily combines with the former one, as in Egyptian); (3) *ḥzy ʿl [ynqyʾ]* "Look after [the children];" (4) *mhy dh zy spr lh hwšrtn* "What is this, that you haven't sent me any letter?" (5) *mlʾ lbt* + pronoun: "to be full of anger against …"; and (6) *šlm (l)[nbwsh] tnh* "[Nabushah] is well here."

**E. The Main Aramaic Letter Types**

The external formulae used in Aramaic letters did not mix at random; their combinations formed a limited number of sets or *formularies,* which were deemed acceptable in various geographical areas and during various historical periods. The shape and permissibility of these formularies were conditioned by tradition and foreign influences as well as by the rank and identity of the correspondents and the nature of their business. Accordingly, more than one formulary was available to quite similar people setting out to discuss the same kind of topics. In Achaemenid Egypt for instance, Jews exchanging friendly letters could use either the strongly Egyptianized formulary best known from the pagan letters found at Hermopolis (see E.2 below), or an old West Semitic formulary which could apparently be plied to all sorts of purposes (see E.3 below). In the second case however, the intimate character of the communication is reflected in the addition of secondary greetings and/or a certain choice of internal formulae, which contribute to specify the *letter type* beyond the blank generic features of the formulary; the resulting form is described below.

In the following, only the best-known letter types will be described; a few examples of typological contamination will be noted where they belong. The large and early Assur ostracon remains isolated in our corpus; so also is a fragmentary complaint in letter form (*CAP* 16; discussed by Dion 1979: 577–78). The *zkrnʾ* recording a proposal for the rebuilding of the temple in Elephantine (*CAP* 32) is not really a letter, but a messenger's memorandum.

**1. Egyptian-Style Family Correspondence.** This type of letter is so designated because it has many features similar to Egyptian epistolography (Dion 1981a). Aside from ostraca, examples of this type of Aramaic epistolary are found in *TAD* A2 (all texts) and *TAD* A3.3. These date from the first half of the 5th century B.C., and reflect family members eager to keep in contact with one another, petty private concerns (such as purchases, wages, etc.). A good example of this type of letter is *TAD* A2.4:

> "Greetings, House of Banit in Assuan!
> To my lord Psami, your servant Makkibanit.
> I bless you by Ptaḥ, that he may allow me to see your face in well-being. Greetings, my mother Mama! Greetings, my brother Betay, with his household and his sons! Greetings, Raʿya!
> Do not worry about Harwas. As much as it's in my power, I am not leaving him alone; and now, I am exerting myself for him.
> To my brother Waḥpreʿ from his brother Makkibanit. I send you well-being and life. And now, if the (???) comes to you, send me a message through ʿAqba son of Waḥpreʿ. And now, whatever you may want, send me a message.

Dispatch to me enough skins for a leather suit. Keep getting barley from Taši and giving it in payment for beams, and leave with Mama any beam you can find. I bought striped fabric and scented oil to bring to you folks, but I could not find anybody to bring it to you.
And now, let them bring me castor oil: five handfuls.
Do not worry about me; I am worrying about you.
I am writing to ask how you are."
(*On the back of the scroll:*)
"To my father Psami, from Makkibanit son of Psami."

The elements associated with this type of formulary are the following (except for the date, elements in parenthesis are in fact used most of the time):

a. (*Temple Greeting*), exclusive to this letter type: "Greetings (= *šlm*), House of [Bethel] (and House of [the Queen of Heaven]) (in Assuan)!"

b. *Internal Address:* "To my [brother] So-and-so, (from) your [brother] So-and-so."

c. *Initial Greeting:* the writer seems free to choose between either (1) "[I] bless you by [Ptah], that he may allow me to see your face in well-being," or (2) "I send you well-being and life." The Padua letter (*TAD* A3.3) is exceptional in using "I send you well-being and good health …," a formula best known from Aršam's archive.

d. *Secondary Greetings* (see D.1 above).

e. *Introductory Particle:* "And now."

f. *Arrangement of the Body:* this tends to be a random sequence of short paragraphs, often beginning "And now."

g. (*Date*): only *TAD* A3.3 is dated; the calendar is Egyptian.

h. (*Closing Greeting*): "I send this letter about your well-being (*lšlmk*)," i.e., "to ask how you are."

i. *External Address:* "To my ([brother]) So-and-so (son of So-and-so) from your ([brother]) So-and-so (son of So-and-so). (To be delivered to) [Assuan].

**2. Letter Types Sharing an All-Purpose Formulary.** The three important letter types discussed below (a-c) use the same basic set of external formulae; this formulary is also used in *CAP* 38, a unique letter of introduction (Dion 1982: 565–70). The four basic elements of the formulary include the following: *Internal Address:* "To [my lord] So-and-so, [thy servant] So-and-so;" *Initial Greeting:* "May (all) [the gods] seek the well-being of [my lord] (abundantly) at all times;" *Introductory Particle:* "And now;" *External Address:* "To [my lord] So-and-so (son of So-and-so), [thy servant] So-and-so (son of So-and-so). A business letter (*TAD* A3.10) provides a useful example:

"To my brothers Ḥuri and *pṭmḥw,* your brother Spentadata.
May all the gods seek the well-being of my brothers at all times.
And now, there is one boat of mine in your hands—I share ownership with its master. Look, as for my share, whatever Aramantidata tells you to load on it, and whatever he wishes, let it be done for him. Moreover, my share in the rent of the boat [ ] pay it out to him.
There is some silver, 8 shekels, which I gave to to pay for grain to deliver to my house; and there is silver, 1 karsh, which I gave you to buy grain for Yatma. Sum total of the silver: 1 karsh, 8 shekels. If you buy grain with it and deliver it to our houses, fine; if not, pay it out to Aramantidata, he will bring it to us. And if the grain … (*a line of ill-preserved text is omitted*).
As for *Pṭmḥw,* let him stay (?) with you in the boat; do not let him get away from you until he comes to me.
To my brothers Ḥuri son of and *Pṭmḥw,* your brother Spentadata son of Fravartipata."

**a. Official Letters.** There are several witnesses to this type of letter, all written on papyrus (*TAD* A1.1 [?]; *CAP* 17; 27 [?]; 30–31 [copies of the same letter]; 70 [?]. They all come from the last three decades of 5th century B.C., except *TAD* A1.1, which was written ca. 600. Such letters were for internal use by government administrators, and the recipients all seem to have been highly placed. Some of the phraseological details reflect Mesopotamian contacts, in contrast to the Egyptian contacts reflected in the family correspondence (E.1 above). The adjustments to the formulary include the following:

(1) *Internal Address:* these letters may add titles to recipient's and sender's names, and mention the latter's "colleagues."
(2) *Initial Greeting* tends to be expanded.
(3) *Body of the letter* tends to be basically twofold, containing (a) background information, and (b) the main thrust of the message (petition, etc.).
(4) *External Address* (missing on atypical *TAD* A1.1): precise titles are used; the external address can include a developed list of senders and colleagues (*CAP* 17; Porten 1983).
(5) (*Colophon*): see Porten 1983: 414.
(6) (*Date*): according to the Babylonian calendar; regnal years cited.

**b. Friendly Letters.** There are numerous witnesses to this type, all on papyrus (*CAP* 37; 39; 40; 41; 56 + 34; 57; *TAD* A3.9; it is not clear whether *CAP* 21 [the "Passover Papyrus"] should be included in this category, in spite of its lack of specifying features). Letters of this type tend to date from the late 5th century B.C. (although *TAD* A3.9 is from 399 B.C.). They were not addressed only to friends and family; this type was the regular medium used by the Jews of Elephantine to discuss community problems (*CAP* 37; 56 + 34; *TAD* A3.9; also *CAP* 21?). In such instances, a "brother" is not always a blood relation. Internal formulae similar to those in the letters from Hermopolis do not always predominate. The adjustments to formulary include the following:
(1) *Secondary Greeting:* "Greetings, (my lord) So-and-so!"
(2) *The Body:* more similar to "Egyptian Family Correspondence" (E.1 above) than to "Official Letters" (E.2.a above).
(3) (*Date*): only appears in *TAD* A3.9, where the Egyptian calendar is used.

**c. Business Letters.** The witnesses to this type of letter include *CAP* 42; 54 recto; 54 verso; *TAD* A3.10; A3.11. They all date from ca. 475–450 B.C. to ca. 375–350 B.C. The imperative tone, the lack of friendly phrases, and other indications (e.g. interracial character of the Berlin papyrus) show that "brother" in these letters amounts to a business partner. Note also the manner of dating and the fact that two examples were folded like contracts rather than letters. The adjustments to the formulary:
(1) *The Body* consists of short paragraphs focused on imperatives or volitional imperfects. Often, several alternatives are envisioned: "If …; but if …"
(2) (*Date*): when one is given (*CAP* 42), it uses both Egyptian and Babylonian month names and indicates the regnal year.

**3. The Style of Persian Chanceries.** All examples have to do with the satrap Aršam (412–407 B.C.), and most were sent to Egypt from Babylonia. All but *CAP* 26, which is a papyrus from Elephantine, were found together at an undisclosed location and are written on leather. *CAP* 26 letter exhibits a few formal peculiarities and differs from the other pieces in its direct relevance to public administration, whereas the texts on leather deal with the satrap's personal business. *TAD* 6 is also peculiar in that it is more a kind of passport than a real letter. Yet it is striking that the same basic formulary, the same dry and meticulous administrative style, should prevail everywhere, in Egypt as well as in the center of the Persian Empire. In fact, affinities for 5th century B.C. administrative documents in Elamite have been pointed out by Whitehead (1974: 176–78), and introductory formulae like those of the Aršam letters are still reflected in many documents of the 1st millennium A.D. (Harmatta 1957). As noted above, this unified and perduring chancery style was able to contaminate letters belonging to other types (*TAD* A3.1; *CAP* 42), and yet it did not prevent official letters from also being written according to the "all-purpose" formulary.

An example of the Persian chancery style is an order written in letter form (*TAD* 4):

> "From Aršam to Armapiya.
> And now, Psamšek, my superintendent, sent me a message and said thus: Armapiya and the troops under his command are not obeying me in my lord's business (about) which I am telling them.
> And now, thus says Aršam: In the business of my estate, whatever Psamšek tells you and those troops under your command, obey him and do it.
> Be sure of this: if Psamšek sends me any further complaint about you, you will be thoroughly interrogated, and a harsh sentence will be applied to you.

Bagasrava is cognizant of this order; Aḥpepi was the scribe."
(*On the back of the scroll:*)
"From Aršam to Armapiya.
Concerning the fact that Psamšek sent me a complaint."

The basic formulary is as follows:

(1) *Internal Address:* "From So-and-so to So-and-so." In every case the sender is at least equal in rank to the recipient; from available evidence it is not clear whether a subordinate could send a letter to a superior.
(2) *Introductory Particle:* "And now" (always *wkʿt*).
(3) *External Address:* resembles the Internal Address, but titles are used, and geographical information is provided ("who is in Egypt").
(4) *Docket:* a brief note about the content, beginning with *ʿl*, "Concerning," is placed after the External Address.

Adjustments to the formulary as well as differences in the subject matter and the status of the correspondents make it possible to distinguish two letter types sharing the formulary described above:

**a. Orders in Letter Form.** The witnesses to this type include *TAD* 4; 7–11; cf. No. 6, and *CAP* 26 (with reservations, see above). The adjustments to the formulary include the following:

(1) *Arrangement of the Body:* background information is provided first, and then the order (*ṭʿm;* the Aram name of this letter type?).
(2) *Colophon:* twofold in texts of the main collection: "So-and-so is cognizant of this order; So-and-so was the scribe." On *CAP* 26 the formulation is somewhat different and suggests that the first official's title was *bʿl ṭʿm* (cf. Ezra 4:8–9, 17).
(3) *External Address:* includes the recipient's title, rather than sender's.
(4) *Docket: TAD* 8–9 and *CAP* 26 have a note in Demotic in addition to the Aramaic one (Whitehead 1978: 137–40).
(5) (*Date*): only on *CAP* 26 (using Babylonian month name and regnal year).

**b. Letters to Equals.** The witnesses include *TAD* 1–3; 5; and 12–13. The following adjustments to the formulary are noted:

(1) (*Initial Greeting*): "I send you well-being and good health in abundance" (such a greeting is omitted in *TAD* 12, which is a hostile letter). More wishes may be added, such as "Here things are fine with me; over there too, may things be fine with you!"
(2) *External Address:* usually lists the sender's title, not the recipient's.

**4. A Letter Type from the Beginning of the Christian Era.** There are several witnesses (*Ḥev*v A.Hev 1; 2; 4; 8; 10; 11; 14; 15 [all on papyrus]; and Yadin 1965: 111 [an ostracon from Masada]) to letter type dating ca. A.D. 66–135. An example of this type is *Ḥev*v A.Hev 15 (from the photo in Yadin 1971: 129):

"Shimʿôn to Yehudah bar Menasseh, to Qiryat ʿArabaya.
I have sent you two donkeys, in order that you send with them two men to Yehonathan Bar Baʿayan and to Masabalah, in order that they pack and send you palms and citrons at the camp. As for you, send away others, that they bring you myrtles and willows; then set those in order and send them to the camp. Large indeed is the army!
Be well."

Due partly to the preliminary nature of the publication, areas of uncertainty remain about some aspects of the formulary (e.g., was there any External Address?). Formal consistency does not seem as high as in letter types from earlier times (see esp. *Ḥev*v A.Hev 4). However, the following are noteworthy:

(1) *Internal Address:* Shimʿôn Bar Kôsibâ (the Prince over Israel), to So-and-so (+ geographical destination).
(2) (*Initial Greeting*): šlm/slm appended to the Address.
(3) *Introductory Particle: d (y).* In *Ḥev*v A.Hev 15, this is inserted within the first sentence.
(4) *Closing Greeting:* "Be well." The preliminary character of the publication often does not allow verification of its presence.

(5) *Sender's Signature:* "[Shimʿôn Bar Kôsibâ] has written this." (*Ḥev*v A.Hev 8). Same remark.

All the sufficiently clear examples carry commands of Bar Kôsibâ to his followers, not always of a military character, as shown by the example above. Letters in Hebrew from the same period (Pardee 1982: 122–44) use very similar formulae and cover an even greater variety of topics. Perhaps we are dealing with one more "all-purpose" formulary. Significantly, the most decisive phrases (Address, Initial Greeting, Closing Greeting) correspond to long-established features of Greek letters, documented in this same corpus from the Judean Desert: "So-and-so (+ title) to So-and-so, *Chareîn* ('Greetings') …, ʾErrōsō ('Be well!'). Here the multilingual character of epistolary forms appears more clearly than ever.

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## *GREEK AND LATIN LETTERS*

The letter is one of the most common and socially significant kinds of written text from antiquity. Extant letters represent every level of Greco-Roman society from Egyptian peasants to Roman emperors. The letter served the most basic needs of day-to-day communication and the most highly developed art and ideology. The letter is also arguably the most important, and certainly the most prevalent type of literature in early Christianity.

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A. Nature of the Letter
B. Sources
C. Letters and Education
D. Forms, Types, and Functions
E. Greek Epistolary Tradition
F. Latin Epistolary Tradition


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### A. Nature of the Letter

Three important characteristics of the letter are its occasionality, its fiction of personal presence, and its ability to absorb other genres. Letters more than other types of literature are obviously embedded in the social contexts and interactions of particular historical moments (for example, a nearly bankrupt shopowner sends a letter to a wealthy acquaintance begging for financial help). The times, places, social status, and historical contexts of sender and receiver are crucial components of a letter's meaning. The letter "fictionalizes" the personal presence of the sender and receiver. The authorial voice is constructed as if speaking directly to the audience. Letters also tend to be dialogical; the author in the text anticipates what the audience will say and how it will react. A letter may belong to an exchange of letters or other texts, and may incorporate portions of these texts into itself in the form of an imagined conversation. By its very nature the letter is able to assimilate texts belonging to other genres. Thus the letter has often served as the framework for essays, narratives, and poetry. In such cases the ostensible epistolary occasion and the audience may become purely fictional.

Some of these points are explicit in ancient epistolary theory, although both ancient and modern romantic notions about the letter's ability to convey unmediated personal presence has obscured the nature of epistolary rhetoric. Early in the 20th century, A. Deissmann contrasted the conventionality and artificiality of literary texts with the supposed spontaneous outpouring of personality in true letters. Today scholars are studying the highly conventional literary construction of the ancient letter's "outpouring of personality."

**B. Sources**

There are four different sources for our knowledge of ancient letters: letters preserved through literary transmission, letters discovered in modern times, letters preserved in inscriptions, and letters embedded in other kinds of literature. Many Greek and Latin letters were preserved and copied because they were valued as literature by certain communities. The Greek letters of Plato, Isocrates, Demosthenes, and Libanius and the Latin letters of Cicero, Pliny, Seneca, and Fronto fit into this category, as do the Christian letters in the NT, of the Apostolic fathers, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, Augustine, and Jerome. Letters preserved in this way tend to be more consciously literary than letters from the other categories and are often highly shaped by Greek or Latin rhetoric. Some letters in this category were written and collected with an eye toward publication. They also reflect a higher social level than other sorts of letters.

If we had only letters preserved by literary transmission, we would know little about letter writing among the masses of common people in the Greco-Roman world. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries great quantities of texts were recovered during the excavations of towns and villages in the dryer parts of Egypt where papyrus could survive. These texts include many thousands of often fragmentary letters. A few show the influence of rhetorical and literary training, but most are simple communications involving business relations, legal appeals, friendship, and family matters. The papyrus letters together with those preserved by literary transmission provide a view of the whole world of letter writing from Hellenistic times to the Byzantine period. A number of letters, mostly from Hellenistic monarchs, were copied onto stone as inscriptions. Such letters served as royal propaganda. Some Epicurean letters were inscribed in stone by a certain Diogenes in the Lycian city of Oenoanda. Finally a fairly large number of letters are found embedded in literary works. These appear most frequently in historical, biographical, and fictional narratives (see Acts 15:23–29).

**C. Letters and Education**

Basic letter writing was probably taught to boys in the so-called secondary stage of education by a *grammaticus.* At least some teachers of rhetoric trained their students in epistolary style. Although epistolary style and theory belonged to the domain of rhetoric, they were never an integral part of the extant rhetorical systems. The earliest significant discussion is in the work *On Style (De Elocutione),* wrongly attributed to Demetrius of Phalerum but actually written by someone else between the 3d century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. According to *On Style,* letters are to use the plain style or to employ a mixture of the plain and graceful styles. The letter is like one side of a dialogue. Letters also ought to be "real" communications between individuals and not technical treatises. Brevity is also desirable. Cicero in the 1st century B.C. and Seneca in the 1st century A.D. reflect a knowledge of Greek epistolary theory and

probably of handbooks on letter writing. In the elementary rhetorical exercises of Theon (1st century A.D.), letter writing is an exercise in characterization (*prosopopoiia*). In the early 3d century, the sophist Philostratus of Lemnos wrote a polemical work on proper epistolary style. The first rhetorician to include a full discussion of letters writing as part of a handbook comes only in the 4th century with Julius Victor who includes an appendix on the subject.

More important for the general practice of letter writing are epistolary handbooks. The apostle Paul and many other writers of Christian letters in the first three centuries reflect a handbook knowledge of letter writing style and theory. These handbooks fall into two types. The first kind are systematic treatises which show an interest in theory and a knowledge of rhetoric. The two extant representatives are the *Epistolary Types* also attributed to Demetrius of Phalerum and the *Epistolary Kinds* attributed in different manuscript traditions either to Libanius or Proclus. The first, in its original form, is probably from pre-Christian times and the latter is dated between the 4th and 6th centuries A.D. The handbook of "Demetrius" seems to have been written for professional letter writers in service to public officials. It discusses 21 types of letters. For each letter, "Demetrius" and "Libanius" provide a brief definition and a very brief sample letter often in the form of a rhetorical syllogism which captures the logic of the type. The handbook of Libanius discusses 41 types.

It is important to understand the interests of these handbooks and their approach to classifying letters. They show very little interest in style and structure. Rather each type represents a characteristic social occasion and shows how a certain social transaction could be effected by a letter. Thus, for instance, one writes a blaming letter when a social equal or inferior has failed properly to reciprocate benefits conferred by the writer. The letter informs the recipient that he or she has failed in this way and attempts to shame the recipient mildly, but not so as to destroy the basic relationship. The rhetorical tradition often used such stereotyped occasions for speech acts to classify speaking into genres. The broadest of these are the three divisions of rhetoric: The forensic speech of the lawcourt; the advising speech of the city council; the epideictic speech for praising good and criticizing evil. Most of the types of letters in the handbooks belong to the category of praise and blame and only a handful to the other divisions of rhetoric. Several letters in this category are types of exhortation and are so treated by the handbooks (e.g. letters of parenesis, consolation, admonition, rebuke, reproach).

A second kind of handbook is represented by the bilingual, Greek and Latin, Bologna Papyrus (3d or 4th century A.D.) and by model letters for students to copy (3d century B.C.–5th century A.D.). These show no interest in theory or rhetoric and often reflect only minimal literacy. The two kinds of letter-writing handbooks either aim at the beginning and advanced stages of education or were designed for people from different social-educational levels. The letters in the NT and among the writings of the Apostolic Fathers clearly reflect a knowledge of the more advanced level of handbook although not of advanced rhetorical training.

**D. Forms, Types, and Functions**

The thousands of papyrus letters discovered in Egypt largely represent common everyday kinds of letters produced by people with very modest levels of literacy. Frequently people who could not write had to dictate their messages either to a friend or a professional letter writer. Most common are family letters, letters of request, petitions, commanding letters, and letters of recommendation and introduction. The opening and closing conventions for Greco-Roman letters changed little over several centuries. This conservation is most clear among the common papyrus letters—by contrast most early Christian letters transmitted literarily seem quite creative. The ancient prescript typically contained three elements: the name of the sender, the addressee, and a salutation (for example, "Diogenes to Isias, greetings"). The prescript was often followed either by a wish for health or less frequently a thanksgiving or act or worship to a god. These basic elements could be amplified and elaborated in many ways. Usually letters closed with a formula of farewell and often with a list of greetings for others in addition to the addressee.

The letters of more educated people and literary letters are especially characterized by the ethos and conventions of Greek friendship. Classical Greek culture privileged friendship between male peers as the highest form of social relationship. The epistolary theorists assumed that the letter of friendship was both

the most basic and highest form of letter writing. Consequently the ethos and language of Greek friendship shaped Greco-Roman letter writing as a whole although that of upperclass writers more than others. The ethos of friendship was largely expressed through a set of standard themes and commonplace expressions: The letter is a friendly conversation; friends reciprocate in all things; friends will sacrifice for one another; friends are frank with one another; through the letter friends are together though physically apart (1 Cor 5:3; 1 Thess 2:17; Col 2:5); the letter contains an image of the writer's character; the letter is a consolation for a friend's absence; expressions of joy upon receiving a friend's letter; expressions of longing for a friend (2 Cor 1:16; 1 Thess 3:6–10; Phil 22; 2 John 12; 3 John 14).

Early Christian letters most nearly resemble the letters of philosophers and moralists. The Hellenistic philosophies sought to guide people to the good and happy life. Some philosophical letters are instructional treatises in doctrines but most are letters of exhortation in which teachers seek to guide and mold the characters of disciples. The letters of Plato and Aristotle were influential models. Epicurus sent many letters to widely scattered communities of his disciples regulating community behavior and exhorting them to the life of friendship and tranquility. In the 1st century A.D., Seneca wrote 124 letters addressed to Lucilius. Whether the correspondence is real or fictitious is a matter of debate. Nevertheless, the letters realistically depict the way that philosophical guides employed letters to lead their friends toward the happy life. Such letters prominently adapt friendship to this relationship of guide and student and present the "author's" character as a model for imitation. The same kind of hortatory features characterize the letters of Paul and other early Christian letters. Numerous purely fictitious letters were also written in the names of famous philosophers such as Socrates, Diogenes, Crates, and Heraclitus. These are largely hortatory and show marked similarities to pseudonymous Christian letters such as the Pastoral Epistles (1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus).

**E. Greek Epistolary Tradition**

Letters had a significant literary and ideological impact in the form of collections. These were usually made after the author's death, although sometimes a collection might be compiled by the writer himself. From the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., the letters of Demosthenes and Isocrates were important models of style in the rhetorical tradition. The philosophical schools, however, were the great collectors of letters in the Greek tradition of letter writing. From classical Athens only the letters of Plato are extant, and their authenticity has been a matter of debate since Richard Bently raised critical consciousness by showing that the collections attributed to Phalaris, Themistocles, Socrates, and Euripides were fictitious. The collections from the 4th through 2d centuries B.C. of Aristotle, Theophrastus, Crates, Arcesilaus, and Carneades were very influential but are now lost. Only a few letters of Epicurus (341–270 B.C.) are extant, but they were the most important models for hortatory philosophical letters in Hellenistic and Roman times. Unknown Cynic philosophers in the later Hellenistic period and early empire produced extensive collections of fictitious letters under the names of Anacharsis, Crates, Diogenes, Heraclitus, Socrates, and the Socratics. These served as models for the Cynic life and as propaganda for debates among various kinds of Cynics. Some of the 97 letters attributed to the neo-Pythagorean philosopher Apollonius of Tyana (d. ca. A.D. 97) are probably authentic.

The other important non-Christian group of letter collections in Greek are the erotic and fictional literary letters written between the 2d and 5th centuries. Aelian (170–235) wrote 20 rustic letters in atticizing style. Following the same archaizing nostalgia for classical Athens, Alciphron (2d century A.D.) tried to imagine the words and world of farmers, fishermen, prostitutes, and parasites from 5 centuries earlier in his 122 letters. The love letters of Philostratus (2d century A.D.) are addressed to women and boys. A similar collection from a contemporary, the sophist Lesbonox, is now lost. In the 5th century, Aristaenetus incorporated erotic themes and language from writers throughout antiquity in his love letters.

The end of the extant pagan Greek tradition comes in the 4th century with the 80 letters of the emperor Julian (the "Apostate") and the rhetorician Libanius' 1,600 letters. Both are important sources for the history and aristocratic culture of their century. Libanius' letters strictly follow the rules of epistolary theory with regard to brevity, subject matter, and form.

The Greek Christian tradition of letter writing is a marked modification of but not a departure from the non-Christian Greek tradition. Christianity emerged as a movement within Judaism, but distinctive Jewish traditions of letter writing had only a minor influence on early Christian letters. The letter does not seem to have had the cultural and ideological importance for ancient Judaism that it did for Christian and Greco-Roman culture in general. Though Jewish letter writing as such exerted only a little influence, the Jewish concepts, symbols, language, and ethos of earliest Christianity gave a distinctive stamp to Christian letter writing. The earliest extant Christian letters are from Paul the apostle to the Gentiles (ca. A.D. 10–ca. A.D. 62). His letters provided a formative shape for much of later Christian epistolography. Paul's letters are Christian adaptations of common Greco-Roman types: protrepsis (Romans); admonition, advice (1 Corinthians); rebuke, apologetic, advice (2 Corinthians); rebuke, advice, paraenesis (Galatians); friendship, paraenesis (Philippians); paraenesis (1 Thessalonians); admonition (2 Thessalonians); recommendation/mediation (Philemon). These are types of letters most commonly written by philosophers and moralists as they tried to guide their disciples toward the happy life.

Other NT letters (Colossians; Ephesians; 1, 2 Timothy; Titus; James; 1 Peter; 2, 3 John; James; Jude) can also be understood as adaptations of similar Greco-Roman types. This is also true of the letters of Ignatius and Polycarp (early 2d century) and the lost letters of Dionysius of Corinth (late 2d century). These earliest Christian letters differ most from the letters of the great age of Christian letter writing in the 4th and 5th centuries in two ways. First they make much less use of the rhetoric of the technical rhetorical handbooks and the traditions of sophistic rhetoric. Second the ethos of Greek male friendship is much less important for these early letters than is the familial ethos of the household. Greek Christian letter writing reaches its peak in the 4th century with Athanasius, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus, and John Chrysostom. These writers fully integrated Greek literary culture into the life of monastic and aristocratic friendship.

**F. Latin Epistolary**

Cicero (106–43 B.C.) is the fountainhead of the Latin epistolary tradition. His 931 letters were written between 68 and 43 B.C. and published after his death in four collections. Cicero was familiar with the themes and commonplaces of Greek friendship and epistolory theory. He may have been most responsible for naturalizing the Greek epistolary tradition in Latin. A collection of Augustus' letters was extant in the latter part of the 1st century A.D. but has perished. The poetic epistles of Horace and Ovid remain from the Augustan age (late 1st century B.C. and early 1st century A.D.). Seneca's letters to Lucilius are modeled after the letters of philosophical guides like Epicurus. Pliny the Younger (61–112 A.D.) published 358 literary letters which he arranged chronologically. The orator Fronto's (2d century A.D.) letters to Marcus Aurelius and others mix oratory and epistolary friendship.

This legacy of great collections of Latin letters is echoed in Christian form in the 4th and 5th centuries in the letters of Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, Paulinus of Nola, Sidonius and the poetic and prose letters of Ausonius. In these, the Greek and the Latin, the pagan and the Christian, the philosophical and the sophistic epistolary traditions melded into a new synthesis which had an enormous effect on the literature and thought of the West.

Though Christian belief and thought has deep roots in Judaism, Christian letter writing was literarily an adaptation of the Greek and Roman epistolary traditions. Indeed the Christian tradition conformed itself more to the artistic and rhetorical standards of Greek and Roman letter writing in the last centuries of antiquity. The letters of Paul and the other NT letters struck educated people in late antiquity as strange products of a remote subculture. Nevertheless they are fundamentally Greco-Roman letters. Christian letters from Paul to the end of antiquity continued to function as types of Greco-Roman letters, as a tradition within a tradition.

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**LETUSHIM** [Heb *lĕtûšîm* (לְתוּשִׁים)]. A clan name mentioned in the genealogy of Abraham by his wife Keturah in Gen 25:3. Letushim (the plural form may be compared to similar plurals for groups in Gen 10:4—Kittim and Dodanim) is listed as one of the three sons of Abraham's grandson Dedan, the son of Jokshan. These three sons are not found in the matching, but abbreviated, genealogical clan list in 1 Chr 1:32–33. This may reflect a shift in population or politics by the time of the Chronicler. Albright (1953: 9–11) suggested that Letushim be translated as "craftsmen" thereby designating them as part of the economy of the city of Dedan. Winnett (1970: 191) disputes this and the identification of Letushim with Syriac *latusa,* "one who sharpens the sword," arguing that based on Ezek 27:20 Dedan's sole manufactured export was "saddle blankets." Whether they received this title before or after they settled in Dedan the people of the Letushim clan represent one of several obscure Arabian tribal groups who inhabited the fringes of the Negeb and N Arabian regions. Their very obscurity added to the contrast the biblical writer(s) wished to make between Isaac and the other sons of Abraham.

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**LEUCIUS** (PERSON). See JOHN, ACTS OF.

**LEUMMIM** [Heb *lĕʾummîm* (לְאֻמִּים)]. A clan name mentioned in the genealogy of Abraham by his wife Keturah in Gen 25:3. Leummim is listed as one of the three sons of Abraham's grandson Dedan, the son of Jokshan. These three sons are not found in the matching, but abbreviated, genealogical clan list in 1 Chr 1:32–33. This may be due to shifts in population or a change in the political situation by the time of the Chronicler. The plural form of the name may reflect its use by a particular population group in the city of Dedan (compare similar plural names in Gen 10:4, Kittim and Dodanim). Winnett (1970: 191) suggests that the name's more generic meaning of "tribesmen, clansmen" identifies the Leummim as "mixed elements" within the city. Their very obscurity was used by the biblical author(s) to starkly contrast the importance of the descendants of Issac, and even those of Ishmael, with the children of this secondary wife. They received no inheritance in Canaan and were sent away to live on the eastern fringes of the Negeb and N Arabian regions.

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**LEVI** (PERSON) [Heb *lēwî* (לֵוִי)]. The name of 4 people in the Bible. The meaning of the name is uncertain. Popular etymology in the Bible for the name is "to be joined" (Gen 29:34; Num 18:2, 4). More recent suggestions have included "to coil or twist" from Ar *lawa,* "to borrow" from Heb *lwy*, "priest" from Minaean *lwʾ,* and "to give oracles" from Ar *lawa.* None of these suggestions provides a satisfying or convincing solution to the problem of etymology. The name is also found in Amorite and Egyptian sources; the latter 2d millennium materials use the name as a geographical term for a region in SW Arabia. This, plus the early connection with Moses and his association with the region of Midian, may indicate a possible location for the origin of the tribe of Levi.

1. The third son of Jacob and Leah (Gen 29:34). He was the eponymous ancestor of the tribe of Levi, of the priestly Levites, and of all subsequent priestly factions. In some lists Levi is one of the twelve tribes,

sons of Jacob (Gen 29:31–30:24; Deut 27:12–13; 1 Chron 2:1–2); however, in other lists Levi is replaced by Manasseh or Ephraim and thus not listed among the twelve (Num 1:5–15; 7:12–83; Josh 21:4–7).

The first descendants of Levi were Gershon (Gershom), Kohath and Merari (Gen 46:11; Num 3:17; 1 Chron 5:27—Eng6:1), and all played a role in guarding (Heb *šmr*) and serving (*ʿbd*) the tabernacle (Num 3:21–37). Moses is said to have been a descendant of Levi (Exod 2:1–2) as were Aaron, Moses' brother (Exod 4:14; 1 Chron 5:27–29—Eng6:1–3) and Zadok (1 Chron 5:27–34—Eng6:1–8). Thus all three priestly groups, Levites, Aaronites, and Zadokites, traced their ancestry to Levi.

There are varying accounts of how Levi became a priestly group, the Levites. The first is in association with the golden calf story. After the "sons of Levi" killed the 3,000 men who were not on Yahweh's side (Exod 32:26, 28), Moses indicated that they had therefore entered the service of Yahweh (Exod 32:29). According to Numbers 3–4, the sons of Levi were taken by Yahweh instead of the firstborn (Num 3:45); and then following a census (Num 4:2), they were assigned various priestly duties (Num 4:1–49). If Aaron's descent from Levi is accepted, there is a third account in Exodus 28:1–4 where Moses is instructed by God to select Aaron from among the people to serve as priest.

Several stories demonstrate Levi's militaristic nature in Israelite society. In Genesis 34, Levi, along with Simeon, killed Hamor and Shechem in retaliation for the rape of their sister Dinah. Levi and Simeon guaranteed the success of their retaliation by attacking Hamor on the third day after he and the males of his city had been circumcised. A second account is that of the golden calf, mentioned above, where the sons of Levi killed 3,000 men for their apostasy (Exod 32:25–29). At numerous points the descendants of Levi (the Levites) were appointed "to guard" (rather than the usual translation of *šmr* as "to take charge of") the tabernacle or the ark (Num 1:53; 8:26; 1 Chron 23:4). The military nature of Levi is also noted in Jacob's blessing (Gen 49:5), and it became an explanation for the disappearance of Levi as a tribe (Gen 49:7) and the subsequent elimination of Levi from the list of twelve tribes. Finally, the intertestamental literature preserves the militaristic view of Levi (*T. Levi* 5: 3; *T. Sim.* 5: 4; *Jub.* 30: 18).

The militaristic activities of Levi have often posed a problem for scholars, as they attempt to relate the warlike Levi with the assumed irenic priests, the Levites. However, if one takes into consideration the fact that Levi's military actions are always in defense of Yahweh and the correct worship of Yahweh, the fact that the "sons of Levi," the priestly Levites, often performed militaristic activities such as guarding the tent of meeting, and the fact that Hittite parallels in the ancient world indicate that it is not unusual for priests to carry on martial activities, then it is no longer troublesome to connect Levi and the priestly Levites. Indeed, it is the fervent defense of Yahweh which is the consistent and characteristic role of Levi and his descendants.

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2. The father of Matthat and son of Melchi, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:24). Gk *levi* may be an indeclinable form or a genitive form from Gk *levis,* although Blass/Debrunner are undecided (BDF pars. 53[1], 55[1e]). D omits Levi, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. Apart from Luke 3:29, the name Levi falls within a list of 17 ancestors of Jesus who are otherwise unknown in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy (Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB, 500). Several problems revolve around the person holding this name, including the possibility that his son, Matthat, is the same person as Matthan in Matt 1:15, in which case the same person is given two different fathers. See MATTHAT #2. Kuhn (1923: 208–9) believes that the two Levi's of Luke 3:24 and 29 were originally identical, both derived from a common list that subsequently formed the basis for two parallel lists in Luke's genealogy: 3:26–29, Jesus to Mattathias, and 3:29–31, Joshua/Jesus to Mattatha. The first perhaps reflects a Hebrew context and the second, in an Aramaic context, tracing Mary's line of descent (since it does not mention

Joseph as Jesus' father). Even though both Levi's are listed as fathers of a Matthat, this proposal has not proved convincing to most scholars.

3. The father of Matthat and son of Simeon, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:29). D omits Levi, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. Apart from Luke 3:24, the name Levi is unknown as an ancestor of Jesus in any other biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, and falls within a list of eighteen otherwise unknown descendants of David's son Nathan (Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB, 501). Jeremias (1969: 296) believes that it is anachronistic for Luke to include this name here, since there is no record of its use after the patriarchal period until the time of the Maccabees, although caution must be exercised in light of the limited nature of the available evidence. See above on Kuhn's proposal.

4. A tax collector who left his post to follow Jesus, throwing a big feast for him in his house (Luke 5:27, 29), known in Mark 2:14 as the son of Alphaeus. Because Levi is not mentioned in Luke's (6:13–16; Acts 1:13) or Mark's (3:14–19) lists of disciples, but a James the son of Alphaeus is mentioned at Mark 3:18, some texts list James at Mark 2:14 (see *NovTG*[26]), although a form of Levi is clearly the better reading, warranting an A from *UBSGNT* (see *TCGNT*, 78; cf. Taylor 1959: 202). "Levi the son of Alphaeus" is read in D at Luke 5:27 (for bibliography on textual problems see Lane *Mark* NICNT, 100–1). Levi is unknown in Matthew's Gospel, although a story is recounted of a disciple who was called to follow Jesus in the same manner (9:9) and who is mentioned as a tax collector in Matthew's list of disciples (10:2–4, esp. v 3). The question naturally arises whether this is the same man in all three gospel accounts (see Lamarche 1970: 127, for verbal parallels; Theobald [1978: 173] raises the possibility of Levi as a generic name in Mark's narrative). Several solutions have been proposed: They are two different people, a view held by several patristic fathers (e.g. Origen *Cel.* 1.62); they are the same person, since it is unlikely that the same event happened twice, and it was not unknown that a person could be known by two Semitic names, such as Levi Matthew (e.g., Joseph Barnabas [Acts 4:36]) (cf. Hervey 1853: 150–51, who speculates that Matthew was also related to Jesus); the account in one gospel has been transferred to the other gospel, probably as a Markan redactional creation (Pesch 1968: 43–45); and by the time of writing there was considerable confusion about the composition of the group of disciples (see Cranfield *Mark* CGTC, 102; Fitzmyer, 590; *TDNT* 4:234–35).

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## LEVIATHAN

[Heb *liwyātān* (לִוְיָתָן)]. The name of a mythological sea serpent or dragon, personifying the chaos waters, mentioned in the Ugaritic texts, in the OT, and in later Jewish literature. Etymologically the name means "twisting one," as befits a serpent.

In the Ugaritic texts the name appears as *ltn* (*KTU* 1.5.I.1 = *CTA* 5.I.1), which has traditionally been vocalized as Lōtān, but it has been persuasively argued by J. A. Emerton (1982) that the correct rendering should be Lītān. In this Ugaritic passage (lines 1–4) Mot alludes to Baal's defeat of Lītān as follows, "Because you smote Lītān the twisting serpent, (and) made an end of the crooked serpent, the tyrant with seven heads, the skies will become hot (and) will shine." In the Baal epic we also find the goddess Anat (Baal's consort) claiming to have defeated Lītān (though he is not mentioned by name), amongst other mythological creatures: "Surely I lifted up the dragon, I … [and] smote the crooked serpent, the tyrant with the seven heads" (*KTU* 1.3.III.40–42 = *CTA* 3.III.D.37–39). This event seems to be described briefly

in *KTU* 1.83.3–10 (= *UT* 1003.3–10) and *KTU* 1.82.1–3 (= *UT* 1001.1–3), the former passage ascribing the defeat of the dragon to Anat and the latter to Baal.

In view of a number of references in the OT to the defeat of the chaos monster at the time of creation (e.g., Leviathan in Psalm 74 and Rahab in Psalm 89), the question is raised whether the Canaanites likewise envisaged the dragon conflict as taking place at that time. Although the detailed description of the defeat by Baal of the sea god Yam (who is similar to, but not identical with Leviathan) does not appear to be associated with the creation of the world in *KTU* 1.2 (= *CTA* 2), it may be that the Canaanites did also envisage a primeval conflict with the powers of chaos prior to El's creation of the world. This would not only explain the creation context of such dragon passages as Psalms 74 and 89, and be consistent with the fact that the sea is a cosmic element; it might also account for the fact that at the very end of the Baal epic, perhaps corresponding to the time of new year's eve, the defeat of the dragon (*tnn* = Lītān) and Arš is looked forward to (*KTU* 1.6.VI.51–53 = *CTA* 6.VI.50–52). The Ugaritic allusions to the defeat of Lītān and other monsters, mentioned above, may therefore have had a creation context.

In the OT, Leviathan's defeat is attributed to Yahweh. In Ps 74:14 this is set in a creation context (vv 12–17), just as is the case with the defeat of Rahab, a similar or possibly identical sea monster, in Ps 89:11—Eng 89:10 (cf. vv 10–14—Eng 9–13). Attempts to claim that these two passages are really speaking of the Exodus are unconvincing. It is interesting that Ps 74:14 refers to the shattering by God of Leviathan's "heads" (pl.)—this is now illuminated by the Ugaritic texts, which reveal that he had seven of them.

In Isa 27:1 we read of an eschatological defeat of Leviathan by Yahweh. That a conflict originally associated with creation should become an element of eschatological imagery is explained by the principle *Urzeit wird Endzeit* (= the primeval time becomes the end time), which is attested elsewhere in apocalyptic literature, as in the notions of Paradise regained and a new heaven and a new earth. It is not possible to be certain which historical political power might be designated by Leviathan in Isa 27:1, though conceivably it is Egypt or alternatively the dominant world power of the time. What is striking is that the description of Leviathan as "the twisting serpent … the crooked serpent" in Isa 27:1 is remarkably close to the terminology used to describe Lītān in the Ugaritic text cited above.

In Job 40:25–41, 26 (—Eng 41:1–34) part of the second divine speech is a detailed description of Leviathan. Many commentators have believed, following the view of S. Bochart expressed in 1663, that Leviathan is here the crocodile, and similarly that Behemoth in Job 40:15–24 is the hippopotamus. However, good reasons can be put forward against Leviathan's equation here with the crocodile, or for that matter with any other actually existing beast. For example, Leviathan is said to breathe out fire and smoke (Job 41:11–13—Eng 19–21), which is suggestive of a mythological creature, and it is implicit in God's argument that no human is able to capture him. We probably have here the same mythological Leviathan who is attested elsewhere in the OT, and whom God overcame at the creation (though it is arguable that he now has only one head rather than seven). The point of God's argument seems to be that since Job cannot overcome Leviathan, how much less can he hope to overcome in argument the God who defeated him. Accordingly, Job repents in dust and ashes (Job 42:1–6). As part of the divine speech, Job is asked whether he can play with Leviathan (Job 40:29—Eng 41:5). This is clearly an allusion to Ps 104:26, where it is possible to render "There go the ships, and Leviathan whom you formed to play with." Whether this was what the author of Psalm 104 was intending to say, or whether we should prefer the translation, "There go the ships, and Leviathan whom you formed to play in it (*sc.* the sea)," the former interpretation is clearly what the author of the second divine speech presupposed. In Ps 104:26 Leviathan has sometimes been supposed to be the whale, but it is possible that here again it is rather a mythological creature which is in view.

Another reference to Leviathan occurs in Job 3:8, "Let those curse it who curse the day, who are skilled in rousing up Leviathan." These words form part of the passage in which the wretched Job laments the day of his birth, wishing it would be covered with darkness. That the rousing of Leviathan should betoken darkness is understandable if it implies the reversal of the process of creation; Gen 1:2 describes the pre-creation state of chaos as darkness. The popular emendation of "day" (Heb *yôm*) to "sea" (*yām*) in Job 3:8

is to be rejected: it would provide only a spurious parallelism, since the cursing of the sea would imply the opposite of the rousing of Leviathan.

Leviathan is also mentioned in later Jewish literature. For example, in 2 Esdr 6:49–52, *2 Bar.* 29:4, and *1 En.* 6:7–9, 24, Leviathan, along with Behemoth, is to be devoured at the Messianic banquet. Furthermore, there can be no doubt, in view of Leviathan's seven heads, that it is this mythological monster which underlies the seven-headed dragon (Satan) in Rev 12:3 and the seven-headed beast (Rome) in Rev 13:1, 17:3. Similarly, the seven-headed dragon in *Odes Sol.* 22:5, Pistis Sophia 66 and *Qidd.* 29b must also reflect Leviathan.

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**LEVIRATE LAW** [Heb *yibûm* (יִבּוּם)]. The Bible discusses levirate marriage in Genesis 38, Deut 25:5–10, and probably Ruth 4. According to Deuteronomy, when a man dies without leaving a son, his widow is forbidden to marry outside the family. Her husband's brother "takes her as his wife and performs the levir's duty. The first son that she bears shall be accounted to the dead brother." Should the levir refuse, the ceremony of *ḥălîṣâ* (removal of the sandal) is performed and the widow is free to marry outside the family.

Leviticus 18:16 and 20:21 totally prohibit marriage between a brother- and sister-in-law. The rabbis reconciled the contradiction between Deuteronomy and Leviticus by saying that Leviticus states the general principle and the law in Deuteronomy applies only when a married man dies without offspring (*y. Něd.* 3:5).

Most modern scholars agree that Ruth 4 describes a levirate marriage, although the descriptions in Genesis and Deuteronomy differ substantially (Ahroni 1984: 68). Scholars disagree as to whether Ruth reflects an early or late stage in the development of levirate law (Niditch 1985: 452–53).

Levirate marriage is one of the principle subjects of tractate *Yĕbāmôt* of the Mishnâ, Tôseptā, and the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds. Neusner (1980: 30–32; 1981: 137–43 and 194–97) reads Mishnâ *Yĕbāmôt* as a philosophical essay teaching that heaven's bond (levirate) and the earthly union (betrothal, marriage-contract, and consummation) correspond to each other, as do death at God's hands and divorce. Both God and man can sanctify woman and remove the sanctification. Neusner's conception of the Mishna as a philosophical essay has been criticized by Cohen (1983), Chernick (1984), and Maccoby (1984).

Rabbinic law tends to reduce the distinction between levirate marriage and other marriages. For example, the rabbis require a betrothal ceremony, *ma*ʾ*ămār* (declaration) (*t. Yebam.* 7:2; *b. Yebam.* 52a), similar to other betrothal ceremonies. The levir gives the widow an object of value in the presence of witnesses, or writes a document containing a betrothal formula, just as a man normally betrothes a woman.

Clear differences remain between levirate marriage and other marriages, however. The view that before betrothal a state of *ziqa* (prior attachment) exists between the levir and the widow has no counterpart in other marriages (*m. Yebam.* 3:9; *b. Yebam.* 26a). The widow in a state of *ziqâ* is forbidden to have sexual relations with an outsider, although the rabbis do not consider the children of such a union as illegitimate (Belkin 1970: 307–20).

Some scholars see a tendency to limit the application of the levirate rite in rabbinic law (Epstein 1942: 96; Gordis 1974: 248; Ahroni 1984: 70–73). On the basis of Deut 25:5 ("when brothers dwell together"), for example, the rabbis exclude maternal brothers and brothers born after the husband's death from the levirate obligation (*m. Yebam.* 2:1–2; *b. Yebam.* 17b). The rabbis interpret the phrase "and has no son" to mean offspring rather than son (*Sipre* Dĕbārîm, chapter 288; *b. B. Bat.* 109a), such that the marriage cannot be consummated if the child is illegitimate, female, or a grandchild (*m. Yebam.* 2:5; *b. Yebam.* 22b; *b. Nid.* 5:3).

Several facts belie this modern scholarly claim, however. First, there is no consensus among Talmudic rabbis as to whether levirate marriage or *halisa* are preferable (*m. Bek.* 1:7; *b. Yebam.* 39a–b and 106a). Second, according to rabbinic law the offspring of the levirate union are considered the levir's and the levir inherits his brother's estate (*m. Yebam.* 4:7). The rabbis contradict the plain meaning of scripture, which views the first child as the offspring, and perhaps the heir, of the deceased. Rabbinic law here works to promote levirate marriage, making it more attractive to the levir.

Belkin (1970: 293) thinks the rabbis valued the institution because it protected the widow and helped compensate the family for the loss it sustained. Niditch (1979: 149) thinks the rabbis shared the biblical view of levirate marriage as a socially constructive institution. Society allows a young woman only two proper roles. She is either an unmarried virgin in her father's house or a faithful, child-producing wife in her husband's or her husband's family's home. Through the levirate, society avoids a sociological misfit, the young childless widow. The levirate not only continues the line of the deceased, it reaffirms the young widow's place in the home of her husband's family.

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**LEVITES AND PRIESTS.** This article surveys the two main groups of cultic officials in the OT.

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A. Introduction

B. The Desert Period

1. Moses and Aaron in Old Narratives
2. Moses and Aaron in the Genealogies
3. Is Moses a Kohathite?

C. The Tribal Period

1. Levi in the Tribal Lists
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4. Levitic Groups
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D. The Monarchical Period

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**A. Introduction**

Since Wellhausen (*WPHI*) there has been wide acceptance of the view that the elaborate picture of the priests and Levites given in the "Priestly" sections of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers represents the last, not the earliest stage in the development of the Israelite priesthood. Wellhausen did not think that the Levites formed a special priestly class in Israel's early period, as an uncritical reading of the Pentateuch would indicate. Although he did not deny that there had been a tribe of Levi in remote antiquity, he believed that it had nothing to do with the priesthood, and further that it had already disappeared before the rise of the monarchy.

Therefore, according to Wellhausen, the priesthood did not play a significant role in Israel until the monarchical period, and those who functioned as priests were not Levites. Wellhausen saw priests come into prominence for the first time with Deuteronomy, which, following DeWette, he dated to the time of Josiah. Here priests were first called "Levites," but this new priestly class did not derive from the Levitic tribe of the premonarchical period. Rather, they simply assumed the name "Levite" as a patronymic in order to bind themselves together in a class.

Wellhausen stated that Deuteronomy's picture of the priesthood was never fully put into practice. He arrived at this conclusion by comparing Deut 18:6–7 (which invites the "Levite" to come to the central sanctuary to serve with the "fellow-Levites") with 2 Kgs 23:9 (which states that the priests of the high places did not actually come up to the altar of Yahweh in Jerusalem). From this, he believed, arose the distinction between priests and Levites made first by Ezekiel, then by P, and finally by the Chronicler.

Thus Wellhausen believed that he had "solved" the problem of the Levites by showing that they had never existed as a priestly class before the monarchical period; that is, not until the writing of Deuteronomy.

Wellhausen's reconstruction received a great deal of study, and in some cases revision, but the main aspects of his work were widely accepted. Once it was recognized, however, that OT traditions could have had a long oral history before they were written down, it became possible to reconstruct Israel's history, including that of the Levites, back into premonarchical times.

One of the most important of these post-Wellhausenian studies of the Levites that uses the history-of-traditions method is Kurt Möhlenbrink's article, "Die levitischen Überlieferungen des Alten Testaments" (The Levitical Traditions of the Old Testament), published in 1934. Möhlenbrink investigates four Levitic *Gattungen* (genres): *Listen* (lists), *Geschichten* (stories), *Satzungen* (regulations), and *poetische Stücken* (poems). In his discussion of the *Listen* he suggests how the Levitic genealogies may have come into their present form. One of his major contentions is that the Aaronite and Zadokite lines were secondarily added to earlier Levitic genealogies. The original form of the genealogy in Exod 6:16–25 (his *Schema* A) he dates sometime between David and Josiah, and Num 26:58 (his *Schema* E) he believes originated in the time "between Deborah and David."

Among the *Geschichten,* Möhlenbrink does not find any that can be dated as early as his *Schema* A, that is, preexilic times. He denies any original connection between Zadokites and Eleazarites and between Eleazarites and Aaronides. He does, however, believe that the Eleazarites were the priests of a Canaanite sanctuary at Gibeah already before the conquest of Palestine by Israel. Later they attached themselves to the Levites. In the *Geschichten* he also notes an original incongruity between Aaron and Moses.

On the basis of his investigation of the *Levitensatzungen,* of which he considers Deut 18:1–8 and Ezek 44:4–31 to be the oldest, Möhlenbrink again concludes that the Aaronite traditions are a late addition to the Levitic.

Möhlenbrink's study of the *poetische Stücke (Levitenlieder)* yields the following results: The "Levi" of Gen 49:5–7 (and of Genesis 34) had nothing to do with the Levitic priests. However, in Deuteronomy 33,

Levi is a real eponym of levitical priests. It is a poem about the origins and privileges of the Mushites (Levites derived from or associated with Moses). It dates even earlier than *Schema* E, that is, shortly before or after the conquest.

An important work of recent years which takes seriously the early history of the Levites is a study by Frank Cross (*CMHE*, 195–215). Cross believes that various stories of conflict in the wilderness period contain much that bears upon the history of the early priestly houses of Israel. He finds such stories in Exodus 32; Numbers 12, 16, and 25; and Leviticus 10. He concludes that these stories of conflict can best be understood if one posits an ancient struggle between the Mushite priesthood centered at Shiloh and Dan (with allied Mushite-Kenite priesthoods at Arad and Kadesh) and the Aaronite priesthood of Bethel and Jerusalem.

Using the insights of Möhlenbrink and Cross, as well as a fresh study of the Levitic genealogies, one can now reconstruct the history of the Levites in three periods: desert, tribal, and monarchy.

**B. The Desert Period**

It is in the early traditions of the desert period where one first hears of Levites who served as priests. In fact, Moses, who not only served as Israel's leader during this period but also functioned as a priest (see, e.g., Exodus 24), was considered to be a Levite (Exod 2:11).

It appears that the Levites were divided into three main groups in the desert period, namely, Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites. This follows from a study of the Levitic genealogies, where Gershon-Kohath-Merari constitutes the oldest element, both stylistically and content-wise, and from such narratives as Num 3:21–37 and 10:17, 21, which state that the Levites encamped around the tabernacle and took charge of transporting it, setting it up, and taking it down.

According to the Levitic genealogies in Exod 6:16–25, Num 26:58b–60, 1 Chr 5:27–41—Eng6:1–15, and 23:13, Moses and Aaron were brothers who descended from Kohath the son of Levi. In each case Aaron is listed first, which can mean that the genealogist considered Aaron to be older and/or more important than Moses.

**1. Moses and Aaron in Old Narratives.** According to Exod 2:16–22, Moses married Zipporah, the daughter of Reuel, a Midianite priest. That the priesthood of Moses was henceforth closely connected with Midian's is suggested by Exod 18:12, where in a cultic meeting of Israel and the Midianites the dominant partner was Jethro/Reuel (probably representing Moses, since Moses is not among Israel's representatives), while Aaron and the elders of Israel appeared as guests.

Although in Exod 4:14, Moses appears to be dependent upon Aaron when it calls Aaron Moses' brother (or "your fellow Levite"), in the old narratives Moses is usually the dominant figure. This is particularly clear in the plague stories, where Moses is constantly mentioned first. In the very first encounter with Pharaoh (Exod 5:1–4) Moses is first and Aaron second. In the fourth plague (8:16–28—Eng8:20–32) Moses dominates the scene; in fact Aaron is mentioned only once in this connection (21—Eng v 25), and then he is in second place behind Moses. In the fifth plague (9:13–35) he is mentioned only once (v 27), again in second place; in plague eight (10:1–20) he is mentioned three times (vv 3, 8, 16), but always in second position; and in plagues nine (10:21–26) and ten (11:1–8) Moses acts alone.

At the time when Yahweh first sent manna to the people, Moses alone is mentioned (16:4–5). During the war with the Amalekites (chap. 17) Aaron is a military leader of the same stature as Hur (vv 10, 12), but he is not described as a priest, nor is he on a par with Moses. In chap. 18, where Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, acts as a priest by sacrificing, Aaron (v 12), together with the elders of Israel, apparently is involved only as a participant in the communal meal which followed.

In preparation for the giving of the covenant at Sinai (Exodus 19) Aaron is mentioned only once, and then in distinction to the "priests" (19:24; cf. v 22). Who these "priests" were is not indicated. Though Aaron was given the honor of being asked to go up the mountain with Moses, in chap. 20 it is Moses alone (v 21) who drew near to speak to God. Then in the covenant proceedings recorded in chap. 24 Moses acts as a priest (vv 6, 8, while Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu function on the same level as elders in two cases (vv 1, 9), and in another instance (v 14) Aaron and Hur stay with the elders.

In Exodus 32, Aaron attempted to act as a priest, but his actions were unorthodox, and he gained the condemnation of Moses. In addition, the Levites who sided with Aaron were punished, and the Levites who sided with Moses were formalized as priests vv 25–29).

Deut 10:8 states that the Levites were set apart "to carry the ark …, to stand before Yahweh to minister to him." This may either refer to the events of Exod 32:25–29, or it may be an alternate tradition of a "setting apart" that took place at "Jotbathah" (10:7). Still another tradition mentions a constitutive act for Levi at Massah and Meribah (Deut 33:8–11).

The role of Aaron in the old narratives of Numbers is similar to that in Exodus. In 10:29–11:35 he does not appear at all, and Moses is the main figure. The same is true in chaps. 13–14; 21:4–35; and chap. 32.

In Numbers 12, Aaron, together with his sister Miriam, is actually opposed to Moses (cf. Exodus 32). They criticized Moses for his choice of a Cushite wife. This is perhaps a reference to Zipporah. For their action Aaron and Miriam were not only rebuked, but Miriam was punished with leprosy.

Cross (*CMHE,* 204) sees two themes in Numbers 12: (1) Moses' superiority over the house of Aaron as a mediator of the divine command; and (2) the legitimacy of the Mushite priesthood despite its "mixed" blood.

In summary, the old narratives present Aaron not as a priest but as an elder of the people who makes the life of Moses, the leader, difficult.

**2. Moses and Aaron in the Genealogies.** Exodus 6 contains a Levitic genealogy. Its basic form is *(w)bny X Y,* " (and) the sons of X are/were Y." The sons of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari are all listed according to this formula. This section is concluded with the statement (v 19b); "These are the families of the Levites according to their generations." This could mean that vv 16–19 once formed an independent genealogy.

Verse 20, however, uses a different formula from vv 17, 18, 19. On the basis of this variant wording, S. A. Cook (*EncBib* 1662) and others have concluded that the statement calling Aaron and Moses the sons of Amram is a secondary expansion of the earlier form of the genealogy (cf. also vv 23 and 25a). Accordingly, the inclusion of the family of Aaron in the final form of the genealogies would therefore be due to an "Aaronizing" *Tendenz* on the part of the genealogist.

In the genealogies where Aaron and Moses are called brothers (Exod 6:20, Num 26:59, and 1 Chr 5:29—Eng6:3 and 23:13), according to a principle enunciated by A. Olrik (1909: 5), it is significant that each time the order is "Aaron and Moses," whereas in the narrative sections it is normally "Moses and Aaron." Secondly, Moses' sons are never mentioned in the genealogies (except 1 Chr 23:15). These two facts alone indicate that Aaron and Moses may not be as closely associated as is often thought, and that they are best studied separately.

**3. Is Moses a Kohathite?** This raises the question whether Moses is a Kohathite, as the genealogies indicate, or whether in keeping with the old narratives he is less closely associated with Aaron. There are certain indications that Moses was actually a Gershonite. According to Exod 2:22 and 18:3 Moses had a son called Gershom. This agrees with the genealogy in Judg 18:30. Could this Gershom be connected in some way with Gershon the son of Levi? Linguistically it is difficult to tell whether the name Gershon or Gershom is more original. Both *-ōn* and *-ōm* can be used as hypocoristic/diminutive endings in biblical Hebrew names (Noth *IPN,* 56). However, given the antiquity of the *ōn* hypocoristic ending in Northwest Semitic (Gordon 1955: 51) and its greater frequency in biblical Hebrew than *ōm,* it seems probable that Gershon is primary. Further evidence for the fluidity of the spelling of the name is found in Chronicles, where the son of Levi is called both Gershon and Gershom.

If Moses' son originally had the name Gershon, then, according to the principle of papponymy (Cross 1963: 120–21) which was widespread in the ANE, he may have been named after an ancestor by the same name. The ancestor after whom Moses named his son may therefore have been Gershon the son of Levi.

This reconstruction provides a possible explanation for the different pictures of Moses' family lineage that emerge from a comparison of the old narratives and the final form of the genealogies. It would also explain why several times in 1 Chronicles the old, no doubt original, order of Gershon-Kohath-Merari is changed to Kohath-Gershon-Merari. These indications can be taken to mean that in the late period both

Moses and the Gershonites were being de-emphasized, at least insofar as their priestly role was concerned.

Another example of possible name confusion which may relate to the de-emphasis of Moses' priestly role is Eliezer the son of Moses/Eleazar the son of Aaron. If one allows for the possibility that in the Hebrew spelling of Eliezer the *mater lectionis* with the i-vowel is secondary, there was originally no difference in the consonantal spelling of these two names. Are Eliezer and Eleazar therefore one and the same? In view of the probable de-emphasis of Moses as a priest in post-Solomonic times, perhaps Eliezer the son of Moses became Eleazar the son of Aaron in the tradition.

In a similar way, Phinehas the son of Eleazar the son of Aaron (Num 25:7, 10) may originally have been associated with Moses. At any rate, one of the sons of Eli (who may have been a Mushite, 1 Sam 2:27) is named Phinehas (1 Sam 1:3). Phinehas the son of Eli could (again according to the principle of papponymy) have been named after a Phinehas of the line of Moses.

In certain of the Levitic genealogies (Exod 6:16–19; Num 3:17–21, 27, 33; and 1 Chr 6:1–4—Eng6:16–19) the next generation after Gershon-Kohath-Merari associates the Mushites with Merari, and not with Gershon. This, however, is probably not to be construed as a biological relationship, but rather as reflecting some social function or status (Wilson 1979: 19). This seems to be supported by the fact that Exod 6:20–25 carries the genealogy forward in an inconsistent way (no descendants are listed for Libnei, Shimei, Hebron, Mahli, or Mushi), while Numbers 3 and 1 Chronicles 6 do not carry the genealogy foward at all. Furthermore, there are no narratives in the OT which would indicate that these linkages represent historical reality.

**C. The Tribal Period**

There has been much scholarly discussion as to whether "Levite" is an ethnic or functional appellative. The evidence presented so far seems to indicate that the Levites were mainly a group or groups related by blood. This does not necessarily mean that "Levite" is per se an ethnic term. It can be a designation for a group which, though related, had a common function, and who because of the common function received the name. This seems to be the case with the Levites, for according to Albright (*ARI* 109; 204–5, n. 42) the term *lawiyu,* from which he derived "Levite," means "a person pledged for a debt or vow (to Yahweh)." In other words, a Levite, etymologically speaking, was a priest.

It is therefore plausible that each of the major groups or clans of Levites (Gershon, Kohath, Merari) constituted a blood relationship within themselves but not necessarily between them. Thus also Moses and Aaron would not have to be related, even though they were both Levites in the sense that they were both priests. Or put differently, a clan constituted a blood relationship, and several such clans who had the common function of the priesthood joined together to form the tribe "Levi." Accordingly, the Levites comprised a group of clans who, taken together, could have been designated as a tribe.

**1. Levi in the Tribal Lists.** In his study of the twelve tribes, Martin Noth (1930) dealt with the various lists of the tribes. He found that they generally fall into three categories: (1) those in which Levi is included (always in third place); (2) those in which Levi is not present but in which Joseph has been divided into Manasseh and Ephraim to retain the total of twelve tribes; and (3) those in which Levi, Ephraim, and Manasseh are all included.

The third category Noth takes to be a late harmonizing of the first two categories. Concerning the second category, in which the lists do not include Levi, Noth plausibly shows that all are dependent on either Num 1:5–15 or Num 26:5–51. He believes that Num 1:5–15 originally had Gad in third place. Hence, the only difference between Num 1:5–15 and Num 26:5–51 is the different order of Ephraim and Manasseh. Noth takes Num 26:5–51, which puts Manasseh first, as the older of the two forms. Noth (1930: 30–31) believes that the oldest form of category one (with Levi, Joseph still being undivided) is found in Gen 49:1–27. Since the Song of Deborah in Judges 5 mentions Ephraim and Machir (Manasseh), Noth believes that Num 26:5–51 and 1:5–15 must postdate this Song. Therefore, he dates them in the second half of the period of the Judges. Gen 49:1–27, on the other hand, must antedate the Song of Deborah, since it still speaks of Joseph as undivided. This form of the list of the tribes Noth dates to the very beginning of the period of the Judges. Another reason why Noth feels that the original form of these

lists must come from before the monarchy of David is his feeling that they would have come from a time when the tribes were still interested in maintaining their individual histories.

If, as Noth has plausibly shown, Gen 49:1–27 reflects the beginning of the period of the Judges, either Levi must have still existed as a tribe at that time, or Levi was still remembered as an integral member of an old six-tribe league (the Leah tribes) which now formed the basis for a new twelve-tribe league. According to Noth, this first or oldest list of the tribes retains the memory of a secular tribe Levi which by the time of the second list had declined to the point (cf. Genesis 34 and 49) where they were no longer mentioned.

Gunneweg (1965: 59–64) holds to the first alternative, namely, that Levi did exist as a tribe in the period of the Judges, and that one must explain the absence of Levi from the second category of tribal lists in some other way than by positing its nonexistence. Gunneweg seeks to explain the difference between category one (with Levi) and category two (without Levi) by seeing a difference in purpose between them. The first category he considers to be a *Mitgliederliste* (list of members) of the tribal league according to their eponymous ancestors; the second, since it substitutes Ephraim and Manasseh for Joseph, he takes as a geographical-political-oriented list. Accordingly, because Levi had no land, it was not included in the second list, but because it was a member of the tribal league it was listed in the first group.

Another way to understand the difference between categories one and two would be to consider the first category as a "religious" listing, that is to say, as the groups or tribes who were to appear before Yahweh at the central sanctuary three times yearly (cf. Exod 23:17; 34:23); whereas the second category could have been "political," meaning that from these groups men of war could be conscripted. Thus the Levites could be recognized as one of the member tribes of the tribal league, though they owned no land and their young men did not serve in war.

**2. Possible References to Levites in the Tribal Period. a. Joshua.** Joshua's terminology for priests is the same as in Deuteronomy. Therefore, when it speaks about "Levitical priests," it could be referring to Mushites (descendants/adherents of Moses).

Joshua 3:3 says that "Levitical priests" carried the ark as the Israelites crossed the Jordan. Therefore the priests who carried the ark around Jericho (Joshua 6) were probably also "Levitical priests," though it is not explicitly stated. At the time of the reading of the law of Moses on Mt. Ebal and Mt. Gerizim (Josh 8:30–35) it is again the "Levitical priests" who carry the ark of the covenant. (Cf. Deut 31:9–12, which says that "the priests the sons of Levi" who carried the ark were to read the law every seven years before "all Israel," perhaps meaning before the ark at the central sanctuary. See also Deut 27:9 and 27:14.)

Joshua 9:27 tells how the Gibeonites became "hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation, and for the altar of Yahweh." Though the altar they served is not mentioned, it could mean that they assisted the Levites at the central sanctuary.

Obviously these few references do not constitute a full history of the Levites/priests in the tribal league, but apparently by the time the book of Joshua was written, there was in Israel still the memory of a tradition that connected the Levites with the ark of the covenant and the public reading of the law in the very earliest period of the tribal league. And it should be noted that in the first twelve chapters of Joshua the term "sons of Aaron" does not occur.

The last half of the book of Joshua contains very little narrative material. The bulk of these chapters is usually considered to be later than chaps. 1–12. Briefly, however, the Levites are presented as priests who did not receive any land as their inheritance (13:14, 33; 14:3–4; 18:7). Instead, they are said to have received cities to dwell in (Joshua 21; cf. 1 Chronicles 6). There is general agreement among scholars that the account of the Levitical cities does not date to the tribal league; but that the Levites did not have any territory of their own and thus had to be given some special support by the rest of the Israelites is no doubt true. The book of Deuteronomy (18:1–5) suggests how the Levites at the central sanctuary were supported.

The book of Joshua mentions only one individual priest, namely, Eleazar. He is said to be involved in the distribution of the land (19:51) and of the Levitic cities (21:1). Both acts are said to have taken place at Shiloh. Eleazar's death is reported to have occurred in Ephraim (Josh 24:33).

Joshua 21 speaks of the three-fold division of the Levites, namely: Kohath, Gershon, and Merari. The order, with Kohath first, indicates that it is later than the traditional Gershon-Kohath-Merari sequence found in so many of the genealogies. The Kohathites are divided into two groups, the sons of Aaron and the rest of the Kohathites. Both in its order and in the division of the Kohathites Joshua 21 is identical with 1 Chr 6:39–45—Eng6:54–60.

Joshua 24:33 states that Eleazar was the son of Aaron and that Phinehas was the son of Eleazar. This agrees with the genealogies in Exod 6:16–25; 1 Chr 6:27–41—Eng6:1–15 and 6:35–38—Eng6:50–53; and Ezra 7:1–5. However, see B.3 above.

Though the final editing of Joshua is placed into the 6th century B.C. by Noth and many other scholars, it is recognized today that the preliterary stage of many of the documents in the book go back to a time much earlier than the final editing of the book. Therefore, in general, it can be said that there is a priori no reason why at least some of the material concerning the Levites in Joshua cannot actually reflect the period that it purports to describe, i.e., the period of the Conquest. For further discussion see Noth (*Joshua* HAT) and Boling (*Joshua* AB).

**b. Judges.** Judg 1:16 states that the descendants of the Kenite (i.e., Hobab), Moses' father-in-law, went up from the city of the palms (Jericho) in Judah and settled in Arad.

Judges 4:11 states how Heber the Kenite left his kinsman in Arad and went and pitched his tent at the "oak" in Zaanannim, near Kedesh.

If Moses was a priest, then the Kenites, because of their relationship to Moses, may have also been priests. What is more, oaks were frequently considered sacred (cf. Josh 24:26; Gen 12:6); so 4:11, which mentions "oak," may mean that the Kenites built a sanctuary at Kedesh.

In their excavations at Tell Arad, Y. Aharoni and R. Amiran have found a sanctuary which B. Mazar (1964: 297–303) dates to "between the 10th century B.C. (Stratum XI) and a late stage in the history of the Kingdom of Judah (Stratum VIII)." Perhaps there was such a sanctuary at Arad also in earlier times, and, if so, it could have been the haven for Mosaic traditions, since the Kenites (who lived at Arad, 1:16) were connected with Moses by marriage. These traditions could have been transplanted to the North (Kedesh) by Heber the Kenite (cf. 4:11). According to the genealogy of Judg 18:30, Dan would have been another northern sanctuary where Mosaic, and consequently Levitic, traditions were preserved. According to 18:30 there was a Mushite priesthood in Dan "until the captivity of the land," that is, presumably until ca. 722 B.C.

Judges 17:7–13 speaks of a single Levite (*lwy*) of Bethlehem in Judah. This Levite is seen moving to Ephraim. There he was quickly taken in as the priest of the Ephraimite Micah, who up till then used his own son as a priest. This shows that from the beginning of the period of the Judges, Israelites looked upon the Levites as the appointed representatives of Yahwism and as specialists of the cult. Micah considered the presence of a Levite in his house as a pledge of the blessing of Yahweh (17:13). Perhaps the Levites enjoyed this position of prestige because they were the priests of the ark of the covenant.

Judges 18 continues the story of Micah's priest. Here it is reported how the Danites on their migration northward enticed him to join with them because in their new home they wished the services of a priestly technician who could declare to them the divine intentions (18:5) and who would be qualified to set up and care for a sanctuary. Thus whether in Ephraim where he sojourned, or in the tribe where he set up his final home, the role, importance, and benefits of Levitism were appreciated.

The name of the Levite is given in 18:30, namely, Jonathan ben Gershom ben Moses. Charles Hauret (1957: 108–9) does not feel the genealogy at the end of the story is an intrusion, as do many other scholars, but that it is an ancient tradition preserved in the priestly circles of the sanctuary of Dan. He also defends Jonathan against the charges by scholars who would make him "cunning," "greedy," "ungrateful," and "ambitious." Hauret maintains that, if Jonathan was not the most virtuous priest, he at least had the merit of ability. Hauret further believes that Jonathan may have been an actual grandson of

Moses, because the migration of the Danites harmonizes well with the beginning of the period of the Judges.

If Judges 17–18 is any indication, Levites were scarce during the period of the tribal league. This is understandable if their major function was caring for the central sanctuary with the tent and ark. Only gradually, as their numbers grew, would some Levites be free to serve at local sanctuaries.

Judges 19–20 gives another story of a Levite. He was from Ephraim, and he took a concubine from Bethlehem-Judah. When the Benjaminites of Gibeah raped his concubine so that she died, the Levite "divided her, limb by limb, into twelve pieces" (19:29) and sent them throughout the land. As Polzin (1969: 239) has pointed out, this was probably a symbolic act which called on members of the tribal league to provide help which they had already pledged in a treaty. At any rate, the rest of the Israelites spontaneously rallied to the side of the Levite, and they gathered at Bethel to inquire of God (20:18, 26).

It is stated that the ark was at Bethel (20:27) and that it was served by Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron. Perhaps Phinehas was the chief priest of the central sanctuary in Ephraim, while his "cousin" Jonathan was the chief priest of the sanctuary of northern Dan. Assuming that this Phinehas was a Levite, this provides information which corroborates the picture given in Joshua, namely, that the most important Levites were in charge of the central sanctuary and its ark. Here we have the added information that the Levites at the central sanctuary are consulted before battle is joined against an enemy (Judg 20:18, 23, 26–28). To serve at the central sanctuary meant to stand before Yahweh (*l lipnê yhwh*) and his ark (20:28). The phrase *lipnê yhwh* seems to be a technical term, for in 20:18 the Israelites consulted *bēʾlōhîm* (of God); in 20:23 they wept *lipnê yhwh* and consulted *byhwh* (of Yahweh); in 20:26 they wept and sacrificed *lipnê hywh;* and in 20:27 they consulted *byhwh* (of Yahweh) at the ark of the covenant when Phinehas (20:28) served as the priest *ʿōmēd lĕpānāyw* (i.e., standing before him = Yahweh, or it = the ark).

**c. 1 Samuel.** The priests at the beginning of the book are Eli and his two sons, Hophni and Phinehas (1:3). Some commentators try to guess who "the house of your father who belonged to the house of Pharoah when they were (slaves) in Egypt," taken from Yahweh's words to Eli (2:27), refers to. If one takes "house of Pharaoh" to be a synonym for Egypt, then a number of answers are possible.

Wellhausen considers it to mean Moses (*WPHI,* 142; cf. *CMHE,* 196). This view can be defended, if one takes "the house of Pharoah" literally, for of Israel's ancestors, only Moses lived in Pharoah's house.

The identification of the "faithful priest" (2:35) who is to replace Eli is also a problem. The immediate context suggests Samuel; but it could already be a reference to the fact that Zadok would eventually replace Abiathar as the main priest of the people (cf. 1 Kgs 2:26–27; 35).

The Levitic classification of Samuel is even more in doubt. Though he is included in the present form of the Levitic genealogies recorded in 1 Chr 6:7–13—Eng6:22–28 and 1 Chr 6:18–23—Eng6:32-38, these are simply secondary additions to what were originally schematic genealogies of seven and fourteen names respectively. These additions were taken from 1 Sam 1:1, where Samuel's forefather Zuph is said to be an Ephraimite. That Samuel functioned as a priest, at least on occasion (cf. 7:10, etc.), seems clear. Therefore one must either reckon with a non-Levitic priesthood during this time; or the term "Levite" was used more as an appellative meaning priest than as an ethnic title. According to the former view, anyone, including Samuel, could have been considered a "Levite," regardless of his tribal affiliation.

Yet there is another possibility concerning Samuel, namely, that despite certain priestly functions he was technically a "judge" (despite 2:11). At least Samuel's sons who succeeded him were called "judges" (8:1; cf. 12:2).

The sanctuary that Eli served was at Shiloh, when, according to 1 Samuel 4, Israel was defeated by the Philistines. Eli's sons died in battle, and the ark was captured. Eli himself died after hearing the news of the battle. Though there is no clear archaeological evidence, it is quite likely that Shiloh and its sanctuary were also destroyed (cf. Jer 7:12). This, plus the loss of the ark, would have affected the Levites drastically.

The only explicit mention of Levites is in 6:15, where it is stated that they took the ark of Yahweh after it was returned to Israel by the Philistines. The Levites put the ark on a great stone at Beth-shemesh. This

description of the Levites' duties agrees with Deut 10:8; 31:9; Josh 3:3; 8:33. Beth-shemesh was, however, not the central sanctuary (6:15–7:2), and we hear no more of the ark until David became king. Accordingly, the Levites who had served at the central sanctuary now had to try to attach themselves to local sanctuaries. Ichabod (4:21; cf. 14:3a), the son of Phinehas, disappears from the scene.

Into this situation stepped Samuel who had been trained as a priest by Eli himself (1 Samuel 1–3), but who also can be reckoned as a prophet. He seems to have performed the duties of chief priest in Saul's time. However, he apparently made no effort to bring back the ark to a prominent place, nor did he work at a central sanctuary. Rather we find Samuel serving at various cities (Bethel, Gilgal, Mizpah, Ramah [7:15–17]). Therefore, Albright (1961: 18) may be right in concluding that Samuel diminished the role of priests and Levites and turned to ecstatic prophets and local sanctuaries.

In 1 Sam 8:1–5 and 12:2 it is indicated that Samuel's sons also served as priests or judges. But we hear no more of them.

Another priest at the time of Saul was Ahijah ben Ahitub ben Phinehas (1 Sam 14:3, 18). Hence, we may assume that the line of Eli had not died out, but it played an insignificant role compared to Samuel.

The Elides eventually established themselves at Nob (cf. 1 Sam 22:11) where Ahimelech is said to have been priest; but this is no doubt another name for Ahijah. Ahimelech/Ahijah's son was Abiathar. The Elides at Nob were murdered by Saul, and only Abiathar escaped. He took refuge with David (1 Sam 22:20–23) and became David's priest (1 Sam 30:7).

**3. Genealogy of Levites in the Tribal Period.** The narratives of Exodus indicate that Gershom is the son of Moses. This is put into genealogical form in Judg 18:30b which also adds the name of Jonathan. The descendants of Moses after Jonathan are not indicated by specific names. It is likely, however, that the name "Mushites" in the genealogy of Num 26:58a is a reference to them as a group. If Möhlenbrink (1934: 196) is correct, this dates from the period of the Judges.

**4. Levitic Groups.** According to a number of scholars, Num 26:58a preserves the memory of four Levitic groups in the tribal league period, namely, Mushites, Hebronites, Korahites, and Libnites.

The Mushites were the descendants of Moses. The Korahites would naturally represent the descendants of Korah and, like the Mushites, date to the tribal league.

The Hebronites were no doubt the inhabitants of the city of Hebron, mentioned in Josh 10:36 as having been taken by the Israelites during the conquest. By a process of elimination the Hebronites could be the descendants of either Kohath or Merari. However, since the Mushites probably were in control of the sanctuaries at Dan (Judges 17–18) and Kedesh (Judges 1 and 4), one would expect their rivals, the Aaronides, to be located in the South (although Arad in the South apparently remained Mushite). Hebron would therefore be the most likely place for their center. It is significant, accordingly, that in the account of the Levitical cities, Hebron is assigned to "the sons of Aaron, one of the families of the Kohathites who belonged to the Levites" (Josh 21:13 and 1 Chr 6:39–40, 42—Eng6:54–55, 57). Thus the connection of the Hebronites with Aaron and vice versa seems very probable.

The Libnites are probably to be connected with the city Libnah conquered by Joshua in Josh 10:29–30. Hence, the Levitic Libnites probably date to the tribal period. Since we suggested the Mushites to be descendants of Gershon, the Hebronites of Aaron, and the Korahites of Korah, by a process of elimination the connection of the Libnites with Merari and/or Ithamar of the desert period suggests itself.

Of the four groups mentioned in Num 26:58, the Mushites and Libnites were probably the priests in charge of the central sanctuary with its tent and ark. The Hebronites and Korahites, on the other hand, had been discredited in the desert period. Therefore they probably served only at local sanctuaries during the tribal period.

**5. Deuteronomy.** This, however, does not exhaust the source material for the period of the tribal league. In recent years there has been a strong reaction against de Wette's and Wellhausen's dating of Deuteronomy to the 7th century B.C. (*WPHI,* 9).

In his *Studies in Deuteronomy,* Gerhard von Rad points out that Deuteronomy preserves traditions older than the final editing of the book. He goes on to suggest that the country Levites of the N kingdom were the bearers of these traditions. He makes the same conclusion about some material in the Holiness Code.

G. E. Wright (*Deuteronomy* IB, 326) has accepted von Rad's conclusions, and he has emphasized even more strongly than von Rad that many of the Levites were teachers of the law rather than altar clergy.

J. A. Emerton (1962) has rejected Wright's view. He contends that Deuteronomy did regard all Levites as possessing priestly status and as being connected with sanctuaries. Emerton believes that there is no distinction in principle between altar priests and other Levites in Deuteronomy. While agreeing that the Levites were teachers of the law, he sees no basis for assuming that they could not also serve as altar priests.

This writer believes that Wright is correct in his belief that "Levitical priests" and "Levites" are not synonymous terms in Deuteronomy. However, he does not think that the distinction that Wright assumes, namely, that one group was altar clergy and the other teaching clergy is valid. Emerton is no doubt correct in his view that all Levites were in principle altar priests and that they could also serve as teachers. If there is nevertheless a distinction between "Levitical priests" and "Levites," what is it? We propose the theory that the two names do not represent two different groups living and working at the same time, but that they represent (essentially) the same group working at two different times. In order to test this theory we propose to take another look at the passages in Deuteronomy which speak to the matter.

First of all, the uniqueness of the terminology for priests in Deuteronomy needs to be noted. The terminology "sons of Aaron," used so frequently for priests in "P," is not mentioned at all in Deuteronomy. Aaron himself is mentioned only in the retelling of the apostasy with the molten bull (Deut 9:16–21) and with respect to his death (Deut 10:6 and 32:50). The dominant figure in the retelling of the exodus and wandering periods is Moses.

Moses does not identify himself as a Levite, nor does he mention them in his account of the molten bull incident. He does, however, say (10:8) that the tribe of Levi (*šbṭ hlwy*) was "set apart" as a special priestly tribe. This may have taken place at Jotbathah, one of the desert stations where Israel stopped, after Aaron's death. However, since vv 6–7 seem intrusive in the context, v 8 may also refer back to Exodus 32.

It is in the rest of the book where the two distinctive Deuteronomic types of terminology for priests occur.

The one is simply "the Levite" (*hlwy*). The Levite is said to live "in your gates = towns": 12:12; 12:18–19; 14:27–29; 16:11; 16:13–14; 18:6–7; 26:12. "Among you," found in 26:11, is an alternate expression. The name "the Levite" is used without the qualifying phrase "in your gates" only in 10:9. However, this perhaps is a reference to the "Levitical priests."

In all of these cases, except 10:9, the context is: The Israelite is to rejoice with the Levite (by providing food, etc., for him) when he goes to "the place which Yahweh your God will choose" (12:11, 18; 14:25; 16:11; 18:6; 26:2). The Levite is to be specially remembered, "because he has no portion or inheritance with his brothers/with you" (12:12; 14:27–29; cf. 10:9, 18:1).

The other main terminology is "Levitical priests," *hkhnym hlwym.* It is used in the following places: 17:9; 17:18; 18:1–2; 24:8; 27:9. The Levitical priests render legal decisions (17:8–9; cf. 21:5 and 24:8); and they are in charge of the Torah (17:18).

"The priests the sons of Levi" (*hkhnym bny lwy*) (21:5) is an alternate term for Levitical priests (cf. 17:8–9). It is also used in 31:9.

"Levi" in 10:8–9 seems to be equivalent to "Levitical priests" because it says he is to minister (*šrt*) to Yahweh, just as 18:7 and 21:5 describe the Levitical priests.

Similarly 33:8–11, where Levi is said to use Urim and Thummim, reminds one of the Levitical priests of 17:8–9 and 17:18.

"Priest" in 17:12 is surely also a synonym for "Levitical priests" in 17:9. In 19:17 "priests" is parallel with judges, as it was in 17:8–13. Hence, it again seems to be a reference to the Levitical priests. "Priest" in 26:3–4 is at the sanctuary that Yahweh chooses (v 2) and so must be a Levitical priest (cf. 18:6–7).

The plural "Levites" (*hlwym*) of 27:14 (cf. v 9) must be Levitical priests, since participating in a covenant ceremony agrees with the activities of Levitical priests as outlined in Josh 8:33 and Deut 31:9–11. For the same reason, "Levites" in 31:25–26 seems to refer to Levitical priests.

It is not absolutely clear who the "priest" of 20:2 is. But since preparing the people for holy war was a very important assignment, it would seem much more likely that this was the function of the Levitical priests, who throughout the book have the important assignments given to them.

Deut 18:1–8 is a disputed passage. First of all there is the question of the meaning of "the tribe of Levi" in v 1. Wright (1954: 326), in keeping with his theory of the Levites, concluded that the translation of the English Authorized Version was correct, in contradistinction to the RSV. AV reads: "The priests the Levites, *and* all the tribe of Levi, shall have no part nor inheritance with Israel." The RSV reads: "The Levitical priests, that is, all the tribe of Levi, shall have no portion or inheritance with Israel." The AV's use of *and* and the RSV's use of *that is* both represent attempts to interpret the Hebrew, which has no conjunction between the two phrases. Wright in following the AV understands "the tribe of Levi" to refer to the group entitled "Levites," which he describes in his article.

Emerton (1962: 133–34) has, perhaps, the better of the argument on this point. Following S. R. Driver (*Deuteronomy* ICC, 214), he contends that the second phrase in the Hebrew text is more naturally read as being in apposition to the first, as also the RSV has it.

There is, nevertheless, an element of truth in Wright's proposal, for while "the tribe of Levi" stands in apposition to "Levitical priests," it is an "explanatory" apposition which in effect corrects the first term as being inadequate as a statement of the one to whom the concept "no inheritance in Israel" applies, since this condition was shared by "Levites" as well as Levitical priests.

However, the expression, "the tribe of Levi," we see not just as being an explanatory "apposition" but as an explanatory "gloss." That is to say, it seems to come from the same hand as vv 6–8, which is probably an attempt (by a later hand) to give to the Levites of his own time what had (formerly?) applied only to the Levitical priests.

Basically, then, 18:1–8 is a description of the duties of the Levitical priests of the central sanctuary, but it also includes the thought that in principle "all the (rest of the) tribe of Levi" (v 1) and "the Levite" (v 6) had the right to perform these duties.

Though the country Levites (*hlwy*) therefore probably had the right to function as priests, they evidently did not do enough of this work to make a living at it. At any rate, Deuteronomy tells us clearly that they were poor and scattered. This gives a hint as to the time of the Levites. Their condition is reminiscent of the Levitic cities, since these cities were scattered throughout the land and could have served as a haven for the scattered Levites.

The account of the Levitic cities in 1 Chronicles 6 and Joshua 21, which Wellhausen called "historical fiction" (*WPHI*, 159–64), is now thought by many scholars to represent a certain reality. True, these cities were probably not reserved especially for the Levites already in the period of the Judges; but the list may represent an actual situation at the time of David (so Albright 1945: 49–73), or Solomon (Mazar 1960: 193–205), or Josiah (Alt *KlSchr* 2: 289–305), or at least some preexilic time (de Vaux *AncIsr*, 367; Haran 1961: 156). Accordingly, if the scattered Levites mentioned in Deuteronomy actually lived in the Levitic cities, the date for these Levites would be sometime in the monarchical period.

The other indication of the time referred to in the passages speaking about "the Levite" is the expression, "the place which Yahweh your God chooses." A prevailing view is that the law of centralization refers to Jerusalem in the time after 722 B.C. and before the time of Josiah.

The other main terminology, "Levitical priests" (*hkhnym hlwym*), seems to be used in Deuteronomy of the priests of the central sanctuary. In general these fell into four categories:

1. Using Urim and Thummim to obtain an oracle about various matters (17:9, 12; 19:17; 20:2; 21:5; 24:8).
2. Expounding the law of Moses (17:18; 27:9–10; 31:9–11, 24–26).
3. Serving before the ark (10:7–8; 31:9, 25).
4. Sacrificing and receiving offerings (18:1, 3; 26:4).

The key to dating the Levitical priests would seem to lie in determining the period when these activities were most likely carried on. It is generally acknowledged today that the use of Urim and Thummim was a very ancient priestly activity, which according to Deut 33:8 goes back to "Levi."

The idea of covenant renewal ceremonies in the tribal league has been widely held. At these ceremonies the law was recited and expounded (Josh 8:32–35 and 24:1–28). Therefore, there seems to be no reason not to accept Deuteronomy's statements (especially 31:9–11 and 27:14) that it was the Levitical priests who were engaged in the reading and exposition of this law at the central sanctuary.

Though the elaborate rules concerning sacrifice related in the Pentateuch no doubt correspond more to the practice of the later temple than to premonarchical times, there can be little doubt, based upon the study of ancient Canaanite cult practices, that Israel too had some sort of sacrificial system in its earliest period. That such sacrifice was the province of the priest goes almost without saying, and that the priests who engaged in this activity were Levites, as Deuteronomy claims, cannot be dismissed out of hand.

Finally, the ark, which according to Deuteronomy was carried by the Levites, is considered one of Israel's earliest cult objects, perhaps going back to Moses himself.

Deut 33:8–11, which in its content may reflect the tribal league period (Nielsen 1964: 18; Möhlenbrink 1934: 229), attributes to the tribe of Levi virtually the same activities that the rest of Deuteronomy attributes to the Levitical priests. For example, using the Urim and Thummim of 33:8 corresponds to category 1 above. Teaching the law of 33:10a corresponds to category 2. Putting burnt offerings on the altar of 33:10b is equivalent to category 4. Only category 3, serving the ark, is not mentioned specifically in Deuteronomy 33 as a duty of the Levitical priests, and that could well be implied, if the rest of the activities took place at the central sanctuary. It seems clear from such passages as Josh 8:30–35, Judg 20:26–27, and 1 Sam 4:3 that the ark was housed in the central sanctuary even before David brought it to Jerusalem (2 Samuel 6). Therefore, if Deuteronomy 33 (in its content) is as old as some scholars claim, this could be further evidence for placing the Levitical priests into the tribal league period.

Hence, the terminology "Levites" and "Levitical priests" seem to represent basically the same group of priests, but at 2 different times.

Accordingly, one can summarize the evidence of Deuteronomy as follows. The situation of the poor country Levite who is to be helped by the Israelites to come to the central sanctuary reflects the time between Jeroboam I and Josiah. It is very possible that this was part of a plan to tie the Levites to the central sanctuary in Jerusalem by giving them royal support. This support would have ended with Jeroboam I, who according to 1 Kgs 12:31 appointed "priests from among all the people who were not of the Levites," and who of course attempted to cut off all ties with Jerusalem. The result, as far as the Levites in the north were concerned, would have been the poverty-ridden situation reflected in Deuteronomy.

The description of the Levitical priests seems to refer to priests of the central sanctuary. Though the dating is difficult, the connection with the ark (10:8; 31:9; 31:25; and also Josh 3:3 and 8:33) as well as with the covenant renewal festival at Shechem (27:9–14; 31:9–11; Josh 8:33) make it possible to conclude that in the statements about the Levitical priests of Deuteronomy one has a very ancient tradition reaching back to the tribal league.

**6. Summary.** Putting all the foregoing together, one obtains the following picture:

In the desert the Levites had been given the right to serve the ark. By virtue of this they became the keepers of the central sanctuary in the tribal league. It became their prerogative to expound the Mosaic law as well as sacrifice at the central sanctuary. As the Levites grew in number, not all of them could stay at the central sanctuary. This made some available for serving at local sanctuaries. Anyone could be a priest at a local sanctuary, but even there Levites were preferred. On the other hand, at the central sanctuary only the Levites could serve. These are the "Levitical priests" of Deuteronomy. All these Levites seem to be descendants of Moses and/or Ithamar. They were probably the Mushites and Libnites mentioned in Num 26:58a. The Aaronides (Hebronites) and Korahites were not influential during this time, and we have no record of their activities.

**D. The Monarchical Period**

The fall of Shiloh (see C.2.c above) would have had a profound effect upon the Levites who were in charge of the central sanctuary, that is, perhaps the Mushites. No longer were they able to support themselves by serving at the central sanctuary. Rather they had to seek employment at other sanctuaries.

According to Judg 18:30, the priesthood of northern Dan had been Mushite since its inception. It is possible that some of the Shilonite Mushites resettled there when Shiloh fell. However, if the "molten image" of Dan was a bull icon (cf. Judg 17:3–4 and 18:17), as many scholars believe, it is doubtful if the Mushites of Shiloh, who were accustomed to the ark and cherubim as the symbol of Yahweh's presence, would have felt comfortable there.

Likewise, the Mushite Levites no doubt had difficulty attaching themselves to sanctuaries where Aaronides were in charge (e.g., Hebron). In Saul's day all of the descendants of Eli (Shilonite Mushites) who were in Nob, except Abiathar, were put to the sword for befriending David.

After David came to power he installed Abiathar as one of his two chief priests in Jerusalem. It is therefore likely that he would have invited other Mushite Levites to serve there as well. Thus in David's time Jerusalem probably not only became the haven of some refugees from Shiloh, but it also became the new home of the ark (2 Samuel 6), a sort of neo-Shiloh.

The installation of the ark in Jerusalem was the most important cultic event of David's reign. It is not entirely clear whether the Levites (= Mushites?) carried the ark alone, or whether they were assisted by priests (= Aaronides?). But we can be sure that David wanted to keep all elements of the population happy and that it was therefore his policy to invite representatives from as many sanctuaries as possible to Jerusalem.

David may have done even more for the Levites who found themselves scattered and without regular employment as a result of Shiloh's fall. Albright, as we have seen (C.5), suggested that the establishment of 48 Levitic cities (Joshua 21 and 1 Chronicles 6) is to be attributed to David. The Levites could have cared for the sanctuary in such cities and perhaps also taught the law, as they probably did in the tribal league, both at local sanctuaries and at the central sanctuary. No doubt by such an act as the establishment of the Levitic cities David not only would have wanted to help the Levites who were jobless and homeless to earn a living, but he would have also wished to create a group of influential people throughout his kingdom who would be loyal to him and the interests of Jerusalem.

Though David invited Abiathar (and other Mushite Levites?) to serve at the ark in Jerusalem, they did not have a monopoly on this service. David also brought another priest to Jerusalem who shared the office of chief priest with Abiathar. His name was Zadok. Zadok's origin has been much debated. In 2 Sam 8:17 he is introduced without explanation as one of David's two priests. He is called "the son of Ahitub," and the other priest, namely, Ahimelech, is called "the son of Abiathar" (cf. 1 Chr 18:16). Most commentators are agreed (on the basis of 1 Sam 22:20; 23:6; and 30:7) that Ahimelech was actually the father, not the son, of Abiathar. Furthermore, Ahitub is called the father of Ahijah/Ahimelech in 1 Sam 14:3 and 22:9, 11, 20, rather than the father of Zadok. Therefore, most scholars have concluded that 2 Sam 8:17 (in the MT) is out of order and that it originally read something like, "Zadok and Abiathar, son of Ahimelech, son of Ahitub, were priests." Thus Zadok would be left without genealogy, and his Aaronite ancestry as recorded in 1 Chr 5:27–34—Eng6:1–8; 6:35–35—Eng6:50–53; and Ezra 7:2–5 also becomes suspect. Instead, various theories have been proposed as to his real origin.

The hypotheses that Zadok stems from Gibeon or Kiriath-jearim do not have enough positive support to command many followers. However, the theory that Zadok was originally a priest at a Canaanite shrine of *ʾēl ʿelyôn* in Jebusite Jerusalem enjoys widespread acceptance. This theory is based on a supposed connection between the name "Zadok" and the figures of Melchizedek and Adonizedek of pre-Israelite Jerusalem. A variation on this theory considers Zadok to be a Jebusite priest who deserted to David already at Hebron.

More recently, the "Jebusite hypothesis" has come under attack, notably from F. M. Cross (*CMHE,* 209–15). Cross points out that one need not link Zadok with the tradition of Melchizedek or Adonizedek of Jerusalem simply because of the similarity in names, because *ṣdq* is a very common element in Northwest Semitic languages. Further, the texts (2 Sam 24:18–25 and 1 Chr 21:18–30) do not state that David pitched his tent at the Canaanite shrine of *ʾēl ʿelyôn* but on the threshing floor of Araunah. Next, it is difficult to believe that David, an orthodox Yahwist, would have asked a pagan priest to serve with

Abiathar in the central shrine of his realm. Finally, if Zadok in fact descended from Melchizedek, would not the later Zadokites have claimed him, rather than Aaron, as their ancestor?

After Cross' attack on the Jebusite hypothesis, he proposes a hypothesis of his own. This may be called the "Aaronite" or "Hebron" hypothesis. Cross begins by reevaluating the genealogies which claim that Zadok is the son of Ahitub (2 Sam 8:17) and a descendant of Aaron (1 Chr 5:27–41—Eng6:1–15). Wellhausen thought that these texts had no historical value. Wellhausen based his skepticism about the genealogy of Zadok on the assumption that the Ahitub of 2 Sam 8:17 had to be the same man who is listed as the grandson of Eli in 1 Sam 14:3 and the grandfather of Abiathar in 1 Sam 22:20. Wellhausen therefore thought that the MT of 2 Sam 8:17, *wṣdwq bn ʾḥyṭwb wʾḥymlk bn ʾbytr khnym* ("and Zadok the son of Ahitub and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar were priests"), had been corrupted intentionally from an original: **ʾbytr bn ʾḥymlk bn ʾḥyṭwb wṣdwq khnym* ("Abiathar the son of Ahimelech the son of Ahitub and Zadok were priests").

Cross points out, however, that there is no textual evidence for Wellhausen's emendation, and it is difficult to understand why, if an ancient Zadokite wished to change the text, Zadok would be placed last. Furthermore, it is curious that Wellhausen's reconstruction provides no patronymic for Zadok, but two generations of ancestry for Abiathar. On the basis of 2 Sam 8:16 one would expect a single patronymic in each case.

Cross contends that there is no text-critical reason for removing Ahitub as Zadok's father. In terms of content, there is also no reason why there could not be two Ahitubs, one the grandfather of Abiathar and the other the father of Zadok, as the genealogies indicate (e.g., 1 Sam 14:3; 22:20; 1 Chr 5:27–34—Eng6:1–8). That Zadok was not of the same line as Abiathar (who according to 1 Sam 14:3 and 22:20 is clearly a descendant of Eli) seems to be substantiated by 1 Sam 2:20–36, which according to most interpreters presents the line of Zadok as a replacement for the line of Eli.

Cross's reconstruction shows that the only element in the genealogy of 2 Sam 8:17 in the MT which is not authentic concerns the relation of Abiathar to Ahimelech. Cross traces the development of the MT by beginning with the Syriac version, which reads:

*ṣdwq bn ʾḥyṭwb wʾbytr bn ʾḥymlk*
(Zadok the son of Ahitub and Abiathar the son of Ahimelech)

On the basis of 1 Chr 18:16 it appears that originally Abimelech stood in the place of Ahimelech, thus:

*ṣdwq bn ʾḥyṭwb wʾbytr bn ʾbymlk*
(Zadok the son of Ahitub and Abiathar the son of Abimelech)

Cross proposes that *ʾbytr bn* (Abiathar the son of) dropped out by haplography, resulting in:

*ṣdwq bn ʾḥyṭwb wʾbymlk*
(Zadok the son of Ahitub and Abimelech)

Later, according to Cross, *ʾbytr* could have been inserted back into the text at the wrong place and filled out by *bn* (son of), resulting in:

*ṣdwq bn ʾḥyṭwb wʾbymlk bn ʾbytr*
(Zadok the son of Ahitub and Abimelech the son of Abiathar)

The final steps in the development of the MT would have been the adding of *w* (and) to *ṣdwq* (Zadok) and substituting *wʾḥymlk* (and Ahimelech) for *wʾbymlk* (and Abimelech).

Such a reconstruction of 2 Sam 8:17 agrees with the ancestry of Zadok as recorded in 1 Chr 5:34—Eng6:8, and it would also mean that the Chronicler's genealogy (1 Chr 5:27–34—Eng6:1–8, which makes Zadok an Aaronide, reflects historical reality. It would further explain how Abiathar could mistakenly have been reckoned as the father of Ahimelech.

Cross maintains on the basis of Josh 21:10, 13 and 1 Chr 6:42—Eng6:57 that the Aaronides were tied to Hebron. Since the Hebronite clan played an important role in the crowning of David in Hebron (so Mazar) and no doubt throughout the seven and one-half years that David ruled Judah from Hebron (2 Sam 5:5), it is readily understandable that he should have made contact with Zadok. In fact, 1 Chr 12:27–29—Eng12:26–28 speaks of Zadok as being over the priests (= Aaronides?) in Hebron. Though the numbers (4,600 Levites and 3,700 priests) are certainly too large, that there were Levites (under Abiathar) and

priests (= Aaronides) under Zadok is probably true. At any rate, Zadok is placed at Hebron during David's reign there, and when David made his capital in Jerusalem, he no doubt invited Zadok to join him.

First Chronicles 15 says that there were six Levitic groups at David's time. We suggest that these groups may have related to the earlier groupings as follows: Gershom represents the Gershonites; Hebron, Uzziel, and Kohath represent the Kohathites/Aaronides; and Merari and Elizaphan the ancient Merarites.

According to 1 Chr 15:17–24; 16:4–7, 25 there were singers and gatekeepers among the Levites already in David's time. Albright has shown that, although the singers probably existed in the Chronicler's own time, it is highly likely that David had already originated musical guilds in his day (cf. 1 Chronicles 25), and that the names "Heman," "Asaph," and "Ethan" probably represent such ancient musical guilds. Regarding the gatekeepers, we are not sure whether they were all Levites in David's time, as 1 Chronicles 26 says. Probably not. David may also have been responsible for the organization of his priests, but it is doubtful that he had twenty-four divisions (cf. 1 Chronicles 24).

The most significant event for the Levites during the time of Solomon was his banishment of Abiathar and adoption of Zadok as chief priest (1 Kgs 2:26–27). It is possible that Solomon also installed an Aaronite priesthood at Bethel, replacing the Mushites. This would explain the expression in 1 Kgs 12:31 that Jeroboam appointed non-Levites there. These non-Levites could have been Aaronides who were not recognized by the Mushites. Halpern (1974: 519–20, n. 3) believes that Solomon allocated the Levitic cities and that the Gershonites/Mushites were assigned as far north as possible to keep them out of Jerusalem.

From this period on there is evidence that the Zadokites came to be referred to simply as "priests" (the Chronicler's term) or as the "sons of Aaron" (P's term), although according to our analysis they were probably Aaronite Levites. The term "Levites" would have henceforth referred mainly to the Mushites. This seems to be brought out in 1 Chr 15:4, where David called together "the sons of Aaron" and "the Levites."

The genealogy of 1 Chr 5:27–41—Eng6:1–15 (cf. 1 Chr 9:11, Neh 11:11, Ezra 7:1–5), which begins with Levi, Kohath, and Aaron and ends with the exile, contains the following specific descendants of Zadok: Zadok (I), Ahimaaz, Azariah (I), Johanan, Azariah (II), Amariah (II), Ahitub (II), Zadok (II), Shallum, Hilkiah, Azariah (III), Seraiah, Jehozadak.

While it is obvious from a comparison with the priests mentioned in the books of Kings that there are historical gaps in the genealogy, some of the names are corroborated in the narratives of the OT. Ahimaaz is explicitly referred to as the son of Zadok who, together with Jonathan the son of Abiathar, served as a messenger between Jerusalem and the self-exiled King David (2 Sam 15:36; 18:19, 22, 27). Azariah (I) is referred to in 1 Kgs 4:2, albeit as a son rather than a grandson of Zadok. Amariah II is referred to in 2 Chr 19:11, Hilkiah in 2 Kgs 22:4, and Seraiah in 2 Kgs 25:18 = Jer 52:24). Other priests mentioned in 2 Kgs 11:9; 16:10; 2 Chr 24:20; 26:17; and 31:10 are evidently not to be identified with any in the list in 1 Chr 5:27–41—Eng6:1–15, though one Azariah of Hezekiah's time is explicitly called a Zadokite in 2 Chr 31:10.

Because of the apparent discrepancies between the narratives of the books of Kings and Chronicles and the genealogy in 1 Chr 5:27–41—Eng6:1–15, plus the repetition of the group "Amariah-Ahitub-Zadok" within the list, many scholars believe that 1 Chr 5:27–41—Eng6:1–15 is an artistic creation of a priestly scribe. Thus, it is not surprising that, if one allows 300 years for the apparent 12 generations between Ahimaaz and Jehozadak (25 years per generation) and figures back from the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 B.C. (when Jehozadak lived, cf. 1 Chr 5:41—Eng6:15), one falls considerably short of 959 B.C., the date when Solomon's temple was begun. This can, however, be explained by assuming that the genealogy represents a list which became stylized in Zadokite circles long before the Chronicler used it in his work. Hence, one would expect there to be historical gaps in the genealogy. Furthermore, the repetition of "Amariah-Ahitub-Zadok" within 1 Chr 5:27–41—Eng6:1–15 should not be seen as necessarily an artistic creation, for it is now known from the Samaria Papyri (Cross 1963) and elsewhere that the practice of papponymy, as well as the repetition of similar names within a family line, was common in real life.

Some of the provisions concerning priestly duties contained in P are probably really a description of the cult during the time of David and Solomon, but it is difficult to recover this in detail. Accordingly, the material in Exodus relating to Aaron and his sons, the strands of Numbers which speak about "Levites under Aaron," "Aaron" and "sons of Aaron," and most of Leviticus may ultimately go back to Zadokite circles of monarchical as well as postexilic times.

As has already been indicated, at the time of the division of the kingdom the Levites in the levitical cities in the north were cut off from Jerusalem. Because of their background as priests of the central sanctuary in the tribal league, and because they had probably been closely tied to Jerusalem for their support since the creation of the Levitical cities by David, they were of course odious to Jeroboam I. Therefore, it is easy to comprehend why he appointed "non-Levites" as priests (1 Kgs 12:31). However, his action may not have extended beyond Bethel, since according to Judg 18:30b the Mushites = Levites were the priests of the Danites until the captivity (i.e., ca. 722 B.C.).

Second Chr 11:13–14 and 13:8–11 state that as a result of Jeroboam's action against the Levites some of them left their homes in the north and went to Jerusalem. But it is doubtful whether many went south, and those who did would not have received a very warm welcome from the Zadokites.

Therefore, the Levites may have been cut off from Jerusalem and other southern sanctuaries. In this situation they would have had limited opportunity to engage in sacrifices at any large sanctuary, and they would have become poor. Hence, G. E. Wright (1954), following von Rad, may be correct in stating that the "country Levites" were engaged mostly in teaching.

Accordingly, the Levites who did remain in the north could have preserved many traditions that eventually were published in the book of Deuteronomy found in Josiah's time. This included the tradition of how they, the Mushite Levites, had been the priests of the central sanctuary in the tribal league, even though Deuteronomy's term for the Mushite Levites of the tribal league is "Levitical priests." These Levites of the N kingdom expressed their hope of going up to Jerusalem again in Deut 18:6–7.

But the Levites who lived between the time of Jeroboam I and Josiah also wished to better their present situation as *personae miserae.* Therefore, they reminded the people of the obligations to care for the "Levite" when they went to "the place which Yahweh will choose" (Deut 12:12–13, 17–19; 14:23, 27–29; 16:11, 14–15; 18:6–7; 26:2, 11–13). There may have been such legislation already in the tribal league to provide support for those Levites who served at local sanctuaries rather than the central sanctuary, but now it took on new meaning and was promulgated with greater vigor.

Hosea, a northern prophet who worked ca. 750–725 B.C., condemns the priests for their wickedness in 4:4, 9; 5:1; and 6:9. H. W. Wolff (1956: 83–94) sees in 6:9 a reference to persecution of the Levites. He extrapolates from 8:5–6; 10:5; and 13:2 (where Hosea attacks the bull cultus, cf. 1 Kgs 12:28–29) and Exod 32:25–29 (where the Levites are opposed to the golden bull) the theory that Hosea had allied himself with the Levites in opposing the cult introduced by Jeroboam I (1 Kgs 12:25–33). According to Wolff's theory, the Levites were engaged in the preservation of early Mosaic traditions ever since Jeroboam I's appointment of non-Levitic priests (1 Kgs 12:31).

At the time of Abijah the Levites shared the priesthood of Jerusalem with the "sons of Aaron" (2 Chr 13:10). During Jehoshaphat's time the Levites were engaged in teaching (2 Chr 17:8). They were also arbiters in cultic and other disputes (19:8).

At the time of Joash there was a certain criticism of the Levites for their slowness in gathering funds for the renovation of the temple (2 Chr 24:5). But in Hezekiah's time they receive special praise (2 Chr 30:22), and various groups of Levites are mentioned (2 Chr 29:12–14).

The trend of upgrading the Levites, begun in Hezekiah's time, was seemingly continued by Josiah. He ordered the centralization of *all* sacrifice in Jerusalem, but he gave the Levites (of the countryside, including those still in the north) the opportunity to join their fellow Levites who were already in Jerusalem (cf. Deut 18:6–8). Thus Josiah sought to go back to conditions at the time of David. But according to 2 Kgs 23:9 the Jerusalem priests did not accept the country Levites.

Jeremiah also gives some information about priests. He in fact mentions the priests more often than any of the other writing prophets. He himself is said to be the son of Hilkiah (not the Hilkiah of 2 Kings 22–

23) of the priests of Anathoth (1:1). This presumably means that he was of a priestly family; and, since he came from Anathoth, he may have been a descendant of Abiathar (cf. 1 Kgs 2:26–27). Yet we have no evidence that Jeremiah ever acted as a priest.

Jeremiah also calls attention to the sins of the priests, and he condemns them accordingly (1:18; 2:8, 26; 4:9; 5:31; 6:13; 8:1, 10; 13:13; 14:18; 23:11, 33–34; 32:32; 34:19).

Jeremiah tells us that it is the peculiar function of the priests to handle the Torah (2:8; 18:18). In 19:1 the "senior priests" (*zqny hkhnym*) are mentioned. It is unclear whether they are good or bad. Pashhur was an evil priest who opposed Jeremiah (20:1; cf. chap. 38). In chap. 26 the "priests and Prophets" opposed Jeremiah.

Priests are mentioned in 27:16 (Jeremiah speaks to them); in 28:1 (Hananiah the prophet spoke to Jeremiah in the presence of the priests); and in 29:1 (the priests in exile to whom Jeremiah writes).

Jer 29:24–32 informs us that Zephaniah the son of Maaseiah had replaced Jehoiada as the priest in Jerusalem (cf. 21:1; 37:3). Zephaniah refused to arrest Jeremiah.

Jeremiah foresees a time when the priests will again be good (33:17–22). The priests are called Levitical priests (*hkhnym hlwym*), which is Deuteronomic terminology. His hope is that these Levitical priests might occupy the priesthood forever.

If Abiathar was a Mushite, he would have kept Mushite traditions alive in Anathoth, the place of his exile. Accordingly, Jeremiah, coming from Anathoth, would have had northern theological training. Hence, when Jeremiah states that the priests of the future will be "Levitical priests," he may be using the term as it was understood in the north, and his words may in effect be a polemic against the Zadokite priesthood of Jerusalem.

Jer 52:24 says that the chief priest (*khn hrʾš*) at the fall of Jerusalem (587 B.C.) was Seraiah. This agrees with the genealogies in 1 Chr 5:27–41—Eng6:1–15, Ezra 7:1–5, and Neh 11:11.

According to the view of Ezekiel, himself a priest, the only priests who will be eligible to perform all the priestly duties in the "new Jerusalem" are the Levites/Levitical priests who are descendants of Zadok. They are given this privilege because they remained faithful when the other Levites went astray (44:10–15; 48:11).

A question arises how Ezekiel can commend the sons of Zadok, whereas in the preexilic southern prophets they are harshly condemned. It is also necessary to ask what situation Ezekiel had in mind when he referred to the Zadokites' faithfulness and the Levites' sin. Wellhausen (*WPHI,* 122–27) answered by stating that Ezekiel was simply trying to legalize the consequences of Josiah's reformation of ca. 622 B.C. (2 Kings 22–23; 2 Chronicles 34–35). At that time the Jerusalem priesthood (i.e., Zadokites) participated in the reform, while the Levites who had formerly served at the high places were invited to come to Jerusalem but were not permitted to serve at the altar of the temple, presumably because they were rejected by the Zadokites (2 Kgs 23:9; cf. Deut 18:6–8). As a result, they were degraded. Most other scholars have followed Wellhausen's interpretation of Ezekiel's reasons for condemning the Levites (see Zimmerli *Ezechiel* BKAT).

As regards the question of the prophets' condemnation of the (Zadokite) priesthood of Jerusalem, Ezekiel evidently does not believe their aberrations were so great as to disqualify them as priests, although he too is critical of them in 7:6 and 22:26. However, Ezekiel's own criticism comes in the midst of a stylized condemnation of all the leaders of Israel and is therefore probably not to be taken as being specifically against the Zadokite priesthood. In fact, in chap. 8, which gives a picture of paganism in the temple, there is no explicit criticism of the priests. It must also not be forgotten that Ezekiel's references to the Zadokite priesthood after chap. 40 not only refer to it in the past, but they also deal with the idealized new Jerusalem, where the priesthood would as a matter of course be perfect.

The description of the duties of the "Levites" and "sons of Zadok" here corresponds well with the description of the "Levites" as hierodules of the "sons of Aaron" in P. Why, however, are the two groups referred to in two different ways? Scholars have made many guesses. Kennett (1904–5: 174) suggests that the Aaronides, who had previously been at home in Bethel, were invited to become the priests of Jerusalem during the time when the Zadokites were in exile in Babylon. F. S. North (1954: 194) holds that

the Aaronides were in charge of Bethel, and that Bethel actually supplanted Jerusalem as the religious center of Palestine during the Exile. After the Exile the Zadokites returned to establish a new cult in Jerusalem, and now they claimed that they themselves were Aaronite in descent. T. J. Meek (1928–29: 155–56) assumes that the Aaronides took over the Jerusalemite priesthood during the Exile when the Zadokites were for the most part deported. After the Exile, Zadokites were again accepted into the higher priestly ranks, but there was a certain amount of friction until finally in NT times the Zadokites triumphed. George Berry (1923: 235) sees the "change" from the name "Zadokites" to "sons of Aaron" as the work of P who was seeking to enhance the glory of the Jerusalemite priesthood by giving it an ancient lineage. De Vaux (*AncIsr*, 394–97) rejects the contention that the sanctuary of Bethel took on new life after the reform of Josiah. Rather, he favors a view that the "sons of Aaron" constitutes a compromise between the descendants of Zadok and Abiathar, who, from the time of the Exile on, both traced their descent to Aaron, the Zadokites through Eleazar and the Abiatharites through Ithamar.

Our reconstruction shows that Zadok was a descendant of Aaron and Abiathar of Moses. The various links between Aaron and Zadok in the genealogy of 1 Chr 5:27–41—Eng6:1–15, however, we have considered to be not genuine. This genealogy had no doubt been worked out by the Zadokite priesthood of Jerusalem to bolster its legitimacy. Though in itself, then, not entirely reliable, it nevertheless presented what we consider was a historical fact, namely, that Zadok was a descendant of Aaron.

Hence, we believe that the "sons of Aaron" and the "Zadokites" stood for one and the same thing, namely, the priesthood of Jerusalem. We also hold that one should not speak of a "change" from one terminology to the other. Rather they could be used interchangeably after the time of Solomon, depending on the context. Accordingly, when P spoke about the desert period he used the term "sons of Aaron," because Zadok would have been an anachronism for the time. On the other hand, Ezekiel, since he spoke about his own day and the future, was free to use the term "sons of Zadok."

Whether there was a high priesthood in preexilic times is still a moot point. De Vaux (*AncIsr,* 378) lists only four usages of "high priest" (*hakkōhēn haggādŏl*) in preexilic texts (2 Kgs 12:11; 22:4, 8; 23:4). But in the parallels to these texts in Chronicles he finds other readings. Hence, he says that "all four references to the 'high priest' before the Exile seem to be later modifications." Nevertheless, the fact that the actual term "high priest" does not occur more often or seem more fixed in the tradition does not necessarily mean that the office did not exist.

It therefore appears most likely that the "chief priests" in Jerusalem from Solomon till the Exile were descendants of Zadok, and that the genealogy of 1 Chr 5:34–41; Eng 6:8–15 presents a reasonably accurate listing of its main members. The preexilic prophets, particularly Jeremiah, who was possibly a descendant of Abiathar, were generally critical of the Jerusalemite priesthood. Nevertheless, these priests were exalted in Ezekiel's plan for the new Jerusalem (40:46; 43:19; 44:15; 48:11) above the "Levites." The description of the duties of the "Levites" and "sons of Zadok" in Ezekiel corresponds quite clearly to the description of the "Levites" as hierodules of the "sons of Aaron" in P, and roughly to the terminology "priests and Levites" in the Chronicler. There are many theories concerning these differing terminologies. However, if the Aaronite ancestry of Zadok is sound, the terminology "sons of Aaron" for priests prior to Solomon (so in P) and "Zadokites" for those after his time would be precisely what one would expect. For further general discussion see Albright *FSAC* and Noth *ÜgS.*

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**LEVITICAL CITIES.** Unlike the other tribes (Josh 13–19), the Levites do not receive any allocation of land after the "conquest." Rather, the Levites are to inhabit 48 cities, called "Levitical cities," spread throughout the nation. These 48 cities, which include 6 "cities of refuge," are given to the Levites by the twelve tribes. The specific cities which are distributed to the Levites are found in lists of the cities in Josh 21:1–42 and 1 Chr 6:39–66—Eng6:54–81. In addition, there is the "enabling legislation" of Num 35:1–8 which describes the cities and indicates that this distribution of cities to the Levites was ordered by God.

One of the questions which arises is why the Levites did not receive any land like the other tribes. One explanation is based on Gen 49:7, part of the Blessing of Jacob, in which Levi and Simeon are reported to have been "divided in Jacob and scattered in Israel" for their actions against the Shechemites (Genesis

34). Thus, they were no longer a tribe and received no land. A more plausible explanation is that because the Levites were set aside to be priests, they received no inheritance of land (Num 18:24; Deut 10:8–9; Josh 13:33; 18:7). Levi had no portion or inheritance with his brothers; Yahweh was his inheritance. This consecration to Yahweh is reflected in the Levites' redemption of the firstborn son (Num 3:11–12, 41, 44; 8:17–18).

In spite of this claim of "no inheritance," there are passages which suggest that the Levites did receive land (Num 35:1–8; Josh 14:4; 2 Chr 11:13–15; 13:2). What the Levites received, even mentioned in the "enabling legislation" for the Levitical cities (Num 35:1–8), was pasture land (*migraš*). This land is not residential or farm land, and thus it is not considered an inheritance.

Since the Levites had no inheritance, they needed some other means of sustenance or support. One suggestion is that their support came from the tithing given to them because of their priestly status (Num 18:21–24; Deut 18:1–4; Josh 13:14). Another suggestion is that since the Levites were landless, they were put in the same sociological category as the widow, orphan, and sojourner (*gēr*) and thus received support from the people (Deut 14:28–29; 16:11, 14; 26:11–13). The third possible means of support is from the cities and pasture land which the Levites were given (Josh 21:1–42; 1 Chr 6:39–66—Eng6:54–81). Having pasture land meant they could raise herds, something priests in association with temples often did. Thus, it is through tithing, their functioning as priests, their status as landless, and their possession of cities, that the Levites are said to sustain themselves.

In understanding the lists of Levitical cities themselves, discussion has focused on three issues: the historicity of the lists, the date of the lists and the purpose of the cities. One of the early milestones in the discussion was an article by W. F. Albright (1945). In that article Albright dated the lists to 975–950 B.C.E., because he saw that as the only time in which all the cities were within the borders of the Israelite kingdom. However, the most significant element of Albright's article was his discussion of the textual history of Joshua 21 and 1 Chronicles 6. His comparison of the two texts and the LXX led him to conclude that $LXX^{B}$ of Joshua 21 was representative of the parent of both Hebrew versions. This argument remains the predominant view.

An alternate to Albright's dating came from A. Alt (*KlSchr* 1:306–15). Alt argued that there were two significant gaps in the lists of Levitical cities. There were virtually no Levitical cities in the area of Judah and in the hills of Ephraim. For Alt, these gaps were the very areas affected by Josiah's intervention into local sanctuaries during his reform. Thus, Alt dated the lists to a time after Josiah's reign (640–609 B.C.E.).

The supposition that Albright and Alt made, but did not articulate, was that the lists are realistic. Such an assumption results in a search for a point in history where the lists could reflect reality. M. Haran questioned this assumption and argued that the lists have both realistic and utopian features. Among the utopian features are the measurements of the land around the cities as 2,000 cubits, the identical dimensions for all 48 cities, the fact that the cities were the exclusive preserve of the Levites, and the distinction between priests and Levites. One might also add the selection of 48 cities as utopian since twelve tribes contributing 4 cities each is suspicious, especially since it is not even observed in the actual distribution (e.g., Naphtali gave only 3 cities—Josh 21:32). The realistic elements Haran lists include the dispersion of the tribe of Levi, the Levites in nonshrine cities, Levitical cities not within the ideal boundaries of Israel, the different social and economic position of the Levites relative to the priests, and the numerical superiority of the Levites over the priests. Haran concluded that the lists reflect a historical situation to which later utopian elements were added. Haran identified this later utopian hand as being that of the Priestly author. The historical situation he left unspecified.

This two-stage usage of the lists was expanded on by J. P. Ross (1973). He, and most scholars, argue that the current lists reflect the postexilic workings of the Priestly writer. However, Ross argued that the lists had an earlier context, unassociated with the priestly Levites. The lists were just plain town lists of the period of the monarchy which were resurrected in the time of Josiah to help deal with a controversy about the Levites. According to Ross, the presence of Levitical clans, the references to the Aaronites, and the division among twelve tribes were all added later, by the Priestly writer in the time after Nehemiah.

This perspective of Haran and Ross that the lists are a late construction and partially utopian is buttressed by a recent archaeological study. J. Peterson (1977) sought to identify the sites of the Levitical cities and, using archaeological evidence, to discover their time of occupation. Peterson was able to identify 45 of the Levitical cities. What was startling was that only 20 of the identified sites showed evidence of occupation in the 10th century. In contrast, only one site, Kishion, was not occupied in the 8th century. Therefore, Peterson concluded that the Levitical cities were from the 8th century.

The conclusion of Peterson affects the dating for the creation of the lists of Levitical cities, but the dating of the placement of the lists in their present context still needs attention. While the postexilic placement in 1 Chronicles is not questioned, the date of Joshua 21 is more difficult to establish. Joshua 21 is set within the Deuteronomic Historian's work which would normally suggest a late preexilic or exilic date (600–550 B.C.E.). However, several factors militate against such a date. There is a clear separation of priests and Levites (Josh 21:1–3, 13, 20). Aaron is seen as a priest in Joshua 21, which would be the only instance where Aaron appears as a priest in preexilic materials. There is linguistic evidence adduced by Auld (1979) and Ross (1973) which suggests that Joshua 21 is dependent on a tradition later than 1 Chronicles 6. Finally, there is the fact that the enabling legislation for the cities (Num 35:1–8) is Priestly material. All of these factors suggest a postexilic date for the list in Joshua 21, which comports with the argument that the Priestly "writers" were responsible for the insertion of the list of Levitical cities in Joshua 21. So the lists' present locations result from postexilic redacting.

In discussing the purpose of the Levitical cities, most reconstructions have been highly dependent on the dating of the lists. B. Mazar (1959) dated the lists to the time of the united monarchy. He argued that the placement and structure of the cities were influenced by Egyptian models and that the cities functioned as provincial administrative centers to serve the deity and king. In similar fashion, Mettinger (1971) saw a close connection between royal estates and fortresses and the Levitical cities placed near the borderlands. Thus, he saw the cities as integral to the construction of David's empire.

Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence refutes any claim that the Levitical cities date from the time of the united monarchy. So scholars have been forced to look elsewhere for an appropriate historical context. Both Peterson (1977) and Boling (1985) want to place the lists in the 8th century, based on the archaeological evidence. However, it is difficult to see any time in that period when all of these cities would have been part of the Israelite or Judean kingdoms or to see any clear rationale for the construction of the lists in that period.

The assumption that persists in the works of Mazar, Mettinger, Peterson, and Boling is that the lists are realistic. Given the archaeological evidence which rules out the time of the united monarchy and the geographical evidence which makes the 8th century doubtful, one is pushed to consider the possibility that the texts do not fit any preexilic historical situation. Rather, one must consider the possibility that they are creations from the postexilic period which sought to explain how the Levites fit into the early political, social, and theological structure of ancient Israel.

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JOHN R. SPENCER

# LEVITICUS, BOOK OF.

Leviticus is the third of the five books of the Torah (Pentateuch).

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A. Introduction
B. Contexts and Structure of Leviticus
1. Cult and Purity (Chaps. 1–16)
a. Officiation of Priests in the Sacrificial Cult (Chaps. 1–10)
b. Purifications Conducted by the Priesthood (Chaps. 11–16)
2. Holiness of the Israelite People (Chaps. 17–27)
a. Prologue and Epilogue to the Holiness Code (Chaps. 17; 26:3–46)
b. Holiness Code and Addendum (Chaps. 18:1–26:2 and Chap. 27)
3. Text-Critical Considerations: The State of the Text of Leviticus
C. Historical Context of Leviticus: "Realistic Interpretation"
1. Issues of Interpretation
2. Comparative Method

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## A. Introduction

The name "Leviticus" represents the Latin form of the Greek name *Levitikon.* In Hebrew, the usual way of referring to this book is *wayyiqrāʾ,* "He called," a mnemonic title which identifies the book by its first significant word. (Compare *Šĕmôt* "The names of—" for Exodus, etc.) As such, the name *wayyiqrāʾ* tells us virtually noting about the contents or significance of this biblical book. In contrast Greek *Levitikon* is a characterization, and the same is true of the rabbinic Hebrew name *tôrat kôhănîm,* an ambiguous name which is, however, highly instructive.

At first glance, Greek *Levitikon* is a puzzling name, because the Levites are mentioned only in passing; it is the book of Numbers which features the Levites. But to Greek-speaking Jews of antiquity, *Levitikon* probably connoted "priestly" in general. It may reflect Deuteronomic usage, since in Deut 17:9, 18; 18:1 the Israelite priests are referred to as *hakkôhănîm hallewîyîm,* "the Levitical priests." The postexilic prophet Malachi (2:6–7) speaks of Levi as the epigone of the Israelite priesthood and refers to "the covenant of Levi," the commission of the priesthood, which he sees as having been violated in his day. We can say, therefore, that the name *Levitikon* means "that which concerns the priests." This is close to the meaning of Hebrew *tôrat kôhănîm*. The component term *tôrâ* originated in priestly literature. It means "instruction, prescribed ritual, ruling." In chapters 6–7 of Leviticus we find manuals of practice addressed to the priests, and entitled *tôrâ.* For example: "This is the *tôrâ* for the burnt-offering" (Lev 6:2). This suggests that *tôrat kôhănîm* means "instructions *for* the priests." But, we could just as well render *tôrat kôhănîm* in other instances as "instructions *of* the priests," (or, "by the priests"). These are the rulings issued by the priests; their teachings transmitted to the people of Israel or to individual Israelites. This is the sense of *tôrâ* as priestly teaching in Jer 18:18; Hag 2:10–13; Mal 2:6–7; etc. The rabbinic term should be understood in both of its aspects.

## B. Contexts and Structure of Leviticus

Leviticus consists almost entirely of law and ritual. In most instances, rituals are also formulated as laws and commandments. The book of Leviticus is organized according to a perceptible plan into two principal parts. Chapters 1–16 deal with the role of the priests as officiants in the sacrificial cult of worship, and as performers of rites of purification. Chapters 17–27 deal with the requirements of holiness; they preserve major priestly statements, addressed for the most part to the Israelite people. This, then, is how the book is organized. Part One (chaps. 1–16) is addressed to the priesthood and concerns cultic officiation and

purity. This section represents *tôrâ for* priests. Part Two (chaps. 17–27) represents *tôrâ of,* or *by* the priests, addressed to the people of Israel, and commanding the pursuit of holiness as the collective goal of religious life.

**1. Cult and Purity (Chaps. 1–16). a. Officiation of Priests in the Sacrificial Cult (Chaps. 1–10). (1) Types of Sacrifices (Chaps. 1–7).** Chapters 1–7 of Leviticus prescribe the proper manner of preparing and offering the principal types of sacrifices which, separately and in various combinations, comprised the cultic regimen of biblical religion, as prescribed by the priestly school of biblical writers. These sacrifices answered the needs of both private and public worship. Each of the first three chapters of this section is devoted to one of the mainstays of the cult: the burnt offering (*ʿôlâ*), the grain offering (*minḥâ*), and the sacred gift of greeting (*šĕlāmîm*). Chapters 4–5 prescribe the sacrifices of expiation, the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* "sin-offering," and the *ʾāšām* "guilt offering." Chapters 6–7 deal with the allocation of portions of most sacrifices to the officiating priests, and in some cases, to donors of sacrifices as well. Most sacrificial offerings, with the exception of those offered in the manner of holocausts, contributed to the sustenance of the officiating priesthood. It was, in fact, essential to the efficacy of the sacrifices, especially with respect to sacrifices of expiation, that priests partake of them in the form of a sacred meal (Lev 10:12–19).

The prescriptions of chaps. 1–7 are followed (chaps. 8–10) by a description of the investiture of Aaron and his sons as the first legitimate Israelite priests, and the simultaneous consecration of the tabernacle and its altar. The sequence in chaps. 1–10 of Leviticus is: (1) rites at which priests were to officiate; (2) the authority or sanction of the Aaronide priesthood. This authority was granted by God and conferred by Moses in the formative period of Israel's history. There is little corroborative evidence for the ascendancy of the Aaronide priesthood in preexilic biblical literature, but there is ample evidence of a functioning priesthood from relatively early times.

Each of the principal types of sacrifices prescribed in Leviticus 1–7 had a distinctive character conveyed in part by the term used to designate it. The Hebrew term *ʿôlâ,* "holocaust," expresses the manner of offering that sacrifice. Its aromatic smoke "ascends" heavenward (the Hebrew verb *ʿālâ*) and is inhaled by the deity, in acceptance of the offering (Gen 8:21). In chap. 2, the term *minḥâ* likewise indicates the manner of disposing of the sacrifice. The Hebrew verb *nāḥâ* means "to bring forward, present," and *minḥâ* connotes, therefore, "that which is presented." As for the term *šĕlāmîm* of chap. 3, it is far more elusive, because it derives from the root *š-l-m,* which attests a wide range of meanings, from peace and well-being to sharing and covenant. The translation "sacred gift of greeting" is based on the evidence of Ugaritic and Akkadian, where nominal forms of the Semitic root *š-l-m* šlmm in Ugaritic, and *šulmāmu* in Akkadian) designates gifts presented when one greets another or is welcomed into the presence of another. In cultic contexts, both Ugaritic *šlmm* and Akkadian *šulmāmu* designate sacrificial offerings. The *šĕlāmîm* are, therefore, the sacred gifts which accompany the word of greeting *ŝālôm.*

In practice, the *ʿôlâ* of chap. 1 could consist of large or small cattle, as well as certain birds. The *ʿôlâ* was sectioned, decapitated (almost always), skinned, and cleaned. The parts were burned to ashes on the altar of burnt offerings: it was a holocaust. The *minḥâ* of chap. 2 could be prepared in a number of ways. It was usually made of semolina (wheat flour) with olive oil and aromatic spices added. Usually, a fistful of the dough was burned on the altar, and the rest of the dough baked or fired. Some *minḥâ* offerings were offered as a holocaust. The meaning of the term *minḥâ* suggests that this type of sacrifice was originally set before the deity, rather than being burned on an altar. In fact, certain grain offerings continued to be presented in this way, with no part of them being placed on the altar (compare the provisions of Lev 7:10–14; 23:15, 17; 24:5–9, and Deut 26:1–11). These presented offerings were made of leavened dough (*ḥāmēṣ*) instead of unleavened dough (*maṣṣā*), as is the rule in chap. 2. No leavened dough was allowed on the altar according to the priestly laws of the Torah. (Also note the *minḥâ-holocaust* of Lev 6:12–16.) As the importance of burnt offerings grew, the mode of presenting most types of *minḥâ* was adapted to the altar of burnt offerings, and a "token" (Hebrew *ʾazkārâ*) was burned on the altar.

The *ʿôlâ* and *minḥâ* of chaps. 1–2 are classified as "most-sacred offerings" (*qōdeš qodāšîm*), which meant, practically speaking, that only consecrated priests could partake of them. Chapter 3 introduces a series of offerings of lesser sanctity, prepared in the manner of a *zebaḥ,* "sacred meal." Certain portions of

such sacrifices, called *šĕlāmîm*, were burned on the altar, whereas most of the edible meat, of large or small cattle, was boiled in pots and allotted to both priests and donors. We learn something about the preparation and disposition of the *zebaḥ* from descriptions found in 1 Sam 2:13, 16; 9:22–24.

The *ʿôlâ* and *minḥâ* were often utilized in the public cult as well as for private worship, but the *šĕlāmîm* had only a very limited role in public worship, in the celebration of the Pentecost, according to Lev 23:19. In the public sphere, it seems to have been reserved largely for special dedications and historic convocations (Exodus 24, 1 Samuel 11, and 1 Kings 8).

Chapters 4–5 of Leviticus prescribe a regimen of expiatory sacrifices. The *ʾāšām* was a penalty, computed according to "valuations" (Heb *ʿērek*), and paid in the form of a sacrificial ram. It was ordained for inadvertent misappropriation of sacred property or the property of fellow Israelites, and for cases involving a false oath, a crime known as *maʿal.* The sacrificial ram was accompanied with a payment equivalent to 20 percent of the misappropriation, and was not efficacious unless full restitution had been made (Lev 5:14–16, 20–26—Eng 6:1–7). The phenomenology of the *ʾāšām* is best illustrated in the narrative of the expiatory gifts, called *ʾāšām,* which the Philistines dispatched to the Israelites so as to avert the wrath of the God of Israel (1 Samuel 6). A brief code governing the *ʾāšām* is also found in Num 5:5–10. The verb *ʾāšam* means "to be guilty, to incur blame."

As for the *ḥaṭṭāʾt,* there were two distinct types. Lev 4:1–21 ordains a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* consisting of a bull. Its purpose was to expiate for serious inadvertent offenses on the part of the chief priest, or the entire community. Sections of the bull were burned on the altar; what was not so disposed of was removed to a spot outside the encampment and, in a rite of riddance, was completely destroyed. The more usual type of *ḥaṭṭāʾt* most often consisted of small cattle, sections of which were offered on the altar; other parts were allocated to the priests. Such sin-offerings were required of individual Israelites, even tribal chieftains, who inadvertently transgressed the law. They served to square offenses with God and community and, at the same time, rewarded priests for their role in securing expiation on behalf of their fellow Israelites (Lev 4:22; 5:13, 17–19). There was provision for redressing the cost of this type of sin-offering by allowing it to consist of birds—even a grain offering—so as not to deprive any Israelite of expiation due to lack of means. The noun *ḥaṭṭāʾt* itself is based on the *Piʿel* stem of the verb *ḥ-ṭ-ʾ*, which means "to err, betray, offend." Quite often, the *Piʿel* stem connotes the undoing of what the simple stem conveys. On this basis, *ḥaṭṭāʾt* means "removal of sinfulness, purification."

It is important to emphasize that the expiatory system outlined in chaps. 4–5 of Leviticus did not apply to willful, flagrant violations of law. There was no way to expiate such acts ritually; authorized agencies imposed direct penalties on the guilty (Num 15:30).

Integral to the sacrificial procedures of Leviticus were various blood rites. In all cases of sacrifices of animal and fowl, it was required that the sacrificial blood be used in specified ways. Two functions are evident in these blood rites. One function was expiatory: Dashing or sprinkling of sacrificial blood on the side of the altar of burnt offerings, or pouring it onto the base of the altar as a blood libation (Lev 1:5; 3:2; 4:7; etc.). The original intent of such blood libations was to appease chthonic deities by offering them lifeblood, which increased their power. In the monotheistic cult of Israel, where blood also symbolized life, manipulation of sacrificial blood was conceptualized as a substitute for the lives of the worshippers, securing expiation for them, and protecting them when they were in God's immediate presence (Lev 17:11f.).

The second function was apotropaic. The application of sacrificial blood to the horns of the altar, and in rarer instances, to the horns of the altar of incense and other interior furnishings of the shrine represented the effort to ward off evil impurity—to protect the sacred appurtenances and sacred space from demonic penetration. This is why such utilization of sacrificial blood was restricted to expiatory offerings whose purpose it was to purify (see Lev 4:6–7, 17–18, 25, 30, etc. Also see the purificatory rites of Leviticus 16 for the Day of Atonement).

Chapters 6–7 of Leviticus specify in greater detail how priests were to officiate in the sacrificial cult. This involved keeping the altar fire burning continually and removing ashes regularly. Those portions of the sacrifices allotted to priests became their property. In the case of the *zebaḥ* "sacred meal," of which

several types are stipulated in chap. 7, donors also received portions of the sacrifice. Chapter 7 enumerates three varieties of the *zebaḥ* called *šĕlāmîm,* first encountered in chap. 3: the votive (*neder*); the voluntary contribution (*nĕdābâ*); and the thanksgiving offering (*tôdâ*), the last accompanied with two loaves of leavened bread.

**(2) Ordination of the Priesthood in the Sanctuary (Chaps. 8–10).** The last 3 chapters of the first major unit of Leviticus differ in their formulation from chaps. 1–7, which are *prescriptive,* commanding certain ritual performances. Chapters 8–10, on the other hand, are primarily *descriptive,* reporting on certain celebrations, set in the presettlement period of Israelite history. Chapter 8 describes how Aaron and his sons were installed in their priestly office by Moses, at God's command. Simultaneous with their investiture and consecration was the consecration of the tabernacle and its altar. Aaron, the chief priest, is the typological counterpart of the tabernacle; both were anointed with the same special oil. The commissioning of the priests is conveyed by the term *millû᾽îm* "appointment." Chapter 8 concludes with specific instructions to Aaron and his sons regarding their participation in the sacred meal of their consecration, which lasted for seven days.

Chapter 9 describes the celebration of the eighth day, when the sacrificial cult was actually initiated, with the newly appointed priests officiating for the first time. This occasion held critical importance, because it was intended to verify that God had accepted the Aaronide priests and would receive their offerings favorably. A sequence of sacrifices celebrated this occasion. First, the tabernacle was purified by means of a *ḥaṭṭā᾽t,* "sin-offering." Then, an *ʿôlâ,* "burnt-offering," was performed, to test God's readiness to accept the officiation of the Aaronide priesthood. This *ʿôlâ* was accompanied by a grain offering (*minḥâ*). Finally, the *šĕlāmîm,* "sacred gift of greeting," was offered and the priests joined with the deity in a "sacred meal."

A fire from within the tabernacle, God's fire, ignited the altar. Aaron blessed the people assembled. According to tradition, he did so in the words of the tripartite benediction preserved in Num 6:22–26. The "glorious presence" (Heb *kābôd*) of the God of Israel appeared to all the people, who prostrated themselves in adoration. God was present in the tabernacle and had indicated his favorable disposition.

Immediately, things began to go wrong. Nadab and Abihu, two of Aaron's sons, offered "hateful" incense in the tabernacle and the divine fire blasted them to death (Lev 10:1–2). Although the precise nature of their offense remains elusive, their dramatic death served to emphasize that extreme care was to be exercized by the priests in all aspects of officiation. A series of instructions on proper priestly conduct reinforces this message; Aaron and his two remaining sons are cautioned not to defile their consecration by mourning the dead of their family.

**b. Purifications Conducted by the Priesthood (Chapters 11–16). (1) Dietary Code (Chap. 11).** Now that procedures relevant to priestly officiation have been set forth, Leviticus addresses the purificatory functions of the priesthood. Chapter 11 presents a *tôrâ* of dietary purity, extending to the condition of vessels and to persons normally having contact with foodstuffs. These regulations are similar to those in Deuteronomy 14, and it is reasonable to conclude that Leviticus 11 is patterned after the Deuteronomic code. This is a logical assumption in view of the fact that Leviticus 11 goes further in dealing with the purity of foodstuffs.

One would have expected the dietary code to appear in the second part of Leviticus, since it is addressed to the Israelite people, in substance, and is dominated by the theme of holiness, as is Deuteronomy 14. It is possible, therefore, that chap. 11 was shifted from the so-called Holiness Code to the first part of the book, and reinterpreted as purity legislation. Prevention of impurity was a priestly function, as we read in a postscript to chap. 11 (vv 44–46). What had been priestly instruction addressed to the people was reoriented, and regarded as instruction for the priests, as well.

Leviticus 11 legislates the permissibility of animals for food on the basis of a classificatory scheme which distinguishes large land animals, aquatic creatures, flying animals, and social insects. Large land animals may be used as food only if they have fully cleft hooves and are ruminants. (The pig is prohibited because it does not chew the cud, although it has cleft hooves.) Only water creatures with fins and scales may be used as food. The long list of prohibited birds implies that all others were permitted. Winged

swarming creatures are generally forbidden; four types of locusts are permitted because they have jointed legs. Also prohibited are land creatures that move without legs, four-legged beasts that walk on paws, and all many-legged creatures.

No physical purification (e.g., by means of water) is required of a person who has eaten forbidden foods. Nevertheless, according to Lev 5:2, one who mistakenly eats forbidden food is obliged to bring a sin-offering.

All attempts to formulate a consistent theory to explain why certain animals, fowl, and fish were permitted as food and others forbidden, or why certain physical criteria determined purity, have failed to account for certain anomalies. There are, nevertheless, some fairly prevalent correlations. Domestication is a pervasive factor. Animals raised and kept in proximity to human settlements were preferred as food; even deer, for instance, were permitted as food, probably because they shared certain features with domesticated animals. Herbivorous animals predominate in the approved diet. Digestion and locomotion are the two factors most important for determining acceptability. Ruminants meet the requirements of digestion. How living creatures obtain their own food is significant. Those creatures most "careful" in their own diet are fit sources of food for a holy, pure people. Animals with fully cleft hooves have "toes" of a sort, and meet the requirements of locomotion; those with paws do not. Fins and scales indicate proper locomotion for water creatures. It emerges that living creatures most resembling humans, and most familiar to them are acceptable as food sources.

A dominant theme in Leviticus 11, as in Deuteronomy 14, is Israel's distinctness as a pure and holy people. This distinctness was to be expressed in diet, as well as in sexual activity and religious worship. Israelites were to avoid *tôʿēbâ,* "abomination," in all three areas, and to avoid defilement (see Lev 18:24–30; 20:22–26; Deut 7; 14:3).

As chap. 11 proceeds, emphasis shifts from foodstuffs themselves to the problems of retaining the purity of foodstuffs and of vessels in which they are stored, prepared, and served. Seed and grains had to be kept dry, and impure persons and substances had to be kept away from food and vessels. Chapter 11 ordains a complex system of dietary restrictions and food care. The priests were trained to instruct the people on questions of purity, as regards proper diet.

**(1) Other Purifications (Chaps. 12–15).** Chapter 12 of Leviticus deals with the ritual status of the new mother during the period following childbirth. She was declared impure for varying periods of time, depending on the sex of the newborn child, and was forbidden access to the sanctuary for that period of time. The fact that this period of restriction was doubled for a female child may be explained by the greater potential role of the female in human reproduction. By distancing childbirth from the cult it was intended that its celebration be kept within the family. In the polytheistic, mythological religions of the ANE, the life cycle was celebrated ritually and associated with the gods. This was incompatible with the Israelite monotheistic belief.

Various conditions were subsumed under the category of "impurity" (Heb *ṭûmʾâ*), both medical and otherwise. This classification did not imply that any offense had been committed, necessarily, only that danger threatened. Such was the case of the new mother. At the conclusion of the period of restriction, the new mother was required to offer an expiatory sacrifice, not because of any offense on her part, but because she was being readmitted to the sanctuary after a period of confinement, when she and her infant were vulnerable.

The second matter dealt with in this series of purifications is a complex of skin ailments, undoubtedly regarded as contagious. These, too, were classified as impure. The ailment called *ṣāraʿat* is sometimes translated "leprosy," although, from its given symptomology, it was more likely a type of psoriasis or other skin ailment. This condition could occur in acute or transient forms and resembled the blight and discoloration often evident in cloth and leather, and even in plastered building stones. These conditions are the subject of chaps. 13–14 of Leviticus. Intricate purificatory rituals are prescribed, including sin-offerings, so as to ward off the dangerous effects and the impurity of such affections. Some of these rites, such as the dispatching of a bird as a part of a riddance ritual, resemble the rites of purification of the sanctuary, as ordained in Leviticus 16. Quarantine and observation interacted with purification and

sacrifice. Priests were instructed on how to diagnose acute *ṣāraʿat,* for which no cure was known. One suffering from acute *ṣāraʿat* was permanently banished as *ṭāmēʾ,* "impure" (Lev 13:45–46).

Chapter 15 concerns physiological phenomena, particularly abnormalities related to the human genitals. The normal menstrual cycle of the female was a matter for priestly regulation, and a woman was declared impure, a state termed *niddâ* "flow, menstruation" for seven days, during which time she could not have sexual intercourse with her husband. The menstruating woman was required to bathe at the conclusion of her period. There are also provisions for abnormal discharges from the genitals occurring outside the normal menstrual period.

The normal seminal emissions of the male were likewise classified as impure and required bathing for proper purification. Abnormal flux in the male produced even a greater degree of impurity. Taken as a whole, Leviticus 15 attests to the high degree of anxiety over human sexuality and reproduction. The category of *ṭûmʾâ,* "impurity," once again embraces both actual problems of a medical character and matters of ritual concern.

**(2) Purification of the Sanctuary.** The first part of Leviticus concludes with chap. 16, the elaborate ritual for purifying the Israelite sanctuary. Priestly tradition, as represented in vv 29–34 of this chapter, scheduled this purification as an annual event, to take place on the tenth day of the seventh month, only a few days before the major pilgrimage, the festival of booths (*ḥag hassukkôt*; see Lev 23:26–44). Virtually all purification rites required sacrifice, and this in turn necessitated a pure sanctuary. After chaps. 11–15 had set forth the rites of purification to be conducted by the priests, chap. 16 instructed the priesthood on periodic measures necessary for maintaining the purity of the sanctuary itself.

The purification of the sanctuary was conducted by the chief priest; tradition identified Aaron as the one who had initiated these rites. The priest wore special vestments on this occasion and undertook to expiate, in turn, for his own offenses and those of his priestly family, and finally for those of all Israel. By "sins" (Heb *ʿăwônôt*) was meant those acts which defiled the sanctuary and its attending priesthood. At a certain point in the proceedings, the high priest, Aaron, entered the innermost shrine, the holy of holies, bringing with him sacrificial blood from the sin-offering. He stood directly in front of the *kappôret,* the sculptured lid covering the ark, the space from which divine forgiveness came. The God of Israel was envisioned as sitting astride the cherubs, which adorned the sculptured lid of the ark (1 Sam 4:4; 6:2; 2 Kgs 19:18; Isa 37:16). The priest applied sacrificial blood to objects and spaces inside the shrine, perhaps in order to seal up his route of egress and thus protect the shrine from defilement.

Alongside the offering of sacrifices, which effected riddance and removal, there was also the dispatching of the scapegoat, a riddance rite *par excellence,* with heavily magical overtones. Anthropologists and students of comparative religion have analyzed the scapegoat ritual extensively and have encountered similar practices in many parts of the world. The collected sins of the community were transferred to a kid goat, selected by lot, and carried off into the wilderness, to the domain of Azazel, the demonic ruler of the wasteland (see Lev 17:7). The scapegoat represents a vestige of pre-monotheistic religion, continued by the priests of Israel to dramatize expiation.

Appended to the principal rites of purification is the annual scheduling of the occasion called *yôm hakkippûrîm* "the Day of Atonement," (Lev 23:27). The basic objective of purifying the sanctuary and its attendant priesthood is extended to the people themselves. No actual rite of purification of the people of Israel was performed, but the ceremonial *identification* of the people with the actual purification of the sanctuary effected a purification of the populace. By fasting and other forms of abstinence, and by declaring this day a twenty-four-hour period of complete rest, the people were involved in the purification of the sanctuary in a meaningful way. The confession of sins by the officiating priest touched them as well.

**2. Holiness of the Israelite People (Chaps. 17–27).** In modern biblical scholarship, Leviticus 17–26 has come to be known as the Holiness Code. Admitting later interpolations, scholars have nevertheless been impressed by the unusual coherence of themes in this section of Leviticus, and by the consistent emphasis on holiness as the objective of collective existence. Chapter 27, which comes after the epilogue to the Holiness Code (Lev 26:3–46), belongs with chaps. 17–25, though it may be a later composition. In

any event, it was clearly appended to the book of Leviticus, with no effort made to insert it before the epilogue.

Most of the contents of the Holiness Code are addressed to the entire people of Israel. Chapters 21–22 are exceptional in this respect since they deal with regulations governing the priesthood. The theme of holiness dominates chaps. 21–22. The sanctity of the priesthood was of concern to the whole people, and there is a symmetry between people and priesthood: both must be holy.

**a. Prologue and Epilogue to the Holiness Code (Chaps. 17; 26:3–46).** The Holiness Code opens with a prologue (chap. 17) and ends with an epilogue (26:3–46). This arrangement is characteristic of the other collections of laws preserved in the Torah. The subject of the prologue is proper worship. (Cf. Deuteronomy 12, which introduces the Deuteronomic laws, and Exod 20:19–23, which introduces the book of the Covenant. Both sources speak of proper worship.)

According to the prologue, which most likely expresses the Deuteronomic doctrine of cult centralization (Noth *Leviticus* OTL, 129–30) all sacrifices must be offered at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting (a way of referring to the sanctuary), on the one legitimate altar by a legitimate priest. No blood may be consumed, and sacrificial blood is reserved for ritual utilization on the altar to expiate sins. The earlier practice of offering sacrifice at various altars is outlawed.

The epilogue admonishes the Israelite people to obey God's laws and commandments, predicting the dire consequences of disobedience. A disobedient Israel will be exiled from its land and endure horrible punishments in foreign lands. Going beyond exile, and the threat of collective extinction, the epilogue holds forth the promise of restoration to the land, if only the people of Israel will show remorse for its past behavior and renounce its coldness toward God. In its thrust, the epilogue to the Holiness Code resembles the epilogue to the Deuteronomic laws (Deuteronomy 28–30), notwithstanding certain differences in the language and concepts characteristic of each composition.

**b. Holiness Code and Addendum (Chaps. 18:1–26:2 and Chap. 27). (1) Family Law (Chaps. 18 and 20).** Between prologue and epilogue, the Holiness Code presents important legal documents and commandments relevant to the life of the Israelite community. Chapters 18 and 20 present differing formulations of family law. It is not clear why such repetition was required. Chapter 18 is clearly the primary statement, and is formulated apodictically, whereas chap. 20 is casuistic in its formulation, specifying legal penalties. The introduction to chap. 18 speaks of avoiding the sins of the Egyptians of the land which the Israelites had just left, and the sins of the Canaanites of the land to which they would arrive. On the other hand, the introduction to chap. 20 (vv 2–5) focuses on the abominable cult of Molech, which appears to have involved child sacrifice, a practice for which death by stoning is legislated.

The chapter continues (20:10–21) with restrictions on sexual congress between kin. A man was forbidden to marry his close relatives. Two factors combined to enhance the concern in ancient Israel with incestuous marriages. There was, first of all, a pattern of endogamy, epitomized in the narratives of the patriarchs. Marriages with Canaanites or Philistines were not acceptable. Then, too, there was concern for retaining ancestral lands within the larger family, or clan. Acting together, these two pressures created a situation in which marriages within the clan were subject to restriction so as to avoid incest. Chapters 18 and 20 place limits on sexual relations. These codes outlaw adultery, homosexuality, and bestiality. A holy community was one in which sexual energies were channeled according to divine will.

**(2) "You must be holy, for I, the LORD your God, am holy!" (Chap. 19).** Chapter 19 of Leviticus is a remarkable document of priestly *tôrâ,* showing the degree to which the priestly school of biblical times was sensitive to prophetic teachings, and laws governing human behavior. This composition emphasizes perhaps more than any other section of the Holiness Code what it truly meant to be a holy nation.

Chapter 19 stresses the interaction of social behavior and religious piety, two dimensions of life which were never meant to be regarded as separate. In tandem, chap. 19 commands observance of the Sabbath and respect for parents; it prohibits pagan funerary practices and commands respect for elders. It requires that sacrificial flesh be disposed of in certain ways, while condemning fraudulent economic dealings. The grafting and blending of vegetation separate in nature are prohibited, and Israelites are commanded to leave gleanings and corners of their fields for the indigent. Though idolatry is thoroughly condemned,

Israelites are commanded to be kind to aliens, who may be idolators. By following the dictates of this mini-*tôrâ,* which echoes the commandments of the Decalogue, Israelites could hope to become a holy nation.

**(3) Priestly Regulations (Chaps. 21–22 and 24).** In symmetrical fashion, chaps. 21–22 deal with two factors relevant to purity: contact with the dead through funerary activity and restrictions on priestly marriage. An ordinary priest was generally forbidden to attend to the dead, except with respect to his close, consanguinal relatives. By declaring the human corpse the most impure object, a matter detailed in Numbers 19, priestly law effectively ruled out any funerary role for the priesthood. It is reasonable to conclude that the priesthood sought to prevent the spread of cults of the dead by distancing funerary activity from the public cult, or from private ministrations by the priesthood. This is further indicated by the fact that a Nazirite was also prohibited from contact with the dead (Num 6:1–21).

The second area of concern was marriage. Ordinary priests were prohibited from marrying a divorcée or a defiled harlot. An ordinary priest could marry a widow, however. In both areas, the high priest was subject to even severer restrictions. He was barred completely from contact with the dead, and could not even attend to the burial of his parents. He was restricted to marrying a virgin of a priestly family. He could not marry a widow.

The avoidance of divorcées reflects the laws of Deut 24:1f., which stipulate that the sole basis for divorce was serious sexual misconduct, such as adultery. A divorced woman was, therefore, stigmatized on the assumption that she had been guilty of such misconduct.

Chapters 21–22 of Leviticus deal also with the physical suitability of priests, and with defects and blemishes in sacrificial animals. The remarkable correspondence between the two categories suggests that the same concept underlies both classifications: what is offered to God must be of the best, sound and without defect.

Also included in chap. 22 are laws aimed at guaranteeing that sacred offerings (*qodāšîm*) be maintained in a pure state. Impure priests were to avoid contact with such materials. Sacred offerings were intended to sustain priests and those members of their families who shared the same domicile. Chapter 22 concludes with a brief code governing procedures of sacrifice. Mother animals and their offspring may not be sacrificed on the same day, and offspring could not be sacrificed until they were eight days old.

Chapter 24 of Leviticus is a brief and loosely organized collection of priestly laws, including the charge to Aaron to kindle the candelabra continually and to prepare the bread of display (*leḥem happānîm*). The rest of the chapter deals with the crime of blasphemy, and an account of an actual instance of blasphemy in the days of Moses.

**(4) Calendar of Festivals (Chap. 23).** The sacred days of the year are significant aspects of any religious system. They constitute the *sancta* of the group, which lend to it a distinct identity. Leviticus 23 is the primary, priestly calendar of annual festivals, and is therefore a major source of information on biblical religion. Its precise position in the development of the Israelite festivals is not entirely certain. Here it will be the accepted view that this calendar reflects the rescheduling of the festivals which was legislated in Deuteronomy 16 and exhibits further indications of dependence on Deuteronomy. Its provisions represent therefore a stage in the development of the festivals subsequent to the Deuteronomic reforms, and of course, much later than the pre-Deuteronomic code of Exod 23:14–19, part of the Book of the Covenant.

According to Deuteronomy 12, all sacrifices, including those in celebration of the festivals, must be offered on a single altar, at a central "cult-place" (Heb *māqôm*). It has already been suggested in our discussion of the prologue to the Holiness Code (chap. 17) that this restriction underlies the law of Lev 17:1f.

Restriction of sacrifice to a single, central temple generated the most basic changes in the scheduling of the annual festivals and in other aspects of their celebration. The primary change was to defer the wheat harvest festival seven weeks, since it would be very difficult for Israelites to undertake two lengthy pilgrimages, the *maṣṣôt* pilgrimage and the pilgrimage of the wheat harvest, in close sequence to each other.

The content of Leviticus 23 gives evidence of considerable editing. Its requirements of sacrifice were subsequently elaborated in the provisions of Numbers 28–29. Chapter 23 is presented as a calendar of *môʿădîm,* "set-times," a term used to designate annual occasions occurring at the same time each year. The calendar begins with the law of the Sabbath day, even though the Sabbath is not strictly speaking a *môʿēd.*

The basic commandment of the Torah regarding the Sabbath is to cease all *mĕlāʾkah* "assigned tasks." In priestly terminology, the Sabbath is *miqrāʾ qôdeš,* "a sacred convocation," and is to be celebrated as such in all Israelite habitations (23:1–3).

The order of the annual *môʿădîm* is as follows:

(1) *Ḥag hammaṣṣôt,* "the pilgrimage festival of unleavened bread." This festival is to be celebrated for seven days, beginning on the fifteenth day of the first month, in the spring of the year. It is immediately preceded by the paschal sacrifice (*pesaḥ*), offered before evening on the fourteenth of the month. *Maṣṣôt* must be eaten for seven days, beginning as an accompaniment to the paschal sacrifice. The first and seventh days are proclaimed *miqrāʾ qôdeš,* days on which assigned tasks are forbidden. An offering by fire (Heb *ʾiššê*) of an unspecified character is to be offered on each of the seven days of the festival (23:8).

(2) Chapter 23 of Leviticus continues by ordaining certain religious activities for the period between the *maṣṣôt* festival and Pentecost, the wheat harvest festival, seven weeks later. The mere fact that the priestly calendar schedules this festival seven weeks after the *maṣṣôt* festival testifies to its acceptance of the Deuteronomic program, which called this occasion *ḥag šābûʿôt* "a pilgrimage festival of weeks" (Deut 16:9–12). In our chapter, the laws governing the period between the *maṣṣôt* festival and the Pentecost highlight the importance of the Sabbath day as a point in time for calculating the passage of weeks. If consistent terminology were employed throughout, the *ḥag šābûʿôt* of Deut 16:10 would have been called *šabbātôt* in Leviticus 23. The seven weeks are to be counted from Sabbath to Sabbath and not from any other day. This concept of marking time eventually led to the week which begins on Sunday and ends on the Sabbath. Lev 23:9–22 involves two desacralizations. At the beginning of the period of counting, on the day after the first Sabbath following the fifteenth day, the barley sheaf (*ʿômer*) is presented, and on the morrow of the seventh Sabbath, at the end of the period of counting, the new wheat crop is desacralized with an offering of grain. The concept underlying desacralization is that God must be honored with the first fruits, because God grants humankind the blessings of the earth. Only then may humans have the benefit of the produce of the earth, and of the herds and flocks.

The Pentecost is not designated a *ḥag,* "pilgrimage festival," in the liturgical calendar of Leviticus. This is a significant departure from the law of Deuteronomy, which does use the term *ḥag* (Deut 16:10). The implicit change is endorsed subsequently by Num 28:26 (which does not use *ḥag*). The legislation in Leviticus 23 seems to implement a change in the method of celebrating the Pentecost. Whereas Deuteronomy envisions a pilgrimage festival at a central sanctuary, Leviticus describes a domestic festival during which offerings of first fruits are delivered to the sanctuary but no pilgrimage is undertaken (Lev 23:12–13, 18–20).

(3) *Ḥôdeš,* "the new moon" of the seventh month, is proclaimed as a day of rest, on which the ram's horn is sounded at the middle of the month to announce the forthcoming autumn pilgrimage. An offering by fire is presented (vv 23–25; cf. Ps 81:4).

(4) *Yôm hakkippûrîm,* "the Day of Atonement," falls on the tenth of the seventh month. The provisions relating to this occasion have already been discussed above, in the summary of chap. 16. Here, we find the statement that any Israelite who fails to obey the regulations pertaining to this day shall be "cut off" from his clan. The Day of Atonement lasted a full twenty-four hours. There is no mention here of the main purification of the sanctuary (vv 26–32).

(5) *Ḥag hassukkôt,* "the pilgrimage festival of booths," is the name given to the festival in Deut 16:13f. It begins on the fifteenth day of the seventh month and lasts for seven days. The eighth day is declared a special day of assembly (*ʿăṣeret*). Assigned tasks are forbidden on the first and eighth days, and sacrifices ordained for each of the eight days (vv 33–36).

After a postscript summarizing the liturgical calendar (v 38) comes a second statement relative to the celebration of the festival of booths in the Israelite habitations. Greenery was utilized, symbols of fertility, and the Israelites dwelled in booths for seven days. The duty to dwell in booths is given an historical explanation: God provided temporary shelter for the Israelites on their way to the promised land, when they wandered in the wilderness. Realistically, it has been suggested that the throngs of Israelite pilgrims arriving in Jerusalem for the autumn celebration found it necessary to live in booths for the duration of the festival (cf. Nehemiah 8).

**(5) Priestly Administration (Chaps. 25 and 27).** Chapter 25 of Leviticus is the only explicit statement in Torah literature on the right of the Israelite people to the land of Canaan, usually referred to as "*the* land." This right imposed obligations. As stewards of God's land, the Israelites were obliged to obey God's commandments with respect to the land—its economic exploitation, its ownership, etc. Although chap. 25 never mentions a priestly or other agency which was to be in charge of land transfers, a major concern of this chapter, it may be assumed that the very inclusion of this legislation in Leviticus indicates that the priesthood was in charge of such business.

Essentially, this code of law prohibits the permanent alienation of any arable land in the land of Israel, and relegates sales of land to the status of long-term leases. On the Jubilee, or fiftieth year, all land sold or forfeited in payment of debts would revert to its original owner. The key term in chap. 25 is *ʾăḥuzzâ*, "land holding," a term which conveys the theory of stewardship. The land is truly possessed by God; its inhabitants are tenants, to whom has been transferred the right to live on the land.

After restating earlier laws on the Sabbatical, or seventh year, when the fields are allowed to lie fallow, chap. 25 introduces the Jubilee year. The Jubilee is an occasion of "release" (Heb *dĕrôr*), when all who are indentured will regain economic liberty. The land may never be sold beyond retrieval (*liṣmîtût*), and must be redeemed. But, as the laws of chap. 25 unfold, it becomes clear that the provisions for economic relief associated with the seventh year in Exodus 21 and 23 and in Deuteronomy 15 have been discontinued. The primary concern has shifted to guaranteeing the rights of Israelite landowners at the expense of those indebted or indentured. There is a concern to prevent acquisition of land by non-Israelites (Lev 25:47f.). Special legislation protected the property of the Levites, and urban dwellings could be acquired permanently if they had not been redeemed within one year. It was forbidden to hold Israelites as slaves, or to charge them interest, or mistreat them while indentured. See also JUBILEE.

In chap. 25, the concept of *gĕʾullâ,* "redemption," is fundamental. On the private level, redemption expressed itself in the efforts of clan relatives to come to the aid of those of their relations whose tenure over their land had been forfeited or threatened. Collectively, continued tenure of the land meant redemption for the people of Israel.

Finally, chap. 27 of Leviticus, which was appended to the book, deals with the financing of the sanctuary and its cult. Several sources of income are legislated. Traditionally, Israelites vowed donations to the sanctuary, by devoting weights of silver calculated as "equivalents" (Heb *ʿērek*) of their life-worth. This idiom of votive donations harks back to a time when persons were actually devoted to temple service. One would devote his life-worth to the sanctuary ("to the LORD"), and buy back his "life" by a donation—in other words, he would redeem himself. In a similar way, livestock and even real estate could be devoted and bought back in this way, with animals actually suitable for offerings remaining in the possession of the sanctuary. Chapter 27 also speaks of condemned land that became the property of the sanctuary. It concludes with reference to tithes of produce and livestock, which helped to support the clergy.

We have come, in this survey of the contents of Leviticus, all the way from sacrifice and purification, through family law and festival celebrations, to statements on land tenure and economic policy, as well as temple finances. These varied subjects addressed in the text of Leviticus actually reflect the multiple functions of the Israelite priesthood.

**3. Text-Critical Considerations: The State of the Text of Leviticus.** Before one can interpret an ancient book, it is necessary to be certain exactly what is written in it. Recently, parts of one or more scrolls of Leviticus, discovered at Qumran and written in a script imitative of earlier calligraphy (paleo-

Hebrew) have been published by D. N. Freedman and K. A. Matthews (1985). These materials date to the last pre-Christian century. All instances where these ancient fragments differ from MT, LXX and the Samaritan version have been tabulated. The results of these comparisons indicate that the received text, the Masoretic version of Leviticus, was carefully copied, although a degree of fluidity is evident. The actual variations evident in the Qumran fragments are not what we would regard as "meaningful"; they do not reflect a different text having a different intent. Most are simply alternative ways of saying the same things, or conscious attempts at symmetry, the juxtaposition of syntax, etc. The LXX and the Samaritan versions are often interpretive, but seldom point to a different text as the basis of translation. Generally, the Torah books, with the exception of certain poetic sections, are in much better shape than other books of Scripture. This is probably because of the later importance of the Torah in the Jewish synagogue, and the basic role of Torah law in Jewish relation.

**C. Historical Context of Leviticus: "Realistic Interpretation."**

**1. Issues of Interpretation.** Thus far, the contents and structure of Leviticus have been discussed without specifying a historical context. No attempt has been made to place the laws and celebrations of this priestly composition in an historical setting, or to assess their degree of realism. Since late antiquity, traditional interpretation, both Jewish and Christian, has accepted the stated historiographic context of all Torah literature. The assumption was that the religious and social legislation of Leviticus, and of Torah literature generally, went into practice either in the time of Moses, or, as often stated, when the Israelites settled in Canaan.

Modern critical scholarship has demanded independent corroboration of traditional dates and attributions, and regards Leviticus as priestly literature. It is part of the *Priesterschrift* (abbreviated P), a documentary source which has a literary history of its own. In the absence of the types of indicators found in historical books of the Bible, determining the historical context of P requires special methods of analysis. The method which recommends itself is "realistic interpretation." By this we mean an approach to the study of the text which focuses on realistic indications, such as terminology and formulation, institutional makeup, precise legal provisions, and the relative chronology of the sources of Torah literature.

As regards the literary history of Leviticus, the major debate in modern scholarship has centered on the chronological relationship of P to Deuteronomy. Are the provisions of Leviticus predicated on the specific legislation of Deuteronomy, or do they generally precede the changes in religious worship legislated in Deuteronomy? Even before Wellhausen, modern biblical scholars had endorsed a late date for P, in the postexilic period. This view has been challenged most forcibly by Y. Kaufmann (*KRI,*) who places P before Deuteronomy in the chronology of Torah sources. His realignment has, in turn, been challenged and has raised serious questions. Recently, H. L. Ginsberg (1982) has shown to what an extent the biblical festivals, as scheduled and prescribed in Leviticus and in the priestly sections of Exodus and Numbers, reflect and endorse the Deuteronomic doctrine of worship.

Ginsberg has advanced the hypothesis, on the basis of his original analysis, that the Deuteronomic doctrine of cult centralization originated in the N Israelite kingdom before its annexation by the Assyrians, toward the end of the 8th century, B.C.E. The Judean king Hezekiah had attempted to implement the Deuteronomic policy (2 Kgs 18:3–4, 22), but did not succeed at it. Since he was followed by the heterodox king Manasseh, who ruled Judah throughout most of the 7th century B.C.E., no progress was made in eliminating the *bāmôt,* the local and regional cult sites, until the reign of Josiah. In 622 B.C.E., Josiah, king of Judah, issued an edict endorsing the Deuteronomic policy, then interpreted to mean that sacrifice could be legitimately offered only in the Temple of Jerusalem (2 Kings 22–23). It is reasonable to suppose that most of the major changes in festival celebration and sacrificial worship emerged after the promulgation of Josiah's edicts. In turn, this suggests dating those priestly laws which show dependence on Deuteronomic doctrine to the period after 622 B.C.E., at the earliest, which brings us close to the Babylonian exile.

It was Wellhausen's keen insight (*WPHI*, 34–35) that the law of Leviticus 17, which requires that all sacrifices be offered at the entrance of the Tent of Meeting, is best understood as a priestly formulation of

Deuteronomic doctrine on cult centralization, projected in a wilderness setting. It has already been noted that the seven-week deferral of the wheat harvest festival, adopted in Leviticus 23 and in Numbers 28, reflects the provisions of Deuteronomy 16. Ginsberg (1982) and Levine (1987) have shown that the epilogue to the Holiness Code (Lev 26:3–46) contains themes introduced by Ezekiel, and takes us well into the 6th century, B.C.E., the period of the Babylonian exile. Levine goes further, and sees in the epilogue, which evidences several internal strata, echoes of the end of the exile, and the early years of the return, at the end of the 6th century B.C.E. In Levine's view, Leviticus 25 is a document best understood as deriving from the early period of the Return.

Not only literary-historical analysis suggests that Leviticus in particular and P in general contain exilic and postexilic creativity, but also technical terminology and institutional structures. Such institutional structures are conveyed by terms of reference. It is important to differentiate between traditional terms and realistic, functional terms. We learn little about the precise historical setting of Leviticus from such terms as *hā-ām,* "the people," or even *bĕnê yiśrā-el,* "the Israelite people," or even *bêt Yiśrā-ēl,* "the House of Israel," which is admittedly somewhat instructive. The truly functional terms for the Israelite collective are *-ēdâ,* "community," and *qāhāl,* "congregation." The Aramaic cognate of Heb *-ēdâ* is attested in documents from 5th-century-B.C.E. Elephantine, in upper Egypt. There the word refers to the garrison of Jewish mercenary troops residing there. Neither *-ēdâ* nor *qāhāl* are kinship terms. It is interesting that the usual terms for "tribe" *šēḇeṭ* and *maṭṭeh* are not used in Leviticus.

To refer to fellow Israelites, traditional terminology, such as *-āḥ,* "brother, kinsman," as well as somewhat distinctive, internal family terms, such as *šĕ-ēr,* "flesh, relation," are used. Of greater historical and social significance is a term like *-ămît,* "neighbor" (even *rē-a,* "comrade") identifying a fellow member of the socioreligious community. A community whose members refer to each other as *-ămît* (cf. Zech 13:7 where *-ămît* is parallel to *rē-a*) is not one defined by kinship and ancestry. It is rather a community composed of citizens, in our modern terminology. There are other subtle indications of this sort in Leviticus of a breakdown of the earlier clan system as the basis of overall social organization.

When we inquire as to where the community referred to in Leviticus (or the network of communities) lived, we again find it necessary to differentiate between traditional terms such as *maḥăneh,* "encampment," and functional terms such as *môšāḇôt,* "settlements"; *-îr, -ārîm* "town(s)"; *ḥăṣērîm* "open settlements, villages"; and *migrāšîm,* "corrals" (but also "gardens") adjacent to the towns. Outside the area of the towns is the *śādeh,* "arable land."

We observe, therefore, realistic terms of reference which point to a network of communities, engaging in agriculture and pastoral pursuits, and settled in towns and villages. This is the realistic setting, whereas the traditional setting of Leviticus is cast in the wilderness, with the people living in encampments, having recourse to the Tent of Meeting (*-ôhel mô-ēd*) as their sanctuary.

The leadership of the Israelite community is also a matter for "realistic interpretation." There is only one reference in Leviticus to the *nāśî-,* "tribal chieftain," and it is hardly significant in our quest for ancient reality. In Lev 4:22–26 we are told that a *nāśî-* who transgresses is treated like any other individual Israelite. The *zĕqēnîm,* "elders," have only a ceremonial role, laying their hands on certain offerings, etc. The functional leaders are the priests. The high priest is mentioned in Lev 21:10, and designated "the anointed priest" in Lev 4:3. His offenses were to be expiated in the same manner as the collective transgressions of the entire people, because they affected the people as a whole (Lev 4:1–21). Administrative as well as religious functions are performed by priests, as appears from chap. 27, and most probably from chap. 25. In the traditional setting of Leviticus, Moses was, of course, the leader of the Israelites in every respect. But unless one accepts the historicity of this traditional setting, the only functional leadership resided with the priesthood.

In summary, a terminological analysis of the community structures expressed in Leviticus yields the following outline: we observe a socioreligious communal network, whose members are similar to citizens. The economy is agricultural and pastoral, and the people live in towns and open villages. The head of the communities is the chief priest, and the administration is composed of priests, who handle the affairs of the Temple (= sanctuary) and the society at large.

This profile would suit the life situation of the reconstructed Judean community in the period after the Return, in the late 6th century B.C.E. and thereafter. A hierocracy administered the Temple establishment and of Judea, as well, all under Persian imperial rule. The legislation of Leviticus 25, indicates an economically strained and somewhat stratified society, in which indenture was a frequent condition, and forfeiture of land a present threat. These conditions are very similar to what is described as the plight of the people in Nehemiah 5, which clearly reflects the conditions of life under Persian rule.

On the other hand, it is probable that some of the cultic praxis prescribed in Leviticus is of great antiquity and reflects preexilic patterns of worship. All of the contents of Leviticus need not be assigned to a single period of biblical history, and there are clear indications of internal documentary stratification in Leviticus. Nevertheless, the presence of early material, and even of some early language in Leviticus (and in P generally) does not lead to the conclusion that the overall regimen presented therein is as ancient as its oldest sources.

Much of the current debate centers around this very issue, namely, the relative valence given to older versus more recent materials, respectively. Those most heavily influenced by Y. Kaufmann (including Israeli scholars such as M. Haran, and American Jewish scholars like J. Milgrom) attach greater weight to evidence of antiquity in P. H. L. Ginsberg, B. A. Levine, and even the late E. A. Speiser as well as many Christian and humanist scholars conclude that P, in its final form, was compiled at a relatively late date, and contains some exilic and postexilic material.

**2. Comparative Method.** "Realistic interpretation" utilizes comparative evidence from the larger and smaller cultures of the ANE, contemporary with the biblical period, or having attested contact with Canaan, in earlier periods. Such comparative evidence sheds light on the derivation of social and legal institutions as well as on the phenomenology of sacrifice and purification. It is used by most contemporary specialists in the area of priestly literature, regardless of their views on dating with regard to the Deuteronomic question, etc.

To be brief, the legal institutions of Leviticus 25 include the moratorium known as *dĕrôr,* "release," and recall the *andurārum* of the Old Babylonian kings, Hebrew *liṣmītût,* "beyond retrieval," recalls the Akkadian documents from Ugarit, where the stative form *ṣamid/t* has essentially the same meaning. Penalties for cultic offenses recall similar punishments recorded in Mesopotamian and Hittite laws. Perhaps even more informative are the Mesopotamian magical texts, many of Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian provenance, which offer parallels to the rites of riddance and purification found in Leviticus 12–16.

On the level of terminology, we find both cognates and the semantic equivalents of specific biblical terms for sacrifice. These are mostly to be found in the Mesopotamian, Ugaritic and Phoenician-Punic vocabularies. As an example, the sacrificial offering *šĕlāmîm,* "sacred gift of greeting," is known both in Ugaritic documents of the LB Age, and in the Punic "tariffs" from Carthage, from the 4th–3d centuries B.C.E. (see Levine 1974). Even the formulation and composition of the biblical and extrabiblical ritual texts show remarkable affinity.

The phenomenology of sacrificial worship and ritual purification has also been clarified in comparative perspective, as has been the character of festival celebrations. All in all, the prescribed regimen of Leviticus now appears much less artificial, or simply programmatic, than it did in the early years of this century. Recent discoveries such as the Temple Scroll from Qumran have reinforced the conclusion that the sacred cult of biblical Israel remained of basic importance even after the period covered by the Hebrew Bible. However one determines the original life situations which produced the institutions and practices ordained in Leviticus, it is acknowledged that they were fully functional throughout most of the period of the Second Temple of Jerusalem.

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BARUCH A. LEVINE

**LEX TALIONIS.** A law of retaliation by which the guilty party suffers the same harm as that experienced by the injured party. In biblical as in modern law the primary example of taliation is capital punishment for a judgment of murder (Gen 9:6, "Whoever sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed"; Exod 21:12, "Whoever strikes a man so that he dies, he shall surely be put to death"; Lev 24:21, "Whoever kills a man shall be put to death"), although some commentators would restrict the term "talion" to nonfatal bodily injuries. The classic formulation of taliation in biblical law is "life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe" (Exod 21:23–25). This text is popularly quoted as "an eye for an eye (and a tooth for a tooth)," following Matt 5:38, and is popularly regarded as a summation of biblical law.

What occasions the detailed statement in Exodus 21 is the difficulty of appropriate punishment in the complex case of injury to a pregnant woman who gets caught up in a fight among men and suffers a miscarriage and possible further consequences, even death. (Exod 21:22–25, however, has several indications of complex redaction and scholars differ widely in reconstruction and interpretation.) A similar talionic statement occurs with reference to causing permanent bodily injury to a neighbor—"as he has done so it will be done to him: injury for injury, eye for eye, tooth for tooth; as he has injured a man, so shall it be done to him" (Lev 24:19–20). The principle of taliation is also invoked with reference to compensation for the death of a stock animal—the negligent owner of a dangerous ox gives "ox for ox" (Exod 21:36), and someone who kills another's animal gives restitution, "life for life" (Lev 24:18). In the case of false testimony, the penalty for the allegation is carried out on the perjuring party—"You shall do to him as he intended to do to his brother" (Deut 19:19). The added warning states, "You shall not show pity, but life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot" (Deut 19:21).

Biblical law does not know of the vicarious talion illustrated in the Laws of Hammurapi (## 116, 210, 230; cf. Middle Assyrian Laws ## A 50–52) in which someone responsible for the death of a citizen's son or daughter has his son or daughter put to death. The biblical emphasis is on punishment of the guilty person—"everyone will be put to death for his own sin," Deut 24:16; "so it will be done *to him,*" Lev

24:19—although vicarious punishment is known in extralegal situations. Also, unlike the Laws of Hammurapi (## 196–205), biblical law does not restrict the operation of talion to a specific class—talion among equals, but a fine if the injured person is of lower status.

Debate has also focused on whether the statement of talion was intended to govern actual practice—an actual tooth for a tooth—especially in earlier biblical times, or whether it articulated the principle that the punishment should fit the crime. As such, it would guard against excessive punishment for a wrong (contrast Lamech's boast, Gen 4:23–24) as well as the disparity of compensation assessed upon the wealthy malefactor whereas death is the penalty for the poor (contrast # 8 in the Laws of Hammurapi). In Exod 21:22–25, the expansive talion formula follows the reference to the woman and/or a fetus being injured and serves to adjust the punishment to the injury. (Immediately thereafter, Exod 21:26–27 illustrates the formula as a principle. A slave whose master destroys his/her eye or tooth gains freedom; the master loses a slave, not an eye or a tooth.) Likewise in Lev 24:19–20—bodily injury to another man—there is a catalog of possible injuries with corresponding punishments. Even in these texts, the talion formula might be taken to mean inflicting physical injury, yet in Deut 19:16–21 (false witness), the talion formula must be a statement of equivalent compensatory punishment. The penalty in the case involving perjury would be compensation or fine. (Mutilation is restricted in biblical law to the special circumstances of Deut 25:11–12.) Note also that in Leviticus 24 the talion formula is followed by another statement of principle: "There should be one law for you; as for the alien, so for the native, for I am the Lord your God" (Lev 24:22). In the historical traditions the principle of punishment paralleling the crime is recognized by king Adoni-bezek, who had his thumbs and big toes cut off as he had done to others; "as I have done, so has God requited me" (Judg 1:6–7).

A related debate concerns whether talion is more primitive than compensation—and therefore presumably morally inferior. Driver and Miles comment that "the whole system of punishments among the Semites was based on talion, which is itself nothing but a legalized limitation of the vengeance of the blood-feud" (Driver and Miles 1952: 60). But "blood-feud" is hardly the background of biblical or ANE law. Noteworthy also is that the oldest Near Eastern law provides for compensation, whereas the Laws of Hammurapi—possibly reflecting Amorite cultural influence—provide for vicarious talion as well as talion within classes. The principle of the punishment fitting the crime seems basic, complicated by the recognition of different legal classes.

At times, unimaginative societies have favored a policy of literal taliation—e.g., putting out the left eye of someone who injured another's left eye. But given the inherent difficulties in carrying out specifically equivalent punishment—someone with but one eye; parties of rather different ages, etc.—the famous "eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth" does not provide genuinely specific guidance any more than a literal interpretation of "If your right eye causes you to sin, pluck it out and throw it away" (Matt 5:29). In view of the Bible's interest in compensation to the injured party, as opposed to physical punishment of the guilty party, it seems likely that the reference to equivalency was intended even originally as a statement of principle. The injured party was probably seen as better served by compensation than by mere punishment.

The historical narratives mention instances of guards being responsible with their own life for a prisoner entrusted to them (1 Kgs 20:35–42; 2 Kgs 10:24), a variant of talion, but there are no sentences immediately carried out nor are the texts intended to reflect ordinary legal practice. In a parallel way, the prophet Ezekiel is responsible with his own life for the appropriate warning to sinners of the consequences of their wrongdoing. Also, the prophetic literature frequently points to a punishment of Israel or the nations corresponding to the wrong committed (Miller 1982). See also LAW.

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H. B. HUFFMON

**LIBER DE INFANTIA.** See MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF PSEUDO-.

**LIBNAH** (PLACE) [Heb *libnâ* (לִבְנָה)]. The second levitical city in the Judah/Simeon list. There are no Hebrew textual variations in either Josh 21:13 or in 1 Chr 6:42 [—Eng 6:57]. The first reference to Libnah in the biblical record is in the conquest narratives. Libnah was one of the towns in the S subjugated by Joshua. Following the conquest, Libnah was included in the allotment of Judah (Josh 15:42). During the reign of Jehoram, Edom revolted from the control of Judah and at the same time Libnah revolted (2 Kgs 8:22). The Chronicler justified Libnah's revolt against Jehoram "because he had forsaken the Lord, the God of his Fathers" (2 Chr 21:10). By the time of Hezekiah's reign and Sennacherib's campaign, Libnah had returned to Judah's control (2 Kgs 19:8; Isa 37:8). The final reference to the city describes it as the home of Hamutal, the mother of Jehoahaz and Zedekiah (2 Kgs 23:31; 24:18; Jer 52:1). There are no ancient nonbiblical references to Libnah. Three tells have been associated with biblical Libnah: Tell es-Safi, Tell Bornat and Tell Judeidah.

Albright (1921: 6) first suggested that Tell es-Safi (M.R. 135123) be identified with biblical Libnah. Up until 1921 it had been almost universally assumed that Tell es-Safi was the Philistine city of Gath. Albright, basing his argument on an assumption from 2 Kgs 8:22 that Libnah must have been situated on the border, concluded that Tell es-Safi is the only reasonable identification, because it is the only important tell on the border between Philistia and Judah which is in the district of Eleutheropolis (following Eusebius, *Onomast.* 120.23–25). Albright further substantiated his theory by discussing the name Libnah, "the white (city)" and Tell es-Safi, "the bright, shining tell." Tell es-Safi had received its name because of the white limestone scarps, a definite corroboration with Libnah. The final argument advanced by Albright was in relationship to Sennacherib's march to Jerusalem. He concluded that the route from Lachish to Jerusalem via Tell es-Safi was the most natural route for the Assyrian king to take. However, within two years Albright (1934: 9) had changed his mind about the identification of Tell es-Safi. Instead, he identified Tell es-Safi as Makkedah. Although Albright changed his mind, G. E. Wright (1971: 81) continued to identify Libnah with Tell es-Safi. Wright was convinced that Tell es-Safi's geographical location at the W opening of the Valley of Elah fit well the biblical descriptions of Libnah. Tell es-Safi is located at the W edge of the Shephelah as it enters the valley leading into the coastal plain. The Valley of Elah provided a good access into the hill country since the ascent was gradual and did not involve crossing many hills and valleys. As a result, Tell es-Safi stands as a fortress between the coastal plain and the Shephelah, protecting the entrance to the mountains and the valley.

The first and only major excavation conducted at Tell es-Safi was directed by F. J. Bliss and R. A. S. Macalister (1902). There have also been many surveys conducted at Tell es-Safi. The different periods of occupation which have been identified include EB, MB, LB, Iron I, Iron II, Hellenistic, Roman, Crusader, and Arab.

After Albright changed his mind about the identity of Libnah, he opted for Tell Bornat (M.R. 138115). Although Albright never detailed his reasons for choosing Tell Bornat, this identification has received wide acceptance among German and Israeli geographers and archaeologists. Aharoni (*LBHG*, 86) argued against the identification of Libnah with Tell es-Safi because Libnah is mentioned in Josh 15:42 alongside Mareshah, Keilah, and Nezib, towns in the SE Shephelah, and not with towns near Tell es-Safi. Tell Bornat is 9 km SE of Tell es-Safi, 3 km W of Tell Judeideh, and 8 km NE of Lachish. Near Tell Bornat is the Wadi Zeita, which is the shortest trade route to Hebron in the Shephelah. This means that Tell Bornat would have been a "junction city." Not only was there an E–W route near the city, but the *Via Maris* ran along the W edge of the Shephelah.

References to Tell Bornat by early geographers come rather late. The first geographer to mention the tell is Guerin (1869: 314). There have been no archaeological excavations at Tell Bornat, but many surveys. Historical periods which have been identified include EB, LB, Iron I, Iron II, Persian, and Arab.

The last site that has been associated with biblical Libnah is Tell Judeideh. Z. Kallai (1958: 153) first suggested this identification following the survey of Aharoni and Amiran for the Historical Geography Study Circle. Tell Judeideh (M.R. 141115) is located only 3 km due E of Tell Bornat and 10 km NE of Lachish. From the tell there are magnificent views of the coastal plain and the Judean hills. The site is also on a major E–W trade route to Hebron and to the Valley of Aijalon. Bliss (1900a: 94; 1900b: 200) directed the only archaeological excavation that has been conducted at Tell Judeideh. Since that excavation there have been many surveys. The pottery dates to the EB, Iron I, Iron II, Persian, Roman, and Byzantine periods.

The identification of biblical Libnah has remained somewhat of a question. Although the pottery found at Tell Judeideh could associate the site with Libnah, its traditional identification with Moresheth-Gath is probably correct. As all surveys and excavations at Tell es-Safi have shown, there was a large Philistine settlement at the site. It is only logical then to associate Tell es-Safi with the Philistine city, Gath. Although Tell Bornat is physically smaller than Tell es-Safi, the identification of Libnah with Tell Bornat does not minimize the importance of the city in ancient Israel. The size of the tell does not seriously affect the importance of city because "the pasture lands" were a significant part of each city's territory. Tell Bornat was on an important crossroads and its geographical location is strategically important. Although Tell Bornat cannot be absolutely identified with biblical Libnah, the evidence strongly supports this association.

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JOHN L. PETERSON

**LIBNI** (PERSON) [Heb *libnî* (לִבְנִי)]. LIBNITE. **1.** All evidence indicates that the Libnites were a levitic family from the territory of Judah. Their name is probably derived from the name of the Judahite town Libnah (the expected form would be ***libnātî*, but cf. *yĕhûdâ-yĕhûdî*, *ṣārĕʿâ-ṣārĕʿî*). A genealogical fragment of unknown origin quoted in the Priestly source lists the families of Levi as the Libnites, the Hebronites, the Mahlites, the Mushites, and the Korahites (Num 26:58). All these names have possible connections to Judah or its kindred Edom. Hebron, often used as the name of a levitic family (Exod 6:18; Num 3:19, 27; 1 Chr 5:28—Eng 6:2; 6:3; 15:9; 23:12, 19; 26:23, 30, 31) was the chief city of Judah and a Judean family name (1 Chr 2:43). Korah, ordinarily a levitic name, appears as a Judahite name in 1 Chr 2:43 and as an Edomite name in Gen 36:5, 14, 16, 18; 1 Chr 1:35, and the Korahites are said to be among David's early allies (1 Chr 12:7). Moreover, a fragment of a bowl discovered at Arad in Judah refers to "the sons of Korah" (Aharoni 1968, Miller 1970). It is probable that Mushi comes from *mōšeh* (Moses), and it is noteworthy that Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses (Judg 18:30 [Greek version]; the MT reads "Manasseh" instead of "Moses") is called a Levite "from the family of Judah" (Judg 17:7). Mahli may not be specifically Judean, however, for the name is easiest to derive from Mahlah in Manasseh (Num 26:33; 27:1; 36:11; Josh 17:3; 1 Chr 7:18), but note the Judahite name Mahlon (Ruth 1:2, 5; 4:10), the Edomite name Mahalath (Gen 28:9), and the probable attestation of Mahli on a Persian period cosmetic burner from Lachish in Judah (Albright 1974). In short, Num 26:58 probably was not intended to be a comprehensive list of levitic clans, but was rather a catalog of the chief families native to or resident in Judah.

**2.** The Priestly genealogist considers Libni, along with Shimei, a subgroup of the Gershonites (Exod 6:17; Num 3:18, 21), and the Chronicler at times follows this scheme (1 Chr 6:2, 5—Eng vv 17, 20). Elsewhere, however, the Chronicler replaces Libni with Ladan (1 Chr 23:7, 8, 9; 26:21), a name unknown toP, which suggests that the name Libni was obsolete after the exile. Ladan, too, is a name with Judahite connections, for the similarly named Laadah is a grandson of Judah (1 Chr 4:21). That Libni is always the firstborn, whether of Levi (Num 26:58) or of Gershon, indicates the prominence of this family.

**3.** In the Chronicler's genealogy of Levi, Libni is also a subgroup, literally "son," of Mahli, the descendant of Merari (1 Chr 6:14—Eng v 29; cf. #2 above, 1 Chr 6:2, 5—Eng vv 17, 20).

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WILLIAM H. PROPP

**LIBYA** (PLACE) [Heb *kûb* (כּוּב)]. LIBYAN. A land and people in N Africa, immediately W of Egypt (Ezek 30:5). It seems that the oldest Egyptian terms for these W neighbors are *Tjehenu* and *Tjemehu* (from the 3d millennium B.C.), but from about the period of Rameses II (the 13th century B.C.) onward this group was called the *rbw* or *Libu* (Egyptians had no character for the *l* sound so *r* or *n* was substituted, therefore *rbw* was pronounced *Libu*). The Egyptian *Libu* probably was the source for the Gk *Libyēs* and the Heb *lûbîm* (1 Chr 12:3; 16:8). The Libyans and the Egyptians often were involved in skirmishes especially during the 12th–10th centuries B.C. Libyans figured prominently in the forces of Pharaoh Shishak (2 Chr 12:3) and it is probable that Shishak himself was of Libyan extraction. Pharaoh Shishak attacked Israel with 1200 chariots, 60,000 horsemen, and an army comprised of Egyptians, Libyans, Sukkiim, and Ethiopians (1 Kgs 14:25–28; 2 Chr 12:1–12). This invasion was interpreted as divine disciplinary action because Israel was ignoring the law. The Libyans also appear in the forces of Zerah (2 Chr 16:8) who may have been an Ethiopian officer who commanded an army comprised of Ethiopians and Libyans. Although the military strength of Zerah's forces was enormous, King Asa was able to rout them.

The relationship between the Libyans and the *lĕhābîm* is problematic (Gen 10:13; 1 Chr 1:11); *lĕhābîm* may be a variant form of *lûbîm.* Ham's third son was Put; Put was Egypt's brother (Gen 10:6). Moreover, Lehabim was Egypt's third son (Gen 10:13). Almost certainly the names Egypt and Lehabim are not individuals but peoples, therefore Put, Lehabim, and Egypt shared the same tradition which itself was linked to Ham. It is not surprising that parts of this tradition continuously reappear later in the prophets (Nah 3:9; Dan 11:43; cf. also Jer 46:9; Ezek 27:10; 30:5; 38:5) where some read *lûbîm* for *lûd.* The peoples of this tradition have often been called Hamitic peoples wherein "Hamitic" has designated the people, or perhaps only the languages, of Libya.

In the NT, while witnessing Jesus' trip to Golgotha, a Simon of Cyrene from Libya was pressed into service (Matt 27:32; Mark 15:21; Luke 23:26). Furthermore, people from "the parts of Libya about Cyrene" were in the crowd which witnessed Pentecost (Acts 2:10).

WARREN J. HEARD, JR.

**LICE.** See ZOOLOGY.

**LICENTIOUSNESS.** See VIRTUE/VICE LISTS.

**LIFE, AUTHOR OF.** See AUTHOR OF LIFE.

**LIFE, TREE OF.** See TREE OF KNOWLEDGE AND TREE OF LIFE.

**LIKHI** (PERSON) [Heb *liqḥî* (לִקְחִי)]. The third son of Shemida (1 Chr 7:19) in the genealogy of Manasseh (7:14–19). His name appears only once in the Bible, and it is probably cognate with the Heb verb "take, grasp" (*lāqaḥ*). Some have suggested, however, that "Likhi" is nothing more than a textual corruption of "Helek" (Heb *ḥēleq*), the name of one of Gilead's sons (Num 26:30; cf. Josh 17:2; see Noth *IPN*, 249).

1 Chr 7:19 is a genealogical fragment, and its relationship to the preceding collection of Manassite genealogical materials (7:14–18) is uncertain. The verse lists the names of Shemida and his four sons, but it does not specify the position of Shemida in the genealogy of Manasseh as a whole. Therefore, attempts have been made to find a logical relationship for the verse with the rest of the Manassite genealogy in 1 Chronicles 7. One proposal has been that Shemida was the fourth son of Hammolecheth (7:18), and so Likhi was her grandson (so Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 152). Another suggestion is that Gilead was the father of Shemida, just as Num 26:30–32 indicates (cf. Josh 17:1–3). Consequently, Likhi was the grandson of Gilead. Rudolph's formulation of this solution (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 69–71) has found wide acceptance, but it involves the wholesale emendation of the Manassite genealogy in 1 Chronicles 7 on the basis of Numbers 26:28–34.

M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**LILITH** (DEITY) [Heb *lîlît* (לִילִית)]. Lilith is the Hebrew form of Akk *lilītu* (the feminine form of *lilû*), which was a species of lesser deities in Mesopotamia known for their diabolical activities (Farber *RLA* 7: 23; Porada *RLA* 7: 24–25; *CAD* s.v. *lilû*). Very little information has been found relating to the Akkadian and Babylonian view of these demons. Two sources of information previously used to define Lilith are both suspect. Kramer (1938: 5) translated *ki-sikil-líl-lá-ke*$_4$ as "Lilith" in a Sumerian Gilgamesh fragment. The text relates an incident where this female being takes up lodging in a tree trunk which has a Zu-bird perched in the branches and a snake living among the roots. This text was used to interpret a sculpture of a woman with bird talons for feet as being a depiction of Lilith (Frankfort 1937: 130 fig 1, 134–35; Kraeling 1937: 18). From the beginning this interpretation was questioned (Opitz 1932: 330) so that after some debate neither the female in the story nor the figure are assumed to be Lilith (Ribichini 1978: 31–33; *RLA* 7:25). The 1st millennium Syrian incantation from Arshlan-Tash, often cited as a Lilith reference also has been shown not to refer to this demon (Gaster 1942: 44, 50; Torczyner 1947: 29).

Amulets exist to ward off *lilītu* and the *lilû* family. Lilith was known to attack women in childbirth, a characteristic she may have adopted from Lamashtu (*EncJud* 11: 246–47; Farber 1989: 4, 103, 117, 142–43). The new infant was in more danger than the mother since Lilith could suck its blood, eat its marrow, and then consume its flesh (*RLA* 7:23). To protect oneself from this demon one could write out incantations, wear amulets, or invoke gods or other demons, especially the king of the *lilû*, Pazuzu (Lambert 1968: 42, 46).

Two Jewish sources may be used to determine the activities of Lilith. The first of these are the four references to Lilith in the Talmud (*Nid.* 24b; *B. Bat.* 73a; *Šabb.* 151b; *ʿErub.* 100b). From these texts it is clear that Lilith has the form of a woman with long hair and wings, who bears demonic offspring. There is a sexual aspect implied in the warning that men who sleep alone could be seized by her.

The other source of information on Lilith and her relatives is the series of Aramaic and Mandaic bowl inscriptions used to ward off demons. Most of these texts came from a Jewish community in Nippur, though they date from the 1st millennium C.E. (Montgomery 1913: 76–78, 117, 155–56, 209, 244, 259–60; Isbel 1975: 17, 44–45, 108, 120–21; Geller 1986: 108–9). These texts confirm Lilith's malevolent activities and they show her lurking around human habitations waiting for a chance to seize people. One incantation bowl bears a drawing of the shackled Lilith bound in chains around her neck, arms, and legs; she has been stripped bare and her hair loosed (Montgomery 1913: 154–55 no. 8 lines 2–3, pl. 8).

When only Jewish sources for the deity were known, it was assumed her name was a variant on *lylh* and thus she was understood to be the "night hag" (RSV Isa 34:14; *ERE* 4: 598). Once her Mesopotamian

origins became clear the name was associated with Sum *líl,* "wind" (Meissner 1925: 201; Patai 1967: 207; *RLA* 7: 23).

Lilith was taken up by Jewish midrashic and cabalistic traditions and there is a rich literature which includes visions of her as a benign being as well as a demon (Patai 1967: 217–45). Currently Lilith is an inspiration for much creative writing and reinterpretation (Koltuv 1986: 126–27).

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LOWELL K. HANDY

**LILY.** See FLORA.

**LILY-WORK.** See CAPITAL.

**LIMES, ROMAN** (IN PALESTINE). Since Flavian days (69–96 C.E.), *limes* (pronounced: "lī' mēz" according to Webster, but often pronounced "lē' mis") has been the Roman term for the controlled and defended borders of the Roman Empire. Succeeding emperors gave major attention to the imperial borders, since maintenance of peace within the empire was considered not only vital for its prosperity, but a major inducement for the subjected nations to submit to Rome's domination. Furthermore, besides being the first line of defense, the *limes* was the zone of physical contact with the outside world, cultural as well as ethical, and a staging area for international trade, which was vital to Roman economy.

At first, Rome tried to base its border on natural obstacles, yet, when necessary, a network of fortifications, manned by more lightly armed troops (the *auxilia*) was established in front of the legionary bases. At times, these were connected by continuous obstacles (S.H.A., *Hadr.,* 12.6).

In an effort to ease the staggering financial burden, to free part of the armed forces from constant obligations to the frontier guard, and to repopulate the frontier zones, Diocletianus (284–305 C.E.) adopted earlier precedents and entrusted the frontier defense to a newly created corps of rural frontier militia (*limitanei*), which did part-time, and in emergencies, full-scale, hereditary service against the grant of border lands. The civil administration in the border areas was vested in the military commanders (*comites, duces*) and the privileged zones soon developed distinctive socio-ethical and agrarian settlement patterns, which in many ways influenced subsequent developments. These arrangements, with some modifications, remained in effect until the disruption of the empire in the W and the capture of its E parts during the Islamic conquest about 635 C.E. One cause of the territorial loss was the *limitanei*'s loss of military prowess which had become *de facto* farmers for all practical purposes.

The peculiar situation of the *limes* in Palestine was that the area was a border state, and it has always been essential to secure borders from incursions of outsiders. In years of drought, the threats posed by the incursions of desert fringe nomads (cf. Judg 4:3–5), could surpass the inherent antagonism between the sedentary farmer and the migrant husbandman. With apparently such a scenario in mind in the pre-Diocletian and probably pre-Severian period, there is a rabbinical ruling that permits the taking up of arms

in border settlements, and issuing forth even on Sabbath, not only to defend their lives, but also to prevent "loot of hay and straw" (*j. Talm.* ʿErub. 4, 21d).

The Romans were thus compelled to step into the Herodian border defenses (which seems also to have operated under the procurators) not only to ensure the Pax Romana, but to prevent anarchy in a country, where the borders with hostile raiders were not more than 80 km removed from Jerusalem. The Nabatean presence in the Negeb was no substitute, since it was confined largely to the major arteries of commerce, and with the means at their disposal, they could not prevent the swift desert raiders to cross over into Judea had they wished to do so. Even under less extreme conditions, such as in the Balkans, the Romans took care to fortify the borders, regardless of the existence of an allied *cordon sanitaire* all around them.

The various surface surveys (Gichon 1980), rabbinical literature, the excavations of stratum III at Arad and stratum I at Beer-sheba (Gichon 1980: 845), and the Flavian presence at Masada and En Gedi provide sufficient evidence for a Flavian establishment of the *limes.* After the Trajanic occupation of Nabatea, three forward lines were created by occupying the Nabatean installations along the three E–W routes: (1) En Tamar-Malatha; (2) Hatzeva (Eiseiba?)-Mampsis-Bersabee; and (3) Mojet Avad (Moa?)-Oboda-Elusa.

At the same time the Tranjordanian *limes* was established from Aila to the borders of Syria, together with the great military and commercial highway, to avert incursions from the Arabian desert. Following the Bar Kokhba Revolt (131/132–135), Hadrian seems to have evacuated the Flavian *limes* and entrusted the defense of Palestine mainly to the more forward *limes* and the *limes Arabicus,* E of the Jordan.

The insufficiency of this arrangement induced Diocletianus to create a united frontier command in S Transjordan and the Negeb, by attaching the former, S of Zoara, to the *provincia Palaestina.* While the increased threats from the tribes in the W and in the E were met as before, if these succeeded in breaking through, the other sector could be activated. To strengthen the W borders, the Flavian *limes* was reactivated, and in order to place the strategic reserve in the best possible position, the 10th Legion was moved from Jerusalem to Aila-Aqaba on the apex of the now fan-shaped network of defenses. In addition, a more permanent framework of confederate tribes beyond the borders was created.

In principle, these arrangements remained unchanged until the Islamic conquest (ca. 635 C.E.). However, the complications on the borders were such, that in addition to the shifts in tactics and individual strongholds, about 358 C.E., all of the *limes* area was made an independent province named *Palaestina Salutaris,* and after 429, renamed again *Palaestina Tertia.*

From the beginning, the *limes* fortifications comprised a network of forts, fortlets, and towers, strategically placed to deny the enemy of water resources, and to channel marauders into areas facilitating their interception by the mobile components of the *limes* garrisons. The disposition of the troops according to their headquarters has been preserved in the *Notitia-Dignitatum* (late 4th century?), which enumerates for the W front six elite cavalry units (*equites*), three infantry units (*cohortes*), and one unit of mixed composition (*cohortes equitatae*) against eighteen units in the Arava and in the E. The Beer-sheba edicts (Alt 1921) and the Nessana papyri (Kraemer 1958) record changes in the deployment of the troops in the course of the 5th and 6th centuries respectively.

The standard type of fortification was the courtyard fort, in which the flat-roofed internal buildings were built against the outer walls to provide maximum yard space, strengthen the walls, and enlarge the width of the battlements. Frequently, these rectangular structures had protruding corner towers (consequently named *tetrapyrgoi*). This form had been introduced into the Negeb not later than the Judean monarchy and was preserved during successive periods because of its suitability to local conditions.

Two further traits gave the *limes Palaestinae* primary importance in addition to its military significance: when overpopulation threatened the interior of W Palestine, the expansion into the arid Negeb and the development of sophisticated desert-fringe agriculture was the only recourse. Following the First Temple period and Nabatean precedents, the 4th to 7th C.E. Negeb attained an unsurpassed flourish of rural and urban colonization. While the military was thus able to base its upkeep and logistic support on the civilian infrastructure, it provided civilians with the protection necessary to survive in face of the "Saracens" (desert tribes).

In the Byzantine period, the frontier forces became more involved in agricultural activity after their structure converted to *limitanean* status. The Negeb may have been one of the frontiers on which the system was first tested as early as Alexander Severus (cf. S.H.A., *Alex. Sev.*, 18.4).

No less important than the land reserve was the Negeb's role as an overland bridge between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, and as a link in the caravan trade with Arabia and beyond (e.g., *HN* 5.12.67; 6.32.144). In the 4th century, when political deterioration threatened commercial movement along the transasian "silkroad," the reviving Negeb roads were among the alternative routes. While in the agricultural belt, the ten *limes* towns profited from serving the transit trade, and in the more remote areas, the military outposts doubled as road stations (*mansiones*) for official travel (*cursus publicus*) and commercial traffic (Gichon 1974: 534–35).

Whereas the immediate rear of the Flavian *limes* remained Jewish until the Islamic conquest, Christianity began to spread in the 3d–4th centuries from the Philistine coast (St. Hilarion) and from the monastic establishments in the Judean desert and Sinai (St. Chariton, St. Catherina, etc.). By the 6th century, rich and impressive churches dominate the panorama of all *limes* towns.

The almost complete transformation of the *limitanei* into mere farmers (as shown in the Nessana papyri), and the friendly disposition of the Arab confederate tribesmen (on whom much of the *limes* defense was based after its hasty reconstruction following the Persian [Sassanian] occupation of Palestine in 614–28) toward the Moslem invaders, facilitated the piercing of the *limes* and the collapse of the Roman defense in 634–38 (Alt 1938). Deprived of the military shield, the civilian population withered away, and the *limes* zone was gradually reconquered by the desert.

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MORDECHAI GICHON

**LINEAR B.** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

**LINEN.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION; FLORA.

**LINGUISTICS AND BIBLICAL STUDIES.** Linguistics is the study of language as language, in contrast to the study of any specific language. The term "general linguistics" comprehends all of the varied theoretical positions of linguists. There is no question that linguistics has much to offer students and teachers of the biblical languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek). A sizable number of scholars of biblical and other ancient languages have written of the potential contribution of linguistics to their research. A smaller number have written of the improvement that would come to the teaching of biblical languages through serious interaction with linguistics. Yet these contributions to research are still in their initial stages at the time of this writing, and the teaching of ancient languages is yet to be significantly affected by the insights of modern linguistics.

The beginning of linguistics as a field of study in its own right is variously dated from the historical/comparative study of the 19th century to the turn of the present century with the work of Saussure, or (for some) the approach pioneered by Chomsky in 1957. For the purposes of this article, however, it is necessary to survey earlier language study, in particular in the Greco–Roman period and in medieval times (especially medieval Jewish grammar), because of the influence of these periods on the study of the biblical languages up to the present.

**A. The Study of Language Prior to the 19th Century**

**1. The Ancient East.** The study of language in a general sense is as old as the oldest languages in which written texts are known, those of the ancient East. Akkadian grammatical texts from the mid-2d to the mid-1st millennium B.C. represent Sumerian according to certain paradigms, using grammatical terminology and morpheme analysis. Indian grammatical studies appear to have been indigenous from roughly the mid-1st millennium B.C. and forward. Because of their aim to preserve the correct pronunciation of the Vedic literature, they achieved such precision in phonetic analysis that ancient Sanskrit can still be pronounced with almost full accuracy, in marked contrast to Greek and Latin, not to speak of the biblical and other languages of the ANE. Sometime, probably during the second third of the 1st millennium B.C., Pāṇini produced an analytic and descriptive grammar which remains a definitive model for modern students of Sanskrit.

**2. Greece.** Most present-day linguists in the West trace the origins of their discipline to ancient Greece. The study of language among the Greeks arose in the 5th century B.C. within the larger context of philosophy and was primarily speculative. The Greeks debated whether the relationship between sound and meaning was necessary or arbitrary. While Plato (427–347 B.C.E.) was ambivalent on this issue, Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) believed that meaning was arbitrary and conventional. The Greeks also debated whether language was essentially regular (the analogist position), or irregular (the anomalist position). Sentence types were distinguished, as were parts of speech, although the basis for the latter was more logical than formal. The Stoics established the recognition of case and also discussed such features as number, gender, voice, mood, and tense. From the Alexandrian school, Dionysius Thrax (ca. 100 B.C.E.) wrote the first explicit description of the Greek language which became the prototype for subsequent descriptions of Greek and Latin.

**3. Rome.** In grammatical study as in other learning, the Romans venerated the Greeks and largely followed their lead. Because Latin was quite similar to Greek in overall structure, the work of the Greek grammarians could be applied to Latin without difficulty. The linguistic model was a word and paradigm type. Varro (116–27 B.C.E.) was perhaps the most original of Roman grammarians to write on the Latin language, though only slightly more than one-fifth of his twenty-five volumes on the subject survive. The two most influential Latin grammarians were Donatus (4th century C.E.) and Priscian (ca. 500 C.E.). Donatus' intentionally didactic grammar was used well into medieval times (and is said to have been the first book printed with wooden type). Priscian's grammar was quite long; it represents the culmination of late Latin grammatical study, and became the most widely used grammar of the medieval period.

**4. Medieval Grammar.** Under the influence of Donatus and Priscian, medieval grammatical study continued the Greco–Roman tradition. Aelfric wrote a Latin grammar (ca. 1000) and recommended it as an introduction to Anglo-Saxon, illustrating already the tendency to employ the Greco–Roman grammatical model in the study of other languages. The grammatical description of Latin was incorporated into the system of scholastic philosophy. While the speculative grammars of medieval modistae anticipated somewhat the recent interest in linguistic universals, their contribution would now be seen as quite limited because of their preoccupation with the Latin language and their commitment to a deductive approach based on Aristotelian logic. In Italy, Dante (1265–1321) remarkably anticipated diachronic linguistics and dialect research, but found no response to his ideas.

**5. Arab Grammarians.** From about the 8th to the 15th centuries of this era, Arab grammarians worked out an analysis of their language. Centers of grammatical study developed at Basra, Kufa, and Baghdad. The canons of classical Arabic grammar were established by Sībawayhi in the 8th century. His phonetic description is thorough, and his grammatical approach can be compared to the modern method of immediate constituent analysis. In the next three centuries Arabic grammar was systematized and placed on a par with other branches of learning. In the 12th through the 15th centuries the established system was condensed and refined.

**6. Medieval Hebrew Grammarians.** Jewish scholars of the medieval period also developed their own analysis of the Hebrew language. While the way was prepared by the Masoretes, this work actually began with Saadia Gaon (882–942 C.E.) in the late 9th and early 10th centuries. He produced the first vocabulary and the first grammar of biblical Hebrew. In the 10th century, the scholar ibn Quraysh produced the first

systematic attempt to compare biblical Hebrew with Mishnaic Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic, an effort which was pursued by Jewish scholars throughout medieval times. The creative period of medieval Jewish grammar was from about 1000 to 1150, with Ḥayyūj, Janāḥ, and Samuel ha-Nagid representing the high point. Ḥayyūj expounded the principle of the triliteral root and distinguished the seven primary verbal conjugations which are still followed. After the Muslim persecution of Jews in Spain and their subsequent Jewish dispersal in 1148 came a period of adaptation. Joseph Qimḥi (ca. 1105–1170) introduced an analysis of the Masoretic vocalization system as consisting of five short and five long vowels, in contrast to the view of seven differences in quality (but not quantity) previously accepted among the Jews. His son David (ca. 1160–ca. 1235) brought this period of adaptation to its culmination with his grammar and lexicon, known as the *Miklol* (*Compendium;* the title was later applied only to the grammar). The main lines of approach to Hebrew set forth by the Qimḥis have continued to be followed in most Hebrew grammars. See also LANGUAGES (HEBREW).

**7. The Renaissance.** As the classical world was rediscovered in the Renaissance, language study was broadened to include contemporary national tongues as well as the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew which became the mark of the educated person. This brought the grammatical model that had endured from Greco–Roman times through the medieval period into contact with the fresh data of contemporary languages. The renewed study of Hebrew also brought about contact with the vastly different structure of a Semitic language and with the works of medieval Jewish grammarians. Yet the overall tendency was to study the European venaculars and even Hebrew and other non-Indo-European languages through the inherited model, which was not fundamentally modified.

**8. The Enlightenment.** During the 17th and 18th centuries, the study of languages reflected philosophical movements. The impact of empiricism can be observed in England in the study of spelling and its relation to pronunciation (under the terms “orthography” and “orthoepy”) and in efforts to rework English grammar. By the 18th century, as a result of the effort to construct a universal grammatical theory, writers on language turned their attention to establishing correct norms in pronunciation and usage. As a result, grammars became largely prescriptive. At the same time, rationalism encouraged the production of philosophic grammars. The French Port-Royal school attempted to demonstrate a common logical and rational system behind the varieties of natural languages.

**B. Modern General Linguistics**

**1. Historical/Comparative Linguistics.** Linguistics, in its primary sense as the study of language itself, may be said to have been established in the 19th century. The field of historical and comparative linguistics emerged and became dominant during this time. It was pioneered for the African languages in 1783 by William Marsden, for the European languages in 1786 by Sir William Jones, and for the Finno-Ugric group in 1799 by S. Gyarmathi. Each of these scholars posited a genetic relationship among the languages within their respective language group, while Jones also spoke of a common ancestor language which no longer existed. This language, which was the parent of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and later European languages, came to be called Indo-European. A methodology was developed for reconstructing this common parent language; language change (especially in phonology) was studied; languages were classified by type; and major language families were delineated.

The actual founder of systematic comparative linguistics was Franz Bopp (1791–1867) with his treatise of 1816 on the inflectional endings of verbs in several Indo-European languages. He was followed by Jacob Grimm (1785–1863), generally regarded as the founder of Germanic linguistics, who studied the relationships between consonants in Germanic and other Indo-European languages and set these forth in what has come to be called *Grimm’s law.* (In fact, his findings were anticipated by others and later extended by Karl Verner [1846–1896].)

In the last half of the 19th century, the views of mechanistic physics and especially of biological evolution were influential in linguistic theory. August Schleicher (1821–1868), first trained as a botanist, set out to treat language as a living organism under the analogy of evolution and to trace its development according to similar laws. From his work has come the concept of the descent of languages in a “genealogical tree” (the *Stammbaum* theory). A competing view, the wave theory, was that of Johannes

Schmidt, who argued that linguistic innovations spread from a center (like waves on the surface of water) among speech communities.

In some ways the high point of the historical/comparative linguistics of the 19th century was achieved by the Neogrammarians. Originating in Leipzig, this group brought rigor to linguistic method and thereby put all succeeding linguists in their debt. On the other hand, they developed a position which could not be maintained in its extreme form. August Leskien (1840–1916) and especially Karl Brugmann (1849–1919) affirmed the thoroughgoing consistency of sound laws, and H. Paul called for an exclusively historical approach as the avenue to linguistic knowledge.

**2. Structural Linguistics.** The next major phase in the history of linguistics (and for many the beginning of modern linguistics) commenced with the work of Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913). His lectures on general linguistics at the University of Geneva (1907–13) were published after his death by colleagues and students (1959). These lectures laid the basis for much of the linguistic work that has followed.

Saussure pointed in a new direction (though he was anticipated in this by Humboldt in the 19th century) by distinguishing synchronic from diachronic analysis. Synchronic study investigates a language as it appears at a point in time; a diachronic approach analyzes the developments a language undergoes over a period of time. Whereas he recognized the need for both approaches, and spent a great deal of his life in diachronic study, his successors, especially in the United States, went on to emphasize the synchronic to the virtual exclusion of the diachronic. Saussure also distinguished language as a system (*langue*) from actual speech (*parole*), the syntagmatic (linguistic elements that can be combined) from the associative (later called the paradigmatic, linguistic elements that can be interchanged), and the signified from the signifier. Perhaps most important, and in contrast to the piecemeal work of the 19th century, Saussure saw that a language is a system whose parts must be understood in relation to the whole; and for him this systematic character was present only in a language as it exists at a point in time, i.e., only in a language viewed synchronically.

**3. American Descriptive Linguistics.** The direction of American descriptive linguistics for roughly the first half of the 20th century was set by Franz Boas (1858–1942), Edward Sapir (1884–1939), and Leonard Bloomfield (1887–1949). Boas (1911) concentrated on American Indian languages and developed an inductive methodology for analyzing a language from its own structure, apart from any other language. He assumed that differences among languages were unlimited by any generally shared structures. Sapir (1921) gave classical expression to the concept of the phoneme, further emphasized the structural differences among languages, and examined the relationship of language to culture. In this last interest he was followed by Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897–1941), who drew a fundamental connection between language and world view. The dependence of a people on their language for their range of ideas about the world necessarily relates the two, Whorf argued. While a connection between language and culture has been generally acknowledged, the degree of dominance of the former over the latter argued by Whorf has not. In his book *Language* (1933), Bloomfield laid the foundation for the next quarter of a century by systematically articulating the principles of descriptive linguistics, though many of his ideas were already present in Boas.

Following Bloomfield, the subsequent influential American descriptivists, known as "Post-Bloomfieldians" (e.g., Bloch, Trager, Hockett, Hill, and Harris), in some cases took their heritage too far by pressing for mechanical operations ("discovery procedures" in this sense) and attempting to describe language without reference to meaning. A more productive direction within American descriptivism was set by Kenneth L. Pike with the theory of Tagmemics (1967, 1982). For Pike, language is to be understood in terms of discrete units, continuity and change, and relatedness (in his words: "particle, wave, and field"). He has insisted that any component of a language can only be analyzed in its relationship to the rest of the language and that form and meaning must not be separated in linguistic inquiry.

Not only was the impact of linguistics on language teaching in the United States essentially nil prior to World War II, the very teaching of foreign languages was at an extreme low. The war abruptly shattered

such isolationism. In the postwar period, the armed forces led the way in instituting programs for efficient foreign language teaching, and they called on linguists for leadership. The traditional grammar and translation approach was put aside in a search for methods which would produce conversational fluency by the most direct route. However, as the biblical languages are no longer spoken and the goal of their teaching was translation and not fluency in speech, these fields were essentially bypassed by such developments.

**4. Linguistics Outside the United States.** Outside the United States, major developments in linguistics in this century have been diverse. Louis Hjelmslev (b. 1899) of Copenhagen pioneered the highly formal theory of glossematics (1961). Incorporating Saussure's emphasis on form over substance, glossematics sought to discover a system of categories from which could be derived the elements of a language. His work remained at the purely theoretical level, however, and was never applied to any actual language.

The Prague school is represented especially by Nikolay Trubetzkoy (1890–1938) and Roman Jakobson (b. 1896). Their linguistic theory is known as functionalism. Prague school theorists study language in terms of its distinctive function (out of which came Distinctive Feature Phonology), its demarcative function, and its expressive function. A productive result of the Prague school emphasis has been the recognition within languages of ranges of alternate "registers" or "styles" employed by speakers according to both their own background and the immediate social situation.

J. R. Firth (1957, 1968) was the first to hold a teaching position in general linguistics in England. He developed a contextual theory of language which called for analysis at the phonetic, lexical, grammatical, and situational levels in order to understand language in actual use. His attention went primarily to phonology and semantics. His view that phonetics has meaning led to an approach at the phonological level known as Prosodic Analysis. An explicit theory of language based on Firth's ideas and known as Neo-Firthian Linguistics, or, more recently, Systemics, has been developed by Halliday (1985).

**5. Generative-Transformational Grammar.** The most radical departure from earlier descriptive linguistics in the United States began in 1957 with the appearance of Noam Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures.* Numerous publications by Chomsky have followed. His thought has gone through several significant stages, and many other linguistic theories have developed under the influence of, or in reaction to, his views. His position has come to be known generally as Generative-Transformational (G-T) Grammar. American linguistics in particular has been fundamentally reshaped by his views. At issue is the very purpose of linguistic theory and the nature of the evidence upon which it rests.

Chomsky has grounded his views in philosophic rationalism. In breaking with structural, or descriptive, linguistics, he has resolutely turned from the empiricism that undergirded the work of his predecessors. He set out to achieve the sort of grammar that would explain a native speaker's internalized knowledge of his or her language, which is called competence, in contrast to the use to which this knowledge is put in actual speech, which is called performance. (Chomsky has not conceived of such a grammar as a replica of the human mind, but rather as a model that is comparable.) An acceptable grammar of a language, then, should produce the grammatical, or well-formed, strings (sentences) of that language (of which the potential number is infinite) and only those that are grammatical, and should capture the significant generalizations about them. The capacity to acquire this competence comes with being human and is akin to the notion of innate ideas associated with Descartes and the rationalist philosophical tradition. Another closely related goal is Chomsky's quest for universals in the explanation of linguistic phenomena.

From the beginning, Chomsky's central concern has been with syntax. In the second major phase of his theorizing, elaborated in his 1965 publication, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax,* he set forth a model with a generative syntactic component and interpretive semantic and phonological components. Strings generated in the syntactic component are seen to be interpreted at the level of deep structure by the semantic component and transformed (by the application of rules) to the level of surface structure where they are interpreted by the phonological component.

Because of disagreement over the place of the semantic component, a division occurred after 1965 between adherents of Chomsky's view and others who espoused the theory of Generative Semantics (Katz and Fodor 1963). Chomsky modified his Aspects model (the Standard Theory) to produce the Extended

Standard Theory (1970). He has since made further revisions resulting in the Revised Extended Standard Theory (Chomsky and Lasnik 1972) and still more recently in his position known as Government and Binding (1980, 1982). While the essential features of the Standard Theory have remained in Chomsky's later views, his emphases have changed; and he has attempted to constrain the power of the transformational component (which was almost unlimited in the Aspects model). Some of the competing theories which have emerged out of this process are Case Grammar (Fillmore 1968, 1977), Montague Grammar (Montague 1974), Relational Grammar (Perlmutter and Postal 1974, Johnson and Postal 1980), Daughter-dependency Grammar (Hudson 1976, Schachter 1980), and Context-free Grammar (Gadzar, Pullum and Sag 1980).

The influence of G-T Grammar is obvious. Models such as Chomsky's, Montague Grammar, and Relational Grammar have done the most to shape the current linguistic scene. Many linguists judge that the goals of linguistic theory have been established and that the domain of syntax has finally been conquered. At the same time, the future of these models is less than clear. Some linguists involved in fieldwork with languages never before analyzed are not content with any linguistic theory that has discarded the discovery procedures they require, although Chomsky's rejection of discovery procedures in the context of the search for mechanical procedures among Post-Bloomfieldians (later somewhat modified by him) is understandable. Again, the orientation of field linguists to the hard data of actual languages often steers them away from the extreme formalism of G-T Grammar. Many linguists question the existence of a deep structure or other aspects of the typically Chomskyan approach. It must be acknowledged, in any case, that prolific research has been spawned within this orientation, in particular by the work of Chomsky.

A sort of model-free linguistics is also developing in which those trained in the G-T paradigm rarely make explicit use of it as a frame of reference, e.g., Comrie (1981), Givon (1979, 1984), and S. Thompson. Such linguists are insisting on the freedom to make use of whatever model best explicates the issue at hand.

**6. Stratificational Grammar.** Another theory and a major development within general linguistics must be mentioned because of their promise for the present topic. Stratificational Grammar has been pioneered by Lamb (1966) and elaborated by Lockwood (1972) and others. It developed out of the glossematic theory of Hjelmslev. The work of Fleming (1979, 1988) is making the stratificational model more accessible to philologians and others interested in cross-disciplinary research. In stratificational theory, language is viewed as an integrated whole consisting of several strata (originally in Lamb the phonetic, phonemic, morphemic, lexemic, sememic, and semantic). Analysis is carried out both horizontally (in terms of the tactics of each stratum) and vertically (in terms of realization relationships among the strata). A primary appeal of Stratificational Grammar is its ability to trace the function of language in both directions, i.e., from speaker to hearer and conversely.

**7. Discourse Analysis/Text Linguistics.** While not a theory per se, Discourse Analysis is perhaps most important among recent methodological developments within general linguistics for the concerns of this article. Discourse Analysis extends the borders of linguistic investigation beyond the sentence to encompass entire sections of material viewed as communicable wholes. Although his teacher Zellig Harris had already pointed in this direction, Chomsky launched his endeavors with the sentence as the limit of analysis.

Impatience with this limitation led to the development of Text Linguistics in Europe during the late sixties and seventies, with leadership from de Beaugrande (1981), van Dijk (1972, 1977), Dressler (1972, 1981), and Petöfi (1983). In the United States, somewhat independently of Europe and known more often as Discourse Analysis, initial interest was stimulated by missionary translators who had learned the futility of sentence-by-sentence translation. Also prominent were such scholars as Chafe (1980), Hopper (1980), and Tannen (1984). The relevance of the entire context of a discourse to even the phonological level of analysis has been demonstrated by Mayers. Text Linguistics, or Discourse Analysis, has become a well-defined and important trend in world linguistics. It now provides one of the most fruitful avenues of rapprochement between linguists and biblical scholars. Among those leading the way in OT studies are

Longacre (1979, 1983), Rabin (1982), Schneider (1974), Winther-Nielsen (1978), and (in the NT) Callow (1974), Funk (1975), Grimes (1975), and Louw (1973, 1981).

**C. Biblical Studies vis-à-vis Linguistics**

**1. Hebrew Grammars.** The biblical Hebrew grammars of Gesenius (edited by Kautzsch and translated by Cowley [GKC]); Bergsträsser; Bauer and Leander; and Joüon were written during the 19th century or early in the 20th, and generally reflect the philological approach which developed out of the Renaissance. This approach was based primarily on classical models (with attention to the work of the medieval Hebrew grammarians) and (in the grammar by Bauer and Leander especially) the historical/comparative approach of the 19th century. The classical models had been developed entirely on the basis of Greek and Latin, apart from the study of other languages. The historical/comparative approach had been formulated primarily by Indo-Europeanists at work on the data of the languages of their field, while Hebraists and other Semitists (as well as students of other language families) contributed little to this development. Thus, it was inevitable that these models would often not be suitable for the analysis of Semitic (or other non-Indo-European) languages.

While other Hebrew grammars have been produced, including those of Blau, Lambdin, Meyer, Richter, Sawyer, and Schneider, none has yet appeared on a scale comparable to GKC or Bauer and Leander. Sawyer (1976) has incorporated some insights from descriptive linguistics, and Andersen (1970, 1974) has utilized a tagmemic approach to study the Hebrew verbless clause and sentence. Richter (1978, 1979, 1980) is engaged in a serious effort to analyze biblical Hebrew linguistically, although he has largely bypassed the essential step of phonological analysis. Joseph Malone has studied many specific issues in Hebrew (and Semitic) from a G-T perspective. On the philological side, a considerably increased understanding of biblical Hebrew has been achieved through comparative data from other Semitic languages, especially of the NW Semitic group; but most of these results have yet to find their way into published grammars.

**2. NT Greek Grammars.** In the early 19th century Georg Benedikt Winer (1789–1858) brought a Port-Royal rationalist perspective to the study of NT Greek and also called for an internal analysis of the language. This latter impetus was profoundly vindicated when Gustav Adolf Deissmann (1866–1937) showed the close relation between the Greek of the NT and that of the Hellenistic papyri. The major grammars of Blass and Debrunner; Moulton, Howard, and Turner; and Robertson were, as in the case of Hebrew grammars, written in the late 19th and early 20th century (with the exception of Turner, who has written more recently). The German work of Friedrich Blass (1843–1907) emphasized a comparison with classical Greek, and Albert Debrunner (b. 1884) incorporated contemporary comparative material in his revision, as did Radermacher and Mayser in their grammars. The English contribution began with Moulton's strong insistence, following Deissmann, on the character of NT Greek as Hellenistic and as a reflection of spoken language. While Howard essentially published the work of Moulton in the second volume, he did indicate more openness to Semitic influence. This emphasis then came to the fore in the third and fourth volumes with Turner's conviction that biblical Greek is unique and that the influence of the Septuagint was determinative in its development. In America Robertson employed the historical/comparative approach. The descriptive linguistic paradigm of the first half of the 20th century is reflected in the Hellenistic grammar of Robert Funk and the introductory NT grammar of Goetchius. Probes in the application of G-T Grammar to the NT text have been made by Mueller (1978) and Schmidt (1981).

**3. Synchronic and Diachronic Study.** It may be that an unbalanced focus on synchronic analysis among linguists has been one of the significant impediments to interaction with students of biblical Hebrew. Aside from questions of the prehistory of the text and viable differences in the dating of various books and sections, the Hebrew Bible represents over a millennium of language development. The only synchronic reading which is possible (apart from multifaceted comparative reconstruction) is that of the Hebrew of the Masoretes, and their vocalization system was added about another millennium after the consonantal text finally reached its present shape and thus can scarcely represent precisely the Hebrew of any phase of the biblical period. In other words, a realistic linguistic analysis of biblical Hebrew cannot

proceed on a purely synchronic basis. In NT studies this issue is not nearly so pressing because of the relatively short period of time during which all of the material was written.

**4. Internal Analysis.** In the study of biblical Hebrew, the insistence of Boas and Sapir that each language must be analyzed from within on its own terms instead of through categories derived from other languages cannot be overemphasized. This kind of analysis is still needed. An example of such a need is the frequent discussion of the biblical Hebrew noun in terms of cases, whereas case inflection had almost certainly been lost in Hebrew by the biblical period (though it was present in earlier NW Semitic). Another example is the ongoing effort to discover the categories which will best explicate the Hebrew verb, which categories need to be intrinsically derived from Hebrew itself (as well as from closely controlled cognate Semitic data).

In NT studies, Winer saw the need for internal analysis. The issue has focused thus far particularly on whether the language is simply the Hellenistic Greek of the time (Deissmann, Moulton), or a unique sort of Greek shaped by the influence of Semitic, especially through the Septuagint (Turner). Perhaps what is needed is a fresh approach, working from the vantage point of some model within general linguistics and grounding the study more broadly than only in the question of Hellenistic versus Hebraic (or Semitic) Greek.

**5. Interdisciplinary Dialogue.** Some of the barriers which have hindered students of the biblical languages in benefiting from general linguistics continue to constitute a challenge. One of these is the simple lack of contact between the fields. Another is the highly technical nature of so much of linguistic literature and the lack of effort on the part of many linguists to communicate to a wider audience, even to scholars in other disciplines. Perhaps even more important, the lack of theoretical consensus among linguists still leaves outsiders hard put to know where to begin in finding a point of entry.

Another serious concern arises from the assumption, continued among most linguists since the late 19th century, that only speech provides primary linguistic data. Some linguists do argue, on the other hand, that writing also affords primary data for linguistic analysis, though of a different sort. Whether or not they are able to make their case, since all data from the ancient world are only written, it is essential for biblical studies that the discipline of graphemics (as the linguistic study of writing is often called) be developed so as to indicate how linguistic research may be applied to written data.

More encouraging signs may be found in the recently renewed attention among linguists to diachronic analysis and in the interest that is being expressed and demonstrated among scholars of biblical and other ancient languages in incorporating an understanding of linguistics into their work. In light of the good which will surely come as this happens, such interest must be encouraged. In light of the barriers which remain, the sights of biblical scholars must be set on a higher goal than merely that of finding another ready-made tool which can be added to their already overcrowded stock of methods for analysis. They must, rather, pursue a deeper insight into the nature of language and, thereby, into the meaning of texts, as they enter into dialogue with linguists. Linguistic theories and consequent methods of analysis can aid biblical scholars immensely. Conversely, as people who work with hard language data, biblical scholars can hope to contribute to the continuing effort of linguists to understand the phenomenon of language.

Those who wish to do further reading may find it helpful to begin with the introductions to general linguistics by Gleason (1961), Lyons (1968), and Robins (1980) and the histories of linguistics by Dineen (1967), Robins (1979), and Sampson (1980).

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WALTER R. BODINE

**LINUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Linos* (Λινος)]. A Christian mentioned after Pudens and before Claudia, who sent greetings along with them to Timothy (2 Tim 4:21). It has been speculated that Linus was the son of Pudens and Claudia, although it then becomes difficult to understand why he is mentioned between and not after them.

Because 2 Timothy is assumed to reflect an imprisonment of Paul in Rome (cf. 1:17)—although Caesarea has also been suggested—Linus is sometimes taken to be the Linus whom tradition identifies as the first bishop of Rome after the apostles. This linking goes back to Irenaeus (*haer.* 3.3.3) who stated that "the blessed Apostles having founded and built up the Church, committed into the hands of Linus the office of the episcopate. Of this Linus Paul makes mention in the Epistles to Timothy." This is then quoted by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.6) who also writes that "after the martyrdom of Paul and Peter, Linus was the first appointed to the bishopric of the church of Rome" (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.2). Eusebius notes that the episcopate of Linus lasted twelve years, after which he handed on his office to Anencletus (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.13). The *Apos. Con.* 7.46 likewise identify a person named Linus as the first bishop of Rome after the apostles and as ordained by Paul. The same text relates him to Claudia as Gk *linos ho klaudias*, i.e., as either her husband or brother. The question of historicity arises beginning with the earliest of these sources, the text from Irenaeus, which no doubt influenced the later sources. Hanson (*The Pastoral Epistles* NCBC, 164) has judged that Irenaeus' notation about Linus is unhistorical: "It assumes that the church in Rome had monepiscopacy in the 1st century, which it certainly had not." In addition, he points out that "it is also probably quite unhistorical to envisage either Paul or Peter or both as entrusting to anyone the leadership of a church which neither of them had founded." Nevertheless, Hanson (*The Pastoral Epistles* NCBC, 164) finds "a faint echo of history in the name [Linus]" for, as he remarks, "Are we to imagine the author of the Pastorals as freely inventing all these names [i.e., Eubulus, Pudens, Linus, Claudia]? It does not seem likely. They are probably part of his oral tradition."

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**LION.** See ZOOLOGY.

**LITERACY.** This entry consists of two articles, one covering literacy in the ANE (mainly Mesopotamia and Egypt), and one treating literacy in ancient Israel.

## *ANCIENT NEAR EAST*

Although the ANE has been studied principally from written sources, discussion of the status of writing in its civilizations is only beginning. Many issues are involved. These range from the potentially factual, such as rates of literacy, through levels of literacy to the extent to which writing represents language, and the relation of writing to contemporaneous spoken language. More abstractly, effects of writing on social structure or on cognition are explored. This last problem has received particular attention, because it has been held, despite the counterexamples of Chinese and Japanese, that alphabetic writing which encodes vowels was a necessary precondition for such a phenomenon as the "cognitive revolution" of archaic and classical Greece (e.g., Havelock 1982), and may have similar consequences wherever it is introduced (Goody and Watt 1963; later modified, e.g., Goody 1987). Although few espouse a strong form of this hypothesis, it has stimulated discussion, serves as a point of reference, and is relevant for the world of the Hebrew Bible, with its alphabetical (though unvocalized) form of writing. Most studies that seek to test or

replace the hypothesis examine the way in which writing is used and embedded in social structures, and place more explanatory weight on those structures.

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A. Forms, Distribution and Use of Writing
    1. Mesopotamia and Surrounding Regions
    2. Egypt
B. Discussion

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**A. Forms, Distribution and Use of Writing**

**1. Mesopotamia and Surrounding Regions.** From the 4th millennium B.C. Mesopotamia was linguistically and politically diverse. It strongly influenced areas as remote as Anatolia and Urartu in the 2d and 1st millennia B.C., and Iran in the days of the Persian Empire, while the cuneiform script and some of its languages survived into the Parthian period. All these regions wrote in cuneiform. In view of this enormous spread of time, space, and language, it is not meaningful to speak of one style of "Mesopotamian" literacy. There was a long initial development which created a script that could fully encode a language, with subsequent phases in which writing came to be both more and less widespread and important in social life. This complex picture has an analogy in successive political orders in the region (e.g., Yoffee 1988).

Writing was invented in S Mesopotamia, perhaps at Uruk (Nissen 1985), before the end of the 4th millennium B.C. (Michalowski 1990; Powell 1981). The separate system of Iranian writing, centered either on the Iranian plateau or in Susiana (Khuzestan), is as ancient, but it did not survive. The early tablets from Uruk, which are administrative and "lexical" (Green 1986: 465), have a repertory of about 1200 signs; they cannot be read in any particular language (Green 1981).

Only very gradually was the system modified to encode phonetic elements, perhaps starting from proper names. When a language becomes apparent, it is Sumerian, which has no known cognate. From earliest times, names of Semitic form are found, and there were probably always Semitic speakers in Mesopotamia. To this picture should be added the likely presence of the Elamite language in adjacent Susiana. This multilingualism is important both for the position of writing as a communicative system and for the later adaption of cuneiform for additional languages, a potential that was exploited many times.

The earliest Semitic texts, as against Semitic names, known in the Mesopotamian script are in Fara period tablets from Abu Salabikh (Biggs 1974: 42, 91); different Semitic dialects are attested slightly later from Ebla in Syria. There is controversy as to whether the principal dialect there was the language of Ebla itself ("Eblaite") or a Semitic language of N Mesopotamia—poorly known for this period—adopted with the script at Ebla (Michalowski 1987). From the succeeding Agade dynasty on, Akkadian became the dominant Semitic language written in cuneiform, and is known in many dialects from different areas. It traveled with the script to regions where cuneiform was adopted for different languages; those regions therefore also had multilingual written cultures. The two principal strands of Akkadian are Babylonian and Assyrian, which separated after 2000 B.C. By the time of the Agade dynasty, the isolated language Hurrian began to be written in cuneiform (Wilhelm 1982: 4–5, 11, 106–08). Although this survived for more than a millennium, it never became widespread, except perhaps around the capital of the Hurrian state of Mitanni (Waššukanni; site not identified).

From the mid-2d millennium B.C., the Indo-European Hittite language, together with its local forerunner Hattic (Kammenhuber 1969b) and the Indo-European Palaic and Luwian, were written in cuneiform (Kammenhuber 1969a). In Anatolia, the influence of cuneiform spread beyond the writing system itself with the invention of the hieroglyphic Luwian script, whose pictorial signs may have looked to Egyptian or Levantine models, but whose structure was patterned after cuneiform (Morpurgo Davies and Hawkins 1978). Cuneiform preserves traces of yet further languages, notably Amorite, the traditional language of an ethnic element in the Mesopotamian population of the late 3d and early 2d millennia B.C. (Gelb 1980). Comparable later phenomena are Kassite, which remains almost unknown, and Aramaic, used alongside Akkadian cuneiform in the 1st millennium B.C. and ultimately supplanting it.

Vast numbers of cuneiform tablets are preserved (cf. Veenhof 1986: 2–3), although their distribution is irregular; gaps were illustrated by the discovery of Ebla in the 1970s (Cagni 1987), of Tell Leilan (Eidem 1987), and of the Late Babylonian temple library at Sippar (Black and Ball 1987: 248–49) in the 1980s. Despite this abundance of material, the picture of the use of writing is limited. Most preserved tablets are bureaucratic or administrative.

Continuous language was not recorded until the ED period, and literary texts, narrowly defined, are not known before the Fara period (Biggs 1974: 28–42). The earliest of these are perhaps more sets of cues for oral performance than full texts (Michalowski 1990). Except on cylinder seals, writing was rare in public places and on works of art until the later 3d millennium B.C., and letters were uncommon. The most intense early administrative use of writing was during the Agade dynasty in Akkadian and the succeeding Ur III dynasty in Sumerian, by then probably a dead language (cf. Larsen 1988a: 188).

From the Isin-Larsa period on, Akkadian began to predominate over Sumerian in writing, but Sumerian was transmitted as long as Mesopotamian culture survived and spread to all areas where cuneiform was adopted. Whatever language was used in everyday writing, all known schooling was based on Sumerian, which was fundamental to many features of the cuneiform script and underlay sign lists and lexical lists. The main corpus of Sumerian literature is preserved only in Old Babylonian (OB) and later copies, and thus was in a dead language (e.g., Hallo 1975). The principal early Akkadian literary texts belong to the same period.

The only period during which there was widespread use of writing outside scribal classes was the OB/Old Assyrian (OA), from which large amounts of private correspondence are preserved, notably from the Assyrian trading colony of Kültepe/Kanish in Anatolia (e.g., Larsen 1976). This material uses a reduced range of signs that would have been relatively easy to learn (Larsen 1988b: 132–34; but see Morpurgo Davies 1986: 60–63). OB and OA are markedly different from the Old Akkadian (OAkk) of the Agade dynasty and may not derive directly from it (Reiner 1966: 21), so that they could at times have been relatively close to the current language of the Akkadian-speaking part of the population. The same can be said only of isolated other strands of the tradition, perhaps of Neo-Assyrian (NA) of the 8th–7th centuries B.C. and of subsequent Late Babylonian (LB). The Standard Babylonian (SB) of Akkadian literary texts was an artificial "dialect."

From the 1st millennium B.C. come major collections of literary material, especially the Library of Assurbanipal from Nineveh (Reade 1986; Parpola 1986); traditions of belles lettres, mathematics, and astronomy continued in Babylonia to the end of Mesopotamian culture. From the aftermath of the OB period on, the writing system became more complicated, in that it used an increasing number of signs, with more homophony. The same is true of the relatively short history of Hittite cuneiform, in the later stages of which more words were written in Sumerian and Akkadian (Morpurgo Davies 1986: 60–61). In some cases, these more complex practices could lead to greater "efficiency," because fewer signs were needed to write the same amount of text, but the general tendency is not popularizing. Rather, writing was kept within a scribal class, and there were sanctions, recorded in formal colophons on tablets and in one more explicit text (Beaulieu fc.), against transmitting knowledge of writing outside that class. The scribal group was exclusive also in that it did not include the leaders of states; but those people were as committed as the scribes to maintaining the cultural, as well as the administrative, tradition of writing.

In none of Mesopotamian history is there suitable evidence for assessing rates of literacy. Although in small social groups, such as the OA merchants, the rate may have been relatively high, the general impression is of very restricted literacy.

**2. Egypt.** Writing was invented in Egypt after the cultural and political unification of the country in late-predynastic times (ca. 3100 B.C.). The Egyptian script belongs to a unilingual culture and was hardly used to write other languages; even dialect forms are rare. There are two principal variants of the script, hieroglyphs, which have a pictorial form and are integrated with the system of pictorial representation, and cursive, the later hieratic, which was used for most writing on the artificial medium of papyrus. From about 650 B.C. a second cursive form, demotic, evolved. This was thenceforth the business script; from the 4th century B.C. or earlier, literary, and later religious, texts were also written in it.

The hieroglyphic script has a broader significance because of its integration with art; together these formed both the main medium of display and, in times before continuous language was written down, the central definition of the meaning of the Egyptian state and cosmos (Baines 1989). Most pictorial representation includes some writing. The presentation of the social order and cosmos on the monuments is strongly hierarchical, and positive values became attached to forms of writing that did not employ continuous language. Perhaps for this reason, it was some centuries before continuous language was written down, perhaps in the late 2d dynasty, even though the requisite sign repertory existed earlier.

Most preserved early writing is in ink or incised, on pottery, stone vases, or ivory tags, but papyrus was perfected by the middle of the 1st dynasty. Papyrus and wooden writing boards were the main writing media for administration. Because papyrus can be preserved only in dry conditions, the cursive written record is much less abundant than that on clay from the Near East (Veenhof 1986: 2–3); only for the New Kingdom village of Deir el-Medina (Valbelle 1985) and for the Roman period is the volume comparable, and most of the latter material is in Greek (Montevecchi 1973; Youtie 1981). Egypt has, however, preserved altogether more monumental writing than the Near East.

The earliest written materials are broadly administrative (Dreyer 1989), but it is uncertain whether writing was invented for administration and then adopted for display, invented for display, or devised for both at once. It is also an open question whether its invention was independent or was due to stimulus diffusion from Mesopotamia, whose influence was strong in the Delta (Von der Way and Schmidt 1987). Writing was used as the instrument of the unified nation state. In most periods, developments were introduced from the center.

The first major advance dates to the 2d–4th dynasties. Brief speeches of gods were recorded, and by the end of the 4th dynasty administrative documents including whole sentences were composed (Posener Kriéger 1979). The language of this period is termed Old Egyptian; it is not unitary. Most continuous Egyptian texts are in a simple form of meter (*LÄ* 4: 1127–54). The earliest form of "literary text" seems to have been the list, as in Mesopotamia; these are known from the 2d dynasty on (*AEL* 1: 3–5). In the 5th–6th dynasties, public and private uses of writing proliferated (Roccati 1982), and the Pyramid Texts in later pyramids provide indirect evidence for large corpora of religious texts, while medical and mathematical texts may also have been written. The design of documents became very elaborate (Helck 1974). Conventionalized representations in nonroyal tombs show scribes in almost every context of production and administration. The inner elite and kings were literate.

The central Old Kingdom is the period best suited for estimating the extent of literacy. If the size of the inner elite (a few hundred) and their supporting scribes (perhaps ten times that number) is related to the total population (perhaps a million), a rate of literacy of 0.3–1.0 percent emerges (Baines and Eyre 1983: 65–74). All these people will have been males in the service of the state or officials; there is no place for nonprofessional literate people and little evidence for female literacy.

During the 1st intermediate period, writing may have spread a little, while the succeeding Middle Kingdom saw a pervasive bureaucratization and the composition of much literature. The language of these periods is termed Middle Egyptian. Its orthography was regularized in the early 12th dynasty; it was probably an artificial idiom, for it is little different grammatically from Old Egyptian.

Middle Kingdom literature (*AEL* 1) focuses on the Instruction (or Wisdom) text, but includes other genres, notably narratives such as that of Sinuhe. Finds of groups of papyri from the 13th dynasty (Gardiner 1955) to the Roman period (Tait 1977) show that "literature" was the sum of transmitted old texts and could extend to copies of inscriptions. The chief context in which belles lettres were certainly used was in schools. Middle Kingdom literature is complex, serious, and focused on elite concerns; it was "classical" for later periods, and allusions to its phraseology show that it pervaded later written culture.

There was little essential change in the position of writing in the New Kingdom, but the culture of the period was more diverse, particularly in the 19th–20th dynasties, when Late Egyptian joined Middle Egyptian as a written form rather nearer to the spoken language. Monumental inscriptions of those dynasties stand linguistically between Middle and Late Egyptian. Later inscriptions reverted to Middle Egyptian, while documentary Late Egyptian continued to develop, being transformed ultimately into

demotic (from the 7th century B.C.), which designates a form both of the script and of the language (Johnson 1986). From the later New Kingdom on, the chief repositories of traditional culture were the temples. The linguistic diversity of texts grew steadily, while in later times the spread of literacy may have declined. Here, the development of demotic is crucial, because the connection between hieroglyphs and the cursive was broken, and hieroglyphs developed from a repertory of a few hundred signs to one of several thousand, used in the most elaborate fashion in temple inscriptions of the Greco–Roman period (Kurth 1983). Literacy was probably less widespread in demotic than it had been in hieratic, while late hieroglyphic was the preserve of a small priestly group.

Ptolemaic and Roman rule did not bring an end to Egyptian writing, but the primary administrative language of the country was now Greek, and the rate of literacy in Greek was much higher than in Egyptian. Although there was considerable mixing of people over this long period, little Greek influence can be seen in Egyptian texts. Native written traditions survived and developed into the 3d century A.D., before disappearing in the face of changes in the Roman Empire and the spread of Christianity.

**B. Discussion**

The patterns of development and use of writing in the two principal cultural areas of the ANE are different in detail but share important features. Writing is part of the definition of these societies or civilizations and of their cultural awareness. This point is clearer for Egypt than for Mesopotamia, but is significant there too (Machinist 1986), despite the fact that writing was not used for high-cultural purposes for several centuries after its invention. Literacy was restricted in both cultures, being integral to administration and high culture in Egypt and subservient to those forces in Mesopotamia. In both, development toward encoding continuous language was slow. Even when written language arrived, it was restricted to particular dialects or standardized forms and subject to many conventions. In Mesopotamia and peripheral regions, the written language was a foreign one for many of its users. These restrictions of writing go together with limited access to written and artistic display. For Egypt this was chiefly in palaces, temples, and tombs; in Mesopotamia too, palaces (e.g. Winter 1981) and temples were central.

Thus, the position of writing in these societies could hardly have led to mass literacy; in Mesopotamia there were also formal barriers to learning to read and write. In neither region would acquiring literacy have brought obvious benefits for those outside the administration. If the question needs to be rehearsed, this position of writing might be sufficient explanation for the absence of some of the developments of Greece. But in Greece, the principal stimuli to development may have come from social forces other than writing (e.g., Murray 1980: 90–99), so that the argument would then be irrelevant, even if, as is likely, writing is necessary to sustain the complex and continued development of abstract modes of thought and argument.

If more appropriate criteria are used, the position and effects of writing in these civilizations remain crucial. The whole administrative apparatus was predicated on writing (cf. Gibson and Biggs 1987). Writing allowed historical transmission of cultural materials over vast spans of time with quite accurate knowledge of the periods from which it derived (more so in Egypt than in Mesopotamia; cf. Baines 1988; Michalowski 1983; see in general Assmann 1988). In Mesopotamia there were developments of mathematics and astronomy that would hardly have occurred in oral form (Machinist 1985). In Egypt, the religious controversy and development of the Amarna period belong in a high-cultural and written tradition (Assmann 1983: 96–143). These examples could be multiplied.

From an opposite perspective, it is important to see the effects of writing in the context of limited literacy. In societies where few are literate and writing is normally read aloud during composition and retrieval, the oral context dominates and envelops the written. That context is virtually lost, but it was all that most people experienced; no one was embarrassed not to be literate (Morpurgo Davies 1986: 55). Yet elite projects and elite display, which utilized and were organized through writing, consumed such a high proportion of resources that the written record gives a truer picture than it would of less unequal semi-oral communities. As well as recording that inequality, writing was a powerful aid to its existence.

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JOHN BAINES

## *ANCIENT ISRAEL*

The Bible itself is a witness to Hebrew and Hellenistic literacy, the products of people who wrote in the expectation that others would read their works. Who could write and who could read in ancient Israel are questions which can be discussed from two independent sources of evidence: the information contained in the OT and the information from Hebrew and other ancient inscriptions.

A. The Biblical Evidence
B. The Epigraphic Evidence
C. Conclusions

### A. The Biblical Evidence

From the book of Exodus onward, writing, books, and reading are mentioned frequently and without comment. Moses is portrayed writing the terms of God's covenant with Israel (Exod 24:4), the stages of Israel's journey from Egypt to Canaan (Num 33:2), his song (Deut 31:25), and the law (Deut 31:9), the last two being written to be taught and to be read in public respectively. The laws given in writing by God (Exod 32:16; 34:1, 4) were called "the book of the law" (Deut 28:58). Other leaders, secular and religious, read and wrote: Joshua from the book of the law (Josh 1:8; 24:26), Samuel the duties of the king (1 Sam 10:25), David letters to Joab (2 Sam 11:14), Jezebel letters in Ahab's name (1 Kgs 21:8f.), the king of Damascus to the king of Israel (2 Kings 5), Jehu to men of Samaria (2 Kings 10), Hezekiah read letters from Sennacherib and Merodach-Baladan (2 Kgs 19:14; 20:12). In all these cases the rulers may have read or written themselves but, equally, secretaries ("scribes") may have acted on their behalf, for there would be no need to mention the latter's role unless it was significant for the narrative, as when Jehudi read Jeremiah's oracles to Jehoiakim and the king cut up the scroll after a few columns had been read (Jer 36:20–26). However, Deut 17:18–19 does envisage Israelite kings copying and reading the law book for themselves. Kings had their official secretaries from David's reign (2 Sam 8:17; cf. 1 Kgs 4:3; 2 Ki 12:10), and their control presumably extended over the clerks who operated Solomon's revenue-collecting system (1 Kings 4) and whatever administrative arrangements took its place in Israel and Judah. Local centers responsible to the capital would generate a certain amount of reading and writing in normal circumstances, enabling such levies as Menahem's to be raised (2 Kgs 15:19–20). Hezekiah's Passover proclamation assumed it could be read throughout the land (2 Chr 30:6).

While tax-collecting may have brought the ordinary farmer or citizen into contact with writing on occasion, as would any regular attempt to ensure all men paid the half-shekel tax to the sanctuary (Exod 30:13; 38:25ff.; cf. Matt 17:24–27), biblical laws expected a greater familiarity with those skills. A man

divorcing his wife was to write a document of divorce for her (Deut 24:1–3; cf. Isa 50:1; Jer 3:8), and God's laws were to be written on the doors and doorframes of the houses (Deut 6:9; 11:20). Evidently, reading and writing were assumed to affect life at most levels; their existence was common knowledge, even if their practice was largely in the hands of specialists, the scribes. Isaiah could meet people able to read and people unable to read (Isa 29:11–12). The public reading of the Law, even if not carried out so regularly as prescribed by Deut 31:10–13, would emphasize the role of the book (cf. 2 Kings 22). Inscribed monuments visible to travelers, would also advertise the use of writing (cf. Josh 8:30–35).

If a man had a Scriptural text on his doorpost, did that bring an awareness of books and literature? The question is almost unanswerable from the biblical text. The ubiquity of references to writing and writing materials of several kinds, using terms which are seldom foreign to the Hebrew language (Heb *qeset* 'palette' came from Eg *gst,* since the art of writing in ink originated in Egypt), does seem to imply that books were not great rarities confined to temple or palace libraries. And although many of the references occur in texts from the latter part of the Monarchy, some are to be found in parts of the Pentateuch which standard literary analysis sets in the earlier part (e.g., Exod 17:14; 24:7 in E; Exod 32:32–33 in J).

**B. The Epigraphic Evidence**

Writing and reading were skills 2000 years old in Babylonia and Egypt by the time Israel became a kingdom. Although the scripts of both cultures had been current in Canaan, they gave place to the locally invented alphabet at the end of the 2d millennium B.C., and it was that script which the Israelites adopted.

Examples of ancient Hebrew writing are most plentiful from the 7th century B.C. and the early 6th, that is, from the last century of Judah's existence. Most are short notes or messages written in ink on potsherds, the scrap-paper of ancient times (see WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS). They have been found in major towns such as Jerusalem and Lachish, in military settlements like Arad and Aroer, and in smaller places like Khirbet Qumran and Vered Yericho. Labels describing contents or naming the owner were scratched or pecked on wine jars at Gibeon and many other sites.

The most common inscribed objects are stone seals bearing the owner's name, often followed by the father's name, occasionally by a title. Hundreds are known either in the original stones or from their imprints on tiny lumps of clay. These clay bullae sealed papyrus documents. This is proved both by the impressions of papyrus fibers left on the backs of the bullae and by the recovery of similar bullae still attached to papyri in Egypt (e.g., at Elephantine; see *ArchEleph,* pl. 14a). Papyrus documents will not survive in the damp soil of most Palestinian sites, but in the dehydrated conditions of the caves near the Dead Sea one fragment has lasted from this period. Originally it carried a letter, then the ink had been partially washed away and an accountancy list written over it; papyrus was costly or hard to obtain. Bullae have been found in excavations at Jerusalem and Lachish, and by chance at other sites. A hoard of 255 obtained from antiquities dealers represents an archive of scores of papyrus documents (see Avigad 1986). Seal-stones are found in burials and in settlements, one coming from a remote farmstead in the Buqei'ah valley W of Qumran. Some seals were impressed into the fabric of jars, to indicate the place of origin or the capacity or for other purposes. Another class of inscribed stone from this period is weights. Fractions of the shekel had their value incised on them in words, obviously intended to be recognized, for some of the weights differ only a little in size. Besides these regular products of scribes and engravers, there are graffiti in tombs and other places, the spur-of-the-moment scribbles of mourners or visitors (e.g., Khirbet el-Qom, Khirbet Beit Lei, the caravanserai at Kuntillet Ajrud). Formal inscriptions are rare, a fact to be attributed to the constant occupation and rebuilding of major towns rather than to a disinclination to make such things. Small pieces of inscribed monuments have been found in Jerusalem and Samaria, and tombs of the very wealthy in Silwan had carefully cut notices declaring ownership and cursing plunderers. The outstanding piece of ancient Hebrew writing is the Siloam Tunnel Inscription (*ANET,* 321), engraved on the rock wall by lamplight in a position where few people would ever see it. Its flowing script preserves the handwriting of a proficient scribe. See SILOAM INSCRIPTION.

All of these inscriptions date from the last 150 years of Judah's history. The Samaria Ostraca, consisting of over a hundred pieces, represent the work of clerks in the Israelite capital about 775 to 750 B.C. Apart from them, there are few ancient Hebrew texts which can be dated much before 700 B.C. This does not

mean there was little writing in Israel earlier in the Monarchy. The Gezer Calendar is one piece of evidence from the 10th century B.C. for a knowledge of writing in Palestine, although the text is not certainly Hebrew. The monumental possibilities of the 9th century are demonstrated by the Moabite Stone, product of a culture so close to Judah's in nature that it would be hard to suppose Hebrew scribes incapable of preparing a similar memorial.

Epigraphic evidence fails to supply any Hebrew book earlier than the Dead Sea Scrolls. One discovery does illustrate the appearance of a book in the time of Isaiah (ca. 700 B.C.). Although not a Hebrew text, the inscribed plaster fragments from Tell Deir ʿAlla cannot preserve a very different form. Written in black ink framed at the top and left side with red rulings and with initial and certain other words in red, the text, in Aramaic script, describes visions of Balaam son of Beor. No doubt this is an enlarged version of a column of a scroll, a book about Balaam. (See also DEIR ʿALLA (TEXTS)). The form is seen more extensively in the oldest surviving W Semitic book scrolls, the Aramaic papyri containing the Wisdom of Ahiqar, and a translation of Darius the Great's Behistun inscription copied in the 5th century B.C. and found at Elephantine (see Millard 1982: 150).

**C. Conclusions**

Measuring literacy is a subjective exercise, dependent upon definition of the term and breadth of information on hand. For a dead culture the inquiry is almost wholly confined to assessing the products of the literate members of the culture. Israel provides the rare opportunity to set the evidence of a traditional literary text, the Bible, beside epigraphic remains. At once, some speculations arising from study of the former are extinguished by the testimony of the latter. Assertions that writing was confined to palace and temple to centers of administration and cult (e.g., Phillips 1968: 194) are now disproved. The wide distribution of ostraca and graffiti beyond major towns to military outposts and farms (see Millard 1985a: 302, 310–12) attests the presence of readers and writers in such places. Even if their presence was temporary, it disseminated awareness of the skills of literacy. Discovery of Hebrew ostraca in hoards has led to the supposition that potsherds were the Hebrew scribes' normal writing material, and that all their works were short (Warner 1980: 89). This is a misunderstanding of the situation. Ostraca survive because they are all but indestructible, while papyri perish. The nature of many Hebrew ostraca implies the production of more extensive documents collating and ordering their data. Where both ostraca and papyrus records survive side by side, as they do in Egypt, notably in the Aramean–Jewish colony at Elephantine, the ostraca carry ephemeral notes, messages and lists; the papyri contain legal deeds, longer or more important letters, memoranda and other documents that were to be kept for future consultation, and ledgers incorporating the details recorded on individual ostraca. In Egypt books were written on papyrus scrolls, and it is reasonable to suppose this was also true in Israel.

Protagonists of a major role for oral tradition in ancient Israel have developed the idea that an oral community's literature was only put into writing at moments of crisis (Nielsen 1954). In the face of an enemy threat, memories were tapped and the accumulated knowledge of the population written down. Apart from the inherent unlikelihood of this scenario, the epigraphic evidence tells against it. Documents from the closing stage of an occupation have a greater likelihood of surviving. Moreover, in Babylonia and Assyria where manuscripts of literary works may bear dates, the copying was clearly done over several years before the phases ended.

The distribution of Hebrew epigraphic material is one sign of a widespread awareness of writing; another is the large number of seals, the majority bearing the owners' names without any distinctive design, so that one could be distinguished from another only by the shapes of the letters. There are too many of these seals for them to have been only the insignia of government officers in the small state of Judah over the last hundred years of its life. Clearly they belonged to a wider group of landowners, merchants, and religious personnel. Either these owners or their secretaries had to read the tiny letters to identify the seals. Some expectation that seal legends might be read is also implicit in the impressions on jars. The fact that two common types carried the words "royal property" (*lmlk*) and the name of a place (Hebron, Soco, Ziph, or Mamshit) above and below a special emblem (Lemaire 1982) suggests some

value was attached to the presence of the letters. Similarly, names scratched on pots imply ability to distinguish one from another on the part of the owners, at least.

The simplicity of the alphabet may be seen as an aid to literacy because it needed far less time and effort to memorize than the hundreds of Babylonian or Egyptian signs. Conservatism in scribal circles and the integration of writing systems in the national cultures helped Babylonian and Egyptian to continue into the Christian era. The invention of a cuneiform alphabet in Ugarit during the LB Age in imitation of the Canaanite alphabet is testimony to the scribes' realization of the advantages the new script brought. The effect is shown by the greater proportion of inscribed to uninscribed seals in Israel and Judah by comparison with Assyrian and Babylonian seals, and by the occurrence of casual graffiti in alphabetic scripts.

Whether in knowledge of the skills themselves or from observation of others using them, it is arguable that many Israelite and Judean citizens were aware of writing and its powers. Nevertheless, in normal daily business it was the professional scribes who did most of the reading and writing. Scribes were active in Canaan before Israel ruled there, already known by the term *sōpēr.* (This word appears as a W Semitic loanword in an Egyptian composition of the 13th century B.C., Papyrus Anastasi I [*ANET,* 476]; it is accompanied with the determinative indicating a scribe's palette, making its meaning clear, *contra* McKane [1965: 23ff.]). Some held high positions in court (e.g., Shaphan [2 Kings 22]), others worked as secretaries to individuals (as Baruch did for Jeremiah [Jeremiah 36, 45]), or presumably hired their services to anyone who had need of them. Some people who were literate did other work. The writer of one of the Lachish Ostraca protested indignantly, "My lord has as good as said, 'You don't know how to read a letter.' As the Lord lives, no one has ever had to read a letter to me! In fact, when I've read any letter that has come to me, I've been able to repeat its contents in detail!" (Lachish Letter 3; see Lemaire 1977: 100–1). The writer was commander of a military outpost. How such a man or any scribe learned to read and write is uncertain; there may have been schools with classes of pupils, or practicing scribes may have taken apprentices. Part of the training was probably the copying of works of Hebrew literature as a means to inculcate accuracy, grammar and style, and as a mental stimulus, as it was in Egypt and Babylonia. See EDUCATION (ANCIENT ISRAEL). The range of Hebrew literature in the Bible is comparable with surviving texts from those cultures, although not identical with them, and it would be strange if such works were preserved in writing in neighboring regions yet not in Israel and Judah. It is also noteworthy that many texts were written down at the time of composition in adjacent states, including such various genres as treaties or covenants (Aramaic from Sefire, *ANET,* 531–41), narratives of victory (like the Moabite Stone, *ANET,* 320), and prophetic oracles (*ANET,* 605–7; 623–26; 629–32; cf. Millard 1985b). Israel is unlikely to have had totally different literary habits.

The biblical evidence actually complements the epigraphic. The creation of a second copy of Jeremiah's oracles is not set out as an extraordinary event (Jer 36:28–32), nor is the writing of a deed of sale (Jeremiah 32). While the number of ancient Israelites who regularly read and wrote may have been very small and mostly professional scribes, the number who possessed marginal literacy was larger, and still more would likely have been able to recognize and write their names. (At Elephantine several legal documents bear signatures in the writing of people who were not used to using a pen; see Naveh 1970: 29–30). The majority of the people would have encountered writing on some occasion and would be aware of the power and possibilities it possessed, even in quasi-magical form (cf. Num 5:11–31 and the silver amulet plaques engraved with a form of Num 6:24–27 found in a late 7th century B.C. tomb in the valley of Hinnom).

In the light of the evidence from all sources it appears that literacy reached beyond the palaces and temples of Israel and Judah to quite small settlements. This means prophetic oracles, hymns, laws could have circulated in written form from an early time to offer an authority and a control on oral tradition. In discussion of the history of the books of the OT the role of Israelite literacy deserves to be given greater prominence.

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A. R. MILLARD

**LITERATURE.** Articles pertaining to the literature of the biblical world may be found under EGYPTIAN LITERATURE; HITTITE TEXTS AND LITERATURE; LITERATURE, EARLY CHRISTIAN; SUMERIAN LITERATURE; and UGARIT (TEXTS AND LITERATURE).

**LITERATURE, EARLY CHRISTIAN.** Early Christian literature includes all the writings of the early Church. This body of literature is made up of many different genres such as letters, gospels, acts, and apocalypses which are related to the life and thought of the particular community.

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A. Canonical and Uncanonical
  1. Gospels
  2. Acts
  3. Apocalypses
B. Apostolic Fathers
  1. Clement of Rome
  2. Ignatius and Polycarp
  3. Hermas
  4. Didache, Barnabas and Others
  5. Other Epistles
C. Apologists
  1. Quadratus and Aristides
  2. Justin Martyr
  3. Tatian and Athenagoras
  4. Latin Apologists
D. Heretics
  1. Marcion
  2. Gnostic Literature
  3. Manicheans
E. Christian Writers in the West
  1. Irenaeus
  2. Hippolytus
  3. Novatian
  4. Tertullian
  5. Cyprian
F. The Alexandrian Fathers
  1. Clement of Alexandria
  2. Origen

3. Dionysius

G. Eusebius

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**A. Canonical and Uncanonical**

In this article "literature" is used in a comprehensive sense: it is not restricted to works which were consciously composed for literary effect, but includes occasional compositions like personal letters. Moreover, no distinction is made between canonical and uncanonical literature. Such a distinction is important theologically and ecclesiastically, but not for the study of literary history. The earliest Christian literature is indeed found in the NT; that is to say, it comprises works which the Church eventually acknowledged as canonical. But canonical and uncanonical writings overlap chronologically: thus the letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians certainly, and the letters of Ignatius probably, antedate the latest NT documents (2 Peter, for example).

All the literary genres found in the NT are represented in uncanonical Christian literature of the earliest centuries A.D. Alongside the letters of Paul may be set the letters of Ignatius, half a century later. Alongside the four NT Gospels stand the "apocryphal" gospels, whether orthodox or heterodox—of a later date, it is true, but following the same literary pattern. Alongside the Acts of the Apostles stand the volumes of apocryphal Acts; alongside the Revelation of John stands the *Revelation of Peter*.

Of these genres only the first (letters or epistles) was familiar in the Greco–Roman world; the other three were distinctively Christian—or, so far as apocalypses are concerned, Jewish and Christian.

**1. Gospels.** All four of the canonical Gospels tell the story of Jesus' ministry, from his baptism to his death and resurrection. The first three (the Synoptic Gospels) share a considerable body of primitive Christian tradition, relating to both deeds and sayings of Jesus. The inclusion of so much common material, and the combination with this of material special to each evangelist, present us with what is commonly called the SYNOPTIC PROBLEM. The gospel of John has a core of narrative material, covering the same period but representing another line of tradition; this is set in the context of a body of teaching material, mainly in the form of discourse, showing a distinctive theology and style which are characteristically Johannine.

One of the earliest of the uncanonical gospels, the *Gospel of Thomas,* is a collection of 114 sayings ascribed to Jesus. About half of these have affinities with sayings recorded in the canonical Gospels. The *Gospel of Thomas* first became known from Greek papyrus fragments unearthed at Oxyrhynchus, Egypt, at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Its complete text, in a Coptic version, was included in one of the thirteen papyrus codices discovered at Nag Hammadi, Upper Egypt, about 1945.

The later gospels were designed in part to supply information about Jesus beyond what is found in the NT Gospels. Most of them are attached to the name of an apostle or some other prominent figure in the primitive Christian story. While the NT gospels of Matthew and Luke give some account of Jesus' birth and infancy, others—the "infancy gospels"—undertake to give details of his parentage and early days which pious readers were anxious to know. The *Protevangelium of James,* for example, begins by relating the conception, birth, and upbringing of Mary, the mother of Jesus, and goes on to describe the birth of Jesus and its immediate sequel. The *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* contains stories of Jesus' boyhood, presenting him as an infant prodigy both at school and at play.

The *Gospel of Peter,* or all that is left of it, is a "passion narrative"; it was popular in some quarters of the early Church until a bishop of Antioch, at the end of the 2d century, exposed its docetic tendency: it represented Jesus' suffering on the cross as being apparent, not real.

The *Gospel according to the Hebrews* and the *Gospel according to the Egyptians* seem to have circulated in Alexandria among Jewish and gentile Christians respectively. The former bore some kind of relationship to the canonical gospel of Matthew, but includes some material not found there, such as the account of Jesus' appearance after his resurrection to Matthew's brother James (cf. 1 Cor 15:7). The *Gospel according to the Egyptians* has more of a gnostic tinge, as in Jesus' declaration to Salome, "I have come to destroy the works of the female." This implies an end to the cycle of conception, birth,

parenthood, and death, with the reunion of male and female (or the reabsorption of the female in the male) in one person, as in the time before the formation of Eve.

The motif of Jesus' imparting further teaching to his disciples after his resurrection (cf. Acts 1:3) is found in a number of early Christian writings. About the middle of the 3d century, for example, an Egyptian gnostic wrote a Greek work known as *Pistis Sophia. Pistis Sophia* ("Faith Wisdom") probably represents the human soul, endeavoring to attain salvation. The work survives in a Coptic version. In it Jesus continues to live with his disciples for eleven or twelve years after his resurrection and tells them many things about salvation, especially in reply to questions, asked preeminently by Mary Magdalene (see PISTIS SOPHIA).

**2. Acts.** In the second half of the 2d century, there began to appear a body of "Acts" literature, of the same general character as the NT Acts of the Apostles, ascribed to Paul, Peter, Andrew, John, and Thomas.

The *Acts of Paul,* composed about 160 by a presbyter of one of the churches of Asia ("from love of Paul," as he said), is an early example of Christian fiction. It records various adventures of Paul; the most popular part of the work describes the activities of his female disciple Thecla. Unlike the Paul of the Pastoral Epistles, the Paul of this work deprecates marriage but promotes freedom of ministry for Christian women. The author's good intentions were not appreciated by his church leaders; he was deposed from the presbyterate (Tert. *De Bapt.* 17).

The *Acts of Peter* deal with Peter's residence in Rome, culminating with his crucifixion under Nero. The work includes an account of his encounter in Rome with Simon Magus. The *Acts of Andrew* (early 3d century) tell of Andrew's apostolic activity and his martyrdom at Patras. The *Acts of Thomas* and *Acts of John* are gnosticizing works. The former relates Thomas' evangelizing of India; it includes a beautiful poem called the *Hymn of the Soul,* about a prince who goes down to Egypt to recover a pearl of great price. The latter is said to have been composed by one Leucius, after whom all five of these *Acts* compositions are sometimes, but misleadingly, called the Leucian *Acts.* The *Acts of John* contains a poem, the *Hymn of Christ,* which has been set to music (as the *Hymn of Jesus*) by Gustav Holst; like the rest of the work, the hymn portrays a docetic Christ.

The works called the *Clementines,* claiming the authority of Clement of Rome, share some of the characteristics of the apocryphal Acts. Two treatises deserve special notice: the *Clementine Homilies* and the *Clementine Recognitions.* These are to be dated in the 3d or early 4th century, but are based in part on earlier documents no longer extant, such as the *Acts of James* and the *Travels of Peter.*

The *Clementine Homilies,* which are introduced by an *Epistle of Peter to James,* comprise twenty discourses sent by Clement in Rome to James of Jerusalem; they give an account of Clement's travels in the East, where he met Peter and witnessed his contest with Simon Magus. The *Clementine Recognitions* record the adventures of Clement's parents and brothers, who lose touch with one another until they are "recognized" by Peter and reunited with one another and with Clement. Their theological tendency is Judaistic and Gnostic, but this probably belongs more to their sources than to their final authors.

**3. Apocalypses.** Apocalyptic literature originated in a Jewish milieu, although the work from which it is so called is the NT Revelation of John (the Apocalypse or "unveiling" par excellence). Apocalypses usually take the form of visions in which the seer, often a figure from earlier times (like Enoch), is shown things inaccessible to ordinary knowledge, such as the unexplored recesses of outer space or the mysteries of the divine purpose regarding future events.

The Revelation of John, firmly based in the contemporary situation in which the Church's prospects seemed hopeless, with the might of the Roman Empire deployed against it, looks forward to the triumph and universal sovereignty of Christ and his persecuted followers.

The *Revelation* (or *Apocalypse*) *of Peter,* which was read in some churches as an apostolic work from the late 2d to the 5th century, paints lurid word-pictures of the fate of the damned in the afterlife, and for long exercised an influence on Christian art, as in Dante's *Inferno* and Gustav Doré's illustrations of it.

A number of less important apocalyptic writings were current in the early Christian centuries. There was, for example, the *Apocalypse of Paul,* which undertook to divulge the "things that cannot be told"

which the apostle heard on the occasion when he was "caught up to the third heaven" (2 Cor 12:2–4); it was evidently composed in the 4th century and had only a limited circulation.

**B. Apostolic Fathers.**

The Apostolic Fathers, so called since the 17th century, are a group of Christian writers of the first few generations after the apostolic age, from the end of the 1st century to about the middle of the 2d.

**1. Clement of Rome.** Clement, foreign secretary of the church in Rome, is credited with the authorship of a letter sent by that church to the church in Corinth, expostulating with it for its unruly behavior (commonly dated ca. A.D. 96). The so-called *Second Letter of Clement* is an anonymous homily of rather later date.

**2. Ignatius and Polycarp.** Of great importance are the seven letters which Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, sent to six churches and one individual when he was being taken through Asia Minor on his way to martyrdom in the Roman Colosseum (ca. A.D. 115). The one individual to whom he sent a letter was Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna. A letter of Polycarp has survived (possibly a combination of two letters) in which he replies to a request from the Christians of Philippi for copies of the letters of Ignatius which they thought he might be able to procure for them. Polycarp was a true "apostolic father" in the sense that he was believed to be a disciple of the apostles; he lived on to suffer martyrdom at the age of eighty-six (A.D. 155/6). An account of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* has been preserved among the Apostolic Fathers.

**3. Hermas.** The *Shepherd of Hermas* is a work, partly allegorical and partly apocalyptic, composed by a Roman Christian early in the 2d century. It deals with moral problems which ordinary Christians were likely to encounter in daily life and attained great popularity in the West; at one time it almost made its way into the NT canon.

**4. Didache, Barnabas and Others.** The DIDACHE, or *Teaching of the Lord to the Gentiles through the Apostles* (a title based on Matt 28:18–20), is a primitive manual of church order, originating perhaps in Syria towards the end of the 1st century. (Later manuals of church order, such as the 3d-century *Didascalia* and the 4th-century *Apostolic Constitutions*, were modeled on the *Didache*.) Among the traditional material which the *Didache* contains is a body of ethical teaching, possibly of Jewish origin, called "The Two Ways"—the way of life and the way of death. This body of teaching appears also in the *Letter of Barnabas*, a document of approximately the same date, apparently of Alexandrian origin. The *Letter of Barnabas* is concerned to show that the Jews have misinterpreted the levitical ordinances of the OT by taking them literally; when they are understood allegorically, they are seen to impart moral lessons of permanent and universal validity.

**5. Other Epistles.** The anonymous *Letter to Diognatus* was sent by a Christian writer in the second half of the 2d century to an inquirer. It reveals a deep appreciation of the love of God displayed in the gospel and compares Christians' relation to the world with that of the soul to the body.

The *Epistle of the Apostles*, having come to light only in 1895, has not been conventionally included among the Apostolic Fathers. It purports to be a letter addressed to the churches by the apostles (including Nathanael, with Peter and Cephas named as two separate persons) and summarizes the main articles of Christian faith and hope. It was written in Greek, apparently in the province of Asia about the middle of the 2d century, but is known only from Latin, Coptic, and Ethiopic versions.

**C. Apologists**

One variety of Christian literature which flourished during the 2d century was apologetic. Christian apologists wrote to defend their faith against popular slander and official repression, and also against rival forms of belief and worship such as Judaism and Greek and Roman paganism.

**1. Quadratus and Aristides.** Some of the earliest works in this category, mentioned in ancient writings, are almost entirely lost, like the *Apology* of Quadratus, who about A.D. 124 addressed a defense of Christianity to the emperor Hadrian. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 4.3.2) preserves one sentence from it, in which Quadratus claims to have seen in his youth some people who had been healed, and even raised from the dead, by Jesus.

The *Apology* of Aristides, surviving complete in a Syriac version and partially in some other forms, was addressed to Antoninus Pius (138–161); it reviews other religions and concludes that Christians have a worthier appreciation of God than Greeks, barbarians, or Jews.

**2. Justin Martyr.** One of the greatest Greek apologists was the philosophically trained Justin, who addressed a lengthy defense of Christianity to Antoninus Pius and his two designated successors, and a shorter one, some time later, to the Roman senate. He argues that Christian faith is entirely harmonious with reason and defends Christians against current calumnies. These defenses brought Justin no advantage: he was executed, with a number of his fellow-Christians, about 165, by sentence of the Roman urban prefect (their trial is reported in the almost contemporary *Acts of Justin*). His Apology provides incidental information about Christian life and church practice in his day. Another of his works, his *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew* (ca. 140), undertakes to prove that the Church is the true Israel, in which the law and the prophets find their proper fulfillment.

**3. Tatian and Athenagoras.** Justin's pupil Tatian, an Assyrian by birth, wrote an *Address to the Greeks,* which defends the antiquity and purity of Christianity over against Greek paganism. Whereas Justin ascribed all that was good and true in Greek culture to the divine "word" (*logos*) which in due course became incarnate in Jesus, Tatian dismissed Greek culture and religion alike as wholly evil. Tatian is best known as compiler of the *Diatessaron,* a rearrangement of the four canonical gospels in which their component parts were unstitched and reassembled so as to form one continuous narrative (ca. 170).

Tatian's contemporary Athenagoras addressed a *Supplication* to Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus (ca. 177), refuting defamatory reports about Christian morality. He also wrote a work on the resurrection of the dead.

**4. Latin Apologists.** Chief among the Latin apologists are Minucius Felix (early 3d century), whose *Octavius* reports a debate between a Christian and his pagan friend, which results in the pagan's conversion, and (most outstanding of all) Tertullian of Carthage, whose *Apology* (ca. 197), addressed to the governors of Roman provinces, exposes the absurdity of the accusations popularly leveled against Christians, and argues that those accusations can more properly be leveled against pagan deities.

It is not clear that the emperors and magistrates to whom these works were addressed ever saw them; there is certainly nothing to suggest that they had any effect on public policy toward Christians.

**D. Heretics**

The word "heretics" is used here in no pejorative sense: it denotes those Christian teachers who deviated from the line maintained by the leaders of churches which claimed to have been founded by apostles.

**1. Marcion.** Marcion, from Sinope on the Black Sea, produced (ca. 144) the first edition of the Greek NT of which anything is known. His edition, published at Rome, presented a text which reflected his dogmatic presuppositions. He was a wholehearted devotee of Paul, dedicated (like him) to the gospel of free grace; but he made a sharp cleavage between the Creator God of the OT, the God of Israel, and the previously unknown God whom Jesus revealed as the Father. The OT, he held, had nothing to do with the Christian revelation, and NT passages which seemed to recognize the authority of the OT were removed from the text, as being self-evidently corruptions introduced by judaizers.

Along with his edition of the NT Marcion issued a series of *Antitheses,* setting out the incompatibility of the two Gods and of the dispensations of law and gospel proceeding respectively from the one God and from the other. The *Antitheses* have not survived, apart from the lyrical celebration of divine grace which introduced them: "O wealth of riches! Ecstasy, power and amazement! Nothing can be said about it, nor even imagined about it, neither can it be compared with anything!"

**2. Gnostic Literature.** Gnosticism was a phenomenon of great diversity: it may be regarded as a general term for an alternative interpretation of Christianity to that handed down in the "apostolic tradition"—although it made its own claim to reproduce the apostles' teaching. The knowledge (*gnōsis*) which it cultivated was the knowledge of salvation. This in itself did not distinguish it from the apostolic tradition: much depended on the definitions of "knowledge" and "salvation." For the gnostics the essence of the primordial fall was the soul's loss of the true knowledge through contamination contracted from the material order; salvation lay in the recovery of the true knowledge. To aid human beings in its recovery

was the function of the Savior. The descent of the Savior, his rescuing of those who, through loss of the true knowledge, found themselves astray in an unfriendly universe, and his raising them with him to the realm of light to which he and they originally belonged, was the story set forth in a variety of mythological forms.

Until 1945 knowledge of the tenets of Gnosticism was derived largely from the critiques of its opponents: since then the situation has been changed by the discovery of a gnostic library near Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt—about fifty treatises in thirteen leather-bound codices. The treatises (copied in the 4th century A.D.) are preserved in Coptic; behind most of them lies a Greek original. Various gnostic schools are represented in the library: some of the most important emanated from the school of Valentinus (ca. A.D. 140), e.g., the *Gospel of Truth* (a meditation on the saving work of Jesus), the *Gospel of Philip,* and a treatise on the resurrection called the *Letter to Rheginus.*

Ptolemy, probably Valentinus' successor as head of his school, states his theological position in his *Letter to Flora* (preserved by the 4th-century writer Epiphanius); he undertakes to show (against Marcion) that the OT, properly understood—i.e., allegorically understood in accordance with Valentinian principles—retains its value for Christians.

An earlier gnostic writer, Basilides, wrote an exegetical work in twenty-four volumes, but only the merest fragments survive. He is credited with the composition of a *Gospel of Basilides,* but nothing certain is known of it.

**3. Manicheans.** One interesting gnostic development was Manicheism, originating with Mani (ca. 215–277), self-styled "Apostle of Jesus Christ," who resided for a good part of his life in Persia, and on March 20, 242, announced himself as a new prophet. Although Manicheism may have started as a Christian heresy, it developed into a new missionary religion, drawing in part on Zoroastrianism and Buddhism, which for a time rivaled Christianity. Its main feature was its thoroughgoing dualism, in which Light and Darkness were two equal and opposite principles. It was totally world-renouncing. Augustine was a Manichean for nine years (373–382) before his conversion to Christianity.

Manicheism gave rise to a rich literature, most of it surviving now in fragments in Central Asian languages, which, however, can scarcely be subsumed under Christian literature.

**E. Christian Writers in the West**

The teaching of the gnostics and others called forth replies and refutations from defenders of the apostolic tradition. Justin Martyr, for example, wrote a treatise *Against Marcion* which, unfortunately, has not survived.

**1. Irenaeus.** The greatest of the antiheretical writers of the late 2d century was Irenaeus (ca. 130–200), a native of the province of Asia who about A.D. 177 became bishop of Lyon in Gaul. He was able to view the contemporary state of Christian belief and life from a broad perspective. His work *Against Heresies,* in five volumes (surviving mainly in a Latin translation from the original Greek and partly in an Armenian translation), includes a critique of several gnostic schools. While his account of them is consistently hostile, it is shown to be reasonably accurate by the evidence of the gnostic library from Nag Hammadi. The positive element in his work is his establishment of the apostolic tradition: the rule of faith, handed down without change through a succession of bishops in those churches which were founded by apostles, provides a test by which everything that claims to be authentic Christianity can be assessed.

Another work of Irenaeus, *The Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching,* presents an outline of the plan of salvation; it is extant only in an Armenian translation.

**2. Hippolytus.** In the following generation Hippolytus (died 235), a great scholar, bishop for a time of a schismatic Christian community in Rome, was the last significant Roman Christian to write in Greek. He wrote a number of exegetical works: His commentary on Daniel (ca. 204) seems to be the earliest orthodox commentary on any biblical book. His main work, in ten volumes, is entitled *The Refutation of All Heresies.*

**3. Novatian.** If Hippolytus was the last Roman Christian of significance to write in Greek, the first to write in Latin was Novatian (like Hippolytus, the leader of a dissident body, the Novatianists). A few

treatises by him are extant; among them by far the most important is a well-constructed work *On the Trinity* (ca. 250).

**4. Tertullian.** Across the Mediterranean, in North Africa, Christian writings in Latin appeared in the last quarter of the 2d century. Tertullian of Carthage, whose *Apology* has been mentioned above, wrote voluminously on Christian doctrine and practice. In matters of Christian practice he took a uniformly puritan line, especially after his conversion (ca. 206) to Montanism, a charismatic movement which arose in Phrygia about the middle of the 2d century. He was a scathing controversialist, and wrote several antiheretical works: *Against Marcion, Against the Valentinians,* and others. Although his language in these works is hostile and abusive, his representation of the views which he attacks is generally reliable. It is to him, for example, that we owe much of what is known about Marcion's New Testament. Tertullian contributed weightily to the vocabulary of Latin Christianity. It is in his writings, for instance, that we first meet the word *trinitas* ("trinity").

**5. Cyprian.** Cyprian, bishop of Carthage (martyred 258), wrote a number of letters and treatises which, while they showed nothing of the intellectual power of Tertullian, expressed a pastoral concern which won them great popularity. His treatise *On the Unity of the Catholic Church* was specially influential in the early Church; even today its influence remains.

**F. The Alexandrian Fathers**

From 180 onward the church of Alexandria in Egypt was enriched by a succession of great teachers who were also prolific writers; many of their works have survived, though many more have been lost.

**1. Clement of Alexandria.** Clement, probably an Athenian by birth, lived in Alexandria between 180 and 202 and taught in the catechetical school which had been set up in that city by Pantaenus. Clement's surviving writings include the *Protrepticus* (an introduction to Christian ethics), a treatise on the gospel incident of the rich ruler (Mark 10:17–31), a collection of extracts from the OT prophets and another of extracts from the works of Theodotus (a disciple of Valentinus), and eight volumes of *Stromateis* or "miscellanies"—a wide-ranging and discursive work maintaining that Christian knowledge (*gnōsis*) is preferable to any other kind. Clement was a man of classical culture, and saw no reason why it should not be enlisted in the service of Christian truth: to his mind "the truth-loving Plato" speaks at times "as if divinely inspired" (*Strom.* 1.8).

**2. Origen.** Origen (185–254), a native of Alexandria, became head of the catechetical school soon after Clement's departure from the city, when he was barely out of his teens. In 231 he left Alexandria and lived from then on at Caesarea in Palestine. Most of his surviving works have unfortunately been preserved only in a Latin translation which does not always do justice to his thought: for one thing his translator, Rufinus of Aquileia (ca. 345–410), tries to make him conform to the orthodoxy of a later age. Origen has left a work *On First Principles,* in four volumes, containing a systematic exposition of the Christian faith, and an important defense of Christianity, in eight volumes, *Against Celsus* (a Platonic philosopher who about 178 had published an attack on Christianity in his *True Word*). Origen's *Hexapla* was an edition of the biblical text in six parallel columns (the OT comprised the Hebrew text and a transliteration into Greek characters, together with four different Greek versions). In its entirety it probably existed only in the original copy. Origen was an indefatigable commentator on the biblical writings, but most of his commentaries are lost. By the standards of later Christian generations he was judged to be in some respects heretical, but he was the eastern church's greatest scholar, and its greatest theologian before Athanasius (295–373).

**3. Dionysius.** Origen's pupil Dionysius, who became bishop of Alexandria in 247, was an able theologian with a rare sense of literary style. This appears, for example, in the course of his treatise *On the Promises,* in which he criticizes the literal millenarianism of Nepos, another Egyptian bishop. He points out that the Apocalypse, on which Nepos had based his arguments, has no apostolic authority, since stylistic criteria prove that the John who wrote it was not the author of the Fourth Gospel. This treatise, like the rest of his many works, has been preserved only in extracts quoted by later authors.

**G. Eusebius**

Our survey is designed to terminate at the end of the 3d century. One exception must be made—Eusebius (ca. 260–339), a native of Palestinian Caesarea, who became bishop of the church there in 314. The reason for including him is that he preserves quotations from so many earlier writings that are otherwise lost. It is he, for instance, who preserves the comment of Dionysius of Alexandria on the authorship of the Apocalypse. An older writer from whom he quotes is Papias, bishop of Hierapolis about A.D. 125, who in his five volumes of *Exegesis of the Lord's Oracles* recorded much primitive Christian oral tradition which he had assiduously collected. This compilation has been lost for centuries, apart from passages quoted by Eusebius and one or two other writers.

Eusebius' writings include his *Preparation for the Gospel,* his *Demonstration of the Gospels,* his *Martyrs of Palestine,* and—most important of all—his *Church History.* This work traces the advance of Christianity, especially in the E Mediterranean world, from NT times to his own day, to the eve of the Council of Nicaea (325). In spite of infelicities of construction and style, this is a work of inestimable value both in its own right and especially for its inclusion of extracts from many earlier Christian works which are no longer extant. Those works were accessible to him in the library of Caesarea accumulated by his mentor Pamphilus (martyred 309). Eusebius reproduced his extracts with remarkable accuracy: "in no instance where we can test does Eusebius give a doubtful testimony" (Lightfoot 1889: 49). He was highly esteemed by the emperor Constantine, and composed his panegyric at his death in 337. Despite its lavish flattery, this panegyric contains valuable historical material.

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**LITTLE APOCALYPSE IN THE GOSPELS.** See GOSPELS, LITTLE APOCALYPSE IN THE.

**LITURGY, ANGELIC** (4QShirShabb). See SONGS OF THE SABBATH SACRIFICE.

**LIVES OF THE PROPHETS.** See PROPHETS, LIVES OF THE.

**LIVING CREATURES.** See ZOOLOGY.

**LIZARD.** See ZOOLOGY.

**LMLK JAR HANDLES.** See STAMPS, ROYAL JAR HANDLE.

**LO-AMMI** (PERSON) [Heb *lō› ʿammî* (לֹא עַמִּי)]. See NOT MY PEOPLE (PERSON).

**LO-DEBAR** (PLACE) [Heb *lô dĕbār* (לוֹ דְבָר)*; lō› dĕbār* (לֹא דְבָר)]. A non-Israelite city-state located in the Transjordan N of the Yarmuk River, near the watercourse. The name is variously spelled:

Heb *lô dĕbār* in 2 Sam 9:4–5, and Heb *lō› dĕbār* in 2 Sam 17:27; Amos 6:13. In Amos 6:13, the name plays on its two Hebrew elements (*lō›* "no"; *dābār* "thing") meaning "nothing," which highlights the predicted punishment in v 14. Similar in spelling is Heb *līdĕbīr,* translated in RSV "to Debir," but possibly a variant spelling of the name "Lidebir." Though the etymology of the name is unclear, and quadraliteral roots are not characteristically Semitic, the single form *ldbr* is more likely to be a place name than the ambiguous word combination *lw/›dbr*; thus Lidebir is to be preferred.

In the days of Saul, either Ammiel or his son Machir ruled the city which appears to have become an ally of the new Israelite state. In view of the secret political asylum granted to Jonathan's infant son Meribaal after the death of Saul and his three eldest sons at Gilboa, some sort of preexisting political ties presumably existed between the two states. In the wake of the discovery that Machir was harboring Meribaal, it is likely that he was forced to become David's vassal. Machir performed vassal obligations to David along with Shobi ben Nahash of Ammon, and Barzillai of Rogelim in Gilead, by supplying troops and provisions to David during his conflict with Absalom.

In the Iron Age II period, Lidebir apparently became a satellite of Aram-Damascus. Jeroboam II, king of Israel (785–745 B.C.) is credited with restoring Israel's borders to their former limits under David, and with gaining control over Damascus and Hamath again (2 Kgs 14:23, 28). If the report is reliable, the states and their dependents probably were made vassals rather than being incorporated into Israel's boundaries as administrative districts (cf. David's policy to this effect mentioned above). Amos 6:13 seems to reflect the beginning of Jeroboam II's expansion into traditional Syrian territory in its allusion to the capture of Lidebir and its reference to the capture of Karnaim, often identified with mod. Tell Ashtarah (M.R. 243244), in the SE Golan heights.

The general site location can be determined from the boundary of Gad described in Josh 13:24–28. The phrase, "from Mahanaim to the border of Lidebir" (v 26b) is likely a secondary addition to the original Gadite description. The traditional homeland of Gad lay S of the River Jabbok, and Mahanaim was probably situated on the N bank of the river, and thus represented the southernmost boundary point for the territory of half-Manasseh. In light of the report in 1 Chr 5:16–17 that during the reign of Jotham, king of Judah, the Gadites dwelt "in Gilead, in Bashan and in its towns, and in all the pasture lands of Sharon to its limits," one can conclude that in the years preceding Jotham's reign the tribe of Gad expanded into the traditional territory of half-Manasseh. Verse 26b can be understood to reflect this expansion, and to represent the S and N boundary points, respectively, of the former territory of half-Manasseh.

Because the Gadites' expanded holdings in Gilead abutted, but did not encompass Lidebir, and the Yarmuk River represents the traditional N boundary of Gilead, it is logical to seek a site on the N bank of the Yarmuk for the city. Past suggestions of Tell Mghanne (Noth 1959: 45; Ottosson 1969: 128); Tell el Hamme (Metzger 1960: 101); Umm ed-Dabar (*GP,* 70; M.R. 207219); Khirbet Hamid (Mittmann 1970: 244); or Ibdar (*EncBib* 4: 2810), all of which lie S of the Yarmuk, are inconsistent with the biblical evidence. A possible candidate would be Tell Dober (M.R. 209232), strategically situated below the southwesternmost tip of the Golan, N of the Yarmuk, facing the Jordan Valley plain lying S and SE of the Sea of Galilee. The site has evidence of occupation in both Iron Age I and II (Kochavi 1972: 292), and lies along one of the proposed ancient routes by which one would have gained access to the international trade center of Damascus from Trans- and Cis-jordan (Mazar, Biran, and Dunayevsky 1964: 2). Saul's probable establishment of ties with Lidebir should be viewed in light of the city's proposed role as controller of access to the Golan from his state's territory.

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**LO-RUHAMAH** (PERSON) [Heb *lō᾽ rūḥamâ* (לֹא רֻחָמָה)]. See NOT PITIED (PERSON).

**LOAN.** See INTEREST AND USURY IN THE GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD.

**LOCUST.** See ZOOLOGY.

**LOD** (PLACE) [Heb *lōd* (לֹד)]. Var. LYDDA. A town in the N Shephelah whose founding was attributed to (one of) the sons of Elpaal, a Benjaminite (1 Chr 8:12). Its traditional location is modern Lod/el-Ludd (M.R. 140151), on the S bank of the wadi el-Kabir near the intersection of the main E–W road from Jerusalem to Joppa and the main N–S road from Damascus and Mesopotamia to Egypt. Although the Chronicler, perhaps influenced by the postexilic resettlement of Lod by Benjaminites (Ezra 2:23 = Neh 7:37; Neh 11:35), attributes the founding of Lod to a Benjaminite, the town's earliest tribal associations may have first been with Dan and then with Ephraim.

**A. Historical Sources**

While Aharoni and Avi-Yonah suggest that Lod may appear as #44 in the second group of Egyptian Execration texts (*MBA*, 26), its first definite mention is in the conquest list of Thutmose III (*ANET*, 263, #64). Lod is not mentioned again in ancient sources until the Persian period, so it may have been unoccupied during the latter part of the LB Age and the Iron Age. After its resettlement by Benjaminites in the early Persian period, Lod seems to have formed the westernmost extension of the territory of Judah, although several scholars have questioned whether the region of Lod actually formed part of the Jewish province (*GTTOT*, 392). Neh 11:35 suggests that Jews may have continued to live in Lod even during the Exile.

By the Hellenistic period the name of Lod had evolved into Lydda. During the reign of the Seleucid king Demetrius II (145 B.C.) Lydda, along with Apherima and Ramathea, was transferred from the control of Samaria to that of Judea (1 Macc 11:34; *Ant* 13.4.9 §127). Lydda subsequently became the capital of one of the eleven districts of Judea (*JW* 3.3.5 §54–55). During the time of the Roman civil war following the death of Julius Caesar, Cassius sold the people of Lydda into slavery for failure to pay the taxes needed to support his army (*Ant* 14.11.4 §275). After his victory over Cassius at Philippi in 42 B.C., Mark Antony restored the inhabitants of Lydda (*Ant* 14.12.2 §304–5).

The apostle Paul visited Lydda, where he healed Aneas, who had been bedridden for eight years (Acts 9:32–38). News of this miracle is said to have converted many people in Lydda and the Sharon, and to have prompted Peter's call to Joppa to raise Tabitha from the dead. Lydda was burned by Cestius and the 12th Legion early in the First Jewish Revolt, when all but fifty of its citizens were on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem for the Feast of Tabernacles (*JW* 2.19.1 §515). After Cestius' defeat, the Lydda region was placed under the command of John the Essene (*JW* 2.20.4 §567). When Vespasian marched against Jerusalem, his army resettled the ruins of Lydia with a population which included Jews loyal to Rome (*JW* 4.8.1 §445).

Around the time of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193–211), the city received the status of a Roman colony and was renamed Diospolis. Its Christian community was strong during the Byzantine period; Diospolis sent a bishop to the Council of Nicaea, and a Synod was convened there in 415. The town regained its traditional name after the Arab conquest. Lydda was believed to be the site of the martyrdom of St. George, and for a time the Crusaders referred to the town as St. George.

MELVIN HUNT

**B. Archaeological Excavations**

Today the ruins of ancient Lod are completely covered by modern buildings, thus preventing efforts to excavate the ruins of the historic town. However, on the N side there are a few houses and the edge of the mound was cut away, thus forming a section 2.5 m deep. In December 1951–January 1952 excavations were briefly conducted in three small areas at the site: (1) the N edge of the mound (area A); (2) the two sides of a small ravine (area B); and (3) a level area N of the cut mentioned above (area C). Neolithic and Chalcolithic remains were unearthed.

In area A, a trench was dug running from the base of the mound toward the summit, exposing part of a circular structure built of rubble. Beneath this structure was a mud-brick wall built on the sandy soil. Altogether, four phases of occupation could be distinguished in this section of the mound, all dating to EB I.

A dump of grey earth was discovered in area B, containing pottery resembling the Chalcolithic cultures of Wadi Rabah (stratum II), Jericho stratum VIII, and Ghassul. See RABAH, WADI; GHASSUL, TULEILAT EL-). The pottery of the first two types included sherds of jars with bow rims, splay-ended loop handles, and "black-burnished ware." Among the Ghassulian sherds were lug handles with triangular sections, cornets, and churns.

Shallow pits dug into the sand and containing Neolithic pottery were found in area C. Most of the pottery was characteristic of Jericho IX ware both in decoration and in form (see Kaplan 1969), providing a rare opportunity to examine such an assemblage this far from the Jordan rift.

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JACOB KAPLAN

**LOG** [Heb *lōg* (לֹג)]. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**LOGIA.** Logia is a loan word from Greek (pl. of *logion,* a diminutive of *logos,* or "word") meaning "oracles" or "sayings." Among ancient Christian writers the term is employed in a variety of ways, referring to sayings of Jesus (e.g., Pol. *Phil.* 7:1; Eus., *Hist. Eccl.* 9.7.15), but also to accounts of things Jesus did (Eus., *Hist. Eccl.,* 3.39.15), to OT passages (Eus., *Hist. Eccl.,* 9.9.7; 10.1.4; etc.), or even to the OT as a whole (*1 Clem.* 19:1; 53:1; 62:3; Eus., *Hist. Eccl.,* 5.17.5; 6.23.2; 10.4.43). In the technical parlance of NT scholarship, however, it has come to refer specifically to *sayings* attributed to Jesus. This technical usage probably derives from R. Bultmann, who used its German equivalent as a formal category within which to consider the wisdom sayings attributed to Jesus in the synoptic tradition (73ff.). Taking the Greek term *logoi* ("words") as its virtual synonym, J. M. Robinson used Bultmann's formal category as a point of departure, and traced the use of *logia/logoi* by early Christian authors to designate collections of Jesus' sayings, such as the *Gospel of Thomas,* whose incipit reads: "These are the secret words (Coptic: *nshaje* = Greek: *logoi* or *logia*) which the Living Jesus spoke …" Other such early Christian sayings collections would have included the synoptic sayings source (Q) used by Matthew and Luke, the collection of sayings and parables in Mark 4:1–34, and the chain of sayings that occurs in *1 Clem.* 13:2. Robinson coined the term *logoi sophon* ("sayings of the wise") to serve as an appropriate name for this genre of early Christian writing, and duly noted the very close relationship of these collections to similar collections to be found in Jewish wisdom literature, as well as the wisdom literature of other Near Eastern cultures.

It is curious that, apart from the *Gospel of Thomas,* these early collections of Jesus' logia managed to survive antiquity only when they were incorporated into some other genre, such as the narrative gospel, from which they must now be reconstructed if they are to be studied at all. This may perhaps be taken as an indication that relatively early in its historical development, the Church lost interest in Jesus' sayings, or logia, as the focus of its theological reflection, preferring instead forms and genres that allowed for a wider range of christological imagining, going beyond the simple notion of Jesus as Wisdom's sage. It may also be that as the early Church moved gradually away from the socially radical lifestyle that Theissen and others have associated with the synoptic sayings tradition, it soon found the older collections of logia less appealing than narrative gospels, in which the radicalism of the itinerant sage could be softened, and stories depicting Jesus disputing with local figures such as the "Pharisees" could be introduced to better reflect and comment upon the conflicts these settled Christians were now having with their neighbors. Consequently, many of the logia the early Church attributed to Jesus are to be found

today where the tradition has imbedded them artificially in an apophthegmatic context, in which the saying could be harnessed to address a particular *Sitz im Leben* of the early Church.

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**LOGOS.** The ancient Greek word *"logos,"* usually translated "word," has a wide variety of meanings and is common to all periods of Greek literature, both prose and verse, with the exception of Epic literature where it is rarely used.

*Logos* is a verbal noun from the Greek verb *legō.* The two basic meanings of the verb are: (1) to count or recount, and (2) to say or speak. The various senses of *logos* cluster around the two meanings of that verb. Connected with the first meaning of *legō, logos* means "computation" or "reckoning." Depending on the context, the word can then mean "accounts," or "measure," or "esteem," that is, the value put on a person or thing. In mathematics, it means "ratio" or "proportion." Depending on the second meaning of *legō, logos* also has a wide variety of meanings: explanation, argument, theory, law or rule of conduct, hypothesis, formula or definition, narrative, oration, conversation, dialogue, oracle, proverb or saying. The specific meaning can be derived only from the context in which the word appears. Connected with both meanings of the verb, *logos* can mean the process by which both computations and explanations are produced. In this context, *logos* refers to the process of human reasoning, human rationality, and more broadly the rationality or the rational principle of the universe. These latter meanings are especially important in Greek philosophical literature. The word is rarely used in Greek to refer to a single word and never in grammar to refer to a vocable. In referring to a single word or a vocable, ancient Greek uses terms such as *lexis, epos, onoma,* or *rhēma* (LSJM, 1057–59; BAGD, 477–79).

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A. *Logos* in Greek Philosophy
B. *Logos* in the Septuagint
C. *Logos* in Hellenistic Jewish Speculation
D. *Logos* in the New Testament in General
E. *Logos* in Johannine Literature
1. *Logos* in the Prologue of the Gospel of John
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### A. *Logos* in Greek Philosophy

*Logos* had a long, distinguished, and very complex career in Greek philosophy. That career began with the pre-Socratic philosopher Heraclitus (ca. 500 B.C.E.). Most of the time Heraclitus employed the term *logos* in its more common meanings (proportion, account, explanation). Some scholars think that he always used the term in this way (Robinson 1987: 74–76, 114–15). But he may also have used it in the sense of an underlying cosmic principle of order, a principle that escaped the view of most people but which was grasped by the few who were wise (Diels and Kranz 1952: Fragments 1, 2, 50). This principle of order was related to the general meaning of measure, reckoning, or proportion (Kirk and Raven 1957: 188). It was the proportional arrangement of things that provided the ultimate order of all phenomena which on the surface appeared to be disparate in nature. This *logos* seems to have been material for Heraclitus and coextensive with the primary cosmic element of fire (Diels and Kranz 1952: Fragment 30).

Plato's (429–347 B.C.E.) use of *logos* in his dialogues was a very complex one. In its more philosophical sense, *logos* was associated with discourse or rational explanation rather than with the Heraclitean

concept of an ordering principle of the material world. In contrast to myth (*mythos*), *logos* was a rational, true account (*Phd.* 61b; *Ti.* 26e). For Plato there was no greater misfortune than to become a hater of rational discourse (*logoi*) (*Phd.* 89d, 90d–e). Plato generally identified thinking (*dianoia*) and rational discourse (*logos*); *logos* was the inward dialogue of the mind as it flowed from the mind through the lips (*Soph.* 263e). Yet Plato also claimed that rational discourse (*logos*), even when it was in support of true belief, could not lead to real knowledge in the area of the sense perceptible (*Tht.* 201c–210d). Rational discourse or explanation, however, did play an important role at what Plato considered the higher levels of being, that is, at the level of the essence (*ousia*) or idea of things, and could lead to real knowledge (*Resp.* 534b–c).

Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) also used *logos* in several different ways. He often used the term *logos* in the sense of "definition." He also used it to mean "proportion" or "ratio" (*Metaph.* 991b). Aristotle, like Plato, often used the term *logos* to refer to rational speech and rationality. According to him, what distinguished human beings from lower animals was speech (*logos*) (*Pol.* 1253a). Later in *Pol.* 1332b, Aristotle used the same words but obviously meant that what distinguished human beings from lower animals was reason (*logos*). He also often introduced the concept of reason into ethical contexts. To live ethically, one must live according to reason or right reason (*orthos logos*) (*Eth. Nic.* 1144b); in this context right reason was identified with practical wisdom (*phronēsis*). Indeed, the specifically human function of human beings was an activity of soul which was in accord with reason (*kata logon*) (*Eth. Nic.* 1098a). This living in accordance with reason also involved overcoming the irrational elements of the soul and body (*Eth. Nic.* 1102a–1103b).

The concept of *logos* was central to Stoicism. In Stoicism, *logos* once again played a cosmological role. In this sense, Stoicism drew on Heraclitus (perhaps mistakenly) in a way that neither Plato nor Aristotle had (Long 1986: 145–47). For the Stoics, *logos*, God, and nature were in reality one (Diog. Laert. 7.135; Plutarch, *De Stoic. repugn.* 34, 1050A). *Logos* was the rational element that pervades the controls all of the universe (*SVF* 1.87). *Logos* was the active element (*to poioun*) of reality while matter without quality was the passive element (*to paschon*) (Diog. Laert. 7.134). For the Stoics, however, both of these elements were ultimately material. *Logos* was identified by Zeno of Citium (335–263 B.C.E.), the founder of Stoicism, with fire and by Stoics from Chrysippus (ca. 280–207 B.C.E.) with a blend of fire and air, which they referred to as breath or spirit (*pneuma*) (Long 1986: 155). The passive element was identified with earth and water. The *logos* which permeated the universe was present in nature through seminal reasons (*logoi spermatikoi*) which served as the powers of order and growth in individual entities (*SVF* 2.1027).

While *logos* permeated and ordered all of nature, it was present in different parts of nature in different ways (Diog. Laert. 7.139). Only in human beings was *logos* present as part of their very nature. In other words, only human beings were rational (Cicero, *Nat. D.* 2.6.16). For the Stoics, human rationality (*logos*) was intimately connected with and reflected the rationality of the universe as a whole. While this view of human rationality at first looks very much like the views of Plato and Aristotle, human rationality for the Stoics, like the rationality of the universe as a whole, was material in character, while for both Plato and Aristotle human rationality was beyond the realm of the material. For the Stoics, the *logos* in human beings was part of the governing principle (*to hēgemonikon*) of the soul and for most of them was located in the heart (Long 1986: 171).

The concept of *logos* also played a crucial role in Stoic ethics. Human rationality was in tension with the passions (*ta pathē*) (Diog. Laert. 7.110). The goal of human life was to live a life in accord with *logos* or nature, that is, a life which was lived rationally and in which all of the other faculties of the soul were dominated by right reason (*orthos logos*) (Diog. Laert. 7.85–87). Such rationality united human beings with the rationality of the universe as a whole.

Given the fact that the *logos* of the universe always controlled the universe, the Stoics found it difficult to reconcile that control with an ethical theory, in the sense that, without some human capacity to choose one way or another, living in accordance with the *logos* of the universe was inevitable and so not a matter of virtue or vice. Yet the Stoics did maintain that there were good and bad human actions and that,

through a long process of education and practice, human beings could reach the level of living in accord with the universal *logos* or nature (Diog. Laert. 7.86–87; Inwood 1985: 101–217). In the final analysis, however, the *logos* of the universe reconciled even human beings' evil actions into an ultimately perfect universe (Cleanthes, *Hymn to Zeus,* 11–21 in *SVF* 1.537).

As in the Greek philosophical tradition generally, *logos* was used in Middle Platonism (the Platonic tradition from ca. 80 B.C.E. to ca. 220 C.E.) in the sense of rational discourse and human rationality. At the level of cosmology, however, *logos* did not play quite the central role that it did in Stoicism. Nevertheless, it did play an important role in relation to other concepts in the Middle Platonic tradition.

Middle Platonism, in contrast to Stoicism and in keeping with its Platonic roots, emphasized the primary reality of the immaterial, intelligible realm. In keeping with this emphasis, one of the characteristics of Middle Platonism was its distinction between two aspects of the divinity. The first aspect of the divinity was essentially transcendent and basically inner-directed. The second aspect was an active, demiurgic power which was responsible for the ordering of everything else in the universe. The distinction was not simply metaphorical, but was meant as a metaphysical explanation which both preserved the transcendence of God and accounted for the relatively orderly character of the universe. Middle Platonists sometimes adopted the Stoic *logos* into their systems as the term for this active force of God in the world (Dillon 1977: 46). More often, however, they gave this demiurgic aspect of divinity a name other than *logos* (e.g., idea, mind). In contrast to Stoicism, both of these divine realities in Middle Platonism transcended the material level of reality and were part of the intelligible world. For example, one of the early Middle Platonists, Eudorus of Alexandria (fl. 25 B.C.E.), may have referred to the demiurgic combination of the Monad, which represented form, and the Dyad, which represented matter, as the thought (*logos*) of the essentially transcendent God, the First or Supreme One (Dillon 1977: 128; Tobin 1983: 14–15). A similar *logos* figure appears in Plutarch (ca. 50–120 C.E.) (*De Is. et Os.* 53–54, 372E–373C). The *logos,* which was identified with the Egyptian God Osiris, was the one who ordered and made manifest the material world and at the same time served as the intelligible paradigm for that world (Tobin 1983: 73–75). The same seems to have been the case for the 2d century C.E. Middle Platonist, Atticus (Dillon 1977: 252). This early Middle Platonic outlook influenced Hellenistic Judaism and particularly Philo of Alexandria.

**B. *Logos* in the Septuagint**

*Logos* was used frequently in the Septuagint. It was used to translate a number of Hebrew words (*ʾēmer* [word], 13 times; *millāh* [word], 30 times). Over 90 percent of the time, however, *logos* was a translation of the Hebrew word *dābār* (word). Both *logos* and another Greek word (*rhēma,* word) were used to translate *dābār. Rhēma* predominates in the Pentateuch (*logos,* 56; *rhēma,* 147); in Joshua, Judges, and Ruth they occur about equally (*logos,* 26; *rhēma,* 30). In the other biblical books, *logos* predominates (*logos,* 1065; *rhēma,* 352). This is especially true for the prophetic books (*logos,* 320; *rhēma,* 40) and wisdom literature (*logos,* 221; *rhēma,* 40) (*TDNT* 4:92). One reason for the shift was due to differences in literary genre. In secular Greek *rhēma* carried less the meanings of "oracle" or "proverb" than did *logos,* meanings which were central to prophetic and wisdom literature respectively. Yet *rhēma* was sometimes used in the Septuagint with the meanings of "oracle" (Isa 16:13; 59:21; 66:5; Jer 1:1; 6:10; 16:10) and "proverb" (Prov 3:1; 7:24; 8:8; Eccl 1:1; 7:30; Sir 39:7). This suggests that there may also have been another reason for the shift from *rhēma* to *logos.* Because the prophetic and wisdom literatures were translated into Greek later than the Pentateuch, this shift from *rhēma* to *logos* and the preponderance of *logos* in prophetic and wisdom literature may reflect to some extent the growing influence on Hellenistic Judaism of Hellenistic culture and philosophy with their emphasis on *logos.*

*Logos* in the Septuagint, like the Hebrew *dābār,* had a wide range of meanings. It meant narrative, speech, dialogue, oracle, or proverb. Because the Hebrew *dābār* and the Greek *logos,* however, did not have the identical range of meanings, the use of *logos* as a translation of the Hebrew *dābār* inevitably influenced the way in which *logos* was understood. In the Septuagint *logos* often took on a more dynamic meaning than it originally had in Greek (Isa 2:3: "And the word [*logos*] of the Lord [will go forth] from Jerusalem"; Isa 45:23: "My words [*logoi*] will not be frustrated; Ps 119:74: "For I have hoped in your

words [*logous*]; Ps 147:15: "His word [*logos*] will run swiftly."). There is a sense of power and dynamism in this use of *logos* that was not part of its semantic range in secular Greek. In addition, *logos* and particularly the plural *logoi* were used to refer to the Mosaic Law (Exod 19:1; Deut 1:1).

In several Psalms (33:6) and in the Sirach (39:17, 31; 43:10, 26), *logos* was associated with God's act of creation and his maintenance of cosmic order.

"By the *word* of the Lord the heavens were made, and all their host by the breath of his mouth." (Ps 33:6

"At his *word* the waters stood in a heap, and the reservoirs of water at the *word* of his mouth. At his command whatever pleases him is done, and none can limit his saving power." (Sir 39:17–18)

"Because of him his messenger finds the way, and by his *word* all things hold together." (Sir 43:26)

While *logos* in each of these passages refers to God's command (see Gen 1:3, 6, 9, 11, 14, 20, 24, 26: "And God *said* … ) and not directly to some cosmic principle of order, the association of God's *logos* with creation and cosmic order was an important influence on the use of *logos* in Hellenistic Jewish literature and speculation. In this way, *logos* also played a role similar to that played by wisdom in other biblical texts (Prov 8:22–31; Sir 24) although in a much less developed fashion.

**C. *Logos* in Hellenistic Jewish Speculation**

*Logos* became a much more important concept in Hellenistic Judaism and reached its climax in the writings of the Hellenistic Jewish exegete Philo of Alexandria (ca. 20 B.C.E.–50 C.E.). Although the beginnings of this process are lost to us, fragments from the Hellenistic Jewish writer Aristobulus (fl. 150 B.C.E.) indicate that this process had begun, although tentatively, by the middle of the second century B.C.E.

Aristobulus, who is mentioned in 2 Macc 1:10, was an Alexandrian Jewish exegete who sought to interpret the LXX in a way consistent with Greek philosophy, primarily Stoic philosophy but also including Platonic and Pythagorean elements (Walter 1964: 124–49). In one fragment (Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 13.12.3–4) in which he offered an interpretation of Gen 1:3, 6, 9 ("And God said … ), Aristobulus claimed that Moses called the whole genesis of the world the words (*logoi*) of God. In another fragment (Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 13.12.10–11), Aristobulus connected wisdom (*sophia*) with a metaphorical interpretation of the seventh day of creation because, according to his interpretation, all things are contemplated in the light of wisdom just as all things are contemplated in the light of the seventh day mentioned in Gen 2:2. He then went on to connect the seventh day with the sevenfold *logos* which is the principle of order in the world (Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 13.12.13). For Aristobulus, then, both wisdom and *logos* served similar cosmological ordering functions (*OTP* 2: 834–35).

The connection between wisdom and *logos* was also made explicitly, although again in an inchoate way, in the Wisdom of Solomon, a Hellenistic Jewish text from perhaps first-century B.C.E. Egypt or Syria. God's word and God's wisdom were used in this text as two parallel ways of describing God's creation of the world and his creation of human beings (Wis 9:1–2).

It was, however, in the works of Philo of Alexandria that *logos* found its full flowering in Hellenistic Jewish literature. Philo of Alexandria came from a prominent Jewish family in Alexandria and, on the basis of his writings, obviously had a very good education in Greek philosophical literature. In his writings, which are primarily interpretations of the LXX of the Pentateuch (since he probably knew no Hebrew), he sought to interpret the Mosaic Law in the light of Greek, primarily Middle Platonic, philosophy. The concept of *logos* played a central role in these interpretations. Philo's use of *logos* must be seen within the tradition of Hellenistic Jewish wisdom speculation since Philo, in continuity with his predecessors, identified wisdom (*sophia*) with *logos* (*Leg All* 1.65; *Heres* 191; *Somn* 2.242–45) and gave both some of the same attributes (e.g., image of God [*Conf* 146]).

For Philo the *logos* was the intermediate reality between God, who was essentially transcendent, and the universe. While Philo could use the Stoic concept of the *logos* as the principle of rationality that pervades the universe (*Heres* 188; *Fuga* 110), Philo's *logos* primarily fits into the pattern of the intermediate figure found in most Middle Platonic systems. Philo depicted the *logos* in a variety of ways, and the figure had a number of different functions.

The first general function was cosmological. The *logos* was the image of God, the highest of all beings who were intellectually perceived, the one closest to God, the only truly existent (*Fuga* 101). This image, the *logos,* also served as the paradigm or model for the ordering of the rest of the universe (*Somn* 2.45). The *logos* was an image in a twofold way, a reflection of the truly existent God above and a model on the basis of which the rest of the universe below was ordered. The *logos* was the archetypal idea in which all of the other ideas were contained (*Op* 23–25). But the *logos* was not simply the image or paradigm according to which the universe was ordered, it was also the instrument (*organon*) through which the universe was ordered (*Cher* 127; *Spec Leg* 1:81). The *logos* was both the power through which the universe was originally ordered and the power by which the universe continued to be ordered. Philo called these two aspects of the *logos* the Creative Power and the Ruling Power, and he connected the first with the name Elohim (God) and the second with Lord (*kyrios*), the Greek word used to translate Yahweh in the LXX (*Vita Mos* 2.99–199). Other terms used by Philo to refer to the *logos* are the First-Begotten Son of the Uncreated Father (*Conf* 146; *Somn* 1.215), the Chief of the Angels (*Heres* 205), the High Priest of the Cosmos (*Fuga* 108), and the Man of God (*Conf* 41, 63, 146). What was common to all of these designations of the *logos* was the intermediate role that the *logos* played between the transcendent God and the rest of the universe.

The second function of the philonic *logos* was anthropological. The *logos* was the paradigm according to which human beings were made, not the human being as a whole but only the human mind. In interpreting Gen 1:27, Philo noted that man was not created *as* the image of God but *according to* the image of God. He interpreted this to mean that man was created according to the *paradigm* which was the image of God (*Op* 24–25). For Philo this paradigm was the *logos,* and man was an expression at third hand (God-*logos*-human mind) of the Maker (*Heres* 231). In addition, a correspondence existed between the microcosm (human being) and the macrocosm (the universe). The human mind was to the rest of the human being (the irrational parts of the soul and the body) as the *logos* was to the cosmos as a whole (*Op* 69). The human mind not only had its paradigm in the *logos,* it was also in some fashion a fragment or an effulgence of the divine *logos* (*Op* 146, *Spec Leg* 4.123).

The third function of the philonic *logos* was anagogical, that is, the *logos* was meant to guide the human soul to the realm of the divine. For Philo the goal of the human soul was the knowledge and vision of God (*Quod Deus* 143), to become like God or to be assimilated to God (*homoiōsis tō͗ theō͗*) (*Fuga* 63). The possibility of the human soul attaining the knowledge and vision of God was rooted in the soul's fundamental relationship to and participation in the divine *logos.* But the human soul must begin by recognizing its own nothingness in relationship to the divine and must realize that the divine is ultimately the author of everything that the human soul is capable of (*Somn* 1.60; *Leg All* 1.82). Once the human soul has realized this and turns to God (*Praem* 163), it can then detach itself from the body and the realm of sense perception (*Fuga* 91–92; *Heres* 69–74) and mystically rise above the material world and be free to contemplate the divine *logos* (*Somn* 1.71; 2.249) and in some very limited sense even God himself (*Migr* 170–75). In this process, the divine *logos* is the means and the guide of this mystical ascent (*Somn* 1.68–69, 86; *Leg All* 3.169–178) (Winston 1985: 43–55).

Because the *logos* functions in such a complex way in Philo's biblical interpretations, it is often difficult to understand precisely what he meant in those interpretations. Is the *logos* only a metaphor for God's power, a hypostatization of some aspect of God, or a reality distinct from if not independent of God? Is the *logos* personal or impersonal? The answers to these questions can never be altogether clear. One reason for this is that Philo was rooted in a larger tradition of interpretation, and some of his interpretations were derived from that tradition and were not completely integrated in his own thought (Tobin 1983: 1–35). But a basic sense of what Philo meant can be gained by paying attention to the kind of language he used and why he used it. Like other Middle Platonists, Philo thought that God in his essence could not be implicated in the material universe. At the same time, the relative order of the material universe had to derive at least indirectly from God. For Philo the *logos* served as the intermediate metaphysical reality through which the universe was originally ordered and by which it continued to be sustained in an orderly state. On the one hand, then, the *logos* was not simply a metaphor. It was meant to

serve as a real explanation, one which safeguarded both the transcendence of God and the relative order of the universe. On the other hand, it was not a straightforward description of a being other than God. It was a real aspect of the divine reality through which God was related, although indirectly, to the universe (Runia 1986: 446–51). In much the same way, the *logos* cannot aptly be characterized as either personal or impersonal. It was rather the source of the intelligibility of the universe and so was itself intelligent in a way that transcended the universe and, in that sense, also went beyond the categories of either personal or impersonal. In this respect, Philo was very much like other Middle Platonists who also maintained both the transcendence of God and God's indirect relationship to the universe through the use of an intermediate metaphysical reality.

**D. *Logos* in the New Testament in General**

*Logos* is used 331 times in the NT and in most of the same ways in which it is used in the LXX and in Greek literature in general (BAGD, 477–79). It can mean a statement (Luke 20:20), an assertion (Matt 15:12), a command (Luke 4:36), a report or story (Matt 28:15), a proverb or saying (John 4:37), an oracle or prophecy (John 2:22), a speech (Matt 15:12), or the matter under discussion (Mark 9:10). In the plural *logoi* can refer to speeches of various sorts (Matt 7:24; 13:37; 26:1; Mark 10:24; 13:31; Luke 1:20; John 14:24). It can be used of *written* words and speeches, as well as of the separate books of a larger work (Acts 1:1; Heb 5:11). It can also be used, although not often, to mean "ground" (Acts 10:29) or "reason" (Acts 18:14) for something. With the exception of Johannine literature, however, *logos* is not used in the NT in the more philosophical senses of rationality or of the rational principle of the universe.

What characterizes the use of *logos* in the NT is not some new meaning for the word beyond what is found in the Septuagint but its reference to the divine revelation of God, specifically the divine revelation of God through Jesus Christ and his messengers. In many cases the "word of God" is simply the Christian message, the gospel. The apostles and preachers are said to "speak the word of God" (Acts 4:31), to "proclaim the word of God" (Acts 13:5), or to "teach the word of God" (Acts 18:11). Because it is the word of *God*, it is also efficacious (Heb 4:12; 1 Thess 2:13), to be received (1 Thess 1:6; Acts 8:14; 11:1) and to be acted on (Jas 1:21). Since this word of revelation is brought by Christ, the "word of the Lord," the "word of Christ," or the "words" of Jesus can be used in the same sense as the "word of God" (John 5:24; 12:48; 18:32; Acts 8:25; 12:24; 13:44, 48–49; Col 3:16). *Logos* is often qualified by other genitive phrases ("the word of the kingdom" [Matt 13:19]; "the word of salvation" [Acts 13:26]; "the word of reconciliation" [2 Cor 5:19]; "the word of the cross" [1 Cor 1:18]; "the word of righteousness" [Heb 5:13]). But *logos* is also often used with no qualifying genitive to refer simply to the Christian message as such (Matt 13:20–23; Mark 2:2; Luke 8:12–13; Acts 6:4; Gal 6:6; Jas 1:21).

**E. *Logos* in Johannine Literature**

The most striking use of the term *logos* in the NT is found in the Johannine literature, in John 1:1–18 and in 1 John 1:1–4. Both the interpretation of these texts and the religious and intellectual background against which they should be set are a matter of debate.

**1. *Logos* in the Prologue of the Gospel of John.** While some scholars think that the Prologue of John (John 1:1–18) is a unified whole and the work of the author of the Gospel of John (Barrett 1978; Borgen 1970), most think that there are literary stages in the Prologue (Becker 1979; Brown *John* AB; Bultmann *John* MeyerK; Haenchen *John* Hermeneia; Rochais 1985a; Schnackenburg *John* HTKNT; Schmithals 1979). Behind the present form of the Prologue lies a hymn which has been commented on and added to in order to be used as the beginning of the Gospel of John. There is a general consensus that vv 6–8 and v 15 (all of which are about John the Baptist) are later additions that serve to integrate the hymn into the present form of the Gospel of John, which originally began with the figure of John the Baptist. In addition, many scholars think that vv 12c–13 and vv 17–18 are explanatory comments which did not belong to the original hymn (Rochais 1985a: 7–9).

While the structure of the original hymn is a matter of debate, one can plausibly argue that it fell into three strophes (Rochais 1985b: 161–62). In the first strophe (1:1–5), the *logos* was with God at the beginning and was God and was the means through which the universe and life came to be. In the second strophe (1:10–12b) the *logos* came to its own, was not received by its own, but to those who received the

*logos* gave the power of becoming children of God. In the third and final strophe (1:14, 16), the *logos* became flesh in Jesus of Nazareth and the glory of the *logos* was experienced by those who believed. John 1:10–12b originally referred to the presence of the *logos* prior to the incarnation, and only in John 1:14, 16 was the incarnate *logos* referred to. When the hymn, however, was later connected to the Gospel of John and John 1:6–9 (about John the Baptist) was inserted before John 1:10, everything after John 1:5 now came to be understood as referring to the incarnate *logos,* perhaps because the redactor of the gospel wanted to see everything from the point of view of the incarnate *logos* (Schnackenburg *John* HTKNT 1: 227–28).

How one understands the meaning of *logos* in the hymn depends to a great extent on what religious and intellectual background one thinks the Prologue should be set against. There are a variety of proposals in this area.

**a. The *logos,* Targum, and Midrash.** Some scholars understand the *logos* in the Prologue of John against the background of the targums (the Aramaic translations of the OT) and midrashim (certain kinds of Jewish interpretations of the OT). Renewed interest in this approach to the *logos* in the Prologue of the Gospel has been due especially to the discovery in 1955 of the Targum Neofiti I to the Pentateuch. The principal editor of Targum Neofiti I, A. Diez Macho (1968: 57–95) maintains that this targum is Palestinian in origin and should be dated in the late 1st century or the 2d century C.E. Some of the traditions found in it go back even farther.

M. McNamara (1968) has argued that the Prologue of John has been influenced by the liturgical traditions found in Palestinian Targums such as Neofiti I. As an example of this he offers the midrash of the Four Nights found in Targum Neofiti I to Exod 12:42. In this interpretation sacred history is summed up in four nights. The first of these nights is that of creation:

> "The first night: when the Lord was revealed over the world to create it. The world was without form and void and darkness was spread over the face of the abyss and the Word (*memrā*) of the Lord was the light, and it shone; and he called it the First Night."

In this passage the Word (Aram *memrā*) of the Lord seems to be identified with the primordial light which shone at creation. These same elements (the Word identified with light and the association of both with the creation of the world) are also found in John 1:1–18. McNamara maintains that the author of the Prologue would have heard a passage such as this read in the synagogue and would have been influenced by its viewpoint.

Another suggestion has been made by P. Borgen (1970) that the *structure* of the Prologue reflects a basic exposition (a. Word–God, 1:1–2; b. all things were made through him, 1:3; c. light, 1:4–5) and an elaboration in reverse order of the elements in 1:1–5 (c´. light, 1:6–9; b´. the world was made through him, 1:10–13; a´. Word–God, 1:14–18). He finds this same kind of structure involving basic exposition (a, b, c) followed by an elaboration in reverse order (c´,b´,a´) in the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Gen 3:24. Borgen (1972) has also tried to establish that *logos* and light were connected in learned Jewish exegesis. As an example he cites *Gen. Rab.* 3.3 which contains an interpretation of Prov 15:23: "A man has joy in the answer of His mouth; a word in season, how good it is." In the interpretation found in *Gen. Rab.* 3.3, the phrase in Prov 15:23, "the answer of His mouth," is understood as God's creative word and is connected with the phrase, "and God said, 'Let there be light' " in Gen 1:3. In Jewish exegesis, then, God's creative *word* is associated with the light, which was created in Gen 1:3, an association also found in John 1:1–5.

Attractive as this approach appears at first, there are significant problems with it. First, *memrā* (word) as used in the targums is basically a buffer term to preserve the transcendence of God; it has no reality of its own (Hamp 1938; Muñoz León 1974: 106–15). This means that *memrā* offers only a verbal parallel with the *logos* of the Prologue and not a conceptual parallel. Second, neither the targums nor Midrashic literature offer a *consistent* set of verbal or conceptual parallels which could plausibly serve as the background for the use of the term *logos* in the Prologue. Third, the dating of the targums, including the recently discovered Targum Neofiti I, is very much in dispute. While Diez Macho places Targum Neofiti I in the late 1st or 2d century C.E., other scholars (Fitzmyer 1979: 70–74) place it in the 3d century C.E. or

later. Finally, one should not confuse the fixed literary form of targums such as Neofiti I with earlier, less formal and oral Aramaic translations (Golomb 1985: 2–8). One should use the targums, including Targum Neofiti I, for interpreting 1st century C.E. literature such as the Prologue only with great caution and only when the parallels are clear and consistent. Because of this one must look elsewhere for the basic background for the Prologue of John.

**b. The *logos* and Gnosticism.** R. Bultmann (*John* MeyerK) sought to locate the background for the *logos* of the Prologue in Gnosticism. According to him, the Prologue in its original form was a gnostic hymn to John the Baptist. The hymn was then Christianized and became a hymn to Jesus as the incarnate *logos.* At the same time it was interpreted as a Johannine polemic against followers of John the Baptist. According to Bultmann, behind this hymn stood a pre-Christian gnostic myth of a heavenly redeemer figure. On the basis of the analysis of later gnostic documents, Bultmann maintained that this redeemer myth presupposed an *Urmensch* (Original Man) who dwelt in the realm of light. This Original Man for various reasons became scattered about in the lower world of darkness in the form of human souls. God then sent a heavenly redeemer figure to awaken the human souls below and reveal to them their true identity and so bring them once more to the world of light above. In this form, Bultmann's view finds few supporters today. The main reason is that it is far from clear that the different elements that eventually went into forming the myth of the Original Man in later gnostic documents were already joined together in pre-Christian times (Brown *John* AB 1:1v).

The discovery of the gnostic documents at Nag Hammadi, however, has provided renewed interest in the relationship of the Gospel of John in general and the hymn from the Prologue in particular to Gnosticism. While the gnostic documents from Nag Hammadi are, in their present form, from the 2d and 3d centuries, some of the documents probably contain earlier material. This is particularly true for those documents which seem to have been only secondarily Christianized. Such documents point to at least an earlier non-Christian, if not a pre-Christian, Gnosticism. In their earlier non-Christian forms, many of these documents involve various sorts of interpretations of the early chapters of Genesis.

The document that has been most interesting for trying to understand the *logos* in the hymn from the Prologue of John is the *Trimorphic Protennoia* (NHC XIII.*1*) (*JAC* 17:110–25; Evans 1980; Janssens 1983; Schenke 1974). The *Trim. Prot.* probably has a very complex compositional history and reached its present form in the early 3d century C.E. (Turner 1988: 511). It seems to have undergone only secondary and, for the most part, superficial Christianization. The tractate proclaims three descents of a gnostic heavenly redeemer, Protennoia (the First Thought of the Father). The third of these descents is in the form of the Son or *logos* (*Trim. Prot.* 46.5–50.20). It is in this third section of the tractate that one finds the closest parallels to the *logos* in the hymn of the Prologue. In addition to the contrast of light and darkness found in both documents, terms such as *logos,* beginning, life, illumine, and glory appear both in the hymn and in the third part of the *Trim. Prot.* (Evans 1980: 397; Janssens 1983: 241–42).

The most striking parallel to the hymn from the Prologue is *Trim. Prot.* 47.14–18:

> "I revealed myself to them in their tents (*skēnē*) as Word and I revealed myself in the likeness of their shape. And I wore everyone's garment and hid myself within them."

As in John 1:14, the Protennoia has been revealed in human "likeness." In addition, there is the verbal connection of *skēnē* in the *Trim. Prot.* and *skēnoun* (to pitch one's tent, to dwell) in John 1:14. Yet the parallelism should not be pressed too far. Prior to its secondary Christianization, it is clear that this passage refers not to an "incarnation" in a specific individual but to the presence of the heavenly revealer figure among those who belong to the light (49.25–26). The reference to putting on Jesus (50.12) at the end of the tractate is clearly part of the secondary Christianization of the document.

While there are very important parallels between the hymn from the Prologue and this section of the *Trim. Prot.,* the *Trim. Prot.,* even without its secondary Christianization, is more developed in its viewpoint than is the hymn. This makes it improbable that the hymn in John's Prologue is dependent even on an earlier non-Christian form of the *Trim. Prot.* What is more likely is that both the *Trim. Prot.* and the hymn were distinct, dualistic developments of the traditions of Jewish wisdom speculation (Evans 1980:

399; Janssens 1983: 243; Turner 1988). Each of the texts, however, has developed those traditions and speculations in rather different directions.

**c. The *logos* of the Prologue and Jewish Wisdom Speculation.** The closest conceptual parallels to the use of *logos* in the hymn from the Prologue of John are to be found in Jewish wisdom literature (Proverbs, Sirach, Baruch, and the Wisdom of Solomon). The various attributes and activities ascribed to wisdom in Jewish wisdom literature are ascribed to the *logos* in the hymn in the Prologue. The following table lists the more important of those parallels (Rochais 1985b: 175–80):

| | |
|---|---|
| In the beginning was the word *(logos)* (1:1) | The lord created me *(sophia)* at the beginning of his work, the first of his acts of old. Ages ago I was set up, at the first, before the beginnings of the earth. (Prov 8:22–23) |
| | From eternity, in the beginning he created me (wisdom), and for eternity I shall not cease to exist. (Sir 24:9) |
| And the Word was with God (1:1) | When he established the Heavens, I (wisdom) was there, (Prov 8:27) |
| | When he marked out the foundations of the earth, then I (wisdom) was beside him. (Prov 8:29–30) |
| | With thee (God) is wisdom, who knows thy works and was present when thou didst make the world. (Wis 9:9) |
| All things were made through him (1:3) | For wisdom, the fashioner of all things, taught me (Solomon). (Wis 7:22) |
| | With thee (God) is wisdom, who knows thy works and was present when thou didst make the world. (Wis 9:9) |
| That which came to be in him was life (1:3–4) | For he who finds me (wisdom) finds life. (Prov 8:35) |
| | Because of her (wisdom) I shall have immortality. (Wis 8:13) |
| And the life was the light of men (1:4) | Wisdom is radiant and unfading. (Wis 6:12) |
| | For she (wisdom) is a revelation of eternal light, a spotless mirror of the working of God, and an image of his goodness. (Wis 8:26) |
| The light shines in the darkness, and the darkness has not overcome it (1:5) | Compared with the light she (wisdom) is found to be superior, for it (light) is succeeded by the night, but against wisdom evil does not prevail. (Wis 7:29–30) |
| He was in the world (1:10) | And I (wisdom) was his delight, rejoicing in his inhabited world and delighting in the sons of men. (Prov 8:30–31) |
| | She (wisdom) made among men an eternal foundation, and among their descendants she will be trusted. (Sir 1:15) |
| | She (wisdom) reaches mightily from one end of the earth to the other, and she orders all things well. (Wis 8:1) |
| Yet the world knew him not (1:10) | No one knows the way to her (wisdom), or is concerned about the path to her. (Bar 3:31) |
| He came to his own (1:11) | Then the Creator of all things gave me (wisdom) a commandment, and the one who created me assigned a place for my tent. And he said, "Make your dwelling in Jacob, and in Israel your inheritance." (Sir 24:10) |
| | Afterward she (wisdom) appeared upon earth and lived among men. She is the book of the commandment of God and the law that endures forever. (Bar 3:37–4:1) |

| | |
|---|---|
| And his own received him not (1:11) | You (Israel) have forsaken the fountain of wisdom. (Bar 3:12; see also Prov 1:20–30) |
| But too all who receive him, … He gave power to become the children of God (1:12) | Though she (wisdom) is but one, she can do all things, and while remaining in herself, she renews all things; in every generation she passes into holy souls and makes them friends of God, and prophets. (Wis 7:27) |
| And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us (1:14) | Then the creator of all things gave me (wisdom) a commandment, and the one who created me assigned a place for my tent. (Sir 24:8) |
| | Afterward she (wisdom) appeared upon earth and lived among men. (Bar 3:38) |

Both the *logos* of the hymn in the Prologue and wisdom in Jewish wisdom literature are with God in the beginning; both are involved in the creation of the world; both seek to find a place among humankind; both are within a Jewish tradition of speculation about the deeper meanings of the early chapters of Genesis. In addition, many of the parallels between the *logos* in the hymn and the figure of wisdom are found in passages which like the hymn are poetic in character (Prov 8:22–31; Sir 24). The parallels are not simply conceptual but also stylistic.

In Jewish wisdom literature, however, the figure of wisdom was never displaced by the *logos* as it was in the hymn in the Prologue. This striking difference indicates that the type of speculation found in the hymn has moved beyond the viewpoints found in Proverbs, Sirach, Baruch, and the Wisdom of Solomon. Such a displacement of wisdom by *logos,* however, is found in the works of the Alexandrian Jewish exegete Philo of Alexandria. As indicated above, Philo's conception of the *logos* is rooted in Middle Platonic philosophy. This conception of the *logos* has some striking parallels with the *logos* in the hymn in the Prologue (Argyle 1952: 385–86; Dodd 1953: 276–77).

Both Philo and the hymn use *logos* as the equivalent of *wisdom* in Jewish wisdom literature. In both cases, *logos* overshadows the figure of wisdom in importance. Both Philo (*Op.* 17, 24) and the hymn (John 1:1–2) understand the *logos* as a reality which existed with God before creation. Both Philo (*Somn* 1.228–30) and the hymn (John 1:1) use the anarthrous *theos* (God) to refer to the *logos.* Both Philo (*Conf.* 146) and the hymn (John 1:1–2) connect the *logos* with the "beginning" (*archē*) of Gen 1:1. Both Philo (*Cher.* 127) and the hymn (John 1:3) think of the *logos* as the instrument through which (*di' hou*) the universe was created. Like the hymn in the Prologue, Philo (*Somn* 1.75; *Op.* 33; *Conf.* 60–63) associates the *logos* with light. Finally, both Philo (*Conf.* 145–46) and the hymn (John 1:12) connect the *logos* with becoming sons or children of God.

While the parallels between Philo and the hymn of the Prologue are important, it is also clear that the concept of the *logos* in Philo is developed far more philosophically than it is in the hymn. Philo's concept of the *logos* is rooted in the metaphysics of Middle Platonism in a way that the concept of the *logos* in the hymn is not. Nor is the parallelism close enough verbally to assert that the author of the hymn was acquainted with the works of Philo. Nevertheless, the parallels between Philo and the hymn in the Prologue strongly suggest that the hymn cannot be seen simply against the background of Jewish wisdom literature. Rather, it must also be seen against the background of Jewish speculation about wisdom/*logos* which extended beyond Jewish wisdom literature and which included the kinds of speculative traditions about the *logos* which are reflected in the interpretations of a writer such as Philo (Rochais 1985b: 184–85). Both are part of the larger movement of Hellenistic Jewish wisdom/*logos* speculation.

The background of Jewish Hellenistic speculation on wisdom/*logos* also allows us to account for the similarities between the hymn in the Prologue and sections from the *Trim. Prot.* Both are rooted in similar Hellenistic Jewish speculative traditions about wisdom and the *logos.* The Christian circles from which the Prologue came were probably influenced by Hellenistic Jewish converts familiar with speculation about wisdom/*logos* found in Hellenistic Judaism (Schnackenburg *John* HTKNT 1:231).

The use of *logos,* however, in the hymn in the Prologue of John moves behind Hellenistic Jewish speculations about *logos*/wisdom in that it identifies this *logos* with Jesus of Nazareth. Neither Jewish

wisdom literature nor the kind of Hellenistic Jewish speculation represented by Philo ever sought to identify either wisdom or *logos* with a specific human being. The hymn in the Prologue is the clearest example in first-century Christian literature of both an incarnational and a preexistence christology (Dunn 1980: 213–50). It affirms both that the *logos* has become flesh in the person of Jesus of Nazareth and that Jesus of Nazareth existed before the incarnation, indeed before the creation of the world, as God's divine *logos.* The development of this belief as it appears in the hymn and in the Gospel of John as a whole is the most characteristic development of the Johannine tradition.

The development of this belief, however, was not without a certain amount of ambiguity. This ambiguity is reflected in John 1:14 which affirms both that "the Word (*logos*) became flesh" and that "we have beheld his glory, glory as of the only Son from the Father." The first statement emphasizes the identification of the Word with the *human being* Jesus; the second the identification of Jesus with the *divine word.* There was an ambiguity between an incarnational christology and arguably a somewhat more docetic christology, at least a christology that did not value theologically the earthly life of Jesus including his crucifixion and death. Given the religious and intellectual background of the hymn in Hellenistic Jewish speculation, one can hardly be surprised at such an ambiguity.

**2. *Logos* in the First Epistle of John.** This ambiguity seems to have surfaced in the Johannine community shortly after the initial completion of the Gospel of John (ca. 90 C.E.) (Brown *The Epistles of John* AB, 73–79). Some members of the Johannine community wanted to emphasize the incarnational intent of the Prologue and the Gospel while others wanted to emphasize less the incarnational and more the divine aspect of Jesus as the *logos* (1 John 4:1–3; 2 John 7).

The ambiguity of the Prologue and the Gospel probably led to tensions between these two groups and finally to a schism. Specifically, disputes about the interpretation of *logos* emerge in the opening verses of the First Epistle of John (1 John 1:1–4). 1 John represented the views of that segment of the Johannine tradition which emphasized the incarnational side of the tradition, that is, the reality of the *logos*'earthly identification with Jesus of Nazareth.

In 1 John 1:1–4, the author emphasized that the Word of life (the *logos* of the Prologue of the Gospel) was the same one which was from the beginning and which the correct interpreters of the Johannine tradition had heard, seen with their own eyes, looked upon, and touched with their own hands, Jesus of Nazareth. Presumably this seeing, hearing, and touching was ultimately derived by this segment of the Johannine tradition from its relationship to the Beloved Disciple (John 13:23–26; 19:25–27; 20:2–10; 21:7; 21:20–23; 21:24) who was understood as the source of their tradition (Brown *John* AB 1: lxxxvii–cii; 1979: 33–34; Schnackenburg *John* HTKNT 3:375–88). In any case, over against his opponents, the author of 1 John wanted to emphasize that the correct interpretation of the Prologue and the rest of the Gospel of John involved affirming the theological significance of the earthly life of Jesus, the Word of life (Brown *The Epistles of John* AB, 151–88).

In the end, as Brown suggests (*The Epistles of John* AB, 103–130), the Johannine tradition represented by the author of 1 John was probably absorbed into the churches represented by the Pastoral Epistles, Acts, Matthew, and 1 Peter. The other more docetic Johannine group may have been absorbed into various 2d-century Christian gnostic groups. This would account for the fact that the first known commentary on the Gospel of John was by the Valentinian gnostic, Heracleon (ca. 160 C.E.).

### F. *Logos* in Second-Century Christian Literature

The use of *logos* was widespread and played a diverse role in 2d-century Christian literature. It played only a minor role in the writings of Ignatius of Antioch who wrote of Jesus Christ as "the word which proceeded from silence" (*Magn.* 8.2). Given the context, *logos* was probably used in this passage metaphorically and with little or no mythological or metaphysical implications (Schoedel 1985: 120–22). The concept of *logos* was important, however, for the thought of the *Odes of Solomon.* In the *Odes* the *logos* was the mediation of creation (*Odes Sol.* 16), of God's self-revelation (*Odes Sol.* 7.7, 12; 8.8; 12.10; 46.13–14), and of salvation (*Odes Sol.* 46.11, 15; 31.14) (Pollard 1970: 34). The *logos* also became incarnate, although it is not altogether clear whether the author was asserting the full humanity of Jesus

(*Odes Sol.* 7.4, 6). The author of the *Odes of Solomon* may have been acquainted with the Gospel of John (Barrett 1978: 65).

The concept of *logos* was also important in various gnostic writings such as the *Gospel of Truth,* the *Tripartite Tractate* and in "orthodox" writers such as Justin Martyr, Theophilus of Antioch, and Irenaeus. There is, however, no clear reference to the *logos* from the Gospel of John in "orthodox" Christian writers until Theophilus of Antioch and Irenaeus of Lyons in the late 2d century. Justin Martyr, for whom the concept of the *logos* was of great importance, did not clearly refer to the Gospel of John. Justin's concept of the *logos* and its use in the interpretation of Jesus finds its religious and intellectual background in the continuation of Hellenistic Jewish speculation (*Dial.* 61–62) and in Middle Platonism and Stoicism rather than in any direct dependence on the Gospel of John. The widespread use of *logos* in 2d-century Christian literature of various sorts and the fact that a good deal of this literature did not directly depend on the Gospel of John points to the continued influence of Hellenistic Jewish speculation on early Christian literature of various sorts.

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**LOIS** (PERSON) [Gk *Lois* (Λοις)]. Lois, the mother of Eunice and grandmother of Timothy, was a Christian convert apparently at the hands of Paul and Barnabas in Lystra of Lycaonia (2 Tim 1:5; cf. Acts

16:1). 2 Timothy 1:5 indicates that she and her daughter Eunice were believers before Timothy. It is possible that the reference in 2 Tim 3:15 to Timothy's instruction from childhood in the sacred writings is an allusion to teaching he received from Lois and Eunice. Like her daughter, who is specifically identified as a Jewess (Acts 16:1), Lois was probably also Jewish. See the fuller discussion under EUNICE. See also TIMOTHY.

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**LOOPS** [Heb *lulā·ôt* (לֻלָאוֹת)]. Rings attached to the edges of the tabernacle's curtains so that they could be attached to each other (Exod 26:4, 5, 10, 11; 36:11, 12, 17). The loops were apparently made of wool, since the text states that they were "blue," which was one of the colors of the wool used to make many of the tabernacle's finest fabrics. Two sets of five curtains made of linen and colored wools were coupled to each other, with fifty golden clasps that attached together the fifty loops on the edge of each set. In this way the inner covering of the tabernacle's frame was formed. A similar procedure, using loops of unspecified material and bronze clasps, was used for the outer covering of goat's hair. See also TABERNACLE for a reconstruction of how the loop and clasp assembly coupled the tabernacle curtains.

CAROL MEYERS

**LOOSING.** See BINDING AND LOOSING.

**LORD.** See NAMES OF GOD (OT); YAHWEH (DEITY).

**LORD'S PRAYER.** The modern name for the prayer uttered by Jesus as recorded in Matt 6:9–13 and Luke 11:2–4. The Matthean form of the prayer is reproduced in the *Didache* (8:2), and faint echoes of its language can be detected in the prayer of Jesus in John 17.

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A. Issues in Interpretation
1. Original Version
2. Relationship between the Versions
3. Various Documentary Attestations
B. Text
C. Origins
D. General Meaning
E. Points of Detail

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**A. Issues in Interpretation**

Because of the complexity of the problems raised by the Lord's Prayer (LP), it is worth listing some of the chief "probes" which may be attempted. Not all the resulting perspectives are mutually consistent.

**1. Original Version.** Assuming the Gospels to be reporting and adapting a prayer spoken by Jesus, or a liturgical composition predating the writing of the Gospels, what was the form of that prayer, presumably in Aramaic, and how does it relate to the forms preserved in Matthew and Luke? This line of enquiry remains at the level of hypothesis insofar as it posits an original form of the LP which is independent of the Gospels themselves.

**2. Relationship between the Versions.** This immediately raises the question of the relationship between the gospels of Matthew and Luke, the question of John's use of one or both in his own distinctive manner, and of the *Didache*'s use of Matthew. This enquiry may still envisage the LP as an independent prayer in use in the early Church, but it may suggest a different perspective altogether.

**3. Various Documentary Attestations.** This redaction-critical or even "narrative" approach leaves aside the issue of putative original forms and concentrates instead on the subtle connections of the various versions of the LP with the Gospels and the *Didache* as writings with their own coherent identity. This perspective may in part be used alongside the two previous ones, but if taken in a thoroughgoing way it

raises the possibility of a quite different kind of illumination. Questions of detail, such as the meaning of individual words, play their part within the major enquiries and are in turn affected by the various perspectives they suggest.

**B. Text**

The texts of the versions of the LP are given synoptically in Table 1. The versions of the LP in the gospels of Matthew and Luke, though distinct, are recognizably related, while that in the *Didache* is very close to the LP in Matthew. (This similarity of text is one of a number of close similarities between the *Didache* and Matthew, betokening the use of comparable traditions or the dependence of the former on the latter.) The Johannine material is less clearly involved in a study of the LP. What is at stake is a correct discernment of possible Johannine methods of using and elaborating material derived from or similar to that found in earlier Gospels. It is not implausible to see many elements and themes in the prayer of Jesus in John 17 as related to parts of the LP but developed in a Johannine manner.

Table 1: The Text of the Lord's Prayer

| Line | Matt 6:9–13 | Luke 11:2–4 | *Didache 8:2* | John |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Our Father who art in the heavens. | Father | Our Father who art in heaven, | 17:1, 5; 17:11, 21, 24–25 |
| 2 | may thy name be hallowed. | may the name be hallowed. | may thy name be hallowed. | 17:11–12; 17:26 |
| 3 | May thy Kingdom come. | may thy kingdom come. | may thy kingdom come. | 17:1–2 |
| 4 | May thy will come to pass as in heaven also on earth. | | May thy will come to pass as in heaven also on earth. | 17:4 |
| 5 | Our bread for the morrow (?) give us today | Our bread for the morrow (?) give us each day | Our bread for the morrow (?) give us today | 6:32–35 |
| 6 | and forgive us our debts as we also have forgiven our debtors; | and forgive us our sins for we also forgive everyone indebted to us; | and forgive us our debt as we also forgive our debtors; | 17:17 |
| 7 | and do not lead us into rest, | and do not lead us into test, | and do not lead us into test, | 17:11–15 |
| 8 | but rescue us from the evil one (?). | | but rescue us from the evil one (?). | 17:15 |

From the 4th or 5th century on, some mss of Matthew add a stereotyped doxology in scriptural style (see RSV marg.; cf. 1 Chr 29.11–13): "for thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory, for ever. Amen." There are minor variations, and the *Didache* omits "the kingdom."

Variations in the form of the LP did not cease with the writing of the Gospels and the *Didache.* Such variations are in no way surprising in the transmission of a text which was soon, and perhaps from the start, central in Christian liturgy and instruction. The operation of both liturgical and instructional use can be discerned. Thus, over a long period various mss have alterations, whether the addition of the liturgical doxology to Matthew or the harmonizing expansion of Luke's shorter version with Matthew's fuller and soon more widely used version. Both the gospel settings and that of the *Didache* reflect instructional needs, the provision of a guide for Christian prayer. Soon, this use widened and the LP became a basis for teaching. In Tertullian's *On the Prayer* (early 3d century), the version expounded is that of Matthew, but "our" is omitted before "Father," and lines 3 and 4 are reversed, perhaps so that in a catechetical context teaching on Christian life (doing God's will) might precede attention to the final End (the kingdom). Already in the 2d century, some Christians knew Luke's version with "may thy Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us" substituted for "may thy kingdom come," a wording still being copied in medieval times but probably originating in the LP's links with prebaptismal teaching, reflected as early as the *Didache.* The fluidity persists into more recent times. The doxology, long in abeyance in western Christian use, reappeared in 17th-century Anglican services and is included in recent Roman Catholic liturgical revisions. More recently some feminists have adapted the LP to begin "Our Mother" or "Our Parent."

Whatever the strength of liturgical and instructional pressures from early days to the present, these factors may not be the whole of the story. Other matters must come into play as we try to assess the origins and early development of the LP.

**C. Origins**

The oldest extant forms of the LP are those found in the gospels of Matthew and Luke. Any earlier history must remain obscure, but a number of hypotheses may be considered, each reflecting wider

matters of NT studies and, as already indicated, sometimes compelling choices between methods of interpretation.

The most widely accepted view is that the LP goes back to the Aramaic teaching of Jesus. In due course, it was incorporated into a collection of his sayings (Q) and thence included in the gospels of Matthew and Luke, each of whom altered it in accordance with preferences of style, structure, or doctrine. Luke's version is considered to be closer to Q. Thus, Matthew added lines 2, 4, 8 (see Table 1), using typical language, and filling out the balance of the LP; while Luke altered the original "debts" to "sins" (line 6) and "today" to "each day" (line 5), a favorite phrase (9:23), and changed the tense of the verbs "give" (line 5) and "forgive" (line 6) to the present continuous, in order to turn the LP's application more usefully to everyday Christian living. This view is summed up in Jeremias' words: "in *length* the shorter text of Luke is to be regarded as original, and in general *wording* the text of Matthew is to be preferred" (Jeremias 1971: 196). On the basis of such a view, there have been various attempts to reconstruct an Aramaic text, which might then even be the very words (*ipsissima verba*) of Jesus.

Evidence for the existence of the LP before the writing of the Gospels is found in its intrusive appearance in Matthew 6, where the otherwise balanced treatment of the three aspects of piety (almsgiving, prayer, and fasting) is spoiled by its presence. The same point can be made about the *Didache*. The LP is less intrusive in Luke, though here too it may be read as a familiar formula which is given as *the* Christian prayer. On this view, though the two evangelists have each played a part in the wording of the LP, early Christian liturgical practice is the most likely milieu for the preservation of this piece of Jesus' teaching, even if it was included in a written collection of dominical sayings such as Q. Moreover, it may be that a reference to the LP is to be found in Rom 8:15 and Gal 4:6, and "Abba, Father" may even have been the name by which the LP was known (cf. *Paternoster* or "the Our Father" of later times).

The element of hypothesis may be reduced by taking a different approach. As they stand, the two early versions are part of the gospels of Matthew and Luke, and each version may be viewed in the context of its own gospel's structure and the flow of its narrative. Both versions respond interestingly to such treatment. Thus, Matthew's teaching on prayer centers on the avoidance of verbosity and prattling and on the necessity for single-minded attentiveness to God. By comparison with Jewish formulas (like the Eighteen Benedictions or the Shema), the LP, despite its strongly Jewish character as far as phraseology goes, is an admirable example of these qualities. It is resolutely theocentric, even though its structure involves an orderly shift from "thou" to "we" after line 4; it is simple in its wording; and it avoids concern with Jewish national restoration. Its petitions are, mostly, noticeably consistent with Matthean concerns and language. Its themes and style are at home in Matthew's Jewish Christian setting. The two verses that follow the LP further stress the matter of conditional forgiveness, a prominent concern of Matthew consistent with his general sense of strict rewards and punishments (16:27; 18:35; 25; and, also showing his feeling for reciprocity, 7:12). Luke's version also displays the characteristics of the particular evangelist, from the one-word address "Father" onwards (22:42; 23:34, 46). His brevity, by comparison with Matthew, finds a parallel in the Beatitudes (6:20; cf. Matt 5:3–12). Luke's everyday piety appears in his concern for God's constant provision of bread and for deliverance from sin and temptation. Most obviously, his placing of the LP in relation to Jesus' own praying accords wholy with his constant stress on Jesus' prayerfulness, noted by Luke alone at every major turn of his ministry (3:21; 5:16; 6:12; 9:18, 28; 22:32, 41), as does the gospel's shift from the LP to a major treatment of the various aspects of prayer, but with a continuing and realistic interest in "bread" (11:5–13).

The approach just outlined, which is compatible with a number of different opinions about the source from which the LP derives and the relationship among the Gospels, can receive a more definite outline. Such a definition is illustrated by M. D. Goulder's proposal (1963; 1974) that the phenomena of the Synoptic Gospels can be most economically explained by supposing that Matthew built up his gospel not only from direct assimilation of Mark but also from the midrashic development of "hints" in Mark. On this view, Matthew drew together the elements of the LP from the teaching and deeds of Jesus in Mark, seen in the light of his own interests and needs, in particular the desire to provide teaching for practical

Christian living. The teaching in Mark 11:25–26 (which Matthew omits in its Marcan context) is then the basis for the LP, and its message is, as we have seen, emphasized not only in Matthew 6, where vv 14–15 use Mark's actual word "trespasses," moving away from Matthew's earlier "debts," but also elsewhere. It is possible that the Marcan passage also contributes the LP's opening in terms which became great favorites with Matthew (5:16, 45; 7:11, 21; 10:32–33; 12:50; 16:17; 18:10, 14, 19). Lines 4 and 8 both derive from the Gethsemane episode (Mark 14:32–42), with the former included also at 26:42. The petition for the coming of the kingdom is amply based in Jesus' preaching in Mark 1:14–15 and the parables of Mark 4. The Sinai model for the Sermon on the Mount as a whole brings manna to mind, as did Mark's feeding stories (6:35–44; 8:1–9), forming the basis for line 5 (cf. Mark 8:16–17). Other features confirm the Matthean nature of the LP. "Our Father" parallels Matthew's alteration of Mark's "Abba, Father" in 14:36 to "my Father" (26:39).

This proposal leaves no room for any hypothetical source, whether Q or an Aramaic original. The LP is Matthew's devout creation out of his knowledge of Jesus derived from Mark. In this view, it is best seen as from the start liturgical and instructional in purpose. (This would sufficiently account for its apparent intrusiveness in the pattern of Matthew 6, and accords with its role in *Didache* 8.) It was produced (like the gospel as a whole) to serve his church's needs, while being faithfully consistent with Jesus' teaching as he understood it. We may note that Matthew shows a sense of liturgical usefulness elsewhere, e.g., in his rubrical precision compared with Mark ("Take, eat," 26:26) and his reference to forgiveness of sins as a fruit of sharing the cup (26:28). From its beginning, then, the LP was what it has continued to be even in our day: a prayer of the Church adapted like all prayer to the perception of those who used it.

Luke's version may then be seen as the first such adaptation (with the *Didache* providing a much less innovative, roughly contemporary parallel). For if Q is redundant, Luke's use of Matthew as well as Mark becomes a live option, and attention focuses freely on the Lukan character of his version of the LP. The Lukan amendments to Q, as soon on the usual view of the matter, now appear as amendments to Matthew.

In this perspective, the subject of a possible Johannine version comes alive more convincingly. Just as Matthew is seen as having produced a model for Christian prayer in accordance with *his* understanding of Jesus' teaching, based on his perception of Mark, and Luke did the same consistent with *his* understanding, so John 17 may represent the Johannine way of carrying out the same task. Not surprisingly, its conceptuality is more sophisticated and its vocabulary typical of the writer (so that, for example, "hallow" becomes the Johannine "glorify"). In formal and intellectual terms, it departs much further from its models (whether those were earlier Gospels or traditions used by them) but all the same it is the result of an exercise which is recognizably of the same kind (Walker 1982). Moreover, it is a procedure of adaptation which is discernible in other parts of the gospel of John in relation to various elements in the tradition of Jesus' words and deeds (e.g., the discourse on the Bread of Life in chap. 6, especially v 51, in relation to the Synoptic story of the Last Supper).

It is evident that the origins and early development of the LP are far from clear, and a number of possibilities may be entertained. Each of them depends on the view taken of more general and fundamental questions of source, form, redaction, and narrative criticism; that is, on the manner in which the development of the Jesus tradition is understood, and in particular the degree of creativity which is attributed to the individual evangelists.

**D. General Meaning**

The LP, in its fuller form in Matthew and *Didache*, consists of an address (1), three second-person petitions relating to the fulfillment of God's purpose (2–4), and three or four first-person petitions relating to human needs (5–8: structurally, 8 may be meant as part of 7). The subject of all the petitions is arguably the same: the realization of God's ultimate purpose for the world and for his people. The thrust is firmly eschatological. In praying for "now" its eyes are towards the future.

However, the question of the LP's overall context of meaning is inseparable from the issues discussed above. If it is regarded as an independent form of words, derived from Jesus and merely incorporated (albeit with amendments) into the gospels of Matthew and Luke, and then also the *Didache* (and, though more inventively, perhaps too the gospel of John), then it is necessary to characterize its sense in its own

right. The following points will then require consideration. LP is distinctly Jewish in character, with numerous parallels in Jewish forms of prayer, e.g., "Bring me not into the power of sin, iniquity, temptation or contempt; and let the good impulse have dominion over me but not the evil impulse" (*b. Ber.* 60b); Jewish piety is also reflected in the Matthean form of the LP's address (line 1). Its eschatological perspective, signifying the position of one for whom the decisive fulfillment is near and who longs for salvation, despite all hazards, is salient. The question of the relationship of the LP to other aspects of the tradition of Jesus' teachings immediately arises. The LP's sense of the imminence of the coming of the kingdom is in line with other sayings (e.g., Matt 12:28; Luke 11:20) that seem to speak vividly of its already realized presence. The prayer's eschatological concern comports with the detailed apocalyptic teaching found in Mark 13 and elsewhere, supposing that to be authentic in detail or general pattern.

If, however, each version of the LP is viewed as standing within the conceptual framework of the document in which it appears, then more detailed links with each of them can be presented and the LP can be tested for its Matthean or Lukan quality. General Jewish elements lead our attention to the specific relation to Jewish background discernible in each of those documents, with Matthew showing clear relations to forms characteristic of later rabbinic Judaism. General eschatological character is made more specific by being brought into relation with each evangelist's particular tendencies. We have already identified some of the links of the Matthean and Lukan versions of the LP with the rest of the Gospels concerned. We now mention some of their broader conceptual implications.

Matthew's version of the LP is wholly in line with his heightened awareness of the threatening nature of the approaching End, seen most plainly in the parables added to Mark in chap. 25, and his sense of the precarious nature of salvation in the light of the trials which will precede it (13:31–43, 47–50; 22:11–14). These features are echoed in lines 7 and 8. So, too, Matthew's sense of the balanced and reciprocal nature of forgiveness and responsibility for one's actions (6:14–15; 16:27; 18:23–35) is exemplified in line 6. Indeed, one might go further. In the light of 6:14–15, it looks as it forgiveness of sins is the sentiment uppermost in Matthew's mind in this passage, as indeed frequently in his gospel. On this ground, communal Christian life and relationship with God meet. Evidently it was in the light of this that Matthew understood the practical reality of the Kingdom's coming and the doing of God's will. For him the eschatological hope had concrete expression here. No wonder there is such stress on it in this gospel, no wonder that in the account of the supper, adding to Mark, he sees Jesus' blood as shed—and shared "for the forgiveness of sins" (26:28).

Luke's version also finds parallels in the character of Luke's understanding of Jesus' ministry and of Christian life. Prayer itself is accorded great importance in Luke's gospel. But the Lukan LP also has other features characteristic of Luke. Its content is probably best seen, as far as Luke's intention goes, as diverging from Matthew in the more practical and ethical way in which it sees the life of the kingdom. In this, too, as in its pithiness, it is parallel to his treatment of the Beatitudes (6:20–22). Line 5 in particular seems to substitute a concern with daily bread for Matthew's hope for the "bread of the kingdom" (see on line 5 below); just as his blessing (6:21) is for those who "hunger now" rather than Matthew's "hunger and thirst for righteousness" (5:6) and for the poor (6:21) rather than the "poor in spirit" (Matt 5:3). We recall, too, the strongly realistic picture of the new order Jesus brings depicted in the Nazareth sermon in Luke 4:16–20. It is possible that in line 7 Luke edges the sense of "temptation" toward a notion of everyday testing of faith in various moral predicaments and away from the ultimate (eschatological) test that will precede the End and that Matthew presumably has in mind. All the same, both evangelists see the present as already witnessing to the future, and the LP bears on both.

**E. Points of Detail**

As the foregoing discussion has made plain, the basic questions of gospel interpretation color the way in which the details are to be understood, but matters of detail also form the basis on which judgments of method and principle can reasonably be made.

**1. Line 1.** We have seen that both the Matthean and Lukan forms are typical of their writers. The idea of God as "Father" is well-established in Jewish usage (Isa 63:16; 1 Chr 29:10; Psalm 89:27; Sir 23:1, 4;

51:10), but it is more difficult to establish the spirit in which it is used. In particular, where does the LP stand in relation to a more personal style of piety in the period concerned? Certainly it lacks the national element often found in Jewish prayers, even though the eschatological tone involves the corporateness which the Matthean version makes explicit.

But the interesting issue concerns the background of "father" itself. Largely as a result of the work of Jeremias, the idea has become established that behind the term "father" lies the Aramaic ›*abbā*‹, and that this word, allegedly not found in Jewish addressing of God in prayer, expresses a peculiarly intimate, simple and even childlike relationship with God. Jesus both experienced and encouraged his followers to share this relationship. However, this view has been severely challenged, e.g., by Vermes (1973: 210), and Barr (1988), who affirm that ›*abbā*‹ was used of God and carried no specific associations with child language. See also ABBA.

In any case, we should recognize that the relevance of this discussion of ›*abbā*‹ to the LP rests on controvertible premises. It depends on the assumption that the LP's Lukan form is the more authentic, that it is an independent unit of tradition going back to Jesus, and that the inclusion of the Aramaic word in early Christian usage (Rom 8:15; Gal 4:6) above all on Jesus' lips (Mark 14:36), demonstrates its prominence in the self-understanding and piety of Jesus. On the other views of the LP's origin and development the issue is assessed differently. The simple address "father," appears as an established feature of Lukan usage, introduced as we have seen at numerous points, just as Matthew prefers "my/your/our father" (26:42; 5:16; 6:4, 9). Moreover, the connection of ›*abbā*‹ with Jesus is only tenuously witnessed. Its use by Paul is not linked to Jews in any way. Its single gospel occurrence in the Gethsemane episode comes at a point where there is no one to overhear, and the idea that it is included for its known typicality is not supported by the rest of the gospel narrative; even in the Gethsemane story Matthew and Luke both replace it, with "my father" and "father" respectively, in line with their wording of the LP. As for its allegedly childlike resonances, the fact that in all three cases in both Paul and Mark, it is rendered simply by the ordinary, formal term *patēr* may be taken to show that the writers concerned were not aware of such associations; though a childlike deposition before God is certainly enjoined in passages like Mark 10:13–16 and Matt 11:25.

**2. Line 2.** The petition for the hallowing of God's name is the first which looks for the realizing of God's power plainly in the world, that is for the coming of the End (the use of the aorist tense, here and in lines 3 and 4, indicated event rather than process). The language is well-established in Judaism, with God's "name" signifying the reality and majesty of his presence, and "holiness" being his essential attribute (2 Sam 6:2; Jer 7:11; Lev 11:45). While the verb does not occur elsewhere in the Gospels in relation to God, Matthew makes much use of the idea of God's name or Jesus' name in this highly charged sense (Matt 1:23; 7:22; 10:22; 12:21; 18:5, 20; 19:29; 21:9; 23:39; 24:5, 9; 28:19). The last reference, concerning baptism, may come closest to shedding light on its use in the LP. Matthew's Church may well have seen initiation into the Christian community as an anticipatory realization of the "hallowing" of God's name which would soon take place on the grandest scale. In this sense, the LP's links with baptism, and the teaching which accompanied it, may go back to the earliest stage of its use that is visible to us, just as they are implied by its context in the *Didache* and, more formally, in a work like Tertullian's *On the Prayer*.

**3. Line 3.** The hope for the coming of God's kingdom is at the heart of the eschatological expectation, and this language pervades the tradition of Jesus' preaching in the first three Gospels, though not Jewish sources clearly belonging to this period. Mark 9:1 and 11:10 establish the idea of its "coming" in Matthew's primary source. He himself has several relevant uses of the verb (3:11; 11:2; 16:27–28; 21:9; 24:30, 42; 25:10; 26:64), but all speak of Jesus as the coming one; and 16:28 and 21:9 pointedly alter "kingdom" references in Mark to speak directly of him. However, the imminence of the kingdom is amply attested in both Matthew (3:2; 4:17) and Luke (9:27; 10:9), though in both Gospels there is a considerable range of concept and imagery implicit in the use of the term.

**4. Line 4.** The realization of God's will refers again to his ultimate purpose but specifically to his moral imperatives, in mind throughout Matthew's gospel with its ample ethical teaching. The idea of carrying

out God's will occurs at 7:21; 12:50 and 18:14 (all reminiscent of the LP with the reference to "my father" or "your father"), as well as the crucial 26:42. This may be a conscious reproduction by Matthew of the language of the LP in a highly impressive context, by adaptation of Mark's different wording (14:36), using the noun rather than the verb, but in this added statement of his own. Luke has no reference to the idea of God's will apart from the Gethsemane saying (22:42), where he is close to Matthew's wording in 26:42 (but, as in lines 5 and 6 of the LP, substituting present for aorist), though see Acts 21:14 and 22:14.

The force of "as" in the final phrase is not wholly clear: does it mean "in the same way as" or "as much as," or simply "just as"? In heaven, God's will is already obeyed by angels (Matt 26:53) and that situation will be extended to earth where at present evil powers abound. So Jesus' exorcisms visibly presage the fulfillment of the LP. Then the remaining petitions of the LP shift the scene to earth and pray in effect for the working out of line 4.

It has long been suggested that this final phrase should be taken to accompany both of the preceding petitions. But though such a reading does not materially affect the sense, there is no good reason to suppose it was intended. If the prayer stood in Q or some other pregospel source in more or less its Lukan form, then the idea is gratuitous; and for Matthew any intended parallel with the ("as") clause in line 6 rules it out. If Luke knew and adapted Matthew's version, then he failed to understand his model in such a sense. In any case, the phrase bears all the marks of Matthew's style (e.g., 28:18), which suggests that Matthew sees the resurrection of Jesus as a decisive stage in the fulfillment of the LP (cf. also 16:28; 26:64).

**5. Line 5.** This most difficult (though apparently most straightforward) of the petitions raises two major questions: the meaning of Gk *epiousios,* usually translated "daily," and the bearing of the petition as a whole. The answer to the first affects the answer to the second, though not necessarily decisively.

The familiar English "daily" renders the Latin *quotidianus,* which established itself for lack of any better idea of how to render the Greek word and from a misunderstanding of its etymology. The fact is that, apart from its occurrence in the LP, *epiousios* has not yet been attested in literary or epigraphic sources (apart from one possible case, now unverifiable because the papyrus is not available; its text may have been inaccurately transcribed, the reference there being perhaps to daily rations; see Metzger 1957–58). This absence of parallels helps to create uncertainty about meaning as does obscurity of etymology. The word may arise from a compounding of the preposition *epi* with the verb "to be" (*eimi*), of which cognate examples are well established; or else from a compounding with the verb "to come" (also *eimi,* but differently accented and inflected). The former, more probable on semantic grounds, would yield a sense such as "essential," "necessary for subsistence." If it is thought that John has the LP in mind in the writing of chap. 6, then his reference to the "*true* bread from heaven" may represent an understandable "johannization" of such an interpretation with "bread" now allegorized. In the 3d century, Origen was already mystified by the word and took this interpretation further in a spiritualizing Platonist direction by rendering it "supernatural" heavenly bread as opposed to the mere earthly bread to which ordinary use of the LP refers.

The latter derivation of the word from "to come" pushes its chronological orientation into the future, though maybe with a backward look to the manna of the wilderness as a symbolic model (Exod 16:4). Manna is the morrow's bread, the bread of the coming day, the bread of the kingdom, now urgently longed for. This understanding, already found in some circles in the early Church, has the advantage of linking this petition with those that precede and follow it in the LP, thus giving it all its eschatological sense. It also confirms possible eucharistic associations of the LP, apparent in its context in the *Didache,* where the eschatological perception of the Christian meal is emphasized (*Did.* 9–10). Moreover, in Matthew's narrative the LP looks forward to the story of the Supper (26:26–29), mediated by the intervening feelings of the crowds (14:13–21; 15:32–39) if they were understood as foreshadowings of future messianic meals in the kingdom. The link with the Church's actual eucharistic observance may explain the uniquely "realized" quality of this petition ("today"), for it could be seen as answered in a measure by the rite itself. Though not ruled out, sense is less clear in Luke, where a plain request for food

is probably in mind. For Luke the meeting of practical human need is the essence of the gift of the kingdom, to be sought "each day." Luke may still see the meaning as being "the morrow's bread," for a cognate word appears in this sense in Acts (7:26; 16:11; 20:15; 21:18; 23:11). It is not impossible that since the word is a rarity and possibly even a neologism, our different sources did not all take *epiousios* in the same sense.

Whatever Aramaic or other original there may have been, Luke's "each day" is generally agreed to be his own (9:23).

**6. Line 6.** There is uncertainty about the force of "as" in Matthew's version. In part at least, it may be stylistic, and thus parallel with line 4. But Matthew consistently sees forgiveness by God as bound up with the Christian's readiness to forgive others. As we saw, he may have been picking up and greatly extending in scope the statement in Mark 11:25. Luke sidestepped unclarity in this respect by means of a confident, perhaps semi-hortatory statement, "for we too forgive." For him, a spirit of mercy and generous forgiveness is basic to his understanding of Christian discipleship and its place can be simply accepted (1:77; 3:3; 4:18; 24:47; Acts 2:38; 5:31; 10:43). Luke's "sins" is also typical of his usage in these passages; while Matthew is inclined to see sin in terms of debt, and forgiveness as dispensation from debt, notably in the parable of the Two Debtors (Matt 18:23–35; a parable perhaps itself interacting with Matthew's wording of the LP) Luke retains the concept "sin" in the second half of the petition. In any underlying Aramaic version, this would not surprise, for "sin" and "debt" are attested as synonymous parallels in Jewish usage (*ḥṭ'h wḥwbt'*). However, this may not exactly explain the wording of Luke 11:4. On the view that Luke is close to Q, as the fount of the LP's Greek tradition, Matthew then took the hint of "is indebted to us" (probably originally meaning "does wrong to us") and let it pervade the petition as a whole. If, however, Luke was adapting Matthew's version, then here, in embarking on "sins" but failing to sustain it into the petition's second half, he has shown signs of imperfect control, slipping back to Matthew despite himself—and betraying his dependence on him. There is nothing unusual with Luke's open-armed "everyone" or in Matthew's relative caution.

**7. Line 7.** The Greek word *peirasmos* can refer to temptations to sin or to the testing of faith and obedience. Sometimes, as in the *peirasmos* endured by Jesus in the wilderness, one sense merges into the other: the latter is uppermost in Mark 1:12–13, while the two coexist in the developed versions in Matt 4:1–11 and Luke 4:1–11. Here, given the dominant eschatological sense of the LP, the sense of "testing" is likely to be in view, for a period of suffering for God's elect was commonly seen as a preliminary to the coming of the End. It is well attested in apocalyptic literature, from Daniel onwards, where indeed it represented an interpretation of persecutions actually endured. It appears, then, in Christian apocalyptic expectation as expressed in the Gospels themselves (Mark 13; Matt 24; Luke 21). Closely germane to the LP, it appears in the Gethsemane story (Mark 14:38 and par.).

Given this sense of the word and so of the pattern, the difficulty often raised concerning the idea of God as a source of temptation to sin is a red herring; and the discussion in Jas 1:12–15, itself vacillating in its perception of the sense of *peirasmos*, is not relevant (though it is not impossible that it was prompted by the language of the LP). Nevertheless, once the original eschatological context of the LP faded and "temptation" came to be seen unequivocally as the subject of the petition, the difficulty inevitably arose. Hence the softening of the sense in some modern translations, and indeed in early interpretation, by shifting to the passive: as Tertullian said in comment, "that is, let us not be led." It is possible that Matthew is already sensitive to the point (see below on line 8). Given the early Christian perception of the conditions of the times of the End as already in existence in Jesus' ministry and their own lives, the risk of apostasy already colors this petition, perhaps especially in Luke (Acts 20:19; but see also Matt 13:21; and, once more, Gethsemane).

It may be felt that, all the same, there remains a problem of theodicy if God permits the undeserved suffering of his faithful ones, even if it be seen as a test of their faithfulness. The reply must be that the first Christians seem not to have experienced it as problem in this way. They were more conscious of the great prize beyond and indeed already present in the midst of their "light affliction." All the same, like

Jesus on the eve of his death, and modeling themselves on him, they could pray for release or at least that the time be shortened (Mark 13:20; Matt 24:22).

**8. Line 8.** The final petition, in Matthew and the *Didache* along, at first sight does little more than repeat the sense of line 7. As earlier, it is Matthew who has the longer form and in all cases he exhibits the Jewish tendency to parallelism, as in the Psalms. The new element is the reference to the devil, if indeed *ho ponēros* is to be taken as personal (if impersonal, it refers to "evil" as a principle). If Matthew's usage is to guide us, the matter is open. The word is certainly a Matthean favorite, occurring 24 times, far more frequently than elsewhere. It is used of the devil in 13:19 and 38. If that is his sense here, it is possible that the clause was added as a way of easing the problem raised implicitly by its predecessor—it is the devil not God who is the real source of trials that Christians undergo. Whatever degree of formal dualism is involved, the petition seeks deliverance from all such sufferings, which, as just discussed with reference to line 7, may well have been thought to include temptations to sin. The different spheres of reference were scarcely distinguished, as in the "temptations" of Jesus in Matthew 4 and Luke 4, which were, in a sense, a rehearsal for his final and climactic Passion.

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J. L. HOULDEN

**LORD'S SUPPER.** The ritual meal celebrated in the early churches after the first Easter. As such, it should not be confused with the LAST SUPPER, to which it is nevertheless related.

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## A. Introduction

The designation "Lord's Supper" is derived from the Greek collocation *kyriakon deipnon* in 1 Cor 11:20. *Kyriakos* means something like "belonging to the *kyrios* (lord)" "owned by the *kyrios*." In the papyri and inscriptions it designates Caesar's domain (in *OGIS* 669:18 [68 C.E.], *kyriakos logos* designates the imperial treasury). *Deipnon* was what the Greeks called the main meal of the day, eaten in the late afternoon or evening, in contrast to an early morning snack (*akratisma*) and to breakfast (*ariston*), eaten closer to noon (cf. Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 8.6.3–4). Moreover, *deipnon* also designated the festal meal or banquet (in the NT, e.g., Mark 6:21; Luke 14:16, 17, 24). Also, it was used quite frequently for cultic meals associated with sacrifices and the celebration of the Mysteries (cf. the Andania inscription [92 B.C.] *SIG*$^3$ 736:96: *eis to hieron deipnon*).

In 1 Cor 11:17–34, Paul bases the Lord's Supper on the last supper Jesus ate with his disciples prior to his death (see also LAST SUPPER), and in that respect he is not alone. The Synoptic accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper (Mark 14:22–26 = Matt 26:26–30 = Luke 22:15–20) also reflect the practice of communion in the church (Jeremias 1967: 100–102): on the one hand, they give the aetiological reason for the current practice of the church and lead it back to its sustaining foundation; on the other hand, they have received their shape and form from the liturgical practice of the church.

The situation is somewhat different in Acts 2:42, 46, where the expression "breaking bread," in summary fashion, is used for the celebration of the supper by the early church in Jerusalem. Whether that means that we are dealing with an essentially different kind of meal will have to be investigated. The search for the Lord's Supper in the text of the Johannine writings and in the Epistle to the Hebrews is problematic. The results of the research on these texts are equally controversial.

Among the early Christian writings outside of the NT the *Didache*, the letters of Ignatius of Antioch, and Justin Martyr's Apology deserve to be studied as witnesses to the Lord's Supper. In these writings the technical term for the Lord's Supper is *eucharistia* (cf. *Did.* 9:1; Ign. *Smyrn.* 8:1; Just. *Apol.* 66:1)—a word which took the lead in Christian tradition for a long time and which is still, as in the past, dominant in Catholic circles. At the same time *agape* becomes more independent as the Christian meal with its caritative and social characteristics. Aside from all this one needs to ask the history of religions question: Are there analogous phenomena in Judaism and in paganism, and to what extent have these influenced the development of the early Christian celebration of the Lord's Supper?

## B. The NT Texts

**1. Paul. a. 1 Cor 11:17–34.** From a literary standpoint the oldest account of the institution of the Lord's Supper is found in 1 Cor 11:23–26. Paul reports the account essentially in the form in which he had learned to know it in Antioch in the 40's and as he had passed it on to the Corinthians when he established the church there. The traditional words "receive" and "deliver" (*paralambanein* and *paradidonai*) in v 23a are well known in the scholarly language of Rabbinism (cf. *Midr.* Qoh. 12:11) and of Hellenism (*Diod.* 5.2,3). They clearly indicate that the vv 23b–25 are a fragment of tradition (possibly with some Pauline touches). "From the *kyrios*" points to the earthly Jesus as the source of this catena of traditional elements. At the same time he is seen as the present exalted Lord who gives the sacrament its permanent validity. The rather scanty reference to the historic event of the passion in v 23b ("on the night when he was betrayed") sets the words of Institution off from the timeless, cyclic myths and formulae of the Mysteries.

The traditional text lays out another aspect of the meal in which the breaking of the bread at the beginning of the meal and the blessing of the cup at the end (cf. 11:25a "in the same way also the cup, after supper") surround the main meal. The words "for you," spoken at the breaking of the bread, are addressed to the participants of the Lord's Supper; they draw them into participation of the salvatory self-sacrifice of Jesus. The contents of the cup in v 25b are not directly identified as the blood. Rather, in the foreground stands the sealing of the eschatological new covenant in the death on the cross. Besides its vertical dimension (the God of the covenant creating a new people), this covenant has a horizontal aspect: the celebrants are brought together into covenant community.

Through the double *anamnesis* command the account of the Institution receives a special accent at the end of v 24 and v 25, which is missing from the Markan tradition. (Luke has one *anamnesis* command in connection with the saying about the bread.) The repeated command is aimed precisely at the partaking of the bread and cup, which suggests that this action was eventually separated from the main meal. From a theological viewpoint the *anamnesis* motif has certainly been influenced by the significant and broad meanings of the word "remembrance" (*zkr*) in the OT, in which the remembrance of the past is thought of as becoming actual in the present. The wording of the *anamnesis* command also resembles the commands in the institution of Hellenistic meals in memory of the dead (Chenderlin 1982: 143–45, 217), and in this way the Lord's Supper is brought into close association with this type of meal. Additionally, the doubling of the *anamnesis* command in v 25c possibly goes back to Paul and in any case he clearly expresses the relationship of the celebration to the Lord's death in v 26. The Lord's Supper, comprised of word and action, is a realistic proclamation of the past death of Christ on the cross. The celebrating church must not get lost in the present; the present Lord is the crucified and the coming one at the same time. Reminiscent of the eschatological outlook of Mark 14:25 ("until he comes"), Paul keeps the celebration of the Lord's Supper oriented to the longing expectation of the parousia.

In his quotation of the Words of Institution Paul has the Corinthian practice of the Lord's Supper in mind throughout. The members of the church presumably gathered in the home of a well-to-do Christian (e.g. in the house of Gaius, cf. Rom 16:23) on Saturday or Sunday night (cf. 1 Cor 16:2; Rev 1:10). They brought their provisions for the meal with them and these were then shared with others. The breaking of the bread and the blessing of the cup had already been combined as a special act at the end of the meal (Neuenzeit 1960: 69–76). At this occasion verbal acts of worship, such as the reading of the Scriptures, singing of Psalms, prophecy, and speaking in tongues, after the manner of 1 Cor 14:1–40, may have been added. At this point the Corinthian church clearly shows herself to be the *ekklesia,* the church of God (cf. 11:18, 22; 14:23).

The name "Lord's Supper" embraces the entire event, including the main meal, together with the concluding rite of the bread and wine. Besides the anamnetic component (looking back at the Lord's death) and the eschatological (looking forward to the parousia of the Lord; cf. the anticipation of "the day of the Lord" in the OT), the word *kyriakos* first and foremost takes on also the following meaning: one recognizes the presence of the Lord by his Spirit at the meal, both as host and Lord. And from his hands believers receive all the benefits of the meal. Even the provisions for the meal themselves have become the property of the Lord.

This ideal picture was rather badly disfigured by the misdemeanors occurring in Corinth. Poorer Christians and slaves, who could come only later, could participate in the rite of the bread and the cup, but were excluded from the main meal (Bornkamm 1970: 142–45). This social scandal, according to Paul, made it impossible for a true Lord's Supper to take place (11:20). Paul interprets such behavior as a violation of the very essence of the institution of the Lord's Supper (11:27). The intent of the salvatory Christ event—which is captured in the "for you" in the saying over the bread, and the notion of covenant in the saying over the cup—are thereby perverted.

According to Paul the consequences for the individual who sins in this way, as well as for the entire congregation, are disastrous (cf. 11:27–32). In his reference to the sick and the dead in 11:30 one cannot help but gain the impression that Paul ascribes the destructive powers of a tabu to the sacred food. One can readily document such thinking from the world of Paul (Klauck 1986: 327–28). On the other hand one should note carefully that Paul does not establish a direct relationship between sickness and personal guilt. Nor does he suggest that the worthy participation in the eucharist is a protection against one's own death. Rather, he has the church as a whole in mind; in the last analysis, it is the church that is sick. Moreover, those cases where death has occurred are seen in the light of the imminent parousia. Instead of hastening the parousia, the unworthy manner of celebrating the Lord's Supper permits the powers of destruction and death to carry on their activity in the present age.

Besides, Paul adds a few practical suggestions. In 11:33 he recommends that the Corinthians wait with the main meal until everyone has arrived and in that way the problems can be avoided. In 11:22, to be

sure, another possibility emerges ("Do you not have houses to eat and drink in?"); namely, in an extreme situation, Paul would even entertain the possibility of separating the main meal from the bread/cup rite (in the terminology of a later period: the separation of Agape and Eucharist).

**b. 1 Cor 10:14–22.** In the context of his discourse on the participation in pagan sacrificial meals, Paul (1 Cor 10:1–13) first of all sets the example of the wilderness generation before the eyes of the Corinthians (cf. Willis 1985: 123–63). This generation allowed itself to be lulled into a false sense of security through "spiritual food" and "spiritual drink," i.e., through the manna and water from the rock. Paul sees prototypes of the Christian sacraments in the OT, but with unmistakable paraenetic intent.

In 1 Cor 10:16 he quotes a linguistically-polished fragment of tradition which he has taken from the eucharistic teaching of his Hellenistic churches (Käsemann 1970: 12). He himself puts it in question form to make it fit better with v 17, and mentions the cup before the bread. This unit of tradition expands and deepens the words of interpretation given at the institution of the Supper. When we read in v 16a, "The cup of blessing which we bless," Paul not only sets off the cup of the Christian Lord's Supper from the last cup of the Jewish festal meal, but he also points to the full development of eucharistic prayers, since blessing according to Jewish custom is bestowed by prayer (cf. the allusions to table grace in 1 Cor 10:30; Rom 14:6). Christian prayers of blessing at the Lord's Supper have not been handed down to us in the NT, but we do find them in the *Didache* (cf. *Did.* 9:2–4).

By contrast to the older saying over the cup (1 Cor 11:25), the cup in 1 Cor 10:16 is not equated with the new covenant but with the blood (cf. Mark 14:24)—an indication of more advanced reflection. What is new is the concept of *koinōnia,* which is derived not from Judaism but from the vocabulary for sacral meals in Hellenism. It signifies fellowship through participation (Hainz 1982: 18–35; cf. Willis 1985: 168–81). The eating of the bread and the drinking of the cup mediate personal fellowship with the crucified and glorified Christ through participation in his body and blood. At the same time there is a fellowship among those who jointly participate, as 10:17 makes more explicit. The twofold emphasis, that there is only one loaf was used at the Lord's Supper in Corinth (as Diog. Laert, *Vit. Phil.* 8:35 and Iambl. *VP.* 86 indicate for the Pythagorians). Through the communal participation in the one bread "the many" (Mark 14:24, "for many") become one body, i.e., one church, which is constituted by the Lord's Supper and understands itself as the body of Christ. "Body" is transmuted here as in 1 Cor 12:12–27 into an ecclesiological concept.

Whereas some Corinthian Christians apparently thought that baptism and the Lord's Supper would protect them in magical fashion from all dangers and permit them to participate in pagan cults, Paul argues in 10:18–22 that the sacramental components of the concept of *koinōnia* clearly demonstrate the incompatibility of the Christian Lord's Supper and pagan sacrificial meals. To be sure, for Paul there are neither gods (1 Cor 8:5) nor idols (cf. 1 Cor 8:4), but there are demons which stand behind pagan sacrifice as a fearsome reality. With this demonological interpretation of Gk polytheism Paul follows an OT-Jewish line of tradition (cf. Deut 32:17). We hear from non-Christian authors that demons establish a relationship between the gods and the people in sacrifices (Plut. *De def. or.* 13–14). Demons are said to feed on some parts of the sacrifice such as smoke and blood, and they try to enter the human body through the sacrificial meal (Iambl. *Myst.* 6:3; Porphr. acc. to Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 4.23.3). Whether Paul, too, entertained the notion that sacrificial meals cause a demonic infection to take place can only be posed as a question. As far as the external rite is concerned, Paul in 10:21 singles out the cup of libation and the table in the hosting by the deity (cf. Isa 65:11). The cup of libation, with accompanying drink offerings, consists primarily of wine at a sacrifice and a symposium. Paul sets the "cup of the Lord," which is identical with the cup of blessing in 10:6, over against this pagan cup. The table has a different function in pagan cults than the altar. On the altar before the temple the sacrificial offerings are burned; on the table, often found inside the temple, one lays them down. The table plays a significant role in *theoxenia* (where the gods act as hosts) and in the cult of the dead. In the OT, on which Paul leans linguistically (cf. Mal 1:7, 12), the "table of the Lord" means the table of showbread in the temple. The parallels in the celebration of the Christian Lord's Supper must be completely divorced from these contrasts. Paul, in fact, has the family table in mind around which a house-church would gather for the Lord's Supper.

One will not be able entirely to avoid the conclusion that Paul, by contrasting the Lord's Supper with pagan feasts, indirectly sets it into the category of sacrificial meals. However, one must then immediately ask for the basis of such an analogy. Paul first of all discovers parallels in the table fellowship which is established through the offering of a sacrificial gift. See SACRIFICE AND SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS (NT).

**c. Lord's Supper and Ministry in Paul.** It seems strange that Paul, in the face of the disorders at the Lord's Supper mentioned in 1 Corinthians 11, and the confusion at the meetings of the church mentioned in 1 Corinthians 14, does not charge a single office bearer with the task of restoring order. Obviously presiding at the Lord's Table and at the meetings of the congregation was not yet restricted to one person. There are fellow-workers to whom people are to submit (1 Cor 16:16); there are administrative services (1 Cor 12:28); there are leaders (1 Thess 5:12; Rom 12:8). However, these are mentioned in so casual a manner and appear so late in the lists of gifts that one hesitates to give them a prominent place at the Lord's Supper or else the responsibility of presiding was not yet invested with great dignity. Different attempts have been made (among others the one based on *Did.* 10:7: "Permit the prophets to say thanks" [*eucharistein*], as often as they wish") to find the leader at the Lord's Supper in the ranks of the early Christian prophets. If one begins with the assumption that the early churches began as house churches, one has good reason to hold that the father of the household or the owner of the house in which the church met assumed the leadership at the Lord's Supper. When he was personally present, the apostle himself, as honored guest, very likely assumed this responsibility; but that need not have been so always and everywhere. At the ancient symposium, which may serve as a kind of analogy (see D.1 below), the symposiarch, the chairman of the event, was chosen at the occasion from among the guests. Women may also have presided at the Lord's Supper in early Christianity, like Junia the apostle (Rom 16:7), Phoebe the deaconness and leader (Rom 16:1, 2), Prisca the head of a house church (1 Cor 16:19; Rom 16:3–5), or Nympha (Col 4:15) as prophetess (cf. 1 Cor 11:5; Acts 21:9). Whether and in what capacity the bishops (note the plural) and the deacons (Phil 1:1) played a role at the Lord's Supper is hard to determine. The contours of the later monepiscopate become visible only in the post-Pauline Pastoral Epistles, but even here their duties are not restricted to the eucharist.

**2. Synoptics. a. Mark.** The Last Supper is here described as a Passover meal (Mark 14:12) and as Jesus' farewell banquet. The account of the Institution of the Lord's Supper in 14:22–25, however, shows no signs of a Passover. Everything that is typical of a Passover is missing: the paschal lamb, the stewed fruit, the bitter herbs, and the Passover haggadah. Various peculiarities of the text in fact seem to suggest that it served as aetiological cult-legend for the Lord's Supper. The breaking of the bread and the blessing of the cup have already been united into one act at the end of the meal—something that clearly emerges from Mark 14:26. The departure to the Mount of Olives follows immediately upon the interpretive words spoken over the bread and the wine (14:22–25). Moreover, this made possible the concentration of all interpretive additions, including the *hyper pollōn* ("on behalf of many") in connection with the saying over the cup (which seems to overload the text in its present form). Also, the extensive parallels in the saying over the bread and the cup in the first part ("this is my body"; "this is my blood …") is the result of liturgical practice. Hand in hand with that goes an increasing interest in the elements of the meal, the bread and the wine, interpreted as body and blood of Christ. The exhortation "take," at the beginning of the saying over the bread in 14:22, points in the same direction, and may express a certain reserve regarding the eucharistic gifts. The note, "and they all drank of it," in v 23b can be understood in the light of the custom of the use of one common cup by all the participants at the Lord's Supper, as long as the number of participants made this possible. Concerning the preferred OT paradigms, the new covenant of Jer 31:31 (cf. 1 Cor 11:25) is replaced by the covenant meal of Exod 24:6–11, which was accompanied by an unusual blood ritual. Thereby the writer introduces notions of sacrifice into the Synoptic tradition of the Lord's Supper. See also SACRIFICE AND SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS (NT).

There can be little doubt that in the context of the present gospel text, the account of the Institution in Mark (as well as its side references) harkens back to the miracles of feeding (Mark 6:35–44; 8:1–10 par.), whatever its original source or form may have been. The Christian reader saw reflections of the Lord's

Supper in the blessing and breaking of the bread by Jesus (as well as in the disciples' distribution of these to the crowds; 6:41; 8:6). At the same time the accounts reminded him of his social obligations to the hungry (6:37), which in the early church were closely connected with the practice of the Lord's Supper, and not only in Paul (Reicke 1951: 21–38).

**b. Matthew.** Matthew's version of the account of the Institution (26:26–29) can be understood as a further development of the Markan presentation. What is questionable, however, is whether it is sufficient to think of it simply as a literary recension or whether one should see reflections of church practice, which developed on the basis of the identical wording of Mark 14:22–25. The exhortation "take, eat" in Matt 26:26 and "drink of it, all of you" in 26:27 could be arguments for the latter (cf. Patsch 1972: 69–70, 103–4). The setting for the imperatives is most naturally to be found in the liturgical celebration in which bread and wine have already attained the aura of a numinous consecration. "For the forgiveness of sin" in 26:26 (cf. Matt 3:1–2 diff Mark 1:4) offers a theological explanation of "for the many" in the Markan tradition.

**c. Luke.** The account of the Last Supper in Luke 22:14–20 presents us first of all with a textual problem. In the so-called Western text vv 19b–20 are missing. A number of interpreters choose to cross off also v 19a as secondary, and draw some broad historical inferences on the basis of this shortened text, which suddenly looks altogether different from the traditional account of the Institution in Paul and Mark. However, in spite of opposing voices, the originality of the longer text, including vv 19b–20, can meanwhile be considered as secure (cf. Jeremias 1967: 133–53; Marshall 1980: 36–38).

In 22:14–20 Luke combines the Markan text-tradition with his own, which in his account of the Institution (22:19–20) is very similar to Paul's (Schürmann 1970: 17–31) and points to the account of the Passover meal in particular (22:14–18; called "account of the passover" here because of v 15: "I have earnestly desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer"). The obvious inclusion of the Last Supper within the framework of a Passover meal, which is thereby validated, certainly agrees with the historicizing tendencies of Luke. Somewhat attractive is the conjecture that vv 14–18 have their setting in an early Christian Passover celebration which took place once a year at Easter in connection with the celebration of the Lord's Supper (Schürmann 1968: 72–73; Kuhn 1957: 91–92), but convincing proof has not yet been given.

In Luke we discover a comment in the Easter narratives that the risen Christ breaks bread with his disciples (Luke 24:30), that he eats before their very eyes or with them (24:41–43; cf. John 21:9–13). Acts 10:41 also looks back: "To us … who ate and drank with him after he rose from the dead," as does the enigmatic expression *synhalizomenos* (possibly "eat together") in Acts 1:4. Cullmann (1966: 510–16) wanted to derive the practice of the Lord's Supper in the early church from these appearances of Christ at meals after Easter, but thereby he paid too little attention to the precarious historical basis for the corresponding traditions. Much more significant is the twofold observation from a hermeneutical standpoint: (a) Without the resurrection of Jesus and the experience of Easter on the part of the disciples, there would never have been a regular practice of the Lord's Supper, because it would have lacked the central theological presupposition; and (b) the Communal Lord's Supper was the place at which every believer, who was temporally removed from the first Easter, could gain the assurance of the presence of the risen Lord. Seen as a whole, the resurrection of Jesus is the real foundation for the shaping of the practice of the Lord's Supper and the conceptual development of sacramental categories. This entire process, to a large degree, runs parallel to the post-Easter unfolding of an explicit Christology.

**3. Acts. a. The Breaking of the Bread.** In the first big summary of the life of the early church of Jerusalem (Acts 2:42–47), Luke mentions the breaking of the bread twice, in Acts 2:42 and especially in 2:46: "… and breaking bread in their homes, they partook of food with glad and generous hearts." Here possibly a distinction between a regular meal ("partook of food") and eucharistic rite ("breaking bread") is suggested, even though originally both were integrated into one event. One gets the impression from Luke that a regular meal was held daily as a Lord's Supper in the various Christian homes in Jerusalem in the early church. This supper (according to Acts 6:1–2) also had caritative, that is, diaconic functions. However, that reflects an idealized view of the golden age of the beginning and cannot be accepted as

historical reality. Household meals accompanied by eucharistic practices probably occurred only once a week, on the Sabbath (patterned after the Jewish Sabbath meal [*cena pura*?]) or on the Lord's day.

In Acts 2:7,11 the church at Troas gathers "on the first day of the week" (cf. Luke 24:1) to break bread, and Paul takes it in hand. Connected with that is the proclamation of the Word. The exact time seems to have been Sunday rather than Saturday night. The place is the upper room of a private house (20:8; cf. 1:13). That Luke at least has in mind the Lord's Supper, as he knows it from his church, could hardly be denied (cf. Wanke 1973: 19–24). Obviously he is connecting certain symbolic connotations with the meal. The place of the Lord's Supper is conspicuous ("upper room") as a place of fellowship (20:7) of light (20:8), and of life (20:12).

The same thing applies to Acts 27:35–36, in spite of the opinion of many exegetes to the contrary (cf. Wanke 1973: 25–30): on the ship that is in danger of shipwreck Paul takes bread (cf. Luke 9:16; 22:19; 24:30), gives thanks (*eucharistēsen,* cf. Luke 22:19), breaks the bread (cf. Luke 9:16; 22:19; 24:30; Acts 2:42, 46; 20:7,11) and eats it (Acts 27:35), as do the others until they have had enough (27:38). Here we come upon the same juxtaposition of the "breaking of bread" and "partaking of food" as in the summary in Acts 2:46. Luke knows how to distinguish these items. Paul's actions are distinguished from the main meal of his countrymen. There is hidden in it an unmistakable pointer to the Lord's Supper which lets all those in need experience the saving power of the risen Christ in the present.

**b. Communion *sub una*?** The fact that Luke mentions only the breaking of the bread has led variously to the assumption that the Lord's Supper was practiced *sub una,* i.e., with bread only, without wine or, as an alternative, water instead of wine. Among other things it has been suggested that wine would have been too expensive for the poor churches in the long run (Jeremias 1967: 108). A celebration of the Lord's Supper without wine can be documented from Jewish Christian tradition and apocryphal writings (Klauck 1986: 214–15, 225–32); however, it cannot have been the rule. Luke proceeds on the assumption that the breaking of the bread and the blessing of the cup has already been taken out of the context of the meal and has been isolated into a double act. On this assumption the breaking of the bread, a rite at the beginning of the meal only (as far as its origin goes), could include for him all the gestures and the words over the bread and the wine. They have become, in other words, names for the Lord's Supper. The absence of wine in Acts 2:46 would stand in contradiction to the strong emphasis on festal joy; for celebration and festivity at a meal were essentially determined by the availability of wine. For the Synoptic words of Institution it is important to note that the eschatological outlook (Mark 14:25 par.) which belongs to the earliest form of the text, explicitly speaks about "the fruit of the vine," and so a celebration without wine is no option.

**c. A Dualistic Theory of Eucharistic Origins.** Acts 2:46 plays a key role in Lietzmann's famous theory of a double origin of the Lord's Supper in the early church (Lietzmann 1979: 195–203)—an origin which had various forerunners and which to this day is given variegated forms (cf. Fuller 1963: 60–65). According to Lietzmann, the Jerusalem church celebrated its Lord's Supper with festive joy and as a continuation of the daily fellowship at meals with the earthly Jesus. This is contrasted by the Pauline example from 1 Cor 11:23–26, in which the Lord's Supper is tied to the sacrificial death of Jesus on the cross and which is consciously linked to Jesus' Last Supper. The texts of Acts 2:46, with its strong Lukan character, does not allow us to make such an historical conclusion (cf. the criticism, especially of Schweizer 1963: 344–47). The farewell banquet of Jesus stands in an unmistakable relationship to the fellowship meals Jesus provided for people during his earthly ministry. These two important facts must not be torn asunder. On the other hand, the celebration of the Lord's Supper experienced a rapid and stormy development which tended to go in various directions in the first few decades after Easter. But this process has not been sufficiently appreciated if one postulates a chronological sequence of distinct models or if one views them as mutually exclusive of each other. The reduction of two basic types means at the same time an illegitimate simplification of a very much more complex and differentiated situation.

**4. Gospel of John. a. John 6 and John 13.** John 13 reports in detail a farewell banquet which Jesus celebrated with his disciples in the face of his death (13:1–3). We discover that Jesus on that occasion washed the disciples' feet (13:4–11). Also we have the long farewell discourses in John 14–17, which

find their setting within the framework of the Last Supper. Apparently the account of the Institution which the Synoptists and Paul focus on is lacking in John.

Instead, one finds the OT manna-typology assimilated into the discourse on the bread in John 6 (cf. Borgen 1965). Note particularly the verse at the end: "The bread which I shall give for the life of the world is my flesh" (6:51c). The wording is reminiscent of the saying over the bread from the Pauline-Lukan account of the Institution (1 Cor 11:24 = Luke 22:19), combined with the universalistic "for the many" from the Markan saying over the cup (Mark 14:24). The verse apparently assimilates the tradition of the Lord's Supper as found in the Johannine church, that celebrated the Lord's Supper. In John 6:52–58 we have the so-called eucharistic discourse which calls for the eating of the flesh and the drinking of the blood of Jesus in crassly vivid terms.

The structure and origin of John 6 is still being debated in scholarly research (cf. Léon-Dufour 1982: 290–300). A possible solution (for a somewhat different but related concept, cf. Wehr 1986) looks like this: In the light of the practice of the Lord's Supper in his church John, in the discourse on the bread (John 6:26–51), is concerned about a deeper symbolical-theological interpretation of the sacramental event. Its true content is faith and the personal encounter with Jesus in sign and word. The Evangelist thereby takes issue with the danger of a magical misunderstanding of the sacrament which threatens the loss of the practical meaning of the Supper for faith and life. For the same reason he leaves off the account of the Institution in John 13. The signal act of feet-washing brings into focus the loving self-giving of Jesus, which puts the believer under obligation in a much clearer manner.

The Evangelist lets us know his intention by adding the saying over the bread from the Lord's Supper in 6:51c. In the context of the saying over the bread one could read into the Supper two ideas, the sacramental and the personal-communative. The concept "flesh" (Gk *sarx*) is probably not to be understood as a translation variant of "body" (Gk *sōma*), but makes a bridge to John 1:14: "And the word became flesh." The materialization of the salvation experience which occurs principally by faith and is drawn into the sacrament is understood by the Evangelist as analogous to the incarnation of the heavenly Son of Man. Here as there, we have a scandalous event which calls forth the protest of the average consciousness. The opposition of the disciples in 6:60 against this "hard saying," which in 6:61–62 is applied to the descent of the heavenly Son of Man (cf. 6:50, 51), is clearly aligned with it. The problematic saying in 6:63: "It is the Spirit that gives life, the flesh is of no avail," does not annul 1:14 and 6:51, but adds a necessary expansion. The incarnation and embodiment, the descent, would remain ineffectual if it didn't also lead to the ascent of the Son of Man (6:62). The resurrection of Jesus truly sets the Spirit free; it embraces the meaning of the words concerning the earthly and makes possible faith, which is also at work in the Lord's Supper in the church.

The reaction of the disciples makes the saying about the bread in 6:51c the occasion to integrate the eucharistic discourse (6:52–58) at this point. This blocks the attempts to see in it a lecture on symbolism; much rather is it an attempt to underscore in dramatic fashion the reality of the sacramental. The occasion for this view was provided by the controversies concerning the right understanding of the Lord's Supper. Opponents who looked at 6:52–58 were either more docetically-gnostically influenced, or they were at home in Jewish-Christian circles in which the understanding of the real presence of Christ in the bread and the wine of the Lord's Supper was decisively rejected. In the eucharistic discourse the older church traditions are integrated with the sacramental orientation (cf. Wehr 1986), which the Evangelist himself, insofar as he knew them, opposed with rather strong reserve.

**b. Further Texts.** Some want to see eucharistic allusions, among other things, also in the following Johannine texts (cf. Johansson 1944: 263–68; Léon Defour 1982: 311–14): the wedding at Cana, with the changing of the water into wine (2:1–11); the discourse on the True Vine (15:1–5); the blood and water from the pierced side of Jesus (19:34); the meal with the risen Christ in the redactional addendum (21:9–13; see also under B 2c); and the witness of the water and the blood in 1 John 5:6–8.

In the light of the dominant symbolical strains of the Johannine language it is difficult to make a definite decision. One cannot, however, dismiss out of hand the possibility of eucharistic allusions in every case. Nevertheless, one should be slow to make quick identifications and should instead move with caution

(Marshall 1980: 137). The hypothesis of an all-pervasive theology of sacraments does not explain the real concern of the Johannine Evangelist.

**5. Revelation.** According to 1:3 and 22:18, the author of the Revelation of John wrote with the purpose of having his work read in the meetings of the church. For this reason one must ask how the liturgical language of the book, which has its origin in Jewish apocalypses, is to be understood in the context of early Christian worship (cf. Delling 1970: 449–50). Once again this raises the question of what part the Lord's Supper played in worship.

In Rev 3:20 we have the salvatory promise (harkening back to the metaphoric language of the parable in Luke 12:35–38?): "Behold, I stand at the door and knock, if any one hears my voice and opens the door, I will come in to him and eat with him, and he with me." The passage captures the expectation of the messianic meal at the end of the age which, however, can be anticipated also in the present, wherever there is a meeting with Jesus through faith. It seems possible that we have here, as in John 6, a deepened spiritual interpretation of the practice of the Lord's Supper. The same theme is struck in 19:7: "For the marriage of the Lamb has come, and his Bride has made herself ready" (cf. the beatitude addressed to those invited to this meal in 19:9). Here one can hardly see any connection with the Lord's Supper. Rather the emphasis is on the union between Christ and his church in the present and in the future (cf. 2 Cor 11:2) as a further development of the OT imagery of the marriage between God and Israel.

In Rev 11:17 a thanksgiving prayer is introduced with *eucharistoumen* (cf. *Did.* 9:2–3), but its contents rule out the notion of a eucharistic prayer. There remains, then, the conclusion of the book (22:6–21) in which some have discovered a variety of elements taken from the celebration of the Lord's Supper (cf. Prigent 1964: 37–45; Klauck 1986: 356–64). In this regard v 15 includes an excommunication clause which is to keep the unrepentant and the non-Christians away from the Lord's Supper (cf. 1 Cor 16:22; *Did.* 9:5). The words of invitation, "and let him who is thirsty come, let him who desires take the water of life without price" (v 17b), is then said to be an invitation to the Lord's Supper. "Amen. Come, Lord Jesus!" (v 20b) is the equivalent of the Aramaic *maranatha*, which clearly stands in the context of the Lord's Supper in *Did.* 10:6 and possibly in 1 Cor 16:22. However, even if certain liturgical elements should have been integrated into the conclusion of the book, one must consider that they take on a different function in a different literary context and cannot (nor do they wish to) reflect the complete sequence of events in an early Christian celebration of the Lord's Supper.

**6. Hebrews.** The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews develops his theology in large measure with the help of linguistic models taken from the OT and the Jewish sacrificial cult. Among them one finds also concepts that are known to us from the traditions concerning the Lord's Supper. In 9:20 he quotes the saying about "the blood of the covenant" from Exod 24:8, and not with the introductory "behold" (*idou*) as in the LXX, but rather with "this" (*touto*), a word that one tends to connect with the words of interpretation. "Blood of the covenant" occurs also in Heb 10:29. In 2:4 (connected with the verb "to share," *koinōneō;* cf. the *koinōnia* in 1 Cor 10:16), the author speaks of the blood and flesh (in this sequence and also in 10:19, 20; cf. also 9:12–14 in the matter of the blood of Christ). In Heb 8:8 (cf. 9:15) we encounter the "new covenant" of Jer 31:31 (cf. 1 Cor 11:24). Furthermore, there is mention of the tasting of the heavenly gift (Heb 6:4) and of an altar (*thysiastērion,* cf. 1 Cor 10:18), from which those who serve in the tent have no right to eat (Heb 13:10).

This has led researchers (cf. Williamson 1975: 300–1) in part to see in the eucharistic emphasis the hermeneutical key to the understanding of the Epistle to the Hebrews as a whole, going even to the extreme position in which "the bigger and more perfect tent" (9:11) is understood as the eucharistic body of Christ (cf. Williamson 1975: 304–5). On the other hand, the exact opposite conclusions have been drawn from the same texts, namely that the writer of the epistle rejects the Lord's Supper of the larger church and polemicizes against it. It is said that the author is anti-sacramentarian and that he does not feel comfortable with the concept of eating the body and drinking the blood of the Lord.

One should from the outset realize that the Epistle to the Hebrews has a strong emphasis on the verbal aspect of worship and sees the meetings of the church as non-cultic (cf. 10:25). The concepts such as "blood of the covenant," and "new covenant," have been taken over directly from the OT and not via the

Lord's Supper tradition. "Blood" and "flesh" of Jesus Christ evoke memories of his bloody death on the cross. The cultic language is used by the author to explicate the non-cultic salvation events without creating new cultic forms. Whatever may be the reasons, the Lord's Supper appears to lie outside his theological interest (for further information and bibliography, see SACRIFICE AND SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS (NT),, and Williamson 1975: 302–12; Klauck 1982: 149–51).

**7. Jude and 2 Peter.** In Jude 12, in the context of the polemic against false teachers who are making their influence felt in the church, we read: "These are blemishes on your love feasts (*en tais agapais,* in the majority of manuscripts), as they boldly carouse together, looking after themselves." For the first time in the NT the communion meal of the church receives the name Agape (cf. Ign. *Smyrn.* 8:2), which in the 2d century C.E. develops a character quite distinct from the eucharist. See AGAPE MEAL. In Jude a single unified church meal is assumed, in which the main meal and the two-fold eucharistic rite still go together. As a whole, the meal underscores the significance of love as the life-principle of the church. From that position the caritative aspects of the meal are opened. Already the very fact that false teachers participate in the practices of the church are seen by the author of the epistle as scandalous. Very likely he also wants to suggest to the false teachers that they no longer take the Lord's Supper seriously, but that they have perverted it into a voluptuous feast and profaned it (cf. on this and the following point Völker 1927: 107–10; Reicke 1951: 352–67).

In similar fashion 2 Pet 2:13b takes a position against the false teachers: "They count it pleasure to revel in the day time. They are blots and blemishes, reveling in their dissipation (*en tais apatais*), carousing with you." The majority of the textual witnesses read *apatais,* not *agapais* as in Jude 12. Since one can assume that the author of 2 Peter is familiar with the Epistle of Jude, one will have to understand this change as a deliberate wordplay and as a bit of irony. The author does not want to give the honored name Agape to the meals which are being held with false teachers present. They have nothing in common with the Lord's Supper but have already been perverted into revelry, as can be seen from the time in which they are held ("in the day time" instead of at evening). These love feasts (*agapai*) are actually a deception (*apatē*).

**C. Outside the NT**

**1. *Didache.*** The *Didache* (cf. Wengst 1984: 43–57) in chaps. 9–10 offers prayers for a church meal which was held on the Lord's day, i.e. on Sunday (*Did.* 14:1), a meal consisting of the breaking of bread (ibid.) and which was called *eucharistia* (9:1, 5). The procedure looks like this: A prayer is spoken, first over the cup of wine (9:2) and then over the bread (9:3–4). There follows, then, in reverse order, the consumption of the bread and wine (cf. 9:5; "eating … drinking"). In conclusion we have an afterdinner prayer (10:1–6), which gives the celebration the character of a regular meal (cf. 10:1: "After you have finished your meal, give thanks in this way"). The contents of these prayers closely resemble the Jewish-Hellenistic table prayers. They suggest that the elements of the meal are life-giving spiritual food (10:3): "To us you have given spiritual food and drink and eternal life through Jesus, your servant." Bread in particular is seen as the symbol of the eschatological gathering of the people of God into one church (9:4: "As this piece of bread was scattered over the hills and then was brought together and made one, so let your church be brought together from the ends of the earth into your kingdom"). Finally, they stress also the eschatological orientation of the entire celebration (10:6 "Let Grace come and let this world pass away … Maranatha"). In 14:1–3 the sacrificial aspect is added which, however, cannot be related generally to prayer and life-style. Directly related to that are the church offices of bishops and deacons, mentioned in 15:1–2. They take over the functions of prophets and teachers and play a role also at the celebration of the Supper.

It could be that this meal has nothing to do with the Agape but rather with a celebration that represents the Lord's Supper functionally, even when the words of Institution and the interpretation seem to be missing. Instead we encounter an idea that leads to the development of independent eucharistic prayers. For that the contours of the account of the Institution of the Lord's Supper ("… blessed it"; "… gave thanks") offered sufficient room for development (with reference to 1 Cor 10:16, see B.1 above; cf. Wehr 1986).

**2. Ignatius.** Ignatius repeatedly refers to the eucharist in his letters (cf. Schoedel 1985: 21–23, 97–99, 240–42; Wehr 1986). In *Eph.* 20:2 he mentions "the medicine of immortality" and "antidote against death" (cf. Christ as the "one physician" in *Eph.* 7:2). Thereby he introduces Hellenistic categories into the Lord's Supper. In *Smyrn.* 7:1 he formulates the confession for his theological opponents with their docetic Christology: "The eucharist is the flesh of our Savior Jesus Christ." The parallel between *eucharistia* and *thysiastērion* (altar of sacrifice in *Phld.* 4:1) suggests a strengthened consciousness with regard to the sacrificial character of the eucharist (Klauck 1982: 154–55).

What is particularly noteworthy is the fact that Ignatius ties the celebration of the eucharist closely to ecclesiastical office. In the absence of the bishop or one of his deputies there is to be no eucharist (*Smyrn.* 8:9). In retrospect that brings out our NT findings in bold relief. In the NT, presiding at the Lord's Supper is not closely connected with any specific office (see B.1.c above).

**3. Justin.** In Justin's *Apol.* 65–67, in which we have the most detailed description of the Lord's Supper in the early church, we encounter a situation that is similar to that of Ignatius. In his *Apol.* 65–67 the administration of the Supper is given over to a leader (*Apol.* 65:3,5; *prohestos*) who speaks the prayer of thanksgiving over the bread and the wine. Deacons distribute the eucharistic offering in the congregation (65:5). In a very difficult idiom Justin in 66:2 compares the efficacy of the prayer of blessing, which changes the bread and the wine into the flesh and blood of Jesus (the incarnation), and then he quotes the words of Institution. The words of interpretation have been reduced to the form: "This is my body," "This is my blood." Thereby the tendency to seek parallels which arise out of liturgical practice, and which in Mark distinguishes itself from Paul, arrives at its ultimate terminus (for bibliography, see Klauck 1986: 139 n. 324).

**D. Religious-Historical Backgrounds**

Religiously significant meals are a universal phenomenon in the history of religions (Bammel 1950), and not only in antiquity. In what follows we can sketch broadly the sociocultural context in which the development of the Christian Lord's Supper took place. Moreover, we need to inquire only about the post-Easter Lord's Supper, and not the Last Supper of Jesus, although they cannot be entirely divorced from each other. Thus, while the Pascha, Toda (Patsch 1972: 24–26, 39–40), the Kiddush and the Chabura (Jeremias 1967: 20–25) are possibly significant for the Last Supper, but are of no concern for our inquiry.

**1. Jewish.** Great significance must be attached to the daily Jewish meals and to Jewish banquets at which wine was used. The breaking of bread, the blessing of the cup, and the appropriate words of prayer have broken out of the framework of Jewish meals and have gradually been ritualized into a cultic rite. Of interest also is the fact that the breaking of the bread, seen terminologically, is found in the OT only in the context of funeral rites for the dead (Jer 16:7; cf. Lam 4:4; Ezek 24:17, 22). For the motif of festal joy (Acts 2:46) one might recall the joy-filled farewell meals of the patriarchs prior to their death (Johansson 1944: 29–38; Reicke 1951: 141–43).

A daily meal with bread and wine (or grape juice) over which a priest pronounces a blessing, is known also in the Qumran community (1QS 6:4–5): "And when a table has been prepared for eating or the new wine for drinking the priest shall be the first to stretch out his hand to bless the first-fruits of the bread and the new wine." In 1QSa 2:17–22 it is connected with the eschatological-messianic expectation. When the congregation gathers at the communal table and the new wine for drinking has been mixed, the priest shall first of all pronounce the blessing over the bread and then "the anointed one of Israel shall stretch out his hand for the bread" (1.20–21). Related are the meals of the Essenes (*JW* 2.8.5 §129–33) and in a broader sense also those of the Therapeutae in Philo *Vita Cont* 36–37 (on the sabbath), 73–74, 81–82 (at the weekly festival); cf. Kuhn 1957: 67–72, 76–77. One can tell from these examples how the anticipation of the end of the age and the separation from the Temple fundamentally enhanced the religious significance of private meals. Early Christian churches that came out of Judaism found themselves in a very similar situation.

It can be shown that as an interpretive model the OT-Jewish sacrificial meals had a pronounced influence on the tradition of the Lord's Supper, in particular the covenant meal in Exod 24:1–11. Nor should one underestimate the contribution of the wisdom literature, where Wisdom as hostess invites

people to a meal (Prov 9:1–6) and in which one can consume wisdom as one does food. That language played into the metaphoric way in which Philo of Alexandria, for example, speaks of eating (cf. *Vita Cont* 35). The Therapeutae are "entertained by Wisdom, who richly and lavishly offers her precepts so that they … hardly partake of the necessary food every six days" (Klauck 1986: 168–72, 184–87).

The metaphorical language used for meals in wisdom literature, together with false views arising from current Hellenistic cults, have had an influence on the mysterious stylized meal settings in the Hellenistic-Jewish conversion novel *Joseph and Aseneth.* Particularly striking is *Jos. Asen.* 19:5: "And a man came to me from heaven and gave me the *bread of life* and I ate and I drank the *cup of blessing*" (cf. 8:11). At other places the "cup of immortality" is found as a kind of pendant (8:5; 15:5; 16:16). In the Psalm of Aseneth the cup is expressly called "the cup of wisdom" (21:21). A wisdom-interpretation of the OT manna tradition also forms the background for the honeycomb from which the angel of God breaks a piece and puts it into the mouth of Aseneth (16:13–15). As a negative counterpart we have the pagan sacrificial meals and the distribution of wine from which Aseneth sets herself off (10:13) and which she interprets as bread that strangles and as a deceptive cup from the table of death (21:14). The concept of a sacred meal in *Jos. Asen.* serves the purpose of portraying the conversion of a proselytess to Judaism, which occurs concurrently with the invitation into a mystery cult and is superior to it (cf. Klauck 1986: 187–96; the numbering of the text according to C. Burchard, *OTP* 2: 177–247).

**2. Pagan.** Religious rites and prayers in part also accompany the daily meals of pagan antiquity. Epictetus recommends that one speak a prayer of thanksgiving for nourishment (*Diss.* 2.23.5). Among the Greeks one finds a drink-offering at the conclusion of the meal for the Agathos Daimon (Athen. 15), whom one must imagine to be the embodiment of the good spirit of the home.

The symposium had a socially-prominent place. The social drinking party of free men, which might be connected with supper, had well-defined ritual forms. The sequence of the main meal, including a drink offering for the gods, philosophical discussions, musical-artistic presentations, speeches and songs at a symposium, could provide a structural equivalent to a church's celebration with a meal (1 Cor 11:20–21): eucharistic double action (1 Cor 10:16–17), worship in word with prophecy, glossolalia, the reading of scripture, interpretation, psalms, songs and prayers (1 Corinthians 14).

The regular form of a Greek sacrifice was the communal offering. It flowed into a festive meal on the part of participants and could, depending on circumstances, be interpreted as if one thought of the deity as host and participant. Meals eaten by the members of the many Hellenistic associations, which looked upon communal dining as their main purpose, and the meals in the cult of the dead, find their basis and foundation in the sacrificial meal. See ASSOCIATIONS, CLUBS, THIASOI. Among other things there was also the memorial meal at which the person of the deceased founder was central (for this entire subject cf. Klauck 1986: 40–91).

The meals in the mystery cults have always drawn special attention (Klauck 1986: 91–166). See MYSTERY RELIGIONS. They do not represent a unified type, however. Rather they integrate items taken from the sacrificial cult and from the societies in a variety of ways (Kane 1975: 321–43). However, one notices a tendency toward a stronger participation in the fortunes of the deity, which can go so far—as it does, for example in the Dionysios cult—to the consumption of the deity itself.

This Hellenistic context (which, incidentally, has left its marks on Diaspora Judaism) must at least be considered as the horizon for the understanding of the Lord's Supper in gentile-Christian churches. It may well be that the clarification of the meaning of sacrament was not left unaffected by this context.

**E. Conclusion**

The practice of the Lord's Supper in the early church and its rapid breakthrough on a broad front is best explained by the fact that it is based on an historical event in the life of Jesus. One needs to take into account the farewell banquet which Jesus celebrated with his disciples in the face of his death and which he used as the occasion to explain the sacrificial service of his life in word and action. At the same time this last meal constitutes the final point in the continuous practice of participation in meals throughout the public ministry of Jesus (cf. Mark 2:15–17 par.; 6:32–44 par.; 14:3 par.; Luke 7:36; 11:37–38; 14:1, 7, 15; 15:1–2; 19:1–10) and receives some of its significance from the numerous images and parables in which

Jesus spoke of the coming banquet at the end of the age (Mark 2:19 par.; Matt 6:11; 8:11 par.; Luke 6:21 par.; 14:15–24 par.; 22:29–30). The determinitive theological impulse for the development of a new Christian meal, which is a kind of recapitulation of the communal eating with Jesus, comes first of all, from the Easter event. On the level of narrative one can detect such in the accounts of the meals which the risen Christ had with his disciples, meals at which he revealed himself. Related to that is the early tendency to tie the Lord's Supper to the Lord's day, to Sunday, as the day of the resurrection (cf. also *Ign. Magn.* 9:10).

Appropriately there may have been initially the dominant conviction that the exalted Lord was present as participant and host at the celebration of the meal in his church. This personal presence must be viewed as the sustaining basis for every form of the presence of the Lord in the sacrament. Besides that, the Lord's Supper was interpreted eschatologically above all in times of acute anticipation, as proleptic presence of the imminent end of the age which, in keeping with apocalyptic expectation, was to culminate in a festal meal. Through the deliberate step back to Jesus' Last Supper, and then, via the Easter event, an event that made the Supper possible, there is added another essential element: the commemoration of the death of Jesus on the cross in its saving power. This aspect of the presence of the death of Jesus was utilized above all by Paul within the framework of his *theologia crucis.*

All these forms of presence are naturally quite real. However, people have gotten into the habit of tying the real presence of the body and blood of Christ to the elements of the supper, i.e., the bread and wine. The words of interpretation in the account of the Institution are intended for this purpose. Within the NT such an understanding of the words of interpretation are to be found in John 6:52–58, possibly also in 1 Cor 10:16–22, certainly in Corinthians, and finally in the account of the Institution itself, if one reads it as cult-aetiology in the form in which Mark and Matthew give it. The significance of this model of interpretation for the ancient and medieval church's teaching on the eucharist is obvious. There is reason to suspect unmistakably the presence of a strong influence of Hellenistic thinking and Hellenistic cult-piety, both in the NT and in early Christian tradition.

Two factors are especially consequential for the external form of the celebration. First, the sacramental rite is separated from the main meal. The isolation of the cultic rite from the church's meal is certainly suggested in the NT, although there it is not yet complete. However, by the time of Justin, at the latest, this separation had become complete and permanent. From that time on eucharist and agape stand disconnected alongside one another. Second, the celebration of the eucharist was closely connected to a church office. In the NT we notice the gradual development of an abundance of official functions and services. These office bearers were certainly present at the Lord's Supper, but nowhere is their service explicitly related to the Supper. That, however, is exactly what happens in the 2d century C.E. in the three-tiered structure of church offices—a structure that is clearly visible from the standpoint of who is responsible to preside at the celebration of the eucharist.

The dialogue concerning the Lord's Supper that is going on today between Christian denominations is in many respects prejudiced by historical processes and decisions that have taken place outside the NT. It is, therefore, all the more necessary for a theological orientation that ecclesiastical tradition should be confronted critically with the witness of the NT. In the light of the NT one could legitimately conceive of several options within given limits.

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**LORD, DAY OF THE.** See DAY OF THE LORD.

**LOST TRIBES, THE.** The 3d century Christian Latin poet Commodian (in the *Carmen* and *Instructiones*) and the author of the *Acts of St. Matthew* may preserve an otherwise lost Jewish apocalyptic and apocryphal work that apparently described the living conditions of the lost ten (or nine and a half) tribes which were taken into exile by the king of Assyria. According to early rabbinics Rabbi Akiba claimed these tribes would not return, but Rabbi Eliezer disagreed, arguing that they shall move from darkness to light (*m. Sanh.* 10.3). We cannot yet be certain that an early Jewish apocryphon existed; but it is clear that the legend was widely known and influential. Did a Jew, perhaps in the late 1st century compose an exegetical expansion based on OT passages, especially 2 Kgs 17:23 (cf. 1 Chr 5:26, Isa 11:11, Jer 31:8, and Ezek 37:19–28)? Around 100 C.E. three Jewish works—namely *4 Ezra* (13: 34–51), *2 Baruch* (77: 17–26), and Josephus' *Antiquities* (11.5)—referred to this legend or document.

If Commodian excerpts this apocryphon in his *Instructiones,* and if the passage that refers to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. is from this Jewish work, then the document must postdate 70, and was probably contemporaneous with *4 Ezra, 2 Baruch,* and the *Antiquities.* The parallels with the *History of the Rechabites* are numerous and significant. M. R. James suggested that "there evidently was a writing (presumably Jewish) which described the conditions under which the lost tribes lived."

The lost tribes live in a place (to the East; *4 Ezra* 13, *2 Bar* 77, *Ant* 11.5) which is not cold but pleasant (Ethiopic *Acts of St. Matthew*), and where a son does not die before his father (Ethiopic *Acts of St. Matthew*, Commodian), where the body suffers neither pain nor sores and dies after a long life and in a state of rest (Commodian). The people of the lost tribes fulfill the Law (*4 Ezra* 13: 42, Commodian), are hidden beyond a river (Commodian; it is called Sambatyon in some Jewish works, e.g. *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Exod 34:10), and shall return to the Land of Israel in order "to rescue their captured mother [=Jerusalem]" (*Hic tamen festinat matrem defendere captam.* Commodian). They desire neither gold nor silver, neither eat flesh (Commodian, Ethiopic *Acts of St. Matthew*) nor drink wine; they are nourished by honey and dew, and drink water flowing from paradise (Ethiopic *Acts of St. Matthew*). A man has one wife, and each is free from sexual lust; they offer their first born to God (Ethiopic *Acts of St. Matthew*). They do not lie (Commodian, Ethiopic *Acts of St. Matthew;* cf. *Hist. Rech.*); and youths do not speak in the presence of adults (Ethiopic *Acts of St. Matthew*). See *PMR*, 147–49.

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**LOT** (PERSON) [Heb *lôṭ* (לוֹט)]. Lot, the nephew of the patriarch Abraham, plays a role in the story of Israel's ancestral origins (Gen 11:26–50:26). The son of Abraham's deceased brother Haran (Gen 11:27–31), he accompanies his uncle on the epic journey to Canaan (Gen 12:4–5). Once there the two eventually separate (Gen 13:1–18). The separation notwithstanding, Abraham later rescues his nephew, who had been captured by foreign kings (Gen 14:1–16). Lot has a more independent part in the account of Sodom and Gomorrah's destruction (Gen 19:1–29). But there is still a connection with Abraham in that Lot's exemption from judgment was due to his relationship to his uncle (Gen 19:29). After his escape from Sodom and the death of his wife (Gen 19:17, 26), his two daughters managed to insure their and his posterity through incestuous relations (Gen 19:30–38). The offspring were the ancestors of the Moabites and Ammonites, who were often enemies of later Israel.

Three times Lot is mentioned in non-narrative texts. Twice in Deuteronomy (2:9, 19) Israel is commanded not to engage Moab or Ammon in battle since the Lord promised them territory for being Lot's children. The other reference (Ps 83:8) lists Lot's children (i.e., Moabites and Ammonites) among Israel's adversaries. In the NT, Lot is viewed as a righteous inhabitant of Sodom and Gomorrah who was greatly vexed by the wickedness of the two cities (2 Pet 2:6–8). Deut 23:3–6 forbids Ammonites and Moabites entry to the assembly of the Lord. But Ruth, who was a Moabite, played a decisive role in the life of Israel (Ruth 4:13–22).

Source critics (*HPT* 263–64; von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 162–69, 210–20; Speiser *Genesis* AB, 77–81, 95–98, 135–46) have assigned most of the Lot material to the Yahwist or J source (Gen 11:28–30; 12:4a; 13:1–5, 7–11a, 13–18; 18:1–33; 19:1–28, 30–38) and a few verses to the Priestly (P) source (Gen 11:27, 31–32; 12:4b–5; 13:6; 13:11b–12; 19:29). Genesis 14 continues to elude classification. Some scholars hold that it is an ancient source (von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 170; Speiser *Genesis* AB, 106; *YGC*, 51), while others argue that it presupposes and therefore is more recent than the other narrative traditions (Kilian 1970: 24–25). In terms of the history of traditions, Lot is dependent on the Abraham-Sarah story everywhere except Genesis 19 (Westermann 1985: 127).

The essential historicity of the Lot pericopes, along with the ancestral narratives to which they belong, was accepted until recently (*BHI*, 103; Speiser *Genesis* AB, 108; Millard and Wiseman 1980). This assessment was based on claims that the names, customs, and socio-cultural background of the stories were parallel to and thus authenticated by actual 2d millennium documents from the ANE (*BHI*, 74–96; *YGC*, 64–109; Dever and Clark *IJH*, 92–102; Selman 1980: 93–99). But the consensus has shifted (Thompson 1974: 315–16; Van Seters 1975; Dever and Clark *IJH*, 102–48; Gottwald 1985: 161–78;

Selman 1980: 99–103), in part because of the alleged lack of methodological rigor practiced by proponents, in part because of the emergence of new data and new interpretations of old data, and in part because of the growing awareness of the particular literary nature of the biblical traditions. It has also been common to view the patriarchal traditions as tribal histories told as individual histories (McKane 1979: 67–104). However, at best the question of the historicity of the traditions in which Lot appears is presently at an impasse.

For the last few years scholars have emphasized interpreting biblical narratives like those in which Lot appears along more literary and canonical lines. Without denying that there has been a long history of the various strands of the Lot traditions or that the story is composed of many separate sources and discrete units (Coats *Genesis* FOTL, 97–148), the final form is also a datum to be taken seriously (Alter 1981; Sternberg 1985; Clines 1978: 7–15; Miscall 1983: 1–10; *IOTS*, 1979). Whatever original purposes such traditions might have had—historical, etiological, legitimation of social, political or religious practices or ideas—they have now been put into a form of "poetics" (Sternberg 1985: 2) in which they function primarily as a work of literature with corresponding aesthetic, theological, and religious features.

From this perspective, Lot's importance in the story of Abraham and Sarah transcends the fact that he just happens to be a relative of the patriarch. In the narrative in its present form his role is strategic from the outset. Only a couple of verses after learning that Haran was Lot's father, we are informed that Abraham's wife Sarah was barren (Gen 11:27–30; Brueggemann *Genesis* IBC, 95–96). The couple's childlessness is highlighted by Lot's very presence. In a story which will soon turn on God's promise of a son and innumerable descendants (Gen 12:2, 7; 13:14–16; 15:1–6, 13, 18; 17:5–8, 16, 19–20; 18:10, 13–14; 21:1–7; 22:15–18), the fact that Sarah is barren while Abraham's brother already has a son (without any divine promise!) enriches the texture of the narrative. First the narrator subtly contrasts Abraham's childlessness with the fact of his brother's offspring. Later, Lot will be a nagging reminder that God's promise of progeny is yet to be fulfilled.

Abraham's allowing Lot to travel with him to Canaan cannot therefore be dismissed as an incidental detail (Alter 1981: 79–80) or merely as a preparation for chaps. 13 and 19 (von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 157; Speiser *Genesis* AB, 97; Westermann 1985: 152). God commanded Abraham to leave his country (*ʾereṣ*), kin (*môledet*) and father's house (*bēt ʾāb*) (Gen 12:1). Was Abraham then wrong to bring Lot along? Typically, interpreters have viewed this as an example of Abraham's sense of responsibility toward his brother's family (Speiser *Genesis* AB, 98). But it may perhaps more readily be seen as the first example of disobedience or weak faith on the part of Abraham. Abraham and Sarah certainly move back and forth constantly between faith and doubt, obedience and disobedience (cf. Gen 12:10–20; 16:1–16; 17:15–18; 18:9–15). Also, every episode in which Lot has a role is at best ambiguous and at worst negative relative to the future God has in mind for Israel's ancestors.

Once in Canaan, the first encounter between Abraham and Lot is problematic (Genesis 13). Their success in acquiring possessions (Gen 12:5, 16; 13:1–2, 5–6) leads their respective herdsmen to quarrel, thus obliging uncle and nephew to separate (Gen 13:5–7). When Abraham offered to allow his kinsman first choice of the land, taking whatever was left for himself, Lot opted for territory which the narrator distinguishes from Canaan (Gen 13:11–12; Helyer 1983: 79–80). What makes this significant is the possible if not probable intimation that Abraham brought Lot along with him in the first place not out of some sense of family responsibility (Westermann 1985: 176), but because he saw Lot initially as a security deposit toward God's promise of nationhood (Gen 12:2) and secondly as a potential heir for the land that was promised (Gen 12:7). It is instructive that immediately after Lot leaves, God appears and promises Abraham that Canaan will be given to *his* descendants, conspicuously excluding the nephew (Gen 13:14–17). It must be remembered that Abraham thought of the slave Eliezer (Gen 15:2) and later his son by Hagar (Gen 17:18) as potential heirs, even though this went against God's explicit statements. So Abraham gave Lot first choice not so much on the basis of a pious generosity which has the effect of emphasizing Lot's greed (von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 166–67) or because of his strong belief in the promise of land (Brueggemann *Genesis* IBC, 130). Rather, he was thinking in terms of Lot's proleptic inheritance of the land.

However, even after the separation Abraham is jeopardized by Lot's presence in the vicinity. When his nephew is captured by the alliance that attacked the cities of the plain (Gen 14:8–12), Abraham felt he had to intervene (Westermann 1985: 199). While his rescue attempt was successful, it involved a military venture which could have had disastrous results and in any case forced him to stray far from the land of promise (Gen 14:14–16). In the end Abraham (and God's plan) suffered no ill effects, but the episode would have been completely unnecessary had the patriarch left Lot home in the first instance.

Even in the story which focuses on Lot and his family almost exclusively, the ancestral saga remains in focus. There are two explicit connections. One is the similarity of the hospitality type-scenes (Alter 1981: 47–62) at the beginning of Genesis 18 and 19. Another is the notation that Lot was spared on account of his relationship to Abraham (Gen 19:29). In this light, Abraham's famous debate with God over the ethics of destroying the righteous with the guilty is telling (Gen 18:22–33). Why does Abraham argue in this vein? Is he simply making an abstract argument that God on principle should judge fairly (von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 207; Speiser *Genesis* AB, 135; Westermann 1985: 286)? Is he obliquely "instructing" God that there is another way to respond to sin than *quid pro quo* (Brueggemann *Genesis* IBC, 168–69)? The omniscient narrator (Sternberg 1985: 84–128; Alter 1981: 155–77) after all has long since informed us that Sodom and Gomorrah would in fact be destroyed (Gen 13:10), something which is also already in God's mind (Gen 18:17). God therefore broaches the subject with Abraham not simply because of the future greatness of the patriarch (Gen 18:17–19), but also to see how he responds, which explains why God puts the question to Abraham as though the decision were not yet made (Gen 18:20–21). To be sure, God's action here is based on Abraham's future role as a teacher of righteousness and justice in Israel. But the placement of the episode between another example of unfaithfulness (Gen 18:9–15) and a judgment potentially involving Abraham's nephew, links the matter of righteousness and justice to Abraham's concrete circumstances. In a sense, God is forcing Abraham to ponder justice and righteousness for intensely personal reasons, since there was apparently no possibility that destruction would be averted (Gen 13:10; 18:17; Westermann 1985: 292). How else could he become a teacher of righteousness and justice to his children?

Abraham responded positively and negatively to this "test." Positively, he deplores the possibility of destroying the innocent with the guilty—he does know something about justice and righteousness. Negatively, and doubtless more to the point, he is attempting to talk God out of indiscriminate destruction because he knew of Lot's presence there (Gen 13:10–12; 14:11–14). Abraham had to present his case abstractly, for were he more specific he would naturally have called attention to his awareness that Lot dwelt in one of the targeted cities. That in turn would underscore his initial disobedience to the very deity with whom he was bargaining. Only when Abraham is assured that God will not judge indiscriminately, does he stop debating and leave (Gen 18:33). Has Abraham concluded that he has succeeded in saving Lot by demonstrating a theoretical understanding of justice and righteousness, without the embarrassment of having had to mention his nephew by name? It seems so. But that God was only testing Abraham and not seeking his advice is shown by the fact that later Lot is removed from the city. Presumably, had Abraham's logic been the determinative factor, the whole city would have been saved by the presence of one or more righteous person(s) (Gen 18:26).

In the account of the destruction of the cities of the plain, Lot is the protagonist, not simply a supporting actor (Westermann 1985: 299). In this role he demonstrates a quality of character that measures up to his uncle's. His hospitality toward the divine visitors is equal to that which Abraham extended (Gen 18:1–8; 19:1–11); indeed, it may surpass it in that he goes to great lengths to protect his visitors from the wicked inhabitants of the city (cf. Judg 19:22–26). Though the visitors end up saving Lot rather than the other way around (19:9–11), his effort cannot be faulted. In spite of Lot's actions, however, he seems to be rescued only partially for his hospitality (19:19). The main accent falls on his relationship to Abraham (19:29), as though he would have been rescued no matter what his behavior (or Abraham's argument) had been. This is illustrated by his ineptitude, his reluctance to follow instructions precisely, and the fate of his wife (19:9, 14, 16–22, 26).

The story of Lot ends on an ironic note. Though he was rescued, there is still a final consequence to Abraham's having brought him to Canaan in the first place. After escaping to Zoar, Lot became frightened and repaired to a cave in the nearby hills to live with his daughters (Gen 19:30). The older daughter, apparently believing that they were the world's last survivors (Gen 19:31), suggested to her younger sister that they get their father drunk and sleep with him to preserve offspring. This the sisters do, resulting in two sons being born: Moab and Ben-ammi (Gen 19:33–38). Although the kinship ties with Abraham guaranteed a measure of future blessing to the offspring of these incestuous unions (Deut 2:9, 19), just as Abraham's offspring by Hagar also received a blessing (Gen 16:10; 21:17–18), that did not obviate the fact that in the future Israel's neighbors Moab and Ammon would be persistent enemies (Ps 83:8; Numbers 22–24; Judg 3:12–30; 1 Sam 11:1–11; Amos 1:13–15). This would serve as a poignant reminder of the first act of disobedience committed by their ancestral father Abraham. Whether Lot is to be seen as sinful in this story or not (von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 219; Brueggemann *Genesis* IBC, 176), the end result of his and his family's actions would not have been deleterious for Israel were it not for Abraham's initial failure. A further irony may be seen in the contrast between the way Lot's future was finally secured and the way Abraham's and Sarah's was (Genesis 21).

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**LOTAN** (PERSON) [Heb *lôṭān* (לוֹטָן)]. A son of Seir "the Horite" (Gen 36:20, 22, 29; 1 Chr 1:38–9), the father of Hori and Heman, and the brother of Timna (Gen 36:22). See also SEIR. As can be concluded from the tribal leader (Heb *ʾallûp*) mentioned for Lotan and his brothers in Gen 36:29–30, the "sons of Seir" were a group of tribes which formed a major segment of Edomite society in the 7th century B.C. See also HORITES. The tribal name may refer to a special garment worn by this particular tribe; cf. Heb *lôṭ*, "veil"; Akk *lîṭu* II, "some sort of cloth" (*AHW* 558); Eth *loṭä*, "change/put on clothes" (Leslau 1987: 321).

It is tempting to regard Abraham's nephew Lot (Genesis 13; 19) as the eponymous ancestor of this tribe. In this case, the Abraham people who may have come from the N (Knauf 1985: 46) came to an understanding with the indigenous Lot people after their arrival in the Hebron region (Gen 13: 5–13), and later witnessed the Lot people's retreat from the Wadi ʿArabah into the E mountain range (Gen 19:17–19, 30). As a pastoral group which lived on both sides of Wadi ʿArabah in the LB/early Iron Age and joined Edom in the later Iron Age, Lot/Lotan has a parallel in Reuel (Knauf 1988: 158–9; and cf. Ahlström 1986: 58–60).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**LOTHASUBUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Lōthasoubos* (Λωθασουβος)]. A leader of the people who participated in the assembly of the returned exiles when Ezra read the law of Moses (1 Esdr 9:44). His prominence in the community is suggested by his position on the platform with Ezra. In the parallel Neh 8:4, the name "Hashum" appears in place of "Lothasubus."

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**LOTUS.** See FLORA, BIBLICAL.

**LOVE.** This entry consists of two articles, one covering "love" as it is used in the Hebrew Bible, and the other covering "love" as it is used in the New Testament.

## *OLD TESTAMENT*

The word love in English translations of the OT may represent any one of a variety of Hebrew terms. In translation, love appears with the wide range of meanings usually associated with this term in English usage: affection, friendship, loyalty, desire, liking, attachment. Yet each of the two commonly used Hebrew terms has a range of meanings that extends beyond the usual range of the English word love, and the range of meaning of the Hebrew terms overlaps but is not fully synonymous. The meaning of each Hebrew term is therefore best described separately.

The Hebrew terms translated by English love include the frequent noun *ḥesed,* the frequent verb *ʾāhēb* and its related nominal and adjectival forms, the less common nouns *dôd* and *raʿyâ,* the adjective *yādîd,* and the infrequent verb *ḥāšaq.*

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A. *dôd* and *raʿyâ*
B. *yādîd*
C. *ḥāšaq*
D. *ʾāhēb*
1. Secular Usage: Love Between Human Beings
    2. Love of Things and Qualities
    3. Religious Usage
    4. Theological Usage: God's Love
E. *ḥesed*
    1. Secular Usage: *ḥesed* Between Individuals
    2. Theological Usage: God's *ḥesed*
    3. Religious Usage: Human *ḥesed* to God and Neighbor

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### A. *dôd* and *raʿyâ*

Although in a number of occurrences *dôd* is the term for a paternal uncle (father's brother), its more frequent usage is for a man loved by a woman in a relationship anticipating marriage. Thus the term is most often translated "beloved" or "betrothed." The word in this meaning appears regularly in Canticles (e.g., 1:13, 14, 16; 2:3, 8, 9, etc.), a series of love poems celebrating the beauty of a betrothed couple in one another's eyes and the joys of their tender and intimate relationship. Connotations are personal, physical and sexual. Whatever literal or symbolic interpretation of these poems one adopts, these connotations of *dôd* remain constant. Outside of Canticles the meaning "beloved" for this term appears only in Isa 5:1.

The companion term for *dôd* in Canticles is *raʿyâ,* the term used for the woman as beloved in this intimate relationship (e.g., Cant 1:9, 15; 2:2, 10, 13). As with *dôd, raʿyâ* is peculiar to Canticles, with no clearly attested example outside this book.

### B. *yādîd*

An adjective sometimes also used as a noun, *yâdîd* appears primarily in poetic passages in the Hebrew text. Most often the poet uses the word to refer to all or some part of the people of Israel as the beloved of God. Although the number of occurrences (less than 10 times) is not sufficient to draw a clear conclusion, the frequent association of this term with concern for the safety provided by divine protection is

noteworthy. Ps 60:7—Eng 60:5 (= Ps 108:7—Eng 108:6) petitions God to come to the rescue of the beloved oppressed by military enemies; Deut 33:12 speaks of the tribe of Benjamin as beloved and therefore protected by God; Jer 11:15 challenges the false sense of security of God's beloved people who think that temple worship will avert God's judgment upon their unfaithfulness. Ps 127:2 refers primarily to individuals, but here too the theme of divine protection is present in the context.

**C. *ḥāšaq***

This rare *Qal* verb has only five clear occurrences, but they span the range of secular, theological (God as subject), and religious usage. All the examples connote the desire of one party for permanent attachment to the other. Gen 34:8 speaks of Shechem's longing for Dinah, the young woman he hopes to marry. This longing includes a sexual component, since he has already "seized her" (RSV) and had sexual relations (v 2). Connotations of affection are possibly also included, since the text suggests that Shechem liked her more rather than less after he had forced himself upon her. In the other secular example of the term (Deut 21:11) appearance and physical desire are presumably primary factors, given the context of victorious warriors' selection of female prisoners as potential wives. The term is used of God's love for Israel in Deut 7:7 and 10:15; in both instances the more common term *ʾhb* (see below) also appears and the two should be understood synonymously. Finally, in Ps 91:14 deliverance is promised to the one who loves God.

**D. *ʾāhēb***

This verb together with its cognate nouns occurs over 200 times in Hebrew Scripture. The pointing of the verb is generally *Qal,* with both stative and active forms. The *Qal* active participle is often translated "friend," while the root appears a number of times as a *Piʿel* participle with the meaning of "illicit lover." The verb can refer to love between human beings, to love of concrete things or behavioral qualities, to human love for God, or to God's love for individuals or groups. The frequent cognate noun *ʾahăbâ,* formed in the typical way for a Hebrew abstract noun, has the same range of usage. Positive or negative evaluation of love depends on the appropriateness of its object.

**1. Secular Usage: Love Between Human Beings.** The term is frequently used for the desire or attraction of one person to another of the opposite sex, with the end goal sometimes marriage, but sometimes primarily a sexual encounter. Examples resulting in marriage include Jacob's love for Rachel (Gen 29:18), and Michal's love for David (1 Sam 18:20). Focus on sexual desire is illustrated by Amnon's love for Tamar (2 Samuel 13) that results in rape. Often the balance between abiding attachment, romantic feeling, and sexual attraction cannot be clearly determined from a text; this ambiguity may well reflect the ambiguity of the situation such texts describe.

The word also refers to the positive feeling of attachment of one person for another in familial relationships, such as a husband's love for his wife (e.g., Elkanah and Hannah, 1 Sam 1:5), love of mother or father for child (Abraham and Isaac, Gen 22:2; Rebekah and Jacob, Gen 25:28), or love of a daughter-in-law for her mother-in-law (Ruth 4:15). These uses seem to focus on affection, care, and delight. A number of examples express explicit preference for one family member over another.

A specialized and important nuance of love between human beings, not normal to English usage, is its connotation of political loyalty. This usage is well illustrated in extra-biblical political texts of the 2d and 1st millennia from various parts of the ancient Near East outside of Israel (Moran 1963: 78–80), and is seen in the OT especially in the narratives concerning David, where we read that David is loved not only by Michal, but also by Saul (1 Sam 16:21), by Saul's servants (1 Sam 18:22), by all Israel and Judah (18:16), by all Israel (18:28, following the LXX), and by Jonathan (18:1, 3; 20:17; 2 Sam 1:26). This range of persons and groups who love David requires at least that the term be extended to include admiration of his special qualities, such as musical ability or military prowess. More than that, there are clear political overtones. Jonathan's love for David "as [Jonathan] loved himself" involves committing himself not just to David personally, but also to David's political cause (Fishbane 1970: 314); this love is the narrator's cue to the reader that even the potential blood heir to Saul's throne has cast his lot with God's anointed successor David. The references to the love of "all Israel" and of "all Israel and Judah" for

David continue this nuance of political loyalty, and it is seen subsequently in the reference to Hiram of Tyre as David's *ʾōhēb* (*Qal* part., "friend"), his political ally.

**2. Love of Things and Qualities.** That which a person loves may classify the person as upright or wicked, wise or foolish. In such contexts the word carries the general connotation of setting one's heart and mind upon the object mentioned, giving it special attention or dedicating oneself to pursuing it. References to such things or qualities occur primarily in Psalms and Proverbs, but also in prophetic literature. Material goods are mentioned only infrequently as objects of love (e.g., wine and oil, Prov 21:17; silver, Eccl 5:9—Eng5:10), and even these seem to function symbolically to indicate the person's attitude or focus in life. Much more common as objects of the verb are qualities or abstractions related to the life of the upright believer: righteousness (Ps 45:8—Eng 45:7), God's law (Ps 119:97) or commandments (Ps 119:47), pureness of heart (Prov 22:11), wisdom (Prov 29:3), good (Amos 5:15), truth and peace (Zech 8:19). By contrast there are other things it is obviously undesirable for people to love, such as evil (Ps 52:5—Eng 52:3), lying (Ps 119:163), strife (Prov 17:19).

**3. Religious Usage: a. Human Love for God.** A series of texts concentrated especially in Deuteronomy exhorts and indeed commands that Israel shall love God. The classic example comes in the commandment that concludes the *Shĕmaʿ* in Deut 6:4–5: "you shall love the LORD your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your might." This love that can be commanded by another has its conceptual roots, like the love of Jonathan, Israel, and Judah for David (see above), in the rhetoric of international relations in the ANE of the period, rather than from the sphere of conjugal intimacy. Rulers write to their equals with whom they are in treaty relationship concerning the importance of love; a ruler may command subject vassals to show love to the ruler as expression of their faithfulness to a treaty of protection provided by the ruler. Deuteronomy speaks of Israel's love for God in the context of the covenant established at Sinai, using terminology familiar from the political rhetoric of the culture. Here the love that God commands from Israel is not primarily a matter of intimate affection, but is to be expressed by obedience to God's commandments, serving God, showing reverence for God, and being loyal to God alone (10:12; 11:1, 22; 30:16). Despite the demand formulation, however, the inclusion of love in this series of requirements probably highlights the willingness with which Israel should walk with God.

Deuteronomy's usage of love as a duty owed to God in the covenant context probably had its roots not only in Near Eastern secular political terminology, but also in Israel's own early covenant vocabulary, since Deuteronomy 6 develops its emphasis by references to the Decalogue (Moran 1963: 84–87), generally taken to be much older than Deuteronomy. In the second commandment God offers "steadfast love (*ḥesed*, see below) to thousands of those who love (*ʾhb*) me and keep my commandments" (Exod 20:6 = Deut 5:10); Deut 6:5, 17 make allusion to this phrase.

**b. Love of Neighbor and Stranger.** Two important passages command the love of neighbor (Lev 19:18) and of stranger (Lev 19:34; Deut 10:19). Lev 19:34 seeks to bring "stranger" into the realm of "neighbor" by insisting that strangers be treated as native Israelites. Jesus cites the Leviticus 19 command to love the neighbor along with the Deuteronomy 6 command to love God in response to the question about the first or great commandment (Mark 12:29–31 [= Matt 22:37–39; Luke 10:27]). Despite the rarity of OT reference to love of neighbor, Israel's tradition strongly emphasized practical assistance as the right way of relating to others, especially the weak and underprivileged. As Rücker (1981: 14–15) suggests, this emphasis on practical action rather than on personal feeling may account for the rarity of formal reference to love of neighbor.

**4. Theological Usage: God's Love.** Love shown by God to an individual or to Israel is mentioned less than 25 times. Nevertheless, the concept of God's love is an important aspect of OT thought (especially when God's *ḥesed* is also considered: see below). Only Solomon is singled out as a named individual loved by God, and the early form of this claim (2 Sam 12:24) seems associated with an explanation of his alternate name "Beloved of the LORD" (from a different Hebrew root). References to Jacob as loved by God focus on the people as a whole, not the individual ancestor (Ps 47:5—Eng 47:4; Mal 1:2). In a number of examples God's love for the people is especially associated with the election of Israel and the

ransom or redemption of Israel from its enemies. Deut 4:37, for example, joins God's love of Israel's ancestors with the choosing of their descendants; Isa 43:4 and 48:14 speak of God's love for Jacob/Israel in the context of redemption, ransom, and the defeat of Babylon. Although the Psalms make clear that God loves righteous persons (Ps 146:8) and righteousness and justice (Ps 33:5; 37:28), the persistence of God's love despite Israel's failings is highlighted in Jer 31:3: "I have loved you with an everlasting love."

A special play on the imagery of God's love for Israel appears in Hosea, who moves beyond general references (14:5—Eng 14:4) to root his usage explicitly in the nuances of familial relationships, especially the love of husband for wife (Hos 3:1) and parent for child (11:1). In both these texts the election/redemption theme is also prominent. The covenant between God and Israel, expounded in its fundamental political imagery in Deuteronomy (see above), is elaborated in Hosea using the imagery of a marriage relationship. The use of marriage imagery for the God-Israel relationship in Jeremiah 2–3 and Ezekiel 16 and 23 probably developed from Hosea's usage. A husband's authority over his wife, presupposed in Israel's culture, allows Hosea (and Ezekiel and Jeremiah) to maintain the political pattern of ruler (God) and subject (Israel) while at the same time highlighting caring and intimacy as appropriate aspects of the covenant relationship. Hosea focuses on the frustration of God with Israel's constant searching after other "lovers" (*mĕʾahăbîm* [*Piʿel* part.], 2:7, 9, 12, 14, 15—Eng2:5, 7, 10, 12, 13) to provide material sustenance. These references to Israel's lovers generally point to other gods, and the imagery of adultery and harlotry underscores Hosea's stinging criticism of the cultic sexual activity he associates with the worship of Canaanite fertility deities. The mention of hired "lovers" (*ʾăhābîm* [noun], 8:9) focuses on other nations as a source of military aid alternative to reliance upon the LORD. Here the political connotation of love resurfaces, but the imagery of marital unfaithfulness may continue in the background. Beyond Israel's futile search for security apart from God and God's judgment of this infidelity, it is God's love rather than any achievement by Israel that makes possible restoration of the covenant/marriage relationship (Hos 3:1; Jer 31:3).

**E. *ḥesed***

A frequent noun (approximately 250 times) in the OT, *ḥesed* has no verbal counterpart. The noun itself is frequently the object of the verb "to do" (*ʿśh*). Neither the cognate languages (Sakenfeld 1978: 16–21) nor the ancient versions (Goodman 1968) provide any significant help in interpreting the Hebrew term.

No one English term corresponds precisely to the Heb *ḥesed,* and the exact nuances of the term have been much debated. The King James Version (1611) sometimes used "kindness" or "loving kindness" (following the Coverdale Bible of 1535), but most frequently translated "mercy," as suggested by the regular rendering *eleos* in the LXX. The Revised Standard Version translators decided on four categories for translation: "kindness" in references to a particular act of one person toward another; " (deal) loyally" in reference to continuing behavior of one person toward another; "steadfast love" or "love" in reference to God's consistent behavior toward individuals or Israel; and "love," "devotion," "faithfulness," or "loyalty" (according to context) in reference to Israel or individuals in relation to God (Hyatt 1953: 20–21). Sakenfeld (1985) preferred the noun "loyalty," although she highlighted many discontinuities between the English and Hebrew words. Because of the inadequacies of all these English options, this article uses the transliterated Hebrew term rather than any one of the English words, each of which is misleading in a different direction.

Modern investigation of the meaning of the term began with the study by Nelson Glueck that quickly became a classic. Glueck (1927: 3) summarized the meaning of *ḥesed* in its secular usage as "conduct in accord with a mutual relationship of rights and duties"; he also emphasized the mutual or reciprocal and the obligatory character of the term in its religious usage for persons in relation to each other and to God (Glueck 1927: 34). Glueck did view God's *ḥesed* as a gift, rather than as a right, yet the mutuality of the relationship between God and the recipient of *ḥesed* remained central to his analysis (1927: 52). More recent scholarship has questioned and largely abandoned Glueck's emphasis on rights and duties as quasi-legal or traditional-cultural categories within which the term should be interpreted, and has greatly modified his understanding of mutuality by deemphasizing reciprocity. Nonetheless, Glueck's emphasis

on the centrality of a relationship between the parties within which *ḥesed* is offered and received remains a basic and lasting contribution.

Elements contributing to a fresh understanding of the term include recognition of the importance of the existence of superior and inferior parties in a relationship when *ḥesed* is done (Masing 1954), an emphasis on unilateral assistance in a situation of special need (Sidney Hills, unpublished 1957 paper quoted in Sakenfeld 1978: 11–12), and greater attention to the specific types of relationships and circumstances in which *ḥesed* is done (Sakenfeld 1978 and 1985).

Three general aspects of the term may be noted before turning to subcategories of usage. First, *ḥesed* is not associated with inanimate objects or concepts (contrast love [*ʾhb*] of silver or righteousness; see above); it always involves persons. Second, *ḥesed* is requested of or done for another with whom one is already in relationship; the term does not appear in contexts where no relationship between the parties has been established. Third, *ḥesed* in its most basic form is a specific action, but from a series of such actions the term may also be abstracted to refer to an attitude that is given concrete shape in such actions.

**1. Secular Usage: *ḥesed* Between Individuals.** The secular meaning of *ḥesed* in stories of relationships between individuals remains reasonably constant across the various authors and periods of OT prose narrative. It is useful to distinguish between *ḥesed* in intimately personal relationships, usually familial, and in sociologically secondary relationships, usually political.

Intimate personal relationships in which an act of *ḥesed* is requested or done for another include Sarah and her husband Abraham (Gen 20:13), Abraham and his kinsmen Bethuel and Laban (Gen 24:49), Jacob and his son Joseph (Gen 47:29), and Ruth and her mother-in-law Naomi and Naomi's family (Ruth 3:10). Also to be considered in this category are ties between rulers and key court officials, notably Abner and Ishbaal (2 Sam 3:8) and David and Hushai (2 Sam 16:17). From such narratives a series of common features can be identified that together describe the character of an act of *ḥesed* and provide a baseline for assessment of other usage (Sakenfeld 1978: 44–45). First, the help of another is essential; the person in need cannot perform the action. Second, help itself is essential; the needy person's situation will turn drastically for the worse if help is not received. Third, the circumstances dictate that one person is uniquely able to provide the needed assistance; there is no ready alternative if help is not forthcoming from this source. Fourth, the person in need has no control over the decision of the person who is in a position to help, and there are no legal sanctions for failure to provide help; often no one else will even know of a negative decision. The potential helper must make a free moral decision, based essentially on commitment to the needy person within the relationship. While self-interest might occasionally encourage a positive response, the term *ḥesed* focuses the rationale for action on commitment to the other, not on advantage to the actor. Each of the English translational options—love, loyalty, kindness, and even the less viable mercy—highlights some of these characteristics of *ḥesed* while severely underplaying others of them; the possibilities and limitations of the English words are further heightened when the following examples of human *ḥesed* are considered.

An act of *ḥesed* may also be performed or requested in the context of secondary, non-intimate relationships. Examples include Joseph and the Pharaoh's Cup-bearer (Gen 40:14), Ahab and the Syrian ruler Ben-hadad (1 Kgs 20:31), Rahab and the spies sent by Joshua (Josh 2:12–14), Abraham and Abimelech of Gerar (Gen 21:23), David and the Ammonite king Hanun (2 Sam 10:1–2a = 1 Chr 19:1–2). In these narratives the person requesting *ḥesed* is careful to show that the relationship between the parties is in good repair, sometimes by pointing to an act of *ḥesed* done by the suppliant on a prior occasion when the relative circumstances of need of the parties were reversed. This overt emphasis on the quality of the relationship stands in contrast to the narratives featuring intimate personal ties, where requests for *ḥesed* are simply made and no reason for compliance is proposed; the requests in such cases are based on the very nature of the relationship, which need not be mentioned. In the secondary relationships there is more frequently a potential for self-interest in an actor's willingness to offer *ḥesed* (although the focus remains on commitment to the other); and in some of the examples the strength or even existence of a prior relationship between the parties has been disputed (Kellenberger 1982: 50–52, 118–20). The central

features of critical situational need, unique opportunity to assist, and freedom of decision are common to *ḥesed* in both intimate and secondary relationships.

As with the term *ʾhb* (see above) there is a concentration of usage of the term *ḥesed* in the David narratives and especially in describing David's relationship with Jonathan (I Sam 20:8, 14–15; 2 Sam 9:1, 3, 7); and as with *ʾhb* the narrator's use of *ḥesed* calls the reader's attention to both the personal and the political dimensions of the relationship between these two men. David and Jonathan enter into a covenant relationship (1 Samuel 18) which not only seals their personal friendship but also introduces the political complexities of their interaction as two potential successors to Saul's throne (Jonathan by blood descent, David by divine anointing). Jonathan does *ḥesed* for David by informing him of Saul's murderous plans; David does *ḥesed* for Jonathan after Jonathan's death by bringing Jonathan's son Meribaal back from exile to live at the royal court.

It is important to note that in all examples *ḥesed* is done by the circumstantially more powerful person in a particular situation and is requested or received by the circumstantially less powerful person. The giver and receiver of *ḥesed* within a relationship are always determined by the immediate circumstances, not necessarily by the established roles of the participants. Hence in circumstances of need conforming to their established cultural roles, the Jabesh Gileadites did *ḥesed* for their ruler Saul (2 Sam 2:5). But in circumstantial reversal of cultural roles, Abraham the husband requests *ḥesed* from his socially subordinate wife Sarah; David the king receives *ḥesed* from his politically subordinate adviser Hushai. The critical need of one of the parties, not the role, is always the criterion for identifying the recipient of *ḥesed.*

**2. Theological Usage: God's *ḥesed.*** The combination of factors involved in *ḥesed* in human interaction provides the basis for understanding its theological use and suggests why it became a central term for expressing God's relationship to Israel. Israel understood God to be committed to the community in covenant relationship as the One who provided for all needs, yet One also always free and uncoercible. The Hebrew term *ḥesed* compactly incorporates all three of these dimensions (commitment, provision for need, freedom) in a single word. This shorthand theological claim is given various emphases, however, in different streams of OT literature (Sakenfeld 1985: 39–82).

Within the theological stream of the Sinai or Mosaic covenant tradition, *ḥesed* highlights the freedom of God within the covenant relationship. Paradigmatic for this perspective is the decalogue's description of the LORD as One who brings judgment on those who "hate" God, but who shows *ḥesed* to those who "love" God (*ʾhb,* see above) and keep God's commandments (Exod. 20:5b–6 = Deut 5:9b–10). Here God's *ḥesed* is conditional, dependent upon the good repair of the covenant relationship that it is up to Israel to maintain. The need-providing content of this divine *ḥesed* receives some concreteness within this Mosaic covenant tradition in the deuteronomic picture of divine blessings: in fulfillment of the ancestral promises Israel will become a numerous people living in safety in the land given them by God. By contrast, Jer 16:5b speaks of the withdrawal of God's *ḥesed* in the face of Israel's disobedience; the consequences are life without gladness, decimation of the people by death with no time for burials or mourning, and exile to an unknown land.

But even the Mosaic covenant tradition does not make God's *ḥesed* completely dependent upon Israel's obedience; rather, it stretches the meaning of the term beyond its usual secular usage to incorporate the possibility of forgiveness as an act of divine *ḥesed.* (The term *ḥesed* is never related to forgiveness in secular examples.) Narratively this possibility is introduced immediately after the conditional statement of the decalogue, in the context of the apostasy of the Golden Calf (Exodus 32–34). As part of God's response to this apostasy, Moses hears the Lord's self-proclamation as One who is "merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abounding in *ḥesed* and faithfulness, keeping *ḥesed* for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin," even though sin will not be ignored and there will be punishment for iniquity (Exod 34:6b–7). Even in the face of the ultimate apostasy—worship of other gods—God does not end the relationship but offers the possibility of pardon. The phrasing of this proclamation was probably very ancient and was surely basic to Israel's liturgical life, as is apparent by its use in the Psalms (e.g., 86:15; 103:8), as well as in late texts such as Ezra's prayer (Neh 9:17b) or Jonah's protest to God (Jonah

4:2). The phrase "abounding in (Heb *rab*) *ḥesed*" is used only in reference to God and appears regularly in contexts involving divine forgiveness. Thus "abounding in *ḥesed"* conveys the essential way in which divine *ḥesed* moves beyond the normal parameters of *ḥesed* in human relationships. Forgiveness springs from God's radical commitment to the relationship with Israel (and indeed with all humankind, as the story of Jonah is meant to show). God's forgiveness fulfills a "need" that is basic to all other needs within the divine-human relationship—the very possibility of the continuation of the relationship. Forgiveness comes as a freely offered act and gift from God.

Yet in this Mosaic tradition, the emphasis on God's freedom means that continuation of the relationship never seemed fully assured. The interpretation of divine *ḥesed* by two other streams of Israelite covenant tradition, God's perpetual covenant with the Davidic line (so-called "royal" theology) and God's perpetual covenant with Abraham and his descendants as developed in the P strand of the Pentateuch, provides a theological counterpoint with greater emphasis on the commitment of God to Israel.

God's irrevocable commitment to David's line is described as God's *ḥesed* to David, especially in Psalm 89 and 2 Samuel 7. The underlying political imagery from ancient Near Eastern culture is that of a "royal grant," in which a royal figure gives to a faithful servant land and the right of his descendants to control it in perpetuity (Weinfeld 1970: 185–88). God by analogy grants to the faithful David and his descendants perpetual rule over the nation-state of Judah. Psalm 89 praises the incomparable Creator of the universe, whose throne is founded on justice and righteousness, before whom stand *ḥesed* and faithfulness almost as divine attendants (v 15—Eng v 14). Within this larger context of *ḥesed* as divine commitment to created order rather than chaos, God's perpetual and irrevocable commitment to the Davidic line is presented as divine *ḥesed* (vv 25, 29, 34—Eng vv 24, 28, 33). The relationship will be like that between father and first-born son, the covenant will stand firm, the line will be secure as the very heavens, and all enemies will be defeated. Even if disobedient rulers must be chastised, God swears that the relationship itself will endure: "I will not remove from him my *ḥesed,* or be false to my faithfulness. I will not violate my covenant, or alter the word that went forth from my lips" (vv 34–35—Eng vv 33–34).

In a similar vein, the deuteronomistic author of 2 Sam 7:11b–16 insists on the perpetual establishment of God's relationship with David. Here the word "covenant" is conspicuous by its absence; this author refers to covenant only in reference to the whole people, never to the king alone. Nevertheless, the passage describes a special relationship with the royal line, a relationship which will endure because divine *ḥesed* will never be removed (v 15). Since Israel's king is understood as "channel of blessing" through whom God provides for justice, peace, good crops, and long life for the whole people (Psalm 72), this tradition of God's *ḥesed* to the Davidic line indirectly insures blessing for all the people.

Probably developed in the context of Exile when both the Davidic and Mosaic theologies are in need of radical reinterpretation, the Priestly strand of the Pentateuch highlights the perpetual covenant with Abraham as ancestor of the community. While *ḥesed* is never explicitly mentioned in connection with the Abrahamic covenant, P's reuse of old traditions in Num 14:17–19 brings together the emphasis on the freedom of God from the Mosaic tradition with the emphasis on divine commitment from the royal theology (Sakenfeld 1985: 72–76). God's forgiveness is seen as an always surprising gift from One who is free to end the relationship with Israel. Yet at the same time, that forgiveness is ultimately grounded in the perpetual and unconditional commitment to Abraham that was made apart from and prior to commandment, land, nationhood, or kingship. As the refrain of Psalm 136 insists, God's *ḥesed* endures forever.

Key aspects of the concrete manifestations of God's *ḥesed* (ranging from maintaining the created order to provision of descendants, sustenance, land, leadership, and especially forgiveness) have already been mentioned. These are reinforced and supplemented by attention to the many references to divine *ḥesed* in the psalter (over 70 times scattered through over 45 psalms). Most frequently associated with *ḥesed* is a plea for deliverance from enemies (e.g., Ps 17:7; 143:12) or thanksgiving for such deliverance (e.g., Ps 138:2). This theme is echoed narratively by Jacob's appeal to God's *ḥesed* in his plea for deliverance from Esau (Gen 32:11–12—Eng32:10–11). Related to petitions for deliverance are petitions for general divine protection so that trouble can be avoided (e.g., Ps 40:12—Eng 40:11), illustrated in narrative by God's

protection of Joseph in prison (Gen 39:21). Finally, even as the covenant traditions associate God's forgiveness of the community with divine *ḥesed,* so also forgiveness of individual suppliants is closely associated with *ḥesed* (e.g., Ps 6:2, 5–6—Eng6:1, 4–5; 25:6–7; 51:3—Eng 51:1). For individuals as much as for the community corporately, God's forgiveness as an act of *ḥesed* that continues the divine-human relationship is foundational to life itself and undergirds all other manifestations of *ḥesed.*

**3. Religious Usage: Human *ḥesed* to God and Neighbor.** Although religious usage is relatively infrequent (scarcely a dozen examples), it develops a special aspect of Israel's relation to God. In its secular usage, as outlined above, *ḥesed* involves aid for the circumstantially weaker and needy party in a relationship. When Micah declares the Lord's requirement to "do justice, love (*ʾhb*) *ḥesed,* and walk humbly with God" (6:8), he expands the sphere of relationship of each Israelite so that *ḥesed* involves active concern for the well-being of all the people of God, not just those known personally to each one, with particular concern for the poor or any others whose status lacks advocacy within Israelite society. This advocacy for the weak, through rescue or protection and especially through correct functioning of the courts, is to be taken on freely (as the content of *ḥesed*), even though it would be easy not to do so and there would be little or no consequence to the actors for failing to do so. In all these respects, this religious usage continues the emphases of secular usage, except that the sphere of relationship is enlarged.

There is, however, a distinctive nuancing of *ḥesed* in Hosea (as also with *ʾhb,* see above) that is carried forward in subsequent prophetic usage. In Hosea the word appears six times (2:21—Eng2:19; 4:1; 6:4, 6; 10:12; 12:7). Although the subject of *ḥesed* in 10:12a (and in the related text in Jer 2:2–3) is disputed, it appears likely that in every instance *ḥesed* is something which Israel should do for God, rather than *vice versa.* Given the basic secular usage in which a circumstantially powerful party does *ḥesed* for a party in need, Hosea's use of the word must have been jarring, seemingly nonsensical, to his hearers. Yet by his seemingly illogical move in speaking of Israel's *ḥesed* to God, Hosea is able to convey a new dimension of the relationship between God and Israel (Sakenfeld 1985: 104–23).

In Hosea *ḥesed* is used as a summary term for Israel's carrying through on covenant commitment both to exclusive worship of the LORD and to communal justice; that is, *ḥesed* represents the entire decalogue in a single word. By using *ḥesed* for what Israel does for God, Hosea is able to emphasize that observance of the decalogue is not just something that God commands, but is more importantly what God desires or asks from Israel. Even though God is powerful and Israel dependent, *ḥesed* is nevertheless an attitude and action that Israel is somehow free to offer or to withhold. Divine judgment might "coerce" such behavior, but judgment by its nature cannot produce the *free* and *willing* behavior and commitment that is essential to *ḥesed.* Thus in speaking of Israel's *ḥesed* to God, Hosea is able to convey both the freedom of Israel within the covenant relationship and also the deep and urgent desire of God for Israel's free response.

Hosea's images of marriage and parent-child for the covenant relationship (see above) provide a context of intimacy in which the usual covenant usage of God's *ḥesed* offered to Israel can be reversed. God expresses frustration at the repeated failure of the people to live out their part of the relationship, and asks, even as a husband might ask a wife, that Israel show *ḥesed* by doing what is needed (namely, observing the decalogue) to save the relationship. Israel fails to respond, but Hosea declares that God will overcome this failure. Continuing the marriage image, God promises to remarry Israel and to provide Israel's *ḥesed* as a wedding gift, along with gifts of righteousness, justice, mercy and faithfulness (2:21–22—Eng2:19–20). By this divine initiative a right relationship will be restored between God and Israel in the context of peace in the whole creation (v 20—Eng v 18), and Israel itself will finally reflect the qualities of its God.

Although Hosea speaks only of Israel's *ḥesed,* his climactic introduction of true human *ḥesed* as God's gift to Israel is connected to divine *ḥesed* as an expression of God's commitment to the human community. Even as God's *ḥesed* manifested in forgiveness makes relationship possible at all, so God's *ḥesed* manifested as care for the needy undergirds any human caring that makes for a just and peaceable world. From an OT point of view any human loyalty, kindness, love, or mercy (to refer again to the translation options for *ḥesed*), is rooted ultimately in the loyalty, kindness, love, and mercy of God.

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### *NT AND EARLY JEWISH LITERATURE*

One of the principal concepts of the NT, love is an important element of the teaching of Jesus, constitutive of much of Paul's theology, and fundamental to the doctrine of the Johannine writings. Love describes the nature of God, provides the basis of Christian ethics, and manifests the object of Christian faith and the culmination of Christian hope.

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**A. Love in the LXX**

The LXX shows a decided preference for the Greek verb *agapaō* and the noun *agapē* in translating biblical Hebrew words for love. For the Hebrew terminology, see LOVE (OT). Greek *agapaō* predominates as a translation of Heb *ʾāhēb* in the Pentateuch and in 1–3 Kingdoms; the Greek noun *agapē* similarly serves to represent Heb *ʾahăbâ* in the majority of instances. Other words more common in non-biblical Greek as signifiers of love are used very little in LXX as equivalents of Hebrew terms to which they could be said to correspond. The Greek verb *eraō,* which can connote sexual love, is avoided altogether in the Pentateuch as a translation of Heb *ʾāhēb* (which can have the same connotations). (The cognate noun *erōs* could also serve as the name of the Greek god of love, whose veneration was widespread and popular.) *Phileō,* a milder term (though capable of indicating amorous interest: Tob 6:17), is restricted in the Pentateuch to Gen 27:9, 14 (both times translating Heb *ʾāhēb*) and Gen 37:4.

The range of meaning expressed by *agapaō* in Greek of the classical period and later includes affection, fondness, and simple contentedness. Its extensive use in the LXX as an equivalent of Heb *ʾāhēb* seems to indicate that the Hellenistic Jewish translators sought the least marked Greek term for expressions of love in their sacred texts, weighted as those scriptures had become with religious and theological importance. The lexical selectivity of the LXX probably brought the *agapē* word family into greater prominence as a vocabulary suitable for religious and theological discourse in early grecophone Judaism. To a considerable extent, the NT writers continued this preference for the *agapē* family in their vocabulary choices.

**B. Love in the Writings from Qumran**

The principal vocabulary of love in the Dead Sea Scrolls is associated with the Hebrew verb *ʾāhēb* "to love" and the cognate noun *ʾahăbâ* "love" (both of which were used in biblical Hebrew as well). Uses of *ʾāhēb* in the Qumran literature are all religious or theological (theological uses predicate acts of love on the part of God; religious use concerns human actors).

Love, and its opposite, hatred, are closely allied to the deterministic theology that informs the eschatological program evident at Qumran. In a passage of the Community Rule contrasting the divine creation of spirits of Light and spirits of Darkness, it is asserted that God "loves the one everlastingly … but the counsel of the other He loathes and for ever hates its ways" (1QS 3:26–4:1 [Vermes 1987: 65]). The prayer of a pious "servant" of God is that he may "[choose all] that Thou lovest and loathe all that Thou [hatest]" (1QH 14:10–11 [Vermes 1987: 200]), the rationale again being a predetermined division of spirits (and their "lots") between good and evil (1QH 14:12; cf. 17:24). Even the straightforward statement from the *Damascus Document* that "God loves knowledge" (CD 2:3 [Vermes 1987: 83]) emerges in a passage of instruction concerning the "ways of the wicked" that is explicit in declaring God's loathing for those predestined to wrath (CD 2:8–9).

The special love of God for the patriarchs is a theme of the *Damascus Document* that is elaborated with Torah citations and allusions (Deut 7:8–9, cited in CD 8:15; 19:2). It is love for these "first" fathers (CD 8:16) that guarantees God's love for "those who come after them" (CD 8:17 [Vermes 1987: 90]). The patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are honored with the designation *ʾwhbym lʾl* "friends of God" (CD 3:2–3 [Vermes 1987: 84]).

The predestination of spirits and the apportionment of divine love and hatred accordingly is taken as the model and guide of the Qumran community's ethic. The primary purpose of the saints who enter the

community is "that they may love all that He has chosen and hate all that He has rejected" (1QS 1:3 [Vermes 1987: 62]). These categories correspond directly to the divinely predetermined "lots," a knowledge of which has been granted the Qumran community so that "they may love all the sons of light, … and hate all the sons of darkness …" (1QS 1:9 [Vermes 1987: 62]).

In such a precarious situation, the community member must be ready to love and hate according to proper criteria (1QS 9:16, 21) and to give and accept reproof accordingly (1QH 2:14). Love is proportionate to a hierarchy of merit: "according to the greatness of his portion / so will I love him" (1QH 14:19 [Vermes 1987: 201]). Correction must be administered in humility and out of a mutual bond of *ʾhbt ḥsd* "loving kindness" (1QS 2:24; 5:4, 25; 8:2; 10:26; 13:18).

Yet even within this context of strict separation from the outside world, there is a concern for loving engagement between individuals: "They shall love each man his brother as himself; they shall succour the poor, the needy, and the stranger" (CD 6: 20–21 [Vermes 1987: 88]). The sectary's love for God is the fundament of membership in the community. "I have loved thee freely and with all my heart" (1QH 14: 26; cf. 15: 10), a hymn verse intones; the sentiment is striking amidst the strongly deterministic language of Qumran theology. Expressions of love for God are in fact confined to the hymns; the hymnist petitions to be granted the place "which [Thou hast] chosen for them that love Thee" (1QH 16:13 [Vermes 1987: 204]), in keeping with the allotted destinies of the righteous and the wicked.

**C. Love in the Greco-Roman World**

Love in the vocabulary of Greek philosophy is expressed by means of words from the *erōs* family and the *phileō* family. A primary question addressed in Plato's dialogues is the nature and end of *epithymia* "desire, longing" and the role of love in the fulfillment of desire. The answer spoken by Socrates in the *Symposium* (211b; 212b; 297d) is that mortality inspires the longing for immortality. Immortality is accessible to mortals by generation; the desire whose fulfillment results in reproduction of the self—in offspring and in education—communicates to us a higher mystery of an absolute, simple, and everlasting beauty towards which the individual soul aspires. Love (*erōs*) is both the aid and medium of the soul's ascent to immortality. (For an elegant analysis of sexual love in Plato, see Despland 1985: 157–62; on the *Symposium,* pp. 230–39.) The ultimate object of love in Plato's system is not the individual person but the transcendent Good. Human loves manifest the excellence of the ideal (Vlastos 1981: 107, 111).

In Aristotle, the *erōs* doctrine of Plato is the center of a metaphysics of the cosmos. Aristotle explains motion in the universe as the successive ascent of matter to form. The ultimate Pure Form from which all actual forms derive is itself unmoving, but moves all matter to receive form by means of the desire (*epithymia*) that *erōs* awakes in it. In Aristotle's famous formulation, the unmoved mover of the cosmos *kinei hōs erōmenon* "moves by being loved" (*Metaph.* 1072b3).

Aristotle's doctrine of human love (the *phileō* family) begins from self-love. The natural love of the soul for itself is the basis for the mutual love of souls that is friendship (wherein the other is a sort of second self; *Eth. Nic.* 1155a–72a).

It is not possible to describe adequately the views on love in the world in which Jesus lived and the NT was written. Nevertheless, it is useful to note some distinctives against which we can view the ways in which NT writers looked at love.

Some writers in the 1st century wrote primarily about love as sexual technique. Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* (written in Latin about the time of Jesus' birth) may be in this category, although he is concerned with more than merely technique. Ovid surely promotes the idea that the erotic is enjoyable and that sexual encounters are more pleasurable if they are illicit. Above all one gets the impression from Ovid that concerns of morality or responsibility can only tarnish sexual encounters. True love must not be encumbered by ethical questions. An element of parody is detectable in Ovid; nevertheless the main instructions (addressed to men) concern how to find, win, and keep a female lover.

There were also groups who advocated celibacy; how strictly, for how long, and for what reason is not always clear. We are baffled by the Qumranites on this score, for it seems difficult to imagine a Jewish sect dedicated to celibacy, even though Josephus (*JW* 2.8.2–13) and Philo (*Hypo* 11.14.18), portray the Essenes as misogynists. The question is not irrelevant, because one might think Jesus would have

married, but those who have tried to convince us that he was married have not been successful. At the same time no shade of misogynism is found in Jesus; on the contrary, the evidence seems to suggest that Jesus was the only first century teacher who invited women to follow him and incorporated them fully into his group of disciples. Judaism certainly had a high view of marriage and spoke much of love, although public discussion of conjugal love was not in high favor, if the begrudging reception of the Song of SolomonSolomon among Second Temple Jewish leaders offers a reliable guide. The sources abundantly demonstrate that God's love formed the basis of Jewish existence, that God's command to love God and the neighbor was the highest demand affirmed in the recital of the *shema*ʿ.

Among Stoics and Cynics, Epictetus (ca. 60–120 C.E.) prefers to consider such matters of secondary importance; the ideal Cynic or wise man had more important things to do; he ought not to destroy the divine "messenger" that he is by the "distraction" of marriage or feeding babies in the middle of the night. There is no surer way to lose one's "kingship" (*Disc* 3.22.67–76). In respect to love, since the Stoics were down on loss of control and ecstasy, they had little use for sex, and the loss of autonomy inherent in marriage was abhorrent to them and "under the present circumstances not a matter of prime importance." The married state of Crates and Socrates is dismissed as having been consummated because of passion (*erōs*); besides, the former's wife was herself another Crates (*Disc.* 3.22.76).

At the same time, Epictetus speaks of something very close to enemy love when he says that the true Cynic must "while he is being flogged … love (*phileō*) the men who flog him, as though he were the father or brother of them all" (*Disc* 3.22.54–55). Like Plato, he conceives of *erōs* as a disruption of peace of mind (3.13.10), and as robbing one of freedom (4.1.15–23).

Epictetus deals at length with the question "How then shall I become affectionate (*philostorgos*)?" (*Disc* 3.24.58). The answer is, "as a man of noble spirit, as one who is fortunate; for it is against all reason to be abject (*tapeinos*), or broken in spirit, or to depend on something other than yourself or even to blame either God or man." He would have people become affectionate but maintain the rules. Natural affection profits nothing if you remain a slave or miserable. Why not love someone "as subject to death" (mortal) as one who may leave you, as Socrates loved his own children, in a free spirit as one whose first duty is to love the gods (*Disc* 3.24.58–60). Socrates succeeded in everything that becomes a good man because he remembered that his first obligation was to love the gods. It is becoming for us to be happy on any person's account and "to be happy because of all, and above all because of god, who has made us for this end."

A further model of love is the earlier Cynic philosopher Diogenes. "Come, was there anybody that Diogenes did not love, a man who was so gentle (*hemeros*) and kind-hearted (*philanthropos*) that he gladly took upon himself all those troubles and physical hardships for the sake of the common weal?" (*Disc* 3.24.64). The manner of his loving (*phileō*) was such as becomes a servant of Zeus, caring (*kedemos*) for men indeed, but at the same time subject (*hypotasso*) to God. "That is why for him alone the whole world, and no special place, was his fatherland" (*Disc* 3.24.64).

It is a general rule that "every living thing is to nothing so devoted as to its own interest. Whatever, then, appears to it to stand in the way of this interest, be it a brother, or father, or child, or loved one (*eromenos*) or lover (*erastes*), the being hates, accuses, and curses it. For its nature is to love (*phileō*) nothing so much as its own interest; this to it is father and brother and kinsmen and country and God" (*Disc* 2.22.15).

Does Epictetus teach that God loves? The question is addressed when he asks why God has sent him here, and "exhibits me to mankind in poverty, without office, in sickness, sends me away to Gyara, brings me into prison. Not because he hates me—perish the thought? And who hates the best of his servants?" (3.24.113–14). This statement is the closest Epictetus comes to affirming the love of the Deity. At the same time he affirms that humans serve "wholly intent upon God, his commands and ordinances" (3.24.113–14). That God is helpful (*ophelimos*) is about as far as he can go in his definition of God (*Disc.* 2.8.1) and he equates God with the Good. The true nature of God certainly is not flesh, land or fame. It is intelligence (*nous*), knowledge (*episteme*) and right reason (*logos orthos*) (ibid.). Love is conspicuously absent.

His teacher, Gaius Musonius Rufus (ca. 30–101 C.E.) had stressed the "beneficence and kindly" nature of God (*Ep.* 16.30; 17.15; Lutz 1947) and assumed that people could become like God. For Epictetus the chief element of piety is to have correct opinions about the gods: as existing and as administering the universe well (*kalos*) and justly (*dikaios*) and to resolve to obey them and to submit to everything that happens (*Enoch.* 31).

Musonius Rufus, who embodies the highest view of marriage in the 1st century, perhaps of any philosopher, is unique in forcefully suggesting that the highest form of love is that between two equal partners in marriage. To be sure, he suggests that coitus be restricted to procreation. One nevertheless suspects that the logic of his views on male-female roles is such that he and his wife lived higher than his own ideal. The purpose of marriage was not, however, to have children but, having been joined, to grow in common interest and build a unity (*koinonian mallon auxein pephyken hosper oud homonoian;* Lutz 1947: 91). Against the canard that marriage is a hindrance to philosophy Musonius cited Pythagoras, Socrates, and Crates, all of whom married, "and one could not mention better philosophers than these" (Lutz 1947: 92–93).

Human beings, Musonius holds, do not look only to their own interests but rather, like the bees, bend their energies to the common task, "and toil and work together with the neighbor (*plesion*)" (Lutz 1947: 93). "For humans evil consists in injustice and cruelty and indifference to a neighbor's trouble, while virtue (*aretè*) is benevolence (*philanthropia*) and goodness (*chréstotés*) and justice and beneficence and concern for the welfare of one's neighbor." In marriage this common life is nourished most fully; and because marriage contributes to the peace of the city, "he who destroys human marriage destroys the home, the city and the whole human race" (ibid.). But of most importance to Musonius is that "all consider first of all in rank the love (*philian*) of a man and woman." Even the gods, Eros, Hera and Aphrodite watch over it "when they bring together man and woman for the procreation of children" (Lutz 1947: 95).

Musonius brought together *agapaō* as a form of love present in the family between parent and child (Lutz 1947: 40, 104), between man and woman, *philia* (Lutz 1947: 94) and unlawful love between two people as *eran* and *aphrodisian* (86). His favorite word for love is *kedomia,* which combines the concept of care with that of affection and responsibility. While it lacks the warmth of the other words it has the virtue of stressing responsibility within a relationship. It is to Musonius' tribute that in marriage he (like Paul) saw that men and women are equal; "there is a common life, in which nothing private can be said to exist, not even the body" (Lutz 1947: 89; cf. 1 Cor 7:1–2). In the later history of the West Epictetus' view of love and marriage dominated, not that of his teacher, Musonius.

Musonius was an outspoken critic of pederasty, an institution embedded in Greco-Roman society for at least four hundred years, while Lucian and Plutarch in their dialogues seriously debate which is better, pederasty or heterosexual love.

Plutarch (ca. 45–120) also stresses brotherly love. In his treatise on that theme he remarks: "according to my observation brotherly love is as rare in our day as brotherly hatred was among the men of old" (*Moralia: On Brotherly Love,* [1] 478C). He notes the harmonious functioning of the body and concludes that nature has created from one seed and one source brothers "that for being separate they might the more readily co-operate with one another" (478 F). "… through the concord of brothers both family and household are sound and flourish, and friends and intimates, like an harmonious choir, neither do, say nor think anything discordant …" (479).

Most friendships are in reality shadows and imitations and images of that first friendship which nature implanted in children towards parents and in brothers towards brothers. The highest deed or favor one can render to parents is to love one's sibling; "to love one's brother is forthwith a proof of love for both father and mother" (480).

Perhaps the most intriguing evidence with respect to word usage is found in Plutarch's *Dialogue on Love.* Here in a way similar to Demosthenes' *Erotic Essay* (5–7; 4th century B.C.E.) all three words for love appear in the same sentence.

Plutarch traced how love moves as "Divine chaste love to be physician, savior and guide, coming to it through the medium of bodily forms from that "to the realm of truth" heavenly love contrives for us, as in a glass beautiful reflections of beautiful realities. Some because their parents have squelched this "fill themselves instead with the smoke of humbug and passion and slip away to dark and illicit pleasures and fall into a shameful decay" (765C).

Before long lovers (*erōmenoi*) learn to disregard the body of the beloved; "they move inward instead and attach themselves to his character." When they catch a trace of the Divine emanation or beguiling resemblance, they are intoxicated with joy and wonder and pay court to it, basking in the memory of ideal beauty and renewing their radiance in the presence of that genuine object of love (*era*), blessed (*makarion*) as it is, and beloved of all (*philion*) and worthy of all affection (*agapēton* 765D). Is it accidental that agapē comes as a climax of his discussion?

Popular ethical teachers discussed the relation of love to coitus. Plutarch's judgment that "love is a very complex emotion … one must know the right time (*kairos*)" (*Moralia: Table Talk* II 1.633F). Discussion on the matter (see Question 6, "Concerning the Suitable time for coition" *Moralia: Table Talk* III 5–6.653–55) belongs "among one's companions and friends, wine cup in hand." However in his *Advice to Bride and Groom* the topic of love does not figure prominently. At the same time he uses *agapao* to describe the love of a mother for her son and *phileō* for the love of a woman for her in-laws. If angry disagreements come the goddess Aphrodite is "the best physician for such disorders" (*Advice* 143). "The bed as a union of loving (*phileō*) enjoyment" will settle such quarrels.

Where does the NT community fit into this debate? Clearly "marriage is honorable among all and coitus is nondefiling [*amiantos*]" states Hebrews (13:4). One wonders why the point has to be made. It is noteworthy that Paul in all he says about love never joins it with sexual relations, and wherever he discusses sex or marriage, does not mention love. Marriage is a covenant; there are obligations and responsibilities, but erotic passion seems to be of no interest to Paul.

Paul freely advised married couples how to determine whether they should engage in sex in 1 Cor 7:3–5. His advice: Have it when one of you wants it. Either party can obviously take the initiative in making their wishes known. Even abstinence from one another must be done upon agreement (1 Cor 7:3–5). Paul does not, like Musonius, laud marriage as the highest form of love. What would he have said to such a notion?

Probably that marriage is an anodyne to sexual passion (1 Cor 7:2; 1 Thess 4:2–8). If Paul wrote Eph 5:25–33, then he pays marriage the highest compliment by using the analogy between marriage and Christ's love for the church. The center of that discussion is how a man loves his wife. Strangely he does not urge wives to love their husbands (a possible exception, Titus 2:4).

There is a vast field of discourse about love which has nothing to do with sex or marriage. The distinction is not easy to accept in our post-Freudian age, for love by definition has for moderns sexual dimensions and all human relationships have in them a sexual component. The acknowledgment of that fact makes it inevitable that the 20th century reader may detect an erotic dimension in the NT view of love even though the word *erōs* never appears on its pages.

**D. NT Terms and Meanings**

The English word "love" translates a group of Greek words in the NT, among which two word families, the *agapē* family and the *phileō* family, predominate.

**1. The *agapē* Family.** The Greek verb *agapaō* "to love" and the related nouns *agapē* "love," *agapēsis* "love," and the adjective *agapētos* "beloved, dear" are very frequent in the NT. The *agapē* family is critical to our perception of the nature and self-understanding of the early Christian communities. Words from the *agapē* family occur 341 times and are found in every book of the NT. Acts has only one occurrence of the adjective *agapētos,* but in Luke's Gospel both noun and verb appear. The *agapē* family is most frequent in some of the shortest books, e.g., 1 John (52x) and Ephesians (22x). It appears in the Pauline writings 96 times (excluding Ephesians and the Pastoral Epistles).

*Agapan* describes a life-enhancing action that flows from God to humans (Rom 8:37; 2 Cor 9:7) and vice versa (Matt 22:37). The commandment to love regulates human conduct within the church: "love one

another" (John 13:34; 15:12, 17; 1 Thess 4:9; 1 Pet 1:22; 1 John 3:11; 2 John 5); and husbands are commanded to love their wives (Eph 5:25, 28; Col 3:19). But those outside also are to be loved: the neighbor (Rom 13:9), and enemies (Matt 5:44; Luke 6:28, 35). In particular love is directed towards fellow Christians (1 John 2:10; 3:10, 14; 4:20, 21) and within the family (1 Peter 3). It includes theology, for God is defined as love (1 John 4:9, 16), and ethics, for all of the Christian commands can be summed up in the command to love (Rom 13:8–10). The mandate for Christians to "love their enemies" stretches human capacity to its limits but is based on God's love for humans, "while we were his enemies" (Rom 5:10). Paul says that of the three things that last for ever, faith, hope and love, "the greatest of them all is love" (1 Cor 13:13).

**2. The *phileō* Family.** The Greek verb *phileō* "to love, fall in love" is used in the NT. This word family is also represented by a variety of compounds of more specific meaning: *philagathos* "loving goodness"; *philotheos* "lover of God"; *philostorgia* "natural love"; *philostorgos* "loving"; *philoteknos* "loving a child." Two other Greek words, *eran* and *stergeō,* were used in the 1st century. Of these *eran* does not appear in the NT, although it is debated whether the concept of *erōs* does. *Stergein* appears in the NT only in the compound word *philostorgos* (Rom 12:10).

**3. Agape and Eros.** The *agapē* family is most favored by the writers of the NT. Anders Nygren (1953: 48) described *agapē* as the "centre of Christianity, the Christian fundamental motif *par excellence.*" He argued that sharp distinctions could be drawn between *agapē* and *erōs* and that Paul had given "the Christian idea of *agapē* its highest and … final expression" (143). By contrast the "Johannine idea of *agapē* … occupies a somewhat uncertain position between unmotivated and motivated love" (152).

In the last four decades Nygren's thesis has been all but discredited, in part because he sets such a sharp dichotomy between the Pauline and Johannine ideas of love. W. Thimme (1953: 108) proposed that in the NT there is a synthesis of *erōs* and *agapē* and that in particular *erōs* based on *agapē* plays a significant role. He saw *erōs* in the adoration of the miracle of the incarnation, in the love commandment itself, which assumes that love can be achieved, in the moral teaching based on union with Christ and in the longing of the earthly pilgrim to arrive in glory. If ecstasy is at the center of the idea of *erōs,* then surely there is no true *agapē* without it; a God who does not care whether people respond is hardly the God portrayed in Hosea or in the NT image of Jesus weeping over Jerusalem.

**E. Love in the Synoptic Gospels**

One of the striking features of the Synoptic Gospels is that they say nothing explicitly about God's love. Jesus himself never speaks about it, except to point out concretely in parables how gracious and accepting God is, especially of people who fail or who are marginalized in other ways.

The double commandment to love the Lord God with one's whole being and the neighbor as oneself appears in the triple tradition (Matt 22:37–40 = Mark 12:29–31 = Luke 10:26–28). The double command arises from a citation of Deut 6:5 and Lev 19:18, 34, both from LXX. There is, moreover, the commandment to "love your enemies" found in both Luke 6:27, 35 and Matt 5:44. Finally, there is the parable of the good Samaritan in Luke 10:29–37. This Lukan parable immediately follows the double command and has always been seen as in some way describing what love for the neighbor means. It is clearly one of the most difficult parables to interpret.

**1. The Double Command to Love.** Mark avoids the word "love" almost entirely, using it only to describe Jesus' affection for the rich young ruler (10:21), where neither Luke nor Matthew follows him. Only Lazarus, his sisters and the "beloved disciple" of the Fourth Gospel have a similar designation. When Mark describes the encounter with the lawyer (Mark 12:28–34) he shows little interest in it. Indeed "Mark's ethic is not articulated in terms of obedience to the love command …" (Furnish 1972: 74).

All but three of the eleven uses of the *agapē* family in Matthew derive from LXX. The verb *agapaō* in Matt 19:19 and 22:37, 39 occurs in citations of LXX. The adjective *agapētos* used in Matt 3:17 derives from Isa 42:1 (LXX), which is cited in full at Matt 12:18; the reiteration of 3:17 at Matt 17:5 is thus of the same derivation. The only use of the noun *agapē* (Matt 24:12) is a unique Matthean saying in the apocalyptic discourse; note that the verb *psychō* "grow cold" occurs nowhere else in the NT. The verb *agapaō* in Matt 5:43, 44, 46 (2x) (= Luke 6:27–28, 32–35) and 6:24 (= Luke 16:13) is the only member of

the *agapē* family used in the "Q" tradition of sayings in Matthew. Its application in 6:24 is not theological or religious, but secular: divided loyalties produce conflicts of allegiance. The final statement "You cannot serve God and mammon" (note the shift to second person) relates the secular observation metaphorically to the theological realm.

For Matthew, the double commandment plays a formative role and has constitutive importance. Its importance is already seen in Matt 19:19, where in a recitation of the commandments Matthew alone adds: "and love your neighbor as yourself" as if it were one of the commandments.

Matthew also holds up the model of God's love when he urges the members of the kingdom to love their enemies: "only so can you be children of your heavenly father, who makes his sun to rise on the good and bad alike …" (Matt 5:45). Only in Matthew's gospel does Jesus predict that when false prophets will arise and lawlessness spreads, "the love (*agapē*) of many people will grow cold" (24:11). Although Matthew shows concern for the integrity of his community it is incorrect to see in the directive to admonish the fellow believer (Matt 18:15–22) a "certain tension" between this and teachings concerning love and forgiveness (Furnish 1972: 78, citing Bauer 1917: 39). Matthew sees such patterns of interaction as the true path to forgiveness and would follow Jewish belief that there is joy for those who rebuke in the name of peace (Prov 10:10; cf. 12:20; note the Qumran examples also). Genuine love is shown in Judaism by restoring the erring one, not by allowing that one to proceed as if no one cared (Klassen 1966: 192–200). For Matthew it is clear, however, that one obeys the great commandment as one shows love towards those one meets daily.

Scholars have devoted much research to the question whether Jesus was the first to combine the two commandments (Deut 6:5 and Lev 19:18b), and have come to conflicting conclusions. Burchard concluded that the double command was not created by Jesus and did not come into the Christian tradition through him (1970: 61). He was persuaded that those sections of the *T.12 P.* which presupposed the double commandment were pre-Christian, and thus gave evidence that Deut 6:5 and Lev 19:18, 34 were associated in pre-Christian Jewish ethical teaching. Jürgen Becker, on the other hand, considers it "beyond dispute that the love command came into Christianity through Jesus" (1981: 6). Despite Becker's confident assertion, however, the consensus of recent research is that the association of the two Pentateuchal passages that give rise to the double commandment did not originate with Jesus himself.

It is true that in the Synoptic Gospels Jesus speaks very seldom about the neighbor, and apart from the command to love enemies did not himself issue any command to love, or even use the word "love" with any frequency. Rather, the neighbor is described concretely: tax collector, prostitute, victim of a robbery, debtor, woman threatened with divorce. Likewise the deed of love is concretely viewed and described: table fellowship, emergency aid, release from debt, healing. Interpreters of Jesus are appropriately united in seeing the command to love one's enemy as a normative summary of the attitudes and action of Jesus, even though the words "neighbor" and "love" are not current terms of Jesus. He thinks in concrete terms. Nevertheless, the double commandment and the command to love the enemy are variations on the theme of going beyond set limits, a theme enunciated by Jesus (Becker 1981: 16).

The command to love the enemies is grounded ultimately in the patience and forgiveness of God and his compassion (Sir 18:8–14). Hebrew thought also affirmed that God had created both good and evil but could derive from that affirmation the sort of skepticism voiced by Qohelet: "one fate comes to all, to the righteous and the wicked" (Eccl 9:2). Jesus takes this typical experience and exalts it to the insight at a productive level that God is indiscriminately good. God guarantees to everyone without exception the constant provision of elementary essentials for life prior to their human self-actualization into good or evil. People are to imitate this aspect of God's character. If they do so they become children of God, a salvation predicated of the just (Wis 2:18; Sir 4:10).

The enemy is not the most distant neighbor—rather the enemy defines the basis for the love. The extreme case becomes the model for every social relationship. "Consequently a division into personal, social, vocational or political enmity is rejected, for love imitates God who, everywhere, constantly creates new possibilities for life." Love never asks, "Who is the other?" but only what the present possibilities might allow that one to become. Then it is also clear: "The imperative is no legal

exaggeration, but rather an opening of a perspective, without exception, to meet everyone in a life-promoting or enhancing way, just as God the Creator does" (Becker 1981: 7). Any attempt to limit the scope of love of neighbor to the resolution of daily squabbles, or to interpret the love command as a call to "local cooperation" (Horsley 1987: 255–72), is out of touch with that social situation.

This grounding of the command to love enemies in the benevolence of the creator is integral to the dominant teachings of Jesus. First, in Jesus' proclamation of the Kingdom qualifications or determinations of the love object are meaningless. The goodness of God promised in this message on the human side presupposes a universal inclusion under the judgment of God (as seen in the preaching of John the Baptist [Luke 13:1–5]). If all are universally under judgment, then it is not their innate goodness which calls forth divine or human love. The radical quality of this starting point is clear when it is placed alongside the teaching of the Stoics, who based their doctrine of philanthropy on the belief that all people carry the same divine nobility. This demands reciprocally noble human relations—thus love. Love as Jesus defines it aims first of all at unconditionally overcoming lostness; it does not begin with nobility but with human misery (Becker 1981: 8). Moreover, love is a consequence of the rule of God; it arises out of the experience of salvation. Jesus tended toward a world-wide human horizon. The Samaritan did not ask whether the one he was helping was an Israelite (Luke 10:25–37; Mark 2:27; 7:15; 9:40).

A review of the references to the double command in Judaism indicates that *T. Iss.* 5:2 comes the closest: "Love the Lord and the neighbor," while 7:6 is a questionable reading. *T. Zeb.* 5:10 does not refer to love for God or neighbor. The oldest apparent appearance of the dual command is in *T. Dan.* 5:3, in the pithy formula, "Love God with your entire life and one another with an upright heart" (Becker 1974: 94). The other references often cited either stress the fear of the Lord and promise that those who keep the law will be loved by God (e.g., *T. Jos.* 11:1), or place so much stress on the fear of the Lord that the separate themes of love for God and love for neighbor are not kept discrete but run together. This blending of themes is evident in *T. Benj.* 3:3–4: "Whoever fears God and loves his neighbor cannot be plagued by the spirit of Belial because he is protected by the fear of God. Not even an attack of man or beast can coerce him because he is helped by the love of the Lord which he demonstrated to his neighbor" (*OTP* 1: 825–26). At the same time, since fear and love are not seen as polar opposites (Bamberger 1929: 50; Sander 1935: 52) it would appear that close ties exist between the *T. 12 P.* and the earliest Christian traditions. The direction of influence remains in dispute. Both the Jesus tradition and *T. 12 P.* bring together love for God and neighbor, on the one hand, and fear (where it is mentioned) and love, on the other, in an indissoluble way. The Gospels leave the impression that part of the point of Jesus' coming was to grant God's people "freedom from fear, to worship him …" (Luke 1:74) and that Jesus dropped the motif of fear entirely.

Great difficulties are created by this for scholars who are determined to treat Jesus as a Christian rather than as a Jew. For the argument goes that the coupling of these two commandments is an un-Jewish act, indeed that broadening the concept of neighbor to include the enemy is inimical to Judaism. Little wonder that Nissen (1974: 416) concludes with a question: "If indeed Jesus' double command of love was the sum and measure of God's Will, what does it then mean when it is said: Jesus was a Jew?" John Piper, however, saw the answer clearly: "The perceptive Jew must have viewed Jesus' love command as an attack on the Torah … Jesus' command to love the enemy as well as the friend contained the seed for the dissolution of the Jewish distinctive" (1979: 91–92; 204, n. 83). The problem is one of Piper's own creation: to see Christianity as unique he must posit a Jesus who attacked the Torah. How can this be, since there is no evidence of such an attack in the NT sources themselves? The problem does not exist when the sources are carefully read.

Apparently the early church found the summary of covenant obligations in the double love commandment left by Jesus convenient and useful. Jesus and his followers in this respect built solidly on Jewish foundations and in continuity with Jewish teaching. To Simon the Just is attributed the statement that the fundamentals of life are summed up in Torah, worship and brotherly love (Herford 1971: 37–38); the saying brings together divine and human relations. There is abundant evidence that Judaism had over many years sought to isolate central affirmations and distill formulas which can be described as the

summary of Torah (Nissen 1974: 389–415). That they did not seek to distill the law into "principles" is obvious; equally obvious is the fact that Jesus refused to treat love as a principle. There is no evidence that he sought to do away with Torah when he summarized it in the double love command. Jesus appears more interested in people and relationships than in principles.

Luke shares something of the polemical stance of Matthew. Polemic is evident in particular in the story of the woman who showed affection for Jesus at Simon's house (Luke 7:36–50). The contrast between her and the Pharisee is sharply drawn; three times Jesus points out that the host failed to perform his duties. In each case the woman went beyond what one would expect from a host. But the sharpest rebuke of all comes when Jesus says that he knows full well she is a sinner: "Her sins, which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much; where little is forgiven little love is shown" (Luke 7:47). The incident is unique in the early Christian records in its depiction of a woman's love for Jesus publicly displayed and highly commended. See KISS. Furthermore the measure of love (less/more) is seen again only in the narrative of the Fourth Gospel, where the Risen Lord presses Peter on whether he loves Him more "than these" (John 20:15–20).

Both Luke and Matthew have the statement "you will love the one and hate the other" (Matt 6:24; Luke 16:13), expressing in Hebrew idiom the sharp dichotomy between these two. Only Luke has retained the sharper word "hate" (14:26) where Matthew had chosen "to love (*philein*) more" (10:37) in the parallel saying. The same sharp antithesis between hate and love is seen also in 1 John. Within the context of family relations it is a convention seen in polygamous marriages (Deut 21:15), among the Levites (Deut 33:9), and, closer to Luke's time, as a theme in Epictetus, who uses similar language to describe how the wise man relates to his family (*Disc.* 3.3.5–10). Ernest Renan accused Jesus of insensitivity toward his immediate family. Overall the evidence does not support that accusation, but it does indicate that Jesus was able to devote himself to the larger family.

**2. Love of Enemies.** Although the command to love enemies is found only twice in the Gospels, seldom has its authenticity been questioned (Lührmann 1972; cf. Sauer 1985). Furthermore it is recognized that the idea is found in the epistles without the precise commandment. It was frequently cited, especially by the Apologists, as evidence that the early Christians were not haters of humankind (Osborn 1981). From the end of the 2d century to modern times, however, the idea has been either relegated to the personal realm or confined to a select group of Christians in religious communities; since the Reformation, Protestants advocating love of enemies have been dismissed as "enthusiasts."

This century has experienced a wave of interest in the teaching. Through the work of Michael Waldmann (1902) and Hans Haas (1927) the doctrine of disinterested love was demonstrated to be far from unique to Jesus. What had begun in this century as an attempt to show that enemy love was even found in the natural realm (Randlinger 1906; Bach 1914) soon became a deadly earnest pursuit during World War I, when scholars began seriously to study the idea of enemy love within Judaism (Fiebig 1918), and its uniquely Christian aspect was explored (Kattenbusch 1916). Moreover, the history of the idea and the extent to which it was practiced were analyzed (Bauer 1917).

It was not until the outbreak of World War II and the threat which international enmity now posed to human civilization, however, that scholars were drawn more deeply into the discussion and devoted much research to the theme. Nevertheless, the subject has so far brought forth only two book-length English contributions by biblical scholars. One (Klassen 1984) proposes that the source of the commandment can be traced to Judaism, from which Jesus took it, and that it has fundamental relevance for guidance on how to live today. The other (Piper 1979) derives the idea directly from Jesus and sees it as a radical departure from Judaism. Like Nissen's, Piper's understanding of Judaism makes it impossible for him to see enemy love arising within that religious framework. He is, however, able to follow his teacher Leonhard Goppelt and find in Jewish texts support for the practice of resisting wrong for the sake of one's neighbor. As long as this is done without hatred (from which faith will free) this will accord with the Sermon on the Mount. How this position is derived from a particular text itself is not clear; but the shades of Luther's two-kingdom view, now largely discredited, are obvious.

The argument for the genuineness of Matt 5:43–46 (= Luke 6:27–35), based by Bultmann and others on its alleged discontinuity with Judaism, must now be re-opened. Indeed, the argument has been challenged recently by the theory that the gospel materials on enemy love are antedated by the materials in Paul (Sauer 1985). It seems to make the most historical sense to give full credit to Jesus himself as having first turned the idea of enemy love into a bold command for his community. The early Christian communities developed their traditions in response to what they considered Jesus to have said, but they did so selectively.

Luke and Matthew appear to be drawing from a common source which included at least the words: *agapate tous echthrous hymōn* "love your enemies" (Matt 5:44b = Luke 6:27b). Luke repeats the command (6:35a) after giving illustrations:

do good to those who hate you,
bless those who curse you
pray for those who abuse you (Luke 6:27c–28).

These three further imperatives spell out what it means to love enemies but they also spell out more fully the category "enemy":

| LOVE | ENEMY |
|---|---|
| do good | those who hate you |
| bless | those who curse you |
| pray for | those who treat you spitefully |

The first of these instructions is rooted in Greek thought, especially the maxim enunciated in many places that the goal of education to maturity (= *paideia*) is to learn to treat your friend properly and to take revenge on those who do evil to you (Klassen 1984). That same idea appears in Hebrew thought. Joab, for example, is astonished that King David inverts that pattern: "You love those who hate you and hate those who love you" (2 Sam 19:6).

Luke's second and third instructions are found throughout Jewish ethics in admonishments to return a soft answer for wrath, to return a blessing for a curse, and to pray for the abuser. Only in Judaism, which believed in the power of a blessing and in a sovereign God who answers prayer, could such an attitude emerge. But the power of prayer is here used not to curse but to invoke good. With this statement Jesus declared decisively that the curse no longer has a place. The Kingdom in which God rules has no room for curses.

Luke then offers four concrete examples of what the disciple is to do:

| | |
|---|---|
| if hit on the cheek | offer the other one also |
| if your coat is taken | offer the shirt as well |
| to everyone who asks | give |
| from one robbing you | do not demand it back (6:29–30) |

In sharp disjunction to this, Luke (6:31 = Matt 7:12) then introduces the so-called Golden Rule, a guideline which is based on reciprocity. "Treating others as you would like them to treat you" is to be understood here as putting oneself in the place of the other. This idea emerges first in Greek literature in Isocrates, but most likely originated in the Greek theater (Klassen 1984: 14). It is found in Jewish literature also. Both cultural traditions invite the actor to consider the effect of the action as if roles of agent and patient could be reversed. It is one of the wisest and most useful rules for human relations, even though it could be construed to contradict the non-reciprocal teaching on loving the enemy (Dihle 1962).

Luke follows the Golden Rule with three queries (6:32–34 = Matt 5:46–47), each one ending with the same question: "What credit is that to you?" What is in Matthew the expected reward of intensified righteousness is in Luke the "credit." The adversative *plēn* in verse 35 introduces the higher standard to which Jesus invites his hearers: "But you must love your enemies and do good and lend without expecting any return. Then you will have a rich reward: you will be children of the Most High, because that one is kind to the ungrateful and wicked. Be compassionate as your Father is compassionate" (Luke 6:35).

What is most important for Luke is that the disciple can become a child of God. The attribute of God which is most important is compassion towards the ungrateful and the wicked. Lacking is any utilitarian motive. This ethical guidance is fully and exclusively rooted in the nature and behavior of God. The only reward which is in sight is a relationship with God.

Can the enemy mentioned here be more closely defined? Some have argued that the illustrations point to personal life and that therefore the doctrine should not be applied to international or civic enmity. Others are persuaded that the term *echthros* is the standard NT term for "enemy" in its broadest sense and that the occurrence of the plural may indeed stress an inclusive usage. Of course between the time Jesus spoke those words and the gospel editors transmitted them the definition of enemy changed; few definitions change as quickly. Nevertheless an increasing number of scholars take this in its broadest sense even as they seek to find the sociological background of the original "Q"source as well as the Matthean and Lukan sources.

For Matthew the "love your enemies" teaching has a bit of an edge against the Jewish tradition, for it is found in the series of antitheses he presents in chap. 5. The first problem which presents itself here is the introduction: "You have heard … Love your neighbor, hate your enemy" (5:43). Much time has been spent trying to understand why Matthew added, "and hate your enemy." The answer seems to be quite simple. The formula "be good to your friends and hate your enemies" was very widespread in the ancient world and occurs in many layers of documentation. Rather than look in vain through Jewish sources, including Qumran, for these exact words, we should simply treat them as a part of general folk wisdom which Jesus' listeners had heard and which was well known to Matthew's audience as well.

The motivation for Matthew is the same as for Luke: becoming a child of God. "Only so can you be children of your heavenly Father" (Matt 5:45a). Instead of stressing the gentleness and compassion of God, Matthew stresses God's impartiality. The sun rises on good and bad alike, the rain is sent on the just and the unjust alike. An insight appearing in Jewish wisdom literature which there drives to cynicism—(so who cares?)—here is used to strike forth into a new ethical sphere. Both Luke and Matthew ask: "If you love only those who love you, what credit is that?" (Matt 5:46; Luke 6:32).

Matthew adds only one further point, the question of greeting (a topic not introduced by Luke). Johanan ben Zakkai, who escaped from Jerusalem when it was under siege to found the Academy at Javneh, had the reputation of greeting gentiles and others before they would greet him. In this way there could never be any doubt about his prayerful desire that the one he met should have God's *shalom.* Along the same lines Matthew invites his readers to exceed the friendliness of the heathen and to greet all whom they meet. It is a striking illustration, too often overlooked, bringing the entire discussion about enemy love into the concreteness of daily life.

Matthew's concluding statement, "Be you therefore mature even as your Father in heaven is mature (*teleios*)" (Matt 5:48), refers to the way in which enemies are treated. Don't play favorites. (The translation of Gk *teleios* by Eng "perfect" creates difficulties not found in the original text and suggests an impossible standard—hardly the intention of Jesus for his followers. Rather he provided them with permission and the empowering freedom to live as a child of God who loves even enemies.)

Both Matthew and Luke appeal to God's mercy, although they use different examples to demonstrate that mercy. In both God's example is to be followed; this becomes in Paul an *imitatio Christi* (Gerhardsson 1987).

The Gospel of Luke has one parable, the parable of the good Samaritan, which seeks to address the question posed by the lawyer: Who is my neighbor? (Luke 10:29). What is its point? A recent author (Monselewski 1967) listed a series of distinguished interpreters who see the parable as an illustration of how someone viewed traditionally as an enemy can love his enemy, the Jew, and help him in his distress. Thus to be a neighbor you love your enemy. The Samaritans were favored by Luke, to be sure, for he almost always portrayed them in a favorable light. From Josephus we learn that the Samaritans occasionally terrorized the Jews (*Ant* 20.6.1–3) and little love was lost between these two groups. Yet in the parable, it is the Samaritan who proves neighbor to his "enemy" and shows that categories, like

enemies and friends, can change. The "enemy" may be the one assaulted, and the neighbor the one who assists the assaulted one.

Did Jesus himself love his enemies? Matthew 24 seems to suggest that he did not, and other events of his life are often cited in this way. If, however, he saw the injustices around him as capable of being righted only through the death of those who truly cared for their people, then his teaching and self-sacrifice do harmonize.

**3. Love of Self.** The question whether the text of the double commandment legitimates self-love in its directive to "love the neighbor *as yourself*" has been much debated. In our narcissistic culture inundated with popular psychology, many have taken this as a command for self-love. The text does not *command* self-love; possibly it recognizes its existence; at the very most it legitimates it.

The measuring rod is not "self-love." Certainly "as yourself" does not include the command to love oneself nor state that one should love oneself. The comparison was not intended to recognize the legitimacy of self-love but to point to the power of self-assertion (Michel 1947). In Nygren's scheme "*Agape* … excludes all self-love … [It] recognizes no kind of self-love as legitimate" (1953: 217).

The comparison appears quite frequently in Jewish sources beyond the Bible itself, e.g., *T. Sim.* 4:6: "In all his days [Joseph] did not reproach us for this deed, but he loved us as his own life …" It even appears in the context of enemy love: *T. Benj.* 4:3: "For a good man does not have a blind eye, but he is merciful to all, even though they may be sinners. And even if persons plot against such a one for evil ends, by doing good this man conquers evil, being watched over by God. He loves those who wrong him as he loves his own life" (*OTP* 1: 826; cf. *Jub.* 36:4; CD 6:20; *Arm* B 2:71; Sir 7:21; 31:14; Nissen 1974: 287–88). Could it be that what is meant in these texts is the same thing Epictetus means in his repeated references to "self-interest"?

**F. Love in the Johannine Community**

Love in the Johannine corpus merits a separate treatment. Not only does John use the term most often, which alone calls for some special attention, but his peculiar perspective also deserves analysis. The verb *agapan* appears 35 times in John and 28 times in 1 John. The noun *agapē* appears 7 times in the Gospel and 18 times in the epistle. In addition the adjective *agapētos* "beloved" appears 6 times in the epistle. The verb *philein* appears 13 times in the Fourth Gospel as well.

Fundamental to the message of the Fourth Gospel is that God loved (*ēgapēsen*) the world to the extent that he gave his Son to die for it (John 3:16). It also stands to reason that God loves the Son (3:35), but it is surprising to read that the reason God loves his Son is "I lay down my life" (10:19). This laying down of the Son's life is necessary so that the world "may know that I love the Father" (14:31). In the last prayer attributed to Jesus in John's gospel, he prays that the followers who come after him will all be one (*hen*), and that once they are "perfectly one" "the world will learn that you sent me, that you love them as you did me" (17:23). This interdigitation of the mission of the church and oneness is a very striking phenomenon; it is as if the world is kept from discovering the love of God by the brokenness of the church. The love which God has for the Son is not meant to stop with him. That love existed before the world began (17:24) and Jesus made it known to the disciples "so that the love God had for him might be in them, and I may be in them" (17:26). At times this love is viewed almost as an abstract entity, for Jesus says to his opponents, "the love of God is not in you" (5:42).

Jesus too is described as loving his own (13:1) even to the point of death. In preparing for that death, Jesus renders one last act of loving service to them when he washes their feet; in this act he provides them with an example of what they are to do for each other: "love one another so much that they are ready to lay down their life for their friend" (Sabbe 1982: 307). In particular Jesus loves Martha and Mary and Lazarus (11:5) and a special unnamed disciple who is described as the disciple whom Jesus loved (*agapaō*) (13:23; 21:7, 20) or the "beloved disciple" (19:26).

Of special interest is the discussion between Peter and Jesus after the Resurrection (John 21:15–23). Three times Jesus asks, "Simon Peter, do you love me?" It is not clear whether Jesus is asking whether Peter loves him more than the other disciples do, or whether he loves Jesus more than he loves his fishing nets, his crews, and family. Only in the first instance is the comparative question asked, and Peter never

answers it directly. Both terms *philein* and *agapan* appear; the first two times Jesus asks Peter whether he loves him in the *agapan* sense; Peter answers with *philein.* There are no hidden meanings to be sought in the choice of words here (Brown *John XII–XXI* AB, 1102–3). Rather we must conclude that the terms were fluid for John and the context gave them their depth and their meaning.

What is most revealing in this pericope is that the love of the founding apostle is being tested by the Lord himself. This at once tells us something about the level of intimacy with which Jesus dealt with his disciples. It also indicates that the compassion of Jesus was extended even to the disciple who had most shabbily denied him. The purpose of the three questions was to reestablish the covenant in a threefold way, and above all to commission Peter to feed the lambs. Peter's love for Jesus is the only issue, which says a great deal about the type of Kingdom community Jesus wanted to build. The word "love" is probably equivalent to "be loyal to" here. The incident illustrates that Jesus loved Peter enough to renew his commission in spite of Peter's denial.

**1. The Old and New Commandments.** Greatest attention in this writing is given however to the love command. Introduced in 13:34 as a "new commandment," the standard is set: "As I have loved (*ēgapēsa*) you, so you are to love (*agapate*) one another." If that kind of love is present among them, then they will be recognized as his disciples. In a later discourse the test of this love is obeying Jesus' commands (14:15, 21, 23) and the result of such obedience is that the Father and Jesus will love such a one and come and disclose themselves to such a person (14:21), indeed make their dwelling with that one (14:23–24).

Furthermore much stress is laid on dwelling in Christ and in his love (15:10a). Doing so means to heed the Father's commands and to dwell in his love. The new commandment is repeated in John 15:12 and again at 15:17 the model of Christ's own love is cited. "There is no greater love (*agapē*) than this, that one should lay down one's life for one's friends (*philoi*)" (John 15:13).

In the Johannine epistles love is the dominant concept. And yet anyone expecting to find here a fuller development of the idea of loving the neighbor (Gk *plēsion*) or enemy (Gk *echthros*) finds nothing, for neither concept appears here. Instead we have the repeated exhortation to "love one another" (1 John 3:11, 23; 4:7, 11, 12; 2 John 5), or the criterion of "loving the brother" (1 John 2:10; 3:10, 14; 4:20, 21; 5:2 [= children of God]). There is not one reference to loving the neighbor.

Some observe a fundamental change here between the teaching of Jesus and the later church, including Paul. They find it most marked in the Johannine epistles. The intention of Jesus' view of love was "to disengage the idea of neighbor from every relation of 'proximity,' whether of family, friendship or nationality … The neighbor in Christian language is, man" (Spicq 1963: 1.183). Since there is consensus on the belief that the early Church underwent a change on this issue, it is necessary to deal with it.

It is especially important to attempt to reconstruct the Johannine communities and try to ascertain the type of struggles going on in their midst (Rese 1985). Before rushing to judgment it may also be useful to remind ourselves that there is always a considerable gap between a leading pioneer and what comes after. There is especially a tendency to exalt what the leader said while bringing it in closer harmony with what the community themselves believe. To be sure Jesus taught love for the neighbor, and that teaching is retained in at least three epistles (Gal 5:14; Rom 13:9; Jas 2:8); but what Jesus taught is available to us primarily through the beliefs of established communities. Bultmann, while admitting that "John 13:34–36 refers not to love for humans in general, not to love for neighbor or enemy, but rather love within the circle of the believers" (*Johannes* MeyerK, 405–6) has not been able to persuade his colleagues that "it is obvious that" this love commandment does not render invalid but rather includes love of neighbor and enemy. What Bultmann considered obvious has been rejected by a consensus.

The three sections of 1 John dealing with the love command present an expanding circle of issues. The first instance pursues the question of "newness" and "oldness" of the command to love: it is old (2:7), a commandment which they had from the beginning. At the same time it is a "new" command, "which is true in him *and in you*" (2:8a). Evidence for this truth is that "the darkness is passing away and the true light already shining" (2:8b). The epistle considers three possible responses to this:

1. One says he is in the light and hates his brother—he is in the darkness still (2:9).

2. Another loves his brother and remains in the light, and there is no cause for stumbling in him [or it = the light] (2:10).
3. A third hates his brother; he is in darkness, walks in darkness and has no idea where he is going for the darkness has blinded his eyes (2:11).

The author's major concern is with those who hate the brother. While there may have been problems among the disciples when Jesus lived with them, a problem as serious as this is not reported. "God is light" the author has written at the beginning of the epistle (1:5) and when we walk in that light "we have *koinonia* with each other …" (1:7). The one who lives with integrity and keeps his word, truly in that one the "love of God has been fully realized" (2:5).

The difficulties within the Johannine fellowship have been indicated. To describe those who hate their fellow Christians as blinded and lacking in orientation and direction seems relatively mild. But the author of 1 John sees the problem as very urgent. This is not the time to talk about how to love an outside enemy when the love within the fellowship is degenerating into hatred.

The second section (1 John 3:10–18, 23) is on the one hand more condemning, but on the other also much more tender. The tenderness comes to expression in the form of address, "brothers" in 3:13 and "children" in 3:18 and "beloved" in 3:21. The tenderness is also manifest in the repeated use of the personal pronoun plural; thus the author identifies with his audience (1 John 3:11, 14b, 18, 23) when he refers to the love command. It is also more condemning because the lines are more sharply drawn: Cain killed his brother, thereby signifying that he was of the evil one. He hated Abel because Abel's works were righteous. The one who does not love (1 John 3:14) remains in death. So hatred and manslaughter are closely joined together. The writer of the epistle presumably had not only the story of Cain, but Jesus' own words of warning (Matt 5:22) against anyone who is angry with his brother, consigning to the fires of Gehenna anyone who called his brother a fool. So with all the discussion of hatred it is still clear that the author wants to stress Jesus, the positive model of love, and not the model of hatred, Cain.

"In this way we know love, that that one [Christ] laid down his life for us, and we ought also to lay down our lives for our brothers" (1 John 3:16). In a pronounced shift, the author turns from the prospect of martyrdom to the beggar on the street—"if anyone has the substance of this world and sees his brother having need and closes his heart of compassion, how can it be said that the love of God dwells in him?" (3:17). In this single illustration the act of love is stripped of all pomp and glory and placed within the reach of everyone. The deed of love may lead to laying down one's life for our fellow Christian. But in the meantime it can begin with concrete help to the needy on the street.

After one of the most penetrating treatments of how a guilty conscience can be stilled before God he moves to a short creedal statement: "This is his commandment, that we might believe in the name of his son Jesus Christ and love one another just as he gave us commandment" (1 John 3:23).

This section begins with an affirmation that love and doing justice reveal whether we have our origin in God or in the devil. Since our *angelia,* reason for existence, "which we have heard from the beginning" is "that we should love one another" one can only say that one who does not love his brother is not of God. This is not an eternal decree. One can change one's base of origin by doing justice and loving one's fellow Christian. To be transferred from death into life can be a state of certainty, and can be tested simply by the question, Do you love the brothers? (3:14). Jesus demonstrated that love by laying down his life on behalf of his community, and Christians should be willing to do the same for their brothers and sisters. This is not a theoretical test, nor one that has to wait for martyrdom; it can be undertaken the next time a person walks down the street and sees someone in need. Even if one closes the springs of compassion the author does not condemn, but merely asks, How can it be said that the love of God continues to remain in such a person? (1 John 3:17).

The author then appeals for love in deed and not just in verbal expression; therein alone lies true certainty and the great gift of boldness of expression, freedom of speech (Gk *parrēsia*) before God, and loss of the condemning heart. Ultimately our case, the author affirms, rests in the God who is greater than our hearts, knows all things, and is above all a God of love. The great commandment for this author is, Believe in the name of the son of God, Jesus Christ, and love one another.

The stress on "remaining," original with this author (Heise 1967: 171), is seen throughout this epistle (23x) and also in the Fourth Gospel (43x). "This is how we can make sure that he dwells within us: we know it from the Spirit he has given us" (1 John 3:24b). The ultimate test that they are remaining comes from beyond them but resides within. While "Greek philosophy contemplated that which is eternal [remains] the OT confesses the One who remains" (Heise 1967: 28).

**2. God as Love.** The third section which deals with love is 1 John 4:7–21. It begins with the call "Beloved (*agapētoi*), let us love one another" (1 John 4:7). The reason is that *agapē* has its origin in God and therefore anyone who continues to love signifies birth from God and knowledge of God. On the other hand, the person who remains in a state of not loving (so the pres. part) does not know God, because God's very nature is *agapē.* This famous and pithy definition of God has to do with ethics and not with essence. It is not to be turned into its converse, as if wherever there is love, there is also God. Again (as the plural pronouns indicate) the author identifies deeply with his readers and as he enters into the depths of the incarnation the readers (or listeners) are reminded that God's love was manifested among us (*en hémin*) by this means: "he sent his only begotten son into the world in order that we might live through him" (4:9).

To anyone who accuses this author of stressing human love too much he answers directly: "In this is love, not that we loved God, but that he himself loved us and sent his son to undo and remove our sins" (1 John 4:10).

The obligation to love springs directly out of that Divine initiative. We ought to love one another, because God thus loved us (paraphrasing 1 John 4:11). The importance of this love for each other is stressed as a manifestation of God (1 John 2:5; 4:17–18).

The introduction of the formula, "By this we know" (4:13) signals the uppermost matter in the author's mind: How can one be certain? He returns to the presence of the Spirit; God's gift to the believers, first brought into the discussion in 3:24. The community is eyewitness and continues to bear witness to the Son as Savior of the world. Whatever may have been the content of the creed for this community, the essence of their faith is: "We know and have believed (both verbs in the perfect tense) the love which God has for (*en,* stressing internalized and personalized love) us" (4:16). More basic than that one cannot get!

With that the author comes to the second affirmation that God is love (1 John 4:16b). Here it serves to stress the abiding nature of God and the unchanging nature of God's way of dealing with the community. God remains in love. Love is made complete by its abiding presence in the community. Love banishes fear; for this author love and fear cannot exist side by side.

Two other appeals are made to the union between loving God and loving the brother. If someone says, "I love God" but hates his brother, "that person is a liar" (4:20a). Typical of this writer is a refusal to call people names. But similar to Paul certain conditions are outlined and if one places oneself under those conditions then one also must accept the title that goes with it. The judgment is reinforced by a strange bit of logic: "If he does not love the brother whom he has seen, how can he love God whom he has not seen?" (4:20b). It would seem that the power to love the brother who is visible should come from the invisible God. Indeed the author has previously established that God's love was prior to our loving him. Now, however, he is dealing with the conclusions to be drawn from evidence provided and removing from love that delightful trip into the general on which evasion thrives. He brings it down concretely into the reality of daily living. The liar must be exposed.

Finally, he makes an appeal to being born of God. Children act like their parents. If God the parent is loving, why should not the children be the same, unless, of course if they want to deny their parentage (5:1). "When we love God and obey his commands, we love his children too" (5:2).

**3. The Scope of Love for the Other.** This survey has shown that John's agenda is to restore love as the central reality of his community. Some modern writers accuse him of lacking the very love he espouses in his dealings with those who hate their brothers (e.g., Brown 1979: 131–35). But is this really true? He does not condemn them irrevocably to damnation or to separation from God. Those who have left are not told they cannot return. At the same time the community is to be one of love and not of hatred. To hate the brother is a serious offense, which if left unchecked will destroy the community as it may well destroy

those who through hatred have lost their way and are wandering around in the dark. Hatred can lead to murder. Above all the community of Christ must begin within its own midst to nurture the tender plant of love. Paul likewise in his appeal to the Galatians urges that while working for the good of all, the "members of the household of faith" (Gal 6:10) are to receive priority. Jesus, when a woman brought an expensive gift of love and some criticized this as a waste which could have been used to help the poor, allowed the gift to stand; and Mark adds, "wherever in all the world the Gospel is proclaimed, what she has done will be told as her memorial" (Mark 14:3–9). In this way Mark and his community affirmed their belief that love begins with those closest to you. Love for enemies and for fellow Christians are not in conflict with each other—they nurture and nourish each other. Both are empowered by the divine initiative of love.

It has been stated that "where the command of brotherly love is understood as it is in 1 John, the command to love the neighbor is at least restricted, if not repealed" (Rese 1985: 54). Surely this does not stand. The NT author's writing addresses the topic which is the most pressing at the moment. It is incorrect to argue that because he does not mention it therefore he does not believe that husbands should love their wives! Nor is it clear that he has "a shrunken point of view in which there is room only for a conventicle of brothers who love each other and keep the world at a distance" (Rese, ibid.). He affirms that the whole world is redeemable (2:2) and indeed that God who is love sent his son *into the world* that we might live (4:9). There is clearly a sense of mission in this epistle, although at the same time it is written to restore the community to a correct sense of priorities. It is doubtful that we dishonor him by taking seriously his view of the world. Certainly his message that love within the brotherhood is essential is in harmony with Peter's admonition to his people, "love the brotherhood" (1 Pet 2:17).

**G. Love in the Writings of Paul**

From every aspect, however, it is Paul who makes the profoundest contribution to the Christian understanding of love. Paul sees himself profoundly loved by God/Christ, and his life depends upon that love; indeed, the life which he now lives is not his, but the life which Christ himself lives in Paul: "I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me" (Gal 2:20). Personal faith in divine personal love sustained Paul and had called him into service. This is so basic that God becomes for Paul "the God of Love" (2 Cor 13:11), probably his way of saying that God is love.

Striking as the personal reference in Galatians is, Paul seems most comfortable speaking about the love of God/Christ in the first person plural. He addresses the Christians in Thessalonica as the "brothers beloved of God" (1 Thessalonians 14; 2 Thess 2:13) and twenty-one times addressed fellow Christians, including one Persis, a woman, as *agapētoi* "beloved" (Rom 16:12). Paul repeatedly affirms that the life in Christ is what it is "through him who loved (*agapēsantos*) us" (Rom 8:37). He lives, furthermore, in the unshakable conviction that "nothing in all creation can separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord" (Rom 8:39). Not only his personal history, but also the history of God's people is determined by God's love: "Jacob I loved, Esau I hated" (Rom 9:13); but even Jacob's people became a "no people," an "unloved nation" until God again called them, "My beloved" (Rom 9:25).

In the midst of the imponderables of history there is hope, and such "hope is no mockery, because God's love has flooded our inmost heart through the Holy Spirit he has given" (Rom 5:5). The proof of that love is that while we were still sinners, indeed God's enemies (Rom 5:10), Christ died for us (Rom 5:8). Consistent with Pauline theology the pre-Christian state of any individual is described as "under the dreadful judgment of God. But God, rich in mercy, for the great love he bore us, brought us to life …" (Eph 2:4).

Paul also speaks of the love of Christ as so commanding we have no choice (Gk *sunexō,* 2 Cor 5:14). "God's love 'sustains' us because it redeems and reconciles, and also because it draws believers into the realm of grace and places them under the command of their sovereign Lord" (Furnish 1972: 93). The whole of the Christian mission is a response to Christ's sacrifice. In a lofty prayer offered on behalf of the Ephesians the author's culminating request is that they "may be strong to grasp, with all God's people, what is the breadth and length and height and depth of the love (*agapē*) of Christ, and to know it, though it is beyond knowledge" (Eph 3:17–19). This is described as "the fulness of being."

Finally, Paul implores the Romans by the love of the Spirit (Rom 15:30) to be his allies in the fight. Possibly the author of Colossians was trying to relate the Spirit to love as well, but probably is speaking of the way in which love is demonstrated in the community of the spirit (Col 1:8). The central place which Paul attributes to love is seen most clearly in those passages where he attempts to define the essence of union with Christ. The letter to the Galatians forced that issue. In reviewing the alternatives Paul concludes: It is either freedom under Christ or trying to live under the law. Take it from me, he says: as for those who choose the latter alternative and receive circumcision, Christ will profit them nothing (Gal 5:2). He repeats, "anyone who undergoes circumcision obligates himself to keep the whole law" (5:3). The third statement moves to the one who seeks justification through the law; those people are "cut off from Christ and have fallen from the domain of God's grace" (5:4).

In contrast to those options Paul emphatically affirms, "But we await our hope of justification by the Spirit through faith. In Christ neither circumcision nor uncircumcision amounts to anything: all that matters is faith activated by love (*agapē*)" (5:6). This fundamental affirmation is supported throughout Pauline writings.

Love stands at the head of the list of the fruits of the Spirit Paul enumerates in Gal 5:22, and appears in a number of other series or lists (Eph 4:2; 4:32–5:2; Col 3:12; 2 Cor 6:6; 2 Pet 1:7).

**1. Love in 1 Corinthians 13.** This part of one of Paul's letters holds a special place as the highest tribute paid to love (*agapē*) in any Christian literature. The quality of its literary style and the problems in relating it to its context, but above all its lack of theology or Christology, have led interpreters to question whether it derives from Paul. The question of its relationship to the preceding and following portions of the letter is also vexing. Some have considered it an interpolation which seeks to bring Stoic values into Christianity; if written by Paul, it must have been written at a time when he was deeply influenced by Stoicism (Lehmann and Fridrichsen 1922: 56, 67). Others have pursued the Jewish background, either specifically in rabbinic thought (Gerhardsson 1978) or in the wider Jewish wisdom literature (von Rad 1953). Increasingly, interest is shown in seeing this treatment of love as part of the ongoing debate between Paul and the Corinthians, and above all in taking seriously the theological connections between 1 Corinthians 13 [where neither the word "God" nor "Christ" appear] and the rest of Pauline theology (Wischmeyer 1981; 1983; also Pedersen 1980).

When Paul promises to show a "better way" (Gk *kath'hyperbolēn hodon*) he is availing himself of a term much used in Judaism, but also commonly used by Epictetus (Weiss 1910). His better way is to reject the passion for charismatic gifts and concentrate instead on *agapē,* which he does not see as a charismatic gift.

The chapter (1 Corinthians 13) divides into three clearly distinguishable parts. Love is compared to tongues, to prophecy and to an act of charity.

1 Cor 13:1–3: (a) Speaking in tongues of men or angels without love is a clashing cymbal or noisy brass, perhaps reminiscent of the clashing cymbals of Cybele's procession conducted by priests who were, along with poets dubbed "drums and cymbals of self-advertisement" (DeWitt 1954: 146). (b) The gift of prophesy; knowing all mysteries and all knowledge; "Paul takes a specifically Christian factor—Spirit-inspired utterance in community—and transposes it into the universal style of wisdom teaching" (Conzelmann *1 Corinthians* Hermeneia, 220). If one has in addition to knowledge, faith sufficient to move a mountain, without love, "I am nothing." (c) If I give all I own, even deliver my body to be burned, without love, that profits nothing. This series moves from unusual speech to self-sacrifice. It highlights what can be done with the mind and what can be done by faith. By putting them all together in this way he covers all that is generally seen as religion: liturgy, articulate prophecy, and acts of charity. The case of self-immolation had numerous antecedents and was a standard illustration of the time (Weiss 1910: 315). Paul stresses that in the Christian community, one thing is essential: love.

1 Cor 13:4–7: The nature of love is here described in a single sentence comprising vv 4–7. The sentence is divided into four parts. First, verse 4a has two positive assertions: Love is patient, it is gentle. Then there follow seven negative affirmations about love (4b–5): love is not envious, boastful, conceited, rude, selfish, touchy, keeps no score of wrongs. The third part has a contrasting antithesis: Love does not gloat

over other peoples' sins but rather delights in the truth (v 7). The fourth part consists of equal principle statements about the positive nature of love: love sustains everything, embraces everything, hopes everything and holds its own against everything.

The organization of the sentence is not logical but rather rhetorical, with an eye to the listener's response. There is general agreement that this paragraph has its closest connection with Jewish wisdom teaching (von Rad 1953); Wischmeyer (1981: 92–116) has isolated the connections with painstaking care. She concludes that although Conzelmann's observation is correct that the chapter contains no Christology, nevertheless "the Christian dimension is buried in the definition of the three concepts: faith, hope and love." Wischmeyer sees the Christology behind the way in which the attributes of love are put together here. In part, there is a literal copying of the traditional materials from Judaism, only what is in Judaism attributed to God and to the faithful sufferer is here attributed to *agapē.* Thus "*agapē* in Pauline theology is a theological and christological entity which at the same time constitutes the basic category of the life of faith. Consequently the forms of behavior belonging to *agapē* in Judaism, patience, hope and faith and being friendly towards one's neighbor can be taken over into the Pauline *agapē* concept" (Wischmeyer 1981: 115).

The difference from Jewish exemplars is also important. In Judaism it is the Torah which causes Job, Abraham and the martyrs of the Maccabean times to exhibit noble characteristics. Thus the new value placed upon *agapē* in the NT points to an implicit Christology without which the Pauline description of *agapē* seems inconceivable. The last verse of this section (1 Cor 13:13) points to the eschatological dimension of Paul's view of love, and with its stress on that which endures opens up the remaining part of the literary piece.

1 Cor 13:8–12: In a declaratory manner Paul describes the superiority of love in that it "never fails." It endures beyond the other three categories, tongues, prophesy, and knowledge, that he has already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.

**2. Love of Enemies in Paul.** Because the specific command "love your enemies" does not appear in Pauline letters, it is sometimes argued that Paul does not know this command. A closer study of his writings makes it evident that the substance of the teaching is there (Huber 1982; Sauer 1985). The center of Pauline teaching on this matter is found in his grounding all of the Christian commands in the affirmation that "God loved us while we were his enemies" (Rom 5:10). In addition, Paul prescribes behavior towards those who persecute and those who curse along the same lines as Jesus does (Rom 12:9–21; 1 Cor 4:12–13). All vengeance is to be avoided and all retaliation in kind rejected. From the Jewish wisdom tradition he cites Prov 25:21 and urges that Christians feed a hungry enemy and give him something to drink. The victory he foresees of good over evil through this course of action is expressed in the image of coals of fire; the image employed in the Proverb derived ultimately from Egypt (Klassen 1963a) and has no direct connection with a desire to increase vengeance upon the enemies (contra Stendahl 1962). Paul uses Jewish and perhaps some Hellenistic wisdom concepts of battle and victory here and his concept of vengeance is related more to divine sovereignty than to personal satisfaction.

Paul did not himself consistently live up to this teaching if we take as historical Luke's account of his encounter with the High Priest Ananias (Acts 23:1–5). The pressures to omit this incident, given the Stoic age in which Luke wrote and the frequency with which his contemporaries discussed what a wise man does when hit in the face inclines one to treat the incident as genuine.

**H. Love in the Catholic Epistles**

**1. Hebrews and James.** The Epistle to the Hebrews has a total of five occurrences of words from the *agapē* family. Heb 6:9 provides the only use of the vocative *agapētoi* "beloved." The part. appears in a catena of citations from LXX (1:9, citing Ps 45:7) describing the Son who "loved righteousness and hated lawlessness" and the verb in 12:6 (citing Prov 3:11–12 [LXX]) where God's discipline is based on God's love. The motivation of all the service and love (*agapē*) shown by the Christians addressed was "for [God's] sake (lit. name)" (6:10). One of the exhortations is to stir up one another to love (*agapē*) and good works" (10:24). Notable here is the combination of faith (10:22), hope (10:23) and love (10:24) although from a rhetorical point of view the stress is on the three verbs, "let us draw near" (10:22), "let us hold

fast" (10:23) and "let us attend to arousing each other to love" (10:24), a threefold "mandate for the church in the world" (Glombitza 1967: 147). In Hebrews there is also an admonition for the continuance of *philadelphia* or brotherly affection (13:1).

James has three uses of the word "beloved" (1:16, 19; 2:5). At a more theological level the basic relationship to God is described as "those who love God" (1:12; 2:5) and the commandment to love the neighbor is described as "the royal [*basilikon*] law laid down in Scripture" (2:8). The meaning is that the law of love has its origin and derives its authority directly from God the King. Dibelius demonstrated the rich Jewish background for this expression and why it need not be attributed to Jesus. Its inspiration is more likely Lev 19:18 (LXX) and the warning not to despise the poor and favor the rich (Lev 19:15).

**2. 1 Peter.** The first chapter of 1 Peter includes love prominently among its themes (1:8). The love (*agapaō*) referred to is the love disciples have for Jesus Christ. But in the same context the writer urges his readers to love one another wholeheartedly with all their strength (1:22; note also 2:17; 3:8; 4:8). Given the frequency of this exhortation in the NT (14x) in the Pauline, Petrine and Johannine traditions, it has to be singled out as characteristic of the earliest Christian tradition. The occurrence of *agapaō* in 1 Pet 3:10 is traditional, deriving from Psalm 34 (LXX). In the gnomic saying "love covers a multitude of sins" (4:8), the verb *kalyptō* has generated considerable discussion. The context indicates that the writer is urging his audience to keep their love strong. A similarly worded statement appears in Jas 5:10. Both may allude to Prov 10:12. Finally, for this author the stress is on the way in which love comes into being through the power of regeneration, and his concern is that that love become an enduring state as indicated by his use of the term *ektenōs* (1:22; 4:8). This concern is also supported by his appeal at the end for Christians to greet each other with the "kiss of love" (5:14).

**3. 2 Peter and Jude.** Apart from the presence of both the word *philadelphia* and *agapē* at the close of the list of virtues in the first chapter (2 Pet 1:7) the author has little interest in love as an enabling and dynamic force to overcome the evils he sees in the church. He has the distinction of being the only NT writer to utter an unequivocal curse (2 Pet 2:14). The persons in mind may be the same as "those who live in the love of God" (v 1) and who are greeted: "Mercy to you and peace and love be multiplied" (v 2). The most unusual reference is found however in v 12 where reference is made to "men who are a blot on their love feasts, … drinking shamelessly and shepherding only themselves." This is the only reference to an *agapē* meal in the NT. Neither 2 Peter nor Jude contribute anything significant to our understanding of love in the NT.

**I. Love in the Revelation of John**

The writer of Revelation has been described as "living from a high pitch of hatred" (Bousset *Offenbarung* MeyerK, 271), as missing the "glow of enemy-love" and displaying instead a "virtuosity of hatred" (Preisker 1949: 205), and a "glowing hatred against all enemies" (Bauer 1917: 40). W. D. Davies saw in the book an "abortive hatred" towards the powers (*IDB* 2: 176) but the strongest indictments against the book have come from D. H. Lawrence (1931) and C. G. Jung, both of whom failed to see its rich symbolism as a carrier of truth. The latter saw the book as the hateful explosion of an old man at the end of his life who had spoken about love so much that he had repressed all feelings of hatred (Jung 1954: 125).

An examination of the text of Revelation reveals that the verb *agapaō* appears only four times, the noun *agapē* only twice and the verb *phileō* only three times. Of these usages, 1:6 joins with other NT witnesses in placing Christ's redemptive love (*agapē*) as the cornerstone of the Christian community. Love (*phileō*) is related to discipline leading to repentance (3:19, alluding to Prov 3:12; cf. Heb 12:5, which follows the LXX in using *agapaō*). The church at Ephesus is rebuked for having lost her first love (*agapē*) (2:4), the warm affirmation of affection for each other, and the translation of emotion into responsible moral action. Thyatira is praised for her "love (*agapē*) and faith, service and fortitude" (2:19).

At the core of our understanding of the Revelation is the symbol of the Lamb. Introduced in chap. 5 at a critical stage of the drama, it stands without modifier and from that point on is the main actor. Clearly the description of this Lamb epitomizes love as self-giving: "he was slain and by his blood persons of every tribe and language, people and nation" were purchased for God and made into a royal house (5:9). There

is no direct love command in the book; nevertheless since the church is tested by its love and above all since the call to steadfastness revolves around remaining faithful in following the Lamb and at no place are readers urged to use violence or commanded to hate their persecutors, we may see the book as an example of leaving the execution of wrath in the hands of God and of the Lamb. There is, according to recent work on the book (Caird *Revelation* BHNTC), no need to see the book as a deviation from the NT ethic of love (which in any case is not incompatible with a deep commitment to the sovereignty of God). Indeed G. B. Caird states that the author had "learned from Christ that the omnipotence of God is not the power of unlimited coercion but the power of invincible love" (*Revelation* BHNTC, 19). Especially in chap. 22 Caird finds the image of Paradise restored to the nations "still bearing the wounds of those battles by which their hostility to the Lamb has been beaten down, smashed by the iron bar of his inexorable love" (Caird, 280). The message of the book would seem to be that those who follow the power of love rather than the love of power will conquer. But only those who follow the Lamb in serving others unto death will share in that victory. It may well be that in the Apocalypse of John the symbol of sacrifice is taken over by a small beleaguered community and is transformed into a victory symbol.

**J. Conclusions**

Our survey has shown that as a whole the early Christian writings share the appreciation for love found in the Hebrew scriptures, especially in the wisdom tradition and later Jewish literature. We know of no Greek or Roman community in which love played such an important role, and it may be that Luke's reticence to use the word in Acts stems from his Hellenistic roots. For the early Christians, although there is little mention of love in the Gospels, the coming of the Kingdom in the person of Jesus was a sure sign of God's love for all people, indeed for the world. At the same time Paul's own strong sense of call was grounded in the love of God, and the church's constitution rested on that love. In turn a fruit of the spirit was love (Gal 6:22) and for Paul it was the greatest gift of all. Love was therefore freely commanded to Christians, first towards each other, then to all people, including the enemy. The NT documents show considerable tension between insider and outsider, no doubt stemming from an awareness that the boundaries of a community have to be established and maintained. The emergence of formulas like "the God of Love" (2 Cor 13:11) and the "love of Jesus Christ" (Rom 8:35) in early communities shows that they were able to develop both a theology and a Christology of love. This theology, built in the first instance on the Jewish experience, was given a strong impetus first by Jesus, who spoke little about love but practiced it in an exemplary fashion, and by Paul, who (like the Johannine community and the Petrine group) placed love into a central place. To understand the early Christians, one must give serious attention to the liberating and empowering view of love that they brought to the world.

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**LOWER CRITICISM.** See TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

**LOZON** (PERSON) [Gk *Lozōn* (Λοζων)]. See DARKON (PERSON).

**LUBIM.** See LEHABIM; LIBYA (PLACE).

**LUCIUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Loukios* (Λουκιος)]. **1.** Lucius of Cyrene, a Jewish Christian prophet and teacher in the church at Antioch in Syria (Acts 13:1). He is listed in this text from Acts along with Barnabas, Simeon who was called Niger, Manaen, and Saul. Lucius is distinguished by his place of origin, Cyrene, which is the capital city of the Roman province of Cyrene in Northern Africa, a city famous for its Jewish inhabitants (see CYRENE). Thus, he probably was a Hellenistic Jew. Because of his Cyrenian origin, Lucius may well have been included among those from Cyrene who, along with those from Cyprus, traveled to Antioch after the persecution of Stephen to help found the church there (cf. Acts 11:20).

**2.** Lucius, a "kinsman" of Paul, who along with Jason and Sosipater, sent greetings from Corinth to the church in Rome (Rom 16:21). These three are identified by Paul as "my kinsmen," to be understood as Paul's fellow countrymen, that is, Jewish Christians. It is possible that Lucius 2 is identical with Lucius 1. If so, then at some point Lucius of Cyrene traveled from Antioch to Corinth.

The name Lucius is a Latin Praenomen common throughout the Roman world. It is one of the Latin equivalents for the shortened Greek name *Loukas* (cf. *Loukanos*), "Luke," as is apparent from two inscriptions referring to a family who put up memorials in honor of the god Men Ascaenus at Antioch in Pisidia. The son's name is given as *Loukas* in one and as *Loukios* in the other (Cadbury 1920–33: 491). Some authors from patristic times to the present have identified Lucius of Cyrene with Luke the evangelist and companion of Paul (see Cadbury 1920–33: 494). For example, Ephraem of Syria adds "and Luke the Cyrenean" after "Mark" in Acts 12:25 (Armenian *Comm. on Acts* 12:25–13:3), thus suggesting such an identification (Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB, 47). Also, the Western text (D) for Acts introduces the first "we" passage at Acts 11:28, implying that the author (Luke) was present in Antioch. This too has led to an identification of Luke with the Lucius present at Antioch in Acts 13:1.

The Lucius of Rom 16:21 has likewise been identified from the early Christian period to the present with Luke the evangelist. Origen was aware of some who made such an identification (*Comm. in Rom.* 10.39). If so, Luke would then be a kinsman of Paul, and thus a Jewish Christian. Though this is possible, the problem, as Fitzmyer (43) remarks, "is to explain why Paul would refer to Luke there as *Loukios,* when he elsewhere uses *Loukos* of him" (Philemon 24; Col 4:14; cf. 2 Tim 4:11).

While it is true that Lucius and Lukas can be used interchangeably, an identification of Lucius (of Cyrene) with Luke the evangelist and companion of Paul is unlikely because: (1) Lucius was a very common name; (2) the author of Acts, who does not identify himself elsewhere in the narrative, would be unlikely to present himself with the robust description of "teacher and prophet" in Acts 13:1; (3) Lucius of Cyrene was probably a Jewish Christian, and Luke the evangelist was probably a gentile Christian; and (4) a tradition from the end of the 2d century (Ancient Greek Prologue) is that Luke was a Syrian, native to Antioch.

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**LUD** (PERSON) [Heb *lûd* (לוּד)]. LUDIM. The Table of Nations (Gen 10:13) and the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 1:11 identifies Ludim as one of the sons of Mizraim (Egypt), son of Ham, son of Noah. Further along in the same genealogy is a reference to Lud, a son of Shem and a grandson of Noah (Gen 10:22; 1 Chr 1:17). There appear, therefore, to be two peoples in the Israelite purview showing similar names. One of these is Semitic, the other not.

Several biblical texts associate Lud with Egypt. An oracle concerning Egypt in Jeremiah 46 affiliates Ludite warriors with those of Cush (Ethiopia) and Put (Libya; Jer 46:9). Egypt is warned that at the Day of the Lord, she and her allies, including the Arabs in addition to the three peoples just mentioned, will be destroyed (Ezek 30:5). These could all be allies, or possibly mercenary troops supporting Egypt. The latter is the case in an oracle to Tyre (Ezek 27:10), where these soldiers were drawn from Persia, Put and Lud. All of these references seem to point toward, or are amenable to, an interpretation placing the Ludim in N Africa. Neo-Babylonian texts place the *Ludu* in alliance with Egypt as well (see Parpola 1970: 227). The LXX and Syriac read Ezek 30:5 not as Ludim but Lubim. Some read this as a reference to Libya, strengthening an African connection for these people. The textual evidence for this alternate reading here or elsewhere is not compelling.

Another identification is made with the Lydians, inhabitants of west-central Asia Minor (Josephus, *Ant* 1.144). The origins of the Lydians are obscure (*CAH*$^3$ 2: 438–9), so any possible Semitic origin is uncertain. So is the relationship between these Lydians and the previously mentioned Ludim. Perhaps these groups shared a common ancestry. The Sea Peoples who tried to settle on the Egyptian coast in the second half of the 2d millennium do seem to have roots in the Aegean region (see CAH$^3$ 2: 374, 361). The

reference to Ludim in Isa 66:19 places them among several witnesses to God's glory. These include groups associated with both Africa (Put, "Libya") and the Aegean (Javan, "Greece").

On the basis of these different points of evidence, a definite identification cannot be proposed. Groups from two different geographical areas sharing common ancestry, while not provable, would correspond to the available evidence.

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**LUHITH** (PLACE) [Heb *lûḥît* (לוּחִית)]. A town in SW Moab, mentioned in the oracles of Isaiah (15:5) and Jeremiah (48:5). In both passages, Luhith (Heb *lûḥît* "terrace") is named as a prominent point on the slopes of Transjordan's escarpment, on or near the route that connected the plain of the Dead Sea with the tableland. On the "ascent of Luhith" the ancient Moabites sought to escape calamity in the Ghor (drought?), or they fled from the plateau in the face of war, depending on how the prophetic texts are understood. In either case, emphasis is placed upon laments that transcend topographical barriers. Modern Katrabba is probably the site of ancient Luhith.

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**LUKE** (PERSON) [Gk *Loukas* (Λουκας)]. A physician and "fellow worker" with the apostle Paul (Philemon 24; cf. Col 4:14; 2 Tim 4:11). Luke apparently accompanied Paul on his journey to Rome, and is the reputed author of the gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles. See LUKE-ACTS, BOOK OF. This entry consists of two articles assessing Luke's accomplishments as an historian and as a theologian.

### *LUKE AS HISTORIAN*

The author of the two-part Lukan opus at no point comments on the literary character of his work, not even in the prologue. Only to the efforts of those who had earlier reported "of the things which have been accomplished among us" (Luke 1:1)—not to his own work—does he apply the technical terminology often used by contemporaries to describe historical or biographical writing (*diegēsis:* Luke 1:1; cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* I.7.4; Joseph, *JW* 7, 42; and Plut. *Lyc.* 1.7). With less sharply defined language Luke describes his own purpose as "to write down in proper sequence" (*kathexēs grapsai*; Luke 1:3). If indeed the author's purpose communicated at the beginning of Luke 1:3—to take up his pen in imitation of the precursors mentioned in Luke 1:1—was intended to refer not only to the fact of writing itself but also to the literary genre of the work, then the prologue would carry at least an indirect reference to the literary character of the twofold project: Luke would then also have undertaken to write a narrativation (*diegesis*).

Luke was more precise about his activity in preparation for the writing of his work than he was about its literary form. Before he wrote he had investigated everything carefully from the beginning (Luke 1:3). This is the same claim made centuries earlier by another author, the historian Thucydides: not writing down the events according to his whim but rather investigating the details with as much precision as possible (1.22.2). Such assurances became customary in the writings of later historians. Similarity in content and vocabulary between Luke's prologue and Thucydides' chapter on method clearly shows that Luke sought to be a historian. He need not necessarily have read Thucydides directly; rather he could have drawn on historiographical tradition or perhaps on rhetoric textbooks.

We find Luke's claim to be a historian recorded elsewhere in Luke-Acts, namely in the use of the first person plural or the so-called "we passages" in Acts 16:10–17; 20:5–8, 13–15; 21:1–18; 27:1 to 28:16. The reader can and should conclude from these passages that the reporter of these events was himself involved in them. Yet the "we" in these passages is intended to indicate merely a walk-on role. It implies and is intended to imply only that those involved (above all Luke himself) frequently traveled by ship and in the process endured all of the things that went with maritime travel in those days, e.g., storm and shipwreck. For it is only in conjunction with maritime travel that the "we" references occur. What initially appears to be an idiosyncrasy of the author has the deeper purpose of demonstrating his role as a historian. He wants to be taken for well-traveled, especially by ship, in order to prove that he has the experience necessary for him to be considered a pragmatic Hellenistic historian. Travels were an important part of the

historian's expected range of experience (Polyb. 12 25h.1f; Diod. Sic., 1.4.1; cf. Lucian, *Hist. conscr.* 29). Thus Odysseus became an obligatory example for these historians—Polybius noted that writing history tests the mettle of a man (12.28.1; cf. 27.10). This led to the expectation that the true historian, like Odysseus, also have maritime experience. Lucian expresses this most clearly in his treatise on the writing of history. Because Lucian merely wants to give historians a few tips, rather than write history himself, unlike them he has no need to put up with the " 'spray and surf' (Hom. *Od.,* 12.219) and anxieties that afflict the historian" (*Hist. conscr.* 4). The assumption that the historian must undertake sea voyages is found already in Polybius (12.27.8–11), has been worked into the Homer-legend (*Vita Herodotea,* 6), and is even incorporated into comedy (Plaut., *Men.,* 234–238; 247f.). Since Lucian, who merely reflects widely transmitted assumptions, knew this rule, the presence of the "we passages" in Luke is not particularly surprising.

If Luke set out to be a Hellenistic historian then one could assume that his intentions would be apparent in the literary shaping of his work. To be sure, the Gospel of Luke reflects only a few characteristics of a historical account, but Acts makes up for this with a large number. The reasons for this discrepancy are obvious. As he wrote the first work (*prōtos logos*) (Acts 1:1), Luke had in front of him extensive source materials, Mark as well as the Sayings Source. The first of these already had a firmly established and apparently indispensable literary form, namely that of a gospel. In contrast Luke had a freer hand as he wrote Acts, since there were neither formal examples to follow nor large collections of source materials that might have limited his ability to give literary shape to his work. The source materials for Acts consisted largely of short discrete traditions which dominate what are normally referred to as the "itinerary" passages. Such brief units were much more easily melded into a narrative with its own character.

Luke reveals himself as a historian most visibly in the numerous speeches he placed in the mouths of the actors in the book of Acts. A total of about 24 speeches together makes up about one-third of the book (such speeches constitute approximately one-fourth of Thucydides's history and of Sallust's *coniuratio Catilinae*).

As with the speeches in the writings of Greek and Roman historians, those of Luke are not repetitions of addresses that were actually given; like those of secular historians, the speeches in Acts often do not fit the situation in which they are said to have been spoken or, if they do fit their context, they nonetheless extend far beyond that context. Thus, for example, the setting and speech in 17:16 and 17:22 contradict each other diametrically: 17:16 reports that Paul was extremely annoyed by the profusion of pagan statues in Athens; in his Areopagus speech (17:22–31), in contrast, the same profusion of idols led him to praise the piety of the Athenians in his captatio benevolentiae (17:22). Paul's self-defense (20:20–21, 27, 33–34) threads its way through his speech to the elders at Ephesus (20:18–35) yet no accusations are made by his listeners nor are such found elsewhere in Acts. In Acts 22:1–21 Paul is supposed to be defending himself (22:1) against allegations that he had defiled the temple (21:28), yet he devotes the speech itself solely to his Jewish upbringing and piety and to his conversion and commission to preach to the gentiles.

Problems of this sort can be resolved when the speeches are interpreted not in their immediate contexts but within the framework of the entire book, i.e., in light of the author's intention. Only then does it become apparent that Luke did not seek to report a particular historical event when he wrote up these speeches, rather, through the speeches he wanted to give his readers "insight into the suprahistorical meaning of the historical moment at hand," or insight into the "event's trajectory of meaning" (Dibelius 1951: 120–21). Thus he selected Athens, despite the fact that the actual results of evangelization there were rather meager (17:32ff.), to be the stage for Paul's speech. As the intellectual center of the world and a prime location for Hellenistic piety (thus the captatio's reference to the piety of the Athenians in 17:22), Athens had special meaning for Paul—it was the proper place for a programmatic confrontation between the Christian Paul and Greek thought. Luke's concern is with the "typicality of this confrontation, which in a larger sense is historical and which had perhaps more relevance in Luke's own day than it had at the time of Paul" (Dibelius 1951: 133), not unlike Thucydides' desire to illustrate an "ideal competition between two principles" in the speeches of the Melian dialogue (Thuc. 5.85–113; Jaeger 1936: 501). The

address in Acts 20:18–35, which belongs to the genre of farewell speeches, must also be understood as the Acts-author's statement about the situation at hand. It is likewise directed solely at the readers of the book. Luke lets them know here that an epoch of the Church's history, the era of the apostles' disciples (second generation), was coming to an end with Paul's farewell to his mission field and that the Lukan "present" was beginning. Unlike the earlier period, which had been troubled by heresy (cf. 20:29–30), the present period possessed the complete and undiminished tradition that Paul had transmitted (20:27) and need not be made anxious by secret heretical teachings (20:30). The surprising irrelevance to its context of Paul's self-defense (22:1–21) also ceases to be unsettling if one does not see it in connection with the charge that Paul had profaned the temple, but instead applies Luke's historiographical intention as an interpretive key. It then becomes apparent that the author of Acts views the moment in which Paul reaches the end of his free activity as a moment of special historical significance, a moment that requires that the missionary to the gentiles look back and reflect on how he was led into a mission to the gentiles that was not bound by the Law. Ostensibly he does this in front of the crowd; actually he is addressing the readers' forum.

When Luke inserted speeches at the most important transitions in his narrative in order to illuminate the meaning of the particular moment and the trajectory of the events, he was basically doing nothing other than what Thucydides had done. For Thucydides "the ultimate aim of the speeches was to help the historian to interpret the events: they shed light on the inner interrelationships that otherwise … would be visible only indirectly in the structure and tone of the portrayal" (Gundert 1940: 98, cf. Luschnat 1942: 113ff. with reference to Thuc. 1.68–71, 73–78; 2.87, 89, and elsewhere). Luke was no Thucydidean in the style of Polybius. Yet the influence of the great Athenian is clearly perceptible in the speeches of the book of Acts, even if it most probably was transmitted over many stages of historiographical tradition rather than directly taken up by Luke.

In the case of one group of speeches, which have an obvious common pattern of organization, are all addressed to a Jewish audience, and are much better integrated into their context. Dibelius (1951: 142) sought to deny any connection with Greco-Roman historiographical tradition, suggesting instead that they reflect the pattern of Christian sermons of the time of Luke as can be seen in the so-called "mission speeches" (2:14–39; 3:12–26; 4:9–12; 5:29–32; 10:34–43; 13:16–41). Wilckens has shown (1961: 72ff.), however, that such a sermon pattern did not exist, and that these speeches must be interpreted as a peculiarly Lukan portrayal of what the author of the Acts wished to be understood as the essence of the apostolic proclamation. Thus they are examples not of preaching contemporary with Luke but of historical preaching characteristic of a particular epoch. Like the other speeches of Acts these invariably occur at decisive turning points in the Church's history. This is done, however, not by illuminating through the speeches the time-transcending meaning of the turning points, rather it is done in such a way that "in each decisive point of transition in mission history the verbally recounted sermon is offered as the dynamic factor that produces the events and directs their course" (Wilckens 1961: 96). A typical example is the sermon by Peter in 3:12–26, which produces the confrontation between the Jesus' gospel and Judaism that is so decisive for the future (cf. 4:1–3). Another example comes in Paul's speech in 13:16–41. Its conclusion takes the form of a final exhortation to repentance directed at the Jews. Out of Jewish unwillingness to respond to this call to repentance (13:44–45) comes Paul's shift from a Jewish to a gentile mission (13:46–47) that dominates the events described in Acts.

In this too Luke was dependent on Greco-Roman historiography. Speeches intended in a literary sense to set in motion decisive historical processes and thereby to make history are found in the great deliberation scenes of Livy's history. According to Livy the war between Rome and Antiochus III was sparked primarily by a speech delivered by Hannibal in the king's council, since "this speech not only impressed the king, but also reconciled him to Hannibal. Thus the result of this council-session was the decision to go to war" (35.19.7, cf. 5.49–55; 21.19.8ff.; 33.13.13). That this assumption about the history-making power of speeches was widely held among historians in the Greco-Roman world is most evident in the paradigmatic words of an otherwise not particularly original writer (E. Schwarz in PW, 5: 934), Dionysius of Halicarnassus. He tells us in his *Antiquitates Romanae* (7.66.3) that he was astonished at

how many historians waste words on wars and the conditions that go with them yet, when recounting the political developments and crises, fail to transmit the speeches that brought forth such extraordinary and astonishing events. To recount words that shed light on the events that came to pass was the historiographical expectation Luke sought to fulfill in composing the "mission-speeches." Not for its own sake did he seek to meet this expectation, but in order to prove legitimate the historical process through which Jewish Christianity became the gentile Christian church of his day. He succeeded in this by showing how the proclamation of the Gospel by the apostles and by Paul, the ones chosen by the Lord himself to be witnesses "in Jerusalem and in all of Judaea and Samaria and even to the ends of the earth" (1:8; 13:47; 22:21), was, at each decisive turning point, the dynamic force responsible for the developments.

The narrative portions of Acts reveal their author as a Hellenistic historian almost to a greater degree than do the speeches (occasionally the narrative portions of Luke do the same, e.g., 4:16–30, cf. Busse, 1978: 55–67).

Luke offers no continuously advancing course of action. Instead he portrays the events as a sequence of individual episodes that normally lack any or have only minimal connection to the context, indeed, his episodes do not require the context in order to be understood. Examples of abrupt openings for new narrative episodes are found in Acts 10:1ff. and Acts 18:12, where the story begins in each case with the introduction of someone significant for the episode that follows. In other instances information that has already been given is retold in a new context (cf. Acts 10:5–6 with 9:43). Almost never does the action of one episode affect another event. For example, although the events of Pentecost in 2:1ff. fulfill a promise given at the Ascension (1:8) the Ascension is never mentioned in telling the Pentecost story. Even at their conclusions episodes are seldom linked factually with the context (cf. 14:18 and 14:19; 16:40 and 17:1; 19:40 and 20:1). The episodes of Acts were written above all as dramatic scenes, as living, vivid illustrations, concise and purposefully put together. Luke heightens the drama through climactic turning points (14:8–18; 16:16–40; 19:23–40) and dramatic effects (1:9; 10:44; 16:27–28; 18:12–17), both of which take the form of marvels (1:9; 10:44) or unusual acts of nature (16:26).

Luke employs the "dramatic episode" style (E. Haenchen *Acts* MeyerK) particularly effectively whenever he arranges specific assertions and their consequences into scenes. Stripped of their drab abstraction, such assertions are thus able to work upon the reader. For instance, nowhere does Luke say in the abstract that the state and its legal system are not suited to decide religious issues, or that such controversies are not adjudicable. Instead he demonstrates this thesis by way of concrete cases in scenes found in 18:12–17, 25:13–22, and 25:23–26, 32. Luke tells the reader the things he considers to be important doing so not in dry reports but in the action of vivid individual scenes, out of which the reader can draw all that is essential with his or her own eye.

Luke uses the style of a particular type of Hellenistic historiography here, the style of the tragedy/pathos-centered historiography. Its aim was "sub oculos subiecto" (Gellius 10.3.7 regarding Cicero's style), that is, the gripping shaping of graphic, true-to-life images that should lock in the reader's attention like a scene in the theater (Lucian, *Hist. conscr.* 51). Adherents of this school of historiography included Duris of Samos (cf. Diod. *Sic.* 19.108–9; 20.33–34), Phylarch (cf. Plut. *Cleom.* 19–20, 29, 38), Cleitarch, the historian of Alexander (cf. Diod. *Sic.* 17.26–27, 98–99), and Curtius Rufus (cf. 4.1.38–4.21), as well as the author of 2 Maccabees (cf. 3:1–40). All of them exhibit, more or less, those stylistic peculiarities that are characteristic of the Lukan episodes: frequent irrelevance to the context, a striving for vividness and a sensitivity to dramatic effects and climactic turning points. The individual stories of Livy are especially characteristic examples of this tragedy-pathos approach to history writing—they are "visually conceived, and their strength is found in their powerful imagery, in their vividness" (Burck 1964: 200–201; cf. Livy 2.40; 31.17; 45.12).

The inspiration and motivation for the tragedy-pathos approach was a portrayal of historical events that achieved complete reproduction of lived truth through imitation of reality, i.e., through *mimesis,* or *enargeia* (see the paradigmatic statement of Duris, *FGrH* 76 F 1). This did not mean that one aimed at historical facticity, indeed one viewed *mimesis* often as a suitable means to make history vivid even when

historical facts were distorted through a recounting that aimed at a greater sense of "real life," or a portrayal that replaced facts with a "fictional or potential reality" (Strasburger 1975: 80; cf. Avenarius 1956: 130–40). Polybius' criticism of Phylarch is significant in this context: Phylarch makes use of the concerns of tragedy when he tried to "appeal to the emotions of the reader and to make the reader a fellow-sufferer in the events portrayed," but he neglects the concerns of the historian, namely, "to remember without distortion what had been truly done and said" (2.56.7–10). Tragedy-oriented historiography was concerned solely to lead the reader to enjoyment whether to mere entertainment (Cicero, *Fam.* 5.12.4), or also to *katharsis,* to "cleansing and/or freeing of the soul, which is the particular outcome of reliving the tragedy" (Strasburger 1975: 82). Livy once more offers the best illustration of this psychagogy, above all where his specific stories place before the reader "examples of the ancients" with their power for the present (e.g., 2.10; 2.12; 2.13.6–11), permitting the events portrayed to act as "salutary examples … for the human race" (5.27.13).

This style was perfectly suited to Luke's purposes. Given the delay of the *parousia,* Christians needed to find their place in the world. Yet this world was, even if not a priori (Acts 26:28, 31–32), certainly de facto becoming increasingly hostile towards Christianity (see Plin. *Ep.* 10: 96–97; Acts 20:25, 36–38, where Luke hints that he knew of Paul's death). Luke resisted some of the conclusions that might be drawn from this situation. On the one hand he opposed the sort of uncompromising Christian hostility toward the state and the society that is visible in the renewal of apocalyptic expectations shared by the Apocalypse of John. On the other hand he did not want to be content and not stand out (a later example of this stance is found in Tertullian, *de corona,* 1). Instead, the triumphal images in Acts 14:8–18, 16:16–40; 17:16–33; and 19:23–40 were intended to show that Christianity despite all resistance to it had always managed to succeed in the world. Such lively and therefore convincingly portrayed examples of successful actions in the past were supposed to arouse in the reader the hope that what was so clearly described in the past could become reality in the reader's present. Luke's psychagogic purpose is even clearer in those scenes in which he offers his political apologetic (18:12–17; 25:13–22; 25:23–26:32). These scenes reach their climax in the quasi-acquittal of Paul in 26:31 and the programmatic closing passage asserting that Paul worked for two years in Rome with no restrictions (28:31). Suffused with an aura of authenticity which seems fully credible because it is consistent, they place on the stage Luke's political argumentation.

Luke not only had to explain the problems resulting from the delay of the *parousia* and Christianity's consequent settling down in the world, but one of the most pressing questions had to do with the place in God's plan of salvation for a church made up solely of gentiles and lacking any outward continuity with Israel, to whom the gospel had originally been addressed (13:46). How Luke responded to this question is evident in the way he employed the "mission speeches" discussed above. Luke's answer to Christians' doubts is given in the narrative portion of his work, not in the form of an abstract exposition, but rather through incorporation into the action of dramatic scenes (8:26–39; 10:1–11, 18; 22:17–22). The historical information given is the fact that the shift from Jewish to gentile mission had taken place in earlier times not arbitrarily but under the stimulus of divine providence, that Paul was indeed explicitly commanded by the Lord to preach the gospel to the gentiles. This in turn offers the thesis that the gospel had been transferred from the hands of the Jews to those of the gentile church. Furthermore it is the history itself that gives the answer to pressing questions; once more the events described by Luke carry the marks of Livy's *salutaria exempla*—they do not merely tell history but in the telling offer help to resolve contemporary problems. This fits precisely the general purpose of Luke's historical writing as he himself tells us: to give the reader certainty about the traditions they had learned in the church's catechesis (Luke 1:4), i.e., to assure them that their Christianity was indeed in good shape.

Although Luke ought to be viewed as a Hellenistic historian, he clearly does not fit into a single type of Greco-Roman historiography. The expectation that a historian should have had personal experience (*empeiria* and *autopatheia*), the expectation that leads Luke to write his sea voyage passages in the first person plural, comes from pragmatic historiography. Luke is linked to this by the Thucydideisms of the prologue and his desire to emphasize the significance of historical events and to outline their trajectory

through speeches. The dramatic episode approach, in contrast, was the narrative form of the tragedy-pathos historiography. He drew his method of imitating the Septuagint (Plümacher 1972: 38–72) from the Attic classicism that in his day was common not only to historians but to writers in other genres. Thus the author of Luke-Acts obviously chose his literary equipment with a view to expediency and not out of allegiance to a particular historiographical school.

It is just as difficult to locate the external form of Luke-Acts within the traditions of Hellenistic history-writing. On the basis of Acts's possessing the character of a historical monograph (corresponding to the pattern sketched by Cicero, *Fam.* 5.12, and similar to 2 Maccabees or Sallust's *coniuratio* and/or *bellum Iugurthinum*) and in view of the growing tendency to monographic classification in universal history (cf. Diod. *Sic.* 16.1), Luke-Acts could best be seen as an attempt to write a general history of Christianity (including the destiny of its founder, see Acts 1:1) in two loosely connected monographs.

Because Luke had no successors, Eusebius has received the title "Father of Church History." Yet the honor of having been the first Christian historian belongs to the unknown author of this twofold opus, a person later identified with the companion of Paul mentioned in Philemon 24, Col 4:41, and 2 Tim 4:11, even if he has only been (re)discovered as a historian in modern biblical studies.

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## *LUKE AS THEOLOGIAN*

Luke-Acts, occupying as it does one quarter of the text of the NT, is a major theological work, although some would question whether Luke should be called a theologian in the sense that this was his primary aim in his writings or that he was a deep theological thinker. Theological concerns and a theological outlook come to expression consciously and unconsciously in his work. Even those who emphasize that Luke was a historian agree that he uses history in the service of theology and that he intends his work to have a pastoral purpose.

Luke-Acts is later than Mark and Paul's Epistles, although it shows little if any use of the latter. Luke's work differs from that of Mark in that (a) he wrote a two-volume account which included the story of the continuation of the work of Jesus by his followers to the point where Paul reached Rome, and (b) he told the story of Jesus differently. The differences under the latter heading are not due simply to the use of material from other sources (including Q). Matthew shared much of the same resources, and yet he produced a different effect. The differences must, therefore, also reflect Luke's own approach. Yet the contrast between Luke and Mark should not be exaggerated. He incorporated Mark into his gospel without substantial change.

H. Conzelmann gave the decisive impulse towards recognition of Luke as a theologian with his thesis that Luke wrote under the influence of the delay of the parousia. He coped with this situation by abandoning the primitive belief that Christians were living in the last days and substituting a salvation-historical understanding of the Christ-event which made it the mid-point in a series of divine activities, preceded by the period of Israel and followed by the time of the Church (in which he and his readers now found themselves) which would last until the parousia at some indefinite point in the future. Before Luke developed this new understanding Christian existence was defined by the hope of the imminent parousia, but it was now seen to take place in the age of the Spirit which functioned as a kind of substitute for the hope.

Luke's framework of thought is salvation-historical, i.e., he operates with the concept of the saving acts of God taking place in historical sequence. But it is questionable whether he virtually created this framework. Mark was also under the same pressure of the time-factor which had already persuaded Christians that, even if the resurrection of Jesus was a sign that the last days were here, the parousia was not necessarily to follow immediately. It is still debated whether Luke envisaged salvation-history as falling into three periods with the time of Jesus (the middle of time) separated off from the parousia by the time of the Church (Fitzmyer *Luke* AB). More probably Luke saw a period of promise followed by an extended period of fulfilment. Yet even so for Luke, Christians were living in the last days and the

parousia was still imminent and relevant though not immediate. Since then, Luke's theology is not decisively different from that of his predecessors at this point, it is dubious whether Conzelmann has correctly unearthed Luke's theological motivation and purpose.

A more satisfactory view starts from the recognition that Luke wrote an account of the origins of Christianity. He felt that the account of the ministry of Jesus had to be supplemented by the story of the founding of the church. The two parts of his work together were meant to enable Christians like Theophilus to know that their faith was not a matter of groundless speculation and credulity; rather the instruction which had led them to faith could be corroborated by the evidence of eyewitnesses and servants of the gospel which Luke had wrought into an orderly narrative. Luke's purpose was thus to create and strengthen faith by a narrative which showed how God was at work for human salvation. Luke's theme is accordingly salvation (O'Toole).

The fact that Luke found it necessary to tell the story of the Church as well as the story of Jesus indicates that the latter alone was insufficient for his purpose. The salvation-event includes both the ministry of Jesus and the proclamation of salvation by the Church. Jesus continues to be active by the Spirit and in the Church, so that the salvation which was manifested in his ministry is still effective for people separated from him geographically and temporally. It is not accidental that parallels can be traced between the gospel and Acts, between the activities of Jesus and his followers. Luke expresses the continuity between the message of Jesus and the proclamation of the Church and shows that what Jesus proclaimed has become a reality in the Church and in the time after Jesus.

Luke emphasizes the prophetic aspect of Jesus' ministry within the context of seeing him as Son of God and Son of man. Unlike the other Evangelists, he refers to Jesus as Lord in the gospel even before his exaltation.

The apostolic preaching in Acts pays little attention to the teaching and actions of Jesus in exactly the same way as the apostolic kerygma, as it can be reconstructed from the Epistles, concentrates on the death and resurrection of Jesus as the saving event. This further indicates why Luke was not satisfied merely to tell the story of the earthly ministry of Jesus. Luke takes over the church's doctrine of the death of Jesus reflected in Luke 22:19–23 and Acts 20:28, but he appears to incorporate it in a wider understanding of the work of Jesus. He is the Servant of God who has undergone suffering and has been exalted in order to continue his function of offering salvation to humankind.

An important element in Luke's theology is the universality of salvation and specifically the place of the gentiles among the people of God. The church is probably to be seen as the new Israel rather than as a renewed Israel incorporating the gentiles (Jervell). Both the coming of the Messiah and also the proclamation of salvation to the gentiles are constituent parts of God's plan revealed in prophecy. The gentiles are "saved" by faith, just like the Jews, and therefore they are not required to be circumcised or to keep the law, even though believing Jews may continue to observe the law. Yet Luke recognizes the problem of tensions over table-fellowship (Esler) and notes how gentiles were—at least in some churches—required to avoid unnecessary offense to Jews. Although the attempt has been made to see Luke as a passionate hater of Jews as such (Sanders), it is more likely that he simply expresses opposition to attempts to impose Jewish legalism upon gentiles.

The question of Luke's understanding of sin and salvation has been reopened by J.-W. Taeger who argues that for Luke the problem of humankind prior to faith is sins rather than sin as an alien force and that, consequently, humankind is in need of repentance and moral progress rather than a divine gift of salvation. But Luke's understanding does not differ significantly from that of Mark and Matthew. In any case, Acts is not a theological treatise and it contains doctrines largely in the form of evangelistic addresses, hardly the ideal medium for deep theological reflection on human sinfulness in the manner of Paul. What is important is that Luke sees a *praeparatio evangelica* in Judaism and perhaps even in the religious longings of paganism.

Luke appears to see the Spirit as especially the Spirit of prophecy which equips Jesus and the Church for their roles. He says little about the Spirit as the gift of salvation. The Spirit provides divine power for witness and salvation.

The new life associated with salvation is seen in terms of repentance and conversion. Particular stress is laid on self-denial, especially with regard to wealth. More than the other Evangelists Luke teaches the need for the rich to share with the poor and shows how this ideal found expression in the Jerusalem church.

Luke attaches great significance to the Twelve as the initial witnesses to the resurrection of Jesus who provide the continuity between Jesus and the Church and thus constitute its initial leaders. But he is aware that within a short time the leadership passed into the hands of James and a body of elders, although he says nothing about how this happened or about the details of church organization and structure. The position of Paul is ambiguous, the question of his apostleship and letter-writing being passed over in virtual silence, although clearly he is *the* missionary to the gentiles. Indeed, Luke shows little interest in the internal life and growth of the Church. He is primarily concerned with its missionary expansion from Jerusalem to Rome. This shows that we are not to expect from Luke a full, systematic account of his theology, if he possessed one, and should make us wary of drawing too far-reaching conclusions from the limited evidence which he provides.

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I. HOWARD MARSHALL

**LUKE-ACTS, BOOK OF.** The conventional scholarly designation for the two volumes, the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles, which are separated by the Gospel of John in the NT canon.

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A. Introduction
B. Circumstances of Composition
C. Genre and Purpose
D. Literary Aspects of Luke-Acts
    1. Style
    2. Narrative Devices
    3. Literary Structure
    4. Prophetic Structure
E. The Prophet and the People
    1. The Gospel Narrative
    2. The Acts Narrative

F. Literary-Religious Themes in Luke-Acts
1. World Affirmation
2. The Great Reversal
3. Salvation
4. The Word of God
5. Conversion
6. The Response of Faith

———

**A. Introduction**

Ancient manuscripts do not place the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles together, though canonical lists (e.g., the *Muratorian Canon*) attribute them both to Luke, who is regarded as a companion of Paul. The designation Luke-Acts reflects the conviction of virtually all contemporary scholars that the gospel and Acts were from the beginning a single literary work in both conception and execution (Cadbury 1927).

The writings invite this appraisal. Each volume is introduced by a prologue addressed to the same reader, Theophilus, possibly the patron who sponsored the composition (van Unnik 1973; Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB, 299). The prologue to Acts provides a short summary of the first volume (Acts 1:1–2). The gospel prologue is more elaborate. It provides important clues to the nature and purpose of the two-volume work (Luke 1:1–4). In addition to the prologue, an intricate skein of sylistic, structural, and thematic elements binds the two writings together.

The decision to read these separate texts as a single literary work represents the triumph of a literary-critical approach to the NT writings, concerned less for the historical data contained in a writing, or the prehistory of its discrete parts, than with its distinctive voice. The method uses the discoveries of source and form criticism, but unlike them is concerned with a writing in its literary integrity (Beardslee 1970). To adopt the category "Luke-Acts," therefore, means to accept a contemporary literary designation in preference to the traditional perception of the texts or even their canonical placement.

Although the designation of Luke-Acts as a literary unity is now widely accepted, its implications have only begun to be developed. Commentaries, for example, continue to be written on each volume separately, with only minimal attention to the literary truncation involved. The Anchor Bible volumes devoted to these writings (Fitzmyer on Luke; Munck on Acts) do not entirely escape the problem.

Luke-Acts takes up fully a quarter of the NT canon. It is pivotal both for the history of earliest Christianity and for the development of its theology. See LUKE (PERSON). Although some overlapping is unavoidable, the specific topic of the present entry is Luke-Acts as a literary work. Attention must be given as well to some of its historical and religious claims, but only insofar as a connection can be drawn between them and the literary shape of the writing. The concern here is not only with what Luke-Acts says, but how it speaks.

**B. Circumstances of Composition**

Any discussion of the circumstances accompanying the production of Luke-Acts is inevitably circular. There are few external guideposts, so conclusions must be based on internal evidence, which can—notoriously—be construed in quite different ways. The issues of dating and authorship, for example, mutually impinge; and to a remarkable degree, each depends on a reader's overall conception of the writing.

The ancient manuscripts attribute the gospel to a certain Luke, whom patristic writers unanimously identify as the companion of Paul (Philemon 24; Col 4:14; 2 Tim 4:11), a supposition apparently supported by the so-called "we passages" of Acts (cf. 16:10–17; 20:5–15; 21:8–18; 27:1–28:16) in which the narrator suddenly shifts from third-person to first-person narration, suggesting the presence of an eyewitness (Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB, 36). Critical scholarship has challenged the traditional attribution, arguing that the tone, perspective, and purposes of Luke-Acts better fit a later, "second-generation" composition (Loning 1981). A very late dating would obviously disqualify any companion of Paul as author. "Second-generation," however, is scarcely a precise designation. To place Luke-Acts as late as the

2d century (O'Neill 1961) is excessive. In fact, nothing in the writing prohibits composition by a companion of Paul and an eyewitness to some events. A thirty-year-old man who joined Paul ca. 50 C.E. would still only be sixty in the 80s, old enough and at sufficient distance to describe the beginnings of the movement with a certain nostalgia. Luke's failure to use Paul's letters or even to mention that Paul wrote letters argues in favor of an earlier rather than a later date. It is far more likely for Paul's letters to be ignored before the time of their collection and canonization than after. Some contemporary scholars argue the opposite way. They attribute some of Paul's letters to Luke's authorship, particularly the Pastoral Letters (Wilson 1979) perhaps even as the third volume of Luke-Acts (Quinn 1978). Such hypotheses fall short of proof and are less convincing than the traditional attributions for Luke-Acts and Paul's letters.

To state that Luke-Acts could have been composed by a companion of Paul by the end of the 1st century (probably between 80 and 85, though possibly earlier), does not by itself tell us anything about the nature of the writing or its historical accuracy. That the author is an admirer of Paul is obvious from the text in any case, and the number of events he could himself witness would have been small. For the rest, the author admittedly relied on other witnesses and written sources (Luke 1:1–2).

Nor does this attribution tell us anything about the author. Like the other gospel writers, Luke recedes modestly behind his narrative. Attempts to discover in his style the marks of a physician, for example, have been massively refuted (Cadbury 1920). The text does reveal more important characteristics of the author: his stylistic ability, which enables him to use various Greek dictions; his Hellenistic education, shown by his facile use of rhetorical conventions (Kurz 1980); his wide reading in Torah, manifested in his dense textual allusions and in the structure of his story; his storytelling ability, demonstrated by his striking vignettes and parables. The text reveals most of all a synthetic narrative imagination, enabling him to make the story of Jesus (already current in the church) and the story of the church's beginnings into one coherent and interconnected story, showing in the process that it continued the still longer story of God and his people.

The provenience and audience of Luke-Acts are impossible to fix precisely. Ancient tradition wavers regarding the place of composition, and the text gives no firm clues (Fitzmyer *Luke I-IX* AB, 37–40). The circumstances of Luke's readers also escape easy detection, as the many suggestions concerning them suggest (Karris 1978; 1979). Certainly, his readers were Greek-speaking, and sufficiently acquainted with scriptural traditions to grasp at least the gist of his allusions. They were already Christian. They were almost certainly gentile; indeed, a great deal of Luke-Acts makes little sense if they were not gentile believers (Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB, 57–59). Given the length, complexity, and literary sophistication of the work, it is far less likely that it responded to a specific or local crisis than that Luke intentionally addressed a much wider readership with magisterial ambition (Johnson 1979). If there is a crisis addressed by Luke-Acts—and there is—it is not one occasioned by momentary circumstance, but rather by the nature and development of the Christian movement itself.

**C. Genre and Purpose**

Luke is above all a gifted storyteller. His writing is filled with short vignettes, each of which imaginatively summons for the reader an entire world (Haenchen 1966: 259–60). In the gospel, Luke alone tells the parables of the Rich Fool (12:13–21), of Lazarus and Dives (16:19–31), of the Good Samaritan (10:30–35), and, most memorably, of the Prodigal Son (15:11–32). These parables are, of course, attributed to Jesus, although much of their shaping may be due to Luke himself (cf., e.g., Schweizer 1948). Luke weaves a delicate tapestry in his infancy stories (Luke 1–2) and in his resurrection accounts (Luke 24), which have an almost novelistic tone (Wanke 1973: 1–32). No less in Acts is his storytelling ability revealed: the death of Ananias and Sapphira (5:1–11), Peter's release from prison (12:6–17), and Paul's shipwreck (27:1–44) are small masterpieces of narration.

Luke is, however, considerably more than a miniaturist. His most impressive accomplishment is the forging of these short stories (many of them already circulating in some form) into one long, coherent narrative, which with masterful control brings the reader from the mists of antiquity all the way to a rented apartment in the empire's capital city, and within the space of 52 chapters creates out of sometimes unlikely material an uncanny sense of historical movement. Luke had at least one antecedent for the

gospel narrative (Mark), which he used. But his unexampled contribution to Christian literature was the extension of that story to the time of his first readers, connecting them by narrative not only to the first days of the church and to Jesus' life and ministry, but as well to the whole story of God's people, reaching back even to Adam (Luke 3:38) (Kurz 1984).

Luke's choice of the narrative form is deliberate. He explicitly designates his work a *diegesis* "narrative" (1:1) and emphasizes that he tells events "in sequence" (*kathexes*,1:3). It is clear from several other places that Luke regards the narration of events "in order" to have a peculiarly convincing quality (e.g., Acts 9:27; 11:4; 15:12–14). For him, the development of the plot itself, in sequence, has a persuasive force (Dillon 1981: 217–33). In this, Luke shares the conviction of Hellenistic rhetoric, which regards the *narratio* as critical to historical argument or personal defense, as he shows also in the construction of Paul's "defense speeches" (Acts 22:3–21; 24:10–21; 26:4–23) (Neyrey 1984). How this literary emphasis serves Luke's religious purposes will be discussed. But first, the implications of the narrative form for intepreting Luke-Acts should be mentioned.

To say that Luke-Acts is a story means, at the least, that it cannot be read as a systematic treatise filled with theological propositions. To use rhetorical terms as old as Aristotle (cf. *Poet.* 6: 19–22), for the reader to grasp Luke's *dianoia* ("theme" or "meaning"), it must be done in and through his *mythos* ("story line," "plot"), for it is found only there (cf. Frye 1969: 52–79). The meaning is fitted to the narrative form. Consequently, it is of the most obvious importance to locate where something occurs in Luke's story. The connections between individual vignettes are often as significant as their respective contents. The sequence itself provides the larger meaning.

To say that Luke-Acts is a single story also bears the implication that Acts not only continues but also provides Luke's own authoritative commentary on his gospel (van Unnik 1960). The determination of Luke's purposes or the understanding of a specific theme, therefore, must take the whole story into account, precisely in its narrative development. To discuss the "christology" of Acts mainly in terms of contrast to the gospel, for example (Moule 1966), betrays Luke's clear literary intention. Likewise, any discussion of "the poor" in Luke-Acts must take seriously the sudden disappearance of that terminology after chap. 16 of the gospel (cf. Karris 1978) and consider whether the theme might have had a limited literary function for the first part of Luke's story (Johnson 1977). The discussion of what Luke says on any subject is qualified by where he says it.

The category of story also points the reader to the importance of plot and characters, which are the constitutive elements of the *mythos.* The characters motivate and enact the plot; the plot reveals the characters in action. In Luke-Acts, the most important character is arguably the God who never appears but who in various ways directs the action, and with reference to whom all of the narrative unfolds. Special attention must be paid as well to Luke's stereotypical descriptions of his protagonists (Jesus and his successors). Finally, there are the interactions between Luke's heroes and those who respond to them, whether positively or negatively.

Does Luke's narrative match any conventional literary form of the ancient world? The question of genre is notoriously difficult in literary analysis, not least because the nature of genre itself is disputed. But it is certainly the case that Hellenistic culture, unlike our own, prized and employed conventional literary patterns. The question is of particular importance because if genre has a function, it is to create certain expectations in readers, and to program certain responses. When genre works, function truly follows form. If we can determine the generic character of Luke-Acts, therefore, we are given important clues to the way in which it would have been read and understood by its first readers—or at least the way Luke intended it to be understood.

The question of genre is here asked of Luke-Acts as a two-volume work, leaving aside whether a "gospel" is a separate genre (Talbert 1977) or "Acts" becomes one. In the 2d century "Acts" of various Apostles proliferated (e.g., *Acts Thom.* or *Acts Paul*). The suggestion that Luke-Acts resembles a Hellenistic Romance or Novel (Goodenough 1966: 57) will not be pursued here, however striking the similarities may be (Cadbury 1955: 57, and especially Pervo 1987). That classification is not only broad but it misses some of Luke-Acts' most important features. In Luke-Acts something more than aesthetic

delight is operative, even in formal terms. The most common genres to which Luke-Acts is assigned are the Hellenistic History or Biography, and Jewish Apology. The decision requires a close consideration of the text.

The reasons for regarding Luke-Acts as a History are obvious and, to most scholars, compelling (Barrett 1961; Marshall 1970):

1. His gospel prologue not only looks like those prescribed for Greek historiography (cf. Lucian, *Hist. conscr.* 47–54), but also examples of such prologues (cf. Joseph. *Ant.*). He tells the reader that he is using earlier oral and written sources (Luke 1:1–2). But he has also done personal and accurate research (*akribos*, 1:3), implying that he can handle those sources critically. He is writing a "sustained and sequential" narrative (*kathexes*), the purpose of which is to give the reader certainty rather than surmise concerning the past and even present events (1:4).

2. Luke places the community traditions—the story of Jesus and the church—in the context of world history, connecting it not only to the story of Israel (cf. 1:5) but also to that of the *oikoumene.* Of the NT writers he alone provides chronological references for pivotal events (cf. Luke 1:5; 2:1–2; 3:1–2; Acts 18:12). He identifies power blocs and rulers in Palestine (Acts 12:20–22), Asia Minor (Acts 19:31), and Europe (Acts 18:12–17).

3. Above all, Luke shows the historian's instinct for causality. His narrative is essentially linear, moving the reader from one event to another. The term "in sequence" (*kathexes*) in the prologue is critical to understanding his composition (Schneider 1977). He draws connections between events, so that a thread of purpose is seen to run through his entire narrative.

The question of Luke's accuracy as a historian is discussed fully elsewhere—see LUKE (PERSON)—but some comments are appropriate here because the issue of genre demands consideration of what sort of historian Luke might be.

To a considerable extent, historians are dependent on their sources. Luke says that he had some reports from eyewitnesses (Luke 1:2). Perhaps his unusually good information on Herod's household came from such a source (Luke 8:3; 23:6–12; Acts 12:20–23) (Hastings 1958). The "we" source in Acts could also have come from an eyewitness, whether the author or another. But since the first-person plural was sometimes used conventionally in travel narratives, we cannot be certain (Robbins 1978). Luke also had written sources (Luke 1:1). For the gospel, he used Mark, materials from the source called Q, and other distinctive materials usually designated L. We can check his use of a source only in the case of Mark, since it alone remains independently intact. Q gives no real help, since the shape of this hypothetical source must be abstracted from both Matthean and Lukan versions.

Luke's use of Mark differs considerably from Matthew's use of the same source. When Luke follows Mark he does so more closely, though he tends to omit blatant doublets, such as the feeding stories, whereas Matthew increases them (Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB, 62–82). Instead of inserting great blocks of discourse material into the narrative, Luke more subtly interweaves deeds and sayings. The sayings of Jesus in Luke's gospel consequently have a greater air of biographical plausibility (see esp. Luke 9–19). Luke uses Mark with reasonable fidelity. The larger problem is determining where Luke has a source. If Matthew and Mark were not available for comparison, it would be doubtful that we could detect where Luke is using Mark and where he is not.

The difficulty in detecting Luke's sources has two causes. The first is that Luke follows the respectable Hellenistic practice of rewriting his sources (cf., e.g., Joseph. *AgAp* 54). We can observe how he modifies the Greek of Mark's gospel, bringing it closer to his own liking. The second reason is Luke's capacity for writing convincingly in a variety of styles. If one were to excerpt and compare the Greek of Luke's prologue, the infancy accounts, Peter's Pentecost sermon, and Paul's defense speeches, one could reasonably think that they were from different writers. Luke follows the Hellenistic rhetorical ideal of "writing in character" (*prosopopoeia*), which fits style appropriately to character and occasion (Kurz 1980: 186). Paul in Athens, consequently, is much more "Greek" than Paul in the synagogue of Antioch. Similarly, the Greek of the infancy accounts has a semitic coloration. Some conclude that Luke was using Hebrew or Aramaic sources (Winter 1956). But when we observe elsewhere that Luke shows a flair and

fascination for a biblical or—more accurately—septuagintal style, the determination becomes very difficult (Turner 1955–56).

The search for Luke's sources in Acts is even more frustrating, since there is no way to check his usage. It would appear that he had fewer sources and was able to exercise more literary control in Acts than in the gospel. Apart from the "we" sections—which are otherwise stylistically consistent with the material around them (Harnack 1907)—we can identify no certain sources. Attempts to find a "Jerusalem" or "Antioch" source in the first fifteen chapters of Acts have proved to be more complex than convincing (Dupont 1964).

How reliable—factually—is Luke the historian? Taking into consideration his use of the one source we can check, his general accuracy in matters we can otherwise confirm from archaeological or documentary sources, and the overall agreement between his account of Paul and that in the letters, we can conclude that Luke is accurate in what he tells us, certainly by the standards of Hellenistic historiography (Hengel 1979). The phrase "in what he tells us," however, is critical. Luke writes selectively. In the gospel, he omits portions of Mark (the so-called "great omission" of Mark 6:45–8:27), and he fails to mention any Galilean appearances of the risen Jesus. In Acts, Luke either does not know or chooses not to mention things otherwise known to us. He describes no Galilean mission of the church (notice the conspicuous silence in Acts 1:8 and 15:3). He tells us nothing of rural evangelization, since as a good Hellenist, his interest is exclusively urban. Of the first missionaries, he concentrates on Peter and Paul to the virtual neglect of all others. Although Paul's arrival in Rome is the climax of Acts, for example, he never bothers to inform the reader when the Christian movement itself reached the capital city (cf. Acts 28:14–16).

So much does Luke concentrate on Jesus and a few of his followers that he is considered by some to be less a historian than a biographer. It has been argued that the biographies of some Hellenistic philosophers (as in Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Philosophers*) provide the closest formal analogy to Luke-Acts: first the life of the Founder is considered, with a concentration on his wondrous birth and its portents, his deeds, and his teachings; then a succession narrative, which recounts the deeds and teachings of his disciples (Talbert 1974: 125–34). The suggestion is attractive and corresponds to some features of Luke's writing. The Lukan addition of infancy and appearance accounts certainly pushes the Markan gospel closer to a Hellenistic Biography, as does his placement of sayings material. The portrait of Jesus and the disciples, furthermore, is shaded to resemble the Hellenistic *Sophos* ("sage"). Thus, Luke emphasizes Jesus' innocence and courage during his passion (cf. below), and the disciples also show boldness (*parresia*) in their teaching (Acts 4:13); indeed, like Socrates, they choose to obey God rather than human authorities (Acts 4:19).

Careful analysis of extant Hellenistic biographies, however, does not adequately support the suggestion that Luke-Acts fits that genre (Barr and Wentling 1984: 72–76). The hypothesis must also leave out of account the clear clues of the prologue that Luke considers his work to be a history. He writes not simply of Jesus and his followers, but of the "matters (*pragmata*) accomplished among us." His narrative has a scope far wider than Jesus and his school. The people of Israel form one of the most important characters in his narrative, and much of Luke's concern is for the fate of this historic people. Because the story of Jesus and his disciples is placed within this broader story, his writing is more properly if roughly categoried as a form of History (Ehrhardt 1958: 45–46).

What sort of history, then, did Luke set out to compose? He was obviously a committed member of the movement he depicted. On the other hand, he was not attempting a comprehensive record of the Christian past. If, as the prologue suggests, Luke's composition was intended for publication, perhaps he meant to influence the wider world, and Luke-Acts is the first Christian *apologetic* literature.

Noting Luke's positive view of gentiles and in particular of Roman officials, some have suggested that Luke wrote an apology for the Christian movement as a whole (Cadbury 1927: 306–16; Easton 1936). By observing the political harmlessness of the movement magistrates might be convinced to grant Christians the same freedom enjoyed by "other Jews." In this light, Luke's portrayal of Christianity as rooted in Judaism makes a critical political point. The proconsul Gallio's decision in Acts 18:14–15 is therefore to be taken as exemplary: in matters of dispute among "Jews," magistrates need not meddle (Conzelmann

1961: 137–44). Luke's positive outlook on the empire has been interpreted in the other direction: Luke writes an apology for the empire, encouraging among the politically restive of his fellow Christians a non-apocalyptic, politically cooperative attitude (Walasky 1983).

Other scholars have noted the concentration on Paul in the latter half of Acts and have contended that Luke-Acts is an apology for Paul and his teaching (e.g., Goodenough 1966: 54). A variant of this theory has it that to appease a significant and theologically vocal minority of Jewish believers within the Christian movement (Jervell 1972: 153–207), Luke presents Paul not as one opposed to Torah and a renegade within Judaism, but as a true teacher of Israel, whose views are consonant with those of the Pharisees (cf. Acts 23:6; 28:17–20). Certainly Paul's dominant role demands explanation, but Luke's entire narrative ill fits such a narrow and specific function (cf. Maddox 1982: 20–21).

These suggestions are on the right track, but they define "apologetic" itself much too narrowly. They isolate one theme or emphasis in the narrative and make it determinative, directing it to specific inside or outside audiences. But Jewish apologetic literature of that period had a dual function. Ostensibly it defended Jews against misunderstanding and persecution. It also had an equally important function for Jewish readers, because it reinterpreted their traditions within a pluralistic context by bringing an outsider perspective to bear on them. Thus, in Philo, the symbols of Greek philosophy and history provided the categories for the interpretation of Moses (cf. *Vita Mos* I–II). Apologetic literature thus provided "security" to Jewish readers by demonstrating the antiquity and value of their traditions in a pluralistic context.

Luke-Acts has a similar double-edged function. To a hypothetical outside reader, it presents Christianity as enlightened, harmless, even beneficent. Its more immediate function is to interpret the gospel within the context of a pluralistic environment, composed of both Jews and gentiles (Tiede 1980: 1–18).

The gospel prologue (Luke 1:1–4) indicates that although Luke-Acts may have been published and thereby made available to a wider audience, it was addressed first of all to a Christian readership (Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB, 299–300). Theophilus has already been "instructed" (*katecheo*) in the Christian story (1:4). Why, then, does Luke provide still another version for him? Luke writes, he says, to give his readers "security" (*asphaleia*) (1:4) in their knowledge of "the things brought to fulfillment among us" (1:1). Not only the distant past, therefore, but also present circumstances required interpretation: the "among us" reaches up to Luke's own day. The expression "brought to fulfillment" (or "accomplished") is in the passive voice. In the biblical idiom, this equals "realities which God has brought to fulfillment." The narrative, then, is about the fulfillment of God's promises, up to the present. But why is "security" required? And how will a narrative written "in sequence" provide it? Here we reach the key element in Luke's statement of purpose, and the single most important literary clue for the understanding of his narrative (Maddox 1982: 186).

The text of Luke-Acts overwhelmingly suggests that Luke's audience was made up predominantly of gentile believers. There may have been Jewish members among his readers, but the Jewish mission, which Acts shows up so repeatedly failing, appears to be if not completely over, less than vigorous. In contrast, the outlook regarding the gentile world is entirely positive. The closing statement concerning them is "They will listen" (Acts 28:28). Luke's readers are themselves evidence that Paul's prophecy came true. But precisely the two facts of gentile acceptance and Jewish rejection of the Good News create a severe "uncertainty" for thoughtful gentile Christians.

The problem is simple but profound. God's promises had been made to Israel, to the Jewish people, through Abraham (Gen 12:1–3). If that historical people was not now in possession of the promised blessings, but someone else was, what did that imply about God's faithfulness to his promises? Did God utterly betray his people and his word? This is a difficulty as much for gentiles as for Jews. Could they rely on the "things fulfilled among them" any more than the Jews could? If God failed the Jews, could he not betray the gentiles even more easily?

The problem addressed by Luke's narrative is precisely and properly one of theodicy. No less than does Paul in Romans 9–11, he defends the word and work of God in history. How does the literary shaping of his narrative accomplish this? By telling how events occurred "in order" (*kathexes*), Luke intends to show

that God first fulfilled his promises to Israel, and only then extended the blessings to gentiles. Because God had shown himself faithful to the Jews, therefore, the word that reached the gentiles was also trustworthy. Here precisely is the importance of "order" or consecutiveness for Luke's narrative purposes. The saving of Israel was necessary for the security of gentile believers.

Luke is therefore an apologetic historian of a very special sort. He sets himself to write the continuation of the biblical story (Dahl 1966: 152–53), not to defend the Christian movement as such but to defend God's ways in history. By showing the story of Jesus to be rooted in that of Israel, and by demonstrating how God kept his promise by restoring Israel, Luke assured his gentile readers that they could have confidence in God's word to them. Luke's purposes are not determined by a momentary crisis or a doctrinal deviance (Talbert 1966). They are generated by the mystery of a messianic sect existing among gentiles. So successful was Luke in addressing the problem that his narrative has become the etiological myth of gentile Christianity (Johnson 1979: 94).

**D. Literary Aspects of Luke-Acts**

Luke's literary techniques serve his overall literary and religious purposes. We consider here aspects of Luke's style, his narrative techniques, and his structuring of the two volumes as a single narrative. These observations and examples are not exhaustive, but representative.

**1. Style.** Technical discussions of Luke's diction and syntax are readily available (Cadbury 1920; Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB, 107–27). These sometimes fail, however, to touch on Luke's characteristic concerns, which can be illustrated by his use of Mark and of the OT.

**a. Redaction of Mark.** A careful comparison of Luke 8:26–39 (the healing of the Gerasene demoniac) with its source (Mark 5:1–20) shows that Luke follows Mark much more closely than does Matt 8:28–34 (which is virtually a different story). Nevertheless, he amends Mark carefully. His adjustments tend toward correctness, clarity, and consecutiveness.

First, Luke corrects Mark's infelicities. He considers the *horkizo,* "I adjure," of Mark 5:7 inappropriate as addressed to Jesus, so changes it to *deomai,* "I beg" (Luke 8:28). In Mark 5:9–10, he found a confusion of number, which he renders more consistent (Luke 8:30–31), as he does also the tense sequence of Mark 5:14 (in Luke 8:35).

Second, Luke clarifies the many small confusions Mark's narrative creates. Thus, he makes clear where the country of the Gerasenes was (8:26) and assures the reader that when Jesus stepped out of the boat, it was onto land, and not water (8:27). He takes note that the herdsmen saw the wondrous events before they fled (8:34) and supplies the appropriate motivation for the townspeople's request that Jesus leave (8:37). Mark's diffuse report in 5:16 Luke condenses into a succinct summary and interpretation (Luke 8:36).

Third, Luke arranges the narrative into a more logical order. He describes the demoniac's condition in 8:28 as an explanation of the statement in 8:29 rather than as an opening description, as in Mark 5:3–6. Luke's concern for consecutiveness is shown most of all in his avoidance of narrative surprises. He prepares the reader for later plot developments. Mark says that the herdsmen went into the city (5:14), without ever having stated that they or the demoniac were from there. In contrast, Luke prepares for the later statement by noting at the beginning that the man was from the city (Luke 8:27). He signals the restoration of the man by having him preach "in the city" (8:39), in contrast to Mark's "Decapolis" (Mark 5:20). Similarly, we read in Mark 5:15 that the exorcised man was "clothed," but have not been told he was naked. Luke supplies this deficiency by stating in the beginning that the man wore no clothes (8:27). Luke's concern for connections shows how consistently he thinks in terms of "in order" (*kathexes*), and also forms a narrative pattern: by preparing the way for every subsequent plot development, Luke in effect creates a literary pattern of "prophecy and fulfillment" within his narrative.

**b. Biblical Imitation.** Luke is a stylistic chameleon. His account of Paul's speech in the agora (Acts 17:16–31) could be from Dio Chrysostom, and the riot of the Ephesian silversmiths (Acts 19:23–41) from Lucian of Samosata. In these stories, Luke is the Hellenistic fabulist. He also shares the Greek literary fondness for archaizing (Plümacher 1972: 32–79). In apologetic literature, the claim to antiquity is enhanced by language derived from ancient scriptures. Luke is no less the Greek littérateur, then (Schubert 1954: 85), when in great stretches of his narrative he imitates the rhythms of the LXX. It is a

diction wonderfully suited to his purposes. That Luke consciously adapts this "biblical mode" is shown by his facile use of other modes when the rhetorical ideal of prosopopoeia demands them. It is in fact one of the subtle pleasures of reading Luke-Acts to observe how his Greek becomes less "biblical" and more "Greek" as the gospel makes its way into the gentile world.

Beyond direct citations from Torah (discussed below), Luke uses biblical diction variously. In the Stephen speech (Acts 7:2–53) he excerpts and fits together pieces from a very long section of Torah (Richard 1978) so artfully that the result appears both as a seamless and spontaneous speech by Stephen, and as a straightforward recital of the biblical narrative, while it is neither. Similarly, the Magnificat (Luke 1:46–55) places in Mary's mouth words inspired by, and sentiments derived from, 1 Sam 2:1–10 (Hannah's song), yet with a remarkable freshness.

Luke also uses a range of allusions, which reveal a thorough knowledge of biblical cadences. The annunciation scene (Luke 1:28–38) not only builds on the "type-scenes" (Alter 1981) of previous bibilical annunciations (e.g., Judg 13:2–7) but overlays them with a dense texture of other allusions. The angel's greeting carries with it echoes of Zeph 3:14 and Zech 2:10 (Laurentin 1957); likewise the Transfiguration's conclusion. "Listen to him" (Luke 9:35) suggests that Jesus is the prophet, like Moses (Deut 18:15), to whom the people should listen (Schubert 1954: 181–82).

These examples also show the ways that Luke uses biblical prototypes to construct entire scenes. In both volumes, uniquely Lukan stories appear to depend on the imitation of biblical models, either for details of language or for the entire structure of the story. The death of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:1–11), for example, is reminiscent of the stoning of Achan in Josh 7:1–26. Luke is particularly fond of stories involving the prophets Elijah and Elisha (Dubois 1973), both in smaller vignettes (cf. Luke 9:54 with 2 Kgs 1:9–16 and Luke 9:61 with 1 Kgs 19:20) and in more elaborate combinations. Luke 7:1–16 "fulfills" the allusion to Elijah and Elisha made earlier in Luke's narrative (4:25–27) by having Jesus do deeds which mirror theirs in 2 Kgs 5:1–14 and 1 Kgs 17:17–24 (Johnson 1977: 96–103). The use of the Elijah–Elisha cycle is most obvious in the distinctive Lukan rendering of the ascension and giving of the Spirit. The prophet Jesus departs and leaves his prophetic followers with a "double share" of the Holy Spirit so that they can do deeds as great as or greater than his own, just as Elijah did for Elisha when he departed in the fiery chariot (see Luke 24:51–53; Acts 1:9–11; 2:1–13, with 2 Kgs 2:1–14; cf. Lohfink 1971: 73). Luke's way of employing these biblical allusions is subtle and eludes the detection of his method, whether he worked directly from the text of Torah (Brodie 1984) or depended on reminiscence.

**2. Narrative Devices.** The impression of fullness given by Luke's narrative is due, particularly in Acts—where he had fewer traditional materials with which to work—to literary artistry. Out of disparate fragments he creates a sustained and coherent narrative by extending and amplifying the traditions available to him.

**a. Summaries.** He extends the narrative by means of summaries. These generalize details from specific stories, giving the impression of repeated or customary occurrence (Cadbury 1933; Zimmerman 1961). In the gospel, Luke took over from Mark (cf., e.g., Mark 1:39; 3:7–12) the use of such summaries, but he uses them far more extensively (Luke 1:80; 2:52; 4:14–15; 7:21–22; 8:1–3; 13:22; 19:47; 21:37). In Acts, the use of summaries is even more important. In the first chapters of Acts, there are three so-called "major summaries" (Acts 2:42–47; 4:32–35; and 5:12–16). They provide critical spacing for the narrative and provide the reader with the sense of time's passing. They also offer a "typical" glimpse into the life of the community in its earliest stages and are, as a result, highly idealized (Dupont 1969). Luke also uses smaller summary statements to advance his narrative in the later sections of Acts (cf. 5:42; 6:7; 9:31; 12:24; 19:20).

**b. Speeches.** Even more important is Luke's use of speeches. In the first eight chapters of Acts, there are nine speeches of greater or lesser length (Acts 1:4–8, 16–22; 2:14–40; 3:12–26; 4:8–12, 24–30; 5:35–39; 6:2–4; 7:2–53), which as a whole make up fully half of the narrative. Luke uses these speeches precisely the way a Hellenistic historian would (Dibelius 1956: 138–85). Whatever fragments of tradition or patterns of preaching they may retain (Dodd 1936), in their present form they are Luke's handiwork, reflecting his thought rather than that of the original speaker (Wilckens 1961). Luke provides what ought

to have been said on a particular occasion. It is in the speeches above all that Luke observes prosopopoeia ("writing in character"). As a narrative device, the speeches interpret the story for the reader. Peter's Pentecost speech (Acts 2:14–36) interprets the wind and tongues far more directly for Luke's reader than for the diaspora Jews in Jerusalem. The interpretive function of speeches holds for the gospel as well. Luke arranges Jesus' sayings so that they both reflect and interpret the narrative progress surrounding them (e.g., Luke 4:16–30; 14:7–24; 15:1–32).

**c. Journeys.** Luke also uses journeys as a narrative device, as do other Hellenistic historians. Luke's narrative about Paul is dominated by a series of journeys, climaxing in his long sea voyage to Rome (Acts 27:1–44) (cf. Robbins 1978). And the central portion of Luke's gospel is taken up by the great "travel narrative" of chaps. 9–19 (Conzelmann 1952). Analysis of the chapters reveals that Luke created this dramatic stage of his story out of a variety of sayings material and a series of travel notices (9:51, 53, 56, 57; 10:1; 13:22, 31, 33; 14:25; 17:11; 18:31, 35; 19:1, 11, 28), which by careful editing he has made into a coherent and compelling whole.

**d. Parallelism.** Luke makes extensive use of parallelism in his narrative. His habit of matching events and characters throughout the two volumes has frequently been noted. As Mary is overshadowed by the Holy Spirit in Luke 1:34–35, for example, so are Mary and the disciples overshadowed by the Spirit at the beginning of Acts (1:13–14; 2:1–4). Peter and Paul work similar miracles (Acts 3:1–10 and 14:8–11; 9:36–40 and 20:7–12), which in turn mirror the miracles of Jesus (Luke 5:17–26; 8:40–56). Peter and Paul face similar threats (Acts 8:9–13 and 19:13–19) and enjoy similar miraculous escapes (Acts 12:6–17 and 16:25–34). The trial of Stephen in Acts 6:8–15 overlaps that of Jesus in Luke 22:66–71, and the connection between them is rendered unmistakable by Acts 7:56 (cf. Luke 22:69). The "passion" of Paul bears some resemblance to that of Jesus (see esp. Acts 21:1–14). By the device of parallelism, Luke accomplishes two things. First, he establishes connections among his main characters; second, he joins parts of his narrative together. Attempts to make parallelism (or chiasmus) the dominant architectonic element of his narrative, however, gain their plausibility by forcing the textual evidence (Morgenthaler 1949; Goulder 1964; Talbert 1974). They above all fail to reckon with the essentially linear character of Luke's narrative.

**3. Literary Structure.** Two structural components help Luke give shape to his overall narrative: geography and prophecy. They ultimately point in the same direction and serve his overall purposes.

**a. Geography.** Luke uses geography as a literary and theological instrument (Conzelmann 1961). The center of his story is the city of Jerusalem and the events which take place in it. The whole movement of the gospel is toward Jerusalem. The infancy account moves toward the presentation of Jesus in the Temple (2:22) and his discovery there as a young boy (2:41–51). The Lukan temptation account reverses the Matthean order of the last two temptations so that the climax is reached in Jerusalem (4:9). At the end of the Galilean ministry, the transfiguration account explicitly prepares for the journey to Jerusalem and Jesus' death (9:31). The journey itself begins with a solemn announcement (9:51) and continues with multiple references to Jesus' destination (13:22, 33–34; 17:11; 18:31; 19:11, 28). All of Jesus' resurrection appearances take place in the environs of Jerusalem. In the last of them Jesus instructs the disciples, "Stay in the city" (24:1–49).

The geographical movement in Acts is away from Jerusalem. The announcement of Jesus in Acts 1:8, "You shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth," is carried out by the narrative (Menoud 1954–55): the ministry in Jerusalem (chaps. 1–7) is followed by the evangelization of Judea and Samaria (chaps. 8–12), then Asia Minor and Europe (chaps. 13–28). Each movement outward, however, also circles back to Jerusalem (see Acts 12:25; 15:2; 18:22; 19:21; 20:16; 21:13; 25:1).

Jersualem is therefore in spatial terms the center of Luke's narrative. The middle twelve chapters of the two-volume work narrate events there. Why does Luke make Jerusalem so central? The city and the Temple, which Luke treats as virtually identical (Bachmann 1980), were of obvious historical importance for Judaism and for the nascent Christian movement. But more than historical recollection is involved. For Luke, the city and Temple stand as symbols of the people of Israel. The death of Jesus and the

beginning of the church there provide the paradigmatic expression of the Jewish people's acceptance or rejection of God's visitation. Jerusalem is the pivotal place in the story of the prophet and the people.

**b. Prophecy.** Proof from prophecy was a standard element in early Christian apologetic. In it, texts from Torah were said to be "fulfilled" by events in Jesus' life, death, and resurrection. Matthew uses a sophisticated form of this proof in his so-called "formula citations." Luke expands and refines the notion of prophetic fulfillment (Dahl 1966: 152). Not only do the events of Jesus' ministry fulfill Scripture, but stages of the church's life and mission do as well: they are among the things "fulfilled among us" (see Acts 3:24; 13:40; 15:15; 28:25–27). Unlike Matthew, Luke does not mechanically align texts and events. His references are more general and inclusive. He often uses the term "It must" *(dei)* of various situations, indicating how events were determined by prophecies: the suffering and glorification of the Messiah (Luke 9:22; 17:25; 24:7; Acts 3:21; 17:3), the apostasy of Judas and the election of Matthias (Acts 1:16–22), the sufferings of Paul (Acts 9:16), and of all Christians (Acts 14:22).

**(1) Literary Prophecy.** Specifically Lukan is the use of literary prophecy. Not texts from Torah, but utterances of characters in the narrative are explicitly shown to be later fulfilled. Only Luke has the three passion predictions (Luke 9:22, 44; 18:32–33) noted in the resurrection accounts as having been fulfilled (24:6–8, 44). Jesus' prediction of his witnesses' tribulations (Luke 21:12–15) is literally fulfilled in the narrative of Acts (4:3–5, 14; 5:17–42). His instruction about the proper response to unbelieving cities (Luke 9:5; 10:11) is carried out by the missionaries in Acts (13:51). Jesus says that the Twelve are to be judges over Israel (Luke 22:30), and they exercise such judgment among the people in Acts (5:1–11). The prophet Agabus predicts sufferings for Paul (Acts 21:10–14) that speedily come true (21:30–35).

**(2) Programmatic Prophecy.** Of particular importance for Luke's narrative are literary prophecies which serve a programmatic function. They are spoken by characters at critical junctures to interpret the narrative which follows. The reader understands the plot development as a fulfillment of the prophecy. The most obvious example is Jesus' statement in Acts 1:8, which serves as a guide to the rest of Acts (Dibelius 1956: 193–94). Similarly, at the end of Acts Paul's final statement, "the salvation of God has been sent to the gentiles, they will listen," is understood as having reached fulfillment among Luke's readers. Prophecies at the end and beginning of the gospel are also important. Jesus' promise of a "power from on high" (Luke 24:49) enables the reader to perceive the ascension (Luke 24:50–53; Acts 1:9–11) not as an absolute departure but as a transformed presence, and the gift of the Spirit (Acts 2:1–4) as fulfilling Jesus' saying, "I will send the promise of my Father upon you." The saying of Simeon, "This child is set for the fall and rising of many in Israel and for a sign that is spoken against" (Luke 2:34), prepares the reader to understand the entire gospel narrative as the story of a prophet whose ministry creates a division among God's people (Johnson 1977: 86–91).

**(3) Speech-narrative Prophecy.** Luke even arranges speech and narrative to form a "prophecy-fulfillment" pattern. He places speeches so that the narrative following them fulfills their point, often ironically. Jesus declares that a prophet is not acceptable in his own country, and his townspeople immediately reject him who is a prophet (Luke 4:16–30). Luke states that sinners accepted the prophet John, but the Pharisees rejected God's plan for them (7:29–30). Next he quotes the charge that Jesus was a friend of tax collectors and sinners (7:34), then shows Jesus in the following story to be accepted by a sinful woman and rejected by a Pharisee (7:36–50). Stephen, described as a prophet filled with the Holy Spirit, accuses the Jewish leadership of rejecting the prophets and of resisting the Holy Spirit; they respond by killing him (Acts 7:51–60). Paul warns the Jews of Antioch in Pisidia not to reject the good news lest it be given to others; they reject it, and the gospel goes to the gentiles (Acts 13:40–48). Speech and narrative are mutually interpretive.

**4. Prophetic Structure.** The prophetic structure of Luke's entire work is established by the relationship between the two volumes. First, the book of Acts both continues the story of the gospel and confirms it (van Unnik 1960). In Acts, Luke provides the first and authoritative interpretation of his own gospel. Acts' perspective is all the more important since Luke had much more freedom to shape it. Second, the two volumes are parts of a two-stage prophetic model. To demonstrate this, it is necessary to move from a

consideration of the prophetic image of the main characters in Acts, to the implications of Luke's portrayal of Moses.

**a. The Apostles as Prophets.** Acts is appropriately called the Book of the Holy Spirit (Lampe 1955). The Spirit actively intervenes in the story, impelling and guiding it (8:29, 39; 10:19; 11:15; 13:2; 15:28; 16:6; 20:22). Indeed, Luke includes five separate accounts of the Spirit's manifest "outpouring" on believers (2:1–4; 4:28–31; 8:15–17; 10:44; 19:6). For Luke, all Christians "have" the Holy Spirit. But the most important of his characters are described as "men of the Spirit" in a special fashion. Luke does not call them "prophets," reserving that title for relatively minor actors (see 11:27; 13:1; 15:32; 21:10) (Ellis 1970). He does however, describe them in terms which mark them as prophets. The characters in Acts who fundamentally advance the plot (Peter, John, Philip, Stephen, Barnabas, and Paul) are described in stereotypical terms. They are "filled with the Holy Spirit" (4:8; 5:32; 6:3; 7:55; 11:24; 13:9). They are bold (*parresia*) in their proclamation (4:13; 13:46; 28:31). They proclaim "good news" (5:42; 8:4, 12, 25, 40; 11:20; 13:32; 14:7; 15:35), or the "Word of God" (4:29; 8:14; 13:5). They are witnesses (2:32; 10:41; 13:31; 22:20). They work signs and wonders (*semeia kai terata;* 4:30; 6:8; 8:6; 14:3; 15:12). They preach and perform these wonders "among the people" (*laos*), the Jewish population considered as God's people (3:12; 4:1; 6:8; 13:15). These characteristics suggest one image in the biblical tradition, that of the prophet.

**b. Jesus the Prophet like Moses.** When Peter interprets the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost for his hearers—and Luke's readers—he cites the prophecy of Joel 2:28–32 that the Spirit will be poured out on all flesh (Acts 2:17–21). Luke makes three small but significant changes in the Joel citation. He changes Joel's "after these things" to "in the last days," thereby defining Pentecost as an eschatological event. He adds the words "and they shall prophesy" in v 17, accentuating the prophetic character of the Spirit already suggested by the citation. He adds the words, "and signs on the earth below" in v 19, to form the combination "signs and wonders." By these changes, Luke brings together three elements—an eschatological Spirit of prophecy, manifested by signs and wonders—which in the biblical tradition suggest the specific image of Moses, the first and greatest of the prophets (cf., e.g., Ps 78:11–12, 32, 43). The text of Deut 34:10–12, in fact, had given rise to the messianic expectation of a "prophet like Moses":

> There has not arisen a prophet since in Israel like Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face, none like him for all the signs and wonders which the Lord sent him to do in the land of Egypt … and for all the mighty power and all the great and terrible deeds which Moses wrought in the sight of all Israel.

This expectation remained alive (cf. 4QTestim, 1–5) despite the statement of Deut 34:9 that "Joshua son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom, for Moses had laid his hands on him" (Teeple 1957).

The notion of a prophet whom "God raised up" had obvious potential for the proclamation of a resurrected messiah (Dupont 1967: 149). Immediately after the Joel citation, in fact, Peter refers to Jesus in this fashion:

> Jesus of Nazareth, a man attested to you by God with mighty works and wonders and signs which God did through him in your midst … this Jesus you crucified … but God raised him up.

Jesus is described in terms which in this connection unmistakably recall the prophet Moses.

In the narrative about the apostles, Luke emphasizes that the power active in their prophetic witness is the Spirit of Jesus (Acts 2:33; 3:13; 4:10; 13:30; 33). As Elijah gave a twofold portion of the Spirit to Elisha, so have the apostles received a manifest bestowal of Jesus' Spirit. The specific imagery is Mosaic, but so in fact was the biblical portrayal of Elijah and Elisha. The rejection of the apostles is foreshadowed by the passages recalling Jesus' rejection by humans and vindication by God (2:23, 36; 10:39). The longest of these statements relieves the people of responsibility because of their ignorance (3:17). And when he offers repentance to them, Peter draws an explicit connection between Jesus and Moses (Acts 3:22–23; Deut 18:15, 18–19):

> Moses said, "The Lord God will raise up a prophet among your brethren as he raised me up. You shall listen to him in whatever he tells you. And it shall be that every soul that does not listen to that prophet shall be destroyed from the people."

Both the apostles and Jesus, therefore, are described in terms reminiscent of Moses. The connection is made unmistakably in the description of Moses found in Stephen's speech (Acts 7:17–44). It appears to be a straightforward retelling of the biblical story. Closer analysis shows that Luke selected and structured the account of Moses so that it matches precisely the story of Jesus and his witnesses (Johnson 1977: 70–76).

**c. The Mosaic Pattern.** Moses' story falls into three stages: a first sending and rejection; an installation in power; a second sending and rejection. At the time when the promises to Abraham were about to be fulfilled (7:17), Moses is sent by God to "visit" the people and "save" them. They are "ignorant" of his identity and role, so they reject him a first time. Moses is forced into exile (7:23–29). While in exile, Moses encounters God and is empowered by him to return to the people a second time (7:30–34). Moses then leads the people out of Egypt with "signs and wonders." But the people reject him and his words a second time, preferring an idol made of their own hands. Those who reject him this second time are themselves to be rejected (7:39–43).

Moses is therefore sent twice, the first time in weakness, the second time in power. There are two offers of salvation to the people. The first is rejected out of ignorance, and leads to a second chance; when this is refused despite the experience of manifest signs and wonders, God rejects the people. These elements are striking enough, but Luke goes on to make the connection between Jesus and Moses absolutely clear. At the heart of Moses' story we find precisely the sort of statement concerning him made elsewhere about Jesus (Acts 7:35–37):

> This Moses, whom they refused, saying "Who made you ruler and judge?" God sent as both ruler and deliverer by the hand of the angel that appeared to him in the bush. He led them out, having performed wonders and signs in Egypt and at the Red Sea and in the wilderness for forty years. This is the Moses who said to the Israelites, "God will raise up for you a prophet from your brethren as he raised me up."

Did Luke's perception of Jesus' death and resurrection shape his portrayal of Moses? Or did the influence move in the opposite direction? We cannot know. It is clear, however, that this understanding of Moses shows the "necessity" of a prophet's suffering before glory and explains why Luke begins with "Moses and all the prophets" to demonstrate that necessity (Luke 13:33–34; 24:25–26, 44–46). The Mosaic pattern also establishes the typology and succession of spiritual authority important for Luke (Minear 1976: 81–147). Jesus is the prophet like Moses. Jesus had not, however, only been "raised up" in the sense of being "chosen"; he is "raised up" by the resurrection as Lord (Ps 110:1; Acts 2:34–36). As Moses "received the living words and gave them" to the people in the desert (Acts 7:38), so does the resurrected Jesus receive the Holy Spirit from God and pour it out on his followers (Acts 2:33). In the proclamation of these witnesses, the saving message of Jesus is filled with prophetic power and bears an equally powerful threat: those not listening to the voice of "this prophet" will be "cut off from the people" (3:23).

**d. The Gospel in the Light of Acts.** The pattern of the Moses story provides the basic structure for Luke's two-volume work. The gospel is the story of God's first sending of the prophet Jesus to "visit" his people for their "salvation" (Luke 1:68; 7:16; 19:44); of their initial rejection of this salvation, out of ignorance; and of Jesus being "raised up" out of death. Acts recounts Jesus' establishment in power, manifested by the gift of the Holy Spirit; the sending out of his witnesses empowered by that Spirit; and the second offer of salvation to Israel "in his name" (Acts 4:12; 5:31). This time, however, the cost of refusal is separation from God's people.

This pattern explains why Luke's geographic structure makes the Jerusalem narrative central. In Jerusalem the first rejection, the empowerment, the second offer, and the issue of the acceptance or rejection by the people are all played out. The geographic structure serves the story of the prophet and the people.

Luke was freer to shape this pattern in Acts than in the gospel. But if Acts provides Luke's understanding of the gospel story, we can expect to find within the gospel's tighter constraints intimations of this image of Jesus (Lampe 1955–56), and we do. When Jesus raises a widow's son (Luke 7:11–15), the story concludes (7:16):

Fear seized them all, and they glorified God, saying, "A great prophet has arisen among us," And, "God has visited his people!"

The reader cannot but hear echoes of this earlier acclamation when later reading Acts 3 and 7. Likewise the voice at the transfiguration, saying "Listen to him" (Luke 9:35), anticipates Luke's development of the Mosaic image for Jesus in Acts 3:22. Finally, the disciples on the road to Emmaus (Luke 24:19) speak of "Jesus of Nazareth who was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people." The accuracy of their description is apparent only in the light of Acts (Gils 1957).

Stylistic tendencies, narrative devices, and literary structuring all help define the *mythos* of Luke-Acts as the story of the Prophet and the People. The next section will follow the plot through the gospel and Acts. The Markan framework is assumed, and particular attention is paid to specifically Lukan redaction. This reading will in turn make the *dianoia* of Luke-Acts clearer.

**E. The Prophet and the People**

**1. The Gospel Narrative. a. The Infancy Account.** Luke's infancy account (chaps. 1–2) is a form of haggadic midrash (cf. R. E. Brown 1977: 557–62), with language evoking both specific texts and the general atmosphere of the biblical world. After the elegant Greek period of the prologue (1:1–4), the reader is immediately transported to the world of Ruth and the Judges (1:5). The story of Jesus is thus rooted in the longer story of God's people. The infancy narrative also points forward, establishing by means of programmatic prophecies motifs that are later developed (Minear 1966).

The infancy account has a complex internal structure. It contains two sets of contrasting diptychs (Laurentin 1957). The annunciation to Zechariah (Luke 1:8–23) is contrasted to that made to Mary (1:26–38), and the birth of John (1:57–66) is placed against that of Jesus (2:1–21). The first diptych is followed by the visitation of Mary to Elizabeth (1:39–45) and the canticle of Mary (1:47–55). The second diptych is followed by the Purification, with its canticle and prophecy by Simeon, and praise by the prophetess Anna (2:22–38). A transition to the ministry is provided by the discovery of the young boy Jesus in the Temple (2:41–51). Short summaries describing the growth of Jesus and John also point to their future roles (1:80; 2:52). As always, the geographical center is in Jerusalem, with the narrative beginning (1:8) and ending (2:42) there.

The prophecies and canticles alert us to the significance of John and Jesus. They are both prophetic figures. John will "go before him in the spirit and power of Elijah … to prepare a people for the Lord" (1:16–17). Luke does not need to make a connection between John and Elijah later (cf. Luke 9:36 against Matt 17:11–13), for he has already made it here. Zechariah says of John, "You, child, will be called prophet of the most high" (1:76–77). John will be "great before the Lord" (1:15). But Jesus "will be great and will be called Son of the Most High" (1:32). They both stand in the line of the prophets, but whereas John remains precursor (cf. 7:24–35), Jesus is Messiah and Son and Lord (cf. 1:32–33).

Luke's characteristic preoccupation is the meaning of John and Jesus for Israel. John will "prepare a people for the Lord" (1:17), and in his canticle, Zechariah praises God for the "visitation" of his people to redeem them in fulfillment of his promises to Abraham (1:68–69; see Acts 7:17). The figure of Abraham and the fulfillment of God's promises to him play a more central role in Luke-Acts than in the other gospels (e.g., Luke 16:22–31; 19:9; Acts 3:25; 7:2–8; 13:26), precisely because Luke is concerned to connect the church's story to that of Israel (Dahl 1966). The language of "God's visitation" is echoed later (Luke 7:16; 19:44; Acts 7:23; 15:14) and signifies God's intervention to save his people (Comblin 1956).

Jesus' ambiguous relationship with the people is shown in the presentation scene. The "righteous and devout" Simeon had been awaiting the "consolation of Israel." When he takes the child in his arms, he praises God for allowing his eyes to "have seen thy salvation," which will be a "light of revelation unto the gentiles and for glory to thy people Israel" (2:29–32). The reader is here prepared for the spread of God's message to the gentile world (cf. Acts 13:47), but Luke's interest centers on the fate of Israel (cf. George 1968). The salvation brought by Jesus is to be its "glory." But then Simeon projects a harsher vision: Jesus will cause a division in the people (2:34). This programmatic prophecy is critical for understanding Luke's subsequent narrative. The pattern of the prophet like Moses would lead us to expect a complete rejection of the prophet sent by God, but Luke's alteration of that pattern shows the reader

instead a *division* within the people of God (Jervell 1972: 41–72). Some accept God's prophet, and some do not. Whether they are part of God's authentic people depends on their choice.

**b. The Prophetic Messiah.** In the ministry narrative Luke continues to link John and Jesus. Luke makes clear that John is a prophet by stating, "the word of God came to John" (3:2). From this point, the "word of God" becomes thematic in Luke-Acts. It provides an explicit theological valuation of the speech of John, Jesus, and Jesus' followers and links them together in a succession of prophetic authority. In the parable of the sower, "the seed is the word of God" (Luke 8:11; see also 5:1, 8:21, 11:28), and in Acts, "the word of God" is synonymous with the Christian mission, "so the word of God grew and prevailed mightily" (Acts 19:20; see also 4:31; 6:2, 7). Jesus' baptism by John also suggests a prophetic anointing. Luke removes John from the scene to show that it is God who bestows the Holy Spirit on Jesus (Luke 3:21–22).

That Jesus is a prophetic Messiah is the point of Luke's version of the rejection in Nazareth (4:16–30). He moved the story from its later position in Mark to the beginning of Jesus' ministry, expanding it into a programmatic statement on the nature of that ministry (Tiede 1980: 19–63).

The reader has learned that Jesus received the Spirit bodily (3:22), was "full of the Spirit" when tempted (4:1), and began his preaching "in the power of the Spirit" (4:14). Now Jesus reads from Isaiah, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor …" (4:18; cf. Isa 61:1–2; 58:6), and announces starkly, "Today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing" (4:21). Luke understands Jesus literally to be a prophet "anointed" by the Spirit, and therefore messianic (cf. also Acts 4:27; 10:38). His mission is to proclaim deliverance to the outcast and afflicted.

The other aspect of the prophetic ministry is that it causes a division in the people. The townspeople hear him gladly at first, but turn against him when he compares himself to Elijah and Elisha (4:25–27). They were prophets through whom God "visited" people outside the historical Israel. The townspeople represent those Jews who resist a visitation to any but themselves.

The next section of the gospel showing intensive Lukan redaction (chaps. 6–7) continues the prophetic pattern. Jesus proclaims blessings to the poor and woes to the rich in his Sermon on the Plain (6:20–26), thus fulfilling the programmatic prophecy of 4:18 (Schubert 1954: 180). Likewise, when Jesus sends a message to John (7:21–22), his list of wonders culminates in "the poor have the good news preached to them." The language of "rich and poor" in the first 16 chapters of the gospel is used in thematic statements and has the literary function of demonstrating that Jesus is the prophetic Messiah who proclaims Good News to the outcast, and as such is rejected by the rich and powerful. In the narrative itself, the role of "the poor" is played by the sinners and tax collectors, while the role of "the rich" is played by the Pharisees and teachers of law. Because God visits his people in Jesus' ministry, those who reject the prophet are themselves rejected from the people (Johnson 1977: 132–44).

The pattern is rounded out in chap. 7. Jesus compared himself to Elijah and Elisha in 4:25–27; now he works miracles that imitate theirs: as Elisha healed a foreigner through the intercession of a Jewish girl (2 Kgs 5:1–14), Jesus heals a gentile centurion through Jewish intercession (Luke 7:1–10). As Elijah raised a widow's son (1 Kgs 17:17–24), Jesus raises the widow of Nain's son (7:11–15). In the response Luke's thematic concern is explicit: Jesus is a "great prophet whom God raised up" and in his actions, God is "visiting his people" (7:16). Precisely at this point, Jesus sends word to John that "the poor have the good news preached to them" (7:22).

The conflict within the people generated by Jesus' prophetic ministry now emerges. Jesus praises John as a prophet and more than prophet (7:26). But John had been accepted as such only by "the people and the tax collectors"; in contrast, the "Pharisees and teachers of law" had rejected John, and therefore, "rejected God's plan for themselves" (7:29–30). They rejected John because he had a demon. They now reject Jesus because he is "friend of tax collectors and sinners" (7:34). Luke makes the following story "fulfill" the point of the sayings. Jesus is accepted by the sinful woman; he is rejected by the Pharisee who does not recognize in him a prophet sent by God (7:36–50).

The division in Israel is between the people of the land—in particular, those decreed outcast or marginal by ritual law—who by accepting this prophet are thereby being accepted into the people God is forming

around him, and the leaders who already enjoyed "consolation" (6:25; 16:25; cf. 2:25) and accepted neither John nor Jesus, seeking to "justify themselves" (see 16:15; 18:9).

**c. Formation of the People.** Luke shows a faithful people forming around Jesus from the beginning of his ministry, as sinners (5:1–11) and tax collectors (5:27) leave all (18:28–30) to follow him. From among them he chooses the twelve apostles who will be his prophetic successors (6:13; 9:10; 11:49; 17:5; 22:14; 24:10; Acts 1:2; 1:26; etc.). In 8:1–3, Luke shows us the small core of the restored people, the Twelve and a small group of women in Galilee.

Beginning in 9:1, Jesus prepares a new leadership for the people. Luke sends out the Twelve with authority and power like his (9:2, 11) and has them share in the distribution of food to the needy (9:10–17). Authority over the people and service at table are thereby linked. That these twelve will rule over Israel is suggested by the Lukan Parable of the Pounds (19:11–27) (Johnson 1982), and the parable of the Vineyard (20:9–18). It is made explicit in the bestowal of *basileia* (authority) on them at the last supper (22:30), which is fulfilled by their leadership over the Jerusalem community in Acts (S. Brown 1969: 164).

The formation of the people is sketched dramatically in the journey narrative (9:51–19:44). The transfiguration establishes that this journey is that of the prophet like Moses (Moessner 1983). Luke inserts into the travel framework the largest portion of his sayings material and surrounds Jesus with three groups: the crowd, the disciples (used more often here than in all the rest of the gospel), and his opponents (above all, in this section, the Pharisees). Luke notes editorially exactly what Jesus says to whom. To the opponents who test him, Jesus tells parables of rejection; to the crowds, he gives warnings of judgment and calls them to discipleship. To the disciples, he directs instructions on discipleship: prayer, hospitality, suffering, and the use of possessions (Reicke 1959). Luke arranges these materials, moreover, so that the audiences are alternated; Jesus appears to speak to each group in turn.

As Jesus journeys to Jerusalem to face his rejection and death at the hands of the leaders, Luke shows the prophet forming the true people of God around himself. When the Pharisees test him by asking when the kingdom of God will come (17:21), Jesus answers, "the kingdom of God is in the midst of you." In context, the statement is meant literally: the people obedient to God's rule is being formed by its positive reception of the prophet.

So effective is Luke's literary skill that the reader is not shocked to see a "whole multitude of disciples" (19:37) greet Jesus when he enters Jerusalem nor that the Pharisees typically respond by ordering him, "rebuke your disciples" (19:39). At the end of the journey, Jesus voices a lament over this city which does not recognize "the time of its visitation" (19:44).

**d. The Passion Narrative.** Luke deviates more substantially from Mark in the passion narrative than does Matthew. He deletes some incidents (like the anointing at Bethany), transposes others (like the charge against the temple, which is applied to Stephen in Acts), adds still others (like Satan entering Judas' heart). And he consistently edits Mark's account. Two emphases emerge from his redaction: the image of Jesus as a *sophos* (sage), and the diminished role of the populace in his death.

Luke shades the image of Jesus to resemble the ideal Hellenistic *sophos* whose self-control, freedom from fear, and courage are a model to his followers. At the supper, Jesus delivers a farewell address, handing over authority to his followers (22:29–30), instructing them and preparing them for the future (22:35–38) (Kurz 1985). In the garden, his followers are overcome with sorrow—a sign of cowardice—unlike Jesus (22:45) (Neyrey 1980). Jesus is still able to heal (22:51) and goes willingly to do his father's will (22:42). He shows his self-control and prophetic authority by his warning to the women of Jerusalem (23:28–31) (Neyrey 1985) and by his offer of paradise to the thief (23:39–43). The wise man is also a just man (*dikaios*). Jesus' innocence, so emphasized by Acts 3:14, is here demonstrated by Pilate's threefold declaration of innocence (23:4, 14, 22), as given again by Herod as well (23:15). It is confirmed by the centurion's statement at the cross. Rather than identifying Jesus as God's Son (as in Mark and Matt), he declares, "Truly this man was righteous" (23:47). More than innocence is implied here, as Luke's other uses of the concept of "righteousness" indicate (cf. Luke 1:6, 17; 2:25; 16:15; 18:9, 14; 20:21; 23:50; Acts 3:14; 7:52; 22:14). Jesus is the "Just One" (Karris 1986).

Luke also minimizes the responsibility of the populace for the death of Jesus, in contrast to Matthew's heightening of it (cf. Matt 27:25). Luke knows and cites traditions blaming the whole people for Jesus' death (cf. Acts 3:14). But in his passion narrative he does all he can to exclude them from the action (Kodell 1969). The leaders of the people actively reject Jesus; the people are at most passive. The division is stated succinctly by the men on the road to Emmaus (Luke 24:20–21):

> … how our chief priests and rulers delivered him up to be condemned to death, and crucified him. But we had hoped that he was the one to redeem Israel.

With the anomalous exception of 23:13 (cf. Rau 1965), Luke makes some fifteen small alterations in Mark to remove the people as far as possible from the proceedings against Jesus (cf.19:45–47; 20:1–2; 21:38; 22:2, 6, 47, 52; 23:1, 2, 27). Characteristically, Mark 15:29 and Matt 27:39 have all the passersby mock Jesus on the cross. In contrast, Luke has only the rulers mock him (23:35). Likewise Luke heightens the leaders' rejection of the prophet, portraying them as challenging Jesus to "prophesy" (22:64; cf. 22:52, 54). The common people, who had come to the death as to a spectacle, turn away "beating their breasts" (23:48). They show signs of repentance. Luke thus prepares for their conversion in Acts.

**e. Resurrection and Ascension.** As Moses was vindicated by God after his first rejection and sent back to the people with new power (Acts 7:34–38), so is Jesus vindicated by his resurrection, becoming the "prophet whom God raised up" in power (Acts 2:24; 3:13–15). Luke's presentation of Jesus' resurrection is particularly complex, spanning both volumes.

Unique to Luke-Acts is the ascension of Jesus (Luke 24:50–51; Acts 1:9–11; cf. Luke 9:31, 51). Although the ascension appears as a temporary departure, it is clear that Jesus is more present than ever, only in a new, more powerful mode. He is seen by Stephen (Acts 7:55–56) and by Paul (9:1–9; cf. 22:14). The presence of Jesus continues moreover in his spirit, which works through the deeds and words of his witnesses: they preach, teach, and heal "in the name of Jesus" (Acts 2:33; 3:6, 16; 4:10, 29–31; 5:32; 10:43; 16:18; 19:13).

The resurrection accounts of the gospel have several distinctive characteristics. They center in Jerusalem: the women at the tomb are not told to go to Galilee, but are told, "remember how he told you in Galilee" (Luke 24:6). This points to the second feature of Luke's accounts: he shows how Jesus' passion predictions came to fulfillment (Schubert 1954). Third, Luke has Jesus demonstrate "from Moses and all the prophets" how Jesus' sufferings were in fulfillment of the Scripture (Luke 24:25–26, 44). Fourth, the appearances combine matter-of-factness with mystery: on one hand, Jesus' bodily presence is stressed (24:30, 41–43; Acts 1:4; 10:41); on the other hand, he can be mistaken for a stranger (24:13–35), and his appearance can be met with incredulity (24:11, 24, 41). Fifth, the resurrection appearances provide a bridge to the second part of Luke's story: the risen Lord utters programmatic prophecies (24:47–49) which are fulfilled by the narrative of Acts (Dillon 1978).

**2. The Acts Narrative. a. The Restored Israel in Jerusalem.** The next part of Luke's story is most critical. In the Jerusalem narrative of Acts (chaps. 1–7), he must answer the fundamental question of God's fidelity to his promises, so that his readers will have security (*asphaleia*). To do this, he must demonstrate that in fact God did keep his promises to Israel, which can only be done by showing a restored Israel receiving the blessings God had promised to Abraham. Only then can gentile believers have confidence in the gift given them. Luke must show the identity of this restored people of God, the nature of its leadership, and the transfer of the Good News from Jew to gentile.

Luke's perception of the church as the restored Israel (Schmitt 1953) is signaled by Matthias' election (1:15–26). Luke has created an expectation for the outpouring of the Spirit (Luke 24:49; Acts 1:4, 8), and his natural tendency is to have fulfillment follow prophecy as rapidly as possible. The delay of this particular fulfillment shows how necessary Luke perceived the replacement of Judas in the apostolic circle to be. This can only be because the Twelve symbolize the twelve tribes of the restored Israel (Jervell 1972: 75–112). They are the nucleus of the people that is to be constituted and empowered by the Spirit. When the leadership of the people is in place, then the promised spirit could be given (S. Brown 1969: 94–97).

We have seen how Luke emphasizes the eschatological nature of Pentecost and the prophetic character of the Spirit. The conclusion of Peter's Pentecost speech is particularly important for revealing Luke's understanding of the first community in Jerusalem. After demonstrating that the messianic texts of Torah applied not to David but to Jesus, Peter declares, "Let all the house of Israel therefore know assuredly that God has made him both Christ and Lord, this Jesus whom you crucified" (Acts 2:36). The focus is on Israel. They had rejected the prophet and are now called to repentance. This is their second offer of salvation: "Save yourself from this crooked generation" (2:40).

If the people repent and are baptized, they will receive the Holy Spirit (2:38). But Luke defines this Spirit precisely as "the promise" (2:39). Here the visitation of God according to the promise made to Abraham is brought to fulfillment. For whom is the promise? "To you and to your children." First of all, then, for the Jewish population of Jerusalem, but not only for them: "And to all that are far off, every one whom the Lord God calls to him" (2:39). Those who respond make up the authentic people of God. In his idyllic portrait of the first community, Luke stresses its Jewish character (2:41–47). The community enjoys favor and steadily increases in size. In principle, therefore, the people of God have been restored within historic Israel, even having a universal character since it includes Jews from the Diaspora (2:12–13). Luke could have stopped here, for he has shown that God was faithful to Abraham and that part of the Jewish people enjoyed the blessings of the Spirit. But another issue remains: who are the leaders of this people?

**b. Leadership over the People.** Peter's speech following the healing of a lame man (Acts 3:11–26) interprets the next part of the narrative. He concludes with a promise and a warning. Those who repent will share in the "times of refreshment" (3:20) within the restored people of God:

> You are the sons of the prophets, sons of the covenant which God gave to our fathers, saying to Abraham, 'And in your posterity shall all the families of the earth be blessed.' God, having raised up his servant, sent him to you first. (3:25–26)

But Peter also warns that those who reject this offer will definitively be separated from the people (3:22–23).

The narrative following this programmatic prophecy focuses squarely on the apostolic witnesses. From the outside, their authority is threatened by the Sanhedrin, and they are twice brought to trial (4:1–22; 5:17–42). Within the people, however, they are established in power and "rule over Israel" (4:23–5:16).

The difference between the two trials is striking. In the first, the apostles are warned to cease preaching (4:21). But after they are newly empowered by the Spirit (4:23–31), they exercise even more authority: collecting and distributing possessions, boldly proclaiming, healing, and radically "cutting off from the people" those who do not acknowledge their prophetic authority (4:32–5:16). The second trial is occasioned by the Sanhedrin's "jealousy" of the apostles' success (5:17). The authorities cannot hold the apostles in prison; an angel frees them (5:19). Afraid of being stoned by the people, the Sanhedrin is reduced to requesting the apostles' presence at a hearing (5:26). And despite the beating they receive, the apostles continue to proclaim Jesus as Messiah (5:42).

The essential narrative point is clearly made. Whatever political machinations are still available to the Sanhedrin, religious authority over Israel—considered as God's people—has passed to the apostles. They rule over "the twelve tribes of Israel."

Once more, Luke could have stopped. But another question remained, which could only be answered by continuing the story "in order." How did the blessing of Abraham reach the gentile world? Was the community represented by Theophilus in essential continuity with Israel, or was it a new thing altogether, only artificially connected to the story of Abraham? Luke must now show how the gospel reached the gentiles. He first prepares a new leadership, using a fragmentary tradition concerning a dispute over the feeding of widows (6:1–6). The seven Hellenists were supposedly to serve at tables. Actually, they too are prophets who carry the mission beyond Jerusalem.

The Jerusalem narrative is effectively concluded with the trial, speech, and stoning of Stephen (6:8–7:60). With his death, the missionaries (except for the Twelve) are scattered and begin spreading the word beyond the city (8:1). We saw above how Stephen's speech offers an interpretation of Luke's entire

narrative. It also contains a startling element of irony. Here is one described as a prophet attacking the leaders (cf. 6:12) for always resisting the Holy Spirit, killing the prophets, and murdering Jesus, the righteous One (7:51–52). They reject this prophetic attack and kill him who is full of the Spirit. And, at the moment of his death, he sees "the righteous one." Luke ends the Jerusalem narrative with a condemnation. It is a condemnation, however, not of the entire people of Israel, but of its leadership (contra Sanders 1984: 113–17). And the narrative's point is essentially positive: despite the hostility and rejection by the leaders, God's blessings were given to the Jewish people in Jerusalem and were accepted.

**c. The Gentile Mission.** God had always willed in principle that Israel's blessing should be extended to the gentiles (cf. Luke 2:32; 3:6; 4:25–27; 10:1–12; 24:47; Acts 1:8) (Dupont 1979; Wilson 1973). In the narrative of Acts, however, the gentile mission proceeds in a more haphazard fashion than the prophecies might suggest. Although gentiles are preached to because of Jewish rejection, that rejection is never portrayed by Luke as total. Some Jews, even in the Diaspora, convert to the Way. Believing Jews and gentiles together make up the authentic Israel, the people of God (Jervell 1972: 64–69).

As the Hellenist missionaries spread the message, the connection with Jerusalem is maintained. Representatives from Jerusalem confirm the work of Philip in Samaria (8:14–24). Barnabas, shown to be twice loyal to the apostles by receiving a name from them and laying his possessions at their feet (4:36–37), is sent to confirm the Antiochean foundation (11:22). Peter too works wonders beyond Jerusalem, in Lydda and Joppa (9:32–43), ending up in Caesarea. In his conversion of the centurion Cornelius, we are given the first narrative description of gentile conversion and its confirmation in Jerusalem (chaps. 10–11). The church grows organically from its roots in the restored Israel in Jerusalem.

From within this context Luke's hero, Paul, emerges. Glimpsed first as a collaborator at Stephen's death (8:1) and as a rabid persecutor of the Way, he encounters the risen Lord (9:1–9). After his baptism and instruction from Ananias, he preaches Jesus in Damascus and is persecuted, but is given access to the Jerusalem community through the intercession of Barnabas (9:27). He meets still more opposition and is sent to Tarsus (9:30). From there, Barnabas recruits him for the Antiochean church (11:25). Together they take a collection to Jerusalem (11:30) and, upon completing that task (12:25), are sent by the Antiochean church on mission (13:1–3). This summary is culled from a considerably more complex narrative, in which Paul's movements are intermixed with the mission of Philip, Peter, and John in Samaria and Judea, the conversion of Cornelius with its sequel and the imprisonment and release of Peter.

Literary art and theological purpose are here intertwined. Peter, Barnabas, and Paul appear and reappear as the central characters. The complexity of their interactions creates an impression of historical movement, and it also places Paul squarely within the overall missionary effort of the church. Luke thereby makes two points essential to his overall purpose. First, Paul's mission to the gentiles is not idiosyncratic but part of the Spirit-guided mission of the whole church. Second, his mission is intimately connected—and Barnabas' role is here critical—to the believing Jerusalem community and therefore to the restored Israel.

Luke's continuing concern for Israel is demonstrated as well by Barnabas and Paul's first missionary tour. Paul's sermon in Antioch of Pisidia emphasizes the fulfillment of the promises realized in Jesus: "We bring you the good news that what God promised the fathers, this he has fulfilled to us their children by raising Jesus" (13:32). And only when the Jews reject their message do the missionaries turn from them to gentiles. In Iconium and Lystra, the same pattern is repeated (Acts 14:1–21). Jewish rejection leads to a gentile mission. This is how God "opened a door of faith to the gentiles" (14:27), as Paul and Barnabas report on their return to Antioch.

Before Luke can describe Paul's far-ranging missionary work, however, he must first address the legitimacy of gentile inclusion within a messianic community. What were the implications for the church's identity as the people of God? The issue is joined by the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15:1–35). The council forms a watershed in the Acts narrative (Haenchen 1971: 461–62). Before it, all of the apostles were at least ostensibly in view. After it, Paul's work totally dominates. The council brings Peter back into the narrative for the last time. At the council, James is the chief spokesperson for the Jerusalem church, and he appears only once again to ratify its decision (21:18).

The story of the council itself forms the climax of a complex plot development that had quietly been providing the background for Paul's emergence. Acts 15 is intelligible only if read in conjunction with the conversion of Cornelius, for Luke shows in the narrative itself how the decision to recognize the full status of gentiles within the messianic people resulted from the interaction of divine guidance and human obedience (Johnson 1983).

The Jerusalem leaders had confirmed Peter's decision to baptize gentiles (11:18), but the issue of fellowship remained, an issue critical above all for Jewish believers, since they were already bound to Torah. Did gentiles belong to the people on an equal footing? Pharisaic believers attacked the foundations of gentile membership in the church, claiming that only full observance of Torah (including circumcision) could lead to salvation (15:1–2). The attack coincides with the arrival of Paul and Barnabas in Antioch, announcing the new mission to the gentiles (14:27–28). Luke effectively draws his main characters from their diverse missions to this one critical decision. The reader already knows God's will in the matter; will the church ratify God's action by its decision?

In the end, it does. No burden is placed on gentile believers beyond the norms already familiar to them by their contact with Torah in the Diaspora (Wilson 1983). The regulations were not conditions of membership in the people, but observances which enabled fellowship with Jewish believers. The decision opened the way for a free gentile mission, for it recognized that gentile believers too were a part of the restoration of Israel (cf. James' citation of Amos 9:11–12 [LXX] in 15:16–17), and that God had "visited them to take from among the nations a people for his name" (Acts 15:14) (Dahl 1957–58). In the narrative of Acts, the council opens the way for a full concentration on the missionary work of Paul.

**d. The Mission of Paul.** The differences between the Paul of the letters and the Paul of Acts have been thoroughly cataloged; in apostolic style and in theological perspective Luke presents not a historical replica of Paul but one shaped by his own agenda (Vielhauer 1966; Müller 1981). The differences can also be overdrawn (Dupont 1962). More importantly, the divergences result from specifically Lukan literary and religious concerns that affect not only Luke's portrait of Paul but also of all his major characters: the connection to Jerusalem and Judaism; the powerful works and rhetoric; the stereotypical teaching.

Luke's treatment of Paul is decidedly positive. He designates him an apostle together with Barnabas (14:4), and—more tellingly—a witness (22:15; 26:16) (Rétif 1951). Like the other major figures of the church's mission, Paul is described in specifically prophetic terms (14:3), in his case sharpened by calling him a "chosen instrument" in 9:15 (cf. Jer 1:5 and Gal 1:15), and "light to the gentiles" in 13:47 (cf. Isa 49:6 and Luke 2:32). Paul is also the pastor of the church, as shown by his farewell discourse to the Ephesian elders. Luke here explicitly makes Paul a model for those succeeding him (Acts 20:17–35) (Prast 1979).

Paul was not alone or even the first in bringing good news to the gentiles. For Luke, however, he was preeminent in that mission. His ministry was in obedience to Jesus' command, a point emphasized in all three versions of Paul's apostolic call. The first is in direct narrative (9:1–9), the others in Paul's defense speeches (22:6–21; 26:12–23). The three versions tell the same story but with variations: his companions, for example, hear the voice but see nothing in 9:7, but in 22:9 they see the light but are deaf to the voice. The element of shining light is constant, and is connected to the commission to be a light to the gentiles. The climax of each version in fact is reached with the command to go to the gentiles (9:15; 22:21; 26:23). In the defense speeches, this causes an angry reaction (22:22; 26:24). As with the rejection of Jesus in Nazareth, the Jewish rejection of this prophet's message has something to do with its universal scope.

Yet Paul by no means preaches exclusively to gentiles. He turns to them only after repeated rejection in the synagogues. The first time it happens, Paul solemnly announces a redirection of his efforts to the gentiles (13:46). But we still see him preaching to Jews and even converting some, though he twice more declares a turn to the gentiles (18:6; 28:23–29). Even in the last and most somber of these pronouncements, made to the Jewish leaders of Rome, some Jews believe (28:24–25). Indeed, throughout Paul's ministry in the Diaspora, Luke shows a continuing division within the people. Some accept the gospel, others do not (see 17:4; 18:4; 19:9–10). The emphasis in Paul's ministry is definitely on those

who do not, indicated by the distancing characterization "the Jews." It is used once in the gospel (Luke 7:3) and only nine times in Acts apart from Paul. But with reference to those who oppose Paul, Luke uses *Ioudaios* some seventy times.

Despite his rejection, Paul continues to define his mission in terms of God's care for Israel. In the defense speeches above all, Paul portrays himself and his work in terms of Jewish messianic expectation, specifically the Pharisaic hope in the resurrection, which he insists has come to fulfillment in the resurrection of Jesus (see 22:3–4; 23:6; 24:14–21; 26:4–11) (cf. O'Toole 1978). To the Jewish leaders of Rome, this "apostle to the gentiles" declares, "For this reason, therefore, I have asked to see you and speak to you, since it is because of the hope of Israel that I am bound with this chain" (28:20). However much Paul carried the gospel to the "end of the world" (Acts 1:8), he remained for Luke the "teacher of Israel" (Jervell 1972: 153–83).

**F. Literary-Religious Themes in Luke-Acts**

The *mythos* (story line) of Luke-Acts is the story of the prophet and the people. The *dianoia* (meaning) is God's fidelity to his promises giving gentiles security in their belief. Within this framework other literary and religious subthemes are developed.

**1. World Affirmation.** Luke-Acts has a positive view of the world. It is perhaps the least apocalyptic of the NT writings. Not only is Luke relatively unconcerned about the end time, but his historical enterprise bestows value on time itself. Luke approves as well those outside the Christian movement. Outsiders are generally regarded as reasonable and open-minded, the highest compliment paid by apologetic literature. The empire is not the instrument of Satan, but the condition for the safety and spread of the gospel itself. Luke-Acts recounts the conversion of gentiles and entirely lacks Matthew's xenophobia: gentiles can be "God-fearers," and even the uncoverted show kindness and intelligence (Acts 28:7–10). The portrayal of Christians corresponds to this perception of outsiders as enlightened. The apostles appear as self-controlled, courageous, just, law-abiding, reasonable men, the farthest thing from fanatics.

Luke-Acts affirms the value of human culture simply by the beauty of its fashioning. By shaping the Good News into literature, Luke implies the compatibility of Christianity and culture: human symbols are adequate vessels of the Good News.

**2. The Great Reversal.** The prophetic imagery of Luke-Acts is, however, joined to a prophetic critique of human religious expectations and values. In the "visitation of the people" by the prophet, there is effected a great reversal. Human security and complacency is challenged by the Good News. Those who are powerful, rich, and "consoled" within the people, who "seek to justify themselves," and who respond to the prophet only with "testing" and rejection, are themselves "cast down," or "lowered," or in the end, "cut off from the people." Those ordinarily deemed unworthy, lowly, marginal or even outcast are accepted by God and "raised up," becoming part of the restored people. This is the significance of the language of the "rich" and the "poor" (Luke 1:53; 4:18; 6:20–24; 7:22; 14:21; 16:19–31). The rich stand for those who have no need of consolation and who reject the prophet. The poor stand for all who have been rejected by human standards but are accepted by God, and who themselves accept God's visitation in the prophet. Among them are the crippled, lame, blind, and deaf, the sexually mutilated, and all those ritually excluded from full participation in the people. It includes the religiously unrighteous, the "sinners and tax collectors," and those who by virtue of their gender were denied full participation in the people. Luke's portrayal of Mary is emblematic of the way that God reverses the poverty and powerlessness of the human condition. Throughout his narrative, Luke gives positive attention to the role of women. The theme of reversal is emphatically expressed by the inclusion of gentiles (and Samaritans, whether Luke considers them gentiles or not) in the people of God.

**3. Salvation.** Human values are reversed by God not for the destruction of the wicked but for the saving of the lost. God's "visitation" is for their salvation (cf. Acts 7:25). Luke emphasizes the salvific aspect of the Good News more than any of the other gospels, first of all in the way he shapes the image of Jesus. The Prophet is also Savior (Luke 2:11), who brings salvation (1:69; 19:9) and works saving acts (7:50; 8:36; 8:50). He has "come to save the lost" (19:10). What is said of Jesus in the gospel applies to the apostles' mission in Acts as well. The message of God delivered by these prophets is above all one of

salvation (Acts 15:11; 28:28). The theme of salvation is dominant in distinctively Lukan parables, above all in the parables of the lost sheep (13:3–7), the lost coin (15:8–10), and the lost son (15:11–32) (cf. Marshall 1970: 77–187).

**4. The Word of God.** The theme of God's word is obviously related to that of the Prophet and the People, for it is through the prophetic word that God addresses the people. Luke emphasizes the power of this word in Acts by showing it empowered by the Spirit and accompanied by signs and wonders. The mission itself can be described as the word of God growing and expanding (Acts 6:7; 8:14; 10:36; 11:1; 12:24; 19:20). In the parable of the sower, Luke interprets the seed explicitly as "the word of God" (Luke 8:11), and the human response of faith is defined in terms of hearing and obeying the "word of God" (Luke 5:1; 6:47; 8:13–15; 8:21; 11:28).

**5. Conversion.** The word of God, which reverses human expectations, demands a "turning" and acceptance of the prophetic word. Conversion is an important theme in Luke-Acts, intimately connected to the story of Prophet and People. Jesus' ministry is preceded by the word of God spoken through the prophet John, calling to repentance (Luke 3:7–14). Acts opens with the prophetic preaching of Peter, calling for repentance (Acts 2:37–40). Those who enter the people that God is restoring must "turn around" (Luke 5:32; 10:13; 11:32; 13:3–5; 24:47; Acts 3:19; 5:31; 8:22; 11:18; 17:30; 20:21; 26:20). The most impressive example of all, of course, is the "turning" of Paul from persecutor to apostle, and whose conversion/call is so paradigmatic that it is repeated three times (Acts 9:1–9; 22:6–11; 26:12–18).

**6. The Response of Faith.** God's restored people answer his visitation with "fruits worthy of repentance" (Luke 3:8; Acts 26:20). In the first place is faith. God requires faithfulness in return for his fidelity. In Luke-Acts, faith combines obedient hearing of the word and patient endurance (S. Brown 1969). It is not a momentary decision, but a response which grows and matures (Luke 8:15; 17:5–6). Essential to the response of faith is prayer, which is made thematic by Luke (Trites 1978). Jesus prays throughout his ministry (3:21; 5:16; 6:12; 9:28–29; 11:1; 22:41–44) and teaches his disciples to pray (11:2–4; 18:1; 22:46). Luke also provides splendid examples of prayer, showing that for this people, life is defined first of all by its relationship with God (1:46–56, 68–79; 2:29–32; 10:21–22; 22:42; Acts 1:24–25; 4:24–30).

Conversion demands that humans change their behavior in imitation of God. As God welcomes all into his people, so are Christians expected to show hospitality. The opening of the home and heart to the stranger is explicitly connected to the theme of accepting or rejecting the prophet (Luke 9:3–5; 10:2–16), and Luke provides explicit models for this response (Luke 10:38–42; Acts 16:11–15). Similarly, Luke's instructions on the use of possessions have their logic in the pattern of God's visitation. The prophet permits a place in the people for the poor and outcast. Those who accept the prophet are to share their possessions with the needy, whether through almsgiving (Luke 12:32–34; 16:1–13) or by the total donation of what they possess in a community of goods (Acts 4:32–37) (Johnson 1977). Finally, as God's visitation of the people for salvation is a revelation of his loving-kindness above all to the outcast (Luke 1:52–53, 58) so are his people to reach out in love to all (Luke 6:32–36; 10:27–37).

These are not all the literary and religious themes of Luke-Acts, but this listing demonstrates how the rich subthemes find their coherence in the story of the Prophet and the People by which Luke convinces his gentile readers that God's fidelity to his promise should give them confidence in their commitment to him.

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LUKE TIMOTHY JOHNSON

**LUMINARIES, WORDS OF THE.** See WORDS OF THE LUMINARIES (4Q DibHam).

**LUNATIC.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE; DEMONS.

**LUTE.** See MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

**LUWIAN LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

**LUZ** (PLACE) [Heb *lûz* (לוּז)]. **1.** Formerly the place name for Bethel (Gen 28:19; 35:6; 48:3; Judg 1:23; *Jub.* 27:19, 26). According to Gen 28:10–22, it was Jacob who renamed the place Bethel after he encountered God in that place (M.R. 172148).

The tribal-boundary descriptions locate Luz on or near the common boundary between Joseph (Josh 16:1–3) and Benjamin (18:11–13). These two texts have occasioned some dispute regarding the actual geographical relationship between Luz and Bethel. One could interpret *wĕyāṣā᾽ mibbêt-᾽ēl lûzāh* "going from Bethel to Luz" (Josh 16:2) to mean that the border ran from Bethel to Luz and thus that the names indicated two distinct sites. Then the note that identifies Bethel with Luz in Josh 18:13 might be judged an interpolation, especially if one understood Beth-aven of 18:12 to be a distortion of Bethel. Having argued in this way, Noth located Luz at Beitîn, and he regarded Bethel as the name of a sanctuary in its immediate proximity which eventually gave its name to the town of Luz (Noth *Josua* HAT, $^{2}$1953: 101, 106, 109).

According to another interpretation, Luz and Bethel were successive names for one place. In favor of this position one may argue that the *āh* ending on *lûzāh* in Josh 16:2 is not necessarily locative (cf. the second *lûzāh* in Josh 18:13). Then one may interpret Bethel-Luzah as a compound name, as both LXX A (v 1) and LXX B (v 2) seem to have done (Kallai *HGB*, 129–31, 143).

**2.** A city built in the land of the Hittites by a former citizen of Bethel whom the conquering house of Joseph spared because he had shown them an entrance to Bethel (Judg 1:26). It has generally been understood that "the land of the Hittites" refers to the territory of Syria or Lebanon, which belonged to the Hittite empire before its collapse at the end of the LB Age. Another possibility, however, is that in Judg 1:26 the designation refers to the hill country of Palestine (as in Num 13:29; cf. Genesis 23 and 26:34) and that the new city of Luz was located W of Bethel, as suggested by the boundary description of Josh 16:2 (Gottwald 1979: 559–60).

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**LXX.** See SEPTUAGINT.

**LYCAONIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Lykaonia* (Λυκαονια)]. The territory of the Lycaones was a region of Central Asia Minor N of the Taurus range, bordered on the W by Phrygia, on the E by Cappadocia, and on the N (after 232 B.C.) by ethnic Galatia.

**A. General History**

The name Lycaones is probably related to Lukka, an Anatolian people and territory mentioned in Hittite texts (Houwink ten Cate 1961: 195–56). One detached group of Lycaones, distinguished by W. M. Ramsay (1897: 664, 694; 1906: 366) as the "inner Lycaones," formed a western enclave in the heart of Phrygia; it is mentioned in inscriptions of the 3d century A.D.

In 401 B.C. Cyrus the Younger led his army through Lycaonia (a five days' march of ninety miles) on his way east to contest the succession to the Persian throne with his brother Artaxerxes II. Lycaonia evidently remained loyal to Artaxerxes, for Cyrus treated it as hostile territory and allowed his Greek followers to plunder it (Xen. *An.* 1.2.19).

In 333 B.C. Lycaonia became part of the empire of Alexander the Great and, after his death, of his Seleucid successors. In 188 B.C. the Romans transferred Lycaonia from the Seleucids to the kingdom of Pergamum. When the Romans accepted the bequest of the kingdom of Pergamum in 129 B.C., they bestowed its easternmost regions on neighboring rulers, Lycaonia going to the king of Cappadocia. Mark Antony gave western Lycaonia to Polemon of Laodicea in 39 B.C.; three years later he transferred the whole of Lycaonia to Rome's ally Amyntas, king of Galatia. Soon afterward Amyntas seized the eastern cities of Derbe and Laranda and added them to his realm. When Amyntas fell in battle against unruly tribesmen of the Taurus region in 25 B.C., his augmented kingdom was reconstituted by Augustus as the Roman province of Galatia. In 20 B.C. Augustus gave eastern Lycaonia to Archelaus, king of Cappadocia

(Strab. 12.1.4; 12.2.7; 14.5.6; Dio Cass. 54.9.2). In western Lycaonia he planted two colonies of veteran soldiers—at Parlais and Lystra—and these were linked by a road system with Pisidian Antioch in Phrygia, another colony.

Eastern Lycaonia was bestowed by Emperor Gaius on Antiochus IV, king of Commagene, in A.D. 37. It was taken from him almost immediately afterward, but was restored to him by Claudius in 41 (Dio Cass. 59.8.2; 60.8.1). About that time Derbe, on the frontier between the province of Galatia and the kingdom of Commagene, received the honorific title Claudioderbe. Eastern Lycaonia now became known as Lycaonia Antiochiana (Ptol. Geog. 5.6.17; *CIL* 10.8660); Pliny the Elder calls it *Lycaonia ipsa* "Lycaonia itself" (*HN* 5.95). Western Lycaonia, which remained part of the province of Galatia, may have been distinguished as Lycaonia Galatica.

Under Vespasian (ca. 72) Lycaonia was reunited as a region of the amalgamated province of Galatia-Cappadocia; under Trajan (106) the two provinces were divided again; under Hadrian (137) a new province, the Triple Eparchy, combined Lycaonia, Cilicia, and Isauria.

The *koinon* or league of cities of Lycaonia comprised Laranda (its principal city for long periods), Barata, Ilistra, Derbe, Hyde, Dalisandos, and Savatra, but not Lystra, Axylon, or Iconium (which was a Phrygian city but sometimes, because of its proximity to the regional frontier, reckoned to Lycaonia, as in Cic. *Fam.* 15.4.2; Strab. 12.6.1; Pliny *HN* 5.25).

**B. Lycaonia in the NT**

Lycaonia first appears in the NT when Paul and Barnabas, forced to depart from Iconium because of a riot stirred up against them, "fled to Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and to the surrounding country" (Acts 14:6). This form of words implies that Iconium, which they had left, was not in Lycaonia. When they heard the Lycaonian language spoken in Lystra (Acts 14:11), they may have recognized that it was sufficiently unlike Phrygian for the difference to be obvious even to people who understood neither language. Whereas Phrygian was related to Thracian, the Lycaonian language was probably descended from Luwian, a language represented in Hittite texts.

Paul and Barnabas had an early opportunity of hearing Lycaonian when the people of Lystra, excited by Paul's healing a congenitally lame man, shouted that the gods had come down to them in human form. The two missionaries did not understand the words, but soon gathered their purport when preparations were set afoot to pay them divine honors. When Luke says that Barnabas and Paul were called Zeus and Hermes, respectively, we may infer that two corresponding Lycaonian gods were mentioned. On the other hand, there is evidence for the joint worship of Zeus and Hermes in that neighborhood: a 3d-century A.D. inscription from Sedasa (some 25 miles from Lystra) records the dedication to Zeus of a statue of Hermes by men with Lycaonian names (Calder 1910: 1–6), and an altar found near Lystra in 1926 is dedicated to the "hearer of prayer" (Gk *epēkoos*), i.e., Zeus, and Hermes (*MAMA* 8.1).

The Lystrans were naturally offended when their attempt to worship Paul and Barnabas as gods was repudiated, so they lent a willing ear to opponents of the missionaries who came from Iconium and fomented an attack on them. Paul in particular was fortunate to escape with his life after being stoned and left for dead at the roadside. On the next day the two set out for Derbe, some 60 miles distant. Here they reached the provincial frontier, if indeed they did not cross it: Derbe may have belonged to Lycaonia Antiochiana, as Ptolemy says (5.6.16; cf. Van Elderen 1970: 159–61). Derbe, in any case, was the farthest point they reached in their present journey; they retraced their steps. But they had made converts both in Lystra (notably Timothy, according to Acts 16:1–3) and in Derbe (among whom one Gaius is specially mentioned in Acts 20:4).

Paul passed through Lycaonia on at least one later occasion, and most probably two. On his way from Antioch to Troas with Silas, "he came also to Derbe and to Lystra" (Acts 16:1); at the latter place he persuaded Timothy to join him as his personal assistant. When, a few years later, on his way from Antioch to Ephesus "he went from place to place through the region of Galatia and Phrygia, strengthening all the disciples" (Acts 18:23), Galatic Lycaonia was almost certainly one of the areas visited. On the "south Galatian" view, the Christian communities of Lycaonia were among "the churches of Galatia" to which Paul's Letter to the Galatians is addressed (Gal 1:2; cf. 1 Cor 16:1).

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F. F. BRUCE

**LYCIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Lysias* (Λυσιας)]. A rugged, mountainous district on the SW coast of Asia Minor. According to 1 Macc 15:23, Lycia was among the recipients of a letter from the Roman consul Lucius Calpurnius Piso in the 2d century B.C.E. concerning the Roman alliance with the Jews. Lycia is also mentioned twice in the context of Paul's missionary travels in the book of Acts. Paul changed ships at the Lycian port of Patara on his way to Jerusalem (Acts 21:1) and again at Myra on his journey to Rome (Acts 27:5–6).

The only level land of the district is on the alluvial plains formed by the Limyrus and Xanthus rivers. The elevations of five of the mountains in this W spur of the Taurus range are over 7,600 ft. with the highest reaching 10,125 ft. The mountainous topography accounts for the inhospitable coastline and the complete isolation of Lycia from Pamphylia to the E. The only suitable harbors were at Patara at the mouth of the Xanthus, Myra at the entrance to the Andriacus valley (both silted), Limyra at the mouth of the Limyrus river, and Telmessus on the Gulf of Fethiye (still in use). Pliny stated that Lycia had once had 70 towns, but by the time of his writing only 26 remained.

Little is known about the early history of Lycia, and much of what is known is of a legendary nature. According to Herodotus (1.73), the Lycians came from Crete under Serapedon (the exiled brother of Minos), perhaps via Miletus. The land was originally inhabited by a warlike people called the Solymi, who were driven out of the land by the followers of Serapedon (Homer *Il.* 6.180, 184; 10.430; 12.30). These followers were originally called Termilae, which may be attested in some 4th-century epichoric inscriptions. Lycia was named after the Athenian Lycus, son of Pandion, who was also exiled by his brother Aegeus and settled among the Termilae (Strabo 14.3.10).

The earliest Bronze Age inhabitants were related to the Hittites. Archaeological discoveries indicate that Elmali was inhabited in the EB Age. A tribe called the "Lukka" (or Eg *Lk*), which may have been Lycians, appears in Hittite, Ugaritic, and Egyptian records. In an Amarna letter (EA 38:11f.), the king of Alashiya complains of the aggressions of the Lukki people. In a letter from a Ugaritic king to the king of Alashiya, Lukka Land is mentioned in conjunction with a coastal region; the area is similarly described in Hittite sources as a turbulent region. The Lukka may have been allies of the Hittites at the battle of Qadesh between Rameses II and Mawatalis. Merneptah boasted that he won a victory in his 5th year against an alliance that included the *Lk* (Lukka?) in Libya.

Linguistic evidence indicates that a dialect of the Luwian language was spoken, and Luwian deities can be detected in personal names. The Lycian language and script, with an alphabet containing 29 letters (more than half of which appear to be Greek in form) were in use through the 4th century B.C.E. The language is only imperfectly understood, and some phonetic values are uncertain.

According to Homer (*Il.* 2.876–77), the Lycians allied with Priam and defended Troy against the Achaeans. Xanthus (modern Gunuk) was the principal city of Lycia, which headed a federation of cities and towns. Apollo and his mother, Ledo, and perhaps Hephaestus were the principal Lycian deities. A

lyre on Lycian coins represented Apollo, who had a famous temple and oracle in the city of Patara, where he was fabled to spend his winters.

Lycia was the only power W of the Halys that was not subdued by Croesus (Hdt. 1.28). The Persians conquered the Lycians in 546 B.C.E. after a valiant resistance staged against Cyrus' general, Harpagus, who was stationed at Xanthus. The Lycians supplied Xerxes with 50 ships in his expedition against the Greek mainland (Hdt. 7.92). Lycia was temporarily liberated by Cimon and joined the Delian League for a short time before falling again under Persian control. Lycia was included in the Hecatomnid dominions, submitted to Alexander the Great and, after his death, passed into the hands of the Ptolemies. In 197 B.C.E., Antiochus III conquered the land. After his defeat at Magnesia in 189 B.C.E., the Romans placed Lycia under the control of Rhodes.

The Lycians were given their freedom in 169 B.C.E. The Roman generals Brutus and Cassius, however, sacked Xanthus for money in 42 B.C.E. The Lycians organized themselves into a confederation consisting of 23 cities with six cities (Xanthus, Patara, Pinara, Olympus, Myra, and Tlos) rising to predominant political positions (Polyb. 30.5; Strabo 14.3.2–10). The Lycian constitution was revoked in 43 C.E. by Claudius because of dissension between the cities, and in 74 C.E. Vespasian established the province of Lycia-Pamphylia under a praetorian prefect (Suetonius *Claud.* 25; idem. *Vit. Vespas.* 8; and Dio Cass. 60.17).

In the 4th century C.E., Myra was the seat of a Bishop Nikolas, who was martyred during the Diocletianic persecution of the Church. Saint Nikolas endeared himself to many by his generous habit of gift-giving. He became the patron saint of children and sailors, and through Dutch tradition became the Santa Claus of western Christendom.

SCOTT T. CARROLL

**LYCIAN LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

**LYDIA** (PERSON) [Gk *Lydia* (Λυδια)]. A devout Jew from Thyatira who was converted by Paul in the city of Philippi, as recorded in Acts 16:11–15. Lydia was a worshiper of (the one true) God, i.e., she was a practicing Jew. This may have been a lifelong commitment since there was a colony of Jews in Thyatira (Josephus *Ant* 12.119; Bruce 1951: 312–14). That she was meeting beside a stream on the Sabbath for prayer suggests that there were not enough Jewish men in Philippi to make up a quorum and establish a proper synagogue. Here we see a subtle but important point that Luke is trying to make—while Lydia could not be a founding member of a Jewish synagogue, she can be and is the first European convert to Christendom, and in fact is the founding member of the Christian community which begins to meet in her household (16:40). Jewish women in the Diaspora did participate in the Hellenistic renaissance and may have formed their own religious groups and held meetings for worship or prayer (as may be the case in this story). Nevertheless, there is no evidence of their being allowed to make up the quorum of a synagogue even in less restrictive environments like Macedonia. The evidence of women being financial patrons of Diaspora synagogues does not support another conclusion.

Note also that Lydia felt free, perhaps because of the liberating effect of the Gospel, to go against Jewish custom not only in speaking to Paul in public but also in inviting Paul and those with him, who were total strangers, to come and stay in her house (16:15). Herein we see a story of how the Gospel can free women from previous restraints, giving them new roles even as founding members of new Christian house churches.

It may be that, since the women of Macedonia were often noted for taking leading roles in society even before the time of Alexander the Great (Witherington 1988: 12–13), Lydia's new roles would have caused little or no surprise in the larger community. If, however, there were male Jews in Philippi her leadership role probably would have been surprising to them. Lydia, upon hearing the word of the Lord from Paul, was baptized, receiving the covenant sign of the new religion, something she could not do in Judaism. Thus Luke presents a story illustrating how the Gospel is for all sorts of people regardless of their gender, previous religious background, or economic status.

The name "Lydia" originally designated a person from the country called Lydia, i.e., the Lydian (Bruce 1951: 314). If this is the case in Acts 16, then we do not actually know this woman's name. However, at least as early as Horace (*Carm.* 1.8) Lydia had also become a personal name, and because the country of Lydia had been absorbed into the province of Asia when this story took place it is likely that Lydia is a personal name here (Conzelmann *Acts* Hermeneia, 130; Williams 1985: 273).

The city of Thyatira did exist in Paul's day and had long been a famous industrial center where purple dye was made. We are told that Lydia was associated with her hometown trade by being a seller of cloth colored with this royal purple dye (Acts 16:14). This means that Lydia was probably a financially independent woman, since material dyed royal purple was a luxury item that only royalty and the wealthy could normally afford, and since she has a house which will accommodate not only herself but also both her household (servants?) and guests. Homer (*Il.* 4.141–42) mentions two women who were famous for the art of purple dyeing in Lydia, so apparently the biblical Lydia was following a precedent of women being involved in this trade. It is likely she had come to Philippi, a Roman colony city, to sell her goods to some of the wealthy clientele there.

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BEN WITHERINGTON, III

**LYDIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Lydia* (Λυδια)]. The region in W Asia Minor to which Paul and Silas proceed after their release from the Philippian jail in Acts 16:40.

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A. Geography
B. History
1. Prehistory
2. Lydian Kingdom
3. Persian Period
4. Hellenistic and Roman Periods
C. Language
D. Religion
E. Material Culture

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**A. Geography**

Ancient Lydia is located in western Asia Minor (modern Turkey). Its original territory included the Hermus (modern Gediz) and Cayster (modern Küçük Menderes) River valleys. The Meander (modern Büyük Menderes) River formed its southern boundary. Separating the Hermus and Cayster valleys is the Tmolus mountain range (modern Boz Daĝ), where the once gold-bearing Pactolus stream rises and flows N to the Hermus plain. The Hermus valley provided a natural overland route from the Aegean coast to the Anatolian plateau. The modern Izmir–Ankara Highway follows this ancient road for much of its length. Under King Croesus in the 6th century B.C.E., the Lydian empire reached its greatest extent, from the Aegean to the Halys (modern Kızıl) River (Hdt. 1.28). Throughout its long history, the chief city of Lydia was Sardis, now the main source of archaeological evidence for Lydian material culture (Hanfmann 1983).

**B. History**

**1. Prehistory.** Little is known about Lydia in the prehistoric periods. Small settlements dating to the EB Age (3d millennium B.C.E.) were scattered on the shores of the Gygean lake (modern Göl Marmara) N of Sardis, and traces of LB Age (mid–late 2d millennium B.C.E.) activity have been found in the area of the ancient city. Hittite interest in western Asia Minor is attested by two 2d-millennium rock reliefs with

Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions, one a seated female on Mt. Sipylus (Manisa Daĝ), the other a warrior figure in the Karabel pass, the latter attributed by Herodotus (2.106) to the Egyptian king Sesostris. Hittite records contain no reference to "Lydia" but "Assuwa" (as "Asia") may refer to Lydian territory in western Asia Minor. The Greek epic tradition concerning the Trojan War names as allies of the Trojans "Maeonians" who come from "Tarne," equated with Sardis by a scholiast (*Il.* 5.43–44). The *Iliad* also refers to "snowy Tmolus" (20.385), the Gygean lake, and the Hermus and Hyllus rivers (20.391–92). Contact between Mycenaean Greeks and Lydians is indicated by mainland-type pottery and its local imitations at Sardis and other sites in Lydia. The Greek historical tradition tells of a dynasty born of Herakles and a Lydian slave woman, the Heraclidae, who ruled Lydia for twenty-two generations prior to the time of Candaules. The last Heraclid king, the uxorious Candaules, was supplanted by Gyges in ca. 685 B.C.E., the first Mermnad dynast (Hdt. 1.7–12).

**2. Lydian Kingdom.** Greek sources, especially Herodotus (1.6–95), and Near Eastern texts for Lydia during the Mermnad dynasty (ca. 685–547 B.C.E.) record the territorial ambitions and international contacts of the Mermnad kings. Gyges (ca. 685–652 B.C.E.) initiated expansion to the W by attacking Greek coastal settlements (Hdt. 1.14). His relationship with the Greeks, however, was not always hostile. Gyges was the first foreigner after Midas of Phrygia to place offerings in Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi (Hdt. 1.13–14). In response to Cimmerian raids in Asia Minor, Gyges sought an alliance with Ashurbanipal. In the Rassam Cylinder, Gyges is called Guggu of Ludu (perhaps the Gog of Ezek 39:1). Apparently the treaty with the Assyrians and his success against the Cimmerians were short-lived. In ca. 654 B.C.E., Gyges sent troops to help Psammetichus I of Egypt in his war of liberation against Lydia's former allies, the Assyrians (Luckenbill 1927: 297–98). And two years later Gyges himself was dead, the victim of another Cimmerian raid. Gyges' son and successor, Ardys (ca. 652–615 B.C.E.), and his successor, Sadyattes (ca. 615–605 B.C.E.), still had to contend with periodic Cimmerian incursions while pursuing their predecessor's policy of territorial expansion in Ionia. It was not until the reign of Alyattes (605–560 B.C.E.) that the Cimmerians were finally driven from Lydia. The appearance of the Scythians and Medes to the E, however, posed a new threat to Lydian security. After five years of indecisive battles between Alyattes and Cyaxares the Mede (during the sixth of which Thales of Miletos predicted the solar eclipse of May 28, 585 B.C.E.), peace was concluded under the auspices of the rulers of Cilicia and Babylon. To seal the pact, Alyattes' daughter was married to Astyages, son of Cyaxares (Hdt. 1.74). The offspring of this union, Mandane, became the mother of Cyrus the Great. Alyattes' son, Croesus (560–547 B.C.E.) ruled a vast empire, the downfall of which is well known to readers of Herodotus. Croesus' political connections extended from the Near East to the city-states of mainland Greece, Sparta and Athens chief among them. His extravagant dedications at Greek sanctuaries, from the quantities of precious metal at Delphi to the columns of the archaic Artemision at Ephesus, are attested in literary and archaeological sources. During his reign, he reduced all of the Greeks in Asia to tributary status (Hdt. 1.26). To the Greeks, Croesus' life followed a classically tragic pattern, a king whose great wealth and power so blinded him that he lost everything. Less than 50 years after his downfall, this last Mermnad king appears in all his Hellenized Oriental finery on a red-figure amphora painted by Myson, an Athenian (Louvre G 197), and, by the early 5th century, in the *Epinicia* of Bacchylides (3.23–62).

**3. Persian Period.** The agent of Croesus' fall from power was Mandane's son (and Croesus' nephew) Cyrus, the king of Persia. Under Cyrus and his successors, the former Lydian empire became a prized satrapy, Saparda, with its capital at Sardis. This city, third in importance after Persepolis and Susa, was the target of the unsuccessful Ionian revolt in 499 B.C.E. (Hdt. 5.100–102) and the mustering point for Cyrus the Younger's march to Cunaxa in 401 B.C.E. (Xen. *An.* 1.2.2–3). The satrapy itself was subject to the plundering raids of the Spartan king Agesilaus in the early 4th century B.C.E. (Xen. *Ages.* 1.33–34). Linked by the Royal Road to the Aegean coast and inland areas, Lydia continued to prosper under the influence of Ionian Greek and Achaemenid/Persian cultures.

**4. Hellenistic and Roman Periods.** In the course of liberating the Greeks from their Persian masters, Alexander the Great acquired Lydia in 334 B.C.E. (Diod. Sic. 17.21.7). Subsequently, the Seleucid kings ruled the region until 189 B.C.E., when Antiochus III was defeated by the Romans at Magnesia (Livy

37.44–45; 1 Macc 8:8). Lydia passed into the hands of the Pergamene kings, where it remained until the death of Attalus III in 133 B.C.E. This last Attalid king bequeathed his kingdom to Rome under the terms of his will, and Lydia soon became part of the proconsular province of Asia. The Mithridatic Wars (88–63 B.C.E.) and a disastrous earthquake in 17 C.E., which leveled twelve cities in western Asia Minor, Sardis foremost among them, contributed to the general decline of the region. Under the Roman emperors, however, Lydia regained some of its former glory. Diocletian created the "new" province of Lydia (ca. 300 C.E.), included in the diocese of Asiane. Three of the seven churches of Revelation were located in Lydian cities, a reflection of the importance of the province in early Christian times.

**C. Language**

Lydian is related to the Indo-European languages of Anatolia, such as Luvian and Hittite. Knowledge of the language is based on a relatively small corpus of inscriptions, around 100, including casual graffiti (Gusmani 1964: 1980). The alphabet makes use of modified Greek and Phrygian letter forms. The earliest inscriptions recovered so far date to ca. 650–600 B.C.E. Lydian persisted through the Persian period, to which the majority of inscriptions belong, including several Lydian-Aramaic bilingual funerary texts. Even when Greek became both the common and official language during the Hellenistic period, Lydian graffiti could still be found as late as the 2d century B.C.E.

**D. Religion**

Lydian gods emerge as an enigmatic mixture of native Anatolian, Near Eastern, and Greek elements (Hanfmann 1983: 90–96). To identify the uniquely Lydian elements is difficult. Artemis and Cybele (*Kuvava* in Lydian) were the most important goddesses, and Zeus (Lydian *Levs*) is chief among the gods. The Lydian god of wine, *Baki*, entered the Greek world as Bacchus/Dionysos. The major Persian contribution to the native tradition was the introduction of Anahita, the Persian Artemis. Hellenization appears to have changed the form but not the substance of native deities and their cults. Artemis, Cybele as Meter, and Zeus Lydios remain important. In the late 3d century B.C.E., Judaism entered W Asia Minor with the resettlement of Mesopotamian Jewish veteran families in Phrygia and Lydia by Antiochus III (Joseph. *Ant.* 12.3.4). A large synagogue dating to the Roman period at Sardis reflects the enduring influence of Judaism in the region (Hanfmann 1983: 168–90). Christianization was a gradual process, completed in Lydia by the establishment of three of the seven churches of Asia at Sardis, Thyatira, and Philadelphia.

**E. Material Culture**

Long before the widespread hellenization of Lydia under the Seleucids, the influence of Greece, especially Ionia, is evident in painted pottery, terracotta revetments, and sculpture. Although native elements are observable in these forms of cultural expression, Greek traditions are the formative force. Lydian contributions mainly lie in the luxury arts, such as perfumes and scented ointments (Ath. 15.690b–d), carpets, textiles, and dyes (Pliny *HN* 7.196). According to Herodotus (1.94), the Lydians were the first to coin silver and gold, an attribution now supported by the discovery of a 6th-century B.C.E. gold refinery near the banks of the Pactolus stream at Sardis (Hanfmann 1983: 34–41). To Herodotus in the 5th century, the Lydians appeared close to the Greeks in their customs. The material evidence does not contradict this evaluation.

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**LYRE.** See MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

**LYSANIAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Lysanias* (Λυσανιας)]. According to Luke, Lysanias was the tetrarch of Abilene when John the Baptist began his ministry (Luke 3:1). Lysanias is not mentioned again in the NT, but the name appears several times in the works of Josephus. A ruler named Lysanias in Josephus died in

36 B.C.E. This has led some scholars to argue that Luke made a chronological blunder by depending on Josephus for the name Lysanias and thereby naming an individual long dead as the tetrarch in ca. 28 C.E. The apparent problem is heightened because Luke gives every indication that his gospel was written with critical care (Luke 1:3). The evidence seems to suggest that there were two individuals named Lysanias who ruled in the same general area but at different times, supporting the accuracy of Luke's account.

**1.** The earlier Lysanias mentioned by Josephus was the son of a certain Ptolemy (Joseph. *Ant.* 14.13.3; 15.4.1; *JW* 1.13.1). Lysanias, son of Ptolemy, ruled Chalcis in Lebanon (Joseph. *Ant.* 14.13.3). Later references to the name Lysanias in Josephus and Luke do not refer to the father, perhaps indicating a different individual. Because Chalcis was a larger territory than Abilene, it is likely that each was ruled by a separate person.

**2.** Thus it appears that another individual named Lysanias ruled over the district of Abilene. Josephus mentions that Gaius (Caligula) gave to Agrippa I all of the territory which had belonged to Herod the Great and added Abila to this territory (Joseph. *Ant.* 14.5.1; *JW* 2.11.5). Further inscriptional evidence may bear witness to a second Lysanias who ruled at a later date in the territory of Abilene. An inscription dated no later than 14 C.E., which states that it was the work of a certain Nymphaeus, a freedman of Lysanias, has been found near Abila. It appears that Josephus referred to two rulers named Lysanias but failed to distinguish one clearly from the other, whereas Luke mentioned only the later one.

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**LYSIAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Lysias* (Λυσιας)]. **1.** See CLAUDIUS LYSIAS.

**2.** A Syrian of royal lineage appointed regent of the area from the Euphrates to the Egyptian border by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, when Antiochus raided Persia for money ca. 165 B.C.E. (1 Macc 3:33). He was also made guardian of the king's son, Antiochus V Eupator. Lysias was provided with half of Antiochus' army, including soldiers, cavalry, and elephants, and was instructed to defeat the Jews in Jerusalem. Lysias dispatched Ptolemy, the son of Dorymenes, Nicanor, and Gorgias to destroy Jerusalem (1 Macc 3:32–39), but Judas Maccabeus defeated them at Emmaus (1 Macc 3:40–4:25). 2 Maccabees (10:15–23) speaks of Gorgias waging war with mercenaries (presumably the same battle) and another battle between Judas and some Idumeans, but it is not clear whether the Idumeans acted with Gorgias or merely simultaneously.

The next year Lysias himself marched to Idumea and encamped at (or besieged) Beth-zur. Apparently Judas defeated Lysias, who retreated to Antioch for more mercenaries (1 Macc 4:27–35), though 2 Macc 11:6–15 says that the peace terms were negotiated, perhaps implying a standoff, and that Lysias returned to Antiochus V (in Antioch?). The retreat of Lysias gave Judas the opportunity to cleanse the temple in Jerusalem. Next, Judas waged his highly successful campaign in Transjordan (1 Macc 5:19–51 [= 2 Macc 12:2–28]). According to 2 Macc 12:27–28 Lysias was defeated at Ephron, but 1 Maccabees makes no such claim, and Lysias had been previously reported with the king (2 Macc 12:1). Judas meanwhile returned to Jerusalem (1 Macc 5:52–54 [= 2 Macc 12:31]) and next fought the Idumeans (1 Macc 5:65–68 [= 2 Macc 12:32–37]).

Antiochus IV Epiphanes, meanwhile, had been frustrated in his attempts to raise money in Persia (1 Macc 6:1–4). Learning that Lysias had failed in his attack upon Jerusalem and knowing himself to be near death, Antiochus appointed a new subordinate, Philip, to be regent and guardian over Antiochus V (1 Macc 6:14–15), thus setting up Lysias and Philip as competitors for his throne. Lysias heard of this action and set up young Antiochus V as king under his supervision. Seizing the moment of transition, Judas attacked the citadel built by Antiochus in Jerusalem in 167 (1 Macc 6:18–20; cf. 1:33). Lysias and Antiochus marched again on Beth-zur, but 1 and 2 Maccabees disagree about the details. According to 1 Macc 6:32–49, Judas left the citadel for Beth-zur, camped opposite it at Beth-zechariah, engaged in battle, but lost when his troops saw the elephants of the Seleucids. According to 2 Macc 13:14–22, there was a previous skirmish at Modein, won by Judas through an attack on the elephants, followed by another victory by Judas at Beth-zur. A Jewish traitor revealed a secret to Lysias, who negotiated again with Beth-zur, presumably from a victorious posture.

One may surmise that the secret was that the city was out of food since the year was a Sabbatical year when no one could plant crops. So both sources ultimately agree that Lysias was victorious at Beth-zur. Next he besieged Jerusalem, which was facing the same food shortage. During the siege Lysias learned that Philip had set himself up as king in Antioch (1 Macc 6:48–56). Lysias made peace quickly with the Jews and took Antiochus back to Antioch, which he captured from Philip. In 161, however, Demetrius I Soter captured the city and had both Lysias and Antiochus V executed (1 Macc 7:1–4).

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**LYSIMACHUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Lysimachos* (Λυσιμαχος)]. 1. Lysimachus is reported to have composed the additions to the book of Esther (Add Esth 11:1), where he is identified as the son of Ptolemy and a Jerusalemite.

2. According to 2 Macc 4:39–42, Lysimachus appropriated sacred vessels from the temple after being made deputy by his brother, the high priest Menelaus (2 Macc 4:29). Lysimachus, with the apparent support of his brother Menelaus, armed some 3,000 men and attempted to enter the temple treasury. Inflamed by Lysimachus' sacrilege, the crowd attacked the would-be thieves, and Lysimachus was killed near the treasury. Menelaus was charged for the actions of his brother but he escaped punishment by winning the support of Antiochus IV through a substantial bribe to a confidant of the Seleucid king (2 Macc 4:43–50). Lysimachus, along with his brothers Menelaus the high priest and Simon the chief administrator of the temple, were leaders in the hellenizing party in Jerusalem. Although these three brothers were probably not Tobiads (a major family and political power among the pro-Seleucid hellenizers) they certainly would have been closely allied with these opponents of the Oniads, who favored the Egyptian Ptolemies (Tcherikover 1959: 153–54). The Oniad former high priest, Onias III, was murdered at the instigation of the Tobiad Menelaus (2 Macc 4:34). Josephus confuses the family relationships, making Menelaus (formerly known as Onias) the brother of Onias III and Jason (formerly Jesus), high priest and brother of Onias III (*Ant.* 12.5.1 §239; cf. 2 Macc 4:7–20). Lysimachus does not appear at all. (Josephus' confused account did not make use of 2 Maccabees, which chronicles the machinations of the hellenizers in detail, unlike 1 Maccabees, which Josephus did employ.) The illegitimate transfer of high-priestly power from the Oniads to Menelaus and the misdeeds of the hellenizers, including those of Lysimachus, would have embarrassed the priestly Josephus. Josephus would have sought to gloss over uncomfortable facts, including the attempted robbery of the temple treasury at the hand of the high priest's deputy and probably at his instigation. That Lysimachus' attempted robbery should have incited the crowd to murder indicates not merely the gravity of his offense but the growing outrage of the populace of Jerusalem at the activities of the hellenizers. Funds belonging to religious institutions were deemed inviolate by Hellenistic custom regardless of the religion, and Lysimachus' action was thus improper (Goldstein *II Maccabees* AB, 205). Later rabbinic literature would consider the theft of a sacred vessel a capital offense (*m. Sanh.* 9:6). It would, however, be in error to assume that this injunction was in force in the 2d century B.C.E. The reaction of the crowd to Lysimachus' attempted robbery reflected moral outrage at the behavior of the Hellenists, culminating in a sacrilegious act by the brother and deputy of the high priest.

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**LYSTRA** (PLACE) [Gk *Lystra* (Λυστρα)]. A site located at Zoldera near Hatun Saray and lying about 24 miles S of Konya (37°36´N; 32°17´E); it was a moderately important, if somewhat rustic, market town in the relatively backward region of Lycaonia in south-central Turkey. In antiquity, Lycaonia was bounded on the W by Phrygia, by Galatia on the N, Cappadocia to the E, and the Taurus mountains on the S. The most important city in the area, then as now, is Iconium (Konya).

In the years of Roman rule over Asia Minor, Lycaonia owed its importance to its situation on the main road from the west-central coast through the Cilician Gates to the broad plain of Cilicia (Ruge PW 26:

2253–65). Lystra itself was about a day's journey from the main road, at the junction of two other roads which ran N from the northern Isaurian slopes of the Taurus, on the route that was known in antiquity as the *via Sebaste*. The city was a Roman colony, founded by Augustus in 26 B.C., and it was situated on a low hill rising out of the valley (Levick 1967: 51–52). The original settlers of the Augustan colony were veterans of the Roman army; and, despite the fact that they became thoroughly integrated with the local population within a generation or so, Lystra retained some vestiges of its Italian settlement for centuries (the predominance of the native Lycaonian element of the city, however, is illustrated in the story of Paul's visit in the A.D. 40s). One of these Italian features was the use of Latin rather than Greek for public inscriptions and on coin legends. Another was the town's constitution, which retained the traditional civic organization of a Roman colony. The chief magistrates were a pair of officials known as *duumviri*, the town council was referred to as the *ordo decurionum* instead of as the *boule*, as would have been the case in a Greek city, and the Latin word *populus* was used to describe the citizen body. Some Italian cults came to be celebrated along with those of the native gods.

Augustus' choice of the site for this colony was dictated by military considerations. In the course of the civil wars after the murder of Julius Caesar in 44 B.C., Mark Antony had taken control over the E provinces of the Roman Empire—this by arrangement with Augustus after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, two of Caesar's assassins, in 42 B.C. In the course of a thorough reorganization of the region, Antony had abolished the great province of Cilicia, of which Lycaonia had been a part, because it had not been economically practical for Rome to continue direct control over an area whose economy was seriously underdeveloped. He placed these areas under the control of various local dynasts who could keep better order than the Romans. Lycaonia had fallen to Amyntas of Galatia, and Augustus left him in power after his victory over Antony in 31 B.C. But when Amyntas died in 26 B.C., Augustus had no choice but to reinstate direct Roman government, and the kingdom of Amyntas became the Roman province of Galatia (Syme 1939: 325–32; cf. Levick 1967: 29–41, 195–97). To safeguard this territory, Augustus established a number of veteran colonies at strategic points. Lystra was the southernmost of these colonies, and its location suggests that Augustus intended it to be a base for the campaigns that his governors would wage against the tribes of the Taurus.

Lystra was founded as a military colony to protect Roman invasion routes into the Taurus and, conversely, to protect the main road in the N from raiders out of the mountains. Since the highlands were never brought completely under Roman control, Lystra probably retained its character as a frontier town throughout its history and, despite its Italian foundation, it became very much a Lycaonian town, rather than a Roman one. The nature of the place is best illustrated by Luke's account of the visit to Lystra that Paul and Barnabas made in the A.D. 40s. After Paul healed a cripple, according to the account in Acts (14:8–18), they were greeted by the local inhabitants who called out to them in Lycaonian. These people identified them as the local gods who, through a form of local syncretism, were identified with the Greek gods Zeus and Hermes. This is of some interest because the local Zeus, Zeus Ampelites, was portrayed on reliefs as an elderly bearded figure, and because he is sometimes depicted with a young male assistant. The identification by the people of Lystra of Barnabas as Zeus and Paul as Hermes "as he was the bringer of the word" suggests that they thought that the two men were functioning in the way that they envisaged their own gods as acting: the bearded Zeus was the initiator of the action and Hermes was his agent in carrying out the action. This further suggests that the people may have thought that Barnabas resembled their Zeus, while Paul resembled his helper. The passage is therefore of considerable importance as evidence for the physical appearance of Paul at this stage in his career, as well as for the nature of life at Lystra in this period (Robert 1987: 383; Lane Fox 1987: 99–100).

There is no description of any event at Lystra in literary works later than the Acts of the Apostles, but it is clear from inscriptions, coin finds, and administrative records that the community retained its urban identity until at least the 11th century. The latest finds are very close in time to the Seljuk conquest, and the toponym Zoldera, which preserves the memory of the name Lystra, suggests that it continued to exist for some time after the establishment of the Turkish kingdom at Iconium (Levick 1967: 183). Records of the church councils also make it clear that Lystra was substantial enough to have a bishop of its own and

that its importance was not completely eclipsed by Iconium. The story of Paul's visit may have made it a place of some interest to people living in the Christian empire.

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# M

**M.** The abbreviation used in NT source criticism for the solely Matthean material found in the Synoptic Gospels. See SYNOPTIC PROBLEM; MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF.

**MA‹IN** (PLACE). See MEUNIM.

**MAACAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ma‹ăkâ* (מַעֲכָה)]. **1.** Son/daughter (?) of Nahor (Abraham's brother) and the concubine Reumah (Gen 22:24). Maacah's name appears in the genealogy of Nahor (Gen 22:20–24), where it is fourth and last in the list of Reumah's children (the others were Tebah, Gaham, and Tahash). Maacah is often considered to be the eponymous ancestor of the region S of Mt. Hermon (Josh 13:11; 2 Sam 10:6, 8). See also MAACAH (PLACE).

**2.** Wife of Machir; mother of Peresh and Sheresh (1 Chr 7:16). Maacah's name occurs twice in the genealogy of Manasseh's descendants found in 1 Chr 7:14–19. She is called first the "sister" (v 15) and then the "wife" (v 16) of Machir. Either there were two Maacahs, one Machir's sister and the other his wife, or more probably, vv 15–16 are textually corrupt, the identification of Maacah as Machir's wife (v 16) being preferred.

**3.** Concubine of Caleb, the son of Hezron; and mother of Sheber, Tirhanah, Shaaph, and Sheva (1 Chr 2:48–49). Maacah's name appears in the Calebite genealogy found in 1 Chr 2:42–55. She is the second of Caleb's two concubines, Ephah being the first (v 46).

**4.** Wife of Jeiel, father of Gibeon (1 Chr 8:29; 9:35). An ancestress of Saul, Maacah is named in the Benjaminite genealogy found in 1 Chr 8:29–40 and 1 Chr 9:35–44.

**5.** Wife of David; mother of Absalom (2 Sam 3:3 = 1 Chr 3:2). Maacah is the third wife/mother mentioned in two lists of David's sons born in Hebron (2 Sam 3:2–5 = 1 Chr 3:1–3). As the daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur, her marriage represented a diplomatic tie between David and Geshur and thus a threat to Ishbaal (Saul's son), who claimed sovereignty over Geshur (2 Sam 2:9). See also ABSALOM; QUEEN.

**6.** Father of Hanan (1 Chr 11:43). Maacah's name appears in the epithet of his son, who is third in a list of sixteen of David's "mighty men" (1 Chr 11:41b–47). This list is appended to the longer one found in 1 Chr 11:26–41a (= 2 Sam 23:24–39) and is found only in 1 Chronicles.

**7.** Father of Shephatiah, leader of the Simeonites (1 Chr 27:16). Maacah's name appears in the epithet of his son, who is second in a list of twelve tribal leaders reported living during David's reign (vv 16–22).

**8.** Father of Achish, king of Gath (1 Kgs 2:39). Maacah's name occurs in the epithet of his son, from whom Shimei's runaway slaves sought asylum during the early reign of Solomon.

**9.** Favorite wife of Rehoboam, king of Judah (1 Kgs 11:21); and mother (?) of Abijam/Abijah and Asa, both kings of Judah (1 Kgs 15:2, 10, 13; 2 Chr 11:20; 15:16); this Maacah was also the daughter (?) of Abishalom/Absalom. She is one of three mothers of kings accorded the title *gĕbîrâ* in the OT (see also 2 Kgs 10:13; Jer 13:18; 29:2). Asa removed Maacah from her position as queen-mother because she supported the worship of Asherah (1 Kgs 15:13; 2 Chr 15:16).

Maacah's relationship to Abijam/h and Asa is problematic. How can Maacah be the mother of them both when Abijam/h is said to be Asa's father (1 Kgs 15:8 = 2 Chr 13:23 [—Eng 14:1])? Various suggestions attempt to resolve this tension. Either (a) the mothers of Abijam/h and Asa had the same name but were different women; (b) Abijam/h and Asa were brothers, not father and son; or (c) Maacah was Asa's *grand*mother, not his mother. Each of these solutions, however, is speculative and not without its own problems. Understanding Maacah's relationship to Abijam/h is further complicated by 2 Chr 15:2, which states that Micaiah, the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah, was Abijam/h's mother. This contradicts the parallel passage found in 1 Kgs 15:10 and the tradition preserved in 2 Chr 11:20, which identify Maacah as his mother. Either (a) the tradition preserved in 2 Chr 15:2 is correct, and the presence of the name

"Maacah" in 1 Kgs 15:10 and 2 Chr 11:20 is secondary; (b) the tradition in 1 Kgs 15:2 and 2 Chr 11:20 is correct and 2 Chr 15:2 represents an exegetical harmonization; or (c) there is no contradiction between the passages: "Micaiah" is simply a variant spelling of "Maacah." Moreover, if one reads "granddaughter" for "daughter," then the two epithets "daughter of Uriel" and "granddaughter of Abishalom" can be viewed as complementary, not contradictory (Uriel being understood as the husband of Tamar, Absalom's daughter).

If Maacah was the daughter/granddaughter of Abishalom/Absalom, the question still remains: Who was he? No place of origin is given for him in the regnal formulas. Was her father/grandfather the son of David, and was Maacah therefore of Davidic lineage? After all, (a) the only other Absalom mentioned in the OT besides Maacah's "father" is this son of David; (b) David's son would be well known and his place of origin unnecessary, and (c) Josephus records that Maacah was the daughter of Tamar and thus the granddaughter of Absalom, David's son (*Ant.* 8.9.1). However, while Absalom is not a common name in the OT, it does not necessarily follow that the two Absaloms are the same person. Moreover, the father's place of origin is missing for all but the last six queen-mothers. Does this mean that all of the other fathers were "well known"? Or does it simply indicate a gap in the writer's sources? Finally, while Josephus does identify the son of David as Maacah's grandfather, another early writer, Jerome *(Qu. Heb.),* maintains that they are two separate people. See also MICAIAH; QUEEN.

LINDA S. SCHEARING

**MAACAH** (PLACE) [Heb *maʿăkâ* (מַעֲכָה)]. Var. ARAM-MAACAH. MAACATHITE. A Syrian kingdom S of Mt. Hermon in the N Transjordan. Maacah was located E of the Jordan valley and N of the Yarmuk basin. Together with the kingdom of Geshur, Maacah formed the northern boundary of the (sometimes) Israelite territory of BASHAN, which belonged to the inheritance of the half-tribe of Manasseh in the upper Transjordan (Deut 3:14; Josh 13:11). The city of Abel Beth-Maacah (2 Sam 20:14; cf. *Abil-akka* in the annals of Tiglath-pileser III, KAT 265), where Sheba ben Bichri fled during his revolt against David, was probably located on Israel's northern border with Maacah.

When David began his historic expansion of Israelite power into the Transjordan, he was opposed by the Ammonites, whose capital lay opposite Jerusalem at the headwaters of the Jabbok. The Ammonites were joined in their opposition by several petty Syrian states (2 Sam 10:6–8), including Maacah, which probably had no difficulty in recognizing this threat. David's army, under the command of Joab, was trapped between the Syrians and Ammonites in open country. Joab, however, escaped disaster by dividing his forces into two wings, one under the command of Abishai, his brother, the other under himself, and attacking both sides simultaneously. When the Ammonites saw their Syrian allies driven back, they retreated into their stronghold, to which Joab then laid siege. According to 1 Chr 19:6–7, this battle took place before Medeba on the plateau N of the Wadi Mujib (the biblical Arnon) in the central Transjordan. The Ammonites are said to have "hired" the army of Maacah, along with other Syrian elements (in extremely exaggerated numbers) from as far away as Mesopotamia.

D. G. SCHLEY

**MAADAI** (PERSON) [Heb *maʿădday* (מַעֲדַי)]. A descendant of Bani and one of the returned exiles who was required by Ezra to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:34; 1 Esdr 9:34). According to Noth, the name Maadai is a short form of *maʿadyâ,* whose meaning is unclear (*IPN,* 150). In the parallel text of 1 Esdr 9:34, the RSV lists Maadai among the descendants of Bani; however, the LXX reads *momdios,* and there is very limited correspondence between Ezra's list of Bani's descendants and that found in 1 Esdras. Maadai was a member of a family that returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:10; note that Binnui replaces Bani in Nehemiah's list [7:15]). For further discussion, see BEDEIAH.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

**MAADIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *maʿadyâ* (מַעַדְיָה)]. Var. MOADIAH. A priest who is listed in Neh 12:5 (MT) as having returned from exile to Jerusalem in the days of Zerubbabel. Later in the same chapter (v 17, MT), a certain Moadiah (Heb *môʿadyâ*) is listed as the father of Piltai, the head of a priestly family. Inasmuch as even a quick overview will confirm the close correspondence between the names found in these two lists (i.e., vv 1–7 and 12–21), it is virtually certain that "Maadiah" and "Moadiah" represent two variant spellings of the name of the same individual (see, e.g., Bowman *IB* 3: 785, 788, who prefers the former as textually better attested). For the absence of Maadiah/Moadiah in the major LXX mss (as well as those of a majority of the other priestly households), see AMOK.

Recently Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 358–61) has argued persuasively for the relative primacy of the list of priestly families found in vv 12–21, from which a later editor has transcribed the list found in vv 1–7. As Williamson points out, it is less likely that someone invented the names of the added generation in vv 12–21, names which are not paralleled elsewhere, than that the names of the family heads were merely transferred from this list to the one found in vv 1–7. This reconstruction would tend to support the primacy of the spelling "Moadiah" (v 17) over "Maadiah" (v 5), a conclusion which, however, may be called into question on text-critical grounds. In particular, the secondary omission of a name after Miniamin (v 17b, MT) has apparently led to further textual disruption in the Versions. Such disruption, for example, is reflected in the reading *en kairois* attested in Codex Sinaiticus (supplied by a later hand inasmuch as there was a major lacuna, as noted above, in the major Greek witnesses); this reading probably presupposes the Heb *lĕmôʿădêhā,* "at that time, in those days," for the MT *lĕmôʿadyâ,* "of/to Moadiah." These two variants thus represent two possible vocalizations of the same consonantal text (*lmwʿdyh*), with the former vocalization quite possibly the more original of the two (once a name dropped out after Miniamin, a scribe would not have expected two names in a row referring to the former generation). In any case, it is easier to explain an addition of the *waw* in v 17 (arising from prior textual corruption) than its deletion in v 5.

A third list of priests found in Neh 10:3–9—Eng10:2–8—also evidences quite a number of similarities with the two lists of priests already cited from Nehemiah 12 (again, see AMOK). It is noteworthy that in Neh 10:9—Eng v 8—we read "Maaziah" (Heb *maʿazyâ*), a relatively familiar priestly name, for the expected Maadiah/Moadiah (cf. Bowman *IB* 3: 785). Inasmuch as the list of priests in chap. 10 probably gathers its names from a variety of sources (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 362, cf. also pp. 325–31), not too much should be made of the apparent Maaziah/Maadiah correspondence, although such a correspondence does dovetail nicely with the other evidence favoring the spelling "Maadiah" (over "Moadiah") as the more accurate transcription of the priestly name found in Nehemiah 12.

WILLIAM H. BARNES

**MAAI** (PERSON) [Heb *māʿay* (מָעַי)]. A kinsman of Zechariah and a musician who performed at the dedication of the Jerusalem wall (Neh 12:36). At the ceremony, he was part of the group which paraded to the right behind Ezra. His name is omitted in the LXX.

NORA A. WILLIAMS

**MAARATH** (PLACE) [Heb *maʿărāt* (מַעֲרָת)]. A town situated in the north-central hill country of Judah (Josh 15:59), within the same district as Beth-Zur. This settlement, whose name perhaps means "barren place" (from *ʿrh,* "lay bare"), is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). It is perhaps the same place as Maroth (Mic 1:12). A very tentative identification (*IDB* 3: 196) places the ancient town at Khirbet Qufin, located approximately 11 km N of Hebron, just to the NE of modern Beit Ummar (M.R. 160114).

WADE R. KOTTER

**MAASAI** (PERSON) [Heb *maʿśay* (מַעְשַׂי)]. One of the priests who, according to 1 Chr 9:12, was among the first to return from Babylonian exile and take residency in Jerusalem. There are two major points of confusion in this text, however. First, the sequence of names in 9:10–12 is itself confusing. The MT as it stands lists six such priests: Jedaiah, Jehoiarib, Jachin, Azariah, Adaiah, and Maasai, with only the last three being attributed genealogical information. The absence of such information for the first three has often led scholars to assume that the text or tradition has suffered in transmission, and that some of those first named were originally part of such genealogical information. In fact, Neh 11:10–14 preserves the list as only five: Jedaiah, Jachin, Seraiah, Adaiah, and Amashsai. It is generally assumed that the text of 1 Chronicles 9 is, in some way, dependent upon that of Nehemiah 11.

Second, although the names in the two lists are sufficiently close to assure a common tradition, there is considerable confusion in the specific details. Maasai in 1 Chr 9:12 corresponds to the Amashsai of Neh 11:13. This confusion, due to metathesis of the *mem* and *ʿayin,* leads to two different root-derivations of the name. The name Maasai means "work of Yahweh" and is attested in both the shorter form, as here, as well as in the longer form Maasyah (u). The name Amashsai, however, is more difficult. It seems to be a conflation of two forms of the same name, Amashai and Amasai. Both names mean "Yahweh has borne."

The identification of Maasai in 1 Chr 9:12 with Amashai in Neh 11:13 is supported by the similarities in their respective genealogies. Both are traced back through Adiel/Azarel, Jahzerah/Ahzai, and Meshillemith/Meshillemoth to Immer who, according to 1 Chr 24:14, held the sixteenth priestly course in the Davidic temple.

RODNEY R. HUTTON

**MAASEIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *maʿăśēyâ* (מַעֲשֵׂיָה)*; maʿăśēyāhû* (מַעֲשֵׂיָהוּ)]. Var. BAALSAMUS; MOOSSIAS. A rather common Hebrew name attested both in the Bible and in a number of seals. In the Bible the name appears in the books of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, suggesting that it was especially common in the exilic period. Possible Hebrew variants of the name include Maasai (*maʿśay,* 1 Chr 9:12) and Baaseiah (*baʿăśēyâ,* 1 Chr 6:25—Eng6:40).

**1.** One of the levitical musicians listed in the Chronicler's account of David's preparations for moving the ark (1 Chr 15:18, 20). Maaseiah was a lyre *(nēbel)* player and a member of the "second order" of Levites in charge of the music.

**2.** One of the military commanders ("commander of a hundred") who made a covenant with Jehoiada the priest in the palace coup that toppled Athaliah and replaced her with Josiah (2 Chr 23:1). This Maaseiah is called the son of Adaiah.

**3.** The officer (*šôṭēr*) who, according to 2 Chr 26:11, helped to prepare the divisions of Uzziah's army in the Chronicler's extensive account of Uzziah's prosperity and military might. $LXX^B$ has the name Amaziah (*amasaiou*) here instead of Maaseiah.

**4.** The son of King Ahaz of Judah who was assassinated by a certain Ephraimite named Zichri, according to 2 Chr 28:7. The Chronicler gives this notice in the context of the account of Pekah's slaughter of Ahaz's warriors, which is explained as punishment for Ahaz's sins.

**5.** The commander *(śar)* of Jerusalem during the reign of Josiah (2 Chr 34:8). Maaseiah was a member of the party sent by Josiah specifically to repair the temple in the Chronicler's account of the king's reform.

**6.** The father of the prophet Zedekiah (Jer 29:21) whom Jeremiah accused of false prophecy in the context of his attack on prophets in 29:15, 21–23. The designation "son of Maaseiah" is lacking in the LXXversion of the verse.

**7.** The father of Zephaniah the priest, according to Jer 21:1; 29:25; 37:3. Zephaniah was twice (21:1; 37:3) part of an envoy from King Zedekiah to Jeremiah inquiring about the safety of Jerusalem in view of the movements of the Babylonian and Egyptian armies. These visits afforded Jeremiah the opportunity to predict the fall of Jerusalem to Babylon. In 29:25 Zephaniah is the recipient of a letter from a certain Shemaiah, a prophet in Babylonian exile, upbraiding him for failing to control Jeremiah. This suggests

both that the position held by Zephaniah was important (cf. Jer 52:24) and that the temple precincts were the location of much of Jeremiah's prophetic activity.

**8.** A doorkeeper of the temple in Jeremiah's day. Maaseiah is mentioned in Jer 35:4 in the context of the example of the obedient Rechabites and may be the same Maaseiah, father of Zephaniah, treated in #7.

**9.** The father of Azariah, a leader of the delegation which approached Jeremiah on behalf of the people asking him to intercede before God for them, according to LXX Jer 49:1. The MT version of the verse (42:1) reads "Jezaniah son of Hoshaiah" (cf. 40:8) instead of "Azariah son of Maaseiah." The LXX reading is probably correct at least as far as the occurrence of the name "Azariah," since 43:2 (= LXX 50:2) refers to Azariah in the company of those who were present when Jeremiah finished his oracle to the delegation.

**10.** One of the men of the tribe of Judah listed among the postexilic residents of Jerusalem in Neh 11:5. Maaseiah is called a Shelanite (amending MT's "Shilonite," which is corrupt). The Shelanites were the branch of the tribe of Judah which claimed descent from the patriarch's son Shelah (Gen 46:12; Num 26:19–20). The parallel list in 1 Chr 9:5 has the name Asaiah *(ʿăśāyâ)* instead of Maaseiah.

**11.** An ancestor of the only Benjaminite, Sallu, listed in Neh 11:7 among the postexilic residents of Jerusalem. Maaseiah is lacking in the parallel list in 1 Chr 9:7–8. The Benjaminite origin of the list is suspect since the names in it do not occur in other lists of Benjaminites (Gen 46:21; Num 26:38–41; 1 Chr 7:6–12; 8:1–40).

**12.** A priest at the time of Ezra who is mentioned among those who had foreign wives in Ezra 10:18 (= 1 Esdr 9:19). He was from the family of Jeshua, the high priest.

**13.** The same list from Ezra 10 also includes another priest named Maaseiah who had a foreign wife (Ezra 10:21 = 1 Esdr 9:21). In Ezra 10:21 he is called a descendant of Harim, while in 1 Esdr 9:21 he is a descendant of Immer, Harim not being mentioned.

**14.** A third priest in the list of those with foreign wives in Ezra's day. He is called a descendant of Pashhur in Ezra 10:22 = 1 Esdr 9:22.

**15.** One of the laymen ("of Israel") in the list of those with foreign wives (Ezra 10:30). He is listed as a descendant of Pahath-moab. In the parallel list in 1 Esdr 9:31 the name Moossias (Gk *moossias*) son of Addi occurs instead of Maaseiah.

**16.** The father of a certain Azariah, named among those who helped to repair the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 3:23). The corresponding $LXX^{B}$ text (2 Esdr 13:23) has Madasel *(madasēl)* instead of Maaseiah. The list itself has probably been added to from the Nehemiah Memoirs (Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 231).

**17.** One of the "chiefs of the people" *(roʾšê hāʿām)* in Neh 10:26—Eng10:25—who affixed his seal to the covenant promulgated by Ezra. The list of those accepting the covenant is composite and widely agreed to be out of place. Indeed, the list precedes the covenant stipulations in vv 29–40—Eng vv 28–39—rather than following them as one would expect. Some of the entries in the list are tribal names rather than personal names (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 325–31). But this is not the case with Maaseiah. He may be the same individual discussed in #15 above or #18 below, since they were also laymen.

**18.** One of thirteen men who stood on either side of Ezra when he read the law to the people (Neh 8:4). These thirteen were apparently lay leaders who may have assisted somehow in the reading process. In the parallel to this verse (1 Esdr 9:43) the name Baalsamus (Gk *baalsamos*) is found in place of Maaseiah.

**19.** One of thirteen Levites mentioned in Neh 8:7 who assisted the people in understanding the law and who, according to 8:8, read the law clearly. Blenkinsopp (*Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 286–89) posits that vv 7–8 are part of a later strand of this account which incorporated the Levites within the episode, perhaps as a balance to the thirteen laymen mentioned in v 4 (see #18 above). The parallel to Neh 8:7 in 1 Esdr 9:48 has the name Maiannas (Gk *maiannas*) instead of Maaseiah (the RSV, however, reads Maaseiah).

**20.** One of seven priests with trumpets who participated with Nehemiah (Neh 12:41) in the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem. These seven priests are actually part of a chorus of sixteen, whose names are listed in 12:41–42. The names and activities of this chorus balance with those of an earlier chorus, listed in 12:32–36. The two choruses conducted simultaneous processions in the dedication ceremonies (see Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 345). Both lists of names (vv 32–36 and vv 41–42) are probably

insertions into Nehemiah's Memoirs (cf. Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 369–70). The references to Ezra in vv 32 and 36 are likely glosses on the list of names. Hence, the passage cannot be used to argue for the contemporaneity of Ezra and Nehemiah. The Maaseiah in v 41 could be identified with #12, 13, or 14 above.

**21.** Another priest mentioned among the participants in the dedication ceremonies recounted in Neh 12:42 (see no. 20). This priest could also be identified with one of the Maaseiahs described above (#12, 13, or 14).

STEVEN L. MCKENZIE

**MAASMAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Maasmas* (Μααsμας)]. One of the leaders in the exilic community (1 Esdr 8:43). The RSV rendering Maasmas is from Codex Alexandrinus and Codex Vaticanus; the name appears as *semeia* in the Lucianic text. Furthermore, while Maasmas is not named in the parallel list in Ezra (8:16), Shemaiah (LXX *samaia*) is found in its place.

When Ezra learns that none of the sons of priests or of the Levites is among those who assembled at the river of Theras to return to Jerusalem, he sends ten leaders, including Maasmas, to Iddo to obtain the required number of priests and Levites.

JIN HEE HAN

**MAATH** (PERSON) [Gk *Maath* (Μαaθ)]. The father of Naggai and son of Mattathias, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:26). D omits Maath, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. The name Maath falls within a list of seventeen ancestors of Jesus who are otherwise unknown in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy (Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB, 500), although Marshall (*Luke* NIGTC, 163) believes that Maath is equivalent to Heb *maḥat* (1 Chr 6:20—Eng6:35 [LXX has *meth* in Rahlf's edition]; 2 Chr 29:12; 31:13 [both with *maath* in Rahlf's edition]). Kuhn (1923: 210–11) claims that in the original form of the genealogy Maath was not a name but a transliteration of Heb *mē‹ēt,* "from," used as a sign of genealogical relation to link Naggia with Mattathias. He sees an analogous parallel with Menna (Luke 3:31), from Aramaic *minēh,* also meaning "from." Thus, according to Kuhn, the seemingly parallel lists of Luke 3:23–26 (Jesus to Mattathias) and Luke 3:29–31 (Joshua/Jesus to Mattatha) stem from the same original source, the first possibly preserved in a Hebrew context and the second in an Aramaic one. Kuhn's solution has not been accepted by commentators, although it is difficult to account for the significance of Maath's inclusion in the genealogy, since most theological explanations are improbable. For example, it has been suggested (e.g., Schürmann *Luke* HTKNT, 202–3) that Luke's genealogy consists of 11 times 7 names from Adam to Jesus, with the 12th period the messianic age. Thus Maath to Joseph would mark the 10th group, and Maath the initial name for the period. But this scheme is not clear from Luke's text (see Johnson 1969: 231–33).

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STANLEY E. PORTER

**MAAZ** (PERSON) [Heb *ma‹aṣ* (מַעַץ)]. Eldest son of Ram, who in turn was the firstborn of Jerahmeel, the progenitor of an important clan of Judah. Maaz is noted once in the Chronicler's genealogies (1 Chr 2:27) and is a descendant from Jerahmeel's first wife. With his brothers, Jamin and Eker, this very brief genealogical record is concluded. The descendants of Atarah, another wife of Jerahmeel, are extensive.

Williamson (1979: 352) summarizes recent source criticism of the Chronicler's genealogies, concluding that 2:25–33 (of which Maaz is a part) and 42–50a form a related unit comprising an independent source used by the Chronicler and probably already containing the distinctive parallel opening and closing formulas. Elmslie (*Chronicles* CBC, 15) suggests that names such as Maaz may not reflect either specific individuals or places but rather preserve the idea that these formerly nomadic families now enjoyed a more settled life. More recent scholarship favors viewing all names in this genealogy as personal (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 45).

The location of Maaz in a specific time period is difficult. Commentators maintaining the completeness of these genealogical records place Maaz somewhere near the middle of the period of the Egyptian sojourn; others, however, favoring the significance of the final line recorded (such as Maaz and his brothers), locate these men closer to the Chronicler's own day. Maaz is probably derived from the verb *mʿṣ* meaning "to be wrathful," and thus is often rendered "angry."

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W. P. STEEGER

**MAAZIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *maʿazyāhû* (מַעַזְיָהוּ)]. The name of the last of the twenty-four priestly courses or divisions listed in 1 Chronicles 24 (v 18), meaning "God is a refuge" or "stronghold" (*IPN*, 250; *IDB* 3: 197). It appears again as the name of a priestly family that served as a signatory to the covenant of Ezra, in what may well be an earlier listing preserved in Nehemiah 10 (v 8). One scholar conjectures that the name has been replaced in Neh 12:5 and 17 by the names Maadiah and Modiah (Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* Century Bible, 179), but there is no solid evidence to confirm this suspicion.

FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**MACCABEAN REVOLT.** The name commonly given to the revolt of Jews in Judea against Seleucid domination in the years 166–160 B.C.E. It is named after the surname of its leader, JUDAS MACCABEUS. It is also called the Hasmonean revolt, after the name of the family to which Judas, his father, and his brothers belonged. The duration of the revolt is sometimes considered to extend to the year 142 B.C.E., when Judea became independent. Yet here I will adopt the more narrow definition (166–160 B.C.E.). For the subsequent period, see JONATHAN and SIMON (PERSON) #5.

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A. Sources
B. Course of Events
C. Causes
D. Military Aspects of the Revolt
E. The Revolt in Historical Perspective

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**A. Sources**

The sources for the revolt pose various problems of interpretation and reliability. The principal sources are the books 1 Maccabees and 2 Maccabees. The first covers a short period preceding Antiochus' persecution, the persecution itself, the revolt, and the activity of Judas' brothers, Jonathan and Simon (roughly 169–139 B.C.E.). The author was an admirer of the Hasmoneans, and the book reflects the situation at the time of John Hyrcanus I. It probably embodies firsthand data either of the author himself or from eyewitnesses. The author also had access to some important documents.

The book of 2 Maccabees covers about 15 years before the persecution, the persecution itself, and the revolt up to the last victory of Judas Maccabeus at Adasa (161 B.C.E.) with which the book concludes. It is of a very different literary genre than 1 Maccabees, being an *epitome* (abridgment) in Greek of a lost book written by Jason of Cyrene. It concentrates on the temple, on miracles and piety, and on the didactic lesson to be drawn from the events. Judas is the hero of the book, which concludes with his last victory, not with his defeat and death soon afterward (160 B.C.E.). Nevertheless, 2 Maccabees serves as an important check on the 1 Maccabees account and is the sole source for the period of the Hellenizing movement (about 185–166 B.C.E.); and for some important documents (esp. chap. 11).

To these two principal sources we should add the book of Daniel, which is a contemporaneous apocalyptic work, and as such helps us to gauge the religious and political mood of that period.

Among the additional sources of secondary importance are Josephus' *Ant.* and *War,* which basically follow 1 Maccabees with some differences of doubtful value, and with a very important added document—the correspondence of the Samaritans and Antiochus Epiphanes (*Ant.* 12 §§258–64). Also of

secondary importance are a propagandistic story preserved by Diodorus Siculus (books 34–35, 1.3–4), (probably) an apocalypse preserved in the *Book of Enoch*, and some Talmudic passages.

**B. Course of Events**

A concise summary of events leading to the Maccabean revolt must be given here in order to clarify its causes and the role of participants. About 200 B.C.E., after a century of Ptolemaic rule, Palestine fell into the hands of the Seleucids. Less than a decade later a most decisive event in the history of the Seleucid kingdom took place: Antiochus III (the Great) was defeated by Rome (battle of Magnesia, 190 B.C.E.). This defeat caused a considerable deterioration of both the Seleucids' international position and their internal affairs.

At the time of King Seleucus IV, son of Antiochus III, internal strife in Judea reached an unprecedented stage of violence. A coalition of nobles, which included members of the priestly tribe (*Mishmar*) of Bilga and of the house of Tobiah, strove to take away from the high priest Onias III some of his functions, or at least one of them because of its financial importance—the *Agoranomia* (supervision of the market). In the ensuing struggle not only was violence used, but the opponents of Onias III, headed by one Simon of the tribe of Bilga, called for the interference of the Seleucid government. Seleucus IV sent Heliodorus, his chief minister (*ho epi tōn pragmatōn*), to look into the finances of the temple and to confiscate whatever he might find necessary. For unknown reasons Heliodorus failed in his mission, but the internal strife continued and Onias felt compelled to go to Antioch to defend his position before the king.

Hardly had Onias arrived at Antioch, but Seleucus IV was murdered, and his brother, ANTIOCHUS IV, came to the throne (175 B.C.E.). Antiochus kept Onias in the capital and appointed in his stead his brother Jason (*Yoshua*) in return for a larger amount of money. Three years later Jason was replaced by Menelaus, a brother of Simon (the opponent of Onias III) of the priestly tribe of Bilga (172 B.C.E.).

In the course of these three years, two developments can be noticed. First was the usurpation of the high priesthood, which was transferred in contradiction to Jewish law from a high priest who was still alive and able to serve, to his brother and then to someone of a priestly line who had no right to the office. Second, a laxity toward Jewish law and practice is noticed under Jason and, even more, under Menelaus. This stronger Hellenization, or "Hellenistic reform" as it is called, stirred up opposition among the Jewish population. Violent confrontation even occurred between Menelaus' supporters, under his brother Lysimachus, and his opponents (2 Macc 4:29, 39–42). Already under Jason, Jerusalem was transformed into a Hellenistic city-state (2 Macc 4:9). It controlled the territory of Judea and was named after the king "Antioch in Jerusalem."

Antiochus' policy toward Ptolemaic Egypt also influenced the situation in Judea. Internal problems, combined with aggressive policy in the Alexandrian court, provoked Antiochus to invade Egypt, to try to settle affairs there according to his own interests, and later to crown himself king over Egypt. He went on two expeditions to Egypt and twice entered Jerusalem on his way back. On his second invasion to Egypt he was expelled by Roman order and took military measures against Jerusalem, which was occupied by enemies of Menelaus (who were probably anti-Seleucid).

Shortly afterward, Jerusalem was again taken by force, and a general persecution of the Jewish religion was ordered by the king. Cruel measures against Jewish Law were enforced in Judea. The study of the Law (Torah), observance of the Sabbath, and circumcision were forbidden. The daily sacrifice in the temple was canceled, and the altar was desecrated.

The Jewish population reacted in three ways to these measures: some reluctantly acquiesced; some preferred martyrdom rather than obey the king's orders; and some resorted to armed resistance. Among those who resorted to arms were Mattathias and his sons. When Mattathias killed the officer who came to his village, Modin, to force pagan rites on the inhabitants, a guerrilla warfare began (about 166 B.C.E.). Shortly afterward Mattathias died and the leadership of the rebels was given to his son Judas.

The Maccabean revolt is the armed resistance of this part of the Jewish nation, which was attached to its ancestral traditions and which fought against those who tried to impose the abandonment of the Torah and the adoption of pagan religion. Three main forces were involved in the resulting war: (1) the rebels under Mattathias and Judas, (2) the Seleucid military forces, and (3) the Hellenizers, i.e., Jews who supported

the policy of annulment of Jewish religion. The Hellenizers were composed of an important part of the nobility, which had for some decades already adopted Greek manners and practices, including philosophical and religious concepts.

We know very little about Mattathias' fighting. His supporters were based outside the inhabited area and used guerrilla tactics, mainly attacking various places by surprise and reinforcing Jewish practices, especially circumcision. His main target was the Hellenizers as he tried to reverse the effects of the decrees that had been enforced on the people.

When Judas succeeded his father Mattathias, the course of events was changed. The increasing activity of the rebels now required the intervention of the Seleucid forces. From local skirmishes the war turned into a full-scale campaign. The first known battle the Jewish rebels fought was against Apollonius, who was probably governor of Samaria. We do not know why the governor of Judea did not himself take the field against Judas when the latter's activity grew more threatening to the Seleucid authorities. Probably he was either preoccupied and his forces were dispersed over the country, or he was shut in Jerusalem, or he simply needed reinforcements, which were recruited from neighboring Samaria. Be that as it may, Judas defeated Apollonius, probably by surprise, and by attacking his person he might have demoralized his forces already at an early stage of the battle.

Apollonius' defeat brought into the battlefield another commander: Seron. His precise place in the Seleucid military forces in Coele-Syria and Phoenicia is not clear. It looks as if Judas' forces were considered by Seron to be easy prey. Seron's overconfidence gave Judas and his highly motivated troops the opportunity once again to use surprise, and so to choose favorable terrain (Beth-horon) for battle and thus to defeat the enemy.

These two consecutive victories made Judas a real threat to Seleucid rule, and consequently a considerable army was sent against him by order of the king (1 Macc 3:27). The expedition was organized by Lysias, guardian of the king's son, who was in charge of the W part of the Seleucid empire, because Antiochus himself had gone E in an effort to reestablish Seleucid authority in Persia. Lysias entrusted the expedition to Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes, governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, who appointed Nicanor son of Patroclus and Gorgias in charge of the army (2 Macc 8:9). It seems that Gorgias was the acting commander (1 Macc 4:1, 28).

The following details about the Seleucid command of this expedition follow the account in 2 Maccabees, which is preferable for historical information about the Seleucid activities to 1 Maccabees, which is much richer and more dependable for the battle of Emmaus itself. It should be mentioned that this is the first battle treated in 2 Maccabees that ignores Mattathias' role in the earlier stages of the revolt as well as Judas' victories over Apollonius and Seron, though 2 Maccabees gives a vivid description of the guerrilla warfare under Judas' (not Mattathias') command at the inception of the revolt (2 Macc 5:1–7).

The battle itself is a most important one in the course of the revolt and serves as an example of Judas' generalship. The Seleucid army encamped in Emmaus at the W entrance to the Judean hill country. From Emmaus an elite corps was sent to chase Judas in the mountains. We can detect here a battle plan of considerable sophistication, based on conclusions drawn from the former defeats of Seleucid forces at the hands of Judas. First, Gorgias did not invade Judea from the N, as was done by Apollonius and Seron, but preferred the western, less dangerous entrances. Second, Gorgias did not immediately enter the mountainous region, but prepared a base at a near but safe strategic location (Emmaus; see *MBA*, p. 119) and from there tried to infiltrate Judea. Third, by these tactics Gorgias did not permit Judas to choose the battlefield or to set an ambush for the invading army. He took the initiative and thereby achieved an initial advantage over the guerrillas.

Against this attack Judas showed his military skill at its best and got the upper hand in the face of an able Seleucid commander. On obtaining information about Gorgias' column, which entered the mountains to chase him down, Judas pretended to flee in panic with his followers. But he took his force at night in a flanking movement toward the Syrian camp at Emmaus and surprised it at dawn, taking advantage of the sun shining at the back of his men and in the faces of the astonished Syrian soldiers. Defeating the

Seleucid garrison and burning down its camp, he halted his troops from plundering the spoils and put them into battle order to face the returning Seleucid column, which was frustrated by chasing him in vain all night.

These fatigued Syrian soldiers were not prepared for battle, and hence withdrew. Judas had won his most important victory. He was successful in repulsing not local second-rate troops under second-rate command, but a full-scale army led by a professional commander. He used a variety of means to overcome the enemy: efficient intelligence services, rapid mobility, motivation, discipline, and daring and imaginative leadership.

After Emmaus the Maccabean revolt became a major concern of the Seleucid government. Lysias felt obliged to take the field personally against the Jewish rebels (164 B.C.E.). He approached Judea from the S, through Idumea. Probably he considered this to be the safest way, since the S border passed near Jerusalem, where the garrison and the Hellenizers were hard-pressed by the rebels.

Getting to Jerusalem had also been the aim of the former Syrian expeditions, and it reflects the general military situation in the country. In the territory of Judea the rebels had the upper hand and were supported by the population. They concentrated their pressure now on the garrison at Jerusalem and on the Hellenizers, i.e., the citizen body of the *polis* Antiochus in Jerusalem, which was composed, more or less, of the Jewish aristocracy inclined toward Hellenism. The military expeditions mentioned above sought to relieve Antioch in Jerusalem from this pressure. They tried to pass across Judea to Jerusalem, but Judas was successful in stopping them either on their way (Apollonius and Seron) or at the entrance (Gorgias).

Lysias repeated this same effort, this time from the S. A battle took place at Beth-zur, and Lysias' army was repulsed by the rebels. The scarcity of information about this battle makes a worthwhile discussion about the tactics of the contenders impossible. What seems clear, however, is that the numbers assigned to Lysias' army, both in 1 Macc 4:28 (65,000) and in 2 Macc 11:2, 4 (more than 80,000) are not credible. The sizes of the Seleucid armies must have been less than this (1–2 Maccabees tend to give exaggerated numbers for the Seleucid armies so as to demonstrate the greatness of Judas' victories and of God's help to his people). It seems reasonable to assume that the opposing armies were more equal in military terms than our sources tend to admit. The Jewish potential was considerable and could reach about 20,000 fighters or more, whereas the Seleucid could not afford to send too many soldiers to Judea, considering the total size of the Seleucid army and its involvement at that time on the E front. At the early stages of the war they may have used mainly local troops and militia, and even later the regular army was numerically limited.

Lysias' failure to break through Judea and his consequent withdrawal opened the way for the rebels to regain the temple in Jerusalem (1 Macc 4:36–54). They took over the temple and its precincts, purified it, and renewed the worship. Their enemies were shut in the Akra citadel. One of the most repressive measures of the persecution was undone when the temple was rededicated, and a special holiday—Hanukkah—was declared to commemorate the event.

At this stage 1 Maccabees 5 introduces a series of battles outside Judea, in which Judas and his brother Simon went to rescue their Jewish brethren in Galilee and Transjordan, and also fought inimical neighbors. 2 Maccabees 12 puts these battles after the second expedition of Lysias, but this is the only expedition of Lysias mentioned in the narrative. It is probable that in both books the various battles have been grouped together thematically rather than chronologically.

Be that as it may, these battles show that the events in Judea had repercussions throughout Palestine. Conflicts of interests might have been acute between the Hellenistic *poleis* and the native population, including Jews. It is possible that the anti-Jewish policy of the Seleucid government also triggered ethnic conflicts between Jews and non-Jews. In any case, those events make it clear that the problems relevant to the persecution and to the Maccabean revolt were not confined to Judea alone, but to Palestine at large. In a way the battles of Judas and Simon in Galilee, Transjordan, Idumea, and the seacoast are precursors of the Hasmonean conquest in the decades to come.

The battles in Galilee were mainly against the *poleis* of Acco, Tyre, and Sidon, which attacked the Galilean Jews. In Transjordan they were against certain local commanders and various places where Jews were attacked. War also broke out in Joppa and Jabneh and on the Idumean boundary. We cannot enter into details here, but first it should be stressed that the Maccabees rescued Jews who were threatened, but did not occupy those territories. The most they did was to remove some of those people to Jerusalem for security. Second, those Maccabean forces under Judas and under Simon covered impressive distances on these expeditions, which indicates some degree of military proficiency. And third, we may wonder if those exploits would have been feasible had not the rebels enjoyed some sympathy among the local, native population, which had good reasons to hate the Hellenistic *poleis* and the Seleucid hegemony, and to support the rebellious Jews.

Without fixing too rigidly the chronology of these battles we come now to the second expedition of Lysias. This came about because of the pressure Judas continued to exert on the Akra after the rededication of the temple. The rededication of the temple was not the only achievement of the rebels. After Lysias' withdrawal, negotiations took place between the government and the Jews, and an annulment of the persecution was announced in the name of Antiochus IV (2 Macc 11:16–21, 27–33). Nevertheless, Judas and his supporters were not satisfied with these achievements. The Seleucid government had not recognized the rebels, had not removed Menelaus, and had not returned the temple to priests who were acceptable to the rebels.

Not satisfied with the bare annulment of the persecution and with being ignored by the government in favor of Menelaus, Judas (who had already taken the temple by force) now attacked the Akra. Under these circumstances Lysias and his young protégé (who, after the death of Antiochus IV in Persia at the end of 164, now became King Antiochus V) did not have much choice. They were obliged to come to the rescue of their own garrison and of the Hellenizers. A considerable army was assembled and Lysias, who took the king with him, led it to Judea. They again invaded Judea from the S and overcame the heroic Jewish opposition (1 Macc 6:31, 42–47). They took Beth-zur and at the battle of Bet-zachariah forced Judas to retreat. Then they came to Jerusalem and besieged Judas in the temple. It looked as if the war had been decided in favor of the Syrians.

But at this juncture Lysias was informed that a former general of Antiochus IV, Philip, had arrived from the E and claimed the regency (i.e., the guardianship of Antiochus V). He was forced to raise the siege and to rush back to Syria. So he came to an agreement with Judas and withdrew from Jerusalem. Some details of this agreement are known to us from another document, also preserved in 2 Macc 11:23–26. In this document Judas is not mentioned, but, in addition to the abolition of the persecution, which was already canceled by Antiochus IV, the temple was now given back to the Jews, an item which was missing from the former document of Antiochus IV. Of course, the temple had been taken and purified formerly by Judas, but this was a formal recognition of this fact.

This document was a decisive step by which Lysias tried to change the former policy of Antiochus IV, and he probably thought it feasible to return to the status quo ante in Judea. It seems that already on his first expedition Lysias was in favor of a more conciliatory policy toward the rebellious Jews. He was not the only Seleucid official who was against the policy of Antiochus IV toward the Jews and their religion (see Ptolemy Macron, in 2 Macc 10:12) and he was not perforce motivated by moral or ideological considerations. He might have thought pragmatically that support of the Hellenizers was unwise, since they proved themselves unable to keep peace and order and to provide support for the government, but were themselves in constant need of help. In other words, instead of being an asset they had become a burden. Lysias' attitude is clear in light of the fact that he executed Menelaus, who was "the cause of all the trouble" (2 Macc 13:4). The importance and the wide impact Lysias' decision had in the country is shown by the criticism of the citizens of Ptolemais and by the effort made by Lysias to explain his policy to them (2 Macc 12:25–26).

Had events gone otherwise, the revolt might have been ended at this stage. The conflict continued because the revolt changed the situation in Jewish society in Judea, as new social forces entered the arena, and because the feud between the Hellenized aristocracy and the rest of the people had not been settled

(and probably became more bitter because of the persecution). Nevertheless, it should be remembered that although the struggle continued, religious persecution was not renewed. The struggle from now on was mainly national, social, and political, either within Jewish society or against Seleucid rule.

Soon after the execution of Menelaus a change took place on the Seleucid throne. Demetrius I, the son of Seleucus IV, escaped from Rome and successfully replaced Antiochus V. He appointed Alcimus to the high priesthood. With this appointment, under circumstances which are not completely clear to us, Judas did not acquiesce. Nevertheless, it seems that part of his supporters, the Hasideans, were ready to come to terms with Alcimus. Yet, for reasons unknown Alcimus had them murdered, which only strengthened Judas' activity and reprisals (1 Macc 7:8–25).

This time the new king, Demetrius I, took prompt action. He sent Nicanor to strengthen the position of his nominee Alcimus. After some negotiations between Nicanor and Judas, which failed (and which had been in bad faith on Nicanor's side, according to 1 Macc 7:27–32), the armies of Nicanor and Judas met on the battlefield at Adasa. Judas got the upper hand, the Syrians were defeated, and Nicanor was killed at the beginning of the battle. It may be that Judas intentionally directed an attack at the person of the commander with the aim of demoralizing the whole army: this had also been done in the first battle against Apollonius. Another element in this battle was the spontaneous attacks on the retreating Syrian army by the peasants in the surrounding areas. The 13th of Adar, the date of this victory, was declared a holiday, called the "Day of Nicanor."

At this stage Judas also initiated diplomacy to achieve his aims, and so he sent a delegation to Rome. This act was formerly encouraged by Roman emissaries who passed along the levantine coast on their way from Egypt to Syria. A letter on this matter, from the year 164 B.C.E., is preserved in 2 Macc 11:34–38. In addition, Judas could expect a warm welcome in Rome, because the enthronement of Demetrius I was against Roman wishes, and Roman policy toward him was inimical. Indeed, Judas' emissaries were kindly received at Rome, and a treaty was agreed upon between the Romans and the Jews (1 Macc 8:23–32).

The Jewish delegation to Rome did not deter Demetrius from taking strong action against Judas. He might not have been aware of the Roman–Jewish negotiations, and it seems that Judas' delegates returned too late to prevent Demetrius' attack on Judea. In addition, it does not seem that Demetrius would have acquiesced to Judas' activity, and in view of his policy in general he would have ignored the Roman intervention in favor of Judas. Yet Judas had nothing to lose by an appeal to Rome, and he might have considered a treaty with Rome to be an asset to Jewish policy, which indeed it was. This act shows that Judas had at this stage, if not earlier, definite political aims. For him, as for the government, the war for religious rights was over, and he envisaged now some kind of political independence for Judea.

Whatever plans Judas might have entertained, he had to face the army under the command of Bacchides sent against him by Demetrius I. On his way to Judea, Bacchides attacked and conquered a Jewish village or fortress named Mesaloth at Arbel, about whose location there is no consensus because of textual difficulties. Judas awaited Bacchides at Elasa with a relatively small force of 3,000 men. On the approach of Bacchides many abandoned Judas' camp until he was left with only 800 men. In spite of the advice of his friends, Judas decided to give battle to Bacchides, but the result was that he himself fell on the battlefield and his army dispersed (160 B.C.E.).

What was the reason for this dwindling of Judas' forces? One explanation is that since the religious persecution was over, many of his supporters lost their motivation and were reluctant to continue a war for political independence under the leadership of Judas (cf. the desertion of the Hasideans to Alcimus). Others explain Judas' weakening by some accidental event, like the season of the year or agricultural pressures on the peasants, or alternatively because of fatigue from the long war and fear of Bacchides' army (1 Macc 9:6). Others raise doubt about the authenticity of the information given in 1 Macc 9:5–9 and explain it as apologetic: the author of 1 Maccabees was looking for an excuse for Judas, the victorious hero, who this time had failed.

Be that as it may, with the death of Judas the Maccabean revolt as a historical process came to an end, defined by the persecution at the beginning and the defeat of Judas at the end. Indeed the Maccabean

revolt activated a chain of events of a different nature, which went far beyond the battle of Elasa. It was focused on the Hasmonean dynasty, on national-territorial expansion, on mainly political, not military means, and on involvement in Seleucid affairs. Although some of these characteristics already existed in Judas' time, his death terminated the first stage of the process that led to an independent Jewish state. A new stage began some 8 years later with the rise to power of Jonathan, his brother.

**C. Causes**

What caused the Maccabean revolt? The answer is the religious persecution of Antiochus IV. But this answer touches only the surface of these events. First, one should inquire about the cause(s) of the persecution. Second, one must discover the various powers, groups, personalities, and ideas behind both the persecution and the revolt.

Antiochus' persecution poses a difficult problem for historians because of its uniqueness in antiquity. No real analogy can be brought forth, for religious persecution is contrary to the ideological, religious, social, and political code of the Hellenistic world and of the ANE and Roman civilizations as well. Under these circumstances scholars are looking for specific explanations for this phenomenon. Some postulate that the persecution was born in the mind of a crazy king, as supposedly confirmed by ancient sources. According to a more lenient judgment, Antiochus wished to unify his variegated empire under one religion or one culture, and on this issue he collided with the Jews. Some support for this view is derived from changes in Antiochus' coins and from some sentences in the book of Daniel (11:37). The common denominator of the various theories is that they explain very little, because they either have no answer to the question—why only the Jews were persecuted—or they do not fit with information from other quarters of Antiochus' realm, where various kinds of religion and worship were flourishing without interruption.

A breakthrough came with E. Bickerman's book *The God of the Maccabees* (1937). Bickerman transferred the initiative of the persecution from Antiochus to the Hellenizers under Menelaus. He explained their initiative on this matter as an effort to reform Jewish religion, and he explained the feasibility of such an idea by their background in Jewish culture, which supported such intolerant measures. Such measures cannot be adequately explained if one assumes they were initiated by Antiochus VI, who was raised in an atmosphere of religious pluralism, typical of Hellenistic culture.

V. Tcherikover (1961) refined Bickerman's suppositions. He repudiated Bickerman's idea of the Hellenizers as champions of "Reform Judaism" and as the initiators of the persecution (either they were Hellenized and tolerant, or Jewish and intolerant, as he put it). But he followed Bickerman in reading 2 Macc 4:9 as meaning that Jason bought a permit from the king to register inhabitants of Jerusalem as members of an organization called "Antioch in Jerusalem." On this Tcherikover agreed with Bickerman, with the improvement that this organization was a *polis* and not, as suggested by Bickerman, a *politeuma* (an ethnic organization, mainly for religious purposes, which could perform within a *polis*).

Tcherikover went on to define the persecution as a measure against Jewish resistance to the royal policy of supporting the Hellenizers. As he phrased it, "a revolt preceded the persecution," i.e., the persecution was decreed to crush a revolt, and the Maccabean revolt was not the only revolt in that period. It was preceded by at least the revolt against Lysimachus, Menelaus' brother (2 Macc 4:39–42). This he tried to show by a reconstruction of the course of events and their chronology.

But why was religious persecution used to crush a revolt? According to Tcherikover, it was because the opposition against the new "constitution" (the *polis* Antioch in Jerusalem and its Hellenized atmosphere) was led by the legal and spiritual leaders of the people, the Soferim (experts in the Law). To crush this opposition, the king thought he should eradicate the Law (Torah). By wiping out the Law and its guardians, the changes introduced into Judea would be accepted, so he thought.

No single isolated explanation seems satisfactory, and on some issues the various explanations are not contradictory. The sources support a comprehensive explanation, which may contain various causes and various components. It seems that the Hellenizers had a major part in the persecution, and Menelaus' group might have initiated or advocated its enactment. Antiochus' personality might also have

contributed, and he might have been acting also under the strains of a recent defeat in Egypt. The suggestion that his long stay as a hostage in Rome influenced his deed cannot be substantiated.

In any case, the persecution was not a sudden decision, but an extreme measure after a long confrontation in which various groups were involved. The Jewish nobility was for some decades split into various groups, centered around some families, or parts of families torn within themselves. Such were the Tobiads and the Oniads. Other families were more unified, like the house of Bilga on the Hellenizers' side, or the Hasmonean family on the opposing side. The struggle was for political power, but the parties were also divided along political, social, and religious lines. Pro-Seleucids opposed the pro-Ptolemies; aristocracy was opposed by the common people and by the spiritual leadership and probably even by some sectarian groups; the attitude toward Hellenism divided the nobility itself. What we see is a mosaic of parties and interests, with Seleucid government involvement in all of it.

When the decree of the persecution was promulgated, the mosaic remained, but a clearer division of powers resulted. On the one hand there was Menelaus, supported by the Seleucid government (which, as we have seen, was not unanimous on this policy, but the decision lay with the king). On the other hand there were those who revolted, led by Mattathias and after him by Judas Maccabeus. In addition there were various groups: mild Hellenizers, who did not support the persecution or Menelaus (Jason; Alcimus); anti-Hellenizers within the nobility (the house of Hakoz); martyrs (1 Macc 2:31–38); Hasideans; Soferim; and also common people (probably "the many," *rabîm,* Dan 11:33–34).

The persecution caused a process which was contrary to the expectations of both Menelaus and Antiochus. Instead of the opposition being crushed by this drastic act, the majority supported the rebels, who became more and more powerful. Traditional Judaism as it had developed since the return to Zion proved too strong for its adversaries. The major political aim of the Seleucid government—to create a dependable power in a strategic region—proved wrong. Instead, the Seleucid government remained obliged to invest military power, so dear to it, in the project. Its supporters proved to be the weaker contender. Antiochus, on Lysias' advice, tried too late to disentangle himself from the trap. The Hellenizers estranged themselves from the people to such a degree that they lost any chance of regaining the people's confidence, and the rebels' achievements made it impossible to reverse the trend. So it came about that although the revolt was crushed militarily, the process created by it within Jewish society and throughout the region went on. The eventual result was an independent Jewish state.

There is no proof that there was a meaningful ideological component either in Menelaus' or in Antiochus' politics. Yet Bickerman's idea of some kind of religious reform cherished by the Hellenizers was further developed by M. Hengel (1974) and others. They suggest that the Hellenizers had an ideology to reform Judaism and to supplant traditional Judaism with the reformed version. However, it seems that the sources do not provide the evidence to substantiate this suggestion. Ideology played a minor role, if at all, on the Hellenizers' side in triggering these events. We tend to see the events as a career-oriented bid for power by the Hellenized nobility, which failed because of the strong intrinsic influence of Judaism on the majority of the people, a fact which was underestimated by both Menelaus and Antiochus.

**D. Military Aspects of the Revolt**

The Maccabean revolt was crushed but the process it began did not stop. There yet remains the question of the military confrontation between Judas and his supporters and the Seleucid military forces. The rebels got the upper hand in the countryside at the initial stages of the revolt, and they were striving to isolate, attack, and conquer Jerusalem. The Hellenizers under Menelaus' leadership (or simply the citizens of Antioch in Jerusalem) and the local troops were forced to evacuate the Judean hillsides and to defend themselves in Jerusalem. Their main stronghold was the Akra, from which they commanded the Temple Mount and its surroundings.

The Seleucid government was called to help its supporters and its forces in Jerusalem. At the beginning this was done with troops from the neighboring regions (Samaria, Coele-Syria, and Phoenicia) and afterward with royal armies sent by the central government. Judas' success was in intercepting these armies on their way to Jerusalem. His military success and the difficulty of the Seleucid government in relieving their allies in Jerusalem were major considerations in the annulment of the persecution.

Under what conditions was Judas able to achieve this success? What was the power ratio between his force and the Seleucids? According to the sources, the Seleucid army was much stronger in number and in arms. Generally speaking, the confrontation is portrayed as between a David and a Goliath, and the few overcame the many with the help of God. Yet this picture has been criticized by scholars on various grounds: the Seleucid military command at that time could not spare such incredible armies for Judea, the Jewish military potential was greater than we may gather from the sources, and those sources are not impartial on this matter. These points are true, and the most recent presentation of this matter, by Bar-Kochva (1988), seems most reasonable. We may conclude then that the Seleucid army was numerically limited and never exceeded 20,000 foot-soldiers and 2,000 horsemen, that Judas could master at the peak of his influence equal or somewhat greater numbers, and that military experience and expertise were also available in the rebels' camp.

Another argument concerns the tactics of the Maccabean army. Was it guerrilla warfare or an ordinary Hellenistic one, with the use of the phalanx and subsidiary units? Lack of clear evidence makes it difficult to arrive at a safe conclusion, and it may be argued that both guerrilla warfare and phalanx tactics were used in different stages of the revolt, depending on the situation.

Nevertheless, Jewish achievements (though not by the few against the many) were considerable. They were the result of the warriors' high motivation and the excellent command of Judas Maccabeus, who showed many of the outstanding qualities of a great commander: leadership, bravery, personal example, familiarity with the country and its physical layout, tactical versatility, and strategic understanding.

So, although the Syrians got the upper hand, the liberation movement continued. The Hasmonean leadership was a direct result of Judas' achievements. Yet the liberation movement itself should also be seen in the context of the disintegration of the entire Seleucid empire, as concisely phrased by the great Roman historian Tacitus: "Later on, since the power of Macedon had waned, the Parthians were not yet come to their strength, and the Romans were far away, the Jews selected their own kings" (*Hist.* 5.8.3).

### E. The Revolt in Historical Perspective

The results of the Maccabean revolt were decisive in various aspects. Historically it created a process by which the Palestinian Jews founded an autonomous national state (different from many contemporaneous dynastic states) which encompassed most of the country. Not less important universally is that the survival of Jewish monotheism was achieved through the revolt, which overcame the religious persecution. The consequences of these events go far beyond the borders of Judea.

### Bibliography

The literature on the Maccabean revolt is immense, and only a concise selection of more recent literature can be listed here. In many of the following books fuller bibliographic lists may be found.

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**MACCABEE.** A nickname given to Judas the son of Mattathias, the first general in the Jewish revolt against the Seleucids. See MACCABEUS.

**MACCABEES, BOOKS OF.** This entry consists of three articles. The first covers the deuterocanonical books of 1 and 2 Maccabees, while the second and third cover the books of *3 Maccabees* and *4 Maccabees*, respectively.

## *FIRST AND SECOND MACCABEES*

Two writings of the Christian apocrypha recounting the exploits of Judas Maccabeus, who forcefully opposed the efforts of Antiochus Epiphanes to suppress traditional worship and institutions in Jerusalem and Judea. "The Maccabee" has become an everlasting hero of world history thanks in part to the later works of Dante (*Divina Commedia, Paradiso* 18:40–42) and Handel (in his *oratorio* of 1747). Annually, during the festival of Hanukkah (Petuchowski 1984: 107–21, 137; see the bibliographies in *HJP²* 1: 163 n. 65; Fischer 1980: 91 n. 218), Jews in all countries commemorate the rededication of the Temple. It is noteworthy that the story of those events is recounted not so much in the rabbinical writings (Nodet 1986: 357–66) as in the apocrypha of the Christian tradition: the two books of Maccabees have not been preserved within the framework of the Hebrew Bible but within that of the Greek-language LXX, which the Christians adopted from the Jews of Egypt and Alexandria. Both 1 Maccabees and 2 Maccabees were regarded as more or less authoritative by the early Church (Abel and Starcky 1961: 8); St. Jerome, around A.D. 400, was the first who explicitly distinguished these *libri ecclesiastici* from the *libri canonici* of the Hebrew Bible. In 1534, Martin Luther relegated both books of Maccabees together with some other writings to the appendix of his translation of the Bible: *"the Apocrypha, that is, books which are not to be equated with Holy Scripture and yet which are useful and good to read."* In the Catholic Church both of these "apocryphal" works have been counted as "deutero-canonical" since the Council of Trent in 1546, whereas Protestants from the beginning (and the Russian Orthodox since the 19th century) have excluded them from their respective canons (Schunck, *1 Makkabaeerbuch* JSHRZ, 92–93; D. Kellermann 1987: 175). However, the present article emphasizes the historical issues without regard to the problems of canonicity.

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### A. The First Book of Maccabees

**1. Contents and Language.** In the manner of the genuinely biblical historical works such as Judges, Samuel, and Kings, the so-called First Book of Maccabees in 16 chapters treats Judea's struggle for

liberation from the Greco–Macedonian Seleucid kings. After a brief historical retrospect which looks back to Alexander the Great and the Diadochoi (1:1–10; Gafni 1984: 1), there subsequently follows, also by way of introduction, an account of Jason and Antiochus IV Epiphanes. It then deals with the "apostasy" in the country itself and with the "persecution," which culminated in the desecration of the temple in December of 167 B.C. (1:11–64). In the main section proper (2:1–16:22) we are told of the "breaking up" perpetrated by Mattathias, who came from the priestly family of Joarib and who dwelt in the countryside in Modein. We also hear of the deeds of his five sons: John, called Gaddi; Simon, called Thassi; Judas Maccabeus (the nickname may mean "the hammer-like"; see MACCABEUS); Eleazar Avaran; and Jonathan Apphus. The original title of the work may also have had something of this sense (Goldstein *1 Maccabees* 16–21; Fischer 1980: 55–56 n. 141; Schunck, *1 Makkabaeerbuch* JSHRZ, 289; *HJP²* 3/1: 182–83). Historically, the book deals with events in Palestine from 166 to 135 B.C. It ends with the murder of Simon, high priest and prince of the land, who was the last surviving son of Mattathias. The brief conclusion (16:23–24) refers to a Chronicle of John Hyrcanus I, Simon's son and successor, which, however, is no longer extant.

1 Maccabees was originally composed in Hebrew, as both Origen and Jerome attest (Abel and Starcky 1961: 7 and n. a, 15; Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 14–16; Schunck, JSHRZ, 289; Dommershausen 1985: 6; *HJP²* 3/1: 181–82 and n. 3; Enermalm-Ogawa 1987: 11–12; survey of research in Neuhaus 1974a: 47–49). The only surviving text is a Greek version containing many Hebraisms and translation errors (Neuhaus 1974a: 46), as, for example, in 10:1: *"Alexander … the Epiphanes."* The Greek documents are retroversions, not the *verbatim* transmitted originals. The Old Latin version seems to have been based on an older, likewise Greek (and perhaps better) translation of the Hebrew original (Abel and Starcky 1961: 80; Momigliano 1975: 103; Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 177–78; *2 Maccabees* AB, 126; Schunck, JSHRZ, 290). Already at the end of the 1st century A.D. Josephus utilized a partial (i.e., only extending to the burial of Jonathan in Modein [13:30]) Greek edition of the book (Fischer 1980: 110; Momigliano 1980: 561; Schunck, JSHRZ, 290–91; cf. Attridge 1984: 171, 214 and n. 51; *HJP²* 3/1: 183; otherwise Goldstein, *1 Maccabees* AB, 14 and n. 18, p. 56 and n. 8; cf. p. 176).

**2. Structure.** The structure of the work is chronological, with the provision that external events seem to have been first narrated when they became known or acknowledged in Jerusalem and Judea. It is only in the case of the report of the death of Antiochus IV that a distortion of the time-frame seems to have occurred, because the (probable) co-regency of his son Antiochus V is not considered there (Fischer 1980: 134–39; coins of Antiochus V, which bear what is probably Lysias' monogram, support the assumption of such a co-regency [Fischer 1986: 70]). Although 13:42 mentions its own chronology based on the regnal years of the high priest and prince of the land, the author of 1 Maccabees consistently adopts the dates of the Seleucid era, both thoroughly and reasonably according to the Babylonian–Jewish (not the Greco–Macedonian) reckoning (Fischer 1985b: 350–51; otherwise Neuhaus 1974b: 162–63; Goldstein, *1 Maccabees* AB, 21–25, 540–41, 544; *2 Maccabees* AB, 22–23, 32–33, 56–63, 71; *IJH*, 542; Bickerman 1979: 101–11; Schunck, JSHRZ, 291; Collins 1981: 150; Bringmann 1983: 15–28; Attridge 1984: 176 and n. 53; Will and Orrieux 1986: 160, 170 n. 5; cf. *HJP²* 1: 18–19; *HJP²* 3/1: 181).

The book itself recounts the acts of Mattathias and his five sons. It adheres to a markedly dynastic position and does not single out and relate the history of a class, a people, or a country as such. It appears to be homogeneous and well thought out, and is extremely stylized (Neuhaus 1974b: 171–75; otherwise Will and Orrieux 1986: 57). At the beginning of the work the poetic sections (Neuhaus 1974a; Enermalm-Ogawa 1987)—that is, the prayers (Flusser 1984: 572), speeches, addresses, laments, and songs of victory—serve to accentuate the course of the events. Later, as in Thucydides, it is the documents (Stern 1973: 184–89) which increasingly and by dynamically intensified turns interrupt the continuous narrative. To the extent that these documents derive from the 2d century B.C., they are presumably all authentic, even those pertaining to Sparta, and particularly the letters which, as such, also happen to represent only suggestions that were never in fact realized (e.g., 10:25–45; 15:2–9). Chap. 8 plays a key role in the middle of the book (Neuhaus 1974a: 113); there we find the introduction of the famous treaty (Momigliano 1980: 563) which Judas is said to have concluded with Rome, the (then) new and rising

world power in the West (Gruen 1984: 16 n. 14, 42–46, 51 n. 189, 125, 316, 338–39, 428 n. 168, 668, 748). Such an accord was in fact only realized later, and then through Simon, the brother of Judas.

In stressing the reciprocal intention to conclude such a treaty, the author of 1 Maccabees cleverly compensates for the death of Judas, and, by the same token, he clarifies the most important element in Hasmonean foreign policy: its continuing reliance upon substantial diplomatic relations with Rome (Fischer 1981: 141–43). It must remain uncertain whether the contemporary historian Eupolemus, whom Judas had sent as his own Greek-language envoy to Rome (8:17), should be regarded as the source of this treaty. Nevertheless, the report itself is serendipitous both for the study of the sources and for interdisciplinary collaboration. The extrabiblical parallels clearly reveal how skillfully and ingeniously—in contradistinction to any Greco–Roman author, who would only have paraphrased the contents of such documents—the author of 1 Maccabees varied his diverse *Vorlagen* and presented them to his native Judean readership, especially a treaty which was reciprocally promulgated by Judas and the Romans, but not ratified (Fischer 1980: 105–21, 191; 1981: 141–42, 148, 150). An additional feature of the author's compositional method, tendency, and understanding is therefore secured, one which supplements the literary-critical analyses of Neuhaus 1974a and Enermalm-Ogawa 1987 (cf. also Dimant 1988: 392–95, 399 and n. 83 [on 2:49–64], 407 [on 5:48]).

The poetic pieces in the book contain both free and literal quotations of, as well as "plays" on, all three parts of the later canon (the Torah has no primacy; indeed, the most space is devoted to the writing prophets: Neuhaus 1974a: 177; Goldstein, *2 Maccabees* AB, 30–31 is imprecise). The biblical texts in question were brought into relation to the author's own time as "fulfilled prophecies," and hence they were actualized, as, e.g., Ps 79:2–3 in 1 Macc 7:16–17 (Dimant 1988: 390–91). However, this procedure is likewise not exact in the modern sense of historical criteria. In agreement with various scholars (Neuhaus 1974b: 163–75; Bringmann 1983: 13 and n. 8; cf. Schaefer *IJH*, 542), one should not accept the conclusions of the earlier German source-criticism about 1 Maccabees (for references, see Attridge 1984: 176 and n. 52; *HJP²* 3/1: 181 n. 2; Enermalm-Ogawa 1987: 11 n. 3). Further speculations on this topic are presented by Goldstein, *1 Maccabees* AB, 37–103; *2 Maccabees* AB, 28–54. For example, on the basis of 9:22 one can deduce neither a written *Vorlage* nor a *Vita* of Judas; rather the contrary.

**3. Date.** There is more agreement among researchers as to the question of the date of the book, which apparently appeared toward the close of the 2d century B.C. in Palestine (Abel and Starcky 1961: 17; Bickerman 1979: 94; Fischer 1980: 56 n. 141; Nickelsburg 1981: 117; Attridge 1984: 171; *HJP²* 3/1: 181; Momigliano's date of "between 146 and 129 B.C.E." [1980: 564–66] is certainly too early, while Goldstein's date of the time of Alexander Janneus around 90 B.C. [*1 Maccabees* AB, 62–63, 72; *2 Maccabees* AB, 71–83, 121] is possibly somewhat too late). At present, a less uncertain *terminus ante quem* for the composition of 1 Maccabees is not possible, although the thoroughgoing use of the Seleucid era (in spite of 13:42 and 14:43; cf. 2 Macc 1:9!), the harmonious relationship to Rome, and the untroubled dynastic concord of the Hasmoneans all suggest the early 1st century B.C., at the latest. At this time the "thieving" Hasmonean state (as the Greco–Roman authors, presumably following Poseidonius of Apamea and the official Seleucid terms, denoted it) strongly realized its *de facto* independence far beyond the borders of Judea and Samaria (Fischer 1985a).

**4. Theology and Tendency.** The theology of the book is biblical and conservative (Abel and Starcky 1961: 13–14; thoroughly now Neuhaus 1974a: 227–40). The authority of the oral tradition has receded into the background, which, however, did not rule out the "right" interpretation—as, e.g., in the case of self-defense on the Sabbath (on this problem, which was not ultimately solved at the time, see Habicht, *2 Makkabaeerbuch* JSHRZ, 187; Oppenheimer 1976: 34–38; Fischer 1980: 58–59 and n. 141; Nodet 1986: 325 and n. 9; Will and Orrieux 1986: 60, 158 and n. 109; D. Kellermann 1987: 174, 178). God, in place of whose name either "heaven" or the personal pronoun was used, appears as Israel's efficacious helper and as the Lord of the Covenant (Schunck, JSHRZ, 293; Enermalm-Ogawa 1987: 52; D. Kellermann 1987: 173); however, He figures less in personal prayer or accompanied by heavenly helpers or miracles, but rather through the Law, in action and universal trust: it was He himself who had called the Hasmoneans to be Israel's leaders! Prophecy was considered either fulfilled or ended, at least until "a new and reliable

prophet should arise" (4:46; 9:27; 14:41; cf. Goldstein, *1 Maccabees* AB, 12–13). Any type of eschatology or ideology of martyrdom is absent (Neuhaus 1974a: 232; Goldstein, *1 Maccabees* AB, 12; U. Kellermann 1979: 88; Fischer 1980: 57 n. 142; Schunck, JSHRZ, 293; Will and Orrieux 1986: 58).

A thoroughgoing pro-Hasmonean (Habicht, *2 Makkabaeerbuch* JSHRZ, 188–89; Tcherikover, *WHJP* 1/6: 116; Schunck, JSHRZ, 292; Nickelsburg 1981: 114–17; Attridge 1984: 172–76; *HJP²* 3/1: 180–81), perhaps even Sadducean, tendency (most recently advocated by Fischer 1980: 56) interpenetrates the entire work, the unified structure of which has—in terms of speeches, concepts, and themes—been demonstrated by Neuhaus (1974b: 171–74). In spite of the "old-fashioned" colorization which manifests itself to some extent in the use of the Hebrew language and in the restoration of Israelite models (Rajak 1986: 141), the Maccabean revolt "according to the will of God," the attendant "liberation" of the Temple, the city, and the country, and finally the aggressive expansion so as to embrace the whole of Palestine and parts of Syria, all this legitimates the dominion of the Hasmoneans. Their rule was regarded as the fulfillment of prophecy and even as the re-establishment of the empires of David and Solomon (Fischer 1980: 182, following Neuhaus 1974a), although Jonathan and Simon had secured their power against the Judean establishment thanks in part to their position as Seleucid functionaries: they changed sides repeatedly and in this way "liberated their people from foreign rule" (Fischer 1985a). Since the Maccabees (or, as we read in 5:62, "those men, into whose hand the salvation of Israel was given") only derived from the low house of Joarib, there was neither a genuine biblical nor a priestly legitimation of the aspiring Hasmonean rule in reality but, in the Hellenistic sense, a very political and truly pragmatic foundation. This presupposition was, on the one hand, directed against the former high-priestly line of the Oniads, who were then resident in the Egyptian exile and in the Diaspora with the Ptolemaic kings. On the other hand, it was also opposed to the Pharisees, the apocalypticists, and the many sectarians in Judea itself (otherwise Efron 1987), who increasingly criticized the Hasmoneans because of their methods of rule and their susceptibility to Greek influence. Indeed, these groups disputed the legitimacy of the Maccabean line and the Hasmonean claim to the office of high priest; and these tensions reached a bloody culmination during the rule of Alexander Janneus (103–76 B.C.). However, the Sadducean conceptions of God, Law, and tradition in 1 Maccabees are not by themselves sufficient evidence to warrant the full ascription of the work to the Sadducees (cf. Bickerman 1979: 94; Efron 1987: 7–9, 14, 17).

In any case, such a Chronicle was not originally directed at foreigners or Greeks, but rather at the native Judean readership of ca. 100 B.C. These people may be characterized as intimately familiar with the writings of the fathers, conscious of the nation and its ideology, but at the same time practical (in a Hellenistic sense), that is, pragmatic and not eschatologically or apocalyptically oriented (although in general the last-mentioned viewpoint predominates in our extant tradition). The main military and political opponents (or scapegoats) were—as one would expect at the end of the 2d century B.C.—the Seleucid kings, rather than foreigners as such (like the Spartans and Romans). The inner-Judean opposition was either passed over in silence (like the "evil priest" Menelaus), or else they were indirectly dismissed, like the apocalypticists, who were relegated to their own sort of existence in the desert. The Hasmonean party proper identified itself with "the true Israel" (Neuhaus 1974a: 128; 1974b: 172), the identity and collective consciousness of which was accentuated by ahistoric terms (cf. Enermalm-Ogawa 1987: 50–51). Such characteristics suggest an author who was experienced in both politics and propaganda, perhaps a man who was schooled in Sadducean learning, who was in the immediate proximity of the Hasmonean princes and wrote, at their behest, as the "court chronicler" (on which position, see Neuhaus 1974a: 174–84, 215, 223–25).

On the basis of such presuppositions the figure of "the Maccabee" takes on, albeit *ex eventu,* the characteristics of a formidable individual, considered in a very Hellenistic sense, those of a *hērōs* or "savior" (*sōtēr*) on the Greek pattern. The effects of this figure survived his own lifetime and, like his father Mattathias, he bears the marks of the divine *ktistēs:* in spite of a superficial appearance of failure, Judas nevertheless established the rule of his house "according to the will of God," "in reality," decisively and permanently (Fischer 1980: 176–77; cf. Neuhaus 1974a: 115–17, 192–201; Will and Orrieux 1986: 57–58). Apart from the manifest Sadducean-Hasmonean elements, these sorts of disguised Hellenistic-

messianic features may have contributed to the rejection of the work by the Pharisees and by later Judaism (Abel and Starcky 1961: 12–13; Fischer 1980: 57 n. 142).

In war either for or against the Seleucid kings whom they once served, in conflict with their own people, and in the service of the Sanctuary (which Hyrcanus I probably plundered; Fischer 1983), the Hasmoneans appear to have been colorful and discordant. Who is surprised, then, when the author of the work includes a *lament* on the occasion of the consecration of the Temple in 164 B.C. (Neuhaus 1974a: 81–82, 110, 112) and not, as one might have expected of the "liberator of Zion," a song of praise (Fischer 1980: 72–73)?

**B. The Second Book of Maccabees**

**1. Structure and Sources.** Whereas the "Sadducean (?) Chronicle" of the Maccabees (1 Maccabees) appears to have been written at one sitting (even though it is composed of a variety of materials it intensifies until the violent death of the last son of the "founder of the dynasty"), 2 Maccabees gives the obvious impression of being a *mixtum compositum* with a sort of introduction, two letters (1:1–10 and 1:10–2:18) and a foreword by the epitomizer himself (2:19–32), with an excerpt from the (assuredly originally Greek-composed) history by Jason of Cyrene, which is not elsewhere attested (3:1–15:36), and with the epitomizer's own epilogue (15:37–39).

The somewhat verbose epitomizer (or abridger), who modestly remained anonymous, abbreviated the five books of Jason (whose existence we are not to doubt with Nodet 1986: 330–31 n. 15; cf. Doran 1981: 81–83) into a single book (2:19–32; see Doran 1981: 77–81). This redactor organized and partially expanded the contents, as was then current practice (Habicht, *2 Makkabaeerbuch* JSHRZ, 171; Fischer 1980: 89, 139; Attridge 1984: 178 and n. 61; misunderstood by Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 28). In 4:17 and 5:17–20 the epitomizer seems to comment on his *Vorlage;* in 12:43–45 (possibly following then-contemporary Egyptian practice) he further imputes to Judas the belief in resurrection (see Oppenheimer 1976: 39–40; U. Kellermann 1979: 87–88; cf. Bringmann 1983: 55 n. 17). In 6:12–17 it is apparently not Jason who speaks to us, but the didactic abridger (Habicht, JSHRZ, 171, 230 n. 12a; Momigliano 1980: 574; Nickelsburg 1981: 119 and n. 58; cf. Doran 1981: 53–55; Attridge 1984: 180 and n. 64), as is also the case in 7:42 (U. Kellermann 1979: 54, following Bunge). The martyr deeds of the aged Eleazar and of the Mother and her seven sons (6:18–7:42) might well also have been adopted from a different narrative (Habicht, JSHRZ, 171, 173; Fischer 1980: 28 n. 7; Collins 1981: 260–61, 310; Enermalm-Ogawa 1987: 89; otherwise U. Kellermann 1979: 55–58; Doran 1981: 21–22, 35–36). Later in *4 Maccabees* (*HJP²* 3/1: 588–93) we find that this passage—which was of such central importance for the epitomizer (U. Kellermann 1979: 54) and which was laden with emotion—has been expanded and elevated to the crown of biblical martyrology (U. Kellermann 1979: 35–38, following Surkau and Holl, speaks of it as *"the primeval martyr narrative of Judaism and the early church"*). Bickerman's analysis of the sources pertaining to Heliodorus' visit to the Temple (3:23–40) is doubtful (Habicht, JSHRZ, 172–73; Doran 1981: 19–21; Fischer fc.). The swashbuckling source theories of Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* and *2 Maccabees* AB) have been repudiated by Doran 1981: 17–19; see also the criticisms of Collins 1986: 73, 76.

It remains unclear whether the epitomizer arranged the two introductory letters (1:1–2:18)—which were probably originally in Aramaic rather than in Hebrew (but see Habicht, JSHRZ, 170 and n. 15; Alexander 1984: 594; Enermalm-Ogawa 1987: 54, 56 and n. 2)—so as to preface the excerpt; Habicht (JSHRZ, 174–75) and Attridge (1984: 177–78) offer critical reviews of the research on this point. Although we must thank Habicht for a very penetrating source analysis of the entire book, his layer theory must remain hypothetical (Fischer 1980: 14–15). Earlier source theories have been surveyed by Schaefer (*IJH,* 543–44; *HJP²* 3/1: 531–34 is not useful on this issue).

In any case, the two letters form a sort of unity which distances itself formally, linguistically, and temporally from the rest of the book, the learned epitome (Fischer 1980: 86–89). Perhaps both letters derive from a Jewish archive in Alexandria (hardly in Leontopolis) or Judea (on which see Habicht, JSHRZ, 200 n. a). It appears that the first letter (1:1–10), from the year 124/3 B.C.—which is dated to the Seleucid era (on the Judeo-Babylonian reckoning)—is actually the second (!) injunction of the Judeans to

their compatriots in Egypt to celebrate "the (eight-day) festival in the month of Chislev according to (!) the manner of booths [Sukkoth]" (on which see Oppenheimer 1976: 41–42; Doran 1981: 4–5). Then follows (1:10–2:18) the earlier communication of "those in Jerusalem and those in Judea and the council and Judas" to Aristobulus (on this well-known sage, tutor of princes at the Ptolemaic court, and probably also political leader of the Jewish Diaspora then dwelling in Egypt, see Fischer 1980: 89–90 n. 216; Conzelmann 1981: 153–55; Borgen 1984: 274–79; Collins 1986: 175–78; *HJP²* 3/1: 579–87). Apparently, this letter to Aristobulus is actually a companion-piece giving the deeper motivation of the first letter; of course, such an appendix is undated, following the archival custom of the time. However, the first (!) adhortatory letter from 143/2 B.C.—which is only mentioned in 1:7–8 (Fischer 1980: 88 and n. 213)—has not been preserved.

**2. Contents and Purpose.** The contents of the actual, strongly moralizing epitome, which is not precisely datable (otherwise, e.g., U. Kellermann 1979: 13, 59; Doran 1981: 111–13; Attridge 1984: 177), partially intersects with the account in 1 Maccabees. The epitome explicates the prehistory of the revolt from around 180 B.C. under Seleucus IV Philopater, describing the internal Judean rivalries, as well as the conflicts surrounding the office of high priest (*archiereus*), and the struggles for the "leadership of the people" (*prostasia tou laou*) under Antiochus IV Epiphanes, Antiochus V Eupator, and Demetrius I Soter. Aspects of the Seleucid government proper (and hence of the supraordinate imperial history) receive more attention here than in the more local-oriented "Chronicle of the Maccabees." At least, the epitome passes over Mattathias, who may have suffered a mortal wound in battle with government soldiers (Fischer 1980: 59 and n. 153). Because of the statement in 15:37, which is false by historical criteria (cf. C.3 below), it is probable that the five books of Jason, like the epitome, ended with the victory over Nicanor in 160 B.C. (on which see Habicht, JSHRZ, 171–72, 280 n. 37a; otherwise Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 27, 33; *2 Maccabees* AB, 5, 12, 505). The epitome—or its *Vorlage (n)*—and 1 Maccabees seem to be independent of one another (on which see Doran 1981: 13–17; somewhat differently Nodet 1986: 330 n. 15), as already the thoroughly contradictory chronologies show (e.g., in connection with the death of Antiochus IV either before or after the restoration of the Temple; Fischer 1980: 133–39; 1985b: 351).

Although the epitome and the introductory letters are distinct from one another both linguistically and in source critical terms, their connection is probable as an intelligible, logical, literary, and above all propagandistic intensification, the purpose of which was to enable Hanukkah finally to establish itself among the Judeans of the Egyptian Diaspora after about 40 years. Such a concern explains why the first adhortatory letter of 143/2 B.C. was dropped; it was certainly in Aramaic and therefore somewhat antiquated; moreover, it was unsuccessful, so that the Greek epitome took its place. The Greek epitome was a work which, besides the extant letter to Aristobulus, provided the further, thorough, "historico-didactic" features so convincing to the ears of the Alexandrian Judeans. This also agrees well with the whole book, namely with the adoption of the festival at the Nile, which is certainly not attested prior to 124 B.C. Apparently, this same cultic intention served to attach the Ptolemaic Diaspora to the Hasmonean homeland; it may even have been directed against the Oniads, who lived in Egypt and fostered their own sanctuary in Leontopolis (Nickelsburg 1981: 121; Attridge 1984: 183; skeptically Doran 1981: 11–12 and Collins 1986: 78–80, who, however, mistakenly holds that such an "attempt to subordinate the Diaspora to Jerusalem" would have had to be both cleverly and tactfully presented). In other words, neither in an ancient nor in a modern sense is 2 Maccabees as a whole a work of history (otherwise Vermes 1984: 37–38); instead, it is a sort of "Festal Scroll," an aretalogy and didactic narrative of the wonder-working power of God, which both Jews and heathens of the time equally valued highly (Momigliano 1975: 104–5; 1980: 577–78; Attridge 1984: 183 and n. 68; Doran's objections [1981: 105–7] may perhaps apply to the epitome, but not to the whole of the book).

This common purpose of establishing the annual festival of Hanukkah (as it is called today) unifies the different parts of the writing, as was already seen by Bunge in his *Diss. phil.*, published in 1971. Accordingly, taken as a whole, 2 Maccabees in its present form displays the characteristics of a Judaism that was schooled in up-to-date Greek rhetoric and literary style (on the linguistic character of the book, see Abel and Starcky 1961: 26; Goldstein, *2 Maccabees* AB, 20 and n. 54; Dommershausen 1985: 9; esp.

Doran 1981: 24–46; Enermalm-Ogawa 1987: 54–145). The ascription to Egypt seems certain (despite the hesitations of Vermes 1984: 30–31, 35–37; cf. Collins 1986: 11) because of the addresses of the two introductory letters, the origin of Jason in Cyrenaica, and the transmission of the writing within the framework of the LXX. The work probably became known there in the 1st century before or after the turn of our era (Habicht, JSHRZ, 169–70, 176; Fischer 1980: 14 n. 30; cf. Schaefer, *IJH*, 544; Dommershausen 1985: 9; Nickelsburg 1981: 121 thinks of an origin in Judea in the time of Alexander Janneus; cf. Will and Orrieux 1986: 62; Momigliano 1980: 571; [cf. 1975: 105] prefers the early date of 124 B.C.). Philo of Alexandria seems to have been familiar with the book (Habicht, JSHRZ, 177; *HJP²* 3/1: 534; otherwise Momigliano 1980: 577), as was the *Assumption of Moses* (U. Kellermann 1979: 94–95).

**3. Title and Transmission.** The title of the work is secondary or perhaps even tertiary; that is, it may have arisen in the course of the Christian use of the text. It was apparently the Christian tradition which united the "four" books of Maccabees and gave them their common designation which has lasted to the present (Habicht, JSHRZ, 169; Goldstein, *2 Maccabees* AB, 3–4 and n. 1). It was apparently also in this way that the original title of 1 Maccabees was lost, since it was only available to the Christians within the framework of the LXX. However, one ought not to exclude the possibility that already the Greek-speaking Jason had termed his book the "Maccabean History" (*Makkabaika*). Later on, the title was more or less correctly transferred to the three other writings. The history and textual criticism of the text of 2 Maccabees are discussed by Abel and Starcky 1961: 79–82; Habicht, JSHRZ, 191–94; Goldstein, *2 Maccabees* AB, 124–27; *HJP²* 3/1: 534–35.

**4. Scholarly Issues.** The two introductory letters present many problems. They were already composed in the 2d century B.C. No serious doubts as to the authenticity and unity of the first letter (1:1–10) have been raised since the fundamental investigation by Bickerman in 1933, although a few details remain controversial.

On the other hand, the second letter (1:10–2:18; bibliography in Fischer 1980: 87) is still generally considered to be a forgery (otherwise, e.g., Flusser 1984: 572 and n. 89). However, the allegedly historical argument against its authenticity (which derives ultimately from Holleaux) is unconvincing (Fischer 1980: 92–96): Antiochus III did in fact plunder the temple of Bel in Elam and was only subsequently (*tachy*) cut to pieces there in the sanctuary of Nanaia (1:13; cf. Dan 11:19!), where his son Antiochus IV was later to fail, dying shortly afterward in Tabai in Persia. Evidence is concealed in the Babylonian Talmud (*Šabb.* 21b) which expressly and independently confirms the date of the letter toward the end of 163 B.C. (cf. Fischer 1980: 90–92, 99–100, 216). Thus it appears that this document is really the sole authentic surviving record of Judas Maccabeus himself.

The contents may be paraphrased as follows: an introductory aretalogy of God simultaneously deprecates the "foreign king and rule" while "explaining" the "renewed Temple consecration" (on the varying designations for this festival see Fischer 1980: 90–91 and n. 218; Doran 1981: 4–5 and n. 9) by retrospect into the Israelite and pre-Hellenistic history. A second *Leitmotiv* emerges in the course of the letter: the "return of the Judeans" according to Isa 11:10, i.e., the ingathering of the Diaspora, as well as the "punishment of the oppressors of Israel." This *eschaton*, which is envisioned in the immediate future, is apocalyptically conceived on the basis of the "breakthrough of the kingship of God" which has so recently "revealed" itself in the "wonderful victory" over Antiochus IV and his son (1:11–17). In actual fact, Judas succeeded in bringing his threatened compatriots from Palestine back to the land of Israel. In staking his claim for complete freedom, the rebel formulated his own demand for leadership at the expense of the high priest, who had collaborated with the Greco–Macedonian kings. Ultimately, Judas' attitude was that of a statesman, politician, and military leader, and was not biblical and conservative but revolutionary and truly "Hellenistic" (Fischer 1980: 182–84).

Thus, the letter was intended to set in a new and deeper light the re-establishment of the "cult of the fathers" in which the Maccabee himself had participated together with Menelaus, the high priest and rightful representative of Judea, both under the authority of the "divine" king Antiochus V Eupator. The evidence for this is not only the date of the festival itself—that is, exactly three years to the very day after

the desecration of the Temple (Nodet 1986: 327), probably on the same day of the month as the birth of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who was revered as a god by his son and successor (Fischer 1980: 72–73 and *Add.,* p. 218)—but also a group of five documents which have been authentically transmitted to us outside the introduction, namely in the epitome. However, their correct sequence remains controversial.

These documents should be placed in the following order: 11:27–33; 11:34–38; 9:19–27; 11:22–26; and 11:17–21 (Fischer 1980: 64–80). The three last-mentioned letters together make up a single recording procedure which is completed by the writing of the Roman envoys (11:34–38). The chronological order emerges from simple reversal of the sequence in which the documents were archived; the two letters "of King Antiochus to the Judeans" (9:19–27; 11:27–33) have been exchanged and thus they represent the only real error in the epitome. The five documents (in Judas' archive?) were not originally intended for publication, which is evident from the lack of the relative order of the notification. This is important for the genuine evaluation and secondary application of these witnesses, in particular as regards what they suggest and offer as contemporary and later tendencies.

The two letters 11:22–26 and 17–21 expressly attest to the re-establishment of the earlier cult in Jerusalem, and thereby to the actual state of Seleucid sovereignty over Judea at the end of 164 B.C. Because of the Maccabean successes, as well as other reasons, Antiochus V changed his course with respect to the policies of his recently deceased father, Antiochus IV. It is possible that the third document, 9:19–27, represents an attempt to motivate and, propagandistically, to legitimize, this change of policy in order to secure the allegiance of all Judeans for the new and not yet come-of-age sovereign. However, the authenticity of this "hand-record," which so impressively bears witness to the "madness" of the "deathly ill" but nevertheless fairly pleasant "Epimanes," remains doubtful (Fischer 1980: 74–79, 87, 96; Doran 1981: 62; Alexander 1984: 586, 595 and nn. 61–62). However, in terms of contents, this writing forms a close counterpart to the "Judean" letter to Aristobulus (1:10–2:18), although the languages, presuppositions, motivations, thoughts, senders, and recipients of both records are very different, and have first been brought together by modern historical criticism.

Thus the question as to the historical intention, evaluation, and interpretation of the events in Jerusalem in December of 164 B.C. presents itself. It appears that Judas returned and submitted, at least externally and formally, to Seleucid authority. The Temple was restored and Menelaus was its first priest. Shortly afterward, however, Judas rebelled once more, only to be defeated in the summer (or autumn) of 163 by Lysias and the king, who, because of further dangers, withdrew from Jerusalem. Menelaus was sacrificed, and the Oniads escaped to Egypt (Fischer 1980: 80–85). In this seemingly paradoxical situation, in which the defeated Judas asserted himself, the rebels interpreted the "wonderful salvation" in their own sense, even though they had in fact returned to the Seleucid authority. Indeed, they remained peaceful for all of two years. In their own writings, however, they hailed God as "the true king," proclaimed the "return of the dispersed," and thus asserted on their own level the national state of Israel. Likewise, they celebrated the anniversary of the consecration of the Temple no longer out of loyalty to the hated Seleucid king but as the "true wonder of the in-breaking Lordship of God." With respect to their compatriots in Egypt, the letter to Aristobulus (1:10–2:18) testifies to this permanently rebellious, current-political, apologetical, and ideologized view of things, to which was opposed the pragmatic-positivistic understanding of matters held by Greeks such as Polybius.

In the epitome (or already in Jason's narrative) the restoration of the Temple in 164 seems likewise to have been "judaized." The death of the "archfiend" Antiochus corresponds to the "renewed Temple dedication" (Doran 1981: 61–63); Menelaus and the (new) king are passed over in silence, whereas Judas and his merits are emphasized (9:1–10:9). The reality of the events may be presented in 10:7 (Enermalm-Ogawa 1987: 92–93); the secondary evaluation of them in 10:4. The First Book of Maccabees is more instructive when, on the same occasion—apparently because of the restoration of Seleucid sovereignty—it intones a lament (see above). The varying designations of Hanukkah, the heathen elements in Judas' celebration, the anniversary date itself, and the noticeable reticence of the rabbis (Abel and Starcky 1961: 12), indeed the entire tendency both to excuse Judas (2 Macc 11:15) and even to present him as "the true high priest" (Fischer 1980: 212, 218, *Add.,* p. 75 n. 185; Nodet 1986) find an obvious and perhaps

convincing explanation in this way. Rarely in the Hellenistic period do documents and literary accounts permit us direct insight into a then-current political controversy as well as into the contemporary Judean understanding of history.

It remains uncertain whether it was Jason, the epitomizer, or a later editor who first published these documents and/or organized them in their present sequence. In spite of Goldstein (*2 Maccabees* AB, 71, 81–83, 122 ["by 86 B.C.E."]), Attridge (1984: 177), and Collins (1981: 261–62; 1986: 72–73, 77 ["not long after the Maccabean revolt"]), it would be futile to speculate further over such questions as the place, time, person, activity, and character of this historian (?) in the manner of the earlier source criticism; in fact, we know nothing certain as to Jason of Cyrene (Abel and Starcky 1961: 26–27; Habicht, JSHRZ, 170, 173–74; Fischer 1980: 14 and n. 31; *HJP²* 3/1: 532).

As far as the epitome itself is concerned, the following organization may be discerned (Doran 1981: 93–94, 110; esp. Nickelsburg 1981: 118, here repeated):

1. Blessing: Jerusalem during the priesthood of Onias III (3:1–40);
2. Sin: Hellenization of Jerusalem under Jason and Menelaus (4:1–5:10);
3. Punishment: Reprisals of Antiochus IV (5:11–6:17);
4. Turning point: Deaths of the martyrs and prayers of the people (6:18–8:4);
5. Judgment and salvation: The victories of Judas (8:5–15:36).

This structure corresponds to the well-known Deuteronomistic scheme of sin and divine retribution (Nickelsburg 1981: 118–20; Rajak 1986: 141).

As far as the *Vorlage (n)* of the epitome is concerned, the following conclusion may perhaps be drawn: its depiction of the Seleucid administration and its *apparatus* is quite authentic and of historical value. This is occasionally confirmed by a primary epigraphic find (Habicht, JSHRZ, 178, 190). When Jason of Cyrene (writing from the point of view of the cosmopolitan Judean Diaspora) makes his judgments, his understanding of things is neither old-fashioned nor provincial (as is that in 1 Maccabees); rather, this Greek-speaking author is a valuable witness to the general literature, culture, and spirituality of Hellenistic times.

At least, the epitome is to be assigned to the "tragic" historiography of that period, as already Benedictus Niese emphasized in 1900 (Abel and Starcky 1961: 17; Goldstein, *1 Maccabees* AB, and 34 and n. 70, *2 Maccabees* AB, 20–21; Habicht, JSHRZ, 189–90; Bickerman 1979: 95–96; Enermalm-Ogawa 1987: 54; esp. Doran 1979: 107–10; 1981: 84–97; cf. *HJP²* 3/1: 533; the concept of "tragic historiography" is, however, just as problematic as are "Hellenism" and "ideology"; and yet it is well established today and is permissible from a scholarly point of view). Polybius, who represented the "pragmatic" direction in the 2d century B.C., concentrated on military and politics, that is, on the affairs of state (*ta pragmata*). In contradistinction, the "tragic" historiography attempted to captivate its readers with a style which was rhetorical and dramatizing, which cascaded its effects, and which offered appealing entertainment and sensitive participation. It was in this sense that the epitome sought to shock its audience both psychically and physically through exaggeration and the broad depiction of horrific scenes and immeasurable passions, but also through praise for the heroic deeds of individuals and the terrible demise of the "archfiend." However, such moralistic and dramatizing applications often do damage to the truth of historical insight: Habicht (JSHRZ, 191 and n. 129–30) recognized the tendentious distortion of the "enemies," be they of foreign origin or from the author's own people. The use of intellectual concepts instead of moral categories which could have been appropriately applied is peculiar (13:23; 14:5 + 8; 15:33; cf. Habicht, JSHRZ, 190 and n. 122, following Abel). Among features which belong to the repertoire of the "tragic" or melodramatic account are such things as divine self-manifestations (*epiphaneiai*: Doran 1979: 113–14; 1981: 98–104; Momigliano 1980: 575), angels, heavenly riders, and dream-visions (*oneira* and *theōriai*) as in 2:21; 3:24–40; 5:2–4; 10:29–30; 11:6 + 8; 12:22; 15:11–16 + 22–23. Indeed, anything that was overwhelming, wonderful, and which escaped rational perception (2:21; 7:18; 12:15; 15:21) was prolixly presented. The style and vocabulary correspond to those of the Hellenistic environment, including the fact that it was possible to employ the term "barbarians" against the Greeks and Macedonians themselves (2:21; 10:4; 13:9; cf. 4:47).

Expressions from the heathen religious sphere appear in 6:23 (*ḥadēs*) and 7:13–14 (*metallaxantos ton bion ap*' or *hyp'anthrōpōn*; Habicht, JSHRZ, 215 n. 7a, 235 n. 14a). At least linguistically, the terms *Hellēnismos* and *Ioudaismos* constituted no problem for Jason or the epitomizer, even though the author confused edifying didacticism with true rhetorical art. (On the conceptions of "Judaism" and "Hellenism," see Fischer 1980: viii and nn. b + c; Amir 1982; Gafni 1984: 1.1a; Bichler 1986: 12–19; Will and Orrieux 1986: 10–12.) Against this background, 1 Maccabees seems not merely to be more "Hebraic," but directly more sober, factual, political, and "pragmatic" (to use Polybius' term).

However, the epitome, or Jason, judaized the Greek and Hellenistic models (Doran 1981: 89–109; cf. Enermalm-Ogawa 1987: 118–19). The centerpiece is the Temple, its holiness, age, reputation, and place in the world. The "threat," "violation," "restoration," and "defense" of the Sanctuary are already sounded in the foreword of the epitome, 2:19–22 (Abel and Starcky 1961: 25; Habicht, JSHRZ, 186–87; now, thoroughly, Doran 1981: 47–76). Note, however, the remark in 5:19 *("the people were not chosen because of the place, but the place because of the people"),* which might seem to imply a sort of abstraction, i.e., a relation to the very biblical tradition and revelation which relativizes the visible cult, the (Greek!) language, and the "realistic reality" in the Hellenistic sense. We shall return to this point.

The epitome can hardly be called "Pharisaic" in a strict term (Habicht, JSHRZ, 189). It glorifies Judas and mentions Simon in such ways that we are unable to speak of a clearly pro- or anti-Hasmonean tendency; Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 33), Habicht (JSHRZ, 188), and Nickelsburg (1981: 121) are somewhat too reserved on this point (see also Collins 1986: 80; and Efron 1987: 19). Zion and the city, the land and the "Hebrews" remain as they are depicted: namely, as the sole, exclusive, and only rightful sites of the highest worship of God which all Judeans are obliged to accept. No claim for the right to an independent state, in the sense advocated by the Maccabees, is advanced (Habicht, JSHRZ, 188).

In actual fact, the problem of the Diaspora lay on another level. The question was not so much the politico-military or even the linguistic-cultural opposition; rather, it was defined by the religio-ideological competition between rigorous *Ioudaismos* (2:21; 8:1; 14:38; incorporated in the "Sanctuary," "city," "fatherland," "constitution," and especially in "the Law": 13:11 + 14; 15:17–8, etc.) and hedonistic-enlightened "Hellenism." Thus the more free and fashionable manners of the "foreigners"—Macedonians, Greeks, Egyptians, and Syrians—pursued a line that was *per definitionem* anti-Judaic. This conflict arose and persisted in the Diaspora; of course, it was less violent in the "Jewish" Judea of the Hasmoneans.

It is with sensibilities attuned to these nuances that we must understand the description in the epitome (or perhaps already in Jason's work) of the "time of persecution" in the homeland as the epoch of the most extreme "intermixture" (*epimixia*) according to 4:13; 14:3 + 38 (Fischer 1980: ix and n. d, 49 and n. 133; Habicht, JSHRZ, 271 n. 3b reads *amixia*). In this way the heathen cult in the Temple was the unheard summit of desecration (to Judean ears in the Diaspora!), in which it was possible for a genetic Greek (if there were any at all at this time!) to turn out to be a genuine "barbarian." Likewise, the "Hebrew," who was devoted to "the God of the fathers," was able to serve as a model of *hērōs* in the sense of the *ēthē kai pathē* of the Greek rhetorical and "affectionate" understanding. Such inversions are astonishing only to us. The Aristobulus letter (1:10–2:18) refers to the "victory" over the "sham-king" Antiochus and to the demand for an independent state; there is no question of any "persecution of the faithful" or "Hellenization," but only of "war" (2:14; Fischer 1980: 100). It is doubtful whether such a rivalry between "Judaism and Hellenism" in the Judean region itself during the Maccabean uprising is historically accurate (Fischer 1980: 174–88, 195; esp. 186–87; likewise, but for other reasons, Bringmann 1983: 12, 145–48; otherwise Habicht, JSHRZ, 185, who passes sentence *ex eventu*). Such considerations reinforce the ascription of the epitome (and of Jason?) to the Egyptian Diaspora, which was in fact persecuted (otherwise Doran 1981: 112–13; Rajak 1986: 132).

**5. Theological Matters.** In 2 Maccabees God is many-layered and many-sided, ambivalent and perhaps even discordant, as such self-contradictory (cf. Dommershausen 1985: 9–11; Enermalm-Ogawa 1987: 124–33, 138–41; the two introductory letters [1:1–2:18], which are more firmly anchored in Israelite tradition, deserve special study). He is the almighty God of Israel (8:15), the "Holy Lord of all Sanctification" (14:36) who concluded His Covenant with the fathers (8:15) and revealed Himself (3:24 +

30; 14:15; 15:34). Elsewhere, however, He is conceptually defined in good Hellenistic terms as "the Highest and Greatest" (3:31 + 36), although the superlatives do not simultaneously imply the existence or "real" power of other, lesser gods. God has need of nothing at all (14:35) and is Himself the One who created everything and man from nothing (7:11, 22–23, 28; 13:14; 14:46; on this *creatio ex nihilo* see Abel and Starcky 1961: 24–25; Habicht, JSHRZ, 187 and n. 101; U. Kellermann 1979: 73–77, with differentiations). He is the helper and comforter, but also the righteous judge who punishes stringently, not for revenge but for "improvement and for our warning," and who also permits the vicarious sacrifice of others. He allows Himself to be reconciled, and in spite of wrath and mutability He keeps faith with His Chosen People (Doran 1981: 53–55).

A theological foundation for the epitome (and the work of Jason?) is provided by the whole of the book of Isaiah and by Daniel 12 (U. Kellermann 1979: 81–85; Nickelsburg 1981: 121). The prophecies were believed to have been realized. Together with the Deuteronomistic understanding of the sin and the necessary (!) divine retribution (which was intensified by the collective responsibility), this conception led to an extreme tension and inversion: God's promise was held to realize itself even in the physical suffering of "the pious" (on this problem, see U. Kellermann 1979: 62, cf. 93). Such an assumption led to a specific martyrology, namely to the idea of the unusual hero who suffers in his innocence and dies; yet such a "child of heaven" is elevated by the righteous, compensating, and preserving God through a new creation and complete reversal of all things: to physical resurrection and eternal life (Abel and Starcky 1961: 18–21; Habicht, JSHRZ, 187, 234 n. 9c; U. Kellermann 1979 *passim*, esp. 40; Fischer 1980: 165–68, 170, cf. 28–29, 151–54; Doran 1981: 110; Nickelsburg 1981: 120–21 and n. 60–62; Will and Orrieux 1986: 60–61). This "theologization" of human existence (Will and Orrieux 1986: 59–61) is entirely foreign to 1 Maccabees with its positivistic understanding of the world.

The question here is not whether resurrection as a projection of extreme retribution was intended to compensate ideologically and psychologically for a horrible reality; patterns of ancient Egypt (the Osiris cult), and of the Greek heroes who incarnated themselves vividly in permanent reverence, may be the antecedents of such conceptions. In any event, 2 Maccabees makes manifest the memory of the individual personality: after the "last judgment," resurrection of everybody was either supposed to be positive for "bliss" or negative for "eternal damnation." Nor will it be possible here to touch on the deeper theological problems as to why God surrendered to the most extreme tortures precisely those who were his most faithful, or why (to our limited human understanding) God appears to have "needed" reconciliation with and in Himself (which, according to Christians, was then effected by Jesus of Nazareth). The impression of divine discord remains, as in the last instance "evil" does not act of its own accord but rather as a divine tool.

Prayer (Flusser 1984: 572–73), mediation through didactic stories, as well as special intermediaries, including the dreams of Jeremiah and Onias III, won increasing influence at this time (Abel and Starcky 1961: 22–24; Habicht, JSHRZ, 187 and n. 104; U. Kellermann 1979: 12, 86–87; Fischer 1980: 103 and n. 253; Doran 1981: 71–74). Thus, the immediate access to God was seen as questionable and at least problematical. On the other hand, alongside of the "Covenant" and "honesty to the Law" (Collins 1986: 77), fear of God and personal reliance became new fundamentals of the faith (6:30; 8:18 + 23; 10:28; 15:7). Spirituality and "fidelity to the Law" appeared to be more important than sacrifice, cult, and other externals (2:22; 3:1 + 15; 4:11 + 17; 6:1 + 5–6 + 21 + 28; 7:2 + 9 + 11 + 23–24 + 30 + 37; 8:21 + 36; 13:11 + 14; 15:9). Such an individual attitude expressed itself in public "confession" and with emphasis, as when the "evil heathen" converted to the true faith and acknowledged God's efficaciousness to the entire world (Heliodorus in 3:35–39; Nicanor in 8:36; Antiochus Epiphanes in 9:11–27; Lysias in 11:13). A dynamic was founded in this spirit which developed further in Christianity and revolutionized the ancient world.

**C. Summary**

**1. Recapitulation of the *Quellenkritik.*** With the exceptions of the biblical citations and Judas' proposed treaty with Rome from 161 or 160 B.C., the sources of 1 Maccabees which date to the end of the 2d century B.C. remain uncertain. As far as 2 Maccabees is concerned, the following development in

chronological sequence may be assumed (otherwise Nickelsburg 1981: 118). First was the alleged "Maccabean history" in Greek by Jason of Cyrene, now lost (which included a prehistory of the revolt, and which was written from the point of view of the Hellenistic imperial history). Later the epitome of this history was composed by a possibly Alexandrian Judean, with alterations and additions. It was strongly rhetorical, didactic, and emotionalizing; i.e., similar to the "pathetic" or "tragic" historiography according to the genuine Hellenistic tradition (as perhaps was already the case with Jason's work). The final stage was the entire book of 2 Maccabees, including the two introductory letters which were translated from Semitic-language originals. This final product was presented with the intention of introducing Hanukkah (or whatever it was then called) into the Judean Diaspora in Egypt. The *terminus post quem* of the final version of the book, as we now possess it, is the year 125 B.C.; at least it was apparently known to Philo of Alexandria in the beginning of our era.

**2. Analysis of the Documents and Related Methodology.** Without prejudice to the authenticity of Jewish-Hellenistic literature in general (e.g., Fischer 1980: 189–92; Alexander 1984: 585–88, 596; Schmidt 1986), the analysis of the documents which was introduced by Elias Bickerman proves to be a secure foundation for further study. Additionally, it is now possible to distinguish between suggestion and realization, primary and secondary publication, application, tendency, and audience(s). In this fashion it is permissible to reconstruct an original series of records (probably deriving from Judas' archive) within the epitome (see B.4 above) which was secondarily completed by the letter to Aristobulus (2 Macc 1:10–2:18). It is important to recognize the first recipients (cf. Vermes 1984: 33–39) in the late 60s of the 2d century B.C., as already the languages imply: Judas will have addressed himself to his compatriots in Egypt in Aramaic, while the Seleucid king must have written in Greek to his subjects (that is, to the local, more or less "Hellenistically" oriented elite of Judea!). There is no problem with the later target groups of the two books of Maccabees (which were then unified by the Christians according to their own points of view) around the end of the 2d and in the 1st centuries B.C.: namely, on the one hand, the native audience in Hasmonean Judea (1 Maccabees), and on the other, the "Hellenistic" Diaspora in Ptolemaic Egypt (2 Maccabees). Such a (partial) communicative reconstruction is a necessary presupposition of the true historical evaluation.

**3. Structures of the Histories of Events.** A history of events results from the unfolding of then-current political controversies and the peculiarities of the times. The outward quarrels in Judea which were conducted in "revolt" and with increasing "zeal" took place to attain freedom and self-determination, and were also concerned with the right of *asylia* (Fischer fc.), the office of high priest, and the "leadership of the people" (*JW* 1.31). However, already contemporaries recognized what may have been underlying reasons, namely the "battle for the Torah"—not only for its legitimacy as such (either in the pluralistic Diaspora or in confrontation with Antiochus IV in Judea), but also within the community itself as to the "right" understanding, the "authoritative" doctrine, and the practical embodiment in the context of a new time (on this, see Collins 1986: 12–15, 244–46; Will and Orrieux 1986: 60, 126–31, 134–36). The author of 1 Maccabees received the Israelite tradition immediately and as a matter of course; he passed it on straightforwardly in his own fashion and understood his time as "fulfilled prophecy" (Neuhaus 1974a: 180, 228–30). One aim of this writing was to establish strong identity in the Judean people (Enermalm-Ogawa 1987: 52–53). However, the more enlightened Diaspora, which was quite differently threatened both from within and from without, required argumentative and express commitment to the Law, a necessity which perhaps intensified the movement toward theology. In any case, the consequence of this development was the splintering of the biblical community into individuals and groups, reactionary or progressive, which ultimately combated one another, whether openly or covertly.

At the same time, the local process in Judea was intimately bound up with the events taking place on the broader field of the *Reichsgeschichte* (*grande histoire*, following Will and Orrieux). What the king needed was not so much a pious priest or financially sound Temple superintendent, but rather a capable vassal and military leader (Fischer 1985a). The struggle between the high priests, the Oniads, Jason, Menelaus, Alcimus, and Judas (and his brothers) was not merely a personal one; rather, it was a structural problem. The situation was complicated by the lasting claim that the Ptolemies, who had granted asylum to the

Oniads, staked to Palestine. At the same time, in Judea the "orthodox" and the apocalypticists were increasingly reluctant to follow the Hasmoneans (otherwise Efron 1987), who deliberately expanded their "royal" authority according to the Greco-Macedonian conceptions.

For further details concerning the course of events see, most recently, Rappaport 1984, Fischer 1985a; fc. The increasing differentiation within the country itself is noteworthy, as is the political, cultural, and ideological emancipation of the Judeans (the "pariahs," in Max Weber's phrase) who, however, were not always accepted by their neighbors (which in turn produced and intensified Hasmonean self-awareness).

In spite of their biblical presuppositions, both books of Maccabees demonstrate the appropriation of such Hellenistic elements as an increasingly apologetic tendency, a "rhetoricalization," and evaluation of the individual. However, we must acknowledge some breaks which are quite manifest in 2 Maccabees. There the Greek-formulated *Ioudaismos* is contrasted with a "barbaric" *Hellēnismos,* a supreme example of a perverted propaganda. In spite of the allusions to its biblical antecedents, 1 Maccabees has abandoned the fundamental theological-biblical structure in favor of a secular historiography in the Greek tradition (Will and Orrieux 1986: 57). The transformation expresses itself also in the interpretive patterns. Judas led the Diaspora (whose members had, according to tradition, been "punished because of their own apostasy") back to their "home," whereas his brothers and successors (Mendels 1987: 47–51) undertook the expansion and even the enforced Judaization of Palestine. Thus, the racial identity of the Israelite people was imperiled without troubling the "Hellenistic" ruler and his colorfully assembled army. Instead of religious-cultural "separateness," the Hasmoneans now fostered the political enmity toward the rival Seleucids (Neuhaus 1974b: 172; Fischer 1980: 56 n. 142), as well as the "foreign-friendliness" toward Sparta and Rome (Will and Orrieux 1986: 58). The transience or actual devaluation and relativization of all concepts, norms, and behaviors became visible and, in terms of mentality, they created an atmosphere of doubt, ambiguity, and instability.

The superficially static Judean understanding of the world and of history (Rajak 1986) was dynamically, thoroughly, and fundamentally transformed through the Hellenistic influences. The loss of identity expressed itself particularly in the field of religion, notably the aggravation of the conflict over the Torah, its use, and the validity of both "written" and (steadily multiplying) "oral" authorities, beginning with the 2d century B.C. (Will and Orrieux 1986: 225–26). The translations and commentaries are the signposts of this development. Relativization expressed itself in a positivistic sense, as at the death of Antiochus IV before or after the restoration of the Temple, but also in the understanding of reality as such, of the effect and interpretation of events. We have already seen the cases of Judas' treaty with the Romans, of Hanukkah, and of the very odd concept of *Hellēnismos;* to this we may add the question of the constitution of Judea (monarchy or rule by priestly aristocrats), a theme which is connected with the problems surrounding the legitimation of the Hasmoneans. In 1 Maccabees Judas' death, the actual end of the revolt, was aptly compensated for by the everlasting "first treaty" with Rome. Indeed, this was in its origins the political tendency of a single party, i.e., the Maccabeans (in 2 Maccabees the same compensation for the failure of Judas is supplied by the Day of Nicanor, that is, the annual "victory-day" of the whole community). A similar observation applies to the book of Daniel, where the deceased Maccabee was elevated to the status of an eternal *hērōs,* the "Son of Man" (Fischer 1980: 152–54). In all these examples, the loss of a "pragmatic" understanding of history, as expressed likewise in the letter to Aristobulus (2 Macc 1:10–2:18), is remarkable (Fischer 1980: 171–73). Thus, the route leading to the rabbinical conceptions of history becomes more evident.

**4. Aspects of Historical Inferences.** Both books of Maccabees reveal Judean authors actively discussing the "sufferings" which had been inflicted by the heathen. In the course of this process the biblical faith increasingly assumed the linguistic, conceptual, and even aggressive forms of the "persecutors." Both writings were not originally missionary (in a Christian sense) works addressed to foreigners, but to a properly Judean audience. They were less apologetic than propagandistic. 1 Maccabees conservatively asserts the Sadducean position of the ruling Hasmonean against the "ultra-orthodox" opposition in their own country. 2 Maccabees, taken as a whole, seeks to establish in the

Diaspora an annual festival along Greek lines; the work attempts this argumentatively and with psychological insight, while the epitome is especially didactic and rhetorical.

Both writings express the increasing degree of reflection upon the "self-apostasy" and the splitting of consciousness. In 2 Maccabees, it interpenetrates the whole of the epitome. Judas himself, however, was able to project the problem onto the Diaspora. In the letter to Aristobulus, if anywhere, it is only in 2:2–3 that we hear of such "apostasy." This corresponds to the genuine Maccabean ideology, which is probably present from 1 Macc 2:6 onward and in 2 Macc 8:1–4: the rebels regarded themselves as being persecuted, and thus as perfectly "righteous" (cf. Enermalm-Ogawa 1987: 51), also as far as the question of fighting on the Sabbath was concerned. In 124/3 B.C., the first introductory letter of 2 Maccabees mentions the *"apostasy of Jason (the high priest) and his followers"* (1:7). This corresponds to the contemporary view of the Hasmoneans as in 1 Maccabees, namely that the internal political opponents are to be excluded from the "true (and allegedly positive) Israel."

In contradistinction to such *Realpolitik*, the earlier book of Daniel had asserted the idea of "self-apostasy among the people." Daniel also retained God's righteous punishment, the confidence in Him and His grace, as well as the deeper theological aspect of the "persecution" against which were counterpoised the optimistic Hasmonean concepts of the "fulfilled prophecy" and of the "renewal of the empires of David and Solomon" (cf. Fischer 1980: 182, following Neuhaus; Will and Orrieux 1986: 58). In the epitome, however, the equivocal and "theologically" intensified view (Will and Orrieux 1986: 59–61), which has traumatically influenced Jewish history until the present time (cf. Bickerman 1979: xii–xiii), became triumphant. Thus, a decisive transformation of the Judean mentality took place in the late Hellenistic period, the "breaking up" of the Maccabeans flared up and in time reached the "zeal" of the Zealots in A.D. 70. It was no longer the pragmatic attitude of a Polybius or of 1 Maccabees; rather, the religious emphasis and intensification established themselves on a permanent basis. From the Maccabeans' militant "confession" of God, the Law, and the faith of the fathers, the path ran to the Holy Maccabees, and to the Mother with her seven sons (2 Maccabees 7; 4 Maccabees 8–17). For the first time in biblical religion, martyrdom had become a new type of divine worship (Conzelmann 1981: 16–18; further on this aspect and its historical consequences, see Abel and Starcky 1961: 30–34; U. Kellermann 1979: 12–13, 17–19, 94–142; cf. Efron 1987: 3, 54). Gradually, Jewish history took more and more the features of grief and pain.

The "Maccabees" were the first and only Saints to be reverenced by parts of both Judaism and Christianity up to the present time (Habicht, JSHRZ, 233 n. 7a; Fischer 1980: 28–29; Momigliano 1980: 575–77, 578 and n. 8). These champions were originally adored (in the Greek sense) at the site of their execution, at their grave in Antioch. In the course of history they developed into the prototypes of resistance to heathen and secular authority everywhere. Today the bones of these rebels, victims, heroes, or witnesses to Faith reside in Cologne, Germany. Their memorial day is August 1st.

**5. Conclusions.** 1 and 2 Maccabees testify to the diversity of the late-Hellenistic epoch in general and especially (in the sense of Baras *WHJP* 1/8: xxv–xxvii; Vermes 1984: 33–39) of the Judeans and the Diaspora in the age of the Second Temple. They emit echoes reminiscent of rifts in countries, sects, and individuals (otherwise Efron 1987: 20). We cannot claim that there was a "canonical unity" of the Judean nation and its Torah for the years of the protracted crisis (Tcherikover *WHJP* 1/6: 5–6). There were indeed Messianism and eschatology, as well as continual conflicts and doubts of oneself and the Law. Rather, we encounter different entities, languages, concepts, traditions, intentions, target-groups, varying and increasingly differentiated segments, and apologetically or polemically reacting identities and individuals. Both openly and in more covert form, intercultural connections become evident as, for example, when both the "Greek" Poseidonius from Syrian Apamea and the "Jewish" Pharisees, or the desert sectarians, characterized the active and "thieving" Hasmonean state as "degenerate" (Fischer 1985a).

This dynamic process of universalization and radicalization intensified the disintegration, the polarization and growth of ideology, of which, finally, the Hasmoneans were the victims, and which, in Judaism, the rabbis were the first to pick up. In 2 Maccabees the characteristics of syncretism or *epimixia*

(on the modern concept of syncretism see Will and Orrieux 1986: 147–48, 150) are openly displayed, whereas they are hidden in 1 Maccabees, even though man's own activity is much emphasized there (Neuhaus 1974a: 231–32, 240; Will and Orrieux 1986: 57–58). Resurrection and immortality in 2 Maccabees betray their proximity to Stoic philosophy; the belief in a life to come reminds us of the ancient Egyptians (U. Kellermann 1979: 28–29 n. d, e; 89–93; and cf. 46–53). The elevation of executed "champions" from among the "lower" echelons of the people is another characteristic of importance, as it prefigures the "King of the Jews" of the Christians. A feeling of inferiority (which simultaneously insisted on superiority), a sensitively concealed reaction to the perceived attractions of Hellenism, as well as the ruling Romans and the rise of the natives in the Ptolemaic Empire, the attendant dissemination of Egyptian religion throughout the world of Greek culture—amid such circumstances, contradictions, and changes, reality itself was stood on its head. Hanukkah turned out in the course of time to be, like Christmas, a heathen-biblical-Jewish-Christianizing festival (cf. Petuchowski 1984: 121; *"the same ceremony may express completely different ideologies"*). Historically it is hardly surprising that the Jews throughout the ages have always been celebrating the rededication of their Temple, which has long vanished, rather than the everlasting birthday of the "evil" King Antiochus, "the god manifest and bearing victory."

The rabbis have removed the two books of Maccabees from their writings; it was modern Zionism which rediscovered them for Jewish identity. The modern Maccabiade immortalizes precisely that Hellenism which Judas is supposed to have vanquished. The first Christians paid homage to the martyrdom and the most extreme witness of faith, the wonders and the visions, the angels and the Saints, the "Last Judgment," the " (physical) Resurrection," and other paradoxes (in the modern sense of the word), perhaps even to the innocent and vicarious sacrificial death of the righteous and suffering Son of Heaven for human atonement and reconciliation with God (on which see U. Kellermann 1979: 11–13). Both separately and together, the two books of Maccabees, and especially their prayers (Enermalm-Ogawa 1987: 142–45), have influenced the mentality of the Jews and Christians up to the present day. Out of the feeling of isolation, of being surrounded by enemies and persecuted until life and death hang in the balance, there arose an attitude which could not be counterbalanced by the claim of one's own superiority. Existential crisis and militant expansion were the psychological consequences for such a minority, and that irrespective of whether or not the threat was real or merely imagined.

Bickerman (1979: 92) recognized that the preservation of the faith in God was the best merit of the Maccabees. Behind the alternate powers of the world, their mutability as well as the deceptive meanings of writings in general, there is the nameless One who beams like Hanukkah from beyond History and Existence, self-contradictory and inconceivable to human sense: *Idem ipse fuit Deus triune puerorum, qui fuit Machabeorum. Illi de igne evaseruut, illi ignibus cruciati suut, utrique tamen in Deo sempiterno vicerunt* (St. Augustine).

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## *THIRD MACCABEES*

The document we know as "Third Maccabees" is not very aptly named. Whereas the work does contain echoes of several themes in 2 Maccabees, the historical events reflected in it antedate the Maccabean period proper by some 50 years, and there is nowhere any reference to the epic Maccabean struggle for freedom. Probably the title was used because the author's account of God's miraculous deliverance of the Jews from the destruction threatened by a foreign tyrant and oppressor was reminiscent of the Maccabean revolt and heroic Jewish resistance to the intervention of the Syrian emperor, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, in Palestinian territory and in Jewish affairs: in consequence of which *3 Maccabees* was placed alongside 1 and 2 Maccabees in the manuscripts.

There is little doubt that *3 Maccabees* originated in Alexandria, Egypt. Its style and literary flavor strongly resemble such other Alexandrian writings as 2 Maccabees and the *Letter of Aristeas.* Also the story is set mainly in Alexandria, and one of the author's chief concerns is the status of Egyptian Jews. There are certain similarities between *3 Maccabees* and the type of "historical romance" that flourished in the Hellenistic period. But on the whole it is best to think of his narrative as "pathetic" or "tragic" history.

The writer seeks to play on his readers' emotions and to evoke their sympathy for his heroes and the cause they represent. He does so in the most flowery language, employing as many tricks of the rhetorician's trade as he can muster, adding purple passage to purple passage, and piling up epithet upon epithet.

The plot that unfolds in *3 Maccabees* is akin to that of the canonical book of Esther and the tales of divine aid for champions of the Jewish faith in Daniel 1–6. But it is unlikely that the author was directly influenced by any one canonical book. Instead, he draws freely on a variety of old biblical traditions, especially in the prayers offered by Simon and Eleazar in chaps. 2 and 6. His closest affinities, however, are with the Greek additions to Esther, which inserts a theological dimension the secular Hebrew Esther does not contain; in terminology, if not in thought, with the *Letter of Aristeas;* and in ideas, expression, and vocabulary with 2 Maccabees.

The first chapter of *3 Maccabees* begins abruptly and is somewhat disjointed throughout. Saved from a plot against his life, Ptolemy IV Philopator of Egypt proceeds forthwith to the defeat of Antiochus III the Great of Syria at the battle of Raphia (217 B.C.E.). In response to a courtesy visit from a delegation of Jewish elders, Ptolemy resolves to visit Jerusalem. The scene moves swiftly to the temple. Impressed by its magnificence, he insists, against the Law and despite all remonstrances and priestly prayers, on his right to enter. A mighty throng converges at once upon the temple: "The combined shouts of the crowd, ceaseless and vehement, caused an indescribable uproar. It seemed as if not only the people but the very walls and the whole pavement cried out, so much at that moment did they all prefer death to the profanation of the temple" (1:28–29). Simon the High Priest then offers a long prayer, rehearsing the mighty acts of God on behalf of his people Israel. God responds by imposing condign punishment upon Ptolemy, who suffers a seizure. The description of it is a good example of the bombastic language of *3 Maccabees:* "God scourged the one who was greatly exalted by his own insolence and effrontery, tossing him to and fro like a leaf on the wind until he fell impotent to the ground with his limbs paralyzed and unable to speak, completely overpowered by a righteous judgment" (2:21–22).

We next find Ptolemy back in Egypt, breathing vengeance against the Jews. He commands a census of all Jews in Alexandria in order that they might be reduced to slavery. Exemption is offered to those who agree to participate in the pagan mystery cult of Dionysus. Some do apostasize. But the great majority gallantly hold out for their ancestral faith. The angry Ptolemy then decrees that all Jews in his kingdom be transported in chains to Alexandria and there put to death. The account of their deportation (4:1–13) is a classic piece of "pathetic history" writing in the most florid style. Once arrived on the outskirts of the city, the vast multitude of Jews is herded into the racecourse (in this type of literature one does not ask how it could contain them). Ptolemy plans their destruction with Hermon, the captain of his five-hundred-strong elephant brigade. Three times Hermon, or finally Ptolemy himself, sets out on this nefarious exploit, and three times the scheme is thwarted by God's miraculous interference on behalf of the Jews (5:1–22, 23–25; 5:46–6:21). On the last occasion, by reason of the venerable Eleazar's prayer, by an amazing reversal, the elephants, previously intoxicated by doses of frankincense and wine, turn back on the king's own troops and trample them to death. In a fit of remorse Ptolemy undergoes a complete change of heart toward the Jews, orders their release and return home, and highly praises their God (6:22–29). The whole narrative of 5:1–6:29 is intended to illustrate both the power of prayer and the absolute sovereignty of the Jewish God.

At the close the Jews engage in joyous festival celebrations (6:30–41; 7:13–15, 17–18, 19–20), the first associated with their deliverance in Alexandria, the second with the assassination of three hundred of the apostate brethren, permission for which had been granted by Ptolemy (7:12); the third with their seven-day banquet at Ptolemais, their port of departure; and the fourth with their return home. The elaborate festival conclusion suggests that the story told in *3 Maccabees* may relate to the origination of the practice of an annual celebration among Egyptian Jews, possibly bearing some resemblance to the major feast of Purim.

Opinions differ regarding the extent to which *3 Maccabees* furnishes reliable historical information about the Jews in Egypt. The author does appear to have had access to some fairly trustworthy source for his report of the battle of Raphia (1:1–5), which accords with that of Polybius, and his portrayal of

Ptolemy IV is consistent with what is known of him from elsewhere (e.g., Plutarch, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus): his love of banquets, his dependence on his courtiers, his efforts to unite Jews and Greeks in the cult of his ancestor Dionysus, his use of elephants for military purposes, and the format of his official decrees. Perhaps more importantly, certain key passages, difficult to interpret though they are (2:28–30; 3:1–10; 4:14–15), seem to point to *3 Maccabees* as a fair source of knowledge for the legal rights and status of the Jews in Alexandria. But it is stretching credulity too far to argue that the whole narrative is an accurate factual report of what happened, even down to the details—the supposition, for instance, that the administering of frankincense and wine to the elephants was a spectacular ceremonial-ritual preparation for the annihilation of the Jews as anti-Dionysian "heretics." Such a detail is better construed as a mark of the storyteller's art: it makes more feasible the miracle of the beasts' turning back by divine intervention and trampling Ptolemy's own forces to death (5:1–2, 10, 45; 6:18–21). For further discussion, see JUDAISM (IN EGYPT).

The author's purpose is not to provide a straightforward diary of events. Rather, he employs the medium of romantic historical narration, in an inflated and hyperbolic style (e.g., 2:17–29; 4:1–21; 5:45–51; 6:16–29), with strong apologetic intent, to demonstrate the goodwill of the Jews as loyal subjects of the king, to defend the unique quality of their life and religion, and to uphold the sovereign majesty of the God whose people they are. He is a strict conservative, in whom there is little or no trace of the more innovative type of thinking we find in apocalyptic or Wisdom literature, or in those treatises which seek a fusion of Hellenistic philosophy and Judaism (e.g., *4 Maccabees*). His theology and faith are completely orthodox. He accepts without question that God supports and blesses the righteous and punishes the wicked. He has the deepest reverence for the temple (1:9–29). His rigorous devotion to the Law is implicit in his report of the slaying of more than three hundred renegade Jews (7:14–15), in accordance with the injunctions of Deut 13:6–18.

It is hardly possible to trace the composition of *3 Maccabees* to any specific crisis in the history of Egyptian Jews, e.g., the threat imposed on them when Egypt was made a Roman province in 24 B.C.E. and the civic status of the Jews was endangered by the new Roman administration; or the persecution of Alexandrian Jews during the reign of Caligula, when he attempted to set up his effigy in the temple in 40 C.E. The book, with its emphasis on God's kindly providence toward his people and on their festival joy at the marvelous deliverances he wrought for them, does not have the flavor of a crisis document. In terms of its actual content it could have been produced at almost any time from ca. 200 B.C.E. to 50 C.E. The discussion concerning dating has focused largely on *3 Maccabees* 2:27–30, which records the census or registry (*laographia*) of the Jews in Egypt required by Ptolemy, and his command that those registered be "branded by fire on their bodies with an ivy leaf, the emblem of Dionysus." If the aim of the census were the levying of a poll tax, that would seem to indicate the location of *3 Maccabees* within the Roman period (the Roman *laographia*). If on the contrary the purpose of the census were deeply religious and had to do with the persecution of the Jews who rejected the divinity of Dionysus, that would tend to strengthen the impression that *3 Maccabees* belonged to the Ptolemaic period. Since it is by no means impossible to infer from *3 Maccabees* 2:27–30 that Ptolemy's motivation was in fact religious rather than fiscal, the passage can scarcely be taken as firm evidence for a date in the Roman period.

The literary connections of *3 Maccabees* are rather more promising for dating. The author is familiar (6:6) with the Greek addition to Daniel usually dated 165 B.C.E., and so his work can hardly be earlier than the latter part of the 2d century B.C.E. Also he shares with the *Letter of Aristeas*, normally assigned to ca. 100 B.C.E., a mode of salutation that was in popular use around that time (earlier and later papyri reveal different formulas), namely, *chairein kai errosthai*, "greetings and good health." In light of the striking correspondences of language and vocabulary between *3 Maccabees* and the *Letter of Aristeas* as well as 2 Maccabees, generally set not earlier than the last quarter of the 2d century B.C.E., a plausible conjecture for the date of *3 Maccabees* would be the latter part of that century or the early part of the 1st century B.C.E.

If, however, we assume that the *laographia* (3 Macc. 2:28) does relate to Roman census procedures, and specifically to the poll tax imposed on Jews by Augustus in 24–23 B.C.E., then *3 Maccabees* would have

been written not too long afterward. Accordingly, on the ground that similarities are discernible between the Ptolemaic situation described in *3 Maccabees* and the circumstances of the Jews during the reign of Caligula (see above) in 38–41 C.E., when the Jerusalem temple was threatened and Alexandrian Jewry were suffering persecution, it is sometimes held that *3 Maccabees* belongs within that short period. But, as noted earlier, *3 Maccabees* is hardly a crisis document, and whether a writer of such fertile imagination and romantic tendency as *3 Maccabees* must have found the springboard to his Alexandrian–Ptolemaic novelette in so precise a moment of Roman imperial history remains open to question.

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HUGH ANDERSON

## *FOURTH MACCABEES*

The document we know as *Fourth Maccabees* is not in any sense, unlike 1 Maccabees and to a lesser extent the more legendary 2 Maccabees, a historical or even quasi-historical record of the heroes, events, and circumstances of the Maccabean period. The name "Maccabees" is appropriate for *4 Maccabees* only insofar as its central theme is worked out at length in relation to the martyrdoms of the aged Jewish sage Eleazar and the mother and her seven sons. These martyrdoms belonged presumably to the early days of the Maccabean revolt, and stories about them were extensively developed in Jewish tradition (compare, e.g., *4 Maccabees* with 2 Maccabees). The author's own highly dramatic account of the last hours of each of the martyrs serves to confirm his thesis (in 1:1 he describes his essay as a "philosophical exposition") that "reason is absolute master of the passions" (1:7). Of the several titles given to *4 Maccabees* in the early centuries probably the most suitable is that of Eusebius and Jerome, "On the Supremacy of Reason."

Although a Syriac version of *4 Maccabees* appeared quite early, the text has come down to us principally in the great uncial manuscripts of the LXX, Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, and the later (possibly 9th century) Codex Venetus, which however lacks 5:11–12:1. The author of *4 Maccabees* undoubtedly wrote in Greek. He is sufficiently at home in the language to invent new and rather strange-sounding Greek words, like *allophyleō* "adopt the pagan way of life" or *misarētos* "enemy of virtue." His literary style clearly reveals the influence of the craft of the Greek rhetoricians. He is well versed in various aspects of Greek philosophy, or at least in Greek philosophical commonplaces. His chief aim is to show that the highest Greek virtues are subsumed under loyalty and devotion to the Law of Moses. The medium he employs is a somewhat repetitive series of theatrical descriptions of the horrendous tortures inflicted by their Syrian oppressors on Eleazar, the seven sons, and finally their mother, all of whom go down to the death clinging resolutely to their ancestral faith. In the speeches he places on the lips of his heroes in their very last moments, the author really expresses his own conviction that "devout reason" or "pious reason" alone enables men and women to control or suppress their natural feelings and desires. The phrase "pious or devout reason" (*eusebēs logismos*) occurs frequently in *4 Maccabees* (1:9, 13, 19, 30; 2:6, 24; 6:31; 7:16; 13:1; 16:1; 18:2) and is by no means easy to translate. It represents an odd admixture of Greek and Jewish elements, in which the faculty of human reason, so greatly valued in the Greco-Roman world, is identified with unflinching obedience to the Torah: "To the intellect God gave the Law, and if a man lives his life by the Law he shall reign over a kingdom that is temperate and just and good and brave" (2:23).

The date and place of origin of *4 Maccabees* are very difficult to determine. It is not necessary to posit a time of extreme crisis and threat for the Jews such as the reign of Caligula (37–41 C.E.) or the brief interval between the end of the Jewish War under the Trajan and the Hadrianic persecutions (117–18 C.E.). Whereas the major part of the work deals with the brave endurance unto death of the famous

Maccabean martyrs, it is in fact a philosophical discourse on how and why such amazing courage was possible, and as such it could have been written almost any time in the last century B.C.E. until the reign of Hadrian in the early 2d century C.E. The likeliest hypothesis arises from a suggestion of E. Bickermann (1976): against the evidence of 2 Macc 3:5 our author describes Apollonius as governor of "Syria, Phoenicia, and Cilicia." Most probably he was alluding to Roman administrative practice in his own time. There are one or two indications (e.g., Gal 1:21) that Syria-Cilicia did once constitute one province, and we find in the *Annals* of the Roman historian Tacitus two passages that point to 19–54 C.E. as the era in which that usage was in effect for Roman provincial administration. We may think of *4 Maccabees* as roughly contemporaneous with the mission and letters of the Apostle Paul.

Numerous echoes of the thought and exegetical methods of Philo have led commentators to locate *4 Maccabees*'s composition in Alexandria. But the grandiose so-called "Asianic" literary style which is a feature of *4 Maccabees* flourished also in Asia Minor and the coastlands of the northeastern Mediterranean, and Antioch in Syria is a feasible alternative to Alexandria. Nevertheless it is very doubtful whether *4 Maccabees* was composed as a speech of commemoration to be delivered at the tomb of the Maccabean martyrs. Certain direct references have been taken to support the view that it was, e.g., (1) the epitaph on their tomb set out in 17:8–10; (2) 1:10, "I might indeed eulogize for their virtues those men who at this season of the year died together with their mother for goodness' sake"; (3) 3:19, "But the season now summons us to expound the theme of the temperate reason"; and (4) 18:20, "Ah! bitter was the day and yet not bitter." But rhetorical devices of this sort were often enough used in purely literary compositions to provide for the readers a sense of urgency, immediacy, and direct participation. In any case, in view of Jewish susceptibilities about anything like a cult of the dead, an annual festival commemoration of the Maccabean martyrs at the scene of their death is very questionable indeed.

Recent scholarship has made it plain that it is inappropriate to draw too rigid a dividing line between the Judaism of the Diaspora and that of Palestine, because the latter throughout the last three centuries B.C.E. was also subject to the infiltration of Greek ideas and practices. Nevertheless, *4 Maccabees* is patently a product of the Diaspora. The author is acquainted with neo-Platonic, neo-Pythagorean, Stoic, and Philonic philosophical principles. Especially does he share with Philo and the writer of the Wisdom of Solomon a firm belief in the Greek doctrine of the immortality of the soul (9:22; 14:5–6; 16:13; 17:12; 18:23). In fact, he purposely omits from his primary source, 2 Maccabees, those passages which attest the resurrection of the body (7:9, 11, 14, 22–23). Despite his orientation to Greek philosophy, he remains in every respect absolutely faithful to the Law of Moses. The first of the martyrs, Eleazar, speaks for the author when, under the taunts of Antiochus that the refusal to eat swine's flesh is an altogether silly scruple, he responds, "I am not so sorry for my old age as to become responsible for breaking the Law of my fathers. I will not play you false, O Law my teacher. I will not forswear you, beloved self-control" (5:32–34). What is at stake, in short, is the Law's integrity in the eyes of the world.

Eleazar is also the first spokesman for another very important aspect of the thought of *4 Maccabees*—"Be merciful to your people and let our punishment be a satisfaction on their behalf. Make my blood their purification and take my life as a ransom for theirs." Later on, in his own narration, the author writes, "The tyrant was punished and our land purified, since they became, as it were, a ransom for the sin of our nation. Through the blood of these righteous ones and through the propitiation of their death the divine providence rescued Israel, which had been shamefully treated" (17:21–23). Words like "satisfaction," "blood," "purification," "ransom," and "propitiation" clearly recapitulate longstanding OT traditions, e.g., the levitical regulations for the Day of Atonement (Lev 16; 17:11; etc.) and the very different portrayal in Deutero-Isaiah (e.g., Isa 53:5, 10, 11) of the servant of Yahweh who, whether a single individual or a group, would by suffering and sacrifice redeem God's people Israel. The notion of vicarious sacrifice and the saving efficacy of the death of the martyred righteous, however, naturally became specially prominent in the period after the Maccabean wars. Central and decisive for early Christianity of course was the message of the atoning or redeeming death of Jesus (see, e.g., Mark 10:45; Matt 20:28; Heb 9:12; Rom 5; 1 Tim 2:6). But there is no need to posit a direct literary dependence on any NT document for a work such

as *4 Maccabees* or to suppose, as did A. Deissmann (1900), that Paul knew *4 Maccabees* as a contemporary bestseller.

There is no doubt at all that *4 Maccabees* did wield a direct influence on the development of Christian martyrology. A number of the great figures of the early church (e.g., Gregory Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustine) revered *4 Maccabees* as if it were a Christian text and "adopted" the Maccabean heroes as Christian protomartyrs. In later Jewish tradition, where the martyrs were a prototypical *kiddush hashem*, the stories told in *4 Maccabees* circulated in various forms, sometimes drawing on the account of Hannah in 1 Samuel 1–2 (see also 2:5). In a fateful moment of history when Luther nailed his theses to the door of the church at Wittenberg (1517), Erasmus made a Latin paraphrase of *4 Maccabees.*

The work stands as a unique memorial to an unknown loyalist Jew of the Diaspora, who was open to Greek philosophy and learning without for a moment compromising his Jewish faith, as well as to all who through the centuries have suffered and died for their religious convictions. See also *OTP* 2: 531–64; *EncJud* 11: 661–62.

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**MACCABEUS** [Gk *Makkabaios* (Μακκαβαιος)]. The nickname given to JUDAS, the third son of Mattathias the first leader (ca. 166–160 B.C.E.) of the Jewish forces in the war of independence from the Seleucids (1 Macc 2:4; cf. 2 Macc 5:27 and Joseph. *Ant.* 12.266). In the course of time Judas' nickname (in the plural "Maccabees") was extended to include all of the heroes of this period, as well as other descendants of Judas' family, who were also called the Hasmoneans (see HASMONEAN DYNASTY). It was also applied to various books, three of which are set in the period of the revolt against the Seleucids (1–2 Maccabees, *4 Maccabees*), and one of which only very loosely relates to the heroic aspects of belief in God (*3 Maccabees*). The name never appears in rabbinic literature, and in fact it was the Christian church that preserved these books and cherished the memory of those heroes and martyrs.

The use of nicknames for Judas and other members of the family of Mattathias was perhaps necessitated because their given names (John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, Jonathan) were so widely used, particularly among priestly families. The derivation of the nickname Maccabeus (as well as the nicknames of his brothers) is unclear, and the difficulties in explaining them are almost insurmountable. Nevertheless, many suggestions have been made. One fundamental thing that is not clear, however, is whether these nicknames were given at birth or in childhood, or later in adulthood as a consequence of certain great deeds.

In Jewish tradition the name occurs in Josippon (16:56 [Flusser ed.]), where it is written *mkby.* This spelling persisted in Jewish books, and was even deciphered (by way of notakiron) as *mî kāmōkâ bā›ēlīm YHWH* ("Who is like thee among the gods, O Lord?"; cf. Exod 15:11). It has thus been suggested that the name derives from *kābâ,* meaning "to extinguish or quench." In that case the name might underscore Judas as one who sought to eliminate Greek influence on Jewish life.

But the spelling *mkby* is not authentic, and *mqby* is preferred. This leads to the most popular explanation, that "Maccabeus" derives from the word "hammer" (Heb *mqbt*). This is very often compared to "Martel" (Lat for "hammer"), the nickname of Carl, conqueror of the Saracens in 732 C.E. In this case the name would signify the military victories of Judas, who hit his enemies like a hammer hitting a nail

(see *HJP²*, 30). However, if the name was given to Judas prior to the revolt against the Seleucids, and if indeed it was related to *mqbt*, "hammer," it could attest to some idiosyncratic physical anomaly, such as a head or skull that resembled a hammer (*ISBE* 3: 196). But whatever the correct derivation of "Maccabeus," Judas' exploits have always remained more important than his nickname.

URIEL RAPPAPORT
PAUL L. REDDITT

**MACEDONIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Makedonia* (Μακεδονια)]. MACEDONIANS. The land of the Makedones, a territory in the Balkan Peninsula, bordered on the W by Illyria, on the E by Thrace, and on the S by Thessaly. Its mountainous terrain is cut by the rivers Axios (modern Vardar) and Strymon (modern Struma), which flow into the Aegean from the N. It is covered today by northern Greece, southern Yugoslavia, and the southwestern corner of Bulgaria. The population was ethnically and linguistically mixed: the Macedonian language contained Thraco-Phrygian, Illyrian, and Greek elements.

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A. The Macedonian Kingdom
B. Wars with Rome
C. The Province of Macedonia
D. The Churches of Macedonia
1. Their Foundation
2. Their Progress
3. Their Involvement in Paul's Further Ministry
4. In the Postapostolic Age

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**A. The Macedonian Kingdom**

From ca. 1000 B.C. Macedonia was ruled by a monarchy and subordinate local princes. In the 7th century B.C. the Argead dynasty, with its capital at Aegae, was established by Perdiccas I and remained in power for three centuries, until the time of Alexander the Great.

During the Persian invasions of Europe from 514 to 479 B.C. the Macedonian kings collaborated with the invaders and so preserved their relative independence (Hdt. 5.17–18). Even so, Alexander I of Macedonia gave covert aid to the Greek city-states attacked by Xerxes in 480 B.C. (Hdt. 5.173; 9.45). Alexander extended his territory E to the Strymon, while on the W he annexed some areas on his Illyrian border. It was probably he who organized the citizen corps of foot guards (*pezetairoi*) who formed the backbone of the national army.

Alexander and his successors patronized Greek art and letters. The Macedonian royal house had already begun to be hellenized: at the beginning of the 5th century B.C. Alexander, while still crown prince, was allowed to compete in the foot race at the Olympian games (which were open to Greeks only), because he established his claim to be of Argive stock (Hdt. 5.22; 8.137). By the 4th century B.C. Macedonia was for most practical purposes part of the Greek world.

Philip II of Macedonia (359–336 B.C.) combined diplomatic with military skill. He enlarged his kingdom to the W and E at the expense of Illyria and Thrace; he subdued the independent Greek cities on the Aegean coast of Macedonia; he annexed Thessaly (353 B.C.) and intervened in central Greece, and at last, by defeating the forces of Athens and Thebes at Chaeronea in Boeotia in 338 B.C., he made himself master of the whole Greek mainland. Having thus united Macedonia and the Greek city-states, he planned to make war on Persia but was assassinated before he could begin to take action. His son and successor, Alexander III (the Great), made his united Greco-Macedonian inheritance the base for his conquest of W Asia and Egypt. It is with Alexander's penetration into Asia that the Macedonians make their first appearance in the biblical record.

Alexander figures repeatedly, although not by name, in the visions of the book of Daniel. His empire is the worldwide "kingdom of bronze" in Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Dan 2:39) and is represented probably by the leopard in Daniel's vision of judgment (Dan 7:6). He himself is the he-goat from the west in Dan

8:5–8 (or, more precisely, the "conspicuous horn" between the he-goat's eyes) and the "mighty king" of Dan 11:3. He is mentioned by name in the condensed summary of his career in 1 Macc 1:1–7; in the same book an incidental reference is made to a great treasure that he deposited in a temple of Elymais (1 Macc 6:2). In the Greek Esther (16:10) Haman is called a "Macedonian" (Heb *Agagite*).

With the division of Alexander's empire after his death (323 B.C.) Macedonia became a separate kingdom once more (under Cassander, one of Alexander's generals, and his successors); the city-states of Greece remained subject to it.

**B. Wars with Rome**

Macedonia clashed with the Romans when Philip V (221–179 B.C.) made a treaty with their enemy Hannibal during the Second Punic War (Polyb. 7.9). The First Macedonian War, as it is called by Roman historians, was inconclusive (214–207 B.C.). But when the Romans' hands were freed by their defeat of Hannibal (202 B.C.), they created an early opportunity of renewing war against Philip. The Second Macedonian War (200–197 B.C.) ended with Philip's defeat at Cynoscephalae (Polyb. 18.22–28). Philip's rule was thenceforth confined to Macedonia. Flamininus, the Roman commander, proclaimed the liberation of the city-states of Greece, over which Rome now established a protectorate (Plut. *Flam.* 10).

A generation later Philip's son and successor Perseus excited Rome's suspicions by his conduct; these suspicions were fomented by Eumenes II of Pergamum, Rome's ally. The Third Macedonian War (171–168 B.C.), which broke out in consequence, ended with Rome's victory at Pydna (Polyb. 31.29). The royal dynasty of Macedonia was abolished; the kingdom was divided into four republics (Livy 45.29.5–9). But in 149 B.C. one Andriscus, who claimed to be a son of Perseus, reunited Macedonia under his rule for a short time (Diod. Sic. 32.9b, 15). He was put down the following year, and the Romans annexed Macedonia as a province (Flor. *Epit.* 1.32.3).

The four republics lost their political significance but continued to be recognized as geographical divisions, numbered one to four: thus, according to the most probable reading of Acts 16:12, Philippi is called "a city of the first division (Gk *meris*) of Macedonia" (Haenchen 1971: 494; Conzelmann *Acts of the Apostles* Hermeneia, 130). Philippi was in no sense "the leading city of the district of Macedonia" (RSV); Thessalonica was the chief city and seat of government of the province of Macedonia, and Amphipolis was the chief city of the first district, to which Philippi belonged.

**C. The Province of Macedonia**

To strengthen their control of Macedonia, the Romans built a great military road, the Egnatian Way, across it from the Adriatic Sea to the Aegean.

The province of Macedonia became a base for the extension of Roman power into W Asia, on whose peoples the Roman overthrow of the Macedonian kingdom had made a deep impression (1 Macc 8:5). Some of the crucial battles of Roman history in the 1st century B.C. were fought on Macedonian soil. The brief engagement between Pompey and Julius Caesar at Dyrrhachium (at the western terminus of the Egnatian Way) early in 48 B.C. was followed by Caesar's victory over Pompey at Pharsalus later in the same year. (Pharsalus was in Thessaly, but Thessaly formed part of the province of Macedonia.) Six years later Antony and Octavian (the future Emperor Augustus) defeated Brutus and Cassius (Caesar's assassins) at the battle of Philippi (October 21, 42 B.C.).

Octavian (now Emperor Augustus) made Macedonia a senatorial province in 27 B.C. In A.D. 15 Macedonia and the senatorial province of Achaia to the south were combined by Tiberius, at their own request, with the imperial province of Moesia (north of Macedonia) to form one large imperial province (Tac. *Ann.* 1.76.4; 1.80.1). In A.D. 44, under Claudius, this united province was divided back into its component parts, and Macedonia became once more a senatorial province, governed by a proconsul (Dio Cass. 60.24; cf. Papazoglu *ANRW* 2/7/1: 302–69). But, by contrast with what happened in Cyprus (Acts 13:7, 12) and Achaia (Acts 18:12–17), no apostolic encounter is recorded with the proconsul of Macedonia.

**D. The Churches of Macedonia**

**1. Their Foundation.** Three of the NT epistles are addressed to Macedonian churches—two to the Thessalonians and one to the Philippians. In other parts of Paul's correspondence there are references to

the churches of Macedonia (2 Cor 8:1–5; 11:9; Rom 15:26), in which the generosity of those churches is warmly commended.

Macedonia was evangelized quite early in the apostolic age: Paul, with some of his companions, first brought the gospel there. It has been inferred from Phil 4:15 ("in the beginning of the gospel, when I left Macedonia") that Paul evangelized Macedonia at a rather early stage in his apostolic career—in the early forties, according to M. J. Suggs (1960). But when Paul, writing to the Philippian Christians, says "in the beginning of the gospel," his meaning may be not "when I first preached the gospel" but "when you first heard the gospel."

The narrative of Acts suggests a date around A.D. 50 for the bringing of the gospel to Macedonia. Paul and two fellow travelers (Silas/Silvanus and Timothy) were on their westward way through Asia Minor in the direction of Ephesus when they were diverted by a divine monition and found themselves on the Aegean coast at Alexandria Troas in the northwestern part of the peninsula. There Paul dreamed that "a man of Macedonia" begged him to cross the sea to Macedonia and help the people there. "Immediately," says the narrator (who apparently joined the party at this point), "we sought to go on into Macedonia" (Acts 16:8–10). They therefore took ship for Neapolis (modern Kavalla), the eastern terminus of the Egnatian Way, and went inland to Philippi. A small group of disciples was formed there, but trouble broke out with the citizens and magistrates, and Paul, Silas, and Timothy had to take their departure. They went farther west along the Egnatian Way to Thessalonica, stopping briefly at Amphipolis and Apollonia. At Thessalonica they spent several weeks and planted a church, but when their presence provoked a riot and compromised them in the eyes of the city authorities, they had to leave hastily and stealthily. Paul had probably planned to push on farther west along the Egnatian Way, but had to turn off the main road and make for Beroea in Thessaly, 40 miles W-SW from Thessalonica. His opponents from Thessalonica followed him there and stirred up fresh trouble, which forced his Beroean friends to smuggle him out of the city and escort him to Athens, out of harm's way.

Paul was greatly disheartened by his first visit to Macedonia. He believed he had gone there under divine guidance, but had been virtually thrown out of one Macedonian city after another after being exposed to abuse and menace. His converts in those cities were bound to suffer because of their association with such subversive characters as he and his companions were made out to be. No wonder that when, shortly afterward, he arrived in Corinth it was, as he said, "in weakness and in much fear and trembling" (1 Cor 2:3). But the situation in Macedonia proved to be much more encouraging than he could have dared to hope: the newly planted churches in Philippi and Thessalonica gave him great cause for joy.

**2. Their Progress.** The churches of Macedonia, small as they were and powerless in worldly terms, showed that they were able to survive and grow in spite of their founder's abrupt departure. They not only maintained their faith against the pressure of opponents and well-meaning friends, but increased in strength by the boldness and persuasiveness of their witness. Even if an element of rhetorical hyperbole can be detected in the statement that, only a few weeks after the missionaries bade farewell to their Thessalonian converts, not only had the word of the Lord sounded forth from them in Macedonia and Achaia, but their faith was a matter of common report everywhere (1 Thess 1:8), it was a real state of affairs that was amplified thus.

In this activity the Christian women of Macedonia played an equal part with the men. The sources refer to the gospel ministry of Lydia, Euodia, and Syntyche (Acts 15:14–15; Phil 4:2–3), to the "leading women" who became foundation members of the church of Thessalonica, "not a few," says Luke (Acts 17:4), and to the "Greek women of high standing" who became believers at Beroea (Acts 17:12).

This prominence of women was in line with traditional Macedonian custom. The women of Macedonia enjoyed a degree of independence unknown in Greece proper. In the ruling circles women "played a large part in affairs, received envoys and obtained concessions for them from their husbands, built temples, founded cities, engaged mercenaries, commanded armies, held fortresses, and acted on occasion as regents or even co-rulers" (Tarn and Griffith 1961: 98–99; cf. Thomas 1972). The precedent they set was followed by freeborn women in lower social ranks.

**3. Their Involvement in Paul's Further Ministry.** Paul's converts in Macedonia were marked by quite outstanding generosity. They showed this in some degree by their personal gifts to him. The church of Philippi sent him a gift shortly after he left Philippi for Thessalonica, and did the same on later occasions (Phil 4:16). His needs in Corinth were supplied in part "by the brethren who came from Macedonia" (2 Cor 11:9). But in general Paul did not encourage his converts to make personal gifts to himself; he did encourage them to contribute to a cause which lay very close to his heart.

Paul did not visit Macedonia again for some five years after he left the newly planted churches there. After leaving them he spent eighteen months in Corinth, and from there he crossed the Aegean and embarked on his three-year Ephesian ministry. During his time in Ephesus he began to organize his relief fund for the Jerusalem church among his converts both west and east of the Aegean. He urged them to contribute as generously as possible to this good cause. When he sent two of his associates, Timothy and Erastus, from Ephesus to Macedonia (Acts 19:22), one of their commissions was no doubt to acquaint the Macedonian churches with his plans for this relief fund.

The Macedonian churches responded wholeheartedly to Paul's appeal. He later used their response as an incentive to the church of Corinth; he affirms, indeed, that they overstretched their resources, "for in a severe test of affliction, their abundance of joy and their extreme poverty have overflowed in a wealth of liberality on their part. For they gave according to their means, as I can testify, and beyond their means, of their own free will, begging us earnestly for the favor of taking part in the relief of the saints," i.e., the Jerusalem Christians (2 Cor 8:1–4).

At the end of his stay in Ephesus Paul visited the Macedonian churches (1 Cor 16:5; 2 Cor 1:16; 2:13; 7:5; Acts 20:1–3); it was from Philippi that he set out on his last journey to Jerusalem, accompanied by representatives of churches that contributed to the relief fund. Among these Sopater of Beroea and Aristarchus and Secundus of Thessalonica are named (Acts 20:4). But between his arrival in Macedonia and his departure for Judea he probably spent more time in the former province than appears on the surface: it was almost certainly at this stage that he extended his area of apostolic service "as far round as Illyricum" (Rom 15:19). To reach Illyricum he presumably journeyed to the western terminus of the Egnatian Way and went north from there by the coastal road or by sea.

When the relief fund had been completed and the proceeds taken to Jerusalem, the Philippian Christians felt that they could once again express their concern for Paul by contributing to his personal needs. When his visit to Jerusalem ended in disaster and he was sent to Rome in pursuance of his appeal to Caesar, they sent him a gift, which he acknowledges in Phil 4:10–19. His acknowledgment shows both his deep gratitude for their loving care and the embarrassment which his independent spirit felt in accepting money from even such dear friends as these.

**4. In the Postapostolic Age.** The Macedonian churches do not play a prominent part in the surviving records of the period immediately succeeding the apostolic age, but what evidence there is bears witness to their fidelity to the apostolic teaching and example. Those of them which were situated on the Egnatian Way had repeated opportunities to provide hospitality and help of other kinds to fellow Christians traveling east and west.

A good example of such an opportunity is seen in the experience of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, who was taken from Syria to Rome under armed guard about A.D. 115 to be exposed to wild beasts in the amphitheater. He and his guards traveled by road through Asia Minor to Troas, where they took ship for Neapolis and then followed the Egnatian Way to the Adriatic. They came first to Philippi, as Paul and his companions had done sixty-five years before.

We have no details about Ignatius' stopover in Philippi, but the Philippian Christians evidently did what they could for him and showed their interest in him after his departure by writing to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, to ask him for copies of any of Ignatius' letters that might be available to him. Polycarp's reply has survived. He expresses his joy that they "have followed the example of true love and have helped on their way, as opportunity offered, those who were bound in chains" (Ignatius is primarily in his mind). Then he adds, "I rejoice that your firmly rooted faith, renowned since early days, endures to the present

time and produces fruit for our Lord Jesus Christ" (Polyc. *Ep.* 1.1, 2). Paul could have desired no better fruit from the tree which he and his associates planted.

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F. F. BRUCE

**MACHAERUS** (M.R. 209108). A site in Jordan that was fortified by several rulers and which is thought to have been the site of the beheading of John the Baptist.

**A. Topography**

The fortress of Machaerus is situated in Jordan between the Wadi Zerqa Maʿin to the N and the Arnon to the S, at a place where the high Moabite plateau begins to descend toward the depression of the Dead Sea. The rocky prominence with steep sides rises to an elevation of 700 m above sea level and is protected by deep ravines except on the SE and NW sides, where the mountain stretches out to form two saddles. Beyond the ravines, the terrain rises on three sides, with the exception of the W flank, to an average altitude of 720 m. There are no springs in the vicinity, and the vegetation is scarce or totally absent.

**B. Identification**

The mountain upon which the fortress was constructed is today known as Mishnaqa, from the Arabic verb *shanaqa,* which means "to hang." The ancient name, Machairous (Gk *Maxairous*), probably derives from *machaira* ("dagger" or "sword"), pronounced Makaveros by the Byzantines, and which is preserved in the small Arab village of Mekawer, a mile to the E of Mishnaqa. The identification of Mishnaqa with the ancient Machaerus, proposed by the German explorer U. Setzen in 1807, is accepted by everyone and has been confirmed by excavations.

**C. Historical References**

Pliny the Elder did not hesitate to classify Machaerus as "the most important Jewish stone fortress immediately after Jerusalem" (*HN* 5.15.72). According to Josephus, two successive fortresses were built at Machaerus. The first was constructed by Alexander Janneus (*JW* 7.171), probably about 90 B.C., and was destroyed by Gabinius in 57 B.C. The second was built by Herod the Great (*JW* 7.172) probably in 30 B.C. and surrendered to Lucinius Basso in A.D. 72 (*JW* 7.209). After the death of Herod the Great, Machaerus, in the S confines of Perea, was assigned to the tetrarch Herod Antipas (4 B.C.–A.D. 39), who imprisoned and killed John the Baptist there (Joseph. *Ant.* 18.116). At the death of Herod Agrippa (A.D. 44), the fortress passed into the direct control of the Romans and remained thus until 66, the outbreak of the first Jewish war. The rebels besieged by Lucinius Basso in 72 surrendered, delivering the stronghold to the Romans. Josephus, after an ample description of the strategic position of the mountain (*JW* 7.163–70), then described the Herodian fortress (*JW* 7.172–76).

**D. Archaeological Investigation**

Machaerus was extensively excavated in the years 1978–81 under the direction of P. Virgilio Corbo. E. J. Vardaman had made several soundings in 1968, while A. Strobel in 1974 published a study on the military camps and the encircling wall that the Romans had built for the siege of the fortress.

**E. Results of Excavations**

The four seasons of excavation from 1978 to 1981 have provided an almost complete plan of the Hasmonean-Herodian fortifications and a plan of the lower city.

The archaeological remains do not go beyond the chronological limits (90 B.C.–A.D. 72) suggested by the literary sources: the mountain was not occupied before the Hasmoneans and was no longer occupied after A.D. 72. The Hasmonean fortress was burned by Gabinius, but was not razed. Conversely, the royal Herodian fortress was systematically dismantled by the Romans who, in addition, threw down the hill a

good part of the materials used for construction. A different fate was reserved for the lower city, which was subjected to Roman assault and burned.

Access to the royal fortress was across a viaduct whose foundation is preserved for 150 m along the SE saddle. The viaduct ended in the middle of the mountain near the No. 6 tower and also served as an aqueduct to carry rainwater to a series of huge cisterns hewn into the rock on the NE side of the mount. Between tower No. 6 halfway up the mount, and tower No. 1, at the summit, was the ascent path, protected to the S by defensive wall C and circumscribed to the N by the dwellings of the lower city.

The royal fortress covers an area of about 4,000 $m^2$ and is subdivided by a central corridor into two blocks. The E block consists of a paved central court bordered on the S by the thermal spring and on the N by a series of storerooms. The W block is constituted of a majestic peristyle, to the S of which rises the triclinium.

Of particular interest to the biblical scholar is the triclinium, which covers an area of 237.50 $m^2$ (25 by 9.50) and is formed by two adjacent but independent rooms, one for men and the other for women. The report of Josephus (*Ant.* 18.116–19) that John the Baptist was killed at Machaerus seems very reliable and is not easily explained as a Christian interpolation (cf. Mark 6:21–29).

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STANISLAO LOFFREDA

**MACHBANNAI** (PERSON) [Heb *makbannay* (מַכְבַּנַּי)]. One of the warriors from the tribe of Gad who joined David at his wilderness stronghold (1 Chr 12:14—Eng12:13). The Gadites were from a Transjordan tribe to the N; by including them among those supporting David during the period of his fleeing from Saul, the Chronicler is demonstrating the extent of the support David enjoyed before he became king. Machbannai became one of David's commanders.

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RAYMOND B. DILLARD

**MACHBENAH** (PLACE) [Heb *makbēnâ* (מַכְבֵּנָה)]. A name which appears in a genealogical list of Judah (1 Chr 2:49). Machbenah is generally taken to be a place name, and several identifications of its referent have been offered by scholars. According to Aharoni (*LBHG*, 227), Machbenah was a settlement of the sons of Caleb in the Judean hills south of Beth-Zur and Hebron. Some suggest that Machbenah should be linked with Cabbon (Josh 15:40) because of their apparent common root *kbn* (see, for example, *BDB*, 460). Others identify Machbenah with Meconah (Neh 11:28; see *IDB*, 3: 218). Simons (*GTTOT*, 155, 389) associated Machbenah, Meconah, and Madmannah (Josh 15:31).

DAVID SALTER WILLIAMS

**MACHI** (PERSON) [Heb *mākî* (מָכִי)]. A man from the tribe of Gad, known only through association with his son Geuel (Num 13:15). Geuel was one of the twelve tribal representatives who left Kadesh to spy out the land of Canaan.

TERRY L. BRENSINGER

**MACHIR** (PERSON) [Heb *mākîr* (מָכִיר)]. 1. The eldest of Manasseh's sons, whose name came to designate a large segment of the patriarch's tribe. Since his name derives from the Hebrew root *mkr*, it has been proposed that his name meant "bought," perhaps marking him as an orphan or waif (Hicks *IDB* 3: 218; *IPN*, 232).

According to Gen 50:23, Machir and his sons were born while his grandfather Joseph was still alive. Moreover, the text reports that Joseph adopted Machir's sons as his own (Richter 1979). Since Judg 5:14, however, mentions Machir as one of the tribes of Israel, alongside Benjamin and Ephraim, some scholars have concluded that Machir was not Manasseh's son and that Gen 50:23b must be regarded as an etiological addition, probably based on Gen 48:13–20 (Westermann 1986: 208). Genealogical material in Num 26:29; 27:1; and 36:1, however, reflects the same tradition of Machir's ancestry that is found in Genesis: Machir was the son of Manasseh but the father of Gilead. While the first text is a military census that includes Machir in the Manassite section (26:29–34), the second (27:1–11) and third (36:1–12), also genealogical texts, are concerned primarily with the matter of Zelophehad's daughters and whether they should receive an allotment of land.

Machir is also mentioned in texts that treat Israel's settlement in Palestine (Num 32:39–40; Deut 3:15; and Josh 13:31; 17:1, 3). The verses in Numbers report that the descendants of Machir captured the land of Gilead and that Moses assigned the territory to them. Since the report is so general and is phrased in such a stereotypical fashion, it has often been regarded as a later insertion and without basis in any of the narrator's sources (Noth *Numbers* OTL, 240). Deuteronomy 3:15 makes similar claims for Machir; consequently, a number of scholars (e.g., Mayes *Deuteronomy* NCBC, 146) have concluded that it too is secondary, probably based on Numbers 32 and intended to correct Deut 3:12–13, which it contradicts. Joshua 13:31 assigns half of Gilead and part of Bashan to Machir, a report that is echoed in Josh 17:1–3. The latter passage, though, proceeds to explain that in addition to the territory given to Gilead, ten shares of land were allotted to other Manassite families—five to the clans of Hepher's brothers and five to the daughters of Zelophehad, son of Hepher (vv 1–6). The six families, called "sons of Manasseh," that are named are Abiezer, Helek, Asriel, Shechem, Hepher, and Shemida. It seems likely, therefore, that the writer believed that Manasseh had seven sons, the first of whom was Machir and the seventh Shemida.

Finally, two texts in 1 Chronicles mention Machir. In the first, it is noted that the daughter of Machir married Hezron of Judah and bore him a son, Segub (2:21–23). In the second passage, the Manassite genealogy of 1 Chr 7:14–19, there are a number of inconsistencies and confusing statements (Rudolf *Chronikbücher* HAT, 69–71; Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 110–11). The designation of Machir as son of Manasseh and father of Gilead is repeated, however, and additional bits of information are supplied: Machir's mother was Manasseh's Aramean concubine, and Machir's wife, Maacah, bore him Peresh (and possibly Sheresh).

2. The son of Ammiel, who lived at Lo-debar (2 Sam 9:4–5; 17:27). Machir may well have been a Manassite or Machirite, whose family had inherited land in Gilead with others in the clan of Machir. Although the precise location of Lo-debar is uncertain, it should probably be sought near the Jabbok and not far from Mahanaim. Aharoni and Rainey have proposed Umm ed-Dabar (M.R. 207219) as the most likely site (*LBHG*, 439).

Machir showed his loyalty to Saul by giving refuge in his home at Lo-debar to his crippled grandson, Meribaal/Mephibosheth, the son of Jonathan. This occurred after Saul and Jonathan were killed by the Philistines in battle at Mount Gilboa. After David consolidated his power over Judah and Israel, he sought a way to show kindness to one of Saul's descendants for the sake of his friend Jonathan. Therefore, when he learned of Meribaal's presence at Lo-debar, he sent for him and provided him a place at court in Jerusalem (2 Sam 9:4–5).

Later, when David and his forces fled before the rebel army of Absalom, Machir joined others near Mahanaim to supply provisions for them (2 Sam 17:27). Therefore, it appears that David's kindness to the son of Jonathan won the loyalty of Machir. Langlamet (1976: 355), though, has suggested that the story in vv 27–29 is secondary and was added to prepare for the note in 2 Sam 19:32.

A number of scholars, however, have proposed other reconstructions for the history of Machir and his family. Zobel (1965: 112–15), for example, has argued that the tribe of Machir was unrelated to Manasseh and Ephraim and first dwelled near Dothan in W Palestine, where it grew to become a powerful entity alongside the surrounding Canaanite city-states. This is supported by three factors: (1) 1 Chr 7:14 claims that Machir's mother was an Aramean, which points to the tribe's non-Israelite origins; (2) Judg 5:14 suggests that Machir lay between Ephraim and Zebulun, near the battlefield on which Barak and Sisera's forces fought; and (3) Machir's entry into Palestine is mentioned in none of the biblical reports about Israel's settlement in the land. Moreover, Machir's name, which meant "sold," may be taken, along with the remark in Josh 17:1 that the family included many fighters, to indicate that the tribe sold its military services to the Canaanites, probably during the Amarna age. Pressure from Manasseh eventually forced Machir to become an unwilling dependent of Manasseh and to leave W Palestine for Transjordan. Machir's subservient status came to be reflected in the texts that traced the origin of the tribe to Manasseh, and since the descendants of Machir dwelled in Gilead, the patriarch Machir was called the father of Gilead.

Although he followed Zobel's historical reconstruction in several respects, de Vaux (*EHI*, 586–87, 651–52) diverged by arguing that initially Manasseh was a clan within Machir. It was only when the latter emigrated to Transjordan that Manasseh expanded to fill the void that was left. Later, Manasseh's name was extended to include Machir in Transjordan, and the biblical genealogies generally reflect this later state of affairs.

These reconstructions have not gone unchallenged, though. Mittmann (1970: 63–71, 213–16), for example, has far more confidence in the antiquity and historical accuracy of Num 26:29–30, which presents Machir as the son of Manasseh and father of Gilead. Furthermore, he argues that pressure from Canaanites, rather than Manassites, was more likely to have caused Machir to emigrate to Transjordan. In addition, Mittmann disputes Zobel's suggestion that Machir was a "mixed" tribe that included a strong non-Israelite element. Seebass (1982), in turn, has criticized Mittmann, arguing that Num 26:29–30 is derived from Num 36:1, 11, and so cannot be trusted as an ancient and reliable piece of tradition.

Finally, Lemaire (1981) has proposed that "Machir" was initially a geographic name that referred to a region in Transjordan on the plain that opens onto the Jabbok, near Deir ʿAlla. He denies that Judg 5:14 indicates that Machir was settled in W Palestine, since he finds no consistent pattern to the listing of the tribes in Judges 5. The population of this area was probably related to the Canaanites around Shechem and Beth-shan, and perhaps to the Arameans or Ammonites of the surrounding area as well. Therefore, there was no migration of Machir from W Palestine into Transjordan, but as 2 Sam 9:4–5 and 17:27 indicate, the tribe had lived in S Gilead long before Israelite tribes settled in the land.

Therefore, while scholars agree that, by the time of David, Machir was a tribal group in Transjordan, probably near the Jabbok, there is considerable disagreement about the tribe's ethnic composition and initial place of settlement in Palestine.

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**MACHNADEBAI** (PERSON) [Heb *maknadĕbay* (מַכְנַדְבַי)]. A descendant of Binnui and one of the returned exiles whom Ezra required to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:40; 1 Esdr 9:34). According to Noth, this name is actually a corruption of Heb *mibbĕnê,* "from the sons of" (*IPN*, 249). If that is true, the

phrase would introduce the next family from which offenders come. However, Shashai is not named as the head of a family in the lists in either Ezra 2 or Nehemiah 7. This is further indicated by the parallel text of 1 Esdr 9:34, where the phrase "of the sons of Ezora" replaces the name Machnadebai, perhaps preserving a name dropped from Ezra 10:40. Other scholars have argued that Zaccai (see Ezra 2:9) would be a better orthographic fit than Ezora (see Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 144). In 1 Esdr 9:34, the RSV also has Machnadebai, despite the LXX *Mamnitanaimos* eight names prior to Shashai, apparently in an attempt to harmonize the two lists. If we assume that Machnadebai is an individual, however, he was a member of a family who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Neh 7:15; note that Bani replaces Binnui in Ezra's list [2:10]). See also BEDEIAH.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

**MACHPELAH** (PLACE) [Heb *makpēlâ* (מַכְפֵּלָה)]. A field with a cave purchased by Abraham as the burial site for family members (Gen 23). References to the site identify it as "the cave of Machpelah" (Gen 23:9) and "the field of Machpelah" (Gen 23:17). Originally purchased for the burial of Sarah (Gen 23), other family members were buried there, including Abraham (Gen 25:9), Isaac (Gen 39:29; 49:31), Rebekah, Leah, and Jacob (Gen 49:31; 50:13). Stephen's sermon implies that Jacob was buried at Shechem "in the tomb that Abraham had bought" (Acts 7:16); however, the OT identifies Shechem as the location at which Joseph was buried (Josh 24:32). Machpelah is located in Hebron, el-Khalil, and is labeled Haram el-Khalil, the Enclosure of Abraham. The OT simply locates it "east of Mamre" (Gen 23:19; 25:9).

**A. The Purchase of Machpelah**

The purchase of the cave of Machpelah and the transactions involved on the occasion of Sarah's death are the focal points of Genesis 23. The story relates how Abraham, "a stranger and a sojourner" (v 4), one who owned no property or family burial plot, went to the local Hittite inhabitants and landowners and negotiated the purchase of the field and the cave from Ephron the Hittite (see Van Seters 1975: 98–100).

Modern research has shed new light on ancient legal practices regarding the purchase of land; however, scholars disagree on the precise legal formula or custom that provides the background for the transaction in Genesis 23. M. Lehmann (1953) has suggested that the negotiations reflect land-purchase customs of the Hittite legal system. He based his conclusions on features of the account that seemed to parallel Hittite law. Abraham's attempt to buy property from the Hittites for a burial site was met with a counter offer to use but not buy the land (Gen 23:5–6). Abraham, then more specific, announced that he wanted to purchase the cave of Machpelah at the end of the field owned by Ephron (vv 7–9). Ephron, however, was not interested in selling a part of the property, the cave alone, but would sell the field and the cave together (v 11). Abraham then offered to buy the entire field (vv 12–13). Ephron announced a specific price (vv 14–15). Abraham agreed to the offer, and payment was made (v 16). According to this view, the major parallel between Hittite law and Genesis 23 is seen in Ephron's attempt to sell the entire plot. According to Hittite custom, the landowner who leased out or sold only a part of the property continued to be responsible for the feudal obligations of the plot. Therefore, Ephron attempted to sell the entire field in order to rid himself of these legal obligations.

Proposals other than Lehmann's have been set forth. More recently Gene Tucker proposed (1966) that while Genesis 23 reflects characteristics of ANE land transactions in general, the most prominent model for the account is found in the so-called "dialogue documents" of the Neo-Babylonian era. Here attention is called to the format of the formula, some features of which appear also in Genesis 23, such as the dialogue between buyer and seller, the payment formula, a statement about the transfer, and the presence of witnesses.

Raymond Westbrook (1971) suggests that after a review of ancient legal documents concerning the sale of property, the "double-transfer" model seems most plausible. This custom existed during the last half of the 2d millennium B.C.E. The double-transfer method includes two transfers: the first, the transfer of the land between the two parties involved, the second, a type of transfer in which the king made a gift of the land to the new property owner.

In addition to Genesis 23, the OT contains the accounts of other land purchases. Jacob bought land in Shechem from the sons of Hamor in order to build an altar (Gen 33:18–20), and David bought a threshing floor from Araunah on which to build an altar (2 Sam 24:18–25; 1 Chr 21:18–27). A comparison of the accounts shows certain similarities. At least the former is comparable in the local response to the buyer—"a prince among us" (23:6) and "will not their cattle, their property, and all their beasts be ours?" (34:23)—both of which suggest economic interests being enhanced by these new neighbors (this insight courtesy of Victor Matthews).

**B. The History of Machpelah**

Interest in the patriarchal burial site, Machpelah, has a lengthy history, which began during biblical times and continued throughout the postbiblical era to the present time. This interest is illustrated in the many accounts or traditions regarding pilgrimages to the site and descriptions or investigations of the site, many of which are reviewed by V. R. Gold (*IDB* 2: 218–20). These accounts demonstrate how the site has been reverenced by Jews, Christians, and Muslims. The major features of this history began with information from the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (20:6), which names Joseph among those buried at the site. A monumental building project during the Herodian period, probably the work of Herod the Great, included the construction of a large enclosure wall around the area and the erection of monuments or cenotaphs in honor of the patriarchal figures. A basilica-type church was built at the site inside the enclosure wall during the 5th or 6th century C.E. Arculf, who visited the site in 670, wrote not only about the monuments of the patriarchal figures but also mentioned the presence of a monument built for Adam. As control of the site went through a series of changes—Muslim, Crusader, Muslim—so the church was converted into a mosque, reconverted into a church, and again back to a mosque. During June 1119, the chambers below the surface of the site were investigated by removing stones from the floor of the church, and the bones of the patriarchs were reportedly found. (Gold *IDB* 4: 218–20).

**C. Machpelah and Archaeological Research**

The study of the site by L. H. Vincent and E. J. H. Mackey in the early 1920s helped stimulate interest in its architectural features and opened the way for debate concerning Herodian building techniques in the construction of the enclosure wall. Information from excavations at other sites has helped provide a better understanding of these features. This is demonstrated in recent articles by David Jacobson (1981) and Nancy Miller (1985). Miller refers not only to the ancient traditions associated with the site, but also to the excavations of Benjamin Mazar near the temple-enclosure wall in Jerusalem as well as the investigation of the chambers below the surface at Machpelah at Moshe Dayan. The excavations led by Mazar (1971) near the temple wall have provided new information that the Herodian masonry techniques used to construct the wall are similar to those used in the construction of the enclosure wall at Machpelah (Jacobson 1981: 73; Miller 1985: 30–32). Jacobson provides additional information for this conclusion by comparing the dimensions and noting the similarities of the enclosures at Jerusalem, Hebron, and Damascus (1981: 78–80).

The subterranean chambers where the remains of the patriarchal figures were supposedly entombed have received only limited investigation in recent times. In 1917 a British officer, Colonel R. Meinertzhagen, entered a subsurface chamber by means of a hidden entrance perhaps from the Crusader period. The date of the contents of the chamber is still debatable. The most recent investigation of the chambers came shortly after the Six-Day War of 1967 under the direction of Moshe Dayan (1978; 1976; cf. Miller 1985). The exploration of the subterranean area conducted one night was not done by Dayan himself, but rather by a 12-year-old girl who was lowered by rope through the small hole, 12 in. in diameter, in the floor of the mosque. The young girl, Michal, equipped with a torch, a camera, pencil and paper, and an instrument by which to secure measurements, took notes, photographs, and made sketches of what she found below. The area explored included a room, a long corridor, and a stairway. The room directly beneath the hole through which the girl was lowered was approximately 9.25 by 9.5 ft. At approximately 4.5 ft. from the floor, the four walls of the room arched inward toward the octagonal ceiling. The only contents of the room were three tombstones along one wall; the middle one, tallest of the three, bore an Arabic inscription from the Koran about Allah. Whether the tombstones covered entrances

to other chambers has not been determined. An opening in one of the walls of the room connected the room to a corridor 57 ft. in length. The corridor, approximately 2 ft. wide and 3.5 ft. high, had walls made of ashlar stones and a ceiling of stone slabs. The corridor ended at a stairway with 16 steps leading upward. The upper end of the stairway was closed off by the stones that formed the floor of the enclosure. The room, the corridor, and the stairway were supposedly the same as some of the chambers investigated in 1119. Other than the tombstones or slabs in the square room and the inscription on the center slab, no other artifacts were found. While the account from 1119 reported the discovery of the bones of the patriarchs, no bones were found in the Dayan exploration (Miller 1985: 42–43).

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LAMOINE F. DEVRIES

**MACRON** (PERSON) [Gk *Makrōn* (Μακρων)]. Var. PTOLEMY MACRON. In 2 Macc 10:12–13 the Seleucid official who "took the lead in showing justice to the Jews … and tried to settle matters peaceably." According to this account, the failure of his policy in some way is the explanation for the appointment of Lysias as "first-ranking" governor (cf. Goldstein *II Maccabees* 387, who argues that there was a governor named Protarchus). This failure, coupled with mistrust because of his previous appointment as governor of Cyprus under Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 B.C.E.) and subsequent defection to Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.E.) when he took over that island, led to his suicide by poison. There are a number of chronological problems arising from this account.

While the appointment by Antiochus V Eupator (164–162 B.C.E.) is his first mention in 2 Maccabees (10:11), Lysias plays a major role in the events of the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (beginning with 3:32–35) in 1 Maccabees, the work usually considered to have a more reliable chronology of events. It is much more likely that 2 Macc 10:11 is actually referring to an enhancement of Lysias' role after the death of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, during whose eastern campaign he had been left in charge of the W portion of the kingdom as well as guardian for the child who would become Antiochus V Eupator.

Even though the period for the activity of Ptolemy Macron in Judea would seem in general to coincide with that of Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes (1 Macc 3:38–41; 2 Macc 4:45–46; 8:8–9), the efforts by the latter "to wipe out the whole race of Judea" is a very different response to matters concerning the Jews and precludes any identification between the two (cf. Abel 1949: 409–10). Chronological considerations based on inscriptional evidence also argue against that case (Goldstein, 388).

The inscriptional evidence, while somewhat ambiguous because of the many people who bore the name Ptolemy, points to Ptolemy Macron's presence in Cyprus until 168 B.C.E., when Antiochus IV Epiphanes took it over from Ptolemy VI Philometor (Levy 1950; Mitford 1957). Polybius mentions his prudent and cautious financial dealings as uncharacteristic of Egyptian governors (27.13). Macron was brought to Judea by Antiochus IV Epiphanes as governor. While it remains hypothetical, there seems to be merit to the argument that it was Ptolemy's policies which permitted the Jews to rededicate the temple in 164 B.C.E. If so, it was probably those same policies which made him unpopular with the king's friends.

While appealing, it is quite conjectural to hypothesize any connection between the policies of Ptolemy Macron and the letters in 2 Macc 11:16–21 and 27–38 (Bartlett 1973: 297).

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JOHN KAMPEN

**MADABA** (PLACE). See MEDEBA (PLACE).

**MADAI** (PERSON) [Heb *māday* (מָדַי)]. The Table of Nations (Gen 10:2) and the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 1:5 identify Madai as one of the seven sons of Japheth, who himself is a son of Noah. Descendants of Japheth are non-Semitic, Indo-European peoples situated mainly to the north of Israel. People called Madai appear in Akkadian texts from the time of Shalmaneser III (the mid-9th century B.C.). From these, and the texts of the people themselves, the area of occupation of the Madai or Medes is known to be Persia, or present-day Iran, immediately south of the Caspian Sea. Although their geographical origin is unknown, there they gained strength until they became a threat even to the powerful Babylonian empire (Isa 13:17; 21:2; Dan 5:28). The latter was finally brought to its end when Cyrus, king of the Persians, first conquered the Medes and then used his combined forces to defeat Babylon.

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DAVID W. BAKER

**MADA›IN SALIH.** See ḤEGRA.

**MADMANNAH** (PLACE) [Heb *madmannâ* (מַדְמַנָּה)]. A village in the Negeb plains at the S end of the administrative districts of Judah (Josh 15:21). The founding of the place is attributed to Shaaph, a son of Maacah, the concubine of Caleb, and Jahdai, another son of Caleb (1 Chr 2:42–49). Therefore, Madmannah is in the "Negeb of Caleb" where David operated as an outlaw (1 Sam 30:14). It has been located in the vicinity of Khirbet Umm ed-Demineh, a place that apparently preserves the biblical name although the age of the remains at this ruin (primarily Roman-Byzantine) and its location in the Hebron hills, rather than on the Negeb plain, make it an unlikely choice. More probable is nearby Khirbet Tatrit (M.R. 143084), at a lower elevation and where Iron Age and later remains have been found. Some scholars believe Madmannah to be the same as Beth-markeboth because of its comparable position in the town lists in Josh 19:5 and 1 Chr 2:49. A similar problem surrounds the name Sansannah. However, the parallelism in these lists may be more apparent than real and may actually reflect differing usage. The lists, consequently, may refer to different places and may not necessarily be scribal errors. The name Madmannah is easily confused with a similar-sounding place, MADMENAH, mentioned in Isa 10:31. It has been suggested that *madmannâ* means "dung place," which perhaps more euphemistically may mean a village surrounded by agriculturally enriched, or manured, land.
HAROLD BRODSKY

**MADMEN** (PLACE) [Heb *madmēn* (מַדְמֵן)]. A town mentioned in Jeremiah's oracle against Moab (Jer 48:2). While sometimes thought to be identical with Dibon, it is more probably located at Khirbet Dimneh (M.R. 217077), approximately 2.5 miles NW of Rabbah (*IDB* 3: 220), which is along the King's Highway in central Moab (*LBHG,* 56, 439). Madmen means "dung hill," and Aharoni suggests that it is typical of place names derived from agricultural features (*LBHG,* 109). In Isa 25:10, "dung hill" (*madmēn*) is used as part of a simile indicating the destruction of Moab, though any connection between Isaiah 25 and Jeremiah 48 is uncertain (Carroll *Jeremiah* OTL, 779).

The oracles against Moab in Jeremiah 48 have long been noted for their length and prolific use of place names (cf. Carroll *Jeremiah* OTL, 781). Why the Jeremiah tradition has included reference to so many place names in chapter 48, including the otherwise obscure Madmen, can only be the subject of conjecture. Carroll (p. 779) proposes a word-play in Jer 48:2 between *mdmn* and *dmn* ("be silent"); this

could suggest that the inclusion of this particular Moabite town in Jer 48:2 was in part determined by literary factors.
JOHN M. BRACKE

**MADMENAH** (PLACE) [Heb *madmēnâ* (מַדְמֵנָה)]. One of the places N of Jerusalem named by the prophet Isaiah in his vision of the Assyrian march against Jerusalem (Isa 10:31). Mentioned after Anathoth (2.5 miles NE of Jerusalem) and before Nob (1.5 miles N–NE of Jerusalem), Madmenah was close to the N limits of Jerusalem. It is sometimes identified with Shufat (M.R. 172135), about 2.5 miles N of the Old City of Jerusalem, but this is not certain. The name means "dung heap."
GARY A. HERION

**MADNESS.** See DEMONS; SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**MADON** (PLACE) [Heb *mādōn* (מָדֹן)]. An important Canaanite city-state in the north, ruled by Jobab (Josh 11:1). Joining the alliance organized by Jabin, king of Hazor, it suffered defeat at the hands of the Israelites (Josh 12:19). The LXX does not mention Madon in any of its lists. It refers to Maron instead, in Josh 11:1. Where the MT has "the waters of Merom," the LXX reads "the waters of Maron." The list of the defeated kings in Joshua 12 makes no reference to either Madon or Maron. Judges 5:19 states that the battle of Deborah was fought by the waters of Megiddo. Obviously, the traditions are much confused about the names of these places. The place name *mdn* found in a list of Tuthmosis III is not thought to be a reference to the Madon of Josh 11:1. Its usual identification with the modern Khirbet Madin, purely based on the similarity of the names, cannot be supported by any other data. Because it is not mentioned anywhere else, this important city-state is likely to be identical with Merom, a place close to the waters of Merom, which is also mentioned in both Egyptian and Assyrian sources. The Deuteronomistic History mentions Merom because it was a powerful city-state and assigns it the function of illustrating how even such a mighty city was given into the hands of obedient Israelites.
PAUL BENJAMIN

**MAGADAN** (PLACE) [Gk *Magadan* (Μαγαδαν)]. After feeding the 4,000, Jesus navigated the Sea of Galilee and entered the region of Magadan (Matt 15:39). In the Markan parallel (8:10), Dalmanutha appears in the place of Magadan. Variant readings plague both of these texts; the uncertainty of the original text probably stems from the uncertainty of the location of both sites. Codex Koridethi (9th century) has changed both passages to read "Magdala," but the late date of the manuscript evidence and lack of corroborating support renders this reading doubtful. The reading "Magadan" is found in several late Markan manuscripts, but this reading, for the same reasons, also must be rejected. The motivation for the Markan change is almost certainly harmonistic. Some scholars have suggested Megiddo in place of Magadan, but this site is more than 20 miles from the Sea of Galilee and is therefore to be rejected, especially since no land travel is mentioned in the text. See Lohmeyer (1967) for discussion of proposed conjectural emendations of the text, but none of these suggestions is very convincing.

A few scholars have suggested that Magadan is to be located on the E shore of the Sea of Galilee, while others have placed it on the W shore. Neither context in Matthew or Mark is decisive. Matthew states that Jesus left the regions of Tyre and Sidon (cf. 15:29 with 15:21), but to which side of the Sea of Galilee did he go, east or west? Mark 7:31 records that Jesus left Tyre and Sidon headed N and then traveled S and E to the Decapolis on the SE side of the lake. The crossing, therefore, was apparently E to W. Mark 8:1, however, is punctuated with, "In those days," which perhaps means that 8:1–10 does not immediately follow 7:31–37. On balance, the W side of the lake is the probable site of Magadan because the language of Matt 15:29–31 suggests a Gentile province (15:31, "they praised the God of Israel," the "seven" baskets of leftover pieces, not the Jewish "twelve") and a remote place (15:33), which better fits the Gentile Decapolis on the E side of the Sea of Galilee, rather than the Jewish Galilee of the W side. Without evidence some scholars also identify Magadan as the hometown or birthplace of Mary

Magdalene. Other writers also suggest that Magadan is to be identified with the modern Mejdel (M.R. 140105).

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WARREN J. HEARD, JR.

**MAGBISH** (PERSON) [Heb *magbîš* (מַגְבִּישׁ)]. "Ancestor" of 156 people who returned from exile in the days of Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:30; LXX *Magebōs*). However, like so many other names in the Ezra 2 list, Magbish is more likely the name of a village; since the time of Abel (*GP* 2: 373) it has usually been identified with Khirbet el-Makhbiyeh (M.R. 145116), a site which has yielded Persian-period remains. Because Magbish is listed just before Elam in the Ezra 2 list, Simons (*GTTOT,* 380) prefers a slightly more southerly identification with Khirbet Qanan Mugheimis, 2 km W of Beit Alam (M.R. 145109).

There are also problems with the text. In the parallel Heb text of Neh 7:33, Magbish does not occur (although one LXX ms of this verse does refer to the "156 sons of *magebōs"*). Another parallel text, 1 Esdr 5:21, refers to the "156 sons of *Niphis,*" which the RSV renders as "Magbish" to harmonize with Ezra 2:30.

GARY A. HERION

**MAGDALA** (M.R. 198247) [Aram *magdālā* (מַגְדָּלָא)]. MAGDALENE. Presumably the town of origin of Mary Magdalene (*Magdaléné,* Luke 8:2) generally identified with Migdal Nûnnaya of the Talmud ("Tower of Fish," *b. Pesaḥ.* 46b), which lies approximately one mile N of Tiberias. Magdala (meaning "tower") is usually identified with the city with the Greek name of Taricheae or Tarecheae in Josephus (*JW* 2.21.8; 3.9.7–3.10.5). Magdala-Taricheae would mean "Tower of [salted] fish." The difficulty in identifying Magdala with Taricheae is that Josephus seems to think Taricheae was 30 stadia from Tiberias, or 3.6 Roman miles (*Life* 32 §157), and Pliny places Taricheae S of Tiberias (*HN* 5.15). But as Pliny knows less detail about Palestine than Josephus, identification of Magdala with Taricheae seems relatively secure. Some scholars believe that Migdal Seb›aiya (Tower of Dyers) of the Jerusalem Talmud is the same place (*y. Ta‹an.* 69a).

The Greek name of this town gives it away as an important fishing center and fish export center in the Roman period. Many Roman fishing towns were named Taricheae. Strabo knows of Taricheae in Palestine and its salted-fish industry (16.2.45). Josephus noted that E Lower Galilee was divided into two toparchies, Tiberias and Taricheae (*JW* 2.13.2 §252). In this case Magdala-Taricheae was the administrative center of an area that extended eight miles W to the toparchy of Sepphoris and 10 miles N to the S boundary of Upper Galilee about 5 miles N of Capernaum. Magdala-Taricheae was important enough to have its own stadium (*JW* 2.21.3 §599). Its aqueduct extended to Ain el-Mudawwara 2.8 miles to the NW. After the founding of Tiberias in A.D. 20, Magdala-Taricheae lost its position as head of the toparchy in favor of Tiberias.

Magdala-Taricheae did not play any role in the ministry of Jesus. We know of no disciples other than Mary from this locality.

By A.D. 54, at the accession of Nero, Magdala-Taricheae and Tiberias passed to Herod Agrippa II, son of Agrippa I (*Ant.* 20.8.4 §159). Josephus claimed to have fortified Magdala-Taricheae in A.D. 66, though Vespasian took the city in the next year. Taricheae was the location of the only sea battle between the Romans and the Jewish rebels. It was a disaster for the Jews. Apparently the Jewish inhabitants of Taricheae did not believe they would ever regain the town, for they fled to Tiberias after this debacle. Vespasian ordered the slaughter of 12,000 refugees from Taricheae in the stadium of Tiberias, while 6,000 were sent to build Nero's canal at Corinth and 30,400 were sold as slaves (*JW* 3.10.10 §539–40). At the close of the First Revolt in 73, Taricheae seems to have been absorbed by Tiberias. Later, at the death of Herod Agrippa II, Taricheae passed directly to the new province of Palestine, ruled by a governor of senatorial rank who resided in Caesarea.

Magdala or Taricheae was not a place of pilgrimage from the 4th to the early 6th century. However, before A.D. 518, it was visited by a certain Theodosius, who added a note that "my Lady Mary was born" at Magdala, which city he knows only by that name (*Topography* 138). The nun Hugeburc recorded Willibald's visit to Magdala in A.D. 724 in a single sentence: "From there (Tiberias) they went along the sea and approached the village of Magdala" (*Life* 96.1).

Excavations at Magdala were conducted from 1971 through 1973. These excavations revealed a small building that is surely a small, undecorated synagogue, about 26.8 by 23.8 feet. It was provided with interior columnation around three sides and a set of five benches against the N wall. "Heart-shaped" or double columns stood at the corners of the lines of columnation. The excavators believe that the building was converted to a fish pond after A.D. 70, or after the First Revolt. This would suggest that the Jewish population that originally used it was gone. This small building with thick walls stood at the SE corner of two well-paved streets. The street passing in front of the synagogue is a bit more than 13 feet broad. Across the street to the W stood the base of a masonry and mortar tower about 29 × 32.5 feet with walls 7 feet thick. This tower still stands 21 feet high, but it is interpreted by the excavator as a water tower, not as a fish tower. On the S side of the Franciscan property of Magdala and extending outside the property lie the ruins of a monastery of the 5th and 6th centuries. It was furnished with fine mosaics in geometric designs.

JAMES F. STRANGE

**MAGDALENE.** See MARY (PERSON); MAGDALA (PLACE).

**MAGDIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *magdîʿēl* (מַגְדִּיאֵל)]. One of the Edomite "chiefs" (Heb *ʿallûpîm*) mentioned in Gen 36:40–43, an appendix which most likely ought to be attributed to the Priestly source. The name also occurs in the 1 Chr 1:51b–54 list, an abridged form of the Gen 36:40–43 appendix. This theophoric name means "God's/El's gift" (cf. Sabaean *ʿlmjd, mjdlt*; Safaitic *mjdʿl;* Arabic *mǧed;* etc.). It is referred to by Eusebius (*Onomast.* 124.22–23) as the name of a site in the Gebalene. Thus, this Edomite "chief" may actually be a place name, analogous with Elah, Iram (?), Mibzar, and Pinon.

ULRICH HÜBNER

**MAGGOT.** See ZOOLOGY.

**MAGI** [Gk *Magos* (Μαγος)]. See INFANCY NARRATIVES IN THE NT GOSPELS.

**MAGIC.** This entry consists of two articles, one survey of magical practices in the ANE, and another summarizing the references to magic in the OT.

### *ANCIENT NEAR EAST*

In its broadest sense, "magic" is a form of communication involving the supernatural world in which an attempt is made to affect the course of present and/or future events by means of ritual actions (especially ones which involve the symbolic imitation of what the practitioner wants to happen), and/or by means of formulaic recitations which describe the desired outcome and/or invoke gods, demons, or the spirits believed to be resident in natural substances. For purposes of analysis, it is useful to make a distinction between problem-oriented rituals on the one hand and priestly activities such as the maintenance of the daily cult and the celebration of regularly scheduled festivals on the other, especially since this distinction corresponds to a native ANE division of labor among specialists in the supernatural (Engelhard 1970: 219–21). Since it is usual to classify priestly activities as "religion," "magic" is here confined to the problem-oriented rituals. It should be kept in mind, however, that these two types of activity were part of the same belief system and that there was none of the hostility between them to be seen in later times between "magic" and "religion." Exorcists and priests received the same education, served the same gods, and regarded each other as legitimate practitioners. The same can be said of the distinction between exorcists and physicians, both of whom practiced medicine in some sense of the word and who might even cooperate in dealing with complicated cases (Ritter 1965). See also DEMONS.

The magic of the pre-Hellenistic Near East, like the magic of peoples everywhere, utilized the procedures of apotropaion or exorcism (frightening a spirit away before or after it took up residence in a

human being), propitiation (buying off a spirit), and transfer (giving an evil to someone or something else). What is striking about this tradition is the variety and the ingenuity of magical rites and formulaic recitations employed in it. Not only are there literally thousands of recipes for amulets, salves, and nostrums, but there is much manufacturing of figurines, which range in complexity from simple lumps of clay to elaborate representations of half-human monsters carrying real miniature weapons, with the details picked out in appropriately colored paint (Wiggerman 1986; cf. Borghouts 1978: no. 123). Egypt also generated a plethora of curious drawings on papyrus (Borghouts 1978: no. 40, for example). There was, moreover, a great variety of ways to transfer evil (*RLA* 7: 245–46, 248–49). Of particular interest to biblical scholars is the extensive use of "scapegoats," which might indeed be goats, but also figurines, pigs, mice, and even people (Lambert 1957–58; Kümmel 1967; *RLA* 7: 246–48). Especially emphasized in Hittite magic, but by no means absent from ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt, is the invocation of analogies to achieve desired ends (Ünal 1988: 74–85; *RLA* 7: 244–45).

**A. Mesopotamia**

For Mesopotamians, there was a clear distinction between black, or maliciously antisocial, magic (Akk *kišpū*) performed by a sorcerer/sorceress (Akk *kaššāpu/kaššāptu*) and white, or defensive, magic performed by legitimate practitioners, most notably the exorcist (Akk *āšipu/mašmāšu*). Sorcery was punishable by death (MAL A 47). White magic, conversely, was the gift of the gods (especially Asalluḫi and Marduk) to mankind (Reiner 1958: V–VI: 175; VII, VIII: 88–90) and could legitimately be used either to make sorcery turn against its human practitioner (Meier 1937; Lambert 1957–58) or to calm the gods themselves when they became angry by magically removing the moral or cultic offenses which had caused their anger (Reiner 1958) and/or by getting rid of the resulting illness and bad fortune (Ebeling 1915: 96–103; Farber 1977: 24–100). Magic was also an essential concomitant of the foundation of temples and other buildings (Ellis 1968; *ANET*, 339–42; Farber 1987: 241–44) or the consecration of a priest (Borger 1973) or the preparation of temple drums (*ANET*, 334–38; Farber 1987: 234–36). Apart from this, the Mesopotamians used magic to assist in childbirth (Lambert 1969; Cohen 1976: 133–40; Römer 1987: 204–7; Farber 1987: 274–77), to get cranky babies to go to sleep (Farber 1989), and to keep at bay such evils as plague (Reiner 1960), fever (Lambert 1970), toothache (*ANET*, 100–01; Farber 1987: 271), sties (Farber 1987: 272–73), the effects of dog bite (Römer 1987: 210–11; Farber 1987: 256), impotence (Biggs 1967), ghosts (Bottéro 1983: 174–96; Scurlock 1988), demons (Myhrman 1902; Lackenbacher 1971; Farber 1977; Geller 1985; Wiggerman 1986; Borger 1987), evil eye (Ebeling 1949: 203–11), slander (Gurney 1960), nightmares (Oppenheim 1956), and bad omens (Ebeling 1954–56; Laessøe 1955; Lambert 1957–58; Caplice 1965–71; 1973; 1974b). A further use of magic was to add extra deterrents to oath breaking and to give force to curses (*ANET*, 532–33, 538–41). More productive uses of magic were procedures designed to give success in war (Elat 1982; Römer 1987: 169–71; *RLA* 7: 224), in opening canals (von Weiher 1983: no. 5), in business enterprises such as taverns (Caplice 1974b: 23–24), or to force the return of runaway slaves (Ebeling 1954). Of less obvious social value were spells which could be used to win legal cases or to prevent other people from being angry with the practitioner (Ebeling 1931a: 16–44; 1949: 186–203; Whiting 1985; Römer 1987: 202–4; von Weiher 1983: nos. 23–24). Equally ambiguous was the category of love magic, which included such classic devices of love inducement as giving a woman an apple to eat and burying a figurine where she would have to walk over it (Biggs 1967: 71–78). In Mesopotamia, spirits of the dead (and of death) were contacted for purposes of necromancy by rubbing salves on the necromancer's face or by employing skulls or figurines as temporary houses for the spirit which was being summoned up (Finkel 1983–84; von Weiher 1983: no. 20). See also *RLA* 6: 439–46.

**B. Hittite Anatolia**

Hittite magic was very similar to Mesopotamian magic. Again, there was a careful differentiation between black magic (Hit *alwanzatar*) performed by a sorcerer (*alwanzinaš*) and white magic performed by legitimate practitioners, with the former strictly against the law (HL 44b, 111, 163, 170). An unusual feature of Hittite magic (as compared to Mesopotamian) is the prominence of "old women" among the legitimate practitioners and the lack of clear division of labor between diviners and exorcists (Engelhard

1970: 5–56). Also unusual is that the Hittite rituals usually give the name, profession, and/or homeland of the author of a magical ritual. Authors include not only "old women" and exorcist diviners, but priests, doctors, and ladies of the court (*RLA* 7: 242), whether Hittite or drawn from outlying territories such as Kizzuwatna (Cilicia), Mukiš (Tell Atchana in Syria), and Arzawa (Ephesus). As in Mesopotamia, white magic was a divine gift (*RLA* 7: 238) and could legitimately be used to placate angry gods; among the Hittites, this usually took the form of evocation rituals in which the divinity was lured from the place to which he had withdrawn back to Hatti where he could be pacified (Engelhard 1970: 105–13; Haas and Wilhelm 1974). Magic was also required at the foundation of temples and other buildings (Engelhard 1970: 86–95; Kellerman 1980). Apart from this, the Hittites also used magic to assist in childbirth (Sommer and Ehelolf 1924; Beckman 1983) or burial (Otten 1958), to avoid various evils including sorcery (Engelhard 1970: 61–71; Jakob-Rost 1972; Kühne 1973; Haas and Thiel 1978; Hutter 1988), impurity (Goetze 1938; Otten 1961; *ANET,* 346, 348–49; Engelhard 1970: 71–78; Hoffner 1973; Lebrun 1979), impotence (Hoffner 1987; Engelhard 1970: 78–86), quarreling (Jakob-Rost 1953; *ANET,* 350–51), slander (Szabó 1971), and illness (Kronasser 1961; Souček 1963; Kümmel 1967; *ANET,* 347; Kümmel 1987: 285–88, 289–92), and to keep ghosts (CHD 3/2: 176–79), demons (Carruba 1966), and bad omens (Kronasser 1962; Kümmel 1967) at a safe distance. A further use of magic was to make sure that those swearing oaths took these oaths seriously (Engelhard 1970: 95–105; Oettinger 1976). Success in warfare could be ensured, inter alia, by a special evocation ritual in which the enemy gods were lured away from their worshipers (*ANET,* 354–55; Haas and Wilhelm 1974) or anointing the troops, horses, and military matériel with a protective mixture (Laroche 1971: 162, nos. 8–14) or even by hexing the enemy's leader while protecting one's own (KUB VII 61). Even when unsuccessful in the field, morale could be restored by marching the defeated army between fires, thorn bushes, and halved animals and human prisoners (Kümmel 1967: 151). The Hittites, like the Mesopotamians, attempted to call up the spirits of the dead, although the details of the procedure are unfortunately lost to us (Laroche 1971: 154–55).

**C. Egypt**

In many ways, Egyptian magic was similar to Mesopotamian and Hittite magic. Here, too, gods were magicians (Borghouts 1978: no. 84), and the basic function of much of the magic was medical (Borghouts 1978: nos. 46–52, 55–58, 64, 71–81) and antidemonic (nos. 22–27, 33, 53–54, 65, 67–69), including remedies for such things as plague (nos. 13–18, 20–21), nightmares (nos. 6–7), headaches (nos. 37–45), bleeding (nos. 30–32), burns (nos. 34–36), swallowing a fly or getting a fishbone stuck in the throat (nos. 19, 28–29), difficult childbirth (nos. 60–63; cf. Lexa 1925: 27–33), hungry babies (Borghouts 1978: no. 70), and bothersome birds, reptiles, or wild animals (*ANET,* 326; Borghouts 1978, nos. 82–146; Sternberg-el-Hotabi et al. 1988: 358–80). There are also many examples of magic to be used on domestic or foreign enemies (Sethe 1926; *ANET,* 326–29; Borghouts 1978: nos. 5, 8–12, 59, 66) or to give success in love, legal cases, and the like (Borghouts 1978: nos. 1–4). However, there is one striking difference between this tradition and that of the Mesopotamians and Hittites, and that is that the Egyptians made no distinction in terminology between good magic and sorcery (both were referred to as *heka*). They tended also to treat their gods in a manner which Mesopotamians and Hittites usually reserved for demons—that is, by leveling blood-curdling threats at them at the first sign of insubordination (Borghouts 1978: no. 9, for example). Another unusual feature of Egyptian magic is the category of spells designed to get the soul safely to the underworld and to help it successfully to pass the native version of the Last Judgment (Faulkner 1969; 1973–78; Allen 1974; Sternberg-el-Hotabi et al. 1988: 405–31). Necromancy using corpses or scrying cups is attested in Hellenistic Egypt and may go back to earlier periods; moreover, it seems likely that letters to the dead (Gardiner and Sethe 1928) could have been used for this purpose. See also *LÄ*1: 67–69, 864–70; 3: 1137–51.

**D. Ugaritic, Aramaic, and Phoenician Texts**

Relatively few magical texts have survived from these areas, and those which have come down to us are typically fragmentary and open to more than one interpretation. However, what we seem to have are texts designed to accompany marriage, childbirth, and burials (de Moor 1987: 141–45; Dietrich and Loretz 1988: 329–33) or to ward off ghosts and demons (de Moor 1987: 183–86; Dietrich and Loretz 1988: 333–

39; Butterweck 1988), bad dreams (de Moor 1987: 181–82), infertility (Dietrich and Loretz 1988: 339–42), drunkenness (Dietrich and Loretz 1988: 342–45), and snakebite (Dietrich and Loretz 1988: 345–50). There is also one spell which could have been used to thwart a human adversary (Delsman 1988).

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J. A. SCURLOCK

## *OLD TESTAMENT*

Interpretations of the nature, role, and content of magic and magical practices in the OT have varied greatly. Discussion has revolved around several issues: interpretation and translation of Hebrew terms referring to magical practices; evaluations of the significance of the different attestations of magic in the OT; and analysis of the relationship between magic and religion. Even the term "magic" (and that to which it refers) has proved very difficult to define. Recognizing the limitations and difficulties of any definition, the term "magic" will be used here to refer to methods associated with the gaining of suprahuman knowledge and power or with influencing suprahuman powers. Magic is often discussed in connection with divination (discerning the future). There is considerable overlap between magic and divination in both practice and use of terms.

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A. Specialized Terminology
1. Deut 18:10–11
2. Other Terms
B. Place of Magic in the OT
C. Relation of Magic and Religion
1. Social Sciences
2. Comparative Near Eastern Studies
3. Distinctive Nature of Israelite Religion

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**A. Specialized Terminology**

Terms referring to magic and magical practices are found throughout the OT in a wide range of materials. However, specialized and technical vocabulary appears primarily in the legal materials (Deut 18:10–11; Lev 19:26, 31; 20:1–6, 27; Exod 22:18—Eng22:17; see also 2 Kgs 21:6 = 2 Chr 33:6).

**1. Deut 18:10–11.** Interpreters generally agree that Deut 18:10–11 provides the most basic and inclusive list of magic terminology in the OT. However, understandings of these terms frequently differ since it is difficult to determine the precise practices to which the terms refer (e.g., the OT often sees divinatory practices as a subcategory of magic, and interpreters often appeal to different etymologies to explain the same Hebrew term). Further, translations frequently project back into biblical times practices seen as "magical" at the time of the translation.

**a. *ma‹ăbîr bĕnô ŭbittô bā›ēš*** ("one who makes his son or his daughter pass through the fire"). Interpreters debate the meaning of this phrase and its relationship to the other terms in Deut 18:10–11. This phrase has been taken to refer both to child sacrifice and to a type of "oracle ordeal." As a reference to child sacrifice, it is often interpreted as "propitiatory" and so divorced from the other magical/divinatory practices in the text. As a reference to a type of oracle ordeal, it is more frequently associated with either divination or magic.

**b. *qōsēm qĕsāmîm*** ("diviner, augurer"). Translations tend to equate *qsm* with divination. Commentaries, however, tend to view *qsm* as a more general term referring to the whole complex of magical and divinatory practices in ancient Israel. Arguments for understanding *qsm* as a very general term are based (1) on the Deuteronomistic tendency to list a general term first in a series with subsequent terms providing clarification and nuance, (2) on comparative etymology, and (3) on uses of *qsm* elsewhere in the OT (cf. Num 23:23; 1 Sam 15:23; 2 Kgs 17:17; Mic 3:6).

**c. *mĕ‹ônēn*** ("soothsayer, observer of times, one who looks for omens, sorcerer, enchanter"). The term *mĕ‹ônēn* is the first in the series of seemingly specialized terms for various types of magical and divinatory practices. The diversity in translation of this term reflects lack of scholarly consensus regarding the practice(s) to which it refers and its primary focus (magic or divination). Interpretations have relied strongly on etymological comparisons, variously equating *mĕ‹ônēn* with divinatory practices such as observation of clouds, the "evil eye," "eyeing" or observing "the times," the humming sound associated with diviners, as well as with magic practices such as conjuring up spirits.

**d. *mĕnaḥēš*** ("augur, diviner, enchanter"). The precise meaning and focus of *mĕnaḥēš* are also difficult to determine because interpreters associate it with two different roots—*nḥš* and *lḥš*. Those emphasizing

the connection with *nḥš* see it as a denominative from *nāḥāš* (snake) and associate it with some form of divination related to snakes. Those emphasizing the connection with *lḥš* tend to associate it more with magic—particularly with the use of charms and "enchantments" (cf. Isa 3:3; 3:20; 26:16; Jer 8:17; Eccl 10:11).

**e. *mĕkaššēp*** ("sorcerer"). There is general agreement regarding the meaning of the term *kešep,* usually translated "sorcery." However, there has been a tendency on the part of some interpreters and translations to use the negative and antisocial term "sorcery" for references to female practitioners of *kešep,* while employing the more neutral term "magic" for references to male practitioners. The unequal distinction between female and male practitioners seems present in the OT itself. The commandment in Exod 22:18—Eng22:17 requires the community to put the *mĕkaššēpāh* (female) to death. However, in texts referring to the *mĕkaššēp* (male) either no precise penalty is given (Deut 18:10) or the judgment and punishment are left to God (Jer 27:9; Mal 3:5).

**f. *ḥōbēr ḥāber*** ("charmer, one who casts spells, one who uses charms"). Interpreters generally agree that the root *ḥbr* is related to the use of charms and spells. This connection arises from the widely recognized association of the root *ḥbr* with the idea of "uniting, joining, weaving." Many interpreters relate this concept to the practice of tying or wrapping magical knots or threads around people or objects, understood either to bind the gods to do one's will or to bind (disable) the object or person to be affected. Another interpretation relates the term to the idea that words are woven together in the spell itself. An alternative derivation of the term *ḥōbēr,* however, relates it to the Akk term *ḥabarum*—to be noisy, to make an indistinguishable clamor. Here, the *ḥōbēr* is seen as a "mutterer" (one who makes indistinguishable noises).

**g. *šō‹ēl ›ôb weyiddĕ‹ōnî*** (literally, "an inquirer of an *›ôb* or a *yiddĕ‹ōnî";* "a medium or a wizard, one who traffics with ghosts and spirits, one who consults ghosts or spirits"). *›ôb* and *yiddĕ‹ōnî* are two of three terms in Deut 18:11 seemingly related to the practice of necromancy (divination by inquiring of the dead).

Interpreters are uncertain about the precise understanding of the term *›ôb* in the OT. This uncertainty arises from the variety of contexts in which the term appears, leading to its proposed connection with a wide range of different concepts—spirit, ancestral spirit, the person controlled by a spirit, a bag of skin, the pit from which spirits are called up, a ghost, a demon. Most interpreters simply admit the ambiguity of the term and acknowledge that it refers to several different but related objects—a ritual pit used by a necromancer, a spirit called up by a necromancer, and/or the necromancer himself or herself (cf. 1 Samuel 28).

The *yiddĕ‹ōnî* is closely associated in the OT with the *›ôb.* While the term *›ôb* appears independently, the term *yiddĕ‹ōnî* does not, raising the question of their relationship. Some interpreters see the two terms as a hendiadys (expressing a single idea by connecting two nouns with "and"), others (and most translations) see it as referring to separate people (e.g., medium and wizard). The difficulties in defining the term *yiddĕ‹ōnî* are similar to the difficulties with *›ôb.* Most interpreters recognize the root *yd‹* in *yiddĕ‹ōnî;* it is unclear, however, whether the "one who knows" is the entity being consulted or the practitioner doing the consulting. The frequent translation of *yiddĕ‹ōnî* as "familiar spirit" may be correct, but the close and problematic association of this term with medieval views of witchcraft should be kept in mind.

**h. *dōrēš el-hammētîm*** ("necromancer, one who calls up the dead"). This is the third term connected to necromancy in Deut 18:11. Interpreters generally agree that this is a straightforward reference to the practice of necromancy. However, the precise method by which this was done and its precise relationship to the *›ôb* and *yiddĕ‹ōnî* is unclear.

**2. Other Terms.** In addition to the terms above, a number of other terms referring to magical practices appear in the OT.

**a. *ḥăkam ḥărāšîm*** ("skillful magician, magician, sorcerer"). This term occurs only in Isa 3:3. It is part of a list in Isa 3:2–3 listing the leaders in Jerusalem and Judah whom God will destroy. It is particularly

notable that these verses classify three categories of diviners and magicians (*yônēn, ḥăkam ḥărāšîm*, and *nĕbôn lāḥaš*) as leaders in Judah along with the more traditional soldier, judge, prophet, and elder.

**b. Terms Associated with Astrology.** The OT uses three terms to refer to astrologers: *hōbĕrēw šāmayim,* "one who gazes at the heavens" (Isa 47:13); *hahōzîm bakkôkabîm*, "one who gazes at the stars" (Isa 47:13); and *gāzĕrîn,* "astrologer" (Dan 2:27; 4:7; 5:7, 11). The Aram term *gāzĕrîn* is used in the OT in connection with Chaldean "magicians" and "enchanters." It is related to the root *gzr*, "to determine or decree." Astrologers, then, read the signs in the heavens in order to determine and make known that which has been decreed.

**c. Terms Associated with "Foreign" Magicians.** The terms *ḥarṭōm,* "magician" and *ʾaššāp* (Aram *ʾāšap*), "enchanter" are associated particularly with foreign magicians. The term *ḥarṭōm* (Heb and Aram) is used to refer to the magicians of both Egypt (Gen 41:8, 24; Exod 7:11, 22; 8:3, 14, 15—Eng8:7, 18, 19; 9:11) and Chaldea (Dan 1:20; 2:2, 10, 27; 4:7, 9; 5:11). The term *ʾaššāp*/*ʾāšap* appears paired with *ḥarṭōm* in almost every instance (Dan 1:20; 2:2, 10, 27; 4:7; 5:7, 11; alone in 5:15). OT evaluation of these foreign magicians seems to be mixed. In contests with Israel's God or God's representative they are always defeated; however, they are also frequently labeled *ḥākām,* "wise."

**B. Place of Magic in the OT**

The range of technical vocabulary, OT evidence for the knowledge and practice of a wide variety of magical and divinatory practices, and differing evaluations of magic in the OT itself leave interpreters divided regarding the general place of magic and magical practices in ancient Israel and the OT. Disagreement centers on two interrelated questions. First, should the OT prohibitions and negative evaluations of magic be viewed as the fundamental position of the OT, or should they be seen as simply reflecting the views of particular times or biblical writers? Second, does magic represent "primitive," foreign, or perverted influences on "true" Yahwism or does it represent an indigenous coterminous, or alternative form of Yahwism itself?

The OT prohibits the practice of magic or presents it negatively in a number of places (Deut 18:19–11; Lev 19:26, 31; 20:1–6, 27; Exod 22:17—Eng22:18; 1 Samuel 28; Isa 8:19; 57:3; Ezek 22:28; Mal 3:5). However, neutral or positive references to a wide range of magical and divinatory practices—dreams, clairvoyance, hydromancy, belomancy, magic staffs, decisions by lots, juridical ordeals, blessings and curses, apotropaic measures, and so forth—are also scattered throughout the OT. The presence of both understandings in the OT raises the question of the relationship between positive and negative evaluations. Interpreters who take the prohibitive and negative statements as the primary response to magic in the OT and ancient Israel tend to devalue and ignore positive statements or view them as "violations" of the "normative" prohibitions referred to in other texts. Conversely, interpreters who see the prohibitive and negative statements as limited responses to magic at particular times or by particular interpreters (e.g., the Deuteronomistic tradition or individual prophets) tend to deemphasize the primary or normative role of the prohibitions in the OT overall.

Responses to the primacy of the prohibitions of magic in the OT are closely related to understandings of the religious history of ancient Israel. Those interpretations which maintain the primacy of the prohibition of magic also tend to emphasize magic as "primitive," or foreign, or as perverted Yahwism. In these cases, references to magic tend to be taken as evidence of early (pre-Yahwistic) practices, foreign impositions, or "survivals" of earlier practices into later times. On the other hand, interpretations which restrict the interest in prohibiting magic to particular time periods or interpreters are more willing to argue for magic as an indigenous and integral part of Israelite religion, or at least for differing evaluations of it in ancient Israel and the OT. Many of these interpretations include an acceptable role within the OT not only for particular magical practices, but also for a "magical world-view" in ancient Israel. Defining magic broadly and positively, these scholars see a "magical" underpinning for a variety of "religious" figures (prophets, "men of God," priests, kings) and "religious" practices (especially those associated with war, law, occupations, life events, illness, and death, and mourning).

**C. Relation of Magic and Religion**

Many of the differences referred to above arise from longstanding debates regarding the relationship between magic and religion. Many early understandings of magic in the OT were influenced by skepticism regarding the "reality" of "pagan" (irreligious) magic. Medieval interpretations were also strongly influenced by preconceptions regarding the sharp distinction between magic and religion. "Religion" was associated with the Church, "magic" and "witchcraft" with the devil.

Particularly influential for contemporary views of the relationship are three areas of study which became prominent in the late 1800s and early 1900s: early social sciences, comparative Near East studies, and apologetic interests regarding the distinctive nature of Israelite religious thought and practice.

**1. Social Sciences.** Aspects of several models proposed by the social sciences for the relationship between magic and religion still influence many discussions of magic in the OT.

**a. Evolutionary.** The evolutionary model understands magic as the first and most primitive stage in an increasingly sophisticated three-stage process (magic–religion–science). Interpretations of magic in the OT following an evolutionary model tend to view references to magic beliefs and practices as evidence of "primitive," "prereligious" elements (often associated with Canaanite influence) in ancient Israelite belief and practice. When such elements are present in a text, they represent evidence of either this primitive stage or later "survivals" of it.

**b. Animistic.** A variation of the evolutionary model is one which focuses more particularly on the developmental stages of religion and argues for the progress of religion from animism through polytheism to monotheism. The animistic model proposes that the earliest stages of religion reveal a strong belief in the presence and power of "spirits" and other supernatural forces in the world. Magic as an important part of this system is a method to control these spirits and supernatural forces. This understanding of magic as an instrument of control has affected many studies of magic in the OT; its most common use has been to argue for the distinction between practices concerned with *control,* "magic," and practices concerned with *worship,* "religion."

**c. Psychological.** Understandings of magic as a psychological "coping mechanism" are closely related to the view of magic as a method of control. Psychological theories emphasize the role of magic in enabling individuals to achieve control of their lives and world either by overcoming psychological fears or by creating additional confidence in practices already undertaken. Such theories have had variable influence on studies of magic in the OT. They have led some interpreters to treat magic sympathetically as an understandable practice in adverse circumstances; they have led others to interpret it as evidence for lack of trust in God.

**d. Prelogical/Prescientific.** Several scholars have argued for a distinction between earlier "prelogical" and "prescientific" worldviews and modern logical and scientific ones. According to these scholars, prelogical societies view the world "mystically"; that is, they explain events in supernatural rather than natural terms. Magic is a part of this prelogical and prescientific worldview in that it accepts the reality of supernatural forces and the efficacy of techniques to influence them, and it does not see the "modern" distinction between the material and the spiritual. This view often supports apologetics for magic in the OT. Further, it is often seen as a way to understand Israelite views of illness and oppression (particularly as they are reflected in the psalms), practices which have magical undertones such as ordeals, blessings and curses, and the workings of the cult.

**e. Sociological.** Early sociological theories of magic strongly emphasized the contrast between the social roles of religion and those of magic. In these theories, religion is understood as a group practice important for legitimating and sustaining the community as a whole. Magic, by contrast, is seen as individualistic and often antisocial, being frequently used to advance individual as opposed to community well-being. This dichotomy between religion as a social expression and magic as an individual expression can be seen in the work of many OT scholars.

**f. Synthetic.** Finally, later theories have synthesized various aspects of the theories above. An important trend in this synthesis has been the decreasing tendency to distinguish sharply between magic and religion. Instead, more recent models either emphasize the close interrelationship between magic and religion or see them as operating on a continuum.

**2. Comparative Near Eastern Studies.** Comparative material was used in developing the theories of the relationship between magic and religion outlined above. In addition, discussion of the nature, role, and content of specific details of magic in the OT has drawn heavily on ANE materials. As noted above, many terms and practices have been explained by parallels to Akkadian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Hittite, and Canaanite materials. Also, parallels to Arab, especially bedouin, terms, beliefs, and practices have been drawn, particularly in the early 1900s.

**3. Distinctive Nature of Israelite Religion.** Extensive use of comparative models and content, coupled with early tendencies to distinguish sharply between magic and religion, led to many studies arguing for the distinctive (unique) character of Israelite religion. This tendency had significant consequences for understandings of the role and significance of magic in ancient Israel and the OT, for it divorced magic and magical practices from the mainstream of Israelite religion and OT theology by being seen as "primitive," foreign, or "nonreligious." However, as noted above, not all interpreters accepted this view. At present, scholars remain divided.

In conclusion, the most recent work on magic in the OT is giving increased acknowledgment not only to the diversity of scholars' interpretations of magic in the OT, but also to the diversity of practices and positions represented in the OT itself. For further discussion see *EncJud* 6: 111–16; 11: 703–7; *IDB* 1: 856–58; 3: 223–25; *EncRel* 9: 82–89.

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JOANNE K. KUEMMERLIN-MCLEAN

**MAGISTRATE.** See CITY AUTHORITIES.

**MAGOG** (PERSON) [Heb *māgôg* (מָגוֹג)]. In the Table of Nations (Gen 10:2) and the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 1:5, Magog is one of the six grandsons of Noah through his son Japheth. Others of this line are associated with Asia Minor (Javan, Tubal, Meshech), so a location for Magog also in this area is logical. It can also be supported by the reference in Ezek 38:1–6, where Gog, a king from Magog, is allied with Beth-togarmah, among others, which is described as coming "from the far north" (38:6). Not all of the listed allies are to the N of Israel, however, so the evidence is not compelling. Ezek 39:6 foretells judgment on Gog, which will include fire falling on Magog as well as upon "the island dwellers." The latter two passages portray these peoples as warriors from a distant land who will descend upon Israel in a cataclysmic battle. This eschatological motif is picked up in the NT, where Rev 20:8 pictures distant Gog and Magog allied with Satan in a final attempt to overthrow the people of God at the end of the age.

Scholars suggest several different locations for Magog. Skinner (*Genesis* ICC, 197) assumed the identity of Magog and *Gagā (ya),* which is mentioned in one of the Amarna letters from the mid-2d millennium B.C. (see *YGC,* 14 n. 40). They are identified there in a general way as people from the N. A more popular identification is that Gog is a Hebrew calque on the name of the Lydian king Gyges (ca. 680–ca. 648 B.C.E.; Akk *gugu*), and Magog is a derivation from Akk *mā (t) gugu* "land of Gyges." If this identification is correct, the etymological background of the term had been lost by the time of Ezekiel. He uses the Hebrew word for "land" alongside Magog, a redundancy if the word's etymological background were still well known. Another possible derivation involves the use of the Hebrew prefix *ma-* indicating "place of" (GKC, 236e). Therefore, Magog would be "Gog's place" (Wenham *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 217).

Josephus (*Ant.* 1.123) understood Magog to refer to the Scythians (Yamauchi 1982: 22; see 63–85), while the *Tg. Neof.* interpreted the name as *grmnyh* (*Germania*). This is possibly Germanica of Commagene in E Asia Minor. Jerome understood Magog to be the Goths (McNamara 1972: 194–95). The lack of any more specific geographical information makes any identification of Magog extremely uncertain.

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DAVID W. BAKER

**MAGPIASH** (PERSON) [Heb *magpîʿāš* (מַגְפִּיעָשׁ)]. A leader of the people in a signatory to the covenant established by Ezra (Neh 10:20). The meaning of the name is obscure, and at least one scholar has suggested that the place name Magbish (Ezra 2:30) has been mistaken for a personal name (Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* Century Bible, 180 and 181). It is more likely, however, that a family has assumed the name of the village in which they resided (Meyer 1896: 156; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 324).

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FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**MAGUS, SIMON.** See SIMON (PERSON) #13.

**MAHALAB** (PLACE) [Heb *mēhebel* (מֵהֶבֶל)]. The RSV form of the name of a town listed before Achzib in connection with the tribal territory of Asher (Josh 19:29). The actual wording of the text is *mēhebel ʾakzîbâ*. In the AV the opening *mem* is regarded as a prefix ("from"), and MT *mhbl* is translated "from the coast" (to Achzib). Cooke (*Joshua* CBSC, 181) translates "by the region of" (Achzib). Most scholars, however, regard the *mem* as part of the word, and MT *mhbl* ("Mehebel") as a place name. The LXX$^{B}$ of Josh 19:29 reads "from Leb and Achzib," which suggests that MT *mhbl* actually represents a metathesis of an original *mhlb.* This would then be supported by the data from Judg 1:31, which lists an "Ahlab" before Achzib (and a "Helbah" after it) as a town that Asher did not dispossess. Many scholars believe that all of these forms are corruptions of the same place name, "Mahalab," and that this should be identified with the Mahallibu mentioned in Sennacherib's third campaign (*ANET,* 287). This town would then be associated with Khirbet el-Mahalib on the banks of the Litani River, 6 km NE of Tyre. See also AHLAB.

Naʾaman (1986: 57–60), however, who connects the Joshua town list to David's conquests, suggests that Khirbet el-Mahalib was almost certainly in the territory of Tyre and therefore could not have been captured by David. Therefore, he places the town mentioned in the Bible (MT *mhbl*, Helbah, Ahlab) farther S, tenatively at Ras al-Abyad. Kallai (*HGB,* 220–23) regards Ahlab and Helbah as two different places and does not connect the towns listed in Joshua with David's conquest. However, he believes that the list in Joshua appears in geographical order, so he also places MT *mhbl* (Josh 19:29) S of Tyre and identifies it with the Helbah of Judg 1:31 (but without locating it at a specific site). He identifies the Ahlab of Judg 1:31 with Mahallibu (Khirbet el-Mahalib).

The list of towns in Joshua that starts with MT *mhbl* (RSV Mahalab) is, however, almost certainly an addition to the text having a common origin with the Judges 1 list. The geographical order then does not necessarily coincide with that of the preceding section. The similarity of the place names "Mehebel," Ahlab, and Helbah to Mahallibu/Mahalib should be regarded as the deciding factor identifying RSV Mahalab (Mehebel)—as well as Ahlab and Helbah—with Khirbet el-Mahalib. The historical conclusion then must be that David indeed controlled this northern region and that the territory of Tyre was at the time very small.

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RAFAEL FRANKEL

**MAHALALEL** (PERSON) [Heb *mahălalʾēl* (מַהֲלַלְאֵל)]. Var. MAHALALEEL. 1. Son of Kenan, born when Kenan was 70 years old (Gen 5:12–17; cf. Luke 3:37). At 65 years of age, Mahalalel sired Jared, and lived a total of 895 years. Comparisons with the genealogy of Cain in Genesis 4 have related this name with that of Mehujael (Wilson *GHBW,* 161–62). The initial *mem* and the final *ʾalep* and *lamed*

are three consonants (half of the possible six) which the names share. The name Mahalalel is based upon two roots: *hll*, "to praise"; and *ʾl*, "god." The *mem* preformative on the *hll* may suggest an original participial form ("praising God") or a nominal form ("praise of God"). As with the *ʾl* root, names with the *hll* root appear throughout the OT period: in addition to the listing of Mahalalel in Nehemiah (see below), the name Jahallelel occurs twice (1 Chr 4:16; and 2 Chr 29:12; cf. Noth *IPN*, 205), and Hillel once (Judg 12:13, 15).

2. Judahite ancestor of Athaiah, of the clan of Perez (Neh 11:4).

RICHARD S. HESS

**MAHALATH** (PERSON) [Heb *māḥălat* (מָחֲלַת)]. 1. Wife of Esau, daughter of Ishmael, sister of Nebaioth (Gen 28:9). Mahalath's name occurs in the P narrative of Jacob's departure (Gen 27:46–28:9). In response to Rebekah's complaints about Esau's Hittite wives (27:46), Isaac instructs Jacob to take a wife from the daughters of Laban (28:2). Seeing the command and blessing given Jacob (28:1–5), Esau realizes his father's displeasure (Gen 28:6–8) and marries Mahalath of the house of Ishmael (Gen 28:9). Thus, while Jacob departs to seek a wife from his mother's relative (Laban), Esau takes a wife from his father's house (Ishmael). While Gen 28:9 identifies Esau's Ishmaelite wife as Mahalath, the Edomite genealogy in Genesis 36 refers to her as Basemath. Moreover, 36:2 identifies Basemath as Ishmael's daughter, the sister of Nebaioth (cf. 28:9 for a similar description of Mahalath). This tradition, however, conflicts with Gen 26:34, which identifies Basemath as the daughter of Elon the Hittite. See also BASEMATH.

2. Wife of Rehoboam, king of Judah (2 Chr 11:18). Mahalath was the daughter of Jerimoth, an unknown son of David, and of Abihail, the daughter of Eliab, Jesse's eldest son. Her marriage to Rehoboam, her second cousin, is witness to a period of intermarriage within the Davidic house. Josephus attests to Mahalath's status by referring to her as Rehoboam's "kinswoman" (*Ant.* 8.10.1). One of eighteen wives of Rehoboam (2 Chr 11:21), Mahalath bore him three sons: Jeush, Shemariah, and Zaham (2 Chr 11:19).

LINDA S. SCHEARING

**MAHANAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *mahănayim* (מַחֲנַיִם)]. A city located in Gilead, along the Jabbok River, in the territory traditionally associated with half-Manasseh. The name appears to be a dual form (meaning "two camps" or "camp"), although the *-ayim* ending has alternatively been explained as an old locative ending (Mazar 1954: 230). Two popular etymologies are given for the site in Genesis 32. According to vv 2–3—Eng32:1–2—it was where Jacob and his family encountered a troop of angels, while vv 8–11 (—Eng 32:7–10) explain that it was where Jacob divided his family and flocks into two companies to avert total annihilation in case Esau attacked him. According to vv 23–31 (—Eng 32:22–30), the site lay at a ford of the Jabbok, across stream from Penuel.

Mahanaim became the administrative seat of Gilead during Saul's reign and continued to serve in that capacity under Eshbaal (2 Sam 2:9). It was the site of Eshbaal's hasty coronation by Abner and the remaining Saulide troops who had regrouped there following Saul's defeat and death at Mt. Gilboa. See ABNER; ESHBAAL. David's use of the site as his temporary base of operations during Absalom's revolt (2 Sam 17:24–19:8) suggests its continued role as the administrative center of Gilead. Under Solomon, it served as the capital of District VII (1 Kgs 4:14). The city's characterization as a levitical city probably stems from its early role as an administrative center (Josh 21:36—Eng21:38; 1 Chr 6:65—Eng6:80).

Except for a possible allusion to the site in Cant 6:13, the latest reference to Mahanaim occurs in an Egyptian inscription on the S entrance to the temple of Amon at Karnak. It is included among the names of the cities that Pharaoh Shishak destroyed during his campaign in Palestine in the fifth year of the reigns of Rehoboam and Jeroboam. It is entry no. 22, and is written Ma-han-ma.

According to Josh 13:30, the city marked the S boundary of the territory of half-Manasseh in Gilead. A location on the N bank of the Jabbok is thereby indicated, which would be consistent with Solomon's appointment of Ahinadab ben Iddo, a Manassite, as head official in the city (1 Kgs 4:14; 1 Chr 27:21).

The contradictory claim in Josh 13:26b that Mahanaim marked the S boundary of Gad appears to reflect the Gadites' later expansion into traditional Manassite territory. This situation is confirmed by the brief note in the Gadite genealogy in 1 Chr 5:16–17 that they occupied Gilead, Bashan and its towns, and all of the pasture land of Sharon during the reign of Jotham, king of Judah.

The site of Mahanaim can confidently be identified with Telul ed-Dhahab el-Garbi (M.R. 214177; Dalman 1913: 71–72; Noth, *Josua* HAT 1938, 55; Simons 1947: 37; Mazar 1957: 61; *LBHG*, 439), ruling out earlier proposed identifications with Khirbet Mahne (Oliphant 1881: 142–43); Tell Heggag (de Vaux 1941: 31); Tell er-Mrameh (Ubach, *EncBibBarc* 4: 1185–87); Tell er Reheil (Negenman 1969: 64); and Khirbet Suleiket (Merrill 1881: 437). Telul ed-Dhahab is located on the N side of the Zerqa, in an extension of land that projects S to form the W side of a sharp, *S*-shaped bend in the river. It has a smaller companion site, Telul ed-Dhahab es-Sharqia, located on the S bank of the river, which forms the E side of the *S*-curve. The latter is a strong candidate for PENUEL.

Mahanaim is built upon a natural outcropping of sandstone that lies at a natural ford of the river, which controls access to the adjoining iron-rich Ajlun region. Surface survey at the site has yielded extensive Iron I pottery, as well as Iron II ware, both of the periods required by the available biblical evidence. In addition, remains from the EB, Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods have been found. Bits of iron slag cover the upper terraces. A concentrated deposit, including slag, cinder, treated ore, and a furnace bottom, was discovered at the top of the E scarp, just SE of the main gate (Gordon and Villiers 1983: 283–84). No excavations have been completed at the tell to date. The site's strategic location as a gateway to the iron resources of the adjacent Ajlun probably led to its establishment as the administrative seat for Gilead in the early monarchy.

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

## **MAHANEH-DAN** (PLACE) [Heb *maḥănēh-dān* (מַחֲנֵה־דָן)]. An area adjacent to Kiriath-jearim where 600 Danites camped during their migration N to LAISH (Judg 18:12); also, the place between Zorah and Eshtaol where the spirit of the Lord first began to stir Samson (Judg 13:25).

Scholars of the 19th century puzzled over how to reconcile Mahaneh-dan's location near Kiriath-jearim (Deir el-ʿAzar, M.R. 159135) with the location between Zorah and Eshtaol indicated by Judg 13:25. Groves (*SDB* 2: 1758) attempted a solution by identifying Eshtaol with Qasṭal (M.R. 164134), but this was rejected on the grounds that it required Eshtaol be located well within the territory of Judah (Porter 1866: 31).

By the end of the 19th century, most scholars posited the existence of two locations named Mahaneh-dan—one at Kiriath-jearim (Judg 18:12) as the camp occupied by the emigrating Danites, and the other (Judg 13:25) as a war camp from the days of the initial Danite campaigns in the Shephelah (Welch *HDB* 3: 214; cf. Porter 1866: 31). Alt (*KlSchr* 1: 126–75) modified this view by suggesting that the biblical references to Mahaneh-dan reflected a seasonal migration of the Danites in the days when they lived as nomads. According to Alt, the tribe wintered between Zorah and Eshtaol and in the summer moved to grazing areas near Kiriath-jearim. One wonders, however, if such an extensive migration would have

taken place between areas as close to each other as Zorah-Eshtaol and Kiriath-jearim, or whether a Danite grazing camp would have been tolerated in the vicinity of a settled area like Kiriath-jearim.

Based on 1 Chr 2:52–54 and a presumed connection between the Manahathites/Menuhoth (*hammānaḥtî/hammĕnūḥôt*) and Kiriath-jearim and the Zorites (*haṣṣārʿî*), S. A. Cook (*EncBib* 3: 2904; 1907: 88) suggested that both references to Mahaneh-dan be emended to *mānaḥat-dān.* Though lately endorsed by Gray (*Joshua, Judges, Ruth* NCBC, 1967, 347, 368–69), Cook's suggestion may be faulted on the grounds that it requires that the etymology and context of Judg 18:12 be jettisoned in favor of an emendation for which there is no textual evidence. Other efforts toward a textual solution have explained the appearance of Mahaneh-dan in 13:25 as a gloss prompted by the existence in this passage and in 18:12 of the place names Zorah and Eshtaol (Burney 1918: 353; Simons *GTTOT,* 301).

There seems little reason to doubt the authenticity of Mahaneh-dan as it appears in Judg 18:12. Indeed, the name "camp of Dan" itself is more natural for a place in Judah than for a site in Danite territory (Moore *Judges* ICC, 326). Greater uncertainty, however, surrounds the use of Mahaneh-dan in Judg 13:25. A number of proposals may account for its appearance in this text. It is possible that there were two "camps of Dan." Alternatively, in this verse Mahaneh-dan may be a gloss brought on by the appearance here and in 18:12 of the names Zorah and Eshtaol. Error in transmission is also a possibility; perhaps Samson began his career as a judge not at the "camp of Dan" but at the "judge's camp" (*hammaḥănēh-dayyān*). Finally, Mahaneh-dan may be present in Judg 13:25 for literary or theological reasons. Perhaps the editor of Judges intended to contrast Samson's call to struggle at Mahaneh-dan with the 600 Danites' abandonment of that struggle at a place of the same name. Whichever explanation is accepted, any conclusion on Mahaneh-dan's occurrence in this passage must remain a matter of speculation.

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BRIAN P. IRWIN

**MAHARAI** (PERSON) [Heb *mahray* (מַהְרַי)]. **1.** One of David's champions, a select class of warriors directly attached to the king for special assignments, named in the parallel lists of 2 Sam 23:8–39 (v 28) and 1 Chr 11:10–47 (v 30). Although of high repute, he is distinguished from the more elite warriors (vv 8–23 and 11–25) listed before his grouping. In both texts he, as well as the champion Heleb/Heled (2 Sam 23:29; 1 Chr 11:30), is said to be "of Netophah," a town in the hill country of Judah SW of Bethlehem (1 Chr 2:54; Ezra 2:21–22; Neh 7:26).

The same Maharai appears to be mentioned in a list of commanders found in 1 Chr 27:1–15 (v 13), since this list mentions eleven other mighty men found in 1 Chr 11:10–47. However, here Maharai of Netophah is further identified as "of the Zerahites," that is, one of the descendants in the lineage of Zerah, one of the twins born to Judah by Tamar (Gen 38:24–30; Num 26:20; Josh 7:17). These commanders were each in charge of a monthly course of 24,000 men, or possibly 24 "units," rather than "thousands" (Myers *Chronicles* AB, 183, 53, 98) in the armed service of the king, Maharai being in charge of the tenth month. This list of commanders and their functions is possibly a construct of its composer, since (a) no such monthly, conscripted, civilian army is mentioned elsewhere during David's reign; (b) the large number of 288,000 men, if the term is understood correctly, is improbable; and (c) one of the commanders, Asahel (v 7), was dead before David had rule over all Israel (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 174–75). However, the author/redactor's thesis, that David made preparations for the proper ongoing cultic and national life of Israel, as illustrated throughout chaps. 23–27, draws on the fact that David took a census (vv 23–24; chap. 21) which could have been utilized for designing a monthly plan of conscription, a plan which would have been analogous to Solomon's monthly courses for his provision (1 Kgs 4:7–19).

RODNEY K. DUKE

**MAHATH** (PERSON) [Heb *maḥat* (מַחַת)]. A Levite, the son of Amasai, and one of those who consecrated himself and went in to cleanse the house of the Lord according to King Hezekiah's command (2 Chr 29:12; cf. 31:13). At 1 Chr 6:5—Eng6:20—Mahath appears in some versions (e.g., RSV, JB), although Jahath or Jehath is read in most versions (e.g., *BHS,* NEB, NIV, NKJV, NASB) and is probably the better reading. The two men, Mahath and Jahath, do not appear to be the same person, although they are distinctly related. Jahath of 1 Chr 6:20 is said to be a descendant of Gershom, the son of Libni, and whose son was Zimmah, while Mahath of 2 Chr 29:12 is said to be a descendant of Kohath, with both Gershom and Kohath being sons of Levi. The most detailed list of participants in the cleansing ritual is provided in 2 Chr 29:12, but a Mahath is also included in a different list of participants in 31:13. Several explanations are possible, although each is not equally probable: Mahath could be the only individual included in both lists, since the numbers appointed to the task were large and only representatively recorded; the two are different men who shared the same name, possibly appointed to different tasks, with Mahath of 29:12 a temple cleaner and Mahath of 31:13 an overseer of the now purified temple; and the second list in 31:13 is merely a stylistically characteristic list of names included by the Chronicler to emphasize the solemnity of the surrounding events (Coggins *1 and 2 Chronicles* CBC, 278), regardless of the status of Mahath in 29:12. Nevertheless, these are the only references to Mahath in the Bible, and nothing more is known of this individual or these individuals.
STANLEY E. PORTER

**MAHAVITE, THE** [Heb *hammaḥăwîm* (הַמַּחֲוִים)]. A gentilic modifying Eliel, who is listed among David's "mighty men" (1 Chr 11:46). See ELIEL #4. This listing of David's military forces, beginning in 1 Chr 11:10, evidences the accumulating support that David received prior to his ascent of the throne. Several scholars have suggested emending the gentilic "the Mahavite" to read "the Mahanite," i.e., from Mahanaim (e.g., Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 104). This emendation would be consistent with the Transjordanian nature of the list in 1 Chr 11:42–47; this section is an expansion of 1 Chr 11:26–41, a list also found in 2 Sam 23:24–39. Several scholars, noting the expansion, suggest that 1 Chr 11:42–47 does not belong to the original list of David's supporters. Noth (*NCH,* 54–55), for example, considered the expansion a postexilic fiction of several families who wished to trace their lineage to the supporters of David. However, Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 90–91), points out that the Transjordanian nature of the expansion weighs against Noth's argument, suggesting that the list was available to the Chronicler and was added here to further enhance David's coterie of followers. Likewise, Ackroyd (*1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah* TBC, 54) sees the list as added by the Chronicler in order to emphasize names from Transjordan, because the main list was composed of names mostly from Judah and the hill country W of Jerusalem.
SIEGFRIED S. JOHNSON

**MAHAZIOTH** (PERSON) [Heb *maḥăzî·ôt* (מַחֲזִיאוֹת)]. One of the fourteen sons of Heman who were appointed to prophesy with musical instruments under the direction of their father and the king (1 Chr 25:4). Mahazioth received the twenty-third lot cast to determine duties (1 Chr 25:30). Scholars have long suggested that the final nine names in 1 Chr 25:4 can be read as a liturgical prayer. For instance, Mahazioth can be treated as a nominal form of the root *ḥzh* and translated as "oracles, visions, clear signs." It would form part of the final line of the liturgical prayer as it is reconstructed by scholars. For a reconstruction and translation of the prayer, a summary of interpretive possibilities, and bibliography, see ELIATHAH.
J. CLINTON MCCANN, JR.

**MAHER-SHALAL-HASH-BAZ** (PERSON) [Heb *mahēr-šālāl-ḥāš-baz* (מַהֵר־שָׁלָל־חָשׁ־בַּז)].

Symbolic name given by Isaiah in Isa 8:1–4 to his newly born son. The name means "speedy spoil, hasty plunder" and is part of his strategy to discourage Judah (under King Ahaz) from submitting to Assyria as the price of safety. The occasion is the invasion of Judah by Syria and Israel (the so-called Syro-Ephraimite War, 735–732 B.C.E.). Isaiah had already assured Ahaz, who was apparently tempted to turn to Assyria for help (as in fact he did—cf. 2 Kgs 16:7–9), that the threat would quickly evaporate (Isa 7:3–9), and this prophetic act was intended to underline that message. The sequence described in 8:1–4 included writing out the name before witnesses, having relations with "the prophetess" (presumably Isaiah's wife), naming the child, and explaining the significance, namely, the demise of Syria and Israel within a limited time, i.e., the two or three years from the conception of a child to the speaking of its simplest words. By this Isaiah tells Ahaz (and the people—see v 6) that to seek help from Assyria is unnecessary because the present threat from Syria and Israel would quickly come to naught. (On Isaiah's use of symbolic names, see also 7:3, 14; 8:18; 9:5.)

JOSEPH JENSEN

**MAHLAH** (PERSON) [Heb *maḥlâ* (מַחְלָה)]. Two persons in the Hebrew Bible bear this name.

**1.** The first of Zelophehad's five daughters (Num 26:33; 27:1; 36:11; Josh 17:3). Although the etymology of the name is not certain, it has been suggested that it meant "the weak one" (Newman *IDB* 3: 227). Mahlah always occupies the first position in the listing of the five daughters of Zelophehad. The other four are Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, and Tirzah. In Num 36:11, the positions of Noah and Tirzah are exchanged.

Mahlah first appears in Num 26:28–34, the Manassite section of a military census. The focus of the passage is on the offspring of Hepher, whose son, Zelophehad, had five daughters. The next chapter reports that Mahlah and her sisters approached Moses and asked that an allotment of land be given to them (27:1–11), because Zelophehad had died in the wilderness and left no son to receive his inheritance of land and pass on his name (vv 1–4). When Moses brought the request before God, their wish was granted and a general decree issued that the same treatment should be shown to any daughter of Israel in similar circumstances (vv 5–11). Therefore, Mahlah and her sisters are remembered for the legal precedent that was established by their suit. Snaith (1966) has suggested that the story had no basis in fact but was composed in order to account for the presence of Manasseh in W Palestine, and other scholars are equally unsure of its historical accuracy (Butler *Joshua* WBC, 187).

Finally, the reader learns (Num 36:10–12) that an additional law was issued because of the situation that surrounded Zelophehad's daughters. Manassite tribal leaders were afraid that Mahlah and her sisters would marry men of another tribe and take their inheritance with them. This would have reduced Manasseh's territorial holdings (Num 36:1–4). Therefore, Moses commanded the daughters of Zelophehad to marry men within their tribe, and this decree was made law for any Israelite woman in similar circumstances (vv 5–9). Therefore, Mahlah and her sisters married their cousins from the tribe of Manasseh, so that their inheritance would remain within the tribe (vv 10–12). Fishbane (1985: 104–5) notes that vv 6–9 produce a legal fiction by subverting the decision in Numbers 27. Without the latter ruling, Zelophehad's property would have gone to the children of his brothers. With the ruling in Num 36:6–9, which requires Zelophehad's daughters to marry their paternal cousins, the result is the same.

Joshua 17:1–13 deals with the tribal allotment of Manasseh and continues the story of the inheritance of Zelophehad's daughters. The passage notes that Mahlah and her sisters petitioned Eleazar the priest, Joshua, and other tribal leaders to grant them the inheritance, as God had commanded Moses. The leaders complied with their request (vv 3–4). Therefore, in addition to the allotment that was given to Gilead (v 1), ten shares of land were given to other Manassite families—five to the clans of Hepher's brothers and five to the daughters of Zelophehad the son of Hepher (vv 2–6). Consequently, it appears that the families of Mahlah and her sisters assumed considerable significance within the tribe of Manasseh. See also MACHIR.

It has been proposed by Lemaire (1972: 13–15), who drew on earlier studies by Albright (1931) and Cross (1961), that biblical texts and the Samaria ostraca indicate that "Hepher" was the name of a geographical territory, rather than the name of a village. The names of the towns within it are given in the Bible as the names of the daughters of Zelophehad. Tirzah was its capital, and Mahlah, which Lemaire (1972: 16–17) identifies with the modern Abel Meholah, was another of its villages. Furthermore, Lemaire (1972: 18–20) suggests that the biblical report that the daughters of Zelophehad married their Manassite cousins does not in fact describe marriages of five Israelite women. On the contrary, the narratives reflect the establishment at Shechem (Joshua 24) of a tribal alliance between the non-Israelite villages in the "land of Hepher" and the Israelite clans of Manasseh. Although the details of Lemaire's reconstruction are open to serious question, it is clear from the Samaria ostraca that villages in Manassite lands of W Palestine bore some of the same names as the biblical "daughters of Zelophehad."

**2.** A Manassite, whose mother was Hammolecheth and whose brothers were Ishhod and Abiezer (1 Chr 7:18). It is unclear whether the name should be construed as a feminine form, since it occurs elsewhere as the name for one of Zelophehad's daughters (Num 26:33), or as a masculine form. Although Syriac mss omit Mahlah from the genealogy entirely, most interpreters do not regard this as sufficient reason to strike the name from the text of 1 Chr 7:18. It is puzzling that the name of Mahlah's mother is given, but her father is not identified. This is irregular, since the genealogies usually trace the lineage through fathers. Moreover, the relationship of Hammolecheth (and so Mahlah) to the rest of the tribe of Manasseh is uncertain. It appears most probable that she was the sister of Gilead (vv 17–18), although this is by no means sure. In this case, Mahlah's grandfather and great-grandfather would have been Gilead and Machir, respectively.

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M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**MAHLI** (PERSON) [Heb *maḥlî* (מַחְלִי)]. A personal name whose suggested sources of derivation include Ar *miḥalun,* "cunning, cleverness" (*IPN*, 24), Heb *ḥlh,* "be weak, sick" (*HDB* 3: 214; KB, 513), Aram *ḥl*ˀ (or maybe *ḥly*), "sweet, pleasant," and SW Ar *ḥlw,* "gift, spice" (both noted but not advocated by Loewenstamm *EncMiqr* 4: 800). Brockington (*Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* Century Bible, 101) believes the meaning to be unknown. Not more than two individuals in the Hebrew Bible bear this name, and some have suggested, as genealogies are harmonized, that one person is represented in two different ways (*EncBib* 3: 2905; Cody 1969: 57 n. 65).

**1.** A Levite whose grandfather was Levi, whose father was Merari, and whose brother was Mushi. He is first mentioned (Exod 6:19, LXX = *Mooli*) in a genealogical text (vv 13–20) whose purpose seems to be to disclose the division between the sons of Aaron, i.e., the Aaronite priesthood, and the remaining Levite families (Galil 1985: 489). Cody (1969: 161 n. 40) believes that this personal name, along with three others (Libni, Hebron, and Mushi), derives from a levitical clan (*mišpāḥāh*) mentioned in Num 26:58 (see 3:33)—*hammaḥli,* "the Mahlites." Mahli is designated the head of a family (*mišpāḥāh*) (Num 3:20) in a levitical census (vv 14–39) wherein the "family of Mahlites" (v 33) are among the sons of Merari whose duties included care of the tabernacle's frames, bars, pillars, bases, and accessories (vv 36–37). These Mahlites are also listed, as mentioned above, in Num 26:58 (but not in the LXX) in the levitical section (vv 57–62) of a second census. Mahli is included by the Chronicler (1 Chr 6:4—Eng6:19) in a genealogical listing of the sons of Levi (vv 1–5—Eng 16–30) where he is the first mentioned of Merari's two sons. In this list his family is traced for six generations (vv 14–15—Eng 29–30) through his son

Libni; however, in the divisional organization of the Levites in 1 Chr 23:6–24, the sons of Mahli (v 21) are registered as Eleazar (who died without sons) and Kish (whose sons married Eleazar's daughters). In a later additional list of Levites (1 Chr 24:20–31)—Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 166) believes it to be a later addition to 1 Chr 23:6–24, Elmslie (*IB* 3: 425) sees it as a "very late" addition with no clear relation to 1 Chronicles 23, Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 239) believes it was intended to supplement and update (241) the family list of Levites in 1 Chr 23:7–23—Mahli is mentioned as one of two sons of Merari (v 26) and as the father of Eleazar (who had no sons) and Ithamar (v 28). Concerning the insertion of vv 26b–27 and the person of Jaaziah opinions vary: Rothstein (*1 Chronikbuch* KAT, 440) believes that Jaaziah represents a later generation whose name is similar to that of Mahli's great-grandson Uzzah (1 Chr 6:14—Eng6:29); Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 240) admits to the possibility that he was an otherwise unknown son of Merari and therefore brother of Mahli; Curtis (*Chronicles* ICC, 274) believes him to represent, not a son of Merari, but the head of a family claiming such descent. Mahli is also mentioned as the head of the family to which the "man of discretion," who was brought to Ezra from Casiphia, belonged (Ezra 8:18; MT = "and Sherebiah"). 1 Esdras 8:46—Eng8:47 identifies that man as *Asebēbias* (Sherebiah). In these last two texts Mahli is described as "the son of Levi" without mention of Merari. Möhlenbrink (1934: 209) discounts an attempt to understand this description that views Mahli as being conceived as Levi's son by referring to the wide range of meanings embraced by the Hebrew word for "son."

**2.** A Levite whose father was Mushi, son of Merari, and therefore was a nephew of the Mahli described above. He appears (1 Chr 6:32—Eng6:47) in a list of levitical musicians (vv 16–32—Eng 31–47), schematically built around Levi's three sons (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 46), whose office as temple musicians resulted from Davidic appointment (v 16—Eng v 31). Elsewhere he is listed as having two brothers (1 Chr 23:23; 24:30).

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RODNEY H. SHEARER

**MAHLON** (PERSON) [Heb *maḥlôn* (מַחְלוֹן)]. Son of Elimelech and Naomi who married Ruth the Moabitess (Ruth 1:2, 5; 4:9). Mahlon and his brother Chilion left their home in Bethlehem and resided in Moab, where they married Moabite women. Mahlon is remembered as the deceased husband of Ruth, whose estate became the subject of Boaz's legal transaction at the city gate (4:5, 9–10). There is a legal problem with the transaction, however: in the narrative, Obed, the son of Ruth and Boaz, is the heir of all that belongs to Mahlon (4:10), but in the genealogy he is the son of Boaz (4:17b, 18–22). The Targum explains that the sons died as a result of their marriage to foreign women on polluted soil, but the narration does not condemn their marriage and is silent about the reason and circumstances of their deaths.

Since the Ruth story has commonly been taken as folklore, the names of the brothers have been assumed to be contrived in keeping with the story's genre. This suspicion is helped by the rhyming names of Mahlon and Chilion, which hint at an artificial construction. Midrashic authorities by an etymological interpretation attached significance to their names because of their untimely deaths. Mahlon meant "blotted out" (*mḥh*) and Chilion "perished" (*klh*). However, the etymologies of Mahlon and Chilion are uncertain. The root *mḥl,* except for some personal names, is not attested in the Hebrew Bible. Influenced by the parallel etymology of "Chilion," many (*IPN* 10) relate "Mahlon" to *mḥh* ("to be sick, ill"). Others have argued that the names are not necessarily fictitious since Elimelech and Chilion, for instance, are known from LB onomastica.

It is questionable whether parents would name their children "sickly" and "puny." But it may be that the characters are real and have been assigned these names as a result of their role in the story. A similar practice of ancient storytelling occurs in the book of Judges, where Cushan-risathaim is defeated by Israel

(Judg 3:8–10); the name literally means "Cushan, double wickedness" and was probably a contemptuous title given to him by the Israelites.

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KENNETH A. MATHEWS

**MAHOL** (PERSON) [Heb *maḥôl* (מָחוֹל)]. The father of Heman, Calcol, and Darda, who are mentioned in 1 Kgs 5:11—Eng4:31. Solomon's wisdom is presented as superior to the wisdom of the sons of Mahol. The proper name "Mahol" occurs only in this passage. Neither his nationality nor the reputation for wisdom to which this verse alludes is provided in the OT. On the contrary, in the parallel passage in 1 Chr 2:6, *Zerah* is given as the father of Heman, Calcol, *Dara,* and others. Zerah's identification as the grandson of Judah (by Tamar, his daughter-in-law) ties the history of these sages to Israel. On the other hand, *bĕnê qedem* (1 Kgs 5:11—Eng4:30) is the expected designation for easterners as opposed to Israelites.

Albright interpreted *maḥôl* as a technical designation rather than a proper name (*ARI,* 210). According to this reading the text would be rendered "sons of the dance" or "members of the musicians' guild." The verb *ḥûl* upon which the noun *maḥôl* is based literally means "to turn, dance." Mowinckel built upon Albright's thesis by suggesting a close relation between wisdom teachers and poetic prophecy in the temple. This association, according to Mowinckel, led to their identification as Levites with the term *maḥôl* (1962: 96–97). De Vaux claimed that the first choir was perhaps non-Israelite, that is, the original "choristers" were the eastern sons of *maḥôl* (see *AncIsr*). John Gray makes the broader claim that mention of the "sons of *maḥôl"* implies a Canaanite origin of psalms usage (*Kings* OTL, 147). The cultic origins of the term *maḥôl* are not as clear as such claims may lead the reader to believe.

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DONALD K. BERRY

**MAHSEIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *maḥsēyâ* (מַחְסֵיָה)]. The father of Neriah and the grandfather of Jeremiah's scribe, Baruch (Jer 32:12; Bar 1:1). He is also identified as the father of Neriah and the grandfather of Seraiah, a quartermaster who accompanied Zedekiah to Babylon in 594 B.C.E. (Jer 51:59). That both Baruch and Seraiah are described as sons of Neriah and grandsons of Mahseiah suggests that they were brothers. In Jer 51:59–64, however, Jeremiah instructs Seraiah to read a scroll regarding God's judgment against Babylon in much the same way Baruch had read Jeremiah's scroll regarding Judah (Jeremiah 36). So, while it is possible that Baruch and Seraiah were in fact brothers, the sons of Neriah and the grandsons of Mahseiah, the common lineage could also reflect an effort to connect the common function of these two in the Jeremiah tradition. Mahseiah is mentioned only in connection with Baruch and Seraiah. The name "Mahseiah" (Gk *Maasaias*) means "Yahweh is a refuge."

JOHN M. BRACKE

**MAIL, COAT OF.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

**MAKAZ** (PLACE) [Heb *māqaṣ* (מָקַץ)]. A city listed in Solomon's second administrative district, administered by Ben-geber. The other towns listed there (cf. also Josh 19:4–46) suggest that this district was in the Shephelah, probably between Nahal Ayyalon and Nahal Sorek. The LXX Machemas/Machmas suggests an original *mḥṣ,* and thus some would identify Makaz with Khirbet el-Mukheizin, about 4 miles S of Ekron. It has also been identified with a site (M.R. 144137) between Gezer and Timna (*RAB,* map on p. 85).

GARY A. HERION

**MAKED** (PLACE) [Gk *Maked* (Μακεδ)]. One of the five cities in Gilead in which Jews were being held captive by the gentile citizens (1 Macc 5:26). The city is perhaps the same as *m-q-t,* mentioned by

Thutmose III in his list of Canaanite towns. The location of the site is open to question. Abel (1923: 518–19) and Aharoni and Avi-Yonah (*MBA,* map no. 189) identify it with Tell el-Jemid (M.R. 232237), while Grollenberg (1956: 156) and Simons (*GTTOT,* 425) identify it with Tell Miqdad. In either case the sequence of events recorded in 1 Macc 5:26–36 demands a location E of the Sea of Galilee, likely between Chaspho and Bosor, the cities defeated before and after it.

The early successes of the Maccabaean Revolt, including retaking the temple in 164 B.C., generated gentile reprisals. Many Jews in Gilead fled to a stronghold at the city of Dathema, from which they sent word to Judas for help. En route to rescue the refugees, Judas learned from a band of Nabateans that other Jews were under attack in Bozrah, Bosor-in-Alema, Chaspho, Maked, and Carnaim, as well as other cities (1 Macc 5:24–27). Judas defeated the gentiles in Bozrah, Dathema, and Chaspho before delivering the Jews in Maked.

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PAUL L. REDDITT

**MAKHELOTH** (PLACE) [Heb *maqhelōt* (מַקְהֵלֹת)]. The tenth encampment of the Israelites after leaving the wilderness of Sinai, as listed in Num 33:25–26, where it is placed between Haradah and Tahath. Many scholars suggest that Kehelathah in Num 33:22–23 is a duplicate for Makheloth in Num 33:25–26 since LXX preserves very similar names for both: Makellath in 33:22–23 and Makeloth in 33:25–26 (*GTTOT,* 256). Both names also have similar meanings, "assembly" or the like. If the equation is accepted, a possible location is Kuntillet ʿAjrud, also called Kuntillet Qraye (*GP,* 214; M.R. 094956). For a discussion of the location of any of the places associated with the journey of the Israelites from Egypt through Sinai see DOPHKAH.

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JEFFREY R. ZORN

**MAKKEDAH** (PLACE) [*maqqēdâ*]. Amorite royal city in the Shephelah, or lowlands, of S Canaan, which after its conquest by Joshua (Josh 12:16) was incorporated into the tribal territory of Judah within the same district as Lachish (Josh 15:41). Following the defeat of the anti-Gibeonite coalition (Josh 15:10), the five Amorite kings who headed this coalition escaped to a cave near Makkedah, where they were caught and executed (Josh 10:16–27). Contrary to the attempt by Noth (1937) to discount these verses as merely an etiological story accounting for the heap of stones in front of Makkedah cave, this account most likely stems from historical events, the memory of which has been transformed and overlaid by editors whose primary interest appears to have been to demonstrate the overwhelming importance of Yahweh's role in the conquest of Canaan (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 286–87). Following the account of the events at the cave, a description of the capture of the city of Makkedah, the execution of its king, and the utter destruction of its inhabitants (Josh 11:28) begins an independent unit consisting of a series of formulaic statements recounting the total conquest of S Canaan. Although some details are difficult to reconcile with events described earlier in the chapter, overall this unit makes considerable sense in both geographical and historical terms (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 294–95). Presumably it was included because the editor wished to emphasize the totality of the conquest as well as the miraculous defeat of the anti-Gibeonite coalition. Despite considerable effort, no satisfactory candidate for the site of ancient Makkedah has been identified. All that we can say for certain is that the biblical passages support a location somewhere in the central or N Shephelah, in the vicinity of Azekah (Josh 15:10) and Lachish (Josh 15:41). Attempts to locate Makkedah farther to the S and E (Noth 1937) ignore these geographical hints and depend too heavily on the speculations of Eusebius (Wright 1946: 110).

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WADE R. KOTTER

**MALACHI, BOOK OF.** The last book of the Hebrew and LXX canon (and thirty-ninth in the Protestant and forty-sixth in the Catholic English Bible).

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A. Author
B. Historical Background
C. Literary Considerations
D. Text and Language
E. Date
F. Message and Theological Significance
G. Canonicity

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**A. Author**

The name Malachi occurs in the OT only in the superscription of 1:1. In light of the introductory formula in Zech 9:1 and 12:1, "an oracle of the word of the Lord," Mal 1:1 may be an editorial preface marking the last of a series of three anonymous oracles appended to Zechariah 1–8. Further, some argue this name "Malachi" is an editor's title borrowed from the phraseology of 3:1, ultimately permitting its detachment from Zechariah and the completion of the sacred number of Twelve Prophets (see G below).

As a proper name Malachi may be translated "my messenger" or "my angel" (cf. Zech 1:9, 11), though context militates against the latter. Several commentators have espoused the view that Malachi is indeed a proper name (e.g., Childs, Kaiser, and Rudolph). Still others suggest that the name is a shortened form of Malachiah, meaning "Yah (weh) is my messenger" or "Yah (weh) is an angel." While highly irregular, this is not impossible given the unusual revelatory ministry of the angel of the Lord in the OT (cf. Judg 13:18; 1 Chr 21:18; Zech 1:11; 3:5; 12:8).

Despite the lack of attestation elsewhere, Malachi is similar to other OT names ending in *i*, such as Beeri ("my well," Gen 26:34; Hos 1:1), Ethni ("my gift," 1 Chr 6:41), Abi ("my father," 2 Kgs 18:2; 2 Chr 29:1), Uri ("my fire" or "my light," Exod 31:2; 1 Kgs 4:19), and Zichri ("my remembrance" (?), Exod 6:21; 1 Chr 8:19, 23, 27). Neither should this single occurrence of Malachi count as evidence against its use as a proper noun since both Jonah and Habakkuk are unique among the names of the Hebrew prophets.

The LXX understands Malachi as an appellative or official title when it translates "by the hand of his messenger." Here the first-person pronoun "my" has been changed to a third-person pronoun "his," despite the total lack of supporting textual evidence. This alteration made by the translators only serves to underscore the originality of the MT. By contrast, Jewish tradition remembered Malachi along with Haggai and Zechariah as men of the great synagogue. The Targum of Jonathan, Jerome, and Rashi (1040–1105) identified "my messenger" in 1:1 as a title for Ezra the scribe, the stance adopted by Calvin. Pseudo-Epiphanius, Dorotheus, Hesychius, and other church fathers accepted 4th century C.E. Jewish tradition collected in the *Lives of the Prophets* stating that Malachi was a Levite from the village of Sopha or Sophira of Zebulun. This tradition also claims that he was honored by the people for his piety and meekness and was given the name Malachi because he was "fair to look upon." Yet modern scholars usually dismiss these fanciful stories as valueless because of their late dates. While not ruling out the possibility of anonymity, it seems reasonable to conclude, whether for the sake of convenience or for the sake of logic, that the prophet's name or title was Malachi. This conclusion is strengthened by the absence of compelling evidence to the contrary.

Little else is known about the prophet Malachi. Like Obadiah, the superscription to his oracles traces no genealogical heritage. Malachi's prophecies do betray a strong interest in the temple, priesthood, and the sacrificial system (cf. 1:6–13; 2:1–4, 8–9; 3:3–4, 6–11). Yet he speaks as one observing that system from the outside (cf. 1:6; 2:2). He possessed a knowledge of both the Deuteronomic (1:8; cf. Deut 15:21) and

Priestly (3:10; cf. Num 18:21) legal traditions. Malachi was clearly a man of considerable personal piety, grasping the import of God's holiness and the seriousness of personal sin before God (cf. 2:17–3:4; 3:6–7; 3:13–4:1). His staunch convictions against idolatry (2:10–12), easy divorce (2:13–16), and social injustice (3:5) bespeak a man of commitment and integrity, a throwback to the days of the preexilic prophets. Malachi was also a man of some courage, as seen in his bold upbraiding of the influential priestly class and the social elite (cf. 1:1–14; 2:1–4; 3:2–4).

Finally, Malachi demonstrates an important continuity with the covenantal message of earlier Hebrew prophets. He understood the priority of the internal attitude and motive over the external form (1:9–13; 2:2–3; 3:16–18; cf. Amos 5:12–15, 21–24; Mic 6:6–8). He also understood the blessing and curse of God to be rooted in personal and corporate obedience or disobedience to the stipulations of the divine covenant (3:16–4:3). He recognized that the demands of covenant included a righteous ethic, a code of behavior consistent with the nature of God, the covenant maker (3:5–7; cf. Isa 1:15–20).

**B. Historical Background**

The oracles of Malachi reflect conditions associated with the period of pre-Ezran decline (ca. 515–458 B.C., i.e., from the completion of the Second Temple to the ministry of Ezra in Jerusalem, assuming the traditional date for Ezra's journey to Jerusalem to be correct). While the Second Temple had been completed at the prompting of Haggai and Zechariah (Hag 1:1–6; Ezra 5:1–2; cf. Ezra 3:10–13; 6:13–15), the apathy and disillusionment within the restoration community, which permitted the temple precinct to lie in ruins for nearly twenty years, continued to permeate the group. The prophetic vision of a renewed Davidic state under Zerubbabel never materialized (Hag 2:20–23). The material prosperity predicted by Haggai (2:6–9) never came to pass, and the streaming migration of former Jewish captives foreseen by Zechariah (8:1–8) never occurred. Zerubbabel was likely deposed by order of Darius, who was attempting to control the upheaval in his newly acquired empire by ousting those in Persia and outlying provinces who were deemed political liabilities. The completion of the Second Temple ushered in no messianic age (Mal 3:6–12; cf. Zech 8:9–23). The ideal of Ezekiel's temple state quickly faded amid the stark reality of Persian domination and the problems of mere survival in a city surrounded by hostile foreigners. Zechariah's call to a deeper spiritual life went unheeded, and was even mocked by God's apparent failure to restore covenantal blessings (8:4–13; cf. 10:1–2; Mal 3:13–15). If the records of Ezra and Nehemiah are any indication, then the messianic oracles of Second Zechariah and Malachi had little impact on postexilic morale (cf. Ezra 9:1–4; Neh 5:1–8; 11:1–3). Given the testimony of scanty written documents to the contrary, even the prophetic voice soon ceased to be a factor in the Jewish restoration community (cf. Mal 4:5). Jerusalem, probably under a Persian governor, remained part of a small, struggling, and insignificant satrapy in the vast Persian empire—a social and political backwater. The Persians themselves were engaged in a titanic contest for control of the west against the Greeks.

It is against this background that Malachi prophesies in Jerusalem. The ongoing petty hostilities with the Samaritans and burdensome vassal status to Persia notwithstanding, the prophet's message focused on the quality of religious and social life with the restoration community. Skepticism and doubt characterized popular response to Yahweh as God (1:2). The priesthood was bored with formal religions (1:13) and showed only contempt and indifference to ceremonial and moral purity (1:6–12). The general populace had followed the lead of the priests (2:8–9). The people were cheating God out of his tithe (3:6–12) and the proper sacrifices sanctioned by covenant law (1:14). Even obedience to the stipulations of divine covenant was deemed useless because God was not acting in accordance with his nature (2:17; 3:13–15). This breakdown of functional Yahwism precipitated intermarriage with foreign women (2:10–12), attendant idolatry (2:11), scandalous divorce (2:13–16), as well as sorcery, adultery, perjury, and social injustice (3:5). The very elements of nature had compounded the misery and bleakness of the community with drought, blighted crops, and locust plagues (3:10–11). In the final analysis, it was a most dismal and sordid scenario to which Malachi came as God's spokesman.

**C. Literary Considerations**

The genre of Malachi remains a debated question. Past and present German scholarship (e.g., Rudolph) usually considers the oracles a type of poetry, while English scholars generally have regarded Malachi as

prose (e.g., Torrey). This second view is corroborated by an analysis of the postexilic prophets utilizing the "prose-particle" counting method of Andersen and Freedman (*Hosea* AB, 57–66), in which the total occurrences of the Hebrew particles *ʾēt* and *ʾăšer* and the definite article *he* are apportioned to the total number of words per chapter of a given text (since in general these particles have long been recognized as typical elements of Hebrew prose and as atypical elements of Hebrew poetry). The frequency of these particles is high in prose (on a percentage basis 15 percent or more of all words), while the frequency of these particles in poetry is much lower (5 percent or less of all words). Analyzed from this perspective, Haggai, Zechariah 1–8, and Malachi demonstrate prose-particle frequencies very near to or above 15 percent, while Zechariah 9–14 exhibits almost equal ratios, having a prose-particle frequency of less than 1 percent in chap. 9. In a similar study, Hoftijzer (1965) traced the use of the particle *ʾēt* through most of the OT. Based upon his analysis of *ʾet syntagmemes* (i.e., the particle *ʾēt* and the word or group of words following it), Hoftijzer (1965: 76–77) concluded that Haggai, Zechariah 1–8, and Malachi, at least in respect to their density of *ʾet* syntagmemes, were comparable to narrative material. He also concluded that Deutero-Zechariah was akin to Hebrew narrative, with the exception of chap. 9, where the *ʾet* syntagmeme density agreed with that in poetic material. Given this statistical evidence it seems safe to infer that Haggai, Zechariah 1–8, and Malachi are representative of Hebrew prose, while Zechariah 9–14 appears to be a mixture of prose and poetry. Following Andersen and Freedman (*Hosea* AB, 57–66, 313), the Hebrew of the postexilic prophets may be designated "oracular prose," so it may be distinguished as a genre somewhat different from the historical narratives (except for Haggai, which is "pure" prose).

Malachi's prophecy is simple, direct, and forceful. Indeed, 47 of the 55 verses in the book are first-person addresses to Israel, presenting a vivid encounter between God and his people. Unlike the "message formula" followed by "oracle" predominant in the earlier prophets, Malachi punctuates his message with a series of six questions and answers (1:2–5; 1:6–2:9; 2:10–16; 2:17–3:5; 3:7–8; 3:13–14). This catechetical or disputational format is characterized by the statement of a truth, hypothetical audience rebuttal in the form of a question, followed by the prophet's answer to the rebuttal through the restatement of his initial premise and the presentation of supporting evidence. This disputational form of prophetic speech occurs elsewhere in the OT (e.g., Isa 40:27–28; Jer 2:23–25, 29–32; 29:24–32; Ezek 12:21–28; Mic 2:6–11), but in Malachi it constitutes the focal point of the book's literary structure. Fischer (1972) has observed important connections between the form of Malachi's oracles and the content of his message, while acknowledging his mastery of the catechetical or disputational literary format. This dialectical development of the prophet's arguments becomes the precursor of the expositional method in the latter rabbinic schools.

It is possible that the terse sentences and point-blank style of Malachi attest to the original orality of the prophecies and probably indicate a minimal amount of editorial tampering with the text. This may help account for the scholarly consensus about the essential unity or integrity of the book. Other than the superscription of 1:1 (see G below), only three passages are consistently cited by the book's critics as additions by a later author or editor (1:11–14; 2:11b–13a; 4:4–6 [—MT 3:22–24]; see F below).

**D. Text and Language**

The Hebrew text of Malachi is quite well preserved. The two recent works of Kruse-Blinkenberg (1966, 1967) remain useful sources for the textual criticism of Malachi. He catalogs 111 divergences between the Peshitta and the MT and 96 variations between the LXX and the MT. However, the vast majority of these textual differences are inconsequential.

The LXX is a fairly literal translation of the MT and on occasion proves helpful in restoring words or phrases that may have dropped out of the MT text during the transmission process. For example, in 1:6 the LXX adds *phobēthēśetai,* "a servant 'fears' his master"; in 2:3 some LXX mss and the Vulgate read Heb *hazzĕrōʿa,* "arm, forearm," for the MT *hazzeraʿ,* "seed"; in 3:2 add *bāʾ,* " 'he comes' like a refiner's fire"; in 3:5 add Heb *mišpaṭ,* "those who turn aside 'judgment' for the stranger"; and in 3:19 read the LXX *kai phléxei auÙtoús,* "burning like an oven, 'and it will consume them'." Yet the elliptical nature of Malachi's oracular prose necessitates the use of considerable caution in the reconstruction of the MT on the basis of the LXX's readings.

The Vulgate is also valuable for the textual criticism of Malachi because where it deviates from the LXX it retains readings that are even more closely related to the Hebrew. The published Qumran materials make no significant contribution to the Hebrew text of Malachi.

The text of Malachi contains a handful of expressions posing translation difficulties. For example, the JB, NEB, and commentators read the LXX *eʾis dómata* ("dwelling places of" or "pastures") for Heb *leṯannôṯ* ("jackals," 1:3); *nîḇô* ("its fruit," 1:12; cf. Isa 57:19) is awkward; the active participles *ʿēr weʿōneh* (literally "awake and answering," 2:12) prompt a variety of interpretations (e.g., the Vulgate reads "the master and the scholar," the NEB translates "nomads" or "settlers" based on Arabic, and the RSV emends *ʿēḏ* "witness" for *ʿēr*); while the translation variations of 2:15 found in the Versions and commentaries mark this as the single most obscure verse in the book.

Lexical analysis of Malachi reveals a predilection for vocabulary outside that of the other postexilic writings. Malachi shares only 8 percent of its vocabulary with Haggai and Zechariah, while demonstrating a pronounced affinity for exilic and preexilic terminology (e.g., *ʾalmānāh, ʾărubbāh, ʾārār, beḵî, baʿal, beṣaʿ, gāʿar, ḥāmal, ḥinnām, kābas, môrāʾ, marpēʾ, segullāh, ʿānap̄, ʿāšaq,* etc.). In addition, Malachi shows a marked preference for poetic vocabulary usually restricted to the OT books of Job, select Psalms, Proverbs, and Lamentations (e.g., *ʾayyēh, ʾanāqāh, bāḡaḏ, bāḥan, dimʿāh, zēd, zāqaq, ṭerep̄, lāhaṭ, nāʾap̄,* etc.). Finally, careful observation of the prophet's language shows that Malachi exhibits greater similarity to the vocabulary of Jeremiah and Ezekiel than any other OT corpora (cf. Hill 1983).

**E. Date**

Traditionally the date of Malachi's oracles has been related to fixed postexilic historical events, and hence to absolute chronological boundaries. These limits include a *terminus a quo* of 516/15 B.C. (the completion of the Second Temple) and a *terminus ad quem* of ca. 180 B.C. (i.e., the reference to the "Twelve Prophets" in Ben Sira 49:10). In addition, all previous investigations have focused on the thematic similarities, ritual practices, lexical parallels, and contiguous descriptions of the religious, social, and political conditions within the Jewish restoration community as recorded in the postexilic prophets and Ezra and Nehemiah. For example, Malachi attacks the very same abuses as do Ezra and Nehemiah (disrespect for the temple service, 1:7, 13; careless priests, 1:6–8; the cessation of tithes and offerings, 2:17 and 3:7–10; and intermarriage with foreigners, 2:10–16). Yet Malachi makes no appeal to the injunctions implemented by Ezra and Nehemiah to correct such abuses. Malachi prefers D over P in respect to religious and ceremonial law (since he makes no distinction between priests and Levites, cf. Deut 18:1 and Lev 1:5; Mal 1:4 mentions only the male sacrificial animal, and Mal 3:8–10 combines the heave offering with the tithe), suggesting a pre-Ezra date. In Malachi, Ezra, and Nehemiah the focus of attention is the deplorable state of affairs in Jerusalem (e.g., the degenerate priesthood, Mal 2:1–9 and Neh 13:1–30; intermarriage with idolatrous women, Mal 2:1–9; Ezra 9:1–2; Neh 1:1–3; rampant divorce, Mal 2:13–16; cf. Ezra 9–10; laxity in the payment of sacral dues, Mal 3:8; Neh 10:32–39; 13:10; and the oppression of the poor, Mal 3:5 and Neh 5:1–5).

Based on the strength of this sometimes conflicting and often ambiguous evidence, the overwhelming majority of biblical scholars past and present view Malachi as a contemporary of Ezra and Nehemiah and date his ministry to the mid or latter half of the 5th century B.C. (cf. Verhoef *Haggai and Malachi* NICOT, 156–60).

Recognizing the acute limitations of dating Malachi's oracles on the germane internal data, this study presupposes the validity of recent linguistic research in the typological categorization of biblical Hebrew. Rather than relating the book of Malachi to postexilic social conditions, religious practices, and historical events which assume an absolute chronology, this typological method, developed by Polzin (1976) relates Malachi to postexilic literature and therefore to a literary and relative chronological scale. The purely linguistic analysis employed by this approach to Malachi has the advantage of being far more objective than previous research, due to the statistical nature of the investigation. The systematic application of Polzin's nineteen grammatical and syntactic categories to the Hebrew text yields a typological continuum of biblical Hebrew demonstrating the relative chronological relationships of the selected corpora (for

details see Hill 1983). A partial typological continuum and a summary of the typological analysis of the postexilic prophets is included in Fig. MAL.01 (A.1–13 and B.1–6 are the nineteen diagnostic categories).

Malachi shows remarkable typological affinity to Haggai, Zechariah 1–8 and 9–14, Joel and Jonah, as well as the $P^g$ corpus. By contrast, Malachi demonstrates no typological affinity with Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, or Chronicles and only minimal correspondence to the $P^s$ corpus. Despite the probable changes taking place in the language spoken in Jerusalem and environs because of the immediate mixing with the language of the indigenous population, the written language of the postexilic prophets maintains a high degree of typological continuity with the written language of the exilic period. One can surmise that the prophets themselves were recently returned exiles, perhaps numbered among those who came to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel and Joshua (Ezra 2:1–2); hence the continuity with exilic language.

Based on the evidence from this typological analysis of the postexilic prophets, Malachi (and Zechariah 9–14) dates to the period of pre-Ezran decline (515–458 B.C.). Even though the temple had been rebuilt and the sacrificial system restored, the vision of Ezekiel's temple state quickly faded amid the stark reality of Persian domination and the problems of mere survival in a city surrounded by foreigners (cf. Hanson 1975: 280–86). Malachi's striking typological correspondence to Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 indicates that it was probably composed during the earliest years of the period of pre-Ezran decline.

It is likely that exilic Hebrew was largely preserved (at least as the written language) in the official and religious circles of the restoration community by the first-generation returnees from Babylon. This would account for the linguistic similarities of the postexilic prophets to one another and to the $P^g$ corpus examined by Polzin. Those original returnees probably influenced the restoration community for a maximum of fifty or sixty years; a *terminus ad quem* of ca. 475 B.C. for Malachi (and Zechariah 9–14) may be suggested. After 475 B.C. written works would and do reflect the language changes absorbed by the second-generation writers of the postexilic community (e.g., the $P^s$ corpus).

The conclusions of von Bulmerincq (1921: 42–49), who dated the major portions of Malachi's oracle to ca. 480 B.C., and the conclusions of D. N. Freedman (IDBSup, 130–36), who places the composition of the postexilic prophets and their incorporation into the OT canon at ca. 500 B.C., prove to be consonant with this analysis (cf. Welch 1935: 113–25).

**F. Message and Theological Significance**

The book of Malachi consists of the superscription (1:1), six disputational oracles (1:2–5; 1:6–9; 2:10–16; 2:17–3:5; 3:6–12; and 3:13–4:3) and two appendixes (4:4 [3:22]; 4:5–6 [3:23–24]). The predominant theme of the prophecy is Israel's covenantal relationship with Yahweh and its attendant ramifications. In fact, the prophet specifically mentions the covenant of Levi (2:1–9). The covenant of the fathers, and the covenant of marriage (2:10–16), and the messenger of the covenant (3:1; cf. McKenzie and Wallace [1983] for a discussion of these covenantal themes). Other references containing identifiable covenantal terminology include God's love for and election of Israel (1:2–5), the use of the words *bgd* (cf. Ps 78:57; Jer 3:21) and *šmr* (cf. Deut 4:23; 8:11) in 2:10–16, and the blessings and curses formula in 3:6–12. For this reason some understand Malachi himself to be the "messenger of the covenant" (e.g., McKenzie and Wallace 1983: 553).

The covenantal themes of Malachi are so thoroughly integrated and logically presented within the prophet's discourse that any attempts at rearranging the material in the text prove most unconvincing (e.g., McKenzie and Wallace 1983: 562–63, who argue that 3:13–15 is out of place, and though its "style and perspective" match that of 3:1–12, they ultimately have no clue where it does belong). This unity of covenantal theme and the general context of the prophecy also precludes the deletion of the so-called nonoriginal passages in 1:11–14 and 2:11b–13a, despite the difficulties in translating and interpreting those verses. The issue is not one of "particularism versus universalism," but instead the nature of Malachi's audience, the "wicked" and the "faithful" in restoration Jerusalem. Too, the repetition of covenant violations and the development of arguments from the general to the specific is a consistent pattern in the book (cf. Mason *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi* CBC, 144–45; Smith *Micah—Malachi* WBC, 321–25).

Malachi's initial oracle is a restatement of Yahweh's love for Jacob (1:2–5). Amid growing skepticism because the "Zion visions" of Second Isaiah, Haggai, and Zechariah never materialized, the prophet sought to assure the Jewish community that God still maintained covenant love for them (cf. Hosea 11). By recalling the patriarchal covenants Malachi reminds the people that an important part of the message of God's covenant love for Israel was the conditional nature of its consequent blessings (Gen 29:13–17; 35:1–4; Deut 28:1ff.).

Here Fischer (1972: 318–19) rightly observes that Malachi had to correct wrong thinking about the covenantal relationship with Yahweh. The vassal can place no demands on the suzerain. Loving God was not a cause for divine blessing but a condition, for God himself remains the only cause. This reminder of Israel's election by the sovereign Lord as a people for his possession also served to underscore the seriousness of the present situation (Deut 8:11–18; cf. Rom 9:13). The prophet reinforces his argument by pointing to the recent events in Edom (perhaps an invasion of Edom by Nabatean Arabs?), which served as a grim warning of impending divine judgment for those who despised the tokens of covenant like Esau (Gen 25:34; cf. Jer 49:7–22).

Further, as covenant maker Yahweh was Israel's father (Deut 32:6–12), and he was deserving of conduct appropriate to the bond (Exod 20:12; Deut 30:1–10). As Covenant maker Yahweh was also a covenant keeper (Exod 34:6–7; Ps 111:9), unchanging and faithful to his word (3:6; Deut 7:6–11). Malachi's five remaining disputations contrast Israel's faithlessness with Yahweh's faithfulness through the recitation of specific violations of the covenant's stipulations.

According to Fischer (1972: 317) the literary form of Malachi outlines the essence of the book. The prophet has shifted the locus of his message from the curse or blessing declarations to the introductory statements in which a question is proposed to Yahweh and he answers. Using this perspective in his analysis, Fischer summarizes the teaching of the disputations as follows: (1) Yahweh loves Jacob, (2) he is Israel's father and desires honest worship, (3) he is the father of all Israelites and expects true faithfulness, (4) God wants honesty, not words, because he is just, (5) God is faithful to his word and wants genuine worship, (6) a repetition of God's desire for honesty.

The second disputation (1:6–2:9) consists of two sections (1:6–14 and 2:1–9). Both censure the levitical priesthood, the first for their insolence in discharging the duties associated with the cultus, and the second for the double standard in their teaching and their lack of moral leadership (cf. Num 20:12; Deut 18:1–8; 33:8–11). The apathetic priests were permitting impure sacrifices in the temple in violation of the Covenant Code (Lev 22:20–22; Deut 15:21; 17:1). Malachi preferred the cessation of temple ritual to their religious indifference and even suggests that the gentiles are offering more appropriate worship to God (1:10–11). No doubt the priests are indicted first because their transgression of the holy covenant and disdain for the sacred office has polluted the worship of the people (2:8–9). According to the curse formula in predictable fashion, the priesthood will experience the same contempt and abasement they have shown to Yahweh (1:6; 2:9).

Lest the priests become scapegoats, the prophet rebukes the laity in the third oracle for their faithlessness to Yahweh (2:10–16). Even as the Levites had corrupted the covenant of Levi (2:4, 8), the people of Judah had transgressed the covenant of the fathers by marrying foreign women and divorcing their Jewish wives (2:10–11, 14). Marriage is a sacred covenant, blessed by God and honorable among godly people (Gen 2:24; Ezek 16:8; Hos 2:19). For Malachi the connections between covenant keeping with Yahweh and covenant keeping with a mate are obvious based on the familial nature of covenant elsewhere in the OT (cf. Jer 2:1–3; 31:32; Ezek 16:6ff.; Hos 2:1–19; 11:1–4). Here he not only condemns divorce generally among God's people, but also their remarriage to foreign women because of the consequent contamination of pure religion (cf. Num 25:1–9; 1 Kgs 11:1–4). God hates divorce (2:16), and these flagrant violations of Covenant law will not go unpunished (2:11; cf. Exod 19:5–6; Deut 7:3–4).

The fourth oracle (2:17–3:5) is a prophecy concerning the messenger of the covenant who prepares the day of God's visitation by judging Judah's sin and purifying their worship through the cleansing of the priesthood (3:1–4; cf. Zeph 1:14–18). The faithlessness of the Jews extends even to false speech about Yahweh, as they accused him of rewarding evil and being unjust (2:17; cf. Job 21:7–16; Mic 6:1–3; Hab

1:2–4, 13). This attitude toward God naturally spawned a variety of social and moral abuses in the restoration community (3:5). Ironically, the failure to authenticate the words of the covenant relationship with behavior of like kind had led to Judah's exile into Babylonia a century prior (Deut 11:22; 12:1; 30:1–4; cf. Isa 1:12–17; Jer 7:1–7; Hos 4:1–10; Amos 2:6–8; Mic 3:1–4).

Contrary to the popular perception, Malachi contends in the fifth oracle that Yahweh has been just and ever consistent with his own nature (3:6–7). The very fact that God has not consumed postexilic Jerusalem for covenant transgressions is testimony to his faithfulness and compassion (Pss 86:15; 111:4; Mic 7:18–20; Nah 1:1–3). The emphasis in this next-to-last disputation (3:6–12) is repentance, not tithing (3:7). The tithe was an important component of Israelite religion (cf. Lev 27:30; Num 18:26–28; Deut 12:18; 14:28–29), but given the list of covenantal offenses already cited by Malachi he can hardly be implying the mere reinstitution of the tithe would initiate divinely bestowed prosperity. The stinginess of the people was but a sign of their spiritual bankruptcy. By calling for the "full" tithe the prophet invites genuine repentance, a return to Yahweh with the whole heart (3:10; cf. Isa 29:13; Joel 2:12–13, 18–19). Only this kind of honest personal worship will open the windows of heaven, to the point that Malachi dares the people to exhaust the bounty of God's covenantal blessing (3:10–12; cf. Deut 15:5–6, 10).

The seeming triumph of wickedness over righteousness and God's apparent slackness in judging sin are the issues in the final pericope of Malachi (3:13–4:3). Here prophet outlines the specific charges of injustice the impudent complainers—not the "devout" as usually understood (since Heb *lûn,* commonly translated "murmuring," actually connotes open rebellion, cf. Exod 15:24; 16:2; Num 14:2; 16:11) in Jerusalem have lodged against Yahweh (3:13–15). They contend that it is futile to serve God because they have turned no profit (literally, the "cut" or percentage due them) from the observation of the commandments, fasting, and repentance. No advantage was gained from personal piety from their perspective; in fact evildoers were the ones who escaped the test of God. Continuing the distinction between the wicked and the righteous in his audience introduced at the outset of his prophecy, Malachi then contrasts the words of the believing God-fearers (3:16–17). Unlike the mercenary approach of their compatriots, they have responded to God with genuine reverence and worship. The disputation concludes with the prophet's answer to the alleged inequity of Yahweh's treatment of the restoration community (3:18–4:3). The coming day of the Lord will vindicate his justice, when the wicked are separated from the righteous by the fire of divine judgment (3:18). The righteous will escape the destructive wrath of God by virtue of their special covenantal relationship (*sĕgullâ*) with him and will experience the blessings of messianic restoration (4:2; cf. Num 6:22–27; Ps 107:20; Isa 63:1–6; Mic 2:13).

The closing verses of the book (4:4–6 [—MT 3:22–24]) are generally acknowledged to be editorial additions. The questions and answers are over, and the disputations have ceased. There is little to suggest that these verses are directly related to the previous section. Yet they represent more than the legalistic correctives of a disenchanted scribe since they do serve as guidelines for the righteousness central to the prophet's message. The Deuteronomic connections of 4:4 are numerous and well documented (e.g., Mitchell, Smith, and Bewer *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and Jonah* ICC, 81; Mason *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi* CBC, 159–60), and the verse may be an attempt to summarize the message of Malachi by reminding the people that they still stand under the tradition of Moses. The verse may also represent the work of the compiler of The Book of the Twelve, who sought to unite the Law and the Prophets as equally authoritative units of Scripture. Elijah functions as a prophetic archetype in 4:5–6, and the reference to him identifies the messenger of the covenant in 3:1. According to Childs (1979: 495–96), the effect of the second appendix is to balance the memory of the past with the anticipation of the future. While the verses seem an unduly harsh ending to Malachi and the Twelve, one must remember that the basic purpose of the prophetic ministry was to prepare the people of Yahweh for his day of visitation so that they might enter the rest of his salvation and escape the wrath of his judgment (cf. Isa 12:1–6; 33:2–6; Zeph 3:14–20; Zech 8:14–19).

The postexilic date for the book, the diminished stature of the restoration community in Jerusalem, and the dialectical nature of the prophet's oracles should not prompt an underestimation of Malachi's theological significance. Although the literary grandeur of Isaiah and the profound personal intensity of

Jeremiah are lacking, these comparisons are questionable anyway since each prophet had to fulfill his specific commission in his own historical context. It remains more important to analyze how the prophet performed his task, examine his message within the scope of the broader prophetic movement, and seek to make appropriate contemporary application. In this respect Malachi proves a most fruitful and powerful study, and in many instances the prophecy is a throwback to the classical prophets of the postexilic era.

Foremost is Malachi's knowledge of and identification with the covenantal tradition of his prophetic heritage (3:1). Hence the book rests squarely in the midst of OT covenantal theology and in large measure embodies the essence of later NT thought. See COVENANT. For example, he recognized Yahweh as the maker and keeper of the covenant with Israel (1:2, cf. Exod 6:2–7; Jer 31:31–34; Heb 8:6–13) and acknowledged their "son" status as a consequence of this covenantal relationship (1:6; Hos 1:10; cf. Rom 8:14). Like his predecessors he understood the conditional nature of the covenantal relationship and the importance of the community's obligation to remain faithful and obedient to the stipulations of the divine treaty (3:16–4:3; cf. Ezek 16:59–63; 1 John 4:20–5:3), the seriousness of a breach of the covenant (2:1–8; cf. Isa 24:5; Jer 34:17–20; Heb 6:4–8), evincing a thorough acquaintance with the Deuteronomic blessing and curse formula (Deut 28:1ff.; cf. 1 Cor 11:27–32, i.e., the curse associated with abuse of the covenant-renewal meal of the NT), and the possibility for repentance and restoration (3:6–7; cf. Hos 14:1–9; Luke 3:1–14). The prophet was also keenly aware of the concept of individual and corporate responsibility within the covenant community (2:7–9, 13–16; cf. 2 Kgs 17:22, 34–39; 24:3–4; 1 Cor 5:1–8), and the attendant ethical duties those resident in that community had to one another and to the socially underprivileged (3:5; cf. Isa 1:16–17; Jas 1:26–27).

Malachi substantially affirms OT teaching about the nature and character of God. While God is father because of the covenantal relationship with Israel as sons and because he seeks a vital and intimate bond with them (1:6; 2:5–7; 3:17), he is also master and king (1:6, 14). Here the prophet is careful to present a balanced picture of Israel's Yahweh, lest the extremes of overfamiliarity or transcendent indifference distort the community's perception of their Lord. Unlike most other OT prophets, Malachi has little to say about the nations, yet it is clear that he acknowledges God's sovereignty in human history (1:3–5). Closely bound to this idea is Yahweh's love for and election of Israel as a special people (1:2; 3:17; cf. Deut 7:6–11). This choice on God's part and the subsequent covenantal bond serve as the platform for the prophet's entire discourse (cf. Rom 9:4–5). Since Yahweh is so linked to Israel he is faithful and unchanging (3:6), a covenant keeper extending mercy to his own, yet just (2:17), punishing those who trespass the covenant's stipulations (3:5, 18; 4:3). As God of the covenant he tests the faithful in order to purify them (3:1–4), and as the giver of good gifts he is not reluctant to bless and reward the obedience of his children (3:10–12).

Those who contend that Malachi only appreciates the cultic and legalistic aspects of Israelite religion have failed to consider fully his instruction on the nature of personal faith. It is clear from the prophet's handling of the objection that it is vain to serve God (3:14), that he espoused no merit system. Those who are spared divine judgment earned no special favor, they simply "feared the Lord and honored his name" (3:16). The prophet's insistence on true repentance for the renewal of genuine worship (3:2–4), honesty in giving (3:8–12), and personal piety (3:5–7) is an indication of an internal, not an external, religion. Naturally the recognition of Yahweh's holiness and righteousness led to the conviction that true service included rendering both liturgical and moral obedience to God (1:6–10; cf. Matt 23:23; Jas 1:27). Here Malachi penetrates the heart of OT faith when he appeals for a personal "walk" with the living God (2:6; cf. Deut 30:15–20; Mic 6:8).

Malachi's conception of the priesthood as the repository of the knowledge of God for the people (2:5–7) may be a result of his association with levitical circles, given the similarity of his oracles to the so-called "levitical sermons" of Haggai and the Chronicler (so Mason *Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi* CBC, 137). The crucial role of the priesthood as righteous guideposts for the community is consistent with both OT and NT teaching regarding the responsibility of those in leadership positions (Num 20:12; 1 Sam 15:22–23; Isa 1:23–26; Jer 5:5; cf. Luke 12:48; Acts 6:3; Rom 13:4; 1 Tim 3:1–3; Jas 3:1).

The prophet's lofty doctrine of the institution of marriage as companionship with the wife of one's youth (2:14) and the shared responsibility of child rearing (2:15) is reminiscent of OT wisdom teaching (Prov 5:18; 10:1; 15:20; 31:26), while his censure of easy divorce anticipates the rigid instruction of Jesus and Paul in contrast to the Deuteronomist (2:16; cf. Matt 19:1–11; Mark 10:1–10; 1 Cor 7:1–16 versus Deut 24:1–4).

Malachi's eschatology shows no concern for a future temple; rather, he is interested in the reform of abuses in the cult here and now. While the prophet maintains a clear distinction between the fate of the wicked and the righteous in the community, he has little to say about the judgment of the nations or anything approaching universalism in the sense of the nations participating in the salvation of the Jews, as in Zechariah 9–14 (12:1–9; 14:1–3, 9–21). Malachi does not use the expression "day of Yahweh," but his understanding of that coming day (3:19) largely conforms to conventional OT patterns, with attention given to the judgment of Israel's sin for Covenant violations (3:5), and the preservation of a righteous remnant (3:3–4, 16–17). Malachi's picture of final judgment has a focus different from that of Zechariah, yet the two do emphasize the refining or purification of the faithful by fire (3:2; 4:1; cf. Zech 12:6; 13:9; cf. 2 Pet 3:10–12), and both recognize that God's ultimate purpose in judgment remains repentance (3:7; Zech 10:9–12; cf. Ezek 18:23, 30–32). Of special interest here is the striking contrast between the threatened "ban" or "curse" (Heb *ḥerem*) at the end of Malachi (4:6) and the repeal of the ban in Zech 14:11.

Malachi does make original contributions to Hebrew eschatology with the introduction of the "book of remembrance" in which are recorded the names of the righteous. The concept is probably the result of Persian influence on postexilic Judaism (cf. Esth 6:1; Dan 7:10; 12:1) and points to continued development in the Hebrew belief in afterlife. This book of remembrance may have inspired the notion of the "book of life" used to separate the wicked from the righteous at the final judgment in the Apocalypse (Rev 20:11–15). The unique OT expression "the sun of righteousness" in 3:20 (MT 4:2) is reminiscent of the winged solar disc representing the sun god in Mesopotamian and Egyptian iconography and is likely another indication of Zoroastrian influence on the Hebrew understanding of the fiery consummation (cf. Smith *Micah—Malachi* WBC, 339–40).

Finally, Malachi's obscure reference to the "forerunner" who prepares the way for the arrival of Yahweh (3:1) has proved difficult to interpret. Commentators are divided in their opinion over the identification of the messenger and his relationship to the "messenger of the covenant" mentioned later in the verse. It is unclear whether this "messenger" is a prophet, an angel, or a manifestation of God himself (cf. 1:1; see A above). The second appendix (4:5–6) connects the messenger with Elijah reincarnate. Elijah's role as a herald proclaiming the appointed time of Yahweh's fury and the inauguration of the messianic age was an important part of later Jewish tradition regarding the prophet (Sir 48:10–11; cf. Matt 17:3, 10; 27:47, 49; John 1:21; see Verheof *Haggai and Malachi* NICOT, 345–46). Jesus of Nazareth certainly understood the prophecy as prefiguring the ministry of John the Baptist (Matt 11:7–15), and the early church held the oracle to be fully realized in the relationship of John's mission with the initiation of the messianic kingdom of heaven by Jesus Christ (Mark 1:2–8; Luke 1:16–17; cf. Matt 11:1–6).

**G. Canonicity**

Malachi is the last of the short books constituting the collection of the Twelve Prophets. This collection follows the major prophets in the Hebrew canon; the grouping was known as early as Ben Sira (49:12), and it was also familiar to Josephus (*AgAp* 1.8.3). The canonicity of the Twelve was never questioned, as rabbinic tradition held that the men of the Great Synagogue edited the corpus (*B. Bat.* 15a). Some LXX editions placed the Twelve before the major prophets and departed from the Hebrew sequence of placing Hosea first (whether for its length or for chronological considerations is unclear, cf. *B. Bat.* 14b).

Biblical scholarship has long assumed that the oracles contained in Zechariah 9–11, 12–14 and Malachi 1–4 (MT 1–3) are related, largely because of the use of Heb *maśśāʾ* in the superscriptions. In addition, these oracles have been considered to be anonymous documents. It is argued that these anonymous oracles were appended to Zechariah to round out the Twelve in order to complete the sacred number. Here Radday and Pollatschek (1980) concluded, based on computer-aided linguistic analysis of the postexilic

prophets, that the editor of the Twelve Prophets had a collection of materials remaining from the compilation of Hosea to Zechariah 8. They suggest that this small library consisted of a few short but distinct manuscripts, which were attached to Zechariah 1–8 following the size principle. The two longer ones coalesced with Zechariah 1–8 to become chaps. 9–11 and 12–14. Two shorter pieces (Malachi 1–2 and 3) were then added to Zechariah with the superscription "by the hand of Malachi" inserted for the purpose of presenting a collection of prophetic books corresponding to the number of Israelite tribes. This clever editor turned a word found three times in the last chapters, *mal*ʾ*āḵî,* into a name of a formerly unknown prophet.

Childs (1979), however, cogently counters that the superscriptions in Zech 9:1; 12:1 and Mal 1:1 demonstrate only superficial similarities. He notes that *maśśā*ʾ is used in its absolute form in Mal 1:1 as a distinct superscription. In addition, Mal 1:1 reads ʾ*el* ("to") rather than ʿ*al* ("upon") and includes *bĕyad* ("by the hand of"). For Childs these and other expressions demonstrate both the integrity and the consistency of the title of Malachi with like features of postexilic literature. This leads him to conclude that these oracles had a history independent of one another. Thus, "the present independent status of Malachi did not arise from an arbitrary decision which separated it from the book of Zechariah. Rather its separate status is deeply rooted in the book's own tradition" (Childs 1979: 492).

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ANDREW E. HILL

**MALCAM** (PERSON) [Heb *malkām* (מַלְכָּם)]. One of the sons of Shaharaim, a Benjaminite, by his wife Hodesh, appearing in 1 Chr 8:9 in an extended Benjaminite genealogy. The name appears elsewhere in the MT as that of an idol (Zeph 1:5, Molech), but the word also appears as the noun plus pronominal suffix (Amos 1:15) to be translated "their king" (Odelain and Séguineau 1981: 250; *ISBE*[1] 3:1971). Coggins (*Chronicles* CBC, 54) has acknowledged the scarcity of material concerning the Benjaminite names in vv 6–27. It is known, however, that Malcam was born to Hodesh and Shaharaim in Moab. This reference points to a relation between Israel and Moab that goes back to a time earlier than that reflected in 1 Chronicles 8. Ruth 1 and 1 Sam 22:3, 4 show the presence of Israelites in Moab; but it is apparent that this kind of sojourn would more likely have occurred before Moab regained its independence from Israel. Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 60) states that while Moab was under Israel's control, the Benjaminite association could have been accurate. Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 128) states that most and probably all of the genealogies in this section have roots in the remote past but that their presence in 1 Chronicles reflects a great interest in the tribe of Benjamin during the exilic period and beyond. Malcam, like his brothers, is called a *ro*ʾ*šē*ʾ *ābôt,* "head of a family." This designation has clear organizational implications in social, political, and military arenas (Harmon 1983: 150).

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G. EDWIN HARMON

**MALCHIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *malkîyāhû* (מַלְכִּיָּהוּ)]. See MALCHIJAH.

**MALCHIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *malkî·ēl* (מַלְכִּיאֵל)]. MALCHIELITES. The second son of Beriah and grandson of Asher (Gen 46:17; 1 Chr 7:31). Asher was the second son of Jacob and Zilpah (Gen 30:12–13), the maid whom Laban gave to his daughter Leah (Gen 29:29). Malchiel was one of the sixteen persons among the sons and grandsons of Zilpah mentioned in the genealogy of Jacob who went with him to Egypt.

Malchiel was the leader of the clan of the Malchielites, one of the clans of Asher (Num 26:45). He is included among the men of Asher who were "heads of fathers' houses, approved, mighty warriors, chief of the princes" (1 Chr 7:40). He was the father of Birzaith (1 Chr 7:31). In the Hebrew text the name of Malchiel's son appears as Birzavith, but the Qere and the Ketib have a corrupt spelling of the name.

The name Milkil (Malchiel) appears in the correspondence of Amarna. In the letters of ʿAbdu-Heba, the ruler of the city of Jerusalem, to the court of Egypt, Milkil appears as one of his most troublesome enemies. Jastrow (1892: 120) has identified the Asherites Malchiel (Milkil) and Heber with some of the groups that were included among the Habiru mentioned in the Amarna Letters.

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CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

**MALCHIJAH** (PERSON) [Heb *malkîyāhû* (מַלְכִּיָּהוּ), *malkîyâ* (מַלְכִּיָּה)]. Var. MALCHIAH; MELCHIAS. Name of 13 persons in Hebrew Bible and Apocrypha.

1. A Gershonite Levite. According to the genealogy of 1 Chronicles 6, Malchijah is an ancestor of Asaph, the founder of a guild of temple musicians (v 25—Eng v 40).

2. Descendant of Aaron and head of a priestly family. When David divided the priests into twenty-four divisions (1 Chr 24:1–19), the fifth lot fell to Malchijah (v 9). In 1 Chr 9:12 and Neh 11:12, the genealogy of Adaiah, a priest in postexilic Jerusalem, is traced to Malchijah the father of Pashhur.

3. A Judean bearing the title "son of the king" (Heb *ben hammelek*) during the reign of Zedekiah (Jer 38:6). It is probable that this title (which occurs both in the OT and on a number of seals and bullae) refers to members of the royal family. It is apparent that some of these men held important administrative positions. According to Jer 38:6, the prophet Jeremiah was imprisoned in the cistern of Malchiah (Heb *malkîyāhû*). His duties, like those of Joash (1 Kgs 22:26; 2 Chr 18:25) and Jerahmeel (Jer 36:26), appear to have included the maintenance of state security. Possibly the same as #4 below.

4. Father of Pashhur (to be distinguished from the Pashhur mentioned in #2 above), a royal official during the reign of Zedekiah (Jer 21:1; 38:1). Possibly to be identified with #3 above.

5. Layman descended from Parosh. One of those required by Ezra to divorce their foreign wives (Ezra 10:25a; 1 Esdr 9:26).

6. In the Hebrew text, the name Malchijah occurs again in Ezra 10:25b. This reading is followed in a number of English translations of the Bible (e.g., JB, NEB, NAB). Both the LXX and 1 Esdr 9:26, however, support the reading "Hashabiah" (RSV).

7. Layman descended from Harim. One of those required by Ezra to put away their foreign wives (Ezra 10:31). Although it is possible that he is the same as #8 below, this is by no means certain (cf. Neh 7:35, 42). He is, however, probably to be identified with Melchias son of Annan, listed in 1 Esdr 9:32. This conclusion is supported by the order in which the families are listed in Ezra 10:25–44 and 1 Esdr 9:26–36 and by the fact that Malchijah (Gk Melchias) is the third name to appear in both Ezra 10:31 and 1 Esdr 9:32.

8. Son of Harim. One of those who repaired a section of the wall of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah (Neh 3:11). Possibly the same as #7 above.

9. Son of Rechab and ruler of Beth-haccherem. He was responsible for rebuilding the Dung Gate under the supervision of Nehemiah (Neh 3:14). It is unlikely that he was a member of the Rechabite community—Jonadab, the founder of this community, was another son of Rechab (cf. 2 Kgs 10:15, 23; Jer 35:1–19).

10. One of the goldsmiths who assisted Nehemiah in the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 3:31).

11. A priest who participated in the dedication of the rebuilt walls of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah (Neh 12:42).

12. One of those who stood on either side of Ezra during the reading of the Law at a public assembly (Neh 8:4; cf. 1 Esdr 9:44). Although it is possible that these men were priests (the participation of the same number of Levites is mentioned in Neh 8:7 [cf. 1 Esdr 9:48]), the fact that this is not stated explicitly suggests that they were probably laymen.

13. One of the priests signatory to a legal document of reform associated with Ezra or Nehemiah (Neh 10:4—Eng10:5). Although the term "covenant" is not used in Neh 10:1–40—Eng9:38–10:39, the account probably relates to a covenant-making ceremony (cf. v 30—Eng v 29) that addressed itself to various concerns of the postexilic community. It would appear that the priests (unlike the Levites) are listed by their family names, and not as individuals. This Malchijah may thus be the same as #2 above.

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JOHN M. BERRIDGE

**MALCHIRAM** (PERSON) [Heb *malkîrām* (מַלְכִּירָם)]. The second son of Jeconiah/Jehoiachin (1 Chr 3:18). The name means "my king is exalted."

RUSSELL FULLER

**MALCHISHUA** (PERSON) [Heb *malkî-šûaʿ* (מַלְכִּי־שׁוּעַ)]. The third-born son and fifth-born child of Saul son of Kish and his wife Ahinoam daughter of Ahimaaz (1 Sam 14:49; 1 Chr 8:33; 9:39). Nothing is known of his life except that he died alongside his father and two brothers, Jonathan and Abinadab, at the battle of Gilboa, where Saul unsuccessfully attempted to conquer the city-state of Beth-shan (1 Sam 31:2; 1 Chr 10:2). He apparently was at least 20 years of age (the legal age for military service: Num 16:2, 4) when he was killed. The biblical account does not indicate that he was survived by any children, which probably means that he was unmarried.

The name Malchishua means "the (divine) King is noble," or "the (divine) King is opulence" (BDB, 447); by a different etymology it could mean "help of the (divine) King" (Gray 1896: 146–47; see *IPN*, 154 and the discussion in *TPNAH*, pp. 114–15).

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**MALCHUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Malchos* (Μαλχος)]. 1. See CLEODEMUS MALCHUS.

2. Malchus was a slave or servant of the high priest (probably Caiaphas—cf. John 18:13); Peter cut off his right ear when Jesus was arrested in Gethsemane (John 18:10). Only the gospel of John records Malchus' name. All four Gospels state that Malchus was the servant of the high priest, which distinguishes him from the officers sent by the chief priests and Pharisees to arrest Jesus (cf. John 18:18). Nabatean and Palmyrene inscriptions bearing the name Malchus indicate that it was a common Arab name and that Malchus may have been an Arab slave. A relative of Malchus was also a servant of the high priest and, while Peter was standing outside Jesus' trial, identified him as having been with Jesus (John 18:26). Peter may have struck Malchus because he was acting as the representative of the high

priest in the arrest. The servants of the high priest were known to perform the underhanded dealings of the high priest (Joseph. *Ant.* 20.181, 206). Cutting off the right ear may have been Peter's impetuous response to the arrest of his friend (cf. John 13:37) or a calculated insult against the high priest through his servant. The latter is indicated by the indemnity laws of the time, which considered the right organs of the body to be more valuable. Only Luke 22:51 reports that Jesus healed the ear.

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JOANN FORD WATSON

**MALHATA, TEL** (M.R. 152069). A town in the Negeb with remains from the Chalcolithic through the Early Arab periods.

**A. The Site and Its Excavations**

Tel Malhata (formerly Tell el-Milh) is a 1.5-acre mound located in the Negeb. It is situated at the confluence of the Malhata and the Beer-sheba rivers and is abundantly supplied with water by numerous wells. Extensive ruins from the Roman-Byzantine Period lie S of it in the plain and a smaller, lower mound, "Small Tel Malhata," is located N of it on the other bank of the river. The major mound was excavated by M. Kochavi in 1967 and 1971. The Roman-Byzantine site was excavated by M. Gichon, and the small mound was excavated by R. Amiran in 1979. Further salvage excavations were conducted at the Roman-Byzantine site in 1981.

Settlement began at Malhata in the Chalcolithic period and lasted until the Early Arab period. Occupational gaps occurred in the EB III—MB I, LB, Iron Age I, and Persian periods. All periods of occupation were attested on the major mound, but the small mound was inhabited in the early periods only and the Roman-Byzantine site only in the late.

Chalcolithic remains of the Beer-sheba culture and EB I–II layers were exposed in the lowest strata of the small mound. Finds of Egyptian imported ware (including three *serekhs,* i.e., conventions for inscribing the names of the earliest Pharaohs), lumps of bitumen from the Dead Sea, as well as various installations connected with crafts and small industries were found in the EB strata. The EB settlement was apparently an unwalled trading post on the Arad-to-Egypt commerce road.

The initial occupation of the major mound began in the MB II. Three MB II strata were distinguished, and date to the 17th–16th centuries B.C. The town was about one acre and was confined to the E part of the mound. It was surrounded by a massive earthen rampart, crowned with a wall 1 m wide. The rampart's outer surface was plastered and laid on a 30-degree incline to form a glacis.

An MB II occupation was detected also on the small mound. It was interpreted as remains of an unwalled suburb, where herds were kept and people could find shelter in the shadow of the fortified town. Malhata was the easternmost fortified town in a chain of sites forming the S border of Canaan in the MB Age. It was destroyed by fire and deserted in the mid-16th century B.C.

After about 500 years, settlement at the site resumed, but only on the major mound. In mid-10th century B.C., a new fortified city was erected on the mound. On the W side of the preexisting mound an earthen platform was built, enlarging the town's area by 50 percent. The slopes were stabilized by a cobblestone covering, forming a stepped glacis. A public building with thick plastered walls existed on the SW near the city wall. The first Iron Age city was destroyed at the end of the 10th century B.C., followed by a short-lived unwalled settlement.

The last phase of Iron Age Malhata was a densely built-up city, surrounded by a new wall which was reinforced with a new stone glacis. A tower projecting 8 m was preserved to a height of 10 m. The public house of the earlier phase was replaced with a series of storeroom houses, built and rebuilt on the same plan. The last Iron Age stratum was destroyed by an intense fire in the 6th century B.C. Among the many finds from this stratum were large amounts of Edomite pottery, an Aramaic ostracon, inscribed Hebrew stone-weights, and an imported archaic E Greek oeonoche. Iron Age Malhata was the most prominent town in the Negeb in the 10th century B.C., and it continued to be a major town in the region until the end of the kingdom of Judah.

The site was resettled in the Hellenistic period, as evidenced by surface finds from the Roman-Byzantine site. A large Late Roman cemetery and several buildings from the Byzantine period were excavated. The fort crowning the E spur of the major mound was still in use in the Early Arab period. Roman-Byzantine Malhata is thought to have been a garrison fort on the S borders of the Roman Empire, with a colony of *Limitanti* nearby.

**B. The Problem of Identification**

The identification of Malatha/Moleatha, a Roman-Byzantine fort, with Tel Malhata is generally accepted. The name of the earlier, biblical town, however, still eludes us. Many place names, taken mainly from the list of the inheritance of Simeon, have been suggested. Robinson (1856: 201–2), followed by Guerin (1869: 184–88) and others, proposed Moladah (Josh 15:26), relying on the resemblance between the Latin and the Hebrew names. Mazar (1965) and Garstang were impressed by the Bronze Age remains and identified it with Hormah (Num 14:45; Deut 1:44), where the Israelites were first involved in battle with a Canaanite city. Aharoni (*LBHG*, 201), from the same point of view, concluded that Malhata was Canaanite Arad. The absence of any LB remains on the site refutes the last two suggestions. Kochavi (*EAEHL* 3: 771) has suggested Baalath-Beer (Josh 19:8), while Naʾaman (1980) proposed Telaim, where King Saul summoned his army against the Amalekites (1 Sam 15:4).

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MOSHE KOCHAVI

**MALLOTHI** (PERSON) [Heb *mallôtî* (מַלּוֹתִי)]. One of the fourteen sons of Heman who were appointed to prophesy with musical instruments under the direction of their father and the king (1 Chr 25:4). Malloti received the nineteenth lot cast to determine duties (1 Chr 25:26). Scholars have long suggested that the final nine names in 1 Chr 25:4 can be read as a liturgical prayer. For instance, Malloti can be read as the first-person sing. *Piʿel* perf. form of the verb *mālal* "I said." It would form part of the fourth line of the liturgical prayer as reconstructed by scholars. For a reconstruction and translation of the prayer, a summary of interpretative possibilities, and bibliography, see ELIATHAH.

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**MALLOW.** See FLORA, BIBLICAL.

**MALLUCH** (PERSON) [Heb *mallûk* (מַלּוּךְ)]. **1.** An ancestor of Ethan, who was a Levite and a singer in Solomon's Temple (1 Chr 6:44). Appearing in a schematic list that has the three sons of Levi as its focus, Malluch is described as a member of the Merari line (Möhlenbrink 1934: 202–3; Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 46). The references to both Ethan and Malluch are at the center of debates over the list's nature and redaction, which has a parallel in 1 Chr 6:29–30 (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 93–94).

**2.** One of twenty-two priests (Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* Century Bible, 197–98), or families of priests (Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 196), who returned to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel (Neh 12:2).

**3.** The son of Bani or, if the text has been corrupted, perhaps Binnui (*bnwy*), or Bigvai (*bgwy*) (Ezra 10:29; cf. Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 144). Malluch was one of the laity required by Ezra to abandon his foreign wife. The presence of his name in this list, which is absent from the parallel in Ezra 2, raises questions both about the nature of the documents that lie behind the lists, and about the way in which the writer has adapted those documents to suit his purposes (cf. Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 87–88 and Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 157–58).

**4.** A son of Harim and one of the laity required by Ezra to abandon his foreign wife (Ezra 10:32).

**5.** A priest and signatory to the covenant established by Ezra (Neh 10:4).

**6.** A leader of the people and a signatory to the covenant established by Ezra (Neh 10:27). At least one scholar conjectures that he may also be the Malluch of Ezra 10:32, mentioned in #4 above (*IDB* 3: 233).

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**MALLUCHI** (PERSON) [Heb *mallûkî* (מַלּוּכִי), Ketib; *mĕlîkû* (מְלִיכוּ), Qere]. Var. MALLUCH. A priestly family mentioned only in Neh 12:14 as one of some 20 such families serving in the days of Joiakim (vv 12–21). Previously in the same chapter (v 2), a certain Malluch (Heb *mallûk*) is listed as having returned from exile to Jerusalem in the days of Zerubbabel. Inasmuch as even a cursory overview will confirm the close correspondence between the names found in these two lists (i.e., vv 1–7 and 12–21), it is quite certain that the "Malluchi" of v 14 and the "Malluch" of v 2 represent two variant spellings of the same individual's (or family's) name. For arguments supporting the relative primacy of the list of priestly families in vv 12–21 over the corresponding list that precedes it in vv 1–7, see AMOK.

In regard to the variant spellings Malluch/Malluchi, most commentators prefer the former as the more likely original (note the LXX which reads *malouch* in both verses). Bowman (*IB* 3: 788, following Rudolph) points out that the final *yod* of Malluchi in v 14 probably represents a dittograph of the *yod* in the following name, Jonathan (Heb *yônātān*). This, in turn, as Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 357 n. 14a) notes, presumably led to the Qere variant *mĕlîkû* (representing *waw*/*yod* confusion?). Further support for the primacy of the spelling "Malluch" is probably to be found in the analogous list of priests in Neh 10:3–9—Eng vv 2–8—where such a spelling is attested in v 5—Eng v 4. For a brief discussion of the origin and nature of this list, see MAADIAH.

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**MALLUS** (PLACE) [Gk *Mallōs* (Μαλλως)]. A Cilician city located on the Pyramus river E of Tarsus on the S coast of Asia Minor. 2 Macc 4:30 recounts that the cities of Tarsus and Mallus were given by the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes as a present to his concubine Antiochis. The transfer of the cities to Antiochis occasioned a revolt by the populace, which required Antiochus' personal attention. Mallus was under Ptolemaic rule from ca. 246 to 197 B.C.E., at which time it came under Seleucid control (Mørkholm 1966: 117 n. 6). That Antiochus should have given the city to his mistress as a source of income was not uncommon in antiquity. Thucydides (1.138.5) records that Themistocles was given the income of three cities by his king. Herodotus (2.98) points out an example of an Egyptian king who assigned a city to provide shoes for his mistress. Herodotus indicates that this was a common practice in Egypt under Persian domination. Cicero (*Verr.* 2.3.33) notes that this custom was common in Persia and Syria to provide for the needs of royal wives. There is no extant witness to this rebellion beyond 2 Maccabees and no evidence that would indicate why Mallus was so important that Antiochus IV should personally attend to the civic disturbance. Numismatic evidence indicates that Tarsus was an Antiochene city as late as 166 B.C.E. (Mørkholm 1966: 60 n. 32). Antiochene cities enjoyed a measure of self-government along with considerable prestige (Tcherikover 1977: 443–44 n. 12). It is apparent from 2 Maccabees that Tarsus, an Antiochene city, and its neighbor, Mallus, objected to being transferred from the authority of Antichus to his mistress and to bear a possibly increased financial burden. The rebellion of Antiochene Tarsus and Mallus could have embarrassed the king, prompting Antiochus to deal with the two cities personally. A successful revolt by these two cities on the edge of the Seleucid empire could also have threatened the security of the state (Abel 1949: 340).

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**MALTA** (PLACE) [Gk *Melitē* (Μελιτη)]. An island in the Mediterranean, about 60 mi. S of Cape Passero, Sicily and 220 mi. N of Tripoli, Libya; with 95 sq. mi., it is the largest of the five islands making up the modern country of Malta. Archaeological evidence exists for its occupation from about 3800 B.C., first by cave-dwelling farmers who produced a material culture similar to that found in Sicily and, later, elaborate tombs, temples, and a unique underground burial chamber, the Hypogeum, as it is called (2400–2000 B.C.). This was replaced by a culture of a southern Italian style. A Phoenician trading colony was established on the island before or during the 8th century B.C. The name of the island comes from a Semitic word (*meliṭa*) meaning "refuge," indicating a safe harbor. Diodorus (5.12.2–3; 1st cent B.C.), who himself came from nearby Sicily, says that the place was chosen as a stopping-off place to trade with the west (Spain).

The island came under control of Carthage, another Phoenician colony, in the 6th century B.C., when their homeland was taken by the Assyrians. In 218 B.C., the island came under Roman rule as part of the province of Sicily. Under the reorganization of the empire by Augustus, Malta was put under its own procurator. Although initially a prosperous island, it declined significantly as a result of frequent raids by pirates and the civil wars of the 1st century B.C. It had recovered by the mid-1st century A.D. and was (along with the neighboring island of Gozo [Gaulos]) granted municipal status (Lat *municipium*) in the early 2d century. Its citizens were granted Roman citizenship under Emperor Justinian (518–65). Even under Roman rule, however, the Maltese continued to maintain aspects of their Punic/Phoenician culture and language. In 870 Malta was taken by the Abbasid caliphs, but in 1090 it came under the control of a series of Christian crusader groups, culminating in the domination of the city by the Knights of St. John, who successfully defended the island against the Turkish forces of Suleiman I (1565). Its unique language in the present day is a mixture of N African Arabic and Silician Italian, and its culture reflects the rich diversity of its history.

Paul and his associates were shipwrecked here in the late autumn of A.D. 59 (Acts 27:27–28:11), having been driven helplessly for two weeks by the E–NE wind called "Euraquilo" ("Northeaster," NIV; Acts 27:14; its name is a Gk-Lat hybrid, Gk *euros* "east wind" + Lat *aquilo* "north wind"; today it would be called the *gregale*). The traditional site of the shipwreck is St. Paul's Bay, some 8 mi. NW of the modern capital of Valletta. In spite of recent attempts to suggest a location for the wreck on the island of Mijet or Melitene off the coast of Dalmatia (Acworth 1973, on the basis of the grammar of the narrative of Acts, historical data, and the name; Meinardus 1974, 1976, 1979, on the basis of ecclesiastical and local traditions), this is most likely the correct location (so Ramsay 1920; Finegan 1981; Kettenbach 1986; Bruce *Acts,* NICNT $^{2}$1988; Hemer 1975; 1989; the latter has definitively answered the objections of Acworth), since it fits almost perfectly with the description given in Acts.

The local inhabitants are called "barbarians" (Gk *barbaroi*) by the author of Acts (28:2, 4), which indicates only that they did not speak Greek or Latin (hence the RSV's translation as "natives" and the NIV's "islanders"). Since their language was a Semitic tongue, Paul was probably able to converse with them by means of Aramaic. The leading local official, one Publius by name, is designated "first man" or "chief" (28:7, Gk *prōtos*), a title that is attested in inscriptions (*CIG* 14.60; *CIL* 10.7495). With reference to Paul's brush with the "viper" (Gk *echidna*; 28:3–4), it is worth noting that while there are no vipers or poisonous snakes on Malta today there is the *Coronella austriaca,* which resembles the viper. The native people's reaction to the snake's attaching itself to Paul—"No doubt this man is a murderer; for though he escaped from the sea, Justice [Gk *dikē*] has not allowed him to live" (28:4, NIV)—may refer to a hellenization of a Punic deity.

Some contemporary scholars have suggested that the travel narrative of Acts 27 and 28 is fictitious, patterned on the ancient novel. If that is so, it has been constructed with great skill, for it is, in fact, "one of our chief sources for ancient Greek language about seafaring" (Johnson 1987: 151) and is meticulously accurate in regard to its historical and geographical setting. As a result, few who are intimately familiar with the archaeological and historical data are inclined to doubt its essential historicity.

Among the more notable archaeological excavations of significance for the study of early Christianity are the remains of a large Roman villa at San Pawl Milqi, which has been identified with the home of Publius in which Paul and his associates would have been received; and a Punic sanctuary that fell into disuse toward the end of the 1st century and later was converted into a Christian church (Claridge 1976).

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W. WARD GASQUE

**MAMDAI** (PERSON) [Gk *Mamdai* (Μαμδαι)]. An Israelite layperson and descendant of Bani who was forced to give up his foreign wife during Ezra's reform (1 Esdr 9:34).

**MAMMON** [Gk *mamōnas* (μαμωνας)]. Mammon (= Heb *mmwn,* Aram *mmwnʾ* "wealth," "property") occurs in Matt 6:24 = Luke 16:13, "you cannot serve God and mammon" and in Luke 16:9, 11 in the phrase "unrighteous mammon." It is the normal word for "money," "wealth," in Mishnaic Hebrew, and is also attested in that sense several times in documents from Qumran (1QS 6:2; 1Q27 1,2,5 [probably], and CD 14:20), although the more usual word for "wealth" in Qumran literature is *hōn.* "Mammon" is not inherently evil, as may be seen from *m. Ber.* 9:5, commenting on Deut 6:5 (from the *Shema*): "[thou shalt love the LORD thy God …] with all thy strength" [that is], "with all thy wealth (mammon)." Its use then is broadly parallel to that of Qumran *hōn,* which often refers to the money or wealth which the prospective member is required to bring into the community when he joins it. In all gospel examples it occurs in words ascribed to Jesus. Here we may note: (a) Matt 6:24 and Luke 16:13c are verbally identical (not always the case in "Q" material); (b) Luke 16:1–13, apart from v 13, which acts as a call line for the whole passage, is material peculiar to Luke; yet within that material, in v 9, two well-known Semiticisms occur, namely, *ek* "from," meaning "by means of," and the "adjectival genitive": "[Make friends for yourselves] by means of the mammon of unrighteousness (= "unrighteous mammon," as given idiomatically in 16:11). All of this supports the view that Semitic material is to be found in the tradition preserved here by Luke. Because the Greek form of the word is *mamōnas,* it is on balance more probable that it reflects the Aram *mmwnʾ* (pronounced "mammona") than the corresponding Hebrew.

MAX WILCOX

**MAMPSIS** (M.R. 156048). A town established during the second wave of Nabatean settlement in the Negeb. It was originally founded as a station on a secondary road leading W from Petra and the Arabah. The site was completely rebuilt in the 2d century C.E. and became important with the establishment of Trajan's Via Nova, when it became the seat of a Roman garrison. The city was destroyed in one of the early pre-Islamic raids into the Negeb. The local economy was based on trade during the middle Nabatean period, on horse breeding in the late Nabatean period, and to some extent on agriculture in the Byzantine period.

**A. Identification**

Kurnub is ca. 40 km SE of Beer-sheba, at the junction of the N–S road extending from Jerusalem to Hebron to Aila, and the E–W road from Gaza to Beer-sheba to Aila. From the reference by Eusebius

(*Onomast.* 8.8), and its position on the Medaba map, R. Hartman (1913) identified Kurnub as Mampsis, and this identification is now generally recognized.

**B. History**

Mampsis is mentioned first by Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5.16.10) in the form of "Maps," and, together with Elusa, is listed among the cities of Idumea W of the Jordan. Eusebius stated that "Mapsis" (emended by Jerome to Mampsis) was one day's march from Thamara, on the road from Hebron to Aila. In the 6th century, it was mentioned in the tax edict of Beer-sheba, and by Hierocles, who lists it among the cities of *Palaestina Tertia.* On the Medaba map, Mampsis is represented by an arched city gate with two towers, behind which rises a gabled building, apparently the cathedral. It was mentioned twice in a mid-6th century papyrus at Nessana.

**C. History of Research**

U. J. Seetzen marked "Karnupp" on his map in 1807 (Krause and Fleischer 1859: 403), describing the site as a fortress at the foot of a low hill with vineyards and gardens around it. Robinson (1841: 616, 622) in 1838 was satisfied to investigate it with binoculars from a nearby hill, mentioning churches or public buildings of another kind. The first plan of Mampsis was drawn by A. Musil in 1901 (1907: 25–28), who was the first to note a city wall with towers. He also identified two churches. His plan is invaluable, since the E part of the town has been destroyed by the construction of a British police station in that area during the 1930s. C. L. Woolley and T. E. Lawrence (1914–15: 121–28) drew another plan of the town, concentrating on the towers and the water system. They described the city wall as a mere fence to protect against incursion by the bedouin. The last and most detailed survey of Mampsis, until the recent excavations, was by P. L. O. Guy and G. E. Kirk in 1937 (Kirk 1938). They drew a more detailed plan of the town, and N of the city gate they discovered two large buildings covered by sand (Building VIII and apparently a fort), which had previously been undetected. They also located a "Hellenistic" cemetery about 1 km N of the town. In 1965–67 and 1970–72, large-scale excavations were conducted at Mampsis under the direction of A. Negev.

**D. Excavations**

**1. Middle Nabatean period.** The earliest ceramic, numismatic, and architectural remains are from the middle Nabatean period (ca. 25 B.C.E.–50/70 C.E.), when Mampsis was defended by a fort (Building XX) located on the high SE part of the site. A large portion of this building was covered by the British police station. It was rectangular with thick walls, inside of which was a courtyard surrounded by small rooms. The town also had strategically placed towers, one of which was 10 × 10 m and protected the descent into the wadi Nahal Mamshit to the spring. Near the N city wall was another large building (XIX) with a courtyard. A row of long storerooms flanked the courtyard on the SE side, and smaller rooms were on the NW side. The cemetery has also yielded ceramic and numismatic finds of the middle Nabatean period.

**2. Late Nabatean period.** Whether there was a break in occupation between the middle and late Nabatean periods at Mampsis is unclear, but the later period is represented by a different plan. A city wall, which underwent two phases of construction, encloses an area of ca. 10 acres. Four gates provide access to the town—two large gates and two postern gates. A natural gully forms the longest street, descending from the S northward, and separates the town into two unequal parts. The houses on the E are generally closely clustered with narrow streets; the W side of the town has generally wide streets.

Building I (ca. 35 × 20 m) in the W part of the town has been identified as a palace and is constructed to be essentially a self-contained fortress. It has a small entrance into a vestibule, which is protected by a guardroom. The entry provides access into an oblong courtyard (ca. 19 × 6 m), part of which was roofed. In the lower floor are an audience room along with an archive, servants' quarters, a "refrigerator" room, storerooms, and a niche, which appears to have been designed to cool water. The N end of the ground floor also has a residential section consisting of a bedroom, washroom, and two living rooms, which are separated from the rest of the floor through a vestibule.

To the SW of the palace stands Building II, which includes three elements—a tower (ca. 10 × 10 m), a courtyard, and buildings surrounding the courtyard. In the tower were three rooms in addition to the stairwell providing access to the upper stories. An unusual feature associated with this building was a

series of steps which ascend to nothing—apparently a sort of loading dock to facilitate the loading and unloading of camels and donkeys.

Farther S (near the SW corner of the site) is Building XI (ca. 27 × 35 m), which appears to have been the house of a horse breeder. The N wing of the house had the living quarters, and in the SE corner were stables in which was a central area flanked by two aisles. Fodder was apparently stored in the central area, and the horses were tethered in the aisles. This house had a niche for cooling water, similar to that of Building I. There is evidence of a house shrine with a niche in the W wall to accommodate an image, and on the flat roof apparently libations were offered and incense was burned.

The E section of the town had what appears to have been a market area with several rows of rooms opening directly onto the street. Nearby was a large building (Building XII; ca. 40 × 40 m), with a vestibule giving access to a courtyard. A guardroom and "office" open into the vestibule. This building is decorated with Nabatean capitals and multicolored mosaics. One of its rooms may have been a vault with very thick walls; a hoard of some 10,500 Roman dinars and tetradrachmas was found in this area. An inner court is decorated with frescoes depicting mythological scenes, as well as floral and abstract designs. There are also quarters for the servants, workshops, a stable, and a lavatory with a flushing system.

To the N of Building XII was a roofed public reservoir (18 × 10 × 3 m). The reservoir had a settling tank which emptied into the rest of the reservoir. A conduit channeled water from the reservoir to a nearby Roman-Nabatean bath. The bath had a dressing room with stone benches along the walls. There were the traditional three baths—the cold bath (*frigidarium*), the tepid bath (*tepidarium*), and the hot bath (*cauldarium*).

Water was gathered by means of a series of dams built in the wadi to the S. The capacity was in excess of 10,000 $m^3$.

**3. The Byzantine period.** Several minor changes took place in the Byzantine period, although the changes were primarily on buildings from the Nabatean period—these consisted of different door placements and changes in building functions (e.g., Building XI with some modification became an apartment). The major changes were the construction of two churches.

The East Church (ca. 55 by 25 m) was built over the remains of a middle Nabatean fortress and several rooms of the marketplace. A symbolic burial of a piece of bone—apparently a martyr's bone—was discovered in the SE corner of the S room of the church. The church was decorated with mosaics of simple geometric designs and colored crosses.

The West Church (the Church of Nilus) is in the SW section of the town, next to the W wall. It was decorated with representations of birds and baskets of fruit against geometric backgrounds. A dedicatory inscription attributes the construction of the building to one named Nilus. The construction of the church is dated to the ca. 350–400 C.E.

**4. Arab period.** The only indications of an Arab presence at Mampsis are inscriptions engraved on the stones of the apse in the East Church. These contain verses from the Koran and various invocations. No coins or ceramics have been found from this period.

**5. The Cemeteries.** Three cemeteries have been found at Mampsis. A cemetery used by the Romans was located ca. 200 m NE of the site. Ten burials were excavated and consisted of monuments, either small stepped pyramids or heaps of boulders, over flat rocks covered with ash and incinerated bones. Two inscribed tombstones were found—one of a centurion who served in the Legio II Traiana Fortis and Legio III Cyrenaica, and another of a knight of Cohors I Augusta Thracum.

The Nabatean cemetery, 800–1,000 m N of town, consisted of pits 1–4 m deep in which the body was placed, either in a wooden coffin or directly on the soil. The body was then covered with several stones and then buried and the site marked with aboveground monuments.

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**MAMRE** (PERSON/PLACE) [Heb *mamrē*› (מַמְרֵא)]. The name "Mamre" appears in several different contexts, all in the book of Genesis and all related to the patriarch Abram/Abraham. In only one passage (Gen 14:24) does the Bible unquestionably depict the name as belonging to a person, an Amorite who was one of Abram's allies in the battle against Chedorlaomer's coalition (on the problematic 14:13, see below). In a number of other passages the name is clearly portrayed as belonging to a place W of the cave of Machpelah, which Abraham bought from Ephron the Hittite (23:17; 25:9; 49:30; 50:13), a place identified with (a district of?) Hebron/Kiriath-arba (23:19; 35:27; cf. 23:2); see also HEBRON (PLACE); KIRIATH-ARBA; MACHPELAH. Two passages, in recounting the migrations of Abram/Abraham, note that the patriarch pitched his tent by "the oaks of Mamre" (Heb *›ēlōnê mamrē›;* 13:18; 18:1), while a third passage (14:13) seems awkwardly to combine this toponymic reference to "the oaks of Mamre" with the personal name "Mamre the Amorite, 'brother' of Eshcol and of Aner." Thus, in two passages (14:13, 24) Mamre appears (along with Aner, Eshcol, and Abram) as one of four allies (covenant-partners) who joined forces on a specific occasion.

The nature of "Mamre" as a place name and as a personal name is inextricably tied to this reputed alliance, which seems closely linked to the place Hebron/Kiriath-arba. As his point of departure for treating the name "Mamre," Lipiński (1974: 48–51) turned to late, midrashic explications of the names Kiriath-arba and Hebron. There the former is understood as meaning "the City of Four [Quarters]," while the latter is understood as "Confederation" (cf. Heb *ḥeber*). Thus, for Lipiński, the four allies in Genesis 14 are actually literary personifications of the four clans of the area (and their respective sanctuaries), whose union gave rise to the municipality called Kiriath-arba or Hebron.

Lipiński reconstructed these four municipal clans/quarters/sanctuaries as follows. One, he suggested, was the Sanctuary of Eshcol (sacred to El and then Baal), site of the firstfruits of the vine (Heb *›eškôl,* "cluster [of grapes]") and the Dale of Eshcol. The second, associated with Aner, he believed to be a sanctuary of the goddess Anat, originally called **bêt ‹anāt rūm,* "temple of the Anat of the Above," the shortened form being **‹anāt rūm* (indeed, *Anatram* is the goddess venerated by a Sidonian in Delos; Lipiński 1974: 53 and n. 2). Lipiński believed that vestiges of this shortened form are still retained not only in the Samaritan Pentateuch, which renders the name Aner as *‹nrm,* but also in 1QapGen, in the metathesized form *‹rnm.* But the MT tradition has intentionally deformed the sanctuary's name even further, reducing it simply to *‹āner.* For Lipiński, the third clan/quarter/sanctuary was the Cave of Machpelah, associated with the Hebrew patriarchs and matriarchs. The fourth (situated to the W of Machpelah) was associated with *›elōnê mamrē›*, "the oaks of Mamre." Many scholars, following the LXX and Syr, have long assumed that the original Heb text did not include the plural, but rather read simply *›ēlōn* or *›ēl-ōn,* "place of (the) god (Mamre)." Thus, Gen 14:13 (*whw› škn *b› ln mmr› h›mry*) can easily be translated "he (i.e., Abram) was dwelling at the Amorite sanctuary of Mamre," and Mamre can be regarded as originally a divine name or epithet, "the (fatted) calf" (*mamrē›* being a toponymic form, **ma-mrī›*, derived from S Canaanite *mĕrī›* "fatted calf"; N Canaanite uses *‹egel*). In Genesis 14, the author has personified the four districts of Hebron as four persons.

But within this same type of scheme, other linguistic explanations for the various sanctuaries are possible. For example, Eshcol could be translated "Place of Testiculus," derived from Heb *ʾešek* with a toponymic suffix (*–vowel* + "*l*"). Aner could readily be derived from Hitite *ani-ur* "ritual," an appropriate name for a sanctuary and its activities (the initial *ʿayin* phonetically effectuated by some form of Hess' Law; see Arbeitman 1981: 1011–15). The name *mamrēʾ,* however, is likely a Hebrew representation of Hittite *miu-mar,* "friendship, peaceful relations, alliance" (Arbeitman 1981: 959–1002; note also the traditional associations of "Hittites" with the Hebron area, Genesis 23). Thus, Hit *miu-mar* is semantically identical to Hebron (Heb *ḥebr-ôn,* "place of the ally/confederate" (although the linguistic matters here may be further complicated by O'Connor's recognition of a Hurrian toponymic suffix *-mar*/*-mur,* such as in Tadmor and Palmyra [1988: 238 passim]). Again, the author of Genesis 14 later personified the name; but the original tradition behind 14:13 was that " (Abram) was dwelling at the Amorite sanctuary of Alliance."

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YOËL L. ARBEITMAN

**MANAEN** (PERSON) [Gk *Manaēn* (Μαναην)]. Mentioned in Acts 13:1 as one of the prophets and teachers in the church at Antioch who were present at the commissioning of Paul and Barnabas for missionary work. Manaen is called a *syntrophos* of Herod the Tetrarch, that is, Herod Antipas (4 B.C.E.–37 C.E.). *Syntrophos* means "nourished" or "brought up together with," "foster-brother," "companion (from one's youth), intimate friend" (BAGD, 793). The exact relation of Manaen to Antipas is not exactly known. It has been interpreted as "foster-brother," a boy of the same age as a royal prince who was brought up with him at court and retained the title in adulthood. It has been less restrictively interpreted as "courtier" or "intimate friend" (MM 615). In any case it was a very special relationship of honor. Manaen may have been Luke's source of information about Herod Antipas and his dynasty, information that is not found in the other Gospels. Manaen may have been related to an earlier Manaen, an Essene, who was a friend of Herod the Great, father of Herod Antipas, and predicted his ascension to the throne (Joseph. *Ant.* 15.373–79).

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**MANAHATH** (PERSON) [Heb *mānaḥat* (מָנַחַת)]. A son of Shobal and grandson of "Seir, the Horite" (Gen 36:23; 1 Chr 1:40). This genealogy and its literary context suggest that Manahath was an Edomite tribe or clan of the 7th century B.C. See HORITES; SHOBAL. It is possible that elements of this Edomite clan at one time inhabited the Negeb. See MANAHATHITES.

The form of the name is difficult to explain. The vowel pattern of **mānaḥt* excludes a connection with Aram *nḥt* ("to descend") or with Heb *minḥâ* ("gift," also Phoen, Aram, and perhaps Ug). Possibly, **Mānaḥt* can be regarded as a "feminine" formation belonging to (Heb) *mānôaḥ,* "rest, resting place," which is also the name of Samson's father (1 Sam 13:2, etc.), further attested on a 7th-century B.C. Judean seal (Herr 1978: 130, no. 110). Because *Mānôaḥ* is derived from **Manāḥ, *Manāḥt* would lead to **Manaḥt,* hence *Mānaḥat* (the reduction of long vowels in double-closed syllables is a common Semitic feature).

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**MANAHATH** (PLACE) [Heb *mānaḥat* (מָנַחַת)]. A place to which Benjaminite families from Geba, of the clan of Ehud, were "exiled" (1 Chr 8:6). Because it was a fellow Benjaminite, Gera (1 Chr 8:3), who "exiled" them (1 Chr 8:7, reading *hglm* as a verbal form, not as a PN "Heglam" [so RSV]), this "exile" may be understood within the context of Benjaminite colonization of the mountains of Gilead before the monarchy. Because the Benjaminite clan of Ehud (whose "father," incidentally, was Gera, Judg 3:15) settled in the vicinity of the modern town of ʿAjlûn (Knauf fc.), Manahath should be sought in its environs; the place can be identified with Maḥnah (< **Maḥnat*, an easy corruption of **Manaḥt*), 7 km N of ʿAjlûn (M.R. 221193). The area was occupied in the early Iron Age (Khirbet el-Hêdamûs at ʿAin Maḥnah, Mittmann 1970: 68f.).

Manahath, meaning "resting place," is a genuine toponym that need not be connected with the Seirite clan or the tribe of Manahath, which belongs to an area where Benjaminites are never known to have settled. See MANAHATH (PERSON).

The place Manahath has previously been identified with the fortress *Manḫatu* (EA 292: 30; Moran 1987: 521), constructed in the Amarna period to defend the territory of Gezer against "the hostility from the mountains" (Schmitt 1980: 91–92). On both philological and historical grounds, however, this identification is not tenable (Niemann 1985: 156–58). Furthermore, Amarna-Akkadian *Manḫatu* may represent a Canaanite **man*ʿ*at* ("Defense," a name that would suit a fortress well). (For ‹ḫ› representing Canaanite ʿ*ayin* in Amarna-Akkadian, cf., e.g., *Ḫenianabi* EA 256: 26, which is an ʿ*Ain* ʿ*Anab* "Spring of Grapes.") Not incidentally, there is a Sitt Manâʿ and a Khirbet Mannâʿ in the region where *Manḫatu* must be located (Schmitt 1980: 91).

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**MANAHATHITES** [Heb *mānaḥtî* (מָנַחְתִּי)]. A clan of the Calebites (1 Chr 2:54), half of which was derived from SHOBAL and was called MENUHOTH (1 Chr 2:52). The other half of this clan, said to inhabit ZORAH, is also accounted among the sons of Shobal in 1 Chr 2:53, but among the descendants of Salma in 1 Chr 2:54.

It is impossible not to identify the Manahathites, sons of Shobal here in 1 Chronicles 2, with the Edomite (Horite) tribe or clan of Manahath, son of Shobal, mentioned in Gen 36:23; 1 Chr 1:40. See MANAHATH (PERSON). There are two historical situations that might have accommodated the appearance of an Edomite clan among the Calebites (i.e., the inhabitants of the Negeb): the premonarchic and the postexilic periods. In the premonarchic period, numerous tribes and/or clans lived on both sides of Wadi ʿArabah who later joined either Judah, or Edom, or both. See LOTAN. Because the ranked tribal system attested by Genesis 36 is, however, unlikely to have emerged in the LB or early Iron Age, a postexilic date for 1 Chr 2:52–54 is preferable. In this case, the presence of Shobalites at Kiriath-jearim (1 Chr 2:52) and Manahathites at Zora and Eshtaol (1 Chr 2:53–54) attests Idumean penetration into Judea proper, which is not unlikely given the fact that Judeans also settled, or Judean landlords also owned, territory within Idumea (cf. Neh 11:25–30). Judean presence within Idumea is evidenced by the Arad and Beer-sheba ostraca (de Geus 1980: 73; Ephʿal 1982: 200 n. 679).

A different view was advanced by W. Rudolph (*Chronicles* HAT, 27). He also dates 1 Chr 2:18–19, 50–55 to the postexilic period, but he assumed that Calebites left the Negeb under Idumean pressure and settled further N within Judea. There are, however, no indisputable references to the Calebites after the

reign of David. After the Exile, the attribution of Idumean clans to the southern, albeit extinct and legendary, tribe of Caleb may have served to legitimize their abode in Judea.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**MANASSEH** (PERSON) [Heb *měnaššeh* (מְנַשֶּׁה)]. Var. MANASSEAS. 1. Son of Joseph, son of Jacob and, as such, the eponymous ancestor of one of the Israelite tribes. See MANASSEH (PLACE).

2. See MANASSEH, KING OF JUDAH.

3. Identified as a son of both Pahath-moab and Hashum, Manasseh is listed among the Israelites who dismissed the foreign wives with whom they were living in defiance of the law (Ezra 10:30, 33). In the parallel passage in 1 Esdr 9:31, he is called Manasseas (Gk *Manassēas*).

4. Identified as a son of both Hashum and Addi, this Manasseh is also listed among the Israelites who dismissed the foreign wives with whom they were living in defiance of the Law (1 Esdr 9:33).

5. The husband of Judith, Manasseh is described as having died from a sunstroke while overseeing a barley harvest (Jdt 8:2–3). A fictional character, the description of Manasseh's death may have been inspired by the story of the Shunamite woman's son (cf. 2 Kgs 4:18ff.; Enslin 1972: 110), but the similarities between the two stories are superficial at best (Craven 1983: 85 n. 41).

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FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**MANASSEH** (PLACE) [Heb *měnaššeh* (מְנַשֶּׁה)]. MANASSITE. Name of Israelite tribe in the hills of central Palestine; during the early monarchy it extended to include the inhabitants of central Transjordan (half-tribe of Manasseh).

**A. Manasseh, Son of Joseph, Son of Jacob**

The eponym of the tribe of Manasseh was the eldest son of Joseph and Asenath, the daughter of Potiphera the priest of On (Gen 46:20). *Měnaššeh* is a regular Hebrew personal name of a common type. It is a participle of the root *nšh* "he who makes forget," namely, the death of a prior child (cf. a popular name like Menahem). There is no doubt that this name was originally a personal name. It was probably the name of the ancestor of a clan, unlike such names as Judah or Ephraim, which originally had a geographical meaning.

**B. The Place of Manasseh in the System of Twelve Tribes**

There is not one system of twelve tribes in the OT, but two (see GAD). System A is mainly a list of patronyms and includes the tribes of Levi and Joseph. The second system, B, is geographical. It omits Levi, the priestly tribe without a territory, while Joseph is split up into Ephraim and Manasseh. Although it is repeatedly stated that Manasseh was Joseph's eldest son, the order is often reversed: Ephraim, then Manasseh. In some instances the biblical text as it now stands still shows "scars" indicating that in a former stage the text had the original order—Manasseh, then Ephraim—as is the case with Joshua 16 and 17 (de Geus 1976: 79–80). Indeed, it was apparently so well known that Manasseh was traditionally the eldest son/tribe that an explanation was needed to clarify the later situation, with Ephraim as the dominant tribe in the center of the country (Gen 48:13–14).

Two recent views with regard to the tribe of Manasseh are important. Until two decades ago it was generally assumed that the name "house of Joseph" was older than the separate tribes Ephraim and Manasseh. While expanding in the central hills after the period of settlement, Joseph split up into two separate tribes. Therefore system A was considered older than system B. Many historians, however, now accept the opinion that it was the other way around. The expression "house of Joseph" appears only at the

beginning of the divided monarchy and denotes the core of the kingdom of Israel. In most cases "house of Joseph" has a polemic sound against "Judah" (de Geus 1976: 70–96; Lemche 1985: 284).

The second modern development is that Machir is no longer thought to be just another smaller splinter group of Joseph, but instead the name of an older tribal group. Neither was Machir simply an older name for Manasseh, as was often said in view of Judg 5:14. Machir was probably a small Israelite tribe that dwelled around Dothan during the LB Age and that later moved to Transjordan (de Geus 1976: 72). Only the rise of the Israelite state resolved the conflicts about land and power between the different Manassite clans and with the neighboring tribes.

**C. Settlement**

The process of sedentarization and reurbanization that is commonly known as the "settlement of the Israelite tribes" started at the beginning of the 12th century B.C.E. Archaeologically speaking this is the Iron Age I. It is significant that Finkelstein found that 70 percent of all Iron I sites in Palestine are located N of the modern town of Ramallah and S of the Jezreel valley. This is the territory of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh (*AIS*, 65–91, 352–56). In absolute numbers, 120 sites were located in Ephraim and 100 in Manasseh, by contrast to, for instance, only 12 for Judah. After a study of all of the newer material that has been published on early Iron Age sites in Transjordan, Finkelstein (*AIS*, 114–17) comes to the conclusion that a parallel process of sedentarization occurred there, rather than a migration with subsequent settlement from the W, as was assumed by Mittmann.

There is a remarkable difference between the settlement in Ephraim and that in Manasseh. The new Iron I sites in Ephraim are found far from the sparse LB towns. But in the land of Manasseh the Israelites settled among a population that had been sedentary for a long time. The tribal territory does not have the steep and forested slopes of Mount Ephraim. It consists of broad valleys and gentle slopes. The soils are fertile and easy to work. In the territory of Manasseh there were no less than 22 LB Age towns (cf. Ephraim, 5; Judah, 5). Some of these LB Age cities certainly continued well into the Iron Age and the Israelite period. A good example of this is the town of Shechem. The Bible also is very clear about the continuing Canaanite presence in the land of Manasseh (Judg 1:27; *AIS*, 90–91).

The oldest Iron Age I settlements of the country are found in the territory of Manasseh. Here the land was suitable for pastoralists who also raised some grain crops. These pastoralists had roamed around in the area already for some centuries (de Geus 1976: 164–71). What started in Manasseh—and probably parallel to it also in Transjordan—spread out from this nucleus: first to the S and the N, later also to the W.

**D. History**

Apart from the fertility of the land, four factors determined the history of the tribe of Manasseh: (1) the presence of so many Canaanite towns inside its territory; (2) the competition with the brother-tribe Ephraim; (3) the fact that all three successive capitals of the kingdom of Israel were situated inside its boundaries; and (4) the fact that the easiest passage to Transjordan and to the King's Highway is through the Wadi Far῾ah and along the Wadi Zerqa (Jabbok River).

Although the earliest Israelite population of Manasseh was rural, the tribal territory remained under the dominance of a number of towns in its heartland that only gradually became Israelite. Shechem, for instance, was already of importance to the oldest Israelites in the Bronze Age, but in the period of the Judges it still had a predominantly non-Israelite population (Judges 9). Like Tirzah and Hepher, Shechem was ultimately included in the tribal genealogy (Num 26:28–34; Josh 17:2–3). Other former Canaanite towns like Ibleam, Dothan, Beth-shan, Taanach, and Megiddo were more peripheral. Gradually all of these towns became Israelite. The example of Tappuah shows how slowly this development went. Tappuah, on the southern border of Manasseh, was a LB Canaanite town. Its surrounding lands became Manassite, but the town itself was Ephraimite. That is to say, the ruling family changed into an Ephraimite one at a time that the Ephraimites were already powerful enough to cause this change.

The OT shows several examples of an ancient rivalry against the rising tribe of Ephraim. The changed order, placing the elder brother behind the younger, has already been mentioned. Judges 6–8 tell us the story of Gideon's war against the Midianites. Gideon was a Manassite hero and judge. His allies, besides

Manasseh, were Asher, Zebulun, Naphtali, and in a passive way the Israelite areas in Transjordan. The Ephraimites were purposely left out (Judg 8:1). The conflict between Gilead and Ephraim that is known as the *šibbōlet* incident (Judg 12:1–6) became very famous. This story also testifies to a linguistic distinction between the Gileadites from Transjordan and the Ephraimites. In the time of the monarchy this competition ended in favor of the Ephraimites. Not only was Joshua an Ephraimite, but also Jeroboam, the first king of the northern kingdom. In 1 Kgs 4:8 Solomon's first district is simply called the "mountain of Ephraim," although it is clear that Manasseh is meant.

The capitals Shechem, Tirzah, and Samaria are all situated inside Manasseh. During the dynasty of the Omrides Jezreel served as their private residency. Officially Jezreel belonged to Issachar. If Omri belonged to the same clan as Baasha, he was also an Issacharite. Geographically Jezreel belongs to Manasseh, so it is possible that the tribe of Issachar was a splinter group of Manasseh. This tribe is now missing in stories where it could hardly be missed, as in Judges 6–8, where the later territory of Issachar was the scene of the conflict. In 2 Sam 2:8–9 Jezreel stands for both Issachar and (West) Manasseh. In addition there are several Manassite enclaves inside Issachar, all former Canaanite towns (Josh 17:11; Judg 1:27).

It is evident that the last redactions of the traditions about the Israelite tribes in Transjordan were made when there was no longer an important Israelite population or military presence there. One feels in the texts the uncertainty of exactly how the situation had been (Wüst 1975: 59). It is clear that "half-tribe of Manasseh" is an artificial construction. The older traditions peak of Gilead and Machir. Both received a place in the Manassite genealogy of Numbers 26. In later traditions all Cisjordanian clans were regarded as the legal sons of Manasseh's first wife but the Transjordanian clans as sons of his Aramean concubine. It seems that all of these territories were lost after Tiglath-pileser III (but see GAD; perhaps Jerusalem kept in contact with former Israelite groups in Transjordan, which remained known in Judah as "Gad").

One should bear in mind that in the time of the early monarchy Transjordan was of great strategic importance. Transjordanian Israelites played a key role in many stories about Saul and his son Ish-bosheth. David also fell back on Gilead when his throne was threatened.

**E. Territory**

The territory of Manasseh, W of the Jordan River, consisted first of all of the northern part of the central Palestinian hills. The Jordan River was apparently the eastern border. The northern border should have been the valley of Jezreel. But as we have seen, here we find a number of Manassite enclaves in what became the territory of Issachar. The southern border seems to have been Wadi Qanah. Joshua 17 tells us that the western border was the sea. In reality it took a long time before Manassite/Israelite influence extended into the coastal plain. This remained at first firmly in the hands of Canaanites and Philistines. A Manassite town on the coast was Dor, while in the plain was situated "the land of Hepher" (if its identification with el-Ifshar is correct). Only at one place do we find a detailed border description: in the area of Tappuah. This city on the northern side of Wadi Qanah was Ephraimite. The text as it stands now, however, shows many "scars." The remark about Tappuah is undoubtedly a remnant of an older, more detailed border description. And it proves that such border descriptions did indeed exist and were old. Very probably they had once had an official function (de Geus 1976: 74–77). We do not have a town list of the tribe of Manasseh.

On the other hand, seven of the clans known from the genealogy of Numbers 26 appear as geographical districts in the Samaria ostraca. These ostraca date from the beginning of the 8th century B.C.E. They prove that these clan names at that time still functioned as names of districts. The seven are Shemida, Abiezer, Helek, Asriel, Shechem, Hoglah, and Noah. They are all situated around Samaria in central Manasseh.

Israelite settlement in Transjordan had two centers: a southern one and a northern one. The borders of the latter are roughly: to the N, the Yarmuk River; to the W, the Jordan River; to the S, the Jabbok River. It is as yet impossible to give a detailed description of the eastern border, which flanked the kingdom of Ammon. The list of Solomonic districts includes two districts in the half-tribe of Manasseh. A northern one on the plain of Irbid, S of the Yarmuk River, had its center at Ramoth-gilead (Tell er-Ramit). The

other one was in the hills of the ʿAjlûn, its center being Mahanaim. This city is commonly identified with Tell Hajjaj, which should mean that the center of this district was situated in an enclave S of the Jabbok River. A very recent proposal is the identification of Mahanaim with Tell ed-Dhahab el-Gharbi, just N of the river.

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**MANASSEH, KING OF JUDAH.** Manasseh, son of Hezekiah, was king of Judah ca. 687–642 B.C.E. According to 2 Kgs 21:1 and 2 Chr 33:1, Manasseh came to the throne at the age of 12 and ruled for 55 years. His mother was Hephzibah. A 55-year reign is difficult to reconcile with the chronologies of preceding and following kings and is perhaps exaggerated. Given Manasseh's youth at his accession, however, and especially in view of Hezekiah's illness, a ten-year coregency at the end of his father's reign is sometimes proposed as a way of reconciling the conflicting information (see, however, the new chronology proposed by Hayes and Hooker [1988: 71–83]).

**A. Sources**

The primary account of Manasseh's reign is given by the Deuteronomist in 2 Kgs 21:1–18, who claims that Manasseh's apostasy led Judah to ruin. The Chronicler follows suit and presents much the same picture for the earlier part of Manasseh's reign (2 Chr 33:1–10). But he adds in 2 Chr 33:11–17 an account of an invasion of Judah by Assyrian forces, of the capture of Manasseh and his removal to Babylon (*sic*!), of Manasseh's repentance and return to Jerusalem, and of building and military activity in Judah, as well as of a religious reform to restore the worship of Yahweh. Not even a hint of these matters is given in the Deuteronomist's account, however, and scholars are divided on whether the Chronicler's added material is based on historical information.

Neither the Deuteronomist nor the Chronicler discusses Manasseh's reign in relation to the events of the time, so scholars are left with the problematic task of setting Manasseh's activities in a larger context. It is clear that Manasseh ruled when Assyrian power was unmatched in the Near East, but to what extent Manasseh's religious, building, and military activities can be correlated with Judah's situation under Assyria is a matter of conjecture.

The annals of Esarhaddon mention Manasseh among a group of twenty-two western kings who were compelled "under terrible difficulties" to transport building material to Nineveh for a project of the Assyrian king (*ANET,* 291). Manasseh is also named in an almost identical list in Ashurbanipal's account of rulers (only the "C"edition of the annals gives the full list of names) who presented gifts to him and then helped him conquer Egypt in 668/667 B.C.E. (*ANET,* 294). The striking similarity between Esarhaddon's vassal treaties (Wiseman 1958) and language in Deuteronomy, especially chap. 28, has led some scholars to conclude that the curses in that chapter were adapted from the maledictions in the treaties (Frankena 1965; Weinfeld 1965). Frankena has speculated that Manasseh, after swearing allegiance to the Assyrian king (in his view Manasseh was probably compelled to take a loyalty oath to support the succession of the crown prince Ashurbanipal), brought a copy of the vassal treaty back to Jerusalem, where it influenced the formulation of Deuteronomy (1965: 150). However one views the significance of the vassal treaties for the study of Manasseh, the Assyrian annals always refer to the Judean king as a loyal vassal.

**B. Assessments of Manasseh**

The Deuteronomist who gives us the account of Manasseh's reign in 2 Kgs 21:1–18 seeks to present the Judean king as a religious apostate. At the beginning of the account, the Deuteronomist states that Manasseh "did what was evil in the sight of Yahweh" (v 2), following the "abominable" practices (*tôʿăbōt*) of the nations who had lived in the land before the Israelites (v 3; cf. v 11). There follows a catalog of Manasseh's "sins," including the following: he rebuilt the shrines (*bāmôt*) that Hezekiah had destroyed; he set up altars for Baal and made a sacred pole, as Ahab had done; he worshipped all the host of heaven and built altars (for them?) in the temple; he built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the temple; he caused his son to pass through the fire (child sacrifice?); he practiced soothsaying and divination, and consulted ghosts and spirits; he placed the image of Asherah in the temple; and he shed much innocent blood in Jerusalem. In sum, Manasseh committed great wickedness and in the process led Judah to sin.

Scholars have tended to accept uncritically the Deuteronomist's extremely negative evaluation of Manasseh, faulting the king for a "decline of traditional, national religion" (Greenberg, *WHJP* 4/2: 118), which brought with it "contempt for Yahweh's law and new incidents of violence and injustice" (*BHI,* 313). Kaufmann referred to Manasseh's reign as "the heyday of Judean idolatry" (*KRI,* 141). The tendency has been to see Manasseh as a bad king because the Deuteronomist presented him in that light.

Increasingly, however, the artificiality and tendentiousness of the Deuteronomist's account is recognized, and reassessments are appearing. Ahlström, for example, avers that "Manasseh cannot be called an 'apostate' " and insists that he must be considered a traditionalist who "came into conflict with those groups still advocating the religious ideas and the radical, utopian innovations of his 'unorthodox' father" (1982: 80). Such claims, obviously, proceed from a view of the religion of Judah radically different from the standard treatments.

In addition, the study of comparative materials has demonstrated that the pattern of alternating bad and good reigns before and after Manasseh—Ahaz (bad); Hezekiah (good); Manasseh and Amon (bad); Josiah (good)—follows a literary convention in ANE historiography which renders the neatness of the schema rather suspect from a strictly historical point of view (Evans 1983: 121–25). The Deuteronomist's contrasting depiction of Manasseh and Hezekiah, for example, is greatly overdrawn. Political and social conditions during the final years of Hezekiah's reign, following Judah's capitulation to Assyria in 701 B.C.E., continued into the period of Manasseh (Evans 1980: 166–67; cf., however, Soggin 1984: 238) and left the king with little room to maneuver. Nelson's study of Manasseh's "severely limited" options, at least before the 650s, leads to the conclusion, "There is no reason to condemn Manasseh for doing what he had to do" (1983: 181).

**C. Manasseh and Assyria**

The kingdom Manasseh inherited from Hezekiah was a small vassal state within the Assyrian imperial system. Assyrian records claim that when Sennacherib conquered Judah in 701 B.C.E. the territory beyond the immediate environs of Jerusalem was put under the control of Assyria's loyal Philistine kings in

Ashdod, Ekron, and Gaza. Sometime during Manasseh's reign the territory was returned to Judah, presumably under conditions favorable to the Assyrians.

It has been commonplace to attribute many of Manasseh's religious practices to the powerful influence of the Assyrians over Judah in the early part of the 7th century. Hayes, for example, regards the biblical references to the worship of astral deities ("the host of heaven") during this time as an indication that "the imposition and encouragement of Assyrian religion was probably used as an important feature of Assyrian control" (*HAIJ*, 372). This view goes back to Oestreicher (1923) and has been adopted by many scholars who interpret the changing patterns of Judean religion from Ahaz to Josiah in close relationship to Judah's political stances vis-à-vis Assyria. Since the assumption was that Assyria imposed the worship of Assyrian gods on subject peoples, it followed that the non-Yahwistic religious practices during the reigns of Ahaz and Manasseh were due to the religious impositions of their imperial masters. The same line of reasoning led scholars to interpret the Yahwistic reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah as essentially political in nature, the goal being to assert political independence by eliminating Assyrian religious practices, which their predecessors had been obliged to institute.

On the basis of a thorough examination of the Assyrian evidence, McKay (1973) and Cogan (1974) have concluded that the Assyrians did not impose on vassal states the obligation to worship Assyrian gods (but see now Spieckermann 1982: 307–72). Vassal states, as distinct from provincial territories, were spared Assyrian interference in religious affairs, even though tribute payments and loyalty oaths were required to demonstrate allegiance to the Assyrian overlord. Furthermore, McKay and Cogan have shown that the non-Yahwistic religious practices in Judah during Assyrian domination display the characteristics of "popular Palestinian paganism" (McKay 1973: 67); they were "outgrowths of local traditions, popularly rooted" rather than coerced importations from Assyria (Cogan 1974: 86). This is not to claim, however, that there was no "Assyrianization" of Judah's religion. Both McKay (1973: 67–73) and Cogan (1974: 88–96) acknowledge a process of acculturation under the Assyrians which resulted in the popular resurgence and/or royal sponsorship of foreign cults under Ahaz and Manasseh (Cogan 1974: 88–96).

Beyond Manasseh's efforts to demonstrate his loyalty to Assyria, it is reasonable to assume that his religious policies were designed to win support within Judah by restoring the cultic practices which Hezekiah had taken away from the people. The connection between Hezekiah's reform and the subsequent national humiliation by the Assyrians would not have been lost on discerning Judeans. They would have welcomed Manasseh's reversal of Hezekiah's policies—policies which had cost Judah dearly in land and treasure. But others would have viewed matters differently. The Yahwistic priests in Jerusalem undoubtedly would have opposed Manasseh because of his sponsorship of non-Yahwistic practices. The levitical priests who served the local shrines may have opposed him also, for the same reason (Nielsen 1967: 105–6).

The circumstances prompting Hezekiah's reform, followed by Manasseh's reversal of the reform and then Josiah's restoration of many of the same reform measures, probably reflects a domestic conflict within Judah between rival social groups (Nielsen 1967: 104–6; Oded, *IJH*, 453–54). In 2 Kgs 21:16 it is mentioned that Manasseh shed much "innocent blood" in Jerusalem. Is this a reference to political murders? Some have suggested that it is, and in particular that it alludes to Manasseh's violent suppression of the prophets, whose voices were silent during his long reign. The legend of the martyrdom of Isaiah has inspired this view. Others maintain, however, that the absence of prophecy during Manasseh's reign was "in part because there were no major crises nor any real options in foreign policy for the prophets to preach about" (Nelson 1983: 181; cf. Nielsen 1967: 104–5).

**D. 2 Chr 33:11–17**

Scholars are sharply divided on whether the information supplied by the Chronicler in 2 Chr 33:11–17 is historically reliable. This account claims that Manasseh was taken as a bound captive to Babylon by the Assyrian forces, that he repented of his sins while there, and that he returned to Jerusalem and instituted a Yahwistic religious reform. (The apocryphal Prayer of Manasseh is a late attempt to construct the prayer of repentance to which 2 Chr 33:12–13 alludes. See MANASSEH, PRAYER OF.) The point at issue is which parts of the account, if any, can be given credence.

On the one hand, some claim that the crafting of the account was theologically motivated and is lacking in historical credibility. It has been referred to as an "edifying story" created by the biblical narrator to answer the perplexing question of why Yahweh would have allowed this most wicked king of all to rule longer than any other Davidic king (Soggin 1984: 239; cf. Myers *2 Chronicles* 199). Ackroyd has stated that the Chronicler's portrayal of Manasseh was designed to speak theologically to the Judean exiles—"just as such a wicked king was taken captive, repented, and was restored, so the same was to happen to Judah" (Ackroyd, *1–2 Chronicles* TB, 198). Furthermore, the skepticism about Manasseh's repentance and reform has seemed justified in light of the reform measures undertaken by Josiah. Bright, for example, has dismissed the likelihood of a reform by Manasseh with the observation, "it is clear from II Kings, ch. 23, that the abuses for which he was responsible continued till Josiah removed them" (*BHI,* 313 n. 7; cf. *HAIJ,* 376).

On the other hand, the Chronicler's special material on Manasseh does not make major claims for the king's reforms. His actions were limited to the removal of a few objects from the temple, a few altars from within the city, the restoration of the altar of Yahweh in the temple, and the use of the restored altar for sacrificial functions. Thus the reform centered on the temple and little, if any, of it extended beyond Jerusalem. The Chronicler does claim that Manasseh commanded Judah to serve Yahweh, but it is unlikely that the king's command resulted in significant changes in the religious practices outside Jerusalem, despite the Chronicler's claim that the people thereafter sacrificed only to Yahweh.

Ahlström believes that the Chronicler's report "cannot be a complete invention," and he seeks to establish a plausible connection between Manasseh's cultic reorganization, on the one hand, and the king's building activities and changes in the defense system (2 Chr 33:14), on the other (1982: 76–81). According to Ahlström, such a connection can be found when one recognizes "the complex idea of religion as a national, territorial phenomenon" (1982: 77). He maintains that the restoration of the territory which had earlier been given by Sennacherib to loyal Philistine rulers called for the extension of Manasseh's administration "in order to re-incorporate these cities territorially and religiously into the kingdom of Judah" (1982: 78).

The Chronicler claims that Manasseh built an outer wall for Jerusalem and placed military commanders in the fortified cities of Judah (2 Chr 33:14) as indications of the king's loyalty to Assyria. According to some, Manasseh was allowed to strengthen his kingdom in order that Judah could serve as an effective buffer between Assyria and Egypt (Nielsen 1967: 104; cf. Nelson 1983: 181). The possibility that fortifications at Tell el-Ḥesi and Arad were also parts of Manasseh's defense system against Egypt has been hinted at by Ahlström (1982: 79).

Still another view is that Manasseh's building and military activities may be seen as a rebellion against Assyria, a possibility which would explain Manasseh's capture by Assyrian commanders and removal to Babylon (2 Chr 33:11). The most likely occasion for Manasseh's revolt, according to most scholars, would have been the civil war led by Shamash-shum-ukin against Ashurbanipal (*BHI,* 311, 341; Ehrlich 1965; Oded, *IJH,* 455–56; Reviv, *WHJP* 4/1: 200–201). Though centered in Babylon, the uprising stirred revolts elsewhere, and Manasseh could have been among those involved. If such a revolt occurred, however, it is difficult to fathom why the Deuteronomist would have suppressed this information, especially since Manasseh's capture could have been interpreted as divine punishment in a manner consistent with the Deuteronomist's ideology (Nielsen 1967: 104).

Another possible context for a revolt by Manasseh has been suggested on the basis of a fragmentary inscription of Esarhaddon. The text reports reprisals against Phoenician and Philistine cities which had apparently joined an anti-Assyrian conspiracy with the Egyptian king Tarqu (Tarhaqa). The inscription refers to twenty-two western kings who were subdued during Esarhaddon's campaign to Egypt (671 B.C.E.), but unfortunately the tablet is broken where the names of the rebellious rulers were probably listed. Manasseh may have joined this rebellion (Cogan 1974: 69).

**E. Manasseh and the Fall of Judah**

2 Kings blames Judah's fall on the sins of Manasseh (2 Kgs 21:11–15; 23:26–27; 24:3–4)—the hand in these passages is that of an exilic redactor—and in this fashion imitates the depiction of Jeroboam ben

Nebat as the wicked ruler whose sins led the N kingdom of Israel to ruin. This portrayal of Manasseh as an *Unheilsherrscher* (interestingly, the Chronicler does not attribute the fall of Judah to Manasseh's sins) is a characteristic of the Deuteronomistic literature, which in this and other respects follows patterns in ANE historiography (Evans 1983).

**F. Manasseh in Rabbinic Literature**

The generally negative depiction of Manasseh reappears in rabbinic literature. Manasseh's idolatry, especially, is the subject of comment. The rabbis included Manasseh among those who have no share in the world to come, although Rabbi Judah disagreed because of the king's repentance (*m. Sanh.* 10:2). Rabbi Ashi, in a dream, learned of Manasseh's erudition and asked him why such a wise person worshipped idols. Manasseh responded, "Had you lived at my time, you would have caught hold of the hem of my garment and sped after me" (*b. Sanh.* 102b).

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**MANASSEH, PRAYER OF.** This pseudepigraphal prayer, which is an individual lament of personal sin, is preserved primarily in Greek and Syriac. Many distinguished scholars consider that Greek is the original language; others conclude that it was composed in a Semitic language (see fuller discussion in *OTP* 2: 625–27). The prayer is too short and the history of transmission of both the Greek and Syriac texts is still too unclear to provide a firm conclusion regarding the original language.

Its penitential qualities, introspective and elevated perception of human need, as well as the denigration of Jewish prayer during the time of Jesus of Nazareth caused it to be labeled "Christian." Fabricius (1722: 1.1101) and Nestle (1899: 3: 18) claimed that it was written by a Christian. Migne (1856: 850) attributed the Greek text to the Christian author of the Apostolic Constitutions and tended to disparage the Prayer.

Now, thanks to a refined understanding of early Judaism and early Christianity, to an improved and more self-critical methodology, and to the discovery of numerous early Jewish hymns and prayers, it is certain that the Prayer of Manasseh was composed by a Jew, perhaps in or near Jerusalem, sometime before the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E. The author attempts to supply the prayer attributed by 2 Chronicles 33 to Manasseh (687–642 B.C.E.), the son of Hezekiah, supposedly the wickedest king of Judah.

For the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur) the high priest would confess his own sins, as well as the sins of his family and the nation Israel. Confession of guilt and need for forgiveness were at the heart of early Judaism. As the Jewish expert Sandmel stated, the Prayer of Manasseh would "have fitted admirably" into the synagogue service for the Day of Atonement. For Goodspeed (1939: 56), the "simplicity, deep feeling,

and power" of the Prayer of Manasseh "give it genuine religious worth, and remind us of the genuine religious feeling that welled up in Jewish hearts." Affirming that it is a Jewish prayer, B. M. Metzger (1957: 122) calls the Prayer of Manasseh "the little classic of penitential devotion," which "breathes throughout a deep and genuine religious feeling."

Two main themes run through the Prayer of Manasseh: God's infinite mercy and grace, and the conviction that contrition and repentance are effective. Similar to the canonical prayer of the penitent sinner, Psalm 51 (which the author undoubtedly had memorized), and parallel to *Joseph and Aseneth* (which he probably influenced), are these penetrating insights (translated from the Syriac):

> And now behold I am bending the knees of my heart before you;
> and I am beseeching your kindness.
> I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned;
> and certainly I know my sins.
> I make supplication before you;
> forgive me, O Lord, forgive me!

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**MANDAEISM.** The term "Mandaeism" is not an original self-designation of the religious community of the so-called "Mandaeans" (*mandayî*), which persists today in several settlements in S Iraq (Basra, Bagdad, Amārah, Naṣirīya, Sūq esh-Shuyukh) and in Iranian Khuzistān (Ahwāz, Disful, Shūshtār). It is thought that they now consist of ca. 15,000 members; the majority lives in Iraq (ca. 13,000). For centuries their main business seems to have been silver- and ironsmithing, boatbuilding and bridge construction. What they do not have in common with the surrounding people is their religious tradition and literature, which is written in a unique Semitic (east Aramaic) dialect and script (both are called by modern scholars "Mandaic").

**A. Self-appellations**

According to the Mandaean sources the earliest self-denominations are: "elect of righteousness" (*bhirē zidga*) and "guardians" or "possessors" (*naṣuraiyī*), i.e., of secret rites and knowledge. The word "Mandaeans" itself (*mandayī*) refers back to an ancient term for "knowledge," Gnosis (manda) and therefore means "Gnostics," but today it denotes the "laity" in distinction to "priests" (*tarmidī,* actually "disciples") and "initiates" (*naṣoraiyī*). Portuguese Catholic missionaries of the 17th century called them "disciples of John the Baptist," and they were known in European literature until the 19th century under this name or as "John-Christians" (actually, they only considered John the Baptist to be one of their prophets or "priests"). The Muslims gave them the name "Sabians" (in modern dialect: *Ṣubba*), known from the Quran and early Arabic literature; the designation enabled them to belong to the "people of the book" who are tolerated by Islam. Probably the original meaning of this word is "baptists, baptizers" (from the Aram root *ṣĕba,* "to immerse, baptize, wash").

**B. Literature**

It is noteworthy that the literature of this small community is quite extensive and diverse. It consists of ritual books (liturgies, prayers, hymns) and commentaries, theological-mythological tractates, illustrated scrolls, legends, and magical texts. Since we do not know the names and dates of the authors, redactors, or compilers, it is very difficult to give exact information about the origin and age of the literature. Very often the nature of the writings creates a problem for interpretation because early and late material is interwoven. Surely the collection of many writings into "books" had already started before the invasion of Islam into the Mandaean settlements in Mesopotamia. Apart from these, other texts have been transmitted in the earlier form of scrolls ("divans") rather than books, and they are illustrated in a peculiar artistic style. The oldest Mandaean magical texts (bowls and lead tablets) can be dated to the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.

Modern research in the scribal transmission of the texts, and comparisons of the special terminology, style, and phrases with non-Mandaean (Gnostic and Manichaean) literature have shown that the existence of the liturgical and poetic writings must be postulated already in the 3d century A.D. The script of texts was probably developed in the 2d century or earlier in order to preserve the more ancient religious tradition, which originated in Palestine and Syria and was brought orally to Mesopotamia.

The more important Mandaean works are the following: The "Treasure" (*Ginzā*) or "Great Book" (*sidra rabbā*) is the most complete collection of writings; it consists of two parts, the larger "Right Ginza" and the smaller "Left Ginza." The "Right Ginza" is a collection of eighteen tractates with predominantly cosmological (mythological), theological, and didactic content, while the "Left Ginza" deals only with the ascent of the soul to the realm of light; therefore it is also called "Book of Souls."

The "Book of John" (*draša dyahya*) of the "Books of the Kings" (i.e., Angels, *drašê d malkê*) is also a collection of mixed content. The main parts report on the "sermons" of John the Baptist, the "discourses" of Šum (Shem), the appearance of Anoš (Enosh) in Jerusalem, and the story of the conversion of Miryai (Mary the Mother of Jesus).

The liturgical hymns, prayers, and ritual instructions are collected in the "Canonical Prayerbook," in Mandaic called *Qolastā* ("praise" or generally "collection" of hymns). The first two books of the prayerbook contain the liturgy for the baptism and the mass for the dead; both are still used today by the modern Mandaean priests.

A series of other ritual texts or scrolls have been published only in recent times, e.g., the wedding ritual, a ritual for the ordination ("crowning") of priests, a ritual for the purification of a polluted priest. Similar texts are still unpublished. A large collection of writings only for priestly use is the so-called "1012 Questions" (*Alf Trisar Šuialê*).

Some of the scrolls are illlustrated, like the interesting "Diwan Abathur," which deals with the ascent of the soul through the heavenly purgatories, or the "Diwan of the Rivers," which gives an impression of the traditional world view of the Mandaeans. The only historical information is given by the (fragmentary) "Diwan of the great Revelation," called *Haran Gawaita.* Two scrolls contain speculative interpretations of rituals for the ascending soul ("Great First World," "Small First World"). The "Book of the Signs of the Zodiac" (*Sfar malwašê*) serves the priest for horoscopes and for giving names to the Mandaeans.

**C. Doctrine**

A real problem for research in Mandaeism is understanding the origin, growth, and development of Mandaean traditions. No scholarly consensus has yet been reached in regard to source analysis and redaction. Such analyses would undoubtedly enable scholars to isolate early traditions and thus to trace their development throughout the extensive and diverse Mandaean literature. Here only a brief summary of the main lines of Mandaean thought can be presented. The cosmology is marked by a strict (gnostic) dualism between a "world of light" (*alma dnhura*) and a "world of darkness" (*alma dhšuka*). The world of light is ruled by a sublime being who bears different names: "Life" (*haiyê*), "Great Life," "Lord of Greatness" (*mara drabuta*), "Great Spirit" (*mana rabba*), "King of Light" (*malka dnhura*). He is surrounded by a countless number of beings of light (*uthrê* or *malkê*), living in "dwellings" (*škinata*) or "worlds" (*almê*), performing cultic acts and praising the "Life." The world of light came into being from the "First Life" by way of descending emanations or creations, which are called "Second," "Third," and

"Fourth" Life; they also bear personal names, such as Yošamin, Abāthur, and Ptahil. The last one is the later demiurge.

The "World of Darkness" is governed by the "Lord of Darkness" and arose from the "dark waters" (chaos). The main powers of the World of Darkness are a giant monster or dragon with the name "Ur" (probably a polemic transformation of Heb *ʾôr,* "light") and the evil (female) "spirit" (Ruha). Their offspring are demonic beings (*dēvs*) and "angels" (*malakê*). To them belong also the "Seven" (*šuba*) or the planets (*šibiahê*), and the "Twelve" (*trisar*) signs of the Zodiac.

The conflict between light and darkness, life and death, good and evil leads to the creation of the world (*tibil*) by the demiurge Ptahil with the help of the dark powers. In this process the body of the first man, Adam, is created by the same beings, but his "animating essence" is derived from the World of Light. This "substance of light" in Adam is called "inner (hidden) Adam" (*adam kasya, adakas*), and it represents the "soul" (*nišimta*) or "spirit" (*mana*) in humans, which has to be saved or rescued from the dark, evil body (= world) by heavenly beings of light. The salvation of these "souls" is the main concern of the Mandaean religion. One of its central creeds is the belief in several "messengers," "helpers," or "redeemers" sent by the "Life" in order to inform the pious of their "call" and to save their souls. The dominant figure of these "envoys of light" is the "knowledge of Life" (*Manda d Haiyê*), who is also called "Son of Life" (*Barhaiyê*) or "counterpart of Life" (*Dmuthaiyê*). Beside him stand the three heavenly Adamites, Hibil (Abel), Šitil (Seth), and Anoš (Enosh). Actually the Mandaeans know no "historical" redeemers but only "mythological" ones appearing throughout the ages of the history of the world as a repetition of the first revelation to Adam. Only after the confrontation with early Christianity did they develop the story that one of their messengers (Anoš or *Manda d Haiyê)* appeared in Jerusalem as an antagonist of Jesus Christ in order to expose him as a liar. In this connection John the Baptist played the role of a true Mandaean "disciple" or "priest" (*tarmida*). Whether reliable information about the early history of the Mandaeans in relation to the movement of the followers of John the Baptist can be derived from these tales is a problem that remains unsolved. For the Mandaeans John is not the founder of their religion but only one of their prominent representatives.

**D. The Rituals**

The center of the Mandaean religion is the cult. For centuries the traditional cultic locations (*mandi*) have been the principal points of the local communities. They consist—probably we have to say consisted—of a small hut (*maškna, bit manda, bimanda*) made of mud; in front of it lies the pool or "Jordan" (*yardna*) with "flowing water" (the sanctuaries are always situated next to rivers or channels). Elsewhere the rituals were performed on the banks of the rivers or creeks close to the residences of the community. Since the mid-1970s the Mandaeans have changed the tradition of their cultic areas in order to avoid polluted streams and rivers. Modern cultic structures (as in Baghdad and Basra) are built of bricks, and the ritual font is connected with the public water system.

The most important and oldest ceremonies are the "baptism" (*maṣbūtā*) and the "ascent of the soul" (*masiqta*). The baptism or "immersion" is performed every "Sunday" (the first day of the week, *habšabba*) in "flowing water" (*yardna*). It consists of two main parts: the first one is the actual baptismal rite including a threefold immersion (the participants dressed in the sacral white garments), a threefold "signing" of the forehead with water, a threefold gulp of water, the "crowning" with a small myrtle wreath (*klila*), and the laying on of hands by the priest. The second part takes place on the banks of the stream and consists of the anointing with oil (*sesam*), the communion of bread (*pihta*) and water (*mambuha*), and the "sealing" of the neophyte against evil spirits. Both parts are concluded by the ritual handclasp or *kušta* ("truth"). The purpose and meaning of the baptism is not only a "purification" of sins and trespasses but also a special kind of communion (*laufa*) with the world of light, because it is believed that all "Jordans" or "living waters" originate in the upper world of "Life." There is no doubt that the basic constituent features of the water ceremonies are derived from baptismal practices (lustrations) or early Judaism in the pre-Christian period. Apart from this "full baptism" ritual, there exist two lesser water rites.

The other chief ceremony is a kind of mass for the dead, or rather "for the soul" of the dead, called "ascent" (*masiqta*). It is performed at the death of a Mandaean and supports the "rise" of his soul to the world of Light and Life. It consists of lustrations with "flowing water" (*yardna*), anointing with oil, and crowning with a myrtle wreath. The main ceremony starts three days after death, when the soul is released from the body and beings its forty-five-day "ascent" through the heavenly Purgatories (*maṭarata*) until it reaches the "home of Life." Recitations from the "Left Ginza" and ceremonial meals serve the ascending soul (including its symbolic nourishment, rebirth, and creation of a spiritual body). The roots of these ceremonies and the idea of "meals in memory of the dead" probably go back to Iranian-Zoroastrian soil, but they are shaped by the gnostic background of the Mandaean religion.

The Mandaeans have many more rituals, such as the ordination of priests and bishops (*ganzibrê*), the end-of-the-year ceremony (Parwanaiya or Panǧa), the cleansing of the cult hut or temple, the marriage ceremony (which includes the baptism), and several kinds of funeral and commemorative meals (*lofani, zidqa brikha*).

Characteristic of the Mandaean religion is the close connection between rituals and gnostic ideas. It is not only "knowledge" (*manda, madihta, yada*) that brings salvation but the ceremonies, at first baptisms and "offices for the soul," which are indispensable means for the release. One may indeed say that here Gnosis has been implanted into the ancient stock of a cultic community of Jewish origin (cf. the so-called "baptismal sects"), but from this connection an authentic and even typical Mandaean-Nazoraean offspring has been created.

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**MANDRAKES.** See PERFUMES AND SPICES; FLORA, BIBLICAL.

**MANI** (PERSON) [Gk *Mani* (Μανι)]. The Gk reading in 1 Esdr 9:30 for the person the RSV harmonizes as Bani, based on the parallel text in Ezra 10:29. See BANI.

**MANICHAEANS AND MANICHAEISM.** Manichaeism was one of the major world religions and the only such religion to grow out of late antiquity's Near Eastern tradition of gnosis. See GNOSTICISM. Originally considered by Western scholars to be a Christian heresy, Manichaeism is now properly understood in the context of 3d-century Mesopotamian oriental religions. The religion was founded by the Iranian prophet Mani (216–77 C.E.) who deliberately created a universal and propagandistic religion in a context of diverse Christian, Zoroastrian, and Buddhist concepts. The religion moved E toward India and W into the Roman Empire already in Mani's lifetime, reaching as far W as Algiers and S Europe and as far E as central Asia and SE coastal China, where traces of the religion datable to the early 17th century can be identified.

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**A. Biography of Mani**

**1. Birth and Early Life.** Mani was born on April 14, 216 C.E., to the southeast of the Mesopotamian city of Ctesiphon in the Parthian province of Asoristan. His parents were of Iranian descent. His mother, called Maryam in the Arabic, Syriac, and Greek sources, was related to the ruling Arsacid dynasty. His father, Patik, was a devotee in an Elchasaite Mughtasilist community, a Judeo-Christian baptismal sect with gnostic and ascetic features derived from the popular religious movement founded by the obscure figure Elchasai known from the Christian heresiologists (Merkelbach 1988a: 105–33).

Mani entered the baptismal sect at the age of four, but the most striking incident of his early life was a revelation he received at the age of twelve (April 1, 228) when an angel called "The Twin" (Arab *al-Twam;* Gk *suzugon*) appeared to him and ordered him to leave the baptismal sect at an unspecified later date. The crucial second revelation came at the age of twenty-four (April 19, 240) when the angel ordered him to begin his public ministry by openly preaching the newly revealed doctrine. This novel public teaching put Mani at odds with the traditional community and he was forced to leave with only the support of his father and two faithful followers. Although Mani's new doctrine contained many elements that were rejected by the baptismal community, the primary point of contention was probably his argument that ritual purity through baptism was of no avail and that true redemptive purity comes only from the physical and moral separation of light from darkness, spirit from matter, and good from evil.

**2. The Universal Religion and Its Propagation.** Mani proclaimed himself the apostle of light, the Paraclete incarnate (cf. John 14:16, 26), and the seal of the prophets who would bring the final revelation to the world. Mani viewed all previous religious traditions as contaminated versions of the originally true, though partial, teachings of the earlier prophets Buddha, Jesus, and Zoroaster (Zarathushtra). Mani, as the Seal of the Prophets, proclaimed instead the final revelation, the true universal religion which would unite all people through his teaching.

This grand plan required propagandistic methods designed to overcome the cultural and, especially, linguistic barriers which ultimately prevented the revelations of the earlier prophets from reaching the universal audience. Mani emphasized the need for the translation of Manichaean texts into all languages in order to propagate his teaching as effectively and quickly as possible. He even reformed the abstruse ideographic writing systems of the Iranian languages Parthian and Middle Persian by introducing the more comprehensive and phonetically oriented eastern Aramaic alphabet. He also produced in eastern Aramaic a corpus of seven canonical works, in direct contrast to the earlier prophets whose teachings were put into written form by their followers, who contaminated those teachings with their own

interpretations. Perhaps Mani's most effective propagandistic tool was his ability to instill in his followers a sense of the absolute necessity for a lifestyle characterized by the propagation of the religion. Mani himself traveled extensively during his own lifetime and was influenced by the popular image of the traveling Christian apostle Thomas, who tradition holds traveled as far as India to spread the Christian faith.

**3. Mani's Sevenfold Canon.** Mani himself wrote and published a canon of seven works in the eastern Aramaic language: (1) *The Living Gospel,* (2) *The Treasure of Life,* (3) *The Pragmateia,* (4) *The Book of Mysteries,* (5) *The Book of the Giants,* (6) *The Letters,* and (7) *The Psalms and Prayers.* Mani also wrote the *Shaburagan* which replaces the *Psalms and Prayers* in some canonical lists, but in the Middle Persian language and specifically for the emperor Shapur I. None of these texts is known to survive today in a complete form. Much previous research in Manichaeism had been dependent on a considerable number of quotes and descriptions in the writings of Christian and pagan heresiologists and historians. The most important works were the *Acta Archelai* (Ries 1959: 395–98; Lieu 1988: 69–88), the writings of the former Manichaean Augustine (cf. F.1., below), and the works of the late-10th-century and early-11th-century Arab authors al-Biruni and Ibn al-Nadim.

**4. Mani's Missionary Travels, Later Life, and Death.** Mani's first mission was eastward, like that of Thomas before him, and he met an early success in what is now SE Iran with the conversion of Turan-shah, the Buddhist king of Turan, and his entourage (ca. 240–42). He continued to meet success during his return journey through Persia, Susiana, and Mesene (ca. 242–50). Mani returned to the Persian Sassanid Empire when the emperor Ardashir I died and his son Shapur I assumed the throne. He met with Shapur and was granted the freedom and protection to propagate the religion throughout the empire. Manichaeism was adopted by members of the emperor's family and by influential political figures (ca. 250–55). Mani wrote the *Shaburagan,* a summary of his teachings in the Middle Persian language, during this period of imperial favor and dedicated it to Shapur. Manichaeism then spread throughout Persia, beyond its borders, and even westward into the Roman Empire (ca. 255–56). It is noteworthy that Mani accompanied Shapur in the victorious Persian campaign against the Roman forces in which the emperor Valerian was captured at Edessa in 260.

Although Mani enjoyed imperial favor under Shapur, the Magian clergy of the official state religion Zoroastrianism grew intent on persecuting the prophet. When Shapur I died (ca. 272), his successors Hormizd (reigned 273) and Bahram I (reigned 273–77) both favored the traditional state religion. The Zoroastrian high priest Kerder, now strengthened by widespread nationalist aspirations, was successful in convincing Bahram to begin official persecution of the minority movement. By order of the emperor, Mani was arrested, brought to Gundeshahbur (Susiana), interrogated for one month under Kerder, and died in prison in about the year 277.

**B. History of Research through the 19th Century**

The success of the intense and almost universal heresiological polemic against Manichaeism resulted in the effective censorship and eventual elimination of Manichaean texts from the Western and Eastern manuscript traditions. Heretics of all types throughout the medieval period were uncritically slandered as Manichaeans. Even Luther's Catholic detractors spoke of a revived Manichaeism. The Protestant response demanded a more objective understanding of Manichaeism, investigated known Manichaean evidences, and so initiated the modern study of the religion.

From the 16th through the 18th centuries, the works of Christian and pagan heresiologists were studied in depth, resulting in the interpretation of Manichaeism as primarily a Christian heresy, rather than as an independent religion in its own right (Ries 1988: 17–48). This position was challenged in 1734–39 by the Calvinist theologian Isaac de Beausobre who, apparently the first to reject the negative bias of the heresiological tradition, argued that Mani was a brilliant precursor of Luther and thus part of the history of reformed Christianity. Although this position was ultimately rejected, the great contribution of Beausobre's study was that it drew attention to the previously ignored Eastern sources, sources which a later generation was to take seriously (Ries 1988: 59–112).

About one hundred years later, F. C. Baur (1831) advanced Manichaean studies by explicating the significance of the Buddhist, Indo-Iranian, and Zoroastrian elements in Manichaeism, thus bringing the study of Manichaeism into its natural interpretive context: that of the history of oriental religions. G. Flügel (1862) was the first to discuss the significance of the newly discovered and less biased Arab authors, like the 10th-century historian Ibn al-Nadim, for a more objective understanding of Manichaeism. Flügel argued that Mani's eclectic oriental religion was primarily based on Zoroastrianism and Mughtasilism, which Mani then creatively reinterpreted using biblical models. K. Kessler's study (1889) pushed Manichaean origins even further back in time to the pre-Zoroastrian beliefs of Chaldeo-Babylonian religion. According to Kessler, Mani was concerned with recovering the original sources of Zoroaster's beliefs in an attempt to undercut his Magian opponents in the Sassanid court. To these ancient Babylonian beliefs Mani then added elements from Buddhism, Christianity, and Mithraism (a theory accepted by A. Harnack and W. Bousset).

**C. Great Discoveries of Manichaean Literature in the 20th Century**

The following survey of recently discovered Manichaean texts will cover only the most extensively studied and representative examples. Other texts are discussed by Lieu (1985: passim; cf. Ries 1988: 209–38).

**1. Central Asian and Chinese Texts.** German archaeological teams under the direction of A. von Le Coq and A. Grünwedel were engaged in four expeditions (1904–14) of ruined Manichaean monasteries at Turfan and Qoco in Sinkiang, China (north of Tibet; Lieu 1985: 199–201). The teams recovered thousands of fragments from heavily damaged Manichaean manuscripts. These Turfan fragments (many could not be conserved) are the disintegrated remains of what were once high-quality illuminated manuscripts which had suffered mutilation under Muslim conquerors in the 14th century. The texts are written in several Central Asian languages; the most common are Middle Persian, Parthian, Sogdian, and Uighur, but texts were also found in the rarely attested Tocharian B and Bactrian. They are now conserved in the collection of the Germany Academy of Sciences in Berlin.

Sir Aurel Stein discovered in 1905–7 the remains of a large hoard of Buddhist and Manichaean manuscripts in the Temple of the Thousand Buddhas at Tun-huang (500 km E-SE of Turfan). Stein recovered a long Manichaean confessional text in Uighur for Auditors entitled *Confessional for the Hearers,* and three Manichaean texts translated into Chinese from Iranian-language originals (Lieu 1985: 202–6; cf. the new text editions in Lin 1987: 168–265 and pls. 1–45): (1) the *Treatise,* a discussion on cosmogony and its implications for the everyday life of the Manichaean Elect and Auditors, now conserved in Beijing; (2) the *Hymnscroll,* now in London, and (3) *The Compendium of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light,* a summary of Manichaean teachings. This final manuscript's translation is dated in the text's preface to a date that can be assigned in the Western calendar to July 16, 731. The manuscript itself was physically divided into two parts before its acquisition by Stein in 1907 (London; Ms. Stein 3969) and Pelliot in 1908 (Paris; Coll. Pelliot No 3884; cf. Lin 1988: 89–92).

Western scholars are now informed of the numerous recent discoveries of Manichaean archaeological sites, artifacts, and texts in Central Asia and China through the works of S. N. C. Lieu (1985: 178–264, 322–25, 341–43) and Geng Shimin (1990). As an example of a most recent discovery of a Manichaean text in Chinese, Lin Wu-shu of Sun Yat Sen University (Guangzhou, China) published a fragmentary Manichaean inscription which was found in Fukien Province in 1988 (Lin 1989: 22–27, pls. I and II). The inscription on the large stele dates from 1315 to 1369, originally consisted of sixteen calligraphic Chinese characters (eight are fully extant and two are fragmentary), and is similar to another Manichaean inscription in Chinese in the famous Manichaean temple in Ch'üan-chou, also in Fukien Province. That temple was discovered in the 1950s and is today the only known intact Manichaean temple site (Lieu 1985: 212–13; Lin 1987: 145–58 and pls. 60a–b). The temple contains an intact low-relief statue of "Mani the Buddha of Light." Near the temple were found inscribed (ritual?) bowls and three Manichaean tombstones. The history of research on the temple site is surveyed with bibliographic data in a useful study by Geng Shimin (1990).

**2. Greek and Latin Texts.** Sensational discoveries of Manichaean manuscripts have also been made in the West. A. Henrichs and L. Koenen announced in 1970 the successful decipherment of a small parchment codex acquired by the University of Cologne (P. colon. inv. nr. 4780; all 192 pages were conserved by Anton Fackelmann in 1969). The *Codex Manichaeicus Coloniensis* (= *CMC;* from Lycopolis?) dates from the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century and contains a Greek translation of a previously unknown Manichaean text originally written in Syriac with the title *On the Origin of His Body* (Koenen and Römer 1988). The text seems to be an anthology containing quotations from the works of several of Mani's early disciples edited by a final redactor around a core of Mani's own autobiographical statements. The traditions contained in the *CMC* concern Mani's latter days with the baptismal sect and his early missionary journeys after the age of twenty-four, and thus constitute some of the most important sources of information on the early period of Mani's life.

A fragmentary Manichaean parchment codex, the *Tebessa Codex,* written in Latin was discovered in a cave near Theveste (Algeria) in 1918 and placed in the National Library of Paris (*Nouvelles acquisitiones latines* 1114). Only twenty-five damaged leaves and the slight remains of four others are preserved from this codex with each page originally carrying two columns of Latin text (Merkelbach 1988b). The extant text contains two sections: (1) *cols. 1–20,* an apologetic discussion on the relationship between the two major groups in the Manichaean church, the Elect and the Auditors, with allusions to and quotations of relevant canonical gospel texts (like the relevant Mary and Martha story from Luke 10:38–42), and (2) *cols. 21–54,* a discussion in which the unknown Manichaean author defends the "nonwork ethic" of the Manichaean Elect (who had their practical needs met by the Auditors), apparently as an apologetic response to Christian charges that the apostle Paul had clearly condemned such dependent lifestyles in 2 Thess 3:10b ("If anyone will not work, let him not eat"). The Manichaean apologist begins with that Pauline text and then continues to defend the dependent lifestyles of the Manichaean Elect with allusions to and quotations of texts from nearly every letter in the Pauline (and Deutero-Pauline) canonical corpus (no reference to Romans or Galatians, or Hebrews, is found in the highly fragmented manuscript).

**3. Coptic Texts.** Any discussion on the sensational discovery of seven Manichaean books in the Coptic language from Medinet Madi, Egypt (ancient Terenouthis in the Fayyum), must begin with the famous "Mani-Fund" article of C. Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky (1933). The modern history of the manuscripts has been complex and tragic. Despite some early successes by British and German scholars, attempts to inventory, conserve, and edit the still unpublished and heavily deteriorated manuscripts have frustrated postwar researchers. However, a careful and detailed analysis of the manuscripts and the history of their research (up to mid-1989) has been produced by J. M. Robinson (1990). The present discussion is indebted to that study (and to unpublished files courtesy of J. M. Robinson and C. Colpe).

Seven papyrus codices with Manichaean texts in the Coptic language were discovered by local workers digging through the ruins of an ancient house in Medinet Madi probably sometime in 1929. An antiquities dealer showed at least one of the books, on November 29, 1929, in Cairo, to the Danish Egyptologist H. O. Lange, who did not purchase any of the books. They were all purchased in the next three years through a series of acquisitions by Sir Chester Beatty, an American businessman and art collector residing in England (two codices and parts of two others are now the property of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin), and by the noted German papyrologist Carl Schmidt of Berlin (three codices and parts of two others are now the property of the State Museums of Berlin). A few leaves are in the national collections of Vienna and Warsaw.

The seven codices are listed and described below. The names for the books and their contents are mostly modern, based on extant titles or interpretations of the often obscure contents. A long awaited photographic facsimile edition of the Beatty codices is now available under the editorship of S. Giversen (1986–88; the Dublin manuscripts have been in Copenhagen since 1984). The peculiar Subachmimic Coptic dialect (L4) used in these texts has been discussed by W.-P. Funk (1985) and the date and morphology of the codices has been discussed by J. M. Robinson (1978: 33–43).

(i) The *Psalms* codex (Beatty Codex A) was divided into two parts before Beatty acquired it. The latter part of the codex was edited, translated into English, and published by C. R. C. Allberry (1938). The first

part of the codex, estimated to contain about 155 leaves, awaits editing in the Beatty collection (Böhlig 1968a: 177–78). The *Psalms* codex appeared in Giversen's facsimile edition in 1988.

(ii) The *Synaxeis* codex (Beatty Codex B) was also divided into two parts before Beatty's acquisition. Before World War II Beatty had arranged for the codex to be conserved in Berlin. The bulk of Codex B is now in the Egyptian Museum in Berlin and has received much attention in recent years. The Berlin holdings include 125 leaves (= 250 pages) conserved under glass, five more glass frames with fragments of leaves, and the fragile remainder of the unconserved book block containing an estimated 70 to 120 leaves. The upper-facing page of the book block presents one more readable page, giving a total of 251 pages of exposed text in the Berlin collection (Mirecki 1988: 135–45). Thirteen unedited leaves from Codex B are in the Dublin collection and have appeared as unidentified "Varia" in Giversen's facsimile edition (1987: 101–26). Before the codex was purchased by Beatty, the antiquities dealer removed at least 31 damaged leaves so as to improve the appearance of the codex. These 31 leaves were later acquired by Schmidt (P. 15995), transcribed by G. Robinson, and are now in the State Museum of Berlin (Mirecki 1988: 140 n. 16). The single biggest problem concerning the editing of Codex B is the lost pagination of the 339 conserved pages and their positional relations to the leaves in the unconserved book block. The present author's work in Berlin has resulted in the first theoretical model for the codicological reconstruction of the entire codex (Mirecki 1988: 137 n. 13). That model suggests that the codex contains two texts; the first remains unidentified (a lengthy prooemium to the second text?) and the second is generally understood to be a series of homilies (Gk *synaxeis*) which reflect the structure and contents of the lost *Living Gospel* of Mani (Böhlig 1968b: 252–66). It is hoped that the model for codicological reconstruction will facilitate the production of facsimile and critical text editions within the present generation.

(iii–iv) Two related codices are the first and second volumes of the *Kephalaia* (Gk: "central principles") text. Volume I of the *Kephalaia* is conserved in the State Museum of Berlin (P. 15996). Pages 1–292 were published in a critical text edition with German translation by H. J. Polotsky and A. Böhlig (1940). There are a few unpublished leaves in Vienna (acquired by Grohmann), Warsaw (acquired as war spoils from Berlin), and the State Museum of Berlin totaling some 122 pages with assigned pagination and some 48 to 64 pages without assigned pagination, giving 170 to 186 unpublished pages of volume of the *Kephalaia* was purchased by Beatty and is now part of the Dublin collection (Beatty Codex C). Volume II has been only partly transcribed. Giversen's facsimile edition appeared in 1986.

(v) The *Homilies* codex was also divided into two parts before its sale. The bulk of the codex was acquired by Schmidt (P. 15999) and a smaller portion by Beatty (Beatty Codex D). Beatty's part was conserved by H. Ibscher; a critical text edition with German translation was published by Polotsky (1934), and a facsimile edition was published by Giversen (1987). The bulk of Schmidt's unconserved codex was apparently taken from Berlin to Leningrad in 1946 and is now presumed a tragic loss.

(vi) The *Acts* codex was acquired by Schmidt (P. 15997) with its original wooden book covers still intact. A discussion and photograph of the intact codex was published by Schmidt and Polotsky (1933: 7–8, 27, pl. 2). Only a few leaves were conserved. One is now in the Beatty collection and its photograph was published in Giversen's facsimile edition (1987: viii–ix, pls. 99–100). Transcriptions by Schmidt and/or Polotsky of three pages, along with seven leaves transcribed by S. Patterson, and a possibly related eighth leaf transcribed by the present author, are in the State Museum of Berlin. A fragment of another possibly related leaf turned up in Warsaw after the war. The bulk of the *Acts* codex was never conserved, was apparently taken to Leningrad in 1946, and is presumed another tragic loss.

(vii) The *Letters* codex was also acquired by Schmidt (P. 15998). Confused museum records suggest that between 24 to 33 leaves (= 48 to 66 pages) are extant. Three leaves turned up in Warsaw after the war and the rest are in the State Museum of Berlin. As in the case of the *Homilies* and the *Acts* codices, the unconserved bulk of the *Letters* codex was apparently taken to Leningrad in 1946, and is presumed yet another tragic loss.

**D. System of Belief and the Human Predicament**

Mani's teaching embraced an elaborate historical drama of supracosmic proportions in which humanity's past origin, present predicament, and future possibilities are described. The drama centers its tacit theological concern on the existential question of the origin of evil in human experience. Mani employed a typical apocalyptic scheme in which cosmic history was divided into three time periods: the past, the present, and the future. The following discussion traces only the basic profile of Mani's system and refers the reader to the appropriate primary texts and the detailed discussions of Merkelbach (1986: 16–36) and especially of Lieu (1985: 5–21), to which it is largely indebted.

**1. The Past Time and the Two Principles.** In the *Past Time* there existed two eternal principles, one all good and the other all evil. The good principle exists exclusively within the Kingdom of Light and finds its focus in the Father of Greatness whose fourfold majesty embraces Divinity, Light, Power, and Goodness. His throne is surrounded by at least 156 peace-loving hypostases: twelve Aeons (in three groups of four each) and 144 Aeons of Aeons. The Kingdom of Light is constructed of five elements (*stoicheia:* air, wind, light, water, and fire) and contains five peaceful "dwellings" (intelligence, knowledge, reason, thought, and deliberation). The evil principle and the Kingdom of Darkness are the complete antitheses of the good principle and the Kingdom of Light. The many monstrous and agitated inhabitants of the Kingdom of Darkness are ruled by five evil archons (demon, lion, eagle, fish, and dragon) who are in constant opposition to each other and who, collectively, make up the hellish Prince of Darkness. They are sexually preoccupied, controlled by unreined passions, and dwell in an ominous netherworld of smoke, fire, wind, water, and darkness. The two kingdoms are completely distinct yet eternally coexistent.

**2. The Present Time.** The *Present Time* begins when the evil inhabitants of the Kingdom of Darkness drive a wedge into the Kingdom of Light in a lustful desire to mingle with the light. The Kingdom of Darkness is thoroughly aroused and its terrifyingly vicious inhabitants enter the light in a full-scale invasion. The Father of Greatness responds by evoking a series of hypostases which may need to be sacrificed to the invaders so as to satisfy them and stop the assault. The first evocation is the Mother of Life, who then evokes the Primal Man, who fights the incoming forces of darkness but loses his battle. The five evil archons (Prince of Darkness) then consume some of the light elements of the Primal Man's armor and, having unwittingly fallen into the trap of the Father of Greatness, are now dependent on the light for their continued existence. The Primal Man awakens from his sleep of forgetfulness, remembers his divine origins, and prays for his rescue. The Father of Greatness responds by evoking a series of beings who initiate the rescue of the Primal Man: the Friend of Lights evokes the Great Architect who then evokes the Living Spirit who evokes his five Sons (the Custodian of Splendor, the Great King of Honor, Adamas of Light, the King of Glory, and Atlas). The Living Spirit cries out from the Kingdom of Light into the darkness to the Primal Man, who answers. The Cry and Answer are hypostasized and ascend to the Kingdom of Light (representing the divine word of salvation and the positive human response). The Living Spirit then grasps the Primal Man by the hand and rescues him from the Kingdom of Darkness.

The rest of the drama in the *Present Time* focuses on the work of the Father of Greatness to regain all of the light particles swallowed by the five evil archons. The Living Spirit first creates ten heavens and eight earths out of the material corpses of the slain demons. He separates the swallowed light particles into three types: the first is undefiled and from it he creates the Sun and the Moon; the second is only partly defiled and from it he creates the Stars; the third is completely defiled and so he creates an elaborate cosmic mechanism (based on Persian alchemy?) to distill the light from the matter. The Living Spirit then evokes the Third Messenger, who evokes the zodiacal Twelve Maidens, collectively the Maiden of Light, who operate the cosmic Three Wheels created to distill the light particles out of the material universe. Another evocation is the Column of Glory (the Milky Way) which transports the recovered light particles from the distilling Three Wheels to the Moon and then the Sun, which function as ships transporting the light particles to their temporary haven (the New Earth created by the Great Architect). The Third Messenger and the Maiden of Light then excite the sexual nature of the male archons, causing them to ejaculate the light particles from within them. The Sun which excites the archons falls to the earth,

becoming the source of all plant life. The female archons miscarry their light-bearing fetuses, which fall to the earth and copulate among themselves, becoming the source of all animal life. The sum total of all of these light particles trapped in matter, including plants and animals, is called the Living Self in Eastern Manichaeism but in the West is called the Suffering Jesus (*Jesus patibilis*) who is on the Light Cross (*crux luminus*).

The Prince of Darkness, in an attempt to frustrate the cosmic distillation of light particles, gives birth to the two evil demons Saclas (Ashqulan) and Nebroel (Namrael) who eat the monstrous offspring of the miscarried fetuses in order to ingest their light particles. The two demons then copulate and Nebroel gives birth to exact miniature replicas (Gen 1:27) of the confused "light-matter" macrocosm: Adam and Eve. In a typically gnostic "inverted exegesis" of Genesis 1–5, the sexually oriented evil creator can only create by copulation and birth, and so can only create matter (which is inherently evil). He is completely unable to create in the manner of the Father of Greatness by *evoking* pure spiritual *hypostases.* Consequently, Adam (representing humanity) is specifically designed by the evil creator in his own image (Gen 1:26) to procreate sexually (Gen 1:27–28). Thus, Adam can only continue the evil cycle of birth, copulation, and rebirth and in so doing fulfills his natural inclination to be "fruitful and multiply" (Gen 1:28; 5:4b). Adam's nature (representing human sexuality) thus entangles the precious light particles, transmitted through male seed, in potentially endless generations of material bodies (representing human history). But Adam was ignorant of the light within him and the facts of his true origin in the Kingdom of Light. The evocations of the Father of Greatness then send Jesus of Light to awaken Adam (Gen 3:1), to inform him of his true nature (Gen 3:4–5), and to lead him to self-recognition (Gen 3:7, 11a, 22a). Jesus of Light helps Adam eat of the Tree of Life (Gen 3:22), warns him of the dangers of sexual procreation with Eve, and so encourages an ascetic lifestyle (central for Manichaean ethics). Then Eve and a male archon copulate and Eve gives birth to Cain (Gen 4:1), who then copulates with his mother Eve, who gives birth to Abel (Gen 4:2), and so begins the incestuous interaction of Cain (Gen 4:2a) and Abel with Eve and with each other's daughters borne by Eve (Gen 4:17). Eve then receives magical knowledge from an evil archon which would enable her to copulate with the ascetic Adam. She succeeds in her desire and bears Seth (Gen 4:25a), who, as the first true son of Adam (Gen 5:3, 4b), contains a significantly larger amount of light particles than the other offspring of Eve. The ascetic Adam and Seth, self-conscious particles of light entrapped in innately evil material bodies, become the exemplary human figures for Manichaean ethics (Gen 4:26b; 5:1–32; cf. Pearson 1988: 147–55).

**3. The Future Time.** The *Future Time* is the third and final act of the historical cosmic drama and provides for Manichaean ethics a preview into the system of rewards and punishments. The final and Great War will break out among the unenlightened powers of darkness when the distillation of light particles from the material cosmos has neared its completion. Jesus will return at a decisive eschatological moment as the Great King and will judge humanity and the infernal powers. The Elect will become angels, the Auditors will be judged righteous, and the sinners will be cast into hell with Eve and her hellish offspring. The cosmos will disintegrate and burn in a conflagration for 1,468 years. The remaining light particles will be gathered and finally return by ascent to the Kingdom of Light while the Prince of Darkness and his diabolical minions will be cast into a bottomless pit permanently sealed will a huge stone for all eternity. The two principles of Light and Darkness will again be two separate and distinct entities, but never again comingle.

**E. Structure of the Manichaean Church**

Just as Jesus of Light was the prime evocation of liberation for Adam, so the Great Nous (Great Mind) is the prime evocation from Jesus of Light for the liberation of Adam's descendants throughout human history, thus providing the unique Manichaean solution to the human predicament. The primary redemptive function of the Nous to reveal (1) the true knowledge of the origin and destination of the human soul (self-recognition) and (2) the two central precepts of Manichaean belief: the three periods of cosmic history and the existence of two eternally antithetic and supracosmic principles.

Individual human beings are replicant microcosms of the confused "light-matter" macrocosm. As such they endure an eternal struggle within their own souls for release from matter and return to their true

home in the immaterial Kingdom of Light. After the individual human soul has been awakened by the Nous, that individual is conscious of the eternal dualistic realities which control its fate and can then hope to succeed against influences from the lower nature. This internal struggle was described by Mani in Pauline terms concerning the "New Man" (1 Cor 3:9–10) and "Old Man" (Eph 4:22–24) who are locked in mortal combat. The individual can succeed in this struggle through the continued protection of the Nous, which is accessible only in the teaching of Mani and the guidance of the Manichaean church. Strict adherence to the extreme ascetic requirements (sexual abstinence, poverty, vegetarianism) are impossible to enforce on the popular level and, were they to succeed, would result in the eventual extinction of the human race. Knowing that such commitment could be expected only from himself and a few choice believers, Mani divided his church into two basic classes, the Elect and the Auditors.

The Elect were required to keep the "Five Commandments" (to be pure and poor, not to lie, kill, or eat flesh) and to adhere to the "Three Seals." First, the "Seal of the Mouth" (*signacula oris*) included the avoidance of evil speech, the drinking of alcohol, and the eating of meat. The vegetarian requirement was imperative for the Elect since plants contained more light particles than flesh. The light particles were digested through the bodies of the vegetarian Elect, released through their belches into the atmosphere, distilled by the cosmic machine of the Three Wheels, and finally sent on their homeward journey along the Column of Glory (Milky Way) to the Kingdom of Light. Heresiologists thus ridiculed Manichaean Elect as "saviors of god" (*salvatores dei*). Second, the "Seal of the Hands" (*signacula manuum*) forbade the Elect from any activity which might injure material objects containing light particles. Thus killing animals, planting, harvesting, or even walking over the smallest plants could prevent the liberation of the light particles (the divine Suffering Jesus). Since the procuring and preparation of vegetable foodstuffs often required the damaging or partial destruction of light-bearing plants, the Elect were not permitted to prepare their own meals, and instead were served by the Auditors, who were pardoned for the unavoidable destruction of plants. Even bathing was not allowed for the Elect since pure water could be defiled by contact with material bodily substances. Third, the "Seal of the Breast" (*signacula sinus*) focused especially on the avoidance of sexual intercourse since the process of birth, copulation, and rebirth was directly related to Adam's lower material nature and was meant by the evil creator to enslave light particles in material bodies. The "Three Seals" were required for all Manichaean Elect, while the Auditors were given lesser requirements allowing them to aquire wealth and to marry and/or maintain mistresses, but were urged to avoid sexual relations. Only the Elect would return to the Kingdom of Light directly after death, while the Auditors could only hope to enter into the bodies of vegetables after death and finally be freed through the digestive systems of the Elect. All humans who are not awakened by the Nous will be forever damned into an inescapable cycle of reincarnation in the bodies of animals, culminating in their permanent entrapment in the Kingdom of Darkness.

The leadership of the Manichaean church was comprised of the Elect. Extant Manichaean texts in Latin, Greek, Middle Persian, and Chinese are unanimous in documenting the four classes within the church hierarchy: (1) the central figurehead or pope (Gk *archegos;* Lat *princeps*) who is Mani's successor, (2) the Twelve Apostles, (3) the 72 bishops, and (4) the 360 elders. Only males could be enrolled in these four classes. Apart from this governmental hierarchy is the larger body of the Elect and the even larger group of Auditors.

**F. The History of Manichaeism after Mani's Death**

The history of Manichaeism after Mani's death is extremely complex due to its twelve-hundred-year development along a continuous geographical spectrum embracing western N Africa and S Europe on its western edge and coastal SE China on its eastern edge. The present study traces only the general profile of that geohistorical development and refers the readers throughout to the detailed study by Lieu, to which it is largely indebted, and the literature cited there (1985: 78–264).

**1. Missions to the West.** The intense heresiological polemic against Manichaeism resulted in a now only partially extant literary corpus reflecting the westward movement of the religion. One of the earliest influential anti-Manichaean texts was the *Acta Archelai* (ca. 340), first composed in Greek and then translated into Latin, Coptic, and probably Syriac. The *Acta* was a polemical biography of Mani, an

antihagiography meant to call into question alleged divine influence on Mani's life and teachings. It may have been one cause for the creation of Manichaean hagiographies such as that exemplified in the *Cologne Mani Codex.* Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386) found the *Acta* to be useful in a pastoral context, especially for the catechetical instruction of former Manichaeans. Ephraim of Syria (d. 373) composed a series of discourses and polemical hymns against Manichaean teaching and practice, which nevertheless continued into the next century in Ephraim's own Edessa. Titus of Bostra (d. 371) was in conflict with the Emperor Julian (reigned 360–63) during the latter's neopagan revival, but remained an effective polemicist against the Manichaeans, writing a polemical commentary on Luke and a four-volume refutation of Manichaean doctrine. Titus focused on the Manichaean solution to the problem of evil: the presupposition of an eternal evil principle. Epiphanius of Salamis (d. 403) wrote a lengthy refutation of Manichaeism in his well-known heresiology *Panarion* (ca. 376). John Chrysostom (Antioch) wrote vehemently against the religion in his polemical commentary on Matthew (ca. 390).

Manichaeans probably entered Egypt from Persia. C.H. Roberts (1938) published a manuscript containing the text of a pastoral letter against the Manichaeans by an unidentified late 3d-century bishop (Theonas?) of Alexandria. Serapion of Thmuis also wrote a lengthy refutation, *Against the Manichaeans* (ca. 339), and at about the same time the Neoplatonist and former Manichaean Alexander of Lycopolis rejected the naive literalism of Manichaean cosmology, as Augustine was to do several decades later. At the end of the 4th century, Didymus of Alexandria wrote a polemical commentary on biblical texts employed by the Manichaeans. The discovery of seven Manichaean codices at Medinet Madi in the Fayyum (see C.3 above) and the *Cologne Mani Codex*, probably in Lycopolis (see C.2 above), is further evidence of Egyptian Manichaeism.

Manichaeans probably entered N Africa (Africa Proconsularis) from Egypt. The *Tebessa Codex* and Augustine of Hippo's (354–430) nine-year association with the religion and later polemical responses against Manichaean doctrine and practice are the most famous examples of Manichaeism in N Africa. Augustine (Ries 1988: 125–93) was a Manichaean Auditor for nine years while keeping teaching posts in Tagaste and Carthage. His studies in rhetoric led him to the philosophical analysis of logical problems, which ultimately resulted in his gradual abandonment of Manichaean solutions. Augustine made a lateral move into Christianity under the influence of Christian intellectuals like Bishop Ambrose of Milan. He became an effective and vehement polemicist against Manichaean doctrine and practice until at least 399. Augustine's so-called "Anti-Manichaean Pentateuch" included five tractates written before his ordination in 391: *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae* (ca. 388–90), *De moribus Manichaeorum* (ca. 388–90), *De libero arbitrio* (ca. 388/391), *De genesi contra Manichaeos* (ca. 388–89), and *De vera religione* (390). After his ordination he continued his polemics against the Manichaeans with *De utilitate credendi* (391), *De duabus animabus* (392), *Disputatio contra Fortunatum Manichaeum* (August 28–29, 392), *Contra Adimantum Manichaeum* (394), *Contra epistulam, quam vocant Fundamenti* (396), *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* (ca. 397–98), *Disputatio contra Felicem Manichaeum* (ca. 397–98/404), *De natura boni contra Manichaeos* (399), and *Contra Secundinum Manichaeum* (399). Apart from these fourteen polemical tractates (and disputation records) dealing exclusively with Manichaeism, Augustine also produced writings which indirectly deal with the religion: *Confessionum* (397–401), *Epistulae* (nos. *79* and *236;* ca. 386–429), *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (*Ps. 140;* ca. 392–420), *Sermones 1, 2, 12, 50, 153, 182,* and *237* (ca. 391–430), *De agone christiano* (396), and *De continentia* (ca. 416–26).

Early evidence of Manichaeans in Spain is reflected in the anathematic abjuration text *Commonitorium* (= *Commonitorium sancti Augustini*) often attributed to Augustine but probably produced by Vincent or Lerins (ca. 434) on the basis of Augustine's anti-Manichaean works. An expanded version of this abjuration text was used by a certain Prosper of Lyons nearly a century later (526).

Imperial policies against the Manichaeans are clear evidence of the religion's presence in Rome itself, greater Italy, and throughout the empire. The emperors Diocletian (302), Valentinian I (372), Theodosius I (381), Theodosius II (408–50), Anastasius I (491–518), Justin I (518–527), and Justinian (529) all sought to control the spread of the religion. The fear of subversive political infiltration from Persia set the Roman authorities on guard against Manichaeans. Pope Leo I (ca. 444–45) delivered sermons meant to

inform the faithful of the Manichaean threat, and even circulated a pastoral letter (*Ad episcopus per Italiam*) to the Italian bishops urging them to be aware of Manichaean infiltrations in the orthodox clergy. A 4th-century tombstone for a Manichaean Elect was found in 1906 in Salona on the Dalmatian (Yugoslavian) coast.

The dualistic teachings of various groups such as the Paulicians, Bogomils, Albigenses, and Cathars were misidentified as Manichaean, and these groups were consequently persecuted throughout the medieval period in W Asia and Europe. The early and influential anti-Manichaean tract *Acta Archelai* was an important heresiological weapon throughout much of this period and the history of its manuscript tradition reflects its usefulness in a wide variety of contexts.

**2. Missions to the East.** Manichaeism traveled eastward across Persia into Transoxania already in Mani's lifetime through the missionary work of Mar Ammo. In the 6th century the Eastern Manichaeans split from the authority of the Persian Manichaean *archegos* (under Mar Sad-Ohrmizd, d. 600) and established their own sect called "the True [Pure] Ones" or "Denawars," claiming authority from Mar Ammo. The Denawars moved eastward from Sogdiana and established in the Tarim Basin an ecclesiastical see in Qoco, the capital city of the Uighur Kingdom. The basin was a natural zone for cultural transmission between China and the West, so Manichaean missionaries in the basin followed the silk routes eastward and introduced the religion to China in the 7th century (T'ang Dynasty, 650–83). The common Buddhist culture shared by Turkestan and China facilitated this eastward expansion and accounts for many Buddhist features (technical terms) in eastern Manichaeism.

Manichaeans probably found their first converts in China among Turkish and Sogdian refugees who served as contacts for the native Chinese populace. Manichaean tradition in China maintained that the religion entered the Middle Kingdom through an unknown high-ranking Manichaean priest during the reign of Emperor Kao-tsung of the T'ang Dynasty. That priest's episcopal disciple Mihr-Ormuzd was later granted an audience with the reigning Empress Wu Tse-t'ien (684–704), herself a great patroness of Buddhism. Mihr-Ormuzd at this time initiated the translation of Manichaean works into Chinese. He presented the receptive empress with a Manichaean text entitled *The Sutra of the Two Principles* (*Erh-tsung ching*), destined to become the most popular Manichaean text in China. Her toleration of the religion alienated traditional Buddhists and Confucianists. The religion was subject to restrictive imperial legislation when her own ill-fated Chou Dynasty came to an end and the T'ang Dynasty was reestablished in 705.

Civil disturbances beginning in 721 caused the T'ang government to check foreign influence on local dissidents. A Manichaean priest was required in 731 to write a summary of Manichaean doctrine for official investigation (a copy of the text, now called the *Compendium*, was discovered by Aurel Stein at Tun-Huang in 1905–7; cf. C.1., above). This incident apparently resulted in the first Chinese imperial edict against Manichaeism in the following year (732), meant to limit the spread of the religion among Chinese nationals. It calls the religion a perverse belief masquerading as a school of Buddhism and intending to mislead the common people, and since it is the indigenous religion of the "Western barbarians," its followers will not be persecuted if they keep it to themselves and cease their propagandistic activities among the Chinese people.

The T'ang Dynasty encountered serious difficulties with the rebellion of the militarist An Lu-shan from 755 to 762. The dynasty had to abandon northern China to the rebellion and seek assistance from its western Uighur neighbors. The Uighur armies liberated the eastern T'ang capital city of Lo-yang in 762. It was in Lo-yang that Sogdian Manichaean missionaries converted the powerful Uighur Khagan, who then provided the religion with sorely needed political support in China. The T'ang government succumbed to political pressure from the Uighur Khagan to allow the propagation of Manichaeism in China. The religion spread through the Yangtze Basin, where four Manichaean temples were built in 768 and contacts with Chinese nationals were reinstated. The Chinese populace grew more intolerant against Uighur culture and the T'ang government began to legislate contacts between foreigners and the Chinese people. The government found itself relatively free of foreign influence when the Uighur Empire collapsed in 840. It closed Manichaean temples with an imperial letter of 843, resulting in a massacre of

Manichaeans. Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, and Nestorian Christianity also fell out of imperial favor as Confucian influence now predominated at the imperial court and Western contacts declined.

Sogdian Manichaean missionaries who had worked among the Uighurs began with the collapse of the Uighur Empire to propagate the religion among the Kirghiz conquerors. Much of the Uighur nation moved to the southeast where they settled on the NW border of China. It was in Tun-huang that three Manichaean texts were discovered by Aurel Stein in 1905–07 (see C.1 above). Manichaeans remained influential in the Uighur court in the capital city of Qoco, the original site of the ecclesiastical see of the early Denawar Manichaeans. A. von Le Coq's second German expedition of 1904–05 discovered in Qoco thousands of high-quality illuminated Manichaean manuscripts (see C.1 above). A Chinese expedition in 1930 discovered in Qoco a document detailing the economic and organizational issues related to Manichaean monasteries and their controlling house in Qoco, further evidencing the high economic and privileged social positions associated with the monasteries. Despite the political strength of the religion, the majority of people in the Uighur kingdom remained Buddhist or Nestorian. Evidence for Manichaeism in NW China cannot be found after the 10th century and the Tarim Basin itself came under Islamic rule in the late 11th century.

A fifty-three-year period of political chaos, commonly referred to as the Five Dynasties and Ten Nations (907–60), followed the fall of the T'ang Dynasty in 907 and provided Manichaean missionaries with the opportunity to propagate the religion in the coastal regions of SE China, notably in Fukien province. Buddhist historians of the following Sung Dynasty (960–1280) blamed the chaos of the Five Dynasties period, and other more current social problems, on Manichaeans who had by then integrated themselves into Chinese society. The Sinicization of Manichaeism, now called the Religion of Light (Ming-chiao), involved the establishment of Manichaean temples under the guise of Taoist temples. This resulted in one of the most significant early victories for Chinese Manichaeans: the inclusion of a major Chinese Manichaean text (*The Sutra of the Two Principles and the Three Moments*) into the official canon of Taoist scriptures compiled under Emperor Chen-tsung (reigned 998–1022). The text thus received imperial protection during the official confiscations of the early 1120s. The Fang La rebellion of 1120–22 set officials against unauthorized religious groups like Manichaeism, but focused especially on sectarian Buddhist and Taoist groups. Many such groups were called by the derogatory name "vegetarian demon worshippers" and were subject to blanket prosecution and harassment.

Invading Jurchens captured the N Sung capital in 1126, ending the Sung Dynasty's control over a unified N and S China. The Jurchens met difficult terrain and armed resistance as they attempted to conquer territories south of the Yangtze River. The remaining Sung government moved farther S, where it met established Manichaean communities. The government blamed five rebellions between 1130 and 1150 on "vegetarian demon worshippers" and issued twenty edicts against such groups between 1132 and 1209. Southern Sung Buddhist historiography was intensely polemical toward the memory of the Religion of Light. The Taoist historians, however, seem to be silent concerning the religion, perhaps as a result of their own syncretistic nature. Confucian scholars were often genuinely interested in Manichaean doctrine, but feared the social organization and potential political power of such groups.

The Sung government ended with the decisive invasion of the Mongols, under Kublai Khan, and a final battle south of Canton in 1280. China reopened its borders to foreign influence during the eighty-eight-year period of Mongol rule (1280–1368). The Silk Road was reactivated and the seas between the S China coast and the Persian Gulf were busy with trade ships. The Mongol policy of religious toleration, in contrast to that of the Sung, allowed Manichaean missionaries to continue their work without official harassment. Even Marco Polo seems to have encountered a group of Manichaeans he thought were Christians. The Mongol control of China began to erode with the death of Kublai Khan in 1294. A series of uncoordinated rebellions began in S China and increased to the point that one of the rebel leaders, the former Buddhist novice Chu Yüan-chang, recaptured Peking from the Mongols in 1368 and established his Dynasty of Light (Ming-chao). Several sects were proscribed by his edict of 1370, including the Religion of Light (Ming-chiao).

The rest of our knowledge of the Religion of Light in China concerns the Manichaean temple on Hua-piao Hill in Ch'üan-chou, Fukien province. An inscription on the temple's statue of Mani dates the statue to 1339. Historical references preserved in the writings of Ho Ch'iao-yüan (ca. 1600) suggest that the S Chinese Manichaeans in Ch'üan-chou were still considered a distinct social group at the beginning of the 17th century. But Chinese scholars of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644–1912) had no exact knowledge of the identity and nature of the Religion of Light.

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PAUL ALLAN MIRECKI

**MANIUS, TITUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Titos Manios* (Τιτος Μανιος)]. Var. MANLIUS; MANILIUS. One of two Roman envoys to the people of the Jews in 164 B.C.E. (2 Macc 11:34). There is no reference in any other source to an envoy named Titus Manius, and some believe the letter mentioned in this text to be fictitious. However, the content of the letter they sent to the Jews is plausible enough, for it accords with the policy of the Romans toward the area of Syria. The letter confirmed the privileges of Lysias to the Jews after his campaign of 163 B.C.E. against Judea. The Roman envoys offered to meet the Jews' own envoy in Antioch, and to present their proposals to the king.

In an effort to establish the identity of Titus Manius other ancient sources have been searched. Moffat points out that Polybius (31.9.6) mentions one Manius Sergius who was one of the envoys to Antiochus Epiphanes in 164 B.C.E., and Livy (43.2) speaks of a T. Manlius Torquatus who went on a mission to

Egypt; but there is no record of Roman envoys to Syria with the names mentioned in this text. Moffat does not support Niese's emendation of "Manios Ernios" to "Manios Sergios"; nor does he accept "Titus" as a corruption of a name ending in "-tius" (*OTP* 1: 148). These positions and their implications have been discussed more recently in greater detail by Goldstein, who concludes that it is best to consider 2 Maccabees as the sole surviving evidence for the embassy of Quintus Memmius and Titus Manius (Goldstein *II Maccabees* AB, 422–425). See MEMMIUS, QUINTUS (PERSON).

BETTY JANE LILLIE

**MANNA.** The daily bread given by God to the Israelites during their forty years of wilderness wandering. Manna received its name reportedly from the question the Israelites asked when they first saw it, "What is it?" or "manna." Manna was given when Israel arrived in the wilderness of Sin and, along with occasional quail, was the only miraculous food supply the Israelites received during the forty years (Num 11:6). In fact, the supply did not cease until the Israelites arrived at the border of Canaan. The provision of manna was daily. The Lord promised to rain bread from heaven upon the ground. The people were instructed to gather it daily with the exception of the Sabbath. If they gathered too much, the remainder would spoil. Only on the sixth day were they permitted to gather a double portion (Exod 16:1–30).

Manna was described as a fine, flakelike frost. It was like a coriander seed, white, and had the taste of a wafer made with honey (Exod 16:14, 31; Num 11:8). Manna could be prepared in a variety of ways: ground into a meal, boiled in pots, or made into cakes. In other passages, manna is described as "heaven's grain" (Deut 8:3, 16; Neh 9:20; Pss 78:24, 105:40).

The provision was considered so miraculous that Moses commanded Aaron the high priest to gather an omer of manna and place it in the ark of the covenant that future generations might be reminded of the Lord's supply of bread to the great host of Israelites for forty years. In the NT, Paul called manna "spiritual" or "supernatural" food (1 Cor 10:3). Christ also compared himself with the bread that came down from heaven (John 6:31–65).

Manna has often been associated with natural phenomena. The most common natural explanation of manna proposes its connection with a gum resin produced by one or more varieties of flowering trees, such as *Alhagi maurorum* (Sinai manna), *Tamarisk gallica,* or *Fraxinus ornus* (flowering ash). The tamarisk bush annually produces a gum resin for three to six weeks. Recently, however, the natural production of manna has been associated with the excretions of two species of scale insects. In particular, manna-tamarisk is produced by the secretions and sting of a tree louse.

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**MANNEANS.** See MINNI (PLACE).

**MANOAH** (PERSON) [Heb *mānôaḥ* (מָנוֹחַ)]. The father of the Danite hero Samson. Dan is described in Judg 13:2 as a "clan" (*mišpaḥâ*) rather than a tribe (*šēbeṭ*), perhaps an indication that it is in the process of settlement. The Danite camp is located at Zoran and Eshtaol in the Shephelah (13:25; 16:31; cf. 18:11–12) at a time (the late 12th century B.C.E.) when Philistine expansion had begun to put pressure on the Israelite tribes in this area (Judah and Dan). Scholars debate whether the Samson stories represent a time before or after the Danite migration to the north (see Judges 18); clearly they reflect Dan's inability to settle in its assigned territory in the central hill country (Josh 19:40–48).

Manoah and his wife are the recipients of a birth announcement concerning Samson (Judges 13). Strikingly, in view of the fact that she has the central role, the woman's name is omitted. The story utilizes the typical motif of the promise to a barren woman of a son who will have a special destiny (cf.

Sarah, Rachel, Hannah). The divine messenger appears to the woman alone with a birth announcement and instructions (13:3–5). She tells Manoah the essential facts (the injunctions placed upon her, the boy's destiny as a Nazirite) but omits certain key elements (that their son may not be shaved and that he will begin to deliver Israel from the Philistines). Manoah prays to be included in the events, "let the man of God whom you sent come again to us, and teach us what we are to do with the boy that will be born" (v 8), but in response to his prayer, the messenger again appears to the woman alone: "but Manoah her husband was not with her" (v 9). Manoah is brought to the messenger by his wife. When Manoah questions him, he receives even less information from the messenger than he had received from his wife (13:11–18).

Manoah and his wife offer a sacrifice to God (13:16–20). Only when the messenger disappears in the fire of the sacrifice does Manoah realize his divine identity (13:21); his wife had sensed it from the start (v 6). Manoah fears death, for he knows the tradition that one cannot see God and live (Exod 33:20; Judg 6:22–23; Gen 16:13–14; Exod 19:21; Gen 32:30). His wife, however, perceives a purpose behind the theophany and birth announcement and assures her husband that they will not die (in theophanies God usually gives this assurance). Not only does Manoah know less about the child's destiny than his wife, he also comprehends less well the divine plan.

Manoah and his wife play a small role in chap. 14, but do not appear in chaps. 15–16. In 14:1–4, they object to Samson's desire to marry a Philistine, for they are unaware that Samson's folly is part of God's plan (v 4). They are mentioned as accompanying Samson to Timnah in 14:5; and in 14:10, Samson's father goes with him to Timnah, presumably to arrange the marriage. Samson does not tell his father and his mother about killing the lion bare-handed or about finding honey in its carcass sometime later; these events give rise to the riddle he puts to the Philistines at his wedding feast. When the Philistines answer the riddle, having deceitfully obtained the answer through Samson's wife, Samson pays off his wager and, in a rage, returns to his father's house (14:19). The final mention of Manoah's name appears in 16:31, where we are told that Samson was buried in his father's tomb.

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J. CHERYL EXUM

**MANTELET.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

**MANTLE.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**MANUAL OF DISCIPLINE.** See COMMUNITY, RULE OF THE (1QS.)

**MAOCH** (PERSON) [Heb *māʿôk* (מָעוֹךְ)]. The father of Achish, king of Gath (1 Sam 27:2). He is often identified with Maacah, father of Achish, king of Gath, of 2 Kgs 2:39. The names are similar (*māʿôk* and *maʿăkâ*), but over forty years separates the two incidents, making such an identification problematic. See also Klein *1 Samuel* WBC; and McCarter *1 Samuel* AB.

PAULINE A. VIVIANO

**MAON** (PERSON) [Heb *māʿôn* (מָעוֹן)]. Son of Shammai, a descendant of Caleb (1 Chr 2:45). Whether Maon ("habitation") is the name of a person or the name of a town or region is not certain (compare Josh 15:55; 1 Sam 25:2); nor is it certain that this portion of the genealogy is in its original position. On the difficulties of the genealogy in 1 Chr 2:42–50a, see Williamson (Chronicles NCBC, 55) and Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 40–41).

CRAIG A. EVANS

**MAON** (PLACE) [Heb *māʿôn* (מָעוֹן)]. The name of two towns in S. Palestine.

1. A town in the hill country of Judah (Josh 15:55; Kallai *HGB*, 335, 347), together with other towns like Ziph and Carmel, located along the W edge of the Wilderness of Judah. Maon was approximately 8 miles S-SE of Hebron. Scholars identify the ancient site with Tell Ma'in (M.R. 162090; *HGB*, 290). Maon

was in an area that provided pastureland for small cattle in the springtime (Aharoni *LBHG,* 30). The name "Maon" which means "abode" or "dwelling" suggests that the original settlement was named after the type of buildings characteristic of the town (Aharoni *LBHG,* 109), that is, dwellings, probably for herdsmen of that region. Reference to the "wilderness of Maon" (1 Sam 23:24–25; Maon in the LXX; Paran in the MT; Klein *1 Samuel* WBC, 245, see note 1.a) indicates that the name of the town was applied to the area around it (*LBHG,* 30). The "wilderness of Maon" was located in the Arabah S of Jeshimon (1 Sam 23:24).

In the OT, the wilderness of Maon and Maon the town are mentioned in the accounts of David's encounters during his flight from Saul. David sought refuge from Saul in the wilderness of Maon (1 Sam 23:24–25) following his escape from sites in the wilderness of Ziph (1 Sam 23:15–23). "The rock … in the wilderness of Maon" (v 25) probably refers to an area with rock formations, perhaps cliffs (see ROCK OF ESCAPE), that provided security for those seeking refuge. Maon was the hometown of Nabal, an influential citizen and wealthy herdsman in the area who operated a sheepshearing business in the nearby town of Carmel and with whom David had a serious clash (1 Sam 25:1–42).

While the history of Maon during the OT period has not been defined, it must have played an important role in the political and military matters in the hill country of Judah. David's marriage to Abigail, wife of the deceased Nabal, an influential citizen from Maon, seems to have had political overtones (1 Sam 25:39–42). Militarily, Maon was a valuable defense center since it and Ziph were fortified sites and formed a line of defense protecting Jerusalem from the SE (Har-El 1981: 14). A 7th-century-B.C.E. ostracon from Arad records the taxes the king of Judah received from Maon (*LBHG,* 399).

2. A site in SW Palestine about 11 miles S of Gaza, the modern Kh. Ma'in. Maon was one of the major synagogue site locations in Palestine (Meyers 1980: 98, see map and 105; *HAB,* 152, see map no. 2). See also MEUNIM.

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LAMOINE F. DEVRIES

**MARA** (PERSON) [Heb *mārā*ʾ (מָרָא)]. An appellative for Naomi, the mother-in-law of Ruth (Ruth 1:20). See NAOMI. Naomi and her family moved from Bethlehem-Judah to Moab where her husband Elimelech and their sons Mahlon and Chilion died (1:1–5). Upon her return to Bethlehem, the women of the city who had not seen her for ten years ask, "Is this Naomi?" (1:19). Naomi answers their question with a play on her name. "Naomi" means "pleasant," but because she had experienced bitterness in Moab she implores them to call her "Mara," meaning "bitter." By objecting to the name "Naomi," she is expressing the inappropriateness of her name since her condition has changed from joy to sorrow.

The name "Mara" has been commonly analyzed as an Aramaic form substituted for the Hebrew feminine noun *mrh,* which is the reading in several mss, derived from *mrr.* Others have explained the form as Hebrew rather than Aramaic, understanding the ʾ*alep* as an orthographic difference or as a hypocoristicon.

The wordplay is completed by Naomi's explanation of her new name where the word *mar* is repeated: "for the Almighty has dealt very bitterly with me" (1:20b). This explanation was anticipated in 1:13 by the occurrence of the word *mar:* "it is more *bitter* for me than you." The use of wordplay and popular etymologies is a common feature of the Hebrew Bible. The story of Ruth is a storehouse of literary devices to inject subtle nuances of meaning, but Naomi/Mara is the only specific wordplay explained in the story itself.

KENNETH A. MATHEWS

**MARAH** (PLACE) [Heb *mārâ* (מָרָה)]. After crossing the Red Sea and singing triumphantly over the demise of the Egyptians (Exod 15:1–21), Moses led the people into the Wilderness of Shur. They went three days without finding water and when they came to Marah (v 23), they found water but it was

"bitter"; so they called the place Marah, which means "bitter" (BDB, 600). The usual interpretation is that the water was brackish, i.e., salty. The people complained and Moses cried to the Lord, who showed him a tree which he threw into the water and sweetened it.

After Marah, the Israelites traveled to Elim with its 12 springs and 70 palm trees (Exod 15:27). The summary of the wilderness wanderings in Numbers 33 says that after crossing through the sea, the people went three days into the Wilderness of Etham (v 6 gives Etham as the campsite after Succoth) and camped at Marah, and from there they went to Elim (vv 8–9).

Rylaarsdam (*IB* 1: 947) claims the Way of Shur is the familiar caravan route that approached Kadesh-barnea as it led to Beer-sheba. This is evidence that Mt. Sinai is in the Edom-Paran area and not at Jebel Musa in the S apex of the peninsula. It is impossible to definitely locate the site in his view. Brackish pools and wells are frequent in many desert areas. But a three-day journey by a caravan would perhaps cover 50 miles. The account in Exod 15:23 is in etiological form. Rylaarsdam notes a possible parallel story in Exod 17:7. It may be a different occasion of lack of water or it may be a different version of the same story. There was no water and people complained so Moses struck a rock and water came out. He called the place Massah ("proof" because they had "proved" the Lord) and Meribah ("contention" because of their complaints). This story is repeated without Massah in Num 20:1–12, at Kadesh-barnea after Sinai. In contrast to Rylaarsdam, Childs (*Exodus* OTL, 268) suggested the primary tradition is not etiological in form. If it had been, the new name would reflect the new state of the spring rather than the old.

Many locations have been proposed for Marah. While there is still some doubt, it was probably Ain Hawarah, 47 miles SE of Suez and ca. 7 miles from the Red Sea, separated from the sea by a range of hills. These are among the first springs on the ancient road to the Sinai mines which the Egyptians had exploited for centuries (Wright and Filson *WHAB,* 39). Keil and Delitzsch (n.d., 57) noted the first spot on the road through the Wilderness of Shur where water is found is Hawarah. Robinson described it as a basin 6–8 feet in diameter, with 2 feet of water in it. It was so bitter, so salty, Bedouins considered it the worst water in the whole neighborhood (1856: 66–67). Gehman (*NWDB,* 586) noted the well measures ca. 20 feet across but is much wider at the bottom and has a depth of perhaps 25 feet. The soil of the region abounds in soda and the water is salty and bitter.

Several other names have been compared to the Sinai exodus site. Maroth ("bitterness") is a town in Judah (Micah 1:12). "Merathaim," twofold bitterness or twofold rebellion, is a symbolic name for Babylon in Jer 50:21. The name may be a reference to Marratim, a lagoon or swamp in the region around the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. The conclusion in any case is that though these are different places, they suggest the commonness of the place-name "bitter."

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**MARANATHA.** The sentence *Maranatha* appears in 1 Cor 16:22 and *Didache* 10:6, in both cases with liturgical contexts. It is not a Greek word or phrase, and is not Hebrew, but rather a transliteration into Greek letters of an Aramaic phrase. Underlying the Greek text are the Aramaic words *mar,* "lord," and a form of the verb *ʾăṯā,* "to come." The essential questions raised by the expression are the proper segmentation of the sentence (that is, as *maran atha* or as *marana tha*), its precise meaning, and the specific dialect of Aramaic that it represents.

The sentence *maran atha* would mean either "Our Lord/Master has come," or perhaps (if *atha* is interpreted as a participle) "Our Lord/Master is coming" (possibly, "will come"). The word division *marana tha* would give by contrast "Our Lord/Master, come!" (*tha* being the imperative). The proper segmentation of the expression is thus essential to its proper interpretation, and this in turn depends on a correct determination of the dialect of Aramaic it represents.

The context of the expression in both the NT and the *Didache* is formulaic. In Paul's usage it is linked to a curse: "If anyone has no love for the Lord, let him be accursed. *Maranatha*" (1 Cor 16:22). In the

*Didache* the context is eucharistic: "Let grace come and this world pass away. Hosanna to the God of David. If anyone is holy let him come; if he is not, let him repent. *Maranatha.* Amen" (*Didache* 10:6). The outlook is clearly eschatological. The same type of outlook also appears in 1 Cor 11:23–26, a eucharistic section which includes the injunction, "For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord's death *until he comes*" (1 Cor 11:26 [emphasis added]; see Kuhn *TDNT* 4:471). This would point to the meaning "Our Lord, come!" Rev 22:20 indeed supplies such a sense: "Amen. Come, Lord Jesus!"

These examples of context and usage seem to indicate the segmentation *marana tha.* What, then, of the dialect? Presuming that the Aramaic noun *mār* ("Lord") carries a 1st-person plural pronominal suffix ("our"), is that suffix /-an/ (thus giving *maran*) or /-anā/ (giving *marana*)? (Both forms of the suffix are attested in different dialects of Aramaic.) Aramaic texts from Qumran and Wadi Murabba‘at, along with the earliest known rabbinic text, the *Megilḷ Ta‘anit,* support the longer form /-anā/ (with a single possible exception) rather than the shorter /-an/. (The latter, shorter form is the usual form of the suffix in the Palestinian Talmud and the Midrash.) Evidence from Aramaic of the 1st century C.E. also suggests that the verb (spelled in Gk *tha*) could be in Aramaic either *tâ (ʾ)* or *ʾětâ.* Spelled in the Aramaic script, the underlying forms would then be written *mrnh th* or *mrnh ʾth.* The first of these probably lies behind *marana tha,* and the correct sense of the expression is probably "Our Lord/Master, come!"

MAX WILCOX

**MARCHESHVAN** [Heb *marḥešwān* (מַרְחֶשְׁוָן)]. The eighth month of the ancient Hebrew calendar, roughly corresponding to October–November. See CALENDARS (ANCIENT ISRAELITE AND EARLY JEWISH).

**MARCION.** To the heresiologists of later centuries, Marcion was the most formidable heretic of the 2d century C.E. His teaching sprang from a radical emphasis upon the discontinuity between Christianity and Judaism. The God of Jesus, he asserted, was not the same as the God of the Hebrew Scriptures. While this ditheism was an important element of Marcionism, theological innovation was not Marcion's hallmark. In fact, he was a radical Paulinist who rejected the OT writings and organized a church with strong ascetic tendencies. The scripture of his church comprised one gospel (a version of Luke), ten letters of Paul (not including the Pastorals and Hebrews), and his own work entitled "Antitheses"—a catalog of contradictions between the teacing of Jesus and that of the OT. Indeed, the first clearly delineated canon in early Christianity was that of Marcion.

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A. Origin and Career
B. Marcion's Teaching
C. Marcion's Accomplishment
D. Marcion's Significance
1. The Christian Canon
2. NT Textual Criticism
3. NT Literary Criticism
4. The Earliest Pauline Reform

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**A. Origin and Career**

Marcion was born in Sinope of Pontus in NE Asia Minor in the latter half of the 1st century C.E. While it is likely that he was raised a Christian, the report of Hippolytus that he was the son of a bishop of Sinope is suspect. Hippolytus contends that Marcion was excommunicated by his own father for seducing a virgin. The account had the flavor of heresiological polemic. Often enough in the writings of Church Fathers the greatest antagonists to Catholicism were accounted moral degenerates. More reliable is the reference made by Tertullian to Marcion's occupation—that of a *nauclerus* (shipowner). This does not

seem to be polemically motivated and it accords with Marcion's later success as an organizer of a church that spread throughout the empire.

Biographical information on Marcion and his early work is scant and, as noted above, often of dubious reliability. Even the "one secure date" of Marcion's career, the year 144, in which he was excommunicated from Rome, has recently been called into question. It does not accord with the remark of Justin Martyr, who says in the year 150 that Marcion was alive "even until now." This and the fact that by Justin's time Marcionites could be found all over the empire suggest that he was active at least 10–20 years earlier (Hoffmann 1984: 44–47). The establishment of an earlier date for Marcion's activity is a matter of great significance for biblical studies, since it would strengthen the arguments of those who see the Pastoral Epistles or even the Acts of the Apostles as responses to Marcion's movement (Knox 1942: 139). At any rate, before his rejection in Rome he was active in western Asia Minor, specifically Ephesus. In Asia Minor he had encountered the Pauline corpus and was deeply affected by the struggles of the Apostle to the Nations. He began to teach the irreconcilability of the teaching of Paul and the prevailing Christian teaching, which was tightly bound to the OT.

**B. Marcion's Teaching**

To Marcion the only legitimate apostle was Paul. Other apostles, such as Peter, James, and John, had diluted and distorted the true teaching of Jesus. Marcion based this conclusion on his reading of Galatians 1 and 2. He saw in the letters of Paul dichotomies between faith and works of the Law—the way of Paul and the way of the Judaizers. He saw at the same time that Christianity was heavily reliant on the OT as a source of instruction and ethics. He noted that a great emphasis was placed on Christianity as the fulfillment of OT promises. One need only examine the patristic literature of the early 2d century (*1 Clement* and *Barnabas*) to realize that he was right. But Marcion noted, in addition, that the brilliant flame of the Apostle to the Nations had been reduced to a gentler glow. In many circles of Christianity Paul's basic teachings and writings were virtually ignored. Marcion surmised that Paul's gospel had been subverted, and so he set out to reconstruct that true gospel. This involved a summary dissolution of the tensions that characterized Pauline thought, namely, continuity with Judaism vis-à-vis discontinuity and freedom vis-à-vis obligation. The God from which Jesus was sent must have been other than the God of the Law (the Creator God). For the concept of another god, more precisely a lesser god—a Demiurge—Marcion was indebted to the gnostics. However, it is incorrect to label Marcion a gnostic. He did not engage in speculation about the creation of the cosmos. He did not interpret OT texts allegorically. He did not explain redemption in metaphysical terms nor insist on a secret, saving knowledge (Hoffmann 1984: 175–79). It seems, in fact, that he was not a deep or probing thinker. His theology was replete with discrepancies which Tertullian and others were only too happy to flaunt. But while his solution to the nettlesome features of Pauline theology lacked philosophical nuance, it provided a simple, graspable, and apparently consistent system—narrow in focus and easy to defend. His scriptures were selected and edited according to one overriding principle: the separation of Jesus from the OT God. He presented only one Gospel and one Apostle. To these he appended his own "Antitheses" in which he argued the principle of the opposition of the Gospel and the Law.

His christology has been characterized as modalist and docetic. It should be pointed out, however, that in his day neither of these had been officially condemned (Blackman 1948: 98). Jesus came from his Father, the Foreign God, and took on the appearance of flesh at that moment and maintained it until the crucifixion, at which point he left it. And so, for Marcion, what hung dead on the cross was not really Jesus. Yet this did not prevent Marcion from proclaiming that this apparent death had redemptive power. By it, Jesus saved the souls of those who would believe in him. Marcion even maintained the notion of the descent of Jesus among the dead. But for him this meant that Jesus freed those whom the Creator God had punished, e.g., Cain and the Sodomites. To Marcion the Creator God was not evil. He was only just. The Father of Jesus, in contrast, was loving.

When Marcion took his message to Rome he is said to have confronted Church leaders there with passages like Luke 5:36 (on sewing new patches on old garments). They found his solution to the

difficulties posed by these passages—the total separation of the Gospel from the Law, the God of Jesus from the Creator—entirely unacceptable, and they rejected him.

Any number of people before and since Marcion received such a rejection and resolutely went on teaching to those who would listen. In most cases, once they died their following disappeared shortly thereafter. Marcion went much further than that. He set out to organize his own church, "the True Church," in his mind. Marcion's church taught from his own scriptures and required sexual abstinence (procreation being a command of the Creator God), but otherwise looked very much like the church which had rejected him. He took over the basic structures of worship and organization. Marcionites celebrated baptism and the Lord's Supper. They maintained the roles of catechumens, deacons and deaconesses, presbyters and bishops. In the Marcionite liturgy water was used instead of wine, wine thought to be the product of the Creator. But in most other respects it seems that Marcionite worship resembled that of non-Marcionites.

Marcion's modifications of church order may have involved a system of short terms of office for bishops, participation of women in significant leadership roles (since "in Christ there is neither male nor female"), and a reduction of the distinction between clergy and laity in general. It is difficult to ascertain just how far these reforms were actually instituted within Marcionism, as there is disagreement among the heresiologists on some of them. Adding to the confusion is the fact that Marcionite practices are in some cases polemicized along with those of Montanists and other sects. It is safe to say, however, that the overall tendency was toward a rather loosely organized church. We do not hear of Marcionite councils or synods. Marcion's clearly delineated canon and the limited scope of his teaching provided sufficient consistency for strong cohesiveness without superstructures.

**C. Marcion's Accomplishment**

Whatever the precise nature of Marcion's system of organization, there can be no doubt it was effective. The surest proof of this is the horror and vehemence awakened in Marcion's adversaries. Scholars conjecture that in numbers alone the Marcionites may have nearly surpassed non-Marcionites in the decades of the 160s and 170s. Justin contends that even in his time the Marcionites were spread throughout the empire. Marcionite teachings were challenged in the writings of nearly every major Church Father from Irenaeus, through Tertullian in the West and Bardesanes in the East, to Epiphanius and Ephrem Syrus. Theodoret of Cyprus speaks of winning over large numbers of Marcionites in the mid–5th century. Although Marcionism had begun to wane in the West in the 3d century, it remained vigorous in the East well into the 5th. Throughout that period Marcionite churches or chapels existed side by side with those of their opponents. In fact, Cyril of Jerusalem felt it necessary to warn his catechumens when not to be misled to a Marcionite church entering a city in search of a Christian place of worship.

In the eyes of the pagans the Marcionites were not distinct from non-Marcionites. During the persecutions many Marcionites suffered the martyr's death. The centuries-long endurance of Marcionism is even more amazing when one recalls that they recruited members through adult conversion alone.

**D. Marcion's Significance**

The real significance of Marcion and his movement for contemporary biblical studies is not limited to his impressive record as a church organizer. His significance may be considered in four areas:

**1. The Christian Canon.** While not all scholars agree that Marcion forced the creation of the Christian canon, we cannot deny that his was the first. His influence in this matter is manifest in the composition of the NT canon that was later to emerge. Marcion's basic framework of gospel and apostle is seen in the Gospels and "Apostles" (i.e., Acts and Letters) in the Christian NT. What is new is the addition of an apocalypse, yet even this takes the form of a corpus of letters by a representative of the apostolic age. It should be noted that the primary difference between Marcion's canon and the Christian canon is that the former is singular and the latter plural. A conscious step in the direction of diversity was taken by anti-Marcionite Christians of the 2d through 4th centuries.

The vociferous insistence of anti-Marcionite Christianity on the validity of the OT within the canon is a point which should not be missed in our time. Since rejection of the OT was an essential feature of

Marcionism, it is straining the point only a little to say that among Christians today there are many virtual Marcionites.

**2. NT Textual Criticism.** Extensive quotations from Marcion's gospel and apostle have been preserved within the writings of his opponents. These provide the text critic with a reflection of the textual tradition of Luke and Paul in early 2d-century Asia Minor. The Marcionite text has been characterized as Western. Historically, the "Western Text" has been termed wild and loose, and relegated to a position of lesser importance in the assessment of text-critical problems. This situation is changing. The very term "Western Text" is considered by many to be misleading since it suggests reference to a single homogeneous text type. What has been called "Western Text" is in reality a number of non-Alexandrian text types. As text critics continue to analyze the "Western Text" and bring into sharper focus the disparate members within it, the testimony of Marcion, as one of the earliest reflections of a text in that group, will realize an even greater significance.

**3. NT Literary Criticism.** The shape of Marcion's gospel and Pauline corpus relates to questions about the composition of Luke and the Pauline corpus as a whole. It has been argued that Luke's gospel existed in an earlier form, without the infancy narratives and apart from Acts of the Apostles. Marcion's gospel begins with Luke 3:1. The question has been raised: Did Marcion actually remove chapters one and two from Luke, or did he receive that gospel in an earlier form which lacked them? The strength of this argument is diminished by the fact that in Marcion's gospel, Luke 4:31 seems to have followed directly on Luke 3:1. This increases the likelihood that Marcion was removing material. Nonetheless, the only known version of the Lukan gospel without the infancy narratives is Marcion's.

In terms of the Pauline corpus, Marcion attests a ten-letter corpus without the Pastorals. Was this an earlier form of the Pauline corpus than the fourteen-letter form which has come down to us? The earliest papyrus of the Pauline letters ($P^{46}$) does not include the Pastorals either. In addition, Marcion's order of the letters, once thought to be unique, has been found in some non-Marcionite Syrian catalogs. Thus the text of Marcion is an important piece in the puzzle of the development of the Pauline corpus. See MARCIONITE PROLOGUES TO PAUL.

**4. The Earliest Pauline Reform.** Perhaps the greatest significance of Marcion and his movement is the witness they provide of the earliest Pauline reform in the history of Christianity. Clearly, the success of Marcion's movement was not due to the depth or consistency of his theology. It has been explained here and elsewhere as a result of his skillful and energetic organizing, and the cohesiveness provided by his canon and sharply focused teaching. The powers of the letters of Paul as vehicles for reform must also be considered. The Pauline epistles have often triggered breakthrough insights. The examples of Augustine and Luther come immediately to mind. At several stages of the history of Christianity men and women have been inspired by Paul's willingness to challenge the recognized authorities on matters of principle. His passionate adherence to the truth of the gospel in the face of enormous personal risk is one with his incisive articulation of the central issues of the faith struggle.

It was an act of great courage for anti-Marcionite Christianity to accept into its canon the fuel for fiery reform—especially after they had seen the effects of its misuse by Marcion. Some have lamented that in the Christian canon the volatility of Paul and his teachings has been reduced by the inclusion of the Pastorals, Acts of the Apostles (in which Paul is subjugated to the Twelve), and other works in which anti-Paulinist references are made (2 Pet 3:15–17). But even if that be granted, history has shown that enough of the fire of Paul has remained in the Christian canon to trouble and to heal the Church.

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**MARCION, GOSPEL OF.** One of the three major works, all now lost, from a famous dualist Christian of the mid-2d century: the other two were his *Apostle* and *Antitheses.* The basic theory of Marcion was that *the* gospel, known to Paul, was "interpolated by the defenders of Judaism," who corrupted it as they also corrupted Paul's letters. Marcion believed he could free the gospel from these interpolations, just as in his time scholars tried to reconstruct philosophies underlying Greek poetry or authentic ancient myths preceding current versions. In this way they "recovered" the authentic originals as Marcion recovered his *Gospel,* supposedly the original version of Luke. (Irenaeus says Marcion "circumcised the gospel.") Harnack and others tried to reconstruct Marcion's version but had to admit that the result was tentative because their reconstruction was based primarily on comments by his opponents. Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* 4) wanted to show that even Marcion's Luke confirmed Christian doctrine: Epiphanius (*Haer.* 42) provided a similar discussion but cited 35 passages in which Marcion apparently altered the text. Inferences drawn from these witnesses are not fully reliable, though they are all we have, apart from a few details in the *Dialogue of Adamantius* and Syriac witnesses.

Harnack's reconstruction (1924) is based primarily on Epiphanius' supplemented from Tertullian. He rightly calls many passages in Luke "unattested" rather than "absent," noting how uncertain any reconstruction is, while Knox (1942: 86) lists "non-Marcionite passages": (cf. Hoffman 1984: 115–24).

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A. The Gospel
B. Theological Modifications
C. Minor Verbal Changes or None
D. Uncertain Alterations
E. Principles for Discussing Marcion's Gospel

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**A. The Gospel**

The *Antitheses* began with a Pauline exclamation about the gospel: "Oh wealth of riches! Folly, power, and ecstasy! seeing that there can be nothing to say about it, or to imagine about it, or to compare it to!" The *Gospel* was therefore a single, unique (and certainly not a four-part) work. Conceivably Marcion was protesting against the production of apocryphal gospels in his time.

The earliest witness to the *Gospel* is Irenaeus of Lyons (ca. 185), whose statements about Marcion's teaching are clearly based on it. "Jesus came into Judaea from that Father who is above the world-creating god, manifest in the form of a man, in the times of Pontius Pilate the governor, the procurator of Tiberius Caesar. He dissolved the prophets and the law (Luke 23:2 according to Marcion) and all the works of that god who made the world." Marcion "circumcised the gospel according to Luke and removed everything written about the birth of the Lord, and much of his teaching, in which he is plainly described as ackowledging the Creator of this universe as his Father."

Tertullian supplies more detail. Marcion "ascribed no author to the gospel" and held that "the title was adulterated" (4.3.5). The *Gospel* began thus: "In the 15th year of the principate of Tiberius he came down to Capernaum" (Luke 3:1; 4:31); compare 4:32, which Marcion reads as "They were astonished at his teaching, which was against the law and the prophets" (4.7.7). Compare Marcion's modification of Luke 23:2: "We found this man leading the nation astray" (Marcion adds "and destroying the law and the prophets") "and forbidding the payment of taxes" (adding "and leading women and children astray") "and calling himself Christ a king" (Tert *Adv. Marc.* 4.42.1).

**B. Theological Modifications**

Marcion thus did not preserve Luke's literary-historical prologue or relate stories about Jesus' family, his birth (rejecting the virginal conception with it), and his forerunner John (1–2; 3:1c–4:15; contrast 7:27). He said, however, that Luke 7:23, "Blessed is he who is not scandalized in me," refers to John the Baptist, as does "my messenger" in 7:27. (Harnack 1924: 197 claims that Luke 7:29–35 on John the Baptist was lacking but cites no evidence.) At Luke 16:16, "The law and the prophets until John," Marcion adds "from whom the kingdom of God is proclaimed," according to Tert *Adv. Marc.* 4.33.7: "and

everyone forces [his way] into it." At Luke 8:19a, 20a, Marcion deletes mention of Jesus' mother and brothers but is willing for people to refer to them generally as "your mother and your brothers," thus probably omitting verse 19 (Knox 1942).

The passages discussed just below are the most important ones theologically, though the minor alterations considered later offer greater possibilities for trying to decide the priority of Luke to Marcion because most of them are theologically neutral.

*Luke 5:14.* "Go show yourself to the priest and offer the gift … as Moses commanded, as a testimony to them" (Marcion substituted "that this may be a testimony to you"). Marcion usually avoids mention of officers of the Jewish religion (cf. 9:22; 20:19; 22:4, 50; 23:50).

*Luke 9:22.* "Saying, the Son of Man must suffer many things" (omitting "and be rejected by the elders and chief priests and scribes": cf. note on 5:14) "and be killed and raised" (substituting "after three days" for "on the third day" with Mark and Codex Bezae and OL: Tert *Adv. Marc.* 4.21.7 reads "after the third day").

*Luke 9:30–31.* "And behold, two men were speaking (Marcion substitutes "standing," as in v 32) with him, Elijah and Moses [order reversed] in glory." Knox suggests he omits 9:31 where the two witnesses predict his death.

*Luke 10:21.* "I thank thee, Lord of heaven"—omitting both "Father" and "of earth," but continuing with "Yea, Father." This is attested by Tertullian (4.25.1). Similarly Marcion retains Luke 11:5–13 but has it end "how much more the Father?" (deleting "from heaven").

*Luke 10:25.* From Tert 4.25.14: Marcion deletes "eternal" and reads "What shall I do to inherit life?" (i.e., long life as in the OT). The Lord answered in accordance with the Law, "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and all your soul and all your strength"—since the inquiry was about life under the Law.

*Luke 10:26, 28* from Epiphanius: "He said to the lawyer, 'What is written in the law?' And answering in accordance with the answer of the lawyer, he said, 'You said rightly; do this that you may live.' " This explains the canonical text (Harnack 1924: 206) and avoids having Jesus ask for observance of the Law.

*Luke 11:2.* From Tert 4.26.3–4: it is very likely that Marcion's version of the Lord's Prayer began, "Father, let thy Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us" (Harnack 1924: 207). Marcion seems to have held that "in the gospel Christ himself is the kingdom of God" (Tert 4.33.8, though Kroymann bracketed *Christus ipse;* compare Origen *Matthew* 14:7) and thus did not want to begin with "Thy kingdom come."

*Luke 11:29–32.* "This generation, a sign will not be given it" (11:29). Marcion "deletes the words about Jonah the prophet and Nineveh and the queen of the south and Solomon" (11:30–32: so Harnack 1924: 209 and Knox 1942 with reference to Tert 4.27.1): Jesus was not really foretold in the OT. Similarly Marcion deletes Luke 11:49–51 because of references to the wisdom of God and the prophets (Harnack 1924: 210).

*Luke 12:6.* Marcion omits the verse about God's care for sparrows and probably v 7 about the numbered hairs of the head (cf. 21:18): Tertullian mentions neither verse (Harnack 1924: 212). For Marcion God is a god of grace, not of nature. Thus at Luke 12:28 Marcion deletes "God clothes the chaff," and perhaps omits the whole verse (Harnack 1924: 214).

*Luke 12:8.* Instead of "He will confess before the angels of God" Marcion reads (with Sinaiticus and Matt) "before God" (Harnack 1924: 212).

*Luke 13:1–9.* Marcion deletes the section, which suggests that repentant Israel will be saved.

*Luke 15:11–32.* Marcion deletes the parable of the Prodigal Son (Harnack 1924: 219).

*Luke 16:17.* Marcion substitutes "my words" for "the law" (Tert 4.33.9). Cf. 18:18: 23:55: 24:25.

*Luke 17:10b.* Marcion deletes "Say that we are unprofitable slaves: we have done what we ought to do," presumably because it could point to the duty of observing the Law.

*Luke 17:12, 14, and 4:27* (the ten lepers). Marcion deletes many items, changes "He said to them" to "He sent them," and makes many other changes, adding "There were many lepers in the days of Elisha the prophet and only Naaman the Syrian was cleansed" (deletion of "in Israel"): the same combination is mentioned by Tert 4.35.6 (Harnack 1924: 223; but including "in Israel").

*Luke 18:18–20.* Marcion deletes the title "ruler" and after the question alters Jesus' answer. Instead of "Why do you call me good?" he reads "Do not call me good" and changes the statement "No one is good but the one God" to "One is the good God the Father." Instead of "You know the commandments" Marcion reads "I know the commandments" (cf. note on 16:17).

*Luke 18:31–33.* Marcion omits the whole of this passion prediction as repetitious (Harnack 1924: 226). Knox (1942) claims Luke 18:34 was also omitted because it reiterates the disciples' ignorance.

*Luke 19:9b.* Marcion deletes "as he [Zacchaeus] is a son of Abraham," and Tertullian (4.37.1) calls him a gentile (Harnack 1924: 227).

*Luke 19:29–46.* Marcion deletes the section about the ass and Bethphage, the city, and the temples as a house of prayer not a den of thieves, presumably because the section involves fulfillment of OT prophecy.

*Luke 20:9–17.* Marcion deletes the story about the vineyard given to farmers and "What is the stone which the builders rejected?" presumably because of its close connection with Israel.

*Luke 20:19.* Marcion deletes references to "scribes," "chief priests," and "the people" because he does not refer to official groups within Jewish society (cf. note on 5:14).

*Luke 20:37–38.* Marcion deletes these verses, presumably because they praise Moses and the patriarchs.

*Luke 21:18.* Marcion deletes "A hair of your head will not perish" (Harnack 1924: 231; cf. 12:6–7).

*Luke 21:21–22.* Marcion deletes "Then those in Judaea should flee to the mountains," etc., because of the impending events in the expression "until everything written is fulfilled." (Tert 4.39.9 passes from v 20 to v 25 and therefore Harnack 1924: 231 deletes 21–24.)

*Luke 22:4.* "He spoke with [omitting "the high priests and"] the generals about how to betray him to them" (cf. note on 5:14).

*Luke 22:16.* Marcion deletes "For I say to you, I do not eat this from now on, until it is fulfilled in the kingdom of God," and probably vv 17–18 also (Harnack 1924: 233).

*Luke 22:35–38.* Marcion deletes "When I sent you did you lack anything?" and perhaps "And this that is written must be fulfilled. 'He was reckoned with the lawless ones' " (Harnack 1924: 234).

*Luke 22:50–51.* Marcion deletes Peter's smiting and cutting off the ear of the high priest's slave as well as the healing; perhaps also the question in v 49 (Harnack 1924: 234; cf. note on 5:14).

*Luke 23:33a, 34b, 43, 44–45.* "And coming to a place called Skull they crucified him [omitting "and the malefactors" and *perhaps* 34a, "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do," Harnack 1924: 236] and distributed his garments."

*Luke 23:43.* Marcion deletes "Today you will be with me in paradise" (Harnack 1924: 236 also includes vv 35–43 or [so Knox 1942] vv 39–43).

*Luke 23:50, 53.* "And behold, a man named Joseph [deleting his description as a councillor] taking the body, wrapped it in linen and placed it in a hewn tomb" (cf. note on 5:14).

*Luke 23:55–56.* "And the women came back and observed the Sabbath in accordance with the law (Marcion substitutes "law" for "commandment," Harnack 1924: 237; Codex Bezae omits; cf. note on 16:17).

*Epiph* (Adv. Haeres) *42. 9:* Marcion cut much out of the end of the gospel (Harnack 1924: 237) but we do not know what it was. Some examples include the following: *Luke 24:5–7:* "Those in bright clothing said, 'Why do you seek the living one with the dead?' [omitting "He is not here," for Christ is everywhere? Harnack 1924: 238] he has been raised: remember what he said while still with you [omitting "in Galilee"] that the Son of Man must suffer and be delivered' " (order reversed by Epiphanius not Marcion: Harnack 1924: 238). *Luke 24:25–31:* Marcion revised what was said to Cleopas (18) and the other disciple (13) when he met them: " 'O stupid ones and slow to believe all [deleting "that the prophets spoke" and substituting "that I" (or "he," Harnack 1924: 239 from Tert 4.43.4: cf. note on 16:17)] spoke to you; did he not have to suffer these things?' … When he broke the bread their eyes were opened and they knew him." *Luke 24:38a, 39:* "Why are you troubled? [Omitting the parallelism.] See my hands and my feet, for a spirit does not have [omitting "flesh and" according to Tert 4.43.6–7: Harnack 1924: 239] bones such as you see me having." But did the risen Lord have only a skeleton?

**C. Minor Verbal Changes or None**

In addition to Marcion's significant changes there are many passages with less important verbal changes. These may reflect contemporary textual variants or even Marcion's editing for literary purposes, such as to simplify stories.

*Luke 5:24.* Marcion changes the word order to indicate that the Son of Man's authority was not on earth but to forgive sins on earth. Epiphanius himself has the same reading. This kind of change was typical of the 2d century and later.

*Luke 6:3.* "Did you not read this, what David did? … He went into the house of God." The story is simplified. *Luke 6:16.* "Judas Iscariot, who became the betrayer": no change. *Luke 6:17.* Jesus came down "in them," not "with them"—this is more spiritual or merely a verbal variant? *Luke 6:19a, 20a.* "And the whole crowd sought to touch him [see below, 8:42–46] and he, raising his eyes," etc. Basically the same.

*Luke 7:9b.* "I say to you, I have found such faith not even in Israel." The word order is changed, not the meaning, which puts a centurion's faith above Israel's. *Luke 7:36b, 38, 44b.* The only change, perhaps stylistic, depicts the woman as anointing Jesus' feet before kissing them.

*Luke 8:23a, 24b.* Marcion seems to accept the text or make trivial verbal changes, substituting "rowing" for "sailing" and having Jesus rebuke not the "wave" but the "sea," with Matthew and Mark. *Luke 8:42b, 43a, 44, 45a, 46a.* "It happened that as they went the crowds crushed him. And a woman touching him was healed of her blood. And the Lord said, 'Who touched me? Someone touched me, for I knew power going out from me' " (cf. Tert 4.20.8: "Who touched me? Someone touched me, for I felt power going out from me"). The whole story is simplified.

*Luke 9:1–2, 6.* Marcion's only change is to add "cities" to the "villages" of v 9 (*Dial. Adamantii* 2.12). *Luke 9:16.* "Looking up to heaven he blessed [Marcion adds "upon"] them." The expression occurs in Codex Bezae and OL. *Luke 9:19–20.* Marcion modifies the scene of recognition by minor changes and by deleting "of God" from "the Christ of God" (cf. Mark). *Luke 9:40.* "I asked your disciples to cast it out" (omitting "and they were unable").

*Luke 11:42.* "You neglect the judgment [*krisin*] of God." Marcion substitutes "calling," *klesin,* probably rejecting a judgment by the good God. But he does not necessarily delete the rest of the verse (Harnack 1924: 210). *Luke 11:47.* "Woe to you, for you build the tombs [*mnemata*] of the prophets and your fathers killed them." Perhaps Marcion read *mnemeia* = *monimenta* (cf. Tert 4.27.8; Harnack 1924: 211).

*Luke 12:4a, 5b.* "I say to [deleting "you"] my friends" [or "you friends," Tert 4.28.3: Harnack 1924: 211], Do not fear those who kill the body [Marcion deletes further details according to Epiphanius, not Tertullian] but fear him who has authority to cast it into gehenna after killing it." *Luke 12:30b.* Same text as Epiphanius, perhaps "your" (Father) should be deleted as in 12:32 (Harnack 1924: 214). *Luke 12:31.* "Seek for the kingdom of God and all these will be added to you"; so Clement and Epiphanius *Luke 12:32.* Instead of "Your Father" Marcion (with Clement, *Quis div. salv.* 31.2) reads "Father" (Harnack 1924: 214). *Luke 12:38.* Instead of "second or third watch" Marcion reads "evening watch" with Codex Bezae, OL, and Irenaeus (Harnack 1924: 215). *Luke 12:46.* Same as "canonical" text (Harnack 1924: 215). *Luke 12:58b.* Same (Tert 4.29.16).

*Luke 13:10–17.* Marcion discusses a healing on the Sabbath (Tert 4.30.1). *Luke 13:15.* "Does not each one of you free his ass or his ox from a crib on the Sabbath and lead him to water?" (Harnack 1924: 217) *Luke 13:16.* "This daughter of Abraham, whom Satan bound." Acceptable because she was bound by Satan. *Luke 13:28.* Marcion changes the sentence to "When you see all the righteous in the kingdom of God, but yourselves held outside, there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth" (cf. A. Kroymann on Tert 4.30.5 [CChr 1:1.629]; cf. Harnack 1924: 218) and deletes vv 29–35 because they suggest that Jesus' mission was to Israel.

*Luke 16:22.* Marcion retains the parable of Dives and Lazarus, and in 25b reads a reference to "this one" (Lazarus) rather than to "this place" (*Dial. Adamantii* 2.10 and a few NT mss agree: a trivial difference between *omicron* and *omega*). *Luke 16:29, 31.* He modifies Abraham's statement, "If someone from the dead came to them," to a more specific reference to the risen Jesus (so the author of *Dial. Adamantii* 2.10, though Harnack [1924: 222] claims that Epiphanius combined vv 29 and 31).

*Luke 17:22.* "The days will come when you desire to see one of the days of the Son of Man." Perhaps Marcion deletes "and you will not see it" (Harnack 1924: 224).

*Luke 18:35, 38, 42.* "It happened as they drew near to Jericho a blind man [Marcion may omit details] shouted, 'Jesus Son of David, have mercy on me' " (again, possibly omitting details, and adding 'And when he was healed" to "Jesus said, 'Your faith has saved you' ").

*Luke 22:8.* "And he sent [Marcion substitutes "said to"] Peter and the others, saying [Marcion deletes "saying"] 'Go and prepare that we may eat the Passover.' " These are stylistic changes. *Luke 22:14–15.* "And he reclined, and the [Marcion with many mss added "twelve"] apostles with him, and he said" [Marcion "to them"], 'With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer.' " Essentially the same. *Luke 22:41.* "He withdrew from them about a stone's throw and on his knees he prayed." There seems to be no change. *Luke 22:47–48.* "And Judas drew near to kiss him and [apparently deleting "Jesus"] said." *Luke 22:63–64.* Those present mocked him, beating and striking him saying, "Prophesy who it is [Marcion reads "was"] who struck you" (simply a grammatical correction).

*Luke 23:44–45.* "And the sun was darkened" (retained). *Luke 23:46.* "And crying out with a loud voice [including the quotation of Ps 31:6; Tert 4.42.6] he expired."

**D. Uncertain Alterations**

In several instances it is difficult to tell exactly what Marcion's reading was; the verses are: *Luke 5:39* (omitted, says Harnack 1924: 190, because lacking in Codex Bezae and OL manuscripts; unconvincing); *6:23c* (same as Luke); *9:35* ("beloved" with Matthew and Mark); *44b* (same as Luke); *22:44b* (did Marcion really omit the Bloody Sweat?).

**E. Principles for Discussing Marcion's Gospel**

In 4.43.7 Tertullian "explains" why Marcion's gospel contained passages favoring the Catholic position against Marcion's own views. He claims that Marcion left certain contradictory items in his gospel, so that from these he could argue both that he was not making deletions and that when he did so he was right. This psychological and theological claim is convincing only if Marcion was really editing the canonical Luke. If he used an earlier version the claim obviously fails. Unfortunately there is no reliable evidence for what Marcion's sources and procedure were, though it is reasonable to suppose, from what we know of his results, that Luke (or the version Marcion used) was not originally as full as it now is and that our text contains fewer interpolations than Marcion supposed. In other words, the book was not composed as systematically as either Marcion or his critics believed.

One might hope that early testimonies to Luke, canonical or not, could illuminate the situation, but Papias' comments on Luke, if any, are not preserved, and the "tradition" cited by Ignatius about the risen Lord may or may not echo Luke 24:36–43 (Koester 1957: 45–56).

As for studies of Luke's vocabulary and style, Knox claimed that they do not favor or oppose the traditional view, while Cadbury similarly argued that the presence or absence of non-Lukan words cannot be used to prove that Luke is or is not using a source. Such points, along with the failure of Tertullian's claim, suggest that details of Marcion's gospel can be recovered but not an overall picture. The argument that the "changes" correspond with Marcion's theology (Grant 1957: 115–19) is not convincing because conceivably Marcion may have relied on his "proto-Luke" instead of creating it.

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ROBERT M. GRANT

**MARCIONITE PROLOGUES TO PAUL.** The Marcionite Prologues are brief introductions to all of the letters of the Pauline corpus (except Hebrews) which are found in all branches of the Vulgate (Vg) text. The shortest is a single sentence (13 words), the longest three sentences (43 words). The earliest and best Vg MSS include them. Among non-Vulgate Latin MSS they are most common in the OL: I-type. Their earliest attestation is in the commentary of Marius Victorinus on the Pauline letters (ca. 355–65). The date of their origin cannot be determined apart from a resolution of the controversy as to whether or not they were actually written by Marcionites. See MARCION.

**A. Contents**

The prologues to all of the community letters but 2 Corinthians and 2 Thessalonians follow a common pattern. Each begins with an ethnic or geographical identification of the recipients (e.g., "*Galati sunt Graeci*" and "*Romani sunt in partibus Italiae*"). Next noted or implied is that they received the gospel (some were, in addition, "overtaken by false apostles") and that they either held firm or betrayed the true gospel. Each prologue concludes with the remark that Paul commends the recipients, if they held firm, or calls them back, if they betrayed the gospel. In the same sentence reference is made to the city from which Paul wrote.

The prologues to 2 Corinthians, 2 Thessalonians, Philemon, and the Pastorals do not follow the pattern. These make no mention of the recipients maintaining or betraying the true gospel, but either identify the type of letter Paul wrote (2 Corinthians and Philemon) or summarize the contents (2 Thessalonians and the Pastorals). It is probable that these were composed at a time later than the prologues to the community letters.

**B. Controversy over the Origin of the Prologues**

The identification of these prologues as Marcionite derives from the argumentation advanced by de Bruyne (1907) and Corssen (1909), and has been held by Harnack, Knox, von Campenhausen, and Schäfer (1973). The prologues do not appear in any known Marcionite works nor are they mentioned by the heresiologists. But two facts would support a Marcionite origin. The first is the order of the letters that the prologues imply and the second is the emphasis they place on Paul as the apostle of the true gospel as opposed to other apostles. The first of these cannot be seriously contested. Connective words appear in some of the prologues which indicate that the prologue to 1 Corinthians ("these likewise heard the word of truth from the apostle") followed the prologue to Galatians ("these *first* heard the word of truth from the apostle"). Similarly, the prologue to Colossians probably came after the prologue to a letter to another city in Asia Minor such as Ephesus or Laodicea. In addition, the reference in the prologue to Philippians to that letter's origin in Rome would place Philippians near the end of a chronologically ordered Pauline corpus. The prologue to Romans makes sense only if one presumes it accompanied a 14-chapter form of that letter. All of this is explainable if the Pauline corpus for which the prologues were composed was the Marcionite one. Marcion's Pauline corpus as it can be reconstructed from the discussion of Tertullian throughout book 5 of *Adversus Marcionem* began with Galatians, had a shorter form of Romans, placed Colossians after Ephesians (which Marcion called Laodiceans), and placed Philippians near the end.

The emphasis within the prologues on Paul's opposition to false apostles has also been cited as evidence of Marcionite origin. It is especially significant that false apostles are mentioned in some of the prologues even though the letters they introduce do not dwell on that issue (Philippians and 1 Thessalonians). Many raise the question: Who but Marcionites would see the basic issue of almost every community letter in the light of Paul's opposition to false apostles?

The case is not unassailable. Objections were raised earlier in this century by Mundle, LaGrange and Bardy (*DBSup* 5: 877–79), and more recently by Schneemelcher, Frede (1964), Gamble (1977: 111–13), and Dahl (1978). Most of the proponents of the case for Marcionite origin must admit that the clearest expression of a Marcionite position—opposition to the Hebrew Scriptures—is found in the prologue to Titus, which most argue was composed by a "catholic" editor. A more serious objection is raised by the question with reference to all of the prologues: How did such tendentiously Marcionite material come to

be incorporated into the text of "orthodoxy" in the first place? Were ancient editors insensitive to Marcionite inferences?

These initial shortcomings open the door to more serious objections. The argument based on the order of the Pauline letters that the prologue presume is not compelling. The Old Syriac attests a Pauline corpus with a similar order (Dahl 1978: 253–54). Galatians can be in the first position for chronological reasons rather than theological ones. Textual studies at the Vetus Latina Institute indicate that several orders of the Pauline letters existed (Beuron 1969: 290–303). The short form of Romans is attested in mss that show no connection to Marcion whatever (Gamble 1977: 15–29). Textual studies that sought to demonstrate a significant impact of the Marcionite text on the ms tradition at large have been soundly rejected (Frede 1964: 167–68). As for the recurrent theme in the prologues of the opposition of Paul to false apostles—many modern commentators see this as an overriding issue in Pauline interpretation. Therefore, one need not assume that the ancient editors who composed or included the prologues were insensitive to the Marcionite positions expressed in them. Rather, they, as Marcion, considered Paul their champion against false apostles—but the false apostles would be their own theological opponents. Further, the prologues themselves are not unequivocal in their characterization of the "false apostles." The prologue to 1 Corinthians refers to Judaizers and to philosophers of "wordy eloquence" and the latter is not a dominant Marcionite concern. Thus, present scholarship is divided over the origin of the prologues and those who oppose their Marcionite origin are gaining momentum.

**C. Implications of the Prologues**

If the prologues are of Marcionite origin they represent a great irony in the textual tradition of the Bible. The Marcionites would have succeeded in planting the seeds of their thoughts into the books and minds of Western Christians for 16 or 17 centuries, since relatively recent editions of the Vg contained them. But if this is so, what must be concluded about the critical acumen of ancient authors and editors who have accepted and transmitted the prologues? Even Marius Victorinus took no exception to them. The consistent transmission of the prologues in certain branches of the Latin textual tradition would bespeak the inviolability of a written tradition once it had been taken up, even though erroneously. One might ask what other influences the Marcionites or other sects may have had.

If one does not accept Marcionite origin of the prologues, the implications for their inclusion in the Latin mss are less dramatic but still substantial. If the prologues were created for a Pauline corpus not Marcionite but similar in order and content to Marcion's, then how are we to understand Marcion's role as an editor? Did he inherit rather than create his Pauline Corpus? Dahl and Frede argue that such a 10-letter Pauline corpus did exist from before Marcion's time and that it has had an effect on the Western textual tradition of the Pauline letters especially in the OL and Old Syriac which is yet to be analyzed and explained. The disappearance of that 10-letter Pauline corpus must be reckoned with when the development of the Pauline corpus is discussed.

However one decides the origin of the prologues, they attest that editors of the 3d century (possibly earlier) saw Paul's opposition to false apostles as a crucial theme for understanding his letters. This insight either comes from Marcion himself, or is merely congenial to his viewpoint. In other words, either the Marcionites infiltrated the Latin MS tradition with their ideas, or an idea of theirs was taken up in modified form by orthodoxy at a later time against other opponents. There is a caution in all of this against drawing too hastily, or too sharply, the lines between orthodoxy and heresy in the early centuries of Christianity.

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JOHN J. CLABEAUX

**MARCUS AURELIUS** (EMPEROR). Roman emperor (161–80) and Stoic philosopher who was born April 26, 121 as M. Annius Verus, son of a consular family of Spanish origin. His industry and seriousness were soon noticed by Hadrian, who arranged his education and betrothed him (136) to the daughter of L. Aelius Caesar, his adopted son and designated successor. When Aelius died (138), Hadrian took as his new heir Antoninus Pius. Pius in turn adopted Marcus, and Aelius' son Lucius.

After Hadrian's death (July 138), Marcus moved into the palace with Pius. He began higher studies, chiefly with the rhetorician Cornelius Fronto. A number of letters between them (the majority in Latin) survive in Fronto's correspondence, giving an insight into Marcus' nature at this time. It was only later (146–47) that his interests turned wholeheartedly to philosophy.

Quaestor in 139 and consul for the first time in 140 (with Pius), Marcus was betrothed (140) to Pius' daughter, his cousin Faustina the Younger. They married in 145, and in 146, on the birth of a daughter (first of thirteen offspring), he was granted the tribunician power and proconsular imperium. Succeeding Pius on March 7, 161, Marcus requested the same powers for Lucius, so making the principate truly collegiate for the first time. Marcus now took Pius' surname Antoninus, while Lucius took his surname Verus.

Although generally represented as a time of peace and prosperity, Marcus' reign had more than its share of natural disasters and military crises. An eastern war (162–66), in response to the Parthian seizure of Armenia, led to the importation of a plague which, combined with famine, seriously depopulated the empire. Then the northern provinces were invaded by migrating Germanic tribes (166–69), who were turned back only at Aquileia in northern Italy (169). On Verus' death (169), the need to stabilize the frontiers kept Marcus in the north (170–79) before he had to travel to Syria in response to the revolt (175) of Avidius Cassius. After the revolt fizzled out (176) Marcus journeyed northward again, leaving his son Commodus, now co-emperor (177), in charge in Rome. Successful against the Germanic tribes (177–79), Marcus was about to incorporate their territories into two new provinces when he fell ill and died at Vienna on March 17, 180.

It was during the northern campaigns that the *Meditations* (12 books, in Greek) were written. They contain few references to external events, but Marcus' preoccupation with the traditional Stoic principles of duty and self-sufficiency, and his obsession with life's transience and death as the common lot of humanity, clearly reflect the conditions under which they were written. Published posthumously with little editing, these personal, sometimes cryptic philosophical reflections rightly ensure for Marcus the fame on whose value and uncertainty he frequently ponders.

Like that of Epictetus, Marcus' Stoicism is more religious than philosophical in nature, emphasizing the need to love both God and one's fellow man. It is ironic, therefore, that Marcus should also be remembered as a persecutor of the Christians. Unjust too, for the anti-Christian hysteria of the 160s (Justin and his companions martyred at Rome, ca. 167, a date also given by Eusebius, perhaps wrongly, for Polycarp's martyrdom in Smyrna [Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 4. 15; 16]) was a by-product of the plague, while the more extensive persecution at Lyons in 177 (*Hist. Eccl.* 5. pref; 1) was provoked by legislation allowing the use of condemned criminals as gladiators. The law was Marcus', not the use to which it was put.

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JOHN WHITEHORNE

**MARDUK** (DEITY). Var. MERODACH. The patron deity of Babylon, Marduk first appeared in the 3d millennium B.C.E. as a minor Sumerian god. He was the son of Enki (Akk Ea) (Sommerfeld 1982: 9, 13). The status of the god rose with the fortunes of Hammurabi in the 18th century B.C.E.; yet throughout the Old Babylonian period Marduk's major concern remained the territory of Babylon (Hurowitz 1984: 191, 193–94). The Code of Hammurabi portrays Anu and Enlil proclaiming Marduk king over Sumer and Akkad, reflecting Babylon's rule over Mesopotamia (Ravn 1929: 88–90). In honor of their god the First Dynasty of Babylon appears to have built Esagila, the temple area dedicated to Marduk (Busink 1949: 54).

The decline of Kassite rule, in conjunction with a successful war against Elam (in which the statue of Marduk was recovered), sparked a theological glorification of the deity in the 12th century B.C.E. (Roberts 1977: 183–84; Lambert 1964: 10). At this time Marduk became viewed as the great cosmic ruler of the earth, taking on the deeds (and myths) of the major divinities of the Mesopotamian pantheon. The theology was embodied in the Enuma Elish in which Marduk appears as hero of gods and humans (Bottéro 1985: 115). See ENUMA ELISH. The creation of the universe by Marduk became the text for the New Year *akītu* celebration in Babylon (Black 1981: 40), where the recitation of the narrative and the names would recall Marduk's usurpation of the divine world (Bottéro 1977: 5–28; Lambert 1985: 60). By the 1st millennium B.C.E. Marduk was considered the supreme deity (Abusch 1984: 5), at least in Babylon.

The destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib's troops in 689 B.C.E. followed decades of turmoil in the city, which had been tolerated by the Assyrian rulers because of the veneration for Marduk and his city's culture; it is possible that the outpouring of Mardukian theology related to this event began with the turmoil itself (Diakonoff 1965: 346–47). The Esagila and its ziggurat, Etemenanki (first mentioned at this time in an historical text) were destroyed and the theological explanation was posited that Marduk, having grown furious over the corrupt behavior of his people, had, with all the other gods, abandoned the city to its enemies (Borger 1967: 12–19; *TCS* 5: 127). When the Assyrians left, they took the statue of Marduk with them. Esarhaddon reinterpreted Mardukian texts in order to rebuild the city and return the god, but not without checking the omens and not without trouble (Parpola 1983: 32–33; Lambert 1988: 158–59). The affair led to texts intended to show the relationship of Ashur and Marduk with respectful views of the latter (Soden 1955: 165; Frymer-Kensky 1983: 140).

The Neo-Babylonian Empire celebrated its independence with massive building projects, including the Esagila and Etemenanki. Marduk was glorified even to the point of being able to be seen as the *only* deity (Lambert 1975: 197–98). The divine family, Marduk, Ṣarpanitum, and Nabû, ruled the universe for half a century. When Nabonidus seized the throne in 555 B.C.E. he claimed that his right to rule and reform the cult came from Marduk (Beaulieu 1985: 83–86); then he abandoned the patron deity for the god Sin, leaving the *akītu* ceremonies to be improperly performed. This slight led Marduk's priests to seek Cyrus, the Persian, as a champion of their god. Cyrus claimed in an inscription that he was selected king and brought to the city by Marduk precisely to restore the lapsed cult (Beaulieu 1985: 354). The cult of Marduk survived into the Hellenistic period, though whether Marduk was worshiped to the time Babylon was finally abandoned late in the 1st century C.E. is unknown.

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LOWELL K. HANDY

**MAREAL** (PLACE) [Heb *marʿălâ* (מַרְעֲלָה)]. A place on the S border of the territory of the tribe of Zebulun (Josh 19:11) in the Jezreel Valley. Its precise location is unknown. Aharoni suggests (*LBHG,* 257) identifying it with Tell Thorah (M.R. 166228).
RAPHAEL GREENBERG

**MARESHAH** (PERSON) [Heb *mārēšâ* (מָרֵשָׁה)]. Two individuals of the tribe of Judah.

**1.** Firstborn of the family of Caleb and the father of Ziph and Hebron (1 Chr 2:42). The text is confused at this point, which is possibly due to dittography. The Hebrew has *mêšaʿ,* "Mesha." However the RSV follows the LXX and reads "Mareshah."

**2.** Son of Laadah from the family of Shelah (1 Chr 4:21).
DAVID CHANNING SMITH

**MARESHAH** (PLACE) [Heb *mārēšâ* (מָרֵשָׁה)]. Var. MARISA. A town of Judah located in the S foothills.

**A. Identification and History**

Mareshah (Marisa, 1 Maccabees 5; 2 Maccabees 12) is identified with Tell Sandakhanna, located about 2 km S of Beit Govrin (M.R. 140111). This identification, first established by E. Robinson, is based on references from the Bible and Josephus. It is known as Marisa in the Apocryphal writings (1 Macc 5:66; 2 Macc 12:35) where it is only mentioned in passing.

Mareshah appears among the cities of Judah (Josh 15:44) and in the genealogies of the settlements (1 Chr 2:42) as belonging to the Calebites. The Bible gives no indication that it was a Canaanite city prior to the Israelite conquest. Following the division of the kingdom, Rehoboam fortified Mareshah as part of his SW defenses of Judah (2 Chr 11:5–10). Zerah the Ethiopian invaded the country about the time of Asa and reached Mareshah (about 900 B.C.E.), but was defeated in the major battle fought in the valley of Zephathah (N of Mareshah according to the LXX [2 Chr 14:8–9]). After the sack of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, Mareshah, together with all of S Judah, came under the influence of Edom.

In the Hellenistic period and perhaps even in the Persian period, a Sidonian community settled in Mareshah. Hyrcanus I captured Mareshah together with all of Idumea (*Ant* 14.364; *JW* 1.269). Afterward Beit Govrin replaced Mareshah as the district capital.

**B. Excavations**

An excavation was conducted at Tell Sandakhanna by F. J. Bliss and R. A. S. Macalister in 1900, as part of a series of excavations in the Shephelah in the years 1898–1900. Mareshah consists of a fortified upper city (ca. 150 m in diameter covering ca. 24 dunams), and a lower city, built around the upper city (covering ca. 300 dunams). The lower city included the subterranean complexes and the buildings above them. This area, together with the fortified tell, formed one of the largest Early Hellenistic towns in the country.

In 1902, Bliss and Macalister published the report of their excavation which concentrated on the upper city. Five years later, H. Thiersch published a detailed analysis of the report. A second analysis was published by Avi-Yonah 70 years after the excavation. The excavators identified three strata: two Hellenistic and one Israelite ("Jewish").

The Hellenistic city was almost square in plan (158 m E-W by 152 m N-S) and was surrounded by a wall defended with square and rectangular towers. The original plan of the city was organized according to the Hippodamian system, with 2 parallel main streets running E-W and 3 N-S streets intersecting the main streets at right angles. The streets varied from 2–6 m wide, most of which still had remains of paving. The street plan bounded 12 blocks of buildings, while the block located near the E wall was evidently the religious and administrative center. The three chambers in the center of the courtyard were used as a temple to honor a trinity of gods. A square structure with two courtyards, one a marketplace, the other a caravansary, also covered a city block.

Two types of buildings were identified: a large building consisting of rooms surrounding an enclosed court and a small building with rooms not arranged in a clear plan. Several buildings had remains of hearths, basins, shelves, and steps which led either to the roof or to the cellar.

Among the finds of the Hellenistic period were hundreds of vessels, Rhodian handles, 3 Greek dedicatory inscriptions, 16 small lead figurines which apparently served magical purposes, 51 limestone tablets, and 61 coins (including 13 Ptolemaic, 19 Seleucid, 25 from the time of John Hyrcanus, 1 Herodian, and 2 Greek coins of unclear provenance). Recent excavations directed by A. Kloner have found hundreds of vessels, Rhodian handles, figurines, and coins from the lower city and its caves.

The finds from the upper excavated tell and the underground systems indicate that at least three Hellenistic strata existed at Tell Maresha: Ptolemaic (3d century B.C.E.); Seleucid (2d century B.C.E.); and Hasmonean (late 2d–early 1st B.C.E.).

Beneath the Hasmonean layer, at a depth of 3.05 m, was an Israelite ("Jewish") stratum dated to the Iron Age 2C. The finds from this stratum include 17 *lmlk* seals—11 of the double-winged type and 6 of the four-winged type—from various cities: 3 from Hebron; 3 from *mmšt;* 6 from Socoh; 2 from Ziph; and 3 whose names are illegible.

**C. Tombs**

An extensive necropolis of the Hellenistic settlement surrounded the city. The E cemetery included 10 burial caves, 4 of which were investigated in 1902 by M. P. Peters and H. Thiersch. These caves, known as the "Sidonian tombs," contained many inscriptions, including the epitaph of Apollophanes, the son of Sesmaios, who died at 74 years old and who was the head of the Sidonian colony in Mareshah for 33 years. Two of these family tombs were richly decorated.

Tomb A, with the above-mentioned inscription, contained a painted frieze depicting someone playing a musical instrument, a rider, and many animals both wild and domesticated all arranged in a row above the gabled *kokhim* (loculi).

In Tomb B, among some of the paintings located on the inner wall of the cave and not recorded by the excavators, is a man crowned with a wreath, wearing a striped tunic, who walks while blowing a double flute. Behind him walks a woman playing a harp. Both these caves are dated, according to the dozens of inscriptions found there, to the 3d–2d centuries B.C.E.

The N cemetery contained 20 burial caves of the *kokhim* type. These *kokhim* were executed with gable-shaped facades and ceiling. Burial epitaphs were scratched above and between the *kokhim;* some were covered with later inscriptions written in mud. In all cemeteries, the entrances to the *kokhim* were built of small local blocks of soft limestone plastered over with mud. At least part of the population practiced secondary burial, with the bones of the deceased placed first in the *kokh* and later collected. Some of the caves of the N cemetery were reused in the 1st–4th centuries C.E. by the Jewish population of Beit Govrin.

**D. Lower City and its Caves**

Between the upper city and the groups of burial caves located 400–500 m away was the lower city. During the excavation of the upper mound, Macalister surveyed 63 subterranean complexes carved in the chalk. Most of these consisted of hall-like units, workshops, and storage rooms interconnected by passages and tunnels. Some complexes had more than 30 units. In recent reexaminations, additional rooms and halls were found which Macalister had not reached in his survey. Some new complexes were also found. Inside the systems were very rich finds from the 3d and 2d centuries B.C.E. In all, more than 100 cisterns, 40 columbaria used for underground pigeon raising, and 16 olive presses were found inside the halls of these complexes.

The well-known columbarium of A-Suk (Macalister no. 29) was a double cross in shape (28.36 m long) and had approximately 1900 niches. The majority of columbaria at Mareshah and other Hellenistic-Early Roman sites in the Judean Shephelah were carved in the same shape. The long walls enabled the carving of a maximum number of niches. In a columbarium unit in complex 21, four oil lamps were found in one of the niches and a small bowl containing unidentifiable material in another. These finds, contemporary with ceramic material found in the debris from the cave, date to the end of the 3d and the 2d centuries B.C.E.

Examination of the material recovered from the small bowls found *in situ* in the niches or in the central columbarium hall does not substantiate the theory that the columbaria were used for the ashes of human cremations. There were no remains of teeth or bone material. To this negative impression we may add the fact that there is no other evidence of Hellenistic columbaria in the country. The burials in Mareshah at the time were in *kokhim*-type burial caves. It is reasonable to assume that these small niches were dovecotes, which were familiar in the 3d century B.C.E. Later, in the 2d and 1st centuries B.C.E., the columbarium served a function unclear to us today.

Oil presses were installed in large underground rooms. The pressing was done by stone weights attached to the pressing beam. The beam was placed in a niche and held between two piers quarried from the living rock. The beam pressed the baskets of olive mash which were stacked in a deep circular shaft between the piers.

Mareshah was found to be an important economic center in the country during the Hellenistic period.

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AMOS KLONER

**MARI.** The ancient name of Tell Ḥarīrī, a 54-ha. mound located in Syria on the middle Euphrates River (34°33′N; 40°53′E). This site has been extensively excavated, first by A. Parrot, and beginning in 1979, by J. Margueron. These excavations have yielded over 20,000 cuneiform texts, most of which are dated to the Old Babylonian period.

***ARCHAEOLOGY***

The city of Mari is found in the Syrian part of the Euphrates Valley 120 km S of the modern city of Deir-ez-Zor at the confluence of the river Ḫabur. It is also situated about 50 km N of the current border separating Syria and Iraq. The city was founded halfway up the side of the valley which distances it at more than 2 km from the right bank of the Euphrates River. Thus situated at the bottom of a valley,

bordered by plateaus, where the steppe and desert predominate, but which connects the opulent Mesopotamian plain to the rich crossroads toward Syria in the north, Mari appears as a city ideally suited to control the traffic which travels down the river as well as over land between these two poles.

At the time of its discovery, the tell consisted of a principal hemispherical-shaped hill with a recto-linear facade facing NE; to the W and to the S a mound of earth formed a regular curve. The enclosure which surrounded the city was easily recognizable and it was assumed that the city had been constructed along the river, which determined its hemispherical form. However, from the excavations over the past years, it is now known that the original situation was very different: actually the city did not rely directly on the river and it was founded on a circular plan of which now only a part remains. See Fig. MAR.01. It is thus necessary to reconstruct the entire N and NE part of the city which disappeared due to erosion. Thus the *intramuros* or diameter of the city seemed to have been a little under 2 km: the importance of the city from its very beginning can be understood from this one characteristic.

The most recent research conducted on the circular mound of earth has not uncovered the remainder of the enclosure; the arrangement that was brought to light seems to have been a dike to protect against floods rather than a defensive system. Therefore, it is not impossible that on this protective base a rampart had been built that would have subsequently disappeared. The major tell displays an asymmetry that is easily explained by the disappearance of part of the city: the culminating point juts out toward the NE and, while the inclines of the tell are slightly toward the W, S, and SE, there is a abrupt division to the N and NE where the most erosion has taken place. Finally it should be noted that the city was connected to the river by a canal which assured the continual supply of provisions and served as a link with the river traffic.

**A. History of Exploration**

Because it was situated off the path that descended into the Euphrates Valley, few travelers in the 19th and early 20th centuries had occasion to notice the desolate hills of Tell Hariri. But the accidental discovery of a statue fragment by bedouins who were burying one of their dead attracted the attention of Syrian archaeological authorities during the period of the French mandate in 1933. An exploratory mission was thus given to André Parrot, who examined the site beginning in December 1933. In January 1934 he found the Temple of Ishtar and its collection of statuettes, including the Lamgi-Mari statue that identified the site and the statue of Ebih-Il, perhaps the masterpiece of the Mari statuary. Thanks to this discovery it was decided that the site merited complete exploration. The following year, during the second dig, the discovery of the palace from the Old Babylonian (OB) period confirmed the exceptional value of the site. See Fig. MAR.02. Since then exploration has followed as regularly as the international situation has permitted.

During the first six seasons of excavation (1933–39) that he conducted before World War II, André Parrot concentrated his efforts on unearthing the different levels of the Temple of Ishtar, on unveiling the entire OB palace, sometimes called the Palace of Zimri-Lim (the name of the last sovereign who resided there), and on the study of the sacred precinct beginning with the excavation of the "ziggurat," of the Temple of Lions (still incorrectly called the Temple of Dagan), and of the Temple of Ninhursag.

From the resumption of the seventh season in 1951 to the tenth season in 1954 attention was given to the sacred precinct, followed by the unearthing of the Temple of Ninhursag, the uncovering of the different levels of the Temple of Shamash and of the *Massif Rouge*, and the discovery of the *Maison Rouge* and the temples of Ishtarat and Nin-zaza (that would provide the second collection of statuettes from the archaic period and make Mari the richest repository of 3d-millennium statuary). In addition, the Akkadian period was attested by a collection of bronzes inscribed with the names of the daughters of Naram-Sin.

The Suez crisis necessitated a new interruption in work. Thus the next period, from the 11th to the 21st seasons (1961–72) was a long period of regular research concerning the pre-Sargonic level which extends to the N of the ziggurat and above all several phases of the 3d-millennium palace rediscovered in 1964 under the ruins of the OB palace. The importance of Mari to the 3d millennium became immediately apparent.

A new interruption in the active excavation marked, from 1972 on, an interest in digging in order to preserve the notable ruins of the palace presumed to be pre-Sargonic. In 1974 a cover was put in place that slowed the destructive effects of erosion. A fourth period thus began in 1979 under the direction of Jean Margueron; five seasons of excavation were conducted until the fall of 1985. The research went on in the 3d-millennium palace since the layout of the palace was not yet understood, but the principal objective now was to obtain a better knowledge of the city itself. This permitted the unearthing of a palace from the Shakkanakku period (site A), the discovery of the oldest foundation of the city at the bottom of a stratigraphic boring (site B) and the defining of its original extension, and the study of the defensive system. The second objective—the study of the region and the integration of the city in the regional whole—was simultaneously taking place at the dig site and important results have already been obtained.

**B. History of Mari**

**1. The Foundation of the City.** The most recent research has thrown some light on the origins of the city, but important additions can still be hoped for. One must date the birth of Mari at the very beginning of Early Dynastic (ED) I. From this period on, the city had in all likelihood a circular configuration; from the original site only a third remains that can be explored. The essential characteristic that arises from this situation is that Mari was a new city founded under conditions of which we know nothing, but which probably accompanied the development of the valley, because in addition to the canal that links Mari to the river, a large canal on the left bank was discovered (already known in the beginning of its course under the name of Nahr Dawrin) whose beginning is found in the Ḫabur Valley more than 120 km upriver and which seems to have been principally destined to facilitate navigation. On the right bank, the remains of a large irrigation canal were found halfway up the hill, while a final canal was built at the foot of the W plateau to retain water which could rush down from the desert and to prevent it from flooding the fields and thus destroying the crops. The scale of this regional development is proof of the essential role played by Mari.

**2. The First Centuries.** We still know little about the city in these early periods; the base of the foundation was reached at only one point and if the ED II phase was found in several places one cannot really consider it known. The current documentation only permits one to say that the ED I period seems to have been quite long and that during the course of ED II, perhaps only at the end of this period, one notices vital improvements in living conditions and the introduction of collective improvements in the form of a sewage system. The great stone tombs from the Temple of Ishtar precinct—the oldest phases—belong to the beginning of this period.

**3. ED III and the Beginning of the Akkadian Period.** This is the 3d-millennium phase for which we have the most archaeological information and from which one can best see the organization of the city. In the palace, the P-1 phase gives us the image of a large-scale building whose dimensions remain unknown; the Sacred Enclosure, (i.e., the sanctuary itself) was still active, but the transformations affected the cultural structures; the altars constructed replace the slabs for libation from level P-2. The excavation permitted the unearthing of annexes and courtyards to the W and N of the sanctuary for which it is still difficult to define precise functions. A raging fire destroyed part of the building, which could have resulted in a reconstruction of certain sections (in particular the Sacred Enclosure and the building of the pillar room recently unearthed W of the annexes of Courtyard 4) and a simple redevelopment of the other sectors. It is, in any case, in this form that the use of the building extends into the Akkadian period. Undoubtedly tightly linked to this exceptional building was a section toward the E where André Parrot suggested that one could find the annexes of the 3d-millennium Dagan temple: however, the identification is not certain, even if a sanctuary can be discovered in the building that abuts the *Massif Rouge*, a high plateau in use during this period. Toward the S extends the sacred quarter, where some ruins belonging to the temples of Shamash and Ninhursag have been unearthed. However, from the other side of the line that divides this section, the temples of Ishtarat and Nini-zaza appear better preserved and present a comprehensible plan which allows one to place them in a category of sanctuaries belonging to Mari. One may add *La Maison Rouge* to the vestiges that are found SE of the sacred quarter, as well as the Temple of Ishtar to the W of the city and the abutting pre-Sargonic quarter. This period seems to have marked one

of the great moments in Mari's history, as evidenced by the architecture, by its dimensions and its originality, and also by the splendid collection of statuettes found in the temples of Ishtar and Nini-zaza.

The king Lamgi-Mari, the intendant Ebih-Il, the great singer Ur-Nanshe, the head surveyor Shibum, and many others prove at the same time that Mari belonged to the civilization created by Sumer which covered a large part of Mesopotamia. To this remarkable group of artifacts one must add a large collection of characters destined to become part of the composition of mosaic panels, several decorated vases, two beautiful architectual models of a circular plan, and objects from everyday life. One should also note that about 40 tablets have been found in various spots on the site that allow us to place Mari with respect to Mesopotamian centers like Lagash or Abu Salabikh, or Syrian centers like Ebla.

**4. The period of the Shakkanakkus.** This phase begins in the middle of the Akkadian period, but we still do not know under what conditions. The title *šakkanakku* appears to designate the sovereigns of Mari for a period that extends from the second half of the 23d century to the beginning of the 20th century B.C., during which time the city was extensively renovated. The extent of these operations certainly suggests a period of great power. Several sections of the great royal palace excavated by André Parrot—in particular the W wing and the throne room—were built above the 3d-millennium palaces. It was at this time also that the upper terrace was built (often designated by the inadequate name "ziggurat"), closely associated with the Temple of Lions that abuts from the south, a temple that was mistakenly attributed to the god Dagan. To the S extend anonymous temples and the sanctuaries of Ninhursag and of Shamash. To the E of the sacred quarter, excavations since 1979 have unearthed a new palace, the construction of which is to be credited to the Shakkanakkus. It added to the other palace without subtracting from it for, of smaller dimension, it served either to house members of the royal family or as a place to withdraw when important construction was taking place in the main palace. Finally the last excavations have allowed the discovery of two royal tombs that were built under the throne room and beneath another great hall.

Few materials are characteristic of this period even though it lasted almost four centuries. One should note, however, the celebrated and severe Ishtup-Ilum, whose statue was found in the throne room of the great royal palace. One should also note the large pictoral composition that decorated room 132 of the same structure; this one revealed itself to be the sanctuary of Ishtar within the palace, and not an audience hall as had been previously assumed.

**5. The Lim Dynasty.** The last half century of Mari's history is also the best known as a result of written documents found during the excavations in the great palace before the Second World War. Nearly 15,000 archival documents concerning politics, the administration, and the economy were uncovered. This exceptional discovery furnished documentation that goes beyond the area of the city of Mari and casts new light on the entire Near East at the beginning of the 2d millennium. This richness should not make one forget that the connection is still poorly understood between the Shakkanakku period and the Amorite Dynasty (ca. 1800 B.C.), up to the time when Zimri-Lim succeeded in retaking power (ca. 1775) by banishing Yasmah-Addu, the son of Samsi-Addu.

Of the city of this period, we know of part of the sacred quarter with the upper terrace associated with the Temple of Lions which was equipped with a reworked esplanade, a new terrace of small dimensions that appears to function with the Temple of Shamash, and the Temple of Ninhursag that perpetuates the ancient tradition. The palace of the Shakkanakkus is still being unearthed and will continue to be, just like another building that has been found on the NW promontory of the tell during the 1985 excavation and of which one still does not know either the construction date or the exact use.

Only the richest structure remains, that which was the great royal palace. Although its construction began during the Shakkanakku period, it continued to be expanded and renovated during the reign of Zimri-Lim. See Fig. MAR.03. Already renowned in antiquity, it was found in such a state of preservation that it became the symbol of monumental Western architecture of the 2d millennium. Its remains allow one to understand with precision its architectural characteristics and to define the components of royal architecture of the period of the Amorite dynasties. It still possesses traits that directly link it to its 3d-millennium ancestor. The different quarters are organized around two large courtyards. See Fig. ART.05. The first (131) is part of the welcoming hall directing traffic either toward the temples situated on the

former site of the ancient Sacred Enclosure, or toward the W half of the structure where the King's House and the House of the Women are. These latter houses are organized around the official grouping comprising the Palm Court (famous for the paintings that decorated its walls), the *Papahum*, and the throne room where important royal ceremonies and large banquets were held. The King's House encircled the throne room; toward the E, above a section of stores, the royal apartments were located on the second floor; to the S extended the servants' quarters; to the W one found the kitchens and the administrative offices. In this way the palace of Mari contains the different quarters which normally constitute a royal home from the beginning of the 2d millennium, but arranges them differently. Thanks to a unique preservation (walls more than 4 m high, murals still in place, intact daily conveniences such as the kitchen, bathrooms, etc.), a precise architectural study was carried out shedding new light on monumental architecture of this period.

**6. The End of Mari.** In a political context still somewhat obscure, it seems that Zimri-Lim, after a period of success, did not succeed in firmly implanting his control of the area. Hammurabi of Babylon, after having been his ally, turned against him in 1760 B.C. and defeated him; he then installed himself in the city, while Zimri-Lim disappears from our documentation. After having removed its riches (including probably most of the more important texts), Hammurabi decided to set the palace on fire, and then demolished it completely; the same end was reserved for other temples that were excavated, at the Shakkanakku palace, and at the building that was recently found on the NW promontory. Since then, Mari no longer existed as an important center, but only on occasion as a small town during the Assyrian period or as a village during the Seleucid period, as attested by the cemeteries that were found in various spots in the tell.

JEAN-CL. MARGUERON
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## *TEXTS*

It is commonly asserted that at Mari, A. Parrot was the "discoverer" of a library of 20,000 cuneiform tablets. Parrot himself was the source of these reports and he contributed greatly to their diffusion by writing a scientific contribution that he entitled: "Zimri-Lim of Mari, a literate prince." However, it must be noted that Mari, in spite of the considerable historical interest of the documents discovered there, has given us no intentionally gathered collection of literary or scholarly scientific works. There is nothing in common, in this sense, with the collections of Sumerian works of Nippur and Ur, which were gathered on private initiative, or especially that of Boghazköy (Hattusas) or Nineveh, which were collected on royal initiative. The importance of the Mari documents lies elsewhere.

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A. Nature of the Documentation
1. Palace Administrative Texts
2. Other Types of Administrative Texts
3. Letters
4. Treaties
5. Other Types of Texts
6. Texts from Other Periods
B. Arrangement of the Texts in the Palace
C. Importance of the Mari Texts

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### A. Nature of the Documentation

Prior to 1972 nearly 20,000 complete tablets and fragments were found at Tell Hariri by A. Parrot. Since 1979 other fragments of a few thousand documents have been discovered during the excavations of J. Margueron. Moreover, the site has not ceased yielding all the documents hidden in its debris. Now that a general inventory has been done, it is possible to take account of that which is missing. The understanding of what we today possess of the Mari documents is much more subtle than the previous and

crude distinction between "economic texts" and "letters" suggests. We are now able to provide a more detailed classification of the Mari texts.

**1. Palace Administrative Texts. a. Expense Texts: Food and Drink.** The major part of the administrative documents represents calculated expenses on reserves of raw materials gathered and stored in the royal palace. Moreover, since the management of these reserves was the main motivation for writing such texts, it seems that the absence of the king and his entourage from the palace brought a halt to this text writing. A spectacular example is given to us at the end of Zimri-Lim (ZL) year 8 and during the first four months of ZL year 9, when the entire court traveled W on a long trip that ended at Ugarit. All the texts from the palace that date from this time mark the royal periplus and point out the itinerary. The texts were brought back to the palace offices on the return journey, apparently no text having been written at Mari during the entire trip. Besides, one of the principal palace administrators, Dâriš-lîbûr, had left his offices in order to accompany the king.

It is not surprising that the text par excellence found in the royal palace is called "The King's Meal," which consists of monotonous listings *ne varietur* of meals served at the king's table and that of his follower (the *ṣâbum*), except for some wine and meat that were entered on other expense accounts because they probably originated from other departments independent from those that managed supplies of grains, oil, fruits, or sweets. These texts represent a total of more than 2,000 documents: good samples of them can be found in ARMT 9, 11, 12, and 21. A large number still remain unpublished. These documents are extremely important in determining when the king was present in his palace. Moreover, in addition to "normal" meals, they record, on recurrent dates, meals eaten in honor of the dead, either in honor of the souls of past kings (*kispum*) or of deceased members of the royal family (*mâlikum*).

**b. Harem Texts.** Distributions to the harem attest to the presence of a large number of women in the palace; daughters of the king (priestesses or princesses eligible to marry), women of the first rank (*kallâtum*), singers of first or second rank (most likely concubines), domestics of the two principal queens, and various female personnel maintaining the palace and its kitchens. This is well attested for at the end of the reign of Yasmah-Addu and for the beginning of Zimri-Lim's reign. Their presence, marked especially by texts showing expenses of oil or wool, is the sign of a retreat into the strongly walled palace of the female population that, in more secure and stable times, lived elsewhere (most likely in a less solemn and undoubtedly more comfortable place). If we are not informed as to what the royal harem was at the end of the reign of Zimri-Lim, we see by contrast Queen Shibtu and the royal children who, from the latter half of ZL year 10, came back to the capital, to the "little Eastern Palace," then took possession of the large palace itself. The small harem texts characteristic of the end of Yasmah-Addu's reign are studied in *MARI* 4, while good examples of the large harem lists dating from the first part of the reign of Zimri-Lim can be found in *ARMT* 22 and especially in *TEM* 4. The so-called *Archives of the Harem*, which represent fragments of administrative documents dealing with the management of the fortunes of the important women living in the palace, found in room 52, remain unpublished. At this point only the letters dealing with these women have been published (*ARMT* 10).

**c. Audit Texts.** The administrative activity in the palace periodically called for an audit. These audits are recorded by the writing of general inventories of expenses on raw materials. These texts are relatively isolated and they do not have the punctiliousness that one would imagine. They exist particularly in the first part of the reign, the time of the most intense occupation of the royal residence. It is likely that they were continued elsewhere from ZL year 5 and that they were filed and stored where the king was living. Upon reading them, one notices that they are not the simple recapitulative monotone of the small individual texts, written from one day to the next. It is possible that the scribes made some recording errors in writing the long summaries, because they were transcribing the different administrative actions from memory. In fact, one can also imagine that certain daily texts were written in a mechanical manner, and that the large summaries took account of performance slowdown or rectified certain views that were overly optimistic. Many of these large texts are published in *ARMT* 22.

**d. Expense Texts: Metal and Fabrics.** The major part of the expense texts is naturally made up of small tablets concerning the maintenance of the royal household. Aside from the table expenses (see

above), one finds more than anything else some texts dealing with metal or fabric, which were put away in the storerooms of the royal palace itself. Anything that left the treasury was counted, i.e., complimentary shipments to other rulers of the time (*šûbultum*), presents to the women of high descent, to messengers, etc. These texts, when taken together, are extremely valuable in reconstructing the diplomatic life of the time. Thus, it is not by chance that one must wait until the end of ZL year 4 to see a jewel sent to the king of Eshnunna. In fact, it was only a few months earlier that the two kingdoms ended a long and bitter struggle. Likewise, thanks to the counting of presents, one has very valuable chronological information on the contemporary Elamite dynasty (Durand 1986: 118–22).

The majority of tablets dealing with metals provide information about the manufacturing of luxury objects. The king placed great emphasis on all working of gold, silver, and precious stones (especially lapis lazuli and rock crystal) because these materials were rare and frequently defective. Since the reserves apparently were not sufficient to provide everything that one wished, old jewelry was sometimes remelted in order to obtain material for creating new pieces. At the mercy of these manipulations, the metal waste multiplied and losses accumulated. At several stages in this work an inspection was made—particularly by the loss controllers (*ebbûtum*)—and these different acts generated some very useful texts concerning technical history.

**e. Publication of the Palace Administrative Texts.** All these aspects of the administrative texts from Mari are illustrated by different volumes that have been published: *ARM (T)* 7, 9, 18, 21–25. Most of these scholarly volumes were devoted to the fragments found in particular rooms in the hope that the use of the various palace rooms could be reconstructed. For the most part, this hope was defeated because the techniques used by A. Parrot to record the epigraphic discoveries in the palace was quite disorganized. Most likely, too many mixtures took place during the actual excavation for us to do precise studies. Also, the move toward publication was accelerated: *ARMT* 23 (= *AAM* 1), the work of a new team of editors, was the edition of all the administrative texts catalogued by G. Dossin, to which the texts of room 215 were added. Besides these, there were some attempts at an edition grouped thematically: *ARM* 18 treats some documents of the administration of Mukannishum; *ARMT* 25 should in theory give us the edition of all the documents treating metal. Another publication (*AAM* 2) should procure the complete catalog of all the administrative texts of the palace, arranged chronologically (as much as possible), summarizing briefly those that had already been published, editing those that were not yet published, and reconstructing those where additions and collations changed the interpretation drastically. The texts found by J. Margueron since the new excavations of the palace must be part of *AAM* 2; those found "outside the palace" will be the subject of a separate publication, together with those from their proper archaeological locations.

**f. Evaluation of the Palace Archives.** It appears that the archives that would allow us to discover the composition of the palace stores are totally missing. Most likely, that results from the large door cleared by A. Parrot and whether it served as a visitor's passageway, and not as the place where deliveries were received. This latter was probably called "Nergal's Door"; located to the E of the ceremonial entrance, this door represented the place where chariots, loaded with raw materials, passed through. See Fig. ART.05. If the "administrative offices" (*bît têrtim*) were found at the door of the palace residence (*bâbekallim*), another administration was found at "Nergal's Door." The area was never excavated and currently is covered by dumps from the palace excavation. In contrast, the inventory of the Mari tablets indicates that several lists of proper names as well as administrative texts (in poor shape for conservation purposes) were found "outside the palace, in the area of the ziggurat." In fact, the inventory is concerned not with the exterior of the palace, but with the area where the storehouses were located. An eventual expansion of the excavations will perhaps allow us to find the new administrative archives. However, even if the receiving department was found at this second door, it is possible that the archives themselves had been kept more to the S, in what is considered the "area of reserves," which was found leveled to its foundations.

**2. Other Types of Administrative Texts. a. Gift Texts.** At any rate, it is easy to establish that the only "entrances for goods" in the palace of Zimri-Lim are for those called *šûrubtum.* These consist of

"countergifts," that is, in response to the *šûbultum* mentioned above. Thus one sees wine delivered, gifts coming from abroad (Carchemish, Aleppo, Kurdâ), olive oil sent from western regions (Alahtum), fine fabrics sent from the courts of Aleppo or Carchemish, etc. Such shipments are not only from neighboring kings, but also from great vassals and even great royal personages. Thus one can understand these taxes of grain (in relatively small quantities) on the "houses" of the great landowners in the surrounding areas of Mari, or shipments of one or two sheep to the palace from great dignitaries, sheikhs, governors, and even members of the royal family itself (including the queen and queen mother). All of these lists must be interpreted as "gifts" responding to a previous one, or expecting a "countergift" in return. These consist of personal, more or less spontaneous, contributions, never a general tax collection by the administrative authorities of the kingdom. Likewise, next to the small number of animals, one can see listed meat brought in (smoked?) from the S of Sinjar, or even farther. This consists of choice cuts which honor the king. Curiosities such as ostrich eggs and desert truffles (*kam*ˀ*atum*) also entered the palace. At certain times, the large courtyards of the palace were transformed into regular zoos by the number of animals sent by vassals and allies. All of these foodstuffs and animals so graciously given are meticulously recorded, probably because the king would take them into account in order to reciprocate at the appropriate time.

**b. Texts Concerning Provincial Administration.** It is not surprising that among the palace texts one finds nothing connected with the management of the provinces (*halṣum*) of the capital. These documents would have been found recorded in the palace of the governor (*šâpiṭum*), which has not yet been discovered. It is only through the misunderstanding of a name that Bahdi-Lim, governor of the capital, was called "Prefect of the Palace." Even if the two great ministers who presided over the king's relations abroad or with his subjects actually resided "at the palace door" and kept watch to maintain a strict separation between the internal affairs of the palace and the outside world, the administrative leaders over the provinces or the royal workshops as well as the military authorities, police, or religious leaders—in effect, all persons who had nothing to do in the palace except by transitory title when the king summoned them there—kept their archives elsewhere; these archives are missing. From this point on, a study on the kingdom of Mari must take into account these missing parts of the documentation.

However, in spite of the archival separation, the king was informed regularly on all important administrative matters and, for further information, one sent to the palace, for temporary consultation or for safekeeping in the archives, tablets written outside the palace concerning events that took place outside its walls. This is the source of some very important documents informing us about the fundamental aspects of the administration, even if we cannot always gather from them as complete a reconstruction that we would wish.

Thus the king was also kept up to date on certain censuses taken of the people. About 30 large tablets represent the palace's copies of texts of the great census (*têbibtum*) that took place at the end of ZL year 4, after the reordering of the Benjaminites who rebelled and after the expulsion of the troops of Eshnunna who had come to support them. One sees listed here people taking oaths, coarsely gathered together by occupation, and enumerated place by place and district by district. It is possible that only the population that had to do with the palace was summoned and that the *têbibtum* was also a way of certifying, through oath-taking, the loyalty of a substantial part of the population. This census undoubtedly intended to take a count of the people after a period not filled with bloodshed but nevertheless marked by a change in the status of a great many people: many lost their freedom at the time of the razzias; others were brought back into the palace departments to which the conquering king assigned them. Besides the obvious onomastic interest, these lists also inform us as to the local regrouping of toponymies of the provinces of Mari, Terqa, Saggarâtum, etc., the major towns of the kingdom. These are the texts that best allow us to understand the geography of the heartland of the kingdom of Mari.

On sporadic occasions, a land occupation reform took place and long lists of fields were recorded. These did not concern the establishment of a plot of land, but rather a count of how many units of land were removed from one plot and added to another. Likewise, certain texts probably represent tax estimates and indicate the expected grain production. These two kinds of tablets are very valuable for distinguishing the toponymies of the region of Mari.

More than 20 or so large tablets represent the palace's copies of oaths taken at the end of ZL year 9 by a large number of women who were named according to their social status. These consist of wives, widows (*almattum*), and single women of various backgrounds, the majority being women who had devoted themselves to a deity (usually *qaššatum*), priestesses (*NIN-DINGIR-RA*), or "ecstatics" (clairvoyants—*muhhûtum*). We are not always informed as to what motivated these great oath-takings by such a substantial number of women. It is, however, a very important source for feminine onomastics of the time. Two good examples can be found in *ARMT* 9 and *ARMT* 23.

Censuses were established for some army corps at the time of departure for military expeditions. This was often useful in determining whether the number of Haneans or Benjaminites who should have been conscripted indeed were conscripted. These documents are known as "large tablets" and the inventories mention the men "nominally" (*tuppi lú ù šum-šu*). These documents are major sources for geography and onomastics. Examples can be found in *ARMT* 23 at the time when the troops from Mari went to help Hammurabi of Babylon in battle against Rîm-Sîn of Larsa. The publication of these large lists will entirely change the image that we have of the population of Amorite Syria and will enable a pioneering work like *Amorite Personal Names* (Huffmon 1965) to be rewritten using an infinitely more vast basis of knowledge. However, one cannot claim to make a population count of the kingdom from these lists, nor to establish the rosters of the army.

The bills of sheikhs (*sugagûm*) that pay off a gift (*suggâgûtum*) consisting of gold, silver, or animals periodically informed the king of those who had sworn allegiance to him locally and who had thereby recognized his power. They are considered political texts, not texts of tax collections (as was initially believed).

The census listings, like those of the deported persons of Hurmiš (ZL year 11), had another motivation: that of informing the king of the increase of workers belonging to the royal residences following the conquests. These are specialized workers taken from their homeland along with their families. These lists inform us in an unexpected way about the population and the technologies of ancient Upper-Jezira and enable us to see more concretely the mobility of people torn from their native land, deported, redistributed, and diluted among other social groups into which they would eventually disappear. In capitals which were raided a short while later, one section of the population received special attention from the conqueror: the royal harems. These harems were brought back to Mari after an inventory noting the status of the various women (priestesses or wives) and the origin of royal captives. One finds the practice of combining the wives of the conqueror with those of the conquered to be rather systematic. For example, the texts show that the harem of Ashlakkâ, captured after the defeat of its king, was made up of the original princesses of other previously conquered capitals. This complexity of populations makes sense when one realizes that only two years later all the women of Zimri-Lim—girls, queens, concubines, and captives of diverse background—along with Zimri-Lim himself, either had to walk the road of victorious Babylon or be given in homage to other courts. All of these numerous texts allow us to understand better the incredible blend of populations, cultures, and languages that took place at that time in the Near East.

It is in these same categories of documents that the so-called censuses of teams of weavers must be included; this does not consist of inventories of "ergastulum" (*nêpârâtum*) but of counts of deported persons. One finds on these lists those redistributions of Benjaminite prisoners of war as well as the redemptions of slaves by their families throughout the Near East.

To these considerable administrative documents must be added some rare fragments of private archives of individual administrators, whose presence at the royal palace is still not understood. The legal texts must be considered, of which the partial edition in *ARM* 8 must be reconstructed after collations, additions, and adjunctions of unpublished material, in a later systematic study.

**c. Expense Texts concerning the Palace Temples.** Sacred expenses form another fragmentary group of tablets distinguished from the rest. The king of Mari and his court were not the only ones to inhabit the large palace. Since its very existence, the gods were believed to have resided there, because that which is called the Sacred Enclosure (considered by J. Margueron to be the avatar of the origin of the major temple

of the city) established itself in the palace and represents the temple of the "Lady of the Palace" at the time of Yasmah-Addu and Zimri-Lim. See Fig. ART.05. Room 130, on the other hand, is the "Temple of Ishtar" or *bît birmî* ("The Temple with Paintings") mentioned in the texts. Quite often, it is to the gods present in these chapels and not to those of the urban temples that most of the sacred expenses (included in the costs of the palace) were dedicated. Their worship represents a "palace act" just like the great sacred ceremonies "The Ritual of Ishtar" or "The Ritual of *Kispum*" of the time of Yasmah-Addu. They are spoken of in the texts found at the palace because they describe intrapalatial activities, and are addressed to Ishtar or to the Lady of the Palace and to her consort the sun god, who is distinguished from the "Sun of the Skies." These texts are taken up again with other unpublished material in *ARMT* 26/3.

**3. Letters.** The large amount of epistolary documents, the "prestigious" documents among the group of Mari texts and those that have, until now, (unfairly) received most of the attention, deal mostly with diplomatic and administrative activities, but the abundance of anecdotes and subjects dealing with everyday life makes this documentation irreplaceable.

Now that the census of senders has been compiled and the large epistolary files reconstructed, it is possible to establish enormous gaps in our documentation, which a priori we should have been able to suspect. These gaps are first and foremost the result of human initiative. It has long been known that after the fall of Mari, an inventory of the palace archives was taken by the conquerors and that the texts had been regrouped chronologically (since the labels dating from one year of Hammurabi speak of the "Tablets of the servants of Shamshî-Adad" and of the "Tablets of the servants of Zimri-Lim"). One can deduce that the archives were in the process of removal and that for whatever reason, this undertaking was not completed by the Babylonians. In fact, what was Hammurabi supposed to do with this huge amount of texts dealing with local administration? He should have looked systematically for others of more immediate interest to him. As a matter of fact, it is easy to note that from this point on, almost all the letters from the chancelleries of the great international capitals of the ANE are now missing (Qaṭna, Aleppo, Carchemish, Ekallâtum, Susa, Babylon, Eshnunna, and Larsa). Even if we imagine that there were periods of strained relations between Mari and other kingdoms such as Ekallâtum, Eshnunna, or Susa, we know (through quotations in some letters) the gist of the royal missives from these palaces and also that there were intense diplomatic relations through epistolary interchanges.

The most flagrant loss is the absence of practically all the letters of Hammurabi. While the kings of Mari and of Babylonia, up until the final confrontation, held common politics and alliances, all that remains from the Babylonian chancellery are some insignificant missives written to governors Meptûm, Bahdi-Lim, or Buqâqum, which were certainly forwarded to the palace "for informational purposes."

Practically all the texts from Qaṭna are from Išhi-Addu, king at the time of Shamshî-Adad. Missing are most of the letters sent from Aleppo, each of whose kings was very close to Zimri-Lim, being his father-in-law or brother-in-law. There are only some fragments or erratic texts that escaped the inventory of the enemies.

One can certainly wonder whether in fact the texts had been destroyed by Zimri-Lim himself or if they had been removed for safekeeping when the Babylonian troops were threatening Mari. The second hypothesis is supported by the discovery that confiscated correspondence was put into archives in the royal palace of Mari by the scribes of Zimri-Lim himself; either they were intercepted on the roads, or more likely they were brought out from the chancelleries of conquered kings. If one puts aside the documents manifestly communicated to the king of Mari through loyalty (like the circulating letter that the Sukkalmah of Elam sent "to all the kings of Subartu" that he wanted to impress), we are aware of two particularly spectacular examples of this fact.

The letters exchanged between the diviners of Mišlân and Prince Sûmû-Dâbî at the time of the great rebellion of the Benjaminite kings were archived (published in *ARMT* 16). We also have several compromising letters sent to the kings W of Ida-Maraṣ. Thus there is one from the king of Ashnakkum, Ishme-Addu, at the time of the Elamite invasion in ZL year 9. One of these documents was published a long time ago as *ARM* 4:20, but it was attributed to the correspondence of Yasmah-Addu of Mari and Ishme-Dagan of Ekallâtum. On the other hand, we have some missives addressed to the king Ibâl-Addu,

around ZL year 11, which must have been confiscated in the chancellery of Ashlakkâ after his fall. It is possible that the correspondence of Ishme-Addu was found in the chancellery of Ashlakkâ.

One cannot consider that the correspondence with the principal kings was placed elsewhere than at the royal palace, in a temple, for example, because it is among the documents from the palace that the correspondence between Zimri-Lim and his vassals from Ida-Maraṣ was found—those kings who call him "Father" or "Lord" (i.e., the various kings of Ashlakkâ, Ashnakkum, Ilân-ṣurâ, Kahât, and Razamâ, to mention the most important ones)—as well as correspondence that comes from the great kingdoms of south Sinjar—those kings who address Zimri-Lim as "Brother" (i.e., the kings of Kurda, Andarik, Qatarâ, or Karanâ). Similarly, we have found letters at the palace from kings farther away, whose kingdoms were beyond the Tigris, like the princes of the Turukkians and of Habiru, or on this side of the river, like that of Mardamân. These documents date from the beginnings of the reign. We must thus resign ourselves to having no more than a partial vision of the external politics of Mari, and it is especially the governors and generals, those who are "on a mission," who inform us about the great events. The royal documents that would have been able to give us firsthand information are missing.

Similarly missing are the "duplicates" (*meher ṭuppim*) of letters sent by the royal chancellery (letters of which a copy was kept in order to be able to quote *verbatim* a proposition or stipulation, as was the custom at that time). Even though we still have several documents of this type for the reign of Yasmah-Addu, whose politics were not really of much concern to the Babylonians, these texts for the reign of Zimri-Lim (that we know once existed) are missing. It is likely that all these tablets were systematically removed by someone curious to know "the seamy side of life." The diplomatic life is indeed under the sign of strict respect to the sworn oath and the divine curse, going all the way to the annihilation of the perjurer. Undoubtedly the savage sacking of Mari after its fall, which was neither the custom of the time nor that of the victorious King Hammurabi, received justification following the scrutiny of the royal archives. Moreover, we know (even if we do not understand all the details) that at the final end of Mari, its king, breaking the ancient alliances with Babylon, had tried a rapprochement with that country's traditional (almost ancestral) enemy, Eshnunna. This city was destroyed at the same time as Mari, although it was, like Mari, one of the millennial powers of the ANE.

**4. Treaties.** It is not surprising that all of the international treaties that we know to have existed and that we should be able to find in great quantity (seeing the various attestations and quotations that we read from the correspondence) are missing from the roll. If we count the existing documents it is easy to see that only very little remains.

A treaty project between Mari and Babylon against Elam belonging to a genre called "small tablet" was reconstructed from two fragments (Durand 1986). This is a working document from which the "large tablet" must have been written, an official document with curses against the offender and perhaps with imprints of the royal seal.

A large treaty between Zimri-Lim and Ibâl-pî-el II of Eshnunna (established in ZL year 4) remains, but it is savagely mutilated; either the Babylonians broke it intentionally at the time of the pillage, or the people of Mari themselves did it at the time of the rupture between the two kingdoms in ZL year 2. This latter view is undoubtedly the best because a mutilation at the time of the destruction of the city should still allow us to find the missing fragments.

Another version remains of the same text, but it is shorter and very mutilated. A "small tablet" concerning Atamrum, king of Andarik, is also preserved, as is the text (in the Hanean language [Amorite]) of a *mišpaṭum* between two rival towns of Ida-Maraṣ, both subject to Zimri-Lim.

It is significant that one no longer finds a single treaty made with the vassals of Ida-Maraṣ, whose letters are abundant. It is possible that Hammurabi took away these texts that sanctioned everlasting obedience to Zimri-Lim by the princes that Hammurabi now wanted to attach to himself, or perhaps the royal administrators at the last minute had been able to hide these treaties for safekeeping.

**5. Other Types of Texts. a. Literary Texts.** There are a few other types of texts in the Mari palace, but what we would consider "literary texts" in the proper sense are totally absent. This is not to say that such texts did not exist at Mari. One letter tells us about the myth of the battle between the storm god and the

sea, which is later recounted in texts from Ugarit. Two other letters make direct reference to the creation of man, or to a divine mission given to a human. Quotations from proverbs and wisdom literature are indeed plentiful. Thus it must be considered that the king's residence did not normally welcome this type of writing. The king did not intend to have a literary library. The tablets that contained such texts were at home among individuals whose trade was to read, write, and compose, perhaps in the private homes of the diviners (that we have not found). The few fragments of syllabaries found at Mari were in the small E palace, the temporary residence of the diviner Asqudum. The large palace has only yielded one syllabary of the TU-TA-TI type.

Two exceptional texts have been found at Mari which could possibly fall under the rubric of "literary." The first is the large "Epic Poem of Zimri-Lim," almost entirely preserved, of more than 100 lines, which sings the praise of the king and culminates in his entrance into the Temple of Dagan at Terqa at the end of the Benjaminite rebellion (cf. *AEM* 2). This is more a work by a lettered courtier than a gratuitous literary composition. It could have served as a composition destined to attract the good graces of the king. This work could also have served as a basis for a report on recent military events, made to the god Dagan of Terqa. The other text is a large bilingual letter, written in Sumerian and Akkadian and addressed to the king. It was written by a disgraced scribe who had his heart set on proving to his master his worth and abilities and thus seems to be a work of court flattery.

**b. Ritual and Omen Texts.** We have already seen above that the two great rituals which were found at Mari concerned palace events. Some fragments of bilingual psalms (Sumerian/phonetic Babylonian) must be added; maybe these were used, like several incantation tablets concerning the "dog bite," for prophylactic purposes. Perhaps, due to the dominant role that Asqudum played in the royal administration, we should have found among the documents from the palace a fragment of astrological omens and some pieces of hepatoscopic texts. These latter ones are attested to, however, by several quotations of primary clauses in the letters rather than through a library of textbooks.

Finally, all of these texts are more shreds of "utilitarian" and "technical" libraries (purification and divination) than proof that the king of Mari was a "clever scholar." However, it is permissible to wonder whether they were more numerous at a given moment and if what is missing was not made part of the booty of the conqueror. In fact, the hepatoscopic technique of Mari had its own specific characteristics and this practice supported those that were particular to Babylonia.

All of these texts are "royal" insofar as they concern the exercise of royal power in the highest degree. It is in this category, therefore, that the texts of "Protocols" will naturally fall; they represent oaths taken to the king by certain types of servants, and they also prefigure the "court edicts" several centuries before the Middle Assyrian or Hittite period, and the literature of the *adê*, more than a thousand years before the Neo-Assyrian Empire.

**6. Texts from Other Periods.** The texts that we have spoken about are those that compose the majority of tablets, dating from the 20 years covering the end of Yasmah-Addu and the reign of Zimri-Lim. Some texts from other periods exist, but in a much more limited number.

**a. Earliest Texts.** For example, some tablets come from the period prior to Sargon of Akkad (more or less contemporaneous with Ebla): about 50 such documents were published by Charpin (1987). The editor noticed that they were not all contemporary one with another and that they represented disparate archives. Judging from the great political importance of Mari at the time and from the state of preservation of the pre-Sargonic palace, it is likely that we will one day have, if not the ensemble of these archives, at least a most important census. At this time, the tablets should occupy only one extremely restricted zone: two or three rooms at the most, if they were not dispersed in antiquity at one time or another.

The actual time of Akkad is represented by only two or three documents, still unpublished. The UR III period is limited to two tablets, one of which may be a document from Tello, recently misplaced and confused with the exhumed tablets at Tell Hariri.

**b. The *Šakkanakku* Texts.** The documents called (by a misuse of the term) "šakkanakkus tablets" (*ARM* 19) in reality are documents immediately prior to the adoption of the writing method (phonetic values and paleography) known as "classic Babylonian" (see Durand 1985). The most recent of these

texts does indeed date from the reign of Yahdun-Lim, who undoubtedly gave back to Mari its status as an international capital. Some of the documents from the period enable us to examine in detail the exceptional time that represents a change in the standard of written notation, a true "reformation of writing." One can establish that in agreement with Mesopotamian standards, this change bears a fourfold aspect, concerning not only the paleography of signs, but also their system of symbols, the format of documents, and the choice of written dialect. These documents are therefore naturally taken up again in comparison with the texts of Yahdun-Lim which give us the key in *AAM* 2.

**B. Arrangement of the Texts in the Palace**

How were the texts of the 2d millennium arranged in the palace? Above, we considered the disorder found in the archivage of the finds at the time of the hurried digging that exhumed the documents. These texts, roughly arranged by room numbers, only received an inventory number for a short time.

One point can be henceforth established: the scribes of Zimri-Lim considered the epistolary documents of the officials of Yasmah-Addu and those of the new king's servants to be archivable for the same reason. Moreover, in many cases, the administrators served these two masters with the same efficiency and devotion. By contrast, the administrative documents of the reign of Yasmah-Addu had been thrown out and were rediscovered, for the most part, in the berms or the foundations.

The entire documentation from the reigns of Yahdun-Lim and Sûmû-Yamam, by contrast, was considered to be "dead archives." When the excavations of A. Parrot unearthed some of them, it should be noted that the workers who were excavating had crossed (intentionally or not) the ground from the period of Yasmah-Addu or Zimri-Lim. That explains the rarity of these texts and the almost complete absence of the diplomatic correspondence of these kings, while the recent excavations, taking down the recent structures, are discovering some underground. This supports the conclusion that the royal palace was unoccupied for several years after Mari fell into the hands of the dynasty of Upper Mesopotamia. We know that following this there was important work done in the royal palace to put it back in order when Yasmah-Addu came to settle there, a little while before marrying a princess from Qaṭna. At this time, one should have systematically made a "clean sweep" of a past which was not at all to be reclaimed.

At present, in spite of everything, one can still have a general (if not a precise) idea of the ancient arrangement. The bulk of the (nonfeminine) correspondence was found at room 115; the major part of the administrative texts, at room 102. See Fig. ART.05. There were, in fact, several archivage areas of the administrative texts. It is possible to identify various "administrative reception areas" made up of rooms at the entrances of different areas of the palace (Durand 1987b).

**C. Importance of the Mari Texts**

All of these discoveries lead us to affirm the political value of writing in this period. We have proof of it thanks to the written documentation of Mari. Before this we only knew about the acquisitions or confiscations of tablets dealing with religion and magic in Babylonia or Assyria at the time of the assembling of the "library of Nineveh" or about the pillage of prestigious artistic documents, like the Code of Hammurabi or the Babylonian Kudurru brought by the Elamites to the acropolis of Susa. It is hoped that all of these missing Mari documents (which are so important) will someday be found in their probable places of exile. If they still exist, one must imagine them to be in the palace of Hammurabi of Babylon.

Therefore, the large amount of "letters" found at Mari consists of those sent by the king's servants. Several categories must be distinguished. Concerning the administrators, a distinction must be made between those that inform us about their local functions, exercising the duty assigned to them by the king (this is the majority, spanning quite a large period of time and often with vague internal chronology) and those administrators who are on an extraordinary mission (dealing with punctual transactions and serving as a basis for our relative chronology).

Among those who write from the place where they govern, the first rank is held by the members of the central administration, those who were among the top ministers. However, they are by far the least interesting. Their proximity to the king means that there is little information left from them; we only have letters written by them when they were on an outside mission or when the king was absent and they sent

tablets to him to keep him up to date. Since these last letters were found at Mari and were obviously originals, we must deduce that the secretaries of the displaced king were carefully keeping these documents and were bringing them back with them to the palace when the king returned. Limiting ourselves to the time of Zimri-Lim, these high-ranking personages were Bannum, Asqudum, Sammêtar, Habdu-Malik, and Šunuhra-Halû. This last one held a special position: since it was he who apparently read the letters addressed to the king, letter writers often took care to send him a short personal note of explanation along with a gift so that the letter would be read to the king with goodwill. We have preserved almost all of these letters addressed to this important individual.

Several civil officials of high rank left important pieces of documentation: we refer to the *šandabakku* (accountant-archivist) Yasîm-Sûmû (*ARMT* 13) or Ṣidqi-Epuh. A special place is also held by the superintendent (*šatammum*) Mukannishum whose letters are an inexhaustible mine of information (*ARMT* 13 and *ARM* 18).

The correspondence from the governors, therefore, is the heart of our documentation. They had varying titles:

1. *šâpiṭum.* This title was used when the district was directly attached to the crown. Limiting ourselves only to the reign of Zimri-Lim and to the best-documented person, this applies to (a) the governors of Mari (Iṭ'r-Asdŭ and Bahdi-Lim), which clearly demonstrates the separation of the district governor from the royal palace itself; (b) the governors of Terqa (Sammêtar and Kibri-Dagan); (c) the governors of Saggarâtum/Dûr-Yahdun-Lim (Sûmû-Hadum, Sumhu-rabi, and Yaqqim-Addu); and (d) the governors of Qaṭna (Zimri-Addu and Zakura-Hammu). This exceptional documentation understandably received the most immediate attention and gave rise to some fundamental publications: *ARM* 3, 6, 13 (in part), and 14. Others will soon be available, such as the one concerning the governors of Qaṭna (*ARMT* 20).

2. *hazzânnum.* This title applied to a military official of a district. The clearest example is that of Tuttul, Lânasûm, whose correspondence is published in *ARMT* 26/1 and *AEM* 2.

3. *merhûm.* This was an authority who supervised people engaged in transhumance. During the reign of Zimri-Lim, this was associated with Ibâl-pî-El and Ibêl-El, in charge of the Haneans in Ida-Maraṣ, and especially with the character Meptûm in the south. The correspondence of Ibal-El, which informs us firsthand about the NW border, must be dealt with ever since the publication of *AEM* 2; the correspondence of Meptûm, which talks about the SE border, concerns relations with Eshnunna and Babylon. It is in this correspondence that the most direct information on the end of Mari can be found.

For some of these officials, especially those whose power is military (like Yamṣûm of Ilan-ṣura or Itûr-Asdû of Ashlakkâ), it is difficult to know their title. They seem to have had a very important informative role and they have left us a large corpus of letters. The letters from Yamṣûm (*ARMT* 26/2) reveal more about the events of Ilan-surạ than those from the local king, Hâya-Sûmû, who evidently did not want to tell everything about his own deeds and actions, especially when he was pursuing interests different from those of his suzerain and father-in-law.

4. *sugâgum.* This title applied to the sheikhs who represented various local authorities officially recognized by the king. The vassals of the Mari king (*šaknum* or *šarrum*) are only particular examples of those whose power received more special recognition. They can sometimes take the appearance of a military governor, such as Hammân of Dêr (in part *ARMT* 26/1). Their correspondence is all the more intense as their problems increase in size. They are not bound to a duty of relaying such precise information as the so-called officials from Mari. In addition, they only write in a time of crisis, as when Hammân is threatened by the Benjaminites and the kings of Zalmaqqum (Harrân).

A special place is held by the correspondence of the Benjaminite kings. Two categories must be distinguished: the kings before the rebellion (Hardûm, Yaggîh-Addu, and especially Sûmû-Dâbî) and those who settled at the end of ZL year 3 and at the beginning of ZL year 4 (Dâdî-Hadûn, Hammî-istamar, etc.). The Benjaminite kings practiced transhumance between the kingdom of Mari and the regions to the W, toward Yamhad to the N, going up the course of the Euphrates; toward Amurru to the S, and beyond the kingdom of Qaṭna to the shores of the Mediterranean. Certain letters are the fundamental documents

for understanding the spirit of the time. Their letters, insofar as they deal with events between the accession of Zimri-Lim and the end of ZL year 4 are edited in part in *AEM* 2.

Some files of extreme importance are composed of fairly numerous letters from officials of Mari on various missions. Their interest lies in that they are regrouped according to time and give us concentrated information about a specific region at a particular time. There are various types of missions:

1. Military: ZL years 11–12 (Ibâl-pî-El in Babylonia [in part *ARMT* 26/1–2]); ZL year 10 (Zimri-Addu from Larsa [ARM 20]); ZL year 11 (Yasîm-El, Iddiyatum, or Habdu-Malik, from the NW border against Ishme-Dagan of Ekallâtum [*ARMT* 26/2]);
2. Civil: ZL years 1 and 2 (Asqudum and Rishiya, from Aleppo: matrimonial mission); ZL year *X* (contribution of the *âlum* to the god Adad of Aleppo [ARMT 26/1]);
3. Diplomatic: ZL year 2 (Dâriš-lîbûr, from Aleppo: at the time of the first rebellion of the Benjaminite chiefs [ARMT 26/3]); ZL year 4 (Sammêtar, at the end of the war with Eshnunna, when he is going to put the affairs of the east of the Jezira in order [AEM 2]);
4. Economic: ZL years 10 and 11 (Šunuhra-Halû, Dâriš-lîbûr, and Ṣidqi-Epuh, from Aleppo, at the time of the colonization of Alahtum [ARMT 26/3]).

A special place must be reserved for the numerous letters of Nûr-Sîn, from Alahtum, between ZL years 10 and 12, when the king of Mari bought a province in the kingdom of Aleppo in order to obtain certain products that he was lacking. This particularly spectacular file informs us not only about the economy, but also about the religion of the large western kingdom (ARMT 26/3).

Among the royal servants, the diviners hold an important position due to their "informant duty." Not only do they give us information concerning "live" hepatoscopy, as seen by practioners, but they are the source of a wealth of information concerning geography and military and political events, about which they questioned the deities (ARMT 26/1).

The harem archives had kept an important number of letters making up the feminine correspondence. This famous group of texts, the subject of countless studies since its publication (as *ARM* 10), talk especially about the administration of the palace or about religious subjects, the queens (for the same reason as the governors) themselves transcribing the substance of prophetic oracles that they had been informed of. The prophetic documents are taken up again in *ARMT* 26/1. Numerous texts emanating from the women still remain unpublished.

Until now, these documents were published by the name of their sender. However, the events are related by several people at once and often it is only through the juxtaposition of different stories or the restoration of a broken document by another in better form that it is possible to reconstruct the tangled thread of stories narrated during the course of many days. In addition, it has now been decided to publish complementary historical files. Some examples of this were given in *ARMT* 26/2 and this undertaking must be pursued in *AEM* 2 by editing all the documents relevant to the Benjaminite rebellions.

From the viewpoint of oral history and politics, the documentation from Mari brings us information about a vast portion of the Near East over a period of 20 years. This period covers the final 6 years of Yasmah-Addu and the 14 years during which Zimri-Lim reigned. The archives of Mari enable us to write about nearly all of the history of the intended period and there is no region that is not documented, apart from Egypt.

Beyond the Jezira to the NE, a region not otherwise documented until the discovery of the first texts of Tell-Leilân (Shubat-Enlil), all the important cities are more or less mentioned. We have firsthand knowledge about Hazor, the country of Canaan, Byblos, Alashiya, Ruhizzi, the region of Damascus, Kadesh, Qaṭna, Nazalâ, Palmyra, Ugarît, the region of Alalakh, Aleppo, Carchemish, Ursûm, Harrân, Burŭshkhanda, Kanish, Hattusas, Ashur, Nineveh, Kalhu, Ekallâtum, Arrapha, Qabra, Eshnunna, Susa, Anshan, Dêr, Malgium, Babylon, Uruk, Maskan-Šapir, Larsa, even Dilmun. We learn of the succession of kings over several generations in many cities, the names of the deities, the order of worship, the formation of alliances, the manufacturing and production of local products; we also have an impressive onomastic and toponymic documentation. In particular, more than one place from the W regions of the Near East—

in the past documented solely at the time of Alalakh IV, from El Amarna, or from Ugarît—is now attested in these texts.

Finally, the interest of the Mari texts also lies in that they provide us with a host of details on the extremely diverse and complex area of everyday life. We actually see people live, pray, do business, fight, and plot, either succeeding or perishing. Few human aspects escape us. In particular, the female population or individuals who do not belong to the world of the palace (*muškênum*) are more clearly revealed to us, better than in contemporary Babylonia, and more so than at any other time in Mesopotamia (with the exception of the end of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, whose archives offer many analogies to those of Mari).

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**MARIAMME** (PERSON) [Gk *Mariammē* (Μαριαμμη)]. This well-known name, important in Jewish eyes because of its connection with Moses' sister Miriam, designated no fewer than six queens or

princesses in the house of Herod (see *HJP²*, 287–329 for a summary history). Given the ramifications of the Herodian Dynasty, an attempt is made here to demonstrate the position of each queen within it.

**1.** Mariamme I. The second wife of Herod the Great. Despite the impressive career of his father, Antipater, Herod was regarded by the Jewish aristocracy as a "common man" (*idiotes*). As an Idumaean, he could be termed a "half-Jew" (*hemiioudaios*, Jos. *Ant* 14 §403). His second wife, Mariamme, brought him the Hasmonaean connection he required (Jos. *JW* 1 §241). Her father was Alexander, son of Aristobulus II, the last Maccabean ruler before the Roman conquest. Her mother, Alexandra, was the daughter of Hyrcanus II. That made her a great-granddaughter of Alexander Jannaeus and Alexandra Salome, and a great-great-granddaughter of John Hyrcanus.

Mariamme's father came into conflict with several Romans, from Pompey and Gabinius to Q. Metellus Scipio, who executed him in 49 B.C. (*Ant* 14 §125). Herod, on the other hand, achieved recognition by the Romans as king when he journeyed to Rome in 40 B.C. This did not yet give him possession of the land, and for three years he besieged Jerusalem, held by the Parthian protégé King Antigonus, Mariamme's uncle. In the spring of 37 B.C., Herod interrupted the siege to marry Mariamme, then returned with Roman assistance and took the city (*JW* 1 §§342–53). Conquest gave him possession, and the marriage lent "legitimacy" to his reign.

Mariamme bore him two daughters, Salampsio and Kypros, who married well and added six children to his growing line. One of them married King Agrippa I. Mariamme also bore two sons, Aristobulus and Alexander; the latter married the Cappadocian princess Glaphyra. Both sons sired important children, a total of seven, but both also later fell out with Herod and were executed by him.

Mariamme's brother and mother caused Herod some distress. The brother, Aristobulus III, became high priest upon Herod's nomination, even though this was unlawful since an incumbent had to be removed. Mariamme, supported by her mother, Alexandra, urged Herod to this action. He complied, but soon afterward arranged to have the lad "accidentally" drowned in a pool at Jericho (*Ant* 15 §§31–41; 51–56). Alexandra disliked Herod even before the murder of her son, and more than once invoked the aid of Cleopatra and Antony against him. She ultimately tried to seize the fortified places in Jerusalem, but was thwarted by the loyalty of Herod's lieutenants. Herod ordered her executed (*Ant* 15 §§23–80; 247–52).

Mariamme was noted for her beauty and "greatness of soul" (*megalopsychia*). But even Josephus, who admired her, considered her unreasonable, quarrelsome, and dangerously outspoken. Herod, always violently jealous regarding her, finally believed charges that she was unfaithful and was plotting his death. He had her executed, probably in 29 B.C., but afterward suffered from deep remorse for this (*Ant* 15 §§218–46).

**2.** Mariamme II. Herod married a second woman of this name. She also had the reputation of great beauty, but being the daughter of a priest of Alexandrian family named Simon, her family was "not distinguished enough for close relationship" with Herod, and so marriage seemed out of the question. However, even though his desire for her was great, he realized that it would be unseemly for him to take her by force. An expedient solved the dilemma: Herod appointed Simon as high priest, even though he had to remove an incumbent (as he had reluctantly done in the case of the brother of Mariamme I (see above; *Ant* 15 §§320–23). Herod seems to have named one of the impressive towers of his Jerusalem palace after her. See MARIAMME (PLACE).

Together they had a son, also named Herod, who was esteemed so highly that he was designated second successor, after Antipater (Herod's son by his first wife, Doris (*JW* 1 §§563; 573). Antipater resented this infringement on his right to choose his own successor (*JW* 1 §588).

Mariamme II was later implicated in a plot against Herod, but Herod punished her son instead of her, deleting young Herod from his will (*JW* 1 §599). The younger Herod carried on the line, marrying Herodias, granddaughter of Herod the Great. The couple produced Salome, who married Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis (*Ant* 18 §136; *PW* 14: 158–61). Mariamme's fate seems not to be recorded.

**3.** Mariamme III. The wife of Herod's son Archelaus, who was set aside so that he could marry Glaphyra, the Cappodocian princess who previously had been married to Herod's son Alexander (*Ant* 17

§350; *JW* 2 §115). This created a scandal, since Jewish law forbade marriage to a brother's wife (*Ant* 17 §341). No progeny are recorded for her, on present evidence.

**4.** Mariamme IV. The daughter of Olympias (Herod's daughter by the Samaritan Malthace) and of Joseph (son of Herod's brother Joseph; *Ant* 18 §134). This distinguished lineage suited her for a marriage high in the Judean aristocracy, which she achieved. She is recorded as the first wife of Herod's grandson, Herod of Chalcis. They had a son, Aristobulus, who served as king of Armenia Minor under Nero (*JW* 2 §221; *ANRW* 2/8: 319–21).

**5.** Mariamme V. Herod's granddaughter. Josephus mentions her as one of the five children of Herod's son Aristobulus and of Bernice (daughter of Herod's sister Salome). When Herod executed Aristobulus about 7 B.C., his anger did not extend to the children. He was observed "caring for the orphans" in remorse over their father's execution. The orphans are described as "children" and this gives a rough idea of Mariamme's age at the time of her father's death (*Ant* 18 §134 refers to them "infants" [*nepious*]).

Herod betrothed Aristobulus' orphaned daughters to various members of the royal family. One daughter, the famous Herodias, married Herod's son by Mariamme II, and then subsequently married Herod Antipas. Another daughter went to an unnamed son of Antipater, Herod's son by Doris: presumably this daughter was Mariamme V. Her betrothal received an unexpected alteration. Antipater had grown alarmed at the preferential treatment accorded to his brothers' orphans, and requested that Herod give Mariamme not to his son but rather to *himself.* Herod agreed, and Mariamme married Antipater, but further traces of Mariamme are lacking (*JW* 1 §§552–567).

**6.** Mariamme VI. The daughter of Herod's grandson, King Agrippa I. Her mother was Kypros, daughter of Salampsio (Herod's daughter), and Phasael (Herod's nephew). These strong connections made her a desirable match. At the time of her father's death in A.D. 44, she was ten years old. He had already betrothed her to Julius Archelaus, and the marriage took place. They had a daughter, whom they named Bernice, possibly after Mariamme's sister, the famous Julia Bernice, whose career culminated in her charming the Roman emperor Vespasian and living for a time with the future emperor Titus "as if she were his wife" (Dio 66.15).

About A.D. 54, when she was twenty, Mariamme renounced her marriage with Archelaus and married an Alexandrian Jew, Demetrius. He held the office of alabarch there, probably connected with customs and taxation. Mariamme's sister Bernice married the son of another alabarch (*ANRW* 2/8: 299–305). As could be expected, Demetrius was "in the first rank for descent and wealth." The couple had a son to whom they gave the Roman name Agrippinus, a name that was not surprising given the increasingly close connections of Mariamme's family with Rome. Mariamme's brother, Agrippa II, in fact later joined Bernice in Rome. In the summer of A.D. 70, an attendant of Mariamme is mentioned taking part in the Jewish War. That appears to be the final mention of her (*JW* 2 §200; 5 §474; *Ant* 18 §§130–32; 19 §§354f.; 20 §§140 and 147).

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**MARIAMME** (PLACE) [Gk *Mariammē* (Μαριαμμη)]. The name of a tower in Herod's palace at Jerusalem, and several towns in ancient Syria-Palestine. The popularity of the name was heightened by the fact it was also the name of six women in the Herodian Dynasty. See MARIAMME (PERSON).

**1.** One of three "royal towers" built by Herod for his great palace in Jerusalem for members of his royal family. It was probably built to honor Mariamme II, since Josephus conjoins the building of the palace and his account of that marriage (*Ant* 15 §317–32). The other two towers were named Phasael and Hippicus (*JW* 2 §439).

These three towers are also described as "standing the highest of the towers" in the city. Since they were built on a hill, they commanded an even more spectacular view and were imposing to those standing below. The "Mariamme" tower reached some 90 feet high ("55 cubits"), with the bottom 33 feet or so

("20 cubits") built solid. The breadth was also about 33 feet. Its top stories were residential, and were by far more ornate than those in the other three towers (*JW* 5 §170).

Josephus mentions the "Mariamme" tower in connection with the Jewish War of ca. A.D. 66–70. After the war, when Jerusalem was being destroyed, the three towers were spared by Titus, who wished to leave them as a reminder to posterity of the former strength of Jerusalem (*JW* 7 §1–4). The "Tower of David," part of the "Jerusalem Citadel" still flanking the Jaffa Gate in Jerusalem, may incorporate in its lower courses portions of one of these three towers (Phasael?), although exact attributions vary. Portions of the other towers may be associated with the internal structure of the podium excavated in the courtyard of the citadel in 1968–69 (Amiran and Eitan 1975: 54; see also Höscher's contribution in *PW* 14: 1745–46).

**2.** Not surprisingly, given the building program of Herod and the prominence of the royal women named Mariamme, several places beyond Jerusalem bore that name. In Syria, S of Raphaneae (modern *Rafnije*), a Mariammia stood near the Eleutherus River, with settlement reaching back possibly to Alexander the Great. The local name Marjamin identifies the site even today. The location about halfway between the Mediterranean and the city of Emesa, perhaps in the territory of the Hylatae, would have made the city a strategic one for Herod. Its position just N of Lebanon led to its being described in antiquity both as "a city of Phoenicia" and as "a town of Syria" (*CIL* 12: 4899, calling it Mareammea). It belonged to the Roman province of Syria Secunda, and bishops from there are mentioned in A.D. 451, 458, 518, and 536. In this last year, one source mentions "the church in Mariamme."

In Phoenicia, a village of Mariamme is variously described as "one and one-half [Roman] miles outside Damascus" and as "outside Heliopolis." As Honigmann (*PW* 14: 1745–46) suggests, there may have been two such villages. Four other modern villages called *Marjamin,* one near Tyre (one on the Orontes, and two others more obscurely located) may bear witness to ancient foundations by the Herodian dynasty obsessed with the royal name Mariamme (Jones 1971: 267, 543 [Appendix IV, Table II]).

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**MARISA** (PLACE) [Gk *Marisa* (Μαρισα)]. See MARESHAH (PLACE).

**MARJAMAH, KHIRBET EL-** (M.R. 181155). Albright (1923) suggested identifying Tell Marjamah with the town of Ephraim (2 Sam 13:23). However, the identification with Baal-shalisha (2 Kgs 4:42) in the land of Shalisha (1 Sam 9:3–4) seems to be more convincing (Kallai 1972b).

The tell encompasses 8.5 acres, 450 m above sea level, and is situated on one of the NE ridges of Mount Baal-hazor sloping down into the wilderness of Ephraim. It is bounded on the E by Wadi Sî'h, on the S and SW by Wadi Sâmiyah, and on the NW by a small fault line separating the acropolis from the ridge ascending to the mountain. The junction of the two wadis forms a broad valley, Wadi 'Ussah (Nahal Yitav). This is the agricultural hinterland, watered by several strong springs of which 'Ein Sâmiyah is the strongest, and constitutes a part of the ancient road from Shiloh to the Jordan Valley. The steep slope forced the inhabitants of the site to build their town on terraces which can be seen clearly on the surface and gave the name to the tell (*rajama* = to heap up stones). Several ancient stone dressings cut into the exposed bedrock can be seen on the top of the tell. These include cup marks and steps leading to a small platform which could be a *bamah* (Albright 1923; Kallai 1972a). Nearby the remains of a massive apsidal tower were visible.

A. Mazar conducted excavations in 1975 and 1978 (Mazar 1977). On the northernmost edge of the tell overlooking 'Ein Sâmiyah, a section of the fortifications of the Iron Age II were exposed. (For an isometric drawing of the site, see Mazar 1982: 172.) They consisted of double walls leaning against each other, resulting in a total thickness of 4 m and built with large fieldstones. In several places a 3.5 m–thick retaining wall fit into the crevices of the slope to support this city wall from the outside. This wall continues southward. Inside the wall, parts of three small living quarters were exposed, which were built

directly on the sloping bedrock and against the wall. The abundant jugs, bowls, sieves, lamps, and hole-mouth jars all date to the 9th–8th century B.C.E.

Some 15 m to the N of this area are the remains of the apsidal tower, protecting the natural moat against attacks from the ridge to the NW. The base of the tower was built with large boulders and is 14.4 m wide; the outside, facing the moat, was rounded. The overall length of the tower is ca. 20 m, preserved to a height of 6.5 m. On the top were remains of two rooms. Other smaller rooms were found farther inside.

In 1979 and 1980 another sounding farther toward the E was conducted by M. Zohar (1980). Five squares, extending from the edge of the tell up to the first terrace, yielded a dark earth mixed with ashes, bones, and a large amount of typical 8th-century pottery similar to Mazar's excavations on the top. The outlines of a casemate wall could be traced and one casemate room was cleared, which contained a variety of storage jars (but no bowls) and some clear indications of the final destruction—Assyrian bronze and iron arrowheads.

Beneath the floor of this casemate appeared the top of a massive stone wall which is dated tentatively to the EB Age. Farther up the slope remains of domestic architecture of the Iron Age were exposed. In one square, an attempt was made to reach earlier strata: below the floors of the Iron Age house was a fill containing a mixture of Iron Age I and LB IIB pottery, beneath which was a layer with typical LB pottery. 3.2 m farther down was a beaten-earth floor with MB III/early LB I pottery. Below this level was a soft brown-black earth mixed with ashes, bones, and characteristic EB sherds. On the E slope of the tell, facing Wadi Sî'ah, a substantial wall built of cyclopic masonry was visible on the surface. A sounding in the room of one of the towers associated with this wall revealed that these fortifications were constructed in the MB II and were reused in the Iron Age.

It is still unclear when the area around 'Ein Sâmiyah and Tell Marjamah was initially settled. It can safely be assumed that the site was one of the well-fortified cities of the EB II. The total absence of Khirbet-Kerak ware might imply that the site was abandoned during EB III. In the 2d half of the 3d millennium and the first centuries of the 2d, the area around 'Ein Sâmiyah was obviously an important tribal center for a pastoral population. This is evident from the rich cemeteries of the MB I in the vicinity and the still unexplored settlement on Dhahr Mirzbâneh across Wadi Sî'ah (Lapp 1966; Dever 1972; 1975; Yeivin 1971a, b, c).

Tell Marjamah resisted reurbanization until the MB, when a fortified settlement was erected over the EB remains, probably during the 17th century B.C.E. During the LB, the town grew beyond the walls spreading to the lower parts of the mound and was apparently unfortified. Base Ring II sherds indicate a continued occupation during the 14th (and probably also into the 13th) century B.C.E. There is so far no evidence for a destruction layer sealing the Canaanite town, and the ceramic remains of the early Iron Age are scanty, only some collared rim jars and a few typical cooking pots. During the 9th and 8th centuries, however, a well-fortified and prosperous Israelite town (Baal-shalisha?) developed on the site. It was destroyed by the incursions of the Assyrians under Shalmaneser V in 722 or slightly later under Sargon when the kingdom of Israel was conquered and its inhabitants led into the Exile.

The site of Tell Marjamah remained essentially deserted thereafter, with only minimal evidence of occupation during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In Byzantine times a small church (14 by 10.5 m) and a vaulted water reservoir were built on the S edge of the tell, and the settlement moved to Khirbet Sâmiyah some 400 m down the valley.

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AMIHAY MAZAR
MATTANYAH ZOHAR

**MARK ANTONY** (PERSON). The principal ancient sources are Plutarch’s *Life of Antony,* Books 2–5 of Appian’s *Civil Wars,* and Books 41–53 of Cassius Dio’s *History of Rome.* Antony was born about 83 B.C. and followed the usual “public” career for a well-connected young aristocrat with military service in various areas. This included service under Caesar in Gaul in the late 50’s, following which he became one of Caesar’s most ardent supporters. He was one of the tribunes in 49 who fled to Caesar’s camp, providing him with the pretext to start the civil war with Pompey. During the period of Caesar’s dictatorship, Antony was given various responsibilities, which culminated in the holding of a consulship with Caesar in 44. After Caesar’s assassination, Antony assumed that he would succeed to Caesar’s power, but he found a new and unexpected rival in Octavian, Caesar’s grandnephew and adopted son, who secured senatorial support. Octavian soon turned against the senate and became reconciled with Antony, who had been joined by Lepidus, another of Caesar’s adherents. These three men then took over the government, being named “triumvirs to reconstitute the state” (*triumviri reipublicae constituendae*) for five years. Enemies of each were proscribed, and a series of political executions followed. In 42 the triumvirs crushed the republican party led by Brutus and Cassius at the battle of Philippi; following this Antony went to Asia, which he had received as his share of the Roman Empire to control. It was now that he began his liaison with Cleopatra.

Problems for Octavian were stirred up in Italy by Antony’s wife Fulvia and his brother, but the triumvirs were reconciled in 40 following Fulvia’s death, the agreement being cemented by Antony’s marriage to Octavian’s sister Octavia. In 39 Antony returned to his provinces in the East and began preparations for a campaign against the Parthians, returning to Italy in 37 for the renewal of the triumviral powers for another five years. Back in the East, Antony now associated himself entirely with Cleopatra, assuming the style of an Eastern monarch and sending Octavia back to her brother. He invaded Parthia unsuccessfully in 36, but was more successful in Armenia in 34, capturing its king and taking him back to Alexandria. Taking advantage of the alienation of opinion which Antony’s “oriental decadence” caused, Octavian now decided that it was time to move against his rival. The civil war culminated in a sea battle off Actium in western Greece on September 2, 31, in which Antony and Cleopatra were defeated. They fled to Alexandria, where Antony committed suicide in the following year when Octavian appeared before the city.

In his youth Antony had been violent and dissolute; later he proved to be a natural soldier, and his courage and generosity made him an acceptable leader to his troops. He was not without skill as a politician, but his temper and self-will sometimes led him into serious error.

BRUCE A. MARSHALL

**MARK, GOSPEL OF.** Mark is, along with Matthew and Luke, one of the Synoptic Gospels. It is found as the second book in the NT canon.

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A. Origin
1. Author
2. Date
3. Occasion for Writing
B. Purpose
1. Lack of Historical Interest

2. Theological Purpose
C. Structure and Literary Patterns
1. Intercalation
2. Grouping of Similar Materials: Parables
3. Public and Private Teaching
4. Passion Predictions
D. Christology
1. Son of God
2. Christ
3. Son of Man
4. King
E. Literary Structure
1. Jesus' Foreknowledge
2. Jesus' "Mighty Acts"
3. Irony
F. Form and Function

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**A. Origin**

Little is known about the origin, date, and authorship of this gospel. The earliest record we have of such data is in material cited by the Church historian Eusebius. In that account, Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.14–17) quotes Papias, who in his turn was quoting someone he, Papias, identified as "the elder." In that thirdhand account, we learn that Mark had been Peter's "interpreter," and that he had written down "accurately all that he remembered" although "not in order." Both phrases of that statement are important for an understanding of what Papias does, and does not, intend with his comments. In the first phrase, the Greek word translated as "interpreter" is *hermeneutes*, taken by some to imply that Peter spoke in another language than his hearers could understand. Yet in an earlier passage Mark had been identified in a similar context simply as Peter's "follower" (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.15.1), indicating that the word "interpreter" may be less technically intended than might first seem the case. Papias gives no hint that Mark needed to translate Peter's sermons from one language to another. The point seems to be that Mark was in a position to have accurate knowledge of Peter's understanding of the gospel. With respect to the second phrase, it is not clear what "order" is missing in Mark. Perhaps Papias (or the "Elder" he is quoting) meant Mark does not follow the order of another of the gospels, or that the order in Mark is not in accord with theological points the elder took to be important. In any case, "order" probably refers to some kind of arrangement of content, rather than to an accurate historical ordering of events. Papias may also imply here that Mark was following the order Peter gave in his preaching ("[Peter] used to give teaching as necessity demanded but not making, as it were, an arrangement of the Lord's oracles"; *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.15), thus excusing Mark from any intentional errors of arrangement of whatever sort in his gospel.

While this tradition sounds straightforward enough, there are several reasons why one probably ought not take it at face value. Perhaps most important in this regard is what Papias has to say about the gospel of Matthew, namely that "Matthew collected the oracles in the Hebrew language, and each interpreted them as best he could." The problem here is that there is no evidence that the gospel of Matthew we have was composed in any language but its present Greek. If Papias was not speaking of our present Matthew, then how do we know he was speaking of our present Mark? If he was speaking of the gospel according to Matthew, then he may have been as inaccurate about Mark as he was about Matthew. The attempt to rescue the accuracy of this statement by suggesting Papias may have intended to describe "Q," a document thought by many scholars to underlie parts of Matthew (and Luke), does not save us from the dilemma of his inaccurate language; if Papias said "Matthew" but meant one of Matthew's sources (i.e., the conjectured document "Q"), how can we assume that when he said "Mark" he meant that gospel?

**1. Author.** Contrary to Papias' claims, intensive study of the materials of which Mark is composed has convinced critical scholars that much of that material as it currently appears must have had a period of

oral circulation in the Greek language before it was included in the gospel, and that in addition it appears that some of the material in Mark was written down, perhaps even in rudimentary collections, before the writer incorporated it into his gospel. Perhaps most importantly, the gospel itself is anonymous; we receive no hint from its contents about its author. Had the author's identity been important for understanding the message, as was the case, for example, with the epistles of Paul, we would surely have been provided with the name in the gospel itself. Again, although tradition assigns the authorship to a man, there is no inherent reason why, given the gospel's own anonymity, it could not have been written by a woman, many of whom were prominent in the primitive Church (for the names of a few prominent women in only one of the churches Paul wrote to, see Romans 16:1, 3, 6, 12, 15). While we will follow the tradition, and will refer to the author in the masculine form, we will do so without prejudice to the real but unknown identity of the author.

With the falling away of any certainty that the author was someone named "Mark" there also fall away all attempts to identify him more closely by assuming any mention of a "Mark" in the NT must necessarily refer to the author of the gospel, and hence, by piecing together these references, to emerge with a portrait of the author. On that basis, many have conjectured that "Mark" was the son of the woman in whose house the disciples often met (Acts 12:12) and was a companion of both Paul (Acts 13:5; cf. 15:37) and Peter (1 Peter 5:13). Although his desertion of Paul and Barnabas on one of their missionary journeys (Acts 13:13) led to a low estimate of him by Paul (Acts 15:37–39), Paul's subsequent reference to him (Col 4:10) implies there was a later reconciliation between them. That gives us what appears to be a detailed picture of the author of the gospel according to Mark, yet most of that "information" about him has been secured in a rather speculative way. Add to that the fact that Mark was one of the most popular names in the Hellenistic age among both Greek-speaking people (*Markos*) and Latin-speaking people (*Marcus*), and one can see how gratuitous it is to assume that the John Mark mentioned in Acts is necessarily the "Mark" to whom a later tradition assigned the authorship of the gospel.

If we cannot establish the identity of the author of Mark's gospel on the basis of such speculative combinations of disparate biblical references, however, we can determine some hints about him from the gospel itself. His confusion about Palestinian geography (the Greek of 7:31 shows the author assumes Sidon is south of Tyre, and that the Sea of Galilee is in the midst of the Decapolis, inaccurately in both cases) and his fluency in Greek make it likely he grew up in an area outside Palestine. His use of "Latinisms" (Greek words taken over from Latin, e.g., "centurion," [15:39], "legion" [5:9, 15], "denarius" [6:37; 12:15; 14:5]) was once thought to provide evidence which indicated that the origin of the gospel, or at least its author, was to be located in a Latin-speaking area of the Roman Empire, perhaps even Rome itself, but we now know that such Latinisms occur even in the Hebrew Talmud, indicating the prevalence of such "loan words" wherever Roman imperial power made itself felt.

Some have even found a covert self-reference to the author of the gospel in the account of the lad who fled naked during Jesus' arrest (14:51–52). Yet, even if it did refer to the author, it would still tell us relatively little about him. It is more likely, however, that this reference, like the one to Rufus and Alexander as the sons of the Simon of Cyrene who was pressed into service to carry Jesus' cross (15:21b), is to be understood as something Mark's congregation would have known about, but which would soon have been forgotten. (Matthew and Luke omit both items in their accounts, indicating that by the time they wrote, knowledge of both had been forgotten.)

The author's origin outside Aramaic-speaking Palestine is confirmed by the type of readers for whom he was writing. In the first place, the Aramaic words and phrases which Mark apparently found in his sources, and which he includes in his story, are without exception translated into Greek (*talitha cumi* in 5:41; *ephphatha* in 7:34; *eloi, eloi lama sabachthani* [this phrase seems to contain elements of Hebrew as well as Aramaic] in 15:34). In the second place, the Jewish customs to which Mark refers are explained (e.g., 7:2–4, although somewhat anachronistically). Both of these facts indicate that the intended readers of the gospel were also from an area outside the Aramaic-speaking regions of Palestine. Tradition has located that area in Rome, because of the traditional association with Peter, or in Alexandria, based on some remarks of Clement of Alexandria, a learned Christian of the 2d century, and either place is

possible. Antioch, the place where the Christian gospel was first proclaimed to non-Jews (Greeks: Acts 11:20–21; cf. chaps. 10–11 for an account of the first gentile convert), would be another possible location. Given the present state of our evidence, however, it is very difficult to determine with any accuracy which site is most likely to have been the place where "Mark" wrote his gospel.

**2. Date.** The time of the composition of the gospel is also a matter of some speculation. To ask the question of the time of composition is, in the first instance, immediately to raise the question of the order in which the Gospels were written. Prior to the 19th century, it was generally believed that Matthew was the first gospel to be written, followed by Luke and then Mark. This position has found its most energetic proponent among current scholars in William R. Farmer, who has argued for the priority of Matthew, most notably in his book *The Synoptic Problem.* The theory of Matthean priority is called the "Griesbach hypothesis," named for the 19th-century German scholar who first gave it a detailed formulation. Although some scholars have supported Farmer's position, among them B. Orchard (1977) and H. H. Stoldt (1980), Farmer has failed for the most part to convince the majority of NT scholars, who continue to find that the evidence points to the priority of Mark. Although there are some apparent "conflations" (a combination of two phrases, both of which are presumed earlier than their combination) in the present text of Mark in such places as 1:32 ("that evening, at sundown"; cf. Matt 8:16 "that evening"; Luke 4:40, "at sundown") or 10:46 (cf. Matt 20:29 and Luke 18:35; for others, see Longstaff 1977), it is possible that such conflations resulted from a later revision of Mark after Luke and Matthew had appeared. The evidence for Markan priority remains convincing to the majority of modern scholars: for example, the tendency of both Luke and Matthew to shorten and polish Mark's stories (e.g., Luke 5:29 eliminates the ambiguity from the story in Mark 2:13–15 concerning in whose house the meal was held; Matt 17:13 eliminates a potential confusion about the subject of Jesus' conversation in Mark 9:11–13; Matt 8:28–34 and Luke 8:26–39 both condense and clarify Mark 5:1–20, but in different ways) and to eliminate many of the rough transitions in Mark's narrative. In addition, both Matthew and Luke possess two accounts of some sayings of Jesus, one of which is close to the form of the saying as found in Mark, and one of which is not, although its form in both Matthew and Luke is very close (e.g., Mark 4:25, Matt 13:12 and Luke 8:18 as one set; Matt 25:29 and Luke 19:26 as another). Such "doublets" look very much as though the authors of Matthew and Luke had a source of Jesus' sayings in addition to Mark which they used (scholars refer to it as the "Q" document); by including the similar saying from both sources, they produced the "doublets" we now find in Matthew and Luke, but not in Mark.

Scholars therefore find it easier to understand how the authors of Matthew and Luke, independently of one another, undertook to improve Mark's narrative, and supplement it on the basis of additional traditions (e.g., "Q," traditions about Jesus' birth and resurrection), than to understand why the author of Mark, possessing both Matthew and Luke, would rewrite some stories, making them less clear and less grammatically polished, and eliminate some other key materials from his own gospel which he would have found in the other two.

In determining the date of Mark, therefore, most modern scholars will assume that Mark was the first of the gospels to be written, and that hence it must obviously be dated earlier than either Luke or Matthew, who included among their sources (cf. Luke 1:1) a form of Mark very close to the one we have. References to the gospels in writings of the Church Fathers make it unlikely that any of the Synoptic Gospels could have been written much later than the middle of the 2d century; their evidence makes it more likely they were written at the latest near the turn of the 1st century. The destruction of the temple in Jerusalem in 70 C.E. would be useful in dating Mark if we could be certain there are direct references to it in any of the gospels. References to it in Matthew and Luke but not in Mark would be an indication Mark was composed prior to that date, and Matthew and Luke after it. Some have found references to the fall of Jerusalem in Matt 22:7 or Luke 19:43, neither of which has any parallel in Mark. Mark 13 does have references to the destruction of Jerusalem which some have seen as an indication Mark was writing around the time of its destruction in 70 C.E., but those references are cast in the future, and are indefinite in detail (e.g., 13:2; cf. 14:58; 15:29). Those who date it earlier, e.g., 64 C.E., do so on the basis of Papias' association of Mark with Peter, and the further assumption that Mark would have written his gospel

shortly after Peter's death, in its turn assumed to have occurred during Nero's local persecution of Christians in that year. We have already found reason to question the data from Papias, so a date around 70 C.E. is probably as good a one as any.

**3. Occasion for Writing.** If more exact knowledge of the circumstances of the writing of the gospel remains elusive, several decades of intense study of the gospel of Mark allow us to draw a number of conclusions about the kind of problems the author sought to solve by composing this gospel, the kind of traditions he had from which to draw, and the methods he used in composing his story of the career of the adult Jesus of Nazareth.

It is evident from other NT materials that predate the gospels, notably the Pauline letters, that individual traditions about sayings and deeds of Jesus circulated apart from their present gospel contexts. Paul quoted a saying of Jesus about marriage and divorce (1 Cor 7:10, 11b) which, while close to the Markan saying in 10:11–12, differs enough to make it clear that it circulated independently of the form Mark gave it in his gospel (for further instances, cf. 1 Cor 9:14 with Matt 10:10b; Gal 5:14 [see also Rom 13:8–10] with Matt 22:37–39). Luke also preserves a saying of Jesus in Acts 20:35 unknown in any of the gospels. Paul further records appearances of the risen Jesus (1 Cor 15:3–7) which differ significantly from the accounts in the gospels, indicating their independent origin. Paul also preserves an account of the origin of the Eucharist (1 Cor 11:23–26) similar to but in small ways different from the accounts in the gospels. Such evidence makes it clear that Paul did not get his material from the gospels we know, and it also means that that material circulated as individual accounts of sayings and events before they were incorporated into a narrative framework.

If independent traditions provided early missionaries such as Paul with information about Jesus which they could use in their proclamation of the Christian faith, some events must have occurred which made it apparent that those individual traditions were no longer adequate for such tasks. Again, we have hints in Paul of some such events. For example, although the Corinthians had been told about the origin of the Eucharist (1 Cor 11:23), that obviously did not keep them from turning it into a travesty of what it was supposed to be (cf. 1 Cor 11:17–22). Knowledge of that isolated tradition proved less than adequate in that situation.

Similar problems relating to individual accounts of certain events and sayings of Jesus are reflected in other places in the NT as well. For example, as Mark makes clear in his gospel account, Jesus worked many mighty acts ("miracles"), of which Mark tells only a sample (cf. Mark 3:10; 6:56). As such accounts were told and retold, there was a danger that Jesus would be identified as a magician, whose own name could be used in conjuring spells (that happened, as Mark 9:38 makes clear; in the account in Acts 19:13–16 it backfired on those who tried it). There was the further danger that other magicians would try to purchase rights to such "tricks" from the followers of Jesus (for an example, see Acts 8:9–19). The problem was therefore not that people would not know how to identify Jesus as one who performed mighty acts, but that they would know only too well how to identify him, namely, as another of the many traveling magicians that roamed the Hellenistic world.

Again, preachers recounting the wise sayings of Jesus ran the risk that those who heard such reports would categorize Jesus as another of the philosophers who also roamed the Hellenistic world, dispensing wisdom in public and giving private instruction for a fee. Paul's preaching in Athens encountered such an attitude, where some Stoics and Epicurean philosophers thought they found in Paul a kindred spirit who was teaching the philosophical system of his master, Jesus (Acts 17:17–21). Again, the problem was not that people would not know what to make of Jesus on the basis of his teaching, but that they would know all too well what to make of him, namely, they would see him as another of the philosophers with whom they were so familiar.

Mark's solution to these problems was to incorporate the individual traditions of Jesus' mighty acts, his sayings, and the events of his life (e.g., the Eucharist) into a narrative that led inexorably to its climax on the cross. By devoting fully a third of his narrative to the last week of Jesus' life, spent in Jerusalem, Mark placed the whole account of Jesus under the rubric of his passion. In that way, Jesus' death and resurrection became the hermeneutical framework within which the sayings and deeds of Jesus were to be

understood. Only if one understood that the Jesus who did the mighty acts and spoke wisdom was the one who died on the cross, Mark intends to say, would one truly understand Jesus. To show that it was the same Jesus to whom the individual traditions referred, Mark in his narrative reproduced those earlier traditions faithfully, so that the readers of the narrative would recognize the familiar forms of those earlier traditions they had known. It is that characteristic of Mark that makes his narrative seem less polished than that of Matthew and Luke, but it was necessary if people who read the narrative were to be assured that this was the story of the Jesus with whom they were familiar, not a new and different person with that name.

The emphasis on the suffering of Jesus, as well as of those who follow him (e.g., Mark 8:34–37) may also point to the fact that the readers for whom the gospel was written were now in danger of such persecution, and needed to be told that such persecution did not mean their faith in Jesus as God's Savior had been misplaced. The advent of persecution would have been discouraging for those who became Christian under the kind of glowing proclamation of which we find examples in the letters of Paul (e.g., 1 Thess 4:16–17; 1 Cor 15:51–55). Such a "theology of glory" would be called severely into question if persecutions were to arise. Such persecutions were of course possible at any time in the Hellenistic world for those who held to a religion other than that of the community in which they lived. Yet so long as Christians were identified with the Jews, as they were, since at first all were Jews, they could safely hide behind the concessions Jews had gotten from various Roman emperors. For example, Jews were excused from normal patriotic duties so long as daily prayers were said for the Roman emperor in the temple in Jerusalem.

When it became apparent, however, that Christians were different from Jews, they could no longer avoid confrontation when they avoided participation in the normal Roman festivals which, as a matter of course, included worship of pagan deities. At that point, they would be open to charges of social disruption and political disloyalty. Price (1984) has made a careful study of what the imperial cult meant in terms of participation for the average Roman citizen outside Rome itself in the period following the reign of Augustus, and shows how hard it would have been to avoid participation in such public festivals.

Mark's emphasis on the fact that no one could understand Jesus prior to his suffering and death on the cross, not even his own disciples (see 6:51–52; 8:17; 9:9–10), and the emphasis that if the master suffered so must his followers (e.g., 8:34) may well have been intended to meet just such a situation in which a theology of glory was called severely into question.

A third emphasis in Mark, namely the assurance that one cannot calculate by historic events when the risen Christ would return in glory, found again and again in chap. 13, may have been designed to head off discouragement when the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem was not immediately followed by that return. Mark preserves traditions that Jesus had predicted the destruction of the temple (e.g., 13:2), a charge his opponents had used against him at his trial (14:58; 15:29; for a thorough investigation of this matter, see Juel 1977). If, as 13:2 suggests, Jesus coupled such a prediction with statements about the coming kingdom of God (as he does in the rest of chap. 13), then it would not be surprising if many assumed that with that destruction, Jesus would return and bring in God's reign with power. The danger was that when that did not occur, many would assume the substance of the Christian faith had also been shown to be false. To prevent such a conclusion, Mark was careful to include traditions pointing out that not historic events (cf. 13:7–8, 12–13, 22–23) but cosmic signs (24–25) would herald Jesus' return. Indeed, the impossibility of such calculation is emphasized by Jesus' statement that not even he knows the time the kingdom will come into power (13:32).

If that is in fact what underlies the present shape of chap. 13, it helps us in solving a problem we mentioned earlier, namely the date of Mark. The understanding of Mark 13 proposed above would argue for a date of composition sometime around the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E., probably when that destruction seemed inevitable but had not yet occurred, e.g., between 68 when Jerusalem was invested, and 70, when the city fell.

In sum, the anonymous author of Mark, faced with the problems we have discussed, which seem implied by the particular emphases of Mark's gospel, resolved them by collecting and setting down a

variety of traditions about Jesus which heretofore had circulated independently. The author of Mark put those traditions into a narrative controlled by the importance of Jesus' death and resurrection. It was the scholarly discipline called "form criticism" which made it possible to identify and isolate these originally independent units in Mark's narrative, and which therefore underlies the kind of solutions outlined above. The work of Bultmann (1963), Schmidt (1919), and Dibelius (1934) pioneered in this area.

**B. Purpose**

**1. Lack of Historical Interest.** Further careful study of the gospel of Mark confirmed the conclusion that when the author created his narrative in the way he did, he was more concerned to solve theological than historical problems, with the result that the gospel does not fit modern canons of historical accuracy. Study of the order of events as they occur in the gospel showed clearly enough that the author was not concerned with accuracy in the presentation of the itinerary of Jesus or in the chronology of his movements. For example, Mark uses an idiom (*eis to peran*) which means cross "from west to east" (cf. 10:1, where the force of *peran* is apparent from the context in which it is set) of two sea voyages in sequence with no intervening return, either by boat or on foot (4:35 and 5:1 for the first voyage; 5:21 for the second). Obviously, such a procedure is impossible. One simply cannot make two successive trips from west to east without returning, however that return be understood. Yet Mark has no mention of any return whatever. Again, in 6:45 he directs his disciples to take their boat to Bethsaida while he dismisses the crowds; in 6:53, with Jesus in the boat, they land at Gennesaret. Of course Jesus could have told the disciples of a change in plans when he got into the boat (v 51) or the wind could have blown them off course (v 48), but Mark's omission of such details indicates he was not interested in them when he composed his narrative.

The evidence for Mark's indifference to chronological accuracy is also attested in numerous places. If one limits oneself strictly to the chronological indications given in the narrative of Mark, for example, and does not supplement them from one's own imagination, one will note that all the events between 4:35 (evening) and 6:2 (a Sabbath, which began at sunset, i.e., 6 P.M.) will have taken place within a couple of hours, namely the time from late afternoon (the time indicated in 4:35) to the onset of the Sabbath with sunset (the next indication of time in 6:2), or at most within a 24-hour period, in either case a patent absurdity. Of course Mark did not mean that, but again, his lack of any specific notations of time which would make that clear shows this was not the kind of point about which he intended to be careful in constructing the narrative.

It was the dawning awareness of this fact that brought to an end the attempt to write lives of the "historical Jesus" based on the materials in the gospels purged of their supposedly later theological increments. The attempt to write such "lives" occupied gospel scholarship to a major extent both in Europe and American from the mid-19th to the early 20th century. It became clear that so much of the material necessary for such a "life" of the "historical Jesus" had to be provided by guesswork to fill in the gaps, however, that the course of such a "life" tended to reflect more the prejudices and presuppositions of the one making the guesses than it did the actual course of Jesus' life. Scholars have therefore concluded that based on the evidence we have, an accurate historical account of the life of Jesus cannot be reconstructed, whether on the basis of the material found in Mark alone, or on the basis of a combination of materials from all of the gospels.

Further study of the reasons for the order in which Mark placed his traditions, a study based on a method called "redaction history," led scholars to appreciate the theological subtlety with which this unknown author approached his task of constructing a narrative of the adult life of Jesus of Nazareth. The first redaction-historical work on Mark was published by Marxsen (1969). Norman Perrin (1969) gives a good account of this method of examining the gospel traditions, with a number of examples drawn from Mark's gospel, and Achtemeier (*Mark* Proclamation Commentary) gives a convenient summary of current methods of study and the conclusions about Mark such methods have made possible. An extensive bibliography of Markan studies has also been provided by Humphrey (1981).

**2. Theological Purpose.** The overall organization of the gospel of Mark, which indicates where Mark laid his priorities in his account of Jesus, must also be understood in theological terms. The following outline indicates how the structure of the narrative turns on points that bear such theological importance.

1. Jesus appears, preaching God's reign (1:1–3:6).
   A. John the Baptist appears; the story begins (1:1–8).
   B. Jesus introduced (1:9–15).
   C. Jesus' ministry begins; he chooses disciples (1:16–20).
   D. Jesus teaches and heals (1:21–45).
   E. Jesus rejected; conflict with religious authorities (2:1–3:6).
2. Jesus ministers in Galilee (3:7–6:6).
   A. Jesus designates 12 (3:7–19).
   B. Jesus designates true followers (3:20–35).
   C. Jesus teaches in parables (4:1–34).
   D. Jesus performs mighty acts (4:35–5:43).
   E. Jesus rejected; conflict with his own (6:1–6).
3. Jesus and the disciples under way (6:7–8:21).
   A. Jesus sends out 12; John is killed (6:7–29).
   B. Jesus feeds and heals (6:30–56).
   C. Jesus teaches about the Law (7:1–23).
   D. Jesus heals and feeds (7:24–8:10).
   E. Jesus misunderstood by disciples and Pharisees (8:11–21).
4. Jesus heals blind eyes; teachings on the life of discipleship (8:22–10:52).
   A. Jesus heals blind eyes (8:22–26).
   B. First Passion prediction and attendant events (8:27–9:29).
   C. Second Passion prediction and attendant events (9:30–10:31).
   D. Third Passion prediction and attendant events (10:32–45).
   E. Jesus heals blind eyes (10:46–52).
5. Jesus in Jerusalem (11:1–16:8).
   A. Jesus appears in the Temple (11:1–12:44).
   B. Jesus tells of final events (13:1–37).
   C. Jesus' final acts—failure of disciples (14:1–42).
   D. Jesus the king—failure of the authorities (14:43–15:47).
   E. Jesus is risen—failure of the women (16:1–8).

The last verses in the text of Mark (16:9–20) are included in some translations, but they do not appear in the earliest manuscripts. These verses are clearly an amalgam of traditions from the other three gospels which was appended to the gospel of Mark to provide it, like the others, with resurrection appearances. In the opinion of most modern scholars, the gospel ended originally with 16:8. Boomershine and Bartholomew (1981) have done a careful literary and stylistic study of Mark which also supports that point.

Careful consideration of the outline given above will indicate the care with which Mark has constructed his gospel. Parts 1, 2, and 3, for example, each end with opposition to Jesus. Again, parts 2, 3, and 4 each begin with some action involving the twelve disciples. Or again, part 1 begins with John the Baptist as precursor of Jesus in preaching, while part 3 begins with John as precursor of Jesus in death at the hands of political authorities. One will note also that part 4 is artfully arranged to show that while Jesus can cure physical blindness, the disciples persist in their spiritual blindness, and that segments C, D, and E of part 5 each display the failure of some group around Jesus. It is clear from such examples that Mark did more than simply construct a random arrangement of traditions linked, if at all, by catchwords or catchphrases, as some form-critical scholars had once argued. Rather, Mark in fact exercised considerable care in the way he arranged and juxtaposed the various traditions available to him.

A careful examination of some of the points from the outline we noted above will show in more detail some of the points the author was making by the shape he gave to the gospel. It will also show how the author makes those points, namely more by the juxtaposition of the traditions with which he had to work than by extensive, or even minimal, editorial comments. Markan editorial activity is pretty much limited to occasional framing of an account from his traditions in order to fit it into his narrative (e.g., 4:1–2; 6:30–33), to various summaries of Jesus' activities (e.g., 3:7–12; 6:54–56), and to summary statements of points he wants to make (e.g., 8:19–21).

**a. Opposition to Jesus.** In pursuing that more detailed examination, we can gain some insight into how Mark arranged his traditions to show growing opposition to Jesus (the conclusions of parts 1, 2, and 3) by examining the collection of materials which concludes part 1, namely 2:1–3:6. Even a cursory reading will show that Mark has done little to integrate these stories into a smoothly flowing narrative unit. The almost accidental character of the arrangement is shown when one compares the way Matthew and Luke made use of this material. Neither evangelist felt compelled to reproduce either Mark's order (Matthew uses three of the stories in one place and two in another), or the method by which he connected the traditions (Luke, as we saw above, removes the ambiguity about whose house was the locus of the feast following Levi's becoming a follower of Jesus). Even though Mark did not rework his traditions, or put them in any necessary order, but simply placed them side by side, he nevertheless prepared the way for the point he makes in the concluding verse (3:6), where the authorities plot Jesus' death. Any one of the little stories in this collection made it clear enough that Jesus was coming into conflict with religious authorities, a conflict which would, if allowed to proceed, inevitably lead to Jesus' condemnation by them. It is just that point that Mark has emphasized by placing five such stories one after another, and placing at the conclusion the reference to the violence against him contemplated by the Pharisees and the Herodians. That Mark makes that point less by comment than by position of traditions is typical of his way of constructing his gospel, as is his intimation this early in the gospel of the final fate of Jesus. It is just that point, as we saw, that Mark emphasized about Jesus by making it the concluding point of each of the first three major segments of his gospel.

**b. Role of the Disciples.** The second point noted above in relation to the structure of the gospel, namely the prominence of the disciples in the opening material of each of the first three major parts of the gospel, also shows the care with which Mark arranged his materials for the theological point he wished to make. The theme here considered, namely discipleship, is woven throughout the entire narrative, and a look at some of the ways that theme is dealt with will indicate the points Mark makes by his use of the traditions he had concerning the disciples.

The major theme in the treatment of the disciples is their inability to understand fully what Jesus intended by what he said and did during the period prior to his death and resurrection. This is displayed in exemplary fashion in the account of the transfiguration (9:2–8). The content of the event recorded here makes it unmistakable who Jesus is: he is to be associated in importance with Moses, the law-giver, and Elijah, who is by tradition the precursor of the Messiah (see 9:11–12). Indeed, God here identifies Jesus as his own son, with the additional command to the three disciples present (Peter, James, and John) to pay strict attention to what Jesus says. The further command that this event not be reported until after the resurrection (9:9) gives a clear indication that comprehension of the true nature and role of Jesus depends on that future rising of Jesus after his death on the cross.

Within that framework, Peter's confusion in v 6 is significant: in the midst of a visible display of Christ's heavenly glory, and in company with Moses and Elijah, Peter remains confused and fearful. That this is a Markan emphasis in this tradition is indicated by the fact that Luke's account of the same event omits Peter's fear (9:33), and Matthew in his account omits in addition Peter's confusion (17:4). The point here concerns less the character or mental acumen of Peter than it concerns Mark's understanding of the meaning of the career of Jesus. What is at issue is the point at which it becomes possible truly to understand who Jesus is and what he is about, and the answer implied here is that it is not possible prior to Jesus' death on the cross and his subsequent resurrection.

That same point appears in another episode involving Jesus and the disciples, namely the story of Jesus' appearing to the disciples in the midst of a stormy sea (6:45–52). The astonishment of the disciples is due less to their lack of mental acumen than to their sheer inability to understand at that point, as the final verse (52) makes clear: their incomprehension was due to the fact that "their hearts were hardened." Since in Semitic understanding, the heart was the seat of intellection, this statement concerns the disciples' inability to understand, not their inability to react emotionally. The passive form ("were hardened") is to be understood as the reverential passive, common among pious Jews who held that not only the name of the deity but even the word "God" was to be avoided where possible; the passive thus has the force here of "God hardened their hearts." This same point is made in an episode where Jesus again declares that comprehension has been withheld from them (8:17). In both cases, the disciples' incomprehension is something over which they have no control. For Mark, Jesus' fate is not determined by the mental acuity or its lack among his followers; rather his fate is in God's hands, and hence his suffering is inevitable.

The inevitability of that suffering is further emphasized in those passages where Jesus predicts to his disciples his impending fate in Jerusalem at the hands of the authorities (the Son of Man "must" suffer; 8:31). The repetition of that prediction (9:31; 10:33–34) emphasizes its certainty: Jesus' suffering in Jerusalem is not probable, it is inevitable. Yet even in the midst of such certainty, the incomprehension of the disciples remains uncompromised (9:32). The fourth major segment of the gospel (8:22–10:52) is shaped around the twin themes of the certainty of Jesus' impending suffering and the incomprehension of the disciples. The passage is bracketed by the two stories in Mark which concern the overcoming of blindness (8:22–26; 10:46–52), a device well known to ancient writers called an *inclusio,* whereby a part of a longer text was delimited through the repetition of some phrase or similar event. Taken in itself, the fact that the stories defining the unit deal with the healing of blindness implies the theme of the section: the blindness of the disciples.

The first passage about blindness overcome is followed by the confession of Peter that Jesus is the "Christ" (8:29). That confession, taken for itself, is in Mark's view correct; Mark shares the primitive Christian conception that Jesus is the one anointed by God ("Christ" is derived from Greek *chrio,* "anoint") to be his son and the savior of humankind. The problem lies not in the title as such, but in Peter's inability to include the dimension of suffering within his understanding of the task of God's anointed one, an inability which is identified as demonic (i.e., contrary to God's purposes; 8:32–33). This inability to understand the association of suffering with God's anointed one is not limited to Peter; it follows on each of the three predictions of the passion. In fact, it is part of a pattern that consists of a prediction by Jesus of his impending suffering (8:31; 9:31; 10:32–34); an account which reveals that one or more of the disciples have failed to comprehend that point (8:32–33; 9:32–34; 10:35–37); a further statement by Jesus on the nature of discipleship (8:34–38; 9:35–37; 10:38–45), and a tradition that indicates Jesus' exceptional nature (9:2–8; 9:38; 10:46–52). The remaining materials in this segment which fall outside that repeated pattern nevertheless also deal in one way or another with discipleship. Thus one of the five major segments of the gospel deals specifically with discipleship, and it is structured by a pattern of the disciples' lack of comprehension concerning what Jesus says about himself and about what following him, i.e., discipleship, means. Thus the point is reinforced that no one can understand, or follow, Jesus until after Jesus' suffering and resurrection.

The picture of failure on the part of the disciples is not limited to the early parts of the gospel, however. It continues in the account of Jesus' final hours with them. Here the inability of the disciples to comprehend takes the form of a vivid contrast between their expressed intentions and their actual deeds. In the setting of the final meal of Jesus with his disciples, for example, Jesus solemnly announces that one of them will betray him. Their response takes the form of each disciple individually asking Jesus "Is it I?" (14:17–19). Although the English can be ambiguous here—it could represent their dawning realization they were capable of such treachery—the Greek is expressed in such a way (*meti ego*) that the only answer the disciples will allow in response is "Of course not, don't be silly." Thus any hint of a self-probing on the part of the disciples is absent; each asserts that to think betrayal on his part is possible is to have a totally false view of him and his dedication. The same theme of the inability of the disciples to

imagine they could abandon Jesus is represented in the scene that follows, which is set on the Mount of Olives (14:27–31). Jesus again has predicted his betrayal and abandonment by the disciples, and again, led by Peter, each denies himself capable of such an act.

The events which follow make clear the extent of the gulf between what the disciples imagined their situation to be, and what it in fact was. In Gethsemane, with Jesus in agonizing prayer, the disciples sleep (14:32–41). When Jesus is arrested, in stark contrast to the repeated asseverations of loyalty, they flee (14:50), even though there are some there willing to risk armed confrontation (14:47; it was not until later tradition that this act was attributed to Peter [John 18:10]). Peter, who led the group of disciples in their protestations of loyalty to the door of death, is singled out for special treatment. His threefold betrayal of his master, the third time accompanied by an oath (14:66–72), may reflect Jesus' threefold prediction of his passion.

In ways such as this, Mark illustrates that the resolve, even the dedication and asserted loyalty of the disciples comes to grief when it is tested. This is not for the sake of a psychological profile of the disciples, or to demonstrate their unalleviated perfidy (for a contrary view, see Weeden 1971). Jesus' promise to meet them in Galilee (14:28), repeated by the figure at the empty tomb (16:7) shows clearly enough, as does the very preservation of materials only the disciples could have known, that they did regain their loyalty and confidence in the risen Jesus. Rather, the point Mark makes by means of the way he deals with the traditions concerning the disciples relates to their inability, prior to Jesus' death and resurrection, to understand him, something that, upon his death, even so unexpected a person as a Roman centurion could do and publicly announce (15:39).

By means of such an arrangement of the traditions about the disciples, Mark makes his point that the passion of Jesus is the interpretative key to his career and its meaning. Despite all Jesus had told them, despite their association with him and their seeing what he did, despite their repeated oaths of loyalty to him, they could not understand him, or act upon such an understanding, until after the events of Jesus' passion and resurrection, which in Mark's view climaxed Jesus' career.

**c. Role of John the Baptist.** In addition to the order in which Mark placed the traditions he had which concerned opposition to Jesus (2:1–3:5, with the climax at 3:6), and those which concerned the disciples (esp. 8:22–10:52), Mark makes his theological point by the way he arranged the materials about John the Baptist, the first character mentioned in the gospel. A consideration of that arrangement will further illustrate how Mark achieved his theological points, namely more through the arrangement of traditions than through overt editorial comment.

The very first verse of the gospel shows the importance Mark attached to the figure of John. That opening verse may be paraphrased: "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ was the appearance in the wilderness of John the Baptist, fulfilling the prophecy of Isaiah …" By beginning the story of Jesus in this way, Mark made it evident that one could not understand the significance of the total event of Jesus of Nazareth unless one also understood John the Baptist.

Part of that significance lay in the relationship of John's appearance to the tradition of the appearance of Elijah prior to the coming of the Messiah. John is described in 1:6, for example, in language that closely parallels a description of Elijah found in the LXX version of 2 Kings 1:8 (LXX 4 Kgdms 1:8). Again, according to another tradition, the hairy mantle was the sign of the true prophet (Zech 13:4; for a false prophet to wear such a mantle was a reprehensible attempt to deceive). Mark presents John as the long-awaited Elijah, a point that Jesus himself later affirms (Mark 9:13). By beginning the story of Jesus' Galilean ministry with John the Baptist, Mark announces his importance for understanding that mission, a point again confirmed by Jesus when he identifies the ability to understand the significance of John the Baptist with the ability to understand his own: to fail to understand the one necessarily leads to failure in understanding the other (11:27–33). Both Jesus and John share the same God-given authority.

Mark saw a further significance in John, however. Not only was John the precursor of Jesus in his preaching of repentance (cf. 1:4 with 1:15), he was also Jesus' precursor in his final fate. That point is made in the traditions that Mark assembled in 6:14–29. In one tradition (6:14–16), there is a discussion about the way in which Jesus was perceived by the public. Several possibilities are listed: Jesus is Elijah,

he is another of the prophets. The major identification, however, is with John the Baptist. That is the official view, since that is also the identification Herod makes (6:16). Immediately following that identification, Mark appends the story of the death of John the Baptist, giving it all the more importance by telling it out of its natural sequence. This is one of the very few places Mark uses the literary device of the "flashback," withholding the narration of an event until a more appropriate time for its telling. The rarity of that device focuses all the more attention on it when it is used here. Clearly, John's death is very important for Mark in the story of Jesus of Nazareth.

The point to be made here is that just as John was Jesus' forerunner in his life and his preaching, so was he his precursor in his death. Thus John brackets the story of Jesus: just as John's appearance signaled the importance of the coming of Jesus of Nazareth, so the final fate of Jesus is announced by John's own death. As John preached, so did Jesus; as John died, so will Jesus: at the hands of ambivalent civil authorities (cf. esp. 6:20 with 15:10, 14). In this connection, it is interesting to note that contrary to other, non-Markan traditions, John did not die for political crimes. Such a tradition was current in 1st-century Palestine, and it can be read in Josephus' account of the people of Israel (*Ant* 18.5.2). There John was executed because Herod feared him as a potential political revolutionary. That is not the case in Mark, however. In Mark's narrative, it is clear, John died because of the religious content of his message (6:17–18). Like Jesus who was to follow in that fate, John ran afoul of the authorities because of his attacks on their observance of the religious law of Israel, or lack of it.

All of that shows the importance Mark placed on the figure of John the Baptist, both for Jesus' career and for his death. By using the traditions he had about John the Baptist in that way, and by reserving the story of John's death for a rare flashback in the narrative, Mark shows again how he makes his points by the arrangement of his traditions. In this instance, Mark made clear that Jesus' death was a necessary, indeed inevitable, climax to his career, just as it had been for his forerunner.

**C. Structure and Literary Patterns**

We have now seen some examples of the way in which Mark has created his narrative by a careful positioning of traditions which, for the most part, he reproduced in their familiar form, adding a minimum of material to give coherence to the story. In the course of such an arrangement of traditions, Mark put them into certain repeated patterns of organization. One such pattern is the collection of similar stories into one place. We have already seen one example of that (2:1–3:5), and the pattern is repeated in other places as well (e.g., parables, 4:1–34; discussions, 11:27–12:34).

**1. Intercalation.** There is another characteristic arrangement of traditions Mark used when he wished to indicate that two stories are to be linked, and are thus to interpret one another: that was to bracket one tradition with another. Thus, for example, into an account of the cursing of a fig tree (11:12–14, 20–21) Mark has inserted ("intercalated") the account of the cleansing of the Temple (11:15–19), indicating in that way that the "cleansing" in fact amounted to a "cursing" of temple worship which would bring it to an end as surely as the cursing of the fig tree brought it to an end. Again, Mark inserted the story of the healing of a woman with a flow of blood (5:25–34) into a story of the raising to life of the dead daughter of Jairus (5:22–24; 35–43), in that way bringing into the story of Jairus' daughter the emphasis on faith contained in the story of the woman cured of her blood flow.

To see the subtlety with which Mark created his narrative, it will be useful to examine a longer passage which illustrates how Mark made use of these devices of intercalating and collecting in his efforts to make his point by the juxtaposing of his traditions. To do that, we will examine the materials contained in 3:20–4:34, a passage which contains disputes, sayings, parables, and even references to mighty acts.

The first unit of the text, comprising 3:20–35, displays the common Markan technique of intercalating or bracketing one tradition within another in order to aid in the interpretation of the combination thus created. In this instance, an account of disbelief on the part of the scribes in the benevolent nature of Jesus' demon exorcisms and Jesus' reply (3:22–30) has been bracketed by an account of the judgment on Jesus by his own family as a result of a report that has reached them concerning his activities (3:21, 31–35; v 20 is Mark's introduction, emphasizing the crowds around Jesus). In this instance, it appears that the material within the bracketing traditions aids the interpretation of those placed around it.

There is no question about the negative evaluation put on Jesus by the scribes. They accuse him of being able to do his exorcisms because he is in league with Satan, the prince of the demons. Hence, they imply, demons obey Jesus as they would obey Satan, whom Jesus serves. Jesus' response indicates such an accusation is illogical, since, were Jesus working by Satan's power, it would mean Satan was in rebellion against himself, and therefore was destroying his own power (vv 23–26; the assumption is that Satan extends his power through the demonic possession of human beings). The statement is more than illogical, however; it is also blasphemous, since to say that about Jesus is to attribute to God's enemy what God himself is doing, something here identified as the one unforgivable sin (thus Mark in v 30 interprets the saying of Jesus in vv 28–29). To attribute to Satan the power of God which is able to overcome Satan (the point of v 27: Satan has been overcome by Jesus, who by God's power is the stronger) is to cut oneself off from the one who alone is able to rescue one, through the forgiveness of sin, from the power of Satan.

It is around that negative, and false, judgment of Jesus that Mark has set the tradition of Jesus' questioning relatives (as 3:31 makes clear, they are Jesus' immediate family). In this context, it is clear that we are not to interpret the desire of his family to draw him away as innocuous. The bracketed tradition makes it clear that the family shares, in one way or another, the negative viewpoint of the scribes toward Jesus. Mark thus guards against an interpretation of the coming of Jesus' immediate family to bring him away as motivated by incipient belief or sympathy toward what Jesus was doing or teaching, as Luke does in his gospel (see Luke 8:19–21, in its context there). Here the context (the scribes' negative judgment) reinforces an impression from the material itself (3:31–35, Jesus' physical family contrasted with his true family), namely that at this point, Jesus' family was completely unsympathetic to what he was doing. Typically for Mark, the traditions thus arranged confirm the point made by the collection of stories in 2:1–3:6: opposition to Jesus is growing, and it now includes not only the religious authorities, but even his own family.

Of significance within the bracketing tradition is the contrast between those who are "outside" and those who are "around Jesus" (his immediate family is outside, v 32; his followers are around him, v 34, and hence are his true family). The reader of Mark's narrative had learned earlier the names of some of those who are "around Jesus" (the Twelve, 3:13–19), and here the reader learns about some of those who are on the "outside" (scribes, representing the religious authorities in Jerusalem; his own immediate family). Two groups are thus identified, each characterized by its reaction to Jesus: those who reject him, and those who associate themselves with him. Of further interest is the fact that the groups who oppose him comprise, at this stage, those who ought to know Jesus best (his own family), and those who ought to know the most about the God by whom Jesus was sent (religious authorities). Those who ought to be most supportive of Jesus are therefore, in Mark's gospel, precisely those from whom he has the most to fear. These traditions thus imply what Mark will make explicit in 6:4: Jesus is without honor "in his own country, and among his own kin, and in his own house." The ultimate fate of Jesus—his death on a cross—is already inevitable, a point Mark surely intends to make by this arrangement of traditions.

**2. Grouping of Similar Materials: Parables.** The next unit of the narrative, 4:1–20, begins with the characteristic Markan notice that Jesus was surrounded by a crowd (4:1; remarks about crowds, along with remarks about Jesus being engaged in teaching, and being near the sea, occur most frequently in material that introduces and connects what by every evidence were once independent traditions, and hence show themselves to be written by Mark). That puts the reader on notice that again, Mark is responsible for joining the following material to what preceded it, just as he had combined the two earlier traditions by bracketing the one with the other. We are thus clearly involved here with material that Mark himself has combined.

It is further evident that Mark took the parable of the sower to be of central importance for understanding what Jesus was about. The double imperative relating to hearing in v 3 (the RSV omits one of them in its translation) indicates that while the parable itself began with such an imperative ("pay attention"), Mark has added a second ("listen"), thus pointing to its importance. He also added an injunction to listen after the parable's conclusion (v 9; the same saying is repeated in v 23), thus framing

it with imperatives to pay close attention. In a later verse, Mark has Jesus identify this as his most important parable, and thus the key to understanding all others (v 13).

The parable tells about the ordinary actions a Galilean farmer would undertake in order to increase the harvest of his normal crop by some seven to ten fold. What is therefore striking about the parable is not the actions of the farmer, but the prodigious results of his activity (4:8). What on first observation seemed quite ordinary is, in the end, shown to have been quite extraordinary, yet no one could have realized that until the end, with its harvest, came along. That contrast between ordinary beginnings and extraordinary results dominates the parable, not, as some have suggested, the contrast between the seed wasted (vv 4, 5, and 7) and that which yielded grain (v 8). This latter interpretation is rendered unlikely by the fact that the word for "seed" in vv 4, 5, and 7 is in the singular, while in v 8 the word is found in the plural ("seeds").

The surprising contrast is in the way the parable ends after an ordinary beginning. Up to that time, it would have been possible, observing the sower, to assume he was nothing out of the ordinary, yet such an assumption would have been mistaken, as the harvest showed. Clearly something extraordinary was under way even as the sower began, but that was not clear from the beginning, only from the end. Applying normal criteria to the sower would have led one to miss this sower's significance. Hence the parable ends with a warning not always to trust normal judgments based on what seem at first normal phenomena. To judge Jesus that way means to miss his significance which will become evident at the end of his life (his resurrection) and at the end of his career (the Parousia).

In the context in which Mark has placed this parable, those who have performed such errors in judgment are the scribes and Jesus' family (3:20–35), who have judged Jesus by the normal criteria one would apply in such a situation. An ordinary person doing what Jesus was doing would have to be in his family's judgment "beside himself" (i.e., not in full control of his words and acts) just as any ordinary person performing the exorcisms Jesus did would stand under the judgment pronounced on him by the scribes. Those who judge Jesus on that basis have missed his connection to God's coming rule (cf. 1:15), and when that kingdom comes in power, they will be unprepared. Only those, apparently, who recognize that in Jesus God is doing something extraordinary will hold fast to the end, and be vindicated rather than surprised by his relationship to God's rule.

The following verses (14–20) provide an explanation of the parable, an explanation introduced with the observation (v 13) that this is the key to all of Jesus' parables. This explanation emphasizes to the virtual exclusion of all other points the need to listen carefully and hold fast to what Jesus says, regardless of subsequent difficulties one may encounter. The point Mark makes turns on how one listens, and responds, to Jesus, the point also of vv 10–12. Mark's Greek makes clear that what the disciples ask in v 10 is not *why* Jesus speaks in parables, but rather their question "concerns" the parables. It is a question therefore of the meaning of the parables, and Jesus answers in terms of the parable of the sower (v 13: "this parable"), thus pronouncing it the key to all the other parables as well. The answer is another formulation of the point that those who know what is going on with Jesus (the secret of v 11a, namely Jesus' connection to God's coming kingdom) do not err in their judgment of what he says and does, whereas those who judge him by usual criteria fail completely to understand anything about him at all (v 11b); to them all things are as obscure as the parables he tells. While they may see what he does, they do not really perceive its meaning; they may hear what he says, but they do not really understand its significance.

These verses (11–12) are introduced with the formulaic statement ("and he said [to them]") Mark regularly uses (see also 4:13, 21, 24) to incorporate independent sayings of Jesus, usually by adding them at the end of a tradition (cf. 2:27–28). The content of vv 10–11 shows the relation Mark saw between them and the traditions he placed prior to his collection of parables (i.e., 3:20–35). It was in those earlier verses that we found an example of those who could not perceive the meaning of what they had seen (the scribes and Jesus' exorcisms), just as it was there we found an example of those who could not understand what they had heard about Jesus (his family). Because they had thought they could judge Jesus the same way they judged others who might have done what he did (the ordinary sower!), they are fated to be no more than uncomprehending observers of just those events involving Jesus with their incredible import (4:12). Familiarity with religious matters, such as the meaning of exorcisms, or even familiarity with

Jesus as a person, will not guarantee that one understands him. Those who fail to see his relation to the kingdom (the secret of 4:11) remain outside (the same word appears in vv 3:31, 33 and 4:11). Those who see in Jesus something worth following will one day possess that secret (the kingdom). It is they who are "around him" (the same phrase is used in 3:34 and 4:10).

The remaining verses (21–34) show, by the repeated use of the formulaic "and he said (to them)" in vv 21, 24, 26, 30 and the repetition of the injunction to careful listening in v 23 (see v 9), that this subsequent material about parables has also been assembled by Mark from independent traditions. The parable of the seed growing secretly (26–29) and of the mustard seed (30–32) again contrast beginnings and endings, the latter by contrasting an insignificant beginning (the small seed) with an unexpectedly great ending (the large bush), while the former points to the inevitability of the end (the harvest) once the beginning has been made (the sowing). The sayings (21–22, 24–25; 23 repeats 9) concern appropriate activities (putting lamp on lampstand [21b]; listening carefully [24–25a]) and inappropriate activities (putting lamp under bushel [21a]; not listening [25b]). Again, as in the parable of the sower, the need for the appropriate reaction is stressed.

The final two verses (33–34) represent the conclusion to the collection of parables and parabolic sayings. Since both verses presume the present context, and since v 34 employs yet another characteristic way Mark arranged his traditions, a characteristic we will examine in more detail below, both verses are probably to be assigned to Markan composition.

In that way Mark has taken a group of individual traditions (3:20 with 31–35; 3:22–27; perhaps 3:28–29; 4:3–8; 4:11–12, 14–20, 21–22, 24–25, 26–29, 30–32) and by arranging and connecting them (editorial work is probably to be found in 3:20, 30; 4:1–2, 9–10, 13, and 33–34) has created a coherent unit of his narrative which portrays both positive and negative reactions to Jesus. The rejection by those closest to him by blood (his family) and religious interests (the scribes as religious authorities) in its turn also points to that final abandonment of Jesus by all those who had been nearest to him.

**3. Public and Private Teaching.** There are additional patterns of traditions within the gospel of Mark that show some further characteristics of its author in the matter of creating his narrative. One such pattern which is to be found is displayed in those places where the public teaching of Jesus is followed by private instruction to his disciples (e.g., 4:1–12, 33–34; 7:14–23; 10:1–10) or public acts similarly followed by private explanation (9:14–29). Here the contrast between those "within" and those "without" appears to have determined this pattern of organization.

**4. Passion Predictions.** The pattern of the three predictions of Jesus' passion also display, as we have already seen, an arrangement of traditions which shows (a) the prediction, (b) failure to understand what Jesus has said, (c) instruction on discipleship, and (d) some indication of Jesus' exceptional nature (8:31–9:8; 9:30–41; 10:33–45). In addition to that, it also points to a certain predilection in Mark's gospel for events occurring in series of three: the three passion predictions and the three denials of Peter are perhaps the major examples of this tendency. A further pattern of which we have already seen examples and which is found throughout the gospel concerns the inability of anyone to understand who Jesus really is before his passion. Although the reader knows from the very first verse that Jesus is the Christ and the Son of God, that knowledge is shared prior to Jesus' death only by God (1:11; 9:7) and the supernatural demons (1:24, 34b; 5:7).

It was this inability of persons to recognize Jesus that caused Dibelius to characterize Mark as a book of "secret epiphanies" and William Wrede (1971) to speculate that the phenomenon of nonrecognition of Jesus as Messiah during his lifetime was due to the combination of later, messianic traditions with earlier traditions which were still nonmessianic in nature. Further study has indicated that it would probably be more accurate to speak of "messianic secrets" rather than to try to bring under one rubric all the material that points to a lack of recognition of who Jesus was prior to his passion. The phenomenon of "secrecy" probably has more to do with Mark's theological than with his historical strategy in his gospel, i.e., *no one* can understand Jesus prior to his death. (For a recent, careful discussion, see Raisanen 1976.)

The question of understanding or recognizing Jesus immediately raises the question of who the author of Mark thought Jesus to be, and what "understanding him" would entail. To raise that question in its turn is to be involved in the matter of the christology of Mark, and it is to that topic we must now turn.

**D. Christology**

That christology is an important question for Mark is clear from the very first sentence of the gospel, where Jesus is identified as "Christ" (unlike Matthew [1:21] Mark does not give the name "Jesus" an interpretation, and so it does not figure in Mark's christology), and as "Son of God" (although some early Greek manuscripts omit the phrase "Son of God" from 1:1, its importance for Mark is such that it must be considered in any discussion of christology, whether or not it was originally present in that first verse).

**1. Son of God.** While the title "Son of God" is known from contemporary Greek culture as a way of designating honor to outstanding individuals, the setting of the beginning of Mark's gospel, with its opening quotation from the OT (contrary to Mark's identification in v 2, that quotation given in that verse is from Mal 3:1, not Isaiah; v 3 is, however, taken from Isa 40:3), shows clearly enough that Mark's frame of reference is not contemporary Hellenistic culture, but the background of the Christian faith in the career of Israel as God's chosen people.

The first implied use of that title occurs in the story of Jesus' baptism, where a voice from heaven (following Jewish usage in which God's voice [Heb *bat qōl*] represents God himself) identifies Jesus as "my (i.e., God's) son." The language of 1:11 reflects Ps 2:7 and Isa 40:1. The point which appears to unite those two quotations is the kingly power associated with the title "Son of God" in the OT. While royal power is implied in the verse from Isaiah, where God's "chosen servant" (Isa 42:1) will establish "justice in the earth" (Isa 42:3b–4a), a task surely implying a king's power, the verse from Psalm 2 expresses the royal context outright. Originally an enthronement psalm, Psalm 2 was composed to celebrate the assumption of royal power by a king chosen by God to rule his chosen people and exercise vengeance over their foes who in opposing his people also opposed God. Verse 6 declares the enthronement; v 7 declares the enthroned king to be God's son, thus establishing the link between royal power and the title "Son of God" in the Psalm. That title is also used in the discussion of the establishment of a Davidic dynasty in 2 Sam 7:5–16. In that passage, Nathan announces God's will to David, and in describing David's eternal dynasty, cites God's promise that David's royal descendants will be "my son"—i.e., that "Son of God" will be a title for each succeeding king of Israel of the Davidic line.

Against that background, it appears one is to understand Jesus' baptism as his enthronement: at this point he receives the royal accolade "my son" directly from God. Yet in Mark the baptism is a private affair; the Greek of 1:10–11 makes clear that Jesus alone saw the heavens opened and the spirit descending, and the voice was directed to him alone ("*you* are my beloved son"; such privacy was eliminated by Luke, who described the opening of the heavens as an objective occurrence [3:21], and by Matthew, who also added that the voice was addressed to the bystanders ["*This* is my beloved son"; 3:17]). That raises the question about the point at which public acknowledgment will be made of the fact that Jesus is king. Since God himself has announced it, there can be little question of its truth, yet then why the secrecy? Why is the voice addressed only to Jesus? Even when the heavenly voice, in the Transfiguration (Mark 9:2–8), is directed not to Jesus but to the disciples with him there (v 7: "*This* is my beloved son"), the disciples are exhorted not to mention it until a specific future event (Jesus' resurrection; v 9). Indeed, the first public acknowledgment of Jesus as Son of God, made by supernatural demons who know about the divine sonship of Jesus, is met with the command to keep silent on that fact (1:25; see also 1:34; 3:12). When, then, will Jesus be enthroned? When will he be publicly acknowledged the king God has designated him to be? To read Mark's gospel is to be confronted with that question from the outset.

**2. Christ.** The second title applied to Jesus at the beginning of Mark's narrative, "Christ," simply intensifies that question. Derived from the Greek verb *chrio,* meaning "to anoint," the Greek adjective *christos* means "anointed (one)." The Hebrew equivalent also appears in Psalm 2, again to designate the king (v 2). It was with that act of anointing that one became king over God's people; that is the way both Saul (1 Sam 9:16; 10:1) and David (2 Sam 2:4; 22:51) were so designated. Thus the title "Christ"

confirms the royal power declared in the title "Son of God" and that in turn raises the more insistently the question about when Jesus will be publicly acknowledged and ascend his God-appointed throne.

As was the case with the first public announcement of Jesus' close relationship to God ("Holy One of God," 1:24–25), so the first public utterance identifying Jesus as "Christ" is met with the command not to use the title publicly (8:29–30). Although Jesus does not deny the validity of the title "Christ" applied to him any more than he had denied the validity of the title "Son of God," Peter's reaction to Jesus' prediction of his own suffering indicates Peter had not used the title correctly (8:32–33). To assume that because Jesus was the Christ he would be immune from suffering is not only incorrect, it is in fact satanic (v 33b). The denial of Peter's understanding of the title "Christ" does not deny the appropriateness of applying the title to Jesus, including the royal implications it carries. Rather, the clarification Jesus gives to Peter's understanding of the title begins to clarify the kind of king Jesus is to be.

If the terms "Son of God" and "Christ" cannot yet be applied to Jesus, there is a term which can be appropriately applied to him, and that is the term "Son of Man." In fact, it is that phrase which Jesus substitutes for himself (8:31) immediately after he cautioned his disciples not to apply openly to him the term "Christ." Such substitution of the term "Son of Man" for other titles is in fact something Jesus regularly does in Mark (see esp. 14:61–62).

**3. Son of Man.** If therefore "Son of Man" is the designation Jesus applies to himself in Mark, we will have to assume it is a correct one as far as the evangelist is concerned, and investigation of its use will aid us in understanding how the author of this gospel wanted us to understand Jesus. Again, if, as we saw, the OT derivation of "Christ" and "Son of God" aided in understanding their meaning, the same approach ought to yield meaning in this case as well.

It is an interesting phenomenon that the phrase "Son of Man" is used only by Jesus in Mark (that is also the case, with one exception, in the other three gospels as well), and only to apply to himself. It is never used by Jesus of anyone else, and no one else ever calls Jesus by that term. That has led some scholars to theorize that the exclusive attribution of that term by Jesus to himself reflects an accurate historical reminiscence, and shows that the origin of the use of the term for Jesus goes back to Jesus himself. Again, while Jesus uses the term in Mark to designate himself in three general ways, namely in his current activity (e.g., 2:10), in his coming suffering (e.g., 8:31), and in his future return in glory (e.g., 14:62), no saying ever combines the latter two points. That led some scholars to postulate that the term was therefore used in two pre-Markan sources, one of which used the term to designate Jesus as the suffering one, the other to designate him (or another) as the one who would return in glory, but that those two traditions existed independently of one another; thus it was Mark's contribution to combine the two (e.g., Toedt 1965).

Despite intensive research, there is at present no scholarly agreement concerning this phrase. While there is at present a tendency to see it as a descriptive phrase, rather than as a messianic title current in Judaism in Jesus' time, scholars are currently in disagreement both about its origin and its meaning. Some have argued for an origin in the confession of the early Church, while others assign its origin to Jesus himself. Those who assign it to Jesus are in disagreement about whether its origin for Jesus was simply an Aramaic idiom used to refer to oneself and hence said nothing more about Jesus than it would say about anyone else who used the idiom, or whether Jesus himself derived it from Dan 7:13–14 and hence from the beginning intended it as an eschatological title.

Two carefully researched and well-documented books illustrate the problem. On the one hand, Kim (1983) has provided a cogent argument for the position that Jesus, deriving the term from Daniel 7 and combining it with insights drawn from the figure of the servant in Isaiah, intended it to be an eschatological description of his own function as one sent from God. On the other hand, Lindars (1983) has provided an equally cogent argument that the title cannot have originated in that way, but could only have been derived from an Aramaic idiom, and hence meant no more in Jesus' mouth that "this human being." Only later did Christian tradition provide the link to Daniel 7.

Whatever the origin of the term "Son of Man" may have been, however, by the time Mark was written, it had in fact come to be associated with Daniel 7, and was used as an eschatological title (for a different

conclusion, see Kingsbury 1984). In that light it is interesting to examine the context of Dan 7:13–14, an examination which reveals that the phrase "Son of Man" is used to designate a royal figure. The Son of Man is to be given "dominion and glory and kingdoms, that all peoples, nations and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom one that shall not be destroyed." Clearly the term "Son of Man" in this passage carries the same royal connotations that "Christ" and "Son of God" had carried: it points as they did to Jesus as God's king. Yet the way Jesus employs the term "Son of Man" in Mark's gospel provides the clue as to what kind of king Jesus is to be. He is to be a suffering king. The three times Jesus predicts his passion, he calls himself Son of Man (8:31; 9:31; 10:33). When Jesus faced the Jewish authorities at the time of his trial, and was asked whether he was "the Christ, the Son of the Blessed" (i.e., Son of God; 14:61), Jesus for the first time publicly admitted he was and immediately referred to himself as Son of Man (14:62).

The language of Jesus' reply to that key question is drawn from two sources which again prove instructive to examine. The first part of the answer, referring to being "seated at the right hand of power," is drawn from Ps 110:1, the content of which clearly marks it again as an enthronement Psalm (see esp. vv 1–3). The second part of the answer, referring to his return in divine glory (the meaning of "clouds of heaven") is drawn from Dan 7:13. Thus Jesus' public confession in Mark of who he is points to the equivalence of the three titles used, Christ, Son of God and Son of Man, with their one common element the reference to kingly power.

**4. King.** Jesus is thus, as his use of the phrase "Son of Man" makes clear, a suffering king. Yet the original question remains: when will he ascend his throne and be publicly acknowledged as king? The answer is provided in chap. 15 of Mark, where the term "king" is used of Jesus for the first time, but once it is introduced, it is thereafter used with great regularity. The use of the term "king" for the first time in chap. 15 has struck some as puzzling, since, they argue, Mark has to that point given no indication that that would be an appropriate designation for Jesus. Yet, as we have seen, the titles applied to Jesus in the preceding chapters in Mark have in fact not only prepared for its use, but have set the stage so that its use can be climactic for the narrative Mark has created.

The theme for this climactic chapter, namely the kingship of Jesus, is introduced in the opening scene with Pilate (v 2: "Are you the King of the Jews?"). The repetition by Pilate of that title in v 9 indicates it was not an accidental use or an aberration in Mark's narrative. Whether or not this title reflects the actual historical charge on the basis of which Jesus was crucified is not at issue here; as far as the gospel of Mark as narrative is concerned, it clearly reflects Pilate's opinion of Jesus. When the Praetorian guard also uses that title (15:18), it is clear that Jesus' public acknowledgment as king has begun a public acknowledgment that continues when he is openly identified as king by his enemies (15:32).

Still further confirmation that Jesus is now understood as king is furnished by the placard which was required at official Roman executions. That placard gave the reason for the execution, and had either to be affixed to the cross, or hung around the condemned criminal's neck. In the case of Jesus' execution, the placard read "The King of the Jews" (15:26).

It is only at this point that we find our answer to the question posed by the christological titles applied to Jesus in Mark, namely when he will be acknowledged as king and ascend his throne. Now the reader understands when Jesus is to be publicly acknowledged as king: in the moment of his suffering. Now the reader knows when Jesus will ascend his throne: when he is nailed to the cross. Now the reader has final confirmation of the kind of king Jesus is: a suffering king.

In addition to furnishing the climactic acknowledgment of Jesus as king, chap. 15 contains a further climax to Mark's narrative, namely the public acknowledgment by the centurion at the moment of Jesus' death that he, Jesus, is God's Son (v 39). As soon as Jesus died, the centurion—a soldier and hence hardly one learned in Jewish religious affairs—is able immediately to recognize Jesus as God's Son. Up to that point, no human being had been able correctly to identify Jesus in that way; at the moment of his death, an outsider is able at once to recognize who Jesus is. A key point in Markan christology is thus confirmed here: only after Jesus' death can he be recognized for who he truly is.

That is why the disciples were unable to recognize or acknowledge who Jesus was, simply because he could not be truly acknowledged as the king he is until he was enthroned—on the cross; he could not be confessed as king until he had been crowned—with death. That is also one reason why the demons were not permitted to acknowledge him: they knew him as a victorious, not a suffering, king (e.g., 1:24), and that could not be announced until after his passion. That is also why, in Mark's narrative, Jesus denied that he was David's son (12:25–37; cf. 11:10, where although in Matt 21:9 he is hailed as son of David, and in Luke 19:38 as king, in Mark only David's kingdom is mentioned, not his son), since the king of David's line was to be a victorious king who restored Israel's fortunes.

Yet kings are victorious; could God's anointed king be any different? Where are we to find Jesus' victory, particularly after his cry of dereliction from the cross (15:34)? Is Jesus finally a tragic rather than a triumphant king? To answer that question, another characteristic of Jesus in Mark's gospel must be considered, namely Jesus' wondrous foreknowledge. See also SON OF GOD; SON OF MAN.

**E. Literary Structure**

At this point in the investigation of Markan christology, we must follow a further step in the history of Markan research. Redaction-historical work led scholars to see that Mark had a theological purpose when he arranged his traditions in the order he did. That led to the further insight that such a careful ordering of material in order to make a particular kind of point was something Mark's gospel shared with other literary works. An outgrowth of the redactional-historical way of investigating Mark has thus been the attempt to investigate the gospel as a literary work, and to seek to determine its unity of plot and characterization without raising the question of whether a given passage comes from pre-Markan tradition or from the hand of Mark himself. An increasing number of scholars, borrowing from the insights of those who have analyzed literary narrative, have begun to investigate Mark in an effort to determine what results that kind of investigation would achieve. While some, like Kermode (1979) have concluded Mark's narrative is opaque (perhaps deliberately so), and hence finally unyielding to such efforts, and others, like Meagher (1979), have decided that the narrative is too confused to yield useful results to such investigation, still others, more numerous than those who have come to negative results, have found in Mark evidence of a carefully wrought narrative, with a coherent plot and consistent characterization. Among them are Kelber (1979); Petersen (1978; 1980); Rhodes and Michie (1982); and, from a slightly different perspective, but with the same result as far as the unity of Mark is concerned, Robbins (1984). McKnight has provided a good introduction to the method of literary criticism as practiced by these biblical, particularly NT, scholars (1985). It is within the framework of such an investigation of Mark's gospel as a unified literary work, particularly with respect to elements of plot contained within the narrative, that we must approach the question of Jesus' foreknowledge.

**1. Jesus' Foreknowledge.** It is evident that the Jesus who appears in Mark's gospel is able to know things that ordinary people cannot. There are reports that Jesus knew what other people were thinking (e.g., 2:8); he knew when a particular person had touched him even though crowds were pressing around him (e.g., 5:30); and the fact that in each case he remained uncontradicted when he revealed the thoughts of others shows that Mark understood Jesus to have been correct. More important for Mark's gospel is Jesus' knowledge of events yet to occur. Such prescience is displayed most clearly prior to the last week in Jerusalem in the three predictions of his passion. When those predictions turn out to have been correct, even in detail (cf. 10:33 with 14:63 and 15:1; 10:34 with 15:19), the reader's confidence in the accuracy of Jesus' foreknowledge is enhanced. Indeed, they are a way the author of Mark has used to heighten the reader's confidence that whatever Jesus predicts will happen, will in fact occur. It is just that confidence that will help answer the question about whether or not Jesus is a victorious king; we must now see how that works itself out.

While there are other instances of Jesus' ability to foreknow the future, we will limit ourselves to a discussion of those instances reported in chaps. 14–15. The first instance of Jesus' foreknowledge occurs in the account of the woman who anoints him with precious ointment (14:3–9). Jesus announces that by doing this she has prepared his body for burial. When we read later that Jesus was placed in the tomb without the usual preparation of the corpse (cf. 15:46 with 16:1), and that therefore his anointing at

Bethany was his last anointing prior to burial, the striking nature of Jesus' foreknowledge is shown. It is probably not accidental that this prediction/fulfillment brackets the account of Jesus' final days in Jerusalem reported in chaps. 14–15.

Such prescience is again demonstrated when Jesus, in an earlier episode (13:2), tells his disciples that the temple in Jerusalem will be destroyed, a destruction already symbolically announced when Jesus temporarily brought worship in the temple precincts to an end (11:12–25). That predicted destruction then begins with Jesus' death, when the curtain that protects the holiest room in the temple (the "Holy of Holies") from profanation is torn from top to bottom (15:38); a profaned "Holy of Holies" is no longer a fit place for a holy God.

Jesus' foreknowledge is demonstrated a third time when he instructs his disciples about arrangements for their Passover meal together (14:12–15) and it occurs, even in detail, just as he had said it would (14:16). Mark gives no hint that Jesus had made these arrangements beforehand; that idea is a figment of modern historical imagination. During that Passover meal, Jesus predicts that his betrayer will be one of the Twelve with him at the meal (14:18–20), a prediction that proves tragically accurate with the betrayal by Judas (14:42). After the meal, Jesus foretells the desertion of all his disciples (14:27), and specifically the threefold betrayal by Peter (14:30), events that then occur, again in detail, as Jesus has said (14:50; 14:66–72).

In that way, Jesus' predictions are proved true, and the reader of Mark's narrative gains confidence in Jesus' ability to foreknow the future. That is important, since the events we have been discussing were not the only things Jesus predicted. Before the officials of Judaism, in answer to the question of Jesus' identity, he had said those questioning him would see him "sitting at the right hand of Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven" (14:62). That has yet to occur. Again at the Last Supper, Jesus had said he would drink wine anew in God's kingdom, and that has not happened. There is Jesus' statement to the disciples that he would go ahead of them to Galilee, after he was raised from the dead, and that isn't fulfilled in Mark's narrative either. Yet this very important promise is repeated and thus confirmed by the "young man" at the tomb (16:7), as though in that way the reader is assured that all other unfulfilled predictions of Jesus will also yet find their fulfillment.

In that way, Mark's narrative points beyond itself (its "narrative time") to a final fulfillment yet to occur. Perhaps for that very reason the gospel ends in so incomplete a fashion with 16:8, as though to emphasize that although Mark's narrative about Jesus is finished, the story of Jesus has yet to be completed. In that case, Mark will have called upon his readers to complete what remains of the story (e.g., 8:34–38; cf. 13:13b with 13:35–37; 14:9) in their own lives.

**2. Jesus' "Mighty Acts."** It is likely that Mark has devoted proportionately more space to stories about Jesus' mighty acts than has any other gospel author because they were a firm part of the tradition he was using, as Achtemeier (1970) has urged. Yet Mark has set those stories within a narrative framework that points attention away from the miraculous as such, and toward their significance for the ongoing importance of Jesus. The way Mark has used the first mighty act in his narrative illustrates that point.

The exorcism reported in 1:23–27a is interesting on two counts; the first because in it Jesus does not follow the normal course of an exorcist of that time in driving out the demon, and the second because of the framework Mark has put around it. First, the exorcism itself is unusual in that ordinarily an exorcist must first determine the name of the demon before he or she can command it to obey (e.g., 5:9). Again, in order to perform the exorcism, the exorcist must either delude the demon into thinking the exorcist is a supernatural being more powerful than the demon, or must convince the demon the exorcist is acting as a follower or "in the name of" some being more powerful than the demon (for the latter point see 9:38a). In this exorcism, Jesus does none of that. Indeed, since the demon already knows Jesus' name ("Jesus of Nazareth," 1:24), one would expect that the demon would therefore be in a position to control or at least resist Jesus. Yet none of that happens; Jesus simply commands the demon to depart, and it does. Little wonder the people are astonished (1:27a). Here is an exorcist who is so powerful he need not even follow the normal "rules of the game."

The second interesting point about this story is the kind of framework into which Mark has put it. 1:21–22 show the characteristics of Markan literary activity, and they present the exorcism in terms of teaching (vv 22, 27b) not of a mighty act. That is in fact characteristic of Mark: he associates Jesus as teacher with the mighty acts far more often than other evangelists do, often having him addressed as "teacher" in the midst of a mighty act in a way the other evangelists find inappropriate, and hence change (as just one example, cf. Mark 4:38 ["teacher"] with Luke 8:24 ["master"] and Matt 8:25 ["lord"], although English translations often misrepresent the Greek in these and similar verses). Thus, it is characteristic of Mark to associate Jesus as wonder-worker with Jesus as teacher. The point, made evident in what Mark must have meant as paradigmatic when he framed in that way the first mighty act of Jesus he reported—the point is that the power Jesus displayed in his mighty acts he also displayed in his teaching. As a consequence, even if the power displayed in his mighty acts is no longer available after his death, the power embodied in his teaching nevertheless is. Hence even those who follow Jesus in the period after his earthly life ended can still share in the power he displayed while he walked the land of Galilee. Thus mighty act and teaching both share in the same power at work in Jesus, and the combination of the two tells the reader that that power did not disappear with the death of Jesus.

**3. Irony.** A final characteristic of Mark's gospel to be mentioned is the irony that pervades the narrative. Perhaps because of the irony that lies at the heart of the story Mark tells—the Son of God who is rejected and killed by the very human race he had come to save—it is a characteristic appropriate to this kind of story. While the central core of that irony is surely the cross and resurrection—what God's enemies had meant as their victory and his defeat (the crucifixion of Jesus) he has turned into his victory and their defeat (the resurrection of Jesus)—there are other secondary ironies that abound in the narrative.

There is the irony contained in the story of the healing of a man with a paralyzed hand on the Sabbath (3:1–6). Some background is necessary to understand the story. The Jewish people regarded the Sabbath as a great treasure of their religious law, and its observance (no labor was permitted Jews on the Sabbath) had been officially acknowledged by Roman authorities since Julius Caesar decreed that the Jews had the right to observe it throughout the Roman Empire. Some rabbis affirmed it was the unique element of the Jewish law that set Israel apart from all other peoples: if other peoples had moral and sacrificial laws from their gods, they did not have the Sabbath. Obedience to Sabbath laws thus constituted Israel's primary religious responsibility. To be sure the Sabbath law to abstain from labor was not broken, the rabbis forbade any conduct that could contribute to labor: for example, one was not to carry anything, lest one carry tools; again, one was not to walk far from one's house, lest one go to one's fields. Establishing such rules to keep a law from being transgressed was called "building a fence around the law," and it was enjoined as one of a rabbi's chief endeavors (see Danby 1954, tractate *ʾAbot* 1.1). The point was clear: it was essential to protect the Sabbath law from transgression by all possible means. See SABBATH.

On such a Sabbath, Jesus was confronted in a synagogue by a man with a withered hand. The question was, would Jesus heal it on the Sabbath? It was not a question of whether mercy could be practiced on the Sabbath; the rabbis agreed that in an emergency help could be given on a Sabbath even if it did involve labor (see Matt 12:11). Rather, it was a question of timing: this was no emergency. The man had had the withered hand for some time, and could wait until the end of the Sabbath at sundown to be healed. In this situation Jesus posed a question about what was lawful on the Sabbath: "to do good or to do harm, to save life or to kill" (3:4). The question has an obvious answer; of course it is not lawful on the Sabbath, any more than on any other day, to do harm or to kill. Yet the reaction of the Pharisees, when Jesus healed the crippled hand, was to hold "counsel with the Herodians against (Jesus), how to destroy him" (3:6). What irony, when the Pharisees by their plotting demonstrate that they thought Jesus' good deed to the cripple was illegal while they, careful observers of God's law, on that same Sabbath tacitly affirmed the legality of doing harm by plotting to kill.

Again, there is the irony that scribes from the heart of Jewish religion, Jerusalem, who studied God's Torah to learn his will, were unable to recognize that the power by which Jesus worked was from that same God whose law they studied, and thought it came instead from God's enemy, Satan (3:22). Those

who considered themselves most alert to God's ways with humanity were here unable to recognize what God was doing in Jesus.

There is the irony that those closest to Jesus, who responded to his call to accompany him with no question (1:16–20), would produce from among their number the one who was to betray Jesus, and that they themselves would not understand him (e.g., 8:17–18; 9:6) and in the end ignominiously desert him (14:50; 66–72).

There is the irony surrounding the parable Jesus told to the religious officials in the temple court, a parable about a vineyard and its owner, whom the tenants ignored and whose son they killed (12:1–12). By the very act of rejecting the content of the parable, they brought it to reality when they, too, rejected the owner of the "vineyard" (see Isa 5:1–7, where the vineyard is clearly Israel and its owner is God, a passage this parable clearly reflects) and killed his son, namely Jesus himself.

There is the irony of the treatment of Jesus before the Sanhedrin when, thinking to ridicule him by revealing the gap between what he had apparently claimed about himself (14:62) and what he was able to do, they called upon Jesus to "prophesy" (14:65), that very Jesus whose predictions, as Mark's narrative had shown, were so often and so remarkably proved to be true.

The trial of Jesus is, as one might suspect, shot through with irony. There is the irony of Pilate's action in the face of the charge of insurrection against Jesus, a charge presumed in his first question to Jesus (15:2; to claim to be king was to assert Caesar was not king, and hence was insurrection). Pilate's task as a Roman official was to maintain the *Pax Romana,* and to put down sternly any insurrection that threatened to breach the Roman rule so necessary for that peace to be maintained. Yet Pilate, in his attempt to temper justice with mercy, released Barabbas, who had been imprisoned precisely for his role in an insurrection and thus represented a threat to Roman rule, and condemned Jesus to death for the crime of insurrection he had not committed.

There is the irony of the action of the Roman soldiers at Jesus' trial who, thinking to mock Jesus by clothing and hailing him as king (15:17–18), in fact by those actions acknowledge him appropriately for what he was: God's chosen and anointed king.

There is the irony that Jesus' religious opponents were able neither to tell the truth nor lie when they intend to. Intending to tell the truth about Jesus when they accuse him of blasphemy in calling himself God's son (14:64), something God himself had twice acknowledged (1:11; 9:7), they pronounce a falsehood, only to be unable later to tell a falsehood when, intending to lie about Jesus by mockingly acknowledging him as Israel's king (15:32), they inadvertently announce the truth.

Perhaps the most striking irony of all is bound up with the strange ending of Mark's gospel (16:8). The women who had remained and watched the crucifixion of Jesus and who, coming to anoint his corpse, had instead been commissioned by the "young man" at the empty tomb to tell the disciples the good news of Jesus' resurrection and to remind them of his promise to meet them in Galilee failed to do so because of fear. These women had remained faithful to Jesus when the disciples, who could not come to terms with Jesus' impending death, had fled. It was that death that caused them to fear, and flee. Here, however, in a strange twist of irony, the women, hearing of Jesus' resurrection, similarly flee in fear. If the disciples were unfaithful because they could not come to terms with Jesus' death, the women proved unfaithful precisely because they had come to terms with it: it was the news he was no longer dead that proved unsettling to them. They in their turn were unable to come to terms with his life.

In the end, therefore, none proved faithful to Jesus. Yet the story of the career of the disciples with Jesus was eventually told, as was the story of the fear-filled disobedience of the women. Reconciliation with the risen Jesus thus did take place, allowing the story recorded in Mark's narrative to be told. Perhaps in that way Mark intended to point to the power of the risen Christ as alone able to reconcile to himself and to God a humanity given to treachery and desertion.

It is apparent, therefore, that even though the oldest manuscripts of Mark contain no accounts of the appearance of the risen Jesus, there can be no question that Mark knew Jesus rose from the dead. The promises of Jesus, which, as we saw, regularly turn out to be fulfilled, included his promise that he would meet his followers in Galilee (14:28), a promise repeated at the empty tomb (16:7). It was also repeated

each time Jesus formally foretold the circumstances of his impending death (8:31; 9:31; 10:34). Another reason must therefore be found for the omission of accounts of resurrection appearances than that Mark somehow was embarrassed by them, or did not know about them. That reason is, as suggested above, likely to be theological, and has to do with Mark's strategy for the whole gospel.

It appears that one of Mark's theological goals with his gospel, therefore, was to move his readers from observers to participants, and thus to move them to share in the gospel whose beginnings he had narrated in his account of Jesus of Nazareth.

**F. Form and Function**

From all that has been discussed thus far concerning the gospel of Mark, it appears that the major problem with which Mark was working, namely the identity of Jesus, and the form of literature he chose to solve it, namely a narrative, were intimately related. That is to say, Mark's creation of his narrative structure embodied his solution to the problem of Jesus' identity (i.e., his christology), in that, as Mark understood it, Jesus' identity was a function of his destiny. Only when one knows what happened to Jesus (cross and resurrection) can one understand the meaning of what he said and did, and therefore who he was: God's son, the king of God's redeemed humanity.

It was to reinforce that point that Mark made all other christological titles subservient to the phrase "Son of Man." The superiority of that title over the others lies in the fact that for whatever reason, Mark saw it as the expression of Jesus' destiny, namely his death and resurrection. "Son of Man" in Mark therefore describes not so much identity as destiny. Yet in Mark, as we have seen, identity and destiny are inseparably bound up with one another. Thus when Jesus predicts his passion, he refers to himself as Son of Man, and whenever the question of his identity arises, whether implied or explicit, Jesus responds by referring to himself as Son of Man. Can Jesus, as one who employs God's prerogative of forgiving sins, be recognized as Son of God (2:5, 7)? No, he is Son of Man (2:10). Can he, when his actions reveal him to be Lord of the Sabbath, be recognized as son of David, who had acted in similar fashion (2:25)? No, he is Son of Man (2:28). Can he, as successor to John the Baptist and the prophets, be recognized as Christ (8:28–29)? No, he is Son of Man (8:31). Can he, in transfigured form, be recognized as Son of God (9:7)? No, he is Son of Man (9:9).

In similar fashion, when the question of Jesus' identity is finally answered, it is answered in terms of his destiny (14:61), that is, his identity as anointed Son of God is qualified by his destiny as Son of Man (14:62). Again, in a climactic statement defining the identity and purpose of Jesus, namely to atone for the sins of humankind, it is the title "Son of Man" that is used (10:45).

Again, because destiny and identity are so closely linked in Mark, the only ones who are able to identify Jesus as Son of God during his earthly career are those unaffected by that redemptive destiny: God himself (1:11, 9:7), and the demons (1:24; 3:11; 5:7). For all others, until Jesus' destiny is fulfilled on the cross, his identity as Son of God remains hidden. It was to make that point, it appears, that Mark gathered together the independent traditions circulating in the early Christian community of which he was a part, and assembled them into the narrative which he identified as "the beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God."

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**MARK, JOHN** (PERSON) [Gk *Ioan (n)es Markos* (Ἰοαννες Μαρκος)]. An early Jewish Christian who assisted with the 1st-century missionary activities of Paul, Peter, and Barnabas and who is associated by tradition with the gospel of Mark. The name is a combination of two appellations, the Heb *yōhānān* ("Yahweh has shown grace"; cf. 2 Kgs 25:23) and the Latin "Marcus" (or the Greek *Markos*). Dual names commonly were employed during the period as a common custom within Hellenistic Judaism (see Acts 1:23, Joseph-Justus).

The NT provides scant information about the figure of John Mark. He initially is introduced at Acts 12:12, a scene in which Peter returns from prison to the home of Mary, "the mother of John whose other name was Mark." Both the house itself and the household of Mary probably were significant for the early Christian community in Jerusalem, since Peter seems to have known that Christians would be gathered there for prayer. Thus the role of John Mark in early Church tradition often is associated with the presumed wealth and prestige of Mary, who was a homeowner with a maidservant (Rhoda) and who could support gatherings of early Christians for worship. The common, though most likely errant, belief that John Mark was the "young man" who escaped capture by the Romans at the arrest of Jesus (Mark 14:51–52) rests upon the assumption that the Garden of Gethsemane was owned and tended by the family of Mary. According to this view, John Mark perhaps would have been stationed at the garden as a guard during the night watch. Another tradition, which maintains that the Last Supper (Mark 14) was held in the home of Mary, assumes that the household was familiar with the work of Jesus and was receptive to his activity. Papias of Hierapolis argues against a close relationship between Jesus and the family, however, since he notes specifically that Mark "had not heard the Lord, nor had he followed him" (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.15).

The only clear comment upon the activities of John Mark that is provided in the NT is the observation that he was one of numerous evangelistic missionaries who circulated during the 1st century (one of the 70 missionaries who are mentioned in Luke 10:1?). Accordingly, he is listed as an assistant to Paul and Barnabas during the first Pauline missionary journey (Acts 12:25; 13:5). Though the nature of that assistance is not specified, he may have served as a recorder, catechist, and travel attendant. Because of his status as the son of a prosperous Jewish-Christian family in Jerusalem and as the cousin of the wealthy landowner Barnabas (Col 4:10; Acts 4:36–37), John Mark would have been a natural selection for such a role. He later separated from Paul and Barnabas "in Pamphylia" (along the coast of S Anatolia), perhaps as the result of some unspecified disagreement. Paul thereafter refused to include him in subsequent travels (though Barnabas took him onward to Cyprus; Acts 15:37–39), and the account of Acts records his activities no further.

Apart from the testimony of Acts, his name (now listed only as Mark) reappears throughout the Pauline literary tradition as a reconciled missionary companion of Paul. Here he is remembered as one who labored faithfully for Christianity (2 Tim 4:11 and Philemon 24). The association of Barnabas with John "who is called Mark" in the record of Acts, on the one hand, and of Barnabas who was the "cousin" of Mark in the witness of Colossians, on the other hand, is an "undesigned coincidence" which suggests that the accounts of Acts and the Pauline Epistles in fact make reference to the same person (Taylor 1955: 29).

Though the figure of John Mark became a casualty of disputes within the Pauline missionary thrust, the Petrine tradition soon adopted an association with the name that has stood for centuries in ecclesial history. The initial evidence for this association appears in 1 Pet 5:13 where John Mark (again listed only as Mark) is mentioned by the author of the letter as "my son." While the name Mark in 1 Peter cannot be identified definitively with the figure of Mark who appears in the Acts narrative, a consistent picture of the role and activities of John Mark would result if such an association can be accepted (Martin *ISBE* 3: 260). From the testimony of Papias (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.16) we learn that common ecclesial tradition recognized Mark as the "interpreter" of Peter who recorded the words of the apostle as the foundation for a written gospel (cf. also Iren. *Haer.* 3.1.1). There is no question that Papias here refers to the gospel of Mark as we know it. And again, while the association of Mark (as recorded by Papias) with John Mark of Jerusalem is not above suspicion, this consistent caricature has been preserved by subsequent Christian tradition.

Numerous traditions about the person and activities of Mark soon arose among the Church Fathers. Hippolytus, for example, refers to Mark as "stump-fingered" or "shortened." The former translation may indicate that the historical figure of Mark possessed some peculiar physical characteristic (as is suggested by the *Anti-Marcionite Prologue* to the gospel from the 2d century). Modern scholars, however, often prefer to use the latter translation as a reference to the abbreviated nature of the gospel text itself (when compared to the other NT gospels) or in support of the manuscript tradition that concludes the gospel at Mark 16:8. Several early Christian traditions suggest that a close association existed between the figure of John Mark and the congregations of Alexandria, based upon the belief that he traveled to Egypt from Rome after the martyrdom of Peter (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.16.1). There is little information about the death of Mark. The claims for the martyrdom of Mark that appear in the *Paschal Chronicle* and in the *Acts of Mark* probably do not predate the 4th century (Swete 1909: xxvii–xxviii). For further discussion see Pesch *Mark* HTKNT.

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**MARK, SECRET GOSPEL OF.** An edition of the gospel of Mark known only from an incomplete letter of Clement of Alexandria discovered at the Greek Orthodox monastery of Mar Saba in the Judean desert. M. Smith has described how he found the hitherto unknown Clementine letter as he was studying and cataloging manuscripts in the monastery library in 1958. The letter was written in cursive Greek, dated to about 1750, on two and a half pages at the back of a printed volume of the letters of Ignatius of Antioch (Isaac Voss, editor, *Epistulae genuinae S. Ignatii Martyris* [Amsterdam: Blaeu, 1646]). In 1973 Smith published both his scholarly and his popular editions of the letter of Clement and the *Secret Gospel of Mark*, and almost at once controversy began to swirl around the text. The controversy has focused upon questions concerning the authenticity, contents, and interpretation of the Mar Saba text. To the present day Smith seems to be the only scholar who has seen the original manuscript, although at least one other scholar (T. Talley) made an unsuccessful attempt to view the text. Nonetheless, as Smith has summarized in his bibliographical essay (1982), most scholars he has reviewed

now are willing to attribute the letter to Clement of Alexandria and the letter itself has been included in an addendum to the second edition of O. Stählin's *Clemens Alexandrinus.*

The Mar Saba manuscript opens with a titular phrase that indicates the source of the letter: "From the letters of the most holy Clement, (author) of the *Stromateis*" (lr:1). In the letter Clement commends and supports the recipient, a certain Theodore, for his opposition to the Carpocratians, who were libertine gnostics well known from ancient heresiological reports (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 3.2–6; Iren. *haer.* I.25; Hippol. *haer.* 7.32; cf. Smith 1973b: 295–350). According to Clement's letter from Mar Saba, the Carpocratians employed an edition of the gospel of Mark which Carpocrates falsified by "mixing the most shameless lies with the undefiled and holy words" (lv:8–9). In contrast to the Carpocratian edition, Clement recognizes two authoritative editions of the gospel of Mark: (1) a public edition of the gospel, which Mark composed while Peter was in Rome and which seems to be identical or nearly identical with the canonical gospel of Mark; and (2) the *Secret Gospel of Mark*, "a more spiritual gospel for the use of those being perfected," which also included "the things appropriate for those progressing in knowledge" (lr:20–22). When Mark died, Clement writes, he left the *Secret Gospel* to the care of the Church at Alexandria, "where it even now is very carefully guarded, being read only to those being initiated into the great mysteries" (lv:1–2).

According to the letter of Clement, the *Secret Gospel* contained at least two passages not included in the public gospel of Mark, and Clement cites both of these two passages. The first passage (lv:23–2r:11), to be located immediately after Mark 10:34, recounts the story of the raising of a rich youth (*neaniskos*) of Bethany (cf. themes in Mark 10:17–22 par.). At the request of the sister of the youth, Jesus goes to the tomb, rolls the stone away from the door, and raises the youth from the dead. The youth looks upon Jesus and loves him, and after six days Jesus instructs him. In the evening the youth, "wearing a linen cloth on his naked body" (2r:8; cf. Mark 14:51–52, also perhaps 16:1–8), comes to Jesus, and Jesus teaches him "the mystery of the kingdom of God" (2r:10; cf. Mark 4:11). The second passage (2r:14–16), to be located within Mark 10:46, describes Jesus coming to Jericho and refusing to receive three women, including the sister and the mother of the youth.

Recent studies on the *Secret Gospel of Mark* suggest that the significance of the text may be realized through a redaction-critical study of the *Secret Gospel.* Several scholars (H. Koester, H.-M. Schenke, J. D. Crossan, M. W. Meyer) have proposed interpretations of the *Secret Gospel* that attempt to place the text within the redactional history of the Markan tradition, and in so doing they are unanimous in advocating the priority of *Secret Mark* to canonical Mark. "The basic difference between the two," Koester has stated, "seems to be that the redactor of canonical Mark eliminated the story of the raising of the youth and the reference to this story in Mark 10:46" (1983: 56). Scholars have also noted that this Markan account of the raising of the youth is remarkably similar to the story of Lazarus in John 11, except that the *Secret Gospel* account may well be more primitive than the Johannine account (the *Secret Gospel* lacks the details—personal names, descriptions of features of the miracle, etc.—and the theological themes of John 11). The presentation of the youth "whom Jesus loved" in *Secret Mark* (2r:15; cf. Mark 10:21) also bears striking resemblance to the BELOVED DISCIPLE in the gospel of John. These observations contribute to the discussion of the relationship between the Markan and Johannine traditions, and the roles of the Johannine Beloved Disciple and the Markan *neaniskos* as paradigms for discipleship.

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**MARKETPLACE.** See TRADE AND COMMERCE (ANE).

**MAROTH** (PLACE) [Heb *mārôt* (מָרוֹת)]. A village in the Shephelah of Judah (Mic 1:12), otherwise unknown. LXX reads *odynas,* "sorrows." Identification with Maarath [Heb *maʿārād*] in the hill country of Judah (Josh 15:59) is unlikely since it does not account for the LXX reading, explain the loss of *ʿayin,* or match well with the other known towns in Mic 1:10–16, which are located W of the Judean hills in the Shephelah (cf. Josh 15:33–44). Similarly, the Galilean Meroth mentioned by Josephus (*JW* 3.3.1) is out of the question. Micah employs the feminine singular participle *yôšebet* (lit: "inhabitant of") within this dirge (vv 11, 12, 13, 15) to personify the population of these towns and villages which formed the defensive approach to "Mother Jerusalem" as her "daughters" (Heb *bānôt*; see 2 Chr 11:5–12; Judg 1:27; Haag *TDOT* 2: 336; cf. 2 Kgs 18:13–16). Maroth itself is a play on Hebrew *mārar,* "be bitter," and *mārâ,* "be rebellious." Hence, the paronomasia of 1:12 yields a sense akin to "Yes, Daughter Bitterbury longs for something sweet [Heb *tôb*], but no, something sour [Heb *rāʿ*] descends from YHWH to the very gate of [Mother] Jerusalem." See MORESHETH.
LAMONTTE M. LUKER

**MARRIAGE.** This entry consists of two articles. The first explores the subject of marriage and marriage customs in the ancient Near East and in the Old Testament. The second focuses on marriage as it is presented in the New Testament.

## *OLD TESTAMENT AND ANCIENT NEAR EAST*

Like other features of religious communities, marriage and wedding customs tend to be traditional and time-honored. This is not an area where novelty reigns. Archaic language like "thereto I plight thee my troth" is quite acceptable at the ceremony of marriage, but very strange elsewhere. The OT covers a period of approximately 1400 years (Abraham to Ezra). It would seem, contrary to the statement made above, that marriage patterns in the patriarchal age differed, in some ways at least, from marriage patterns in the postexilic era (late 500 to 400 B.C.).

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### A. Introduction

Ancient Israel never produced a marriage manual for its citizenry. The creation story of Genesis 1 does indeed climax its narration with a wedding, an activity described by the narrator as "very good" in God's estimation. Similarly, the account of Genesis 2 concludes penultimately with the programmatic exhortation "a man shall leave his father and mother and cleave to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh" (2:24).

Even if this statement was first penned by later priestly writers, its placement near the beginning of Israel's canon of sacred literature may indicate its preeminence and foundational nature vis-à-vis marriage, at least in the judgment of those involved in the shaping of that canon. And yet the statement is

primarily an idealistic one. It is surprising how few marriages in the OT, if any, conform to Gen 2:24. One would have to scour the pages of the OT to find instances of the man leaving his home, uniting with his wife, and forming a "one flesh" relationship.

The laws pertaining to marriage in the legal codes distributed throughout the OT are few and scattered. Most of these address issues such as whom one may not marry, how to determine virginity, the dissolution of marriage, remarriage, what is to become of a childless widow, etc. This is unlike ANE codes which tend to discuss matters of legal interest in *seriatim* fashion; thus the laws on marriage are for the most part all sequentially arranged in corpora like Hammurabi's Code (nos. 128–84; *ANET,* 171–174) or the Middle Assyrian Laws (nos. A.25–39; *ANET,* 182–183).

What we do have abundantly in the OT are stories about the marriages of men and women. On occasion the narration of these marriages is pivotal in the development of a major theme or motif. At other times their telling appears but peripheral. Some of these marriages appear, on surface, to be normal and predictable, while others border on the bizarre. Some of these marriages are marked by sanctity and integrity, while others are aberrant and profane. Taking all these marriage stories together, looking for common threads, and on that basis trying to construct an OT concept of marriage is like sitting beside our highways and parkways, observing the flow of traffic and the driving patterns of individuals, and on that basis composing a driver's manual. Both in driving and in marriage there is often a considerable difference between prescription and practice. For this reason, we will need to distinguish between the divine will in marriages and OT marriages as they are illustrated. The latter may reflect the former, but not necessarily so.

**B. In the Ancient Near East**

Most of what we know about marriage and wedding customs in the ANE is based on accounts of marriages involving people of power and influence in society, i.e., kings, pharaohs, potentates, nobility, even the gods themselves, or some epic hero whose legendary accomplishments raised him into the area of the divine. This is to be expected. The literature of antiquity highlights royalty more than it does the exploits of commoners. Thus, to read about the marriage of a pharaoh to his queen does not likely provide us any information on the marriage customs of the pharaoh's thousands of pyramid laborers, any more than the wedding of an Assyrian king served as a model for the wedding of one of his canal excavators. Likewise, one can't assume that the marriage of Prince Charles and Lady Diana was a typical late 20th-century wedding in England.

To begin our survey, we turn out attention to the Canaanites as revealed in the texts from Ugarit. Marriage is illustrated at three levels in Ugarit. First is marriage among (royal) mortals. In five of six cases the king was followed on the throne by his son. One king, Niqmad II, was succeeded by his son Arḫalba (ca. 1345–1336 B.C.). He in turn was followed not by a son, but by his brother, Niqmepa. Arḫalba was childless, and so he willed that his wife, Kubaba, should, after his death, be wed to her brother-in-law Niqmepa. Furthermore he added a solemn warning that no other man outside the family should seek the hand of Kubaba in marriage. Thus, in an Akkadian document from Ugarit (*PRU* 3: 16.144), Arḫalba warns: "Whoever, after my death, takes (in marriage) my wife, Kubaba daughter of Takan (?), from my brother—may Baal crush him …"

This text is of interest for two reasons. One, it illustrates the existence of levirate marriage (to be discussed below) at Ugarit. Two, Arḫalba's imprecation on anyone marrying his widow, excluding his brother, may reflect the desire to avoid loss of family property to outsiders; more likely, it illustrates the fact that Ugarit shared with Israel the concept that marriage to a former king's wife, or even his concubines, bestowed legitimacy on an aspirant who otherwise had no claim to the throne (see 2 Sam 3:7; 12:8; 16:21; 1 Kgs 2:13–25; Tsevat 1958).

The second level at which marriage is illustrated in Ugarit is in the marriage of the epic hero King Keret (named after the eponymous ancestor of the Cretans). As the epic opens, Keret's wife has been taken from him before she has given him an heir. The text reads (A.i.14; *ANET,* 143) that Keret "married the woman, and she departed." "Departed" here may be understood as a euphemism for "died" and thus Keret intends a second marriage (*ANET,* 143), or else his wife was kidnapped, and thus Keret intends the recovery of

his abducted wife (Gordon 1964). In either case, the remainder of the epic details Keret's journey at El's direction to Udum, his eventual obtaining of his wife, Hurrai, their trip back to Keret's place, their marriage (or reuniting), and finally the divine promise of progeny. This text demonstrates, among other things, that real love and romance did play a vital part in marriage at Ugarit. Keret (Gordon 1966: 105) describes Hurrai in terms reminiscent of the Song of Songs: "Whose charm is like Anath's charm / Whose loveliness is like Astarte's loveliness / Whose brows are lapis lazuli / Eyes, bowls of alabaster!"

This concern with passionate devotion is a feature that Ugarit shares with pre-Solomonic historiography. By contrast, in the earlier literature of Egypt (e.g., Sinuhe) and Mesopotamia (e.g., Epic of Gilgamesh), and in post-Solomonic historiography, little interest is shown in romantic marriage. It is interesting to note even the structural parallels (Aitken 1984: 12) between the wooing of Rebekah (Genesis 24) and of Hurrai: (1) lack of a wife; (2) commission to secure a wife; (3) travel to land or city of the future bride; (4) rendering of divine aid; (5) beauty of bride remarked; (6) negotiations for the bride; (7) sending off of the bride; (8) marriage blessing; (9) travel back with the bride; and (10) the marriage.

The third level of marriage at Ugarit is marriage between gods and goddesses. Of particular interest is the marriage between the Canaanite moon god Yarih and the Mesopotamian moon goddess Nikkal. The purpose of the wedding is clearly fertility, symbolized in the child that Nikkal will bear to Yarih. Yarih is willing to pay her father a bride–price (*muhr*) of "a thousand (shekels) of silver / A myriad of gold" (beyond the range of normal human ability to pay) so that "she may enter his house." In return he will make her fertile: "I shall make her field into a vineyard / The field of her love into an orchard" (Gordon 1966: 99). The text is a *hieros gamos,* a wedding of the gods, whose fertility stimulates plentiful harvests for mankind. Although a mythological text, it demonstrates most of the major points of marriage at Ugarit: paying the bride–price by the groom to the bride's father, the dowry for the bride, a virilocal marriage in which the bride moves in with the groom, and a heavy concern with fertility. Thus, even the mythological narratives of Ugarit presumably reflect a common sociological province of marriage procedures and customs.

The marriage of the gods is certainly no innovation with Northwest Semites in the 2d millennium B.C. Well-known Sumerian inscriptions from the end of the 4th millennium B.C. describe in texts that are belletristic and ritual in nature the rite of sacred marriage of the bride Inanna (originally goddess of the communal storehouse), who meets her groom Dumuzi (the god of the date palm) at the gate and admits him and his servants who carry the bridal gifts. This scene is depicted on the Uruk Vase. Dumuzi is the personification of the power behind and in the annual date harvest, and Inanna is that storehouse in which Dumuzi deposits and stores his yield. Their mating is what Jacobson (1976: 47) calls "the sacred cosmic sexual act in which all nature is fertilized."

Akkadian myths might even portray the possibility of marriage between a goddess and a mortal. In the Gilgamesh Epic, Gilgamesh is proposed to by the goddess Ishtar (*ANET,* 83):

> Come Gilgamesh, be thou (my) lover!
> Do but grant me of your fruit.
> You shalt be my husband and I will be your wife.

Gilgamesh rejects her offer of marriage, primarily because of her past marital affairs (*ANET,* 84):

> Which lovers did you love forever?
> Which of your shepherds pleased you for all time?

After listing some of Ishtar's ex-lovers, Gilgamesh exclaims (*ANET,* 84),

> If you should love me, you would (treat me) like them.

As we indicated above, Mesopotamian legal documents deal with matters of matrimony. They do not deal abstractly, philosophically, or theologically with marriage. They are rules, plain and simple, defining the permissible and the nonpermissible with respect to items like divorce, dowry, marriage–price, and remarriage. A few samples from Hammurabi's Code will suffice. For example, a marriage contract is absolutely essential for a marriage (no. 128). If a man outlives his wife, her dowry belongs to her children, not to her husband (no. 162). If, however, the wife died without mothering any children, he is entitled to some of the dowry, but only if his father-in-law has returned the marriage–price (nos. 163, 164).

The Middle Assyrian laws provide legal justification for the institution of levirate marriage (discussed above in connection with Ugarit). Law no. 33 from Tablet A reads: "If, while a woman is still living in her father's house, her husband died and she has sons … If she has no sons, her father-in-law shall marry her to the son of his choice …" This law and others like it (nos. 25, 26, 27, 32) begin conspicuously with the phrase "if while a woman is still living in her father's house." Law no. 27 adds "and her husband has been coming in frequently." Assyriologists often call such a marriage whereby the husband lives with his wife in her father's house *erēbu* marriage (*erēbu* means "to come in, pay visits [to one's wife]"). The term is acceptable; however, the very next two laws (nos. 28, 29) indicate that *erēbu* was also used of normal marital arrangements in which a woman "went in/entered" her husband's house. The closest parallels to *erēbu* marriage in the Bible would be Jacob living with his wives in the home of Laban, Moses living with his wife Zipporah in the home of Jethro, and Samson who goes down to "visit" his wife at Timnah. An Egyptian example would be Sinuhe, a courtier in the entourage of Sesostris I, who in a time of crisis fled to Canaan, lived with a local family, and married the daughter. Of course, these examples are a bit different from the law cited in the code in that the husband is an outsider, a foreigner, while in the code the man initiated into the family is a native.

The 15th-century-B.C. cuneiform texts from Nuzi in NE Iraq have contributed significantly to our understanding of marriage in Mesopotamia. Since the majority of these texts are private documents, personal matters such as marriage are frequently mentioned. As in most of the Near Eastern cultures, heavy emphasis is placed on procreation as the main purpose of marriage. What is unique in the Nuzi texts is the inordinately heavy stress laid on the bride's fertility. In fact, a majority of the texts contain clauses concerned with the possibility of childlessness and the groom's right to acquire/be provided a new wife in case the first wife proves barren (Grosz 1981: 182).

Thus one marriage document (Grosz 1981: 166) reads:

> Zike, son of Akkuya, gave his son Shennima in adoption to Shuriḫa-ilu, and Shuriḫa-ilu gave Shennima all these fields. Should there be a son of Shuriḫa-ilu, he will be the chief heir, and Shennima will be secondary heir … And he [Shuriḫa-ilu] gave Kelim-ninu as wife to Shennima. If Kelim-ninu bears children, Shennima will not take another wife, but if Kelim-ninu does not bear children, Kelim-ninu will take a slave-girl from the land of Nullu as wife for Shennima, and Kelim-ninu shall have authority over the child [of the slave girl].

This text not only parallels Sarah giving Hagar to Abraham (Gen 16:2) and Rachel giving Bilhah to Jacob (Gen 30:3), but the laws in Hammurabi's Code (nos. 144, 146, 147), all of which concern the (barren) wife who gave to her husband as surrogate for herself a female slave, and the female slave's ability or lack of ability to bear a child. It also illustrates an uxorilocally residing son-in-law who had to be adopted by his father-in-law lest the son-in-law's children belong to the father's lineage and not the father-in-law's lineage.

While this text has some affinities with the Jacob and Leah/Rachel marriages, the following text is even closer (Gordon 1964: 24–25):

> The adoption tablet of Nashwi son of Arshenni. He adopted Wullu son of Puhishenni. As long as Nashwi lives, Wullu shall be the heir. Should Nashwi beget a son, [this son] shall divide equally with Wullu, but [only] Nashwi's son shall take Nashwi's gods. But if there be no son of Nashwi, then Wullu shall take his daughter as wife to Wullu. And if Wullu takes another wife, he forfeits Nashwi's lands and buildings. Whoever breaks the contract shall pay one mina of silver [and] one mina of gold.

The Nuzi texts are, as one would expect, full of references to the bride–price (*terḫatu*) paid by the groom's family to the bride's family (i.e., her father or brother), and to the dowry (*mulūgu*), a gift received by the bride from her father at the time of her marriage. Such frequent emphasis on the bride–price (the references to *terḫatu* are more numerous than to *mulūgu,* and the *terḫatu* is always greater than the *mulūgu*) has the effect of role-casting the wife as the object of the marital agreement rather than as the subject.

In fact, there is some indication in the Nuzi texts that the payment of the bride–price could be postponed until the marriage was consummated, or until the bride had proven her fertility. Along possibly these same lines one text (Grosz 1981: 175) reads:

> Declaration with Kuni-ašu, daughter of Ḫut-tešup, made in front of these witnesses: "In the past, Akam-mušni married [me] off and took 40 shekels of silver for me from my husband, but now Akam-mušni and my husband are [both] dead, and now [as to] myself, Akkiya, son of Ḫut-tešup, seized me in the street as his sister and took the authority [of brother] over a sister for me. He will marry me off and taken 10 shekels of *šurampašḫu* silver from my [future] husband.

What is of special interest here is the reduction of the bride–price for Kuni-ašu from her first marriage (40 shekels) to her second marriage (10 shekels). This may be due to the fact that she is no longer a virgin, or that she has proved herself barren with her first husband (Grosz 1981: 175).

**C. In the Old Testament**

**1. Parentally Arranged/Self-Initiated.** The Hebrews shared with others of the ANE the practice of parentally arranged marriages. The basis for making this claim is scattered references in the OT narrative to such procedure. There is, however, no OT law that mandates this. Nowhere, for example, is there a law in the Deuteronomic code (Deuteronomy 12–26) to the effect that it is the responsibility of a father to select a bride for his son. There is a law that outlines procedures for dealing with a rebellious son (Deut 21:18–21), a recently married son (Deut 24:5), and a deceased son with no son of his own (Deut 25:5–10), but not one for an unmarried son. This is in contrast to the Laws of Eshnunna (ca. 2000 B.C.) one of which (no. 27) states (*ANET,* 162):

> If a man takes a (nother) man's daughter without asking the permission of her father and her mother and concludes no formal marriage contract with her father and her mother, even though she may live in his house for a year, she is not a housewife.

Similarly, the OT Wisdom Literature, while having much to say about healthy marital relationships, never classifies as wise one who chooses a wife for his son with prudence. Indeed Prov 19:14 affirms that a good wife is from the Lord, not from the husband's father.

The first instance of a parentally arranged marriage in the OT is Hagar selecting a wife for her son Ishmael from Egypt (Gen 21:21). If one attributes any credence to the year numbers of Genesis, which state that Abraham was eighty-six when he fathered Ishmael (16:16), and one hundred years old at Isaac's birth (21:5), and give a year or two for Isaac to be weaned (21:8), that would suggest that Ishmael was fifteen or sixteen when his mother arranged his marriage to a native-born Egyptian. This may reflect one of the justifications for parentally arranged marriages, namely, the relatively young age at which boys and girls reached marriageable age. It is unlikely, however, that Hagar's selection of a wife for her son may be sustained as an illustration of a parent's assuming the responsibility of spouse selection for a young child. Apart from the problems about the chapter's portrayal of Ishmael as still quite young (see 21:14–19), possibly still an infant in fact, Gen 21:20–21 indicates that Ishmael grew up, became an expert with the bow, and lived in the wilderness of Paran. Eventually Hagar chose a wife for him from Egypt (Gen 21:21). The interval between 21:14–19 and 21:21 is unknown. Even if Ishmael is cast out from Isaac at 15 or 16 years of age, he could be 17, 20, or 30 before his wife is chosen for him. On the other hand, those who were older when they married (Jacob, Esau, or Boaz) played a much larger role in the selection of their mate. But even advanced age did not itself guarantee autonomy in matrimonial matters. For example, Isaac is forty (Gen 25:20) when Rebekah is chosen for him, and Pharaoh gave Asenath, daughter of Potipherah priest of On, to Joseph as wife when Joseph was thirty years old (Gen 37:45–46). The choice of Rebekah is the classic case of parentally arranged marriages (through Abraham's faithful servant [Genesis 24]). Isaac played no role, other than finding the choice to his satisfaction (24:67). Incidentally, the OT never mandates an ideal age range for marriage (cf., however, Buchanan 1956). In Egypt girls were married between the ages of twelve and fourteen, and young men between fourteen and twenty. In Greece girls were usually between fourteen and twenty, and men usually between twenty and thirty. In Rome, at the time of Augustus, the legal minimum age for girls was twelve, and for boys fourteen. The Talmud recommends marriage for girls at the age of puberty, which would be twelve or thirteen (*Yebam.*

62b). Males are encouraged to marry between fourteen and eighteen. A girl younger than twelve-and-a-half, according to Talmudic law (*Qidd.* 2b), could not refuse a marriage arranged by her father. Beyond that age her assent was essential (Yamauchi 1978: 241–43).

While Judah, son of Jacob, seems to have exercised considerable freedom in the selection of his wife (Gen 38:2), he did not extend that liberty to his son Er, but instead took Tamar as the wife for his firstborn (Gen 38:6). Subsequently he instructed another son, Onan, to "marry" his widowed daughter-in-law (Gen 38:8). Exod 2:21 implies that the Midianite priest Reuel selected Zipporah from his seven daughters and gave her to Moses, as Moses shifts from houseguest to helping hand to husband. Again in this latter case, Moses is no young immature adolescent who lacks the wisdom to select his own spouse. In the words of Exod 2:11 this happened sometime after Moses had "grown up," an age range that Stephen specifies with the proverbial "forty" (Acts 7:23).

Caleb, in an attempt to stimulate support for an invasion of the city Kiriath-sepher, offered his daughter Achsah as a trophy and wife to any man who would spearhead the attack. Othniel accepted the challenge, and in the process gained the hand of Achsah (Josh 15:16, 17 and Judg 1:12, 13). This particular story illustrates the fact that an esteemed bride could be obtained not by expensive gifts or a monumental bride–price, but by deeds of valor. It is comparable with David's marriage to Michal. Viewed from one perspective, David's marriage to Michal is parentally arranged (1 Sam 18:21), albeit for an ulterior motive. In the end, however, David won Michal not by paying a conventional bride–price, but by routing and slaughtering 200 Philistines and presenting their foreskins as evidence of his triumphs (1 Sam 18:27; 2 Sam 3:14). Even earlier than this, Saul tried to give his daughter Merab to David (1 Sam 18:17), again as a means of having David killed.

The pattern of parentally arranged marriages seems not to continue beyond Saul. Jesse, father of David, played no role in David's marriage to Abigail (1 Samuel 25), to Ahinnoam (2 Sam 2:2), to Maacah (2 Sam 2:3), to Haggith (2 Sam 2:4), to Abital (2 Sam 2:4), or to Eglah (2 Sam 2:5). And David did not select the Pharaoh's daughter for his son Solomon (1 Kgs 3:1), nor any women in his 700-member harem (1 Kgs 11:3).

Accordingly, we note a number of marriages in the OT in which the parents played an incidental, if not nonexistent, role in the marriage of their progeny. As we indicated above, where an older male was involved, the man, in several instances, took more responsibility in choosing a wife. We have already mentioned the marriages of Jacob (with, however, some guidance from the parents [27:46–28:2], even though Jacob must be older than 40 [cf. 26:34]), Esau, and Boaz. To these we might add Shechem's directive to his father about Jacob's daughter Dinah—"get me this young woman as a wife" (Gen 34:4), and similarly Samson's ultimatum to his parents—"I have seen a woman in Timnah of the daughter of the Philistines; now therefore, get her for me as a wife" (Judg 14:2). Samson's marriage is suspect on three grounds: (1) he marries a foreigner, (2) it is initiated by sexual attraction, and (3) it is against his parents' will (Bal 1987: 42). Both of these stories demonstrate that even when the initiative for spouse selection was with the husband-to-be, the formalities of parental arrangement were still followed. In such instances parental approval was assumed rather than solicited.

Abraham did not pick out a wife for Isaac. All that the father legislated was that the servant fetch a wife for Isaac from the country of Abraham's birth, and that she not be a daughter of the Canaanites (Gen 24:3, 4). If anything, the story highlights the role of divine providence in marriage. Parents supply only the most general guidelines. Furthermore, one reads in the story that Rebekah had the choice either to accept the servant's invitation to return to Canaan with him, or refuse that invitation (Gen 24:58). Her family fully honored her power of acceptance or veto. Interestingly, Abraham played no role in the story's climax. It was the servant and Rebekah, then Rebekah and Isaac alone in his late mother's tent. The text simply says (v 67), "and he loved her." Terrien (1985: 32) reminds us that the verb "to love" is susceptible of two different vocalizations: an "active" one ("and he made love to her"), which would emphasize the erotic aspect of their relationship, and a "stative" one ("and he was in love with her"), which expresses a lasting feeling rather than a temporary sensation. The Hebrew manuscripts clearly indicate the stative use.

Similarly, Isaac does not pick Jacob's wife. Like his father, his concern is that Jacob marry endogamously (Gen 28:1–5). Isaac and Rebekah are grieved by Esau's marriage to Judith and Basemath, who are Hittites (Gen 26:34, 35), but they cannot veto it. The same goes for Esau's subsequent marriage to Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael (Gen 28:6–9).

To those who have lived all their lives in the West, parentally arranged marriages will seem strange, maybe even absurd, and at least an illegitimate extension of parental authority; however, much of the world still operates in this fashion. There is at least a double rationale for parental selection of marriage partners. For one thing, such an arrangement focuses attention upon the entire family unit, and not just on the couple alone. Secondly, it permits an understanding of love which has as much to do with the commitment of the will ("I love you because you are my wife") as it does with emotions, glands, and hormones ("you are my wife because I love you") [Baker 1984: 97].

**2. Endogamy/Exogamy.** Endogamy is the custom of marrying only within one's own group, such as a clan, tribe, etc. Exogamy is the custom of marrying outside one's own clan, tribe, etc. The OT reflects both systems in operation. Sometimes the two different types of marriage exist side by side, but more often than not, one exists to the virtual exclusion of the other.

Endogamous marriage is the norm in the patriarchal age. Thus we read that Abraham married his half-sister (Gen 20:12), Nahor married his niece Milcah (Gen 11:29). Isaac married his cousin Rebekah (Gen 24:15). Esau married his cousin Malhalath (Gen 28:9). Jacob also married his cousins Rachel and Leah (Gen 29:12). This latter case illustrates the common phenomenon of cross-cousin marriage, i.e., marriage between the offspring of siblings of opposite sex, one in which a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, despite the close degree of consanguinity. It is a marital relationship that avoids "the extremes of too much endogamy on the one hand and too much exogamy on the other hand" [Oden 1983: 199]. Amram, father of Moses, married his aunt (Num 26:59). The unmarried daughters of the sonless Zelophehad raised the question of what would happen to inheritance in case of the marriage of female heirs (Num 27:1–11; 36:1–13). Would it be possible in such a situation for family inheritance to move outside the tribe? To prevent that, Moses informed the concerned parties that they could marry anybody they wish (note the latitude given here), but they could marry only within the family of their father's tribe (Num 36:6).

The justifications for endogamy are clear enough. It could be based on such a thing as unfriendly relations with a neighboring tribe. Or it may signal a need for separation from a majority group while living among or adjacent to foreigners. Thus, to give a contemporary example, a member of an Amish community could not marry somebody from a mainline Protestant denomination and remain in good graces with the Amish community. Where substantive religious issues are involved, endogamy reflects the practical need to preserve a certain norm of religious behavior, and also to maintain the ethnic purity of the tribe or family. The smaller the group, and the more entrenched its religious ethos, the greater the threat presented by exogamy to that group.

But the same biblical traditions also demonstrate that endogamy was not inviolable. Esau married two Hittites (Gen 26:34) and a Canaanite (Gen 28:6–9). Joseph married an Egyptian (Gen 41:45), Judah a Canaanite (Gen 38:2), Moses a Midianite/Cushite (Exod 2:21, Num 12:1), Samson a Philistine (Judges 14; 16:4–22), Boaz a Moabitess (Ruth 4:13), David a Calebite and Aramean (2 Sam 3:3), and Ahab a Phoenician (1 Kgs 16:31). Solomon pursued exogamy to the extreme (1 Kgs 3:1; 11:1; 14:21). There are also a few instances of an Israelite woman marrying a foreigner. Bathsheba married Uriah the Hittite (2 Sam 11:3); the Phoenician Hiram's mother was from the tribe of Naphtali (1 Kgs 7:13, 14), and Esther married the Persian King Ahasuerus. There is also the instance of Sheshan, who had only daughters, so he gave one of his daughters to his Egyptian slave (1 Chr 2:34–35). These exogamous marriages took place: (1) out of spite (Esau's); (2) when one was living in a foreign land for an unusually long period of time (Joseph's, Moses', Esther's); (3) with divine approval (but parental disapproval) as a means of moving against the enemy (Judg 13:3, 4); (4) for consolidation of political power (David's, as argued by Levenson and Halpern [1980: 507–18], Solomon's); (5) in blatant disregard for religious norms (Ahab's and Solomon's).

It is an overstatement to claim that the OT prohibits intermarriage with all gentiles. To be sure, Ezra and Nehemiah do make such a prohibition (Ezra 9–10; Neh 13:23–27) and probably were not the first to fulminate against exogamy, leading as it could to compromise or indifference. Judg 3:5, 6 makes the point in connection with its commentary on the apostasy of Israel that part of that downfall was due to Israel's intermarriage with the nations among whom she lived. Josh 23:12, 1 Kgs 11:4, and the priestly Exod 34:16 (in the context of a renewed covenant) emphasize the same.

It should be noted that one of the key passages on the subject in Deuteronomic literature, Deut 7:3, forbids intermarriage with the seven peoples to be dispossessed from the land, but does not name other foreigners. Interestingly, Leviticus 18 and 20 are replete with sexual taboos, but intermarriage is not among them (probably because the concern of these two chapters is with intrafamilial marriage). If all intermarriage is forbidden, then the law of Deut 21:10–14 would be odd, for it permits the Hebrew warrior to take a wife from female war prisoners. Furthermore, Deut 23:7, 8 seems to allow marriage with an Edomite or Egyptian after three generations (perhaps to provide sufficient time for the non-Israelite to acclimatize to Israelite practices). Amalekites, on the other hand, never qualify (Deut 25:17–19). It has been suggested that one interpretation for the Ammonite and Moabite "entering the congregation of the Lord" only after the tenth generation (Deut 23:2–6) is that intermarriage between Israelites and these two groups was postponed for ten generations. Contextually this interpretation is lent support by Deut 22:13–23:1, which deals with marriage laws. But in light of the book of Ruth, where intermarriage with Moabites did take place, it seems that "enter the congregation" is another way of saying "enter the temple of the Lord."

If the exogamous marriages of kings like David, Solomon, and Ahab are typical, then it is possible that "from the beginning of monarchy, the number of intermarriages increase, and exogamy is socially tolerated to the point where it inspires indifference rather than anxiety" (Brenner 1985: 116–17). If so, then perhaps the legal prohibitions against intermarriage were a Deuteronomic response to intentional deviation from the norm, a deviation made even more possible by the religious and political demoralization brought by the fall of N Israel in 722 B.C.

What was a minor entry in the Deuteronomic platform became a major component in the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah. Two entire chapters in Ezra (9 and 10) are devoted to this subject (see also Neh 9:2; 10:30; 13:3, 23–27, 28). The guilty parties included members of the priests (Ezra 10:18–22), the Levites (Ezra 10:23–24), and the laity (Ezra 10:25–43). The postexilic prophet Malachi, and probably a contemporary of Ezra and Nehemiah, rebuked his people for marrying "the daughter of a foreign god" (Mal 2:11). Malachi's *bat-ʾēl nēkār* is the equivalent of *nāšîm nokriyyôt* in 1 Kgs 11:1, 8; Ezra 10:2; Neh 13:26. That Malachi uses the phrase "daughter of a foreign god" rather than "foreign women" suggests not only the evil of intermarriage per se, but the inevitable religious syncretism that accompanied such exogamous marriages. It is not difficult to see why such marriages might flourish in the postexilic era. For one thing, impoverished exiles, stripped of home and possessions, would opt to marry women from wealthy families (i.e., foreign) in order to advance their economic status. And again, the openness of the Persian administration fostered a more intimate give-and-take between its own populace and various displaced persons living within its borders (Glazier-McDonald 1987: 605).

Given this situation, Ezra's reform had as its goal a separation of Israel from everything that induced contamination. His goal, as argued by Bossman (1979: 36), was the purification of the people according to a priestly ideal of separation from all that is unclean. For Ezra it was impossible to make consonant with each other this penchant for intermarriage and God's call to his people to be holy. Anything that threatened to abort this movement of reformation in a community recently resettled, uncertain of its future, and searching for its identity had to be dealt with forthrightly, even if the measures seemed distasteful and counterproductive to the majority. Incidentally, there is no indication that Ezra's interdiction of marriage with foreign women extended to marriages of Judean Jews with Samaritan women. The latter do not fall into the category of *nāšîm nokriyyôt.*

It appears that postbiblical Judaism is closer to Ezra than it is to Moses on the question of endogamy/exogamy. For instance, *Jubilees* (mid-2d century B.C.) 30 states (incorrectly) that Moses

outlawed intermarriage with all gentiles. However, *Jubilees* 30 (esp. vv 7–11) builds not on the locus classicus Deut 7:3–4, but on Lev 18:21.

Unlike the integrating Hellenizers of the 2d century B.C., the Maccabeans, of whom *Jubilees* is a product, pushed for stability through separation. Where could such separation be more manifest than in the avoidance of exogamous marriages? In agreement with *Jubilees*, the 1st-century-A.D. Jewish philosopher from Alexandria, Philo (*Spec Leg* 3.29), argued strenuously against intermarriage, using Moses for support, especially Deut 7:3–4, as did the Jewish historian in Rome, Josephus (*Ant* 8.190–96). For both of these authors exogamy was a violation of a Mosaic ordinance.

In contrast to *Jubilees*, Philo, and Josephus, rabbinic society seems not to have been disturbed by intermarriage. Both the Palestinian Talmud and the Babylonian Talmud are relatively quiet on the issue, and the prohibition of intermarriage does not even appear in the Mishnah (Cohen 1983: 27–28).

**3. Monogamy/Polygamy.** The ideal marraige in OT society was a monogamous one, one man for one woman, one woman for one man. The creation narrative (Gen 2:24) makes this point with its call to the man to forsake his mother and father and cleave unto his wife (not wives). In fact, there is only one illustration of the violation of that pattern in primeval history, and that is Lamech (Gen 4:23). A number of laws have been cited (*IDB* 3: 281) as support for monogamous marriage: Exod 20:17; 21:5; Lev 18:8, 11, 14, 15, 16, 20; 20:10; 21:13; Num 5:12; Deut 5:21; 22:22. Wisdom Literature also provides copious texts in support of monogamy: Prov 12:4; 18:22; 19:13; 21:9; Eccl 9:9; Job 31:1, 9–12; Sir 26:1–4. It would appear, however, that the main justification in using these verses to substantiate monogamy is the use of *ʾiššâ* in the singular. But a closer look at these verses raises serious questions about whether or not they provide credence for monogamy. For example, Exod 20:17 and Deut 5:21 list several things one is not to covet, and all the objects the individual is warned against coveting are in the singular. If it is possible for a man to have more than one manservant, maidservant, ox, or ass, he could have more than one wife. Or again, Lev 18:8, 11, 14, 15, 16, 20 all refer to uncovering the nakedness of somebody's wife, again always in the singular. However, one should not suppose, for example, that a person has only one sister (e.g., 18:9) since "sister" appears in the singular as well. In fact, Lev 18:9 warns against uncovering the nakedness of one's sister, who is further identified as "the daughter of your father or the daughter of your mother," indicating that a man could have multiple wives, providing sons and daughters from different mothers.

Indeed, the OT is replete with illustrations of polygamous marriages. To be more precise, it tells of instances of polygyny (one husband, more than one wife), but no instance of polyandry (one wife, more than one husband). Apart from the two wives of Lamech already noted, we recall (1) Abraham with Sarah and his concubines Hagar and Keturah (Genesis 16; 25:1–2); (2) Jacob with Leah and Rachel (Gen 29:15–30); (3) Esau with three wives (Gen 26:34; 36:2; 28:9); (4) Gideon with his "many wives" (Judg 8:30); (5) Elkanah with Hannah and Peninnah (1 Sam 1:2); (6) David with seven named wives (1 Sam 18:17–30; 25:38–43; 2 Sam 3:2–5) and additional unnamed ones (2 Sam 5:13); (7) Solomon and his royal harem (1 Kgs 3:1; 11:3; Cant 6:8); and (8) Rehoboam with his eighteen wives (2 Chr 11:21). There is one law in the Deuteronomic code (Deut 21:15–17) which does allow for one man to be married simultaneously to two wives. And the only individual who is admonished in the same code not to multiply wives is the king (Deut 17:17). No such prohibition is directed to the king's subjects.

Looking at these lists of polygamists, one is led to the conclusion that polygyny may have been limited to men who occupied leadership positions, who were well off, or who had some other claim to distinction. Indeed, de Vaux comments (*AncIsr*, 25): "it is noteworthy that the books of Samuel and Kings, which cover the entire period of the monarchy, do not record a single case of bigamy among commoners (except that of Samuel's father, 1 Sam 1:2, at the very beginning of the period)." However, the books of Samuel and Kings record little about any commoner, or the marriage of any commoner.

It is clear that in most of the above-cited instances polygyny was a major contributor to problems in the household. Witness the debacle between Hagar and Sarah, or Rachel's envying of Leah's fertility (Gen 30:1–2, 15), or the frustration of Esau's parents (Gen 26:35), or the liquidation of Gideon's seventy sons by Abimelech, his son by concubine (Judges 9), or Peninnah's provocation of Hannah (1 Sam 1:6), or

David's in-house squabbling and treachery among half-brothers and half-sisters (2 Samuel 13, 1 Kings 1–2), or Solomon's forfeiture of his empire (1 Kings 11).

Wherever the emphasis of marriage is placed on procreation or the sexual satisfaction of the man, more than likely polygyny will flourish. But one should not attribute all instances of polygyny to lust. In a society that is overwhelmingly seminomadic and agricultural, the maintenance of several wives would supply an abundant work force to tend flocks and work fields.

**4. Among the Prophets.** It is the prophets whom we must credit with conceiving the idea of Yahweh as the husband of Israel in their attempt to graphically portray God's covenant election of Israel. The Torah, however, already hints of this kind of relationship between God and his people. For example, the commandment that urges aniconic worship of the deity finds its motivation in the affirmation that Yahweh is a "jealous" God (Exod 20:5). The Hebrew for the adjective "jealous" is *qannā*› (see also Exod 34:14). The related noun *qin*›*â* and verb *qinnē*› describe the agitation of a husband suspicious of his wife's infidelity (Num 5:14, 30; cf. Prov 6:34 for this noun *qin*›*â* used to describe the passionate feelings of a husband vis-à-vis his wife). The Torah also uses the verb *zānâ* ("go whoring") to express apostasy of Israel from Yahweh (Exod 34:15, 16), as well as the noun *zônîm* ("harlotry," Num 15:39).

The prophetic development of this figure built upon this tradition reflected in the Torah. Hosea was the first to advance the metaphor significantly. He was then followed by Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the exilic Isaiah, and Malachi. In Hosea's case his own marriage to Gomer was intricately connected with his meditation on Israel's marriage to Yahweh. It is still a moot point whether or not God instructed Hosea to marry a lady who was already a street harlot in order to illustrate God's choice of an already loose-living people, or whether Hosea married a lady who was potentially promiscuous, who subsequently abandoned the prophet, thus providing a poignant illustration to Hosea of Yahweh's hurting and grieving heart over the apostasy of his spouse.

Hosea 3 is the autobiographical account of Hosea's new marriage or remarriage. He "bought" (3:2) his spouse for fifteen shekels of silver. In between these two marriages of the prophet the second chap. expands on Hosea's experiences, justifying Hosea's divorce from Gomer (2:3–15—Eng2:1–13), and addressing theologically Hosea's second marriage (2:16–25—Eng2:1–23). Hosea is told by God to speak to the woman's children (i.e., the citizens of northern Israel) and urge them to "arraign your mother" (i.e., the kingdom of northern Israel), for of that Israel God will say: "she is not my wife [›*ištî*] and I am not her husband [›*îšâ*]" (Hos 2:4—Eng2:2). In the second half of this chapter, however, the emphasis is reversed, and Yahweh's marriage, or remarriage, with the people is depicted.

What is of special import here is the indication that because of God's (re)marriage to Israel, "In that day, says Yahweh, You will call me My husband / My man [›*îšî*], And no longer will you call me My master / My owner [*ba*‹*lî*]" (Hos 2:18—Eng2:16). To be sure, the use of *ba*‹*lî* is directed against the false worship of the Canaanite baals of the fields, as the next verse makes clear: "And I will remove the name of the Baals from her mouth, and they shall no longer be mentioned by their name." But this is more than simply a broadside against Canaanite fertility concepts. What Hosea affirms is that in God's (re)marriage with his people, there will be more than a master-slave relationship. As Terrien (1985: 54) has stated, Hosea attacks the idea of "marriage as a contract of ownership through which a woman is nothing more than the property of a man. Israel … will not look at her God as if she were the slave of her master, but she will enjoy with him the status of partner and trusted friend."

It is of interest that it was Hosea, and not some of his contemporaries, such as Amos or Micah or Isaiah, who got the most mileage out of this daring marriage metaphor. There are hints of the concept in Amos, e.g., when he refers to "the virgin of Israel" (5:2), or when he uses a phrase like "you only have I known among all the families of the earth" (3:2), with its apparent conjugal symbolism. But there is nothing approaching Hosea's bold use of the metaphor. Nerved by his strong foundation in covenant theology with its emphasis on moral love, and caught in the trauma of his own marriage experience, Hosea may use the marriage metaphor as graphically as he does precisely because he is, unlike Amos or Isaiah, meeting head on a pagan cult that includes marriage themes in its mythology and sexual acts in its praxis (Hall 1982: 170).

Hosea's appropriation of Yahweh as husband and Israel as bride is the forerunner for similar emphasis in subsequent prophets. Jeremiah picks up this imagery in Jer 2:20–25 and 3:1–3. He even calls Judah's allies her "lovers" (22:20, 22; 30:14; see also Hos 8:9). Ezekiel 16 with its extended discussion of Judah as a nymphomaniacal adulteress is a classic passage. Two expressions, both in v 8, describe God's "marriage" to Judah before she sought other lovers. The first is "I spread my skirt/wing over you," which is another way of saying "I married you" (see also Deut 23:1—Eng22:30; 27:20; Ruth 3:9; Mal 2:16). In marriage the man's garment covered the woman's nakedness, whereas adultery uncovered it. The second phrase is Ezek 16:8, "I entered into a covenant with you." This is one of only two places in the entire OT where marriage is spoken of as a covenant. The other is Mal 2:14. Finally, the later Isaiah used the same metaphor for God's attachment to Israel (Isa 61:10 and 62:5). In the latter God is compared to a bridegroom exulting over his bride. The prophets shared completely their Hebrew tradition that Yahweh is never conceived of as having sexuality. And yet they were not hesitant to speak of Israel as God's bride, an imagery that abounds in non-Israelite religions where the gods and goddesses were explicitly sexual. In exploiting the marriage metaphor even at the divine level, the prophets were in effect engaging in a demythologizing hermeneutic.

Apart from their symbolic use of the marriage metaphor, four of the prophets integrated their own marriage, or lack thereof, into their message. We have already mentioned Hosea's marriage to Gomer and the three children born of this marriage, to whom were given richly symbolic names. Isaiah fathered two children by his wife, who is simply styled "the prophetess" (Isa 8:3), and each of the children bore a symbolic name, ambiguous in their interpretation as either signs of hope or signs of judgment. The death of Ezekiel's wife, called "the desire of your eyes" (Ezek 24:16), is foretold to Ezekiel, and the prophet is instructed not to mourn for her, not even to shed a tear (Ezek 24:16–18). Similarly, mourning is to be withheld from those about to experience their own demise. Finally, Jeremiah provides the only illustration in the OT of a divine call to celibacy (Jer 16:2). The joy and fulfillment denied to him is a harbinger of days of judgment for Jeremiah's contemporaries. This particular prohibition for Jeremiah is not dated, but it must have come at a point in his ministry where all hope for the repentance and salvation of his peers became impossible. Jeremiah faced extinction on two fronts, one from his enemies, who wished to cut him off and blot out his name, the other from God, who denied him marriage, and thus progeny to perpetuate his name.

**5. In Wisdom Literature.** Ecclesiastes and Proverbs affirm repeatedly the happiness and delight in the reciprocal love of a man and woman in marriage. The writer of Ecclesiastes vetoes the solitary life with his famous "two are better than one" (5:9), then describes the life of mutuality these two may share (5:10–12). While these four verses may be describing simply the value of a friend, they suggest that marriage at its heart is a friendship, not a hierarchy between suzerain and servant. Thus there is a time for embracing (3:5b). Is it possible that the enigmatic "there is a time to cast away stones, and a time to gather stones" (3:5a) refers to times of sexual intimacy and euphoria and to times of sexual abstinence (Loader 1969: 242)? In both phrases the emphasis is on giving oneself to another, to intimacy. Eccl 9:9 admonishes one to live joyfully with the wife whom you love.

Proverbs reverberates with the same theme. See, for example, Prov 5:18–20; 6:29; 12:4; 18:22; 19:14; 30:19; 31:10–31. It is well known that Proverbs is written from the man's/husband's point of view. So Proverbs speaks of the husband who must live with a nagging wife who is like a dripping faucet (17:1, 14; 19:13; 21:9, 19; 25:24; 27:15–16; 30:23). Nowhere is there a proverb that counsels the wife on what she is to do when she has to share the home with an insensitive and obnoxious husband. To aid the male in finding the right wife, Proverbs lists a sample of commendable traits such a woman should exemplify (31:10–31). It does not provide a parallel list in order to assist the female to find a "virtuous husband." At the same time, the list of gifts possessed by this ideal wife are hardly the traditional cooking, cleaning, and conceiving. She is, in addition to a devoted mother and a loving wife, a business woman, a real estate agent, a farmer, a philanthropist, a craftsman, a seller, purchaser, and administrator.

We include the Song of Songs in this section even though it does not fall into the category of Wisdom Literature. One reason for utilizing the Song of Songs at this point is that, unlike Proverbs, it is written

from a woman's point of view. It is a passionate love song in which a young bride and groom, now at the point of readiness for consummation of marriage, celebrate their reciprocal erotic love. Especially prominent in this rhapsody is the woman's passion for her lover. She is the one who seeks him, not vice versa (3:1–4; 5:6–8), and it is her recollections of his attractive features that are given prominence. It is important to observe that the Song extols not fertility but human love. For this reason, there is no allusion to any legal aspect of marriage, to procreation, or to the institution of the family. Here is further evidence, then, of the Bible's moving away from an exclusive focus on marriage as primarily the siring of progeny, i.e., marriage as a means to an end.

**6. Levirate Marriage.** Deut 25:5–10 provides legal sanction for a marriage between a widow whose husband died without offspring (the *yĕbāmâ*) and the brother of the deceased (the *yābām*). It is the responsibility of the latter "to perform the duty of a husband's brother" (*yābam*). When the brother-in-law chooses not to marry the *yĕbāmâ,* the ceremony of *ḥălîṣâ* (removal by the widow of the brother-in-law's sandal) takes place, and the widow spits in his face as well. This latter is a point of interest, for this law is the only one in the OT that includes in its statement of penalty an act of humiliation against the villain. The removal of the shoe by the woman is not an additional part of the insult. Rather, in removing the brother-in-law's shoe, with the town's elders as witnesses, the woman assumes the right to her freedom and full control of her destiny.

This type of marriage is known as levirate marriage, from the Latin *levir,* "brother-in-law." Its continuation into the NT era is demonstrated by the Sadducees' question to Jesus about the childless woman who was married in sequence to six of her late husband's brothers (Matt 22:23–33 = Mark 12:18–27 = Luke 20:27–40). We have seen that levirate marriage existed in Ugarit, in the Middle Assyrian (no. 33) and Hittite law codes (no. 193), and possibly in the Nuzi texts. In these texts the primary concern is with producing a (male) child to carry on the name of the deceased husband.

Two stories in the OT portray levirate marriage in operation: Genesis 38 and Ruth. However, when either one of these stories is aligned with the law in Deuteronomy, significant differences are apparent. For example, in Deuteronomy and Genesis 38 the levirate is compulsory; in Ruth it is not. Again, Deut 25:5–10 limits the levirate to brothers "who dwell together" (i.e., brothers who have not yet come into their inheritance and who have not yet established families of their own). On the other hand, Genesis 38 extends the levirate to the father-in-law and Ruth to a distant relative. Genesis 38 at least accords with Middle Assyrian Law no. 33 and Hittite Law no. 193, both of which mention first the brother as the normal partner, but allows his father this function as well. And thirdly, Deut 25:7 makes it clear that the levir's responsibilities are "to raise up a name for his brother." But note that it is Judah and Boaz, i.e., the real/biological fathers, who are mentioned in the genealogies of Perez and Obed, and not Er and Mahlon.

This latter point suggests that levirate marriage in the OT is not simply concerned with producing a male child nor with producing an heir to the dead man's property. It is concerned just as much, if not more, with the support and protection of the widow, and the perpetuation of family property within the immediate family (Thompson and Thompson 1968: 96). How close, one might ask, does the levirate marriage come to incest? At the end of the Genesis 38 story we read that the father-in-law Judah "did not lie with her [Tamar] again," for a marriage between father-in-law and daughter-in-law is not normal. By contrast, we do not read that Boaz ceased to "know" Ruth after he fathered Obed by her. His relationship to Ruth was distant enough for levirate marriage to evolve into normal marriage. In Lev 18:6–8; 20:11–12; and Deut 2:20, 22–23 appear kinds of sexual unions between kin that are illicit according to covenant morality. The various prohibitions include six relationships of consanguinity (based on blood), Lev 18:7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and eight of affinity (based on marriage), Lev 18:8, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. Presumably the list is selective rather than exhaustive, for how else would one account for the absence of both cousins and daughters from the above lists (Gottwald 1979: 302)? One of the sexual unions forbidden between relatives on the basis of affinity is sexual intercourse with one's sister-in-law (Lev 18:16). Now since the law of the levirate requires the brother-in-law to raise up a child to his deceased brother by way of marrying and having intercourse with his sister-in-law, then we have to assume that the legislation of

Deut 25:5–10 is an exception to the legislation regarding marriage and/or sexual intercourse with one's sister-in-law.

**7. In the Creation Narratives.** The emphasis in Gen 1:1–2:3 in terms of human beings is first the creation of male and female with no differentiation between temporal priority and function, and second, the blessing of fertility and the mutual exercise of dominion given to these two. It should not go unnoticed that the two places where God "blesses" someone or something (1:22, 28) are followed immediately by the imperatives "be fruitful and multiply." Male and female in Genesis 1 are more of a biological pair than a social partnership. Little attention is paid to the relationship of male and female to each other, or to marriage per se. And yet the very fact that the power to reproduce is a blessing given to the male and female at their simultaneous creation, and therefore not dependent upon subsequent recitation of myth, is itself a refutation of the rationale of the fertility cult (Bird 1981: 147).

If Gen 1:1–2:3 says much about fertility and little about marriage, Gen 2:4–25 says much about marriage and nothing about fertility. In this portion, usually called the Yahwist (J) creation account, Yahweh-Elohim created the male first. Shortly thereafter Yahweh arrived at the conclusion that it is not good for man to be by himself. It was Yahweh, not the man, who made this determination, and he turned his attention to rectifying the situation of man's aloneness. Yahweh-Elohim proceeded to make for man a helper (v 18). The Hebrew word for "helper" (*ʿēzer*) has particularly rich nuances throughout the OT. For example, of the twenty-one times it is used, fifteen times it refers to divine help. Most of these refer to help in times of despair or distress. As his helper, woman rescues man from his loneliness and delivers him from his solitude. She is not somebody who supplies the necessary anatomical apparatus to allow the man to produce a second man.

This helper is to be "meet for him" (KJV) or "fit for him" (RSV), which are attempts to translate a Hebrew expression which reads literally "like what is in front of him," (*kĕnegdô*). A good translation would be "corresponding to," suggesting that both man and woman form a polarity. Neither is inferior/superior to the other, but one without the other is incomplete.

After extracting a "rib" (?) of Adam (the only time this Hebrew word [*ṣlʿ*] is so translated in the OT), Yahweh-Elohim "built" it into a woman (v 22). Upon seeing her, the man exclaimed: "this one is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh" (v 23). This is more than simply an affirmation of blood ties. Both "flesh" and "bone" carry a double meaning. *Bāśār* means both "flesh/meat" and "weakness" (Isa 31:3). *ʿEṣem* means both "bone" and "strength" (cf. the verbal form *ʿāṣamtā* in Gen 26:16 ["you are stronger than we are"]). There is in both the man and the woman the inevitable presence of the strong and the weak, and the two are therefore necessary for each other "in sickness and in health" and "in plenty and in want" (Brueggemann 1970: 534). Marriage, then, is essentially a bond of covenant loyalty.

The penultimate verse in the Yahwist's account of the primal marriage is that a man is "to leave his father and mother and cleave unto his wife" (v 24). The verbs "leave/cleave" (*ʿāzab/dābaq*) are not chosen haphazardly. Both enforce the idea of marriage as covenant. For instance, *ʿāzab* is used to describe Israel's abandoning her covenant relationship with God, i.e., terminating one relationship only to start another (Jer 1:16; Hos 4:10). And *dābaq* is the verb used to encourage Israel to be faithful to her covenant relationship with her God (Deut 10:20; 11:22; 13:5; Josh 23:8; 1 Kgs 11:2). The result of such leaving/cleaving is that man and woman become "one flesh."

It is perhaps somewhat surprising to read that it is the man who abandons his parents and attaches himself to his wife. Would it not be more appropriate, especially in a patriarchal society, for a woman to leave her parents and attach herself to her husband? While this might possibly be a reflection of *erēbu* marriage, discussed above, it more likely reflects the revolutionary concept that a marriage between a man and a woman takes precedence over a man's duty to his parents. In Terrien's words (1985: 17) " 'maritality' displaces patriarchal filiality."

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VICTOR P. HAMILTON

## *NEW TESTAMENT*

It is frequently stated that the relatively few explicit statements on marriage in the NT make it impossible to identify either a specifically Christian marital ethos or a specifically Christian teaching on marriage, that Jesus' teaching on marriage is found primarily in the Synoptics' pericope on divorce (Mark 10:2–12), and that Paul was a misogynist who had a decidedly negative view of marriage. Each of these presuppositions relative to the NT authors' views on marriage stand in need of further nuance in the light of recent biblical scholarship.

### A. Jesus

1. Jesus and the Commandments
2. Jesus and Divorce
3. The Demands of Discipleship
4. Marriage and the Resurrection
5. The Marriage Banquet

B. Paul
1. 1 Thess 4:3–8
2. 1 Corinthians 7

C. The Post-Pauline Tradition
1. Household Codes
2. The Pastoral Epistles

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**A. Jesus**

The relatively rare references to marriage in the canonical gospels is most probably due to the fact that the historical Jesus accepted marriage as a normal institution of his day, just as he accepted most other social institutions of his times. With his fellow Jews, Jesus regarded marriage as an integral and essential element in the fabric of Jewish life.

Although late in their origins, and permeated with significant theological motifs, the infancy narratives of both Matthew and Luke announce Jesus' birth within the context of the marital union of Mary and Joseph (Matt 1:18–25; Luke 2:4–6; cf. Matt 13:55). The Lukan infancy narrative significantly reflects the importance of offspring within marriage in its portrayal of the birth of John (Luke 1:5–25, 57–58). A history-of-traditions analysis of the first Cana pericope (John 2:1–12) suggests an early Sitz im Leben in the life of the historical Jesus, namely Jesus' attendance at a family wedding where his mother and other relatives were also present.

Jesus shared with his contemporary Jews a patriarchal view of marriage: a man marries and a woman is married (Luke 14:20; cf. 24:34–35; Mark 12:25; Matt 22:30). In accordance with typical Jewish mores, for which Gen 1:28 served as a scriptural warrant, many (probably most) of his disciples were married (Matt 8:14; 20:20; 27:56; Mark 1:30; 15:40; Luke 4:38; 8:3).

**1. Jesus and the Commandments.** Pre-Markan traditions, the nucleus of which may well go back to the historical Jesus, highlight Jesus' acceptance of the contemporary marital ethos. In a "rabbinic dialogue" (Mark 10:17–22; Matt 19:16–22; Luke 18:18–23), Jesus reiterates the importance of the commandments "do not commit adultery" and "honor your father and mother." An ancient tradition which most probably enjoyed an independent existence in the Palestinian church was used by Mark (Mark 7:9–13; Matt 15:3–6) to highlight the distinction between the commandments of God and human traditions. The pre-Markan tradition stressed the responsibility of children to provide for their parents.

The second antithesis of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5:27–28), which explains the commandment "you shall not commit adultery," in radical fashion so that it prohibits lust as well as adultery, reflects the catechetical tradition of Matthew's Hellenistic Jewish community. The Jesus who is presented as thus upholding the marital and familial *halakhah* is one who shares the views of his people. The logia attributed to Jesus in this regard are similar to statements attributed to various Jewish authorities.

**2. Jesus and Divorce.** Jewish authorities disagreed among themselves as to the interpretation of Deut 24:1. A well-known debate between the school of Hillel and the school of Shammai focused on the interpretation of the biblical phrase "something indecent." The disciples of Shammai interpreted the phrase strictly, that is, in terms of sexual immorality, while the disciples of Hillel interpreted the phrase more broadly so that divorce—a concession to the husband—was possible even if his wife spoiled a meal for him (*m. Giṭ.* 9:10). This debate provides the historical background (cf. Mark 6:17–18; Matt 14:30; Luke 3:19) for the controversy story in Mark 10:2–10 (Matt 19:3–12).

The core of Jesus' saying in Mark 10:11 (Matt 19:9) is certainly authentic since it is also found in the Q tradition (Luke 16:18; Matt 5:32) and as an independent word of the Lord in the Pauline tradition (1 Cor

7:10). Perhaps Matt 5:32 represents the oldest attainable version of the logion; it reflects a typically Jewish position in which only the man "who marries" may avail himself of Deut 24:1. Also, Mark 10:9 (Matt 19:6) can plausibly be attributed to Jesus.

As presently narrated, however, the entire dispute seems to reflect the kind of controversy in which the early Palestinian church was engaged. Moreover, both the Markan and the Matthean versions of the controversy give evidence of editorial modifications by the respective evangelists. Thus it is impossible to state just how much of the extant narrative reflects the historical ministry of Jesus. It is, nonetheless, quite probable that Jesus often spoke about marriage, most likely in a confrontational situation with some of the Pharisees. The extant narratives vividly proclaim that from a Jewish and a Christian perspective, the marital union is founded upon God's creative will.

Given the multiple attestation of Jesus' teaching on divorce within the NT, there is a virtual consensus among scholars that Jesus was unequivocally opposed to divorce. His teaching was a "hard saying," even for the NT authors. In order to accommodate the saying of Jesus' to his Hellenistic, and presumably Roman readership, Mark expands Jesus' saying so as to invoke Jesus' authority as also prohibiting a wife's divorce of her husband. His modification of the Jewish patriarchal tradition is also apparent in his addition of "against her" in Mark 10:11.

Matthew's redactional addition, "except for unchastity" (Matt 19:9; cf. Matt 5:32), is an obvious accommodation to his Hellenistic Jewish audience. The awkward phrasing of the exception in the original Greek shows that it relates to the interpretation of Deut 24:1. Scholars continue to debate about the meaning of the exception. The most common views are that it is a good-conscience clause directed to those who have availed themselves of the possibility provided by Deut 24:1, interpreted in a relatively strict sense, or that it reinforces the tradition of Jesus itself by exempting incestuous unions from the prohibition of divorce. Arguments for the latter opinion can be found in some parallel texts from Qumran (cf. CD 4:20–21; 11QTemple 57:17–19). In 1 Cor 7:12, Paul contrasts the traditional saying of Jesus with his own statement on the possibility of marital separation when a believer is married to an unbeliever. See also DIVORCE.

**3. The Demands of Discipleship.** In its present narrative context, Mark's version on the controversy over divorce is a story of the demands of discipleship relative to marriage. Mark also preserves the memory of earlier traditions which indicate that normal familial relationships are profoundly affected by discipleship and the announcement of the coming of the kingdom (Mark 10:29–30; par. Matt 19:29; Luke 18:29–30; cf. Mark 3:31–35, par.). Similar traditions are preserved in the Q material (Luke 12:53; Matt 10:35; Luke 14:26; Matt 10:37; cf. Luke 9:59–60; Matt 8:21–22; Matt 10:21), thus increasing the likelihood of their reflecting a situation in Jesus' own preaching. The early tradition does not suggest that discipleship entails the separation of husband and wife; however, Luke's editorial modification of the tradition indicates that discipleship could adversely affect even the marital relationship itself (Luke 14:26; 18:29).

**4. Marriage and the Resurrection.** Luke's redactional modifications of the earlier tradition may well reflect a tendency against marriage among some early Christians. The tendency was not only due to popular philosophical notions which viewed sex as evil and marriage as unwarranted, but also to common Jewish apocalyptic notions which hold that there is neither sexuality nor marriage in the age to come (cf. Rev 14:4). Such views, for which early Jewish Christians had some sympathy, are reflected in the dispute on levirate marriage (Mark 13:18–27; Matt 22:23–33; Luke 20:27–38). The controversy story reflects the polemics of the early Church, although some of its elements may go back to the historical Jesus. Not only does it contrast life in the age to come from life in the present, but it also proclaims that marriage for the sake of the name of a woman's first husband is inconsistent with a Christian view of marriage.

**5. The Marriage Banquet.** Early Jewish Christians capitalized on a biblical tradition (Isa 54:5; Jer 2:2; Hos 1:2–9; etc.) which found in marriage a symbolic expression of God's covenantal union with his people. Matthew, in traditions taken from Q (Matt 22:1–14) and his own sources (Matt 15:1–12) used wedding celebrations to symbolize the significance of Jesus' mission. The Johannine tradition spoke of Christ as the bridegroom (John 3:29; 2:9–10; Rev 19:7–9) and used the story of the wedding at Cana to

symbolize the new relationship established by Jesus. Similar views were expressed in a much earlier period by the apostle Paul himself (2 Cor 11:2).

**B. Paul**

Paul's own views on marriage as it was to be lived among Christians were essentially expressed in 1 Thess 4:3–8 and 1 Cor 7:1–40. His letters nonetheless indicate that most Church leaders in his day were married (1 Cor 9:5) and there is substantial exegetical opinion to support the view that Paul himself may have been married, though he was apparently not married when he wrote 1 Corinthians (1 Cor 7:8). Certainly the marital team of Priscilla and Aquila were an important part of the gentile mission during Paul's time (Acts 18:18, 26; Rom 16:3–4; cf. 1 Cor 16:19; 2 Tim 4:19). Paul's espousal of some traditional (Jewish) views on marriage is reflected in 1 Cor 11:2–16, a passage which emphasizes that both men and women are to be properly attired when they make use of their prophetic gifts.

**1. 1 Thess 4:3–8.** Paul's earliest views on marriage are expressed in the earliest of his epistles. Paul shared the view of the Jewish paraenetic and polemical traditions in which sexual and marital mores distinguish God's people from the gentiles. He uses them to distinguish the behavior of the believer from the nonbeliever (v 5). Because Paul made use of a traditional *topos,* familiar to Hellenist and Jew alike, there is no real reason to think that the sexual and marital practices of the Thessalonian Christians were particularly lax. Paul was simply exhorting the neophyte Christians to a pattern of behavior consistent with their new situation. Specifically, he exhorted them to avoid immoral behavior, and positively encouraged them to marry (v 4, a verse that some authors, incorrectly, take to be an exhortation to sexual asceticism), while warning against adultery within the Christian community (v 6, a verse that some authors interpret as an exhortation to integrity in financial affairs). Paul urges that the marital relationship, lived as he encourages them to live it, be seen as a matter of their belonging to God ("their sanctification," v 3), a relationship in which the spirit is the empowering force (v 8). In typical fashion, Paul proposed fidelity to Jesus, the relationship with fellow Christians, and the fear of divine vengeance (see also Heb 13:4) as a triple motivation for the pattern of life which he had encouraged the Thessalonian neophytes to live.

**2. 1 Corinthians 7.** Paul's views on marriage and sexuality were reiterated and somewhat modified in 1 Corinthians 7. A letter from one of the Corinthian communities provided Paul with the occasion to offer his opinion. A popular slogan, "it is good for a man not to touch a woman," summed up the rigorously ascetical view entertained by some Corinthians. They rejected sexual intercourse and marriage. The slogan seems to reflect a rather dualistic understanding of the human being, most probably under the influence of some form of gnostic thought, and may well have represented the position of those elitists and enthusiasts whom Paul took to task in various other passages of his correspondence (cf. 1 Cor 8:1; 13:1).

Paul's response (1 Cor 7:2–5) to the Corinthians' query essentially reiterates the views which he had expounded in 1 Thess 4:3–8. In order that immorality be avoided (cf. 1 Thess 4:3), each person should have his or her own spouse (vv 3–4), a rather egalitarian view which distinguishes Paul's teaching in 1 Corinthians from the earlier expression of his teaching on marriage. This egalitarian view is consistent with Paul's exposition in the entire chapter (vv 10, 12–14, 16, 32–34).

The avoidance of immorality as a motivation for marriage (v 36) is entirely in keeping with the Jewish tradition. A novelty, however, is Paul's opinion that marriage is a charism, a special gift from God (v 7), a point of view that is in keeping with Paul's emphasis on the role of the spirit in 1 Thess 3:8. For Paul marriage is a sanctifying and salvific reality whose benefits redound not only to the believer but also to an unbelieving spouse and the children born of the marital union (vv 14–16).

In vv 5–6, Paul adds a brief thought on sexual abstinence to his response to the Corinthians' question. His thought patterns are in keeping with Jewish tradition. The schools of Shammai and Hillel disagreed among themselves as to how long a man might abstain from sexual intercourse with his wife, the former indicating two weeks as the permitted period, the later allowing only one week's abstinence (*m. Ketub.* 5:6), and then only under the condition that the wife's consent had been obtained. Among the rabbis an exception was made for the disciples of the sages who desired to study the Law, but even then the time of

abstinence was limited to but thirty days. By way of concession (v 6), Paul allows for the possibility of sexual abstinence, but only under three conditions: that the abstinence be for the purpose of prayer, that there be mutual agreement, and that the period of abstinence be limited to a short time.

Despite Paul's rejection of the view that the moral good requires the avoidance of marriage and abstinence from sexual intercourse, Paul is disinclined to recommend marriage for all. Four times he expresses the view that it is preferable for Christians not to marry (vv 8, 25–35, 36–38, 39) and offers his current marital status as a desideratum. His dominant opinion, undoubtedly motivated by his eschatological views, is that one ought to remain in the state in which he or she was called: the married should remain married; the unmarried should remain unmarried (vv 12, 17, 24, 29).

Although Paul's opinion was undoubtedly formed in the light of his expectation of the proximate coming of the final times (v 26), he has also cited a pragmatic and functional thought as to why the unmarried should remain so. Just as some philosophers from within the Cynic-Stoic tradition had viewed marriage as necessarily burdensome and full of care, with the consequence, as expressed by some (e.g. Epict. *Discourses* 3.7 §19–22), that it is inappropriate for one with a divine mission, so Paul cited the normal cares and concerns of marriage as a reason why it might be preferable for the believer to remain unmarried. His stated advice was quite understandable within the Jewish and Hellenistic world in which he lived.

To which categories of Christians did Paul direct his advice that it was preferable for the unmarried to remain in an unmarried state? First of all, to the "unmarried (probably widowers) and widows" (v 8; cf. v 39). Paul had also been asked about virgins (v 25). Scholars debate as to what kind of "virgins" Paul had in mind as he responded to the inquiry. Were the virgins those who had never been married (with Paul's response then being ultimately directed to their fathers), those who were engaged (with the response then directed to the couple itself), or those involved in some sort of sexually abstinent "spiritual marriage"? Many scholars believe that having introduced the topic in v 25, Paul has first written rather generally about the marriage of the unmarried (with the practical result that the "virgins," *parthenōn,* of v 25 are simply the unmarried). Then, in v 36, Paul turned to the specific topic at hand and there, plausibly, "the virgin" is one who is engaged.

In sum, Paul's reflections are a mixture of tradition, theological reflection, popular wisdom, and pragmatism. He desires that both the married and unmarried remain in the state in which they are called and that they live accordingly.

**C. The Post-Pauline Tradition**

The dispute with groups influenced by various gnostic tendencies seems to have largely shaped the formulation of late first-century Christian views on marriage, particularly those that fall under the influence of the Pauline tradition. These views are most explicitly expressed in the household codes, whose presence is a characteristic feature of post-Pauline epistolary paraenesis.

**1. Household Codes.** The oldest Christian use of this motif appears to be in Col 3:18–4:1. Strikingly, the first pair of exhortations is addressed to wives and husbands. Wives are urged to be subject to their husbands, and husbands urged to love their wives. This paired exhortation introduces a series of two other relationships in which the socially inferior are exhorted to be obedient to the socially superior, while the socially superior are exhorted to be responsible toward those who are socially inferior. The exhortation addressed to wives (v 18) demands their obedience, but the middle voice of the Greek verb (*hupotassesthe*) appears to invite their voluntary submission while the imperative used in vv 20, 22 demands absolute obedience. While the use of the household code reflects the socially acceptable morality of the times, its insertion in a Christian "epistle" reflects the view that concrete social relationships are affected by one's relationship to the Lord.

The author of Ephesians has reformulated and considerably expanded (Eph 4:21–5:9) the paradigm which he found in Colossians. Significantly, he has provided the entire topos with a pertinent title, "Be subject to one another out of a fear of the Lord" (v 21). His reflections on the marital relationship continue to maintain a dominant patriarchal point of view, even to the point of apparently citing a supportive proverb (v 28b). In keeping with Jewish usage, wherein reflection on the household codes was enhanced

by scriptural citations (the philosophical ethicists cited the ethical masters), the writer cites Gen 2:24 as the scriptural ground for marriage. While reflecting a contemporary view of how the marital relationship fits in with an ordered society, the writer uses marriage (both the relationship [vv 22–25, 29–32] and the wedding [vv 26–27]) as a metaphor for the relationship between Christ and the Church.

1 Peter also belongs to the body of post-Pauline epistolary literature. Its household code (1 Pet 3:1–7) continued the common Greco-Roman demand that wives be submissive to their husbands, but adds to it the injunction that husbands should live considerately with their wives. The exhortation which it addresses to wives is particularly significant in that it has an apologetic function insofar as Christians in an alien land were expected to live in such a way as to impress the gentiles by their socially acceptable conduct (1 Pet 2:11). Moreover, 1 Pet 3:17 provides additional motivation for marital submissiveness: there are biblical models to be followed (vv 5–6); the behavior of wives was also expected to lead to the conversion of their unbelieving husbands. When husbands were believers, their marital union could be considered as a union in the gift of life.

**2. The Pastoral Epistles.** While the household codes represent a Christian appropriation of dominant social standards, the Pastoral Epistles speak somewhat otherwise of marriage. Both overseers and servants are expected to be men of one wife (1 Tim 3:2, 12). The meaning of the expectation is uncertain. Are overseers and deacons expected to be chaste within marriage, monogamously married (i.e., one wife at a time), or married but once in their lifetimes? In context, the phrase "of one wife" expresses not only a moral qualification expected to be realized in the lives of Church leaders; it also expresses a necessary condition for their establishment of a personal household whose conduct provided an experience of household management for those called to management of a household church. Moreover, it espouses a view of marriage contrary to that held by those under the influence of Gnosticism, who avoided marriage and sexual relationships (1 Tim 4:3). To a large extent the anti-gnostic orientation of the Pastorals has also influenced the formulation of 1 Tim 2:15, on the relationship among marriage, salvation, and childbearing. Women are not to avoid marriage because of some sort of religious enthusiasm. For the pastor, marriage has its place in the real world in which Christians are called to live (1 Tim 5:14; Titus 2:4).

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**MARRIAGE, SACRED.** See SACRED MARRIAGE.

**MARSANES** (NHC X,*1*). The gnostic tractate contained in Nag Hammadi Codex X. The codex, inscribed in the Lycopolitan (Sub-Akhmimic) dialect of Coptic, is poorly preserved, and considerably less than half of its text is recoverable. It is not absolutely certain that *Marsanes* was the only tractate in Codex X, but the extant material at the beginning and the end is coherent enough for that to be assumed. The subscript title is partially preserved on a small fragment of the last inscribed page (68).

"Marsanes" is the name of a gnostic prophet known from two other sources: the untitled text from the Bruce Codex and Epiphanius' account of the "Archontic" gnostics (*Haer.* 40.7.6). According to these external testimonia Marsanes was a visionary who experienced an ascent into the heavens. An ascent

experience and heavenly revelations are also features of the tractate *Marsanes*. In terms of literary genre, *Marsanes* is an "apocalypse" in which the author speaks in the first person to a group of initiates. The author is either someone named Marsanes, or, more likely, one who writes in the name of a prophet by that name. ("Marsanes" is probably a Syrian name; *mar* means "master" in Syriac.)

The first ten pages are relatively intact, and contain material relating to a gnostic ascent experience, or perhaps an ascent ritual. It includes a discussion of various levels of reality, symbolically referred to as "seals," ranging from the "worldly" and "material" (2,16–21) to the realms of the invisible "Three-Powered One," the "nonbeing Spirit," and the "unknown Silent One" (4,12–23).

Enough material is preserved in the middle of the codex to indicate that it contains speculations on the mystical meaning of the letters of the alphabet, and their relation both to the human soul and to the names of the gods and angels of the heavenly spheres.

The very fragmentary pages at the end contain material dealing with visionary experiences and a baptismal ritual. The tractate concludes with a word of encouragement to "those who will know him" (68,17, probably referring to the supreme Father mentioned at the beginning, 1,11–25).

*Marsanes*, a non-Christian gnostic text, belongs to those tractates whose features reflect a common "Sethian gnostic" system. The name "Seth" does not appear in the extant portion of the text, but it is possible that "Marsanes" is here considered an "avatar" of Seth, like "Zostrianos" in the tractate that bears his name (Pearson 1981a: 494–98). *Marsanes*, also like *Zostrianos*, is one of the tractates in the Nag Hammadi corpus that have been profoundly influenced by Platonist philosophy. The others are *The Three Steles of Seth* and *Allogenes*. *Allogenes* and *Zostrianos* were read in Plotinus' school in Rome, and it is possible that *Marsanes* was one of the "other," unnamed "apocalypses" referred to in Porphyry's account (Porp. *Vit. Plot.* 16).

The kind of Platonism reflected in *Marsanes* is one that coheres well, both in terms of its metaphysics and its ritual references, to that of the Syrian Neoplatonist philosopher, Iamblichus of Chalcis (ca. 250–325 C.E.). For *Marsanes*, as for Iamblichus, matter is not evil per se, and is even capable of salvation (5,14–26). The ritual material in *Marsanes* is comparable to "theurgy" as discussed by Iamblichus in his famous treatise, *On the Mysteries of Egypt* (Pearson fc.). The original Greek version of *Marsanes* was probably written sometime in the 3d century, perhaps in Syria.

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**MARSENA** (PERSON) [Heb *marsĕnā*› (מַרְסְנָא)]. One of the seven princes of Persia and Media who were the advisers of King Ahasuerus (Esth 1:14). See CARSHENA (PERSON). Although the presumption that the names of these counselors are Persian is reasonable (see the arguments of Millard 1977: 481–88, who counters the excessive caution of Moore [*Esther* AB, XLI–XLIV] regarding the reliability of the MT spellings), no name equivalent to this has thus far been found in the extant extrabiblical literature nor has a generally acceptable Persian etymology been suggested. The ending *-na*›, however, could well exhibit the same patrynomic suffix *-ina* that has been postulated for the name "Carshena," another of the seven advisers (Millard 1977: 485). For attempted etymologies see Paton *Esther* ICC, 68 and Gehman 1924: 324.

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**MARSH.** See GEOGRAPHY AND THE BIBLE (PALESTINE).

**MARTHA** (PERSON) [Gk *Martha* (Μαρθα)]. Martha (from the Aramaic meaning "lady" or "mistress") appears in the gospel of Luke as the sister of Mary (Luke 10:38–42). She reappears in the gospel of John as the sister of Mary and Lazarus (John 11:1–12:11). The family were inhabitants of Bethany, a town located about two miles (ca. 15 stadia; cf. John 11:18) from Jersualem. Luke does not mention that Martha had a brother named Lazarus nor that the sisters hailed from Bethany, but his placing of the story of Jesus' visit to their home immediately after the parable of the Good Samaritan which mentions the road from Jerusalem to Jericho (Luke 10:30–37, v 30) argues for a situs of their village near Jerusalem.

**A. Luke**

Scholars generally agree that the Lukan story has its basis in historical tradition. Martha was apparently the elder of the two sisters and the householder, since it was she who received Jesus into her house (Luke 10:38). For apparently unmarried women to have received a teacher into their home and engaged him in dialogue represents an unusual social situation in 1st-century Palestine.

A practical woman, Martha was distracted with the many demands of hospitality during Jesus' visit and petitioned his assistance in obtaining her sister's help. Her request apparently merits a mild rebuke from Jesus (Luke 10:41–42, whose Gk text exists in several variant readings). Jesus' words do not denigrate Martha's household service, but imply that the female disciples of Jesus, as the male disciples, are first called to be hearers of the word (cf. Luke 11:27–28). Some commentators take the repeated "Martha, Martha" of v 41 as an indication that Jesus' seeming rebuke is, in fact, a call to discipleship (cf. Gen 46:2; 1 Sam 3:4; Acts 9:4; etc.).

**B. John**

In the Fourth Gospel, Martha and Mary, along with their brother Lazarus, are said to be loved by Jesus (John 11:5). In the canonical gospels they are the only persons so described. The Johannine story of the encounter between Jesus and the family at Bethlehem (John 11:1–12:11) is one of the longest in the NT. Scholars dispute among themselves as to the relationship between the Johannine narrative and various Lukan accounts (principally Luke 10:38–42, but also Luke 7:11–17, 36–50; 16:19–31; and 19:41–44), as well as the historical character of the Johannine story, but they stand in almost unanimous agreement in the affirmation that the Johannine characteristics of the account clearly mark it as a Johannine composition. The story has two principal parts, the story of Lazarus' resurrection (John 11:1–44), in which Martha enjoys a principal role, and the story of Jesus' anointing (John 12:1–11), where Martha's role is secondary to that of Mary.

In general the character portrayal of Martha in John 11–12 is similar to that of Luke 10:38–42, especially her initiative in dialogue and her service at table, but the central role accorded to the dialogue between Martha and Jesus in John 11:17–37 is proper to the Fourth Gospel. Martha has been inserted into the narrative by the evangelist as a mouthpiece for his own theology. The evangelist's composition of vv 20–27 and 39b–40 allows him to use Martha as a foil for Jesus' affirmation that he is the resurrection and the life (John 11:25).

Like the mother of Jesus (cf. John 2:3, 5), Martha sets the scene for Jesus' self-manifestation (John 11:21–22, 24, 39). Her belief is initially inadequate, not going beyond the future eschatology of the Bible and some contemporary Judaism (John 11:24). Later, in response to Jesus' question, "Do you believe?" Martha responds with the most fully developed confession of faith in the Fourth Gospel: "Yes, Lord, I believe that you are the Christ, the Son of God, he who is coming into the world" (John 11:27). Martha's profession is a model for the evangelist's own community. She sees in Jesus the Messiah, the Son of God, and the one sent by the Father.

That the evangelist considers Martha to be a model believer is evidenced not only in her confession of faith, but also in the fact that she is beloved by Jesus (11:5), is the recipient of a self-revelation by Jesus

(11:25–26), and tells another about Jesus (11:28). Thus, despite her initial grief (11:19) and seeming incomprehension (11:39–40), she manifests the full pattern of discipleship.

**C. Later Tradition**

Many of the traits attributed to Martha by the evangelists correspond to those of deacons in early Church communities. Her portrait could be cited as a precedent for women deacons. An occasional feminist reading of the Lukan narrative suggests that the Lukan story, with its rebuke of Martha in 10:42, may have served to restrict women's leadership in the Church. The longer variant Greek readings of 10:42 may indicate that some Church circles found the shorter statement too radical. The short reading ("one thing is necessary") has often been used to contrast the active and contemplative lives, but this represents a use of the text beyond the exegetical warrants.

In the Coptic version of the early 2d century *Epistula Apostolorum,* Martha is portrayed as a witness to the risen Jesus and the first to tell the apostles about the resurrection, only to have her testimony rejected by them (see APOSTLES, EPISTLE OF). Her presence in this version is apparently in opposition to Mary Magdalene, the heroine of the gnostic tradition, whose presence in an analagous role is cited in the Ethiopian version of the manuscript.

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**MARTYR, MARTYRDOM.** In dealing with the phenomenon of martyrdom in the ancient Western world one immediately comes up against a complex of definitional problems (see also SUICIDE). Simply put, martyrdom refers to the act of choosing death rather than renouncing one's religious principles. Death then is voluntary, but not wholly so, since some element of compulsion exists, and some noble cause (in this case a *religious* one) is at stake. Is there a difference between taking one's life directly and allowing one's life to be taken? In some of the cases cited below the traditional "martyrs" seem eager to embrace death. Often there is a way of escape, some alternative to choosing death (as in the classic case of Socrates), so the degree and kind of compulsion can vary. It is particularly difficult to sort out the distinction between deaths motivated by religious principles, and others perhaps equally noble and morally motivated, but not directly associated with formal dogma. "Suicide," a comparatively recent word in English (Daube 1972), is often used to label cases of voluntary death which are viewed as less than noble, while "martyrdom" reflects a wholly positive evaluation. Yet it is clear, certainly in our ancient materials, that one person's suicide is another's martyr and vice versa. Here we enter the world of social and religious propaganda and polemic where the categories are loaded and the definitional lines are thin (Droge and Tabor 1992). Accordingly, in dealing with this topic, what is included, and perhaps more important, excluded, becomes crucial.

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A. Hebrew Bible
B. Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
C. New Testament
D. Josephus
E. Rabbinic Materials
F. Later Christian Martyrs


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**A. Hebrew Bible**

There are at least six cases of voluntary death recorded in the Hebrew Bible: Abimelech (Judg 9:54); Samson (Judg 16:30); Saul and his armor bearer (1 Sam 31:4–5 = 1 Chr 10:1–7); Ahithophel (2 Sam 17:23) and Zimri (1 Kgs 16:18–19). Based on the viewpoint of the authors and editors, are any of these understood as martyrs? Certainly not in the case of Abimelech. The deaths of Ahithophel and Zimri are recorded neutrally, with no evaluation either way. The death of Saul is seen as a fated punishment for his sins, and that of his armor bearer an accessory. Samson's case stands out in this regard. The account in Judg 16:31 is wholly positive. Samson's choice of death is his own, but he is supernaturally aided by Yahweh. Given his hopeless circumstances in the hands of the Philistines, his death becomes an act of self-sacrifice for the cause of Israel. This text might well be classed as a proto-martyrdom account.

The idea of choosing death as some type of a religiously motivated self-sacrifice occurs already in late portions of the Hebrew Bible. The so-called "suffering servant" texts in Second Isaiah (40–55) speak of a "servant of Yahweh" who willingly gives his life "like a lamb led to the slaughter" (53:7). He "makes himself an offering for sin" by "pouring out his soul to death" (53:10, 12). These texts became the source of much dispute and speculative interpretation among Jews and Christians (Williams 1975). Whether the author had in mind an actual or idealized individual, or the nation of Israel itself, the gripping language about choosing death captured the popular imagination (McKenzie *Second Isaiah*). Psalm 44, perhaps dating from the same period, appears to lament the death of those faithful to Yahweh in a time of persecution: "Nay, for thy sake we are slain all the day long, and accounted as sheep for the slaughter" (v 22).

There is a further reference to the idea of dying for religious faith in the book of Daniel, probably the latest document in the Hebrew Bible. Daniel tells of a time when a contemptible, blasphemous, gentile ruler will come to Jerusalem and profane the Temple, forcing Jews to violate the covenant (Dan 11:21, 29–32). During this time faithful Jews "shall fall by sword and flame, by captivity and plunder, for some days" in order to "refine and cleanse them" (vv 33–34). This terrible time of trouble will mark the end of the age, and lead to the resurrection of the dead and a final judgment (Dan 12:1–3).

Critical scholars are agreed that these thinly veiled references are to the Syrian successor of Alexander, Antiochus IV (Epiphanes), who in 167 B.C.E., according to Jewish legend, entered the Jerusalem Temple, instituted rites of idolatrous worship, and attempted to stamp out certain observances of Judaism. Interpretations of his motives and what actually transpired are disputed. The popular and legendary account is given in 1 and 2 Maccabees, though scholars dispute its historical accuracy (Bickerman 1937; Tcherikover 1959; Hengel 1974: 1.267–309). The author of Daniel sets his stories and visions in a much earlier time, during the 6th-century Judean captivity by the Babylonians, and the transition to their successors, the Persians. His well-known story of the three Hebrew youths, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who are thrown into a fiery furnace for their refusal to worship an image of gold, captures the essential spirit of an oft-repeated scenario (Daniel 3). They reply boldly to the Babylonian king Nebuchaddnezzar: "If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace; and he will deliver us out of your hand, O King. But if not, be it known to you, O king, that *we will not serve your gods or worship the golden image* which you have set up" (Dan 3:17–18). The key element here is the absolute and stubborn refusal to compromise, even if threatened with death.

In this story, written to build faith and encourage such resolution, the youths are delivered and the king himself becomes a convert to Yahweh. Yet Daniel is written to address those who had not experienced any such dramatic supernatural rescue. Is God unable or unwilling to intervene? Instead of immediate deliverance, Daniel holds out the imminence of the end of the age and the final judgment as incentive to those who so choose death. His message is clear—a heavenly reward is near, and the oppressors will soon be everlastingly punished (12:1–3). Clear and undisputed references to these ideas of final judgment, resurrection of both the righteous and wicked dead, and eternal life or everlasting punishment occur only here in the Hebrew Bible. Yet in the Hellenistic period they are found throughout our Jewish sources and become prime factors in the discussion of voluntary death. In all of the texts from this period on, beginning with Daniel, new answers are given to this old question—why do the righteous suffer and the wicked prosper? Vindication is promised, especially for those who choose to die, but only at the final

judgment. Hand in hand with this expectation there is a full development in Jewish thought of notions about the afterlife, particularly the current state of these dead heroes who have offered up their lives and await vindication (Nickelsburg 1972; Collins 1974 and 1978). Also, as noted above, these terrible times come upon the people of Israel in order to "refine and cleanse" them before the end. Throughout these texts there is the notion of a faithful persecuted remnant, an "elect" group, who endure it all and will receive their reward.

**B. Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha**

The *Testament of Moses,* parts of which come from this same period, also addresses this problem of the persecution of the righteous. Chaps. 8–10 appear to refer to the Antiochian "persecution." Chap. 8 describes the various tortures to be inflicted on Jews who will not give up their faith. In chap. 9 a Levite named Taxo exhorts his seven sons:

> Now, therefore, sons, heed me. If you investigate, you will surely know that never did our fathers nor their ancestors tempt God by transgressing his commandments. Yea, you will surely know that this is our strength. Here is what we shall do. We shall fast for a three-day period and on the fourth day we shall go into a cave, which is in the open country. There *let us die rather than transgress the commandments* of the lord of lords, the God of our fathers. For if we do this, and do die, our blood will be avenged before the Lord
>
> (9:4–7)

This is an extraordinary text. It seems to advocate a withdrawal from the world through fasting and retreat, ending in voluntary death of some type (perhaps through fasting?). This sacrificial death will bring about the intervention of God, and the manifestation of the kingdom described in chap. 10. Morton Smith (1971) has suggested on the basis of an earlier passage in 5:4–5 that the group behind this document, like other Jewish sectarians such as those at Qumran, rejected the sacrifices of the Jersusalem Temple as impure (1971: 120). If so, it might be that like the early Christians, these Jews saw the voluntary deaths of the righteous in sacrificial terms.

The books of the Apocrypha contain many such stories, often rivaling one another in their lurid accounts of heroism in the face of torture. 1 Maccabees reports that in the early stages of the revolt the Jewish rebels refused to fight, even if attacked, on the Sabbath day, choosing rather to die than to violate this commandment of God. They exhorted one another: "*Let us all die* in our innocence; heaven and earth testify for us that you are killing us unjustly" (1 Macc 2:37). On one occasion 1000 people, including women and children, chose to die in this manner. According to 1 Macc 2:39–41 this decision to allow oneself to be killed rather than resist on the Sabbath day was reversed by Mattathias and his men once they realized what a disaster the policy had brought about.

One of the more vivid stories in 1 Maccabees concerns one Eleazar, who fought against the Syrians under Antiochus V. The Syrians were using elephants in the battle. Eleazar, thinking that Antiochus himself was riding one particular beast, threw himself under the elephant, stabbed it from beneath, but was crushed to death when the animal fell. What might be seen as the foolish miscalculation of a would-be hero is transformed by the author into an act of salvific self-sacrifice. He comments: "So he *gave his life to save his people* and to win for himself an everlasting name" (1 Macc 6:44).

2 Maccabees, an epitome of a five-volume history by Jason of Cyrene, offers an extreme and exaggerated version of this period, roughly paralleling 1 Macc 1:10–7:50 (180–161 B.C.E.). Jason appears to be the first writer to celebrate the glorious deeds of these heroes who are willing to die for the faith. He fully accepts the developing idea of resurrection of the dead and final judgment and even endorses the notion of prayer and sacrifice for the dead (2 Macc 12:39–45).

According to this author the offenses of Antiochus were unconscionable. He dedicates the Yahweh Temple to Zeus, fills it with harlots and merchandise, and offers pigs and other abominable offerings on the altar. Jews are forbidden to circumcise their children and to practice the Torah, and were compelled to participate in the pagan sacrifices (2 Macc 6:1–7). He tells of two women who had dared to circumcise their children being paraded about the city "with their babies hung at their breasts, then hurled … down headlong from the wall" (2 Macc 6:10). Another group were burned alive when they gathered secretly to

observe the Sabbath day (6:11). All this came about "not to destroy but to discipline our people," he declares (6:12). He recounts the dramatic story of Eleazar, an aged scribe of high position who chose the rack and death rather than eat swine's flesh (2 Macc 6:18–20). The author concludes the story noting that Eleazar's death left "an example of nobility and a memorial of courage" (v 31).

Two major themes in this account occur repeatedly in subsequent stories: the *willingness* of the individual to die, and the *nobility,* that such a death exemplifies. These are the very elements which complicate the questions of categorization and definition mentioned in the introduction above.

2 Maccabees contains an even more vivid version of the infamous story of the martyrdom of the mother and her seven sons. The "king" tries to force them one by one to eat swine flesh, and he falls into a rage as each in turn refuses. Echoing the determination of Daniel's three companions they declare, "We are ready to die rather than transgress the laws of our fathers" (2 Macc 7:2). They are subject to gruesome torture: scalping, amputation of hands, feet, and tongue, and being fried in a pan until dead. Each breathes his last with declarations of faith in the resurrection of the dead and warnings of future judgment for the torturers. The faith in justice and vindication in the afterlife (i.e., resurrection) is a dominant element of this story, and is repeated eight times.

The tales of Eleazar and the martyrdom of the seven brothers with their mother are picked up and elaborated in the 1st century book of *4 Maccabees,* which was never canonized but was treasured in the Eastern churches. The book is essentially an expansion of 2 Macc 6:12–7:42. In this later account Eleazar taunts his torturers: "I will not transgress the sacred oaths of my ancestors concerning the keeping of the law, not even if you gouge out my eyes and burn my entrails … get your torture wheels ready and fan the fire more vehemently!" (*4 Macc.* 5:29–32). In the case of the brothers and their mother, a new element is introduced. After denouncing his attackers the youngest brother "*flung himself* into the braziers and so ended his life" (*4 Macc.* 12:19). Similarly, his mother "when she, too was about to be seized and put to death, *she threw herself into the fire so that no one would touch her body*" (*4 Macc.* 17:1). This element of taking a hand in one's death comes up repeatedly in such stories and gives rise to obvious difficulties of interpretation and evaluation.

*4 Maccabees* also advocates the striking idea that these deaths bring *vicarious atonement* for the sins of the nation. The language used in this record is of particular importance. They become a "ransom for sin" and "through the blood of those devout ones and their death as an expiation" Israel is preserved (*4 Macc.* 17:21–22). They are those who "gave over their bodies in suffering for the sake of religion" and by them the nation gained peace (18:3–4; cf. 1:11).

The most gruesome story in the Apocrypha is that of Razis, an elder of Jerusalem in Maccabean times. His tale represents still another level of ambiguity in these accounts, for though under threat, he clearly takes his own life. He was denounced to Nicanor, the Syrian governor of Judea, as a strong and stubborn advocate of the Jewish faith. Nicanor sent 500 soldiers to arrest him. Razis took refuge in a tower and as the soldiers were about to break in he fell upon his own sword, "*preferring to die nobly* rather than fall into the hands of sinners and suffer outrages unworthy of his noble birth" (2 Macc 14:42). He only wounded himself and as the crowd burst through the door he ran upon the outside wall and jumped down into a courtyard below. The story ends with a vivid, indeed grisly, account of his death.

> Still alive and aflame with anger, he rose, and though his blood gushed forth and his wounds were severe he ran through the crowd; and standing upon a steep rock, with his blood now completely drained from him, he tore out his entrails, took them with both hands and hurled them at the crowd, calling upon the Lord of life and spirit to give them back to him again. Such was the manner of his death.

(2 Macc 14:45–46)

**C. New Testament**

Seeley has related these martyrdom tales to the wider Greco-Roman concept of the "Noble Death," and shown how the NT materials build in various ways upon such an understanding (Seeley 1990: 84–112). What they lack is the kind of extended polemical defense and praise of voluntary death that one finds in these Jewish materials from Maccabean times. The early Christians simply begin with the presupposition

that to die for the faith is thoroughly noble and good. The deaths of John the Baptist (Mark 6:14–29 = Matt 14:1–12; Luke 9:7–9), Stephen (Acts 7); and James (Acts 12:1–2) are all reported with this presupposition. The book of Acts reports numerous occasions when either mobs or authorities try to kill Paul (10:23–25; 14:5, 19; 17:6–10; 21:30–31; 22:22–23; 23:21) as well as Paul's own preconversion efforts to imprison and slaughter early Christian believers (8:3; 9:1). Paul confirms the essential points of Luke's account in his own letters (2 Cor 11:23–33; 1 Cor 15:9; cf. 1 Tim 1:12–15).

Of course Jesus himself is the preeminent model of the faithful martyr in the NT. He is directly called such twice in Revelation (1:5; 3:14). All four gospels stress that his death was voluntary. "No one takes it [my life] from me, but I lay it down of my own accord" declares the Jesus of the gospel of John (10:18). Mark places both the necessity of Jesus' death and his willingness on the lips of Jesus himself (Mark 8:31–33; 9:30–32; 10:33–34, 45; 14:36). Both Matthew and Luke follow Mark closely in this regard (e.g., Matt 16:21–23; Luke 9:51), while John makes the same point independently (12:27). Matthew and John place particular stress on Jesus' freedom to escape, and his willingness to die, at the time of his arrest (Matt 26:53–54; John 14:30; 18:4–8). This emphasis comes up repeatedly in various other ways in all four gospels (Droge and Tabor 1992). Paul's own understanding of Jesus' death appears to have close ties with the Maccabean materials surveyed above (Seeley 1990).

This willingness to choose death in the face of opposition is presented as a necessary and model behavior for the followers of Jesus as well (Mark 8:34–35 = Matt 16:24–25; Luke 9:23–24; John 15:18–20). Predictions that followers will be delivered up and killed, which may reflect social conditions of the post–70 C.E. period, run through all layers of the gospel materials (Mark 13:12–13 = Matt 24:9–10; Luke 21:12–17; Q Luke 12:4–5 = Matt 10:28; John 16:2).

Paul asserts not only his willingness to die, but even his preference for death over life (Phil 1:19–26). The way he poses his dilemma, and even the language he uses, reflects Greco-Roman philosophical disputes over the appropriateness of suicide (Droge 1988; Daube 1962; Palmer 1975). Such discussions are rooted in a long tradition of evaluations of the death of Socrates (Droge and Tabor 1992). How Paul actually died, whether by execution or by his own hand, or some combination of both, is unknown.

The book of Revelation refers to martyrs several times (5:9–11; 16:6; 17:6). They are singled out for special reward during the millennial reign of Christ (20:4–6). A specific individual at Pergamum, one Antipas, otherwise unknown, was apparently slain by authorities and is called "my witness [Gk *martys*] my faithful one" (3:13). Revelation also mentions the "two witnesses" or martyrs who are to appear at the very end of history, be slain, but then be resurrected from the dead after three days (11:4–13). The book of Hebrews exhorts its readers to be willing to die for the faith, like heroes of old, but the writer admits few if any have actually been faced with such choices (11:32–40; 12:3–4).

**D. Josephus**

Josephus is the richest source for examining the general phenomenon of voluntary death among Jews in Roman times. In his *Jewish Antiquities*, which covers Jewish history from Adam and Eve to the emperor Nero, he includes his own interpretation of the six standard examples of voluntary death in the Hebrew Bible. He also provides accounts of the Jews who chose to die around the time of the Maccabean revolt, all of which he views in a most positive way. His histories are full of a variety of other accounts of voluntary death; he reports as many as 25 separate incidents, with double accounts of several of them in the *Antiquities* and the *Jewish War*. Most of these took place during the war with Rome and more often than not he views them as heroic (Droge and Tabor 1992). He tells of his own narrow escape from a "death pact" at Jotapata while serving as commanding officer of the Galilean rebel forces during the Jewish revolt (*JW* 3.329–91). He is our main source for the infamous case of Masada, where, according to Josephus, 960 men, women, and children took their own lives rather than face Roman capture (*JW* 7.320–406). In the incidents at Jotapata and Masada he also provides us with extensive philosophical discussion of the general problem of voluntary death. Ironically, in the Jotapata situation, when his own life is at stake, he argues against suicide and counsels for surrender to the Romans. On the other hand, in his long account of the Masada episode he presents the arguments of the Jewish leader Eleazar with some degree

of sympathy. Even so, for Josephus these unfortunate victims of the revolt are still not the popular martyrs of subsequent imagination, whether ancient or modern (Ladouceur 1987).

**E. Rabbinic Materials**

The Mishnah, Talmud, and Midrash contain anecdotal accounts and technical discussions of the problems associated with voluntary death. The rabbis are interested in determining when, and under what conditions, one might endanger or take one's life, or allow one's life to be taken (see *Ber.* 3a, 8b; *Šabb.* 32a; *Pesaḥ.* 112a; *Taʿan.* 5b and the discussions by Goldstein 1989; Droge and Tabor 1992). The account of the death of Rabbi Hanina b. Teradion, who lived during the time of Hadrian, brings together some of the major interpretive difficulties (*b. Abod. Zar.* 18a–18b). He is taken by the Romans and burnt at the stake with a Torah scroll wrapped around him. At one point, seeking to lessen his suffering by hastening his death, his disciples cry out to him, "Open your mouth so that the fire enters into you." Haninah replies "Let Him who gave me [my soul] take it away, but *no one should injure himself*." The text continues:

> The Executioner then said to him, "Rabbi, if I raise the flame and take away the tufts of wool from over your heart, will you cause me to enter into the life to come?" "Yes," he replied. "Then swear to me" [he urged]. He swore to him. He thereupon raised the flame and removed the tufts of wool from over his heart, and his soul departed speedily. The Executioner then jumped and *threw himself into the fire.* And a *bat-qôl* exclaimed: R. Hanina b. Teradion and the Executioner have been assigned to the world to come. When Rabbi heard it he wept and said: *One may acquire eternal life in a single hour,* another after many years.

Hanina's basic position is that one must not take a hand in even *hastening* one's death, God is the one who must take away life. Such a position might have been based on texts of the Bible (Job 1:21; 2:9–10; Eccl 3:2), or even the quotation from *ʾAbot* 4.22, "*without your will* you will die." In content it is reminiscent of the statements in Plato and Cicero that one is not to depart this life except at the bidding of the gods. And it closely echoes the argument of Josephus against suicide at Jotapata. But in this story, Hanina nonetheless agrees to have someone else, the Executioner, *act in his behalf,* immediately bringing about his death. Presumably this means he is not directly responsible. Yet *he* makes the choice, and accordingly, has an indirect part in the action. It is not clear in this story whether Hanina expects the Executioner to jump in the fire with him when he promises him eternal life for his assistance. Regardless, the act of the Executioner receives the highest approval, the voice from heaven declaring that he has obtained eternal life. If one can obtain life by a deliberate act of self-destruction, what happens to Hanina's original statement that one must not even hasten death, much less directly destroy oneself?

The text leaves all these elements in unresolved tension. The final declaration that "one may acquire eternal life in a single hour" is indeed a radical one. Here we have an outsider, a Roman official at that, who receives eternal life instantly *through voluntary death.*

**F. Later Christian Martyrs**

Christian accounts and discussions of martyrdom from the 2d and 3d centuries C.E. exhibit many of the same ambiguities and problems as these Rabbinic materials (Frend 1967; Fox 1986). It is seldom clear under what circumstances one is to offer up one's life, whether one can take a hand in one's own execution, and whether one should avail oneself of the opportunity of escape. The debate over martyrdom in early Christianity was extended and intense and often echoed the more general discussions about voluntary death and suicide in Greco-Roman culture (Droge and Tabor 1992). Ignatius, who died in 107 C.E., appears almost too willing to die. Like Paul, he sees his death as a means of joining Christ. "I long for the beasts that are prepared for me … I will force them to it … may I but attain to Jesus Christ" (*Ign. Rom.* 4–7). Like Razis and the Jews of Maccabean tradition, he views his death in sacrificial terms, but in this case following the model of Jesus. In the well-known *Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas,* a group of North African Christians are martyred during the reign of Septimius Severus. Perpetua, on trial, stresses her own free will in her death. She subsequently takes the hand of the young gladiator and guides it to her throat, showing that "she could not be killed unless she herself was willing" (21.8–10). This problem of "voluntary martyrdom" becomes a serious one. Eusebius preserves numerous accounts from the Great Persecution (303–312/3 C.E.) of individuals turning themselves in to be martyred or outright killing

themselves (Droge and Tabor 1992). For example, he relates that a woman and her two daughters opted for "flight to the Lord" rather than be raped by their captors. They asked for privacy to relieve themselves and threw themselves into a nearby river.

Augustine, in response to the Donatist martyrs, and later in dealing with the chaos of the barbarian invasion of Rome in 410 C.E., sought to draw firm and dogmatic distinctions in his discussions of voluntary death and martyrdom. He argued that killing oneself, no matter what the circumstances, was a violation of the sixth commandment ("You shall not kill") and was, accordingly, murder (*City of God* 1. 19; see Droge and Tabor 1992 for a full discussion of the complexities of his position). Augustine's formulations dominated Western Christian thinking about all forms of voluntary death, whether understood as suicide or martyrdom, until modern times.

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JAMES D. TABOR

**MARY** (PERSON) [Gk *Maria* (Μαρια)*; Mariam* (Μαριαμ)]. The name of six or seven women mentioned in the NT. The name derives from Heb *miryām.*

**1.** The mother of Jesus. See MARY, MOTHER OF JESUS.

**2.** Mary Magdalene. One of the most prominent of the Galilean women to have followed Jesus. Although none of the canonical gospels tells the story of the initial encounter between Mary Magdalene and Jesus, she appears in all four accounts, most significantly as a witness to the death, burial, and resurrection of Jesus.

**a. The NT.** The city from which Mary came is located at the S end of the Plain of Gennesaret, on the shore of the Sea of Galilee to the N of Tiberias. The Talmud situates a city known as "the Fish Tower" (Aram *Migdal nûnayyā*ʾ) at a distance of 2000 cubits from Tiberias (*b. Pesaḥ.* 46a). The city is not mentioned by its proper name in the Bible, although a derived adjectival form *Magdalēnē* occurs in the NT (Matt 27:56, 61; 28:1; Mark 15:40, 47; 16:1, 9; Luke 8:2; 24:10; John 19:25; 20:1, 18), exclusively as a description of Mary. See MAGDALA (PLACE). Given its etymology, the city is probably to be identified with the Tarichaeae, known to Josephus (*JW* 2.21.3–4). The presence of a hippodrome in the city is an indication that its population of approximately 40,000 was predominantly gentile. Among the Jews the city enjoyed a poor reputation; later rabbis attributed the fall of the city to its licentiousness (*Midr. Lam.* 2:2).

**(1) Luke.** According to Luke, a Mary called Magdalene (*Maria hē kaloumenē Magdalēnē,* only in Luke 8:2) was one of a large group of women who provided for Jesus and the Twelve out of their means (Luke 8:2). The group included some women who had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities. One of these was Mary "from whom seven demons had gone out" (Luke 8:2; cf. Mark 16:9), an indication that because of her serious condition, an exorcism had been performed on her, most probably by Jesus himself. Mary

was with the band of Galilean women who accompanied Jesus to Jerusalem, witnessed his crucifixion from a distance, observed the tomb with his body in position, went to the tomb with the burial spices which they had prepared, found the tomb empty, and experienced the startling appearance of two men in dazzling apparel (Luke 23:49, 55–56; 24:1–9). In the Lukan account, Mary is specifically identified as one of those who told the apostles about the Easter day events, only to have the report fall on deaf ears (Luke 24:10–11; cf. Mark 16:9–11).

**(2) Mark.** In the earlier, Markan narrative, the presence of Mary Magdalene at the crucifixion (Mark 15:40), the tomb (Mark 15:47), and the empty tomb (Mark 16:1) provides a link of continual witness to the death, burial, and resurrection of Jesus. In this role Mary is accompanied by Mary, the mother of James and Joses, and Salome (whose presence at the tomb is not specifically cited in Mark 15:47), but the role of Mary is preeminent since she is always cited in the first instance. These three women are clearly identified as disciples of Jesus ("they followed him," Mark 15:41) who ministered to him. Their purpose in going to the tomb on the day after the Sabbath was to anoint Jesus' body. At the site, they discovered the open tomb and heard the paschal proclamation. Overcome with astonishment, they were afraid to tell anyone about the occurrence.

The so-called shorter ending of Mark, found in a few of the ancient versions, and some of the Greek manuscripts (but none earlier than the 7th century) corrects this image with a description of the women narrating the events to Peter and his companions.

**(3) Matthew.** Matthew's gospel closely follows the Markan account in identifying Mary Magdalene as one who observed the crucifixion (Matt 27:56), the burial (Matt 27:61), and the (empty) tomb which she had come out to see (Matt 28:1). Matthew, however, departs from the Markan story in citing the names and purpose of the women who accompanied Mary Magdalene. Matthew also significantly varies from Mark insofar as Matthew states that the women joyfully, albeit fearfully, ran from the empty tomb in order to tell the disciples the good news. Subsequently they encountered the risen Jesus who likewise entrusted to them the task of announcing the pascal proclamation (Matt 28:9–10). This pair of verses, which describe the women taking hold of Jesus' feet and worshiping him, is a literary doublet of the account of the appearance of the angel of the Lord.

**(4) John.** Mary is abruptly introduced into the Johannine narrative—similar, in many respects, to the Matthean—at John 19:25, where she is portrayed as being at the cross in the company of the mother of Jesus and Mary, the wife of Clopas. The Fourth Gospel does not portray her as an observer of the burial, but it does include a significant narrative account of Mary's presence at the empty tomb. In John 20:1–2, an unaccompanied Mary Magdalene goes to the tomb, which she finds empty, and thereupon runs to tell Peter that "they have taken the Lord out of the tomb."

Mary's solitary presence at the tomb is an example of Johannine dramatization, but the evangelist further exploits the tradition about her in an eight-verse narrative, where a scene is set at the tomb itself (John 20:11–18). The narrative, without parallel in the Synoptic Gospels, contains the only two NT passages in which Mary Magdalene is simply called "Mary" (John 20:11, 16). Although an apologetic motif is present in the narrative insofar as Mary, representing the disciples (John 20:2, 13; cf. v 15), expresses the view that Jesus' body had been taken away by someone else, the dominant theme of the narrative is the development of Mary's faith.

Initially she had seen the empty tomb and had reacted in merely human fashion with tearful distress. Subsequently she saw Jesus, but did not understand who he was. The call of his voice allows her to recognize him but she believes him to be as he previously was, a teacher who could be physically embraced. Jesus then reveals that his resurrection implies his return to the Father. Commissioned to announce the meaning of the resurrection to the disciples, Mary makes the paschal proclamation: "I have seen the Lord." Thus Mary Magdalene typifies adequate faith in the resurrection of Jesus.

**b. Other Traditions.** From about the 6th century in the Western Church, but not in the Eastern, traditions developed which tended to identify Mary Magdalene with the sinful woman of Luke 7:36–50 and/or Mary of Bethany (John 11:1–12:8; Luke 10:38–42), but there is no historical evidence on which to

base such identifications. Indeed, the weight of evidence of the canonical gospels would seem to militate against such identifications.

Undoubtedly the unsavory reputation of the city of Magdala contributed to the identification of Mary Magdalene and the woman of Luke 7:36–50. However, Mary Magdalene is formally introduced into the Lukan narrative at 8:2 (just two verses after 7:50), with no suggestion that she is a figure already known to the gospel's readership. Counterposed to the identification of Mary Magdalene with Mary of Bethany is the fact that Bethany is a Judean site while Magdala is a city of Galilee and Mary Magdalene is clearly portrayed as a Galilean woman in the Synoptic accounts.

Despite the unanimous witness of the fourfold gospel to Mary Magdalene's function in the resurrection narratives, she is not cited in the list of authoritative witnesses to the resurrection given by Paul in 1 Cor 15:5–6. Nonetheless, her role as an Easter figure and as the first resurrection witness is amply attested in later literature, most of it of gnostic origin.

One designedly anti-gnostic text which tells about Mary Magdalene is the 2d-century *Epistula Apostolorum.* The Ethiopic version (the role is played by Martha in the Coptic version) tells the story of Mary Magdalene, at Jesus' command, telling the disciples about the resurrection. According to the account, the disciples refused to accept both her testimony and that of a second woman. They did not come to believe until Jesus himself appeared to them.

**c. Gnostic Literature.** The 2d-century *Gospel of Peter,* of less than fully orthodox, but not yet fully gnostic, tendencies, specifically identifies Mary Magdalene as a "woman disciple of the Lord" who, for fear of the Jews, did not weep (as was customary) at the burial of Jesus. Determined nonetheless to weep at the sepulcher, she went to the tomb accompanied by other women. Having discovered the empty tomb and heard the paschal proclamation from a young man in shining robes, they fled the site in fear (*Gos. Pet.* 12–13).

The Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* (ca. 200 A.D.), attests to a competition between Mary Magdalene and Peter and the special relationship that bound Mary to Jesus. In the final logion (*Gos. Thom.* 114), Peter says to Jesus: "Let Mary leave us, for women are not worthy of Life." Jesus responds: "I myself shall lead her in order to make her male (a kind of androgynous reality), so that she too may become a living spirit resembling you males." In another logion, Mary (*Mariham*) is presented as asking Jesus, "Whom are your disciples like?" (*Gos. Thom.* 21).

The figure of Mary Magdalene appears in two other apocryphal gospels, preserved in fragmentary form, the 2d-century *Secret Gospel of Mark,* cited by Clement of Alexandria, and the *Gospel of Mary* (Magdalene). In the *Secret Gospel of Mark* an unnamed woman, identified as the sister of the one loved by Jesus and raised by him at Bethany, is rebuked by the disciples and, along with his mother and Salome, not received by Jesus. In the first part of the *Gospel of Mary,* Mark (Gk *Mariamme*) greets and consoles the sorrowing disciples. In the second fragment, Mary plays a dominant role. Her communication of the secret revelation made to her by the Lord, apparently in a vision (Gk *horama*) of the risen Lord, is met with unbelief by Andrew and with ridicule by Peter. She is, however, defended by a certain Levi who describes her as one made worthy by the Lord, known by him and one loved by him even more than the disciples.

The role of Mary (Coptic *Mariham*) as a questioner of Jesus is fully exploited in the early-3d-century *Pistis Sophia.* Thirty-nine of the sixty-four questions addressed to Jesus in that long text are attributed to Mary, who admits her persistence in questioning: "I will not tire of asking thee. Be not angry with me for questioning everything." Jesus replies: "Question what thou dost wish" (*Pistis Sophia* 139).

In the *Pistis Sophia* Mary is described as blessed, she whose heart is more directed to the kingdom of heaven than all her brothers, excellent, blessed beyond all women, beautiful in speech, the pleroma of all pleromas, the completion of all completions, superior to all the disciples (along with John the Virgin), and related hyperbole (*Pistis Sophia* 17, 19, 24, 34, 97, etc.). The *Pistis Sophia* also attests to Mary's role in the resurrection story (*Pistis Sophia* 138) and to the competition between Mary and Peter (*Pistis Sophia* 36).

In the *Sophia of Jesus Christ,* Mary twice appears as a questioner of Jesus, once with regard to the source of superhuman knowledge and once with regard to the disciples (NHC III,*4*). These are the only passages in the document where a woman is mentioned by name (*Mariamme* in Coptic), although the document makes reference to seven women.

In *The Dialogue of the Savior,* another Nag Hammadi text, Mary (Coptic *Mariam*) is portrayed as one of three disciples chosen to receive special teaching but she is more significant than the others, Matthew and Thomas, because "she spoke as a woman who knew the All" (NHC III, 139).

In the late-3d-century *Gospel of Philip,* Mary is called the companion of the Lord and described as one who always walked with him (*Gos. Phil.* 59, 63). She is portrayed as one whom Christ loved more than the other disciples and as one who was frequently kissed by Christ. The other disciples took umbrage at this and merited a rebuke from the Lord in the form of a parable (*Gos. Phil.* 63–64). In the 4th-century *Acts of Philip,* a woman named Mariamne appears as the sister of Philip. Her role is similar to that of Mary Magdalene in the gnostic tradition. She consoles Philip, is at the risen Christ's side when he divides the world into missionary sectors, and then accompanies Philip on his mission.

As a heroine in gnostic literature, Mary Magdalene appears as the first witness of the risen Jesus, as one particularly loved and praised by him, and as the recipient of secret revelations (many of the texts have the literary form of a dialogue with Jesus). This gnostic portrayal of Mary was apparently known to some of the Fathers, notably Hippolytus (*haer.* 5.7.1), Origen (*Cels.* 5.62.11), and Epiphanius (*Haer.* 1.2.26.41).

The developments of the portrait of Mary Magdalene depicted in gnostic literature are rooted in the tradition, attested in the canonical gospels, that the risen Jesus first appeared to Mary Magdalene and other women from Galilee. Many proponents of a revisionist version of early Christian history suggest that the role of Mary Magdalene was diminished in canonical literature because of the patriarchalism of early Church structures (Schüssler Fiorenza 1983: 50–51; 321–23; 332–33). The prominence accorded to Mary Magdalene in gnostic literature preserves and develops the earlier memory (Meyer 1985; Pagels 1979). The competition between Mary and Peter reflects the tension between heterodox Christianity and apostolic orthodoxy.

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**3.** Mary of Bethany. Mary appears as the sister of Martha of Bethany in the gospels of Luke (Luke 10:38–42) and John (John 11:1–12:11). Luke does not identify her as having a brother named Lazarus nor as coming from Bethany, a town near Jerusalem (John 11:1, 18). The extant gospel accounts are colored by the language and theologies of the respective evangelists; nonetheless, given the remarkably similar character portrayal of Mary in both accounts, there is little reason to doubt that a single historical person lies behind both the Lukan and the Johannine narratives.

**a. Luke.** According to the Lukan account, "Mary sat at the Lord's feet and listened to his teaching" (Luke 10:39). Her demeanor, that is, her posture—indicated by a technical expression "to sit at the feet of" meaning "to be a disciple of"—and her listening clearly indicates that Luke considers her to be a disciple of Jesus. In the eyes of her sister, Mary is neglectful of the household responsibilities. Martha's criticism of Mary merits a mild rebuke from Jesus, who extols Mary's discipleship (Luke 10:42). In Luke's gospel Mary serves as a role model for female disciples.

**b. John.** In the Johannine narrative, although Mary is characteristically introduced as the one "who anointed the Lord with ointment and wiped his feet with her hair" and Lazarus is identified specifically as *her* brother (John 11:2; cf. v 32), Mary's role in the dialogue with Jesus prior to the resurrection of Lazarus is less significant than that of Martha (John 11:1–40). Mary quickly ran to Jesus (v 29) and fell at his feet (v 32), but she says only, "Lord, if you had been here, my brother would not have died" (v 32), a gentle reproach to Jesus, who had delayed his arrival (v 6). Mary's principal narrative role seems to have been to introduce the Jews, apparent sympathizers with her grief (vv 31, 33) who will later capitalize on the Lazarus incident in their plot against Jesus (John 11:45–53).

The Johannine technique of dramatization typically focuses upon one feature of the persons introduced into his narrative. In Mary's case, it is her anointing of Jesus, summarized in 11:2 and described at length in 12:1–12. Her gesture is characterized by its utter radicalness: (1) in the Jewish world it was scandalous for a woman to let down her hair in the presence of a man who was not her husband; (2) the anointing of feet was the task of slaves; and (3) the cost of the perfume (not mere oil) was extravagant (costing approximately 300 days' pay for the ordinary laborer).

Despite Judas' rejoinder, Mary's act was praised by Jesus and interpreted by him as a symbolic gesture. Since the anointing of feet was a typical funeral rite, Mary's anointing of Jesus' feet was a dramatic foreshadowing of his future burial. The evangelist does not, however, suggest that Mary had been aware of the symbolic nature of the dramatic expression of her devotion to Jesus.

The role accorded to Mary of Bethany in the gospels of John and Luke serves as a reminder of the role of female disciples in the communities of the respective evangelists. Jesus' praise of Mary makes her the only woman to be twice praised in the gospels for her devotion to Jesus (Luke 10:42; John 12:7). The mention of Jesus' love for her (John 11:5) singles her out as one of only two women (Martha is the other) cited in the canonical gospels as having been loved by Jesus.

**c. Tradition.** Scholars continue to study the relationship between the Johannine narrative of Jesus' anointing by Mary of Bethany and the Synoptic stories of the anointing of Jesus' head by an unnamed woman (Matt 26:6–13; Mark 14:3–9) and of the sinful woman forgiven by Jesus (Luke 7:36–50). The latter story was often later used as a link in the confusion between Mary Magdalene and Mary of Bethany, to which some Church Fathers (e.g., Augustine; Gregory the Great) and some gnostic texts (e.g., the *Secret Gospel of Mark*) attest. The majority of critical commentators refuse, however, to identify Mary of Bethany with Mary Magdalene. They consider the Johannine account (John 11:1–12:8) to be a radical reworking of ancient traditions by the author of the Fourth Gospel.

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**4.** The mother of James and Joses. This Mary was one of the women who followed Jesus during his Galilean ministry and who witnessed Jesus' crucifixion (Mark 15:40–41). Mark identifies her as the mother of James (the Little) and Joses (15:41), while Matthew calls her "the other Mary" (Matt 27:61), after first calling her the mother of James and Joses (Matt 27:56). Luke simply calls her the mother of James (24:10). It is difficult to know whether or not Mary the mother of James and Joses is to be identified with "Mary (the wife?) of Clopas" (see #5 below) mentioned as being at the cross in John 19:25, or even as the sister of Jesus' mother Mary. The former suggestion is probably overly harmonistic, since we are told at Mark 15:41 that there were many other female followers of Jesus present and

watching his crucifixion. The latter suggestion is doubtful since it would require that two daughters in the same family be called Mary, though such a practice was not unprecedented in early Judaism.

Mary was a traveling companion of Jesus'; in fact, the comment that she "served him" probably means she provided financial support for Jesus' itinerant ministry. Mary accompanied Jesus on his last trip to Jerusalem (Mark 15:41), witnessed the burial of Jesus (Mark 15:47), and was involved with other women planning to wrap Jesus' body with spices on Easter morning (Mark 16:1). Thus, she was one of the first witnesses of the empty tomb and the angelic message about the resurrection (Mark 16:2–7 = Matt 28:8; Luke 24:9–11). Matt 28:9–10 may also suggest that she saw the risen Lord.

**5.** A follower or possibly a relative of Jesus mentioned by name only in John 19:25 where she is said to be "of Clopas." The Greek is elliptic and one can insert "the sister," or "the mother," or most likely "the wife" before "of Clopas." She may be the same Mary that the Synoptics identify as the mother of James and Joses, but we cannot be sure. It is possible, but not probable, that Clopas is to be identified with the Cleopas mentioned at Luke 24:18, since Cleopas is not a rendering of a Semitic name but a diminutive of Cleopatros, a Greek name. Thus, all we know about this Mary is that she was probably married to a man named Clopas, and she seems to have been a follower or relative of Jesus, since she is grouped with others who clearly fall into one or the other of these categories.

**6.** The mother of John (Mark), depicted only in Acts 12:12–16. This is probably the John who traveled with Paul and Barnabas doing missionary work in Cyprus (Acts 13:5), and who wrote the gospel bearing the name Mark. That Mary is a widow is indicated by the reference to the house belonging to her, rather than to her husband. That she is well-to-do is substantiated by the references to many people meeting at her home, and by her home having a courtyard with a gate and gatekeeping servant.

Mary's home is portrayed as a regular place for gathering and praying suggesting this Jerusalem home as one of the earliest house churches in all Christendom. Particularly in Jerusalem, having a house church took faith and courage in view of the precarious status of Christianity in its early years. Not only does Acts 12:1–7 tell of the arrest of Christian leaders such as Peter and the execution of James by Herod Agrippa I, but both Acts and the Pauline corpus indicate that at least some fellow Jews and some Jewish authorities did not accept Christianity merely as another Jewish sect (Acts 6:8; 8:3; 9:1–2; 1 Cor 15:9; Gal 1:13–14; 1 Thess 2:14–15). It is possible that the meeting discussed in Acts 12:12–16 was attended only by women since Peter's words suggest that James and the brethren are not present to hear his parting remarks.

In Acts 12, Luke stresses the importance of Mary and her contribution to early Christianity through her hospitality and her influence on her family. She is portrayed as a notable early Christian.

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BEN WITHERINGTON, III

**7.** A Roman Christian who received greetings from Paul in Rom 16:6. Paul had been informed that she had "worked hard" in Rome (for a discussion of this phrase, see TRYPHAENA AND TRYPHOSA). There are two possibilities for identifying Mary (see the material in *StadtrChr* 66–67, 146–47, 152–53, 296). (1) "Maria" represents the Semitic *miryām,* in which case she was a Jewish Christian. But only nineteen Roman inscriptions show Jewish women bearing the Semitic name. (2) Five times more Roman inscriptions (ca. 108) suggest that "Maria" was the Latin name of the gens *Maria* (cf. "Marius"); women were often called by the name of their gens without cognomen. Two groups carried the name of the gens *Maria:* the noble members of the famous gens and the freed (wo)men of the gens with their descendants. The second group outnumbered the first. The chances therefore are that the Christian Mary was a freedwoman of the gens *Maria* or a descendant of a freed slave of this gens. Either way, she probably had Roman citizenship: slave masters with famous gens names like "Marius/is" possessed Roman citizenship

and in most cases passed it on to their slaves on the occasion of their emancipation; the freed slaves then bequeathed the citizenship and the gens name to their freeborn children. Mary was probably a gentile Christian. See NEREUS.

PETER LAMPE

**MARY, BIRTH OF.** Title of the apocryphal text more formally called the *Genna Marias,* also variously known as the "Genealogy of Mary" or "Descent of Mary." One of the many books no longer extant that were popular among gnostic sectarians, *The Birth of Mary* is known only from an excerpt found in Epiphanius' *Panarion* (26.12.1–4). In the section cited by Epiphanius, the motivation for the execution of the prophet Zacharias on the Temple precincts (Matt 23:35; Luke 11:51) is elucidated by the identification of the prophet with the father of John the Baptist who sees a vision of God in the Temple while performing his priestly duties (Luke 1:22). In *The Birth of Mary,* Zacharias recounts his vision in the Temple as being an appearance of the God of the Jews as a man in the form of an ass. This anti-Judaic representation of the Jewish God is not unexpected, as the notion that the supposedly formless Yahweh of the Jews in truth had the head of an ass was common in pagan anti-Jewish polemic and also complies with various gnostic portrayals of the evil creator god often identified with the God of the Hebrew Scriptures. Although little can be determined concerning the provenance of *The Birth of Mary,* it is thought to have been composed sometime during the mid-2d century C.E.

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KATHLEEN E. CORLEY

**MARY, DESCENT OF.** See MARY, BIRTH OF.

**MARY, GOSPEL OF.** The first treatise in the Berlin Codex 8502. It represents a translation into Sahidic of a Greek original. The text is in poor condition, with several pages missing from the beginning and middle of the work (pp. 1–6 and 11–14). Greek fragments representing a variant of 17:5–12 and 18:5–19:5 were found in the Oxyrhynchus papyri of the Rylands library (Ryl 463). This Greek version is not identical with the Coptic. Greek words used in the latter do not always match what is found in the existing Greek fragments. The Coptic contains Mary Magdalene's reaction to Peter's rejection of her revelation (18:1–5), which is missing in the Greek. Thus there were at least two versions of this work in antiquity. The two writings which follow it in the Berlin Codex, *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,*1;* III,*1;* IV,*1*) and *Sophia of Jesus Christ* (NHC III,*4*) survive in additional Coptic versions in the Nag Hammadi collection. The Greek papyrus has been assigned to the early 3d century C.E. This date would suggest that *Gos. Mary* was composed sometime in the late 2d century.

What remains of *Gos. Mary* consists of the ending of two separate revelations held together by a frame story about the gathering of the apostles after Jesus' ascent to the heavens. The first revelation is a dialogue between the risen Jesus and his disciples. The second is Mary's report of a private vision and its interpretation that the Lord had granted her.

The framework draws on a motif found in a number of Christian gnostic writings like *Ap. John* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.,* where the risen Lord instructs the disciples in the secret gnostic teaching which they are to spread in the world. The opening dialogue between Jesus and the disciples apparently provided the cosmological foundation for salvation in a teaching about the natures and their roots. Whatever has a material root is subject to passion, evil, sickness, and death. The gnostic possesses a different root and is enjoined not to participate in the passions of material nature (7:1–8:10). As he departs, the Lord commissions the disciples to preach the gospel of the kingdom. This commission alludes to several NT passages (8:7–9:4; Matt 28:10; John 14:27; 20:19–21; Luke 24:36; Matt 24:4; Luke 17:21; Matt 24:23; 7:7; 4:23).

Instead of fulfilling the commission, the disciples despair over the suffering that surely awaits them. At this point, Mary reminds them of the Lord's grace and protection. She alludes to their restoration to their true gnostic identity, "he has prepared us and made us into men" (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 114; and "put on the

perfect man," *Gos. Phil.* 75: 20–35). Peter requests that Mary recount a revelation that she had had from the Lord which was unknown to the apostles. What survives of that section opens with a teaching about the mind as the intermediary between the soul and the spirit which makes the vision possible (10:10–22). It continued with an account of the soul's ascent past the cosmic powers to the triumphant announcement that it has overcome the world's bondage and will obtain rest (15:1–17:9). The objections to this teaching given by Andrew and Peter (17:10–22) may reflect those raised by orthodox Christians to gnostic teaching. They are silenced by Levi as contrary to the choice of the Savior. He has made Mary worthy of the revelation (18:2–16). Similar episodes in which Mary Magdalene's gnostic insight is defended can be found in *Pistis Sophia* and *Gos. Phil.* (II 63:34–37). In *Dial. Sav.* (NHC III,*5* 139,12–13) she is one of three disciples chosen by the Lord for a private revelation of the soul's destiny. They may indicate that the importance of women teachers in some gnostic circles survived the exclusion of women from teaching roles elsewhere in early Christianity. Finally, the apostles take up the Lord's commission to preach (18:17–19:2). A similar conviction that the apostolic preaching to the world was gnostic is found in *The Letter of Peter to Philip* (NHC VIII,*2*) where revelations are embedded in a frame story that alludes to Acts.

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PHEME PERKINS

**MARY, GOSPEL OF THE BIRTH OF.** An abridged version of the Latin pseudo-Matthean infancy gospel, also known as the "Story of the Birth of Mary," which was composed sometime during the 8th–9th centuries C.E. Written as a corrective to the then widely popular tales which elevated Mary the Mother of God as the "queen of virgins," this narrative eliminated from the story the tradition of Joseph's first marriage which had been condemned as heretical, as well as omitted other particulars of the legend that were considered risqué. Although *The Gospel of the Birth of Mary* was often included among texts falsely attributed to Jerome, it gained its wide popularity after being included in James de Voragine's *Golden Legend* (1298). See also *NTApocr* 1: 406–7.

KATHLEEN E. CORLEY

**MARY, MOTHER OF JESUS.** Mentioned by name only in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, the mother of Jesus is a character of some importance in the gospel of John as well (though her name is never given). She appears by implication elsewhere in the NT also, and becomes a figure of increasing attention in the noncanonical literature of early Christianity. The witness of the Christian Scriptures is the foundation of subsequent development of Mariological tradition in theology, doctrine, and devotion.

Genuine Pauline letters provide the earliest witness to the mother of Jesus. Although her name does not appear in any Pauline epistle, there are references to Jesus' birth in which his mother is implied. Among these are pre-Pauline formulas: "though he was in the form of God … he emptied himself … coming in human likeness; and found human in appearance" (Phil 2:6–7 NAB), in a context that stresses preexistence; "who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh" (Rom 1:3), part of the *praescriptio* (1:1–7) whose intent is to contrast Jesus' fleshly (i.e., Davidic) status with his spiritual (i.e., resurrected) status. The statement by Paul in Galatians that Jesus was "born of a woman" (4:4) may not carry any reference to his actual mother, because the expression is a commonplace designation of any human being (Job 14:1; 15:14; 25:4; cf. 1 Esdr 4:15; 1QH 13:14). The analogy between Jesus and Isaac, "born according to the Spirit" (4:29), does not necessarily indicate that Paul knew a doctrine of the virginal conception of Jesus, though the matter is problematic (see Brown et al. 1978: 45–49). There is no pervasive Isaac-Jesus typology in Paul. Pauline focus on the Jesus resurrection limits interest in his earthly life.

The two-source hypothesis of the Synoptic Gospels and the theological intentionality of the Matthean and Lukan infancy narratives together indicate Mark as the earliest witness to Marian tradition. Mark 3:31–35 (= Matt 12:46–50; Luke 8:19–21) describes Jesus' relationship to Mary and his family in a context of questions and controversy: Jesus' family sets out to seize him, apparently thinking him to be "beside himself" (3:20–21); Jesus, meanwhile, has spent his time with his chosen ones (3:13–19) and the crowd (v 20). Scribes from Jerusalem claim Jesus is possessed and casts out demons by Beelzebul's power, but Jesus replies in parables (3:22–27). When the "mother and brothers" of Jesus arrive, they stand outside and request to see him; but Jesus identifies those sitting around him as "my mother and brothers," the ones who do God's will (Mark 3:31–35). Thus the Markan context sets up a sharp distinction between "outsiders," i.e., Jesus' natural family and the scribes, and "insiders," i.e., his followers. Jesus declares his preference for an eschatological family (3:33–35). Membership in Jesus' family is not to be based on the relationships of kinship that are valued in society. The Matthean and Lukan parallels omit negative portrayals of Jesus' relatives, though they retain the saying that identifies his family as the ones who hear God's word and act on it (Matt 12:48–50; Luke 8:19–21). Matthew and Luke do not exclude Jesus' mother and brothers from the eschatological family, which later includes Mary and Jesus' brothers (Acts 1:14).

After Jesus' arrival in "his native place," i.e., Nazareth (NAB), family members are mentioned in a discussion about his teaching (Mark 6:1–6a = Matt 13:53–58; Luke 4:16–30). The epithet "Son of Mary" (Mark 6:3 = Matt 13:55; Luke 4:22) implies neither a doctrine of virginal conception nor Jesus' illegitimacy; the terms "brothers" and "sisters" in the same passage denote blood relations and extended family members (Brown et al. 1978: 65–72). Jesus' saying about a prophet's honor except among relatives (Mark 6:4; Matt 13:57; Luke 4:24) designates his family as "outsiders" unable to believe. Witnesses of the crucifixion are not identified with Jesus' family (Mark 15:40 = Matt 27:56; cf. Luke 23:49).

Christology is the primary focus of the Matthean and Lukan infancy narratives, which constitute the latest stage of gospel tradition (Brown 1977: 25–38). The narratives (Matthew 1–2; Luke 1–2) retroject the proclamation of Jesus' divinity at the resurrection and during the public ministry to his conception. Their historical value is open to question, including the portraits of Mary they give.

Matthew identifies Jesus as "Christ, the Son of David, the Son of Abraham" (1:1) in an unusual genealogy (1:1–17) which includes names of four women, Tamar (v 3), Rahab, Ruth (v 5), and Uriah's wife (Bathsheba, v 6), whose irregular conjugal unions nonetheless participate in God's plan. The story of Jesus' birth (vv 18–25) strengthens Mary's association with the women and Joseph's role (Brown 1977: 71–74). The extraordinary conception of Jesus is disclosed. Mary, "betrothed to Joseph," i.e., formally vowed to him but not sharing his home, is "with child of the Holy Spirit" (v 18). Joseph's predicament about the pregnancy and his resolution "to divorce her quietly" (v 19) is reversed through an angelic dream which also confirms the initial disclosure: Mary's conception is "of the Holy Spirit," i.e., the creative agency of God (v 20). A fulfillment formula (vv 22–23) associates Isa 7:14 with Mary's conception and birth of Jesus. The literary device is not recognized by some who read Isa 7:14 as a foreshadowing of Jesus' virginal conception and birth (Brown 1977: 143–53). Joseph, "son of David," obeys the dream directive in assuming legal paternity by taking Mary into his home and naming Jesus (vv 21, 25). Emphasis on Mary's virginity before Jesus' birth (v 25) neither affirms nor denies a sexual relationship with Joseph afterward. Joseph, directed by dreams (2:13, 19) provides lodging (2:11) and protection for the child and Mary (2:13–21), who functions stereotypically (2:11, 13–14, 21–22).

In the Lukan infancy narrative (Luke 1–2) Mary is featured in two pairs of scenes concerning the annunciation of Jesus' birth (Luke 1:26–38) and the birth itself (2:1–21). Surrounding these are stories that indicate the superiority of Jesus to John the Baptist (Luke 1:5–25, 39–56, 57–66, 67–80). The story of the annunication of John the Baptist's birth (Luke 1:5–25) to an elderly couple, Zechariah and his barren wife Elizabeth (1:7), stands in contrast to the annunciation of Jesus' birth to the virgin Mary (1:26–38), betrothed to Joseph (1:27; cf. Matt 1:18). A pattern of birth announcements familiar from the OT structures the scenes. An angel appears to Zechariah and Mary (vv 11, 28); they respond fearfully (vv 12,

29). Reassuring them, the messenger reveals God's agency in births from a barren, elderly womb and a betrothed virgin, and reveals the name of each child and his destined role in salvation (vv 13–17, 30–33). In both cases, the recipients of the message question the angel's revelation (vv 18, 34). The messenger responds and offers a sign (vv 19–22, 35–38). Some critics consider Mary's question in vv 34–35 an addition interrupting the sequence of the narrative. The question is best understood as a literary device to inform the reader, not an examination of Mary's personal psychology (Brown 1977: 303–9). The reply (v 35) describing God's creativity ("Holy Spirit … overshadow") is figurative language, excluding a sexual implication. It does not address Mary's biological virginity. Analysis of pre-Lukan and pre-Matthean tradition about the historicity of the virginal conception of Jesus is inconclusive (Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB, 337–42). Mary's role as the "favored one" (Luke 1:28), i.e., mother of Jesus (Miriam of Nazareth), is the basis for her symbolic function as the disciple who hears and responds to God's word (v 38; cf. 8:19–21, 11:27–28; Acts 1:4).

The visitation episode (1:39–56) brings Mary to assist Elizabeth (1:36) in Zechariah's home. Elizabeth praises "the mother of my Lord" (vv 42–45) to which Mary's attributed Magnificat (vv 46–55) extols God who reverses the situations of the powerful and weak (Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB, 357–71).

The diptych of the births (1:57–80; 2:1–20) presents additional parallels: birth, circumcision, naming, canticle. Joseph's lineage and relationship to Mary (1:27) is delineated in the enrollment in Bethlehem, Jesus' birth, shepherds' visitation, and Temple scenes (2:1–7, 16–38, 41–52). Mary's response to the shepherds' message (vv 17–19), Simeon's prophecy (v 34), and Jesus' words in the Temple (v 49) indicate her role as the believing disciple (vv 19, 50–51; cf. 1:38, 45) when the scenes are interpreted for their literary and theological intent rather than for their value as eyewitness testimony (Brown et al. 1978: 147–62).

The Fourth Gospel introduces the mother of Jesus at the wedding at Cana (2:1–11) and at the cross (19:25–27; cf. Mark 15:40–41 [= Matt 27:55–56]; Luke 23:49). The scenes are similar. There are no proper names: "mother of Jesus" (2:1, 2, 5, 19:25–26), "woman" (2:4, 19:26), "disciples" (2:2, 11), "Beloved Disciple" (19:26–27). Speech takes place in dialogue (2:3–5) or monologue (19:26–27). The scenes are linked to each other: Mary's misunderstanding (2:3) is a foil for her final role (19:26–27) just as the disciples' initial dependence on a sign (2:3, 12) is superfluous later (19:25–27). Historically improbable, the scenes symbolize the faith of Jesus' mother, who is dependent on familial ties (2:3–5). At Cana she and Jesus' "brothers" are distinguished from the disciples (2:12; see 7:3, 5, 10; cf. Mark 3:31–35 [= Matt 12:46–50]; Luke 8:19–21); at the cross, however, she is a model disciple (with the BELOVED DISCIPLE) who belongs to Jesus' true family. The portrait parallels the Lukan image.

Revelation 12 depicts two scenes which some associate with Mary. In "heaven" a "woman" who gives birth to a "male child" encounters opposition from a "dragon" (vv 1–6). On "earth" a "woman" with her "male child" escapes a "dragon/serpent" (vv 13–17). The author uses OT imagery as well as mythological sources to create the characters. The scenes depict God's protection of the "woman" and her "offspring." The "woman" symbolizes the OT people of God as well as the NT people of God, i.e., the Church. Some argue that Mary is the "woman" giving birth to the Messiah. Others point out that early Church writers like the author of Revelation did not identify the "woman" as Mary (cf. 12:9). The birth of the "male child" is different than Jesus' birth in Matthew 2 and Luke 2 (Brown et al. 1978: 223–39).

A few Apocryphal gospels expand the infancy narratives (Matthew 1–2; Luke 1–2). The *Protevangelium of James* presents Mary's parentage (Joachim and Anna), birth, childhood, virginity, marriage to Joseph, and the birth of Jesus. Mary's Davidic lineage supersedes the legal paternity of Joseph (Matthew 1–2). Allegations about Jesus' illegitimacy are refuted by Mary's miraculous birth and virgin birth. Joseph is a widower with children (who are the "brothers of Jesus" mentioned in the canonical gospels); by this means her perpetual virginity is protected (*NTApocr* 1: 366–67). Joseph's identification also occurs in the *Gospel of Peter* (*NTApocr* 1: 179). The *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* describes Jesus' boyhood activities of performing miracles and learning with Joseph as mentor. His mother plays a major role only in an expanded version of Luke 2:41–52, where the parents search for their child (*NTApocr*

1.391–92, 398–99). In contrast, the *Gospel of the Nazaraeans* situates her during Jesus' ministry; she requests to be cleansed from sin by John's baptism (*NTApocr* 1: 146–47).

Mariological studies developed historically within the context of Christian theology, doctrine (Borresen 1983; Maron 1983; Nissiotis 1983; Pelikan 1986; Tambasco 1984: 3–12, 38–53), and devotion (Tambasco 1984: 65–72). With biblical colleagues (Flanagan 1987; Reese 1977; Schineller 1987; van den Hengel 1985), contemporary scholars consider new paradigms for Mary (Bearsley 1980); interpretations of Mary vis-à-vis God (Boff 1987; Healy 1985; Johnson 1989), Christ (Johnson 1984), Church (Carr 1985), Christian feminism (Gordon 1982; Halkes 1983; Johnson 1985; Moltmann-Wendel 1983), and ecumenical dialogue (Ben-Chorin 1983; Brown 1975; Flusser 1988; Moltmann 1983).

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MARY MARGARET PAZDAN

**MASADA** (M.R. 183080). A stronghold (which is a translation of the Hebrew) situated at the E Judean desert close to the Dead Sea, some 16.5 km S of En-gedi. It is along the famous Afro-Syrian geological break, and stands as a rocky mountain, separated from the cliff to form a natural fortress. The plateau on top of this unique mountain measures ca. 800 m (N–S) by ca. 300 m (E–W). The two main, and practically the sole, sources to study Masada are Josephus and the archaeological record.

The first to recognize the special virtues of Masada were the Hasmoneans. Masada was one of the first of their series of desert fortresses. They were the first to build roads to the mountain's top and to build houses and two or three water cisterns. Contrary to the belief after Yadin's excavations that all the buildings exposed on the mountain were built by Herod, it is now clear that some were earlier.

**A. The Hasmonean Site**

Josephus attributes the construction of Masada to Jonathan the High Priest, but practically all scholars agree that it was Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.) who first built on the site. To Hasmonean activity belongs a group of four small palaces at the mountain's center. The largest and most distinctive is the nucleus of the Western Palace. It was built around an inner courtyard with two reception rooms, one to the S of the court with access through a portico, and the other (the "throne room") adjacent to it. This palace also included a small bathhouse with a ritual immersion pool integrated into it. The three other palaces were much smaller, but no doubt were built according to the same architectural prototype, each with two similar triclinia (buildings Nos. 11, 12, and 13).

To the same period belongs also buildings Nos. 7 and 9 (?), a small bathhouse which was abandoned during the construction of Herod's storehouses, three columbaria towers (two square ones at the W and a round one at the center), two or three large cisterns, and a swimming pool (18 × 13 m) at the S edge of the mountain. Building No. 7 probably combined administrative, living, and storage facilities. It was built around a large courtyard with one or two rows of rooms around. Building No. 9, the so-called Caserna probably built by Herod, included 9 identical dwelling units, each comprised of a large room and two small ones. It had also a few more rooms, two of which may have served as stables.

At least twice Herod visited the site prior to his reign (37–4 B.C.)). On the first occasion (42 B.C.), he was sent to recapture the site from a rebel and two years later returned to rescue his family and bodyguards following a long siege by Antigonus (during which they were nearly left without water, and only a sudden rain, which filled the few cisterns, saved their lives). Following his experiences, together with his general architectural interests, Herod decided to improve all of Masada's facilities. (See plan in *EAEHL* 3: 795.)

**B. Herod's Masada**

Herod gave special attention to the water supply. Twelve huge cisterns were carved into the NW side of the cliff. Four cisterns (each about 4000 $m^3$ in capacity), were placed in a row and were fed by the occasional floods which flowed in the wadi N of the mountain. The remaining eight cisterns (3000 $m^3$ each), were in a higher row and received floodwaters from a second wadi to the S.

These enormous cisterns were connected with the mountain's top by a system of paths. One pathway led from the lower cisterns first to the E main gangway (the "snake pass") and through it to the top. The other path, from the upper row, connected with the cisterns at the NW corner of the plateau (into the "water gate").

The largest concentration of buildings on top of Masada was along the plateau's N edge. It consisted of the Northern Palace, the large bathhouse, the storehouses, the earlier building No. 7, and the small palace building No. 9.

The Northern Palace was one of Herod's main architectural achievements. It was built on three natural terraces; about 30 m separate the elevations between the uppermost and the lowest levels of the palace. The entrance into the palace (from a large square situated to its S) passed through the upper terrace which served as the dormitory wing. In front of this wing was a large half-rounded courtyard surrounded by open colonnades.

Access to the lower terraces was by stairways and stairwells. The central terrace was a rounded structure with a few rooms attached to the cliff. Only the foundations of the rounded structure remain, but there are good reasons to believe that there was a *tholos*-shaped hall surrounded by a colonnade on these foundations.

The lowest and best preserved terrace was the square reception hall (9 × 10 m), surrounded by colonnades and a few adjacent rooms. A small bathhouse in the Roman style was in the basement floor. Colorful, well-preserved frescoes decorated this and probably the other terraces.

A large bathhouse was exposed S of the above-mentioned square. One entered it through a peristyled courtyard—a palaestra—and it included a large entrance room (*apoditerium*), a tepid room, a cold room (*frigidarium*) built as a ritual immersion pool, and a large hot room (*caldarium*), originally covered by a barrel-vaulted ceiling. Most of the heating installation (the *hypocaust*) was still preserved in the latter

room. In the other rooms many of the wall and ceiling decorations have survived, such as wall frescoes and *opus sectile* floors.

A storehouse complex surrounded the large bathhouse on three of its sides. There were 11 long (27 m) storerooms and another group of 6 shorter (20 m) storerooms (all were 4 m wide). Additional storage and administrative rooms were exposed S of the main storage block and a watchtower stood at the S edge (on Masada's highest point to guard this important area). To the W of the main storage block was building No. 7. To its N was a large courtyard, which served as the W entrance to the N area. At a later stage, Herod placed the water gate at this point. At the same time, a few more storerooms were added at the S side of the N area, along with building No. 8, a small palace located outside the S entrance to the N area. Building No. 8 was similar (although with a slightly different plan) to the four Hasmonean palaces described above.

Major additions were added during Herod's life to the Western Palace and included large service wings, a few long storerooms, and a special wing built for the palace's guards. Eventually, it became the second largest complex on top of Masada.

With the later additions, Masada was fortified with a 1400-m long casemate wall, about 6.5 m wide. The wall included about 70 rooms, some short, but some more than 30 m long. The wall included more than 30 towers. Two gates provided access through the wall: the E gate, on top of the snake path and the W one, above the path from the W (now covered by the Roman siege ramp).

The defensive infrastructure, so well implemented by the Hasmoneans, but strengthened mainly by Herod, proved its viability about 100 years later, during the first Jewish revolt against the Romans.

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**MASH** (PERSON) [Heb *maš* (מַשׁ)]. The Table of Nations presents Mash as a great-grandson of Noah through Shem and Aram, the ancestor of the Aramaeans or Syrians (Gen 10:23). There is no consensus of opinion as to the identity of Mash.

The LXX reads "Mosoch" ("Meshekh"). This corresponds with that name found in much the same position in the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 1:17 (the preceding phrase "the sons of"Aram found in Genesis, has dropped out in Chronicles). LXX could reflect an older Hebrew tradition, before the loss of the final /k/ in Gen 10:23. It could also be a harmonization with the Chronicles genealogy. Against this proposal is the existence of the name Meshekh elsewhere in the Table of Nations (Gen 10:2), where duplicate names occur only rarely, if at all.

The Samaritan Pentateuch reads the name as Massa, which is the same as one of the sons of Ishmael in Gen 25:14. In the consonantal Hebrew script this would be the same as the geographical location Mesha in Gen 10:30. This site is apparently located in South Arabia. It would therefore fit with an Ishmaelite association, but not with the geographical location of the other identifiable descendants of Aram.

Three more northerly locales are possible in light of extrabiblical sources. Hittite texts refer to a Masa in west-central Anatolia (*CAH*$^3$ 2: 253; *CAH*$^3$ 2: 360). Gilgamesh visited the "mountain(s) of Mashu" which were in the direction of the setting sun in relation to his home in Uruk (tablet 9.2.2, 4.40). These are possibly in Lebanon (Wenham *Genesis* WBC, 230; cf. Masy, Smith 1915:17). There is also a Mount Masius (Tur Abdin) in northern Mesopotamia (Simons *GTTOT,* 8; Wenham *Genesis* WBC, 230), an area inhabited by Arameans (Roux 1964: 232). This would fit well with the biblical context. The relationship between these three northern locales is unclear. They could be completely different places, or they could be the identical location referred to in different sources.

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DAVID W. BAKER

**MASHAL** (PLACE). See MISHAL.

**MASIAH** (PERSON) [Gk *Masias* (Μασιας)]. Forefather of a family included under the heading "the sons of Solomon's servants," who returned with Zerubabbel (1 Esdr 5:34). However, this family is not included in the parallel lists in Ezra 2 and Nehemiah 7.

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**MASKHUTA, TELL EL-** (30°33′ N; 32°06′ E). A multicomponent stratified townsite in the Wadi Tumilat region of the E Nile delta, some 16 km W of modern Ismailia. It was first excavated in 1883 by E. Naville (1903). Subsequent investigations were conducted by J. Clédat (1910; 1914), and more recently by various members of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization. Beginning in 1977, multidisciplinary stratigraphic excavations of the "Wadi Tumilat Project" (1978, 1979, 1981, 1983, 1985) were undertaken by a team directed by J. S. Holladay (1982; 1987; 1988; MacDonald 1980; Paice 1987). The excavations were complemented by surveys of the site and its immediate region in 1977–78. A systematic stratified randomized transect survey of the entire length of the Wadi Tumilat, investigating all known antiquities sites, was conducted in 1983 under the codirectorship of C. A. Redmount and J. S. Holladay (Redmount 1989; 1990), in its turn complementing a systematic aligned 25-m gridded survey of the site itself by E. B. Banning in 1981.

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A. Identification
B. Archaeological Findings
  1. 2d Millennium B.C.
  2. 1st Millennium B.C.
C. General Features
  1. Ramesside Monuments
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**A. Identification**

We do not know the site's name during the Egyptian Second Intermediate period (below). Based upon inscriptions found at the site by Naville (1903: 5–10; 14–24) and Holladay (fc.) and upon Egyptian literary references interpreted in the light of the site's chronology (Redford *LÄ* 4: 1056, especially n. 4), it is now certain that the Egyptian name of the site established by Necho II, ca. 610 B.C., was *Per-Atum Ṯukw* (*Pr-Itm Ṯkw*: the "Estate of Atum in *Ṯkw*"), which came into biblical Hebrew as *pitōm* (English "Pithom"; Exod 1:11), in the *region* of *Ṯkw*, biblical *sukkôt* (English "Succoth"; Exod 12:37; 13:20; Num 33:5–6). In literary contexts this may variously be shortened to *Pr, Ḥwt* ("Temple"), or *Ṯkw*. It is important not to confuse this *Pr-Itm* with other instances of the title, especially those relating to the much earlier "Estate of Atum" at Heliopolis and ʿAn (the region of Turah and the Red Mountain), of which the later cult installations are derivative (Redford 1963: 403–7; *LÄ* 4: 1056, n. 4; 1057, n. 20). Thus, the *Pr-Itm* mentioned on the 22nd-Dynasty statue of Ankh-renep-nefer (time of Osorkon II, ca. 875–850 B.C.), found by Naville at Tell el-Maskhuta (1903: 14–16, frontispiece and pl. 4), relates to the cult of Atum at Heliopolis and ʿAn, and not to the then unoccupied site of Tell el-Maskhuta, the statue only being relocated to the new *Pr-Itm* at some unknown time after 610 B.C. Studies of the literary occurrences of this name indicate that as the name of an E delta townsite, *Pr-Itm* does not antedate the Saite period (Redford 1963: 404, 416; *LÄ* 4: 1055–57, especially nn. 10–15). Combined with the archaeologically

documented history of occupation at the site, these conclusions have obvious implications for the interpretation of the biblical text (below).

During classical times, the site was still known by its ancient name, as seen in the Pithom Stele (Naville 1903: 18–21) and by Herodotus' *Patoumos tēn Arabiēn polis*: "the Arabian town of Patumus" (2.158). Generally, however, it was known by its Hellenized translation-name of *Hērōōn polis* (Heroonpolis, Eroopolis, Heroon, Hero, etc.), as in the LXX of Gen 46.28, *kath Hērōōn polin eis gēn Ramessē,* "near Heroopolis in the land of Ramses." Under the Romans, this was shortened to *Ēro* (Ero, Hero, etc.) (Naville 1903: 8–9; 21–24; Redford, *LÄ* 4: 1054–56, cf. n. 2).

The site is mentioned (as "Heroonpolis" and "Hero") as late as A.D. 381 in the memoirs of the pilgrim Egeria (Wilkinson 1981: 101–2). By that time the location may have shifted somewhat from the present Tell el-Maskhuta.

**B. Archaeological Findings**

**1. 2d Millennium B.C.** Excavation and survey data agree in placing the first occupation of the site in the Egyptian Second Intermediate period. More exactly, in terms of agreement between the pottery analysis and a study of the scarab evidence (personal communication, J. Weinstein), the occupation could be specified as existing from the Syro-Palestinian MB II into the MB III period, perhaps ca. 1750 to ca. 1625 B.C., though neither the dates nor the time span should be treated as absolutes.

This occupation appears to represent an architecturally and culturally sophisticated seasonal (winter through wheat harvest) outpost of the pre-Hyksos and early Hyksos Asiatic occupation of the E delta, previously known from Tell el-Yehudiyeh (Petrie 1906: 3–15) and Tell el-Dab‹a (Bietak 1981). Although Egyptian elements are present, the architecture and material culture assemblage correspond most closely with those of the major center of Tell el-Dab‹a, of which the village at Tell el-Maskhuta may be a local outpost. Thus, the ethnic background of the inhabitants seems to derive from the Syro-Palestinian sphere, with some indications (e.g., the very distinctive forms of the thick-ware carinated bowls) suggesting at least partial derivation from N Syria rather than S Palestine.

The complex web of relationships obtaining between these E delta sites and the greater Syro-Palestinian culture sphere may be illustrated by two thumbnail sketches of the cooking pot series, an aspect of the material culture complex closely sensitive to intergroup (ethnic?) variation. First, the earliest occupational phases are characterized by the presence of large numbers of handmade flat-bottomed cooking pots, similar to the handmade vessels forming a minor constituent of the Palestinian MB I–II pottery repertoire (e.g., Cole 1984: 64–65), but generally lacking the latter's "rope molding" decoration. Identical cooking pots characterize MB (?) "Bedouin" encampments in the Sinai (E. Oren, personal communication), and yet others, not quite so closely similar, appear to be characteristic of some modern Bedouin encampments (Redmount 1990). The "Midianite," or "Negebite," pottery of the early S Palestinian Iron Age affords yet another set of similarities. This suggests that a minority of the early population—including elements closely related to food preparation—may have derived from local Bedouin elements. A possible corollary of this inference with respect to the Palestinian MB Age has to do with the identity of the (minority) bearers of similarly handmade cooking pot traditions in the predominantly urbanized MB culture which, as at Tell el-Maskhuta, is otherwise dominated by mass-produced pottery incorporating sophisticated fast wheel-forming techniques.

Later stages of the Tell el-Maskhuta Second Intermediate period occupation were dominated by "wheel made" hole-mouth cooking pots—already present at the stage of site formation, but in very low numbers. These vessels are most closely paralleled, as a group, by the wheel-made cooking pots of Middle Bronze II Shechem (Seger 1965: 236; fig. 111:s, t; Cole 1984: 63–65; fig. 18, subforms Ch. 11, Ch. 12). This is significant in that Shechem is one of the few truly "MB II" Palestinian stratigraphic sequences yet published. Similar vessels appear in limited numbers at Megiddo and Tell Beit Mirsim, and, to complicate the picture, they also characterize the Middle Bronze I stratification at Aphek, where they are termed "kraters" in Beck's analysis (1975: 48–50; figs. 2:7–8, 4:18–19, 6:15), the term "cooking pot" being reserved for a closely similar vessel form with an upright, rather than folded-back and pasted-down, rim (e.g., Beck 1975: figs. 2:11–14, 4:20–21, etc.). The vessel, with its distinctive "hole mouth" rim form,

also seems to appear in limited numbers in stratification presently dated to the late 3d millennium in N Syria (Dornemann 1979: figs. 17:27; 18:51; and 19:1), but is already out of date there by the time of the later Middle Bronze Age (Dornemann 1979: figs. 20b–23).

After a short initial phase characterized by houses with thin walls only one brick wide, the inhabitants lived in well-built mudbrick houses, stored their grain harvests in above-ground circular (probably beehive-shaped) silos, and had well-defined property lines marked by curvilinear mudbrick walls. They buried their dead within the village itself, for the most part in underground mudbrick tombs (constructed in pits and subsequently backfilled), closely paralleling the simpler sorts of tombs from Tell el-Dabʿa (van den Brink 1982). Warriors' tombs—those characterized by the inclusion of weapons—were marked by external ass-burials (Holladay 1982: 44; pls. 40–41), a practice also known from Tell el-Dabʿa (van den Brink 1982: 46–47, 74–83) and Tell el-ʿAjjul in S Palestine (Petrie 1931: 3–5; pls. 8–9; 1932: 5; pl. 46; 1934: 16; pls. 50, 58; Petrie, MacKay, and Murray 1952: pp. 22–34; pl. 39). Infants were variously buried in miniature mudbrick tombs, in subcourtyard jar burials, or, in one case, in a mudbrick cist secondarily inserted into an outdoor mudbrick paving. The proportional rarity of such burials (as in Palestine), however, suggests that other practices—whether at the summer home site or at Tell el-Maskhuta—may have been the norm. Except for the jar burials (one of which had a red burnished juglet as an offering, the other had nothing), all these burials were marked by the presence of personal jewelry, including gold and silver earrings and headbands, silver torques and bracelets, scarabs (some gold- or silver-mounted), bronze and silver toggle pins, and, for the "warriors' " tombs, bronze weapons, in addition to food offerings and pottery. One of the latest burials yielded a scarab of Pharaoh Sebek-Hotep IV (13th Dynasty, ca. 1740–1730 B.C.). Other burials, whether simple inhumations or in disused silos, had either no grave goods or only very modest food and drink offerings, and may have been those of (Egyptian? Bedouin?) slaves or servants. Two burials in simple rectilinear mudbrick tombs appear slightly to postdate the period of occupation. Both individuals seem to have met a violent end, one by blows to the head from a typical chisel-shaped "Asiatic" battle-ax (Holladay 1982: 44–45; pls. 43–44—on the basis of further analysis now interpreted as a gracile male), the other possibly having suffered a broken neck.

These early inhabitants used standardized brick sizes, engaged in copper or bronze smelting, manufactured pottery on site, and used the vertical loom. They hunted gazelle, bubalis (a large antelope now extinct in Egypt), various smaller animals, and a variety of wading birds and waterfowl, and kept horses, donkeys, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, dogs, and cats. Provisionally, camels seem to be present, possibly as a hunted wild species, though this finding must be subjected to further detailed stratigraphic analysis before it can be regarded as certain. The principal cultivated plants were barley and emmer wheat, harvested with composite sickles made from flint probably imported from the Sinai. Quartzite grinders, also imported either from the E desert or the Sinai, were used and reused even after initial breakage. The settlement went through some six architectural phases prior to its apparently peaceful abandonment at some time prior to the final phase of the developed Palestinian MB II tradition. The reason for the site's existence is still unclear, but may have had to do with border control and/or regulating or assisting overland trade during the winter months.

**2. 1st Millennium B.C.** Following a long abandonment, settlement was renewed early in the last decade of the 7th century B.C., in conjunction with Necho II's construction of a canal from the Pelusiac branch of the Nile River to the Red Sea by way of the Wadi Tumilat (Hdt. 2.158). Inaugurated by the sacrifice of a large number of young bulls buried in rectilinear graves (four were found in one limited excavation area), the new settlement witnessed, from its inception, a major linkage to the Mediterranean trade, attested by the presence of quantities of imported trade amphorae of Phoenician and Helladic origin. It was initially unfortified, but a heavy mudbrick fortification wall, enclosing an area of roughly 4 hectares, soon was erected, probably as an aftereffect of Necho's expulsion from Asia in 605 B.C. A massive destruction soon followed. This presumably, following the correlation of the pottery indicators with the historical data, marked Nebuchadnezzar's ill-fated campaign of 601 B.C., not hitherto known to have penetrated into Egypt. Successive destructions probably mark a second poorly documented campaign of Nebuchadnezzar in 568 B.C. and the Persian conquest of 525 B.C. Four great stelae erected by Darius the Great, one very

close to the site, the rest arcing down toward the Red Sea, attest to Darius' "completion" (in his terms) of the canal. A burn layer and a blocked-up stone-lined well mark the 487 B.C. revolt against the Persians. There were traces of a minor Judean presence at the site (below), similar to those already witnessed from Daphnae and Eliezer Oren's N Sinai Survey Site T.21 (Migdol? Oren 1984: 24), after the 601 B.C. destruction, but prior to the 568 B.C. destruction. The site was continuously occupied until sometime during the 4th century B.C. (Monuments of the 30th Egyptian Dynasty, ca. 380–343 B.C., may, or may not, have been original to the site, below.) It was strongly reoccupied in conjunction with Ptolemy II's renewal of the Red Sea canal. There was a cultural hiatus during the 1st century B.C., with large-scale resettlement toward the end of the 1st century A.D. This phase appears to have been abandoned after a relatively short period, although the length of occupation has not yet been fully established, and is presently controverted.

**C. General Features**

**1. Ramesside Monuments.** Contrary to Naville's conclusions, which to a large extent are based upon inscribed Ramesside monuments found at the site, there is absolutely no evidence for a New Kingdom or 19th Dynasty occupation at the site, despite widespread excavation and intensive survey. The pottery evidence, which would be decisive, is entirely lacking. Thus, the site's numerous massive monuments obviously were imported following the building of the sea-level canal, which made relative child's play of the work of moving monuments weighing tons. Among these imports, items having to do with Atum are prominent, indicating a careful selection and purposive cult-related activity on the part of the royal patron—whether native Egyptian, Persian, or Greek. If the Ramesside monuments were already in place by the first part of the 6th century B.C., this would go a long way toward explaining certain aspects of the biblical account of the Exodus events (below). By whatever reckoning, their presence in later periods naturally contributed to the climate of understanding which led Naville to the interpretations voiced in his trailblazing work (1885; 4th rev. ed. in 1903).

**2. Canal and Commerce.** The site's later fortunes (ca. 610 B.C.–2d/3d [?] century A.D.) seem closely to parallel the fortunes of the sea-level Red Sea canal, and it would appear that the site was a major defense and control point, emporium, and entrepôt for this canal. It probably also served, during the Persian period (and later?), as a transfer point to and from Qedarite-controlled (and later Nabatean-controlled?) caravan routes in the Sinai, S Palestine, and the Transjordan (below). Massive storehouses, first found by Naville, and attributed to the building activities of the Israelites (Exod 1:11), may now be dated—in at least three major phases—to the later 3d and 2d centuries B.C., rather than to the Egyptian 19th Dynasty (Holladay 1982: 30–32). Smaller storehouses, differently sited than the very large Ptolemaic storehouses, are witnessed from the later Persian period and the reign of Ptolemy II. This suggests, but does not demonstrate, that the site's function as an entrepôt—which was demonstrably true for the later period—may have been part of a continuing site function from the early days of the settlement in the late 7th century B.C.; however, only moderately sized domestic (?) granaries widely distributed over the area of the fortified enclosure have so far been excavated from the Saite and early Persian periods.

Other socioeconomic activities witnessed for the site include a large temple of Atum, probably part of the site's foundation (Redford, *LÄ* 4: 1055), still functioning under the Persians (below), and apparently massively renewed under Ptolemy II. The economy was based upon architecture, herding, and a variety of craft-related industrial pursuits—probably only of local importance—such as bronze working, pottery making, large-scale commercial/temple-related (?) bread making, etc. Within this context, the Tell el-Maskhuta bowls (Rabinowitz 1956; Dumbrell 1971) become more comprehensible, appearing to be Qedarite state gifts to the temple in connection with caravan-related aspects of the S Arabian/Horn of Africa trade. This inference was given further substance, considering the archaeological "invisibility" of commodities like frankincense and myrrh, by the discovery of miniature incense altars (ultimately of S Arabian inspiration), and by the presence of Himyaritic (S Arabian) silver coinage, which are associated with overland aspects of the incense trade.

Heavy Phoenician involvement, possibly amounting to a monopoly of the canal-related Mediterranean trade entering the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, is attested not only by the presence of vast numbers of Phoenician amphorae, beginning with the earliest 7th-century levels, but also by a characteristically

Phoenician terra-cotta figurine ("Seated Goddess," cf. Culican 1969) found in the remains of a small limestone shrine. This suggests the resident status of ethnic Phoenicians (cf. Hdt. 2.112 with respect to Memphis). Aside from the amphorae, however, Phoenician pottery (such as that typically marking Phoenician settlements along the Levantine coast) either does not appear or is extremely rare. In contrast to Naukratis or Daphnae, no great quantity of Greek ostraca or graffiti has yet been found at Tell el-Maskhuta. A few Phoenician ostraca, perhaps better termed "jar labels," do occur, however. The majority of the labels—on both Phoenician and Greek amphorae—are in demotic. Sizable quantities of Greek amphorae, second only to the Phoenician in their numbers, indicate that whoever the primary traders, the Greek islands—variously Thasos, Chios, Samos, and (rarely) Lesbos—were not excluded from the trading circle. (Under the Ptolemies, the custom shifted, as elsewhere in the Levant, to Rhodes, Cos, and Knidos.) Cyprus seems to be represented in the loop- or basket-handled jar series, and a few store-jars seem to come from the S coast of Palestine. Greek fine wares of the 7th–5th centuries were rare, particularly in comparison to Naukratis, or even to Daphnae. During the Hellenistic through Roman periods the local pottery was surprisingly similar to that common throughout greater Syria-Palestine, presumably witnessing to the Hellenistic through Roman *koine,* although many strongly Egyptian forms, now including domestic Egyptian amphorae, some copying earlier Phoenician types, continued at least as far as the later Ptolemaic period. Egyptian and Gallo-Roman amphorae, together with a few amphorae of Italian (Brindisi) origin and Palestinian vessels from the vicinity of Gaza, characterize the Roman period. Tombs of the Persian, Hellenistic (?), and Roman periods have been excavated at the site, mostly by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization (for the Roman period, see Holladay 1982: 38–43).

**D. Significance for Biblical Studies**

**1. Exodus Traditions.** The citation of Pithom and Raamses as store cities built by the children of Israel has long been held to be an important piece of evidence both for dating the Exodus and for validating the antiquity of Israel's traditions about the Exodus (Exod 1:11). These conclusions now seem viable only if the presently secure site identification is taken to be erroneous. With the determination of the actual settlement patterns at Tell el-Maskhuta, the burden of the evidence now shifts drastically to favor the late dating of this passage, as long argued by D. B. Redford (Redford 1963: 415–18). This raises questions about the actual origin and purpose of the citation. Citing the evidence for a minor post-601/pre-568 B.C. Judean presence, inferred from the presence of a characteristically Judean lamp (in this instance, handmade) and wine decanter, Holladay (1988) has suggested that the passage is an anachronistic gloss to the developing literature of the Passover Haggadah by Judean refugees. These refugees sought sanctuary in the E delta following the murder of the Babylonian governor Gedaliah ben Ahikam in 582 B.C. (Jer 41:1–45:1). In this analysis, the factual basis for the attribution is posited to be an incorrect "archaeological inference" arising from the Judean refugees' recent acquaintance with the evidence of earlier "Asiatic" remains at the site, particularly the rich and very un-Egyptian tombs, which would have been despoiled at every opportunity. If the Ramesside monuments were already in place (above), it is easy to see how the refugees' confusion could have been complete. In this connection, we should note the considerably later interest in Passover observance on the part of other Judeans resident in Egypt shown in the "Passover Papyrus" (*ANET,* 491). From this base, it would not be a far remove to the literary resources available to the later editors of the developing pentateuchal literature.

**2. 7th-Century Socioeconomic Factors.** With respect to the larger forces affecting the life of Judah, it can be argued that the advent of the sea-level canal in the reign of Necho signaled the end of the domination of the overland caravan routes of the immensely lucrative spice and incense trade. Not only do ship-borne goods travel at half the expense of camel caravans, despite the unfavorable sailing regime of the N Red Sea (Necho's fleet was based upon triremes; Hdt. 2.159) they also move more expeditiously and safely, with fewer revenues being extracted for safe passage. Monopoly of this trade (or tribute extracted from its profits) seems to have been the driving force behind much of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian effort in the W (Holladay fc.; Eph'al 1982). A good case can be made that much of Judah and the S Palestinian coast's material prosperity during the late 8th–7th centuries B.C. derived from revenues coming from the carefully controlled (e.g., the chariot city of Beer-sheba Strata III–II) overland

transport route which followed the Beersheba-Zered Depression en route to Gaza and, probably, to Ashdod (Holladay fc.). From this perspective, there can be no question about the purpose of Necho's Red Sea canal: it was intended to capture, once and for all, the bulk of the spice and incense trade with the Mediterranean world. From this perspective, Nebuchadnezzar's two campaigns against Egypt become completely explicable. For Judah's part, it now seems extremely probable that the socioeconomic and political events, hitherto quite inexplicable, precipitating Josiah's death at Necho's hand are directly related to this ongoing struggle for control of this traffic.

**3. Tell el-Maskhuta Bowls.** Finally, the excavations at Tell el-Maskhuta offer a much fuller view of the site—and indirectly of the SE portion of the Levant—during the Persian period than has previously been available. From this perspective there can be no question of "Arabian" hegemony, e.g., that of Geshem, King of Qedar, over the Wadi Tumilat—however construed (above; Rabinowitz 1956; Dumbrell 1971). The site is culturally and economically "Egyptian," and canal-related, throughout. That leaves Eph'al's carefully researched historical conclusion—"[Geshem may be regarded as] a leader of the Qedar tribal league, whose [W] influence extended from the approaches to Egypt at least as far as southern Palestine, and who may have been 'king of the Arabs,' controller of Arabian trade in southern Palestine" (1982: 212–13)—as not only the simplest and most economical, but also the most fitting, interpretation. In this connection, state gifts to the sanctuary of a major trading partner, particularly at a primary point of contact, would not only have been wholly appropriate, but expected. The hoard of thousands of Athenian tetradrachms of approximately the same date (late 5th to early 4th centuries B.C., cf. Rabinowitz 1956: 4, n. 24), probably derives from similar gifts from the Mediterranean (i.e., Phoenician, or Phoenician and Helladic) end of the traffic. Once again, this highlights the great bearing of international commerce, in particular, the spice and incense trade, upon what otherwise might have been considered purely local concerns (Neh 2:19; 6:1–2, 6).

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**MASORAH.** The term "Masorah" (tradition) refers, in its widest sense, to the traditional rules governing the production of a handwritten copy of the biblical text. This applies to a codex (book-form text) with vowel and accent signs, intended for the use of scholars, or a scroll without them, intended for use in the liturgy. These rules, which in their origin were concerned only with the latter type of text, cover all aspects of the production of such a manuscript, from the preparation of the materials to its completion. In the narrower sense, in which it is usually used, the term refers to the corpus of notes in copies of the Masoretic Text which were prepared for scholarly use.

A small circle (*circellus*) above a word in such a text (or between two or more words) indicates that a marginal note provides information on that word (or group of words). The basic information is given in the vertical margin beside the line of text. The most common information is represented by the letter *lamed* representing the Aramaic word for "none," indicating that the word (usually specifically that combination of letters) does not occur elsewhere. Where a word occurs more than once, other letters, representing numbers, are used to record the number of occurrences. One example is the first word in Genesis, *brʾšyt,* which, as the letter *he* signifies, occurs five times in the Leningrad Codex. In some cases, further highly abbreviated information is added. In Gen 1:1 the note adds "Three (of the five cases occur) at the beginning of a verse." A small proportion of these notes gives other sorts of information, such as the required pronunciation (Heb *qerê*) in cases where the form written in the text (Heb *kĕtîb*) suggests a different word. See KETHIB AND QERE. Collectively, these notes placed in the vertical margins of the text are known as the *masorah parva* or "lesser Masorah" (Mp), or Heb *masorâ qĕṭannâ.*

The details of the information summarized in the Mp are given in the lists of the *masorah magna* or "greater Masorah" (Mm), or Heb *masorâ gĕdōlâ.* The word in question, followed by the information given in the Mp, is typically used as a heading, and is followed by a list of the occurrences. Thus, "*brʾšyt* (occurs) five (times), three at the beginning of a verse: Gen 1:1; Jer 26:1; 27:1; and two within a verse: Jer 28:1; 49:34." The references are given in the form of key words quoted from the verse in question. One or two words usually sufficed for the scholars who used the earliest texts; later lists tend to use more. If blank leaves are left at the end of a codex, they may be filled with Masoretic lists known as the *masorah finalis.* Such material often gives other types of information, such as lists of words which occur once with and once without the conjunction, or lists of words written defectively (Heb *ḥāsēr,* lacking an expected vowel letter).

Manuscript codices differ in the Masoretic notes they provide. Moreover, in any particular codex, neither the lists of the Mm nor the notes of the Mp are necessarily given at every occurrence of the word(s) in question. Thus, the list of occurrences of the words *brʾšyt* is only given at Gen 1:1 in the Leningrad Codex. The note of the Mp is given in three different forms, and is altogether absent at Jer 26:1. The Hebrew University Bible Project edition reproduces the Masoretic notes and lists (as far as is possible) exactly as they occur in the Aleppo Codex. In the *BHS*, the Mp of the Leningrad Codex is harmonized, so that the fullest form of the note is given at each occurrence of the word in question. The lists of the Mm are published separately by G. E. Weil (1971).

The vast majority of the lists refer to the letters of the text. Some refer to pronunciation. The earliest of these are probably the *qĕrê* notes, since these, which give consonants representing the word to be read, would be largely superfluous after the introduction of vowel signs. A few notes, presumably from the latest period of the formation of the corpus, deal specifically with vowel or accent signs. Two categories of notes relate to the understanding of the text. The *tiqqûnê hasōpērîm,* eighteen cases in which the scribes are said to have "corrected" expressions which might seem disrespectful to God, are treated

elsewhere. See EMENDATIONS, SCRIBAL. The *sĕbîrîn* notes are similar to the *qĕrê* notes in that they present a word other than that in the written text. For example, the text of Jer 48:45 presents a difficulty, because the feminine noun *ʾš* appears as subject of the masculine verb form *yṣʾ*. The *sĕbîrîn* note presents the expected feminine verb form. This is not done, as often used to be suggested, to correct the form written in the text, but to confirm it. The term *sĕbîrîn* means something like "they suppose," that is, " (people) suppose (that the verb should appear in the feminine form) *yṣʾh* (but in fact the text is correct as written)." The language of this note, and of the Masorah generally, is Aramaic, the language of scholarship for most oriental Jews throughout the first millennium C.E.

The available evidence suggests that the notes of the Masorah were built up over a long period, but largely before the general use of vowel and accent signs. The lists probably originally circulated independently, and were only later included in codices as a convenience to scholars. The total corpus of the notes and lists is very extensive; only a selection appears in most codices. Some collections of lists, such as those known as *Okhlah we-Okhlah* and *Diqdûqê ha-Teʿāmim,* were given titles as independent treatises, but this seems to have been a relatively late phenomenon.

The main purpose of the notes of the Masorah was undoubtedly the preservation of the traditional wording and spelling of the text. Their value for this purpose is proved by the fact that the variants found in medieval manuscripts, though numerous, are few and minor compared to those found in comparable bodies of traditional literature, as the Mishnah or the. Many lists would have been of use for interpretation, however, and this was probably an important secondary purpose for their compilation. Other lists contain information of value for grammatical study, and are included in early grammatical works. The viewpoint of these lists is not that of the modern scholar, however, so they are now mainly of historical interest.

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**MASORETES.** The English equivalent of *baʿalê hammasorâ,* the name for the scholars whose work it was to maintain the tradition which governed the production of copies of the biblical text (the Masoretic Text) for liturgical or scholarly use. Earlier scholars engaged in this activity were known as "scribes" (*sōpĕrîm*). The work of the scribes was the establishment and preservation of the correct form of the consonantal text. A tradition recounts that they were called *sōpĕrîm* because they "counted" the letters, words, and verses of the text. (The verb [Heb *spr*] which gives rise to the word *sōpĕrîm* means both to write and to count.) This was one of the methods of ensuring that the spelling and wording of the text did not change.

The Masoretes continued this work, and extended it to individual words, recording, in numerous lists, the number of cases in which one spelling or another was used. Such lists provided a means of reference against which innumerable details of the spelling of the text could be checked. As the general populace, speaking first Aramaic, and later Arabic, found the ancient Hebrew of the text more and more difficult to read in the traditional way, systems of vowel and accent signs were developed to assist in the preservation and teaching of the traditional pronunciation and chant. In the last stage of Masoretic activity, these signs too were reduced to a fixed tradition, in which small details of sound change were precisely noted. This feature of the writing system, which gives such trouble to beginners in biblical Hebrew, derives from the desire to represent all significant features of the reading tradition. There would be no need to represent many of these details in a system intended for ordinary purposes. The vowel and accent signs have never been included in texts used in the liturgy, but, because they are so valuable for the understanding of the text, they are generally given in texts intended for scholarly and general use.

The "scribes" and the "Masoretes" thus differed in the type of work which they did, but not in their purpose. Both worked to ensure that the biblical tradition was passed on unchanged to succeeding generations. The beginning of activity of the "Masoretic" type may perhaps be dated as early as 500 C.E. The foundations of this work can be seen in the Talmudic literature. Many interpretations of biblical

verses recorded in this material are based on the same details of spelling which were the concern of the Masoretes, such as the use or nonuse of vowel letters or of the conjunctive *waw.* Passages presenting these interpretations may even include a statement of the number of times the feature occurs, as do the Masoretic notes. However, most such passages are not formulated in the style typical of the Masoretes, and occasionally the information given conflicts with the later Masoretic tradition.

The treatise known as *Masseket Soferîm,* "The Tractate of the Scribes" (now associated with the Talmud as a "minor tractate") was probably composed in the 8th century C.E. In this tractate, the material found in the earlier Talmudic literature, with some additions, is presented in typical Masoretic style. The phenomena which are of interest are enumerated and are presented in lists similar to those of later Masoretic compilations.

The list which gives the differences between the *madinḥā›ê,* or "Easterners," and the *ma‹ărbā›ê,* or "Westerners," may contain some of the earlier material in these later Masoretic compilations. The differences listed are minor variations in the letters of the text. The identity of the two groups of scholars referred to is uncertain, and no text which can be classified as "Eastern" or "Western" in terms of these lists is now known.

A few Masoretic notes cite an authority for a particular reading. This may be a text, cited by a name, such as "Hilleli," or merely as "corrected" (*muggâ*); none of these texts have been preserved for us. The authority cited may be a scholar, a number of whom are referred to by name. Such scholars are cited as authorities for details of the vocalization or accentuation of individual words, and so must have been active during the final stages of the work leading to the completion of the Masoretic Text.

The only one of these names about which we have any significant information is that of ben Asher. Seven generations of Masoretic scholars are recorded, from the ancestor, R. Asher *ha-Zāqen,* down to Aharon ben Asher, the most famous of the Masoretic scholars. Aharon was evidently the ben Asher of the lists of variants (*ḥillûpîm*) between ben Asher and ben Naphtali. A few of these variants are minor matters of spelling; the majority are details of vowel painting and accentuation. No known text shows one of the sets of variants in these lists with complete consistency, but the Aleppo Codex, which was supplied with vowel and accent signs by Aharon ben Asher, corresponds with the ben Asher of the lists in 94 percent of the cases. (The Leningrad Codex, the next closest, corresponds in 92 percent.) Here, then, there is a real link between the texts which we have and one of the names in the Masoretic literature.

Even here, however, there is mystery. A number of the features in which ben Naphtali systematically differs from ben Asher (as the use of long *ḥireq,* as *lîśrā›ēl,* where ben Asher uses *šewa-yod-ḥireq,* as *lĕyiśrā›ēl*) are found in manuscripts, but neither the manuscripts which show them, nor any other known texts, show a high level of correspondence with the ben Naphtali of the lists overall. The highest level found (64 percent) is found in the Cairo Codex, which, according to its colophon, was written in 896 by Mosheh, the father of Aharon ben Asher. This is interesting evidence of the way the Masoretes worked. Despite his scholarly ancestry, Aharon evidently did not maintain a family tradition, but (presumably) promulgated the form of tradition formulated by the Masoretes of Tiberias as a group. This may add some plausibility to the suggestion that the name of ben Naphtali (of whom nothing is known beyond the divergence from ben Asher recorded in these lists) came to be used for any reading in known sources which was not accepted by Aharon ben Asher.

The work of the Masoretes can be said to have been crowned by the production of the Aleppo Codex, to which the vowel and accent signs and Masoretic notes were added by Aharon ben Asher. Of all currently known texts, this was evidently the first copy of the whole Bible which had been produced complete with these details. The tradition which it represented became the standard form of the text. This was due not only to the respect in which the name of ben Asher was held. His tradition represented the work of the Masoretes of Tiberias, who were renowned for their linguistic accuracy. More than this, their tradition was believed to be the authentic tradition of the Holy Land, passed on in unbroken line from the generation of Ezra.

Individual Masoretes such as Aharon ben Asher preserved and maintained individual traditions. In the finest codices, such as the Aleppo Codex, the Masoretic notes are consistent with the text of the codex in

which they are written. Since each codex differs slightly from others, the Masorah of one codex is not fully consistent with the text of another. After the time of Aharon ben Asher, it became common to supplement the Masorah of one codex with further notes drawn from others, so that the individual traditions began to be mixed. The inconsistency between Masorah and text which resulted can already be seen to a slight extent in the Leningrad Codex, as in Isa 51:16, where the text reads *wʾśym,* but the Masorah requires *wʾśm,* the reading of the Aleppo Codex. Because of this, the chief concern of the Masoretic scholar came to be the selection of the best tradition in any given case from the manuscript variants available to him, as was the case with the work of Jacob ben Ḥayyim on his edition (Vienna 1524–25). This in turn has given way, in our own day, to the attempt to trace the different strands of the earlier traditions.

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**MASORETIC ACCENTS.** The term "accent" (Heb *ṭaʿam*) refers to the signs marked on the words of the biblical text. These accents relate the words of the text to the music to which it is chanted in the liturgy. Accent signs do not represent individual notes, but groups of notes ("motifs" or "tropes") used in a particular form of chant. For this reason, the same accentuation has the capability to relate the words to the music of several different forms of chant.

The chant presents the text meaningfully to the congregation. The musical motifs mark off words, phrases, or larger units of meaning, and in combination show the relation of these units to each other. Consequently the accent signs in the text have something of the function of punctuation. Most accent signs are marked on the stress syllable of the word. In a few cases this indication of stress position is helpful in classifying the word.

In the standard Tiberian tradition, the accents used in the books of Psalms, Job, and Proverbs (known as the "Three Books") differ from those used in the rest of the Bible (known as the "Twenty-one Books"). The general principles governing the use of both sets of accents are the same. Thus both use accents of two types: (1) disjunctive accents (DA), which mark the last word in a semantic unit of one or more words; and (2) conjunctive accents (CA), which mark the words forming a semantic unit ending at the next disjunctive. Three other signs are also used, which are not considered as accents because they do not represent musical motifs. These are (1) *maqqēp,* which joins two or more words, all of which are chanted to the motif marked by the accent on the last word; (2) *gaʿyâ* (also known as *meteg*), marked on a syllable which is not accented to show that it receives slower pronunciation than it otherwise would (or, as some see it, that it has secondary stress. Conjunctives are sometimes marked as secondary accents with a word in a similar way); (3) *pāsēq,* which marks a slight pause after a word with a conjunctive accent.

The primary accent signs are listed in Fig. MAS.01. Names in parentheses identify an alternative form of the accent in question. The accent *pašṭāʾ* (DA.3.b) is always marked on the last letter of the word. Where the last vowel is not stressed, it is marked on the letter before the stressed vowel as well. Other accents which are restricted to the first or last letter of the word (as *sĕgōltāʾ* [DA.2.a]) are also regularly repeated to mark stress position in some manuscripts, but in the Aleppo and Leningrad codices, this is done only where the stress position is of particular significance.

The accentuation is based on the division of the text into verses (Heb *pāsûq*). This division appears to have been established in Talmudic times. (But the division into chapters, and so the numbering of verses, is medieval.) The verse division does not always coincide with the earlier division into *pisqōt* so that, occasionally, a paragraph division occurs within a verse (*pisqâ bĕʾemṣāʿ pāsûq,* as 1 Sam 14:12, 19, 37).

Each verse is an independent unit of accentuation, marked at the end with the accent *sîllûq* (DA.1.a). (In most texts, two dots in vertical line, or some other sign, are also used to mark the divisions between the verses.) The other accents used in any verse depend on the number of words in the verse, and on their syntactic and semantic relationship. On a simple level, the accentuation can be described as marking

"terminal" accent clauses (DA.1), ending with *sîllûq* or *›atnāḥ*, and "medial" accent clauses (DA.2), ending with *zāqēp* or *sĕgōltā›*. The shortest verses contain only a terminal clause, such as Gen 2:1, "The heavens, and the earth and all their hosts were finished." A few verses such as Gen 23:12, consist of one medial and one terminal clause. However, where a verse contains more than one accent clause, it usually contains two terminal clauses, the first ending with *›atnāḥ* (DA.1.b), the second with *sîllûq*. A verse may be composed only of two terminal clauses, i.e., Gen 2:4, "These are the generations of the heaven and the earth in their creation [*›atnāḥ*] on the day when God made earth and heaven [*sîllûq*]." More often, one of the terminal clauses, or both, are preceded by medial clauses, i.e., Gen 2:3, "God blessed the seventh day [*zāqēp*] and sanctified in [*›atnāḥ*] because on it he had ceased from all his work [*zāqēp*] which God had created by making." No verse contains more than two terminal clauses, but either may be preceded by several medial clauses. Where more than one medial clause is used before *›atnāḥ*, the first may be marked by *sĕgōltā›*, i.e., Gen 3:3, " 'From the fruit of the tree which is in the middle of the garden' [*sĕgōltā›*] said God, 'You shall not eat of it [*zāqēp*] and you shall not touch it [*›atnāḥ*] lest you die.' "

As these examples show, the accent clauses do not correspond to any particular syntactic structures, nor are they used to divide the verse into units more or less equal in length. They divide the verse into sense units related to the chant. The different possibilities of accentuation are used to indicate the relationship between these units, and (as a result) to highlight the significance of some. Thus, in Gen 3:3, the main division of the verse (marked by *›atnāḥ*) comes almost at its end, showing the close relationship of the two prohibitions and emphasizing the warning of the penalty for transgression given in the last clause. The semantic analysis marked by the accentuation reflects, of course, the way the text was interpreted (on the basis of the tradition they had received) by the Masoretes who established the received accentuation.

The accent clauses are subdivided by the lesser disjunctive accents in much the same way as the verse is divided into clauses. The basic principle is generally described as "dichotomy." Each unit is divided in two (as is the verse by *›atnāḥ*); each of those units may be divided in two again, and so on. The resultant analysis is similar to the analysis of speech into "immediate constituents." The accents can be classified in grades of disjunctive force (marked 1–4 in Fig. MAS.01) on the basis of their use in marking the dichotomy. Typically, a unit ending with an accent of one grade is divided by one of the grade below (as an *›atnāḥ* unit by *zāqēp*).

A closer analysis of the use of accents must concern itself with the rules governing the sequence in which the accents can occur, and those governing the conjunctives which can be used before each disjunctive. The basis for these rules is the phonological structure of the words, and the music of the chant, rather than the syntactic or semantic relationship of the words. Musical requirements sometimes result in accentuation which seems illogical from the standpoint of syntax (i.e., a disjunctive accent used on a word which is closely related to the following). This is most striking with the (relatively high-grade) disjunctive *tipḥā›* (DA.2.C.). This accent must be used in any terminal clause which contains more than one accented word. As a result, *tipḥā›* may be used even on a preposition (*›t* in Gen 2:14), or a construct noun (*yd‹y* in Gen 3:5). In such cases, of course, the accent reflects a musical requirement, and does not imply any syntactic or semantic division.

The use of accents in the Three Books is more complex than in the Twenty-one, so only a superficial sketch can be given here. See Fig. MAS.02. Verses are commonly divided into two halves. In shorter verses, the first typically ends with *›atnāḥ* (DA.2) and is subdivided by *dĕḥî* (DA.8); the second ends with *sîllûq* (DA.1), and is subdivided by *rĕbîa‹ mûgrāš* (DA.5). Where the verse is longer, its main division is usually marked by *‹ôlēh wĕ-yôrēd* (DA.3), with *›atnāḥ* used to mark the main division of the second half. *Rĕbîa‹* (DA.4) is also used as the main verse divider where neither *›atnāḥ* or *‹ôlēh wĕ-yôrēd* occurs (called "*rĕbîa‹ mûgrāš* without *gereš*"), and may act as a minor disjunctive (called *rĕbîa‹ qāṭan*) immediately before *‹ôlēh wĕ-yôrēd.*

As with the vowel signs, different systems of accent signs were developed. The "Palestinian" system appears to mark an accentuation the same as, or similar to, the standard Tiberian, but to mark it in less detail. In this system, as in the Tiberian, the accentuation of the Three Books differs from that of the Twenty-one. In manuscripts using the Babylonian system, the same signs are used in all books of the

Bible. This system differs from the Tiberian in a number of details, the most striking of which is the fact that only one medial clause can be used before a terminal clause. The internal division of verses in Babylonian manuscripts quite often differs from the standard. In fact, differences may be found in all manuscripts, but in Palestinian and Tiberian manuscripts these typically affect only the subdivisions of the medial or terminal clauses.

Like the vowel signs, the accent signs were probably developed between 500 and 700 C.E. to mark an existing tradition of chant. The music of the chant is certainly very old. The close relationship between early Church music and traditional Jewish music suggests that both derive from music in use before Christians separated from Jews. Consequently the basis of the biblical chant was probably established before the turn of the era. Punctuation is marked (by dots or by spaces) in some manuscripts of the LXX which date from this period, and so must be Jewish. Greek literary texts typically do not use punctuation, so such marks may well reflect a Jewish tradition of division of the text, but their relationship to the later accentuation remains uncertain.

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**MASORETIC STUDIES.** The work of the Masoretes in its most common form confines itself to listing the occurrences of some feature of the biblical text. Where opportunity arises, however, general descriptions are used to avoid the need for long lists, as in the note on *bzrwʿ* in Exod 6:6: " (This word is written) *plene* (with *waw*) three times in the Torah, and in all of the Prophets and Writings it is spelled this way (with *waw*) with three exceptions." In some cases the information recorded as a feature of spelling obviously has a purely linguistic basis, i.e., the note on *wmn kl* in Judg 7:23, " (This spelling—instead of the expected *wmkl*—occurs) twice (in the parts of the text written in Hebrew) but is regular in (the parts written in) Aramaic." That is, the *n* of the preposition *mn* typically assimilates to a following consonant in Hebrew, but not in Aramaic. General descriptions of this kind, with a list of exceptions, were an important part of the work of the latter Masoretes. The most famous medieval Masorete, Aharon ben Asher, himself made a short collection of such material, mostly concerned with the accents, which circulated under the title *Diqdûqê ha-Ṭeʿāmîm,* "Details of the Accentuation." Work of this sort continued after the Masoretic period, and resulted in a number of treatises which are still preserved. These typically include both material which we would consider purely linguistic, and so classify under "Grammar," and material which we would consider to be without linguistic relevance, and classify under "Masorah." Subsequently, it became usual to restrict works to one kind of material or the other, although the boundary between the two groups remains vague. In which category, for instance, should the unusual uses of *dagesû* be placed?

At the same time, scholars still needed to work at the establishment of the correct text. As manuscripts were recopied in the 10th century and later, the traditions of individual Masoretes, each of which differed slightly from the others, became confused. The differences between the separate strands of tradition became variants in a single stream of tradition. Consequently there was a need to evaluate the variants, and to select from among them the correct reading of any given word. The problem was further complicated by differing pronouncements on particular questions by leading scholars of later eras. The considerable problems faced by an editor are described by Jacob ben Ḥayyim in the preface to his edition of the Bible (Venice 1524–25). The same problems would, of course, face any scholar who needed a correct text on which to base his studies.

As the Masoretic period grew more distant in time, there was a growing need to explain the aims and methods of the Masoretes to the many who were no longer familiar with them. Jacob ben Ḥayyim provides some information on this subject in his preface. A more famous attempt at explanation is found in the *Massoret ha-Massoret,* a book written in 1538 by Rabbi Eliyahu ha-Levi (whose name was latinized as Elias Levita.) This author was also interested in the place of the Masoretes in history,

foreshadowing the interest in the history of the biblical text which became so great a concern for later scholars.

Many scholars worked in these three areas: (1) description of the features of the text; (2) determination of the best readings; and (3) the study of the methods of the Masoretes and their history, particularly between the time of Aharon ben Asher and the present century. The last major scholar in this phase of Masoretic study was C. D. Ginsburg. His introduction to his 1897 edition of the Bible is largely concerned with explaining Masoretic matters to the English-speaking world. He published a translation of Jacob ben Ḥayyim's preface, and of Eliyahu ha-Levi's *Massoret ha-Massoret* with the same purpose (1867). He also published a massive collection of Masoretic notes and lists (1880–1905). This material is taken from a wide range of sources, and contains much of great interest. However, treating the material from diverse sources as equally representative of "The Masorah," as if it were a single entity, reflected the approach of an earlier time. A more fruitful method was beginning to develop.

The present phase of Masoretic study was introduced by the German scholar P. E. Kahle. In his time, the discovery of manuscripts in the Cairo Geniza made Masoretic materials of all sorts, some from the 8th and 9th centuries, available to scholars. This included biblical texts with Palestinian and Babylonian vowel and accent signs, which clearly represented a tradition quite different from the standard, as well as other evidence of the work of the later generations of Masoretes. Some material of this sort had been known to and studied by scholars of the 19th century, but Kahle persuaded scholars generally of the importance of the nonstandard traditions. He also persuaded them of the importance of using the earliest form of the standard tradition available, an individual tradition produced by one of the leading Masoretes. As a result, the third edition of the text, edited by Rudolph Kittel (*BHK*), which was intended for critical study of the biblical text, was based on the best complete codex of the Bible available, the Leningrad Codex. Kahle was able to publish the *masorah parva* with this text; his plan to publish the *masorah magna* could only be realized by G. E. Weil in connection with the later (fourth) edition known as the *Biblia hebraica Stuttgartensia* (*BHS*). See MASORAH.

The availability of the early materials which Kahle did so much to publicize led scholars to concentrate on the study of the individual Masoretic traditions. Most recently, Israel Yeivin and many other scholars have made important contributions to Masoretic studies. Their work supplies scholars with a clear understanding of the aims and methods of the Masoretes, not previously available. It has also led to a better grasp of much of the variation in later Masoretic materials. For instance, 19th-century scholars typically approached the confusing use of *gaʿyâ* (*meteg*) in medieval manuscripts with the assumption that it represented corruption, through ignorance, of a single "correct" usage. It is now clear that this sign was used in different ways in different strands of tradition at the end of the Masoretic period. Confusion in later texts results from the fact that the use in these different strands have become confused. The effort to disentangle these strands, so that the usage characteristic of each can be described, has led to a much better understanding of the linguistic significance of *gaʿyâ,* and of its importance in accentuation. Close attention to the details of good representatives of individual traditions is similarly producing a much clearer picture of many other features of the text.

A final area of study is the different reading traditions still in use in the various Jewish communities. The possibility of making accurate recordings of living bearers of the different traditions, especially in Israel, has greatly stimulated the study of this material in recent years. Through the work of scholars such as S. Morag, it has already provided valuable data for understanding various features of the earlier manuscripts, in both standard and nonstandard forms of the tradition.

Masoretic studies today is thus not just concerned with the text of the Hebrew Bible in its many written forms, but extends to the oral presentation of the text. The main emphasis is not on the reconstruction of one "correct" form of the text and its supporting notes, but on the attempt to understand the variations in the sources in their original context. This will help scholars gain a greater knowledge of the history of the text, and of the written and oral presentation of it. In 1972, the International Organization for Masoretic Studies was founded by the American scholar H. M. Orlinsky to promote this work.

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**MASORETIC TEXT.** In its widest sense, the term "Masoretic Text" (MT) can be applied to any text of the Hebrew Bible produced under the care of scholars known as Masoretes, or any copy of such a text. In the narrower sense in which it is commonly used, it refers to the standard text of the Hebrew Bible, which is derived from the tradition of the Masoretes of Tiberias, the "Tiberian Tradition." This standard text has three main components: the letters, the vowel signs, and the accents. In most manuscripts, a fourth component, the marginal notes of the Masorah, is represented at least to some extent.

The letters of the text form the oldest component, often called the "consonantal text." Where the biblical text is used in the Jewish liturgy, it is this "consonantal text" which is used, written by hand in a scroll. The text in such scrolls is written in rather narrow columns (each line typically contains 20–30 letters). The "songs" in the text, i.e., Exodus 15 and Deuteronomy 32, are spaced as poetry according to fixed conventions (which differ for these two chapters). The text is divided into sections (Heb *pisqōt*) by means of spaces (similar to those which divide the paragraphs of an English text) known as "open" (*pĕtûḥâ*) or "closed" (*sĕtûmâ*) according to the positioning of the space. These are often distinguished in later codices by the writing of *p* or *s* within the space.

The consonantal text as written in liturgical scrolls also includes the *puncta extraordinaria,* the dots (distinct from vowel and accent signs) found on some or all of the letters of one or more words in ten places in the Torah, four in the Prophets, and one in the Writings. The significance of these dots has been discussed by scholars from Talmudic times on, but no generally accepted conclusion has been reached.

Other features (with unknown origin and purpose) traditionally included as part of the consonantal text are the "inverted *nun*" signs found at Num 10:35–36, the four letters written above the line ("suspended," as *n* in *mnśh* in Judg 18:30), and letters written larger than usual (as at the end of the first and last word in Deut 6:4), or smaller (as *n* in *ʿrn* in Isa 44:14). Certain of these large and small letters appear in all mss, but texts vary widely in the number they use. The other features mentioned are the subject of a firm tradition, and appear in all carefully written scrolls. They also appear in the codices (manuscripts in book form) which typically include vowel and accent signs, and Masoretic notes. They are also usually included in printed texts. It must be noted that in the marking of *pisqōt* and the spacing of the "songs" of the text, the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia (BHS)* does not follow the traditional rules. In most passages where the *BHS* text is spaced as poetry, the editors are following modern scholarly opinion, not the Masoretic tradition.

The date of the "Synod of Jabneh" (90 C.E.) is conventionally given as that from which the form of the consonantal text can be regarded as fixed. Some parts of the text, such as the Pentateuch, were most probably fixed considerably earlier. However, the text as represented in the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran (ca. 300 B.C.E.–68 C.E.) is "fluid," that is, different copies of the same passage differ from each other in spelling and wording. The scrolls are written in broad columns, as are Samaritan texts, not in narrow ones, as is the later Jewish practice, and differ from the later tradition in other respects. On the other hand, the scrolls from Wadi Murabbaʿat (ca. 135 C.E.) show little variation from the later standard text. This is probably not simply because they were produced after 90 C.E., but because their owners were participants in Bar Kokhba's revolt against the Romans. Because this movement was supported by several prominent rabbis, it is likely that participants would use the text form which they favored.

There are indications that the text form which became standard in rabbinical Judaism had been preserved unchanged—at least to a large extent—from a considerably earlier period. Some archaic spellings are preserved (i.e., the 3d masc. sing. pronominal suffix written with *he,* not *waw*), and spellings characteristic of a late period, such as first-person *waw* consecutive imperfect forms with the

"cohortative" affix, are common only in late books (i.e., Nehemiah); these are very rare in the Pentateuch as compared to the Samaritan Pentateuch, or to the Hebrew of the Qumran mss. Some Jewish mss of the LXX show features of format which are closely similar to those of the standard tradition (i.e., paragraph divisions corresponding to *pisqōt,* and the poetry format of Deuteronomy 32). The former, at least, is likely to reflect a tradition established in the Hebrew text.

Apart from the scrolls from Qumran and Wadi Murabba‘at, the earliest known examples of the text of the Hebrew Bible come from the "Genizah" into which worn-out or unacceptable manuscripts of sacred (and other) texts were put in the synagogue of Old Cairo (Fustat). The building was brought into use as a synagogue in 882 C.E., so it is probable that the earliest material it contained dated from the 9th century. These texts provide evidence of great interest on the final stages of the development of the systems of vowel and accent signs. The consonantal text reflected therein differs little from the numerous manuscripts produced in medieval Europe. Each ms differs from the others in minor details, such as the use of vowel letters, conjunctive *waw*, and other prefixes, but substantial differences are very rare in the high-quality manuscripts known as "Masorah codices." Such manuscripts, carefully written, and provided with vowel and accent signs and Masoretic notes, were intended for the use of scholars. The great cost of producing a correct manuscript meant that many texts, intended for private use, were prepared without the expertise and safeguards used in the production of Masorah codices, and, as a result, contained many variants. Such "internal" variants, produced during the process of copying what was essentially a fixed text, are clearly of no interest for the earlier history of that text.

It has been argued that the texts from Wadi Murabba‘at show that in 135 C.E., the Jewish text was essentially identical to the received standard text; therefore all variants in later texts are internal corruptions due to copyists' errors. However, the assumption that the texts owned by the revolutionaries of Wadi Murabba‘at were typical of those in use throughout the Jewish world is difficult to accept. Most scholars maintain the older view that despite the scholarly promulgation of a particular text form, many manuscripts continued in use which contained variants such as those found at Qumran. These often correspond to the LXX where it differs from the standard Hebrew. During the process of transmission, these different text forms became confused (as later happened with Masoretic traditions from different sources). Consequently, some of these early variants deriving from nonstandard text forms, including the *Vorlage* of the Greek translation, eventually appeared in medieval mss. For this reason, the great collections of variant consonantal readings in medieval mss made in the late 18th century by Kennicott and by de Rossi are still valued.

The vowel signs and accent signs are generally regarded as representing a single integrated "reading tradition." However, the phrase and clause divisions marked in the text by the accent signs are not always consistent with those marked by features of the vowel pointing, such as "pausal forms." This may indicate that accentuation and vowel pointing derive from slightly different forms of the tradition. The stress position marked by the accents does appear to be that which gave rise to the vowel pointing. The vowel pointing is sometimes treated as the creation of the Masoretes. This is no doubt true for the signs, but the sounds which they represent certainly derive from an old tradition. The transliterations of the second column of Origen's "Hexapla" (ca. 200 C.E.) represent a tradition which differs from that of the standard voweling mainly in that some vowel changes completed in the later tradition are not completed in the earlier, and Origen's tradition is somewhat "vulgarized," namely, it replaces some archaic features with their equivalents in the language of the day. The reading tradition was probably essentially fixed before 500 C.E. possibly before 300.

The signs used to mark the vowels and accents were probably developed between 500 and 700 C.E., although an earlier date is possible. Other systems of signs were developed in addition to the "Tiberian" system used in the standard text. The most important of these other systems was the "Babylonian," which was widely used in the Eastern Jewish world. Manuscripts in which this system is used do not show consistent differences from the standard consonantal text. Their vowel signs reflect a different pronunciation (e.g., no equivalent to *segōl* is used), but many features shown in the standard text, such as pausal forms, are represented with little difference. The accent system also differs from the standard, but

the verse divisions do not. Much the same could be said of the "Palestinian" vowel pointing, the other ancient system which has been studied in some depth; but this is much closer to the Tiberian system, and can be considered as representing a vulgarized form of the standard tradition.

The Standard Tiberian system of vowels and accents is represented in numerous manuscripts of the standard text (MT) dating from the 9th century on. Each differs from the other in many minor details, some of which reflect scribal carelessness. The majority (in Masorah codices) reflect the fact that the minor details of vowel pointing (such as the use of composite *šewa* signs) and of accentuation (such as the marking of *gaʿyâ* [*meteg*]) were never fully conventionalized. Variants in the use of accent and vowel signs in a large and diverse group of manuscripts in the British Museum were recorded in the 1897 edition of C. D. Ginsburg; those in a few of the most important codices are recorded in that of the Hebrew University Bible Project.

The "Aleppo Codex," which was supplied with vowels and accent signs and Masoretic notes by the famous medieval scholar Aharon ben Asher (ca. 915), is used as the base text for the Hebrew University edition. This codex, which is generally recognized as representing the Standard Tiberian tradition in its best available form, is unfortunately incomplete. The best complete manuscript is that known as the Leningrad Codex, dated 1009. This was copied and supplied with vowel and accent signs and Masorah according to a manuscript slightly different from the Aleppo codex, but as the colophon states, it was corrected "according to the most exact texts of ben Asher." Its text is printed in the *BHS.* In 1524–25, a complete edition of the MT (known as the "Bomberg," or "Second Rabbinic" Bible) was printed at Venice under the editorship of Jacob ben Hayyim, on the basis of the best manuscripts available in his day. This was the first edition resulting from a major effort of scholarship, and has been the basis of the traditional Jewish text ever since.

Scholars attempting to assess the relationship of the MT to its antecedents in the biblical period generally conclude, from the history outlined above, that the consonantal text has an ancient origin, while the vowel and accent signs do not. This is quite true when applied to the written signs, but to carry it much further is an oversimplification. The MT is a unity. Its letters were preserved and passed down through the same stream of Masoretic tradition which produced the vowel and accent signs. The Jewish rules governing the form of text suitable for liturgical use are not limited to the letters of the texts, but include their layout and other features mentioned above. The letters of the text cannot reasonably be regarded as an originally independent component onto which the Masoretic tradition has been grafted.

The biblical text inevitably functioned in the community in oral form: in the liturgy, in scholarly discussion, and in the teaching of the text to children. It is unlikely that the written text was much studied independent of such realization. Oral realizations probably varied between communities more than did written texts, but there is no reason to believe that the vowel pointing was considered to be outside the tradition, or to be an inferior part of it. The *ketib*/*qere* phenomenon shows the oral tradition dominating the written. See KETHIB AND QERE. The occasional references to pronunciation in rabbinic literature clearly assume a generally accepted vowel pointing, even though alternatives might be suggested for homiletic purposes. Vowel and accent signs are not a common subject for Masoretic notes, because the notes deal with the text in its written form, which did not include vowel and accent signs until near the end of the Masoretic period. The reading tradition did change in the process of transmission, but this is not an adequate reason to reject the form reflected in MT as "late."

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**MASREKAH** (PLACE) [Heb *maśrēqâ* (מַשְׂרֵקָה)]. The hometown of the Edomite king Samlah (Gen 36:36; 1 Chr 1:47). See also SAMLAH. The place is unidentified; in addition, the toponym cannot be explained with certainty. If Lemaire's proposal (1988) that the "Edomite king list" (Gen 36:31–39) actually is a list of Aramaean kings from the 11th century B.C. proves correct, several Mishriqîyahs in Syria could be identified with Masrekah; otherwise, the place may be sought in S Transjordan and/or NW Arabia.

If the place-name is Canaanite, it could be explained by either Heb *śārōq,* "red" (cf. the name of Edom, "the red country"), or Heb *śōreq,* "grapes," *śĕrēqâ,* "grapevine" (cf. Isa 63:1–3, presupposing viticulture in N Edom which is also attested by medieval geographers). If the name is Arabic, it could be explained by *Mashriq,* "place of sunrise, east," a noun frequently attested in Arabic toponymy. If the name is Aramaic, it could be explained by *šĕraq,* "to split;" Aram *šĕraq* is the etymon of the modern place-name *Meshrâqâ,* 12 km S of Kerak.

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**MASSA** (PERSON) [Heb *maśśâ*ʾ (מַשָּׂא)]. A son of Ishmael (Gen 25:14; 1 Chr 1:30). The "sons of Ishmael" were prominent Arab tribes of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. See ISHMAELITES. As a tribe, Massa is attested both in the OT and in ANE texts.

According to Assyrian *Mašʾayya, "the Massaean" and Sabaic *ms*[1]ʾ (personal name or tribal name), the name of the tribe was *Mašʾ; its etymology is unknown. The Masoretic vocalization *maśśāʾ* recalls "burden" (Albright 1956: 6) and may preserve contemporary evaluations of this tribe's behavior. Linguistically, there are no objections against the identification of Mesha, which deliminates the N border of the "sons of Jokshan" in Gen 10:30, with Massa (Meyer 1906: 244).

The admonitions Prov 31:1–9 are attributed to the mother of Lemuel, king of Massa. Both the prominent position of the queen mother and her advice against the consumption of wine recall an ancient Arabian cultural context (Knauf 1989: 72). These "Massaean proverbs" contain a number of Aramaisms which, orthographically, cannot have been composed before the Persian period (*pace* Albright 1956: 8–9). Whereas Prov 31:1–9 may serve, or may have been composed to serve, as an example for the "wisdom of the east," 1 Kgs 5:10 (see EAST, PEOPLE OF THE), the proverbs of Agur, son of Jakeh, of Massa (Prov 30:1–4) seem to ridicule the easterner's "wisdom."

It has been suggested that Meshech, mentioned together with Kedar in Ps 120:5, is a corruption of "Massa"; this assumption is, however, not necessary (Knauf 1989: 72, n. 363).

In Akkadian sources, the tribe is attested as early as 734 B.C., when the Massaeans paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III after he had conquered Gaza. A cuneiform letter sent to Sargon II from Damascus may contain a note on a certain Asapi who went to the country of Massa (ABL 414 Rs. 13–14; Ephʿal 1982: 96–97); the reading *ma-sa-*ʾ is, however, not accepted by Parpola (1987: 139). According to CT 53, 289 Rs 8–9, Massa joined the "rebellion" of Yauṯaʿ against Ashurbanipal before 649 B.C. At approximately the same time, Massaeans raided a caravan of the Nebaioth on their way to the Assyrian king (ABL 260). At the end of the 5th century B.C., Massa and the Nebaioth are mentioned in Thamudic inscriptions as enemies of Tayma (Knauf 1989: 71–72 and n. 362). See also NEBAIOTH; TEMA. It is only by these inscriptions that the abode of Massa can be pinpointed to the vicinity of Tayma.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**MASSA** (PLACE) [Heb *maśśaʾ* (מַשָּׂא)]. Apparently the name of the kingdom of Lemuel, whose mother taught him the proverbial wisdom preserved in Proverbs 31. If "Massa" is indeed a proper name, it probably refers to a prominent Arab tribe of the 8th–7th centuries B.C. See MASSA (PERSON). Others suggest that *maśśaʾ* here is a common noun, referring to the "oracle" taught to Lemuel the king.

**MASSAH AND MERIBAH** (PLACES) [Heb *massâ ûmĕrîbâ* (וּמְרִיבָה)]. Literally, "Testing and Strife," the site of an Israelite rebellion during the desert wandering (Exod 17:7). The precise location is unknown, since the Elohist places it at Horeb and near Rephidim (Exod 17:6, 8), both of equally unknown location, while P and Ezekiel place it at Kadesh, probably modern Ein el Qudeirat (M.R. 096006) in the Sinai. Possibly the place is imaginary. The names themselves are suitable for real springs, which were often the sites of contention or lawsuits (Gen 14:7; 21:25–32; 26:14–33; Exod 2:17). Some consider the two terms to derive from separate traditions (e.g., Cornill 1891: 20–34), but more likely they arose in poetic parallelism as in Deut 33:8. It is true, however, that some sources prefer one name over the other—Deuteronomy uses "Massah" (Deut 6:16; 9:22), and P uses "Meribah" or "Meribath-kadesh" (Num 20:13, 24; 27:14; Deut 32:51). Ezekiel, whose work is akin to the priestly source, refers to Meribath-kadesh in 47:19 (MT *mĕrîbôt*) and 48:28. Ps 81:8—Eng v 7 speaks of the waters of Meribah. Ps 95:8 also calls the place Meribah, but speaks of "the day of testing" (*massâ*), showing its acquaintance with the Massah–Meribah pairing.

Examination of the texts referring to Massah and Meribah shows that there was no unified tradition of what constituted the rebellion. Deut 33:8–11, though somewhat garbled in the MT, says that the Levites were tested and striven against at Massah and Meribah, where they were endowed with the priestly functions of divination, education, and sacrifice. Their test involved renunciation of kin. On the other hand, Ps 81:8—Eng v 7 implies that all Israel was tested by the waters of Meribah. The trial in question seems to have been of their fidelity to Yahweh, the reward for which would have been sustenance (vv 11, 17). Vv 10–12 suggest, however, that the Israelites failed this test and were cast out. In other words, apostasy was committed at Meribah which bore the consequence of alienation or exile. Ps 95:8–11 specifies that Israel was punished with forty years of wandering in the desert for the sin of testing Yahweh at Meribah, but no details are supplied.

The pentateuchal prose traditions, Exod 17:1–7 and Num 20:1–13, vary markedly from these poetic texts. The former is basically Elohistic, though there have been many recent attempts to assign it to the J source (e.g., Noth *Exodus* ATD, 109–12). It is introduced by an itinerary note from the exilic stratum called $P^2$ by Friedman (1981: 77–81, 119–32), which tells how the Israelites arrived at Rephidim, but found no water (cf. Num 33:14); it is possible, however, that the end of v 1 goes with vv 2–7. Contrary to conventional analysis, however, there is no source break after v 1, for vv 2 and 3 are not doublets. The story runs as follows: The people quarrel with Moses and command him and Yahweh to give them water. Moses sees their grumbling as unjustified and refuses to help. The people grow thirsty and intensify their complaints. Finally Moses turns to Yahweh, who tells him to pass before the people on to Mount Horeb, where the deity will be standing. Moses is to strike the mountain (*ṣûr*, often translated "rock"), from which waters will flow. Moses does as he is commanded. The spring is named "Testing and Strife" because the Israelites strove with Moses and tested Yahweh, doubting his presence. According to E, Massah and Meribah are the springs of Horeb, while $P^2$ locates them at Rephidim, near Mount Sinai (Num 33:14–15).

The mention of Horeb is crucial to the proper interpretation of Exod 17:1–7. Older source critics believed (correctly) that while J and P call the mountain of Yahweh Sinai, E and D use the name "Horeb." See SINAI, MOUNT. More recent researchers have disparaged this criterion because, following Noth (*NDH,* 109 n. 10), they excise the name wherever it is found in Exodus. According to this view, the Israelites only reach the mountain of God in Exodus 19. The addition of "at Horeb" to the text is inexplicable, however, while retaining it makes several points more comprehensible. First, it explains how the Israelites can be at the mountain of God already in Exod 18:5 (E). Second, as Carmichael (1974: 244–

45) has shown, it explains the connection of Exod 17:1–7 and 8–16—the Amalekites attack while Moses has left the people behind on his journey to Horeb. Third, the image of the mountain of God as a source of water or other beverages is found frequently in the Bible, though generally the mountain is Zion (Isa 33:21; Ezek 47:1–12; Amos 9:13; Joel 4:18; Zech 14:8; Ps 36:9–10—Eng vv 8–9; 46:5—Eng v 4; 65:10—Eng v 9). Finally, the waters of Horeb reappear in Exod 32:20 (also E, in my opinion), where they dissolve the ashes of the golden calf. Notice that in the latter story we have apostasy and levitical ordination through renunciation of kinship (Exod 32:26–29), themes that we saw above were associated with the Massah and Meribah tradition. These shared motifs derive from the prebiblical stage of Israelite tradition, whether written or oral, but they appear disjointed in the Elohistic source, as if the author had pulled apart the Massah-Meribah tradition to create Exod 17:1–7 and Exodus 32. Even if both Exod 17:1–7 and Exodus 32 are primarily J, as most commentators claim, the point is still valid, as long as they are of the same source.

The priestly writer tells the story of Meribah (also called Meribath-Kadesh) in a very different fashion, reworking the plot of the older Elohistic account to explain the deaths of Moses and Aaron in the desert (Num 20:1–3). His motivation for doing so is to exculpate Aaron, his primary hero, and denigrate Moses, about whom he is ambivalent. In this story Moses is commanded to take the rod and *speak* to the rock, but instead he hits the rock. For this act of disobedience, he and the apparently innocent Aaron are condemned to death. Note that in P Meribah is at Kadesh. To account for the two locations of Meribah, the Midrash postulates that the smitten rock followed the Israelites from Rephidim to Kadesh.

The gesture of striking the ground or a rock to produce a spring has many extrabiblical parallels. Bedouin have been observed to detect subterranean springs and break through to them with their staffs. Related stories within the Bible are the tale of Marah (Exod 15:23–26), where a stick is used to produce drinking water, and the incident at Beer (Num 21:16–18), where Yahweh provides the people with water through the leaders' use of their rods as digging implements (see Koenig 1963). Another good parallel to Massah and Meribah is the etiology of En-hakkore, where Samson thirsts and cries out to Yahweh, who causes a well to burst forth (Judg 15:18–19).

The story of Massah and Meribah is part of the murmuring tradition (see Coats 1968), which tells of Israel's repeated rebellions in the desert. Most of the murmuring accounts have an admonitory function, for they tell of Yahweh's punishment of Israel. Num 20:1–13 and Psalms 81 and 95 do speak of punishment at Massah/Meribah, but for the Elohist the story of the miraculous provision of water in the desert, like the traditions of the manna and the quail (Exodus 16; Numbers 11), is an example of divine beneficence in the most inhospitable of climes and expresses the Israelites' hope that such aid would ever be forthcoming. Many other biblical passages that refer to this miraculous water implicitly or explicitly connect the water with irrigation and natural fertility (Deut 8:15; 32:13–14; Isa 35:6–7; 41:17–20; 43:19–20; 48:21; 49:10; Jer 31:9; Pss 78:15–16, 20; 105:41; 107:35; 114:8; Neh 9:15, 20). Later exegetes, however, deconcretized the gift of water, seeing it as symbolic of the Torah or of the Holy Spirit (Bienamé 1984).

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**MASSEBAH** [Heb *maṣṣēbâ* (מַצֵּבָה)]. The noun *maṣṣēbâ* derives from the Hebrew root *nṣb* which means "to take a stand" or "to stand" (BDB, 662–63). The RSV does not use the word "massebah," but

substitutes "pillar," "stump," or "obelisk," depending on the context. The word "massebah" (pl. "masseboth"), however, is found frequently in archaeological reports and theological discussions.

The Hebrew word, *maṣṣēbâ,* is used in the Bible to refer to several different things, some of which are condoned, others of which are condemned. When YHWH appeared to Jacob in a theophany at Luz, Jacob commemorated the occasion by erecting a "pillar" and anointing it with oil and calling the place Bethel (Gen 28:18–22; which occurs again in Gen 35:9–15). Later in the narrative, when Jacob left Laban, YHWH reminded Jacob of the episode at Luz (Gen 31:13), apparently with no intended censure.

Pillars occasionally served as burial markers. Jacob erected a *maṣṣēbâ* to mark the grave of Rachel when she died on their way toward Ephrath (i.e., Bethlehem; Gen 35:19–21). Absalom later built a "pillar" in the King's Valley near Jerusalem as a memorial since he had no offspring to carry on his name (2 Sam 18:18).

The term *maṣṣēbâ* can also refer simply to the stump of a tree after it has been cut down (Isa 6:13), or to architectural features of buildings—i.e., structural weight-bearing pillars (Ezek 26:11; the context of this passage—the destruction of Tyre at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar—refers to the devastation of Tyre's fortifications and architecture, not to its religious practices).

A *maṣṣēbâ* might also be erected upon the completion of a ceremonial covenant agreement between either two individuals (e.g., when Jacob and Laban erect one to witness their pact; Gen 31:49–32) or between two larger parties (e.g., as part of the covenant ratification between YHWH and Israel, when Moses erected 12 *maṣṣēbôt* to represent each of the tribes; Exod 24:3–8). This probably was the purpose of the erection of the stone of witness at Shechem (Josh 24:25–27) at the covenant renewal between YHWH and Israel, although the stone is not called a *maṣṣēbâ* in the text.

Of course the most frequent use of the term places the standing stone in a religious context. Jeremiah refers to the destruction of the *maṣṣēbâ* in Hieropolis (Jer 43:13, i.e., Beth-shemesh; instead of "pillar" the RSV renders the word as "obelisk"). The religious pillars were often mentioned in conjunction with Asherim and/or altars and/or graven images (cf. Exod 34:13; Lev 26:1; Deut 7:5; 12:3; 1 Kgs 14:23; 2 Kgs 17:10). Several kings of the monarchies were condemned for introducing pillars into worship contexts (e.g., Rehoboam; 1 Kgs 14:23), and their use in the kingdom of Israel is described as a factor contributing to Israel's exile (2 Kgs 17:10). Two kings of Judah are described as having purged the country of pillars—Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18:4) and Josiah (2 Kgs 23:14).

In view of the range of application of *maṣṣēbâ* in the above survey, it would appear that the use of a pillar in itself was not condemned, but that the function of the artifact was what determined its legitimacy or illegitimacy. Of course, there is also a change in mood toward pillars since acceptable *maṣṣēbôt* were generally early and their condemnation occurs predominantly following the Deuteronomic legislation.

The identification of *maṣṣēbôt* in the archaeological record can be problematic. The above survey indicates that a number of items (including architectural structural features) could be identified as *maṣṣēbôt,* however, the term in modern literature has almost universally been restricted to religious contexts. While we may dismiss pillars that clearly are structural elements (i.e., the lines of pillars in the buildings at Megiddo, Hazor, and Beer-sheba), the identification of other pillars is more difficult because few stone pillars in ancient Palestine have writing on them to identify them as religious artifacts. The archaeologist must rely upon the context of the pillar to assist in interpreting its function (and then it must be approached cautiously).

R. A. S. Macalister's excavations at Gezer uncovered a series of 10 stone pillars which he interpreted as a high place. This interpretation was strengthened by the discovery of numerous infant burials in the area around the pillars. He assumed that the combination of these phenomena reflected the statements in the biblical texts which mentioned pillars and infant sacrifice in association with Canaanite worship practices. When W. G. Dever reexcavated Gezer in the 1960s, and after much more was known about the nature of MB Age burial practices, it became clear that the site was not the kind of worship area that Macalister had imagined. The burials were remains of typical infant burials of the MB I, and only later, in MB III, were the pillars erected. The pillars probably were cultic, but not in the sense of Macalister's interpretation—

they probably were part of a covenant renewal ceremony between members of a city-state confederation similar to that described for Israel (Exod 24:3–8; *EAEHL* 2: 437–38).

Excavations at Hazor have revealed a series of small *maṣṣēbôt* in an LB IIB temple in Area C. One of these was engraved with the representation of the arms of a worshiper raised toward a disk (sun disk) and crescent carved on the top of the stela (Yadin 1956: 10).

Another clear example of a *maṣṣēbâ* was discovered by Aharoni in the Iron Age II shrine at Arad (1968). The carefully shaped stela stood in the back of a cubicle niche, which corresponded to the "Holy of Holies" of a tripartite temple. Preserved on the stela were traces of red paint; the *maṣṣēbâ* was found in association with two small incense altars. In the court of the building stood the remains of an altar of burnt offerings.

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**MATHEMATICS, ALGEBRA, AND GEOMETRY.** It is not possible to speak of any specific *biblical* mathematics. Neither the OT nor the NT was the product of cultures carrying a mathematical tradition of their own above a normal level of "folk mathematics." But both Testaments were products of cultures in contact with well-established and sophisticated mathematical traditions.

One of these is the Sumero-Babylonian tradition, known from a wealth of cuneiform tablets. Though probably less vigorous than in the early 2d millennium B.C., this tradition was still alive during the Babylonian Exile. Furthermore, it was apparently reflected in scribal education and in practitioners' ways throughout the Syrian area during the 2d and much of the 1st millennium B.C.

Another mathematical tradition of some importance for the OT is that of ancient Egypt. Already around the mid-2d millennium B.C. Syria was politically and commercially connected to Egypt; the Joseph story in Genesis displays an Israelite view on precisely the features of Egyptian economy which molded Egyptian mathematics; and in the centuries of the divided monarchy, the Egyptian hieratic numeral script was actually adopted by the Israelites.

The NT was written in the Hellenistic world and in Greek. In spite of this, the high "theoretical" level of Greek mathematics has left no traces in the NT text. Various quasi-philosophical currents dependent on Greek theoretical mathematics, however, are reflected both in the NT text and in ancient and medieval exegetical commentaries.

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A. The "Folk" Substratum
B. Babylonian Mathematics
C. Syrian Descendants
D. Egyptian Mathematics
E. Greek and Hellenistic Mathematics and Its Aftermath

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**A. The "Folk" Substratum**

Long before mathematical knowledge was borrowed from the neighboring high-level mathematical traditions, the early Hebrews were basically competent in numeration and metrology. This follows mainly from indirect arguments: evidence suggests that their cultural level and context were such that they needed mathematical concepts (especially in commercial intercourse with others), as did all Near Eastern populations in the 2d and 1st millennia B.C. Linguistic arguments support the conclusion and inform us at the same time of the probable limits of "folk" counting abilities: Heb *mē›ot,* "one hundred," is a common Semitic word. Heb *lĕ›ōm,* "the people," on the other hand, corresponds to Akk *lim,* "one thousand," while Heb *›elep,* "one thousand," corresponds to Ethiopian "ten thousand." The common ancestors of the different Semitic groups will thus have counted into the hundreds before they split, no later than the 4th

millennium B.C.; but they cannot have counted routinely into the thousands. When that became necessary, the different branches borrowed terms independently of each other.

A trace of "primitive" attitudes to numbers and counting can be found in 2 Samuel 24 (and 1 Chronicles 21), where David counts his people and is punished for his temerity. This fear (or taboo) of counting one's belongings is in fact widespread among populations who are either not familiar with or estranged from centralized states and administration.

Both because of the high numbers involved and because no traces of such estrangement from the ways of civilization are apparent, the many other censuses found in the OT cannot be connected to this ethnomathematical substratum. The occurrence of borrowed Babylonian metrology (the *šeqel*), used in the vicinity of the important censuses in the book of Numbers also speaks in favor of a possible borrowing of the habits and techniques of neighboring older civilizations.

**B. Babylonian Mathematics**

Babylonian mathematics was, in its origin, an offspring of early civilization, understood etymologically as incipient state formation. Basically, it was a scribal activity, performed by scribes and similar practitioners and used for practical purposes—and since almost all practical applications of mathematics before the classical era consisted in computation of something, the unorthodox label "Babylonian computation" would fit the endeavour better than the name "mathematics" (which shall nonetheless be used in the following).

This does not mean that Babylonian mathematics consisted in nothing but a set of practitioners' formulas. Firstly, as it shall be argued below, Babylonian calculators knew what they were doing and why they did so. Secondly, like many professional environments making heavy use of mathematics, the Babylonian scribal culture produced a level of particularly complex, theoretical (i.e., not practically relevant) problems with appurtenant techniques, especially in the field of algebra.

Traditionally, only the mathematics of the Old Babylonian and the Seleucid periods has been investigated and discussed in the literature. From the mid-1970s onward, however, a number of texts have been discovered which adumbrate the development of Babylonian mathematics from the Proto-Sumerian beginnings around 3000 B.C. to the Late Babylonian and Seleucid periods. Some of these texts and the conclusions drawn have been published; but others (as of February 1989) have only been presented at the Workshops on Concept Development in Mathematics (West Berlin, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1988), especially by Jöran Friberg, Peter Damerow, Robert Englund, and Marvin Powell, Jr.

Already long before the late 4th millennium, a system of arithmetical recording or accounting based on small clay tokens had been in use in the Near and Middle Eastern region (Schmandt-Besserat 1977). In the Uruk IV period (late 4th millennium, the period of state formation which also witnessed the development of writing), this system appears to have inspired both the development of writing and that of numerical and metrological notations. Insofar as mathematics is concerned, a trend toward harmonization of the various systems began. So the area unit SAR (apparently meaning a garden plot, the area to be irrigated from a single well, and in any case a "natural unit") came to be understood as the square of the basic length unit (the NINDAN, ≈ 6 m), and in general the whole system of area measures was keyed to the linear system (see Powell 1972). Moreover, subunit metrologies were developed, as far as one can judge, beyond the range of the traditional system. The whole system was interconnected in a way which soon permitted coherent calculations linking arithmetically linear extensions, areas, time, and other quantities which belonged together in technical or social practice (part of the background for these statements has only been presented in workshops and is as yet unpublished; but see, e.g., some examples presented by Friberg [1984] and the implicit overview in Damerow and Englund 1987).

No doubt Proto-Sumerian mathematics was created for the purposes of practical administration in what economic anthropology calls a "redistributive economy"; the replacement of natural but unconnected units by a complex of mathematically connected metrologies which correspond to the needs of the planning and accounting official rather than to those of the immediate producer. But the complexity of the system appears to go beyond even bureaucratic needs. Even though it is difficult to distinguish possible school tablets from indubitably administrative texts (only the latter contain officials' names), it is thus a

fair assumption that the immediate root of the reorganization of a bundle of arithmetical techniques as coherent mathematics was the teaching in the temple school (this is argued more closely in Høyrup 1980: 14–17).

The early administration seems not to have distinguished bureaucratic from other priestly functions, and nothing in the mathematical substance distinguishes possible school exercises from other calculating texts. Only around the mid-3d millennium is the term for scribe (DUB-SAR) found in the sources; at this time we also encounter the nonbureaucratic use of the professional tools of the scribes: literary texts and mathematical exercises beyond the context of daily administration, the latter dealing, e.g., with the division of extremely large numbers by irregular divisors like 7 and 33 (a theme which dominates the small group of mid-3d-millennium mathematical exercises from Šuruppak and Ebla—see Friberg [1986: 16–22]; Høyrup [1982]). Even though such problems will have played no significant role in practical administration, they were evidently a central concern for a scribal profession testing its own intellectual abilities.

The trend toward increasing regularization continued throughout the 3d millennium and was brought to fruition in Ur III (21st century B.C.) (see Powell 1976). Early in the Ur III period an administrative reform was implemented which made extensive use of systematic and extremely meticulous bookkeeping. It seems probable that it was for use in this context that the sexagesimal-place-value system was created. See NUMBERS AND COUNTING. Mathematical school exercises pointing beyond the administrative domain have not been found, and from parallels in other cultural domains it seems to be a reasonable assumption that the centralized state had drained the sources for scribal autonomy and thus for further development of nonutilitarian mathematics.

Nonutilitarian mathematics was, on the other hand, central to OB mathematics, which is well documented in the sources (1900 to 1600 B.C., mainly the second part of this time span). In this period, which was characterized by a highly individualized economy (compared to other Bronze Age cultures) and by an ideology emphasizing the individual as a private person, the scribal school developed a curriculum which stressed virtuosity beyond what was practically necessary; the triumphs of Babylonian "pure" mathematics, not least the "algebra," appear to be a product of precisely this OB scribal school and scribal culture (see Høyrup 1985: 10–16).

Until Ur III all mathematical texts had been in Sumerian; even in Semitic-speaking Ebla, Sumerian mathematics was taken over in the original language. Old Babylonian mathematics, on the contrary, was written in Akkadian—supplementary evidence that it represents a new genre and a break with the (plausibly more purely utilitarian) Ur III tradition. Admittedly, quite a few texts are written predominantly by means of Sumerian logograms; but grammatical analysis shows that all but a handful of these word-signs are simply elliptic representations of Akkadian words and sentences.

Many mathematical tablets from the OB period onward are compilations, containing a variety of different problems. Often, utilitarian and theoretical problems are found together; but mathematical and nonmathematical matters are usually not treated in the same texts. Obviously, OB mathematics was not divided into fully distinct disciplines; on the other hand, mathematics as a whole was an autonomous concern—perhaps even (in the form of engineering, surveying, and accounting, or as a teacher's specialty) a distinct vocation.

In 1600 B.C. the Kassite conquest put an end to the OB social order, to the age-old scribal school, to the characteristic OB scribal ideology—and at the same time to the characteristic form of OB mathematics. Scribal training was from now on provided by scribal "families" as apprenticeship; and thus, to a certain degree, mathematics came to be mixed up with other subjects on the same tablets, having lost its disciplinary autonomy. The "mathematician" would from now on identify himself in the colophons of tablets, e.g., as "exorcist" (Akk *āšipu*) or "priest" (Akk *šangû*).

In the first centuries after the Kassite conquest, mathematical texts are virtually nonexistent, although a few Late Babylonian mathematical tablets have been discovered recently (one of them will appear in Friberg and Hunger, fc.). In the Seleucid era the development of computational astronomy (starting

already under the Achaemenids) gave rise to a renaissance of numerical computation and, as a sequel, of some of the old theoretical problems.

As already stated, Babylonian mathematics really means "computation." In intermediate calculations it made use of the sexagesimal-place-value system. See NUMBERS AND COUNTING. The use of this system and the conversion of metrological values into "pure numbers" (and reversely, after a result was found) presupposed extensive use of mathematical, metrological, and technical tables. The first group encompasses tables of multiplication and of reciprocals (the division $m/n$ was carried out as a multiplication $m \cdot 1/n$), tables of squares and square roots and of cubes and cube roots, tables of the root $n$ of $n^3 + n^2$, and even quite a few tables of successive powers of a number. The second group contains tabulated conversions of metrological values into sexagesimal multiples of the basic unit and technical tables which contain "fixed factors" to be used in technical computation (the ratio between the squared diameter and the area of a circle; the quantity of bricks to be carried by one worker over a given distance in one day).

The basic contents of Babylonian utilitarian mathematics correspond to the following tables: multiplication tables, tables of reciprocals, metrological tables (which were aids for calculation), and the technical tables which constituted the nexus between mathematical computation and administrative and engineering reality. Mathematics was taught in school because the scribes should be able to calculate the areas of fields, the volume of canals to be dug out and of siege ramps to be built, and, not least, the manpower needed for these tasks. All these calculations were made pretty much as they would be made today, with one important exception: the Babylonians had no concept of quantifiable angle and hence nothing similar to trigonometry. In practical mensuration they would divide complicated fields into "practically right" triangles, "practically right" trapeziums, and "practically rectangular" quadrangles (distinguishing, we might say, a "right" from a "wrong" angle). They would then calculate as we do, knowing that their results were not absolute truth but apparently without having any definite idea about the nature and size of the errors. Presumably, they would see no decisive difference between the imprecision of manpower calculations and those of area determinations.

With these qualifications the Babylonians knew the area of a right triangle (in practical mensuration they would divide an obviously nonright triangle into two; in school exercises they might use the semiproduct of the two "best" sides). In a Late Babylonian text we also find the calculation of a height (by means of the Pythagorean theorem, known already in the OB period). Similarly, they would correctly find the area of a rectangle and of a "right" trapezium. The area of an irregular quadrangle might be found by means of the "surveyors' formula," as average length times average width. In practical mensuration this technique has probably only been used for fairly regular quadrangles, where it gives acceptable results. In school texts the technique is also used as a pretext for formulating algebraic problems in cases where it is extremely unrealistic. The area of the circle was normally found as $1/12$ times the square of the circumference (corresponding to $\pi = 3$), and the circumference as thrice the diameter. (One table of constants, however, has been assumed to contain a correction factor corresponding to $\pi = 3\,1/8$).

Prismatic and cylindrical volumes were calculated as base times "height" (viz., a side approximately perpendicular to the base). The volume of a truncated cone was found as that of a cylinder with the average diameter (which is correct for a cylinder, and only three-fourths of the true value in the extreme case where the cone is not truncated), and that of a truncated pyramid in one text as height times average base (in another text perhaps correctly). When in doubt, once again, the Babylonians would opt for a (rather arbitrary) compromise instead of giving up in the face of theoretical difficulties.

Prismatic and cylindrical volumes were probably derived from a "naive" consideration of proportionality. The basic unit of area was the SAR, and the basic unit of volume 1 SAR times 1 cubit, also called a SAR (to distinguish, modern historians speak of a "volume sar"). A prism with base $A$ [SAR] and height 1 [cubit] would then have a volume of $A$ [volume SAR]; if it were $h$ cubits, thus $h$ times as high, the volume would have to be $A \cdot h$. A corresponding argument of proportionality was apparently used when the

height of a slope was found in similar cases. Certain terminological considerations suggest that even the area of rectangular figures was originally thought of in this way.

A specifically Babylonian geometric problem type is the partition of areas. Initially, this may have been a practical problem. No later than the 23d century B.C., however, it turns up as a theoretical problem: what is the length of the transversal if a trapezium is bisected by a parallel transversal? In the OB period even more complex problems of a similar kind are common, as are a number of other more or less complex and more or less artificial division problems.

Many practical computations, of course, were not concerned with geometric entities but with quantities of grain to be levied as dues, with commercial exchange, and with similar pragmatic concerns. The techniques used can be illustrated by paraphrasing an illustrative problem: two fields, 1 and 2, are given, from one of which 4 GUR (1 GUR = 300 QA, 1 QA ≈ 1 liter) of grain are to be levied per BUR (= 1800 SAR), while the other yields a rent of 3 GUR per BUR. The total yield and the difference between the two areas is given. First everything is converted into sexagesimal multiples of the fundamental units SAR and QA, in part through calculation, in part by means of a metrological table. The yield of that part of field 1 which exceeds field 2 is found. The remainder of the yield must then come from the remaining area, *A*, which is composed of equal portions from field 1 and field 2. The yield of one average SAR is found; this is divided into the remaining yield, giving the remaining area.

The idea behind the last step seems to be the "single false position" also known from other Babylonian texts: If the remaining area were 1 QA, it would consist of 1/2 SAR from each field, which would permit that the yield be found as (say) $p$ QA. In reality it is (say) $N \cdot p$ QA, and therefore the remaining area must be $N$ SAR.

The procedure gives an impression (confirmed by many other texts) of ad hoc improvization, built on concrete thought, rather than standardized techniques when we get beyond the most basic methods (conversions, etc.). The same feature is also found in OB second-degree and higher "algebra," perhaps the most astonishing accomplishment of the Babylonian mathematical tradition. The term is put in quotes because it is not founded on symbols as is post-Renaissance algebra or on words for unknown numbers as are medieval Islamic and Italian algebra. Instead, it builds on "naive" geometry: where modern algebra presents us with a problem $x^2 + x = A$ (which may be transformed into $x \cdot (x+1) = A$), the Babylonians would consider a geometric rectangle the length of which is known to exceed the width by *1*, and the area of which is known to be *A;* where we transform the equation in order to isolate *x*, the Babylonians would make corresponding cut-and-paste transformations of the rectangle. The way they did it would be intuitively obvious, and they would provide no Euclidean proof that the procedure was correct (hence the term "naive").

The basic transformations, e.g., the cutting up of rectangles, were made according to fixed schemes. But the OB scribes would also solve quite complex problems; and when transforming them into simple problems, they would make use of a stock of customary tricks but no standard formulas—precisely as they did in arithmetical problems. When used with intelligence (as it is in many texts), OB algebra is therefore highly flexible: as long as we stick to one or two variables and to the second degree, a set of operations almost as flexible as (and in its sequence of operations very similar to) modern symbolic algebra. Only in more complex cases do the disadvantages of the Babylonians' techniques become manifest.

Three qualifications should be given to the statement that OB algebra was geometric. First, the geometric entities involved were not abstract but concrete, measurable line segments and areas. Second, the geometric foundation did not prevent the technique from being applied to nongeometric quantities. We represent, e.g., an unknown weight, an unknown price by a pure number *x;* the Babylonian, however, would represent them by a line segment of unknown (but numerically knowable) length. Naive-geometric algebra was an all-around way to find unknown quantities involved in complex relations, truly, only artificial relations. (Babylonian scribal practice presented no problems of the second or higher degree; these had to be and were constructed in order to allow the display of scribal virtuosity).

Third, the statement is at cross-purposes with established beliefs. The interpretation which Neugebauer presented in the 1930s as a "first approximation" was at that time accepted at face value, and it has since then been conventional wisdom among historians of mathematics that Babylonian algebra was an algebra of numbers dealt with rhetorically as in the Arabic and Latin Middle Ages. Only recently has a detailed philological and comparative analysis of the text corpus and its terminology demonstrated that the numerical interpretation is in fact only a first approximation. (The reasons for this and the details of the reinterpretation are presented in Høyrup 1987.)

A final important problem type is made up by numerical investigations. Some of these are connected to the computation of reciprocals and hence to the needs of common computation. Others are inspired by the partition of the trapezium mentioned above and lead to indeterminate problems for pairs or sets of numbers. The most famous of all such texts is the tablet called Plimpton 322, a table making use of sets of Pythagorean numbers (i.e., numbers *a, b,* and *c* fulfilling the condition $a^2 + b^2 = c^2$).

Any mathematical corpus of knowledge is organized in a way which reflects its purposes, the ways of thought involved, and the underlying cognitive style. So was Babylonian mathematics as we know it. A general characteristic is its domination by methods, not problems. At the first, utilitarian level this reflects that we know Babylonian mathematics from school texts which served to train future scribes in the methods of their profession. For that purpose problems had to be constructed allowing the display of the methods to be learned. In practical life, on the other hand, the problems to be mastered were of course primary and the methods applied for that purpose secondary.

If we go to the "pure" level, however, we find the same primacy of methods, while Greek (and modern) pure mathematics take problems as their starting point and develop the concepts and methods needed to surmount them. In this case the training of practitioners explains nothing, since the particular methods belonging at this level had no practical application. Babylonian "pure" mathematics, however, had a purpose different from the scientific aim of Greek mathematics. As explained above, its rationale was the display of professional virtuosity, which also explains why it flourished in the OB era and disappeared from the archaeological horizon with the death of the scribal school.

Mathematical methods can be taught in two ways. One may present the methods in abstract terms, as theory, eventually to be illustrated by examples—or one may train exclusively through paradigmatic examples. Nowadays, the former way is supposed to be used at higher educational levels; and the latter is reserved for the early stages of school. The approach was different in Babylonian mathematics, where we know of no case of formulated theory and of only two or three where a paradigmatic example is used as the basis for a more general discussion of the method involved (though precisely these texts suggest that oral teaching would do so more often). The only cases where rules are formulated in the abstract, are found in a couple of texts from Greek-ruled Uruk (Friberg fc. in *RLA*).

This feature of Babylonian mathematics can be compared to the makeup of Babylonian legal texts like the Code of Hammurabi. "Hammurabi's Law" is no law book in the likeness of Roman Law. It is a collection of legal decisions made by the king, but of course only put together because the royal decisions were supposed to serve as paradigms for the judges of the realm. We may also draw a comparison with the listing of hundreds of separate cases in Babylonian omen texts.

One could say that Babylonian thought was more concrete and less inclined to abstraction than that of the modern mind. These terms, however, are used differently by a cognitive anthropologist like Levi-Strauss (1972) in his distinction between the "savage" and the modern mind. In other domains Babylonian thought may be concrete in a Levi-Straussian sense, with concrete entities acting as classifiers and imparting thereby some of their properties to the class which they embody (as a primitive society may suppose the members of an "arrow clan" to be swifter than others). But already in the systematization of the omen literature is an underlying implicit abstraction visible in spite of its origin in magic thought (Larsen 1987), and OB mathematics is still farther removed from Levi-Straussian concreteness. It was not their general mental makeup which prevented OB scribes from transforming their (already autonomous) mathematics into abstract science, but rather a lack of motivation for doing so: the "pure mathematics"

which they created corresponded precisely to their socio-cultural needs, as the later development of Greek philosophy corresponded to that of the intellectually sophisticated stratum of the leisure class.

This is perhaps less true for the post-Kassite scribal priests, whose tablets might list togetherd metrological conversions and the sacred numbers of gods (Friberg, personal communication concerning an unpublished tablet). Since early times, indeed, the technical cunning of scribes had been surrounded by a sacred aura. In the 22d century B.C. King Gudea of Lagash claimed that he had designed the plan of the temple in the likeness of the scribal goddess Nisaba, "who knows the essence of counting." From the mid-3d millennium "sacred numbers" were also associated with the gods, and numbers were used in writing according to the rebus principle. In the early 1st millennium (before the development of mathematical astronomy), numbers were used cryptographically in a few astrological omen texts. In certain other texts numbers were used for "coding" in a way which may explain how the Assyrian king Sargon claimed the "number of his name" to be 16,283. All these phenomena are hardly to be considered ingredients of Babylonian mathematics, but they reflect the existence and importance of mathematical activities and do so most strongly in periods when mathematics was not an autonomous endeavor (they are significantly absent from the sources for OB scribal-school mathematics). Like marginal phenomena in general, they owe their existence to the core.

The main source collections for OB and Seleucid mathematics have been published by Neugebauer (1935). Thureau-Dangin (1938), Neugebauer and Sachs (1945), and Bruins and Rutten (1961). The best overviews of the contents of Babylonian mathematics are the ones by Vogel (1959, in German) and, especially, Vajman (1961, in Russian, but a German translation is underway). A more popular introduction is van der Waerden (1962: 37–45, 62–81). An overview of the various interpretations of the Pythagorean triples of Plimpton 322 has been given by Friberg (1981). The first survey of 3d-millennium mathematics was published by Powell in 1976; recent discoveries of importance are presented by Damerow and Englund (1987); Englund (1988); Friberg and Hunger fc.). A global overview including all recent discoveries is going to be published by Friberg (fc. in *RLA*), who has also written an excellent selective bibliography (in Dauben 1985: 37–51).

**C. Syrian Descendants**

The Israelites would have encountered Babylonian mathematics during the Exile but only in the late phase when it was mixed up with Babylonian religion and divination. Long before that they must have been confronted with its descendants "at home," in late 2d- and early 1st-millennium Syria.

After the mid-2d millennium the Canaanite city-states of Syria were politically dominated by Egypt. Characteristically, however, the Canaanite kinglets and pharaoh corresponded in Akkadian; Ugarit, the most prominent Canaanite state, developed its alphabetic script on the basis of cuneiform; and Ugaritic scribes were—just like their Hittite and Assyrian colleagues—taught according to the Sumero-Babylonian tradition (see Krecher 1969). The only traces of mathematics in their curriculum, however, consist in metrological lists. We may reasonably deduce that only the utilitarian stratum of Babylonian mathematics was adopted, while the theoretical superstructure was too much dependent on the particular OB socio-cultural situation to be interesting in the Canaanite cultural outposts. The same will in all probability have been the case in early Israel, whose vista of Babylonian culture was much more indirect, somewhat later, and (since it was largely mediated by the Canaanites) marked by distrust.

The closest point of contact will not have been the scribal, but rather the ill-documented master builders' or architects' tradition. We are told in 1 Kings 5–7 and 2 Chronicles 2–3 that Solomon called in Phoenician masters for the building of the temple, and it seems indeed that they also followed Canaanite models (*CAH* 2/2: 149). We have no direct testimony of the geometric lore of these masters, but an Islamic 9th-century mensuration text by one Abū Bakr shows an astonishing degree of continuity with the OB algebra, not only in mathematical substance and methods, but down to the rhetorical and grammatical structure. A story told by the late 10th-century mathematician Abū'l-Wafāʾ suggests that the carriers of the continuous tradition were "artisans" (*ṣunaʿ*), i.e., master builders and the like (see Høyrup 1986). There are even reasons to believe that the starting point for the OB algebraic tradition was a preexistent

artisans' tradition, although the evidence is not compelling and the artisans may instead have been inspired by an originally scribal scheme.

Irrespective of its original relation to the OB scribal tradition, the same artisans' tradition seems to have permeated the whole Middle East; one biblical reflection is well-known: the "molten sea" set up by Solomon in the temple is claimed (1 Kgs 7:23–24; 2 Chr 4:2) to possess a diameter of 10 cubits and a circumference of 30 cubits, corresponding to the above-mentioned "Babylonian π"of 3.

**D. Egyptian Mathematics**

The other great Bronze Age mathematical tradition whose echoes can be traced in the Bible and, more distinctly, in the archaeological remains of the divided kingdom, is that of Egypt. Though the Egyptian tradition is in many ways parallel to the Babylonian tradition, the two were obviously independent.

Like its counterpart, Egyptian mathematics is a scribal endeavor which should also be labeled "computation." It arose in connection with administrative needs in the early state; Genesis 41 provides an Israelite perspective on that particularity of Egyptian social life (compared to that of pre-Solomonic Israel) which called for extensive computation. The Egyptian economy was, like that of the early Sumerian states, a redistributive system (the biblical descriptions of Solomon's temple building contain redistributive features, as well). Correspondingly, the calculation of rations and of provision for workers is a central topic in Egyptian mathematical texts, as is the calculation of areas and of the volumes of granaries.

It is not possible to distinguish a particular theoretical level in Egyptian mathematics. In that respect the two traditions differ. This is not to say, however, that Egyptian mathematics was a collection of formulas, nor (as we shall see below) that everything was always made in the way which suited practical applications best. There is, moreover, textual evidence that the scribes themselves saw their mathematical cunning as a high point of knowledge, as "rules for enquiring into nature, and for knowing all that exists, [every] mystery, … every secret"—as Peet (1923: 33) translates the introductory passage of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus (RMP in the following).

There are fewer sources for the history of Egyptian mathematics than in the Babylonian case, and their chronological distribution is no less uneven. It is therefore only possible to give a very general overview of the historical development. The application of measures and the development of the metrological system began no later than the outgoing 4th millennium. Measures of capacity and of areas occur in texts from the 3d to 4th Dyn. (ca. 27th century B.C.). Already at the beginning of the 1st Dyn. (late 4th millennium B.C.) the system of linear measures was used in the canon governing the pictorial representation of human beings (Iversen 1975: 60–66), and from an early date it must also have been used in architectural design.

No direct evidence for 3d-millennium calculational techniques is available. From the way measurements and results are expressed, however, one can deduce that the later unit-fraction system (see below) was not yet existent as a coherent system but only as a way to express ad hoc expansions of the systems of metrological subdivisions. We also know that the scribal calculators were taught as apprentices, in immediate practice, and not in a school (see Brunner 1957: 11–15).

All this was to change in the Middle Kingdom, at the beginning of the 2d millennium. Scribal education from now on took place in a school, and many texts are known which reflect the way professional self-esteem was inculcated in the future scribes. The introduction to the RMP quoted above shows that even mathematics served this purpose, just as in the OB school.

A reorganization of the repertoire of fractions into a coherent system appears to have taken place at this time. The old metrological subdivisions were conserved, but they were now supplemented by a systematic notation for abstract numerical fractions. The basic elements of the system were the unit fractions $^1/_2$, $^1/_3$, $^1/_4$, …, $^1/_n$, together with the complement $^2/_3$. Any fraction had to be expressed as a sum of such unit fractions (none of them identical) in decreasing order. The Egyptian scribe would thus regard $^2/_5$ not as a number but as a problem, the solution of which was $^1/_3 + ^1/_{15}$. For practical uses these expressions were less handy than metrological subdivisions. For teaching purposes, however, they were better suited than subdivisions because everything could be expressed precisely; we may also assume that they played a role

similar to that of OB higher algebra, because the manipulation of unit fractions required the same kind of mathematical virtuosity.

Once the unit-fraction system had been introduced into the school curriculum, the scribes began using it in practical life. At times the resulting contrast between gross, unnoticed errors and the meticulous precision of the notation may strike us as odd; it is understandable, however, if we see the use of the system as a sort of *art pour l'art,* as an expression of professional identity and not as a merely utilitarian device.

Our main sources for the overall contents and the techniques of Egyptian mathematics are two large papyri copied from Middle Kingdom originals, the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus (RMP) and the Moscow Mathematical Papyrus (MMP). The former is a fairly systematic handbook containing a wealth of intermediate calculations, while the latter is rather disorderly and apparently a students' workbook. The RMP is especially excellent as a survey of Middle Kingdom Egyptian mathematics. Very little is supplied by the MMP and other sources beyond confirmation and clarification of dubious issues found in the RMP.

Almost a third of the RMP is devoted to the computation of $^2/n$ ($n$ = 3, 5, …, 101) as a sum of unit fractions. This table is a prerequisite for all later calculations because of the distinctive way in which the Egyptians performed multiplication and division: *Multiplying* a number *A* by 29, the scribe would find by successive doublings 2*A*, 4*A*, 8*A*, and then 10*A*, and, by another doubling, 20*A*, and finally add *A*, 8*A*, and 20*A* to find the result. That is, the whole procedure was founded on successive doublings and decuplings. If *A* contained fractions with an odd denominator, the doublings would involve use of the $^2/n$ table; so, if $A = {}^1/5$, $2A = {}^1/3 + {}^1/15$, $4A = {}^2/3 + {}^1/10 + {}^1/30$, … *Dividing* (as in RMP, problem 33) the number 37 by $B = 1 + {}^2/3 + {}^1/2 + {}^1/7$, the scribe would calculate successively 2*B*, 4*B*, 8*B*, and 16*B*, seeing that 16*B* fills out 37 apart from a remainder which is two times an implicit subunit $^1/42$; since *B* is 97 times this same subunit, the remainder is twice $^1/97B$, and the full result of the division is $16 + {}^2/97$, i.e., in the required system, $16 + {}^1/56 + {}^1/679 + {}^1/776$.

Simple multiplications and divisions might give the impression that Egyptian mathematics was purely additive. As shown, however, by the latter part of the division, as well as by many solutions making use of "false positions" (cf. above) and of free manipulation of appropriate subunits, the Egyptian scribes had a perfect, though implicit, grasp of multiplicative relations and proportionality. Otherwise, indeed, they would have been unable to take care of their practical tasks.

A substantial part of the RMP focuses on problems arising through the use of the unit-fraction system, especially in connection with problems of division and proportionality. Some such problems deal with abstract numbers, others make the connection to daily practice clear, e.g., when loaves are distributed to workers and foremen (with double rations for the latter), when the connection between unit fractions and various metrological systems is dealt with, or when the quality of beer and the size of loaves are involved.

Another dominant interest is in geometric computation. As in Mesopotamia, area measures are mathematically connected to linear measures but are even more clearly conceptualized as the product of a fixed-standard width and a variable length. As in Babylonia, the concept of a quantifiable angle is absent; and triangular areas were found as the product of two sides containing a "practically right" angle. Trapeziums and trapezoids are absent from the sources; but the area of a circle is found as the square of $D - {}^1/9D$ (*D* being the diameter), corresponding to $\pi = {}^{256}/81 = 3.16$ … —much better than the normal Babylonian rule.

Prismatic and cylindrical volumes were, of course, found without difficulty; it is more astonishing that the volume of a truncated pyramid was found correctly (MMP, problem 14). It is disputed whether a "basket" in MMP (problem 10) is meant to be a hemisphere. If it is, its surface is found accurately (given the above-mentioned "π"; but if a hemisphere is not meant, the computation suggests that the Egyptians would find the circular circumference (correctly) as the quadruple area of the circle divided by the diameter and the area of a semicylinder as the product of the curved and the straight side.

Geometry and geometric computations were also used in Egyptian architecture. Architectural and building problems, however, are not very conspicuous in the mathematical texts, which in fact contain

only two types: first, the calculation of the slope of pyramids, according to the RMP, where it is dealt with five times; and second, the volume of a truncated pyramid, which is only known from MMP.

It is a recurrent claim that the Egyptians knew the Pythagorean theorem and used it in architectural construction. It should be observed, however, that the claim is not supported by any positive evidence. Many buildings, it is true, contain rectangles whose sides are to each other as 3 to 4, but nothing suggests that the Egyptians knew or were interested in the length of the diagonal.

Related to the use of geometry in architecture is the use in the pictorial arts of square grids and fixed proportions linked to the system of linear measures. This "canonical system" is one of the main factors creating the unique tenor of Egyptian art and which stabilized it for several millennia, until a metrological reform in the 7th century B.C. made it rather a factor of change.

Anything similar to Babylonian second-degree algebra was absent from Egyptian mathematics. The closest we come are two types of geometric problems. One is found repeatedly in the MMP: in a (practically) right triangle the area and the ratio between the sides containing the right angle are given; this is solved by means of a consideration of proportionality. The other comes from the Berlin Papyrus 6619 and can be translated into modern symbols as $x^2 + y^2 = 100$, $y = {}^3/_4 \cdot x$; the solution is obtained by means of a false position ("always take a square of side 1; then the other is ${}^1/_2 + {}^1/_4$").

These problems are atypical by being of the second degree. In fact, everything else related to algebra is of the first degree. But the techniques used are typical also of those first-degree problems which we would be tempted to solve algebraically. The "false position," in particular, may be regarded as a "poor man's *x*." The point in using an *x* is, in fact, that you can manipulate the unknown quantity as if it were a known number; taking preliminarily the unknown to be 1 (or any other convenient number) gives you the same possibility, as long as you stick to "homogeneous problems" (i.e., problems which can be reduced to the type $x^{11} = A$).

The above description does not exhaust the contents of Egyptian mathematics, but it covers the principal features as far as we know them and does so until the Assyrian domination. Then (modest) changes set in: a number of demotic mathematical papyri from the Hellenistic and Roman periods show, indeed, that material from the Babylonian or Middle Eastern practitioners' tradition had diffused into Egypt during the 1st millennium B.C. (perhaps carried by Persian military or fiscal surveyors?). Most conspicuous is an adoption of the Babylonian π.

Egyptian mathematical texts are problem collections, just like the Babylonian ones. The closest we come to a general description of methods is a phrase like the "always take a square of side 1" quoted above. But even in Egypt the problems were meant to be paradigmatic—as stated in the introduction to the RMP, they were regarded as "rules." In the texts, methods are thus primary and the problems secondary. In scribal professional practice, of course, the practical problems were primary; and since no clearly distinguishable level of nonutilitarian calculation developed in Egypt, the problems found in the texts are either real-life problems or structurally similar to problems encountered in "real life"—including problems arising from the idiosyncratic multiplication and division algorithms and the unit-fraction system. Globally regarded, the structure of Egyptian mathematics was thus determined by its practical duties and its characteristic methods and techniques, in mutual interaction and on an equal footing.

As in Babylonia, the mode of thought expressed in the mathematical texts is concrete. There is, however, one important difference. Babylonian mathematics, as we have seen, tended to represent other unknown entities by measurable geometric entities; the Egyptians, on the other hand, tended to represent everything by *pure numbers* (at least from the Middle Kingdom onward). Even though Babylonian mathematics is much more sophisticated in content than its Egyptian counterpart, the latter can thus be claimed to have gone farther in mathematical abstraction.

Old Babylonian mathematics, as we saw, appears to be purely secular. In later times the borderline between mathematics, divination, and religion seemed to have become somewhat blurred. In Egypt, as well, numeration and numbers played a religio-mystical role, as in the *Book of Dead*, where the deceased king is required to count his fingers (Neugebauer 1969: 9). But in spite of the "mysteries" and "secrets"

spoken of in the introduction to the RMP, the mathematical texts themselves appear to be devoid of religious and occult connotations.

This is, of course, in disagreement with the widespread speculations on "pyramid mysticism." The pyramidological arguments build (at best) on a variety of numerical ratios purportedly found in the Cheops pyramid and claimed to reflect a precise knowledge of π and the "golden section." Two flaws, however, characterize these assertions (see Robins and Shute 1985). First, precise measurement of the (original!) dimensions of the worn-down pyramid is difficult; and in order to obtain their favorite ratios, the pyramidologists avoid using the best measurements. Second, nothing in the mathematical texts suggests the slightest interest in the numbers claimed to be embodied in the pyramids; so, e.g., the Egyptians did not use a number corresponding to π but instead an approximation (viz., $^{8}/_{9}$) to å(π/4), which is quite another entity though of course just as mathematically serviceable. On the other hand, the best measurements of pyramidal slopes correspond precisely to the way pyramidal slopes are indicated in the RMP and come out mostly as 5 palms, 1 finger; or 5 palms, 2 fingers horizontally per vertical cubit (the former value being the favorite value in the RMP).

Both RMP and MMP exist in excellent editions. RMP was edited by Peet in 1923 with a hieroglyphic transcription (the original is hieratic) and English translation and commentary and again in 1927–29 by Chace et al. with free translation and commentary (vol. 1), and reproduction, hieroglyphic transcription, transliteration, and literal translation (vol 2). MMP was edited by Struve in 1930 with reproduction, hieroglyphic transcription, German translation, and commentary. A new edition of RMP intended for interested nonspecialists was published in 1987 by Robins and Shute. A collection of demotic mathematical papyri was published (with transliteration, and English translation, and discussion of terminological and technical continuity and change since the Middle Kingdom mathematics) by Parker in 1972.

Excellent surveys of Egyptian mathematics have been written by Vogel (1958, in German) and Gillings (1972). The latter work is inspiring but should be used with some caution, since the author often shows what imagined sources might have looked like and does so in the most exquisite and convincing hieratic hand. Both surveys include references to other works and to publications of minor sources. A comprehensive bibliography of works on Egyptian mathematics up to 1929 compiled by Archibald is included in Chace et al. 1927–29. A recent selective bibliography will be found in Dauben (1985: 29–37).

A fictional satirical letter much used in the school and reflecting the importance of mathematical computation in scribal occupations was published by Gardiner (1911).

The "canonical system" of the pictorial arts was described by Iversen (1975). Badawy's exposition of Egyptian architectural design (1965) should be used with circumspection.

The full range of Egyptian mathematics was probably never diffused to the Palestinian area. However, epigraphic evidence shows that from the time when the Israelite kingdoms began approaching a redistributive economy and the royal scribes came in need of computational tools, the scribes took over the Egyptian hieratic numbers (survey of the main evidence in Ifrah 1986: 271). These, however, are more complex than the hieroglyphic numbers which they represent in shorthand; and one can hardly imagine that they were adopted in isolation: they must have been imported together with at least part of that wider mathematical culture which they served. In all probability the administration in the divided kingdom will thus have been effected by means of Egyptian routines and techniques.

**E. Greek and Hellenistic Mathematics and Its Aftermath**

The third mathematical tradition of some importance in the biblical context was that of ancient Greece and of the Hellenistic world.

Early classical Greece was the cradle of "philosophy," i.e., of intellectual and scientific interest radically separated from direct social utility. While the nonutilitarian stratum of Babylonian (and, as far as it existed, Egyptian) mathematics had to look like a tool for scribal practice in order to serve the socio-psychological maintenance of scribal identity, Greek mathematics had to look "pure," i.e., unbound by

social utility. Scribal work, indeed, had become a lowly occupation in classical antiquity, and had stopped being intellectually productive.

The starting point was apparently intellectual curiosity vis à vis the techniques of surveyors and accountants: why did these techniques work? At the end of the road we find Euclid's *Elements;* Archimedes' computations of circle, sphere, and paraboloid; and Apollonius' *Conics;* together with a number of minor astronomical works disguised as pure spherical geometry; and Ptolemy's monumental *Almagest.* All of this was fairly irrelevant to both Jewish and Christian culture until the High Middle Ages, and there is no reason to discuss it further here.

More important than the mathematical history as a whole in this period are several underlying traditions.

First there is the alphabetic number system. See NUMBERS AND COUNTING. It has been much disputed who first used the letters of the alphabet for numbers, and the question is not definitively settled. The Greeks did so at least from the late 3d century B.C. onward, but so did the Jews and other Semitic peoples. However, no evidence for Semitic usage can be dated before the 1st century A.D.; and until then another system seemed to be in use. For this reason (and various other reasons) it is the most reasonable assumption that the alphabetic number system was invented by the Greeks and then taken over by others in the Hellenistic world (see the discussion in Ifrah 1986: 286–302).

Originally, this was just a clever notation for numbers, soon, however, the possibility to read any alphabetic letter as a number was exploited in gematria, the substitution of the sum of constituent numbers for a word. An early and most famous example is found in Rev 13:18, the number of the beast being "the number of a man; and the number is 666." (This reminds one of the Assyrian king Sargon's claim concerning the "number of his name," but the resemblance is probably accidental.)

Of greater importance was the technique in medieval and Renaissance exegesis, viz., in the *Kabbalah,* where it was used extensively for symbolic identification of words with the same gematric number (see the description of both Jewish and Christian Kabbalah in Blau 1944).

Next there is the Pythagorean tradition. The Pythagorean brotherhood had formed in the late 6th century B.C. around Pythagoras, who was (*pace* an abundance of Neo-Pythagorean and modern authors) in all probability no "scientist" or "mathematician" but rather a shamanistic figure, as has been argued by Burkert (1972). Plausibly, however, numerology (on a traditional "folk" level) was a major ingredient in his doctrine. Over the 5th century, then, and concurrently with the development of scientific mathematics, the Pythagorean brotherhood (or one branch of it) appears to have extended the numerological interest, first by adopting an existing number-theoretical interest (the "doctrine of odd and even") and extending it and then by taking up theoretical geometry. (A satisfactory discussion of the relative chronology of "philosophical" and "Pythagorean" mathematical achievements would lead too far; but see Knorr [1975: passim]; Høyrup [1985: 19–21].)

In the 4th century B.C., the Pythagorean movement disappears as a scientific school, although throughout antiquity the basic Pythagorean arithmetical doctrine remained important. It is, in fact, a doctrine rather than a theory. The fundamental constituents are the canon of figurate numbers and the classification of numerical proportions. The doctrine was put forth through examples and without proofs. The discoveries made by late-ancient Neo-Pythagorean authors (if indeed they made them) were made empirically.

Figurate numbers are the numbers which arise when points are arranged in certain regular patterns. We still know the *square numbers,* $1 \cdot 1$, $2 \cdot 2$, $3 \cdot 3$, etc., and the *prime numbers,* which can only be arranged in a single row and in no other rectangular pattern. A third species are the *triangular numbers,* 1, 1 + 2, 1 + 2 + 3, 1 + 2 + 3 + 4, etc., and still others exist (*rectangular numbers* of the form $n \cdot (n + 1)$; *pentagonal numbers,* $1 + 2 + \ldots + (n–1) + n^2$, etc.). See Fig. MAT.01.

The doctrine of proportions was coupled to the theory of musical harmony. An octave corresponds to a ratio 2:1 (in frequency, which the ancients did not know, and in string lengths on a monochord, which they did know); a fifth corresponds to the ratio 3:2, a fourth to 4:3, etc. All these are superparticular ratios, i.e., they have the form $(n + 1): n$. Other classes are defined in similar ways.

Neo-Pythagorean arithmetic was considered indispensable for the understanding of (especially Platonic) philosophy and was hence a prolegomenon in the basic late ancient philosophical curriculum. In this way it spread to much wider circles than high-level mathematics. One place in general culture which was influenced by the Pythagorean doctrine was poetry. A number of texts (so Virgil's *Bucolica* and *Georgica*) are constructed around simple proportions (identity and superparticulars) and prime numbers. These mathematical relations turn up in the counting of lines, words, and letters—especially vowels.

Interestingly, this same technique appears to have been used in the gospel of Luke. As it is well-known, the Sermon on the Mount and the Lord's Prayer are rendered differently by Matthew and Luke. According to the linguist Jens Juhl Jensen (1986), who has compared the gospel text with the principles used in "Pythagorean" poetry from the same epoch, Luke's version (but not Matthew's) follows Pythagorean principles. It is of some exegetical interest that part of the difference between the two evangelists may be the necessary difference between translation into prose and into poetry governed by strict rules.

Neo-Pythagorean doctrines were also important in ancient and medieval exegesis, in particular the figurate numbers. An important character in this connection is Philo of Alexandria, and a good example is his discussion of the measures of Noah's Ark (edited by Paramelle [1984: 148–63] with a numerological commentary by Sesiano [205–9]). The length of 300 [cubits] represents the universe, because it is the 24th triangular number, 24 being the number of hours in a day and the number of letters in the Greek alphabet, $24 = 2^3 + 2^3 + 2^3$, and the triad 1 + 1 + 1 thus occurring doubly in 24 representing equality (identity of beginning, middle, and end). Furthermore, $300 = (1 + 3 + \ldots + 23) + (2 + 4 + \ldots + 24) = 144 + 156$, 144 being $12^2$ and thus including (as dot patterns) the first 12 squares, while $156 = 12 \cdot 13$ "includes" (in the same sense) the first 12 rectangular numbers. So, 300 unites in itself equality and inequality, whereby it is similar to and represents the universe. Similar astute observations are made on the width and the height of the Ark.

Philo's numerology was taken over by both Ambrose and Augustine (who as a teacher had taught Neo-Pythagorean arithmetic in his own youth). But Christian authors until the early Renaissance would also make their own numerological exegesis. A late and beautiful example is Nicholas of Cusa's mathematical "proof" that trinity could not possibly have been quaternity (*De docta ignorantia* 1.20, ed. Wilpert 1967, 1: 59–60): maximal and minimal entities coincide (a fundamental principle in Cusanus' philosophy); in surveying, the necessary reduction to minimal entities leads to triangulation; ergo …

Scientific Greek mathematics only affected medieval exegesis on one point. As mentioned above, the "Babylonian π" is accepted in the Bible. This became a problem to medieval Jewish authors, who devised the explanation that the thread measuring the circumference of the molten sea ran around the inner surface (so explained in *Mišnat ha-Middot* 5. 3). This same idea was proposed not so long ago by the pyramidologist Berriman (1953: 97).

Summing up the influence of Greek and Hellenistic mathematics, we may conclude that it affected the biblical text itself in only a few unimportant aspects. As Judaism and (later) Christianity became integrated into general Hellenistic culture, however, Neo-Pythagoreanism and elementary Archimedean surveying had become an indisputable (and noncontroversial) part of the intellectual baggage of the Church Fathers and other commentators, and they would see no problem in using it as a tool for their exegetical efforts. This mathematical view was also inherited and promulgated by their disciples in the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance.

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JENS HØYRUP

**MATRED** (PERSON) [Heb *maṭrēd* (מַטְרֵד)]. The mother—or father—of Mehetabel, wife of the "Edomite king" Hadad (II) (Gen 36:39; 1 Chr 1:50). See also HADAD (PERSON); MEHETABEL. Whereas the Hebrew Bible has "Matred, daughter of Mezahab" (see MEZAHAB), the LXX translates "Mathraeith, son of M." It is preferable to read *bn* instead of *bt* with the LXXbecause Matred is a male rather than a female name.

The "Edomite King List" (Gen 36:31–39) is either a list of local rulers (some of which may have come from Arabia) in the country of Edom from the 5th century B.C. (Knauf 1985) or a list of Aramean kings from the 11th century B.C. (Lemaire 1988). The name "Matred" has parallels in (Classical and recent) Arabic (*Maṭrûd,* Caskel 1966: 404; *Maṭrûd* and *Mṭârid,* Hess 1912: 36). The root *ṭrd,* "to drive, drive off," is attested for both Aramaic and Arabic, whereas Heb *ṭārad,* "to flow continuously (water, speech)," provides an unlikely etymon for the personal name, as does Sabaic *mṭrd* "ritual hunt (?)" (Beeston et al. 1982: 154).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**MATRED, RAMAT.** See RAMAT MATRED (M.R. 118020).

**MATRITES** (PEOPLE) [Heb *maṭrî* (מַטְרִי)]. A clan of the tribe of Benjamin. In a lot-casting procedure used to choose Israel's first king, the Matrites were chosen from the tribe of Benjamin, and Saul was chosen from the Matrites (1 Sam 10:21). Presumably the name is derived from the Hebrew word for rain and may mean "born during the rainy season" (Reymond 1958: 19–20). The name occurs once in Hebrew and twice in Greek in 1 Sam 10:21. The sentence "finally he brought the family of the Matrites near man by man" (RSV) is not found in the Masoretic Text but is based on the Greek translation of this verse. Some scholars think that these words were mistakenly omitted from the Hebrew text (McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 190), while others argue that the shorter Hebrew text was later amplified by means of a similar text in Josh 7:17–18 (Barthélemy 1982: 165).

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STEPHEN A. REED

**MATTAN** (PERSON) [Heb *mattān* (מַתָּן)]. 1. A priest of Baal who was killed before the altars of Baal, when Jehoiada the priest ordered the altars and images destroyed (2 Kgs 11:18; 2 Chr 23:17). Mattan is probably a truncated form of the common Semitic name *mttnyh* through loss of the divine-name suffix (see 2 Kgs 24:17; 1 Chr 25:4, 16; Neh 11:17, 22) and attested by a Lachish seal and several Phoenician and Punic inscriptions, although he himself was probably not a Phoenician (Rehm *2 Könige* EB, 119). Mattan was possibly Baal's chief priest (Keil n.d. 364), although he is one of only two recorded victims of Jehoiada's covenant with the people and king that they should be Yahweh's people (the other victim was Athaliah, who usurped the throne of her dead son, Ahaziah). The location of this temple of Baal is unknown; but it has been speculated that, on the basis of the limited success of Athaliah and her priest Mattan and of the fact that their deaths are the only ones mentioned, the worship was of a seasonal fertility cult, with altars or even a single altar, possibly in the temple of the royal palace (Gray *1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 580–81).

2. The father of Shephatiah, an official or prince in King Zedekiah's government, partially responsible for Jeremiah's being thrown into the cistern of Malchijah (Jer 38:1).

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STANLEY E. PORTER

**MATTANAH** (PLACE) [Heb *mattānâ* (מַתָּנָה)]. A camping place of the Israelites during the Exodus, located in Moab N of the river Arnon (Num 21:18–19).

In antiquity Eusebius and Jerome identified Mattanah with Maschana, said to have been situated on the Arnon river 12 miles E of Medeba (Lagarde 1887: 277, lines 82–83; 137, lines 30–31). Though the precise location of Mattanah is unknown, most scholars identify it with the site of modern Khirbet el-Medeiyineh (e.g., Glueck 1933–34: 13). Khirbet el-Medeiyineh (M.R. 236110) is a large tell situated on the left bank of the Wâdī eth-Themed in the upper regions of the Wâdī el-Wāle about 12 miles SE of Medeba. Glueck noted pottery sherds dated mostly to Early Iron I and traces of a wall surrounding the top of the tell. Halfway down the slope a wide ditch or dry moat encircles the mound.

Given (1) the apparent discontinuity in the sequence of place names between Num 21:16 and 19; (2) differences in readings between the LXX and the MT; and (3) the meaning of Mattanah ("gift," "donation,"), some commentators render the conclusion of Num 21:18 "a gift from the wilderness" (cf. Gray *Numbers* ICC, 290). This possible translation, however, creates difficulty with the following verse, where Mattanah clearly designates a location. Hence the majority of scholars retain the MT reading and treat Mattanah as a place name.

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ARTHUR J. FERCH

**MATTANIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *mattanyāhû* (מַתַּנְיָהוּ)]. Var. BESCASPASMYS. As many as 10 people in the OT bear this name. It is composed of the Hebrew word for "gift" (*mattan*) and the divine name, Yahweh. Such combinations of the divine name and some form of the verb *ntn* "to give" are called names of thanksgiving by Noth (*IPN,* 170). Other examples are Nathaniel, Elnathan, and Jonathan. This combination is also found in the W Semitic world outside the literature and culture of Israel (*IPN,* 170–71). Mattaniah, in its full form or in its abbreviated form, Mattan, is almost as common in nonbiblical Hebrew sources as in the Bible. The shorter form is seen in 2 Kgs 11:18 and Jer 38:1.

In the Lachish Letters 1:5 the full name "Mattaniah" appears with the patronymic Neriah (Heb *nryhw*), but no clue is offered as to his position or title (*TSSI* 1: 34). The almost-contemporary Arad correspondence contains no reference to the name, but the recently published collection of seal impressions (bullae) from Jerusalem (Avigad 1986) contains several. There are seven identifiable persons bearing the name Mattan (see bullae Nos. 113, 114, 115, 116a, 116b, 117, and 118) including three uses of the shortened name as a patronymic (bullae Nos. 21, 52, 74). Bulla No. 119 contains the name "Mattaniah son of Semachiah" (Heb *mttnyhw bn smkyhw*). The name is among the most popular in this collection of prominent civil servants in the late Monarchy of the 6th century B.C.E.

In the Bible all of the names apply to temple officials, priests, or prominent civil figures, reinforcing the general impression given by the nonbiblical material that the name was a favorite of such persons. While the name is found in stories dealing with the time of David (1 Chr 25:4, 16), Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 20:14), and Hezekiah (2 Chr 29:13), the references are found in the Deuteronomistic History, the book of Jeremiah, and the work of the Chronicler, including Ezra and Nehemiah, that is, in literature which reached its final form either during the Exile or in the postexilic period.

Of the ten men bearing the name Mattaniah, five were priests, one was a member of the royal family, and the other four were members of the postexilic Jerusalem elite. The shortened form of the name applies to members of similar classes of people, a priest (2 Kgs 11:18) and one of a group of "princes" (Heb *sārîm;* Jer 38:1, 4). The characters are listed below in their chronological order.

**1.** One of the fourteen "sons of Heman," a group of Levites which was appointed by David for temple service (1 Chr 25:4, 16). The duties of Mattaniah and his thirteen brothers were to "prophesy with lyres, with harps, and with cymbals" (1 Chr 25:4). They were accompanied by members of the sons of Asaph and Jeduthun. The reference is important because of its view of prophecy. A similar understanding is seen in the activity of the prophets whom Saul met (1 Sam 10:5–13) and the activity of Elisha (2 Kgs 3:15), in which prophecy is accompanied by instrumental music (Johnson 1962: 69–74). Ps 88:1 contains a dedication to "Heman the Ezrahite," thus continuing the tradition of the musical associations of this group. The reference in 1 Chronicles 25 is clearly anachronistic and reflects a later arrangement in the temple services.

**2.** The ancestor of Jahaziel, a member of the court of Jehoshaphat (ca. 877–853 B.C.E.) of Judah (2 Chr 20:14). The activity of Mattaniah's descendant is clearly a prophetic one and consisted of the giving of oracles of reassurance in time of national threat (Conrad 1985: 38–62). It appears that this became a regular function of "court prophets," but it had a long history (Blenkinsopp 1983: 61–68). In this case Judah was threatened with invasion by an alliance of Moabites, Ammonites, and Meunites, a S Transjordanian tribe from the region of modern Petra. As the oracle stated, the invasion was repulsed.

**3.** A Levite of the sons of Asaph who, together with his colleague Zechariah and representatives of the sons of Kohath, Merari, Gershon, Elizaphan, and Heman, was commissioned by Hezekiah (ca. 727–699 B.C.E.) to consecrate the temple during the king's reform of worship (2 Chr 29:13). As with the reform of Josiah, the Chronicler pays much more attention to the role of the temple Levites in the event.

**4.** The uncle (Heb *dôd*) of king Jehoiachin (ca. 597 B.C.E.) who was placed on the throne of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, after Jehoiachin had been taken into Exile (2 Kgs 24:17). It is assumed that the term *dôd* is to be translated as "uncle" in this context, but the term does have strong overtones of intimacy and closeness which go beyond matters of kinship (*TDOT* 3: 143–56). Mattaniah/Zedekiah reigned for a further eleven years (ca. 597–586 B.C.E.), rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar, and witnessed the invasion of Judah and the final destruction of Jerusalem. The name change was obviously a source of a prophetic pun by Jeremiah (Jer 23:6). The practice of renaming kings at the time of enthronement is not unknown in the ANE and is mentioned four times in the Bible. Solomon's pre-coronation name appears to have been Jedidiah (2 Sam 12:24–25); Jehoahaz, son of Josiah, was originally named Shallum (Jer 22:11); and Jehoiakim was originally called Eliakim (2 Kgs 23:13). The Babylonian account says nothing of a name change but does state that Nebuchadnezzar appointed "a king of his own choice" on the throne in Jerusalem (*TCS* 5: 102).

**5.** A non-Levite, one of the sons of Elam who had married foreign women after their return from Exile and for whom Ezra had insisted upon divorce (Ezra 10:26).

**6.** One of the sons of Zattu, a returnee, who divorced his wife, a foreigner, on the orders of Ezra (Ezra 10:27).

**7.** One of the eight sons of Pahath-moab who had married foreign women on their return from Exile and who were forced to divorce them on orders of Ezra (Ezra 10:30). It is possible that he is the same as Bescaspasmys (Gk *Beskaspasmus*) in 1 Esdr 9:31.

**8.** One of the twelve sons of Bani who was forced to divorce his foreign wife after the return from Exile (Ezra 10:37). Each of these family groups is mentioned among the returning exiles in Ezra 2:6–10 and Neh 7:11–13, and they are distinguished from the priests and Levites. The heads are called "chiefs of the people" (Neh 10:14), and those that married foreign women are listed as "from Israel" (Ezra 10:26) in contrast to the religious functionaries. All four of the family heads entered into the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh 10:14) to separate themselves from the "people of the land" in matters of worship, marriage, and other religious practices (Neh 10:28–31).

**9.** Mattaniah ben Micah, a member of the "sons of Asaph," was appointed by Nehemiah as "the leader to begin the thanksgiving in prayer" in the restored temple during the high priesthood of Eliashib (Neh 11:17). A descendant, Uzzi ben Bani, was "overseer of the Levites in Jerusalem" (Neh 11:22); and another descendant, Zechariah ben Jonathan, was a trumpeter in the restored cultus (Neh 12:35). The Mattaniah mentioned in Neh 12:8 as "in charge of the songs of thanksgiving," and the one mentioned in

Neh 12:25 who was given guard duties at the storehouse of the gate are probably the same person. The absence of a patronymic would indicate that he would have been known and identified from the context. The general problems of this genealogy are discussed by Aufrecht (1988). Mattaniah, together with several other returnees, resettled in the region of Netophah in the hill country of Judah. This area is associated with modern Khirbet Bedd Faluh, a few miles SE of Bethlehem, near a spring bearing the name ʿAin en Natuf (1 Chr 9:15).

**10.** The grandfather of Hanan ben Zakkur, whom Nehemiah appointed as a faithful assistant to the new guardians of the storehouses (Neh 13:13). These men, Shelemiah the priest, Zadok the scribe, and the Levite Pedaiah, were appointed in the aftermath of the failure of the Levites to perform their duties. It is possible, though not certain, that Hanan was also a Levite.

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T. R. HOBBS

**MATTATHA** (PERSON) [Gk *Mattatha* (Ματταθα)]. The father of Menna and son of Nathan (and grandson of King David) according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:31). D omits Mattatha, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. The name Mattatha occurs nowhere else in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, and falls within a list of eighteen otherwise unknown descendants of David's son Nathan (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 501), although the name is similar to several others in the genealogies. Matthat (Luke 3:24, 29) and Mattathias (Luke 3:25, 26) in Luke's genealogy, and Matthan (Matt 1:15) in Matthew's. Kuhn (1923: 208–9) believes that Mattatha and Mattathias were originally identical, both derived from a common list that subsequently formed the basis for two parallel lists in Luke's genealogy: 3:26–29, Jesus to Mattathias; and 3:29–31, Joshua/Jesus to Mattatha. It is difficult to establish which was original, according to Kuhn, but Mattatha appears in the genealogy which does not mention Joseph as Jesus' father and thus may have traced Mary's line. Hervey (1853: 36–37, 88) explains the similar-sounding names as all derived from Heb *nātan* (Nathan), especially since Mattatha is listed in Luke as Nathan's son. Thus it confirms that Luke's genealogy traces David's line through Nathan. Johnson (1969: 240–52) goes further and sees an equation being made between Nathan in the genealogy and the OT prophet, thereby endorsing Jesus as prophet, although Abel (1974: 209) disputes this because of a lack of distinctly Lukan development of the prophetic motif. Establishing with certainty the basis for use of Mattatha is virtually impossible on the limited evidence.

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STANLEY E. PORTER

**MATTATHIAH** (PERSON) [Gk *Mattathias* (Ματταθιας)]. During the public reading of the Law, Mattathiah was among the men who stood at Ezra's right side (1 Esdr 9:43). In the RSV, the same individual is called Mattithiah in the parallel account (Neh 8:4; see MATTITHIAH), though the Greek is identical for both (i.e., *Mattathias*). Furthermore, this Greek form of the name is the most common representation of the Heb *mattityâ/mattityāhû,* which is always rendered into English by the RSV as Mattithiah (see LXX in 1 Chr 9:31; 15:21; 16:5; 25:3, 21; cf. 1 Chr 15:18; Ezra 10:43). Therefore, it is unclear why *Mattathias* in 1 Esdr 9:43 is inconsistently translated by the RSV as Mattathias rather than

Mattithias. For a similar example, compare Phineas in 1 Esdr 8:29 (Gk *Phinees*) with Phinehas in Ezra 8:2 (LXX *Phinees*).
JOHN KUTSKO

**MATTATHIAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Mattathias* (Ματταθιας)]. **1.** Father of Judas Maccabeus and his four brothers (1 Macc 2:1–5), and son of John, and grandson of Simeon. Mattathias belonged to the priestly order Jehoiarib and is described as a Jerusalemite who settled in the village of Modein. It seems, despite the impression the author tries to create, that Modein was the ancestral residence of the family (cf. 1 Macc 2:17, 70; 9:19; 13:25–29), though it is quite possible that the family also had a domicile in Jerusalem (2 Macc 4:27 also gives the same impression). Mattathias' family might have been a prominent one, since it is so described in 1 Macc 2:17 and because it belonged to the order of Jehoiarib, which is the first in the priestly orders' list in 1 Chr 24:7. Yet we may suspect some effort on the part of our sources to promote the status of Mattathias' family according to the dynastic interests of the Hasmoneans. Some even suppose that Jehoiarib's prominent place as the first in the list of priestly orders in 1 Chronicles may be an interpolation of the Hasmonean period. Josephus and rabbinic sources call Mattathias Ḥashmonay, or add this nickname to him. The meaning of this word is unknown, though it may be compared to Mattathias' sons' nicknames. Some postulate a connection between Ḥashmonay and a village by the name Ḥeshmon (Josh 15:27), but this lacks any positive evidence.

Mattathias in his old age took the initiative to oppose by force of arms the imposition of the religious persecution of Antiochus IV (1 Macc 2:15ff.). In the year 166 B.C.E., when a Syrian military force arrived at Modein and convened the population for an ungodly sacrifice, Mattathias killed a Jew who was ready to perform the sacrilege; and then he killed the Syrian officer. After this act he fled to the mountains, where he was joined by supporters, among them a group of Hasidim. There Mattathias and his supporters decreed that it is permitted to fight in self-defense on the Sabbath (1 Macc 2:41).

The revolt under Mattathias, at this stage, was typical guerrilla warfare. It was aimed at the renegades (the Hellenizers), at destroying the pagan altars, and at enforcing the Jewish law whenever possible, especially the circumcision of children, which was prohibited by the Syrian king. In the year 146 of the Seleucid era (i.e., 166/165 B.C.E.), a short time after the beginning of the revolt, Mattathias died (2 Macc 2:69). A "Testament" (farewell address) is ascribed to him by the author of 1 Maccabees (2:49–68). His name is mentioned, among other rabbinic sources, in the prayer *ʿAl HaNissim.* Some have suggested identifying Mattathias with the figure of Taxo in the *Assumption of Moses.*

**2.** Third son of Simon, the founder of the Hasmonean dynasty, and grandson of Mattathias #1 (above). He was murdered with his father and brother by Ptolemy, son of Ḥabubos (1 Macc 16:14–16).

**3.** Son of Absalom and a commander under Jonathan the Hasmonean (1 Macc 11:70).
URIEL RAPPAPORT

**4.** The father of Maath and son of Semein according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:26). D omits Mattathias, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. The name Mattathias is unknown as an ancestor of Jesus in any other biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, although the name, with variants in spelling, is common in canonical and extracanonical texts (see elsewhere in this entry; Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 500). Hervey (1853: 36–37, 135) claims that the similar sounding names in Luke's and Matthew's genealogies—Mattathias (Luke 3:25, 26), Mattatha (Luke 3:31), and Matthat (Luke 3:24, 29) in Luke and Matthan (Matt 1:15) in Matthew—are derived from Heb *nātan* (Nathan), especially since Mattatha is listed as Nathan's son in Luke 3:31, confirming that Luke's genealogy traces Joseph's line of David through David's son Nathan. See MATTATHA. Johnson (1969: 240–52) goes further and sees an equation being made between Nathan in the genealogy and the OT prophet, thereby endorsing Jesus as prophet, although Abel (1974: 209) disputes this because of a lack of distinctively Lukan development of the prophetic motif. If Kuhn (1923: 208–9) is correct that the two seemingly parallel lists of names in Luke 3:23–26 (Jesus to Mattathias) and Luke 3:29–31 (Joshua/Jesus to Mattatha) were originally one (see MAATH), then Mattathias may be a variant of Mattatha if the second list is early,

possibly tracing Mary's line (since it does not mention Joseph as Jesus' father). Theological explanations for inclusion of Mattathias are improbable. For example, it has been suggested (e.g., Schürmann *Luke* HTKNT, 202–3) that Luke's genealogy consists of 11 × 7 names from Adam to Jesus, with the 12th period being the messianic age. Thus Zerubbabel to Mattathias would mark the 9th group, with Mattathias the terminal name for the period. But this scheme is not clear from Luke's text (see Johnson 1969: 231–33).

**5.** The father of Joseph (an earlier ancestor of Jesus) and son of Amos according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:25). D omits Mattathias, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 in Luke 3:23–31. See Hervey (1853: 36–37, 135); Johnson (1969: 240–52). There is even less apparent theological motivation for inclusion of this name here than in Luke 3:26. Establishing with certainty the basis for use of Mattathias in Luke 3:25 or 26 is virtually impossible on the limited evidence.

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STANLEY E. PORTER

**MATTATTAH** (PERSON) [Heb *mattattâ* (מַתַּתָּה)]. A son of Hashum and one of the sons of Israel who pledged to put away his foreign wife (Ezra 10:33). He is listed under the sons of Israel to distinguish his group of laymen from the sons of priests. It has been noted that the number of marital offenders is particularly small (cf. similar genealogical lists in Ezra 8:2–14 and one in inverted order in 2:2–61, where the family names can be found for many in the list in chap. 10), although it is far more likely that the list in Ezra 10:18–44 is only a partial list, since the problem of intermarriage with foreigners appears to have been a serious one (cf. Neh 13:23–29; Meyers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 87).

STANLEY E. PORTER

**MATTENAI** (PERSON) [Heb *mattĕnay* (מַתְּנַי)]. **1.** A son of Hashum and one of the sons of Israel who pledged to put away his foreign wife (Ezra 10:33). He is listed under the sons of Israel to distinguish his group of laymen from the sons of priests. It has been noted that the number of marital offenders is particularly small (cf. similar genealogical lists in Ezra 8:2–14 and one in inverted order in 2:2–61, where the family names can be found for many in the list in chap. 10), although it is more likely that the list in Ezra 10:18–44 is only a partial list, since the problem of intermarriage with foreign women appears to have been a serious one (cf. Neh 13:23–29; Meyers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 87).

**2.** A son of Bani and one of the sons of Israel who pledged to put away his foreign wife (Ezra 10:37). See #1 above.

**3.** A priest and head of the household of Joiarib, during the days of Joiakim the priest (Neh 12:19), a family name mentioned in Neh 12:6 for a priest or Levite who came up with Zerubbabel out of exile in Babylon. The use of "and" before Joiarib (1:6) indicates to some scholars that the list from this point on is an addition to an earlier list, perhaps reflecting the author's penchant for genealogies (Meyers, 196).

STANLEY E. PORTER

**MATTHAN** (PERSON) [Gk *Matthan* (Ματθαν)]. The son of Eleazar and father of Jacob according to Matthew's genealogy tying Joseph, the husband of Mary, to the house of David and Solomon (Matt 1:15). Codices B* and D read *Maththan.* The name Matthan appears as Mattan (Heb *matān*) in 2 Chr 23:17 (LXX *Matthan* in Rahlf's edition) and in Jer 38:1—LXX 45:1 (*Mathan* in Rahlf's edition), and it is found instead of *Maththanian* in 4 Kgdms 24:17 in Codices B and C (*Matthan* is read in $B^{C}$). It does not appear in the genealogy of 1 Chr 1:19–24 or in any other list of Jesus' ancestors, although Albright and Mann (*Matthew* AB, 4–5) believe the name is characteristic of names used in the last two centuries B.C. If there

is no basis in history or tradition for the genealogies there is no need to harmonize this name with Luke's genealogy (*IDBSup* 354); but most scholars are not content with this solution, since there is an abundance of similar-sounding names in the two genealogies: Matthan (Matt 1:15), Mattathias (Luke 3:25, 26), Mattatha (Luke 3:31), and especially Matthat (Luke 3:24, 29—Codex D reads *Maththan* at Luke 3:24.). Hervey (1853: 36–37, 129–30, 134) claims that all of the above names are derived from Heb *nātan* (Nathan) and uses this to confirm that both Luke's and Matthew's genealogies are connected to the lineage of David's son Nathan. He concludes that Matthan (son of Eleazar) and Matthat (son of Levi) in Luke 3:24 refer to the same person on the basis of similar sound, common origin, and most important, similar placement in each genealogy. Gundry (1982: 18) accounts for their difference in this way: Matthew has changed the name of Joseph's grandfather, Matthat, to Matthan in order to conform exactly to the Hebrew, corroborated by Matt 9:9, where the author supposedly changed Levi (Mark 2:14; Luke 5:27) to Matthew, also supposedly based upon Heb *matān.* If the two names refer to the same person, however, a further problem is introduced: why is Matthan/Matthat given a different heir and a different father in the two gospel accounts? See MATTHAT #2 for a discussion of this problem.

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**MATTHAT** (PERSON) [Gk *Matthat* (Ματθατ)]. **1.** The father of Jorim and son of Levi according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:29). (Codex B* reads *Maththat,* with several other variants in other texts, including D, which omits Matthat, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31). Apart from Luke 3:24 (see below), this name appears in a list of 18 ancestors otherwise unknown to the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 501). Kuhn (1923: 208–9) argues that two seemingly parallel lists of names—Luke 3:23–26 (Jesus to Mattathias) and 3:29–31 (Joshua/Jesus to Mattatha)—were originally identical, the first perhaps reflecting a Hebrew context and the second, in an Aramaic context, tracing Mary's line of descent (since it does not mention Joseph as Jesus' father). Matthat is significant for Kuhn's analysis, since both lists have Levi as his father. Hervey (1853: 36–37, 129–30) believes that Matthat, like Mattathias (Luke 3:25, 26), Mattatha (Luke 3:31), and Matthan (Matt 1:15), is derived from Hebrew *nātan* (Nathan), providing evidence for Luke's genealogy tracing David's line of descent through his son Nathan (but see Marshall [*Luke* NIGTC, 162], who believes Matthat represents Heb *matat*). Johnson (1969: 240–52) goes further and sees an equation being made between the Nathan in the genealogy and the OT prophet, thereby endorsing Jesus as prophet, although Abel (1974: 209) disputes this because of a lack of distinctly Lukan development of the prophetic motif.

**2.** The father of Heli and son of Levi according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:24). (Codex B* reads *Maththat,* and D reads *Maththan* in the substituted genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15). The name Matthat is in a list of 17 ancestors otherwise unknown to the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 500). If there is no basis in history or tradition for the genealogies, there is no need to harmonize this name with Matthew's genealogy (*IDBSup,* 354); but most scholars are not content with this solution, since there is an abundance of similar sounding names in the two genealogies: Matthat (Luke 3:24, 29), Mattathias (Luke 3:25, 26), Mattatha (Luke 3:31), and especially Matthan (Matt 1:15). See Kuhn (1923: 208–9), Hervey (1853: 36–37, 129–30), Marshall (*Luke* NIGTC, 162), and Johnson (1969: 240–52). It is thought by many that Matthat the son of Levi (Luke 3:24) is identical with Matthan the son of Eleazar (Matt 1:15) on the basis of similar sound, common origin, and (most importantly) similar placement in each genealogy. See MATTHAN. If the two names refer to the same person, however, a further problem is introduced: why is Matthat/Matthan given a different heir and a different father in the two gospel accounts?

Ever since Julius Africanus' (3d-century-A.D.) letter to Aristides (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 1.7), levirate marriage has often been proposed as the solution to the problem of why Matthat's son in Luke is "Heli" and Matthan's son in Matthew is "Jacob," although Machen (1930: 208) supposes that Jacob, Matthan's son, died childless and that his nephew Joseph (son of his brother Heli) became his heir (a similar solution could be used if Matthat and Matthan are different people). If levirate marriage was still practiced (see Mark 12:18–27), then according to this analysis Heli and Jacob may have been full brothers, one of whom was without child and whose brother married the other's widow to produce an heir. Most scholars today propose Jacob in Matthew's account as the childless brother and Heli as the natural father of Joseph, although Julius Africanus suggested the reverse.

A similar solution would need to account for the fact that Matthat and Matthan are given different fathers, but appeal to levirate marriage again is highly improbable. Machen (1930: 208) suggests that "the kingly line became extinct with Eleazar (Matt 1:15), thus avoiding levirate marriage as the solution here. If Heli and Jacob were only half-brothers, i.e., with the same mother and different fathers, then it means that their mother married two different men with remarkably similar names—Matthat and Matthan—again highly improbable (see Brown 1977: 503–4). (Julius Africanus' Lukan genealogy omits Matthat and Levi, listing Melchi as the father of Eli by a woman, Estha, the widow of Matthan, rightly noted by Johnson as an artificial reconstruction [1969: 141–42].) It is more likely that the names Matthat and Matthan refer to two different men, since harmonization on the basis of the limited extratextual evidence is virtually impossible.

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STANLEY E. PORTER

**MATTHEW** (DISCIPLE). One of the twelve apostles of Jesus according to the four NT lists found in Mark 3:18; Matt 10:3; Luke 6:15; and Acts 1:13.

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**A. Etymology**

Greek *Maththaios* (mss Sinaiticus, B, D) or *Matthaios* is derived from Hebrew or Aramaic *Matta›i, Mattiya›,* or *Mattiyah,* shortened forms of *Mattith-yah (u),* which is built on the Hebrew words *nātan,* "he

gave," and *Yah (u),* a shortened form of "Yahweh"; an etymological meaning is "gift of Yahweh" or simply "gift of God."

**B. Location of the Name "Matthew"**

The name "Matthew" is found in two locations. The first location is in each of the four NT lists of the Twelve (eleven in Acts), close followers of Jesus (Matt 10:2–4; Mark 3:16–19; Luke 6:14–16; Acts 1:13). This group is usually called *mathētai,* "disciples" or "pupils," in the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke; they are designated *apostoloi,* "apostles" or "missionaries," at the beginning of at least two, and probably three, of the four lists (Matt 10:2 [here only in Matthew]; Mark 3:14, mss Sinaiticus, B, etc. [cf. also 6:30]; Luke 6:13), in the gospel of Luke somewhat more frequently, and in Acts, where the term "disciples" designates a larger group of followers (contrast Paul, 1 Cor 15:5–7). In the lists, the name "Matthew" is seventh in Mark 3:18 and Luke 6:15 and eighth in Matt 10:3 and Acts 1:13. Thus the name is placed in a position of lesser status than the brothers Peter and Andrew or James and John, who always make up the first set of four names.

The second location of the name "Matthew" is in the Matthean version of the call of the man sitting at the "toll booth" (Matt 9:9; contrast Mark 2:14; Luke 5:27).

**C. Gospel Parallels and Textual Variants**

The problem concerning Matthew can be clarified by closely observing the most important gospel parallel variations and their ms variants.

According to the most reliable mss of the gospel parallels, the pertinent variations can be summarized like this.

1. The lists consistently refer to "James the son of Alphaeus," who is thereby distinguished in the same lists from "James the son of Zebedee" (Matt 10:3; Mark 3:18; Luke 6:15).

2. The lists do not refer to Levi, or to "Levi the son of Alphaeus" (see, however, the discussion of "Lebbaeus" below).

3. The lists refer to a certain Matthew (Matt 10:3; Mark 3:18; Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13).

4. Only in the list of the gospel of Matthew is this "Matthew" called "the tax collector" (Matt 10:3: *mathētēs*).

5. Only in the Matthean version of Jesus' call of the "man sitting at the toll booth" is the man named "Matthew" (Matt 9:9), thus equating the Matthew in the call of chap. 9 with the Matthew in the list of chap. 10.

6. The one sitting at the toll booth in the gospels of Mark, Luke, and Peter (see PETER, GOSPEL OF) is not called "Matthew," but "Levi."

7. In Mark 2:14 and the *Gospel of Peter* 60, he is called "Levi the son of Alphaeus"; in Luke 5:27 he is called "a tax collector named Levi."

**D. Solutions to the Variations**

Some scholars conclude that the problem posed by the parallels and variants is insoluble. Three major solutions to the variations can be suggested.

**1. Levi = Matthew.** The first solution is that Levi and Matthew are the same person. One suggestion is that Levi was renamed "Matthew" by Jesus after he was called to be a disciple, a theory that sometimes attempts to build on the supposed changing of names by Jesus (e.g., Heb/Aram *Šimʿōn* = Gk *Simōn;* Heb/Aram *Cephas* = Gk *Petros* [Eng "Peter"]). A second suggestion is that "Matthew" was the name given at baptism, "Levi" having arisen because Matthew was from the tribe of Levi. Both suggestions have been related to the traditional theory of authorship of the gospel of Matthew, that is, that the author Levi/Matthew is covertly referring to himself in the account of the call of Matt 9:9.

Both suggestions have difficulties. The first has to contend with that fact that no story about Levi renamed "Matthew" has survived and is therefore an argument from silence; that the names "Levi" and "Matthew" fall in different gospels; that the analogy with Cephas/Petros is not exact, that is, the latter is a special nickname built on a pun of great symbolic significance, namely, "rock" (Heb/Aram *kēphaʾ* = Gk *petra*); and that that renaming story itself may have arisen in the early Church. The second suggestion is also an argument from silence about names in different gospels. Both are conjectures which attempt to

harmonize the Matthean with the Markan and Lukan accounts of the call scene. As far as the author's covert allusion to himself is concerned, the call story does not mention authorship and viewpoint; moreover, one would have to accept Matthean authorship of the first gospel, which is contested (see below). However, denial of apostolic authorship does not at the same time answer the question about the identity of Matthew.

**2. "Matthew" was Changed to "Levi."** A second solution is that in the call scene "Matthew" (Matt 9:9) was changed to "Levi the son of Alphaeus" (Mark 2:14) or "a tax collector named Levi" (Luke 5:27). This solution can be related to any hypothesis which defends the gospel of Matthew as earlier than the gospel of Mark (the Traditional Hypothesis; the "Two-Gospel" or "Griesbach Hypothesis"). See SYNOPTIC PROBLEM. This solution runs up against a major problem: the name of a disciple, Matthew, which also occurs in Matthew's disciple list, where Matthew is called "the tax collector," has been replaced with an otherwise unknown disciple. A further problem for the view that Mark chose and then modified Luke ("Two-Gospel Hypothesis") is that one would need to explain why the Markan writer designates Levi, like James in the lists, "the son of Alphaeus." (Was there a tradition of two tax collectors, one named Matthew, the other Levi? Was Levi believed to be the brother of James, the son of Alphaeus?

**3. "Levi" was Changed to "Matthew."** A third solution is that the Lukan writer has accepted "Levi" from the gospel of Mark but removed the description "the son of Alphaeus" (Luke 5:27; cf. "James the son of Alphaeus" in his disciple list, Mark 3:18 = Luke 6:15), while the Matthean writer has changed "Levi" to "Matthew" (Matt 9:9) and subsequently correlated the name with one of the Twelve in his disciple list by describing this Matthew as "the tax collector" (Matt 10:3). In this solution only the Matthean writer would have removed the thirteenth disciple, Levi. Such a solution would correspond with 3d-century Origen's view that Levi was not one of the twelve disciples (Origen, *c. Cels.* 1.62). It also corresponds with the dominant modern view that the earliest gospel was Mark (the "Two-Source Theory"). This solution also has difficulties; before considering it further, however, it will be helpful to note some variants in the mss and some redaction-critical possibilities.

Table 1
Gospel Parallels (with Textual Variants)

*Disciple lists:*

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Matt 10:3: | and | Thomas | and | Matthew the tax collector | | James the son of Alphaeus, | and Thaddeus[2] | |
| Mark 3:18: | and | | | Matthew[1] | and Thomas and | James the son of Alphaeus, | and Thaddaeus[3] | |
| Luke 6:15: | and | | | Matthew | and Thomas and | James the son of Alphaeus, | and Simon who was called | the Zealot |
| Acts 1:13: | | Bartholomew | and | Matthew, | | James the son of Alphaeus | and Simon | the Zealot |

*Man sitting at the toll booth:*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Matt 9:9: | a man … | called | Matthew | |
| Mark 2:14: | | | Levi[4] | the son of Alphaeus |
| Luke 5:27: | a tax collector | named | Levi | |
| *Gos. Pet.* 60: | | | Levi | the son of Alphaeus |

[1]The tax collector: added in *thēta*, Ferrar Group, etc.
[2]Lebbaeus (Greek) or Labbaeus (Latin): D, the Old Latin "K," Latin verions; Lebbaeus who is called Thaddaeus: some later Greek texts.
[3]Lebbaeus (Greek) of Labbaeus (Latin): D and most old Latin versions.
[4]James: D, *thēta*, Ferrar Group, 565, Old Latin, Diatessaron, Origen, Ephraem, Photius.

**E. Textual Variants**

**1. "James" in Place of "Levi."** In a few mss of the Markan call scene, "the son of Alphaeus" is James, as in the lists, rather than Levi (Mark 2:14 D, *thēta,* Ferrar Group, 565, Old Latin, Diatessaron, Origen, Ephraem, Photius). Should this be what the original Markan author wrote, there would be no thirteenth disciple; and the call scene would correlate with the list by means of the "James," not "Matthew," as in the gospel of Matthew. However, the ms evidence for this variant is considered to be relatively weak. Furthermore, the Lukan parallel to the Markan call scene still has "Levi the tax collector" and the Lukan reading has no ms variants (Luke 5:27). Therefore—the problem is related to synoptic relationships—the usual conclusion is that later scribes have changed "Levi the son of Alphaeus" in the call scene to "James the son of Alphaeus" (Mark 2:14) to make it conform to "James the son of Alphaeus" in the disciple list (Mark 3:16). This argument is all the more forceful if the Lukan writer, who has "Levi," found it in his Markan gospel (the "Two-Source Theory").

Oddly, a few of the same Markan mss that have James at the tax booth in Mark 2:14 persist in calling Matthew "the tax collector" in the disciple list in Mark 3:16 (*thēta,* Ferrar Group, etc.). However, these variants are considered so weak that many modern Greek editions of the NT do not even note them as alternatives; they undoubtedly show an influence from the Matthean gospel's designation of Matthew as "the tax collector" (Matt 10:3; cf. 9:9).

**2. "Lebbaeus/Labbaeus" (= "Levi") in Place of "Thaddaeus."** Still other ancient mss seem to make the correlation by the reverse maneuver, that is, by bringing an equivalent of "Levi" into the list, thus requiring removal of one of the Twelve. Thus, a few Western texts have Greek "Lebbaeus" or Latin "Labbaeus" for "Thaddaeus" in the disciple lists of the gospels of Mark (cf. Mark 3:18 D) and Matthew (cf. Matt 10:3 D, African Old Latin, "K," Latin versions; Latin of Origen); some later Caesarean and *koinē* Greek mss explain with the words "Lebbaeus who is called Thaddaeus." This is a correlation only if "Lebbaeus/Labbaeus" can be with certainty identified with "Levi." Not all modern scholars have accepted this identification. Nonetheless, 3d-century Origen, who knew the variant, explained it thus (Origen *c. Cels.* 1.62), and so do certain modern scholars. One suggestion is that the change from "Thaddaeus" to "Labbaeus" was first made in early Latin mss and subsequently to "Lebbaeus" in Greek mss (Ms D is bilingual Greek and Latin); if so, this change would have predated a variant in Greek texts which would have changed "Levi" to "James," since the latter would cancel the necessity for the former (Lindars 1958).

There are several implications of these ms variations: (a) Later copyists sought to align the person called at the tax booth with one of the twelve disciples in the lists. (b) The ms variants are best explained on the basis that Mark 2:14 of these mss (the call) contained "Levi" and that Mark 3:16 of these mss (the list) contained "Matthew." (c) The later copyists of the gospel of Mark may offer a clue about the original author of the gospel of Matthew, namely, the latter made a similar change from "Levi" to "Matthew" (Matt 9:9), and for the same reasons.

**F. Redaction Criticism**

Redaction criticism, which has usually been built on the view that canonical Matthew knows a gospel very close to canonical Mark, offers another perspective on the problem (Pesch 1968). Mark 2:14 contains typical Markan language and construction ("as he passed on," cf. 1:16; "and he says to him," cf. 1:44; 5:19; 7:18; cf. 1:41; 5:9; 7:34; 12:16; 14:30; "following" Jesus, esp. 1:18; 10:21; cf. 3:7; 6:1; 10:32; 10:52). Combined with Mark 2:13, a generally accepted Markan transition, it appears to have been constructed as an introduction to the following scene where Jesus is at table with tax collectors and sinners, perhaps in the house of Levi the son of Alphaeus (Mark 2:15: "In his house" is not clear; cf. Luke 5:29). The general point would be that Jesus "came not to call the righteous, but sinners" (2:17b), an important theme in Mark's first major section (1:2–34 + 2:1–3:6).

If Mark composed Mark 2:13–14 as an introduction to Jesus' meal at Levi's house and if the author of Matthew used the Markan gospel, then it would appear that the parallel to 2:14 in Matt 9:9 was not from Matthew's special tradition but an adaptation of the Markan text. First, the meal with the tax collectors and sinners seems to take place in Jesus' house in Capernaum (Matt 9:7, 10). Then, apart from the name

change, there are some minor, but nonetheless, characteristic Matthean expressions vis à vis the gospels of Mark and Luke: the addition of the name "Jesus" (*ho Iēsous*: Matt 4:1, 17; 7:28; 8:14, 18; 9:9, 27; 11:1; 12:9, 15; 14:13; 15:29; 19:15) and "from there" (*ekeithen:* Matt 4:21; 9:9, 27; 11:1; 12:9, 15; 14:13; 15:29; 19:15), sometimes in combination (Matt 9:9, 27; 11:1); "a man" (Matt 13:31; 17:14; 19:3, 10; 26:72; esp. 27:32, 57); the Greek form of "called" (*anarthrous legomenos:* 2:23; 9:9; 26:36; 27:16, 33), which form the writer consistently uses simply to designate a name of a person or place. When persons have a second name or title, he employs "who is [also] called" (articular *ho legomenos:* 1:16; 4:18; 10:2; 26:3, 16; 27:17, 22). This fact excludes the first solution (4a above), that Levi and Matthew are different names for the same person.

Such tendencies can be reinforced by observing that the Matthean author is very particular about his use of the names, especially those of the twelve disciples (Pesch 1968). In contrast to Mark, he typically stresses the preeminence of Peter and seems to do so in the list (Matt 10:2: "first Simon …"; contrast Mark 3:16; Luke 6:13–14). Moreover, he aligns the list with the same sequence and language found in the original call scenes (cf. 4:18 with 10:2: "Simon who is called Peter and Andrew his brother"; 4:21 with 10:2: "James the son of Zebedee and John his brother"; cf. 17:1; contrast Mark 3:16–18: Simon … James … John … Andrew … ). In general, he avoids superfluous and/or false names (e.g., persons: Mark 2:26; 3:16; 3:17 par.; Matt 10:2; Mark 5:22; 6:17; 10:46; 15:21; places: Mark 3:7; 5:20; 6:45; 7:31; 8:22); and, even more to the point, he omits the unknown Salome (Mark 15:40; 16:1; Matt 27:61; 28:1) and introduces a known woman, the mother of the sons of Zebedee (Matt 27:56; cf. 20:20; 26:37). All of these tendencies make plausible the Matthean change from "Levi" to "Matthew" in the call scene, thus bringing it into conformity with the list.

In short, redaction-critical arguments support the solution that the author of Matthew's gospel knew and changed the Markan "Levi" to "Matthew" in Matt 9:9 and then added "the tax collector" to that name in the list in 10:3, thus correlating the two passages. The basis for these changes would appear to be that the author of Matthew limits the disciples to the list of the Twelve, a limitation which can be further supported by a careful study of his use of the terms "disciples" (*mathētai*) and "twelve" (*dōdeka*) and their combination (Matt 10:1, 5; 11:1; 20:17; 26:14, 17, 18, 19, 26, 47) vis à vis Mark (Strecker 1966; Pesch 1968; Luz 1983). As noted above, the same motive can be traced in the copyists.

**G. The Name "Matthew"**

If the author of the first gospel, who was not the disciple Matthew, made the change from "Levi" to "Matthew" in the call scene and correspondingly added "the tax collector" to Matthew in his list, why did he choose the name "Matthew" and not another name from among the list of twelve disciples? Several answers have been given to this most difficult question, among which are the following (see Pesch 1968; Kiley 1984):

1. The author knew that *Matthias* was the only Levite in the list (1 Chr 25:3; 15:18, 21; 16:5; 25:21; 1 Esdr 9:43) and he associated this with "Levi" (Goulder 1974).

2. The author believed that Matthew had originally "compiled the sayings of the Lord in the Hebrew language" (Papias in Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.16), sayings which he used in the composition of the gospel (a partial solution, says Kiley; cf. I below).

3. The author and/or his circles especially honored Matthew (Fenton *Matthew* PNTC).

4. The author saw "Matthew" = "gift of God" as representative of "tax collectors and sinners" of whom Jesus was a "friend" (Pesch 1968).

5. The author intended to underscore the idea that "disciples" (*mathētai*: Mark 2:15, 16 = Matt 9:9, 10) are those who should "learn" (*mathete:* Matt 9:13) the meaning of "I desire mercy, and not sacrifice" (Hos 6:6 in Matt 9:13; cf. 12:7); thus *mathētai* and *mathete* suggested *Matthias* as the true representative of "learning-discipleship" so prevalent in the gospel (Kiley 1984). The last two suggestions are easiest to document on the basis of the text itself.

**H. "The Tax (Toll) Collector"**

The collectors of taxes and/or tolls in the NT are usually called *telōnai* ("tax collectors," Heb *qabbāʿîm*, or "toll collectors," Heb *môkĕsîn*, cf. Aram *mākĕsayyāʿ*). Zacchaeus is designated "chief tax collector" (Luke 19:2: *architelōnēs*).

By the 1st century in Roman Palestine, the traditional system of tax collection by a group of wealthy Roman officials, the so-called *societates publicanorum*, had been abolished (Donahue 1971; see TAX COLLECTOR). They were replaced by the *telōnai* mentioned in the NT. Direct taxes, that is, taxes on individuals and land, were handled directly by the local government, either the Romans or the tetrarchs, and their clients. Indirect taxes, primarily tolls related to transport of goods, appear to have been farmed out to the highest bidders who contracted to pay a certain sum to the government prior to collection; they and their subordinates then collected as much as they could, since any surplus beyond the contracted amount was profit. Such a system lent itself to corruption, dishonesty, and especially to repression of the poor peasantry who attempted to move their produce to market. Classical writers from antiquity, ostraca (cf. BAGD 812), nonliterary papyri (Lewis 1983), Josephus (*Ant* 17.204, *JW* 2.287), Philo (*Spec Leg* 3.30), the Talmud (e.g., *m. Ned.* 3.4), and the gospels (Matt 9:10–11; 11:19; Mark 2:13–17; Luke 3:12; 5:29–30; 7:34; 15:1; 18:13; 19:2) were united in their judgment that local officials responsible for the collection of taxes and tolls were especially despised in the Greco-Roman world. In the Talmud they are designated as "robbers"; in the gospel of Luke they are considered greedy (Luke 3:12–13); and elsewhere in the gospels they are usually linked with sinners (*hamartōloi*: Mark 2:15 = Matt 9:10–11 = Luke 5:29–30; Matt 11:19 = Luke 7:34; Luke 15:2; cf. Luke 18:10–14), prostitutes (Matt 21:31–32; cf. Luke 7:29; 18:11), and gentiles (Matt 5:46, 47; 18:17); perhaps, then, they were considered by pious Jews as ritually unclean.

In Matt 9:9, Matthew is described as "a man sitting at the tax office (*telōnion*)" and in 10:3 Matthew is designated a *telōnēs*. The location was probably a toll or customs office or booth normally found at ports of entry (Jos. *JW* 2.287), or on the boundaries between various districts, for example, Jericho (cf. Luke 19:2), or, in this case, Capernaum (Mark 2:1; Matt 8:5, 9:1). Presumably the first evangelist thinks of Matthew as one of the subordinate tax collecting officials who, working at his toll booth at Capernaum (Matt 8:5; 9:1, 10; cf. Mark 2:1), was the object of scorn (Matt 5:46), one to be associated with sinners, prostitutes, and gentiles (Matt 5:46, 47; 9:10–13; 11:19; 18:17; 21:31–32). Nonetheless, the Jesus who broke with social norms and purity regulations by eating with such persons (Matt 9:10; 11:19; cf. Mark 2:15–16; Luke 5:30; 7:34; 15:1) is represented as calling just such a person to be his disciple (*mathētēs*), a call to which this Matthew is reported to have responded.

**I. Church Tradition and the First Evangelist**

Titles to identify authors and distinguish them, that is, "According to X," were placed at the top of the first leaf of the mss of each of the canonical gospels sometime in the first half of the 2d century C.E. (cf. esp. the anti-Marcionite prologues to the gospels). "According to Matthew" became the title of the first gospel, an ascription that may in some way be related to the tax collector/disciple highlighted in Matthew's story (Pesch 1968). In any case the earliest Christian writer on the subject, Papias, wrote that Matthew "compiled [*synetaxato*] the sayings [*ta logia*] of the Lord in the Hebrew "dialect" [*dialectō*]; and each interpreted [*hermeneusen*] as he was able" (Papias in Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.16).

There is much controversy about the Papias statement. First, there are the terms transliterated in Greek, most importantly, *ta logia*, which, if taken in its primary sense as "the sayings," does not easily describe the gospel of Matthew, though the description is not impossible. Second, even if Papias did mean the gospel of Matthew, the canonical Matthew that has survived was written in Greek, not in a Hebrew dialect (Aramaic?). Could Papias have meant one of Matthew's sources (see G.2 above)? Was there another, Semitic-language version of the gospel of Matthew? "Compiled" and "interpreted," or perhaps "translated," are also debated. Moreover, though the vast majority of modern critics date the Papias tradition about 135 C.E., it has been dated earlier than 110 C.E. (Gundry 1982, who dates the gospel itself before 63 C.E.). If the latter date is accepted, whoever wrote in the title possibly knew the Papias tradition, which would then have greater value for ascribing the gospel to Matthew (see D.1 above); if the former

date is accepted, which has been an almost unanimous scholarly opinion, the situation is reversed, that is, Papias probably knew the title.

Most modern interpreters (contrast Gundry) have considered the Papias tradition, and therefore church tradition in the 2d century C.E. built upon Papias (Iren. *haer.* 3.1 in Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.8.2; perhaps earlier is The Gospel of the Ebionites quoted in Epiphanius, *haer.* 30.13.2), to be inaccurate. The general view is that the gospel of Matthew was composed by an unknown Greek-speaking, Jewish-Christian author, probably about 85–90 C.E., probably in Syria (Antioch?), though somewhere in Palestine or the Transjordan has also been suggested. See MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF.

**J. Conclusions**

The above sketch tends to support the third solution noted at the outset, namely, that the writer of the gospel of Matthew has changed "Levi" (Mark 2:14) to "Matthew" (Matt 9:9) and then designated Matthew (Mark 3:18) as "the tax (i.e., toll) collector" in his list (Matt 10:3), thus removing the thirteenth disciple. This third solution is consistent with the position held by most, but certainly not all, scholars about the literary relationships between the first three gospels (the Two-Source Hypothesis). It can also be supported by redaction-critical arguments that Matthew reworked the Markan author's introduction into an account about Jesus' table fellowship with tax collectors and sinners (Pesch 1968). The author's attempt was to replace an unknown person in the call scene with a disciple known from the list, perhaps because the author and/or his circles especially honored Matthew, but as the text might more plausibly suggest, because the author saw Matthew ("gift of God") as representative of "toll collectors and sinners," of whom Jesus was a "friend" (Pesch 1968) and/or because *mathētēs* ("disciple") and *mathete* ("learn") suggested *Matthias* as the true representative of "learning-discipleship" so prevalent in the gospel (Kiley 1984). In any case, a similar motive for aligning the call of Matthew with the name "Matthew" in the disciple lists can be observed in the manuscript changes by later copyists.

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DENNIS C. DULING

**MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF.** The second longest of the four canonical gospels, traditionally placed first in the NT canon and hence referred to as "the first gospel" (without prejudice to the actual historical order in which the four Gospels were written). The ascription of this gospel to the apostle Matthew dates to at least from Irenaeus (ca. A.D. 185; cf. his *Adversus Haereses* 3.1.2; 3.11.8) and possibly from Papias (ca. 140), though it is not clear whether the collection of Jesus' *logia* by Matthew that Papias refers to is to be identified with our gospel of Matthew (cf. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.16).

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A. Sources

B. Literary Genre

C. Time and Place of Composition
D. Occasion of the Gospel: a Church in Transition
E. Matthew's Church and the Synagogue
F. Author: Jew or Gentile?
G. Structure and Content of the Gospel
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1. Christology
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4. Church
5. Discipleship
6. Morality

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**A. Sources**

This article employs the two-source (or two-document) hypothesis as the most likely and most widely accepted Synoptic theory held today. It is presupposed therefore that Matthew used Mark's gospel and some form of the sayings source conventionally called Q. See Q (GOSPEL SOURCE); SYNOPTIC PROBLEM. Since, as the Qumran material makes clear, Judaism was acquainted with successive recensions of the same work, it is possible that Matthew employed slightly different forms of Mark and Q from those known to Luke or (in the case of Mark) to us. It is also possible that Q was already combined with Matthew's special traditions (M) before these two traditions were meshed with Mark in the gospel of Matthew; hence J. Brown speaks of $Q^{mt}$ (Brown 1961).

It is questionable, however, whether we should think of M in terms of one fixed document in addition to Mark and Q, since M is simply an umbrella term used to designate any tradition in the gospel that cannot be traced to Mark, Q, or Matthean redaction. Thus M is isolated by a process of subtraction; it encompasses many different strata of tradition reflecting different theological positions. If M represents the traditions of the local church to which the author of the gospel belonged, then that church had a complicated history and was made up of a variety of contending groups.

A characteristic block of material within M is the group of fulfillment quotations or *Reflexionszitate;* these show how a particular OT prophecy is fulfilled in the life of Jesus. Soares Prabhu identifies fulfillment quotations by three characteristics: (1) an introductory fulfillment formula the key word of which is the passive form of the verb *plēroō* ("fulfill"); (2) a commentary function by which the quotation serves as an aside of the evangelist and does not form part of the narrative; (3) a mixed text form, at times closer to the MT, at times closer to the LXX (Soares Prabhu 1976: 19). Nevertheless, exegetes still debate exactly how many fulfillment quotations are to be counted in Matthew. Soares Prabhu accepts eleven: 1:22–23; 2:5–6; 2:15; 2:17–18; 2:23; 4:14–16; 8:17; 12:17–21; 13:35; 21:4–5; and 27:9–10. Other scholars would include 13:14–15 and 26:54, 56, while omitting 2:5–6. Also debated is the origin of the fulfillment quotations. Some see them as traditional (from testimony books or oral scribal traditions), while others view them as redactional creations of Matthew. In view of Matthew's tendency to seize upon and expand useful motifs in his tradition, both solutions may contain some truth. The use of the same Zech 9:9 quotation in both Matthew's and John's account of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem does seem to argue that fulfillment quotations (apart from the formulaic *plēroō*) were not simply creations of Matthew alone (cf. Matt 21:5; John 12:14–15).

The problem of the quotations' origin points up a basic difficulty in dealing with the M tradition: What is truly traditional and what stems from Matthew's redaction? The usual approach is to look for a heavy concentration of words, phrases, grammatical constructions, and theological concerns seen to be Matthean from the way Matthew handles texts that have a Markan or Q source. In the absence of such indicators, the passage can be declared traditional. This criterion must be used with caution, however.

If Matthew was a son of his local church and acted as a teacher in it for some time, it is only natural that the style of his tradition should be reflected in his own redactional activity. Hence the distinction between

tradition and redaction in nonparalleled material is often difficult to make. The M material no doubt grew in liturgical and catechetical activity of the Church over decades and was the living Sitz im Leben in which Mark and Q were understood long before the sources were brought together by Matthew. M, therefore, should be viewed as a dynamic oral tradition rather than some sort of primitive document (contra, Kilpatrick 1946: 36).

To be sure, other theories on the origin of Matthew's gospel are defended today. In different ways Vaganay (1954) and Butler (1951) held to the priority of an Aramaic Matthew. Jeremias (1966) denied a written Q, and Wrege (1968) applied the theory to the Sermon on the Mount. Léon-Dufour (1962) preferred to speak of various blocks of tradition. The strongest opponent of the two-source theory today is Farmer (1964), who sustains a form of the Griesbach hypothesis: Matthew-Luke-Mark, Mark being the conflation of the first two. Nevertheless, the two-source theory still enjoys the widest acceptance and use on the international scene, has been tested exhaustively in lengthy monographs and commentaries on Matthew, and creates fewer difficulties over the long range than any of its competitors. For example, it explains the gospel relations in such Matthean texts as the temptation narrative, the prohibition of divorce, and the Passion Narrative better than does the Griesbach hypothesis.

**B. Literary Genre**

In 1915, Votaw (1970) stressed the similarities between the Gospels and popular Greco-Roman biographies of, e.g., Socrates. Largely forgotten in the heyday of dialectical theology, this proposal has been revived by Talbert (1977), who sees Matthew as a biography that presents the career of Jesus both as a legitimation of his teaching-legislation and as a hermeneutical clue to its meaning. Shuler (1982) has refined this suggestion for Matthew, seeing it as an "encomium" or laudatory biography. The most carefully worked out position is that of Aune, who sees the Gospels as a subtype of Greco-Roman biography, influenced as well by Jewish literary traditions and Christian content (Aune 1987: 46). While one cannot deny Matthew's similarities to these and other types of Greco-Roman literature (*praxeis, memorabilia* [Robbins 1984: 60–68], aretalogies, sayings of the wise), all these genres suit hypothetical sources better than the finished Gospels. A canonical gospel is best defined as a narrative of the words and deeds of Jesus of Nazareth, culminating inexorably in his death and resurrection, which narrative is meant to communicate to the believing audience the saving effects of what is narrated. The meshing of words and deeds, the inevitable thrust toward both death and resurrection, the quasi-sacramental intent of the narrative as saving proclamation, and a lack of any character sketch of the chief figure set our Gospels apart from the classical genres suggested. Indeed, attempts to find Greco-Roman genres and thought forms can produce strainted results that obscure rather than clarify (so in the case of Betz 1985). While drawing on extent forms, the evangelists, under the impact of the "good news" they had to convey, created a new literary genre that is best labeled simply "gospel." This comprehensive term seems preferable in the case of Matthew to one-sided designations like catechism (von Dobschütz 1928), manual of church order, the new Torah of Jesus (Bacon 1930), liturgical lectionary (Kilpatrick 1946), or book of kerygmatic history (Walker 1967). Each of these suggestions rests upon one Sitz im Leben reflected in the gospel. But the true Sitz im Leben of this huge gospel was the entire life of Matthew's church over decades (Trilling 1964: 220–21); initial instruction of both Jewish and gentile converts, the more advanced education of church leaders in faith and church order, liturgical reading, missionary appeal, and debates with Pharisaic Judaism.

This stress on the special Christian genre and Sitz im Leben of Matthew is not intended to deny the usefulness of the study of ancient Greco-Roman rhetoric for the NT (Beardslee 1970; Kennedy 1984). More problematic, however, is the application of modern literary or narrative criticism (Petersen 1978; Kingsbury 1986). Such narrative criticism was developed with a view to the 19th-century English novel; whether it totally fits a 1st-century-A.D. document of religious propaganda is questionable. Distinctions among real author, implied author, and narrator are made, only to find no useful application in the gospel text. Particularly problematic is the "implied reader": How much knowledge of 1st-century places, persons, and events is presumed by the critic in this hypothetical, ahistorical reader? Still, the inventory of events, characters, settings, points of view, and rhetorical techniques does help focus the reader's eye on

particular phenomena in the text. Yet, while of some use, contemporary narrative criticism does not totally jibe with the genre of gospel and so cannot be the primary model for a critical approach to the text. Especially in Matthew's gospel, where the author consciously inserts large discourses into the Markan narrative structure and thus purposely halts the movement of the plot in favor of didactic blocks of sayings, the perspective of narrative criticism cannot encompass and explain the entire literary work.

**C. Time and Place of Composition**

For those who hold the two-source theory, dependence on Mark and Q makes a date after A.D. 70 almost inevitable. The variegated M material also seems to reflect a lengthy and convoluted history and necessitate a post-A.D. 70 date (contra, Robinson 1976: 86–117). The gospel in its final form bespeaks a mature theological development on such issues as salvation history, eschatology, and world mission. The gospel ends with a resounding affirmation of a mission to all nations; with baptism (with a triadic formula!) instead of circumcision as the initiation rite into the people of God; and the commandments of Jesus, not the Mosaic Torah, as the object of teaching (28:16–20). In some instances, the commands of Jesus involve not only a break with Pharisaic observances, but also the abrogation of laws in the Pentateuch (see, e.g., the rejection of both Pharisaic hand washing and OT food laws in 15:1–20, esp. v 11). The very issues that were the battleground of Paul's day have become nonissues in Matthew's gospel. Matthew's additions to Mark's eschatological discourse emphasize three times the message of the delay of the Parousia (24:48; 25:5, 19). The center of gravity in Matthew's eschatology shifts toward the abiding presence of the risen Lord in his church (1:23; 18:20; 28:20). The Parousia remains important for paraenesis not because of its imminence but because of its severity, bringing about a final sharp separation in the mixed body of the Church (22:10–14). The obtrusive reference to the burning of a city in the parable of the great supper (not original, as the Lukan parallel, Luke 14:15–24, makes clear) does seem to be an allusion to the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 (Matt 22:1–14, esp. v 7). To speak of an OT theme here (Rengstorf 1960) does not explain why Matthew disrupts the flow of the parable to insert the theme where it does not seem to belong. The separation of Matthew's church from the synagogue (see E below) also argues for a post-A.D. 70 date. At the same time, the use of Matthew by Ignatius of Antioch (see below) necessitates a date of composition of the gospel before the early years of the 2d century (Brown and Meier 1983: 15–18).

Many places suggested fail to pass close scrutiny. A date after A.D. 70 makes composition in Judea, and especially a destroyed Jerusalem, hardly likely. The disruption of Jewish and Jewish-Christian life in Palestine because of the First Jewish War was immense; yet Matthew's gospel seems to reflect an organic development out of its Jewish matrix. The use of Greek in a gospel addressed to a whole church seems unlikely in Palestine, where the ordinary language of the common people was Aramaic and the sacred language was Hebrew. The disruption of a Jewish presence in Caesarea Maritima in A.D. 66 makes that city also a dubious candidate. What we do know of the origins of Christianity in Caesarea Maritima points to a liberal, Hellenist matrix with gentile sympathies rather than a conservative Jewish basis (Acts 8:40; 10:1–48). The N Syrian hinterland or the city of Edessa likewise runs into the problem of the common language of the ordinary people in those areas, namely, Aramaic. The cities along the Phoenician coast are possibilities, but we know next to nothing about them in the NT period. Moreover, the church of Matthew had to be prestigious and lively enough not only to support the production of this large gospel, but also to have it accepted in the churches at large in the 2d century. Such objections also hold true of Alexandria. The origin and state of Christianity in Alexandria in the 1st century are unknown to us.

Well-known, by contrast, is the most likely candidate, Antioch, the capital of Syria (Brown and Meier 1983: 18–26). A predominantly Greek-speaking metropolis with the largest Jewish population in Syria, it was the home of a Christian community founded in the late 30s by a Hellenist group of Jewish Christians who began a circumcision-free mission at Antioch (Acts 11:19–26). This mission was impeded for a while by the strict view of the James party from Jerusalem (Gal 2:11–14), but the gentile orientation of Ignatius of Antioch—something that is taken for granted—shows that the more liberal approach had won out before the beginning of the 2d century. This tangled history would help explain the different strata of tradition in Matthew. The struggles between Hellenists and the James party have left traces of both liberal

and conservative views. The Jewish tone of the gospel would have been reinforced by the sizable Jewish population in Antioch. Dialogue and debate with the synagogue are reflected in the focus on Jewish customs and rites, on the Mosaic law, and on the fulfillment of prophecy. Yet the gospel stands on the borderline between the Jewish and gentile world. On the whole, Matthew's gospel employs better Greek than Mark's and uses Greek plays on words. Despite the strong Jewish tone, there are pointers throughout the gospel (2:1–12; 8:5–13; 15:21–28; 27:54) toward the climactic missionary charge in 28:16–20. Antioch supplies the perfect meeting place for the melting pot that is Matthew's gospel. Founded in the 30s, the Antiochene church enjoyed a lengthy, mostly undisturbed existence in a Jewish-gentile milieu, with time to develop a scribal tradition and perhaps a scribal school for the cultivation of OT texts and Christian traditions (Stendahl 1968). The composition of such a large gospel was no mean financial undertaking, and Kingsbury (*Matthew* Procl) claims to find hints in the gospel of a relatively affluent urban church. The special traditions about Peter in the gospel (e.g., 16:18) may reflect his influential role in Antioch in the first generation (see D below). Composition of the gospel at Antioch is also supported by the fact that Ignatius of Antioch is the first Church Father to use Matthew (Matt 3:15 in *Smyrneans* 1:1; Matt 10:16b in *Polycarp* 2:2; Matt 2:1–12 in *Ephesians* 19:2–3).

**D. Occasion of the Gospel: a Church in Transition**

The conclusion that Matthew's gospel was written at Antioch ca. A.D. 80–90 has important consequences for understanding the origin of the gospel as well as the history of the early Church. It enables us to plot the development of Christianity in one significant urban center in the first three Christian generations and thus to comprehend the problems and forces that led to Matthew's particular approach to the gospel traditions. From Acts and Galatians we know that the church at Antioch was founded by "leftist" Jewish-Christian Hellenists who were the first to begin a wide-ranging circumcision-free mission to the gentiles. Although this was opposed by the extreme right wing of Jewish Christians, the so-called Council of Jerusalem (A.D. 49) accepted the innovation. Soon afterward, however, because of pressure from the right-wing group around James, the brother of the Lord, Paul and Peter clashed at Antioch over table fellowship between Jewish and gentile Christians. Paul soon found it expedient to leave Antioch; he never mentioned it again in his letters and did not return for long sojourns. More to the point, Paul does not say in Gal 2:11–14 who won the argument at Antioch, although his victory in that debate would have been extremely helpful for his argumentation in Galatians 2. It thus seems likely that Peter won the debate and represented in Antioch an approach more conservative than Paul's, yet more open to the gentiles than the James group's. After the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, the second generation of Christians in Antioch was severed from the conservative umbilical cord of the mother church in Jerusalem. By this time the rejection of the Christian gospel by most Jews and its acceptance by many gentiles raised anew the question of how a church rooted in Judaism should relate to the larger gentile world. Matthew's gospel represents a conscious attempt at synthesis and compromise among the competing traditions inherited from the first generation. True to the Pauline thrust, it concludes with a clear legitimation of a universal mission, with no mention of circumcision; food laws are abrogated. Yet in the face of a flood of gentile converts with no heritage of Jewish morality, the gospel stresses the moral teaching of Jesus, affirming OT ethics even as it radicalizes or even transcends them at certain points. Matthew is pointedly trying to preserve both the new and the old wine (9:17c, a Matthean addition to the Markan statement of radical discontinuity). He is the scribe trained in the kingdom of heaven who brings forth from the storehouse of tradition things "new and old" (13:52; note the order of the adjectives: the newness of Jesus is the norm by which one properly interprets the OT tradition). It is no accident that the "liberal conservative" Matthew, seeking a moderate middle path from a Jewish past into a gentile future, exalts the figure of Peter as the "chief rabbi" of the Church (Matt 16:18–19). Historically, in a time of crisis, Peter did represent a centrist position between Paul on the left and James on the right. Faced with the remnant of a strong Jewish party and the problem of an influx of pagans, Matthew seeks the same sort of "balancing act" by meshing the various and not always harmonious traditions of Mark, Q, and M. Matthew's gospel thus has as its larger Sitz im Leben the crisis of a church in transition, seeking to preserve what is viable in its Jewish past as it moves into the uncharted waters of a predominantly gentile

future in the Greco-Roman world. That this problem did not entirely disappear in the third Christian generation at Antioch is indicated by the seven authentic letters of Ignatius of Antioch. He, too, must fight a Judaizing group on the right (although by this time the Jewish influence is largely spent) and the new danger of a gnosticizing/docetic group on the left. His solution is typically Antiochene: a synthesis of major NT traditions, now involving Pauline, Matthean, and Johannine streams of thought (Brown and Meier 1983: 28–86).

**E. Matthew's Church and the Synagogue**

Many scholars, e.g., Barth (1963), Davies (1964), and Hummel (1966), maintain that Matthew's church is still tied to the synagogue, despite growing tensions. Highly "Jewish" material like the exhortation to accept the teaching authority of the scribes and Pharisees (23:2–3) is used as the basis for this position. However, an increasing number of exegetes, e.g., Strecker (1971), Trilling (1964), Frankemölle (1974), and especially Hare (1967), hold that Matthew's church had already broken with the synagogue by the time the gospel was written. Matthew's gospel has nine references to Jewish synagogues. Wherever the context fails to designate the synagogue as belonging to "the hypocrites," Matthew adds the qualifier "their" to indicate an institution that is now foreign to the Christians. Mark and Luke have no such consistent usage. Matthew thus creates a pointed linguistic opposition between "their synagogue" and "my [Jesus'] church" (Matt 16:18). This sense of break and distance is also seen in Matthew's addition to the end of the Markan parable of the evil tenants of the vineyard (Mark 12:1–12; Matt 21:33–43) in Matt 21:43: "Therefore I tell you that the kingdom of God will be taken from you and given to a people [*ethnos*] bearing its fruits." The kingdom is transferred from Israel to another people, non-Israel, the Church (Matthew never calls the Church the "new" or "true" Israel; for him there is too much of a break). Indeed, it is difficult to see how a group that pursued a universal mission without circumcision, rejected the food laws of the Pentateuch, abandoned the "teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees" (Matt 16:11–12) in favor of the power to "bind and loose" invested in Peter (16:18–19) and the local church gathered around Jesus (18:18–20) could remain in union with the synagogue. It is sometimes suggested that the break was hastened by the insertion of the *birkat ha-mînîm*, the cursing of heretics and/or Christians, into the Eighteen Benedictions, a key prayer in the synagogue liturgy. But the date of the *birkat ha-mînîm* is disputed: some place it around A.D. 85; others, early in the 2d century. Moreover—as is often the case in juridical actions—such formal measures probably just finalized a process that had been going on for some time. The break with the synagogue need not be taken to mean that Matthew's church had given up all attempts to win over Jews; Jews are probably included, in undifferentiated fashion, in the mission to "*all* the nations" (*panta ta ethnē,* 28:19).

**F. Author: Jew or Gentile?**

Until the last few decades, the number of scholars who favored the view that Matthew, the redactor of the gospel, was a Jewish Christian was overwhelming. Yet, as R. E. Brown has pointed out (Brown and Meier 1983: 1–8), "Jewish Christian" is a category that admits of many nuances. Bacon thought of Matthew as a conservative Jewish Christian proposing a neolegalism (1928: 229). Von Dobschütz thought of a rabbi of the school of Johanan ben Zakkai who had ben converted to Christianity and had written a type of Jewish-Christian catechism (1928). Goulder has instead called Matthew a small-town scribe who applies midrashic techniques to Mark's gospel, which is Matthew's only extended written source (1974). Abel seeks to resolve the tensions in the gospel by positing two redactors: the first was an anti-gentile Jewish Christian, while the second was anti-Jewish and pro-gentile. More recently, scholars who see Matthew as Jewish view him as a moderate Hellenistic-Jewish Christian (Bornkamm: 1968) who was liberated from an earlier stringent Jewish Christianity which opposed the gentile mission and upheld the Pharisaic view of the Law. This position is maintained by scholars who hold that Matthew's church was still tied to the synagogue as well as by some who claim that the break had already taken place. The arguments for this position usually rest on the strikingly "Jewish" tone, language, and subject matter of the gospel. Rabbinic parallels are especially stressed.

In the last few decades, however, a vocal minority of exegetes has sustained the hypothesis that the final redactor of the gospel was a gentile (Clark 1947; Nepper-Christensen 1958; Strecker 1971; Trilling 1964;

Walker 1967; van Tillborg 1972; Frankemölle 1974; Meier 1976). The fierce polemic against Pharisaism and Israel, the rejection of ritual observances and food laws, and openness to a gentile mission would of course be possible in a zealous Jew who had become a zealous Christian convert. We see something similar in Paul. Yet it is precisely the comparison with Paul that points up a striking difference. For all his polemics Paul affirms his great love for his own people (Romans 9), strives to gain their conversion, and affirms that on the last day "all Israel will be saved" (Rom 11:26). Matthew instead redacts the Markan Passion Narrative so that "all the people" (no longer just "the crowds") cry out to Pilate, as they request the crucifixion of Jesus, "His blood be upon us and upon our children!" Thus is a prophecy of Jesus (another Matthean redactional insertion into Mark) fulfilled: the kingdom of God is taken from Israel and given to another people. While Jews are probably included in the universal mission commanded at the end of the gospel, Matthew no longer speaks of Israel after the Passion Narrative; he speaks simply of "Jews" in 28:15. The extreme nature of the gospel's polemic, as compared with Paul's, does raise the question whether its author was Jewish.

More specifically, though, there seem to be places in the gospel where the author makes mistakes about the Hebrew Scriptures and about Jewish parties and beliefs—matters that an intelligent, well-educated, and highly articulate Jew would have known. One example is the mention of two animals in the entrance of Jesus into Jerusalem (21:2, 7). In this Markan narrative Matthew's major change is the insertion of a formula quotation (v 4) and the careful underlining of the literal fulfillment of the prophecy in Jesus' action (vv 2, 7). So literal must be the fulfillment that Matthew presents a scarcely imaginable description of Jesus riding on both animals. Matthew apparently understood the text of Zech 9:9 to be speaking of two separate animals, not the one animal that is in fact mentioned twice in Zech 9:9 because of the Hebraic parallelism. Such a misreading of the intent of the OT text is hardly understandable if the writer is an intelligent, well-educated Jew. There is no explanation for Matthew's doubling of the animals except a misunderstanding of the text. The rabbis would indeed at times ignore Hebraic parallelism when ignoring it served their theological purposes. But here in Matthew no special theological purpose is served except the theological purpose of literal fulfillment, a purpose that indicates that Matthew understood the text as literally meaning two animals.

Matthew seems involved in another slip concerning matters Jewish in his reference to the Sadducees in 22:23. Matthew, like Luke, is again dependent on Mark. In his description of the Sadducees, Mark in 12:18 says: "And there come to him Sadducees, who say there is no resurrection, and they asked him, saying …" Mark uses a relative clause to define the Sadducees as a group. Denial of the resurrection is a hallmark of the Sadducees as a party and not just a statement about what some particular Sadducees were saying to Jesus at one particular moment (a separate participle, "saying," indicates the words they address to Jesus). Luke makes the same point as Mark, employing an attributive participle with definite article to define the Sadducees' basic theology as a group (something Luke knows well; cf. Acts 4:1–2; 23:8). Josephus and the Talmud give similar descriptions. The fact that denial of the resurrection was basic to the Sadducean position can thus be presumed as common knowledge among Jews and even among some Christians of the 1st century A.D. and even later. Hence Matthew's change of Mark's description is especially strange (Matt 22:23): "There came to him Sadducees, saying there is no resurrection …" Matthew has made the attributive clause or participle predicative. It no longer describes the basic position of the Sadducees, but simply reports what these particular Sadducees were saying or thinking as they came to Jesus. Once again, the only likely explanation of this garbling of the Markan tradition is ignorance of the Jewish situation before and after A.D. 70. Neither before nor after that date could any well-educated Jew make such a mistake in describing the Sadducees.

Moreover, this is not the only instance of Matthew's ignorance of the stance of the Sadducees. Matt 16:11–12 (clearly redactional) manifests the same lack of knowledge of the Jewish situation. While Mark 8:14–21 simply states that the disciples did not grasp what Jesus meant by avoiding the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of Herod, Matthew changes the reference to the leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees (Matt 16:11). Then Matthew states that the disciples understood that Jesus was not talking about avoiding leaven in bread, but rather "the teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees." Matthew uses

the definite article with "teaching" and only one definite article for "the Pharisees and Sadducees." Thus, he thinks of the doctrine common to the Pharisees and Sadducees as one entity, set over against the teaching of Jesus. No Jew aware of the conflicts in Judaism before A.D. 70 and no Jew aware of the Pharisees' triumphant branding of the Sadducees' doctrine as heretical after A.D. 70 could have written such a sentence. Matthew must be considered to have been ignorant of the exact doctrine of the Sadducees. This is extremely difficult to reconcile with the theory of a Jewish-Christian redactor, while it jibes well with the theory of a gentile-Christian redactor. To all this, one might add the consideration that it is Mark, not Matthew, who displays the greatest number of Semitisms and outright Semitic words in his gospel. In fact, Aramaic words in Mark's text tend to be dropped by Matthew, with only the Greek equivalent retained. Matthew improves the highly Semitic Greek of Mark in the direction of more acceptable Greek usage, employing some Greek plays on words known from the classical period. Granted, no amount of argumentation in this question will generate absolute certitude. One could reconcile all these data with a picture of an enlightened, educated Hellenistic-Jewish Christian with universalistic views. Indeed, such a Jewish Christian could be thought of as having once shared the narrow views of his older tradition and as having developed slowly toward his present position. But as S. Schulz observes, such a "liberated" Hellenistic-Jewish Christian is hardly discernible from a gentile Christian (1967: 162). In the end, the theory of Matthew as a gentile Christian who had belonged to the Antiochene church (and perhaps its scribal school) for many years, who revered the Jewish-Christian traditions of his church, and who intended to preserve while interpreting them in his gospel seems to be able to explain all the data more easily.

In the light of all the data we have seen, it is extremely difficult to hold that the gospel of Matthew was actually written by the apostle Matthew. But even the gospel narratives themselves create major difficulties for the attribution of Matthew's gospel to "Matthew-Levi" the tax collector. If we hold in the two-source theory, then this Matthew-Levi would have to be dependent on the evangelist Mark for much of his narrative material. Even the Church Fathers admitted that Mark was not an eyewitness of the earthly ministry of Jesus. Thus we would be left in the awkward position of claiming that the apostle Matthew, an eyewitness of the public ministry, copied a good amount of his account of the ministry from Mark, a noneyewitness. This relationship becomes incredible when we notice that the author of Matthew's gospel is dependent on Mark for the story of the call of Levi (or Matthew) the tax collector (Mark 2:13–17 = Matt 9:9–13). It is inconceivable that, in recounting the autobiographical story of his call by Jesus, Matthew the apostle would have to rely on the narrative of Mark, a non-eyewitness. Moreover, the very existence of one person called both Matthew and Levi is questionable. Mark 2:14 and Luke 5:27 know of a "Levi the tax collector," whom they do not identify with the Matthew (not called a tax collector) mentioned in the list of the Twelve. Only in Matthew's gospel is this tax collector, in the story of his call, named Matthew, not Levi (Matt 9:9). That one and the same Jew in the 1st century A.D. would bear two different Semitic first names is highly unlikely. Jews could certainly also bear a Greek first name in addition to their Semitic first name, or an indication of who their father was or where they came from, or some (serious or humorous) nickname. But to have two Semitic first names would naturally cause endless confusion. Hence it seems that it is the author of the First Gospel who has consciously changed Levi's name to Matthew and who has "cross-referenced" the change in the list of the Twelve by designating Matthew the apostle a tax collector, thus identifying two people who are distinguished in Mark and Luke. Why the first evangelist did this is not clear. It is possible that the first gospel does contain some special tradition originating from the apostle Matthew (Pesch 1968). Also possible, however, is a play on words in Greek (Kiley 1984). The evangelist may have noted the concentration of words for disciple and learning (*mathētēs* and *mathēteuō*) in the story and indicated that a prime example of the sinner called to be a *mathētēs* was Matthew.

**G. Structure and Content of the Gospel**

Under the rubric of structure we are considering the structure consciously intended by the author, and not the "deep structures" examined by contemporary structuralists (for the latter, see Patte 1986).

Scholarly opinions on the structure of Matthew's gospel vary widely. One reason for this is that Matthew is a superb "verbal architect," building his literary basilica with many finely fitted, interlocking stones. These interlocking literary structures include summaries of Jesus' activity (e.g., 15:29–31), summaries that form inclusions of whole sections (Jesus as teacher, proclaimer, and healer in 4:23 = 9:35), inclusions in individual pericopes (the first and eighth beatitudes in 5:3, 10), clear cross-references (two multiplications of loaves in 14:20 plus 15:37 = 16:9–10), subtle cross-references (monitory dreams given to gentiles to save Jesus: the Magi and Pilate's wife, 2:12; 27:19), numerical patterns, often in threes (9 beatitudes [5:3–12], 6 antitheses [5:21–48], 3 pious practices [6:1–18], 3 triplets of miracles stories [chaps. 9–10], 3 passion predictions on the way to Jerusalem [16:21; 17:22–23; 20:18–19]), repeated formulas (the concluding and transitional formula at the end of each of the five great discourses [see below]), blocks of similar material in similar forms (e.g., controversy stories in chaps. 12, 21–22), geographic patterns (Bethlehem in Judea (ρ) Egypt (ρ) Judea (ρ) Galilee (ρ) Nazareth (ρ) Capernaum (ρ) in and around Galilee (ρ) Judea (ρ) Jerusalem (ρ) Galilee). Faced with this wealth of structural elements, one must avoid subjective flights of fancy by concentrating on structural devices in the text that are clearly visible, occur repeatedly, and are spread throughout the body of the gospel. Of the many suggestions made in recent years, three are worthy of note.

A few critics in this century have held the view that the whole gospel is governed by one great chiasm or inverted (concentric) parallelism. That is, the gospel is divided into two halves, like the two halves of a parabola: pericopes at the outer limits of the halves correspond to each other (e.g., chaps. 1–2 and 26–28), pericopes a little further in correspond to each other (e.g., chaps. 3–4 and 24–25), and so on until one reaches the center of the chiasm at the center of the gospel. Green (1968) sees the center in chap. 11, while Fenton (1959) and Ellis (1974) see the center in chap. 13. The objective basis for this approach is the undisputed presence of inclusions at the beginning and end of the gospel. "Emmanuel, God with us" (1:23) and "Behold, I am with you all days" (28:10) provide the clearest example. Indeed, the whole of chaps. 1–2 and 26–28 forms a rough inclusion, with many of the themes and even rare phrases first seen in the Infancy Narrative (a "proleptic passion") returning in the Passion Narrative. Moreover, chaps. 11–13 do seem to witness a turning point in Jesus' relation with Israel. However, the attempt to extend these valid insights to the whole of the gospel, arranged as one grand chiasm, collapses of its own weight, improbability, and lack of objective criteria. The grand chiasm is basically the creation of the ingenious critic. Blocks of chapters at one end of the gospel are forced to correspond to relatively small sections at the other, corresponding themes are in the eye of the exegete rather than in the wording of the Greek text, and chiasm critics cannot agree on where the all-important center of the chiasm lies.

A second, more popular approach today is the one suggested by Krentz (1964) and championed by Kingsbury (1975: 1–39). Kingsbury postulates three main sections of the gospel, demarcated by "superscriptions" (1:1; 4:17; 16:21). Section One (1:1–4:16) sets forth the genesis and significance of the *person* of Jesus, emphasizing from the beginning the key title Son of God. Section Two (4:17–16:20) shows Jesus the Messiah offering salvation to Israel by his teaching, proclaiming, and healing, only to meet with rejection. Section Three (16:21–28:20) depicts the suffering, death, and resurrection of Jesus the Messiah, with its effect on Israel and all humanity. To support this division, Kingsbury places great weight on the phrase that occurs at 4:17 and 16:21: "From that time Jesus began …" He also claims that 3:1 ("Now in those days …" introducing the Baptist) belongs with chaps. 1–2 and that the prologue of the gospel extends to 4:16. More recently, Kingsbury has supported these insights of redaction criticism with arguments from modern narrative criticism (1986).

There are a number of problems with this approach. It is questionable whether five Greek words, occurring only twice in the gospel (4:17; 16:21), can be called a "fixed formula"; the concluding and transitional phrase at the end of each of the five great discourses deserves that label much more. It is also unlikely that *apo tote* ("from that time") indicates a major break from the preceding verses and a new beginning. In 26:16 *apo tote* begins the last sentence of the pericope of Judas' agreement to betray Jesus (26:14–16). In chap. 4, v 17 seems more natural as the last verse of 4:12–17; and in chap. 16, v 21 stands in the middle of the great Caesarea Philippi scene with its multiple interactions between Jesus and Peter

(16:13–28), a scene which has its own christological inclusion (Son of Man in vv 13, 28). Moreover, precisely from a literary point of view, it is awkward to make 3:1–12 go with chaps. 1–2 when some thirty years have passed, the Baptist (a totally new figure, unlike his treatment in Luke's gospel) is introduced, and the phrase of 3:1 ("Now in those days …") sounds more like a clearing of the throat for the new beginning, the new eschatological event of the coming of the adult Jesus, rather than a mere link with the Infancy Narrative. The Baptist's proclamation is word for word the proclamation of Jesus in 4:17, supposedly in a different section of the gospel. In chap. 16 the expansion of the Markan Caesarea Philippi scene by Matthew explains the need for a caesura in 16:21. The more important literary datum is the Son of Man inclusion (16:13, 28) and the fact that a change in geography is signaled in 16:18 ("into the region of Caesarea Philippi"); no other change of place is indicated after that until 17:1 (going up the high mountain for the transfiguration). Literary signals thus indicate that the Caesarea Philippi scene in 16:13–28 is to be taken as a unit; to place a major division of the gospel at 16:21 tears apart the christological and ecclesiological synthesis that Matthew has carefully constructed.

The third division proposed is the most traditional and remains the most likely: The public ministry is made up of five major sections or "books," each with the pattern of narrative plus discourse, with the Infancy Narrative as prologue and the Passion Narrative as climax. This position enjoys the advantage of starting from clear, undisputed literary facts and slowly building up an argument with further literary data found in the text. The starting point of this position is that Matthew purposely builds large discourses out of disparate sayings of Jesus. As so often, Matthew has taken his cue from and expanded upon his sources: Mark had two discourses (parables [chap. 4] and eschatology [chap. 13]), while Q provided various blocks of sayings (e.g., the more primitive form of the Sermon on the Mount/Plain in Luke 6:20–49). Matthew enlarges these collections to monumental proportions, especially in the Sermon on the Mount and the eschatological discourse. Moreover, Matthew did not lump his discourses together in one section of the gospel; they are carefully spaced out over the length of the public ministry: Sermon on the Mount, chaps. 5–7; missionary discourse, chap. 10; parables, chap. 13; discourse on church life and order, chap. 18; eschatological discourse, chaps. 24–25. The result of this spacing out is that the body of the gospel naturally falls into large blocks of narrative then discourse, narrative then discourse. Matthew has thus significantly altered the configuration of Mark, where narrative loomed much larger over a few small discourses. Any literary analysis of Matthew must come to terms with this monumental remodeling of the gospel form in the direction of lengthy discourses.

Matthew's editorial hand is clear not only in this overall pattern of narrative plus discourse but also in the redactional formula he uses both to close the five major discourses and to provide a transition back to the narrative. The clause, "And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished these words [instructions, parables]," occurs at 7:28; 11:1; 13:53; 19:1; and 26:1. The precise wording and function of this clause are found nowhere else in Matthew or in the rest of the NT. That Matthew is carefully keeping count of his discourses and their structuring function is clear from his modification in the final occurrence of the formula, at the end of the eschatological discourse and of the whole public ministry, as the Passion Narrative begins: "Now it came to pass, when Jesus had finished all these words …" The collocation of the five sermons is thus anything but haphazard. This conclusion may also be supported by a consideration of the way Matthew introduces each of the discourses (Keegan 1982).

Thus, Matthew seems to demarcate precisely five major discourses as large structuring elements in his gospel. This is not to deny that the narrative sections have sayings material as well (e.g., the Beelzebul controversy in 12:22–45; the dispute over clean and unclean in 15:1–20). But these sections do not contain as lengthy a body of sayings of Jesus, uninterrupted by dialogue and directed solely or mainly to his disciples, as do the five discourses. Chapter 23 constitutes a special case. What is notable is the lack of unity in the audience addressed. Jesus begins (v 1) by addressing "the crowds and his disciples" (a unique phrase in the gospel; the five discourses are addressed primarily or solely to the disciples). In verse 13 Jesus begins the seven woes against the scribes and Pharisees, which employ the 2d person plural (vv 13–36); he concludes with an apostrophe to Jerusalem (vv 37–39). Although some would count chap. 23 as a separate discourse and others would see it as the first part of the eschatological discourse (chaps. 24–25),

it seems best to consider it a bridge Matthew constructs between the controversy stories and parables of judgment on Israel, on the one hand, (chaps. 21–22) and the eschatological discourse, on the other. Before the sermon on the future judgment, Jesus pronounces judgment now on the leaders of Israel.

Another characteristic that marks off the five discourses is their careful positioning in the flow of the gospel, so that they take up a number of themes raised in the previous narrative, while also preparing for the narrative to come. The discourses thus act as pivots in the literary structure because of their Janus-like quality. The flow of each narrative section into its corresponding discourse can be sketched briefly as follows. Jesus, whose authority as Son of God has been validated by his baptism and temptation (which in turn pick up themes from the Infancy Narrative), leaves Nazareth for his "base of operations" in Capernaum; he calls his first disciples and attracts large crowds, who "follow" him (chaps. 3–4). The context is thus created for Jesus to teach authoritatively the basic requirements of true discipleship and following, viz., the Sermon on the Mount (chaps. 5–7; so ends Book One). Authority in teaching is matched by authority in deed in the three triplets of miracle stories (chaps. 8–9). What Jesus has been doing during his initial ministry in Galilee by way of proclamation and healing (summary in 9:35, looking back to 4:23) the Twelve are likewise commissioned to do (but without a mandate to teach) in the missionary discourse (chap. 10; so ends Book Two). The rumblings of opposition in Israel, heard faintly in Book Two, burst into the open in Book Three, abounding in controversy stories as well as in woes and rebukes by Jesus (chaps. 11–12). Jesus reacts to Israel's rejection by withdrawing verbally into the veiled speech of parables, just as he withdraws physically into a house with his disciples, who do understand him (13:1–52; so ends Book Three). As the breach with Israel widens, Jesus turns to concentrate on the formation of his disciples into the embryonic church; hence the prominence of Peter and the use of the word "church" (*ekklēsia*) in the narrative of Book Four (13:53–17:27). Naturally, the matching discourse focuses on church life and order, with "church" occurring twice (chap. 18; so ends Book Four). Amid increasing hostility, Jesus leads his embryonic church up the road to Jerusalem and to the cross, teaching the duties of the various states of life under the shadow of the cross (chaps. 19–20). Arriving in Jerusalem, he displays his authority by refuting the Jerusalem leaders in debate, by speaking parables of judgment on Israel, and by pronouncing woes against the scribes and the Pharisees (chaps. 21–23). Corresponding to this context of judgment is the sermon on the final judgment, the eschatological discourse (chaps. 24–25; so ends Book Five and the public ministry). All that remains is the great eschatological event of death-resurrection.

A number of misconceptions about this five-book division must be avoided. First, this division is not necessarily connected with the theory of Bacon (1930) and others who tried to see in the five books a reference to the Pentateuch, with Jesus as the new Moses teaching the new Torah. While the appearance of *biblos geneseōs* ("the book of origin," or possibly "the Book of Genesis") in Matt 1:1 make the allusion to the Pentateuch tempting, attempts to work out the correspondence in detail are forced, especially with regard to Leviticus and Numbers. Such strained explanations have brought the five-part division of the Matthean public ministry into disrepute, but unnecessarily. The five-book division rests on data internal to the gospel and has nothing to do with any Pentateuch hypothesis. Actually, five-part divisions of literary works were well-known in the Jewish and Greco-Roman world at the time. In Judaism, the Psalms, the Megilloth, and probably the original form of the *Pirqe ʾAbot* all had fivefold divisions. Certainly no one has proposed that Irenaeus intended to write a new Pentateuch because his *Adversus Haereses* was divided into five books! Hence Matthew is simply taking up an honored literary convention, with no necessary connection with the Mosaic Torah.

A second misconception is that the five-book structure of the public ministry reduces the Infancy Narrative and the Passion Narrative to an unimportant prologue and epilogue respectively. It does not. One must be careful about terminology here. A prologue, especially in a biblical work, is not necessarily unimportant. John 1:1–18 is designated a prologue, without in any way reducing its significance for the meaning and structure of the Fourth Gospel. Actually, Matthew 1–2 is not unlike John 1:1–18 in that it answers questions about the nature, origin, and destiny of Jesus. It is a prologue that functions like the overture to an opera, sounding some key themes that will develop as the work progresses. In particular,

Matthew's prologue introduces leitmotivs that return in the narratives of the passion and resurrection. Hence, instead of simply and solely providing an introduction to the public ministry, the Infancy Narrative acts also as a proleptic Passion Narrative. Indeed, the five books of the public ministry are basically intelligible apart from chaps. 1–2; in the ministry there is little by way of direct reference backward to the Infancy Narrative. Thus chaps. 1–2 are rightly set apart from chaps. 3–25. Similarly, the narratives of passion and resurrection are not relegated to the position of epilogue or appendix by the five-book division. They are rather the climax of the whole narrative. While up until chap. 26 individual events in Jesus' life fulfilled individual prophecies (the message of the formula quotations), starting in chap. 26 "all the writings of the prophets" are fulfilled (26:54, 56). This is why, with the exception of the apologetic use of the OT to explain the scandalous fate of Judas (27:3–10) no formula quotation is used in the Passion Narrative. The death-resurrection of Jesus constitutes the one world-turning, age-changing apocalyptic event that fulfills all prophecy and ushers in the age of the Church (28:16–20). Hence, like the Infancy Narrative, the Passion Narrative stands apart from the public ministry, not as epilogue but as all-encompassing climax. On this basis, the following structure may be proposed.

**1. Prologue (Chaps. 1–2).** Matthew is the only one of the four canonical Gospels that begins with the OT literary genre of genealogy (1:1–17). This underlines a major message of the whole work, echoed often in the fulfillment formulas: the prophecies of the OT are fulfilled in the life of Jesus. The 3 groups of 14 generations reflect an apocalyptic mind-set: all salvation history is divided into epochs that are guided by God to the consummation of his plan. Yet the appearance of the four strange women hints that the movement of the plan is not always in a straight line; the discontinuity of these four "holy irregularities" is woven around the main thread of continuity. The 3 groups of 14 may indicate that the time of Jesus is the period of perfection and fulfillment ($3 \times 14 = 6 \times 7$). The number 14 is also symbolic in Hebrew of the name David, and Jesus' status as Son of David is at the heart of chap. 1. The annunciation to Joseph (1:18–25) has as its main point the theme of continuity: by naming Mary's child and accepting him as his own, Joseph son of David inserts Jesus into the Davidic line. Yet the element of discontinuity is also present; the virginal conception is the supreme "holy irregularity," making this Son of David also Emmanuel, God with us. Chapter 1 thus explicates the first titles of 1:1, "Jesus Christ, son of David."

But Jesus is also "son of Abraham," the Abraham in whom all the nations were to be blessed (Gen 22:18). This promise is to be fulfilled at the end of the gospel, with the mission to all nations (28:16–20), but a foreshadowing of all the nations' coming to Christ is seen in the coming of the Magi. While the united front of Judaism (Herod, chief priests, scribes, all Jerusalem—Matthew is not concerned with historical probabilities) rejects Jesus, the gentiles follow the hints of natural religion and OT prophecy to reach and adore the King of the Jews. The Jerusalem rulers seek to kill Jesus, but amid the carnage God rescues his Son out of death (proleptic Passion Narrative). By his going down to Egypt and subsequent exodus, Jesus recapitulates the history of Israel, the son of God in the OT. The high point of the Infancy Narrative is reached in God's declaration through Hosea that Jesus is not only son of David, son of Abraham, son of Joseph, son of Mary, but preeminently "my Son" (Matt 2:15). The "salvation geography" of chap. 2 comes to rest at Nazareth in Galilee, which links up with the traditions of the public ministry (3:13; 4:13). Jesus shall be called a "Nazarean" (2:23) in the sense of the truly consecrated holy one who will save his people (cf. *nazîr* in the birth story of Samson, Judg 13:5, 7).

**2. Book One (3:1–7:29). a. Narrative (3:1–4:25).** The Baptist is introduced as the great preacher of repentance. Matthew tends to create parallels between John and Jesus; hence, Jesus' initial proclamation of the kingdom in Mark 1:15 is put into the mouth of the Baptist by Matthew (Matt 3:2). Thus John anticipates word for word the initial proclamation of Jesus in 4:17. The united front of Judaism, represented by the historically unlikely union of Pharisees and Sadducees, is opposed to John as it will be opposed to Jesus. John warns his adversaries of the fearful separation of good and evil and the fiery punishment to come; the theme of separation on the last day is dear to Matthew. The ability to remit sins is carefully withheld from John's baptism; it is accomplished only by the death of Jesus (26:28). John's subordination is also seen in the dialogue before Jesus' baptism. John should be baptized by Jesus, but

Jesus explains the present order by a reference to fulfillment of God's saving plan, foretold in prophecy (3:15). The Father's voice in the theophany following the baptism is addressed not to Jesus (as in Mark, with his messianic secret), but to the bystanders. The Jesus-Spirit-Father concatenation at the Baptism of Jesus points forward to the triadic baptismal formula in the great commissioning (28:19). The sonship of Jesus, the true Israel, is then tested by the devil. Three times, like Israel in the desert, Jesus is tempted. But unlike Israel Jesus shows he is the true son by his obedience in the midst of affliction. He will not take the easy way to the kingdom that bypasses the cross. Returning to Galilee, Jesus takes up the fallen standard of the Baptist. He transfers his residence to Capernaum and begins a ministry that will ultimately bring light to the gentiles (Isa 8:23–9:1—Eng9:1–2). With sovereign authority he calls his first four disciples and attracts large crowds from all four points of the compass. He has begun his triple ministry of teaching (note that the pedagogue Matthew puts that first; moral catechesis is a special concern for him), proclaiming, and healing (4:23). The highlighting of teaching is meant to introduce the first example of extensive teaching, the Sermon on the Mount. The core proclamation ("The kingdom of heaven is at hand") was already given in 4:17; the healings will be reported in chaps. 9–10.

**b. Discourse (5:1–7:29).** Structurally, the sermon can be divided into two parts. Up until 6:18 the sermon is dominated by groups of threes; after 6:18 it is a group of loosely associated commentaries on the petitions of the Our Father, which fittingly stands at the center of the sermon (Bornkamm 1978; Guelich 1982). The 9 (3 × 3) Beatitudes open the sermon with a two-edged message. The poor in spirit must wait confidently for God to bring salvation (apocalyptic type of beatitude), but in the meantime the disciples must imitate the saving action of God (mercy, peacemaking) in their own lives (wisdom beatitudes). They must hunger and thirst for justice (= God's salvation on the last day), but in the present they must suffer persecution because they do justice (= do God's will; Przybylski 1980; Broer 1986). Though persecuted by the world, they are to be the light of the world (triple parable of salt, light, and city).

As Jesus begins to interpret the Mosaic law for his disciples, he makes a basic statement of principle (5:17–20; Barth 1963; Meier 1976). He brings not dissolution of the Law but its fulfillment. Yet this fulfillment is prophetic, eschatological fulfillment, in which the fullness of the eschaton sometimes spills over and transcends the old vessel of the Law—as is seen in the antitheses. But that is not to lead any Christian teacher to laxity. Christian "justice" (= doing the will of the Father according to the teaching of Jesus) must outstrip the justice of the Jewish teachers in both quality and quantity. This principle is then illustrated in the 6 (3 × 2) antitheses (5:21–48). In the antitheses on murder, adultery, and love, Jesus radicalizes the Law by extending and interiorizing the obligation; in the antitheses on divorce, oaths, and retaliation Jesus radicalizes to the point of abrogating the letter of the Law. In each case it is the authoritative word of Jesus ("but I say to you") that decides the issue (cf. 7:28–29; 28:20). The overriding concern in all these commands is that the disciple be undivided in his love of God and neighbor (= being perfect, 5:48). The three pious practices of almsgiving, prayer, and fasting (6:1–18) show a similar contrast between Jewish and Christian approaches; stress is laid on avoiding ostentation, with a view to the eschatological reward. Eschatology is shown to be at the center of Jesus' moral exhortation by the placing of the eschatological prayer (the Our Father) at the center of the sermon. The disciple prays for the glorious manifestation of God (the hallowing of the name) on the last day in the coming of his kingdom, his definitive rule over humanity, when his will shall triumph (first half of prayer, the "thou" petitions). The second half of the prayer (the "we" petitions) probably refers to the banquet in the kingdom, final forgiveness at the judgment seat of God, and final deliverance from Satan; possibly, though, Matthew understood it in reference to daily needs in this world (though that fits Luke's wording better; cf. Luke 11:3). Beginning with 6:19, Matthew arranges various sayings of Jesus to comment on the petitions of the Our Father. In view of the coming kingdom, the disciples are not to worry about material needs, but are to put their future entirely in the hands of their provident Father (6:19–34). They should imitate the kindness of the Father in their own lives (7:1–12). They must choose for or against acting on the words of Jesus right now; as they choose, so shall they be judged on the last day (7:13–29). The authoritative word of Jesus is the touchstone of salvation.

**3. Book Two (8:1–11:1). a. Narrative (8:1–9:34).** Matthew has already given examples of Jesus' proclaiming and teaching; he now presents 9 (3 × 3) stories of Jesus' miracles (Held 1963). Each triplet of miracles is demarcated by a buffer pericope dealing with discipleship. The streamlined miracle stories focus upon the encounter between the petitioner's word of faith and Jesus' all-powerful word of healing. Fulfilling OT prophecies, Jesus the servant shares his power with his community of disciples and points forward to the inclusion of gentiles in that community. The first triplet (8:1–17) shows Jesus' healing power directed to the marginalized: a leper, a gentile soldier and his servant, and a woman. In healing the leper, Jesus typically both breaks the letter of the Mosaic law and yet commands compliance with its ritual prescriptions. The healing of the centurion's servant foretells the entrance of the gentiles into the kingdom and the exclusion of Israel. The healing of Peter's mother-in-law and of many others shows Jesus to be the Isaian servant. The first buffer (8:18–22), stressing the cost of discipleship, looks forward to the second triplet (8:23–9:8). The stilling of the storm portrays the Church beset by the messianic woes and turning to its Lord in prayer. The theme of the disciples' "littleness of faith" overshadows the actual miracle (Bornkamm 1963b). In Gadara Jesus' power over chaos in nature is seen to extend to chaos in people, as he exorcises two demoniacs. The Church is to trust its Lord, because his triumph over evil is complete. This triumph is demonstrated also in the forgiveness of sins, empircally verified by making a paralytic walk. It is a power Jesus shares with human beings in his church (the *tois anthrōpois* of 9:8). The joyful triumph over sin is depicted in the second buffer (9:9–17) by Jesus' table fellowship with tax collectors and sinners. Against the Pharisees Jesus quotes Hosea 6:6 on the superiority of mercy to sacrifice (repeated in 12:7). The break with Pharisaic Judaism is sounded in Jesus' rejection of voluntary fasting, yet Matthew adds the moderating note that both new and old should be preserved (cf. 13:52). The third triplet (9:18–34) emphasizes the importance of faith, even in the face of death or blindness. The final healing, of a mute demoniac, points forward to the clash with Israel in Book Three, since it calls forth the charge that Jesus casts out demons by the prince of demons (9:34 = 12:24).

**b. Discourse (9:35–11:1).** The third buffer (9:35–38) is a bridge section. On the one hand, it forms an inclusion with 4:23 and rounds out the nine miracle stories. On the other hand, it introduces the missionary discourse: Jesus the good shepherd sends out his disciples to share in his mission. The "twelve disciples" (10:1) are introduced for the first time as Jesus confers his healing and exorcising powers on them (Matthew has no story of the choice of the Twelve). By calling them "the twelve apostles" (10:2)—the only time he does so in his gospel—Matthew already signals that the limited mission during the life of Jesus foreshadows the wider mission to come after the death-resurrection. Only vv 5–16 deal with missionary activity in the strict sense and remain within the initial limitation of the mission to "the lost sheep of [= who constitute] the house of Israel" (vv 5–6). Just as this restriction will be lifted after the death-resurrection, so too will the restriction on the disciples' power (the power to teach, not conferred here, is granted in 28:20). Verses 17–25 speak of all disciples faced with persecution, not just missionaries, and the horizon seems expanded to the gentiles (v 18). By inserting here material from Mark's eschatological discourse, Matthew stresses that the mission is not simply a matter of telling people about the eschatological event; it is part of the eschatological event. Three times the disciples are told not to fear earthly persecutors but only the final judge (vv 26–33). They must be ready to bear even the heavy cross of breaking family bonds. Jesus did the same; and, as goes the Master, so goes the disciple. The initial theme of mission returns in vv 40–42, along with Matthew's favorite theme of reward. The theme of opposition, persecution, and breach within the family of Israel prepares well for the narrative of Book Three.

**4. Book Three (11:2–13:52). a. Narrative (11:2–12:50).** The tension between Israel and Jesus heightens notably in Book Three. There is tension even with the Baptist, who is puzzled that the fiery judge he expected should turn out to be the healing servant of Isaiah's prophecies. Yet John, for all his limitations, does stand parallel to Jesus; for both, despite all the differences in their styles of preaching, have met with the same rejection of Israel (11:2–19). Jesus expresses the growing breach with his woes on the cities of Galilee that have rejected his call to repentance. In contrast he gives thanks to the Father for having revealed the secrets of the end times to the spiritual babes who have accepted Jesus. The Father

and Jesus enjoy a mutual knowledge to which no one else has access, unless Jesus wills to mediate it through his revelation. For Jesus is the true wisdom teacher of the end time; indeed, he speaks like Wisdom itself in the OT as he invites the weary to learn from him (vv 20–30). The hostility of the leaders toward Jesus heightens in the two sabbath disputes, over plucking grain and healing. Jesus again demands mercy, not sacrifice; and for the first time we hear that the Pharisees seek to destroy him. Jesus, the gentle servant of Isaiah, responds not with vengeance but with peacable withdrawal; it is just such mercy that will give the gentiles hope (12:1–21). Jesus' merciful healing of a blind and mute demoniac leads only to renewed charges by the Pharisees of diabolic power. Jesus refutes the charge and goes on the offensive, warning that the condition of Israel after it rejects him will be worse than before he came. The break with the synagogue is graphically portrayed when the family of Jesus has to cool their heels outside, while inside Jesus teaches his true family, namely, those who do the will of his Father (12:22–50).

**b. Discourse (13:1–52).** The parable discourse is Jesus' verbal response to his rejection by Israel. Having given Israel an opportunity to accept his clear message (there is no thoroughgoing messianic secret in Matthew, as we find it in Mark), Jesus now responds to their refusal by withdrawing into the veiled speech of parables. The parables are a punishment because (v 13; contrast "in order that" in Mark 4:12) Israel has not seen the truth, while the disciples do (again, contrast the blind disciples of Mark). The split between synagogue and church shines through the presentation. The disciples will face the same sort of opposition, and a disappointingly large number will fall away (cf. 24:10–12). But as the allegorical explanation of the sower parable promises, the final triumph of the eschatological harvest is assured (13:1–23). The parables of the mustard seed and the leaven make the same point about the contrast between the unpromising beginnings of the kingdom and its future, universal victory (vv 31–35). Distinctly Matthean is the parable of the wheat and the weeds, with its allegorical explanation. While the parable (vv 24–30) stresses the need for the Church to exercise patience and restraint in this present world composed of good and bad, since no one is authorized to anticipate the final separation of good and bad at the last judgment, the explanation (vv 36–43) depicts in detail that fearful separation which will most certainly come. The certainty of strict judgment takes the place of the temporal imminence of judgment as the motivating force in Matthew's exhortations. (Indeed, the threat of eternal punishment stands near or at the end of each of the five discourses.) The theme of separation is dramatically acted out as Jesus leaves the crowds halfway through the discourse to speak to his disciples alone in the house (v 36). The break between Jesus and Israel, and between the Church and the synagogue, is thus visibly symbolized. Such stressful times of separation demand that one be willing to sacrifice everything joyfully for the one true value of the kingdom, as the parables of the treasure and the pearl point out (vv 44–46). The theme song of the separation of good and bad on the last day returns in the final parable of the fishnet (vv 47–50), which ends on the grim note of fiery punishment. Yet all is not lost; the Matthean disciples do understand how to combine properly the new teaching of Jesus with the ancient wisdom of Israel (v 52; note the order: "new and old"!). From now on, the chasm between these believing disciples and an unbelieving Israel will widen right up to the end of the gospel (28:15 versus 28:17a).

**5. Book Four (13:53–18:35). a. Narrative (13:53–17:27).** While Matthew formed Book Three largely from Q and M, the narrative of Book Four is mainly Markan. It is taken mostly from the great "bread section," Mark 6–8, where *artos, artoi* ("bread," "loaves") form a literary and theological leitmotiv, still visible in Matthew. In Book Four the great "ecclesiological book" of the gospel, Matthew highlights the role of Peter and references to the Church (*ekklēsia*; the word occurs in Matthew only in Book Four and nowhere else in the four gospels). Christology and ecclesiology are welded together as Jesus prepares for the founding of his church through the apocalyptic events of the death-resurrection. Hence this book is dominated by christological titles and passion predictions on the one hand and by teaching to and about the Church on the other.

The breach with Israel widens still further with Jesus' rejection at Nazareth and the martyrdom of the Baptist, who even in death is paralleled with Jesus. The Baptist's death is thus a prophecy that Jesus will meet a similar fate at the hands of Israel (13:53–14:12). Just as the arrest of the Baptist occasioned Jesus' coming into Galilee to begin the struggle (4:12), so now the Baptist's martyrdom occasions Jesus'

temporary withdrawal (cf. 12:15), as he turns his attention more to the formation of his embryonic community. This community is nourished by the feeding of the 5,000, in which the eucharistic allusions are clear, and in which Matthew heightens the role of the disciples as go-betweens (14:13–21). The walking on the water reveals Jesus as the divine Savior of his imperiled church, that fittingly acknowledges him as Son of God (14:22–36; contrast Mark's blind disciples in 6:51–52; Heil 1981). The christological confession voiced here will be expanded by Peter in 16:16 and extended to the gentile centurion in 27:54. In 14:28–31, Peter is a prime example of a disciple who is "of little faith" (*oligopistos*), which for Matthew means having faith but panicking in a crisis and acting as though one did not have faith. Peter boldly begins walking on the water, trusting in the word of Jesus. But the forces of chaos cause him to sink into death, from which the saving hand of Jesus rescues him (an acting out of many of the Psalms of Lament in the OT). Jesus teaches his disciples to reject Pharisaic ritual concerns and even OT food laws (15:11, 17–18). The break with the Pharisees and the synagogue is expressed in the terse command: "Leave them; they are blind guides" (15:14). Having torn down these legal walls of separation, Jesus heals the daughter of the Canaanite woman, solely on the basis of the woman's faith. The stress that this case is exceptional and does not fit into the regular mission of Jesus (15:24) makes it all the more a pointer forward to the time of the Church (28:16–20). The time of the Church is again foreshadowed in the feeding of the 4,000 (15:29–39).

In chap. 16, Jesus transfers teaching authority from the Pharisees and Sadducees (again, the united front of Judaism; their teaching is corrupting leaven, vv 11–12) to Peter as "chief rabbi" in the church of Jesus. Typically, the disciples are not totally blind, as in Mark. But being of little faith, they fail initially to understand but do so after Jesus' instruction (vv 7, 12). Matthew expands Mark's Caesarea Philippi scene, which in Mark is a christological turning point in the messianic secret, into a grand christological synthesis of major titles. The union of Christ, church, and morality is clear. Jesus indicates he is Son of Man in the triple sense of earthly ministry (v 13), Suffering Servant (Son of Man is implied in v 21; cf. 17:22–23; 20:18–19; 26:2), and final judge (vv 27–28). By divine revelation, Peter recognizes Jesus as Messiah and Son of God (v 16). Jesus reciprocates in vv 17–19 by pronouncing a beatitude and conferring a title on Simon. Simon is the recipient of an apocalyptic revealation from the Father. Henceforth he will be called *petros*, the Rock (Peter was not a usual first name in Aramaic or Greek in the 1st century A.D.), for on this stable rock (cf. 7:24–25) Jesus will build his church (notice the future; the full founding of the Church takes place after the death-resurrection, in 28:16–20). Peter is made vicegerent over the new palace of Jesus, the royal Messiah (cf. Isa 22:15–25), with the power to decide what is permissible or not according to the teaching of Jesus ("bind and loose"). All this high christology and ecclesiology are then balanced by the first prediction of the passion. The ambiguous Peter revolts against the word of the cross; and Jesus tells him that he is playing the part of Satan, who sought to deflect Jesus from the cross with promises of easy triumph (4:1–11). Jesus tells all his disciples that they must follow the Son of Man on the way of his cross if they are to share in his kingdom (vv 24–28). As a continuation of the apocalyptic revelation to Peter, the transfiguration confirms that Jesus is the glorious Son of God (17:5); but the disciples must also listen when Jesus speaks of his death as Son of Man, following his forerunner, the Baptist (17:9–13). The disciples, though, still suffer from little faith, as is shown by their failure to cure the epileptic boy (17:14–20) and their sorrow at the second passion prediction (17:22–23). The question of whether Jesus should pay the temple tax (17:24–27) provides Matthew with an opportunity for the Lord to give practical instruction to his church through Peter and also to highlight Peter's unique relationship to Jesus (note that Jesus provides just enough money for himself and Peter; this apparent favoritism probably occasions the jealous question of the other disciples in 18:1).

**b. Discourse (18:1–35).** The narratives that focused on Peter, church, and the disciples naturally flow into the discourse on church life and order. The discourse has two major parts: (1) the need to care for children (vv 1–5) and for "the little ones," the lowly church members who are easily neglected (vv 6–14); (2) the need to apply church discipline to the recalcitrant sinful member of the church (vv 15–20) but always with a readiness to forgive (vv 21–35). Jesus tells the would-be leaders in the Church that they must be willing to assume the powerlessness and vulnerability of a little child; indeed, they must give

special attention to such unprotected people. This includes not only literal children but all the spiritual little ones who are easily led astray by the bad example of others. All disciples (note the lack of any restriction to church leaders) must be good shepherds, leading the straying sheep back to the Father. But what of the arrogant sinner who remains in the Church and refuses private correction? Matthew provides a three-step procedure (based on Lev 19:17–18 and Deut 19:15 and seen also at Qumran), culminating in excommunication. Once again, we meet the phrases "church" and "bind and loose" (cf. 16:18–19), but here the church is the local community, and its action refers to expelling or admitting members. Such a serious decision is made in the presence and by the authority of Jesus (v 20). But the parable of the unforgiving servant (vv 21–35) reminds us that the final word on church discipline must be forgiveness within the family of God.

**6. Book Five (19:1–25:46). a. Narrative (19:1–23:39).** The narrative of the book divides into two parts: the journey to Jerusalem (chaps. 19–20) and the clash with the authorities in Jerusalem (chaps. 21–23). As Jesus leads his embryonic church up to Jerusalem and therefore to the cross, he instructs it on the obligations of various states of life; for Matthew, discipleship involves concrete moral imperatives. Appealing to the Creator's will in the beginning, Jesus, who restores in the end time the Creator's original order, forbids the intermediary expedient of divorce (19:1–9). The prohibition is formulated in a Jewish manner, from the male point of view (contrast Mark 10:11–12); as in Matt 5:31–32, "unchastity" (*porneia,* 19:9) probably refers to unions that the book of Leviticus considered incestuous. Voluntary celibates have a place in the kingdom, as do children (vv 10–15). On the other hand, the difficulty of the rich in entering the kingdom is demonstrated (vv 16–26); yet all things are possible with God. To the disciples, who have left all to follow him, Jesus promises a share in his final kingdom; but they are warned not to think they have a legal claim on God's gift and not to measure jealously their expected reward against that of others (the parable of the workers in the vineyard, 20:1–16). To blunt excessive concerns about reward, Jesus utters the third and longest prediction of the passion, the first one to specify his crucifixion and the role of the gentiles. The mother of James and John (introduced into the Markan story perhaps to spare the honor of two prominent members of the Twelve) ignores the message of the cross as she asks for the chief places at the heavenly banquet for her sons. Jesus promises a share in his cup of suffering, but leaves rewards in the kingdom to the Father. The other disciples prove just as ambitious, as their indignation shows. Jesus uses his own humble service unto death as Son of Man to show them what their ministry in the Church must be. Jesus describes his death as a ransom which buys back the whole group (the "many") from their bondage to sin (20:28). This text, along with 1:21 and 26:28, shows that Matthew does think of Jesus' death as a vicarious sacrifice (contra, Strecker 1971). The blind disciples need healing of their inner sight if they are to follow Jesus on the way to the cross; this is what is symbolized by the healing of the two blind men in 20:29–34. Again, the power of faith to heal is stressed—a faith expressed in the cry to the "Son of David," the messianic title that the leaders of Israel will not give Jesus but that the no-accounts and outsiders will.

The triumphal entry of the Son of David into his capital (21:1–11) brings together the themes of the literal fulfillment of prophecy (Zech 9:9), Jesus' foreknowledge (of the ass at Bethphage), and the disciples' prompt obedience to Jesus' command. Hailing Jesus with Ps 118:25–26, the crowds recognize the Son of David as a prophet; they fail to see him as Son of God and Son of Man. The "cleansing" of the temple (21:12–17) is actually a prophetic act symbolizing the rejection and destruction of the temple, to be replaced by the church. That full membership in the people of God is about to be widened is indicated by the healing of the blind and lame, i.e., marginalized members of the temple community, and the cries of the children, the little ones without rights or power. Protest comes from "the chief priests and the scribes." The mention of them is ominous. They first appeared in the gospel as advisors to King Herod in his plot to kill the infant Jesus (2:4–6); since then they have been mentioned together only in Jesus' prediction of his death. The cursing of the fig tree (21:18–22) is a prophetic parable in action. In the Matthean polemic it signifies that Pharisaic Judaism, covered though it be with the foliage of external piety, lacks that inner obedience to God which is the true fruit of religion. (One must remember that throughout Matthew's gospel references to Judaism reflect a fierce religious polemic, and not a sober,

scientific analysis of religions.) This parable in action prepares for the verbal parables of judgment in chaps. 21–22. The initial dispute over Jesus' authority (21:23–27) sets the stage for the three parables of judgment and four dispute stories that follow. In the initial dispute, the Jewish leaders refuse to answer Jesus' counterquestion about the origin of John's baptism. The inability to teach on a matter of such importance reveals their lack of authority, and so Jesus feels no need to answer their question about his authority. The three parables of judgment that follow (21:28–22:14) have one central message: by rejecting the Father's will as revealed in the Son, Israel itself is rejected and another group (the gentiles) will receive the kingdom. (a) In the parable of the two sons (21:28–32), the leaders have said yes to God's will in the Law but have failed to act on their response; tax collectors and sinners (and, in Matthew's view, the gentiles) accepted the Baptist's (and later Jesus') call to repentance and so entered into the kingdom in the place of the leaders. (b) In the parable of the evil tenants of the vineyard (21:33–46), the Markan parable becomes for Matthew an allegory of salvation history. Before and after the Exile, God, the owner of the vineyard Israel, sent his people his servants the prophets; but they met ill treatment and martyrdom. Finally, he sends his Son, who is killed outside the vineyard (Jerusalem). God's response toward Israel will be the destruction of Jerusalem. Toward Jesus his response is the resurrection, which vindicates the rejected Son and makes him the cornerstone of a new people, who receive the kingdom that was taken away from Israel (v 43, a Matthean addition). Matthew thus pointedly adds an ecclesiological point to a christological parable. (c) Matthew again expands a parable of a dinner (cf. Luke 14:15–24) into an allegory of salvation history in the story of the royal wedding feast (22:1–14), with many motifs taken from the parable of the evil tenants. But now the two sets of servants are the OT prophets and the NT apostles; in both periods of history they meet with rejection, even murder. The king (God) destroys the city of the murderers (Jerusalem) and orders a universal mission. The result is the "mixed bag" of the Church, with "both bad and good" (v 10); hence, the extra parable in vv 11–14, in which the king enters (at the final judgment) to separate bad from good (cf. 13:24–30, 36–43, 47–50).

In 22:15–46 Matthew picks up the theme of the initial dispute story and gives four concrete examples of Jesus' superior teaching authority besting the Jewish leaders. Once again, the Pharisees and Sadducees together represent the united front of Judaism, hostile to Jesus. (a) Faced with the hypocritical question about the coin of tribute (22:15–22), Jesus first shows that his questioners, not he, carry and use the coin; then he enunciates a general rule—not a detailed solution to the problem—about rendering to Caesar and to God what is due to each. (b) Faced with the Sadducees' mocking question about the one woman married to seven brothers ("At the resurrection, whose wife will she be?"), Jesus replies that the Sadducees fail to understand both the Scriptures—in refusing to see intimations of resurrection in the Pentateuch, the only Scriptures they recognize as binding—and the power of God—in imagining that the resurrection would be a return to the conditions of earthly life (22:23–33). (c) The dispute over the greatest commandment (22:34–40) is not a dispute at all in Mark (12:28–34), where the scribe and Jesus agree. Reflecting the break with the synagogue, Matthew cannot conceive of a *Jewish* scribe sympathetic to Jesus. Jesus' reply is carefully balanced: love of God comes first, but it cannot subsist without a similar love, that of neighbor. Matthew adds that all the Law and the Prophets, the whole of sacred Scripture, stems from and are summed up in these two commands. Jesus both binds one to the Law as the expression of God's loving will and frees one from the Law when it is distorted by casuistry (cf. 5:17–48). (d) Having defeated his adversaries, Jesus now goes on the offensive by asking them whose son the Messiah will be (22:41–46). Their silence indicates that he alone, the true Son of David and Son of God (chaps. 1–2), is the legitimate interpreter—as well as fulfiller—of messianic prophecy. David's Son (by adoption) is David's Lord because he is also God's Son (by virginal conception).

Having demonstrated the bankruptcy of the "united front," Jesus pronounces judgment on them in chap. 23, which acts as a bridge to the discourse on universal judgment (chaps. 24–25). (a) The disciples are warned to avoid the titles and other trappings of power that have developed among Jewish teachers (vv 1–12). Actually, here and throughout chap. 23 Matthew may be excoriating tendencies he sees already present in the Christian community (Garland 1979). The fiery denunications are not to be taken as an objective description of 1st-century Judaism. Matthew aims at the teachers his two favorite charges: they

say but do not do, or what they do is only for show; this is what Matthew means by "hypocrisy." (b) "Hypocrite" is the key word in the seven woes against the scribes and Pharisees, another Matthean tag for the united front of Judaism (vv 13–36). With increasing virulence, Jesus condemns the scribes and Pharisees for their split between saying and doing, between inward and outward reality. They mesh with their evil forebears as murderers of past and present prophets. (c) Jerusalem has been the center of such murders, and Jesus ends chap. 23 with a lament over the unholy city, soon to be left desolate. Jesus acts out that divine abandonment by leaving the temple for the last time in 24:1.

**b. Discourse (24:1–25:46).** The verbal battles with and condemnation of Judaism in the narrative of Book Five now flow into a discourse depicting worldwide upheavals and the universal judgment on the last day. The first half of the discourse (24:1–36) is basically from Mark and is more doctrinal, in that it teaches the order of events up to the coming of the Son of Man. After an initial prediction of the temple's destruction (vv 1–2), Jesus proceeds to the Mount of Olives, where the disciples' opening question carefully distinguishes between the destruction of the temple on the one hand and the coming of Jesus and the end of the age on the other (v 3). Writing after A.D. 70, Matthew is intent on not confusing the destruction of Jerusalem (which receives little attention in this discourse) with the still outstanding Parousia (the return of Jesus; only Matthew, among the evangelists, uses this word well-known in the epistles). A whole series of terrifying events must occur before the end; they are not the end, but only the "birth pangs." The Church will suffer persecution from without and, worse still, apostasy, hate, false prophets, wickedness, and lovelessness from within (vv 10–12). Matthew obviously writes from and for a church that has known deep divisions. Yet even this is not the end; the gospel must first be proclaimed throughout the whole world (v 14). Instead of speaking directly of the temple's destruction, as in v 1, Jesus now speaks of a desolating sacrilege in the holy place; the vague reference allows an application to future horrors that Christian apocalypticism expected before the Parousia. Included in such blasphemies are the false messiahs and prophets who will claim to fulfill the hope of the Parousia. But the real Parousia will be a public and cosmic event (vv 23–28). It will reveal the crucified Son of Man ("the pierced one" of Zech 12:10–14) to be the Son of Man of Daniel 7:13–14, coming to judge and save the world. The Markan half of the discourse ends with the parable of the fig tree, emphasizing that the end is certain and near, yet sudden and incalculable. The tone of imminence comes from the Markan material; Matthew now balances that with his emphasis on delay.

The second, a paraenetic half of the discourse (24:37–25:46) is more "Matthean" in that it comes to grips with the delay of the Parousia and the problem of flagging vigilance. The second half begins with three short parables from Q: the generation of Noah, the two pairs of workers, and the thief in the night (24:37–44). The parables stress the need to be vigilant in the face of the uncertain date of the Parousia. Then come the three great parables of vigilance during delay: the prudent or profligate servant (24:45–51), the prudent and thoughtless virgins (25:1–13), and the talents (25:14–30). Each parable sounds the theme of delay (24:48; 25:5, 19), thus balancing the note of imminence in the Markan part of the discourse (e.g., 24:34). The servant parable warns Christian leaders in particular not to become lax in the face of the Parousia's delay. The parable of the virgins warns that those who have not reckoned with the delay face the final separation from the elect that constitutes judgment for Matthew. The parable of the talents defines being vigilant during delay not as being inactive but as being faithful in doing God's will with all one's being. The conclusion (25:31–46) is not another parable, but the truth behind all the parables. The criterion for the final judgment and separation will be the deeds of mercy done to the poor and outcast and therefore to the Son of Man, who declares his solidarity with suffering humankind. The Son of Man then acts out this teaching in the climax of the gospel, the death-resurrection.

**7. Climax: Death-Resurrection (Chaps. 26–28).** Matthew binds together death and resurrection as one pivotal, earthshaking, apocalyptic event that puts an end to the old era of sin and death and brings in the new period of the Church. Even here the story reflects Matthew's weaving together of the themes of Christ, church, and morality. The dignity and foreknowledge of Jesus is heightened, especially with the use of the titles Son of Man (chap. 26) and Son of God (chap. 27). As the kingdom is transferred to the new people of God, the Church, the responsibility of Israel for the Messiah's death is stressed. The failure

or courage of individual actors (e.g., Peter, Judas, the faithful women at the cross, Joseph of Arimathea) serves Matthew's moral exhortation. The narratives of death-resurrection are especially rich in cross-references, which make a neat structural outline difficult. The standard chapter divisions, which coincide with major time divisions, are used simply as a matter of convenience.

**a. From Wednesday to Thursday Night (26:1–75).** Matthew alone adds a fourth prediction of the passion of the Son of Man, thus emphasizing Jesus' knowledge and control of events. Jesus' mention of his death in the context of Passover intimates that his death will be the true Passover sacrifice (vv 1–2). His prophetic words actually set the events in motion; only after he speaks do his enemies gather to plot his death. The woman who anoints Jesus at Bethany provides both an inclusion with the women at the cross and tomb and a contrast with the Jewish leaders and with Judas. Her anointing is indeed the only one Jesus would receive, since in Matthew the women do not come to the tomb on Sunday morning with the intention of anointing the body. Just after Jesus shows contempt for money, Judas plans to betray him for money (the greed motif is not made explicit in Mark). The 30 pieces of silver (the payment of the rejected shepherd in Zech 11:12) echo the price of a slave's life in Exod 21:32—a paltry sum. The story of the preparation of the Last Supper (vv 17–19) demonstrates Jesus' sovereign command and the strict obedience of the true disciples (Mark emphasizes Jesus' miraculous knowledge). When Jesus predicts his betrayal at the supper, the innocent disciples address him as "Lord," the usual title used by believers, while Judas betrays himself by using "Rabbi," which, along with "Teacher," is the title used by unbelievers when they speak to Jesus. Fittingly, then, Jesus replies to Judas: "You have said it"—an ambiguous reposte that he will also use with Caiaphas and Pilate. In narrating the institution of the Eucharist, Matthew follows Mark but makes the two groups of words and actions more nearly parallel each other. He adds that the blood of Jesus—not John's baptism (cf. Mark 1:4)—is the means to the forgiveness of sins (cf. Matt 1:21; 20:28). Jesus promises that, despite the apparent failure of his mission, he will celebrate the messianic banquet with the disciples in the kingdom. From this point on, Matthew keeps stressing Jesus' desire to be with his disciples and their failure to be with him, despite Peter's boast that he will die with Jesus. In Gethsemane (vv 36–56), Jesus, the model of prayer, practices what he preached in the Sermon on the Mount by echoing phrases from the Our Father ("my Father … your will be done … enter into the test"). Ever in control, Jesus orders Judas to carry out what he has come to do, even as he commands his disciples not to use violence. By ordering that the sword be put away, Jesus once again teaches morality (echoing the Sermon on the Mount on nonresistance), proclaims his filial trust in the Father, and underlines his purpose of seeing prophecy fulfilled in the apocalyptic event of death-resurrection (with the exception of the formula quotation in 27:9–10, 26:54 and 56 take the place of individual formula quotations during the Passion Narrative). During the trial before the Sanhedrin (vv 57–75), and indeed throughout the passion, Matthew stresses the innocence of Jesus; he is the suffering just man of the Psalms. The power of Jesus is intimated in that the last two witnesses are not designated as "false," for they unwittingly speak the truth in claiming that Jesus can destroy the temple. Also unwitting and ironic is the way the high priest echoes Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi when he asks Jesus "by the living God" whether he is the Messiah, the Son of God (26:63; cf. 16:16). While in Mark Jesus simply says, "I am," in Matthew the answer is the more indirect "you have said it." Immediately Jesus adds the corrective title Son of Man: "from now on" (i.e., from the turning point of death-resurrection) they will see Jesus as Son of Man exalted at God's right hand (Ps 110:1) and coming on the clouds of heaven (Dan 7:13–14)—a prophecy fulfilled proleptically in the final scene of the gospel (28:16–20). Peter's denial contrasts negatively with the Jesus who boldly proclaims the truth and positively with the Judas who despairs after his sin and commits suicide. Peter's bitter weeping betokens both the depth of his sin and the effectiveness of his repentance (he is obviously among the eleven rehabilitated disciples in 28:16).

**b. From Friday Morning to Saturday (27:1–66).** At the end of the night session, which concludes in early morning, the Sanhedrin sends Jesus to Pilate. In an interlude (the first separate story inserted into Mark's framework), Matthew depicts the fate of the betrayer, a different version of which is contained in Acts 1:15–20. The story sounds three Matthean motifs: Jesus' prophetic knowledge is confirmed (cf.

26:21–25); the Jewish leaders are responsible for the innocent blood of Jesus (cf. 27:25); even the tragedy of Judas' suicide was foreseen by God and fits into his saving plan (the formula quotation in vv 9–10; cf. 2:17). In the trial before Pilate (vv 11–26), the title Messiah is translated into the politically provocative title King of the Jews. The crowd must make the basic choice between Jesus, the true Son of the Father, and the prisoner Barabbas (= "Son of the Father"; some manuscripts sharpen the comparison/contrast by inserting "Jesus" before "Barabbas"). Like the gentile Magi (cf. 2:12), Pilate's wife also receives a monitory dream, urging noninvolvement in the plot of the Jewish leaders to kill Jesus. But the leaders persuade the crowds and thus coalesce with them into "all the people," who cry out for the death of Jesus and take the responsibility for his blood on themselves and their children (27:25, a Matthean insertion meant to explain the transfer of the kingdom from Israel to the Church; cf. 21:43, 23:35). For Matthew, the choice of Barabbas may also symbolize Israel's choice of armed political resistance to Rome, which led to the Jewish War and the destruction of Jerusalem. The mocking by the gentile soldiers (vv 27–31) likewise foreshadows the future faith of the gentile world, first expressed by these very soldiers after the death of Jesus (v 54).

At the crucifixion (27:32–44) the two titles stressed are King and Son of God (cf. chap. 2). The placard reading "King of the Jews" proclaims the ironic truth that Jesus is enthroned as King by his crucifixion. Twice into the mockery narrated by Mark, Matthew inserts the title Son of God (vv 40, 43). "If you are the Son of God …" echoes the challenge of Satan at the temptation (chap. 4). Like Satan and like Peter (16:22–23), the leaders tempt Jesus to understand the status of Son of God as a dispensation from suffering, as an easy, miraculous road to triumph. In this "last temptation of Christ," Jesus defines Son of God in terms of trustful obedience to the Father's will, even to the point of shameful death. The apocalyptic signs surrounding Jesus' death begin with the darkness, a symbol of God's wrath over a sinful world. For all his high christology, Matthew keeps the element of tension between divine and human by retaining from Mark the cry of abandonment (27:46). The cry fits in with the presentation of Jesus as the suffering just man of the Psalms (here, Ps 22:2). The drink of vinegar (v 48), like the drink mixed with gall (v 34), also echoes the Psalms of Lament (Ps 69:22—Eng 21). The death of Jesus unleashes a panoply of apocalyptic events (vv 51–54). The rending of the temple veil foretells the destruction of the temple and the cessation of its sacrificial cult in light of the sacrifice of Jesus (cf. 26:28). The earthquake, the shaking of the foundations of the old world as God brings in his kingdom, causes a chain reaction: the rocks split, the tombs of the holy Israelites of old are opened, and the dead come forth. The resurrection of the dead, prophesied by Ezek 37:12, is realized proleptically at the death of Jesus. Matthew thus proclaims that the death of Jesus is life-giving; it raises the dead to life. The theme of the earthquake, associated with resurrection from tombs and other apocalyptic imagery, serves to tie the death of Jesus together with his resurrection (v 53; cf. 28:1–10), creating one great apocalyptic event that ushers in the new period of the Church. This ecclesiological dimension is supplied by Matthew's redaction of the centurion's profession of faith in Mark. While the Markan centurion alone comes to faith because he sees how Jesus dies (15:39), in Matthew the centurion and the soldiers with him who had participated in the crucifixion (symbolizing the whole mass of sinful gentiles) see the apocalyptic events ushering in the kingdom and so repeat the confession of true disciples: "Truly this [omitting Mark's 'man'] was God's Son" (cf. 14:33). Both Jews and gentiles (the holy ones raised from their graves and the soldiers) are saved by the death of Jesus and brought into his community.

All that follows looks forward to the resurrection narratives. The connections create a "leap frog" effect: the women at the cross and tomb connect with the women at the tomb, the appearance to the women, and the appearance to the eleven; in between, the setting of the guard at the tomb connects with the guard struck down at the empty tomb and the guard's report to the Jewish leaders. Reflecting the split between church and synagogue, Matthew will not allow Joseph of Arimathea to have anything to do with the Sanhedrin, as in Mark 15:43; instead, he is a disciple of Jesus (27:57). The setting of the guard and the sealing of the tomb (vv 62–66), along with the false report of the guard (28:11–15), are unique to Matthew and reflect his apologetic against Jewish explanations of the resurrection; neither camp

apparently claimed that the body was still in the tomb on the third day. The sealing of the tomb may echo Dan 6:17.

**c. From Sunday to the End of the Age (28:1–20).** One of the most significant aspects of the final chapter is the almost complete absence of christological titles. The one great title is "Jesus"; thus does Matthew emphasize the identity of the earthly Jesus with the Risen One (Bornkamm 1968). The two women who came to the tomb in v 1 correspond to the witnesses of the burial (27:61). They come simply "to see," since the seal on the tomb would prevent any anointing (the purpose of the visit in Mark). Since there was a tacit prohibition of depicting the resurrection itself, Matthew showers his apocalyptic themes on the empty tomb scene. Mark's young man becomes the dazzingly bright angel of the Lord (not seen since the Infancy Narrative), descending from heaven amid an earthquake (cf. 27:51) and unsealing the tomb to announce God's triumph over death in the resurrection of Jesus. Like the guards at the cross, the guards at the tomb fear; but they become like dead men as the dead Jesus rises (cf. the contrast at the death of Jesus, 27:51–56). The angel's Easter proclamation is presented as the fulfillment of Jesus' prophecy; the women, unlike their Markan counterparts, run with both fear and joy to fulfill their commission. On the way Jesus appears to these women (28:9–10, unique to Matthew among the Synoptics). While at first glance superfluous, this appearance reaffirms the reality of the risen body (it can be touched); the restoration of the eleven to fellowship with Jesus, making possible the foundation of the Church (he calls them "brothers"; cf. 12:46–50); and—implicitly—the function of a resurrection appearance not as a return to an old relationship, but as the origin of a new mission (the women are not to cling to Jesus but are to deliver his message to the disciples). The good news of the resurrection is countered by the big lie of grave robbery (vv 11–15). As in the case of Judas, money is the problem solver. The soldiers do "as they were taught," the false teaching of the leaders competing with the true teaching of the disciples down to Matthew's day. This polemical stance may move Matthew to speak of "the Jews" (v 15; previously in the gospel only gentiles used that term); for him, Israel the chosen people is no more, its place being taken by the Church.

In the great commission that concludes the gospel (28:16–20), Matthew presents the risen Jesus as coming to his church; he is the Son of Man coming to believers in a proleptic Parousia. Contrary to Luke, Jesus does not go away from his church via ascension; hence, since Jesus stays with his church always, there is no need for a special sending of the Spirit to take his place. The regrouped eleven obey Jesus' command to go to Galilee, the very mention of which conjures up thoughts of the beginning of Jesus' ministry in Galilee of the gentiles (cf. 4:15). Throughout the gospel, the mountain has been a privileged symbol of Jesus the Son's eschatological authority and activity as he gathers his community and reveals the Father's will (4:8; 5:1; 8:1; 15:29; 17:1, 9; 24:3; 28:16). That the disciples worship Jesus yet doubt is a perfect paradigm of the littleness of faith that clings to all disciples up until the end of the age. The solemn declaration of Jesus falls into three parts. (a) Jesus proclaims that through the death-resurrection he has been exalted to the status of ruler of the cosmos, having all authority over heaven and earth (something never predicated of the earthly Jesus). The whole context reflects Dan 7:14, which describes the triumphant arrival of "one like a Son of Man" after the powers of evil have been defeated: "And power was given to him, and all nations … shall serve him" (cf. Dan 4:14). Jesus' prophecy in 26:64 is thus fulfilled. (b) Therefore, i.e., on the basis of his exaltation to universal rule, Jesus can now command a universal mission. This mission involves three things. First, the eleven are to make disciples of all the nations, an undertaking which means persuading people to do the will of the Father according to the teaching of Jesus and thus become Jesus' brothers and sisters in the family of God (cf. 12:46–50); in other words, it means following Jesus. Second, all the nations enter this family of God by being baptized. But this no longer entails John's baptism, but rather baptism into the divine reality revealed in the theophany after the baptism of Jesus: Father, Son, and Spirit (Schaberg 1982). To be baptized is to be plunged into the family life of God. Third, the object of teaching (which the eleven are empowered to do only now) is all and whatsoever Jesus taught during his earthly life; hence, the importance of the five great discourses. By this commission, Matthew concludes his gospel with a great reversal. The same person (Jesus) who formerly ordered the twelve disciples to undertake a mission *only* to Israel (10:5–6; cf. 15:24) now tells

the same group to pursue a mission to all nations, with baptism instead of circumcision as the initiation rite and the commands of Jesus instead of the Mosaic law as the norm of morality. The death-resurrection has proved the watershed of salvation history. (c) The last word of the risen Jesus is a promise to remain with his church for all days, i.e., throughout the whole indefinite period of world history that extends from "proleptic" to "fully realized" Parousia, the end of the age, the hope of which is certainly not surrendered. But the emphasis on the in-between time, when Jesus Emmanuel (1:23; 18:20) abides with his church, empowering it to undertake the staggering task of a universal mission. Like Yahweh commissioning the great patriarchs and prophets of the OT, Jesus assures his wavering disciples that he will sustain them (Lange 1973). Michel was thus correct when he saw 28:16–20 as the key to the whole gospel (1950); it is a microcosm of Matthew's major theological concerns.

**H. Major Theological Concerns**

The structure and content of the gospel confirm the view that Matthew consciously introduces ecclesiological and moral concerns into traditional material that was mainly christological. Hence, the particular configuration "Christ-church-morality" captures what is specific to Matthew's thought. For purposes of clarity, however, these three themes can be further differentiated into six topics.

**1. Christology.** The discourses, especially the Sermon on the Mount, remind us that Matthew is capable of putting forth an evaluation of Jesus not dependent primarily on titles. The discourses obviously present Jesus as teaching authoritatively (7:29), and Jesus calls himself a teacher (23:8; 26:18). Yet, strange to say, to address Jesus as "Teacher" or "Rabbi" (in the vocative) is for Matthew the sign of an unbeliever, or at least of someone not yet a true disciple. Such an address indicates that the speaker sees Jesus merely as a human teacher and nothing more. True disciples, by contrast, address Jesus as "Lord" (*kyrie*), expressing thereby their faith in his divine authority and his claim on them (cf. 26:22, 25). "Lord," however, occurs in Matthew mostly in the vocative; Matthew does not use it as a key title to explicate Jesus' transcendent status. Often behind the *kyrios* title stands the figure of Jesus as Son of Man.

There are a number of titles that Matthew uses positively and yet does not employ to develop the central mystery of Jesus. Among these lesser titles, "prophet" remains inadequate, since it can apply to others (e.g., the Baptist). Jesus, by contrast, is unique in that he fulfills the Law and the prophets, which all point to him (5:17; 11:13). Still, Jesus the Son is portrayed in a prophetic light as the last in the line of prophets rejected by Israel (23:34–39; Sand 1974). Likewise, the Infancy Narrative and temptation story present Jesus with Mosaic traits; but at best one can speak of Jesus not as the new Moses but as the one greater than Moses. In the Sermon on the Mount, e.g., Jesus takes the position of God, not Moses (cf. 5:27–28). Jesus is also called or alluded to as the (Isaian) servant (e.g., 3:17; 12:18), but the image is usually connected with Jesus as Son. Likewise, Emmanuel (1:23) lies within the orbit of Jesus as Son. Messiah (*christos*) and King stress that Jesus is the fulfillment of the ancient prophecies and promises made to Israel in general and David in particular. They also emphasize the royal authority of Jesus; but to receive its full weight, Messiah must be joined to Son of God (16:16; 26:63; cf. Nolan 1979). Son of David likewise emphasizes Jesus as the royal fulfiller of Israel's messianic hopes (1:1–17); it is precisely Joseph the Son of David who, by acknowledging the virginally conceived Jesus as his son, places him in the line of David (1:18–25). During the public ministry, Son of David is the address used especially by the marginalized and helpless who appeal to Jesus for healing (the Canaanite woman in 15:22; the blind men in 20:30). The Canaanite woman combines this title with Lord, indicating her true faith, while the Jerusalem crowds hail Jesus only as Son of David (21:9), without adding to it the title that shows true discipleship, "Lord." Hence the title Son of David reflects the paradox of Jesus the Jewish Messiah, who is accepted by the marginalized and even by pagans, while most Israelites reject him (Gerhardsson 1979).

For Matthew, the two key titles are Son of God and Son of Man, which combine a sense of Jesus' transcendent status with his central role in salvation history. Kingsbury (1975, 1986) emphasizes Son of God over Son of Man; Lange (1973) does just the opposite. Actually, neither title completely subsumes the other; yet the two share a certain amount of common ground. Instead of thinking of Matthew's christology as a circle with one central title, one should imagine an ellipse, with Son of God and Son of Man as the two foci. Hence it is best to speak of the Son christology of Matthew, with both titles included.

Matthew uses Son of God in the early chapters of his gospel to stress Jesus' direct origin from God and his filial relationship to God. Throughout the gospel, Matthew develops the title in terms of the obedient servant who recapitulates the history of Israel, the son of God in the OT, and who proves he is the true Son and Israel by withstanding temptation and doing the will of the Father (e.g., 2:15; 3:17; 4:1–11). By a grand inclusion, the same definition of sonship by obedient suffering returns at the mockery of the crucified Jesus (27:40, 43). Knowledge of Jesus as Son of God must come through divine revelation, but there is no Markan-style secret about this sonship in Matthew. At the baptism, God points out Jesus as his Son to others (note the "this is" in 3:17). After Jesus is revealed in divine majesty bestriding the waters of chaos, a whole group of disciples confesses him as Son of God (14:33). By the Father's revelation, Peter is able to say that Jesus is Messiah and Son of God halfway through the gospel (16:16)—a profession of faith confirmed by God at the transfiguration (17:5). At the trial before the Sanhedrin, Caiaphas unwittingly repeats Peter's profession of faith in his unbelieving question (26:63).

Still, both at Caesarea Philippi and at the trial, the limitations of Messiah and Son of God are seen in the fact that each time Jesus must supplement or correct these titles (note the "but I say to you" in 26:64) with the one title he constantly uses of himself, always in the third person: Son of Man. This unique and mysterious usage marks off Son of Man from all the other titles, whose meanings are much clearer from their OT usage. Son of Man is a title *sui generis.* It is more like one of Jesus' parables or riddles. Jesus can use it freely in public, people can understand that it refers to Jesus, yet no one seems to grasp the deep theological import Jesus gives it. From Mark and Q Matthew inherits three major meanings of Son of Man: (a) the lowly yet powerful servant of God during the earthly ministry (e.g., 8:20; 9:6); (b) the suffering, dying, and rising servant who gives his life as a ransom for the many (e.g., 17:22–23; 20:17–28; 26:2); and (c) the judge and/or deliverer on the last day (e.g., 10:23; 16:27–28; 24:30, 36 ["the Son" in v 36 is probably the Son of Man]; 25:31; 26:64). These various meanings are not hermetically sealed off from one another (cf., e.g., 16:13–28), but rather form a spectrum of meanings encompassing the whole of Jesus' earthly career, death and resurrection, and Parousia. The one stage of Jesus' career that was not explicitly covered by the Markan Son of Man was the present rule over the world by the risen Jesus. This gap is filled in by Matthew in his allegorical explanation of the parable of the wheat and the weeds (13:37). The use of "the Son" in the triadic formula of baptism (28:19) may also reflect Son of Man christology (Schaberg 1982). That not every reference to God as Father immediately implies the Son of God title is shown by 16:27, where the Son of Man at the last judgment is said to come "in the glory of his Father." This is hardly proof that Son of God absorbs Son of Man, since in Matthew the final judgment is a function proper to Jesus precisely as the Son of Man, not the Son of God. Nor can Son of Man be reduced to a circumlocution for "this man." That may or may not have been the meaning of the Aramaic phrase *bar ʾ (ē)naša* in the mouth of the historical Jesus, but that usage must not be confused with the title in Matthew's redaction. Matthew writes in Greek, where *ho huios tou anthrōpou* (literally, "the Son of Man") has a peculiarly solemn and titular, yet puzzling ring. To translate it simply as "this man" would pass over the Matthean emphasis on the fulfillment of the prophecy of Dan 4:13–14, especially in 24:30.

**2. Kingdom of Heaven.** The theme of the kingdom of heaven mediates between Christ and church. In itself, the kingdom of heaven (or of God) indicates a transcendent and dynamic reality; it is an abstract way of saying that God is coming in power to exercise his rightful rule over his creation. Thus, the kingdom (or better, rule) of God is not first of all a place or space; yet, if God exercises his rule over concrete individuals and groups, spatial images naturally arise, as is the case in various sayings and parables of Jesus. Matthew alone among NT writers uses "kingdom of heaven," "heaven" being a respectful Semitic circumlocution for God. Matthew uses "kingdom of heaven" 32 times and "kingdom of God" 4 times (12:28; 19:24; 21:31, 43). The fact that the two forms can be used interchangeably even in a single pericope (19:23–24) shows there is no real difference in meaning. While its roots meaning in the preaching of the historical Jesus seems to have had a future-yet-imminent thrust, "kingdom of heaven" in Matthew has become a highly complex concept with a spectrum of meanings plotted out over the time line of salvation history. "Kingdom" becomes a process concept in Matthew. The kingdom existed

already in the OT, for in some sense Israel possessed it (21:33–46, especially v 43). But the birth of Jesus, the King of the Jews (2:2), naturally entails a new, heightened presence of the kingdom. Yet both the Baptist and Jesus begin their ministries by proclaiming that the kingdom is drawing near (3:2; 4:17). The kingdom has already come in the exorcisms of Jesus (12:28); nevertheless, Jesus teaches his disciples to pray for its final coming (6:10) and to seek it (6:33). The apocalyptic events of death-resurrection mean a new stage in the coming of the kingdom, since for the first time Jesus is exalted to total power over the cosmos (28:16–20). He rules now as Son of Man in his kingdom (13:37–38, 41; cf. Kretzer 1971); but his visible coming as judge on the last day will mean the final and definitive coming of his kingdom (16:27–28), which will be the kingdom of his Father (13:43). The kingdom of heaven thus embraces the whole sweep of salvation history, as God's rule progressively breaks into and triumphs over the sinful human world. From its all-inclusive sweep, it is clear that the kingdom of heaven is not coterminous with the Church of Jesus, which begins to develop during the public ministry and is fully founded by the death-resurrection. The Church is that locus and instrument of the kingdom where Jesus is consciously confessed, worshipped, and obeyed. Making disciples of all the nations is the path the Church takes as it journeys through history toward the consummation of the kingdom. But with Matthew's tendency toward realized eschatology and high ecclesiology, kingdom and church are more closely associated in his gospel than anywhere else in the NT (cf. 16:18–19, and the ambiguity in the use of "kingdom" in 18:1, 4).

**3. Salvation History.** Implied in Matthew's process view of kingdom is a concept of salvation history. Matthew orders the many stages of the coming of the kingdom into three major periods: Law and prophets, earthly Jesus, and the Church. There is first of all the period of the OT, the Law and the prophets, which pointed forward to and prophesied the time of Jesus (11:13). The fact that all the formula quotations refer to and are fulfilled in the life and death of Jesus indicates that his earthly life is the second period, the midpoint of salvation history. It thus differs from the time of the Church, to which no formula quotation is applied. The distinction between the time of Jesus and the time of the Church, the third period, is reinforced by the different rules for mission. During his public ministry, Jesus was sent only to the land and people of Israel (15:24) and enjoined his twelve disciples to observe the same restriction (10:5–6). After the death-resurrection, the "turning of the ages," the exalted Jesus commands the same group to undertake a mission to all nations (28:16–20) until the Parousia (v 20). This outline of salvation history aids Matthew in resolving the tension between his more "conservative" Jewish-Christian and his more "liberal" gentile-Christian traditions. The more conservative material can be affirmed as true of the earthly ministry of Jesus, while the more open material can be referred to the time of the Church. Kingsbury, however, claims that Matthew divides history into two epochs according to the theme of prophecy and fulfillment: the time of Israel and the time of Jesus, the latter including the post-Easter period (1975: 31–37).

**4. Church.** Matthew alone among the evangelists uses the word "church" in his gospel. Although it occurs only three times (16:18; 18:17 [twice]), the whole of the public ministry aims at gathering disciples into the embryonic church that is then led up to Jerusalem for the death-resurrection, which makes possible the full founding of the Church in the last pericope of the gospel. At the death-resurrection, Israel disowns its Messiah (27:25) and the kingdom is transferred from Israel to the Church (21:43). Because of this note of rupture, Matthew never calls the Church the new or true Israel (contra, Trilling 1964); it is rather "another people," the Church of Jesus. All the discourses, but preeminently chap. 18, contain directions for the disciples living in the Church and spreading the Church up until the Parousia. Up until then the Church remains a mixed bag of "bad and good" (notice the word order in 22:10), and hence in need of authoritative direction (16:18–19) and disciplinary action (18:15–18; Bornkamm 1970). But the Church cannot presume to anticipate the final judgment (13:24–30), to which the Church and church leaders as well as nonbelievers will be subject (24:45–25:30).

Matthew gives no detailed description of church order and leaders. Christian prophets, just men (10:40–41), wise men, and scribes (13:52; 23:34) are all mentioned, with no indication of how they are ordered or whether they overlap. Peter is presented as the "chief rabbi" of "my church," i.e., the whole church of Jesus (16:18–19). He is depicted as the firm rock of stability, ensuring the Church against the powers of

death and empowered to interpret the words of Jesus. The concentration on Peter, especially in Book Four, may reflect both the historical Peter's moderating role at Antioch between the Paul and James factions and Matthew's preference for such a middle path between extremists of left (amoral charismatics) and right (scrupulous legalists) in his own day. There is no indication that any single prominent figure presided over the Antiochus church in Matthew's day, though possibly the emphasis on Peter reflects a gradual movement from the loose college of prophets and teachers (Acts 13:1) in the first Christian generation to the one-bishop polity of Ignatius in the third Christian generation. The local assembly acts to excommunicate without any mention of church leaders (18:15–18), though this could be due to Matthew's desire to call all members to participation in church life in the face of a rising "clericalism" among leaders (cf. 23:1–12).

**5. Discipleship.** The theme of discipleship mediates between the themes of church and morality. As 4:18–22 graphically portrays, a disciple is one who heeds Jesus' call to follow him with total commitment. This following is not just a matter of physical movement. The ambivalent crowds, attracted to Jesus by his teaching and miracles, also follow him, but they lack the faith and understanding that mark true disciples. Unlike the Markan disciples, the Matthean disciples do believe (14:33) and understand (13:51); yet they are not idealized unrealistically. Faced with a crisis, the disciples panic and act as though they had no faith. This is the "little faith" (8:26; 14:31; 17:20) that characterizes disciples even during the time of the Church (28:17). Nevertheless, true disciples do accept the teaching of Jesus in the five great discourses; they are always the main or sole audience. The successes and failures of the disciples make them types of both Christians in general and of church leaders in particular; this holds true of Peter as well. That for Matthew discipleship need not always entail an itinerant life and literal abandonment of all possessions is intimated by such figures as Jairus (9:18–26), the host of the Last Supper (26:17–19), and Joseph of Arimathea (27:57–60). The decisive element of discipleship is rather hearing the word of Jesus and obeying it exactly (7:21–27; 21:6; 26:19). This is equivalent to doing the will of the Father (12:46–50); such obedient action makes disciples brothers and sisters of Jesus in the family of God—a good definition of the Matthean church. Hence the theme of discipleship naturally flows from the theme of church into the theme of morality.

**6. Morality.** Matthew has no single word corresponding to our "morality" or "ethics." The closest he comes to such a technical category is *dikaiosynē,* "justice" or "righteousness." While "justice" seems to mean God's saving activity or his gift of salvation in three cases (5:6; 6:33; probably 3:15), the other four occurrences have the ethical sense of good behavior, right conduct (5:10; 5:20; 6:1; probably 21:32). Significantly, this ethical sense of "justice" is never applied to Jesus' actions, since 3:15 probably refers to the fulfillment of God's saving plan, mapped out beforehand in prophecy. Justice in the moral sense is therefore the abstract form of Matthew's favorite phrase, "to do the will of the Father (or God)"—according, of course, to the teaching of Jesus. Jesus' teaching on the will of God is contained first of all in the five discourses, and preeminently in the Sermon on the Mount, the "Magna Carta of discipleship." The radical, demanding morality of the Sermon extends from general attitudes and actions (no anger, love of enemies) down to specific prohibitions affecting church life (no divorce, no oaths). This emphasis on stringent morality may come partly from Matthew's conservative Jewish-Christian tradition, which he finds useful in catechizing the increasing number of gentiles entering his church. This emphasis on moral endeavor does not, however, lead Matthew into Pelagianism. Forgiveness and salvation remain a free gift from God, received in faith (18:21–35; 20:1–16; 9:27–31; and 20:29–34) and made possible by the atoning death of Jesus (1:21; 20:28; 27:51–54). Radical demand flows from radical grace. It would be a mistake, though, to impose a Pauline approach to morality and the Law on Matthew; the key Pauline themes of the Law's multiplying transgressions and the Christian's freedom from the Law are foreign to the evangelist. Matthew's approach to the Law is more positive. Jesus basically affirms the Law (5:17–20), radicalizing and internalizing it (5:21–48), focusing upon its essential elements: love of God and neighbor (22:34–40; 19:18–19), the golden rule (7:12), mercy instead of ritual sacrifice (9:12; 12:7), and justice, mercy, and faithfulness (23:23). Disciples must first look within to the source of moral good and evil, i.e., the heart, and purify that; then whatever actions flow from the heart will be pure (15:1–20; cf.

5:21–30). Yet at times Jesus so radicalizes the Law that individual commandments are abrogated (e.g., his prohibition of divorce, oaths, and retaliation [5:31–39]; his rescinding of food laws [15:10–19]. From such instances, and from the general antithetical formula in 5:21–48, it becomes clear that it is the word of Jesus, not the words of the Law, that is the ultimate norm of morality for the disciple. Hence the gospel ends with the risen Jesus commanding the eleven to teach all nations to observe "all whatsoever I commanded you"—be it according to, contrary to, or simply apart from the Mosaic law. Finally, it should be noted that morality is taught not only in the discourses; the narrative likewise inculcates "doing the will of the Father" by example and counterexample. Jesus, of course, is the prime example of the obedient Son and servant of the Father (e.g., 4:1–12). In addition, from the "just" Joseph of the Infancy Narrative to the faithful women at the cross and empty tomb, various men and women exemplify in dramatic narrative the cost and reward of discipleship. Matthew has no difficulty in having Jesus speak about reward (*misthos*); it is an acceptable paraenetic motif. It is balanced, however, with the affirmation of God's sovereign freedom in rewarding (20:1–16) and with an emphasis on the disciples' attitude of trust in and abandonment to the care of their loving Father (6:25–34).

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JOHN P. MEIER

**MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF PSEUDO-.** The *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew,* also known as the *Liber de Infantia* or the *Liber de Ortu Beatae Mariae et Infantia Salvatoris,* dates, most probably, to the 6th century although some scholars put it later. The gospel, which was compiled in Latin, is based upon two principal sources: the *Protevangelium [or Gospel] of James,* and the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas.* As the name of the work implies, the gospel became attributed to Matthew, though in some mss it is attributed to James. The real author of the work is unknown.

The gospel is introduced by three letters, one of which claims Jerome as its author. While there are some contradictions in these letters, in general they seek to confirm the authenticity and value of the gospel, stating that it was written by the apostle and in the Hebrew language.

The contents of the gospel may be summarized as follows.

**A. The Birth of Mary and of Jesus**

This first section of the gospel (chaps. 1–17) is based largely upon the *Protevangelium of James;* however, the author has felt free to add to and omit from his source.

Mary's parents, Joachim, a shepherd of Jerusalem, and Anna, daughter of Ysachar, have no child. Anna laments her childlessness and is visited by an angel who promises that she will have a daughter. Mary is born. At the age of fourteen, Mary refuses marriage on the grounds that she has taken a vow to virginity; however, an angel makes it clear that Joseph is to be her guardian. The section ends with the stories of the annunciation, the trip to Bethlehem, the birth of Jesus, the murder of the innocents, and the instruction to go to Egypt.

**B. The Flight into Egypt**

The origins of the traditions found in this section (chaps. 18–24) are unknown. Mary, Joseph, and Jesus set off for Egypt and come to rest outside a cave. Suddenly out of the cave come a number of dragons which proceed to worship Jesus. In this way the words of Ps 148:7 are fulfilled. Later other ferocious animals bow their heads to Jesus. Resting again, Mary wishes to have the fruit from a very high tree, while Joseph is more concerned with water. The tree bends down and allows Mary to take its fruit, and under its roots is found a spring. Arriving at a city called Sotinen, they enter a temple in which reside 365 idols. At the sight of Jesus, the idols fall; and thus is fulfilled Isa 19:1.

**C. The Boyhood of Jesus**

With the exception of chaps. 25–26, the traditions found in this section (chaps. 24–41) come largely from the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas.* One sabbath day Jesus is playing by the Jordan when a boy spoils the pools he has made. The boy is struck dead; but seeing Mary's grief, Jesus restores the boy to life. Jesus next makes twelve clay sparrows, claps his hands; and they fly away. The son of Annas the priest breaks up the pools with a stick and is subsequently "withered up" by Jesus. On the way home Jesus slays another boy who is intent on injuring him, but later raises him again. Next follows a section on how Jesus astounded all with his wisdom. In chaps. 25–26 (not from the *Gospel of Thomas*) we hear again of Jesus' control over ferocious beasts. We hear also of how Jesus stretched a piece of wood that was too short, how he again astounded the teachers with his wisdom (and caused the death of one who struck him), and how he raised a rich man from the dead.

**D. Conclusion**

The final chapter (chap. 42) is not found in the *Gospel of Thomas* or the *Protevangelium of James.* It reports how Jesus blessed the members of his family and concludes by noting that whenever Jesus slept, the glory of God shone over him.

Clearly the gospel comes from the hand of one who held the persons of Mary and Joseph in high esteem. This is seen, for example, by the fact that whereas in the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* the wood which Jesus stretched was accidentally cut too short by Joseph (13:1–2), in the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* the wood is cut by one of Joseph's workers (chap. 37). So, too, in the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas,* Joseph takes Jesus by the ear to lead him home (5:2), a detail omitted by the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew.* Noticeable also is the desire to show that in the events of Jesus' life, certain OT prophecies are fulfilled.

As James (1924: 79) points out, the importance of the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* does not center upon its contents, for most of the traditions are to be found elsewhere; rather, the gospel is important in that it was the means by which these traditions were communicated to the medieval Church. The *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* contributed significantly to the growth of the cult of the Virgin Mary and was a source of inspiration to later artists and poets (Warner 1976: 24–25, 30; James 1924: 79; *NTApocr* 1: 368). The *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* was in turn used as the basis for the *Gospel of the Birth of Mary*.

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KENNETH G. C. NEWPORT

**MATTHEW, HEBREW VERSION OF.** Texts of Matthew in Hebrew first appeared in print in 1537 when Sebastian Münster published a manuscript of Matthew that he received from the Jews. In 1555 Jean du Tillet published another Hebrew Matthew (not radically different from Münster's) that also had been preserved by the Jews. Subsequently scholars incorrectly identified these texts as a translation of the Latin Vulgate. In 1690 Richard Simon mistakenly equated Münster and du Tillet with an earlier unpublished Hebrew Matthew preserved in the 14th-century Jewish polemical treatise, the *Even Bohan,* by the Spanish author, Shem-Tob ben-Isaac ben-Shaprut (= ibn Shaprut). The identification of Münster and du Tillet with the text of Shem-Tob discouraged subsequent scholars from investigating the latter

until recently. Shem-Tob's Hebrew Matthew has now been published in full, accompanied by a critical apparatus, an English translation, and an analysis of the text (Howard 1987).

Apparently Shem-Tob's Hebrew Matthew is a Hebrew composition overlaid with scribal errors and layers of scribal modification. The modifications are (1) stylistic, consisting primarily of improvements in grammar and diction, and (2) revisions designed to make the Hebrew correspond more closely to the canonical Greek and Latin texts. Münster and du Tillet appear to be systematic revisions of the Shem-Tob type text designed to make it read even more closely to the Greek and Latin.

A pre-14th-century date for Shem-Tob's Hebrew Matthew is evidenced by its unique textual agreements with earlier Aramaic and Hebrew quotations of or allusions to Matthew in Jewish and anti-Christian writings. These include the Talmud (*b. Šabb.* 116$^{b}$), the *Tol'doth Yeshu* (6th–10th centuries), the *Book of Nestor Hakomer* (between the 6th and 9th centuries), the *Milhamot HaShem* by Jacob ben Reuben (1170), *Sepher Joseph Hamekane* by Rabbi Joseph ben-Nathan Official (13th century), and the *Nizzahon Vetus* (latter part of the 13th century).

The old substratum to Shem-Tob's Matthew is shown to be a Hebrew composition by a multiplicity of puns, word connections, and alliterations that are workable in Hebrew but not in Greek and Latin. The old substratum has textual affinities with some writings that vanished in antiquity but were rediscovered or recognized, in whole or in part, in modern times. These include the Old Syriac, the *Diatesseron* of Tatian, the *Gospel of Thomas,* and the hypothetical gospel source known as Q. On occasion the old substratum gives a Hebrew basis for variation between the Synoptic Gospels. Linguistically, it has characteristics that one would expect of a document written early in the common era and preserved by medieval Jewish scribes. It is written in biblical Hebrew with a healthy mixture of Mishnaic Hebrew and Aramaic forms overlaid with medieval scribal revisions designed to improve its grammar, diction, and general style.

Whether Shem-Tob's Hebrew Matthew is to be equated with the Hebrew Matthew referred to by Papias (ca. 60–130 C.E.) is unknown. (His reference is preserved in Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.16). A comparison of Shem-Tob's text with quotations of a Hebrew Matthew or of a Hebrew apocryphal gospel cited by later writers (Epiphanius and Jerome) leads to the conclusion that Shem-Tob's Matthew was unknown by early gentile Christians.

Shem-Tob's Hebrew Matthew has a number of distinctive characteristics that place it into a different theological mode from that of the Greek text. Salient differences are the following:

First, in the Hebrew Matthew Jesus assumes a role somewhat different from his role in the Greek Matthew. Several times where the Greek reads "Son of Man," the Hebrew reads "Son of God" (16:27, 28; 26:64). Once where the Greek reads "Son of David," the Hebrew reads "Son of God" (21:15). Once where the Greek reads "Son of God," the Hebrew reads "God" (4:6). With one possible exception (16:16) Jesus is never seriously identified as the Messiah/Christ. In the Greek texts, for example, "Christ" appears at 1:1, 17, 18; 11:2, but not in the Hebrew. Primarily, the role Jesus assumes in the Hebrew Matthew is that of judge and avenger (Heb *gō'ēl haddām*). According to the Hebrew he will come with the "fire of the Holy Spirit" (3:11). This sets the stage for later references to his coming in judgment (13:41; 19:28; 24:37–41; 25:31ff.). Other matters of interest are: (1) Jesus adheres to the Law more strictly in the Hebrew text than in the Greek (5:17–48), and (2) his execution is depicted as a Jewish hanging in the Hebrew text rather than a Roman crucifixion (27:23, 26, 31, 38, 44; 28:5).

Second, in the Hebrew Matthew John the Baptist assumes a more salvific role than in the Greek text. In 11:11 the Hebrew reads that none has arisen greater than John the Baptist (without the additional words that appear in the Greek: "Yet he who is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he"). In 11:13 the Hebrew reads: "For all the prophets and the law spoke *concerning* (Gk reads "until") John." In 17:11 the Hebrew reads: "Indeed Elijah [= John the Baptist] will come and will *save* all the world."

Third, the Hebrew Matthew, in good Jewish fashion, envisions the inclusion of the gentiles to take place at the end of the present era rather than during it. In this respect it is anti-Pauline. The great commission (Matt 28:19–20) in the Hebrew text lacks mention of the gentiles and the trinitarian baptismal formula. This creates a new theological dimension for the First Gospel, which contains the limited commission at 10:5–6: "Go nowhere among the gentiles, and enter no town of the Samaritans, but go rather to the lost

sheep of the house of Israel" (RSV), and the derogatory words regarding the gentiles at 15:26: "It is not fair to take the children's bread and throw it to the dogs" (RSV). The harshness of these words is unsoftened in the Hebrew by the final commission to all the nations (28:19–20) found in the Greek. According to the Hebrew the only hope for the gentiles in the present world is to be as dogs who eat the crumbs that fall from their master's table (15:27).

Even more decisive against the inclusion of the gentiles during the present era is the Hebrew text at 24:14–15. It reads: "And this gospel … will be preached in all the earth for a witness concerning me to all the nations and then the end will come … This is the abomination which desolates which was spoken of by Daniel as standing in the holy place. Let the one who reads understand." Thus the Hebrew gospel interprets the "abomination which desolates" as the preaching of the gospel to the gentiles *before* the end.

It is not the case, however, that no hope of salvation is given to the gentiles by the Hebrew gospel. According to it the Son of Man will return in glory and gather all the gentiles before him. He will assign some to eternal life; others he will assign to eternal abhorrence (25:31–46). Salvation to some gentiles therefore will come at the end of the present era.

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**MATTHEW, MARTYRDOM OF.** How the apostle Matthew met his death is in some dispute. According to Heracleon (Clement *Strom.* 4.71.3) Matthew passed away naturally; this is a minority opinion, however; and Matthew has long been revered by the Christian Church as a martyr.

The traditions concerning the exact nature of Matthew's martyrdom are not unanimous regarding either the place or mode of Matthew's execution. The most influential tradition is that found in the official *Roman Martyrology* of the Catholic Church, according to which Matthew was martyred in Ethiopia (O'Connell 1962). This tradition is found also in *Foxe's Book of Martyrs,* where it is reported that Matthew was slain with a halberd in the city of Nabadar. The belief that Matthew was slain with a halberd, sword, or other sharp instrument is apparent in the depiction of Matthew in art, where the apostle often carries a spear.

According to the 5th-century *Hieronymian Martyrology* (*PL* 30: 433–86), on the other hand, Matthew was martyred in Persia, in the town of Tarrium; while according to the Greek *Martyrdom of the Holy Apostle Matthew* the apostle suffered execution by fire in the Roman province of Pontus, dying "around the sixth hour" (Lipsius and Bonnet 1898: 217–62). The Babylonian Talmud (*b. Sanh.* 43a) reports briefly that Matthai, one of the disciples of Yeshu, was executed (by the Sanhedrin) but gives no details. The relics of St. Matthew were reportedly found in Salerno in 1080.

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KENNETH G. C. NEWPORT

**MATTHIAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Maththias* (Μαθθιας)]. The disciple chosen to fill the vacancy left by Judas among the Twelve (Acts 1:23, 26).

Matthias is a diminutive form of the common name Mattithiah, "gift of Yahweh." Apart from his election to the Twelve nothing else is known about him. Later legends numbered him among the Seventy disciples of Luke 10, identified him with Zacchaeus or Barnabas, and gave two different accounts of his death. An apocryphal gospel was written in his name.

Since there is no reliable information about him beyond these few verses in Acts, his importance lies in the ideas connected with the story of his election.

Luke, with two exceptions, limits the use of "apostle" to the Twelve. Paul seems to distinguish the Twelve from apostles (1 Cor 15:5–7). In unraveling the traditions behind the story of Matthias' election to the Twelve, it appears that Luke has imposed his own definition of the apostolate upon an earlier time. The Twelve were not originally apostles. They were eschatological representatives of messianic Israel. Symbolizing the twelve tribes, they stood as the foundation of the true Israel. It was essential that the vacancy left by Judas be filled in order to fulfill this function. With Matthias' election the early community stood ready for the eschatological gift of the Spirit at Pentecost and their anointing as the true Israel. It is doubtful that the Twelve functioned in this sense outside of Jerusalem or that they functioned for very long as a definite group within Jerusalem. This helps to explain the lack of knowledge about Matthias and others of the Twelve.

For Paul "apostle" refers to someone called to mission by a special appearance of the risen Lord. See APOSTLE. Luke gives Matthias' qualifications as having been with Jesus from his baptism by John until the ascension. This statement is the origin of speculation that he was one of the Seventy. The probable requirement for membership in the Twelve was simply being a witness of the resurrection. Luke has expanded this to include witnessing Jesus' life as a means of grounding the gospel tradition in eyewitness testimony. Luke's restriction of the term to the Twelve seems to reflect a later solution to the problem already felt in Paul's epistles as to how to distinguish true from false apostles. There are only twelve apostles, the foundation not only of the true Israel but also the Church (cf. Eph 2:20; Rev 21:14).

Luke tells us that Matthias was elected by lot. The exact meaning of the phrase in v 26 and the procedure it describes are uncertain. Some have thought that the verb (*didōmi*) implies that Luke may have meant by *klēpos* not "lot" but "vote." But it seems more likely that Luke, familiar with the LXXand the Hellenistic practice of selecting responsible officials by lot, understood the OT practice where stones with names on them were put in a vessel which was shaken until one fell out. It has also been argued that the word "lot" acquired a metaphoric usage in Judaism. In this view the story indicates that the community selected Matthias (the procedure left unspecified) and that they believed the decision was from God. It was his God given "lot" in life to be one of the Twelve. In this reconstruction Luke's source portrayed a metaphoric use of the word "lot" which he has objectified as a literal "casting of lots" (Beardslee 1960: 245–52). In any event the story makes it clear that God selected Matthias to fill Judas' vacancy. This causes speculations that Paul was meant to be the twelfth apostle and that Peter and the early community overstepped their authority in appointing Matthias to appear polemical.

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THOMAS W. MARTIN

**MATTHIAS, TRADITIONS OF.** A work named and quoted by Clement of Alexandria, who attributes it to "Matthias the Apostle." This presumably refers to the Matthias who is named in Acts 1:23–26 as the man chosen to replace Judas among the Twelve. According to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 1.12.3) Matthias was one of the Seventy (Luke 10:1).

The extent and genre of the *Traditions of Matthias* is uncertain. Clement's citations from it are brief hortatory sentences (*Strom.* 2.9.45; 3.4.26; 7.13.82). But if *Strom.* 4.6.35 is derived from the same source, then the work may also have contained some narrative about Jesus. The quotations are not overtly gnostic, but according to Clement (*Strom.* 7.17.108) teachings of Matthias were used by Basilideans and perhaps

other gnostic groups. According to Hippolytus (*Haer.* 7.20.1) Basilides and his son Isidore claimed to have learned from Matthias "secret words," which he had received in private teaching from the Savior.

*Traditions of Matthias* probably was composed in Egypt in the first half of the 2d century. It sometimes has been identified with a work called the *Gospel of Matthias*, but there is too little evidence to decide this question definitively (*NTApocr* 1: 312). The earliest author to mention a *Gospel of Matthias* is Origen (*hom.* I. *in Lc.*), whose information is repeated by Ambrose and Jerome. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.25.6) mentions it together with gospels of Thomas and Peter. He describes them as works which were composed by heretics, but which nonetheless were known to most writers in the early Church. The *Gospel of Matthias* is also named in lists of heretical works: the Decretum Gelasianum, the Catalogue of the Sixty Canonical Books, and a list in the Samaritan Chronicle No. II of false books allegedly used by Nazarene Christians.

JON B. DANIELS

**MATTHIAS, ACTS OF.** See ANDREW AND MATTHIAS, ACTS OF.

**MATTITHIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *mattityâ* (מַתִּתְיָה), *mattityāhû* (מַתִּתְיָהוּ)]. Var. MATTATHIAH. 1. A Levite and son of Jeduthun (1 Chr 25:3) who played musical instruments before the ark during the time of David. Given the Chronicler's extreme interest in the installation of temple musicians (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 186), further details are provided. Within a list that also includes a director, singers, and those who played harps, trumpets, and cymbals, Mattithiah played the lyre (1 Chr 15:18, 21; 16:5; 25:21). That this activity carried considerable religious significance is emphasized by the writer's describing it as "prophecy" (1 Chr 25:1).

2. A Korahite Levite and the first son of Shallum who served at the temple following the return from Exile (1 Chr 9:31). Mattithiah's specific responsibility was to bake the liturgical cakes for the temple service.

3. A son of Nebo who, persuaded by Ezra, agreed to renounce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:43 [LXX *Mathathia*]; 1 Esdr 9:35 [Gk *Mazitias*]). Not included within the lists referring to priests and Levites, Mattithiah was a member of the Israelite laity.

4. One of the men who stood on Ezra's right hand during the great public reading of the Law (Neh 8:4; 1 Esdr 9:43). Not designated as a Levite, Mattithiah's position at this event suggests that he was an influential or representative member of the Israelite laity. In 1 Esdr 9:43, Mattithiah appears as Mattathiah (RSV).

TERRY L. BRENSINGER

**MAUL.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

**MAYOR.** See PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (POSTEXILIC JUDEAN OFFICIALS).

**MAZAR, TELL EL-** (M.R. 207181). An Iron Age site nestled geographically and chronologically among its larger sister tells at Deir ʿAlla and Saidiyeh. Though N. Glueck in the 1930s identified it from its surface pottery as an important Iron Age site (Glueck 1951: 302–3), Tell el-Mazar remained untouched until the University of Jordan excavated it during four seasons between 1977 and 1981.

Tell el-Mazar is located 3 km N of Tell Deir ʿAlla and about 3 km E of the Jordan river. It rises 24 m above the valley floor, at an altitude of 250 m below sea level. In antiquity the settlement at the site exploited the year-round waters of the Jabbok river and the rich agricultural lands around the tell. The ancient identification of the site remains unknown, but the modern name of Tell el-Mazar is thought to come from the nearby mosque and pilgrimage site of Mazar Abu 'Ubaidah, where the early Islamic general Abu 'Ubaidah was buried in A.D. 622.

Occupation of the site extends from the 11th century B.C. to the middle of the 4th century B.C., with signs of human occupation going back to the 13th century B.C. The site consists of the main tell and an associated sanctuary/cemetery area to the NW (Yassine 1983).

The earliest architectural remains on the tell are from the 8th/7th centuries B.C., when the Ammonite kingdom controlled the area from its capital at Rabbath-ammon (modern Amman). The formerly

independent Ammonite kingdom came under the control of the Assyrians after the campaigns of Tiglath-pileser III in 732 B.C. While they paid tribute to the Assyrians, the Ammonites enjoyed a measure of local autonomy and prospered from the trade that flourished under the regional security provided by the Assyrian Empire (Bennett 1978, Lindsay 1976). Remains from this Iron Age II period include parts of a building with a square courtyard, whose floor was paved with flagstones. A storage jar in one room was still filled with wheat grain, while in another corner of the same room a bathtub was built on a brick platform. The rooms from this early settlement were destroyed by fire at the end of the 8th century B.C.—perhaps reflecting the destruction inflicted by the 701 B.C. campaign of Sennacherib (Yassine 1983: 512).

During the 7th century, the site was rebuilt and included a large, nonmilitary building that was used as a residence. It had a stone-paved open courtyard surrounded by rooms used for different purposes, including cooking and storage. A series of *tabuns*, or ovens, were found from this level. There is no evidence of destruction at the end of this phase (Yassine 1983: 510).

The next phase of occupation (the 7th/6th centuries B.C.) seems to have been during a period of prosperity and peace, to judge by the remains at the top of the mound of a large and impressive building. It commanded a fine view of the entire central Jordan valley and has been called a "palace fort." It was composed of rooms at two different levels, connected by a staircase. The utilitarian lower rooms included a kitchen and rooms for storage, weaving, and meat preparation. Because of the smaller size of the tell and the relatively more sophisticated mudbrick architecture compared to other Iron Age tells in the area, we speculate that this may have been the residence of a local governor or other official.

This settlement ended suddenly and violently, with great fires destroying the buildings. There were no human skeletons but many intact objects and full storage jars, suggesting that the inhabitants of the settlement escaped the final destruction by fire but were unable to take many belongings with them. This destruction may date from the Neo-Babylonian conquests during the reign of Nebuchadnezzer (Yassine 1983: 507–8).

During the 7th century B.C. the Ammonite, Moabite, and Edomite kingdoms in Jordan had prospered as self-governing vassals of the Assyrian Empire. This era of prosperity ended with the Neo-Babylonian conquests of Jordan and Palestine around 586 B.C., which may be recorded in the destruction levels at Tell el-Mazar. In the middle of the 6th century B.C., Neo-Babylonian rule in Jordan and the Ammonite kingdom ended when the Persians conquered the area and ruled for two centuries.

The tell was once again inhabited in the 5th century B.C., when intensive filling operations leveled the destroyed remains of the 6th-century-B.C. city. The quality of mudbrick construction seems inferior to that of the previous settlement, though the 5th-century-B.C. buildings are planned in a uniform and orderly manner, with a series of rooms around a central courtyard. These seem to have been "private industrial houses." The domestic utensils and industrial artifacts indicate that this settlement dates from the two centuries of Achaemenid Persian domination of Jordan/Palestine (from 538–332 B.C.). The Persian influence at Tell el-Mazar is reflected in stamp seals and impressions, metal products, bronze and silver jewelry, and ceramics (Yassine 1983: 503–7).

The latest occupation phase at Tell el-Mazar in antiquity was during the late Persian years of the 4th century B.C., a few decades before the armies of Alexander the Great conquered the area in 332 B.C. and ushered in the era of Hellenism. The most striking feature of the late Persian occupation was dozens of deep, rounded storage pits and silos. Some are over 2 m in diameter and 4 m deep. Usually, but not always, lined with bricks, stones, or mudbricks, these cylindrical or barrel-shaped pits were used to store chaff, charred grains, pottery, copper, stone vessels, or just rubbish. The excavators believe such grain silos were built on top of the Jordan valley tells because the dry climate of the valley and the steep slope and compact deposit of the tell combined to allow rainwater to run off quickly, producing ideal grain-storage conditions. The storage of grain on a large scale (also attested at Tell Deir ʿAlla and Tell Saidiyeh) may have been as security against famines, or may reflect a tax-gathering facility or support for a military force. The tell seems to have been abandoned in 333 B.C., when Alexander the Great's armies conquered the area.

The second part of the site is a low (1-m-high) mound located about 400 NW of the main tell, covering an area of some 1200 $m^2$. This area was first occupied in the 11th/10th centuries B.C., during the Iron Age IB–C. The excavations revealed the remains of a large, rectangular-plan building measuring 24 × 16 m. See Fig. MAZ.01. We called this an "open-Court Sanctuary," since it consists of an open courtyard flanked by rooms. The solid, 1.2-m-thick walls of the rooms and courtyard were made of mudbricks. The sanctuary seems to have been built toward the end of the 11th century B.C. and was destroyed late in the 10th century B.C. (Yassine 1984a: 115).

Three rooms on the N side of the courtyard yielded cult vessels (cylindrical incense burners and chalices), underground cisterns, storage jars, and a great deal of pottery. The large courtyard, with its main entrance in the S wall, facing Tell el-Mazar, was covered with a thick layer of ashy debris and burned materials, including pottery sherds, animal bones, grain, and fuel materials (brushwood and charcoal). There were three *tabuns*, or ovens, in the courtyard, a shaft tomb with three male burials, and, near the middle of the courtyard, a stone table that may have served as an altar. The sanctuary seems to have been the site of large-scale food processing, with refuse being disposed of in the courtyard.

It is believed that the sanctuary served a public purpose but was not a place of large-scale public worship.

After the sanctuary went out of use, the site NW of the tell was deserted for nearly 500 years. It was used again in the 5th century B.C., this time as a cemetery; and 84 graves were excavated in late 1979. The skeletal remains show the average life expectancy of the Ammonite people at that time was around 33 years (Yassine 1984b: 187).

Many of the warlike objects excavated from the tombs, such as arrowheads, swords, daggers, and spearheads, suggest the male burials were those of warriors (Yassine 1984b: 8). Five different kinds of burials were documented, including brick- and stone-lined pits, skeletons in shallow ceramic jars, and skeletons in bathtub-like clay boxes with handles. Some of the graves contained stamp or cylinder seals, which were placed on the deceased's chest or hung from the belt. A few had the name of the deceased (such as "Lhmyws son of Smṭ;"Yassine and Bordreuil 1982: 193; Yassine 1984b: 133). Most are important for their artistic and iconographic information, showing the cultural links between the Ammonite people and some of the nearby great civilizations in Persia, Egypt, and Assyria (Yassine 1982).

The seals, made of colored marble, agate, lapis lazuli, jasper, or limestone, had a variety of motifs. Among them were winged bulls and lions, a rider on a galloping horse aiming his bow and arrow at a gazelle whose foreleg is being bitten by a god, a Neo-Babylonian worshipper, a representation of two eyes around a nose, a cult scene of two worshippers flanking a stylus and a spade, two animals flanking a hero, two falcon-headed solar deities in human form flanking a stylistic tree, and walking bovine animals (Yassine 1982: 189–92).

A few ostraca from Tell el-Mazar were uncovered dated between the 6th century B.C. and the early Hellenistic period. Most of the personal names contained in the inscriptions have parallels in other sources. Of particular interest are the many personal names with the theophoric element *ʾl* (Yassine and Teixidor 1986).

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**MAZOR, THE MAUSOLEUM** (M.R. 145161). The site of a monument known as Makâm en-Nabi Yahyah, located on the road between the Tower of Aphek and Lod, near the abandoned village of el-Muzeiriah. This monument, which stands out noticeably on the landscape, measures 9.4 × 10.2 m, and in front it measures 4.8 m high; it is one of the few Roman period buildings in the country to be preserved virtually intact.

It was first investigated in 1872 and 1873; its ground plan was drawn; and the monument was dismissed as a "curiosity" (Condor and Kitchener *SWP* 2: 265–67). Initial trial excavations were carried out in 1964 and later in 1973 (Kaplan 1985). The interior of the building was discovered to have two rooms, with a portico in front. Room A is an ordinary burial chamber with two sarcophagi, in which were interred the bodies of a man and a woman. Presumably, the persons buried here were the owner of an agricultural estate (or a high government official) and his wife, since only such persons would have the wealth required to build such a mausoleum. Room B, which has niches or cells in its walls, is a "columbarium" room, evidently set aside for the master's slaves or freed slaves, whose cremated remains were placed in bags in the cells of the room.

The mausoleum also exhibits some unusual architectural elements, apparently related to some of humankind's earliest beliefs about death and resurrection. The "columbarium" contains certain features associated with doves, which characteristically served as emblems of Near Eastern goddesses (mother goddesses, fertility goddesses, Astarte, Aphrodite, Atargatis, etc.). The dove is always depicted flying with outstretched wings, possibly symbolizing humankind's hope that the dead will yet return to the scene of life: the dove, taking off in flight from cemeteries and burial places, plucks the soul of the deceased from the netherworld and returns it to the world of the living.

The mausoleum has been dated to A.D. 300, the period of Emperor Diocletian, when the mystery cults (i.e., cults of the netherworld) still flourished and when Christianity had not yet become the state religion. It is possible, however, that the mausoleum was built during the brief reign of Julian the Apostate (A.D. 361–63), who wanted to reinstate the pagan cults.

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JACOB KAPLAN

**ME-JARKON** (PLACE) [Heb *mê-hayyarqôn* (מֵי־הַיַּרְקוֹן)]. A river or town mentioned in Josh 19:46 as part of the territory of Dan, prior to that tribe's northward migration to LESHEM (= LAISH [PLACE]). The boundary is described as going by way of Bene-berak, Gath-rimmon, "Me-jarkon, and Rakkon, with the territory over against Joppa."

There is general disagreement over whether Me-jarkon (lit. "waters of the Jarkon") refers to a perennial stream N of Tel Aviv called the Nahr el-Auja (= Yarkon river) or to a settlement. Scholars who believe that Me-jarkon was a town point out that it is not an impossible place name (cf. Me-jericho, Josh 16:1; Me-nephtoah, Josh 15:9). Thus Abel (*GP* 2: 53) identified Me-jarkon with Tell Jerîsheh (M.R. 132167), while Simons (*GTTOT*, 201) proposed Tell Qasile (M.R. 131168) a bit farther to the W. Those who say that Me-jarkon is a watercourse, indicate that the Nahr el-Auja is the most prominent geographic figure in the area and would readily serve to distinguish between tribal allotments (Lakkai *EncMiqr* 3: 888).

Any possibility of consensus, however, is complicated by textual problems. The MT in v 46a reads, *ûmê hayyarqôn wĕharāqqôn* ("and from the waters of Jarkon and the Rakkon"). The reference to *harāqqôn* is generally regarded to be a duplication of the preceding *mê-hayyarqôn* with some transposition, even though a suitable place name can be found for Rakkon in Tell er-Reqqeit (M.R. 129168). This conclusion is apparently confirmed by the LXX, which does not mention Rakkon: *kaí apó thalásses Ierakon* ("and on the west [seaward], the Jarkon"). The LXX also seems to indicate that the MT has lost the final *mem* of *ûmê,* reading "and the waters of" instead of "and on the west [seaward]." Following the LXX, the MT is thereby restored to read "and on the west [*wmym*], the Jarkon with the border opposite Joppa." Kallai (*EncMiqr* 3: 888) though, argues that the LXX is not reliable at this point, since the Syro-Hexapla, which

is based on the LXX, reads the same as the MT. He therefore prefers to retain the original MT reading. He also believes that "the Rakkon" is a river and refers to the Nahr el-Barîdeh, the lowermost course of Wâdī Musrara (= N Ayyalon), which streams from S to N and parallel to the Mediterranean Sea, leaving Joppa W of the boundary line (*HGB*, 370). Naʾaman (1986: 112) prefers Noth's proposal and identifies this same stream bed with Me-jarkon. In either case the Nahr el-Barîdeh would denote a westward abutment of the border on the territory of Joppa, leaving it outside of the inheritance of Dan.

In the end most scholars prefer to identify the Me-jarkon with the Nahr el-Auja ("the tortuous river") which originates at the Rosh ha-ʿAin springs (M.R. 143168), the site of OT Aphek and NT Antipatris. From there it flows westward, where it is soon joined from the N by the Kanah stream (Josh 17:9–10), finally ending its winding 26-km course at the Mediterranean, about 6.5 km N of Jaffa. The name *yarqôn* is related to the Heb word *yarôq* ("green"), and probably refers to the large quantity of organic matter carried by the stream, giving it a pale green appearance. This same river was called Mê-Pîga during the Hellenistic period; it was named after the city of Pegae, which was located at Rosh ha-ʿAin before Herod built Antipatris.

Today the river is barred by sand banks; but in antiquity it was navigable for a certain length, explaining the existence of an anchorage at Tell Qasile, about 3 km inland on the N bank of the river. Maisler (1950–51: 62) and others have proposed identifying the Jarkon with the biblical Sea of Joppa. If so, then maybe the "cedar trees" cut down in Lebanon in Solomon's and Zerubbabel's days were floated up the Jarkon to Tell Qasile, where they were unloaded and forwarded to Jerusalem (1 Kgs 5:9 [= 2 Chr 2:16]; Ezra 3:7).

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R. A. MULLINS

**MEAL CUSTOMS.** This entry consists of three articles that discuss eating customs in the world of the Bible. The first deals mainly with the kosher dietary laws of Judaism that are rooted in the legislation of the Hebrew Bible. The second deals with eating customs in the Greco-Roman world, while the third focuses specifically on sacred meals in the Greco-Roman world.

### *JEWISH DIETARY LAWS*

In its broadest sense the traditional designation *kašrût*—deriving from the Hebrew word the literal meaning of which is "correctness," "appropriateness"—can be applied to any matter of ritual acceptability or appropriateness, whether in reference to a written Torah scroll, to a temporary dwelling constructed for the pilgrimage Festival of Succoth, or to food. As it applies to food, kashruth covers the full range of biblical precept, rabbinic ordinance, evolving custom, and local practice within the Jewish community.

First, consideration will be given to those agricultural commandments that impinge on food consumption and that are relevant only to those residing in the land of Israel (as defined by its traditional biblical boundaries) including: the precepts of the Sabbatical and Jubilee Years, tithing and other priestly and levitical rights, the firstfruits, and the dues owing to the poor. Other agricultural restrictions—which may or may not apply to foods grown in the Diaspora (depending on which sources and authorities are consulted)—concern *ʿorlâ* (the fruit of young trees; see Lev 19:23) and new grain (Deut 16:9).

Apart from the matter of the fruit trees in the Garden of Eden, biblical references to dietary matters begin in Genesis with the observation that the "sinew of the thigh" is not eaten "until this very day" in commemoration of Jacob's nocturnal wrestling injury. This is the sole dietary matter mentioned in Genesis (Gen 32:33), with the exception of the Noachian prohibition on eating of a limb cut from a live animal (based on an interpretation of Gen 9:4).

The second restriction mentioned has to do with the way in which the original paschal sacrifice was to be eaten (Exod 12:8–14), followed by the ban on grain fermentation in connection with the Passover celebration, scattered throughout Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.

A third concern is the thrice-mentioned admonition dealing with "seething the kid in its mother's milk" (Exod 23:19; 34:26; and Deut 14:21). By far, the largest text is the listing of kosher animals in Leviticus 11.

In all areas of Jewish law, the biblical commandments are implemented in accordance with the interpretations and procedures recorded in rabbinic literature of late antiquity as expounded and elaborated in the commentaries and codes that begin appearing in the Gaonic period (ca. 9th century C.E. through the high Middle Ages). It is important to remember that—notwithstanding many wide areas of absolute conformity—evolving Jewish law, even within the normative Orthodox wing alone, has never been monolithic. As a result, it is usual for all popular guides to the practice of kashruth (including cookbooks) to contain strong disclaimers and exhortations to the reader to consult local competent rabbinic authority at all times.

The ban on the "sinew of the thigh" is accordingly implemented in the dissection of the entire sciatic complex as part of the ritual preparation of meat for consumption, while the restriction on "seething the kid in its mother's milk" is reflected not only in the practice of complete separation of meat and dairy foods and utensils in cooking, but also in prohibitions of eating these items together or benefiting from any other use of the combination.

Grain fermentation, while primarily concerned with the production and eating of leavened bread, also refers to other edible or potable commodities, including beer, food mixtures, food items such as sourdough that are not in themselves considered to be edible, and even nonfood items such as library paste.

But it is with meat and animal derivatives that the greatest bulk of legislation is concerned. The eleventh chapter of Leviticus details the division of animals into categories of permissible and forbidden. Biblical taxonomy, which is a system of classification unto itself, subdivides the animal kingdom into (a) land beasts, further divided into domesticated animals and wild beasts, (b) flying things, including birds and insects, (c) sea things, and (d) creeping things. See also ZOOLOGY.

Permitted land beasts include all warm-blooded animals, domesticated or wild, that are characterized as being both ruminants and ungulates. As examples of forbidden warm-blooded animals, the hare and the camel, which are not ungulates, and the pig, which is not a ruminant, are specifically mentioned.

By inference, pigeons and doves, which are included among possible sacrificial offerings, are permitted foods. Among the other permitted flying things are locusts, which have segmented legs, and those birds not specifically forbidden by list (Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14). Thus, the chicken, duck, goose, and turkey, which are not specifically mentioned at all in biblical literature, are held to be permissible by common tradition.

Aquatic creatures that are permitted are restricted to fish which must have both fins and scales of a specified type; whales, eels, swordfish, shark, and sturgeon are, for various reasons, among the forbidden varieties.

Another parameter concerns the relationship between the sacrificial cultus and permissible food. While any animal that could be sacrificed was deemed fit for consumption, not all permissible food had a role in the various sacrifices. Fish, for example, were never offered on the altar; and the only birds that were sacrificed were the dove and the pigeon. Among the mammals, only cattle, sheep, and goats were offered. Furthermore, those animals which could be eaten, whether included in the sacrifices or not, are to be slaughtered in accordance with the specific procedures applicable to sacrificial mammals, which is to say that they are put to death by one sweep of an unblemished sharp knife that severs the jugular as well as the windpipe. In this manner, all meat that is consumed is in some way symbolically associated with the sacrificial cultus. Needless to say, an animal that dies of natural causes is forbidden. Fish and locusts are the only exceptions to the requirement of ritual slaughter.

But the symbols of sacrifice are not restricted to the manner of slaughtering the animal. A careful examination of the carcass is made, and any obvious organic oddity or malformation as well as any damaged organ that would render the animal unfit for sacrifice renders the animal unfit for consumption. These matters apply even to birds and mammals that never had a sacrificial role.

In addition, the animal's blood and tallow fat are never to be eaten, since the blood was drained and then dashed or sprinkled on the altar and the tallow fat (as distinct from suet) was always burned on the altar as the essentials of sacrifice. Kosher preparation, therefore, requires that the blood be drained as completely

as possible and that the appropriate portions of fat be removed (although the tallow of wild animals, according to most authorities, is not banned). At the same time, the sciatic nerves are completely dissected out. (Because of the enormous labor involved in the dissection of the hind quarters, with respect to both the sciatic nerves and the removal of the tallow, meat beyond the twelfth rib is generally not prepared for commercial kosher consumption.)

The next step in the kashruth process is the effective removal of remaining surface and capillary blood by a process of salting, broiling, and rinsing of the meat or, except for the liver, by the alternative method of salting, soaking, and rinsing. This process of "kashering" is necessary for all animal protein, with the exception of locusts and fish.

Another parameter is the division of foods into categories of meat, dairy, and pareve (neutral), based on the biblical injunctions against "seething the kid in its mother's milk" that were cited above. This threefold biblical commandment is interpreted as a ban on the actual cooking together, as well as on the eating or other significant use of the product. It further affects the mere intermingling of meat and milk as well as the respective utensils or dishes used for cooking or eating.

Because the designation "kid" is interpreted to mean the young of any mammal (compare the English usage of "calf" to refer to elephants and whales), the prohibition is applicable to include the meat of one mammal and the milk of another. Rabbinic elaboration further applies the prohibition to the flesh of birds cooked in milk, possibly paralleling the reason for which birds require ritual slaughter. An interesting extension applies to the ban on cooking fish together with meat or fowl, as mentioned in passing in the Babylonian Talmud (*Ḥul.* 103-bff.), but not the consumption of fish and meat at the same meal. This stricture is perhaps the only area of kashruth where a ban is based on consideration that the combination may be toxic.

Other areas of kashruth concern the ban on wine (but not other fermented beverages derived from fruit or grain) pressed, processed, or handled by a non-Jew and less stringent restrictions on milk.

Because of the obvious complexity of all of the issues involved, the modern kosher food industry requires supervision by a cadre of professional personnel thoroughly versed in the disciplines of chemistry and food technology as well as rabbinic law. Since many ingredients may be derived from animal sources as opposed to vegetable sources, or by synthesis, the inclusion of stearates or other staple ingredients becomes and remains a problem unless the source of the product is determined. There is no guarantee that a well-known commercial product is universally kosher just because it is so certified at a specific manufacturing site.

The rationale behind kashruth, from the biblical and rabbinic standpoint, is simply a concern for sanctity. The eminent jurist Maimonides, for example, put forth the educated guess that the ban on cooking meat and milk together was related to an ancient pagan fertility sacrifice. Except for the matter of the supposed toxicity of fish cooked together with meat, all claims of a hygienic rationale are relegated to the status of additional benefit. And even here the medieval legal and philosophical sources disagree strongly.

The best indication that physical health is not at issue is perhaps to be seen in the principle of nullification, which is invoked in cases of the accidental commingling of foods, such as meat with dairy or kosher with nonkosher. If the problem involves solid masses—such as kosher and nonkosher cheese or kosher and nonkosher meat that have no distinguishing characteristics at all—which somehow get mixed together, then the principle of nullification by the majority takes hold. Essentially (although there are many variations on the implementation) if two of the three items are known to have been kosher, they all are kosher, and vice versa.

Nullification by the proportion of less than one part in sixty applies to situations which at least one of the commodities is a liquid. Most frequently, this involves the accidental mixture of meat and dairy, but the problem is by no means restricted to this illustration. If the one element is less than one-sixtieth of the total volume, the mixture is considered kosher.

Beyond this, specific instances adducing medical or hygienic reasons for kashruth are as different in nature as are the individuals who proposed them. Maimonides provided medical-philosophical arguments,

while Nahmanides countered with medical-mystical ones. The former sought to justify his rationale by stressing the practice of kashruth as a depaganizing process, while for the latter the process was a humanizing one. In the 19th and 20th centuries, hygienic considerations were brought forward by both those who wished to perpetuate and continue with time-hallowed tradition and those who wished to do away with ritual law altogether in the process of religious reformation.

But the effects of practicing kashruth, from a socio-religious standpoint, are clear: the strictures of kashruth make social intercourse between the practicing Jew and the outside world possible only on the basis of a one-sided relationship, and that is on the terms of the one who observes kashruth. For further discussion see *EncJud* and *JEnc* articles on "Dietary Laws."

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GENE SCHRAMM

## *GRECO-ROMAN MEAL CUSTOMS*

The NT and other Christian literature, as well as the religious literature of Judaism, have frequent references to meals of various kinds. The meal customs and rules of etiquette presupposed in such references are largely those of the surrounding Greco-Roman culture. Therefore a study of Greco-Roman meal customs provides the proper background for interpreting NT references to meals.

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A. History and Development of Meal Customs
B. Main Features of Meal Customs
  1. Occasions For Meals
    a. Private Banquets
    b. Special Family Occasions
    c. Religious Festivals
    d. Club Meetings
    e. Religious Sects
  2. The Banquet
  3. The Symposium
C. Rules of Etiquette

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### A. History and Development of Meal Customs

Meal customs in the entire Mediterranean region seem to have become standardized in certain broad details during the Hellenistic and Roman periods (ca. 200 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.). Certainly the various ethnic groups maintained some practices unique to themselves such as the Jewish practices connected with the religious food laws or *kašrût.* Nevertheless, Greeks, Romans, Jews, and eventually Christians shared major components of the standard meal customs of this period.

The development of common dining customs is related to the adoption of the custom of reclining at formal meals by the various peoples of the Mediterranean world. Greeks, Romans, and Jews had traditions that their people once sat at meals before taking up the custom of reclining. This custom seemed to have originated in the Eastern Mediterranean world and was known to the Jewish people as early as the 8th century B.C.E. (Amos 6:4–7). The Greeks appear to have adopted the custom from the Assyrians and were practicing it as early as the 6th century B.C.E. (Dentzer 1971, 1982). The Romans soon followed suit. Since reclining tended to carry with it other meal conventions and since Greeks, Romans, and Jews were interacting culturally in many ways in this period, their meal customs also soon came to be standardized and shared in common.

### B. Main Features of Meal Customs

**1. Occasions for Meals.** Generally speaking, our evidence attests to the common practice of eating three meals a day, although among certain groups, most notably the Jews of the Mishnah, two meals a day was more common. The major meal of the day in all cases was the evening meal (*deipnon* in Greek; *cena*

in Latin). This was the meal that tended to have the most formalities connected with it. If a meal was to be used as a special occasion for a social gathering of friends or family or for a meeting of a club or religious group, it would normally be the evening meal. Thus the formal evening meal, or banquet, is the one to which the most elaborate traditions and rules of etiquette became attached.

**a. Private Banquets.** A householder might invite special friends to his home for a banquet. Such gatherings are referred to quite frequently in the literature (Pl. *Symp.* 174A; Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 615C–D, 626E, 628A, 635A; Petron. *Sat.* 26; Sir 13:9; 1 Cor 10:27). Customarily they were social occasions only for the free adult males of society. Meals of the *hăberîm* in Judaism seem to have been such a gathering of friends who took meals together; the meals of Jesus with his disciples have often been compared to this type of Jewish meal gathering. See also ASSOCIATIONS, CLUBS, THIASOI.

**b. Special Family Occasions.** Birthdays, weddings, funerals, and other special family occasions were regularly celebrated with a banquet (Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 717B; Lucian, *Symp.* 5; Matt 22:1–14; Luke 12:36; 14:8; John 2:1–11).

**c. Religious Festivals.** These were common in both pagan religion and in Judaism and were marked by sumptuous feasts. In the pagan world banquets would often be provided for the populace at large on the occasion of a religious festival.

**d. Club Meetings.** Formally organized clubs, whether trade guilds, funerary societies, religious associations, or even philosophical schools, usually centered their regular meetings around a communal meal.

**e. Religious Sects.** Religious sectarian groups, such as the Essenes and the Christians, had a formal organization similar to that of the clubs and also centered many of their meetings around meals (IQS 6:1–6; IQSa 2:11–22; Jos. *JW* 2.8.5; 1 Cor 11:20, 33; Pliny, *Ep.* 10.96).

**2. The Banquet.** The banquet was a social event of the first order, not just a time to eat. Invitations would be extended in advance either informally or in formal, written form (Pl. *Symp.* 174A; Xen. *Symp.* 3–4; Sen. *Ben.* 4.39.3; Pliny *Ep.* 1.15.1; Sir 13:9; Matt 22:1–10; Luke 14:16–24). Elaborate preparations were often made before the banquet. Standard customs included visiting the baths, dressing in special clothing, and otherwise preparing one's appearance (Pl. *Symp.; ILS* 7212.2.30). The Jewish Essenes seem to have elevated the custom of bathing before meals to the level of religious ritual (Jos. *JW* 2.129).

When each guest arrived, he was directed to the couches by a servant who removed the guest's sandals and washed his feet before he reclined (Pl. *Symp.* 175A; Luke 7:44–46). After the guests had reclined and before the meal began, water would be brought for them to wash their hands, a custom that became connected with religious ritual in Judaism (Ath. 14.641d; Mark 7:3; *m. Ḥag.* 2:5).

Banquets tended to take place in rooms especially designed for dining, although presumably any room large enough to hold the couches would suffice. Excavations have revealed certain standard features of dining rooms whether in private homes, sanctuaries, or public buildings. A "standard" dining room was designed to hold couches end-to-end along the walls in a configuration whereby the diners were all facing inward toward one another. The *triclinium*, or three-couch arrangement, which provided for nine diners or three per couch, was the most widely used, although there were many variations. The term *triclinium* eventually came to be used to refer to the dining room in general.

Positions around the table were customarily given a ranking. The location of the "highest" position might vary from place to place (Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 619B); but there was always some sense of ranking presupposed by the position of the diners, beginning with the "highest" position, which position could vary somewhat, and then proceeding in a descending order, usually to the right around the room, to the "lowest" ranking position. Thus the host had to decide where to place the guests according to their rank in society. Plutarch relates a situation whereby a distinguished guest arrived late to a banquet and, not finding an available position worthy of his rank, left angrily (*Quaest. conv.* 615D). Luke's Jesus plays on this same theme in the parable of the places at table (Luke 14:7–11).

Diners would all recline on the left elbow and eat with the right hand so that the placement of the recliners would be orderly. Couches were of varying designs and often were intended to hold more than one diner. Alcibiades, for example, joined Agathon and Socrates on their couch when he arrived late at

the banquet of Agathon in Plato's famous *Symposium* (213B). Similarly, the NT references to "lying close to the breast of Jesus" or in the "bosom" of Abraham (John 13:23; Luke 16:22) are best understood as references to the position of a diner reclining in a normal position to the right of the person named and probably sharing the same couch; such a position to the right of the host is a position of honor.

There were two major courses in a banquet, the *deipnon*, or eating part, and the *symposion* (symposium) or drinking part. This form is reflected in the Lord's Supper traditions in the NT in which the wine is drunk "after supper [*deipnon*]" (Luke 22:20; 1 Cor 11:25). In some cases there was also an appetizer course at the beginning of the meal (Ath. 2.58b–60b). This custom is reflected in our earliest Jewish Passover liturgy in which an appetizer course precedes the main course (*m. Pesaḥ.* 10:3).

The courses were marked off by special rituals. At the end of the *deipnon,* the servants removed the tables, swept the floor, brought water for washing the hands, and sometimes passed around garlands and perfumes (Ath. 11.462c–d). Then the bowl of wine was brought in and mixed with water for drinking. The proportion of water to wine varied, but common mixtures were five parts water to two parts wine or three parts water to one part wine (Ath. 10.426d). This was to be determined by the presider at the meal, either the host or the "symposiarch." The beginning of the symposium would then be marked by the offering of a libation to the gods and other religious ceremonies, such as the singing of a hymn (Pl. *Symp.* 176A; Xen. *Symp.* 2.1). These ceremonies are mirrored in the blessing over the wine in Judaism and the wine ceremony in the Christian Eucharist (*b. Ber.* 51a; 1 Cor 10:16).

**3. The Symposium.** Although wine could be drunk during the meal itself, the major part of the wine drinking took place after the meal proper during the second course known as the symposium. This was a period of extended leisurely drinking during which time the entertainment of the evening would also take place. The symposium entertainment took many forms. There were traditional games, such as kottabos, a popular party game in which the guests would compete for accuracy at flinging the last drops of wine from their cups at a target in the middle of the room. There were also various types of traditional performances—dramatic, musical, and dancing (Xen. *Symp.;* Pliny *Ep.* 1.15, 1.2; Sir 32:3–6). It was not uncommon among Greeks and Romans to indulge in sexual practices during the symposium, either with the female flute players, who were widely assumed to be prostitutes, or with their male companions. Jews and Christians, however, as well as the more moralistic of the Greeks and Romans, made a point of avoiding such activities at their banquets (Pliny *H.N.* 14:28; Philo *Cont.* 75–78).

Symposium entertainment might also take on a nobler or more serious purpose. In the philosophical schools, for example, the entertainment might consist of a philosophical discussion, a dialogue on a topic and in a form consistent with the meal occasion (Plato *Symp.* 176E; Ath. 5.185a; Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 7.7). In religious associations, such as Bacchic and other pagan religious societies, the symposium entertainment was a form of community worship or proclamation, as we know from inscriptions in which the rules for the meetings of these associations define such activities at their gatherings for communal meals (*SIG*$^3$ 1109.111–17). Similarly, discussion of the Torah at meals was highly commended in Judaism (Sir 9:15–16; Philo *Cont.* 75–78; *m. ʾAbot* 3.3).

Literary descriptions of symposium dialogues led to the development of the literary form of the symposium, a form that is widely utilized in philosophical writings of this period and is influential in Hellenistic Jewish and early Christian literature as well (see e.g., the *Symposium*s of Plato, Xenophon, and other philosophical writers; compare the *Letter of Aristeas*). Both the Jewish Passover liturgy and the description of early Christian worship found in 1 Corinthians 11–14 contain formal elements that are related to the literary form of the symposium (Stein 1957; Smith 1980).

**C. Rules of Etiquette**

Etiquette to the ancients was a part of the theory of ethics and was therefore included in ethical discussions in philosophical literature. Various philosophers are said to have written treatises on meal ethics or "symposium laws" (Pl. *Leg.* 2.671C; Ath. 5.186b). In these treatises the emphasis is placed on proper behavior at a meal and the ethical grounding of that behavior. Some of the same types of concerns are also found in the statutes governing the banquets of clubs and associations. Many traditional elements of these ethical discussions come to be incorporated into the ritual and ideology of religious meals.

Aspects of social ranking in society were especially addressed in rules of etiquette. Besides the ranking of positions at table, the custom of reclining itself carried implications of social ranking. Thus only the upper echelon of society were to recline; women, children, and slaves were to sit at the meal. In the Roman period this custom in regard to women seems to have been relaxed somewhat since we find evidence of women reclining at meals (Val. Max. 2.1.2; Petron. *Sat.* 67–69; Lucian *Symp.* 8). Furthermore, these customs might be varied by various social groups. For example, some religious and funerary associations seem to have freely included slaves and women in their banquets. Similarly, Jews specified that even the poor were to recline at the Passover (*m. Pesaḥ.* 10:1). Another way in which social ranking was addressed was by providing a greater quantity or quality of food to those of the upper echelon; this custom has been suggested as a major reason for the problems at the Christian meal in Corinth (1 Cor 11:17–34; Theissen, 1982).

Since social ranking was so firmly a part of meal customs, rules of etiquette were often addressed to the proper ways in which the host was to place the guests (Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 1.2). Similarly, guests were urged to accept the position assigned to them and not try to usurp someone else's position (Association of Diana and Antinous [*ILS* 7212.2.25]; Sir 13:11; 32:1; Luke 14:7–11). Another characteristic ethical concern, found especially in the Jewish wisdom tradition but not uncommon in Greco-Roman moralism as well, is the call for moderation in food and wine (Pliny *H.N.* 14.28; Philo *Cont.* 74.81–82; Sir 19:1–3; 31:12–18, 22–30; cf. Prov 23:1–3).

Rules of etiquette tended to be especially concerned with maintaining good relations among the guests. The table was no place for argument, accusation, or loud and abusive language (*SIG*$^3$ 1109.63–75; Sir 31:31). Indeed, "factions" of any kind at the meal were especially out of order (*ILS* 7212.2.26–28; 1 Cor 11:17–34). Entertainment should be planned so that all can enjoy it. Thus conversation at the meal should proceed in an orderly manner and on subjects in which all can participate (Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 614E, 675A; *SIG*$^3$ 1109.63–67; Sir 13:8–13; 32:3–9; 1 Cor 14:26–33).

The philosophical discussions of ethics at a meal became rather standardized over the centuries and apparently penetrated into popular morality at all levels of society. The standard arguments of the philosophers describe meal ethics in terms of the virtues of friendship, pleasure, and love (*eros*). Although this technical terminology is not used consistently in the nonphilosophical literature, the ideas are similar. Because the meal is a time of sharing food and companionship, one's behavior should be concerned with the welfare of the other or with the enjoyment or pleasure of the group as a whole (Pl. *Leg.* 671C–E; Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 618A, 660B; Sir 31:15; 41:19; 1 Cor 14:12, 26–33, 39–40).

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DENNIS E. SMITH


## *GRECO-ROMAN SACRED MEALS*

In scholarly discussion, the term "sacred meal" has often been equated with the idea of "sacramental meal," using the Christian Eucharist as a model. This rather narrow definition restricts the phenomenon in a way that does not do justice to the range of religious meals in the ancient world. Here the term is being defined more broadly, to refer to meals that function as religious ritual or that include or are a part of religious ritual. Such meals were quite common in all religious traditions in the ancient world. Furthermore, they often seemed to have common elements, as Paul states in 1 Cor 10:21 when he

counsels against confusing the "table of the Lord" with the "table of demons." To understand properly Jewish and Christian religious meals of this period therefore one must understand the phenomenon of sacred meals in general.

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A. Religious Ritual in Everyday Meals
B. The Religious Banquet
C. The Sacrificial Banquet
D. Eating Sacred Foods

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**A. Religious Ritual in Everyday Meals**

Normal, everyday meals had customary religious components. Such formalities were especially pronounced at the formal evening meal, the *deipnon* or banquet. Here there were customary religious rituals, typified by the reference in Plato's *Symposium* to the ceremonies marking the transition from the supper to the symposium: "… they made libation and sang a chant to the god and so forth, as custom bids, till they betook them to drinking" (176A). The libation was a ceremony in which a special cup of wine, customarily the first of the course, was dedicated to a traditional deity, most often Zeus Sōtēr or some epithet of Dionysus such as "to the Good Deity" (Diod. Sic. 4.3; Ath. 11.486f–487b, 15.675b–c). Throughout the banquet there was a sense of connection to Dionysus, the god of wine. Thus dishes and dining rooms were lavishly decorated with his image and his presence at the gathering was equated with the presence of wine and was appealed to in discussions of the proprieties of the banquet (Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 615A).

Similar religious customs were found in Judaism; for example, here also there were specified prayers over various foods and especially over the wine (*m. Ber.* 6:1–8:8; see also 1 Sam 9:13; Jos. *JW* 2.131). In this case, of course, the prayers were directed to the one God of the Jews. Although not much is known about everyday meal practices among the early Christians, a Jewish version of the benediction over the eucharistic wine is evidently indicated by the terminology "cup of blessing" in 1 Cor 10:16 (compare e.g., *b. Ber.* 51a).

**B. The Religious Banquet**

Since the banquet was the formalized meal par excellence, it was the meal most often utilized in religious ritual. The meal itself would follow the same pattern as a normal banquet. It would take on a special religious nature, however, according to the setting, such as in a sanctuary; or according to the occasion, such as a sacrifice or religious festival; or according to the group gathered for the meal, such as a religious association. In such cases, the religious interpretation of the meal would most often involve a special elaboration of a traditional custom or motif already present in the meal. Thus the Jewish Passover meal, the Christian Eucharist and agape, the Greek and Roman meals of religious associations, as well as the ubiquitous sacrificial meal were all meals with special religious significance that also were structured as standard Greco-Roman banquets.

The primary banquet motif that was utilized in religious ritual was the idea of festivity. That is to say, a religious meal was not a solemn occasion, but rather was an occasion for joy and celebration. Thus in Greek the term *euphrosynē,* meaning "mirth" or "merriment," came to be used as a technical term for meals in general, and specifically sacrificial meals (*SEG* 1.248.19–20; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 3.97; Pl. *Resp.* 364B–C). The LXX utilizes the term and its verbal form with this same meaning in OT texts. Here one finds the command to "rejoice before the Lord" at Jewish festival meals (Lev 23:40; Deut 12:12; 14:26; 16:11; 16:15). In the NT, the joyful nature of the banquet is mentioned less frequently (but see Acts 2:46) and is most often connected with eschatological themes, as in Luke 14:15: "Blessed is he who shall eat bread in the kingdom of God" (see also MESSIANIC BANQUET). Other references to festive joy (*euphrosynē*) in early Christian worship most likely refer as well to the fellowship meal, especially the form of the meal known as the agape (*Barn.* 15.9; *Sib. Or.* 8.485; on the agape see Jude 12; Ign. *Smyrn.* 8.2; see also Reicke 1951: 201–22). In general therefore religious banquets retained the sense of pleasure

and celebration inherent in the occasion of a meal and simply interpreted these as part of the religious experience.

**C. The Sacrificial Banquet**

Sacrifice was a primary form of religious worship in all of the major cultures of the ancient world, including those of the Greeks, Romans, and Jews. There were, of course, some forms of sacrifice in which the entire animal was burned or destroyed (e.g., *sphagia* in Greek religion; compare the *ʿōlâ* [RSV: "burnt offering"] in Judaism). However, a standard type of sacrifice was one in which a portion of the meat was used by the worshippers for food (e.g., *thysia* in Greek religion; compare the *šĕlāmîm* [RSV: "peace offering"] in Judaism). In the Greek form of this type of sacrifice, the animal was first slain at the altar by the priest, then it was cut up and portions divided among the deity (whose portion was burned on the altar), the priest or temple (for the ongoing support of the cult), and the worshippers (as a gift from the god; see classic descriptions of Greek sacrifice in Homer, e.g., *Od.* 3.439–63, 14.418–36; see also Burkert 1983: 3–7; on the inherent connection of the meal to the sacrifice, see Dio Chrys. *Or.* 3.97; for Jewish sacrificial ritual, see Leviticus 1–7; Sir 50:11–21; *m. Tamid*). Among the Greeks it was sometimes specified that sacrificial meat was to be eaten within the temple precinct (see the *ou phora* restrictions ["Do not carry away"] in various Greek sacred law inscriptions [e.g., Dow 1965]; compare Lev 7:15–18; 22:30); in most cases, however, it was apparently left up to the worshippers as to whether they would eat it at the sanctuary site, take it home to be eaten, or sell it to the public (on sacrificial meat's being sold at the marketplace, see 1 Cor 10:25–29). Dining rooms were commonly provided at sanctuary sites; the meals held there could presumably vary from highly religious to purely social.

The nature of the religious meaning to be attached to sacrificial meals in Greek religion has been the subject of much debate in scholarship. Paul, for example, is aware of meals at temples as being purely social (1 Cor 8:10); yet he can also contrast the "table of the Lord" with the "table of demons" (1 Cor 10:19–22), implying that they can also be similar in religious meaning. Apparently the meaning of the meal could vary from person to person and from place to place without the meal itself being significantly different in form.

The primary religious motifs connected with the sacrificial meal include the element of joy or festivity as mentioned above as well as some sense of what is often called "communion with the deity." Plato, for example, refers to festival meals as times when human beings may find "respite from their troubles" by "associating in their feasts with gods" such as "the Muses, and Apollo the master of music, and Dionysus," who are presumably present in the music and wine respectively (*Leg.* 653D).

The presence of the deity at the meal could be expressed in various ways. Often, the deity was regarded as presiding over the entire meal insofar as the sacrifice took place at the temple in the deity's presence. Similarly, in Jewish tradition, sacrificial meals and festival meals were to take place "before the Lord" (Deut 12:17–18; cf. 12:12; 14:26; 16:11; et al.). Other texts and rituals are more specific as to the role of the deity in the ceremony. In some cases the deity is specifically defined as host at the meal; see, for example, the invitations of the God Serapis to dine at his temple (Youtie 1948). To these one might compare the representations of Jesus as host at various meals in the Gospels, especially in the Last Supper accounts (Mark 14:22–25 = Matt 26:26–29 = Luke 22:15–20 = 1 Cor 11:23–25). In other cases the gods are pictured as guests at the meal, and sometimes a place at table is even provided for them. This type of ceremony is known as the *theoxenia* in the Greek world and the *lectisternium* in the Roman world (e.g., Pind. *Pyth.* 3.93–96; Livy 29.14.14). To this may be compared the OT story of Abraham and Lot entertaining divine guests (Gen 18:1–19:26) and the various ways in which dining with Jesus and with the risen Lord are depicted in the Gospels, with obvious ramifications for the interpretation of the Christian Eucharist and agape (Smith 1987).

The NT makes use of the imagery of sacrificial meals in its descriptions of the Lord's Supper, connecting the ceremony with a sacrificial interpretation of the death of Jesus ("This is my body which is for you," 1 Cor 11:24; "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many," Mark 14:24). Here there is no meat but rather bread which, along with wine, is connected symbolically with the "meat" and "blood" of the sacrificial victim. The presence of the Lord at the meal is referred to in various ways

(besides the images of guest and host mentioned above) such as: memorial ("Do this in memory of me," 1 Cor 11:24); eschatological proclamation ("You proclaim the Lord's death until he comes," 1 Cor 11:26); symbolic representation ("The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a participation in the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a participation in the body of Christ?" 1 Cor 10:16; "He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life," John 6:54); and community identity ("Because there is one bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread," 1 Cor 10:17).

**D. Eating Sacred Foods**

Another way to define the concept of sacred meals is to place the emphasis on the eating of sacred foods rather than on the formal meal ceremony. This perspective is most closely related to the idea of sacramentalism in Christian eucharistic tradition. It is, of course, probable that sacrificial meat took on some sort of sacred quality, although the evidence for this is sketchy and much debated. Furthermore, wine tended to take on a numinous quality connected with the god Dionysus. But the idea of sacred foods is most often associated with rituals in the mystery religions. For example, during the initiation ceremony of the mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis a special potion concocted from grain, called the *kykeon*, was drunk; and this ceremony seemed somehow to be connected with the experience of the divine (Clem. Al. *Protr.* 2.21.2). In the mysteries of Mithras, there are references to a ritual meal with water and bread that was supposedly so close in meaning to the Christian Eucharist that Justin accused the Mithraists of copying the Christians (*Apol.* 1.66.4). Such "mystery meals" are often compared to the Christian Lord's Supper traditions since they seem to offer the nearest parallels to the idea of ritual food being somehow imbued with divine or "spiritual" power (as in 1 Cor 10:1–5; and *Ign. Eph.* 20.2).

A variation of this idea has the worshipper actually ingesting the deity, a practice referred to as "theophagy." This is the apparent sense of the Christian Lord's Supper in John 6:53–57 and in many liturgies outside the NT (Ign. *Smyrn.* 7.1). Some scholars have proposed finding a parallel to this idea in a ritual connected with Dionysus whereby worshippers acted out the actual ingestion of the deity by eating a raw animal. The evidence for this ritual is rather vague, however; and its interpretation is disputed in many recent studies, leading some to conclude that there is no evidence for the actual ritual practice of theophagy in the ancient world outside of Christianity (Henrichs 1980: 230). Indeed, there is still much debate over the form and meaning of sacred meals in the various mystery religions in general (Kane 1975). In most cases it would appear that where we have firm evidence of meals being eaten, it is simply another variation of the ordinary Greco-Roman banquet being utilized in a religious setting.

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DENNIS E. SMITH

**MEARAH** (PLACE) [Heb *mĕʿārâ* (מְעָרָה)]. A place located between the ancient coastal cities of Tyre and Sidon, and identified among the numerous territories yet remaining for Israel to occupy (Josh 13:4). The exact identification and location of Mearah have been greatly disputed because of the difficulties of the text. The LXX reads *enantion* (or *apo*) *Gazēs*, "before [from] Gaza," which might

suggest the reading *mē‹āzâ* (with *mem* representing the preposition and *zayin* replacing *reš*). But it can hardly be said that Gaza belonged to Sidon. A number of places have been suggested with reference to the nature and location of Mearah, including the caves of Mughar Jezzin E of Sidon; a location along the Wâdī Ara in the plain of Megiddo; and the reading of *mē‹ārîm* as "from the cities." The place has also been identified by some scholars as Mogheiriyeh, 6 miles (ca. 9.5 km) NE of Sidon.
RAY L. ROTH

**MEASURE, MEASUREMENT.** See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**MEAT.** See MEAL CUSTOMS (JEWISH DIETARY LAWS); ZOOLOGY.

**MEBUNNAI** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕbunnay* (מְבֻנַּי)]. Mentioned only in 2 Sam 23:27 as one of "the Thirty" (2 Sam 23:18–39), David's corps of military elite (*haggibbōrîm*). He was known as a native of Hushah (*ḥūšâ*), a village probably to be identified with modern Husan, 6 miles SW of Bethlehem. In spite of the possible kingdom period attestation of the name (Zeron 1979: 156), MT *mbny* (LXX *sabouchai*) should most likely be understood as a textual corruption (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 492) and the man himself identified with Sibbecai the Hushathite of 2 Sam 21:18 (= 1 Chr 20:4; see also 11:29; 27:11). See also DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

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DAVID L. THOMPSON

**MECHERATHITE** [Heb *mĕkērātî* (מְכֵרָתִי)]. The gentilic designation of Hepher, one of David's champions, a select class of warriors directly attached to the king for special assignments, named in the list of 1 Chr 11:10–47 (v 36), a list which, up to v 41a, parallels that of 2 Sam 23:8–39. If the designation is correct in this form, it refers to an unknown family group or place for the origin of Hepher. However, whereas 1 Chr 11:35b–36a reads, "Eliphal the son of Ur, Hepher the Mecherathite," the parallel text in 2 Sam 23:34 reads, "Eliphelet the son of Ahasbai of Maacah." Both texts appear to have suffered corruptions. If in Chronicles two names have been derived from the original name of Eliphelet's father (Driver *NHT*, 371; Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 102), then "the Mecherathite" is a variant of "son of the Maacathite" (RSV "of Maacah"), which might then be a reference to a Judahite clan associated with Eshtemoa the Maacathite (1 Chr 4:19), ancestor of a town S of Hebron (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 498–99).
RODNEY K. DUKE

**MECONAH** (PLACE) [Heb *mĕkōnâ* (מְכֹנָה)]. 1. Settlement in S Judah listed among the villages occupied by those returning from Exile in Babylon (Neh 11:26). Its name may be derived from the root *kwn* ("be fixed"), perhaps meaning "resting-place" or "residence." There is general agreement that the list in Neh 11:25–36 is derived from an official document of the postexilic period (see Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 187). If this list follows geographic order, Meconah should be found somewhere in the vicinity of Ziklag and En-Rimmon, both of which are located in the Negeb district of the tribal territory of Judah (Josh 15:31–32). Based on this geographic hint, Simons (*GTTOT*, 145) proposes an identification with Khirbet umm ed-Deimineh, on the NE outskirts of Beer-sheba. Unfortunately, we do not know whether this site was occupied during postexilic times.
WADE R. KOTTER

**MEDAD** (PERSON) [Heb *mêdād* (מֵידָד)]. According to Num 11:26 and 27, one of two elders of Israel (Eldad is the other) who received the spirit and prophesied inside the camp of Israel. Num 11:16–30 report God's distribution of a portion of the spirit given Moses to seventy elders of Israel. Moses and these seventy went outside the camp to the tent sanctuary. The elders received the spirit and prophesied

there. Eldad and Medad had been "registered" (RSV), but did not go out of the camp, and so received the spirit there.

Gray (*Numbers* ICC, 114) points to the tension in the description of the relation between the seventy and Eldad and Medad (i.e., if "registered" means they were part of the seventy specified by God [Num 11:16], this conflicts with the report that seventy went out to the tent [Num 11:24]). Noth (*Numbers* OTL, 90) on this basis regards Num 11:26–29 as an addition to the story of the seventy elders and speculates that Eldad and Medad represent actual prophetic groups in Israel that used this story to claim Mosaic legitimation as part of their struggle for recognition.

The Sam. Pent. and LXX offer a variant spelling of the name "Modad" (*môdād*)—perhaps under the influence of the name Almodad (*ʾalmôdād*) in Gen 10:26. (Gray, 114) and Snaith (*Numbers* NCBC, 232) seem to favor this. However, in view of the support for the MT provided by the Vg and Peshitta, as well as the Targums, the spelling Medad should be retained.

The Palestinian Targums, by offering words for the prophecies Medad and Eldad were said to have delivered, exemplify some of the later exegetical interest these figures attracted. A like interest is attested in the Christian tradition by the lost *Book of Eldad and Modad.* See ELDAD AND MODAD.

RICHARD D. WEIS

**MEDAN** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕdān* (מְדָן)]. A son of Abraham and Keturah and brother of Midian (Gen 25:2; 1 Chr 1:32). The "sons of Keturah" are a group of Arabian tribes and cities of the 8th through 5th centuries B.C. See also KETURAH. Medan could have been a tribe or a settlement in Wâdī Mudân (or Madân), which was situated in the basalt fields S of Midian. The wadi is mentioned by Islamic historians and geographers for the 7th century A.D. (Knauf 1985: 20–21). The name can be explained by either Arabic *dûn,* "low, inferior," or *madân,* a plant (*Ocymum hadiense*). Whereas Medan in Gen 25:2 and 1 Chr 1:32 is an independent geographic entry and not a variant for Midian mistakenly included, the reference to the "Medanites" in Gen 37:36 is an intentional misspelling for "Midianites" in order to mark this verse as a gloss (Knauf 1988: 27).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**MEDEBA** (PLACE) [Heb *mêdĕbaʾ* (מֵידְבָא)]. One of the cities of the Moabite Mishor that was conquered and occupied by the Israelite tribes (Num 21:30; Josh 13:9, 16). The battle between the army of David and the coalition of Ammonites and Arameans (1 Chr 19:7) occurred in the vicinity of this city. Liberated by Mesha, the king of Moab (Mesha Stele, lines 7–9; *ANET,* 320), it is mentioned in the later biblical texts among the cities of Moab (Isa 15:2). During the Maccabean revolt "the Sons of Jambri" came out of the city and laid an ambush for a Jewish convoy led by John. They plundered the caravan and killed the brother of Judah. His death was avenged by Jonathan and Simon (1 Macc 9:36–42).

Josephus reveals that Medeba was subsequently conquered by John Hyrcanus after a long siege (*Ant* 13.9.1) and remained in the hands of the Jews at the time of Alexander Jannaeus (*Ant* 13.15.4). Hyrcanus II, in exchange for aid requested by him in the war against his brother Aristobulus II, promised to restore the city to King Aretas of Petra together with the other cities in the region (*Ant* 14.1.4).

The *Onomasticon* (128.20), and the geographers of the Roman-Byzantine period, Ptolemy (5.16), Hierocles (n. 721), and Giorgio Ciprio (n. 1062), record it as a city of the province of Arabia.

Christianity had spread by the end of the first two centuries to Arabia, and the region of Medeba had its martyrs during the persecutions of Diocletian. Only from the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) do we learn of the existence of a Christian community at Medeba headed by a bishop supported by Constantine, the Archbishop and Metropolitan of Bostra, who signed the conciliar decisions.

**A. The Exploration of the City**

The ruins of Medeba that preserve the name of the ancient city (M.R. 225124) are 30 km S of Amman on the King's Highway and were visited by U. Seetzen in 1807. Burckhardt passed by in 1812. The canon Tristram, who stopped among the ruins for four days in 1872, gives the first accurate description. In December of 1880 some bedouin Christian families, the Azizat of Kerak, pitched their tents among the ruins, which were given to them by the Turkish authorities, and soon they began to construct a provisional shelter with the squared stones from ancient buildings. Sensitized by their priests, among whom was don Giuseppe Manfredi, the new arrivals took care to conserve what they occasionally discovered. In 1881 the explorers of the survey brought to light the first significant evidence of the site's antiquity and history. In 1887 the missionary sent to Jerusalem the transcription of the first inscriptions of the mosaic floors of Medeba that turned out to belong to the Church of the Virgin. A guest of don Manfredi, G. Schumacher, stopped at Medeba in October 1891 and supplied the first general plan of the ruins and its monuments. The following year, P. Sejourne, after a stay at Medeba, wrote a brief summary about the discoveries that became ever more numerous. This was followed by Bliss in 1897, don Manfredi in 1898, Kluge and Pavlouskin in 1903, and Musil and Metaxakis in 1905. In 1897 the Medeba Map (see below) was discovered and published, which brought scholarly attention to Medeba. In the same year the mosaic of the crypt of Elisha and of the Church of the Prophet Elijah were brought to light with their inscriptions, along with other mosaics. In that year Medeba became "the city of the mosaics." Regular excavations were conducted in the city from 1965 to 1968 and again beginning in 1979.

**B. Historical and Archaeological Synthesis**

Medeba was built on a natural elevation of the Jordanian plateau with steep slopes to the W, S, and SE; the area to the N gradually slopes toward the surrounding plain. The tell has an easily recognizable acropolis and lower city. Until recently, the discoveries have been concentrated on the system of terraces of the acropolis slopes, and in the lower city where habitation developed in the Roman-Byzantine period. On the slopes of the heights that surround Medeba to the W and S was a necropolis which existed until the middle of the 2d millennium B.C. The chance discovery of two tombs in this area are until now the only witnesses of the occupation of the tell of Medeba from the 13th to the 10th centuries B.C. Otherwise, tombs go back to the 1st century B.C.

A great number of tombs from the 1st century A.D. were discovered and found to contain inscriptions attesting that Medeba and its surrounding territory belonged to the Nabatean kingdom of Petra. One inscription on basalt, in two exemplars, came from a funerary monument constructed in A.D. 37 (the time of Aretas IV) by the commander of the city of Abdobodat of the Amirat tribe for his father, Itaybel. A second bilingual inscription in Nabatean and Greek, dated to the third year of the province of Arabia (constituted by Trajan in A.D. 106), records the same tribe of the Amirat. A Greek inscription, from a tomb constructed by Abdallah the son of Anamos, is dated to the 43d year of the province (A.D. 148). With the exception of a centurion of the III Cyrenian legion, Gaius Domitius Alexander, who was honored by the city for his "worthy act," personal names in the inscriptions of Medeba are for the most part Semitic during both the Roman and Byzantine periods.

Coins minted in the city from the period of the Province of Arabia, with which Medeba was always associated, have been dated to the time of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Geta, and Severus Alexander. There are essentially three types of scenes on the reverse of such coins: the Helios in four rows, the Tyche of the city, and a *betyl* in a four-columned temple. The Tyche is shown in two variants: standing and holding a cornucopia in her left hand, with a *betyl* in her right hand; or seated on a throne with a scepter in her right hand and an unidentified object in her left hand. From the Roman period is the colonnaded street oriented E-W that passed in front of the exedra (or nymphaeum) on which the Church of the Virgin was constructed, as are the capitals and pediments reused in the church of the 6th century.

Medeba's maximum urban extent, along with its most opulent lifestyle, occurred in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. However, the inscriptions which accompany the mosaic floors of the churches are the primary sources of historical information available. Probably in the first decades of the 6th century, while Cyrus was bishop of Medeba, the baptistery of the cathedral and the church of the monastery of Kaiano on Mt. Nebo in the vicinity of the springs of Moses were decorated with mosaics. In 531 and 536 the

bishop of the city was Elias, as recorded in the mosaics on Mt. Nebo. In 562, when the bishop of the diocese was John, a mosaic was completed in the chapel of Saint Theodore the Martyr in the atrium of the cathedral. During his episcopate John had a chapel built in the SE sector of the city in which was a mosaic. The Church of the Apostles was later built next to this chapel.

Two churches were built with mosaics in the city of Nebo. Probably in the same period a mosaic depicting iconographic motifs from the tragedy of Euripides was placed in the Room of Hippolytus to the N of the nymphaeum on the columned street. In the mosaic, the anonymous artist represented the Christianized Tyche of Medeba, seated with a cornucopia in her right hand and the cross in her left, beside the Tyche of Rome and of Gregoria-Constantinople, the two capitals of the empire of Justinian. At the same time the geographic map of the biblical lands (see C below) was placed in the church in the vicinity of the N gate of the city. An inscription on the plaster of a great cistern, on the N side of the church, attests the interest that the central authority had for Medeba, which lacked natural springs and therefore had to rely on aqueducts to supply water. In the valley SE of the acropolis was a great reservoir, 100 m square and 10 m deep.

The inscriptions record that from 576 until 602, Sergius, "the friend of God, the contemplative," was bishop. During his episcopate a mosaic was placed in the atrium of the cathedral (A.D. 576); the Church of the Apostles was built (578); the Basilica of Nebo was built in honor of Moses with the addition of the new baptistery, and the diaconicon was begun and brought to completion (587–98); the construction began of the ecclesiastical complex along the Roman road including the Church of the Virgin; and the Church of the Prophet Elijah which was finished, except for the crypt alleged to be Saint Elisha's (A.D. 602).

In 603 the bishop Leonizo, "sweetest and true friend of peace," succeeded Sergius. In that year a mosaic was placed in an empty space N of the church in the complex of the cathedral. In 608 the complex along the Roman road was completed with the funds set apart by Mena the son of Pamphylius. A chapel dedicated to the Virgin Theotokos was added to the baptistery on the S wall of the basilica.

Besides these dated monuments, several other churches and public areas had mosaics in them in the second half of the 6th century, when the activity of the mosaic artwork at Medeba was most intense.

After a period of silence in the historical sources and following the arrival of the Muslim forces, perhaps in 662, Bishop Theophanus led the Christian community. In February 662 the restoration of the mosaic of the Church of the Virgin on the Roman road was completed. The dedicatory inscription reveals that "the people—lovers of Christ of the humble city of Madaba" contributed to the completion of this work.

During the Umayyad period (A.D. 719/20), a mosaic was built in the church at Main, which was on the highest point of the acropolis. This building still stands and was the last-dated Christian monument of the region of Medeba. The mosaic is usually included in the school of Medeba.

**C. The Madeba Map**

The Madeba Map is the most famous of the antiquities of the site and is a mosaic map in the floor of one of the 6th-century churches. It is cartographically significant since it is the earliest extant map of Palestine. It apparently portrayed originally the area from Byblos, on the Mediterranean coast, to Thebes in Egypt. The inscriptions are written in Greek, and the layout generally follows the geographic orientations described in Eusebius' *Onomasticon.*

Taking into account the floor plan of the church and the position of the remaining fragments of the mosaic, the map must have decorated a panel 15.7 m long and 5.6 m wide. The approximately 150 remaining toponyms, which have for the most part been identified, refer to places located from the N extremity of Tyre and Sidon S to the delta of the Nile and from the Mediterranean Sea to the Arabian desert. The map is oriented towards the E, as are the cities and the buildings with their captions, which could be seen and read by whoever entered the church and faced the altar. In spite of the space limitations, which resulted in only approximate locations of the cities, it is clear that the intention was to provide the location of places along the highway networks of the region.

The places are indicated for the most part by vignettes and captions. The vignettes indicate the importance of the toponyms. The physical features of the Palestinian region are rendered with a pictorial

realism that makes them easily identifiable: the central axis is formed by the course of the Jordan river and the Dead Sea; the Transjordanian plain with its steep wadis extends to the E; and to the W the mountains of Samaria and Judah are distinguished from the coastal plain. Along with the watercourses, the sea, and the mountains the mosaicist has added other easily comprehensible symbols, such as the palm trees that accompany the oases of Jericho and Zoar, the sources of the Jordan valley, the thickets along the course of the river, the ford with its characteristic hanging ferries, fish in the current, and two boats on the waters of the Dead Sea.

More important from a historical perspective are the peculiar indications of a place, like the twelve stones inserted into the wall of the Church of Golgotha, the well of Jacob at Shechem, the basin baptistery of the spring of Philip in the vicinity of Beth-zur, the terebinth or oak of Mamre, the basins in the springs of Calliroe, and the configuration of Kerak as a city-fortress in an isolated position on the mountain.

The mosaic reaches its figurative summit in the vignette of Jerusalem, which in some way is the central idea of the composition if not its exact physical center. The city, seen from a bird's-eye view, is represented with its walls, gates, streets, and principal buildings identifiable. The Cardo, which starts in the N with a central plaza in which is erected a memorial column, is dominated by the Constantinian complex of the Basilica of the Holy Sepulcher.

On the level of historical geography, the map's originality lies in these details. It depends on an ancient road map brought up to date for the needs of pilgrims of the 6th century who visited the Holy Land. On the artistic level, the map can be viewed as part of the renewed classicism of the Justinian era, of which the mosaics of Medeba provide numerous witnesses.

From the captions of the toponyms and principally by the direct references to the tribes of Israel (from the blessing of Jacob, which is cited in full), it is clear that the map is, above all, a document of biblical geography that had the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius as its primary source. The map encompasses the territory of the twelve biblical tribes and the surrounding regions, in such a way as to reflect the confines of Canaan as promised to Abraham (Gen 15:18). The addition of the localities of the NT and the preeminence given to Christian sanctuaries, to churches, and to the Basilica of the Holy Sepulcher make the map a contemporized Christian rereading of the story of salvation in its geographic aspect. At the center of the redeemed world is the holy city of Jerusalem that has as its primary building the Constantinian complex constructed on the Rock of Calvary and on the Tomb of Jesus.

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MICHELE PICCIRILLO

**MEDIA** (PLACE) [Heb *māday* (מָדַי)]. An ancient Iranian kingdom which rose to power in the 7th century B.C., was allied with Babylon in the overthrow and destruction of the Neo-Assyrian Empire in 612 B.C., and was eventually absorbed into the Achaemenid Empire by Cyrus II. See CYRUS. Throughout Achaemenid history the Medes remained the second most important people in the empire after the Persians (see Esth 1:3).

Medes first appear in a Neo-Assyrian account of a military campaign in 835 B.C. in central W Iran. Continuing references to W Iran in Assyrian documents from the 9th to the 7th centuries B.C. show that

the Medes were concentrated in central W Iran in the area of modern Kermanshah and along the High Road leading to modern Hamadan. To the S lay the kingdom of Ellipi; to the N the kingdom of Mannea.

It is clear that in the 9th and 8th centuries there was no unified kingdom of Media. The Assyrian texts speak of many small polities which are of either mixed ethnic composition or primarily Median, and which are ruled by "kings" or tribal chiefs. The Median language, documented in onomasticons, some place names, and loan words in Persian, is old NW Iranian (possibly the ancestor of modern Kurdish). There is, however, evidence in cuneiform texts for growing Median political unity during the 7th century; and Herodotus in his *Persian Wars* provides a detailed story of the creation and growth of that unity which is undoubtedly largely legendary.

According to Herodotus, Deioces was the founder of a centralized Median state in the 8th century B.C. Deioces was famous for his sense of justice, and the Medes invited him to be an adjudicator of their disputes. On condition that they make him king and build a great city at Ecbatana (Hamadan), he agreed. He is supposed to have reigned for 53 years. Deioces was succeeded by his son, Phraortes, who is reputed to have conquered the Persians. He lost his life in battle against the Assyrians after ruling 40 years. His son, Cyaxares, ruled 40 years and completely reorganized the Median army. Having done so, he allied himself with the Babylonians; and together they successfully effected the capture of Nineveh in 612 B.C. and the overthrow of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Cyaxares was succeeded by his son, Astyages, who ruled for 35 years at Ecbatana, the capital of Media, until overthrown or conquered (the texts are not clear) by Cyrus the Great of Persia in 550 B.C.

Astyages and Cyaxares are well documented in contemporary cuneiform texts. From these sources it is clear that Cyaxares was the king of a united Media, which played a major role in the overthrow of the Neo-Assyrians. Following the fall of Nineveh, the Neo-Assyrian Empire was divided between the Medes and the Babylonians. Tradition has it that this expanded Media included territories as far E on the Iranian plateau as the area of modern Tehran, the whole of central-western and NW Iran, the mountainous areas of Anatolia as far W as the river Halys, and parts of N Syria (probably including the city of Harran). Thus when Cyrus the Great conquered Media, he fell heir to vast highland territories of the Near East. Astyages, and his war with Cyrus and the Persians, is also well documented in contemporary cuneiform texts. On the other hand, careful examination has failed to identify in contemporary texts the Phraortes and Deioces mentioned by Herodotus. Thus there remains no sound textual basis for the early history of a united kingdom of Media extending back through the early 7th and into the late 8th century. Nevertheless, a growing Median unity and power is historically documented for the latter half of the 7th century.

Depending on one's interpretation of the data, it can be argued that there is some evidence in the archaeological record of the 7th century B.C. which indicates increasing cultural unity in central-western and NW Iran and which might be associated with the political and military unification of Media. The three principal sites thus far excavated in W Iran which can with some certainty be described as Median are Baba Jan, Nush-i Jan, and Godin level II.

The geographic term "Media" is still used in Hellenistic times to refer to NW Iran, primarily to the regions now called Kurdistan and Azerbaijan. Clearly Media, and the Medes, played an important role in the early history of Iran.

T. CUYLER YOUNG, JR.

**MEDICINE AND HEALING.** Throughout the biblical tradition, healing is perceived as the work of Yahweh and his divinely empowered agents. In the Hellenistic period, these agents include physicians, although for the most part the biblical writers are hostile toward medicine, or they simply ignore it as having a potential for healing. How sickness is viewed, and therefore how healing is accomplished, are variously understood in the biblical writings. It is evident that changes in these perceptions correspond with changes in the cultural setting of the various biblical writers.

**A. Yahweh as Healer**

In all three sections of the Jewish Scriptures—the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Writings—the image of Yahweh as healer is present as a central aspect of God's relationship to the covenant people. In

Genesis 20, where the story is told of Abraham's having deceived Abimelech by telling him that Sarah is his sister, Abraham intercedes with God to ward off punishment for Abimelech's unwitting sin. The result is that God heals Abimelech, his wife, and his slaves of the infertility which God had sent upon them (Gen 20:17). Following God's deliverance of Israel from slavery in Egypt by means of the plagues and the crossing of the Red Sea, Yahweh promises that if Israel obeys the commandments of God, the nation will escape all the diseases which beset the Egyptians, because "I am Yahweh, your healer" (Exod 15:26). Similarly in the Song of Moses (Deuteronomy 32), Yahweh declares, "There is no other god beside me; I kill and I make alive; I wound and I heal" (32:39).

Job celebrates the correctional role of God and "the chastening of the Almighty," and notes: "For he wounds, but he binds up; he smites, but his hands heal" (Job 5:17–18). The theme of God's restoring the faithful, following either human disobedience or divine chastening (which runs through the Psalms), is linked with healing (Pss 30:2; 41:4). At times healing is associated with forgiveness (Ps 103:3), with deliverance from imminent destruction (Ps 107:19–20), and with renewal of wounded human spirits (Ps 147:30).

It is in the Prophets, however, that Yahweh's role as healer is most fully represented. In Isaiah there are the repeated appeals to Israel to turn back to God and be healed (Isa 6:10; 19:22; 30:26), as well as the report of the ailing king Hezekiah's appeal to God to give him health and life (Isa 38:16). The dual roles of Yahweh as the one who both smites and heals are described with respect to the Egyptians (Isa 19:22) and Israel (Isa 57:18–19). In Isa 53:5, however, it is the suffering of the Servant of Yahweh that is to effect healing of God's people. Jeremiah appeals to the nation in God's behalf to return to God in order to find healing (Jer 3:22). Although he elsewhere laments the apparent absence of a physician to restore the health of the people (Jer 8:22), he also affirms in God's behalf the divine intention to restore and renew them (Jer 30:17; 33:6). The Exile of Israel to Babylon is a divine judgment from which there is no escape, since the sickness of the nation is beyond healing (Jer 8:15, 18, 22; 10:19; 14:19; 15:18; 17:9; 30:12–13; 46:11). The same note of the inescapable judgment, for which there is no healing, is sounded by Hosea and Nahum in connection with the captivity of the N tribes by the Assyrians (Hosea 5:13; Nahum 3:19). Analogously, God's vindication of Israel after her captivity in Babylon will result in judgment on that city, for which there is to be no healing (Jer 51:7–9). The image of Yahweh as healer in a more specific sense is offered by Ezekiel in his rebuke of Israel for its failure to care for the sick and the crippled (Ezek 34:4)—a role which Yahweh will fulfill for the benefit of the weak, the ailing, and the lost (Ezek 34:16). Zechariah offers a similar rebuke to those leaders of the people who fail to meet the needs of the maimed and the needy (Zech 11:15–17). Malachi announces the coming of an agent of God, "the Sun of Righteousness"—which means here, "the one who sets things right"—whose chief resource is "healing in its wings" (Mal 4:2).

**B. Healing and Sickness as Signs of God's Favor and Punishment**

Already implied in the roles of Yahweh and his agents, as sketched above, is the conviction that God gives or restores health to the faithful and sends sickness to the erring and disobedient. In addition to the previously mentioned punishment of Abimelech for taking Abraham's wife (Gen 20:1–18), there are reports of similar judgments on pharaoh (Gen 12:10–20) and again on Abimelech for taking Isaac's wife (Gen 28:1–14). The fact that these stories may be variants of a single tradition serves only to underscore the conviction evident in these materials that God brings sickness on those who violate the divine statutes, even unintentionally.

For members of the people, Israel, there is a direct link between sickness and ritual impurity, as is spelled out in great detail with respect to leprosy (Leviticus 13–14). That healing has taken place is to be confirmed by the priest (Lev 13:16; 18:37; 14:3), and atoning sacrifices are to be offered with the aim of attaining a cure of the disease (Lev 14:19–21, 29). Miriam is stricken with leprosy for her audacity in claiming a role equal with that of Moses as God's instrument (Numbers 12). Moses appeals to God for her healing, which takes place shortly (Num 12:13–15). Similarly, the bitter complaints of the people about the food supplied by God for them during the wilderness journey result in God's sending deadly serpents among them; when they become penitent, God provides through Moses a remedy from the deadly bite of

the serpents (Num 21:4–9). When the Philistines captured the ark of the covenant and took it to their territory, the plague of tumors that broke out led their leaders to send the ark back to the land of Israel (1 Sam 4:10–6:18). Those who looked into the sacred ark out of curiosity (1 Sam 6:19) and even one who reached out to steady it as it was being transported on a wobbly cart (2 Sam 6:6–7) were struck dead for having violated the instrument of Yahweh's presence among his people. Similarly, Jeroboam's initial resistance to the unnamed "man of God" results in his arm's drying up, while the latter's failure to obey the word of Yahweh is punished by his being eaten by a lion (1 Kgs 13:1–25). On the other hand, Hezekiah's petition to Yahweh concerning his seemingly fatal illness is answered by the king's being restored to health. The assurance that this will take place is given by the backward movement of the sun on the sun dial (2 Kgs 20:1–11).

**C. Physicians Offer Useless Advice**

The relatively rare passages in the Hebrew Bible which mention physicians associate them with embalming or with unreliable claimants to healing powers. Joseph arranges with Egyptian "physicians" to prepare his father's body for transport to Israel and burial there (Gen 50:1–14). Asa, the king of Israel, is condemned because he did not seek healing from God for his lingering illness but turned instead to the physicians (2 Chr 16:12). The worthlessness of physicians is implied by Job in his rebuke of those who offer him useless advice (Job 13:4), as it is by Jeremiah's rhetorical question about the lack of a healing agent for God's people (Jer 8:22–9:6) and his sarcastic counsel to Egypt and Babylon to turn to physicians for help to escape the impending judgment of God (Jer 46:11; 51:8).

**D. Prophets as Agents of Healing**

Elijah, who took up residence at the home of a widow in Zarephath in the land of Sidon (1 Kgs 17:8–16), restores to life her son who was stricken with a fatal illness (17:17–23). This leads the widow to recognize the prophet as a man of God in whose mouth the word of Yahweh dwells (17:24). Similarly, the Syrian army commander, Naaman, seeks and receives a cure for his leprosy through Elisha, the prophet of Yahweh, who instructs him to bathe in the river Jordan, which he does and is cured (2 Kgs 5:1–14). This experience of a cure through obedience to the word of the man of God leads Naaman to declare that there is no God in all the earth except Yahweh, the God of Israel (5:15).

**E. Physicians as Agents of God**

In the midst of advice about seeking the way of truth from the Most High and living according to wisdom (Wisdom of Sirach 37), the author advises his reader to show due honor to the physician, whose ability to heal comes from God (38:1). The writer goes on to explain that it is God who created medicines out of the earth (38:4) and has granted human beings knowledge of these natural means of curing human ills. The druggist prepares the medicines, and the physician administers them. Both the patient and the physician are to pray to God for healing, but it is through the efficacy of these natural medicines that healing will take place, and God will give to the medical doctors the insights for effecting cures and restoring the ill to health (38:12–14). It is implied that sickness is the result of human sin, so that one is to pray that the sinner will fall into the hand of a physician—not because he is a charlatan, as implied in the older biblical sources, but because God has given him knowledge of the natural resources to bring about cures (38:15). It is noteworthy that this advice appears in a document written in the early 2d century B.C.E., which shows the influence of Greek culture at many points. With regard to medicine, it reflects the Stoic notion of natural law, which the physician can draw upon for effecting healing. It was in this period, and especially in Alexandria (where Sirach in its Greek version may well have originated), that the medical tradition linked with the 5th-century-B.C.E. figure of Hippocrates was flourishing, with its emphasis on the inherent healing capabilities of natural substances and the task of the physician to recognize and utilize these inherent powers. Sirach has taken over these basic insights and has adapted them within the framework of belief that the God of Israel is the ultimate power and wisdom guiding the universe and the affairs of the human race. Physicians are the divinely instructed instruments through which these powers which God has built into the created order may become available for human well-being. These insights and healing capabilities are not inherent in humanity, as might be the case with the

Stoic view of natural law permeating the universe. Rather, they are part of the wisdom which God communicates for the welfare of earthly creatures.

Although Josephus credits some of human illness to the demons, as we shall note below, he shares with Sirach the belief that the inherent qualities of natural substances are potentially important for curing human ailments. Thus in his description of the Essenes (*JW* 2.136) he notes that they study ancient books and writings, especially those that seek to benefit the human body and soul through the cure of diseases, which are effected by medicinal roots and the properties of certain stones. Josephus also traces this kind of knowledge of natural healing substances back to Solomon (*Ant* 8:44–45), who studied all natural forms and substances and who knew their basic properties for effecting cures. On the other hand, Philo of Alexandria, in his treatise *On the Contemplative Life*, describes the Therapeutae as performing therapy in two ways: (1) The cures which they perform are superior to those performed by medical means, since the latter cure only the bodies, while the Therapeutae treat the human soul. Though the soul may be oppressed with seemingly incurable diseases, these are in fact caused by wicked pleasures; by desires, fears, and griefs; by covetous, foolish, and unjust acts; and by the forces of human passion and vice. (2) Through worship (which is a second meaning of *therapeuein*, from which the name of the group derives), the members of this sect are attuned to nature and its sacred laws, in accord with which they honor and obey the one true God. Like Stoic-oriented Greek medicine, Philo thought that the path to health—physical and psychic—lies through obedience to the God, whose laws are immanent in the created order of the world.

**F. Sickness as Evidence of Demonic Powers**

Written about the same time in the early 2d century B.C.E. as the Wisdom of Sirach is the book of Tobit, in which sickness is seen as the result of the work of demons in human life. When Tobit was blinded by sparrow droppings which fell in his eyes, physicians were unable to cure him (Tob 2:10). The entrails of a fish were the remedy to restore his sight (11:8) and at the same time were effective in expelling demons (Tob 6:7; 8:1–3). It is appropriate that the angel who assists in transmitting the information to make possible these cures and exorcisms is named Raphael: "God heals." But in the postexilic life of Israel, God works healing through intermediate agents, rather than directly as in the older layers of the biblical tradition. A similar role in the causing of human ailments is attributed in *1 Enoch* 6–11 to the fallen angels. They have disclosed to human beings the charms and enchantments and heavenly secrets (*1 En.* 7:1; 8:3; 9:6). It is Raphael once more who announces the doom of the fallen angels and the subsequent healing of the earth (10:4–14).

The book of *Jubilees* combines features of both Sirach and Enoch, in that the cures for human ailments are to be found among medicinal herbs, as well as through the direct action of the angelic powers in their cosmic struggle with the demons. The herbal remedies are ingredient in the creation; knowledge of their use has been granted to certain select ones among God's people (*Jub.* 10:10–14). Although God is ultimately in control over the fallen angels and the demons, he allows some of them to continue to exercise their malevolent power on earth as a part of the divine judgment of disobedient humanity (*Jub.* 10:7–8). The remedies for the evils that the demonic leader, Mastema, and the Egyptians work on earth are not given to them, however, but are vouchsafed to chosen human beings (*Jub.* 48:10). God permits human sickness and other disasters to occur, but in the end these powers will be overcome, and God's work of renewing the creation will be complete.

In his description of Solomon in *Ant* 8:44–46, Josephus portrays this archetypal wise man as possessing complete knowledge of the natural world, not merely for identification of all the birds and trees and animals, but also for the philosophical principles which underlie their existence. This, too, sounds like Stoic natural law; but Josephus then goes on to claim that Solomon was granted by God knowledge of the means for safeguarding humans from the power of the demons, so that the healing benefits might come to them. He composed the incantations for the relief of illnesses and passed on exorcistic formulas so that demons might be permanently expelled. Josephus attests that he has seen firsthand the efficacy of these exorcistic formulas attributed to Solomon, which had been invoked by one of his fellow Jews during the reign of the emperor Vespasian.

Direct evidence of the attribution of human ailments to demonic powers is available in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen 20:12–29) there is a report of Abraham's healing action in behalf of the pharaoh. When Abraham lays his hands on the Egyptian monarch, the plague is expelled in the form of the demon that has been causing it. (The technical term *g‹r* is used here, conveying the sense that a hostile power has been brought under control, as does the Gk term *epitimao,* which in the gospels is often translated inadequately as "rebuke" [cf. Mark 1:25; 4:39; Luke 4:35; 8:24; Matt 8:18]). Because of pharaoh's unwitting violation of the law of Yahweh by taking Sarah as his wife, he has come under demonic control, from which he is released in response to his request to Abraham and that patriarch's action in expelling the demon. Similarly, in the Prayer of Nabonidus (4QPrNab) there is a report that the king has been struck by a severe sickness, just as in Daniel 4 Nebuchadnezzar had lost his mind and wandered like a wild animal. The term used in Nabonidus' prayer for deliverance is from the root *gzr,* which appears also in Dan 5:7, 11, and is to be linked with *g‹r,* and translated as "exorcist" rather than "astrologer." In all these cases what is at issue is the cure of an ailment and the pronouncement of the forgiveness of sins of a pagan ruler. Here again there is evidence that sickness is linked with subjection to demonic powers; and conversely, healing is achieved through exorcism of the hostile force. God is the ultimate source of healing in these documents, but the therapeutic power is administered through the medium of exorcism of the demonic agents.

**G. NT Attitudes toward Physicians**

In some strands of the tradition there are references to physicians as a given factor in the culture of the time, as when Jesus offers justification for his associations with tax collectors and sinners by a proverb-like utterance, "Those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are sick" (Matt 9:12; Mark 2:17; Luke 5:31). At the same time there is a direct challenge to the adequacy of their methods of therapy, as when Mark 5:26 and Luke 8:43 report the inadequacy of the medical agents to cure the woman who in vain had spent all her wealth to procure their services. Luke also reports another proverbial saying of Jesus in response to his detractors who want evidence in Nazareth of his healing capabilities as reported to have occurred in Capernaum (Luke 4:23). The statement would seem to fit the context better if his detractors had said, "Physician, heal!," since what they are calling for is concrete local evidence of his reported healing activities elsewhere. It is the more striking, therefore, that one of the early Christian leaders, with whom the third gospel and Acts came to be associated in the traditions of the Church, was "Luke, the beloved physician" (Col 4:14).

**H. Jesus as God's Healing Agent**

In the gospel tradition three verbs are used to describe the healings performed by Jesus: (1) *hiaomai,* "cure," "deliver from illness"; (2) *therapeuo,* "wait upon," "care for," "heal"; (3) *sothesomai,* "make whole," "restore." Throughout the Synoptics there are summary statements about the healing activity of Jesus: examples may be found in Mark 1:32–34; 1:19; 6:56; Matt 4:23; 8:16; 14:15; 15:30; 21:14; Luke 6:5, 17; 7:20. The two features which appear in these are an emphasis on his role as healer, and the widespread interest that this activity evokes from his contemporaries.

In the healing stories, the response of faith is essential in order for the healing to occur, whether that faith is resident in the victim or in some person or persons who are hoping for a cure of a friend or relative. It is the faith of the friends of the paralytic who have lowered him through the roof that leads Jesus to pronounce forgiveness of the man's sins and to enable him to walk (Mark 2:4–12). It is Jairus' confidence in the ability of Jesus to heal his daughter that brings him to ask Jesus to do so (Mark 5:23), just as it is the faith of the woman with the bloody flow who reaches out in faith to touch Jesus and is thus healed (Mark 5:27–34). Similarly, in one of the summary accounts of Jesus' healing activity, there is mention of those who reach out in faith to touch the fringe of Jesus' garment (Mark 6:53–56; Matt 14:34–36). The father of the epileptic boy who comes to Jesus in behalf of his son declares his faith, and as a consequence Jesus expels the demon that causes the sickness (Mark 9:14–27; Matt 17:14–18; Luke 9:37–43). It is the faith of Bartimaeus that results in his sight's being restored by Jesus, as Jesus makes explicit (Mark 10:52). In the Q tradition, it is the faith of the centurion that brings about the restoration to health of his child (or servant) as is apparent from Jesus' contrast of this Roman officer's faith with the lack of it

in Israel (Matt 8:7–8; Luke 7:9). Matthew has linked the rebuke of the disciples by Jesus for their lacking even minimal faith—"as a grain of mustard seed"—with their failure to be able to heal the epileptic boy (Matt 17:14–20).

At times the healing activity of Jesus is to be followed up by observance of ritual cleansing, as in the Markan and Lukan stories of the cure of lepers (Mark 1:40–45; Luke 5:12–16; Matt 8:1–4; cf. Luke 17:15). More frequently, however, his healing work is seen as a violation of the sabbath prohibition against work, as in his healing the man with the withered hand (Mark 3:1–6; Matt 12:9–14; Luke 6:6–11), the cure of the woman with the spirit of infirmity (Luke 13:14), and of the man with dropsy (Luke 14:1–6). Jesus is depicted as giving priority to the restoration of human health over the observance of even so central and venerable a law of Israel as the avoidance of work on the Sabbath. In addition, a share in the healing benefits of Jesus is extended to those outside the boundaries of the covenant people. This factor is explicit in the healing of the daughter of the Syro-Phoenician woman (Mark 7:24–30; Matt 15:21–28) and is at least implied in the summary reference to Jesus' restoration of a deaf mute whom he met as he passed through gentile territory (Mark 7:31–37; Matt 15:29–31). It is also pointed up in Luke's version of Jesus' sermon in Nazareth, where Jesus points to the precedent set by Elijah and Elisha in performing healings for the benefit of gentiles (Luke 4:25–27).

The source of Jesus' power to heal is God, as is made explicit in Luke 5:17. In the Q version of the controversy about the source of Jesus' power to perform exorcisms, he asserts that it is by the Spirit, or "the finger of God" that he expels demons (Matt 12:28; Luke 11:20), just as Israel had been delivered from slavery in Egypt by God's finger (Exod 8:19). In response to the question from John the Baptist as to who Jesus is, he depicts his role as enabling the blind to see, the lame to walk, lepers to be cleansed, the deaf to hear, and the dead to be raised. All these descriptions of the healing of humanity derive from the words of the prophet Isaiah (29:18–19; 35:5–6; 61:1), who announces what God will do in behalf of his faithful people in preparation for the new age. The claim that Jesus is indeed God's agent to accomplish these divine purposes by God's power is directly announced in Luke's account of the sermon of Jesus at Nazareth, where, having referred to this healing-and-renewing-activity promise by God (Isa 61:1–2), he adds, "Today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing" (4:18–21). Matthew has his own version of this claim in behalf of Jesus as healer (15:30–31), where he describes those afflicted with these same ailments, notes that Jesus healed them, and concludes that the crowd which saw these wonders "glorified the God of Israel." It is not surprising, therefore, that the gospel tradition also reports that certain persons try to exploit the power of healing and exorcism which God has given to Jesus by the use of his name to achieve similar wonders (Mark 9:38–41; Luke 9:49–50). Jesus is seen to recognize the efficacy of his name and does not deny its use to others. Chief among those who are not merely permitted but actually charged to carry forward work in his name are, of course, the disciples, who are commissioned by him to perform on the model of his exorcisms and healings and who do so (Mark 6:6–13; Matt 9:35–10:11; Luke 9:1–6). In Luke's gospel, seventy others are also sent out, presumably to a similar ministry of healing and preaching among the gentiles (10:1–12). They, too, are to engage in exorcisms and healings in the name of Jesus, their effectiveness in which is attested by them on their return (vv 17–20).

In the gospel of John there are no accounts of exorcisms, and the healing stories are told in such a way as to point up their symbolic significance for faith. That point is made explicit in the concluding remark of John about Jesus' signs in John 20:30, 31: these accounts of Jesus' activities have been written down in order to persuade the reader that he is the Son of God, thereby enabling the faithful hearer to gain eternal life. There may be symbolic significance in the Synoptic Gospels' reporting the recovery of sight by blind Bartimaeus at the end of the account of Jesus' public activity and prior to his rejection by the authorities in Jerusalem (Mark 10:46–52; Matt 20:29–34; Luke 18:35–43). Thus Bartimaeus symbolizes those who are able to discern who Jesus is, in contrast to those who think they can see but are blind to the purpose of God, as in Jesus' reference to the blind guides of the blind (Matt 15:14; Luke 6:39). This point is made explicitly in the story of Jesus' healing the man born blind (John 9:1–41), where Jesus notes the inability of the Pharisees to see who Jesus is (vv 40–41). The issue of insight into Jesus' role as the agent of God and that insight as a major point of division between the followers of Jesus and the Jewish leaders are

described in John 9:22; there it is said that to confess Jesus as Messiah is the ground for expulsion of his followers from the synagogue. The inability of the leaders to see who Jesus is stands in sharp contrast with the discernment of the healed blind man—"Lord, I believe" (9:32)—and results in their subsequent rejection of his effort to explain to them Jesus' unique relationship with God as the one who brings the light of knowledge of God. Similarly, in John 4 the official's trust in the word of Jesus results not only in the healing of his son, but in the entry of the father and the entire household into the community of faith (4:53). John reminds his reader that this is "the second sign that Jesus did" and hence is of symbolic as well as of narrative importance. As a fitting climax to his account of the public career of Jesus, John describes in detail the circumstances of the death and restoration to life of Lazarus (11:1–44). In the course of the narration Jesus declares that he not only makes possible the resurrection, but that he *is* "the resurrection and the life" and that all who trust in him will never die (11:25–26). He invites his hearers to trust in him as God's agent, and later (12:37–50) he contrasts those who refuse to see in his "signs" the work of God in their midst (and who therefore do not share in the healing which God provides through him) with those who do trust and have therefore moved from darkness to light of the knowledge of God.

The passages quoted in John 9 from Isa 6:1, 10 also appear in a similar report of disbelief on the part of the Jewish leaders in Rome (Acts 28:27). Throughout the narratives of Acts there are reports much like those found in the Synoptic Gospels, only now it is the apostles through whom the healing power of God is manifest, as in the story of the lame man at the temple gate who was healed by Peter (Acts 3:1–10) and the account of Paul's healing the lame man at Lystra (Acts 14:8–10). As in the Synoptic tradition, an essential feature is that the man had sufficient faith to be healed (14:9). In the account of the healing of the father of Publius on the island of Malta, however, the only factor mentioned in the cure achieved is that Paul prayed and laid on his hands (Acts 28:7–8). The other cures which follow are noted with no details or accompanying features (Acts 28:9). In two crucial passages in Acts, there are explicit links between the healing activity of the apostles and that of Jesus: Acts 9:34 specifies that the healing of the paralytic Aeneas by Peter was the direct action of Jesus Christ; in Peter's description of the career of Jesus, he remarks that God's anointing of him with power and thus God's presence with him had been manifested in his good deeds and specifically in his "healing all that were oppressed of the devil" (Acts 10:38).

**I. Healing Activity in the Pauline and Catholic Letters**

In 1 Corinthians 12, where Paul is describing the charismatic gifts which the Spirit of God produces, he mentions the gifts of healing and the working of miracles (12:9–10, 29–30). He does not describe their occurring, nor does he indicate whether or not he shared in these gifts. They are, however, ranked by him in fourth place, after the roles of apostle, prophet, and teacher. Near the end of his hortatory treatise, the author of James asks his readers to confess their sins to one another and to pray for one another so "that you may be healed." Implicit in this exhortation is that sickness is related to sin, just as healing is linked with forgiveness, which as noted is also the case in the gospel tradition. What is wholly clear from this non-narrative NT evidence is that healing continues to have a significant role in the lives of those who see themselves as the people of God.

**J. Medicine in the NT?**

Some scholars have sought to explain certain features of the gospel miracle stories as evidence of medical or magical technique. Two of the features of the miracle stories that have been linked with one or the other of these techniques are the laying on of hands and the application of spittle or mud made from it to the affected part. A story found only in Mark (8:22–26) describes Jesus's restoring the sight of a blind man of Beth-saida by spitting on the man's eyes and laying on his hands. In John 9:6, Jesus is described as making mud from spittle and placing it on the eyes of the man born blind, which mud, when washed away, results in his gaining sight. There is no hint of conscious or even implicit medical or magical technique here, however; and both stories lead directly into the question of Jesus' role as the anointed one of God. The implication seems to be rather the removal of the unclean or sinful element which has caused the blindness. Similarly, Jairus' request to Jesus is to come lay his hands on the ailing daughter (Mark 7:32–33; Matt 15:23–31); but there is no suggestion that the source of healing resides in the technique of

touching. Rather, as Mark's version of the incident makes clear, the crucial factor is faith in the power transmitted through Jesus (Mark 7:36). In other gospel narratives Jesus is asked to lay hands on the sick (Mark 7:32–33; Matt 15:29–31), or he does so on his own initiative (Luke 13:13). Summary statements also note his healing through the laying on of hands (Matt 6:5; Luke 4:40). That this action is linked with the authority transmitted from God through Jesus is implied in the gospel accounts of the transfer of divine blessing to children through Jesus' laying on of hands (Mark 10:13; Matt 19:13–15; Luke 18:15). That the transmission of authority is the central factor in the laying on of hands is clearly the case in other NT writings, especially in Acts, where the imposition of hands by the apostles is essential for the assignment of responsibility (Acts 6:6), for conveying the Spirit to believers (Acts 8:17–19; 19:6), and for the assignment of Paul to the gentile mission (Acts 9:12–17; 13:3). A solemn warning in 1 Tim 5:22 concerns the hasty assigning of authority within the Church through the laying on of hands. In these accounts of the imposition of hands, there is neither magical nor medical technique but the symbolic transfer of power within the people of God.

**K. Summary**

The predominantly negative attitude toward physicians and medical technique in the Bible is, therefore, the reverse side of the conviction that it is God's intention and responsibility to care for the health of his people. This may be accomplished by direct action or through a human agent, whether through the prophets or Jesus or the apostles, and in a few texts, through physicians. In each case healing, which is essential to the fullness of human beings created in the image of God, is accomplished through God's action in behalf of members of the faithful community, communicated through a human agency or by direct performance. See also SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

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## MEDITERRANEAN SEA

[Heb *yām* (יָם)]. An interior waterway linking together the continents Asia, Africa, and Europe. The term "Mediterranean" is derived from Latin *medius terra,* "midland," and in classical Roman literature was never associated with the sea. Biblical literature employs the NW Semitic term *yām* (Isa 24:15; Jer 46:18; Ezek 26:17–18; Jonah 1:11–13, 15; etc.). Akkadian probably borrowed the term as *yâmu* (Gordon *UT,* 19.1106), and the Egyptians definitely borrowed it as *ym* (Erman and Grapow, *WbÄS,* 78. The sense is still preserved in the place name al-Fayyum [Eg. *p€ y (W)m*] = "the sea"). It entered Coptic vernaculars as $^{s.}$ EIOM; $^{b.}$ IOM $^{a.f.}$ IAM (Spiegelberg 1921: 25).

*Yām* is not only a term for the sea, but also represents the sea god. It is on the shores of the Mediterranean that the famous literary theme of the battle between Baal and the sea god *Yām* originated. The motif was exported to the Akkadians, who incorporated it into their language and literature (Jacobsen 1968: 107–8). The people of Ugarit embellished the theme (Gordon, *UT,* Text 68), and traces of it are found in the Bible (Isa 27:1; 51:10; Job 7:12; 26:12; Pss 74:16–20; 89:9–10; 93:3–4). In a Mari text (ca. the 18th century B.C.), the Mediterranean Sea is known both as a real sea and the personification of a sea god. The text relates that *Iaḫdum-Lim* reaches the shores of *ti-a-am-tu,* the Mediterranean Sea. His thanksgiving offerings, however, are presented to Sumerian *A-a-ab-ba* (elsewhere written A.AB.BA), the Mediterranean Sea personified as a sea deity (Dossin 1955: 5–6). The use of two different terms for the Mediterranean Sea suggests the dual aspects of this particular sea, so often portrayed in biblical literature.

The Near East is situated geographically between two major bodies of water: the Mediterranean Sea and branches of the Indian Ocean. Empires of the ancient world prided themselves on dominating the lands and peoples who lived in between the seas. A common expression of the Babylonians was *iš-tu ti-a-am-ti e-li-ti a-di ti-a-am-ti ša-ap-li-ti* "from the upper sea unto the lower sea," i.e., from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean. While the Babylonians described the seas from their geographic vantage point, the biblical scribes, from their perspective, portrayed the ideal borders of Israel as extending *miyyām ʿad yām*

i.e., from the Eastern to the Western Sea (Zech 9:11; Ps 72:8; cf. Amos 8:12). For Assyrian and Babylonian kings, the description was a reality, even if only for a short while; but for the biblical prophets it remained as a vision of the future.

The ancients were familiar with settlements all around the Mediterranean Sea. Thus an Assyrian king reports that tribute is paid by kings situated "in the midst of the sea." Ezekiel uses such a term when he prophesies calamity "in the midst of the seas" (Ezek 27:27). Sennacherib's annals record that the king of Sidon escaped into "the midst of the sea." This portends the beginning of the migration westward of Palestinians and Syrian natives afraid of the invading empires of the East. It also explains the biblical references to the return of the exiles from "the islands of the sea" (Isa 11:11). The aforementioned verse cites places designating East, North, and South. It is the islands of the sea which clearly refer to the west, thus indicating the islands in the Mediterranean.

The geographic map of the Mediterranean Sea is familiar to the biblical scribes. Even though not all the islands mentioned in the Bible are as yet definitively identified, the citations demonstrate acquaintance with locations both near and far. The Isle of Caphtor (Gen 10:14; Deut 2:23; Jer 47:4; Amos 9:7) refers, according to the Aramaic translation, to Cappadocia, while others maintain that it designates the island of Crete (Simons, *GTTOT*, No. 46, No. 194, No. 295; Gardiner 1968: 201–4). Similarly, the prophet suggests to his audience to visit the Isles of Kittim (Jer 2:10). The *Tg. Neb.* equates it with "Appulia," the Vg with "Italy" (Ezek 27:7), and Donner and Röllig (*KAI* 1: 32) with the Gk *Kition.* Italy is also given as the identification of Isles of Elishah by the *Tg. Neb.* (Ezek 27:7). The Targum refers to the Isles of *gôyîm* as "the Islands of Peoples" (Gen 10:5; Zeph 2:11), possibly a general expression pertaining to inhabitants of the islands of the Mediterranean.

The familiarity of the Bible with locations beyond the immediate shores of Syria-Palestine indicates involvement with sea activities, both commercial and military. The 2d millennium B.C.E. witnessed the Canaanites of Syria-Palestine as the thalassocrats of maritime activities. The 1st millennium B.C.E. saw a change in the composition of the leading maritime forces in the Mediterranean. The Sea Peoples migrated to the shores of the E Mediterranean (Sasson 1966: 137–38), and the Hebrews gained a foothold along the shore (Gordon 1963: 22, 31). See GREAT SEA.

Intense competition along the E Mediterranean shores resulted in a search for new and profitable maritime ventures. This was accomplished for the Israelite monarchy when the innovative kings, David and Solomon, were able to conclude a series of agreements with sea traders of the Mediterranean par excellence, the Phoenicians. The peak was reached when Solomon's fleet, manned primarily by Israelites and assisted by Phoenicians, launched one of the most famous ventures to exotic lands.

During the period of the great prophets, maritime activity declined and reached its lowest ebb; yet it would be impossible to explain the sudden rise in Jewish naval and commercial affairs in the postbiblical era if one were to assume that Jewish seamanship ceased completely during the prophetic era. As a matter of fact, recent archaeological excavations along the coast of Israel show considerable maritime activity of Israelites and Judeans during the First Commonwealth (Maisler 1950: 67–76, 124–40, 198–218; Raban 1983: 229–51; Yeivin 1960: 193–228).

During the Greco-Persian wars Herodotus reports that the largest share of naval ships were supplied and manned jointly by Jews and Phoenicians, thus alluding to an old partnership which may never have been dissolved (Hdt. 2.104; 3.5; 7.89; Jos. *Ant* 8.262; *AgAp* 1.22, 168).

When the Maccabean kings captured Joppa, the Tower of Strato (later Caesarea), and the rest of the harbor cities along the Mediterranean, the sea-oriented activities once again flourished (1 Macc 8:11; 2 Macc 12:3). This interest is reflected by the maritime symbolism found on various archaeological artifacts of the period, notably, Jewish coins (Kindler 1966: 15–20).

The Roman hegemony did not put an end to Jewish naval and commercial interests. Joppa continued to thrive, and King Herod I built a seaport in Caesarea (*Ant* 16.9; *JW* 5.21). This was the largest in the region, and it played a principal role in trade from the E to the W. The maritime enterprises of the period have been demonstrated by the underwater archaeological excavations of the Palestinian coast (Raban 1983: 140–43), as well as by the marine symbols, ships, and anchors struck on contemporary coins

(Meshorer 1967: 69, coins Nos. 56–60). The rebellion against the Romans (66–70 C.E.) eliminated the existence of a free Jewish fleet operating in the waters of the E Mediterranean (*JW* 3.419). The dimension of the calamity is not exaggerated by Josephus since it is suggested that three successive emperors celebrated the great victory by minting coins "Victoria Navalis" (Stieglitz 1975: 18–19; cf. Meshorer 1975: 38 No. 19).

During the NT era, the port cities were utilized not only for commercial purposes, but also for exporting the new religious concepts westward (Acts 9:36–49; 10:5–8). Preparation of Mediterranean society for Christianity depended heavily on the Jewish communities scattered around the Roman Empire (Acts 13:13–15, 14:1–2), the cosmopolitan seaport cities, and the well-traveled sea routes of the Mediterranean. The diffusion of Christianity, in large measure, can be attributed to the sailing of the apostles to various port cities of the Mediterranean, as described in the book of Acts.

Travel, however, was not possible throughout the year. The Rabbinic Sages recommended travel on the Mediterranean only from Pentecost until the Feast of Tabernacles. The hazardous period was known to be from the Feast of Tabernacles until Hanukkah, and even the large Alexandrian boats did not traverse the seas during this period (*Gen. Rab.* 6.5). Paul traveled the high seas during this dangerous time and nearly lost his life (Acts 27:7–44; 28:11).

The heritage of Western civilization along E Mediterranean shores was created not in a vacuum, but through the intermingling of the Mediterranean peoples, particularly the Greeks and Israelites. A catalyst for this interaction was the intense activity on the Mediterranean by the intrepid seafarers who took full advantage of its sea routes.

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MEIR LUBETSKI

**MEDIUM.** See MAGIC.

**MEGADIM, TEL** (M.R. 145236). A site on the Levantine coast some 17 km S of Haifa and 2 km N of ʾAtlit. The site was only occasionally occupied from the EB to the Byzantine periods. It is perhaps to be identified with Kartah, i.e., "town," a name mentioned in Josh 21:34 and a frequent component of Phoenician place names. Its principal remains were uncovered in the well-preserved town of the Persian period.

**A. The Bronze Age**

The EB and MB periods are known only through unstratified finds; however, it appears that the EB settlement was considerably larger than the later ones. EB I (gray-burnished ware and hole-mouth jars) and EB II (platters and a seal impression) remains are common. After a long period of abandonment, the site was reoccupied in the MB. Another period of abandonment appears to separate the MB from LB periods. The LB city had strong overseas commercial ties, as implied by the abundant Cypriot pottery.

**B. The Persian Period**

Three Persian period strata were identified in the excavations, but the dating of the earliest (stratum I) is uncertain. After a destruction level, the most substantial stratum (stratum II) was unearthed, representing a well-preserved and well-planned town which flourished in the 5th century B.C. The town was laid out in a quadrangle, foreshadowing a system that became popular in the later Hellenistic period. The casemate fortification wall probably served primarily as protection against pirates. Greek and Cypriot ware testify to an intensive overseas trade. In the beginning of the 4th century B.C., the town was destroyed, possibly as a result of the invasions of the 29th Egyptian Dyn. or during the Persian reconquest of the country (ca. 380 B.C.). Shortly afterward, the site was resettled for a brief period (stratum I) before being destroyed, perhaps at the time of the Tennes rebellion (351 B.C.) or, at the latest, during the campaign of Alexander the Great (332 B.C.).

After the Persian period, the site seems to have fallen into obscurity. A large public building on the peak of the mound is all that is known from later periods, and may be the horse-changing station and caravansary known as Mutation Certa mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim (ca. A.D. 330).

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M. BROSHI

## MEGIDDO (PLACE) [Heb *měgiddô* (מְגִדּוֹ)]. A city in the valley of Jezreel. While the king of

Megiddo is said to have been killed by the Israelites in their initial foray into Canaan (Josh 12:21) and Megiddo was allotted to the tribe of Manasseh (Josh 17:11), the Manassites were unable to accommodate the city (Judg 1:27). The site is mentioned in the Song of Deborah (Judg 5:19), but it is unclear whether the reference is as a geographic landmark or a statement implying occupation. Eventually the Israelites took control of the site, and it came under Solomon's administrative organization (1 Kgs 4:12). He later fortified it along with Jerusalem, Hazor, and Gezer (1 Kgs 9:15). Ahaziah was assassinated by Jehu and died at Megiddo (2 Kgs 9:27), and Josiah later was killed there when he met Neco (2 Kgs 23:29).

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A. Site and Identification
B. History of Explorations
C. Excavation Results
1. The Early Settlements
2. The Canaanite City
3. The Israelite City
4. The Later Periods

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**A. Site and Identification**

The ancient city is represented by a major mound, Tel Megiddo (Hebrew), known also as Tell el-Mutesellim (Arabic "the tell of the governor"; M.R. 167221). The mound rises ca. 30 m above the surrounding plain and measures ca. 300 × 230 m, covering an area of 50 dunams. Including the slopes, the mound covers an area of 74 dunams. A lower terrace extending to the NE of the mound was also inhabited during various periods. The settlement drew its water from two springs, Ain el-Kubbi to the NE of the site and another spring at the bottom of the W slope.

Megiddo is located in the W part of the Jezreel valley, nearly at the foot of Mt. Carmel. It is positioned not far from where the brook of Naḥal Iron (Wâdī Ara) enters into the Jezreel valley. Along this brook passed the main highway (Via Maris) from Egypt to Syria; and the narrow Naḥal Iron is the best point where the route can be controlled, hence the special strategic importance of Megiddo in ancient (and modern) times. Thus, having ample sources of water and a fertile valley nearby, located along an international commercial highway, and being of unique strategic importance, Megiddo became one of the most important centers in the country.

The identification of ancient Megiddo with Lejjun, ca. 1.5 km S of the mound, was first proposed in A.D. 1322 by the Jewish writer Eshtori Haparchi in his book *Caphtor Waperach* and independently in 1838 by E. Robinson during his first visit to Palestine.

**B. History of Explorations**

The excavation of Megiddo was initiated by the German Society for the Study of Palestine. It was the first major German excavation project in the Holy Land, and a large part of the costs were defrayed by Kaiser Wilhelm II. G. Schumacher, an architect who had previously conducted a survey in the Golan, directed the excavations, which took place between 1903 and 1905. Schumacher (1908) surveyed the site and its vicinity, cut a 20-m-wide trench across the mound from N to S, cut a number of 3-to-5-m-wide trenches across the summit and the slopes, dug two monumental Iron Age buildings on the summit (the *Tempelburg* and the *Palast*), and studied tombs and other remains in the vicinity of the site. The finds were later analyzed by Watzinger (1929).

In 1925 the Chicago Oriental Institute resumed the excavations under the direction of J. H. Breasted. From its inception the project was planned on a large scale, aiming at a horizontal exposure of one layer of habitation after the other across the entire mound. See Fig. MEG.01. The neglect of details and of vertical relationships which are essential to understand the stratigraphy, as well as the production of superficial excavation reports, characterized the work. Many of the difficulties which later arose in the interpretation of the finds stem from these deficiencies. No attempt was made to correlate the work with the German finds; and as a result, the Oriental Institute's plans and reports ignore crucial architectural data uncovered by Schumacher.

Fisher (1929) was director from 1925 to 1927. He built an expedition house on the lower terrace NE of the mound, prepared a chute on the E slope for removing debris, and excavated an area to the E of the site where the debris could be dumped. On the summit he excavated the area at the E side, where Schumacher had uncovered the *Tempelburg*.

Guy (1931) was director from 1927 to 1934. He cleared an area farther to the E of the mound, where early remains and tombs of many periods were discovered (Engberg and Shipton 1934; Guy 1938). He uncovered the remains of the Israelite strata across the entire summit (areas A–E), including the city gate and the stable compounds (Lamon and Shipton 1939), and cleared the water system (Lamon 1935). Guy introduced the use of a camera attached to a balloon for taking aerial photographs of the excavations.

Loud directed the work from 1935 to 1939, when the project ended because of World War II. He concentrated his efforts in selected areas (AA–DD), where he penetrated lower strata. In area BB, a wide trench at the E side of the site, he dug down to virgin soil. The results of his work were inadequately published because of war conditions (Loud 1948; Shipton 1939).

Between 1960 and 1972, Yadin (1960, 1970, 1972) carried out small-scale excavations in the NE part of the site and near the "gallery" at the W side to clarify the stratigraphy of the earlier temples in area BB. In 1974 Eitan (1974) further studied Iron Age remains uncovered at the lower end of the E slope.

CHRONICAL TABLE

(Dates B.C. unless otherwise noted)

| Periods and Dates | Strata | Special Data |
|---|---|---|
| PN B–EB I (6000–2950/2900) | XX–XIX | Stages VII–IV |
| EB II–IV (2950/2900–2200) | XVIII–XV | |
| EB IV (2200–2000) | XIV | Shafts Tombs |
| MB I (2000–1800) | XIII–XII | Egypt's Middle Kingdom |
| MB II–III (1800–1550) | XI–X | Egypt's Second Intermediate |
| LB I–III (1550–1130) | IX–VIIA | Egypt's New Kingdom |
| Iron IA–B (1130–1000) | VIB–VIA | |
| Iron IC (1000–930) | VB | David's Reign |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | VA–IVB | Solomon's Reign |
| Iron IIA–B (930–734) | IVA | Divided Monarchy |
| Iron IIC (734–ca. 600) | III–II | Assyrian Rule |
| Babylonian–Persian (ca. 600–332) | I | Conquered by Allexander |
| Roman (31–A.D. 324) | New settlement at Lejjun | |

**C. Excavation Results**

**1. The Early Settlements. a. Neolithic.** Stratum XX represents the beginning of settlement on bedrock uncovered in area BB. Remains of stone and brick walls, floors, pits, and fireplaces cut in the surface of the rock were reported. Toothed-flint sickle blades and pottery fragments of the Yarmūkian culture date the settlement to the Pottery Neolithic B period. Loud considered one cave (labeled stratum -XX) to be earlier in date, assigning it to the Pre-Pottery Neolithic period.

**b. Chalcolithic and Early Bronze I.** Remains of EB I were uncovered in Stages VII–IV in the area excavated E of the mound (Engberg and Shipton 1934), indicating that the EB I unfortified settlement extended to a large area E of the site. Two "apsidal" buildings—rectangular buildings with one rounded end—which are typical to that period, were uncovered in Stage IV. The ceramic repertoire is characterized by gray-burnished "Esdraelon ware" and "grain-wash" pottery. A group of cylinder seal impressions stamped on pottery vessels found in Stage IV show connections to Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt (Beck 1975).

Stratum XIX in area BB is represented by a temple compound extending on the E slope of the site. The temple was the first of a number of sanctuaries built in this general area until the Iron Age (Epstein 1973; Dunayevsky and Kempinski 1973). The shrine was a rectangular room, its entrance located in one of the long walls facing the E slope. A number of stone slabs extending along the center of the room and adjacent to the walls must have been bases for pillars or other objects. A rectangular mudbrick platform, apparently an altar, which was enlarged in a later phase, was built opposite the entrance. It is possible that a badly preserved room to the N of the shrine served as a second, similar shrine. A sloping courtyard surrounded by a curving wall extended in front of the building. A round installation assigned to stratum XVIII (No. 4034), beside which a unique, ceremonial copper spear was found, probably formed a cultic basin in the courtyard. Remains of two layers of stone pavement were found in the courtyard. On some of the stone slabs were incised figures of men and animals in hunting scenes and decorative patterns.

The ground plan of the temple resembles that of the Chalcolithic, Ghassulian sanctuary at En-Gedi. Typical Ghassulian pottery, notably cornets, and other finds, were found here (and not elsewhere in Megiddo). Early Bronze I pottery is also reported from this area. This situation can be explained in two ways. One possibility is that the temple originates in the Chalcolithic period. Similar to the En-Gedi sanctuary, it may have been an isolated shrine located on the slope not far from a spring and facing the valley to the E; but it could have also been located in a Ghassulian settlement which extends in the unexcavated parts of the site. A second possibility is that the temple belongs to the EB I settlement, while its resemblance to the En-Gedi sanctuary and the presence of Ghassulian finds indicate the contemporaneity of the Ghassulian and EB I cultures (Kempinski 1989).

**c. Early Bronze II–III.** These periods are covered by strata XVIII–XV in area BB. Attempts to elucidate the stratigraphy and chronology were made by Kenyon (1958), Thompson (1970), Dunayevsky and Kempinski (1973), Kempinski (1989), and Brandfon (1977).

A massive city wall was built at stratum XVIII. Built of stone, it was ca. 4–5 m wide and preserved ca. 4 m high. In stratum XVII it was widened, becoming ca. 8 m thick. A turn inward at the edge of area BB shows that it did not surround the entire site. Kenyon's suggestion (1958: 52*) that in its initial stage the wall was merely a retaining wall supporting the adjoining edifice built up the slope is very attractive. The city wall indicates that Megiddo became a fortified, but smaller, settlement in EB II.

Altar 4017 was built in stratum XVII on the summit, near the edge of the E slope where the stratum XIX temple once stood. It is a circular, stone-built structure, ca. 8 m in diameter and 1.5 m high, with a

flight of seven steps leading to its top. An enclosure wall surrounded it, and large amounts of bones and pottery were found within it. See Fig. MEG.02.

Three temples (4040, 5192, 5269) were added later near the altar. According to Loud they were all built in stratum XV dated to the EB–MB Intermediate period (= MB I or EB IV). However, it seems that Temple 4040 was built before the other two temples and that all of them date to the EB, when Megiddo was still a great urban center (Dunayevsky and Kempinski 1973).

All three temples have a uniform plan. Each temple consists of a rectangular cella entered through a porticoed porch. Two pillar bases were found in the center of each cella; and a platform, probably an altar, stood against the rear wall. A small side room was attached to each temple. The temples were probably dedicated to three different deities, and with the round altar they formed an impressive sacred area.

**d. Early Bronze IV.** During this period, settlement on the site continued but declined. Existence of a poor settlement is proven by contemporary pottery found in area BB, and it probably includes many of the badly preserved structures assigned to strata XIV and XIIIB in that area. The earlier Temple 4040 was reused. The cella was filled with rubble and a small cell, measuring ca. 5.5 × 4 m, was prepared in its center. A cultic niche, located above the former altar, was built in the wall of the cell, opposite its entrance.

A number of rock-cut tombs were uncovered SE of the site (Schumacher 1908: 168–73; Guy 1938). Many of them, used for multiple burials, are characterized by their plan and pottery: a horizontal entrance cut at the bottom of a vertical shaft opens into a rectangular chamber which has entrances to three smaller side chambers cut at a slightly higher level. The pottery, which appears in a number of places in N Israel, includes wheel-made, gray vessels, decorated with wavy white bands, and is connected to the "caliciform" pottery of N Syria. Amiran (1960) defined it as Family C and Dever (1980) as Family NC in their classifications of the period's pottery.

**2. The Canaanite City.** The beginning of the MB in the 20th century B.C. marks the rebuilding of Megiddo in stratum XIII as an urban, fortified center—a Canaanite city-state which lasted without interruption until the destruction of the stratum VIIA city at the end of the LB Age in the 12th century B.C. The entire period is characterized by the presence and interests of Egypt in Canaan and Syria, and is affected by changes in the impact of Egyptian influence. Domination of Megiddo naturally was a prerequisite for Egyptian hegemony in Canaan.

Extensive remains of the city were uncovered in Schumacher's main trench and in Loud's areas AA–DD. The stratigraphic sequence is confused because of the custom of constructing tombs within the city limits (typical of the MB) and the difficulty in assigning them to city levels, the continuous occupation of the site, and the near absence of massive destructions by fire. Attempts at elucidating the stratigraphy and the history of the city were made by Epstein (1965), Kenyon (1969), Müller (1970), Dunayevsky and Kempinski (1973), Kempinski (1989), Kassis (1973), Gerstenblith (1983: 23–28, 114), and Gonen (1987).

**a. Middle Bronze Age.** The MB I parallels the Middle Kingdom in Egypt, i.e., the rule of the 12th Dyn. and renewal of Egyptian interests in Canaan and Syria. It is not clear how strong was the Egyptian influence at Megiddo. Significantly, the Execration Texts do not mention Megiddo; and this fact has been interpreted as an indication of Egyptian domination. A broken, black, stone statuette of Thuthotep, a high Egyptian official in the 19th century B.C., was found with two broken, black, stone Egyptian statuettes embedded in the raised platform of stratum VIIB Temple 2048. The statues had probably stood in the earlier temple built on this spot; they were later broken when the temple was plundered, after which it was buried. The implications of this find for understanding the relationships with Egypt at the period of the Middle Kingdom are not clear (Wilson 1941). Strata XIII–XII are assigned to the MB I by some scholars (e.g., B. Mazar, Kempinski) but others (e.g., Dever, Gerstenblith, Davies) assign stratum XII to MB II.

During MB II–III, which parallel the Second Intermediate Period in Egypt, Egyptian impact on Megiddo weakened; and scarabs form the main expression of Egyptian influence (Tufnell 1973). Strata XI–X are usually assigned to this period.

The MB city is characterized by massive fortifications, uncovered in areas AA–CC in strata XIIIA–XI. In area AA the stratum XIII buttressed city wall and a city gate were uncovered. They were built of bricks

on stone foundations. A stepped approach, supported by a retaining wall, led to the gate. The wall, gatehouse, and retaining wall were supported on the outside by a limestone glacis. The gate chamber included outer and inner doorways, ca. 2 m wide, oriented 90° to one another. The stepped approach, the narrow doorways, and the indirect passage indicate that the gate was planned for use by pedestrians. In stratum XII the city wall to the W of the gate was thickened by the addition of a new wall. The city wall also extended above the ruined stratum XIII gatehouse. In stratum XI a new city wall, with buttresses built along its inner face and a glacis leaning against its outer face, was built. On the E side the uncovered wall segment ended in a tower which may have formed part of the city gate.

In areas BB and CC the continued lines of the strata XIII–XII walls found in area AA were identified. In area BB a buttressed wall, 1.5 m thick, built of bricks on stone foundations, was assigned to stratum XIIIA. In stratum XII a similar wall, but of superior construction, and a tower adjoined the outer facade of the earlier wall, thus more than doubling its width. The city wall was preserved here to a height of more than 3 m. This system of walls was also uncovered in area CC, where it included an inner double wall and outer wall supported by a glacis. According to Loud the city walls in area BB were freestanding structures. However, the faces of these well-preserved brick walls were unplastered (Loud 1948: figs. 197, 199–200) and obviously were not meant to withstand rains. The data thus indicate that these walls were part of the fortifications' substructure and probably belong to a single fortifications system. The brick walls must have been supported by a glacis on the outside and a constructional fill on the inside, which were removed by Loud. Kenyon (1969: 44) observed that the wall is stratigraphically later than stratum XIIIA, and it probably dates to stratum XII or stratum XI in area BB.

The existence of a glacis on the slope and supporting massive brick walls, which must have formed part of the same fortification system, was manifested in seven narrow trenches cut by Schumacher around the site (1908: 23–36).

An impressive building with thick stone walls was uncovered in strata XI–X in area BB, to the NW of the sacred area. It is located near Schumacher's *Nordburg*, uncovered in his main trench (1908: 37–66; Loud 1948: fig. 415); and both apparently constitute parts of the MB II–III royal acropolis of Megiddo, which had been built in the central part of the site.

Schumacher (1908: 13–23, 66–77) uncovered a unique stone structure, the *Mittelburg*, which adjoined the S side of the *Nordburg.* This structure, in which Schumacher discerned a number of phases, contained three unique stone tombs, apparently for the burial of princes and nobles. "Burial chamber I," measuring ca. 2.6 by 2.15 m, was entered through a vertical shaft leading to a horizontal corridor. It contained a skeleton lying on a bench with a variety of adornments and scarabs mounted in gold. Four more skeletons, probably of his family or entourage, and many burial presents were found on the floor. The largest tomb was found empty and hence was not considered by Schumacher as a tomb ("chamber f"). This hypogeum is 5.6 m long, 3.7 m wide, and 3.1 m high and was entered through a shaft. It is beautifully built. All the chambers in the *Mittelburg,* and chamber f and its doorway in particular, are vaulted by fine-stone rudimentary corbeling—an early example of this building technique. Chamber f has been compared to the corbeled burial chambers from Ugarit.

The sacred area, i.e., the place where Altar 4017 and Temple 4040 were built in the EB Age, continued to function. Loud uncovered remains of buildings of strata XIII–IX on both sides of the sacred area, but he did not recognize any contemporary structure in the sacred area itself. He assigned an area above Altar 4017 covered with standing stone steles to stratum XII and a series of superimposed rubble pavements, as well as a heap of stones which could have been fallen steles, to stratum IX. He assigned the new temple built here (No. 2048) to stratum VIII, to the LB Age. However, it seems that Temple 2048 should be assigned to stratum X and dated to the MB Age (Epstein 1965; Dunayevsky and Kempinski 1973).

Temple 2048 has three superimposed phases. See Fig. MEG.03. The earlier one was preserved at foundation level and no floors, doorways, or finds could be associated with it. It is a massive rectangular structure measuring 21.5 by 16.5 m and containing a single room with a niche opposite the entrance. Two towers flanked the entrance. The thick, rubble foundation walls possibly indicate that the edifice rose to a considerable height. Part of the tower to the left of the entrance was constructed with ashlar stones, and it

probably belongs to the superimposed LB structure. The temple resembles the large MB II temple at Shechem—both usually referred to as "tower temples" or "fortress temples."

Well-built domestic houses of this period were uncovered in areas AA and BB. The custom of intramural burial, inside and outside the houses, was common in Canaanite Megiddo. Many graves and stone-built tombs were found throughout the site and often it is not easy to assign them to the correct city level.

Typical to Megiddo at the end of MB III and the LB I is a fine group of decorated pottery known as "bichrome ware," thus named because its decoration, which consists of bands of red and black paint. Similar pottery is known from other sites in Canaan and Cyprus. Its origin was attributed at the time to Hurrian presence in Canaan (Epstein 1966). Recent neutron-activation analyses (Artzy, Perlman, and Asaro 1978), however, indicated that one group of this pottery originated in Cyprus, while another, distinctive group originated at Megiddo. Both groups seem to have been contemporaneously used at Megiddo (Wood 1982).

**b. Late Bronze Age.** The expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt and the campaign of Ahmose to Canaan ca. 1550 B.C. mark the renewal of Egyptian influence in the country. This event is usually adopted for the beginning of the LB Age. In general, it is very difficult to correlate the archaeological evidence from Canaan with the Egyptian inscriptional evidence. However, it seems quite possible that many cities in the S and inland regions of the country had been devastated, but not those in the coastal area and in particular not Megiddo, where no data indicating a destruction at that time have been found (Weinstein 1981).

The Egyptian conquest of Megiddo apparently occurred in 1479 B.C. during the first Asian campaign of Thutmose III. The events in Megiddo were recorded in detail and can be reconstructed (*ANET,* 234–38; Davies 1986: 51–56). While Thutmose III and his army progressed N along the coastal plain and the main highway, armies of the Canaanite kings led by the king of Kadesh on the Orontes concentrated near Megiddo. They decided to confront the Egyptian army at the place where the pass leading through the narrow Naḥal Iron opens to the Jezreel valley. Thutmose III learned in advance of his opponents' plan and held a conference, in which his commanders suggested taking alternative routes to the N or S of Naḥal Iron. Thutmose III, however, decided to take the direct route, crossed Naḥal Iron, and took the Canaanite armies by surprise. The Egyptians won the battle which followed, but the Canaanites managed to reach the city. Thutmose III laid siege and succeeded in conquering Megiddo after seven months. The annals give detailed lists of booty taken by the Egyptians after the battle and the siege.

The battle of Megiddo established the Egyptian domination in Canaan and Megiddo. The conquest of the city has been taken as an archaeological turning point between strata IX and VIII, but Shea (1979) is right that the annals do not mention a destruction of the city, and remains of such a destruction were not discerned in the excavations.

Megiddo is not mentioned in the annals describing the campaigns of Amenhotep II (1427–1401 B.C.), probably because it was dominated by Egypt (*ANET,* 245–48). This is manifested by two contemporary sources. One of the Taanach Letters orders the local ruler to send provisions and soldiers to the Egyptian commander at Megiddo. Papyrus Hermitage 1116A, dated to the 19th or 20th year of Amenhotep II, records presentations by Egyptian officials of grain and beer to envoys of various Canaanite cities, including Megiddo (Weinstein 1981: 13).

Eight of the cuneiform letters found in el-Amarna were sent from Megiddo (Mercer 1939: Nos. 242–48, 365) and testify to its importance. They apparently date to the later part of Amenhotep III's reign (1391–1353 B.C.) or to the earlier part of Amenhotep IV's reign (1353–1335 B.C.). Six of the letters were sent by Biridiya, the ruler of Megiddo, whose name is not Semitic. The letters express his loyalty to Egypt. Some of them discuss Biridiya's struggle with Labaya, the ruler of Shechem, who apparently attempted to take Megiddo by force but failed. In one letter (No. 244), Biridiya appealed for a garrison of 100 Egyptian troops to prevent the fall of the city. Two letters (Nos. 248, 365) discuss cultivation of estates in Shunem by forced labor.

During the reigns of Seti I (1306–1290 B.C.) and Rameses II (1290–1224 B.C.), Megiddo must have been firmly held by Egypt. The last Egyptian document of the New Kingdom which mentions Megiddo is

papyrus Anastasi I, dating to the end of the 13th century B.C., in which Megiddo appears as a place name in a geographic description of Canaan.

By the beginning of the LB Age the palace was shifted from the center of the city to the N side; and four superimposed edifices built along the upper periphery of the site were uncovered in area AA in strata IX–VIIA. Particularly impressive is the stratum VIII palace. Its walls are ca. 2 m thick. A large court, 20 × 11 m, lay at its center, and another court to its W. Near them was found a large bathroom with a basin in its center and a floor covered with sea shells set in lime plaster. A hoard of ivory and gold objects was found beneath the floors in one of the rooms. The stratum VIIB palace, which uses the large court and bathroom of the previous palace, met its end by a severe destruction by fire.

A large city gate was built to the E of and near the palace in stratum IX (or even in stratum X) and was in use until the end of the stratum VIIA city. A wide roadway, paved with rubble and supported by a retaining wall, approached the gate. It was a monumental three-entry gatehouse, faced with ashlar stones. The floor of the gate passage was considerably raised in stratum VIIB. Significantly, the gatehouse does not have towers flanking the gate passage nor does it have deeply set foundations beneath the level of the floor as in other MB city gates around the country. This can be explained if it is assumed that the gate was constructed in a trench cut in the debris of the site or in the MB II glacis extending along its edge.

The absence of an LB city wall associated with the city gate, which is not even structurally connected to the back wall of the adjacent palace, has long puzzled scholars (Gonen 1987: 15–16). The above interpretation might help to furnish an explanation. It seems that the gate was incorporated in the MB fortifications surrounding the slopes of the site, which continued to function during the LB Age. These fortifications, crowned by the buildings located along the upper periphery of the site, probably formed the defense line of the city which faced Thutmose III's army in ca. 1479 B.C.

Another palatial complex was uncovered in strata VIII–VIIA in area DD to the E of the city gate. Excavation did not penetrate here beneath stratum VIII. Also, this edifice had a large rectangular court in its center.

Temple 2048 in area BB was rebuilt in stratum VIIB. It was based on the earlier foundations and had a similar plan. Only the back wall was thicker than that of the previous temple, and a raised platform replaced the cultic niche at the back of the cella. The temple was built of large ashlar stones. Two clay liver models and three bronze figurines of deities, one of them covered with gold, probably originated in the temple. The temple was destroyed by fire.

Many valuable objects were uncovered in the buildings and in the inter- and extramural burials. They include cylinder seals, bronze objects and figurines, faience vessels and amulets, alabaster vessels, gold objects, and gold jewelry. Of particular interest is a broken cuneiform tablet found by a shepherd after the termination of the excavations (Goetze and Levy 1959). It includes a section of the Epic of Gilgamesh and possibly derives from a scribal school at Megiddo.

**c. End of the Canaanite City.** Stratum VIIA represents a prosperous city. See Fig. CIT.04. The monumental structures in areas AA, BB, and DD indicate continuity of culture, although the palace and temple of stratum VIIB, and possibly larger parts of the city, were destroyed by fire. In area AA the three-entry city gate continued in use, and the palace was rebuilt. The palace was the largest of all the palaces successively constructed here. It was built around a central courtyard and was decorated with wall paintings, an indication of Egyptian influence. On its W side an annex, a three-chambered cellar, was added. Sealed by destruction debris in the cellar's back chamber, possibly the "treasury" of the palace, an assemblage of ivory objects and other precious items was found. In area BB the temple was rebuilt. Its walls were narrower than those in the earlier structures, and it now had a cultic niche built in its back wall as in the original building.

An ivory-model pen case bearing a cartouche of Rameses III found in the cache in the annex of the palace proves that stratum VIIA was not destroyed prior to the reign of that pharaoh (1182–1151 B.C.; low chronology of Wente and Van Siclen). A statue base of Rameses VI (1141–1133 B.C.; low chronology), was found buried in a pit in area CC. Originally the statue may have been placed in a temple, and it

indicates the continuation of Egyptian rule in Megiddo during Rameses VI's reign (J. H. Breasted in Loud 1948: 135–38). The destruction of stratum VIIA probably occurred shortly afterward, ca. 1130 B.C.

The carved ivories found in the annexed cellar of the palace included 382 items (Loud 1939), the richest assemblage of Bronze Age ivories found in the Near East. The assemblage forms an assortment of objects of many types and various styles (Kantor 1956; Barnett 1982: 25–28; Liebowitz 1987). It includes locally produced ivories in Canaanite style and imported items in Egyptian, Aegean, Assyrian, and Hittite style. Of special interest is the Hittite plaque (No. 44) showing the Hittite king standing above rows of demons and beneath a winged sun disc. The stratigraphic context and the Rameses III cartouche date this assemblage to the 12th century B.C. But many scholars, notably Frankfort and Kantor (1956), believe that it represents a collection of ivories produced over a long period of time, mainly during the 14th and 13th centuries. Dothan (1982: 70–72) and Yadin (Aharoni and Yadin 1977: 848–49) believe that this collection was originally kept in a similar "treasury" in the stratum VIIB palace and then transferred to the new one. In any case, the assemblage indicates the prosperity of Canaanite art and culture in the later part of the LB Age.

**d. Strata VIB–A.** Following the destruction of the Canaanite metropolis, a poor settlement (VIB) was built; and it was soon replaced by a larger and richer settlement (VIA). The pattern of settlement radically differs from that of stratum VIIA; and the temple, palace, and city gate were not rebuilt. The settlement met its end by a destruction by fire. A city wall was not found; the excavators believe that the later city gate of stratum VA–IVB originated in stratum VIA; but this supposition seems doubtful. The buildings of stratum VIA, mostly of domestic nature, were built of bricks on stone foundations. The sole structure of a public nature is building 2072 in area AA. The building is located at the edge of the site, measuring ca. 32 by 37 m; it has thick walls and probably carried a second floor.

Sealed beneath the destruction debris of that level were a great number of pottery vessels. They include "collared-rim storage jars" and Philistine pottery. Of particular interest is a painted jug from Building 2072 which shows a procession of animals and a lyre player; it is known as the "Orpheus jug," as the scene is apparently associated with an early version of the Orpheus legend (Mazar 1976).

Typical to that city level are metal objects, mostly of bronze. A group of jugs, bowls, strainers, axheads, and spearheads was found in a single locus (No. 1739) in area CC. Schumacher (1908: 84–87) found in his "4th level" a number of metal objects, including five bronze stands and iron blades, which should probably be assigned to stratum VIA. The bronzework found in stratum VIA indicates a strong tradition of metalwork, which either continues the Canaanite tradition of bronzework (Negbi 1974) or was introduced into the country by the Sea Peoples (Tubb 1988).

**e. Historical Correlations of Strata VII–VI.** The archaeological data should be correlated with three historical aspects: (1) the decline of the Canaanite city-states and the end of Egyptian rule in Canaan; (2) the settlement of the Sea Peoples; and (3) the settlement of the Israelite tribes.

The destruction by fire of stratum VIIB in the later part of the 13th century B.C. indicates a forceful interruption in the Egyptian rule which is not documented. Stratum VIIA and the statue base of Rameses VI prove, however, that the Canaanite city was later rebuilt in the same tradition and even prospered and that it lived under Egyptian suzerainty until ca. 1130 B.C. It seems that the destruction of the stratum VIIA city coincides with the end of Egyptian rule in Canaan, and the two events may well have been connected. The history of Megiddo in the 12th century B.C. is very similar to that of Canaanite Beth-shan and Lachish during that period. According to Ussishkin (1985: 224–26) the decline of the Canaanite cities and the end of the Egyptian rule mark the end of the LB in Palestine.

The Philistine pottery found in Megiddo can be taken as an expression of Philistine presence. However, many of the items are sherds and were not found in a clear stratigraphic context. Dothan (1982: 70–80) argues that the appearance of Philistine pottery in stratum VIIA is proof of Sea Peoples' presence in that city level. But it seems that A. Mazar (1985: 96–97) is right that Philistine pottery appeared here in stratum VI and not earlier. Alt (1953), B. Mazar (1976), and Yadin (1970: 93–95) believe that Megiddo of stratum VIA, as manifested in its culture, was an 11th-century central Canaanite-Philistine city that was conquered and destroyed by David.

The king of Megiddo is mentioned in Josh 12:21 in the list of kings defeated by Joshua. Josh 17:11–12 and Judg 1:27 tell that the Canaanites continued to live in Megiddo until their subjection at a later period by the tribe of Manasseh (also 1 Chr 7:29). Albright (1936) believed that the expression "at Taanach, by Megiddo waters" (Judg. 5:19) in the Song of Deborah refers to a time when Megiddo was not settled, and he assigned the poem and the events described in it to the period immediately following the destruction of the stratum VIIA city. Aharoni (1982), following a suggestion of Albright, who later withdrew it, argued that stratum VIIA was destroyed by the Israelites and that stratum VIB was a small Israelite settlement. This view is supported by the use of stone pillars in buildings of stratum VI—a typical feature in Israelite buildings—and by the presence of "collared-rim storage jars" which are usually associated with the Israelite settlement in Canaan (also Kempinski 1989: 78–82).

**3. The Israelite City. a. Stratum VB.** This level includes remains of domestic structures in various parts of the site, probably the remains of a small, unfortified settlement. Remains of one larger building, probably a trapezoidal fort surrounded by a casemate wall, were uncovered at the NE edge of the site (Wightman 1984: 132–36). This settlement is usually considered to be Israelite, dating to the time of David.

**b. The Solomonic City.** Megiddo was included, together with Taanach and Beth-shan, in the fifth administrative district of Solomon (1 Kgs 4:12) and apparently here was the residence of the district governor, Baana son of Ahilud. In 1 Kgs 9:15 Megiddo is mentioned together with Jerusalem, Hazor, and Gezer as a central city built by Solomon. It is clear that the text refers to the building of monumental structures the construction of which was financed by the levies imposed by the king. The remains of the Solomonic city level have been uncovered since excavations at Tel Megiddo began in 1903. Of special importance is Yadin's work (1960, 1970), which resulted in redating City Wall 325 and "Solomon's stables" to the 9th century B.C. Scholars widely differ on the stratigraphic, chronological, and functional interpretation of the remains. The summary below is based on Ussishkin's views, but the different opinions will be stressed in the discussion of each aspect.

Stratigraphically, the Solomonic city level includes all the structures which are immediately beneath the city wall (No. 325) of stratum IVA and associated structures and above the building remains of stratum VB (which in turn was built above the burned brick debris of stratum VI structures). These remains were originally assigned by the American excavators to different strata, V (later VA), IVB, and IV. Albright (1943: 29–30 n. 10) observed that the remains assigned to strata VA and IVB are in fact contemporary and belong to one city level, which he labeled stratum VA–IVB, dated to the reign of Solomon. This concept was primarily followed by Wright (1950: 59–60) and Yadin (1970, 1972; Aharoni and Yadin 1977) and is generally accepted today (see Ussishkin 1980; Davies 1986). Kenyon (1964) differs on many stratigraphic details and adopts lower dates. Aharoni (1972, 1982), followed by Herzog (1986: 93–108), basically accepted the stratigraphy but labeled this city level stratum VA; assuming that the superimposed city level, stratum IVA (his IVB), represents the Solomonic city, he dated stratum VA–IVB to the reign of David. Wightman (1985) recently analyzed afresh the stratigraphy of strata VI–III and pointed out that the domestic and public structures had a different history.

Stratum VA–IVB includes three palatial edifices, Nos. 1723, 6000, and 338, built at the S, N, and E sides of the site respectively. See Fig. MEG.04. They were positioned at the edge of the city, their facades facing its center; and their back walls reached the upper periphery of the site. All of them opened into spacious courtyards. A large building, No. 1482, believed to have had an administrative function, was built alongside the S palace compound, No. 1723. Large quarters of domestic buildings were uncovered along the E and N edges of the city. The N quarter also included a sanctuary (No. 2081).

The palatial buildings, the sanctuary, and the domestic structures built along the upper periphery of the site formed a line of defense around the city. According to Yadin this line of defense was a casemate city wall, best observed to the W of Palace 6000. The city gate was located, as in previous periods, in the N side of the city. It was the small, two-entry gatehouse, approached by a wide, lime-paved ramp (Loud 1948: 39–45). Stratigraphically it should be assigned to stratum VA–IVB as suggested by Loud (Ussishkin 1980; Herzog 1986: 93–108) rather than the so-called Solomonic four-entry gatehouse, which

is later in date and belongs to stratum IVA. In addition, a postern (gallery 629) was built at the W side above the spring. It was excavated and dated by the American expedition to the 12th century (Lamon 1935) but correctly assigned by Yadin to stratum VA–IVB.

Ashlar masonry, possibly quarried SE of the site (Shiloh and Horowitz 1975), was lavishly used in the construction of the palatial buildings, in their massive foundations and their superstructure. Proto-Ionic stone capitals, which were mounted on stone pilasters or freestanding pillars, decorated monumental entrances in these buildings (Lamon and Shipton 1939: 55–57; Ussishkin 1970). Unfortunately, these edifices were largely destroyed when the ashlars were stolen for secondary use in stratum IVA. The construction with ashlar masonry, which originated in Egypt, appeared for the first time in Canaan in the LB temple and city gate at Megiddo and was introduced on a large scale during the reign of Solomon. Its appearance in Megiddo fits the description of ashlar masonry used in the construction of Solomon's palace in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 7:9–12). The wide use of ashlars was part of the Phoenician influence which dominated Solomon's building activities.

Palace 6000 was uncovered by Yadin (1970: 73–77). It was a rectangular building, measuring ca. 28 by 21 m; and following its destruction by fire, most of its stones were stolen. It seems to have been a ceremonial palace built as a *bit-hilani,* that is, a type of a ceremonial palace characterized by a monumental porticoed entrance and a large central hall which was commonly used in N Syria during that period. Palace 1723 (Lamon and Shipton 1939: 11–24) was built in a spacious, lime-paved, square courtyard. The entrance to the courtyard was through monumental gate 1567, which was largely uncovered by Schumacher (1908: 91–104), who labeled it *der Palast.* The palace was square in plan, measuring ca. 23 by 23 m. It was mostly preserved at foundation level, and hence its aboveground plan is open to conjecture. It seems probable that the edifice contained a residential as well as a ceremonial section, the latter built as a *bit-hilani* (Ussishkin 1966). Hence Solomonic Megiddo apparently contained at least two *bit-hilani* palaces, as, for instance, in the acropolises of Tell Tayanat and Zincirli (ancient Sam'al) in N Syria, which date to that general period. A number of scholars, however, believe that only Palace 6000 was a *bit-hilani,* while Palace 1723 had a different plan (Yadin 1970: 95; Fritz 1983: 22–25; Kempinski 1989).

The third palatial edifice, Building 338, was built at the highest place in the city. The building was constructed on an aboveground foundation podium. It was first uncovered by Schumacher (1908: 110–24), who identified it as a sanctuary; associating it with the stratum II fortress, he defined it as a *Tempelburg.* It was further uncovered by Fisher (1929: 68–74), who identified it as a "temple of Astarte," and by Guy (1931: 30–37), who identified it as the residence of the commander of the E sector of the city and assigned it to stratum IV (i.e., stratum IVA). Finally, it was studied by Lamon and Shipton (1939: 47–59), who accepted Guy's interpretation, which is generally accepted today. However, it seems that Schumacher rightly identified Unit 340 at the S part of the edifice as a shrine (Ussishkin 1989). Two large steles found inside hint at a dual cult performed here. Model shrines and stone altars found by Fisher to the S of Building 338 (May 1935) probably belonged to this shrine. While Unit 340 and its forecourt served as a sanctuary, other parts of the edifice may have had a secular function. A wing of the building uncovered by Schumacher but ignored by the American excavators antedates the stratum IVA city wall; hence the edifice dates to stratum IVB.

Sanctuary 2081 was built, like the palaces, with its back wall extending along the upper periphery of the site (Loud 1948: 45–46). Two monolithic stones found standing in its center were probably cultic steles. A cache of cultic equipment was uncovered here. Several stones carved in the shape of an eighth segment of a sphere found nearby (Lamon and Shipton 1939: 24) probably indicate that a large horned altar erected of ashlar stones of the type uncovered in Tel Beer-sheba stood in the courtyard of the sanctuary.

Much pottery was uncovered in stratum VA–IVB. Typical to it are red-slipped, irregularly burnished vessels which start to spread in Palestine at that time. Their appearance in Tel Megiddo is a chronological pivot for dating the appearance of this class of pottery.

The end of stratum VA–IVB is not clear. Megiddo is mentioned in the list of cities conquered by Sheshonk I in his campaign in ca. 925 B.C., and Albright proposed that the Solomonic city was destroyed

by him. However, the data do not indicate an overall destruction of the stratum VA–IVB city. Only a number of structures, primarily Palace 6000 and Building 10, were destroyed by fire. The sporadic destruction could have been associated with the division of the united monarchy in ca. 930 B.C., or with Sheshonk I's campaign, or could have even occurred at a slightly later date.

However, it seems that the settlement continued to exist after 925 B.C. A fragment of a stone-carved stele of Sheshonk I was uncovered by Fisher (1929). It was estimated that the complete stele was ca. 3.3 m high and 1.5 m wide. It was probably erected not far from its find spot at the E side of the site, which was the highest point of the city at that time. Sheshonk I must have erected his stele in an existing, not in a desolate, city, with the intention of holding it in the future. The situation at Megiddo also indicates that Sheshonk I's campaign was meant to renew the Egyptian foothold in Canaan and to turn Megiddo into a major base for that purpose. But the Egyptian conquest was short-lived since a year later Sheshonk died and the new ambitious program was abandoned.

**c. Stratum IVA.** The stratum IVA city radically differs from that of the previous stratum VA–IVB city. See Fig. MEG.05. It seems that the change of character is an expression of a different function given to Megiddo as a result of the division of the monarchy. Once the kingdom had been divided, strategic needs must have changed; and thus Megiddo became a fortified stronghold instead of a civilian district center. The palatial compounds were no longer needed; and the walls of the edifices (except the shrine in Building 338 which was buried beforehand as an act of reverence) were dismantled, their stones taken for secondary use in the new buildings.

City Wall 325 surrounded the city. Because the wall was ca. 3.6 m thick, its two faces were built with insets and offsets. It was built of stone and did not have any foundations. The entrance to the city was through a complex city gate—the so called Solomonic gate (Lamon in Loud 1948: 46–57). A roadway led up to an outer, two-entry gatehouse. The latter opened to an open court; and behind it was built the inner, four-entry gatehouse which adjoined the city wall. The inner gatehouse rested on massive foundations, supported by a constructional fill, which were entirely exposed by the American excavators. The structure was built with ashlars removed from the stratum VA–IVB buildings. The gate complex is similar to the 10th–9th centuries B.C. gate complexes at Gezer, Lachish, and probably Tel Batash (ancient Timnah), and the inner gatehouse also to the four-entry city gates in Hazor and Ashdod. All these gates are based on a similar foundations structure and ground plan.

The construction date of the city gate is a controversial issue. Stratigraphically, the city gate adjoins City Wall 325 and is contemporary with it, as concluded by the original excavators (cf. Aharoni 1972; Ussishkin 1980; Herzog 1986: 93–108). Hence, the city gate belongs to stratum IVA and dates to the period of the divided monarchy. Yadin (1958, 1970, 1972, 1980) believed that the four-entry gatehouse originated in stratum VA–IVB and dates to the reign of Solomon. This dating is primarily based on the similarity in plan between this gate and the four-entry gates in Hazor and Gezer—all three cities being mentioned together in 1 Kgs 9:15 as built by Solomon. Yadin offered a new interpretation of the stratigraphy to explain how the gate is earlier than City Wall 325; he based his explanation on the assumption (which seems utterly impossible) that the foundation structure of the gatehouse is in fact part of the gate's original superstructure. Yadin's dating is currently followed by most scholars (e.g., Davies [1986: 85–92], W. G. Dever, V. Fritz, P. R. S. Moorey, and Y. Shiloh [1980]). Aharoni and Herzog, who believe that the city gate belongs stratigraphically to stratum IVA (labeled IVB by them), however, date this stratum to the reign of Solomon; and hence they consider the city gate to be Solomonic in date.

A massive water system was built to enable easier approach to the spring located at the bottom of the W slope (Lamon 1935). It was dated by the American excavators to the 12th century B.C. but redated by Yadin. The stratum VA–IVB "gallery" was now blocked and so was the approach to the spring from outside. A vertical shaft was dug from the surface of the mound through the accumulated debris and the natural rock and had stairs prepared along its sides. It ended in a horizontal tunnel cut in the rock and leading to the spring. In a later stage the horizontal tunnel was deepened, enabling the water to flow to the bottom of the vertical shaft.

Two complexes of stables for horses were uncovered (Lamon and Shipton 1939: 32–47). This interpretation of the structures was first given by Guy (1931: 37–48), who associated them with Solomon's "cities for chariots and cities for horsemen" (1 Kgs 9:19). Pritchard (1970) suggested that these structures were storehouses or barracks; he based his opinion on analysis of structural characteristics and on the complete absence of equestrian accoutrements. Aharoni (1982) and Herzog (1973), who discovered a similar structure in Tel Beer-sheba, interpreted these buildings as storehouses. Fritz (1977) considered them to be barracks, and Herr (1988) suggested that they served as marketplaces. Yadin (1976) and Holladay (1986) further argued that these are stables for horses, and this interpretation forms the basis for the discussion below.

The S complex contains five units of stabling built in a row. Each unit was rectangular, measuring ca. 21 by 11 m, and contained a central, lime-paved passage and two side, stone-paved aisles. Each aisle was separated from the passageway by a row of stone pillars alternating with stone mangers—all of which are ashlar stones stolen from the Solomonic edifices. The side aisles served as stalls for the horses, and each pillar and the neighboring manger marked the position of one horse. Many of the pillars had holes cut in their corners for tethering the horses. Each aisle could accommodate 15 horses; hence each unit contained 30 horses, and the entire complex 150 horses. The stables opened into a spacious, lime-paved, square courtyard, measuring ca. 55 by 55 m. The courtyard, built on sloping ground, was based on a massive artificial fill laid here to level the floor. Lamon and Shipton suggested that a unit of chariots was stationed in the S complex and that the courtyard was used for their training. One can assume that the unit contained 100 chariots—3 horses per chariot.

The N complex contained similar stabling units, but they were not built according to a uniform plan and were not grouped around a large courtyard. Hence riding horses were probably garrisoned there. Lamon and Shipton calculated that this complex contained 300 or 330 horses; hence 450 or 480 horses were garrisoned at Megiddo.

Large amounts of water and supplies had to be daily provided for these horses. Water could have been easily brought from the water system; a square brick installation found in the courtyard of the S complex was interpreted as a tank for water. A large storage pit (No. 1414) was uncovered midway between the two stable complexes and assigned to stratum III (Lamon and Shipton 1939: 66–68). Stratigraphically, it could have belonged to stratum IVA, and it seems quite possible that it served as a central silo for keeping provisions for the horses. The pit was at least 7 m deep (its upper edge may not have been preserved), and its diameter at the bottom is 7 m. The entire construction was of rubble, and the rough surface had not been plastered. A pair of winding stairs were added. Its present capacity is ca. 450 $m^3$. Remains of chaff and grains were found inside, and the excavators estimated that the pit contained a certain amount of chaff when it fell into disuse. Assuming, as calculated by Holladay (1986: 118), that each horse consumed ca. 9.6 liters of supply per day, the pit could have held supplies sufficient for feeding 300–330 horses for 130–150 days.

The city of stratum IVA must have been a garrison city, and it is noteworthy that residential quarters were not uncovered. Here Ahaziah, king of Judah, died when he fled, riding wounded in his chariot, before Jehu's men (2 Kgs 9:27). The stable complexes prove that Megiddo was a center for Israelite chariotry and cavalry units at the time of the divided monarchy. The written sources indicate the weight of these units in the Israelite army. Thus the Assyrian annals indicate the strength of Ahab's chariotry and cavalry in the battle of Qarqar in N Syria in 853 B.C., as well as in the 8th century B.C. (Dalley 1985).

Three exceptionally fine seals apparently belong to this city level. Schumacher (1908: 99–101) uncovered two seals near the gate to the Palace 1723 compound. The first is a jasper seal portraying a roaring lion and inscribed " (belonging) to Shema, servant of Jeroboam," obviously Jeroboam II, king of Israel. The second, carved of lapis lazuli, portrays a griffin and is inscribed " (belonging) to Asaph." The third seal, uncovered by Guy on the surface of the site (W. E. Staples in Guy 1931: 49–68), is cut of serpentine. It depicts a griffin and a locust and is inscribed "Haman."

**d. Stratum III.** In 734 B.C. Tiglath-pileser III campaigned in Philistia and probably already held Megiddo. In 732 B.C. he conquered the N parts of the kingdom of Israel and annexed them to Assyria.

Megiddo became the capital of the Assyrian province *Magiddu,* and stratum III probably dates to this period.

City Wall 325 continued in use in stratum III, but apparently a new city gate was constructed. See Fig. CIT.09. Remains of one or two gatehouses superimposed above the four-entry inner gatehouse were uncovered (Guy 1931: 24–27; Lamon and Shipton 1939: 74–83). The upper one was a two-entry gatehouse which belongs to stratum III. Beneath it were uncovered remains of a three-entry gatehouse. The excavators concluded that the three-entry gatehouse was never completed, as it was decided at the time of construction to alter the plans and erect a two-entry gatehouse instead. Yadin believed that the three-entry gatehouse was completed and used before being later replaced by the two-entry gatehouse. The outer gatehouse was also rebuilt when the rebuilding of the inner gatehouse was carried out.

To the W of the city gate two public buildings (Nos. 1052, 1369) were uncovered (Lamon and Shipton 1939: 69–74). They portray several Assyrian architectural elements, notably a central, rectangular courtyard. It is clear that these buildings functioned as Assyrian government administrative or residential centers.

Large areas of the city were uncovered, revealing residential quarters which apparently covered the entire top of the mound. The houses were arranged in blocks which were separated by evenly spaced and parallel streets.

**e. Stratum II.** This stratum dates to the 7th century B.C. It is characterized by residential quarters similar to those of stratum III. New domestic houses were now built along the same pattern of streets. Remains of buildings uncovered near the upper periphery of the site indicate that City Wall 325 had fallen into disuse in stratum II or stratum I sometime before the settlement came to an end.

A large structure built at the E edge of the site was uncovered by Schumacher (1908: 110–21) as part of the *Tempelburg,* and by Fisher, who identified it as a fortress (Lamon and Shipton 1939: 83–86). It measures ca. 69 by 48 m and has a large, central court. The stone walls, preserved at foundation level, are ca. 2.5 m thick. According to Lamon and Shipton the fortress was built above the disused City Wall 325; hence the fortress functioned when Megiddo was no longer a fortified city. But stratigraphically this conclusion is not proven since nowhere do the walls of the structure reach the line of the city wall and both of them could have been contemporary. The buried shrine of Building 338 was located in the courtyard of the fortress and rose higher than the surrounding chambers. Hence the structure could have hardly served as a fortress; its function is unclear; and its ground plan seems to be related to the buried shrine (Ussishkin 1989).

In 609 B.C. Pharaoh Neco reached Megiddo on his way to Carchemish to aid Assyria against the Babylonians. Josiah, king of Judah, traveled to Megiddo and was executed there by Neco (2 Kgs 23:29–30; 2 Chr 35:20–24). This event is usually understood as an attempt that failed by Josiah to challenge militarily the Egyptian pharaoh. It was further concluded that Josiah's expanded kingdom included Megiddo and that the stratum II fortress was built by Josiah or by the Egyptians (Malamat 1973). However, Na'aman (1989) is probably right that Josiah's kingdom was much smaller and that he was executed when he came to Megiddo to pay homage to the Egyptian overlord.

**f. Stratum I.** This stratum represents the last period of settlement on the mound, in the Babylonian and Persian periods, until the place was finally abandoned in the 4th century B.C. The abandonment of Megiddo could possibly be associated with Alexander the Great's conquest of Palestine in 322 B.C.

The remains of the Babylonian and Persian periods are relatively dull (Stern 1982: 5–8, 240). They include remains of many small houses, three long storerooms near the city gate, and a number of stone-built cist tombs.

The reference to Megiddo in Zech 12:11, mentioning "the mourning for Hadadrimmon in the plain of Megiddo," probably dates to the Persian or Hellenistic period. The mourning referred to could be a fertility ritual associated with the storm god Hadad-Rimmon. It indicates that Megiddo lay at that time in an area that was already little known to the Jews and regarded by them as alien and pagan (Davies 1986: 109).

**4. The Later Periods.** A Jewish village named Kefer ʿOtnay existed to the S of the site ca. A.D. 100. During the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117–38), the Legio II Traiana was stationed here, and it was later replaced by the Legio VI Ferrata. Kefar ʿOtnay was renamed Legio, after the occupying force. Legio became the center of an administrative district; from this the Arab village of Lejjun in turn derived its name.

Schumacher (1908: 161–90) investigated extensive remains of the Roman and Muslim periods, including aqueducts, a theater, and tombs, as well as a possible site of a Roman camp, to the S of the site. Very interesting are two cremation burials, probably of soldiers of the VIth Legion, which were recently discovered (Tsuk 1988–89). Schumacher (1908: 151–53) also uncovered some late remains on the site, notably an Ottoman watchtower on the E side.

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DAVID USSISHKIN

## **MEGIDDO, PLAIN OF** (PLACE) [Heb *biq'at* (בִּקְעַת) *měgiddô (n)* ( מְגִדּוֹן)]. The central

portion of the Jezreel valley, nearby the city of Megiddo (M.R. 167221), mentioned only twice in the OT (2 Chr 35:22; Zech 12:11). Although it was the scene of many battles, the only one referred to in the OT occurred in 609 B.C. By that time, Josiah, the king of Judah, had completed many of his celebrated religious reforms, and Judah was again becoming a political power. On the international scene the Assyrians were succumbing to their foes, but Neco of Egypt wished to go to their aid. His line of march crossed the Jezreel valley at Megiddo, and there Josiah challenged him. Josiah was mortally wounded by an archer before the battle had barely begun. The sudden death of this reforming king led to deep mourning among religious circles in Judah (2 Chr 35:24–25). It may be that Zechariah's enigmatic reference to mourning for Hadadrimmon in the plain of Megiddo is also in some way connected with this incident.

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MELVIN HUNT

**MEGIDDO, WATERS OF** (PLACE) [Heb *mê mêgiddô* (מֵי מְגִדּוֹ)]. This term occurs only in Judg 5:19, as part of the description of the place where the Israelites under Deborah and Barak fought with the chariot forces of Sisera. Scholars have noted that the verse does not specifically refer to the city of Megiddo (M.R. 167221), although Taanach (M.R. 171214) is mentioned. Precise identification of the waters is complicated by the inclusion of Taanach, since none of the wadis in the region flow by both sites.

Albright (1936: 27) believed that the Wâdī el-Lejjun, which flows from the hills behind Megiddo, was the "waters of Megiddo." He also held that the lack of a specific reference to Megiddo in the verse implied that Megiddo was uninhabited at the time of the battle. As a result, Albright dated the battle of Deborah and Barak to the period between Megiddo VII and Megiddo VI. However, Aharoni (*LBHG,* 28) uses the same information to derive a drastically reordered course of events.

Simons (*GTTOT,* 290) pointed out that the Wâdī el-Lejjun is both too small and too far from Taanach to be acceptable as the waters of Megiddo. He suggested the Naḥal Kishon, mentioned in Judg 5:21 and which drains the whole Jezreel valley, should be considered as an alternative identification.

While this interpretation is feasible, the term is yet to be satisfactorily identified, although it is clear its location should be sought in the region between Taanach and Megiddo.

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**MEGILLOTH** [Heb *ḥamēš* (חֲמֵשׁ) *mĕgillôt* (מְגִלּוֹת)]. The term "megilloth" means scrolls and is used to refer to the "five scrolls," Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes (or Qoheleth), and Esther, which are gathered together as a collection within the Writings (Heb *kĕtûbîm*) in modern printed editions of the Hebrew Bible. This sequence is meant to reflect the order of the feasts in which they are read: Song of Songs at Passover, Ruth at Pentecost (Heb *šābuʿōt*), Lamentations on the Ninth of Ab (commemorating the destruction of the temple), Ecclesiastes at the Feast of Booths (Heb *sukkôt*), and Esther at Purim. That this is a rather late grouping of books is evident from looking at the order in which these books were placed in various canon lists and manuscripts. The Babylonian Talmud in *B. Bat.* 14b places the order of the Writings as: Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra (including Nehemiah), and Chronicles. This probably reflects the perceived chronological order of the books, with only Chronicles being out of sequence. The order in many Sephardic mss as well as Codex Leningradensus (A.D. 1008), the ms underlying the popular *Biblia Hebraica* (from the 3d ed. on), is: Chronicles, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther, Daniel, and Ezra-Nehemiah. This is interesting, because it shows that the five megilloth were already being grouped together as a separate collection within the Writings, albeit within a chronological order, from Ruth (in the period of the judges) to Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes, which were widely regarded as being Solomonic, to Daniel, the Jewish statesman who prophesied during the Exile, to Ezra-Nehemiah, postexilic Jewish reformers. When the megilloth became associated with the five festivals of Judaism, it is only natural that that would affect the order in which they would be placed in Jewish Bibles.

H. ELDON CLEM

**MEHETABEL** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕhêṭabʿēl* (מְהֵיטַבְאֵל)]. The name of two persons in the Hebrew Bible. The name means "God is bestowing good."

1. The wife of Hadad (II), king of Edom, and also the daughter of Matred, daughter of Mezahab (Gen 36:39; 1 Chr 1:50). This is most probably a genuine Edomite name. The participle of the H-stem *mĕhêṭab* < **muhayṭib* preserves the h-preformative. The same is the case in ancient Aramaic and ancient North Arabian (cf., e.g., *yht*ʿ/**yuhaiṯi*ʿ, the name of an Arab tribal leader of the 7th century B.C.; Knauf 1985b: 6, n. 28). The root *yṭb,* however, is absent from Arabic. The name of Mehetabel's father, Maṭred, may also be Edomite. Names from *ṭrd* are attested for both Canaanite and Arabic (Knauf 1985a: 248). The second "daughter" need not to be changed into "son" if one assumes that Mezahab was the name of Mehetabel and Matred's town, village, or shire of origin, rather than the name of her grandfather (Weippert 1971: 436).

2. The grandfather or, more likely, the family of the prophet Shemaiah, son of Delaiah (Neh 6:10). Nehemiah rejected Shemaiah's oracle (Neh 6:12–14); Shemaiah had been paid to deliver this oracle by Tobiah, the Judean governor of the Persian province of Ammon and Nehemiah's adversary. Grammatically, the name Mehetabel suggests that his family may have been of Transjordanian origin. This could help to explain Tobiah's relationship to this particular prophet.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**MEHIDA** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕḥîdāʾ* (מְחִידָא)]. The name of a family of temple servants who returned to Palestine with Zerubbabel shortly after 538 B.C.E., the end of the Babylonian Exile. The name appears in Ezra 2:52 in the phrase "the sons of Mehida," where the temple servants are distinguished from the people of Israel, the priests, and the Levites. The parallel passage Neh 7:46–56 also lists "the sons of Mehida" (Neh 7:54), as does the later parallel 1 Esdr 5:32. The Greek versions show three different transliterations of this word: *maouda* (Ezra 2:52), *meida* (Neh 7:54), and *meedda* (1 Esdr 5:32). It is, however, rendered consistently in the English versions.

STEVEN R. SWANSON

**MEHIR** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕhîr* (מְהִיר)]. A descendant of Chelub in the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr 4:11). Nothing otherwise is known of him.

H. C. LO

**MEHOLATHITE** [Heb *mĕḥōlātî* (מְחֹלָתִי)]. A descriptive term indicating the place of origin of Adriel, the son-in-law of Saul son of Kish, and the first king of Israel (1 Sam 18:19; 2 Sam 21:8). According to the Masoretic vocalization, it is a gentilic form from the root *ḥwl*, meaning "to whirl," "dance." It is generally considered to be a reference to Adriel's association with the town of Abel-meholah in the W *ghor:* he is the one "from Meholah" (so Smith *Samuel* ICC, 172; Stoebe *Das erste Buch Samuelis* KAT, 345; Klein *1 Samuel* WBC, 189). However, an alternative explanation is possible based on a different vocalization of the consonantal text. The term could be a gentilic indicating Adriel's association with the Manassite clan of Mahlah: Adriel the Mahlathite. While the identification of a person by his town of origin or residence was a frequent biblical practice, other options included identification by patronymic, which would either be the name of one's father or one's clan affiliation (*PI* 1: 253), or by nationality. Examples of the last two options are conveniently provided by the list of David's mighty men in 2 Sam 23:8–39 and 1 Chr 11:20–47: Jeshbaal the Hachmonite; Ahiam the son of Sharar the Hararite; Helez the Paltite/Pelonite; Zalmon the Ahohite (cf. Eleazer son of Dodo son of Ahohi in 2 Sam 23:9); Bani the Gadite; Zelek the Ammonite; Gareb the Ithrite; and Uriah the Hittite. If the term is construed as a clan gentilic, it would no longer provide a firm association of Adriel with the town of Abel-meholah, since the clan could have occupied more than a single town.

DIANA V. EDELMAN

**MEHRI LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

**MEHUJAEL** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕḥûyāʾēl* (מְחוּיָאֵל), *mĕḥîyāʾēl* (מְחִיָאֵל)]. Son of Irad and father of Methushael in the line of Cain (Gen 4:18); however, the two appearances of the name are spelled with a slight difference in the consonantal Hebrew text (a distinction preserved in the Targums). The Peshitta and the Vulgate follow the first spelling (cf. also Targum Neofiti). The best attestations of the LXX seem to follow the second spelling (*maiēl*). The Samaritan Pentateuch avoids the issue by omitting the disputed syllable (*myhʾl*). The fact that the Hebrew text was not harmonized attests to the care taken in preserving such differences, even when they exist side by side (Cassuto 1961: 232–33). Comparisons with the genealogy of Seth in Genesis 5 have related this name with that of Mahalalel (Wilson 1977: 161–62). The initial *mem* and the final *ʾalep* and *lamed* are three consonants (half of the possible six) which the names share. It is generally agreed that Mehujael is composed of two elements, the second of which is *ʾl*, "god;" but the first element is disputed (Westermann 1984: 328–29). On the one hand, Akk *maḫḫu,* "an ecstatic," has been suggested (Cassuto 1961: 232). On the other hand, West Semitic *mḥʾ,* "to smite," and a participial form of *ḥyh,* "to live," have also both been posited (Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 117, noting Philo and Jerome; Gabriel 1959: 414). These options would respectively render the names "ecstatic of God," "God has smitten," and "God gives life." The first two forms are unattested as bases of personal names; while the root, *ḥyh,* is attested in West Semitic names in virtually all periods (e.g., Eve, which may share a similar element).

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RICHARD S. HESS

**MEHUMAN** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕhûmān* (מְהוּמָן)]. One of seven eunuchs, along with Biztha, Harbona, Bigtha, Abagtha, Zethar, and Carkas, of King Ahasuerus listed in Esth 1:10. The order of the names in this list may imply a ranking of importance among the seven. The specific office these eunuchs held is termed literally "the ones who minister before the king" (Heb *hamĕšārĕtîm ʾet pĕnê hammelek*) in Esth 1:10. It appears that they were chamberlains to the king and that their function was to wait upon Ahasuerus and to summon individuals before him when desired. They attempted to bring Queen Vashti from her banquet to the king's banquet (Esth 1:10–12), and perhaps they were also the ones sent to summon Haman to both of Esther's banquets with the king (Esth 5:5; 6:14). In addition, the episode in Esth 7:9–10, where Harbona informed the king of Haman's scheme to kill Mordecai, resulting in the king's ordering Haman's execution, may suggest that these particular eunuchs served also to look after the affairs of the king and to escort and execute condemned prisoners. Since they did not seem to have direct contact with the harem, most likely the term "eunuch" (Heb *sārîs*), with respect to their office, was only symbolic and should not be taken literally. Perhaps it would be better translated as "chamberlain," or "court official." It is known from ancient sources that the title "eunuch" could be applied to any number of court officials, from bureaucrats to military officers (Weidner 1956: 264–65). The fact that there were only seven who held this office may reflect Persian mythology, which saw the heavenly royal court of their high god as having seven ministers. Thus the earthly court of Ahasuerus was set up to imitate the divine model (Paton *Esther* ICC, 148).

The etymologies and ethnic origin of these seven names have been a topic of some debate. Some would like to view them as historical Persian names in order to affirm in part the historicity of the book of Esther. Others feel that the author of the book has invented them for his own purposes, and thus neither they nor the book should be considered historical (Moore *Esther* AB, 8–9). Most of these names do appear to be of Persian/Iranian origin; but their correct spelling is in doubt, making it difficult to

determine their exact etymology. The various Versions of the OT exhibit a variety of forms for each one of these seven names. Thus, for instance, Abagtha (Heb *ʾăbagtā*) is rendered as *abataza* by LXX$^{bs}$, as *zēbathatha* by LXX$^{a}$, as *achedes* by the OL, and as *ʾgbwt* by the Syriac version. What is even more confusing is that the Lucianic recension of the LXX omits all of these names entirely in Esth 1:10. See Moore for a complete listing of the variants for all the names (*Esther* AB, XLI–XLIV). Because of the Versions' overwhelming lack of support of the MT readings, many scholars have doubted the accuracy of the spellings in the Hebrew text and have attempted to reconstruct the original names by other means. In the past some have used a so-called preferred reading of the LXX as a basis for reconstructing an original name because it fit the phonetic makeup of a likely Persian cognate. Thus the consonants of Biztha (Heb *bizzětā*) were altered by some to read *mzdn* (= *mazdānā?*), following the reading of the LXX$^{bs}$, *mazan,* because it was phonetically equivalent to Pers *mazdānā,* "gift of (the god) Mazda." Likewise, Bigtha (Heb *bigtā*<) was read as *bgdt* (= *bagedāta?*), supposedly following a misreading of LXX$^{a}$, *bazēthatha,* to agree with Pers *bagadāta,* "given by god." And finally, Abagtha (Heb *ʾăbagtā*) as well suffered the same fate, being altered to *ʾbzt* (= *ʾabazatā?*), following the LXX, *abataza* (Paton *Esther* ICC, 67–68). Others argued that several of these names were slightly misspelled variants of other personal names in the book of Esther. Mehuman was viewed as a variant for Memucan (Heb *mĕmûkān*) (Esth 1:14); Bigtha as a different spelling for Bigthan (Heb *bigtān*) (Esth 2:21; 6:2); and Abagtha some felt was a gloss of the previous name, Bigtha, in the list of Esth 1:10 (Paton *Esther* ICC, 67–68). In addition Duchesne-Guillemin saw the two lists of names in Esth 1:10 and 1:14 as duplicates but in reverse order of each other. Therefore Mehuman, the first name in Esth 1:10, was the same name as Memucan, the last name in Esth 1:14, and so on (Duchesne-Guillemin 1953).

Against these older views more recent scholarship has argued that the MT tradition tends to preserve the correct phonetic consonantal spelling of foreign names quite faithfully. Linguistic studies in the various Persian dialects have progressed greatly in the past generation, and now more precise phonetic correlations can be made between Persian words and the Hebrew spelling of them (Millard 1977: 482–87). Thus most of the seven names in Esth 1:10 have been found to be phonetically equivalent to attested Persian words or actual Persian proper names. The following correlations have been made:

*Mehuman:* From the Aramaic passive participle form, *mĕhaymân,* from the root *ʾmn,* meaning "trusty" or "eunuch"; or from O Pers *vahumanah,* "intelligent."

*Biztha:* Possibly from Pers *besteh,* "bound," or "eunuch."

*Harbona:* From N Pers *kherbân,* "donkey driver."

*Bigtha:* Possibly from O Pers *bagadâ,* "gift of god."

*Abagtha:* From M Iranian *gabata,* "fortunate one."

*Zethar:* From M Pers *zaitar,* "conqueror."

*Carkas:* From Avestan *kahrkâsa,* "vulture."

If these identifications are correct, then with one possible exception all of these eunuchs may have actual Persian names. If so, they themselves may have come from different cultural backgrounds judging from the fact that their names find their origins in so many diverse dialects of Persian. This is exactly the state of affairs one would have found at Ahasuerus' court. Aramaic records from Persepolis dating from his reign have shown that there were many different Aryan nationalities represented at court (Millard 1977: 482–84). Therefore one might use the above evidence to argue in part that the author of Esther derived the story from a historical account or at least had knowledge of some Persian names and customs.

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JOHN M. WIEBE

**MEINIM.** Inhabitants of the city-state of Maʿin. See MEUNIM.

**MEIRON** (M.R. 191265). The site of ancient Meiron, also spelled "Meron," is located just N of the Wâdī Meiron, approximately 1 km N of the nearest site, Khirbet Shemaʿ, in the modern *moshav* of the same name. The site embraces some 200 dunams (ca. 50 acres) and is one of the largest ancient settlements of the Upper Galilee region. It is not to be confused with the "waters of Merom" of Joshua 11:5, 7 or Mero or Meroth of Josephus (*JW* 2.573; 3.39). The latter (M.R. 199270) has been recently identified by a new excavation team as Khirbet Marus, a site which the excavators maintain constitutes the northernmost border of the Galilee (Ilan and Damati 1985). Meiron is to be equated rather with the Talmudic village associated with Simeon bar Yochai and the priestly clan of Jehoiarib (1 Chr 24:7). By medieval times Meiron becomes an important Jewish pilgrimage place and is associated with the Feast of Lag B'Omer, celebrated 33 days after Passover.

The only excavations undertaken at ancient Meiron were conducted from 1971 to 1972, 1974 to 1975, and in 1977 and were directed by E. M. Meyers. The results of those campaigns are published in the Meiron final report (Meyers, Strange, and Meyers 1981). The excavations focused primarily on soundings in the town itself though it was also possible to do some limited soundings alongside the synagogue on the acropolis. The major recovery of material came from the insulae in the Lower City and is dated to the Middle-Late Roman period, the heyday of the ancient settlement.

The chronological span of materials recovered from the excavations ranges from the Hellenistic to medieval times. The following table summarizes the main cultural phases of the site:

| Stratum | Dates | Description |
|---|---|---|
| I | 200–50 B.C.E. (Helenistic) | Scattered artifactual remains; only traces of structures. |
| II | 50 B.C.E.–135 C.E. (Early Roman) | Limited architecture and related artifacts; small growing village. |
| III | 135–250 C.E. (Middle Roman) | First major insula; village expanding |
| IV | 250–363 C.E. (Late Roman) | Peak of village life; synagogue built; gradual abandonment at end of stratum. |
| V | 363–750 C.E. (Byzantine-Arab) | Village largely abandoned; occasional artifacts dropped by visitors or squatters. |
| VI | 750–1000 C.E. (Early Arab) | Reestablishment of village life on a smaller scale. |
| VIIa | 1000–1300 C.E. (Late Arab) | Continuation of stable village life; emergence as a pilgrimage center. |
| VIIb | 1300–1400 C.E. (Late Arab) | Village in decline |

The typical basilican synagogue on the acropolis that had lain destroyed and bare since antiquity was dated by debris from within an annex to the late 3d century C.E. (stratum IV). It is the longest synagogue known from all ancient Palestine, 27.5 m long by 13.6 m wide. Three entrances mark the S end of the building, which is clearly oriented S toward Jerusalem. There are two rows of eight columns, each row running N-S. Heart-shaped columns are conjectured to have stood in the two N corners, and a gallery and clerestory roof are posited for the second story and above.

The Lower City excavations produced two large insulae preserved mainly in their stratum IV phase, one with a beautifully laid open courtyard of stone. A carpenter's shop and cooperage were among the major finds here. A ritual bathing complex was also identified in this area and dated to stratum III. It is quite clear that the first or ground floor of the complex was utilized for business or industry and that the second floor was reserved for living quarters.

On a terrace at a slightly higher elevation to the W, several large private dwellings were excavated. One was extremely well preserved. Because of their size and of the high quality of household goods discovered in them, they were called "patrician" homes by the excavators. A storage area (Room F) in one was found virtually undisturbed from antiquity, and its ceramic storage jars still contained quantities of

wheat, beans, and walnuts. The foodstuffs were purposefully charred, however, and preserved for religious reasons, possibly as a symbolic gift for the destroyed temple which someday might be rebuilt; these were stored by the pious and priestly (?) owner of the house.

A series of cisterns was excavated, which produced a large quantity of whole or restorable pottery. Rainwater was readily available because of Meiron's location high on the mountain slopes; and because of the abundant water supply in the spring to the S, the town apparently shared with Khirbet Shemaʿ its surplus.

Excavation of a small tomb complex produced quantities of restorable artifacts also. The mode of inhumation that was documented from the first century B.C.E. to the 4th century C.E. was secondary reburial or *ossilegium.* Although only fragments of stone ossuaries were found, many individuals were simply reinterred without a container for their skeletal remains. Study of the bones revealed a high degree of endogamy with a concomitant array of disease. Clearly the isolation of Upper Galilee is reflected in the study of human remains from Meiron.

The material culture recovered from ancient Meiron thus reveals a village that is both very much part of Roman life in ancient Palestine and at the same time separate from it. The coins show a special trade connection to the municipality of Tyre, but there are also connections with other major centers of trade and culture. The synagogue, which stands high on the slopes, clearly represents the crowning achievement of the members of the community, who achieved much of their financial success and independence from their cultivation of the olive tree and preparation of olive oil, the greatest natural resource of the upper Galilee.

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ERIC M. MEYERS

**MELATIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕlaṭĕyâ* (מְלַטְיָה)]. One of those who worked on the wall of Jerusalem following the return from Babylonian exile (Neh 3:7). Melatiah worked along with Jadon the Meronothite and is identified as a "Gibeonite." His name means "Yahweh has delivered." The "men of Gibeon" to whom the verse refers were probably workmen under the leadership of Melatiah (Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* Century Bible, 136). He was probably an official in Gibeon (Clines *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 153). Because the Hebrew word *kissēʾ* can be translated either as "authority" or "seat of authority" (BDB, 490), one might follow the sense of the RSV translation of Neh 3:7 concerning the work of these men: "under the jurisdiction of the governor of the province Beyond the River"; or that of Fensham (*Ezra and Nehemiah* NICOT, 169): "up to the quarters of the governor of Trans-Euphrates," which would mean that the governor had a part-time residence in Jerusalem (Fensham, 174).

MICHAEL L. RUFFIN

**MELCHI** (PERSON) [Gk *Melchi* (Μελχι)]. **1.** The father of Levi and son of Jannai according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:24). D omits the name, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. Apart from Luke 3:28, the name Melchi occurs nowhere else in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, and falls within a list of seventeen otherwise unknown descendants of David's son Nathan (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 500). Kuhn (1923: 208–9) argues that two seemingly parallel lists of names—Luke 3:23–26 (Jesus to Mattathias) and 3:29–31 (Joshua/Jesus to Mattatha)—were originally identical, the first perhaps reflecting a Hebrew context and the second, an Aramaic context, tracing Mary's line of descent (since it does not mention Joseph as Jesus' father). Melchi, in the first list, corresponds to Simeon, in the second list. With no major textual variants for Melchi and Simeon to support confusion of the two in the NT, Kuhn's theory has little plausibility. Kuhn further suggests (211) that Melchi, a name that rarely appears

in Jewish literature, was a popular shortening of the more widely used Heb *mlkyh.* Julius Africanus lists Melchi as the father of Heli, omitting Levi and Matthat. On this see MATTHAT; Hervey (1853: 137).

**2.** The father of Neri and son of Addi according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:28). D omits the name, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. Apart from Luke 3:24, the name Melchi appears nowhere else in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, and falls within a list of eighteen otherwise unknown descendants of David's son Nathan (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* 501). Kuhn (1923: 214; see also Hervey 1853: 38–39, 92, 148–49) argues that Melchi, as well as several other names in this section, is a corruption, in particular here of Heb *mlkyrm* found in 1 Chr 3:18, on the basis that Gk *Nēri* and *Melchi* are derived from a single name: Heb *nrymlky* (meaning "my king is my light"), possibly making it into 1 Chronicles through the corrupted intermediate form *mlkynry* (Kuhn believes he can prove the change from Heb *nry* to *rm*). This proposal has not won widespread acceptance, especially since there is serious question whether the genealogy at this point is based on 1 Chronicles (Marshall 1978: 164; cf. Jeremias 1969: 295–96).

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STANLEY E. PORTER

**MELCHIAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Melchias* (Μελχιας)]. See MALCHIJAH (PERSON).

**MELCHIEL** (PERSON) [Gk *Melchiēl* (Μελχιηλ)]. The father of Charmis, one of the elders of Bethuliah (Jdt 6:15). The name in Hebrew is Malkiel (Heb *malkî˒ēl*). It occurs in the OT three times (Gen 46:17; Num 26:45; 1 Chr 7:31), where the person name is a member of the tribe of Asher. It is unlikely that the author of the book of Judith intended the reader to make an identification with this figure; the name is part of what Noth terms a "secondary genealogy," a genealogy having no independent existence apart from the narrative (see *HPT*). The name is probably given to lend the story verisimilitude.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**MELCHIZEDEK** (PERSON) [Heb *malkî-ṣedeq* (מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק)]. The meaning of the name is "King of Righteousness," which is stressed by its being written in Gen 14:18–20 and in Ps 110:4 in two parts joined by a *maqqēp,* as if it were a title rather than a personal name. He is described as king of Salem and priest of God Most High (*˒ēl ʿelyôn*).

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A. Gen 14:18–20
B. Ps 110:4
C. In Qumran Literature
D. The Letter to the Hebrews
E. In Mainstream Judaism

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**A. Gen 14:18–20**

Melchizedek met Abram as he returned from his victory over Chedorlaomer and his allies, brought out bread and wine, and blessed Abram in the name of God Most High, maker of heaven and earth; "and he [Abram] gave him [Melchizedek] a tenth of everything." The intention of this passage, which forms the climax of the chapter, is transparent. It affirms that the priesthood of the supreme God, the creator of the world, had existed in Jerusalem not since Solomon but from before Abram's arrival in the promised land; that the priest of God Most High was at the same time the king of the city; and that Abram, who by his victory over Chedorlaomer, the former overlord of the country between Dan and Elath, had inherited his rights to it, paid a tithe to Melchizedek, thus acknowledging his superiority. This reflects and legitimizes

the aspirations of the high priests of Jerusalem, who in the Persian period strove to be on a par with the secular governors of Judea, proclaimed the ideal of theocracy in the Priestly Code, and finally achieved secular power in the Hellenistic age.

Melchizedek's being the priest of God Most High (*ʾēl ʿelyôn*) does not necessarily point to the pre-Israelite, Canaanite character of both the priest and his cultus, as is often assumed (cf., e.g., *IDB* 2: 407–17; Speiser *Genesis* AB, 105, 109). It is true that in the late Phoenician theogony by Philo Herennius of Byblos the deity *Eliun* (explained in Greek as *Hypsistos*, "most high") appears as the oldest god, grandfather of Elos (*ʾēl*) and his brothers, and that in the much older Aramaic treaty from Sfire (mid-8th century B.C.), stele I:A:11, one finds *ʾl w ʿlyn* (*ʾēl* and *ʿelyōn*) among the divine witnesses of the treaty. But in both cases, El and Elyon are two distinct entities. The combined divine name *ʾēl ʿelyôn* is found in the OT (besides Gen 14:18–20; in Ps 78:35, cf. *ʾelōhîm ʿelyôn*, v 56); in 1 QapGen 21:20, where Abram built an altar in the oaks of Mamre and sacrificed on it to *ʾl ʿlywn;* and in 4 QPrNab, which uses *ʾl ʿlywn* throughout. In all of these passages God Most High is a synonym of Yahweh, as is the more common shorter epithet *ʿelyôn*, which is especially frequent in the Psalms. The assumption that the inclusion of *yhwh* before *ʾēl ʿelyôn* in Abram's reply to the king of Sodom, v 22, reflects a religious difference between the Hebrew Abram and the Canaanite Melchizedek (*IDB* 2:412; Speiser *Genesis* AB, 109) is disproved by its absence from LXX, Syr, and the Genesis Apocryphon (which follows very closely the text of Genesis 14); it should be considered a late editorial gloss.

**B. Ps 110:4**

It is impossible to ascertain whether the image of the priest-king Melchizedek was created by the author of Genesis 14, or was already current in certain Jewish circles. Whatever the case, it had undergone a great sublimation by the time of the composition of Psalm 110, which contains the only other mention of Melchizedek in the OT. The psalm celebrates the elevation of a man to the dignity of priest, ruler, and warlord, a man whose identity is revealed by the acrostic formed by the speech of Yahweh in vv 1–4: *šmʿn,* "Simeon" (Pfeiffer 1948: 630). The warlike atmosphere of the psalm points to Simon Maccabeus, who became high priest, general, and ruler of the Jews in 141 B.C. The crucial v 3 has been poorly transmitted in the MT, and its rendering by the RSV is a paraphrase rather than a translation (but its emendation of *hadrê-qōdeš* to *harĕrê-qōdeš* should be retained). In the following quotation, the suggested restoration of v 3 has been done with the aid of LXX and the analogy with Ps 2:7 (in another Hasmonean enthronement hymn, cf. Pfeiffer 1948: 628):

(3) With thee is the dignity in the day of thy power.
In the holy mountains, from the womb of Dawn,
like the Day Star I have begotten thee.
(4) Yahweh has sworn and will not repent:
"Thou art a priest forever
after the order of Melchizedek."

Thus Melchizedek is here not only the human archetype of the ideal priest-king of Jerusalem, but the eternal priest of Yahweh, a supernatural being engendered by Yahweh and comparable to the mythological figure of "Day Star, son of Dawn" (*hêlēl ben-šāḥar*) in Isa 14:12. Upon taking over the high priesthood and becoming a successor of Melchizedek, Simon Maccabeus is symbolically identified with him (cf. Ps 2:7: "Thou art my son, today I have begotten thee").

**C. In Qumran Literature**

Not only the official Hasmonean establishment, but also their bitter opponents, the Essenes of the Qumran community, gave Melchizedek a very high place in their heavenly hierarchy and eschatology. He is the central character in a fragmentary midrashic work (11QMelch) which interprets a number of verses from Isaiah, Leviticus, and other OT books dealing with remission of debts and liberation of slaves at the end of a jubilee cycle as referring to the last judgment and the final triumph of good over evil during the tenth jubilee of the Essene eschatological era. The faithful ones will be included in the lot of Melchizedek, and their transgressions will be forgiven. Melchizedek will be the judge both of the saints of God and of Belial and the wicked spirits of his lot. Assisted by all gods of righteousness, he will accomplish the utter

destruction of Belial. In support of this, the interpreter adduces Ps 82:1–2: "God (*ʾelōhîm*) stands in the divine council (*ʿadat-ʾēl*), in the midst of gods (*ʾelōhîm*) he holds judgment. How long will you judge unjustly and show partiality to the wicked? *selah.*" Psalm 82 is one of the "Elohistic psalms," in which an editor has systematically replaced the divine name *yhwh* by *ʾelōhîm*, "God." For the author of Psalm 82, the god who holds judgment amidst his council of lesser celestial beings is Yahweh himself. He accuses his subordinates (to whom he had delegated the everyday administration of the world) of having neglected their duty of social justice; and he threatens them, despite their being gods and sons of the Most High (*ʾelyôn*), that they "shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes" (vv 6–7). Under "one of the princes" (*śārîm*, a title used for angels of the highest rank) the author of Psalm 82 understood the Day Star of Isa 14:12. The psalm ends with an appeal to God (Yahweh) to take over personally the judgment of the earth and all its nations. But for the Essene interpreter, the replacement of *Yahweh* by *ʾElōhîm* in v 1 made it possible to understand it not as "God" but as "a god," i.e., an angel, and to identify him as Melchizedek, and the gods whom he judges, as the spirits of the lot of Belial. Thus Melchizedek plays here the role of one of the two supreme spirits created by God—the spirit of light, opposed to the spirit of darkness. The latter, as one learns from the very fragmentary text, "The Vision of Amram" (4Q*ʿ*Amram), has the epithet *mlky rš*ʿ "King of Iniquity" as the last (and only extant) of his three names. This would represent an antithesis to the name of Melchizedek (cf. Milik 1972b: 126–39; 1972a: 77–86). But the three names of the spirit of light in 4Q*ʿ*Amram have not been preserved; and in 11QMelch the evil adversary of Melchizedek is not called, symmetrically, *mlky rš*ʿ, but Belial.

It has been assumed that the Qumran sect identified Melchizedek with the archangel Michael (van der Woude 1965: 301 n. 1, 367–73; Milik 1972b: 125). A certain similarity between the roles of Melchizedek in 11QMelch and Michael in 1QM 17:5–8, as well as in Daniel, does exist; but, as recognized by de Jonge and van der Woude 1966: 305, "Michael and Melchizedek are, however, not identified explicitly in the Qumran texts at our disposal. This identification is only found in certain medieval Jewish texts." In 1QM 9:14–16, Michael is only one of the four archangels, not one of the two antagonistic supreme spirits of the world. The image of Michael as the heavenly high priest appears in the midrashic literature, i.e., considerably later, and is probably of secondary derivation. See Fitzmyer's (1967: 32) cautious approach to the question of Melchizedek's identification with Michael. It is strange that 11QMelch contains no hint whatever to Melchizedek's priesthood; but in the light of the Letter to the Hebrews, it is highly probable that the view of Melchizedek as the eternal priest (cf. Ps 110:4) was shared by the Essenes. See also MELCHIZEDEK (11QMelch).

**D. The Letter to the Hebrews**

The Epistle to the Hebrews was addressed to a group of Judeo-Christians of Essene background and aimed at overcoming their lingering attachment to the idea of an exclusively levitical priesthood. It exhorted them to recognize that Jesus was a priest despite his non-levitical ancestry. It used as a precedent the image of Melchizedek, which it supposed was familiar to its audience. Heb 5:6; 6:20; 7:17 apply to Christ the words of Ps 110:4, "Thou art a priest forever, after the order of Melchizedek." Heb 7:1–2a refer to Gen 14:17–22, in which Abra[ha]m gave a tenth part of everything to Melchizedek. Verses 2b–3 explain that Melchizedek "is first, by translation of his name, king of righteousness, and then he is also king of Salem, that is, king of peace. He is without father or mother or genealogy, and has neither beginning of days nor end of life, but resembling the Son of God he continues a priest forever." The fact that Abraham gave a tithe of his spoils to Melchizedek, continues the Letter (7:4–10), proves that Melchizedek was superior to Abraham and, by implication, to Abraham's descendant Levi, who, as it were, paid tithes through Abraham, "for he was still in the loins of his ancestor when Melchizedek met him." Melchizedek blessed Abraham; now "it is beyond dispute that the inferior is blessed by the superior." Moreover, "here tithes are received by mortal men; there by one of whom it is testified that he lives." The choice (in Ps 110:4) of the phrase "after the order of Melchizedek" rather than "after the order of Aaron" confirms Melchizedek's precedence over levitical priests (Heb 7:14). The Letter's notion of Melchizedek as a primeval, immortal being, coeternal with the Son of God, gave rise to various heterodox opinions in the early Christian Church; and there even arose a sect of Melchizedekians who regarded

Melchizedek as equal or superior to Christ; but by the 5th century A.D. the Church stopped such speculations and no longer occupied itself with the mysterious figure of Melchizedek.

**E. In Mainstream Judaism**

Philo Judaeus, in the earlier part of the 1st century A.D., and Josephus, in its latter part, were contemporaries of the last period of existence of the Qumran community. But their references to Melchizedek have nothing in common with the Essene view of him. According to Philo *Leg All* III 25–26 §§79–82, "Melchizedek, too, has God made both king of peace, for that is the meaning of *Salem,* and his own priest … a king peaceable and worthy of his [God's] own priesthood. For he is entitled "the righteous king," and a king is a thing at enmity with a despot [*tyrannos*], the one being the author of laws, the other of lawlessness." Josephus (*Ant* 1.10.2 §180) wrote that Abraham "was received by the king of Solyma, Melchizedek; the name means "righteous king," and such he was by common consent, inasmuch as for this reason he was moreover made priest of God; Solyma was in fact the place afterward called Hierosolyma." For both authors, Melchizedek was a righteous and worthy man, but only a man. Such was, apparently, the attitude of the Pharisees, who, being opposed to both the Hasmoneans and the Essenes, had no reason to share in their exaltation of Melchizedek. A late vestige of a higher status ascribed to Melchizedek is found in *b. Sukk.* 52b, in which R. Ḥānā bar Biznā, citing R. Simeon Ḥasidā, identified the "four craftsmen" of Zech 2:3 as the Messiah son of David, the Messiah son of Joseph, Elijah, and Melchizedek (thus in the Munich Codex; other manuscripts have *kōhēn ṣedeq,* "the Righteous Priest"). This seems to imply that Melchizedek was translated to heaven like Elijah and will reappear in the messianic era. In opposition to the Letter to the Hebrews, other rabbis identified Melchizedek with Shem, the son of Noah (who, according to the priestly chronology of Genesis, not only was still alive at the time of Abraham but even survived him by 25 years). This identification was taken up in *Tg. Neof.* and *Tg. Ps.-J.* According to R. Zechariah on the authority of R. Ishmael (*b. Ned.* 32b), God originally gave the priesthood to Shem-Melchizedek; but because the latter gave precedence in his blessing (Gen 14:19–20) to Abraham over God, the priesthood was withdrawn from him and given to the descendants of Abraham; and Ps 110:4 was interpreted "Thou [Abraham] art a priest forever because of the words of Melchizedek."

In the midrashic literature, Michael appears as the heavenly high priest who offers daily sacrifices. It is, however, questionable if this image goes back to the time of Qumran and reflects the identity of Michael with Melchizedek. It is rather another instance of transferring Melchizedek's functions to another character. Moreover, the whole idea may represent an elaboration of a passage in *b. Zebah.* 62a, concerning the rebuilding of the temple after the Babylonian exile: "But how did they know (the site of) the altar? Said R. Eleazar: They saw (in a vision) the altar built, and Michael the great prince offering upon it." Note that the archangel offered on an earthly, not a heavenly altar, and only in order to indicate its site to the restorers of the temple. As for the explicit identification of Michael with Melchizedek in two little known medieval esoteric works, outside the mainstream of kabbalistic literature (*Yalqūt ḥādāš* and *Midrāš hanne‹lām*), we are probably dealing with independent constructions of their authors.

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MICHAEL C. ASTOUR

**MELCHIZEDEK** (11QMelch). In 1965 under the auspices of the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences, A. S. van der Woude published 14 small fragments discovered in 1956 in Qumran Cave 11. That editio princeps of 11QMelch contained photographs, a transcription of the text, and a German translation. In 1966 van der Woude and M. de Jonge published a slightly altered transcription together with an English translation. The most significant improvements in the reading and restoration of the fragments have been published by Yadin (1965: 152–54), Fitzmyer (1967: 26–41), Carmignac (1970: 343–78), Milik (1972: 97–109), and especially Puech (1987: 488–507). Named initially after its chief character, Melchizedek, for its final edition in the series Discoveries in the Judaean Desert, 11QMelch has been provisionally designated as 11Q13.

On paleographic grounds van der Woude proposed (1965: 357) that the work should be dated to the first half of the 1st century C.E. Others have suggested the second half of the 1st century B.C.E. (Kobelski 1981: 3). 11QMelch is for the most part a single column of text of at least 25 lines; in its right-hand margin frag. 1 contains an insertion which belongs to the preceding column; frags. 2 and 7 provide the start of several lines of a third column. While Kobelski accepts Milik's placing of frag. 13, he argues (1981: 5, 23) that frags. 4, 5, 11, and 14 are not part of the main extant column; Puech (1987: 505–7) locates frags. 4, 5, 11, and 13 in col. 3. Milik (1972: 126) argues that while the manuscript itself is suitably dated at the turn of the era, because the "anointed one" (11QMelch 18–20) is probably the Teacher of Righteousness himself, the text was composed about 120 B.C.E. (also Puech 1987: 509–10).

Because the fragments include extracts from various biblical books, notably Lev 25:10–13; Ps 82:1–2; and Isa 52:7 and because in lines 12 and 17 the interpretation of the biblical texts is introduced with a formula including the word *pēšer,* 11QMelch is generically akin to the thematic exegetical documents from Qumran such as 4QFlorilegium and 4QCatena [a]: indeed 11QMelch 25 and 4QFlor 1:15–16 both cite Isa 8:11 as a supplementary text (cf. 1QSa 1:2–3; CD 8:16 = 19:29). It is better to understand 11QMelch as the interpretation of a series of biblical texts (Brooke 1985: 320–22), rather than as an elaborate exegesis based largely on one biblical text alone (Leviticus 25; cf. Fitzmyer 1967: 29; Isaiah 61; cf. Miller 1969: 467–69; and Sanders 1973: 374). It could be that this series of texts originally belonged together in some early Jewish liturgical setting, perhaps as readings for the Day of Atonement (11QMelch 7; Brooke 1985: 322–23). Within their present literary context it is likely that they belong to a much longer document of which 4Q180 and 181 are also copies (Milik 1972: 110–26).

This exegetical work is intricately constructed. The very piecing together of the fragments was facilitated by the systematic use of biblical texts in 11QMelch (van der Woude 1965: 355). On the basis of the various formulas used, it can be seen that the work offers interpretations for certain base texts (Lev 25:13; Ps 82:1–2; Isa 52:7); each interpretation includes supplementary texts (e.g., Deut 15:2; Isa 61:1) by allusion or direct citation. These supplementary texts are linked through catchword (*gĕzērâ šāwâ*) to the base text and sometimes to each other: e.g., Deut 15:2 (11QMelch 3–4) is linked to the base text of Lev 25:13 (11QMelch 2) through an analogous word use represented only in the LXX text type (Lev 25:13, *apheseōs;* Deut 15:2, *aphesis*); the allusions to Isa 61:1 are linked to the citation of Isa 52:7 through their common use of *bśr.* Also in the interpretations there are occasional short extracts from the base text.

The whole text is eschatological, concerning the "latter days" (*aḥarît hayyāmîm*). For the Sons of Light, Melchizedek will proclaim release and make expiation; for Belial and those of his lot, Melchizedek will exact the vengeance of the judgments of God. In this dualistic struggle, aspects of which reflect Iranian influence (Kobelski 1981: 84–98), Melchizedek acts as God's agent. All this will happen in the tenth and last jubilee period (11QMelch 7); this time scale for history echoes that of the Apocalypse of Weeks (*1 En.* 91:12–17; 93:1–10; 4QEn [g]) in which in the seventh part of the tenth week the eternal judgment is executed by the angels. This same judgment is declared to Michael by God in *1 En.* 10:12 (cf. Jude 6). This tradition justifies the conclusion of the majority of scholars that Melchizedek in 11QMelch is not a human but the archangel Michael in another guise with royal and high priestly characteristics (cf. Gen 14:18–20; Ps 110:4). In addition, Melchizedek is accompanied by the one who brings good news (*mbśr*),

the anointed one (*hmšyḥ*), who may be the Teacher of Righteousness, or the eschatological prophet (Kobelski 1981: 61–62), or the Davidic Messiah (Fitzmyer 1967: 30).

Although the name Melchizedek appears in full only in this Qumran text, 11QMelch shares certain features with other texts. Its angelology is matched particularly in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q400, 403, 405), in which the angels are often designed as *ʾēl* or *ʾelôhîm*, as in Ps 82:1 (11QMelch 10) and in 1QM. 4QʿAmram$^{b}$ and 4Q280 seem to refer to Melchizedek's chief opponent, Belial, under another name: *Melkirešaʿ*. The exegetical method and eschatological scheme are paralleled in other texts also.

The appearance of some key scriptural passages and the figure of Melchizedek himself have provoked an extensive scholarly literature on how 11QMelch may illuminate parts of the NT. Although some would deny any connection between this angelic Melchizedek and the priestly Melchizedek in Heb 5:5–10 and 7:1–7 (Horton 1976: 167–70), most scholars argue that the two texts preserve differing uses of the same Palestinian Jewish tradition. The debate in Heb 1:3–14 about the status of angels would seem to justify this; the same issue is also reflected in the use of Psalm 82 in John 10:34. The use of Isaiah 61 as a key text in Jesus' ministry (Luke 4:18–19; 6:20–21) implies that for Luke, Jesus was the eschatological liberator who fulfilled the role other Jewish traditions assigned to Michael or Melchizedek.

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GEORGE J. BROOKE

**MELCHIZEDEK** (NHC IX,*1*). The first of three gnostic tractates contained in Nag Hammadi Codex IX (1,1–27,10), inscribed in Sahidic Coptic. It is the only one of the Nag Hammadi tractates in which the figure of Melchizedek appears, though Melchizedek is treated in such other gnostic texts as *Pistis Sophia* and the *Books of Jeu*.

Owing to the fragmentary condition of the ms, less than 50 percent of the text is recoverable, but enough is preserved to allow for judgments to be made on such questions as literary genre, essential content, and religious character. Its superscript title is partially preserved.

*Melchizedek* is an apocalypse containing revelations given by heavenly intermediaries to Melchizedek, "priest of God Most High," who communicates the revelations to a spiritual elite. It is a Christian writing which reflects in its background the influence of sectarian Jewish speculations on the figure of Melchizedek, but whose chief preoccupation is the relationship between Melchizedek and Jesus Christ. The NT Epistle to the Hebrews supplies the key to the solution of that problem (Gianotto 1984: 187–275).

*Melchizedek* consists of three main parts: (1) first revelation, 1, 1–14, 15; (2) a liturgical interlude, 14, 15–18, 11 (?); and (3) second revelation, 18, 11 (?)–27, 10.

The first revelation contains prophecies of the ministry, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ and predictions of the coming of heretics who will deny the reality of Jesus' incarnation, death, and resurrection. Melchizedek himself has a role to play as well, for he is not only the recipient of the revelation, but also a participant in it, as a future high priest.

The antidocetic polemic in this section is a surprising component to find in a gnostic text. This feature could indicate a connection, in the editorial history of the text, with the "Melchizedekian" sect described by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 55). The Melchizedekians had a low christology and insisted on the true humanity of Christ.

The interlude features certain ritual actions undertaken by Melchizedek and the offering up of prayers addressed to members of the heavenly world. The names of these various beings (Barbelo, Harmozel, Oroiael, Daveithe, Eleleth, et al.) belong to the "Sethian gnostic" tradition represented by the *Apocryphon of John* and related texts (Sevrin 1986: 222–46).

The second set of revelations transports Melchizedek into the future again, this time as the crucified, resurrected, and triumphant savior himself. If this interpretation of the fragmentary text is correct, *Melchizedek* teaches the identity of Jesus Christ with the ancient priest Melchizedek; i.e., Jesus is Melchizedek redivivus. Melchizedek's role as a returning high priest and eschatological holy warrior is to be understood against the background of such Jewish apocalyptic material as 11QMelch, *2 Enoch,* and the Similitudes of *1 Enoch* (chaps. 37–71: Enoch as the future "Son of Man"). The identification of Jesus Christ with Melchizedek is apparently derived from an interpretation of Heb 7:3.

A number of features in *Melchizedek* cohere with the aforementioned Melchizedekian heresy described by Epiphanius. The identification of Jesus Christ with Melchizedek is an idea that appeared in some early Christian circles, especially in Egypt.

The gnostic features of the text may be accounted for on the hypothesis that an earlier non-gnostic apocalypse has undergone Sethian gnostic redaction and revision. (For another view see Schenke 1980.)

The original language of *Melchizedek* was Greek. The final redaction was probably completed in Egypt sometime in the 3d century, though parts of the tractate are probably earlier.

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**MELEA** (PERSON) [Gk *Melea* (Μελεα)]. The father of Eliakim and son of Menna, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:31). D omits Melea, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. The name Melea occurs nowhere else in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, and falls within a list of eighteen otherwise unknown descendants of David's son Nathan (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 501). Kuhn (1923: 208–9) argues that two seemingly parallel lists of names—Luke 3:23–26 (Jesus to Mattathias) and 3:29–31 (Joshua/Jesus to Mattatha)—were originally identical, the first perhaps reflecting a Hebrew context and the second, an Aramaic context, tracing Mary's line of descent (since it does not mention Joseph as Jesus' father). Melea, in the second list, corresponds to Naggai, in the first list. With no major textual variants for Melea and Naggai to support confusion of the two, Kuhn's theory has little plausibility.

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**MELECH** (PERSON) [Heb *melek* (מֶלֶךְ)]. Great-great-grandson of King Saul according to the genealogy in 1 Chr 8:35 and 9:41. The name is unique in the Hebrew Bible and in the epigraphic corpus;

this probably motivated various translators of the LXX to level the MT in line with more common names, such as Malchiel (see Gen 46:17) or Malluch (e.g., Ezra 10:29). The name "Melech" is probably a shortened form of names such as Malchiah, "YH (WH) is king." The abbreviated form *mlky* is attested in a preexilic bulla (Shiloh 1986: 29), and the element *mlk* is very common in biblical and extrabiblical names (Avigad 1986: 73, 82, 87, 105, 106; Shiloh 1986: 29; Tigay 1986: 77–78; Fowler *TPNAH*, 350). Although theoretically the element *mlk* could be connected with the divinity called Molech in the Hebrew Bible, most scholars associate the Israelite names with YHWH and understand *mlk* as a divine epithet (Heider 1985: 229–32; Tigay 1986: 77–78; Fowler, 50–52). However, it might not be accidental that a descendant of King Saul was named Melech (Heb *melek*) "king." The ideology that Saul and his descendants were the legitimate kings over Israel continued to flourish after the ascent of David (Flanagan 1982; Brettler 1989: 423–25), and the name "Melech" for a member of Saul's family might indicate continued hope of recapturing the royal throne. Names compounded with *melech* were used with other people connected to human kingship. The judge who attempted to hold sway over all Israel is named Abimelech (Judges 9), and the indirect ancestor of King David according to Ruth, in which most names are symbolic, is Elimelech (Ruth 1:2). The symbolic use of names with the element *melech* elsewhere thus suggests that Melech in 1 Chr 8:35 and 9:41 is connected to human rather than divine kingship. On the repetition of Saul's genealogy in 1 Chronicles 8 and 9, see AHAZ (PERSON).

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**MELONS.** See FLORA.

**MEM.** The thirteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

**MEMMIUS, QUINTUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Kointos Memmios* (Κοιντος Μεμμιος)]. Quintus Memmius, one of two Roman envoys to the Jews in 164 B.C.E. (2 Macc 11:34). This envoy is mentioned along with his colleague Titus Manius, and the Vulgate designates them as *legati Romanorum*, "Roman legates." See MANIUS, TITUS. Efforts to establish the historicity of these envoys have produced no certainty. The content of the letter sent to the Jews by the Romans was possible enough, in view of the policies of the Romans toward the territory of Syria. However, dates and names within the passage do not fit the known events, so that some think that the letters and the embassy to the Jews are fictitious.

BETTY JANE LILLIE

**MEMPHIS** (PLACE) [Heb *nōp* (נֹף), *mōp* (מֹף)]. Throughout most of Egyptian history, the principal residence and capital of the kings of Egypt, referred to in the oracles of several Hebrew prophets (Isa 19:13; Jer 2:16; 46:14, 19; Ezek 30:13; Hos 9:6). Apparently some of the Judeans who fled to Egypt during the Babylonian advance settled in Memphis (Jer 44:1). The site is identified with modern Mitrahineh, 13 miles S of Cairo on the W bank of the Nile.

The site was first settled by Menes, the traditional founder of the 1st Dyn. (Herodotus 2.99; see Kemp 1976), who ca. 3050 B.C. built a fortress there called the "White Fortress." Throughout the Old Kingdom (ca. 3050–2200 B.C.) the town was otherwise known as "the Residence" (Eg *ḥnw*), and here the ever-expanding bureaucracy and the administrative offices of the kingdom were centered. Because the early kings chose to build their pyramids in various sites within the area, a number of temporary "pyramid towns" sprang up to house the workers; these soon developed into faubourgs of Memphis, connected by a N-S canal (Goyon 1971). One of these, the pyramid town of Tety (ca. 2380–2350 B.C.), enjoyed continued prosperity during the 9th and the 10th dynasties (ca. 2180–2050 B.C.), when it became the metropolis of the entire district. Another town, built by Pepy I (ca. 2350–2315 B.C.), was called "Pepy is

Firm and Fair" (Eg *pepy-mn-nfr*); and from Middle Kingdom times on the city was known by an abbreviated form of this name, *mn-nfr* (cf. Gk *Menophreōs, Memphis*; Akk *Mi-im-pi*; as well as the two Heb forms).

From the earliest times, Ptah appears as the principal god of the town, and his temple (originally on the S side of the "White Fortress") gradually became the focal point of the city. Its name, *Ḥwt-k€ -ptḥ* ("*Ka* mansion of Ptah") was often used to designate the city itself and later, by extension, the entire country (cf. *Ai-ku-pi-ti-yo* in Linear B [Stieglitz 1976: 85]; *ḥkpt* in 2 Aqht V: 21, 31; and Gk *Aigyptos*, "Egypt"). Already in the Old Kingdom period copies of the royal annals were kept in Ptah's temple (Redford 1986). Ptah was essentially a creator god, celebrated for his creation by word of mouth (cf. *ANET*, 4–6), and, as a reflection of the political importance of his city, considered first divine king of Egypt (cf. Diod. 1.13.1–2). His consort was Sakhmet, the lioness-headed plague bearer, and his offspring Nefertuia, the Lotus. He was also associated with the sacred bull APIS, who occupied an ancillary shrine adjacent to Ptah's temenos; and the chthonic god Ta-tenen, personification of the emergent alluvium. The principal and oldest goddess at the site was Hathor, Mistress of the Southern Sycamore, whose temple stood S of the Ptah enclosure (Mahmud 1978). Three km to the W of the city, on the edge of the desert cliffs, stood the ever-growing necropolis of the city, Sakkara, which took its name from the mortuary deity, Sokan (Lauer 1976, 1977). Here all of the first six dynasties of Egyptian history, except the 4th, are represented by mastaba and pyramid fields.

The collapse of the Old Kingdom after 2200 B.C. robbed Memphis temporarily of its status as royal residence, and primacy was ceded first to Herakleopolis (9th–10th Dyn.) and then to Thebes (11th Dyn.). Even when the center of the kingdom gravitated N in the 12th Dyn., it was not to Memphis, but to the new capital of Itj-towy (modern Lisht, 32 km S of Mitrahineh). Nevertheless, the city of Memphis revived somewhat during the Middle Kingdom, when part of the site was covered by tombs (Lilyquist 1974); and the cultic establishment experienced a renewal. Memphis was captured by the Hyksos ca. 1660 B.C. and, according to Manetho, was used by them as a residence (see HYKSOS). Its liberation is not recorded in any surviving text, but by the time of the final assault on Avaris, it was firmly in Egyptian hands.

From the reign of Thutmose I (ca. 1526–1515 B.C.) to the early years of Rameses II (after 1300 B.C.), Memphis regained its distinction of being the favored royal residence; and even after the construction of the new capital Pi-Ramesse (ca. 1290 B.C.), it maintained a central role in the administration (Badawy 1948). It was the seat of the N vizier and his council, responsible for Middle and Lower Egypt; and it became customary to appoint the heir apparent to the post of *sm*-priest of Ptah in the city. Thutmose III resided in the city and used it as a base of military operations (*Urk* IV: 1282). Amenophis II added a suburb called Peru-nefer, Thutmose IV a chapel, and Amenophis III a shrine and a large mortuary temple (Petrie 1909–10). Although Akhenaten probably never set foot in Memphis, he had a sun temple constructed at the site (Löhr 1975). In his third year, Tutankhamen took up residence in Memphis, and from that point until Ramesside times the town experienced a rebirth. The necropolis during this period displayed well-built mastabas of the highest magnates of the realm, such as the generalissimo Horemheb, the treasurer Maya, the princess Tia, the general Amenenioue, etc. (Martin 1977, 1982, 1983, 1984). Sety I built a temple at Memphis and resided at the site. Khamwese, son of Rameses II and priest of Ptah, undertook at Memphis a restoration of temples and ancient cults, an activity which is reflected in the noticeable "antiquarianism" of the period (Redford, 1986). Rameses II's own contribution to Memphis consisted of the refurbishing and expansion of numerous standing structures and the building of the present Ptah temple (Jeffreys 1984). He also transferred the place of burial of the Apis bulls from the aboveground cemetery to a subterranean serapeum. His son, Merneptah, built a palace and temple to Ptah at the SE corner of the city; and Rameses III of the 20th Dyn. also built a temple at the site.

During the Third Intermediate Period (ca. 1070–711 B.C.) the direct influence of Memphis on the politics of the realm declined somewhat. Although kings continued to lavish public buildings on the site—Siamun constructing a temple and Sheshonk I a mortuary temple and an embalming house for Apis—Memphis became little more than an appendage of princes of the reigning house. It resisted the invasion of the Nubian Pi'ankhy (ca. 717 B.C.) and was besieged and sacked. It suffered a similar fate at

the hands of the Assyrians. Despite this decline, the tradition of Memphis' former importance survived in Palestine into the 8th century, judging from Isaiah's reference to it in a poetic parallelism that recognizes its princes (and those of Zoan) as "the cornerstones of (Egypt's) tribes" (19:13). At the same time, the tradition of its impressive necropolis seems to have been known to the prophet Hosea, who used that image to refer to the burial of the sinful Israelites (9:6).

The rulers of the 25th Dyn. restored Memphis to its former greatness and turned it into their residence, and the kings of the 26th Dyn. may also have resided there. Psamtek I (664–610 B.C.) enlarged the serapeum, HOPHRA contributed a palace on the N (Petrie 1909–10, II), and the Amasis Dynasty as a whole refurbished the Ptah Temple. Throughout the 7th and 6th centuries Memphis remained the political and cultic hub of Egypt, and as such it attracted the ire of Hebrew prophets in predictions which failed to materialize (cf. Jer 46:14–19; Ezek 30:13).

With the Egyptian Empire of the New Kingdom, Memphis had become the seat of a Canaanite community of merchants and mercenaries centered upon the temples of Ba‹al and Astarte (Helck 1966). During the final days of Judah, Memphis received exiles fleeing the advance of the Babylonians (Jer 44:1). In Herodotus' time this enclave was dubbed "the Camp of the Tyrians" (Hdt. 2.111); and by that time the foreign community comprised Syrians, Carians, and Greeks as well.

During the first Persian occupation (525–406 B.C.), Memphis served as the headquarters of the governor and a garrison post. Cambyses ran afoul of the local priesthood (Hdt. 3.37), but Darius I underwent a coronation there. The 30th Dyn. (380–343 B.C.) contributed greatly to the embellishment of the city and the necropolis.

The priesthood of Ptah had always occupied a high rank in the Egyptian clergy (Freier 1976). Leadership of Memphis and its community gravitated in the Late Period into the hands of the high priests of Ptah who could trace their ancestry to a remote period. These reserved the right to crown the king, to officiate at the rites of Apis, and to keep the offering lists and king lists (see Redford 1986); and during Ptolemaic times, they were a major link between the Greek administration in Alexandria and the native population (Quaegebeur 1971, 1980). The priesthood of Ptah had, over the centuries, gained a reputation for wisdom and scientific knowledge, being the authors of the "deism" of the Memphite Theology, and accurate assessors of climatic conditions in central Africa and the cause of the annual Nile flood (Diod. 1.40.1–2; cf. Lucr. *De rerum natura* 6.738).

Memphis was chosen as capital by Ptolemy I in 321 B.C. and initially received the burial of Alexander. Even after the transfer of the capital to Alexandria, Memphis remained the "royal city of the Egyptians" (Strabo 17.1.31), where kings were crowned and sometimes resided and where synods of the Egyptian priesthood were held (Crawford 1980).

Under Roman rule Memphis' decline was ensured. The governor visited it once a year on a circuit, to inspect the affairs of Upper Egypt. It might still attract royal visits (Suet. *Aug.*; Severus 18.1), but this was mainly due to the fame of Apis, whose worship outlived that of Ptah. With the edict of Theodosius (A.D. 395), its temples were shut and destroyed; and the site used as a quarry for later neighboring settlements.

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**MEMPHITE THEOLOGY.** The name given to the text found on a stone dated to the reign of King Shabaka of the 25th Egyptian Dyn. (ca. 710 B.C.). The introduction of the text claims that it was a copy of a much earlier papyrus document which had been found partially destroyed; and because of its importance, Shabaka ordered that it be restored and inscribed on stone. This copy itself has also suffered badly over the centuries, with almost one-third of the text being obliterated as a result of the stone's having been used for milling.

The text has four main sections: the titles of King Shabaka, followed by a statement of the condition in which the original was found; the first part of the original document, which recounts Geb, the earth god's resolution of the conflict between Horus and Seth over the division of authority and territory after the death of Osiris; a long section which relates Ptah's creation of the cosmos, the gods, plants, crafts, towns, and "all good things"; and the final section, which contains a brief description of the rescue of Osiris' body by his sisters, Isis and Nephthys.

The text is of interest to Egyptologists because of its style, which has been interpreted either as a play (Sethe 1928) or as a treatise derived from dramatic performances of the myths which are alluded to in the text (Junker 1940, 1941). Although not mentioned in the Bible, this text has gained prominence because the method of Ptah's (Sandman-Holmberg 1946) creation has been compared to that ascribed to the god of Israel in the book of Genesis, that is, what has commonly been called "creation ex nihilo" (Finnestad 1976: 81).

The creation activities of Ptah are described as taking place through the agency of his heart and his tongue; the former being the seat of thought, while the latter represents the verbalization of the heart's thoughts. "Therefore, all work and all crafts are made, the activity of the hands, the motion of the legs and the movement of all limbs, according to this command which the heart developed and which comes forth on the tongue and creates the performance of everything" (Sethe 1928: 1n. 58).

Analysis of the grammar and orthography of the text, along with studies of the religious and historical allusions made in the text, led early commentators to date the original document to the Old Kingdom (ca. 2500 B.C.), when the city of Memphis and its patron god, Ptah, held positions of critical importance in Egypt's geopolitical environment. No matter what chronological or dating systems are used, such a provenance would place the origin of this text at a period which is substantially pre-Mosaic and therefore a challenge to the supposed uniqueness of the Genesis account.

Recently, the veracity of the text's introduction has been called into question (Junge 1973: 195). This analysis concludes that there was a deliberate archaizing of the text and that it was actually a piece of political propaganda authored in the 25th Dyn. This thesis is not without its supporters (*AEL* 3:5), while others, although unconvinced by the argumentation leading to a 25th Dyn. provenance, see the original text as dating to the high New Kingdom, perhaps to the reign of Rameses II (Schloegl 1980: 110).

While these technical matters remain topics of debate among Egyptologists, developments in other disciplines permit a better understanding of the salient feature of this text, creation through thought and word. This method was considered to be a highly sophisticated, almost metaphysical, description of creation which held a preeminent place within Western religious tradition because of its biblical roots.

Phenomenologists of religion have come to understand, however, that the actions of a creator god who uses thought and word are directly related to the incantations of a magician or the promulgations of a king. Indeed, specialists in comparative religion have found this type of creation story among many groups with strong magical or shamanistic traditions (Bergounioux and Goetz 1965: 69).

In this regard, one can cite hundreds of texts from the corpus of Egyptian mortuary literature as early as the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts, where the creative power of the spoken word is a fundamental premise (Miosi 1982: 77). Far from being unique, then, Ptah's activities model a general and well-attested pattern of Egyptian thought which recognizes the creative power of the spoken word.

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**MEMUCAN** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕmûkān* (מְמוּכָן)]. One of the seven chief counselors of Persian king Ahasuerus listed in Esth 1:14, 16, 21. These men are described as sages who held a prominent office next to the king which entailed advising him on matters of custom and law (Esth 1:13–14). Several classical authors make mention of such a group of seven chief judges or viziers who customarily decided questions affecting the conduct of Persian kings (Hdt. *Hist.* 1:107; 3:31, 34, 118; 7:19; Jos. *Ant* 11.31; X. *An.* 1.6.4; cf. Ezra 7:14; and 1 Chr 12:33; Paton *Esther* ICC, 153). In Esth 1:16–20 Memucan acts as the spokesman for this group when Ahasuerus seeks advice concerning what to do about his disobedient queen, Vashti. The seven sages advise that she is to be deposed and a successor sought, or else her example of disobedience will spread to every household in the realm resulting in great social upheaval when wives no longer obey their husbands. According to Clines this scene in the story should be seen as satire as the author describes the best minds of the kingdom formulating "a response which any self-respecting male chauvinist could easily dream up for himself" (*Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 280). Memucan's name may be derived from Pers *memucāna,* "cloud," or *magavan,* meaning "a true member of the Magian tribe" (Paton *Esther* ICC 69; Gehman 1924: 325).

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**MENAHEM** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕnaḥēm* (מְנַחֵם)]. A king of the N kingdom of Israel in the latter half of the 8th century B.C.E. (ca. 746–737). The name "Menahem" is a nominal form of the verb *nḥm,* "to comfort," and is related to the name "Nehemiah" (Heb *nĕḥemyâ*). It is a common West Semitic name and is found in the Jerusalem bullae collection, where it appears on bullae Nos. 100–4 (Avigad 1986: 74–75). It is found once in the Arad Letters (No. 72; *AI,* 96). Apart from the name, Menahem, the participial form of the verb is used in the Bible mostly in late literature such as the Psalms (Ps 69:21), the Wisdom books (Eccl 4:1; Job 16:2), the Latter Prophets (Nah 3:7; Isa 51:12), and the Writings (Lam 1:2, 9, 16, 17, 21). Here the term means "comforter." In 2 Sam 10:3 (= 1 Chr 19:3) the term assumes a diplomatic status.

His activities are recorded in 2 Kgs 15:13–22 and have no parallel in Chronicles. He was the son of Gadi and probably originated from Tirzah. A brief outline of the account of his reign in 2 Kgs 15:13–22 is as follows. Menahem killed Shallum ben Jabesh, a usurper to the throne who had assassinated Zechariah, the last king of the Jehudite dynasty. Menahem's reaction was swift since Shallum had reigned for only

one month in the capital city of Samaria. Menahem also had a role in the attack on Tiphsach, on the Euphrates river, and had shown the customary brutality of siege warfare of the time (v 16). At the invitation of Menahem, the Assyrian Tiglath-pileser III came to help Menahem retain his hold on his new kingdom; and the cost for this aid was one thousand talents of silver (vv 19–20). After payment Tiglath-pileser returned to Assyria; and sometime later Menahem died, presumably of natural causes, to be succeeded by his son, Pekahiah. Menahem reigned a total of 10 years in Samaria.

Although this outline appears to be straightforward, there are many critical historical and literary problems associated with this account, not all of which are capable of satisfactory solution.

The chronology of Israel and Judah in this period is extremely complicated; but although several adjustments have to be made in the reigns of kings before and after Menahem (Hobbs *2 Kings* WBC, 173–206), there is little reason to alter the length of Menahem's reign itself. Most historians allow it the 10 years allotted in the Bible, and its dates are usually given as 746–737 B.C.E.

Menahem's full name has generated some discussion. The reference to him as "son of Gadi" has led to speculation that he was originally from the E side of the Jordan, from the tribal area of Gad. It has been further suggested that there was political and military tension between the Transjordanians and Cisjordanians during the 8th century B.C.E. (Ishida 1977: 173–76). Shallum, it is to be noted, probably came from Jabesh in Gilead to lead an eastern revolt against the western king (Cogan and Tadmor *2 Kings* AB, 170). Further, the assassination of Pekahiah, Menahem's son, was carried out by Pekah and 50 men from Gilead (2 Kgs 15:25). However, the geographic conflict is probably overrated; and there are ulterior motives for its creation, namely, the accommodation of the chronology of Pekah's reign. Menahem himself was responsible for the death of Shallum, an easterner; and Pekah was a close military associate (Heb *šālîš*) of Pekahiah. It is also unlikely that the patronymic of Menahem, Gadi, refers to his place of origin. It is a perfectly normal name for a person.

The reference to Menahem's military adventures in Tiphsach (2 Kgs 15:16) has caused considerable debate. Tiphsach is identified with Thapsachah, an important trade center on the banks of the Euphrates (*LBHG,* 16); and, according to many, it is unlikely that Menahem became involved so far away from Samaria during his reign (Cogan and Tadmor, *2 Kings* AB, 171). Many interpreters therefore suggest that the reference to Tiphsach is a mistake and seek to emend the text in accordance with one tradition of the LXX which suggests Tappuah, a site much closer to home. The town is mentioned as being on the border between Ephraim and Manasseh (Josh 16:8) and is usually identified with modern Tell Sheikh Abu Zarad (M.R. 172168). However, this emendation also has its problems since an attack on Tappuah, by now a small town of Manasseh, is just as difficult to understand. What would be the circumstances of such an attack? What would be the purpose of such an attack on a small, unimportant community? The difficulties with Tiphsach on the Euphrates arise if the text in 2 Kgs 15:16 is taken as another in a sequence of events in the reign of Menahem. But this is far from clear. The Hebrew begins with an unusual particle *ʾāz,* followed by an imperfect form (*yakkeh*). The style has been recognized as archival (Montgomery 1934) and offers not so much a sequence of events as a selection of events. Preceding years had seen the decline of Aram-Damascus, the temporary revival of Hamath, then the domination of the northern Levant by the Assyrians. It would therefore be difficult indeed to envisage Menahem, as king, invading Assyrian-held territory, but it would not be difficult to envisage an earlier Menahem in his capacity as a general in Jeroboam's army fighting on the northern border of the newly created Israelite empire. His capture of Tiphsach would inevitably become part of his military reputation. This tradition of the role of the early Menahem is, in fact, preserved in Josephus (*Ant* 9.228). If Menahem had been a general in Jeroboam's army, this position would also explain his loyalty to the house of Jehu and the speed with which he came to avenge the blood of Jeroboam's son.

A third problem with the reign of Menahem is the nature of the payment to Tiglath-pileser III mentioned in 2 Kgs 15:19–21. The data associated with this matter are as follows. It is known from the biblical account that Tiglath-pileser III, king of Assyria from 744 to 727 B.C.E., sent a military force to Israel during Menahem's reign (2 Kgs 15:19–20). It is also known from Tiglath-pileser's own accounts that he invaded Israel (Akk *sa-me-ri-na-a*) and exacted considerable tribute from the country (*ANET,* 283–84;

*LAR* 1: 293; Cogan and Tadmor, *2 Kings* AB, 335–36). The problem consists of two issues. Are the two accounts reconcilable, i.e., does the biblical text speak of tribute payment? What is the date of Tiglath-pileser's invasion?

On the first matter it has been traditionally understood that Menahem paid Tiglath-pileser tribute and that he introduced a system of taxation of wealthy men (Heb *gibbôrêy haḥayīl*) to pay for the tribute. It is even suggested (*LBHG*, 370; McCarter *HDB*, 625) that the introduction of this taxation system was a major cause in the later downfall of Menahem, a suggestion, it must be noted, without historical foundation. The language of the account does not support this reading; and a better understanding is that Menahem paid Tiglath-pileser to send an army to help him firm up his hold on power in the north, presumably against those who might still support the aims of Shallum. The use of the term *gibbôr ḥayīl* (lit. "soldier") as a socio-economic designation is very unusual (Hobbs *2 Kings* WBC, 198–200). The payment was not a formal tribute, but payment for mercenary services. A parallel is found in Ahaz of Judah's appeal to the same king during the attack of Pekah and Rezin on Jerusalem (2 Kgs 16:5–9). Based on the payment, the expeditionary force sent should be calculated at approximately 75,000 men.

Three texts are cited from Assyrian sources in discussion of this incident. Two have long been known (*ANET*, 283–84; *LAR* 1: 293), and the third is a more recently discovered fragment (Levine 1972b). Unfortunately, the first text referring to Menahem (*ANET*, 283) is undated, although the reference to Hiram of Tyre would place it toward the end of Menahem's reign since Hiram succeeded to the throne of Tyre in ca. 738 B.C.E. But this text has the characteristics of a tribute payment from conquest, which is not the impression given in 2 Kgs 15:19–21. The reading of Menahem in the second text is not at all clear. That is unfortunate since the text is a comprehensive one and covers many years of the relationships between Assyria and Israel. The more recent text appears to be a reference to an exaction of tribute from Menahem at an earlier date since Hiram's predecessor, Tabal (Isa 7:6), is given as the king of Tyre. The order and dating of the annals of Tiglath-pileser III are extremely complicated problems with no sign of satisfactory resolution. What is certain is that Menahem's reign is to be seen against the background of the rapidly growing influence of Assyria in the west. Fifteen years after Menahem's death the northern nation of Israel had been destroyed. The literature referred to in the bibliography below will provide an entry into the subject of the complicated chronology of this period.

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**MENANDER, SYRIAC.** See SYRIAC MENANDER.

**MENELAUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Menelaos* (Μενελαος)]. One of three brothers who belonged to the priestly order of Bilgah at the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (as indicated by an improved reading of 2 Macc 3:4). Menelaus thus belonged to an important family which was striving to promote its status among the Jewish ruling circle, and which consequently came into conflict with the high priest Onias III. At first Menelaus was associated with Jason, who had replaced his brother Onias III as high priest in Jerusalem; then, while on a mission to Antiochus IV Epiphanes, Menelaus undermined Jason's position and, with Antiochus' support, won the high priesthood for himself (172 B.C.E.).

This was considered illegal in the eyes of many Jews (2 Macc 4:25, 26), since Menelaus was not of the legitimate priestly (i.e., Zadokite) family to which Onias belonged. Menelaus' (probably elder) brother Simon had previously been appointed provost (RSV "captain") of the temple (2 Macc 4:23; 3:4, 11) and had also used his position to undermine Onias. The appointments of both Jason and Menelaus to their respective offices were irregular, since they took place while the officiating high priest was still alive and not according to primogeniture. (This is on the assumption that at that time the king did not appoint—

either de facto or de jure—the high priests to their offices.) After becoming high priest himself, Menelaus left his (probably younger) brother Lysimachus in charge in Jerusalem while he went to meet with Antiochus; there was a riot in Jerusalem, and Lysimachus was killed (2 Macc 4:29, 39–42). This accords well with a Talmudic reminiscence about a punishment inflicted on the order of Bilgah (*m. Sukkah* 8:8; *t. Sukkah* 4:28).

Jerusalem suffered many convulsions under Menelaus' tenure as high priest. The temple was robbed, a civil war broke out, and first Jason and then Antiochus IV invaded Jerusalem. Then came the infamous religious persecution (December 167 B.C.E.), the resulting Maccabean revolt, and about three years later the negotiations that brought an end to the persecutions. Menelaus is mentioned twice in those events. The first is in the letter of Antiochus IV to the Jews (2 Macc 11:27–33, vv 29 and 32). This letter seems to indicate that Menelaus left Jerusalem to meet the king (who was at that time in the upper satrapies, i.e., in Iran) and that it was Menelaus himself who negotiated the cancellation of the persecution, thereby maintaining his influence with the king, who lent support to his position in Judea. The second and last reference to Menelaus appears in conjunction with the beginning of Antiochus V's expedition to Judea (2 Macc 13:3–8). Since the temple compound itself at that time was under the control of Judas Maccabeus, Menelaus was eager to have Antiochus V return it to Menelaus' control. But when Lysias blamed Menelaus as "the cause of all the troubles," Menelaus was taken to Beroea and was executed according to the local custom: by suffocation in ashes.

Menelaus' career holds a central place in the various theories which propose explanations for the religious persecutions under Antiochus IV. Indeed, it seems that Menelaus had a crucial role in this event. The blame that Lysias casts on him as "the cause of all the troubles" cannot be dismissed, and his execution cannot be understood without it. The fact that 2 Maccabees treats this event from a highly theological perspective does not diminish the essential accuracy of the account.

If Lysias' accusation is correct, then Menelaus must have been involved in the religious persecution himself. Such accords well with the earlier career of Menelaus, especially his striving for power at all costs. Since his avenue to power included, among other things, the overthrow of the Jewish ancestral constitution, he was not deterred from its "logical" conclusion (the religious persecution) and its consequences. This policy was miscalculated and fell to pieces; because of the fierce "traditional Jewish" opposition under the leadership of the Maccabees, Menelaus attempted to change that policy. He seems to have been somewhat successful with Antiochus IV, but failed completely with Lysias, who rightly blamed him for his leading role in this political fiasco.

There was thus not necessarily any cultural religious ideology behind Menelaus' activities: he was mainly using "Hellenization" as a way to increase his own personal power and that of his supporters and probably to gain the support of Antiochus IV and key members of his entourage (especially Ptolemy son of Dorymenes?). For Menelaus, Hellenization was a means toward a personal end, not a cultural or ideological end in itself.

Josephus' accounts of Menelaus in *Antiquities* 12 (especially 239–40 and 383–85) and *Jewish War* (1.31ff.) contradict 2 Maccabees in various details. (Josephus tends to follow the account in 1 Maccabees, which does not mention Menelaus at all.) Most scholars consider Josephus an undependable source on this matter (Tcherikover 1959: 392–97).

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URIEL RAPPAPORT

**MENESTHEUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Menestheōs* (Μενεσθεως)]. 2 Macc 4:4 and 21 refer to Apollonius, the son of Menestheus, who was governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia in the reign of the Seleucid Antiochus IV Epiphanes. This Apollonius supported the Tobiad Simon in his intrigues against the high priest Onias. Polybius (31.13.2–3) describes a certain Apollonius as a favored official in the reign of

Seleucus IV but who left the empire at the succession of Antiochus IV. This Apollonius had three sons, Apollonius, Meleager, and Menestheus, who supported the claim of Demetrius, the son of Seleucus IV, to the Syrian throne. Given the Greek custom of naming a son after the grandfather, it is possible that the Apollonius of Polybius is Apollonius, the son of Menestheus, of 2 Maccabees 4. Against this hypothesis is the opposition of the family to Antiochus IV and their preference for the line of Seleucus IV. However, the events in 2 Maccabees 4 could have preceded the sole rule of Antiochus IV after the murder of his co-regent Antiochus, the son of Seleucus (Mørkholm 1966: 41–50). The Apollonius and his family mentioned by Polybius need not have broken with Antiochus IV while he shared the throne with his nephew Antiochus from 175 to 170 B.C.E. (Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 222). The identification of Apollonius as the son of Menestheus in 2 Maccabees 4 raises the question of the identity of the Syrian governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia of 2 Macc 3:5 who is described as Apollonius of Tarsus. If Apollonius, son of Menestheus, of 2 Maccabees 4 is the Apollonius in Polybius' narrative, the governor of 2 Macc 3:5 is a different Apollonius. If the son of Menestheus is not the Apollonius of Polybius, they could be the same person.

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MICHAEL E. HARDWICK

**MENI** (DEITY) [Heb *mĕnî* (מְנִי)]. A god (or spirit) of destiny/fate; cf. the Heb verb *mānāh,* "number," "assign," "appoint." This deity is mentioned in Isa 65:11 as being worshipped, along with Gad (a god of fortune), by apostate Jews, probably in postexilic Judah. The RSV translates Heb *gad* as "Fortune" and *mĕnî* as "Destiny": "you … who set a table for Fortune and fill cups of mixed wine for Destiny." Most likely the setting of a table took place to venerate both deities, as also the filling of cups.

The name "Meni" has not been found with certainty in the pantheons of Assyria or Babylonia. Some scholars would identify Meni with Manu, apparently a deity worshipped in Asshur. On Achaemenid coins the name *ʿbdmnî* perhaps appears (it is a disputed reading), which may contain the name of the god: "Servant of Meni." A Greek-Latin inscription from an altar of Vaison in Provence (S France) reads in the Lat text *Belus Fortunae rector Menisque magister.* According to the Gk text *Belus* of the Lat text is Bel/Baal of Apamea (in Syria). Conceivably, then, *Fortunae* and *Menisque* also refer to Semitic divinities, respectively Gad and Meni.

Meni, (though) a male deity, probably is to be connected with the goddess *manât,* an idol (a large stone) worshipped by pre-Islamic Arabs. The Koran (Surah 53, 20) mentions her: "What think ye of Allat, and Al-Uzzah, and Manat, that other third goddess?" A word related to *manât,* the plural *mnwtw,* appears in the Nabatean inscriptions of Higr as a designation for a deity worshipped by the Nabateans; a corresponding word may be a divine name in South Arabian inscriptions.

There are various suggestions with regard to Meni in the scholarly literature, none of them proven. One is that the god, "Destiny"/"Fate," is a relatively late personification of the abstract "destiny," "fate." Evidence cited includes the Heb text of Isa 65:11, which provides *mĕnî* with the definite article (literally "for *the* Meni"; but note the lack of the *dāgeš forte* in the *mem*), possibly indicating that the Masoretes retained an awareness of an original "fate," "destiny." According to a second suggestion the worship of Meni in postexilic Judah is associated with the N migrations of the Nabatean Arabs and/or the Edomites. Another proposal sees Meni, paired with Gad ("Fortune," "Good Luck") in Isa 65:11, as a deity of bad fate/destiny. Very uncertain is the suggestion that, as Jewish tradition identified Gad with the planet Jupiter, and Arabic astrology regarded Jupiter as "the greater fortune," and Venus "the lesser fortune," Meni should be identified with Venus.

Isa 65:12 undoubtedly plays on the mention of Meni in v 11: the Lord (Yahweh) says that he will "destine" (Heb verb *mānāh*) the apostates "to the sword." The unfaithful, looking to Meni and not Yahweh as the controller of human destinies, will receive harsh judgment from the Lord. See GAD (DEITY).

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WALTER A. MAIER III

**MENNA** (PERSON) [Gk *Menna* (Μενναα)]. The father of Melea and son of Mattatha according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:31). D omits Menna, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. The name Menna occurs nowhere else in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, and falls within a list of eighteen otherwise unknown descendants of David's son Nathan (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 501). Kuhn (1923: 210–11) claims that in the original form of the genealogy Menna was not a name but a transliteration of Heb *mnnh,* meaning "from him," i.e., "descended from." Thus, according to Kuhn (208–9), the seemingly parallel lists of Luke 3:23–26 (Jesus to Mattathias) and 3:29–31 (Joshua/Jesus to Mattatha) stem from the same original source, the first possibly preserved in a Hebrew context and the second in an Aramaic one. Kuhn's solution has not been accepted by commentators. A second explanation has been proposed by Jeremias (1969: 296 n. 97), who argues that Menna is "evidently a dittography" for Melea, and this stands for a single name. Even though Menna is omitted in A, Marshall points out (*Luke* NIGTC, 164) that omission of Menna would disrupt Luke's "numerical scheme."

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STANLEY E. PORTER

**MENORAH.** See LAMPSTAND.

**MENUHOTH** [Heb *mĕnūḥôt* (מְנֻחוֹת)]. The name of half of the Manahathite tribe (1 Chr 2:52), which (according to 1 Chr 2:53 combined with v 54) inhabited Eshtaol. See MANAHATHITES. Most editors and commentators suggest correcting *ham-mĕnūhôt* (1 Chr 2:52) to **ham-mānaḥtî.* This correction is, however, unnecessary. Manahath/Manahathites can be derived from **manâḥ,* Heb *mānôaḥ.* See MANAHATH (PERSON). Menuhoth is a plural formation of the same name: **manâḥât* becomes **mĕnôḥôt* in Canaanite and finally, by dissimilation, *mĕnūḥôt* in Hebrew (as in *mĕgûrōt,* plural of *māgôr,* etc.). Tribal names ending in *-ât* (equals Canaanite *-ôt*) are very common among the recent Arab tribes; they are also attested in antiquity and usually occur with the definite article, as does Menuhoth. Among these names, feminine singular formations interchange freely with feminine plural formations (e.g., *jadarah* and *jadarât*; Knauf 1989: 65–66). The same linguistic mechanism holds true for Manahath and Menuhoth. Haroeh (Heb *ha-rō‹êh,* "the seer")—which 1 Chr 4:2 corrects to Reaiah (Heb *rĕ‹āyāh* "YHWH saw")—is the proper name of the Menuhoth half of the Manahathites; it occurs as a personal name in Safaitic (with and without the definite article; Harding 1971: 263, 612).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**MEONOTHAI** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕ‹ônōtay* (מְעוֹנֹתַי)]. According to the MT, Meonothai is the father of Ophrah (1 Chr 4:14). However, the Lucianic tradition of the Greek text of 1 Chr 4:13 indicates that Meonothai is also a son of Othniel, a brother of Hathath. Thus it is possible that the Hebrew text has suffered disturbance and the name "Meonothai" is lost by haplography from 1 Chr 4:13. The RSV translation follows the Lucianic reading.

H. C. LO

**MEPHAATH** (PLACE) [Heb *mêpa‹at* (מֵיפַעַת)]. A levitical town which belonged to the territory of Reuben (Josh 13:18; 21:37; cf. 1 Chr 6:64—Eng6:79). By the time of Jeremiah, it was part of the territory

of Moab and an object of one of his oracles (48:21). The Hebrew Bible mentions only that the town was on the tableland of Moab (Josh 13:21; Jer 48:21). Eusebius later mentioned that a Roman military outpost was stationed there (*Onomast.* 128.21). The *Notitia Dignitatum* records that auxiliary local troops promoted to the Roman cavalry were stationed in the camp at Mefaa.

Three sites in Jordan have been identified with Mephaath—Tell Jawah, Khirbet Nefaʿah, and Umm er-Rasas. The first, Tell Jawah (M.R. 239140), is 10 km S of Amman. It was probably a fortress city during the Iron Age. There are vestiges of a city wall, and terracing on the sides of the mound, and many cisterns outside of the wall at the base of the hill. It is curious that the cisterns were outside of the wall, particularly at a fortress city when defense and security would be primary objectives of the inhabitants. Archaeological surveys at Tell Jawah have gathered pottery from Iron Ages I and II, although EB III and Arabic sherds have also been found (Glueck 1934: 4).

The second, Khirbet Nefaʿah, is located about 1.5 km N of Jawah; Alt (1933: 28–29) and Simons (*GTTOT,* 18) identify it as Mephaath because of the similarity of the names. Musil (1907: 352) visited the site and argued that it was a suburb of Tell Jawah, which was surrounded by a powerful, reinforced wall. Khirbet Nefaʿah overlooked the famous King's Highway a short distance S of Amman. The road passed within a few hundred meters of the site which made both it and Tell Jawah strategically important.

No serious archaeological survey has been conducted at Khirbet Nefaʿah. Musil (1907: 352–53) stated that the site was Roman, although he had no ceramic evidence for this conclusion; Alt (1933: 28) maintained that the ceramics pointed to the Bronze Age. Iron II sherds were identified by Peterson (1977: 693), although he refused to argue for Iron II occupation on such scanty evidence.

The third suggested identification is Umm er-Rasas (M.R. 237101). Mephaath was identified with the ruins of Umm er-Rasas in 1986 when M. Piccirillo discovered a mosaic in the floor of the 8th-century Church of St. Stephen which referred to the site as Kastron Mefaa.

These ruins were visited for the first time in 1816 by Buckingham and were then surveyed by Palmer in 1870, followed by Tristram in 1872, and by Brünnow-Domaszewski in 1897. In 1898 Clermont-Ganneau published a Nabatean inscription found at Umm er-Rasas (*CIS* II 19), and in 1933 Glueck (1934: 39–40) collected only Nabatean, Byzantine, and Arabic sherds from the site.

The ruins, located 30 km SE of Medeba, halfway between the King's Highway and the Desert Road at the height of Dhiban, consist of a walled area inside a fortified camp; an area of roughly the same dimensions extends outside the N wall of the camp. About 1.5 km toward the N is a tower which stands ca. 15 m high.

The military nature is reflected by the name Kastron Mefaa (i.e., "the camp of Mefaa"), which is recorded in the mosaic of the Church of St. Stephen. It was apparently to this site that Eusebius referred in his *Onomasticon.*

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**MEPHIBOSHETH** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕpîbōšet* (מְפִיבֹשֶׁת)]. The purported name of two members of the house of Saul. The literal meaning of the name in Hebrew, "from the mouth of shame" or "from the mouth of (the deity) Boshet," is problematic and appears to result from a religiously motivated alteration of the name to avoid pronouncing the name of the Canaanite deity Baal. The original form of the name was probably Mephibaal (Heb **mĕpîbaʿal*), meaning "from the mouth of Baal" or "from the mouth of the

Lord (Yhwh)." Although the standard LXX reading is *Memphibosthe,* the Lucianic recension and OL read *Memph (e)baal,* preserving the original form of the name. The element *bōšet* in the Masoretic form of the name means "shame," and was apparently substituted secondarily for the Yahwistic epithet *baʿal,* which fell into disfavor as it became the standard epithet for Yahweh's rival, the storm god. See ISH-BOSHETH.

**1.** A son of Saul by his concubine Rizpah (2 Sam 21:8). Together with his brother Armoni and five sons of Saul's daughter Merab, he was ritually executed in order to end a famine that persisted in the early years of David's joint reign over Israel and Judah.

**2.** Saul's grandson, the son of Jonathan (2 Sam 4:4). The name of Jonathan's son appears elsewhere (1 Chr 8:34; 9:40) as Merib-baal (*Meribaal*). It is reasonable to suggest that the name of Jonathan's son Merib-baal became partly confused with the similar name of his relative Mephibaal, the son of Rizpah. The similar shape of the Hebrew letters *reš* and *pe* might have contributed to the substitution of the consonants of Mephibaal (**mpybʿl*) for an original Merib-baal (**mrybʿl*) in early mss of the biblical text. Tradition carefully distinguishes between the two individuals in 2 Sam 21:7, 8.

According to the biblical account (2 Sam 4:4) Mephibosheth, son of Jonathan, was crippled from an accident in infancy. After the deaths of Saul and Jonathan he placed himself under the protection of David (2 Sam 9:6) and enjoyed special status in the royal household (2 Sam 9:10–11). He was implicated in treachery during the rebellion of Absalom (2 Sam 16:1–4; 19:24–25, 30) but was spared by David when the rest of the house of Saul was exterminated (21:7).

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

**MERAB** (PERSON) [Heb *mērab* (מֵרַב)]. The eldest daughter of Saul, king of Israel (1 Sam 14:49) and wife of Adriel the Meholathite (1 Sam 18:19). Merab is introduced in a genealogical note concerning Saul (1 Sam 14:49–52). She is listed fourth in a series of five offspring (following her brothers—Jonathan, Ishvi, and Malchishua—and preceding her younger sister, Michal, v 49).

The account of Merab's marriage is found in 1 Sam 18:17–19. Saul promises Merab to David in exchange for David's support and military prowess. The narrator, however, interprets this as a ruse on Saul's part. Rather than risk raising his own hand against his rival, Saul plans to expose David to the hand of the Philistines (v 17). When this fails and the marriage date approaches, Saul instead arranges to have Merab marry Adriel the Meholathite (v 19).

Although 1 Sam 18:17–19 develops two previous ideas—the king's daughter given as a reward for bravery (17:25) and Saul's growing hostility toward David (18:6–16)—its position in the text is not without problem. The entire episode is missing from the $LXX^B$ and Josephus (*Ant* 6.10.2) and is thought by many commentators to be secondary. Moreover, the issue is further complicated by 2 Sam 21:8 (MT), which identifies the wife of Adriel as "Michal" not "Merab." In all probability, however, 2 Sam 21:8 contains a scribal error and "Merab" should be read instead of "Michal."

LINDA S. SCHEARING

**MERAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕrāyâ* (מְרָיָה)]. The head of the priestly family of Seraiah in the time of the high priest Joiakim (Neh 12:12). Many have assumed that the name is a form related to Amariah (Heb *ʾămaryāh,* "Yahweh has said"). Whereas other LXX manuscripts have *Marea* or *Mar (a)ia* (equal to MT), the Lucianic recension reads *Amarias* for this name, reflecting Heb *ʾămaryāh* (Amariah). Amariah is a well-attested name in this period (Neh 10:4; 12:2, 13). The KB suggests that Meraiah is unrelated to Amariah and means "stubborn person" (cf. the Heb verb *mārāh* and the personal names *mĕrāyôt* and *miryām;* the proposed meaning of the name seems, however, somewhat improbable).

NORA A. WILLIAMS

**MERAIOTH** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕrāyôt* (מְרָיוֹת)]. **1.** An Aaronite priest, ancestor of the high priest Zadok (1 Chr 5:32–33; 6:37—Eng6:6–7, 52). Meraioth is also listed as an ancestor of Ezra in Ezra 7:3 and in 2 Esdr 1:2. The KJV, following Codex Alexandrinus, lists Meraioth as an ancestor of Ezra in 1 Esdr 8:1–2; the RSV, following Codex Vaticanus, omits Meraioth from the list. The list in Ezra 7 is probably the basis of the lists in 1 Esdras 8 and 2 Esdras 1.

**2.** The father of Zadok (1 Chr 9:11; Neh 11:11). The Chronicler twice represents Ahitub as the father of Meraioth, and Meraioth as the father of Zadok (1 Chr 9:11; Neh 11:11) in contradiction to the normal tradition of Ahitub as the father of Zadok (see, for example, 2 Sam 8:17; 1 Chr 5:34—Eng6:8; 1 Chr 18:16). J. R. Bartlet (1968: 4) explained this anomaly by suggesting that Meraioth was added as "an explanatory marginal note on Ahitub" and subsequently was entered into the list in the wrong place.

**3.** A priestly house in the postexilic period (Neh 12:15). This occurrence of Meraioth probably should be read as Meremoth with the MT of Neh 12:3 and the Lucianic recension of the LXX.

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TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**MERARI** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕrārî* (מְרָרִי)]. MERARITE. The etymology of Merari is uncertain. Evidently it is derived from a root *mrr*, which in Hebrew means "to be bitter." This would make a peculiar personal name; but it is probable (Kutler 1984; Ward 1980; Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartín 1973) that there is a particular usage, or even a distinct root, that refers to strength (for an opposing view see Pardee 1978). In Ugaritic the verb "to bless" is paralleled by a root containing *m* and *r* (*CTA* 15.2.14–20; 17.1.24–25, 35–37; 19.4.194–95), and there is a god named "Holy and *ʾAmrr*"; perhaps this is another usage of *mrr* referring to blessing or sanctification, which would also provide a suitable etymology for a personal name (cf. Loewenstamm *EncMiqr* 5: 475–77). If *ʾAmrr* is related to Merari, it is worth noting that the levitical name "Kohath" also appears in Ugaritic with a prosthetic *ʾalep* as *ʾAqht*. Gordon (*UT*, 438) compares the Old South Arabic name *Mrr*.

1. Levi's third son or the clan claiming descent from him. Merari is listed after Gershon and Kohath by the Priestly (P) source and by the Chronicler as Levi's third son (Gen 46:11; Exod 6:16; Num 3:17; 1 Chr 5:27—Eng6:1; 6:1—Eng6:16; 23:6); therefore the Merarites are the third major levitical clan according to the genealogists. In turn, Merari has two sons, Mahli and Mushi (Exod 6:19; Num 3:20, 33; 1 Chr 6:4—Eng6:19; 23:21; 24:26), implying that these were the principal Merarite families. According to 1 Chr 6:29–32—Eng6:44–47; 23:21; and 24:30, however, Mushi is the father of Mahli; therefore at a later period, at least in some circles, Mushi had become the more important. In Ezra 8:18–19 Mahli and Merari are coordinate; conceivably the Mushites had co-opted the more venerable name Merari. Cross (*CMHE*, 195–215) has proposed that the Mushites claimed descent from Moses and had a formative influence in biblical tradition. If this is true, the lowly status of Mushi in the biblical genealogies indicates either its decline or an effort on the part of Zadokite rivals to deny its importance.

According to P, the Merarites of the desert period number 6,200 males over the age of one month (Num 3:33–34), or 3,200 men between thirty and fifty (Num 4:42–45). Their leader is Zuriel the son of Abihail, and they camp on the N side of the tabernacle (Num 3:35). The family of Merari is entrusted by Moses with carrying the solid structure of the tabernacle—the planks, pillars, stands, etc. (Num 3:36–37; 4:31–32)—while the Gershonites bear the textile components (Num 3:25–26; 4:24–26) and the Kohathites the holy vessels (Num 3:31; 4:9). The latter are expected to transport the sacra by hand, but the Gershonites are allotted two carts (Num 7:7) and the Merarites four (Num 7:8), in proportion to the weight of their burdens. The two lesser levitical orders are supervised by Ithamar, Aaron's youngest son (Num 4:28, 33).

The list of levitical cities (Joshua 21; 1 Chr 6:39–66—Eng6:54–81) is probably based on 8th-century administrative records (Peterson 1977; Boling *Joshua* AB, 492–97). Assigned to Merari (Josh 21:34–40; 1 Chr 6:62–66—Eng6:77–81) are the following cities: Jokneam, Karta, Dimna (Rimmono in Chronicles),

Nahalal (Tabor in Chronicles) in Zebulon; Bezer, Jahza, Kedemoth, Mephaath in Reuben; Ramoth of Gilead, Mahanaim, Heshbon, and Jaazer in Gad.

The Chronicler enumerates Merarite personnel and clans of the reign of David (1 Chr 6:14, 29–32—Eng6:44–47; 23:21–23; 24:27–30; 26:10–11), but these data cannot be taken at face value, for some names are also attributed to the reign of Hezekiah; compare 1 Chr 6:5–6, 20–21, 29—Eng6:20–21, 35–36, 44 with 2 Chr 29:12. 1 Chr 15:17 makes Ethan the son of Kushaiah a contemporary of David; 1 Chr 6:29—Eng6:44 tells of Ethan the son of Kishi (= Kushaiah?) the son of Abdi, also coeval with David; 1 Chr 23:21 lists Kish as the son or descendant of Mahli in the 10th century; 1 Chr 24:27, 29 makes Kish and Ibri (read Abdi?) individuals or clans of David's day. 2 Chr 29:12, however, has one Kish the son of Abdi as minister under Hezekiah. The latter source is perhaps more trustworthy, since the Chronicler was seemingly well-informed about Hezekiah's reign, while ideology compelled him to ascribe the organization of the levitical clans to David. Nevertheless, if the Davidic material is retrojected, so might the Hezekian be. The same is true of Josiah's building supervisors Jahath and Obadiah, both of Merari (2 Chr 34:12). In other words, all these figures might merely represent postexilic families. Some of the information about early Merarites is more plausible, however. It may be, for example, that the Asaiah of 1 Chr 6:14 is the same individual who assists in the installation of the ark in 1 Chr 15:6. 1 Chr 26:10–11 speaks of the sons of the Davidic Merarite Hosa: Shimri, Hilkiah, Tebaliah, Zechariah, and nine anonymous sons. We have no reason either to doubt or trust these reports.

The Chronicler's interest in levitical clans reflects their prominence after the Exile. When Ezra tries to assemble Levites to serve in the Second Temple (Ezra 8:15–19), only the Mahlites and Merarites of Casiphia, led by Sherebiah, Hashabiah, and Isaiah are available. 1 Chr 9:14 lists other Merarite returnees, but the parallel text Neh 11:15 lacks reference to Merari.

2. The father of Judith (Jdt 8:1; 16:6—Eng v 7).

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**MERARITES** [Heb *mêrārî* (מֵרָרִי)]. A priestly family descended from Levi. The family is named after its ancestor Merari, who is listed as a son of Levi along with Gershom and Kohath. The family is further subdivided into two groups: Mahli and Mushi (Exod 6:19; Num 3:20). Generally the family is referred to as *bĕnê mêrārî* "descendants of Merari." Etymologically the name Merari may mean something like "strength" or "power" (Noth *IPN,* 225).

Information about the Merarites is largely found in the work of the exilic Priestly writer and the postexilic Chronicler. Details about family members include their genealogical status and their cultic function as assistants for the priests throughout Israel's history from Mosaic to postexilic times.

During the wilderness period, the Merarites shared with the other Levites the responsibility for guard duty around the tabernacle both during encampment and travel (Num 1:53; Milgrom 1970: 8–16, 62–63). They were to encamp on the north side of the tabernacle. The Merarites were also specifically responsible for dismantling, transporting, and erecting the basic structural components for the tabernacle and court (Num 1:47–53; 3:33–37; 4:29–33). They were assigned four wagons and eight oxen to carry these materials (Num 7:8). According to census reports there were 6,200 Merarite males at least a month old (Num 3:34) and 3,200 of these were aged from 30 to 50 and thus suited for service (Num 4:43–44).

Since the Levites were not allotted a portion of land along with the other tribes, they were given cities with their common land (Joshua 21). The Merarites received twelve cities from the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Zebulun (Josh 21:7, 34–40).

Along with Aaronites and other Levites, some 220 Merarites under the direction of Asaiah assisted David in carrying the ark of God to Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:1–15). Ethan represented the Merarites as a temple musician and singer (1 Chr 15:17). Other descendants such as Hosah (1 Chr 26:10) were gatekeepers of the temple.

Kish and Azariah from the Merarite family assisted Hezekiah in his cleansing of the temple (2 Chr 29:12). Likewise Jahath and Obadiah as Merarites provided leadership for repairing and restoring the temple under the direction of King Josiah (2 Chr 34:12).

When Ezra was preparing to return to Jerusalem, he was able to recruit some of the Merarites to serve as temple servants (Ezra 8:18–19).

Many scholars think that the history of the priesthood was more complex than these reports concerning the Merarites suggest and raise doubts about their historicity. One genealogical problem is found in Num 26:57–58, which juxtaposes two different genealogies for the descendants of Levi, one of which includes the Merarites. Scholars have argued that Levites carried out more priestly functions at certain times of Israel's history than these texts suggest (*AncIsr* 2: 358–71).

There were many struggles for power among different priestly groups throughout Israel's history (Cross *CMHE,* 195–215; Hanson 1979: 209–79). Each of these groups was interested in legitimizing its own rights and prerogatives and opposing those of other groups. Since the Chronicler and the Priestly source were either written by priests or supported a certain group of priests, they obviously presented a somewhat one-sided picture. These factors make the critical reconstruction of the history of the Israelite priesthood very difficult.

The information concerning the Merarites is meant to encourage them to be satisfied with their subsidiary role to the Aaronites because their role was assigned by God, meant to be hereditary, and a number of their ancestors enthusiastically helped the priests carry out their duties. While this legitimizes the Merarites in their subsidiary position, it also necessarily discourages them from seeking other more prestigious priestly functions.

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STEPHEN A. REED

**MERATHAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *mĕrātayim* (מְרָתַיִם)]. Derisive name for Babylon in Jer 50:21. It is presumed to be a wordplay on *marratum,* the Akkadian name for the marshy region in S Babylonia where the Tigris and Euphrates rivers converge at the Persian Gulf ("the sea of the Chaldeans," CAD M/1: 285 and Parpola 1970: 240–41). The Akkadian word is based on the meaning "bitter" as in salt water. The Hebrew base is *mārâ* "to be rebellious." Thus *mĕrātayim* is probably an artificial dual form suggesting " (land of) double rebellion" (Simons *GTTOT,* 451). This verse contains another wordplay in "Peqod" (Heb *pāqad* can mean "punish"). An important Aramean tribe in SE Babylonia was known as "Puqudu" in Akkadian texts. Together *mĕrātayim* and Peqod represent Babylonia in general.

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BILL T. ARNOLD

**MERCENARY.** See MILITARY ORGANIZATION IN MESOPOTAMIA.

**MERCHANT.** See TRADE AND COMMERCE.

**MERCY.** See LOVE.

**MERED** (PERSON) [Heb *mered* (מֶרֶד)]. Listed in the genealogy of Judah as son of Ezrah and the husband of Bithiah, the daughter of pharaoh (1 Chr 4:17).

H. C. Lo

**MEREMOTH** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕrēmôt* (מְרֵמוֹת)]. A personal name whose meaning is unknown (Rudolph *Esra und Nehemia* HAT, 84; Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther* NCBC, 104) although several explanations have been suggested. Noth (*IPN,* 39) believes the *ôt* ending, found in other names, to be hypocoristic. Odelain and Séguineau (1981: 260) view it as having Ugaritic origin—"Moth has blessed." Yamauchi (*ISBE* 3: 324) suggests the meaning "heights," presumably from Heb *rwm.* The name appears on ostraca found at Arad (*EncMiqr* 4: 473; Myers *1 and 2 Esdras* AB, 93). Bratcher (*HBD,* 627) is correct in noting uncertainty as to whether the occurrences of the name in the Hebrew Bible designate different people or are several references to one individual and/or his family.

1. The eighth-listed of the twelve sons of Bani in Ezra 10:36 (but not listed among the sixteen in 1 Esdr 9:34). Since Bani is previously mentioned (Ezra 10:29) in the list of those who had married foreign women (vv 18–44), alternative readings have been suggested. This Meremoth (LXX Vaticanus, Sinaiticus *Ieramōth,* Alexandrinus *Marimōth*) is included with the laity, not the priests (vv 18–22) or Levites (v 23), who "sent them (i.e., their foreign wives) away, women and children alike" (see Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 196, 197 for this translation and corresponding treatment of the corrupt MT of v 44b).

2. One of the priests listed in Neh 10:6—Eng10:5 (LXX *Meramōth*) who were among those who sealed (LXX) the "firm covenant" (*ʾămānā*) made by the community (10:1—Eng9:38). It is believed the name represents a patronym rather than an individual (Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 313; Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther* Century Bible, 104; Rudolph *Esra und Nehemia* HAT, 17 n. 2) and that the list (vv 3–9—Eng 2–8), which was derived from the list in Neh 12:12–21, is a part of that larger name list (vv 3–29—Eng 2–28) secondarily inserted here to convey wide support for Nehemiah's reforms (Blenkinsopp, 313, 335; see Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 325–31, for a discussion of Nehemiah 10).

Meremoth appears in Neh 12:3 (vv 3b–7a, which include the name *Marimōth,* are absent from all major LXX codices except the corrected Codex Sinaiticus) as the ninth of twenty-two "heads of the priests and of their brothers" during the days of the high priest Jeshua (v 7). He is said to have accompanied Zerubbabel and Jeshua in the return from captivity (v 1). Both Williamson (359–60) and Blenkinsopp (335) believe this list (vv 1–7) also derives from that in 12:12–21 the patronymics of which here serve as personal names (Blenkinsopp, 334; see Brockington, 104, who believes this is here a family name). It is possible, according to Williamson (362), that the Meraioth in 12:15 and Meremoth were the same, the former spelling resulting from reading *y* and *w* for *m* (*WDB,* 609).

3. The son of Uriah. In Ezra 8:33 (LXX *Merimōth*) and 1 Esdr 8:61—Eng8:62 (*Marmōthi,* Alexandrinus *Marmathi*) he or his father (the appellative *hakōhēn* follows Uriah) is called "the priest." In Neh 3:4 (LXX *Ramōth* [Heb *(mĕ)rēmôt*?]) and 3:21 (LXX *Meramōth*) Uriah is referred to as "son of Hakkoz." This has led some, such as Jepsen (1954: 103), Kellermann (1968: 69), and Yamauchi (1980: 10), to conclude these are two different individuals. To the one was given the silver, gold, and vessels which those who returned with Ezra brought with them to Jerusalem (Ezra 8:31–34; 1 Esdr 8:60–63—Eng8:61–64). Gunneweg (*Esra* HAT, 157) even suggests that these individual personal names are secondary additions for the purpose of creating "narrative color" and that the four who received the valuables were originally nameless in the tradition. The other Meremoth, the grandson of Hakkoz, is listed (Neh 3:4) among those who helped to repair the wall around Jerusalem, being assigned, along with three other "groups" (Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 114), to the section between the Fish Gate and the Jeshana Gate. He also helped to repair a "second measured portion from the opening of the house of Eliashib to the end of the house of Eliashib" (Neh 3:21).

For those who conclude that these occurrences of Meremoth refer to the same individual, i.e., that the Uriah of Ezra 8:33 is identical to the Uriah of Neh 3:4 and 21, an intriguing situation emerges. The descendants of Hakkoz were among those unable to locate, upon their return from captivity, their proper genealogical registration. They were excluded from the priesthood as unclean by the governor (= Nehemiah 1; Esdr 5:40) until their status was determined by consulting Urim and Thummim (Ezra 2:59–

63; Neh 7:61–65; 1 Esdr 5:36–40) or until the appearance of a high priest "clothed in manifestation and truth" (Gk 1 Esdr 5:40). Yet Meremoth, a descendant of Hakkoz, is functioning as a priest. Several attempts at solving this dilemma have been offered. Koch (1974: 191) believes Ezra, when he arrived in Jerusalem, recognized Meremoth as a priest but deposed him shortly afterward "by means of the Law he had brought with him." This argument tends to support the traditional order which has Ezra preceding Nehemiah. On the other hand, a "reverse order" is supported in other solutions. Bentzen (1931: 285) believed the high priest reinstated Meremoth as a priest, probably following the death of the governor Nehemiah, as a reward for his extra work on the high priest's house. Rudolph (HAT, 69) argued that Meremoth did not possess priestly legitimacy until Ezra's time. Rowley (1952: 159) believed the builder of a double portion of the wall during Nehemiah's time needed to be young and strong and therefore would precede the senior priestly official Ezra found as temple treasurer.

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**MERENPTAH** (PERSON). Twelfth son and successor of Rameses II. His name in Egyptian was "*B€ -n-r‹,* beloved of Amun, *Mr-n-pth,* pleased with Truth." Born to the queen Isit-nofret no later than his father's 20th year on the throne, and perhaps as early as his 5th (Harris and Wente 1980: 260–62), Merenptah (or Merneptah as he is commonly known) is earliest known as a king's scribe. Late in the second decade of his father's reign he may have participated in the attack on a N Syrian city, and later still in the war against Irem in Nubia. On the demise of his older brother Khamwese (whose daughter Isit-nofret he may have married), Merenptah became heir apparent and commander in chief of the army. Upon the death of his father in his 67th year of rule (June of either 1237 or 1223 B.C.), Merenptah succeeded to the throne as the fourth king of the 19th Dyn.

Merenptah continued to reside in the Pi-rameses residence his father had built in the delta (Gardiner 1918: 184, text no. 11), but he had other residences at Memphis and possibly Heliopolis. Sometime in his 2d year he went to Thebes "to see his father Amonrasonther"; and it was possibly at this time that he authorized the "great inventory" of all the temples of Egypt by the king's scribe and steward Yot. This assessment, intended to gauge the wealth of state and temple, issued in very little building, however; Merenptah was content to erect small monuments and to usurp others.

Merenptah preserved the N and S reaches of the empire intact (Redford 1986: 197 and n. 63), maintaining diplomatic ties with foreign principalities such as Ugarit; he even sent relief shipments of grain to his Hittite allies during a period of drought (Wainwright 1960). Sometime before the end of his 3d year a punitive campaign had taken place against the city of Gezer, which became the occasion for the king's epithet, "Subduer of Gezer," and was later to give rise to the "Fescennine" type verse which ends the famous "Israel" stele (*ANET,* 378). However, it remains a moot point whether Merenptah's forces actually came into contact with Israel on this occasion or whether Israel was simply included to round out a list of names representative of the inhabitants of the land (Engel 1979; Fecht 1983; Hornung 1983; Ahlström and Edelman 1985; Ahlström 1986: 37–40).

The major event in Merenptah's reign was the first Libyan invasion of Egypt, recorded in inscriptions from Karnak, Gurneh (*ANET,* 376–78), Kom el-Ahman, and Heliopolis. The Libyan tribes of the Labu and Meshwesh (Hdt. 4.191), long kept under surveillance during the reign of Rameses II (Habachi 1980), amalgamated their forces with certain sea-roving pirates from the Aegean—the Lukka (from Lycia), Shardanu (Sardonians from near Cyme), the Ekwesh (Koos?), the Teresh, and the Shekelesh—and descended on Egypt in Merenptah's 5th year. Merenptah received the news at the beginning of April and

launched his forces about a month later, engaging the invaders at Per-Yeru in the NW delta. The Libyans were repulsed with a loss of over 9,000 dead.

Through most of his reign Merenptah was in poor health, and already in his 7th year burial goods were being moved into his tomb. He died sometime after his 10th year. His mummy shows a bald old man, rather obese, who suffered from degenerative arthritis and also from arteriosclerosis in the thigh. He had lost many teeth, and the heads of the femurs showed signs of fracture (Harris and Weeks 1973: 157). His name survives, curiously, in the place name Mereptoah mentioned by Josephus (Priebatsch 1975).

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**MERES** (PERSON) [Heb *meres* (מֶרֶס)]. One of the seven princes of Persia and Media who were the advisers of King Ahasueros (Esth 1:14). See CARSHENA. Although the presumption that the names of these counselors are Persian is reasonable (see the arguments of Millard 1977: 481–88, who counters the excessive caution of Moore [*Esther* AB, XLI–XLIV] regarding the reliability of the MT spellings), no name equivalent to this has thus far been found in the extant extrabiblical literature nor has a generally acceptable Persian etymology been suggested. The name, however, would appear to be a variant of the name Marsena (another of the seven advisers) without the patronymic suffix, for which see the discussion of Carshena by Millard (1977: 485). For suggested etymologies see Paton *Esther* ICC, 68; Gehman 1924: 324.

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**MERIB-BAAL** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕrîb-baʿal* (מְרִיב־בַּעַל)*; mĕrî-baʿal* (מְרִי־בַּעַל)]. The son of Jonathan, and grandson of Saul ben Kish. The Hebrew name is spelled *mĕrîb-baʿal* in 1 Chr 8:34 (2x), 9:40, but *mĕrî-baʿal* in its second occurrence in 9:40. The LXX reads *Meribaal* for both occurrences in 8:34 and *Maribaal* for both in 9:40; Syr reads *mrybʿl* in all cases. The rest of the references to this individual call him Mephibosheth. Unlike the other examples in which the epithet *baʿal,* "Lord," which originally was applied to Yahweh but later became associated primarily with his rival, the storm god, has been substituted with *bošet,* "shame," in this instance the first element of the name has also been altered. See ISH-BOSHETH. This unexpected development is best attributed to the partial confusion of Meribaal ben Jonathan with his relative Mephibaal ben Saul. See MEPHIBOSHETH.

The etymology of the name "Merib-baal" (or "Meribaal") is difficult to establish. Older opinions were noted by Noth (*IPN,* 143 n. 2); more recent speculation is discussed by Fowler (*TPNAH,* 61).

**A. Meribaal from a Literary Perspective**

Outside the genealogical notices, Meribaal is mentioned in five contexts in 2 Samuel. All are interrelated and are linked thematically with the sections in 1 Samuel involving Jonathan's covenant with David, further developing the motif of David's oath-bound love for Jonathan and his promise not to let the name of Jonathan be cut off from the house of David (1 Sam 20:16). In 2 Sam 4:4, after the report of

the death of Eshbaal, the last direct heir to the Saulide throne, it is reported that Jonathan had a young, crippled son who was hidden by his wet nurse after the news of the death of Saul and Jonathan at Gilboa. The comment serves to alert the audience to the continuing issue of the legitimate succession to the throne of Israel and anticipates the Meribaal scene in 2 Samuel 9.

After intervening passages sketch David's establishment of his rule over Israel and Judah, 2 Samuel 9 tells of David's inquiry about any surviving Saulides to whom he can show kindness for Jonathan's sake. Ziba, a (former) servant of the royal family, is summoned and reveals Meribaal's existence in Lidebir. David has him brought to the Jerusalemite court, returns to him the Saulide patrimonial estates, which are to be worked by Ziba's family, and makes him and his son Mica regular members at the royal table.

Meribaal is next mentioned in 2 Sam 16:1–4, when, in preparation for David's retreat from Jerusalem during Absalom's revolt, Ziba provides the king with provisions and claims that Meribaal has declared his intention to be restored by Israel to his rightful throne as a descendant of Saul. In response to the allegation of treason, David is said to have confiscated Meribaal's estates and granted them to Ziba. The issue of treason is taken up again in 2 Samuel 19, after David's defeat of Absalom and his return to Jerusalem. Now Meribaal presents himself to the king as he returns, swears his innocence and Ziba's deceit, and is granted half of his former family estate by David.

The final reference to Meribaal occurs in 2 Sam 21:7, in the account of the ritual execution of seven Saulides to end a three-year famine. It is specified that David spared Jonathan's son from becoming a victim on this occasion because of the oath he had made with Jonathan. Verse 8 names Meribaal's secondary namesake Mephibosheth (Mephibaal), the son of Saul and Rizpah, as one of the victims.

**B. The Historical Meribaal**

Most of the details concerning Meribaal's life remain uncertain. His status as Jonathan's son has been challenged; it has been argued that he was Saul and Rizpah's son who was secondarily identified as Jonathan's son in order to develop further the theme of the covenant between David and Jonathan (Veijola 1978). This proposal is based primarily upon the references to Meribaal as the "son of Saul" and to Saul as Meribaal's "father" in 2 Sam 9:7, 9, 10; 16:3; 19:24. However, because Meribaal is explicitly identified as Jonathan's son and Saul's grandson in his first appearance in 2 Sam 4:4, and subsequently in 2 Sam 9:6 and 21:7, it seems best to construe the references to Saul as his "father" in the looser sense of "forefather" (cf. Gen 17:4; 28:13; Josh 24:3; Isa 51:2). Since Saul was the founder of the royal Saulide dynasty, it would have been appropriate to designate him as the founding forefather and to speak of the patrimonial estates handed down from Kish and his forefathers as the estates of Saul (2 Sam 9:8), even though he was only removed from Meribaal by two generations.

Meribaal's status as the eldest son of the heir to the Saulide throne explains his secret removal to Lidebir, where he could grow up in political asylum under the tutelage of Saul's ally, Machir ben Ammiel, and be able to reclaim the family throne in the event of future usurpations. The decision to spirit away the toddler probably would have been made in the wake of the crowning of the youngest surviving son of Saul and Ahimaaz, Eshbaal, who was himself a minor, in a time of severe political turmoil and threat to the fledgling state of Israel. If the notice that Meribaal had an infant son Mica when he was returned to the Davidic court is historically reliable, it would seem that the secret of his being and whereabouts was able to be kept for some two or three decades—well into David's reign. His return appears to have taken place before Absalom's revolt. It is likely that he escaped death during the ritual execution of his seven relatives during the three-year famine that occurred in the early years of David's accession to the Saulide throne (2 Sam 21:1–11) only because David was not aware of his existence. The reference to his sparing because of David's covenant with Jonathan in v 7 is a later literary reinterpretation of the incident.

Meribaal's lameness seems certain, although the report that it was caused by his nurse's accidentally dropping him during flight might be secondary literary embellishment. It generally is assumed that his physical handicap would have prevented him from being made king. Ritual laws prohibited the use of any physically blemished animal as a sacrificial offering (Lev 1:3, 10; 3:1, 6; 4:22, 27, 32) and prohibited a physically disfigured descendant of Aaron from serving as a priest (Lev 21:16–23). No law explicitly

rejected a handicapped person from serving as God's earthly vice-regent, but by analogy, and because man was supposed to be made in God's image, it is likely that an heir-elect with a physical disability would have been passed over for another legitimate candidate for king. Even though Meribaal himself might not have posed a direct threat to David's claim to the throne because of his lameness, his son Mica would have been the next legitimate Saulide heir and a potential focus of rebellion. By making Meribaal and his young son mandatory members of the king's table at the Jerusalemite court, David could have kept them under constant surveillance and headed off any moves toward rebellion.

David's restoration of the Saulide estates to Meribaal has been interpreted against the background of the ANE practice of transferring patrimonial property without male heirs to the crown, or declaring it *bona vacantia.* Once Meribaal's existence was discovered and his repatriation accomplished, he had a legal right to the patrimonial estates of Saul and his forefathers. David was obligated by law to reconvert them from crown property to their former status as inalienable patrimonial land and return them to the family heir (Ben-Barak 1981). It seems that the characterization of David's return of the land as one of generosity stemming from his covenant with Jonathan is a later literary reinterpretation. David's subsequent confiscation and conversion of the Saulide patrimonial land to crown property in 2 Samuel 16 reflects the ancient punishment for treason (Ben-Barak 1981: 85).

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**MERIBAH** (PLACE) [Heb *měrîbâ* (מְרִיבָה)]. Literally "Strife," an oasis in the Sinai and the site of an Israelite rebellion. Also called Meribath-Kadesh in the Priestly (P) source (Num 20:13, 24; 27:14; Deut 32:51), and Ezekiel (47:19; 48:28), and possibly in Deut 33:2, if one emends the difficult *mrbbt qdš* to **mmrbt qdš.* Exod 17:7 and Deut 33:8 explicitly, and Ps 95:8 implicitly, equate Meribah with Massah ("Testing"), a place also mentioned in Deut 6:16; 9:22. It seems the two names arose out of the Israelite practice of using synonymous terms in parallelistic poetry, though some scholars see independent traditions (e.g., Cornill 1891: 20–34). Such names for springs were not unusual, since water holes were often scenes of contention (Gen 21:25; 26:14–22; Exod 2:17), and arbitration (Gen 21:27–32; 26:28–33), or judgment; note that in Gen 14:7 En-mishpat, the "Well of Judgment," is identified with the oasis Kadesh. Nevertheless, tradition ties the names Massah and Meribah to a specific rebellion of the Israelites during their desert wanderings.

The location of Meribah is uncertain, and it is possible that the place is imaginary. The Elohist (E) locates it at Horeb (Exod 17:6) near Rephidim (Exod 17:8), both of which are of unknown location, while P and Ezekiel equate Meribah and Kadesh, probably modern ʿEin Qudeirat (M.R. 096006). See KADESH-BARNEA. The traditions are equally vague as to what transpired there. Deut 33:8–11 says that the Levites were striven against and tested there, earning the priestly office in return for their renunciation of kinship ties. It seems in Ps 81:8—Eng v 7, however, that all Israel was tested at Meribah and that they failed through apostasy (vv 10–12—Eng vv 9–11); and Ps 95:8–11 similarly records that for the sin of testing Yahweh at Meribah Israel was punished with forty years in the desert. Exod 17:1–7 says that at Massah and Meribah the Israelites rebelled against Moses and tested Yahweh by requesting water, which the deity granted at Horeb when Moses struck the mountainside with his rod. Finally, Num 20:1–13 tells the strange story of the sins of Moses and Aaron at Meribah.

According to the received text of Num 20:1–13, while the Israelites are camped at Kadesh they discover, after Miriam's death, that there is not enough water. The people rebel against Moses and Aaron, expressing their regret at having left Egypt. Moses and Aaron go into the tabernacle for advice, and Moses is told to take a rod from the tabernacle and to speak to a crag, which will gush at his command. Instead, Moses castigates the people and hits the crag twice with the rod, thus producing water. For his fault both he and his brother are condemned to die in the desert.

This story, part of the murmuring tradition (see Coats 1968), raises many questions. Firstly, why is this story so similar to Exod 17:1–7, and how can Meribah be both at Horeb and at Kadesh? Of course, the Documentary Hypothesis, especially in its formulation by Friedman (1981: 77–119), solves this problem. The earlier text is Elohistic, while our passage is a Priestly rewrite designed to replace the older account but ironically included with it in the redaction of the Torah. Secondly, why is Moses punished for such a trivial sin and Aaron for no sin at all? This, too, can be answered readily, provided we do not expect the Bible to conform to our morality. At least in Moses' case, one could argue that the slightest deviation from divine command deserves severe censure; and, after all, the penalty is deferred. But Aaron's condemnation remains inexplicable. It is more helpful to view the story as a fabrication of the Priestly writer or his sources, which faced the problem of a tradition of Moses' and Aaron's deaths in Transjordan (Num 20:23–29; Deuteronomy 34). Such an unexpected tragedy might naturally have been explained as the result of a sin, yet one could hardly imagine the brothers having committed a serious crime. The result of this tension is the divine overreaction in the text. The Deuteronomic (D) source solves the problem of Moses' death in a similar way by blaming it vaguely upon the people (Deut 1:37). Since in P Aaron is a spotless figure while Moses is ambiguous, the latter is chosen to be the culprit, while the former is punished in defiance of all logic and justice.

Of course, for centuries scholars have sought other explanations of Moses' sin, and these are discussed at length by Margaliot (1971) and Milgrom (1983). Besides the surface interpretation that Moses should have addressed the crag instead of hitting it, some have supposed that his sin lay in his words, "Listen you rebels—are we to produce water for you from this crag?" (Num 20:10; cf. Ps 106:33), either in that he lost his temper (Maimonides, Ibn Ezra), doubted Yahweh's power (Gressmann 1913: 150; Lohfink 1970: 55), or claimed the ability to work wonders himself (Bekor Shor; Arden 1957: 52; Margaliot 1971: 387–88; Milgrom 1983: 257–58). Milgrom suggests that speaking at all was a crime, since it created the impression of a magical incantation. Many modern exegetes have supposed that Moses' true crime has been censored (e.g., Gray *Numbers* ICC, 258). But all these explanations violate the plain sense of the text that Moses erred in striking the crag instead of addressing it as he had been commanded.

It is true that some details of the story remain strange, and this has been the cause of much of the reluctance to see Moses' hitting the rock as his basic crime. For instance, we elsewhere do not hear of a rod of Moses kept in the tabernacle. In fact, Num 20:8, 9, 11 are the only references to Moses' rod in P, which elsewhere speaks of *Aaron's* rod, kept in the tabernacle (Num 17:25–26). Moreover, why is Moses commanded to take the rod if he is not supposed to use it? The best solution to these problems is to emend Num 20:11 from "with his rod" (cf. vv 8–9) to "with the rod," as in vv 8–9 and in agreement with the LXX. In P "*the* rod" could only be Aaron's, but it is easy to imagine a scribe altering **bmṭh* to *bmṭhw*, since in the redacted Torah Moses' rod is more prominent than Aaron's and is featured in the similar story of Exod 17:1–7. If the rod is Aaron's rather than Moses', its function in the story becomes clear. According to P, Aaron's rod was preserved in the tabernacle so that it could be displayed as a warning in times of rebellion against aaronite and levitical authority. Accordingly, Yahweh's command to take out the rod is not a mandate to strike the crag with it. That Aaron's rod is the instrument of the sin implicates him in the offense by sympathetic magic.

In short, P has taken a story glorifying Moses and his miraculous rod (Exod 17:1–7) and rewritten it to condemn Moses and demonstrate the power of Aaron's rod, even when improperly used. But why did he move the spring from the mountain of lawgiving (Exod 17:6) to Kadesh? Most likely the intent was to harmonize conflicting traditions about Meribah and Kadesh. In Deut 1:19–46 the Israelites rebel against Moses and Yahweh at Kadesh, and both the people and their leader are punished there with forty years of wandering and death in the desert. On the other hand, Ps 95:8–11 preserves a tradition that the forty years were decreed at Meribah. By equating Meribah and Kadesh, P reconciles these traditions. In P the death in the desert for the people is still associated with Kadesh (Num 13:26; 14:26–35), as is Moses' own death; but P accounts for the latter by rewriting Exod 17:1–7. P also brings his version of the Meribah story closer to that of Deut 33:8–11, which speaks of Yahweh's testing and striving against levitical priests, though in the older passage the test is passed. In Num 20:1–13 Moses fails the test of his faith in the

power of the word, rather than of the physical act; and so he falls, taking his innocent brother down with him.

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WILLIAM H. PROPP

**MERIBATH-KADESH** (PLACE) [Heb *mĕrîbat* (מְרִיבַת) *qādēš* (קָדֵשׁ)]. Var. MERIBAH; KADESH. The location of a source of water in the Wilderness of Zin, where the Israelites "broke faith" with Yahweh (Deut 32:51). The incident in question is almost certainly the same one reported prosaically in Numbers 20, where, at Kadesh in the Wilderness of Zin (v 1), the people are portrayed arguing with Moses over the lack of water (vv 2–5); an abundance of water is eventually procured after Moses improperly strikes a rock twice with his rod (vv 10–13). Ostensibly, traditions about this argument (Heb *mĕrîbâ*) at Kadesh led to the variant form Meribath-Kadesh. This form was retained as late as the time of Ezekiel, who used it to refer to the southernmost boundary of the promised land in his idealized vision of the restored Israel (Ezek 47:19; 48:28). See also KADESH-BARNEA; MASSAH AND MERIBAH; MERIBAH.

GARY A. HERION

**MERKABAH MYSTICISM.** See ENOCH, THIRD BOOK OF; JOB, TESTAMENT OF.

**MERNEPTAH** (PERSON). See MERENPTAH (PERSON).

**MERODACH** (DEITY) [Heb *mĕrōdāk* (מְרֹדָךְ)]. See MARDUK (DEITY).

**MERODACH-BALADAN** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕrodak* (מְרֹדַךְ) *bal›ădān* (בַּלְאֲדָן)]. A sheikh of the important Chaldean tribe of Bīt-Yakin and a contemporary of King Hezekiah (2 Kgs 20:12; Isa 39:1). During a career that spanned nearly 60 years, Merodach-baladan (Akk *Marduk-apla-iddina*) brought Chaldean and Aramean tribes together in opposition to Assyrian expansion in S Babylonia. Unfortunately, most of the surviving sources for Merodach-baladan's career are Assyrian. Like the Verse Account of Nabonidus, they paint a picture of an "outsider" who not only seized power by force, but also took prisoners and removed divine images from their temples. In his own accounts, he claims to have been a descendant of Eriba-Marduk, a king responsible for expansion and consolidation in Babylonia before 760 B.C. Brinkman's observation, that Merodach-baladan was Eriba-Marduk's grandson, is probably correct (Brinkman 1964: 9). During the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.), he sent tribute to the Assyrian capital. However, after the accession of Sargon II (722–705 B.C.) he attempted, with Elamite assistance, to thwart Assyrian intervention in S Babylonian affairs by seizing power himself. Under his leadership, after 721 B.C., both Chaldean and Aramean tribes constituted a formidable threat to the stability of the Assyrian Empire not only in Babylonia, but in Elam, Arabia, and Judah as well.

Merodach-baladan's own contemporary Babylonian sources portray him as a king who carried out important royal duties. Like earlier monarchs, he watched over irrigation canals, bridges, and temples,

making sure they were kept in good repair. Furthermore, as Brinkman points out, there is no evidence that provincial administration was altered or impaired during his reign (Brinkman 1964: 17–18). While Assyrian inscriptions assert that the Babylonian economy suffered while he was in control, surviving contract tablets datable to the period 721–710 B.C. suggest a prosperity unequaled in virtually any previous period.

Merodach-baladan's name occurs in two places in the OT. In both instances (2 Kgs 20:12; Isa 39:1), he is said to have sent gifts to Hezekiah, king of Judah, upon hearing of his illness. Indeed, the annals of Sargon II and his successor, Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.) indicate that Merodach-baladan was quite active before and after Sennacherib attempted to take Jerusalem and force Judah to submit to his rule. During the period 710–705 B.C. the Chaldeans took advantage of both the marshy areas of S Babylonia, Assyrian preoccupation with other matters, and their opponent's military ineffectiveness to employ a defensive strategy. The result was that, while Sargon II was able to take several cities, including Dur-Yakin, Nippur, and Kish, Merodach-baladan was never captured, even though he sought and was denied protection in Elam. In 703 B.C. another revolt led to a certain Marduk-zakir-šumi's being elevated to kingship by the inhabitants of Babylonia. Merodach-baladan removed him within nine months while assembling support for himself from among Elamites and Arabs as well as Chaldeans and Arameans. Sennacherib subsequently marched on Babylon, captured Merodach-baladan's wife and his treasury, and attacked a number of towns associated with the Chaldeans in the S. In 700 B.C., despite yet another Chaldean uprising, Sennacherib drove his adversary out of Babylonia into Elam and placed his own son Assur-nadin-šumi on the Babylonian throne. Merodach-baladan did return briefly to his homeland of Bīt-Yakin before finding permanent refuge in Elam. He died in Elam a few years later.

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RONALD H. SACK

**MEROITIC LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

**MEROM, WATERS OF** (PLACE) [Heb *mê mērôm* (מֵרוֹם)]. The spring or water source associated with one of several Canaanite city-states. The area appears to have been the S Canaanite frontier of upper Galilee. It was at the "waters of Merom" that Jabin, the king of Hazor, assembled the combined Canaanite forces of N Palestine in an effort to stem the advance of the Israelites into Galilee (Josh 11:1–6). Joshua, always taking the offensive, apparently attacked the Canaanite forces at the "waters of Merom" from the relatively unoccupied forests (Aharoni *WHJP* 3: 118; and possibly the "forest of the gentiles" in Judg 4:16) of the southernmost highlands of upper Galilee. Apparently, the Israelites cut off the escape routes to the S from upper Galilee because the overthrown Canaanites escaped by the only available routes to the W (to Misrephoth, near Khirbet Musheirefeh [M.R. 161276] via Iqrit [H. Yoqrat; M.R. 176275] and Abdon [Tel ʿAvdon; M.R. 165272]), N (toward Sidon via Yattir and Kanah), and NE (to the Mizpeh valley via Taphnith and Beth-anath [Safed el-battikh, M.R. 190289]), as indicated in Josh 11:6–9 (Rainey 1984: 192–93). Joshua then turned back from his pursuit of the Canaanites and secured his advance into Galilee by destroying Hazor and by occupying (if not subjecting to forced labor) the city-states of those kings who fled the battle at the "waters of Merom" (Judges 1).

Many have accepted the identification of Merom with the village of Meiron (M.R. 191265) on the E slopes of Jebel Jarmaq (Abel *GP* 2: 385). While there is a similarity in names, the historical geography of the "waters of Merom" of Joshua and early Egyptian and Assyrian sources does not coincide with Meiron. Several seasons of excavations at Meiron have prompted Meyers to suggest that "Meiron, [is] not to be confused with Meron of Joshua 11:5, 7" (*EAEHL* 3: 856) and that "the Spring of Meiron, possibly to be identified as ʿEin Hatra, but surely not 'the waters of Merom' of Joshua 11:5, 7" (Meyers, Meyers, and

Strange 1974: 3). Historical and geographic evidence (available archaeological evidence is inconclusive) tends to support Aharoni's (*LBHG,* 220–26) and Rainey's identification of the waters of Merom with Tell el-Khureibeh (M.R. 190275), just over 3 km S of Mârûn er-Râs (M.R. 192278).

Merom is first mentioned (*m-r-m-i-m,* No. 85) in the campaign annals of Thutmose III (1504–1450 B.C.E.) as having been taken during one of his 16 campaigns in the Levant to control rebellion. Rameses II, after a doubtful encounter with the Hittites in 1286 B.C.E., conducted several additional campaigns to bolster his authority in Palestine (ca. 1282 B.C.E.) and lists Merom (*m-r-m*) with Beth-anath (to the N of Tell el-Khirbeh) and Kanah (*q-n,* to the NW of Tell el-Khirbeh) as having been defeated. Tiglath-pileser III (733/732 B.C.E.) of Assyria also claimed to have taken Merom (*ma-ru-un, ANET,* 283), a claim which again suggests that Merom held a strategic place in the control of Canaanite upper Galilee.

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DALE C. LIID

**MERONOTHITE** [Heb *mērōnōtî* (מֵרֹנֹתִי)]. The gentilic identification of Jehdeiah, one of twelve stewards of royal property (specifically, the donkeys) appointed by David (1 Chr 27:30), and of Jadon who worked on the repair of the walls of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah. Nehemiah 3:7 states that one group of workers consisted of men of Gibeon and Mizpah, specifically mentioning Melatiah the Gibeonite and Jadon the Meronothite. This provides the only clue to the location of Meronoth, but its exact relationship to Mizpah is unclear (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 196–97).

RICHARD W. NYSSE

**MEROZ** (PLACE) [Heb *mērôz* (מֵרוֹז)]. A town mentioned only in Judg 5:23, in which the settlement and its inhabitants are cursed by an angel of the Lord for failing to aid the forces under Deborah and Barak in the fight against Sisera.

Several scholars have suggested locations for the town, despite the fact that the OT text gives few clues to the settlement's location. Abel (*GP* 2: 305) located Meroz at modern Kh. Marus (M.R. 199271), which is near Hazor. While Jabin of Hazor is mentioned in Judg 4:7 as the king whose army Sisera commanded, he is not mentioned in the Song of Deborah itself, and it is probable that the actual fighting took place in or near the Jezreel valley. For this reason, locating Meroz in the region of Hazor is questionable. There also seems to be no compelling reason to accept the suggestion that Meroz is a mistaken reading for either Merom (Josh 11:5) or Madon (Josh 12:19).

Alt (1940–41: 244) developed a theory that Meroz was a Canaanite settlement which had formed a treaty relationship with the new Israelite settlements. Alt suggested that the settlement remained neutral, unable either to fight with Sisera's forces or to break its pact with the Israelites. The curse was then necessary for the Israelites to abrogate the agreement, made in the name of the Lord, so the town could be punished. Yet in contrast to Jael the Kenite, who is praised in the next verse of the poem, and is clearly identified as a foreigner, Meroz and its people are not ethnically distinguished from the rest of the Israelites. Alt's interpretation of Meroz as a foreign ally of the Israelite towns, while imaginative, lacks support in the text.

Van Beek (*IDB* 3: 356) suggested that Meroz may be associated with the Shimron-meron (Josh 12:20), a large tell (M.R. 170234) on the NW edge of the Jezreel valley.

None of these identifications is convincing. Given the limited information provided by the verse, the exact location of Meroz has yet to be reliably determined.

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MELVIN HUNT

**MERRAN** (PLACE) [Gk *Merran* (Μερραν)]. This name (only in Bar 3:23, linked there with Teman) designates an area known for its wisdom. The word probably is a corruption of the name Midian. (In Heb, the similarity between the *reš* and *dalet* could cause a mistake in reading the middle letter of this word.) The verse in Baruch witnesses to the long-standing tradition that the area SE of Judah/Judea was famed for wisdom (cf. Jer 49:7; Obad 8; Job 1:3; 2:11). At the time of the writing (1st century C.E.), Arab peoples ("the sons of Hagar" in the same line) lived in the district. The passage exhorts Israel to seek wisdom, inasmuch as all neighboring peoples did not find it. The KJV has Meran, the RSV and the NEB have Merran, while the NAB has Midian.

JOHN J. SCHMITT

**MEṢAD ḤASHAVYAHU** (M.R. 120146). The modern name of an ancient fortress dating to the end of the Israelite period, discovered on the Mediterranean coast approximately 1.7 km S of Yavneh-Yam. In 1960 the fortress was excavated by J. Naveh (1962b), and in 1986 a rescue excavation was carried out by R. Reich (1986). During the 1960 excavation, a 14-line Hebrew ostracon was discovered inside one of the guardrooms (Naveh 1960; 1964; Amusin and Heltzer 1964; Talmon 1964). It is the letter of an agricultural worker who complains that his garment was confiscated (the reasons are not specified). Pleading innocence, he entreats the military governor to intervene and see that the garment is returned to him. This inscription is of special value because it sheds light on a practice attested in the Bible (Exod 22:26–27; Amos 2:8). In addition, five other ostraca and a stone weight (44.82 grams) were found in the vicinity of the gate (Naveh 1962a). One was inscribed "weighed four [shekels of] silver," and on two others the number "4" was indicated by four vertical strokes. One of the ostraca mentions a person named "Ḥashavyahu ben-Ya[ …]," and consequently the site has been given his name.

The remains of the fortress itself cover an area of 6 dunams. It is composed of two rectangles forming an L shape conforming to the natural contours of the *kurkar* hill on which it stood. The larger rectangle (4 dunams) contains a courtyard and rooms adjacent to the wall, while the smaller one consists of three rows of houses flanking two streets. The 3.3-m-thick fortress wall was built of bricks on a stone foundation with buttresses along its facade (projecting about 0.7 m from the wall). The gate complex, including the guardrooms and towers, was built of dressed *kurkar* stone. The excavations uncovered the S wing of the gate and the building adjacent to it. Six test pits were also dug within the fortress area, all revealing the same information: a floor and, beneath it, either the natural *kurkar* bedrock or the sand fill used to level the area prior to the construction of the fortress. All evidence indicates that the fortress existed only for a very short period.

The pottery found on the floors included the local ware common in the 7th century B.C. However, coarsely made bowls and jars of a type previously considered to be of Persian date were also found, suggesting that the site must have been occupied during the final decades of the 7th century B.C. Among the finds was Greek pottery originating from the E islands of Greece and Asia Minor (so-called "East Greek pottery"), including amphorae, cooking pots, lamps, and cups. Much of it was decorated in the Middle Wild Goat style dated ca. 630–600 B.C. On the basis of this pottery, Naveh (1962: 98–99) concluded that the site had been occupied by settlers of Greek origin (probably mercenaries) who preferred to use the pottery to which they were accustomed. In this connection, it is noteworthy that Herodotus (2.152, 154) reports that Pharaoh Psamtik I (664–610 B.C.) hired Greek and Carian mercenaries. It seems likely that other contemporaneous rulers likewise used Greek mercenaries, and that the soldiers stationed at the Meṣad Ḥashavyahu fortress were employed by Josiah of Judah.

Judean control of the site is reinforced by the facts that the ostraca are written in biblical Hebrew, that they mention people with distinctively Judean names (Ḥoshayahu, Obadyahu), and that one seems to allude to a biblical custom regarding garments taken in pledge. Thus, Josiah seems to have expanded his control not only to the N and S but also to the W (2 Chr 34:6). The fortress was apparently abandoned in 609 B.C., the year that Pharaoh Necho defeated Josiah at Megiddo.

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EPHRAIM STERN

**MESALOTH** (PLACE) [Gk *Messalōth* (Μεσσαλωθ)]. According to 1 Macc 9:2, the Syrian armies under Bacchides and Alcimus attacked Mesaloth in the Galilean town of Arbela located W of the Sea of Galilee (ca. 161 B.C.E.). The Gk *messalōth* (Codex Alexandrinus and the Latin; var. Gk *maisalōth* in Codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus) appears to be derived from the Heb *mĕsillôt* ("roads" or "stairs"). The Heb *mĕsillôt* denotes an ascending road (LXX 2 Chr 9:11 translates the Heb *mĕsillôt* with the Gk *anabaseis*) or, as Abel suggested, caves (Abel 1961: 150). Indeed, Josephus' account of the events narrated in 1 Maccabees 9 notes that the besieged Jews of Arbela hid in caves (*Ant* 12.11.1 §421). Josephus also refers to the "village of the Cave of Arbela" located in the lower Galilee (*Life* 188). Josephus does not think Mesaloth is a place name but, rather, an ascent to a region with a number of caves. The translators of the LXX misunderstood the Hebrew original and treated Mesaloth as a place name rather than as caves or stairs ascending to the town of Arbela.

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MICHAEL E. HARDWICK

**MESHA** (PERSON) [Heb *mêšāʿ* (מֵישָׁע)*; mêšāʾ* (מֵישָׁא)]. 1. A Moabite king who, in the 9th century B.C., led a successful revolt against his Israelite oppressors. To students of the Bible, Mesha is one of the best known non-Israelite kings, since he is the principal in a famous inscription, the Moabite Stone (or Mesha Inscription, hereafter MI), and he plays a leading role in an important biblical narrative, in 2 Kings 3. In fact, these two sources, the MI and 2 Kings 3, provide virtually all of the information that relates directly to Mesha. While these data are insufficient for the reconstruction of a detailed biography, the available evidence portrays a fascinating and capable character.

Mesha was the son of Kemosh-yat (ti), who "was king over Moab for thirty years" (MI, line 2) before Mesha succeeded him. It is probable that both father and son were Dibonites (line 2); Mesha gave much attention to the restoration of Dibon, his capital, after he liberated Moab from Israel (lines 3, 21–25).

While the Bible does not provide details concerning the subjugation of Moab to the Omride dynasty, the MI (lines 4–8) says that Omri and his son(s) held Moab in a tight grip for forty years. Indeed, the OT reports that Mesha, a "sheep breeder" (Heb *nōqēd;* cf. Amos 1:1 and the reference to sheep in the MI, line 31), "had to deliver annually to the king of Israel a hundred thousand lambs, and the wool of a hundred thousand rams" (2 Kgs 3:4). Given the importance of sheep in the region's modern economy, it can be assumed that such a tribute payment was well suited to ancient Moab, and there seems to be no compelling reason to attach a more exotic meaning to *nōqēd* in this instance (i.e., *nōqēd* is derived from the Akk verb, *naqādu,* "to probe," and indicates that Mesha was involved in augury). As king of Moab, Mesha was undoubtedly involved in animal husbandry, at an administrative level, and the exaction of heavy tribute—in the form of sheep and wool—was simply part of the Israelite overlordship.

After a generation-long period of oppression by Israel, Mesha launched an ambitious rebellion to reclaim the *mišōr.* There are a number of historical-chronological problems associated with this revolt, but the apparent contradictions between the MI and the OT have been resolved to the satisfaction of many scholars (cf. MESHA STELE for more discussion of these problems). If it is assumed that Mesha launched his revolt after the death of Ahab (2 Kgs 1:1; 3:5), it is possible that the Israelites were preoccupied with the Assyrian threat that followed the conflict with Shalmaneser III at Qarqar in 853 B.C. and did not retaliate against Mesha immediately. Like other ancient rulers who were subject to the authority of more powerful kings, Mesha took advantage of the temporary lapse in strength that often accompanied the transition from one king to another.

Jehoram, the final king of the Omride dynasty, did respond to Mesha's uprising. The events recorded in 2 Kgs 3:6–27 are not narrated in the MI, but the genre of the Moabite stele makes such an omission normal. Mesha's victory at Kir-hareseth was explained by the intervention of the god Chemosh (or Kemosh), which was thought to have resulted from the king's sacrifice of his son (2 Kgs 3:27).

Details of Mesha's revolt are provided in the MI. This dedicatory inscription was erected in Dibon ca. 830 B.C., after Israel's domination had been broken. The MI describes the political and military aspects of Mesha's most active years, an era that witnessed an extensive building program in the reclaimed towns of the Moabite tableland.

There is little doubt that Mesha's name meant something like "salvation" or "redeemer," though the exact etymology is uncertain. At least one scholar suggests that Mesha adopted the epithet "savior" only after he overthrew Israelite suzerainty. Such an explanation seems unnecessary, however, if the phenomenon of the *nomen-omen* is recalled: it is more likely that Mesha's parents gave their son a name that would befit the mission they hoped he could accomplish: liberate his people from Omride oppression. It is also possible that Mesha's name represented their belief in Chemosh as savior or basis of salvation. At any rate, the MI clearly emphasizes the salvific activities of Moab's chief deity (line 7). Thus, Mesha was appropriately named, and his political and military successes were attributed to the favor of Chemosh (lines 4–5, 9, etc.). Mesha's belief in divine intervention is reflected in the construction of a high place in Dibon (lines 3–4), the institution of *ḥerem* at Ataroth and Nebo (lines 10–18), and the existence of the MI itself.

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**2.** One of the seven sons of Shaharaim, a Benjaminite, by his wife, Hodesh (1 Chr 8:9). Grohman (*IDB* 3: 418) points out that combination names, including Chemosh, the Moabite god, were common in Moab. Consequently, Corney (*IDB* 3: 357) has suggested that the name is an abbreviated form of "Chemosh is salvation." The name itself means "salvation" or "refuge." The Moabite connection of Mesha is highlighted in 1 Chr 8:8. Hodesh is said to have given birth to sons while living in Moab. This reference is clearly a hearkening back to earlier times when Moab was under Israelite control (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 60; Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 128). Mesha and his brothers are referred to as *roʾšē ʾābôt* or "heads of a family."

G. EDWIN HARMON

**MESHA** (PLACE) [Heb *mēšāʾ* (מֵשָׁא)]. One of the boundaries of the territory inhabited by the sons of Joktan (Gen 10:30), whose lands are described as extending "to Sephar, the hill country of the east." While most scholars have assumed a location somewhere in or near the Arabian peninsula, no firm identification has been made. Suggestions have included Mousa/Muza, a port mentioned by ancient authors (Ptolemy 8.22.6; Pliny *HN* 6.26) and probably located near Mokha on the E coast of the Red Sea about 100 miles N of Bab el-Mandeb, as well as Mesene, the Tigris delta area N of the Persian Gulf. Some scholars have equated the name with the Massa, a branch of the Ishmaelites (Gen 25:14) and posited a location somewhere in N Arabia. Employing additional evidence from Assyrian and Persian records, Cohen (*IDB* 3: 357) has proposed that Mesha, vocalized as Massa, be placed somewhere on a line between the head of the Gulf of Aqaba and the Persian Gulf. Because of the difficulty in locating Sephar, and without other evidence, all of these proposed identifications must remain conjecture.

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**MESHA STELE.** Discovered at Dhiban in 1868 by a Protestant missionary traveling in Transjordan, the 35-line Mesha Inscription (hereafter MI, sometimes called the Moabite Stone) remains the longest-known royal inscription from the Iron Age discovered in the area of greater Palestine. As such, it has been examined repeatedly by scholars and is available in a number of modern translations *(ANET, DOTT).*

Formally, the MI is like other royal inscriptions of a dedicatory nature from the period. Mesha, king of Moab, recounts the favor of Moab's chief deity, Chemosh (Kemosh), in delivering Moab from the control of its neighbor, Israel. While the MI contains considerable historical detail, formal parallels suggest the

Moabite king was selective in arranging the sequence of events to serve his main purpose of honoring Chemosh. This purpose is indicated by lines 3–4 of the MI, where Mesha says that he erected the stele at the "high place" in Qarḥoh, which had been built to venerate Chemosh.

The date of the MI can be set with a 20–30-year variance. It must have been written either just before the Israelite king Ahab's death (ca. 853/852 B.C.) or a decade or so after his demise. The reference to Ahab is indicated by the reference in line 8 to Omri's "son," or perhaps "sons" (unfortunately, without some additional information, it is impossible to tell morphologically whether the word [*bnh*] is singular or plural). Ahab apparently died not long after the battle of Qarqar, in the spring of 853, when a coalition of states in S Syria/Palestine, of which Ahab was a leader, faced the encroaching Assyrians under Shalmaneser III. The date of the MI proposed here would agree with the consensus of paleography for a mid-9th century date, ca. 840–830 B.C.

There was little initially with which to compare the language of the MI other than classical Hebrew and some Phoenician texts. In the intervening years, however, a number of significant texts have been discovered which provide linguists with good comparative material (and tantalizing questions). The initial observation—that the Moabite language seemed similar to classical Hebrew—has been largely confirmed; nowadays, it appears Moabite had more similarities with Hebrew than with old Aramaic. It can be classified as a Northwest Semitic dialect close to Ammonite and Hebrew, though it does possess some Aramaic features (e.g., final *nun* [*n*] for the masculine plural absolute, final *hê* [*h*] for the third person pronominal suffixes). With the political and economic domination of Moab by Israel during parts of the 10th and 9th centuries, it is not surprising that Moabite would be similar to Hebrew or, since Ammonite would be Moabite's closest Transjordanian neighbor, that these two languages have a number of elements in common. At this stage of analysis several of the outstanding philological issues relate to the source of the remaining peculiarities of Moabite.

Although Israel is the only enemy of Moab and Chemosh mentioned in the MI, it seems likely that this results from the text's genre as a dedicatory inscription and its abbreviated style. Moabite relations with Israel were but a subset of the complicated and rapidly changing political landscape among states of this era and region. According to Assyrian annals, the Syro-Palestinian coalition that opposed Assyrian expansion was led by the kings of Israel, Damascus, and Hamath. Omri's son Ahab is specifically named in these extrabiblical texts. It is probable that these three states had worked out "parity" agreements among themselves, and the Phoenician ports and Arab caravans would have contributed to the strength of the coalition. Individually, these three would have had relations with smaller regional entities as their vassals, and Moab's subservience to Israel under the Omrides would fall under this latter category. Therefore, Moab's successful revolt is best understood as part of a breakdown of the larger coalition and the subsequent changing of certain vassal relationships.

The treatment of the Omride dynasty in 1–2 Kings concentrates on the kings' theological and moral failures, especially those of Ahab and his Phoenician queen, Jezebel. At best, the Assyrian threat is in the background of the biblical narrative. Warfare between Aram and Israel is noted during Ahab's last years (2 Kings 20, 22), however, a situation that would be repeated later (2 Kgs 10:32–33; 13:1–25). When one compares the biblical and Assyrian texts of the period, two problems stand out immediately. First, the Assyrian versions seem to presuppose that Israel and Aram were allies in the anti-Assyrian coalition. Second, there are different names given to the Aramean king in the two accounts. In the Assyrian version, he is called *Hadad-idri*, while the biblical account refers to him as Ben Hadad. 2 Kings refers to a revolt of Mesha after Ahab's death and to an abortive attempt by Ahab's son, Jehoram, with Judean and Edomite allies, to regain control of Moab by attacking the S Moabite plateau from the SW (2 Kgs 1:1; 3:1–27). In 2 Kings, therefore, nothing is said about the military campaigns in that part of Moab N of the Arnon, the subject matter of the MI.

Numerous historical analyses have been proffered to understand the MI in its context. Perhaps the best starting point for any reconstruction is the observation that the anti-Assyrian coalition fell apart and that the "ripple effects" of this dissolution are reflected vaiously in the MI and in 1–2 Kings. The MI recounts in selective fashion elements of the struggle in order to venerate Chemosh, while 1–2 Kings concentrates

on Israelite (and particularly Omride) failures and the Israelites' struggles with their Aramean neighbors. Moab's freedom and Chemosh's faithfulness were paramount issues for Mesha. Those who compiled 1–2 Kings wanted to show Israel's failure with historical examples, and the account of Jehoram's failure to regain control of Moab was only an illustration of the larger pattern. It is possible, therefore, to provide a plausible historical setting for the MI with several different sequences when comparing it with the Assyrian texts and 1–2 Kings. A first option can fit the events of the MI into the sequence of 1–2 Kings by assuming that just after the 853 battle with Shalmaneser III, the Israelite/Aramean alliance fell apart, Ahab was killed, Mesha revolted and took control of the N plateau, and Jehoram failed to reinstitute Israelite control in his S assault. A variation would have Jehoram's assault coming first after an initial Moabite revolt, followed by Mesha's successful reconquest of the N plateau as narrated in the MI. A second option would begin with the assumption that the Israelite/Aramean alliance was strong as long as Ahab lived, with the Aramean wars attributed to him in 1 Kings really belonging to Jehoram or members of the Jehu dynasty. But by 841, about 13 years later, the alliance had been broken, new dynasties had been established in Samaria (Jehu) and Damascus (Hazael), and the former vassal relationship between Moab and Israel had been broken by Mesha's successful revolt. Thus, the Assyrian policy of divide and conquer had been at least partially successful. A third option simply begins with the MI, without a concern to coordinate events with those narrated in 1–2 Kings, and with the understanding that line 8 requires the start of Mesha's revolt before Ahab dies (i.e., reading the term *bnh* as "his [Omri's] son").

Chemosh, the god of Moab, was well known in the ANE long before the time of Mesha. For example, the name in cognate form appears in the Ebla and Ugaritic texts of N Syria. Line 17 of the MI refers to ʿAshtar-Kemosh, a compound name that perhaps indicates a hypostatic union, with ʿAshtar representing the feminine element (cf. Ishtar and Ashtarte) and Kemosh the masculine. Others have identified ʿAshtar with the male deity, Attar, in the Ugaritic texts and among certain early Arab tribes.

The MI attributes a previous Moabite decline to Chemosh's "humbling" (line 5) of his land, and Moab's recovery under Mesha was viewed as a sign of Chemosh's deliverance. Mesha states that Chemosh spoke to him (line 14), likely through a prophetic or priestly oracle. On at least two occasions, Mesha ritually slaughtered Israelites and dragged trophies of war before Chemosh as a sign of thanksgiving (lines 11–18). One verb (*ḥrm*) used to describe the assault on Nebo puts the city under a ban, terminology which is like that used several times in the Hebrew Bible. In fact, the MI as a whole reads almost like a narrative from the Hebrew Bible. (For bibliography, see EPIGRAPHY, TRANSJORDANIAN.)

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**MESHACH** (PERSON) [Heb *mêšak* (מֵישַׁךְ)]. A Babylonian surname given to Mishael (Dan 1:7).

See SHADRACH, MESHACH, ABEDNEGO.

**MESHASH, KHIRBET EL-** (M.R. 146069). A large, multiperiod site (also known as Tel Masos) located in the center of the Beersheba valley about 12 km E of Beersheba. The site was situated on the ancient intersection of the N–S route, between the Judean hills and the Arabah and Sinai, and the E–W route, between the coast and the Dead Sea and Moabite territory.

The site consists of three discrete settlement areas extending on both sides of the wadi Beersheba, built around a number of wells that even today serve as a major water supply for local bedouin (see EAEHL 3: 816). The small tell itelf, dating from the late Iron II period and including late Byzantine remains (see C. below), was already mapped by Conder and Kitchener in 1874, while Y. Aharoni, during intensive surveys in 1964 and 1967, discovered the other two nearby settlement areas: a MB enclosure across the wadi about 400 m S of the tell, and a large early Iron I village about 200 m NE of the tell (see A. and B. below). The site with its three settlement areas was excavated between 1972 and 1975 (Aharoni et al. 1975; Fritz and Kempinsky 1983).

**A. The MB Enclosure**

The salient feature of this settlement is a fortification rampart enclosing an area of over 4 acres. This rampart was only partly preserved, and a large part of the site had been washed away by the wadi; however, enough remained to indicate that this was the type of rampart typical of MB Palestinian cities. Two structures were exposed during the excavations, confirming that this was a two-phase settlement, the older structure being dismantled when the newer one was constructed. These two phases yielded homogeneous pottery dating to the 17th century B.C., and it is possible that this fortification represents an attempt by the MB coastal cities to control the route leading to the east.

**B. The Early Iron Age Village**

The most extensively excavated settlement was a large unfortified village extending about 200 m by 150 m. Covering approximately 15 acres, it constitutes the largest settlement of this period so far discovered. At several places beneath this early Iron Age settlement were found remnants of Chalcolithic cave occupation (subterranean dwellings). These dwellings are typical of the so-called Beer-sheba culture known throughout the Negeb. The collections of pottery and implements are meager, and the settlement seems to date sometime between 3600 and 3200 B.C.

The early Iron Age village was built above these Chalcolithic remains, and altogether three Iron I strata with a total of five phases can be distinguished:

stratum I —10th–11th centuries B.C.
stratum IIa —11th century B.C.
stratum IIb —11th–12th centuries B.C.
stratum IIIa —12th century B.C.
stratum IIIb —12th–13 centuries B.C.

The earliest phase (stratum IIIb) consists of floors, pits, and hearths, suggesting a "seminomadic" population dwelling temporarily in tents and huts. This population possibly may be identified with one of the waves of Israelite settlers who quietly penetrated into the Beersheba valley and took advantage of the occupation "gap" in the area at the time. Fritz (1981: 71) modifies this to suggest that these groups had already been living as seminomads within Canaan for several centuries, coexisting with the Canaanites until the disruptions of the LB/early Iron Age transition caused them to establish new settlements. Kempinsky (1978), however, sees the original nucleus of settlers as being composed of Canaanites who were joined by families from various N Negeb tribes (Simeonites, Kenites, Jerahmeelites, etc.); the two eventually integrated into one "ethnic" group (see also Ahlström 1984). The construction of actual permanent houses begins in stratum IIIa (mid-12th century B.C.).

In stratum II the site was more densely populated, with a large variety of different types of buildings. In addition to the dominant "four-room" house, there were "three-room" houses, broad-room houses, a courtyard house, and the so-called "Amarna house" (an Egyptian style of dwelling). Various other buildings had some sort of public function. Stratum I was badly eroded and seems to mark a certain decline. A large citadel structure in stratum I attests, perhaps, to the deteriorating security situation in the area around the time of David; the settlement was soon abandoned and its population transferred to other areas, perhaps to Tel Malḥata (M.R. 152069), 3.5 miles to the E.

The architectural diversity of this early Iron Age settlement (especially in stratum II) suggests that the population at that time (roughly the time of the Judges) was heterogeneous. Also militating against the usual tendency to regard this site as "Israelite" are both the notable absence of "collared rim" jars found at other early "Israelite" sites and the notable presence of pottery originating from the coastal areas of Canaan (Phoenician "bichrome ware," Philistine pottery, and also Midianite ware). A scarab that can be ascribed to the reign of Seti II (1204–1194 B.C.) was also found. This diverse assemblage shows the wide-ranging connections the village had in all directions, while the large quantity of bronze and copper implements indicate that copper processing played an important economic role.

**C. The Iron II Tell**

The third settlement area was the tell located about 200 m SW of the early Iron Age village. Dating to the 7th–6th centuries B.C., this settlement actually was little more than a small "fortress" (1.25 acres), probably connected in some way with the nearby population center at Tell Ira (M.R. 148071), 1.5 miles to

the NE. Thus, the site of Khirbet el-Meshash had been abandoned for 300 years prior to the construction of this settlement. At the center of the tell stood a large building, which existed throughout all four phases associated with the settlement. Its function—whether administrative and/or military—was probably related to the abundant water resources located nearby; indeed, no fortifications were uncovered, and the size and arrangement of rooms in this central building suggest that it may possibly have served as a caravansery for the nearby trade routes, although no firm conclusions can be drawn since excavations here are incomplete. The pottery included typical Judahite ware as well as typical East Jordan ware. The settlement was probably destroyed during the Edomite conquests at the beginning of the 6th century B.C.

A group of Nestorian monks in the late Byzantine period (7th century A.D.) built a small monastery on the N part of this tell, using the S part as a large courtyard, which was surrounded by a wall. The entrance into the building led from this courtyard into a small hall, from which the central courtyard (with surrounding rooms) was accessible. A chapel was incorporated into the building; the apsis was rectangular, a unique feature among Nestorian churches, but characteristic of Syrian ones. The altar mensa (or table) was discovered out of place in a room next to the chapel. North of the chapel was found a crypt containing seven graves. Each grave contained two or three skeletons, all of which faced east. No furnishings were found, but the rubble inside the graves included pieces of plaster with fragments of inscriptions in the Syriac script written by Nestorians in the 8th century A.D., and other inscriptions incised in stone (also in Syriac) were found throughout the building. The monastery apparently did not last long, and it was destroyed violently and suddenly in the first half of the 8th century A.D.

**D. Identification of the Site**

Despite the long list of Negeb cities in Josh 15:21–32 and the lists of Shishak, the ancient name of Kh. el-Meshash has not yet been ascertained. Some scholars, following Aharoni (Aharoni et al. 1975), identify it with Hormah, mentioned in the inheritance of Simeon (Exod 21:4; Josh 19:4). But this inheritance list was probably compiled during the time of the monarchy, when (with the brief exception of the last few decades of the 7th century B.C.) Kh. el-Meshash was deserted. For the same reason, Crüsemann's identification of the site with Ziklag (1973: 222–24) is questionable. Naʾaman (1980: 146) suggested that the site should be identified with Baalath (Baalath-Beer in Josh 19:8), but this seems arbitrary. Fritz (Fritz and Kempinsky 1983: 235–38), noting that one would expect the name of the early Iron Age town to be mentioned in 1 Sam 30:27–31 (a passage dated by him to around the end of the 11th century B.C.), considers Siphmoth and Racal to be possible candidates, although at present the question of identification must remain open.

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V. F.

**MESHECH** (PERSON) [Heb *mešek* (מֶשֶׁךְ)]. Meshech is one of the seven sons of Japheth, Noah's son, according to the Table of Nations in Gen 10:2 and the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 1:5. The latter genealogy also lists another person with the same name as a son of Shem (1:17). In the Table of Nations (Gen 10:23) there is no second listing for Meshech, but there is a Mash, son of Aram, in the parallel position to 1 Chr 1:17. This could be a scribal error in which the last Hebrew letter of Meshech was dropped (so LXX). Mash could also be an entirely different entity. See MASH. Whatever the case

regarding the name in Genesis, the Chronicles genealogy indicates two ethnically distinct groups, one of Semitic and one of non-Semitic descent.

Most references to Meshech in the OT are to the non-Semitic peoples. Five times in Ezekiel they are associated with Tubal. In Ezek 27:13, Meshech and Tubal, along with Javan (Greece), traded slaves and bronze with Tyre, the capital of Phoenicia. They must therefore have had some skill in metallurgy, since Tyre itself served as a source for metalworking skills (1 Kgs 7:13–14). In an oracle against Egypt (Ezek 32:17–32), numerous nations are to join destroyed Egypt in her entombment. Included among these northern nations are Assyria and Elam, northeast of Egypt; Edom and Sidon, nearer to hand on the north; and Meshech and Tubal farther north (32:26). The latter are characterized by this Israelite prophet of the Exile as uncircumcised (i.e., barbaric) terrorists.

In two eschatological passages, Meshech and Tubal are ruled by Gog of the land of Magog (Ezek 38:2, 3; 39:1). Gog opposes Israel, even going as far as staging a military assault on God's people (Ezek 38:14–16; 39:2). God, however, will oppose him and his armies in his power. Ultimately God will bring their destruction and death (Ezek 38:18–23; 39:3–6).

The last remaining biblical mention of Meshech is in the context of a lament. The psalmist bewails his habitation in Meshech and in the tents of Kedar (120:5). These people do not desire peace as the psalmist himself does. Kedar refers to a people in the Syro-Arabian desert area. The psalm text suggests a nomadic group, since they are associated with tents. This could be a reference to the descendants of the Semitic Meshech (1 Chr 1:17), since this locale is populated mostly by Semites. Another interpretation of the reference is to see both Kedar and Meshech as archetypical barbaric locations far removed from Yahweh and his land. Thus, it is not the location of the specific sites mentioned in the psalm which is of primary importance; rather, the writer is concerned about the great separation from Israel.

Akkadian sources from as early as Tiglath-pileser I (ca. 1100 B.C.; Parpola 1970: 252–53) mention Meshech, or the *muškaya* from the land of *mušku.* These people paid tribute to Assurnasirpal II (ca. 882 B.C.) from their capital in E Asia Minor (*GARI* 2: 123). This tribute included goods of bronze (see Ezek 27:13 noted earlier). At the end of the 8th century B.C., the king of Meshech was Mita, the famous Midas whose touch, according to legend, would turn everything to gold. In a letter to Sargon II dated ca. 709 B.C., Midas, ruler of the "land of Muski," seeks a peaceful relationship with the Assyrians.

Both Herodotus (7.78) and Josephus (*Ant* 1.124) place Meshech (Moschoi) in E Asia Minor. The latter locates these people in the area later known as Cappadocia (see *MBA* map no. 172). Herodotus (1.14) equates them with the Phrygians somewhat farther W in Asia Minor (see *MBA* map no. 172). These people migrated from E Europe into Asia during the 12th century B.C. (*CAH*$^3$ 2: 417–18; Yamauchi 1982: 27). Some of the people of Meshech seem to have moved even farther east, around the Black Sea. There people referred to as Moschi and Tibarani were still found into the Persian period (*CAH*$^3$ 2: 420–21). All of these references apparently relate to the non-Semitic Meshech. None clearly allude to a Meshech of Semitic stock.

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## **MESHELEMIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕšelemyâ* (מְשֶׁלֶמְיָה)*; mĕšelemyāhû* (מְשֶׁלֶמְיָהוּ)]. A

levitical gatekeeper, descendant of Kore (1 Chr 26:1), head of one of the major families of gatekeepers who served in the sanctuary in the days of David (cf. vv 2–3, 9). As Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 169–70) points out, the present list in vv 1–11 divides the gatekeepers into three families: Meshelemiah, Obed-edom, and Hosah; but only two of these (Meshelemiah and Hosah) are firmly anchored with levitical genealogies. Thus, once again, the status of Obed-edom is somewhat uncertain in the traditions reflected in the Chronicler's work. (See the discussion in JEDUTHUN concerning the analogous situation found in 1 Chronicles 15–16.

Although vv 2–3 of 1 Chronicles 26 provide a list of seven sons of Meshelemiah in careful order (with the firstborn named Zechariah), we are later told in v 9 that the total of Meshelemiah's "sons and brethren" were some 18 "able men." Inasmuch as v 14 of the same chapter makes reference to a certain Shelemiah (Heb *šelemyāhû*), a gatekeeper also with a son named Zechariah (here described as a "shrewd counselor"), it seems quite certain that this Shelemiah is to be identified with the Meshelemiah of vv 1–9 ("Shelemiah" apparently representing a shortened form of the name). Williamson (1979: 253–54) is probably right to suggest that vv 12–18 of this chapter represent a later addition inasmuch as the reference to Obed-edom in v 15 is not intrusive here (in contrast to vv 4–8, as discussed above), and we would not expect two different spellings ("Meshelemiah" and "Shelemiah") for the name of one individual within the same passage.

The only other reference to Meshelemiah found in the Hebrew Bible is in 1 Chr 9:21. Here, his son Zechariah again is said to have played a prominent role among the gatekeepers established in office by David (the latter oddly linked to "Samuel the seer" in v 22; indeed, we are told in v 20 that Phinehas, son of Eleazar, had ruled over the ancestors of the same levitical gatekeepers in times past [cf. Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 90–91; Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 136–37]). The so-called "Chronicler" is far more concerned with emphasizing the levitical origins of the various cultic functionaries of the postexilic period than he is with chronological exactitude. See KORE. Curiously, in 1 Chr 9:17–19 (contrast v 31), levitical gatekeeper(s) named Shallum are described in terms very reminiscent of Meshelemiah (son of Kore son of [Ebi]asaph, chief of the gatekeepers, stationed on the east side; cf. 1 Chr 26:1–2, 12–14), leading to the conclusion that in 1 Chronicles 9 Meshelemiah and (at least) the Shallum of v 19 probably represent two variant names for the same individual (cf. Williamson 1979: 254; the Shallum of v 17 is probably postexilic).

In summary, Meshelemiah, Shelemiah, and Shallum seem to represent three different names for the same person; in each is to be found the Heb root *šlm*, "to be complete, sound." Dahlberg (*IDB* 3: 358) is probably correct in translating Meshelemiah as "Yah[weh] is recompense" or the like (also cf. *IPN*, 19, 31, 145, for pertinent Akkadian parallels).

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**MESHEZABEL** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕšêzab·ēl* (מְשֵׁיזַבְאֵל)]. 1. The grandfather of Meshullam, who was entrusted with the repair of more than one section of the walls of Jerusalem and its gates (Neh 3:4, 30; see Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 114; Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* Century Bible, 135). Meaning "God is deliverer" or "God is delivering," the name is unusual in that it is based upon a participle that was introduced into Hebrew from Akkadian, through Aramaic. The presence of the participle is evidence of the impact of Aramaic upon Hebrew during the postexilic period (Brockington, 135).

2. A leader of the people and a signatory to the covenant established by Ezra (Neh 10:21).

3. The father of Pethahiah, an ambassador charged with representing Jewish concerns in the Persian court (Neh 11:24; see Myers, 189).

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**MESHILLEMOTH** (PERSON) [Heb *măšillēmôt* (מַשְׁלֵמוֹת)]. 1. An Ephraimite whose son, Berechiah, was a leader among the people. Along with several others, Berechiah protested the forced enslavement of captured Judahites and supported the prophet Oded in calling for amnesty for those Judahites captured in Pekah's war against Ahaz (2 Chr 28:12). This story supplements the information conveyed in 2 Kgs 16:5 and Isaiah 7–8, where we simply learn that, although Pekah and Rezin laid siege to Jerusalem, they could not defeat Ahaz. According to 2 Chr 28:5–15, however, the conquest could have been completed (esp. vv 5–6, 10) except for the last-minute intervention of the Assyrians. One or both of

the stories may reflect a theological bias, and it is difficult to determine the exact extent of Judah's defeat at the hands of Israel and Syria.

2. A priest who is listed in the genealogy of Amashsai in Neh 11:13. He is likely to be identified with the Meshillemith of 1 Chr 9:12, who similarly is listed in the genealogy of Maasai. In both cases Meshillemoth/Meshillemith is reckoned as the son of Immer, the eponym of one of the major priestly phratries in the postexilic period who, according to 1 Chr 24:14, had been granted the sixteenth priestly course by David. The family of Immer and the families of Jedaiah (the family of the priest Jeshua), Pashhur, and Harim appear to have made up the major priestly phratries in the early postexilic period (Ezra 2:36–39; Neh 7:39–42). The lists suffer from general confusion, however, because the same name often appears in several places in such genealogies due to recurring preference for certain names within families. In addition, the lists were compiled as much for social and religious purposes as to provide historical information. Compare the similar names Meshulemeth, Meshelemiah, and especially Meshullam, all related to the notion that "God has/is paid back."

ROD R. HUTTON

**MESHOBAB** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕšôbāb* (מְשׁוֹבָב)]. Descendant of Simeon (1 Chr 4:34), described as one of the "princes in their families" (1 Chr 4:38). The name probably means "returned" or "delivered." In the LXX the name appears as *Mosobab*, while in the Vg it appears as *Masobab*. Understanding neither Meshobab nor Jamlech (the name that immediately follows) as proper names, Lucian translates it as "having returned, he ruled." The name Meshobab, along with the names of the other Simeonite princes, is not found in any of the genealogies assigned to this patriarch. (Compare the Peshitta, where 1 Chr 4:34–41 contains no personal names.) Nevertheless, in view of 1 Chr 4:42, Meshobab and the others were probably part of the tribe of Simeon (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 62).

CRAIG A. EVANS

**MESHULLAM** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕšullām* (מְשֻׁלָּם)]. A personal name in the Hebrew Bible which grammatically corresponds to the *Pu·al* participle of the verbal root *šlm* and probably means "one recompensed (by Yahweh?)."

1. A son of Azaliah and the grandfather of Shaphan the scribe (2 Kgs 22:3), the latter having served in Josiah's bureaucracy around 621 B.C. Nothing is known of Meshullam's circumstances in life. Because his grandson served as a member of Josiah's bureaucracy, it is reasonable to speculate that Meshullam, too, might have served a previous king, perhaps Manasseh or conceivably even Hezekiah.

2. One of the sons of Zerubbabel (1 Chr 3:19). This fact situates Meshullam in the 6th century B.C. If he was born late in that century and if Ezra's mission to Jerusalem is dated to 458 B.C., it is conceivable that he could be the same Meshullam whose name occurs in Ezra 8:16 (see no. 10 below). If this is the case, he would have been in his 50s or 60s during Ezra's time.

3. A member of the tribe of Gad who settled in Bashan (1 Chr 5:13). The part of the list in which Meshullam's name occurs finds no parallel in other Gadite lists (cf. Gen 46:16; Num 26:15–18).

4. A son of Elpaal and a member of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:17). His name occurs in a Benjaminite genealogical list that comprises all of chap. 8, which serves here to introduce the story of Saul's death in 1 Chronicles 9.

5. A Benjaminite and the father of Shallu (1 Chr 9:7). The latter's name appears in a list of the first exiles to return to Jerusalem. A variation of the list occurs in Neh 11:7, where again Meshullam is listed as the father of Sallu (= Shallu). The two lists do not contain the same names after the reference to Meshullam, which demonstrates that neither depends on the other. The two lists pose a problem of chronology: whereas 1 Chr 9:7 portrays Meshullam as the father of one of the first exiles to return to Jerusalem, Neh 11:7 portrays him as the father of one living in Jerusalem during the time of the rebuilding of the wall. The lists therefore deal with two different periods of time. The reference to Shallu/Sallu and to Jerusalem as his abode indicates that the Meshullam mentioned in both lists is the same. Yet, which of the lists is historically correct is difficult if not impossible to determine.

6. A Benjaminite and son of Shephatiah (1 Chr 9:8). The name here occurs in a list of the first of the exiles to return to Jerusalem. It is missing from the parallel list in Neh 9:7–11. In 1 Chr 9:9, Meshullam was the leader of his family.

7. The grandfather of Azariah and the son of Zadok (1 Chr 9:11). A parallel list occurs in Neh 11:1, 11 (see no. 5 above). Azariah was one of the first of the exiles to return to Jerusalem. Because Meshullam was the grandfather of a returning exile, it is highly likely that he lived in the late 7th century B.C. and witnessed the fall of Jerusalem in the early 6th century. This, of course, depends on whether or not the list in 1 Chronicles 9 is historically correct. The name Zadok here does not refer to the priest of the same name who was contemporaneous with Solomon.

8. The grandfather of Massai (1 Chr 9:12). Massai, a priest, was one of the first exiles to return to Jerusalem. As Massai's grandfather, Meshullam could have been a witness to the fall of Jerusalem in 587/586 B.C.

9. An overseer who served in the task of repairing the temple under Josiah in the 7th century B.C. (2 Chr 34:12). Meshullam is referred to as one of the sons of the Kohathites, a levitical family of some historic importance in the traditions of the Hebrew Bible. See KOHATH.

10. One of the leading men whom Ezra sent to Iddo of Casiphia to obtain Levite ministers for the temple (Ezra 8:16). A parallel version of this incident is found in 1 Esdr 8:41–46, where Meshullam is mentioned in v 43. On the one hand, it is conceivable that this Meshullam was the son of Zerubbabel (see no. 2 above); on the other hand, he might be identified with the Meshullam of Ezra 10:15, 29 (cf. 1 Esdr 9:14, 30). If the latter identification is upheld, we learn that he opposed the enforced divorcing of non-Israelite wives as mandated by Ezra.

11. A son of Berechiah and one who helped repair Jerusalem's fortifications (Neh 3:4, 30). Neh 6:18 relates that Johanan, son of Tobiah, took Meshullam's daughter as wife. Because Meshullam obviously supported Nehemiah's efforts to rebuild Jerusalem's walls, the notice of his daughter's marriage to the son of one who opposed Nehemiah is interesting. One possible effect intended by the notice of the union of Meshullam and Tobiah's families is to underscore the latter's failure to use his Judean relations to undermine the repairs.

12. A son of Besodeiah who helped repair a gate called Jeshanah in the Jerusalem wall (Neh 3:6). What Jeshanah (Heb *yĕšānâ*) means is not clear, and English translations do not agree on how to translate it ("old gate," RSV; "new city gate," NAB). Jeshanah was also a town toward which the gate faced; hence, perhaps, its name. See JESHANAH.

13. One of the men who stood next to Ezra as the latter read the Torah before the people (Neh 8:4). Such a position indicates one of important social rank, perhaps a priest (see no. 14 below). The parallel list in 1 Esdr 9:43–44 does not mention Meshullam. He is also missing from the Neh 8:4 passage in $LXX^{B}$. A patronym is not given here, which opens up the possibility of an identification with the Meshullam of Ezra 8:16 (see no. 10 above).

14. One of the priests who set his seal on a covenant to observe the Torah in Nehemiah's time (Neh 10:7). Because no patronym is given, it is conceivable that he is to be identified with one or more of the other occurrences of Meshullam in Nehemiah. If the date of Ezra's return to Jerusalem is 458 B.C. and not 398 B.C., an identification is possible with either no. 11, 12, or 13 above. In this case, persons who worked on the wall under Nehemiah could easily have been witnesses to Ezra's ministry.

15. One of the heads of the people who set his seal on the covenant ratified in Jerusalem after the Exile (Neh 10:20). As in no. 14 above, a patronym is not given. If the identifications suggested in no. 14 above are not valid, it is possible that they might be valid for this Meshullam.

16. One of the chiefs of a priestly family during the time of Joiakim (Neh 12:13). He is noted specifically as being a head of the house of Ezra, the latter not to be identified with the Ezra who returned to Jerusalem in the 7th year of Artaxerxes (Ezra 7:7; cf. Neh 12:1). The reference to Joiakim in Neh 12:12 likely locates Meshullam in the early 5th century B.C.

17. The chief of a priestly family of Ginnethon in the days of Joiakim (Neh 12:16). Ginnethon was one of the priests who returned to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel. As in no. 16 above, the reference to Joiakim locates Meshullam in the early 5th century B.C.

18. A gatekeeper during the days of the high priest Joiakim (Neh 12:25). Neh 12:26 also places him in the time of Nehemiah and Ezra. It is not clear whether the Chronicler intends the names Joiakim, Nehemiah, and Ezra to be read diachronically or synchronically. If the latter, the statement cannot be correct, because Eliashib was the high priest during the time of Nehemiah. If the former is intended, then one must consider that the span of time is quite considerable. Here Ezra's name follows Nehemiah's in contrast to the present order of the events as described in the books of Ezra-Nehemiah. It is possible, however, that the Chronicler intends the "days of Nehemiah the governor and of Ezra the scribe" to be seen in some degree as coincidental. In that case, the Chronicler views Ezra's mission to Jerusalem as preceding Nehemiah's in spite of the priority of Nehemiah's name in 12:26. This is the only way that Nehemiah and Ezra's ministries could have overlapped. Therefore, that Meshullam could have been a gatekeeper during the time of Joiakim as well as Nehemiah and Ezra is, if not probable, at least conceivable.

19. A participant who celebrated the rebuilding of Jerusalem's wall in a liturgical procession (Neh 12:33). He is designated as a prince of Judah. Conceivably, an identification is possible with no. 15 above. In neither case is a patronym given, and both cases indicate positions of leadership or influence in society. If Ezra's mission to Jerusalem is dated to 458 B.C., a possible identification with no. 13 above can be suggested. A prince of Judah might well be accorded the privilege of standing on the podium next to a reader of the Torah.

JAMES M. KENNEDY

**MESHULLEMETH** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕšullemet* (מְשֻׁלֶּמֶת)]. Mother of Amon, king of Judah (2 Kgs 21:19). Meshullemeth's name appears in the regnal formula of her son in 2 Kings, but it is missing from the parellel account in 2 Chr 33:21. She is the daughter of Haruz of Jotbah and the first of five queen mothers for whom both the father's name and place of origin are given (cf. also JEDIDAH, HAMUTAL, ZEBIDAH, and NEHUSHTA).

The site of Meshullemeth's hometown, Jotbah, is uncertain. Usually identified as either *at-Taba* (M.R. 139878) N of Aqaba or Yodefat (M.R. 176248) in Galilee, its location is often interpreted as being politically significant. If Meshullemeth came from Galilee, then her marriage may reflect an attempt by Judah to secure N support (Cogan and Tadmor, *2 Kings* 275). If Meshullemeth came from the far S, it is possible she was of Arab or Edomite origin (Montgomery, *Kings* ICC, 521; Gray, *1–2 Kings* OTL, 711). Her marriage might represent a strengthening of diplomatic ties between Judah and Arabia or Edom. In either case, Meshullemeth would be of non-Judean origin and her marriage diplomatically important. But who arranged her marriage, Hezekiah or Manasseh? Traditionally, it is assumed that Meshullemeth's marriage to Manasseh was part of Hezekiah's international policies. This assumption is challenged by Wilcoxen. Translating the term "son" as "grandson," Wildoxen suggests that Amon was the *grandson* of Manasseh. Meshullemeth would then be Manasseh's daughter-in-law instead of his wife (Wilcoxen 1977: 155–56). If this is so, then Meshullemeth's marriage (possibly to the son Manasseh sacrificed) was arranged by Manasseh and represents an intriguing glimpse into his diplomatic activities. See also QUEEN.

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LINDA S. SCHEARING

**MESOPOTAMIA** (PLACE). A Greek word which means " (land) in the midst of the river(s)" and in modern times has come to be interpreted as "the (land) between the (two) rivers," the two rivers being the Tigris and the Euphrates. In the English versions of the Bible the word "Mesopotamia" is used as a

translation of words which are clearly different in meaning from the modern understanding of the word "Mesopotamia."

The word "Mesopotamia" in the English versions of the OT renders the Hebrew word *ʾăram nahărayim,* while in the NT passages it is the same word in Greek—Mesopotamia. The English renditions for the OT are based on the LXX translation, which also uses the Greek word Mesopotamia for the Hebrew. The Aramaic Targums, however, use the expression *Di al perat,* which literally means "that which is upon the Euphrates." Thus, the Targumic versions suggest a geographical location in the region of the Upper Euphrates.

The biblical passages where the English versions use the word "Mesopotamia" seem to confirm this geographical location. In Genesis 24, it is narrated that a servant of Abraham went to the city of Nahor in Mesopotamia to find a wife for Isaac. In Deut 23:5—Eng23:4, there is reference to Balaam of Mesopotamia. In Judg 3:7–11, we read that the Lord delivered the Children of Israel into servitude under CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM, king of Mesopotamia. In 1 Chr 19:6–9, we are told that the Ammonites hired chariots from Aram-Maacah and from Zobah of Mesopotamia in their war with King David. The term Mesopotamia occurs twice in the book of Acts. In Acts 2, "residents of Mesopotamia" are included in the list of peoples of various lands who "were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other tongues." Finally, in Acts 7:2, Stephen declares that God appeared to Abraham in Mesopotamia. From most of the above references it is clear that the geographical location of "Mesopotamia" was not the entire region between the Tigris and the Euphrates but only the area of the Upper Euphrates river in Syria.

There has been considerable debate among modern scholars as to the exact meaning of the Heb *ʾăram nahărayim.* The first element (*ʾăram*) designates what we call Syria and etymologically is related to the ethnic term Aramean. The meaning of the second element (*nahărayim*) is more difficult to determine, but it has been argued by many scholars that this is not a dual meaning, "two rivers," but rather a locative meaning, "riverine land"; that is, "land within the bend of the (Euphrates) river."

As stated at the beginning of this article, the word "Mesopotamia" is modern usage designates the region farther east than that in the Bible and includes all of the territory between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers right down to the Persian Gulf. Formal recognition of this meaning for the word came with British military presence in the region at the time of the breakup of the Ottoman Empire. For the history of ancient Mesopotamia in this larger sense, see MESOPOTAMIA, HISTORY OF.

A. KIRK GRAYSON

**MESOPOTAMIA, HISTORY OF.** In part because the Tigris and Euphrates rivers were homeland to some of the greatest political and military powers in antiquity, much of Mesopotamian history is linked with that of the Bible. This entry, which consists of five separate articles, surveys the history of ancient Mesopotamia. The first article covers the chronology of ancient Mesopotamia. The following two cover the prehistory of Mesopotamia and the 3d millennium B.C. The fourth and fifth articles, respectively, treat the history and culture of Assyria and Babylonia.

### *MESOPOTAMIAN CHRONOLOGY*

The historical reconstruction of the past revolves around a comprehensive knowledge of absolute time and the sequence of known events. Unlike the situation in the modern world, wherein a reasonably accurate digital watch is worn on many a wrist, and where exactly datable events or reasonably precise schedules are commonplace, past processes and events cannot be dated so concisely. As a general rule, dating becomes progressively more complex the further back in time one goes. Whereas ancient historians certainly aspired to know the approximate date that a Babylonian king died or the exact years that an Egyptian pharaoh ruled, written records seldom preserved a king's name or described some "exactly" datable occurrence such as a coronation or a decisive battle. When such information does not exist, dating can only be *relative,* never *absolute* ("exact"). Relative dates are usually based on stratified, and thus sequential, archaeological materials: stone tools, metal tools and artifacts, pottery, figurines, and so on. The premise is that material found in the lowest part of an archaeological excavation, which is sequentially earlier than material accumulated above it, is also *relatively* earlier in time.

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A. Prehistory
B. The Historical Era: 3d–1st Millennia B.C.
C. Sources for Mesopotamian Chronology and History
    1. Overview
    2. The 3d Millennium B.C.
    3. The 2d Millennium B.C.
    4. The 1st Millennium B.C.
D. Conclusion

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**A. Prehistory**

Relative dating is the rule for much of the prehistoric era. Throughout most of the time span that human beings have roamed the earth, they lived as migrant bands that hunted and collected food and other necessities. Their tools were made primarily of stone, less often of other perishable materials such as wood. The long period of time in which rudimentary developments may be traced in stone tool technology is known as the Paleolithic ("Old Stone") Age (about 600,000–15,000 B.C.). The basic hunting-gathering economy—occasionally supplemented by selective use of certain plants and animals—prevailed in the Near East until about 10,000 B.C., when more sustained efforts at plant domestication and animal rearing significantly altered the course of human cultural history.

Changing human needs and the beginnings of food production required a different tool kit; the era from about 9000 to 3000 B.C. has thus been termed the Neolithic ("New Stone") Age. The first permanent settlements appear in the archaeological record at almost the same time. A sedentary way of life supported chiefly by food production, together with the changes it wrought—population growth, the accumulation of goods, loss of mobility—had major consequences for subsequent cultural stages in the ANE. The people who dwelt in those early sedentary communities did not depend exclusively on agriculture, but rather on a mixed-spectrum economy that included hunting and collecting, the herding of goats and sheep, fishing, and the cultivation of wheat and barley. Some sedentary villages were established prior to any sort of successful, sustained domestication: the walled community at Jericho between about 8000 and 7000 B.C., for example, subsisted chiefly on hunting and the intensive gathering of wild grains.

It is difficult to speak authoritatively on the reasons for sedentarization from our remote 10,000-year perspective: archaeologists have offered climatic, environmental, demographic, and technological explanations. Investigations of sedentarization, plant and animal domestication, urbanization, and other Near Eastern cultural developments before the historical period (before the advent of writing around 3000 B.C.) depend entirely on material evidence: bones, seeds, pottery, implements, weapons, art, and architecture.

Absolute dates from certain of these prehistoric materials are based on radiocarbon determinations—precise physical measurements of the decay state of carbon isotope ratios which allow determination of when a particular carbon-containing material (charcoal, bone, shell, etc.) stopped growing (i.e., died). It is thereby possible to assign to the specific archaeological level from which the radiocarbon-analyzed material was recovered an approximate absolute date (approximate because the computation must allow for a statistical counting error—plus or minus a number of years—that can be quite high). Dendrochronological ("tree-ring") calibration of radiocarbon-derived dates suggests that they deviate increasingly from actual calendar dates: from a 200-year error around 1000 B.C. up to a 900-year error around 5000 B.C. Although calibration curves are designed to transform a radiocarbon age or measurement into an actual calendar date, the limits of these curves currently do not extend earlier than the 6th millennium B.C.

**B. The Historical Era: 3d –1st Millennia B.C.**

By the end of the 4th millennium B.C., certain social elements in prehistoric Mesopotamia adopted writing (cuneiform), chiefly to keep records for their burgeoning economies. In nearby N Syria, by the mid-3d millennium B.C., scribes at Ebla had also begun to use Mesopotamia's cuneiform script to keep

track of their wide-ranging economic affairs. With the advent of writing, the prehistoric period of the Near East increasingly becomes elucidated by an ethnohistoric, documentary record. The use of writing prompted remarkable, sociocultural innovations in 3d-millennium B.C. Mesopotamia and Syria. The scribal profession in Mesopotamia—where writing became something of an art—assumed unique importance by the teaching of the skills of communication in the cuneiform script, which served as the medium for the transmission and preservation of economic, legal, literary, and religious information, and for the maintenance of Mesopotamian culture.

For the historical era, there exist long lists of actual year names, king lists, historical chronicles, building inscriptions, and other written records—often based on or mentioning astronomical observations—that allow *absolute* dating. Yet it must be borne in mind that, for much of Mesopotamian history, accurate dates B.C. are hard to come by; sources often seem to contradict one another. More recent dates are almost always more accurate and have a lower margin of error.

**C. Sources for Mesopotamian Chronology and History**

**1. Overview.** Named after an annually appointed official, the Assyrian *limmu* ("eponym") lists make it possible to date events quite precisely back to 910 B.C. Earlier Assyrian *limmu* lists and Babylonian king lists allow us to date particular events or more general epochs during the 2d millennium B.C. within a margin of about ten years. Attempts at absolute dating in the surrounding regions (Syria-Palestine, Anatolia, Cyprus and the Aegean, Iran) require synchronization with episodes in Mesopotamia (or Egypt), where more secure chronologies have been established.

Observations of the planetary movements of Venus, possible only once in a 56- or 64-year cycle, have been recorded on the Babylonian "Venus Tablets." Although these tablets provide astronomical dates for the period prior to 1450 B.C., unfortunately they offer a series of possible dates rather than an agreed-upon single date: scholars still dispute which of three possible cycles these "Venus Tablets" refer to. Consequently, historians of the ANE must choose between three separate chronologies for 2d-millennium B.C. Babylonia: the high (the astronomical evidence presented by Huber is compelling), the middle, or the low (the low chronology finds few supporters). Although Babylonia's internal and relative chronology has been established reasonably well on the basis of year names, relative events are difficult to pinpoint in a secure, absolute dating system. Whereas the middle chronology is the most widely accepted and frequently used, in fact it provides only a compromise solution to a very complex problem. The relative sequence of events, nonetheless, offers a useful framework for the assessment of sociohistorical and sociocultural development and change.

Relative dating is well established from the 16th century B.C. back to the 24th century B.C. (the reign of Sargon and the Akkadian Dynasty). Two "historical" gaps of unknown duration occur during these 800 years, the earlier being about 2200 B.C., the latter about 1600 B.C. Although various cuneiform documents record the succession of kings and the length of their reigns, specific incidents and even entire eras remain unanchored in *absolute* time. Before 2400 B.C. in Mesopotamia, only approximate dates are possible: time estimations are derived from purely archaeological evidence, from paleographic data (the evolution of the cuneiform script in its earliest stages), and by all-too-few radiocarbon dates.

The chronology of Mesopotamia and that of much of the remainder of the ANE (especially Syria-Palestine) has been linked extensively to Egyptian *absolute* dating. During the historic period (post–3000 B.C.), written sources for dating in Egypt are similar to those found in Mesopotamia: king lists, royal annals, and biographic treatises. A "History of Egypt," written in Greek during the 3d century B.C. by an Egyptian priest (Manetho), was almost certainly compiled from some of the same lists that present-day historians use to reconstruct ancient Egyptian chronology. Although absolute dating in the earlier time periods, as in Mesopotamia, inspires less confidence, overall the period from about 330 B.C. back to 945 B.C. is reliably dated on the basis of astronomical observations, synchronisms, and the historically well dated reigns of certain pharaohs.

For the period from about 1550 to 1050 B.C., both a high and a low chronology have been postulated on the basis of astronomical observations of the Sothic star (Eg *Sepedet*, our Sirius). Noting the precise moment that this star appeared was critically important to the ancient Egyptians because it demarcated the

start of their agricultural year: the annual rise of the river Nile (from melting snows in the Ethiopian and African highlands far to the south) more or less coincided with the heliacal (predawn) rising of Sothis on the horizon. Three chronologies result from the disagreement among Egyptologists over the location where these ancient observations took place. Either it occurred in the north, near Memphis (high chronology), in the south, near Thebes (middle chronology), or even farther south, at Elephantine (low chronology). Even if this dispute could be settled, the internal dating of some pharaohs' reigns is complicated by the possibility of coregencies (and thus overlaps in different reigns). Nonetheless, the margin of error for the period 1550–1050 B.C. is only a matter of 10–30 years, much less than the 120-year discrepancy in Mesopotamia.

Sesostris III, who ruled during the 19th century B.C., has a Sothic date recorded for his reign. Working backward from Sesostris, however, dating becomes increasingly uncertain because no further "fixed" points (like a Sothic date) are available to which one could attach a well-known, relatively dated sequence of events. As in Mesopotamia, archaeology, paleography, and artistic style provide at best a broad range of possibilities. Important refinements in radiocarbon-based dates for Egypt are limited chiefly to the 3d millennium B.C.

**2. The 3d Millennium B.C.** Mesopotamian history is divided into periods characterized by significant changes in society, economy, politics, and culture. The course of Mesopotamian history, although characterized by a recurrent trend toward local rule, was punctuated repeatedly by political systems of great organizational complexity that aimed for extensive dominion throughout the Near East. Local rule is best exemplified by Mesopotamia's most resilient sociopolitical institution: the city-state. Political control by individual city-states typified the Sumerian dynasties of the early 3d millennium B.C.

These first recorded dynasties were ruling families in various cities that passed political power from one generation to the next. As a result, the time span from about 2900 to 2350 B.C. is known as the Early Dynastic (ED) period. The chronology of this period is based primarily on archaeological data derived from excavations in the Diyala region, which can be employed only rarely to illuminate known political events. Although writing increasingly fulfilled economic, ideological, and administrative needs, archaeological excavation has provided only a limited corpus of textual evidence, and material data therefore remain central to historical interpretation. Nonetheless, such archaeological and documentary sources as exist portray ED Mesopotamian culture more clearly than that of any prehistoric period.

The main written sources for the Early Dynastic period are the following: (1) numerous cuneiform tablets from the cities of Ur, Lagash, Kish, and Shurrupak; (2) an important collection of literary tablets from Tell Abu Salabikh; and (3) detailed royal inscriptions from Lagash. The Sumerian King List, composed early in the 2d millennium B.C., offers an important outline of the political history of Sumer and Akkad from prehistoric times; it becomes increasingly plausible as it approaches the period of its compilation. Despite its value for reconstructing Mesopotamian history, the King List is misleading in that it treats overlapping and contemporaneous city-state dynasties as successive. The remote past was difficult to render accurately, even for the conscientious chroniclers of the Sumerian King List.

With the advent of the Akkadian and Ur III dynasties during the latter half of the 3d millennium B.C., the Mesopotamian political structure shifted from localized city-state rule to territorial, nation-state rule. Dominance by the temple or city-state gave way to national monarchy, and territorial expansion became the operative goal. The task of controlling more extensive areas required administrative innovation, and here the Akkadian achievement was considerable. The Akkadians replaced the Sumerian system of diversified, local autonomy with a centralized state focused upon the king and his court at Akkad.

Different ideological and economic traditions governed the two peoples: the Sumerians' long tradition of temple and communal ownership was replaced by both royal and private ownership of land. Yet ethnic antagonism was purposefully minimized, and the Akkadians adopted the Sumerian cuneiform script to write their own Semitic language, newly dominant in Mesopotamia. Akkadians and Sumerians were two different peoples who spoke two different languages, but the prevailing culture was neither Sumerian nor Akkadian; it was overwhelmingly Mesopotamian.

In the style of most Sumerian kings, the dynastic rulers of Akkad commemorated their exploits in dedicatory inscriptions lodged at the temple of Enlil at Nippur. Although the originals still elude us, they were copied meticulously by devoted scribes: the tablets that survive are our main source for the history of the Akkadian era. These dedicatory inscriptions are supplemented by literary texts (e.g., "The Curse of Agade") and by later written documents, including the Sumerian King List. The epic tales of Sargon and his grandson Naram-Sin—the best known rulers of the Akkadian period—were written much later and mix fact with fiction. Archaeological evidence for this period is still sparse and leaves a decisive gap in our knowledge: the location of Agade—the capital city of Sargon and his successors—is still far from certain.

According to the Sumerian King List, after the fall of Akkad the city-state of Ur established dominion over Mesopotamia for the third time; consequently, its kings are known as the Ur III dynasty. Political stability returned to Mesopotamia, and in its wake followed the revival of Sumerian art, literature, and law (the so-called Sumerian Renaissance). Primary written sources for this period are abundant. Economic documents from administrative centers like Umma (near Lagash) and Puzrish-Dagan (near Nippur) number in the tens of thousands. In contrast to the scant archaeological evidence of the Akkadian period, the extensive construction projects of the Ur III rulers may be witnessed in most major Mesopotamian cities of the late 3d millennium B.C.

Although Sumerian again became the official language of the land, the concept of a Sumerian versus an Akkadian cultural identity is irrelevant. Traditional Sumerian literature was preserved, and hymns glorifying the ruler in the act of addressing the gods were composed. But the grandeur of the Sargonic state had become integrated into a broader Mesopotamian worldview, and Ur III kings adopted the titles of the Akkadian kings. Ur-Nammu, founder of the Ur III dynasty, claimed the title "King of Sumer and Akkad," and thus officially acknowledged Mesopotamia's composite origins: Sumerian and Akkadian culture were fused into one Mesopotamian civilization.

**3. The 2d Millennium B.C.** The term Mesopotamia refers not only to the culture of the Tigris-Euphrates region but also to the geographic region demarcated by the two rivers. During the 2d millennium B.C., Mesopotamia became divided into two historically important geopolitical regions: Babylonia and Assyria. Because the city of Babylon only became a significant political force early in the 2d millennium B.C., the geographic term Babylonia should not be used to refer to earlier time periods. For the 2d and 1st millennia B.C., the N and NE sectors of "Mesopotamia" may also be referred to as Assyria, the S sector as Babylonia. The two parts are divided by the Gebel Ḥamrīn ("Red Mountain"), a low-lying mountain ridge that extends southeastward from the Assyrian capital city of Ashur to the Diyala River basin.

Historical sources multiply greatly during the 2d millennium B.C. Thousands of cuneiform tablets have been excavated in Babylonia, N Syria, and Anatolia (Turkey). King lists from Isin, Larsa, Ashur, and Babylon, and lists of date formulae—whereupon each year of a king's reign was given a name—provide synchronisms as well as a useful chronological framework. From Babylon and Ashur in Mesopotamia, Mari and Alalakh in Syria, and Kanesh and Ḫattusha in Anatolia come international treaties, letters, accounts, contracts, and legal documents that illuminate the period between 1900 and 1600 B.C. like few others in ANE history. For the period of Kassite rule in Babylonia (about 1600–1200 B.C.), source materials become scarce; fewer than a thousand tablets have been published, although thousands more exist in museum collections.

The widespread, albeit insecure, political coalitions forged by Shamshi-Adad of Assyria (ca. 1813–1781) and Ḫammurapi of Babylonia (ca. 1792–1750) resulted in two extensive and partly contemporaneous territorial states. Emulating the Akkadian and Ur III dynasties, these two rulers sought to acquire territory and to secure the constant flow of vital raw materials into the bountiful but resource-barren alluvial plain of Mesopotamia. This re-emergence of forcefully unified nation-states in Assyria and Babylonia may be attributed chiefly to the great military and administrative capabilities and the charismatic qualities of Shamshi-Adad and Ḫammurapi. Although both rulers failed to establish an enduring national state, the political power and cultural tradition in ancient Mesopotamia henceforth

centered on these two polities. Even the later Kassites, who built their own fortress-city near Babylon, maintained the latter as their political, commercial, and religious center.

Historical and cultural developments in neighboring Syria-Palestine between 2000 and 1500 B.C. have been reconstructed largely through reference to Babylonian or Egyptian documentary sources; cuneiform texts from Mari, Ugarit, or Alalakh illuminate events chiefly in N Syria. During these centuries, Amorite influence and domination expanded throughout the Levant and extended into the Egyptian Delta. Although other political crosscurrents dashed hopes of overall unity, individual Levantine city-states prospered as international trading contacts blossomed. The coastal position and port cities of the Levant (e.g., Ugarit, Byblos, Tyre) helped to make that area the commercial crossroads of the ANE by about 1500 B.C. Although the area also became a military battleground for its more powerful neighbors, local political control in Syria-Palestine was enriched by lucrative international trade. The most important cultural contribution of the area in the mid-2d millennium B.C. was the creation of an alphabet—a writing system that would replace the more complex and unwieldy Mesopotamian cuneiform and Egyptian hieroglyphic systems, and eventually be adopted the world over.

The fluctuating political fortunes of myriad Near Eastern states between about 1500 and 1200 B.C. can only be understood in an international context. Cuneiform letters found at Amarna in Egypt are international diplomatic documents, and similar texts sprang up at sites all over ancient W Asia. For the first time, and with lasting consequences, Egypt shared this international stage with the powerful states of Babylonia and Assyria and the Hittite kingdom in Anatolia. Whereas Cyprus and the Bronze Age cultures of the Aegean (the Minoans and Mycenaeans) played key roles in international trade within the E Mediterranean system, the scarcity of detailed and comprehensive written sources from those quarters means that their political and economic relationship to Near Eastern states can only be established archaeologically.

The complex interaction and shifting balance of power among all of these LB Age states and kingdoms impinged significantly upon the Levant. The positive impact of international trade and politics on the Levantine city-states, however, was balanced and ultimately offset by internal social change and population dynamics. These international and local events are highlighted by the above-mentioned Amarna Letters, one of the most significant finds of cuneiform tablets ever made. Discovered in 1887 at Akhenaten's capital in Middle Egypt, the Amarna Letters provide unparalleled insight into international diplomacy and commercial contact during the 14th century B.C. With few exceptions, the tablets may be dated to the reigns of Amenophis III or IV (Akhenaten). Forty-two of the approximately 380 tablets retrieved were letters exchanged between the pharaoh and the kings of Babylonia, Assyria, Mitanni (the Hurrians), Hittite Anatolia, Arzawa (a small state in Anatolia), and Cyprus.

Several Amarna documents list lavish gifts exchanged between royal courts. Envoys were entrusted with delicate political and diplomatic missions as well as the safe conduct of great riches. The immense variety and quantity of goods, and the frequency of such exchanges, suggest that what is described was not just the exchange of royal gifts but the basic mechanism of trade between Egypt and its neighbors: messengers were merchants as well as ambassadors. Despite strong foreign influence in the Levant at this time, the Amarna Letters and other cuneiform sources convey the impression that local dynasts effectively governed most Syro-Palestinian city-states. The Amarna Letters—the single most important source for interpreting internal politics during the mid-2d millennium B.C.—imply that the Syrian state of Amurru formed a successful, independent political movement based on popular support.

The Amarna archives also describe an omnipresent, socially restive group of people who spread throughout the Near East during the 2d millennium B.C.: the *Ḫapiru.* The fact that one could "become a Ḫapiru "—as the Amarna Letters state frequently—implies a lack of kinship or political ties; indeed, the *Ḫapiru* seem to include groups of differing ethnic composition, expatriate fugitives from various city-states and tribal communities. Some *Ḫapiru* served as mercenaries; others formed independent communal or semitribal organizations on the borders of settled areas, often in the hill and forest country of Syria-Palestine. Subject to no legal authority, the *Ḫapiru* endured on the outskirts of urban centers, where they maintained a fragile independence. The historical relationship between the social term *Ḫapiru* and the

ethnic term "Hebrew" finds several defenders. Although the *Ḫapiru* were too broad and mixed a social group to be considered direct ancestors of the Hebrews, it is not improbable that some Hebrews were to be found among the *Ḫapiru.* Both were people without a homeland, members of an inferior class often feared and held in contempt by sedentary populations.

By the end of the LB Age (13th–12th centuries B.C.), a sequence of population movements, invasions, and destructions altered forever the essentially cooperative international relations that had been enjoyed by major and minor political states alike throughout much of the 2d millennium B.C. A combination of demographic, economic, climatic, and military factors accounts for the subsequent disorder throughout the Mediterranean.

**4. The 1st Millennium B.C.** Under the Assyrian kings of the first millennium B.C. and their Persian successors, the Mesopotamian trend toward organizational complexity and territorial expansion reached its peak. Local rule by city-states or more extensive rule by territorial states gave way to a highly centralized direct rule by empire. Starting around 1300 B.C. in Mesopotamia, the annals of the Assyrian kings—often regarded as proper historiographic documents—record basic geographic and tactical information about military campaigns. These annals also assign and criticize motives, appraise political events and individuals, and generalize about foreign peoples and lands.

Source materials for the 1st millennium B.C. are extensive; the annals of the Assyrian rulers and other royal inscriptions (Assyrian and Babylonian); hymns and paeans of praise (archives from Nineveh, Ashur, Kalhu, and Babylon); the *limmu* lists (already mentioned), which identify the regnal years of most Neo-Assyrian kings and occasionally refer to a campaign or a disaster that occurred during a particular year; dedicatory inscriptions of both Assyrian and Babylonian potentates, which praise the deeds and achievements of kings and gods alike; Babylonian chronicles that detail episodes (battles, treaties, deaths in the royal family) in a variation on the annalistic theme. Several Old Persian (cuneiform) inscriptions (some monumental in form) document selected events from the reigns of several Achaemenid rulers in Persia. The (mostly unpublished) astronomical diaries of Babylonia record—on a daily basis—death, plagues, and other calamities, exclusively as an appendix to the observation of planetary movements.

During the reign of the early Chaldean ("Neo-Babylonian") king Nabonassar (747–734 B.C.), certain events began to be recorded precisely and astronomical observations were noted accurately. The Greeks would later recognize Nabonassar's rule as pivotal in the development of science: the Gk word *Chaldean* came to mean "astronomer." An astronomical series of omens (entitled MUL.APIN—dated about 700 B.C. but based on earlier material) records the movements of the moon and planets. Although this series and other early efforts of Babylonian astronomy were somewhat superficial, after about 700 B.C. systematic stellar observations generated data that were calculated accurately enough to predict solstices, equinoxes, eclipses, and other planetary phenomena.

Chaldean astronomers also sorted out an elaborate, mathematical time-keeping system based on the number 60 (sexagesimal); ultimately this led to the division of hours and minutes still in use today. Because each Babylonian month began with the sighting of the new (crescent) moon, astronomers had to be able to predict this event accurately. Astronomers in the 3d and 2d centuries B.C., therefore, composed ephemerides that calculated and predicted new moons, eclipses, and other planetary and lunar movements. The rules for such calculations were outlined in accompanying documents called "procedure texts." Modern astronomers rank the methods developed by their Babylonian precursors to calculate the movements of the moon among the highest achievements of ancient science. It must be added that religious motives were predominant in Babylonian astronomy: the heavens were mapped and the ephemerides composed in order to elicit divine intentions.

The appearances of astrological omens based on astronomical observations date from the very beginning of the 2d millennium B.C., and were later grouped in series (e.g., *Enūma Anu Enlil*). The earliest-known systematic astronomical observations (of the planet Venus) date from the Old Babylonian (OB) period (18th–17th centuries B.C.). Intended to serve as a basis for omens, these "Venus Tablets" (discussed earlier) were not highly accurate but maintain a significant role in determining the chronology of the 2d millennium B.C. By the 7th century B.C., more accurate astronomical observations led to the

development of a fairly precise calendar. Because the Babylonian month was lunar, each year comprised only 354 days; approximately every third year an extra month had to be inserted to bring the lunar calendar into line with the solar year. By the reign of the Chaldean king Nabu-Naṣir (757 B.C.), a regular, mathematically derived intercalation of seven months every nineteen years had been established. Known as the Metonic Cycle, this calendar served as the basis of the later Jewish and Christian religious calendars.

While the aims of the astronomers were religious, their methods were genuinely scientific, and their computations became instrumental in the invention of horoscopic astrology and the zodiac. At first, astrological omens were interpreted only with reference to the future of the country and its ruler. Horoscopic astrology, however, necessitated some technique whereby celestial phenomena could be related to individuals; that technique was the zodiac. By the 5th century B.C., the zodiacal belt had been divided into twelve zodiacal signs of 30 degrees each, a reformulation inspired by the schematic division of the year into twelve 30-day months (used in the 7th-century B.C. mul.apin text). Although Hellenistic Greeks were once credited with developing horoscopic astrology, the earliest-known Greek horoscope is dated 62 B.C.; the first-known Babylonian example was cast for a child born 29 April, 410 B.C., and at least four other examples are known from the 3d century B.C.

The division of the hour into minutes originated in Babylonia, but the division of the day into hours reflects both Babylonian and Egyptian influences. The Egyptians divided the period from sunrise to sunset into twelve parts, unequal because the length of the "hours" depended on the season of the year. Babylonian days consisted of twelve "double hours," each of which contained sixty "double minutes." Babylonian astronomers ultimately divided the entire day and night into six parts of equal and constant length for computational and observational purposes. Hellenistic astronomers adopted this subdivision of day and night into equal parts, and further divided the twelve double hours into twenty-four units. This division was comparable to that of the Egyptians, except that each unit now had equal length; and so the twenty-four-hour day came into being.

**D. Conclusion**

The science of astronomy directly influenced astrology, certain mathematical computations, and even the subdivision of the hour and day. Astronomy is Babylonia's most direct legacy and the only branch of ancient science to have survived the collapse of the Roman Empire.

The people of ancient Mesopotamia exhibited little sense of history as it is understood today. Royal annals and king lists served to glorify rulers or to legitimize their rule; year-dates were bureaucratic records, nothing more. Only by linking such "historical" records to more "neutral" events—e.g., the observance and registry of certain planets—is it possible to provide absolute B.C. calendar dates.

The attempt to synchronize specific happenings in diverse areas—especially in Syria-Palestine or Cyprus where finds of written records are quite limited—is a complex and arduous task that demands a high level of competence in diverse fields (archaeology, Assyriology, and astronomy, to mention but a few). Given such a situation, historians of the ANE can only offer what seems to be a plausible reconstruction of events, founded on detailed research into a variety of cultural materials. The resultant historical scenarios are tentative and will have to be readjusted and rewritten as more archaeological and documentary evidence accumulates.

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A. BERNARD KNAPP

## *PREHISTORY OF MESOPOTAMIA*

Southwest Asia must necessarily have been traversed by early people moving between Africa, Europe, and the Far East. To date, the earliest archaeological site with evidence of economic and social organization is that at ʿUbeidiyah in the valley of the Jordan river. When the site was occupied (about 800,000 years ago), the region was a humid steppe with a range of large herbivores. In the successive levels of this site were found varying proportions of chipped stone tools such as scrapers, utilized flakes, choppers, and rough bifaces, perhaps indicating variations in foraging activities (Bar-Yosef 1989). Occasional surface finds of such tools in the Tigris-Euphrates region indicate that such sites must also exist there (Smith 1986).

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A. The First Mesopotamians: The Paleolithic Foragers
B. The First Villagers and the First Steps Toward Animal Domestication
C. Developed Village Societies of the 8th Millennium B.C.
D. The Impact of Irrigation on the Tigris-Euphrates Floodplain
E. The First Hierarchical Societies of the Early 6th Millennium B.C.
F. Developed Hierarchical Societies of the 5th Millennium B.C.
G. The First States of the 4th Millennium B.C.

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### A. The First Mesopotamians: The Paleolithic Foragers

It is only for the last glacial age, less than 100,000 years ago, that there is even a fragmentary archaeological record for foraging peoples in the valleys of the Zagros mountains bordering the

Mesopotamian lowlands. The Middle Paleolithic Mousterian technologies, used until about 40,000 years ago, were based on amorphous stone flakes and produced expedient tools whose shape was apparently dictated by relatively simple handles and repeated resharpening. The people who used these technologies successfully hunted wild goats, cattle, and red deer (Hole and Flannery 1967).

Though the succeeding Upper Paleolithic peoples used a technology based on prismatic blades struck from carefully prepared cores and produced a range of standardized tools, there is no evidence that Upper Paleolithic peoples were more successful as hunters. Though we have bone tools from the earlier Baradostian assemblages (dating about 40,000 to 20,000 years ago) and both these and grinding stones from the later Zarzian assemblages (dating about 20,000 to 11,000 years ago), the Zagros sites have yielded no direct evidence of the more elaborated clothing or increased use of plant foods reported from other areas. Similarly, there is little evidence of social or ritual organization. This dearth is surely a result of the lack of recent fieldwork on Paleolithic sites in Mesopotamia (Smith 1986).

**B. The First Villagers and the First Steps Toward Animal Domestication**

By the end of the glacial period, the Zagros and Taurus foothills had not only the wild ancestors of goats, sheep, cattle, and pig but also stands of wild barley and einkorn wheat, which grew amidst the oak and pistachio forests as they proliferated in the warmer and more humid early postglacial climate (H. E. Wright 1976). It seems unlikely that the final Paleolithic peoples, those who used the microblade Zarzian technologies, would ignore such resources, but the evidence is slim. Our earliest evidence of extensive plant use is from village sites well south of the foothills along the Middle Euphrates of what is now Syria.

Here, at the sites of Mureybit and Abu Hureya, dating during the 10th millennium B.C. (Moore 1979), were seasonal settlements of perhaps 40 houses, at first oval but later with rectangular rooms, with associated grain-parching ovens and grain-storage facilities. The exploited grain was an einkorn wheat (*Triticum monococcum*), which retained the ability of wild plants to freely disperse seed (Flannery 1973); but the quantities of sickles present on the sites indicate that grain, whether wild or maintained by human cultivation, was systematically harvested. All animal bones discarded in these villages, however, were from hunted wild forms.

The first indications of the human manipulation of wild animals are sheep bones from the Zagros mountain cave of Shanidar. This site is outside of the normal range of sheep, and had been used for millennia by goat hunters. The herding of sheep in no way different from wild sheep (*Ovis aries*) at Shanidar is dated to the 10th millennium B.C. (Perkins 1964). Dating to the mid-9th millennium, and also located in the high Zagros, Ganj Darreh was a small hamlet of rectangular houses with evidence of the herding of goats little different from wild goats (*Capra hircus*) in the form of young goat bones (and even tracks imprinted in mud surfaces) and stocks of dung (Smith 1978).

We do not yet know exactly when and under what conditions the early experiments with grains and animals were combined to form a mutually reinforcing system of plant and animal domestication (Hole 1984), but there is evidence of this about 8500 B.C. (7500 b.c.) at sites such as Ali Kosh in the S Zagros foothills (Flannery 1969) and Cayonu in the Taurus foothills (Braidwood et al. 1981). All of these earliest villages in greater Mesopotamia are marked by small house complexes with a few rooms showing little variation from house to house. This pattern, coupled with the occurrence of burials in which only a few ornaments and personal items are found with some adults, implies that the first farmers had relatively egalitarian social patterns. The occasional occurrence of rare materials such as obsidian, turquoise, sea shells, and cold-hammered native copper in various sites far from their sources indicates that these scattered communitities were connected by reciprocal exchanges of gifts (Renfrew and Dixon 1976).

**C. Developed Village Societies of the 8th Millennium B.C.**

Whatever the social patterns of the first sedentary villages of the Near East, it has long been clear that by about 8000 B.C. (7000 B.C.), at least in the Levant and Anatolia, settlement systems indicate social differentiation. In contrast to the smaller village communities were larger communities such as Tell es-Sultan (Jericho) in the Jordan valley and Cayonu in the Taurus foothills near the Tigris' headwaters. By the end of the millennium, even larger sites such as ʿAin Ghazal in the hills of Transjordan (Rollefson and Simmons 1987) and Çatal Hüyük in central Anatolia (Mellaart 1967; Todd 1976) had emerged. These

larger settlements have evidence of community labor in public construction; diverse production activities, including indications that some people specialized in craft production; seemingly larger quantities of discarded exotic goods gained in exchange; and much evidence of shrines and social ritual activity. So far as one can tell, however, there was neither differentiation in household wealth beyond what is expected from personal achievement nor indications of the inheritance of social status in the mortuary evidence from these sites.

**D. The Impact of Irrigation on the Tigris-Euphrates Floodplain**

A transformation in food production is manifest in the middle reaches of the Tigris and Euphrates valleys shortly after 7000 B.C. (6000 B.C.). Dry farming—the cultivation of wheat (*Triticum sp.*), barley (*Hordeum sp.*), and pulses with the naturally available resources of rainfall and soils and the herding of goats (*Capra sp.*), sheep (*Ovis sp.*), and, in favored areas, pigs (*Sus sp.*) and cows (*Bos sp.*)—had been pushed beyond the limits of dependable rainfall, as indicated by the massive storage facilities of sites such as Umm Dabaghiyah in the Jazirah of Iraq, south of the 250-mm isohyet (Kirkbride 1973). In a few settlements east and south of the Jazirah along the middle reaches of the Euphrates and the Tigris, communities of the Samarran culture, we find direct evidence of irrigation farming. Forms of barley and bread wheat, which are better suited to the water-rich situation provided by irrigation, and larger seeded versions of oil-rich flax, thought to be produced only with irrigation, are attested at a number of sites. A small canal has been sectioned near the Samarran and post-Samarran village of Chogha Mami (Oates and Oates 1976). Evidence of the keeping of cows regularly occurs with that of the still-predominant sheep and goats in Samarran faunal assemblages, a practice effective only in the harsh summer heat of Mesopotamia if the cows have shade trees, which must also be irrigated. Cows could have been used to plow soils, though this is not directly attested before 4500 B.C., and they could have been used to increase supplies of milk products, a change suggested by the diversification of large open bowls, but also not directly attested (Flannery 1969). Whether the use of bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum)* and milk products also implies the use of domesticated microorganisms to produce such foods as yogurt, cheeses, and beer is another possibility which has not yet been demonstrated. However, the documented changes alone indicate that food production had been fundamentally transformed, establishing patterns of diet which would predominate until rice, chickens, and water buffalo were introduced around the 1st millennium B.C.

Such changes in production might lead some to predict that the changes would result in the development of managerial roles and social inequality. There were definite changes in community organization, though not as many as one might expect. Most striking is the appearance of larger houses with a central hall, flanking which were a number of domestic apartments, workrooms, and storerooms (Roaf 1985). Certainly, the nuclear-family units of the early villages were being replaced by extended-family units, with a larger work force better suited to the tasks of small-scale irrigation (Flannery 1972). There is, however, no indication that any of these houses was significantly larger or more substantial than others in the community until the post-Samarran period. The one substantial mortuary series, that from Tell es-Sewwan, has almost exclusively the interments of children with marked variations in contributed objects (el-Wailly and Behnam 1965). However, this evidence can be interpreted in several ways. In sum, though the new food-production economy seems to have had an impact on family organization, there is no definite evidence that the egalitarian social patterns of early village society had been replaced by patterns of rank inequality.

Samarran agricultural and community patterns became established in both alluvial S Mesopotamia, an area where only irrigation agriculture and marsh or river collecting are possible, and SW Iran, where dry farming also can be practiced. Whether this was a result of the budding off and migration eastward of communities from the Samarran heartland or the diffusion of production practices to extant communities is still being debated. In contrast, in N Mesopotamia, though the Samarran communities had an impact on patterns of craft and style, there is no evidence of changes from early village patterns of plant and animal use or of small houses, and we have no reason to believe that farming or social organization changed greatly in the north.

**E. The First Hierarchical Societies of the Early 6th Millennium B.C.**

Societies which symbolized a modest degree of social inequality, with evidence of hierarchy at both the community and regional levels, are widely attested by about 5700 B.C. (5000 B.C.). Two distinct cultural spheres marked by different styles of display ceramics—broadly termed "Halaf" in N Mesopotamia and "Hajji Muhammed" in S Mesopotamia—can be characterized. If the delayed effects of irrigation on management, wealth, and social control were important in the emergence of hierarchy, we would expect such patterns of inequality to be more developed in S Mesopotamia. Though the evidence is poorer for the far south, we can assess this expectation.

Halaf ceramic styles had spread from the Mediterranean to the Diyala valley, at the edge of S Mesopotamia, by the early 6th millennium. Communities with these ceramics are also found in the Taurus and Zagros mountains, even on the shores of Lake Van. In the core region of the N Mesopotamian steppes, Halafian settlement systems are characterized by a few more elaborate centers and many undistinguished villages and camps. The documentation of modern fieldwork by British, Dutch, Iraqi, Soviet, and U.S. teams, when fully published, will enhance our knowledge of these systems. At present, the new work appears to reinforce the conclusions of Watson (1983) that the centers had shrines, differentiated residences, and associated workshops and that some families in these centers made greater use of both exotic materials, such as obsidian, and the products of Halafian specialists, such as finely crafted and decorated ceramics and stone ornaments. In contrast, the villages and camps had only modest residences and storage structures and limited access to display goods. Quantitative data on the by-products of food production have been published primarily for these smaller settlements, and thus it is difficult to assess questions of differential access to foodstuffs, though we do know that there was much variation in the basic patterns of dry farming, with hunting more important in some communities, pig husbandry more important in others, and so on. The evidence of funerals and other mortuary activity in the Halaf heartland remains limited, but at least some burials of adults and children appear to have had burial programs with redundant symbolic markers, suggesting that the more important families in the centers were ascribed their higher rank. Studies of settlement patterns indicate that the settlement clusters with their single level of emergent hierarchy were small (Oates 1980), with populations of 500 or more.

Hajji Muhammed styles mark display ceramics, typically the same larger open bowls important in Halaf assemblages, in several local systems in S Iraq and SW Iran, as well as in littorine settlements along the shores of the Persian Gulf. Though less well known than that of Halaf settlements, there is evidence of centers with both elaborate and modest architecture (Lloyd and Safar 1981) in contrast to smaller villages (Stronach 1961); and there is evidence that the elaborately decorated bowls were made in specialized shops and used more commonly by the occupants of the elaborate central buildings than by villagers (Wright 1981: 323–25). Limited faunal samples indicate that irrigation agriculture was complemented by cattle husbandry, hunting, and fishing, but quantitative information is limited. There is no mortuary information.

In brief, our present knowledge of the early 6th-millennium communities in lowland Mesopotamia suggests that similar social patterns were dependent upon very different patterns of food production. The social requisites for cooperation and the political potential for coercion inherent in irrigation were perhaps minor in the very small canal systems used in S Mesopotamia until after the rise of the first states. What, then, might explain the development of simple regional hierarchies and, perhaps, elementary ascriptive rank? One possibility, discussed years ago by Adams (1966: 48–50), is certainly conformable with such new evidence as is available from both the N and the S spheres. This is the differentiation in the bases of family wealth that arises from the stable productivity created even by small-scale irrigation, as well as from the reproductive potential of cattle herds and the bounty produced by organized marsh exploitation. Some families would thus have a heritable capacity to sustain dependents, give gifts, and acquire wives. Another possibility, regional rather than local in import, are the temptations for raiding raised by the increasing social differences between herders and cultivators that agricultural diversification would encourage (Lees and Bates 1974), and the related need for the formation of alliances between community leaders. This could, in turn, explain the broad distribution of ceramic styles associated with centers. Such

propositions can only be evaluated with data from regional sequences that cover post-Samarran and early Halaf developments of the late 7th millennium, and such data are not yet available.

**F. Developed Hierarchical Societies of the 5th Millennium B.C.**

By 4600 B.C. (3800 B.C.), the lowlands of the Tigris-Euphrates drainage were occupied by communities participating in two new stylistic traditions, but within both of these spheres there were societies which appear to have differed in hierarchical complexity. Throughout the Tigris and Euphrates valleys, strictly speaking, and extending to the Syrian littoral of the Mediterranean, communities decorated their ceramics, and no doubt other goods, in the bold geometric style termed "ʿUbaid." In the Karun drainage and throughout the S Zagros and adjacent Iranian plateau, communities utilized the finely drafted and more naturalistic late "Susiana" styles. Local styles were used in the N Zagros and adjacent Anatolian and Iranian plateaus.

In SE Mesopotamia—what is now S Iraq and SW Iran—communities participating in both ʿUbaid and Susiana style spheres developed large centers, covering more than 10 hectares, with raised central areas or containing shrines, large residences, and storage facilities; modest residences are found around the raised areas. Surrounding these were smaller village- and hamlet-sized settlements whose access to the main center was mediated by smaller centers. Settlement sizes indicate that up to 12,000 people may have been united under a single center. In at least the latest of the Susiana societies (Wright 1986: 326–31), the evidence indicates that only one tenth of the seals, those with relatively complex designs, were used to authorize the closure of more than half of the stored goods. If the sealing and storage evidence argues for tribute collection by regional authorities, the occurrence of lesser quantities of centrally made fine ceramics at smaller settlements indicates the distribution of prestigious goods to local figures. Both these ceramics and some public architecture share some of the design iconography of the complex seals, probably a manifestation of an ideology of rank (ibid.), which would justify the collection of tribute for the benefit of a segregated elite. The evidence argues for something more than rank differences with local kin groups. These societies may have had emergent nobilities with two and sometimes three levels of control hierarchy. While the same kind of settlement differences occur among later ʿUbaid communities in S Iraq (Wright 1981: 325–26), we lack the evidence of seals and sealings, there is no more complex elite iconography, and the extant mortuary evidence shows little differentiation. It is possible that hierarchy has a different ideational context along the lower Euphrates than on the plains of SW Iran. However, it is also possible that the disturbed conditions that preceded state emergence began earlier in the Mesopotamian heartland, and that formations comparable to those of the late Susiana chiefdoms will be documented when more is known about the earlier ʿUbaid period.

In contrast to these complex social formations in the south, the N plains of Mesopotamia and the valleys of the Zagros show little evidence of large centers and elaborate settlement hierarchies. This may be a result of the masking of the major centers under the debris of later urban centers, since optimal settlement locations at river crossings and the like do not change on the steppes, as they do on the lower alluvium. At present, we have much evidence of small hamlets and villages with undifferentiated housing, some of larger rural residences with storage facilities, some of possible small centers with little differentiation of housing and burials and a single shrine group. If these represent relatively dispersed and simple social formations, how did they come to interact with S Mesopotamians and adopt nearly identical ʿUbaid decorative styles? It would not be surprising if our understanding of N Mesopotamia during the 5th millennium were to radically alter with future regional studies.

**G. The First States of the 4th Millennium B.C.**

The record of cuneiform texts shows that petty dynasts, sustained in war by armies and in peace by scribes, ruled many of the cities of Mesopotamia by the middle of the 3d millennium B.C. (Nissen 1988: 125–58). However, the archaeological record indicates that societies of similar or even greater scale and complexity existed a millennium before, relatively early in the Uruk or Protoliterate period, even though recording systems rich enough to record the nuances of dynastic control did not yet exist. By about 3500 B.C., the city of Uruk on a branch of the lower Euphrates covered about 250 hectares, implying a population of 25,000 to 50,000 people (Nissen 1988). A regular distribution of large towns, small towns,

and smaller rural settlements covered much of the irrigable southeastern alluvial plain (Adams 1981: 52–93; Johnson 1975; H. T. Wright 1986: 329–335) and the rain-watered NW steppes. Smaller towns were established in foothill valleys and along routes into the Taurus and Zagros mountains (Johnson 1987; H. T. Wright 1987). Throughout the Uruk cultural sphere, similar kinds of plain, standardized craft goods were produced, and buildings were built according to the same architectural standards. Administrators used similar kinds of tokens to record quantities of items (Schmandt-Bessarat 1979) and identical seals to authorize the storage of goods. Few scholars working on this period doubt that there were Uruk "states," that is, societies with specialized and internally differentiated political systems capable of forcing the obedience of citizens. However, changing governmental structures and the extent to which Mesopotamia was unified or divided up into regional or local polities at any point in time are not yet known.

Unfortunately, archaeologists can say very little about the transition from ʿUbaid to Uruk societies. We do have evidence that the early 4th millennium was a period of conflict, population decline, and social movement, which conforms to various models of state development, but the evidence is very fragmentary. The end of the Uruk period, however, has been the object of much recent research (Finkbeiner and Röllig, eds. 1986). It is clear that post-Uruk inhabitants in the heartland of the lower alluvium carried on the technological, economic, and social patterns of Uruk times in a cultural phase termed "Jemdet Nasr," including a development of the protoliterate recording system to express not merely counts and lists but also words in a form of the Sumerian language. However, in S and SW Iran, the inhabitants participated in a different local cultural phase, termed "Banesh," developing a local urban economic and social formation using a very different "Proto-Elamite" writing system, perhaps expressing a form of the Elamite language (Sumner 1974; Alden 1982). Other culturally different groups appear in villages and towns in the N Zagros and the steppes of N Mesopotamia. The mythohistoric texts suggest that this period of cultural divergence was also one of interregional warfare, a prolegomenon to the complex political events of the 3d millennium B.C. (Adams 1966: 80–86, 122–30, 137–43; Nissen 1988: 127–97).

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H. T. WRIGHT

## *MESOPOTAMIA IN THE THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C.*

An account of the early history of Mesopotamia must unavoidably begin with a reference, however brief, to the prehistoric age. By the middle of the 4th millennium B.C., the people known as Sumerians (probably indigenous to the area) developed a highly advanced and successful culture in the lower section of the Mesopotamian alluvium. This culture was dubbed "Uruk" after the name of their largest and most important city. Best known for such epoch-making achievements as urbanism and the invention of writing, the Uruk people also succeeded in establishing a network of commercial enclaves in the neighboring territories, including the upper section of the alluvium, the Susiana plain in Khustistan, the Diyala region, N Syria, most of Upper Mesopotamia, sections of Anatolia, and perhaps even the Nile Delta (Algaze 1986: 30–86; Postgate 1986; Sürenhagen 1986). The degree of influence these enclaves exercised over the periphery was uneven, ranging from outright colonization, as was clearly the case in the upper section of the alluvium, the Diyala region, and the Susiana, to cooperative ventures with the local population, as may have been the case in Upper Mesopotamia and Anatolia. In terms of its impact, however, this expansion affected the periphery fairly uniformly, greatly accelerating the state-formation processes throughout the whole area.

The Uruk expansion came to an end during the last phase of the Uruk IV period or at the beginning of the Uruk III (= Jemdet Nasr) period, at the very latest (ca. 3100). At that time, the enclave network completely collapsed and the S influence waned in the periphery. Concomitant with this development was the reassertion of indigenous traditions throughout that area and the emergence there of local power structures.

As a result of these momentous changes, there developed, sometime during the Early Dynastic I period (ca. 2900–2750), a completely new power structure on the Mesopotamian alluvium. In this new picture, which was to remain largely unchanged for over a millennium, the Sumerian influence was confined primarily to the lower section of the alluvium—the historic land of Sumer or S Babylonia. The upper section of the alluvium—the land of Akkad or N Babylonia, extending N of Nippur as far as modern Baghdad—became the home of the Semitic Akkadians. Although the Semites (but not necessarily Akkadians) may already have lived in N Babylonia for centuries, coexisting peacefully with the Sumerian settlers, it was probably only in the Early Dynastic (ED) I period that this region, like other peripheral territories impacted by the Uruk expansion, saw the development of a native political and economic system. Significantly, this system was largely independent of and markedly different from the structures existing at that time in S Babylonia. The differences in the organization of the S and N proved very

enduring, and it will not be an exaggeration to say that the subsequent history of Babylonia, down to at least 1500 B.C., was shaped to a large extent by the contrasting nature of the two systems. It is necessary, therefore, to draw at this point a brief sketch of both systems, with an implicit understanding that what is offered is a simplified, ideal model; the real picture involved much shading and overlapping, especially in the middle area of the alluvium where the S and N influences met.

The key characteristic feature of the S system was the institution of city-states. Although it is clear that the origin of the city-state must have been exceedingly ancient, certainly going back to the Uruk period, the lack of pertinent information makes it impossible to tell exactly how this institution came about.

In its classic form, the southern city-state was a clearly demarcated territorial unit, comprising a major city, the state's capital, and the surrounding countryside, with its towns and villages. The city-states bordered contiguously on one another, and there was little, if any, neutral space between them.

According to the official ideology, the city-state was the private property of an extended divine family. The main god, the head of the family, was the de facto proprietor of the whole state. At the same time, he—together with his spouse and children—owned as his exclusive domain the capital city and its surroundings. Junior deities owned smaller domains, centered upon towns and villages.

The divine families of all the city-states were united into one very large extended family, with Enlil, god of Nippur, occupying the position of the *paterfamilias.* Because of his rank, Enlil exercised lordship over the whole S. In this role, he served as an arbitrator in conflicts, especially border disputes, between individual city-states.

The single most important point about the city-state ideology is that the S was viewed as a closed political system, with the assumed existence of permanent, divinely sanctioned borders between the individual city-states. Obviously, this tenet made any form of territorial expansion within the system exceedingly difficult, rendering any notion of unification theoretically unthinkable.

The rule over the city-state was exercised by an official called an *énsi*, whose office combined both secular and religious duties. The *énsi* functioned as an earthly representative of the city-god, with their relationship being comparable to that existing between the steward of an estate and its absentee owner. In theory, the *énsi* was selected by the god from among the whole citizenry of the city-state, and he had to be divinely reappointed each year.

The society was envisaged as a single temple community, with all its members standing in the same subservient relationship toward the god. Class and social distinctions were comparatively unimportant, with the stratification being based on wealth rather than on origin. These features, and the fact that the level of social mobility was surprisingly high, gave the south a distinctly egalitarian character. Very significantly, chattel slavery was virtually unknown.

For its economy, the city-state depended on the decentralized system of self-sufficient temple households, which controlled most of the state's resources, most notably nearly all of its agricultural land. Private ownership of land was insignificant and seems to have been confined to orchards. In fact, the private sector as a whole was weak and poorly developed.

Turning now to the organization of N Babylonia, we note at the outset that until quite recently the growth of civilization in that region was viewed basically as a process of aculturation by which the seminomadic population of the north was brought into the orbit of the superior Sumerian civilization. Hence the view, still common in the literature, of the north as an extension, somewhat belated in its development, of the south. Today, however, owing primarily to the discovery of the Ebla archives, N Babylonia emerges as a phenomenon in its own right, whose development was contemporaneous with and largely independent of that of its S neighbor (Gelb 1981: 52–73). Moreover, it becomes clear that this development was part of a much larger picture which also involved N Syria, the Diyala region, and perhaps even Upper Mesopotamia. This dramatic change of perspective forces us to consider that, as far as its society and economy were concerned, N Babylonia gravitated primarily to the W, and that it was there, rather than in the S, that one should look for the origins of its institutions.

To begin with the question of the N government, the most striking fact is that the N seems never to have developed a system of independent city-states even remotely comparable to that of the S. On the contrary,

there are strong reasons to believe that during the ED II and III periods (ca. 2750–2300) N Babylonia formed, for most of the time, a single territorial state, whose gravity point usually remained at Kish. The qualification "usually" that was just applied to the role of Kish is necessary, for we know that the political landscape of the N involved two other major powers, Mari and Akshak, which actively competed with Kish for the control of N Babylonia. And, if we can trust the testimony of the "Sumerian King List" (henceforth SKL), on at least two occasions first Mari and then Akshak actually achieved ascendancy over Kish (Jacobsen 1939: 103–7).

The reason why the N followed this particular path of development finds explanation in the distinctive character of its kingship, which was strong, authoritarian, and predominantly secular. As such, it sharply contrasted with the S kingship, which, as noted earlier, was generally weak and had an unmistakable religious character.

Although the N kingship may have had its ultimate roots in tribal reality (Moorey 1978: 165), its more immediate source probably was a city-based oligarchy, of the type known from Ebla and Mari. It is characteristic that, while extended families were a conspicuous feature of the N social landscape, tribes were not, thus attesting to the antiquity and strength of urbanism in that region.

As compared with the S society, the N one appears to have been more rigidly stratified. In particular, there is convincing linguistic evidence that the institutions of chattel slavery and villeinage had been part of the N reality long before they appeared in the S.

The contrast with the S continued in the sphere of economy, for there, too, the N displayed some marked differences. Most significant, the temple domain, so characteristic of the S economy, seems to have been of only marginal importance in the N, with the dominant economic institutions there being the palace and the private household. The considerable role of the private sector in the N is in fact striking, and must justly be considered one of the characteristic features of its economy.

The N system just described appears to have become operative sometime during the ED I period. To roughly this time one should also date the founding of the Kishite kingdom. Based on such evidence as the fact that SKL names Kish as the first dynasty after the flood (Jacobsen 1939: 77–85), and on the historical tradition describing the struggles of Uruk with the Kishite kings En-mebaragesi and Agga (Jacobsen 1957: 116–18), one can conclude that Kish exercised considerable influence in the S during the ED II period, and perhaps even during ED IIIb (ca. 2750–2600). The case of the Kishite king Mesilim, who, two or three generations before Ur-Nanshe of Lagash (ca. 2500), arbitrated a territorial dispute between Lagash and Umma (Cooper 1983b: 22), suggests that at times Kish even succeeded in establishing suzerainty over the S.

The immediate effect of this early Kishite domination apparently was that it brought the S into direct contact with N institutions, leading eventually to important systemic changes in the S society. As a result, S institutions, most notably the kingship, became stronger and thus better suited to compete with the N. Moreover, it was probably in response to the Kishite challenge that the concept of S unity acquired its full formulation. Whether or not this concept ever materialized in any formal arrangement, such as a league or an amphictyony (Jacobsen 1957: 106), it provided the S with a considerable measure of balance and internal security, thereby making it more resistant to outside threat.

However, while the short-term result of the N influence was to strengthen the original S structures, its long-term effect was destabilizing, for it familiarized the S with a model of kingship that was too attractive an alternative not to be tried at home. Thus, once the Kishite threat had been checked, there inevitably began attempts in the S at assuming ascendancy over neighboring states. First at Ur, then in Lagash, several rulers made important inroads toward accomplishing that objective. Some of them even assumed the prestigious title of *lugal Kiš,* "king of Kish." Much disputed by scholars (Maeda 1981), this title appears to have been, at least in the S, devoid of geographical connotations; if we are correct, in its S application *lugal Kiš* was a generic term which served to describe a particular form of kingship; namely, the autocratic and hegemonistic form of rule that the southerners associated with the Kishite kingdom.

The attempts at hegemony grew progressively bolder, by the ED IIIb period (ca. 2500–2300) crystallizing in the drive toward unification. By that time, the center of power had shifted to Uruk (under

the Second Dynasty of Uruk), which assumed the ascendancy over Ur and was then able to claim a limited supremacy over the S (Cooper 1983b: 33–34). Such was apparently the intent of the title *lugal kalam-ma*, "king of the land," which was used by the Uruk ruler En-shakushana and, slightly later, by Lugal-zagesi. At the same time, however, these kings were careful to stress that their territorial claims were confined to the states of Uruk and Ur, and that, in that position, they held two separate kingships. This underscoring of the separate character of the kingships of Uruk and Ur is highly significant, for it attests to the enduring strength of the city-state ideology. In this light, Uruk's hegemony could not have amounted to much more than a position of primacy within the existing power picture.

Uruk's rise to supremacy culminated with the reign of Lugal-zagesi (ca. 2325–2300). Stemming, apparently, from Umma, Lugal-zagesi succeeded, either by force or through a dynastic arrangement, in establishing himself at Uruk and Ur (Cooper 1983b: 33–36). He then added Lagash to his possessions and, by securing for himself the recognition of the Nippur priesthood, became the first S ruler to achieve an effective hegemony over the whole S. Despite Lugal-zagesi's claim of having spread his influence all the way to the Mediterranean, his rule hardly extended beyond the strict confines of S Babylonia. It is also unlikely that he ever succeeded in turning his possessions into a uniform, centralized state, or that he even harbored such ambitions. Given the existing ideological constraints, such a step would clearly have been too radical for a southerner to contemplate. Psychologically, however, Lugal-zagesi's achievement constituted a dramatic break with the past and irrevocably changed the course of S history.

As it happened, the person who managed to capitalize on this achievement was, not surprisingly, a northerner. His name was Sargon, and he seems to have hailed from the obscure town of Akkade. If we can trust later semilegendary traditions, Sargon began his career very modestly, serving as a cupbearer at the court of Ur-Zababa, a ruler of Kish (Cooper and Heimpel 1983). Having found himself in control of N Babylonia, which he apparently achieved by deposing Ur-Zababa, Sargon could not have failed to recognize the unique opportunity that the precedent of Lugal-zagesi's state had created in the S. What followed is well known: Sargon marched S and, by defeating the S coalition led by Lugal-zagesi, brought about the unification of Babylonia (ca. 2300).

Momentous as this event had been, its immediate effects for Babylonia, at least in the areas of government and economy, were quite limited. During the reigns of Sargon and his two successors, Rimush and Man-ishtushu, the organization of the south remained virtually unchanged, with the city-states, now turned into provinces, retaining much of their former independence, both political and economic.

Rather than being devoted to administrative and economic reforms, the efforts of the early Sargonic rulers were primarily spent on the task of territorial expansion. The scale of that expansion was staggering, not to be duplicated until the times of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Already under Sargon, Akkade's possessions included W Iran, N Syria, most of N Mesopotamia, and probably even Cappadocia. The reign of Rimush saw the extension of the Akkadian influence to SE Iran, while the campaigns of Man-ishtushu brought the might of Akkade even farther E, to the coast of Arabia. Though motivated primarily by economic reasons, these exploits had also an unmistakable heroic dimension, which suggests that less materialistic factors may have also been at work (Westenholz 1979: 108). In reading the inscriptions left by Sargon and his successors, one cannot fail to sense the pioneer spirit that accompanied the endeavors of these rulers: their elation over going where no one had gone before, the excitement of discovering the unknown.

Apart from the records of their military exploits and the accounts of their extensive building activities in and outside of Babylonia, information on the first three Sargonic rulers is scarce and mostly of an anecdotal nature. Sargon is credited with a reign of 56 years, but most of it probably belonged to the period before his conquest of S Babylonia. Among his domestic achievements, especially significant was the installation of his daughter En-heduana as the priestess of the moon-god Nanna at Ur (Hallo and Van Dijk 1968: 1–11), a tradition that was to be followed by Babylonian rulers down to Rim-Sin and revived by Nabonidus. The reigns of Sargon's sons, Rimush and Man-ishtushu, are reported to have lasted a total of 24 years. Since Rimush was allegedly the younger of the two, he may have been brought to power by a

palace revolution. Rimush's reign was noted for the repeated uprisings in the S, which he crushed with unusual brutality (Foster 1982b: 47–50), and for his struggles with the E land of Marhashi for the control of Iran (Steinkeller 1982: 256–57). Rimush seems to have perished in another palace revolution, behind which there may have been the hand of his older brother Man-ishtushu. The events of Man-ishtushu's reign are even less well known, his chief claim to fame being the amphibious expedition he sent to the land of Makkan on the coast of Oman.

All in all, the reigns of Sargon and his two sons constituted the formative stage of the Sargonic empire. During that period, the empire acquired its physical shape, but little if any effort was made to turn it into an articulated system. These early Sargonic kings also failed to develop a comprehensive imperial policy. In this, they were largely prevented by the continuing opposition of the S city-states, which had only reluctantly accepted the rule of Akkade, revolting against it at every opportunity.

The task of creating such a policy and of consolidating the empire fell to Naram-Sin, Man-ishtushu's son. Naram-Sin's reign (36[?] years) began on an inauspicious note, for his accession was greeted by a general rebellion (Grayson and Sollberger 1976; Jacobsen 1978–79). The rebellion was originally confined to Kish, but it quickly spread to other N cities and then to the S, eventually enveloping the whole empire. Having fought "nine battles in one year," Naram-Sin, almost miraculously, emerged victorious from that ordeal, defeating the rebels and restoring the empire to its former borders.

It was, without doubt, this experience that convinced him of the pressing need to strengthen the fabric of the empire. This objective, however, was largely dependent on the prior resolution of the S question. Naram-Sin's response to that dilemma, suggested possibly by the Egyptian kingship, was to elevate himself to the divine plane (Al-Fouadi 1976; Farber 1983). By becoming a god, he placed himself above all the Sumerian *énsi*s, thereby providing some justification for the contradictory position of his kingship within the S ideological picture.

It is characteristic that the deification of Naram-Sin was carried out strictly within the framework of the city-state ideology. Since all gods possessed earthly domains, the divine Naram-Sin needed one too. And for Naram-Sin the choice of domain was obvious: he became the god of Akkade, by then the capital of the empire. As we learn from one of his inscriptions, this was accomplished by the unanimous decision of the great gods, in response to the request made by Akkade's population.

All that this solution accomplished, however, was to transfer the problem from the human to the divine level: in the new scheme, it was now the god of Akkade who had become a contradiction, for the importance he assumed far outstripped his standing in the pantheon.

Unavoidably, this put Naram-Sin in direct conflict with the head of the pantheon, Enlil, and his city, Nippur. Although it is most unlikely that Naram-Sin had deliberately challenged the authority of Enlil, as preserved in later tradition (Cooper 1983a), the very rise of Akkade to the status of an imperial capital could not but negatively affect Nippur's fortunes, hence giving rise there to anti-Sargonic feelings. While not presenting an immediate threat, these sentiments grew in strength during the reign of Naram-Sin's successor, eventually contributing to the demise of the Sargonic empire.

But the deification was only one element of Naram-Sin's reforms. Equally momentous was the introduction of a uniform administration for the whole empire. Its basis was an extensive system of provinces which were put under the care of royal appointees. Almost as a rule these were outsiders, either kinsmen of the king or members of his retinue. To strengthen the defenses of the empire, a chain of border garrisons was created, and an efficient system of communications, linking Akkade with all parts of the empire, was put in place. The operation of this new administration was greatly facilitated by the systematization of accounting procedures, with Akkadian replacing Sumerian as the language of government.

In the economic sphere, the greatest innovation of Naram-Sin's reign was the creation of a new category of land, the crown land, which was granted to the military and to other types of royal dependents in exchange for services (Foster 1982a: 109–13). Although this type of holding may have existed in the N even earlier, its appearance in the S was a complete novelty. Another N influence that made itself felt in the S during this period was the rapid spread of private property and of independent economic activity

more generally. Though the S provinces were required to make regular contributions to the central government, there is little evidence of the state's direct involvement in the management of their economies.

During Naram-Sin's reign, the Sargonic empire reached the zenith of its power and influence, becoming a paradigmatic model that was to be emulated by future Mesopotamian rulers. It seemed that the sun would never set on Akkade, its quays overflowing with exotic products and materials, its streets teeming with foreigners. The arts and literature flourished, achieving unprecedented heights of artistic expression.

Under Shar-kali-sharri, Naram-Sin's son and successor, Akkade's fortunes began to decline, and by the time his reign of 25 years was over, the Sargonic empire was reduced to a small territory around the city of Akkade, perhaps extending into the Diyala region. Information on the events of Shar-kali-sharri's reign is exceedingly sketchy. In one of his year-formulas, Shar-kali-sharri claims a victory over the E lands of Elam and Zahara; since the battle was fought at Akshak, near the confluence of the Diyala with the Tigris, this probably was a defensive operation. Other year-formulas mention an expedition against the Amorites in the mountains of Basar (modern Jebel Bishri) and the capture of a Gutian king by the name of Sarlag, in all probability identical with Sarlagab, the 4th Gutian ruler according to SKL (Jacobsen 1939: 118–19). The mention of the Gutians is particularly ominous, since those foreign people were soon to profoundly affect the course of Mesopotamian history. The home of the Gutians was in the Zagros, roughly within the triangle marked by the modern cities of Kermanshah, Al Sulamaniyah, and Kirkuk that comprised the ancient lands of Harshi, Hu'urti, and Karhar. The Gutians themselves made their first appearance in Babylonia during the reign of Shar-kali-sharri or perhaps already under his predecessor, acting, as we learn from economic records, in the roles of mercenaries and seasonal workers. The correspondence of one Ishkun-Dagan, which dates to the time of Shar-kali-sharri, vividly depicts the bands of Gutians roaming the countryside and playing havoc with rural life (Oppenheim 1967: 71–72), and thus offers the earliest evidence of organized Gutian forays into Babylonia.

It appears that following Shar-kali-sharri's death there ensued a period of general anarchy, for at this point SKL asks dramatically: "Who was king? Who was not king?" It then listed four pretenders, with a combined reign of three years (Jacobsen 1939: 112–15). It was probably sometime during that period that the Gutians mounted what the later tradition wants us to believe was a full-scale invasion (more likely, a series of loosely coordinated excursions), succeeding eventually in establishing themselves as a dominant power in Babylonia.

The last nominal rulers of the Akkade dynasty were Dudu and his son Shu-Durul, whose combined reigns lasted 36 years. Although both Dudu and Shu-Durul are documented in historical records, practically nothing is known of their respective reigns. Since the name of the son invokes the river Diyala (ancient Durul), they probably had come from and possibly were in possession of the Diyala region. A dedication to the god Nergal of Apiʾak, made by the father, suggests that their influence may have extended to lower N Babylonia.

Following the Akkade dynasty, SKL lists in succession the Fourth Dynasty of Uruk (30 years) and the Gutian dynasty. It appears virtually certain that these two dynasties were contemporaneous, and that the reigns of the aforementioned Dudu and Shu-Durul likewise belonged to that same period. While the later historical tradition assigns to the Gutian dynasty a century or more, and identifies twenty-one or twenty-three Gutian rulers, modern research has shown that the period between the end of Shar-kali-sharri's reign and the accession of Ur-Namma, to which the Guti "domination" belongs, lasted no longer than 50 years (RLA 3: 713–14). Also to be revised is the traditional view which identifies the Guti as the sole cause of the collapse of the Sargonic empire. While the Guti invasions undoubtedly played a major, perhaps even the decisive role in that development, various other contributory factors, such as the systemic weaknesses of the empire and the pressures exerted by other foreign newcomers, especially the Hurrians and the Amorites, must have been equally important. Such a conclusion is consistent with the surviving archaeological record, which offers no evidence of a widespread destruction in Babylonia, particularly in the S, that could be attributed to the Gutian invasions.

As can be gleaned from the contemporary historical and economic records, the Gutian influence was limited primarily to N Babylonia and perhaps to some sections of the Diyala region. But, since these were precisely the territories where the realm of Dudu and Shu-Durul is to be sought, it is unlikely that even there the Gutian control could have been complete. With the exception of the northernmost states, such as Umma, Adab, and Uru-sagrig, which seem to have recognized some degree of Gutian rule, the south enjoyed full independence. Thus Ur and Uruk were governed by a local dynasty (Fourth Dynasty of Uruk), while Lagash experienced a period of great prosperity under the dynasty of Ur-Bau. This shows that, in the S at least, the result of the Guti invasions was the return to the traditional decentralized pattern, with the concurrent revival of the institution of the city-state.

It was in the S that, some 30 years after Shar-kali-sharri's death, the concept of a united Babylonia was again revived. The impulse came from Uruk, at that time ruled by Utu-hegal (2119–2113), the founder and the sole ruler of the Fifth Dynasty of Uruk. By defeating and taking prisoner a Gutian king named Tiriqan, an accomplishment described in considerable detail in one of Utu-hegal's inscriptions (Römer 1985), Utu-hegal put an effective end to the Gutian presence in the S. This, in turn, enabled him to claim, and probably actually to achieve, a limited hegemony over S Babylonia. In that role Utu-hegal arbitrated a border dispute between Ur and Lagash, settling it in favor of the Lagash ruler, possibly the famous Gudea. During his brief reign (seven years, six months, and fifteen days according to SKL), Utu-hegal also succeeded in putting Ur under his direct rule, installing there his own governor.

Although we can be certain that Utu-hegal had aspired to extend his influence over N Babylonia as well, those plans never materialized. Utu-hegal seems to have been prevented from doing this by the appearance on the scene of another ambitious individual, Puzur-Inshushinak, who, roughly around the time of Utu-hegal's accession, had come to power at Susa. Having consolidated his hold over the Susiana, Puzur-Inshushinak mounted a major campaign in the Zagros, conquering and sacking the lands of Kimash and Hu'urti (Scheil 1913: 7–16). Since these two lands almost certainly formed part of the Gutian homeland, their conquest at the hands of Puzur-Inshushinak could not but profoundly affect the political and military position of the Gutians in Babylonia. One cannot help but suspect that the Zagros conquests of Puzur-Inshushinak stood in some causal relationship with the aforementioned conflict between Utu-hegal and Tiriqan. Although the nature of that relationship and the underlying chronology remain unknown, it is clear that the combined effect of both events was the collapse of the Gutian power in N Babylonia.

The party to profit most directly from this development was Puzur-Inshushinak. As we can gather from the prologue to "Ur-Namma's Code" (Yildiz 1981) and from a recently published Isin inscription of Ur-Namma (Wilcke 1987: 108–11), sometime during the reign of Utu-hegal or shortly thereafter, Puzur-Inshushinak invaded the Diyala region. From there he moved into N Babylonia, capturing several major cities, among them Akshak, Marda, and Kazallu. In this way N Babylonia fell prey to another foreigner, sinking into a period of Elamite occupation or, as the ancient text puts it, "Anshanite slavery."

The task of reunification was continued by Ur-Namma (2112–2095 B.C.), the founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur. Ur-Namma, who possibly was a close relation (either a son or a brother) of Utu-hegal, began his career as Utu-hegal's governor of Ur. Following Utu-hegal's death, Ur-Namma took Uruk, either by force or simply through succession, eventually succeeding in imposing his rule over most of the S, most importantly, over Nippur, the religious capital of Sumer (Hallo 1966: 136–39). The notable exception here was Lagash, the largest and richest of the S city-states, which remained independent under the illustrious rulership of Gudea and his successors, well into the second half of Ur-Namma's reign (Steinkeller 1988b).

Shortly after assuming power and making Ur his capital, Ur-Namma embarked on an ambitious program of economic reconstruction. In an effort to revive the agriculture, Ur-Namma conducted extensive canal work in the area of Ur and farther S. This work improved and expanded the system of waterways, and thus also made possible the restoration of trade contacts with the gulf emporia of Tilmun and Makkan. Massive building projects were then carried out throughout the land, particularly at Ur and Nippur. The largest and most conspicuous of them was the temple complex of Nanna and Ningal at Ur,

with its still-surviving ziggurat or monumental stepped tower. These architectural feats were paralleled by the equally outstanding achievements in the arts and literature. Ur-Namma may have also been responsible for the promulgation of the first "code" of laws, unless, as suggested recently (Kramer 1983; Steinkeller 1987: 21 n. 10), the author of that "code" was actually Shulgi, Ur-Namma's son.

The reign of Ur-Namma was notably peaceful and devoid of expansionist military activity. But this seems to have been due more to necessity than to design, for the simple reason that any attempt at territorial expansion, either toward the N or E, was impossible as long as the Elamites occupied N Babylonia. Eventually, however, Ur-Namma's position became sufficiently strong to enable him to challenge the Elamites (Wilcke 1987: 108–11). The result of that challenge was apparently a complete success: Puzur-Inshushinak had been soundly defeated, the trade routes had been reopened, and N Babylonia was free at last.

In spite of that victory, it remains uncertain whether Ur-Namma did in fact succeed in imposing his rule over N Babylonia. The evidence here is contradictory: on the one hand, we have the cadasters of Ur-Namma granting land rights to various N Babylonian cities, which implies his firm control over that region; on the other hand, there is a total absence of Ur-Namma's inscriptions from N Babylonia. The answer may be that Ur-Namma's success was only temporary, with the N again slipping away from his control, either back to the Elamites or perhaps even to the Gutians, for there are reasons to believe that, late in his reign, Ur-Namma fought the Gutians, perhaps even meeting death in that conflict (Kramer 1967).

While Ur-Namma should rightly be considered the founder of the Ur III state, its true builder was Shulgi, Ur-Namma's son and successor (2094–2047). The beginning of Shulgi's extremely long reign (48 years) seems to have been devoted to the task of reasserting and securing Ur's hold over N Babylonia. This objective was probably accomplished by Shulgi's fifth year as ruler, when he captured Der (modern Badrah), an immensely important strategic point controlling the main route to Elam. With this action any vestiges of Elamite influence that may have remained in the N were finally removed.

Roughly around his seventeenth regnal year, Shulgi launched a massive program of political, administrative, and economic reforms, which transformed Babylonia into a highly centralized bureaucratic state (Steinkeller 1987). Those reforms were carried out within a surprisingly short period of time, thus suggesting the existence of a single grand master plan, whose author, we have all reason to believe, was Shulgi himself.

One of Shulgi's first tasks was the creation of a unified administrative system for both the S and the N. This resulted in the division of Babylonia into over twenty provinces, which, in terms of their number and territorial extent, corresponded very closely to the former city-states. The provinces were administered by governors (*énsi*), who were royal appointees and could in theory be removed from office or transferred to other posts at the king's pleasure. In practice, however, the office of the governor tended to be hereditary, especially in the latter part of the period. As a rule, the governors were selected from among the local population, in an effort to placate the local elites and to win their support for the concept of a unified Babylonia.

Apart from the governor, each province also had a district military commander, or general (*šagina*). Unlike the governors, the generals were predominantly outsiders, very often foreigners, who earned their positions through their service to the king. Many of them were related to the royal family, either by birth or through marriage.

In this dual mode of administration, the office of the general was clearly intended to counterbalance the position of the governor and to serve as a check on his powers, a type of institutional arrangement not unknown in the Orient, both in ancient and more recent times.

In the economic sphere, the most important of the Ur III innovations was the reorganization of the system of temple households. While preserving the fiction of divine domains, Shulgi put the temple households under the control of the provincial governors, thereby turning them and all their possessions into the de facto property of the crown. The surplus revenues of temple households, which in the past stayed in the provinces, were now sent to the king's coffers.

Reviving a policy first implemented by Naram-Sin, Shulgi also established throughout Babylonia a fund of royal land, which was distributed as allotments among various categories of royal dependents in exchange for services. This type of holding remained under the exclusive control of the provincial generals and other officials directly subordinate to the king.

Alongside these institutional changes, there came about various ideological transformations, the most momentous of which was the deification of Shulgi. In deifying himself, Shulgi undoubtedly drew on the example of Naram-Sin, but, learning from the latter's experience, he accomplished it in a much more politic and sophisticated way. First of all, in his new divine form he refrained from associating himself with any particular city-state, becoming instead a vague and inoffensive *dingir kalam-ma,* "god of the land," an echo of the pre-Sargonic title *lugal kalam-ma,* "king of the land." Moreover, he cleverly claimed familial links with the divine families of all the S city-states, thereby legitimizing his claim to their individual kingships. As a consequence, the successors of Shulgi were obliged to undergo separate investitures in each of the S capitals.

In contrast to the Sargonic period, whose dominant trend had been the spread of N influences to the S, the Ur III period witnessed a revival of S traditions and a conscious attempt to transplant the institution of the city-state to N Babylonia. This imposition of the S model on the N was clearly meant to create an ideological framework that would permit the king to claim the exclusive control over all the resources of the state, be they temple-owned or private. In that state, the entire population, from the royal family down to the serfs, was conceived of as a single pyramidal body of the king's dependents. Not surprisingly, the economic system thus obtained allowed virtually no room for any independent activity.

The revival of S traditions, apparent in the organization of the Ur III government and economy, manifested itself even more markedly in the cultural sphere. Thus, Sumerian was reinstated as the language of administration, and Babylonia saw an unprecedented flourishing of Sumerian letters. It was in consideration of these, as well as of similar developments in the fields of arts and architecture, that modern scholarship coined the term "Sumerian Renaissance" to describe, not without justification, the character of that period.

About the same time that Shulgi's program of domestic reforms began, the Ur III state entered into a period of rapid territorial expansion, mainly to the E of the Tigris and in SW Iran. The conquered territories, which formed a large belt extending southeastward from the left bank of the Tigris and running parallel to the Zagros range as far as the Persian Gulf, were incorporated into the Ur III state and organized into provinces (Steinkeller 1987: 30–37). These peripheral provinces, closely resembling the Roman *limes,* served primarily a defensive purpose, offering, in the W, a check against the Amorites, and securing, in the E, Ur's access to the Iranian plateau. The periphery was organized very much like the core provinces, with the difference being that all its land and other resources were apparently considered the property of the crown.

It is characteristic that, in marked contrast to the Sargonic dynasty, the Ur administration showed no apparent interest in a westward expansion. But this may have been due, at least partly, to the menacing presence of the Amorites in the Jezireh and along the middle course of the Euphrates.

This notwithstanding, the result of the Ur conquests was a virtual empire; though considerably smaller than the Sargonic one, it was better organized and showed a much higher level of internal cohesion.

Responding to the challenge presented by the possession of this vast and ecologically diversified area, Shulgi instituted a purposeful policy of regional specialization, with each major region concentrating on the production of different staples and goods. Such a policy, in turn, called for the presence of efficient redistributive mechanisms. In the core provinces, that need was met by the so-called *bala* institution, a central redistributive system which imposed on each province, depending on its size and economic capabilities, specific types of contributions and services (Hallo 1960; Steinkeller 1987: 27–30). The collection and redistribution of these contributions was done through the medium of centrally located establishments, the best known among them being Puzrish-Dagan near Nippur, devoted to livestock and animal products. The peripheral provinces were required to make similar contributions, such as the *gún*

*ma-da* "tax of the (peripheral) territories," which was delivered to the same collecting centers (Steinkeller 1987: 30–36).

The operation of this highly intricate system was facilitated, and indeed made possible, by the creation of an enormous bureaucratic apparatus and by such technical changes as the normalization of accounting procedures and the reorganization of the mensural and calendric systems.

At the head of that bureaucratic edifice stood the chancellor (*sukal-maḫ*), the highest official of the land after the king, who possessed full authority in matters relating to civil administration, the army, foreign relations, and the conduct of law. Under him was a host of governors, generals, and innumerable other officials, a surprising number of whom were relatives of the king. In fact, it is not an exaggeration to say that virtually everyone who mattered in Ur III times (excluding the governors of the core provinces) was in one way or another related to the royal family; and because of this, the Ur III state was truly a family affair, very much like present-day Saudi Arabia with its House of Saud. Quite striking in this connection was the active role in government of the king's wives, sisters, and daughters, the best known example being the queen Abi-simti (Steinkeller 1981; Michałowski 1982).

In its contacts with the outside world the Ur III state retained a strikingly benevolent posture, its rulers displaying remarkably little of what may be called imperial ambition, so characteristic of their Sargonic predecessors. As noted before, their foreign conquests had a limited scope and were primarily motivated by defensive objectives. Foreign relations were regulated by an elaborate system of diplomatic arrangements, which involved dynastic marriages, vassal treaties, and frequent exchanges of ambassadors and goodwill gifts.

The political and economic system just described was put fully in place during Shulgi's reign. The reigns of his three successors—Amar-Sin (9 years), Shu-Sin (9 years), and Ibbi-Sin (24 or 25 years)—saw no substantial changes in that system, merely an effort to preserve it or, more to the truth, to save it from disintegration.

On the surface, the reign of Amar-Sin (2046–2038), Shulgi's son, was a period of peace and great prosperity, though there are indications that cracks were already beginning to appear in Shulgi's brilliant creation. In Babylonia, we can see particularistic aspirations reemerging for the first time, while in the periphery the loyalty of its inhabitants increasingly needed to be reinforced by punitive actions. Beyond the periphery, the vassal states of Ur remained in constant turmoil, seeking full independence. As a solution, these were eventually brought under the direct rule of Ur; but by so doing, the empire, partly against its own will, was drawn deeper and deeper into the foreign territory, only exchanging old enemies for new and more distant ones.

These processes greatly accelerated during the reign of Shu-Sin (2037–2029), Amar-Sin's brother. A major contributory factor was the growing power of the seminomadic Amorites, or Mardu as they were known to the Sumerians (Buccellati 1966; Wilcke 1969–70). Coming from their ancestral home in Syria, the Amorites began arriving in Babylonia during the Sargonic period or perhaps even much earlier. These early arrivals quickly adopted Babylonian ways and were already fully assimilated by the time Ur-Namma founded the Dynasty of Ur. They were followed by other Amorite tribes, which, descending from the amorphous "Land of the Mardu," situated somewhere in the Jezireh, continued to infiltrate Babylonia via the Diyala region and along the lower course of the Tigris, the same traditional route that had been used by their ancestors and probably by the early Akkadians before them. By the time of Shu-Sin, the punitive expeditions that had been periodically sent to the "Land of Mardu" and the system of defensive settlements created by Shulgi apparently proved insufficient to stem their progress, thus necessitating the building of a new line of fortifications, called the "Wall of Mardu," which ran from the Tigris, roughly in the area of Baghdad, deep into the Diyala region.

The main threat facing the empire, however, was in Iran. About that time, the previously disunited Iranian principalities, known collectively as the "Shimashkian lands," rejected their vassal status, forming a loose federation under the leadership of Zabshali (Stolper 1982: 45–54; Steinkeller 1988a). In response, Shu-Sin marched to Zabshali, a distant land in NW Iran, inflicting a defeat on the Shimashkian lands and pacifying them.

But this action had little effect; on the contrary, it probably only contributed to the intensification of unificatory processes in Iran, in turn destabilizing the periphery and demoralizing the core provinces of the Ur III state. During the last year of Shu-Sin's reign, the contributions of the periphery effectively stopped, ceasing completely during the second year of the reign of Ibbi-Sin, Shu-Sin's son and the last ruler of Ur (2028–2004). The loss of the periphery area and its contributions led to the total collapse of the redistributive system. This apparently happened during Ibbi-Sin's fifth year, when the collecting centers were dismantled and their vast officialdom was evacuated to the safety of Ur.

Even more ominously, in the Babylonian heartland the provinces of Umma and Lagash slipped away from the control of Ur (in the fifth and sixth years respectively, of Ibbi-Sin's reign), depriving the Ur III state of its main grain-producing area, and thereby spelling out disaster for its overspecialized economy.

Ibbi-Sin tried desperately to save the situation. In a last-ditch effort to reassert Ur's control over the periphery, he sent military expeditions against Simurrum in the N and against Huhnuri, the "lock of Anshan," in the E. Recognizing the threat presented by the growing power of the Shimashkian federation as well, he gave his daughter in marriage to the ruler of Zabshali.

Whatever tangible result these actions may have accomplished was nullified by the events taking place in Babylonia (Jacobsen 1953; Wilcke 1974). There, one province after another assumed independence, with their rulers, Ibbi-Sin's former underlings, taking Ibbi-Sin's titles and even claiming divinity. One of them, Ishbi-Erra, established himself in Isin, and when instructed by Ibbi-Sin to purchase grain for the starving capital at any price, he succeeded in obtaining for himself extraordinary powers which made him virtually independent. Not satisfied with this, he went on conquering the neighboring provinces. Once in control of Nippur, he raised claims to the Babylonian kingship, all this time retaining the pretense of being Ibbi-Sin's ally.

Ibbi-Sin was prevented from dealing effectively with Ishbi-Erra by the situation on the E front. By that time the leadership over the Shimashkian federation had passed from Zabshali to Anshan. Having consolidated his power in Iran, the ruler of Anshan, named Kindattu, made diplomatic overtures toward Ishbi-Erra, apparently in the hope of drawing him into an alliance against Ibbi-Sin (Stolper 1982: 47–48).

Although Ishbi-Erra may have lent a sympathetic ear to Kindattu's entreaties, perhaps even encouraging him in his plans, it is unlikely that he joined forces with the Elamites. Rather, he just sat and waited, still pretending to be on Ibbi-Sin's side. Finally, the armies of Kindattu descended on Ur, sacked it, and carried the hapless Ibbi-Sin off to Anshan. Their progress farther N was stopped by Ishbi-Erra, who was joined in that undertaking, as the sign of changing times, by an Amorite coalition. Two years later, Ishbi-Erra succeeded in expelling the Elamites from Ur. By bringing Ur under his control, he finally legitimized his claims to the Babylonian kingship. But Ur was never to be its seat again, that distinction having been conferred on the city of Isin, which was to enjoy it for the next century or so.

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## *HISTORY AND CULTURE OF ASSYRIA*

The term Assyria is both a geographical and a political designation. Geographically speaking it is the N part of Mesopotamia. The geographic center of Assyria, commonly called the Assyrian heartland, is actually a triangle formed by the Kurdish mountains to the N, the Tigris river to the W, and the Upper Zab river to the E flowing into the Tigris at the southernmost tip. The four great cities of Assyria—Asshur, Nineveh, Arbela, and Calah—were all within this triangle or very near it. In historical times, the peoples residing in the Assyrian heartland expanded their influence well beyond this central region to include what one might call greater Assyria. The S extreme of this larger territory was the narrowest point between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, approximately in the region of modern Baghdad. The E limit was the foothills of the Zagros mountains. The N limit was the Kurdish mountains, and the W limit was the Syrian desert. In modern political terms the Assyrian heartland is entirely within the boundaries of the modern republic of Iraq, while greater Assyria expands into the S extreme of Turkey and the E extreme of Syria.

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**A. Geography**

**1. Physical Features and Climate.** The highest mountains in Assyria are the Kurdish and Zagros mountains, which have a maximum height of 3,600 m. The Assyrian heartland itself consists of gently undulating hills. West of the Tigris is a semidesert area called the Jezirah, stretching as far as the Euphrates river. The Tigris is the main river in Assyria, with its tributaries the Upper and Lower Zabs and the Shatt el-adheim. All of these rivers are swift-flowing and treacherous. Rafts and boats can be used on the Tigris S of Mosul, but even then the trip is quite dangerous.

It has been said that Assyria has one of the most pleasant climates in the world. The summers are warm but not excessively hot, the winters are cool but not excessively cold, and the springs and autumns are long and moderate. In contrast to Babylonia, rainfall in Assyria is regular and sufficient to produce luxuriant vegetation. In fact the E–W line separating the N area of regular rainfall from the S area of sporadic rainfall lies just S of the city of Asshur. There is evidence of a microclimatic change about 1200 B.C. in the central part of the Fertile Crescent, including Assyria; for some reason rainfall was reduced for several years, causing poorer crops and famine with severe economic and political results. It is also evident that extensive soil erosion took place over several millennia because of the cutting down of timber for burning and building. It is probable that in the 2d millennium B.C. there were still large forests teeming with vegetation and wild animals, and that in general the soil was richer and more productive than it is now.

**2. Natural Resources, Agriculture, and Animal Husbandry.** The major natural resources of Assyria were soil and water, which supported agriculture and animal husbandry. It was possible for people to live almost anywhere in Assyria, thanks to the regular rainfall, and it was not necessary for them to cluster along the waterways as they did in Babylonia. Thus, in the historic period, much of the Assyrian heartland was populated by people carrying on agriculture and animal husbandry, and this soon spread to large parts of the Jezirah as the population of Assyria grew. The rivers produced abundant fish, while grape vines

grew on the hillsides. Mosul marble, a relatively soft stone, was quarried for building and monumental sculptures, but the main building materials were clay bricks and bitumen found on the Euphrates in the vicinity of the modern city of Hit. There were and still are abundant salt flats in the Jezirah.

The bases of Assyrian economy were agriculture and animal husbandry. The two types of economy existed in a symbiotic relationship, with part of the land being used for pasture while the remainder was used for crop production. Barley was the staple grain, although other grains such as wheat were also grown. The barley was used to make bread and beer, while wine was produced from grapes. Sesame oil was used to flavor the bread. Green vegetables were not common, but spices such as mustard were known; and of course there was salt. The most popular vegetables were onions, garlic, and leeks. Fruits such as apples, grapes, and nuts were a normal part of the diet.

The most common animals bred were sheep and goats, which provided the material for textiles. Goat's milk was very popular and was used both for the milk itself and for cheesemaking. Pigs, cows, and various fowls such as ducks and chickens were commonly raised. None of these animals were slaughtered on a regular basis for their meat, the eating of meat being reserved for festive occasions. Oxen were used as draft animals, and donkeys and mules were used for transporting goods. The breeding of horses became common only in the middle of the 2d millennium, and the horse was a military animal used for drawing chariots and cavalry.

**3. Trade, Communication, and Transportation.** Trade was a vital part of the Assyrian economy from prehistoric times because of the lack of major natural resources. Moreover, Assyria was geographically located on the crossroads of extensive E–W and N–S trade routes. The city of Asshur was particularly important from this point of view, since it was the obvious crossing point for caravans traveling E–W in the foothills of the Zagros mountains. See ASSHUR (PLACE). In contrast to Babylonia, the rivers of Assyria were not particularly important for transportation since they were so treacherously swift. Thus, caravans and armies were forced to move by land, but on routes parallel to the rivers in order to have ready access to water for themselves and their beasts. Most roads were no doubt in terrible condition, full of ruts and potholes, but there were royal roads used by the king's messengers which were kept in a good state of repair. As to speed of travel, it is known that a caravan or military expedition could travel at the rate of approximately 25 km a day. This rate of course varied considerably, depending upon the terrain. For swift communication, the Assyrians established a system of relay posts where fresh horses were kept at the ready 24 hours a day. In this way the king could keep in touch with the most extreme parts of his empire and relay his orders with dispatch.

**B. Sources**

**1. Written Sources.** Assyrian royal inscriptions hold pride of place among the sources for Assyrian history, both because of the vast amount of information they supply and because they were the first cuneiform documents to be deciphered and studied in the 19th century of our era. (See *GARI*; *LAR*). This does not mean, however, that Assyrian royal inscriptions can be used uncritically; quite the contrary. They are royal boasts or propaganda, and the information they present was selected and arranged to enhance the image of the sovereign. The kind of information selected concerned the military, hunting, and building activities of the monarch which were considered to be the proper functions of an Assyrian king. The military narratives came to be lengthier as the centuries passed and also to be arranged more and more in an annalistic format, that is year by year with dates. The successes of the Assyrian armies were recorded in gory detail, but no mention was ever made of an Assyrian defeat or setback, despite the fact that it is well known from other documents that such humiliating events did take place. Thus, a historian using Assyrian royal inscriptions to reconstruct the events of a reign must be very careful and critical.

Fortunately, many letters from and to Assyrian kings have been recovered (see Parpola 1970; 1987). These letters provide considerable detail about what actually went on in the Assyrian court, in the provincial centers, and on the battlefield. Here we read of the king seeking and receiving advice from his senior administrators and debating major decisions. Numerous Assyrian contracts are preserved from almost all periods of Assyrian history (see Postgate, 1976). These consist of various kinds of legal records, such as marriage contracts, divorce contracts, adoption contracts, loans, and conveyances. The

contracts provide considerable insight not only into the legal structure of Assyria but also into the socioeconomic situation. Large numbers of Assyrian administrative records have also been preserved from almost all periods of Assyrian history. These include such documents as lists of food and wine rations for court personnel, offerings given to temples, and wages paid to laborers.

There are other kinds of written sources from Assyria which appear from time to time. For example, there are a few treaties between Assyria and its neighbors, mainly from the 7th century B.C. There are also some prognostic texts from the same century which are records of the king's request for guidance from the diviners on major state decisions. These documents, which are unfortunately very badly preserved, provide some very interesting insights into the decision-making process in the Assyrian palace.

The later indigenous written sources for Assyrian history include a variety of documents written at various times for various reasons. Chief among these are the chronographic texts, king lists, and chronicles about Assyrian history (see TCS 5). We have several of these documents, and they are invaluable in that they provide the chronology and the coherent narrative of the political history of Assyria into which the numerous details from the other sources can be fitted. By far the most important document in this group is the Assyrian King List, which provides the filiation and length of reign of each king going back to the time when the kings were really no more than tribal chieftains. Among Assyrian chronicles, by far the most important is the Synchronistic History. This is a concise narration of relations between Assyria and Babylonia from the first half of the 15th century B.C. to about 800 B.C. Although it provides much useful information, it is unfortunately a very biased document since its purpose was to prove that whenever there had been conflict between Assyria and Babylonia, Babylonia was always in the wrong and lost. Speaking of Babylonia, the Babylonian Chronicle series (see the following article) is an important source of information on Assyrian history from the middle of the 8th century to the fall of the Assyrian empire at the end of the 7th century B.C. Miscellaneous texts such as laws, decrees, and epics also provide information on many facets of Assyrian civilization.

From the point of view of the historian it is unfortunate that beginning about 800 B.C. the Akkadian language, which had been spoken in Assyria since its beginning, was replaced gradually by the Aramaic language. It is unfortunate because while Akkadian was written on imperishable material such as clay and stone, Aramaic was written on papyrus and parchment, materials which are perishable in the Assyrian climate. From a variety of references, it is well known that Aramaic records were kept in Assyria beginning about 800 B.C., and that this recordkeeping in Aramaic became more common as time went on. This documentation is now entirely lost.

Until the middle of the 19th century of our era when cuneiform was deciphered, our only sources of information for Assyrian history were the Bible and classical authors. Since the decipherment of cuneiform documents, these sources now play a very minor role except for a few periods in Neo-Assyrian history when the Bible in particular provides insights unavailable from Assyrian documents. Among the classical sources, the chronology of Claudius Ptolemaeus is of interest in comparison with native Assyrian chronological lists. There are also legends preserved by such authors as Herodotus and Ktesias about Assyrian individuals such as Semiramis and Ahiqar.

**2. Archaeological Sources.** The ancient Assyrian cities of Nineveh, Calah, and Dur-Sharrukin were the earliest sites to be excavated by 19th-century archaeological pioneers. Among the finds were stone reliefs which lined the entrance and audience chambers of the Assyrian palaces. On these stone slabs were found inscribed cuneiform texts, together with scenes portraying the events narrated in the texts. The floor plans that have been uncovered are not by themselves very informative, but when they are related to the descriptions of buildings in texts one begins to understand the form and function of the various rooms in the palaces and temples. Archaeological excavation continues in Assyria to this day. Excavations are still being carried on at the major cities of Asshur, Calah, and Nineveh, as well as at provincial centers such as those along the Upper Habur river. These expeditions continue to add to our documentation on the history of Assyrian civilization and to fill in gaps.

**C. Chronology**

The chronology of Mesopotamia is structured on Assyrian chronology; in turn, the chronology of the entire Near East, including Anatolia, Syria-Palestine, and Egypt, is based upon synchronisms with Mesopotamian chronology. The reason for this is the fortunate fact that an astronomical observation provides a fixed date in Assyrian history. This date is the morning of June 15, 763 B.C., when an eclipse of the sun took place. This event is recorded in Assyrian documents which are dated according to a relative Assyrian chronology. Thus, working from the date 763 backward and forward one can establish absolute dates in Assyrian history for the entire 1st millennium. The sources which provide this reliable relative chronology in Assyrian history are the eponym lists and the king lists. The Assyrians named each calendar year after an official called an eponym or *limmu.* Lists of these eponyms were compiled in chronological order, and complete lists of them have been preserved for the entire 1st millennium. Legal documents, and frequently annals, were dated according to these eponyms. Thus, the astronomical observation which provided the absolute date of 763 for one of these eponyms automatically provided absolute dates for the entire list of eponyms and for every event dated by eponyms.

The second half of the 2d millennium B.C. (ca. 1500–1000 B.C.) is a rather different situation with regard to chronology. No complete list of eponym names has been preserved for this period. Thus, although we have the names of numerous eponyms, it is very difficult to establish their relative order; and this in turn makes it very difficult to establish an absolute chronology. The Assyrian King List is of little assistance in solving this problem other than establishing a general relative chronology. Thus, all the dates for the second half of the 2d millennium B.C. in Assyria may be out by approximately a decade either way. For example, a date of 1365 B.C. may in fact be as high as 1375 or as low as 1355 B.C.

Before 1500 B.C. the chronology of Assyria is even more confused. While there are some eponym lists they are very fragmentary, and the list of Assyrian kings is very suspect with regard to the accuracy of the numbers and the sequence of rulers. Synchronisms with Babylonian rulers and events are of little help here, since Babylonian chronology for this period is also very uncertain. What is desperately needed is (1) a fixed astronomical date and (2) a complete list of Assyrian eponyms for the entire period. Therefore, dates in Assyrian history before approximately 1500 B.C. may vary about sixty-four years either way.

In Assyria, the year in which a king died or vacated the throne was regarded as his last full regnal year by native historians. Although the new king took the throne immediately, this was regarded merely as his accession year, and for chronological purposes it was zero. The following year, his first full year on the throne, was recorded as his "first" year. Since the Assyrian year began in the spring (with the month Nisan), it spanned portions of two modern Western years, and to be absolutely precise one should normally cite Assyrian dates according to our calendar as overlapping, for example 759/758 B.C. Modern historians of Assyria, however, generally avoid doing this because it is rather pedantic.

**D. Political History**

**1. Early Cities.** The beginnings of Assyria go back to the 3d millennium B.C. and to a few autonomous city-states in the Assyrian heartland. Assyria as a political entity did not exist at this early stage; it was a development of the mid-2d millennium B.C. Instead, one finds by about 2500 B.C. a few independent city-states, chief among which were Asshur, Nineveh, and probably Arbela. Little is known of the history of any of these cities in this period, with the exception of Asshur. Arbela has never been excavated, since the modern city is right on top of the ancient tell. Nineveh, which has been excavated a number of times by various expeditions, has still not yielded very much documentary evidence for this early phase. Nevertheless, later allusions show that it probably was as old as the city of Asshur. For example, Shamshi-Adad I refers to the work of the Old Akkadian king Manishtushu (ca. 2300 B.C.) at Nineveh. This shows that the empire of the Old Akkadian monarchs extended as far N as Nineveh and, more importantly, that Nineveh was already a significant city in the region at that time.

Much more information is available on the history of the city of Asshur during the second half of the 3d millennium B.C. This city, like Nineveh, was also under the control of Manishtushu, since an inscription was found at Asshur of "a servant of" Manishtushu, presumably a governor under the Old Akkadian (OAkk) king. The lack of datable inscribed material before the OAkk period suggests that Asshur remained independent of S political and cultural influence until this time, but once this control was

established it continued, or was at least renewed, in subsequent periods. Thus, we know that Asshur was under the political control of the Ur III dynasty, at least during the reign of Amar-Sin (ca. 2046–2038 B.C.), since we have from Asshur an inscription of that king's governor.

Asshur regained independence sometime after the reign of Amar-Sin. In fact, the rulers of Asshur soon turned the tables on the S culture of Babylonia. One such ruler, Ilushuma, carried out a raid on Babylonia, attacking such major cities as Ur and Nippur. It was simply a plundering expedition, and no attempt was made to establish continuous control. The subsequent rulers of the city Asshur during the remainder of this period concentrated upon construction work in the city itself. In particular, a great deal of effort and materials was devoted to the improvement of the temple of the god Asshur. It was a period of political stability and economic prosperity and a time when the Old Assyrian merchant colony flourished in Cappadocia.

**2. Old Assyrian Merchant Colony.** Thanks to an accidental discovery of a large archive of cuneiform documents in Anatolia, important information has come to light regarding the economy of the city-state of Asshur during its earliest history (Veenhof 1972; Larsen 1976). The archive was discovered at the modern site of Kültepe, which in ancient times was called Kanish. From this archive it has been learned that the city-state of Asshur had established a number of merchant colonies in Anatolia in order to promote trade. The archive from Kanish consists of thousands of cuneiform tablets, the vast majority of which are concerned with economic matters. There are contracts, administrative documents, and commercial letters. Unfortunately, the counterparts of this correspondence and related economic recording have not been found at Asshur itself. Possibly future discoveries will unveil this documentation. Since virtually no records are preserved from Asshur itself for this time, without the discovery of the archive it would have been assumed that the city was of very minor significance. Now we realize it was of major importance to international trade around the turn of the 2d millennium.

The Kanish colony was concerned mainly with trade in tin, which was an essential element, together with copper, to make bronze. Since this is the period commonly called the "Bronze Age," the significance of this trade need not be emphasized. The colony flourished for about 150 years (ca. 1900–1750 B.C.) and was a real colony, for the merchants were citizens of the city-state of Asshur living temporarily in Anatolia. They mixed with the natives in order to promote trade, but otherwise the colony remained an independent and relatively isolated establishment. The relationship was mutually beneficial, and thus little is heard of conflict between the Anatolian natives and the foreigners from Asshur. A rough modern analogy might be the European trading compounds in the Chinese city of Shanghai in the 19th century of our era.

**3. Shamshi-Adad I and His Time.** The early cities in the Assyrian heartland, and in particular the city-state of Asshur, were jolted out of their economic prosperity by the Amorite invasion. The Amorites were Semitic-speaking people from the Syro-Arabian desert who penetrated Mesopotamia about the beginning of the 2d millennium B.C. In the first two centuries of this millennium they established a number of dynasties at various city-states in Assyria, as well as in Syria and Babylonia. The invasions, which went on for many generations, caused considerable chaos and much fighting not only between the former inhabitants and the invaders but also between the various city-states.

The Amorite people were divided into many tribes, each led by a powerful chieftain. Among the most powerful was the tribe which produced Shamshi-Adad I (ca. 1813–1781 B.C.), one of the most colorful figures in early Assyrian history. Although clearly of nomadic ancestry, as one learns from scattered references in contemporary and later texts, Shamshi-Adad went to great pains, once he had gained control of the major part of Assyria, to have himself recognized as a legitimate ruler of the city-state of Asshur and in direct descent from the ancient rulers there. Thus, the Assyrian King List incorporates the Amorite ancestors of Shamshi-Adad as early rulers of Asshur, although obviously they were nomadic chieftains living in the desert. As to the early career of Shamshi-Adad himself, it is known that he traveled S into Babylonia, where he spent some time. He was obviously impressed by Babylonian culture and learned a great deal from it, since later in his career he encouraged the Babylonization of Assyrian culture, including Assyrian religion.

Eventually Shamshi-Adad went N up the Tigris, leading a group of warriors, and captured Ekallatum. After three years he then went farther N and attacked and captured the city-state of Asshur. He devoted himself to major construction work at the city. In particular, he concentrated upon the temple of Asshur, a god whom he regarded as equivalent to the Sumero-Babylonian deity Enlil. This is an indication of one of his attempts to encourage Babylonian culture.

If it were not for a chance discovery of a large archive of cuneiform documents at the city-state of Mari (see MARI) on the middle Euphrates, this is about all we would know about Shamshi-Adad I. But what a limited view this would be, for Shamshi-Adad, as we now know from the Mari archives, went on to greater things. When Yahdun-Lim, the king of Mari, was assassinated, possibly with the connivance of Shamshi-Adad's agents, Shamshi-Adad captured Mari and appointed his younger son, Yasmaḫ-Adad, as governor of Mari. At the same time, he appointed his eldest son, Ishme-Dagan, as governor of Ekallatum. Leaving these territories under his sons' control, Shamshi-Adad then proceeded farther W into Syria. He captured the city of Shubat-Enlil and made it his residence and capital. All this produced a N Mesopotamian power unprecedented in strength and extent. In effect, Shamshi-Adad controlled all of the region N of modern Baghdad, W of the upper Tigris, E of the middle Euphrates, and W into central Syria. The governing of such an extensive territory was by no means easy, not only because it had never been under central authority before but also because there were many Amorite tribes wandering about the region. Shamshi-Adad and his two sons had their work cut out for them trying to maintain stability and prosperity.

Despite Shamshi-Adad's own ability, one of his great frustrations was that his younger son, Yasmaḫ-Adad, was quite incapable. Yasmaḫ-Adad hated the battlefield as much as he hated the administrative office. He much preferred to spend his time in the harem, as we learn from letters of Shamshi-Adad rebuking him for not doing his job. Frequently in these letters Shamshi-Adad holds up his eldest son, Ishme-Dagan, as an example to be emulated. In one letter he says, "While your brother is victoriously campaigning you lie about down there among the women." Eventually Shamshi-Adad was forced to appoint advisers to his son who kept him informed separately of what was going on.

Despite the incompetence of Yasmaḫ-Adad, the remaining years of Shamshi-Adad were prosperous and relatively stable. When he died, however, about 1781 B.C., the fortunes of N Mesopotamia changed dramatically. Hammurapi of Babylon marched N and in the space of a few years captured first Mari and then Asshur. See History and Culture of Babylonia below. The history of the Assyrian region after Hammurapi's time is lost in obscurity. Barbarian tribes from the Zagros threatened Asshur and the other city-states, and a new people called the Hurrians invaded from the E and eventually controlled the region.

**4. Hurrians and the Kingdom of Mitanni.** After the death of Shamshi-Adad I in the 18th century, very little is known about the region of Assyria and about the city-states, such as Asshur and Nineveh, until the 14th century B.C. The reason for this lack of information was the chaos brought about by the mass migration of new peoples into N Mesopotamia. Chief among these were the peoples which founded the kingdom of Mitanni. This kingdom was centered on the Habur river, but in its heyday its influence spread as far W as the Taurus mountains and as far E as Assyria. Indeed, for a time it seems to have controlled the city-states of Nineveh and Asshur.

Unfortunately, very little information is available about the kingdom of Mitanni. Its capital, Washshukanni, has still not been located, and therefore the state archives of the kings of Mitanni have not been discovered. What little we know of this kingdom and its history we glean from foreign sources: Assyrian, Babylonian, Hittite, and Egyptian. As meager as this information is, it does allow us to realize that Mitanni was one of the greatest powers in the ancient world in the middle of the 2d millennium B.C. Its kings dealt as equals with the Egyptian pharaohs and Hittite monarchs.

Since Mitanni was such a great power, and controlled Assyria for a time, it is important to consider this kingdom and its civilization in any discussion of Assyrian history. Indeed, the two ethnic elements evident in the Mitanni kingdom, Hurrians and Indo-Europeans, also had a major impact on the region of Assyria and thus require detailed consideration. The term Indo-European refers basically to a large family of languages, among which are modern English, French, and German. Ancient languages included within

this group are Latin, Greek, Hittite, and Sanskrit. The Hurrian language, on the other hand, has not been identified with any known family of languages. Certainly it is neither Indo-European nor Semitic. The Hurrians themselves entered Mesopotamia by way of the Caucasus from the steppes of central Asia. Evidence of their presence in Mesopotamia, which is supplied from personal names, goes back at least as far as the Third Dynasty of Ur (ca. 2000 B.C.). At this early date, they were in the east Tigris region, and for the next few centuries there is no evidence they spread beyond this area. Toward the middle of the 2d millennium, however, they began to move out, and eventually Hurrians were spread over most of the Fertile Crescent, their presence being evident in Assyria, Syria, Anatolia, and Palestine. In Assyria, the site which provides most of our evidence for a strong Hurrian presence is Nuzi.

As stated above, there are both Indo-European and Hurrian elements in the ethnic makeup of Mitanni, and the major and almost sole source of this information is personal names. The most common personal names of people of Mitanni are in the Hurrian language, but there are some names which are Indo-European. These latter names have one of two characteristics; either they are compounded with the name of an Indo-European deity known in Sanskrit (such as Indra, Vayu, Svar, Soma, etc.) or they are concerned with horses and horse racing, for it is a well-known phenomenon that early Indo-European culture was closely associated with horses and horse breeding. Thus, we find people of Mitanni with names in an Indo-European language with such meanings as "possessing great horses" and "he who had won seven prizes (at the horseraces)." A further piece of evidence for Indo-European presence in Mitanni is a horse-breeding manual, the original of which came from Mitanni but which is known only from a copy found at the Hittite capital of Hattusa. The text is written in the Hittite language, but some of the technical terms are in fact in an Indo-European language which is not Hittite. It is commonly assumed that this is the same language known at Mitanni. A final major piece of evidence is the name of a social class at Mitanni, which is "Maryannu." This is an Indo-European word meaning "young man, warrior." All of this evidence indicates not only that there were Hurrian and Indo-European elements in the kingdom of Mitanni but also that the Hurrian element was by far the most common. It is going too far, however, to conclude from this that the Indo-Europeans were the ruling class at Mitanni. Such a conclusion, which has been put forward by a few scholars, is unjustified by the present state of our evidence. Rather, we weem to be dealing with a society which is essentially Hurrian but which has at some time come into contact with Indo-Europeans and learned from them not only some of their language but also their horse-breeding techniques.

The people of Mitanni are responsible for introducing the use of the horse in warfare into the Fertile Crescent. They used it to draw a light two-wheeled chariot, which immediately gave them the upper hand in warfare. Soon, however, other peoples such as the Hittites and Assyrians learned how to use horses and light two-wheeled chariots in the same manner. But until they did so, Mitanni was one of the most powerful political and military forces in the Fertile Crescent.

**5. The Rise of Assyria (ca. 1741–1274 B.C.). a. Eclipse (ca. 1741–1364 B.C.).** Until the 14th century B.C., the term "Assyria" could be used only in a geographic sense, but in that period we see the first appearance of a state called Assyria. For a brief time under Shamshi-Adad I in the 18th century B.C., the various small city-states in the heartland of Assyria were linked together under one political authority, but the name Assyria was not applied to this entity. With the death of Shamshi-Adad I and the accession of his son Ishme-Dagan I (ca. 1780–1741), this very fragile unity disintegrated. For some centuries the various city-states continued to be independent of one another, and some at least eventually fell under the political control of the kingdom of Mitanni, as outlined in the previous section.

The eclipse in the history of the region called Assyria lasted for almost four centuries. As incredible as it may seem, virtually no documents and no information about the entire area are available for this long period of time. The only document which gives us any idea of the events of the period is the Assyrian King List, but for the period under discussion the succinct information in this list can only apply to the city-state of Asshur. Nothing is known of events at the other major cities of the region. The Assyrian King List assigns a reign of forty-one years to Ishme-Dagan I (ca. 1780–1741 B.C.), the son and successor of Shamshi-Adad I. After the entry for this king, the list continues with a number of names and eventually

informs us that a new royal line was founded by Adasi, who is referred to as "the son of a nobody" (i.e., he was a usurper). After Adasi and until the end of the period we are calling the eclipse, some contemporary inscriptions begin to appear at the city-state of Asshur, and gradually light is shed upon events there.

**b. Ashur-uballiṭ I (ca. 1363–1328 B.C.).** The long reign of Ashur-uballiṭ I marks the first appearance of Assyria as a political entity and the beginning of this nation's rise to become one of the great powers in the ANE. This is the period called the Amarna Age and Ashur-uballiṭ I played a significant role in this era, together with the leaders of the Hittites and of other major states in the Fertile Crescent—Egypt, Mitanni, and Babylonia. Ashur-uballiṭ I is the first Assyrian ruler to call himself "king of Assyria," previous rulers at the city-state of Asshur having called themselves only "vice-regent of the god Asshur." Native Assyrian tradition regarded the reign of Ashur-uballiṭ I as the beginning of Assyrian power.

Unfortunately, few details are known about the reign of Ashur-uballiṭ I. It is apparent that he controlled a unified and strong state, that he was recognized internationally as a great ruler, and that he actually controlled the Babylonian state for a significant period of his reign. On the international scene, two letters from Ashur-uballiṭ I were found at the Egyptian capital of Amarna. These letters were addressed to the Egyptian pharaoh, and in them the Assyrian addressed the Egyptian king as an equal and referred to establishing good relations, which obviously included trade and some kind of political cooperation.

Turning to his relations with Babylonia to the S, more details are available. According to our information, the daughter of Ashur-uballiṭ I was married to the Babylonian king, and their son, that is the grandson of Ashur-uballiṭ I, eventually came to rule over Babylonia. It is clear that Ashur-uballiṭ I supported and influenced his grandson on the Babylonian throne. When there was a rebellion in Babylonia, the grandson was killed and replaced by a native usurper. Ashur-uballiṭ I invaded Babylonia to avenge his kin, deposed the usurper, and put a king of his own choice on the Babylonian throne. Although no further information is available, it seems obvious that the Assyrian continued to exercise considerable control over Babylonian affairs during his lifetime.

**c. Prelude to Greatness (ca. 1327–1274 B.C.).** The stability that Ashur-uballiṭ I had brought about was to be an important foundation upon which his son, Enlil-narari, and his two grandsons, Arik-din-ili and Adad-narari I, could build the beginning of an empire. Altogether, these three reigns cover just over half a century. It was a period during which they struggled to maintain and expand the boundaries of Assyria, but it was also a period during which they finally lost control over Babylonia. In fact, the most significant achievement of the period on the part of Assyria was the expansion to the W into the territory controlled by the kingdom of Mitanni. The successes on this front brought wealth and confidence to the Assyrians and prepared the way for the establishment of a real empire.

Assyria's loss of Babylonia was due to the strength of that nation under its greatest king during the Kassite Period, Kurigalzu. On the other hand, the success of Assyria against Mitanni during this period was achieved, at least in part, because the Hittites were pressing very hard against the kingdom of Mitanni at the opposite end, on the W boundary of Mitanni. It was Adad-narari I who successfully carried out two major campaigns against Mitanni and began the process which would eventually incorporate half of Mitanni as part of the Assyrian empire.

**6. The Middle Assyrian Empire 1 (ca. 1273–1207 B.C.).** The continuing rise in the fortunes and power of the state of Assyria narrated in the previous section culminated in the establishment of the first Assyrian empire, commonly called the Middle Assyrian Empire to distinguish it from the Late Assyrian or Neo-Assyrian Empire. The Middle Assyrian Empire can be divided chronologically into two periods, and it is the first part which is our concern here. This covers the reigns of two kings, Shalmaneser I (ca. 1273–1244) and Tukulti-Ninurta I (ca. 1243–1207 B.C.). These two were the son and grandson, respectively, of Adad-narari I, and they built upon the stable and influential kingdom which they inherited to make of Assyria one of the most powerful nations in the ANE in the 2d millennium. Fortunately for us, a relatively large amount of documentation is available for the period so that we can see the evolution of this process in some detail.

The military campaigns of Shalmaneser I were conducted to the E, N, and W. He left Babylonia alone. The most important achievement of the campaigns of Shalmaneser I was the complete conquest of E Mitanni and the annexation of this region as an Assyrian territory. The way had already been cleared for these campaigns by Adad-narari I. Nevertheless, Adad-narari I had no real control over the region and the task was a formidable one, made more so because Mitanni was allied with the Hittites and the Arameans against Assyria. In his royal inscriptions, Shalmaneser I boasts that he defeated all three parties, namely the Hittites, the Arameans, and the army of Mitanni, and that ultimately he made E Mitanni a province in the Assyrian empire. Other sources for the period bear out the essential truth of his claims.

In the descriptions of the campaigns by Shalmaneser I, we first encounter the gory details of Assyrian conduct in warfare for which these people would become famous. For example, in a narrative regarding a campaign against the king of Mitanni, Shalmaneser I boasts that after slaughtering tens of thousands of the troops of Mitanni he blinded no less than 14,400 Mitannians whom he had taken alive as prisoners.

Tukulti-Ninurta I, the son and successor of Shalmaneser I, conducted campaigns similar to his father's. In addition, he campaigned against Babylonia and added this area to his kingdom for at least a short period of time. Indeed, the campaign against Babylonia by Tukulti-Ninurta I was the most momentous event of his time. By this period we have a little more information about Babylonia, and it is clear that the state was very weak. It had a tenuous alliance with the Hittites, one which was difficult to maintain because all communications had to pass through Assyria. There are three descriptions of the Babylonian campaign of Tukulti-Ninurta I: one in the royal inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I, a second in a historical epic about Tukulti-Ninurta I, and a third in a fragmentary account in a Babylonian chronicle. By far the most detailed version is found in the historical epic. This poetic narrative is, however, Assyrian and highly biased in favor of Tukulti-Ninurta I. Nevertheless, it is known from other sources that Kashtiliash, the Kassite king of Babylonia, was defeated and slain. The city of Babylon itself was plundered and its walls torn down as punishment. The statue of the god Marduk was carried off to Assyria. Certainly it is a fact that Tukulti-Ninurta I captured Babylon and controlled Babylonia for at least a brief period of time.

The significance of the other campaigns of Tukulti-Ninurta I which led him to the N, NE, and W of Assyria is eclipsed by the great victory over Babylonia. Nevertheless, these other campaigns were of importance. In particular, he was able to fend off an attempt by the Hittites to expand into E Mitanni, a region which had been incorporated into Assyria by Shalmaneser I. The narrative of the defeat of the Hittites by Tukulti-Ninurta I is of special interest to biblical students, since it contains the first recorded example of the deportation of peoples by the Assyrians. Such a procedure would be used much later against the Israelites, as narrated in the Bible. In the case of Tukulti-Ninurta I, a large group of the conquered Hittites were transported from Syria to labor camps in Assyria. By this practice, the Assyrians not only eliminated a troublesome element on their borders but also gained a significant increase in their labor force.

Tukulti-Ninurta I stands out as the most successful and ambitious Assyrian ruler for many centuries, but eventually he was surrounded and assassinated in his own palace. For many years after the assassination the fortunes of Assyria were in decline, and control over her territories slackened. Significantly, Babylonia took the opportunity during this weak period to break away and appoint its own king.

It is necessary to concentrate upon the military achievements of the Assyrian rulers, since these were the most important achievements of this militaristic state. Nevertheless, both Shalmaneser I and Tukulti-Ninurta I devoted much time and energy to building operations in the cities of Asshur and Nineveh. In addition, Tukulti-Ninurta I founded an entirely new city, Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, which means "Quay of Tukulti-Ninurta." This new city was on the opposite bank of the Tigris from Asshur and a little N of that ancient city. At Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, the king built a splendid palace, several temples, and a ziggurat, and he cut a channel for a canal to provide water for the gardens and the inhabitants. The entire city was surrounded by a wall. Here, Tukulti-Ninurta I took up residence, and it is in this palace that he was assassinated. In founding an entirely new capital, Tukulti-Ninurta I set an example for a few kings of the Late Assyrian Empire who would similarly found new cities.

As to other cultural activities of the period, there is some information. In particular the conquest of Babylonia, which involved carrying off Babylonian documents and people to Assyria, brought considerable cultural influence from Babylonia into Assyria. This is a process which had begun as early as the reign of Ashur-uballiṭ I, but the act of Tukulti-Ninurta I gave it great impetus. Thus, in literature and religion we now find significant Babylonian influence in Assyria.

**7. The Middle Assyrian Empire 2 (ca. 1132–1076 B.C.).** The assassination of Tukulti-Ninurta I began a temporary decline in the power of Assyria, a decline which lasted for about three quarters of a century and coincided with the fall of the Kassite dynasty in Babylonia. A major internal factor that contributed to this decline was dissatisfaction with the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta, which culminated in his assassination. External factors were the movements of new peoples into the Fertile Crescent that had a major impact not only upon Assyria but upon other important powers in the area as well. The most significant people involved were an ethnic group called by the Assyrians the Mushku and by classical authors the Phrygians. These people, among others, moved into Anatolia and brought about the collapse of the Hittite empire, and many Hittites fled to Syria for refuge. This brought them into direct conflict with Assyrian interests. With this, Assyrian expansion westward halted, but in fact Assyria now had to retreat in face of the pressure of various peoples on its W frontier. Another group of people who were beginning to apply pressure on Assyria's W flank were the Arameans, about whom more will be said later. During this brief period of decline, Assyria seems to have fallen briefly under Babylonian control.

Eventually Assyria, like a sleeping giant, reawakened under the leadership of Ashur-resha-ishi I. Before describing his reign, however, a major revolution in the art of warfare must be noted. It is about this time that iron became more common. The use of iron for weapons and armor marked a major change in the conduct of warfare. Its significance is at least as great as the introduction of the light horse-drawn chariot by the Indo-Europeans about the middle of the 2d millennium.

The accession of Ashur-resha-ishi I (ca. 1132–1115 B.C.) marks the beginning of the revival of Assyria's fortunes. By far the most important achievement of this king was the restoration of internal stability to the Assyrian state. He regained authority over all of the Assyrian heartland and restored peace and prosperity to the region. He newly defined or recaptured the borders and strengthened them by rebuilding old fortresses or erecting new ones.

It was the good fortune of Tiglath-pileser I (ca. 1114–1076 B.C.) to inherit a kingdom which was now internally stable, prosperous, and secure on its frontiers. See TIGLATH-PILESER (PERSON). Building upon this foundation this king, one of the greatest in Assyrian history, had the ambition and ability to create an empire. Under his leadership Assyria expanded in all possible directions, so that when he died Assyrian influence extended from the Mediterranean sea in the W to Babylon in the SE.

No sooner had Tiglath-pileser I ascended the throne than one of Assyria's most dangerous enemies, the Mushku, attacked. The Assyrian king responded immediately with a counterattack, and thus began many years of Assyrian campaigning to the W against the Mushku. The persistent campaigning not only stopped the Mushku but pushed them back westwards, and Tiglath-pileser I boasts of returning with rich booty from the plundered Mushku. These W campaigns also brought him into contact with the Arameans. Various Aramean tribes had formed coalitions in Syria, and in their own way they were as formidable an enemy to Assyria as the Mushku. A major confrontation between Assyria and the Aramean coalition took place at Jebel Bishri in central Syria. Assyria won the day, and for a time the tide of Aramean incursions was stemmed. The W campaigns of Tiglath-pileser I were by far the most important military activities of his reign, bringing under Assyrian influence all of Syria as far W as the Mediterranean sea and S Anatolia as far as the Taurus range.

Despite the major significance of the W frontier, however, one must not underestimate the importance of Tiglath-pileser I's campaign into Babylonia. The Assyrian and Babylonian armies fought on at least two occasions on the Lower Zab river, and eventually Assyria defeated the Babylonian army. The Assyrians then proceeded S into the Babylonian plain and captured major Babylonian cities, including Babylon and Sippar. No mention is made of S Babylonian cities in our Assyrian sources, however, and therefore we may assume that Tiglath-pileser I did not gain control there.

The benefit of these numerous and successful campaigns was that Assyria now enjoyed great prosperity, and this factor, together with the internal stability, fostered major cultural developments. Significant building operations were undertaken in the various cities of Assyria. In the legal sphere, scribes carefully compiled two sets of laws, one a collection of palace edicts of various kings as far back as Ashur-uballiṭ I and the second a collection of laws mainly concerned with the status of women in the Assyrian state (see *ANET,* 180–88). Babylonian influence is evident in a number of these cultural developments.

**8. The Arameans.** A discussion of the Arameans provides a suitable bridge between the 2d and 1st millennia in Assyrian history, for these people first appeared toward the end of the 2d millennium and played a major role in the ANE in the 1st millennium. The Arameans make up the third major invasion of the Fertile Crescent by Semitic-speaking nomads, the first being that by the Akkadians and the second that by the Amorites. A fourth invasion by the Arabs would come a little later. In highlighting these four major invasions, one must also note that gradual infiltration by Semitic-speaking nomads from the Syrian desert was going on all the time. Aramaic, the language of the Arameans, eventually became the language of the Assyrians and Babylonians, thus replacing Akkadian. Indeed, Aramaic by the middle of the 1st millennium was the international language of the entire ANE.

The name "Arameans" covers a large number of tribal groups, among which were a people called the Ahlamaeans. In fact, the Ahlamaeans are the earliest attested group of Arameans. The earliest datable reference to Arameans or Ahlamaeans appears in documents of the 14th century B.C. from Egypt (Amarna), Syria (Ugarit), Assyria, and Babylonia. In Amarna, the reference appears in a badly preserved letter, the context of which is not clear. At Ugarit, the name Aramean appears as a tribal identification for an individual, as a personal name, and as a topographical name. In Assyria, there is a statement in a royal inscription of Adad-narari I that his father, Arik-din-ili (ca. 1317–1306 B.C.), conquered the Ahlamaeans. In Babylonia, there is a letter of the late 14th century B.C. from Dur-Kurigalzu in which a tribe called Hirana, known from later sources to be an Aramean tribe, is mentioned.

After the 14th century B.C. references to Ahlamaeans and Arameans become more frequent, and it is evident that they were spreading widely throughout the Fertile Crescent. For example, in the 13th century B.C., a Babylonian king, Kadashman-Enlil II, complained to the Hittite king, Hattushilish III, that he had not been able to correspond with him because of the hostile Arameans. This statement indicates that large groups of Arameans were already well established in Syria along the upper Euphrates, a fact borne out by later historical evidence. It should also be remembered that the Arameans together with the Hittites fought on the side of Mitanni against Shalmaneser I.

It has already been noted that the decline in fortunes of Assyria after the death of Tukulti-Ninurta I was due in part to pressure from the Arameans on the W frontier of Assyria. Later, Ashur-resha-ishi I boasted that he had conquered them in the desert. As noted in the preceding section, Tiglath-pileser I defeated an Aramean coalition at Jebel-Bishri about 1100 B.C. The successor of Tiglath-pileser I, Ashur-bel-kala, recorded in the so-called Broken Obelisk a number of raids on Aramean groups in the 11th century B.C. in Syria. Further evidence from the late 11th century B.C. appears in the Bible, where we read of David's wars against the Aramean kingdom of Damascus. It was in fact the unified kingdom in Palestine established by Saul and continued by David that effectively prevented the Arameans from gaining control over Palestine. Similarly, the Mushku or Phrygians prevented the Arameans from pushing into Anatolia. These two factors then deflected the main thrust of the Aramean incursion so that it went SE into Mesopotamia.

Assyria lost considerable territory to this invading group, and there is some evidence that the Assyrians may have actually had to abandon their major cities for a brief period to the Arameans. The Babylonians suffered at least as much if not more from the Aramean attack. Our fragmentary sources indicate the confusion and chaos caused by the flood of Aramean warlike tribes into the Babylonian plain. In the 1st millennium, Arameans were present in two forms. First, there were a number of Aramean kingdoms in Syria that were the targets of Assyrian campaigns for centuries to come. Second, there were Arameans within Assyria itself, and their numbers gradually increased as time went by. This in turn had a major cultural impact upon Assyrian civilization.

By the 8th century B.C. the Aramaic language was widely written and understood in Assyria. Although only a few Aramaic documents have actually been recovered from this period because of the perishability of papyrus and parchment upon which they were written, there is ample evidence for the widespread use of the Aramaic language. There are Assyrian reliefs on which are portrayed scribes recording booty on scrolls, and these would only be used for the Aramaic language. There are references in Assyrian texts to the "Aramaic Scribe," and there is mention in Akkadian letters of correspondence being carried on in Aramaic between the Assyrian king and his officials. Even the Akkadian language itself was influenced by Aramaic both in the lexicon and in the syntax. By the 7th century B.C., there were senior Assyrian officials bearing Aramaic names and speaking Aramaic. For example, the rabshakeh of Sennacherib at the siege of Jerusalem, as narrated in the Bible, could speak Aramaic as well as Hebrew (2 Kgs 18:19–35). See RABSHAKEH.

The reason for this major Aramaic presence was the increasing number of Arameans living in Assyria from the 9th century on. Many of these were brought by Assyrian kings as captives to work on building projects at Assyrian capitals, the most ambitious of which was that of Ashurnasirpal II at Calah. Even after the fall of Assyria in 612 B.C., Aramaic both as a language and as a culture continued to have a major presence in the Babylonian empire and later in the Persian empire.

**9. Assyria Revives (1075–884 B.C.).** The title "Assyria Revives" refers to the fact that after the death of Tiglath-pileser I in 1076 B.C. the fortunes and power of Assyria once again declined, and little is heard of this state until the accession of Ashur-dan II in 934 B.C., more than a hundred years later. The reasons for the decline were the lack of systematic administration for the vast territory which Tiglath-pileser I had conquered and the tremendous pressure applied by the Arameans during this period. By the turn of the millennium, Assyria was hard pressed on all fronts: to the S in Babylonia and to the W in Syria were the Arameans; to the N and E were the peoples of the Nairi lands. The situation improved, however, near the beginning of the 1st millennium when three successive kings brought about internal stability and launched military campaigns to regain lost Assyrian territory.

**a. Ashur-dan II (934–912 B.C.).** From this reign one may date the beginning of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Ashur-dan II restored internal stability to the Assyrian state, and this enabled him to be the first king for over a century to conduct regular military campaigns abroad. The chief targets of these military expeditions were the Arameans and the recapture of territory which they had wrested from the Assyrians. In the tradition established by the MA monarchs, Ashur-dan II concerned himself with building activity. The city of Asshur had been neglected for over a century, and now the king commissioned construction work on the fortifications surrounding the city and palace.

**b. Adad-narari II (911–891 B.C.).** Adad-narari II continued the work of his father, Ashur-dan II, and campaigned even more extensively. In addition to pushing back the Arameans, Adad-narari II led expeditions against Babylonia and the Nairi lands. On these campaigns the Assyrian army marched as far W as the Balih river, as far S as the middle Euphrates, as far N as Lake Van, and as far E as the central Zagros mountains. The Arameans continued to be the central concern of the foreign policy of the Assyrians, however, as evidenced by the fact that no fewer than eight campaigns were conducted against them. The offensive against the Arameans was so successful that eventually Adad-narari II was able to lead his troops on an expedition through territory formerly controlled by them without meeting any opposition. On the contrary, as he traveled through the region, the local Aramean chieftains came to him voluntarily with tribute. This campaign was a "show of strength" campaign, a new feature of Assyrian strategy which would be imitated by subsequent kings. Another innovation is that in addition to building Assyrian garrisons on the frontier, Adad-narari also established storage depots at strategic points throughout his newly acquired territory for the supply of his army on campaign. In subsequent reigns, these storage depots would be developed into administrative centers, thus marking the beginning of a provincial system. Adad-narari continued the work of his father in reconstructing the fortifications and buildings at the city of Asshur.

**c. Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884 B.C.).** With the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta II, a short period of consolidation began. Tukulti-Ninurta II set himself the task of organizing the nation and empire in a much

more systematic manner. A good illustration of this new policy, and also of the extent of Assyrian control, is provided by a royal inscription of this king in which is described in detail a "show of strength" campaign conducted in approximately the same region in which Adad-narari II had led such a campaign. Like his father, he met no resistance on this campaign; as the Assyrian army approached, local rulers came to it and voluntarily offered provisions and tribute.

An innovation in the reports of Tukulti-Ninurta's campaigns is that reasons are given for these offensive actions, the reasons being reports of hostile acts on the part of the people who became the target of the campaigns. In other words, each offensive action by the Assyrians is justified by the claim that the people of the target area had initiated hostilities.

Tukulti-Ninurta II was more ambitious in his building projects, carrying out construction not only at Asshur but also at Nineveh. Little is known of his work at Nineveh, but at Asshur he continued to improve the fortifications and to restore the temples and palace.

**10. The Calah Kings (883–824 B.C.).** There are two peaks in the greatness of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, the first being the one which can be called that of the Calah kings, and the second being that of the Sargonid kings (see below). In between these peaks is a low point in Assyrian might. The name "Calah Kings" derives from the new capital created by the first of these kings, Ashurnasirpal II. This king, together with his son and successor, Shalmaneser III, not only created this new capital but also brought under Assyrian control an unprecedented extent of territory and wealth.

**a. Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.).** Ashurnasirpal II is the epitome of the ideal Assyrian king. As a fitting symbol of his exceptional might and accomplishments, he made a reality of the principle, which had been developing for some time, that the Assyrian king should campaign every year of his reign. It is known that he led at least fourteen major expeditions during his twenty-five years on the throne, and there were probably several other campaigns for which we have no information as yet.

To the east, in the area of the Upper Diyala in the Zagros mountains, Ashurnasirpal led three campaigns. The main target was a coalition of tribes headed by a certain Nur-Adad. In anticipation of the Assyrian invasion, Nur-Adad walled up a major pass in the mountains, but the Assyrian army broke through this wall and penetrated deep into Nur-Adad's territory, looting and destroying towns as they proceeded. When Ashurnasirpal was satisfied with the extent of his conquests and sated with the booty he had captured, he forced large numbers of conquered peoples to return to Calah to perform forced labor on the building projects there. To affirm his control over the Zagros area, he established a garrison and supply depot deep in the mountains.

In the N, NE, and NW, Ashurnasirpal launched a number of campaigns directed primarily against the lands of Nairu and Urartu. Toward the end of a series of campaigns in these areas which involved considerable looting and destruction, he appointed a governor over the district. The result of the extensive campaigning and of the administrative measures which Ashurnasirpal took in these areas was that for the remainder of his reign the people in these districts remained reasonably submissive and voluntarily sent tribute and workers to perform service in Assyria.

The campaigns stretched over most of the reign of Ashurnasirpal II and were interspersed by at least four campaigns to the W. The first major target was the tribe called Bit-Adini, which was settled in and around the city of that name on the Balih river. The city was captured and plundered and became a jumping-off point for Ashurnasirpal's campaigns further westward. Eventually the Assyrian army proceeded farther, and upon reaching the upper Euphrates received tribute without battle from the king of Carchemish. At a later date the Assyrians crossed the upper Euphrates and received tribute from various states W of the Euphrates. When Ashurnasirpal reached the Mediterranean sea, he performed the ancient ritual of washing his weapons in the water. The Phoenician cities of Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, and Arvad sent presents to the Assyrian conqueror. On his return he brought back cedar timber, for which Lebanon was famous, to use in his building projects at Calah.

The last direction of the campaigns was to the S along the Habur and middle Euphrates rivers. These areas had been carefully controlled by Assyria since the time of Adad-narari II, but the preoccupation of Ashurnasirpal II with campaigns in other directions inspired some peoples on the Habur and middle

Euphrates to renounce vassalship. They were encouraged to do this by Bit-Adini to the W and Babylonia to the S. There were three separate attempts to throw off Assyrian control, and in each case Ashurnasirpal responded with lightning speed. As soon as word reached him of the rebellions, he reversed the march of his troops and fell upon the rebels unexpectedly. The guilty cities were plundered and burnt to the ground, and their leaders were horribly mutilated before being murdered. The result of these atrocities was that Ashurnasirpal had no further trouble along the Habur and middle Euphrates for the rest of his reign.

There were major innovations in administrative matters during this reign. In this period we find the first signs of a provincial administration. Ashurnasirpal II developed the idea of garrisons and supply depots in far-flung regions to the point that these became real administrative centers with governors. Moreover, it is clear from his inscriptions that he expected tribute to be contributed regularly and voluntarily. These are basic items in a properly organized provincial administration.

One of the most significant achievements of Ashurnasirpal was the construction of a new major Assyrian city, Calah. Until Ashurnasirpal chose Calah as his capital, it had only been a small village. At this modest site he erected enormous fortifications, a huge palace, and numerous temples, the chief of which together with its ziggurat was dedicated to the god Ninurta. This enormous task was carried out by the large numbers of captive peoples forced to come to Assyria for the purpose. At the completion of the erection of this magnificent city, Ashurnasirpal staged a banquet to which thousands of dignitaries, both native and foreign, were invited. This was a fitting tribute and conclusion to the reign of one of the mightiest Assyrian kings.

**b. Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.).** Shalmaneser III campaigned and constructed as vigorously and extensively as his father, Ashurnasirpal, and thereby added much territory and glory to Assyria. The most important areas in which he expanded were to the N and W, where his most formidable foes were, respectively, the kingdom of Urartu and the Damascus coalition.

Let us deal with the W campaigns and the Damascus coalition first. The resistance Assyria encountered centered around two coalitions, one in the N which included Carchemish and one in the S with its headquarters at Damascus. Shalmaneser III had considerable success in suppressing the N coalition and established a number of administrative centers in the region. But the S coalition was another story. This "Damascus coalition" included troops from a variety of nations, including Israel under its king Ahab. The major confrontation between the Assyrians and the Damascus coalition took place at the battle of Qarqar on the Orontes in 853 B.C. Unfortunately, the only detailed account we have of the battle is Assyrian, and according to this Shalmaneser won the day. This may have been true; however, the Damascus coalition was by no means destroyed at Qarqar. It continued to resist Assyrian advances in subsequent years. The Assyrians continued to pound away at these S states along the Mediterranean, and eventually the Damascus coalition disintegrated and the Assyrians laid siege to the city of Damascus itself. Shalmaneser was unable, as he tacitly admitted, to take Damascus, but he proceeded farther S and erected a stele on Mt. Carmel to mark the S extent of his expedition. He received tribute from Tyre and Sidon and from Jehu, the king of Israel.

Turning to the N and the kingdom of Urartu, Shalmaneser again campaigned much throughout his reign. The kingdom of Urartu was young and vigorous, and its territory spread like an umbrella over Assyria's N borders from Lake Urmia in the E to the source of the Euphrates in the W. By far the most important and impressive campaign against Urartu was that of 856 B.C., in which the Assyrian army swept right across Urartu from W to E. In the process the Urartian army was defeated, and numerous major cities were captured and destroyed. Urartian encroachment upon Assyrian frontiers was thereby checked, and a good deal of wealth and supplies, particularly horses, was won. In comparison to the W and N campaigns, Shalmaneser's two campaigns into Babylonia were relatively minor and were in response to an appeal for help by the legitimate king of Babylonia against his rebellious brother.

The construction activities of Shalmaneser were much more diversified than his father's, which had been concerned almost exclusively with Calah. At Calah, Shalmaneser completed, renovated, or expanded several buildings begun by his father. Most importantly he erected Fort Shalmaneser, the most extensive

military emplacement ever excavated in W Asia, on the outskirts of Calah. At Asshur he restored the fortifications and some of the temples. He also did some work at Nineveh.

Toward the end of his life Shalmaneser let his control over the state loosen. In particular, he entrusted the leadership of military campaigns to one of his chief officers, Dayyan-Ashur, who was the tartan (field marshal) of the Assyrian army. The king no doubt did this because he was old and perhaps even ill, but the result was that a rebellion broke out when the monarch's control had relaxed; also, he had sons who were anxious to take over the state. Details of the rebellion are unknown, but out of the chaos emerged Shamshi-Adad V, one of his sons, as king. There is no information about the fate of Shalmaneser III; he may have died a natural death, or he may have been assassinated.

**11. Assyria and Urartu (823–745 B.C.).** For almost a century after the death of Shalmaneser III in 824 B.C., Assyrian history was dominated by the aggressive actions of the kingdom of Urartu, and for a time Urartu replaced Assyria as the dominant power in the area. While Assyria was preoccupied with defending itself against Urartu, peoples on its other frontiers, in particular the Babylonians, took advantage of Assyria's weakened position. Similarly, the Arameans and other peoples in the W renounced Assyrian vassalship and either declared themselves independent or allied themselves to Urartu. This period marks the low point in the history of the Neo-Assyrian Empire.

**a. Shamshi-Adad V (823–811 B.C.).** Shamshi-Adad V, although the son and successor of Shalmaneser III, was no match for his father. He gained the throne through mysterious circumstances resulting from the long rebellion at the end of the reign of Shalmaneser III, and instability and conflict continued to be characteristics of his reign.

First and foremost, Shamshi-Adad had to concern himself with the N frontier where it appears Urartu had encroached upon Assyrian holdings and was seriously threatening to invade Assyria itself. Shamshi-Adad boasted that he made three campaigns in this region. Despite his claim that these campaigns covered vast territories, the lack of precise details strongly suggest that these were little more than quick raids intended to intimidate Urartian aggression and at the same time to capture horses to build up the strength of the badly weakened Assyrian army. Once the internal troubles of Assyria had been settled and the N frontier reasonably secured, the Assyrian king launched four campaigns into Babylonia. Unfortunately, we have only Assyrian sources for these events, and they inevitably speak of the campaigns as major Assyrian successes. We are told that Shamshi-Adad gained control of all of Babylonia, that he imposed tribute upon the Babylonians, and that he forced upon them an agreement on the boundary between the two states.

Given the troubled nature of the times, it is not surprising that Shamshi-Adad had very little opportunity for building activity. He began the construction of a palace at Nineveh, which his son completed, and at the city of Asshur he did some repairs to the temple of Asshur. It is possible that he built a palace at Calah, but this is uncertain. Shamshi-Adad was buried at Asshur, and his inscribed sarcophagus was recovered by modern excavators.

**b. Adad-narari III (810–783 B.C.).** The empire which Adad-narari inherited from his father, Shamshi-Adad, was clearly in decline, and his entire reign was devoted to futile attempts to restore the fortunes of Assyria. A fascinating aspect of Adad-narari III's reign is that his mother, Semiramis, became a legendary figure, and tales about her have been preserved in later writings among the Arameans, Greeks, and Persians. Clearly she exercised considerable influence during her son's career, at least at the beginning, and this unusual fact of a woman playing a major role in Assyrian affairs of state caught the imagination of poets and writers.

Since Shamshi-Adad V had neglected the W frontier, it is not surprising that the first part of the reign of his son was concerned with military campaigns in that direction. Some states which had rebelled were once again brought under Assyrian authority, but the most significant achievement was the siege and capture of Damascus. Adad-narari's record of this event includes the statement that among the various cities which now paid tribute to Assyria was Samaria under King Joash.

Adad-narari continued Shamshi-Adad's policy of campaigning into Babylonia. The primary aim of these campaigns seems to have been the subjection of the Chaldeans, a group of West Semitic–speaking

peoples settled in S Babylonia. At the same time, Adad-narari reasserted Assyrian authority over Babylonia, and he brought back captives to perform forced labor and imposed taxes and a boundary agreement upon the Babylonians.

The successes of the campaigns of Adad-narari III were superficial and when we look below the surface we see serious weaknesses. It is known from various steles discovered in scattered parts of Syria that a number of powerful individuals who paid lip service to the Assyrian king actually controlled extensive territories as virtually independent rulers. Adad-narari not only allowed this to occur but actually also encouraged it by granting land and privileges to these men.

Despite the weakness of the times, Adad-narari was able to carry out a number of building projects at Calah, Fort Shalmaneser, and Nineveh. Culturally, the most significant feature of the reign was the increasing influence of Babylonian religion on Assyria. The most important part of this phenomenon was the prominence given to the Babylonian god Nabu in Assyria during Adad-narari III's reign.

**c. The Interval (782–745 B.C.).** This period, which I have called the "Interval," is the lowest point in the power of Assyria during the time of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Theoretically, there were three Assyrian kings during this time who had control, but practically the Assyrian empire was now totally fragmented into a number of virtually independent states ruled by former Assyrian governors. It is during this time that the kingdom of Urartu rose to its greatest power, and despite the attempts of the Assyrian kings as well as the independent governors to defend Assyrian territory, Urartu gradually expanded. At the end of the Interval, Urartu had complete control of all of the territory N of the Assyrian heartland stretching from the Iranian plateau in the E to N Syria and the Mediterranean in the W. Assyria was on the verge of extinction when Tiglath-pileser III came to the throne.

**12. The Late Assyrian Empire (744–612 B.C.).** The Late Assyrian Empire is frequently called the Sargonid Age, because all but the first two kings, Tiglath-pileser III and Shalmaneser V, were descendants of Sargon II. This age is the greatest and final flowering of Assyrian imperial power in the ANE.

**a. Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 B.C.).** Tiglath-pileser III was probably a usurper but a man of exceptional ability, since he quickly regained all the territory that Assyria had lost in the Interval. As we saw in the preceding section, Assyria was on the verge of losing its very independence to the kingdom of Urartu when Tiglath-pileser III came to the throne. But this king was able not only to drive Urartu out of territories previously claimed by Assyria but also to invade Urartu itself. Since Urartu had previously expanded into Syria in the W, Tiglath-pileser III in particular led a number of campaigns in that region against such states as Arpad. His defeat of these states, many of which had been allied against him, brought voluntary submission and tribute from the more S cities of Damascus, Hamath, Byblos, Tyre, and Samaria. After Tiglath-pileser had invaded Urartu and defeated its army, he was eventually able to concentrate more exclusively on the Mediterranean states. In 734 Tiglath-pileser led his army through Syria and Phoenicia to S Palestine, where he captured Gaza. He created an Assyrian trading center there and made Gaza a vassal of Assyria. This trading center was to facilitate economic communications between Assyria and Egypt. In the following years, various states in Syria and Palestine rebelled against Assyria, but they paid the penalty by being savagely attacked by the Assyrian army and incorporated as vassal states into the Assyrian empire. This was the fate of Damascus and Israel. See also TIGLATH-PILESER.

The other major military concern of Tiglath-pileser was Babylonia. By this time relations between Babylonia and Assyria had become very complicated. In contrast to the attitude of earlier Assyrian kings of the 8th century B.C., Tiglath-pileser's policy toward Babylonia initially had been to allow it to remain independent so long as it was friendly toward Assyria. To fulfill this aim he led a campaign early in his reign into Babylonia to secure the position of the Babylonian king, Nabu-nasir, with whom he seems to have had a treaty. The Assyrians then left Babylonia in peace until there was a rebellion against the son and successor of Nabu-nasir. The rebellion was led by a Chaldean called Mukin-zer, and the suppression of this rebellion caused Tiglath-pileser considerable time and energy. Once he had suppressed the rebellion, Tiglath-pileser, angry about the time he had wasted on this problem, ascended the Babylonian

throne himself. Thus we have for the first time in Neo-Assyrian history a unified state of Assyria and Babylonia under one king. Not all residents of Babylonia were happy with this arrangement, however, and one dissident, a Chaldean called MERODACH-BALADAN, resisted Assyrian control during this and subsequent reigns.

Under Tiglath-pileser, a major reorganization and improvement of the army and the provincial administration was undertaken. Another feature of his reign was the massive deportation of peoples from rebellious areas, a policy which would be pursued regularly in subsequent times. Very few building projects were undertaken by this king, and that is not surprising given the time and energy he devoted to military and administrative measures. The main monument which he left was a new palace at Calah.

**b. Shalmaneser V (726–722 B.C.) and Sargon II (721–705 B.C.).** The reign of SHALMANESER V was very short and would hardly merit any mention except for the fact that it was almost certainly this king who conquered Samaria. Modern historians have debated for years whether Shalmaneser V or Sargon II actually achieved this, but the evidence is strongly in favor of Shalmaneser V. The exact dates of the siege, which lasted for two to three years according to the Bible, is uncertain, but the fall itself probably took place in 722 B.C. After the capture of Samaria, its inhabitants were transported to Assyria, and this operation took place mainly during the subsequent reign of Sargon II. Shalmaneser's reign was brought to an end by a revolution in which he was killed and a man called Sargon seized the throne by force.

This man, who became Sargon II, was probably not in the direct line of succession; in other words, he was a usurper. Be that as it may, he was a worthy successor of Tiglath-pileser III and emulated that sovereign by intensive campaigning during which he not only regained territory lost during the reign of Shalmaneser V but also added new regions to the empire. Sargon has actually left us an account of the events which led to his accession to the throne. The document, called the Asshur Charter, claims that Shalmaneser V wrongfully imposed corvée on the city of Asshur, with the result that the citizens of Asshur rebelled against him and put Sargon on the throne in his place. Sargon rewarded Asshur by eliminating the wrongful impositions and granting the citizens special privileges. The rebels on the other hand were punished, and 6,300 of them were deported to live in Hamath in Syria.

Assyria's internal difficulties during this time gave her vassal states in the W an excellent opportunity to rebel. Among the rebel states were Damascus, Arpad, and Samaria. As soon as Sargon had stabilized his control in Syria, he led an expedition to the W where he met the combined rebel forces at Qarqar in 720 B.C. Assyria's forces won a victory and then marched S to reconquer Gaza and defeat an Egyptian army on the border of Egypt. Sargon now carried out massive punitive operations, which included the deportation of large numbers of people to Assyria. He also established an Assyrian garrison on the Egyptian frontier. Philistia, in particular, received the attention of the Assyrian monarch, who, after a few years, was able to subdue completely the various Philistine cities, including Ashdod. Within the W territory claimed by Sargon was the island of Cyprus, a new addition to Assyrian influence.

To the NW, Sargon's campaigns were concerned with two major enemies, the Mushku or Phrygians led by Mita (the Midas of classical authors) and the Urartians under Rusa I and later Argisti II. The war between Sargon and Mita resulted in some slight territorial gain for Assyria, but the major achievement was eventual peace on this frontier. The Assyrian offensive against Urartu took place not only on the NW frontier but also on the N and NE frontiers. Frequently other peoples, including the Manneans and the Medes, allied themselves with Urartu against Assyria. To further complicate matters another people, the Cimmerians, were now well established in the area and actively hostile to both the Assyrians and the Urartians. As a result of Sargon's numerous campaigns, Urartian power gradually declined and Assyria gained the upper hand.

On the Babylonian frontier the most serious problem which Sargon had to deal with was Merodach-baladan, a Chaldean. Merodach-baladan seized the Babylonian throne during the confusion surrounding the accession of Sargon II in Assyria and remained there for the first twelve years of Sargon's rule in Assyria (721–710 B.C.). Eventually Sargon was able to dislodge Merodach-baladan in 710, and the

Chaldean fled to hide in Elam. Sargon now entered Babylon in triumph and was crowned king of Babylonia.

Sargon II was one of those few Assyrian kings who built an entirely new capital. In this case the new city was Dur-Sharrukin, "Fort Sargon," just a few kilometers N of Nineveh. The central building of the new metropolis was the palace, but there was also a magnificent temple and ziggurat, and the entire complex was surrounded by an enormous wall. A beautiful park and numerous temples were also part of the city. People were transported from all regions to populate the new city.

**c. Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.).** With the reign of SENNACHERIB, the son and successor of Sargon II, the apogee of the Neo-Assyrian Empire was readied. Jerusalem, the capital of the kingdom of Judah under Hezekiah, became the focal point of Sennacherib's policy toward the W, for not only did Jerusalem refuse submission to the Assyrians but it also allied itself with the Egyptians and Ethiopians against Sennacherib. There is considerable controversy among modern scholars about the details of the military activities of Sennacherib in Palestine. The central question is whether there was more than one campaign against this region, and the biblical narratives are difficult to reconcile with what Sennacherib says in his royal inscriptions. Despite this controversy, some facts are clear. First, an Assyrian army defeated an allied Egypto-Ethiopian army at a place called Eltekeh in Palestine; this army had come to the aid of Hezekiah. Sennacherib then laid siege to Jerusalem. The city was not taken by force; instead, Hezekiah presented Sennacherib with rich tribute. However, other cities in Judah were not so fortunate. Many of them were captured, looted, and destroyed, chief among these being Lachish. An Ethiopian army moved into Palestine to deal with the Assyrian threat. The two armies—the Ethiopian and the Assyrian—camped opposite one another, and during the night before the battle was to take place, a mysterious event occurred. According to the Bible, the angel of the Lord descended upon the Assyrian camp and slaughtered all of the troops (2 Kgs 18:13–19:36). Varying versions of this strange tale are found in Josephus (*Ant* 10.1.4–5) and Herodotus (2.141), and probably the truth will never be known. The fact is, however, that the Assyrian army on this occasion withdrew in confusion and disgrace.

Turning to Babylonia, we are confronted with one of the most intriguing and enigmatic phenomena in Sennacherib's reign. Babylonian resistance to Assyria centered around the figure of the Chaldean Merodach-baladan, and when he died the resistance was continued by his son. Babylonian opposition to Assyrian rule found support among the Elamites, who provided troops. Merodach-baladan was very ambitious and wily in his endeavors to keep Babylonia independent of Assyria. He gained allies throughout the Assyrian empire, these allies including Hezekiah of Judah (2 Kgs 20:12–19). Sennacherib eventually drove Merodach-baladan out of Babylon and chased him into the S marshes, where Merodach-baladan found refuge by crossing over to the Elamite shore. Sennacherib then turned his attention to Babylon. After fierce fighting Babylon was captured by the Assyrians, and Sennacherib, according to his royal inscriptions, utterly destroyed the city, killing or driving out all of its inhabitants. This act, which took place in 689 B.C., marks the lowest point in Babylonian history for centuries.

A number of architectural and cultural projects are to be dated to this reign. Sennacherib chose Nineveh as his capital and set about a major urban renewal of this ancient city. He constructed a totally new palace complex, complete with park and artificial irrigation. He cut a swath right through the center of the city as a processional way leading from the bridge across the Tigris to his palace, and he erected enormous fortifications with gates and towers around the considerably larger city. His building projects at the city of Asshur were part of his attempt to reform Assyrian religion, the chief purpose being the subordination of the Babylonian god Marduk to the Assyrian god Asshur. This included the erection outside the city walls of a temple of the New Year (Akitu) which was decorated with images and inscriptions depicting the myth of Asshur (not Marduk) conquering the dragon Tiamat. Other evidence of the attempt to downgrade Marduk's position is provided by a fragmentary text which seems to describe a trial in which Marduk is judged to be inferior to Asshur.

The reign of Sennacherib ended in violence. There is much mystery and confusion about the actual events, but from native sources as well as from the Bible it is clear that Sennacherib was assassinated by

one or more of his own sons. Out of the confusion arose Esarhaddon, a younger son of Sennacherib, to become king.

**d. Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.).** ESARHADDON, a son of Sennacherib, is by far the most unusual of all Assyrian kings in that he was clearly more interested in cultural, and in particular religious, matters than in military achievements. Despite this predilection, however, it was during his short reign that Assyria first conquered Egypt. The view that Esarhaddon was less interested in military than in cultural matters is borne out by all of the written documents which have come down to us—royal inscriptions, letters, and oracle requests. These oracle requests were a fortunate discovery. They are records of inquiries by the king to the gods of divination, Shamash and Adad, through the diviners for guidance on state decisions.

By far the most important military aim of Esarhaddon was the conquest of Egypt, a goal which no doubt his father Sennacherib had fostered. This endeavor led the Assyrian armies down into Palestine and Phoenicia. While Egypt was penetrated more than once, the only really successful invasion took place in 671 B.C., when the Assyrian and Egyptian armies fought three separate pitched battles. The Assyrians were victorious and conquered the capital, Memphis. Governors were appointed and tribute collected for Assyria. But control over Egypt was very superficial, and on a subsequent campaign, aimed at trying to subdue the Egyptians more effectively, Esarhaddon died en route to Egypt. With the exception of two Phoenician states, Sidon and Tyre, the lands of Palestine and Phoenicia remained reasonably submissive to Assyria during the reign of Esarhaddon. Sidon was effectively subdued, but despite a lengthy siege Tyre was never taken; that achievement remained for Alexander the Great many centuries later.

In contrast to Sennacherib's policy toward Babylonia, Esarhaddon's policy was to appease the Babylonians through a rebuilding program and good government. The central portion of Esarhaddon's building program in Babylonia was the reconstruction of Babylon and in particular the rebuilding of the temple of Marduk.

All of Esarhaddon's building endeavors were quite diverse. At Nineveh he extended the large barracks originally built by his father, Sennacherib and built or restored a park and several temples. At Asshur he did considerable work on the temple of Asshur. Curiously, there are royal inscriptions in which the reconstruction of the Asshur temple at Asshur and of the Marduk temple at Babylon are described side by side. Calah and Arbela also were included in the major reconstruction programs of Esarhaddon.

Another interesting phenomenon was the role of Esarhaddon's mother, Naqi›a (an Aramaic name; her Assyrian name was "Zakutu"). During the reign of her son, Naqi›a exercised unprecedented authority and behaved like a sovereign in many ways, building a palace at Nineveh and even writing royal inscriptions. Reports on cultic and military matters were addressed to her, and a sculptor was commissioned to create a statue of her. At the death of her son, she continued to exercise authority during the early reign of her grandson, Ashurbanipal, before her own death.

Esarhaddon was very concerned over the succession, and he laid careful plans. In 672 B.C., the king assembled representatives from all parts of the empire and made them swear by the gods to respect his wishes with regard to the succession. The nature of the succession was totally new: Ashurbanipal was appointed heir to the throne in Assyria, while Shamash-shuma-ukin, his brother, was appointed heir to the throne in Babylonia. This was the first time the two states had been split between two Assyrian monarchs, and whatever good reasons Esarhaddon had for this decision, inevitably it led to civil war.

**e. Ashurbanipal and the Fall of Assyria (668–612 B.C.).** Superficially, Assyria seemed to be at the height of its power with the accession of Ashurbanipal, but in actuality decline had already set in. The first real military concern of Ashurbanipal was Egypt. Esarhaddon had begun the penetration of Egypt, but Ashurbanipal had to lead further campaigns there in an attempt to subdue that nation. In 667 B.C. he recaptured Memphis, which had thrown out the Assyrian garrison. The guilty Egyptians were punished and new governors appointed. A few years later, Memphis once again rebelled with the support of the Ethiopians. Ashurbanipal sent a second expedition to Egypt, which not only recaptured Memphis but gained the city of Thebes (ca. 663 B.C.) as well. This was the height of Assyria's penetration of Egypt.

After this time, as Assyria's attention was distracted elsewhere, Egypt fell away from Assyrian control and eventually became independent.

The most serious military problem which Ashurbanipal had to face was Babylonia and its ally Elam. The unusual division of the succession between Assyria and Babylonia with Shamash-shuma-ukin, the brother of Ashurbanipal, being appointed king of Babylonia inevitably led to civil war. This broke out in 652 B.C. and came to an end four years later in 648. The struggle between the two brothers was bitter, and the sufferers were the Babylonians themselves, for most of the conflict took place on Babylonian territory. Despite the help of allies such as the Elamites and Arabs, Shamash-shuma-ukin finally lost. The ultimate disaster was a two-year siege of the city of Babylon during which the citizens suffered terrible hardship and famine.

The fall of Babylon meant that Ashurbanipal could concentrate on Babylon's ally, Elam. He led a series of successful and devastating raids into Elam, looting the countryside and sacking and destroying the cities. Finally, the capital of Elam, Susa, was captured and destroyed. Elam was by this deed effectively annihilated as a nation, but ironically for Assyria and Babylonia this made room for the influx of the Persians, who would eventually conquer Mesopotamia.

The building projects of Ashurbanipal were quite extensive. The untimely death of Esarhaddon had left a number of building enterprises unfinished, and these Ashurbanipal undertook to complete. Nineveh continued to be the place of the chief royal residence, and among the various works Ashurbanipal constructed there was the spectacular N palace, on the mound now called Kuyunjik. This, the last great Assyrian palace, was magnificent and included an extensive terrace, a large park with exotic trees, plants, and animals, and numerous rooms lined with enormous stone reliefs depicting the victories of Ashurbanipal. Many of these reliefs can be seen today in the British Museum in London. Ashurbanipal also carried out work on the barracks at Nineveh, as well as other palaces and temples. In addition, he did some work at Asshur, Arbela, and Calah and took upon himself the responsibility of finishing Esarhaddon's restoration program at Babylon.

The favorite recreation of an Assyrian king was hunting, and much information is available about the hunting activities of Ashurbanipal, both in written sources and in stone reliefs. In these, we find that the lion was the favorite prey of the king. The Assyrian hunted lions both in their habitats along the Balih river in Syria and in the marshes to the S of Babylonia. In addition, he had lions captured alive and brought to a large park in Assyria, where he could hunt them at his leisure. Such a hunt had a religious connotation and at the end of the chase, a ritual was performed, which ended with the king pouring a libation over the lions' corpses, as depicted in stone reliefs.

Ashurbanipal, unlike many of his predecessors, was intensely interested in cultural pursuits. This interest went back to his early education, for he boasted that he was not only taught how to ride horses, drive chariots, throw the spear, and shoot the arrow, but also how to read and write. No other Assyrian king has made this latter boast, and it is generally assumed that most Assyrian kings were illiterate. Ashurbanipal's ability in letters led him to be involved actively in the acquisition of large numbers of cuneiform tablets for his libraries at Nineveh. Much of this library has been recovered in modern times and is our major source for both Assyrian and Babylonian culture. For this, we owe Ashurbanipal a great debt.

The latter part of the reign of Ashurbanipal is shrouded in darkness, and he was succeeded by a series of insignificant kings. Assyria was already in decline by this time. The Babylonians, allied with the Medes, marched into Assyrian territory and eventually penetrated the Assyrian heartland itself. The city of Asshur fell in 614 B.C. Then, the Babylonians and Medes concentrated on the capital, Nineveh, which fell after a three-month siege in 612 B.C. Although a remnant of the Assyrian dynasty continued to attempt to rule from Harran for a few years after this disaster, the Assyrian empire had come to an end.

The reasons for the fall of Assyria are multiple and intertwined. One must date the beginning of the fall to the civil war between Assyria and Babylonia, which broke out in 652 B.C. Assyria never recovered from that conflict, although to all appearances it was the victor. Militarily, it was left weak and a prime target for major enemies on its horizons such as the Cimmerians, Medes, Manneans, and Babylonians.

While these external factors were important reasons for the fall of Assyria, there were internal weaknesses as well. The Assyrian provincial administrative system was still a very primitive one. If chance had allowed the Assyrians more time, perhaps they would have developed a more effective system; the Achaemenid Persians did, and their provincial administrative system was based upon that of the Assyrians. Another internal factor was that Assyria had an absolute monarch. There are advantages and disadvantages to such a political system. As long as the character and personality of the absolute monarch was strong, the state was strong, but as soon as a weak man came to the throne disaster ensued. Ashurbanipal was clearly a very strong character, but he was succeeded by a series of weak individuals who lost control over the state.

In conclusion, one must observe that the "fall of Assyria" was really a transfer of power to the Babylonians, who under Nabopolassar and later Nebuchadnezzar II simply took over the Assyrian empire and continued to run it in the Assyrian manner. The Assyrians as a people continued to live in the region but had become subjects of the Babylonian monarchs. See the following article.

**E. The Army**

Assyria was a militaristic state, and the entire organization of the nation was centered around the army and warfare. It was this specialized concentration which over the centuries made Assyria the supreme political power in the ANE. Most of what we know of the Assyrian army comes from the Sargonid period; that is, the time of the Late Neo-Assyrian empire. Given the nature of our sources, there are no precise figures on the size of the Assyrian army, although by the Sargonid period it must have numbered several hundreds of thousands of troops. This vast resource of manpower would, however, be called up only for a major campaign. There was a very strict hierarchy in the organization of the army, and this hierarchy very closely paralleled the civil administration. The king was the supreme commander of the army, and immediately under him was the "field marshall" (Akk *tartan*). See TARTAN. The army was divided into units of various sizes and types, but the basic division was the "company" (*kiṣru*), which consisted of 50 men under a "captain" (*rab kiṣri* or *rab ḫanše*). The company, in turn, was broken down into files of 10 men. An officer carried a mace as the symbol of his authority.

The Assyrian army consisted mainly of infantrymen, but there were also smaller, more specialized units of chariotry, cavalry, and engineers. The infantrymen were equipped with spears, bows, slings, daggers, swords, maces, and battle-axes, and they defended themselves with various types of shields. The archers were a specialized group within the infantry. Each archer was equipped with his own quiver of arrows and a bow which was as tall as himself. Archers worked in groups of three, consisting of the archer himself, a spearman to protect him, and another man bearing an enormous shield to protect all three.

The light horse-drawn chariot was first introduced to the Fertile Crescent in the middle of the 2d millennium by the Indo-Europeans. It quickly became an integral part of the Assyrian army. Over the subsequent centuries, its form and efficiency was gradually improved, although the basic type of chariot remained the same, being a two-wheeled, open-backed vehicle drawn by one or more horses. In the 9th century B.C., each vehicle had a driver and an archer. Later, one or two shield bearers were added for the defense of the driver and archer. The bow used by the chariot's archer was much smaller than that used by the infantry archer.

Cavalries were not introduced in the Near East until the 1st millennium, but their introduction added considerable mobility to the Assyrian army. The cavalryman and the charioteer were the elite of the Assyrian army. Each cavalryman was equipped with a small bow and a short sword. In the 9th century B.C., he was usually accompanied by a second mounted man with a shield, who protected the archer and held his horse's reins when he was shooting. After the 9th century, this companion disappeared.

Apart from the standing army, which had been established by Tiglath-pileser III in the late 8th century B.C., all troops were raised under a special institution called the *ilku*, through which they were required to perform military service each year for a limited period of time. But as time went on, the *ilku* proved inadequate to provide the number of troops required, and toward the latter days of the Assyrian empire foreign troops and mercenaries were included in the ranks of the Assyrian army. Assyrians proper were spread around the empire as much as possible, since they were the most loyal, and they constituted the

chariotry and cavalry divisions. The infantry consisted largely of foreigners and mercenaries, the foreigners being Arameans and at least some of the mercenaries being Greeks.

By the Sargonid period there were three basic kinds of soldiers: the permanent professional, the man fulfilling his *ilku* obligation, and the extraordinary soldier called up for a specific campaign. The raising of Assyrian troops was the primary responsibility of the captains, and each captain had a certain number of villages under his control. The captain, in turn, was responsible to the provincial governor.

As for military strategy, there is little evidence of any major coherent system in the 2d millennium B.C. But by the 9th century with the reign of Ashurnasirpal II, the conduct of Assyrian warfare had become a relatively well organized matter. By this time it is clear that there was a grand plan behind the organization of the campaigns. Ashurnasirpal II, Shalmaneser III, and their successors carefully considered long-range policy before launching a series of campaigns. An Assyrian campaign normally started in the spring, as soon as the winter rains had stopped. The core of the army gathered at an appointed starting point, which was not necessarily the capital. Here, the monarch inspected the troops, and the priests and diviners performed the necessary religious rituals. As the army marched off it was preceded by the standards, accompanied by the priests, the diviners, and the king with his personal bodyguard. After these came, in the following order, the chariotry, the cavalry, the infantry, and the impedimenta. Further levies of troops would be picked up at gathering points in the regions of the empire through which the army marched on its way to the frontier. The army carried with it some food supplies when it started its march, and these supplies, mainly barley, were issued in daily rations. Essentially, however, the Assyrian army lived off the land through which it marched. At the successful conclusion of the campaign, the hostages and booty were paraded through the streets of the Assyrian capital. The king was driven in state in his ceremonial chariot, with the conquered princes and nobles plodding in chains behind him.

Assyrian military strategy involved pitched battles, siege warfare, and psychological warfare. In pitched battles, the fighting was usually performed hand to hand by the infantry under cover of the archers, chariotry, and cavalry. Special tactics used on occasion were midnight attacks, damming rivers to flood the enemy camp, and taking a position to cut the enemy off from its water supply. The main goal in all battles was the capture or death of the enemy leader, and the fulfillment of this was the immediate signal of victory.

The Assyrians were particularly adept at siege warfare, and they developed highly specialized siege techniques. These techniques were adopted by later imperial armies, including those of the Romans. But siege warfare was a prolonged and costly business, and even pitched battles consumed much time, manpower, and equipment. Thus, the Assyrians often tried psychological warfare first, using various methods to try and persuade the people of a target area to surrender without resistance. One such method was to surround a city and then send one or more high-ranking Assyrian officers to stand near the walls and harangue the inhabitants. These officers, who spoke the local language, presented arguments to the besieged people about why they should disobey their leaders and open the gates peacefully to the Assyrians. They were promised lenient treatment if they did so. A good example of this tactic is recorded in 2 Kgs 18:16–37, where it is narrated that Sennacherib sent his RABSHAKEH to the walls of Jerusalem to persuade the inhabitants to overthrow Hezekiah and surrender Jerusalem to the Assyrians.

If such psychological tactics failed, Assyria's methods changed dramatically. One or more groups or cities were singled out for a major onslaught, be it pitched battle or siege, and once they were defeated the people were horribly mutilated and slaughtered while their houses and towns were burnt to the ground. Victims were selected, their skins were flayed, and the mutilated corpses were hung on stakes surrounding the city. News of such horrible acts spread quickly throughout the region, and commonly the people submitted to the Assyrian army without further resistance. This "calculated frightfulness" or psychological warfare of the Assyrian army won it a notorious reputation in the Bible and in subsequent histories. Whatever moral judgement one might pronounce on such tactics, the practice was extremely effective; and one must remember that it was selective. Only strategic targets were singled out for this treatment, and there was a specific purpose behind it.

Another tactic which the Assyrians employed, and which also gave them a notorious reputation in ancient history, was the deportation of people. Populations of a given region were uprooted and moved to areas completely foreign to them, where they could no longer cause trouble. The reason for the deportation was to put down rebellious elements within the empire and at the same time to provide labor for major building projects or to develop uncultivated land in order to supply food for the increasing populations of the Assyrian cities.

The Assyrian army was the most successful army developed in the ancient world in pre-Persian times. One flaw did develop in the Assyrian fighting army, however, and that was the increasing use of foreign troops. But given the other major factors which led to the fall of Assyria, as outlined above, this flaw was probably a minor factor in the collapse of the Assyrian empire.

**F. Hunting**

The favorite recreation of the Assyrian monarch was hunting. This sport had the advantage of keeping him and his entourage in top physical condition during the lull between campaigns. Hunting as an Assyrian sport is attested already in the Middle Assyrian period. By the time of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, it had developed into a national institution similar in many respects to the annual campaign. Notable examples of this were the lion hunts of Ashurbanipal, which even had religious significance. They were attended by great ceremony and watched by the general populace. The gods Ninurta and Palil were the patron deities of the hunt.

The favorite hunting grounds of the Assyrian kings were the forests which once covered Syria between the Habur and upper Euphrates rivers. The larger the animal, the more valued it was as a prey. The Assyrians boasted most about killing or capturing such enormous beasts as elephants, lions, wild bulls, and panthers, which in antiquity were abundant in Syria. Lions were also found in the marshes in S Babylonia, where they were hunted by Ashurbanipal. Besides killing beasts, the Assyrians sometimes captured them alive and brought them back to populate game parks in Assyrian capitals. They hunted animals in a variety of ways. Sometimes they simply chased them with chariots, but at other times they stalked them on foot. It was a common tactic for the king and his entourage to lie in ambush in hollows in the ground while the king's men stampeded the animals toward them by battue. It is sad to record that the uncontrolled slaughter of animals in Syria, together with the uncontrolled cutting of timber in the region, led to the extinction of all large beasts and the destruction of the forests.

**G. Libraries**

Despite the fact that Assyria was a militaristic state and that the favorite recreation of Assyrian monarchs was hunting, the Assyrians had great respect for culture, and Assyrian libraries were major institutions in antiquity. These libraries were founded in Middle Assyrian times and contained largely Babylonian texts, for the Assyrians recognized that the Babylonians had special talent in literature and learning. The Assyrians themselves had scribes, of course, who occasionally wrote literary works, but such works were scarce and usually showed much Babylonian influence. The very idea of a library was in fact imported into Assyria from Babylonia. The assiduous collection of Babylonian written works probably began with the sack of Babylon by Tukulti-Ninurta I (ca. 1243–1207 B.C.).

In subsequent centuries, when Assyria was powerful, the kings set themselves the task of continuing and expanding such libraries. It eventually became a passion, and a good example of this is the last great Assyrian king, Ashurbanipal. This monarch sent out agents throughout Babylonia to collect, as he states in a letter:

> "… every last tablet in their establishments and all the tablets which are in Ezida. Gather together the entirety of … (a long list of text types) and send them to me … If you see any tablet which I have not mentioned and it is appropriate for my palace … send it to me!"

By the Neo-Assyrian period, libraries existed in all major Assyrian cities and probably in many of the minor cities as well. Nabû was the patron deity of the libraries, since he was the god of the scribal craft. The libraries, at least in the temples, therefore were called Ezidas after the name of Nabû's shrine at Borsippa. The libraries consisted of collections of literary and related works inscribed in cuneiform on clay tablets. The tablets were arranged in several rows on clay shelves, as we know from a Babylonian

library recently discovered at Sippar. Tablets containing catalogues of the works stored in the libraries were maintained, and some of these have been preserved. The library collections consisted of compositions of various types, including what we would call literary, learned, and religious works. In form, these library tablets are easily distinguishable from everyday documents by the extra care with which the scribes wrote them and the better quality of clay used.

As stated earlier, libraries existed in all major Assyrian cities as well as in most minor cities. In practice, archaeologists have so far recovered evidence of such libraries at Asshur, Nineveh, Calah, and the provincial city of Huzirina (= Sultantepe) on the Balih river. By far the most important and largest library so far recovered is that of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh. Because of the unscientific method by which these tablets were recovered, it is impossible to give an accurate estimate of the number of works this library once contained. It must have had at least 1,500 tablets, but how much higher one should push this figure is very uncertain.

While one generally thinks of the Assyrians as crude, military warriors, the Assyrian libraries are an example of the great cultural interest of the Assyrians. It is thanks to the Assyrian libraries that so much is known not only of Assyrian culture but also of Babylonian and Sumerian civilization.

**H. The State**

Politically, the Assyrian state was an absolute monarchy. The form of the Assyrian state and its kingship was essentially a native development, although there was some influence from Babylonia. By far the most important part of the concept of monarchy in Assyria was the link between the Assyrian king and the god Asshur. The Assyrian king was the representative of the god Asshur on earth and acted under his authority. In contrast to periods in Sumerian and Babylonian history when the king was regarded as a god, the Assyrian king was never deified. He was always regarded as a human being, albeit the supreme human being on earth.

The Assyrian king had absolute control over the state, but there were three checks to his absolute power: religion, legal precedent, and the attitude of his nobility. The monarch, as representative of the god Asshur on earth, had to respect religious practice, and this involved regular participation in religious rituals. With regard to legal precedent, the king had to respect the traditional rights of individuals, such as property ownership, and of groups or institutions, such as tax exemptions granted to privileged cities. As to the third check to his authority, the attitude of the nobility, the Assyrian king's position depended very much upon the support of the upper classes. On the few occasions in Assyrian history when the Assyrian king offended the nobility, the results were disastrous for the king. Apart from these three factors, the king had supreme power in Assyria.

The Assyrian king was the sole legislator in the state, and his "law-making" consisted of making royal decrees. There was not even an assembly in which his decrees might be discussed, although he did seek advice from his chief officials and sanction from the gods by means of omens. In the judicial sphere, the king was the supreme judge in the state, and legal disputes which could not be decided at a lower level eventually came to his attention. The Assyrian king was the commander in chief of the army and frequently led the army in person on campaign. As for religion, as already mentioned he was the representative of the god Asshur on earth. This involved his position as high priest of the god Asshur and required his presence frequently at major state religious festivals. In the economic sphere, in theory the Assyrian monarch owned all of the land in Assyria, and all commercial transactions, both domestic and foreign, were subject to his control and taxation.

In practice, the Assyrian king was isolated in his palace and harem from the Assyrian populace. Our sources allow us only glimpses of court life, but we can piece together from these a fuller picture by analogy with later oriental courts, in particular the Ottoman court at Istanbul, which was an indirect successor of the Assyrian court. A major institution in the Assyrian court was the harem, which consisted of a number of wives, concubines, serving maids, and eunuch guards. There was a strict order of precedence within the harem, with the queen mother at the top. Immediately under her in authority was the chief wife of the reigning king, her status being determined by the fact that she was the first wife to give the king a male offspring. Princes normally spent their early years in the harem. There was much

rivalry and jealousy within the Assyrian harem, and since the heir to the throne spent his early years there, harem plots to overthrow the king were not uncommon.

Male primogeniture was the rule of succession in Assyria. As soon as the eldest son of the king had reached a certain age, he left the harem and was officially appointed crown prince in a special ceremony. At the end of the ceremony, he entered the "House of Succession" (*bīt redūti*). Here, he was surrounded by a court similar to his father's, and he had his own personal bodyguard. In the "House of Succession," he received rigorous training and education as preparation for his eventual succession to the throne. Ashurbanipal gives us some information about this training, which may or may not have been typical. Ashurbanipal says that he learned to ride, to shoot, to read, and to write. At the end of this training, the crown prince was assigned an official position in the Assyrian administration. In the Sargonid period at least, this involved the prince becoming the king's representative at home, with full royal authority while his father was on military exercises. Since nothing is said about the crown prince being trained in administration while in the House of Succession, it is apparent that he learned this skill "on the job."

The Assyrian state was run by a bureaucracy which had a very rigid hierarchy. One might picture the hierarchy as a pyramid with the king at the pinnacle and under him several layers of officials, increasing in number down to the broad base which consisted of the labor force. Over the centuries, the hierarchial structure underwent changes, and numerous anomalies developed which were never fully resolved. The only major systematic reorganization of the administration took place during the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. Assyrian administration was essentially a military structure, since Assyria was a militaristic state. There was usually little if any distinction between military and civil service. Although the chain of command was generally rigidly restricted to the next layer in the administration, the king as absolute monarch had the right to intervene at any level in any affair.

Bureaucratic positions tended to be hereditary in practice, the son learning his father's job by working with him. Thus, we find that certain levels of the bureaucracy tended to be monopolized by a small group of families. Patronage was the rule in Assyria, and no one could get a position without influence.

Scribes were a special part of the Assyrian administrative system. The scribes were an elite group who had graduated from a demanding and lengthy educational system. There were scribes at every level of the bureaucracy, with the vice-chancellor at the top and the numerous lesser skilled scribes at the very bottom, who kept track of the unskilled laborers and their wages. Since the vast majority of Assyrian officials were illiterate, the scribes had considerable influence over the running of state affairs.

Assyrian officials derived their revenue from the resources under their jurisdiction, and the revenue was usually in kind. On occasion, the king would reward an official for special service with expensive clothing, jewelry, tax exemption, or residence for life at the palace. Officials, including scribes, constantly complained that they were underpaid, and the custom of bribery was universal. There is frequent reference in our sources to punishment for inefficiency and corruption, which is an indication that these were rampant. Nevertheless, the Assyrian officers seem to have been a relatively hard-working, conscientious lot, and the king generally set them a very good example in this regard.

For administrative purposes, the Assyrian empire was divided into two major units. The central and most important unit was the land of Asshur itself, the Assyrian heartland. This included the four major cities of Asshur, Arbela, Nineveh, and Calah, together with the surrounding agricultural land. Each of these cities had special privileges, including tax exemptions and military impositions.

Beyond the Assyrian heartland was "greater Assyria." The size and organization of this territory changed over the centuries. When it reached its greatest extent in the Sargonid period, two types of administration were used to control this vast territory. Some parts of the empire were directly controlled by the king through provincial governors, while other parts of the empire were controlled by treaty arrangements between the Assyrian king and the local ruler. Some of these rulers were regarded as equal partners in the treaty arrangements, while others were regarded as vassals. Treaty arrangements with vassals included keeping foreign princes and nobles as hostages at the Assyrian court.

Babylonia always had a special position in the Assyrian state, as observed already in the discussion of the political history. Assyria tried to deal with Babylonia by various means; for example, sometimes

concluding treaties with Babylonian kings as equal partners, or at other times ruling Babylonia directly. The fact is that Assyria never was able to find a satisfactory solution for the administration of Babylonia.

The administrative center of the Assyrian state varied from time to time. Originally, it was at the city of Asshur, but in the 9th century Ashurnasirpal II made the center Calah. Finally, in the 7th century, Sennacherib chose Nineveh as the administrative center and this city remained the capital of the Assyrian state until its downfall. At each of these sites have been found remains of the state archives, including voluminous correspondence. These records and reports are in part a result of the king's standing order to all officials that they must report "whatever you see and hear." To ensure rapid communication between the capital and the outlying regions of the empire, there was a corps of messengers who were supported by a network of roads and posting stations. In an emergency, messages could be relayed even more quickly by a system of observation towers and fire signals. The Assyrian frontiers were carefully guarded by a series of fortresses manned by Assyrian troops.

**I. Socioeconomic Structure**

The socioeconomic structure of Assyria was very conservative and slow to change, a feature which it had in common with most preindustrial civilizations. Change in social structures and economic procedures was rare, the attitude being that if something had been good enough for previous generations it was certainly good enough for the present generation. Only when former ways of doing things were no longer possible did the Assyrians consider developing new approaches. This rarely happened, and so the socioeconomic structure of Assyrian civilization underwent only minor modification throughout its lengthy history.

The core of the Assyrian social structure was the tribe, and fundamental motives for every Assyrian's life were the protection and propagation of his family and tribe. This fact is well illustrated by the common personal-name type, whose use expressed the desire of the individual to preserve his tribe or family. This desire also found expression in the common practice of adoption, for adoption not only provided a childless couple with care for their old age, but also assured them of the continuation of their family. Even the dead were kept within the home, for they were buried under the floor.

Apart from this central position of the Assyrian family, there was a class structure which was closely linked to power, wealth, and social standing. The king was at the top, immediately succeeded by the nobility of varius levels. Under them came the lesser officials, then the skilled laborers, and finally, at the bottom, the unskilled laborers. The unskilled laborers consisted of two groups: freemen and slaves.

Slavery was not nearly so extensive in Assyria as it was in the Roman empire. Although slaves provided an important part of the labor force for Assyria, particularly for the major building projects of the kings, the Assyrian economy did not depend upon slavery as did the Roman economy. There were two types of slaves in Assyria; the debt slave and the prisoner of war. The debt slave was a native Assyrian, and his slavery lasted only so long as he was unable to pay off his debts. In other words, it was the Assyrian form of bankruptcy. A debt slave enjoyed a number of privileges; he could marry a free person, appear as a witness in a court case, conduct business transactions with other slaves or their masters, and even own property to which slaves were attached. In theory, it was always possible for a debt slave to pay off his debts and regain his freedom. In practice, however, manumission was rare in Assyria. The high interest rates, to be mentioned later, meant that it was not only easy to fall into debt slavery but that once in that situation it was very difficult to amass enough resources to buy one's way out of debt. The other type of slave, the foreign captive, was in an entirely different position. He had no real rights in Assyria, and he was given the most menial tasks to perform. His only hope of freedom was escape or death.

The status of women in Assyrian society was extremely low, even lower than in Babylonia. In Assyria, one rarely found a woman acting in a legal or business transaction on her own behalf, for she had virtually no legal rights as an individual. She was entirely dependent upon her male relations—father, husband, sons, and brothers—and their position in society. She was confined to separate quarters, the harem, and apart from her immediate male relatives her social intercourse was restricted entirely to other females. Marriage, the rearing of children, cooking, and the general care of the home were her established roles in life.

The vast majority of Assyrians lived in the large cities, the major centers being Asshur, Nineveh, Arbela, and Calah. There are no reliable statistics for population figures, but one estimate has concluded that Calah at its height contained about 63,000 inhabitants, while Nineveh probably had about 120,000 (Oates 1968: 43–44). The immediate surrounding countryside was insufficient to support such large numbers of nonproductive people, which is why, beginning in the 9th century B.C., the agricultural land cultivated by the Assyrians had to be extended. Ashurnasirpal began the program of deporting foreign peoples into the undeveloped regions of Assyria to create new farms in order to provide the growing city populations with the necessary food.

Within the cities, the streets were narrow and dark, being flanked by the blank walls of houses. An Assyrian house was centered around an inner courtyard, and apart from the street entrance there were no openings on the outside.

As has been observed, the socioeconomic structure of Assyria changed only when it was compelled to do so. Certainly, the economy was forced to alter as Assyria developed from a small cluster of autonomous city-states first into a nation and then into an empire. As the Assyrian empire evolved, in a sense two separate economic systems developed. In the Assyrian heartland itself, the economic structure which already existed continued with only slight alterations. Beyond the boundaries of the heartland, however, the economic organization of the territories now under Assyrian control inevitably changed.

In Assyria proper, the economic bases were agriculture, animal husbandry, and trade. The S border of Assyria coincided with the S limit of dependable, annual rainfall, so that Assyria's meadows could be cultivated with relative ease and profit. At the same time, the position of the city of Asshur at a strategic crossing point of the Tigris river meant that it straddled a major trade route between E and W. Thus, from earliest times the inhabitants of the Assyrian heartland were involved in foreign trade, a necessity since so many resources had to be imported into Assyria.

As to actual ownership of land, all land in theory belonged to the king as the representative of the god Asshur on earth. In practice, however, the crown had direct control over only a limited amount of territory. The rest was controlled by wealthy institutions such as temples or by large families. This still left much land in the control of private individuals. Frequently, land in Assyria was held under an arrangement called *ilku.* By this arrangement, the client had the use of the land in return for performing state service, which involved both civil and military works. Obviously land which had an *ilku* obligation was less valuable because the impositions involved were relatively onerous. In the Neo-Assyrian period, it was possible for the more important and wealthy Assyrian citizens to make payments in lieu of *ilku* service. This is significant for the history of the Assyrian army in the late period, since many wealthy landowners sent goods in payment of their *ilku* obligations rather than manpower. Thus, the state was forced to hire foreign mercenaries to fill the ranks of the army.

Crafts in Assyria were carried on in the palace and perhaps also in temples and on large estates. Originally the craftsmen actually worked in these buildings and were issued raw materials with which to make the finished products, but in Neo-Assyrian times craftsmen worked on a contract basis whereby they could repay their masters for the raw materials in a variety of forms and could keep back a certain amount for themselves as a commission.

Money was unknown in Assyria and seems to have been an invention of the Greeks. Business was carried on by trading in kind, although there was a standard of exchange in terms of precious metals, silver or copper. There was a standard for measurements, including weights. Some of these official weights have survived, being stone or metal carved in the shape of such animals as ducks or lions. These weights bear cuneiform inscriptions indicating their measurement. Careful accounts were kept of business transactions, and hundreds of administrative tablets, mainly from palaces, have been recovered. Prices fluctuated according to supply and demand, and there is no indication of state control over prices.

The economic organization of the Assyrian empire had one goal—the enrichment of the Assyrian heartland and in particular the Assyrian court. The Assyrian king had no interest in the economic development of the outlying regions. So long as these conquered territories contributed annual tribute to the state treasury and remained submissive to his control, he was happy. But as time went on, the

nonproductive element of the population of the Assyrian heartland increased, and greater and greater demands were made on the outlying regions for supplies. This escalating oppressiveness increased economic hardship and engendered hatred of the Assyrian rule. It is no exaggeration to say that the economies of the outlying regions of the Assyrian empire were gradually destroyed in order to prop up an artificial economy in central Assyria. This economic circumstance was no small factor in the weakening and eventual fall of the Assyrian empire.

**J. Legal Structure**

The supreme legal authority in Assyria was the god Asshur, which meant in practice his representative on earth, the king, who was the chief justice in the land. The king rarely exercised his authority in this capacity, however, for most legal disputes were settled at a lower level. In ancient Assyria there was no specialized legal branch of the government comparable to what we are used to today in modern society. The vast majority of disputes were handled by the individuals involved, frequently with the intervention of a third party as an objective arbitrator. This third party was usually a neighbor. There were no courts as such, and there was no codified law. There was a document known now as the Middle Assyrian Laws (see *ANET,* 180–88), but this was more literary than legal. This is illustrated by the fact that in the few records of legal disputes from Assyria, no reference is ever made to the Middle Assyrian Laws. The real law of Assyria rested in custom and precedent. Disputes which could not be decided on this basis between the two parties, with the frequent help of a third objective individual, were referred to the official bureaucracy.

A number of Assyria's legal documents have come down to us. In Assyria, a legal document was the record of a transaction between two or more parties which included the names of witnesses to the transaction, the name of the scribe who recorded the transaction, and the date upon which it took place. A common feature of such texts was the inclusion of seal impressions of the major participants in the transaction. If an individual was too poor to own a seal, he pressed his fingernail into the moist clay, and this fact was duly noted on the tablet. Legal documents were frequently enclosed in envelopes of clay, and a brief version of the transaction was written on the outside of this envelope, which was then duly sealed. There were also legal documents in Aramaic on parchment or papyrus, but all of these have perished; only the bullae (lumps of clay with brief notes in Assyrian) which were squeezed over the cord binding these documents have been preserved.

In Assyria, there were four major kinds of legal documents: conveyances (sales), contracts, receipts, and court records. The word conveyance covers all texts which record the transfer of property, and most of these are therefore sale documents, although rentals, marriages, adoptions, and inheritances also come under this heading. Conveyances contained provision against future claims and penalties for making false claims, which included heavy fines and occasionally some bizarre provisions. For example, a guilty party might have been required to present a number of white horses to a god if he had been convicted of making a false claim about a sale. Or he might have been required to burn his eldest son or, even more curious, to swallow an enormous amount of wool, thus in effect committing suicide. These more bizarre penalty provisions seem to have been more theoretical than practical, and there is no evidence that they were ever enforced. In the case of the sale of slaves, the seller normally had to guarantee that the slave would remain free of illness for 100 days after the sale.

The second type of legal document, the contract, involved an obligation on the part of one party in favor of another, and this covered all kinds of loans and promissory notes. "True loans" were not common, since debts were incurred by the inability of an individual to pay the rent in the form of a portion of the harvest of land which he had contracted to cultivate. Interest rates were very high, the normal being in the range of 25–33 percent, but rates of 100 percent or more per annum are attested. For this reason, many people remained in debt for their entire lives, and frequently they went bankrupt, which means they fell into debt slavery. When a debt was paid, however, the tablet recording the debt was smashed, thus effectively destroying all evidence of the loan. Only occasionally, for special reasons, was it felt necessary to write out a receipt for the payment of a debt. Thus, this third type of legal document was relatively rare.

The creditor always had the obligation to provide proof of a debt. If a creditor could not produce a contract with a record of the loan, he had no claim against an individual.

The fourth type of legal document, the court record, was uncommon. This reflects the fact already stated that most disputes were settled privately. On the rare occasions, however, when this proved impossible, the disputants would go to an official in the Assyrian administration for a decision. When this happened, an official record was made of the proceedings, and these are what we call court records. But it should be noted that no law court was involved here, since they did not exist in ancient Assyria. The disputants simply went to a high administrative official, who was often the mayor of their village or town. If this official could not come to a decision, the disputants were sent to the "ordeal." Unfortunately, little is known about the Assyrian ordeal. The presiding judge at the ordeal was the god, and after the litigants declared their respective claims before the god, the deity issued his verdict. How the god came to this decision and how it was announced are unknown, but the decision was final and binding upon both parties. It should be noted that no reference is made here to the king in this final appeal, although he was the supreme justice in the land. In administrative matters, it is known that an Assyrian subject could appeal directly to the monarch.

Murder and bodily injury were special cases. These again were normally settled by private agreement, and this is particularly so in the case of murder, for murder involved the blood feud, or vendetta. In Assyria, there was no such thing as a state crime apart from treason, which was punishable by death. Since there were no state crimes, prisons did not exist for the incarceration of criminals. However, the state might detain individuals for political reasons, and private individuals might forcibly restrain a person who had wronged them until the wrong had been redressed.

**K. Religion**

Religion is a complex subject in any civilization, and there is no exception to this for ancient Assyria. A primary consideration is the difference between the official or state religion and popular belief. This is true not only in ancient Assyria but also in modern society. What people actually believe, what they actually do in their religious observances, and what is actually recorded as official religious doctrine may be quite different matters. In dealing with an ancient society such as that of the Assyrians or Hebrews, our knowledge is inevitably limited to and conditioned by the written records. In the case of the Hebrews, this means the Bible; in the case of the Assyrians, this means the multitude of cuneiform writings concerning rituals, hymns, incantations, etc. Thus, most of what can be said here about Assyrian religion concerns the state religion.

Assyrian religion had two outstanding features: polytheism and the cult. The polytheistic nature of Assyria is comparable to that of Sumer or Babylonia, although the number of gods was more restricted. The chief gods in Assyria were Asshur, who was the king of the gods, followed by the goddess Ishtar and the gods Ninurta, Shamash, Adad, and Sin. Around each god there was centered a cult which included a large temple complex and a ziggurrat, as well as priests and a supporting staff. This cult involved the performance of regular religious rituals and the presentation of offerings.

The chief Assyrian god, Asshur, was almost characterless in comparison to the other gods of Assyria. Although he officially ruled and controlled all the land of Assyria and reigned supreme over all other gods, he really played no role in Assyrian mythology, and no personal characteristics are evident for him. This is in contrast to the other Assyrian deities.

Much more lifelike and vivid is the figure of the goddess Ishtar. She was responsible for two contrasting activities: battle and love. In both these spheres she played a leading role, and there is a major place for her in the mythology, which in origin at least is largely Babylonian. She was the patron deity of two major Assyrian cities, Nineveh and Arbela, which shows the high regard the Assyrians had for Ishtar. Part of her cult included female ecstatics; these were prophetesses who went into a trance and made pronouncements to the Assyrian king of future victories and prosperity. These pronouncements were duly recorded and sent to the king from Ishtar's cult at Arbela.

Another outstanding deity in Assyria was Ninurta, the god of warfare and hunting, who was the firstborn son of Asshur. Ashurnasirpal brought the cult of Ninurta to the fore with the dedication to

Ninurta of the chief temple at his newly constructed capital of Calah. Adad, the god of storm and rain, was another distinctive Assyrian deity. He shared with Shamash the responsibility for divination. The god Shamash, the sun-god, was responsible for justice, a role he also played in Babylonian religion. It should be noted that all of these major deities were males with the exception of Ishtar. This is a reflection of the dominance of the male in Assyrian society, and the fact that Ishtar is an exception is because she was the patron deity of Nineveh in pre-Assyrian times.

Assyrian culture was greatly influenced by Babylonian culture, and this is particularly so in religion. Three distinctly Babylonian deities—Enlil, Marduk, and Nabû—became popular in Assyria at different periods. Enlil first appeared in Assyria during the reign of Shamshi-Adad I (1813–1781 B.C.). He was eventually identified with the god Asshur, who assumed his epithets and the cultic practices which surrounded him. The cult of Marduk appeared in Assyria by the 14th century B.C., and eventually Marduk became so popular there that Sennacherib, in the 7th century B.C., tried to suppress the Babylonian cult. Nabû, the son of Marduk, became popular in Assyria in the 9th century B.C. when great temples were built at Assyrian cities in his honor.

While the Assyrians may have had some religious rituals and practices of their own, by the time we reach the well-documented period in MA times, Babylonian influence is evident everywhere. Most religious ceremonies in Assyria, and in particular the New Year Festival, were greatly influenced by Babylonia.

So far only the major deities have been mentioned, but there were also many minor deities, all with their own temples and shrines. An Assyrian city had many temples in it devoted to these various gods and goddesses, and larger temples contained several shrines for different deities. A temple was a community unto itself, with its own hierarchy of personnel and its own economic resources, at least in origin. By the Neo-Assyrian period, however, Assyrian temples were no longer economically independent. They had become accustomed to receiving major benefits from royal campaigns. This brought them greater prosperity but at the same time meant they lost some control over their own affairs. Besides the priests, the temple personnel included artisans, scribes, kitchen staff, and domestic servants.

The king was the chief priest in the land since he was Asshur's representative on earth. His presence was frequently required at religious ceremonies, particularly at the celebration of the New Year, in which his right to reign for another year was confirmed by the god. Religion in the form of the temple rituals and divination had great influence on the Assyrian king. Not only was the king required to participate in religious rituals but he also felt compelled to consult the diviners regularly on major state decisions. Thus, the priests and diviners had a great deal of influence on state affairs.

By far the most important Assyrian ritual was the New Year ritual, called the *Akītu.* Most of the ceremony was performed in the *Akītu* temple, there being one outside the walls of each major Assyrian city. The ceremony involved an elaborate procession of the statues of the gods followed by a great feast. The *Akītu* festival included the coronation ritual in which the god Asshur confirmed the right of the king to rule for another year, and during which the princes and nobles renewed their loyalty oaths.

The Assyrians were tolerant of other religions and religious practices. They did not attempt to impose the worship of Asshur or any other Assyrian deity upon peoples they conquered. They did, however, carry off divine symbols of conquered peoples which they held as hostages in order to insure the loyalty of these suppressed populations. These symbols were returned once the Assyrians were assured that the people would be loyal. Indeed, far from suppressing foreign cults of conquered peoples, the Assyrian king sometimes presented offerings to them and sponsored building works on their temples.

Most of what we know, and therefore most of what has been said so far, concerns the official religion of Assyria. Very little is known of the religious beliefs and practices of the common people. The masses had little to do with the great state festivals other than to stand by the roadside watching the great processions go by. It is known that each Assyrian believed he had a personal god, and that this personal god would present his needs and desires to the higher gods. In return, each Assyrian was expected to present offerings to this individual god. Magic, both black and white, was widely practised among the common people, and we have many documents from Assyrian libraries recording incantations.

Divination, the prediction of the future, was closely related to Assyrian religion. Allusion to this practice has already been made in preceding paragraphs. In the Neo-Assyrian period, there were two major types of divination: astrology and extispicy. Astrology involved regular observation of the movements of the stars and planets and the recording of such movements and any events on earth which took place at the same time, for the Assyrians believed there was a link between what happened in the heavens and what would happen on earth. Extispicy meant the examination of the entrails of sacrificed animals, since the shape and color of these entrails, such as the liver and lungs, indicated what would happen in the future. Divination was carried out mainly by Babylonian diviners.

**L. Everyday Life**

Everyday life in Assyria was much the same throughout Assyria's history, the daily behavior of someone living in the Old Assyrian period being essentially the same as that of someone living in the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Of course there was a great deal of difference between the everyday life of a member of the upper classes in Assyria and a member of the lower classes. In the following discussion, such differences will be noted where appropriate.

The most outstanding characteristic of everyday life in Assyria was its spartanism. Assyria was a militaristic society, and everything revolved around the warrior. People who were not warriors were regarded simply as support staff for the fighting men. This, in particular, meant that the status of women was restricted entirely to that of supplying the needs of soldiers. Women were segregated from men and lived in a harem, and their role in society was to bear and raise children and to maintain the household. They were entirely dependent upon their male relatives and had few legal rights of their own. Men were the dominant sex, and in theory all men were soldiers and were subject to military conscription. In practice, certain types of workers, such as shepherds, were excluded from this service.

The standard of living in Assyria was relatively high for an ancient culture for two reasons. First, Assyria was naturally a highly productive region, and thus the inhabitants of the Assyrian heartland from prehistoric times enjoyed the fruits of the land and the products of animal husbandry. Second, in the Neo-Assyrian period, the residents of Assyria proper enjoyed the prosperity brought to their land by the hold their kings had over the surrounding economies. The food the average Assyrian ate consisted mainly of barley in the form of bread spread with sesame oil. The usual beverage was beer, although wine was not uncommon. For vegetables, they had onions, leeks, and garlic. In addition, they enjoyed eggs from chickens and ducks, and fish from the rivers. For sweets they had grapes and honey, and in the Neo-Assyrian period nuts became more common as exotic nut trees were introduced into Assyrian gardens. Goats produced milk, which was turned into ghee (clarified butter) and cheese. The meat of animals and fowls was rarely eaten, it being preserved for festive occasions since it was a luxury. Of course the upper classes and in particular royalty enjoyed meat and wine more regularly. In fact, royal banquets were far from uncommon.

Royal feasts are frequently mentioned in our sources, as they were used to celebrate a variety of occasions. Every new year in connection with the Akitu ritual, there was a ceremonial banquet called the *tākultu.* Other occasions for royal feasts were the conclusion of successful military campaigns and the end of major building projects. An example of the latter is the great banquet staged by Ashurnasirpal II to celebrate the completion of the building of his capital, Calah. The menu of this banquet, which was served to 70,000 guests invited from all parts of Assyria, the provinces, and the surrounding lands, was engraved on stone by royal scribes for posterity (cf. *ANET*, 558–60).

The basic material for constructing all buildings was mud brick, which was sometimes baked in the sun or, more rarely, in kilns for greater durability. Marble (the so-called "Mosul marble") was available in quarries in the vicinity of Nineveh, but given the difficulty of extracting, transporting, and working this relatively hard substance, its use was generally restricted to monumental buildings. Timber of various sorts, including the popular "cedars of Lebanon," was imported for these monumental buildings as well. The house of the middle-class Assyrian usually consisted of two stories built around an inner courtyard. There was a pool of water in the center of the courtyard and steps on the side that led up to a balcony surrounding the second story. Family life was centered on this courtyard, and all doors and windows

opened onto it with the exception of the main doorway leading into the street. The houses of wealthier people and the palaces of the kings had extensive gardens. Assyria also had its homeless poor, who carved out sleeping quarters for themselves in the city walls or in the ruins of monumental buildings, while some simply slept in doorways. The streets were narrow, twisting, and filthy since they had open sewers in the center to carry off all waste from the houses.

A variety of textiles was woven from goat's hair and sheep's wool. The resulting cloth was dyed in various colors and cut into various shapes for clothing. In addition, both men and women wore some jewelry made from precious metals and stones, which had to be imported. Of course, the wealthier classes enjoyed more elaborate clothing and jewelry.

The favorite recreations of the Assyrians were military in character. They loved to hunt (on royal hunts, see above). Contests in archery, javelin-throwing, stone-slinging, and similar sports were other popular pastimes. The Assyrians also entertained themselves with more peaceful pursuits. The parades of the great religious festivals were eagerly watched by the common people lining the streets of the great Assyrian metropolises. In the squares and gates, scribes and poets recited epics and sang songs to the masses. Both the parades and the recitations were accompanied by vocal and instrumental music, the instruments including strings, winds, and percussions. Older and more sedentary people entertained themselves with board games, while children had toys such as clay models of chariots and soldiers.

**M. Legacy**

A major legacy of Assyrian civilization to the history of the world is the practical creation of an empire which embraced a large part of the civilized world. It was the Assyrian kings who first extended their authority well beyond the confines of national boundaries to rule over or effectively control a variety of far-flung peoples and territories. Subsequent conquerors—the Achaemenid Persians, Alexander the Great, and the Romans—would strive to emulate the Assyrian achievement.

A second legacy was the elaborate structure and formality of the Assyrian court, which survived in later, neighboring cultures such as Achaemenid and Safavid Persia and Ottoman Turkey. Similarly, Assyrian military organization, strategy, and tactics reappear in these and other later civilizations.

A more subtle legacy is the protective role which Assyria played in sheltering Babylonia from foreign conquest, thus allowing that land to devote so much energy to cultural pursuits. Indeed, Assyria took an active part in creating libraries in which Babylonian literary and scientific works predominated. The libraries of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh are still our most important source for Babylonian culture. See *CAH* 1–3; *GARI*; TCS 5; *LAR*.

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A. KIRK GRAYSON


## *HISTORY AND CULTURE OF BABYLONIA*

The name “Babylonia” (see MESOPOTAMIA) can be used as both a geographical and a political term. As a geographical name it covers the S part of the modern Republic of Iraq, approximately from Baghdad in the N to Basra in the S. On the W it extends roughly to the border of Saudi Arabia and on the E to Iran. In ancient times this area was a unified political unit only in certain periods, including the latter years of Hammurapi (ca. 1792–1750 B.C.) and the time of the Neo-Babylonian Empire (627–539 B.C.). Before Hammurapi it was frequently divided politically into two areas, with Nippur at the center. The N was called Akkad and the S Sumer, and the phrase “the lands of Sumer and Akkad” was still in vogue long after the political division had any reality.

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## A. Geography

**1. Physical Features.** Babylonia is the S part of Mesopotamia, the "Land Between the Rivers," a name which reflects the importance of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. These join to form the Shatt-el-Arab, which drains into the Arabian/Persian Gulf in the S. A major tributary of the Tigris is the Diyala river. The rivers flood the flat plain in the springtime, bringing water sorely needed for plant growth. The S part of Babylonia consists of marshes, where, since prehistoric times, people have lived as much in boats as on land. The N extremity of the plain is determined by the narrowest point between the Tigris and the Euphrates, although culturally Babylonian civilization often stretched farther up the Euphrates to such ancient sites as Mari. To the W are the Syrian and Arabian deserts, and to the E are the Zagros mountains. From the point of view of physical geography, the Khuzistan plain to the SE is an integral part of Babylonia despite the presence between them of the Qarun river, which flows into the Shatt-el-Arab.

**2. Climate.** The climate of a region affects not only its flora and fauna but also the human inhabitants and their behavior. Thus, in prehistoric times, the dwellers of the Babylonian plain were prompted to invent artificial irrigation systems in order to regulate the erratic water supply from rainfall and flooding rivers so that crop production was possible. From late spring to late fall the weather is hot and dry, while in the winter and early spring it is cool, sometimes close to freezing, and rain falls in abundance. The sudden and frequent downpours turn dry gullies, known as *wadis,* into swift rivers in a matter of hours. In the dry weather, high winds from various directions blow up fierce sandstorms, and in late summer a scorching wind from the S arises which is important for the ripening of dates. As far as is known, there was no significant change in climate during the historic period.

**3. Natural Resources.** Babylonia was rich in only a limited number of natural resources: soil, salt, bitumen, reeds, water, fish, birds, animals, and plants. The soil was valuable not only for agriculture and animal husbandry but also as a source of clay for bricks (used for building) and for tablets (used for writing). Reeds from the marshes were used as writing styluses and in building, either as the main material in the construction of reed huts or, when coated with bitumen, for binding mats placed between layers of mud bricks. The rivers, marshes, and Arabian/Persian Gulf teemed with various types of fish and also provided useful communication routes by boat. Birds were abundant, especially in the marshes, for Babylonia was, and is, at the S end of a major flyway of birds migrating from Europe. Wild animals in antiquity ranged in size and type from mice and snakes to wolves, pigs, gazelles, onagers, and lions. Missing from the list of Babylonia's natural resources are important items such as stone, metals, and timber, which had to be imported through trade.

**4. Agriculture and Animal Husbandry.** Agriculture and animal husbandry were the mainstays of the economy of the Babylonian plain throughout ancient times. The chief crops cultivated were barley and sesame, the former to make bread and beer and the latter to make vegetable oil. Onions, garlic, leeks, and mustard were common, but green vegetables were rare. In S Babylonia the date tree was, and still is, grown in large plantations for its fruit.

The most popular domestic animals were mules, donkeys, cows, sheep, goats, pigs, dogs, and cats. Mules and donkeys were used as pack animals and for riding. Cows and goats provided milk and hides, while sheep produced wool. Only on special occasions would these animals be slaughtered for meat; chickens, ducks, geese, wild birds, and cheese were more economical sources of protein. Horses were not used extensively until the late 2d millennium B.C., when they began to be used for drawing chariots; the camel also became common at about that time.

**5. Trade, Communication, and Transportation.** Foreign trade flourished as early as prehistoric times, when the inhabitants of the Babylonian plain sought good timber (such as cedar from Lebanon) and stone (such as marble from Assyria) for building; metals (such as tin and copper) for weapons and utensils; and precious metals (such as gold and silver) and precious stones (such as lapis lazuli) for luxury items. Overland communication and transportation followed river courses, since these provided water and food for travelers. In particular, the Diyala valley was a conduit for goods traveling to and from the Iranian plateau. Water routes were intensively used, with rafts and boats plying up and down the Tigris and Euphrates and larger boats carrying cargo through the Arabian/Persian Gulf to the coast of Oman and beyond. The speed with which one could travel these routes varied according to many factors, such as

weather, terrain, and means of travel. Under optimum conditions a caravan covered about 25 km a day, while a swift runner could cover about 160 km in the same time. This meant a trading caravan could ideally transport goods from the Gulf along the Tigris to the mouth of the Diyala, a distance of about 600 km, in about twenty-four days. A relay of fast runners could deliver a message over the same route in about four days, under ideal conditions.

**6. Settlement Patterns.** Inevitably, people settled in Babylonia by the water, for it provided their basic needs and was the easiest link for trade. Only as the inhabitants developed artificial irrigation were they able to spread beyond onto the plain. This required cooperation and organization, and thus urban communities developed. By the dawn of history (ca. 3000 B.C.), the Babylonian plain was dotted with a multitude of villages, towns, and cities. Along the Euphrates, on the periphery of the plain, were the seminomads, herders of sheep and goats, who wandered between the plain and the Syro-Arabian desert. They could not go far into the desert until they had the camel, in the 1st millennium B.C., and that is why they are called seminomads or donkey nomads. (Adams 1965; 1972; 1981).

**B. Sources**

Until the mid-19th century of our era, the only sources available for ancient Babylonian history were the scant remarks in the Bible and in the writings of classical authors. By A.D. 1850, this had all changed, thanks to the beginning of archaeological excavations at ancient sites and the decipherment of Babylonian inscriptions. Since that date, research on the archaeological and written remains of Babylonian civilization has added enormously to the sources for and knowledge of this ancient culture. This activity continues today; and as these words are being written, yet more sources are coming to light.

**1. Written Sources. a. Indigenous.** The contemporary, indigenous inscriptions of Babylonia, consisting of tens of thousands of texts, are by far the largest body of sources. These are written in the cuneiform writing system and in the Babylonian dialect of the Akkadian language. The vast majority of inscriptions are written on clay tablets, although some are on clay cylinders, bricks, stone slabs, and various objects made of precious stones and metals. These texts may be divided into a few groups; namely, royal inscriptions, letters, contracts, and administrative documents.

Royal inscriptions were originally written records commissioned by the king to report to the gods that he had fulfilled his duty on earth. Principally, this duty entailed building projects (such as a temple), so that royal inscriptions were normally building inscriptions. As to their pious purpose, very early they developed into boasts by the ruler of his achievements. As a source for reconstructing Babylonian history, they are useful because of the wealth of detail they provide about kings, gods, and buildings. But one must remember that they are "official statements," and therefore should be used carefully.

Fortunately, a significant number of letters, many of them to or from the king and his officials, have been recovered. These allow us to look behind the official facade presented by the royal inscriptions and snatch glimpses of what was really going on and how those in charge were reacting. Normally, letters can be used for historical research in a meaningful way only when there is a cohesive corpus. Thus, for example, we have scores of letters written by Hammurapi to his chief officer at the city of Larsa, and this permits us to study that king's treatment of a city which he had just conquered. Individual and broken letters are usually of minimal value.

Babylonian contracts and administrative documents number in the tens of thousands for certain periods, such as the NB Empire (627–539 B.C.). Like letters, they are normally only useful as sources when a cohesive corpus or archive has been recovered. A good example is the Murashû Archive, a corpus of documents left behind by a rich and influential family of businessmen of the Persian period (539–331 B.C.). See MURASHÛ, ARCHIVE OF.

Later indigenous written sources comprise chronicles, king lists, and literary texts. Fortunately for us, the Babylonians wrote a number of chronicles, mainly of the later period, which narrate concisely but precisely outstanding events year by year. These, together with lists of kings, are the backbone of our chronological reconstruction of Babylonian history. The chronicles are a reliable source in that they do not have a particular theory to prove, nor are they nationalistic in attitude. Literary texts of value to the historian are limited in number and very fragmentary. Nevertheless, they provide insights otherwise

denied us; for example, a badly preserved historical epic of the late Kassite period (13th century B.C.) speaks of a religious rebellion against the reigning monarch, an event otherwise unknown from other sources. (Grayson 1975: 56–77).

**b. Foreign.** The earliest biblical reference to Babylonian history seems to appear in Genesis 14, in which an invasion of Palestine by eastern rulers is narrated. While the identity of these rulers and the events elude us, there can be little doubt that a kernel of historical fact lies here in obscurity and that the references to Amorites suggest the Old Babylonian (OB) period (ca. 2000–1595 B.C.). Much later in time, more concrete information appears in the biblical account (Isaiah 39) of the envoy sent to Hezekiah, king of Judah, by Merodach-baladan II, king of Babylonia (7th century B.C.). See MERODACH-BALADAN. This information is valuable in reconstructing the war waged by Merodach-baladan against Sennacherib, king of Assyria. See SENNACHERIB (PERSON). By far the most dramatic biblical source for Babylonian history (2 Kings 24–25; 2 Chronicles 36; Jeremiah passim) is about the invasion of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar II, king of Babylonia (604–562 B.C.). See NEBUCHADNEZZAR. The final capture of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. and the exile to Babylonia of many of its inhabitants is narrated in detail in the Bible, a welcome circumstance since the Babylonian chronicle for this period has not yet been found.

Among other foreign sources are the 1st-century writings of the Jewish historian Josephus, who wrote in Greek. Indeed, Babylonian history is touched upon by a number of classical authors, including Herodotus, Ctesias, Diodorus Siculus, Xenophon, and Claudius Ptolemaus. Legends these preserve about Babylonian personalities (such as Nitokris, "queen of Babylonia") may well have had a historical basis, but this is now difficult to document.

**2. Archaeological Sources.** The best-known Babylonian site, from an archaeological point of view, is the city of Babylon itself. Systematic excavation of this large tell was undertaken at the beginning of this century by a German expedition led by Koldewey. More recently, excavations have been resumed by the State Organization of Antiquities of the Republic of Iraq. The monumental buildings, walls, and processional way of the Neo-Babylonian period (6th century B.C.) have been uncovered. Earlier levels are not so well preserved. At Dur-Kurigalzu, the capital of the Kassites (ca. 1595–1200 B.C.), digging has been done over some years, and both palaces and temples have been discovered. Other major archaeological sites are Nippur, Ur, Larsa, Isin, and Sippar, to name only a few.

### C. Chronology

Babylonian chronology is well established for some periods but poorly known for others. The best period, from this viewpoint, is the time from the mid-8th century B.C. and later. There are three main reasons for this: the wealth of indigenous documents bearing dates; the Babylonian chronicles and king lists; and the link these have with voluminous Babylonian records of observations of the movements of stars and planets, which modern astronomers can date. Between ca. 1595 and 750 B.C., chronological evidence is much more sparse. There are relatively few dated documents and chronicles, and the king lists are so badly broken that sometimes even the names and order of the kings are unknown. For the oldest period, ca. 2000–1595 B.C., the relative chronology—the sequence of kings and events—is well known, but the absolute dates are very uncertain. There are, in fact, three schools of thought among modern scholars about these dates, giving rise to the terms "High Chronology," "Middle Chronology," and "Low Chronology." This article follows the Middle Chronology. For the High or Low chronologies, add or subtract, respectively, about sixty-four years.

### D. Political History

If one could chart graphically the political history of Babylonia, it would appear like a rugged mountain landscape, the tall peaks symbolising the few periods of Babylonia's greatness and the deep valleys the long periods of weakness. For Babylonia, unlike Assyria, was rarely a great military or political power, the exceptions being the reigns of Hammurapi, Kurigalzu, Nebuchadnezzar I, and the Neo-Babylonian Empire. But even during the times of political eclipse, Babylonian culture flourished and left a legacy for Eastern and Western civilizations alike.

**1. Akkadians, Amorites, and Sumerians.** Babylonian civilization was a pastiche of cultures and peoples which blended together to create one of the world's great civilizations. The evolution of an

outstanding culture from the fusion of different ethnic groups was an ongoing process in Babylonian history. It continued to operate as new peoples moved into the Babylonian plain in subsequent periods. Chief among the ethnic strains in the population of Babylonia ca. 2000 B.C. were the Akkadians, the Amorites, and the Sumerians. The Sumerians and Akkadians had been present in the area for a long time and had created a civilization in the 3d millennium, commonly called "Sumerian," of which Babylonian civilization was a direct heir. See above MESOPOTAMIA IN THE THIRD MILLENNIUM B.C. Some Amorites were also living in the plain with the Sumerians and Akkadians in the 3d millennium, but it was the massive immigration of Amorite tribes around 2000 B.C. that transformed the old order of things into Babylonian civilization.

The oldest of the three peoples were the Sumerians, who spoke a language which cannot be identified with any known family of languages. This is not unusual in the history of ancient SW Asia, where there were many such tongues. Both Akkadian and Amorite, on the other hand, belong to the Semitic language family, a group which also includes Hebrew and Arabic. The region from which Semitic speakers spread was the Syro-Arabian desert (as we shall see when discussing other such groups, the Arameans and Arabs). The origin of the Sumerians is still debated.

The Sumerian language was in decline by 2000 B.C., being gradually replaced by Akkadian. This latter language was now being influenced by Amorite, and out of this melting pot emerged the Babylonian dialect of Akkadian. The other major Akkadian dialect was Assyrian. A writing system called cuneiform, which had been invented for Sumerian a thousand years before, was borrowed by the Babylonians to write their own language. It is an indication of the influence of Sumerian culture in Babylonia, however, that the Babylonian scribes also continued to write literary and learned works in Sumerian, a language which was no longer widely spoken or understood. To the very end of Babylonian civilization, religious rituals, scientific compositions, and divinatory texts were written either in Sumerian or in a technical jargon which consisted largely of Sumerian logograms. But for affairs of state, business transactions, and everyday interchange, the Babylonian dialect of Akkadian prevailed from about 2000 B.C. until about 700 or 600 B.C., when another Semitic language, Aramaic, gradually gained popularity. This phenomenon was linked to Babylonian political and cultural history, as will be discussed later. Aramaic first became the everyday tongue and then slowly became more common in the domain of business and administration. At the same time, the Aramaic writing system, which utilized an alphabet, gained in favor. Nevertheless, Babylonian Akkadian and the cuneiform script continued to be used in some circles, essentially temples, until the beginning of the Christian era.

The borrowing of the cuneiform script and the continued, albeit restricted, use of the Sumerian language by the Babylonians were not the only spheres in which a Sumerian legacy is evident. In fact, Sumerian culture permeated Babylonian civilization, and it is no exaggeration to say that it is impossible to understand Babylonian history without a firm grounding in Sumerian history. Babylonian literature, law, religion, socioeconomic structure, and political structure all bear witness to a pervasive Sumerian presence. This influence was most evident in S Babylonia, the ancient center of Sumerian culture, although even in such a city as Sippar far to the N there was abundant testimony. Indeed, geography played a large role in this cultural continuum, for it was natural that later peoples, many of whom still had Sumerian blood, living in the same region, should carry on the same traditions. It is fortunate for us that the Babylonians were so influenced by and in awe of Sumerian culture, for it is primarily thanks to the Babylonians that so much of Sumerian literature and religion is known today. Most Sumerian literary and religious compositions were first written down in the early OB period (see 2. below) and deposited in libraries, the best of which was at Nippur. The discovery of the Nippur library in the last century opened to modern eyes the riches of ancient Sumerian civilization. Thus, in addition to Babylonia's own legacy (see K. below), her role in this respect has earned our gratitude.

**2. Early Old Babylonian Period (ca. 2017–1793 B.C.).** The fall of the city-state of Ur in S Babylonia ca. 2004 B.C. marked the end of Sumerian civilization, while the foundation of an Amorite dynasty at Isin, some distance N of Ur, in 2017 B.C., was the beginning of Babylonian civilization. There was some overlap, as evident from the dates, since the founder of the Isin I dynasty, Ishbi-Erra, was at first a vassal

of Ibbi-Sin, the last king of Ur. But as Ur was more and more surrounded by enemies, primarily Amorite tribes and Elamites, Ishbi-Erra became increasingly independent. By the time Ur fell, Ishbi-Erra had already been acting as an independent ruler for some time.

The period of history which ensued is characterized by the emergence of various Amorite dynasties in various small city-states, each of which was autonomous if only for a brief time. Chaos and warfare between these city-states were rife, and frequently one or more of the city-states fell under the power of another. In the confusion two city-states, Isin and Larsa, often commanded center stage, however precariously, and thus the Early OB era is often called the Isin-Larsa period.

**a. The Amorites.** The Amorites were the moving force in this era, and it is this aspect of them which must be discussed here. The name Amorite embraces a number of Semitic-speaking tribes who came in large numbers from Syria-Arabia to Babylonia, and other parts of the Near East, toward the end of the 3d millennium. They were seminomads, or donkey nomads, despised by the residents of Babylonia because of their primitive ways but feared because of their fierce fighting qualities. Some actually entered Babylonia peacefully and took up menial tasks, such as digging ditches. Indeed this peaceful process had been going on long before 2000 B.C. But others entered with force and captured the key centers in Babylonia. Gradually they, like all immigrants to Babylonia, adopted the Babylonian language and customs, and even the later kings of the Amorite dynasties commonly bore Babylonian names. See also AMORITES.

**b. Isin.** The founder of the Isin dynasty, Ishbi-Erra, was an Amorite from Mari, a city on the middle Euphrates, and he was part of a whole group of immigrants to Isin from Mari. During his long reign (ca. 2017–1985 B.C.) he not only became the independent ruler of Isin but also gained control over Nippur and Larsa and even over Ur, to which he had formerly been subservient. It is apparent that he was struggling to hold sway over the territory which formerly had been the empire of Ur. It is not surprising, therefore, that he adopted the efficient if complex administrative system of the Ur bureaucracy. A new element appears in his administration, however. Officials in the state bureaucracy at Isin were extremely obsequious, as shown by the personal names which they adopted ("Ishbi-Erra-Is-the-Life-of-the-Land," "Ishbi-Erra-Is-the-God-of-His-Land," and "Ishbi-Erra-Is-my-God").

The history of Isin after Ishbi-Erra's death is a long tale of numerous rulers of limited political power constantly vying with the heads of other city-states for the upper hand. The first invasion of Babylonia by Assyria took place during this time. Of significance, though, is the fact that cultural activity was very much alive during this period and resulted, among other things, in the rebuilding of temples, the writing of literary compositions, and the compilation of "law codes." Moreover, a custom of the ruler issuing edicts to correct social and economic abuses now became well established. (Kraus, 1984.)

**c. Larsa.** The dynasty of Larsa was also Amorite and was founded about the same time as the dynasty of Isin, ca. 2025 B.C. Unlike the Isin rulers, however, the members of the Larsa dynasty were politically insignificant until a certain Kudur-Mabuk crashed into Larsa and made it his center of operations ca. 1834 B.C. Kudur-Mabuk was the colorful and energetic head of an Amorite tribe called Yamut-Bal. He and his tribe had been employed as mercenaries by the Elamites, but when he captured Larsa he regarded himself as independent, and nothing further is heard of Elam.

Kudur-Mabuk clearly had an ambitious and long-range policy. He seems to have treated the defeated people of Larsa well and appointed his son, Warad-Sin, as ruler of Larsa (ca. 1834–1823 B.C.) while he wandered forth once more to seek his fortune in war. Thus, the son looked after the administration of the state, and the father captured more territory for its domain. When Warad-Sin died, presumably at a relatively young age, Kudur-Mabuk was still alive and took over the administration for a time. But he had no liking for office work, and after a few months he appointed another of his sons, Rim-Sin, as king of Larsa.

Rim-Sin was destined to be the longest-living king in Babylonian history (ca. 1822–1763 B.C.). His reign marks the high point in Larsa's political fortunes. In the early years of his reign, Kudur-Mabuk paid careful attention to him, an indication of his youth and inexperience. Eventually, however, nothing more is heard of Kudur-Mabuk, for the old warrior had obviously died at last.

Between about 1820 and 1804 B.C., Rim-Sin was very active, undertaking numerous military campaigns. He gradually gained control of all Babylonia except the north. In his thirtieth year (ca. 1804 B.C.), he captured Isin. This was the high point of his career, and it was celebrated with due pomp and circumstance. It is of particular interest that he used this victory to date subsequent events in his reign. Thus, his thirty-first year was called "The first year after the king captured Isin"; his thirty-second year, "The second year after the king captured Isin," etc. This is the first known example in history of an era dating system. It was short-lived, however, for it did not survive Rim-Sin's death.

By the close of the Early OB period a number of phenomena had developed. Culturally, Babylonian civilization had passed through its formative years and was ready to blossom. Politically, socially, and economically, the scene was still confused, but the stage had been set for the entrance of one of Babylonia's greatest kings, Hammurapi.

**3. The Hammurapi Age (ca. 1792–1750 B.C.).** No king of Babylonia, with the exception of Nebuchadnezzar II, is so well known in modern times as Hammurapi. Although he is never mentioned in the Bible, the discovery of his famous "law code" in the last century has made his name a household word. Since then, industrious archaeological excavation and research over more than a century have presented a fuller picture of Hammurapi and his era. He was a giant among giants, his chief opponents being Rim-Sin of Larsa (discussed above), the kings of Mari, and Shamshi-Adad I.

**a. Mari.** The discovery in the 1930s of the Mari archives, consisting of about 20,000 cuneiform tablets, was the single most important event in reconstructing the history of the Hammurapi age. Most of the documents from Mari, located about 300 km upstream from Babylon, are letters and administrative texts, and from them we learn of the complex politics of the time in which international intrigues and coalitions were commonplace. Before the time of Hammurapi, Mari was one of several autonomous city-states in N Mesopotamia and Syria and was controlled by a dynasty of Amorite origin. An early important king of Mari was Yahdun-Lim, who claimed sovereignty over states as far W as the Mediterranean. He also concluded working agreements with the seminomadic tribes along the Euphrates that were perennial problems for Mari. But Mari soon fell under the sway of Shamshi-Adad I. See also MARI (ARCHAEOLOGY).

**b. Shamshi-Adad I (ca. 1813–1781 B.C.).** Shamshi-Adad I was also of Amorite extraction. During his successful military career he moved around a great deal but finally settled his capital at Shubat-Enlil in E Syria. At the height of his power he controlled the city-state of Asshur and the area of Assyria, and he, or at least his supporters at Asshur, went to some effort to promote the fiction that Shamshi-Adad was a rightful member of the ruling dynasty at Asshur. Thus, he was regarded in later tradition as a king of Assyria. It is relevant to our purpose that he captured Mari after Yahdun-Lim was assassinated and appointed his younger son, Yasmah-Adad, as governor of Mari. Ishme-Dagan, his elder son, was made governor of Ekallatum, just south of Asshur. Thus, Shamshi-Adad, with his two sons, ruled over most of N Mesopotamia. By this time, however, Hammurapi had ascended the throne at Babylon.

**c. Hammurapi (ca. 1792–1750 B.C.).** Hammurapi was the sixth member of the first dynasty of Babylon, another Amorite dynasty. When he ascended the throne, Babylon was only one of a few city-states of medium power. Earlier kings of Babylon had laid the foundations of political and military power firmly; nevertheless, with such foes as Rim-Sin to the S and Shamshi-Adad to the N, Babylon was not an obvious candidate for supremacy. But Hammurapi made it supreme, conquering the other states and inaugurating a cultural golden age in Babylonia. Indeed, this is the first time one can speak of "Babylonia" as a unified political entity.

The name Hammurapi is actually Amorite, and since his two immediate predecessors bore Akkadian names, this suggests a return to ancestral values. In this same vein, Hammurapi made extensive use of Amorite troops in his conquests. He was not merely a warrior, however. He frequently used international diplomacy to achieve his ends, as is apparent from the Mari archives. Peaceful measures were the salient features of the first half of his reign. He carried on friendly correspondence with Shamshi-Adad I, and there may actually have been a treaty between the two rulers. Similarly, there is some evidence of a treaty

with Rim-Sin in those early years. This is suggested by Hammurapi's sending of his troops to defeat some nomads which had harassed Rim-Sin's territory.

But the scene changed when Shamshi-Adad died and Eshnunna, a city-state on the Diyala river, formed an alliance with Elam and marched against Mari. The death of Shamshi-Adad also led to a revolution at Mari, where Zimri-Lim, son of the assassinated Yahdun-Lim, gained control. In face of the dramatically changed political scene, Hammurapi allied himself with Zimri-Lim and thus forestalled the attempt of the Elamo-Eshnunna coalition to capture Mari.

Zimri-Lim and Hammurapi remained good allies for many years, exchanging friendly letters (of which many have survived) and helping each other in time of need. Nevertheless, they each had agents in the other's court who reported regularly on the other's movements. The king of Mari was wise to be on the alert, for eventually Hammurapi became more active militarily, his principal target now being Rim-Sin at Larsa. The campaign against Larsa lasted five years, at the end of which the city and its territory fell to Hammurapi and was absorbed into the Babylonian state.

Now that Hammurapi controlled all of S Mesopotamia, it is not surprising that he turned his attention northwards. He attacked Zimri-Lim at Mari and was immediately successful. Over the next few years he consolidated his hold over Mari and expanded his domain to embrace Asshur and the area in between. Now Hammurapi was king not only of the Babylonian plain but also of the area which would eventually be called Assyria.

The age of Hammurapi was not just one of military clashes. The "law code" for which Hammurapi has become so famous in modern times is an example of the concern the king had for justice. This is amply borne out by the royal correspondence found at Larsa, in which the king deals with individual complaints over land rights and related problems. It is very clear from this archive that the Babylonian monarch was accessible to any subject who had a just grievance. In fact, Hammurapi was, so far as one can tell, as good an administrator as he was a diplomat and soldier. In religion, the Sumerian beliefs and practices still prevailed, but there were some changes. Shamash, the sun-god and chief god of the N state of Sippar, now came to prominence. A curious institution at Sippar, consisting of celibate women being dedicated to Shamash, was favored by Hammurapi. In general, however, there was a tendency toward the economic weakening of the temple in favor of the palace. This process began in the 3d millennium as a result of the wealth that was brought back by the campaigning kings and deposited in the palaces. Finally, literature in the Akkadian language was flourishing by the age of Hammurapi, and many modern critics believe that this was the period of "classical Babylonian," just as 5th-century Athens was the time of "classical Greek."

**4. The Fall of Babylon (ca. 1750–1595 B.C.).** The decades after Hammurapi's death saw the leveling off of Babylonian power and then gradual decline. Samsu-iluna (ca. 1749–1712 B.C.), Hammurapi's son and successor, managed to maintain his hold over much of the territory he had inherited. But already in his time serious competition for supremacy, never really suppressed, came again to the fore. Chief among the competitors were the Kassites, the people of the Sea-Land, and Rim-Sin II of Larsa. It is these forces which gradually weakened Babylonian might, leading to its fall.

The Kassites were first mentioned by name in written documents from the reign of Samsu-iluna. In fact, there is a reference to a Kassite army. It is apparent from this, and from their subsequent seizure of power at Babylon (ca. 1595), that they continued to be troublesome to Babylonia throughout the two centuries under discussion, but few facts have so far been recovered to prove this.

More concrete information is available about the "Sea-Land," a literal translation of the Akkadian expression *māt tāmtim* used to describe the area of the marshes on the N periphery of the Arabian/Persian Gulf, part of the homeland of the Sumerians. About the time of the foundation of the first dynasty of Babylon, a dynasty of the Sea-Land emerged and eventually produced its most powerful king, Ilimaila, who was a contemporary of Samsu-iluna. Ilimaila chipped away at Babylon's S holdings and even gained control for a time over Nippur. The Sea-Land kings continued to wax in power until the end of the first dynasty of Babylon when the Sea-Land, like Babylon, was conquered by the Kassites.

During the reign of Samsu-iluna yet a third power, Rim-Sin II of Larsa, challenged Babylonian suzerainty. This Rim-Sin, a nephew of the great Rim-Sin, managed to gain independence for Larsa for perhaps as long as five years. From there he expanded his influence farther afield but eventually was defeated at Kish, near Babylon, and killed. This left Babylon, the Sea-Land, and the Kassites as the three major powers in the area until the fall of Babylon.

Very little information is available concerning the events leading up to the fall of Babylon. The dearth of documentation is in itself a testimony to the chaotic nature of affairs in the latter days of the first dynasty of Babylon. Only one fact is well documented: Babylon was actually captured ca. 1595 B.C. by a Hittite king, Murshili I, who looted the city and then withdrew. How it came about that a Hittite army was so far from home and that it retreated so quickly are mysteries, but the facts are attested to in both Babylonian and Hittite sources. The people who gained from this raid were the Kassites, who now entered Babylon and established there a dynasty which lasted for four centuries.

**5. The Kassites.** The Kassites, unlike other major migrants to Babylonia such as the Amorites or Arameans, remain very much of an enigma. There is doubt about their origin, their language belongs to no known family of languages, and they left little of their culture as a legacy to Babylonian civilization. Part of the reason for our lack of facts about them is, no doubt, that they were confined to Mesopotamia, whereas other large groups such as the Amorites and Arameans also had an impact on Syria-Palestine, and thus we learn about them from the Bible.

It is clear that the Kassites were illiterate nomads who probably came into Mesopotamia from the central Asian steppes either through the Caucasus mountains or the Iranian plateau. Virtually nothing of their language has survived, for they adopted the Babylonian language when they learned to write in cuneiform. They lived on the periphery of Mesopotamia for some time, possibly several centuries, before taking control at Babylon ca. 1595. As noted above, they are first mentioned by name in Babylonian documentation in the reign of Samsu-iluna, where they are in the form of an army; but, no doubt, peaceful Kassite penetration of Babylonia had gone on for some time before.

From Samsu-iluna's time onwards, there is evidence that Kassites were pressing into Babylonia both in armed bands and by peaceful means. The latter method is illustrated by Babylonian documents in which Kassites are listed as herdsmen and harvesters. More information about this early phase can be gleaned from a Babylonian king list, which gives the names in succession of the "Kassite Dynasty" in Babylonia. Although the list is in part badly broken, it is apparent from the large number of names and from synchronisms with later kings of Assyria that the earliest rulers in this list could not have been resident in Babylonia. In other words, the list seems to begin with the time when the Kassites had moved into the Mesopotamian periphery, long before they captured Babylon ca. 1595 B.C. In this early era the rulers could have been little more than tribal chiefs. The first such leader, Gandash, was probably a contemporary of Samsu-iluna and therefore the one who led the Kassite "army" against that king. Nothing is known about subsequent rulers, other than their names, until the accession of Agum II (the ninth in the list), who was probably the first Kassite to rule at Babylon.

**6. Middle Babylonian Period (ca. 1595–1000 B.C.).** The Middle Babylonian period covers two ruling dynasties at Babylon: the Kassite dynasty and the 2d dynasty of Isin. The two are divided by an invasion and capture of Babylonia by the Elamites ca. 1157 B.C. Each dynasty produced one outstanding monarch, Kurigalzu of the Kassite dynasty and Nebuchadnezzar I of the Isin dynasty. During the two dynasties, and particularly during the reigns of the two kings just mentioned, the culture and economy of Babylonia thrived. There were, nonetheless, long periods of depression caused largely by the inroads of Elamites and Assyrians.

**a. Kassite Dynasty.** Agum II seems to have been the Kassite king who first took control of Babylon after the Hittite raid ca. 1595 B.C. He ruled over Babylonia and the east Tigris region, the first area of Kassite presence. With one exception the events of his reign are virtually unknown: he won back from the Hittites the cult statue of Marduk, the tutelary god of Babylon, which had been part of the booty carried off in the Hittite raid. When the statue was returned, it was installed with much pomp and ceremony in the newly renovated temple of Esagil, symbolizing the return of Babylon's fortunes. In subsequent centuries

Marduk's statue would again be seized as booty on no less than four occasions, each one marking a drastic decline in Babylon's morale.

In tracing the history of Babylonia we must now skip over more than two centuries, for lack of documentation, to the 14th century B.C. In this era letters found at Amarna, on the upper Nile in Egypt, suddenly illuminate the darkened stage, for many of these letters are from Babylonian kings to the pharaoh. See AMARNA LETTERS. The language of the letters is Babylonian and the script is cuneiform, evidence that Babylonian was the lingua franca of the Near East in the 14th century B.C. The Amarna Letters show that Babylonia was now accepted as a major power in the Near East and that its kings dealt as equals with the Egyptian monarchs. The main theme of the correspondence is an exchange of Egyptian gold for Babylonian princesses, who would enter the pharaoh's harem. It is reasonably obvious, then, that a treaty existed between the two nations. If written copies of such a treaty ever existed, they have not survived, and one can only surmise what the purpose was. But Egypt was very worried about the power of Mitanni in E Syria and also the Hittite invasion of W Syria. Egyptian interests would have been helped by a friendly ally on the other side of those two powers, and that consideration would lie behind any treaty.

The Amarna Letters provide a hint of the decline in Babylonia's importance, after a time, in Egyptian eyes. The Babylonian king began to complain that Assyrian ambassadors were being received at Amarna. This may have been shortly before Babylonia actually became a puppet state of Assyria under Ashur-uballiṭ I (ca. 1364–1329 B.C.), for letters of Ashur-uballiṭ to the pharaoh were also found at Amarna. Just how Assyria gained ascendancy over Babylonia is still to be explained by future discoveries. What is known is that the daughter of Ashur-uballiṭ was married to the Kassite king of Babylonia. The Babylonians rebelled against this king and put a usurper on the throne. Ashur-uballiṭ invaded Babylonia to avenge his son-in-law, put down the revolt, and installed another man as king. This information comes from two documents, the Synchronistic History and Chronicle P (see HISTORIOGRAPHY [MESOPOTAMIA] and *TCS* 5), which disagree in certain details although they both have the general outline presented here.

At some time after Ashur-uballiṭ's invasion, Babylonia regained independence and entered the greatest era of the Kassite period, the reign of Kurigalzu. This king not only held the Assyrians at bay, but he probably defeated their army on one occasion in a pitched battle at Sugaga, a place just south of the city of Asshur. He also launched successful campaigns against Elam, capturing the Elamite king, and possibly also the Sea-Land. Like most Babylonian rulers, he was a great builder. He erected temples and palaces at various cities, but his chief concern, and indeed creation, was the founding of Dur-Kurigalzu ("fortress of Kurigalzu"). At this city, virtually a suburb of modern Baghdad, he constructed a complex of temples and palaces which have been under excavation for the last four decades by Iraqi archaeologists. The temple tower (ziggurat) of Dur-Kurigalzu is still in large part standing today and dominates the surrounding landscape.

With the death of Kurigalzu, Babylonian history is again obscure, and apart from mention of occasional clashes with Assyria, little is known for a century or more. One of these encounters with Assyria, during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244–1208 B.C.), led to an Assyrian invasion of Babylonia and to the death of its king, Kashtiliash IV. The Assyrians looted Babylon and carried off the Marduk statue. For a brief period afterward, Babylonia was ruled by Assyria. The death of Tukulti-Ninurta meant freedom again for the Babylonians, and during the next few decades Babylonia not only remained independent but may have exercised some authority over a temporarily weak Assyria as well. During this time the Marduk statue must have been returned, although no specific record has been preserved. Major changes were taking place within Babylonia in this period, these changes centering around a religious revolution which inevitably had a political and economic impact. The controversy, as we know from a recently published Babylonian epic, was instigated by the attempt to recognize officially the god Marduk as king of the gods. The nobles of Babylonia supported the cause and, after a struggle, forced the king Adad-shuma-uṣur (1218–1189 B.C.) to accede to certain demands. Precisely what these were is unknown, since the epic is badly broken (Grayson 1975: 56–77).

The end of the Kassite dynasty was rapidly approaching. During the one-year reign of Zababa-shuma-iddina (1160 B.C.), both the Elamites and the Assyrians invaded Babylonia from different sides. The Kassite dynasty was now tottering, although its last member, Enlil-nadin-ahhe, managed to hold onto power for three years before an Elamite attack in 1157 B.C. captured and carried him off to Elam. The statue of Marduk was also removed. The destruction of the Kassite dynasty by the Elamites was commemorated in various Babylonian literary works and won for the Elamites a notorious reputation, which would endure for centuries.

While the Kassites had little cultural impact upon Babylonian civilization, much happened in the cultural sphere during their four centuries of power. As noted already, the god Marduk was moving up in rank to become king of the gods, and Dur-Kurigalzu is a lasting monument to Kassite building endeavors. In literature there was much editing and organization going on, and most Babylonian literary works, such as the *Gilgamesh Epic*, were given their final form during this period. In addition, many original poetic works, mainly about such Kassite kings as Kurigalzu, were composed in this era. The cultural impact of Babylonia on the West, on the other hand, is apparent from the discovery of a cache of inscribed stone seals of the Kassite type at Thebes in Greece.

**b. Second Dynasty of Isin.** After the Kassite dynasty fell, there is obscurity in Babylonian history for a brief period. During this time a new dynasty, the "second Isin dynasty," was founded at Isin and eventually produced one of the most important kings of the Middle Babylonian period, Nebuchadnezzar I (1133–1116 B.C.; not to be confused with Nebuchadnezzar II of the Bible). By the time he ascended the throne the capital was once again Babylon rather than Isin or Dur-Kurigalzu.

Nebuchadnezzar I became famous in Babylonian history for two major reasons which are closely linked. The first reason is that he led one or more highly successful expeditions into Elam and severely battered this hated enemy. Dramatic details of part of this invasion are narrated in the text of a Babylonian boundary stone, wherein we read of the heat and thirst which afflicted the Babylonian soldiers who, nevertheless, conquered the Elamite army. We learn from the same source that the chariotry was particularly effective in winning the day. Elam was devastated and looted, and among the plunder brought back to Babylonia was the statue of Marduk. This, the return of Marduk's statue, was the second reason for Nebuchadnezzar's fame in Babylonian tradition. As remarked above, there is a pattern in Babylonian history revolving around the occasions when the statue was abducted by an enemy and later brought back. This, the third such time, was used by the Babylonian king to proclaim officially that Marduk was king of the gods. The movement in this direction, which must go back to the time of Hammurapi, gained momentum in late Kassite times, as observed when speaking of the rebellion against Adad-shuma-uṣur. Now the time was ripe to make the formal proclamation. The temple of Esagil was renovated for the occasion, and special hymns and poems were composed. The statue of Marduk was led down the great processional way, lined with Babylonians, and was accompanied by the statues of lesser deities. Once Marduk was installed upon his dais, and after the proper ceremonies and rituals had been performed, the other gods were returned to their shrines. Marduk now reigned supreme. His statue was not disturbed again until 689 B.C. (see D.8.c. below).

One final event known about the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I is that he made two attacks on Assyrian border towns. Our only source, the Assyrian *Synchronistic History*, says these attacks were unsuccessful. Even if this is true, the fact that Babylonia, not Assyria, was the aggressor is an indication of the relative strength of the two.

The subsequent kings of the second Isin dynasty are of minor importance, with the exception of Marduk-nadin-ahhe (1098–1081 B.C.), who raided the Assyrian border town of Ekallatu and carried off the statues of its gods. These statues remained in Babylonia for centuries, despite long periods of weakness, until Sennacherib recaptured them in the 7th century B.C. As the end of the 2d millennium approached, Babylonia once more entered a dark period. The Aramean invasions considerably constricted her ambitions and caused serious disruptions within Babylonia itself. In the wake of these incursions, a restored and even more vigorous Assyria pressed down upon Babylonia's N border.

**7. Babylonia and Assyria (ca. 1000–627 B.C.). a. A Period of Weakness (ca. 1000–748 B.C.).** During the 2d millennium Assyria increasingly became an important background presence in Babylonian history, and in the 1st half of the 1st millennium this was even more evident. Other peoples and powers, such as the Arameans and Elamites, had a significant impact upon Babylonia, but it was Assyria which gradually gained the leading control over Babylonia. At the beginning of the 1st millennium Babylonia was independent once again, for Assyria was struggling against the Arameans for its very survival. The Arameans penetrated Babylonia, too, winning land and wealth and causing much chaos.

There is more detailed information available for the 9th century B.C., which shows that Babylonia and Assyria, after some minor skirmishing, were on good terms. The first important Babylonian king of the millennium, Nabu-apla-iddina (ca. 887–885 B.C.), had a treaty with his Assyrian counterparts. His reign is a highlight in a bleak period of Babylonian history. The country's borders were secure, internal stability prevailed, and energy was devoted to reconstruction and restoration. For example, thanks to the discovery of a text of Nabu-apla-iddina's inscribed on a stone tablet, we know that the king sponsored the rebuilding of the temple of the sun-god (Shamash) at Sippar.

When Nabu-apla-iddina died, his successor, Marduk-zakir-shumi I (ca. 854–819 B.C.), renewed the old treaty with Assyria, which was now ruled by Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.). There is actually an Assyrian relief showing the two kings clasping hands to seal the agreement. The renewal of the treaty proved advantageous for Marduk-zakir-shumi; when his brother led a rebellion and seized some of Babylonia for himself, Marduk-zakir-shumi called upon Shalmaneser to intervene, invoking the treaty between them. The Assyrian responded by attacking and defeating the brother and restoring the kingdom intact to Marduk-zakir-shumi. After this incident, Babylonia continued to enjoy peace with Assyria and general prosperity. In fact, Babylonia subsequently was able to repay Shalmaneser's favor. When Shalmaneser was getting very old, a major rebellion broke out in Assyria and continued for some years. It appears that one of Shalmaneser's sons, Shamshi-Adad, sought and gained Babylonian support. A fragmentary copy of a treaty between Shamshi-Adad and Marduk-zakir-shumi I testifies to this, although the Babylonian king used the occasion to demote the Assyrian to a lower status so that in the treaty he appears as the lesser party. When the rebellion had been suppressed and Shamshi-Adad, the fifth king of that name, had been crowned, he invaded Babylonia, presumably out of revenge for the humiliating treaty imposed upon him. This is the first time for almost a century that there was open conflict between the two states. Shamshi-Adad V led three expeditions into Babylonia, capturing major Babylonian cities, including Babylon, and Babylonia was forced to pay tribute.

The Assyrian Adad-narari III (810–783 B.C.) continued the aggressive stance toward Babylonia, although it is unknown how many campaigns he sent there. A treaty favorable toward Assyria was imposed upon Babylonia, which again had to pay tribute. Fortunately for Babylonia, this reign marked the end of a troublesome time with Assyria. By the end of Adad-narari's reign, Assyria was once again hard pressed by another power, this time Urartu, and had no time to meddle in Babylonia. Thus for the first half of the 8th century B.C., Babylonia, free of foreign invasion, seemed to be in a position to enjoy peaceful pursuits. However, there is no clear evidence of economic prosperity or cultural development during this phase. Indeed, even the political history is obscure, which suggests that Babylonia was experiencing some difficulties. There is some indication of a major religious upheaval at the Ishtar temple in Uruk. Whether or not this was more widely spread is unknown.

**b. Under Assyrian Control (ca. 747–627 B.C.).** Babylonia's fate was closely linked to that of Assyria throughout this era, particularly so in the Sargonid age in Assyria. When Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 B.C.) took the Assyrian throne, Nabu-nasir (747–734 B.C.) had barely begun his rule at Babylon, a rule that held great promise for Babylonia: the borders were secure, the state was stable internally, the king encouraged literary and scientific projects (including astronomical observations and chronicle writing), and Tiglath-pileser III concluded a treaty with Nabu-nasir.

The death of Nabu-nasir brought an abrupt end to Babylonia's fortunes. Mukin-zer, the leader of a tribe of Chaldeans in S Babylonia, attempted to seize the Babylonian throne, forcing Tiglath-pileser III to respond by invading Babylonia, pushing Mukin-zer and his forces back south, and having himself

crowned as king of Babylonia. Thus, for the first time, Assyria and Babylonia were a united kingdom, ruled by an Assyrian monarch.

To understand subsequent events in Babylonian history, it is necessary to look briefly at the various groups now present in the Babylonian plain, for the Babylonian population was quite heterogeneous. Essentially there were four elements: "native" Babylonians, Elamites, Arameans, and Chaldeans. To this one must add a small group of Assyrians who came to Babylonia under the Sargonids as soldiers and administrators. Each of these groups had special interests and goals which frequently clashed with those of the others. Thus, throughout the Sargonid age Babylonia suffered from internecine unrest, and this caused Assyria to invade frequently, for Assyrian kings wanted both a subordinate and a stable neighbor to the south.

The most active of all anti-Assyrian agitators in Babylonia at this time was MERODACH-BALADAN II. He was the leader of a Chaldean tribe called Yakin and first took an active military role toward the end of Tiglath-pileser III's reign. When Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) ascended the Assyrian throne, Merodach-baladan had himself crowned king at Babylon. The Assyrian tried unsuccessfully to depose Merodach-baladan, who ruled Babylonia for the next decade. But in 710 B.C., Sargon finally defeated the Chaldeans, and Merodach-baladan took refuge in the S marshes.

Our sources for this period are primarily Assyrian, and their view is that Merodach-baladan and other active figures in Babylonia were "rebels" or "usurpers" who oppressed Babylonia, and it was only the Assyrians who restored peace and prosperity. This may, in part, be true, but the Assyrians were still making a profit out of Babylonia to the latter's disadvantage. This is evident from the increasing resistance to Assyrian rule, which came to a head in the reign of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.).

Babylonia, as represented by Merodach-baladan and other leaders, staunchly resisted Sennacherib. Merodach-baladan actually regained the throne at Babylon briefly in 703 B.C., forcing the Assyrian to turn from other concerns (Palestine) and invade Babylonia. Merodach-baladan again fled south to the marshes, but over the next few years he stirred up opposition to the Assyrian occupation. Sennacherib attempted to rule Babylonia through puppet kings while he led the Assyrian army in an abortive attempt to capture Merodach-baladan. The critical point in this phase of Assyro-Babylonian affairs was the entry of Elam into the fray. The Elamites invaded Babylonia, captured Sennacherib's son and heir (who had been crowned king of Babylonia), and carried him off to exile and death.

Sennacherib was enraged by this, regarding it as Babylonian treachery. He launched vicious campaigns first against Elam and then against Babylonia, finally capturing Babylon itself in 689 B.C. He boasted that he had looted, burnt, and destroyed the city (*LAR* 2: 339–41). The statue of Marduk was taken away to Assyria. This was one of the lowest points in Babylonian history. Its capital city was in ruins, and its tutelary god was gone.

The next Assyrian king, Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.), set himself the task of reconciliation with and reconstruction of Babylonia. This was a wise policy and won for him a reign untroubled on the S border. Esarhaddon ordered and had carried out the rebuilding of Babylon and in particular of Marduk's temple, Esagil. The god's statue was not actually returned until after Esarhaddon's death. For some unknown reason, Esarhaddon had decided that when he died his kingdom would be divided between two of his sons, and thus Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.) came to rule over Assyria and Shamash-shuma-ukin (667–648 B.C.) to rule over Babylonia. It was a major error, for it was only a matter of time before war broke out between the brothers. Shamash-shuma-ukin, although an Assyrian, had the support of Babylonia in his dispute with his brother. To this he added the aid of the Elamites and Arabs. Increasing unease broke into open battle in 652 B.C. and continued for four years, to 648 B.C. Assyria quickly gained the upper hand, and, after a long siege, Babylon fell and Shamash-shuma-ukin perished in his burning palace (*LAR* 2: 789–98). Ashurbanipal now ruled Babylonia through a puppet king, Kandalanu (647–627), but little is known of those years.

Given the tumultuous political scene in Babylonia during the Sargonid age, it is no surprise that cultural and economic pursuits did not flourish. There were brief periods when business could be conducted

somewhat normally, of course, and there is slight evidence of literary activity, but taken as a whole it was a very bad time for Babylonia.

**8. The Neo-Babylonian Empire (626–539 B.C.). a. Imperial Beginnings (626–605 B.C.).** Out of the ashes of a Babylonia scorched by the Assyrians in 689 and 648 B.C. rose a new dynasty destined to establish both an independent Babylonia and Babylonian rule over the former Assyrian empire. The founder of this dynasty was Nabopolassar (625–605 B.C.), a Chaldean who was crowned king at Babylon after defeating an Assyrian army in Babylonia. No details of Nabopolassar's background are known; nor is there much firm evidence about the situation before the events leading up to his coronation. It is apparent, however, that the Babylonians were actively rebelling against the Assyrians and trying to expel them from their land. Nabopolassar became the champion of this freedom fight, and in 626 B.C. he led Babylonian troops to lay siege to Nippur, which contained an Assyrian garrison. The siege was lengthy and the people so impoverished that some of them, as we know from contracts discovered at Nippur, were forced to sell their children into slavery so that they could buy food. Eventually the siege was lifted when an Assyrian army arrived and pursued the Babylonian troops as far as Babylon. In a battle outside Babylon's walls, the Assyrians were defeated. This was the last attack Assyria ever made on Babylon. The Babylonians were so elated by this success that they crowned Nabopolassar as their king, thus founding a new dynasty. The new monarch's first act was to return to the Elamites statues of their gods which the Assyrians had abducted and brought to Babylonia many years earlier. This indicated a firm bond of friendship between the two states. Elam, however, had become very weak as a result of the raids of Ashurbanipal and in future years played no meaningful role in Babylonian affairs.

During the early years of Nabopolassar's reign, the Babylonian offensive went from success to success, and Assyria gradually withdrew to the north. When Nabopolassar pushed up to the Upper Euphrates region, Egypt became alarmed and sent aid to Assyria (616 B.C.). Such an alliance had never existed before and is a symbol of the momentous changes occurring in ancient Near Eastern politics. About the same time that Egypt aligned itself with Assyria, the Medes allied themselves with the Babylonians. The Medes had long been established in W Iran and more recently had spread their control westward into eastern and central Anatolia. For the next four years the Medes and Babylonians pounded away at Assyrian holdings and at the Assyrian heartland itself. In 614 Asshur was captured. Then, in 612 the allies laid siege to Nineveh. The siege lasted all summer before the city fell. A remnant of Assyrians escaped W to Harran, where a mini-Assyrian dynasty was established. Nabopolassar, supported by the Medes, attacked Harran in 610 and forced the combined armies of Assyria and Egypt to flee to Syria. In 609 this army returned and made a vain attempt to dislodge the Babylonians and Medes from Harran.

The decisive battle between the two sides came in 605 at Carchemish. Egypt now stood alone, for nothing is ever heard again of an Assyrian army. By this time the Babylonian army was being led in alternate years by the king Nabopolassar and his son and heir Nebuchadnezzar. In 605 the son was in charge of the expedition. Nebuchadnezzar led a surprise attack on the Egyptian army at Carchemish. The Egyptians were caught inside the walls but managed to break out and avoid being sealed in by a siege. The fighting was fierce, and the Egyptians eventually broke and ran with the Babylonians in hot pursuit, slaying every man they could catch. This was the ultimate victory for Babylonia. Assyria was destroyed, and Egypt had lost any credibility in Asia. Eventually the Babylonians would follow this up by campaigning to and claiming all of Syria-Palestine. But there was a slight delay. News arrived after the Battle of Carchemish that Nabopolossar had died. Nebuchadnezzar returned swiftly to Babylon, where he was crowned king.

**b. The Empire (604–556 B.C.).** Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562 B.C.) is widely known by readers of the Bible as the king responsible for the sack of Jerusalem and the exile of many of its inhabitants in 587 B.C. Be that as it may, Babylonia reached its greatest heights as a political power during his reign, and the Babylonian empire came to include essentially the same territory as the Assyrian empire. This extension of power was the result of vigorous campaigning by Nebuchadnezzar. No sooner were the coronation ceremonies over for Nebuchadnezzar, after the death of his father, then he hastened back to Syria to resume his campaigning. He had defeated the Egyptians at Carchemish in 605 B.C., but this did not

automatically bring Syria-Palestine under Babylonian control. In the following years he led a series of expeditions W of the Euphrates. Sometimes local rulers acknowledged him as lord and paid tribute without question; at other times, they resisted and the Babylonian army laid siege to their cities.

By 601 Nebuchadnezzar felt his hold over Syria-Palestine was strong enough to permit a campaign against Egypt. This was a mistake. A pitched battle between the two forces in Egypt resulted in a stalemate, and Nebuchadnezzar, choosing discretion, led his army back to Babylon. After a year spent repairing the damage to his army and equipment, he resumed his Syrian campaigns. This was urgent, for the Babylonian humiliation in Egypt had encouraged W states to rebel. One such state was the kingdom of Judah and its capital, Jerusalem. Jerusalem during this period was torn between two factions, one pro-Egyptian and one pro-Babylonian. The king, Jehoiakim, and his supporters were in favor of siding with the Egyptians, but the prophet Jeremiah preferred the Babylonians. Although Jehoiakim had paid tribute to Babylonia after the Battle of Carchemish, Babylonia's ignominious withdrawal from Egypt in 601 led him to renounce his allegiance to Babylonia and throw in his lot with Egypt. Nebuchadnezzar could not let this key center fall away, and so in 597 he besieged and captured Jerusalem. He appointed a new king, Zedekiah, and imposed a heavy tribute. Jehoiakin, son of Jehoiakim who had died, his family, and many leading citizens were taken as captives to Babylon, and modern excavations have unearthed some of the lists of rations for these prisoners. This event was the first of two disasters for Jerusalem. Egypt, as Jeremiah had predicted, did not intervene.

In the years after 597, Zedekiah allowed himself gradually to be persuaded by those who favored Egypt. Eventually, with a promise of Egyptian support, he abandoned allegiance to Babylonia, refusing to pay tribute. In 587 Nebuchadnezzar again invaded Judah, capturing various cities as he marched on Jerusalem. These Judean cities were not plundered but were treated mercifully in a deliberate attempt to weaken the resolve of Jerusalem's defenders. Therefore, when Nebuchadnezzar laid siege to Jerusalem, Jeremiah and his supporters pointed to the lenient treatment of other cities and vainly urged capitulation. Meanwhile, the Egyptian army moved into Judah and tried, unsuccessfully, to lift the Babylonian siege. Then the Babylonians captured Jerusalem. The city was plundered and destroyed, its leaders were executed, and most of the remaining population were carried off in exile to Babylonia.

True to Babylonian tradition, Nebuchadnezzar was as much a builder and a patron of culture as he was a military leader. The wealth and political security which his campaigns produced enabled him to pursue these activities with unexcelled results. His building program at Babylon was extensive, involving major replanning and new construction. He built a new palace by the Euphrates at the N edge of the city. The walls also were rebuilt, and a bridge was constructed to facilitate communication between the two parts of Babylon that lay on opposite sides of the river. The temple tower (ziggurat), the legendary Tower of Babel, was completely restored, as was the temple of Esagil, Marduk's shrine, adjacent to it. The origin of the legendary idea of the "Hanging Gardens of Babylon" (one of the "Seven Wonders of the Ancient World") may have been the live vegetation growing at the top of the ziggurat that, from a distance, would have appeared to tower over the city walls.

While it is apparent that literary and artistic activity must have flourished during this reign, it is difficult to document it since such creations are rarely dated. However, fragmentary remains of an epic about Nebuchadnezzar bear witness to the high regard which creative Babylonians had for him. Nebuchadnezzar's reign marks the apogee of the Neo-Babylonian empire. After his death he was succeeded by some relatively unimportant monarchs, including Evil-Merodach and Nergal-Sharezzer. If the kingdom was still strong, it was nevertheless no longer expanding.

**c. Nabonidus and the Fall of Babylon (555–539 B.C.).** Nabonidus, the last member of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty, is an intriguing figure. See NABONIDUS. While forces portending doom to Babylonia gathered on the horizons, he found time to promote a religious change, to undertake major building operations, and even to live in the desert for ten years. He did not, however, ignore the external dangers to Babylonia's security—far from it. When at last the Persian army invaded Babylonia, he fought valiantly but in vain to repel them.

Nabonidus' religious changes provide a key to his other actions. He was not in the direct line for the throne (one Babylonian text called him a "usurper"), and it is unknown how he became king. His mother, Adad-guppi, certainly played some part in this. She came from Harran, the city where the ruling Assyrian dynasty made its last abortive attempt to survive. There, she worshipped the tutelary deity, the god of the moon. When Nabonidus came to power, he promoted this cult of the moon and sought out similar cults in Babylonia. Thus he favored the Babylonian deity Sin, god of the moon and the city Ur. He had little interest in Babylon's god, Marduk. This brought down upon his head the wrath of the Marduk priests and supporters who, among other things, wrote literary works condemning Nabonidus for his sacrilege.

A second unique feature of this king's reign was his ten-year self-imposed exile in Tema, an oasis in the Arabian desert. While he lived there his son, BELSHAZZAR, managed affairs at Babylon. Many writers, ancient and modern, have suggested reasons why Nabonidus went to live there, but none of these reasons can be proved valid since no contemporary document gives details of the event. It is a fact that pre-Islamic Arabs in the Arabian peninsula revered the moon-god, and this may have been an important motivation for Nabonidus, given his intense interest in this cult. But this would not exclude one or more other reasons, such as an attempt to regain his health, for the long exile.

The third area of special interest in this reign was the manner in which Nabonidus conducted his building operations. It was, of course, usual for a Babylonian king to erect or restore monumental buildings, as Nabonidus did. What was unusual was the zeal with which he sought out ancient statues and inscriptions of his predecessors when digging in the foundations of old buildings. This characteristic has won for Nabonidus the epithet "the world's first archaeologist" among modern scholars.

Given these intriguing facets of the king's character, it is a pity he met such an ignominious fate. The Persians under Cyrus the Great had been gathering around the borders of the Babylonian empire, preparing for a major assault which took place in 539 B.C. The Persians came down the Diyala river, and Nabonidus, at the head of his army, met and fought with them at Opis near modern Baghdad. Nabonidus was defeated. The Persians then marched on Babylon where, according to a native source, the Babylonians opened the gates and with rejoicing welcomed Cyrus as a deliverer from the "tyrant" Nabonidus. This sounds like a biased account, and it is hard to believe that all Babylonians were glad to see the Persian invaders. Indeed, Herodotus says the city had to be taken by force. Whatever the truth, Babylon did fall to the Persians in 539 B.C., and so ended indigenous rule in Babylonia.

**9. Babylonia Under the Persians and Greeks.** Although the Babylonians ceased to be politically autonomous in 539 B.C., their civilization continued for several centuries under foreign rule. The conqueror of Babylon himself, Cyrus, ensured the preservation of Babylonian culture by avoiding any interference in domestic affairs so long as the Babylonians were loyal. This was a feature of Cyrus' rule, known from other areas he had conquered, notably Palestine. In the Bible, as in Babylonian works, Cyrus is enshrined as a savior who restored justice and good administration (cf. Isa 45:1–13). In Babylonia, this view of Cyrus is sometimes extreme and therefore suspicious, but the general picture is nonetheless valid.

Babylonia continued to be well treated under Cambyses II (529–522 B.C.) and remained docile. When revolt broke out in Persia at the death of Cambyses, however, Babylonia took the opportunity to appoint her own kings for a year or two. But Darius I (521–486 B.C.) successfully suppressed the rebellion and pacified the various parts of his empire, including Babylonia. He put the provincial administration in order, and Babylonia gained the doubtful honor of contributing more tribute to the Persians than any other province.

Only one further serious attempt at independence was made by Babylonia during the Persian era, and this was in the reign of Xerxes I (485–465 B.C.). The rebels put their own appointee on the throne and withheld tribute from Xerxes, thus bravely disowning any allegiance to Persia. Xerxes responded with devastating deliberation. He sent in an army which not only defeated the rebels but looted and destroyed Babylon as well. Marduk's temple, Esagil, was demolished and his statue carried off to Persia. It is not surprising, perhaps, that nothing further is heard of Babylonian rebellion for the remainder of Persian rule.

The incredible march of Alexander the Great through W Asia and his defeat of the last Persian monarch, Darius III (335–331 B.C.), is part and parcel of Babylonian history, for Alexander chose Babylon as the

capital of his Asiatic-European empire. Tragically he died at Babylon at a young age, just as he had conquered the area from the Attic peninsula to the Ganges valley and was preparing to organize his empire. It would appear that the Babylonians liked Alexander, as well they might considering what he planned to do for them.

Because Alexander had not yet consolidated his empire, wars broke out among the Diadochi, Alexander's successors. From the conflicts emerged Seleucus I (305–281 B.C.) as king of Babylonia and W Asia. He founded both a new dynasty and a new dating system, the latter called the Seleucid Era and based on the date on which Seleucus marched into Babylon (312 B.C., a retroactive date). By this time the Greek language was widely spoken and written in Babylonia by the ruling and educated classes. Nevertheless, Aramaic and Akkadian continued to be used in some circles. In fact, Akkadian cuneiform was used for several centuries more in temples for religious, divinatory, and administrative texts, the last such text dating to A.D. 64.

There are no indications of major revolts by the Babylonians against their Seleucid masters. There was some dissatisfaction, however. This was in part due to the creation of a new city, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, which drained off some population from Babylon. A more subtle reason for discontent is that the Babylonians felt themselves superior to the Greeks. This attitude is elusive to detect but there, nonetheless. There was a feeling that the Greeks were uncultured barbarians with no history or civilization to speak of. Thus, a Babylonian priest, Berossos, wrote a history of Babylonia in Greek, only fragments of which have survived, in order to teach his masters about a great civilization (i.e., the Babylonia civilization).

Eventually the Arsacids pushed into Babylonia in the 2d century B.C., forcing the Seleucids to withdraw to Syria. Our sources for the political history now rapidly dwindle, and little is known about the history of Babylonia in this time.

**E. The State**

The political structure of the Babylonian state was essentially that of the Sumerian state. Only gradually did changes take place to meet new conditions, particularly when Babylonia became a major imperial power in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C.

**1. The King.** The institution of monarchy in the Babylonian plain was Sumerian in origin. As in Sumer, the political philosophy was that monarchy came from the gods. The gods appointed a particular human being to rule and, in so doing, made him the supremely powerful human on earth. He had absolute power in every sphere—administration, courts, economy, army, society in general—except religion. In religion, he had to respect the position of the high priest, and this fact was made manifest once a year, in the New Year Festival. Part of the New Year's ritual called for the high priest to slap the king's face and pull him by the ears. The purpose of this was to remind the king that he was a humble servant of the gods. The king had certain duties to perform as a condition of his divine appointment. First, he was responsible for the nourishment of the gods, which meant that he had to contribute substantially from state resources toward the maintenance and building of the temples. Second, he was responsible for the "shepherding" of the people, which in fact meant maintaining an elaborate bureaucracy to carry out the administration. Third and finally, he had to administer justice to all, rich and poor, young and old; and thus, he was both a judge and a legislator.

In practice the monarchy was hereditary, with primogeniture (inheritance by the firstborn son) being the rule. The heir had to go through an elaborate coronation, which included both the gods and the Babylonian nobility approving his accession to the throne. There were numerous disruptions to the succession in Babylonian history, and there were many short-lived dynasties, particularly in the early centuries of the 1st millennium.

Along with the institution of monarchy came the idea that the king was divine, a concept also inherited from the Sumerians. This idea persisted in the early Old Babylonian period, during which many hymns were composed in praise of kings as gods and their names were preceded in writing by the cuneiform sign which indicated divinity. By the time of Hammurapi, however, the idea had died out and never reappeared. The image of the Babylonian king, as portrayed in literature and art, was of a pious ruler who

fulfilled his divine commissions and had little to do with war and commerce. Of course in practice he had much to do in both spheres, particularly with regard to war during the Neo-Babylonian empire. This image is quite different from that of the Assyrian king, who is depicted as a vigorous, albeit pious, warrior.

**2. Administration.** While the king was an absolute monarch, he required an elaborately structured administration to run the state. It is a feature of Babylonian administration that any Babylonian who felt he had a grievance could appeal directly to the king. There are many examples of this happening and of a king, such as Hammurapi, taking direct charge and personally correcting the grievance.

Babylonian administration can be portrayed as a pyramid with the king at the pinnacle and the numerous unskilled laborers, including slaves, forming the foundation. In between were several layers of bureaucrats and workers. Directly under the king were the governors of provinces and city mayors. Under these were the superintendants of tradesmen and laborers, and under these, in turn, were the next lower classes. Among the general population, first came the freemen, who were economically well off, owning land and doing little or no actual labor themselves. Below them were the half-free, palace officials, tradesmen, and small tenant farmers who did much of the work. Then there were the slaves, who were either debt slaves or prisoners of war. On the periphery of this structure were the seminomads, who would perform public works, including fighting, in return for payment. A group outside of the system was the temple personnel, for the temple had its own administrative system.

At every level and in every segment of Babylonian administration there was the scribe, for meticulous records of administrative matters had to be kept. This was another legacy from the Sumerians. There were chief scribes attached to the court, scribes in the governors' palaces, and even scribes assigned to record the rations issued to gangs of workmen dredging out canals. It is fortunate for us that this was so, since most of what we know of Babylonian administration has been learned from the letters, lists, memoranda, etc., left by these scribes. Another ubiquitous occupation was that of tax collector. There were numerous tax collectors throughout the land to collect a share of every crop and custom duties on every item going through the cities' gates. Public works were performed by corvée, it being the responsibility of every Babylonian to contribute some of his time to the maintenance of roads and irrigation canals.

Over the long passage of time in Babylonian history, some fundamental changes in the monarchy and administration took place. In the Old Babylonian period, a change that had begun in Sumerian times came to fruition: the economic and political supremacy shifted from temple to palace, a change brought about by the increasing campaigns of the monarch which enriched his palace's treasury. By the time of Hammurapi, the palace was clearly more powerful and wealthy than the temple. During the 1st millennium, however, another shift developed: by the time of the Neo-Babylonian empire, the king had lost some authority and revenues to the provincial governors, the city mayors, and the temple. In fact, even under the Persians and Seleucids the temples were large and wealthy institutions.

**F. Socioeconomic Structure**

As in other aspects of Babylonian civilization, The Sumerian legacy in the socioeconomic structure is quite apparent. This is, in significant part, an inevitable condition imposed by Babylonian geography, which considerably limited the economic options open to the inhabitants of the plain. Thus both the Sumerian and Babylonian economic structures rested upon three foundations: agriculture, animal husbandry, and foreign trade (see A. 5–6 above).

The theory behind the economic structure was distinctively Sumerian and had been taken over by the Babylonians. According to this theory, the gods owned all the land and the king administered it for them. In practice, however, private ownership of land was common, and a Babylonian could buy and sell real estate at will. He need be careful only of two conditions, payment of taxes and provision of corvée labor, since ownership of any land entailed these two obligations. There were small and medium-sized plots of land as well as large estates, the latter sometimes consisting of land scattered over more than one province. Not only land transfer but virtually any economic transaction was carefully recorded in writing by the scribes, and tax collectors were at work everywhere, since virtually every transaction involved a payment to the palace.

Money did not exist in Babylonia—it seems to have been a Greek invention—and payment was in kind according to a standard exchange. Silver was the metal most commonly used as the standard, although in some periods use was made of other metals, such as gold, tin, or copper. This system was not so cumbrous as one might think, since credit was well known. Most transactions that were recorded, from small commissions to farm little plots of land to major property transfers, involved credit. The most important and wealthiest Babylonian businessmen, called the *tam kārum,* had extensive resources built on credit, and they dealt in both domestic and foreign trade. Interest rates varied a great deal, but 25 percent was common, rates of 33 percent to 50 percent were not unusual, and rates up to 100 percent were known. Because of such high interest rates, a large number of Babylonians were in debt all their lives, and many went bankrupt, which in Babylonian society meant they became debt slaves. They had the right to buy themselves out of slavery, and some did manage to do so. Despite these tragedies, credit and interest were the basis of an enormously successful economy, for as a Babylonian proverb stated: "Lending money is like making love and getting it back is like having a son."

There is some uncertainty about whether Babylonian business was uncontrolled (free market) or whether the state imposed some restrictions on it (state regulated). There is evidence on both sides of this question, and that is why there is uncertainty. On the one hand, it is clear from records of everyday transactions that prices fluctuated in relation to supply and demand. An extreme example is the exorbitant prices charged for food in 7th-century Nippur when it was under siege by Nabopolassar and food was very scarce. On the other hand, there are many references in Babylonian documents to royal decrees which state the cost of such diverse things as the purchase of grain and the rental of boats. The problem of these diverse facts remains to be resolved, but it is obvious that the Babylonian economic structure was neither entirely free nor entirely controlled.

The urban character of Babylonian society, another legacy from the Sumerians, is striking. The surrounding countryside merely served the needs of the city, which was the focal point of Babylonian economy and society—indeed the center of every aspect of Babylonian civilization. It was the city that fostered not only pragmatic pursuits but also intellectual and artistic endeavors. It is thanks to the urban centers that Babylonian civilization is noted for its art, literature, and science. There was much rivalry among the cities, and some of them, such as Babylon and Sippar, claimed ancient privileges which even the Assyrian conquerors had to respect. Those privileges involved such things as exemption from certain taxes, billeting of troops, and levying of troops.

The structure of Babylonian society was essentially the same as that of the administration, which has already been outlined (E. 2). Family and tribal affiliation was of fundamental importance to a Babylonian, and one usually remained in the social class into which one was born. It should be noted that slavery, although a basic element in Babylonian society, was not a major component either of the society or of the economy. The number of slaves was relatively small, and much of the menial labor was done by free or half-free individuals. This, of course, was in contrast to the situation in the Roman Empire.

Four observations can be made about the character of Babylonian society. First, Babylonians were a very religious people, and religion pervaded every aspect of life for everyone, from the king down to the slave (see I below). Second, they had a strong sense of morality, and there was strong disapproval when anyone broke the moral code. Gods could err morally as well, and there are examples of this in the mythology (see H below). Third, Babylonian society, like preindustrial societies in general, was very conservative. Change, if it occurred at all, was slow; for to their minds it was foolish to abandon a practice or theory that had existed since time immemorial. Fourth, and finally, it was a society very conscious of its past. Kings commonly referred to the achievements of their predecessors, and records of Babylonian history were kept in various forms for the use of the king and scribes. Epics about great heroes of the past were recited to the illiterate.

Over the many centuries that Babylonian civilization flourished, there were some gradual changes in the socioeconomic structure. By about 1000 B.C. some "large cities," such as Babylon, had emerged and become the focal points of Babylonian life. This process involved, in part, siphoning off population from other urban centers, particularly the old Sumerian cities in the south, which gradually shrank in size.

During the 1st millennium, both domestic and foreign trade activity expanded as a result of imperial conquest first by the Assyrians and later by the Babylonians. Thus, by the time of the Neo-Babylonian empire, the Babylonian population and economy were concentrated in a few large cities and a few big temples.

**G. Legal Structure**

Since the discovery of the law code of Hammurapi in the 19th century, it has been well known how important the subject of law was in Babylonian civilization. The "Law Codes" (for several are now known) are, however, not really what the name suggests; to understand the legal structure of Babylonia, we must look as well at other documentation, contracts and court records. Only by combining these two different types of records can we achieve an understanding of the function and character of law in Babylonia. See LAW.

**1. Law Codes.** The law code of Hammurapi is now only one of several such documents known from ancient Mesopotamia. In chronological order there are the codes of Urukagina (ca. 2350 B.C.), Ur-Nammu (ca. 2112–2095 B.C.; *ANET,* 523–5), Lipit-Ishtar (ca. 1934–1924 B.C.; *ANET,* 159–60), Eshnunna (ca. 1900 B.C.; *ANET,* 161–3), and Hammurapi (ca. 1792–1750 B.C.; *ANET,* 163–80). Related to these are non-Babylonian codes, viz. the MA laws (*ANET,* 180–8), the Hittite laws (*ANET,* 188–97), and the Hebrew laws (Exodus 19–23). The languages of these documents vary, some being in Sumerian (Urukagina, Ur-Nammu, and Lipit-Ishtar), some in Akkadian (Eshnunna, Hammurapi, and MA), one in Hittite, and one in Hebrew; but they all share similarities in structure and content. A good illustration of the similarities is the group of laws concerning goring oxen:

Eshnunna 53. If an ox gored an (other) ox and killed (it), both ox owners shall divide the price of the live ox and also the equivalent of the dead ox.

54. If an ox is known to gore habitually and the authorities have brought the fact to the knowledge of its owner but he has not had his ox dehorned; (if then) it gored a citizen and killed (him), the owner of the ox shall pay two thirds of a mina of silver.

55. If it gored a slave and killed (him) he shall pay fifteen shekels of silver

Hammurapi 250. If an ox, when it was going along the street, gored a citizen and killed (him), that case is not subject to claim.

251. If a citizen's ox was an habitual gorer and his city-ward notified him that it was an habitual gorer, but he did not pad its horns (or) keep watch over his ox and that ox gored and killed a member of the citizen class, he shall pay one half mina of silver.

252. If it was a citizen's slave, he shall pay one third of a mina of silver.

Exodus 21:28. If an ox gored a man or a woman and they died, the ox shall be stoned and its meat shall not be eaten but the owner of the ox shall be clear.

21:29. If the ox habitually gored in the past and its owner was informed but did not keep watch over it and it killed a man or woman, the ox shall be stoned and its owner shall also be executed.

21:31. If it gored a man's son or daughter, he shall be dealt with according to the same law.

21:32. If the ox gored a slave, male or female, the owner shall pay to their master thirty shekels of silver, and the ox shall be stoned.

21:35. If one man's ox hurts another's and it died. then they shall sell the live ox and divide the price of it and the dead animal also shall they divide.

The similarities are striking and cannot be explained away simply by the fact that any society which used oxen would, from time to time, have trouble with renegade oxen (cf. Finkelstein 1981). There is a clear connection here. This is, of course, not surprising in the case of the Eshnunna and Hammurapi codes. They were close in time, culture, and geography.

But what about the Hebrew laws? To understand this connection one must look at the whole question of the relationship between Babylonian and biblical literature, since the Babylonian law codes were, as we shall see, as much literature as law (see H. 1 below). Just when these cultural similarities appeared is uncertain. It could have been in the Amorite period, when Amorites occupied both Babylonia and Palestine early in the 2d millennium; or it could have been in the Amarna age, when there was much international exchange throughout the Near East.Other areas in which there is similarity are the prescribed punishments for bodily injury:

Eshnunna 42. If a man bit the nose of a (nother) man and severed it, he shall pay one mina of silver. (For) an eye (he shall pay) one mina of silver, (for) a tooth on half mina, (for) and ear one half mina, (for) a slap in the face ten shekels of silver.

Hammurapi 196. If a citizen destroyed the eye of a member of the citizen class his eye shall be destroyed.

200. If a citizen knocked out the tooth of a citizen of his own rank, his tooth shall be knocked out.

Exodus 21:22–25. If men were fighting and hurt a pregnant woman so that she had a miscarriage and yet no harmed followed, the one who hurt her shall be fined, according to what the woman's husband shall impose upon him; and he shall pay as the judges determine. If any harm follows, then you shall give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burn for burn, wound for wound, stripe for stripe.

What is striking here is that the Eshnunna code prescribes financial restitution for bodily injury, but both the Hammurapi and Hebrew codes prescribe proportional physical retaliation against the guilty party. Thus, we see that the principle of reprisal (*lex talionis*), an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, had a late appearance in Mesopotamia. Since Hammurapi was of Amorite origin, and the Amorites were also well entrenched in Palestine at about the same time, it seems that this custom may have been Amorite in origin.

The traditional modern term "law codes" implies a formal code such as the Romans had, or we have today, which is a comprehensive and cohesive collection of laws to be obeyed and used as the rule in legal disputes. Since the Babylonian documents were none of these things, it is really incorrect to use the term "law code."

Even a quick examination of Hammurapi's "law code" shows that it is not such a document. It is not comprehensive; it covers many legal situations but leaves many, including homicide, out. Nor is it cohesively consistent. In various sections of the code theft, for example, is dealt with but in different ways. In section 6 it is stated that the theft of any property from a temple is punishable by death, but in section 8 that theft of an animal from a temple means the thief must repay thirty times the animal's value. On the other hand, there is a total lack of evidence that anyone in Babylonia ever thought the code must be obeyed. In particular, among the large number of contracts and court records of Hammurapi's time, never once is the "code" referred to.

If these documents are not "law codes," what are they? To seek an answer to this question we must go back to the first document, that of Urukagina. This text is actually a royal inscription of Urukagina, last king of the first dynasty of Lagash. Within the royal inscriptions there was incorporated a record of numerous social and economic reforms which the king had decreed. Those reforms included reduction of taxes and what we would call "fair trade" enactments. Similarly, the very fragmentary text of Ur-Nammu is really a royal inscription, a record of reforms which he had carried out. The same is true of the Lipit-Ishtar "code." It is known that in late Sumerian times and the early Old Babylonian period, kings, when they first came to the throne, frequently issued numerous decrees to correct abuses which had been developing during previous reigns. Thus, for example, if too many people had been falling into debt slavery because of high interest rates, a new king might decree a reduction in the rate. Not only did this practice alleviate hardship, it also made the new ruler popular with the people. These decrees were written down in collections by the scribes, initially as archival records. But the collections proved useful to the scribes composing royal inscriptions, for they could and did copy them into the royal texts as proof that

the king had ruled his people with justice. The Eshnunna "code" is actually such a collection of decrees, while the Hammurapi code, which has a lengthy prologue and epilogue, has the structure of a royal inscription. Thus, each article was, in theory, a decree originally intended to deal with a specific issue; but the scribes not only copied decrees from texts of previous rulers but also added some articles of their own to "round out" to their own satisfaction a particular theme. The "law codes" then give us only part of the picture of the Babylonian legal structure. They reflect attitudes and mores peculiar to this civilization and, of course, give real indications of what Babylonians regarded as legally right and wrong; but we must go on to examine the everyday legal transactions in order to shed more light on this topic.

**2. Law in Practice.** There are two kinds of legal documents in Babylonia: contracts of various sorts and court records (cf. *ANET,* 217–22; 542–47). All legal documents had certain features in common. They were drawn up on clay tablets in the presence of witnesses whose names were written on the document, and the personal seal of each witness was impressed in the wet clay. Then a clay envelope was wrapped around the tablet and a précis of the contents inscribed over most of the surface. Thus, if anyone in the future tried to tamper with the document, it would immediately be obvious from the broken seals on the envelope.

Contracts included marriages, divorces, adoptions, conveyances (sales) of movable and immovable property, loans, and the hiring of human and animal labor. These were private transactions, and the state was not normally involved. The contracting parties, after an oral agreement, had a scribe draw up the necessary contract, as described above. Some types of contracts, such as marriage contracts, were for obvious reasons kept permanently. Tablets recording loans and debts, on the other hand, were destroyed when the debt was paid, thus eliminating the need for a receipt. If a creditor could not produce a written document proving a debt against someone, he had no legal claim against that person.

Court records are not nearly so common as contracts, since legal disputes were usually settled privately. But if the state legal machinery was put in motion, records of the proceedings had to be kept. Unfortunately, the court records are not very useful sources of information about how Babylonian courts worked. This is true where the customs had been well known to everyone involved, and so no need had ever been felt to write them down.

Judges did exist in Babylonia, and the king himself was the head of the whole judicial system, the supreme judge as it were. If all else failed, a Babylonian with a grievance could ultimately appeal to the king. More than one judge presided in a case, and they were assisted or advised by an assembly (*puhru*). Both claimant and defendant were called upon to state their respective cases and to produce witnesses to prove them. Oaths to the gods were taken by everyone. It is unknown how the judges came to a decision. However, when they could not reach a decision for some reason, they resorted to trial by ordeal. This meant the accused was thrown into the river. If he sank, he was guilty; if he survived, he was innocent. This was far more sensible than the water ordeal for witches in medieval Europe, where the survivor was judged to be a witch and burnt!

In Babylonian law there were no state cases. All disputes and all court cases were between private individuals. The state did not take anyone to court. Even in the case of homicide, it was the family of the victim which sought punishment and compensation. Here the vendetta, the blood feud, prevailed and led to terrible feuds between families. Imprisonment as a punishment was largely unknown, for there were no state prisons. The only reason anyone was ever incarcerated was for a political crime. Even this was rare, since execution was the common punishment for treason.

**3. Status of Women.** The status of women in Babylonian society is best discussed under the legal structure, since there is more information about the legal status of women than about other areas. In the Old Babylonian (OB) period, the status of women was relatively high, but as time went on, women's rights and prerogatives declined so that in later Babylonian history their status had greatly diminished.

Legally, a Babylonian woman in the OB period was equal with a Babylonian man in many respects. She could own, buy, and sell property as she liked. She could borrow and lend, she could adopt children, and she could serve as a witness to a contract. She could sue someone, and she could own her own seal. This leaves large areas, however, in which she had few or no legal rights. Most significant is that a woman was

under the authority of either a man (a father or husband) or a temple. Most women, as most men, were expected to marry, and a man could have more than one wife. Until marriage a woman lived in her father and mother's house and was under the authority of her father. When she married, she moved to her husband's house, which meant the house of her father-in-law, and was under her husband's authority. Unmarried women entered the service of a temple. In the OB period, there are examples of women receiving a good education and even becoming scribes. Women living in a household were kept apart in a harem, and normally male visitors never saw them. The women were responsible for the cooking, cleaning, household chores in general, and care of the children. The amount of physical labor a woman actually did depended on the economic status of her family. A member of the court harem did no labor, since this was done by the palace staff. But even poorer families had servants of some kind to help with menial tasks.

There were various types of temple women, but one of the most important and interesting was the *nadītum*, which means "fallow woman"; that is, a woman who is not to bear children. The institution of the *nadītum* flourished during the OB period. While there were different kinds of *nadītums*, the best known were those who lived in a cloister. The largest cloister was at Sippar and was dedicated to the god Shamash. The women were regarded as brides of Shamash, and many bore names compounded with the divine name *Aya*, meaning the spouse of Shamash. The *nadītum* was not a priestess, for she neither performed rituals nor assisted in any. Exactly what her duties were and what went on inside the cloister are unknown. Clearly it was a religious institution, but there was an economic element as well. Most of the *nadītums* came from wealthy families, and when they entered the cloister, they were accompanied by a substantial dowry. This dowry was administered by the cloister but remained the private property of the *nadītum* and reverted to her family at her death. Thus, a family in dedicating a daughter to the cloister preserved some of its property intact. If the girl had married instead of becoming a *nadītum*, the dowry would have been lost to the family.

The rulers and officials of Babylonia were always men. Only rarely did a woman achieve any kind of political pwer; and when she did, she had no official status. To illustrate this point, let us look at two women, one from the Old Babylonian period and one from the Neo-Babylonian period. Shibtu was the wife of Zimri-Lim, king of Mari and contemporary of Hammurapi (ca. 1792–1750 B.C.). She took much interest in her husband's affairs, and Zimri-Lim soon learned that he could trust her to manage important state matters. This was particularly important when he was on campaign. A number of written reports from Shibtu to the king on various administrative matters have been preserved, and she was frequently entrusted with highly confidential matters. Yet her private side also emerges in the correspondence; in one brief but joyful letter, she announced to her husband the birth of twins. The other example of a stateswoman is Adad-guppi, mother of Nabonidus (555–539 B.C.). This remarkable woman lived to the age of ninety-five, having been born during the reign of Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.). She claimed to have served every king in the Neo-Babylonian dynasty and to have persuaded Nebuchadnezzar II to take her son Nabonidus into his service. Once established at the Babylonian court Adad-guppi no doubt continued to maneuver and manipulate affairs to her son's advantage. As a result, he eventually became king. Adad-guppi exercised so much authority that a legend evolved around her memory, portraying her as a queen in full control of Babylonia, a legend embedded in the histories of Herodotus (where she is given the name Nitokris).

**H. Literature, Learning, and Libraries**

One of the most significant legacies of Babylonian civilization is its extensive literature. The tradition of writing down legends and songs, which had been transmitted orally, for posterity began with the Sumerians, just at the beginning of the Old Babylonian period. Until that time very little Sumerian literature existed. But the scribes became worried that their civilization would die and so began an industrious and lengthy endeavor to preserve in writing their oral heritage. This impetus was passed on to the Babylonians.

In discussing the written records preserved in Babylonian libraries, an important distinction must be made. On the one hand, there is "literature" in the strict sense of the word (artistic and creative writings

such as epics and myths); on the other hand, there are compositions of little or no literary merit, which, nonetheless, the Babylonians regarded as having lasting value (lexical texts, prognostic texts, etc.). In the following discussion we shall first speak of Babylonian "literature" in the strict sense; and then, we shall treat the other kinds of written works preserved in Babylonian libraries.

**1. Literature.** As stated above, the impetus to write literature in Babylonia goes back to the Sumerians. It is, therefore, not surprising to find Sumerian influence in the form, content, and style of Babylonian literary works. (A sample of Babylonian literature, in English translation, can be found in *ANET*).

One form of literature in which the Babylonians departed from the Sumerian inheritance was poetry. Babylonian poetry is a very distinctive art form, followed later in Hebrew and Arabic poetry. The chief characteristic of this poetry is parallelism. That is, there are two parallel parts to each phrase, line, or stanza. The parallels may be synonymous or antithetical, or yet some other variation. Apart from parallelism, there is nothing that can be called a universal characteristic of Babylonian poetry. It does not rhyme; while it may have meter, to date this has not been proved. A feature of Babylonian poetry is the frequent use of repetition. Long speeches are repeated verbatim in an epic, or the same motif will appear in the same words in different compositions. Thus, Ishtar's short lament over the destruction of the Flood appears in different epics.

While different genres are apparent in Babylonian literature, there is no evidence of how the Babylonians themselves divided up their literature or what names they gave for such English words as "epic," "myth," and "hymn." In modern terms, the following genres can be recognized: epic, myth, prayer, and hymn. Standing separate is a group of texts called "Wisdom," a name borrowed from a translation of the Hebrew term used to describe such book as Proverbs and Job.

Several Babylonian epics, which are in poetry, are known, and by far the most imporant is the GILGAMESH EPIC. There were Sumerian poems about Gilgamesh (*ANET,* 44–52), but the epic itself was a Babylonian creation (*ANET,* 72–99; 503–7). It is a lengthy poetic narrative of the life and adventures of Gilgamesh, ruler of Uruk, who sought in vain for eternal life. A version of the Flood story makes up part of this epic. The Flood story, of which there were several versions in Sumerian, is itself the major theme in the *Atram-hasis Epic.* Here, we read that when the gods decided to destroy humankind (because they made too much noise and disturbed the gods' rest), one man and his family were spared. This man's name was Atram-hasis.

Myths were very popular in Babylonia and were also written down in poetry. One myth is the *Descent of Ishtar Into Hell* (*ANET,* 106–9). This composition was originally in Sumerian, and the Babylonian version is essentially an edited translation. It describes the descent of Ishtar into hell in search of her lover, Dumuzi, who had been lured down there by the goddess of the underworld. An independent Babylonian myth is *Enuma Elish*, "When Above," sometimes called the *Creation Epic* (*ANET,* 60–72; 501–3). This is a kind of religious treatise, for it describes and justifies how Marduk, the god of Babylon, became king of the gods.

It is often difficult to tell the difference between Babylonian prayers and hymns, since there is usually no indication of whether the poem was accompanied by music. The number of such texts is in the hundreds, but only a small proportion, including a long hymn to Shamash, the sun-god, are of outstanding literary merit (cf. *ANET,* 383–92).

Within the general category of Wisdom Literature, there is a diversity of works. There are a few compositions sharing a common theme, the problem of evil, but each is unique in form. Such a work is one called *Ludlul Bēl Nēmēqi,* "I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom" (*ANET,* 434–37; 596–600). In this lengthy and somber piece, the poet complains, like Job, that though he has been good all his life, his reward has been one long series of misfortunes. "Does the righteous man receive no just reward?" is his question. Another type of Wisdom Literature is represented by the "Disputes" and is Sumerian in origin. An example of a Babylonian Dispute is a work called *The Date Palm and the Tamarisk.* In this highly structured literary work a formal debate between the two kinds of trees takes place, each enumerating its merits to the disadvantage of the other. Finally, there were a number of Proverb collections, mainly in Sumerian but some in Babylonian (cf. *ANET,* 425–27).

Babylonian literary works such as these played a dual role in Babylonian civilization: entertainment and edification. Some of the Wisdom Literature, such as the *Wisdom of Shuruppak,* was intended to teach proper conduct to the young. On the other hand, the *Gilgamesh Epic* both edifies and entertains as the hero grapples with the reality of mortal existence. The vast majority of Babylonians were illiterate, which meant that they could not read this literature for themselves; it had to be recited to them in groups in formal or informal gatherings, sometimes with musical accompaniment. There is reason to believe that some compositions, such as the *Descent of Ishtar Into Hell,* was staged. The seven steps by which Ishtar entered hell, the actions of each step being precisely described, strongly suggest a dramatic performance.

**2. Learning.** Learning was the prerogative of the scribes, for only they were literate. In fact, learning in the academic sense was confined to a small number of scribes, since the majority were employed in everyday business, writing letters, contracts, and administrative texts. The privileged few who had free time to pursue knowledge were in the employ of the palace or temple. They were poorly lodged and not well paid, if we believe their frequent complaints. The daily activities of these scribes were diverse, depending on their training, talent, and experience. Some, such as the astrologers, were employed in divination, some in looking after the royal correspondence, some in preparing royal inscriptions for building works, and so on. The majority, however, spent much of their time making new copies of library and archival texts (similar to the occupation of monks in scriptoria in medieval Europe).

The scribal profession as a whole had a tremendous influence in Babylonian society, because most people could neither read nor write. Even the king and his chief officers were illiterate. This meant that all written communication with the king, as with anyone else, had to go through at least two scribes, one to write the letter and one to read it out upon arrival. Here, there was plenty of scope for slanted interpretation or misunderstanding. Occasionally, as in the Amarna Letters, the scribe writing a letter would add a note to the colleague who was to read the letter out, suggesting what the reader should emphasize.

As with all Babylonian occupations, the scribal profession was essentially hereditary. Of course one prerequisite was excellent eyesight, since magnification had not been invented. The course of study for the potential scribe lasted many years, probably until his late teens. The hours were long and the discipline, which included corporal punishment, strict. In the schoolhouse, learning was mainly acquired by rote, and the students copied and recopied set texts. Thousands of these copies, "school texts" as we call them, have been unearthed by modern excavations.

At least some, and possibly most, of the privileged scribes who gained senior positions in a palace or temple had a certain amount of time free from their formal duties to indulge in their own interests. These were the scholars and poets who produced Babylonian literature and scholarly texts. They were very conscious of their special status and proudly wrote down the name of the scribal school to which they belonged. The one place where they remained anonymous was in the authorship of literary texts. Thus, while we know the names of scribes who edited and copied such a famous text as the *Gilgamesh Epic,* we are never given the name of its author.

Babylonian learning included vast areas of knowledge which can be grouped together under the headings astrology and astronomy, extispicy and anatomy, medicine, mathematics, lexicography, theology, historiography, and commentaries. Some of this learning, mainly astronomy and mathematics, spread to Greece in the Hellenistic age. The Babylonian practice of divination (see I below) gave rise to extensive records of astronomical phenomena and calculations on future celestial movements, including eclipses. It also, in the case of extispicy (examination of animal entrails), led to the compilation of much material on anatomy and physiology.

Babylonian medicine had two sides, one practical and one theoretical. On the practical side, the Babylonians had a vast store of knowledge concerning herbs, medicines, and the symptoms for which they were efficacious. A Babylonian doctor could do certain kinds of surgery, such as an operation on the eye, probably to remove a cataract. On the theoretical side, the Babylonians had a vast store of incantations and rituals to exorcise the demons believed to cause a patient's illness. The incantation priests (*āšipu*) worked hand in hand with the practical doctors (*asû*) to cure a sufferer.

The heyday of Babylonian mathematics was the early Old Babylonian period (ca. 2000–1780 B.C.). During that time mathematicians went beyond the crude arithmetical necessities of everyday life to explore what we call algebra and geometry. They discovered Euclid's theorem and the Pythagorean triangle more than a thousand years before those Greek scholars lived. Scores of Babylonian "problem texts" have been discovered, and they include both practical problems (such as calculating the height of a ziggurat) and theoretical problems.

Lexicography, the science of words (the principles and practices of making dictionaries), was a highly important occupation. Next to prognostic texts, lexicographical texts were the most numerous in ancient Babylonian libraries. These included lists of names (plants, animals, professions, etc.), bilingual and multilingual dictionaries, and lists of cuneiform signs of various shapes and interpretations. Among this material were many lists of god names in which several divine names were frequently identified with one god, indicating a basic syncretistic theology.

As stated earlier, Babylonians were keenly interested in their past, and in academic circles this meant that scribes compiled works on the subject. These included king lists, chronicles, and poetic works about famous figures of the past. A few scribes went farther and wrote in a prophetic style about past events in an attempt to justify modern change or possibly even to make a real prediction seem credible. This literature (*ANET*, 451–52; 606–7), which has parallels in the biblical book of Daniel, may well be the beginning of apocalyptic literature. See APOCALYPSES AND APOCALYPTICISM.

As if this were not enough learning, the scribes occasionally indulged in highly esoteric composition. They wrote some commentaries to literary texts, which to our minds often seem abstruse and are difficult to read. From time to time they also wrote in numbers rather than in cuneiform signs, each number representing a syllable or word. Such passages are extremely hard to decipher. They were really learned games, such as difficult crossword puzzles.

**3. Libraries.** More is known about Assyrian libraries than Babylonian libraries. (The reader is referred to the discussion under Assyria [previous article] for fuller information than can be given here.) The reason is the chance of archaeology. Most libraries in Babylonia were unearthed in the 19th century before proper excavation techniques had been developed. At Asshur, on the other hand, scientific methods were employed with great benefit to modern knowledge.

Libraries no doubt existed in all major Babylonian cities; specifically, they have been discovered at Babylon, Borsippa, Sippar, and Nippur, to name the best known. The library discovered at Nippur is largely early Old Babylonian in date and Sumerian in content. Most of the tablets are now housed in Istanbul, Jena (East Germany), and Philadelphia. The libraries from Babylon, Borsippa, and Sippar are both Old and New Babylonian in date and the contents mainly in Akkadian. Most of these tablets are now in the British Museum.

Recently (1986), a whole new library was discovered at Sippar by archaeologists from the University of Baghdad. This is the most important find of the decade and when the tablets have been analyzed and published, they will supply much information on the subject. The texts seem to be Neo-Babylonian in date. The discovery also sheds light on the physical arrangements in a Babylonian library. The tablets were stored in deep cubicles made up of clay shelves and uprights. Brief markings on the tablet edges were notes ("call numbers") to assist the libraries in locating the texts they wanted.

## I. Religion

Babylonian religion permeates Babylonian society, being present in every event, every action, every institution, every thought. This feature cannot be overemphasized, particularly in our modern secular society where such a phenomenon seems so strange. For this reason it has become fashionable in scholarly circles in recent years to be very negative about the possibility of our gaining an understanding of ancient religion. Some modern specialists in Babylonia claim that the very nature of the available sources excludes any comprehensive and profound knowledge of Babylonian religion (Oppenheim 1964); but this is overstating the case. Among the tens of thousands of artifacts and inscriptions which archaeologists have excavated, there is a wealth of information on the subject. This includes religious scenes in art, votive figurines from temples, mythological texts, rituals, hymns, prayers, and offering lists.

We can never discover exactly what a given Babylonian thought about religion, of course, anymore than we can do this for a modern human being; but, as shall be seen in the following pages, we now have considerable information about this subject.

Babylonian religion was very heavily influenced by Sumerian religion, and all of the characteristics described here are characteristics of Sumerian religion. Babylonian religion had a number of outstanding characteristics. It was a polytheistic religion, the number of gods, goddesses, demons, etc., being in the hundreds. These were ranked in a hierarchy, but there were many overlaps and regional differences. To further complicate matters, each divinity had a spouse. The religion was animistic, for every animate and inanimate object was believed to have life and being. Cults were an important part of Babylonian religion, and every city had both major and minor cults, each with its temple, priests, offerings, and rituals. There was an official or state religion, and there was private religion. Morality was involved in Babylonian religion, and a very high ethical tone is evident in some writings. Divination and magic were important parts of the Babylonian way of life.

**1. State Religion.** The chief Babylonian gods, and the cities where their cults were centered, were Marduk at Babylon, Nabû at Borsippa, Enlil at Nippur, Ishtar at Uruk, Sin at Ur, Shamash at Sippar, and Nergal at Cuthah. When Babylonian history began, the Sumerian god An was still officially regarded as the king of the gods. In practice, Enlil, as in Sumerian times, played the chief role. See ENLIL. As time passed and the city of Babylon became the political and cultural center of the land, its god, Marduk, gradually moved into a more important position. Ultimately, he was officially recognized as king of the gods, during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I (ca. 1125–1104 B.C.; see D. 6 above). Many of the attributes and much of the mythology attached to Enlil became his. In the late period, Marduk was often simply called *Bel*, "lord." Nabû was Marduk's son and was the god of scribes and learning. Libraries in temples were called "the shrines of Nabû." Ishtar was the mother goddess and the goddess of love. Sin was the moon-god, and his cult became unusually important during the reign of Nabonidus (see D. 8 above). Shamash was the sun-god and always had great prominence because he was in charge of justice and divination. Nergal, who was commonly associated with Erra, was the god of the netherworld, and death came under his jurisdiction.

Each cult not only had its own temple, personnel, and offerings but also its own festivals and rituals. The festivals of the major cults were, of course, more important than those of minor cults. The chief event of all was the *Akītu* or New Year Festival. This was celebrated every spring at Babylon for the first twelve days of Nisan, the first month of the year. The statues of gods from other cities, such as Nabû from Borsippa, were brought by boat with great ceremony to Babylon. Here, they greeted Marduk and accompanied his statue, placed on a ceremonial float, out of the temple. The magnificent procession progressed down the wide avenue from Marduk's temple through the Ishtar Gate to the *Akītu* house outside Babylon's walls. In this house rituals were performed and the *Enuma Elish* poem, describing how Marduk became king of the gods, was recited. Then Marduk was escorted back to his temple, and the gods returned to their own cities and temples. The Babylonian king had an essential role in state religion, and this was particularly apparent in the *Akītu* festival. At one point the chief priest would slap him in the face and drag him by the ears to Marduk's throne, where he forced the king to bow down and recite a confession. Another part of the *Akītu* festival was the sacred marriage between the king and the chief goddess, Zarpanitu. The marital act was actually carried out by the king with the chief priestess.

Babylonian mythology is quite colorful, and many of the myths, which are in poetry, are exciting to read (see H. 1 above). This is true in part because the Babylonians had a very anthropomorphic view of their gods. They believed that the gods looked, thought, and behaved just like human beings. The only difference was that the gods were immortal and normally invisible. In the mythology the gods loved, hated, fought, ate, drank, sinned, and repented just like mortals. Babylonian cosmology saw the world as divided into three parts, with heaven above, the netherworld below, and the earth in between. Shamash, the sun, traveled through the netherworld at night. The stars and planets were identified with specific gods, and their movements were carefully studied for astrological reasons. The earth itself was seen as a

disk surrounded by salt water, with fresh water bubbling up from below the earth to form rivers and lakes. Babylonia and its two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates, were in the center of the world.

In Babylonian belief, the gods, heaven, and underworld had always existed. There are no stories of how the gods and their dwelling places evolved, as there are, for example, in Egypt. Humankind, however, was created by the gods, as was earth. There are various stories about the creation, but the central theme is basically the same: there was a major conflict between old gods and young gods. One story, *Enuma Elish,* says the reason for the war was that the young gods were making too much noise and disturbing the sleep of the old gods. Another story, *Atram-hasis,* says the young gods became tired of doing all the work to clothe and feed the old gods and went on strike. In *Enuma Elish,* Marduk is chosen champion of the young gods. He defeats the leader of the old gods, the dragon Tiamat, and creates earth out of her body. Then, with a lump of clay and some blood from the dead spouse of Tiamat, he creates man. Man is placed on earth to serve the gods.

The *Atram-hasis Epic* narrates the creation of man in somewhat the same fashion, but then goes on to describe the Flood. After humankind had been created and had relieved the young gods of menial toil, the humans multiplied rapidly. The noise this multitude made disturbed the gods, and after holding an assembly the gods decided to destroy their creations with a Flood. The Flood duly came and swept over the face of the earth. But one man, Atram-hasis (in other Flood stories he has other names), had been warned by the god Ea that the Flood was coming. He therefore built an enormous boat, loaded his family, livestock, and all his possessions into it, and thereby survived the deluge.

Death and its sequel were very gloomy subjects in Babylonian thought, for there was no concept of a happy afterlife. Slightly different views are given in different texts of what happened after death, but there is a pervading sense of misery. It was first and foremost important to bury a dead person, for otherwise his or her ghost (*eṭemmu*) would wander about homeless and might haunt relatives and friends. The body was buried under the floor of the family home, where antiquated family archives were also buried. After proper burial, the ghost went down to the netherworld. This is eloquently described in the *Gilgamesh Epic* (8: 34–39):

> To the dwelling where none may leave who have entered,
> To the dwelling where the occupants have no light,
> Where they eat dust and clay they consume.
> They are dressed like birds, wings are their clothes,
> They see no light but dwell in darkness.

Every human being went to this gloomy place upon death. There was no paradise for the good or hell for the bad. It is not surprising that Babylonians had a fatalistic view of life and that some of them practiced hedonism, getting as much pleasure from life as they could before they died.

The temples in which the cults had their homes were major economic and social institutions in Babylonia. To provide some impression of this, one might roughly compare it with the status of the Christian Church in Western Europe during the Middle Ages. Physically, the temple consisted of a large complex of buildings with shrines, kitchens, dormitories, workrooms, and storage rooms. Normally a temple tower, or ziggurat, was part of the temple complex. The size of a temple's staff depended on the temple's importance and wealth. The temple of Marduk at Babylon in the 1st millennium was an enormously large and rich institution. We have no indication of the numbers of people on its staff, but they were probably in the hundreds. At the top was the chief priest, and next to him were his chief advisers. There were several different kinds of priests who performed the various rituals and related sacred duties. Craftsmen and laborers, including kitchen staff and herdsmen, were employed by the temple both to provide for its own needs and to produce a surplus for trade and profit. A temple usually owned some land and also had a share ("offerings") in crops and herds from some property it did not own. The more important temples also received support from the palace, although the amount of this support varied from period to period. This support included building and repairs that were carried out by corvée at the order of the king. Containers were left at temple doors for worshippers to deposit voluntary offerings.

Temple revenues were in kind, and the food provided for the gods was in practice consumed by the temple personnel.

**2. Popular Religion.** Little is known about popular religion in Babylonia, since most of our sources are artifacts and documents excavated at the large temples. It was believed that everyone, even the lowest slave, had a personal god and that the god's rank had a direct relation to the human's rank. The relationship between a human and his or her god was quite businesslike. The human provided food and clothing for the god, and the god, in turn, carried the human's requests—such as for good health—to a higher god who could perform the deed.

Magic, both black and white, was universal in Babylonia, but one suspects, although it cannot be proved, that it was particularly popular among poorer people. Incantations and rituals in the hundreds are known from the great libraries. These cover the whole gamut of life: love potions, illness, business affairs, a house infected with insects, childbirth, etc. Clay dolls with human hair were sometimes fashioned as part of a ritual, such as one designed to cast an evil spell on a person. Herbs and roots were the most common elements used in the rituals, and frequently the rituals describe how to use them to mix a poultice or medicine, particularly in the case of illness.

Babylonian texts occasionally refer to roadside shrines. Some of these were certainly part of the state religion, but others were probably manifestations of popular belief. Anyone who has traveled in the Near East must have been struck by the number of small shrines of virtually every religion in town and country alike, even today.

**3. Divination.** As religion permeated Babylonian civilization, so did divination. The theory and practice of prognostication—predicting the future—was endemic to this culture and affected every aspect of life. It was based on the belief that the gods, whenever they decided to do something, sent a message or messages to human beings through a variety of means. If humans wished to know what the gods intended, they had to learn how to read these signs.

Almost anything could be a medium for divine messages, such as the shape of smoke from a fire, the configurations of oil poured upon water, the flight of birds, or the sudden appearance of a snake. The Babylonians, building upon a Sumerian tradition, developed the science (if we can call it that) of reading these signs into a very complex and comprehensive system. This system was carefully recorded on clay tablets and filed away in libraries for reference. One gains some idea of the importance of divination to Babylonians from the fact that of all the documents stored in Babylonian libraries, prognostic texts were the most numerous.

The kinds of divination we know most about are those used by the king and his court. These were extispicy and astrology. Extispicy—the examination of the entrails of sacrificial animals for ominous signs—was popular in the Old and Middle Babylonian periods, but by the Neo-Babylonian period astrology had become more common. There were both active and passive approaches in divination. Thus, in the active approach the king would address a specific question to the diviners, asking if a certain proposal was approved by the gods. It might be a proposed campaign or the appointment of an official, or something else. The diviners would then sacrifice some animals or watch the heavens and, on the basis of their vast lore, report back to the king. It says much for the skill and common sense of the diviners that there is no case yet known in which any of them were later charged with a false prediction.

A passive approach to divination was also known. Thus, an astrologer might report to the king that his calculations showed that a solar eclipse would occur on such a date and that this meant the king would die. Necessary preventive action had, therefore, to be taken. In one such case, of which there are several examples, a substitute king was put on the throne and at the end of the ominous period was executed. Then the real king, who had been in hiding resumed his throne. Yet another type of passive divination is represented by dreams and prophecies. A king might receive a message from the gods in a dream, or it might be transmitted to him through a prophet. These prophets, or better, "ecstatics," were usually women who induced a trance upon themselves, probably by dancing. While the women were in the trance, the gods would send them messages for the king. Usually these messages were just good wishes for well-being and not at all like the powerful and often threatening messages of the Hebrew prophets.

**J. Everyday Life**

The everyday life of a Babylonian changed little over the centuries, for rapid change was unknown in preindustrial societies. Food, lodging, clothing, and general behavior patterns were essentially the same in Old Babylonian as in Neo-Babylonian times. This was true despite the frequent immigration of new peoples, since new population groups soon melted into Babylonian society, leaving little trace of their identity.

"A person is what he eats" is an old adage with much truth in it. One's diet affects one's thoughts and actions in a variety of ways. Thus, it is important to know what food Babylonians consumed. It was mainly cereal grains in the form of bread spread with oil pressed from sesame seed. The most common cereal was barley, which was also brewed for beer, the usual beverage. Wine was known but was reserved for festive occasions or for use by rich people. The people also ate leeks, onions, and garlic. Milk, usually from goats, was made into ghee (clarified butter) and cheese. Eggs from chickens and ducks were also part of the regular diet. Fish was commonly caught and eaten. For sweets, there were dates and honey. For most people, meat (fowl, sheep, or goat) was a rare luxury. Only the nobility could afford meat regularly; the lower classes were able to indulge in it only on festive occasions. Indeed, the upper classes had a great respect for good food, and many recipes for the preparation of a meal have been discovered. Not surprisingly, some of the recipes are similar to those for modern dishes found in the area.

There is a description of a banquet among the gods in the epic *Enuma Elish* (3: 133–37), and this may reflect human practice. The story does not tell us what they ate, except that they ate well, but it does say they drank enough to become quite cheerful:

> They chatted together as they sat down at the banquet,
> They drank through straws the sweet liquor,
> As they drank the alcohol their bodies relaxed,
> They forgot their cares, their mood became expansive.

The universal building material for dwellings was mud brick, the only exception being in the marshes, where reeds were used. Stone and timber, which had to be imported and were therefore expensive, were used only for palaces and temples. The house of a family of modest means was usually of two stories surrounding a courtyard. There were no openings onto the street except for the door. All windows, which had no coverings, opened onto the courtyard, where there was a pool of water. The second floor had a balcony all around the courtyard. Wealthy families and certainly the king had gardens. There were poor people who were homeless, and many of them carved out niches for themselves in the city walls or in the ruins of old temples and palaces, while others simply slept in doorways. The streets were narrow, twisting, and filthy, since they had open sewers in the center to carry off all waste from the houses. The streets were also dark and dangerous at night because of robbers.

Clothing was a relatively simple matter for most people and consisted of one or two loose-fitting garments. The material came from goats' hair or sheeps' wool. Both men and women wore some jewelry. The upper classes and royalty had more elaborate garments and, of course, wore ornaments of precious stone, such as lapis lazuli, and of metal, such as gold and silver.

For recreation the Babylonians had a variety of options. There were the great religious festivals, which included parades which they could watch. Scribes and poets recited epics and stories to audiences in the squares and at the gates. Music, both vocal and instrumental, was sung or played universally from formal hymns in the great temples to popular folk tunes. A variety of instruments—strings, wind, and percussion—were used. Ball games and wrestling were favorite sports. The more sedentary could entertain themselves with board games, some of which have been recovered in modern excavations. For the children, there were toys such as clay model wagons and dolls.

**K. Legacy**

Babylonia left a legacy to civilization as a whole and to religion in particular. This is not surprising considering that Babylonia was one of the great civilizations of the Fertile Crescent, an area one could call the cradle of civilization and the cradle of three great religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. A

Babylonian legacy is also apparent in the modern region, southern Iraq, of the Babylonian plain and among its present inhabitants.

It is in the Bible that we find the most obvious Babylonian legacy, and since the Bible is sacred to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, it is then a fact that all three religions have a legacy from the Babylonians. In the discussions above, a connection has been observed between Babylonian and Hebrew law and literature. It is possible that apocalyptic literature, such as one finds in the book of Daniel or the book of Revelation, has its origin in the Babylonian prophecies.

A legacy in the Bible unflattering to the Babylonians is interesting. Biblical writers had good cause to hate the Babylonians after the Exile, and this hatred took the form of regarding them as the archetypes of evil. The strongest expression is in the book of Revelation, where one reads of the iniquities of the "Great Whore of Babylon." Antagonism toward Babylonia went back much farther though, as we can see in the episode of the Tower of Babel in Genesis 11, where the writer is scornful of Babylon's wealth and pretensions, picturing its inhabitants as a godless and foolish bunch. These images of Babylon are still with us today, thanks to the Bible.

A final Babylonian legacy to religion is astrology. Astrology spread from Babylonia both east, to India and beyond, and west. In Western Europe, it gained a firm hold, thriving in the Middle Ages, and it still has a real presence in modern society.

Outside of religion, the most outstanding contribution which Babylonia has made to civilization is in science, a fact which has only come to light during the last few decades. As noted above, the Babylonians by about 1780 B.C. had made great strides in mathematics, algebra, and geometry. They had already made the discoveries which Euclid and Pythagoras would rediscover later. Before the middle of the 1st millennium they had such a wealth of astronomical data and expertise (compiled for the purposes of astrology) that they could measure the solar and lunar years very accurately. They could also predict eclipses of the sun and moon and many other celestial phenomena. This vast lore of learning and discovery spread throughout the Near East and Eastern Europe during the Hellenistic age and thus formed the basis for Greek science, which, in turn, is the basis of modern science. The Babylonians also knew a great deal about medicine and the structure of the human body, but whether much of this knowledge was passed on to the Greeks is unknown.

The influence of Babylonian literature on Greek literature has been shown to be a reality in recent years. There are, for example, reflections of Gilgamesh in the stories of Hercules, and some of the gods mentioned in the poetry of Hesiod reflect a Babylonian background. The Babylonians are famous in modern times for their law codes, and research during the last decade has shown a continuous chain in legal tradition from the Laws of Hammurapi through the Bible to modern law. (In fact there was a trial in the state of Michigan in the 1950s in which the goring-ox laws of Hammurapi's code were cited as bearing on the case! See Finkelstein 1981.)

The land where Babylonian civilization once flourished is now the S part of the modern republic of Iraq. Here, one can see a visible legacy of those ancient people in the minarets of the mosques. These towers remind one of the ancient ziggurats, or temple towers, the remains of which can still be seen at ancient sites throughout the land. In the early Middle Ages, when minarets were first being built, the ziggurats would have been even better preserved and apparent. Indeed, the famous medieval minaret at Samarra was consciously modeled after a ziggurat.

The Babylonian dialect of Akkadian is no longer spoken in the area, but there are still relics of it in the Arabic which is spoken in Iraq today. By this, it is not meant simply that Arabic, being a Semitic language like Akkadian, has words and grammatical structures related to those in Babylonian; this is certainly true. But beyond this, in isolated villages one often finds local words and expressions which are otherwise not known in Arabic but were current in Babylonian. An outstanding example of this is the technical terminology used by the date-palm cultivators in the extreme south. This terminology is actually Sumerian and therefore even older than Babylonian. But the Babylonians inherited it and passed it on to future generations.

Is there any trace of the Babylonian people themselves among the modern inhabitants of S Iraq? This is impossible to prove, but it seems highly probable. After all, when historians say a people "died out" or "disappeared," what they really mean (except in cases of genocide or mass migration) is that the old population intermarried and melted into the new immigrant populations. This was certainly the case with the Babylonians. One region which was isolated and therefore experienced little of this melting is the marshes in the extreme south (see B. above). Here the Marsh Arabs, as the people are called, live in much the same way as the ancient Sumerians and Babylonians. They are quite different in almost every respect from other Iraqis. Perhaps, then, they are the closest we can come to finding traces of Babylonians in the modern world.

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A. KIRK GRAYSON

**MESSENGER.** See TRAVEL AND COMMUNICATION.

**MESSIAH.** The term going back to *Messias,* a Gk form (John 1:41; 4:25) of the Heb *māšîah,* denoting an anointed person. Hebrew *hammāšîaḥ* (Aram *měšîḥā*), "the Messiah," is usually translated in Gk with *ho christos,* the Christ.

Because a central tenet of Christianity has always been the conviction that Jesus was the Christ (the Messiah expected by Israel), much attention has been paid to the study of Jewish expectations of the Messiah. The Christian focus upon the person of Jesus has led to an undue concentration on the *person* of the Messiah in Jewish thought, even in the works of recent scholars. One should realize that in the OT the term "anointed" is never used of a future savior/redeemer, and that in later Jewish writings of the period between 200 B.C. and A.D. 100 the term is used only infrequently in connection with agents of divine deliverance expected in the future.

The use of the term "Messiah" to denote any figure expected to introduce an era of eternal bliss, regardless of the terminology used in the source, leads to confusion. The words "messianic" and "messianism" have a still wider range of meanings; they are also used in connection with expectations of a definitive change in history which is not brought about by a particular future deliverer. (In fact, the expression "messianism without Messiah" has even been coined.) These terms also appear in studies by historians of religion and by social anthropologists, who use them in discussions of developments in later Western history and in other cultures (often under Western colonial, missionary, and modernizing influence).

In the analysis of the literature that concerns us here, we should employ the words "anointed" and "Messiah" only where the sources use the corresponding word in their own language. Similarly, "messianic expectation" should only denote the expectation of a redeemer who is actually called "Messiah." We should also be careful in employing the words "eschatology" and "eschatological." The

basic element in the expectations which are commonly called "eschatological" is the conviction that God will complete and crown his dealings with his people and with the whole world by effecting a radical and lasting change, inaugurating a new era. God may use human or angelical intermediaries in bringing about this change, but quite often agents of divine deliverance are not found at all. The mythological imagery and the other expressions qualifying time and space used to describe this radical change are of secondary importance. Though it may be useful or even necessary to distinguish between the various images and concepts, we must be careful not to prejudice our analysis through inappropriate later terminology. We shall do well to use the words "eschatology" and "eschatological" without any modern connotations dependent on philosophical or theological theories concerning the relation between history and that which is "beyond history."

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A. The Act of Anointing People
B. Anointed Persons
C. Anointed King(s) in the Psalms
D. OT Prophecies about Future Davidic Kings
E. "Anointed Ones" in Early Judaism (200 B.C.–A.D. 100)
F. Later Jewish Writings
G. Summary

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**A. The Act of Anointing People**

The Heb verb *māšaḥ* is used to indicate the applying of oil to an object or person by either pouring, rubbing, or smearing. The usual Gk equivalent in the LXX is *chriein.* When the word is employed with persons, it denotes the conferring of a specific status (except Amos 6:6). Mostly kings are anointed (Saul, David, Absalom, Solomon, Jehu, Joash, Jehoahaz); however, in some instances (high) priests were anointed (so Aaron and his sons, and Zadok), as were prophets (in one OT case, Elisha).

**1. Kings.** In the Jotham fable (9:7–15) directed to those who had made Abimelech king at Shechem, the trees are portrayed as wanting to anoint one tree to be king over them. The initiative here is clearly with the king's (prospective) subjects. Likewise, the men of Judah anointed David king over the house of Judah (2 Sam 2:4–7), and they were followed by the men of Israel who made him king of Israel (2 Sam 5:4 = 1 Chr 11:3, cf. 2 Sam 5:17 = 1 Chr 14:8). The case of Absalom in 2 Sam 19:11 (—Eng 19:10) may be compared. During the dynastic conflicts preceding David's death Solomon was anointed, at David's instructions, by Zadok, the priest, and Nathan, the prophet (1 Kgs 1:34, 45; in v 39 only Zadok is mentioned as the one who "took the oil from the tent and anointed Solomon"). In 1 Chr 29:22 it is the assembly of Israel which makes Solomon king and anoints him as prince for the Lord (cf. 1 Kgs 5:15 [—Eng 5:1]). In 2 Kgs 11:12 a group of people proclaims Joash king and anoints him, against the wishes of Athaliah; the LXX attributes the actual anointing to Jehoiada, the priest (cf. 2 Chr 23:11; Jehoiada and his sons). In 2 Kgs 23:30 Jehoahaz is anointed by "the people of the land."

In 2 Sam 12:7 (cf. Ps 89:21—Eng 20), Nathan reminds David that it was YHWH who anointed him king over Israel, and this is also the message of the story in 1 Sam 16:1–13, where Samuel receives instructions from YHWH "to anoint for me him whom I name to you" (v 3), and where Samuel proceeds to anoint David in the midst of his brothers. We may compare here 11 QPs$^{a}$ 151:5–7 (cf. LXX Ps 151A). Anointing here indicates divine election (vv 7–12) and is accompanied by the gift of the Spirit (vv 13–14). Likewise, Samuel earlier had been instrumental in anointing Saul (1 Sam 9:16; 10:1); his action signified that YHWH had anointed him to be prince over his people Israel (10:1, 15:1, 17). In 10:5–6, 9–13, the Spirit of the Lord comes mightily upon Saul, and he prophesies (cf. 11:6, before an act of valor). This narrative is combined with the story of Saul's designation by lot (1 Sam 10:17–27) and the report that the people "made Saul king before the Lord in Gilgal" (1 Sam 11:15; cf. 12:1).

In 1 Kgs 19:15, 16, Elijah received YHWH's command to anoint Hazael to be king over Syria, Jehu to be king over Israel, and Elisha to be prophet in his place. In the case of Jehu this command was carried

out by one of Elisha's assistants, who told the future king: "Thus says the Lord, I anoint you king over Israel" (2 Kgs 9:3, 6, 12; cf. 2 Chr 22:7); after Jehu reported this, his men proclaimed him king (v 13).

It is hazardous to use these stories in the books of Samuel and Kings for a reconstruction of the historical circumstances or of developments in ideas about kingship and the anointing of kings in various groups in Judah and Israel. For the purpose of the present inquiry, it is sufficient to note that in their final redaction these books show a clear emphasis on YHWH's initiative, election, and commission. This also comes out clearly in the term "anointed of the Lord" (discussed below).

**2. Priests.** In a number of passages generally considered to belong to the so-called "P Code," Moses receives the instructions to anoint Aaron (high) priest (Exod 29:7; Lev 8:12; cf. 6:13—Eng6:20). Aaron is always mentioned together with his sons, however, and a number of times the sons also are supposed to have been anointed (Exod 28:41; 30:30; 40:13, 15; Num 3:3). In Lev 7:36 it is declared that it is YHWH who anointed Aaron and his sons. The idea is that the anointing/consecration guarantees an eternal priesthood for Aaron and his successors (Exod 40:15; cf. 29:29; Lev 6:15 [—Eng 6:22]; 16:32; Num 35:25). It should be added that in 1 Chr 29:22 the assembly of Israel anointed not only Solomon but also Zadok as priest.

**3. Prophets.** In 1 Kgs 19:16, Elijah is told to anoint Elisha to be his successor as prophet. The story of Elisha's call, however, does not mention any anointing; Elijah simply casts his mantle upon him (1 Kgs 19:19–21). When Elijah departs to heaven Elisha asks for and receives a double share of Elijah's spirit, and he takes up the latter's mantle (2 Kgs 2:1–14). We may compare Isa 61:1, where the prophetic author declares that the Spirit of God is upon him, because YHWH has anointed him. The emphasis is not on the rite of anointing but on the gift of the Spirit of God.

**B. Anointed Persons**

The Heb noun *māšîaḥ,* "anointed," is only used of persons, particularly of kings and (high) priests. In Ps 105:15, the term "my anointed one" occurs in parallelism with "my prophets" in a context that speaks about the patriarchs. In 2 Sam 1:21 it is found in connection with Saul's shield, but here a great number of manuscripts have the passive participle of the verb *māšaḥ.*

**1. Anointed Kings.** The emphasis on divine initiative in the stories about the anointing of kings is reflected in the popularity of the expression "the Lord's anointed" (*měšîaḥ YHWH*) and the corresponding expressions "my/your/his anointed." Saul is the Lord's anointed (1 Sam 12:3, 5), and therefore David spared his life: one should not raise his hand against the Lord's anointed (1 Sam 24:7, 11 [—Eng 10]; 26:9, 11, 16, 23). The Amalekite who claimed to have killed Saul at his request was put to death because he did not observe this rule (2 Sam 1:14, 16). We should compare here the warning in Ps 105:15: "Touch not my anointed ones, do my prophets no harm."

The expression "the Lord's anointed" is also used in connection with David's being anointed by Samuel (1 Sam 16:6) and as a reference to David in 2 Sam 19:22 (—Eng 21). In 2 Sam 23:1, David introduces himself as "the anointed of the God of Jacob"; the next verse continues: "The Spirit of the Lord speaks by me, his word is on my tongue."

In many so-called Royal Psalms the Davidic kings are regarded as "anointed by the Lord" (see D. below). We may add here 1 Sam 2:10 in the Song of Hannah (cf. 1 Sam 2:35, an oracle announcing a faithful priest … before "my anointed" for ever), Hab 3:13, and Lam 4:20 (bewailing the capture of "the breath of our nostrils, the Lord's anointed").

In all these texts YHWH's anointing of the king denotes the exclusive, intimate relationship between the God of Israel and the king whom he has appointed and given the power to reign in his name. The king is God's representative on earth and is thought to participate in God's sovereign rule. As ideas about this divine rule develop, the expectations also expand (see in particular the Royal Psalms). Quite exceptional is Deutero-Isaiah's application of the term "messiah" to the Persian king Cyrus: "Thus says the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus" (Isa 45:1; cf., however, Hazael in 1 Kgs 19:15–17). For Israel's sake, YHWH calls this mighty king who does not even know YHWH by name. Cyrus gets the commission and the power to secure peace and freedom for God's chosen people (Isa 45:1–7); he is God's shepherd (44:28) where Davidic kings have failed.

**2. Anointed (High) Priests.** In Lev 4:3, 5, and 16, the (high) priest is called "the anointed priest"; in 6:14 (—Eng 6:22), "the priest from Aaron's sons who is anointed to succeed him." It is also probable that (high) priests are meant in Dan 9:25 (speaking about "the coming of an anointed one, a prince") and 9:26 (announcing that "an anointed one will be cut off"): Joshua, in the time of Zerubbabel, and Onias, in the time just before Antiochus IV Epiphanes' capture of Jerusalem, respectively. One should note that here *māšîaḥ* is used twice absolutely but without an article.

**C. Anointed King(s) in the Psalms**

In the Royal Psalms (see Psalms 2, 18, 20, 21, 45, 72, 89, 101, 110, 132, and 144), the theme "the king and his God" plays a significant role. These psalms belong to and contain different genres (intercessions for the king, prayers of the king himself, thanksgivings, laments, oracles, proclamations, etc.) and are difficult to date. Some will have had a place in the temple ritual and will have been recited at specific occasions or during regularly recurring celebrations while Davidic kings reigned in Jerusalem. Others may have been composed after the Exile. In any case, all psalms continued to be used long after there had been kings in Jerusalem, and this may have influenced their present wording. Referring to God's promises and his instructions to David and his dynasty, the psalmists make far-reaching assertions. These were related to the currently reigning king and his family, not to some future son of David. But because the ideal remained to a great extent unfulfilled in the present, and because these psalms were used for different kings in succession, it is not surprising that in later times these Royal Psalms were interpreted as referring to the future Davidic anointed of the Lord, whose arrival Israel hoped for.

There are a number of major theological ideas connected with the notion of the king as the Lord's anointed. In Psalm 45, a king's wedding song, the king is said to have been anointed with "the oil of gladness." He will reign in equity and righteousness, his throne is God's throne forever and ever (vv 6–7). Psalm 89 refers to God's anointing of his servant David (v 21—Eng 20). The king's (David's) relationship to God is one of a firstborn to his father. God has made a firm covenant with his offspring; he will punish them if they sin but continue to show them his steadfast love. They will reign forever, conquering their enemies (vv 20–38—Eng 19–37). The psalmist, clearly writing in a period of great distress, appeals to this covenant; he reproaches God for having forsaken his anointed and beseeches him to intervene: "Remember, O Lord, how thy servant is scorned … (the taunts) with which they [i.e., the enemies] mock the footsteps of thy anointed" (vv 39–53, esp. 51–52 [—Eng 38–52, esp. 50–51]). Psalm 89 should be connected with Nathan's prophecy to David in 2 Sam 7:14–17, partly referring to Solomon, but in its present form clearly speaking about David's dynasty (see esp. v 14: "I will be his father, and he shall be my son"; cf. also 1 Chr 17:3–15 and 1 Chr 22:8–10; 28:6–7, where Nathan's prophecy is applied to Solomon). In this context we should also mention Ps 132:10: "For thy servant David's sake do not turn away the face of thy anointed one"—a prayer put into the mouth of Solomon in 2 Chr 6:42. Next, there is Ps 132:17: "There I will make a horn to sprout for David; I have prepared a lamp for my anointed" (cf. 1 Sam 2:10). Also, Psalm 18 (a hymn of royal thanksgiving for God's help in obtaining a victory over his enemies) ends with a reference to God's "steadfast love to his anointed, to David and his descendants forever" (v 51 [—Eng v 50]; cf. 2 Sam 22:51; see also Ps 21:7; 144:10; and 2 Sam 23:5, which mentions an everlasting covenant between God and David).

Psalm 2 portrays the nations as plotting "against the Lord and his anointed" (v 2). The king will conquer and rule the earth, because he is God's king (v 6), even God's son: God decreed "You are my son, today I have begotten you (v 7). The king will be victorious over all God's opponents and his dominion will be worldwide, like that of God's. This idea is also found in Psalm 110, which in v 4 calls the king "priest forever after the order of Melchizedek," and in Psalm 72, which prays for fertility and peace, and extols the king's righteousness which has showed itself in his help for the poor and the oppressed (cf. the story of Solomon's dream at Gibeon in 1 Kgs 3:5–15).

In a number of other psalms the certainty of God's help for his anointed forms the basis of an appeal to God in days of trouble—see Pss 20:7 (—Eng 6); 28:8; and 84:10 (—Eng 9); cf. also Pss 61:7–8 (—Eng 6–7) and 63:12. When the king prospers, the people are secure in God's protection and individuals live in peace.

**D. OT Prophecies about Future Davidic Kings**

Except in Isa 45:1 and Hab 3:13 (already discussed above), the word "anointed" is not found in the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, or the Twelve Prophets. However, prophecies concerning future Davidic rulers found in these works contain elements that cannot be neglected in the present inquiry. They are mentioned here as they occur in the biblical books; as a rule, no attempt will be made to distinguish between genuine utterances of the prophet concerned and the additions to his work made later in the course of the formation of the present writings. The fact that certain ideas found expression is more important than their date; the analysis of the way in which they received their present form is bound to remain hypothetical in many cases.

In the much disputed prophecy of Isa 7:14, the name of the (royal?) child about to be born is Immanuel ("God is with us"), probably as a reminder of God's continuing care for the house of David and his people. In Isa 9:1–6 (—Eng 2–7), light in darkness, joy, deliverance from enemies, and peace are promised to be effected by a descendant of David who will reign forever with justice and righteousness (cf. 16:5; 32:1). His names are "Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace" (v 5 [—Eng 6]). In Isa 11:1–9, a situation is portrayed in which the tree representing the Davidic dynasty has been reduced to a mere stump. Yet a branch will grow out of its roots. The Spirit of the Lord will be on this descendant of David. His wisdom and knowledge are extolled, as are his righteousness and help for the meek of the earth. "He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth" (v 4; contrast Ps 2:7: "you shall break them with a rod of iron"). Verses 6–9 give a picture of a paradisiac situation on God's holy mountain; the earth will be full of the knowledge of the Lord. Verses 10–16 add that the nations will seek the root of Jesse, that Ephraim and Judah will be reunited, and that those in exile will be brought back.

The passage in Mic 5:1–3 (—Eng 2–4) announces the birth of a ruler from a renowned family of old (that of David) in Bethlehem. He will feed his flock and make them dwell securely, as would a good shepherd. He will be great to the ends of the earth, strengthened by the Lord and reflecting God's glory. Verse 2 (—Eng 3) mentions the return of the rest of the brethren to the people of Israel. Verses 5–6 add a prophecy concerning deliverance from the Assyrians.

In Jer 23:1–4, the shepherds are accused of neglecting their duty and scattering the flock. The Lord will bring his people back and appoint new and more responsible shepherds. In vv 5–6 the coming of a righteous "Branch" for David is announced. He will reign as king and execute justice and righteousness, and Judah and Israel will dwell together securely. His name will be "the Lord is our righteousness" (cf. the name of the last king, Zedekiah). This prophecy is repeated with some changes in 33:14–16. Verses 17–26, clearly reflecting a much later situation, interpret it collectively as referring to the eternal, unbreakable covenant between the Lord and David with his family, as well as with the levitical priests (cf. 1 Sam 2:35; 1 Chr 29:22; and Zech 4:14 and 6:9–15 below).

The verses in Ezek 17:22–24 portray how the Lord will take a young twig from the lofty cedar and plant it on a high mountain in Israel where birds of all sorts will gather in the shade of its branches. Comparison with 17:1–21 shows that the image refers to a future Davidic king, standing in clear contrast to Zedekiah, who has broken the covenant and is brought to Babylon. In Ezekiel 34 God accuses the bad shepherds who have neglected their flock and announces that he will gather together his flock and will himself care for his sheep. In this context he announces: "I will set over them one shepherd, my servant David, and he shall feed them … I, the Lord, will be their God and my servant David shall be prince (Heb *nāśî*) among them" (vv 23–24). A period of peace and plenty will follow. Also in chapter 37 (the vision of the resurrection of Israel) "my servant David" is introduced as king and prince of the Israelite people, who have been brought together in their own land (vv 24–25). As in Hos 3:5 and Jer 30:9 (cf. Amos 9:11), "David" does not denote the name of the king expected to return, but a future ideal ruler from his family, a perfect servant of the Lord. It should be added that the blueprint of the new Israel found in Ezekiel 40–48 (in which everything centers around the new temple) pays much attention to the role of the Zadokite priests. The rights and duties of the prince in relation to the people and the temple are defined precisely.

In the time immediately after the Exile, Haggai, on God's behalf, commands the rebuilding of the temple. He directs his words to Zerubbabel, governor of Judah, and to Joshua, the high priest. In Hag

2:20–23 Zerubbabel is addressed as "my servant," and God assures him that "I have chosen you" (expressions recalling the status of Zerubbabel's ancestor David). In the upheaval and total renewal of the present world which the Lord will bring about, Zerubbabel will be the Lord's "signet ring" (cf. Jer 22:24); that is, he will be protected by God whose representative he is. Many exegetes think that Zerubbabel is intended in the references to "my servant the Branch" (Zech 3:8) and "the man whose name is Branch" (Zech 6:12). The fact that the crown is not given to him but to Joshua, the high priest (Zech 6:9–14), is problematic and should best be explained by a correction of the text at the time when high priests and not kings functioned as leaders in Jerusalem. According to another interpretation, "the Branch" (see Jer 33:14–26) really refers to an ideal Davidide of the future. We should note that he is expected to have a priest alongside his throne with whom he cooperates in good harmony (6:13; cf. Jer 33:14–26). In 4:14 there are two "sons of oil" (RSV "the two anointed") who stand by the Lord of the whole earth.

Among the prophecies which were later added to Zechariah 1–8 is an oracle (9:9–10) about a humble king riding on an ass, righteous and bringing salvation because God has shown his righteousness to him and given him protection. He is not said to belong to David's family, but allusions to Ps 45:4 (—Eng 4) and Ps 72:1, 8, are apparent. God will end war, and the king will command peace until the ends of the earth. In Zechariah 12, it is announced that God will protect Jerusalem from attack by all the nations of the earth. "The feeblest on that day will be like David, and the house of David shall be like God, like the angel of the Lord at their head" (v 8; cf. Exod 23:20). It is not clear (in v 10) who is meant by "the one whom they have pierced" and who will be the object of heavy mourning.

In summary, the prophecies listed in this section announce a decisive and lasting change in the plight of the people, brought about by God. War will end, peace and plenty will be restored, Israel and Judah will be reunited, people in Exile will return; salvation has worldwide dimensions. A new era is inaugurated that will never end; it is absolutely unthinkable that God would allow the earlier situation to return. In these prophecies, the central figure is a descendant of David who represents an ideal of kingship in the name of YHWH; this is also reflected in the books of Samuel and Kings and in the Royal Psalms. The complexity of this ideal allows for all sorts of nuances in the individual texts. The emphasis is not on the person of the future king but on the fact that, at last, the Davidic ideal, which no historical king (including David) ever fulfilled, will be realized. The importance that some of these texts attach to the future cooperation between king and high priest should also be noted.

**E. "Anointed Ones" in Early Judaism (200 B.C.–A.D. 100)**

**1. Ben-Sirach.** In Sir 36:1–17 a prayer is given for the deliverance and restoration of Israel in which God is expected to act himself, without any mediator. The verb "to anoint" occurs a few times in the Praise of the Fathers (chapters 44–50). Moses ordained and anointed Aaron with holy oil (45:15), Samuel established the kingdom and anointed rulers over his people (46:13), and Elijah is the one "who anointed kings … and prophets" (48:8; cf. 1 Kgs 19:15–16). In 46:19 we find the expression "the Lord and his anointed" in a reference to 1 Sam 12:5.

In chapters 44–50 we find a long eulogy of Aaron (45:6–22) who, with his descendants, is said to have received an eternal covenant (vv 7, 15). In 45:23–26, Phinehas is extolled as "the third in glory"; he and his descendants will have the dignity of the priesthood forever, in accordance with Num 25:10–13 (cf. Ps 106:30). Chapter 50 sings the praise of Simon, the high priest, son of Onias (who officiated around 200 B.C.); in the Heb version of 50:24 the wish is expressed that the covenant of Phinehas may remain for him and his descendants forever.

In 45:25 the covenant with Aaron is contrasted with that of David. The exact meaning of this verse remains uncertain. Enough is clear, however, to suggest that the author's attitude toward David and his family is ambivalent. David is praised (47:1–11), while Solomon receives praise and blame (47:12–22). God's care for the Davidic dynasty is mentioned regularly (47:11, 22; 48:15), but looking back on the history of the Davidic kings the author concludes: "Except David and Hezekiah and Josiah they all sinned greatly"—therefore the kings of Judah came to an end (49:4). In 49:11–12, Zerubbabel and Joshua are praised for their work on the temple. Above all, Sirach is clearly interested in God's promises concerning the (high) priesthood in the line of Aaron, Phinehas, and (implicitly, see 1 Chr 5:27–41 [—Eng 6:1–15])

Zadok (cf. Ezekiel 40–48). He does not neglect God's promises to David, but they do not seem to be relevant for his audience, neither in the present nor in the future.

An addition in the Heb version on 51:12 praises God "who makes a horn to sprout for the house of David" (cf. Ps 132:17) and "elects the sons of Zadok to be priests" (cf. Ps 132:16).

**2. 1–2 Maccabees.** The books of 1 and 2 Maccabees concentrate on the crisis caused by Antiochus IV Epiphanes' intervention in Jewish affairs leading to the capture of Jerusalem and the desecration of the temple, and on the role played by the sons of Mattathias in restoring the true worship in the temple and (relative) independence to Israel. For the present purpose it is relevant to note that Mattathias' resistance against the measures of the Syrian king is said to have been motivated by "zeal for the law" (1 Macc 2:26, 27). He follows the example of Phinehas (2:26), who in Mattathias' "testament" (2:49–70) is called "our father" (v 54). Again, it is stressed that he was deeply zealous and received the covenant of eternal priesthood. This statement prepares the reader for the appointment of Jonathan to the high priesthood by King Alexander (10:18–21) and for the solemn decree recorded in 1 Macc 14:25–48, according to which the Jews and their priests make Simon their leader (*hēgoumenos*) and high priest forever (vv 35, 41; vv 42, 47, add "commander" [*stratēgos*]; and v 47, "ethnarch"—cf. 15:1). In v 41 we read that the arrangement would last "until a trustworthy prophet should arise"—probably an arrangement to pacify those who believed that the true leaders of the people had to be designated by God through a prophet like Samuel or Nathan (cf. also 4:46).

The book of 1 Maccabees was written to legitimize the Hasmoneans' leadership in cultic and political matters, as high priests and princes (soon to be called "kings"). This leadership lasted until the days of Herod the Great, but it was not undisputed by those who questioned the legitimacy of the Hasmoneans and/or were opposed to the fact that they combined the two offices.

The book of 2 Maccabees covers a much shorter period than 1 Maccabees. One should note that the second of the two letters in chap. 1 is addressed to, among others, "Aristobulus who is of the family of the anointed priests" (1:10); i.e., the legitimate high-priestly family of the Zadokites to whom Onias, son of the Simon (Sirach 50), belonged. Onias' piety, the intrigues to replace him, and his murder receive much attention in chaps. 3 and 4 (cf. Dan 9:26 discussed above). In 15:12–16 he appears to Judas, together with Jeremiah, and intercedes for the oppressed Jews. He is clearly thought to be with God in heaven, like the martyrs whose suffering as pious servants of God and God's law has brought about a decisive turn in the fate of God's people (6:18–31; 7:12–42; also 14:37–46). The military activities of Judas Maccabeus and other pious Jews could only succeed after "the wrath of the Lord had turned to mercy" because of the martyrs' self-sacrifice (8:1–5). Although Judas' actions are important, he is portrayed throughout as one who continually expects his help to come from the Lord (e.g., 15:21–24).

**3. The Book of *Jubilees.*** *Jubilees* has to be mentioned here because of Isaac's blessing of Levi and Judah in 31:13–17 and 18–20, respectively. The emphasis is on the functions to be exercised by the two patriarchs and their descendants on behalf of Israel: Levi and his sons will minister in the sanctuary but will also be judges, teachers of the law, and rulers ("princes and chiefs"). In 30:18–20, the descendants of Levi are said to have been chosen for the priesthood because of Levi's zeal to execute righteousness, judgment, and vengeance in the Shechem case (Genesis 34). The parallel with Phinehas in Numbers 25 is clear.

Judah, on the other hand, will receive strength and power, and he will be Jacob's help; his righteousness will bring peace for all Israelites. Significantly, it is said to him: "A prince shall you be, you and one of your sons." Not only the patriarch or the tribe but also David and/or a future ideal Davidic king come into the picture. In *Jub.* 33:20, it is stressed that "Israel is a holy nation to the Lord … a priestly and royal nation for his possession."

**4. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.*** In their present form, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are undoubtedly Christian, and this becomes particularly clear when the extremely varied passages dealing with the future are analyzed. Reconstructing earlier redactions of the Testaments or earlier traditions used in them, which might represent the ideas of *Jewish* groups handing down material connected with the twelve sons of Jacob, remains a hazardous undertaking. Many patriarchs speak about

the position of Levi and Judah in the history of Israel. Levi will be priest, Judah will be king (*T. Iss.* 5:7), and the priesthood is superior to the kingship (*T. Jud.* 21:1–6a). A number of passages focus on Levi and depict him not only as a priest but also as ruler, teacher, judge, and/or warrior; in those passages Judah is often mentioned only in passing, or not at all (*T. Reu.* 6:5–7, 8, 10–12; *T. Sim.* 5:4–6; *T. Levi* 4:2–6; chaps. 5–6 [referring to the Shechem episode; cf. Genesis 34 and *Jub.* 30:18–20]; 8:2–17; chap. 13 *passim*.

Levi's descendants are, however, singled out as sinners against Jesus Christ in *T. Levi* 4:4, chaps. 10, 14–15, and 16; while in 5:2 it is expressly said that Levi's priesthood will be limited to the period before God's decisive intervention in the history of Israel. This corresponds with *T. Reu.* 6:8, which limits Levi's priestly activities to the period "until the consummation of times (the times) of the anointed high priest, of whom the Lord spoke." This is the only place where the word *christos* occurs (cf. *T. Levi* 17:2–3, where the passive participle *chriomenos* is used twice for persons anointed for the priesthood), and the reference here is to Jesus. This is clear in *Testament of Levi* 18, where the advent of a new priest is announced after a steady deterioration of the levitical priesthood. He is not said to be a descendant of Levi, and he is described with words and phrases which are partly parallel to those found in *Testament of Judah* 24, a chapter describing the advent of an ideal king from Judah, after a period of sin and exile for the sons of Judah. It has been assumed that these two Testaments originally closed with a description of an ideal levitical high priest and an ideal king from Judah. This has to remain a conjecture, however; in their present form both chapters refer to Jesus Christ.

Also, where "salvation" or "a savior" is predicted to come out of (one of) these tribes (*T. Sim.* 7:1–2; *T. Naph.* 8:2; *T. Gad* 8:1; *T. Jos.* 19:6 (11); cf. *T. Levi* 2:11; *T. Jud.* 22:2; *T. Dan.* 5:10), only one person is referred to—again it is Jesus, who is often connected with Judah in particular. The Testaments in their present form remain interested in the juxtaposition of Levi and Judah and of priesthood and kingship; but whenever they mention an agent of divine deliverance in connection with these two tribes or with one of them, they mean Jesus.

**5. The Qumran Scrolls.** The community which used the writings discovered in the caves at Qumran was a priestly sect led by Zadokite priests. Under the leadership of an influential teacher, the "Teacher of Righteousness," who was regarded as an authoritative interpreter of the Law and the Prophets, it separated from the Jerusalem temple and the Hasmonean priesthood officiating there. The group interpreted the events of the immediate past and present in the light of the Scriptures, and it also dreamed of a decisive turn brought about by God, when its views would be proved correct. The texts dealing with the future show a great variety in images and concepts. Attempts have been made to distinguish stages in the eschatology of the Qumran documents; yet a cautious, mainly descriptive approach seems advisable. Our evidence remains fragmentary, and it is probable that the members of the group, while adhering to some basic convictions, could differ in the description of details.

Restricting ourselves to those passages where the terms "to anoint" and "the anointed one" occur, we note first that in a number of cases the prophets of the OT are called "anointed ones" (CD 5:21–6:1; 1QM 11:7, 8; and especially CD 2:12, where we should read "the anointed ones of his Holy Spirit"). This corresponds to the designation "the anointed one of Spirit" used in 11QMelch 18 for the "one who brings good tidings" of Isa 52:7, clearly inspired by Isa 61:1. The good tidings are concerned with God's intervention in the future through Melchizedek, conceived as an angelic figure. Another future prophet is mentioned in 1QS 9:11: "… until there shall come the prophet and the anointed ones of Aaron and Israel," perhaps referring to Deut 18:18–19, a text mentioned in 4QTestim alongside Num 24:15–17 and Deut 33:8–11.

In 11QMelch 18 the word "anointed" is certainly not used as a technical term. With regard to the high priest and the prince expected in the future, the situation is not very different. The people at Qumran looked forward to the times when the meaning of the Law would be fully clear and when God's will would be obeyed completely. Then, a duly appointed high priest and a Davidic prince would discharge their respective functions properly. Then also, the final battle against demonic forces and human enemies

would be won. In a number of texts—but by no means everywhere—the anointed status of high priest and prince is mentioned, so that it is advisable to avoid the translation "messiah," which suggests titular use.

In 1QS 9:11, "the anointed one of Aaron" figures beside "the anointed one of Israel." The latter designation returns in 1QSa 2:14, 20, a description of an eschatological banquet where he and the high priest and their subordinates are present. In lines 11–12, the priest is said to be "at the head of the whole congregation"; whether the expression "the anointed" mentioned here refers to the royal figure (and whether it is used absolutely) is not clear, due to the defects in the text. It is clear that the high priest is the leading figure; he is also the leading figure in the War Scroll, where "the prince of the congregation" is mentioned only in passing (1QM 5:1). God's directives for the war are transmitted by the high priest (1QM 2:1; 15:4; 16:13; 18:5; 19:11); victory is won through the help of the Holy Ones sent from heaven. The passage in 4QFlor mentions "the Branch of David" who shall arise with the Interpreter of the Law at the end of time (lines 11–12; cf. Jer 23:1–4; 33:14–16, etc.). Just before this, the *Florilegium* quotes from 2 Sam 7:11–14, and later it adds Ps 2:1. The "Interpreter of the Law" is also found in CD 7:18–21; he is said to come together with the "Prince of the whole congregation." He is a priestly figure. Also, in some other texts the king is portrayed as being dependent on the interpretation of the priests: see 11QTemple 56:21; 57:11–15 (cf. 58:18–21, where the king has to consult the high priest before going to war); and 4QpIsa$^{a}$ 8–10, which interprets Isa 11:1–3 as referring to "the Branch of David," and then makes the latter's judicial activity dependent on the teaching of the priests.

The meaning of the expression "anointed one of Aaron in Israel" in CD 12:23–24; 14:19; and 19:10–11 (cf. "anointed one from Aaron and Israel" in 20:1) remains disputed. The word *měšîaḥ* is found here in the singular, but many have argued that the expression nevertheless admits of a plural interpretation. Because CD 7:18–21 mentions two persons, the expectation of a priest and a king may also be assumed in the other passages. It is also possible that at some stage the prerogatives of the "anointed one of Israel" were absorbed into the concept of the anointed Aaronic priest.

The royal figure is often designated as prince (of the congregation) with a term taken from Ezekiel 40–48. He is also called "Branch of David" (to the texts just mentioned may be added 4QPBless 3–4), "anointed one of Israel," or (in 4QPBless 3) "the righteous anointed one" ("the anointed one of righteousness"), an expression close to the absolute "anointed one" which may be present in 1QSa 2:11. In 1QSb 5:20–29, a blessing for the prince of the future congregation has been preserved. It is concerned with his victory over the ungodly, his dominion over the earth, and his justice for the oppressed (it quotes Isa 11:4–5).

As may be expected from a priestly community, the future high priest is by far the most important figure, particularly as teacher of the law and mediator of God's will. His role may be compared to that of the Teacher of Righteousness in the past (CD 6:11). He is undoubtedly the primary leader of the people; he also plays an important role in 1QM, although he does not participate in the actual warfare (1QM 9:8), in contrast with the Davidic prince in 1QM 5 and elsewhere. To the texts already mentioned may be added 1QSb 3:1–7 and 18–21, a blessing for the future high priest, which is directly followed by a blessing for the sons of Zadok.

**6. The *Psalms of Solomon.*** The *Psalms of Solomon* were probably written around 50–40 B.C. by pious Jews propagating strict obedience to God's law. Psalms 2 and 8 react to Pompey's intervention in Judean affairs in 63 B.C., together with the events leading up to and following it. The authors are clearly opposed to the Hasmoneans, who had not discharged their priestly duties properly and had usurped the high priesthood (8:11) as well as royal authority (17:5–6). The authors also anticipate God's deliverance; in the case of *Psalms of Solomon* 17 and 18 (not in *Ps. Sol.* 11), this is expected from a Davidic king—e.g., *Ps. Sol.* 17:21: "Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their king, the son of David, at the time you have (fore)seen, O God, to rule over Israel your servant." This king will rule as the representative of God who himself is king of Israel forever and ever (vv 1, 46). In *Ps. Sol.* 17:21–45, the king's rule is described at great length with many references to the OT psalms and prophecies discussed above. Two features are dominant. First, the king will free Israel from its enemies, and the people in the dispersion will return and the nations will serve God. Second, the king will serve the Lord as the ideal pious, obedient, and wise

man (these psalms, after all, are ascribed to Solomon), and unrighteousness will be banished from the country.

In 17:32 and 18:5, 7 (plus the superscription), the king is called "anointed." In view of 18:5 ("his anointed one"), the *christou kyriou* in 18:7 and the superscription to *Ps. Sol.* 18 are also translated "of the Anointed of the Lord." In 17:32 all Gk mss read *christos kyrios,* "an anointed Lord." The parallel expression in 18:5 would suggest that the Gk here is the result of careless copying or deliberate alteration on the part of a later Christian scribe in changing a genitive into a nominative (cf., e.g., Lam 4:20 LXX and Luke 2:11). Alternatively, we may assume that the king was designated by two honorifics following one another (cf. Dan 9:25 and the use of "Lord" in Ps 110:1). In any case, the expression is used in *Ps. Sol.* 17:32 as a qualification rather than a title; this is different in *Ps. Sol.* 18, a conventional composition made up when the psalms were put together into one collection. Here, "the anointed of the Lord" has become a fixed expression denoting the Davidic king appointed by God to bring about a turn in the fate of Israel.

**7. Egyptian Jewish Sources.** In the writings of Philo we find little that is relevant to our investigation. His description of the future happiness of the just and virtuous in his *On Rewards and Punishments—On Blessings and Curses* presupposes many elements of the common eschatological scenario; only in his interpretation of Num 24:17 LXX in *Praem.* 95 do we get a glimpse (and no more) of a savior figure.

In Book 3 of the *Sibylline Oracles* (very complex, and difficult to interpret), we see reference to "a holy prince" who "will come to gain sway over the scepters of the earth forever," introducing "the most great kingdom of the immortal king" (vv 46–50, to be dated after the battle of Actium in 31 B.C.). Verses 652–795 (a long eschatological passage to be dated around the middle of the 2d century B.C.) begin with a reference to "a king from the sun," sent by God, "who will stop the entire earth from evil war" and will act "in obedience to the noble teachings of the great God." Various traditional elements are found, including a reference to Isa 11:6–8 in vv 788–95.

The fifth book of the *Sibylline Oracles,* dating from the beginning of the 2d century A.D., refers to a savior figure who is depicted as coming from heaven. We read about a king sent from God to destroy all kings (5:108–9); a great star coming from heaven bringing destruction (155–61); an exceptional man from the sky (256–59; Christian interpolation in v 257); and a blessed man from the expanses of heaven who, with a scepter given by God, destroys the cities of the enemies and renews Jerusalem and the temple (414–33).

**8. Pseudo-Philo.** For the sake of completeness, we should mention here the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum,* falsely ascribed to Philo and generally dated in the 1st century A.D. (before A.D. 70), which retells the story of Israel from Adam to the death of Saul. In a concluding note about Phinehas, it says that God anointed him in Shiloh when he appointed him priest (*L. A. B.* 48:2). Some scholars suppose that there is a textual mistake here and think that the original text spoke of Phinehas anointing Eli, his successor (50:3). The little boy Samuel is anointed (as priest?), hailed as prophet, and called "a light for this nation for a long time" (51:6–7). In 51:6, there is a clear reference to 1 Sam 2:10. Chapter 59 relates at great length David's anointing by Samuel. Verse 4 includes a hymn by David (cf. 11Qps$^{a}$ 151:5–7; cf. Ps 151A LXX) in which he blames his brothers and parents for forgetting him "when the anointed of the Lord was to be designated." The descendant of David mentioned in 60:3 is probably Solomon, not a future ideal Davidic king.

**9. Josephus.** The Jewish historian Josephus is our most reliable source of information about the unrest in Palestine during the 1st century A.D., which found its climax in the war between the Jews and Romans in A.D. 66–70. At a critical moment in his life, Josephus had switched allegiances to the Romans, in his own view not for political reasons but guided by God, who granted him insight into his dealings with his people, in the past and in the present. Josephus' account of the events and the motives underlying people's actions is, therefore, biased. This comes out clearly in *JW* 6.311–13, where he speaks about an "ambiguous oracle" found in the Scriptures "to the effect that at that time one from their country would become ruler of the world." The ordinary people and the wisemen interpreted this as referring to a man

from Israel. Josephus (who does not specify the scriptural passage) is convinced, however, that the oracle "signified the sovereignty of Vespasian, who was proclaimed emperor on Jewish soil."

Josephus records many incidents and rebellions from the death of Herod onward to the overall war in A.D. 66–70. In a number of cases these were led by men who were able to gather a substantial group of people around them. None of the men is called "anointed/messiah" by Josephus. Some of them were clearly brigands, leading groups of impoverished peasants, and at times resorting to guerrilla warfare against those in power. Others are described as prophetic figures resembling Moses (and Joshua)—see *Ant* 20.97–98; and *JW* 2.258–63 = *Ant* 20.167–71; *Ant* 20.188 (cf. the Samaritan Mosaic prophet in *Ant* 18.85–87, and the commotion in Cyrene recorded in *JW* 7.437–42). See also MESSIANIC MOVEMENTS IN JUDAISM.

Still others are reported to have had royal aspirations. Josephus mentions three such men in the time following the death of Herod the Great: Judas, Simon, and Athronges (*JW* 2.55–65; *Ant* 17.271–85). The extent to which these men and their followers fostered "messianic" hopes, inspired by popular memories of David as leader of a sizable band of brigands before being installed as king (1 Samuel 21–30), remains uncertain. It is said of two leaders in the Jewish War that they had royal aspirations. They were Menahem (see especially *JW* 2.433–34 and 441–48) and Simon bar-Giora (see especially *JW* 4.510 and 575; 7.29–31).

In two passages in the present text of the *Antiquities,* Josephus speaks about Jesus as the Christ. The first (18.63–64) includes the statement "He was the Messiah"; the second (20.200) introduces James as "the brother of Jesus who was called the Christ." Josephus may have included a notice or notices about Jesus (if only because at the end of the 1st century A.D. he was aware of the Christian claim that Jesus was the Messiah), but the present reports have certainly undergone Christian redaction. See also JOSEPHUS.

**10. Early Christian Sources.** The followers of Jesus of Nazareth regarded him as the Messiah expected by Israel. (For the typical Christian use of the term (*ho*) *christos,* see CHRIST.) In this section, Christian statements about Jewish beliefs in the Messiah are reviewed briefly, but they should be read against the background of discussions between Jews and Christians, like those mentioned in the book of Acts. There, Paul is portrayed as trying to convince members of synagogues in the Diaspora that Jesus is the expected Christ (Acts 9:22; 18:5; cf. 18:28 of Apollos). This included proving that the Christ had to suffer and to rise from the dead (17:3). In all instances, the designation *ho christos* is used, without any further addition.

In Mark 12:35, Jesus questions the obviously common conception of the scribes that "the Christ is the son of David"; in Mark 15:32, the chief priests and the scribes speak of "the Christ, the King of Israel." In the Markan passion story, much emphasis is placed on the fact that Jesus is the Christ and may be called King of the Jews, but without any political overtones that would justify his crucifixion. The apocalyptic discourse in Mark 13 anticipates false messiahs and false prophets (vv 21–22). The situation in the period leading up to the Jewish War is reflected here; the readers are reminded that Jesus the Christ, whose return to power is expected, differs completely from the popular leaders of the time.

In the discussions between Jesus (and in one case John the Baptist) and "the Jews" in the Fourth Gospel, the statements of the latter serve to highlight by contrast certain aspects of Johannine christology; yet they have some value in themselves. In 7:42, the Christ is said to be a descendant of David, and to be a native of Bethlehem; in 12:34, the Christ is said "to remain for ever"—reflecting the emphasis on David's everlasting kingdom (Ps 89:36–37; Ezek 37:25). In 7:27, the statement "when the Christ appears, no one will know where he comes from" may be connected with conceptions found in apocalyptic texts (see below). John the Baptist's declaration, "Among you stands one whom you do not know" (John 1:26), and his denial that he should be Elijah (1:21), may be explained by the conception of a savior living incognito on earth, to be revealed and to be anointed by Elijah (found as a Jewish notion in Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho* 8.4; 49.1; cf. 110.1).

The expectation that the Christ will do signs (John 7:31) is not found in Jewish sources; signs are usually connected with an expected prophet like Moses (also in John 6:14; 9:16–17). A similar leveling of different terminologies is found in 4:25, 29, where a Samaritan woman raises the question whether Jesus

may be the Christ, and professes to believe in the Messiah who, "when he comes, will show us all things." The few indications we possess of a Samaritan expectation of a future agent of divine deliverance all point in the direction of a person like Moses, thought to be predicted by Deut 18:15–19. Sometimes this person is called *Taheb* ("the one who returns"), sometimes he is regarded as Moses redivivus (see a number of passages in the 4th century A.D. *Memar marqah*; three times it is said that the *Taheb* will reveal the truth). We may also compare the report about a Samaritan prophet in the days of Pilate (*Ant* 18.85–87).

**11. Apocalyptic Texts. a. 1 Enoch.** In this composite document, the book of Dreams (chaps. 83–90), to be dated just before 161 B.C., portrays the birth of a white bull (symbol of a good and pious man) after the final judgment (90:37). His relation to the wild ox in 90:38 is not clear. No special activities of the bull or the wild ox are recorded.

The dating of the Parables of Enoch (chaps. 37–71) remains disputed, since they are only found in the Ethiopic version, and no Aram or Gk fragments are extant. Most scholars now date this part of *1 Enoch* to the second half of the 1st century A.D. The central figure is a heavenly redeemer, often called "that (the) Son of man" (cf. Dan 7:9–14, referred to in *1 En.* 46:1–3), the Chosen One (cf. Isa 42:1; see *I En.* 39:6; 40:5, etc.; and cf. 46:3), or the Righteous One (38:2; cf. 46:3, 56:3). The heavenly redeemer, who is thought to have been with God from the beginning (48:3, 6) and remains in God's presence, reveals all things to the elect and is the judge of the world and the champion of the righteous, destroying their enemies (who are God's enemies). See also SON OF MAN. So 48:8–10 speaks about the defeat of the kings of the earth by God's elect because "they have denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed." The phrase "his anointed" occurs here because of the reminiscence of Ps 2:2. In chapter 52, the visionary sees mountains of iron, copper, silver, gold, soft metal, and lead and is told by an accompanying angel that "these will serve the dominion of His Anointed that he may be potent and mighty" (52:4). In v 6, this is explained by their melting as wax before fire in the presence of the Chosen One. In the description of the complex redeemer figure in the Parables, elements from many Scriptural texts are used (e.g., Isa 11:2–4 in *1 En.* 49:3–4 and 62:2–3). This redeemer figure receives many names derived from Scripture, one of which is "His Anointed."

**b. The *Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch.*** Like *4 Ezra* (see below), *2 Baruch* was composed in the years following the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70. It has the expressions "My Anointed" (39:7; 40:1; 72:2), "my servant, the Anointed One" (70:9), and "the Anointed One" (29:3; 30:1). In all cases a royal figure is meant who reigns for a limited period, introducing a time of complete bliss and incorruptibility. In 70:9, it is said that "my servant, the Anointed One," will reign after wars and disasters on earth. The holy land will have peace (71:1); of the nations, only those who have not subjected Israel will be spared (72:2–6). Peace, joy, harmony, and health will abound (chaps. 73–74, with references to Isa 11:6–8 and Gen 3:16–18). Also, "For that time marks the end of what is corruptible and the beginning of what is incorruptible" (74:2).

In the interpretation of the vision of the vine and the cedar (chaps. 36–37), "the kingdom of my Anointed" is said to come after the end of the fourth kingdom (39:7). The enemies, including their last leader (represented by the cedar), will be destroyed. "My Anointed One" will charge him with all iniquities and destroy him on Mt. Zion (39:8–40:2). The Messiah will reign over the remnant of God's people in the place God has chosen (40:2). "His kingdom will stand forever, until this work of corruption comes to an end and the times appointed are fulfilled" (40:3).

In *2 Bar.* 29:2–30:1, the reign of "the Anointed One" in the holy land is described in paradisiac terms; the emphasis is on the slaughter of Leviathan and Behemoth for food, on abundant fertility, and on the return of the manna. When the Messiah's presence on earth has come to an end, he will return in glory, and a general resurrection will follow (30:2). The Messiah is clearly thought to have been in heaven before his revelation on earth (29:3; 39:7; cf. 73:1).

**c. *4 Ezra* (= 2 Esdras).** Four passages in this work mention an agent of divine deliverance. In 7:26–29, this agent appears (or "is revealed") with his companions when the now-invisible city and the now-concealed country become visible. He will bring 400 years (according to most versions) of happiness to

all who survive. After that period everyone, including the divine agent, will die; there will then be a period of silence for seven days, as there had been at the beginning of creation; finally, the new aeon of incorruptibility will begin, bringing with it resurrection and judgment (7:30–44). The divine agent is called "my son, the Anointed One"; in this passage, "my son" must either be interpreted against the background of Ps 2:7 or be considered (as most scholars think) a translation of Gk *ho pais mou,* which should have been translated "my servant." As for the "companions" mentioned in 7:26, we may point to 6:26 and 13:52. Presumably, a select group of pious men are meant, including Enoch, Moses (?), and Elijah. In 14:9 Ezra receives the promise that he will be taken away from the earth and "will remain with my son and with those like you, until the end of time." This translation is reported at the end of chapter 14 in the majority of the versions of the book.

In the interpretation of the vision of the Eagle and the Lion (11:1–12:3), the lion is explained as "the Anointed One whom the Most High has kept back to the end of days, who will spring from the seed of David" (according to all versions except the Latin; cf. Gen 49:9, 10). We note here the absolute use of the term (Lat *unctus*), the idea that the Messiah is already in existence (cf. *2 Baruch* and *1 Enoch*), coupled with the notion that he is a descendant of David. As in the vision itself (11:36–46), he charges his counterpart (the eagle = the Roman rulers) with certain crimes (12:32). The next verse adds that he will convict and destroy them; he will also give joy to the survivors in the land—until the day of the final judgment comes.

In chapter 13 the designation "anointed one" is not found. In a vision, a human figure comes from the depth of the sea and flies with the clouds of heaven (cf. Dan 7:2, 3, 13). He destroys a great host of adversaries with a stream of fire from his mouth (vv 3–11; cf. Isa 11:4 and Ps 18:9 [—Eng 8]). He does so after carving out a vast mountain and flying upon it (v 6; cf. Dan 2:34–35, 44–45). After the destruction of the enemies, he sends for a peaceful company that is joined by other people coming from captivity (Jews from the Diaspora) and still others (presumably converted Gentiles). The interpretation of the vision in vv 25–53 differs in many details from the vision itself. In vv 25–26 we hear that the man was held in readiness by the Most High through many ages; v 32 speaks of "my son/servant who will be revealed" (cf. also vv 37, 52). In vv 37–38, his main activity is (surprisingly) that he convicts the nations, reproaches them for their evil devices, and destroys them "without effort by means of the law." The man will stand on Mt. Zion—in fact, "Zion will come into sight before all men, completely and fully built" (v 36). He will deliver, order, and protect the survivors (vv 26–48) plus the returned ten tribes, which receive much attention (vv 39–47). In v 52, the companions of "my son/servant" are mentioned. No mention is made of a final judgment succeeding the days of this redeemer. The expectations concerning the end in general and the coming of an agent of divine deliverance in particular are clearly rather diverse in *4 Ezra.*

**d. The *Apocalypse of Abraham.*** This text, also usually dated some time after A.D. 70, mentions in 31:1 that God will sound the trumpet out of the air and will send his chosen one (Isa 42:1; cf. *1 Enoch* 37–71) who will summon God's people oppressed by the Gentiles.

**F. Later Jewish Writings**

The period from the destruction of the temple (A.D. 70) to the end of the 2d century is important because of the reactions to the events of A.D. 66–70 and the impact of the revolt of Simon bar-Kokhba in A.D. 132–135 leading to the expulsion of Jews from Jerusalem. In the present context, we shall restrict ourselves to some brief remarks.

**1. The Eighteen Benedictions.** This Jewish daily prayer is known to us in two later recensions, a longer Babylonian one and a shorter Palestinian one. We do not know exactly in what form(s) it was prayed in the 1st century A.D., before and after the fall of Jerusalem. Both versions pray for the gathering of the dispersed, for the reinstatement of the proper judges and counselors, for God's mercy on Jerusalem and the temple, and for the proper worship in the temple. The Babylonian recension speaks explicitly of God's return to Jerusalem and the rebuilding of the city. We find this in the fourteenth benediction that also prays: "raise up quickly in its midst the throne of David." The fifteenth benediction adds: "Make the Branch of David to sprout quickly, and let his horn be exalted by thy salvation. For we await thy salvation all the day. Blessed art thou, Lord, who makest the horn of salvation to sprout" (cf. Ps 132:17; Sir 51:12

[in Heb]; and the references to the "Branch of David" in Jeremiah, Zechariah, and the Qumran Scrolls). The fourteenth benediction of the Palestinian recension combines the prayer for Jerusalem with that for the house of David: "Be merciful … to the kingship of the house of David, thy (righteous) anointed. Blessed art thou, Lord, God of David, who buildest Jerusalem." The elements of the hope on God's intervention of the future found in these two recensions will certainly have formed part of the daily prayer in the period after A.D. 70 and, formulated differently, probably also in the years before.

**2. Rabbinic Sources.** It is notoriously difficult to use the data in the Mishnah, Tosephta, the two Talmuds, and the oldest Midrashim for historical purposes. One has to be extremely careful in establishing the original form of the many sayings of individual scholars, and the problems of ascription are many. The same holds true for the traditions about the various scholars.

No messianic sayings are recorded of Tannaitic scholars who died before A.D. 70. In sayings attributed to later Tannaim, we find a distinction between the days of the Messiah and the world/age to come, comparable to that found in *2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra* (though there are many differences of opinion as to the exact nature of the days of the Messiah). The Mishnah mentions the (Davidic) Messiah only in two places: *m. Ber.* 1:5 speaks about "this world" and "the days of the Messiah," while *m. Soṭa* 9:15 mentions further deterioration of the state of affairs "in the days of the advent (lit. the footprints) of the Messiah." It should be noted that the Mishnah speaks several times about "the anointed one," meaning "the anointed (high) priest" (in particular in tractate *Horayot*), and that it distinguishes him from "he who is dedicated by the many garments" (*m. Hor.* 3:4; *m. Meg.* 1:9; *m. Mak.* 2:6). If this contains a reminiscence of a time when (high) priests could not be anointed (later rabbinic sources mention that the oil of unction was hidden away in the days of Josiah), it may explain why the sect of Qumran, and probably other groups as well, anticipated the day when a properly anointed high priest would arise.

Very important is the tradition that Rabbi Akiba hailed the leader of the second revolt, Simon bar Kokhba, as the Messiah. On coins of the revolt, Simon is called prince (*nāśîʾ*; cf. Ezek 34:24 and the Qumran Scrolls) of Israel; sometimes he is mentioned together with Eleazar the Priest, who also appears singly. On some coins, a temple appears with a star above it. This may be a reference to Num 24:17, "a star shall come forth out of Jacob …," the text that is central in the tradition concerning Rabbi Akiba, recorded in *y. Taʿan.* 68d. In the variant sources there is a play of words on Simon's name. In newly discovered documents from the Judean desert, he is called "son of Kosiba"; the many who, like Akiba, hailed him as the Messiah called him "son of the star" (Aram *kôkbāʾ*). In rabbinic writings, the *s* in the name is usually changed to a *z* (bar-Koziba), implying that he was regarded as "the son of the lie" (i.e., a liar). The fact that Simon (not of Davidic descent, as far as we know) was regarded as Messiah by a great man like Rabbi Akiba shows the intensity of the longing for redemption and explains the great deception in the years after 135. The subtle change in the spelling of his father's name shows this, as does the saying of Rabbi Yoḥanan b. Torta, handed down together with that of Rabbi Akiba: "Akiba, grass will grow out of your cheekbones and the Son of David will still not have come." It is often thought that the notion of the death of a figure called Messiah, son of Joseph (or son of Ephraim), in the war against the final enemy, Gog, arose in the time after the defeat of Simon bar Kokhba (Kosiba). The notion of a Messiah from Joseph as a warrior is also found without the idea of defeat; according to some scholars, this must have existed earlier.

**3. The Targums.** It is difficult to assess the value of the messianic paragraphs in the various Aramaic translations of sections of the Hebrew Bible. We have to rely on manuscripts of a relatively late date, the texts of which are of a composite character; there are also many variations between related Targums, and the original wording and original date of the constitutive elements are difficult to establish. Yet much work is being done on these writings, especially with a view to investigating to what extent passages in them may shed light on discussions that are known to have taken place in the period from the 2d century B.C. to the 2d century A.D, in particular at the time early Christianity originated. One example may be given here. The star from Jacob in Num 24:17 was interpreted messianically by R. Akiba, as we have seen; in the Qumran Scrolls, Num 24:17 is connected with the prince of the congregation in 4QTestim 9–13 and 1QM 11:6–7. In CD 7:18–21, the "star" is interpreted as the Interpreter of the Law, while "the

scepter" (mentioned immediately afterward in Num 24:17) is equated with the prince of the whole congregation (cf. 1QSb 5:27–28). The LXX version of the verse, which speaks about "a star" and "a man," is referred to in Philo, *Praem.* 95 (cf. *Vita Mos.* I 290). R. Akiba, therefore, was by no means the first to connect Num 24:17 with a future redeemer.

In *Tg. Onq.*, "the king" and "the Messiah" are spoken of; in *Tg. Ps.-J.*, "a king" and "the Messiah and a scepter"; in *Tg. Neof.*, with some variation, "a king" and "a redeemer and a chief" (so also *Frg. Tg.*). The Targums clearly represent an old traditional interpretation; their testimony supplements our evidence. On the other hand, it is only the evidence from older sources that enables us to determinate the date of the interpretation found in the Targums.

**G. Summary**

The term "Messiah"/"Anointed One" is not found very often in the Hebrew Bible and in the Jewish writings of the period between 200 B.C. and A.D. 100. In the Hebrew Bible, people are anointed to become kings, or (high) priests, or (in one case only) a prophet. In the great majority of cases, the term "anointed" is connected with a royal figure. In the Royal Psalms, God's promises and instructions to David and his dynasty are recalled. The psalmists make far-reaching assertions, but these are always connected with the reigning king (who, among other things, is called "the Lord's anointed") but not with a future son of David. Yet these psalms, which continued to be sung long after there were any kings in Jerusalem, will have helped to shape the hope for an ideal Davidic king. So did the prophecies concerning a future king from David's family, but in these texts the term "anointed" does not occur. It should be noted that in various texts importance is attached to cooperation between king and high priest.

An investigation of Jewish writings around the beginning of the common era reveals that the term "Messiah" was by no means generally used as a designation for God's representative or intermediary at the beginning of a new age of peace for Israel and the nations. The expectations of a radical and definitive change brought about by God did not necessarily include a task for (human or angelic) agents of divine deliverance, and the fact that God's agents were anointed need not be stressed. The expected future Davidic king in *Ps.Sol.* 17 is only called "anointed of the Lord" in passing; in *Ps.Sol.* 18, the term seems to have become a fixed expression in denoting the future ideal Davidic king appointed by God. The complex redeemer figure in the Parables of Enoch is only twice called "his (i.e., the Lord's) anointed," probably under the influence of Ps 2:2. A royal messiah is found in *2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra*; in these writings, his reign is a temporary one. In the documents of Qumran, we meet a future high priest who is once called "the anointed one of Aaron" and a future king called "the anointed one of Israel" or "the righteous anointed one." Whether the expression "anointed ones of Aaron and Israel" in the *Damascus Document* refers to two persons or to one remains unclear. In one fragment we meet a prophetic figure called "the anointed one of the Spirit" (cf. Isa 61:1).

Christian statements about Jewish beliefs and expectations found in the NT writings tend to put a relatively strong emphasis on the Jewish hope for the Messiah. They should be read against the background of discussions between Jews and Christians about Jesus, whom the Christians believed to be the Messiah (Christ).

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**MESSIANIC BANQUET.** The term refers to the use of the symbols of food and a festive meal to signify immortality and the joys of the end time or afterlife. The terms "eschatological banquet" and "apocalyptic banquet" are more correct for the general phenomenon, while the term "messianic banquet," technically speaking, refers primarily to traditions that make specific reference to the presence of the Messiah. However, because such distinctions are not always maintained in the scholarly literature, the concept as a whole will be discussed here. In our literature, it is primarily connected with the thought world of the apocalyptic, but aspects of the symbolism are widespread in the ancient world. Like other apocalyptic motifs, the messianic banquet has its origins in a complex mythological heritage from the ANE and is supplemented in the later periods by Hellenistic parallels.

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A. Sacred Foods
B. The Divine Banquet
C. Actual Communal Meals

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### A. Sacred Foods

One motif connected with the messianic banquet theme places the emphasis on the numinous quality of certain symbolic foods. The characteristic theme here is that of the "food of the gods," which confers immortality on anyone who eats it. A prominent motif expressing this idea in ANE mythology is the "tree of life" whose fruit is deemed to have special life-giving qualities (Gen 2:9; Gaster 1969: 29–34, 336–38). There are echoes of this motif in the symbolism of the menorah in the biblical cult (Meyers 1976: 95–202). Apocalyptic literature utilizes it to represent the gift of eternal life to be given by God to the righteous at the end time (*1 En.* 24:4–25:7; *T. Levi* 18:11; *4 Ezra* 8:52; Rev 2:7, 22:2, 14, 19). For the Greeks, the "food of the gods" was ambrosia and the "drink of the gods" was nectar; these conferred immortality on all who partook of them (Hom. *Od.* 5.93; *Il.* 5.335–42; 19.38–39). In the Jewish work *Joseph and Aseneth*, a honeycomb is identified as the food of the angels that provides immortality to all who eat of it (16:14; also identified with "bread of life" and manna, Burchard OTP 2: 228 n.f).

The bestowal of "life" in the sense of immortality or eternal life at the end time is connected with other symbolic foods as well. Prominent images include basic foods such as water, wine, bread, and fish (Goodenough 1953–68: vols. 5 and 6; 12.94–131; Jeremias 1966: 233–34). In *Odes Sol.* 6:8–18, it is the "living water of eternity" that snatches the soul from death (cf. *Odes Sol.* 11:7–8, 30:1–7); so also in John 4:10–14 the "living water" of Jesus is "a spring of water welling up to eternal life." In Rev 22:1–2 and 17–19, the "water of life" is equated with the "tree of life" as a divine substance that imparts eternal life at the end time (see also 7:17; 21:6).

In the Greek tradition, wine is considered to be the gift of the god Dionysus to mortals, and its effects, ranging from pleasure to literary inspiration, are viewed as the blessings of the god (Henrichs 1982: 140–43), an idea that is echoed in some Jewish traditions as well (Smith 1975). One interpretation of Dionysiac wine-drinking was the idea that one thereby would consume the god; furthermore, Dionysiac beliefs also included the promise of a happy afterlife, although this was not necessarily specifically related to wine-drinking itself (Henrichs 1982: 159–60). In the Jewish text *Joseph and Aseneth,* however, the "cup of immortality" (8:5; 15:5) refers to a beverage that guarantees eternal life in heaven to those who drink it along with the "bread of life" and the "ointment of incorruptibility" (Burchard 1987: 109–17). The wine miracle of Jesus' in John 2:1–11 has similar overtones, since it is connected in this gospel with various references to symbolic life-giving substances ("bread of life," John 6:33; "water of life," John 4:14; "vine" as source of life, John 15:1–6). The strongest connection of wine with the "messianic banquet" theme, however, is to be found in the banquet motif as described in part B. below, since wine is a required component of any festive banquet.

Bread as a numinous food in biblical tradition is especially related to the miraculous bread from heaven or manna, where it is also associated with the miraculous water from the rock (Exod 16:1–17:7; Num 11:7–9; 20:2–13). These miraculous foods take on numinous qualities in a long and complex midrash tradition that is reflected throughout our literature. The bread becomes "bread of the angels," an apparent reference to the divine food eaten by angels (Ps 78:25; Wis 16:20; *4 Ezra* 1:19); and, as "bread of life," it is a food that confers eternal life on those who eat it (*Jos. Asen.* 16:8; 14–16; John 6:25–59). Philo interprets manna and rock to be types of the Logos, or word and wisdom of God, which nourish the soul (*Leg. All.* 2.86; 3.166–70). For Paul, manna and water from the rock are interpreted as "spiritual food" and "spiritual drink" and as symbolic of the Christian Lord's Supper (1 Cor 10:1–13).

Another creation theme that becomes a part of the messianic banquet tradition is the myth of Leviathan, one of the names given to the primordial sea monster representing the power of the sea whose defeat in a cosmic battle is a constituent part of the combat motif in many ANE creation myths. In the OT, the destruction of Leviathan by God represents God's power over chaos (Ps 104:26; Job 40–41; Rev 12:3–9; 21:1). The idea that Leviathan is not only destroyed but is also provided as food (Ps 74:13–14) becomes a symbol of the provision of divine food for the righteous in the new age (*2 Bar.* 29:1–4; *1 En.* 60:7–10, 24; *4 Ezra*; see also rabbinic references in Ginzburg 1909–38: 1.27–28; 5.41–46; and Str–B 4: 1156–65). The widespread fish symbolism that occurs in Jewish and Christian art (Goodenough 1953–68: 5.3–61; Snyder 1985: 24–26; 64:65) as well as in the NT (Matt 14:13–21 = Mark 6:32–44 = Luke 9:10–18 = John 6:1–15; Matt 15:32–39 = Mark 8:1–10; see also Luke 24:42–43; John 21:9–14) has been interpreted to signify fish as a numinous or eschatological food, an idea developed at least partially from the Leviathan myth (Goodenough 1953–68: 6.3–61).

**B. The Divine Banquet**

This is the primary messianic banquet motif since it places the emphasis on the banquet itself, a banquet at which the Messiah is deemed to be present. This theme has its apparent roots in another pattern found in certain ANE creation myths. These myths tell of a great battle being waged in the divine sphere. When the battle has been won, the gods assemble and celebrate the victory with a great banquet (*Enŭma eliš* VI:69–94 [*ANET* 69]; Isa 34:5–7; Zech 9:15; Gaster 1961: 93–94; Hanson 1973: 46 n. 25; 53–55). Here the myth echoes the cultural tradition of the festive meal as the primary social institution for celebrating victory and deliverance (as in *3 Macc* 6:30–41; *Ps.-Philo* 27:9). Because apocalyptic literature takes up the combat and victory motifs, the banquet of celebration becomes a part of its repertoire as well (Hanson 1975: 300–22; Collins 1976: 207–9; 224–30).

This tradition is reflected in the description of the victory/coronation banquet of David in 1 Chr 12:38–40, a passage with strong messianic overtones. Here, the warriors gather and celebrate with their new king, the prototype of the Messiah. The nations come bearing gifts in tribute, and "there was joy in Israel" (v 40). This description reflects the form of the banquet of the end time, which is given a classic description in Isa 25:6–8:

> On this mountain the Lord of hosts will make for all peoples a feast of fat things, a feast of wine on the lees, of the lees well refined. And he will destroy on this mountain the covering that is cast over all peoples, the veil that is spread over all nations. He will swallow up death for ever, and the Lord God will wipe away tears from all faces, and the reproach of his people he will take away from all the earth; for the Lord has spoken.

These texts provide a summary of the basic motifs that come to be associated with the messianic banquet: victory over the primordial enemies (e.g., death), eternal joyous celebration, abundance of food, the presence of the Messiah, judgment, and the pilgrimage of the nations.

Thus, for example, in *1 Enoch*, "in that day" when the Lord shall triumph over the kings and other rulers of the earth, they will be judged and will become victims of God's wrath. Then a "sacrifice" (for the banquet) will be provided and "the righteous and elect ones … shall eat and rest and rise with that Son of Man forever and ever" (62:12–14). Here, judgment is expressed in terms of divine reversal; those who suffer now will rejoice "in that day"; those who hunger now will feast in the future. Others who may find a share at the table are those who give bread to the hungry in this life (*T. Isaac* 6:13). The table will be one with lavish provision of food and wine (as in Isa 25:6–8 quoted above; see also Joel 2:24–26; 3:18; cf. the "unfailing table" of *4 Ezra* 9:19). Indeed, it will be a table where, when the "Messiah is revealed," the primordial representatives of chaos, the monsters Behemoth and Leviathan, will be eaten (*2 Bar.* 29:1–4; see also the reference to death being swallowed in Isa 25:8 quoted above).

In the NT, the messianic banquet theme is especially prominent in the gospel tradition. Jesus' provisions for the hungry in his food miracles (Matt 14:13–21 = Mark 6:32–44 = Luke 9:10–17 = John 6:1–15; Matt 15:32–39 = Mark 8:1–10; John 2:1–11) are paralleled by the theme of the beatitudes: "Blessed are you that hunger now, for you shall be satisfied" (Luke 6:21 [= Matt 5:6 = *Gos. Thom.* 69b]). In one of the favorite images of the parables, the kingdom is compared to a great banquet (Matt 22:1–10 = Luke 14:16–24 = *Gos. Thom.* 64). Indeed, the themes of joyous banquet, judgment, pilgrimage of the nations, and presence of the Messiah are marvelously brought together in the early tradition: "The Son of Man came eating and drinking, and they say, 'Behold, a glutton and a drunkard, a friend of tax collectors and sinners' " (Matt 11:19 = Luke 7:34). This theme is then played upon by the gospel writers, especially Luke, with numerous references to table fellowship with Jesus (Matt 9:10–13 = Mark 2:15–17 = Luke 5:29–32; Smith 1987).

The theme of the pilgrimage of the nations to the table becomes the rallying cry for the emerging gentile church and, when combined with the divine reversal theme, is interpreted to mean that they will take the place of Israel at the table: "I tell you, many will come from east and west and sit at table with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the Kingdom of heaven, while the sons of the kingdom will be thrown into the outer darkness; there men will weep and gnash their teeth" (Matt 8:11–12 [= Luke 13:28–29]; cf. Luke 16:19–31; 14:16–24 [= Matt 22:1–10]; 22:28–30; Jeremias 1958: 59–63). In a different context, this same theme is utilized in a Eucharistic passage in *Did.* 9.4 to represent the unity of the Church gathering at the table: "As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains, but was brought together and became one, so let the Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom."

The messianic banquet is sometimes represented as a wedding banquet, a motif that is closely related to the victory banquet in its mythological origins and connections with the themes of victory and kingship of the god (Collins 1976: 223–24). More specifically, this motif is related to the theme of the "sacred marriage," a concept with a rich heritage from ANE myth and ritual (Smith 1958: 32–71). This theme is especially prominent in biblical literature as a symbol for the relationship of God with the people of Israel (Hos 2:1–23; Isa 54:4–8; Ezek 16:7–8), or, in the NT, as a symbol for the relationship of Christ and the Church (John 3:39; 2 Cor 11:2; Eph 5:23–32). The wedding banquet as a reflection of the sacred marriage theme is found in Song of Songs (2:4; 5:1; Pope *Song of Songs* AB, 374–75; 504–10), but more important for apocalyptic thought is Isa 54:5–55:5, where the theme of a divine marriage (54:5) is combined with a joyful feast which is characterized by abundance of food (55:1–2), vindication for the righteous (54:6–17), and the pilgrimage of the nations (55:5). This theme is then taken up in the NT, where it becomes a prominent image for the joys of the kingdom in the gospel tradition, especially in the parables (Matt 9:15

= Mark 2:19–20 = Luke 5:34–35; Matt 22:1–14; 25:1–13; Luke 14:7–11; cf. John 3:29; *Gos. Thom.* 104) and the miracle at Cana (John 1:1–11). In Revelation it is the primary motif for the messianic banquet (19:7–9; 21:2, 9; 22:17; Collins 1976: 223–31).

Among the Greeks and Romans, the festive banquet was also utilized as a symbol for the joyous afterlife (Pl. *Resp.* 2.363.c–d; Lattimore 1962: 52), a theme especially associated with Orphic and Dionysiac beliefs (Henrichs 1982: 160). This idea is also associated with funerary reliefs that picture the deceased reclining at a festive meal, although there is some debate whether this motif is meant to refer to an eschatological banquet or whether it simply idealizes the past life of the deceased (Cumont 1942: 417–22; Nock 1946: 145 [= *Essays* 2.613]; Dentzer 1982: 530–32).

**C. Actual Communal Meals**

The examples mentioned to this point represent the symbolic use of meal motifs in literature and art which sometimes, but not always, have some connection to actual meals. Some texts, however, are more explicit in connecting the theme of the messianic banquet to actual meals of a community. The communal meals at Qumran, for example, seem clearly to have been defined as a proleptic messianic banquet, since the description of the meal is heavily liturgical in form and, furthermore, includes the presence of the Messiah (1QSa II.11–22; Cross 1961: 85–91). The interpretation of the Passover meal in Judaism also had eschatological overtones (Jeremias 1966: 59).

Other examples are less clear. Goodenough, for example, has proposed the existence of a "mystic meal" in Hellenistic Judaism, based especially on texts from Philo and meal symbolism found on Jewish monuments, but his conclusions are largely discredited today (Goodenough 1953–68: 12.94–105; 125–31; 190–98; Smith 1967: 57–59). The meal references in *Joseph and Aseneth* have suggested to many interpreters that actual ritual meals with cultic significance were being referred to, but the data are complex and subject to varying interpretations (Burchard *OTP* 2: 211–12 n. i; 1987: 113). From the world of the Greeks and Romans, the funerary banquet whereby the family and friends of the deceased would commemorate his death has been interpreted to signify in some sense the proleptic enjoyment of the eschatological banquet in the afterlife, but this interpretation is still much debated (Cumont 1922: 199–206; Kane 1975: 342–43). The ANE version of the funerary banquet, known as the *marzeaḥ,* has also been interpreted to have eschatological overtones (Porten 1968: 183) as well as connections with the sacred marriage theme (Pope *Song of Songs* AB, 210–29).

In the NT, most of the references to bread, wine, and meals in general have been interpreted to refer either primarily or secondarily to the Christian communal meals, either the LORD'S SUPPER or the AGAPE MEAL. This is true, for example, with many of the references to divine food. Thus, the "bread of life" in John 6 that provides "eternal life" to all who eat it, which is a christological reference in its primary sense, is specifically connected with the Eucharistic "flesh" and "blood" in vv 51c–57 (perhaps from a later redactor). So also the Eucharistic bread and wine are identified with "spiritual food" and "spiritual drink" (1 Cor 10:1–22) and deemed the "medicine of immortality" (*Ign. Eph.* 20:2).

The food miracles of Jesus are also related to Christian communal meals. For example, when Jesus provides miraculous bread, he does so with the same ritual actions as those mentioned in the Last Supper passages (Matt 14:19 = Mark 6:41 = Luke 9:16 = John 6:11; Matt 26:26 = Mark 14:22 = Luke 22:19 = 1 Cor 11:23–24; Luke 24:30). Thus, it is the "breaking of the bread" that signifies the presence of the Lord at the community meals (Luke 24:30–35; Acts 1:4).

When Jesus provides miraculous wine in abundance (John 2:1–11), it is at a wedding feast (= messianic banquet). Elsewhere Jesus' own wine drinking and the image of "new wine" are related to the theme of rejoicing in the presence of the bridegroom at the wedding feast (Matt 9:14–17 = Mark 2:18–22 = Luke 5:33–39; John 3:25–30; *Gos. Thom.* 47, 104; Jeremias 1963: 117–18). In the Last Supper tradition, the wine is given an eschatological interpretation: "Truly, I say to you, I shall not drink again of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God" (Mark 14:25 [= Matt 26:29 = Luke 22:18]).

Thus, the various examples of food and banquet imagery in the NT, especially to be found in the Gospels and Revelation, clearly give prominence to the messianic banquet motif and, furthermore,

connect that theme with the communal meals of the Church. This suggests that one of the ways in which early Christians interpreted their communal meals (both Eucharist and agape) was as a messianic banquet being celebrated proleptically in the presence of the risen Lord.

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**MESSIANIC MOVEMENTS IN JUDAISM.** That Jews at the time of Jesus expected the coming of the messiah has been a central axiom of biblical studies. Recent critical analyses of Palestinian Jewish literature of late Second Temple times have indicated that there is little basis for that generalization (de Jonge 1966). The realization that "messianic" expectations were relatively unimportant in the literature of the time is also leading toward a more critical and confined use of the terms "messiah" and "messianic." Partly because of their supposed importance and centrality in the Jewish context of Jesus, and partly because of the Christian theological claim that Jesus constituted the fulfillment of the Jewish expectation, "messiah/messianic" came to be used as comprehensive terms for Jewish expectations of future salvation in general. Expectations of future deliverance and well-being are extremely diverse in biblical and other Jewish literature in postexilic times. Various (and often multiple) divinely chosen or sanctioned agents of salvation are mentioned, including angels, suffering righteous ones, and prophetic figures. Often the salvific action is taken directly by God, with no human agent involved. A "messiah" is mentioned infrequently in late Second Temple Jewish literature, and even then is not necessarily portrayed as engaging in redemptive action. Thus, there is increasing momentum in biblical studies to cease using "messiah/messianic" as synthetic terms covering any and all agents of salvation and

expectations of future well-being. The current move is toward greater precision in the conceptual apparatus utilized in attempts to understand biblical literature and history. Use of the terms "messiah/messianic" would thus be confined to literary and historical phenomena (a) where the Hebrew term "messiah" or its equivalent occurs, (b) where another term that can be clearly established as closely associated occurs, or (c) where a particular social-historical form is evident that has previously been associated with the term. Because "messianic" has been used so generally and synthetically, however, we should take note of historical figures and movements that have previously been included under the term.

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A. Popularly Anointed Kingship in Biblical History
B. Popularly Recognized Kings in Late Second Temple Times
C. Popular Prophets and Prophetic Movements

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**A. Popularly Anointed Kingship in Biblical History**

Starting with the popular kingships of Saul and David, a tradition of "messianic" movements developed in Israel, as reflected in the books of Samuel and Kings. Partly because of their struggles to maintain independence of the Canaanite city-states, the early Israelites apparently resisted any form of kingship, the understanding having been, apparently, that Yahweh was their king. In crisis situations, leadership was provided by charismatic "liberators" such as Deborah (Judges 4–5) and Gideon (Judges 6–8). Gideon reportedly refused to accept the institutionalized rule of hereditary kingship on the principle that "the Lord will rule over you" (Judg 8:22–23). In response to the severity of the Philistine crisis, however, a popular form of kingship emerged first in the recognition of Saul and then especially of David as chieftains or kings of the coalition of Israelite tribes. The rise of David from his origins as a warrior and bandit chief to being "anointed" king by the assembled Israelites shows that popular kingship was a distinctive social-political form. Whatever the terminology used (*roš* or *nāśîʾ*), popularly recognized or "anointed" kingship was a form quite different from either banditry or that of the charismatic "liberators." Whether known as "chieftain" or "king" (Num 31:8; Josh 13:21), the first popular kings of Israel, like the "chieftains" of the tribes, provided regularized, centralized political leadership (Bartlett 1969; Speiser 1967). David and his movement then provided the principal precedent and historical prototype for subsequent popular messianic movements.

Once the Davidic monarchy became established in its imperial domination of Palestine, it developed a self-legitimating royal ideology, with heavy borrowings of mythic motifs from Canaanite kingship. Much of the earlier scholarly discussion of messianic ideas and expectations drew heavily on this official royal ideology. That was understandable insofar as some of the texts that figured prominently in NT christology (e.g., Psalms 2 and 110) originated in the official royal Davidic theology. The imperial kingship, however, never completely replaced or suppressed the Israelite tradition of popular kingship in which David himself had begun. It lived on, particularly in the northern kingdom of Israel. Obviously its principal social location was not in the royal court but among the people, prophetic circles, and even the army. The tradition operated as a popular memory, capable of reappearance in concrete social movements (Tadmor 1968). It is an example of what anthropologists call a "little tradition," as opposed to the official "great tradition," although ironically our only evidence for it comes through the written narratives of the latter. Judging from their occasional appearances in biblical narratives, the popular messianic movements can be understood in terms of three principal characteristics: (1) kingship was constituted *by popular anointing* or election; (2) it was *conditional*, depending on the king's maintenance of a certain social policy; and (3) the anointing of a new king was usually a *revolutionary* action.

Physical strength and military prowess may have been prerequisites for recognition as king or chieftain (1 Sam 10:23; 16:18; cf. Judg 6:12; 8:22). The hero was made king, however, by popular acclamation, whether by the people as a whole, by a representative assembly of elders, or by the assembled peasant militia (Wolf 1947; Tadmor 1968).

First, "the men of Judah" and then "all the elders of Israel" "anointed David king" over Judah/Israel (2 Sam 2:4; 5:3; cf. 1 Sam 11:15 on Saul). Consistent with popular election, popular recognition could be

withdrawn and another person acclaimed. Once David had established a more imperial monarchy over Israel, a large proportion of the people rejected him in favor of his son Absalom, whom they anointed to be (king) over them (2 Samuel 15–19; esp. 15:10–12; 19:10). When Rehoboam threatened to intensify Solomon's oppressive practices, Israel hailed Jeroboam "to the assembly and made him king" (1 Kgs 12:20; cf. 2 Kgs 23:30). It is a confirmation, not a contradiction, of the popular election of the king that Yahweh also "anointed" the kings through the hand of a prophet such as Samuel, Ahijah, or Elisha. Yahweh's anointing anticipated the people's action, and the popular election fulfilled the will of Yahweh (1 Kgs 11:26–40; 12:1–20; 1 Kgs 19:15–17; 2 Kgs 9:1–12; 9:13).

Secondly, as suggested in the abandonment of an alienated or oppressive king and the anointing of a new one, the popular kingship was conditional (*CMHE*, 221; 224; 233 n. 62). From their origins as a free people, the Israelites retained a sense of independence and a commitment to egalitarian social-economic ideals expressed in the Mosaic covenant. Their suspicions of established monarchy were rooted in earlier experiences of domination by Canaanite kings. Thus, when they experimented with a new political form in the Philistine crisis, they viewed kingship as subject to certain "covenantal" stipulations. Subsequent historical narratives portray the duties and responsibilities of kingship as "written up in a book and laid up before Yahweh" (1 Sam 10:25). The conditions of kingship were transmitted in covenantal traditions (Deut 17:14–20) and even found liturgical expression in the "great tradition" (Ps 132:12). Centuries later Jeremiah, in his prophecies against Davidic kings (Jer 22:1–9; 13–19), apparently gave voice to this same popular concern that kingship is properly conditional.

Thirdly, the people's or prophet's anointing of a king was a revolutionary act. In its very origins with Saul and David, popular kingship was a means of mobilizing centralized political-military power against the foreign domination threatened by the Philistines. Much of Israel, apparently including Judah, rose in rebellion against David in anointing Absalom over them. The revolutionary action of such messianic movements recurred in subsequent centuries. Like Ahijah's and the people's designation of Jeroboam as king, Elisha's and the Israelite army's anointing of Jehu brought a revolutionary overthrow of an established monarchy that had become intolerably oppressive. It would appear to be a manifestation of this same popular tradition when "the people of the land" anointed Jehoahaz in 609 following the fatal defeat of his father, Josiah, by the Egyptians, an action that was both resistance to foreign domination and, apparently, a rejection of the reactionary royal officials in Jerusalem. This last case shows how resilient the popular tradition of anointed kingship was, not just in the N kingdom of Israel but even in Judah, which had for centuries been dominated by the Davidic monarchy and its absolutist royal ideology.

**B. Popularly Recognized Kings in Late Second Temple Times**

Given the paucity of sources for Second Temple times, there is simply no way of telling whether, and how, this tradition of popular kingship may have remained alive among the common people. The fact that narratives of the popular anointing of kings such as Saul and David were included in the written documents of the great tradition makes it likely that the popular memory could have been reinformed through the continuing interaction of the official and popular traditions, particularly through the work of scribes and teachers whose responsibility it was to perpetuate the official tradition. There was certainly occasion for the memory of popularly elected kings to be revived in late Second Temple times when the Romans conquered Palestine and particularly when they imposed the tyrannical Herod as king. The Idumean strongman conquered the people with the aid of Roman legions, then taxed them heavily to support his lavish Hellenistic-style monarchy. As noted above, there is little by way of literary evidence for any longing for a messiah among the literate groups. But it would not be surprising if the ordinary people (who left no literary remains), suffering under an illegitimate and oppressive king installed by an alien imperial power, had been eager for an "anointed" king from their own ranks, like Saul or David of old.

Several movements, each headed by one who "claimed the kingship" or "was proclaimed king" by his followers, occurred around the time of Jesus. At the death of Herod in 4 B.C.E., revolts erupted in each of the principal Jewish districts of Herod's realm. These movements were led by Judas in Galilee, Simon in Perea, and Athronges in Judea. During the first great revolt against Rome in 66–70, there was a brief

"messianic" incident among the group known as the Sicarii; and then there was a very powerful movement led by the popularly acclaimed king Simon bar Giora that became the largest force resisting the Roman reconquest in 69–70. Josephus, our principal source for these movements in 4 B.C.E. and 66–70 C.E., avoids any explicitly "messianic" language. Yet we cannot dismiss the social form in which he reports of these movements as due merely to his use of the typical Hellenistic terminology for kingship, such as "donning the diadem." The Israelite tradition of popular kingship had become embodied in biblical narratives and thus surely also in popular memory. Information to be gleaned from Josephus on certain aspects of these "kings" fits well with the interpretation of the biblical tradition concerning the popular "anointing" of kings (e.g., the great physical stature and military prowess of Simon, Athronges, and Simon bar Giora; *Ant* 17.10.6–7 §273, 278, likely reflects the tradition of the anointed king as a mighty warrior; 1 Sam 16:18; Michel 1967–68: 403). Furthermore, when we note that the prophetic figures and movements reported by Josephus were clearly informed by traditional biblical prototypes, the conclusion seems obvious that the groups led by the popularly proclaimed kings were "messianic" movements based upon the prototypical messianic movements of biblical history. In fact, Josephus' Hellenistic terminology of kingship points up the political authority seriously claimed or exercised by these kings and their movements.

The heads of the movements that arose at the death of Herod were all of humble origins. Athronges was a "mere shepherd" as David has been, according to the tradition; and Simon had been a royal servant, perhaps a tenant or lower-level official on one of the royal estates in Perea (*JW* 2.4.2–3 §57, 60; *Ant* 17.10.6–7 §273, 278). In Galilee the popular king was the son of a famous brigand chief; i.e., Judas was leading the revolt at the death of the tyrant who had killed his father a generation previously. (This Judas, the popular king in 4 B.C.E., was different from Judas of Galilee who led the "fourth philosophy" and its resistance to the Roman tribute in Judea in 6 C.E., a figure whom Josephus describes as a teacher, *sophistes*; *JW* 2.8.1 §118). All three movements were based in the countryside, and the followers of Simon, Athronges, and Judas were largely from the peasantry. A number of them may indeed have been "desperate men" (*Ant* 17.10.5 §271; cf. 1 Sam 22:2) because of the deteriorating economic situation of the peasants who were faced with the multiple demands of tithes, tribute, and taxes. "The brigands he collected," referring to Simon's movement, may be Josephus' pejorative phrase for the rebels, or it could be a reference to peasants who, having lost their land, had been drawn into bands of brigands who were hiding out in the mountainous terrain of Perea before joining Simon's movement (*JW* 2.4.2 §57).

The groups participating in these movements appear to have been somewhat organized, at least into "companies" for military purposes. Athronges' brothers served as heads of the divisions of the movement in Judea (*Ant* 17.10.7 §280–81). Josephus' report that the Pereans proclaimed Simon king in their "madness," and that they fought with "more recklessness than science," indicates the special inspiration underlying these movements (*Ant* 17.10.6 §274–76). The movements appear to have had a double goal: to liberate the people from Roman-Herodian domination and to restore the traditional ideals of a more egalitarian social-economic structure. According to Josephus, the groups stormed the royal palaces at Sepphoris and Jericho not merely because of the intolerable Herodian tyranny, and not simply to obtain weapons, but also in order to take back the goods that had been seized by Herod's officials (*Ant* 17.10.6 §274; *JW* 2.4.2 §57). They attacked the forces of both the Herodian and Roman rulers, and they raided the gentry's estates as well as royal residences. The long-suppressed resentment over prolonged political domination and economic exploitation poured out into an egalitarian anarchism typical among peasant uprisings.

The movements led by Athronges, Simon, and Judas were far more serious than marauding bands of raiders or extensive rural riots. They were genuinely political movements that resulted in effective control of considerable areas for a time. The very size of the army that Varus, legate of Syria, deemed necessary to reconquer Jewish Palestine (three legions and four regiments of cavalry, plus auxiliary troops) helps us appreciate the scope and importance of these movements. Even then, the movement in Judea continued for some time before the Roman and royalist troops could finally subdue the various companies of Athronges' peasant followers (*Ant* 17.10.7 §281–84). There is surely no direct connection between any of

these movements and the later one focused on Jesus of Nazareth little more than a generation later. But the memory would have been fresh of the earlier movements of Jewish peasants, from villages near such towns as Bethlehem, Emmaus, and Sepphoris, who had taken action in common under a leader they recognized as king. As a reminder that we are dealing with actual people and places, it is worth noting that in 4 B.C.E., just a few miles N of the village of Nazareth, the town of Sepphoris was burned and its inhabitants sold into slavery by the Romans in retaliatory suppression of a popular messianic movement.

The brief appearance of Menahem as a royal pretender toward the beginning of the Jewish revolt in 66 C.E. was really more of a messianic incident among the group called Sicarii than a movement. This incident has been misinterpreted by those scholars who use Menahem as evidence for a supposedly violent "Zealot messianism" that can serve as a foil for portrayal of Jesus as a nonviolent messiah. It is even claimed that Menahem stood in a Zealot messianic dynasty. It is now becoming recognized, however, that the Zealots proper did not originate until the middle of the Jewish revolt, in the winter of 67–68, by which time the Sicarii, who had previously been mistakenly identified with the Zealots, had long since withdrawn to Masada, where they sat out the duration of the revolt. The Zealots were involved in a social-revolutionary movement like the messianic movements; but the social form taken by the Zealot movement was not popularly proclaimed kingship but popularly elected priestly leadership. The claim that they were part of a "messianic dynasty" is rooted in a mistaken identification of Judas, the popular king of 4 B.C.E., with Judas of Galilee, the scholarly leader of the "fourth philosophy" in 6 C.E., from whom Menahem was descended. It is clear that Menahem could not have been a "Zealot messiah."

The Sicarii had emerged in the 50s as an urban group engaged in terrorist activities, such as assassination—of high priests who were collaborating with Roman rule—and kidnappings—in order to extort the release of their members who had been taken prisoner (*Ant* 20.8.10 §186–87; 20.9.3 §208; *JW* 2.13.3 §254–57). Josephus does not even mention the Sicarii in his reports of the early stages of the revolt during the summer of 66. However, some of them had apparently joined the insurrection in Jerusalem in time to participate in the burning of the royal palaces, of the house of the high priest Ananias, and of the public archives (*JW* 2.17.6 §425–27).

Josephus finally reports three incidents involving Menahem, in rapid succession. First, Menahem obtained arms from Herod's arsenal at Masada, whereupon he "returned like a king to Jerusalem and, becoming a leader of the revolt, directed the siege of the royal palace" (*JW* 2.17.8 §433–34). Second, although there is no indication that he became the main leader of the rebellion, he clearly became a prominent leader, for Josephus describes the garrison besieged in the royal palace as negotiating "with Menahem and the leaders of the insurrection" (437). Third, Josephus reports that the "infatuated" Menahem having become an "insufferable tyrant," the followers of the temple captain Eleazar now "laid their plans to attack him in the Temple, where he had gone up in state to pay his devotions, arrayed in royal robes and attended by his suite of armed fanatics. Eleazar and his companions rushed upon him, and the rest of the citizens, to gratify their rage, took up stones and began pelting the arrogant doctor" (*JW* 2.17.9 §443–45). A few of the Sicarii managed to escape to Masada, where they sat out the remainder of the revolt. Menahem himself, having escaped temporarily, was soon caught, tortured, and killed (447–48).

This messianic incident among the Sicarii has some differences from, as well as similarities to, the popular messianic movements. While the Sicarii were attacked by the followers of the temple captain Eleazar, they apparently fought for the interests of the common people, having joined in the destruction of the public archives "to destroy the money-lenders' bonds and to prevent the recovery of debts" (427). In connection with the popular kings of 4 B.C.E. and Simon bar Giora later during the great revolt, Josephus describes social-economic, political, and military activities. In his portrayal of Menahem, he includes a dramatic religious feature as well: the ceremonial celebration of Menahem's claim to kingship in the temple. Finally, whereas the other figures who "claimed the kingship" were from the common people and were popularly acclaimed, Menahem was known as a scholar (*sophistes*, 445) like his (grand)father, Judas of Galilee, and he was also a leader of an urban-based group apparently without a broader base of popular support. In any case, having been cut short before it had a chance to build wider support, Menahem's posturing as king in the temple appears to have been more a messianic incident than a true movement.

Historically, the most important messianic movement at the end of the Second Temple period was that led by Simon bar Giora, who became the foremost political-military commander in Jerusalem during the great revolt and whom the Romans executed with pomp and ceremony as, in effect, the vanquished king of the Jews. Josephus reports far more extensively on Simon and his movement than he does on the popular kings in 4 B.C.E. In those reports, Simon appears as an active organizer of the movement he led.

Like those proclaimed kings following the death of Herod, Simon was of humble background; as his name indicates, he was a mere "son of a proselyte." He became the leader of a substantial force, as the insurrection erupted in the summer of 66, and was one of the heroes of the audacious Jewish victory over the Roman army that advanced on Jerusalem that fall (*JW* 2.19.2 §521). Once the high priestly aristocracy regained control of Jerusalem and organized a provisional government, however, the last thing they wanted was to have a popular military hero in command of a nascent peasant militia. Hence, they passed over Simon in making appointments of district commanders. With his great "physical strength and courage," however, Simon continued to foment rebellion in the toparchy of Acrabatene (*JW* 4.9.3 §503–4; 2.22.2 §652–53). When the junta in Jerusalem attempted to suppress his activities there, he simply moved elsewhere.

After the death of the high priest Ananus (summer of 68?), one of the principal leaders of the provisional government in Jerusalem, Simon began building a movement more systematically. A number of parallels between the rise of Simon and that of the popularly "anointed" prototype David emerge from Josephus' accounts. It is unlikely that this is due simply to the literary artifice of Josephus himself, who was especially hostile to Simon, probably because the "despot" had imprisoned his parents during the Roman siege of Jerusalem. Like David, Simon had begun as a leader of a guerilla band that posed a threat to the existing government, but then eventually he was followed by thousands of people as well as by a large army. The initial followers in both cases were the "worthless" and discontent (*JW* 4.9.3–4 §507–13; cf. 1 Sam 22:2); but with the people searching for effective leadership against impending foreign conquest, Simon, like David, came to be recognized as king by masses of people, including some of the notables. Moreover, when Simon moved first to consolidate control of S Judea before moving on Jerusalem, he may have had more than military strategy in mind. He may have been following the Davidic prototype, liberating Judea and establishing righteous rule there (Michel 1967–68). Establishing a firm base in Hebron, in particular, may have been especially symbolic; it was surely remembered as the place where David had first been anointed prince of Judah and from which, once he was recognized as king of all Israel, he went on to take Jerusalem and to liberate the whole country. Josephus' digression just at this point in his narrative to the great antiquity of Hebron and its association with Abraham may well have been an attempt to divert attention from the Davidic associations of Hebron (*JW* 4.9.7 §529–34).

The social-revolutionary aspects of Simon's movement come through far more explicitly in Josephus' reports than did those of the popular kings of 4 B.C.E. After decades of economic pressure on the peasantry under the exploitative rule of Herod and the double burden of having to pay tribute to Rome and dues to priests and temple, Simon and his followers were likely attempting to restore social justice. Simon's proclamation of "liberty for slaves and rewards for the free" (§508) has the ring of prophetic promises. Justice for the poor was to be a feature of the future king, the righteous branch of David, according to prophecies such as those in Isa 11:1–9 and Jer 23:5 (cf. Jer 34:8–9).

Simon's followers, however, were by no means simply an anarchic horde of peasants wildly plundering the estates of the wealthy and storming the barricades of the city. Judging from Josephus' account, Simon and his movement were well organized and disciplined. They even thought ahead about the support system that would be necessary for a prolonged war of liberation. Apparently Simon also maintained a rigorous social discipline once he became the foremost leader in Jerusalem. Acts by Simon that Josephus bitterly condemns, such as the execution of deserters, may have been evidence of the social-political discipline necessary to maintain order among a people subject to a prolonged siege (Michel 1967–68: 406). Simon's discipline can be understood in terms similar to those expressed in *Psalms of Solomon* 17. In the great "war" against the oppressive alien rulers, the anointed king would "thrust out sinners from the

inheritance" and "not suffer unrighteousness to lodge anymore in their midst, thus purging Jerusalem, making it holy as of old" (*Ps. Sol.* 17:26, 29, 33, 36).

Two final symbolic events indicate unmistakably how Simon bar Giora had assumed the position of king of the Jews. Josephus reports that, as Jerusalem and the temple were being destroyed, Simon surrendered to the Romans in a highly dramatic act: dressed in a white tunic and a royal purple mantle, he arose out of the ground at the very spot on which the temple had formerly stood (*JW* 7.2.2 §29). The attire was that of a king, a symbolism that would have been clear to both Jews and Romans. This was the attire a king wore on formal state occasions, such as the funeral of Herod (*JW* 1.33.9 §671). Jesus of Nazareth was portrayed as being dressed in such garments when he was mockingly called "king of the Jews" (Mark 15:16–20). Not so clear, however, was the precise purpose Simon had in mind with this symbolic surrender. Was he, by this self-sacrificial surrender to the Romans as the unmistakable king and leader of the enemy, hoping to mitigate the Romans' punishment that would otherwise fall on his people with great severity? Whatever Simon's purpose in his dramatic surrender, the Romans indeed ceremoniously paraded him (appropriately robed), scourged him, and executed him as the enemy head of state and leader (was it explicitly as "king"?) of the Jews in one of the principal events of the triumphal celebration of the great Roman victory over the rebellious Jewish people (*JW* 7.5.3–7 §115–62). By contrast, Simon's rival for leadership, John of Gischala, was simply imprisoned.

The case most clearly recognized in scholarly literature as a messianic movement was the Bar Kokhba revolt of 132–35. Whereas there is very little occurrence of "messianic" ideas in Jewish literature prior to the messianic movements of 4 B.C.E., scholarly visionaries produced more explicit and elaborate pictures of a future messiah toward the end of the 1st century C.E., after Jerusalem and the temple had been destroyed (*4 Ezra* 13; *2 Baruch* 29; 36–40; 72–74). Thus, the Bar Kokhba movement may have been influenced by more clearly developed expectations of a messiah as well as by the biblical tradition of popular kingship. In any case, the revered elderly Rabbi Akiba, who had not forgotten his peasant roots, proclaimed that Simon bar Kosiba, the leader of the insurrection in 132, was the fulfillment of the oracle in Num 24:17: "a star shall go forth from Jacob"; hence the name *Bar Kokhba*, which means "son of the star" (*j. Ta*ʿ*an.* 4.68d). Other rabbis, probably the majority, were not only skeptical but critical. The same rabbinic tradition has Yoḥanan ben Torta answer: "Akiba, grass will grow out of your cheek-bones and the son of David will still not have come." Other rabbinic traditions denigrate the leader of the rebellion with a pun on his name; that is, bar Koziba, or "Son of the Lie." Akiba and the followers of Simon bar Kosiba, however, understood their leader in messianic terms. Coins from the first year of the revolt corroborate that Simon was regarded as the elect ruler, the "Prince (*nāśî*) of Israel."

Undeterred by rabbinic rejections, large numbers of Jewish people must have joined the movement. Simon and his followers established their own government in extensive areas of Judea while defending themselves against Roman attempts at reconquest. Their coins, inscribed "Year I of the Liberation of Israel" or "Year II of the Freedom of Israel," reveal that their assertion of independence from Roman domination had inaugurated a new era. Documents found at Muraba'at and Hever, moreover, indicate that Simon exercised a rigorous administrative and military discipline, and that he and the other leaders placed great emphasis on strict observance of traditional religious regulations. As in 69–70, the Romans sent a massive military force to reconquer the country, but Simon and his followers forced them into a prolonged war of attrition through skillful guerrilla operations based in caves and mountain strongholds. Only after extended campaigns and costly battles could the Romans finally "annihilate, exterminate, and eradicate" this messianic movement from the land (Dio Cass. 59.13.3).

That these popularly recognized kings and their "messianic movements" governed a limited area and were able to maintain the people's sovereignty for only a short time—ranging from a few weeks (Judas, son of Hezekiah) to a few years (Athronges, Simon bar Giora, and Simon bar Kosiba)—does not lessen their significance. That several of these movements occurred within a few generations at the end of the Second Temple period indicates not only that the Jewish peasantry was capable of producing its own leadership and of taking collective action in a politically conscious way, but also that the actions took a distinctive social form because of the peasants' memory of previous liberation and popular sovereignty.

**C. Popular Prophets and Prophetic Movements**

Certain prophetic figures who appeared in Judea in the mid-1st century C.E. have been labeled "messianic" prophets or "prophetic pretenders to messiahship" (*TDNT* 6:812–28; Hill 1979). These labels, however, obscure both the distinctive character of the figures and the movements they led and their distinctive difference from the movements led by popular kings that can more appropriately be designated "messianic." Contrary to suggestions by some and the misleading label "messianic," there is no overlap or confusion between these two types of movements and their leaders. Our principal source, Josephus, writes explicitly that Theudas and "the Egyptian" appeared as *prophets,* and he mentions nothing to suggest that they also assumed some royal posture.

Prophets such as Theudas and "the Egyptian" must also be distinguished from other prophetic figures active in this same period. Reports about these figures in Josephus and the Gospels, when placed against the background of earlier (biblical) Israelite prophetic phenomena, indicate that these prophets were of two distinctive types, each reminiscent of or in continuity with a biblical tradition. Prophets of both types apparently arose from among the people, and not from one or another of the literate groups such as the Pharisees or Qumranites. But some of them, such as Jesus, son of Hananiah, and probably John the Baptist as well, were primarily individual spokespersons for God, delivering oracles of judgment related to their respective historical situations. Jesus is particularly reminiscent of Jeremiah in his lament over the doomed city of Jerusalem. During the Jewish revolt, other prophets (none of them named by Josephus) proclaimed oracles of deliverance. Judging from Josephus' reports, some of these may have been more apocalyptic in their inspiration and style, but the visionary imagery suggests that these prophecies concerned historical deliverance, not any "end of the world." These prophets, whether their oracles were of judgment or of liberation, were individual messengers, and none of them (including John the Baptist) appear to have organized or led a mass movement.

The prophets such as Theudas and "the Egyptian," on the other hand, inspired and led mass movements that were suppressed by Roman troops. On the basis of Josephus' general descriptions of several such movements along with his accounts of Theudas, "the Egyptian," and a Samaritan prophet, we are justified in discerning here a distinctive type of prophets and prophetic movements. That is, these prophets, while also messengers of God, did not simply announce the will of God but (1) led actions of deliverance (2) involving "revolutionary changes" (3) in accord with God's "design" and (4) corresponding to one of the great formative historical acts of deliverance led by Moses or Joshua.

According to Josephus' summary statements, there must have been several prophetic figures who at some point or another led their followers out into the wilderness in anticipation of new deliverance (*JW* 2.13.4 §259; *Ant* 20.8.6, 10 §168, 188). The most important, judging from their recollection in the NT as well, were those led by Theudas and "the Egyptian."

> During the period when Fadus was procurator of Judaea, a certain impostor named Theudas persuaded the majority of the masses to take up their possessions and to follow him to the Jordan River. He stated that he was a prophet and that at his command the river would be parted and would provide them an easy passage (*Ant* 20.5.1 §97).

> There came to Jerusalem from Egypt a man who declared that he was a prophet and advised the masses of the common people to go out with him to the Mount of Olives … For he asserted … that at his command Jerusalem's walls would fall down, through which he promised to provide them an entrance into the city (*Ant* 20.8.6 §169–70; cf. *JW* 2.13.5 §261–62).

The placement of Theudas prior to Judas of Galilee (6 C.E.) in Acts 5:36 is merely either a result of chronological confusion or a lack of solid information by Luke. In Acts 21:38 Luke has simply confused "the Egyptian's" movement with the terrorism by the Sicarii during the same period under the governor Felix (52–60 C.E.). The fundamental reality of all of these movements appears to be that the prophets were leading their followers into some great anticipated liberating action by God.

Josephus says that these prophets were "fostering revolutionary changes" (*JW* 2.13.4 §259). From his explicit reference to "the masses" and "the common people," it is clear that the social base of these movements was the Judean peasantry. Their quest for "rest from troubles" and "freedom" or "liberation"

suggests a rejection of the established order in hopes of attaining an independent life free of oppressive burdens. Some of these movements appear simply to be acts of withdrawing from an intolerable situation. The prophet from Egypt is more explicitly confrontational: he apparently led his followers out to participate in God's overthrow of the Roman-dominated established order in Jerusalem. There is no indication in our texts that any of these movements were violent, let alone armed, as has sometimes been suggested. But the brutal suppression of these movements by overwhelming military force indicates just how threatened the ruling groups were about the "revolutionary changes" that these prophets and their followers anticipated. At the very least, of course, if the participants abandoned their fields in anticipation of divine deliverance, then these movements posed a genuine threat to the productive base on which the ruling groups were economically dependent.

The report that the prophets would show their followers "marvels and signs that would be wrought in harmony with God's design" (*Ant* 20.168) should be read against the background of Jewish apocalyptic literature. "God's design" is apparently a reference to the "mystery" or plan of God for the resolution of the current crisis that figures so prominently in Daniel and the Qumran texts. The hostile Josephus writes that "deceivers and impostors, under the pretence of divine inspiration … persuaded the masses to act like madmen" (*JW* 2.13.4 §259). That is, stated in more positive, traditional biblical terms, these prophets, filled with the Spirit of God, inspired their followers with the conviction that they were called to participate in God's imminent liberating action.

A new action of deliverance anticipated by these prophets corresponded to one of the great historical acts of deliverance. The historical analogies according to which the new acts of salvation were imagined are clear, at least in general. The prophet from Egypt and his followers were clearly motivated by the great battle of Jericho; in similar fashion, God would now dramatically liberate Jerusalem from Roman domination. The "charlatan" who promised his followers "deliverance and rest from troubles if they chose to follow him into the wilderness" (*Ant* 20.8.10 §188) was surely attempting to realize a new exodus from bondage out into the wilderness, in imitation of Moses of old. The precise analogy in Theudas' case is less clear. Perhaps it should be seen as a new exodus and/or entry into the land: as Moses parted the waters for the deliverance from Egypt and/or as Joshua had parted the waters of the Jordan for the entry into the promised land, so Theudas was acting as God's agent in the new deliverance from Roman oppression and/or in reentry into the land of promise.

Israelite traditions had long since juxtaposed the Exodus from Egypt and entry into the land. And prophetic traditions such as that in Isa 51:9–11 had already conceived of new redemption along the lines of the original formative acts of redemption. Contrary to generalizations often found in scholarly literature, there is virtually no literary evidence for the currency of an expectation of an eschatological prophet like Moses in the 1st century (Horsley 1985a). In the cases of Theudas, the "Egyptian," and "the charlatan," however, there did occur concrete movements led by prophets in actions of liberation that correspond typologically to the great constitutive historical actions led by the prototypical prophets Moses and Joshua. Even though Josephus is careful to say only that Theudas and the "Egyptian" claimed to be prophets and that such leaders were really "deceivers and imposters," he nevertheless used for them the same distinctive language that he used in his accounts of Moses and his "signs and miracles" of deliverance (*Ant* 2.13.3 §286; 2.15.4 §327; cf. 20.8.6.10 §168, 188; *JW* 2.13.4 §259). Josephus' reports thus indicate that there must have been a distinctive social form of *prophetic movements* in 1st century Palestinian Jewish society, parallel to but different from the popular messianic movements.

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**MESSIANIC SECRET.** Frequently in the Gospels, especially in Mark, Jesus is portrayed as trying to maintain an element of secrecy about himself and his work. Today, this feature is referred to as the "messianic secret," a term derived from the classic study of W. Wrede (1901; trans. 1971).

A. Wrede
B. Developments since Wrede
1. The Historical Explanation
2. The Apologetic Explanation
3. The "Epiphanic" Explanation
4. The "History of Revelation" Explanation
C. The Unity of the Secret
D. Conclusion

### A. Wrede

Prior to Wrede's work, 19th-century scholars had read the Gospels, especially Mark, as almost exact transcripts of the life of Jesus. In particular, the secrecy texts in Mark were understood as evidence for the fact that Jesus wished to reveal his identity to the disciples only gradually so that they might come to a deeper understanding of him. Much of this was thrown into question by Wrede's work.

Wrede showed that no gradual development in the disciples' understanding can be traced in Mark. Instead, he argued that the theme of secrecy in Mark is all-pervasive. Wrede referred to a number of features in the gospel as evidence for this theme of secrecy: (1) Jesus explicitly commands the demons to be silent about his identity after exorcisms (1:25, 34; 3:11–12); (2) Jesus gives orders that his miracles are not to be publicized (1:43–44; 5:43; 7:36); (3) Jesus commands the disciples to be quiet about him (8:30; 9:9); (4) Jesus tries to keep his whereabouts a secret (7:24; 9:30); (5) Jesus gives private instruction only to a chosen few (7:17; 10:10); (6) the so-called "theory of parables" (4:11–12) shows that in Mark, Jesus teaches in parables in order deliberately to hide his intent from the crowds; and (7) despite their privileged position, the disciples in Mark regularly fail to understand Jesus (6:52; 8:17–21).

Wrede argued that all these features were unhistorical and were therefore secondary editorial additions to the tradition. For example, the secrecy charge at 5:43 was patently absurd, with a girl in a room just restored to life from death and the crowd clamoring just outside the door. Similarly, the theory of parables in 4:11–12 could not be traced back to Jesus, since Jesus used parables in order to make his message clear, not unintelligible (Wrede 1971: 62). Wrede found the key to the secrecy theme in 9:9. Here, a time limit is set so that the disciples are to remain silent about what they have seen until after the resurrection. Wrede argued that this time limit was intended to apply to all the elements of secrecy in Mark: the period prior to Easter was one of secrecy, but after the resurrection full revelation occurred.

Wrede also attempted to account for the origin of the secret. He argued that a primitive Christian belief was that Jesus had *become* Messiah at his resurrection (Acts 2:36; Rom 1:3–4); later Christian reflection led to the belief that Jesus' earthly life had also been messianic. The secret was the result of the coming

together of these two views, so that Jesus' earthly life was now described as messianic but with the proviso that this could only be made public after the resurrection (Wrede 1971: 229).

One corollary which Wrede drew was that, if this reconstruction was right, the secret could only have arisen at a time when no explicit messianic claims by Jesus were known. Hence, "*Jesus actually did not give himself out as messiah*" (Wrede 1971: 230; Wrede's italics). This corollary by Wrede has often been criticized vehemently by many, and it has often been thought that Wrede's whole thesis could be refuted by pointing to messianic elements in the tradition which could be traced to Jesus. This probably misses the point of Wrede's analysis, which was an attempt to look at the gospel of Mark and to explain the actual secrecy motifs as they occur *in Mark.* Wrede's point about the lack of messianic claims by Jesus was only a corollary drawn from his theory about the origin of these secrecy motifs.

**B. Developments since Wrede**

Wrede's work has been extremely influential, even if his detailed theories are no longer accepted by many. Certainly he opened the way for later form and redaction criticism in seeing the gospel tradition as reflecting the beliefs of the first Christians quite as much as the life of Jesus.

**1. The Historical Explanation.** One of the most common reactions to Wrede, especially in English scholarship, has been to argue that much of the secrecy complex isolated by Wrede should be traced back to Jesus and attributed to a variety of reasons. Jesus may have wished to reinterpret the title "Messiah" (hence the secrecy charge in 8:30); he may have wished to avoid excessive publicity after the miracles; or he may have used the medium of parables in order to try to get people to think for themselves. Further, Jesus may have regarded his own role as Messiah as in some sense incomplete during his earthly ministry (Taylor 1948; Aune 1969; Dunn 1970; Moule 1975). However, it is still questionable whether Wrede's analysis has been met on its own terms; that is, as an analysis of Mark. How do the secrecy charges function within the gospel, and why do some of them appear in redactional, rather than traditional, strands of the gospel (e.g., 1:34; 3:11–12)?

Wrede's theories about the secondary nature of the secrecy elements have always received a more positive response in German scholarship. One modification of Wrede's theory which has gradually evolved, and is now generally accepted, concerns the stage at which the secrecy charges in Mark entered the tradition. Wrede argued that they were pre-Markan. Most today would argue that if they are secondary, they are due to Mark himself (Strecker 1983: 51–54). However, this necessitates a change in Wrede's explanation of the origin of the secret; for Mark provides no evidence that he is aware of a nonmessianic interpretation of the life of Jesus. Hence Wrede's corollary about the lack of any explicit messianic claims by Jesus must also be modified, since this corollary followed directly from Wrede's explanation of the origin of the secret in Mark (Strecker 1983: 54). Several alternative explanations have been proposed.

**2. The Apologetic Explanation.** According to this theory, the secrecy texts explain the failure of the majority of Jews to respond to Jesus (Dibelius 1934: 230; Burkill 1963), as well as, perhaps, the failure of the majority of Mark's contemporaries to respond to the Christian gospel (Watson 1985, who also stresses the social aspects of such a proposed Sitz im Leben for Mark). This theory encounters difficulties as an explanation for the whole secrecy complex in Mark. For example, it fails to explain the points in the gospel at which the secret is broken (1:45; 7:36–37, where Jesus' commands to silence are disobeyed). Also Jesus' final rejection by the Jewish authorities is not due to any secrecy about who Jesus is, since it is precisely at this point that the veil of secrecy is lifted (14:61–62).

**3. The "Epiphanic" Explanation.** Ebeling (1939) believes that the points at which the secret is broken form the basis for a very different explanation. According to this, the secrecy texts in Mark are simply literary devices which highlight Jesus' glory and the epiphanic nature of the events concerned. Thus, the accounts of the miracles show that Jesus' fame spread irresistibly despite all attempts, even by Jesus himself, to prevent it. Similarly, the theory of parables serves to highlight the transcendent nature of the revelation for the reader, who belongs with the disciples within the circle of initiates. This theory also runs into problems elsewhere in Mark as an explanation of the whole secrecy complex. Some secrecy charges are *not* broken (5:43), and the time limit in 9:9 is also not easily accommodated within the theory.

**4. The "History of Revelation" Explanation.** Perhaps the most popular theory today is that the secret represents Mark's understanding of the history of revelation (though within this broad explanation there are some significant variations). Wrede's explanation of the secret fails, since there is no evidence that Mark's material was ever understood non-messianically. Thus, many today would argue that the secret is not so much Mark's way of imposing messianic belief on non-messianic material as it is Mark's way of *controlling* his already messianic material to conform to his overriding theology of the cross. Thus, the secrecy elements form Mark's way of showing that Jesus' true identity can only be properly understood in the light of the cross. Prior to the crucifixion, Jesus' identity as "Son of God" might be misunderstood, and so confessions of this nature are regularly suppressed. Only as, and precisely as, the crucified one is Jesus' identity as "Son of God" not open to misunderstanding. Hence, only as Jesus dies can any human being come to the recognition that Jesus is the Son of God (Mark 15:39). The case for "Son of God" being the most important christological title in Mark, and for the secret being primarily concerned with Jesus' identity as "Son of God," is well set out by Kingsbury (1983).

The importance of the cross and resurrection is recognized by many as the key to understanding the messianic secret in Mark (Conzelmann 1968; Strecker 1983; Schweizer 1983). Within this overall explanation, there is scope for variation. Some have argued that the secret is a matter of past history alone, so that the present era of the Church is one of full and open proclamation (Strecker). Others would argue for a more "existentialist" explanation: the secret remains a secret for those outside the community; revelation after Easter is a possibility, but it only becomes an actuality for the person who is prepared to follow Jesus on the road to the cross, in the way of discipleship (Conzelman; the importance of the theme of discipleship is stressed by Schweizer). But in either case, the secret is to be interpreted as part of Mark's way of pointing to the cross as the essential clue to Jesus' true identity for the Christian disciple.

One development which has attracted some considerable support has been the attempt to specify in more detail the christology which Mark is seeking to control by the secret. Many have argued that Mark is opposing a specific christology, usually described as a *theios aner* christology; i.e., a view of Jesus as primarily the great miracle worker and bearer of supernatural power (Schweizer 1983; Luz 1983; Weeden 1971). Thus, Mark's use of the secrecy motif is to be seen as a conscious attempt to modify views about Jesus which were current in Mark's community. Criticisms can justly be brought against excessive use of the phrase *theios aner* itself (Kingsbury 1983: 25–45), but the idea represented by modern scholarship's use of the phrase may well have been current in Mark's day. Räisänen (1976; 1989) questions whether Mark was indeed opposed to such a view of Jesus, arguing that Mark's attitude to Jesus' miracles is wholly positive. Yet despite the importance of the miracles for Mark, there is still an element of reserve about them in the gospel: they can only occur in a context of faith (6:5; 9:23), and they are not to be had on demand (8:11–12). The theory that Mark is trying to modify such an alternative view of Jesus, whether by outright opposition (Weeden 1971) or by more gentle incorporation (Luz 1983), is thus a very attractive one.

**C. The Unity of the Secret**

In more recent studies, there has been a strong tendency to question very radically whether Wrede was justified in trying to explain all his evidence from Mark by a single theory. For example, the silencing of the demon in 1:25 was not originally part of Mark's messianic secret. Rather, it is a standard part of the exorcism itself. It is only in the later redactional summaries of 1:34; 3:11–12, that this motif is changed by Mark from a silencing—which is the actual act of overpowering the demon—to a silencing which prevents other people from learning the secret of Jesus' identity from the demons.

The "parable theory" text in Mark 4:11–12 should almost certainly be separated from the other themes (Räisänen 1989). These verses fit well with an "apologetic" type of explanation. They provide some reason for Jewish rejection of Jesus' message, and for a lack of positive response to the preaching of the Christian gospel by Mark's community, by claiming that such a lack of response is due to the divine will and has many precedents in the history of God's people (Mark 4:11–12 cites the classic "hardening" text of Isa 6:9–10). The verses thus provide encouragement and hope for a community that perhaps feels itself

to be beleagured and unsuccessful in its mission. Such an explanation does not, however, adequately explain the other parts of the secrecy complex isolated by Wrede.

Within the rest of the secrecy complex, others have also questioned whether the evidence can all be explained by a single theory. Luz (1983) would distinguish between the secrecy charges concerning Jesus' identity (the "messianic secret" proper) and the secrecy charges after the miracles (the "miracle secret"). The latter are generally disobeyed and are to be interpreted as highlighting Jesus' glory as a miracle worker (the "epiphanic" explanation); the former are not disobeyed and show that Jesus' true identity is only to be seen in the light of the cross (the "history of revelation" explanation). While some of the details here may be questionable, this attempt to split up the various motifs referred to by Wrede is probably justified (Räisänen 1989).

One part of Wrede's evidence which is often considered separately today is the motif of the incomprehension of the disciples. This is certainly rather different from the other motifs in Wrede's complex. For example, in the other secrecy charges, those addressed have the right idea about Jesus and are told not to tell others; in the case of the disciples, they usually have the wrong idea, or even no idea at all about who Jesus is. One view which has aroused a lot of discussion is that the disciples represent a group within Mark's own community, and that Mark's unfavorable picture of the disciples represents a polemical attitude toward this group. Thus, many see the disciples in Mark as representative of the group which holds the christology which Mark is opposing; i.e., the *theios aner* christology (Weeden 1971).

Yet despite Mark's negative picture of the disciples, it is difficult to maintain that Mark's attitude to them is one of outright opposition. They do respond to Jesus' call (1:16–20; 3:13–19); they go out on mission (6:7–13); and they (probably) achieve their restoration with the risen Jesus (as 16:7 suggests). Thus, while Mark may well be trying to modify views of others within his own community, it is hard to see the *disciples* in the story as representative of these other people. It is more likely that the picture of the disciples in Mark is intended to enable the Christian reader to identify with them and to learn from their failings not only about the nature of discipleship but also about the forgiveness and grace of God which is available to those who fail (Best 1977; Tannehill 1977). A more positive role for the disciples is suggested by Räisänen (1989): they may function as the spokespersons for Mark's own views in a confrontation between Mark and the bearers of the Q tradition who have a defective understanding of Jesus and of the significance of his death and resurrection. Such a Sitz im Leben for Mark is, however, somewhat speculative and depends in part on the theory that Mark, unlike Q, is wholly positive about Jesus' miracles. Further, it must remain doubtful whether the disciples really do attain full understanding about Jesus in 8:27–29 (Räisänen): the sequel suggests that they still do not appreciate the full truth about Jesus and the nature of his task. Full insight about Jesus is only attained at the cross by human characters in the story.

**D. Conclusion**

Wrede's theories about the messianic secret have undergone many modifications since they were first published in 1901. Probably nobody today would give wholehearted support to all that Wrede said about the texts in Mark which he considered. Nevertheless, it is recognized that Wrede identified elements which occupy a key role in Mark's gospel. Many of these elements are due to Mark himself, and hence are not to be traced to Jesus, and their interpretation is vital for a proper understanding of Mark's gospel. Some parts of the whole complex of motifs considered by Wrede should probably be isolated from the rest and considered separately. Nevertheless, the remaining parts of the secrecy complex in Mark, whereby the secret of Jesus' identity is only fully revealed to human characters in the story when Jesus is seen as the crucified one, play a key role in the gospel. These secrecy texts are thus of vital importance in the understanding of Mark's christology and ecclesiology; i.e., in Mark's understanding of who Jesus was and of what it meant to be a disciple of Jesus.

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**METHEGH-AMMAH** [Heb *meteg-hā›ammâ* (מֶתֶג־הָאַמָּה)]. Methegh-ammah is not known as a name of a place in the Bible, though some have interpreted it so (e.g., RSV). The Heb words *meteg-hā›ammâ,* which literally mean "the bridle of one cubit," appear only in 2 Sam 8:1: "David took (or received) the methegh-ammah from the hand of Philistines." According to *tg. Jon.* Gen 26:31, Isaac "took one cubit's length of the bridle of his ass, and gave it to him (Abimelech) as a sign of friendship." According to this explanation, the giving of the "bridle of one cubit" signified "friendship" or possibly surrender. This meaning fits well with the context of 2 Sam 8:1. Then the meaning becomes "David received the bridle of one cubit (as the token of surrender) from the hand of Philistines." This interpretation is not far from the translation of LXX: "David took the tribute from out of the hand of the Philistines." David might have received the bridle of one cubit as a token of surrender, together with the "tribute." The Vulgate translated it: "David got the bridle of gift from the hand of Philistines." Jerome considered the "bridle" itself a gift.

There is no biblical support to interpret Methegh-ammah figuratively as the "control of the mother city" because *methegh* ("bridle") is not used figuratively anywhere else in the Bible, and *ammah* as the word for *›ēm,* "mother," is not used in the OT. It is a mere speculation based on a seemingly parallel text, "He took Gath and its towns from the hand of Philistines" (1 Chr 18:1), in which "Gath and its towns" corresponds to the methegh-ammah in 2 Sam 8:1. It is very difficult to consider that the Philistines had a capital or a centralized "mother city" because they had five cities under five rulers, but it is possible to consider Gath as the mother city for the surrounding towns. However, the question remains as to why the name of the mother city "Gath" was omitted in 2 Sam 8:1 even though there were four more mother cities besides Gath.

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**METHUSELAH** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕtûšelaḥ* (מְתוּשֶׁלַח)*; mĕtûšālaḥ* (מְתוּשָׁלַח)]. Son of Enoch when Enoch was 65 years old (Gen 5:21); and, at 187 years of age, father of Lamech (Gen 5:25). Methuselah lived 969 years (Gen 5:27), the longest life span of anyone mentioned in the Bible. The name Methuselah is composed of two elements. The first element reflects the West Semitic *mutu,* "man, husband." The second element, *šlḥ,* has been identified variously as a weapon, a canal, or a divine name (Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 131–32; Driver 1948: 77; 81). The association with a divine name is preferred on the basis of comparisons with early West Semitic names from Amarna (*mu-ut-ba-aḫ-l (ù)* EA 255, 3; *mu-ut-*$^{d}$*IM* EA 256, 2, 5) and Ugarit (*mu-ut-*$^{d}$*U PRU* 3: 205; RS 16.155.6; *PRU* 4: 234; RS 17.112.6; Sivan

1984: 250). The suggestion that the divine name be identified as Laḥ, with the antecedent relative pronoun *š* (Van Selms 1966: 318–26) is unlikely due to a lack of comparable structures (*mutu* + *ša* + divine name) attested elsewhere in personal names (see METHUSHAEL), and due to the name Shelah itself, which, if explained in the same way, would have no antecedent. On the other hand, a divine name based on the *šlḥ* root is plausible. Whether or not a Canaanite deity, Šalaḥ, was god of the infernal river (Tsevat 1954; Loretz 1975), and such a divine name may have formed part of the personal name Methuselah. The meaning of the name would then be, "man (i.e., devotee) of the deity Šalaḥ.[w] However, a problem with this interpretation is that such a deity is not attested outside of personal names.

Outliving his son Lamech by five years, Methuselah died in the 600th year of his grandson Noah, in the year of the Flood according to the chronology of Genesis 5–6. Beyond the general recognition that the lengths of life spans decline as the genealogy of Genesis 5 progresses, the significance of Methuselah's long life is disputed. The relationship of Methuselah to Methushael, the corresponding name in the Cainite genealogical list of Genesis 4, is not clear. The LXX renders both names *mathousala.* However, it is unnecessary to posit one original name preserved in two separate traditions. Comparable ANE antediluvian genealogies preserve similar-sounding names which are contemporary but distinct and are intended to reflect distinctly different individuals (Finkelstein 1963: 50; *GHBW*, 150–51). There was also significant embellishment on Methuselah in late Second Temple writings, notably in *1 Enoch*.

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**METHUSHAEL** (PERSON) [Heb *mĕtûšā᾽ēl* (מְתוּשָׁאֵל)]. Son of Mehujael and father of Lamech in the line of Cain (Gen 4:18). Comparisons with the genealogy of Seth in Genesis 5 have related Methushael with Methuselah (*GHBW*, 161–62). The difference between the names is limited to the final two consonants: *mtwš᾽l* vs. *mtwšlḥ*. The first element in the name Methushael reflects the West Semitic *mutu,* "man, husband." The remainder of the name may be composed either of the relative *š* followed by *᾽l,* "god"; or it may be made up of the single element, *š᾽l,* which could either be a form of the verb "to ask" or the proper name "Sheol" (Gabriel 1959: 414–15).

Therefore, the name could mean either "man of God," "man of the request (i.e., prayer)," or "man of Sheol." If the name is West Semitic, the first option is less likely due to the absence of such relative pronouns in personal names (Gray 1896: 164–65; Moran 1961: 61; 70 n. 76; Huffmon *APNM*, 265; Gelb 1980: 33). As for the second option, the use of *š᾽l* in a nominative form is also unusual in personal names. On the other hand, the use of a proper name in construct with a term such as "man" is paralleled in Methuselah and seems possible in this case, Sheol being understood as the name of a deity (Tsevat 1954: 45; *EncMiqr* 5: 643–44; *IDBSup*, 224; Gelb 1980: 26; 158–60). The name would then mean "man (i.e., devotee) of the god Sheol." Examples of *mutu* followed by a divine name occur in West Semitic personal names of the 2d millennium B.C. (Huffmon *APNM*, 234; Sivan 1984: 250), but not those of the 1st millennium. Although there are no other examples of personal names containing a divine name *š᾽l;* there are examples of underworld deities, such as Nergal, Reshef, and Mot (Tigay 1986: 66–67 n. 12), appearing in West Semitic personal names.

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**MEUNIM** [Heb *mĕʿûnîm* (מְעוּנִים)]. MEUNITES. The Hebrew Bible gives the impression that these are a Transjordanian and/or Arabian people (1 Chr 4:41; 2 Chr 26:7; Ezra 2:50 = Neh 7:52). However, the actual spellings of the name(s) in Hebrew suggest that the Bible may actually be referring to *two* peoples: those from Maʿin and those from Maʿon. The Kethib of 1 Chr 4:41 and Ezra 2:50 reads *mʿynym,* "Meinim" (although in both passages the Qere to be read is *mĕʿûnîm,* "Meunim"). The Kethib of 2 Chr 26:7 and Neh 7:52, on the other hand, is *mʿwnym,* "Meunim." However, the problem is compounded by the fact that the LXX renders all four of these citations as *Minaioi,* "Minaeans." Furthermore, the LXX reads *Minaioi* also in 2 Chr 20:1 and 26:8, where the Heb reads *ʿammônîm,* "Ammonites." Since the word "Ammonites" does not make sense in either of these passages, it can be assumed that—prior to a metathesis of the *mem* and the *ʿayin*—these passages also originally referred to *mʿwnym/mʿynym.* We cannot be certain how all of these biblical references should be distributed between these two peoples; however, on historical grounds (presented below) it is plausible to read *mĕʿînîm* ("people from Maʿin") in 1 Chr 4:41 and 2 Chr 26:7, 8; and to read *mĕʿûnîm* ("people from Maʿon") in Ezra 2:50 = Neh 7:52 and 2 Chr 20:1.

The **Meinim,** or Minaeans, were people associated with the S Arabian city-state *mʿn* (*Maʿîn, hence *mĕʿînîm*). These people gained control of the incense road around 400 B.C. and established trading colonies in the major cities in W Arabia and Egypt and in Mediterranean port cities like Sidon. Gaza became their most important colony city. According to Diod. Sic. 3.42.5 (quoting a source from the 3d century B.C.), the Minaeans brought incense to Petra. Both at Gaza and at Petra, the Minaeans are attested epigraphically (Knauf 1985: 116–17). The Minaeans cannot have been present at Gaza in the 5th century (when the incense trade still was controlled by the Sabeans); nor were they "Arabs" or "nomads" (*pace* Katzenstein 1989: 79).

The Minaean presence at Gaza (which may have lasted beyond the city's destruction by Alexander in 332 B.C.) and at Petra forms the historical background of 1 Chr 4:39–41 and 2 Chr 26:7–8. In general, the historical material in Chronicles (unparalleled in Samuel and Kings) reflects the conditions of the Chronicler's own time; i.e., the 4th and/or 3d centuries B.C. (Welten 1973: 195–200). According to 1 Chr 4:39–41, Simeonites moved to "the valley" (Heb *haggay*); i.e., Gaia/al-Jîʾ, the ancient name of Wâdî Mûsâ at the entrance of Petra, and exterminated the Meinim (Kethib) whom they encountered there. The dating of this "event" to the time of Hezekiah (4:41)—a time when the tribe of Simeon had ceased to exist for several centuries—serves as a cross-reference to 2 Chr 26:7–8. This latter text (in the) reports an action of Uzziah against the "Philistines, Arabs, and Meinim" resulting in a Minaean tribute to the Judean king which made his fame spread to Egypt. Demographically, this text actually presupposes the composition of Philistia's population in the *postexilic* period, and the Minaean trading network which included Egypt. The archaic terminology of the two biblical references conceals economic conflicts in late Persian and early Hellenistic Palestine expressed in the vocabulary of warfare and tribes looking for pasturage.

The **Meunim,** on the other hand, are the inhabitants of any one of several biblical places called Maon (Heb *māʿôn;* the shift of *ô* in a stressed syllable to *ū* in a pretonic syllable is a frequent feature in Hebrew). The original tradition underlying 2 Chronicles 20 centers around a local conflict in the area between Tekoa (v 20) and Engedi (v 2). The "Maon" in this vicinity is probably the Moabite Beth-Baal-Meon, today Mâʿîn (M.R. 219120). If its inhabitants were the Meunim (MT *mhʿmwnym;* LXX *Minaioi*) of 2 Chr 20:1, the neighboring Moabites and Ammonites could easily have been incorporated in the tradition. In the next stage of the tradition's growth, another Maon, present-day Maʿân (M.R. 220956), was regarded

as the place of the Meunim's origin, leading to the incorporation of "Edom" (v 2) and "the inhabitants of Seir" (vv 10; 22–23) in 2 Chronicles 20. The temple slaves mentioned in Ezra 2:50 (= Neh 7:52) could have come from either of the two Maons mentioned, or even from the third Maon in Judah (Josh 15:55; 1 Sam 25:2; 1 Chr 2:45), which by that time was controlled by the Idumeans. See also MAON.

Eph'al (1982: 219–20) and Borger and Tadmor (1982) prefer to read "Meunim" (rather than "Meinim"/Minaeans) also in 1 Chr 4:41 and 2 Chr 26:7–8. They identify the Meunim with the Mu'nayya that Tiglath-pileser III mentions in connection with the border region between Palestine and Egypt. The Assyrian reference seems to match the two biblical references both geographically and chronologically. It is, however, impossible to identify the Akkadian tribal name "Mu'naeans" (most probably from an ancient Arabic tribal name or personal name *Ma'n) with Heb *mĕ'ūnîm* (from Maon/Mā'ân; Knauf 1985: 114–15). It is equally impossible to date the two biblical references to the time of Uzziah/Hezekiah on demographic grounds (see above). The reason that 2 Chr 26:7–8 was (erroneously) attributed to Uzziah was because of his action against three Philistine cities (2 Chr 26:6), a note which belongs to the small amount of reliable historical information in Chronicles (Welten 1973: 153–63). The dating of 1 Chr 4:41 to Uzziah's successor Hezekiah can be explained as a cross-reference from this account on the Meinim to the other one, 2 Chr 26:7–8.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**MEVORAKH, TELL** (M.R. 143215). A small mound (Ar: Tell Mubarak) in the Sharon plain, on the S bank of Nahal Taninim.

The Institute of Archaeology of Hebrew University conducted four seasons of excavations during 1973–76. In the first season, a trial trench was dug at the W end of the N slope. The excavation area was greatly enlarged during the second and third seasons and extended to the center of the mound and the E side. During the fourth season, the center of the mound was excavated to virgin soil. By the end of the fourth season, the stratigraphy of the mound was clearly established.

The first settlement (stratum XV) was a rectangular fortress built of mud bricks; founded on the low natural hill in the MB I. In the next stratum (XIV), also dating to the MB I, the fortress was surrounded by many residential houses which covered the entire hill. These settlements were unwalled.

During the MB II (stratum XIII), the inhabitants constructed a *terre pisée* rampart, about 30 m square, which buried the previous fortress and buildings to a height of 3 m. The rampart had a steep outer face, and from its ridge at the edge of the mound it sloped downward toward the inside, thus creating a crater. The rampart was constructed of a hard-packed core covered with rather loose layers of sand brought from the surrounding hills. Within this was an aggregate of stone implements from earlier periods which included a few obsidian tools dating from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic. The inner slope of the rampart was strengthened by a series of stone supporting walls. Some residential rooms and a large kitchen had been built inside the crater for the use of the settlers—probably soldiers of a small unit stationed there—and their families. Several burial jars of infants were discovered beneath the floors of the structures.

In the third season of excavations, the N section in the *terre pisée* was deepened to examine more closely the form of the natural hill. It became clear that both the slope of the hill and the *terre pisée* rampart were very steep. The footings of both descended into a layer of black soil peculiar to the beds of rivers or marshes. It seems, therefore, that the N end of the MB II fortress was bounded by water. The E side of the fortress may have been fortified differently—perhaps with a brick wall now eroded—but this assumption must await further excavations.

After the destruction of this settlement, another was built on the same location in the MB III (stratum XII). It appears that this was also fortified, since its walls and rooms were constructed within the rampart. The stone supporting walls of the inner slope were again strengthened. The main difference between the latter two MB settlements is the burial methods. The infant burial jars of stratum XII had not been buried under the floors as had been done in stratum XIII, but the outer slopes of the ramparts. On some of these jars are Hyksos stamp impressions.

Stratum XI, the first settlement of the LB, included the remains of a large building which occupied the entire excavation area. See Fig. MEV.01. Its form, interior installations, and especially the finds leave no doubt that it should be understood as a sanctuary. The N side of the building leans against the inner side of the MB rampart (as at Hazor, area C). Almost all of the sanctuary hall, measuring 10 m by 5 m and oriented E–W, was cleared. The floor and walls were all coated with beaten lime plaster. In the NW corner stood a rectangular (1 m by 1.5 m) plastered platform (ca. 0.6 m high) with five steps leading up to it from the E. On the lime floor near the corner of the platform was the round imprint of a small (wooden?) column, which may have supported a canopy. A plastered bench ran along the W (short) end of the hall, and in front of it near the center of the room stood two plastered installations whose functions are still obscure. The long N wall was cleared along its whole length. Immediately to the E of the platform was a long, low plastered bench which reached the NE corner and then turned along the E wall. The bench thus extended more than 8 m. In the center of the hall stood a large round stone, which may have served as a column base. The floor of the sanctuary sloped toward the S where a drain running against another plastered bench was located. Because of the slope, the S wall was destroyed, except for a small section in the SW corner. The entrance to the sanctuary may have been in the S wall.

The sanctuary of stratum X consisted of the same building layout and orientation, but the platform and steps of the earlier period were enclosed and buried within two low walls which formed a new and higher platform (ca. 1 m high). The small finds preserved on this platform included two Mitannian-style cylinder seals, two faience disks, two cups (one of alabaster, the other of clay), a pair of bronze cymbals, a bronze knife, a javelin, and arrowheads. There were also many imported Cypriot vessels. Among the local ware of special interest were many jars, jugs, juglets, bowls, lamps, and, especially, decorated chalices and goblets. The only hint of the type of cult that practiced here was the discovery of a well-preserved bronze snake, about 20 cm long, which closely resembles the bronze snakes found in contemporary sanctuaries at Timna and Hazor.

The sanctuaries of both strata XI and X were bounded on the S and W by large stone-paved courtyards, the extent of which have not been determined. The sanctuary and its courtyards occupied almost the entire area of the LB site. The compound may therefore represent a wayside sanctuary, the first of its kind to be discovered in Israel.

Stratum IX, which consists of the remains of a large building with parts of two rooms and a stone pavement, stood over the remains of the earlier sanctuaries. The purpose and function of this LB building remain unclear.

The first stratum (VIII) of the Iron Age (IB) is represented by a rectangular platform which was filled to a height of about 1 m with homogeneous red-brick material. It was surrounded on the W, S, and E by a stone wall more than 1 m thick, while on the N it was set into the MB II rampart. This platform apparently served as the foundation of a building the remains of which are only scantily preserved on the N. The purpose of the Stratum VIII building is unknown, although from the foundation and few wall fragments that remain it appears to have been a large and important building. To the S of the platform, part of a courtyard was found with a floor of thick beaten lime.

Above the remains of the stratum VIII platform was a four-room house, also from the Iron Age IB (stratum VII), dated to the 10th century B.C. A large building was surrounded by a broad courtyard with a floor made of a thick layer of beaten lime, and the whole complex was encircled by a wall about 1-m thick. The pottery included local red hand-burnished ware and undecorated pottery, as well as imported Cypriot vessels, among them Cypro-Phoenician, Bichrome, and White Painted ware. This complex has been identified as either an administrative center or an official storehouse.

There are also three Persian phases. The lowest (stratum VI) is represented only by a series of deep pits filled with ashes, bones, and pottery, including Attic and Cypriot ware. On one of the local sherds found in a pit were rows of stamped rosettes much in the manner of the Judean stamps. In the second phase (stratum V), a building was found on the W part of the mound. In the upper phase of the Persian period (stratum IV), the entire mound was occupied by what seems to have been a single large building. Since the last two phases were encircled by a casemate wall, they may again be interpreted as an administrative center or large estate.

Above the Persians levels were some scattered walls, apparently belonging to the Hellenistic period (stratum III). Despite the many Roman and Byzantine finds collected on the mount (stratum II), it is clear that no structures from these periods were built on the summit. Instead, all building activity during these periods was limited to the surroundings, and a large wall, the purpose of which is not yet clear, was found at the base of the N side of the mound. Stratum I consisted of the entire surface of the site, which was densely covered by numerous graves of the Arab period. In one case, three superimposed graves were found. Most of them were normal cist graves, but two or three were unusual infant-jar burials.

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**MEZAHAB** (PERSON) [Heb *mê zāhāb* (מֵי זָהָב)]. The "father" (or "mother") of Matred, whose daughter Mehetabel married the "Edomite king" Hadad (II) (Gen 36:39; 1 Chr 1:50). See also MATRED; MEHETABEL; HADAD. *Mezahab,* which means "gold-water," is actually a place name rather than a personal name. As a personal name, Mezahab has a distant parallel in *Mâ› as-Samâ›,* a pre-Islamic Arab queen's name meaning "Water of Heaven" (Nöldeke 1879: 169, n. 4), which is, however, a *cognomen* rather than a personal name. In addition, the parallel would make Mezahab a female name, the mother of Matred, and the grandmother of Mehetabel. Such a genealogy appears to be unparalleled in the biblical world. However, women occupied more prominent positions among the ancient Arabs than they did among the Israelites (Knauf 1989: 24, n. 105), and the "Edomite kings" in Genesis 36 may have been Arab chieftains.

As a place name, Mezahab is Canaanite (or Ancient Aramaic). To call a native of Mezahab the "son" (preferable to the MT's "daughter"; see MATRED) of this place is in accordance with Hebrew usage (cf. the son of Jabesh, 1 Kgs 15:10). The place could have been situated anywhere in Edom, Palestine, or Arabia, even in Syria, if Lemaire's suggestion (1988) that the "Edomite king list" (Gen 36:31–39) actually is an Aramean king list of the 11th century B.C. holds true. Only Arabia is credited with having gold mines by ancient and medieval authors. The identification of Mezahab with DIZAHAB (Deut 1:1) can neither be substantiated nor rejected; in addition, Dizahab cannot be localized either.

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**MEZOBAITE** [Heb *mĕṣōbāyâ* (מְצֹבָיָה)]. An adjective used to describe Jaasiel, one of David's champions; it describes a select class of warriors directly attached to the king for special assignments, named in the list of 1 Chr 11:10–47 (v 47), a list which, up to v 41a, parallels that of 2 Sam 23:8–39. Jaasiel, "the Mezobaite" (RSV), is found among the sixteen persons mentioned in the portion of the list which is unique to Chronicles (vv 41b–47). Because this adjective occurs with the definite article but without the gentilic ending *î,* and because no such place as Mezobayah is known, it seems probable that the term has been corrupted in transmission. It has been suggested (see Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT,

103) that two readings have been conflated: *miṣṣōbāh* ("from Zobah") and *haṣṣōbātî* ("the Zobaite"). Zobah was an Aramean kingdom located between the Lebanon and Anti-lebanon, against which Saul had fought (1 Sam 14:47). Since one characteristic of this portion of the warrior list (vv 41b–47) is that all of the identifiable places from which these champions came are in the Transjordan (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 104), the suggested reading, "Jaasiel the Zobaite," seems appropriate.
RODNEY K. DUKE

**MIBHAR** (PERSON) [Heb *mibḥār* (מִבְחָר)]. In 1 Chr 11:38, Mibhar, son of Hagri, is listed as one of David's mighty men. In what should be the parallel passage, 2 Sam 23:36, there is a variant in the Hebrew, and the entire verse is divided differently. The passage in 1 Chr 11:38 reads, "Joel brother of Nathan; Mibhar son of Hagri," while 2 Sam 23:36 identifies the warriors as "Igal son of Nathan from Zobah; Bani the Gadite."

There is such a variety of ways in which the warriors are referred to in these sections that it is not possible to decide definitely which is the more original form. It is worth noting, however, that in the extended list of "the Thirty" (2 Sam 23:24b–39; 1 Chr 11:26–47), it is only at 1 Chr 11:38 where the relationship of "brother" occurs; the normal way of identifying the warriors is "son of" when any family relationship is mentioned. The anomaly in the case of "Joel brother of Nathan" makes it probable that it is the original reading here; otherwise, it is hard to see why the text would have been changed. In the Gk mss we find "son of" in mss B S $C^2$, while the rest of them follow the Masoretic Text.

On the other hand, for "Mibhar son of Hagri" in 1 Chr 11:38, 2 Sam 23:36 has "… from Zobah; Bani the Gadite," reflecting the Heb *miṣṣōbâ bānî hagadî.* The OG for Samuel, however, reads *massaba uios agērei,* suggesting that its vorlage was in basic agreement with the Hebrew text of 1 Chr 11:38. This is an indication that the text of the Chronicler represents the more original form for "Hagri" (Heb *ḥgry*) in comparison to "the Gadite" (Heb *hgdy*), as found in 2 Samuel.

In the light of these preferences for the readings found in 1 Chronicles, it is likely that "Mibhar son of Hagri" should be maintained as the preferred reading for 1 Chr 11:38.
STEPHEN PISANO

**MIBSAM** (PERSON) [Heb *mibśām* (מִבְשָׂם)]. 1. A son of Ishmael (Gen 25:13; 1 Chr 1:29).

2. A son of Shallum, son of Shaul, son of Simeon (1 Chr 4:25).

Since all the sons of Ishmael were ancient N Arabian tribes (see ISHMAELITES), and since Mibsam is followed by Mishma both in Gen 25:13 and in 1 Chr 1:29 and 1 Chr 4:25, the two "persons" may be interpreted as representations of the same Arabian tribe or clan. It is conceivable that this "tribe," together with his "brother" Mishma, came to be included in the genealogy of the Israelite tribe of Simeon in 1 Chronicles 4. From Genesis 34, it can be inferred that the tribe of Simeon, living in the central hill country, had disappeared at an early stage of Israel's prehistory. All references to Simeon in the Negeb are ancient constructs trying to tie the name of this tribe into the geography of the authors' world centuries after the tribe had become extinct (Mittmann 1977: 217–19). The authors of 1 Chronicles 4 frequently took recourse to the names of tribes and clans inhabiting the Negeb in their own days, including Arabian and Edomite/Idumean population groups (Eph‘al 1982: 199–200). See also EPHAH; MANAHATH (PERSON); MANAHATHITES.

The name is derived from Heb *bōśem,* Arabic *bašâm,* "balm." The tribe of Mibsam may well have been involved in the spice trade on the "incense road"; on the other hand, the name is attested as a personal name in Safaitic, and related names occur all over the Arabian peninsula (Knauf 1989: 68–69). See also BASEMATH.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**MIBZAR** (PERSON) [Heb *mibṣar* (מִבְצַר)]. One of the Edomite tribal chiefs (Gen 36:42; 1 Chr 1:53). The name means "fortified city, fortification," and MT *mibṣar* in Ps 108:11 [—Eng 108:10] should be emended to *māṣôr*, "entrenched, ramparted (city)," as in Ps 60:11 [—Eng 10:9]. Mibzar is one of the eleven names in the list of Edomite "tribal chiefs" (*ʾallūpîm*) in Gen 36:40–43, an addition probably originating with the P source. The name also recurs in 1 Chr 1:51b–54, an addition which represents a shortened version of Gen 36:40–43. Although some of the names cannot be classified with any certainty, Mibzar and Pinon are likely place names. See also PINON (PERSON). The original (?) place name of Mibzar was probably also used as an Edomite tribal name (and thereby worked its way into the OT genealogies of Edom as an eponymous ancestor). The place is attested in Greek (*Mazar/Mapsar/Mabsara*), Latin (*Mabsar*), Samaritan (*mābāṣer*), and Syrian (*Mabẓer*) and could be identical with the settlement (*Mabsara/Mabsar*) which lay in the vicinity of Petra (*Onomast.* 134.20–21; Hieronymus 125.17–18). It is uncertain if the name is retained in the Arabic (Wadi) Ṣabra SW of Petra.
ULRICH HÜBNER

**MICA** (PERSON) [Heb *mîkāʾ* (מִיכָא)]. Var. MICAH. 1. Also referred to as Micah (*mykh*), the son of Mephibosheth and grandson of Jonathan (2 Sam 9:12). The name may be an abbreviation of the name *mykyh*, meaning "Who is like Yahweh?" (Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* Century Bible, 180). Born to Mephibosheth after David announced his intention to care for Jonathan's descendants, Mica presumably shared a place at the king's table with his father. He is said to have had four sons, one of whom seems to have been the father of a line which remained influential down to the time of the Exile (1 Chr 8:34–35; 9:40–41; cf. Myers *1 Chronicles* 62). This seems to be in contradiction to 1 Chr 10:6, which states that Saul and his entire house perished at the hands of the Philistines. This apparent contradiction may be due to carelessness (Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 181), or it may be due to the use of archival material that has not been thoroughly integrated into the account (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 80; cf. Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 149–50). In any event, the Chronicler stresses not so much the extinction of the royal line as the influence of Saul's house as agents of divine rule (Coggins *Chronicles* CBC, 64; Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 149–50). Furthermore, scholars are widely agreed that chapter 10 is where the writer's real work begins (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 78–80).

2. A descendant of Asaph, the son of Zichri, a Levite and the father of Mattaniah, one of those who lived in postexilic Jerusalem (1 Chr 9:15). His name appears twice in parallels found in Nehemiah 11. In the first of these occurrences, he is again described as the father of Mattaniah (v 17), but in the second it is also noted that he was an ancestor of Uzzi, an overseer of the Levites in Jerusalem (v 22). In addition, the writer describes Mica as an ancestor of Zechariah, a trumpeter in the procession that celebrated the completion and dedication of the walls of Jerusalem (Neh 12:35).

3. A Levite and a signatory to the covenant established by Ezra (Neh 10:11).
FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**MICAH** (PERSON) [Heb *mîkâ* (מִיכָה); *mîkāʾ* (מִיכָא)]. Var. MICA. The name of nine men in the Hebrew Bible. Micah is a shortened form of such names as Micaiah, "who is like YH (WH)," and Michael, "who is like God," which express the notion of God's incomparability (Labuschagne 1966). The longer form of the name is very common in extrabiblical sources (Avigad 1986: 70–73; Shiloh 1986: 29; Tigay 1986: 56–57). The short form *mîkâ* is found once on a preexilic bulla (Avigad 1986: 41).

**1.** A resident of the hill country of Ephraim who set up a local shrine, according to Judges 17–18. His name varies between Micah (*mîkâ*) and Micayhu (*mîkāyhû*); such variation between the long and short forms of a single name is well attested (*TPNAH*, 150–53), though here it is possible that the variation in names reflects two sources that have been spliced together (Zevit 1983: 12). This Micah returns to his mother 1100 shekels of silver that he had stolen which his mother had sworn to make into a molten image; she uses 200 of them for that purpose (Judg 17:1–5). Originally, one of Micah's sons served as a

priest at the shrine set up for the image; he is later replaced by an itinerant Judean Levite (17:7–13), a descendant of Moses (18:30), who is eventually kidnapped along with the cult statue by the Danites (Judges 18). The story is intended to be an illustration of the principle, "In those days there was no king in Israel; each person did as he or she pleased" (Judg 17:6; cf. 18:1). It is a strong polemic against Northern worship, and fits the anti-Northern pro-Davidic ideology of the editor of Judges (Brettler 1989: 418–20). Due to the story's strong ideological interest, it is impossible to use it for reconstructing the period of Judges. It is possible that the name Micah was chosen for ironic purposes; the person whose name glorifies God, by suggesting His incomparability, is a thief who helped establish illegitimate worship of God.

**2.** Great-grandson of Saul. In 2 Sam 9:12, his name is spelled *mîkāʾ*, and his father is listed as Mephibosheth; in 1 Chr 8:34, 35, and 9:40, 41, his name is spelled *mîkâ*, and his father is Merib-baal (see *TPNAH*, 59). The genealogy found in Chronicles was preserved because of a continued belief in the legitimacy of the line of Saul. The short notice in 1 Sam 9:12, that "Mephibosheth had a young child and his name was Micah," is given for similar reasons: Mephiboshet would later be killed (2 Sam 21:8), and the line of Saul would continue through Micah. See also MICA.

**3.** Son of Imlah, an Israelite prophet during the time of Ahab and Jehoshaphat according to 1 Kings 22 (= 2 Chronicles 18). In both Kings and Chronicles, his name always appears as Micayhu (*mîkāyhû;* RSV Micaiah), with the exception of 2 Chr 18:14, where he is called Micah. Variations between the long and short forms of a single name are well attested in biblical literature (*TPNAH,* 150–53).

**4.** The father of one of the members of the delegation sent by King Josiah to the prophetess Huldah. In 2 Kgs 22:12, the member is called Achbor son of Micaiah, while in 2 Chr 34:20 he is called Abdon son of Micah. It is possible that the family of this Micah had an important role in the Judean court (Cogan and Tadmor *2 Kings* AB, 282–83).

**5.** A prophet; see MICAH, BOOK OF.

**6.** A descendant of Reuben according to the genealogy in 1 Chr 5:5. This genealogy lists the descendants of Joel, whose exact relationship to Reuben is not known. According to 5:6, Micah's great-grandson Beerah was exiled to Assyria by Tiglath-pileser III in the second half of the 8th century B.C.E. However, "son" in these genealogies often indicates a linear descendant rather than a "son" of the next generation, so it is difficult to date when this Micah lived. The presence of the potentially problematic name Baal within this genealogy (1 Chr 5:5) probably attests to its antiquity (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 85).

**7.** A Levite, father of one of the residents of Jerusalem, according to 1 Chr 9:15 and Neh 11:17. In 1 Chr 9:15, his name is spelled *mîkāʾ* (with final *ʾalep*), and in Neh 11:17 it is spelled *mîkâ* (with final *hê*). The development of the list in Nehemiah and the relationship between the similar lists in Nehemiah 11 and 1 Chronicles 9 are complex issues (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 344–50); however, the nonintegration of the temple functionaries into the Levites suggests a date for the section incorporating Micah of after the return to Zion and before the Chronicler (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 347; Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 326). Neh 11:22 names Uzi, a great-great-grandson of Micah (spelled *mîkāʾ*); this section is within an appendix which postdates the earlier part of the chapter (Williamson, 349; Blenkinsopp, 326).

**8.** A Levite, eldest son of Uziel. This Micah (*mîkâ*) is mentioned in 1 Chr 23:20, in the list of Levites whom David organized; and in 1 Chr 24:24 and 25, a chapter introduced by a reviser of Chronicles (Williamson, 163), as being among the Levites who are not part of the twenty-four watches. Since Micah, living in the period of David, is listed as the "son" of Uziel, Levi's grandson, "son" is being used to indicate a linear descendant. The lack of father-son relationship is further indicated by Exod 6:22, where Micah is not mentioned among Uziel's children. This process of telescoping—skipping several intermediate generations within linear genealogies—is common in genealogical thinking (Wilson 1977: 197).

**9.** One of the signatories of the compact (*ʾămānâ*) in the postexilic period according to Neh 10:12 (—Eng 10:11), where his name is spelled *mîkāʾ*. The authenticity of this list has been debated (Williamson,

325–29), and it probably is not a list of actual signatories, but a schematic list of people who are known as important from other lists (Williamson, 330). In this case, this Micah might be identified with the Micah known from Neh 11:17 and 22 (= Micah 7). This might be supported by the appearance of the name Hashabiah as a signatory alongside of Micah, since Hashabiah's name appears in Neh 11:22 as Micah's grandfather.

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**MICAH, BOOK OF.** "Micah of Moresheth prophesied in the days of Hezekiah." These words of Jeremiah (26:18), confirmed by elements in the book of Micah itself, contain practically all that we know of the life of the prophet Micah. Moresheth (probably the same as Moresheth-Gath of 1:14) was a small town in SW Judah, not yet positively identified by archaeologists. Micah was active in Judah from before the fall of Samaria (1:2–7) in 722 B.C.E.; he lived under Ahaz (735–715) and Hezekiah (715–687) and was thus a contemporary of Isaiah, and he experienced (apparently) the devastation brought on by Sennacherib's invasion of Judah in 701 B.C.E. The heading of the book (1:1) adds the name of King Jotham (742–735) in dating the prophet's ministry, but nothing in the book confirms so early an appearance.

Micah is grouped with other relatively brief prophetic books in the collection called the Twelve or the Minor Prophets. Among this group, Micah is sixth in the Hebrew canon and third in the Greek ordering (after Hosea and Amos). Both of these orderings were apparently intended to place Micah with contemporary books.

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A. The Contents and Outline of Micah
B. Modern Critical Study of Micah
    1. Literary Criticism of Micah
    2. Jeremiah 26 and Micah
    3. Micah 4 and Isaiah 2
    4. Redaction Criticism of Micah
    5. The Search for a Setting
C. The Text of Micah

———

**A. The Contents and Outline of Micah**

Like some other prophetic books, Micah is made up of short poems. Whether a given poem is clear and pungent, or obscure and puzzling, it tends to be self-contained. It does not necessarily follow from what goes before or lead into what comes after. There is little obvious architecture to the book. Some units seem to have been grouped together on a catchword principle (e.g., the repeated initial *ʾattâ* and *ʿattâ* in chaps. 4 and 5)—a most superficial organizing principle! Students may find profit in investigating works which discern a more evident plan in Micah (Renaud 1964; Willis 1969), but the following paragraphs are deliberately confined to a restatement of the content of the individual poems in sequence.

*The Heading* (1:1). In a form typical of prophetic books, an anonymous editor has supplied the name of the prophet, information about his time of activity, and an identification of his speech as the "word of Yahweh." It is noteworthy that "Samaria and Jerusalem" are given prominence as the foci of the prophet's attention, and that the editor knew at least a little about Micah independent of the words of the prophet, since the reference to Moresheth could not have been deduced from the book.

*Punishment for Samaria* (1:2–7). Drawing on ancient traditions for depicting a theophany, a striking self-manifestation of the deity (Jeremias 1965), the prophet depicts the impending coming of Yahweh to punish the idolatrous city. This is most likely an early (pre-722) poem, lightly contemporized at a later time by the addition of a reference to Judah and Jerusalem (1:5).

*A Transitional Lament* (1:8–9) depicting the prophet's own excessive grief at the calamity and leading to a new subject: the doom to come on Judah and Jerusalem.

*A Taunt or Lament over Judah* (1:10–16)—of extraordinary obscurity—describes the destruction of the lesser towns of Judah, either as already suffered or as to come, evidently in the invasion of Judah by Sennacherib (701 B.C.E.). In most cases the lines of the poem are constructed on the principle that the name of the town is predictive, through punning, of its fate. The puns cannot, of course, be reproduced in translation; the effect is as though one said: "Ashdod shall be ashes."

*Two Successive Doom-Speeches* (2:1–5; 6–11) introduce themes characteristic of the prophet Micah as a champion of the oppressed small landholder. These speeches warn of the impending elimination of those who accumulate land from the sacred community, and illustrate the persistence of the prophet in the face of opposition from the land-grabbers.

*The Divine Shepherd-King* is pictured in 2:12–13 as gathering and leading a dispersed people ("Jacob"). Though all agree that this hopeful passage is not connected to its immediate context, it is difficult to assign it to a specific date or occasion, whether in the time of Micah or later. A venerable exegetical tour de force would take this optimistic fragment to be a word of the false prophets who were Micah's opponents; and other lines in the book that are at odds with the generally gloomy context are read in the same way (see, e.g., van der Woude, *Micah* POuT).

The general condemnatory tone of Micah 2 is resumed and sharpened in the three sections that follow, which focus on the corrupt leaders of Judah.

*A Speech Against the Courts* (3:1–4) depicts the judges of the people as cannibals, devouring every last scrap of their victims.

*A Speech Against the Prophets* (3:5–8) depicts them as both pettily venal and blind, in contrast to the real prophet, Micah, who is power-filled and implacable.

*A Climactic Speech About Zion* (3:9–12) resumes the indictment of judges and prophets, adds a line against the priests, and culminates in the famous saying, "Zion shall be plowed as a field," remembered in Judah a century after Micah's time (Jer 26:18).

*The Coming Kingdom of God* (4:1–5), centered at the sacred mountain, Zion, is the theme of a poem that the book of Micah shares with Isaiah (2:2–4). With its themes of universal justice, peace, and security, it may be thought of as beginning a new, more hopeful section of the book, but it also continues earlier themes by means of sharp contrast.

The remainder of the chapter is made up of brief, sometimes enigmatic poems on aspects of a glorious future:

*The Kingdom of the Gathered Exiles* (4:6–7).

*Zion's Rule Restored* (4:8).

*Deliverance from Distress in Babylon* (4:9–10).

*The Threshing of the Enemies* (4:11–13).

*The Humiliation of the King* (4:14). This seems to be a mere fragment, but it serves to introduce the theme of the royal Messiah, which is expanded in the following poem.

*The Return of the Great Ruler from Bethlehem* (5:1–4) is foretold in one of the book's most famous and influential passages, especially among Christian interpreters (cf. Matt 2:6; John 7:40–43). He is to reunite the people and bring peace.

Aspects of this promised peace are depicted in the next three oracles:

*Assyria Eliminated* (5:4–5).

*The Irresistible Might of Jacob* (5:6–8).

*The Purified Nation* (5:9–14). Alien elements that offend Yahweh—chariots, cities, divination, idols—will be removed, and the people's triumph over their enemies will follow.

*A Covenant Lawsuit* (6:1–8) follows, that is, a poem that represents God as indicting his people for breach of covenant. This suit is presented before the primordial witnesses to the agreement, the mountains, and includes a recital of the "saving acts of Yahweh," his actions in their early history. The extravagant offer of heightened sacrificial performance by the people is countered by a demand that they do justice, love kindness, and walk humbly with their God.

The two succeeding poems reintroduce the note of sharp social protest characteristic of earlier portions of Micah.

*The City as a Cheat* (6:9–16) announces appropriate curses on an unnamed city (Jerusalem? Samaria?) for its dishonest practices in trade.

*A Disintegrated Society* (7:17) gives a grim picture of where dishonesty and rapacity have gone so far that one cannot trust the most intimate of human relations: friend, lover, wife, father, child, master.

*A Prophetic Liturgy* (7:8–20) has been known by this designation since the influential study of H. Gunkel (1924). It is a "liturgy" because there is an alternation of speakers, a combination of themes, and a progression in mood. After the suffering people profess their continued confidence in God, a prophet announces that a great time is coming when the land will be enlarged and the people reunited. After a prayer by the people that God would "shepherd" them as in days of old, the liturgy closes with a pious acknowledgment of the greatness of God, manifested chiefly in his mercy and kindness.

**B. Modern Critical Study of Micah**

**1. Literary Criticism of Micah.** Like other prophetic books, Micah has been subjected to "literary criticism," that is, scholarly scrutiny concerned with the authorship and date of its various components. Ewald (1867) and especially Stade (1881; 1883; 1884; 1903) distinguished genuine from inauthentic and late elements in the book, using arguments that have seemed persuasive to most, and have remained decisive for much subsequent study.

Only chaps. 1–3 are the genuine words of Micah, and from these 2:12–13 must be subtracted as intrusive in its context. The hopeful material of the rest of the book contradicts chaps. 1–3 and must be discounted, especially in view of Jer 26:18, which knows Micah only as a prophet of doom. Some of the material, such as the liturgy of chap. 7, presupposes a different historical situation than that of the 8th-century prophet Micah. (Given the restricted compass of Micah, or the individual poems in the book, the study of vocabulary and style has had little place in these literary-critical arguments.)

**2. Jeremiah 26 and Micah.** The citation of Micah by the elders of Judah, in Jeremiah's defense (Jer 26:18), is practically unique in OT literature and is rightly scrutinized for what it may tell of the nature of Micah's message and its effect. The context of Jeremiah 26, however, shows that the citation seems to be from a narrative, otherwise unknown to us, of a confrontation between Micah and King Hezekiah, and that in that context Micah's words about the destruction of Jerusalem were taken as a conditional prophecy, averted by the king's repentance. In literary criticism of Micah, then, it is illegitimate to use the Jeremiah passage to limit Micah's message to unrelieved doom.

**3. Micah 4 and Isaiah 2.** Micah 4:1–4 is the same as Isaiah 2:2–4, the only substantial difference being the addition in Micah of the line beginning: "But they shall sit every man under his vine." Every possible explanation for this circumstance has been defended by scholars at some time (see Wildberger 1972: 74–90), including arguments that the passage is really by Isaiah, or by Micah, or by neither. It seems unlikely that even further study and argument will produce a consensus. On the other hand, as a foil to Micah's bleak picture of the present, corrupt Zion (chap. 3), this picture of a purified, exalted holy city is not fundamentally out of harmony with the other elements in the book of Micah.

**4. Redaction Criticism of Micah.** Early literary criticism of Micah resulted in the identification of a small core of authentic material, and thereby raised the question of the origin and purpose of the rest of the material in the book, the "inauthentic" material being more abundant than the authentic. More recent 20th-century criticism has sought to restore a kind of unity to the book of Micah by picturing it as the result of a process of growth over time: the original core of the book was expanded in processes of comment or exegesis, and worship, as it was fitted for liturgical use by a community which both cherished and changed the original prophetic message. Examples of this kind of treatment of Micah may be studied

in the works of Mays (*Micah* OTL), Willi-Plein (1971), van der Woude (*Micah* POuT), Renaud (1977), and Wolff (*Micah* BKAT). The sheer number of scholars who have attempted this kind of interpretation demonstrates its appeal, but the very pronounced lack of agreement among them shows how speculative it is.

**5. The Search for a Setting.** A different sort of attempt to rescue Micah from fragmentation and incoherence is presented in the commentary by Hillers (*Micah* Hermeneia). It proceeds from a comparison of the prophet's situation, and his reaction to it, to a recurring phenomenon in the history of religions: movements of revitalization, or "millennial" movements. Commonly, such movements arise when a people are deprived economically, and experience defection by those in temporal and spiritual authority. It is possible to see such factors present in Micah's Judah, following on the political and economic disruption caused by the fall of Samaria and the Assyrian pressure. Evidence of this is found both in extrabiblical records and in the book itself. Reactions to these depressing conditions, attested in the book of Micah and paralleled in movements of revitalization, include (aside from outbursts of protest) nativism, that is, a cutting off of foreign elements (5:10–15); belief in a "time of troubles" preceding a future reversal (5:3); belief in an impending reversal of social classes and the triumph of the pariahs (4:6–7); belief in a coming righteous ruler (5:1–6); and prediction of a new age (chaps, 4, 5). This hypothesis permits one to see many of the disparate elements in Micah as united by the common psychological or social situation from which they arise. Here and there, later ages have made changes or insertions (e.g., in the "Babylon" of 4:10), but more of the book may be thought to have originated in the 8th century than is commonly believed.

## C. The Text of Micah

The Hebrew text of Micah is badly preserved, among the worst in the Bible in this respect. Although many passages present no textual difficulties or only trifling problems, others are badly, perhaps hopelessly, corrupt, a notorious case being the punning poem on Judean towns (1:10–16). Students of the book are compelled to turn for help to the ancient translations, such as the Greek (LXX) and Syriac, or to resort to conjecture to arrive at a text that makes sense.

New resources for reconstructing the text of Micah include several Hebrew manuscripts from among the "Dead Sea Scrolls." 1QpMi (IQ14) is a fragment of a commentary on Micah (Milik 1952; DJD 1: 77–80; cf. Horgan 1979; Carmignac 1962), and 4QpMi (4Q168) is an even shorter commentary or text of Micah (DJD 5: 36). Mur 88 (DJD 2: 181–205) is a long roll containing most of the Minor Prophets, but the text is so close to the traditional MT that it is of little if any use in correcting its deficiencies.

A notable addition to resources for reconstructing the history of the Greek version of the Minor Prophets is a text from the 1st century C.E. published by Barthelemy (1953; 1963). Evidence from this new source can now be used to supplement the LXX edition of Ziegler (1967).

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**MICAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *mîkāyâ* (מִיכָיְהוּ)*; mikayhû*]. **1.** Mother of Abijah, king of Judah (2 Chr 13:2). Micaiah's name appears solely in the Chronicler's regnal formula for Abijah, where she is identified as the "daughter of Uriel of Gibeah." Her name and parentage are problematic. In the parallel passage in 1 Kgs 15:2, the king's mother is "Maacah, daughter of Abishalom." Furthermore, in 2 Chr 11:20 (a list of Rehoboam's wives and offspring) she is referred to as "Maacah, the daughter of Absalom." Thus, while 2 Chr 11:2 refers to her as "Micaiah, daughter of Uriel," both 1 Kgs 15:2 and 2 Chr 11:20 identify Abijah's mother as "Maacah daughter of Abishalom/Absalom." For a complete discussion of this problem, see MAACAH (PERSON); see also QUEEN.

**2.** Prince during the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 17:7). Micaiah is the fifth and last prince mentioned in a list of princes, Levites, and priests sent by Jehoshaphat on a teaching mission throughout Judah (17:7–9). This incident is unique to the Chronicler's treatment of Jehoshaphat and is sometimes viewed as a doublet of 2 Chr 19:4–11.

**3.** Son of Imlah, and the Israelite prophet who appears in the narrative describing oracular inquiries made by the kings of Israel and Judah (1 Kgs 22:4–28 = 2 Chr 18:3–27). Ahab suggests an alliance with Jehoshaphat aimed at recapturing Ramoth-gilead from the Syrians (1 Kgs 22:3–4). Jehoshaphat agrees but insists Ahab first seek oracular guidance from the prophets of the Lord (v 5). Gathering about 400 prophets. Ahab inquires whether or not to engage the Syrians in battle (v 6). Their advice is unanimous—the Lord will deliver Syria into their hands. Jehoshaphat, however, asks if there are any other prophets Ahab can consult (v 7). Ahab admits there is one prophet left—Micaiah—but grudgingly insists Micaiah never prophecies anything good where Ahab is concerned (v 8). At Jehoshaphat's insistence, Ahab sends for Micaiah (v 9). While Micaiah is being summoned, Zedekiah, son of Chenaanah, appears before the kings. By symbolic action and oracle, Zedekiah predicts Syria's defeat (vv 11–12). When Micaiah is brought before Ahab and Jehoshaphat, he initially agrees with Zedekiah. When pressed, however, Micaiah relates visions which predict the death of Ahab (v 17) and explain why the other prophets promise victory. He says that Yahweh, seeking to entice Ahab into battling the Syrians, sent a lying spirit to the prophets (vv 19–23). Upon revealing this vision, Micaiah is struck by Zedekiah (v 24) and imprisoned by Ahab (vv 26–28).

Questions have been raised concerning the historical scenario presented in 1 Kings 22. See AHAB. De Vries (*1 Kings* WBC, 265–66) separates the story into two narratives, one reflecting the conditions found in the reigns of Joram and Ahaziah (Narrative A) and the other dating 100 years later in the reign of Hezekiah (Narrative B). Miller suggests that the account originally consisted of a battle report reflecting the reign of Jehoahaz. Later, it was expanded to include the prophets and was associated with Ahab and Jehoshaphat (*HAIJ*, 253; 299–302). Both scholars assume extensive literary activity behind 1 Kings 22, which makes the chapter difficult to use for historical reconstruction.

**4.** A Levite (Neh 11:17, 22; 12:35). His father's name is problematic, being either Zabdi (Neh 11:17) or Zaccur (12:35). Micaiah's name occurs solely in the genealogies of his descendants, where he is identified as (1) the father of Mattaniah, a Levite living in Jerusalem (11:27); (2) the great-great-grandfather of Uzzi, overseer of the Levites in Jerusalem (11:22); and (3) the great-great-grandfather of Zachariah, a trumpeter (12:35).

**5.** Priest during the time of Nehemiah (Neh 12:41). Micaiah's name appears fourth in a list of seven priests with trumpets. They formed part of the crowd that, along with Nehemiah, was present at the rededication of Jerusalem's walls.

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**6.** The father of Achbor (2 Kgs 22:12) and probably the grandfather of Elnathan ben Achbor. Achbor was one of the men sent by Josiah (ca. 621 B.C.E.) to consult Huldah, the prophetess, about the newly discovered book of the law. The Chronicler's parallel account mentions "Abdon the son of Micah" instead of "Achbor the son of Micaiah" (2 Chr 34:20). See ACHBOR. Elnathan ben Achbor was the royal official sent by Jehoiakim (ca. 609 B.C.E.) to extradite Uriah, the prophet, from Egypt (Jer 26:22). See ELNATHAN. This Micaiah would have been at least 50 years of age at the time his son Achbor was sent to Huldah, and at least in his late 60s when (his grandson?) Elnathan was sent to Egypt. Thus, there is some question about whether this Micaiah (Heb *mîkayāh*), whose father is not named, is the same as Micaiah (Heb *mikayhû*), the son of Gemariah, who was politically active as late as 605 B.C.E. (see #7 below).

**7.** The son of Gemariah and grandson of Shaphan, and a (older?) contemporary of the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 36:11–13). It was this Micaiah (Heb *mikayhû*) who in 605 B.C.E. first reported to the Judean princes the words that Baruch read from Jeremiah's scroll.

Can this Micaiah be equated with the father of Achbor (see #6 above)? The difference in the spelling of the names can be explained simply as an alternate usage of long and short forms of the theophoric element Heb *-yāh* or *-yahû*. Some scholars suggest that the narratives mentioning the two Micaiahs (2 Kgs 22:3–23:24 and Jeremiah 36) are related and must be read as a unit (Carroll, *Jeremiah* OTL, 663; Thompson, *Jeremiah* NICOT, 628). Assuming that 2 Kings was available to the writer of Jeremiah 36, the name "Achbor" provides a literary link which helps to contrast the responses of the two kings when presented with a scroll (Isbell 1978; Nicholson 1970: 43). Similarly, Jeremiah 26 and 36 share key words and are also sequentially linked, like a short story (see Kessler 1966; Lohfink 1978).

When considered together, however, these three texts present problematic genealogical data. In 2 Kings 22 and its parallel in 1 Chronicles 34 (set in 621 B.C.E.), Shaphan the secretary and Ahikam ben Shaphan are listed as contemporaries of Micaiah's son Achbor. In Jeremiah 26 and 36 (set 13 and 17 years later, respectively), the contemporaries of Achbor's son Elnathan are listed as the familiar Ahikam ben Shaphan and also Micaiah ben Gemariah ben Shaphan and Gemariah ben Shaphan. If this Micaiah ben Gemariah is the same as the father of Achbor (see #6 above), then four generations of Micaiah's family could simultaneously have been politically involved when Jeremiah's scroll was read and later presented to King Jehoiakim: his grandson Elnathan, his son Achbor (not mentioned as being present in Jeremiah 36), Micaiah himself, and his father Gemariah. The absence of Achbor and the listing of Elnathan before his supposed great-grandfather in Jer 36:11 and 25 represent political and genealogical problems which are compounded even more if this Elnathan is identified as the father-in-law of Jehoiachim (2 Kgs 24:8). See ELNATHAN. This Elnathan would have been at least in his late 40s when Jeremiah's scroll was read, Micaiah would have been in his late 80s, and Gemariah would have been politically active at over 100 years of age. Overall, these genealogical data support the conclusion that Micaiah, the son of Gemariah, and Micaiah, the father of Achbor, were two distinct individuals.

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**MICHAEL** (ANGEL) [Heb *mîkāʾēl* (מִיכָאֵל)]. In the elaborate angelology that emerged in Judaism during the Hellenistic period, Michael is a prince (*śar;* Dan 10:13, 21) or archangel (*archangelos;* Jude 9; *1 En.* 20:1–7; 71:3; *2 En.* 22:6 [A]; *4 Bar.* 9:5). His name means "Who is like God?" He frequently plays

a role in late Jewish and Christian literature, but is mentioned in Scripture only in Dan 10:13, 21; 12:1; Jude 9; and Rev 12:7 (cf. 1 Thess 4:16).

Michael, along with Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel, is one of the four archangels present before the throne of God (*1 En.* 9:1; 40; 54:6; 71:8–9, 13; cf. *1 En.* 87:2; 88:1; 1QM 9:14–15) and of a larger group of archangels numbering seven (*1 En.* 20:1–7; Tob 12:15; cf. *1 En.* 81:5; 90:21–22; Rev 8:2). He is often represented as the leader of the archangels (*Ascen. Isa.* 3:16).

In his capacity as archangel, Michael has several roles. He is first of all the patron angel of Israel (Dan 10:23; 12:1; *1 En.* 20:5; 1QM 17:6–8; cf. *T. Mos.* 10:2). In this capacity he fights for Israel against the rival angels of the Persians (Dan 10:13–14, 20–21) and will deliver Israel from the tribulation of its enemies in the last days (Dan 12:1; cf. Rev 12:7–9; *T. Levi* 5:5–6). He is the champion of Israel against the forces of Edom (i.e., Rome; *Exod. Rab.* 18:5), and his name is emblazoned on one of the four towers used in the holy war against the Kittim (i.e., Romans; 1QM 9:14–15). In this bellicose capacity, Michael is called an archistratig or chief captain (*2 En.* 22:6 [J]; 33:10).

Michael is also an intercessor for Israel before God (Tob 12:15; cf. *T. Dan* 6:2; *T. Levi* 5:5–6) as well as for the entire world (*1 Enoch* 9; *Ascen. Isa.* 9:23 [Latin]). In relation to this role, he is described as merciful (*1 En.* 20:5; 40:9; 68; cf. 71:3) and righteous (*4 Bar.* 9:5; cf. *1 En.* 71:3), and as opening the gates of heaven for the righteous (*4 Bar.* 9:5). He is the guardian of the soul of Abraham (*T. Abr.* 19:4) and contended with Satan for the body of Moses (Jude 9). This latter story is probably derived from the lost ending of the *T. Mos.* (so Origen *princ.* 3.2.1) and dealt with Satan's claim that Moses did not deserve an honorable burial because he had murdered the Egyptian (Exod 2:12). In tradition, Michael does bury Moses (*Tg. Ps.–J.* on Deut 34:6).

Keeping the heavenly books is also attributed to Michael. The reference in Dan 12:1 to Michael defending those of Israel whose names are found "written in a book" led to the notion that Michael himself was the recording angel (cf. *Ascen. Isa.* 9:19–23 [Latin]). He was the intermediary between God and Moses when the Law was delivered to Moses (Gk *Apoc. Mos.* 1; cf. *Jub.* 1:27–2:1; Acts 7:38, 53) and puts the Law in the hearts of believers (*Herm. Sim.* 8.3.3). He is also the guardian of the secrets by which heaven and earth are established (cf. *1 En.* 60:11–25).

Michael is the leader of the angels that cause Satan to fall from heaven (Rev 12:7–9), and he will be one of the four archangels who bind the armies of Satan and throw them into the furnace (*1 En.* 54:6). He may be the archangel that announces the Parousia (1 Thess 4:16).

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**MICHAEL** (PERSON) [Heb *mîkāʾēl* (מִיכָאֵל)]. "Michael" appears to be a popular Judean name in the Persian period. The name possibly originated during the Exile in Babylon (see #1 and 10 below), and the Chronicler drew upon it to complete artificial genealogies, particularly those related to the tribe of Issachar (see #5 and 8 below). Interestingly, the name became less prominent once it was associated with a heavenly being in the Hellenistic period (see MICHAEL [ANGEL]) and only returned to prominence after the rise of Christianity.

**1.** The father of Sethur, the Asherite representative sent by Moses into Canaan to spy out the land (Num 13:13). This Michael appears in a list (Num 13:4–15) commonly ascribed to the Priestly writer. The historical provenance of the list is difficult to discern, as it contains both early and late onomastic evidence. Michael, however, seems to represent a later strand of onomastic development within the list, as the name arises in conjunction with other names with the theophoric *ʾēl* (see Gray *Numbers* ICC, 135–

36). Michael may then represent a name generated from the Priestly writer's own era that was used to supplement an earlier list.

**2.** According to the Chronicler, a member of the Transjordanian tribe of Gad during the reigns of Jotham and Jeroboam II (1 Chr 5:13). The nature of the list in which Michael appears remains unclear. While some data indicate that the Chronicler used a nonbiblical source in 1 Chr 5:11–17 (see Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 64–65), the presence of the Chronicler's style and of the name "Meshullam," a prominent postexilic name, suggests that the Chronicler composed the genealogy artificially or at least supplemented an earlier list with names from his own era.

**3.** A Gadite, the son of Jeshishai and the father of Gilead (1 Chr 5:14). Michael here appears as a forefather of the Gadite of the same name mentioned in 1 Chr 5:13. Textual problems in 1 Chr 5:14–15 complicate further the obscure origin of the section (see also #2 above).

**4.** According to the Chronicler, the great-grandfather of Asaph, the levitical singer (1 Chr 6:25—Eng6:40). The only context in which Michael appears within a levitical genealogy is in 1 Chronicles 6, a fact made conspicuous by his absence in the related levitical genealogy of 1 Chr 6:1–15—Eng6:16–30). Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 134–36) have plausibly conjectured that the Chronicler expanded the genealogy of 1 Chr 6:1–15—Eng6:16–30 with common names from his era, such as Michael, in order to make Asaph contemporaneous with David. The Chronicler thereby harmonized his genealogical records with his historical narrative.

**5.** According to the Chronicler, a military leader, the son of Izrahiah, from the tribe of Issachar during the reign of David (1 Chr 7:3). The dependence of 1 Chr 7:1 upon Numbers 26 and Judg 10:1 (see Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 144–45), its style, and the lateness of the names of Michael's immediate kin suggest that the Chronicler has artificially constructed this genealogy from common names from his own era. Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 64) plausibly conjectured that "sons of Izrahiah" (v 3a) may have appeared in the text as a result of dittography. If so, the text originally portrayed Michael as one of the five sons of Uzzi, the brother of Izrahiah, rather than his son.

**6.** A Benjaminite inhabitant of Jerusalem, the son of Beriah (1 Chr 8:16). For further discussion, see JAKIM.

**7.** A military leader of the Mannassites who deserted to David at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:20). For further discussion, see JERIMOTH #4.

**8.** The father of Omri, the administrator of the tribe of Issachar during the reign of David (1 Chr 27:18). The inclusion of both the sons of Levi and the sons of Aaron in the twelve-tribe structure of Israel reveals the late, artificial nature of the list of the princes of Israel in 1 Chr 27:16–22. The Chronicler has utilized the name "Michael," already identified with the tribe of Issachar (see #5 above), to create anachronistically an administrative structure during the reign of David. It may even be possible that the Chronicler meant for the reader to equate "Michael, the son of Izrahiah" of 1 Chr 7:3 with "Michael, the father of Omri" of 1 Chr 27:18.

**9.** According to 2 Chronicles, a son of Jehoshaphat and a brother of Jehoram (2 Chr 21:2). 2 Chr 21:2–4 alone describes the misfortune of Michael, along with his brothers Azariah, Jehiel, Zechariah, and Shephatiah. Michael and his brothers receive wealth and their own fortified cities from their father (2 Chr 21:3a). Their fortune, however, is short-lived. Following Jehoshaphat's death, firstborn son and heir designate Jehoram purges his kingdom of all potential rivals to the throne, including Michael and his brothers. While some commentators believe that the Chronicler here preserves an authentic preexilic source (see Myers *2 Chronicles* 120), the style, themes, and commonality of names in Chronicles and the postexilic period suggest that the Chronicler has created the passage for his narrative purpose. The Chronicler most likely anachronistically retrojected the postexilic name "Michael" into the time of the divided kingdom for this purpose.

**10.** A 5th-century B.C.E. Diaspora Judean in Babylon whose son, Zebadiah, led eighty kinsmen back to Judea from Babylon with Ezra (Ezra 8:8). However, the parallel account in 1 Esdr 8:34 identifies Michael as the father of Zeraiah, the leader of seventy men. Michael was from the family of Shephatiah, a family

involved in the first repatriation of Judah under Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:4). For further discussion, see GERSHOM. The family does not appear again in the reforms of Ezra or Nehemiah.
JOHN W. WRIGHT

**MICHAL** (PERSON) [Heb *mîkal* (מִיכַל)]. The younger daughter of Saul, king of Israel (1 Sam 14:49), and the wife, first of David (1 Sam 18:27), then of Palti/Paltiel (1 Sam 25:44; 2 Sam 3:15–17), and then finally again of David (1 Sam 3:15–17). Michal is introduced in a genealogical note concerning Saul (1 Sam 14:49–52). Appearing fifth and last in a list of Saul's offspring (v 49), she is preceded by her three brothers (Jonathan, Ishvi, and Malchishua) and an older sister (Merab). In the narrative, Michal loves David, a fact which pleases her father Saul (1 Sam 18:20). Once again (cf. 1 Sam 18:17–19) Saul promises his daughter to David. For the bride-price of a hundred Philistine foreskins, David can become son-in-law to the king (vv 21–27). Although Saul explains the bride-price in terms of revenge against his enemies (v 25), the narrator imputes a more nefarious reason for Saul's request: by sending David against the Philistines, Saul hopes he will be killed (vv 21; 25). Saul's plan fails, however, and David returns with the foreskins to claim his promised wife, Michal (v 27). The narrative concludes with a David whom Saul fears and hates (v 29), but whom both Yahweh and Michal (or Israel, Gk) love (v 28).

Saul's hatred of David is the backdrop to 1 Sam 19:11–17. Knowing her father's plan to kill David, Michal warns him and helps him escape. She lowers David through the window (v 12), makes the bed look as if he is still in it (v 13), and twice lies to Saul—first saying David is sick (v 14) and then insisting that David threatened her into helping him (v 17). Nothing more is heard of Michal until the brief note in 1 Sam 25:44: following David's marriage to Abigail (v 42) and Ahinoam (v 43), the narrator notes that Saul gave Michal, "his daughter" and "David's wife," to Palti, son of Laish from Gallim.

Saul's reported actions in 1 Sam 25:44 are the source of David's request in 2 Sam 3:12–16. Approached by Abner concerning an alliance, David stipulates that Michal must be returned before negotiations can commence (vv 12–13). This request is formalized by a message to Ishbosheth, Saul's son, demanding her return (v 14). In a highly dramatic scene, Ishbosheth takes Michal from her new husband and returns her to David (vv 15–16).

The final narrative concerning Michal is found in 2 Sam 6:16–23, the entry of the Ark into Jerusalem. Looking out the window, Michal, "the daughter of Saul," sees David dancing before the incoming Ark and despises him (v 16). After criticizing David for his behavior, Michal herself is rebuked (vv 20–22). Following this harsh interchange, the narrator notes that Michal, "the daughter of Saul," remained childless until her death (v 23).

(The reference to Michal, wife of Adriel, and her five sons in 2 Sam 21:8 is probably a scribal error and should read "Merab" [cf. RSV].)

Historians have puzzled over why Saul would offer one of his daughters to David, a supposed rival. Either Saul, as the text suggests, never intended the marriage to take place (assuming David would be killed by the Philistines) or else the time frame in 1 Sam 18:20–28 must be questioned. Two suggestions are to place the marriage before David's relationship to Saul deteriorated (Ishida 1977: 22) or to place it after Saul's death—cf. 1 Sam 3:12–13 (*NHI*, 184–86).

What was the political significance of David's marriage to Michal? Morgenstern (1929) identifies the marriage as a "*beena*-marriage," by which succession to the throne passed through the distaff side of the family. If this were so, then David's marriage to Michal constituted a legal right to Saul's throne. Morgenstern's argument, however, assumes a matriarchate in Israel—an assumption for which there is little evidence. It is more likely that David married Michal to gain a toehold in Saul's house. Since David's power base was in the south, he needed Michal to attract the pro-Saulide population and establish a claim to Saul's throne.

More recent treatments of Michal's marriage to David focus on the literary artistry of the story (see especially Alter 1981: 118–26; Fokkelman 1986: 209–47). See also QUEEN.

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**MICHAL, TEL** (M.R. 131174). A site located on a *kurkar* (sandstone) cliff overlooking the Mediterranean about 6.5 km N of the Yarkon River estuary. Ancient remains are spread over five separate locations: the high tell (0.3 hectares), rising 30 m above sea level, the slightly lower N hill (about 4 hectares), and three hillocks 200 m to the E. The region was never suitable for dry farming because of the infertility of the sandy soil and poor drainage conditions. Some sustenance was certainly afforded by fishing, horticulture (grapes and figs), and hunting, but the main economic basis was apparently outside support by central political authorities and a coastal maritime trade. An underwater *kurkar* ridge at the foot of the tell may have provided a safe channel for the anchoring of small ships.

The ancient name of the site is unknown, although in the 1920s the local inhabitants referred to the immediate vicinity as "Dahrat Makmish." The official name is now Tel Michal (or Tel Mikhal).

Between 1958 and 1960, N. Avigad excavated the NE hillock, where he uncovered three superimposed cultic structures dating to the Iron Age, Persian, and Hellenistic periods. Large-scale excavations, directed by Z. Herzog, J. D. Muhly, and G. Rapp, Jr., were conducted between 1977 and 1980.

The first settlement at Tel Michal was erected on the high tell in the MB III (Stratum XVII, late 17th century B.C.), at the time that the Fifteenth (Hyksos) Dynasty was expanding from Lower Egypt along the coastal plain of S Canaan. The newcomers constructed an earthen platform, 4 m high, on which to erect their buildings. Little of this phase survived, since most of the W, seaward side of the original mound was destroyed either by wave abrasion or tectonic shocks. A second such catastrophe occurred at the end of LB I (Stratum XVI, mid-15th century). To compensate for the missing portion of the mound, huge earthworks were constructed against the E slope after each disaster, thereby increasing its width by about 30 m. A thick wall of Stratum XVI at the N end of the mound may have been part of a fort guarding the coastal approach.

The third phase, LB IIA (Stratum XV, 14th–13th centuries), left few remains, since the Iron Age builders leveled off the old ruins and dumped the debris down the slopes. A great amount of LB pottery, including a rare assemblage of decorated kraters, was found scattered on the S slope.

The tell remained abandoned for about 300 years and was resettled only in the 10th century B.C., when the three E hillocks were occupied for the first time. There were two phases of private dwellings (Strata XIV–XIII) on the high tell. An open high place was built on the NE hillock, a chapel with a stone-built altar, surrounded by *favissae,* on the E hillock, and two bench-lined structures on the SE hillock. Two winepresses were found nearby. This phase corresponds with Phoenician colonization of the central coast of Israel during the period of prosperous commercial relations between Tyre and the United Kingdom (1 Kings 9). A few meager remains in Stratum XII hint at limited occupation in the 8th century B.C.

Toward the end of the 6th century, Tel Michal entered into a long period of prosperity. Six phases of Persian-period settlement were recorded on the high tell (Strata XI–VI, ca. 525–300 B.C.). A large fort or administrative building stood at its N end, and several dwellings stood to its S. A storeroom for wine containing more than twenty storage jars was excavated, as well as a deep circular silo for grain storage.

A domestic quarter covering at least half a hectare grew up on the N hill. Pottery kilns were found on its W and N slopes. One of these collapsed with five recently fired storage jars still inside. These may have been containers for the wine processed in the nearby contemporary winepresses, two of which were excavated. A huge cemetery covered most of the E slope. Although only about 10 percent of it was exposed, it contained more than 120 burial sites of various types: cist tombs, pit graves, and infant storage jar burials. The grave goods included bead jewelry, bowls, necklaces, anklets, bronze fibulae, tools of iron, and even nails of wooden coffins.

From the temple on the NE hillock, dozens of clay and stone figurines with Phoenician affinities were recovered. There was another, smaller chapel on the E hillock, surrounded by *favissae,* one containing intact, unused oil lamps.

Following the conquest of the area by Alexander the Great, occupation continued uninterruptedly into the Hellenistic period, as testified by coins dating to the end of the 4th century B.C. The beginning of the 3d century saw an upsurge in building activity (Stratum V). A central fortress covered most of the high tell, and a large, community winepress was sunk into the debris on the N hill. A new shrine was constructed over the former chapel on the NE hillock. The monumental architecture points toward control by central economic and political powers; Ptolemaic (Stratum V) and Seleucid (Stratum IV). A hoard of 47 tetradachmas of Ptolemy I–III was found buried in the E hillock.

In the 1st century B.C., Tel Michal was incorporated into the Hasmonean kingdom. The discovery of several coins of Alexander Jannaeus and the presence of a small fort on the high tell (Stratum III) indicate that it may have been one of the fortified points on the "Jannaeus line."

In the Early Roman period (first half of the 1st century A.D.), a citadel (about 40 m by 40 m) with a watchtower in its courtyard was erected on the high tell (Stratum II). The site was then deserted for some 700 years, except for a small lookout tower of the Early Arab period (Stratum I). Afterward, Tel Michal was completely abandoned.

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ZE'EV HERZOG

**MICHMASH** (PLACE) [Heb *mikmāś* (מִכְמָשׂ)*; mikmās* (מִכְמָס)]. An OT town located near the boundary between the tribes of Benjamin and Ephraim. The first Heb spelling is found mainly in preexilic narratives: 1 Sam 13:2, 5, 12, 16, 23; 14:5, 31; Isa 10:28; and Neh 11:31, while the second spelling is only used in postexilic narrative accounts: Ezra 2:27; Neh 7:31 (but note the reversion to the alternative spelling in Neh 11:31). The site is mentioned also in 1 Macc 9:73.

Modern scholars have consistently identified Michmash with the Arab village of Mukhmas (M.R. 176142), 11 km NE of Jerusalem. Recent archaeological surface surveyors, however, found only scattered late Iron Age sherds at Mukhmas, and therefore have proposed that biblical Michmash existed 1 km to the N, at Khirbet el-Hara el-Fawqa, where Iron Age I and II sherds were found (Kochavi 1972: 180).

Michmash nestled among the hills forming the N side of the deep Wadi es-Swenit, which extends from the central Palestinian hill country into the Jordan valley. Since this canyon becomes an impassable gorge immediately E of Michmash, the most easterly ancient road in the vicinity linked Michmash with Benjaminite Gibeah/Geba (Jaba), 2 km to the S on the opposite rim of the canyon, by way of the "Michmash Pass" (1 Sam 13:23; also called the "Geba Pass"; cf. Isa 10:29; Judg 20:33?). On each side of this pass reportedly stood two rock columns nicknamed Bozez ("slippery"?) and Seneh ("tooth"?), cf. 1 Sam 14:4–5; these probably correspond to rock formations currently found in the wadi nearly 200 m below and 1 km SE of Mukhmas.

Michmash figures prominently in the story of the Hebrew uprising against the Philistines early in Israel's history (1 Sam 13–14). Saul is reported to have struck down a Philistine *nĕṣib* ("governor"? "garrison"?), which caused the Philistines to fortify Michmash with chariots and infantry (13:4–6); the figures mentioned in the report (e.g., 30,000 chariots) are clearly exaggerated. Saul is associated closely throughout the story with Gibeah (probably an ancient toponym for Jaba), across the valley from Michmash.

Another source (13:23–14:23) seems to focus on Jonathan's role in the battle of Michmash (Blenkinsopp 1964; Arnold 1987: 184–218). Leaving Geba (Jaba) where he had struck down the Philistine *nĕṣib* (13:3), Jonathan and his squire made their way down through the Michmash pass and climbed up the steep hill, where they surprised the Philistine soldiers at Michmash. After having been joined by Saul's men, the Israelites then reportedly chased the Philistines past Beth-aven (Tell Maryam?) toward Aijalon (14:31). The notice that Saul stationed 2,000 troops to be with him in Michmash (13:2), which now prefaces the entire account, probably originally referred to the outcome of the battle of Michmash (Miller 1974: 161).

After the division of the kingdom, Asa fortified Mizpah and Geba as N fortresses of Judah (1 Kgs 15:22); the Wadi es-Swenit became the border between Judah and Israel, and Michmash probably thus lay within Israelite territory. In Isa 10:27c–32, there is a report of the advance of an invading army over this border as it progressed toward Jerusalem. This force reportedly crossed the Geba pass after having left its support equipment in Michmash (10:29) before resuming its march the next day.

In postexilic times, the village was one of the Jewish towns under Persian rule. In Neh 11:31, Michmash is listed among the cities inhabited by Benjaminites, while Ezra 2:27 (= Neh 7:31) reports a population there of 122.

In the Maccabean era, Jonathan resided at Michmash, from which he ruled his loyal Jewish followers (1 Macc 9:73) before moving to Jerusalem.

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PATRICK M. ARNOLD

**MICHMETHATH** (PLACE) [Heb *mikmĕtāt* (מִכְמְתָת)]. The northern point of the boundary separating Ephraim from Manasseh (Josh 16:6; 17:7). The site is said to be east of Shechem, though most scholars agree that the direction is more accurately to the SE. The text does not indicate whether the site is an actual settlement or simply a striking geographical feature. Kallai (*HGB*, 400–401) summarizes the possibilities: the Gebel ʿel-Kabir range (that would place the site to the NE of Shechem, well into Manasseh); a valley, specifically the Wadi Bedan, which descends southeastward toward the Jordan valley. If it were a settlement, the site would most likely be Khirbit ʿIbn Naser. Evidence favoring one site over another is inconclusive.

ELMER H. DYCK

**MICHRI** (PERSON) [Heb *mikrî* (מִכְרִי)]. A Benjaminite mentioned only in 1 Chr 9:8 (MT) as an ancestor of the clan of Elah, one of four such clans listed in vv 7–9 as having returned from the Babylonian Exile. The corresponding Benjaminite section in the parallel list found in Nehemiah 11, however, omits any mention of the clan of Elah (indeed, only one clan, that of Sallu, is seemingly to be found in vv 7–9 [but cf. Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 171 concerning Ibneiah]). This curious anomaly led Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 89) to suggest that the Chronicler's inclusion of four Benjaminite clans is the more plausible of the two extant traditions, and that something more than scribal error must be posited to explain the differences between the two lists.

In regard to the meaning of the name "Michri," Noth (*IPN*, 189, n. 3) pointed to the root *mkr*, "purchase," or the like. He suggested that Michri's parents perhaps meant to convey by such a name that their child represented some sort of just "recompense" or "compensation" on the part of the deity.

In place of the unique form *mikrî* found in the MT of 1 Chr 9:8, both the LXX and the Syriac attest the relatively familiar name MACHIR (Heb *mākîr*); this probably represents a metathesis of the *reš* and the *yod*. Less likely is the suggestion that the MT form resulted from a dittograph of the subsequent *waw*, later read as *yod* (the two letters are virtually indistinguishable in the later Judean scripts).

WILLIAM H. BARNES

**MIDDIN** (PLACE) [Heb *middîn* (מִדִּין)]. Town situated in the wilderness of Judah (Josh 15:61), within the same district as En-gedi. This settlement is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). Recent archaeological work in the Buqeiah valley has uncovered three Iron Age fortress-farms which may be associated with the towns of this district (Stager 1976). If the list in Josh

15:61–62 runs N to S, then ancient Middin is probably to be located at Khirbet Abu Tabaq (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 392; M.R. 188126).

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WADE R. KOTTER

**MIDIAN** (PERSON) [Heb *midyan* (מִדְיָן)]. MIDIANITES. The son of Abraham and Keturah in the genealogy of Genesis 25:2. It is also the name of an ethnic or political population group especially associated with S Transjordan that played a very important role in the earliest history of ancient Israel, and is probably the earliest identifiable Arabic-speaking social group.

**A. The Name**

The origin of the name *midyan* is unknown, though it has been suggested (Mendenhall 1973: 163ff.) that the root *mady-* is non-Semitic, and possibly cognate to the designation of Medes of much later times. The biblical genealogy (Gen 25:2) includes two variants, *midyan* and *medan,* cognates of both of which appear in Greek sources of the Hellenistic period as names of towns E of the Gulf of Aqaba (Knauf 1985).

**B. Midianites in Early Biblical Tradition**

Biblical tradition listed the eponymous ancestor, Midian, as one of six sons born to the patriarch Abraham by his second wife, Keturah (Gen 25:1–6). According to this account Abraham sent these sons away from Canaan to the E country, a tradition that implies an origin in Canaan proper for these proto-Arabic tribal designations. This tradition is now powerfully reinforced by linguistic evidence that derives the pre-Islamic Arabic language and writing system from the Bronze Age Mediterranean coastal region (Mendenhall 1985: chap. 10).

The Midianites as a historically existent society are represented in the Joseph stories (Gen 37:25–36) as traders traveling by camel caravan between Gilead (N Transjordan) and Egypt, and in this case dealing in slaves as well as "gum, balm, and myrrh." The term Midianite alternates with the term Ishmaelite, probably to be explained by the fact that at the time the narrative reached its present form, the Midianites had ceased to exist as a distinct social group but were identified with an ethnic group later called Ishmaelites. The narrative certainly is not earlier than the monarchy, and there is no reason to believe that it is based upon any historical event. However, the narrative does evidently make use of historical memory concerning the Midianites, and the picture it yields is plausible in view of present information concerning the society and its culture.

In contrast, the connections between Moses and the Midianites are manifold, detailed, and remarkable (Exod 2–4, 18; Numbers 25, 31) and can hardly be explained on any basis other than historical fact. Upon fleeing from Egypt to somewhere in the Sinai Peninsula after killing the Egyptian overseer, Moses joined and then married the daughter (Zipporah) of a Midianite sheepherder, variously named Reuel, Jethro, or Hobab. This Midianite shepherd was in later tradition promoted to the Midianite priesthood, doubtless because of the tradition in Exod 18:12, where we are told that Jethro offered a burnt offering and sacrifice, followed by a common meal with "all the elders of Israel." Clearly the later tradition was unaware of the significance and social context of a typical *menseff,* which at that time may very well have been an implied covenant of peace between the two groups.

By his wife, Moses had two sons named Gershom (or Gershon) and Eliezer (Exod 18:3–4). In Exod 4:18–20, his wife and sons were taken with him to Egypt, but in Exodus 18:2 they are still with Jethro—a fact that is explained by the statement that Moses had "sent her away," i.e., divorced her. Exodus 18 is the original and correct version, for the sons are repeatedly called "her sons." This corresponds to the ancient customary law by which children born to a *ger* (i.e., a resident alien) normally remain with their maternal grandfather, as in the law of Exod 21:4, and implied also in the Jacob-Laban narrative. All of these Midianite names except Eliezer actually occur in pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions, together with most of the other names cited in biblical sources as those of Midianite or Moabite persons (Mendenhall 1984).

Later, the band of escapees from Egypt was guided in the desert by Moses' father-in-law (Num 10:29–32), though later pious tradition evidently entirely forgot this feature of the period of Wanderings and

substituted the miraculous (and drastically misunderstood) pillar of cloud and pillar of fire as desert guides (Exod 13:21–22; Num 9:15–23).

The organization of the small band was carried out according to the recommendations of Moses' father-in-law (Exod 18:13–27). The system of "rulers" of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens is essentially the ANE military organization, and the rudiments of the system may be identified in the census lists of Numbers 1 and 26 (Mendenhall 1958) and in the story of Gideon, where there are contrasts between "thousands" and hundreds. Whatever the social organization may have been, it is remarkable that Israelite tradition attributed it to the Midianites. Even more significant is the fact that the narrative implies that Moses' band did *not* have a preexistent social organization. This is, of course, quite in contrast to later orthodox dogma expressed in the narratives that the ancestors of all the twelve tribes went down into Egypt, and of course their descendants, complete with tribal organization, emerged from Egypt with Moses. The "mixed multitude" (Exod 12:38; Num 11:4) was the original band of Moses' followers, and the twelve tribes were added to the traditions after the formation of the Federation in Palestine proper.

Moses invited his hosts to join them in the quest for the promised land (Num 10:29), but the Midianites declined the offer. This tradition is especially important since it indicates that Moses and his band of followers were willing and eager to obtain adherents and followers of the new ideology: like all other religious movements in their formative period, the survival and success of the religious society depended upon its attractiveness to potential new adherents.

The next connection with the Midianites was tragic (Numbers 25). The festivities at Baal-Peor, somewhere near the foot of Mt. Nebo, induced one of Moses' band to join in the pagan (fertility?) rite, and a zealot for Yahweh killed both the Israelite and the Midianite princes involved (Mendenhall 1973: chap. 4). The result was lasting hostility between the two groups, and in Numbers 31 the last act of Moses' life is to order the extermination of the Midianites, in a narrative that reflects little historical reality other than a reflection of certain practices of the monarchy, and the late ideology of the priestly author of the narrative. It is probable, however, that there had been an armed conflict between the two groups, reflected in the brief notice of Josh 13:21. A nucleus of historical fact probably is involved in the names of the five kings of the Midianites who were killed in the battle, for one of the names, Rekem, is recorded by Josephus as being the original native name of Petra. Another of the names, Evi, occurs on an Ammonite seal of the 8th to 7th centuries B.C. (Hammond 1960), and the other names also occur in pre-Islamic Arabic inscriptions.

The last episode concerning the Midianites took place in Canaan proper with action concluding in Transjordan, and is recorded in considerable detail (Judges 6–8). The defeat of the Midianites by Gideon and his small band evidently had a considerable impact, for it is cited by Isaiah (9:4) centuries later as a precedent for later anticipated acts of God. The Midianites are again represented as camel riders, but this time as warriors, not as caravan traders. For various reasons, the periodic incursions of the Midianite camel riders are almost certainly to be interpreted as regular tax-collecting expeditions. In spite of the agriculture engaged in around the Midianite heartland, there is little doubt that the production of foodstuffs there was inadequate for the population, and thus the more highly productive regions of Palestine proper were called upon regularly for contributions, especially at harvest time. It is tempting, in view of all the evidence, to conclude that the Midianites may well have exercised a temporary imperial domination of Palestine and Transjordan at the very beginning of early Israel's history. Again, the parallel to the Philistine domination is striking, including the fact that, according to the biblical tradition, the Midianite policy consisted of a coalition of five kings.

The last reference to Midian as an existent political entity is the laconic notice in Genesis 36:35 that states that Hadad, son of Bedad, the fourth king of the Edomites, defeated the Midianites in the land of Moab. This event may reasonably be placed shortly after 1100 B.C. All subsequent references to Midian seem clearly to be geographical or genealogical in nature. The name remained in use as a place name, and local traditions concerning Midian and the Midianites continued until the rise of Islam. According to the Quran, the father-in-law of Moses was sent as a prophet to the Midianites to warn them of the coming destruction.

**C. Midian in Later Biblical Tradition**

In the narrative of the rebellion of the Edomite prince Hadad in 1 Kgs 11:18, the term Midian has already become a geographical designation—presumably referring to some section of S Transjordan. From "Midian," Hadad set out for Egypt to escape the wholesale slaughter of Edomite males that was carried out by David and Joab.

In later biblical tradition dealing with the "conquest" period, Midian is very closely associated with Moab: in the Balaam story, elders of Midian are mentioned together with elders of Moab (Num 22:4, 7) as being sent to N Syria to fetch Balaam. Similarly, in Josh 13:21, the Midianite kings of Num 31:8 are listed, but designated as *nesîkê* of Sihon, king of the Amorites who ruled in Heshbon. The term *nesîkê* is obscure and relatively late (cf. Mic 5:4 [—Eng 5:5]; Ezek 32:21), but is probably intended to indicate that they were chieftains who derived their authority from Sihon and thus were client chieftains.

Later biblical references to the conflict with Midian, however, seem to refer only to the Gideon narrative of Judges 6–8, for it was, of course, the victory that had special significance for the mainstream of the biblical tribes in Palestine proper. Psalm 83:9–12 refers to the Midianite personages by the names they have in Judges, and it refers to their destruction as a precedent for the coming destruction of surrounding enemies. In Isaiah 9:3 and the late prose addition of 10:26, the victory over Midian also is cited as a precedent for the coming defeat of the enemies of the kingdom of Judah. Finally, in Hab 3:7 and Isa 60:6, the prophecies reflect the usage of the word "Midian" as a purely geographical designation.

**D. The Midianite People and Culture**

Though older scholarship saw the Midianites as typical bedouin nomads because of their possession of camels, it is now clear that they had a complex and highly sophisticated society at a time when there is no reason to believe that the bedouin culture even existed (Knauf 1985). The biblical account twice gives us the names of their five kings (Num 31:8; Josh 13:21), which strongly suggests that their political organization consisted of a federation of five city-states, much like the well-known federation of the Philistines, and similar federations of the Etruscans in Italy, who were also of Anatolian origin.

Archaeological evidence strongly indicates that Midian was an important political entity that came into existence rather suddenly in the N Hejaz region, E of the Gulf of Aqaba, sometime in the 13th century B.C. Recent surveys have revealed evidence of numerous town and village sites in that region from the end of the LB into the early Iron ages (Parr et al. 1970; Ingraham et al. 1981). The people certainly spoke a language that was an archaic ancestor of Arabic, and they possessed a highly sophisticated culture that had connections from Anatolia to Egypt.

Recent archaeological surveys in the Hejaz have revealed massive walled cities, sophisticated irrigation installations, evidence of mining and smelting operations, and, most important, a unique type of painted pottery that has since been recognized as occurring in sites in the Jordan valley and Palestine proper. The painted pottery is of particular importance since the painted motifs are very closely akin to the Mycenaean pottery of Anatolia and the Aegean, while the technology of pottery manufacture is most closely related to that of Egypt (Parr 1982). See also QURRAYAH. The Midianites, therefore, constitute another example of a society that was familiar with, and created a demand for, Mycenaean types of ceramics that had to be locally manufactured in the early Iron Age. This is entirely parallel to the similar taste for Mycenaean types of pottery that brought about the local production of the well-known Philistine wares. Similar cultural processes can be observed also at Ras Ibn Hani, on the coast just N of Ugarit. This aspect of Midianite culture justifies the conclusion that there was some element in the society that had roots in the Anatolian/Aegean region, however remote they may have been.

Recent archaeological investigations have thus completely changed dominant views concerning the Midianites, and as usual new questions are raised which are not so easily answered as the old ones. One of the most basic is, What is or was meant by the term "Midianite"? In this case (as in many, if not most, other cases of terms that we regard as "ethnic" designations), the term most probably arose from some small grass-roots social organization; then, as the society grew in size and developed into a political power structure or federation, the term became increasingly remote from its original context (both social

and geographical). The consequences of a failure to recognize contrasts in the meaning of such designations of social groups have often been unfortunate.

Because the homeland of the Midianite archaeological culture is clearly in the region to the E of the Gulf of Aqaba, there has been a naive tendency to assume that all references to Midianites must either come from that region or be fictitious. In turn, this has long led to the entirely gratuitous assumption that Mt. Sinai must be somewhere in the deep S of Transjordan or in the NW region of the Arabian peninsula. The latter theory was based on the erroneous assumption that the description in Exod 19:16–25 of the theophany at Mt. Sinai derived from a volcanic eruption, which could only have taken place in the Hejaz during historical times. The narrative of the event at Mt. Sinai is a very typical description of a theophany in a thunderstorm, and is closely paralleled even in Homer's *Iliad.*

The presence of Midianite shepherd bands in the Sinai should not be a problem since the discovery of the Mari documents. Large-scale sheepherding requires considerable travel between summer and winter pasturages, often involving tens or hundreds of kilometers. There is no plausible objection to the presence of shepherd bands in the Sinai who were identified or identified themselves as adherents of the political/cultural system of the Midianites. The same is true of populations in the Jordan valley just N of the Dead Sea. The Midianites can no longer be regarded naively as primitive nomadic barbarians; they were a complex and cosmopolitan civilization with a highly diverse economy and, in all probability, an extensive control system for a few decades that included parts of Palestine and Transjordan. It is not surprising that this early society impressed itself upon the memories of populations of the region even until the rise of Islam.

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**MIDRASH.** The rabbinic term for biblical exegesis, a noun derived from the Heb root *drš,* which in the Bible means "to inquire, investigate," generally with God or a human king as the object of the verb.

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A. Appearance of *mdrš*
B. Definitions
C. Midrashic Activity within the Hebrew Bible
D. Translation as Midrash
E. Rewriting the Bible
F. Midrash at Qumran
G. Rabbinic Midrash
    1. Classification of Rabbinic Midrashim
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## A. Appearance of *mdrš*

Ezra 7:10 is the first place in which a written text appears as the object of *drš* (Gertner 1962a: 5). Heinemann (1946: 182–85) has argued that by the end of the OT period the verb *drš* had acquired the

sense of "inquiring in order to do." In the documents from Qumran, *drš* has a variety of meanings, such as searching, inquiring, seeking, visiting, caring for, desiring, wishing, studying, investigating, and interpreting (Gertner 1962a: 11). Beginning in the Tannaitic period, the root *drš* signifies some type of logical deduction (Heinemann 1946: 185), but in the rabbinic corpus *drš* is used primarily as a term for investigating the Torah (Gertner 1962a: 6–8).

The noun *mdrš* appears twice in the Bible. The passage in 2 Chr 13:22 mentions "the midrash of the prophet Iddo," and 2 Chr 24:27 refers to "the midrash of the book of kings." Driver (1963: 529) and Bloch (*DBSup* 5: 1264) suggest that the term means virtually the same in Chronicles as it later means in the rabbinic texts; the latter refers to these books as "historical works which gloss Scripture with the goal of instruction and edification." Bacher (1965: 104) thought that in Chronicles *mdrš* referred to a book, an essay, or a study. Gertner (1962a: 10–11) stated that it referred to a narrative or account, and Zeitlin (1953: 24–25) claimed that in Chronicles the term *midraš* referred to a book in which were recorded the inquiries of the kings and the answers and explanations of the prophets. Lieberman (1950: 48) argued that *mdrš* did not have a technical meaning in Chronicles, while Finkelstein (1930: 56) suggested that the *mdrš* of the prophet Iddo was a collection of oracles and that the *mdrš* of the book of kings was "probably our book of Kings." We must conclude that the meaning of *mdrš* in Chronicles is simply lost to us at present (Wright 1967: 37).

*Mdrš* conveys a variety of meanings in the literature from Qumran. It refers to judicial investigation, study of law, and interpretation. Although *mdrš* alone does not necessarily refer to biblical interpretation when it appears by itself in the Qumran texts, when it is used in connection with a verse from Scripture it does seem to have a more comprehensive meaning than either *pyrwš* or *pšr* (Wright 1967: 40–41).

Although in the rabbinic corpus *mdrš* may mean study or inquiry in a general sense, its main use in these documents is to designate Scriptural interpretation. In the rabbinic collections the term signifies both the process whereby Scripture is expounded and the product of that exegesis (Gertner 1962a: 9).

**B. Definitions**

It has been common to define midrash in terms of its function or purpose. Slonimsky (1956: 235) found the essence of midrash in its "feeding of the life-impulse when harassed and threatened by tragic circumstances." Sanders (1972: xiv) wrote that "when one studies how an ancient tradition functions in relation to the needs of the community, he is studying midrash." Bloch (*DBSup* 5/29: 1263–80; cf. Wright 1967: 19–20) has offered several functional definitions of midrash; the major characteristic she attributes to midrash is its attempt to make a biblical text contemporary and relevant. Wright (1967: 67) has stressed the literary form of midrash and wrote, "the basic midrashic structure … is merely that one begins with a text of Scripture and proceeds to comment on it in some way." However, Gertner (1962b: 268–69) drew a distinction between covert midrash—in which neither the text, nor the midrashic idea, nor the midrashic technique is defined or mentioned—and overt midrash—in which the verse, idea, and most often the technique are explicitly stated. Finally, Sanders (1972: xiv) argued that "any definition of midrash which limits its scope to the citation and use of an actual biblical passage is deficient."

Given the varieties of functions attributed to midrash, the fact that many have ignored the possibility of midrash's being a scholarly, holy game (Heineman 1954: 2; Frankel 1956: 29; Porton 1979: 131), and the possibility that anything might be midrash if we do not require a clear connection between the comment and the verse, midrash is best defined as follows:

"Midrash is a type of literature, oral or written, which has its starting point in a fixed canonical text, considered the revealed word of God by the midrashist and his audience, and in which this original verse is explicitly cited or clearly alluded to" (Porton 1979: 112; 1981: 62; cf. Childs 1972: 49).

**C. Midrashic Activity within the Hebrew Bible**

Robert (1934: 42–68, 172–204, 374–84; 1935: 344–65, 502–25; 1944: 192–213) was one of the first to place the roots of the genre of midrash in the postexilic biblical texts by noting that phrases reappear in the later books of the Bible with different meanings from those they had in earlier biblical texts. They carry a new significance in their new contexts (Vermes 1961: 4). Modern scholars have pointed to a variety of biblical books as examples of midrashic activity (Seeligman 1953: 150–81; Willi-Plein 1971).

Although not employing the term midrash, Sandmel (1961: 105–22) drew attention to some "haggadic" passages in Genesis, and Vermes (*CHB* 1: 199) has claimed that Deuteronomy is partly the result of the midrashic enterprise. Zunz (1966: 45) claimed that Ezekiel was a type of midrash, for it contains the oldest examples of modification of Pentateuchal law. Halperin (1976: 129–41) has argued that Ezek 10:9–17 is an example of midrash, Bloch (*DBSup* 5: 1271–72) has pointed to sections of Ezekiel as midrashic, and Bruce (1972: 38–40) has claimed that expressions in Ezekiel and Habakkuk "call to mind" phrases in earlier prophetic books and should be considered midrashic passages. Both Childs (1971: 137–50) and Bruce (1972: 42–52) have pointed to some of the titles of the biblical Psalms as reflecting midrashic activity. In addition, Zunz (1966: 38), Schurer (*HJP¹*, 340), Weingreen (1951–52: 186–87), and most recently Willi (1972) have spoken of Chronicles in terms of midrash. It seems clear that several scholars have found the origin of midrash in the Hebrew Bible itself; however, Towner's claim (1973: 1) that the Bible does not comment upon itself in the same manner as nonbiblical texts do should be examined carefully.

**D. Translation as Midrash**

Translation involves interpretation. As Ben Sira's grandson states, "things once written in Hebrew do not have the same force in them when put into another language … [and books] differ not a little in translation from the original" (Goodspeed 1959: 223). Therefore, it is legitimate to consider the LXX and the Targums as types of midrash. In addition, there is little doubt that both the LXX (Rabin 1968; Bickerman 1959) and the Targums contain midrashic elements. Recent scholarship has argued that some of the LXX's midrashic passages were created by the original translators, while others are the result of editorial revisions (Gooding 1974: 1–11). There are several Targums, and they are of different types (*HJP²* 1: 99–114; Grossfeld 1972–77). *Targum Onkelos* is more or less a literal translation of the text, and most of its paraphrases occur in the poetic passages. *Pseudo-Jonathan* covers most of the Pentateuch and contains a number of unique paraphrases and some interpolations from midrash. *Neofiti I* is the Palestinian Targum par excellence (Porton 1979: 119–22). Because each of these Targums contains paraphrases, interpretations, and the like, each is a type of midrash.

**E. Rewriting the Bible**

The *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (James 1971), the *Genesis Apocryphon* (Fitzmyer 1966), Philo's *Life* of Moses, Josephus' *Antiquities* (Attridge 1976), and *Jubilees* (VanderKam 1977) represent another type of postbiblical midrash: the rewriting of the biblical account. This genre of midrash retells the biblical story by adding details, explaining difficult passages, rearranging material, and the like (Porton 1979: 122–25; 1981: 72–74).

**F. Midrash at Qumran**

There is a close relationship between many of the documents from Qumran and the Hebrew Bible. Some scholars have even suggested that the Bible was the focal point of the religious life of the Qumran community (Stendahl 1968: 61; Brownlee 1951: 56). The most important type of midrashic activity which occurred among the sectarians at Qumran was the pesher (see PESHARIM, QUMRAN). While there has been some debate over whether or not one can properly call the pesharim "midrashim" (Vermes 1955: 96–97; Roth 1960: 51–52; Slomovic 1969: 1–15; Porton 1979: 125–27; 1981: 75–77), according to our definition they are midrashim, albeit of a special type. The most important idea behind the pesharim is that the sectarians at Qumran believed that the biblical prophecies were being fulfilled in the history and life of the Qumran community (Allegro 1964: 130; Bruce 1961: 70; 77; Stendahl 1968: 190; Roth 1960: 52). Thus, the pesharim are eschatological, or even apocalyptic (Cross 1961: 76–78; 112–13; Slomovic 1969: 9).

Although Slomovic (1969: 5–15) has argued that some of the same exegetical techniques were used in the pesharim and in the rabbinic midrashim, there exist some important stylistic differences between the pesharim and the rabbinic texts: (1) the pesher quotes an entire passage of Scripture and follows it with an interpretation that has a tenuous relationship to the biblical passage, while the rabbinic texts often cite single words and phrases and present directly their interpretation; (2) the midrashim sometimes quote scholars, while the pesharim are always anonymous; (3) the several pesharim appear in only one copy,

while there are a multiplicity of versions of the rabbinic midrashim; (4) the rabbinic texts are collections of statements, some of whose original contexts are unknown and some of whose original contexts were probably in nonmidrashic settings, while the comments in the pesharim make sense only as commentaries to the biblical text; (5) the presuppositions behind the pesharim and the midrashim are different, for the single purpose of the author(s) of the pesharim was to demonstrate that the biblical prophecies were coming into being in their community, while the rabbis had a variety of purposes for creating their midrashim and midrashic collections (Porton 1979: 126–27; Brownlee 1951: 75).

**G. Rabbinic Midrash**

Rabbinic midrash is the creation of a subsection of the ancient Jewish community, the rabbis, whose defining characteristic was their knowledge of the Torah, both oral and written; therefore, their engaging in the creation of midrash was one manifestation of their focusing their individual lives on the Torah (Porton 1985: 1–3).

**1. Classification of Rabbinic Midrashim.** It is common to distinguish between legal midrashim (midrash Halakah, e.g., *Mekhilta, Sipra, Sipre*) and nonlegal midrashim (midrash Haggadah, e.g., Genesis and Leviticus Rabbah). However, this distinction is misleading. First, the so-called halakic midrashim contain a good deal of nonlegal material, and the so-called haggadic midrashim contain a significant number of legal statements. Second, it is simplistic to draw a sharp difference between legal passages and nonlegal passages, for both served as interpretations of revelation and as guides to one's actions. Third, as Bacher (1892: 416–19) has shown, the word *agadah* originally meant "exegesis"; therefore, the term "midrash Haggadah" is a tautology. Fifth, the so-called "halakic midrashim" contain exegeses on the legal and nonlegal portions of the biblical text upon which they comment.

It is also common to distinguish between Tannaitic and Amoraic midrashim. However, the exact reasons behind these designations is unclear. If they refer to the sages cited in the collections, they are inappropriate, for the Amoraic midrashim contain interpretations attributed to Tannaim, and the Tannaitic collections contain comments attributed to persons who may be considered early Amoraim. If the terms are meant to indicate the periods in which the collections were edited, this also presents a difficulty, for we simply do not know when the collections came into their present form or a form similar to the one in which they now exist.

On the basis of literary characteristics, we can define two types of rabbinic midrashim: the expositional and the homiletical. Expositional collections present a running commentary to consecutive verses of the biblical text; homiletical collections do not offer a running commentary on a single biblical book. The latter midrashim often deal with only a few opening verses of a biblical section, such as *Leviticus Rabbah,* or seem to be organized around verses read on holy days, such as the *Pesiqta de Rab Kahana* and the *Pesiqta Rabbati.* The expositional collections seldom cover an entire book. And despite the claims of many scholars, the homiletical midrashim should not be viewed as sermons delivered by rabbis in the ancient synagogues (Sarason 1981: 62–67). We simply do not know enough about the rabbis' activities to claim that they ever delivered sermons to the general public. Also, exactly how these sermons came to be written down and transmitted to us presents a problem (J. Heinemann 1970; 1971a: 141–50; 1971b: 100–22; 1971c: 808–34).

**2. Characteristics of Rabbinic Midrash.** Rabbinic midrash exhibits certain traits which differentiate it from other forms of biblical exegesis of our period. First, rabbinic texts are collections of independent units. Unlike the case with the pesharim, the translations, and the rewriting of the biblical narratives, the sequential arrangement of the passages of the midrash is most probably the work of the editor(s). It is likely that many of the comments that now appear in the midrashim were not originally created for a running commentary and that much of the homiletical material is literary creation from smaller units (Sarason 1982). In fact, we have many examples of midrashic comments appearing in other contexts as nonmidrashic passages (Porton 1985; Fraade 1983: 245–301). Second, we often find more than one comment per biblical unit: several synonymous, complementary, or contradictory remarks may appear in connection with a single verse, word, or letter. In the other examples, we find only one comment for a given biblical unit. Third, a large number of the rabbinic statements are assigned to named sages.

However, the editors and authors of the rabbinic collections remain a mystery just as the creators of the majority of the other forms of Jewish exegesis from this period are also unknown to us. Fourth, the rabbinic comment may be directly connected to the biblical unit or it may be part of a dialogue, a story, or an extended soliloquy. The comment may answer a question which refers to the text but which need not be connected with the biblical passage to be comprehensible. Also, one interpretation may be the result of another explanation of the text given in the same context. Fifth, rabbinic midrash atomizes the text to a greater degree than any of the other forms of midrashic activity with the exception of the LXX and the Targums, which must, because they are translations, treat every element of the biblical passage. Each word or letter may serve as the basis for an exegetical remark of the rabbis. Sixth, often the specific method which forms the basis of the comment is explicitly mentioned by the rabbis.

Rabbinic midrash must be seen as an essential element in the rabbinic worldview. For the rabbis, the Torah was their link between this world and God. A rabbi was a rabbi because he alone knew the totality of revelation, and the written and oral versions of the Torah, and it was his task, as a rabbi, to study and to actualize the Torah's content. For the rabbis, midrash was, above all, a religious, God-centered, activity. The Bible contained all the secrets of the universe, and it was the source of all knowledge and wisdom; the Torah was the complete public revelation of the One, Only, and Perfect God to His people. The Bible was the ultimate guide for human action, the final arbiter between right and wrong, true and false. Every element of the text—every letter, every verse, every phrase—was written as it was for a specific reason and purpose, and it was the rabbis' task to discover the reason and to explicate the purpose. Furthermore, the Bible formed an integrated and interrelated whole, and it was one of the major rabbinic goals to demonstrate the unity of purpose and the singleness of intent of the Bible. However, the rabbis realized that the Bible spoke to different people, even to different rabbis, in different ways; therefore, the rabbinic masters accepted the possibility of multiple interpretations of biblical passages. As long as a rabbi approached the text as a legitimate member of the rabbinic class, his explanation of the Bible had to be taken seriously, and the comment itself became part of the ongoing process of the rabbinic explication of revelation (Neusner 1972: 44–128; Porton 1985: 1–3).

Modern scholarship divides early rabbinic exegesis into two major schools: that of Ishmael and that of Akiba (Heschel 1962: xxxvii–lix; Porton 1982: 205–11; Chernick 1979; Grabbe 1982: 527–32). Ishmael's school is pictured as the more logical, while Akiba's exegesis is seen as more mystical and imaginative. However, recent work has demonstrated that it is difficult to distinguish between the exegetical techniques used by Ishmael and those used by Akiba (Porton 1982: 205–11). While there may have been two or more schools of rabbinic exegesis, there is no evidence that they began with these two sages.

Scholars have also pointed out that there are lists of exegetical principles attributed to various sages, such as Hillel's seven principles, Ishmael's thirteen, and Eliezer's thirty-two (Strack 1959: 93–98); however, again, recent inquiries have shown that the authenticity of these lists is open to serious question (Porton fc.). Furthermore, there is no evidence that the sages mentioned actually preferred to use the principles attributed to them in the lists. Finally, as Lieberman (1950: 47–82) and Daube (1949: 234–64) have shown, the exegetical techniques assigned to the rabbis were those commonly used by the Hellenistic rhetoricians. Thus, the most we can say is that our texts leave the impression that the exegetical techniques of at least some of the early rabbis were similar to the exegetical practices of their non-Jewish neighbors.

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GARY G. PORTON

**MIGDAL-EL** (PLACE) [Heb *migdal-ʾēl* (מִגְדַּל־אֵל)]. Town in the allotment of Naphtali (Josh 19:38). Most scholars feel that since Migdal-el is mentioned together with Yiron, it must have been in Upper Galilee, though its exact location is unknown. Woudstra (1981: 293), however, does mention a possible identification of Migdal-el with Mejdel-Islim, about 16 miles E–SE of Tyre.

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DAVID SALTER WILLIAMS

**MIGDAL-GAD** (PLACE) [Heb *migdal-gād* (מִגְדַּל־גָּד)]. Town situated in the Shephelah, or low country, of Judah (Josh 15:37), within the same district as Lachish. This settlement, whose name perhaps means "tower" of Gad (from *gdl,* "be great") is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). Based on its geographical location and the similarity in sound and meaning, most scholars (e.g., Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 385) have suggested a tentative identification with Khirbet el-Mejdeleh, which is located approximately 6 km SE of Lachish (M.R. 140105). However, archaeological evidence for occupation during the Iron Age is lacking.

WADE R. KOTTER

**MIGDOL** (PLACE) [Heb *migdôl* (מִגְדּוֹל)]. A town or city thought to be located in Lower Egypt. It is cited in three different situations. In Exod 14:2 and Num 33:7, Migdol is mentioned as a place near the spot where the Israelites had camped before crossing the Red Sea. It is described as being situated near Pi-ha-hiroth, Baal-zephon, and the sea. It is definitely thought to be located in the E Delta region, but the exact site is unknown. Suggested sites include Tell el-Her and Tell el-Maskhuta. See also PI-HAHIROTH; BAAL-ZEPHON; RED SEA.

In Jer 44:1 and 46:14, Migdol, with Tahpanhes and Memphis, is designated as a main residential location for Jews in Lower Egypt. Ezekiel uses Migdol and Syene, in Ezek 29:10, as geographical extremes of the boundaries of Egypt. Migdol is used for the N designation and Syene for the opposite S point.

The name "Migdol" used in these various contexts may not belong to the same location, but there is not enough evidence to rule out this possibility. The word is of W Semitic origin (most likely Canaanite). It is found as an Egyptian loanword that is used commonly to mean "tower" or "fortress" and as a place name for various military stations that are found in the outer boundaries of Egypt. It appears in the Tell el-Amarna Letters (EA 234: 29), but no reference to its precise location is given.

JEFFREY K. LOTT

**MIGHTY MEN.** See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

**MIGHTY ONE.** See NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT.

**MIGRON** (PLACE) [Heb *migrôn* (מִגְרוֹן)]. A locality in Benjamin (1 Sam 14:2; Isa 10:28).

Commentators have assumed that the Hebrew toponym refers to a small town or village; unfortunately, the two biblical texts referring to Migron appear to give contradictory information regarding its location. In 1 Sam 14:2, the site is associated closely with Gibeah (= Geba, or modern Jaba, 9 km NE of Jerusalem on the S flank of the Wadi es-Swenit). In Isa 10:28, however, Migron seems to be placed between Aiath (et-Tell) and Michmash (Mukhmas) on the N side of the Swenit. A. Alt (1927: 17–20) identified Migron with Tell Maryam (M.R. 175141), 1 km SW of Mukhmas, on the grounds that the invading army of the Isaian oracle passed through Migron, while its baggage was left nearby at Michmash. If Migron were a biblical village, Tell Maryam is certainly a candidate, along with a number of Iron Age sites in the vicinity of Mukhmas, e.g., Tell el-Askar (M.R. 176143) or Khirbet el-Qubbe (M.R. 176141; Kochavi 1972: 180–82).

Quite possibly, however, the toponym does not refer to a village at all, but to the impressive Wadi es-Swenit. This canyon extends from the central Palestinian watershed through the Jaba/Mukhmas area, where it deepens dramatically as it joins the Wadi el-Qelt and issues into the Jordan valley near Jericho (Dalman 1905: 161–75). See Fig. MIG.01. The ancient name *migrôn* (from the root *ngr*, "to gush forth") is similar in form to that of other Canaanite valleys (e.g., Arnon, Kishon, Kidron) and would refer to the occasional floods which sweep the wadi in winter and spring.

The reference in 1 Sam 14:2 ought then be translated, "Saul camped on the outskirts of Gibeah under 'the Pomegranate' in the Migron." The "Pomegranate" is probably identical with the "Pomegranate Rock" of Judg 20:45–47, to which 600 Gibeahite soldiers fled for refuge after an ambush by Ephraimite warriors. See RIMMON. This rock is likely the large pockmarked cave called el-Jaia in the S wall of the Wadi es-Swenit, less than 2 km E of Jaba (Gibeah/Geba). Saul and his 600 men seem to have sought refuge in this cave while the Philistines occupied nearby Michmash above the valley (cf. 1 Sam 14:11).

Isaiah's description of the invading army (10:28–29) ought not be read as a consecutive itinerary; rather, the point of the passage is that the invader "passed over the Migron" after having left military equipment in Michmash. The thought is paralleled by the following comment, that the army "passed over the Geba Pass, and spent the night." The ancient Migron apparently formed the international boundary between the kingdoms of Israel and Judah in the late 8th century B.C., and the Geba Pass marked the highway crossing over this border. Isaiah's parallelism seems to draw dramatic attention to this military violation of Judah's N boundary.

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**MIJAMIN** (PERSON) [Heb *miyyāmîn* (מִיָּמִין)]. Four individuals in the Hebrew Bible bear this name.

1. A priest who appears in an organizational list associated with David (1 Chr 24:9). According to the genealogical information in 1 Chronicles 24, Mijamin was a descendant of Aaron through the family of either Eleazar or Ithanar. When lots were cast in order to organize the various officers of the temple, he was assigned to the sixth of twenty-four divisions. Given the postexilic perspective of Chronicles, Mijamin is further seen as an ancestor of a later priestly family (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 228).

2. A son of Parosh and a member of the Israelite community whose members agreed to renounce their foreign wives and children (Ezra 10:25; 1 Esdr 9:26). Following more specialized lists referring to priests and Levites, Mijamin is included among the laity.

3. A priest who joined in with officials and laity alike in "sealing" the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh 10:8—Eng10:7). Given Israel's disappointing record of obeying the Lord in the past (Neh 9:1–37), a public confession of sin resulted in the establishment of a new covenant and a new determination within the postexilic community (Neh 9:38).

4. A priest who returned to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel following the Exile (Neh 12:5). Appended in the book of Nehemiah, the list in which Mijamin appears can be chronologically associated with Ezra 2:36–40.

The name Mijamin is actually a contracted form of MINIAMIN (Heb *minyāmîn*, "from the right hand," i.e., "a favored one"), which appears in 2 Chr 31:15. The fact that the Syriac of Ezra 10:25 reads Benjamin rather than Mijamin might suggest a possible equation. However, such an equation seems doubtful insofar as the name Mijamin itself occurs in various Neo-Babylonian and Persian documents.

TERRY L. BRENSINGER

**MIKLOTH** (PERSON) [Heb *miqlôt* (מִקְלוֹת)]. The etymology of this name, which is not attested outside of the Bible, is problematic. The ending *-oth (ôt)* is very rare in personal names (e.g., Naboth), and Noth's claim (*IPN*, 39) that it is used in hypocoristic names has little basis. The remaining element *mql* is

used in Hebrew of a "rod" or a "staff," but this element is not found in other Hebrew names, though the name *mql*› is known from Phoenician (Benz 1972: 353). Perhaps Mikloth should be connected to names, such as Koliah (Jer 29:21; cf. Benz 1972: 353 and Fowler *TPNAH,* 358), which contain the element *qôl,* "voice." Despite the difficulty in finding a likely etymology for Mikloth, no obvious emendation presents itself; and the name is supported by the versions.

1. A Benjaminite, the son of Avi-Gibeon or Jeiel according to 1 Chr 8:32 and 9:37, 38. Mikloth's name is missing in the MT of 8:31; but context, most of the versions, and the parallel 9:37 suggest that it must be restored there (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 78). It is unclear if Mikloth is related to Saul; this depends on whether the Kish of 1 Chr 8:30 is to be identified with the Kish of v 33 (Demsky 1971: 16–20) and whether we assume (with Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 164) that the Chronicler has intentionally substituted Gibeon for Gibeah, Saul's birthplace. In 1 Chr 8:32, it is implied that some part of Mikloth's family moved to Jerusalem, but it is unclear exactly who moved (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 86). On the repetition of this genealogy in chaps. 8 and 9, see AHAZ.

2. An official (Heb *nāgîd*) of Dodai the Ahohite, one of David's twelve monthly officials, according to the MT of 1 Chr 27:4. This institution is not authentic and is probably based on a similar list of Solomon's in 1 Kgs 4:7–19; it suggests that the period of David was a time of total order (Williamson, 174–75). The text of 1 Chr 27:4 is highly problematic and requires emendation. The two words which follow "the Ahohite" are *ûmāḥăluqtô ûmiqlôt,* "and his division and Mikloth." These words are graphically very similar to and are probably a corrupted dittography of the name of Dodai's tribe (Levi?), which became corrupted to *ûmāḥăluqtô,* "and his division," which is commonly used throughout the chapter. The verse would then have originally read "… Dodai the Ahohite, from the tribe of X, the officer"; this would be similar in structure to v 14, "… Benaiah of Pirathon, of the sons of Ephraim." Others (e.g., Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 178) follow the LXX and omit the three words *ûmāḥăluqtô ûmiqlôt hannāgîd,* "and his division and Mikloth, the officer."

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MARC Z. BRETTLER

**MIKNEIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *miqnēyāhû* (מִקְנֵיָהוּ)]. One of the Levites of second rank appointed to provide music during David's second effort to move the ark to Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:18, 21). For further discussion, see ELIPHELEHU.

RAYMOND B. DILLARD

**MILALAI** (PERSON) [Heb *milălay* (מִלָלַי)]. A kinsman of Zechariah and a musician who performed at the dedication of the Jerusalem wall (Neh 12:36). At the ceremony, he was part of the group which paraded to the right. His name is omitted in the LXX. KB suggests that the name is either a short form of *millalyāh* ("Yahweh has spoken"; cf. Aram *mallēl*) or the result of a dittographic error (note the similarity of the following word: *gilălay*).

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**MILCAH** (PERSON) [Heb *milkâ* (מִלְכָּה)]. 1. Daughter of Haran, and therefore also sister of Lot, who married her uncle Nahor (Gen 11:29). Because she was the mother of Bethuel, Milcah also became the grandmother of Rebekah (Gen 22:20–33; 24:15). Whatever was the text is to be understood in terms of original sources, the present text relates Milcah to Abraham through both of his brothers, Haran and Nahor (Noth *ÜgS* 235, n. 579).

Milcah's unusual relationship with Nahor (as both niece and wife) has led to comparisons with "marriage adoption" contracts from Nuzi involving the legal status of "daughter," "daughter-in-law," and "sister" (Speiser 1963: 25; following the ANE legal customs identified by Koschaker 1933). However,

there are problems with these comparisons. Nuzi contracts are not necessarily concerned with marriage between the contracted parties (Greengus 1975: 22); instead, they provide the woman with the support of an additional family, a relationship which has been described as similar to "godparents" (Grosz 1987: 140). Some contracts at Nuzi do deal with the transference of rights in terms of who has the legal right to arrange the marriage of the person being "adopted." The biblical narrative does not discuss any transfer in the rights of giving Milcah in marriage (Thompson 1974: 233; Eichler 1977: 48–59).

The name "Milcah" is a feminine form of the root *mlk*, "ruler." Its meaning is similar to that of Sarah, and has been interpreted as an honorific description of the individual's position within the family group (Stamm 1967: 326).

2. Daughter of Zelophehad, who, along with her sisters, was responsible for eliciting Mosaic legislation regarding the daughter's right to inheritance where the father had no son (Num 27:1–11). This may be similar to practices at Nuzi and elsewhere in the ANE where daughters became recipients of inheritance property, and as such could legally be designated "sons" with provisions to keep the inheritance within the father's family, even after the marriage of the daughter (Ben-Barak 1980; Paradise 1980; 1987; Huehnergard 1985: 429–30). For hypotheses about the location of Milcah's inheritance, see HEPHER (PLACE).

Attempts have been made to associate the names of Milcah's sisters with the names of towns or of Aramean tribes, but so far a geographical identification for Milcah has not been established (Gray 1896: 116; Noth *ÜgS* 164–65; Budd *Numbers* WBC, 300). However, an association of Milcah with Hammolecheth of 1 Chron 7:18 has led to identifying territory near Tell el-Farah North as that belonging to Milcah (Demsky 1982: 70–75).

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**MILCOM** (DEITY) [Heb *milkōm* (מִלְכֹּם)]. See MOLECH (DEITY).

**MILDEW.** See LEPROSY.

**MILE.** See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**MILESTONES.** See ROADS AND HIGHWAYS.

**MILETUS** (PLACE) [Gk *Milētos* (Μιλητος)]. A city on the SW coast of Turkey where Paul stopped and sent for the elders of Ephesus (Acts 20:15, 17), and where Paul had to leave Trophimus, who was ill (2 Tim 4:20).

The city is near the mouth of the Meander River on the SW coast of Turkey, 30 miles due S of Ephesus. Miletus was originally a coastal city, built on a peninsula with four natural harbors, but because of the silting of the area and the shifting of the course of the Meander (modern Menderes or Maiandros) River, it now lies more than 5 miles from the sea. In 1980, prehistoric potsherds were discovered in stratigraphic levels immediately above bedrock, which indicates that a settlement of some kind existed here at that time (Müller-Wiener 31:1981: 201).

According to Strabo (14.1.6), the city was founded by Cretans of the Minoan period, after which it was occupied by Mycenaeans from Achaia who used it as a fortress outpost in the 14th century B.C. Homer implies that the men of Miletus joined the Carians against the Greeks in the Trojan War about 1250 B.C. (*Il.* 2.868ff.). The city was destroyed about 1200 and repopulated by Ionians, according to Strabo, although the Greeks may never have abandoned it. It soon became the most important of the twelve cities of Ionia, probably because of its great harbor facilities and its navy, which enabled the city to establish prosperous new colonies in Egypt and on the shores of the Black Sea. Several offshore islands were under the control of Miletus during this time, including Patmos.

By the 6th century B.C., Miletus became the most prosperous Greek city, not only of Ionia, but of all Asia Minor. Its necropolis was discovered in 1987 in the village of Yeni Balat (Mellink 1989: 122–23), from which fine examples of pottery, sculpture, and dedicatory reliefs testify to the artistic and commercial prominence of the city. Miletus was one of the first cities of the ancient world to mint coins. Around the end of the 5th century B.C., the Milesian alphabet was adopted by Athens and became the standard writing system of the Greeks.

The city came under Persian influence in 546 B.C. and led the Ionian cities in the revolt against Persia in 499 B.C. This resulted in the destruction of the city by the Persians in 494, after a fierce battle was fought nearby on both land and sea. Herodotus records that "Miletus was reduced to slavery" (6.18ff.). The temple of Apollo in Didyma, about 10 miles S of Miletus, was also destroyed, but it was soon rebuilt and processions were resumed each spring between the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios in Miletus and the temple in Didyma. The Sacred Way, connecting these two sanctuaries of Apollo, was eventually paved with large limestone slabs during the reign of Trajan in the 2d century A.D. This splendid street has been found in excavation, and work is being conducted to study its surroundings, which include colonnaded halls, fountains, a nymphaeum, and a two-story gate. Four levels of the roadway were identified in 1987 (Müller-Wiener 1988: 194).

After the Persian destruction, Ephesus surpassed Miletus as the largest city in Ionia, and it never regained its former status. However, even though the city waned in prominence during the classical period which followed, it was still an important center of commerce and art in Ionia. Its estimated 60,000 inhabitants rebuilt the city on a grid that originated in the 6th century and became widely used throughout the Mediterranean world for the next several centuries. This grid, later called the "Hippodamian Grid," was popularized by a citizen of Miletus named Hippodamus, who, in 479 B.C., used it in laying out the city. The grid somewhat resembled a checkerboard, but having rectangles rather than squares in the pattern. The city walls were not completed until the time of Alexander the Great, who captured Miletus in 334 B.C. In the Roman period, it was one of the principal metropolitan areas of Asia Minor.

The central part of the city lay on the S shore of the Bay of Lions, between hills of the peninsulas on the E and W. Eumenes II, an Attalid ruler of Pergamum in the 2d century B.C., was one of the great builders of the later city. He built the gymnasium, preserved only in Roman reconstruction, the W gate, and probably the stadium as well. Another period of intense building activity was experienced under Trajan, who erected the majestic nymphaeum and paved the Sacred Way. However, the greatest builder of Miletus was Faustina, the wife of Marcus Aurelius. She had spent some time there in A.D. 164 and was so impressed that she made a considerable donation toward the construction of the baths, which were named for her. The bathhouse is the largest and best preserved building on the site. Faustina also participated in the erection of the Roman theatre, one of the best preserved and most impressive structures in Turkey. The baths stood S of the hill on the W peninsula, SE of the market area. The theatre, which could seat 15,000, was built into the S side of this hill, as a reconstruction of an earlier Hellenistic theatre.

When the apostle Paul visited the city, it already had three impressive marketplaces, testimony to the abundance of trade stimulated by its four harbors. The South Market, situated SE of the theatre hill, is the largest Greek agora known to have existed in the ancient Greek world, covering more than 108,000 square feet. It was also used as a place for formal occasions, such as dedications by the Roman emperors. The beautiful North Gate, or Market Gate, leading into the South Market, was not built until the 2d century A.D. It was removed from its site by the German excavator and taken piece by piece to the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, where it now can be seen in a magnificent state of reconstruction.

Several temples stood in Miletus when Paul was there: the Athena Temple, S of the theater and the West Market; the sanctuary of Apollo (the Delphinion), by the harbor of the Bay of Lions; and the temple of Apollo in Didyma. There was also a bouleuterion, or senate house, in the form of a small odeion, which was built between the North and South markets. A sixteen-columned harbor gateway had been set up near the Delphinion in the first half of the 1st century A.D., just before Paul's arrival. The central of its three entrances opened toward the S onto a magnificent processional road, which measured 92 ft wide and extended southward for more than 300 ft. Vergilius Capito, a friend of the Roman emperor Claudius, built, with the emperor's aid, a colonnaded Ionic porch (stoa) along the E side of this road, as well as a small bathhouse further E. Claudius died about the time Paul first visited Miletus (Acts 20:15, 17). There was also a gymnasium in the city, as well as a stadium whose arena was 95 ft wide and 630 ft long.

Paul's first visit was at the conclusion of his third missionary journey, on which he bypassed Ephesus, traveling S from Troas, and stopped at the larger harbor facilities at Miletus. There, he summoned the elders from the church in Ephesus and spoke to them. He had bypassed Ephesus and landed in Miletus because he was in a hurry to get to Jerusalem by Pentecost (Acts 20:16) and did not want to spend time in the Ephesian area where he had worked for almost three years (Acts 20:31).

A second visit by Paul to Miletus, probably several years later, is indicated in 2 Tim 4:20, when he left Trophimus, the Ephesian, there due to the latter's illness.

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JOHN MCRAY

**MILH, TELL EL.** See MALHATA, TEL.

**MILITARY ORGANIZATION IN MESOPOTAMIA.** The Mesopotamian army (Akk *ummānu, emūqu,* and *illatu* [rare]) is made known to us through representative monuments and texts from the period of the Sumerian city-states in the 3d millennium B.C., up until the fall of the Assyrian empire, and then again during the Babylonian empire under the attack of the Persians at the end of the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. The army served as an instrument of rivalries among Sumerian states, between Assyria and Babylonia, and among these countries and their powerful neighbors (most notably Elam, Egypt, the Hittites, the Mitannians, the Urartu, and Syrian principalities). The army was also confronted with waves of invaders who, over the course of time, attacked the rich Fertile Crescent, peoples such as the Guti, Sea Peoples, and Suteans. These confrontations brought about an evolution of military techniques adapted to the equipment and techniques of their enemies.

It is with the appearance of the royal military around 2700 B.C. and the struggle for hegemony among the Sumerian city-states that the cities began to surround themselves with thick walls: the excavations of Uruk uncovered a thick, 9.5-km-long wall defended by some 900 semicircular towers.

The "Stele of the Vultures" (*ANEP*, pp. 94–96) gives us a good example of the army of this period: it was organized into powerful units of six ranks, each one composed of ten men and one "officer." The primary weapon was the lance, but the mace and the encased ax, with a long, narrow blade with cutting edges, also made up part of the Sumerian soldier's equipment. The sword was also used after the mastering of metallurgy made possible the attainment of a shock-resistant blade. The protective gear of the fighter consisted of a pointed helmet, covering the ears and the back of the neck, and a small sleeveless cape, reinforced with metal and a large rectangular buckle made of wood covered with fur and studded with metal plates.

Chariots supported the infantry. Attested as far back as the middle of the 4th millennium by the archaic tablets from Uruk, their military usage, adopted by the different Sumerian city-states, represented an innovation that transformed the technique of combat. The chariot was composed of a large box, protected by a high frontal platform raised up on four wheels. According to the remains found at Kish and the decorations of the Standard of Ur (*ANEP*, p. 97), it was constructed of reed and wood, and was reinforced with metal and leather. Although it was strong and stable, it was too heavy for tactical maneuvers, and the traction of its four harnessed onagers was reduced by the position of the yoke which rested between the shoulder blades of the animal. The chariot was ridden by two men, the driver and a fighter armed with a lance, javelins, and an ax. This chariot was used to transport warriors and equipment and, once the enemy ranks were broken, to pursue the fleeing enemies. Another lighter two-wheeled chariot is also attested; it doubtless was used to ensure communications. The Fara texts, which furnish bills for repairs to the chariots and lists of troops in the garrison or sent into battle, show that the maintenance of the equipment rested with the administration of the Palace. See also CHARIOT.

The size of these Sumerian armies was low: around 600–700 men. One text itemizes the "conscripts" of Sumer: 182 men from Uruk, 192 from Adab, 94 from Nippur, 60 from Lagaš, 56 from Šuruppak, and 86 from Umma—670 in total. When conflicts arose, the regular army was reinforced by country militias levied from among the beneficiaries of arable land grants, to which nomad contingents could also be added.

The rise of Sargon around 2370 B.C. marked the triumph of a new army—one more technologically advanced and armed with the composite bow. Strength was also increasing: King Sargon was said to have attacked Syria with 5,400 men and his son Rimuš to have taken 5,700 prisoners from the Sumerian coalitionists who rebelled against him.

When the Sumerian rulers of the Ur III empire reorganized their army after the destruction of the Guti, they continued to equip it with a body of archers, based on the Akkadian model.

Throughout Mesopotamian history, the "private" (ERÉN) belonged to the staff of the palace, for whom he carried out civil as well as military tasks according to the circumstances. An unskilled laborer, he took care of agriculture and security operations, or waged battle. The army was reinforced by the incorporation of prisoners, notably Elamites, all the more so in order to fight against the incessant infiltration of nomads; some garrisons were stationed permanently in different points of the empire, especially along the borders.

During the entire period from the end of the 3d millennium to the beginning of the 2d, when the Mesopotamians were in contact with new populations, transformations progressively took place which became apparent in the 18th century and lasted up until the 1st millennium. These transformations mainly concerned the use of the horse and chariot, the improvement of siege equipment (assault towers and battering rams), the appearance of the supply services, and a developed intelligence service.

Decorated images from this period are rare, but the written documents, the Mari letters for example, describe the techniques used at the time of the sieges: the assailants filled in the moat that protected the town with a "mountain" of earth; this access ramp allowed the attack of the walls, while the archers, stationed on wooden towers, covered the soldiers who were maneuvering the battering ram. The chariots

blocked the access and prevented the approach of any external help. In response to these techniques, deeper moats, advanced walls, and glacis were developed to protect the walls from siege engines.

Moreover, this period is marked by a general development of military strength and a strengthening of the military formation of garrisons which were stationed permanently in numerous towns. The armies, whose size was still increasing, were often heterogeneous: the Babylonian forces included Elamites, Kassites, Chaldeans, Arameans, people from Mari, Hanaeans, and Yaminites. The integration of these contingents often presented a difficult problem for the central authority, notably for the nomad elements who were prone to desert at the slightest opportunity. At Mari, a *sugāgum,* in charge of the relationship between the royal administration and each of its communities, was responsible for the recruitment and the overseeing of units.

These armies included some mercenary troops, but only the sums of money and the gifts received by the high-ranking officers appeared in the "pay rosters"; for the professional soldiers (*rēdûm, bā*ʾ*irum*), the military service obligation was clearly linked to the usufruct of a piece of land, which was granted by the king in exchange for military service (cf. Hammurabi Code, §26–41).

In the first half of the 2d millennium, the assembled strength for large operations could be important: at the time of the siege of Nurrugum, Shamshi-Adad (1814–1782 B.C.) raised 60,000 men.

However, from the 17th century onward, another innovation improved the art of war: the appearance of a new type of war chariot. Light, equipped with two spoked wheels (four, six, or eight spokes), it was capable of quick and decisive maneuvers on the battlefield. In fact, if the horse and chariot were familiar for a long time, it was the Mitannians and the Kassites, great horsebreeders, who gave to the cavalry and chariotry their importance in the army and in society.

Some technical modifications, most often with Kassite names (the circle of the wheel, *allak,* the spoke, *anakandaš/akkandaš,* etc.) improved the chariot: the box was made lighter and placed on two wheels of a larger diameter. The wheels were situated more in the rear in order to lighten the load.

The "aristocracy" of the Mitannian cavalrymen generalized the use of the chariot in Mesopotamia by extending it to this particular form of chase known as "war." The commanders of the chariot squadrons, the *maryannu,* formed an elevated status in Mitannian society, and one finds officers occupying such a position also in the western regions of the Near East, which probably did not include Mitanni but who were influenced by that state.

The men that formed the crew of the chariots (*rākib narkabti*) had at their command a type of stableman (*kizû*); the units, probably of 10 chariots since a "dizainier" (*emantuhlu*) commanded them, were grouped in companies of 50 chariots under the orders of a "commander-of-50" (*rab hanša*).

Even though, at Nuzi and at Alalakh, one knows of some cases where the chariot masters sold their chariot, it seems that the chariotry belonged to the palace. Towns and villages, by way of an obligatory allowance, had to donate chariots, or parts of chariots, that were then collected by the officials and redistributed according to need. In the meantime, the chariots were stocked in warehouses and arsenals with the equipment, labeled as belonging to companies of the right or the left. A senior officer of the royal house (*šākin bīti*) was in charge of all this.

The chariots, whose manufacture called for local raw materials (wool and leather) but also imported materials (wood and bronze), represented an important investment and were an element of prestige and wealth. The period from the 16th to the 9th century B.C. is known as the age of chariotry in all of Mesopotamia.

The perfected chariot was adopted by the Hittites, who also applied the progress made in using horses: a Hittite work, although signed with a Hurrite name (*kikkuli*), reveals the technique of training a team of horses.

At the time of the battle of Kadesh, the Hittite army numbered more than 35,000 men and 3,500 chariots, and the Egyptians came close to being conquered by an outflanking movement by the Hittite chariotry that took them off guard.

The development of chariotry and the number of horses created the acute problem of replenishment of stores. During operations, it became necessary to live off the land: summer, harvesting time, was thus the

season when war was waged, despite the heat, all the more so since the dry terrain avoided the risk of the chariots getting bogged down in mud.

Until the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 B.C.), the army did not undergo any other important transformations, except perhaps the introduction of an army of slingers. The evolution of tactics, at least in Assyria, was more definite than that of technique. In fact, with Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244–1208 B.C.), the army became the tool of a policy of terror: towns were reduced to ashes, bodies of enemies piled up into heaps, and prisoners were mutilated. The objective of the war was not to annex new territory but to drain the riches and raw materials, and the consequences thereof must have dissuaded eventual resistance. This was the time of great raids across the whole country; thus, for example, Tiglath-pileser I (1115–1077 B.C.) pursued the Ahlamū-Arameans at the front of their chariots over hundreds of kilometers.

At the same time, the role of the warrior was exalted, as the poem of Erra shows. The army was the instrument of the god Ashur, destined to universal domination; warfare ideology thus found a juridical and religious basis.

During the 10th and 9th centuries, the army's strength was still increasing—Shalmaneser (858–824 B.C.) raised 120,000 men in one expedition across Syria—but two characteristics should be emphasized: on one hand, the growing importance of cavalry; on the other hand, a change of tactics. The army abandoned the great raids—(they allowed deep breakthroughs but let the nomads group themselves in the rear)—in favor of adopting a method of harassing the enemy in a defined space in order to assure lasting control of the terrain, even at the price of prolonged sieges.

With the country in submission, the army took part in economic exploitation. Loaded with booty and tribute-money—replenishment of stores, chariots, horses, oxen, precious objects, and cedar beams—it advanced no more than 20 or so miles on its daily marches.

On the other hand, the cavalry continued to grow in importance, still remaining tied to the chariotry with which it fought. The bas-reliefs of the palace of Nimrod show how the cavalrymen (most often barefoot and without a saddle or stirrup) operated in pairs: one held the reins of two mounts, the other fought with a powerful composite bow, wearing the cross-belt on his back, and a long, straight sword at his side. This was the system of modified chariotry; the bronze doors of Balawat illustrate the fundamental role that it played in battles and sieges.

It is with the reforms of Tiglath-pileser III, in the 8th century B.C., that the army of the last Assyrio-Babylonian empire was constituted. The Sargonids indeed continued his policy and his imperialistic aims using the methods by which it was equipped.

This powerful army belonged to a strongly centralized empire, which determined a certain number of its characteristics: the establishment of points of appui; increase in the number of liaison agents assuring the collection and transmission of information as well as the dispatching of orders; the organization of troops into permanent and provincial units. Numerous foreign contingents were integrated and were kept at a distance from their native land in order to break all "national" cohesion.

The strongholds assured in all of Assyria not only the surveillance of the surrounding countryside, the settling of nomadic populations, and exchanges with the natives, but also the collection of tribute money and free passage on main routes. They were the departure points of expeditions and the storehouses and warehouses for the replenishment of arms. There, like elsewhere in the country, these soldiers (*ṣābu*) carried out the service of the king (*dullu ša šarri*) which consisted of military as well as civil tasks for the economic well-being of the country.

These strongholds were connected to the central authority by a complex organization of messengers: ordinary messengers (*mār šipri*), mounted messengers (*rakbu*), emissaries (*kallap šipirti* or *kallû*). These couriers were responsible for a specific portion on the strategic itineraries.

The intelligence service, in which the crowned prince played an important role, was an essential piece of the military formation: the *dayyālu* were specially trained scouts to go and look for information, sometimes far in front of the lines. Trustworthy men (*ša qurbuti*) were in charge of verifying the authenticity of the information and assuring good transmission and coordination of orders.

Chariotry and cavalry remained the shock weapons par excellence but their respective importance changed in favor of cavalry. From now on, chariots together with the infantry played the role of light artillery from which volleys of arrows were shot. There were three men per chariot: the driver, an archer, and a third charioteer (*tašlīšu*), a shield bearer. Under Ashurbanipal a heavier chariot appeared with larger wheels which carried four men.

The "lists of horses," which included the names of superior officers of the cavalry and chariotry, show that there was an appeal to experts and specialized foreign contingents. For the chariots, the Syrian town of Samaria, the only non-Assyrian town whose unit was incorporated with its officers (*rab urâte*) in the royal army without losing its national identity, occupied a privileged position. The extreme skillfulness of its charioteers rested without a doubt on a clear technological advance (already evident under Shalmaneser) and the fact that they were professional soldiers; this professionalism gave the Assyrian king enough confidence to integrate these mercenaries into units composing his own permanent army.

As for the cavalry, it was the Urartians who furnished specialized units to the Assyrian army: their expertise was famous if one believes the account of the 8th campaign of Sargon II. However, they were integrated into the Assyrian army in various units, subordinate to an Assyrian command, perhaps because the absence of the mercenary tradition rendered their loyalty less certain.

This cavalry (*sisû ša pētḫalli*) presented, from the time of Sargon on, contingents who could attain 1,000 cavalrymen; from then on they evolved independently, and a new type of reins allowed their hands to be free to fight.

The important place held by chariotry, and even more so by cavalry, brought about the need for an abundant supply of remounts: some officers had the specific task of assuring the dispatching of horses, which was done more or less by lots, from one or several towns. The horses from the country of Kuš (Nubia), which were equipped with a proper harness, were considered the best for pulling chariots, while those from Mesu (in Iran) were the best for riding.

If a large part of this remount was furnished by tribute money from the eastern countries, one nonnegligible part was bought notably in Egypt and in Mannean country; an active and lucrative trade was led by specialized merchants (*tamkār sisê*).

Hanas (stud farms) were introduced in various places in the empire, especially in Syria and in the Assyrian capitals, Kalhu, Dur-Šarrukin, and Nineveh, whose arsenal (*ekal māšarti*) had been reconstructed on a larger scale in order to "make the horses gallop exhaustively."

As the name of an officer shows ("commander-of-50") and the composition of the cavalry units (approximately 50, 100, 150, 200, 300, and even 500 men) the tactical base unit (*kitullu, pirra*) must have been 50 cavalrymen.

The infantry (*zūku*) constituted the essential part of the army and was particularly efficient in sieges and in operations on the mountainous periphery of Mesopotamia. The populations there most often waged partisan wars which limited the usefulness of chariots.

The footmen included the heavy infantry (spear carriers) and the lighter infantry (slingers and archers). These archers could have been Assyrians but were more often raised by seminomadic populations, notably the S Babylonians, where the men, hunters and shepherds, personally possessed a bow and were skilled in using it.

To that were added the sappers; the *ṣab hupši,* the *kallāpu,* as well as the *kitkittû* who were in charge of destroying the enemy's defenses with spears and axes.

This army was composed of numerous foreign contingents who were often specialized. These contingents could be integrated in the existing units, which was the case of the conquered troops enrolled in the victorious army (for example, 10,000 Syrian archers and shieldbearers, 30,000 archers and 20,000 shieldbearers from Tabal, 30,500 Elamite archers and 30,500 Elamite shieldbearers incorporated by Sennacherib) or they even formed their own units like those levied on certain seminomadic tribes, particularly the Itueans and Gurreans who formed a sort of permanent "foreign legion" often used in military operations or as police throughout the empire.

Without coming back to the specialized Syrian troops in chariotry and those from Urartu for cavalry, it is necessary also to point out the presence in the Assyrian army of Arab contingents, on camels, pictured on the reliefs of the palaces of Tiglath-pileser III and of Ashurbanipal. Sidonians are likewise attested as specializing in the construction of boats. The role of the naval fleet in the army is very rarely mentioned in the Akkadian texts.

If the royal requests for oracles suggest there was a fear of rebellions, the contemporary documents hardly ever state acts of desertion or of disciplinary action; only the semi-nomads appear to have tried to take advantage of their mobility and of their knowledge of the country in order to escape from levies decreed by the central authority.

Whatever branch of the service the soldier belonged to, he was often enriched from pillaging and the gathering of booty, but nevertheless, throughout Mesopotamian history the soldier was locked into a situation that often approached that of a slave, deprived of any juridical status.

The hierarchy clearly distinguished the low-ranking staff (proper and specialized military) and the high-ranking staff, composed of the full ranks whose duties were both civil and military. The military titles were based either (1) on the number of men commanded by them: commander-of-50 (*rab hanšu*), leader-of-1000 (*rab 1 lim*), or (2) on the nature of the troop: *rab kalle,* "leader of dispatchers"; *rab raksu,* "leader of mounted messengers"; *rab kallāpāni,* "leader of sappers"; *rab dayyali,* "leader of scouts"; *rab urâte,* "leader of harnessing"; *rēš narkabti,* "master of the chariot"; *rab mugi ša pethalli,* "cavalry commander"; *rab mugi ša narkabti,* "chariot commander." The *mušarkisu* was in charge of all of the above.

The grades did not have the same importance in the different branches of service. The officers of cavalry and of chariotry were often rich, powerful, and important persons. The guard (*kiṣir šarruti*) constituted an elite army whose captains (*rab kiṣir*) were directly appointed by the king. The Assyrian army made up the provincial army units relieving the officers (*šaknu, bēl pāhati*) and the royal army (in the restricted sense of the term), itself constituted troops directly dependent on the king (*ša qurbuti*) and of troops "of the palace" under the command of the "great eunuch" (*rab ša rēši*).

The staff was composed of the great ones from the empire: from the second half of the 8th century this constituted two "generals-in-chef" (*turtānu*), that "of the right" and that "of the left." The "herald of the palace" (*nāgir ekalli*), the "great butler" (*rab šāqê*), and the "great senior officer" (*abarakku (rabû)*), as well as the other commanding officers, had military responsibilities. The king was the head of the army and actually directed the majority of campaigns; however, sometimes a general acted in his name, according to his orders.

This army, as powerful and well organized as it was, could not prevent the fall of the Assyrian empire (610 B.C.), then that of the Babylonian empire (539 B.C.) at the hands of the Persians. Everything had been centralized in the hands of the king; with the disappearance of the central authority, the army lost all cohesion and effectiveness.

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**MILK.** See ZOOLOGY.

**MILL, MILLSTONE.** Throughout the ANE the grinding of flour was considered a dull and onerous job, performed by slaves in the larger households, by housewives in the smaller ones (Exod 11:5; Isa 47:2; Job 31:10; Eccl 12:3). Because of the necessity of reducing grain to groats, meal, or flour, however, milling was very much part of domestic life. The scraping sound of grinding stones was as characteristic of a habited home as the light of the lamp (Jer 25:10; cf. Rev 18:22). For most women, grinding was a daily recurring task. To dispossess a family of its hand mill (*rēḥayim*) would amount to taking away its means of sustenance (Deut 24:6; cf. *Ant* 4.8.26). Alongside the small-scale grinding done in the homes of ordinary citizens, there is ample evidence for the existence in the ANE of larger "milling houses," often run by the state. As a rule, working conditions here were bad; most of the employees had come under the pressure of poverty and famine. Because of the semipermanent need for more grinders, the authorities were often led to use prisoners of war as millers. The Mesopotamian "mill house" (*bīt ararri*) did in fact serve as a prison, a usage obliquely referred to in the LXX text of Jer 52:11 (*oikia mylōnos*). Judean prisoners of war in Babylonia ended up in such milling plants (Isa 42:7; Ps 107:10–16; Lam 5:13), experiencing a fate similar to that of Samson (Judg 16:21).

While the most simple way of crushing grain was to pound it in a mortar (cf. Num 11:8), the more efficient hand mill (called *rēḥayim, ṭaḥănâ* [Eccl 12:4] or *ṭĕḥôn* [Lam 5:13]) was widely used in OT times. Although currently used in the handbooks, the term "hand mill" can easily give rise to misleading associations. The *rēḥayim* was in fact a "saddle-quern," consisting of two complementary stone slabs: the *pelaḥ taḥtît,* the slightly concave "nether stone" (Job 41:16), and the smaller, loaf-shaped, upper stone called *(pelaḥ) rekeb* (cf. Akk *narkabum*), "rider (stone)" (LXX *epimylion,* Deut 24:6; Judg 9:53; 2 Sam 11:21). The lower millstone was proverbial for its hardness (Job 41:16); basalt, imported from the Hauran, was a common material, yet limestone was frequently used as well. The upper millstone, made of basalt or sandstone, was quite heavy. Used as a missile, it could prove detrimental to the human skull (Judg 9:53; 2 Sam 11:21). Kneeling in front of the quern, the miller moved the "rider" up and down the lower stone, thus grinding the grain between the two. This characteristic working position, the upper part of the body exercising additional pressure on the upper stone, is represented by a number of Egyptian statuettes. In the later Iron Age the technique was slightly improved by the introduction of two new features. The upper slab was provided with a funnel-shaped hole through which the grain could be poured, and with an edge sufficiently deep to hold a wooden bar by which the stone could be brought into motion. Also places of enforced labor like the one in which Samson spent the last months of his life were equipped with hand mills; we have to picture a room like the one discovered by archaeologists in the Western Palace at Ebla, where sixteen grindstones were found in their original places.

By the Hellenistic period the rotary mill found its way into Palestine. Based on a Gallo-Roman model, it was made of a large convex nether stone (the *ʾisṭrôbil,* from Gk *strobilos,* "pinecone") surmounted by a concave upper stone named *qelet,* a term derived from Gk *kalathos,* "basket." The Babylonian Talmud informs us that an upper class housewife might possibly do the grinding herself with the small hand mill, but that she had her servant girls work with the larger rotary one (*b. Ketub.* 59b). This rotary mill was commonly driven by a donkey or a mule. In rabbinical writings it is therefore called the *rēḥayim šel ḥămôr,* "donkey mill," as opposed to the *rēḥayim šel ʾādām,* "man-operated mill." The NT passages which speak of drowning a man by fastening a *mylos onikos* round his neck and throwing him into the depth of the sea (Matt 18:6; Mark 9:42; Luke 17:2 has *lithos mylikos*; cf. Rev 18:21) refer to the heavy upper stone from the rotary mill.

Contrary to what is often asserted, there is no evidence of the use in biblical times of small rotary hand mills equipped with a peg by which the "rider" was made to turn around a small plug of hardwood fixed in the center of the lower stone. It is true that the Gk term *onos,* "donkey," can refer to the upper grinding slab, and that the Heb word *ḥămôr,* also meaning "donkey," is sometimes used in the Mishna and in later writings as a metaphorical designation of a load carrier, such as the bed-base (e.g., *m. Kelim* 18:3). Yet to conclude from these data that the *rēḥayim šel ḥămôr* was in fact a small rotary hand mill fixed upon an undercarriage is unwarranted speculation. The Jerusalem Talmud refers to the practice of putting a horse to treading the mill (*rêḥayim*), which supposes the presence of animal-driven rotary mills in Palestine (*y. Pesah.* 4.31a). It is, furthermore, not accidental that in the Greek text of the Gospels the millstone is no longer called "donkey" (*onos*) but "donkey-driven" (*mylos onikos*). The archaeological evidence adduced in support of the small rotary mill is based on erroneous interpretation. What modern scholars have considered to be Iron Age milling implements are in fact potter's wheels, as the smooth surfaces of the objects in question show. In order to serve their purpose, grinding stones needed to have a rough surface. The rotary hand mills used by Palestinian Arabs and described by ethnographers of the 19th and 20th century did not come into use until the Middle Ages.

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KAREL VAN DER TOORN

**MILLENNIUM.** Millenarianism is a variant of Jewish and Christian eschatology. The literal meaning of millennium (from Lat *mille*) is a "thousand," but the term is used of the expectation of a span of years which may be more or less than a thousand. This usually follows the destruction of evil and precedes the creation of a new heaven and a new earth and the enjoyment of eternal bliss. In some traditions the Messiah and the faithful reign in this earthly kingdom.

**A. The Pseudepigrapha**

The concept of this temporary reign is found in Jewish literature although it is not present in the Hebrew Scriptures. It does, however, occur in the Pseudepigrapha. In the Apocalypse of Weeks, *1 En.* 93 intimates the government of "his flock" or "all creation" (B and C) by the elect in the eighth week. No mention is made of the Messiah. *2 En.* 32:3–33:1 has a similar chronology. The eighth day (i.e., the year 8000) begins a time "not reckoned and unending." *2 Bar.* 29–30 describes a time of great earthly fertility for the righteous when the Anointed One is revealed. After this period those who sleep will arise and "the multitudes of the souls will appear together, in one assemblage, of one mind." We may compare *2 Bar.* 39:3–40:4 "he (the Anointed One) will … protect the rest of my people who will be found in the place that I have chosen. And his dominion will last forever until the world of corruption has ended." *4 Ezra* 7:26–31 gives a more detailed picture. The city and the land will appear again, the Messiah and the elect will be revealed, and they will rejoice for 400 years. This passage shows obvious Christian redaction. Then the Messiah and all human beings will die and the earth will go back to its primeval silence. After this the general resurrection and judgment occur.

*4 Ezra* 7:53–55 (23–26) implies an earthly paradise for the righteous. *4 Ezra* 20:25–27, 38–59 speaks of the restored Jerusalem (cf. 13:36). *Pss.Sol.* 17:26f. expects the Messiah, the gathering together of the people and tribes, the purification of Jerusalem (17:30), and the coming of the nations to bring gifts to Jerusalem (17:31). The *Sibylline Oracles* (5:414–30) anticipates the Messiah, the new city, and the new temple. We may also compare the Jewish-Christian *Apoc. El.* 5:36–39 which mentions a 1000-year reign.

**B. Rabbinic Sources**

Rabbinic references to the temporal messianic reign are as follows: *Pes.* 68a refers to the Messianic age and states that the "righteous are destined to resurrect the dead." *Ber.* 34b makes a distinction between this world and the days of the Messiah: in the latter there is no subjugation to foreign powers. A similar thought is expressed in *Sanh.* 91b. In *Sanh.* 99a three opinions are cited: "R. Eliezer said: The days of the

Messiah will last forty years … R. Eleazar b. Azariah said: Seventy years … Rabbi said: Three generations … R. Dosa said: Four hundred years … Rabbi said: Three hundred and sixty-five years, even as the days of the solar year … . Abimi the son of R. Abbahu learned: The days of Israel's Messiah shall be seven thousand years … Rab Judah said in Samuel's name: The days of the Messiah shall endure as long as from the Creation until now … R. Nahman b. Isaac said: As long as from Noah's day, which are mine …" For further distinction between the days of the Messiah and the world to come see *Šabb.* 63a; 113b. In *Sanh.* 97a Tanna debe Eliyyahu teaches that the Messianic era will last 2000 years (cf. *ʿAbod. Zar.* 9a). *Sanh.* 97b states that the son of David will come after not less than 85 jubilees, he will come in the last one. R. Hanan b. Tahlifa says after 7000 years and R. Abba the son of Raba (Babylonian Amora) after 5000 years. R. Jahocachua predicted 2000 years; Barakhja and R. Dosa, 600 years; Jose the Galilean 60 years or three generations; R. Akiba 40 years and Rabbi three generations (also 365 years).

**C. Christian Idea of the Millennium**

The idea of a messianic interregnum was adopted by Christians. In the NT we find an implicit reference to an interregnum in 1 Cor 15:23–28 where Christ will rule until the cosmic powers, including death, have been conquered and then he will hand over the kingdom of God (cf. Col 1:12–13). However, the only explicit reference to a messianic interregnum in the NT occurs in Rev 20:4–6, a text which has often taken on a fascination and extravagant importance for Christians. This pericope comprises the final acts of the mythic drama of the Divine Warrior portrayed in Revelation. It is the establishment of a temporary kingdom on the purified earth which appears to be refertilized by the blood of the slain (Rev 19:12–18). The saints, perhaps only the martyrs, experience "the first resurrection" and reign for a thousand years with the Messiah. Then comes the general resurrection, the judgment, and the creation of a new heaven and a new earth. Christians have traditionally interpreted this text allegorically and see it as a symbolic reference to the "death" and "resurrection" of Christians through baptism. They understand this to be the first resurrection. The thousand year span is the time from the birth of Christ until his parousia. Rev 20:4–6 is also used as one of the key texts which indicate that all baptized Christians share in the sovereignty and priesthood of Christ.

A similar concept of the interregnum occurs in the *Ascen. Is.* 4:1–18. Here Christ with his angelic forces destroys Beliar and his armies and takes them to Gehenna. Then he gives rest to the faithful who survive on earth with the saints who descend from heaven. No definite time span is mentioned. After this interim reign the faithful leave their bodies and ascend to heaven.

**D. Patristic Evidence**

**1. Papias.** Our first evidence of patristic belief in the millennium is from Papias as cited by Irenaeus (*Haer.* 5.33.4) and Eusebius (ca. 260–ca. 340 *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39). Papias is an enigmatic but important figure in the history of early Christianity. He was born about 70 C.E. and appears to have written about 125–130 C.E. He was a "hearer" of John, a companion of Polycarp, and later the bishop of Hierapolis. Irenaeus (ca. 130–ca. 200 C.E.) judges Papias to be an important witness to the eschatological tradition of the early Christian communities. Papias seems to have had a fairly representative group of apostolic traditions at hand, from both Palestine and Asia Minor. Irenaeus says that Papias wrote about the millennium in his Fourth Book and described it as a period of prodigious fertility and of profound peace. There will also be harmony among the animals (cf. Isa 40:6) who will no longer be carnivorous. Papias states that this is not to be taken in an allegorical sense, that is, it does not mean merely that the various nations will dwell in the peace of one faith. Our next reference to Papias is Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39), he says: "Among these (things of a fabulous nature) he (Papias) says that there will be a millennium after the resurrection of the dead, when the personal reign of Christ will be established on this earth." The witness of Papias is not to be taken lightly because he intimates that his eschatological tenets came through the "elders" who saw and heard John the disciple of the Lord.

**2. Justin Martyr.** Justin Martyr (100–165 C.E.), the most significant apologist in the 2d century, also bears witness to the belief in the millennium. The relevant text is found in *Dial.* 80–81. The main features of interest are as follows. Trypho, the Jew with whom he debates, challenges Justin on the purported Christian belief that "this place, Jerusalem, shall be rebuilt; and … your people … gathered together, and

made joyful with Christ and the patriarchs, and the prophets, both the men of our nation, and other proselytes who joined them before your Christ came." Justin assures him that many Christians do hold this belief but other sincere Christians are not of this mind. He adds "but I and others who are right-minded Christians on all points, are assured that there will be a resurrection of the dead, and a thousand years in Jerusalem, which will then be built, adorned, and enlarged, [as] the prophets Ezekiel and Isaiah and others declare." Justin bases his belief on the Hebrew Scriptures and obtains his idea of a thousand, as do Jewish writers, from Ps 90:4 "the day of the Lord being a thousand years" (cf. 2 Pet 3:8). We may summarize Justin's views as follows: the millennial belief is held by many Christians but not by all; the center of the kingdom will be the renewed Jerusalem; people will live lengthy lives; there will be physical begetting; the animals will live at peace with one another and with human beings; there will be a wondrous fertility of the earth.

**3. Irenaeus.** The next important writer to witness to millennial belief among Christians is Irenaeus (130–ca. 200). He was one of the most important Christian theologians and heresiologists of the 2d century. Irenaeus (*Haer.* 5:32–39) elaborates the millenarian theory which he inherited through Papias and Justin. He inserts his eschatological (apocalyptic) beliefs into his recapitulation theory. He states that, as the world was made in six days, so it will end in 6,000 years. The Antichrist, symbolized by the number 666, will reign for three and a half years and will then be destroyed by Christ and sent into the lake of fire. The righteous, however, will be brought to the times of the kingdom, that is, "the rest, the hallowed seventh day." God's promise to Abraham will be fulfilled and he will receive the promised inheritance of the land (Genesis 15). Irenaeus supports this tenet from Matt 8:11 "many from the east and the west shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob."

The last part of the text under discussion (*Haer.* 5:37–39) is not found in all manuscripts and may have been precluded because of Irenaeus' millenarian belief. (However, some fragments of the Syriac and Armenian versions were found in the early part of this century.) Irenaeus conceives of an earthly kingdom as the beginning of incorruption "by means of which kingdom those who shall be worthy are accustomed gradually to partake of the divine nature (*capere Deum*)." The righteous receive the land which was promised to Abraham and reign in it. Irenaeus argues that Abraham and his seed will receive the promised land at the resurrection of the just because God's promise cannot fail and he did not inherit the land during his earthly life (cf. Acts 7:5). The just will comprise both Jews and Gentiles. He also asserts that Christ referred to the millennium (earthly kingdom) when he said that he would not drink of the fruit of the vine until he drank it anew in the kingdom of the Father (Matt 26:29).

**4. The Montanists.** The millennial belief was received enthusiastically by the Montanists (ca. 156–200 or later), but they expected the heavenly Jerusalem to descend at Pepuza in Phrygia, not Jerusalem (Epiph. *Anac.* 48:1). From Phrygia, Montanism spread to Africa, Gaul, and Rome.

**5. Tertullian.** Tertullian (ca. 160–ca. 220), the foremost Western theologian, championed both the cause of millenarianism and the Montanists. In *Adv. Marc.* 3:24–25, he states that the Jews will be restored to Palestine and that the city of Jerusalem will come down from heaven. The faithful will reign for 1,000 years. He adds that in one city in Asia Minor, the new Jerusalem had been seen hovering in the sky for 40 days. Tertullian repudiates an allegorical interpretation of these things (*Adv. Marc.* 4:31).

**6. Commodianus.** Commodianus (3d century or later) followed the schema of 7,000 years (*Carmen* 791–96). He adopted chiliastic views and expected marriage, the begetting of children, a clement climate, universal peace, and the return of the ten tribes.

**7. Victorinus of Pettau.** Victorinus of Pettau (d. ca. 304), author of the oldest extant Latin commentary on the Apocalypse, takes a more modest approach but keeps quite close to a literal interpretation of Rev 20:4–6 except that he sees the millennium as the fulfillment of God's promise to Abraham. Jerome (342–420 C.E.) thoroughly redacted this commentary of Victorinus and interpreted the millennium allegorically.

**8. Lactantius.** A more fervent adherent to the chiliastic approach is later found in Lactantius (ca. 240–ca. 320). He draws upon the *Sibylline Oracles* and describes the righteous as begetting children and being served by the heathen (Div. Inst. 7:24). He states that the cosmic bodies will be radiant and the earth

prodigiously fertile. Among other sources Lactantius was influenced by the *Fourth Eclogue* of Vergil (70–19 B.C.E.).

The millennial belief in the early church was a tradition that was both vigorous and persistent and one which obtains in many persuasions today. Many Christians who opposed the belief accused Christian millenarianists of "Judaizing." Millenarianism was entertained by the *docti (-ae)* and the *indocti (-ae)* alike. It was the subject of serious debate in the major centers of Christian theology in Rome, Alexandria, Asia Minor, and perhaps Gaul.

The Gnostic, Cerinthus (ca. 100 C.E.), as reported by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.28) taught not only millenarianism but a crass chiliasm. During the thousand years people would dine sumptuously and celebrate nuptial joys.

Nepos of Arsinoe (cited by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 7.24) espoused a millenarianial theology characterized by a crude chiliasm. Apollinaris of Laodicea (ca. 310–ca. 390 C.E.) also taught a millennial theology but we only know this from Epiphanius (ca. 315–403) who said that the faithful would have the same bodies as they have now and they would keep the OT law, including circumcision (*Panarion* 77:36–38). According to Basil (ca. 330–79 C.E.), Apollinaris' views were more mythical but he did expect the observance of the Sabbath, circumcision, and the dietary laws (*Ep.* 263:4).

Similar ideas appear in Methodius of Olympus (d. ca. 311 C.E.). He scorned the Jewish interpretation of the Feast of Tabernacles. Combining a biblical realism with allegorization, he understood it as a type of the resurrection and the setting up of the tabernacle in the 7,000th year in the new creation. He speaks about celebrating with Christ "the millennium of rest" and that after the thousand years the body will be changed "from a human and corruptible form into angelic size and beauty" (*Symp.* 9:5).

The early theology of Augustine of Hippo (354–430) also shows millenarian tendencies but his later eschatology is influenced by Tyconius and he abandons millenarianism (*De civ. D.* 20:6–7).

**E. Opponents of Millenarianism**

Origen (ca. 185–ca. 254) made the first attempt to discredit a millennial interpretation of Rev 20:4–6 and replaced it with a spiritual interpretation by applying it instead to the spiritual growth of the soul which begins in this life and continues in the next. Tyconius, the Donatist theologian (d. ca. 400) taught that the thousand years of Rev 20:4–6 refer to the present age and to those who are reborn through baptism: the physical resurrection is in the future. The millennial rule of Christ extends from his passion to his second coming. It was Tyconius who influenced Augustine to move from his millennial position to a spiritualization of the thousand years (*De civ. D.* 20:7; cf. Maiers 1981, 108ff.; 130; 161ff.; 174ff. and 294ff.). In his later teachings on eschatology, Augustine spiritualized the millennium which he taught began with the incarnation of Christ and was fully realized in the earthly church.

The millennial hope lived on in some of the Protestant reformers, e.g., the Anabaptists of the 16th century. It obtains today in various forms among the Mormons, the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Jehovah Witnesses.

It is especially noteworthy that Christopher Columbus and other pioneers in the New World were influenced by Joachism, a development of the ideas of the "millennium" as taught by Joachim of Fiore (1135–1202). Adherents to this eschatological tradition anticipated a new age which would be ushered in by spiritual persons, thus supplying a powerful incentive to colonize the New World. Many identified these with the Franciscans and the Dominicans in their work in Latin America: they saw the New World as the new earthly Paradise.

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**MILLO** (PLACE) [Heb *millô*ʿ (מִלּוֹא)]. An unspecified place associated with the City of David. It is mentioned in this connection in six OT passages (2 Sam 5:9; 1 Kgs 9:15, 24; 11:27; 1 Chr 11:8; 2 Chr 32:5), and once (spelled defectively) in the construction *bêt millōʿ* "house of Millo" (2 Kgs 12:20 [RSV]; cf. LXX [v 21] *oikou Mallō* "house of Mallo"). The word *millôʿ* is frequently analyzed as a noun associated with the Heb verb *mālēʾ* "to be full." The Millo at the City of David has been interpreted as referring to the filling of a breach in a wall, the filling of a space in the Tyropoeon Valley between the western and eastern ridges, the filling of a gap between the City of David and the temple mound, a filled stone tower, or the rebuilding of (damaged) supporting terraces. The archaeological evidence uncovered in recent years at the City of David points to the meaning "repair of supporting terraces" along the precipitous steep eastern ridge of the City of David.

After conquering the city from the Jebusites, David would have needed to repair these terraces to support his residence and other structures built on them (2 Sam 5:9; 1 Chr 11:8). Later Solomon has to rebuild these terraces again (1 Kgs 9:15, 24; 11:27); another interpretation suggests that in 1 Kgs 9:24 the text means that Solomon filled up the gap between the City of David and the temple platform where the king may have built a palace for his wife, Pharaoh's daughter. Still later Hezekiah again repaired these City of David terraces, at least on the eastern slope if not elsewhere in the city (2 Chr 32:5).

The etymological explanation of Millo is not entirely secure. It is not reflected in LXX's rendering *akra* "citadel." An Egyptian etymology has also been proposed. See BETH-MILLO. It is possible that during the divided monarchy the term Millo was replaced by the term Ophel (from a Heb word meaning "to rise"), signifying a raised fortress or citadel such as the Ophel at Jerusalem (2 Chr 27:3; 3:14), and the ones at Samaria and at Dibon (Mare 1987: 65–66; Mazar 1975: 173). See OPHEL.

The phrase *bêt millōʿ* (2 Kgs 12:20) recalls the similar (but differently spelled) expression referring to a stronghold called Beth-millo, located near Shechem (Judg 9:6, 20 [2x]; 2 Kgs 12:20).

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W. HAROLD MARE

**MINAEAN LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

**MINAH** [Heb *māneh* (מָנֶה)]. See COINAGE; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**MINIAMIN** (PERSON) [Heb *minyāmîn* (מִנְיָמִין)]. 1. The eponymous ancestor of a priestly family at the time of the high priest Joiakim (Neh 12:17).

2. A priest present at the dedication of the Jerusalem wall (Neh 12:41).

3. An assistant to Kore, the overseer of freewill offerings for the temple, in the time of Hezekiah (2 Chr 31:15). Miniamin was one of those who distributed portions in the priestly cities. The LXX, Vg and the Syr have Benjamin (Heb *binyāmîn*) here.

Only the assimilation of the *n* distinguishes Miniamin from Heb *mîyāmîn*, which the RSV renders Miamin (Ezra 10:25; Neh 12:5) and Mijamin (1 Chr 24:9; Neh 10:8). While the literal meaning of the name ("from the right") is clear, there has been dispute over the significance of the name. KB suggests that it may be related in meaning to Benjamin, hence denoting "southern." Noth (*IPN*) suggests that the name denotes "lucky person." The name is also attested in cuneiform business documents dated in the reigns of the Persian emperors Artaxerxes I and Darius II.

NORA A. WILLIAMS

**MINIM.** See EBIONITES.

**MINISTRY IN THE EARLY CHURCH.** When discussing the early Christian understanding of ministry, one must be prepared to distinguish the extent to which the NT conceives of ministry in terms of

particular functions performed by titled persons associated with institutionalized offices and exercising some formal authority, and the extent to which it conceives of ministry in the more nonofficial terms of general service performed by any Christian believer.

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A. Terms for "Ministry"
B. Jesus' Ministry as Model
C. Ministry in the Early Church
D. Ministry in Matthew's Gospel
E. Ministry According to Paul
    1. Spiritual Gifts and Ministry
    2. The Apostle
F. Ministry in the Pastoral Epistles
    1. Elders, Bishops, and Apostles
    2. Ordination
G. Ministry in the Johannine Corpus
    1. The Gospel of John
    2. The Epistles and Revelation
H. Conclusion

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**A. Terms for "Ministry"**

In the time of the NT writers there were four possible Greek terms for " (official) ministry": (1) *telos:* "office" or "free service," as rendered by a citizen, emphasizing its perfect fulfillment; (2) *timē:* "office," sometimes generally "task," stressing the dignity that is combined with its practice; (3) *archē:* "office" or "magistracy" in its character of leadership, of leading those who will follow; and (4) *leitourgia:* "public service," performed by citizens at their own expense to the community or to the gods (e.g., organizing and financing a temple festival; and the "ministry" of the priests in the LXX).

With the exception of *telos,* these words appear also in the NT in the sense of "official ministry." As such, however, they describe only the ministry either of Jewish priests (*timē*; Heb 5:4, cf. 3:3 of Moses; *leitourgia;* Luke 1:23; Heb 8:6), of pagan civil officers (*timē*; cf. Rom 13:7; *archē;* Luke 12:11; 20:20; Tit 3:1; *leitourgia;* cf. Rom 13:6), of (good or bad) angels (*archē;* Rom 8:38; 1 Cor 15:24; Eph 1:21; 3:10; 6:12; Col 1:16; 2:10, 15; Jude 6; *leitourgia;* cf. Heb 1:7), or, finally, of Jesus himself (*timē;* cf. Heb 3:3; *archē;* cf. Col 2:10; *leitourgia;* cf. Heb 8:2; 10:11–12). Similarly, the terms *hierateia* ("priesthood") or *hierateuein* ("to serve as a priest") are used of Jewish priests (Luke 1:9; Heb 7:5), while *(arc)hiereus,* ("high)priest," is used of Jewish or pagan priests (Acts 14:13) and of Jesus himself (Heb 2:17; 5:6 etc.), and *hierateuma* ("body of priests") is used of the Church as a whole (1 Pet 2:5, 9).

In Rom 15:16, Paul speaks of himself as a "minister (*leitourgos*) of Christ, who performs a priestly service (*hierourgein*) to the gospel" by bringing all nations as an offering to God, as Isa 66:20 has foretold. Here Paul may also have been influenced by the prophecy of Isa 61:6 that, in the time of fulfillment, all Israelites will become the "ministers" (*leitourgoi,* the only place in which this term and all its derivatives appear in Isaiah). Otherwise, none of the words listed above distinguishing an "official" ministry from a service freely rendered by any citizen or member of a religious group are ever used in the NT for the ministry of one or several believers (as distinguished from the whole body). In Acts 13:2 the subject of *leitourgein* is, probably, "prophets and teachers," however, what they are doing is certainly not different from what all members of the Church are doing time and again; in Phil 2:17, 25, 30 *leitourgia (leitourgos)* designates charitable help.

This is significant due to the fact that this particular usage is characteristic of all the different NT writers and that it cannot be attributed to any literary interdependencies. It does not say that there were no ministries of single persons or of groups of persons within the church; rather it indicates that the NT writers consistently refused to make any distinction between an official ministry of a selected person or group and that of any believer. Despite the fact that the Greek-speaking world offered to the early Church

a rather rich vocabulary for the notion of "ministry," most NT writers instead utilized a comparatively rare Greek word that hardly ever appears in the LXX: *diakonia,* "service" (especially of a place at table). Even the personal form of *diakonos* ("servant, slave, waiter") is to be found only in Esther (1:10; 2:2; 6:1–5), in an additional verse in Prov 10:4 (not found in the MT), and once in the very late book of *4 Maccabees* (9:17). Thus, strangely enough, a secular term is used to describe any ministry in the Church, be it a special one or one done by all the members.

This spontaneous usage in all the different layers of NT literature shows what an impression the challenge of Jesus' way of life and teaching made on all his followers. The total (eschatological) newness of a service without institutional hierarchies or resort to force was so striking that it became impossible to speak of the honor or the exemplary model of an "official" ministry apart from that of any other person in the church. Wherever somebody was serving Christ, it was exactly what a slave would do for his lord, i.e., a simple, worldly service, not a domination of others.

**B. Jesus' Ministry as Model**

Jesus held no official title or responsibility. He was neither an elder nor a member of the central council; neither a scribe nor a priest. When people called him "rabbi," it meant nothing more than "sir"; we never hear of any rabbinic sage who taught Jesus, or of Jesus' adherence to any rabbinic school. His parables were totally different from those of the rabbis, not illustrating some ethical or dogmatic statement, but self-contained stories, in the telling of which the kingdom of God became reality for the hearer. He was not even a teacher in the strict sense of the word. There was neither theology, nor christology, nor pneumatology one could learn from him and transmit to others; yet theology, and christology, and pneumatology came to life implicitly in his whole ministry, in his healing, in his fellowship with tax collectors, and in his parables and ethical commandments.

In contrast to the Jewish student who asks a rabbi for permission to follow (and study with) him, Jesus called his own followers. When someone would ask to follow him, he was either sent back (Mark 5:19) or the affiliation proved unsuccessful. Jesus' authority apparently was such that, with the exception of the rich ruler (who, primarily approached Jesus on his own initiative!, Mark 10:17–22), it never failed to inspire a following (see Luke 9:59 = Matt 8:21). Jesus did not even ask his future disciples whether they could read, for he did not intend to introduce them to a rabbinic course in exegesis, but into his own communion with God. Though a call of women into discipleship is not reported, it is clear that women followed him (Luke 8:1–3; Mark 15:41). "Serving" seems to be their specific form of discipleship (Mark 1:31; 15:41; Luke 8:3; John 12:2), and in so doing they perform the ministry of the angels (Mark 1:13) and of Jesus himself (Mark 10:45; Luke 22:27; 12:37, cf. John 13:1–11), the ministry that the male disciples should have performed (Mark 10:43–44; Luke 22:26, cf. John 12:26; 13:12–17).

Jesus likely called a group of twelve disciples to participate in his whole ministry. It is true that 1 Cor 15:5 speaks of "the Twelve," not of the "eleven." This, however, was a fixed phrase and does not prove its origin in an appearance of the Risen Lord to a group that had not existed previously. Thus, the historicity of the twelve disciples around Jesus is very probable, since it is difficult to imagine that the experience of a post-Easter group would be projected back into the earthly life of Jesus in such a way that one name was substituted by that of Judas Iscariot. There is, with the exception of a Qumranian body of fifteen (consisting of three priests and twelve laymen; 1QS 8:1), no evidence of a Jewish office of twelve persons apart from that of the twelve tribal princes and/or chief priests (see also 1QM 2:1–3; 11QTemple 57:11–15; 4QOrd 2:4; 3:4). This means that the twelve disciples of Jesus represented the twelve tribes and manifested Jesus' desire to call back to God the whole people of Israel, not merely a penitent part of it. Hence, their role was regarded as an eschatological one (Matt 19:28; Luke 22:30; cf. Rev 21:12, 14), not an office in an earthly institution. Whether Jesus ever considered what their function might be among his followers after his death is disputed. The Last Supper was, at least, directed towards some kind of continuation, and few doubt that Peter indeed received some kind of a specific commission (Mark 16:7; Luke 22:32; John 21:15–18), though not in the form of Matt 16:18–19 (see D below).

Before the mission of the Twelve (Mark 6:7–13) or the seventy [two] (Luke 10:1–12) Jesus bestowed upon them the authority of both proclaiming the kingdom of God and healing/exorcising. This double

authority is typical of all apostolic authority, whether reported by Mark (6:12–13), Matthew (10:8), Luke (10:9), John (14:12; 15:27), Paul (Rom 15:18–19), or in Acts (2:42–43). It is the power of his words and deeds that makes the authority of an apostle manifest.

**C. Ministry in the Early Church**

Jesus' impact on the early Church was considerable. Some followed his example literally as itinerant prophets (*Did.* 11:8), giving up their permanent domicile, probably also family (*Did.* 11:11?) and possessions (Matt 23:34; 10:41).

Also in the more or less institutionalized parish the newness of its life, inaugurated by Jesus, was manifested. Its real center, however, was not something like a temple cult or a synagogue service, but a meal. The scriptures were no longer interpreted by the trained scribe, who knew all the parallels, but simply by reading them in the light of what had happened in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus. The old rule of a minimum of ten persons for a prayer service no longer obtained, since wherever two or three were gathered in his name, he would be present (Matt 18:20). This did not exclude a kind of leadership of the Twelve (1 Cor 15:5; for Luke these were identical with the apostles; Acts 1:26; 2:42; 6:2). Historically, we are not sure what their function really was. Clearly some functional leadership was exercised by the three "pillars" (Gal 2:9), Peter, John, and James (a former unbeliever). This shows both God's faithfulness to his previous call during the earthly ministry of Jesus and his freedom to choose new vessels of his gifts (which becomes even more striking in the subsequent call of Paul). The Spirit, of course, could lead former Pharisees (Paul), scribes (Matt 13:52), or priests (Acts 6:7) into the new fellowship, provided that this did not lead to a new hierarchy of trained or ordained officers over against laypersons (Matt 23:8–10; Mark 10:43–44). Consequently, there were no specifically "holy" persons or places; all church members were holy and all the earth was the Lord's (Acts 9:13, 32, 41; 1 Cor 10:26).

"The seven" were chosen "to serve tables" (Acts 6:2). However, one of them was also preaching and doing wonders (6:8, 10), while another was an evangelist (21:8; 8:5, 35, 40). Since, according to Acts 8:1, the persecution following Stephen's martyrdom spared the apostles, it seems that it targeted only the party of the Hellenists within the Jerusalem church and that the seven were its leaders (perhaps already within the social-welfare system of the Jewish synagogue prior to the split between Christian and non-Christian Jews; Walter 1983). If Stephen and Philip are typical examples, the Hellenists were a group under charismatic leadership and were clearly distinguished from the leadership under the Twelve.

Paul was called to his ministry by the risen Christ himself. Since this happened after the ascension, he was, in the strict understanding of Luke, not an apostle (Acts 1:21–22). He belonged to the "prophets and teachers" in Antioch, i.e., to the preachers of the local church. He, together with Barnabas, was called "apostle" in the sense of "missionary" (Acts 14:4, 14), probably in traditional Antiochean language. No apostle ordained or installed him to this service (13:1–3).

In Acts 15:6 and 21:18 we suddenly read of "elders" (or "presbyters"), apparently led by James. He appears unexpectedly in 12:17, singled out from the Church as a whole (cf. also 15:13). This fits into the picture of Gal 2:9, where he is mentioned first among the three "pillars," before Peter (see also 1:18–19). All this suggests that he succeeded Peter as the central leadership figure after Peter's imprisonment and departure from Jerusalem. We are never told how and when elders were introduced. It might have been assumed that the Church would simply adopt the familiar order of the Jewish synagogue as long as it still considered itself part of such a group. Acts 14:23 states that Paul appointed elders in Asia Minor. Historically, this may be questioned, since Paul never mentions elders in his undisputed letters (nor in those to the Colossians or Ephesians). According to Acts 20:28 they should rather be "overseers" (*episkopoi*) of the Church. While later this word would become an official title ("bishops"), here it still indicates function (and "elder" remains the name of the office).

James 5:14; 1 Pet 5:1, 5 and the Pastoral Epistles are witnesses of this order, though it is not always clear where "elder" means an (official) minister and where it simply refers to an older man (1 Tim 5:1–2; 1 Pet 5:5) or even one of the first generation of the Church, who had seen one or several of the original apostles (thus, probably, the author of 2 and 3 John, and Papias [Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.4]). Doubtless, there were men "of repute" in the church of Jerusalem (Gal 2:2), and Paul acknowledges their authority (which

he believed was equivalent to his own). These included James the brother of Jesus; Peter, and John; and in a wider sense "all the apostles," who seem to be a larger group than the Twelve (1 Cor 15:5, 7, cf. 5:6). But since Paul is silent on this point we do not know how early elders became officers in this church and what their status and rights actually were.

**D. Ministry in Matthew's Gospel**

Most NT scholars believe that the author of the gospel of Matthew lived within a Jewish-Christian Judaism, and that his intended audience was a group of Jewish Christians living in Syria, and especially in Antioch and its surroundings. Matthew's understanding of ministry therefore must be viewed in that light.

Only Matthew reports Jesus' admonition that his disciples should never let themselves be called "rabbi," "father," or "master" (23:8–10). This indicates both the presences of teachers within the Church, and the concern not to elevate them above others, since all of them are but "servants" (v 11) of one another. The task of the rabbi "to bind" and "to loose" is given explicitly to Peter, though these verses (16:17–19) are almost certainly not authentic word of Jesus; otherwise the mere warning to the disciples and Peter in Mark 8:30–33 would be unimaginable. A Semitic background is not to be doubted, however. The words may mirror the situation of an early stage of a Jewish-Christian church, for which the Jesus tradition handed down by Peter was of crucial importance. It might even be that 1 Cor 3:11 already corrects such a claim by a Petrine church. It is also in the gospel of Matthew that we read about a similar authority being given to every member of the Church (18:18 and 19), and it is very difficult to decide which saying is older. In the context of Judaism "binding" and "loosing" means to declare which commandment is still binding and which is not, and by so declaring to bind or release a person from guilt. (For instance, the ban on any work on a sabbath does not bind the priest who has to bring offerings; thus he is released from any guilt when doing his prescribed work.) Basically this has been done for the whole Church in the teaching of Peter, and is going on continually, on this basis, in detailed decisions of the Church. In practice, they will be given by ecclesiastical scribes (13:52). It is possible that 16:19 emphasizes more ethical decisions, while 18:18 focuses on declarations of guilt or forgiveness, but the distinction is questionable since the same verbs are used in both passages.

This "teaching to observe all that I have commanded you" (28:20) is so important because this "last commission" of Jesus is associated with the sending of the disciples to all the nations. Thus, teaching and observing is expected first from the Twelve (especially from Peter) and then from all believers. The tension between the Mosaic law (still valid) and the mission to the gentiles (who are now accepted into the Church) is resolved by Matthew in the highest commandment to love God and one's neighbor. This is the "constitution" of the Church, which defines all the single commandments. This "golden rule" also forms the inclusion of the main body of the Sermon on the Mount in 5:17 and 7:12; it is added by Matthew in 19:19 (and, in its OT wording, in 9:13; 12:7) and emphasized specifically in 22:39–40.

The warning against pseudo-prophets (7:15–23) proves that there were also faithful prophets working in the Church in Matthew's day. It is not their prophecies, exorcisms, and mighty deeds that go wrong, but their "lawlessness," which leads to their neglect of love (24:11–12). The existence of prophets in Matthew's church is buttressed by the promise of Jesus to send prophets (and wise men and scribes, 23:34). Matthew 10:41 suggests that they are rather itinerant prophets. The most astonishing fact is the total lack of any reference to elders or to any fixed ecclesiastical organization. The sinner, in danger of getting lost, is to be dealt with by any member of the Church as a whole, not by some leading authority (18:10–20). The ministry is seen in its OT and Jewish context as that of prophets (perhaps already receding into the background) and rabbis or scribes (responsible both for ethical decisions and for the interpretation of the scriptures in the new light of Jesus Christ). But none of them held an institutional office or rendered a service that could not be rendered by any other gifted member. Therefore, the Church is ruled by love, which does not allow a minister to be exalted over non-ministers on the basis of their respective functions, since all of them are but servants.

**E. Ministry According to Paul**

**1. Spiritual Gifts and Ministry.** The freedom of God is manifested in the call of Paul (an early persecutor of the Church who had never been a disciple of the earthly Jesus) to be his decisive witness

before all nations. Though Luke (on the basis of Acts 1:21–22) might not include him among the apostles, Paul himself saw the "apostle" as the witness whom the risen Christ had installed for the proclamation of the gospel, and he insisted that his apostleship was equal to that of the Twelve and any apostles called before him (1 Cor 9:1; 15:5–8). Neither he nor Acts tell of any formal authority held by the originally chosen apostles, and even Gal 1:11–17 excludes such. (Paul did not even meet Peter and James until three years after his call (Gal 1:18–19).

There were certainly leaders in the churches founded by Paul ("those who are over you," or "who care for you," 1 Thess 5:12), as well as "first converts" who "devoted themselves to the service of the saints" and should, therefore, "be given recognition" (1 Cor 16:15, 18). Phil 1:1 mentions "overseers and servants," using the same terms that later designate "bishops and deacons," but apparently these are used here to qualify their functions, not as titles. No installation or legitimation either by the apostle or by the Church is mentioned; they have dedicated themselves to serving the Church. Rom 12:8 considers "those who are over (you)" to possess a special gift of the Spirit, in the same way as others may be prophets, or teachers, or healers. This shows that the Spirit is not opposing, but rather creating legal order. Being an overseer (bishop) or servant (deacon) is due to one gift among many, not qualitatively different from other gifts.

In 1 Cor 12:28, Paul initially enumerates persons ("first apostles, second prophets, third teachers"), followed by other gifts, to which he refers impersonally: "then miracles, healing charisms, helping, administration, various kinds of tongues" (RSV personalizes all of them). But in Rom 12:6–8 this is reversed; personal terms are used for "teachers, exhortors, contributors, helpers, and merciful people," whereas "prophecy" and "deacony" are spoken of impersonally. Thus, apostles, prophets and teachers are, as a rule, certainly of first importance in the Church, and Paul naturally thinks of them first. They belong to the "higher gifts" of 1 Cor 12:31, in other words, to those gifts that are normally needed most urgently. Yet, this does not lead to any fixed hierarchy which would distinguish members of a special quality (officers or priests) from other members without it, and it may be that in another situation different gifts would become preeminent.

Nor does Paul qualify male ministers differently from female ones. In Christ, "there is neither male nor female" (Gal 3:28), and this basic truth should manifest itself in the order of the Church, if only she covers her head, as it was customary in Paul's time (1 Cor 11:5–6, 13). The passage 14:34–35 prohibiting any speaking by a woman in the church service must, therefore, be a very early—but non-Pauline—marginal remark. While it is found in all manuscripts, it is variously placed either after v 33 or after v 40. This suggests that subsequent copyists inserted a marginal note, some at the place where it started (after v 33), others where it ended (after v 40). It may have been first written under the influence of 1 Tim 2:11–12 (cf. below). According to Rom 16:7, there was even a woman among the apostles (see TEV; RSV translates "men of note"): "Junia" is a well-known female name, whereas there is no evidence whatsoever for a male name "Junias" (since the name appears in the genitive case, both forms are equally possible). This woman might have been the wife of Andronicus (Brooten). In a similar way Phil 4:2–3 speaks of two women that are co-workers of Paul "in the gospel" (meaning "in the proclamation of the gospel"). It is uncertain whether Paul would have regarded them as "apostles" (in the full sense of the word, not in the sense of "messengers of the churches" as in 2 Cor 9:23) although such is possible.

There is only one standard for evaluating the gifts of the Spirit: "love" (1 Corinthians 13), which expresses itself "for the common good" (1 Cor 12:7) in "building up the church" (14:3, 5) and, thus, actually proclaiming "Jesus as lord," not just one's own ideas (12:3). Love demands a way of speaking to which the Church as a whole or even an outsider is able to respond (14:16, 23–25). 1 Corinthians 14:29 is, unfortunately, ambiguous so that it does not become clear whether those who "weigh what is said" by the prophets are, in Paul's understanding, all the church members or just other prophets. For pragmatic reasons, some gifts must be known to and recognized by the Church. For example, people must know the "administrator" to arrange for a meeting place, but it is not necessary to know who exercises the gift of intercession for the Church, even though this ministry may be much more important than administration. Such a service recognized by the Church, in a more or less formal way, may be called an "office." This

would not give it a different or special character, but would simply indicate that it has (for practical purposes) been given a recognized place within the order of the (local) parish.

**2. The Apostle.** For Paul, only apostleship is unique because the apostle is the witness of the risen Christ, the one foundation of the Church (1 Cor 3:11). That the apostle has seen him in a way clearly distinguished from all later experiences in visions and auditions (2 Cor 11:16–17; 12:1–4) makes his ministry unique (Gal 1:12; 1 Cor 9:1; 15:8). See also APOSTLE. The apostle is certainly more than an eyewitness to an event that happened at a certain point of history. He also conveys salvation to his hearers. This is done by the authority of his proclamation of the gospel. Even though the gospel of the crucified and risen Christ can be expressed in a credal formula which Paul "has received (from the church tradition in Jerusalem or Antioch) and handed down" to the Corinthians (1 Cor 15:1–5), the authority of Paul's preaching is not derived from that of other apostles (Gal 1:11–12); he could legitimately oppose Peter just as he could the "superlative apostles" in Corinth (Gal 2:11–20; 2 Cor 12:11–12).

The pivotal question for the Church is whether this ministry of the apostle (certainly set apart from others by Christ himself) was to be continued after the death of all the early apostles and, if so, in what way. In the authentic letters of Paul we see only that he often sent fellow workers to churches that he himself was unable to visit. Occasionally, he pointed to the fact that they were "appointed" (not by himself, though, but by the churches; (2 Cor 8:19, 23). No special rite of installation is mentioned; Paul seems to be referring either to an informal recognition of his messengers by the churches or to their decision to send some of their members to him. Without any doubt, his proclamation of the gospel must go on. Thus, there are some services without which the Church cannot live, whereas others (like speaking in tongues, mentioned in 1 Cor 12:10, 28–30; (also 1 Thess 5:19?; but not in Romans 12) may not be found in all the churches. One might include in the lists of indispensable services the administration of baptism and eucharist, though the apostles did not usually baptize (1 Cor 1:14–17, cf. Acts 10:48; 2:41–42; 19:5–6, etc.) and Paul never mentioned anyone presiding over the eucharist (instead, he addressed himself to the whole church when speaking of it; (1 Cor 10:15–17; 11:23–34). Thus, preaching the word, baptizing, and gathering for the eucharist must continue, and a church cannot be "Christian" without being responsible for these; but Paul seems unconcerned whether these are to be administered by persons specifically appointed or by any member appointed time and again by the Spirit.

**F. Ministry in the Pastoral Epistles**

**1. Elders, Bishops, and Apostles.** The Pastoral Epistles certainly presuppose "elders" and "deacons" in the churches they address (1 Tim 3:8–13; 4:14; 5:17–19; Tit 1:5). The term "the women" in 1 Tim 3:11 refers either to the wives of the deacons (but why would they not be mentioned in vv 1–7 with regard to the "bishop"?) or perhaps to deaconesses. Pivotal is the relation of the "bishop" (1 Tim 3:1–2; Tit 1:7, both times in the singular) to the "elders." Is there one bishop, chosen out of and presiding over the group of elders as described in the letters of Ignatius? Or are there, in each local church, several bishops, identical with the "elders who rule well" (as opposed to other elders who do not rule; 1 Tim 5:17; though this phrase may also simply mean that some are excelling in the task of ruling common to all elders)? However, the transition in Tit 1:5–6 is abrupt without any hint that a new ministry should be introduced, and what that text demands of elders, 1 Tim 3:2, 5 similarly demands of the bishop. "Bishop" here still seems to be a term qualifying the function of a person whose official title is "elder," as in Acts 20:28. That means that the singular is generic and due to traditional exhortations or ways of speaking, as we might say: "Appoint good ministers in your church, for the servant of the lord must be …" Strikingly different from Paul is the fact that here there is no place for female elders or bishops (1 Tim 2:11–15). However, the ministry of intercession by "enrolled" widows (1 Tim 5:5, 9) is taken seriously.

No name or title is given to the ministry of the addressees, Timothy and Titus, yet it is clear that they were formally installed by the laying on of the hands of the apostle (2 Tim 1:6) and/or the elders (1 Tim 4:14). Were these persons considered successors of the apostle and, if so, in what way? They were appointed to a local church (Ephesus and Crete, where several towns with churches existed), and it seems that Timothy was called back to the apostle either permanently or for a longer period, whereas Tychicus was sent to Ephesus (2 Tim 4:9–12, 21). Succession to the ministry of the dying Paul may be the issue

implicitly dealt with in 2 Timothy, even though this is not explicitly mentioned. The text does not offer any doctrine of apostolic succession, though it would soon prompt a long development in this direction.

**2. Ordination.** Unfortunately, we know very little about Jewish ordination. Rabbinic ordination seems to have been practiced at least by the time of the Pastorals epistles (beginning of the 2d century?), in accordance with Num 27:18–23. Some late rabbinic sources (*Sipre* Num., Tanchuma: Str.B 2: 648) imply that the Spirit is transferred to the ordinand, but earlier rabbinic ordination seems simply to have recognized the wisdom acquired through disciplined study. We do not know in what way such studies were a binding condition (prescribed length of time, exams) nor how early ordination authorized a person to make autonomous decisions in legal matters. It is clear, however, that the central role of the "charisma" in 1 Tim 4:14 and 2 Tim 1:6 definitely differs from what we know of Jewish ordinations, the more so since it is given "by prophecy" or "because of prophecies." The charismatic element still played a considerable role, and it was the free utterance of the Spirit that enabled the church to ordain a person to a special ministry.

What the Pastorals suggest as a good "apostolic" order is, indeed, ordination, conveying the gift of the Spirit to Timothy (not merely an installation to a specific ministry, locally and temporally limited). It is focused on a leading position within a local church (Ephesus) or a region like Crete, where Titus should "appoint elders in every town" (Tit 1:5; cf. 2 Tim 2:2). Thus, this position seems to be superior to that of a bishop or elder (see H below). There is no doubt that this is the model that will become historically fruitful for the development of the institutional church.

**G. Ministry in The Johannine Corpus**

**1. The Gospel of John.** A totally different concept of ministry is found in the Johannine writings. Except for the traditional phrase "one of the Twelve" (John 6:71; 20:21), the Fourth Gospel only once speaks of the Twelve (6:67–70), though at the crucial place where Peter confesses Jesus as "the holy one of God." Otherwise, the evangelist always speaks of "the disciples." Since, according to 11:48, almost everyone (except the authorities) seems to have believed in Jesus, and since the farewell discourse with its "new commandment to love one another" is obviously not limited to a special group within a wider body of disciples (13:34; 15:12–17), we cannot be sure how many "disciples" John believed were present at the last meal and at the commission by the risen Christ. According to 21:2, Nathanael (who is not found in any list of the Twelve) belonged to the group of disciples in the first days after Easter, and the very important figure of "the disciple whom Jesus loved" is never named nor given a special status like "one of the Twelve." He might be John (whose name is never mentioned in the Fourth Gospel) or a Jerusalemite "known to the high priest" (18:15), or an Essene, or even a merely symbolic representative of the true believer (Bultmann). The term "apostle" is lacking in the Johannine writings, except in the general sense of "messenger" (13:16), which suggests that it was still used in its functional meaning, not as a title (Klauck).

The gospel of John seems to imply no specific ministry different from that generally given to every disciple. Whereas among nonbelievers there is mention of Roman and Jewish officers, a captain of a band of soldiers (18:12), Pilate (18:29, etc.), and the high priest (11:49, etc.), among the disciples only Judas is mentioned apparently holding an office (13:29). According to John 21 (probably added to the original gospel by the evangelist himself or by one of his followers) Peter is given the commission "to tend the sheep" of Jesus (vv 15–17). The literary function of the pericope is to present this commission as the Risen Lord's forgiving response to Peter's threefold denial, which shows that service in the Church is a matter of mere grace, not of human merit.

Otherwise, there is no apparent institutional structure of the group of disciples. There are no mediators between Christ and his believers; everyone is in direct contact with the Lord. This manifests itself, probably unconsciously, in the choice of images. Whereas Paul's simile of "the body" stresses the interdependence of all members, the Johannine "vine" (15:1), "shepherd" (10:11–18), and even "grain of wheat" (12:24) emphasizes the sole importance of Christ himself and the immediacy of every disciple to him. No sheep, no branch, no grain is "helping" the other one; they all receive their lives directly from the one vine, the one shepherd, the one root and stem. The commandment to love is certainly central, but it is

not structured or institutionalized in any way. It is limited to the brothers and sisters, and 1 John 2:15 explicitly warns against loving the world. Nonetheless, "loving one another" in a totally united church is directed by Jesus himself towards winning the world to faith (17:21–23). God has loved the world when he gave his son (3:16) to save the world (6:33, 51; 12:47). Whereas Paul becomes "everything to everybody in order to save people everywhere" (1 Cor 9:22), reaching out to the world in a centrifugal way, the Johannine church concentrates, in a centripetal way, on full association in itself, on a loving brotherhood and sisterhood secluded from the world outside, in order to become contagious and to win the world for a life in faith and love. If there is a missionary activity it consists of leading the unbeliever to Jesus himself (1:36–51; 9:27; 11:28; 12:21–22 etc.), and here, female disciples are equivalent to male ones (4:39–42; 11:28; 20:18; the first witness of the risen Lord being a woman, cf. Matt 28:9–10).

**2. The Epistles and Revelation.** More important are the epistles. Some power was evidently exercised in the Church by Diotrephes, who refused to accept the messengers of the author and even banned "from the church" those who did (3 John 9–10). Unfortunately, we are not sure whether the author saw in him a representative of the institutional church or simply a wealthy church member skeptical of itinerant prophets. Nor do we know whether the author himself belonged to a group of such prophets, to a conventicle (Käsemann), or a "school" (Schürmann, also Klauck) within or outside of the Church in his country or region. However, 1 John states that all the believers "have been anointed by the Holy One and are all knowing" and that, therefore, they have no need that anyone should teach them; on the contrary, since the anointment teaches them about everything, it is true and no lie (2:20, 27). Yet, it is made quite clear that this anointment (the Spirit) can never speak anything that would differ basically from "what they have heard from the beginning" (2:24).

The picture of the Church in Revelation is not extensive enough to define its structure. The "angels" of the communities addressed in chaps. 2–3 are certainly no (monarchical) bishops, but a kind of heavenly counterpart to the earthly congregation (cf. the Jewish guardian angels of the nations). The astounding fact is that these congregations are living in Asia Minor, not that much earlier than those of the Pastorals and of Ignatius. And yet, only prophets play a role, and no other ministry seems to be existent. One could even ask whether not all members of these churches were themselves at least potentially prophets.

Thus, the Johannine literature, perhaps even including Revelation, witnesses to a form of a church in which the Spirit itself is the one leader. (On the use of "elder" in 2–3 John, see C above.) Any ministry is given by the Spirit (or by the risen Lord in the exceptional case of Peter, John 21), and it is the spirit that represents Jesus in the time after Easter (John 14:16–17, 26; 15:26–27; 16:7–14). The authority of any ministry is the power of the Spirit, and it lasts as long as this power manifests itself.

**H. Conclusion**

Thus, at the end of the NT period, the Church was confronted with 2 options. On the one hand, it could have developed along the lines of the Pastoral Epistles, ordaining bishops (eventually one in each local parish; Ignatius) and installing elders and deacons. No group, not even a group of believers, could hope to exist over an extended period of time without some such institutional order, and the order of bishop(s)-elder(s)-deacon(s) was a workable arrangement. It would remain legitimate, according to NT standards as long as (1) it would not remain compulsory for all times and places but would flexibly yield to the will of God pertaining to new and different challenges and circumstances that might arise; (2) no ministry would impart to its bearer a qualitatively different status from that of all other believers (like that of the OT priest over against the laity); and (3) the free prophetic utterance of the Spirit is taken seriously, especially in the selection of people to be ordained. (According to the Pastoral epistles, this should be restricted to men only, but according to Paul and John, women could be included.) The danger associated with this line of development is that it could yield a church in which the institutional structure of offices and the proper performance of liturgical rites dominate and strangle the life of the Spirit.

On the other hand, the Church could have developed along the lines of the Johannine literature, responding to the movement of the Spirit, which is not limited to the mediation of any ministry. The authority of its prophets and prophetesses would be paramount (as is the case in charismatic movements from the ancient Montanists to some of the modern period). This again is legitimate according to NT

standards as long as (1) such a church would not exclude any kind of order to prevent it from dissolving into disorganized chaos; (2) the "charismatics" would not elevate themselves (and their gift) above other members; and (3) the authority of the basic gospel as preached from the beginning would not be disputed either by new religiously experienced revelations or by any adaptations to modern trends popular in the contemporary world. The danger of this development is a church dominated by some strong "charismatic" individuals who may confuse their own wishes and visions with those of the Lord.

The ecumenical church of today confronts a related twofold problem. On the one hand, is the special status of the apostle, whose authority is qualitatively different from that of other believers, due merely to his status as an eye-witness to the appearance of the risen Lord, or does that special status continue (though not in the role of eyewitness) to apply to the office of priests, whose authority would, in some ways similarly differ from that of other believers? And on the other hand, does a church body without any institutional ministry still constitute a Christian church? Whatever the decision is, there is no doubt that any ministry in the Church should comply with Jesus' rule that those in positions of authority must be the servant of all (Mark 9:35; 10:43; Luke 22:26, cf. John 13:13–17).

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**MINNI** (PLACE) [Heb *minnî* (מִנִּי)]. One of three nations summoned by Yahweh to attack Babylon (Jer 51:27). It seems certain that Minni is to be identified with the Manneans, a group located in a small but politically significant area S of Lake Urmia (Yamauchi 1982: 41). This connection is supported by the identity of the other two nations mentioned with Minni in Jer 51:27, Ararat and Ashkenaz. These peoples were little-known groups living in the N regions of W Asia. Ararat ("Urartu" in Assyrian sources) extended from modern Soviet Armenia and Iran into SE Turkey, but its geographical center was Lake Van. Ashkenaz is believed to be equivalent to "Ishkuza," the Assyrian name for the Scythians. The equation of Minni and Mannea is also in accordance with phonetic principles common to cuneiform sources and Heb (see *hatti* becoming Hittite, Gelb *IDB* 3: 392).

The history of Mannea may be traced from the time it is first mentioned in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.). Early in its history, Mannea was caught between two powerful neighbors at war with each other, Urartu and Assyria. Mannea continued to be mentioned in the Assyrian records over the next two centuries, sometimes as allies, sometimes as enemies (for a list of references to the *mannai,* see Parpola 1970: 236–37). The unfortunate Manneans were aligned with the Assyrians when the empire fell to the coalition of the Medes and Chaldeans. Their territory was allocated to the Medes and incorporated eventually into the Persian Empire. A Mannean contingent may have served in Cyrus' army when he took Babylon in 539 B.C. (Yamauchi 1982: 43).

It is impossible to be certain about the ethnic makeup of the Manneans. Many assume they were descended from the Indo-European Hurrians, but others have suggested a native population of long standing (Yamauchi 1982: 41).

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**MINNITH** (PLACE) [Heb *minnît* (מִנִּית)]. One of the twenty Ammonite cities which were captured by Jephthah according to Judg 11:33. Although there is some question about the text, several translators believe Ezek 27:17 names Minnith as the source of the wheat Judah traded with Tyre. Others have preferred to amend the text to read "olives" instead of Minnith (e.g., AV; RV; RSV).

In *Onomastica* (140.3), Eusebius identified biblical Minnith with a village, known to him in Greek as *Maanith,* some 4 Roman miles from Esbus (modern Hesban) on the way to Philadelphia (modern Amman). This statement, combined with the fact that Judg 11:33 couples it with the S city of Aroer as an opposing boundary, has led scholars to locate the site somewhere between Hesban and Amman.

The most likely candidate at present is Umm el-Basatin (Umm el-Hanafish; M.R. 232137). A modern village covers much of the tell, but a large amount of ancient architecture is still visible. Although the site has not been extensively excavated, a recent survey recovered sherds from Ayyubid/Mamluk, Ottoman, Byzantine, Late Roman, Early Roman, Iron 2/Persian, and Iron 1 periods.

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**MINT.** See FLORA.

**MINUCIUS FELIX.** Only one work, the *Octavius*, survives from this late-2d- or early-3d-century Christian apologist. Many readers regard it as the jewel of Christian Latin in the first three centuries. When contrasted with the other early apologies, its immediacy, intimacy, and informality call to mind the tone of Xenophon's *Symposium*, not Plato's. Refreshingly undogmatic, it contains not a single reference to scripture, nor does it broach a single item of doctrine. Although mentioned by ancient writers (Lactant. *Div. Inst.* 1.11.55 (*PL* 6.180); Jerome, *De vir. ill.* 58 (PL 23.706)), the *Octavius* fell into obscurity in the 5th century, and remained undiscovered until 1560 C.E. In that year, the French scholar F. Baudouin discerned that the eighth book of Arnobius's *Adversus nationes* was, in fact, Minucius Felix's lost *Octavius.* The only other work attributed to Minucius Felix is one named by Jerome, *De fato (vel contra mathematicos),* but he regards it as spurious; it has not been transmitted.

Jerome (*idem.*) describes Marcus Minucius Felix as a Roman lawyer of note. Certain references in the *Octavius* suggest its author possessed detailed knowledge of African affairs (e.g., 14.1; 30.3; 31.2). This has led some scholars to claim that the author was, at least originally, an African. While African authorship is argued by some (Beaujeu 1964: xxii–xxv; xliv–xlvi), other scholars reject the proposal.

In composing the *Octavius*, Minucius Felix drew on sources, both in form and in letter. His principal debt is to Cicero's *De natura deorum.* Not only is the form analogous at many points (e.g., introductory prologue, which sets the topic, and introduces the characters in the dialogue), but there is textual dependence as well (various passages in *Oct.* 19 = *Nat. D.* 1.25–42). Additionally, there are numerous quotations from or allusions to other classical and Christian writers (among the many: Plato, Zeno, and Thales; Justin and Tatian). Certain interesting descriptions of Christian religious practice in Minucius Felix's locale are mentioned: they followed Jewish dietary law, abstaining from meat sacrificed to idols (12.5; 38.1), and from meat with blood in it, i.e., not slaughtered in accordance with kosher regulations (30.6). This is remarkable evidence of the influence of Judaic-Christianity, whose interpretation of the Apostolic Decree (Acts 15:19–21) was at variance with the "liberal" Pauline interpretation (Gal 2:7–10), in the Latin West.

The *Octavius* itself is a dialogue between two friends of Minucius Felix (who calls himself Marcus in the dialogue), a fellow Christian, Octavius, for whom it is named, and a pagan fellow barrister, Caecilius. Written after Octavius's death, it recalls a pleasant day the three spent at Ostia, walking and debating the virtues of Christianity. Caecilius asks Marcus to judge the debate. He then proceeds to make a case for adhering to the traditional Roman religion and attacks Christianity with the usual charges of cannibalism, atheism, incest and superstitious beliefs (e.g., end of the world). Octavius responds with what is—for a 2d- or 3d-century apologist—remarkable restraint. Appealing largely to reason and philosophy, Octavius rebuts the charges, capping his argument by claiming that Christians "do not preach great things, but live them" (38.6). The dialogue is a purely intellectual exercise; it ends with Caecilius' conversion.

Dating the *Octavius* is the key to dating Minucius Felix, and although the efforts have been maximal, the results have been minimal. A first difficulty is to decide the authenticity of the events: did the three friends actually have such a talk, or did Minucius Felix create a fictive encounter as a vehicle for his ideas? Scholars have usually assumed that the participants are real, and that some such encounter occurred, although the actual conversation is largely the invention of Minucius Felix. Internal evidence for dating is virtually nonexistent, save for a reference to Fronto (fl. ca. 140–175 C.E.), who appears to have recently attacked Christians (31.2). However, one must then decide whether the reference to Fronto is genuinely from the time of the encounter, or whether, given that Minucius Felix states he is writing after Octavius' death, Fronto's attack came later and has been retrojected into the dialogue. A final complicating problem are the parallels between the *Octavius* and Tertullian's *Apologeticum* and *Ad nationes* which indicate literary dependence. Scholarship has been divided on the order of priority. The

priority of Minucius Felix, the use of a common source, and the dependence of Minucius Felix have all been suggested. Current scholarly fashion gives priority to Tertullian. If one accepts that sequence and dates the *Apologeticum* and *Ad nationes* ca. 197 C.E. (so Barnes 1985: 55), then the *Octavius* must be later, presumably from the first half of the 3d century. Such a dating, while generally accepted today, is at odds, however, with the reference to Fronto.

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WILLIAM L. PETERSEN

**MIQṢAT MAʿASE HATORAH** (4QMMT). A sectarian polemical document, six incomplete manuscripts of which (4Q394–99) were discovered in Qumran cave 4. Taken together, they provide a composite text of about 120 lines. The preserved text, which apparently covers about two-thirds of the original scroll, derives from the middle and the end of the document. The beginning is completely lost.

The document is in the form of a letter (having a sender and an addressee) and is unique in language, style, and contents. The title *miqṣat maʿasê hattorâ*, meaning "some of the precepts of the Torah," has been taken from the concluding passage, reading: "we are sending you some of the precepts of the Torah."

**A. Contents, Structure, and Historical Setting**

It appears that MMT consisted originally of four sections: (1) an opening formula, now completely lost; (2) a calendar of the sect (with a 364-day year); (3) a list of more than 20 *halakhot* (= precepts), all of which are peculiar to this group; and (4) an epilogue which discusses the separation of the group from normative Pharisaic Judaism and attempts to persuade the addressee to adopt their *halakhic* views. The *halakhot* represent the heart of the letter, with the other sections as their framework (the calendar, although a separate section, belongs to the *halakhic* domain). Most of these *halakhot* concern the Temple, dealing with its purity, sacrifices, and festivals. The author states that disagreement over these *halakhot* is what caused the sect to secede (Heb *pāraš*) from the rest of the people (the verb *paraš* relates to the same root as the name of the Pharisees).

There are three parties in MMT referred to as *we*, *you* (sometimes singular, sometimes plural), and *they*. Who were these parties? Clearly the *we*-party is the author, who generally uses the expression "we maintain" (Heb *ʾnḥnw ḥwšbym*) expressing the sect's *halakhic* views. The *you*-party is the addressee; the prevailing second person expression in this case is "and you know." The addressee may be the leader of Israel, being compared to David and addressed as follows: "for the welfare of you and your people," and "for the welfare of you and Israel." The *they*-party is a group about whom it is said that "they do such-and-such," where the reference in each case is to some specific *halakhic* practice. A study of the *halakhic* views of this group shows that they should be identified with the Pharisees.

It appears that MMT, which discusses the invalidity of the *halakhot* of the *they*-party (i.e., the Pharisees), was written by the Teacher of Righteousness and addressed to the Wicked Priest and his colleagues. This is inferred both from the contents of MMT and from Pesher Psalms 37 (= 4Q171 3–10 iv 7–9) which states that the Wicked Priest tried to kill the Teacher of Righteousness "because of the precepts and the law which he [ = the teacher] had sent him." (Note the similar passage from MMT quoted above.) Assuming that the Wicked Priest is Jonathan the Prince, MMT was composed at about 150 B.C. It stands to reason that the schism mentioned in MMT occurred a short time before the composition of the document. The paleography may also imply such an early date, as does the contrast of MMT with the prohibition of disputes with opponents found in 1QS 9:16–17.

**B. The Halakhot**

The *halakhot* of MMT concern the Temple cult, and most are related to biblical laws as understood by the sect. The following *halakhot* are extant (in the order of their appearance in the text):

1. Gentile grain should not be brought into the Temple.
2. A fragmentary *halakha* about the cooking of offerings.
3. A fragmentary *halakha* about sacrifices by gentiles.
4. Cereal offerings should not be left overnight.
5. The purity of those preparing the red heifer.
6. Several *halakhot* concerning the purity of skins.
7. The place of slaughtering and offering sacrifices.
8. Slaughtering pregnant animals.
9. Forbidden sexual unions.
10. Banning the blind and deaf from the "purity of the Temple."
11. The purity of the streams of liquids poured from a pure vessel into an impure one.
12. Dogs should not enter into Jerusalem.
13. The fruit of the fourth year is to be given to the priests.
14. The cattle-tithe is to be given to the priest.
15. Several regulations about the impurity of the leper during the period of purification until final purification.
16. The impurity of human bones.
17. Marriages between priests and Israelites are forbidden.

Some of the *halakhot* are already known from the Temple Scroll (11QTemple, nos. 4, 18, 13, 16). Some others have no parallel either in the Temple Scroll or in any other text from Qumran. Of special interest are two *halakhot* that parallel *halakhic* views explicitly ascribed to the Sadducees (nos. 5, 11; cf. *m. Yad.* 4:7, *Para* 3:7). In both cases the *halakhic* views attributed to the Sadducees are identical to those of MMT. It is significant to note the similarity in terminology between MMT and the Mishna in these parallel *halakhot.* This similarity implies the existence of a polemic between the Dead Sea sect and the ancestors of the rabbis. Thus, other disputed *halakhot* in rabbinic literature and in the Dead Sea Scrolls may have their origins in this polemic—e.g., the *halakha* about the deaf (no. 10) throws light on the evidence in *t. Ter.* 1:1 that all the purities of Jerusalem were prepared by the deaf son of R. Yohanan ben Godgeda.

The *halakhic* attitude of MMT is much stricter than that of the rabbis. For example, MMT identifies Jerusalem with the Camp mentioned in the Torah and asserts that all purity laws which were to be observed in the Camp should be observed in Jerusalem (contrast the more lenient rabbinic attitude in *t. Kelim, B. Qam.* 1:12).

**C. The Language**

The Hebrew of MMT is peculiar. Its grammar is basically that of the other Dead Sea Scrolls. However, the relative particle is *š-* (*ʾšr* occurs only once), and the participle is extensively used. An especially large number of Mishnaic words occur in the *halakhic* part of MMT; some of these are *halakhic* terms. There are also words unattested in any other Hebrew source. The following are of special interest: *hʿrybwt hšmš,* "sunset"; *bšl š-*, "so that"; *bgll š-*, "because"; *prt hḥṭʾt*, "the red heifer"; *mʿśym,* "precepts"; *ʿbrh,* "pregnant," *swmym,* "blind," *mwṣqwt*, "uninterrupted streams of liquid"; and *mśktwb,* "as is written."

**D. The Contribution of MMT to the Study of Judaism**

At this early stage of research, the contribution of MMT can not be fully evaluated. The following are a few preliminary remarks.

1. As has been noted, MMT consists of controversial *halakhot* and thus provides evidence not only for the *halakha* of the sect, but also for that of its opponents. Examining the *halakhic* view of the latter, we learn that they are nearly always identical with those of the rabbis. This is also the case in additional polemical passages in other Dead Sea Scrolls. This identity proves that the opponents of the sect were the predecessors of the rabbis, most probably the Pharisees. It further demonstrates that the corresponding

rabbinic *halakha* (to *halakhot* discussed in the Dead Sea Scrolls) was established at a very early date. This contradicts the view of those scholars who believe that the Pharisaic *halakha* was a "new" *halakha.* The halakhic correspondence with the Mishna serves to authenticate those historical sections in the rabbinic sources as truly reflecting the reality of the Second Temple period, even though they were put in written form much later (contra some recent scholarly trends).

2. MMT contributes much to our knowledge of the history of sectarianism in that period. For example, until now there was no explicit evidence concerning the reasons for the schism. Josephus gives the impression that the sects were primarily divided over theological questions, for instance those relating to the resurrection of the dead or the role of Divine providence. MMT proves that the real reason was the controversy over ritual laws. Josephus' description should be understood as an attempt to produce an explanation that would make sense to his Greek (and Roman) readers.

3. Of special interest to biblical scholars are the interpretations given in MMT to certain juridical passages in the Torah in particular, and its methods of interpretation in general.

4. The contribution of MMT to the history of the Hebrew language is also significant, but requires a more detailed discussion than can be undertaken here.

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ELISHA QIMRON

**MIRACLE.** This entry consists of two articles, one covering signs and wonders in the OT, and the other treating signs and wonders recounted in the NT.

## *OLD TESTAMENT*

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A. Terminology
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**A. Terminology**

**1. *nēs.*** The study of "miracles" in the Hebrew Bible may be, in fact, an illegitimate pursuit. Hebrew has no equivalent term for the English concept "miracle." It is only in rabbinic Hebrew that the word *nēs* is found with this meaning: "Ten wonders were wrought for our fathers in Egypt, and ten at the [Red] Sea" (*ʾAbot* 5:4); "If one sees a place where miracles have been wrought for Israel, he should say, blessed be He who wrought miracles for our ancestors in this place" (*m. Ber.* 9:1). In the Bible, however, the word indicates a long pole enabling something set upon it to be seen at a great distance (Num 21:8–9; Isa 30:17), or a pole for a banner (Isa 33:23; Ezek 27:7). Only in one verse does *nēs* mean a sign or wonder (in the wake of a miraculous event): "And the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up together with Korah when that company died, when the fire devoured two hundred and fifty men; and they became a sign" (Num 26:10). In the wake of another miracle (the victory over Amalek), Moses erects an altar and calls it "*YHWH nisî*," but the meaning of *nēs* here is not clear.

**2. *gĕdōlôt*** (only in the plural). This term is used once in reference to human action, the "man of God" who performs miracles, as in the words of the "king of Israel" to Gehazi, Elisha's servant: "Tell me, please, all the great things (*gĕdōlôt*) Elisha has done" (2 Kgs 8:4). "Great things" in general indicates something beyond one's power or unattainable: "Neither do I concern myself with *great matters*" (Ps 131:1; cf. also Jer 45:5). The word *gĕdōlôt* thus mostly indicates God's actions, which at times have the character of a miracle: "Who had done *great things* in Egypt/Wondrous works in the land of Ham/Awesome things by the Red Sea" (Ps 106:21–22). Job 9:10: "He does *great things* past finding out, Yes, wonders without number," refers both to the upheaval of the order of creation (vv 5–7) and to the greatest miracle of all—the creation (vv 8–9). The word *gĕdōlôt* can simultaneously refer to both creation and God's righteousness in managing worldly affairs (Job 9:9ff.; and as to God's righteousness in judgment, cf. Ps 71:19). *Gĕdōlôt,* therefore, belongs to actions done within the overall sphere of God's power and sovereignty.

**3. *nipla*ʿ*ôt*** (only in plural). The term *nipla*ʿ*ôt,* as the parallel term to *gĕdōlôt,* also refers to the expression of God's sovereignty, of which miracles are only one aspect. In prose *nipla*ʿ*ôt* indicates God's salvation of his people in the Exodus from Egypt and the conquest of the land (Exod 34:10; Judg 6:13). These saving acts are at times bound up with miracles (Exod 3:20; Josh 3:5; Neh 9:17). Poetry also contains references to the act of redemption and the miracle of the Exodus (Mic 7:15; Pss 78:4, 11, 32; 106:7, 22).

In psalmic literature *nipla*ʿ*ôt* can refer to other saving acts as well. The refrain "Oh, that men would give thanks to the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men" (Ps 107:8, 15, 21, 31), refers to the deliverance of individuals from trouble (wanderers in the wilderness, prisoners, the infirm, and sailors). The rescue of an individual from his enemies is expressly conceived as a revelation of God's righteous judgment; the declaration: "I will praise you, O Lord, with my whole heart; I will tell of all your *marvelous works*" (Ps 9:2) relates to acquittal in judgment (cf. e.g., vv 8, 20; cf. Psalms 71; 86). God's reign of justice is bound up with his being the creator of the universe. In Psalm 96, which invites all the earth to "declare his glory among the nations, his *wonders* among all peoples" (v 3),

the Lord is praised both for his act of creation (v 4) and his righteous judgment of the earth and its peoples (v 13; cf. also Pss 75:2–5; 145:5–8). God's righteousness is enjoyed not only by man, but also by the entire creation (145:15–16). The word *nipla‹ôt* is found in connection with the creation also in Job 37:5–12.

**4. *pele‹*.** The noun *pele‹* appears exclusively in poetry. It is usually found as the object of the verb *‹śh,* "to do," and refers to God's saving acts: "Will you work *wonders* for the dead? Shall the dead arise and praise you?" (Ps 88:11); and on the national level: "O Lord, you are my God. I will exalt you, I will praise your name, for you have done *wonderful things* … For you have made a city a ruin, a fortified city a ruin" (Isa 25:1–2). The wonder/saving act may be connected with miracles (such as Exod 15:11; Pss 77:12, 15; 78:11–13). Occasionally, like the other terms discussed here, *pele‹* indicates God's work in creation and sovereignty over its order (Ps 89:6; cf. also vv 10–13).

**5. The Verb *pl‹*.** This root, from which the nouns *nipla‹ôt* and *pele‹* are derived, indicates in its verbal usage that which is beyond man's understanding. The intensity of Jonathan's love is beyond David's understanding: "your love towards me was more marvelous than the love of women" (2 Sam 1:26). The inability to come to a decision in judgment is also described by means of this verb: "If a judgment proves to be beyond your ability (to decide) …" (Deut 17:8). Man cannot comprehend the Lord and his ways (Judg 13:18 [should be translated "unfathomable"]); is incapable of understanding the ways of creation (Prov 30:18–19); man cannot hide from God, who governs all creation: "Indeed, the darkness shall not hide from you … for you have formed my inward parts … *marvelous* are your works" (Ps 139:12–14). The root *pl‹* is sometimes parallel to the root *gdl* (from which the noun *gĕdōlôt* is derived) and both indicate God's actions in different spheres of existence (Isa 28:29; Joel 2:26; Ps 31:22).

**6. *‹ōt* (and *môpēt*).** The semantic field of the word *‹ōt* is similar to that of the word *nēs,* though whereas *nēs* received the meaning of a miraculous deed only in postbiblical literature, such a meaning is found for *‹ōt* already in the Bible itself. The basic meaning of *‹ōt* is "mark, sign" (Gen 4:16; Exod 12:13), as well as "banner, standard" (Num 2:2). The "lights" in the heavens also have the function of "signs" (Gen 1:14), that is, indications of the transitions between different units of time.

In the Priestly source of the Pentateuch the "signs" are tangible and concrete, as in the series of 4 covenants made with a certain select body of people, each more limited than the preceding: the sign of the rainbow in the cloud for the covenant with the renewed humanity (Gen 9:13); the sign of circumcision for the covenant with Abraham (Gen 17:11); and the sign of the Sabbath for the covenant with the Israelites (Exod 31:17). The fourth covenant—with the priesthood (Num 25:10–13)—needs no sign: The existence of the priesthood is itself the sign of the covenant. Additional signs in the priestly source are equally concrete and are connected with ritual/worship. These signs testify to a miraculous event whose lesson must be remembered: the altar covered over with the metal of the censers of the 250 men who sided with Korah (Num 17:1–15 [—Eng 16:36–40]); Aaron's rod, kept as a sign before the ark (Num 17:25–26 [—Eng 10–11]); compare also the sign of the 12 stones after the crossing of the Jordan (Josh 4:5–7).

In the book of Deuteronomy, in contrast, the "signs" (or the frequent expression "signs and wonders," *‹ōtôt ûmōptîm*) are the miraculous events of the past that the people are obliged to remember (7:19; 11:3; 26:8; 29:2; 34:11). As a rendering of this Hebrew expression, Biblical Aramaic employs the phrase *‹atayā‹ wĕtimhayā‹,* "signs and wonders"; see the words of the kings who witnessed the miracles performed for those who honor God's name (Dan 3:32–33 [—Eng 4:2–3]; 6:28). The term *môpēt* means a miraculous sign also when it appears by itself (Exod 7:9; the LXX, however, reads "sign or wonder"), and in 1 Kgs 13:3: "And he gave a sign (*môpēt*) the same day, saying, 'This is the sign (*môpēt*) which the Lord has spoken: Surely the altar shall split apart, and the ashes on it shall be poured out." In place of the word *‹ōt* in 2 Kgs 20:8–9, the word *môpēt* appears in the parallel passage in 2 Chr 32:24, demonstrating the interchangeability of these two words. A phrase which sometimes accompanies the giving of a divine sign to someone is "And this shall be to you (sing. or pl.) (a sign)" (Exod 3:12; 1 Sam 2:34; 14:9–10; 2 Kgs 19:30; 20:9; Jer 44:29).

**B. Miracle and Creation**

The distinctiveness of the phenomenon of miracles cannot, then, be understood on the basis of the various terms employed to express the notion. It is equally impossible to grasp the essence of the biblical miracle by viewing it simply as a violation of the rules of natural order, since the concept of nature and natural laws is foreign to the religious literature of the Bible. Instead of this concept, the Bible speaks rather of the creation. Philo of Alexandria sees the creation as the miracle par excellence: "these extraordinary and seemingly incredible events are but child's play to God in comparison with that which is really great and worthy of contemplation—the creation") (*Vita Mos* 212–13), and the understanding of the rabbis is close to this; in their view the biblical miracles were predetermined during the six days of creation (*Abot* 5:6). Since the miracle is a continuation of the creation, the author of the Korah story is obliged to describe the miraculous opening of the mouth of the earth in terms of creation (Num 16:30). In the miracle, God indeed demonstrates his rule over that created by him: he can halt the course of the heavenly bodies (Josh 10:12–13) or temporarily remove the boundary fixed between sea and dry land (Exodus 14).

The creator may temporarily alter the order of creation, but miracles do not bring any new creatures into the world nor do any new elements become added to it (the manna is perhaps an exception to this rule, but here also there is a clear effort to make things sound more rational—Exod 16:31; see N below). The elements of the miraculous deed are derived from creation, from the already existing and familiar; the miracle, at times, simply brings about a change in the organization of these elements. Such a reordering makes for a surrealistic environment in which natural boundaries are obscured: Sea becomes dry land; a man (Elijah) ascends to the heavens; rain pours down in the middle of the summer harvest; heavenly bodies deviate from their fixed courses; the dead become alive, etc.

**C. Precisely the Right Moment**

Not all miracles disturb the order of creation. When events appear to take place at just the right moment—when a person or object materializes on the scene at the precise instant to meet the critical need (a kind of deus ex machina)—this also can be regarded as a miracle. After the angel's poetic announcement to Hagar that Ishmael will not perish from thirst we read: "And God opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water. Then she went and filled the skin with water, and gave the lad a drink" (Gen 21:19). The end of Saul's journey in search of the lost donkeys precisely upon arriving at Samuel's town is no mere coincidence, and Saul does not attain to the kingship by chance; Saul finds himself there in accordance with a divine plan to cause the anointer to meet up with the anointee (1 Sam 9:15–16). In some cases God's intervention to cause things to take place at the right moment is not explicitly mentioned in connection with the "miraculous coincidence," even though the divine activity in the story surrounding the event is quite clear: "Then Abraham lifted his eyes and looked, and there behind him was a ram caught in a thicket by its horns" (Gen 22:13). God's intervention is not mentioned also in the two incidents which take place at the beginning of the story of Moses: Moses' being found by Pharaoh's daughter (Exod 2:5ff.) and his coming to sit down by a well in Midian (vv 15ff.), both of which appear later to have been divinely arranged.

The disrupting of the order of creation and events taking place at just the right moment are sometimes mixed together, as in the prologue to the book of Job: the first and third disasters are events—robberies—taking place at the precise moment, in line with the story's theme (1:15, 17). The second and fourth, on the other hand, are the result of an upsurge of the forces of creation, fire, and wind (vv 16, 19). The rabbis also viewed these incidents as miracles: "It once happened that a fire broke out in the courtyard of Joseph b. Simai … and a miracle happened on his behalf, rain descended and extinguished [it]" (*b. Šab.* 121a).

**D. Definition of Miracle**

Since God's intervention in earthly events without disrupting the order of creation can be considered a miracle, one may question whether every divine intervention should be considered a miracle as well. Thus, for example, God's intervention on behalf of his people in war: several of Israel's victories are accompanied by supernatural events. In the conquest of the first Canaanite city, Jericho, for instance, the city walls collapse after seven circumambulations of the city by the ark, and the priests' blowing of the trumpets (Joshua 6; see also 2 Kgs 19:35; 2 Chr 20:24–25). In other passages a military maneuver is

mingled with a divine miracle, such as in the war against Amalek (Exod 17:8–16). Where the text is elliptical and only indicates that the Lord dumbfounded the enemy and struck them, it is questionable if this should be considered a miracle. The different literary formulations of the victory over Sisera provide a good indication of how the text itself can present an event in both miraculous and non-miraculous ways: the prose narrative—"And the Lord routed Sisera and all his chariots and all his army with the edge of the sword before Barak" (Judg 4:15)—is very different from the poetic expression of the same event (which recalls the defeat of the Egyptians at the Red Sea), whose miraculous nature is much clearer: "They fought from the heavens; the stars from their courses fought against Sisera. The torrent of Kishon swept them away" (Judg 5:20–21). Similarly, the coming of the Spirit of the Lord upon a hero is accompanied at times by a miraculous feat, such as the slaying of a thousand Philistines with a donkey's jawbone (Judg 15:14–17). It is less clear if cases should be termed miracles where the narrator chooses only to relate that the deliverer overcomes his foes by the power of the Spirit (such as Judg 3:10). The same uncertainty applies to stories which do not mention the Spirit at all, reporting only that the Lord gave the enemy into the hand of Israel (e.g. Num 21:34–35; Deut 2:31).

A similar observation can be made regarding divine punishment by means of a catastrophe. Occasionally, such a punishment is accompanied by a disturbance in the order of creation, as in the ten plagues of Egypt and the drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea (Exodus 7–14), the divine fire which incinerates Aaron's sons when they offered strange fire to the Lord (Lev 10:1–3), or the punishment of the 250 people who offer incense in the Korah rebellion (Num 16:31). Sometimes the miraculous character is less conspicuous, as in the death of Uzzah, who touched the divine ark (2 Sam 6:8–9) or the plague which broke out in the incident of Baal Peor (Num 25:9). Nothing remains, however, of any miraculous element in the story of the death of Er and Onan (Gen 38:7, 10), or the striking of Nabal (1 Sam 25:38), or the death of Bathsheba's firstborn son (2 Sam 12:14).

Is there, then, any line of demarcation between a divine-miraculous punishment and one that is not miraculous? Furthermore, can divine revelation, the appearance of God or of his angel to man, be considered a miracle? If revelation was a commonplace occurrence it could not be considered miraculous, and, to be sure, there are traditions which accept such appearances nonchalantly, such as God's conversation with Abraham (Gen 18:3-5) or a revelation to Isaac (Gen 26:2). Nevertheless, the notion prevails in the Bible that "for no man shall see Me, and live" (Exod 33:20), and certain mortals who attained to divine revelation express their surprise at remaining alive (Gen 16:13; 32:31) or fear for their lives (Judg 6:22; 13:22; Isa 6:5). Many times the divine appearance is not met with indifference, but the visited person responds passionately, as when Joshua falls upon his face before the Commander of the Lord's army (Josh 5:13–15; cf. Lev 9:24; Num 17:10; 20:6). The revelation is sometimes accompanied by an additional miracle, as in the case of the bush that burns but is not consumed (Exod 3:2). It is, then, difficult to set a standard for distinguishing between miraculous and non-miraculous divine appearances.

One must finally ask if events which are intuitively considered miracles are to be included as miracles, even though the narrator relates them in practically incidental terms. Examples here include (1) the plagues God brought upon Pharaoh for taking Sarai Abram's wife (Gen 12:17), which are, in fact, a parallel in miniature of the clearly miraculous series of the plagues of Egypt, and (2) the foreshortened description of the collapse of the walls of Aphek in the wake of the victory over Aram (1 Kgs 20:30)—a weak parallel to the miraculous fall of the walls of Jericho (Josh 6). Further, one may ask if the visitation of Ruth—"the Lord gave her conception" (Ruth 4:13)—is a miraculous act; the same consideration applies to the many visitations of barren wives found in the Pentateuch and Former Prophets.

The key in determining whether an event is miraculous or not lies in the degree of power and magnitude of the event as it is expressed in the text; it is not the quality of the phenomenon which decides the question but rather the manner of its formulation. The decisive factor is a literary one: the expression of excitement and wonder in the face of an incident and the amount of words devoted to its description. The definition of miracle in the Bible, then, is a literary definition: an extraordinary occurrence, attributable to God's hand (which at times disrupts the order of creation), and which leaves a marked impression in the text; the criteria for determining what is to be considered a miracle are literary in character.

**E. Control Mechanisms**

The literary formulation of an extraordinary event, together with certain control mechanisms, can reveal whether or not a narrator intended to draft his account of an event as a miracle. The criteria which help to determine the character of a given story consist in details that an author may incorporate into the narrative in order to come to terms with the doubts of both the characters in the narrative and of his reader, as well as to inspire belief in the miracle. The following are the most conclusive tests:

**1. Repetition.** The ability to repeat an action or perform a miracle whenever needed refutes the assumption that the event occurred simply by chance: the healing of those bitten by the snakes (Num 21:4–9) is not a once-only deed. Each and every bitten one is healed only upon gazing at the brass serpent (v 9). When the Philistine god Dagon falls before the ark of the Lord (1 Sam 5:2–5), the Philistines put him back in his place, failing to understand that it was God who caused the image to fall. It is the second fall which proves that God's hand is at work. Here, however, the repetition is combined with graded intensification—God's second blow to Dagon is graver than the first (v 4).

**2. Restoration of Prior Conditions.** The miracle-doer's ability to restore conditions to their former state after a supernatural event proves that a guiding hand is in control: Jeroboam's hand withers as a result of his attempt to harm the man of God (1 Kgs 13:4), but it is restored after the man of God's prayer (v 6). So, too, in the stories of the signs performed by Moses: the rod becomes a serpent and then changes back to a rod (Exod 4:2–4); his leprous hand "was restored like his other flesh" (vv 6–7).

**3. Prayer.** A miracle taking place after prayer cannot be taken as coincidence: the waters of Marah are cured after Moses' prayer (Exod 15:26), and the thirsty Samson's prayer brings about the splitting of the hollow place at Lehi, permitting water to come forth (Judg 15:18–19).

**4. Prior Announcement.** The prior announcement, similar to the prayer, testifies to the fact that the miracle is the result of divine intervention. Before the crossing of the Jordan, for example, Joshua announces: "Sanctify yourselves, for tomorrow the Lord will do wonders among you" (Josh 3:5), and further on (vv 10–13) he details what will happen when they cross.

**5. Paradox.** The words of Tertullian: "It is to be believed absolutely because it is absurd … it is certain because it is impossible" (*On the Body of Christ*, 75), are relevant for many miracle stories: the narrator or one of his characters emphasizes the "absurdity" of a miraculous event. At times the aspect of absurdity precedes the execution of the miracle and underlines the difficulty inherent in conditions at the beginning of things. Before the waters of the Jordan are divided to enable the Israelites to cross it is stated that "the Jordan overflows all its banks during the whole time of harvest" (Josh 3:15). Before it begins to rain, Samuel declares: "Is today not the wheat harvest?" (1 Sam 12:17). A character may express the paradox incidental to his doubt that a promise will be fulfilled: "Shall a child be born to a man who is one hundred years old? And shall Sarah, who is ninety years old, bear a child?" (Gen 17:17; cf. also 18:12). Sometimes the paradox is formulated by means of a negative particle or expression (Exod 3:2, 3; 1 Kgs 13:28; 2 Kgs 3:17; 20:10; Dan 3:27).

**6. Miracle within a Miracle.** This phenomenon, so termed in rabbinic literature, is similar to the paradox: in order to allow no room for denying the miraculousness of an event, the miracle is executed by means which appear to make its success more difficult. This Elisha cures the waters of Jericho with salt (2 Kgs 2:21); Elijah, seeking God's response in sending fire on the altar, makes things even more difficult by pouring water over it (1 Kgs 18:34).

**7. Limitation.** When a miracle encompasses only a certain well-defined group and bypasses another, there is clearly a deliberate intention at work. In the story of the plagues of Egypt the differentiation between the Israelites and Egyptians is pointed out in the cases of the plague of flies (Exod 8:18 [—Eng 8:22]), the pestilence (9:4, 6), hail (v 26), darkness (10:23), and the firstborn (12:21–23). A spatial limitation is perceptible in the signs of Gideon's fleece (Judg 6:35–40): First, the fleece is wet and the surrounding ground is dry; afterward the ground is wet while the fleece is dry. A temporal limitation is found in the case of the manna, when the Israelites are given a two-day portion on the sixth day (Exod 16:29), while on the seventh day there is no manna at all (v 27).

**8. Foreigners Acknowledge a Miracle.** Four of the plagues of Egypt are formulated as a competition between Moses and Aaron and the Egyptian magicians. In the first two, blood and frogs, the magicians manage to effect the same results as Aaron (Exod 7:25; 8:3), but are unable to undo it. A turn takes place in the third plague: the magicians are unable to produce lice (8:14 [—Eng 18]) and confess, "This is the finger of God" (v 15 [—Eng 19]). The plague of boils is the climax of the competition: this time, the magicians themselves become victims of the plague (9:11). Another competition takes place between Elijah and the prophets of Baal (1 Kgs 18). Even though Elijah allows his opponents to go first, allots them plenty of time, and even handicaps himself by pouring water on the altar, it is he who succeeds. The foreigner's admission of a miracle is an excellent proof of its miraculous nature. In the two parallel stories of martyrdom in the book of Daniel (chaps. 3, 6), both Nebuchadnezzar and Darius praise the God of Israel (3:28–29; 6:27–28) after Daniel's friends are saved from the fire and Daniel is saved from the den of lions.

**9. Multiple Test-Criteria.** In the plague narrative, for example, one finds the combination of the competition of the magicians, prayer, differentiation between the Israelites and the Egyptians, and repetition, i.e., a series of ten plagues. Elijah's miracle on Mt. Carmel integrates competition, a "miracle within a miracle," and Elijah's prayer to the Lord.

**F. Miracle and History**

The miraculous deeds of the Bible are an organic part of biblical historiography. Since God is the God of history who actively intervenes in its development, he deliberately chooses on occasion to work miracles in order to accomplish his will—and, as mentioned, the miraculous is not significantly different from other ways of divine intervention. History opens with the miracle par excellence, the creation, and from then on miracles are interwoven in a greater or lesser concentration over the length of Israelite history: from barren women giving birth to the fathers of the nation; through the Exodus, accompanied by signs and wonders; the wanderings in the wilderness under divine protection and sustenance, though God also judges their disobedience; the wars of conquest, some of which are accompanied by miracles; the exploits of the judges (Gideon, Samson); the miraculous deeds of the prophets of the monarchic period; and even the miracles worked for Daniel and his friends in exile, demonstrating that God's sovereignty is over the entire earth. The historical psalms also frequently mention miracles in order to stress God's gracious acts (105; 136), and Israel's ingratitude (78; 106). The historical surveys given by certain leading biblical figures (and which express highly developed historiographical concepts) also give voice to the role of miracles in history (cf. Nehemiah 9: the miracles, according to this chapter, are a sign of God's protection and grace towards Israel, a background against which the people's ingratitude is emphasized.

**G. Miracle and Myth**

The connection between the miracles of the Bible and the world of myth arises from a comparison between the miracles the Bible attributes to God's angels (or to God's appearance in the guise of an angel) and parallels attributed to the gods (in the plural) in classical literature. The miracle story of the visitation of the elderly Abraham and Sarah with a son, and the announcement given them by their three guests, is strikingly paralleled in the story of the birth of Orion as told by Ovid (*Fast.* 5: 493–540). The story recounts that one day, when the gods Zeus, Hermes, and Poseidon were touring the earth, they were well received by the farmer Hyrieus who was not aware of his guests' identity until he had finished preparing them a meal. The gods sought to reward him and promised to answer whatever wish he desired. The farmer asked for a son and the gods carried out his wish. The work of Ovid is parallel also to the story of the miraculous destruction of Sodom, which continues the whole story in the book of Genesis. Two of the three men who visited Abraham make their way to Sodom (Gen 19:1) in order to destroy it (v 13). Lot shows the visitors the proper hospitality, but the men of the city try to harm them. The city is destroyed, and only Lot and his household escape. *Metamorphoses* (book 8: 611–724) tells of the two gods, Jupiter and Mercury, who visit a Phrygian village. Whereas the villagers do not offer the gods (in human guise) any hospitality, the elderly Baucis and Philemon make every effort to do so. Ultimately, the gods reveal their true identity and their intention to destroy the inhospitable village and its inhabitants. The gods take the elderly couple up to the mountains (see also Gen 19:17); when they look back they see their village's

destruction. The Bible takes pains, however, to obliterate the mythical character by attributing the main miracle, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, to God: "Then the Lord rained brimstone and fire on Sodom and Gomorrah, from the Lord out of the heavens. So He overthrew those cities" (vv 24–25).

Miracles ascribed in the Bible to prophets are attributed in their parallels in classical literature also to the gods. A miraculous feat similar to that performed by Elisha when he made the ax head float (2 Kgs 6:1–7) is performed also by Hermes (Aesop's Fables, ed. Chambry, Fable 253). In both stories the ax's owners are poor; in both the ax, meant for chopping wood, falls into a river. But whereas in the biblical story the miracle concerns retrieving the ax head for its owner—causing it to float by casting a piece of wood into the water—in the Aesopic parallel the miracle consists in taking out of the water axes of gold and silver that did not fall in the river, but are miraculously brought forth. Moreover, while the biblical miracle is intended to enhance the prophet's reputation, its parallel in classical literature is generically a wisdom fable which concerns speaking the truth and its reward.

The Bible also transforms mythological figures into human ones, while attributing their wondrous deeds to God. The Samson stories, for example, reveal much similarity to the traditions of Hercules. In the ancient oral tradition Samson was a mythological figure, a sun-hero (which accounts for his name, composed of the Hebrew word for "sun"), whose power lay in his hair. The Bible, however, is careful to obscure the mythological character of the traditions, and even uproot them altogether. According to the Bible, Samson's long hair is simply part of his Nazirite vow. When he transgresses the terms of this vow and Delilah shaves his locks, his strength is gone because God punishes him by abandoning him. When Samson thinks, for example, that he killed 1,000 men with the jawbone of a donkey by his own prowess (Judg 15:14), the reality confronts him, and in his thirst he prays and confesses: "You have given this great deliverance by the hand of Your servant" (v 18). The miracle performed is not of his own doing but by the hand of the Lord. For an additional affinity between the biblical miracle and the world of myth, see I below (on the "rod").

**H. Miracle and Magic**

In contrast to miracle, magic is performed by people, namely by professional practitioners of the art who are capable of forcing their will upon creation and creatures alike. While miracles are expressions of God's righteous governance of the world, the use of magic is governed only by the magician's inclination and is not always activated by moral considerations. The Bible admits, albeit in a very small voice, the existence of magic and attributes to it only limited power. After Aaron casts his rod on the ground, which becomes a serpent in the sight of Pharoah and his servants, the Egyptian magicians do the same thing, even though Aaron's feat comes out ahead: "But Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods" (Exod 7:10–12). The competition between Aaron and Moses and the Egyptian magicians which concludes with the former's victory over the latter is described above (see E.8.). The Bible portrays further encounters with magicians-sorcerers which end in the victory of God's messenger, namely the failure of the court magicians to solve Pharoah's dreams (Gen 41:8) as opposed to Joseph's divinely assisted success (v 16), and the failure of Nebuchadnezzar's wise men to interpret his dream in contrast to Daniel's success (Dan 2:47).

The Bible can apparently allow the limited power of magic due to its acceptance and practice in neighboring societies. A complete denial of its effectiveness might have brought about much more dangerous conclusions: that the magicians perform their feats by the power of other gods (cf. Deut 13:2–3). The recognition of magic's power, however, does not imply any agreement or acceptance; the Bible denounces magic thoroughly and forcefully (cf., e.g., Exod 22:17; Deut 18:10; Mic 5:11; Mal 3:5). A genuine magical character nevertheless underlies the last meeting between King Joash and Elisha (2 Kgs 13:14–19). The king's shooting of arrows while the prophet lays his hands upon him, determines the fate of the war against Aram (vv 15–17). An additional and equally clear example of a magical act is Jacob's manner of recovering the salary of which Laban had robbed him (Gen 30:35–43). Since the Bible cannot tolerate the notion that a man, at his own initiative and ability, could change the order of creation, Jacob testifies in the next chapter that it was God who is responsible for the deed: "but God did not allow him to

hurt me. 'If he said thus: "the speckled shall be your wages,' " then all the flocks bore speckled" (31:7–12).

Further relics of a belief in magic can be found concerning the various implements employed by the miracle workers, as well as in the attribution of certain miracles to a man and not to God (see below). The significance of the relation between magic and miracle lies in the fact that what appears now to be a miracle in its literary formulation, may, in certain cases, have been originally an act of magic, later adapted to the world of biblical thought.

**I. Implements for Performing a Miracle**

Many miracles are performed simply by speaking. Usually, the prophet proclaims the word of the Lord, such as: "This is the sign which the Lord has spoken: Surely the altar shall split apart … And the altar was split apart … according to the sign which the man of God had given by the word of the Lord" (1 Kgs 13:3–5; see also 1 Kgs 17:14–16; 2 Kgs 3:15–17; 4:43–44). Occasionally, however, the speaking is accompanied by the employment of a miraculous instrument. Elisha, for example, cures the water of Jericho with salt that he casts into it (2 Kgs 2:20–21), adding the words, "Thus says the Lord: 'I have healed this water.' "

The miracle instrument par excellence is the rod. The rod in Moses' hand is sometimes called "the rod of God" (Exod 4:20; cf. 7:17; Isa 10:26). The Lord's angel also performs a miracle with the aid of a rod (Judg 6:20–21). The notion that the deity holds a rod is very much in line with prevailing beliefs of the ANE. The attribution of ownership of the rod to man is thus an expression of the polemic against myth. The rod is said to belong to Aaron in several of the plague accounts (Exod 7:19; 8:1–2; 12–13), while in other miracles it is said to belong to Moses (Exod 10:12–13; 14:16; 17:5). The demythologization of the rod, however, does not solve the problem of its magical character; on the contrary, if the story of Massah and Meribah sees the rod as a legitimate miracle-producing implement (Exod 17:5–6), the parallel story of the water of Meribah (Num 20:1–13) tries to create the impression that the use of the rod was not indispensable. God commands, "Take the rod; you and your brother Aaron gather the assembly together. *Speak* to the rock before their eyes" (v 8), but Moses sinned by striking the rock with the rod (v 11).

A similar polemic against the rod's power is recognizable in the story of the resuscitation of the Shunamite's son. Gehazi, Elish's servant, does not succeed in bringing the boy back to life by means of his master's staff (2 Kgs 4:31). Only the prophet's own action, together with prayer, is efficacious. The polemic takes on a different form in Exod 4:2: the miracles are performed with the rod simply because it happens to be in Moses' hands at the time.

The brass serpent was prescribed by God as the remedy for the venomous snake bites due to the image's similarity to the cause of the problem (Num 21:4–9). Since, according to the story, it is God himself who instructs Moses to construct the brass serpent, it cannot be seen as a magical implement with any powers in and of itself. Nevertheless, it was taken by the people as precisely that—if not really as a divine entity—as seen from the mention of its later destruction by Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18:4).

The representation of the ark of the Lord as a miracle-performing implement transfers the weight of attention from prophecy to priesthood, closely connected with the ark. The ark, even if it is not exactly an implement, represents the presence of God (e.g., see 1 Sam 4:7–8). The miraculous collapse of the god of the Philistines, Dagon, before the ark of the God of Israel (1 Sam 5:1–5) in the former's own sanctuary, demonstrates that the ark signifies God's presence, before whom all idols are nothing. The deaths of the men of Beth-shemesh who had looked at the ark of the Lord (1 Sam 6:19–20) also supports the notion that the ark represents God, the sight of whom can be fatal. The death of Uzzah, who actually touched the Ark, should be similarly understood (2 Sam 6:1–10).

The replacement of the prophetic rod with the priestly Ark is found in the stories concerning the miraculous happenings it brings about, stories similar to those about the miracles of the rod. The crossing of the Jordan by means of the presence of the Ark (Joshua 3–4) is parallel to the crossing of the Red Sea with the help of the rod (Exod 14:16). The plague engendered by the ark against the Philistines (1 Samuel 5–6) recalls in many details the plagues of Egypt in which the rod played a part (cf. the overt allusions to the plague narrative in 1 Sam 4:8; 6:6). The ark takes an important role in the story of the fall of the walls

of Jericho (Joshua 6) and serves to actualize the notion that "the Lord will fight for you, and you shall hold your peace" (Exod 14:14).

**J. The Performer of the Miracle**

The persons active in the performance of miracles are the prophets, especially Moses, Elijah, and Elisha. More than once, clear similarities can be seen between their respective deeds, such as crossing the sea (Exodus 14) or the Jordan (2 Kgs 2:8, 14); multiplying food and oil (1 Kgs 17:8–16; 2 Kgs 4:1–7, 42–44); and resuscitating a dead child (1 Kgs 17:17–24; 2 Kgs 4:18–37). Other miracles are attributed to priests Aaron, for example, is party to some of the miracles performed by his brother Moses, as in the story of the signs performed before Pharaoh (Exod 7:8–13), the plague narratives (Exod 7:19; 8:1–2, 12–13; 9:8–9), and in halting the plague in the wake of Korah's rebellion (Num 17:11–13). In the miracles in which the ark plays a central role the priests are also counted partners, namely the story of the crossing of the Jordan on dry land (Joshua 3–4) and the collapse of the walls of Jericho (Joshua 6).

The performance of miracles by human beings alone was liable to cause the event to break the bounds of miracle and be viewed instead as magic (see H above). In the story of the resurrection of the dead man whose corpse touched the bones of Elisha (2 Kgs 13:20–21), the narrator does not involve God in the deed because of the abhorrent nature of the subject at hand: burying the dead. However, it is precisely this story which preserves something of the original character of the Elisha stories, in which the miracle is attributed to the prophet and not to God (cf. 2 Kgs 8:4). In several of the Elisha stories the part played by God is rather small (2 Kgs 4:1–7, 38–41; 6:1–7). Only Elisha's title, "man of God," makes any reference to his dispatcher.

The uniqueness of portraying Elisha as a miracle worker, whose stories are told to his own credit, can be seen by a comparison of his stories to the parallels elsewhere in the Bible: in the story of the sweetening of the waters of Marah (Exod 15:22–26), Moses expresses his helplessness in his cry to God, who then shows him the solution (v 25). In the parallel story of the curing of the waters of Jericho, Elisha solves the problem quite easily (2 Kgs 2:20–21a), and only afterwards attributes the miracle to God: "Thus says the Lord: 'I have healed this water' " (v 21b). Note that when the narrator refers to the execution of this announcement he reverts and says:"So the water remains healed to his day, according to the saying of Elisha [and not of the Lord!] which he spoke" (v 22).

In the story of the reviving of the Shunamite's son it is the prophet's act which lies at the center (2 Kgs 4:33a, 34–35). Only a few words, "and he prayed to the Lord" (v 33b) refer to God's part. The proportions are reversed in the parallel story of the resurrection of the widow's son by Elijah. Here it is prayer which stands at the center of things (1 Kgs 17:20–22), and between one prayer and the next appear a few words revealing that the prayer was in fact accompanied by an act: "And he stretched himself out on the child three times" (v 21a). In most miracles, then, both man and God take part in the performance of the miracle, such as in the plagues of Egypt (Exodus 7–11), or in bringing forth water from a rock (Exod 17:1–7). To treat one example in more detail, we take the crossing of the Red Sea: The Israelites cry to the Lord (14:10), and complain to Moses (vv 11–12). Moses promises the salvation of the Lord (vv 13–14), and God then instructs him as to what he should do (v 16). Moses stretches forth his hand, but it is the Lord who causes the sea to go back by a strong east wind and makes the sea into dry land (v 21). Also when God commands Moses again to stretch forth his hand in order to cause the waters to return and drown the Egyptians (v 26), it is God who routs the Egyptians in the midst of the sea (v 27). The narrator finally indicates the impression of the act on the people: "Thus Israel saw the great work which the Lord had done against Egypt" (v 31a). But Moses' part is not discounted: "and believed the Lord and his servant Moses" (v 31b).

Some miracles are formulated in one tradition (the main one) as a cooperation of God and man, but reappear in another which attributes the feat to God alone. In the Song of the Sea, Moses is not at all mentioned, let alone given credit for the miracle (cf. especially Exod 15:1, 8, 10); it is not Moses who stretched forth his hand, but rather the Lord: "You stretched out Your right hand; the earth swallowed them:" (v 12). In other references to this miracle as well, no mention of Moses' role is to be found (Josh 2:10; 4:23; Ps 66:5–6; 78:13; 106:9–11; 114:1–3; 136:13–15). An exception to the rule is Psalm 77,

which unexpectedly incorporates into its conclusion reference to Moses and Aaron in an apparently secondary passage (v 21).

The activity of God exclusively in the performance of miracles is particularly conspicuous in events in which the miracle is of heavenly origin, such as fire coming down from the heavens in order to punish (e.g. Gen 19:24), or on the altar in order to express God's choice and will that he be worshipped on that same altar (Lev 9:24; 1 Kgs 18:38–39; 1 Chr 21:26; 2 Chr 7:1–3; in the last two of these stories the Chronicler adds this miraculous motif where it is not present in the Former Prophets.

Natural phenomena which come down from the heavens, though not at their normal time or in the normal way, are also attributed only to God (even if the initiative is at times taken by man), as in bringing down rain at the time of the summer harvest at Samuel's request (1 Sam 12:10–12) or the hailstones that the Lord casts down on the Amorites (Josh 10:11). God alone also alters the course of the heavenly bodies (while man is partly only in expressing the request; cf. Josh 10:12–14; 2 Kgs 20:10–11).

Alongside the Lord, one also finds his angels active at times. Occasionally, great plagues are attributed to an angel, such as the plague which struck the Assyrian camp (2 Kgs 19:35). In the plague of pestilence in the wake of David's census, God is the initiator but it is the angel who carries it out (2 Sam 24:15–16). The reason for the separation is apparently the desire to prevent the attribution of calamity to God. The separation between the entity responsible for executing the calamity and the Lord is observable in the introductory story of the book of Job: it is Satan who exercises control over Job's property, family, and person (1:12; 2:6) in order to test him. However, the angels also have a positive function: to deliver those worthy of deliverance (1 Kgs 19:11; Dan 3:25; 6:23), or to perform a miracle as a sign of the fulfillment of promises (Judg 6:17–21; 13:20).

**K. The Initiative for the Performance of a Miracle**

Human initiative for the performance of a miracle derives from man's needs or problems. He does not seek to have his problem solved particularly by a miracle, but prays to God out of recognition that he is incapable of coping with the difficulty. The problem which incites to prayer may be an expression of trial (see M.1 below) such as thirst (Exod 15:25) or hunger (Exod 16:4), or punishment of sin, such as the plagues of Egypt, Miriam's leprosy (Num 12:9–10), the plague of the snakes (Num 21:6), or Jeroboam's withered hand (1 Kgs 13:4). In all of these examples the one praying is the prophet, the intercessor between God and those suffering a miraculous punishment initiated by God. The notion of the interceding prophet is so deeply rooted in biblical literature that even in a story revealing a direct connection between God and the wrongdoer, such as God's revelation to Abimelech in a dream in the night, God commands the king to ask the intercessor, Abraham, to pray on his behalf (Gen 20:7, 17).

When man's suffering is not directly due to sin, he can still turn to God in prayer (which leads to a miracle), such as Hannah's prayer for a son (1 Sam 1:11–12), or Hezekiah's turning to the Lord in the time of his illness (2 Kgs 20:2–3). Similarly, the seekers of signs initiate miracles and prays. Gideon, for example, seeks a sign to strengthen him in his mission (Judg 6:17, 36–40). Likewise, prophets can desire a sign for the people, as with Samuel who asks for rain on a summer harvest day (1 Sam 12:17), or Elijah who wants an answer from God in the form of fire on the altar (1 Kgs 18:36–37). Prophets may initiate a miracle in order to salvage their injured honor (1 Kgs 20:35–36; 2 Kgs 2:24). Occasionally, man's initiative gains particular attention, such as in the halting of the heavenly bodies at Joshua's request: "And there has been no day like that before it or after it, that the Lord heeded the voice of a man; for the Lord fought for Israel" (Josh 10:14), as well as in the resuscitation of the son of the widow from Zarephath: "Then the Lord heard the voice of Elijah: and the soul of the child came back to him, and he revived" (1 Kgs 17:22).

God initiates miracles in order to give man his just retribution—either reward or punishment—and even to bestow grace upon them (see M.2 below), or to teach them a lesson, as in the opening of the mouth of Balaam's donkey (Num 22:28), or the series of miracles performed for Jonah. A miraculous revelation is generally solely God's initiative, such as the appearance of an angel in the fire of the altar (Judg 6:20), or the burning bush that is not consumed (Exod 3:2).

**L. Miracles of Life, Death, and Healing.**

The majority of biblical miracles are directly or indirectly connected with life and death, the exceptions to this rule being primarily the signs (*ʾôtôt*). Among life-miracles are counted the attainment of immortality (Enoch, Gen 5:24; Elijah, 2 Kgs 2:11–12), and the revivification of the dead (1 Kgs 17:17–24; 2 Kgs 4:32–37; 13:20–21). The miracle is capable of bringing forth new life: to make barren wives bear children (Gen 21:1–2; 25:21–26; 30:22–24; Judg 13:2–24; 1 Sam 1:11–20; 2 Kgs 4:14–17).

Healing from severe illness is also likened to revival of the dead. When Aaron intercedes on Miriam's behalf he says: "Please do not let her be as one dead" (Num 12:12); Hezekiah, who is cured from the boil, is said to have "lived" (2 Kgs 20:7), and those bitten by the serpents, when they look at the brass serpent, "shall live" (Num 21:8). The words "shall live" are used also for one saved from thirst (Judg 15:19).

A considerable part of the interest in life and death issues are centered in the area of healing. The reason for this concentration lies in the biblical concept that God is the Healer par excellence (see Hos 6:1; Jer 17:14; Ps 41:5). The book of Chronicles also expresses the idea that turning to earthly physicians is a sin (2 Chr 16:12; note the midrashic treatment of King Asa's name, which means "physician" in Aramaic).

This notion is given clear expression in those miracle stories which employ the root *rpʾ*, "heal," in reference to God's action (cf., for example, Gen 20:17–18; 1 Sam 6:3; 2 Kgs 2:22; 20:5), and particularly in the story of the healing of the waters of Marah: "If you diligently heed the voice of the Lord your God and do what is right in His sight … I will put none of the diseases on you which I have brought on the Egyptians. For I am the Lord who heals you" (Exod 15:26). Sickness and healing are two sides of the same coin. At the end of the story of the waters of Marah, God promises not to bring sickness on Israel if they will keep his commandments; yet in the conditional curse of Deuteronomy 28, God threatens with sickness any transgressors (vv 22, 27–28). In several miracle stories one finds illness (punishment) and healing (grace) one alongside the other (see Gen 20:17–18; Num 21:6–9; 1 Kgs 13:4–6). Miriam is punished with leprosy for not acknowledging Moses' authority and for her rebellious speech to him, and she is healed after Moses' prayer (Num 12:13). The order of events is just the opposite in the story of Naaman's leprosy (2 Kings 5). Naaman, who acknowledges God and his servant Elisha, is cured first, whereupon his leprosy falls upon Gehazi, the prophet's servant, who did not acknowledge the authority of his master and even lied to him boldfacedly (v 27).

**M. Purpose of the Miracle**

**1. Trial.** The performance of a miracle is closely connected with putting to trial, either through a miracle by which God tests man, or a situation in which man tests God. The words which reveal the theological basis of the story of the waters of Marah, namely, "There He made a statute and an ordinance for them. And there He tested them" (Exod 15:25b), translate the miracle from its momentary importance into something atemporal. The main purpose of the miracle was not to quench the Israelites' thirst; it is no coincidence that a succeeding verse describes the bountiful supply of water in their next station in the wilderness (v 27), illustrating that if the Lord had wanted to give them water, he need not necessarily do so miraculously. The sweetening of the waters is thus a trial, intended to test the Israelites' faith in their delivered: after God brought them out of Egypt with signs and wonders, and performed the great miracle of the parting of the sea, the people complain about the first difficulty that confronts them (v 24). The Israelites failed the test, but were not punished; the miracle at Marah is a fitting opportunity to give a sermon on obeying the Lord and observing his commandments (v 26).

From the trial by thirst the text moves on to a trial by hunger: "that I may test them, whether they will walk in My law or not" (Exod 16:4). In the continuation of the chapter it becomes clear that God was testing Israel in the matter of observing the Sabbath, in particular the prohibition to go out and gather manna on the Sabbath day (v 29). And, to be sure, even though they received a double portion on the sixth day, and this did not rot (v 24), some people could not withstand the trial (v 27). This deed provokes a strong response from God (v 28).

The progressive deterioration expressed in the portrayal of the people's behavior continues when they change from being the tested into the testers. The issue of thirst again arises. This time, immediately upon arriving at the place of encampment, and with no indication of the gravity of the thirst, the Israelites complain: " 'Give us water, that we may drink.' And Moses said to them, 'Why do you contend with me?

Why do you test the Lord?' " (17:2). The miracles of the wilderness wanderings are understood, then, as a series of trials which the people and their God undergo. This representation of the period as one in which the Israelites tested God is also presented in Num 14:22–24 (cf. also Ps 78:40–43, 56–58).

The issue of miracles and trials is not limited to the period of wilderness wanderings. The book of Deuteronomy is aware of the possibility that a prophet propagating idolatry might seek to convince his hearers by performing a sign or wonder (13:1-3). The legislated solution of this difficulty is as follows: "You shall not listen to the words of that prophet … for the Lord your God is testing you to know whether you love the Lord your God …" (vv 4–5 [—Eng 3]).

An individual may, at times, test God by requesting a sign. Gideon asks for two signs from God in order to confirm that God will fulfill his promise to deliver Israel through him. When Gideon makes the request for the first sign he showed no fear (Judg 6:36–37), and God answers his request as if this testing of God is appropriate (v 38). In his second request, on the other hand, Gideon already fears that he may have stretched things a bit too far: "Do not be angry with me, and let me speak just once more" (v 39; cf. Gen 18:32; Judg 16:28). This time Gideon is aware that he is testing God: "Let me test, I pray, just once more with the fleece" (v 39). Gideon's language is cautious: "let me test," and not "let me test you."

Unlike the Gideon story, in the story of Hezekiah's request for a sign, God offers the king the choice of two opposite possibilities: "Shall the shadow go forward ten degrees or go backward ten degrees?" (2 Kgs 20:9). The king chooses the more difficult of the two. Also when God allows Ahaz to ask for a sign he gives him a choice between two contraries: "Ask it either in the depth or in the height above" (Isa 7:11).

Like Gideon, Jonathan, son of Saul, also tests God's readiness to give his enemies into his hands before going out to battle. But whereas Gideon asked for a sign despite God's announcement that he would deliver him, God's intention is not made clear to Jonathan. Jonathan does not turn directly to God asking for a sign. He describes two possible situations, the actualization of one of which would indicate God's intention to grant victory (1 Sam 14:9–10). The character of the sign requested is also somewhat different: while Gideon expected a sign involving the disrupting of the order of creation, Jonathan expects a human response perfectly within the range of possibility. Avoiding a direct request for a sign is observable also in the story of the Philistine's return of the Ark of the Lord (1 Sam 6:6–9), though their avoidance derives from their being foreigners, non-Israelites.

In the story of the competition between Elijah and the prophets of Baal, the request for the sign is not solely at the initiative of the prophet. Elijah only determines the "stage directions"—the place, time, and manner. Elijah's request is not made because of his own lack of faith in God; just the opposite is true (cf. his confident lack of concern demonstrated in his giving advantage to his opponents). The test is meant to prove to his rivals who the real God is, and that Elijah is the real God's emissary (1 Kgs 18:36–37).

A clear example of the decline in the legitimacy of asking for a sign from God is found in the three versions of the story of Hezekiah's request for a sign. In the primary version (2 Kings 20) the king asks for a sign confirming his promised healing (v 8), and even chooses, as mentioned, the more difficult option (v 10). In Isaiah 38, however, one finds an obvious change: Hezekiah does not ask for a sign (the request at the end of the chapter, v 22, is a secondary edition based on the version in the book of Kings). It is the prophet who suggests a sign as a direct continuation of the promise of healing: "And this is the sign to you from the Lord …" (v 7). In the version of Chronicles, the whole matter of the sign shrinks to an incidental remark: "and he prayed to the Lord; and He spoke to him and gave him a sign" (2 Chr 32:24). The Chronicler does not reveal why the "sign" was given or what the sign was. The sign is again mentioned in Chronicles as part of the reason for the visit of the Babylonian embassy. Whereas according to the books of Kings and Isaiah the Babylonians came, "for he (Merodach-baladan) heard that Hezekiah had been sick" (2 Kgs 20:12; Isa 39:1), in 2 Chronicles 32 they came because of their interest in the miracle, namely, "to inquire about the wonder that was done in the land," for which reason "God withdrew from him, in order to test him, that He might know all that was in his heart" (v 31). Again, note the careful language: according to Chronicles it is God who tests Hezekiah and not vice versa. The notion that one should not request a sign from God because God should not be tempted is expressed in Ahaz's words (Isaiah 7). The Lord suggests that he ask for whatever sign he wants (v 11), but Ahaz answers: "I

will not ask, nor will I test the Lord" (v 12). However, it is precisely this answer with its denigrating attitude toward sign seeking that provokes the prophet's anger (v 13). Isaiah's indignation can be understood in light of the fact that the initiative for requesting the sign came from God. Man must not shrink from asking for a sign when it is God himself who instructs him to do so.

**2. Reward and Punishment.** Stories in which a miracle is performed as a reward for one person (and never for a group) are few. It happens on occasion that a person's extraordinary piety is rewarded: the ascension of Enoch in Gen 5:23–24 (the only miracle of reward in the entire Pentateuch); the widow whose creditors come to take her children as slaves asks Elisha to rescue her on the basis of her husband's piety: "and you know that your servant feared the Lord" (2 Kgs 4:1); Hezekiah is healed after his prayer: "Remember now, O Lord, I pray, how I have walked before You in truth and with a loyal heart" (2 Kgs 20:3 = Isa 38:3). Later literature describes the reward of those willing to be martyred for their faith, as seen in the deliverance of Daniel's three friends from the fiery furnace (Daniel 3), and Daniel himself from the lion's den (chap. 6). Three additional stories depict the miraculous reward of people who gave hospitality to God's messengers: the provision of the widow who takes Elijah into her home (1 Kings 17:8–16) and the resuscitation of her son (vv 17–24); a son born to the Shunamite woman who received Elisha and his revival after his death (2 Kgs 4:8–37). Finally, note how Genesis 18, which describes at some length the generous hospitality Abraham and Sarah bestowed upon the three men, is very similar to the story of the Shunamite woman and constitutes a clear parallel to the birth of Orion in reward of hospitality given to the gods in Greek classical literature (see G above). Nevertheless, Genesis 18 is not formulated as a story of reward—this to prevent the impression that God's intention is in any way influenced by the quality of the hospitality shown by Abraham toward his guests.

Miraculous punishments are several times more frequent than those of reward and, unlike the latter, are not limited to individuals. Punishment miracles come as recompense for an attitude towards God or his messengers (and not for harming one's fellow). Both the individual and the group may be punished for an improper cultic act (Lev 10:1–2; 2 Chr 26:16–26; 2 Kgs 17:26); for unintentional violations of sanctity (1 Sam 6:19–21; 2 Sam 6:6–9); impugning a prophet's honor (Num 12:1–16; 16; 1 Kgs 13:4, 6; 20:35–36; 2 Kgs 1:1–17; 2:19–22; 5:20–27). An individual who transgresses God's word is punished (Gen 19:26; 1 Kgs 13:24–25, 28), as well as a group complaining against God (Num 11:1–3, 4–34). On occasion, the group is punished for the sin of the individual, as seen, for example, in the closing of all the wombs of Abimelech's house for taking Abraham's wife (Genesis 20), and the punishment of the Egyptians by plagues for the sin of their king (Exodus 7–12). King David chooses collective rather than personal punishment for his census of Israel (2 Sam 24:14–15, though he later reneges [v 17], apparently a later addition; cf. the smooth transition from v 16 to v 18).

**3. Grace.** The miracles of grace include several of Elisha's miraculous feats (such as 2 Kgs 2:19–22; 4:38–44; 6:1–7). The visitation of barren women, like Hannah (1 Samuel 1), is also an act of grace, even though it is part of the divine plan of Israel's history. Such an integration of miracles of grace and the divine will is even more prominent in the visitation of Samson's mother: the angel brings tidings of his birth because of the role already reserved for him in delivering his people (Judg 13:5). Similarly, in the patriarchal narratives the births of Isaac and Jacob fulfill God's promise to Abraham concerning offspring and land. Many national miracles combine God's grace with the accomplishment of his promises, such as the dividing of the Red Sea, the provision of the Israelites in the wilderness, and the miracles performed for them during the conquest of Canaan. The cessation of punishment after the wrongdoer shows regret is also an act of grace (as in Num 12:14; 21:8; 1 Kgs 13:6).

**4. Faith in God and in his Messenger.** A clear and frequent purpose of the miracle is to inspire faith in God: thus Elijah asks, "Hear me, O Lord, hear me, that this people may know that You are the Lord God" (1 Kgs 18:37); the people in their reaction to the falling fire exclaim, "The Lord, He is God …" (v 39). Lack of faith in God in spite of his miracles stirs up God's anger; in his words to Moses, God states, "How long will these people reject Me? And how long will they not believe Me, with all the signs which I have performed among them?" (Num 14:11). Faith in God leads to fear of God: "… that all the peoples of the earth may know the hand of the Lord, that it is mighty, that you may fear the Lord your God forever"

(Josh 4:24; note also the nations' fear in the wake of God's miraculous deeds in Exod 15:14–16; Josh 2:19; 5:1). Non-Israelites express their faith in God in a positive manner: After hearing Moses recount the miraculous deliverance from Egypt, Jethro says "Now I know that the Lord is greater than all the gods" (Exod 18:11). Similarly, Naaman declares after being healed from leprosy, "Indeed, now I know that there is no God in all the earth, except in Israel" (2 Kgs 5:15). Likewise, Nebuchadnezzar and Darius are overwhelmed after seeing the miracles done to deliver those willing to be martyred (for their faith in God), namely Daniel and his three friends (Dan 3:28–29; 6:27–28).

The fear of God which results from observing a miracle has, in Israel, its practical implementation and expression in a renewed commitment to observe God's commandments. See, for example Exod 15:26; cf. M.5 below. A strengthened faith in God is frequently combined with a strengthened trust in God's messenger. After the miracle of the crossing of the Red Sea it is said: "Thus Israel saw the great work which the Lord had done in Egypt; so the people feared the Lord, and believed the Lord and His servant Moses" (Exod 14:31). The crossing of the Jordan also serves to enhance the image of Joshua, Moses' successor: "On that day the Lord magnified Joshua in the sight of all Israel; and they feared him, as they had feared Moses, all the days of his life" (Josh 4:14). So also, in the story of the competition between Elijah and the prophets of Baal, Elijah asks that the miracle be done in order that the people might come also to acknowledge God: "Let it be known this day that You are God in Israel, and that I am Your servant, and that I have done all these things at Your word" (1 Kgs 18:36).

Prominent in the Elisha narratives are miracles designed to increase respect for a prophet. Elisha's servant, for example, tells the king the *gĕdōlôt* of his master (2 Kgs 8:4), a term otherwise reserved exclusively for God's *"great things"* (cf. A.2). Moreover, the aim of the introduction to the Elisha stories (2 Kgs 2:1–18), a story which demonstrates Elisha's miraculous ability, is to announce that "the spirit of Elijah rests on Elisha" (v 15). The story of the healing of the waters of Jericho enhances the prophet's reputation by ending with the words: "So the water remains healed to this day, according to the saying of Elisha which he spoke" (2 Kgs 2:22; cf. further 4:38–41).

Miracles function at times as a kind of "commission paper" for God's messengers, as seen in the signs to be performed by Moses when he returns to Egypt; the miracles are performed so "that they may believe that the Lord God of their fathers … has appeared to you" (Exod 4:5; cf. vv 8–9). God may give a sign in order to make known whom he has chosen, as in the budding of Aaron's rod (Num 17:16–20).

**5. The Remembrance of Miracles.** A miracle must be observed by someone. Seeing a miracle has a decisive effect on those who witness it: "Then the fire of the Lord fell and consumed the burnt sacrifice … and when all the people saw it, they fell on their faces; and they said, 'The Lord, He is God! The Lord, He is God!' " (1 Kgs 18:38–39; cf. Exod 4:30–31; 14:31; Lev 9:24; 1 Sam 12:16–18). The emphasis on having seen miracles as a major basis for faith characterizes the book of Deuteronomy: "did God ever try to go and take for Himself a nation from the midst of another nation, by trials, by signs, by wonders … according to all that the Lord your God did for you in Egypt before your eyes?" (Deut 4:34; cf. also 1:30; 7:19; 29:1). Other passages in Deuteronomy even identify seeing with knowing: "Know today that I do not speak with your children, who have not known and who have not seen the chastening of the Lord your God … His signs and His acts which He did in the midst of Egypt" (11:2–3); "but your eyes have seen every great act of the Lord which He did" (v 7; for the identification of seeing and knowing cf. also Josh 24:31 with Judg 2:7). Such an identification emphasizes the importance of the direct effects of seeing a miracle for faith in God.

A story may substitute the recounting of miracles for the actual observation of them. Someone who has obtained God's salvation tells of his wonders: "I will praise You, O Lord, with my whole heart; I will tell of all Your marvelous works" (Ps 9:2; cf. also 71:14–17; 96:3–4). In the story of the plagues God announces: "But indeed for this purpose I have raised you up, that I may show My power in you, and that My name may be declared in all the earth" (Exod 9:16; cf. also Josh 2:10; 9:9–10). When Gehazi tells the king of Elisha's miraculous feats (2 Kgs 8:4), this inspires the king to rescue the woman from her distress.

In several cases, the text testifies that the story of God's salvation was transmitted from generation to generation. Gideon reveals this awareness in his complaint over Midianite subjection: "O my lord, if the

Lord is with us, why then has all this happened to us? And where are all His miracles which our fathers told us about, saying, 'Did not the Lord bring us up from Egypt" (Judg 6:13; cf. Pss 79:13; 145:4–5). The purpose of retelling the story to succeeding generations is to inspire faith: "that you may tell in the hearing of your son and your son's son the mighty things I have done in Egypt, and My signs which I have done among them, that you may know that I am the Lord" (Exod 10:2). Compare also the opening of the historical Psalm 78 meant to encourage observance of God's commandments: "I will open my mouth in a parable; I will utter dark sayings of old, which we have heard and known, and our fathers have told us. We will not hide them from their children, telling to the generation to come the praises of the Lord, and His strength and His wonderful works that He has done … That the generation to come might know them, the children who would be born, that they may arise and declare them to their children, that they may set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, but keep His commandments; and may not be like their fathers, a stubborn and rebellious generation" (vv 2–8).

A miracle story by itself, without any obligatory features, may fall short of its mark. To avoid this possibility, the people are obliged to make the yearly Passover sacrifice, which is meant to arouse the next generation to ask: "what do you mean by this service" (Exod 12:26), whereupon the parents are to respond: "It is the Passover sacrifice of the Lord, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt when He struck the Egyptians and delivered our households" (v 27; cf. also 13:8–10). The book of Deuteronomy expands this question of the sons to cover all God's commandments: "When your son asks you in time to come, saying, 'What is the meaning of the testimonies, the statutes, and the judgments which the Lord our God has commanded you?' then you shall say to your son: 'We were slaves of Pharaoh in Egypt, and the Lord brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand; and the Lord showed signs and wonders before our eyes, great and severe, against Egypt, Pharaoh, and all his household" (6:20–22).

A solid testimony of a miracle's occurrence (more so than the commandment bound up with its commemoration) is a tangible object taken from the site of the event. Joshua commands, at the time of the crossing of the Jordan, to take 12 stones from the Jordan "that this may be a sign among you when your children ask in time to come, saying, 'What do these stones mean to you?' " (Josh 4:6; cf. vv 20–23). In the wake of the miracle of the manna, Moses, in the name of the Lord, commands the people to put some of the manna into a vessel to keep as a remembrance (Exod 16:32–34), and Aaron's budding rod is similarly set "to be kept as a sign against the rebels" (Num 17:25 [—Eng 17:10]). Here also (as in previous examples), the object (*reliquae*) is intended to provide a lesson for the people, and not to be venerated as some kind of sacred object. It may be that the trespass offering returned by the Philistines with the ark of the Lord after they were visited with plagues (1 Sam 6:4) also functioned as a *reliquae* of the miracle. The dangers inherent in such *reliquae* can be seen in the echo of the brass serpent in 2 Kgs 18:4.

Now and then a place name commemorates a miraculous event that took place there, such as Taberah (Num 11:3); Kibroth-hattaavah (v 34); Perez-uzzah (2 Sam 6:8). Thus the name of a certain place functions as a kind of monument to the miracle wrought at that very place.

**N. The Rationalization of Miracles**

Biblical literature sometimes reveals a tendency to make the miraculous seem more rational. This is the case, for example, in the formulation of the miracle of the quail in Num 11:31: "Now a wind went out from the Lord, and it brought quail from the sea." It is the wind, a natural phenomenon, that brings the quail to the camp at the right moment (cf. the more "miraculous" version in Exod 16:13). In a similar manner the book of Deuteronomy removes the element of wonder from the story of the cluster of grapes brought back by the spies from Canaan. It is no longer a grape cluster of fantastic size that must be carried on a pole between two men (Num 13:23–24), but Deuteronomy simply states, "And they departed and went up into the mountains, and came to the Valley of Eshcol, and spied it out. They also took some of the fruit of the land in their hands and brought it down to us" (Deut 1:24–25). Note that Deuteronomy preserves the place name "Valley of Eshcol" (i.e., "valley of the grape cluster"), but obscures the character of the event by simply stating that they brought back "some of the fruit of the land."

The miraculous element at times disappears when a story is transferred from one figure to another, and is replaced by a rationalistic parallel. When God promises Joshua that he will give the city of Ai into his hands, God commands Joshua: "Stretch out the spear that is in your hand toward Ai, for I will give it into your hand," and Joshua hastens to carry out the order (Josh 8:18). According to these verses Joshua's action was meant to signal those waiting in ambush to attack (v 12). The act of stretching out the spear recalls the story in which Moses is the hero in the battle against the Amalekites (Exod 17:8–16). Moses' action, however, is no mere signal but a miraculous implementation of victory: "And so it was, when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed" (v 11). Moreover, the instrument which serves Moses is not a weapon like the spear, but rather "the rod of God" (v 9), the miraculous implement par excellence. Nevertheless, to the Joshua story a secondary verse was added (v 26) which disrupts the continuity between the counting of the victims and the mention of the spoil, an addition lacking in the LXX, and intended to bestow upon the story a miraculous character and assimilate it to Moses' deed: "For Joshua did not draw back his hand, with which he stretched out the spear, until he had utterly destroyed all the inhabitants of Ai."

The account of the war of the three kings against Moab (2 Kgs 3) tells of an optical illusion: the sun shining on the water "paints" it the color of blood. This sight causes the Moabites to think that their enemies had killed one another, and on the basis of this mistaken assumption they confidently advance to take the spoil and are routed (vv 22–23). The blood/water element in this rationalistic story calls to mind two miraculous stories dealing with the transformation of water into blood at the hand of Moses, namely, one of the signs performed before Pharaoh (Exod 4:9), as well as the plague of blood (Exod 7:17ff.).

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YAIR ZAKOVITCH


## *NEW TESTAMENT*

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A. Definition and Terminology
B. Demarcation of the Extraordinary
C. Conflicts Over Miracle
D. Form and Rationale of Miracle Accounts
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F. Paul
G. Mark
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**A. Definition and Terminology**

The word "miracle" derives from the Latin *mirari,* "to wonder at." Thaumaturge ("miracle worker") and thaumaturgy ("miracle-working") derive from Gk *thauma,* "wonder," "marvel" (cf. Rev 17:6). That which causes wonder—the extraordinary—is one essential element in miracle. The other is that the extraordinary phenomenon is inexplicable in terms of familiar, everyday causation and so is ascribed to a superhuman force or agency.

Several terms, variously translated, denote this phenomenon in the NT: *dunamis,* "mighty work," "miracle," "wonder" (in the singular, Mark 6:5; usually in the plural, *dunameis,* e.g., Matt 7:22; Acts 2:22); *teras,* "wonder," "portent" (in the NT, only in the plural, *terata,* e.g., Acts 2:22; 2 Cor 12:12); *sēmeion,* "sign," i.e., extraordinary sign, i.e., "miracle" (especially in John, usually in the plural, *sēmeia,* e.g., 2:11, 23; 20:30); *paradoxon,* "strange thing" (in the NT, only in Luke 5:26; plural, *paradoxa*). These words sometimes occur in combination, e.g., *sēmeia* and *dunameis* (Acts 8:13); *sēmeia* and *terata* (Mark 13:22 = Matt 24:24; John 4:48; Acts 2:43; Heb 2:4; cf. Deut 13:1, 2; 34:11; Ps 135:9); *dunamis (-meis), sēmeia,* and *terata* (Acts 2:22; Rom 15:19; 2 Cor 12:12).

Some interpreters have sought to establish distinctions between these terms or between Christian and pagan terms for extraordinary phenomena. *Sēmeia* or *dunameis,* it is said, or especially *sēmeia,* are distinctive Christian terms, denoting God's extraordinary acts performed to effect his purposes and not simply to arouse wonder and awe, for which *teras/terata* is the customary (and pagan) word (see *TDNT* 7:200–269; 8:113–26; Moule 1965). Such distinctions are untenable: early Christian writers, as well as the translators of the OT into Greek and Jewish writers of the 1st century C.E. (like Philo and Josephus) frequently use *teras/terata* in a positive sense, often coupled, or interchangeably, with *sēmeion/sēmeia,* which, when used to designate extraordinary phenomena, functions very similarly to *teras/terata* (e.g., Acts 2:22, 43; 4:30; 5:12; 6:8; Rom 15:9; 2 Cor 12:12; Heb 2:4; see Remus 1982b).

Certain terms are commonly used to describe the reaction to extraordinary phenomena. Those who hear the account of Jesus' healing of the Gerasene demoniac by driving the possessing demons into a herd of swine are "amazed" (Mark 5:20, *ethaumazon;* other examples of *thaumazein:* Matt 8:27 = Luke 8:25; Matt 15:31; John 7:21; Acts 2:7). Those who observe the healing of a deaf man are "astonished" (Mark 7:31, *exeplēssonta;* another example of *ekplēssesthai:* Luke 9:43). After Jesus raises a girl from the dead, people are "amazed" (Mark 5:42 = Luke 8:56, *exestēsan;* other examples of *existanein:* Matt 12:23; Acts 2:7, 12; 10:45; 12:16) or struck with "amazement" (*ekstasis,* Luke 5:26; Acts 3:10). These terms certify to those hearing or reading a miracle account that something extraordinary has occurred. Other terms that indicate the impression made by an extraordinary phenomenon include "fear" or "awe" or "wonder" (*phobos,* Mark 4:41; Luke 7:16; Acts 5:11) or to be "afraid" (*phobeisthai,* Mark 4:41; 5:15 = Luke 8:35; Matt 9:8; 17:6), "astonishment" (*thambos,* Luke 4:36; 5:9; Acts 3:10) or to be "astonished" (*thambeisthai,* Mark 1:27). These terms sometimes occur in combination: "amazement [*ekstasis*] seized them all, and they … were filled with awe [*eplēsthesan phobou*]" (Luke 5:26); "and they were filled with wonder [*thambous*] and amazement [*ekstaseōs*]" (Acts 3:10); "they feared great fear [*ephobēthēsan phobon megan*]" (Mark 4:41); "they were afraid [*phobēthentes*], and they marveled [*ethaumasan*]" (Luke 8:25). All these terms certify to those hearing or reading a miracle account that something extraordinary has occurred.

In early Christian literature outside the NT and in pagan and Jewish literature of the period certain formulas of acclamation identify or name the superhuman agency that works the extraordinary phenomenon, e.g., "God is Great!" or "God is One!" (e.g., *Acts of Paul and Thecla* 38; in *NTApocr.* 2: 363; other examples and discussion of the acclamations *Heis Theos* ["God is One!"], *Megas ho theos* ["God is great!"], *Mega to onoma* ["Great is the name" of the deity So-and-So!] in Peterson 1926: 183–222).

In the NT these formulas do not occur; instead, one finds the identification or naming of the agent or power responsible for the extraordinary phenomenon expressed in phrases such as "to praise God" (*doxazein ton theon,* e.g., Mark 2:12 = Matt 9:8; Luke 5:26; 7:16; 13:13; 17:15; *ainein ton theon,* Acts 3:8–9; *doxazein* in combination with *ainein,* Luke 2:20), "to give praise to God" (*didonai ainon tō theō,* Luke 18:43), or "to rejoice" (*chairein,* i.e., at the wondrous deeds of Jesus, Luke 13:17).

**B. Demarcation of the Extraordinary**

Miracle accounts presuppose that those who are reported as participating in or observing the deed or event, as well as those who hear or read the account, will agree that something extraordinary has occurred. The canons of the ordinary—that by which something is demarcated as extraordinary—vary from people to people, culture to culture, age to age; and within peoples, cultures, and ages. That which is adjudged extraordinary in one age, e.g., human flight, may be considered commonplace—ordinary—in another. The NT miracle accounts are not unique in the Greco-Roman world; they share with it common canons of the ordinary. What distinguishes them is the divine reference: they attribute the extraordinary phenomenon reported, not to deities of pagan polytheism, but to the one God of the Jewish tradition and/or his agents, Jesus or Jesus' apostles.

Canons of the ordinary in the Greco-Roman world fall into several basic categories corresponding to various areas of human experience. Some of the canons pertinent to NT miracle accounts will serve to illustrate (for further examples, especially from contemporary pagan sources, see Remus 1983, chaps. 2 and 3).

The life stages of the ordinary human being provided a number of such canons. Human reproduction (and animal reproduction generally) had received considerable attention in scientific treatises by Greek philosophers such as Aristotle and in agricultural treatises by Roman essayists such as Cato the Censor and Varro. Widely circulated stories of virgin births—i.e., departures from the ordinary— show it was common knowledge that humans ordinarily come into the world, after gestation of about 9 months, through intercourse of man and woman. Hence, Mary asks how she can bear a child when she has had no sexual relations with a man (Luke 1:34); Joseph, learning of Mary's pregnancy, resolves to divorce her quietly because he assumes she has had sexual relations with another man (Matt 1:18–19).

Normally, humans attain their mental powers slowly and grow to a more or less limited height. Such knowledge is implicit in the story of Jesus' precociousness (Luke 2:41–52), which astonishes (*eksistanto,* 2:47) those who witness it, and in the accounts of Jesus as enormously tall, either before his resurrection (*Acts of John* 90; in *NTApocr* 2: 226) or after (*Gospel of Peter* 40; in Cartlidge and Dungan 1980: 85).

Ordinary human bodies are subject to the limitations imposed by specific gravity, tangibleness or visibility, space, and mortality. It is this canon that gives point to NT accounts of Jesus walking on the sea (Mark 6:45–52 = Matt 14:22–33; John 6:15–21) and rising through the air (Acts 1:9); wondrously eluding enemies (Luke 4:30; John 8:59; 10:39) and transporting himself and others through space (John 6:21); rising from the dead and then materializing and dematerializing (Luke 24:31, 36).

The awe and astonishment, noted above, which greet wondrous healings and resurrections show that implicit in accounts of such deeds is a consensus that they are beyond ordinary human capacities. As a man whose sight Jesus has restored says, "Never since the world began has it been heard that any one opened the eyes of a person born blind" (John 9:32). When the townspeople of Lystra respond to Paul's healing of a lame man by proclaiming Paul and Barnabas divine, Paul counters by asserting that he and Barnabas are but human, constituted as the Lystrans themselves are (Acts 14:15); that is, incapable of wondrous deeds apart from divine assistance.

Ordinary flora and fauna also constituted canons by which people in the Greco-Roman world demarcated the extraordinary. Balaam's second-sighted, talking ass (Num 22:23–30) is familiar to readers of the Bible. Early Christian literature contains accounts of animals that worship the infant Jesus (*Gos. Ps-Matt.* 14, 18–19; in Cartlidge and Dungan 1980: 100–1) and an ass that performs an exorcism and preaches a sermon (*Acts of Thomas* 74, 78–79). In the NT the only accounts of extraordinary events involving animals and plants are those in which Jesus exercises control over them (wondrous catches of fish, Luke 5:1–11; John 21:1–11; the fish with a coin in its mouth, Matt 17:24–27; the withering of a fig

tree cursed by Jesus, Mark 11:12–14, 20–21 = Matt 21:18–19). Absent from the NT are accounts of genetic malformations (e.g., two-headed animals) and reproduction of a species by a different species, which were often interpreted as portents from deity.

Regularity in the cosmic order gives point to certain hyperbolic statements in the NT and to accounts of wondrous irregularities. These hyperbolic statements—faith can move mountains (Mark 11:23 = Matt 21:21; Matt 17:20; 1 Cor 13:1) or transplant trees into the sea (Luke 17:6)—are akin to a common poetic device known as *adynaton*, "the impossible," e.g., rivers flowing upstream, night not following day, the sun changing its course, trees in the sea (see further in Grant 1952: 57–58; on NT hyperbole, see Stein 1985). The subsiding of a storm in obedience to Jesus' command (Mark 4:35–41 = Matt 8:23–27; Luke 8:22–25) and the darkness at noon during his crucifixion (Mark 15:33 = Matt 27:45, Luke 23:44–45) represent wondrous departures from everyday experience of cosmic order. In Greek and Latin literature that order is designated as "nature" (Gk *physis;* Lat *natura;* see further Remus 1984). In the NT this usage is found in Rom 11:21, 24 and 1 Cor 11:14, but not, as it often is in Greek and Latin literature or in much of Western thought generally, in connection with miracle.

**C. Conflicts over Miracle**

Since canons of the ordinary are social and cultural judgments, conflicts may arise over what is considered extraordinary and whether or not an extraordinary phenomenon is a "miracle," that is, is attributable to deity. Extraordinary phenomena reported among distant peoples and in remote geographical areas, for example, were often not referred to deity by Greek and Latin writers; the exoticness of such phenomena was sufficient explanation of their extraordinariness. The philosophical, historical, and medical traditions of knowledge, much of which was the common stock of educated persons in the Greco-Roman world, frequently offered explanations of extraordinary phenomena that made reference to deity unnecessary. For example, in explaining epilepsy as like other diseases and therefore treatable by medical means, physicians in the Hippocratic tradition of medicine came in conflict with persons who used rituals and incantations to overpower the deities whose indewelling they viewed as the cause of "the sacred disease." Rival traditions of healing are seen also when early Christian claims for Jesus as a healer come in conflict with pagan claims for the deity Asclepius as a healer (see Rengstorff 1953; Dölger 1950; Edelstein 1945, 2:132–38; Remus 1983: 105–16).

In the NT itself, the accounts of the Beelzebul controversy (Mark 3:22–30 = Matt 12:22–32; Luke 11:14–23; 12:10) illustrate both a common means of denying divine reference to an extraordinary phenomenon, namely, stigmatization, and how group loyalties enter into such denials and counterassertions. Opponents of Jesus charge that he casts out demons by Beelzebul, the prince of demons. The wonders worked by "the lawless one" of 2 Thess 2:9 are associated with Satan. This kind of stigmatization—denying divine reference to an extraordinary phenomenon by attributing it to malevolent powers rather than to benevolent deity—was employed by early Christians such as Justin Martyr (*1 Apol.* 54.6, 8, 10; *Dial.* 69.1–3; 70.5) to discredit pagan miracle claims; it drew on Jewish and Christian traditions that associated pagan piety with demons (e.g., 1 Cor 10:20; Rev 9:20). Jesus' defense in the Beelzebul accounts, stating that those who are not for him are against him and implying that those who attribute his exorcisms to Beelzebul are guilty of sinning against the Holy Spirit, would serve as a warrant for early Christians in defending their own thaumaturgy and exorcisms in the name of Jesus.

Another way of stigmatizing an extraordinary phenomenon and denying it divine reference was to characterize the agent of the phenomenon or the phenomenon itself as "false." "False prophets," it is said, will work signs and wonders (Mark 13:22 = Matt 24:24). In 2 Thess 2:9 the signs and wonders worked by "the lawless one" are said to be false. Falsity is often associated with deceit. The "false prophets" of Mark 13:22 = Matt 24:24 work their signs and wonders in an attempt to deceive the elect, and "the lawless one" deceives those who are perishing (2 Thess 2:10). In the last days, the world deceiver will appear as a son of God and will work signs and wonders (*Did.* 16:4).

Another means of stigmatization—and every effective in view of the dire social and legal consequences (Remus 1982a: 153)—was to charge that a wonder worker was in fact a magician. The Simon who attempts to buy the gift of the Holy Spirit (Acts 8:19–20), and who came to be regarded by mainstream

Christianity as the archheretic, was stigmatized in post-NT writings by the epithet *magus*, "magician," and in the NT by the report that he practiced magic (*mageia,* Acts 8:11), in contrast with the apostles, who perform signs and miracles by the power of Jesus (8:13). Similarly, Bar-Jesus, the opponent of the Christian message on the island of Cyprus, is labeled a false prophet and a magician (*magos,* Acts 13:6, 8).

Whether persons in the Greco-Roman world who were accused of practicing magic actually did so may be difficult to determine: "magic" was an elastic term, not least because it was commonly used in polemic. In Robert Grant's dictum, "in polemical writing, your magic is my miracle, and vice versa" (1966: 93). The "wise men" (RSV) who come from the east at Jesus' birth (Matt 2:1–16) are in fact *magoi,* upper caste Persian priests versed in astral lore, figures familiar to the Greco-Roman world through the writings of the Greek historian Herodotus and others. However, Christian writers in the 2d century generally viewed these *magoi* as "magicians" and/or interpreters of the stars whose coming to Jesus signified his greater power, which freed the *magoi* from servitude to magic and astrology and, indeed, had put an end to the power of magic and placed such knowledge of the stars in the service of Christ (*Ign. Eph.* 19:3; Justin, *Dial.* 77.4; 78.1, 7, 9; 88.1; 102.2–4; Iren. *haer.* 3.9.2 [Harvey ed., 3.10.1]; Tertullian, *De idololatria* 9). Early Christians go to great lengths to refute charges that Jesus was a magician or that the miracles they claimed or proclaimed were worked by magic (Just. *1 Apol.* 30; *Dial.* 69.7; Tert. *Apol.* 21, 23).

Another way of denying that an extraordinary phenomenon was a miracle was to assert, as Celsus the 2d century philosopher and critic of Christianity did against Christian miracle claims, that it was an illusion (reported in Origen, *Cels.* 1.41), an hallucination (7.35), or simple fabrication (1.68), even while he affirms pagan miracle claims of a similar nature (3.24, 26).

These various disputes about miracle claims show that the Beelzebul controversy and other disputes about miracle claims in the NT are not unique: they were common in the Greco-Roman world, especially between competing social and religious groups such as Christianity and paganism or between one variety of Christianity and another. The disputes also illustrate how social and cultural factors were operative when persons in the Greco-Roman world, Christians included, observed an unusual phenomenon or heard reports of such and then decided whether or not it was indeed authentically extraordinary, inexplicable in terms of familiar causation, and worked by divine power; that is, was a miracle.

**D. Form and Rationale of Miracle Accounts**

Certain basic elements are essential to a miracle account, whether in the NT or elsewhere: the deed or event must be perceived to be extraordinary and beyond human capability; it must be inexplicable except by attributing it to or associating it in some way with superhuman agency. These elements are evident in the typical form of miracle stories that involve a thaumaturge: a situation beyond human control is described; the thaumaturge becomes aware of or involved in the situation, and then works a wondrous change in it; proof of the change is adduced; the spectators are astonished. In the NT miracle accounts, other elements often considered essential to stories or to historical accounts are commonly missing or left vague and in the background. The characters are few or described en masse ("a great crowd," Mark 7:34 = Matt 14:14; "all" the spectators, Mark 1:27; 2:12; Acts 9:35; "all the people," Luke 18:43; Acts 3:9) and except for the thaumaturge are usually identified only in a general way ("a paralyzed man," Mark 2:3 = Matt 9:2; Luke 5:18; "a woman with a hemorrhage," Mark 5:25 = Matt 9:20; Luke 8:43; "a deaf man with an impediment in his speech," Mark 7:32; "a man blind from birth," John 9:1; "a certain man lame from birth," Acts 3:2). In the NT gospels, designations of the time of a miracle are either very general ("on the Sabbath," Mark 1:21 = Luke 4:31) or omitted entirely; the geographical locations are occasionally identified explicitly (Capernaum, on the sabbath, Mark 1:21 = Luke 4:31; Bethsaida, time unspecified, Mark 8:22; Jericho, time unspecified, Mark 10:46 = Matt 20:29; Luke 18:35; Bethany, time unspecified, John 11:18), but more commonly they are either very general ("the country of the Gerasenes" or "Gadarenes," Mark 5:1 = Matt 8:28; Luke 8:26; "the region of Tyre and Sidon," Mark 7:24 = Matt 15:21; "the region of the Decapolis," Mark 7:31) or quite vague ("beside the sea," Mark 5:21; "a lonely place,"

Mark 6:32 = Matt 14:13; cf. Luke 9:12; "in villages, cities, or country" in Gennesaret, Mark 6:56). The effect of this lack of detail and specificity is a focus on the thaumaturge and the miracle itself.

An account of a nature miracle that clearly demonstrates this form is Jesus' stilling of the storm (Mark 4:35–41 = Matt 8:23–27; Luke 8:22–25): A storm threatens to swamp the boat in which Jesus and the disciples are crossing the Lake of Galilee; in their peril the disciples appeal to Jesus, who is asleep (this detail, omitted in Luke, heightens the drama as well as foreshadows Jesus' sovereignty over the wind and water); he rebukes the wind and commands the waves to be silent; there is a great calm; the disciples are afraid (Mark, Luke) and marvel at Jesus' power over wind and water. Other NT accounts of nature miracles that display this form are the wondrous catches of fish (Luke 5:1–11; John 21:1–14), Jesus' walking on the sea (Mark 6:45–52 = Matt 14:23–33; John 6:16–21), the feeding of the multitudes (Mark 6:35–44 = Matt 14:15–21; Luke 9:12–17; John 6:1–14; Mark 8:1–9 = Matt 15:32–39), and the changing of water into wine (John 2:1–11). In the OT the form is evident in such accounts of nature miracles as the crossing of the Red Sea (Exod 14:10–31) and some of those associated with Elisha (2 Kgs 4:38–41; 4:42–44; 6:1–7).

Much more numerous in the NT are accounts of healing miracles. The typical form is as follows: the sickness is described (e.g., its duration, the debilitating or life-threatening symptoms, the failure of physicians and medicines to effect a cure); the sick person and the healer encounter one another; the healer, through word or manipulations and use of substances (but sometimes with none of these), works a cure, which usually is sudden; proof of the healing is supplied; the spectators (if any) are amazed.

This form is evident in both ancient and modern healing accounts. Vespasian, the 1st century A.D. Roman general and future emperor, is approached by a blind man, with the request that Vespasian apply spit to his cheeks and eyeballs, and by a man with a crippled hand, with the request that Vespasian step on the hand. After some hesitation, and after consulting physicians, Vespasian complies with the requests, and both men are healed immediately, as is attested by witnesses (Tac. *Hist.* 4.81; Suet. *Ves.* 7; Dio Cass. *Hist.* 65.8; ET in Cartlidge and Dungan 1980: 156). In the 3d century account by Philostratus of a 1st century thaumaturge named Apollonius, a boy bitten by a hydrophobic dog barks, howls, and goes about on all fours, an affliction that has already lasted for thirty days (*VA* 6.43). Apollonius encounters the boy and, knowing what dog it is and where he is to be found, has him summoned and commands him to lick the boy's wound, whereupon the boy returns to normal and, as final proof of his healing, drinks water (i.e., he is no longer hydrophobic). In a 20th century account, a deacon in Oral Roberts' church who has dropped a heavy motor on his foot sits screaming with blood running out of his shoe. Roberts is summoned, kneels, prays, straightens up. The deacon, his pain gone, stops screaming, takes off his shoe, and finds the foot again normal (see Jacobs 1962: 39).

A NT example is the healing of a hemorrhaging woman (Mark 5:25–34 = Luke 8:43–48; less fully, and with significant variations, in Matt 9:20–22): the woman has been afflicted for twelve years; she has consulted physicians and spent all her money seeking a cure, but her condition has only worsened; she touches Jesus' garment, and the flow of blood stops immediately; Jesus asks who touched him, since he has felt power flow from him; the disciples (Luke: Peter) protest that there is a crowd, and many people are touching him; Jesus insists, however, and the woman—fearful and trembling—comes forward and confesses what has happened; Jesus bids her go in peace.

Here and in other accounts the mere touch of the healer or of something that touches him (the fringe of Jesus' garment, Mark 6:56 = Matt 14:36) or has touched him (handkerchiefs or aprons that have touched Paul, Acts 19:12), or even his shadow (Peter, Acts 5:15), is regarded as able to effect a cure. Hence the numerous accounts of Jesus touching the sick or wounded (Mark 1:41 = Matt 8:3; Luke 5:13; Mark 7:33; Matt 8:15; 9:29; Luke 22:51), or being asked to do so (Mark 3:10 = Luke 6:19; Mark 8:22), or of Jesus or his apostle laying hands on them (Mark 1:41 = Matt 8:3; Luke 5:13; Mark 6:5; 8:23, 25; Luke 4:40; 13:13; Acts 28:8) or requested to do so (Mark 5:23 = Matt 9:18; Mark 7:32).

Underlying these and other healing accounts is the idea, common in the Greco-Roman world, that power resides in or emanates from certain persons, objects, and words (see, e.g., Plutarch, *Causes of Natural Phenomena* [*Quaestiones naturales*] 916D; *Philosophers and Men in Power* [*Maxime cum principibus*]

777F). "All the crowd was seeking to touch Jesus, because power was going forth from him and was healing them all" (Luke 6:19; cf. 5:17). "Jesus perceived in himself that power had gone forth from him" when the hemorrhaging woman touched his garment (Mark 5:30). According to Eunapius (4th century C.E.; *VS* 148), after an impressive speech by the famous Christian orator Prohairesios, people kissed his hands and feet and licked his chest as they would a statue of a god, because they thought him possessed of divine potency. Hence, objects associated with potent persons were seen as having power (see above), as were even certain kinds of objects, either in themselves (magnets, stones) or when inscribed (amulets) or sculpted (statues) (see Nilsson 1948a: 103–9). Likewise, the words of a potent person have power; when Jesus identifies himself to those who come to take him in the garden by saying, "I am he" (a revelatory formula), they draw back and fall to the ground (John 18:5–6); when he addresses an illness (Luke 4:39) or a dead person (Mark 5:41 = Luke 8:54) or a demon (see below), these obey.

Consequently the invoking of Jesus' name by his followers has power to heal (Acts 3:6; 4:10, 30) and to exorcize demons (Luke 10:17; Acts 16:18; cf. 19:13). The author of Acts reports that some itinerant Jewish exorcists attempted (unsuccessfully) to appropriate the name of Jesus for exorcistic purposes (19:13–17). According to Origen, the name of Jesus for exorcistic purposes (19:13–17). According to Origen, the name of Jesus has such power against demons that it is sometimes effective even when bad men utter it (*Cels.* 1.6). Jesus' name, along with other Jewish names, is attested in the Greek and Coptic magical papyri from Egypt (see Nilsson 1948b: 5–8; Gager 1972, chap. 4) and accords with common thaumaturgical use of the name of a deity or some other powerful figure, often from a foreign culture and in a foreign tongue (for a parody that illustrates the stereotype, see Lucian of Samosata *Am.* 12; also his *Men.* 6–10).

As in OT healing and resurrection accounts, so also in those in the NT the causes of sickness and death are often not named (Mark 1:30; 5:25; cf. 1 Kgs 17:17; 2 Kgs 5:1). In other such accounts, however, disease and death are associated with or ascribed to sin (John 9:1–3; cf. Num 12:9–12; 16:41–50; 2 Kgs 5:20–27) or Satan (Luke 13:16) or demons (Mark 9:17–18 = Luke 9:39). Where there is no explicit reference to demonic cause of illness, the terminology may suggest it. Thus Jesus, asked to heal a deaf mute, "sighs" or "groans" (*estenaxen*, Mark 7:34), as though struggling with the power that binds (7:35) the man's tongue; or Jesus may "threaten" (*epitimān*) a disease as though an evil power inhabits it (Luke 4:39). In exorcism accounts, where demonic possession is made explicit, such terminology is also employed (e.g., Mark 1:25 = Luke 4:35; Mark 9:25 = Matt 17:18; Luke 9:42). Implicit in such terminology is the concept of power, already noted in healing accounts: a greater power (the thaumaturge) compels a lesser (the demon[s]) to leave a possessed person. Asceticism was seen as a means to such power (see, e.g., *Apoc. El.* 1:21 [*OTP* 1: 738]: fasting "releases sin … heals diseases … casts out demons"), which suggests why at Mark 9:29 some NT manuscripts add "fasting" to "prayer" as necessary in order to be able to cast out a certain kind of demon. The form of exorcism accounts conforms to that of healing accounts generally (see, e.g., Mark 1:21–28 = Luke 4:33–37; Mark 5:1–20 = Matt 8:28–34; Luke 8:26–39; *Ant* 8.46–48; Lucian of Samosata, *Am.* 16; 31; Philostr. *VA* 4.20).

A number of miracle accounts follow the basic form outlined above but are embedded in narrative frameworks that lead up to or focus on a pronouncement by Jesus and have therefore been aptly titled by Vincent Taylor (1935: 30) "pronouncement stories" (Bultmann 1963: 11, 209, calls them "apophthegms"; Dibelius 1935: 26, "paradigms"). An example is the healing of a crippled woman on the sabbath (Luke 13:10–13), followed by a pronouncement (in the form of a rhetorical question) by Jesus. Other examples are Mark 2:1–12 = Matt 9:1–8 = Luke 5:17–26; Mark 7:24–30 = Matt 15:21–28; Mark 11:12–14, 20–26 = Matt 21:18–22; Matt 8:5–13 = Luke 17:1–10; 17:11–19. See also APOPHTHEGM.

Examination of the setting of these various miracle accounts in the life of early Christian communities provides clues to why early Christians transmitted and recorded the accounts and offers important insights into the life of these communities.

**E. Setting of NT Miracle Accounts**

A number of passages in the NT and other early Christian literature indicate that miracle accounts figured prominently in a number of settings in the life of early Christian communities. One such setting

was the defense of Christian practices and beliefs. Over against Jewish criticisms or in intramural Christian disputes, some of the pronouncement stories cited above for their inclusion of miracle accounts would justify Christian practices regarding the sabbath (e.g., Luke 13:10–13) or Christian attitudes to non-Jews (e.g., Mark 7:24–30 = Matt 15:21–28). A pronouncement story like Mark 2:1–12 = Matt 9:1–18 = Luke 5:17–26 would justify Christians' claims that Jesus had authority to forgive sin and would provide a warrant for their own forgiving of sins by his authority (cf. Matt 16:19; 18:18; John 20:23).

Christian practice of thaumaturgy, especially healing rituals, was another context in which accounts of miracles worked by Jesus played a role, both before and after their collection and recording in the Gospels. That Christians practiced such rituals is evident from a number of texts. Paul cites healing and working of miracles (*dynameis*) as gifts of the Spirit (1 Cor 12:9, 10), and the letter of James (5:14) outlines a procedure for healing that employs prayer and anointing with oil "in the name of the Lord" (cf. Mark 6:13). Outside the NT, Irenaeus (*haer.* 2.32.5 [Harvey ed., 2.49.3]), Justin Martyr (*2 Apol.* 6.6; *Dial.* 30.3; 76.7; 85.2–3), Tertullian (*Apol.* 23.6), Origen (*Cels.* 1.6; 3.24; 7.4, 67), the Acts literature (*Acts Pet. Paul* 77, *Acts John* 79; *Acts Thom.* 47–48; 141), and Christian magical papyri (in Preisendanz 1974, papyri 5b, 18, 19) describe healings and exorcisms by Christians or in Christian communities. A number of these texts invoke the name of Jesus, or recite brief credos about him or "formulas from the holy scriptures" (Origen, *Cels.* 7.67), or refer to healings by him recorded in the Gospels. The stories of healings by Jesus provided precedent and warrant for Christians' practice of healing rituals. The fact that the transmitters and recorders of these stories included certain details of how Jesus healed suggests that early Christians also looked to these accounts for techniques to be used in their healing rituals (cf. the dialogue in Mark 9:28–29, and Dibelius 1935: 84, 86–87).

These techniques were not peculiar to Christians. The use of foreign words (*talitha koum*, Mark 5:41; *ephphatha*, Mark 7:34) is common in pagan healing accounts (e.g., Lucian *Am.* 9, 12, 31; *Men.* 6–10; Philostr. *VA* 4.45) and in the magical papyri (see Nilsson 1948b: 5–8; Gager 1972, chap. 4). There are also parallels to Jesus' use of saliva (Mark 7:33; 8:23; John 9:6; cf. Vespasian's healing of a blind man, cited above), to his sighing (Mark 7:34; cf. the magical papyri cited in Dibelius 1935: 85–86), and to his touching of the afflicted person or taking hold of the person's hand (Mark 1:31 = Matt 8:15; Mark 1:41 = Matt 8:3 = Luke 5:13; Mark 5:41 = Matt 9:25 = Luke 8:54; Mark 7:33; 8:22–23, 25; Matt 9:29; 20:34; Luke 7:14; 13:13; 22:51; cf. Philostr. *VA* 3.39; 4:45).

The similarity between these techniques and those used by pagan healers and persons regarded as magicians was one reason some pagans and Jews in the 2d century charged that the healings attributed to Jesus and his followers were worked through magic (Celsus, in Origen, *Cels.* 1.6, 71; Tert. *Apol.* 21.17; 23.7), which Christians vigorously denied (Just. *1 Apol.* 30; Tert. *Apol.* 23.12–19). Similarly, some modern scholars see a sharp discontinuity between these accounts and pagan healing accounts, claiming that Jesus healed simply by a word and dismissing as insignificant the materials and gestures he employs in some of the healing stories. This position is difficult to maintain: some of the healings include words, materials, and gestures, or simply happen (Mark 5:28–29 = Luke 8:43–44). To say that Jesus healed simply with a word does not in fact distinguish his healings from pagan healings or from magic: words themselves could be construed as magic manipulations, as Origen states explicitly (*Cels.* 1.24–25; 5.45) and as is clear from the magical papyri, amulets, cursing tablets, and literary texts concerning magic, with their abundant formulas for incantations and their special words and syllables for apotropaic and other uses.

Indeed, one reason Christians were successful in winning converts was that as part of their missionary proclamation they told stories of miracles worked by their savior which had affinities with those circulating among pagans. Such stories, pagan or Christian, were winsome because they raised the hope that as the healer had once acted in the past, so now he might do so again. Sick persons who journeyed to the Asclepius temples at Epidaurus in Greece or on the island of Cos came in the hope that they would be wondrously healed as were the persons described in the inscriptions on votive tablets at the temples there (examples in Edelstein 1945, 1: Testimonies 423, 794; Cartlidge and Dungan 1980: 151–53). For pagans accustomed to such stories about their deities and thaumaturgists, Christians' proclamation of miracles

worked by Jesus would serve as a counterpoise to Christian proclamation of a savior apparently so powerless that he was unable to escape the ignominy of death on a cross. The connection of Christian thaumaturgy and Christian mission is made explicit in several NT texts. According to Matt 11:20–21 = Luke 10:13, the working of miracles is expected to lead to repentance (cf. also Mark 6:12–13), and thaumaturgy—healing of the sick, raising the dead, cleansing of lepers, exorcisms—is seen as part of mission in Matt 10:7–8 = Luke 9:2 and Luke 10:8–9. In defense of his apostolic mission and ministry, Paul cites as "signs" (*sēmeia*) of his apostleship his working of "signs" (*sēmeia*), "wonders" (*terata*), and "mighty works" (*dynameis*) (2 Cor 12:12; similarly Rom 15:19). The purpose of his thaumaturgy, says Paul, is "obedience of the gentiles," i.e., their coming to faith in Christ (Rom 15:18).

When Paul's letters were then read in Christian assemblies, his declaration of his thaumaturgical powers would serve to strengthen the authority of Paul and his message. Such proclamation—of wonders worked by Paul as well as by Peter—is explicit in a number of passages in Acts (see below) and would also serve to strengthen the faith of believers. The same would be true of the recounting of the stories of miracles worked by Jesus.

In the life of early Christian communities miracle stories and thaumaturgy thus played important roles. But, as has already been indicated, they also stood in tension with the Christian proclamation of the crucified Christ, as is evident in the writings discussed next.

**F. Paul**

Paul, as was indicated above, in several passages refers to his thaumaturgical powers as evidence of his apostleship. Far outweighing these passages, however, are others in which he cites his sufferings as demonstrations of his apostleship (1 Cor 4:11–13; 2 Cor 6:3–10; 11:23–27) and insists on his weakness as a condition of the manifestation of Christ's strength in him (1 Cor 4:9–10; 2 Cor 4:7–12; 11:30; 12:1–10). This interpretation of his apostleship he relates to his sickness (2 Cor 12:7–10) but especially to the weakness of a crucified savior in whom he sees the strength and wisdom of God revealed (1 Cor 1:18–25), a view deriving from a wondrous event: the appearance of the risen Christ to him (1 Cor 15:8) and his call to be an apostle (Gal 1:15–16). Paul makes these paradoxical assertions of God's power and strength over against persons who stress thaumaturgy as proof of divine mission. A similar antithesis is found in the gospel of Mark.

**G. Mark**

Miracle accounts play an important role in the gospel of Mark, constituting a substantial portion of the narratives of the first nine chapters. The description of John the Baptist's work that opens the gospel culminates in his proclamation that one mightier than he is yet to come (1:7). That one is Jesus, whose miracles are the first steps in establishing the reign of God that Jesus, at the beginning of his ministry, announces is near at hand (1:15). With the power of the Spirit that descended on him at his baptism (1:10), Jesus demonstrates, through displays of power, that God's reign is beginning: he heals illnesses (1:29–34, 40–42; 2:1–12; 3:1–6; 5:21–43; 6:53; 7:31–35; 8:22–26; 10:46–52), wondrously feeds multitudes of hungry people (6:30–44; 8:1–9), walks on water and stills wind and wave (6:45–51), and withers a fig tree to its roots (11:14, 20–21; on this difficult passage see Cotter 1986; Achtemeier, *Mark* Proclamation, 23–25). Like one who binds a strong man in order to plunder his house (3:27), so Jesus, having overcome Satan in the wilderness (1:12–13), compels Satan's forces to obey him, driving them out of the humans they afflict (1:23–26, 34; 3:11; 5:1–20; 7:24–30; 9:14–26).

Why Jesus should command the demons not to reveal his true identity can be explained in some cases as a common element in an exorcism story (Jesus commands the demon to be still, 1:25, even as he commands the raging storm to be still, 4:39). In other passages, however, the commands to demons not to reveal who he is (1:34, 3:12), and to persons he heals (1:43, 7:36) or raises from the dead (5:43) to tell no one of it, can be attributed to the evangelist's concern that Jesus not be viewed simply as a miracle worker. Rather, Jesus must suffer and die; this is his "messianic secret," and to deny that necessity is viewed in 8:31–33 as Satanic; these verses provide readers with the key to unlock the Markan "messianic secret" and thus to see the miracles worked by Jesus in relation to his suffering and death. To perform the miracle of descending from the cross, as some of the bystanders mockingly exhort Jesus to do in order

that they may "see and believe" (15:32), would be to attempt to achieve by wondrous display and main force what can only be accomplished through service unto death (10:45). The taunt "He saved others, himself he cannot save" (15:31) expresses ironically the same view of messiahship. Thus it is that Jesus acknowledges publicly that he is the Christ (14:61–62) only *after* it has become clear that the Christ must suffer and die. For the same reason he commands his followers not to reveal he is the Christ until after his suffering, death, and resurrection (8:29–33; 9:9, 31–32; 10:31–32); and the only public confession of Jesus as Son of God that does not meet with a rebuke or a command to silence comes after Jesus' death is accomplished (15:39).

The miracle at the baptism of Jesus through which God designates Jesus as his chosen one (1:11) is followed by the miracles which demonstrate that God's reign draws near, but it is the baptism of his death (10:38), where Jesus is powerless, which the evangelist sees as the decisive victory over the forces that oppose God's reign. (On the preceding, see further Perrin 1971; Kelber 1976; Rhoads and Michie 1982.)

**H. Matthew**

The basic outline of the gospel of Matthew is close to that of the gospel of Mark, which means that here, too, Jesus is depicted as the Christ who suffers and dies and not simply as a miracle worker, even though Matthew includes virtually all the miracle stories recorded in Mark (missing are Mark 1:23–28; 7:32–37; 8:22–26) but also others not found in any of the other NT Gospels (Matt 9:27–31, 32–34 [cf. 12:22–24]; 14:28–31; 27:52–53; 28:2–4, 9–10, 16–20).

One distinctive characteristic of the Matthean miracle stories is their tautness; many of the colorful details found in the other gospels are lacking (cf., e.g., Matt 8:28–34 with Mark 5:1–20; Matt 9:18–26 with Mark 5:21–43; Matt 20:29–34 with Mark 10:46–52). On the other hand, some of the narratives include material not found in the other gospels (cf., e.g., Matt 14:22–33 with Mark 6:45–52; Matt 15:21–28 with Mark 7:24–30). Also noteworthy is the evangelist's artful grouping of miracle accounts (e.g., Matthew 8–9). These Matthean usages bring to the fore several distinctively Matthean themes that interpret the miracles, and Jesus as miracle-worker, for readers (see especially Bornkamm 1963; Held 1963).

Jesus' miracles are sometimes presented in Matthew as the fulfillment of scripture (1:22–23; 8:17; 12:17), a prominent Matthean theme (on the fulfillment theme in general and its application to the Matthean birth narratives and the miracles they recount, see Brown 1977). These formulaic citations attached by Matthew to miracle accounts served several purposes: instruction in how the miracles fulfilled the scriptures (didactic) as well as defenses of them based on scripture and proof that Jesus is God's promised Messiah (apologetic and theological). He is thus set apart from other thaumaturgists, who do not have such prophetic testimony.

Jesus is Messiah not only in word—in the Matthean discourses—but also in deed (Schniewind *Matthew* NTD, 8, 106), as made clear in Matthew's introduction (4:25) and conclusion (9:35) to the Sermon on the Mount (chaps. 5–7) and miracle stories grouped in Matthew 8–9. In their stark Matthean versions they focus on Jesus the Christ. Thus, in the healing of Peter's mother-in-law, Jesus appears alone with her (8:14–15), in contrast with the other accounts (Mark 1:29–31; Luke 4:38–39). The Matthean version of the Gadarene/Gerasene demoniac(s) (8:28–34) lacks many details of the Markan (5:1–20) and Lukan (8:26–39) accounts, and, in contrast to them, presents the demons' response to Jesus neither as apotropaic ("I adjure you by God," Mark 5:7) nor as supplicatory (Luke 8:28) but as an implicit confession of Jesus' messiahship: He is the one who has "come" to demonstrate God's sovereignty over evil by subjecting demons to torment, even "before the time" of their final judgment that will establish God's reign (Matt 8:29); accordingly, it is not pigs who "drown" in the lake (Mark 5:13 = Luke 8:33) but demons who "die" there (Matt 8:32).

Matthean abridgement and expansion of some of the synoptic miracle accounts bring to the fore two other important Matthean themes: faith (and the negative "little faith") and discipleship. Compared with the Markan (5:21–43) and Lukan (8:40–56) versions of the healing of the hemorrhaging woman, Matthew's is reduced to a scene involving only Jesus and the woman in which her faith in Jesus' power to heal, and Jesus' rewarding of her faith, stand out sharply (9:18–26; the same focus on faith and its reward

in the succeeding account, 9:27–31). In contrast with the Lukan version (7:1–10) of the healing of the centurion's son/slave, Matthew's (8:5–13) is shorter, and the faith of the centurion, which is the heart of the story in both gospels, is accentuated by a distinctively Matthean conclusion: "As you have believed, so be it done for you" (8:13; cf. 9:29; 15:28). On the other hand, the Matthean account of Jesus' healing of the daughter of the Syro-Phoenician woman (15:21–28) is longer than the Markan parallel (7:24–30) by virtue of the inclusion of a dialogue between Jesus and the woman which raises the question of relations between Jews and non-Jews and answers it by reference to her faith, which surmounts the barrier (8:28).

Jesus and his disciples figure in the synoptic stories of Jesus stilling the storm (Mark 4:35–41; Matt 8:23–27; Luke 8:22–25) and of Jesus and Peter walking on water (Mark 6:45–52; Matt 14:22–33). Matthew's versions, however, point to the nature of discipleship and contrast with it "little faith." Immediately preceding the account of the stilling of the storm Matthew has placed sayings on the cost of discipleship: a scribe who wishes to follow (*akolouthein*) Jesus, i.e., be his disciple, is told that he can expect none of the comforts of home (8:19–20); and a disciple who wishes to return home to bury his father is told to let the dead bury their dead and to follow (*akolouthein*) Jesus (8:21–22). Only in Matthew's gospel do Jesus' disciples then *follow* (*akolouthein*) him into the boat, where the storm breaks upon them and they in their distress cry out to him to save them (8:23–25). Jesus asks why they are afraid, "you of little faith [*oligopistoi*]" (8:26); he then threatens (*epitimēsen*) the storm as one would an evil power (see D above) and it subsides. Similarly, Peter, walking on the water toward Jesus at Jesus' command, grows fearful and begins to sink, but Jesus takes his hand and asks why he doubted, "you of little faith [*oligopiste*]" (14:31). Those who follow Jesus and become his disciples could conclude from these passages that they would know peril because of the evil forces that oppose God's reign, but they should not be of "little faith" because he is their living and present Lord (18:20; 28:20) and would deliver them.

Moreover, as he once worked miracles, so now his disciples, at his command and empowered by him, will do the same. In the discourse commissioning his disciples to go forth to proclaim the kingdom (chap. 10), Jesus empowers them not only to cast out unclean spirits (thus also Mark 6:7; Luke 9:11, "demons") but also to "heal every disease and every sickness" (Matt 10:1), indeed, to perform virtually every miracle ascribed to Jesus in Matthew 8–9 (10:8). The passages that follow, depicting the trials and persecution that await such thaumaturgical missionaries (10:17–39), are addressed to the Risen Lord's disciples, i.e., the evangelist's contemporaries, for that is their situation (Vielhauer 1965: 64–67; Higgins 1964: 100–4; Kingsbury, *Matthew* Proclamation, 74, 90–91). Receiving them is the same as receiving him and the one who sent him (10:40). Accordingly, in the pericope that immediately follows the commissioning discourse, Jesus' recital of miracles, in response to John the Baptist's question whether he is the messiah (11:2–6), would apply to his disciples as well as himself: the miracles of both proclaim he is indeed "the one who is to come" (11:3).

That his disciples are expected, both by themselves and by others, to perform miracles is indicated in Matt 17:14–20, a sharply abridged version of the story of a demon-possessed boy (contrast Mark 9:14–29 and Luke 9:37–43). The father has brought him to the disciples for healing; when they are unable to comply he turns to Jesus for help, and the disciples ask Jesus the reason for their inability to perform the healing (the verb "unable" [*adunatein*], 17:16, 19, 20, ties the Matthean narrative together). He, as their teacher and the teacher of the church (28:20), then instructs them: it is because of their "little faith" (*oligopistian*). Nonetheless, for a person with "faith like a grain of mustard seed … nothing will be impossible" (17:20). Their failures, whether walking on water or attempting a healing, make clear that Jesus' disciples possess no miraculous power in themselves; only by faith in him and by his command can they work miracles such as he did and thus proclaim God's reign and him as God's messiah.

**I. Luke–Acts**

Six of the miracle stories in the gospel of Mark are not included in the gospel of Luke; five of these (Mark 6:45–52; 7:24–30; 7:31–37; 8:1–10; 8:22–26) occur in Mark 6:45–8:26, the "Great Omission." Whether the evangelist did not include the cursing of the fig tree (Mark 11:12–14, 20) so as not to cast

doubt on Jesus' rationality or his ethical character is unclear (see Cotter 1986; Achtemeier 1975: 548). Common to Luke and Matthew ("Q") are Luke 7:1–10 = Matt 8:5–13 and probably Luke 11:14 = Matt 12:22. Peculiar to Luke are 5:1–11; 7:11–17; 13:10–17; 14:1–6; 17:11–19; 22:50–51, and the resurrection and ascension accounts (24:13–35, 36–49, 50–53).

Among the NT gospels only the gospel of Luke has a sequel by the same author—the Acts of the Apostles—and the two writings illuminate one another, also in the miracle accounts (see Achtemeier 1975; Conzelmann 1960: 177–83; Held 1963: 277, n. 2). The characterization of Jesus in Peter's missionary sermon in Acts 2 as "a man attested to you by God in mighty works and wonders and signs" (2:22; cf. Acts 10:38) is an apt summary of the evangelist's treatment of the synoptic miracle traditions. Unlike the gospel of Mark, which has proportionately more miracle stories than either Matthew or Luke but carefully subordinates them to the passion and death, and unlike Matthew, which uses miracle accounts as vehicles for themes central to that gospel, in the gospel of Luke the focus of the miracle stories is on their evidentiary and missionary function: more than in the other gospels the miracles demonstrate that Jesus is the one anointed by God's Spirit to carry out a divine mission in fulfillment of God's promises (Luke 4:18, a quotation from Isa 61:1–2 and 58:6) both through teaching and miracles, which thus serve as the basis of faith and discipleship.

The evangelist's careful balancing of teaching and miracles, and indeed the prominence he accords miracles, are seen already in the programmatic sermon in the synagogue in Nazareth. Much longer than the parallels in Mark (6:1–6) and Matthew (13:54–58), the sermon, after announcing that Jesus will both teach and work miracles (Luke 4:18–22), refers to miracles he has already performed; the account then concludes with a miracle (4:23–30). Whereas the Markan account of the healing of a leper closes with a summary statement of Jesus' popularity (1:45), Luke explains that people come "to *hear* and to be *healed*" (5:16); similarly, Luke 6:18, "to *hear* him and to be *healed*" (Mark 3:8, people come only because they heard what Jesus "did," i.e., worked miracles); 9:11, Jesus *teaches* and *heals* (Mark 6:34, Jesus only teaches).

Luke's customarily careful treatment of synoptic traditions is evident also in the miracle stories. In the Markan account of the healing of a blind man at Jericho the man hears Jesus is coming and, though blind, comes (how?) to Jesus on his own (10:47, 50); in the Lukan version Jesus commands the blind men to be *brought* to him (18:40). In Mark 1:45 it is unclear whether it is the healed leper or Jesus who goes out and begins to "proclaim much" and "to spread the word" (of the healing? the gospel?) and is therefore unable to enter openly into a city; all of these difficulties are avoided in Luke's account (5:15). Moreover, while the Markan account may be taken to mean that the leper disobeyed Jesus' command to tell no one of his healing (1:44), Luke states that the report of the healing simply "spread" (Luke 5:15), with no indication of any involvement by the leper and thus no disobedience on his part. Similarly, in Luke 4:33–34 the demon does not speak again after Jesus has commanded it to be silent, in contrast to Mark 1:24–26; Luke is also careful to report obedience to Jesus' commands by sick persons, details lacking in Mark (contrast Luke 5:24–25, the man "went home," with Mark 2:12, no such mention; Luke 6:8, the man "stood up," with Mark 3:3, no such mention).

Prominent in the Lukan miracle accounts is a concluding acclamation: people praise God (5:26; 7:16; 9:43; 13:13; 18:43) or rejoice (13:17). This typical characteristic of miracle stories confirmed to hearers or readers of a story that a miracle had indeed occurred and commonly identified the power(s) responsible. In the gospel of Luke the acclamations affirm that God is working through Jesus, who by performing miracles is carrying out his divine mission (4:18–30). That miracles perform this evidentiary function in Luke is suggested already by the attention the author devotes to them but is also indicated further in various ways.

In contrast with the Matthean version of John the Baptist's questioning of Jesus (11:2–6), which might be seen as occasioned by miracles worked by Jesus' disciples (Matthew 10), Luke's account is preceded directly by two miracle stories (7:17), so that "all the things" John has heard about Jesus are specifically miracles. Moreover, before Jesus replies he performs many healings (7:21), thus anticipating and substantiating the reply; and he instructs John's disciples to report what they have "*seen* [i.e., miracles]

and heard" (7:22), in contrast to Matthew's Jesus, who places hearing before seeing (11:4; Achtemeier 1975: 552). While the author of Luke may not have shared Philo of Alexandria's view of sight as the most superior and least deceptive of the senses (*Abr* 57, 60, 150, 153, 156, 158–62, 166; cf. his invidious comparison of Ishmael, meaning "hearing God," and Israel, "seeing God," *Fuga* 208), in this passage as well as in others in his gospel "seeing" is conspicuous. At Jesus' entry into Jerusalem his followers praise God for "all the mighty works [*dunameōn*] that they had seen" (19:37). "Blessed are the eyes that see what you see," says the Lukan Jesus (10:23), in contrast to the version of the saying recorded in Matthew, which concludes, "and your ears, for they hear" (13:16). When the risen Jesus eats a piece of fish in the presence of the disciples to demonstrate that it is indeed he, they see him do so, though Luke does not state that in so many words (24:41–43).

As was indicated above, trust in the miracle worker and/or the power(s) responsible for a miracle is the expected response to thaumaturgy. This expectation is especially evident in both Luke and Acts, where faith and discipleship often follow a miracle (Achtemeier 1975: 553–56). Whereas in Mark (1:16–20) and Matthew (4:18–22) the first disciples respond to a simple summons of Jesus, in Luke the call comes after the miraculous catch of fish (5:1–11) and after Jesus' miraculous power has been demonstrated to Peter (healing of his mother-in-law, 4:38–39, which *follows* the call in Mark and Matthew) and to readers (4:31–41). The call of Levi (5:27–28) follows immediately upon a miracle (5:17–26) whereas in Mark teaching intervenes (2:13). Only Luke states that Jesus' women disciples were persons who had been healed by him (8:2).

That Jesus is a thaumaturge in the tradition of Moses, Elijah, and Elisha—that is, that he stands in the tradition of those great Hebrew prophets, thus setting him apart from other thaumaturges of the Greco-Roman world—is suggested by the evangelist in various passages in Luke-Acts that recall or imitate traditions in the Scriptures (on such *imitatio* in Luke-Acts, see Brodie 1984). As Moses worked "signs and wonders [*terata kai semeia*]" (Acts 7:36; cf. Exod 7:9 LXX, *semeion ē teras*) and predicted that "God will raise up for you, from among your compatriots, a prophet like me" (Acts 7:37; see Deut 18:15; similarly, Acts 3:22), so Jesus was "a man attested to you by God through mighty works and wonders and signs [*dunamesi kai terasi kai sēmeiois*]" (Acts 2:22)—indeed, a man "whom God raised" (2:24). After Jesus, like Elijah, resuscitated a dead son and "gave him to his mother" (Luke 17:15 = 1 Kgs 17:32 LXX), the people exclaim that "a great prophet has been raised up among us" (Luke 17:16; cf. a similar story told of Elisha, 2 Kgs 4:18–37; on pagan parallels to the Lukan account, especially Philostratus, *VA* 4.45, see Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 656–57). When Jesus' fellow townspeople expect him to work miracles in Nazareth such as those he had performed in Capernaum, he replies that "no prophet is accepted in his home country" (Luke 4:23–24), and by citing the examples of Elijah and Elisha and their miracles among non-Jews he implicitly compares himself to them (4:25–27). Elijah's miraculous assumption (*analēmphthē*) into heaven (2 Kgs 2:11) is echoed in the announcement at the beginning of the Lukan travel narrative, of Jesus' assumption (*analēmpsis*) (9:51; cf. Acts 1:11, Jesus "was assumed [*analēmphtheis*] into heaven"). Sometimes, however, the Lukan Jesus is dissociated from Elijah and indeed appears as his anti-type (Talbert 1984: 93–94); unlike him, Jesus refuses to call down avenging fire from heaven (Luke 9:54–55; cf. 2 Kgs 1:10, 12; contrast also Luke 9:62 and 1 Kgs 19:21), in accord with the general Lukan stress on Jesus' compassion, also present in miracle accounts (Luke 7:13; 8:52).

When Jesus summarizes his ministry in a message to Herod Antipas, it is as a prophet who works miracles and perishes as a result (13:31–33), and in mourning his death his disciples remember him as "a prophet mighty in deed and word" (24:19) who was handed over to be crucified (24:20).

It is as one empowered by the Spirit which inaugurates the various phases of his ministry in Luke (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB 227–28) that Jesus performs his miracles (4:18; Acts 10:38, "how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and with power, how he went about doing good and healing all who were oppressed by the devil, because God was with him"). His final words to his disciples in the gospel are a promise that he will send them what the Father has promised, namely, "power from on high" (24:49). This promise is repeated at the beginning of Acts (1:4) and fulfilled on Pentecost, when in fulfillment of prophecy (2:17, citing Joel 3:1) God's spirit is poured out upon the disciples (Acts 2:4, 33).

In Luke's characteristic sequence, the bystanders "*see* [the wondrous giving of the Spirit and of tongues, 2:3–4] and hear" (2:34), and thousands come to faith (2:41). In the next chapter, Peter, calling on the name of Jesus, heals a lame man (3:1–11); Peter then addresses the astonished witnesses of the miracle, attributing it not to any power or piety of his own (3:12) but to God, who glorified his servant Jesus by raising him from the dead (3:13–15) and through faith in his name worked "what you see and hear" (3:16); then follow both hostile reaction and faith (4:1–4).

This pattern is characteristic of the miracle accounts in Acts: empowered by the Spirit (mentioned 57 times), and often in Jesus' name (see D. above, and Conzelmann 1960: 178, n. 3), his followers work miracles that continue Jesus' ministry and, alongside missionary preaching, win many times more followers than he did (e.g., 2:41; 4:4) while at the same time arousing opposition.

In addition to various summary statements of "signs" (*sēmeia*), "wonders" (*terata*), and "mighty works" (*dunameis*) wrought by Jesus' followers (2:43; 4:30; 5:12; 6:8; 8:6; 14:3; 15:12), Acts contains accounts or summary statements of healings and exorcisms (3:1–16; 5:16; 8:7–8, 13; 9:17–18, 33–35; 14:8–10; 16:16–18; 28:7–9; by remote means, whether through Peter's shadow [5:15] 19:11–12 or through handkerchiefs and aprons that have touched Paul [19:11–12]), as well as accounts of resurrections (9:36–42; 20:9–12), of punitive miracles (5:1–11; 9:1–9; 12:20–23; 13:6–11; 19:13–16), of miraculous liberations (5:17–25; 12:5–11; 16:23–30), of nature miracles (2:2–3; 4:31; 8:39), and of dispensations of gifts or powers exceeding normal human capabilities (2:4–6; 28:3–6).

As Peter is featured as the leading apostle in the first half of Acts, and Paul in the second half, so also the miracles attributed to each correspond closely in number and kind (Hardon 1954: 308–9); cf. Acts 2:43 and 14:3; 3:1–16 and 14:8–10; 5:1–11 and 13:6–11; 4:31 and 16:25–26; cf. also 5:15 with 19:11–12; 9:33–35 with 28:7–9; 9:36–42 with 20:9–12; 5:17–25 and 12:5–11 with 16:23–30.

The miracles cited by Jesus in reply to John the Baptist's question (Luke 7:22 = Matt 11:5) are in Acts worked by his followers as well, thus attesting that he is indeed "the one who is to come" (Luke 7:19 = Matt 11:3). Each time the Christian movement is established in a new location, moving from Jerusalem to Judea, Samaria, and "the end of the earth" (Acts 1:8), miracles are an essential element in the process, so that, finally, all opposition overcome, the reign of God and teaching about Jesus Christ are proclaimed and taught "openly and unhindered" (28:31).

**J. John**

The 7 miracle accounts in the Fourth Gospel are all found in chapters 1–12: (1) water into wine (2:1–11); (2) healing of an official's son (4:46–54); (3) healing of a paralytic at Bethesda (5:1–15); (4) feeding of a multitude (6:1–14); (5) walking on water (6:16–21); (6) healing of a blind man (9:1–41); and (7) resurrection of Lazarus (11:1–44). Number (1) is peculiar to John. Three are reported also in the Synoptic Gospels: numbers (2) (Matt 8:5–13 = Luke 7:1–10), (4) (Mark 6:32–44 = Matt 14:13–21 = Luke 9:10–17), and (5) (Mark 6:45–52 = Matt 14:22–33). Three are parallel in type to miracles reported in the Synoptics: numbers (3) (Mark 2:1–12 = Matt 9:1–8 = Luke 5:17–26), (6) (Mark 10:46–52 = Matt 20:29–34 = Luke 18:35–43; Matt 9:27–31), and (7) (Luke 7:11–17). That there are 7 such accounts is regarded as significant by some, but whether the evangelist did is doubtful (see, e.g., Bultmann *John* MeyerK, 112, n. 3). In addition to these longer accounts, there are (8) the brief report of the boat suddenly at land (6:21) and (9) the falling back and falling to the ground of Jesus' captors when he says, "I am he" (18:4–6), as well as summary statements that Jesus performed miracles (2:23; 3:2) and possessed praeternatural knowledge (2:25; 4:16–19, 29).

Though the number of miracles in John is fewer than in any of the Synoptic Gospels, their importance has long been recognized by scholars, even while their meaning, function, and source have been much discussed and disputed, beginning with the distinctively Johannine terminology for miracle. Aside from the word *terata*, "wonders," in the stock phrase *sēmeia kai terata* (4:48; see A.), miracles are called either *sēmeion,* "sign" (2:18; 4:54; 6:14, 30; 10:41; 12:18) and in the plural *sēmeia,* "signs" (2:11, 23; 3:2; 6:2, 26; 7:31; 9:16; 11:47; 12:37; 20:30) or, consistently in the mouth of Jesus and as a more inclusive term that can embrace Jesus' words (14:10)—or, indeed, his whole mission (17:4) as well as his miracles—

*ergon*, "work" (e.g., 7:21; 10:32) and in the plural *erga*, "works" (e.g., 7:3; 9:3–4; 10:25, 32, 37–38; 14:10–12; 15:24).

The use of the distinctive term *semeion/-a* for miracle in the Fourth Gospel as well as certain clues in the narrative point to the evangelist's use of traditions, or even a collection ("signs source"), containing accounts of *semeia* (for a discussion of a "signs source" and a survey of the scholarly literature, see Fortna 1970; Nicol 1972; Martyn 1979: 164–68). See also SIGNS/SEMEIA SOURCE. Thus, the statement in 4:54 that Jesus' healing of the official's son (4:46–54) was "the *second* sign that Jesus did when he came from Judea to Galilee" (4:54)—even though 2:23 and 3:2 state that he performed many signs between the first sign (2:11), turning water into wine, and this second one—and the fact that the account of the healing begins by referring back to the water-into-wine account (4:46) and that the geographical location and the pattern of both accounts are very similar (see Brown *John 1–12* 194) suggest that the healing account followed the account of the wine miracle directly in a source employed by the evangelist. The conclusion of chap. 20, that "Jesus did many other signs […] that are not recorded in this book" (20:30), is inappropriate insofar as much material intervenes between this passage and the last of the signs in chap. 11; such a conclusion would be appropriate to a collection of signs, however.

As to the meaning of *semeion/-a*, the view, held by some, that because the miracles in John are designated as "signs" they are therefore somehow distinct from "miracles" (Trench 1953: 343–44; *TDNT* 7:240, 249) is untenable (Remus 1982b: 548–50). The basic sense of *semeion* is "identifying mark" or "sign," with no necessary divine reference. Thus social convention could designate the ringing of a gong, a beacon fire, or the shadow of the pointer on a sundial as *semeia* that signify—have meaning—beyond themselves in the ordinary affairs of life; if a *semeion* was extraordinary, however, it could point to the divine as cause, i.e., be considered a miracle (both uses in Plut. *Vita Per.* 6.2–4). In the gospel of John the *semeia*, measured by common canons of the ordinary current then, are extraordinary and point beyond themselves to the divine. The identity and nature of the divine to which they point, however, is even more extraordinary: They identify Jesus as the light (8:12; 9:5; 12:46) and life (11:25; 14:6) of the world, the bread of life from heaven (6:35, 41, 48, 50, 51), and the Logos who, through the signs, reveals his glory (1:14; 2:11; 11:4), which is also the glory of God his Father (11:4; 11:40), since he and the Father are one (10:30, 38; 14:3, 10, 11, 20; 16:15, 32; 17:21) and since he does the Father's will (4:34; 5:30; 6:38) and works (*erga:* 4:34; 5:36; 9:4; 10:25, 32, 37; 14:10; 17:4).

Not surprisingly, then, the miracles evoke a variety of responses (cf. Haenchen 1962–63; Brown *John 1–12* AB, 531–32) which may reflect the evangelist's milieu as well. The responses can be listed as follows.

1. For some, Jesus' wonderworking certifies him as prophet or thaumaturge sent by God (2:11, 23; 3:2; 4:39, 45–47, 49, 53; 6:2, 14; 7:31; 11:45–48; 12:11, 18). If the gospel, even while providing an account of Jesus' earthly ministry, does so in light of the evangelist's own situation (Haenchen 1962–63: 212–14; Nicol 1972: 145–49; Martyn 1979: 29, 82–89, 129–51; Brown 1979), so that he is at the same time reflecting on reactions in his own day to proclamation of Jesus' *semeia*, then these passages point to a time in the history of the Johannine community, represented in the *sēmeia* traditions, when Jews responded positively to such proclamations and without risk of exclusion from the synagogue. Such exclusion developed later, leading to fear and secret discipleship on the part of some of the Jews who believed in Jesus because of his *semeia* (3:1–2; 9:22, 34; 12:42; 16:2–4; cf. 7:13 and 19:38; see Nicol 1972: 143–45; Martyn 1979: 37–62).

2. Whereas in category 1 the term "the Jews" is used in a neutral sense (3:1; 11:36–37, 45; 12:9), in the gospel generally "the Jews" is more often a negative term designating those Jews who are skeptical toward or reject the *sēmeia* and/or the claims Jesus makes in connection with them (2:18, 20; 5:10, 16; 6:41, 52; 9:18; 10:24–25, 31–33; 12:11). Sometimes the Jews who reject the *sēmeia* are specified further as "the Pharisees" (7:31–32, 47–48; 9:13, 15–16, 40–41; 11:46–47; 12:18–19) or "the rulers" (7:48), though the latter term more often designates persons in category 1 (3:1; 7:26, 50; 12:42). The hostility between Jesus and Jewish authorities in his day is reflected in these passages; but equally, if not more,

important, they reflect antagonism between the evangelist's community and the Jews of his day (see Martyn 1979: 84–89; Brown 1979: 40–43).

3. The fact that the gospel of John includes the *sēmeia* traditions noted in category 1 indicates that the evangelist placed some value on them. Nonetheless, the Johannine Jesus is critical of response to his *sēmeia* of the kind indicated in category one. It is untrustworthy (2:24) and wrongly motivated (6:26); ultimately, it fails (12:37). But there are those who see Jesus' miracles for what they are, signs identifying him as the life and light of the world, the bread from heaven, the one sent by the Father (2:11; 6:69; 9:38; 11:41–42) to do his works (5:36; 10:25). Jesus can therefore invite belief in his works as a way to perceiving that he and the Father are one (10:38; 14:11). Jesus' miracles interpreted in this way would evoke from "the Jews" the quite understandable charge of blasphemy (10:33; cf. 5:18; 8:58–59; 19:7). Even his disciples fail to comprehend his relation to the Father (14:8), eliciting an astonished reaction from Jesus (14:9) and, later, the prediction that the faith they profess (16:30) will not stand the test (16:32)—not surprisingly, for to believe such claims requires a resocialization (Meeks 1972: 70–71); or, in the words of the evangelist, the Spirit/Paraclete must come and bestow true understanding of Jesus and his *sēmeia* (14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:13–14). That will occur only after Jesus is no longer with his disciples (16:7; cf. 7:39).

4. Once Jesus departs to the Father, his working of signs is at an end. Except for 20:31, they are not mentioned after chap. 12. The subsequent chapters prepare for his departure and glorification on the cross, for which the *sēmeia* and the glory they revealed were a prelude. For readers of the gospel, the faith that is required and is pronounced blessed is that which does not need visible verification before believing (20:29). The account of the healing of the official's son (4:46–54), which seems to belong in part to this category (the official simply accepts Jesus' *word* that his son lives, 4:49) and in part to category 1 (he and his household believe *after* the son is healed, 4:53), points to editing of *sēmeia* traditions by the evangelist: 4:48 ("Unless you [plural] see signs and wonders you [plural] will not believe") is inappropriately addressed to the official, who believes without seeing, while the second-person plural suggests that this is a critical comment on the Galileans uho welcome Jesus because they have seen all the things (i.e., the *sēmeia*) he has done in Jerusalem (4:45; see Bultmann *John* MeyerK, 204–207; Fortna 1970: 41; Nicol 1972: 28–29). At this point in the gospel, 4:48 anticipates 20:29 and a time when believing without seeing will be a necessity.

For the evangelist and his readers that time is the present, and in his gospel Jesus speaks both as the earthly ("the hour is coming") and the exalted one ("and now *is*") (4:23; 5:25). Even as the disciples after the resurrection "remember" and believe what Jesus said about the temple-body *sēmeion* (2:18–22; cf. 14:26: the Paraclete will "remind you of all that I said to you"), so in the evangelist's "now" the Spirit/Paraclete has disclosed to him what was only hinted in the words and works of the earthly Jesus and what his disciples were incapable of receiving before his exaltation (16:12).

The Johannine Jesus therefore unfolds the full, symbolic import of his *sēmeia*—their *sign*ificance. The turning of water into wine (2:1–11) symbolizes what happens in Jesus' entire ministry: the revealing of his, and his Father's, glory (2:11; 1:14). Just as no one, even his mother (2:4), can demand a *sēmeion* from him (6:30), so no one can take Jesus' life without his willing it (10:17–18)—at the proper "hour," namely, his glorification on the cross (2:4; 12:23; 17:1)—as he demonstrates through miraculous invulnerability until that hour (7:30; 8:20; 18:6).

John 6 contrasts two understandings of the *sēmion* of the loaves and fish (6:1–14; see Borgen 1965; Meeks 1972: 58–59). The literalists in the narrative desire a steady supply of food from Jesus (6:15, 26) or demand from him a *sēmeion* like the wondrous manna from heaven (6:30–31)—something not to be expected from this man of ordinary, familiar parentage (6:42). The evangelist, however, inteprets the miraculously multiplied loaves as symbolic of Jesus as the true bread from heaven, given by the Father even as the manna was (6:32–33, 41); unlike ordinary bread, which perishes (6:27), and manna, which sustained life only for a time (6:49), Jesus is the life-giving (6:33, 51) bread of life (6:35, 48), and those who eat of it will neither hunger nor thirst (6:35) and, indeed, will live forever (6:51). Work (*ergazesthe*)

for such bread, says Jesus (6:27); but, in fact, one receives it—i.e., believes in Jesus as the one sent by God—as gift, i.e., a work (*ergon*) that *God* does (6:29; cf. 6:36–40, 44–45).

To the blind man who receives the gift of sight (9:17) Jesus, as a further gift, reveals his true identity. The blind man believes, and thus truly sees (9:35–38), whereas, ironically, those who have sight do not in fact see because they reject the *sēmeion* which points to Jesus as the light of the world (9:5; cf. 1:5, 9; 12:35–36, 46) and which thus brings judgment: the sightless see; whereas the seeing are sightless (9:39; cf. 12:40) and, abiding in sin (9:40–41; cf. 12:46), have incurred judgment (3:18, 36). Even as Jesus sought out the blind man after he has been put out of the synagogue (9:35), so he will find those in the evangelist's day who are expelled from the synagogue for confessing Jesus as the Christ (9:22; cf. Martyn 1979: 37–62).

The raising of Lazarus (John 11) is anticipated by the two *sēmeia* in chaps. 4 and 5, both of which demonstrate Jesus' power to give life (5:21). This final *sēmeion* abounds in typical Johannine irony that, again, plays off literal versus symbolic meaning (see Brown *John 1–12* AB, 431, 434; on Johannine irony, see Duke 1985). Jesus' delay in going to Lazarus' aid demonstrates greater love than if he had gone immediately, since Lazarus' sickness, which results in his death, is yet "not unto death" (11:1–6), for, though he will die, yet he will live when he hears Jesus' voice (11:43), even as those who, though they die (cf. 16:2) but believe in Jesus, will live (11:25). Martha takes Jesus' assertion that Lazarus will rise as a commonplace statement of Jewish belief in resurrection of the dead on the last day (11:24), not realizing he means in the present. Indeed, because Jesus is the resurrection and the life, those who live and believe in him will, unlike Lazarus, never die (11:26). Jesus' gift of life to Lazarus glorifies Jesus as a miracle-worker (11:4) but, ironically, leads to his own death (11:46–53), the "exaltation" (3:14; 8:28; 12:32–33) which is, ironically, his ultimate glorification (see Meeks 1972: 62–64). As a result, readers of the gospel, without seeing *sēmeia,* pass even now from life to life when they hear his word (5:24; cf. 3:36) or from death to life in response to his voice (5:25). Such life-giving power characterizes the "greater works [*erga*]" which the Father will show the Son (5:20–21) and which those who believe in the Son will themselves do (14:12).

**K. The Letter of James**

James 5:14–15 outlines a procedure for healing: the sick person calls the elders of the church who pray over the person after anointing him/her "with oil in the name of the Lord." Oil was commonly regarded as a healing and refreshing agent (Isa 1:6; Luke 10:34; Plato, *Menex.* 238A; Philo, *Somn* 2.58; Jos. *Ant* 17.172 = *JW* 1.657; Pliny, *HN* 15.19; 23.34–50; Seneca, *Ep.* 53.5; for subsequent references and the development of rites of anointing in the orthodox and Roman Catholic churches, see Mayor 1913: 170–73). However, other elements in the procedure, as well as the procedure itself, indicate that (as in Mark 6:13) more than the common medicinal powers of oil are involved here. This is a wondrous healing, and the oil is one of the means employed (on the use of material means in thaumaturgy, see D above). The praying mentioned in vv 14 and 15 stands in the tradition of prayer connected with wondrous healings (1 Kgs 17:21; 2 Kgs 4:33; Sir 38:9) or with miracles generally, examples of which are cited in 5:17–18. Whether the invocation of the name of the Lord occurs in the prayer or apart from it is unclear, but it functions to bring the power of that name to bear on the sickness (see D above); 5:15 states therefore that the *Lord* will raise up the sick person. Sin is not given as the cause of sickness here, but the long association of the two (see D above) may underlie the statement that if the sick person has sinned, it will be forgiven (5:15)—another reason for invoking the name of the Lord, for only the Lord has the authority to forgive sin and the power to overcome any demonic power associated with it.

The faith that prays for healing (5:15) is the faith of the community, including that of the sick person who has called the elders (Schlatter 1932: 280–81). The next verse specifies further the involvement of the entire community in prayer for healing (5:16a). The role played in health and healing by community belief is attested in modern anthropological and sociological studies (Cannon 1942; Lévi-Strauss 1967: 169–73; Kiev 1964: 8–11, 15, 26, etc.). In the healing ritual in James 5:14–15, the community is represented by the elders, i.e., authorities who, by reason of age or other qualifications, have been designated as leaders. They, rather than charismatics (as in 1 Cor 12:9, 28, 30), are entrusted with healing.

Verses 5 represent an institutionalization of caring for the sick and healing that developed in early Christianity (in addition to the early Christian sources cited in E above, note the role of church leaders in caring for "the weak" or "the sick" [*asthenountōn*] in Acts 20:35; Polycarp, *Phil.* 6).

**L. The Book of Revelation**

In the Jewish apocalyptic tradition taken over by early Christians, the appearance of signs and wonders (*sēmeia kai terata;* see A above) or the working of wondrous signs (*sēmeia*) by deceivers presage the last days and the great eschatological reversal that will deliver the elect from their tribulations and punish their oppressors. In the NT this tradition of apocalyptic miracles is represented in passages such as Mark 13:22 (= Matt 24:24), 2 Thess 2:9, and several passages in the book of Revelation (Gk *apokalypsis*). The visions revealed to the seer (Revelation 1) disclose the future and proclaim that, despite appearances to the contrary, the Lord reigns supreme over all opposing forces (19:6, 15–16; 21:22). The readers and hearers of the book (1:3), who are suffering persecution (probably late in the 1st century), can take comfort in this, and, because they have been forewarned, can recognize the revelatory signs (*sēmeia*) that will precede their deliverance.

In 12:1–3 two *sēmeia* appear in the sky, one a woman in the throes of childbirth (i.e., the birth pangs of the messianic age), the other a many-headed and many-horned dragon. The woman represents light (12:1: sun, moon, stars); the dragon, i.e., Satan (12:9), representing the forces of darkness, attempts to destroy her and her child, but is prevented from doing so and departs to war on her other offspring, i.e., the followers of Jesus (12:4–17). The next chapter, veiling its references to the Roman empire and emperor worship in apocalyptic imagery, forewarns these followers that the dragon's authority will pass to certain beasts (13:2, 12), one of which will work miraculous *sēmeia* (fire from heaven and power of speech to an image) that will deceive people into worshiping the first beast (13:13–15). In 19:20 this second beast is identified as a false prophet; from its mouth, and the mouths of the dragon and the first beast (the Roman Empire), issue demonic spirits that work *sēmeia* and assemble the kings of the earth for the day of the great eschatological battle against God (16:13–14).

Prior to that day the Lord, too, has prophets endowed with miraculous powers (11:3–6) that recall miracles worked by Moses (Exod 7:17, 19) and Elijah (1 Kgs 17:1; 2 Kgs 1:10). The prophets are killed; but then, miraculously sufflated (Rev 11:11; cf. Ezek 37:5–10), they rise and are taken up into heaven (Rev 11:12; cf. 2 Kgs 2:11). Their fellow sufferers on earth can take comfort in this and await the end when the dragon, the first beast, and the false prophet will be cast into the lake of everlasting fire (Rev 19:20; 20:10) and those faithful to the Lord will worship the Lord in a new earth and heaven (Rev 21:1–22:5).

**M. Trajectories**

The importance of miracle in the NT writings is evident from this overview. In subsequent Christianity miracle continued to be equally if not more important.

Were the miracle accounts in the scriptures to be taken literally or nonliterally? The resurrection of Jesus and of believers, e.g., might be viewed in stark physical terms, after the pattern of John 11:1–44 or Luke 24:36–43 (cf. Celsus in Or. *Cels.* 5:14); or, following Paul's comparison of resurrection to the difference between seed and resulting plant (1 Cor 15:35ff.) or the symbolic interpretation of resurrection in John or the view that resurrection is in the present (John 5:25; 2 Tim 2:18), resurrection might be intepreted in various non-literal ways (gnostics, e.g., Basilides in Hippol. *Her.* 7.27.10; Origen, see Chadwick 1948). Literal interpretation of miracles (e.g., Marcion in the 2d century; see Harnack 1924: 66–67, 259*–60*) is outweighed by typological or allegorical intepretations (Smalley 1964) until the Reformation era, when literal interpretation is reaffirmed, posing problems that the Enlightenment struggled with, and problems that are the subject of continuing study (see Grant and Tracy 1984; Harvey 1966; Keller 1969).

At a number of places in this article reference has been made to the important place of miracles in post-NT Christianity—in mission, apologetic, and healing rituals (see D. and E.). Such activities, and the differing ways in which miracle accounts in scripture were interpreted, involved Christians in conflict with one another and with non-Christians (see C.). In the persecutions suffered by Christians, miracles

came to be attributed to or associated with martyrs or their remains ("relics"), similarly, with the Christian ascetics, whose rigorous life became a new form of martyrdom. The cult of the saints, in which miracle has played such a key role, is a legacy of those periods (see P. Brown 1981; Ward 1982; Weinstein and Bell 1982). The powerful presence of Christ in sacraments, only hinted at in the NT (1 Cor 11:30; John 6:52–58), becomes evident in miracles associated not only with water or baptism (e.g., *Acts Thom.* 52; Jerome, *Life* of St. Hilarion 20; Augustine, *City of God* 22.8; Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* 1.10) but also with the eucharist (e.g., *Acts Thom.* 5; Gregory, *Dialogues* 2.24).

For Christianity, as for so much of religion generally, "Miracle is faith's dearest child" (Goethe). Much of that legacy in the West is nurtured by the NT.

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HAROLD E. REMUS

**MIRIAM** (PERSON) [Heb *miryām* (מִרְיָם)]. **1.** A woman in Israel's wilderness community who exercised religious leadership alongside Moses and Aaron (Mic 6:4). Introduced as prophetess and Aaron's sister, Miriam led the women in the celebration at the Sea (Exod 15:20–21) and joined Aaron in a rebellion against Moses, for which she was punished with leprosy (Num 12:1–15; cf. Deut 24:9). The Levitical genealogies of Num 26:59 and 1 Chr 5:29—Eng6:3 list her as sister of Aaron and Moses. According to Num 20:1, she died and was buried at Kadesh. The prophet Micah (6:4) regards her as a divinely commissioned leader alongside Moses and Aaron during the wilderness journey.

The seven texts which mention Miriam by name (cf. Exod 2:1–10) bear repeated testimony to her leadership role in the wilderness community. Exod 15:20–21 is generally regarded as the earliest account of the Israelites' celebration of the event at the sea. It is striking that the earliest tradition portrays Miriam, not Moses, as the first to articulate, through ritual song and dance, the religious dimension of Israel's foundational event.

In Num 12:1–15 different layers of tradition present Miriam and Aaron raising controversies with Moses regarding his Cushite wife and his authority in rendering God's word. The latter controversy clearly reflects a crisis of religious leadership. The account seeks to establish the primacy of Moses as God's spokesperson, but in doing so it does not negate the authenticity of Miriam and Aaron as mediators of God's word. Although the background of the Cushite wife controversy is unknown, the use of the feminine singular Hebrew verb in 12:1 suggests that some level of tradition viewed Miriam alone as confronting Moses on the matter. Comparison with other controversy stories in the wilderness narratives suggests that Moses' leadership is at the heart of the Cushite issue and that in presenting the problem, Miriam voiced a matter of community concern (see Burns 1987: 68–71).

While several scholars cite the prophetess designation in Exod 15:20 as a basis for interpreting Miriam's role in the dispute over oracular authority in Num 12:2–9 as a prophetic one, Burns (1987: 48–67) has argued that the controversy of Num 12:2–9 reflects struggles between priestly, not prophetic groups. If that view is correct, Numbers 12 does not contribute to the portrait of Miriam as prophetess. Unlike Deborah and Huldah, no characteristic prophetic activity is attributed to Miriam in the biblical texts. Thus, the prophetess designation in Exod 15:20 may well be an anachronism.

There is little doubt that the view of Miriam as sister of Moses and Aaron is the product of a long history of tradition. The three leaders are presented together without kinship terminology in Numbers 12 and Mic 6:4. The designation of Miriam as Aaron's sister in Exod 15:20 may be an attempt by a late

priestly writer/editor to relate this early cult leader to Aaron. From there it was a small step to include her in the Levitical genealogies of Num 26:59 and 1 Chr 5:29—Eng6:3. Contemporary scholarship suggests that biblical genealogies reflect much more about functional relationships than actual biological ties (see especially Wilson *GHBW*). Thus, in linking Miriam with Moses and Aaron, late priestly genealogists offer much the same view of Miriam as do Numbers 12 and Mic 6:4, that is, as a religious leader alongside Aaron and Moses. The record of Miriam's death and burial at Kadesh has a similar function insofar as the deaths of the three wilderness leaders are artificially constructed in such a way as to coincide with the last three stops on the wilderness journey.

In presenting Miriam, biblical writers from earliest to latest periods of composition offer only glimpses of a woman in the wilderness community who exercised leadership in the cultic sphere and who claimed authority as a spokesperson for the Divinity. Martin Noth (*HPT*, 182) was undoubtedly correct in saying that "at one time much more was told about her which is now completely lost."

**2.** A Calebite relative of Ezrah (1 Chr 4:17). The writer of 1 Chr 4:15–23 includes Miriam in an early list of Calebites. The text of v 17, in which the name appears, is difficult. In the MT the verse begins with a list of the four children of Ezrah and then continues, "and she conceived Miriam" and two others. The RSV (following the LXX in part) transposes Mered and Bithiah, the pharaoh's daughter, from v 18 of the MT to v 17, thus presenting them as Miriam's parents.

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RITA J. BURNS

**MIRMAH** (PERSON) [Heb *mirmâ* (מִרְמָה)]. Benjaminite who appears in an extended genealogy of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:1–40). Mirmah is one of the seven sons of Shaharaim by his wife, Hodesh (1 Chr 8:10). The name means "deceit" and is found nowhere else in the MT nor in the Apocrypha and deuterocanonical literature. 1 Chr 8:8 indicates that Shararaim had already divorced Hushim and Baara and was living in Moab. Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 77) sees the structure of this extended genealogy lying in the geographical breaks showing parallel lists of Benjaminite families and their dwelling locations at a given time, probably either Josiah's reign or the postexilic period. Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 82) sees no structure whatever in the genealogy. However, there is an obvious connection between the family of Mirmah and Moab. This connection seems to hearken back to a time when Moab had not yet achieved independence from Israel (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 60; Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 128). Mirmah is referred to as one of the *roʾšē ʾābôt* or "heads of a family."

G. EDWIN HARMON

**MISHAEL** (PERSON) [Heb *mîšāʾēl* (מִישָׁאֵל)]. Var. MESHACH. Three individuals in the Hebrew Bible bear this name.

**1.** A Levite in the line of Kohath, son of Uzziel, and cousin of Aaron (Exod 6:22). When Nadab and Abihu, Aaron's sons, were killed for presenting unauthorized offerings, Moses instructed Mishael and his brother Elzaphan to remove their bodies from the camp (Lev 10:4).

**2.** One of the men who stood on Ezra's left hand during the great public reading of the law (Neh 8:4; 1 Esdr 9:44). Not designated as a Levite, Mishael's position on this occasion suggests that he was possibly an influential or representative member of the Israelite community.

**3.** One of Daniel's three companions who were among those selected by Nebuchadnezzar to receive special training (Dan 1:6). Surnamed Meshach by the Babylonians (Dan 1:7), Mishael joined Daniel and his friends in rejecting the king's rich food in favor of a simple Hebrew diet (Dan 1:8–21). He also provided prayer support when Daniel faced the challenge of recounting and interpreting Nebuchadnezzar's dream (Dan 2:17). As a result of the accurate narrative and his friendship with Daniel, Mishael ("Meshach") was promoted to a leadership position over the province of Babylon (Dan 2:49).

In a separate story, Mishael ("Meshach") and his companions were thrown into a fiery furnace because of their refusal to bow down to a statue erected by Nebuchadnezzar (Dan 3:8–30). In light of this remarkable stand of faith, Mishael came to serve as an example to the threatened Palestinian Jewish community during the first two centuries B.C.E. of trust in God and subsequent deliverance (1 Macc 2:59; Pr Azar 66; *4 Macc.* 16:3, 21; 18:12).

The Hebrew name "Mishael" (*mîšā‹ēl*) possibly means "Who is what God is?" Similarly, the Babylonian surname Meshach (*mêšak*) has been arguably associated with the Akk *Mišaaku,* meaning "Who is what (the god) Aku is?" (*IDB* 4: 302). Some have suggested that the etymological difficulties surrounding *mêšak* may indicate an intentional alteration of the original form in order to blur an undesirable connection with a foreign god (Montgomery *Daniel* ICC, 129–30).

TERRY L. BRENSINGER

**MISHAL** (PLACE) [Heb *miš›āl* (מִשְׁאָל)]. Var. MASHAL. One of the cities assigned to the tribe of Asher (Josh 19:25–26). Mishal is also designated as one of the four cities in Asher's territory which are to be set aside for the Levitical tribe of Gershom (Josh 21:30; 1 Chr 6:59 [—Eng 6:74] where the variant Mashal is found).

Mishal is mentioned in Egyptian literature as *m-s-i-r,* "r" being an Egyptian equivalent for the "513 l" which did not occur in that language. The name is found in the Execration Texts from the 19th century B.C. (Aharoni *LBHG* [1967 ed.], 133) as well as in the accounts of the military campaigns of Thutmose III (ca. 1490–1436 B.C.; *ANET,* 243). Mishal is listed there with other sites from the plain of Acco, suggesting that it is the same as the city of Asher (M.R. 164253; Aharoni *LBHG* [1967 ed.], 381; Kallai *HGB,* 207, 429).

DAVID W. BAKER

**MISHAM** (PERSON) [Heb *miš‹ām* (מִשְׁעָם)]. A Benjaminite, son of Elpaal, one of those who helped build Ono and Lod (1 Chr 8:12). The origin and provenance of "Misham" is unknown. Noth (*IPN*, 251) compared it to the Ar *mis‹āmun,* meaning "rapidly flowing (from a river)." Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 160), noting the uniqueness of the name, suggested that v 12a, which lists the sons of Elpaal, is a transcriber's blunder since Elpaal's sons are also listed in vv 17–18. If the sons of Elpaal—Eber, Misham, and Shemed—were deleted from v 12a this would make Elpaal the *one* who built the towns of Ono and Lod. Misham could then be identified with the more common Meshullam (v 17).

TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**MISHMA** (PERSON) [Heb *mišmā‹* (מִשְׁמָע)]. 1. A son of Ishmael, and brother of Mibsam (Gen 25:13; 1 Chr 1:29). 2. A son of Mibsam son of Shallum, son of Shaul, son of Simeon (1 Chr 4:25). One may conclude from the fact that Mishma and Mibsam occur together both in Genesis 25 and 1 Chronicles 4 that 1 Chr 4:25 testifies to the settlement of these 2 Ishmaelite tribes or clans, wholly or in part, in the Negeb during the exilic and/or postexilic period. See also MIBSAM.

Heb *mišmā‹* means "hearing"; a verbal noun like this does not easily form a tribal name. If one disregards the Masoretic vowel pattern (which may be borrowed from Mibsam, since both names seem to occur as a fixed formula), the name can be explained as **Mušāmi‹,* derived from **Šama‹īl* and denoting "those who have joined (the tribe of) *Šama‹īl".* Similarly, in the recent past the Âl Nebhân were also called Menâbhe, and the tribe of Amīr in pre-Islamic Nagran were joined by the people of Muha›mir (Knauf 1989: 69, and n. 342). In this case, the tribe Mishma can be identified with the *Išamme‹* (*I-sa-am-me-›*, i.e. *y (ĕ)šami‹* for ancient Ar *yušāmi‹,* the imperfect form corresponding to *Mušāmi‹*), an Arab group encountered by Ashurbanipal (Knauf 1989: 9, n. 40).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**MISHMANNAH** (PERSON) [Heb *mišmannâ* (מִשְׁמַנָּה)]. One of the eleven warriors from the tribe of Gad who joined David at his wilderness stronghold (1 Chr 12:14—Eng12:13). For further discussion, see MACHBANNAI.

RAYMOND B. DILLARD

**MISHNAH.** An early 3d-century C.E. compendium, largely legal, containing regulations and beliefs foundational of rabbinic Judaism and thus of all later Jewish thought.

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A. Language and Date
B. Origin and Redaction
C. The Mishnaic System
D. Content
E. Context

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**A. Language and Date**

Written in terse Hebrew, the Mishnah builds upon the Hebrew Bible in its attention to the latter's legal materials and language (lexicon and morphology) (Segal 1958: 5–12; 150). Nonetheless, the text stands quite independent of biblical antecedents, developing autonomous areas of interest that it expresses through very few, tightly controlled rhetorical patterns (Neusner 1981: 243–48).

The Mishnah attributes its materials to about 150 authorities, who flourished in the three-century period from ca. 50 B.C.E. to 200 C.E. (fewer than 80 authorities are cited with any frequency). These teachers, usually given the title "rabbi," appear in the Mishnah regularly grouped into roughly three consistories: (1) teachers who flourished before Rome's destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. (the Pharisaic period), (2) those who taught after that first war against Rome but before the Bar Kokhba revolt in 132–35 C.E. (the Yavnean period), and (3) authorities living in the period from the Bar Kokhba revolt to the Mishnah's reduction to writing *ca.* 200 C.E. (the Ushan period) (see Danby 1977: 799–800).

**B. Origin and Redaction**

Jewish theology, especially from the Babylonian Talmud (5th–6th centuries C.E.) on, accords the Mishnah the status of *Oral Torah.* Deemed part of the dual revelation to Moses on Sinai, the Mishnah is thought to contain authoritative and binding explanations of the Hebrew Bible. The Mishnah thus serves as complement and supplement to the *Written Torah's* otherwise sketchy legal materials, found in the Covenant, Holiness, and Deuteronomic Codes.

This theological viewpoint, that the Mishnah has the full status of Sinaitic revelation, has sharply influenced subsequent historical judgments about the text. Until recently, scholars held that early rabbinic teaching contained a more or less accurate record of oral judgments handed down over many centuries (see e.g., Albeck 1979: 24–39). These particular statements of the oral law were collected into many and varied editions (scholars termed such supposed collections "Rabbi So-and-so's Mishnah"), each a partial legal record of actual Judaic practice near the turn of the millennium (Epstein 1979: 96–199).

In line with a new literary theory (Neusner 1981: 281–83) scholars now view the Mishnah not as a mere legal register. Rather, the Mishnah comprises a set of extended essays that frame critical topics (the nature of sacred time and space, for example) in particular formulary patterns, so as to argue in behalf of the rabbinic world view (Neusner 1981: 122–26). The Mishnah—and the rabbinic movement for which it serves as constitution—constitute the direct *literary* response to nearly 3 centuries of Roman occupation of the Jews' homeland. This theory allows readers to understand how the text speaks far beyond the mere details of its sometimes picayune rules, addressing directly the imperial context.

Jewish reaction to Roman rule is first evident in several messianic movements, including earliest Christianity and the Essene community at Qumran, but especially in renewed nationalism surrounding the appointment of Bar Kokhba as messianic general. But after two unsuccessful wars against Rome, including the defeat of Messiah Bar Kokhba's army, a communal sense of failure, powerlessness, and

disappointment took hold, especially in the mid-2d century. In response, the rabbis composed a holy book, the Mishnah, that reflects upon—and overcomes—Israel's current oppressed situation (Neusner 1981: 282–83).

**C. The Mishnaic System**

In adducing various topics, the Mishnah divides life into its component parts as the rabbis themselves saw things. These parts constitute a theological network representing three major interests: *priestly* attention to holiness, *scribal* concerns for the correspondence of word and act, and ordinary *householders'* regard for daily conduct.

The Mishnaic system built of these parts is comprehensive, in that virtually any part of early rabbinism fits within; the system is thoroughly interconnected, for to understand any single paragraph or chapter, one needs to know a myriad of others; and the system is elegantly rigorous, because the Mishnah carefully combines formulaic patterns and themes to emphasize the detailed rules under discussion. This book, which constituted Judaism's primary first-order systematics, thus may be described as a sustained, rational discourse on a set of intellectual categories and problems, which establishes a comprehensive framework for the religion.

It should now be clear that the Mishnah's topics do not merely represent everything in Scripture; the Mishnah often reads the Hebrew Bible in quite unpredictable ways, sometimes even ignoring basic scriptural conceptions. For example, one of the Mishnah's crucial concerns is to establish the correspondence of a householder's actions and intentions. Earlier biblical materials ruled that anything placed upon the altar immediately became sanctified (e.g., Exod 29:37). The Mishnah, for its part, held that only items offered with the priest's proper intention take on consecrated status (Eilberg-Schwartz 1986: 149–63). In like fashion throughout the Mishnah, the major ideas expressed, building upon but not limited to the scriptural account, are those of the rabbinic movement. So too the Mishnah's interests do not reflect real legislative settings alone. At least two-thirds of the Mishnaic law addressed the Temple and its regular maintenance—a full 130 years after the Temple had been destroyed.

**D. Content**

The rabbis' theological program—neither wholly fundamentalistic nor solely determined by legislative needs—emerges clearly from an analysis of the categories utilized by the Mishnah's composers and redactors. The Mishnah comprises six major sections, subdivided into sixty-three individual tractates ranging from three to twenty-four chapters and raising the following questions.

**1. The Divison of Agriculture** (*zĕrā‘îm*). How does God's ownership of the Land of Israel affect Israelites' use of that Land and its produce?

**2. The Division of Appointed Times** (*mô‘ēd*). How does God's interaction with Israel in history serve to orient the calendar, marking out special times requiring special actions by Israelites?

**3. The Division of Women** (*nāšîm*). How does the special sanctity demanded of Israelites by God affect their relationships within the family unit, and especially with women?

**4. The Division of Damages** (*nĕzîqîn*). How does the unity and equality of God's holy people Israel demand special action in business, government, and day-to-day dealings?

**5. The Division of Holy Things** (*qodāšîm*). How does the worship of God demand special action in the Temple, God's holy locus?

**6. The Division of Purities** (*ṭohărôt*). How does extending the holiness required in God's Temple to everyday life demand special attention to all aspects of life vis à vis cultic purity?

Although compiled after the Temple's destruction, the Mishnah's clear aim is to establish continuity with that institution and its rite. The consequent need for holiness expressed within each division stems from the particularity of God's relationship with Israel. The Mishnah as a whole thus puts forward larger questions: What must a Jew do to reflect the special relationship between self and God? How does one cooperate in God's overall scheme? The answers lead us to the details of rabbinic law, expressed in the individual rulings and disputes that make up the Mishnah's bulk.

More central to understanding the Mishnah's importance as a cultural artifact are the basic assumptions of the system, not only as a whole, but in each of its parts as well: (1) God owns the Holy Land [*Division*

*of Agriculture*] and (2) gives it to the people with whom he has had a long-standing historical relationship [*Division of Appointed Times*], namely Israel (hence the appropriate Judaic idiom, the Land of Israel). (3) The Israelites owe God and his appointed representatives payment for their use of the Land [*Divisions of Agriculture and Holy Things*], in addition to (4) special actions in response to history [*Division of Appointed Times*]. (5) The holiness required in God's worship must also inform mundane activity [*Division of Purities*], extending to both levels of the Israelite clan: (6) one's own immediate family [*Division of Women*] and (7) the larger family of the Children of Israel [*Division of Damages*].

**E. Context**

In its details and emphases, then, the Mishnah attended to recent history. Long-standing Roman domination over the Land of Israel conditioned the Mishnah's assertion that God alone rules sovereign over the Land and history. Under Roman imperial rule, the rabbis erected a framework of thought and practice on which to build Judaism's future.

So it is that the early rabbinic cultural system, embedded in the details of the Mishnah's rules, set the agenda for later rabbinic thought. It was complemented by other works, notably the Tosefta (a one-generation-later supplement of similar type), as well as Midrashic literature, much of which aims at connecting the legal traditions explicitly with the Hebrew Bible and its concerns. In even closer fashion, the Mishnah provided the starting point for the two Talmuds, which at least formally constitute paragraph-by-paragraph commentaries on it. Similarly, Jewish literature up to our own day deals largely with the topical program first introduced by the Mishnah.

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ROGER BROOKS

**MISHRAITES** [Heb *mišrāʿî* (מִשְׁרָעִי)]. Members of one of the clans from Kiriath-jearim on the N border of Judah (1 Chr 2:53). This family of Judahites was one of the groups from which the Zorathites and Eshtaolites came. (Zorah and Eshtaol are listed together in Josh 19:41 among the first cities of the Danites before their migration to the N.) The Mishraites apparently descended from Shobal, the grandson of Caleb, who in turn was the great-grandson of Judah, son of Jacob. This, however, is not clear since, instead of being the physical ancestor of the inhabitants of Kiriath-jearim, Shobal may have been the founder of the city. All the clans in 1 Chr 2:50–55 originated in the S, and all were in close relation to Judah. It is widely held that these lists in their geographical arrangement reflect ancient sources (Coggins *Chronicles* CBC, 22). The form *mišrāʿî* is an adjective from *mišrāʿ,* the name of an unknown person. In the Babylonian vocalization the first vowel shows up as *a* and not as *i,* which is the case in the Tiberian system (Kahle 1902: 70).

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EDWIN C. HOSTETTER

**MISPAR** (PERSON) [Heb *mispār* (מִסְפָּר)]. Var. MISPERETH. One of the leaders of the group of returnees from Babylonian exile who is listed along with Zerubbabel in Ezra 2:2 [= Neh 7:7 = 1 Esdr 5:8]. Nehemiah, supported by 1 Esdras, gives the name as Mispereth. One name has apparently been dropped

from the Ezra list, for those in Nehemiah and 1 Esdras include twelve leaders in what is probably a symbolic representation of all Israel. For further discussion concerning the list in Ezra 2, see AKKUB.
CHANEY R. BERGDALL

**MISREPHOTH-MAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *miśrepôt māyim* (מִשְׂרְפוֹת מָיִם) ]. A place in the S border of Sidon. It is also used as a parallelism for the S boundary of Sidon (Josh 11:8). Being located on the border, there is a tradition of regarding it as a frontier city. Though its exact location is disputed, it is thought to be at the N end of the Plain of Acco on the Israel-Lebanon border, and generally identified with Khirbet Musheirefeh. In view of a lack of sufficient archaeological evidence, either from the LB Age or early Iron Age, some have doubted the above identification. It should be noted that Mahalab reckoned to Asher (Josh 19:29) in the northernmost area is located S of the Litani river and the land that remained to be possessed began at Misrephoth-maim (Josh 13:1–6), which must have been a natural border. The fact that the Litani river is mentioned nowhere in the Bible makes one wonder if by Misrephoth-maim the Litani is actually meant. Another feature of this place-name is that the second part of the name can be vocalized *miyyam* to mean "on the west." It is probable that *mym* is intended to express both meanings. Misrephoth-maim is referred to in the book of Joshua as the border of the territory of the Sidonians (Josh 13:6) and as the S border of the hill country of Lebanon, the inhabitants of which the Lord undertakes to drive out. Hence, it has a significant function in the Deuteronomistic History (see Judg 3:3f; 10:6; and 1 Kings 5:6).
PAUL BENJAMIN

**MITANNI.** A confederation of HURRIAN states located in N Mesopotamia and Syria in the second half of the 2d millennium B.C. Its capital was Wašukanni, perhaps near the head of the Habur River at Tell Fakhariyah. The circumstances surrounding the formation of Mitanni and its early history are unknown. However, Mitanni became the most powerful state in Mesopotamia and Syria during the Amarna period and survived in substantially reduced form into the reign of Shalmaneser I of Assyria (1274–1245 B.C.).

Like much concerning the Hurrians and their history, Mitanni is known primarily from sources stemming from Egypt, Syria, the Hittites, and Mesopotamia. Furthermore, the chronology of Mitanni is fraught with difficulties. The fragmentary information about Mitanni's history must be correlated with the chronologies of a number of nations, some of which are themselves imprecise.

One important issue encountered in discussing Mitanni is that a number of terms was used to describe it. The term "Mitanni" was essentially a political term used to define the confederation of Hurrian states and their vassal states. Hanigalbat was an Assyrian geographical term applied to the lands of northern Mesopotamia in which Mitanni was located. Hurruhe was a Hurrian term referring to the "Hurrian land," apparently located in the northern part of Mitanni. It also seems to have described a separate kingdom within Mitanni, perhaps the earliest Hurrian state. Nahrina/Nahrima/ Aram Naharaim were Canaanite, Egyptian, and Aramaean terms meaning "Land of the two rivers," also describing generally the region in which Mitanni was located. Khor/Khurri were the terms used by the Egyptians for Syria-Palestine because of the Hurrian population they encountered primarily in Syria (Gelb 1944).

At certain times in Mitannian history, all of these terms designated the same entity. Mitanni, the political body, was constantly changing, though, as vassals changed allegiances or were conquered. Hurruhe became an independent state in the later period of Mitannian history. The geographical terminology employed by the Assyrians and western groups remained in use after Mitanni fell, and the ethnic terminology of the Egyptians (Khor/Khurri) rapidly came to mean simply "The North." Thus, the sources must be approached cautiously where these designations are employed.

**A. Ethnic Identity of Mitanni**

Mitanni was essentially Hurrian, though there is evidence for a small Indo-Aryan element among the population. This group has been credited with the transformation of the scattered Hurrian states before c. 1550 B.C. into Mitanni, but this remains an open question. The language of Mitanni was Hurrian, not

"Mitannian" as was initially believed (Gelb 1944). Moreover, the dialect of Hurrian in use in Mitanni is grouped with that of Kizzuwadna (Cilicia) and Ugarit (Diakonoff *SCCNH* 1: 77–90).

As Mitanni expanded, West Semitic–speaking peoples in the Syrian city-states and Assyrians came under Mitannian sway. In the vassal states in the west there were certainly people knowledgeable in Egyptian if not Egyptians, and in the east people with Babylonian names are attested within Mitannian territory. In Mitanni's later years, Hittites also were present in states that were under Mitannian control at times.

**B. History of Mitanni**

The first known ruler of Mitanni was one Kirta, father of Šuttarna I. These names appear on a seal at Alalakh belonging to Saustatar, a later Mitannian ruler (Goetze 1957; Wiseman 1953; Albright *YGC*). It may have been Šuttarna I who launched Mitanni on its period of expansion (Drower *CAH* 10: 417–525), for the next king, Parattarna, is attested at both Alalakh and Kizzuwadna (Wiseman 1953; Goetze 1957), to the west of Mitanni proper. Moreover, the next king, Saustatar, ruled not only Alalakh and Kizzuwadna, but also Assyria and Nuzi in the land of Arraphe (Smith 1940; Goetze 1957; Wiseman 1953; Starr 1937–39; Gelb 1944). This Saustatar is called "son of Parsatatar" on his seal inscription at Nuzi (*HSS* 9.1). Possibly Parsatatar and Paratarna are the same individual (Starr 1937–39).

At this juncture in Mitannian history the chronology is most unclear. The major question is: How did Mitanni's expansion relate to the campaigns of Tutmosis I (1525–c.1512 B.C.), Tutmosis III (1504–1450 B.C.), and Amonhotep II (1450–1425 B.C.) of Egypt, all of whom are known to have operated up to the Euphrates and taken *mariyannu* as prisoners? At present, it appears that Paratarna and Saustatar predate Tutmosis III and that it was the confederation they created that opposed Egypt during that pharaoh's reign (Redford 1979).

Traditionally, a major source used for reconstructing the chronology of this period is the Inscription of Idrimi of Alalakh, an "autobiographical" account of his exploits to gain the throne of Alalakh and his reign. This inscription provides names of his contemporaries and the length of his reign. However, the validity of this text as a true autobiography has been called into question. Instead, it may have been a "pseudo-autobiography" written at a later date and containing more legend than fact (Sasson *SCCNH* 1: 309–24). Therefore, the entire issue of the dates of Paratarna and Saustatar must remain open.

Another issue to be considered is the nature of Mitannian rule. Each of the states known to have been vassal to Mitanni had its own king bound to Mitanni by a vassal treaty sworn by oath and sanctified by sacrifice. The kings governed the internal matters of their realms and could make treaties with other states vassal to Mitanni, as Alalakh and Kizzuwadna did. There is evidence from NUZI, however, that the Mitannian king had some control over the distribution of real estate within the vassal states (*HSS* 9.1). In disputes between vassal states the king of Mitanni was the arbiter as he was in any cross-jurisdictional matter (Drower *CAH* 10: 417–525). In part because they were so loosely organized, these vassal states shifted allegiance readily in the face of danger. Thus, even the notion of a monumental Mitannian empire may be simply an impression created by the surviving documents.

After Saustatar, the Mitannian kings are known primarily through Egyptian sources. Relations were tense between the two nations until the time of Tutmosis IV (1425–1417 B.C.) when Artatarma I sent his daughter to Egypt to be the wife of the Egyptian pharaoh. This is the first instance of diplomatic marriage between the two states, a certain sign of warming relations. At the same time, Mitanni was smaller than it had been. Assyria became independent in the east, and some of Mitanni's Syrian territory had been lost to Egypt. Presumably, the change in the two nations' relationship reflects the desire of both to have peace in Syria. Šuttarna II of Mitanni also sent a daughter, Gilu-Hepa, in a diplomatic marriage, perhaps to Amonhotep III. She was accompanied by 317 Mitannian handmaidens.

The institutions of diplomatic marriage, attested in the Near East from the 3d millennium B.C. on, served a number of purposes during the late 2d millennium. First, it signaled the sincere desire of the nations involved to have peace and was a serious goodwill gesture. Second, the bride's household, composed at least in part of personnel from home, served as a kind of listening post on activities in the host country. Valuable information might be passed on in the normal course of communication between the bride and

her family. Third, the bride's father endowed her with an enormous dowry including semi-precious gems, textiles, furniture, elaborate vessels, objects of art, and the like. These dowries, therefore, were a means of transmission of valuable luxury goods among the courts of the time and helped in the spread of artistic styles and motifs throughout the Near East. In return, the bride's father received a substantial "bride price." When Egypt was involved, the price was gold, for which all of the nations of the time were hungry. The "dowry" and "bride price" arrangement, was, in fact, a sort of high-level luxury trade.

When Tušratta came to the throne of Mitanni, he wrote in very friendly terms to Amonhotep III assuring the pharaoh that the excellent relations their two nations had enjoyed would be reinstated. Apparently there had been some difficulties, possibly connected with a usurper who had murdered Tušratta's brother. In addition, with Tušratta's ascent to the kingship, the kingdom of Hurri under Artatama I broke away from Mitanni declaring himself rightful king. This matter was placed before the gods in a kind of divine court to adjudicate between Tušratta and Artatama I. Though weakened by the loss of Hurri, Tušratta was able to defeat a Hittite army and send some of the booty to Egypt as a sign of his good faith with the pharaoh. Tušratta also sent his daughter Tadu-Hepa to Egypt to marry Amonhotep III. Tadu-Hepa seems to have been married to the next pharaoh, Amonhotep IV, as well.

Tušratta and Amonhotep III and IV communicated frequently. Aside from the usual Amarna letter bickerings about the exchange of gold, an interesting topic of correspondence was the statue of Ištar of Nineveh that Tušratta sent twice to Egypt to help heal the pharaoh.

Tušratta's reign was beset with difficulties. The Hurri lands broke away and coveted his throne. The Hittites emerged under their King Suppiluliumas as a formidable political and military power, Egypt lost interest in its Near Eastern territories during the reign of Amonhotep IV, and the Assyrians were a growing threat.

First, the Hittites made Kizzuwadna a vassal state. Then, they allied themselves with the Hurri-lands. The First Syrian Wars of Suppiluliumas destroyed Mitannian control of Syria, but Tušratta continued to support revolts against the Hittites in the formerly Mitannian vassal states. These became the reason for Suppiluliumas' Second Syrian Wars, those that took him to the heart of Mitanni. Before embarking on this campaign, Suppiluliumas entered into a diplomatic marriage with Babylon and a peace treaty with Ugarit. With the south of Mesopotamia and the Syrian coast secure, Suppiluliumas marched to Wašukanni taking Mitannian cities and garrisons along the way. Tušratta was murdered in a coup that included his son Sattiwaza (perhaps spelled Kurtiwaza or Mattiwaza) who became king of Mitanni. Meanwhile, Mitannian territory was shared by a state called Alše and Assyria (Goetze *CAH* 17: 1–20).

Tušratta's defeat and death were understood as the decision of the gods in favor of Hurri. Thus, Šuttarna son of Artatarma of the Hurri-lands claimed the throne of Mitanni and Sattiwaza fled. He attempted to enter Babylonia but was refused on the grounds that Babylon was neutral. Finally, he was taken in by Suppiluliumas, who married him to his daughter (Goetze *CAH* 17: 1–20).

Artatarma and Šutarna, the kings of Hurri who occupied the throne of Mitanni, lavished attention on Assyria and Alše whom they must have seen as potential protectors. They gave riches from the treasuries of Mitanni to both nations. Tušratta's palace was demolished and a silver and gold door that Saustatar had taken from Assyria was returned. They confiscated the personal property of private individuals, and certain high officials were handed over for punishment (Gadd *CAH* 18: 21–48).

To counter the growing strength of Assyria, Suppiluliumas began yet another great campaign, the goal of which was to reestablish Sattiwaza on the throne of Mitanni. Meeting relatively little resistance from the Assyrians and the Hurri-lands, the prince became king of Mitanni and vassal of Suppiluliumas. The events of his reign are unknown, but he may have been defeated by the Assyrians at some point, perhaps during the reign of Ashur-uballit I (1365–1330; Goetze *CAH* 17: 1–20; Gadd *CAH* 18: 21–48).

From the time of Sattiwaza until the reign of Shalmaneser I of Assyria (1274–1245 B.C.) the Assyrian sources record a series of encounters with and rebellions in Mitanni. Mitanni was an ally of the Hittites at the Battle of Kadesh (1285 B.C.) and the Hittite hand is apparent in the revolts that plagued Assyria in the region. Thus, Suppiluliumas' vision of a Mitanni that would be a buffer between Assyria and the Hittites was fulfilled. Finally, Shalmaneser I conquered Mitanni and ended the political life of that Hurrian state.

**C. The Role of Mitanni in Near Eastern Culture**

The culture of the Mitannian state was basically Hurrian. Of special interest are the Nuzi-ware pottery and the "Mitanni style" in glyptic art, a fine example of which is the seal of Saustatar on *HSS* 9.1 (Smith 1965). What is associated with Mitanni demonstrates the syncretism of elements from Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Aegean—all attesting to the internationalism of the era.

It must be noted that there is far more information concerning Hurrian culture in general than for Mitannian in particular. Evidence for the Hurrians derives from a number of sites, some of which were controlled by Mitanni, but all of which were influenced by earlier and contemporaneous cultures. The center of Mitanni, its capital Wašukanni, has not yet been excavated, nor have other significant Mitannian cities. The true character of Mitannian, and therefore indigenous Hurrian, art, architecture, literature, and religion must await such research.

At this point in time, Mitanni's major contribution to the Near East is found in its role as the N Mesopotamiaan—N Syrian transmitter in the diffusion of culture in the late 2d millennium B.C. Because of its military and political power it was able to weld a fractious and diverse array of small states into a reasonably unified body which enabled communication across a wide area in the Near East. Through its diplomacy with Egypt and its subsequent relations with Egypt, the Hittites, and Assyria, it was a cultural crossroads. Moreover, Mitanni's friendship with Egypt brought peace to the Near East for a time. Commerce, industry, and the arts flourished during the Amarna period. The city-states that straddled the trade routes of Syria and N Mesopotamia reaped enormous profits from local business and the taxes levied on merchants. In this period of prosperity, Mitanni was an economic power whose vassals shared in the wealth generated by international trade and internal stability. Thus, Mitanni enriched the Near East both economically and culturally.

**D. Mitanni and the Old Testament**

Mitanni does not appear in the OT. Even if the references to Hurrians in Palestine reflect a Hurrian presence there in the late 2d millennium B.C., the territories they would have been in were well within the Egyptian sphere of influence and not that of Mitanni. These areas figured only in the campaigns of the pharaohs as they marched to meet Mitanni or the Hittites. Otherwise, they were immersed in the politics and military actions involving Egypt and local Canaanite groups.

It was long asserted that the MB Age, before the birth of Mitanni, was the "date" for the patriarchal era. The seminomadic lifestyle of the patriarchs suited the social milieu of that era, and the political situation in Palestine (a sparse population lacking the semi-independent and feuding city-states of later times) would appear to be hospitable to the movements of the Patriarchs (see *BHI*).

On the other hand, some have dated the events of the patriarchal narratives to the Mitannian era (Gordon 1964 and 1965). According to this system, on the grounds of biblical chronology, Abraham would be dated to the Amarna period, hence to the time of Tušratta. The travels of Abraham and his family from N Syria to Egypt and back and their regular interaction with urban centers are to be understood in the context of the mercantile activities of the late 2d millennium B.C. rather than as the wanderings of the nomads of the earlier era. The importance of trade and the well-documented interaction between Syria and Egypt during the late 2d millennium B.C. are cited in support of this theory. Furthermore, the encounter of Abraham with the coalition of kings from the Mesopotamian sphere in Genesis 14 suggests that Abraham's sphere was not entirely peaceful. This incident is seen as reminiscent of the accounts of hostilities in the Amarna Letters.

Placing the patriarchs in the LB Age makes them participants in and beneficiaries of the cross-cultural interaction of the time because few in the Near East were unaffected by the broad and deep changes that occurred during this era. The numerous parallels between the Nuzi texts and the patriarchal narratives and the Ugaritic materials and the OT would therefore be understood in light of contemporaneity and cultural diffusion at the beginning of Hebrew history.

Recently, however, both the MB and LB Age dates for the patriarchal era have been discarded by those who favor a 1st millennium date for the composition of the narratives. In any case, the late 2d millennium B.C. in which Mitanni figured so prominently was a cultural "watershed." During this time, the various

cultures of the Near East mingled their religious, artistic, literary, and technical ideas and skills. The nations that arose at the dawn of the 1st millennium B.C. were the heirs and perpetuators of this legacy.

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**MITE.** See COINAGE.

**MITHKAH** (PLACE) [Heb *mitqâ* (מִתְקָה)]. The thirteenth encampment of the Israelites, after leaving the wilderness of Sinai, as listed in Num 33:28–29, where it is placed between Terah and Hashmonah. Its name, "Sweetness," may be based on the existence of a good spring, as is the case with Jothbatha in Num 33:33–34 and Deut 10:7 where the name of the site, "Pleasantness," is definitely connected with a water source. Most scholars are unwilling even to suggest a possible location for this site, though it must lie between the wilderness of Sinai and Kadesh-barnea. For a discussion of the location of any of the places associated with the journey of the Israelites from Egypt through Sinai see DOPHKAH.

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**MITHNITE** (PERSON) [Heb *mitnî* (מִתְנִי)]. A descriptive adjective of Joshaphat, one of David's champions, a select class of warriors directly attached to the king for special assignments, named in the list of 1 Chr 11:10–47 (v 43), a list which, up to v 41a, parallels that of 2 Sam 23:8–39. Joshaphat, "the Mithnite," is found among the sixteen persona mentioned in the portion of the list which is unique to Chronicles (vv 41b–47). Because no such place or family is known, it seems possible that the term has become corrupt in transmission. The Greek translation reads a *b* for the *m*, but such a confusion of the Hebrew consonants is not uncommon (Allen 1974: 109). If the text could be restored and/or the place identified, it is probable that it would be in the Transjordan area, since in this portion of the warrior list (vv 41b–47) all of the identifiable places from which these champions came are in this area (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 104).

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**MITHRAS, MITHRAISM.** In Old Persian, the word "mithra" means "contract." Mithra was regarded as a god who stood for a societal structure based purely on relationships ("contracts") between persons. Thus, among the Persians, Mithra was above all the god of the king and his warriors. He was also honored by nations connected with the Persians, for example the Armenians and the peoples who lived around the Black Sea. In the Hellenistic period the cult of Mithra is especially well attested for the Cilician and Pamphylian pirates and the large sanctuaries at Commagene, i.e., in the S and SE of modern Turkey.

From about 80 A.D. onwards there is evidence for a Mithraic mystery cult in Rome. One can only hypothesize as to how this cult arose. M. P. Nilsson supposed that it was not a process which developed

gradually over time, but rather a single accomplishment on the part of one religious genius. There is much which recommends this view. About a dozen of the evidences for the mysteries of Mithra can be dated to between 90 and 140 A.D. From the period after 140 until the year 313, we have hundreds of Mithras monuments, above all from the capital, Rome, and from the military borders (the Danube, the Rhine, and the Wall of Hadrian in Britanny). The cult was exclusively for men and was especially popular among soldiers and the imperial personnel (slave and freedmen). Some persons of the equestrian order who rose to high military positions were adherents of the Mithras cult. For the aristocracy of the Roman empire, the senatorial class, Mithras remained an alien god for a long time. Nor was he admitted among the Roman national deities. Whereas the adherents of Mithras made loyalty to the emperor a part of their religion, the emperors for their part generally displayed reserve towards the mystery cult.

The cult of Mithras was observed in artificial caves which were regarded as an image of the cosmos. The caves were 15–20 meters long and 8–10 meters broad; a religious community, then, will not have exceeded 30–50 persons. The caves were illuminated by means of artificial light. At the far end was always an image of the god about to sacrifice the divine bull. The image represents the creation of the world from that primal sacrifice which is the holy myth of the Mithras initiates.

In the middle of the picture one sees the god who has leapt onto the back of the bull; he is about to sacrifice him by thrusting the knife into the carotid artery. In the upper left corner of the picture is the sun-god; often a sunbeam descends down from him to Mithras, and on this sunbeam a raven flies down to the god to announce that it is time to sacrifice to the bull. In the upper right corner of the picture is Luna. To the left and right of Mithra and the bull stand two Persian shepherds (Cautopates and Cautes). They represent the setting and rising sun. Under the bull are representations of three animals: a scorpion, a snake, and a dog. They are hurrying in order to drink the sperm and blood of the sacrificed bull. A lion often joins this group of animals.

This cultic representation existed as a fresco or a relief. In the latter case, the image could sometimes be turned on a peg. The back of the relief then showed Mithra and Helios consuming the bull in a sacramental meal. Mithras and Helios here represent the two supreme grades in the hierarchy of the seven Mithraic grades, the Pater and the Heliodromus, and the meal was the archetype of the communal meals of the Mithras initiates. Every Mithraeum was at the same time a dining room.

Whether or not the bull was actually sacrificed in the cult is a point of debate. A consideration which suggests that this was not the case is that the Mithraea appear to have been too small for this practice. There are no positive testimonia about a sacrifice.

Ancient Persian religious conceptions live on in Roman Mithraism, but in many respects this was an entirely new religion. It is pervaded by conceptions about the divinity of the stars, conceptions which were developed by philosophers and astronomers in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Mithraic initiates were divided into seven ranks, each of which corresponded to one of the seven planetary gods. These are the same gods after whom the days of the week are still named today. On the representations of Mithras sacrificing the bull, each of these ranks is represented by a figure. The system is as follows:

| Rank | Name | Symbol | Planet | Day of the week |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Corax (raven) | raven | Mercury | French mercredi |
| 2 | Nymphus (chrysalis of the bee) | snake | Venus | vendredi |
| 3 | Miles (soldier) | scorpion | Mars | mardi |
| 4 | Leo | dog, lion | Jupiter | jeudi |
| 5 | Perses | Cautopates | Luna | lundi, Monday |
| 6 | Heliodromus (courier of the sun) | Cautes | Sol (sun) | Sunday |
| 7 | Pater | Mithras | Saturn | Saturday |

A mosaic pavement of a Mithraeum in Ostia represents this sequence of ranks by the image of a ladder with eight rungs. In each of the seven fields between the rungs are the symbols for the seven ranks. Adherents of the religion of Mithras were continually reinitiated as they ascended this symbolic ladder.

Expectations concerning the afterlife were connected with these ceremonies. The initiates hoped that after death their souls would ascend through seven planetary spheres to that of the fixed stars, the true home of the human soul. Platonism influenced this astral piety; it has nothing to do with astrology. Central to astrology is the concept of a fate that cannot be altered, whereas the initiates of the cult of Mithras hoped to return to the soul's original home by leading a righteous and pious life.

In addition to the cosmogonic sacrifice of the bull, there were other Mithraic myths: the birth of Mithras from a rock; Mithras's journey in a carriage together with the sun-god; Helios riding on horseback through heaven; Mithras throwing a spear against the rock (a fount of water then sprung forth from this rock; the mythologem thus has been compared to Moses striking the rock with his staff).

In the 2d and 3d centuries this mystery cult competed with its slightly older rival, Christianity. Polemical passages against the mysteries of Mithras are found in the writings of Christian authors (Just. *Apol.* 66, *Dia.* 70 and 78; Or. *Cels.* 6.22; Tert. *Ad Marc.* 1.13; *De bapt.* 5; *De corona militis* 15; *De praescr. haeret.* 40).

When Constantine lent his support to Christianity, the Mithras initiates who were frequently imperial employees and soldiers, apparently abandoned their cult with almost no opposition. Evidences for the cult of Mithras appear again in Rome in the period 357–87. This time they come from the Roman aristocracy, which opposed the new Christian capital of Constantinople. In doing so they incorporated the cult of Mithras in their religious syncretism. The victorious Christians destroyed most of the Mithraea, and they erected their churches above the Mithraic caves as a sign of the victory of Light over Darkness. Archaeologists have discovered and excavated in Rome many Mithraea under the churches.

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## MITHREDATH (PERSON) [Heb *mitrĕdāt* (מִתְרְדָת)]. Var. MITHRIDATES. **1.** Persian official

identified as the treasurer (Heb *gizbār,* possibly derived from Old Persian *ganzabara;* see Bowman 1970: 28) of Cyrus (ruled 539–530 B.C.E.); he was charged with the responsibility of counting out the temple vessels to be returned to Jerusalem (Ezra 1:8 = 1 Esdr 2:11). The temple vessels given to Sheshbazzar (ca. 538 B.C.E.) to carry to Jerusalem are specifically identified as those which Nebuchadnezzar had taken from the Jerusalem temple in 587/6 B.C.E. (Ezra 1:7 = 1 Esdr 2:11). The parallel version of the event in 1 Esdr 2:11 identifies the treasurer as Mithridates (Gk *mithridatēs;* note the LXX *mithradatēs*), a Greek rendering of the Persian name (see also v 16). However, the LXX differs from Ezra 1:8 and 1 Esdr 2:11 by taking the Hebrew *gizbār,* "treasurer," for a second name, calling him Mithradates Gasbarenos. 1 Esdras, not dependent upon the LXX, correctly translates the Hebrew *gizbār,* "treasurer," with the Greek *gazophylax.*

**2.** Persian official named along with Bishlam and Tabeel as co-senders of correspondence to the Persian king Artaxerxes (ruled from 465–425 B.C.E.) (Ezra 4:7 = 1 Esdr 2:16). The content of the actual correspondence is not specified, but the redactor's context suggests that it was unfavorable to the Jews in Judea and Jerusalem. The LXX version translates Bishlam into a prepositional modifier, saying that the letter was written "in peace" (Heb *bišlām* is translated into Gk *en eirēnē*), from Tabeel to Mithradates. Olmstead (1948: 314), following the LXX reading, presents Tabeel as working on behalf of the Jews; he sought to establish legal precedent (hence the collection of Aramaic documents) for Jewish rights to rebuild by corresponding with Mithredath, a Persian official. The parallel account of this correspondence in 1 Esdr 2:16 locates this episode just after the return under Sheshbazzar and conflates the correspondents in Ezra 4:7 and Ezra 4:8, making one group of correspondents to Artaxerxes comprised of Bishlam, Mithridates, Tabeel, Rehum, Beltethmus, and Shimshai the scribe.

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**MITRE.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**MITYLENE** (PLACE) [Gk *Mitylēnē* (Μιτυληνη)]. The chief city of the island of Lesbos, the largest of the Aegean islands located near the shore of Asia Minor (modern Turkey). Paul briefly visited this city during his third missionary journey (Acts 20:14). Paul, after visiting Macedonia, traveled to Troas and then went cross-country to Assos. Paul joined his companions on the ship at Assos and then sailed to Mitylene. They spent the night at Mitylene (39°06´N; 26°34´E) before sailing S to Chios and Samos, eventually traveling on to Jerusalem. It was common for ships to overnight in convenient harbors and set sail early in the morning to take advantage of the favorable morning winds.

The city is built upon an extension of land that was originally a small island, but which later was connected to the larger island by a causeway. The city, therefore had two excellent harbors, one on either side of this promontory. This area was colonized by the Aeolians prior to 1000 B.C., who provided the dialect for the poetry of Alcaeus and Sappho who wrote in the early 6th century B.C. These poems hint at the internal strife which plagued the city leading to the overthrow of several tyrants.

Mitylene became an important naval power and founded colonies on the coast of Mysia and Thrace. Disputes over some of these colonies brought the city into conflict with Athens. After playing an important role in the Ionian revolt, Mitylene was captured by the Persians. Later the city became an important member of the Athenian alliance. At first, Mitylene joined Athens in the Peloponnesian War, but it revolted twice (428 and 419 B.C.) from this agreement. This action was met with severe punishment which nearly brought annihilation to the city and marked the end of its military power.

Mitylene made an alliance with Alexander the Great and later came under Roman control. The status of "free city" was conferred upon the city by Pompey the Great and it became a popular resort for aristocratic Romans. In A.D. 151, an earthquake destroyed the city. In the Middle Ages the term "Mitylene" was applied to the entire island.
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**MIZAR** (PLACE) [Heb *miṣʿār* (מִצְעָר)]. Mt. Mizar, a peak whose precise location is unknown, is mentioned in Ps 42:7 (—Eng 42:6). The phrase *mēhar miṣʿār* ("from Mt. Mizar") is usually understood to refer to the location of the psalmist. The geographic references of the verse move from the general to the specific locality, an example of focusing that is common in Hebrew poetry, "I remember you (God) from the land of Jordan, the Hermon range (literally "the Hermons"—*ḥermônîm*), from Mt. Mizar." Apparently, the geographical area specified is the headwaters of the Jordan in the Hermon range. "Mt. Mizar" then would specify a peak in that area. Its name has been related to three names in this area with the same or similar radicals (Zaʿura, Wadi Zaʿârah, Kh. Mezâra), which may preserve the hill's name (Smith 1932: 477). On the basis of the meaning of the name *har miṣʿār,* "the little hill," some suggest that it functions to contrast this "little hill" (maybe even Mt. Hermon itself) with the grand hill of God's sanctuary to which the psalmist longs to go, "your holy hill" (Ps 43:3; cf. Ps 68:17–19 [—Eng 68:16–18]). Others suggest that the phrase designates the destination to which the psalmist wishes to go (i.e., Zion "the little hill") rather than the psalmist's present location, "I remember you … far away from the little hill" (i.e., Zion). Goulder (1982: 23–27) interprets it as a reference to Tel Dan at whose sanctuary the psalmist wishes to worship.

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**MIZMOR.** See PSALMS, BOOK OF.

**MIZPAH** (PLACE) [Heb *hamiṣpâ* (הַמִּצְפָּה)]. Var. MIZPEH. A place-name connected with several biblical sites in and around Palestine. The toponym, deriving from the root *ṣph* meaning "to guard," or "to watch," suggests the location at a site of a military outpost, observatory, or "watchtower" (see the usage of the word in Isa 21:8).

**1.** Mizpah of Benjamin. The most significant "Mizpah" in the OT was a city of political, military, and cultic significance located in Benjaminite territory. It frequently appears in stories set in the premonarchical period and is associated with a motif whereby all the Israelite tribes gather in solemn cultic assembly to pray before undertaking Holy War against an enemy.

Mizpah is first mentioned (Josh 18:26) in the Benjaminite town-list when Joshua reportedly allotted cities captured in the Conquest to the various tribes. Most scholars now regard this list as a monarchical-era administrative record which has been literarily projected into Israelite antiquity by late editors. The document nevertheless suggests that Mizpah existed in Iron Age II, and that it was located, like the other cities in the second half of the list (Joshua 25–28), in Benjaminite territory astride or W of the Palestinian watershed.

In the account of the outrage at Gibeah and its aftermath (Judges 19–21), Mizpah reportedly served as the base camp where all Israel rallied before the YHWH to hear the victimized Levite's grievance against Gibeah (20:1, 3). All the Israelites except Jabesh-gilead, allegedly swore an oath not to marry their daughters to a Benjaminite (21:1); Jabesh-gilead missed the solemn assembly (21:5, 8) and was accordingly punished. Literary evidence suggests that this information belongs to a postexilic Priestly redaction of the Gibeah Outrage tradition, and should not be regarded as historical (Arnold 1990: 159–65). These passages reflect, instead, the cultic significance of Mizpah in the exilic and postexilic period when it possessed a "house of the Lord" (Jer 41:5); Priestly editors evidently wished to project this importance back into Israel's past.

Mizpah's relation to Samuel is a considerably more complicated question. On the one hand, many scholars consider as ancient and historical the report (1 Sam 7:16) that Samuel judged Israel on a yearly circuit involving Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah (Miller and Hayes, *HAIJ*, 96). Moreover, the notice (7:12) locating Eben-ezer between Mizpah and Jeshanah ("the tooth"—cf. 14:4–5) is possibly an old etiology. However, the claim that Samuel summoned "all Israel" to a cultic assembly with him before the Lord at Mizpah (7:5–7), where God responded to their prayers and fasting with a miraculous rout of the Philistines (7:7, 11), evinces motifs and interests so similar to the Gibeah account that one may doubt its historicity. No less dubious is the report that Samuel chose Saul as the first king over Israel in a lottery held in Mizpah (10:17). Once again, late editors have apparently transferred Mizpah's postexilic cultic importance into Israel's early days.

Less historically questionable and more significant for understanding Mizpah's importance is the report in 1 Kgs 15:16–22 that King Asa repulsed the Israelite Baasha's incursion into Judean territory and his attempt to cut off safe access to Jerusalem (ca. 900 B.C.E.). After dismantling the offending Israelite fort at Ramah (er-Ram, 7 km N of Jerusalem), Asa's corvée reportedly used its stones and timbers to fortify two new Judean fortresses presumably farther N: Mizpah and Geba (1 Kgs 15:22 = 2 Chr 16:6). Since Geba guarded one important highway across the Judean-Israelite border at the Geba Pass (see GEBA), it is only logical to assume that Mizpah "watched" over the other major route, the watershed highway, at the frontier between the two countries.

Recent research (e.g., Aharoni 1968: 30) suggests that such border fortresses not only controlled military and economic access to Judah, but served an important cultic function as well. Sites like Mizpah may have contained sanctuaries where travelers could offer proper sacrifices to the national lord on entering or leaving the land. This role may explain the origins of Mizpah's subsequent cultic importance in Judah, and Hosea's vague condemnation against the priests, who "have been a snare at Mizpah" (Hos 5:1).

The Bible does not mention Mizpah in relation to events in the three centuries after its foundation as a border fortress. In the chaotic period after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem (586 B.C.E.),

however, Mizpah achieved its greatest significance. The Babylonian invasion probably devastated most of the cities of S and W Judah, including Jerusalem, but seemingly left the remote N redoubt of Mizpah intact. At this fortress, the newly appointed, pro-Babylonian, governor Gedaliah set up his motley government and established a new capital (2 Kgs 25:23); there the nationalistic Ishmael assassinated the quisling and most of his puppet government as well (2 Kgs 25:25; but see the extended account of these events in Jer 40:1–41:16).

That Mizpah achieved premier sanctuary status in Judah in this period is indirectly proved by Jer 41:4–6, which reports that eighty Israelites made a pilgrimage in order to offer grain and frankincense at the "house of the Lord"—apparently in Mizpah itself. It is likely that Mizpah retained its status as capital of Judah and primary temple for many decades, until the reestablishment of Jerusalem late in the 6th century B.C.E. It is also possible that postexilic literary circles were active in the city during this period, which may account for its inclusion and legitimation in premonarchical stories such as Judges 20, 1 Samuel 7, and possibly Judges 11.

When the returned exiles rebuilt Jerusalem, artisans from Mizpah contributed their services to various architectural repairs on the city (Neh 3:7, 15, 19). Otherwise, little is known about Mizpah during the Dark Ages of Persian and Hellenistic colonialization of Judah. During the Maccabean Revolt in the 2d century B.C.E., Jewish fundamentalist forces under Judas assembled for a religious service in Mizpah in memory of its former preeminence as a holy place (1 Macc 3:46).

Modern debate as to the location of Mizpah began over a century ago when E. Robinson proposed that Nebi Samwil, a formidable mount 8 km NW of Jerusalem, best fit the topographical requirements for Mizpah (1856: 575); a long succession of scholars through W. F. Albright concurred in this opinion. Such an identification is unlikely, however, in view of Nebi Samwil's location (i.e. farther S than er-Ram), its high elevation, and its distance from any militarily strategic point (e.g., the watershed highway). Archaeological investigation, moreover, has not produced findings which would corroborate a Mizpah identification for Nebi Samwil (Kochavi 1972: 185).

The most likely site proposal was first advanced by A. Raboisson (1897), who suggested that a mound 12 km N of Jerusalem named Tell en-Naṣbeh (M.R. 170143) not only fit Mizpah's topographical requirements, but retained an Arabic version of the original Hebrew place name. A series of scholars concurred, and W. F. Bade finally excavated the tell from 1926 to 1935. While this expedition found no incontrovertible proof linking Mizpah to Tell en-Nasbeh, its findings are strongly suggestive of such an identification (McCown: 1947). See NASBEH, TELL EN-.

Tell en-Nasbeh was occupied in the Iron, Persian, and Hellenistic ages, fitting Mizpah's chronological requirements. Moreover, its massive Iron Age walls, glacis, and towers correspond to the type of fortress construction one would expect on the basis of 2 Kgs 15:22. its N-facing gate was well positioned to receive travelers *en route* to Jerusalem. Some sixty-eight *lmlk* seals confirm Tell en-Nasbeh's Judean setting, and a seal inscribed to "Jaazaniah servant of the king" may relate to an official of Gedaliah named ion 2 Kgs 25:23. The site lay astride the watershed highway just a few km S of the probable Judean-Israelite border, which extended some 8 km SE toward Mizpah's twin fortress, Geba. Together, these strongholds guarded Judah's N border for most of its 300-year history.

**2.** Mizpeh of Moab (*miṣpēh*). David reportedly brought his Bethlehemite parents to the court of the king of Moab in this city while Saul pursued his renegade rival (1 Sam 22:3). Its location is purely a matter of conjecture; both Kerak and Rujm el-Meshrefeh SW of Madaba in Jordan have been proposed.

**3.** Mizpeh of Judah (*hamiṣpeh*). This town was purportedly assigned to the tribe of Judah by Joshua after the Conquest (Josh 15:38). It is specifically listed among towns in the Shephelah (15:33), and is therefore often identified with a site bearing a linguistically similar modern place-name: Tell es-Safiyeh (M.R. 135123), 13 km NE of Kiryat Gat (however, others identify Tell es-Safiyeh with ancient Philistine Gath; Aharoni *LBHG*, 434).

**4.** The land of Mizpah (*hamiṣpâ*). A coalition of kings representing N Palestinian peoples including the Hivites near Hermon "in the land of Mizpah" (Josh 11:3) supposedly gathered at the waters of Merom to fight Joshua's Israelite forces, which defeated and pursued them as far as "the valley of Mizpah" (*miṣpeh*)

on the E (11:8). These references are vague, and the area difficult to locate. If the "Mizpah" so named represents a city, it might lie in the extreme N of Palestine; some have proposed modern Qalat es-Subeibeh, 3 km NE of Banias, on the basis of the rough linguistic similarity of its name to Mizpah.

**5.** Mizpah of Gilead (*hamiṣpâ*). As a symbol of a covenant of friendship ending his bitter dispute with Jacob, Laban erected a sacred cairn (*maṣṣēbâ*) at a place called "Gal-ed" or "Mizpah" (v 49) somewhere in the land of Gilead (Gen 31:43–55). This pericope is surely an etiological account explaining why a local site somewhere in N Transjordan was called "Mizpah." The reason for the name stated in the text is that the Lord was to "watch" the performance of the covenant makers. It is possible that a ruined watchtower named Mizpah gave rise to a local folktale relating how the ancient patriarchs had built a cairn (note the similar Hebrew term *maṣṣebâ*) to seal their peace agreement. Whatever the origins of this tale, the extremely vague topographical references in the piece do not allow a reasonable location of the place.

The tragic story of Jephthah's vow (Judg 10:17–11:40) might involve this same village in Gilead. The assembled Israelites swore a solemn oath of witness (see Gen 31:44–52!) in Mizpah with the bastard Jephthah of Gilead agreeing to follow him in battle against the attacking Ammonites. Possessed by the spirit of the Lord, Jephthah made the rash vow, which would later lead to the death of his daughter at Mizpah, in exchange for divine help in crushing Ammon.

The possibility that two "Mizpahs" are involved in this story cannot be excluded, and that the site of the cultic Israelite assembly (10:17; 11:11) is none other than Mizpah of Benjamin (cf. Judg 20, 1 Sam 7). In any case, Mizpah of Gilead (called *miṣpēh* in Judg 11:29) was a distinct site, possibly that mentioned in Gen 31:49 (see also Josh 13:26, where a "Ramoth-mizpeh" is named). Proposals for the modern location of this village are simply based on phonetics: Suf near Jerash, and Kh. Jelʿad, some 24 km NW of Amman.

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**MIZZAH** (PERSON) [Heb *mizzâ* (מִזָּה)]. The fourth son of Reuel and the grandson of Esau (Gen 36:13, 17; 1 Chr 1:37). In Gen 36:17 he is listed as one of the "tribal chiefs" (Heb *ʾallûpîm*) of Edom, and as such the name probably represents a clan within the Esauite-Edomite tribe of Reuel. There is no clear explanation for the meaning of the name.

ULRICH HÜBNER

**MMŠT.** One of the 4 place-names found in stamp impressions on the handles of Judean storage jars, which are known as the "royal-stamp jar handles." See STAMPS, ROYAL JAR HANDLE. Since the name does not appear in the Bible, the pronunciation is unknown. By convention, the hypothetical pronunciation "Memshat" is generally used.

Since the other place-names found in the stamps—Hebron, Soco, and Ziph—are major Judean cities, the appearance of the otherwise unknown *mmšt* is puzzling. Some have proposed that the word is an abbreviation or dialectical variant of *memšelet,* "government" or "administration," and that the fourth city is therefore Jerusalem. Strong objections have been raised against this solution, and it retains only a few adherents.

Royal stamps bearing the name *mmšt* have been found predominantly in N Judah. This fact plus the lack of a suitable Iron Age sites in the far S seems to rule out various proposals for a locale in the Negeb. Most commentators therefore look to the area around Bethlehem or in the NW of the kingdom in the Aijalon-Zorah region for possibilities: ʿAmwas near Latrun has been proposed. A definitive solution, however, awaits further investigation.

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H. DARRELL LANCE

**MNASON** (PERSON) [Gk *Mnasōn* (Μνασων)]. The name Mnason, possibly a Hellenized form of Manasseh (Bruce 1985: 99), may be derived from *mnasion* a word used in ancient Cyprus for a measure of grain. Sinaiticus replaces Mnason with Jason, a rather common name among Hellenized Jews. Mentioned only in Acts 21:16, Mnason provided lodging for Paul and his gentile companions.

Mnason was a native of Cyprus like Barnabas (Acts 4:36). Munck (*Acts* AB, 209) suggests that he may have been among the Cypriots who left Jerusalem after the stoning of Stephen and preached the gospel directly to the Greeks at Antioch (Acts 11:19, 20).

The fact that Mnason is called an "early disciple" has engendered considerable discussion. Rengstorf (*TDNT* 4:458, n280) considers Mnason a personal disciple of Jesus. Hughes (*ISBE* 3: 388) suggests that he was one of the 120 in Acts 1:15. Knowling (1912: 448) proposes that he was a convert of Barnabas from among the Hellenized Jews in Jerusalem. The matter is not easily resolved. Luke did not consider Jesus' circle of disciples to be small (Luke 6:17; 19:37), therefore Mnason's discipleship could go back to the days of Jesus' ministry. However, in Acts 15:7 Peter uses the term "early" (*archaiô*) to refer to the time when Cornelius was converted (Acts 10:1–11:18). Thus, Mnason's conversion may have occurred at any time from early in Jesus' ministry through the early years of the Jerusalem church.

A textual problem in Acts 21:15–17 betrays some uncertainty as to where Mnason lived. According to D and a handful of Syriac manuscripts, Mnason's house was in a village between Caesarea and Jerusalem. The arrival of Paul and his companions in Jerusalem is then described in v 17 where "the brethren" (presumably the whole Christian church) received them gladly. But the most natural reading of the vast majority of manuscripts (contra Knowling 1912: 447) suggests that "the brethren" were limited to Mnason and his associates in Jerusalem and that Paul was received "gladly" by only a few. It was not until the next day that Paul met James and the elders (Acts 21:18). Verse 22 implies that the bulk of Jewish Christians were still unaware that Paul had arrived. While Delebecque (1983: 446–55) considers D Luke's own clarification of an earlier text, it is more likely D's copyist attempted to smooth over the Jerusalem church's apparent snub of Paul.

If Mnason was living in Jerusalem at that time, it is likely, as Haenchen (1965: 607) and Stählin (*Apostelgeschichte* NTD, 275) suggest, that he identified himself with the Hellenists of Acts 6 and the theology of Stephen (Acts 6:14). Most of Paul's eight gentile companions were uncircumcised (cf. Acts 20:4). The typical Christian in Jerusalem would find hospitality problematic under such circumstances. But as a Hellenist, Mnason would be open to such hospitality. As an "early disciple" he was known and respected by the church at Jerusalem. As a Cypriot he had connections with people Paul knew and trusted. Thus, the "disciples of Caesarea" (Acts 21:16) considered Mnason the logical choice to host Paul and his companions in Jerusalem.

The mention of Mnason's name and the reference to his being an "early disciple" suggest that he may have been a source of information about events in Caesarea and Jerusalem that are reported in Acts (see Bruce *Acts* NICNT, 402–3; Foakes Jackson and Lake 1933: 270 and Ramsay 1911: 309n).

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JON PAULIEN

**MOAB** (PLACE) [Heb *mo›āb* (מָאָב)*; mô›āb* (מוֹאָב)]. MOABITES. In ancient times, the region immediately east of the Dead Sea and the people who occupied that region. Most of the ancient references to Moab are provided by the Hebrew Bible which seems to use the term primarily in reference to the people (Num 22:4).

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**A. The Name**

None of the various etymologies that have been proposed for this name is entirely convincing. Gen 19:37 attributes it to the unusual circumstances of the birth of two brothers, Moab and Ben-ammi, who are said to have become the ancestors of the Moabites and Ammonites respectively. The narrative records that Lot's two daughters conceived through their father and that the elder daughter named her son "Moab" saying he is "from my father" (Heb *mē›ābî*). G. A. Smith connected the name Moab with the Hebrew verb *ya›ab* ("to desire"); this *mô›bî* would be the participial form of the verb meaning "the desirable" land or people (1914: col. 3166). Others have attempted to explain the name on the basis of Arabic cognates; e.g., *ma›âb* which can mean " (the land of) the sunset." In this case, the name Moab would have been coined by Bedouin tribes of the desert for whom the land of Moab would have been the land of the sunset (Vollers). A recent proposal connects the name Moab with that of a prince of "Upper Shûtu," *Shemu›abu (m),* known from the Egyptian Execration Texts. The Egyptians knew the Shûtu as a nomadic people who inhabited parts of Palestine, so "Upper Shûtu" may have included the region of ancient Moab. Note also in this regard that Num 24:17–18 identifies the Moabites as "the sons of Sheth." Except for the initial *šîn,*

on the other hand, the consonants of *Shemu-ʾabu (m)* correspond to those of Moab. According to the proposal, therefore, *Shemu-ʾabu (m)* was a dynastic name which came to be applied to the region east of the Dead Sea and the people who inhabited the region. The *šîn* would have been dropped along the way for some reason or other (Grohman 1958: 39–48).

**B. The Land**

The settled population of ancient Moab was concentrated on the narrow strip of cultivable land sandwiched between the ragged and steep Dead Sea escarpment and the Arabian desert (approximately 90 km/60 miles N–S by 25 kms/15 miles E–W). For the most part this is rolling plateau about 1,000 m (3,000 feet) in elevation or 1,300 m (4,300 feet) above the Dead Sea. It is bisected by the steep Wādî el-Mūjib river canyon (the River Arnon of biblical times), and is bounded on the S by another major canyon, Wādî el-Ḥesā (the River Zered of biblical times). Both the Mūjib and the Ḥesā emerge from the desert side of the Moabite plateau and drain W to the Dead Sea. Less prominent wadis along the entire length of the Dead Sea escarpment create the ragged effect mentioned above.

The soils of the Moabite plateau tend to be thin; there are relatively few springs; and the waters of the Mūjib and the Ḥesā are virtually inaccessible due to their steep canyon walls. The plateau is, however, well watered by winter rains, and the soil is porous enough to hold this moisture for cereal crops and pasturage for sheep and goats. Places where the soil is deeper and springs are available (especially along the wadis which cut into the plateau from the Dead Sea escarpment) support fruit trees and vineyards. Thus, despite its deficiencies, Moab is reasonably good agricultural land and accordingly is strewn with ruins of settlements from ancient times. Moab's favorable agricultural situation is presupposed by the biblical story of Ruth, which has as its setting a time of famine of Judah. According to the story, Naomi and her family emigrated temporarily to Moab where food was still available (Ruth 1:1, 6).

It is useful to distinguish between the main Moabite plateau (the region between the Mūjib and the Ḥesā) and N Moab (the region N of the Mūjib). The main plateau is somewhat isolated by the geographical barriers mentioned above—Wādî el-Mūjib on the N, Wādî el-Ḥesā on the S, the Dead Sea escarpment on the W, and the Arabian desert on the E. Northern Moab is more open to the outside world, on the other hand, and was much better known to the biblical writers. It corresponds roughly to what they called the "tableland" (Heb *mêšor*), or the "tableland of Medeba" after the chief city in N Moab (Deut 3:10; 4:43; Josh 13:9, 16–17, 21; 20:8). Among other towns in N Moab were Heshbon, Elealeh, and those mentioned in Jer 48:21–24.

The openness of N Moab made it more vulnerable to encroachment also, especially by the Israelites and the Ammonites. It often changed hands, and the local population very likely had mixed loyalties. This situation is well illustrated by an inscription from the reign of King Mesha who ruled Moab in the 9th century B.C. (see below). While the inscription assumes that the region N of the Mūjib belonged historically to Moab and credits Mesha with recovering it from Israelite control, it also mentions Israelite elements in the local population, elements which had been there as long as anyone could remember: "And the men of Gad had dwelt in the land of Ataroth always and the king of Israel built Ataroth for them, …" (lines 10–11).

Several biblical passages seek to establish an Israelite claim to this valuable tableland (Num 21:21–31; 32; Deut 2:26–37; Judg 11:12–28). It is maintained in these passages that the Arnon/Mūjib was the true N boundary of Moab, that Moses conquered all of the region N of the Arnon from an Amorite king named Sihon, and that Moses then assigned all of the conquered tableland to the tribes of Gad and Reuben. These passages contrast with others, however, and with the general terminology of the Hebrew Bible, which assume that Moab extended as far N as Heshbon and Elealeh (see Num 21:20, for example, and the oracles concerning Moab in Isaiah 15–16 and Jeremiah 48). In fact, even part of the Jordan Valley—the area immediately NE of the Dead Sea, between the Jordan River and the W slopes of the "tableland"—is occasionally referred to in the Bible as the "Plains (Heb *ʿarbôt*) of Moab" (Num 22:1).

**C. Archaeological Explorations in Moab**

**1. Nineteenth-Century Explorers.** During the 19th century, local Bedouin tribes dominated the area between the Mūjib and the Ḥesā, and outsiders who entered this region did so essentially at their own risk.

Among the few daring travellers who traversed the whole Moabite plateau prior to 1870 and whose published observations deserve special mention were Ulrich Seetzen, who passed through the Moabite region in 1806, Ludwig Burckhardt in 1812, Charles Irby and James Mangles in 1818, and F. de Saulcy in 1851. Typically the travellers of this period commented on the numerous ruins from ancient times scattered throughout the Moabite plateau, but the circumstances rarely allowed them to investigate.

De Saulcy's 1851 discovery of the so-called Shīḥān Stele at Rujm el-ʿAbd was an exception. Rujm el-ʿAbd, a stone heap long since dismantled, was located at the site of the village school of present-day Faqūʿ. The stele is a basalt stone (1.03 ×.58 m) which presents in bas-relief a male figure in helmet and short skirt holding a spear. At his left is an animal, possibly a lion. Comparative study indicates close parallels with the monumental art of the "neo-Hittite" cities of N Syria and suggests an Iron Age date (Warmabol 1983). Whether the figure represents a warrior or a god (perhaps Chemosh) cannot be determined.

An even more important development was the discovery of the famous MESHA STELE (sometimes called the "Moabite Stone"). Discovered by F. A. Klein among the ruins of ancient Dibon (present-day Dhībān) in 1868, the Mesha Stele is a basalt slab, approximately one meter high and engraved with a legible text of more than 34 lines in the ancient Canaanite language and script. One learns from the inscription that it was commissioned by king Mesha of Moab in connection with the building of a sanctuary dedicated to Chemosh. The inscription itself reports the major accomplishments of Mesha's reign and thus provides a brief glimpse of Moabite affairs during the mid-9th century (see below).

In 1870 the American Palestine Exploration Society was founded and undertook to map E Palestine. Two expeditions were sent, the first led by J. A. Paine and Lieut. E. Z. Steever in 1872, the second by Selah Merrill in 1875–77. Both expeditions involved explorations in N Moab, but the results were not very satisfactory in either case. Thus C. R. Conder undertook in 1881 to map the Transjordan and began in N Moab where the Americans had left off. Unfortunately, Conder had to withdraw from the project after only ten weeks in the field because of the limitations of his permit. During that time, however, he surveyed approximately 500 square miles. Specifically, he covered from Wādî Zarqā Maʿīn (which reaches the Dead Sea SW of Mādabā) northward to Wādî Nimrīn/Shuʿeib (which reaches the Jordan opposite Jericho) and northeastward from the upper branches of these two wadis to Amman (Conder 1889a; 1889b).

In 1894 the Ottoman government reasserted its authority between the Mūjib and the Ḥesā, and for approximately a decade thereafter the region was reasonably well policed. Several scholars seized the opportunity. F. J. Bliss, for example, in an 1895 excursion, cleared up the confusion evident in earlier maps regarding the relative positions of the upper branches of the Mūjib. R. Brünnow, assisted by A. von Domaszewski, made three excursions (1895, 1897, 1898) in connection with his monumental study of the Roman road system and fortifications in the Transjordan. Alois Musil, primarily a geographer, explored extensively in S Transjordan and NW Arabia between 1896 and 1902; he devoted the first volume of his *Arabia Petraea* to the region E of the Dead Sea and prepared a 1:300,000-scale map which indicates the approximate locations of numerous ruins in that region.

**2. Developments in the 1930s.** Political circumstances (the Kerak rebellion in 1910 followed by World War I) prevented significant developments relative to the archaeology of Moab for the next twenty-five years (from 1905 to 1930). The discovery of a third monumental stele in 1930 initiated another flurry of archaeological exploration in the area of ancient Moab. This was the so-called Bālūʿ Stele, discovered by R. Head among the extensive ruins at Bālūʿ. A conical-shaped basalt stone (1.70 m high ×.70 m wide at the base) it bears both an inscription and a raised relief. Unfortunately the inscription is so poorly preserved that even the language cannot be identified. The relief is quite clear, however, and consists of three figures, probably a king (center) flanked by a god (left) and a goddess (right). The composition of the relief as well as its details are derived almost entirely from Egyptian prototypes. Clearly the sculptor was acquainted with Egyptian art, although certain details suggest that the artist was a non-Egyptian who adapted the Egyptian style to some purpose as yet unclear (Ward and Martin 1964: 68). The headdresses of the three figures are particularly interesting. The god wears the double crown of upper and lower

Egypt. The goddess wears a crown similar to that of Osiris. The king's headdress is similar to that worn by the "Shâsu" in Egyptian reliefs from Dynasties 19 and 20 (see below). Thus it seems reasonable to date the Bālūʿ stele to approximately the end of the LB Age and to see it as evidence (along with references in Egyptian texts to be discussed below) that Egyptian influence extended to the S Transjordan at that time.

Beginning in the spring of 1933, Nelson Glueck conducted surveys in the Transjordan. Not surprisingly, in view of the Bālūʿ discovery three years earlier, he concentrated that first season on the Moabite plateau. He spent about three weeks in the area E of the Dead Sea and visited more than a hundred sites. In 1936 he returned to the Moabite region and examined more sites in N Moab and in the southern half of the S plateau—i.e., S of the Kerak-Qaṭrāna road. The importance of Glueck's work in Moab had less to do with the discovery of new sites or with the thoroughness of coverage (since most of the ruins which Glueck visited had been reported already by Musil), than with the fact that he was the first to examine the surface pottery of a large sampling of sites throughout the Transjordan. Glueck's reports published in the *AASOR* became the standard authority on the S Transjordan in general and the Moabite region in particular until the late 1970s.

Three of Glueck's observations were very influential on subsequent treatments of Moabite history. (1) He concluded that there was a virtual gap in the sedentary occupation of S Transjordan between the end of the EB Age and the end of the LB Age—i.e., from approximately 1900 to the 13th century B.C. This was followed, he contended, by a surge of village settlements during the 13th century. These new villages represented new settlers, he believed, namely the Moabites and Edomites. (2) He reported that the borders of the Iron Age kingdoms in the Transjordan, including Moab, were protected by a system of strategically located forts. (3) He reported a concentration of Iron Age sites along the traditional N–S route through the lands of ancient Moab and Edom, the route of the old Roman road and essentially that of the modern paved road, and argued that this would have been the "Kings Highway" mentioned in Num 20:17 and 21:22.

In November of 1933, W. F. Albright and J. W. Crowfoot made soundings at Adir and Bālūʿ respectively. Albright's probe at Adir produced remains primarily from EB through what he called MB I and dated 2000–1800 B.C., although at one spot he also uncovered some Iron II sherds. Crowfoot found Iron Age remains at Bālūʿ, including a small section of casemate wall which he dated to Iron I. However, neither Albright nor Crowfoot uncovered materials from the time of the supposed occupational gap, which seemed to confirm Glueck's position.

**3. Archaeological Investigations Since the 1930s.** Archaeologists have given only sporadic attention to the Moabite plateau since Glueck's survey and, until 1976, have confined their efforts almost entirely to N Moab. Excavations at six sites have produced remains relevant to this discussion of the ancient Moabites: Dhī bān (excavated 1950–56 and 1965), Khirbet el-ʿĀl (1962), ʿArāʿir (1964), Tell Ḥesbān (1968–76), Khirbet Medeinet el-Muʿarradieh (1976, 1982) and Khirbet Bālūʿ (1986). Dhībān produced remains from primarily Iron II and later periods. The small amount of Iron I material apparently was not located stratigraphically. The excavators of el-ʿĀl reported EB, MB, Iron I, and Iron II pottery, but again none of it in clear stratigraphical context. ʿArāʿir proved to be a prominent Iron Age fortress on the ruins of earlier buildings. The pottery is mainly from the 11th through the 9th centuries B.C. At Tell Ḥesbān, the only one of these sites which has been both excavated and published with reasonable thoroughness, the evidence indicates an Iron Age I–II settlement with nothing earlier than the 12th century. Khirbet Medeinet el-Muʿarradieh and Khirbet Bālūʿ are the only sites in this group located S of the Mūjib. The former turned out to be another Iron Age fort. Constructed near the end of the 13th century at the earliest, the fort was destroyed at the end of the 12th or early 11th century. Excavations at Khirbet Bālūʿ (the same site probed by Crowfoot in 1933) are still underway and are producing primarily Iron II remains.

Three archaeological surveys conducted recently add to the information derived from these excavated sites. The team that excavated Tell Ḥesbān conducted a survey of other archaeological features in the immediate vicinity (approximately a ten-mile radius) and reported sites from all phases of the Bronze and Iron Ages. A survey team directed by the author during 1978–82 and concentrating on the S plateau between the Mūjib and the Ḥesā registered over 400 sites, again representing all phases of the Bronze and

Iron Ages. The third survey, conducted in 1983–86 by Udo Worschech and called the "Northwest Ar el-Kerak Survey," concentrated on the NW quadrant of the southern plateau and Wādî Ibn Hammād.

Mention should be made finally of two tombs cleared at Mādabā which produced artifacts dating from the end of the LB Age and the beginning of Iron I, and of occasional excursions into Moab by members of the Deutsches Evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes during 1956–64 and 1984–85. Primarily interested in historical geography, the participants in the Evangelisches Institut excursions have sherded a number of sites and made useful observations regarding Moabite toponymy (see especially Kuschke 1962; Donner 1964; Schottroff 1966).

**4. Some Implications of the Archaeological Evidence.** Although the above is not a comprehensive overview of all archaeological activities on the Moabite plateau, it does cover the items which have relevance for reconstructing the history and material culture of the Moabites. Obviously, the land of ancient Moab still is not very well known archaeologically. Only one Iron Age site, Tell Ḥesbān, has been excavated with any degree of thoroughness, and most of the excavated sites are located N of the Mūjib. Yet the following observations are in order.

By 1970, when Glueck published a revised edition of his *The Other Side of the Jordan*, evidence had begun to emerge which indicated that there was not a total gap during the MB and LB Ages. Recognizing this, he softened his position considerably. The trend has continued, and the recent evidence suggests that the hypothesis probably should be dropped altogether. Obviously the MB and LB Ages were not a high point of urban life in Moab; but people were living on the plateau at that time, and living at some of the same city/village sites which have been occupied off and on throughout the ages. Moreover, while the number of settlements (as represented by surface pottery) increased dramatically during the Iron Age, the artifactual evidence recovered thus far is insufficient to determine whether there was a sudden increase in the number of villages at the beginning of Iron I. In short, rather than an occupational gap during the MB and LB Ages concluded by a sudden surge of Iron I settlements, it may be more accurate to project a gradual increase in the number of settlements from a low point in the MB Age to a high point in Iron II.

The question of border forts surrounding ancient Moab requires further investigation. Clearly there were some Iron I border forts, such as Khirbet Medeinet el-Muʿarradieh excavated by Olávarri. Yet several of the ruins which Glueck proposed as Moabite border forts show predominantly Nabatean and Roman pottery. Without excavating, therefore, it is difficult to know whether these sites were actually fortified during the Iron Age. Glueck's claim that a pattern of Iron Age settlements marked the route of the "Kings Highway" mentioned in Num 20:17 and 21:22 must be qualified as well. It is not at all clear that *derek hāmmelek* should be read as a proper name or that the road(s) to which the Num 20:17 and 21:22 refer passed through the Transjordan. While there are Iron Age sites situated along the route of the later Via Nova, the most recent archaeological evidence does not indicate a particular concentration of Iron Age sites along this route.

There is some conflict between the archaeological findings at Dhībān and Tell Ḥesbān (the sites of ancient Dibon and Heshbon respectively) and evidence pertaining to these two cities supplied by the ancient written records. If *Tipun* in the so-called "Palestinian List" from the reign of Tuthmosis III and *Tbniw* in the inscription from the reign of Ramesses II are to be identified with Dibon (see below), then one would expect Dhībān to show archaeological evidence of occupation during the LB Age. Yet excavators reported nothing from either the MB or LB Ages at Dhībān and only a small amount of Iron I material. Late Bronze remains were to be expected at Tell Ḥesbān also, since the Israelites are reported to have defeated King Sihon of Heshbon at the time of their Exodus from Egypt (Num 21:21–35; Deut 2:30–37; Judg 11:19–22), and the Exodus is usually dated during the LB Age. Yet the earliest significant remains uncovered at Tell Ḥesbān date from the 12th century B.C., well after the close of the LB Age. Moreover, even the 12th century remains at Tell Ḥesbān are meager.

Finally, while certain features of the material culture of the Moabites suggest influence from the direction of Egypt (Bālūʿ Stele relief) and N Syria (Shīḥān Stele), there is even more abundant evidence of close continuity between the material culture of the Moabites and that of their immediate neighbors, including Israel (pottery styles including the collared rim jars and a "pillared building" at Khirbet

Medeinet el-Muʿarradieh, language and script of the Mesha Inscription, etc.). This duality of cultural connections is illustrated by a proto-aeolic capital first reported by Glueck at Meḍiebiʿ, an Iron Age ruin situated on the desert frontier of the S plateau. Although the nearest parallels are from W Palestine (Megiddo, Samaria, Ramat Raḥel), the motif is best known from the coast of Asia Minor.

**D. Moab and Moabites in Ancient Texts**

Ancient Egyptian, Moabite, and Assyrian inscriptions provide occasional bits of information about ancient Moab and the Moabites. Also Moab figures prominently in the Hebrew Bible.

**1. Moab in Egyptian Sources.** The so-called Execration Texts from the 19th or 18th centuries B.C. (MB Age) contain possible references to places in Moab. Also these texts mention "rulers of the Shûtu" among Egypt's Asiatic enemies. We have already referred to one of these Shûtu rulers, Shemuʾ-abu (m), and suggested the possibility that "Shûtu" is the Egyptian equivalent of "Sheth" which in turn is paralleled with Moab in Num 24:17–18. It does not follow, of course, that the Shûtu of the MB Age were specifically Moabites, but only that the biblical poet, composing at a much later time, regarded the Moabites as belonging to Shûtu stock.

Egypt maintained a strong presence in Syria-Palestine during the LB Age, beginning especially with the reign of Thutmosis III (ca. 1482–1450 B.C.). The texts indicate contact primarily with the towns and villages along the main roads, but the Egyptians also encountered non-sedentary folk throughout Syria-Palestine whom they referred to generally as "Shâsu." None of the Shâsu references in the Egyptian texts point specifically to the region E of the Dead Sea. Yet the Egyptians no doubt would have considered this region, at least its desert frontier, as Shâsu territory. It has been observed, moreover, that the central figure depicted on the Bālūʿ Stele wears a headdress of exactly the sort worn by Shâsu in Egyptian reliefs from Dynasties 19 and 20. It is tempting to conclude, therefore, that Bālūʿ figure was a Shâsu king. This may, however, be a hasty conclusion. While Shâsu clearly are depicted with this sort of headdress in the Egyptian reliefs, it is less clear that all of those so depicted were Shâsu.

One of the topographical lists from the reign of Thutmosis III, the so-called "Palestinian List" (also called the "Megiddo List"), may indicate that he passed through the Moabite plateau on one of his Asiatic campaigns. This depends, however, on a somewhat tenuous identification of the places mentioned in the list with places in Moab. Two other inscriptions suggest that Ramesses II (ca. 1304–1237) may have campaigned in the region two centuries later. The first of these, a brief topographical list inscribed on a statue of Ramesses II, includes what appears to be the name "Moab." Unfortunately, the list is brief and largely destroyed. The second is actually a grouping of three texts, two of them original lines of palimpsests, from the inscriptions on the outer face of the E wall of the Court of Ramesses II of the Luxor temple. K. A. Kitchen reconstructed the three texts and identified one of the places mentioned, *tbniw*, as Dibon. As indicated above, however, this identification encounters some archaeological difficulties and has been challenged on other grounds as well.

The conclusion that the region E of the Dead Sea was well within the range of Egyptian influence during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages seems certain, even when allowance is made for the various uncertainties mentioned above. Moreover, this conclusion is confirmed by the Bālūʿ Stele which, as indicated above, probably dates near the end of the LB Age.

**2. The Mesha Inscription and Other Moabite Fragments.** The Mesha Inscription appears on a memorial stele erected by King Mesha who ruled Moab during the 9th century B.C. Mesha seems to have taken the throne roughly midway through the reign of Ahab of Israel (ca. 873–851 B.C.) and lived to see the collapse of the Omride dynasty which occurred soon before 841 B.C. As was typical of royal memorial inscriptions of the day, the Mesha Inscription begins by introducing Mesha and then proceeds to describe the major achievements of his reign. Two items stand out, both mentioned in the opening lines: the recovery of the land of Medeba from Israelite control, and the building at Qarḥoh of a sanctuary dedicated to the Moabite god Kemosh (Chemosh). Apparently, the stele was established on the occasion of the completion of the sanctuary. (See the English translation in *ANET*, pp. 320–21.) After a lengthy prologue, the text recounts Mesha's actions in connection with the recovery of the land of Medeba and what apparently was a fairly extensive building program at Qarḥoh. Recovery of the land of Medeba involved

the taking of at least three Israelite cities: Ataroth, Nebo, and Jahaz. Against Ataroth and Nebo, Mesha launched campaigns that concluded with massacres of their respective populations. Less clear are the circumstances of the taking of Jahaz, which had been fortified by the Israelites and possibly served as an administrative center while N Moab was under Israelite control. The Israelites may have abandoned Jahaz without a fight since Mesha claims to have taken it without any mention of military action or massacre. Moabite loyalists resettled Ataroth, Jahaz, and probably Nebo (although this is not stated specifically).

The sanctuary was only part of a much more extensive building program at Qarḥoh, which in turn probably was the royal (acropolis) district of Dibon, Mesha's capital city.

Mesha's building activities elsewhere in the land included work at Baal-meon (a reservoir), Qaryaten, Aroer, and Bezer. He also built several Moabite sanctuaries (Beth-bamoth, Beth-diblathain, Beth-baal-meon) and improved the road crossing the Arnon. As the inscription draws to a close, Mesha claims that "all Dibon" was loyal to him and that he ruled over a hundred towns which he had brought under Dibonite control. The last lines, which are badly damaged, report a campaign against Hauronen.

The name of Mesha's father may be provided by a small inscription fragment discovered at Kerak in 1958 (or soon before). This basalt fragment, only 14 × 12.5 cm, seems to have a close parallel in a funerary stele discovered near Aleppo in 1891. If so, then the inscription was written in horizontal lines across the garment of a standing figure. Parts of only four lines survive and have been reconstructed by W. L. Reed and F. V. Winnett to read as follows:

… K]*mšyt,* king of Moab, the …
… of Kemosh (to serve) as an altar (?) because he …
… his … And behold I made …

The script resembles that of the Mesha Inscription. Moreover, the first part of the king's name is missing in the Kerak fragment, while the last part of the name of Mesha's father is missing in the Mesha Inscription (*Kmš*[…]). The translation proposed above reconstructs them as the same name, Kemoshyatti.

Two more fragments with bits of Canaanite (Moabite) script have been discovered, one at Dhībān and one at Khirbet Bālūʿ. In neither case can a full word be reconstructed with some degree of certainty. Also an ostracon with a possible *mem* and *waw* has been discovered at Khirbet Bālūʿ.

**3. Moab in the Assyrian Texts.** The 734–732 B.C. campaigns of Tiglath-pileser III brought all of Syria-Palestine, including the Moabite region, under Assyrian domination. Thus the royal Assyrian documents provide occasional glimpses of Moabite affairs. The first such glimpse is provided by a fragment of a clay tablet discovered at Nimrud. This fragment provides a long list of kings who paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser shortly after 734 B.C. Among the kings listed is one Salamanu of Moab (*ANET*, 282). Another text, a prism fragment dating from the reign of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.), mentions Moab among certain Palestinian kingdoms implicated in an anti-Assyrian revolt led by Ashdod in 713 (*ANET*, 287). The revolt, signalled by Ashdod's refusal to pay the required annual tribute to Assyria, was quickly crushed. Presumably Moab paid off Sargon and escaped punishment.

Two letters, which cannot be dated specifically but belong approximately to the period of Tiglath-pileser and Sargon, also mention Moab. One records the delivery of horses, presumably as tribute, to Calah by officials from Egypt, Judah, Moab, and Ammon. The other, from an Assyrian official and delivered to Nineveh by a messenger named Ezazu, reports a raid on Moabite territory by men of Gidir-land (Saggs 1955).

A certain Kammusunadbi from Moab is mentioned among the local Palestinian kings who rushed with presents to assure Sennacherib of their loyalty when he marched against Philistia and Judah in 701 B.C. (*ANET*, 287). A much shorter text from the reign of either Sennacherib or his successor Esarhaddon reports further tribute from the Ammonites, Moabites, Judeans, and possibly Edomites (*ANET*, 301). A King Musuri of Moab is listed among others (including Manasseh of Judah and Qaushgabri of Edom) who transported building materials to Nineveh during the reign of Esarhaddon (*ANET*, 291). Musuri, Manasseh, and Qaushgabri are listed again among local Palestinian rulers who delivered presents to Ashurbanipal and provided military service for the latter's wars against Egypt (*ANET*, 294).

Finally, two texts from the reign of Ashurbanipal are instructive in that (a) they presume that the kingdoms of the Transjordan are loyal Assyrian vassals and thus due Assyrian protection, and (b) they witness to the fact that protection was needed from the direction of Arabia. The threat seems to have been primarily from the Qedarites, a largely nomadic people who roamed the desert region E and SE of Damascus. One of these texts reports a campaign conducted by Ashurbanipal against Uate›, identified in the text as king of Arabia but elsewhere as son of Haza›il, king of Qedar (*ANET*, 297–98). In the other text Ashurbanipal claims credit for a victory over Ammuladi, king of Qedar, although one Kamashaltu king of Moab seems to have been the actual victor (*ANET*, 298).

**4. Moab and Moabites in the Hebrew Bible.** The biblical books Genesis through Joshua present an essentially continuous narrative which begins with creation and presents a highly theologized account of Israelite affairs until they are securely settled in "the Land of Canaan." Moab and the Moabites play a fairly prominent, although secondary, role in that story.

The Moabites appear first in Gen 19:30–38, the story of Lot's seduction by his two daughters and the resulting births of the two sons, Moab and Ben-ammi. Gen 36:31–39 (= 1 Chr 1:43–50) may be a Moab-related text as well. These verses purport to present a list of "kings who reigned in the land of Edom before there reigned any king over the children of Israel," but it has been observed (a) that the list seems to have been derived from two different sources, and (b) that one of the sources probably pertained to early Moabite, rather than Edomite, rulers. Specifically, three of the names in the list may have Moabite connections: Bela the son of Beor whose city was Dinhabah; Hadad the son of Bedad, who smote Midian in the field of Moab; and Hadar (or Hadad) whose city was Pau (Bartlett 1965).

According to the biblical narrative which continues through the books of Exodus and Leviticus to Numbers 21, the Israelites escaped from Egypt under the leadership of Moses, wandered for forty years in the wilderness, and arrived finally at the plains "across the Jordan from Jericho." There they remained encamped, we are told, until Moses died (Deuteronomy 34) and Joshua led the Israelites across the Jordan into the land of Canaan (Joshua 1–3). The plains of Moab provide the setting for a considerable portion of the Genesis–Joshua narrative, therefore, from Numbers 21 through Joshua 3. The events reported in these chapters may be summarized as follows.

The Israelites reached N Moab and defeated Sihon, an Amorite king who had taken this region from the Moabites and ruled it from Heshbon. They also defeated Og, another Amorite king who ruled still further N, and thus gained possession of virtually all the Transjordan (Num 21:10–35). Balak, a Moabite king, called on the prophet Balaam to curse the Israelites who now were encamped in the plains of Moab. Balaam, insisting that he could speak only what God gave him to speak, blessed Israel instead of cursing them (Numbers 22–24). Some of the Israelites began to worship Baal of Peor, and one even cohabited with a Midianite woman. Phinehas, son of Eleazer the priest, killed the couple. God commanded Moses and Eleazer to harass and smite the Midianites (Numbers 25). Moses and Eleazer conducted a census of the congregation, after which Yahweh provided further legal and cultic instructions (Numbers 26–30). Israel avenged the Midianites; the Reubenites and Gadites were assigned territory in N Moab; Manassehite clans received territory still further N, and Yahweh provided further instructions (Numbers 31–36). Moses reviewed key events which had occurred while the Israelites wandered in the wilderness and camped in the plains of Moab, reviewed the law which God had handed down to him, viewed the promised land from Pisgah, and died (Deuteronomy 1–34). Leadership was transferred to Joshua at that point, who began preparations for the conquest of Canaan (Joshua 1–3).

Events of the "Plains of Moab" stage in the Israelite journey from Egypt also are mentioned from time to time later on in the biblical narrative as it continues through 2 Kings (see, for example, the summary of conquests in Joshua 12–13 and the exchange of messages between Jephthah and the Ammonite king in Judg 11:12–28).

One must take into account that Genesis–2 Kings is a composite narrative composed long after the described circumstances and events would have occurred. Its composite character becomes especially obvious when one examines the "plains of Moab" segment summarized above. In addition to abrupt shifts in vocabulary and literary style which sometimes are noticeable even in translation, there is corresponding

disunity in the content of the story. For example, the Israelite defeat of Sihon and seizure of his kingdom is reported in Num 21:21–30 as if there were no Moabite king with conflicting territorial claims. Then the Balak/Balaam episode which follows (and which has Balak much concerned about Israelite presence in the plains of Moab) is narrated without any apparent awareness of Sihon's role in political affairs or that the Israelites had already taken from Sihon all of the territory N of the Arnon.

Traditio-historical considerations also caution against an uncritical acceptance of the testimony of the narrative. The story about Lot and his daughters has all the appearances of a folk story, for example. And the claim that Sihon took from Moab the region N of the Arnon and then lost it to the Israelites has obvious propagandistic overtones; it seeks to legitimize Israelite possession of territory which even other parts of the Hebrew Bible recognize as belonging historically to Moab. Moreover, as indicated above, the Sihon tradition is contradicted by archaeological evidence. Heshbon, identified as the capital of Sihon's Amorite kingdom, apparently was not even occupied at the time when these events supposedly occurred.

Nevertheless, even if the Genesis–Joshua account cannot be taken at face value for purposes of historical reconstruction, matters of historical interest pertaining to Moab can be gleaned from the traditions embedded in it. The story of Lot's daughters, for example, in spite of its folkloristic character and derogatory slant, shows that the Israelites regarded the Moabites and Ammonites as relatives. The common heritage of these peoples is suggested also, as we have seen, by their shared material culture. Other passages in the Hebrew Bible indicate that there was constant interchange between the Israelites and Moabites including intermarriage. The genealogical record at the end of the book of Ruth is especially noteworthy in this regard. It claims, namely, that King David himself was descended from the Moabitess Ruth. Among the numerous obscure notations in the genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–8, on the other hand, is mention of a Moabite ruler of Judaean descent (1 Chr 4:22). 1 Chr 8:8–10 speaks of one Shaharaim (presumably a descendant of Benjamin, although the context is unclear) who "… had sons in the country of Moab after he had sent away Hushim and Baara his wives. He had sons by Hodesh his wife: Jobab, Zibia, Mesha, Malcam, Jeuz, Sachia, and Mirmah. There were his sons, heads of fathers' houses."

The Sihon passages bear witness to the political conflicts between the Israelites, Moabites, and Ammonites during biblical times, indicate that competition for control of N Moab was a central issue in much of this conflict, and remind us that international disputes always involve some degree of propaganda warfare. No doubt the Moabites and Ammonites also had their own versions of earlier history which supported their respective claims to N Moab.

Similarly, the traditions that report religious apostasy and violence at Beth-peor, although projected back to the Mosaic era when all Israel supposedly was camped in the Plains of Moab, probably had more to do with the on-going experiences of Israelite clans who lived permanently among the Moabites (and Midianites!) in the disputed region. While many will have married non-Israelite wives and worshiped local gods at Moabite shrines, there will have been counter efforts to maintain ethnic and religious distinctiveness; and this distinctiveness will have added a local dynamic to the violence which inevitably occurred each time the disputed territory changed hands (e.g., David's selective massacre of Moabites; Mesha's massacre of Gadites).

The cultic center at Beth-peor on the NW edge of the Moabite plateau apparently played a central role in much of this struggle, and the conflicting attitudes which Israelites would have held concerning this shrine are reflected in the conflicting biblical traditions regarding Baalam. Numbers 22–24 reflects an essentially positive attitude toward Beth-peor and Baalam. It was from Beth-peor, we are told, that Balaam uttered his third oracle of blessing upon the Israelites. Numbers 25 and 32 depict Beth-peor as an evil place, on the other hand, symbolic of the evils of religious apostasy. Balaam, correspondingly, is an evil prophet who encouraged Moabite and Midianite women to draw Israelite men into their foreign cult (see also Deut 23:4; Josh 22:17; Neh 13:2; 2 Pet 2:15).

The ambivalent cultic situation in which the Israelites who settled E of the Jordan found themselves is reflected further in Joshua 22.

The Genesis–Joshua narrative continues in the books of Judges–2 Kings (excluding Ruth). The next reported event in Israelite-Moabite relations is an episode associated with the time of the Israelite judges when "Eglon the king of Moab" allied himself with the Ammonites and Amalekites, defeated Israel, and took possession of "the city of Palms." Thus the people of Israel served Eglon for eighteen years, according to the story, until Yahweh raised up a deliverer. This deliverer was Ehud, a Benjaminite, who assassinated Eglon, mustered an army, and seized the fords of the Jordan so that about 10,000 Moabites were killed (Judg 3:12–30).

After the Eglon/Ehud episode, the Judges–2 Kings corpus contains only brief references and one extended narrative (2 Kgs 3:4–27) pertaining to Israelite-Moabite relations. Saul is reported to have "fought against all his enemies on every side, against Moab, against the Ammonites, against Edom, against the kings of Zobah, and against the Philistines; wherever he turned he put them to the worse" (1 Sam 14:47). David, while a fugitive from Saul, left his parents with the king of Moab (1 Sam 22:3–4). Yet we read later in the account of his reign that David "… defeated Moab, and measured them with a line, making them lie down on the ground; two lines he measured to be put to death, and one full line to be spared. And the Moabites became servants to David and brought tribute" (2 Sam 8:2). Unfortunately the text of 2 Sam 24:5–7, which reports a census undertaken by David, is difficult to follow. It seems clear, however, that the census officials began at Aroer on the N bank of the Arnon and worked northward from there. Thus David apparently exercised direct control only over N Moab. Solomon is reported to have indulged the worship of foreign gods in Jerusalem, and Josiah to have reversed this policy two centuries later. In both instances Chemosh, the Moabite god, is mentioned (1 Kgs 11:7, 33; 2 Kgs 23:13).

2 Kings 1:1 and 3:4–5 report that king Mesha of Moab, who had been required to deliver annual tribute to Ahab, rebelled against Israel following Ahab's death. 2 Kgs 3:6–27 recounts then Jehoram's unsuccessful attempt to restore Israelite authority over Moab. After the Omride-Mesha conflict, the Moabites are mentioned only twice more in the Judges–2 Kings narrative. Both instances have to do with Moabite raids W of the Jordan (2 Kgs 13:20–21; 24:2). Apparently, the latter half of the 9th century was a bleak time for the peoples of Palestine, as illustrated by the Elisha stories. None dared challenge the Syrians who exploited the land without providing security. 2 Kgs 13:20–21, intended to illustrate the power of Elisha even after his death, mentions Moabite raids which presumably occurred under the shadow of Syrian oppression. Moabite raids would continue to be a problem in still later years. 2 Kgs 24:2 reports that, when Jehoiakim rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar, Yahweh "sent against him bands of the Chaldeans, and bands of the Syrians, and bands of the Moabites, and bands of the Ammonites."

References to Moab and Moabites in the prose sections of the Hebrew Bible appear outside the Genesis–2 Kings corpus also. The book of Ruth has been mentioned already. Regardless of the historicity of the story, one must consider the underlying assumption of the storyteller that Moab would have been a reasonable place to go in search of grain when famine struck Judah. The Chronicler provides a not entirely convincing story of how Yahweh saved Jerusalem during Jehoshaphat's reign from a combined attack by Moabites, Ammonites, and Meunites (2 Chr 20:1–30). The city was saved, according to the story, without its defenders so much as raising a spear. Mention should be made also of two Moab references in the prose sections of Jeremiah. Near the beginning of Zedekiah's reign, when Jeremiah warned the king against challenging the Babylonian hold on Judah, he apparently attempted to send the same message to neighboring kings by way of their envoys who had come to Jerusalem to confer with Zedekiah. The kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon are mentioned in particular (Jeremiah 27, see esp. v.3). Jeremiah 40:11–12, on the other hand, describes circumstances after the Babylonians had captured Jerusalem for a second time and placed the government in the hands of Gedaliah. At that time Jews who had fled to the Transjordan began to return to their homes, and Moab, Ammon, and Edom are specified as the lands to which they had fled.

In the poetical sections of the Hebrew Bible, references to Moab and the Moabites are usually in very generalized contexts which treat Moab as an enemy along with other neighboring nations. Thus in Exodus 15, the so-called "Song of the Sea," the Moabites figure among those terrified by Yahweh's mighty deeds in Israel's behalf (Exod 15:14–15). Moab appears also in Psalm 60 and 108, which partially duplicate

each other. These communal laments appear to Yahweh to show his strength and express confidence that he will do so. The salvation oracle is given as divine proclamation: "Moab is my washbasin; upon Edom I cast my shoe; over Philistia I shout in triumph" (Ps 60:8; 108:9). Similarly, Psalm 83, which probably dates from the waning years of the Judean monarchy before the collapse of the Assyrian empire, calls upon God to take vengeance on various enemies including Moab.

The books of Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah include collections of oracles directed against individual foreign nations (Amos 1–2; Isaiah 13–23; Jeremiah 46–51). The oracles in Amos introduce the book, and all of them follow a similar format. They address in turn Damascus, Philistia, Tyre, Edom, the Ammonites, and Moab (2:1–3). The collection of Moab oracles in Isaiah 15–16 and Jeremiah 48 partially duplicate each other. Jeremiah additionally includes a variant version of the Num 21:27–30 oracle pertaining to Sihon and Heshbon. Very little specific information about Moabite history can be derived from any of these prophetical texts. The one cited above from Amos leaves us completely in the dark, for example, as to the identity of the Moabite king who burned the bones of the Edomite king or the circumstances of his deed. The oracles do, however, have some implications for the historical geography of Moab, even if the evidence they provide is difficult to interpret.

In addition to these oracles which focus specifically on Moab, several other poetical texts mention Moab in anticipation of a restoration of Israel and downfall of her neighbors (Isa 11:12–16; 25:10–12; Jer 9:25–26; 25:15–29; Ezek 25:8–11; Zeph 2:8–11; see also Balaam's oracle in Num 24:15–24, esp. v 17). Finally, some mention should be made of the occasional references to Moab in postexilic biblical texts, most of which also mention the Moabites along with Judah's other neighbors in derogatory fashion (Ezra 9:1; Dan 11:41; Jdt 1:12; 5:2; 5:22; 7:8). Neh 13:1 notes that the books of Moses denied Moabites and Ammonites admission to the assembly of God because of their behavior toward Israel at the time of the exodus. The Hebrew text of Sir 36:10, reminiscent of Num 24:17 and Jer 48:45, specifies "Moabite" princes as the object of divine wrath.

**E. Moabite History**

Moab was one of several relatively small kingdoms that emerged in the Levant during the early centuries of the Iron Age, existed for a time alongside each other, and then fell under the domination of the Assyrians. Those kingdoms which survived the Assyrians with their national identity intact would not survive the Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, who dominated the Levant each in turn after the Assyrians. Among these Iron Age kingdoms was Moab. Unfortunately very little is known about the origin of the Moabites or the details of their history.

**1. Moabite Origins.** According to the Genesis-Joshua narrative reviewed above, the Moabites descended from an ancestor named Moab, Lot's son/grandson (Gen 19:37), and their land was inhabited in earliest times by a race of giants known as the Emim (Deut 2:10). One would suppose also, from an uncritical reading of the narrative, that the Moabites already were organized into a monarchy when the Israelites passed through the Transjordan on their exodus from Egypt (Num 21:10–20; Deut 2:9–19); that the Moabite king on the throne at the time was named Balak (Num 22–24); that a large section of Moabite territory (N Moab) had been lost to an Amorite king named Sihon soon before the Israelites arrived on the scene (Num 21:26–30), and that the Israelites took this Moabite territory from Sihon (Num 21:21–25). As observed above, however, the Genesis-Joshua narrative is not a reliable source of information regarding Moabite origins. For one thing, it was compiled several centuries after Balak and Sihon supposedly lived.

We know now that, contrary to Glueck's findings, the Moabite plateau was occupied to some degree throughout the Bronze Age. Neither does the archaeological evidence suggest a major cultural break in the S Transjordan between the Bronze Age and the Iron Age. There is no reason to suppose, accordingly, that the Moabite kingdom emerged from newcomers to the region. In other words, the Moabites of biblical times may have been, for the most part, descendants of the general population which had inhabited the region E of the Dead Sea from earliest times.

**2. Early Moabite Monarchy?** All of our information about the Moabite kingdom(s) prior to King Mesha also comes from the Hebrew Bible, beginning with the references indicated above to an early Moabite king named Balak. Judg 3:12–30 mentions another Moabite king named Eglon who ruled "the

city of palms" (probably Jericho) during the time of the Judges. The biblical narratives pertaining to Balak and Eglon have very obvious legendary overtones. But even if they are to be taken as historically trustworthy, one cannot assume that Balak and Eglon ruled over a united Moabite state which included all of the region E of the Dead Sea. More likely, the political situation in S Transjordan during the opening centuries of the Iron Age will have been characterized by political disunity and diversity. There will have been a few modest cities, each with its king who also controlled some of the surrounding countryside. However tribal elders also will have played a role in the political structure, especially among the villages scattered throughout the land. Also from time to time there will have arisen local chieftains who carved out local kingdoms. Eglon may have been a king of this sort. Even Mesha's realm, as we shall see below, may not have encompassed all of Moab.

By the same measure, the biblical claim that David defeated Moab (2 Sam 8:2) does not necessarily mean, as often presupposed by Bible atlases, that he conquered and annexed to Israel all the land of Moab from the Dead Sea to the desert and from Heshbon to the River Zered. More likely, he subjugated only the region N of the Arnon.

**3. Mesha's Kingdom.** The only Moabite king that we know much about and, correspondingly, the only period of Moabite history for which we have any substantial details, is king Mesha who ruled from Dibon during the mid-9th century B.C. He was a contemporary of the strong Omride dynasty of Israel (Omri, Ahab, Ahaziah, Jehoram) and is reported in the Hebrew Bible to have rebelled against Israelite domination after Ahab's death (2 Kgs 1:1; 3:4–27). The main reason that Mesha and his period is so well known, however, is that he left his own record of his major deeds—the Mesha Inscription. Unfortunately the information provided by the Mesha Inscription does not correlate easily with the related materials in the Hebrew Bible (esp. 2 Kgs 1:1 and 3:4–27). Thus the following proposed reconstruction of events is somewhat hypothetical.

Mesha followed his father to the throne in Dibon roughly midway during Ahab's reign. Most of N Moab was under Israelite domination at the time and Mesha, as his father before him, had to pay annual tribute to the Omrides. The political situation in Israel took a turn for the worse after Ahab died, and Mesha seized the opportunity to rebell. At first the "rebellion" would have consisted of Mesha's refusal to pay the annual tribute, along with preparations for defense in case Israel took military action. When it was apparent that Ahaziah, who followed Ahab to the throne, could not take action because of a personal accident and other difficulties in Samaria (2 Kings 1), Mesha proceeded with military moves of his own intended to restore Moabite control over N Moab. Probably it was necessary only to settle affairs with a few pro-Israelite cities, perhaps only Ataroth and Nebo, since most of the population of the disputed region was Moabite and would have welcomed the change. When Ahaziah died, Jehoram ascended the throne in Samaria and organized a military campaign against Mesha. The account of the campaign in 2 Kgs 3:4–27 is beset with literary problems and its details should not be pressed too far (Miller 1967; Bartlett 1983). The essence of the account is that the attacking army approached Moab from around the S end of the Dead Sea, devastated fields and cisterns throughout the land, laid siege to Kir-hareseth where Mesha had retreated, but then withdrew from the city when Mesha sacrificed his oldest son on the city wall.

Mesha seems to have had a long reign and claims in his inscription to have been an active builder. Near the end of the inscription, where it is badly damaged and concluding lines are broken off entirely, Mesha claims to have undertaken a victorious military campaign against Horonaim. It is noteworthy that, with the possible exception of the Horonaim campaign, all of Mesha's activities reported in the inscription were confined to N Moab, the region N of the Arnon. Whether the Horonaim campaign would have taken him into the main Moabite plateau depends on the location of Horonaim (see below). Even allowing for the possibility that Horonaim was located S of the Arnon, however, the pattern of his recorded deeds strongly suggests that Mesha's effective rule was confined to N Moab.

**4. Moab under the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians.** The Assyrian texts imply that Moab fell under Assyrian domination during the 8th century B.C. as did the remainder of the Levant. Also the Assyrian texts provide the names of four additional Moabite kings: Salamanu, who paid tribute to Tiglath-

pileser; Kammusunadbi, who pledged loyalty to Sennacherib; Musuri, a contemporary of Manasseh of Judah, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal; and Kamashaltu, who defeated the Qedarites later on in Ashurbanipal's reign. Precise dates are unavailable for any of these four kings.

According to Josephus, the Ammonites and Moabites were brought under Babylonian subjection five years after the destruction of Jerusalem (*Ant* 10.9.7). Presumably the peoples of the Transjordan, including the Moabite, submitted to Persian occupation as well, although there is no specific evidence available in this regard.

**5. Moab during Hellenistic-Roman Times.** We are dependent almost entirely on Josephus for information about circumstances in the Transjordan during Hellenistic and Roman times. That the whole Transjordan was regarded as part of Arabia (i.e., Nabatean realm) by the beginning of the 1st century B.C. is presupposed by Josephus' account of the warfare between Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.) and the latter's Nabatean contemporary, Obodas I. Josephus reports, namely, that Alexander overcame "the Arabians, such as the Moabites and Gileadites, and made them bring tribute" (*Ant* 13.13.5 §374). Later on, according to Josephus, Alexander "was forced to deliver back to the king of Arabia the land of Moab and Gilead, which he had subdued, and places that were in them" (*Ant* 13.14.2 §382). This leaves the reader somewhat unprepared for Josephus' account of the negotiations between Hyrcanus II and Aretas III after Alexander's death, at which time Hyrcanus supposedly offered to return the Moabite cities if Aretas would support his bid for the Judean throne (*Ant* 14.1.4§18). Pompey's eastern campaign in 64–63 B.C. brought all of Syria-Palestine under the shadow of Rome. Nabatea, including the Moabite region, became a client kingdom. No doubt the bulk of the population consisted of descendants of the ancient Moabites, and the name would survive for a long time—e.g., in that of the two chief cities, Rabbath Moab and Karak Moab. For all practical purposes, however, the history of ancient Moab had come to an end.

**F. Moabite Place Names**

Since most of the written information about ancient Moab must be gleaned from non-Moabite sources, it is not surprising that the towns and villages of the more accessible region N of the Arnon/Mūjib are much better documented than those of the S plateau. Most of the Moabite towns and villages mentioned in the Hebrew Bible, for example, and virtually all of those which can be located today with any degree of confidence, were situated in N Moab. Noteworthy also is the fact that Mesha's capital city, Dibon, and all of the other places mentioned in his inscription with the possible exception of Hauronen, were located N of the Arnon/Mūjib.

**1. Northern Moab.** As indicated above, the following site identifications have been proposed for places mentioned in Egyptian sources: *tipun/tbniw* (equated with Moabite Dibon which is identical in turn with present-day Dhībān; M.R. 224101); *kurmin* (present-day ʾUmeiri); and *betaʾe* (present-day Jelūl). While these identifications are plausible, only the Dibon/Dhībān equation can be regarded as reasonably certain. In addition to Dibon, the following towns and villages in N Moab known from the Hebrew Bible and/or the Mesha Inscription can also be located with reasonable confidence: Elealeh (present-day el-ʿĀl; M.R. 228136), Heshbon (Tell Hesbān; M.R. 226134), Nebo (possibly Khirbet el-Mukhaiyat [M.R. 220128] near Jebel en-Nebā), Medeba (Mādabā; M.R. 225124), Baal-Meon = Beth-meon = Beth-baal-meon = Beon (Maʿīn; M.R. 219120), Ataroth (Aṭārūs; M.R. 213109), Mephaath (Umm er-Riṣāṣ), and Aroer (ʿArāʿir; M.R. 228097). Beth-Peor would have been situated on the NW edge of the Moabite plateau, on the spur W of Tell Ḥesbān and overlooking Wādī ʿAyūn Musa. The name of ancient Kerioth probably is preserved in that of present-day el-Quraiyāt M.R. 215105), and the name of ancient Kiriathaim in that of Kirbet el-Qureiye near ʿAyūn ed-Dib.

Bezer and Jahaz seem to have been prominent towns in N Moab and should be represented by equally prominent archaeological sites. Thus Bezer, which is listed in Josh 20:8; 21:36 and 1 Chr 6:63 as a Refuge/Levitical city and described in Deut 4:43 as "Bezer in the wilderness on the tableland" often is associated with Umm el-ʿAmad (M.R. 235132) on the desert side of N Moab. Jahaz, mentioned as the scene of Israel's defeat of King Sihon of Heshbon (Num 21:23; Deut 2:32; Judg 11:20) and depicted as a place of some military importance near Dibon in the Mesha Inscription, possibly is to be associated with present-day Libb (M.R. 222112). Some scholars, however, contending that the Israelites would have

approached Sihon's realm from the desert side, search for Jahaz nearer to the desert frontier (e.g., Khirbet el-Medeineh [M.R. 236110] on Wādī el-Themed).

**2. Plains of Moab.** Situated in the Plains of Moab were Nimrah, Beth-Jeshimoth and Abel-shittim. Nimrah probably is to be associated with present-day Tell Nimrīn. Eusebius and Jerome identify Beth-Jeshimoth with a place called Ismuth (*Onomast.* 266.27; 233.81; 103.9), the ancient name of which probably is preserved in that of present-day Khirbet es-Suweimeh (M.R. 206131). However, contemporary scholars usually accept Glueck's view that Tell ʿAẓeimeh (M.R. 208132) nearby is the actual site of Beth-Jeshimoth. Earlier scholars generally identified Shittim with Tell Kefrein; but the more recent tendency, again following Glueck, has been to associate it with Tell el-Ḥammām (M.R. 214138).

**3. The Southern Plateau.** Although the name Rabbath-Moab does not appear in any extant pre-Roman sources, it is by etymology an early Moabite name and is to be equated with present-day er-Rabbah (M.R. 220075). Rabbath Moab/er-Rabbah, which came to be called Areopolis during Late Roman and Byzantime times, has also been equated with Ar Moab. However there is very little to recommend this Rabbath Moab/Ar equation. A more likely site for Ar is probably Khirbet Bālūʿ. Ar seems to have been a city of some importance (the name "Ar" is derived from the word for "city") closely associated with Arnon. The ancient city represented by Khirbet Bālūʿ would have been the gateway to the S plateau from N Moab, on the other hand, since the ancient N–S route through the Transjordan will have descended into the Arnon/Mūjib canyon at Aroer, followed the canyon bed into the Wādī el-Bālūʿ tributary, and then ascended the plateau of the S plateau at Khirbet Bālūʿ.

Kir-hereseth (Kir-heres, Kir-hares) usually is equated with present-day Kerak (M.R. 217066) on the basis of the Targumic rendering of "Kir" as *kerak* (Isa 15:1; 16:7, 11) and the geographical implications of the narrative of 2 Kgs 3:4–27. But neither of these lines of evidence can be regarded as very secure. "Kir" is a common element in Moabite place names, and the Targum rendering may be a simple translation meaning "fortified city" rather than the proper name of a city. Literary critics have raised serious questions about the unity and historicity of 2 Kings 3, and even if taken at face value this narrative does not necessarily support the Kir-hereseth/Kerak identification.

The "ascent of Luhith" mentioned in Isa 15:5b–6 generally is associated with an ancient roadway which ascended the Moabite plateau along the N slopes of Wādī en-Numera. Thus Luhith and Horonaim, which are mentioned together in the Isaiah passage, would have been located along this roadway (but see Worschech and Knauf 1986). Present-day Kathrabbā seems the best candidate for the Luhith.

## G. Moabite Religion

The Moabites of the Iron Age will have inherited religious concepts and practices from their Bronze Age predecessors, whose religious practices will have been similar in turn to those of their Canaanite neighbors W of the Jordan (see Mattingly, *EncRel* 10:1–3). Place names such as Beth-baal-peor, Beth-baal-meon, and Bemoth-baal indicate the existance of local Baal shrines, for example. The Bālūʿ Stele indicates strong Egyptian influence near the end of the LB Age, which no doubt will have extended to religion. As indicated above, the god and goddess depicted on opposite sides of the central figure may be Egyptian deities. The place name Horonaim is also suggestive in this regard. A deity named *Horôn* apparently was worshipped in both Egypt and Canaan (e.g., at Beth-horon). The place name Nebo may pertain in some way to the god Nabû worshipped in Babylon (Isa 46:1–2).

Chemosh emerged as the national god of the Moabites, however, and was understood to have the same special relationship with them that Yahweh had with the Israelites. Jeremiah refers to the Moabites as "the people of Chemosh" (48:46; see also Num 21:29). Chemosh appears as an element in royal names (*Kammus*unadbi, *Kamas*haltu); and the flowering of the Moabite kingdom under Mesha prompted the building of a royal compound in the capital city which featured a Chemosh sanctuary.

The Moabites believed that their military successes and failures depended upon Chemosh's favor or disfavor, so that the Mesha Inscription reads very much like some parts of the Hebrew Bible. Moab had fallen into difficult times because Chemosh was angry with his land, according to the inscription. But then it was Chemosh who enabled Mesha to recover the lost territories, commanded him to attack Hauronen, and presumably gave him victory there as well. Thus, Mesha dedicated the sanctuary to Chemosh

"because he saved me from all the kings and caused me to triumph over all my adversaries" and the conquered territories were incorporated into Chemosh's domain. As Joshua is said to have devoted the city of Jericho with all its spoils and inhabitants to Yahweh for destruction (Josh 6:17–21), so also Mesha consecrated the people of Ataroth and Nebo to destruction (*ḥērem*) in gratitude to Chemosh. The narrative in 2 Kings 3 has Mesha resorting to child sacrifice, which also was not unknown in Israel (see, e.g., 2 Kgs 16:3). Jer 48:7 refers to the priests of Chemosh, and the terminology of the Mesha Inscription suggests some system of divination—"Chemosh said to me, 'Go down, fight against Hauronen." Several animal and human figurines have been found on Moabite sites, some of which may have had religious significance.

Chemosh apparently was not just a local Moabite deity. A god named Kamish may appear in lists of deities from the EB archives at Ebla. Gods with similar names appear in a Babylonian list dating from the MB Age and in a LB Age tablet from Ugarit. Possibly Kemosh was the chief deity of the famous city of Carchemish in N Syria. Providing further evidence of the international scope of Chemosh worship (or evidence of the presence of Moabites in Egypt) are theophoric personal names based on Kemosh (*Kemoshyhi, Kemoshzdk, Kemoshplt*) known from ostraca, graffiti, and papyrus fragments discovered at Sakkar.

The reference to '*štr-kmš* in line 17 of the Mesha Inscription has been interpreted two different ways. Possibly it has to do with Chemosh's consort, a female deity presumably associated in some way with the goddess Ishtar or Astarte. Alternatively, it may be a compound name for Chemosh himself—i.e., he would be associated in some way with ʿAshtar, a male Canaanite deity, firstborn of the supreme god El, known from the Ugaritic texts. John Gray, a proponent of this latter view, has collected data which suggests that this Canaanite ʿAshtar (ʿ*Attr*) was identical with a S Arabian god ʿ*Attar* who was associated in turn with the morning and evening star (1949b). According to Gray, Chemosh, Milcom (the god of the Ammonites), and *Šlm* (apparently worshipped in Jerusalem as indicated by the names Jeru*salem Solom*on, and Ab*salom*) were all epithets or hypostases of this same astral deity. Thus the royal Moabite name *Shalam*anu (no less so than *Kammus*unadbi and *Kamash*altu) would be theophoric names pertaining to ʿAshtar=Chemosh=Milcom=Šlm. Likewise, Judg 11:24 would not be mistaken when it identifies Chemosh as the god of the Ammonites, since Chemosh and Milcom would have been alternate designations for the same god.

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J. MAXWELL MILLER

**MOAB, CITY OF** (PLACE). The place where Balak went to meet Balaam, a site located "on the boundary formed by the Arnon, at the extremity of the boundary" (Num 22:36). "City of Moab" is the translated equivalent of "Ar of Moab" (Num 21:28); the two designations probably refer to the same town. Ancient Ar's exact location remains unknown, though several proposals have been made. Neither Rabbah (ancient Areopolis) nor el-Misna‹ fulfill the basic requirement of the text, i.e., location on or near the Arnon gorge. Ar, the city of Moab, may have been located at el-Balu‹a, ca. 7 miles NE of Rabba.

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

**MOABITE LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

**MOABITE STONE.** See MESHA‹ STELE.

**MOADIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *môʿadyâ* (מוֹעַדְיָה)]. The eponymous ancestor of a priestly family headed by Pittai at the time of the high priest Joiakim (Neh 12:17). Some have suggested that this name is to be identified with the name Maadiah (Neh 12:5), the etymology of which is also uncertain. If the name Moadiah is a distinct and separate entity, however, the question remains whether it derives from *yʿd* (Yahweh summons) or *mʿd.* The biblically attested meaning of the latter verbal root is "to slip, totter," forming the unlikely construction "Yahweh totters." A more likely meaning, "to promise," is attested in Old S Arabic (KB) which, when connected with the theophoric element, would result in "Yahweh promises."

NORA A. WILLIAMS

**MOCHMUR** (PLACE) [Gk *Mochmour* (Μοχμουρ)]. A wadi mentioned as a geographical locator in the book of Judith (Jdt 7:18). Otherwise unknown under the name "Mochmur" (the name is missing in the Vulgate), but it has been identified with the Wadi Qana, a tributary of the Jarkon river located 15 miles from Ekrebel (see *MBA*). The wadi forms the boundary between the territories of Manasseh and Ephraim (Josh 16:8; 17:9), and is SE of Dothan, the correct geographical location according to the book of Judith. However, it is quite far from the location of Bethuliah given in the book of Judith; if the purpose of the men of Esau and Ammon was to blockade the water supply of the city, it seems pointless to journey so far to the SE. Enslin (1972) has given as a possibility the Wadi Makhfurlyeh, S of Nablus. This identification is not as precise as that of the Wadi Qana. It is, however, closer to the purported location of Bethuliah. Of course, given the genre of the book of Judith, it is entirely possible that the name is fictitious. See also JUDITH.

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SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**MODAD.** See ELDAD AND MODAD.

**MODEIN** (PLACE) [Gk *Modein* (Μοδειν)]. An ancient village located ca. 20 miles NW of Jerusalem in the region of Lydda (Lod). Modein is only mentioned briefly in 1 and 2 Maccabees (cf. Goldstein, *I Maccabees* and *II Maccabees* AB) where its importance is chiefly due to its association with Mattathias and other leaders of the Maccabean revolt (see especially 1 Maccabees 2 and Josephus, *Ant* 12–13). Although Robinson reports that "Sôba has now for centuries been regarded in monastic tradition as the site of the ancient Modin" (Robinson 1841: 328–30), the town is confidently to be identified with modern Ras Medieh (M.R. 150148), a typical tell of the Shephelah of Judah. This site may be more fully described by referring to three facets of its history: the Maccabean rebellion, the monumental tombs erected to the Hasmoneans, and Rabbi Eleazar, another famous inhabitant of this town.

**A. The Maccabean Rebellion**

Modein is first mentioned in 1 Maccabees 2. In 168 B.C.E., the Hellenistic Seleucid ruler Antiochus Epiphanes captured Jerusalem and desecrated the temple. At this time an attempt was made to force the Jews to abandon their traditional religion and unite with the rest of the Seleucid kingdom in worshiping Hellenistic deities. In the midst of the turmoil in Jerusalem, Mattathias and his five sons (John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan) escaped to Modein. Soon, however, Syrian officers came to Modein to enforce the policies of Antiochus. Mattathias, because he was both a priest and leading citizen, was chosen to make the required sacrifices with the expectation that once he did so the rest of the town would follow suit. He refused, and when a Jew who *was* willing to make the sacrifice stepped forward, Mattathias, in a righteous rage, killed him at the altar. He then killed the Syrian officer and tore down the altar upon which the sacrifice was to have been made. Following this, Mattathias and his five sons fled into the hills, calling upon those who would defy the Syrian policies to join them in guerrilla resistance. Thus began the Maccabean rebellion which three years later resulted in the recapture of Jerusalem and the rededication of the temple.

References to Modein (Modiith) in the Mishnah indicate that this town came to mark the boundary of Judah. Thus, *Pesah.* 9.2 reads, "What counts as a *journey afar off?* Beyond Modiith, or a like distance in any direction." *Ḥag.* 3.5 reads, "From Modiith and inwards men may be deemed trustworthy in what concerns earthenware vessels; from Modiith and outwards they may not be deemed trustworthy." The two further references to Modein in connection with the Maccabean rebellion reflect this use of the term.

1 Macc 16:4–10 relates the story of an important battle in the Maccabean rebellion which took place in the vicinity of Modein. The aging ruler Simon entrusted command of the armies to his two sons Judas and John without relinquishing his own authority or position. The battle against Kendebaios is launched from an encampment at Modein and serves to mark the first stage of the transition in leadership from Simon to his son John.

The final, although problematic, reference to Modein is found in 2 Maccabees 13. The narrative describes a massive expedition of Seleucid forces under Antiochus V against the Jews. Judas Maccabaeus, after a period of prayer and preparation, decided not to wait for the town to be attacked but instead to march out and confront the Syrian troops at the border of Judea. Making camp near Modein, Judas attacked the Syrians by night, killed some 2,000 men in the encampment, and stabbed the lead elephant to death, producing such havoc that the Syrians were thereafter unable to mount a successful attack against Judea. This narrative has been extensively discussed in commentaries on 2 Maccabees. The discussion reveals that there are a number of important points which are difficult to reconcile with other historical information about this period. For example, such an attack would have represented a drastic shift in Seleucid policies toward the Jews and been at variance with the agreements just described in 2 Maccabees 11. Rather than seeking to perpetuate violence upon them, Antiochus V seems to have adopted a more conciliatory attitude toward the Jews of Judea. Likewise, the statement that the Syrians came equipped with elephants and chariots armed with scythes is hard to reconcile with a military campaign to be launched in the hill country of Judea. The historicity of these details is, therefore, to be doubted although the possibility remains that the narrative incorporates information from the oral traditions about Maccabean victories which circulated soon after they were accomplished (see the more complete discussion in Goldstein, *II Maccabees* AB, 454–58).

**B. The Hasmonean Tombs**

The references in 1 Maccabees to members of the Hasmonean family being buried in the tomb of their fathers at Modein (2:70; 9:18–21) are explained by the narrative in 1 Maccabees 13:25–30 (cf. Josephus, *Ant* 12.210–12). The reader is told that Simon constructed an impressive tomb with an accompanying monument of polished stone to mark the resting place of his parents and brothers. He also erected seven pyramids, columns, carvings of ships' prows, and other architectural features which could be seen from a considerable distance. Both Eusebius and Jerome are among the later authors who express knowledge of these structures, indicating that for some centuries they remained impressive monuments to the achievements of the Hasmonean family and were undoubtedly visited by pilgrims. Today scant remains at a site awaiting excavation mark the spot near Ras Medieh taken to be the location of these tombs (M.R. 149148).

**C. Rabbi Eleazar of Modein**

Little is known about one other distinguished resident of Modein, Rabbi Eleazar. Known simply as "the man from Modein," a teaching of his is preserved in *ʾAbot* 3.12: "R. Eleazar of Modiim said: 'If a man profanes the Hallowed Things and despises the set feasts and puts his fellow to shame publicly and makes void the covenant of Abraham our father, and discloses meanings in the Law which are not according to the halakah, even though a knowledge of the Law and good works are his, he has no share in the world to come.' " Although he was associated with the famous Rabbi Gamaliel II at Jamnia, Eleazar's biography ends in tragedy for he was executed on a false charge of treason in 135 C.E., apparently at the order of Bar Kokhba himself (Willoughby, *IDB* 3: 421).

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THOMAS R. W. LONGSTAFF

**MODERN VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE.** See VERSIONS (MODERN ERA).

**MOETH** (PERSON) [Gk *Mōeth* (Μωεθ)]. An alternate form of the name NOADIAH.

**MOLADAH** (PLACE) [Heb *môlādâ* (מוֹלָדָה)]. Settlement within the tribal territory of Simeon (Josh 19:2; 1 Chr 4:32), later incorporated into the Negeb district of Judah (Josh 15:26). The differences between the list in 1 Chronicles 4 and that of Josh 19:1–9 seem to be merely editorial in nature, suggesting that both are derived from a single document describing the territory of Simeon sometime early in the period of the monarchy, presumably before Simeon was consolidated with the tribe of Judah (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 25–31). The differences between these lists and that of Joshua 15 are more difficult to explain unless they reflect the political and demographic adjustments made necessary by the consolidation process (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 436–37). Moladah is also listed among the towns occupied by those returning from exile in Babylon (Neh 11:26, with a defectively written *holem*). There is general agreement that this list is derived from an official document of the postexilic period (Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 187). The name of this settlement, whose meaning is clearly related to the verb *yld* "to give birth," has led to the very speculative conclusion that this was the site of a shrine for barren women (*IDB* 3:421–22). The fact that Khirbet el-Waten, a group of ruins 12 km E of Beer-sheba (M.R. 142074), bears a name that also deals with kinship and childbearing, combined with its location within the appropriate region, provides sufficient evidence for a tentative identification (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 382).

WADE R. KOTTER

**MOLDING** [Heb *zēr* (זֵר)]. A band used to encircle the interior cultic appurtenances of the tabernacle.

The molding was made of gold and was placed around the ark (Exod 25:11; 37:2), the table for the bread of the Presence (Exod 25:24, 25; 37:11, 12), and the incense altar (Exod 30:3, 4; 37:26, 27). Since these three holy objects were meant to be portable, they were all fitted with rings through which poles were inserted. The molding may thus have been a decorative element and also a strengthening band.

CAROL MEYERS

**MOLECH** (DEITY) [Heb *mōlek* (מֹלֶךְ)]. Var. MOLOCH. Traditionally rendered Molech (or Moloch, representing *moloch*) the term is of disputed meaning; it occurs eight times in the OT text (Lev 18:21; 20:2, 3, 4, 5; 1 Kgs 11:7; 2 Kgs 23:10; Jer 32:35) and one time in the NT (Acts 7:43). Molech is found generally in contexts of cultic child sacrifice and particularly in phrases containing some or all of the words *hʿbyr ʾt-bnw wʾt-btw bʾš lmlk* ("to cause one's son or one's daughter to pass over by the fire to Molek").

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A. Theories Regarding the Meaning of "Molech"
  1. Traditional Interpretation
  2. Eissfeldt's Reinterpretation
  3. Weinfeld's Theory
B. Philological Evidence
C. Biblical Evidence
D. Summary


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**A. Theories Regarding the Meaning of "Molech"**

**1. Traditional Interpretation.** Traditionally, Molech has been understood as the name of a deity to whom children were burned in sacrifice, first by the Canaanites and then by the Israelites, particularly in a cultic installation known as the "Tophet" in the Valley of the Son of Hinnom, immediately south of Jerusalem. In favor of this understanding there is now a broad range of ANE literary evidence which suggests the worship of a god known as Malik or Milku/i from as early as the 3d millennium B.C. through

the OT era. Malik was an extremely popular element in personal names at Ebla, although contexts are presently too scanty to permit firm conclusions regarding the god's nature in the Eblaite cultus. The same god is also evidenced in personal names from the next (i.e., second) millennium at Mari, and in addition, we find in the Mari texts references to recipients of funeral offerings called *maliku,* apparently the shades of the dead or underworld deities. This netherworld connection is reinforced by the evidence from Akkadian texts, in which Malik appears in god lists, from the Old Babylonian period on, equated with Nergal and in which the *mal (i)kū* appear in connection with the Igigi and Anunnaki as chthonic beings involved in the cult of the dead ancestors. Finally, the comparative literary evidence moves closer to home for OT studies, as the Ugaritic texts list a god *Mlk* resident at *ʾṯtrt* (*Ugaritica V* 7:41; 8:17), the same "address" as that assigned elsewhere to the netherworld deity *Rpu* (Rapiu), and testify to the inclusion of beings known as *mlkm* in the cult of the dead in contexts which suggest their similarity to (if not identity with) the *rpum,* the shades of the dead royal ancestors (known later in the Bible as the Rephaim, where the term has been broadened to include all the dead, e.g., Ps 88:11). From this evidence there emerges the picture of a netherworld deity involved in the cult of the dead ancestors (perhaps even their king, given the apparent associations with the West Semitic root *mlk,* "to rule, be king").

**2. Eissfeldt's Reinterpretation.** Since 1935 the discussion of Molek has been dominated by the thesis of O. Eissfeldt, that the term is cognate with the Punic *mlk* (or "*molc[ h]*" in Latin transcriptions) and is thus not a divine name or title but a technical term for a type of sacrifice. *Mlk*/*molc (h)* is found on several stelae excavated from Punic colonies in North Africa (such as Carthage) and the western Mediterranean islands, almost always compounded with another phonemic element (e.g., *ʾmr/Lat omor*), and dating from the 7th or 6th century B.C. to the 3d century A.D. Because the inscriptions regularly name Baal-Hammon (Latin Saturn) or Tanit as the recipient of the sacrifice, while the *mlk* + expression appears in a variety of syntactical positions within the inscriptions, Eissfeldt was persuaded that the latter were not references to a divinity, but terms for the sacrifice or its victim. Given the associations of the OT term "Molek" with child sacrifice and the depiction of lambs about to be slain on stelae inscribed *molchomor,* Eissfeldt proposed that the Punic *mlkʾmr* was testimony to the development of a practice of substitutionary sacrifice of a lamb (*ʾmr*; cf. Heb *ʾimmēr*) for the human child, while the other elements compounded with *mlk* had to do with other variants of the original practice of child sacrifice, the *mlk* per se. The latter was most provocatively attested in a single inscription (Constantine Neopunic 30) as *lmlk,* which Eissfeldt read, "as a *molk*-sacrifice," and compared to OT *lammōlek,* the form in which Molek occurs in seven of the eight OT attestations.

Two independent sources of data have lent substantial force to Eissfeldt's proposal. First, a long series of classical authors, from Sophocles in the 5th century B.C. to Dracontius in the 5th century A.D., write of the Phoenician and Punic practice of cultic child sacrifice by fire (see especially Mosca for texts and discussion). Second, archaeologists digging at Carthage and other Punic colonies in the western Mediterranean have located sacred precincts (or "tophets," using the OT term) containing urns with ashes and bone remains of children and animals (see TOPHETH). Although such precincts have not always been discovered at the locales of the stelae bearing *mlk*-inscriptions, the evidence from Carthage, where the proportion of animal bones mixed with human appears to *decrease* over time, establishes the Punic practice of cultic child sacrifice under the term *molk* for most scholars, regardless of their views on OT Molech.

**3. Weinfeld's Theory.** A third theory also requires mention, although it has to do not so much with the meaning of "Molech" as with the nature of the associated cult: Moshe Weinfeld's (1972) proposal (following many medieval rabbis) that the cult of Molech was indeed directed to a pagan deity, Baal-Hadad (under the title of "king"), but that historically it never entailed actual sacrifice or burning of children, only their dedication to the deity in a fire ceremony. Weinfeld stresses the use of verbs which need not mean to sacrifice (*ntn,* "to give"; *hʿbyr,* "to cause to pass over") in the descriptions of the cult in the OT legal and historical material, while explicit "death" verbs (such as *śrp,* "to burn"; *zbḥ,* "to sacrifice"; and *šḥṭ,* "to slaughter") are found only in the references of the latter prophets and writings, which Weinfeld terms "moralizing" and "tendentious." Although many scholars are sympathetic with

Weinfeld's qualms about the historical value of the prophetic and hagiographic references, most concur that he has overstated his case regarding the legal material, especially. The verbs *ntn* and *hʿbyr* may or may not of themselves entail sacrifice, but Num 31:23 suggests that *hʿbyr bʾš* (the phrase used of the cult in Deut 18:10 and elsewhere) does indeed entail burning in the fire.

**B. Philological Evidence**

The adjudication of the issue of the meaning of "Molech" is partially dependent on how one understands the word philologically. Scholars since A. Geiger (1857) have proposed that the form represents a "dysphemism," or tendentious distortion, of the Heb *melek* (king) by substitution of the vowels of *bōšet* (shame); this was apparently done on occasion with *baʿal* (e.g., Ishbosheth). Thus, the term might have referred originally to a "king" god (or even Yhwh himself under that title). If this hypothesis is correct, the Punic cognate proposed by Eissfeldt would be lost and some understanding as a divine name or title necessitated. However, Eissfeldt and his defenders have raised cogent objections to the dysphemism theory, particularly as they have inquired why the simple substitution of the vowels *ō-e* should have suggested *bāšet* to the ancient reader, rather than any other word with the same vowels. For their part, they prefer to see in Molek an o/u-class "segolate" noun, cognate with the Punic *molk.* On the other hand, it is equally possible to see in "Molek" a form of the Qal active participle of *mlk,* meaning "ruler" (as would be suggested by the LXX's translation *archōn,* in the Leviticus passages), or a derivative from an a-class segolate noun, like the Akk *malku/maliku* ("king"), so that the traditional explanation of Molek also remains viable.

**C. Biblical Evidence**

Inevitably, then, one must attempt a close reading of the biblical texts containing Molech and other related texts to attempt to settle the matter. Within the legal texts, Lev 18:21 and 20:2–5 are crucial because they contain five of the eight attestations of Molech in the MT. On the one hand, Eissfeldt and his supporters have shown that the MT vocalization of *lmlk* as *lammōlek* in 18:21 and 20:2–4 is quite likely in error: the LXX translates without the article, so that the original probably read ***lĕmōlek,*** permitting comparison with sacrificial terms such as *lĕʿōlâ* ("as a burnt offering") in Gen 22:2, so as to yield the rendering, "as a *molk*-sacrifice." On the other hand, the removal of the article does not eliminate the traditional interpretation, and the juxtaposition of 20:5b ("I shall cut off him and all who whore after him, to whore after [the] Molech") with v 6, which condemns "anyone who turns to the ghosts and the 'knowers' to whore after them," is congruent with the portrait of the chthonic deity and denizens connected with the cult of the dead ancestors, as was seen above in the comparative literary evidence. Further support for the latter perspective appears in Deut 18:10, where "one who causes his son or his daughter to pass over by the fire" is condemned at the head of a roster of diviners and mediums.

The historical material compels us to ask after the provenance, duration and status of the cult of Molech in Israel (in addition to our questions about the meaning of the term). Of the two occurrences of "Molech" in the historical books, one (1 Kgs 11:7) is generally eliminated as a confusion of Molech with Milcom, god of the Ammonites (cf. 1 Kgs 11:5, 33). (It may be noted, for example, that the two deities have separate cult places defiled by Josiah in 2 Kgs 23:10, 13.) Otherwise, the cult is repeatedly attributed to the Canaanites as source (indeed, as the very archetype of their depravity [Deut 12:31; cf. passages cited below]), but it is not specifically mentioned in Israel until the reigns of Ahaz (2 Kgs 16:3) and Manasseh (2 Kgs 21:6), the villains of the Deuteronomic History. (Because of Ahaz's religious impressionability on his trip to Damascus [2 Kgs 16:10–16], some scholars have argued for a Syrian or Assyrian source for the cult.) Outside of a general accusation against the N kingdom (2 Kgs 17:17) and a specific indictment of the Sepharvites exiled by the Assyrians to the province of Samaria for "burn[ing] their children in the fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech" (2 Kgs 17:31;), see SEPHARVAIM the cult is attested solely in the "tophet" of Jerusalem's Valley of the Son of Hinnom, which Josiah then defiled as part of his elimination of Canaanite influences on Judah's worship (2 Kgs 23:10). Whether the cult was later revived is disputed: it is not again mentioned in the history, but Jeremiah (7:31–32; 19:5–6, 11; 32:35; and probably 2:23 and 3:24) and Ezekiel (16:20–21; 20:25–26, 30–31; 23:36–39) or the practice, while Isa 57:5,9 may indicate some survival of the cult after the exile (particularly if *melek* in v 9 is to be read as *mōlek;* cf. *RSV*).

Thus, given the relative paucity of clear references to the cult of Molech, it is decidedly difficult to reconstruct its history with confidence; it is equally difficult to comment with authority on its legal or social status during that history. Eissfeldt contended that the sacrifices had been directed to Yhwh as part of the licit, state religion of Judah until Josiah's reform, after which they faded from memory until the original significance of "Molech" was forgotten and the deity born of desperation to interpret the OT references. In fact, the licit status of the cult may be proposed, even if one holds for the traditional understanding of the term, and particularly on the basis of Isa 30:33, in which the prophet, presumably during Hezekiah's reign, depicts the Tophet as prepared to receive the Assyrian king in sacrifice (on this reading the Canaanite cult of Molech would have been subordinated at Jerusalem to that of Yhwh). As for the sociological nature of the cult, many scholars (including Eissfeldt) have argued that the practitioners were parents offering their firstborn sons in (mis-)obedience of the "Law of the Firstborn" in Exod 13:2,11–15; 22:28b–29—Eng 29b–30; and 34:19–20 (cf. Ezek 20:26). However, this seems unlikely, given the references to sons and daughters as victims (2 Kgs 23:10 and elsewhere) and perhaps even to multiple victims within a family (2 Chr 28:3; 33:6).

It is not surprising, given the aforementioned shortage of evidence, that scholars have struggled to find additional references to the cult of Molech. Often the search entails revocalizing MT *melek* in a provocative context. It might be noted that in this activity such scholars are but following the lead of the LXX, which reads *Moloch* in Amos 5:26 (followed by the NT in Acts 7:43) and Zeph 1:5 (but *archōn* in Lev 18:21; 20:2–5 and *basileus* in 3 Kgs 11:5 [MT 1 Kgs 11:7]!). Other verses commonly included in the discussion by this means include 2 Sam 12:30 (=1 Chr 20:2); Isa 30:33; 57:9; Jer 49:1,3 and the Milcom references in Kings, listed above. Since *melek* is an extremely common noun (with over 2,500 occurrences), there is much fodder for speculation, but, with few exceptions, such proposals have commanded little assent.

Other attempts to expand our understanding of the cult have involved appeals to passages concerning child sacrifice or, more broadly, human sacrifice. In addition to the "Law of the Firstborn," discussed above, special stress has been placed on the "Akedah" account (Genesis 22), the vow of Jepthah (Judges 11), King Meša's sacrifice of his son (2 Kgs 3:27) and such prophetic allusions as Hos 13:2; Mic 6:7; and Isa 66:3. While none of these clearly has to do with the cult of Molech (particularly if one concedes that the cult was not necessarily of the firstborn son), they can, to a greater or lesser degree, all assist in illuminating the worldview of those who engaged in the sacrifice of their children.

**D. Summary**

The "Molech question" remains a good candidate for what Adolf von Harnack once called it: "the greatest question, without a doubt, of the comparative history of religion." We can say what it was apparently not: neither a regular cult (such as one of firstborn sons) nor an occasional one based on military emergency (such as is exampled in 2 Kgs 3:27) seems congruent with the clear biblical references. The repeated occurrence of references to the Molech cult in contexts suggesting divination, along with the chthonic connections of the god Malik (Milku/i) in the comparative literary material, suggest that the sacrifices played a role in the cult of the dead ancestors (so explicitly in Ps 106:37–38), while the OT historical references suggest that the cult was adopted from the Canaanites and practiced mostly (if not exclusively) by the residents of Judah (especially the kings) in the Valley of the Son of Hinnom. See DEAD, CULT OF THE.

As for the meaning of "Molech," the Punic inscriptional and archaeological evidence adduced by Eissfeldt and his supporters presents a strong case for their contention that a cult similar in many respects to that found in Israel was practiced in the Punic colonies. However, the connection of the biblical cult with the Punic practice and the term used to describe it remains loose: no secure archaeological or inscriptional evidence for the presumed Punic/Israelite "missing link" in Phoenicia has been unearthed to date. Indeed, the use of non-inscribed stelae in the earliest layers of the Punic "tophets" leaves open the possibility that the Punic usage of *molk* was an intra Punic development, rather than a feature common to Israel, Phoenicia, and the Punic colonies. On the other hand, those favoring the traditional interpretation

must concede that the portrait of a god Molek remains frustratingly difficult to draw with precision, and that the ultimate "why" of the cult occasions much speculation, but little certainty.

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**MOLID** (PERSON) [Heb *môlîd* (מוֹלִיד)]. Son of Abishur and Abihail (1 Chr 2:29) and a descendant of the important line of Jerahmeel (by his wife Atarah) of the tribe of Judah. Molid and his brother Ahban conclude this brief genealogical record. Variant spellings are found in the LXX (Vaticanus and Alexandrinus) and many scholars consider those genealogies corrupt suggesting the nature of apparent scribal errors. The genealogies of Jerahmeel in the MT are viewed by most contemporary scholars as being in good order. For further discussion of the provenance and authenticity of the genealogies in 1 Chronicles 2, see MAAZ.

Locating Molid in time is difficult. Some commentators view these genealogical records as complete and place Molid in the latter years of the Egyptian sojourn; others, however, consider such names as reflecting a concern closer to the date of the authorship of the book. Molid is probably derived from the verb *yld* meaning "to bear," "bring forth," or "beget" and is often rendered "begetter."

W. P. STEEGER

**MOLLUSKS.** See ZOOLOGY.

**MOLOCH** (DEITY) [Gk *moloch* (μολοχ)]. See MOLECH.

**MOLTEN IMAGE.** See IDOL, IDOLATRY.

**MOLTEN SEA.** See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

**MONEY.** See COINAGE.

**MONKEY.** See ZOOLOGY.

**MONTANUS, MONTANISM.** A Christian sect arising in the late 2d century and stressing apocalyptic expectations, the continuing prophetic gifts of the Spirit, and strict ascetic discipline.

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**A. Origin of Montanism**

Montanus, a Phrygian Christian, began to prophesy in the small village of Ardabav in Phrgyian Mysia about A.D. 172. Two women, Priscilla and Maximilla, who also prophesied, became his devoted followers and were influential in the dissemination of his teachings.

**1. Titles Given the Movement.** The followers of Montanus and the prophetesses were usually referred to as Cataphrygians by the Fathers, the title indicating the Phrygian provenance of the movement. They seem to have used the title "the New Prophecy" of themselves. They were later called Montanists after the name of their founder.

**2. Sources of Information.** The Fathers indicate that the Montanists produced numerous treatises. These have all perished, however, except the treatises written by Tertullian (A.D. 155–220) after he had adopted Montanism. Our knowledge of Montanism depends, therefore, on those few Montanist fragments preserved in the Fathers, on the descriptions of Montanist beliefs and practices the Fathers give in their attempts to refute them, and on certain treatises of Tertullian.

The writings of Eusebius (A.D. 263–340) and Epiphanius (A.D. 315–403) are most important for our knowledge of the earliest period of Montanism in Phrygia because of earlier sources they have preserved. Eusebius preserves quotations from two sources concerning Montanism in Phrygia. The first, and most extensive, is from an unnamed author who claims to have participated in oral debate with Montanists in Galatia and to have written his account of them thirteen years after Maximilla died (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.16–17). Apollonius, the author of Eusebius' second source, claims to have written his treatise against Montanism forty years after Montanus began prophesying (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.18).

Epiphanius claims to have used both oral and written sources in his section on the Montanists, but he does not identify his sources (*Haer.* 48.15). It has been established that he used a source dating from the late 2d or early 3d century as the basis for his account in *Haer.* 48.1.4–13.8. The debate that he describes in this section has the same general contours as that described in Eusebius' sources, which suggests a Phrygian provenance.

Tertullian's writings from his Montanist period (A.D. 207–20) are also important. There is a general consensus today, however, that they should not be used to reconstruct earlier Phrygian Montanism. He appears to have introduced his own modifications to their teachings. His statements, therefore, can only be used with confidence in reference to earlier Phrygian Montanism when they find confirmation in the material in the sources preserved by Eusebius and Epiphanius.

**3. Locations of the Early Montanists.** Early Montanism was centered in three major geographical areas. Phrygia, where it arose, continued to be the most prominent. Sozomen said in the mid-5th century that there were still multitudes of Montanists in Phrygia (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.32.6). Montanism also appeared quite early in Rome. The third area was N Africa, where Tertullian became its most prominent spokesman. Because the sources related to each region show differences in the Montanist teachings, we must focus on Montanism in each area in order to see what was peculiar to the debate in each place, as well as what belonged to the movement in general.

**B. Montanism in Phrygia**

We begin with Montanism as it appeared among its founders in Phrygia. All that can be learned about Montanist teachings from the few words preserved from Montanus himself is that he claimed to be the mouthpiece of God (Epiph. *Haer.* 48.4, 10, 11). While this claim was attacked and defended in different ways in the different locales, it nevertheless formed the center of the controversy between the Montanists and the Church. Epiphanius asserts that the Montanists held the same view of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as the Church, but erred in the matter of spiritual gifts (*Haer.* 48.1.4). The anonymous source of Eusebius concurs that the point of contention was the prophetic activity (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.16.6–10; 17.4).

**1. The Question of Ecstasy.** The debate about the Montanist prophecy in Phrygia centered on the manner in which it was done. The possibility of prophecy did not enter the debate. Eusebius asserts that the many divine charisma still in existence throughout the Churches then caused many to accept the Montanist prophets (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.3.4). The opponents in Phrygia attempted to prove that Montanus was a false prophet because he prophesied in a state of ecstasy. Epiphanius sets this as the major topic. "Let us examine," he says, "what constitutes prophecy and what constitutes false prophecy" (*Haer.* 48.3.3). He argues that true prophets in both the OT and NT were always in possession of their understanding when they uttered their prophecies. The Montanists had appealed to Gen 2:21 which, in the Septuagint, reads: "And God cast a state of ecstasy on Adam, and he slept." They juxtaposed Eph 5:31–32 to prove that Adam prophesied on this occasion (Epiph. *Haer.* 48.6; Tert. *An* 11.4), and consequently, that he prophesied in ecstasy. Epiphanius' source can answer this argument only by arguing that ecstasy has many meanings in the Scriptures, and that in Gen 2:21 it refers to sleep. The Montanists had appealed also to Psalm 115:2 and Acts 10:10–14 to support ecstatic prophecy and had cited Abraham, Moses, Agabus, Judas, Silas, the daughters of Philip, Ammia, and Quadratus as prophets of whom they were the successors (Epiph. *Haer.* 48.7ff.; Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.17.2–4). It is noteworthy that none of the earliest sources describing the debate with Montanism in Phrygia indicate that either Montanus or the two prophetesses ever appealed to the Paraclete passages in John 14–16 in support of their prophecy.

**2. Montanist Doctrines.** Other points of Montanist doctrine also appear in subordinate roles in the sources descriptive of the debate in Phrygia. They did not permit a second marriage after the death of a spouse (Epiph. *Haer.* 48.9). This, along with most of the points which follow, appears to have belonged to the movement universal, for it is also attested in Tertullian (*Marc.* 1.29; *Monog.* 1.1–6; 14.3–5). They also instituted new and more frequent fasts (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.18.2; cf. Epiph. *Haer.* 48.8.7–8; Tert. *Ieiun.*1; Hippol. *Haer.* 8.19; 10.25).

It is also obvious that all Montanists held martyrdom in high esteem. They appealed to the large number of their martyrs as proof of the power of the Spirit in their midst (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.16.20; cf. 5.18.5–6). It is apparently in opposition to some boast about martyrs that Gaius asserts in his debate with Proclus that he can point out "the trophies of the apostles" (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.25.5–7). It was his way, perhaps, of trumping the Montanist claim to have a superior number of martyrs. Tertullian asserts that the Spirit exhorts to martyrdom, never to flight or bribery to avoid it (*Fuga* 9.4; 11.3; 14.3). This esteem has caused some to argue that the Montanists advocated voluntary martyrdom. There are some funerary inscriptions in Phrygia dated from A.D. 248 which contain the enigmatic phrase: "Christians for Christians." This epitaph has been used to argue that the Montanists flaunted their faith. Most references to Christianity on tombs from this period of escalated persecution are in cryptic language. It has been argued that these inscriptions from Phrygia which make open reference to Christian faith must come from Montanists. E. Gibson, however, who has most recently examined these inscriptions concludes that there is no necessary connection between them and Montanism. W. Tabbernee has argued convincingly from the literary sources that, apart from Tertullian, the early Montanists' attitude to martyrdom was not substantially different from that of the Catholics.

The Montanists were also noted for their eschatological views. They anticipated an imminent end to the present order. Maximilla declared: "After me there will no longer be a prophet, but the end" (Epiph. *Haer.* 48.2.4). The assertion that Maximilla predicted wars and anarchy (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.16.8) should be connected with this oracle, for such were viewed as precursors of the end in the primitive Christian eschatology (Matt 24:6–8). The assertion by Apollonius (ca. A.D. 212) that Montanus renamed Pepuza and Tymion, small villages in Phrygia, "Jerusalem," and "wanted people to gather there from everywhere" is also an allusion to their view that the end was imminent (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.18.2), for Epiphanius quotes an oracle, outside his early source, which he attributes to either Quintilla or Priscilla in which the prophetess asserts that Christ revealed to her that Jerusalem would descend from heaven at Pepuza (*Haer.* 49.1). Tertullian, however, whose chiliast eschatology did not change much from his Catholic to his Montanist period, speaks only of Jerusalem being brought down from heaven for a thousand years (*Marc.* 3.24), and never mentions Pepuza. Apart from locating the new Jerusalem at

Pepuza and connecting the date of the end with Maximilla's death, the Montanists' eschatology did not differ in any considerable way from that of the earliest Christians (Matt 24:34, 42–44; 1 Cor 7:29; 1 Thess 5:2–3; Rev 21:2).

This brief survey of Montanist doctrine confirms that prophecy was the primary point of contention between the Montanists and the Catholics. The other doctrines represent only minor differences from Catholic belief and practice, differences that would have been irritating, but hardly heretical. The Churches of Asia appear even to have been willing to acknowledging prophecy, providing it was not accompanied by ecstasy.

**C. Montanism in Rome**

The focal point of the debate shifts when we move from Phrgyia to Rome. The issue no longer is ecstasy but new revelation.

**1. Sources.** The sources for our knowledge of Montanism in Rome are minimal and difficult to interpret. They consist of a section of Tertullian's *Against Praxeas;* a paragraph in Irenaeus' *Against Heresies*; some fragments preserved by Eusebius of a dialogue between Gaius, a Roman presbyter, and Proclus, a Montanist; some statements in Hippolytus' *Refutation of All Heresies* and in his *Commentary on Daniel*; Pseudo-Tertullian's *Against All Heresies,* in that it appears to be an epitome of Hippolytus' lost *Syntagma*; and the Muratorian Canon.

We shall begin with the later material in Tertullian and Hippolytus and work backwards to the earlier, more fragmentary material so that we have a tentative framework for the earlier pieces of the puzzle.

**2. Tertullian's Account of Praxeas.** Tertullian provides one of our clearest statements about Montanism in Rome, yet even it has major ambiguities. He says that when Praxeas visited Rome the bishop of Rome at that time "had already acknowledged the prophecies of Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla" and, consequently, "had brought peace to the churches of Asia and Phrygia." Praxeas, who had come to Rome from Asia, by denigrating the Montanist prophets and their churches, and by citing the negative views of earlier bishops of Rome, forced him to "recall the letter of peace he had already sent and to desist from his intention of admitting the gifts" (*Prax.* 1). This openness to the Montanist prophecy by a bishop at Rome is contrary to all other evidence. Unfortunately, we can only speculate about the bishop's identity. The most widely accepted conjecture is that it was Zephyrinus, bishop from 198–217. This conjecture best fits both the statement that earlier bishops of Rome had viewed Montanism negatively, and the assumed time of Praxeas' activities in the city.

**3. Hippolytus and the Question of New Revelation.** Hippolytus, (ca. A.D. 170–236) a presbyter at Rome during the episcopacy of Zephyrinus and later, took a radically different view of the Montanist prophecy. While he does not mention the Montanists in his *Commentary on Daniel*, many of his statements appear to have them in view (Klawiter 1975). He relates, for example, the story of a leader of a church in Pontus who, instead of paying careful attention to the Scriptures, began to believe in visions which he himself had seen. His congregation was decimated because he prophesied that the judgment would occur in a year. Many neglected their fields and sold their possessions and, when the end did not occur, were reduced to begging (*Dan.* 4.19). Hippolytus comments: "These things happen to uneducated and simple people who do not give careful attention to the Scriptures" (*Dan.* 4.20). That he had the Montanists in view is further suggested when he adds that some were even then experiencing the same things by paying attention to visions and by appointing additional fasts (*Dan.* 4.20). These were charges commonly leveled at the Montanists, some repeated by Hippolytus himself when he attacked them in his *Refutation of All Heresies* (8.19).

This story provides a clue to Hippolytus' approach to the question of Montanist prophecy. He stressed the importance of basing everything on the authority of Scripture in opposition to believing in visions and dreams. He considered prophecy to have ended. The words of the prophets and apostles contained in the Scriptures should guide the Church. He asserted that the Montanists, however, claimed to have learned more through their prophets "than from the law, the prophets, and the Gospels" (*Haer.* 8.19; 10.25). The crux of the question for Hippolytus was the issue of additional revelation.

**4. The Muratorian Canon.** The Muratorian Canon, which is usually dated at approximately this same time (ca. A.D. 200) and located at Rome, rejected the *Shepherd of Hermas* for what appears to have been the same reason. It had only recently been written, and could be published "neither among the Prophets, whose number was complete, nor among the apostles." This appears to be a statement about the completion of revelation. Joined with Hippolytus' views, it suggests that there was little sympathy for contemporary prophecy at Rome in the late 2d and early 3d centuries.

**5. Pseudo-Tertullian and the Paraclete.** Hippolytus also indicates that the Montanists differentiated the Holy Spirit as he appeared in the apostles and as he appeared in the Montanist prophets, and that they considered the latter to have had the greater gift (*Haer.* 8.19). Pseudo-Tertullian offers a clearer statement. He notes that there were two groups of Montanists, the followers of Proclus and the followers of Aeschinus. We know Proclus was in Rome (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 6.20.3). Both groups said that the apostles had the Holy Spirit but the Montanist prophets had the Paraclete. They also agreed that the Paraclete revealed more in Montanus than Christ revealed in the gospel, a claim for additional revelation, and that the things revealed in Montanus by the Paraclete were also better and greater, a claim that the new revelation superceded the old (*Haer.* 7). It should also be noted that here and in Hippolytus' *Refutation of All Heresies* we have the first explicit statements that the Montanists used the term "Paraclete" to describe the source of their prophecies. The Montanists at Rome had begun to interpret the experience of their prophets in light of the Paraclete passages in John 14–16. The debate between Gaius and Proclus takes us deeper into this aspect of their teachings.

**6. The Debate Between Gaius and Proclus.** Eusebius locates the debate between Gaius and Proclus at Rome in the time of Zephyrinus (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.20.3). He tells us only that Gaius asserted that he could point to the trophies of the apostles (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.25.7) which, as we noted previously, probably countered the Montanists' boast about their martyrs, and that he curbed their rashness "in composing new scriptures" (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.20.3). The latter suggests that Gaius had the same attitude toward new revelation that we have seen in Hippolytus and the Muratorian Canon. Bar Salibi, a 12th-century Syrian exegete, says that Hippolytus defended the Johannine authorship of the gospel against Gaius, who credited both the gospel of John and the Apocalypse to the heretic Cerenthus. Eusebius also notes that Gaius attributed the Apocalypse to Cerenthus (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.28.1–2). Gaius' rejection of the gospel of John may have been prompted partially by the Montanists' use of it at Rome to validate new and superior revelation through the Paraclete (John 16:7, 12–13).

**7. Irenaeus and Those Who Rejected the Gospel of John.** Irenaeus refers to some who reject both the gospel of John and the prophetic Spirit (*Haer.* 3.11.12; *Dem.* 99). The people referred to appear to have been anti-Montanists, but Irenaeus gives no indication of their location. We have already seen that the latter view was present in Rome around the end of the 2d century in Hippolytus, the Muratorian Canon, and Gaius, and that Gaius also rejected the gospel of John. Irenaeus had visited Rome in 177 during the episcopacy of Eleutherus (174–89) to deliver a letter concerning Montanism in Asia and Phrygia. Praedestinatus' statement that Soter, Eleutherus' predecessor at Rome (166–74), wrote a treatise against the Montanists, indicates that Rome was wrestling with the Montanist question prior to Irenaeus' visit (1.26). It is quite possible that the views held by Hippolytus and Gaius were already present at Rome when Irenaeus visited Eleutherus and that he became aware of these views there. It is sometimes argued that the views Irenaeus refers to were those of the *Alogoi*, discussed by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 51), who rejected the gospel of John and the Apocalypse, and that their provenance was Asia. There is no evidence, however, for locating the *Alogoi* in Asia. Epiphanius gives no indication of their location. Labriolle (1913) argued that Epiphanius' discussion of the *Alogoi* was dependent on Hippolytus' attack on Gaius' rejection of John. If this is true, the *Alogoi* were most likely a Roman group. Rome is, in fact, the only place where views similar to those Epiphanius attributes to them are attested in the early Church.

**8. Summary of the Debate at Rome.** If this reconstruction is correct, we may sum up the Montanist debate at Rome as follows. There was, in general, an attitude at Rome at the end of the 2d century which was hostile to new revelation. To gain a hearing in this environment the Montanists had to justify the validity of post-apostolic prophecy. To do this they appealed to the Paraclete passages in the gospel of

John. On the basis of these same passages, primarily John 16:12–13, they could also, as Pseudo-Tertullian points out, claim that what was revealed by the Paraclete through their prophets superceded what Christ had revealed in the gospel. To refute these claims some of their opponents, including the presbyter Gaius, rejected the authority of the gospel of John.

If the bishop of Rome to whom Tertullian refers in *Against Praxeas* was indeed Zephyrinus, and if Tertullian has not exaggerated the extent of his openness to acknowledge the Phrygian prophets, then his brief recognition of the new prophecy before yielding to Praxeas' pressure was an anomaly in the Roman attitude toward prophecy at the end of the 2d century.

**D. Montanism in North Africa**

Our earliest sources for Montanism in N Africa are *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas,* which some attribute to Tertullian, and the treatises of Tertullian composed after he became a Montanist.

**1. Relation to Montanism in Rome.** Montanism in N Africa shows the influence of the innovations introduced at Rome. Tertullian knows the distinction between the activity of the Holy Spirit in the apostolic age and in the age of the new prophecy, although he does not accept the view that the Montanists had a fuller participation in the Holy Spirit than did the apostles. He argues that the Paraclete reveals the fuller intention of the apostles (*Monog.* 3). He also interprets the new prophecy in terms of the Paraclete passages in John (*Virg.* 1; *Monog.* 1.1–6; 2.1–4).

**2. Differences between Tertullian and Earlier Montanists.** We have already noted where Tertullian either agreed with or differed from the Phrygians in their views on marriage, fasting, martyrdom, and eschatology. Two other points of difference need to be noted. The Phrygians, with their two famous prophetesses, allowed women great freedom for ministry in the Church. Origen asserted that the disciples of Priscilla and Maximilla were not obedient to the biblical command to let the women be silent in the churches (*Cat. ad Cor* 14.36). Tertullian, however, would not permit a woman "to speak in the church," or to perform any other function which belonged to a man (*Virg.* 9; *An.* 9.4). Tertullian also argued that the power to forgive sins belonged to the spiritual man, not to the bishop. The position of the earliest Phrygian Montanists on this issue is not clear. Tertullian quotes an oracle in his argument, but ascribes it only to the Paraclete, without identifying the human agent (*Pud.* 21).

**3. The Question of New Revelation.** The center of the debate in N Africa, as in Rome, was about the possibility of new revelation. The author of *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas* asserts that they recognize both new prophecies and new visions. The view of the Catholics comes out obliquely in the exhortation not to think "that the divine grace dwelt only with the ancients, whether in the grandeur of martyrdoms or of revelations" (1.4). Tertullian advances a similar argument about the continuation of the operation of divine grace in the Church, and accuses the Catholics of fixing "boundaries for God" (*Ieiun.* 11; cf. *Virg.* 1.5).

The new revelations which have come through the Montanist prophecies do not, Tertullian argues, relate to the rule of faith. This continues one, unalterable, and incapable of reformation. The prophecies concern discipline. The Paraclete was sent, he argues, because the mediocrity of man could not grasp everything at once. Christian discipline, therefore, is being brought to perfection gradually through the continued activity of the Paraclete. He defines the Paraclete's task as follows: "To direct discipline, to reveal the Scriptures, to reform the understanding, to advance the understanding to better things" (*Virg.* 1.6–8).

**4. The Point of Contention between the Montanists and the Orthodox.** This passage brings us to the heart of the Montanist issue. The new prophecies do not appear to have involved any basic doctrines of the Church. Epiphanius agrees with Tertullian when he asserts that the Montanists held the same view of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as the Catholics. He adds that they accepted the OT and NT, and believed in the resurrection of the dead (*Haer.* 48.1.3–4). Hippolytus does note that some Montanists held a modalist view of God (*Haer.* 8.19), and Pseudo-Tertullian ascribes this view to the Montanists who followed Aeschinus (*Haer.* 7). After the Trinitarian and Christological controversies this charge is brought indiscriminately against all Montanists. Didymus of Alexandria, for example, repeatedly accuses them of believing "the same one is Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (*Trin.* 2.15; 3.18; 3.23; Jerome, 41.3),

even attributing this view to Montanus himself (*Trin.* 3.38; 3.41), something for which there is no evidence in the early sources.

The teachings of the new prophets concerned such things as how many times one might marry, when and how long one should fast, and how one should behave when threatened with martyrdom. These were not inconsequential questions, but they all lay outside matters of the creed. They were issues for which one might have expected to be disciplined, but not pronounced heretical. The issue, of course, concerned these matters only indirectly. The battle raged around the right of the Montanists to propagate their teachings by appealing to the authority of the Spirit. Tertullian brings this out clearly in the following passage: "Let consideration of the Paraclete as some authority belonging to us pass into the background for the present. Let us unroll and read the instruments of the ancient Scriptures which we have in common" (*Monog.* 4.1).

Montanism arose when the Church was consolidating its authority in its bishops, creed, and canon. Whether it arose because of this trend and was an effort to revive a more primitive form of the Church, or whether its appearance was simply coincidental to this trend cannot be determined conclusively. It was, nevertheless, the issue of authority which made Montanism a heresy.

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**MONTH.** See CALENDARS.

**MONUMENTS, CHRISTIAN (ROME).** See ROME, CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS AT.

**MOOSSIAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Moossias* (Μοοσσιας)]. See MAASEIAH.

**MORDECAI** (PERSON) [Heb *mōrděkay* (מׇרְדְּכַי)*; mōrdŏkay* (מׇרְדֳּכַי)]. **1.** A character in the book of Esther.

**a. Mordecai in the Hebrew Book of Esther.** Mordecai is a central character of the book of Esther, second in importance only to Esther herself. While the credit for effecting the deliverance of the Jewish people from the massacre designed by their enemy Haman and authorized by the Persian king Ahasuerus belongs largely to her, Mordecai also has a significant part to play in the development of the plot.

He is first introduced into the narrative as a Jew living in the acropolis of Susa, the Persian capital (Esth 2:5). He is said to belong to a Benjaminite family which had been exiled from Judea along with the king Jehoiachin in 597 B.C.E. The wording of 2:5–6 may suggest that Mordecai himself had been deported from Jerusalem at that time, though that would make him at least 115 years old in the third year of Ahasuerus (Xerxes), which is when the story of Esther is set (483 B.C.E.). The storyteller may of course be suffering from some chronological confusion, but it is more likely that it is Mordecai's grandfather Kish that is said to have been exiled then.

The name Mordecai is almost certainly derived from Marduk, the name of the chief god of Babylon (though R. Lemosín has recently suggested it was Hurrian or Elamite, meaning "the man *par excellence*" [1983: 209–13]). It was evidently an acceptable Jewish name (cf. the Mordecai 2 mentioned in Ezra 2:2);

it is perhaps a "gentile" name roughly equivalent to some Jewish name (Esther herself has both a Jewish name, Hadassah, and a "gentile" one, Esther).

When we first hear of Mordecai, he is Esther's guardian and adoptive father following her parents' death; he is her cousin and she is the daughter of his uncle Abihail (2:7, 15). Adoption is not a practice known to Hebrew law, though it is well attested in Babylonian legal documents; this reference is perhaps a hint of how well integrated Mordecai is into non-Jewish society.

It has often been thought that Mordecai is presented as some kind of Persian official. He lives in "the acropolis of Susa" (1:1), rather than simply in the city of Susa, and he is several times depicted as sitting "at the king's gate" (2:19, 21; 3:2; 5:9; 6:10, 12; cf. 2:11)—which sounds like technical terminology for the administrative headquarters of the Persian court (so Wehr 1964: 247–60; Loretz 1967: 104–8; Gordis 1981: 384). Perhaps some official position in the palace also explains best how Mordecai comes to gain news of a plot to assassinate the king. Nevertheless, the story makes excellent sense if Mordecai has no status at the court and is no more than one of the countless loungers about the palace gates.

After Esther has been taken into the harem, Mordecai passes on to her his knowledge of the plot against the king's life which he has discovered (2:22). In chap. 3 Mordecai makes his most important contribution to the progress of the story when he jeopardizes the security of the Jewish people by refusing to do obeisance to the newly elevated Haman; it is this inadequately justified stubbornness that proves the root cause of Haman's plot to destroy all the Jews of the Persian Empire. In chap. 4 Mordecai redeems himself somewhat by making a positive intervention on behalf of the Jews and insisting that Esther enter the king's presence uninvited and beg for the life of her people.

His further appearances in the narrative cast him in a rather passive role. Quite by chance he next comes to the king's attention when his loyalty is remembered and rewarded (6:1–11). Thereafter, once Esther has successfully unmasked Haman, Mordecai is promoted to his place as vizier (8:1–2), but simply because of his relation to Esther. His final act is to record the events in which he participated and to add his imprimatur to the observances of Purim, which the Jews had already instituted (9:20–22, 31). Nothing but generalities are reported of his achievements in the Persian government (10:3).

**b. Mordecai in the Greek Book of Esther.** Mordecai takes on greater importance in the longer and later Greek version of the book of Esther (Clines, *HBC*, 815–19). Here narratives of a dream of Mordecai and its interpretation have been added to form the framework of the entire book (Addition A 1–11 = 11:2–12; F1–10=10:4–11:1); in the dream Mordecai and Haman are portrayed as two dragons locked in cosmic and apocalyptic conflict over the fate of the Jewish people. The effect of the insertion of the dream, as a divine revelation of what is foreordained, is to establish Mordecai rather than Esther as the primary hero of the story.

A secondary element in Addition A is an elaboration of the narrative of Mordecai's discovery of the plot against the king's life (A12–17=12:1–6), foregrounding even more the significance of Mordecai's courage. In Addition C the inclusion of the Prayer of Mordecai (C1–10=13:8–17) serves from a narrative point of view to explain Mordecai's reckless and largely unmotivated refusal to do obeisance to Haman: it was solely to avoid "setting the glory of a human above the glory of God" (C7=13:14). At the same time the addition conforms the character of Mordecai more closely to the ideal of the pious Jew.

In line with the increased prominence given to Mordecai in the Greek book is the assurance in its opening sentences that, even before his elevation to the viziership, Mordecai is "a great man, serving in the court of the king" (A2=11:3); in the Hebrew story, as we have noted, it is far from certain that Mordecai holds any office in the Persian bureaucracy when the story opens. A final stage in the development of the tradition about Mordecai has come about by the time of 2 Maccabees, when the day of festival (Purim) in commemoration of the victory of the Jews over their enemies has become known as "Mordecai's Day" (2 Macc 15:36). Mordecai's usurpation of Esther's role is almost complete.

**c. Mordecai in History.** The question of whether or not there was a historical Mordecai depends entirely upon a judgment on the historicity of the book of Esther in general. While there is perhaps no element in the narrative that is plainly impossible historically, most scholars find in the accumulation of narrative coincidences a sign that the story is essentially fictional.

Some have indeed believed that Mordecai is identical with the official Marduka known from a Babylonian tablet discovered probably at Borsippa near Babylon and deriving in all likelihood from the earliest years of Xerxes. The Assyriologist A. Ungnad, who published the tablet, believed that the official in question was in Borsippa on a mission from Susa, and that it is unlikely that there should have been two high-ranking Persian officials in Susa with the same name; consequently he claimed that this text thus provides the sole extrabiblical attestation of Mordecai (1940–41: 244). Others argue that the existence of this Marduka at least prevents us from regarding the biblical Mordecai as a purely fictional character (Moore 1975: 74). But there is nothing in the cuneiform document to show that the persons mentioned came from Susa, and since Marduka in fact is called the "scribe" (or possibly "accountant") of Ushtannu, who is known to be the satrap of the province of Babylon and Beyond the River, Marduka was in all probability resident in Babylon or its region, not in Susa.

Since Ungnad's discovery, the name Mordecai has also been found in Aramaic papyri of the 5th century B.C.E., in the form *mrdk,* as the name of an official probably located in N Mesopotamia (Driver 1957: 27–28). Other attestations of names compounded with Marduk also exist (Driver 1957: 56). The evidence, it should be noted, shows only that the name was borne by officials (whether they were Jewish or not) in the Persian Empire (see further, Clines fc.).

No credence is now given to the older theories that the names Mordecai and Esther are rare forms of the names of the Babylonian deities Marduk and Ishtar and so reflect some myth about them (Jensen 1892: 47–70, 209–26; cf. also Zimmern 1903: 514–20). It is equally improbable that Mordecai signifies "worshiper(s) of Marduk" and that the book of Esther represents a conflict between the devotees of Marduk and Ishtar and those of Anahita and Mithra (Lewy 1939: 127–51).

**2.** A family head who returned to the land with Zerubbabel and is listed as settled in the province of Judah (Ezra 2:2; Neh 7:7).

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DAVID J. A. CLINES

**MOREH** (PLACE) [Heb *môreh* (מוֹרֶה)]. The word Moreh has a range of meanings including teacher, diviner, and archer.

**A. Oak of Moreh [Heb *ʾēlôn môreh*]**

The word *ʾēlôn* is traditionally translated as oak, although it may refer to the terebinth tree. The KJV translation of "Plain of Moreh" is incorrect. The reference to *ʾēlôn môreh* occurs twice in the OT. When Abraham enters Canaan (Gen 12:6), he sets up an altar to the Lord before a tree near Shechem (M.R. 176179). There the Lord promises Abraham that the land will be given to his descendants. An Oak of Moreh is also mentioned in Deut 11:30 as part of a description of the location of Mt. Ebal (M.R. 176182) and Mt. Gerizim (M.R. 176178), mountains which overlook Shechem.

In several other instances, the OT text refers to trees in the Shechem area. In Gen 35:4, Jacob buries idols and jewelry under a tree at Shechem. In a later episode, Joshua sets up a stone under a tree at Shechem as a witness to the pact between the Israelites and the Lord (Josh 24:26). It would seem reasonable to associate these events with a tradition connected to the cult place Abraham was believed to have used.

Two passages in the Abimelech saga also mention trees at Shechem. In Judg 9:6, Abimelech is crowned king at the oak of the "pillar" in Shechem, a tree found by the Beth-millo, within the town. In Judg 9:37, forces attacking Shechem come upon the city from the direction of the Diviner's Oak, which should not then be located within the city. Clearly, it is not possible that both of the trees could be associated with the Oak of Moreh.

Wright (1964: 129–37) discussed the relationship of a cult site excavated at Shechem and the tradition of the Oak of Moreh. He believed that since the MB temenos at Shechem was outside the city wall but included within the city during the time of Abimelech, it was possible to link directly the sacred areas of Abraham, Joshua, and Abimelech. Such a reconstruction is possible, given the persistence of cult sites through time. The evidence, however, is far from conclusive, since numerous sacred sites can cluster in the same area. The exact location of the Oak of Moreh cannot be determined, although a place outside the city walls of Shechem seems the most reasonable.

**B. Hill of Moreh [Heb *gibʿat hammôreh*]**

Judg 7:1 mentions a hill below which the Midianites camped on the night Gideon attacked them. Moore (*Judges* ICC, 200) attempted to locate the battle in the region of Shechem, because he associated the hill with the Oak of Moreh at Shechem. However, references to the Spring of Harod (M.R. 184217) in Judg 7:1, to the Valley of Jezreel in Judg 6:3, and to Tabor (M.R. 187223) in Judg 8:18, all point to a N location for the conflict. Nebi Dahi (M.R. 183225) is generally accepted as the location of the ancient Hill of Moreh. As Malamat (1953: 65) has noted, the topography of that region fits the geographical requirements of the OT passage quite well.

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**MORESHETH** (PLACE) [Heb *môrešet* (מוֹרֶשֶׁת)]. Var. MORESHETH-GATH. A satellite village of Gath in the Shephelah (Mic 1:1, 14; Jer 26:18). The *nomen proprium loci* actually occurs only once in Mic 1:14 as Moresheth-gath, "Possession of Gath." In the other two cases the gentilic form, *môrāštî* is employed to describe the prophet Micah. The city is in the vicinity of, but probably distinct from, both Mareshah and the Philistine Gath. Micah certainly implies such distinction as does the spelling. Mareshah is well attested elsewhere, and 2 Chr 11:8 is not a serious problem since Gath was at times under Israelite control. Another suggestion is that "gath" is used literally to mean "wine press," but this does not help with the location: "possession of wine press" (if this is the correct etymology) makes little sense, and the rest of Micah's poem (1:10–16) is centered around Gath. Therefore, the consensus is that Moresheth-gath was a satellite village near the city of Gath, what we might refer to as a "suburb" (cf. 1 Sam 6:17–18).

If this is the modern Tell ej-Judeideh (M.R. 141115) as most believe, about 10 km NE of Lachish, it is significant that in both these locations copious jar handles with the stamp *lmlk*, "to/for the king," have been found. David had a provincial palace at Lachish; and Adullam, Gath, Mareshah, and Lachish, all mentioned by Micah, were fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr 11:8). The contention of Micah's dirge is that the cardinal sin of Judah was her militarism (1:13); so the wrath of God would destroy the militarized Shephelah as it approaches Jerusalem (1:12). The oracle reflects the campaigns of Sargon against the Philistia in 720 or 714–11 and Sennacherib's destruction of the Shephelah fortifications as he advanced upon Jerusalem in 701 (2 Kgs 18:13–16) laying "siege to 46 of [Hezekiah's] strong cities, walled forts and to the countless small villages in their vicinity" (*ANET*, 288). Moresheth-gath was surely among the villages.

Micah's pun depends on the similarity between "possession of" and "bride of" [Heb *mĕ›ōreśet*]. In the wheeling and dealing of international politics, towns and villages might be given up as royal dowry (1 Kgs 9:16). Such, symbolically at least, was the fate of Moresheth-gath who had pledged herself to the military establishment of Lachish, Gath, and Mareshah. Micah's paronomasia can be translated: "Wherefore pay the dowry for Bride-of-Gath!" (1:14). Her sister cities met a similar fate (vv 13 and 15). See MAROTH.

LAMONTTE M. LUKER

**MORIAH** (PLACE) [Heb *mōriyyâ* (מֹרִיָּה)]. 1. "The land of Moriah," mentioned in Gen 22:2, where God sent Abraham to sacrifice his son, Isaac, on one of the hills in the region. The passage in which the name occurs (Gen 22:1–19) is known as the Aqedah in Jewish tradition (the "binding" of Isaac). It derives mainly from the E source.

The MT also calls the place *yahweh yir›eh,* "Yahweh will see" in v 14. This seems to be a corruption of an original *›elohîm yir›eh.* "God will see" (found in the Sahidic Coptic version and the unpublished Qumran manuscript 4QGen Ex[a]; see Davila, fc.). The corruption arose through a folk etymology that associated Moriah with the Hebrew root *r›h,* "to see," and the divine name *Yah,* short for Yahweh; thus "vision of Yahweh" or the like. This etymology is incorrect; it does not explain the *o* vowel in the name. The actual meaning is unknown.

This Moriah is described as being in a hilly region, about 3 days' journey from Beer-sheba (Gen 22:4). However, this information is not helpful in establishing where Moriah was found since "the third day" may simply be an epic convention for a short journey. The location of the place is disputed (see below).

2. "The hill of Moriah," according to 2 Chr 3:1, the site in Jerusalem where Solomon built the Temple of Yahweh. It is also identified in the same verse with the threshing floor of Ornan (Araunah) the Jebusite (cf. 2 Sam 24; 2 Chr 21). See ARAUNAH. The text of the rest of the verse is corrupt. It appears to refer to the story in the passages just cited, in which David carries out a census and is punished by Yahweh with three days of plague over the whole country, delivered by Yahweh's angel. 2 Chr 3:1 seems to say that this location is where Yahweh (reading with the) appeared to David, and that David appointed the threshing floor as the site for the future temple.

The obvious question at this point is how the two Moriahs are related. It is generally agreed that the location in Gen 22:2 cannot be the same as the one in 2 Chr 3:1. Jerusalem is in a wooded area, to which it would not be necessary to carry firewood (Gen 22:6). Also, it does not make sense that the whole land should be called Moriah if the word is a name for the Temple Mount, nor that the hill bearing the name should be called merely "one of the hills" in the area (Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 1910: 328–29).

Two possibilities have been suggested. First, it may be that Moriah was originally associated with the binding of Isaac, and that the Chronicler or his source erroneously identified the site of the Temple Mount with Moriah in order to give the temple and Jerusalem a more ancient sanctity (Gold *IDB* 2: 438–34).

A more likely explanation is that Moriah was originally the name of the Temple Mount, and that the actual location given in Genesis 22 was suppressed and replaced by Moriah in order to associate the patriarch with the site of the future temple in Jerusalem. There is no indication that the writer of 1 Chr 3:1 was aware of any connection between Abraham and Mt. Moriah; he only mentions its association with David and Solomon. Surely he would have referred to the binding of Isaac if Moriah had appeared in Genesis 22 in his time (von Rad *Genesis* OTL, rev. ed. 1972: 240). Instead, it is probable that the name that originally stood in Gen 22:2 was replaced by Moriah sometime after the time of the Chronicler, but before the translation of the LXX. Various possibilities have been advanced for the original name. One is the land of the Amorite [*ha›emōrî*], reading with the Syriac Peshitta (Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 1910: 328–29). This name looks somewhat like Moriah, and the similarity could have suggested the change to a scribe. Another possibility is the land of Jeruel [*yerū›ēl*], from 2 Chr 20:16 (Gunkel *Genesis*[2] HAT, 169–71). It seems to be derived from *›ēl,* "God" and the root *r›h,* so its meaning is similar to the false etymology for Moriah. Such a similarity could have led to the substitution of the latter for the former.

Today the site of Mt. Moriah, the temple platform, is located in the SE corner of the Old City of Jerusalem and is occupied by the Muslim shrines known as the El-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. The latter is the third most holy place for Islam, after Mecca and Medina. According to Muslim tradition it was from the Temple Mount that Muhammad ascended into heaven (the vision is described in Sura 17 of the Quran). The W side of the platform includes the Western Wall or Wailing Wall, where Jews have traditionally come to mourn the loss of the temple.

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**MORTAR, THE** (PLACE) [Heb *maktēš* (מַכְתֵּשׁ)]. A neighborhood in Jerusalem, which, at the time of Josiah, may have also been the center of some commercial activity (Zeph 1:11). Three things are noteworthy about the reference to this neighborhood. First, it existed toward the end of the 7th century B.C. (time of Josiah; Zeph 1:1), and second, it is mentioned in connection with the "Second Quarter," which was a W neighborhood incorporated into Jerusalem around the time of Hezekiah (late 8th-early 7th century B.C.). See SECOND QUARTER. Third, the Heb *maktēš* normally refers to a hollow place, or a bowl-shaped depression (hence "mortar"; cf. Prov 27:22), which could easily serve as a geomorphological description of a sunken valley (cf. Judg 15:19?). Given these three items, it is possible that this neighborhood was part of the W annex to the City of David, and only came to be regarded as a "mortar" after neighborhoods were established on the eastern slopes of the W hill. In this case, the "mortar" would likely be associated with (some portion of) the Tyropoeon valley, which lay outside the city until the 8th century B.C. (*EAEHL* 2: 597).

GARY A. HERION

**MOSAIC COVENANT.** After the mixed band of Hebrews (Exod 12:38; Num 11:4) fled Egypt and were delivered at the sea by Yahweh, they came to Mt. Sinai where they recognized and affirmed a special relationship: Yahweh was their God, they were Yahweh's people (Exodus 19–24). This relationship was described using the sociopolitical analogy of covenant; since it took place at Sinai under the leadership and mediation of Moses, it is known (though neither expression, as such, occurs in the Bible) as the Sinai covenant or the Mosaic covenant.

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A. Historical Questions
  1. Exodus and Sinai
  2. Covenant Analogy
B. Covenant in Exodus
  1. Yahweh's Action
  2. Israel's Response
  3. Obligation
C. Covenant in Deuteronomy
D. Covenant Morality
E. Covenant in the Prophets
F. Covenant in New Testament

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**A. Historical Questions**

The historical reconstruction of Israel's Exodus from Egypt and covenant making at Sinai bristles with difficulties: exactly when? where? who? etc. Some scholars regard these as nearly insoluble (*HAIJ*, 54–79), while others are more optimistic (Bright *BHI*, 120–43; de Vaux *EHI*, 359–452). Here we need mention only two issues.

**1. Exodus and Sinai.** While source critics of the 19th century had already raised the issue that the Sinai complex was originally historically distinct from that of Exodus-Kadesh (Nicholson 1973: 4–5), the publication of G. von Rad's programmatic essay (originally published 1938, Eng trans. 1965) began a

new phase. In it he isolated form critically what he called "the short historical creed," (e.g., Deut 26:5b–9; 6:20–24; Josh 26:2b–13). These give a summary of God's actions on behalf of Israel but contain no mention of the events at Sinai with its theophany, covenant, and law. The historical summary and the Sinai material were originally two distinct traditions; the former was passed on and celebrated at the Feast of Weeks in Gilgal; the latter, at the Feast of Tabernacles at Shechem. The Yahwist, writing at the time of David and Solomon, was the first to combine these two complexes of traditions into one continuous story (Nicholson 1973: 1–11). Ten years later, M. Noth (*HPT*) extended the discussion to include also those themes contained in the historical credo, arguing that they were all originally independent traditions. Differing from von Rad, he saw the combination of themes, particularly that of Sinai, as occurring before the monarchy in the tribal period (Nicholson 1973: 11–20). These opinions were strongly challenged by a number of scholars (Nicholson 1973: 32–52) and, while discussion continues, a large number of scholars would see Exodus and Sinai as being part of *one* tradition from the beginning (*EHI,* 401–19).

**2. Covenant Analogy.** Scholarly understanding of covenant in the OT has gone through various phases (Oden 1987: 429–47; Nicholson 1986: 3–117); particularly important is the recognition and study of covenant as an analogy borrowed from the sociopolitical realm. We do not have anything in our modern societies exactly like the covenant. Ancient social organization was largely one of clans and tribes; in some areas small city-states existed. From time to time a city-state (e.g., Ashur, Babylon) would extend its power and become virtually an empire. The relationships between these various groups had to be regulated for the stability of social and political life. The covenant served this function. See also COVENANT.

A covenant was an agreement or promise between two parties solemnly professed before witnesses (usually the respective gods) and made binding by an oath expressed verbally or by some symbolic action. As a result of covenant, a new relationship was established (Kalluveettil 1982: 15,211–13), a relationship often expressed in kinship terminology. The goal of covenant was *šālôm,* peace, wholeness of relationship. Covenant is not, however, a univocal term always referring to the same kind of agreement in exactly the same way. A variety of forms occur: family kinship, royal grant, international treaty (parity type or suzereignty type), etc.

Particularly influential has been the theory (connected especially with G. Mendenhall 1954b) that the Mosaic covenant, from its beginning, was understood on the model of the suzereignty treaty (Nicholson 1986: 56–82). This in turn has come in for some telling criticism; the treaty pattern is clearest in the later deuteronomic literature (McCarthy 1978; M. Weinfeld 1972).

**B. Covenant in Exodus**

The basic description of the making of the Mosaic covenant is found in Exodus 19–24. The account contains three elements: (1) Yahweh's action; (2) Israel's response; and (3) Israel's obligation.

**1. Yahweh's Action.** Facing certain death at the sea at the hands of the Egyptians, the fleeing Israelites were gifted by Yahweh with new and unexpected life. Guided by Yahweh through the wilderness, they came to Sinai where they had another experience of Yahweh. This awesome appearance (theophany) of God is described in the classic language of the appearance of the storm god, with dark clouds, thunder, and lightning (*CMHE,* 147–69).

**2. Israel's Response.** God had delivered Israel at the sea, led them through the wilderness, and appeared to them at Sinai. Israel recognized Yahweh's special care on their behalf and sealed a covenant which expressed this realization. The sealing ceremonies are described in Exodus 24 where two ritual actions are significant: (a) a blood ritual (Exod 24:6–8); and (b) a meal ritual (Exod 24:11, 5).

In the larger biblical context, a special relationship existed between the blood and life; one's life was envisaged as inherent in the blood itself (Lev 17:11; McCarthy 1978: 95,255). To share the same blood was to share the same life, to belong in some way to the same family. Moses sprinkled blood on the altar (representing God) and then on the people. They had the same blood "in their veins." The meal ritual is also rich in symbolism. In the ancient world, sharing a meal expressed likewise belonging to one family and sharing one life. To harm someone with whom table-community had been shared was a serious offense (Ps 41:10). Sharing a meal was a common form of covenant sealing (e.g., Gen 26:30; 31:46, 54).

The reference to eating and drinking (Exod 24:11) suggests a covenant meal, while a further reference may be found in v 5 which tells us that bulls were sacrificed as *šĕlāmîm.* Variously translated as "peace offerings" or "communion sacrifices," these were characterized by the fact that the victim was shared. After part was burned for God, part went to the priest, and the rest belonged to the offerer who ate it at a joyful meal with family and friends (Lev 3:1–17; 7:11–21). Both rituals express the meaning of covenant: a relationship of life and *šālôm* between Israel and God.

**3. Obligation.** These rituals are preceded in the text by a recitation of the words and ordinances of the Lord to which the people promise obedience. Covenant involved obligation (E. Kutsch [1972] has proposed that the word *bĕrît,* usually translated "covenant," should in fact be translated "obligation," but this is problematic [McCarthy 1978: 16–18; Nicholson 1986: 89–109]). Covenant obligation, however, should not be viewed as imposed from the outside. It flows from the very nature of covenant. Because of the new relationship, behavior should change. Israel was gifted with life by Yahweh; the covenant expressed that shared life. New behavior flowed from new covenant life.

This new behavior of Israel was manifested in two areas. The first is the vertical relationship with Yahweh. Freed from the slavery of Egypt, Israel now belonged to Yahweh; they must live as Yahweh's people and special possession (Exod 19:4–6). Their deliverance from Egypt was not just a freedom *from,* but also a freedom *for.* The goal of the liberation from Egypt is Israel's service of Yahweh (Exod 4:23; 5:1,3; 7:16, 26; 8:16; 9:1, 13; 10:3). Israel's first obligation is to worship only Yahweh (Exod 20:2–3); the first and basic sin, therefore, against covenant is idolatry. The second area of new covenant life involves the horizontal relationship with others. In saving Israel from the Egyptians, Yahweh was involved in social behavior; the covenant at Sinai revealed an intrinsic connection between the nature of Yahweh and the demands of social justice. How Israel treated each other would be a sign of how seriously they were devoted to Yahweh. A special area of concern here is the treatment of the poor, the oppressed, the alien. A motive frequently found in covenant law (e.g., Exod 22:21; 23:9; Lev 19:34; Deut 15:1–11) for not oppressing the weak is "because you were once strangers (aliens) in the land of Egypt." It would be a contradiction for Israel, freed from oppression by Yahweh, to become themselves oppressors of the weak. These two aspects of covenant living should not be viewed as separable and distinct; they are flip sides of one coin which are intrinsically connected and stand or fall together. If Israel fails to live out its commitment, the existence of the covenant itself is in jeopardy.

The Pentateuch now presents a large number of laws as having been given to Moses at Sinai (e.g., the Ten Commandments and the Covenant Code [Exodus 20–23]; the Holiness Code [Leviticus 17–26]), but it is very difficult to say how much, if any, of this formed part of the original Sinai experience. All of the laws, deriving mostly from later periods in Israel's history can easily be grouped under the heading of either right worship of God or of correct social behavior. These are all only further specifications of the basic covenant obligations. As later generations of Israel retold and renewed their basic covenant story, they included new laws and regulations which made their covenant real for them in the new situations of their lives. All of these developments were attributed to Moses at Sinai because this was where their covenant began.

**C. Covenant in Deuteronomy**

Presented as three discourses of Moses, the book of Deuteronomy is addressed to all the people in the plains of Moab and focuses on the covenant at Sinai (Horeb). The covenant themes are so much in evidence that it has been considered a covenant document par excellence.

The initiative is with God who has chosen Israel, a choice based not on Israel's greatness or moral status (Deut 7:4; 9:4–6) but simply on Yahweh's gracious love (Deut 7:6–8). Israel is repeatedly called on to "hear" and "remember" this covenant (Deut 5:1; 6:4; 4:9, 23; 5:15) because it was made not only with their ancestors but is also with all of them "today" (Deut 5:1–3; 26:16–18; etc.). If they truly do this, they will faithfully and loyally obey the covenant with its commands and statutes. The most basic of these is the call to worship only Yahweh (Deut 6:4–5); this then overflows into all areas of life, e.g., concern for the poor (Deut 15:1–18), and justice in the legal system (Deut 16:18–20) as well as in the economic sphere (Deut 25:13–16). It extends even to caring for the natural environment (Deut 20:19–20). All of this

is part of Israel's response of love to the gracious love of God (Achtemeier 1987). Israel's very life and existence depend on this; covenant fidelity will lead to blessing; infidelity, to curse (Deuteronomy 28).

Whether the Mosaic covenant was modeled from the beginning on the analogy of the ancient suzereignty-vassal treaties is the subject of some dispute. While not agreeing with the extreme position of L. Perlitt (1969) that covenant thinking appeared in Israel only at this time (Cazelles 1972; McCarthy 1972b; Nicholson 1986: 109–17), most scholars would agree that the treaty analogy is most clearly present in Deuteronomy and deuteronomic material (McCarthy 1978: 157–208; Weinfeld 1972: 57–157). The elements of the structural form are present, as well as characteristic vocabulary and phrases (McCarthy 1978: 288–89). While the beginnings of Israel's use of the treaty analogy may be older, its form in Deuteronomy seems to have been influenced by the fact that for over a century Israel had been a vassal subjected to the suzereignty of Assyria. The development of the treaty analogy would thus be a creative response to and polemic against the crisis of Assyrian domination (Lohfink *IDBSup*, 229–32; 1977).

**D. Covenant Morality**

Too often in the past, the Mosaic covenant morality has been caricatured as an extrinsic legalism or minimalism. While it is true that this can and, in fact, has happened, it is also true that authentic covenant morality is of a totally different kind. The morality embodied in the covenant is (1) one of response, and (2) one of dialogue. (1) Israel is called to respond to the blessings and gifts—most basically the gift of salvation—received from God. This response is specified in several ways: to listen to (obey) the word of God; to fear the Lord; to worship (serve) the Lord (e.g., Deut 10:12). Mosaic covenant morality is, however, also (2) one of dialogue. Just as God loved Israel, so Israel is to love God; just as God is faithful to the covenant, so Israel is to be faithful; just as God is righteous, so Israel is to be righteous; just as God freed from injustice and oppression, so Israel is to free from injustice and oppression. The goal of covenant can be summed up in three words: life, peace, justice. These are all terms of relationship. The covenant expresses that God and Israel are one family, sharing one life. It is approached best, not in legal terms, but in interpersonal ones.

A further question might be asked: why the Mosaic covenant at all? Could God not have led Israel from Egypt directly into the land of Canaan, the land of the promise? The entry into the land may have been the ultimate goal, but the more proximate goal of the deliverance from Egypt was "that they might serve me" (Exod 4:23). In Egypt, Israel was the oppressed, Egypt, the oppressor. As history attests, what often happens when the oppressed are freed is that they eventually become oppressors in turn. The slave becomes the taskmaster. The root problem is that they both share a basic set of values; they disagree only on the present arrangement of things. If Israel, newly freed from Egypt, went directly into Canaan and assumed power there, why would they be any different? They went first to Sinai and to covenant. Covenant with Yahweh, a God who frees from oppression, called them to a whole different view of reality, a new set of values, and a totally different style of life. To live the covenant truly is to worship this God and to be concerned for the rights and social needs of others. When Israel failed to do this, the covenant provided the framework and categories for evaluating and critiquing their lives and behavior. Prominent in this regard were the prophets.

**E. Covenant in the Prophets**

While the prophets are certainly related to covenant, the exact way of describing this relationship is less clear. Some scholars have proposed that the prophets consciously saw themselves as continuing the role of Moses as covenant mediator. Others viewed the prophets in the light of the treaty covenant analogy. Two dimensions in particular were stressed: the prophets indict Israel for covenant failure using the form of a covenant lawsuit (the *rîb*); the punishments they threaten derive from treaty curses which follow on infidelity (Hillers 1969: 120–42). All these suggestions have come in for criticism and modification (McCarthy 1972a: 35–40, 78–79; Clements 1975: 8–23).

The prophets were rooted in Israel's tradition of covenant and covenant obligation (whether or not this was understood as a treaty). When Israel failed to be faithful to its covenant, the prophets appealed to this common memory as the basis of their critique (Tucker 1985: 328–35; Kapelrud 1984). Thus, Israel

yielded to the temptations of the culture around them and fell into false worship; Elijah (1 Kgs 18:21), Isaiah (1:12–16), Jeremiah (7:6,9), Ezekiel (18:5–6), for example, challenge the people to cease following Baal and to adhere only to Yahweh. If they do not do this, their sacrifices and feasts are empty and worthless. Idolatry is the fundamental sin against covenant. In the same way, the Israelites violate the covenant in their dealings with each other. Instead of fidelity, justice, and mercy, lying, stealing, adultery, and murder are found (e.g., Hos 4:2; Jer 7:5–6, 9; Ezek 18:6–8). Amos, Micah, and Isaiah are particularly eloquent in their denouncing violations of the legal and economic systems, so essential to just community living (e.g., Amos 2:6–7; 5:1; 8:4–6; Mic 2:1–3; 3:11; Isa 3:14; 5:11–12). Once again we see that the twofold obligation of correct worship and correct social behavior are two sides of one coin. Attempts of scholars to separate them (e.g., the prophets rejected cult and promoted social justice [Napier *IDB* 3: 901–3]; the prophets taught "do justice first, then worship" [Miranda 1974: 58]) are inadequate.

In evaluating the behavior of the people in the present, the prophets looked to their past covenant tradition. The covenant has been broken and no longer exists. "I am not your God; you are not my people" (Hos 1:9; Jer 11:10; 31:32). Punishment will follow; the people will be exiled out of the land. But this is not the last word. Looking beyond the judgment, the prophets see a new future. God will bring the people through the desert in a new Exodus (e.g., Isa 41:17–20; 51:9–11); they will receive a new heart to enable them to be faithful to the covenant (Jer 31:33; 32:39–40; Ezek 36:26). The Lord will make a new covenant with them; once again, "I will be their God, and they shall be my people," (Jer 31:33; Ezek 34:25; 37:26–27). In depicting their new future, the prophets drew on the images of the old Mosaic covenant.

**F. Covenant in New Testament**

The early Christians, whose writings are preserved in the NT, were convinced that in Jesus of Nazareth, the hope of a new covenant had been fulfilled (Heb 8:7–9:22). Paul, in the spirit of controversy, draws sharp distinctions between the old covenant and the new (e.g., 2 Cor 3:4–18), but the lines of continuity are clear in the gospels. At the Last Supper, Jesus gives his disciples a cup to drink, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood" (Luke 22:20; 1 Cor 11:25) which will be poured out for the forgiveness of sins (Matt 26:28; see Jer 31:34). Like the old covenant at Sinai, the new one is sealed with a meal and blood ritual. Christians are one family with God, sharing one life. And like the old, this new covenant manifests itself in the new life the Christian should lead. Like Moses on Mt. Sinai, Jesus, on a mountain, gives a new covenant law (Matthew 5–7). Jesus' teachings, example, and life are the commandments of the new covenant (John 15:12; 13:14–15, 34). For Christians, the promise of the Mosaic covenant has become a reality in Christ.

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**MOSERAH** (PLACE) [Heb *môsērâ* (מוֹסֵרָה)]. Var. MOSEROTH. A campsite of the Israelites, the 26th of the 40 stages during their wandering in the wilderness (Deut 10:6), called "Moseroth" (Heb *mōsērôt*) in Num 33:30–31. These are the only references to the name, and its location is unknown.

The name is commonly derived from the verb *ʾsr,* "to bind" (BDB, 558, 564), so this may be the "place of binding" or the place of the covenant. The verb also means imprison, and Payne (1980: 1026) suggests the name means "chastisement" for the trespass at Meribah (Num 20:24; Deut 32:51).

In Deuteronomy, the Israelites left Beeroth ("wells") Bene-jaakan and arrived in Moserah on their way to Gudgodah. In Num 33:30, they left Hashmonah and camped at Moseroth and from there went to Bene-jaakan.

In Deuteronomy, Moses' brother Aaron, the high priest, died and was buried at Moserah, and his son Eleazar was installed as high priest. But in Num 20:22–29 and 33:38, Aaron died at Mount Hor. The latter is traditionally identified with Jebel Nebi Harun at Petra but it is also in the region of Kadesh (Num 20:22; 33:37). Moserah is in the line of march from Sinai (Num 33:16) to Ezion-geber (v 35). But Marsh (*IDB* 2: 296) notes that 13 places on the line of travel are mentioned only here so it is impossible to know the exact route. The reversal of the names, Moserah/oth and Bene-jaakan, suggests two different sources in Numbers and Deuteronomy.

Wright (*IB* 2: 398; *WHAB,* 66, map X) suggests Beeroth may be Birein N of Kadesh-barnea, about halfway to Rehoboth. Pfeiffer and Vos (1967, map 2) place it there. This would presumably put Moserah/oth in the same general area. This is in line with a N route for the Exodus with Sinai at Jebel Helal, i.e., the Israelites stopped at Kadesh-barnea, Bene-jaakan, and Moserah/oth, on the way from Sinai to Ezion-geber. If Sinai is Jebel Musa in S Sinai, the Israelites went from Sinai up the E coast of the Sinai peninsula to Ezion-geber and then went to Kadesh-barnea. i.e., Moserah/oth is on the E edge of the Sinai peninsula, not in N Sinai in the wilderness of Zin. But for the time being, its location cannot be known for certain.

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**MOSES** (PERSON) [Heb *mōšeh* (מֹשֶׁה)]. The man chosen by God to lead the Hebrew people out of Egyptian bondage, to preside over the Sinai ceremony constituting those people as the people of God, and to lead the Hebrew people to the promised land. As such, Moses is arguably the most prominent person in the Hebrew Bible, and he looms large in early Jewish and Christian writings. This entry consists of two articles. The first surveys primarily Moses as a figure in the OT and in early Judaism. The second concentrates specifically on the portrayal and role of Moses in the NT.

***OLD TESTAMENT***

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A. Historicity of Moses
1. Critical Analysis
2. Historical Analogy
3. Possibilities and Probabilities
4. More Probable Probabilities
B. Biblical Portraits of Moses

1. Yahwist-Elohist Traditions
2. Deuteronomic Tradition
3. Priestly Tradition

C. Post-biblical Portraits of Moses
1. Hellenistic Judaism
2. Palestinian Judaism
3. Rabbinic Judaism

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**A. Historicity of Moses**

No portion of the Bible is more complex and vigorously debated than the story of Moses, and few persons have evoked such disparate views. No extant non-biblical records make reference to Moses or the Exodus, therefore the question of historicity depends solely on the evaluation of the biblical accounts.

One interpretation is the assumption of early Jewish and Christian traditions that the Pentateuch is an accurate historical record written by Moses himself. This conservative view persists in both traditions today along with a rejection of all the claims of critical scholarship. Apparently there is no inclination to ask, "How is it possible for 200 years of critical research to be completely wrong?" K. A. Kitchen declares, "Now, nowhere in the Ancient Orient is there anything which is definitely known to parallel the elaborate history of fragmentary composition and conflation of Hebrew literature (or marked by just such criteria) as the documentary hypothesis would postulate" (1966: 115). Following the suggestion of W. W. Hallo (1962: 26), J. H. Tigay traces several stages of the *Gilgamesh Epic* over a period of 1,500 years and concludes, "The stages and processes through which this epic *demonstrably* passed are similar to some of those through which the Pentateuchal narratives are *presumed* to have passed. What is known about the evolution of the *Gilgamesh Epic* shows that some of the results of biblical criticism are at least realistic" (1985: 27).

The opposite extreme is J. Van Seters' declaration: "The quest for the historical Moses is a futile exercise. He now belongs only to legend" (*EncRel* 10: 116). The basis for this radical claim is his conviction that the Deuteronomistic History (Dtr) and the three histories based on it (J, P, and Chronicles) have *no* accurate, authentic material earlier than the last preexilic period (1983: 361–62).

While Van Seters is correct in claiming that some units are collections of disparate data by later editors attempting to make a complete story, his basic theory goes too far. Ancient sources have *linguistic fingerprints* and in reworking the texts the editor-authors did *not* smudge or erase all the fingerprints. Z. Zevit affirms that Dtr's sources "contained high-quality intelligence of a type that a later creative author would have been unable to concoct on his own." To assume, moreover, that these fingerprints "are due to the conscious archaizing of late exilic authors who had no pre-exilic literary models … is to attribute a linguistic sophistication to the ancient historians unparalleled elsewhere" (1985: 77).

**1. Critical Analysis.** In between the two extreme positions is a whole spectrum of views combining historical and critical concerns.

Early scholars, using mainly *source analysis* (J, E, D, and P), were critical of the Moses narratives, but they believed that behind the biblical text was a historical core with Moses as Israel's leader during the Exodus, Sinai covenant, and desert wanderings. Polarization of scholars began in the 20th century with H. Gunkel's *form-critical* approach, and the gap widened with the *tradition-history* studies of G. von Rad and M. Noth.

This change, according to von Rad, was "the result of the investigation of the history of traditions; and this has only been brought into full play in our own time." Thus, for him, the attempt to isolate an "actual historical course of events … has turned out to be mistaken" (*ROTT* 1: 3). Behind the Hexateuch, von Rad sees, "… only certain interpretations and conceptions of older traditions which originate in milieux very different from one another and which must also be judged, from the point of view of form-criticism, as completely diverse" (*ROTT* 1: 4). Consequently, in von Rad's opinion, "We can no longer look on it as possible to write a history of the tradition attaching to Moses, and of where it was at home" (*ROTT* 1:

291). If we try to date the Moses traditions "we are seldom able to advance beyond very general datings, if we are not in fact altogether in the dark" (*ROTT* 1: vi).

Because the cultic recitals in Deut 26:5–9; 6:20–24; and Josh 24:2–13 make no reference to the revelation of Yahweh at Mt. Sinai, von Rad concludes that the Sinai story was a very late insertion into the redemptive story of the Exodus and settlement in Canaan (*PHOE*, 3–8, 13). He claims that these traditions, joined first by the Yahwist (*PHOE*, 54), had canonical patterns and became cult-legends at separate sanctuaries: *Sinai* with the Feast of Booths at the Shechem covenant festival, and *Exodus/settlement* with the Feast of Weeks at Gilgal (*PHOE*, 43, 45). While the cult had some later influence on the formation of these legends, it did *not* produce them (*PHOE*, 22).

M. Noth, expanding on von Rad's work, determines to penetrate into the preliterary phase of the traditions in order to ascertain the origins and first stages of growth in the development leading to the Pentateuch (*HPT*, 1–2). He isolates five themes, fixed during oral transmission, which were essential for the faith of the separate Israelite tribes: patriarchs, exodus, wanderings, revelation at Sinai, and Conquest/occupation. Since he considers all material connecting these themes as secondary, and observes that the name "Moses" occurs "with striking infrequency" outside of the Pentateuch (*HPT*, 156), he comes to the radical conclusion that Moses is an editorial bracket binding all the themes together (*HPT*, 160–61). For Noth, the most historical reality of the person Moses is his death and burial in Transjordan (*HPT*, 173).

However, this pessimistic view hinges on some very subjective interpretations. In fact, Noth states explicitly that his conclusions about the Sinai tradition are "not conclusive arguments" because one could speak only "in terms of a certain probability" (*HPT*, 62).

A number of younger scholars, using Noth's tradition-history approach, reject his conclusion that all the themes are independent and the binding material secondary. W. Beyerlin, on the basis of Exod 20:2, claims that "the Decalogue originated somewhere where we can count on the presence of those who experienced *both* the Exodus *and* the meeting with God on Sinai" (1965: 145).

In his *Moses: Heroic Man, Man of God,* G. W. Coats claims that the Moses narratives "constitute a body of tradition with valid form-critical character" (1988: 38). Working with the whole range of literary methods, Coats takes issue with Noth's claim that Moses is a secondary redactional bracket: "Moses cannot be eliminated so readily from the various themes of tradition, and, as a consequence, the assumption of independence collapses" (1988: 37).

B. Childs is concerned to highlight the fundamental dialectic of the canonical process within Israel whereby "the literature formed the identity of the religious community which in turn shaped the literature" (*IOTS*, 41). He favors a sociological understanding of Moses' role:

> Especially in such passages as Ex.20.18–20 and Deut.19.15ff., that which is being described is not simply a historical event, but rather an etiology for the establishment of something institutional and ongoing. Moses' role as covenantal mediator in the Sinai tradition has a decided cultic stamp which seems to point to an office within an institution (*Exodus* OTL, 355).

In this connection, Coats' comments are also instructive:

> The issue at stake … is whether a standing office has influenced the shape of the Moses traditions. Is the cultic office of covenant mediator the proper *Sitz im Leben* for this facet of the Moses tradition? Or was the tradition shaped basically by a popular literary process as a narrative convention for depicting the leader with at best only tangential contacts with the cult? (1988: 138).

The most thoroughgoing sociological approach is N. K. Gottwald's *The Tribes of Yahweh.* He acknowledges his debt to Noth and observes (1979: 72) that Noth (*HPT*, 259) leaves unanswered "the problem of what brought about the unity 'Israel' and the common Israelite consciousness." The purpose of Gottwald's study is "to *begin* with the tantalizing enigmatic questions with which Noth's provocative analysis of the Pentateuchal traditions *ends*" (1979: 72). Gottwald believes that biblical scholars, given to "hyperspecialization" of detailed studies with limited scope, have not adequately addressed this historical-sociological problem, and insofar as it has been treated "it has been 'answered' by theological fiat" (1979:

5–7, 73). Thus he contends that "the valid intention of biblical theology can only be fulfilled by 'biblical sociology' " (1979: 911). In following up on this approach, Gottwald (1979: 78) declares:

> The proclamation of the themes in the cult was a communal speech-act, … of a special kind, which we have called cultic-ideological … It was meaning-charged speech elucidating the identity of Israel, … speech that proclaimed the divine power in which the community was grounded, … speech that addressed the community with its most fundamental obligations and reminded it of its most fundamental resources … even speech which allowed for the direct declamation of the divine word to the community.

Then he adds the caveat, "We must necessarily view the finished product of these early historical traditions … as 'unplanned' by any one person or group of persons within any single context" (1979: 78).

**2. Historical Analogy.** In opposition to tradition-history proponents, a number of mediating scholars maintain that *historical analogy* should play a role in the literary-sociological study of Scripture, especially in connection with the Moses story. Human experience shows that observation and understanding of key events varies with the personality, training, and insight of the participants. This was undoubtedly true of those who followed Moses; therefore, it is highly probable that two or three variant traditions developed fairly soon after the Exodus and Sinai events. From this viewpoint, the variant biblical traditions need not be understood as originating in "completely diverse milieux." Moreover, while culture has influence on gifted persons, it does not initiate their innovative ideas and movements. Rather, the initial impact toward change is made by creative individuals, not culture. Furthermore, all great leaders of people and movements have had to play a number of roles, consequently it is not feasible to squeeze highly talented people into any single mold.

In addition to *source criticism*, the use of *stylistic criteria* (poetic form, syntax, and spelling) for dating texts (*YGC*, 1–52), and data from *archaeology and inscriptions* for portraying the background of the biblical narratives, W. F. Albright employs *historical analogy* because it "plays a particularly important role" for the study of the Bible (1966: 11). He recognizes that it "does not constitute proof when taken alone" (1965: 268), but he concludes that the biblical tradition about Moses "is strongly supported by historical analogy, and is now being confirmed by a rapidly increasing mass of evidence uncovered by archaeologists and philologians" (1976: 120).

Similarly, J. Bright, a student of Albright, reacting to the reductionist views of von Rad and Noth, claims:

> Over all these events there towers the figure of Moses. Though we know nothing of his career save what the Bible tells us, the details of which we have no means of testing, there can be no doubt that he was, as the Bible portrays him, the great founder of Israel's faith. Attempts to reduce him are extremely unconvincing. The events of exodus and Sinai require a great personality behind them. And a faith as unique as Israel's demands a founder as surely as does Christianity—or Islam, for that matter. To deny that role of Moses would force us to posit another person of the same name! (*BHI*, 126–27).

W. Eichrodt comes to a similar conclusion, "*At the very beginning of Israelite religion we find the charisma,* the special individual endowment of a person; and to such an extent is the whole structure based on it, that without it it would be inconceivable" (*ETOT*, 292).

**3. Possibilities and Probabilities.** Because of the complexities of the biblical text and the lack of certain data, conclusions about a historical Moses are narrowed to possibilities and probabilities.

For some scholars the question of historicity begins with the name "Moses." The biblical writer apparently did not know that it was a shortened Egyptian name, but assuming that Pharaoh's daughter knew Hebrew, he had her use popular etymology to base the name on the verb *māšâ* ("to draw out"): "Because I drew him out of the water" (Exod 2:10). The name actually stems from the Egyptian verb *msy* "to give birth" and appears as "Mose" with the name of a god: e.g., Tuthmosis "Toth is born" and Rameses "Re is born." Since the Egyptians often shortened such names to "Mose," it is implicit that "Moses" was longer at first, but there is no indication as to the deity involved (e.g., no "Yamses"). While the name is proper for the circumstances of the Exodus story, it *alone* does not prove that Moses was a historical figure.

R. de Vaux, holding more to probabilities, affirms that traditions (myth or history) "were not created by cult—cultic practices simply helped to recall traditions" (*EHI* 1: 185). He realizes that oral tradition can be forgetful and at times invents a great deal, yet "it is faithful in some ways" (*EHI* 1: 184). The tradition of Moses in Midian is early and has a historical basis (*EHI* 1: 330). Moreover, Moses was involved with the Exodus and Sinai: "There is … no impelling reason for eliminating Moses from any of these traditions; on the contrary, there is positive evidence for believing that they are closely interconnected" (*EHI* 1: 453).

The "quest for the historical Moses" presents more of a difficulty for Childs (*IOTS*, 178), and very little of his commentary on Exodus attempts to wrestle with historical problems and data. Yet, notwithstanding some expansion of the text in Exodus 3, due to the later prophetic office, Childs affirms that the call of Moses was authentic:

> It (tradition) recognized correctly that a new element entered with Moses which set it apart from the patriarchal period … Moses' call recounts the deep disruptive seizure of a man for whom neither previous faith nor personal endowment play a role in preparing him for his vocation (*Exodus* OTL, 56).

Coats does not attempt a reconstruction of an original Moses tradition because his goal "is to describe the various images used by various texts in the Old Testament for depicting the characteristics of this giant" (1988: 36). It is implicit, however, that he gives credence to Moses as lawgiver: "The earliest picture of Moses available, perhaps the only picture of Moses from the period before the monarchy, depicts Moses as lawgiver (Deut 33:4)" (1988: 199). As another indication, Coats observes, "There is no law tradition without Moses" (1988: 169). It is also implicit that the mediation of Moses in giving the law to the people has its counterpart in his heroic representation of the people before Yahweh with respects to their concerns and intercession for their sins (1988: 159, 165–66).

Gottwald recognizes some historical traces in the text, "Moses is recalled as an actual person who was of Levitical kinship, who intermarried with Midianite 'semi-nomads,' who led a slave revolt, who was reportedly buried in Transjordan" (1979: 35). On the contrary, he contends that "we are not in a position to calculate the part that the historical Moses played in introducing Yahweh, in explicating him as a deliverer from opposition, as one with whom to covenant, and as a law-giver" (1979: 37). Then he comments, "Possibly the later tradition is correct in believing that Moses had the decisive part to play in all these respects. But only possibly" (1979: 37).

Since Gottwald is more confident about a proto-Israelite "Moses group" than the specific person Moses, he makes some additional suggestions:

> … it is highly probable that the notion of Yahweh as a god who delivers from oppression was introduced first among a group of proto-Israelites for whom Moses was one, although not necessarily the only, leader … it is at least possible, conceivably probable, that notions of covenanting between god and people and of divine law-giving were introduced in some form among that same group of proto-Israelites in which Moses was a leader (1979: 36).

Gottwald thinks that covenanting and law giving in this group "were relatively undeveloped," and even if they did occur at Sinai, we do not know how they were understood and practiced (1979: 36–37). See also COVENANT; MOSAIC COVENANT.

**4. More Probable Probabilities.** It is evident from this survey that all critical theories and reconstructions involve probabilities, and so the issue of Moses' historicity must attempt to ascertain which probabilities are more probable.

For Noth, the first *historical fact* about Israel is that the twelve-tribe confederation settled in Canaan after the occupation and worshipped as a community. There the various tribes told their own unique stories and in time "all Israel" came to feel that it had shared in all of these experiences (*HPT*, 43–45). Gottwald attempts to solve Noth's problem of accounting for "the unity 'Israel' and the common Israelite consciousness" by attributing to the cultic gatherings a special kind of speech-act filled with the charisma of Israel's identity, obligations, resources, and even a divine word. There is no doubt that such issues were discussed in the development of Israel, but can its *origin* be explained by ecumenical-like worship services and consultations without the primary input of a Yahwistic, covenant group inspired by the

Exodus and Sinai experiences under the leadership of Moses? In spite of lapses from some members, the Song of Deborah (Judges 5, ca. 1150–1125 B.C.) indicates that fairly early the Israelite tribal league was a functioning unity motivated by the Yahwistic faith. Bright comments:

> Indeed, had not the nucleus of Israel, already in covenant with Yahweh, appeared in Palestine and, banding with disaffected elements there with whom it made common cause, won notable victories, it is difficult to see why groups of such mixed origin, and geographically so scattered, would have come together in confederation under Yahweh's rule at all (*BHI*, 168).

For von Rad, the fusion of the exodus-settlement and Sinai traditions occurred *first* by the Yahwist, thus blending "the two fundamental propositions of the whole message of the Bible: Law and Gospel" (*PHOE*, 54). Whether articulated or not, human existence (individual, familial, and cultural) has had to deal with the issues of justice and mercy. Is it feasible to separate this reality into monolithic strands and claim that for 200 years separate traditions consistently preserved a half of the dialectic truth without recognition of or concern for the other half? Accordingly, mediating scholars wonder why it is impossible for these two facets to be involved in the difficult experience of the Yahwistic group in the desert after deliverance from Egypt. As R. F. Johnson notes, "But it is easily possible to consider the biblical account of Mosaic leadership a more credible explanation of Israel's early period in Palestine than any other available thesis (*IDB* 3: 442).

In summary, the evaluation of the evidence and counterclaims in the scholarly debate about Moses seems to favor, as the most probable conclusion, a modified form of the Moses story. In response to Yahweh's call in Midian, Moses—the Hebrew with the Egyptian name—led his people out of Egypt, constituted them as a people of God by mediating the covenant at Mt. Sinai, interceded for them during the desert wanderings, and brought them to Moab where he died.

**B. Biblical Portraits of Moses**

The issue of various portraits of Moses, like the question of historicity, depends on one's interpretation of the biblical text, and again there is great diversity.

The conservative tradition holds that the interchange of divine names is the intention of the author, not the result of separate sources. "We may assume," U. Cassuto claims, "that in each case the Torah chose one of the two Names according to the context and intention" (1961: 31). While "Yahweh" reflects Israelite theology and traditions about God and his people, "Elohim" is appropriate for non-Israelites, universal tradition, and those who think of Deity in abstract terms (1961: 31–32). "However," as Childs observes, "both the extreme artificiality by which meaning is assigned to the use of the names, as well as the constant need to adjust the theory in every succeeding section, does not evoke great confidence in this approach" (*Exodus* OTL, 53). Cassuto is nearer the truth when he comments:

> The stream of this tradition may be compared to a great and wide-spreading river that traverses vast distances; although in the course of its journey the river loses part of its water, … and it is also increasingly augmented by waters of the tributaries that pour into it, yet it carries with it, … some of the waters that it held at the beginning when it first started to flow from its original source (1961: 102–3).

Thus, while Cassuto denies the sources of the critics, he affirms that numerous traditions have come together.

Years of research concerning the source and tributaries of the text resulted in the classical view of source criticism: J and P (southern), E and D (northern) as separate traditions or recensions of Israel's history. Yet these accounts tend to be *one-sided*, like a portrait featuring the most attractive profile. An example is von Rad's separate portraits of Moses in J and E. While recognizing that Moses appears throughout the Yahwist account, he claims: (1) Moses' call "was only for the purpose of informing Israel in Egypt" about Yahweh's intentions, and so it would be "utterly wrong if we were to understand Moses' call as an appointment to be Israel's leader, for in this source document the leadership of Israel is Jahweh's alone"; (2) Yahweh effects the miracles "without any assistance from Moses;" (3) "Moses retires right into the background;" and (4) for the narrator no "particular theological stress" is made of "Moses' function in the various conflicts and crises" (*ROTT* 1: 291–92).

On the other hand, according to von Rad, "There is a noticeable difference in the picture of Moses given by the Elohist:" (1) the idea of Moses' office has changed, "E has pushed Moses much more into the foreground as the instrument of God in effecting the deliverance;" (2) moreover, "Moses is now the miracle-worker, in fact almost to the point of being a magician;" (3) Moses' importance is enhanced "by setting Aaron over against him … Moses is God for Aaron, and Aaron the mouth for Moses—Moses is the creative initiator and Aaron only the executive speaker (Ex. iv. 16);" and (4) Moses is a prophet in E, but "of a special type—he is much more the prophet of action, taking an active hand in the events" (*ROTT* 1: 292–93).

In reaction to the atomizing of the text by radical source-critics, a number of scholars have observed wider frameworks and patterns for understanding the text. These are helpful, and, as Childs notes, "to show a larger pattern which cuts across the sources does not disprove their existence" (*Exodus* OTL, 150). Yet there has been increasing question about E because of its fragmentary nature and the difficulty in determining where it begins and ends. The problem involves the complex history of J and E. In some places, like Exodus 19, it is impossible to untangle them completely. Evidently the two were mixed at times in oral transmission and this condition carried over into the groundwork source behind J and E. In any case, in the growth of these traditions various literate persons, whether working as compilers, redactors, or authors, were prompted by new historical situations to make relevant theological notes about the events described. Thus, after the division of the kingdom, E became the northern counterpart of southern J and such crucial passages as Exod 3:9–15; 20:1–17; and 24:3–8 indicate its distinctive perspective. Some time after the fall of the northern kingdom, the E tradition, even with some of its divergent views, was subsumed within J, and so from the point of view of the JE redactor(s), most certainly in Judah, the E material was understood in the light of J.

Coats affirms that "the classical definition of order in the relationships of the sources holds even in the face of challenges," thus J is the oldest, D next, and finally P. He deviates by claiming that "in those places where E appears, the source is an expansion of J, thus dependent on J" (1988: 36). Nevertheless, G. Fohrer, building on Wellhausen's analysis, makes a definitive defense of the E source stratum (1968: 152–58).

A new approach to Exodus-Deuteronomy is the hypothesis of Coats: *"The Moses narratives, structured as heroic saga, merge with the narrative tradition about Yahweh's mighty acts, structured around confessional themes"* (1988: 37). *"This heroic tradition,"* according to Coats, *"binds the hero with his people. Either by military might, or by skillful intercession, or by familiarity with surroundings and conditions, he defends and aids his own. He brings 'boons' to his people"* (1988: 40). Coats recognizes that the two models are narrative opposites, at times complementary, at times contradictory, but his concern is to define "the relationship between these two structural patterns. Moses is the heroic man and the man of God" (1988: 42). The series of praises to Yahweh for the mighty acts in behalf of his people came from the ritual of Israel's sanctuaries. Yet this tradition was only half of the historical reality. The other half was preserved by common folk who transmitted orally the narratives about Moses. This heroic man was also the man of God because he was the human agent facilitating the acts of God.

Childs, like Coats, values the sources, yet finds great insight in the *composite portraits,* "The final literary production has an integrity of its own which must not only be recognized, but studied with the same intensity as one devotes to the earlier stages" (*Exodus* OTL, 224).

**1. Yahwist-Elohist Traditions.** In highlighting the JE portrait of Moses it will be helpful at times to note how the stories about Moses complement the confessional themes in the Exodus, desert, and Sinai episodes.

Although the folkloristic narratives of Exod 1:15–2:22 lack specific historical references, they declare that Moses, born during the oppression of a Pharaoh and reared in his court, was a Hebrew from the house of Levi who cared for his own people. After his flight to Midian he showed similar concern for the daughters of the priest Reuel (Jethro), then married one of them.

Exod 3:1–12 relates the essence of the actual call and commission of Moses. The burning bush, however understood, is the means of initiating a dialogue with Moses. In vv 7–9 Yahweh sees, hears,

knows his people's plight, and determines to free them and bring them to a good land. In v 10 Moses is commissioned to be his agent, but he demurs and is given a sign to reassure him. When Moses inquires about God's name he is told, "Yahweh … is my name for ever" (3:15). This new name is an authentic claim of E, in contrast to J where the worship of Yahweh begins with Seth and Enosh (Gen 4:26). The crucial point of the combined JE text is that Yahweh authorizes Moses to confront Pharaoh and free the Hebrews.

According to JE in Exod 5:1–15:21, Moses requests Pharaoh, in Yahweh's name, to let the Hebrews go into the desert to hold a feast. He refuses and when nine plagues do not change his mind, Yahweh kills the Egyptian firstborn. With a cry of anguish, Pharaoh and the Egyptians urge Moses and his people to leave. Pharaoh changes his mind, however, and pursues them. Yahweh's miracle at the Reed Sea provides escape for the people and death for Pharaoh's army.

Behind this composite picture some scholars find two separate accounts. R. de Vaux, for example, holds to an *Exodus flight*, led by Moses, and an *Exodus expulsion*, with the death of the firstborn (*EHI* 1: 373). According to Coats, when the negotiations during the nine plagues fail, Moses has the people acquire silver and gold jewelry from the Egyptians. This spoliation, the beginning of the Exodus, is possible because Yahweh gives the people favor with the Egyptians and Moses is very great in the land (Exod 11:3). Then Moses calls his people to leave in haste under his leadership without the permission or even the knowledge of Pharaoh (1988: 97–98, 108). On the other hand, Childs holds to one exodus after ten plagues, because he shifts Exod 11:4–8 to follow 10:29 so that Moses announces to Pharaoh the death of the firstborn before leaving "in hot anger" (*Exodus* OTL, 161).

Divine and human participation are combined again in the victory at the Reed Sea. Praises to Yahweh, both in poetry and narrative (probably from the cult), attribute "natural" causes to God: the strong east wind; the clogging of the chariot wheels; and the routing of the army. Moses, on the contrary, performs the "wondrous" events: stretching out his hand (rod) to divide the sea and cause its return. Both aspects appear in J's summary: "Israel saw the great work which Yahweh did against the Egyptians, … and they believed in Yahweh and his servant Moses" (14:31). Since belief is rooted in trust and willingness to obey, this affirmation goes beyond a cognitive recognition of Moses: they are ready to obey him.

The dominant feature of the desert wanderings is the sojourn at Mt. Sinai. The essential narrative (Exodus 19–24; 32–34) is a very complex conflation of J and E, with only a few verses from P. A crucial fact is that vv 19:4 and 20:2 bind the Sinai event with the Exodus: the appeal for Israel's covenant obedience is based on God's gracious act of freeing them from Egypt.

In line with the sources, critics tend to see two different traditions in the Sinai pericope. The dominant theme is from E: when God declares the commandments to the people (20:1–17) they are fearful and urge Moses to mediate God's word (20:18–20), which he does, functioning as a *priest*, in the blood ritual ratifying the covenant (24:3–8). The subordinate theme is from J: Yahweh speaks with Moses in the presence of the people so that they will believe him (19:9, 19), then instead of a covenant with the people, Yahweh makes a covenant with Moses in their behalf (34:2-7). For Childs, the two themes, fused in the preliterary stage, are rooted in different settings: E in the covenant renewal ceremony, and J in the tent of meeting (*Exodus* OTL, 358). Coats, on the other hand, considers the two traditions complementary, stemming from the storytelling of the people (1988: 133).

In addition to its cruciality in Israel's history, the version of the covenant in E has important clues related to the historicity of Moses. The covenant ceremony opens with a comment that Moses "told the people all the words of Yahweh and all the ordinances" (24:3), yet in the rest of the ceremony only the "words" are involved. It is apparent that originally 24:3–8 followed the "words" (commandments) in 20:1–17. Later, an editor inserted the collection of regulations in 20:22–23:33, considering it a further revelation to Moses at the mountain. While the first part consists largely of conditional "ordinances" (If [when] … then … ) related to agricultural, village life, 22:18–23:19 has a number of regulations which, like the commandments, are in the imperative form, "You shall (not)." Childs considers them as premonarchic and notes that "some of the material stems from a very early period which may reach back into the wilderness period" (*Exodus* OTL, 456). A still later editor, working with the expanded text, added

"and all the ordinances" (24:3), to make clear that the whole collection was included in the "Book of the Covenant" (24:7) used by Moses at the ceremony.

Although there are different expansions within the commandments of Exod 20:2–17 (E) and Deut 5:6–21 (D), the two collections come from a common northern tradition. There is no indication how to separate them, nor does it state there were *ten.* The designation "Ten Words" (Decalogue) comes from Exod 34:28. Each commandment appears elsewhere in the Bible, but in time tradition determined that these were unique and reflected the essence of God's will. The first three pertain to God and the rest refer to human relations. The eight negative commands set the boundary of covenant life with God. To step beyond these restrictions is rebellion leading to death. The two positive words are instruction for living within God's will. See TEN COMMANDMENTS.

There is a timeless, transcultural quality about them, and Noth himself acknowledges that "the Decalogue is the only legal entity in the OT which indicates no certain reference to the conditions of life in an agricultural community." Furthermore, since the writings of the prophets "appear to presuppose the commandments," Noth comments that "for the pre-prophetic period all possibilities of dating are open," yet because of his tradition-history presuppositions he rules out any date "before the conquest" (*Exodus* OTL, 167). If not all, at least some of these stipulations were involved in the desert covenant. Human experience indicates that the guidelines for any religious or political agreement require continual interpretation and additional specifications. Accordingly, it is quite probable *analogically* that Moses began the process of interpreting the commands, regardless of how many there were. Evidently Joshua continued the process after entering Canaan (Josh 24:25–26). It is possible that this updating, not described explicitly, appears in the collection (20:22–23:33) attributed to Moses.

In any event, after the apostasy concerning the golden calf, Yahweh determines to destroy the people and make Moses a great nation (32:1–10). Moses intercedes for them (vv 11–14), even offering to be blotted out of God's book if Yahweh does not forgive their sin (v 32). Thus again, the complementary facets of Moses' role as *mediator* are highlighted: Moses is both God's representative to the people—man of God as *lawgiver*—and the people's representative to God—heroic man as *intercessor.* A special feature of Moses' role as lawgiver is that during the revelation of the law Moses, unknowingly, attains a "shining face." Since the people draw back from him on his return, he puts on a "veil" (Heb *masweh*). The only occurrences of this term in the entire Bible are the three uses in this passage (34:29–35). The practice was also probably associated with the Yahweh-Moses conversations at the tent of meeting outside the camp (33:7–13). That tradition was superseded by the priestly tabernacle inside the camp, therefore the veil as a special symbol of Moses is an early feature. As Coats observes, "The heroic man transfigured by the presence of God, … is uniquely the man of God" (1988: 138).

In JE the Sinai narratives separate the desert journeys into two units: Exodus 15–18 and Numbers 10–36. While the rigors of desert life before Sinai evoke murmurings, Yahweh listens to the complaints and supplies the people's needs. On the other hand, after Sinai the murmurings against Yahweh and Moses provoke God's anger. Moral responsibility was fixed at the covenant with Yahweh, therefore rebellion results in censure and punishment (Numbers 11–14, 16).

When Moses' unique authority is challenged by Miriam, an editor comments, "Moses was very meek, more than all the men that were on the face of the earth" (Num 12:3). This meekness (humility) implies that Moses was not overbearing in his role as leader. Yahweh had commissioned him, therefore Yahweh defends him, "With him I speak mouth to mouth, clearly, and not in dark speech" (Num 12:8). Although Moses intercedes for Miriam's healing, she must spend seven days outside the camp before being restored. When the people believe the majority report of the spies and refuse to leave Kadesh to begin the conquest of Canaan, Yahweh appears at the tent of meeting and threatens again to disinherit his people. Moses makes such an eloquent, rational appeal, Yahweh pardons them, but the adults will pay a price: they will never enter the promised land (Num 13:25–14:23). Even though the designation is not used, Moses functions as the *shepherd* of his people. He is human, however, and because the load of the murmuring people is too heavy, he objects to Yahweh's command to carry them "as a nurse carries a sucking child" (Num 11:10–15).

**2. Deuteronomic Tradition.** While the portrait of Moses in Deuteronomy (D) retains much of the composite picture in JE, there are some distinctive features and emphases. In the summary of the experiences after Horeb (1:6–3:29) Moses is the *leader,* yet he is no wonder-worker. The reference in 34:11 to signs and wonders is a late addition to D. At the request of the people, Moses continues to be their *mediator* (5:5, 27), yet a new feature appears in the preface to the book: Moses purposes *to explain* what Yahweh has commanded (1:5). Thus Moses is not only a *lawgiver:* he becomes the law's *interpreter.* This claim is basic to the structure of the book. After the commandments are given, the text is largely a series of homilies by Moses. The topic in chap. 6 is the *commandment,* a restatement of the negative first commandment in a positive form (6:4–5), and chaps. 6–11 spell out its meaning and implications. The same is true in chaps. 12–26 for the *statutes and ordinances.* Thirty-six times in chaps. 4–30 Moses states "I command you," therefore these interpretations, while rooted in the Torah of Yahweh, tend to become the Torah of Moses.

The purpose of the instructions is more than didactic, however. Moses strives to elicit obedience from his stubborn people. His persuasive pleas are laced with enticements: "that it may go well with you" or "that you may prolong your days in the land." To ensure that future generations have his teachings, Moses commands the people to keep them foremost in their consciousness and to use every occasion to teach them to their children (6:6–9).

In JE the call of Moses and the communication of God's words to his people indicate that he is a prophet, but in D this role is specifically stressed. To counter the anticipated temptations of pagan divination in Canaan, Moses promises that Yahweh "will raise up for you a prophet like me, … him you shall heed" (18:15). It is implicit in Moses' promise of another prophet and his command to teach the next generation that his task is nearing completion.

As Moses reminds the people of their rebellious history, he reviews, in a paraphrase of Exod 32:11–14, his traumatic intercession with Yahweh, pleading for forty days and nights to disregard the stubbornness, wickedness, and sin of the people (9:25–29). Yahweh spares the people, but he prohibits Moses from entering the promised land: "Yahweh was angry with me also on your account, and said, 'You shall not go in there' " (1:37). Thus the *intercessor* becomes the *suffering mediator.* Moses does not complain, but he intercedes for himself: "Let me go over, I pray, and see the good land beyond the Jordan" (3:25). Although D never explains why Moses has to pay the price, Yahweh rebuffs him, "Speak no more to me of this matter" (3:26).

Thus, Moses vicariously bears Yahweh's wrath against his people. His death alone in Moab takes on a vicarious quality as well. Yahweh buries him and "no one knows the place of his burial to this day" (34:6). There can be no sacred monument where pilgrims can share in a memorial ceremony for Moses. He must live in the hearts of the people as the greatest prophet of all, the one with whom Yahweh spoke "face to face" (34:10).

**3. Priestly Tradition.** The last source to be incorporated into the Hebrew Bible was P. Features in common with JE and D point to a tradition shared during oral transmission and indicate that P has some early material. Its distinctive differences stem from a long history of separate development in Jerusalem. During the Babylonian exile, the priests had no temple in which to serve, so they turned their attention to preserving and authenticating the priestly traditions and way of life. The JE and D traditions were subsumed within the P framework to form a new composite story of Israel's early history. Still later, probably after the exile, more additions were made by priestly redactors. We know nothing of the various priests involved in this process, but it is clear that they had the last word in forming the Pentateuch. Consequently, the P portrait of Moses will highlight some different features.

The first major change in the picture is Exod 6:2–7:7, originally a doublet of Exod 3:1–4:17 (JE). P is more explicit than E (Exod 3:15) that *Yahweh* is a new name for the God known to the patriarchs as *El Shaddai* (6:3). The E version of Aaron's commissioning (Exod 4:14–16) is shortened and given a prophetic nuance: "See, I make you as God to Pharaoh; and Aaron your brother shall be your prophet" (7:1). In P, moreover, Moses is relieved of the physical aspects in confronting Pharaoh and his magicians:

Moses gives the orders, but Aaron, with his rod, effects some of the plagues (7:19). Furthermore, Pharaoh is hardened so that Yahweh can multiply the signs (11:9–10).

The most radical shift in perspective occurs in the Sinai narratives. In Exod 24:16–18, P notes that Moses enters the cloud of Yahweh's glory on Mount Sinai and stays there forty days and nights. When Yahweh finishes speaking with Moses he hands him "the two tablets of the testimony … written with the finger of God" (Exod 31:18). Between the two passages P inserts the lengthy instructions for making the tabernacle and its equipment. It is P's method of declaring that the blueprints for the tabernacle came from Yahweh himself. When Moses, on seeing the golden calf and the dancing people, shatters the two tablets (Exod 32:19) he is doing more than symbolizing the broken covenant. For P this is a traumatic loss of the blueprints. It is imperative that they be written again. When Moses returns with the second set of tablets (Exod 34:29), the tabernacle, designed by God, can be constructed (Exod 35:1–40:33).

In the tabernacle instructions, Yahweh requests, "And let them make me a sanctuary, that I may dwell in their midst" (Exod 25:9). Therefore, when the cloud of Yahweh's glory fills *the priestly tabernacle, the new tent of meeting,* it is a confirmation that Yahweh is moving from Mount Sinai to his new residence. Another clue for understanding P's claim is Yahweh's statement in connection with the instructions for the tabernacle furniture: "There I will meet with you, and … from between the two cherubim … I will speak with you of all that I will give you in commandment for the people of Israel" (Exod 25:22). Accordingly, Lev 1:1 and Num 1:1 claim that Yahweh reveals the priestly insights and regulations to Moses at the tent of meeting. R. Knierim notes incisively:

> From now on, Yahweh would meet Moses from the sanctuary in Israel's midst, and no longer on Sinai. The mountain belonged to the past. The presence belonged to the sanctuary. Its legitimacy and identity were secured by the continuity of the revelation of God from the mountain. And now, Yahweh could give the ultimately decisive instructions concerning the ongoing life of Israel. These instructions have two foci: the provision of the atonement institution for the continuous liberation from the destructive burden of guilt and pollution (Leviticus 1–16), and the regulations for Israel's societal life as a "holy" community (Leviticus 17–27). The Sinai-pericope aims at the book of Leviticus. This book is the center of the Pentateuch (1985: 405).

In short, Exodus-Numbers is dominated by the P portrait of Moses as Yahweh's unique mediator communicating *all of God's Torah* (commandments, statutes, and ordinances) to the people.

Whereas JE and D recognize the humanity of Moses, P goes on to portray him and Aaron as sinners: "… you did not believe in me, to sanctify me in the eyes of the people of Israel" (Num 20:12). The fault seems to be based on the rash statement in 20:10: "Hear now, you rebels; shall we bring forth water for you out of the rock?" When Moses strikes the rock twice he seems to do so with an assurance he has the power to produce water. In this act he does not really believe in Yahweh, nor does he honor God in the people's presence, therefore he will never enter the promised land.

Because the priests understood Israel's history as Yahweh's divine plan, P was more concerned than JE or D with genealogies and chronological data. Its dates are relative, however, and provide no accurate pegs for setting the dates of Moses. Archaeological surveys of the Sinai peninsula indicate that the only habitation in the Late Bronze and Iron I periods (1500–1000 B.C.) was along the Mediterranean coast and at the mining operations of Serabit el-Khadem. If accurate, the report that Moses did not take the coastal route (Exod 13:17–18) poses a problem for 14th, 13th, and 12th-century dates for the Exodus/Conquest. The scholarly consensus of a 13th-century date for Moses is eroding, but ambiguous data make any alternatives equally tenuous.

### C. Post-biblical Portraits of Moses

Since the Torah has a number of intriguing, ambiguous, and even troublesome statements, it was inevitable that thoughtful persons, both common folk and scholars, would feel compelled to expand the portraits of Moses more in line with their own theological and philosophical views.

**1. Hellenistic Judaism.** Since some Hellenistic and Roman writers were critical of Moses and his laws, scholarly Jews in these cultures countered the false charges and tried to enlighten their opponents.

A prime example is Philo of Alexandria, Egypt (1st century A.D.). He weaves together what he has read and heard in the conviction that he has a better knowledge of Moses than any others. Since Philo believes that Greek philosophy is a development from the God-given teaching of Moses, he uses Greek reasoning and ideas to ensure that his Hellenistic audience will have an accurate understanding of Moses. As a "divine man," Moses is superhuman. His physical, mental, psychological, and spiritual gifts are supreme, and his experiences in the royal court and in Midian prepare him to be the ideal king for leading the Hebrews. Moreover, as the perfect ruler, Moses has the faculty of legislation, to command and to forbid; the role of high priest, to care for things divine; and the function of inspired prophet, to declare what cannot be understood by reason (*Vita Mos* II.2.3.187).

The Jewish historian Josephus Flavius writing for a gentile audience, portrays Moses as the "divine man" of Greek culture as well as the Israelite "man of God." As Israel's lawgiver he becomes the legislator and founder of a "theocracy," the ideal society (*AgAp* 2.16. §165). Josephus claims that Moses' gifts were so evident to the Egyptians he was made the general of the Egyptian army during a campaign against the Ethiopians. Not only was he victorious; he married an Ethiopian princess (*Ant* 2.10.2). This tale is one of a cluster of stories expanding on the intriguing claim that Moses had taken a Cushite wife (Num 12:1).

Moses "surpassed in understanding all men that ever lived and put to noblest use the fruit of his reflections." He found favor "chiefly through his thorough command of his passions, which was such that he seemed to have no place for them in his soul" (*Ant* 4.8.49). In concluding his eulogy Josephus declares, "As general he had few to equal him, and as prophet none, insomuch that in all his utterances one seemed to hear the speech of God Himself" (*Ant* 4.8.49).

**2. Palestinian Judaism.** Since tradition held that the time of prophecy had ceased, Moses became the mouthpiece for some Jews who felt compelled to share their insights. In the *Testament of Moses,* which reinterprets Deuteronomy 31–34, Moses informs Joshua that God created the world on behalf of his people Israel (*T. Mos.* 1:12). Moreover, from the beginning of the world God designed him to be the mediator of the covenant (1:14). In Deut 34:5, Moses apparently dies alone, but in alerting Joshua of his impending death, Moses states that he is going to sleep with his fathers "in the presence of the entire community" (1:15). Joshua is upset at the news and grieves at the loss of "that sacred spirit, worthy of the Lord, manifold and incomprehensible, master of leaders, faithful in all things, the divine prophet for the whole world, the perfect teacher in the world" (11:16). No place will be appropriate for his burial because "the whole world is his sepulcher" (11:8). The text in 12:6 is broken, but it seems that Moses is assuring Joshua that even in death he will make intercessions for their sins.

The mystery surrounding Moses' death perplexed Judaism, and so various expansions of the text appeared. A fragment of one explanation is preserved in Jude 9: "But when the archangel Michael, contending with the devil, disputed about the body of Moses, he did not presume to pronounce a reviling judgment upon him, but said, 'The Lord rebuke you.' " Origen (ca. A.D. 185–254) claimed that the passage was from the *Assumption of Moses,* but unfortunately the text has been lost. Since the end of the *Testament of Moses* has been lost as well, it is difficult to determine whether the two were separate books, or the *Assumption* was the concluding part of the *Testament*.

*Jubilees,* an expanded commentary on Genesis 1–Exodus 12, purports to be God's word to Moses on Mount Sinai in addition to the Pentateuch, "the first law" (*Jub.* 6:22). It is a revelation from God and the angel of the presence, with the sacred time from Adam to Sinai divided into 49 Jubilees of 49 years (seven weeks of years). Moses is addressed by "you" and told his own story (chaps. 47–48). The basic message is the necessity of faithful obedience to the Torah. Moses is informed that the Patriarchs set the standard by rigorously keeping his law.

The Essenes considered themselves the "true Israel" and went into the Judean desert at Qumran as a community "to prepare the way of Yahweh" (Isa 40:3) by devoting itself to the study of the Torah. Their "Teacher of Righteousness," convinced that end times were near, claimed to have the key for unlocking all the truths hidden in the revelations of Moses and the prophets. The solar calendar, set forth in *Jubilees,* became the standard for the liturgical year at Qumran because it was based on God's creation and the

authority of Moses. Moreover, the age of Moses becomes the model for the messianic age. The "prophet to come" (Deut 18:15, 18) is an eschatological figure associated with the priestly and Davidic messiahs.

While P claimed that all the laws of Exodus-Numbers were revealed to Moses, later tradition concluded that all of the Pentateuch came from Moses, including the statement of his death and burial. This conviction evoked a probing study (*midrash*) of the whole Torah. The results of this devotion were classified as: *halakah,* interpretation of a religious or civil law as a guideline for life; and *haggadah,* explanation of non-halakic material (genealogies, narratives, poems, parables, and proverbs) as homiletical, edifying, and entertaining narrative. While *halakah* was mainly under the jurisdiction of the scholars, *haggadah* was expanded and carried on largely by the common people. Their creativity and ingenuity resulted in some excessive embellishments with which the scholars took issue at times.

An excellent compendium of these Jewish tales is *Legends of the Bible* by Louis Ginzberg. The birth of Moses is an example of the free rein imagination of *haggadah:* "At the moment of the child's appearance, the whole house was filled with radiance equal to the splendor of the sun and the moon. A still greater miracle followed. The infant was not yet a day old when he began to walk and speak with his parents, and as though he were an adult, he refused to drink milk from his mother's breast" (1956: 288–89). A variant of Josephus' story about the Cushite wife has Moses fleeing from Pharaoh and coming across Kikanos, king of Ethiopia, and his army besieging a city. He finds favor with them, and when Kikanos dies Moses is made king and given Adoniah, the Ethiopian queen, widow of Kikanos, as his wife. He reigns for forty years then goes on to Midian because he still fears Pharaoh (1956: 299–302).

Moses ascends into heaven three times: (1) from the Burning Bush as an assurance about his call and the promise that he will be given the Torah (1956: 311–12); (2) from Mt. Sinai for forty days and nights to receive and study the Torah (392–98); and (3) from Mt. Nebo to see the reward awaiting him and to visit the Messiah (492–93). By kissing Moses on the mouth, God takes his soul to heaven where he continues as a servant of the Lord. God buries his body in a place, unknown to Moses and Israel, at the end of a passage leading to the graves of the Patriarchs (502).

**3. Rabbinic Judaism.** It became increasingly evident within the more complex cultures of Persia, Greece, and Rome that Moses' law needed updating. The problem was to authenticate the growing corpus of new regulations. The rabbis solved the problem by claiming that this oral tradition was revealed to Moses on Mt. Sinai along with the written law: "Moses received Torah from Sinai and passed it on to Joshua, and Joshua to the Elders, and the Elders to the Prophets, and the Prophets passed it on to the men of the Great Assembly" (*m. ʾAbot* 1:1).

The rabbis accepted the biblical portrayal of Moses, but their preoccupation with the Torah and its implications highlighted Moses' role as *teacher.* Although they disagreed among themselves over the centuries, they considered themselves disciples of the "great teacher."

The *haggadah* has some amusing tales about the revelation of the Torah. On reaching heaven, Moses finds God ornamenting some letters of the text with crown-like decorations. On inquiring about their meaning he is told: "Hereafter there shall be a man called Akiba, son of Joseph, who will base in interpretation a gigantic mountain of Halakot upon every dot of these letters." Moses requests to see this man and is permitted to hear Akiba instruct his students. He is grieved, however, because he cannot understand the discussion. Moses is contented when, in answer to a question, Akiba states, "This is a Halakah given to Moses on Mt. Sinai" (Ginzberg 1956: 395). In general, the rabbis recognized the distinctiveness of their interpretations, but to show their loyalty to the written law, they described their conclusions as a mountain of truth suspended by a hair from the Torah.

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DEWEY M. BEEGLE

## *NEW TESTAMENT*

References to Moses are found throughout the NT literature. Most often he is mentioned in connection with the law or in respect to his leadership role. As will be evident below, Moses is cited notably in comparisons drawn between Judaism and Christianity, usually to express the superceding of Judaism or its fulfillment by Christianity.

### A. Pauline Epistles

Paul makes explicit reference to Moses only in Romans and 1–2 Corinthians. In one instance he speaks of death having reigned "from Adam to Moses" (Rom 5:14) using Moses to express the end of the time period before the law was revealed. Elsewhere Paul refers to Moses as the one to whom God spoke the law (Rom 9:15), and in turn the one who himself authored the law (Rom 10:5, 19; 1 Cor 9:9).

In 1 Cor 10:2 Paul expresses the unusual idea that all those who passed through the Exodus were "baptized into Moses (*eis Mōysēn*) in the cloud and in the sea." He is evidently referring to incorporation into the leadership of Moses. While the phrase *eis Mōysēn* is modeled on the baptismal formula *eis Christon* (Rom 6:3; Gal 3:27 cf. 1 Cor 12:13), it can hardly bear a similar sense of immersion in water since the Israelites passed through the sea as on dry land.

In 2 Cor 3:7–18 are found Paul's most sustained remarks about Moses (see Lambrecht 1983b: 368; Theissen 1987: 115–75). Moses is used in sketching two comparisons. With Exod 34:29–35 evidently in mind, Paul opposes "the dispensation of condemnation" and "the dispensation of righteousness" (2 Cor 3:9). The former came with such splendor that Moses had to veil his face because of the brightness it reflected (3:7), a splendor that nevertheless was not lasting. In contrast, for Paul the dispensation of righteousness, i.e., the dispensation of the Spirit (3:8), far exceeds in splendor and is a permanent dispensation (3:11). Paul is thus enabled by hope to be "very bold, not like Moses, who put a veil over his face so that the Israelites might not see the end of the fading splendor" (3:13).

Within the same passage the veil image is also applied to the Jews (see Wong 1985: 54–59). In Paul's view "to this day whenever Moses [i.e., the law] is read a veil lies over their minds" (3:15). But the Christians, however, "with unveiled face" behold as in a mirror (see Lambrecht 1983a: 246–51) "the glory of the Lord" and are "being changed into his likeness" (3:18). This latter comparison suggests a shift in Paul's use of Moses. While he represents that dispensation which has been superseded in the first instance, in the second he is that revelation which the Jews failed to perceive but which becomes comprehensible for one who "turns to the Lord" (3:16).

### B. Mark, Matthew, Luke-Acts

The Synoptics and Acts frequently refer to Moses in citing prescriptions of the law. Phrases are used such as "Moses commanded," "Moses said," "Moses wrote," "Moses allowed," and similar constructions (Mark 1:44 = Matt 8:4 = Luke 5:14; Mark 7:10; 10:3–4; Mark 12:19 = Matt 22:24 = Luke 20:28; Matt 19:7–8; Acts 3:22; 26:22). The Pentateuch itself is designated as "the book of Moses" (Mark 12:26), "the law of Moses" (Luke 2:22; 24:44; Acts 13:39; 15:5; 28:23) or just "Moses" (Luke 16:29, 31; 20:37; 24:27; Acts 15:21).

In the Transfiguration scene Moses appears along with Elijah (see Pamment 1981: 338–89; Moiser 1985: 216–17) and both talk with Jesus (Mark 9:4–5 = Matt 17:3–4 = Luke 9:30, 33). While in Mark and Matthew the topic of their conversation with Jesus is not disclosed, in Luke they are depicted as talking about Jesus' *exodos* (9:31). Moses and Elijah function in the Transfiguration episode as foils to Jesus. As representatives of the Israel of old they disappear, leaving Jesus alone. The instruction by the heavenly voice to listen to Jesus (Mark 9:7; Matt 17:5; Luke 9:35) "relates him intimately to the reshaping of Israel as God's people" (Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB, 795).

Among the Synoptics only Matthew refers to "Moses' seat" (23:2). This is an image used to express the teaching authority of the scribes, for teachers and judges of Jesus' time normally sat to perform their functions. In a similar vein, some have seen in Matthew's description of Jesus' teaching (in a sitting position) from the mountainside (5:1–2) as deliberate analogy with Moses' actions on Sinai (e.g., Allison 1987: 203–5). Jesus then would be presented as the second or new Moses, the better lawgiver. However, it is not certain that such a comparison was intended (Donaldson 1985, *passim*). It can be noted, for example, that Moses ascended Mt. Sinai for reasons other than teaching and that he descended the mountain in order to instruct the people (Exodus 19). Nonetheless, elsewhere (chaps. 1–2) Matthew constructs a parallelism between various events surrounding the births of Moses and Jesus which is quite apparent. This seems to be intentional (Brown 1977: 110–19) although Moses is not mentioned by name.

In Acts, Moses is referred to twice as the embodiment of Judaism, such that Stephen could be accused of having spoken "blasphemous words against Moses and God" (6:11) and Paul of having taught the gentiles "to forsake Moses" (21:21). Acts also refers to Moses as the deliverer of the "customs" of Judaism (6:14; 15:1).

Ironically, while Moses was cited in accusation against Stephen, it is Moses who functions in the speech of Stephen as an indictment against those Jews who rejected Jesus (7:2–53). This passage, which contains numerous details about the life of Moses (7:20–24, 30–38, 44), stresses the rejection of Moses by his own people (7:25–29, 39–40, 52), clearly reminiscent of the treatment accorded Jesus by Stephen's listeners (7:52). It thus appears the author of Acts intends Moses to be viewed as the type of Jesus, i.e., Jesus is the prophet who like Moses was rejected by his people (Johnson 1977: 70–76).

**C. John**

The Fourth Gospel also establishes a parallelism between Moses and Jesus in various respects, yet also proclaims that Jesus surpasses Moses (see Meeks 1967: 319; *IDBSup,* 606). For example, in 1:17 the law "given through Moses" is analogous to, yet fulfilled by, the "grace and truth [which] came through Jesus Christ." Further comparisons where Jesus transcends Moses are made between Moses who "lifted up the serpent in the wilderness" (3:14) and "the Son of man [who himself must] be lifted up" (3:14); also, as Moses "gave … bread from heaven" (6:32), Jesus' Father gives "the true bread from heaven" (6:32).

The Johannine author affirms that God spoke to Moses (9:29) and that Moses gave not only the law (7:19; cf. 7:23; cf. also 8:5 within the interpolation 7:53–8:11) and circumcision (7:22), but also wrote of Jesus in the law (1:45; 5:46). From the author's perspective, those who truly believed the writings of Moses (5:46) would thereby believe Jesus. Thus, rejection of Jesus in fact leads to accusation by Moses (5:45). At the same time there is an ambivalence toward Moses on the author's part (*IDBSup,* 606), for being a disciple of Moses is incompatible with being a follower of Jesus (9:28).

**D. Hebrews**

The author of Hebrews, concerned primarily to prove the preeminence of Christianity over Judaism, characterizes Moses as similar to Jesus, yet inferior to him. Moses is portrayed as having been "faithful in all God's house as a servant, to testify to the things that were to be spoken later" (3:5; cf. 3:2; Num 12:7), while Christ is described as "faithful over God's house as a son (3:6). Building on the metaphor of God's house as being the community of believers, the author describes Jesus as being worthy of "more glory than Moses as the builder of a house has more honor than the house" (3:3).

Numerous references are also made to Moses in respect to his leadership of those who left Egypt (3:16, 18), the Hebrew priesthood (7:14), the tabernacle he erected (8:5), the law he delivered (9:19; 10:28), and his trembling with fear on the mountain (12:21). With each of these instances aspects of Judaism are

contrasted with Christianity, the former in each case superseded by the latter. Only in 11:23–24 is Moses cited in a context where he is to be emulated, not supplanted. In this passage Moses is held forth as an exemplar of faith; he is one of that great "cloud of witnesses" (12:1) who surround believers in Jesus and who urge the believers to "run with perseverance" (12:1) the race set before them.

**E. Revelation**

The only explicit reference to Moses in Revelation occurs in 15:3 where those who had conquered the beast are depicted as standing beside the sea of glass with harps of God in their hands while "they sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb." The text of the song is then quoted in 15:3–4.

The phrase "the song of Moses, the servant of God" is reminiscent of Exod 14:31–15:21 where Moses and the people of Israel sing a song to the Lord extolling God's power and exulting in the destruction of their enemies. As that song in Exodus 15 was sung on the shore of the Red Sea, so in Rev 15:3 will the victorious martyrs sing beside the sea of glass. However, there are serious difficulties in interpreting this passage since the song in Rev 15:3–4 is not one of triumph over enemies as in the Exodus text, but rather of glorifying the Lord. Furthermore, it is hard to understand why the author of Revelation would have envisioned Christian saints before the throne of God singing the song of Moses as given in Exodus 15. Consequently some have viewed the phrase concerning Moses in 15:3 as an interpolation.

**F. Others**

In two texts, Jude 1:9 and 2 Tim 3:8, it is noteworthy that both sources derive their data about Moses from legendary material.

In the letter of Jude, which is concerned with warnings against false teachers in the church, the presumptive attitudes of those teachers toward angels is contrasted with the restraint exhibited by the archangel Michael toward another angel. Michael in "contending with the devil, disputed about the body of Moses," yet "did not presume to pronounce a reviling judgment upon him, but said, 'The Lord rebuke you' " (Jude 9). According to several early Christian writers (e.g., Clement of Alexandria, Origen) this episode refers to the burial of Moses and was recounted in the *Assumption of Moses*, a Jewish apocalyptic work now known only fragmentarily, and without the relevant section.

In a similar context concerned with heretics, the author of 2 Timothy states that "as Jannes and Jambres opposed Moses, so these men [heretics] also oppose the truth" (3:8). While in Exod 7:11 magicians argue against Moses before Pharaoh, their names are not given. Later Jewish tradition, however, supplied their names and histories (see the overview of sources in Dibelius-Conzelmann *Pastoral Epistles* Hermeneia, 117).

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**MOSES, ASSUMPTION OF.** See MOSES, TESTAMENT OF.

**MOSES, TESTAMENT OF.** A pseudepigraph extant in a single, poorly preserved, incomplete, and at times illegible Latin palimpsest discovered in the Ambrosian library of Milan and published by Ceriani in 1861. The manuscript dates from the 6th century C.E., but orthography and style indicate that it is a copy of an early 5th century writing. The Latin text is clearly a translation from a Greek document which

may be as early as the late 1st or early 2d century C.E. Most early editors assumed that Greek was the original language, but it is now universally agreed that the Greek text available to the Latin translator is itself a translation of a Semitic writing. Whether the Semitic text was Aramaic or Hebrew remains a matter of dispute, but the latter is more probable.

Ceriani, on the basis of quotations in the Acts of the Council of Nicea and scattered patristic references, entitled the manuscript "The Assumption of Moses," an account of Moses' being taken directly to heaven rather than dying a natural death. This story is well known in many Jewish writings and is probably referred to in Jude 9. The present text, however, knows nothing of an assumption and clearly indicates that Moses died a natural death (1:15; 3:13; 10:14). Some ancient quotations and stichometries (lists of books and number of lines contained in each) refer to both and *Assumption of Moses* and a *Testament of Moses.* The relationship between them is not clear. It has been proposed that they were either two distinct works, a single work consisting of two sections, or two separate works which were subsequently joined together. It is more prudent, lacking manuscript evidence, to refer to the present work as the *Testament of Moses* and leave open the question whether an account of Moses' assumption followed the mutilated ending of 12:13.

**A. Contents**

Couched in the well-known testament genre—deathbed words of an ancient worthy to his people, his family, or his successor—the *Testament of Moses* purports to be the final statement of Moses to Joshua. In summary fashion, Moses outlines the Conquest (2:1–2), the time of the Judges and the united kingdom (2:3–4), and the period of the divided kingdoms (2:5–9). Chapter 3 relates the fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians (vv 1–3) and the reunion of all the tribes in the lands of their exile (vv 4–14). Moses then foretells the return from captivity (4:1–6) and the rebuilding of Jerusalem. Chronological referents in chaps. 5–8 are confusing (see below on date and provenance), but the general sense is clear. Moses predicts the apostasy which will arise among the Hellenizing Jews in the times of Antiochus, the Hasmoneans, and Herod, and the consequent severe persecutions including the partial destruction of the Temple (6:9).

Chapter 9 recounts an episode of the resolve of a faithful Levite, Taxo, and his seven sons to die rather than desert their faith. This story is followed by an apocalyptic hymn which portrays the destruction of the evil one at the hands of Israel's guardian angel (10:1–2), cataclysmic cosmic events, and the exaltation of Israel at the end of days (10:3–10). The manuscript concludes with a dialogue between Joshua and Moses in which Joshua expresses his fear that after Moses' death the enemies of Israel will overwhelm them. Moses assures him that God's purpose will not fail and that the covenant promises will abide (10:11–12:13). At this point, in the middle of a sentence, there is a break in the text and the remaining contents are lost.

**B. Date and Provenance**

Proposed dates for the *T. Mos.* range from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes to the middle of the 2d century C.E. Internal evidence and external attestation rule out serious consideration of a date later than the end of the 1st century C.E., and probably a date later than the middle of that century. R. H. Charles' careful analysis which limited the period of composition to 7–30 C.E. was regnant in scholarly circles from the time of his proposal in 1897 until the past two decades (see *APOT* 2: 407–24). Considerable recent scholarship, on both theological and form critical grounds, has revived the proposal of an Antiochan date. The crux of the issue is the apparent disruption of the chronological order of chaps. 6–8. Chapter 6 clearly refers to the reign of Herod the Great, and the particularity of details in chap. 8 seems to point to the persecutions of Antiochus. Charles proposed that chaps. 6–7 had been erroneously inserted between chaps. 5 and 8 in the process of transmission, while the newer thesis (championed especially by Licht and Nickelsburg) contends that the chapters are a post-Herodian interpolation into a document of the Maccabean era. Both proposals have considerable merit. Dislocation in the transmission of an ancient text is well attested, as are reworkings of an older text by subsequent generations. Both proposals perhaps attribute a logic to an apocalyptic author which is not altogether necessary. The most that present research can affirm is that the extant text of the *T. Mos.* should be dated after 4 B.C.E., and probably before 30 C.E.

There is also a strong possibility that some sources incorporated in the text had a considerable prehistory, either oral or written.

Attempts to identify the religious community to which the author of the *T. Mos.* belonged are inconclusive. Almost every well-known religious group of the general period, from the Samaritans to the Sadducees, has been suggested. Three proposals warrant serious consideration: (1) the Hasidim of the Maccabean period; (2) a branch of the Pharisees; and (3) the Essenes. The date assigned to the composition of the *T. Mos.* is a significant though not totally decisive factor. An Antiochan dating would rule out the Pharisees and the Essenes, while a post-Herodian dating militates against the Hasidim.

Increasing awareness of the complexity of Judaism in this period cautions against attempting to identify every document of the era with a specific *known* group. The *T. Mos.* clearly reflects the milieu of movements, including the Pharisees and Essenes, which developed from the circles of the Hasidim, but a more precise identification goes beyond the evidence presently available.

**C. Theological Emphases**

The theological framework of the *T. Mos.* combines, somewhat awkwardly, the traditional view that the fortunes of the community results from its obedience or disobedience with the conviction that all that has come to pass or will come to pass has been predetermined by God and revealed to Moses. Determinism, however, is the overriding element which undergirds the book's fundamental message. Since God has determined all things in the past and future (3:11–12; 12:4–5), the reader may accept with assurance the assertion that the hour of God's intervention on behalf of his people is at hand (10:1–10). However great the vicissitudes of the past and the travails of the present, God's covenant promises, confirmed by his oath, will not fail (cf. 1:8–9; 3:9; 4:2–6; and especially 12:7–13). The pragmatic purpose of apocalyptic thought, to provide a living hope in a dying age, is the fundamental emphasis.

Claims that the idea of God's creating the world for his people (1:12) and the allusion to Moses' preexistence and role as a mediator (1:14) appear first in the *T. Mos.* are inconclusive. Similarly, the view that the *T. Mos.* is the first writing to speak of an extramundane eschatological triumph for Israel is based on a questionable reading of 10:10. Matters of priority and dependence among the documents of the period are elusive, but these do not detract from the contributions of the *T. Mos.* to an understanding of the ideological milieu of the era.

Recent scholarship has focused on the role of Taxo (9:1–7) and his vow of martyrdom as precipitating the divine vengeance depicted in the eschatological hymn of chap. 10 (vv 1–10). It is proposed that this act is to provoke God to intervene on behalf of his people and thus inaugurate the eschatological age. This proposal is persuasive, on both theological and form critical grounds, but remains moot. It can also be argued that the story is rather a singular example of the woes which will precede the divine intervention rather than an act which precipitates it. Divine vengeance is clearly present. The connection between Taxo's vow of martyrdom and its onset is problematic, possible but not proven.

**D. Relation with Other Writings**

The *T. Mos.*, like most writings of the period, is replete with allusions to books in the Hebrew canon. Deuteronomy 31–34 is the fundamental base and, in a loose sense, the *T. Mos.* can be read as a midrash on those chapters. Possible relationships with other noncanonical books, e.g., *1 En.* and *2 Bar.* and a number of Qumran writings, have been suggested and carry varying weights of possibility. Questions of the interdependence of writings of this period, as noted earlier, remain unresolved. Such interdependence is certainly possible, but a common ideological setting may also account for the alleged parallels.

Special attention has been called to possible allusions to the *T. Mos.* in the NT. The most often cited passages are Jude 9, 12–13, 16; 2 Pet 2:13; Acts 7:36–43; and Matt 24:19–21 (with parallels). Acts and Jude are the most probable, though the clearest reference in the latter (v 9) properly belongs to the Assumption of Moses and not to the extant Testament. If the author of Jude does cite either as Scripture, interesting questions are raised about the nature of canon.

Although, as one recent commentator has concluded, the *T. Mos.* may not be very original in its theological bases, it does provide valuable confirmation of, indeed the extension of, information about the

thought world of early Judaism and early Christianity, a matter of increasing interest among biblical scholars.

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**MOST HIGH** [Heb *ʿelyôn* (עֶלְיוֹן)]. Meaning "the Exalted One," *ʿelyôn* is the title given to the highest of the gods in the Canaanite pantheon and was appropriated by the Hebrews as a title for Yahweh at various intervals in the life of the nation (e.g., Deut 32:8–9; 2 Sam 22:14; Pss 7:17; 97:9). Used frequently in Gen 14:18–22, *ʿelyôn* appears in combination with the title *ʾēl.* This combination is susceptible of more than one interpretation and can be taken as a divine name with its modifier (Cross 1962: 241; *TDOT* 1: 255–56), or as the name of another deity and, therefore, as an intrusive element (Della Vida 1944: 3–9). Scholars also disagree on the extent to which this title has been assimilated with the Mosaic religion. Some scholars believe that the term has been thoroughly assimilated, the title equated fully with Yahweh and his worship (Anderson *IDB* 2: 412). Others argue, however, that decisive differences existed between the Jerusalem cultus of pre-Israelite times and the Mosaic religion (Cross *TDOT* 1: 256). Later in the nation's history the term fell into neglect, preserved only in poetry and liturgies. But in the late postexilic period it enjoyed new popularity, lending itself easily to an emphasis upon the transcendence of God in, for example, Daniel, 1 Esdras, the Wisdom of Sirach, *Enoch*, *Jubilees,* and *4 Ezra* (*IDB* 2: 412). The term (Gk *hypsistos*) is also used to a limited degree in the NT (Mark 5:7 [= Luke 8:28]; Acts 7:48; 16:17; Heb 7:1).

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**MOT** (DEITY) [Heb *māwet* (מָוֶת), *môt*]. The word *māwet/môt* is often used in the Hebrew Bible to refer to the realm of death and occasionally it is personified as the chthonic power behind sterility, drought, disease, wickedness, and death itself. We knew of a Canaanite deity bearing the name "Muth" from the account of Sanchuniathon's *Phoenician History* by Philo of Byblos (see Eus. *PE* 1.10.34; Attridge and Oden 1981: 57, 76–77) which tells us that "the Phoenicians call him Death and Pluto." Yet it has been the publication of the Ugaritic texts which have provided us with the most abundant and accurate literature on the Canaanite deity Mot (*mt* vocalized *môtu*), the god of death and the netherworld, who plays an adversarial role to Baal, the god of life.

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A. In the Ugaritic Texts
B. In the Hebrew Bible
C. Conclusion

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**A. In the Ugaritic Texts**

Mot bears the epithet "son of El" (*bn lm*) as well as the epithet "Beloved of El, the Warrior" (*ydd/mdd il ǵzr*). In *CTA* 6.6.24–29 Šapšu, the sun goddess, speaks of El as the father of Mot in a context which illustrates Mot's subservience to and dependence on El, the head of the pantheon. It is easy to see why such a potent combatant as Mot was called "warrior" or "hero," but why was he called the "beloved" of El? Pope (*IDBSup,* 607), noting that the normal response to Mot by both gods and humans was fear and dread, suggests that "beloved" is an intentional euphemism for the opposite sense (cf. Cassuto 1971: 64). Others (e.g., Oldenburg 1969: 132–34) take a different approach implying that Mot was El's beloved precisely because he did battle with Baal who was a rival to El's power. Thus Mot and Yamm, who also bears the epithet *ydd il,* are allies of El and thus called his "beloved." Neither of these interpretations are entirely convincing. Rather than celebrating Mot's victory, El mourns the death of Baal. El rejoices at the news of Baal's revival, and his threatened intervention in the battle scene between Baal and Mot in *CTA* 6.6.16–35 gives the victory to Baal.

In the past scholars have attempted to equate Mot with various other gods of the Ugaritic pantheon including Resheph (C. F. Pfeiffer), Yamm (S. Mowinckel), Horon (W. F. Albright), and Dagan (F. Løkkegaard) as well as the alter ego of Baal (R. deLanghe and I. Engnell). None of these attempts has proven successful (see Watson 1970: 139–41, 162–63 which includes bibliography on above scholars). Mot was a powerful deity in his own right, reflecting one of the most primary forces of nature. There are, however, clear parallels between the Baal-versus-Mot narrative and the Baal-versus-Yamm narrative suggesting that the former may have been modeled at least in part on the latter (Smith 1986b: 327–28; 1987: 292–93).

In the Baal Cycle (*CTA* 4–6), the major texts describing Mot's activities, it is his battle with Baal which takes center stage. We find Mot described as dwelling in the underworld (*arṣ*; for "land" = "underworld" see Tromp 1969: 23–46 and *CAD* E s.v. *erṣetu*) at the base of 2 mountains which seem to stop up the underworld (*CTA* 4.8.1ff.). The description which follows describes his abode as "watery pit/ooze" (*hmry*), "decay" (*mk*) and "slime" (*ḫḫ*). Yet in addition to this watery place Mot also rules over *dbr // šd šḥlmmt.* These terms are difficult to interpret, but they seem to refer to the desert steppe illustrating the forces of drought (Clifford 1972: 79–86; Smith 1986a: 311–14).

When Baal sends messengers to Mot he instructs them of the danger of getting too close to Mot "lest he put you in his mouth like a lamb, crush you like a kid in his jaws" (*CTA* 4.8.17–20). Later in the story we find a description of Baal's descent into the very throat of Death whose insatiable appetite is described in graphic detail:

*[špt lʾa] rṣ špt lšmm* One lip to the earth, one lip to heaven,
*[yʾrk l]šn lkbkbm* (Mot) streached out his tounge to the stars.
*yʿrb bʿl bkbdh* Baal entered his innards,
*bph yrd* He descended into his mouth. (*CTA* 5.2.2–4)

Elsewhere we have the description of Mot eating with both hands when he is hungry (*bkl<ʾa>t ydy ʾilḥm; CTA* 5.1.19–20; cf. Job 18:13).

Thus Baal declared himself to be the eternal slave of Mot (*ʿbdk ʾan wdʿlmk CTA* 5.2.12). Eventually Baal is rescued by the capable goddess Anat who annihilates Mot in the following fashion:

*tʾiḫd bn ʾilm mt* She seized El's son Mot
*bḥrb tbqʿnn* With a word she split him,
*bḫṯr tdrynn* With a sieve she winnowed him,
*bʾišt tšrpnn* With fire she burned him,
*brḥm tṭḥnn* With millstones she grounded him,
*bšd tdrʿnn* In the field she scattered him (*CTA* 6.2.30–35)

Most scholars have seen a fertility ritual behind these lines involving some type of imitative magic. The piling up of agricultural metaphors has led most scholars to assert that what happens to Mot is a reflex of

the harvesting of grain (e.g., de Moor 1971: 212–15; 1987: 88–89). Others (e.g., Watson 1972: 60–64) disagree arguing that what we have is simply the ritual destruction of a hostile deity.

With the death of Mot, Baal is revived and fertility returned to Ugarit with the heavens raining oil, the wadis running with honey. Due to the cyclical orientation of the agriculturally based religion (cf. de Moor 1971: 9–28), it is not surprising that later on in the story (seven years having elapsed) we once again find Mot engaged in a fierce battle, this time with Baal himself.

*yt ʿn kgmrm* They butted each other (?) like beasts (?)

*mt ʿz bʿl ʿz* Mot was strong, baal was strong;

*yngḫn kr̆umm* They gored each other like wild oxen,

*mt ʿz bʿl ʿz* Mot was strong, Baal was strong;

*ynṯkn kbṯnm* They bit eachother like serpents

*mt ʿz bʿl ʿz* Mot was strong, Baal was strong;

*ymṣḫn klsmm* They kicked (?) each other like stallions (?)

*mt ql bʿl ql* Mot fell, Baal fell … (*CTA* 6.6.16–22)

The stalemate is brought to an end when suddenly we hear Šapšu declaring to Mot that he will not prevail over Baal. She threatens the intervention of El who has decreed that Mot must submit. Mot becomes afraid and withdraws from the picture leaving Baal once more enthroned.

In addition to the Baal Cycle we have mention of Mot in a text which scholars have called "Shaḥar and Shalim: The Birth of the Two Gracious Gods" (*CTA* 23). At the beginning of this text we read about a deity known as *mt-w-šr.* On analogy to Kothar-wa-ḫasis, the craftsman of the gods, most scholars see a singular deity here with a double name. Most scholars see *mt* as a reference to Mot yet there is considerable difference of opinion with regard to the translation of *šr* with suggestions including "death and dissolution," "death and evil," "Mot and prince," "radiant Mot," etc. What is clear is that this deity wields two scepters which bear fitting descriptions for the God of death:

*bdh ḫṭ ṯkl* In one hand a scepter of bereavement,

*bdh ḫṭ ʾulmn* In the other hand a scepter of widowhood.

Tsumura (1974: 407–13) compares an Aramaic incantation bowl picturing the angel of death with a sword in one hand and a spear in the other.

We find little evidence of a cult of Mot. As of yet we have found no temple dedicated to him, no mention of him in any of the pantheon lists and no sacrificial or offering texts addressed to him (de Moor 1970: 222). On the other hand, there was a vibrant cult of the dead at Ugarit (Lewis 1989: 5–98).

**B. In the Hebrew Bible**

In the Hebrew Bible *māwet*/*môt* often refers to the realm of death and occasionally refers to death personified. There is a fluidity in the biblical texts between Mot (and Sheol for that matter) as a person and a locality. Scholars vary as to how prevalent Mot was in the Hebrew Bible. On one extreme some scholars (e.g., Smick 1980: 497) argue that Mot "was not mentioned in the OT" (cf. Kaufmann 1960: 311–16), while on the other extreme Mot has been read into almost every mention of death.

There are several passages where it is hard to ignore the presence of a personified Death. The description of insatiable Death in Hab 2:5 (cf. also Isa 5:14; Prov 1:12; 27:20; 30:15b–16; Ps 141:7) is remarkably reminiscent of Mot's insatiable appetite in *CTA* 5.2.2–4 (see above; Lewis 1989: 152–53). Ravenous Death is also depicted in Job 18:13–14 where he is described eating greedily as in *CTA* 5.1.19–20 mentioned above. In light of the descriptions of Mot's (and Sheol's) voracious appetite which includes imagery of Mot swallowing his victims whole, it is not only ironic but also quite significant to find Yahweh swallowing Mot in Isaiah 25:8 (for other swallowing imagery used of Yahweh cf. Lam 2:5; Ps 21:10—Eng 21:9; 55:10—Eng 55:9; Isa 19:3). Likewise, the "covenant with Death and Sheol" in Isa 28:15, 18 is best understood against the backdrop of the Canaanite god Mot.

Death is personified twice in Hos 13:14, a passage describing Yahweh's ransoming Ephraim from the grasp and plagues of Death and Sheol (Andersen and Freedman *Hosea* AB, 639–40). In Psalm 49:15, Death is described as a shepherd of those who descend into the underworld. Cant 8:6 refers to love being "as strong as Death" which Pope (*Song of Songs* AB, 668–69; cf. Pardee 1987) argues as an allusion to Mot rather than the superlative usage suggested earlier by Thomas (1953: 221; cf. Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 269). For additional occurrences of personified Death which have been suggested by scholars see Cooper (1981: 392–400).

Some attempts at seeing Mot in the Hebrew Bible have not been successful. Albright (1950: 11, 13, 17) emended Hab 3:13 to describe a direct conflict between Yahweh and Mot yet his emendation has not generally been followed (Heibert 1986: 37; Tsumura 1989: 40–45). Jeremiah 9:20—Eng9:21 is frequently quoted as illustrating parallels between the worlds of Ugarit and the Bible. Death (*māwet*) is described as entering through windows in Jer 9:20 and this has been compared on numerous occasions with *CTA* 4.6.12 which describes Baal's refusal at first to have windows in his palace due to the threat of Mot (e.g., Cassuto 1975: 35, 133–35; 174). Yet, as noted by many scholars, it is Yamm and not Mot who is the enemy Baal fears. More fruitful background material for Death entering the window in Jer 9:20 may be drawn from the Mesopotamian sphere (see Paul 1968; Smith 1987).

**C. Conclusion**

At Ugarit, Mot is a decidedly more personal being portrayed as the archenemy of Baal. The degree to which Ugaritic Mot is seen behind biblical texts will continue to be debated. Yet the personification of Death in the Hebrew Bible is too prevalent and enduring to be regarded merely as a poetic metaphor or literary device. In ancient Israel, Death was considered to be a real person. At the same time, however, in the religion which becomes normative Yahweh must absorb all aspects of divinity. Just as he takes on the attributes of other Canaanite deities such as El and Baal, so too he takes on the attributes of Mot, although he is never called by this name. Yahweh, by definition, must absorb any divine powers usually ascribed in the ANE to other deities (cf. Miller 1986: 242–44 who points out similarities with supreme national deities in Mesopotamia such as Marduk and Ashur). Thus the God of the Hebrew Bible has "terrors" (*biʿûtîm*, Job 6:4) corresponding to those of Mot, who is called in Job 18:13 "the king of terrors" (*melek ballāhôt;* Pope *Job* AB, 135–36; Habel *Job* OTL, 287–88). Compare also the "breakers" of Yahweh in Ps 42:8—Eng 42:7 with the "breakers" of Death in 2 Sam 22:5—Eng22:4 (cf. Ps 35:5; 50:22). Yahweh also has a chthonian entourage which makes up his cosmic army: "Before him marched Plague (Deber), Pestilence (Rešep) followed close behind" (Hab 3:5; cf. Deut 32:24; Ps 78:48). Yet in the final analysis, in the eschatological battle described in Isa 25:8, Yahweh swallows up Mot forever (*neṣaḥ*). As Gropp has aptly noted, this once-and-for-all victory "contrasts strikingly with the periodic struggle between Baal and Mot, growing out of an agriculturally based religion. Further, Baal's dominion never extends completely to the realm of Mot. Yahweh's dominion, on the other hand, is quite absolute."

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**MOTH.** See ZOOLOGY.

**MOTHER.** See FAMILY.

**MOUND, SIEGE.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

**MOUNT OF OLIVES** (PLACE). See OLIVES, MOUNT OF.

**MOUNT, SERMON ON THE.** See SERMON ON THE MOUNT/PLAIN.

**MOUSE.** See ZOOLOGY.

**MOZA** (PERSON) [Heb *môṣāʾ* (מוֹצָא)]. **1.** Son of Caleb born to his concubine Ephah according to 1 Chr 2:46. The name Moza does not follow the usual patterns of Hebrew personal names, and should be seen as a place name which has been construed as a personal name in order to explain the relationship between Calebite clans in different geographical locations. Many other of the personal names in this list reflect geographical locations (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 21–22). Perhaps Moza should be identified with the city Mozah (*hammōṣâ*) mentioned within the tribal boundaries of Benjamin in Josh 18:26 or should be related etymologically to *mṣh,* "to drain out," and was named after a prominent wine or oil press that was located there (Rudolph, 21, n. 2). This section of the Judah genealogy in Chronicles has no extant preexilic parallel, but is probably based on earlier sources. That genealogy contains two sections dealing with the descendants of Caleb (2:18–24 and 2:42–55); this structure was created by the Chronicler who ordered a symmetrical genealogy of Judah which emphasized the prominence of David (Williamson 1979).

**2.** A Benjaminite, a 7th generation descendant of King Saul according to the genealogy of 1 Chr 8:36, 37 and 9:42, 43. His descendants continue the main line of the Saulide genealogy. The genealogy of Saul preserved in the Chronicler's sources reflects the notion of Saul's continued legitimacy, even after the ascent of David. See MELECH. There is some variation of the vocalization of this name in the LXX but this probably reflects the translators' attempt to grapple with Moza as a personal name. Indeed, in this genealogy, Moza reflects the Benjaminite city Mozah, since this section of the genealogy uses place names as personal names to define a relationship between various Benjaminite cities by positing an ancient kinship relationship between ancestors with the city names. This genealogy contains the geographical names Alemeth, Azmaveth, and possibly Jarah (*yʿrh*), which might be identified with the city Kiriath-jearim (*qryt yʿrym*) (Demsky 1971: 19). The construal of geographical names as personal names is typical of genealogical thinking (Wilson *GHBW*), and is found elsewhere in biblical genealogies (Demsky 1982). On the doubling of the Benjamin genealogy in 1 Chronicles 8 and 9, see AHAZ.

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**MOZAH** (PLACE) [Heb *mōṣâ* (מֹצָה)]. A town of Benjamin mentioned after Mizpeh and Chephirah (Josh 18:26). The location is uncertain, but it was probably in the vicinity of modern Mevasseret Yerushalayim (M.R. 165135), 7.5 km W of Jerusalem. A derivative of its name seems to have been preserved in the nearby ruin of Kh. Beit Mizza, the heavy *ṣ* of Hebrew passing into the light *z* of Arabic. Suitable Iron Age pottery (including a *lmlk* jar handle), building remains, and burial caves of the 8th–7th centuries B.C.E. have been found there.

The name of Moza [Heb *môṣā*ʾ] appears in the genealogy of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:36–37), suggesting to some scholars that the settlement may have been founded by an Israelite tribesman (Aharoni *LBHG*, 246). One of Caleb's sons is also called Moza (1 Chr 2:46), but it is doubtful whether there is any connection between him and the Benjaminite site (Avi-Yonah *EncJud* 12: 494). It is also possible that the town's name was derived from a water source, since numerous springs exist nearby (Kallai *EncMiqr* 5:229). A third suggestion is that *mōṣâ* (= Heb "source" or "origin") refers to a nearby clay source that modern geologists call the Moza Formation. Neutron activation analysis (NAA) studies have confirmed that many vessels made in the Jerusalem area during OT and NT times were manufactured from these clays (Gunneweg et al. 1985: 272).

Although Mozah is not mentioned in any written sources of the Persian period, the name of this town was stamped on the handles of storage jars from the 5th–4th centuries B.C.E. found in excavations at Jericho, Gibeon, and Tell en-Nasbeh—an indication that Mozah was an administrative and/or pottery manufacturing center.

Sometime during the Second Temple period, Mozah moved from its more defensible location on a hill to a nearby spot in Wadi Beit Nahina (= N. Shmuel), about 2 km S of Kh. Beit Mizza. The Babylonian Talmud (*Sukk.* 45a) states that Mozah was a place below Jerusalem where willows were gathered for Sukkoth, and that it was the same as Colonia. This description fits very well the location of modern-day Moza (M.R. 166134), a small settlement built adjacent to the Arab village of Qālûnya which preserves the Latin name of "Colonia."

The circumstances surrounding the renaming of Moza is given by Josephus (*JW* 7.6.6 §217). Following the Jewish Revolt of 70 C.E., Vespasian settled 800 demobilized Roman soldiers in a town Josephus calls Emmaus (Gk *Ammaous*). The village name was then changed to Colonia-Emmaus, or Colonia, for short. A "source of Colonia" (perhaps Ain Moza) is mentioned by Cyrillus Scythopolitanus (*v. Sab* 67).

Early surveys in the vicinity of Qalûnyah uncovered the remains of a Roman road which once linked Jerusalem with Jaffa, a road station, a bath, Jewish and Roman tombs, and a Byzantine monestary (Press 1952: 559). In 1973, I. Eisenberg carried out a salvage dig at Moza where he discovered remains of the Roman period and apparently part of the colony established there by Vespasian. Among the finds were a *prutah* from the days of Pontius Pilate and a silver coin from the time of Vespasian (1974: 64).

Some have suggested that the Colonia-Emmaus mentioned by Josephus should be identified with the Emmaus of Luke 24:13. However, rather than the 30 stadia (ca. 6 km) figure given by Josephus, Luke records the distance at 60 stadia. Either Luke meant it as a round-trip numeral, or another location is intended (cf. 24:33). Some Gk mss give a 160 stadia figure for Emmaus.

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**MU.** The twelfth letter of the Greek alphabet.

**MUGHAYYIR, TELL EL-** (M.R. 238225). A site about 12 km NE of Irbid, on an agricultural plateau cut out of the fertile agricultural plain S of Wadi el-Yarmouk by two valleys, the Wadi eš-Sellale and the Wadi Rahub. The region S of the village has a concentration of springs and archaeological sites.

Tell el-Mughayyir lies at the S edge of the modern village of el-Mughayyir, and is situated on the edge of an 80 m escarpment of the Wadi Rahub. Its position affords a panoramic view of the surrounding area. The tell is relatively small, ca. 150 m × 150 m, and has a maximum height of 7 m. The summit of the tell covers an area of ca. 40 m × 30 m.

The region has not been previously well documented despite the richness of its material. N. Glueck surveyed the region from 1939–47, and from 1963–65. S. Mittmann conducted an intensive survey which led to the conception of the joint excavation project in 1974 and 1975. A second project began in 1984 and continued in 1985 with simultaneous excavations at both Tell el-Mughayyir and Khirbet Zeiraqoun under the direction of S. Mittmann and M. Ibrahim. As well as continuing excavation on both these sites the joint project aims to conduct a detailed survey of the area and investigate tombs within the region including an Epipaleolithic site at the edge of the Wadi Rahub.

Tell el-Mughayyir has a long, though discontinuous, history of settlement from the pottery Neolithic to the earliest phase of the EB Age, the EB IV, and then from the Iron Age I until the Hellenistic period. This density of occupation in such a relatively small area makes stratigraphy complicated. Within 3 m were five main strata, each with different construction plans. The architectural phases span the Iron Age II to the Hellenistic period. It seems clear that the walls belong to a closed complex, almost square, which occupied the summit of the mound in each phase.

The findings of the lower layers were the least complicated because an area of packed clay sealed the Iron Age pottery. The upper layers were more complicated, and the architecture of the Persian period, for which there is a ceramic evidence, remains undefined. Further complicating the stratigraphy is the intensive construction of later phases, and the installation of silos, which disturbed lower levels. The function of later building phases is not clear: perhaps the presence of silos suggests an important farm estate.

These storage pits are the most salient feature of all phases. The uppermost phase is represented by two cistern-shaped storage pits about 3 m deep. In phase four were five pits, whose stone-lined openings were covered in every case and marked by vertical stones. Within phase five was a stone circle of a silo opening. Phase three exhibited entirely different types of pits—they consisted of two box-shaped structures made of undressed stones about 1 m high and separated from each other by a 1 m wide corridor.

The dominant ceramic wares were from the Iron Age and Hellenistic periods, though Hellenistic fine wares were notably few. Several of the forms, however, were unique to this region.

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SIEGFRIED MITTMANN

MOAWIYAH M. IBRAHIM

**MULBERRIES.** See FLORA.

**MULE.** See ZOOLOGY.

**MUPPIM** (PERSON) [Heb *muppîm* (מֻפִּים)]. A son of Benjamin (Gen 46:21) included among the seventy people who traveled with Jacob to Egypt. The genealogy of Benjamin presents numerous problems which do not contribute to a positive identification of Muppim.

According to the genealogical list of Gen 46:21, Benjamin had ten sons and Muppim was his eighth son. The sons of Benjamin were: Bela, Becher, Ashbel, Gera, Naaman, Ehi, Rosh, Muppim, Huppim, and Ard. However, in the LXX translation of this verse, only the first three persons are his sons. The next five are the sons of Bela, and Ard is Benjamin's great-grandson and a grandson of Bela.

The genealogy of Benjamin in Num 26:38–40 gives Benjamin five sons: Bela, Ashbel, Ahiram, Shephupham, and Hupham. Ard and Naaman, who appeared in Genesis as sons of Benjamin, appear in Numbers as the sons of Bela. The genealogy of Benjamin in 1 Chr 7:6 gives him three sons: Bela, Becher, and Jediazel. Another chronology, found in 1 Chr 8:1–2, gives Benjamin five sons: Bela, Ashbel, Aharah, Nohah, and Rapha.

Confronted with the fact that Muppim appears as a son of Benjamin only in the genealogical list of Genesis, scholars have proposed different solutions. Gray (*Numbers* ICC, 393) believed that Muppim was not a genuine name but that it came about as a faulty reading of the consonantal text. Several scholars (Williamson 1973: 377; *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 78; Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 106–7), accepting the corrupt text of 1 Chr 7:12 as a broken genealogy of Benjamin, identify Muppim with Shuppim and with Shephupham (Num 26:39). But this identification is not universally accepted. The New Jerusalem Bible, without any comment, places Shuppim among the sons of Naphatali while the RSV, following the MT, identifies Shuppim as one of the sons of Ir, a Benjaminite.

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**MURASHÛ, ARCHIVE OF.** The modern name given to a group of Babylonian legal documents compiled at Nippur during the last half of the 5th century B.C. The archive records business operations conducted by members of a single family or by their agents. It is named for the family's ancestor. In its original form, it included a few Aramaic documents written on leather, no longer preserved. The greater part was drafted in cuneiform, and about two-thirds of the 879 known tablets and fragments are published (Hilprecht and Clay 1898; Clay 1904; 1908; 1912; Lutz 1928; Krückmann 1933; Stolper 1985). They are the largest coherent source of documentary evidence for conditions in Babylonia at the midpoint of Achaemenid Persian rule (for general expositions see Cardascia 1951; Stolper 1985; and van Driel 1989; for appraisals of contemporary Babylonian documentation see especially Oelsner 1976; Joannès 1982, and van Driel 1987).

**A. The Nature of the Business**

The firm was active in a region of about 100 $km^2$ around Nippur (Zadok 1978), though members of the family paid occasional visits to Susa or Babylon. The texts were written in the reigns of Artaxerxes I and Darius II and in the first regnal year of Artaxerxes II (454–404 B.C., with most of the texts dated 440–416 B.C.).

Among the many kinds of transactions recorded, two general areas of concern predominate. In one, agricultural contracting, members of the Murashû firm acquired real properties by lease, pledge, or mandate, receiving land from proprietors in the vicinity of Nippur and irrigation rights from government agencies. They combined these items with resources of their own, chiefly movable inputs—draft animals, plows, harness, seed, and perhaps agricultural labor—in subleases to tenants of their own, some of whom issued subsubleases in turn. In this way, the firm transformed a juridically determined pattern of land tenure into an economically determined pattern of exploitation; enabled landholders to transform fixed allotments into sources of cash income; assured the regular exploitation of allotted lands and the regular production of cash taxes for the Achaemenid government; and presumably turned a handsome profit. In the second area of concern, the supply of short-term credit, the firm issued loans secured by pledges of smallholdings: that is, state allotments of farmland granted to soldiers and workmen on condition of tax and service obligations. When such loans went unpaid, the firm obtained use (though not titular ownership) of the pledged lands; it continued to discharge the tax encumbrances, and the smallholders became the firm's indebted tenants. The records of these pledges and debts—all representing unpaid obligations—form the largest single category of texts in the archive. There was, therefore, some tension between the convenience of the firm's services and its dilatory effect on the position of small-scale landholders.

Since most of the Murashûs' discernible income was in the form of produce (chiefly dates and cereals) and most of their discernible outlay was in the form of silver (chiefly paid in rents and taxes), the firm had

a third major area of operation that has left no surviving record: it transformed crops into cash, possibly through sales of crops to supply the urban populations of the region.

The Murashûs were therefore commercial contractors who dealt in different ways with diverse beneficiaries of crown grants and appointments. Some of the firm's customers were officials or contractors who oversaw the use of crown lands proper, of temple holdings managed in the crown's interest, and of the irrigation facilities that were crucial to all Babylonian agriculture (Stolper 1985: 36–51). Others were the smallholders who occupied "fiefs" called in Babylonian "bow land," "horse land," or "chariot land," that is, allotments intended to support archers, cavalrymen, and chariot crews. The families to whom the government granted such smallholdings were organized in corporate groups called *ḫaṭrus* (a term of uncertain etymology, perhaps borrowed from Aramaic or an Iranian language; see Cardascia *RLA* 4: 150–51), whose overseers were responsible for extracting the taxes and services incumbent on the holdings. The groups were named for military, administrative, craft, or agricultural occupations of their members, for the estates or administrative organizations to which their members were attached, or for the geographic or ethnic origins of their members (Cardascia 1958; 1977; Stolper 1985: 70–100).

Still other customers were the bailiffs of larger, complex estates, including manors called by the names of proprietors characterized as royal officials or as princes, manors named for anonymous social ranks ("estate of the crown prince," or "estate of the queen"), or for the administrative offices of which the holdings were the perquisite and support ("estate of the equerry," "fields of the treasury"). The staffs of many such estates controlled *ḫaṭrus* of attached workers, and therefore administered the smallholders' taxes and services (Stolper 1985: 52–69). The proprietors of such estates included some of the leading figures of imperial politics. The Murashû texts accordingly document the Babylonian interests of some surprisingly eminent persons: Parysatis, Darius II's queen; Arsames, the satrap of Egypt and Darius' uncle; Menostanes, the son of the governor of Babylonia, a cousin of Artaxerxes I, and an ally of the pretender Sogdianus; Artoxares, a courtier who fell from favor under Artaxerxes I but returned as one of Darius II's early allies; and others known from classical accounts of Achaemenid court politics.

Although the archive is chiefly a legal record of the obligations created or discharged by local transactions in agricultural resources, it discloses hierarchies of claims to rents, taxes, and services that also reveal some of the political and administrative structures through which the Achaemenid empire controlled the province of Babylonia and extracted its wealth, and it shows some of the effects that imperial politics produced on local economic conditions (see Lewis 1977: 70–82; Stolper 1985: 122–24, 150–56).

**B. The Personal Names**

Non-Babylonian groups and individuals with non-Babylonian names are common in the Murashû texts, a conspicuous result of Babylonia's incorporation into the vast and polymorphous Achaemenid empire. Some of the *ḫaṭru* names in particular indicate that the members traced their descent from distant regions of the empire: groups of Phrygians and Sardians, Carians, Melitenians and Urartians, Cimmerians, Tyrians, Arabs, and Indians. Some may have been descended from the victims of earlier deportations; others were imperial troops settled on subsistence allotments in Babylonia. Some members of these groups kept non-Babylonian personal names, but acculturation is clear in the frequency of routine Babylonian and Aramaic names among them. In fact, of about 2,200 personal names in the Murashû texts, about two-thirds are Babylonian and about one-quarter are Aramaic; the residue are Iranian, Anatolian, Egyptian or are drawn from various West Semitic languages.

Since the earliest publications of the Murashû texts, special attention has been given to the Jewish personal names—that is, names compounded with the divine name Yahweh and other West Semitic names considered typically Jewish (Šabbātai, Haggai, Minyāmîn)—on the assumption that the bearers of these names and their families exemplified the descendants of the Jewish exiles in Babylonia in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. Little can be said of them, however, that distinguishes them from other inhabitants of the region. The term Jew$^{w}$ never appears in the Murash̆ texts, whether to characterize an individual or a group. The bearers of the eighty or so attested Jewish names lived in many villages around Nippur, not in a distinct local enclave. They have no special role in the texts, but figure as smallholders, as petty

officials, or as witnesses. They rarely did business on sabbaths or feast days, but they were assimilated to the extent of giving some of their children Babylonian names. In short, as portrayed in the medium of Babylonian legal recording, they seem no less Babylonian than any other parties to the texts. (See Bickerman 1978; Coogan 1976; Zadok 1977b; 1977c; all citing earlier literature.)

Similar comments apply to the bearers of Iranian names, another conspicuous minority in the Murashû texts. While Iranians always dominated the highest political offices of the Achaemenid empire, they were also to be found at all ranks of Babylonian society, from noble proprietors of large estates through more or less petty officials to chattel slaves. They did not have exclusive control over any of the modest juridical and administrative offices that occur in the Murashû text, but generally shared these functions with indigenous Babylonians. A few bearers of Babylonian names gave their children Iranian names, as if to emulate the empire's rulers. Far more bearers of Iranian names gave their children Babylonian names, undergoing the same acculturation as other immigrant populations in Babylonia (see Zadok 1977a).

The Murashûs were not "bankers" in any conventional sense, but they generated cash and credit in the local economy. They were certainly not tax-farmers under direct contract to the provincial government or the crown (see especially Cardascia 1951: 189–98, with critique of earlier portrayals), but their successful operations depended on the patronage of some government agencies and prominent aristocrats. The archive's detail and specificity are extraordinary, but most of the relationships and conditions that it portrays were not special to Nippur. Other contemporary texts assure that other firms conducted similar operations, under similar conditions and on a similar scale in other parts of Babylonia, sometimes also dealing with exalted figures of imperial politics (van Driel 1987; Stolper fc.).

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**MURATORIAN FRAGMENT.** An early, incomplete listing of NT books, the Muratorian Fragment occupies a prominent place in any discussion of the history of the Christian canon of scripture. Its relative importance in such discussions depends, in large part, on the date and provenance assigned to the Fragment. Until quite recently, Roman provenance and a late 2d or early 3d century date (180–200 C.E.) were taken for granted. It was assumed that the Fragment represented the earliest datable canon list. Those assumptions have now largely eroded, and a new consensus appears to be emerging, one which sees the Muratorian Fragment as a 4th-century, Eastern (either Syria or Palestine) list. If that is the case, the earliest datable NT list would be that of Eusebius in *Ecclesiastical History* 3.25, and the Muratorian Fragment should be read in relation to it, as another, albeit important, witness to canonization process in its final stage.

Discovered by Lodovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750) in Milan's Ambrosian Library in 1740, the Fragment is preserved in a codex dating to the 7th or 8th century. Small portions of the same list were also found in four Latin mss (11th or 12th century) at Monte Cassino. Muratori himself suggested that the Latin text was a clumsy translation of a Greek original, a suggestion that has received almost universal support.

Beginning in mid-sentence, the Fragment consists of 85 lines. Its abrupt ending has suggested to some that it is defective there as well. NT books which the list accepts as authoritative include: The Four Gospels (Matthew and Mark are not mentioned explicitly but are presumed in the now lost lines 2 and 9); the Acts of the Apostles; 13 letters of Paul (excluding Hebrews); Jude; 1 and 2 John; the Wisdom of Solomon; the *Apocalypse of John;* and the *Apocalypse of Peter.* The list admits that not everyone in the Church accepts the last two works cited. James, 1 and 2 Peter and 3 John are passed over in silence. The *Shepherd of Hermas* is rejected because it is late. Writings emanating from Gnostic, Marcionite, or Montanist (Cataphyrgian) circles are rejected outright.

Adolf von Harnack has been called the "last great apologist" for the importance of the Muratorian Fragment in canon history. He was confident that the provenance and date of the Muratorian Fragment had been firmly established yet felt, however, that its character had been misrepresented. He thought the list, with its authoritarian tone, to be an official document, published in Rome, defining the content of the NT for the whole Church. He was convinced the author must have been the Bishop himself, or less likely someone writing at the Bishop's behest. Harnack suggested Victor, Bishop of Rome (189–199) or less probably, Zephyrinus (199–217), or someone under his authorization, as the author.

But Harnack was not the last great apologist for the Muratorian Fragment. It has found a latter-day advocate in Hans von Campenhausen. While agreeing with his predecessors that the list is Western and must date to the end of the 2d or, at the very latest, the beginning of the 3d century, Campenhausen finds in the Muratorian Fragment a parade example of the synthesis which obtained as a result of the dialectical forces he believed shaped the Christian canon of Scripture: the thesis of Marcionism with its reductionist "canon" and the antithesis of Montanism with its expansionist "canon."

All future defenders of the Muratorian Fragment as a Western, late 2d or early 3d century canon list must come to terms with the challenges leveled at that position by Albert C. Sundberg, Jr. It is Sundberg who initially made the case for the 4th century date and Eastern provenance of the Fragment. The linguistic arguments for Roman provenance based on explicit references to Rome (lines 74–76), the presence of the word *urbs* (standing alone) in line 38, the use of *catholica ecclesia* in line 66, are shown by Sundberg to be inconclusive. Similar arguments for a late 2d or early 3d century date based on the phrase *nuperrime temporibus nostris* in lines 73–77 are also dismissed by Sundberg.

Sundberg believes that linguistic arguments must be supplemented by careful analysis of the internal evidence of the Fragment. His primary attention is directed to the anomolies of this list which cannot be paralleled within the 2d century Church Fathers and which find parallels only in substantially later materials. For example, the *Shepherd* was universally accepted in both the East and the West, but was first called into question in the East by Eusebius. The presence of the Wisdom of SolomonSolomon in a list of NT writings has precedents in the East (Eusebius, Epiphanius, *Codex Alexandrinus*), but not the West.

The equivocal status of the *Apocalypse of John* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* accords better with a later, Eastern setting than a Western (Revelation was subject to question in the East only after Dionysius [265]. The *Apoc. Pet.* was relatively unknown in the West and a contender for a place in the NT only in the East).

Although Sundberg's thesis is not without its detractors, it has won considerable acceptance and further confirmation. Robbins grants that the Fragment is preoccupied with the Johannine literature—Gospel, Apocalypse and Epistles, but notes that debates about the latter, the Epistles, did not arise until after Epiphanius. Methodius, observes Robbins, also made a case for the acceptance of the *Apocalypses of John* and *Peter*, and favored the Wisdom of Solomon. Robbins also shows that questions about the number of the Catholic Epistles find their earliest parallel in Eusebius. Indeed, one of the most important consequences of Sundberg's work on the Muratorian Fragment is the reassessment of Eusebius' role in the formation of the Christian canon of Scripture.

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GREGORY ALLEN ROBBINS

**MUREX.** See PURPLE; ZOOLOGY.

**MUSHI** (PERSON) [Heb *mûšî* (מוּשִׁי)]. MUSHITES. Son of Merari, grandson of Levi (Exod 6:19; Num 3:20; 1 Chr 6:4—Eng6:19; 6:32—Eng6:47; 23:21, 23; 24:26, 30); also a designation of a levitical family or clan descendant from him (Num 3:33; 26:58). There are discrepancies between the various levitical genealogies of Exodus, Numbers, and 1 Chronicles. Three priestly families—the Gershonites, the Kohathites, and the Merarites—derive from Levi in Exod 6:19, Num 3:20, 26:57, 1 Chr 23:6, but five levitical families—the Libnites, the Hebronites, the Mahlites, the Mushites, and the Korahites—are found in Num 26:58 (only four in the LXX which omits the Mahlites). It is argued that Num 26:58 represents an older tradition wherein priestly families were associated with geographical location (Libni, Hebron, and Korah which is thought to be the name of a city in 1 Chr 2:43). Mushi, however, is not a city, but is generally thought to be a tribal name derived from Moses. In spite of many variations in the levitical genealogies of the Chronicler, consistently Mahli and Mushi are said to be the sons of Merari (1 Chr 6:4—Eng6:19; 23:21; 24:26).

The association of the terms "Mushi" and "Moses," the conflicts between Aaron and Moses (Exodus 32; Numbers 12), and several incidents occurring in the wilderness concerning priests (Lev 10:1–7; Num 16; 25:6–15) have led F. M. Cross (*CMHE*) to argue for the existence of a preexilic Mushite priesthood attached to the Shiloh shrine that rivaled the Aaronid priesthood which later came to dominate in Jerusalem. The paucity of evidence makes it difficult to argue for a Mushite priesthood and its place in the origin of ancient Israelite priesthood, but Cross' reconstruction has a certain plausibility to it. See also Budd *Numbers* WBC; Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC; and *AncIsr*.

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PAULINE A. VIVIANO

**MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.** This entry contains two articles. The first surveys the subject of music in the broad sense, as it is depicted in the biblical text. The second focuses specifically on musical instruments mentioned in the Bible.

***MUSIC IN THE BIBLE***

Evidence of music and dance is found throughout the biblical text. This investigation will survey the use of music in the Hebrew Bible and NT, as well as evidence of its social and religious setting in the ancient world.

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A. Introduction
B. Purposes: Secular
C. Purposes: Religious
D. Musical Terminology
E. Music in the NT

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**A. Introduction**

The myth of "the origin of skills" found in Gen 4:20–22, which records the "first" smith (Tubal-cain), the "first" cattle-breeder (Jabal), and the "first" musician (Jubal), portrays the three occupations most necessary (at least in the mind of the later biblical writer) to the earliest periods of human history. The fact that the musician is placed in the company of the more practical occupations suggests the antiquity of music and the regard in which it was held by Israelite culture.

Certainly Israel's neighbors provided a host of examples of musical expression. Mesopotamia and Egypt have long histories of both popular and religious music, which must have been known to the Israelites. Professional musicians, like the *kalû* harp-player so well attested in ancient texts from Mari and Uruk (Foxvog and Kilmer *ISBE* 3: 437), may well have been models for the levitical musicians in the Jerusalem temple. The types of instruments, liturgical chants, penitential prayers and laments, and hymns of praise created by these ancient civilizations set a standard of style and composition which was undoubtedly relied upon by the Israelites.

Archaeological discoveries have also added to our knowledge of ancient forms of music, the methods used to play them, as well as the postures of dancers captured in midstep in ancient Egyptian tomb paintings (see figs. 72–84 in Sendrey 1974, and 11–12 in Polin 1954). A wide variety of instruments are depicted in these scenes, showing their development through time, and a few have survived, attesting to their manufacture and providing clues to the musical intervals favored and possible reconstructions of notation by modern musicologists (Shanks 1980: 20–22).

As one might expect, music changed and became more complex and institutionalized as ancient Israel's society evolved from a pastoral nomadic tribal society to a village and later to an urban culture. Tracing these developments can provide an excellent sense of the cultural history of this ancient civilization. By examining each of the situations in which the biblical narrative describes the use of music and/or dance, a pattern of behavior and performance emerges.

However, before there were words there was music. From their earliest origins, humans have imitated the sounds around them and experimented with creating new ones (Madge 1977: 60). Once they had exhausted all the possibilities of their own voices, artificial noisemakers began to be invented. (See following article.) First among these were percussive sounds, caused by hitting sticks together or drumming on a log, tapping on a stretched animal skin, slapping one's thigh or stomach with the flat of one's hand. The movement of wind through the trees would have suggested additional sound possibilities: noises made with the mouth and lips, the sound of a leaf as air is blown across it, the blat produced by blowing through an animal horn (Polin 1954: xx). The range of sounds thus created was eventually augmented by the invention of stringed instruments. This would have been a somewhat later development since it required more than materials readily at hand and further experimentation to develop a sense of range and style. Once animal gut was strung on a bow for hunting, however, the twang as the arrow took flight would have announced the tonal possibilities that led to the invention of the harp and lyre.

**B. Purposes: Secular**

Even in its most primitive forms, music would have been employed by human communities for a variety of purposes. For instance, it could be used to soothe a child (see the Sumerian lullaby in *ANET*, pp. 651–52) or restive flocks of sheep. While engaging in strenuous or monotonous work (e.g., treading

grapes—Jer 25:30 and 48:33—or digging irrigation canals or wells—Num 21:17–18—or raising a new house or barn), musical chants could be used to help maintain the rhythm of the workers and speed completion of the day's toil.

Yet another common use for music and dance would have been in celebrations, both large and small. They were used to mark the major events in the life of the people or just to express their joy and contentment with life. Thus, in Eccl 3:4, in the litany of the events of life, dancing is contrasted with mourning (see also Lam 5:15 and Ps 30:12—Eng v 11). Not all frivolity was acceptable to the biblical writers, however. For example, a mocking drunkard's song is mentioned in Ps 69:13—Eng v 12, and in Job the sufferer observes with incomprehension that the children of the wicked dance while the wicked themselves sing to the rhythm of the tambourine, lyre, and pipe (21:11–12).

The diversions provided by entertainment were essential to their lives, amid so many concerns over hostile environmental conditions and unfriendly neighbors. That could well explain, at least in part, the sanctity of the hospitality code which required that visitors (both relatives and strangers) be housed, fed, and sent away with good feelings. Hosting visitors also afforded a measure of entertainment for both householder and guest, which, as suggested by Laban in his chiding of Jacob, may have included songs and instrumental music (Gen 31:47).

Since the economic base for most of the population, even during the monarchic period, was primarily a mixture of pastoral and agricultural activity, planting, harvesting, and sheepshearing would have been occasions for mass get-togethers and religious celebrations. Thus the maidens of Shiloh danced each year beside their vineyards (Judg 21:19–21), and the sons of David made merry at a feast following the shearing of Absalom's sheep (2 Sam 14:28). In the case of the Shiloh festival and the maiden's dance in Cant 6:13, dancing provided an opportunity for eventual matchmaking, serving both a religious purpose and aiding in the perpetuation of the community (Eaton 1975: 137).

Weddings were also occasions in which music and other merriment took place. Samson's riddle, so filled with alliteration and wordplay (Nel 1985: 542–43), suggests a chant or plainsong style that would fit into the festivities of his marriage feast (Judg 14:14). The ritual of the marriage feast also included a staged meeting between the bride and the groom's party, who were accompanied by musicians playing tambourines (1 Macc 9:37–39; Sendrey 1969: 461). They and the whole company then joined in songs as the feasting and other activities commenced (Jer 16:9). Curiously, the wedding feasts described in the NT (Matt 22:1–13 and John 2:1–11) do not include any mention of musicians or songs. However, these may have been such common aspects of the feast that they were simply to be assumed by the audience.

Births, with their promise of new life and continuity of inheritance, were also marked by ceremony and ritualized singing. Even before the infant was born, chants and incantations were used to guard it and effect a speedy and safe birth (van Dijk 1975: 55). In preparation for the birth, midwives were called in, and in some cases singers were also summoned to celebrate the birth and guard the child (e.g., see the Ugaritic legend of Aqhat, *KTU* 1.17 II: 10–42; *ANET,* pp. 150–51). The use of the "Fear not" formula by the midwives in Gen 35:17 and 1 Sam 4:20, followed by the mother naming the newborn child, suggests a traditional litany to be sung or chanted at the birth of sons. This is at least partially echoed in the Lucan account of Jesus' birth, in which angels tell the shepherds not to fear, then name the child and sing in chorus (Luke 2:9–14).

With the establishment of a royal court, new applications for music and dance were introduced. The coronation of kings was announced by the blaring of trumpets (2 Sam 15:10; 1 Kgs 1:39), and in Solomon's case a procession marching to the tune of pipes (1 Kgs 1:40). The latter marks an intentional paralleling of his father's career. David had also entered Jerusalem in procession as the ark of the covenant was brought to the new capital city. On that occasion the people sang as they marched to the sound of lyres, harps, tambourines, castanets, and cymbals (2 Sam 6:5). Upon reaching the city, David both worshiped and demonstrated his right to rule through the power of Yahweh and the ark by dancing "with all his might" as horns played (vv 14–15). It is quite likely that David's dance and procession were subsequently reenacted by his successors to the throne, thereby legitimizing their rule and invoking the covenant Yahweh made with David (see Psalm 132; Eaton 1975: 138).

There are in fact a whole group of "enthronement psalms" (among them Psalms 2; 20; 72; 89; 101; 110; 144) which reiterate the Davidic dynasty's right to rule and which were probably used in an autumnal festival to commemorate its founding (Johnson 1967: 68–72; Mowinckel 1962: 152).

Among the events that would have taken place in this annual festival is a grand procession, perhaps using Psalm 68, which exhorts the people: "Sing to God, sing praises to his name" (v 5—Eng v 4), in its opening chant. Priests and nobles, advisers and representatives of designated tribes, would march through the streets of Jerusalem to the temple with "the singers in front, the minstrels last, between them maidens playing timbrels" (v 26—Eng v 25). There sacrifices and speeches would be made, which, as in this psalm, would include in condensed form the triumphant acts of Yahweh (Weiser *Psalms* OTL, 487). Both Yahweh, "who rides upon the clouds" (v 5—a title also used for Baal in the Ugaritic epics, e.g., *KTU* 1.2 IV:8) and his chosen king were thus exalted.

Once enthroned in their palaces, kings and their wealthy nobles would have wanted to add all the luxuries found at other royal courts. Thus, as described in Eccl 2:8, they "gathered … silver and gold and the treasure of kings and provinces … singers, both men and women, and many concubines, man's delight." Singers and musicians became one of the trappings of power (2 Sam 19:35), both for entertainment and ostentation (Isa 5:12). Such extravagance led to social criticism by the prophets. Among these voices of dissent was that of Amos, who chastised the wealthy who "stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat lambs from the flock …, who sing idle songs to the sound of the harp …" (6:4–5).

The military also made use of music, but this was principally to rally their forces (Judg 3:27; 6:34), to guide disparate groups of men on the battlefield, or to signal troops to advance (Num 10:9) or retreat. Sendrey (1969: 469–70) suggests there may have been preparatory "war dances" prior to battles. He cites Ezek 6:11, "Smite with your hand, and stamp with your foot," as an allusion to such a dance. Isa 13:3, which enjoins the soldiers to "consecrate themselves" before the coming battle, may also be an indication of ritual activity, including dance.

The trumpets used by Gideon (Judg 7:15–24) served the additional function of startling the Midianites and aiding in the Israelites' surprise attack. Similarly, the blasting of rams' horns by the Israelite priests in the siege of Jericho added to the psychological effect after the people had marched in silence before the city for six days (Josh 6:3–16).

Victories, of course, sparked spontaneous celebration and joy (Judg 11:34). To commemorate these occasions heroic ballads and songs of praise to Yahweh were composed. Among the best examples of these hymns of thanksgiving are the "Song of the Sea" (Exod 15:1–18), the ballad of victory over Sihon and the Amorites (Num 21:27–30), and the "Song of Deborah" (Judges 5). Each of these epic poems, as well as the shorter boastful chants of Lamech (Gen 4:23) and Samson (Judg 15:16), have a rhythmic style. The instrumental accompaniment, while subordinate to the reciting of the verses, would have helped to create mood, heighten tension, and add to the symmetry of the composition (Polin 1954: 14). Dance, too, would have been a part of these celebrations, as processions of women with hand-drums performed a "round-dance" (*māḥôl*) as they joined the victorious soldiers or priests on their way to the sanctuary of Yahweh (Eaton 1975: 137).

Less elaborate chants, designed to accompany rhythmic dancing, were also composed. The progressive phrase sung by village women to welcome Saul and David—"Saul has slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands" (1 Sam 18:7)—must have haunted King Saul. These women would have stamped their feet as they sang and whirled to the sound of the timbrel just as modern bedouin women still do today (Sendrey 1969: 466). Just how pervasive this phrase became can be seen in its repetition among the Philistines two separate times in the narrative (1 Sam 21:11; 29:5). There was probably at one time an entire body of heroic epics and chants which is no longer in existence. They may have been included in either of the lost resources of the biblical writers: the Book of the Wars of the Lord (Num 21:14) or the Book of Jashar (Josh 10:13; 2 Sam 1:18).

**C. Purposes: Religious**

The use of music for religious purposes can be seen in both popular as well as institutionalized settings. For peasant and king alike, music served as part of the process of mourning or lamentation (2 Sam 3:32–34; Judg 11:40). Funeral processions throughout the ANE included professional mourners, beating their foreheads, moaning, and shuffling to the sound of wailing flutes (Sendrey 1969: 471; Eaton 1975: 137). Sickness and premature death were basic facts of life for these ancient peoples and thus they created songs, musical noisemakers (such as the bells on the robe of the high priest—Exod 28:33–35), and dances with an apotropaic purpose. The hope was that by soothing the sick (1 Sam 16:16) or frightening away the demons who caused the illness, a cure could be effected.

The apotropaic character of religious ritual, including song and dance, is clearly seen in the case of the frightened Israelites who asked Aaron to create a golden calf for them when it appeared that Moses was lost and they needed a tangible object to worship in order to placate their fears. Their worship included loud, frenzied singing and dancing (Exod 32:19), which may be a polemic used by the writer to differentiate between Canaanite worship of idols (as well as the golden calves at Dan and Bethel) and proper Israelite (Jerusalem's) rituals (see Childs *Exodus* OTL, 559–60 for a discussion of this passage). One indication of this is the similarity between their actions and those of the prophets of Baal in 1 Kgs 18:26–29. These prophets chanted an invocation, "O Baal, answer us!," and danced a limping stutter-step. Then, in their frenzy to be answered, they cut themselves and shouted. Elijah mocks them and their ineffectual actions, ultimately ordering their deaths just as Moses orders the deaths of the unfaithful Israelites.

Eventually apotropaic chants and dances became more complex and served as the basis for much of Israelite religious drama and ritual. For instance, the psalms associated with the recitation of the creation story—Psalms 8; 19; 104; 139—contain both the literary as well as musical elements (based on the superscription rubrics, choral markers, and assonances in the text) needed for a proper performance. Similarly, in the narrative sections of the biblical text are found stories which include both apotropaic and celebratory musical expressions. For example, the "Song of the Sea" and the "Song of Miriam" in Exodus 15 suggest relief as well as fear of the elements which had been unleashed to destroy the pharaoh's chariots.

Several examples in the prophetic narratives suggest that music and dance were an intrinsic part of religious expression. For instance, the prophets whom Saul encountered as they processed down from the high place, playing harp, tambourine, flute, and lyre, were prophesying as the music put them into an ecstatic state (1 Sam 10:5). Elisha employed the use of a musician to bring on a prophetic trance in 2 Kgs 3:15.

Pantomime, so common among the prophets who enacted prophecy, could in some cases be identified as a sacred dance. An example of this is found in 1 Kgs 22:11, where the court prophet Zedekiah used stylized iron horns to portray the vigor with which Jehoshaphat and Ahab would defeat their enemies. Undoubtedly, he stomped about like a bull (a common symbol for the Canaanite god Baal) during his performance, which was probably not spontaneous but rather a traditional dance designed to invoke the aid of the gods in this military endeavor (Eaton 1975: 139).

Another occasion for religious singing would have been during pilgrimages to sacred shrines and temples. This was a common activity among the Israelites, starting in the settlement period. For instance, Elkanah and his family annually made the trek to Shiloh to worship before the ark of the covenant (1 Sam 1:3). Following the construction of the temple in Jerusalem and the emphasis placed on annual festivals and sacrifice by the kings (especially Hezekiah and Josiah), annual events like the Passover would have brought many people to the city. Along the way, entertainment would have included the singing of pilgrim songs, such as the "Songs of Ascent"—Psalms 120–134—which extol the opportunity to "go up" to Jerusalem and worship in the sanctuary at Zion, and are probably associated with the three great agricultural festivals (Exod 23:17; Deut 16:16).

As music became more formal, professional guilds of musicians were employed to form choirs and orchestras which served at the various temples and shrines and in the palace. One sign of this is found in the book of Amos. During his stay at Bethel, Amos harangued against the emptiness of the worship in the

temple there, declaring that Yahweh would no longer listen to the worshippers' songs and harps (5:23). Yet another indication of these musician guilds is found in the Assyrian Annals. Following the siege of Jerusalem by the Assyrian king Sennacherib, King Hezekiah was forced to pay a huge ransom for the city which included male and female musicians (*ANET*, p. 288).

The Israelite musician guilds have many parallels throughout the ANE. They in essence represent the movement of music into a formal liturgical setting with a set religious calendar of performances. Sarna (*EncJud* 13: 1317) suggests that the levitical singers, said to have been appointed by David to the task of performing the music in the Jerusalem temple (1 Chronicles 6; 15; 16; 25; 29; 2 Chr 35:15), were actually in place within the cultic community not long after this traditional date. Whenever they were appointed, it would have been their responsibility to make constant praise to Yahweh, and "prophesy with lyres, with harps, and with cymbals" (1 Chr 25:1). Among the themes of their music was the call for Yahweh to have mercy and to care for the people (Psalms 23; 46) and curse the wicked (Psalm 58). They also recited the epic history of Yahweh's past victories at the major festivals and the coronation of kings (Psalms 78; 81; 105).

These levitical singers, whose original leaders are said to be Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman (1 Chr 25:1) were probably even more prominent in temple worship during the Second Temple period following the Exile. They were joined in the organization and performance of all liturgical music by several other groups, including those associated with Chenaniah, "leader of the music of the singers" (1 Chr 5:27), and Mattithiah and five other men, who were "to lead with lyres" (1 Chr 15:21). Still another group, the Korahites (1 Chr 6:7), were also apparently members of the musical community, since their name appears in the superscription of a number of psalms (42; 44–49; 84–85; 87–88).

Each guild would have ultimately created and become associated with a particular repertoire of songs—thereby aiding in the transmission and survival of this sacred music (Sarna *EncJud* 13: 1317). Their survival during the Babylonian Exile and their importance to the establishment of the Second Temple community can be seen in the list of the exiles who returned with Zerubbabel to Jerusalem. Here it states that 200 male and female singers (Ezra 2:65) as well as 128 "sons of Asaph" (2:41) were a part of the company of returnees.

In light of the later prominence of the guilds, it is interesting to note that the "sons of Asaph" are showcased in the ceremony dedicating the laying of the foundation of the restored temple in Ezra 3:10–11, playing trumpets and cymbals and singing responsively a hymn of praise to Yahweh. However, no musicians or choirs at all are mentioned in Solomon's formal dedication of the temple in 1 Kings 8. It seems likely, however, that such events demanded music and ritual dancing and in fact several times reference is made to "prayer and supplication" (8:28, 30, 33). The absence of performers in the text probably reflects a more focused intent on the part of the writer, who did not choose to crowd his scene with obvious details.

**D. Musical Terminology**

Despite the fact that the music of ancient Israel is, for the most part, lost to us, there is ample evidence which indicates just how organized music and musical performance actually was. This includes the technical terms found in the Psalms. These consist of rubrics, formal instructions to the choirmasters (*lamĕnaṣṣēaḥ*—a term that appears 55 times in the Psalms and in Hab 3:19). They deal with style, tone (*ʿal-haššĕmînît*—"on the eighth"—Psalms 6; 12, but not an octave, which was unknown to the Israelite musicians), instrumentation (*nĕgînôt*—stringed instruments—Psalms 4; 6; 54; 55; 67; 76), and even the tune to employ (*ʾal-tašḥēt*—"Do not destroy"—Psalms 57–59; 75; and *ʿal-ʾayyelet haššaḥar*—"According to the Hind of the Dawn"—Psalm 22). A few were used to signal the genre type. Among these is *šiggāyôn* (Psalm 7), which is related to the Akk word *šegu,* "to lament," and therefore may serve as the label for a song of lamentation.

Cues are also given. For example, *ʿal mût labbēn* (Psalm 9) may indicate the use of a male soprano voice, *ʾel hanneḥîlôt* (Psalm 5) may be a cue for the entrance of wind instruments. Most of these terms appear in the superscriptions of the psalms, but a few, like *selâ,* appear in the body of individual psalms. This presently untranslatable word, which occurs 71 times in 39 psalms and three times in Habakkuk (3:3,

9, 13), may have served as a breath marker, an indicator to musicians to enter, or simply as an affirmation of what had just been said.

More general terms also appear in the superscriptions. Some of these are labels, like *tĕhillâ* ("song of praise"—Psalm 145) and *tĕpillâ* ("prayer"—Psalms 17; 86; 90; 102; 142; Hab 3:1), which apply to nearly all the psalms. Others are more explicit in designating the type of psalm and in some case the repertoire or guild to which it belongs. Among those most commonly used are the following.

1. *maśkîl.* This term is found in the headings of thirteen psalms (32; 42; 44; 45; 52–55; 74; 78; 88; 89; 142). Its root origin is probably *śākal,* "to comprehend," and thus it has been interpreted by many scholars to designate a didactic poem. This is such a general label; however, the term must have some more particular meaning—perhaps, as Sendrey (1969: 104) suggests, it is the indicator of a penitential song.

2. *mizmôr.* Appearing only in the Psalms, this term is found 57 times, always in association with a personal name; it probably is a label indicating music associated with liturgy and the guilds.

3. *šîr.* While this is a generic term, simply meaning "sing," it also has technical qualities, appearing 30 times in the Psalms as well as elsewhere (Exod 15:1; Num 21:17; Deut 31:19, among others). It is found in the heading as well as in the body of the psalm, and is sometimes accompanied by *mizmôr.* In certain contexts, therefore, it seems to indicate a body or a particular type of religious music. A sign of this is in the title *šîr hamma‘ălôt,* "Songs of Ascent," found in Psalms 120–134.

**E. Music in the NT**

The destruction of the temple in Jerusalem in 70 C.E. set the stage for new forms of musical expression among the Jews. Public music and dance had already been restricted on the Sabbath (*m. Besa* V:2) and it became even more restrained in response to Greek and Roman rule and culture (Sendrey 1969: 468–69). Only Luke 7:32 and Matt 11:7 specifically mention fluting and dance in the NT and in the former this involves the play of children.

It was in the synagogue, however, that music continued to flourish and serve as an emotional and didactic aid to the maintenance of Judaism. The levitical guilds were now gone and instrumental music was forbidden in the synagogue, leaving vocal music to evolve in a new way. Thus the writers of the NT and the founders of the new Christian movement very likely adopted what they knew of synagogue music to their own worship. That would explain why Paul, who is familiar with musical instruments, considered them "lifeless" (1 Cor 14:7–8) and promoted worship in the form of "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody to the Lord" (Eph 5:19).

The borrowing from synagogue worship of both hymn and chorus singing added the emotional, communal feeling needed to help build the new movement. Instruction without the freedom to express joy and praise would have quickly become dull. In any case, many of these early Christian groups met in the local synagogue and they would have been familiar with the form of worship conducted there. It would have been only natural to employ the same hymns they already knew while adding new ones to reflect their new theological understanding. Among these may be the "Worthy art thou" hymnic fragments in Rev 4:11; 5:9–10, and the songs of victory and assurance in Rev 7:15–17; 11:17–18. Eventually, as the Christian movement became more international, Hellenistic musical influences were introduced, but antagonism to instrumental music, so closely associated with pagan religions and the spectacles of the Roman colosseum, continued for several centuries (Werner *IDB* 3: 469).

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## *MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS*

The evidence concerning musical instruments in the Bible includes scriptural references and archaeological discoveries. The latter provide a context for the scriptural references in the musical usage of the ANE and in the range and character of musical instruments known there. Recent developments in this field include the reconstruction of such musical instruments on the basis of archaeological finds and consequent discoveries concerning the tonal range, timbre, and techniques involved in the playing of such instruments. The limited range of the archaeological finds in Palestine which relate to musical practice during the biblical period raises important questions as to how the scriptural references should be interpreted: Should the translation of biblical terms apparently referring to musical instruments be restricted by the limitations of those finds, and should the limited character of those finds be taken as a general indication of the nature of the biblical musical tradition? Was it primarily vocal, and only instrumental to a secondary extent?

The scriptural references themselves require attention at several different levels. As we have indicated, one of these levels is the relation of the terms used to actual instruments known from archaeological finds. Another level is concerned with the role of those terms within the development of the scriptural material: How do they fit into the various literary and oral contexts to be assumed as part of the history of the present scriptural and intertestamental texts? Since in many cases that history stretches over several centuries, do those terms refer to changing practices and patterns of musical activity? Or even if it is granted that musical traditions are slow to change, do the changes in cultural and religious patterns implied by the history of the scriptural tradition require us to exercise care in assuming that a particular musical term can always be taken to refer to a specific, identifiable piece of musical practice? At the very least these questions caution against the acceptance without further inquiry of the translations used for musical instruments in modern versions of the Bible.

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A. Idiophones
   1. *měna‹an‹îm*
   2. *měṣiltayīm*
   3. *ṣelṣělîm*
   4. *kymbala*
   5. *šālīš*
   6. *pa‹ămōn*

B. Membranophones (*tōp*)

C. Aerophones
   1. Group 1
      a. *ḥālîl*
      b. *něḥīlôt*
   2. Group 2
      a. *šôpār*
      b. *ḥăṣoṣĕrâ*
      c. *qeren*
      d. *yōbēl*

D. Chordophones
   1. *kinnôr*
   2. *nĕbāl*
   3. *‹ûgāb*

E. Daniel 3
   1. *qarnā›*
   2. *mašrôqîtā›*

3. *qaytrôs*
4. *sabbĕkāʿ*
5. *pĕsanterîn*
6. *šmpōnyâ*

F. *salpinx* in the NT

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**A. Idiophones**

Idiophones are musical instruments of resonant material which emit sounds when they are shaken, struck, flexed, or rubbed.

**1. *mĕnaʿanʿîm.*** Possible translations at 2 Sam 6:5 include "shakers" (probably preferable), "rattles," "castanets," "sistrums." The context is a joyful, whirling dance as part of a procession to Jerusalem. David and the Israelites are "making merry" to the accompaniment of various percussion and string instruments. "Shakers" (i.e., gourds, or clay and pottery shapes, filled with seeds, shaken by the dancer) are an ancient and widespread form of accompaniment to dance. "Shakers" and "rattles" (perhaps distinguishable from shakers only by the way in which they are held) are well attested archaeologically as early as the 2d millennium B.C.E. in Babylonia, and have been found in several Palestinian sites datable to the 14th–10th centuries B.C.E. They have parallels in modern African cultures. Castanets are also known in the ancient world; for example, in the form of Egyptian clappers and Mesopotamian clackers. The "sistrum," (the Vg translation at 2 Kgdms 6:5), which is a rattle within a frame, is best known from Egyptian sources, and may well have been known in Davidic times.

**2. *mĕṣiltayīm.*** The Heb word *mĕṣiltayīm* may refer to twin cymbals, saucerlike plates with pierced centers for wire finger-holds and reflexed rims. They were capable of producing a high-pitched tinkling when struck together or when one was dashed against the rim of the other (Yadin 1972: 69 for a pair of these inside a bronze bowl in a 14th century B.C.E. stelae temple). Alternatively the reference may be to small bronze cones, sometimes for striking against each other vertically, which produced a resonating or dull clash according to the way in which they were held or struck.

The word *mĕṣiltayīm* appears only in Ezra, Nehemiah, and 1 and 2 Chronicles. Its uses may be grouped as follows: (a) in apparently stereotyped lists (as in Neh 12:27; 2 Chr 5:12; 29:25); (b) as expansions of musical references in 2 Samuel (as in 1 Chr 13:8—an expansion of 2 Sam 5:6—and 1 Chr 15:28, both in connection with the ark's procession to Jerusalem); (c) in other levitical material (e.g., 1 Chr 15:16; 16:5c; and 25:6). Together these present the ritual associations of the use of the twin cymbals by the musicians of the Second Temple. They hint at the varying levels of the tradition and varying emphases on priestly and levitical responsibilities in those different levels. The twin cymbals were used to accompany singing alongside strings and trumpets, to provide other percussion effects, or possibly to lead or begin choral singing. The number of the musicians involved has been understood symbolically. The Psalms use a different form of the word (cf. *ṣelṣĕlîm*).

**3. *ṣelṣĕlîm.*** The Heb word *ṣelṣĕlîm* appears in 2 Sam 6:5 and Ps 150:5. These are distinct contexts: the former has already been described as a dance-procession, the second is a hymn of praise involving most of the instruments known in Israelite music. In Psalm 150 the cymbals are described as *ṣilṣĕlê tĕrûʿâ* and *ṣilṣĕlê šāmaʿ*. These are generally understood as musical terms, either indicating the kind of cymbal used (high-pitched or low-pitched), or the musical use made of the cymbals (clashed or allowed to ring). It is possible, however, that the additional terms indicate primarily how they were employed in the temple worship and only secondarily what kind of cymbals they were or how they were played. The *ṣilṣĕlê tĕrûʿâ* would then be "cymbals of acclamation," introducing the acclamation of praise by the singers or the assembled crowd, and the *ṣilṣĕlê šāmaʿ*, a calling for attention, although whether this was human attention or divine attention is not clear. The relation of this to the temple worship is dealt with below.

**4. *kymbala.*** The word *kymbala* frequently indicates the use of cymbals in Gk translations of the OT. It does so also in 1 Cor 13:1. This Pauline verse is open to a number of interpretations. It may be a comparison of "speaking with tongues of men and of angels" with bombastic musical instruments (*chalkos* = a bronze gong, *kymbala* = bronze cymbals), contrasting these with the way of Christian love.

Alternatively it may compare glossolalia and visionary voices with inessentials such as the bronze jars used as theatrical acoustic amplifiers and *kymbala alalazonta,* the cymbals used in the temple ritual, contrasting both with the one essential quality of love.

Following the first interpretation, *kymbala alalazonta* in the context of 1 Cor 13:1 provides difficulties, *kymbala alalazonta,* "wailing cymbals," could have the orgiastic associations of a bacchantic rite, reminding the reader of associations between such orgies and "speaking with tongues." That would be a critical reference to "speaking with tongues," and also, from the literary point of view, a harsh association of ideas. Following the second interpretation, "*alalazonta"* makes better sense, since the root of that word is associated, not least in the Gk translations of the OT, with Jewish "acclamations of praise." As compared with love, glossolalia and the cultic cymbals leading the temple acclamations of praise are both dispensable.

**5. *šālīš.*** The Vg translates Heb *šālīš* at 1 Sam 18:6 as "sistrum." It is by no means certain that *šālīš* is a musical instrument. The context is the singing and dancing of the Israelite women welcoming Saul and David, so a reference to a musical instrument here would be appropriate. But even if it is a musical instrument, its exact character remains uncertain. The sibilant character of the word *šālīš,* and a possible association with the Hebrew root for "three," makes "sistrum" as likely a translation as any (Sendrey 1969: 381). The sistrum was a common iconographic element in the Egyptian cult of Isis in all periods.

**6. *paʿămōn.*** In Exod 39:24–26 and 28:35, Heb *paʿămōn* is often translated "bell." It is quite possible that the word originally referred to platelets or bell-shaped objects hung as decoration around the high priest's robe and as a means of deflecting destructive powers. By the 1st century C.E. and perhaps even earlier, these were understood to be "bells" in a modern sense, i.e., bells with a ringing clapper inside each cavity (cf. Philo *Vita Mos* II. 110[23]).

**B. Membranophones (*tōp*)**

These are musical instruments from which sound is produced by movement of a stretched membrane, often of skin. The Hebrew word associated with this type of instrument is *tōp.* Possible translations include "drum," "frame drum," "tambourine," and "timbrel." In some cases the generic term "drum" may be an appropriate translation (cf. Gen 31:27, where the drum and lyre accompany songs; and Isa 5:12; 30:32; Ps 81:3, where the drum is made to "sound out"). In other cases, a "frame drum" may be indicated, i.e., a hand drum with a skin stretched over a circular (cf. Jer 31:4) or triangular frame, gripped by the left hand, with the fingers of the left hand tightening or releasing the tension on the skin, which is then struck with the palm of the right hand. 1 Sam 10:5 (and possibly Exod 15:20) includes such a frame drum as part of the so-called "Canaanite orchestra" (or "band" in the RSV; on this see C.1.a. below; on the evidence for this, cf. the 10th century B.C.E. Ashdod pottery stand, probably of Philistine origin). Some prefer the translation "tambourine" or "timbrel," but that suggests additional jingling circlets of metal. The evidence for such instruments is late, and the main uses of *tōp* are early. The Heb *tōp* is thus associated with singing, festivals, processions, and bands.

**C. Aerophones**

Aerophones are musical instruments which produce sound through vibration of air in, through, or around them. They can be subdivided into two main groups.

**1. Group 1.** In this group of aerophones, sound is produced at the point where air enters the instrument.

**a. *ḥālîl.* (1) A double-pipe.** A "double-pipe" is composed of two pipes, cones, or cylinders, in a V-shape with a reed or reeds at the point of the V. The two pipes may be the same length, one having several holes and the other one hole only, so that the latter acts as a kind of drone. An example of this may be 1 Sam 10:5, where the *ḥālîl* is another part of the "Canaanite band." Reed-pipes were also associated with funeral songs (cf. Jer 48:36 and Matt 9:23). Reed instruments may have been used to express great pathos.

**(2) A single-pipe.** This was particularly popular at feasts (cf. Isa 5:12; 30:29).

**(3) Pipes or flutes.** Extant from the 1st century C.E. is an example of a bone-flute with a blocked top and a narrow entrance into the instrument's vertical cavity. There are other kinds of flutes, some vertical, with the player blowing over the top rim, others transverse, with the opening on the upper side of the instrument. In a context such as 1 Kgs 1:40, the reference may be to several different kinds of pipes or

flutes, although perhaps not including reed pipes. In 1 Cor 14:7 an instrument of the flute family may be intended (*aulos* Gk).

**b. *nĕḥīlôt.*** The Heb *nĕḥīlôt* (cf. Psalm 5) are probably the lamentation-pipes for which monuments and reliefs give impressive evidence.

There are other Hebrew terms sometimes associated with this class of aerophones, but the evidence concerning them is not strong, e.g., *ʿal ʿălāmôt* (cf. Psalm 46). 1 Chr 15:20 suggests that an instrumental interpretation of this word is inappropriate. It could perhaps refer to vocal instructions (cf. Exod 15:20; Judg 11:34).

**2. Group 2.** In this group of aerophones the lips of the player produce the vibration of air.

**a. *šôpār.*** Since the ancient distinction between the Heb *šôpār* and the trumpet does not correspond to the modern distinction between "horn" and "trumpet," the simple transliteration "shophar" (rather than "ram's horn," as a translation of the Heb) has much to commend it. The *šôpār* has two interrelated areas of association.

**(1) War.** The *šôpār* has sacred associations, even in battle (Josh 6:4–20; Judg 3:27; 6:34). It was used for signaling (1 Sam 13:3; Isa 18:3; 27:13; 58:1; Jer 51:27; 4:5, 19, 21); it was used by the watchman (Jer 6:1, 17; Ezek 33:3–6), and as a warning to repent (Amos 2:2; 3:6; Hos 5:8; Joel 2:1, 15; Zeph 1:16; Hos 8:1). 1QM illustrates these uses of the *šôpār,* except that the trumpet is given greater precision in signaling detailed instructions to the army. The Chronicler has a distinctive view of the relative positions of *šôpār* and *ḥăṣōṣĕrâ.*

**(2) Worship.** the *šôpār* was sounded throughout the land on the Day of Atonement (Lev 25:9). Zeph 1:16 provides a parallel for this, with clear military links. The *šôpār* is linked with the *tĕrûʿâ;* this has a rich series of associations—warnings concerning holiness and judgment (Lev 26:16ff.), and celebration of victory and blessing for the land. 1 Kgs 1:34, 39, 41 and 2 Kgs 9:13 refer to the use of the *šôpār* in connection with royal coronations.

**b. *ḥăṣoṣĕrâ.*** In connection with this Hebrew word, a passage in Josephus (*Ant* 3 §291) is particularly relevant:

> Moses further invented a kind of clarion which he had made for him in silver, on this wise. In length a little short of a cubit, it is a narrow tube, slightly thicker than a flute, with a mouthpiece wide enough to admit the breath and a bell-shaped extremity such as trumpets have. It is called asosra in the Hebrew language.

Where *šôpār* and *ḥăṣōṣĕrôt* occur together (Hos 5:8 and Ps 98:6) it is convenient simply to transliterate the former as "shophar" and to translate the latter as "trumpet." But whether or not this is an accurate rendering depends on two factors: to what date should a text such as Ps 98:6 be assigned? And, at what date did the instrument described by Josephus first appear in Israelite-Jewish culture?

The silver trumpets made of hammered metal (Num 10:1) had a specific liturgical function at the end of the OT period (cf. Sir 50:16–19). 2 Kgs 12:13 suggests that they also had a role in the temple at an earlier period. In Numbers, as in Ecclesiasticus, they are signs of divine favor.

The *ḥăṣōṣĕrôt* are played by the priests rather than by the Levites in the later strands of the tradition in Chronicles (2 Chr 5:12). In the earlier strands that distinction is missing or blurred (1 Chr 16:42; cf. 2 Chr 29:25, where the Levites play "the instruments of David"). The Targumic evidence in 1 Chr 13:8 supports the translation of *ḥăṣōṣĕrôt* as "trumpets."

**c. *qeren*.** The Heb word *qeren* is parallel to *šôpār* in Josh 6:5. Some suggest that *qeren* refers to "horn" without any metal attachment, whether as mouthpiece or as bell. But that should not be taken to suggest that *šôpār* did not also carry the same possible sense. (For the use of *qeren* in Aramaic, see below).

**d. *yōbēl.*** The Heb *yōbēl* is parallel to *šôpār* in Exodus 19 and Joshua 6. Again, like *qeren,* it is probably an alternative designation for (rather than a subcategory of) the *šôpār.* In Exod 19:13 God gives notice that the *yōbēl* is to be blown as permission for the people to approach the mountain (cf. the use of *salpinx* in Heb 12:19); in v 16 the *šôpār* sounds, and in v 19 it becomes an accompaniment to the divine voice. Read as a consecutive narrative the passage gives the impression that the *yōbēl* and the *šôpār* are the same instrument. The word *yōbēl* may, of course, betray the presence of different strata in the text; the word

marks the start of the sacred festival in Lev 25:34. In Joshua 6 the narrative appears to use different words for the same instruments. Some argue that the verb used in Exod 19:16 and Josh 6:5 with *yōbēl* indicates a louder kind of *šôpār,* but the verb could simply mean a particular way of sounding the *šôpār.* Since the narrative in both places depends on the sacred quality of the instrument rather than on decibels, the verb may not possess a decisively musical significance in either place.

**D. Chordophones**

These instruments produce sound from the plucking or bowing of strings stretched over or into a sounding box. The Mesopotamian and Egyptian instruments identifiable from depictions and descriptions include three main types: (1) the harp (akin to the warrior's bow with up to twelve strings), with the soundbox on the horizontal or the vertical part of the bow; (2) the lyre (Eg. *knnwr*), with two arms (symmetrical or asymmetrical) raised from ends of the soundbox, supporting a yoke from which the strings (three to eleven in number) descend into or over the soundbox; and (3) the lute, whose strings stretch along a narrow neck and then over a bulging soundbox. Details concerning the length of string, tuning, playing, and damping in the use of these instruments have been partly clarified from three interrelated areas of research: the study of ancient notations, the study of the depictions of players, and modern reconstructions and recordings (Wulstan; Kilmer). The lyre is well represented in Israelite archaeological finds (e.g., the 12th century B.C.E. Megiddo ivory plaque, the 7th century B.C.E. Jasper Seal, and the Bar Kokhba coins ca. 132 C.E.). The lute is less well attested (cf. the 16th century pottery figurine from Tell el-Ajul, and the 15th–13th century Beth-shean bronze statuette). The harp is not found at all.

**1. *kinnôr.*** The identification of Heb *kinnôr* with the lyre is very probable (cf. *Ant* 7.306, the various versions of the OT which understand *kinnôr* as a *kithara,* and Abraham ben Meir ibn Ezra's description; by contrast, the links of the harp with Syria are insufficient to explain the forty-two uses of the word *kinnôr* in the OT [cf. Juv. *Sat.* 3.63–4 "obliquas chordas"]).

The associations of the *kinnôr* with singing are ancient (Gen 31:27; 2 Sam 6:5; Isa 23:16) and highly significant in the Psalm material (cf. Pss 57:9; 98:5; 147:7; 149:3; 150:3; 1QH 5:30; 11:22f. [*TDOT* 4: 91–98; *RGG* 4: 1201]—cf. also the Wisdom context in Ps 49:5). A feature of David's selection as a *kinnôr*-player by Saul (1 Sam 16:16) was that he should "play [Heb *ngn*] *with the hand*"—as distinct, perhaps, from "with the plectrum"? The "Canaanite prophetic band" seems to have included the *kinnôr* (1 Sam 10:5). The exact nature of the wood used in its construction is unfortunately unclear (1 Kgs 10:12; 2 Chr 9:11), nor can we be sure of the character and associations of its sound, except that considerable variation was possible. It can sound "sweet" (Ps 81:2) or "soft" (Ps 92:4); but does the Heb *hmh* mean "groaning" (cf. Ps 55:17) or "sounding"? Does *šĕʿôn* mean "din" in Isa 24:8, and is this the sound of the instrument, or a tumult of singers? Is it or is it not an appropriate instrument for a lament (cf. Psalms 43 and 137)? The rhythmic character of the *kinnôr* was proverbial (Isa 30:32), especially when played with the plectrum. It remained a cultic instrument in the developed pattern of Second Temple worship and was seen in continuity with the prophecy of preexilic times (1 Chr 25:4).

**2. *nĕbāl.*** With this Heb term we enter a far more difficult area, as the variant translations in the OT versions show. The term appears parallel to *kinnôr* in 2 Sam 6:5, 1 Sam 10:5, Pss 57:9; 71:22; 81:3; 108:3; 150:3 and in the Chronicler; in Pss 33:2; 92:4; 144:9 it is parallel to *kinnôr* but is itself linked with the term *ʿaśôr* ("ten stringed"?). It appears to have cultic associations in Amos, especially in 5:23 and 6:5, of which some suggest that the language evokes dissolute, noisy improvisation indicating careless self-confidence. Amos seems to imply that the instrument is plucked with the fingers. Josephus (*Ant* 7.306) agrees, describing it as having twelve notes (*phthongous* cf. 1 Cor 14:7). The rabbis regarded it as a larger, lower-pitched *kinnôr,* and modern writers sometimes affirm the use of different sizes of instrument, unwisely using as a basis the evidence from 1 Chr 15:20f. (cf. above on *ʿal ʿălāmôt;* the difficulties in interpreting *ʿal ʿălāmôt* make it doubly difficult to reach a conclusion regarding *šĕmînît,* especially the conclusion that *šĕmînît* refers to an instrument capable of playing an octave lower). Attempts to derive the character of the instrument etymologically can be misleading, as we shall see below; but it is possible that in this case the word *nĕbāl* evokes the picture of a bulging bottle (cf. LXX 1

Kgdms 10:3; Jer 13:12). The lute is the most appropriate stringed instrument known from archaeological work to correspond to such a picture. It would not, however, be wise to assume that *nĕbāl* should always be translated "lute" (it could refer in some contexts to a different size of lyre).

**3. *ʿûgāb.*** The Heb *ʿûgāb* is usually considered a wind instrument. The arguments for this involve an etymological association with the flute family, the role of Gen 4:21, the weight of discussion among modern commentators (Sendrey), and *Tg. Onq.* on Gen 4:21. But there are arguments against this view: Josephus regarded Jubal as creating two string instruments; the LXX and Peshitta at Gen 4:21 suggest that *ʿûgāb* was a stringed instrument; and Symmachus has *kithara* at Job 21:12 and Ps 150:4. An important new piece of evidence is the discovery of the Hebrew version of Psalm 151 in the Qumran Psalm Scroll. Ps 151:2 (Heb) reads:

My hands have made a *ûgāb*
and my fingers a *kinnôr.*

The parallelism between *ʿûgāb* and *kinnôr* suggests either that *ʿûgāb* was a general word (e.g., "instrument") or a particular string instrument. The harp is a possibility (Bayer). In that case *minnîm* in Ps 150:4b may be a general reference to strings, and *ʿûgāb* a particular example of a stringed instrument. The presence in this psalm of an instrument which otherwise found little place in Canaanite or Israelite instrumentation is not an insuperable problem. In Job 21:12 and 30:31 *ʿûgāb* is an instrument expressive of joy and contentment.

**E. Daniel 3**

From the Hellenistic period there is pictorial evidence of an increased use of mixed groups of musicians (Fleischhauer 1982: 150). Recent discussions of the "orchestra" of Nebuchadrezzar in Daniel 3 (Mitchell), in attempting to place individual instruments mentioned there as early as the 6th century B.C.E., have neglected this factor. There are undoubtedly early traditions in the book of Daniel and the "orchestra" could be one of these, but the depicting of an Eastern potentate as possessing a mixed orchestra would have constituted a significant barbaric motif in the eyes of an early 2d century B.C.E. reader. According to Daniel 3, this mixed orchestra included the following instruments:

**1. *qarnāʾ*.** The translation "horn" (Aram *qarnāʾ;* Heb *qeren*) is often favored here, on the grounds of language and because of the assumed rarity of *trumpets* within the depictions of musical instruments from the 6th century B.C.E. "Horn" would then be understood as an instrument formed from the horn of an animal. If, however, the book of Daniel is read as addressed in its final form to Hellenistic times, then the possibilities of translation are much greater. "Pagan" bands included brass instruments. In such a context *qarnaʾ/qeren* could be understood as the equivalent of the *cornu* (Latin) or the *buccina* (Latin), although the distinction between these two names is a matter of debate. The *tuba* (Latin) and *lituus* (Latin, see below) might also to be considered. Perhaps an appropriate translation of *qeren* here might be "bugle-horn."

**2. *mašrôqîtāʾ*.** The LXX translates *mašrôqîtāʾ* as "*syrinx,*" and the Vg translates it as *fistula,* either of which might point to panpipes, a row of pipes of different lengths bound together, which produce a piccolo-type sound capable of birdlike twittering and running scales. Some scholars relate the Aramaic name to a Semitic root, "to hiss or whistle." The humble "whistle" is also a possible contender for an orchestral place.

**3. *qaytrôs.*** The LXX translates this Aramaic word as *kithara,* and *qaytrôs* itself may actually be a loanword from the Gk *kithara* or *kitharis.* In a 6th century B.C.E. Babylonian setting this would be the lyre; in a Hellenistic setting the Aramaic name would evoke the Greek style of instrument and of performance depicted on Greek amphora from the 5th century B.C.E. (Michaelides 1978, cf. Rev 14:2; 18:22).

**4. *sabbĕkāʾ*.** The LXX and Vg translate this Aramaic word as "*sambyke,*" which probably was a stringed instrument of the harp family with a large sounding-board of proverbially barbaric and immoral character (Michaelides). It was employed in Hellenistic times as part of instrumental bands (Fleischhauer 1982: 187). Those who argue for Daniel 3 as representing an actual 6th-century B.C.E. orchestra suggest that it is a loanword indicating an Assyrian-type horizontal harp.

**5. *pĕsanterîn.*** The LXX and Vg translate this Aramaic word as "*psalterion,*" a member of the harp family and well-known in Greek circles from the 4th century B.C.E.

**6. *sûmpōnyâ.*** The discussion of this word is complicated by the presence in Luke 15:2 of the Gk word *symphonia,* which is often confused with the Aram *sûmpōnyâ.* In all probability the two are unconnected. *Symphonia,* from which English has the derivation "symphony," can indicate either sound made by voices singing together (Peshitta and Harclean at Luke 15:2 understood *symphonia* in this sense), or voices together with instruments, or simply "a band." Some argue for the translation "bagpipe," others "double pipe," but NEB's preference for "music" is probably correct. *Sûmpōnyâ,* by contrast, is probably a transliteration of a dialect form of the Gk *tympanon,* a kettledrum. This would provide the orchestra in Daniel 3 with a much-needed percussion instrument (one which had been in use from Mesopotamian times; Mitchell).

The impression given by these individual discussions reinforces the view that to the 2d century B.C.E. reader the band of Nebuchadrezzar described in Daniel 3 would have sounded bizarre and absurd, and so would have underscored the book's contempt for idolatry.

**F. *salpinx* in the NT**

Already several aspects of NT usage have been considered, insofar as the NT reflects traditional folk music practiced over many centuries. There remains, however, one distinctively NT usage which deserves separate attention: the references to *salpinx.*

The Gk word *salpinx* can refer to a wide range of musical instruments. We have seen already that it has a LXX usage covering *qeren, šôpār,* and *ḥăṣōṣĕrôt.* The Gk *salpinx* functioned in military and cultural contexts. It heralded the opening of competitions and the verdict of the judges. It played an important part in Etruscan and Roman military circles. Other instruments referred to by the word *salpinx* were the *cornu* and *buccina,* which were also military instruments, and which, despite their raucous character, were used in various instrumental combinations (Fleischhauer 1982: 16). With the *lituus,* they are depicted in representations of solemn funeral processions, civic ceremonies (cf. perhaps Matt 6:2 with irony or sarcasm), and military triumphs. The *lituus* has been reconstructed from archaeological finds, and its haunting alpine-horn call must have been familiar wherever Roman soldiers made their camps and wherever gladiatorial combat took place. The *tuba* (as the relief on Trajan's Column indicates) accompanied military marching and marked the strategic movements of troops in war (cf. 1QM; 1 Cor 14:8), and with the *buccina* and *cornu* it was intended to create panic among the enemy.

In intertestamental literature the sounding of a *salpinx* was understood to initiate messianic times (1 Thess 4:16; cf. also the holy war tradition in *L. A. B.* 36:3), the gathering of God's people who had been humiliated by the heathen (*Apoc. Ab.* 31.1), or the resurrection of God's people (*Ques. Ezra* B 12; 1 Cor 15:52). The golden trumpet pointed heavenward heralds a series of scenes: it puts heart into the seer, splits the heavens wide open, calls the saints to intercession as they do daily when the trumpets answer each other between heaven and earth, and warns of the coming wrath of God's judgment (*Apoc. Zeph.* 9–12; Matt 24:31). The association of the trumpet with the fire is particularly strong in judgment scenes (*T. Ab.* 12:10; cf. Heb 12:19), and the Feast of Trumpets no doubt lent strength to this tradition (*L. A. B.* 13:6). Proclamation of both the mercies and majesty of God is another function of the trumpet (*L. A. E.* 47:1). Sometimes this is associated with cosmic motifs (*L. A. B.* 32:18).

The use of *salpinx* in the NT is therefore distinctive not only because of its extremely rich group of associations, the trumpet being part of a series of interlocking motifs—musical, ritual, secular, and cosmic—but also because it focuses these motifs in a single Greek word. This is all the more interesting in the case of Revelation because the imagery there is based on what is heard (Rev 1:10). It also explains the construction of the trumpet scenes, since these bring together the devastation of the earth with its plague and its cosmic associations (Rev 8:6–9:13), the call to penitence (Amos 3:6; Joel 2:1, 15; Rev 9:20), the prophetic associations of judgment (cf. Rev 18:22, where the songs to the "*cithara,*" musicians, players of the "*aulos*" and the "*salpinx*" are heard no more), and the announcement of the Day of the Lord (Revelation 14). The holiness of the divine presence is also evoked by the trumpet references (4:1), as they reflect the interplay of heavenly and earthly liturgies (8:1ff).

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**MUSTARD SEED.** See FLORA.

**MUSTER GATE** (PLACE) [Heb *ša*ʿ*ar hammipqād* (שַׁעַר הַמִּפְקָד)]. One of two inner gates (the Water Gate [Neh 3:26] and the Mifqad, or Muster Gate [Neh 3:31]) of Jerusalem on the E side of an enclosure that surrounded the sacred temple precincts and the royal compounds. To the W was the sacred temple enclosure and its E gate kept by Shemaiah (Neh 3:29). Opposite the Muster Gate to the E was the outer defensive wall of the city and the house of the Nethinim (temple servants) and the merchants (Neh 3:31).

Outside the temple precincts and its E gate was the "open place" or "plaza" of the House of God (Ezra 10:9) where Ezra gathered the people of Judah and Benjamin. It was here that Ezekiel described (Ezek 43:21) a sin offering that was to be burnt in the *mipqād habayit* (or "Mifqad of the House" [of God]). This plaza was also referred to (2 Chr 29:4–5) when Hezekiah assembled the priests and the Levites in the "open place" or "plaza" on the E (of the temple precincts).

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**MUTILATION.** See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES.

**MYCENAEAN LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

**MYNDOS** (PLACE) [Gk *Myndos* (Μυνδος)]. A city on the coast of Caria in SW Asia Minor to which the Roman consul Lucius addressed a letter (ca. 139 B.C.) proclaiming the renewed alliance between Rome and the Jews (1 Macc 15:23; see 15:16–21 for general text of the letter). It has been suggested that the account of this letter (15:15–24) should be placed immediately after 14:24 (Goldstein, *1 Maccabees* AB, 492–94). Myndos is associated with modern Gumushli, near Halicarnassus.
GARY A. HERION

**MYRA** (PLACE) [Gk *Myra* (Μυρα)]. An important city on the Lycian coast in SW Anatolia. Its name was later associated with myrrh, but there is no evidence that this spice was ever traded there. For example, Constantine Porphrogenitus declared: "Thrice blessed, myrrh-breathing city of the Lycians, … spouts forth myrrh in accordance with the city's name."

The city of Myra was located on the plateau about 3.5 miles from the coast (36°17′ N; 29°58′ E), but its name also included its port of Andriace (now Andraki). The Myrus or Andracus River flowed past the city to the coast in a narrow valley. Its estuary is now submerged in sand dunes. The ruins of the city of Myra are now located 1 mile N of the village of Demre.

It was at Myra (i.e., Andriace) according to Acts 27:5–6 that Paul and his fellow travelers transferred from a ship from Adramyttium to an Alexandrian grain ship bound for Italy, which had probably sailed directly N from Egypt to Lycia. In Acts 21:1, Codex D and some other mss add the words "and Myra"

after "Patara." The apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla* recount the preaching of Paul at Myra (James 1924: 281–84; Schneelmecher *NTApocr* 2: 363–67).

Though literary texts do not mention Myra until the 1st century B.C. (Bean 1978: 120), many Lycian inscriptions of the Persian period have been recovered from Myra (Jones 1971: 98). In the Hellenistic era, Myra was one of the six largest cities of the 23-member Lycian League (Magie 1950: 532; Stark 1956: 130). In Roman times, it became more important than its rival city Patara, 40 miles to the W. See PATARA.

In 197 B.C., Antiochus the Great conquered Lycia, including Myra. After his defeat by the Romans at Magnesia in 189 B.C., Lycia was granted to Rhodes. Then in 169 B.C. the Romans declared the Lycians free. In 88 B.C. Ptolemy IX of Egypt, fleeing from his mutinous army, took refuge at Myra. Lentulus Spinther, Brutus' lieutenant, coerced the city into donating money for the republican cause in 42 B.C. In A.D. 18 Germanicus, who visited Myra, was honored with a statue, proclaiming him "Savior and Benefactor." Augustus and Tiberius were both hailed as the "Benefactor and Savior of the whole universe" by Myra (Magie 1950: 498, 529; Vermeule 1968: 225). A colossal head of Augustus was recovered at Myra (Vermeule 1968: 175, fig. 107).

Vermeule (1968: 153) comments: "The Lycians were proud, independent, and poor in the Roman period, a fact which is reflected in their lack of major coins." One exception is a fine coin of Gordianus III from Myra. Coins and inscriptions indicate that the chief deity of Myra was Artemis Eleuthera, a mammiferous goddess like Artemis of Ephesus (Kirsten 1978).

The monuments of Lycia, including those of Myra, were first brought to light by the journal and drawings of the celebrated British traveler Charles Fellows (1841). The cliffs near Myra are honeycombed with elaborately carved tombs, some with painted reliefs. These date from the 4th century B.C. Akurgal (1970: 263) declares: "The rock-cut Lykian tombs of Myra are among the most fascinating historical remains of Turkey."

The theater, which originally held about 11,000, had a podium eight feet high (Stark 1956: 152). Of the Roman type, it was one of the finest theaters built in Asia Minor (Fellows 1841: 115). The road between Myra and Andriace is lined with numerous sarcophagi. At some distance from the sea is the granary of Hadrian, "one of the best-preserved monuments of imperial efficiency in Asia Minor" (Vermeule 1968: 225). It has seven long store rooms behind a 200-foot facade.

Though no excavations have been conducted, careful studies of the visible remains, mainly of Byzantine date, were conducted between 1965 and 1968 (Borchhardt 1975). Harrison has identified the remains of five churches at Andriace (1963: 142–43).

The most famous church is that of the legendary St. Nicholas at Myra. Nicholas was born at Patara ca. 300 B.C. and served as the bishop of Myra. Late sources, uncorroborated by contemporary evidence, allege that Nicholas was imprisoned during Diocletian's persecution, that he was present at the Council of Nicaea in 325, and that he died ca. 350 (Anrich 1913 and 1917; Bean 1978: 125–26).

His church, which had fallen into ruins, was not rediscovered until 1841 (Borchhardt 1975: 303). It appears that Nicholas' remains were at first buried outside the city walls with only a small monument. By the mid-5th century inscriptions and literary references attest to his heightened popularity. It was probably in the 6th century that a basilica was erected over his tomb, a time when the legendary tales of his generosity and miracles developed (Kirsten 1978: 468). The first reference to his grave as a martyrium is dated to 565.

Myra became a popular center for pilgrims in the Middle Ages, as oil seeping from St. Nicholas' tomb was regarded to have healing powers. In 1087 men from Bari, in S Italy, carried off the saint's relics to their home as an act of *sacra furta,* "sacred theft" (Stark 1956: 150; Bean 1978: 125; Geary 1978). Nicholas eventually became the patron saint of children, sailors, and merchants, of Greece and of Russia, and was finally transformed in America as "Santa Claus."

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**MYRRH.** See PERFUMES AND SPICES; FLORA; INCENSE; and FRANKINCENSE.

**MYRTLE.** See FLORA.

**MYSIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Mysia* (Μυσια)]. A region of NW Asia Minor along the Hellespont and the Aegean Sea. The ancient geographers disagree on the exact boundaries of the region of Mysia and it appears to have varied continually from the time of Homer (Strabo 12.4.5–6; and 12.8.1–3). Mysia was divided into Mysia Major and Minor by Strabo and Ptolemy. Mysia Major probably corresponded to the region around Mt. Olympus, which the Mysians occupied through the time of Croesus (see Strabo 12.4.10; 12.8.3; and Hdt 1.36), and Mysia Minor corresponded to the region adjacent to Lydia on the banks of the Caicus River and Pergamum (Strabo 12.8.1).

The Mycians were not indigenous to Asia Minor, but migrated from Thrace (perhaps along with the Lydians) and were originally known as the Moesians (Strabo 12.3.4; 12.4.8; 12.8.3). According to Herodotus, the Mysians were a numerous and powerful people prior to the Trojan War, subjugating regions of Thrace and Macedonia (Hdt 7.20.75). Homer listed the Mysians among the allies of Priam, but assigned them to the regions of Thrace (*Il.* 13.5). The people who are called the "Musoi" (or "Musa") in Hittite and Egyptian documents (14th and 13th centuries) may be the Mysians. After the fall of Priam's Troy, the Mysians controlled the Troad for a short time (Strabo 12.4.6).

Mysia came under the control of the Lydians by the reign of King Alyattes, the father of Croesus. When the Lydian Empire fell to the Persians, Mysia was consolidated into part of Darius' second satrapy (Hdt 3.90). Orontes, the satrap of Mysia, revolted against Artaxerxes in 349 B.C.E. and ruled NW Asia Minor.

After Alexander the Great conquered Asia Minor, the Mysians were controlled successively by Antigonus, until 301 B.C.E. (battle of Ipsus), Lysimachus, until 281 B.C.E. (battle of Corupedium), and the Seleucids. In 283 B.C.E., Philetaerus, Lysimachus' treasurer, established the Pergamene Dynasty of the Attalids with Ptolemaic aid. When Antiochus III was defeated at the battle of Magnesia in 190 B.C.E., the Romans rewarded Eumenes II, the king of Pergamum, with the region of Mysia (Livy 38.39). The Pergamenes, however, had to conquer the region of Mysia Olympene in 184/3 B.C.E. from Prusias (Polyb. 4.50; 4.52; 21.48). When Attalus III bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans in 133 B.C.E., Mysia was annexed to the Roman proconsular province (Cicero *QFr* 1.8), but during the Empire it formed a separate district and was governed by a procurator.

Although the Mysians were stereotyped as lazy cowards (Demosthenes *De Cor.;* Aristotle *Rh.* 1.12.20; and Cicero *Pro* Flac. 27; see also ibid. *Orat.* 8), they proved to be dependable mercenaries. After the defeat of Antiochus III, the peace of Apameia in 188 B.C.E. forbade the Seleucid Empire from recruiting soldiers in Roman domains (Polyb. 21.42; and Livy 27.38.10) and forced the Seleucids to find an increased number of volunteers from Greek free states like Pergamum. Antiochus IV had a unit of 5,000 Mysian mercenaries in his army, under the charge of an individual called a Mysarch. The most infamous Mysarch was Apollonius, who in 167 B.C.E. led his mercenaries in an expedition against the city of Jerusalem (see 1 Macc 1:29–35; 2 Macc 5:23–26; and Josephus *Ant* 13.5.3–4 §246–56). The title "Commander of Mysians" (*sar musim* or *sar misim*) was distorted in 1 Macc 1:29 to "taskmaster" or "tax-gathering official" (*sar missim*).

The two principal cities in Mysia, Adramytium and Pergamum, were major Jewish centers by the 1st century B.C.E. (Cicero *Flac.* 68; Josephus *Ant* 14.247–55). Paul passed through two towns in Mysia: Troas (Acts 16:8, 11) and Assos (Acts 20:13). The church at the city of Pergamum was also addressed by John in Revelation (Rev 1:11; and 2:12–17).

SCOTT T. CARROLL

**MYSTERY RELIGIONS.** The mystery religions were secret religious cults that flourished during the Greco-Roman period. These religions, involving the worship of deities from Greece, Anatolia, Egypt, Persia, and Syria, manifested diversity in their points of geographical origin, and heterogeneity in their patterns of historical development and theological orientation. Yet, in spite of their differences, the mystery religions warrant being discussed together because they all represent a particular form of religion. Commonly originating in ancient tribal and even fertility rituals, these religions emphasized salvation for individuals who decided, through personal choice, to be initiated into the mysteries, and thereby to feel close to each other and to the divine.

Unlike official, public religions, in which people were expected to show outward allegiance to the gods and goddesses of the *polis*, or state, the mystery religions stressed an inwardness and privacy of worship within groups that were frequently close-knit and egalitarian. The devotees of the mysteries ordinarily shared in celebrations that were public in nature (e.g., parades and processions, with music and dance, and preliminary rituals of purification and sacrifice), as well as in secret ceremonies that remain largely unknown. In descriptions of the Eleusinian mysteries it is said that the secret observances included "things recited" (Gk *legomena*), "things shown" (Gk *deiknymena*), and "things performed" (Gk *drōmena*), and such observances may have been typical of the mystery religions in general. Usually a sacred meal was shared by those initiated into the mysteries. At least some of those who participated in the secret ceremonies underwent an extraordinary experience that could be described as death and rebirth. That some such emotionally gripping experience was of fundamental significance in the mystery religions is confirmed by Aristotle, who concluded, in a fragment preserved in Synesius (*Dio* 10), that initiates into the mysteries did not learn anything (*ou mathein ti*), but rather had an experience (*pathein*) and were put into a certain state of mind (*diatethēnai*).

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A. "Mystery" and the Mysteries
B. Greek Mystery Religions
    1. Eleusinian Mysteries
    2. Andanian Mysteries
    3. Mysteries of Dionysos
C. Mystery Religions of Middle Eastern Origin
    1. Mysteries of the Great Mother and Attis
    2. Mysteries of Isis and Osiris
    3. Mysteries of Mithras
D. Relationship to Early Christianity

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### A. "Mystery" and the Mysteries

The word "mystery" (Gk *mystērion*) derives from the Gk verb *myein*, "to close," referring to the closing of the lips or the eyes. The "closed" nature of the mystery religions may be interpreted in two ways.

A person (Gk *mystēs,* pl. *mystai*) who had experienced the *mystērion* was required to maintain closed lips in order not to divulge the secret revealed at the private ceremony. Pledges of silence were intended to ensure that the holy secret would not be disclosed to profane outsiders. Most *mystai* observed their vows of silence, and as a result comparatively little is known of the secret ceremonies of the mystery religions. However, Christian converts who had once been initiated into the mysteries and Christian authors who claimed to possess knowledge about the mysteries sometimes were eager to expose what they believed to be godless secrets of these religions (cf. Arnobius of Sicca, *Adversus Nationes;* Clement

of Alexandria, *Protrepticus;* Eusebius of Caesarea, *Praeparatio Evangelica;* Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum;* Hippolytus of Rome, *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium*). Further, the Greek general Alcibiades may well have been accused of betraying the pledge of silence by engaging in a parody of the Eleusinian mysteries of Demeter and Kore during a drinking party (cf. Plutarch *Alc.* 19.1–2).

An initiate into the mysteries also participated in the closing (and the subsequent opening) of the eyes. As people with closed eyes remain in darkness until they open their eyes to see the light, so the *mystai* whose eyes were opened moved from darkness to enlightenment, both literally and metaphorically. The contrast between closed and open eyes, between darkness and light, was accentuated within the initiatory ceremonies, which often took place at night and which employed the light of torches (at times with reference to the light of the sun; cf. Apuleius of Madaura, *Met.* 11.23–24). The significance of the closing and opening of the eyes is also maintained by Greek terms used to designate priests and initiates. For example, one of the priests in the mystery religions was termed "one who shows sacred things" (Gk *hierophantēs*); in the Eleusinian mysteries the highest stage of initiation was designated that of "beholding" (Gk *epopteia*), and one who attained such an initiatory status was called "beholder" (Gk *epoptēs*). Pindar, in a fragment preserved in Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 3.3.17), likewise used visual imagery in his blessing upon one initiated with the Eleusinian mysteries: "Blessed is one who goes under the earth after seeing these things. That person knows the end of life, and knows its Zeus-given beginning."

The word "mystery" (Heb *sôd;* Heb and Aram *raz;* Gk *mystērion*) is also used in the OT, NT, and Dead Sea Scrolls (see Brown 1968). On *mystērion* in 1 Cor 15:51 see D below.

**B. Greek Mystery Religions**

Within the world of ancient Greece the mysteries that were celebrated included the Eleusinian mysteries, the Andanian mysteries, the mysteries of Dionysos, the mysteries of the Kabeiroi (or, Cabiri, the great gods) at Samothrace, and the lesser known mysteries at Phlya. Mention may also be made of the mysteries founded by Alexander of Abonoteichos in honor of the serpent Glykon, an incarnation of the god Asclepius, since these mysteries were satirized by Lucian of Samosata (*Alex.* 38–43) with images and terms familiar from the Eleusinian mysteries.

**1. Eleusinian Mysteries.** The most influential and popular of the Greek mysteries were the Eleusinian mysteries. Celebrated at Eleusis (modern Elefsis) near Athens, these mysteries focused upon Demeter, the "Grain Mother," and Kore, the "Maiden." From early times an agricultural cult at Eleusis observed rituals commemorating the fertility and life of grain; the later Eleusinian mysteries employed similar rituals, but directed particular attention at the transformed life of people. Hence Hippolytus could observe (*Haer.* 5.8.39) that among the "things shown" in certain Eleusinian mysteries was a single head of grain that was beheld in silence, apparently as a manifestation of the life in grain and in all. Likewise, Cicero could have Marcus comment (*Leg.* 2.14.36) concerning the Eleusinian mysteries that "we have learned from them the fundamentals of life (*principia vitae*) and have grasped the basis not only for living with joy but also for dying with a better hope." The dramatic story of Demeter and her dying and rising daughter Kore, as told in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter,* narrates a mythic tale of the rape of Kore by Hades (or Plouton, "Wealthy One"), the grief of Demeter and her quest for Kore, and the subsequent founding of the Eleusinian mysteries by Demeter herself. That tale may well have functioned as the "sacred account" (Gk *hieros logos*) of the mysteries of Demeter and Kore. Just before 600 B.C.E., it would appear Athens took control of Eleusis, and thereafter Athens assumed jurisdiction of the Eleusinian mysteries. Later mysteries of Demeter and Kore were celebrated at a site in Alexandria, Egypt, that was also called Eleusis.

**2. Andanian Mysteries.** The Andanian mysteries are known from references in Pausanias and from the Rule of the Andanian mysteries, an inscription that may be dated to 92/91 B.C.E. Celebrated at Andania in the southwestern Peloponnesus, these mysteries were dedicated to several deities: Demeter, Hermes, Apollo Karneios, Hagna (Hagnē), and the great gods. According to the Andanian Rule, the epithet Hagna ("Holy One," "Pure One") designated a goddess (as well as a fountain) in the Andanian mysteries; later Pausanias understood Hagnē to be a title of Kore. The Rule of the Andanian mysteries is a public record

of the regulations to be followed in the celebration of the mysteries. The Rule outlines in detail what must be attended to by participants in the mysteries (e.g., the oaths, the clothing, the processions, the tents, the funds, the sacrifices, the musicians, the sacred meal) and what penalties must be assessed for transgressions, but nothing forbidden is divulged by the Rule. Rather, the Rule discusses only the outward trappings of the mysteries, and employs deliberately cryptic phrases (e.g., "the things pertaining to the initiation") to refer to what must be kept secret.

**3. Mysteries of Dionysos.** The mysteries of Dionysos (or Bacchos) were remarkably diverse in character. Dionysos was the Greek god of fertility, animal maleness, wine, drama, and ecstasy, and his worshipers acknowledged his presence in the phallus set in the *liknon* (a winnowing basket sometimes used as a cradle), in the raw flesh of wild beasts, in the goblet of wine, in performance in the theater, and in spiritual bliss. As portrayed in Euripides' *Bacchae,* the archaic mysteries of Dionysos involved the female devotees of the god (i.e., Bacchae, also known as maenads, or women in a Dionysian frenzy) participating in the raw power of Dionysos by tenderly nursing wild animals or savagely tearing animals (and eventually the impious Pentheus himself) to pieces. According to Livy (39.8–19), the Roman Bacchanalia included sexual irregularities that prompted the Senate to adopt a decree, *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus.* The famous frescoes in the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii employ a variety of Dionysian motifs in order to present what also may be interpreted as mysteries of sexuality, but here Dionysian sexuality takes on a more domesticated character. The Rule of the Iobacchoi records the regulations of an Athenian Bacchic club that enjoyed the Dionysian pleasures of eating, drinking, and dramatic performances. Among the Orphics the Dionysian practice of tearing flesh (Gk *sparagmos*) and devouring it raw (Gk *ōmophagia*) became the original transgression for those who wished to live a life of purity and thus to allow the soul to realize Dionysian bliss. An Orphic lamella from Thessaly presents the soul of a dead person professing the twofold nature of a person (i.e., earth, or Titanic flesh, and heaven, or the divine nature of Dionysos—cf. the view of Plato) but stressing the primacy of the divine: "I am a child of earth and of starry heaven, but my race is of heaven (alone)." Similar expressions are occasionally to be found in the highly syncretistic Orphic hymns (cf. hymn 13, "To Kronos").

**C. Mystery Religions of Middle Eastern Origin**

During the Hellenistic and Roman periods mystery religions originating in the Middle East became increasingly attractive to people of the Mediterranean world. Oftentimes colorful and exotic in their manifestations, these mystery religions derived, directly or indirectly, from Anatolia, Egypt, Persia, and Syria, and encouraged the worship of the Great Mother Kybele and her lover Attis, the Egyptian deities Isis and Osiris (or Sarapis), the Persian deity Mithras, and the Syrian goddess (cf. the Great Mother) and the slain youth Adonis.

**1. Mysteries of the Great Mother and Attis.** The Anatolian mysteries of the Great Mother (Magna Mater), often named Kybele (or Kybebe; in Latin, Cybele), are rooted in the fierce religious traditions of ancient Phrygia. In 204 B.C.E. the Anatolian goddess was formally welcomed into Rome, and thereafter the worship of the Great Mother was prominent in the Roman world. The mysteries of the Great Mother and her young paramour Attis were renowned for unusual festivals and flamboyant followers. The Christian poet Prudentius describes, with horror and disgust, the gory *taurobolium* (ritual slaughter of a bull), in which a person descended into a pit in order to be drenched with the blood of the sacrificed bull. An inscription dated to 376 C.E. states that a person who thus bathed in the bull's blood was "reborn for eternity" (Lat *in aeternum renatus*). The most spectacular followers of the Great Mother and Attis were the Galli, who imitated the mythological actions of Attis by castrating themselves, and then adopted transvestite practices appropriate for those who voluntarily had become eunuchs devoted to the Great Mother. According to rather late sources, during the springtime, a Roman festival in honor of the Great Mother and Attis commemorated the death of Attis in a dramatic fashion, and reaffirmed life and joy in a portion of the festival aptly named the Hilaria. The actual ceremonies of the mysteries of these Anatolian deities remain unknown, but a formula (termed a *symbolon* in Gk) cited by Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 2.15) provides enigmatic hints: "I have eaten from the drum (or, tambourine); I have drunk from the

cymbal; I have carried the sacred dish; I have stolen into the inner chamber." Variant readings for this *symbolon* may be found in Firmicus Maternus (*Err. prof. rel.* 18.1).

**2. Mysteries of Isis and Osiris.** Although Egyptian "mysteries" of Isis and Osiris were celebrated in ancient Egypt at Abydos and other locales as mystery plays of succession and funerary rituals of mummification and burial, the Egyptian mystery religions themselves became established during Greco-Roman times. The goddess Isis was venerated throughout the Greco-Roman world, and those who revered her produced temples, statues, and paintings, and aretalogies on her behalf. Among the shrines of Isis is the well-preserved temple of Isis at Pompeii, with its sacred utensils, works of art, and adjacent shelter with Nile water for lustrations. The god Osiris, brother and lover of Isis and lord of the realm of death, also attracted many devotees, who sometimes worshiped him as Sarapis or Osiris-Apis (Osiris joined to the Apis bull). In book 11 of his *Metamorphoses* Apuleius portrayed his protagonist Lucius being saved and humanized by Isis, and initiated into her holy mysteries. The portrayal of the initiation of Lucius includes an account of the preliminary rituals as well as a guarded description of the secret ceremonies: "I approached the border of death. I trod the threshold of Proserpine and, borne through all the elements, I returned. At midnight I saw the sun shining brightly. I approached the gods below and the gods above, and in their presence I worshiped them." While the language Apuleius employs is deliberately vague, he does depict the experience of initiation as an experience of darkness, death, and perhaps also rebirth (cf. his use, elsewhere, of the Lat *renatus,* "reborn" or "born again").

**3. Mysteries of Mithras.** The Greco-Roman worship of Mithras derived from Persian sources, and retained certain Persian motifs, but the mysteries of Mithras are best understood as a Roman phenomenon that thrived in the Roman Empire from the 2d century C.E. on. (The earliest references to the Mithraic mysteries are to be found in Plutarch's account [*Pomp.* 24.1–8] of the Cilician raiders who celebrated secret rites of Mithras.) Men attracted to Mithras, particularly soldiers, sailors, and imperial officers, entered the Mithraea (sanctuaries of Mithras) in order to participate in initiatory rituals and other ceremonies. Tertullian enumerates lustrations, ordeals, and tests of valor in which initiates participated, and Justin Martyr refers to holy Mithraic meals in which initiates took bread and a cup of water (or a mixed cup of water and wine) and uttered certain formulae. Initiation into the mysteries of Mithras took place in progressive stages, and ordinarily seven stages are specified: raven (Lat *corax*), bridegroom (*nymphus;* alternately, occult, *cryphius*), soldier (*miles*), lion (*leo*), Persian (*Perses*), courier of the sun (*heliodromus*), and father (*pater*). These seven stages may correspond with seven stations that decorate several Mithraea at Ostia Antica, and perhaps also with the seven gates of heaven (associated with the seven planets and seven metals) designated for the Mithraic ascent of the soul according to Celsus (in Origen, *c. Cels.* 6.22), as well as with the seven stages of ascent in the "Mithras Liturgy." Often richly decorated with works of art, Mithraea exhibited mythological, astronomical, and astrological imagery, and featured, in the apse of a typical Mithraeum, the figure of Mithras *tauroktonos,* Mithras slaying the bull. (On the possible astrological understanding of the figure of Mithras *tauroktonos,* see Ulansey 1989.) A brief inscription from the Mithraeum of Santa Prisca in Rome may provide a soteriological interpretation of the slaying of the bull: "And you [i.e., Mithras] have saved us, having shed eternal blood." Another inscription from the same Mithraeum describes Mithraic salvation as rebirth and creation, brought about through a sacred and perhaps sacramental repast: "one that is piously reborn (Lat *renatum*) and created (*creatum*) by sweet things."

**D. Relationship to Early Christianity**

Early Christianity emerged and developed within a religious context that included the mystery religions, and the early Church showed obvious similarities to the mysteries. Like the Greco-Roman mysteries, early Christianity was a religion of salvation and personal choice, and, like the devotees of the mysteries, Christian initiates underwent such ceremonial rituals as purification, fasting, and baptism in order to be admitted to the group. The Christian group itself was understood to be a new community of believers in which, ideally at least, "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free person, there is not male and female" (Gal 3:28). For Paul and many after Paul, Christian baptism was interpreted as a death experience (cf. Rom 6:3–4) that was linked to the experience of new life (understood apocalyptically by

Paul). Entry into the Christian community allowed believers to share in a sacred meal, the Eucharist, which commemorated the death of Christ. By eating of the bread and drinking of the wine in the Eucharist, Christians participated in the passion of Christ, and assimilated the saving power of the Cross into their lives. Many early Christians claimed to realize their salvation through a transforming encounter with a dying and rising Christ, so that Paul could speak of living "in Christ" (Gk *en Christō*) and John could refer to being "born again" or "born from above" (Gk *gennēthē anōthen;* cf. John 3:3). Paul compared the mystery (cf. *mystērion,* 1 Cor 15:51) of the death and resurrection of people to the planting and sprouting of a seed (1 Cor 15:36–38) in a manner reminiscent of the Eleusinian mysteries. John incorporated a similar theme into the Fourth Gospel as a saying of Jesus (John 12:24). Further, John narrated the story of Jesus performing the "sign" of changing water to wine (John 2:1–11), a miracle commonly associated with Dionysos (e.g., see Pausanias, book 6: Elis 2, 26.1–2). Finally, the adoration of the Virgin Mary paralleled the forms of veneration traditionally reserved for the Egyptian goddess Isis. Like Isis, Mary was presented as a blessed mother who was acclaimed queen of heaven (Lat *regina caeli*) and was often portrayed with her son Jesus sitting formally on her lap just as Horus sits on the lap of Isis.

Ancient and modern interpreters have tried to account for these similarities between the mystery religions and early Christianity by proposing theories of dependence. Early Christian authors like Justin Martyr (*1 Apol.* 66.4; *Dial.* 70.1) and Tertullian (*De praescr. haeret.* 40) explained that similarities between Christianity and Mithraism were due to demonic imitation of true Christianity. Some modern scholars have tried to argue that the mystery religions and early Christianity were dependent upon each other, and that Christianity in particular borrowed substantially from the mysteries. Even in the early Church, Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 12.120) posited, in a somewhat similar vein, that Christianity is indeed a mystery religion with "truly sacred mysteries" that offer pure light and a vision of the only true God, but Clement sharply contrasted the Christian mysteries with what he judged to be shameless and corrupt Greco-Roman mystery religions.

The most balanced and judicious interpretation of the relationship between the mystery religions and early Christianity avoids simplistic conclusions about dependence, and acknowledges the parallel development of the mysteries and Christianity. To be sure, religions may appropriate themes from each other, and, given the syncretistic milieu of the Mediterranean world during late antiquity, it is quite possible that such a relationship may have existed between the mystery religions and early Christianity. It seems clear that from the 4th century C.E. on, Christianity adopted a significant number of non-Christian practices. Yet many of the points of resemblance between the mysteries and Christianity may be attributed to the fact that they responded in a similar fashion to the religious challenges of the Greco-Roman world. As Greco-Roman religions, the mysteries and early Christianity often addressed similar social and religious needs, and offered to devotees similar experiences, rituals, and ways of salvation and transformation.

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MARVIN W. MEYER

**MYSTICISM.** Defined as "piety in so far as primary importance is attached to inner religious experience, to religion as occurring in the soul" (T. Andrae), or as "the sense of the presence of a being or reality through other means than the ordinary perceptive processes or the reason" (J. B. Pratt). W. James lists four characteristics of the mystical experience: ineffability, a noetic quality, transience, and passivity. In some cases the mystical experience leads to a sense of unification with the divine (*unio mystica*) or of loosing oneself into "the void" or "the infinite." In others there is an experience of intimate fellowship with God that leaves personality intact. Accompanying phenomena include visions, auditions, trances, and states of ecstasy.

Whether or not there is mysticism in the Bible is mainly a matter of definition. The personal concept of God in biblical religion does not allow for a sense of unification, which is more characteristic of pantheistic religions. There may, however, be indications of "milder" forms of mysticism in the Bible, even if we do not accept the wider definition of mysticism as "true personal religion."

Visions and auditions are reported by the OT prophets (Isaiah 6; Ezekiel 1–3; Micah ben Imlah 1 Kgs 22:19–23) though the question of prophetic ecstasy is debated. When the prophets speak in Yahweh's name, there is no identification with God on the part of the prophet, for the formula "Thus says Yahweh" is clearly a messenger's formula (Gen 32:4). Ezekiel's frequent use of "like" or "the likeness of" (esp. chap. 1) in the descriptions of his visions could be an indication of the ineffability of his experience (cf. Daniel 7, in which the use of "like" is a literary device). As far as the noetic aspect is concerned, the prophetic experience is certainly thought to mediate a specific kind of knowledge, though evidence does not permit a definite conclusion as to the exact character of the inspirational experience. In some cases the prophets may remain passive, while God speaks to them, but there are also cases when ecstasy is prompted by music (1 Sam 10:5) or when the prophet waits for a message (Hab 2:1; Isa 21:6). Mystics are often reported to quiver; there are also examples of anesthesia or paralysis. One can note Ezekiel's lying

immovable for a considerable time (Ezek 4:4) or of passages such as Jer 4:19, which speaks of pain and anguish, but the reaction could just as well refer to the contents of his vision rather than being the result of a mystic experience (cf. Isa 21:3–4). On the whole, the prophets are never described as introspective, and they are always aware of the distance between them and Yahweh. Moreover, the biblical texts do not provide us with adequate information concerning the mental state of the prophets.

Franken (1954) finds examples of a mystical attitude in many of the Psalms. The psalmist stands silent, waiting for his God (Pss 37:7; 62:6), he "clings" to God (Ps 63:9), he cleaves to him in love (Ps 91:14). Many of the expressions referred to are connected with worship in the temple: the psalmist takes refuge in God (Pss 57:2; 61:5), he has sweet communion with him in his house (Ps 55:14). This is intense religious emotion, but there is no question of loosing oneself in God. There is "communion" but no mystical union with God. Medieval Christian mystics (e.g., Bernard of Clairvaux) used the love lyrics of the Song of SongsSongs to describe the mystic's loving communion with God, but this represents an allegorical interpretation of texts that were likely meant to be taken literally and contain no mystical allusions.

In the NT Paul reports that he knows a man who had been caught up to paradise in the third heaven and heard unspeakable words that a man is not allowed to utter (2 Cor 12:2, 4). It is likely that this refers to some kind of mystical experience and possible that the unspeakable words allude to the ineffability of that experience (however, it could refer to the name of Yahweh, which should not be pronounced). Since Paul is markedly reticent about the details of his experience, even to the point of speaking about himself in the third person, it is impossible to draw any further conclusions.

Visions are mentioned several times in the NT, but nowhere do we get information that would enable us to describe them as mystical. Revelation seems to come closest to a mystical experience (1:10—"I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day"), but it is hard to ascertain how much of the text is based on literary convention. In any case it shows, as do some passages in Daniel, that such visionary experiences were regarded as possible and "normal" in such situations.

When Paul says, "it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me" (Gal 2:20), this is not a description of a transient mystical experience of unification with Christ, but rather a statement of a sense of continuous communion. When the church is said to be the body of Christ and the Christians its limbs (1 Cor 12:27), the point is the various functions of those limbs, and not just a description of mystical unity (cf. Rom 12:4–5). Nor does Jesus' parable of the vine and the branches (John 15:1–8) contain any allusion to the individual's mystical unity with him.

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**MYTH AND MYTHOLOGY.** This entry consists of three separate articles. The first addresses the question of what is meant by the term "mythology," and how scholars have come to apply this term to certain portions of biblical literature. The second entry focuses more specifically on an examination of the "mythic" elements of the OT. The third entry surveys mythology in the Greco-Roman world.

### *MYTHOLOGY*

Parts of the Bible have been classified by many scholars as "mythology." There has been a great deal of debate among scholars concerning the definition of mythology and its role in ancient society and literature.

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**A. Mythology and Biblical Study**

**1. 19th Century Beginnings.** The critical study of myths, and the application of the fruits of this study to materials in both the Hebrew Bible and the NT, began long before the modern period. As early as the initial Christian centuries, the Church Fathers began both to denigrate other religions' myths as the result of the deification of ancient cultural heroes (see C.1 below) and to allegorize what might be seen as myths in the Bible. However, scholarly interest in mythology burgeoned dramatically during the course of the 19th century in Germany and then in Great Britain and elsewhere. Thus the scientific study of myths, including the possible presence of mythical materials in the Bible, is normally said to have begun in the 19th century.

There are several reasons for the notable increase in the attention paid to mythology in the 19th century, among scholars generally and among biblical scholars in particular. First, the Romantic movement's emphasis upon the imagination carried with it a resurgent interest in the earliest sources of humanity's poetic expressions, including above all early myths. Second, some initial results became available from the intense historical investigation of the Bible, which had begun in earnest in the 18th century and which would so dominate the 19th century that these hundred years are often called "the historical century." These results suggested that many of the stories we find in the Hebrew Bible and the NT are a result not of anything like eye-witness testimony but rather of a long process of community tradition. Since this same process is that which is responsible for the creation and preservation of myths, an obvious conclusion was that myths and biblical traditions might fruitfully be studied together. Finally, this same century witnessed the discovery of an increasing number of extrabiblical myths which were very similar to many biblical incidents. For example, by the final third of the 19th century scholars could read a Mesopotamian account of the Flood (now known to be a part of the composite Gilgamesh epic) which in its broad outlines was identical to the account related in Genesis 6–9. These discoveries would eventually force scholars to reconsider the relationship between mythology and biblical tradition.

**2. David Friedrich Strauss.** In 1835 D. F. Strauss (1808–74) published the first edition of his *Life of Jesus*. Identifying the mythical chiefly with the miraculous, Strauss undertook a comprehensive investigation into the origin of mythic materials in the gospel accounts of Jesus. He argued that the growth of traditions about Jesus was much like the growth of stories about any remarkable man: soon after the death of such a man, the historical gives way to the development of the legendary. Strauss concluded that a great many of the gospel stories—including not just the accounts of Jesus' birth, but also the stories about Jesus' baptism, about the call of the disciples, about various feeding and healing miracles—were mythical rather than historical.

For many readers, especially those unacquainted with the growing body of historical-critical inquiries into the Bible, Strauss' publication was their first introduction to the view that many biblical incidents were not historically "true," at least in the ordinary sense of the word. These readers were naturally shocked, indeed outraged, by the suggestion that the Bible rested upon myth rather than upon historical reality. The crisis which ensued had effects which lasted long after the early end of Strauss' own career as a scholar. These effects included an abiding hesitancy on the behalf of many biblical scholars to speak of the Bible and myth in the same breath, except to deny the presence of the latter in the former.

**3. The Century after Strauss.** For more than a hundred years after the furor which accompanied the publication of Strauss' *Life of Jesus*, the problem of mythology and the Bible ceased to exist in any significant way. This remained true despite the mounting number of extrabiblical myths with close or remote analogies to stories within the Hebrew Bible and the NT. Though the reasons for the cessation of sustained inquiry into the issue of mythology and the Bible are complex and include the memory of the fate of Strauss and his publication, the chief reason which was offered was simple and direct: there were no myths, at least complete myths, in the Bible. The refusal to label any significant biblical story as a myth was based upon the definition of myth which was accepted and repeated by most biblical scholars throughout this long period (see B below). This definition, made popular by the folklorists Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm in the first half of the 19th century, was that myths were stories about the gods. The key to this definition, upon which most students of biblical religion seized, is that the final word ("gods") is plural. Almost all scholars in the years following Strauss' explosive volume agreed that in order to qualify as a myth, a story had to recount the deeds of more than one deity. Since both the Hebrew Bible and the NT are testimonies to an evolving or an achieved monotheism, the conclusion reached was that there could be no stories about gods, and therefore no myths, in the Bible.

Although this general argument was repeated by almost every major biblical scholar throughout these years, an especially noteworthy and influential proponent was Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932). Gunkel, a member of the important History-of-Religions group of German biblical scholars and among the founders of form-criticism, shaped the study of the Hebrew Bible in the present century as fundamentally as any other single scholar. Fairly early in his career, Gunkel wrote a volume (1895) which utilized fully many of the recently discovered Near Eastern texts, from ancient Mesopotamia especially, and which demonstrated how much mythology lay behind the biblical view of the beginning and end of the world. Despite this demonstration, however, Gunkel continued to maintain, though not always with consistency (Rogerson 1974: 59–63), that the Hebrew Bible was essentially monotheistic and hence contained no complete myths. What we do find in the Hebrew Bible, he claimed, were "original myths" that have come into the Bible only "in comparatively faded colors"; for example, we have in Gen 6:1–4 (the story of the mating of divine beings with women) "nothing but a torso" of a once more elaborate myth (Gunkel 1964: 14–15). Since the religion of Israel "from its beginning tended toward monotheism," Gunkel continued, Israel preserved no myths because "for a story of the gods at least two gods are essential" (1964: 15).

Despite the great changes in the understanding of myth which obtained in such fields as anthropology, sociology, and psychology in the first half of the 20th century, the simple definition of myth as a story about the gods, and with this the denial of the presence of myths in the religion of Israel or in Christianity, continued to dominate biblical scholarship. This is easily documented by brief glances at the most widely utilized introductions to and theologies of the Hebrew Bible. Biblical introductions repeated until quite recently both the statements that myths assume a polytheistic background, hence that no complete myth plays a role in Israel's religion, and that what appear to be myths in the Hebrew Bible are only the fragments of myths borrowed from other Near Eastern cultures (Weiser 1961: 57–59; Eissfeldt 1965: 35–37; Fohrer 1968: 87). The authors of influential biblical theologies similarly relied upon this line of reasoning and then frequently went on to contrast the supposed cyclical, naturalistic, and mythical thinking of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Canaan with the reputed linear, historical, and anti-mythical thinking of Israel (Wright 1952: 38–48, 125; von Rad *ROTT* 1: 27–28; 136–41; 2: 110–11, 349).

A signal that the century-long pause in addressing squarely the issue of mythology and the Bible was drawing to a close came with the demythologization program begun in the 1940s by the NT scholar Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976). Bultmann began with an understanding of myth which was at once much broader than the definition used by other biblical scholars (myths are stories about the gods) and much more consistent with the definitions of myth utilized by anthropologists, historians of religion, and others. Myths, for Bultmann, are the ways in which a culture symbolizes and objectivizes its entire world view. The way in which almost all NT stories come to us is thus mythical: "the whole conception of the world which is presupposed in the preaching of Jesus as in the NT generally is mythological"; this conception includes that of a three-storied universe of heaven, hell, and earth, of the intervention of supernatural

beings, and of miracles (Bultmann 1958: 15). The task of the 20th-century human seeking to appropriate the message of Jesus, then, becomes one not of dispensing with biblical mythology but rather of translating this mythology, which represents a worldview different from our own.

Bultmann, of course, created with his demythologizing program a controversy among scholars not unlike that prompted by Strauss a century before. Among the criticisms often voiced was that Bultmann simply substituted his own particular philosophical mythology for that of the NT. Still, the evidence is clear that however much many scholars wished to disagree with Bultmann, he had raised again an issue which had long been too easily side-stepped. That the issue of mythology and the Bible was ripe for more thorough investigation is indicated by the appearance of several studies in the 1950s which began to question the wisdom of the long dominant claim that there are no myths in the Bible. Thus, Davies followed Bultmann's lead in looking about at the understanding of myths in other academic disciplines. He concluded that "mythology is a way of thinking and of imagining about the divine rather than thinking and imagining about a number of gods" and thus that "the content of the myth, whether polytheistic or otherwise is accidental to the nature of myth" (Davies 1956: 88). This conclusion means, of course, that any definition of myth which limits myths to stories about gods is radically inadequate. At about the same time, McKenzie noted (1959: 267) that the definitions of myth utilized by contemporary students of this phenomenon meant that the old view that there were no myths in the Bible was simply untenable.

How far biblical scholarship was moving is plain in B. S. Childs' important volume *Myth and Reality in the Old Testament* (1960). Although some of the statements in his study are not at great variance with those that had been made repeatedly during the previous century, Childs' understanding of myth is throughout informed by developments in other fields of inquiry. Noting the inadequacy of the long-regnant, narrow definition of myths as stories about the gods, Childs was among the first to observe that the real damage done by the continued reliance upon this definition, with its easy elimination of myth from the Bible, was the "tendency among those using this definition to fail to see the essential problem of myth in the Old Testament" (1960:15). Childs' study is largely devoted to the investigation of a number of biblical passages with identifiably mythical origins. In some of these passages (Gen 1:1–2), Childs finds the myth is still present, though in tension with an alternate view, while in other passages (Gen 6:1–4), he concludes that the original material has been demythologized. On the issue of mythical time, Childs rejects the cliché that Israel's neighbors thought cyclically while Israel thought linearly and concludes rather "the evidence of an *Urzeit-Endzeit* [Primeval Time–End Time] pattern within Israel is overwhelming" (1960: 76).

More conclusive proof yet of biblical scholarship's entrance into the wider realm of discussion about the origins and meanings of myth is F. M. Cross' *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (1973). This study reflects a mature assessment of the importance of the Canaanite mythical materials unearthed at Ras Shamra in Syria in the late 1920s. These Ugaritic myths, as they are standardly called, demonstrate for Cross the bankruptcy of the position that Israel's religion is completely novel and discontinuous with Canaanite culture. Rather, the common pattern of Canaanite cosmogonic myths shows up repeatedly in biblical literature. This pattern is one of (1) a battle between a divine warrior and a chaotic sea god; (2) the victory of the divine warrior; and (3) the proclamation of this warrior as king with the completion of his sanctuary. The pattern corresponds to the structure of many biblical texts, sometimes in purely mythical form (Psalms 29, 89, and 93), sometimes in the form of a mixture of mythical and historical traditions (Psalm 77; Isa 51:9–11). The conclusion is thus that "in Israel, myth and history always stood in strong tension, myth serving primarily to give a cosmic dimension and transcendent meaning to the historical, rarely functioning to dissolve history" (*CMHE*, 90). Cross thus rejects the notion that we see in the Hebrew Bible either a gradual historicizing of myth or a mythologizing of history. Instead, both myth and history are present throughout. These conclusions mean, of course, that such issues as the relationship of myth to history or the origins, meaning, and functions of myth in general can return to the center of attention within biblical study.

**B. The Problem of Defining Myth**

In spite of the great attention devoted to mythology in the past two hundred years, nearly every student of this phenomenon laments the difficulty of formulating a truly adequate definition of myth. For example, Mircea Eliade, perhaps the 20th century's leading historian of religion, begins a volume devoted to myth with the admission that "it would be hard to find a definition of myth that would be acceptable to all scholars and at the same time intelligible to nonspecialists" (1963: 5). Closer still to desperation is J. Rogerson's statement that "finding an adequate and all-purpose definition of myth" remains an "impossible task" (1974: 173). This admitted difficulty has not prevented the appeareance of many studies, especially recently, attempting to formulate an adequate definition (Barr 1959; Bascom 1965; Rogerson 1978; Honko 1984; Kirk 1984).

**1. Myths as Stories about the Gods.** The Greek word from which comes our word "myth" originally meant simply "something said" or "something told," i.e., a story. Later in Greek tradition, the word came to mean a false story or a fabrication, a meaning our word "myth" still has in some contexts. When modern folklorists began to study myth, they utilized that definition made generally known by the Grimm brothers: a myth is a story about the gods.

This definition proved inadequate because it implied at once too much and too little. It implied too much in its suggestion that myths are limited to a polytheistic setting, thus removing from consideration any traditional stories told outside of such a setting. As the classicist G. S. Kirk observes, while some myths do treat the gods, others "are not primarily about gods at all, and have no ancillary implications of sanctity or tabu" (1984: 57). On the other hand, the definition implied too little. It was not sufficiently specific; some criteria were wanted beyond simply "a story" and "about the gods."

**2. Toward a More Adequate Definition.** Following upon the birth of both anthropology and the study of comparative religion at the end of the 19th century, a long series of definitions for myth were proposed as alternatives to the admittedly inadequate "myths are stories about the gods." A complete list of these definitions would be neither useful nor possible in the present context. But a selection of those proposed by some of the more influential students of myth might prove helpful in demonstrating both variety and continuity in the achievement of this important task of definition. The British anthropologist Sir James George Frazer (1854–1941), perhaps best known as the author of *The Golden Bough,* toward the end of his scholarly career defined myths as "mistaken explanations of phenomena, whether of human life or of external nature" (1921: xxvii). To Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942), who was among the first anthropologists to demand extensive field work as a prerequisite to reaching any conclusions about a given culture, a myth is "a pragmatic charter of primitive faith and moral wisdom" (1954b: 101). The definition in a standard dictionary of mythology published after World War II is as follows: a myth is "a story, presented as having actually occurred in a previous age, explaining the cosmological and supernatural traditions of a people, their gods, heroes, cultural traits, religious beliefs, etc." (*FWSDFML,* 778). Eliade, who admitted the problems inherent in any definition of myth, proposes that "myth narrates a sacred history; it relates an event that took place in primordial Time, the fabled time of 'beginnings' … The actors in myths are Supernatural Beings" (1963: 5–6). The American biblical scholar T. H. Gaster suggests that a myth "may be defined as any presentation of the actual in terms of the ideal" (1954: 185). For the theologian P. Ricoeur myths are "traditional narratives which tell of events which happened at the origin of time and which furnish the support of language to ritual actions" (1969: 101). And W. Burkert, a prolific German scholar whose analyses of myths have found a wide audience of late, concludes that "myth is a traditional tale with secondary, partial reference to something of collective importance" (1979: 23).

Even though an initial reading of these selected definitions might suggest something like complete disagreement and hence chaos, there are in fact a number of elements which most of the definitions share. These elements are three, or perhaps four, in number. To qualify as a myth, scholars are beginning to agree, the material has to be (1) a story, and (2) traditional—that is, transmitted, usually orally, within a communal setting; further, these traditional stories must (3) deal with a character or characters who are more than merely human. In light of the apologetic use to which the older, 19th-century definition of myth was put (to deny the presence of myths in biblical text), note that this third criterion can be met by

the presence of a single superhuman being in a tale. In addition, several of the above definitions suggest the addition of a final criterion, that myths (4) treat events in remote antiquity. That these three or four elements are the key criteria is indicated by the current definitions upon which many folklorists rely. A sample of two of these will demonstrate this: (1) "myths are prose narratives which, in the society in which they are told, are considered to be truthful accounts of what happened in the remote past … their main characters are not usually human beings" (Bascom 1965: 4); and (2) myths are "the traditional tales of the deeds of *daimones:* gods, spirits, and all sorts of supernatural or superhuman beings" (Fontenrose 1966: 54–55). Because of its brevity and yet its conclusion of three of the criteria listed above, Fontenrose's definition is perhaps the most adequate and stands the greatest chance of commanding wide assent.

Under the heading of the definitional problems here, one additional issue requires treatment. This is the issue of the possible distinction between myths on the one hand and legends and folktales on the other. This has long been a matter of great interest to biblical scholarship; many scholars have argued, for example, that it is vital to see a particular story in the Bible as a legend or a saga rather than a myth. Regrettably, there is nothing like a consensus among current students of myth on this issue. Some folklorists find a clear distinction between myths, folktales (identified by folklorists with *Märchen* in German, *contes populaires* in French), and legends (German *Sagen*, French *traditions populaires*). The distinctions most often proposed are that folktales are regarded less seriously than are myths, and that legends are both set in a less remote era than are myths and deal solely with human characters (Bascom: 1965: 4, 16). Other scholars doubt that any such distinctions are at all useful or legitimate (Kirk 1970: 31–41; 1984: 55). Burkert, for example, argues that the distinction between myths and legends or sagas so favored by biblical scholars is purely a part of an apologetic tradition and will not stand up to the available evidence (1979: 24).

**C. The Meanings and Functions of Myths**

For a long time, the material in the Bible which scholars suggested might qualify as mythic and hence might correctly be subjected to mythical analysis was limited to those passages obviously borrowed from the collections of myths among Israel's Canaanite, Mesopotamian, and Egyptian neighbors. Hence, passages like Gen 6:1–4 (the mating of divine beings with humans), Gen 6:5–9:17 (the Flood Story), various references to cosmic mountains in Ezekiel and the Psalms, portraits of Yahweh in a divine-council setting (Psalm 82; 2 Kings 22), or allusions to a battle between Yahweh and a cosmic monster (Job) were identified as mythical in origin and then studied as myths.

The definition of myth utilized at present by the widest array of scholarly disciplines (see B above) suggests rather that a great deal of the material, not just selected borrowings, in both the Hebrew Bible and the NT qualifies as mythic. Of course, not all biblical scholars will agree with this. Some will want to continue to defend the traditional distinctions between myths, on the one hand, and legends or folktales, on the other. In any case, it is clear that much biblical material (1) is in story form, (2) shows the signs of traditional transmission in a communal setting, and (3) refers to a deity and/or supernatural beings. It thus satisfies the three criteria implicit in an adequate definition of myth.

The inclusion of many of the stories in the Bible within the category of myth means that a subject of great interest becomes that of the origins, meanings, and functions of myths. Several recent surveys of this subject are available (Cohen 1969; Kirk 1970; Rogerson 1974: 175–78; Burkert 1979; Segal 1980). The number of different categories of myths' meanings and functions is to some extent arbitrary. Here, six distinct categories are covered, following a brief account of older attempts to account for the meanings and functions of myths. Each of these six categories of mythic explanation will be briefly described, then followed with some account of the advantages and disadvantages of each.

**1. Forerunners of Modern Explanations of Myth.** From antiquity through the second third of the 19th century, a number of traditional accounts of the rise and meaning of myth were available. Probably the most popular of these was that which saw myths as originating in stories told about human heroes and kings. As these stories circulated among wider groups down through the years, the heroes and kings responsible for their origin became gradually deified. This account of myth is often labeled

"Euhemerism." The label comes from the name of a 4th century B.C. geographer and novelist, Euhemerus of Messene. Euhemerus wrote, in Greek, a travel tale called *Sacred Scripture,* in which he told of a fanciful trip to an Indian Ocean island where he discovered that the gods worshiped in various religions were originally human heroes. Euhemerus' account was translated early into Latin and became an important source for early Christian writers who saw all pagan deities originating in this way. This Euhemeristic tradition certainly continues to flourish and many popular accounts of myth still rely upon it implicitly.

An immediate forerunner to those theories of myth still seen as of great value is the thesis of a German linguist who spent most of his career at Oxford, Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900). His thesis began from the hypothesis that all European languages are the descendants of the language spoken by the Aryan invaders of India. This Aryan language was notable for its polyonymy (a single object designated by several names) and its homonymy (several objects designated by a single name). These characteristics, along with others such as gender endings, led to confusion at a later era when the language was no longer spoken and was replaced by the early versions of modern European languages. This confusion meant that common nouns were taken to be the names of deities and that originally straightforward descriptions of phenomena, especially the phenomena of nature, were wrongly taken to be stories about deities. These stories are, then, the original myths in Müller's view. Most of the stories are about nature, particularly about dawn and sunset; hence Müller's theory is often called that of "solar mythology."

Euhemerism and Müller's solar mythology are hardly the only models for the origin of myths prevalent before the end of the 19th century. They are, however, typical of many such models in that they attribute the origin of myth to some elementary confusion. In the case of Euhemerism, early people confused human heroes with deities. In the case of solar mythology, early people confused clear accounts of the workings of nature with dramatic narratives about the dealings of gods and goddesses. Few of the theories about myth which still find advocates today ascribe this sort of confusion to the makers of myth.

**2. Myths, Like Science, are Attempts to Explain.** A view of the origin of myth which still commands wide assent is that which compares myth with science and finds in both an expression of the human desire to explain puzzling phenomena. The only significant difference between the two is that myths come from an early stage in human development, while science comes from an advanced stage. Myths are thus immature science. Myths, in this view, thus meet an intellectual need, the need for explanation. For this reason, this theory is sometimes labeled the "intellectualist" theory.

One of the founders of modern anthropology, E. B. Tylor (1832–1917), was responsible for the fullest statement on behalf of the intellectualist theory (1871). Tylor was a cultural evolutionist who thought that the characteristics of primitive thought were evident in various "survivals" among modern humans. Tylor was also the chief architect of the notion that religion begins as "animism," the ascription of living souls (*anima*) to everything in nature. He thus felt himself able to construct a comprehensive history of human religious development. Though he argued that humans have developed, that we have abandoned the myth-making stage for the scientific stage, he also maintained that the human desire to know the causes of all phenomena has not changed. Hence, myths reflect both a particular stage in human development and the universal and continuing need for humans to explain things. An important implication of Tylor's theory is that, since myths are like science, myths are neither irrational nor illogical, though they may be wrong.

Tylor was not alone in holding this view in his era, nor has this view ceased to find advocates. Among Tylor's near contemporaries, Frazer held most centrally to this basic theory, though he also participated somewhat in the myth-ritual circle (C.4 below). It will be remembered that Frazer defined myths as "mistaken explanations of phenomena, whether of human life or of external nature" (1921: xxvii), a definition in complete accord with the Tylor intellectualist tradition. Though this tradition has never disappeared from the scholarly scene, it has been revived with enthusiasm of late by several anthropologists. R. Horton, for example, argues (1967) that traditional thought in Africa uses the same theoretical models, if different language, as does modern science.

The chief advantage of the Tylorean intellectualist theory is that it does give so-called "primitives" credit for thinking. Unlike other theories according to which early humans cannot and/or do not think

logically and rationally, according to this theory early humans are driven by the same intellectual needs and possess the same intellectual equipment as moderns. Secondly, the theory does accord with the literal, narrative level of many myths. Perhaps the majority of myths, and certainly the etiological aspects of all myths, claim to explain things. Tylor's intellectualist view takes these claims seriously.

This theory also seems to possess some disadvantages. Even though it credits primitives with thinking, it is based upon an evolutionary model which sees primitives as ignorant and wrong. Much anthropological field work in the present century disputes this view. Malinowski, for example, found so-called "savages" fully as scientific as 20th-century Europeans "if by science be understood a body of rules and conceptions, embodied in material achievements and in a fixed form of tradition and carried on by some sort of social organization" (1954a: 34). Secondly, the theory of Tylor seems unable to account for the demonstrable fact that myths are a social phenomenon. If myths are purely a result of the innate human desire to seek explanations, then why should they not remain individual and private?

**3. Myths are Expressions of the Mythopoeic Mind.** Another explanation of the meaning and function of myths is that which sees them as primarily expressive, rather than explanatory, and as a product of a kind of thinking called "mythopoeic." Mythopoeic thought, according to those who find this concept accurate and useful, is not so much an earlier stage of modern thought, as mythical thinking was for Tylor. It is instead a different kind of thought altogether. Mythopoeic thought works expressively, mystically, and poetically. Such thought seeks to participate with phenomena, not explain them.

For much of his career, the French anthropologist Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857–1939) defended the concept of mythopoeic thought and ascribed to it the origin of myths (1923; 1925). Lévy-Bruhl sometimes used the adjective "pre-logical" to describe this mode of thought. By "pre-logical," he did not mean that primitive peoples were incapable of thinking logically but that they did not do so (Segal 1980: 24–25). Rather than thinking logically, such peoples, argued Lévy-Bruhl, thought mystically and made no distinctions between the physical or the material and all other realms of experience. They thus did not explain with reference to natural causation. They rather expressed themselves in myths, which reflected their urge to participate in everything around them.

Even though anthropologists, especially those with some field work experience, have been most reluctant to adopt this theory, which does not seem to describe the thought of the peoples they have studied, and even though Lévy-Bruhl himself renounced his view toward the end of his life, this theory has found a wide hearing among many literary critics, philosophers, and biblical scholars. Biblical scholars appear to rely chiefly upon the work of E. Cassirer for their notion of mythopoeic thought. Cassirer, like the early Lévy-Bruhl, sought the key to understanding myths in the distinctive sort of thinking which he found to produce myths (1923–31). This sort of thinking was antiempirical, and quite different from scientific thought. The influence of both Lévy-Bruhl and Cassirer is particularly evident in an often cited article by H. and H. A. Frankfort, written as the first chapter in a volume about ancient Near Eastern thought (1946). For the Frankforts, ancient mythical thought does not distinguish between subject and object, as does scientific thought. Instead, mythopoeic thought addresses the world as "thou," and participates with this world rather than seeking to analyze it (Frankfort 1946: 4–6). "Primitive thought," the Frankforts maintain, "cannot recognize our view of an impersonal, mechanical, and lawlike functioning of causality" (1946: 15).

An advantage of the theory that myths stem from mythopoeic thought is that it recognizes the special and distinctive character of myths. Unfortunately, this view has seemed to have little more to recommend it. Most scholars who have lived among "primitive" communities have found little evidence there for wholesale thinking of a different sort from that which typifies modern groups. The evidence rather suggests that both some primitives and some moderns think more emotionally, expressively, poetically, and illogically than do other primitives and other moderns. The division, that is, is one within each group, not between primitive peoples on the one hand and modern groups on the other. Early in his study of Greek mythology, Burkert suggests we dispose of "the nostalgic idea of a golden age when a race of poetically minded primitives uttered myths instead of plain speech" (1979: 24). Kirk's summary critique of the theory of mythopoeic thought is similarly harsh but reflects fairly the general assessment today:

"the polarization between fully rational thought (which is usually held to begin, in the Western tradition, at some time after Thales) and non-rational or 'mythopoeic' thought is logically indefensible and historically absurd" (1984: 58–59).

**4. The Myth-Ritual Theory.** According to this theory, myths are always to be studied together with the rituals which accompany them. This is so because myth and ritual are two parts of a single phenomenon: myths are the spoken counterpart to that which is being performed. This theory is also sometimes called "patternism" because several of its advocates have claimed to have discerned a pattern, in many Greek and Near Eastern myths and rituals, of (1) conflict, (2) death or disaster, (3) lamentation, and (4) rebirth.

The myth-ritual view stems most directly from the statements of the great Scottish scholar William Robertson Smith (1846–94). Smith began his career as a biblical scholar, but then was removed from his position as a professor at the Free Church College, Aberdeen, largely for making popularly available the conclusions of German biblical scholarship. In his lectures on Semitic religion, Smith said, "It may be affirmed with confidence that in almost every case the myth was derived from the ritual, and not the ritual from the myth" (1927: 18). This statement represents what has been called the "boldest" of the myth-ritual positions: the statement asserts not just that myths ought to be studied together with rituals; rather, all myths originate as rituals. Many other myth-ritualists hold a more moderate position, arguing not that all myths started their lives as rituals, but rather that myths and rituals generally belong together in religious life and hence are to be discussed as one.

Taking their lead from Robertson Smith, a group of classicists and anthropologists, chiefly at Cambridge University, offered a total view of myth based upon the presupposition that myths belong with rituals. These included Jane Harrison (1850–1920), Frazer in part (Ackerman 1975), F. M. Cornford (1874–1943), A. B. Cook (1868–1952), G. Murray (1866–1957) and others, a group sometimes called the Cambridge school of myth-ritualists. Their study of myth persuaded them that a basic myth-ritual pattern was very widespread in Mediterranean antiquity and lay behind the structure of Greek drama. They also went further afield, to ancient Mesopotamia, where they read the Babylonian creation myth (*Enuma Elish*) as the "libretto" to the spring New Year "Akitu Festival." This group of scholars thought they had found in Enuma Elish and the festival to which they argued it was attached a pattern: (1) A king, acting the part of a deity, fights with a chaotic monster, (2) is defeated, (3) is mourned, but then (4) rises again.

In either its bolder (all myths originate as rituals) or more modified (myths usually accompany rituals) forms, the myth-ritual theory was long of great importance in biblical scholarship. The list of major scholars influenced by myth-ritualism is long and includes such names as S. Mowinckel, I. Engnell, A. R. Johnson, and many others. But the two most ardent advocates of the position are perhaps S. H. Hooke and T. H. Gaster. Hooke edited several volumes, for which he also wrote introductory essays, outlining the myth-ritual pattern and then applying it to a variety of biblical texts (1933). Gaster found particularly supportive evidence for a myth-ritual position in the Ugaritic texts from ancient Syria. The thesis of several of his publications is that ancient Near Eastern myths reflect "a pattern and a sequence of ritual acts which, from time immemorial, have characterized major seasonal festivals in most parts of the world" (1977: 12). This pattern Gaster detected in several Psalms (Psalms 29, 89, 93, 97, 99), as well as elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. Though Gaster insistently claimed that he was defending only the more moderate myth-ritual position (that we view myth and ritual together as one thing), both his definition of myth as something which parallels a ritual, and his scheme according to which myths begin as accompaniments to rituals but are later separated from this context (1954: 185–203), suggest perhaps the strongest of the myth-ritual positions.

Unlike the theory which anchors myths in a hypothesized sort of mythopoeic thinking, the myth-ritual position has several advantages and continues to find ready support. Initially, it is undeniable that many myths do accompany rituals. This seems especially true of several Canaanite or Ugaritic myths, which formed a part of the culture out of which early Israel emerged. Secondly, this position possesses the advantage of placing myths in an authentic, "lived" religious setting. As such, it is a good counter to any theories which abstract myths out of the group experiences in which myths are formed and continue to survive.

Still, the myth-ritual theory, like all those offered by students of myth over the past century, runs into several problems (Fontenrose 1966; Kirk 1970: 12–31; *CMHE*, 82–83). If it is undeniable that many myths do accompany rituals, it is also the case that some do not. In some cultures, it appears that no myths are connected with rituals. Frazer himself, who sometimes spoke as a myth-ritualist, noted late in his career that the number of myths directly tied to rituals is "almost infinitesimally small, by comparison with myths which deal with other subjects and have had another origin" (1921: xxviii, n. 1). Moreover, the key examples so favored by the early myth-ritualists and their followers among biblical scholars—the Babylonian Akitu Festival and *Enuma Elish*, and the tales of Attis, Osiris, and Adonis—all turn out to be examples supportive of myth-ritual conclusions only if one utilizes very late and unreliable evidence (Burkert 1979: 100–1). Finally, to explain myths by asserting that they originate as rituals can be seen as a failure to offer any explanation at all (Kirk 1970: 17–19). If myths do originate as rituals, then we require an ensuing explanation of the meanings and functions of ritual; and this has not always been forthcoming.

**5. Myths and Society.** Another theory of continuing persuasiveness looks first and foremost to the social setting of myths. All of the most adequate definitions of myth offered in the 20th century stress that myths are *traditional* stories, that is, that they originate and are transmitted in a communal context. The theory under consideration here argues that the function of myth is precisely to cement social bonds, to bring together disparate people as a group, and then to support these peoples' group identity.

Once again, this theory can be traced most directly to Robertson Smith. That which Smith found absent from previous discussions of religion was the awareness of religion's social dimension. He then argued, for example, that sacrifices were originally meals shared between a religious community and its deity or deities; these sacrifices thus functioned to cement social bonds. What was true of sacrifice was true generally. Hence, Smith's famous and enormously influential statement that early "religions did not exist for the saving of souls but for the preservation and welfare of society" (1927: 29). The French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1858–1917) acknowledged his debt to Robertson Smith in shaping this idea into a general account of religion. Durkheim thus viewed myths as a means by which "the group periodically renews the sentiment which it has of itself and of its unity; at the same time, individuals are strengthened in their social natures" (1915: 420).

Though many scholars could be cited as among those who developed the implications of what Robertson Smith and Durkheim had concluded about the social function of myths, none did so more powerfully than Malinowski. It will be recalled that Malinowski devoted several years of his life to field work in the southwest Pacific and saw such experience as crucial preparation for any generalizations about culture. His own experience convinced Malinowski that myths are not speculative or symbolic abstractions. Myths rather perform emphatically practical functions. "Myth," Malinowski determined, "performs in primitive culture an indispensable function: it expresses, enhances, and codifies belief; it safeguards and enforces morality." A myth is therefore "not an intellectual explanation or an artistic imagery, but a pragmatic charter of primitive faith and moral wisdom" (Malinowski 1954b: 101).

Given Malinowski's frequent appeal to the practical function of myths as charters for social behaviour, this theory of myth is often called "functionalism" or "the charter theory." Although biblical scholarship rarely refers explicitly to either Malinowski or to the concept of functionalism in mythic interpretation, this particular theory of myth has been widely utilized in the study of the religion of Israel. Whenever we read that a particular biblical story is a model for Israelite behavior or that another story serves to give the nation a sense of identity over against other groups, standing implicitly and perhaps unconsciously behind such statements is a functional theory of mythology. Similarly, the recent return to an interest in the social background of the religion of Israel—the social context of those responsible for the creation of the Israelite nation, the social setting of the Israelite prophets, etc.—assumes that most biblical texts yield an accurate, mirror reflection of group identities. This assumption stands or falls with the critical assessment of the social model for myths.

Like the myth-ritual theory, the social context theory has the advantage of taking into consideration the actual, empirical conditions under which myths are transmitted. The theory has thus had a great deal of appeal to ethnologists, who have repeatedly argued that only "armchair" anthropologists like Tylor or

Frazer could fail to see the centrality of myths' social functions. Secondly, at least on the literal, surface level, many myths are most economically interpreted as charters for socially beneficial behavior. The social context theory proposes that we take this literal level seriously.

Despite this theory's obvious strengths and its continued usefulness in many areas of inquiry, it is not without disadvantages as well. First, the theory has difficulty accounting for the presence of the unusual, the bizarre, or the fantastic in myths (e.g., humans transforming themselves into plants or animals; heroes dismembered and then reassembled; nonhuman beings who speak; people transported vast distances in a flash; etc.). What possible purpose in the interest of group identity and unity can such elements perform? Related to this objection is that which observes that there is much in many myths which appears socially disruptive. Any list of the chief themes in world mythology would have to include incest, murder, cheating, and other similar themes; and these acts are frequently performed by the hero of the myth. How can we see such themes serving as charters for socially beneficial behavior? Thirdly, and most importantly, the functionalist theory of myth has to assume throughout a one-for-one correspondence between empirical social conditions and those social conditions which appear in myths. Though ethnographic research sometimes demonstrates that there is such a correspondence, this research also shows that often many aspects of the society in which the myth lives are nothing like the society depicted in the myth and never have been (Oden 1979–80). It seems particularly important for biblical scholars interested in the social context of Israelite religion as reconstructed from biblical narratives to take into account this objection.

**6. Myths and the Unconscious.** In several ways, this theory of the origin and meaning of myths is the psychological equivalent to the social theory described immediately above. As the latter theory posits that myths function to fulfill social needs, this theory posits that myths function to fulfill individual, psychological needs. In its various forms, this view begins by presupposing the existence of an unconscious. The human unconscious then needs expression; and the origin and meaning of any myth is to be sought in this need.

There are two chief versions of this psychological theory. The first is that of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), whose name is synonymous with the birth and impact of modern psychology. For Freud, the human unconscious is a repository of various instinctive drives. These drives include especially sexuality, but also various agressive urges. These drives need expression. However, for anyone to act directly in response to these drives would be enormously disruptive, indeed chaotic. Hence, myths function to express imaginatively what normal humans cannot express in conduct. Myths are thus very much like dreams: both myths and dreams function to release the tension created by the impossibility of acting continually and directly in response to unconscious drives.

A second version of the psychological theory is that associated above all with Carl Jung (1875–1961), who was for some time an associate of Freud. Jung, too, begins by presupposing the existence of an unconscious. However, for Jung this unconscious is also collective, not solely individual, and the unconscious yields not so much aggressive drives as it does a kind of spiritual drive for meaning (Segal 1980: 12). Like Freud's, Jung's research is partly based upon the study of dreams. But Jung's research into dreams and myths convinced him that the same symbolic representations appear in both, and hence "that we must be dealing with 'autochthonous' revivals independent of all tradition." These " 'myth-forming' structural elements" Jung labeled "archetypes" (1969: 71–72). Given that myths come from the unconscious, which is not fully rational, Jung is not willing to endorse a rational or logical investigation into the meaning of myths. Myths simply express the collective unconscious; no more needs to be or can be said about their meaning.

An initial strength of the psychological theory of myth is that it offers one explanation for the universality of myths. Why is it that in every culture, at least in some stage of that culture's development and perhaps at every stage, we find myths? And why is the shape of many of these myths from disparate areas of the world quite similar? Freud and Jung have a ready answer to such questions: myths appear everywhere and mythic themes are similar precisely because all humans have an unconscious. Secondly, this theory offers a powerful account for the strength of myths. People often feel very strongly about their

myths and are willing to defend them at great length. The psychological theory accounts for this strength by locating the drive behind myth in human instinct.

This theory, too, possesses its share of problems. First, the theory is difficult either to prove or to falsify. The evidence for its correctness is the human unconscious; and this remains a posited realm, one not open to the kinds of empirical investigation upon which scholarship depends. Secondly, Jung especially, along with some of his followers, makes a great deal of the universal nature of the dream- and myth-symbols he discusses. Further research has indicated that many of these symbols are nothing like universal. They are rather limited to a quite narrow stratum of Western thought; and even within this stratum, the symbols prove to be less widespread than Jung and his followers believed. Thirdly, and related to the second objection, the psychological theory leaves little room for the kind of cultural relativism that much 20th-century ethnographic research has claimed to discover (Dundes 1984: 270). Psychological theories tend to deal in "universals"; many historians, anthropologists, and others dispute the existence or usefulness of universals when dealing with the great variety of human cultures.

**7. Structural Analysis.** A final theory for the meaning and function of myth is structural analysis. It is almost wholly the result of the investigations of a single scholar, the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss. Structural analysis as practiced by Lévi-Strauss "contains the one important new idea in this field since Freud" (Kirk 1970: v–vi). Precisely because of its novelty, this theory is also controversial, and requires somewhat more elaborate description. Some scholars find the theory difficult to understand or to put into practice. Others claim to understand Lévi-Strauss but disagree vehemently with his presuppositions and results. Still others find it the single soundest approach to myth available.

The two phenomena to which Lévi-Strauss most often compares myth are language itself and music. The first of these comparisons suggests to him that linguistics might provide the key to understanding myth. What modern linguistics has demonstrated, according to Lévi-Strauss, is that meaning is produced by relationships, not by essences. That is, phonemes (the basic sound units in language) mean nothing in and of themselves. Phonemes only produce meaning in their interrelationships with one another. The same is true, Lévi-Strauss suggests, of the elements in myths. These mythic elements, "mythemes," mean nothing in and of themselves. They rather produce meaning by the structure of their relationships with one another—hence the reason for calling this theory "structuralism." For example, one cannot ask: "What does the moon or a freshwater deity mean in this myth?" One can only ask: "How are the various elements in the myth related to one another, and where else do we find the same or opposite relationships in the culture that produced this myth?"

This means, of course, that the plot-line of a myth is something to be little heeded. The narrative flow of a myth is rather an instance of the deceptive nature of appearances. Lévi-Strauss compares the study of myth with the study of geology, because in both apparent reality is not true reality. The surface appearance of geological phenomena is deceptive; and the truth is often the contrary of what appears. The same is true, Lévi-Strauss maintains, of myths' surface structure or narrative level.

Hence, myths require "decoding" and this process of decoding requires that the student of a culture's myths read and analyze *all* of that culture's myths. Just as a single mythical element means nothing by itself, so too a single myth acquires meaning only when compared with many additional myths. This aspect of structural analysis is particularly well illustrated by Lévi-Strauss' analysis of the Tsimshian Indian (from British Columbia) myth of "Asdiwal" (1976: 146–97), an analysis which many scholars agree is the most successful and persuasive single study by Lévi-Strauss. About halfway through this study, Lévi-Strauss states "having separated out the codes, we have analyzed the structure of the message. It now remains to decipher the meaning" (1976: 165). In order to "decipher the meaning," Lévi-Strauss turns to a summary of a number of additional myths from the same Tsimshian culture.

If these procedures describe how we ought to study myths, what is it that myths do for humans? Lévi-Strauss' most often cited answer to this question is the following: "the purpose of myth is to provide a logical model capable of overcoming a contradiction (an impossible achievement if, as it happens, the contradiction is real)" (1963: 229). What is particularly noteworthy in this answer is the phrase "logical model." This means that for the first time since Tylor, a theorist has suggested that the chief function of

myth is an intellectual or logical, rather than an emotional, psychological, or social, task. At the same time, however, Lévi-Strauss refers constantly to ethnographic information about a culture's social structure, because he finds here other instances of the same structural relationships which appear in myths.

The contradiction which myth seeks to surmount is very often in Lévi-Strauss' investigations that between nature and culture—i.e., the fact that humans perceive that they are of nature like all other animals and yet they speak and create their own worlds in a way that animals do not. This basic contradiction is often played out in a group of myths through a series of binary, symbolic pairs. Thus, a myth which speaks of north and south, women and men, upriver and downriver, etc., may actually be using these terms as codes for a more universal contradiction.

There have been a number of biblical studies in the past decade which label themselves "structural" studies. The great majority of these follow a mode of literary structuralism which is far removed from the structural study of myth inaugurated by Lévi-Strauss. Only studies which refer to some series of structures in a culture, like the structure of kinship relationships, in addition to those discovered in a body of myths really fall into the category of the structural analysis suggested as a means to study myths. Though there are a few instances of this kind of analysis applied to biblical and other Near Eastern myths (Oden 1979; 1983), most scholars have provisionally concluded that too little ethnographic data is available from either ancient Israel or the social world of early Christianity to allow for a meaningful structural analysis.

One strength of structural analysis as practiced by Lévi-Strauss is that it represents such a departure from the various theories utilized previously. Its novelty has created a great interest in both the theoretical and the practical aspects of the study of myth, an interest unparalleled since the turn from the 19th to the 20th century. Second, for the first time since Tylor, this theory regards seriously the thinking of so-called "primitives" or "savages." Lévi-Strauss repeatedly tries to demonstrate that these groups possess intellects every bit as advanced and logical as do modern societies. In this sense, structural analysis is the precise contrary to the theory of mythopoeic thought. Third, Lévi-Strauss has affirmed the necessity of studying all of a culture's myths. This has meant that he and others have begun to read and think about myths long neglected as of peripheral significance. And finally, structural analysis has appeared to produce significant results for some mythical collections. Many of the South American myths studied by Lévi-Strauss, for example, no longer seem as chaotic and nonsensical as they once did.

This final theory is again heir to a number of potential weaknesses. Like the psychological theory, structural analysis has seemed to many scholars difficult either to falsify or to prove true. Since many of the myths refer to other myths, and since Lévi-Strauss has said that myths in the end "signify the mind that evolves them" (1975: 341), we are left, as with the psychological theory, with reference to something beyond empirical testing. Secondly, it may be the case that the linguistic analogies Lévi-Strauss utilizes are at fault, that linguistics does not prove that all meaning is produced by relationships as he has argued. Thirdly, Lévi-Strauss proposes to bypass the narrative level of myths. Yet an element common to almost every single definition of myth is the element of narrative. If the narrative level is so vital that it serves partially to define myth, then how can one ignore it in mythical analysis? Finally, a number of scholars, including especially biblical scholars, have found structural analysis dangerously ahistorical. Lévi-Strauss takes little account of the differences introduced into myths by their historical transmission. It is possible that an answer to this objection may result from the work of Burkert, who combines structural analysis with an awareness that any myth "bears the marks of its history, of multiple levels of application and crystallization" (1979: 27).

**8. Conclusions.** In 1921, Frazer (xxvi) condemned a particular theory of myth on the ground that it suffered "from the vice inherent in all systems which would explain the infinite multiplicity and diversity of phenomena by a single principle, as if a single clue, like Ariadne's thread, could guide us to the heart of this labyrinthine universe." Frazer's objection is a particularly effective, even poetic, statement of what many students of the myths in the Hebrew Bible and the NT might say about the various theories of myth now available. Not all these theories can be utilized at once, simply because some flatly contradict others.

And new evidence has yielded the conclusion that some theories are beyond repair (a good example is that based on the supposition of a special sort of mythopoeic thinking). Still, central elements in several of the theories summarized above have stood up remarkably well to repeated critical inquiry and can easily be combined with elements from quite different theories to produce a rich synthesis. It is precisely such a synthesis which intrigues the student of mythology with the promise of reaching important new conclusions.

For example, though the evolutionary aspects of the intellectualist model associated in origin with the name of Tylor must be jettisoned, Tylor's insistent emphasis upon the human need for intellectually satisfying explanations is very much in accord both with recent ethnographic investigation and with the foundations of structuralism. The tellers of ancient myths appear to have been as reluctant to allow apparent contradictions to go unexplored as is any modern scientist. Any who propose to explain a body of myths while ignoring this human need for logically satisfying explanation do so at their own peril. So too, though the generalizing excesses of myth-ritualism are patent, the discovery that some myths are related to rituals remains an important one. Certainly, myth-ritualism can be applied only to those myths whose relationship to rituals is beyond reasonable dispute; and, as certainly, the myth-ritual mode of analysis must be founded upon a coherent and sustainable theory of the meanings and functions of ritual. But if these two criteria are met, there is no reason why this theory, too, cannot be combined in a controlled fashion with elements from other theories.

Those students of myth who urged that attention be paid to the social role of myths represent another instance of a significant discovery which has been modified but hardly discarded by more recent investigators. Myths' communal origin and transmission demand that any analysis of them heed their relationship to their social setting. The chief caution here is that future work cannot ignore the evidence that demonstrates that there is very often nothing like a one-for-one relationship between social structures as portrayed in myths and the empirical social structures of the society which produced and repeated the myths. A highly structured and hierarchical society, for example, can produce myths portraying a quite unhierarchical, egalitarian social background; and the opposite (an egalitarian society whose myths portray a hierarchical social setting) can also be true. There is surely a relationship between myths and society; but this relationship is nothing if not complex.

Finally, structuralism, too, has encountered heated objections but none which demands that we ignore all of the results which Lévi-Strauss claims to have attained. Investigators today are much less willing to select a few myths and grant to these selected few a kind of privileged status than was possible before the advent of structuralism. Structural analysis asks that we ignore no myth in a given culture and no element in a given corpus of myths, however bizarre or opaque such myths or mythical elements may appear. The results of such renewed attention to previously side-stepped materials cannot help but produce new insights, even if these insights demand some reformulation of structuralism's own foundations. This will be especially true in the realm of history, where the effects of the transmission of myths through time will have to be compared with the alleged stability of basic mythic structures.

In all these areas, then, a century's reflection and discovery have refined the basic insights of a number of originally quite separate models for the meaning and function of myth. The careful utilization of aspects of each of these theories, in their present refined state, is that upon which future work will build.

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ROBERT A. ODEN, JR.

## *MYTH IN THE OT*

The scholarly debate regarding the presence of myth in the OT is relatively recent, having only begun late in the 18th century. Since its inception, the use of this category in biblical studies has met with varying degrees of acceptance and rejection. A concensus on the definition of myth is still wanting (see previous article); hence, the identification of mythic elements—and their significance—in the OT text is much debated. This article will trace the development of this discussion in OT research.

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A. Early Attempts to Study Biblical Stories as Myth
B. Hermann Gunkel and the "History of Religions" School
C. Myth and the OT in the First Half of the 20th Century

1. Continuations of the 19th-Century Tradition
2. New Directions: OT Myths and the Cult

D. Myth and OT in Recent Study

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**A. Early Attempts to Study Biblical Stories as Myth**

As with many areas of biblical scholarship, the origins of the modern encounter between OT study and the category of myth are to be sought in the 18th and early 19th centuries (Kraus 1969: 147–51). This is not to say that no notice whatsoever was taken prior to the Enlightenment of the possibility that OT material could be looked at as myth. Still, it was the era of the Enlightenment and the ensuing Romantic period which first gave broad and lasting impetus to this possibility. These movements are known above all for their stress upon historical inquiry as the most fruitful way in which to grasp the full significance of all human phenomena. As such, scholars, from the end of the 18th century onward, placed special emphasis upon the remotest origins of all literary and religious texts. Against this background, writers from the Romantic period argued that the human heart first spoke in poetry and in myth. Hence, there arose a desire to recover and to appreciate anew these ancient, mythic expressions of humanity.

Exemplary of the blossoming interest in myth is the work of the brothers Jacob (1785–1863) and Wilhelm (1786–1859) Grimm. Their collections of myths were in the service of the increasingly regnant model that humanity's earliest literary productions began as myths. Against this background, it began to seem possible that OT stories, too, had such an inception, and thus might usefully be studied as myths.

Among those who pursued this possibility with the greatest vigor was the German scholar David Friedrich Strauss (1808–74). Strauss' published work dealt primarily with the NT rather than with the OT. However, the questions he raised and the answers he proposed in his *Life of Jesus*, first published in 1835 (see Schweitzer 1961: 68–71; and Frei 1974: 233–44) were at least as applicable to OT traditions as Strauss had suggested for the NT. Strauss presented in carefully documented detail the argument that many, perhaps most, biblical stories were nothing like the eye-witness testimony they had long been assumed to be. These stories were instead the products of long processes of community tradition. And stories behind which lay such a process were prime candidates to be labeled myths.

Strauss equated the "mythical" with the "miraculous," and on the basis of this equation subjected to analysis all of the miraculous material in the Gospel accounts of Jesus. His argument was in many ways founded on the ancient theory of Euhemerism, according to which all myths began as tales about historical heroes whose actions were exaggerated and who became superhuman in the course of their further development. Stories about Jesus, Strauss suggested, developed in much the way that stories about any remarkable person did. Whenever such a person dies, his memory is preserved such that the historical quickly becomes the superhuman and the mythical. That which is particularly notable about Strauss' *Life of Jesus* is the breadth to which he was willing to extend his basic thesis (Frei 1974: 233–44). Strauss made bold to argue that the mythical was present not just in the accounts of Jesus' conception and birth, but also in the many details in the Gospel narratives—in the stories of Jesus' baptism, for example, or of the various healing and feeding miracles.

Though Strauss was not the first to label biblical stories as myths, he was made to bear a burden which more properly belonged to the entire historical-critical approach to the Bible. For many pious readers, a first acquaintance with the shocking conclusions of this approach coincided with their acquaintance, often at second- or third-hand, with Strauss' volume. For such people, what was shocking was the most basic conclusion of both Strauss and his predecessors: that the bulk of OT and NT narratives were not historically true, even if mythical materials did offer a deeper kind of human truth. Thus, the initial stage of the inquiry into the Bible and myth reached conclusions which conflicted with many peoples' deeply held views about the reliability of the Bible. As Albert Schweitzer wrote, Strauss' *Life of Jesus*, "into which he had poured his youthful enthusiasm, rendered him famous in a moment—and utterly destroyed his prospects" (Schweitzer 1961: 71). The public indignation directed against Strauss led to his dismissal from his academic post at Tübingen, destroyed his academic career, and led him to withdraw for most of his life from the world of biblical scholarship.

**B. Hermann Gunkel and the "History of Religions" School**

The lead that Strauss' work might have given to 19th-century OT scholarship was not pursued, even though the OT provided at least as much potential for mythological study as did the NT. For example, the stories of the endangering of an ancestress (Genesis 12, 20, 26), of a young man falsely accused of attempting to rape the wife of a powerful official (Genesis 37–50), or of a national saga which includes a dramatic crossing of a body of water (Exodus 15) were all stories known in nonbiblical, mythological traditions. The negative reaction to Strauss' *Life of Jesus* resulted in long reluctance by scholars to label biblical stories as myths, a pause that persisted in some respects for a full century following the appearance of Strauss' study in 1835. The "problem" of the Bible and mythology had ceased to be a problem, argued a variety of biblical scholars, because there were no myths, at least no complete myths, in either the OT or the NT.

The insistent claims that the OT contains no myths seem notably odd because the very years in which scholars were voicing such claims coincided with a striking increase in the number and the awareness of myths from Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt and elsewhere similar to biblical tales in many regards. By the final quarter of the 19th century, scholars in a variety of academic disciplines knew of a flood hero more ancient than Noah in a Mesopotamian version of Genesis 6–9, or of a first human called Adapa who was prevented by a Mesopotamian deity from attaining immortality (see *ANET*, 72–99 for the Epic of Gilgamesh, whose 11th Tablet portrays the deluge; Oden 1981: 197–216, for the more recently discovered Epic of Atrahasis; and *ANET*, 101–3 for Adapa).

In the face of such evidence, how could scholars exile the genre of myth from the OT? The answer is quite simple: the strategy of exiling myth from OT studies was to do so *by definition.* Almost without exception, biblical scholars in the decades following Strauss relied upon a single and most convenient definition for myth. This was the definition first popularized by the Grimm brothers, which labeled a myth as "a story about the gods." The key to this definition for biblical scholars in the period here under discussion was that the final noun, "gods," is in the plural. Both the OT and the NT, scholars agreed, were of the highest significance in the development of human religions for their witness to the evolving truth of monotheism. If the lasting contribution of biblical religion was monotheism, there could be no talk of gods in the Bible. And if there was no talk of gods in the Bible, then there are in the Bible no myths. (For a discussion of an adequate definition of myth, see previous article.)

So cleanly did this utilization of the Grimm brothers' definition of myth sever mythology from the Bible that virtually every discussion which touched upon myth within the world of late 19th- and early 20th-century biblical study rehearsed this definition with the predictable conclusion which ensued. Both Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918) and William Robertson Smith (1846–94), to whom we owe major and lasting advances in OT study, used the conventional Grimm brothers' definition of myth. So too, at greater length, did Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932), whose work shaped 20th-century biblical inquiry as did perhaps no other single scholar.

Gunkel provides a striking instance of the tension that began to mount at the conclusion of the 19th century between increasing archaeological evidence for mythical material in the Bible on the one hand and the repeated denial of the presence of myths in the Bible on the other. In 1895, Gunkel published a volume entitled *Schöpfung und Chaos,* which inaugurated the "History of Religions School" in the eyes of those scholars who belonged to this group. This school, which numbered among its illustrious members Albert Eichhorn, W. Wrede, Wilhelm Bousset, W. Heitmüller, Hugo Gressmann, and others (see Kraus 1969: 327–40), relied fundamentally upon extrabiblical texts which archaeology was making increasingly available in the years just before the turn of the century. Indeed, the larger program of the "History of Religions School" was most basically founded on the project of fully utilizing texts from outside the OT to explain the development of the OT, in opposition to previous scholars, such as Wellhausen, who were accused of failing to utilize such extrabiblical texts.

Gunkel's central thesis in *Schöpfung und Chaos* is that a single myth—a broadly defined myth of the defeat of a chaos dragon—lies behind several OT and NT stories concerning the beginning and end of the world. However, despite the skill with which Gunkel developed this thesis, he, too, continued throughout

his life to stand within the main camp of those who denied that mythical thinking played any major role in the development of the OT. Though his statements on myth in his voluminous publications are not entirely consistent, Gunkel *was* consistent in defining myths as stories about the gods and in demanding that "for a story of the gods at least two gods are essential" (Gunkel 1964: 15; see also Rogerson 1974: 59–63). Since the OT, Gunkel went on to say, "from its beginning tended toward monotheism," the Bible contains no complete myths. What the Bible does contain, which Gunkel's own research forced him to admit, is "original myths" from other lands, myths that now appear in the Bible only "in comparatively faded colors." The story of the mating of divine beings with women in Genesis 6:1–4, for example, was originally an elaborate myth but is now "nothing but a torso" of a complete myth (Gunkel 1964: 14–15).

**C. Myth and the OT in the First Half of the 20th Century**

**1. Continuations of the 19th-Century Tradition.** The simple but powerful maneuver of denying that the OT offers any evidence of complete myths by relying upon the Grimm brothers' definition continued to play the lead role in discussions by biblical scholars about myth and the OT for a surprisingly long period in the 20th century. The longevity of this maneuver's success is surprising since the Grimm brothers' definition was dismissed as inadequate, overly narrow, and apologetic by a wide range of scholars outside the area of biblical study. Still, a glance at the most widely used introductions to the OT which appeared in the period up to about 1960, or at similarly influential OT theologies from the same years, demonstrates that this remained the case until very recently. The OT introductions of Otto Eissfeldt (1965), Artur Weiser (1961), and Georg Fohrer (1968), for example, introduced generations of students to the OT. Each one of these introductions rehearses, in markedly similar language, the argument that a myth demands a plurality of gods, that those stories which look mythical in the OT are merely the decaying fragments of myths which originated elsewhere, and that there can be no complete myths in the OT (Eissfeldt 1965: 35–37; Weiser 1961: 57–59; and Fohrer 1968: 87). The identical chain of reasoning makes its predictable appearance in the OT theologies of Gerhard von Rad and G. E. Wright, different as these scholars' positions are in other areas. Both von Rad and Wright open their theologies with a version of this old argument, conclude that myths find no authentic role in OT thought, and then go on to contrast sharply the alleged cyclical, naturalistic, and mythical thinking which they see as characteristic of Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Canaan, with the linear, historical, and antimythical thought process they claim to find central to OT religion (Wright 1952: 38–48; and *ROTT* 1: 27–28, 136–41; 2:110–11, 349).

**2. New Directions: OT Myths and the Cult.** Although the first half of the 20th century largely saw the continuation of the tradition of ignoring the potentially fruitful area of study which might have been opened up by analyzing OT stories as other myths were studied, it would be unfair to characterize the entirety of this period in this way. There were already in this period some voices which wished to expand the horizon of OT study in the direction of mythical analysis. The most important of these came from scholars heavily influenced by the myth-ritual program initiated at the turn of the century by the Cambridge University circle which included Sir James George Frazer, Jane Harrison, and others. In addition, Gunkel had also stressed the origins of numerous religious traditions in the popular settings of groups' rituals; and this stress too led him and others to investigate anew the possible myth-ritual origins for a number of OT texts (Gunkel 1967).

Those scholars who investigated the OT under the general heading of myths and cultic activity tend to be grouped into one of several different schools of thought. There were, for example, a number of Scandinavian scholars, including H. S. Nyberg, S. Mowinckel, J. Pedersen, G. Widengren, I. Engnell, and others, whose work can be seen with fair accuracy as a continuation of that of Gunkel (see North 1951: 59–70). A clear example of the application of such scholars' thought to an OT narrative is the conclusion that Pedersen reached considering the Passover story in Exodus 1–15. For Pedersen, this narrative is not a direct historical report of events which occurred to Israel in the generation of Moses. It is rather a ritual legend, which arose from a cultic ceremony whose function was to give a sense of unity to the early Israelites (see Hahn 1966: 144). As Pedersen wrote, "In forming an opinion about the crossing of the reed sea it must be kept in mind … that this story, as well as the whole emigration legend, though inserted as part of an historical account, is quite obviously of a cultic character, for the whole narrative aims at

glorifying the god of the people at the paschal feast" (*PI*, 728). Though the contributions of Mowinckel were numerous, his longest lasting conclusions were those that stemmed from inquiry into the Psalms (see Johnson 1951: 189–207). Such Psalms as Pss 40, 65, 82, 90, Mowinckel read as prophetic speeches, suggesting to him and others that the origins of the phenomenon of prophecy were to be sought in combined myth-ritual occasions. It was Mowinckel as well who argued for the decisive role played by an autumnal New Year Festival. On this occasion, according to Mowinckel and others, Yahweh was ritually reenthroned each year. This festival Mowinckel reconstructed largely from Babylonian and post-Israelite evidence; and to it he attributed the creative force which lay behind many OT texts.

The chief British advocate of myth-ritualism, perhaps, was S. H. Hooke (Hooke 1933), while the leading American scholar to pursue this line of inquiry was T. H. Gaster (Gaster 1977; on Gaster see Grimes 1976: 14–17). Gaster was in many ways the most consistent in his continuation of the original goals of the myth-ritual program. For him, myths must always be seen as "part and parcel of ritual procedures" (Gaster 1954: 184). So, too, he argued, "Myth is cosubstantial with Ritual. They are not—as is often supposed—two things, … but one thing viewed from two different angles or through two different prisms" (Gaster 1954: 187). Gaster was also probably the leading advocate of the "patternism" aspect of the myth-ritual program, according to which there existed throughout the ancient Mediterranean world a myth-ritual complex which fell into a broad pattern of chaos followed by eventual triumph. Specifically, Gaster found in many ancient Eastern texts a "broad sequence of mortification, purgation, invigoration and jubilation such as indeed characterizes seasonal rites in most parts of the world" (Gaster 1954: 211). This pattern was allegedly to be found already in the Babylonian *Akītu* Festival with its attendant performance of the *Enuma Elish* creation epic, as well as in the Ugaritic poems about Baal whose plot runs "parallel on a transcendental plane to the characteristic program of season rituals" (Gaster 1954: 198). The same pattern was then seen by Gaster and others in a variety of biblical texts, including especially the so-called Enthronement Psalms.

However, the application of myth-ritualism to OT materials did not produce as wide an impact upon biblical studies as its relatively few advocates clearly wished. This was chiefly because the very period in which scholars such as Pedersen, Mowinckel, Hooke, and Gaster were writing also saw the rise of an eventually devastating tide of criticism directed against the entire myth-ritual approach (see this discussion in the previous article). If the foundations of this approach appeared to lie in ruins, then there no longer seemed to be any justification for the approach's application to OT texts. In addition, many of the cultic reconstructions proposed by the biblical myth-ritualists were judged to be highly speculative. As Gerstenberger has written, the reconstructed background of the so-called cultic Psalms, "be it called New Year/Enthronement Festival or Covenant Renewal Festival, at times looks like a specter or a bag of bubbles" (Gerstenberger 1974: 197). For this pair of reasons, no real and lasting turn in the direction of a more thorough application of mythological analysis of the OT resulted from this program of inquiry into the cult and OT myths.

**D. Myth and OT in Recent Study**

In the last several decades, two forces have combined to return the issue of myth and the OT to the forefront of scholarship. First, the discovery of additional ANE myths with undeniable similarities to OT stories has made it increasingly difficult to maintain the former distinction between mythical thinking and OT religion. This is especially the case for the Canaanite myths first uncovered in 1929 at Ras Shamra-Ugarit (Coogan 1978). These Canaanite texts present us with myths composed in a language very similar to biblical Hebrew and from the very area in which Israel would come into existence as a nation in the early Iron Age. Further, it appears that the earliest OT poems (e.g., Exodus 15, Psalm 68, or Judges 5) are composed in a poetic style that stems directly from that which obtains the Ugaritic myths.

Second, the years since about mid-century witnessed a new willingness to reexamine both older definitions of myth and previously dominant theories for the origin and function of myths. However long the definition of myths as "stories about the gods" had survived in biblical study, its reign was crumbling even here. The definition's demise was inevitable, even if it had outlived what anthropologists, folklorists, and others from outside the confines of biblical scholarship might have predicted, because developments

in the broader study of myth demonstrated repeatedly the poverty of a definition for myth which excluded all monotheistic stories. So, too, beginning at about mid-century, a number of scholars, chief among whom is the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, proposed to take myths much more seriously as a source of potential knowledge about human mental and social organizations than had been the case since the time of Tylor, Frazer, and others at the end of the 19th century (see previous article).

Once again, perhaps the major impetus for OT scholarship to return to the issue of myth came initially from a NT scholar. Just as Strauss had boldly suggested in the early 19th century that the NT must be seen as mythical throughout, so too the 20th-century NT scholar Rudolf Bultmann (1884–1976) took the lead among biblical scholars in jettisoning the narrow and frankly apologetic definition of myth first formulated by the Grimm brothers. Though Bultmann rarely offers a succinct definition of myth, his understanding of myth is much more in keeping with what anthropologists, folklorists, and historians of religion had been saying on the subject since the end of the 19th century. For Bultmann, as for these scholars in other fields, a myth is one of the ways in which any culture objectifies and symbolizes its entire worldview. Thus understood, it becomes impossible to deny that much biblical narrative is inherently mythological. Certainly, the NT assumption of the physical cosmos as a three-storied edifice (heaven, earth, and hell), as well as that of the earth as the arena of the activity of demons and other supernatural beings, is a mythological assumption. But more than just this serves to indicate the mythological character of biblical thought. For Bultmann, "The whole conception of the world which is presupposed in the preaching of Jesus as in the New Testament generally is mythological" (Bultmann 1958: 15).

Anyone today who wishes to appropriate the message of Jesus must then, according to Bultmann, "demythologize" the NT. Demythologizing does not mean ridding the Bible of mythology, an impossible task in any case; it means, rather, translating this mythology. NT mythology requires translation because of the definition with which Bultmann begins. If a myth is the objectification and symbolization of any culture's worldview, then the myth cannot function for a culture with a radically different worldview.

The demythologizing program of Bultmann prompted, as any student of the scholarly fate of Strauss might ruefully have predicted, a controversy within theological circles similar in shape and intensity to that which Strauss' *Life of Jesus* generated. Critics accused Bultmann of substituting his own brand of existentialist philosophy for biblical thought, and of raising this philosophy to the status of an independent mythology. Behind such criticisms can be seen lurking the hope that myths and biblical narratives might forever remain distinguishable. There must remain, such critics clearly urged, a fundamental difference between biblical thought on the one hand and mythological thought on the other.

Studies by other scholars soon demonstrated that Bultmann did not stand alone. The problem of myth and the Bible had been too long and too easily side-stepped by the maneuver of a simple definition; and, even if much of the criticism of Bultmann was to the point, he had raised issues which refused to subside. By the 1950s, biblical scholars began openly to question the usefulness of the long regnant definition of myths as stories about gods. Thus, G. H. Davies concluded a 1956 study on mythology with the affirmation that "mythology is a way of thinking and imagining about the divine rather than thinking and imagining about a number of gods," so that "the content of myth, whether polytheistic or otherwise is accidental to the nature of myth" (Davies 1956: 88). Two years later, John McKenzie's survey of some of the many theories of myth from scholars in disciplines beyond the biblical field convinced him that the Grimm brothers' definition, despite its long utilization within biblical study, was radically inadequate. Thus, the accompanying claim that the OT was free of myth was no longer defensible (McKenzie 1959: 265–82).

Two important volumes from the last quarter century may serve as markers of the new directions taken by scholars in the investigation of the OT and myth. To the first of these volumes, B. S. Childs' *Myth and Reality in the Old Testament* (1960), belongs the great credit of openly unmasking the inadequacy of defining myths as stories about the gods. Further, Childs goes well beyond this to note how this definition alone was responsible for the long hiatus in inquiry into the function of mythology in the OT. Childs shows that the long-unexamined utilization of the Grimm brothers' definition created a "tendency among

those using this definition to fail to see the essential problem of myth in the Old Testament" (Childs 1960: 15). This problem, Childs continues, is one which is perceived *within* the OT itself. *Myth and Reality in the Old Testament* develops the argument that the OT does contain material which is mythical, though it also contains material which is in tension with the mythical.

A second volume, F. M. Cross' *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic* (1973), goes further in this same trajectory. Here, the argument is not driven so much by theoretical concerns which arise from a redefinition of myth as it is rather by the force of newly available evidence. This evidence, which is largely that of the myths uncovered at the ancient Syrian city of Ugarit, persuades Cross of the bankruptcy of all attempts to prove that Israelite religion is discontinuous with the religions of Israel's neighbors, and hence discontinuous with a mythological tradition.

Cross (*CMHE*) goes on to present evidence for a pattern discernible within much OT literature which is based upon the shape of a central, cosmogonic myth of the Canaanites. The threefold pattern is as follows: (1) A divine warrior battles against a god of chaos; (2) the divine warrior is victorious; and (3) the divine warrior becomes king and receives a royal palace. This pattern, according to Cross, appears in some OT texts in its pure, mythical form (e.g., Psalms 29, 89, or 93), while in other texts (e.g., Psalm 77 or Isa 51:9–11) we see a mixture of mythical with historical traditions. Such a combination Cross finds to be characteristic of Israelite religion: "In Israel, myth and history always stood in strong tension, myth serving primarily to give a cosmic dimension and transcendent meaning to the historical, rarely functioning to dissolve history" (*CMHE*, 90).

Cross' notion of a "tension" between mythical thought and historical thought recalls Childs' thesis that mythical material in the Bible often remains "in tension" with an alternate viewpoint. The similarity of these two scholars on this point is of potential significance in marking a particular stage in the development of our thinking about the OT and myth. While both Childs and Cross have left far behind the former insistence that myths play no role in the OT, neither is quite willing to entertain the possibility that mythical thought and mythical literature are at the very heart of Israel's religion. The possibility is a real one, and one which more recent studies of biblical religion have begun to explore. These studies largely dispense with any discussion of the tension between the historical and the mythical in OT texts. Rather, they begin with the assumption that a great many OT stories are plainly myths, and then go on to study these OT myths according to one or several of the theories for the analysis of myth made available by scholars in anthropology, psychology, and other disciplines (see Oden 1987, with the bibliography there).

The recent progress by biblical scholars in returning openly to the issue of the presence of myths in the Bible is quite remarkable and altogether in keeping with the broader trend toward moving biblical study into the mainstream of academic studies. But equally remarkable is the century-long refusal by OT scholars to pay any great heed to those efforts to redefine myth accomplished by scholars from other disciplines, such as anthropology or folklore study. This refusal is fundamentally grounded in the assumption that all things biblical must be firmly and forever distinguished from the nonbiblical and, especially, the mythological world. The forcefulness of this foundational and long unquestioned distinction accounts for the otherwise inexplicable desire to divide the OT from myth.

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ROBERT A. ODEN, JR.

## *MYTH IN THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD*

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### A. Terminology

In early Gk, *mythos* means "word, speech, design." It is more or less synonymous with *epos* ("word, speech, message"), close in meaning to *logos* ("account, talk"): myth is narration, tale-telling. After Pre-Socratic and sophistic philosophy began to doubt the empirical truth of the mythical tradition, the epic, non-Attic word *mythos* was used in the 5th century Attic prose and in Plato as a technical term for an entertaining tale, the truth of which was uncertain or unwarranted (Burkert 1985a: 281). From Plato onward, its contrasting term was *logos,* "the rational, responsible account." Latin *fabula* and its derivatives in the Romance languages (Eng-Fr *fable,* Ital *favola*) took over the meanings of Gk *mythos.* The modern term *myth* (Fr *mythe,* Germ *Mythus,* Ital *mito*) goes back to the neo-Latin *mythus,* coined by

Chr. G. Heyne around 1760 in order to express the new appreciation of the inner veracity of myth in contrast to the negative connotations of *fabula.*

**B. The Sources**

Myth is the content of which Greek and Roman poetry is the form: in this respect, nearly the whole of Greek and Latin poetry is its source. Myth had, to most Greeks and Romans, the status of ancient history; in that respect, the local historians and the travelers (esp. Pausanias, 2d cent. A.D.) who recorded local myths otherwise unknown, are of special interest. In Hellenistic times, mythography developed as a special branch of literature (Henrichs, in Bremmer 1987: 242–77): its earlier authors are lost; among the later, preserved compendia, the most important is the *Library* of Apollodorus (2d cent A.D.).

Pictorial representations of mythical themes, in which Attic ceramography is especially rich, began at an early date (Schefold 1964). Visual art has its own rules, different from those of verbal narration, and Greek and Roman images are more than just illustrations of texts: iconography, though difficult where texts are absent, has its own methods which lead to new and important results (exemplary Sourvinou-Inwood 1987).

**C. Characteristics and Functions**

In the most widely accepted definition, myth is a traditional tale with social and intellectual relevance. Greek myth has a tradition which, at least in some respects, goes back to the time before the Mycenaean Age (ca. 1550–1150 B.C.). Anthropologists and folklorists tend to view the narrator of a myth as a nonindividual instrument of tradition (earlier generations spoke about "*volksgeist*"); in Greece, already in the Archaic Age (ca. 750–480 B.C.), the narrators of the traditional tales were highly individual poets. Poetical ornamentation of the tradition was accepted and indispensable, innovation was checked by the fact that archaic Greek culture was oral (Gentili 1984): written texts served as a basis for oral performance, and any new poetical version of a traditional theme was, in its ritual "publication" during a festival or a common meal, exposed to the censorship of the entire group.

The relevance of myth lies in its explanatory (etiological) and normative function: myth makes intelligible, to the group it belongs to, the physical, political, and social order; it defines man's position toward the world and the gods; it regulates religious and social behavior. It does so by telling how the present order once came into being. Compared with most other mythologies, Greek mythology is radically anthropomorphic and wanting in the more fantastical elements (Kirk 1970: 172–251); its emphasis on the historical dimension is one aspect of this more general character. As a consequence, scholars were tempted far too often to look for a historical kernel in divine and heroic myths (see, for the first, the case of Dionysos, McGinty 1978, or Delphic Apollo, Sourvinou in Bremmer 1987: 215–41; for the latter, see G below).

**D. Religious Etiology**

The so-called "Cambridge school" derived myth from ritual, as the spoken text of the enacted performance. Contemporary scholarship has pointed out the difficulties (Kirk 1970: 8–31). Still, myth has a privileged relationship with ritual: there is, at least in ancient Greece, virtually no ritual without a myth to explain its origin and function. In most instances, these myths are recorded only by local historians and travelers: the myths of the poetical tradition often lost the link with ritual.

Greek myth uses many themes whose connections with ritual are well attested outside Greece. The theme of death and rebirth belongs to an initiatory background (Eliade 1958; Brelich 1969); the flood theme, which in Greece is rare and confined to local mythologies, is connected with reversal and periodic renewal (Caduff 1986), as is the myth of the Golden Age (Gatz 1967) or, in some variants, the theme of the Divine Guest (Flückiger-Guggenheim 1984). The "Battle Against the Dragon" is a theme connected with the establishment of a perpetual order, especially with New Year and foundation rituals (Trumpf 1958).

Greek myth never explains all details of a ritual: it does so for its most important or strangest details, often only for its general structure and atmosphere. Myth and ritual use different languages: ritual uses the language of symbolical action often conditioned by ethological programs; myth uses linguistic expressions formed by traditional narrative patterns (Burkert 1979: 1–58). Therefore, a myth may free

itself from a ritual as well as attach itself to a new ritual whose structure it shares. The privileged connection between myth and ritual has no genetic root; but ritual, as the central way to organize and condition archaic society, and myth, as the central mode of explaining and validating archaic social forms, naturally go together.

**E. The Origins**

**1. Indo-European Traditions.** Although the Greeks are Indo-Europeans (IE), undisputed IE elements in their mythology, as in their religion, are rare. There are common mythical themes, often where common institutions guaranteed the stability of tradition, as in the account of Nestor's youth in the *Iliad* which has its roots in IE initiatory practice and ideology (Bader 1980), or in the mythology of Helen, the background of which might be IE wedding poetry (Bremmer 1987: 2). A few epic formulas for key concepts have parallels in other IE traditions: this points to the existence of an IE tradition of epic poetry (Nagy 1974); similarly, there exist indications in Greek of a common IE tradition of narrative formal prose (Risch 1985): both were the means of transmission for IE myths.

**2. Minoan-Mycenaean Mythology.** For Minoan mythology, the only source is iconography, mainly gemstones, recently supplemented by the frescoes of Thera (Marinatos 1984). In the absence of written sources, the differentiation between divine and human figures, as between cult and mythological scenes, is often impossible. Non-anthropomorphical, "demonical" figures, however, are extant and point to mythology. Otherwise, female beings are dominant; connections with known Iron Age Greek myths are precarious (Nilsson 1950).

The Mycenaean Linear B tablets demonstrated that the pantheon of LB Age Greece was close to the Iron Age pantheon. Mycenaean mythology, however, is virtually untraceable. The existence of mythological representations in Mycenaean art is disputed (Vermeule 1958–59); the Linear B texts are purely administrative documents without narrative content. There must have existed a narrative explanation for divine names like *dirimijo diwo ijewe* (dat.), "Drimios the Son of Zeus" or *matere teija* (dat.), "Mother of the Gods" (Gérard-Rousseau 1968: 68.138): they point to Mycenanean mythology which in turn could be continued by Greek myths. According to the still widely held theory of Nilsson (1932), Greek heroic mythology originated in Mycenaean times as a transformation of Mycenaean history: this is highly unlikely (Brillante 1981).

**3. Oriental Influence.** Both in late Mycenaean and in early archaic times, Greece was a marginal part of the Near Eastern cultures. Traces of Oriental influence are manifest in its mythology (Burkert, in Bremmer 1987: 10–40). The Hittite and Mesopotamian parallels to the succession myth in Hesiod's *Theogony* as well as to the myth of the metal races in his *Works and Days* are well known (Walcot 1966). His account of Zeus' battle against Typhon, though belonging to the much wider attested dragon-battle theme, has close Oriental parallels (Fontenrose 1959); later accounts of the same myth took up new Oriental stimuli (Graf 1987: 90). Even closer to the Babylonian Enuma Elish is another early Greek theogony whose traces are found in the *Iliad* (14.201 §302); the beginning of the cyclic *Cypria* recalls another detail of the same Babylonian epos (Burkert 1984: 88–90, 96–98).

The exact circumstances of the underlying cultural contact are debated. Given the relative closeness between the respective Greek and Oriental myths, a contact in the early Iron Age, without too many distortions by a long independent oral tradition, seems the most likely solution. Both itinerant Oriental religious specialists (Burkert 1984: 15–42) and Greek merchants with their trading posts in N Syria (Boardman 1980: 38–54) may have brought the stories to Greece, either orally or in written form.

**F. Theogony and Cosmogony**

The earliest extant and most influential Greek account of the origins of the existing cosmos is the hexametrical poem *Theogonia* (*The Coming Into Being of the Gods*), composed by Hesiod of Ascra in Boetia about 700–675 B.C. (West 1966). It views the origins of our cosmos not as a creation, but as a procreation of its single divine members in a strictly genealogical and sexual form (Philippson 1944: 7–42). Eros, the sexual drive, is among the very first primordial beings; the main elements of the physical world (sky, earth, sea, mountains, rivers) are born in the shape of the respective divinities; parthenogenesis, which is rare, denotes the otherness of the being thus brought forth. In three consecutive

generations, the cosmos evolved to its present order, from Gaia (Earth) and Uranos (Sky) via their children the Titans, whose leader Cronus separated Earth and Sky by castrating his father, to the third generation of Cronus' children under the leadership of Zeus, who, after his victory over Cronus, the Titans and Typhon ordered the world by assigning the tasks (*timai*) to the respective gods.

Despite the many Near Eastern influences (see E.3 above), the Hesiodic account is unique in its specific world view. Whereas the Near Eastern myths presuppose a strongly hierarchized society around an absolute monarch and his palace, the Greek myth is modeled on a less rigidly stratified society of partly independent princes around a king, and on a social system in which the genealogical ties were predominant. In Near Eastern myths, man is created by the gods, to relieve them from the toils of working: man exists only as the slave of the gods. In the *Theogony,* what matters is not the physical creation of man but his social and religious position: it is defined, in the Prometheus myth, by sacrifice, which creates a reciprocal tie between gods and humans (Vernant 1974: 177–94), and by marriage, which institutes a firm genealogical order.

Both the cosmogonies of Pre-Socratic philosophy (Kirk, Raven, and Schofield 1983: 7–71) and of later Orphic and related mythological poetry (West 1983) continued cosmogonical speculation. Pre-Socratic philosophy, though often radically distant from tradition, makes use of mythological forms as easily decipherable allegories, as in Empedocles' poem *Peri Physeōs* (On Nature). Orphic cosmogonical poetry is set apart from Hesiod's in its validity: such poems had no relevance to a wider public but were part of the library of ritual specialists and of closed religious groups as early as the 5th cent. B.C. (Burkert 1982). Concomitantly, Orphic poetry, purportedly the work of the heroical singers Orpheus and Musaeus, is close to apocryphal religious poetry.

**G. Heroic Mythology, History, and the Epos**

**1. Heroic Myths.** According to the Greek conception, a hero is a mortal accorded cultic honors after death; heroization of prominent men is still attested in historical times (Burkert 1985a: 312–19). Thus, most heroic cults are local, belonging to the ancestor of a family, a clan, or a polis; widespread hero-cults are rare. Heroes thus are conceptually identical with historical persons: to the Greek mind, the deeds and genealogies of heroes are the early history of Greece (Finley 1975: 11–33).

When heroic mythology becomes manifest to us in early archaic time, it had been transmitted orally over a long time, presumably mostly in the form of local epic poetry about the deeds of a single central hero. A fragment found recently of such a poem about the exploits of Heracles in Cos (late 6th cent. B.C.?) (Lloyd-Jones 1984) confirms earlier hypotheses about the existence of such local "*heldenlieder*."

**2. The Homeric Epos.** The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are firmly rooted in this tradition of oral mythological storytelling whose formulation in smaller local epics sometimes still seems discernible. They draw upon the whole range of divine mythology which Hesiod systematized, and the main heroic personalities of both poems have their own mythical history which Homer alludes to or relates in longer digressions. The same holds true for other myths, which have no immediate connection with the main plot of the epos but are used as paradigms. The main event, of which the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* narrate only a part, the siege and destruction of Troy, also is a mythical tale, even if its historicity could be proved (Foxhall and Davies 1984): the story of the war is told in traditional narrative patterns which have both Near Eastern parallels (see E.3) and possible ritual correspondences (Bremmer 1978).

According to what the epos itself tells, its function is both to delight the audience and to propagate the glory of the heroes. The former function, common to heroic poetry (Bowra 1952: 29), is always fulfilled in public, during a common meal or in an assembly, with the consent and control of the whole group. The latter function implies a normative aim: the deeds of the heroes are worth being remembered because they are exemplary. Besides, heroic epos shares the etiological function of myth, explaining the actual order of the Greek world by reference to a heroic past. For the 8th cent. B.C. the cult of epic heroes around Mycenaean graves and ruins begins to be attested to such an extent that it must have begun in this period (Coldstream 1977: 341–57). The reference to the major, Panhellenic epic cycles gave to these places and ruins not only an owner and a history, but made them part of a newly felt Greek unity: in the 9th/8th cent.,

Greece had overcome the local isolation characteristic of the poor conditions during the Dark Ages; the first colonial ventures broadened the horizons and awakened the feeling of a common Greek culture.

**3. Genealogical Poetry and the "Catalogue of Women."** An important subtype of mythical narrative is genealogy; again, not exact chronology or documentary historical truth, but etiology in the wide sense of the term (Calame, in Bremmer 1987: 153–86). Genealogical poetry was widespread in archaic Greece; the most comprehensive account was the Pseudo-Hesiodeic *Gynaikōn Katalogos (Catalogue of Women)* (West 1985), a continuation of the *Theogony* which supplements the divine genealogies with those of the heroes (first half of the 6th cent. B.C.). Beginning with Prometheus' son Deucalion, his grandson Hellen, the ancestor of all *Hellēnes,* and Hellen's sons Dorus, Xuthus and Aeolus, the ancestors of the three major tribes of Greece, the *Catalogue* combines the genealogies of Greek heroic mythology into one more or less coherent system, ending one generation after the Trojan War. It is significant how emphasis is put on Panhellenic unity by the introduction, at the beginning of the genealogy, of eponymous heroes who are mere narrative constructs without any known cult: again, this points to the task of myth to give the Greek tribes and cities unity through a common descent.

**4. New Myths.** Since mythical narration represented history, the gap between the end of the heroic tradition and the immediate present also needed filling. In this continuation of earlier myths, the memory of historical fact was conditioned by story patterns and by contemporary needs; despite the relatively short span of time this "oral history" covered, it would be unwise to rely on its historicity or chronological accurateness. Good examples of this are the accounts of the Dark Age migrations, even more so the foundation-legends of the new colonies around the Mediterranean and Black Sea (750–600 B.C.). In the course of not too long a period of oral transmission, historical facts were drastically transformed into mythical themes and patterns (Prinz 1979); only details backed up by institutions were preserved, such as the origin of the colonists (who kept their political ties with the mother-city and took over its religious institutions) or the name of the founder (who had a public cult on the agora); divine agency, foremost of Apollo in Delphi, was invoked as a means to legitimate the conquests.

## H. Archaic and Classical Poetry

**1. Choral Lyrics.** In the course of the 7th cent. B.C., the creative oral performance of the epos became, with the canonization of written Homeric epic, a mere rhapsodic recitation of a fixed text. As a living means of public communication, it was ousted by choral lyrics which, by an impressive combination of word, music, and dance became the main vehicle of mythical narration in archaic Greece. Foremost among the choral poets was Stesichorus of Himera (died ca. 556 B.C.), whom later literary critics regarded as *hōmerikōtatos,* "closest to Homer" (Gentili 1984: 160–66; Burkert 1987: 50–53). His poetry is preserved only in fragments, but they support the information given by ancient sources that it was Stesichorus' treatment of a great number of heroic myths which was to be most influential, especially for Attic tragedy.

The continuant fluidity of myth is shown by its use in the victory odes of Pindar (52/518–after 446 B.C.), the only preserved body of Greek choral verse: he can adapt his version of the tradition to the individual circumstances of victor, victory, and celebration, even to the extent of implicitly contradicting himself or explicitly correcting a traditional account (Köhnken 1971).

**2. Tragedy.** Tragedy, the last public oral performance of myth (Rösler 1980), continued the etiological function. It often told the origin of Attic institutions and cults, and it took its stand in current politics: by projecting Athenian democracy into the time of the mythical heroes, it extolled and legitimated the democratic order. The tragedians' new emphasis on problematical relationships between members of the same household or clan responded to contemporary feelings (Knox 1979); Euripides, in some plays, even attempted an analysis of female roles and psychology. Finally, the dramatic interplay of gods and mortal heroes elucidated the relationship between man and god, often by stressing the utter incompatibility of the two (Graf 1987: 162–65; Euripides: Eisner 1979).

## I. Philosophy and Demythization

**1. The Beginnings.** Literacy, with its creation of poetical texts, slowly destroyed the nearly limitless adaptability of oral tradition: as social and intellectual conditions changed, a gap opened up between the

now fixed texts and their new readers. By the end of the Archaic Period, several strategies were available to deal with myths which seemed no longer acceptable. One was to accept the gist of tradition but to explain away all details which did not fit into a rational or commonsense view. This method was adopted especially by the historians, from its first representative, Hecataeus of Miletus (ca. 550–480 B.C.) to the end of antiquity. A second strategy was to reject tradition, mainly on moralistic grounds, as did the pre-Socratic philosophers Xenophanes of Colophon and Heraclitus of Ephesus (Kirk, Raven, and Schofield 1983: 168, 188, 209). This was much more lethal to myth than the petty rationalizations: they radically did away with the strict anthropomorphic model of Greek mythology. A third way was allegorization, the figurative interpretation. It started in the explanation of Homer toward the end of the 6th century B.C. with Theagenes of Rhegium, a rhapsodist and as such also a professional interpreter of Homer, and with the Pythagoreans (Graf 1987: 176–78), and became the standard procedure to deal with mythology from Hellenistic time onward.

**2. The Sophists and Plato.** Whereas rationalization of myth became the predilection of historians, philosophy continued to rely on allegorization or rejection. The Sophists of the 5th cent. B.C. rejected myth while retaining its normative aims: they used traditional themes in a new guise or created new myths as vehicles for moral and political education, the best known being the "Choice of Heracles" invented by Socrates' contemporary Prodicus of Ceus (Panofsky 1930). The same Prodicus developed a historical reading of divine myths and explained the gods as divine benefactors: this approach became quickly popular and was systematized around 300 B.C. by Euhemerus of Messene after whom, somewhat unjustifiedly, the whole theory was labeled Euhemerism (Henrichs 1984: 140–52).

Like the Sophists, Plato rejected traditional myths in their poetical shape; they were impious and immoral. At the same time, he could invent myths with an educational aim in the sophistic manner. More important, he used *mythos,* the rationally unverifiable tale, as a way to express things which he could not express by *logos,* in rational argumentation, either because, as with statements about the sensual world, their ontological status made *logos* impossible, or, as with eschatology, because they were beyond human knowledge (Brisson 1982).

**3. Later Allegorical Interpretation.** The Stoics, less radical than Plato, accepted traditional poetical myth but explained it allegorically, usually in terms of natural phenomena, less often moralistically. Due to the success of Stoicism, allegorical explanation became the most widespread strategy to deal with myth both in antiquity (Lévêque 1959; Pépin 1976) and after until the 18th cent., (Feldman and Richardson 1972).

## K. Myth in Rome

Roman tradition had, at an early stage, radical historicized its mythology (Dumézil 1987: 63–93); modern scholarship is still decoding early Roman history as myth (for a survey, see Grant 1971). All the more eagerly the Romans accepted Greek mythology, as part of Greek culture which they imitated and adapted, not as part of a living religious tradition. The great number of etiological myths for Roman cults (collected esp. in Ovid's *Fasti*) seem to be of late and mainly scholarly origin.

The Augustan Age, in its aim of giving new spiritual foundations to Rome, changed the status of myth. Vergil, in his *Aeneid,* expanded the Greek myth of Aeneas into an attempt to give a mythico-religious legitimation to Augustan Rome. The myth itself had been known in Italy in the 6th cent. B.C., in Latium in the 4th cent. B.C. as foundation-legend of a local cult at Lavinium (Horsfall, in Bremmer-Horsfall 1987: 12–24). Ovid, though he was a poet without any belief in mythical normativity, explored the psychological aspects of myth in his *Metamorphoses* with a depth and skill theretofore unknown; myth became a mirror of human behavior. Thus Ovid succeeded in giving myth a new, though precarious, relevance: to European culture up to the present day, the *Metamorphoses* were the main source for Greco-Roman mythology.

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FRITZ GRAF

# N

**NAAM** (PERSON) [Heb *nāʿam* (נָעַם)]. An individual of the tribe of Judah, the son of Caleb, the son of Jephunneh (1 Chr 4:15).
DAVID CHANNING SMITH

**NAAMAH** (PERSON) [Heb *naʿămâ* (נַעֲמָה)]. **1.** Sister of Tubal-cain; daughter of Cain and Zillah (Gen 4:22). Naamah is mentioned in the J genealogy of Cain (Gen 4:17–22), along with her brother (Tubal-cain) and two half-brothers (Jabal and Jubal). Her inclusion is somewhat enigmatic. Daughters are rarely mentioned in the genealogies of Genesis. Moreover, Naamah's entry lacks the vocational information given for each of her brothers (Jabal as herdsmen; Jubal associated with instrumental musicians; Tubal-cain connected with workers in metal). Some traditions clarify her background by identifying her as Noah's wife (*Gen.Rab.*) and associating her with singers (*Tg. Ps.-J.*, Gen.Rab.). The antiquity of these traditions, however, is hard to verify. The inclusion of Naamah's name in Gen 4:22 may simply indicate an attempt to present the reader with a balanced genealogy—two children for each of Lamech's two wives.

**2.** Mother of Rehoboam, king of Judah (1 Kgs 14:21 = 2 Chr 12:13; 1 Kgs 14:31). Naamah's name occurs in her son's introductory (1 Kgs 14:21 = 2 Chr 12:13) and concluding (1 Kgs 14:31) regnal formulae. The reference in the latter is unusual and is missing from some versions (Syriac, Ethiopian) and from the parallel account in 2 Chr 12:16 Each reference to Naamah identifies her as "the Ammonitess." This coincides with the tradition in 1 Kgs 11:1, which lists Ammonite women among the foreign wives of Solomon. Moreover, according to 1 Kgs 12:24 (LXX) Naamah was the daughter of Ana, son of Naash, king of the children of Ammon. If this is true, it lends credence to the theory that Solomon's marriage to Naamah was a shrewd attempt to consolidate the territory captured by his father, David. See also REHOBOAM; QUEEN.
LINDA S. SCHEARING

**NAAMAH** (PLACE) [Heb *naʿămâ* (נַעֲמָה)]. Town situated in the Shephelah, or lowlands, of Judah (Josh 15:41), within the same district as Lachish. This settlement, whose name perhaps means "pleasant town" (from *nʿm,* "to be pleasant, delightful"), is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). Although a location in the Sorek valley near Timna has often been proposed (e.g., Abel *GP*, 89), a location farther to the S in the vicinity of Lachish seems more appropriate given Naamah's inclusion in the same district. Unfortunately, its exact location has yet to be identified.
WADE R. KOTTER

**NAAMAN** (PERSON) [Heb *naʿăman* (נַעֲמָן)]. The name of two men in the OT; it is derived from the stative verb *nʿm,* "to be pleasant." Other names, such as Naamah and Naomi, share the same origin.

**1.** A member of the tribal families of Benjamin (Gen 46:21; Num 26:40; 1 Chr 8:4, 7). In one genealogy (Gen 46:21) he is listed as the son of Benjamin, and in another (1 Chr 8:4, 7) as the son of Bela, son of Benjamin. The differences between the genealogies ought to be seen in light of an intention to stress belonging rather than strict heredity (Aufrecht 1988). Outside these three texts, nothing is known of Naaman. From the perspective of genre, Gen 46:21 and 1 Chr 8:4, 7 are part of formal genealogies which received their final form in the postexilic period (Wilson 1977: 188). The first of these appears to be an expression of Gen 35:22b–23 (Johnson 1969: 21). On the other hand Num 26:40 is part of a census list, which, although postexilic in its present form, is based on an early military census of the monarchical period (Mendenhall 1958).

**2.** Commander-in-chief of the army of Aram-Damascus in the mid 9th century B.C.E., who became a leper and who visited the prophet Elisha for healing (2 Kgs 5:1–27). The biblical story tells of a powerful foreign soldier who had achieved fame on the battlefield, and who was trusted by his king (2 Kgs 5:1). He was, however, a leper. A young Israelite slave girl, captured in one of the Syrian raids on Israel, began the process of healing by telling her mistress, Naaman's wife, that there was a prophet of great power in Israel. Initially, Naaman tried to gain access to the prophet Elisha through normal diplomatic channels (vv 4–7), but a serious misunderstanding by the Israelite king of the Syrian king's intentions almost started a war. Finally, the general found Elisha, but when told, through an intermediary, that all he had to do was bathe himself seven times in the Jordan he was furious (vv 8–12). His servant constrained him to obey the prophet and eventually he was healed (vv 13–14). Naaman's gratitude was great and he tried, unsuccessfully, to offer the prophet a gift. The gift was refused, but Naaman himself returned home with some earth from Israel as a symbol of a newfound faith in Yahweh, the God of Israel. When he, as the trusted aide to the king of Syria, entered the temple of the Syrian god, Rimmon, he would remember Yahweh and Israel (vv 15–19). The story ends with an attempt by Gehazi to trick Naaman out of some of his baggage, and the transfer of Naaman's leprosy to Gehazi as punishment (vv 20–27).

The story is remarkable in many ways. Externally, such a visit of a high-ranking officer of Aram-Damascus to Israel is most unusual against the background of the almost continual conflict between the two countries. The reign of Ahab was a time of warfare with only minor intervals of peace (1 Kgs 20:1–34; 22:1–40). Following Ahab's death Israelite territories on the E side of the Jordan were put in jeopardy (2 Kgs 1:1; 3:1–27), and from this time until the death of Elisha some fifty years later war was the norm rather than the exception (2 Kgs 6:8–7:20; 8:2–9:27; 12:17–18; 13:3–9, 24–25). During this period there were short times of peace, and from the stories of Elisha (2 Kgs 8:7–15) there is an account of a close relationship between the prophet and the king of Aram-Damascus, Ben Hadad. Whether this cordiality extended to the diplomatic level is not clear, but it should be noted that the two sides were not averse to burying their differences in the face of a common enemy. Ahab had fought with a coalition of western kings, including Damascus, against the Assyrians at Qarqar in 853 B.C.E. (*ANET*, 278–79), and in 734 B.C.E. Israel and Damascus teamed up against Ahaz of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 16:5–9). So, while the visit is highly unusual, it need not have been impossible.

Exactly when the visit took place is impossible to say. In the order of the Elisha stories it comes soon after the death of Ahab and the rebellion of Naaman, that is, after 850 B.C.E., and before Elisha's visit to Damascus (2 Kgs 8:7–15), which must have taken place before 843 B.C.E. But the stories of Elisha are not necessarily in chronological order. Note that Gehazi reappears in chap. 8 with no hint of his leprosy or disfavor with Elisha.

Internally, the story is a fascinating example of Hebrew narrative art. Of all the stories associated with the prophet, and which obviously originated from the supporters of the prophet, this one has the most highly developed plot and contains the largest number of characters (Hobbs *2 Kings* WBC, 58–69). The movement from problem (Naaman's condition) to resolution of that problem (the healing) is not direct, but twists and turns down many paths until the denouement. The story also contains what can only be called a comedy of manners, almost bordering on a farce. It is the servants, the slave girl (2 Kgs 5:2–3) and the servants of Naaman (vv 13–14), who aid the process of healing, whereas the important characters, such as the kings, misunderstand the situation and almost start a war.

The nature of Naaman's leprosy is not exactly clear, although it can be assumed from v 27 that it was a disease of the skin. It was therefore not "Hansen's disease" (Cochrane 1963; Pilch 1985) (see also LEPROSY), and not something for which Naaman, unlike Uzziah (2 Kgs 15:5), was forced into quarantine.

In the present collection of Elisha stories, 2 Kings 5 provides a perfect counterpart to 2 Kings 1, and a near parallel to 2 Kings 8 In contrast to the Israelite king, Ahaziah, who sought healing from a foreign god, Baal-zebub of Ekron, a foreign dignitary and a foreign king seek help in their sickness from the God of Israel and his prophet. This contrast between the behavior of Israel and the behavior of foreign nations

becomes a common theme in the prophetic tradition (Jer 2:10–11). It is to this incident, among others, that Jesus referred in justification of his gentile mission (Luke 4:27).

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T. R. HOBBS

**NAAMATHITE** [Heb *naʿămātî* (נַעֲמָתִי)]. Zophar, one of Job's three friends, is called a Naamathite, i.e., a man from Naamah (Job 2:11; 11:1; 20:9; 42:9). There were various places and tribes called Naamah; e.g., a town in Judah (Josh 15:41), a place in Nejd (central Arabia: *Naʿâmah;* Yaqut n.d., V: 293), and a Sabean clan (*nʿmt,* Harding 1971:594). Tentatively, one may favor a Sabean background for Zophar. In this case, the homelands of Job's friends encircle the whole Arabian peninsula: Bildad is from Shuah, i.e., the middle Euphrates, NE Arabia; Eliphaz the Temanite comes from either Edom or Tayma, NW Arabia in either case; and Zophar comes from S Arabia (Knauf 1983: 25–26).

The S Arabian origin of Zophar is also assumed by the LXX, which makes him a Minaean (by metathesis *mʿn-* instead of *nʿm-*). This, however, reflects the Minaeans' suzerainty over most of W Arabia, which they gained in ca. 400 B.C. See MEUNIM; MEINIM. Before 400 B.C., at the time of the book of Job's composition, the Sabeans controlled the N Arabian trading cities (cf. Job 6:19). See TEMA (PLACE).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**NAARAH** (PERSON) [Heb *naʿărâ* (נַעֲרָה)]. Identified as one of the wives of Ashhur (1 Chr 4:5–6).

H. C. LO

**NAARAH** (PLACE) [Heb *naʿărâ* (נַעֲרָה)]. Var. NAARAN. A city on the border of Ephraim and Manasseh near Jericho (Josh 16:7). It is probably the same site as Naaran (Heb *naʿărān;* see Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 402) in 1 Chr 7:28, though in this list it belongs to Ephraim, suggesting it is inside the border on Ephraim's side.

The site is listed immediately before Jericho, indicating proximity; note also Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 402, who take *nʿrth* (MT) as having a directive ending. Consequently, several identifications have been offered for Naarah. Eusebius' *Onomast.* 136.24 describes Noorath as a Jewish settlement 5 Roman miles from Jericho. This would be Roman Jericho near Wâdī el-Qilt. The site of el-Aujeh is ca. 5 miles NE of Jericho.

More commonly, Naarah is identified as the modern Tel el-Jisr (M.R. 190144) ca. 3.5 miles NW of Jericho. Jisr is just below the springs, Ain Nuʿeimeh and Ain Duyuq (the latter preserves the name of Duk, a citadel in the Hasmonean period). These springs qualify as the "waters of Jericho" E of the border referred to in Josh 16:1 (*GTTOT,* 163). Josephus (*Ant* 17.13.1 §340) says Archelaus (ethnarch of Judea, Samaria, and Idumea, 4 B.C.–6 A.D.) rebuilt Jericho. Then he "diverted half the water with which the village of Neara used to be watered" to irrigate the plantations for his new city of Archelais. This locates Neara (Naarah) near Jericho and associates it with a good water supply. The narrative is not decisive but it

appears that Naarah is nearer to Jericho than to Archelais. The identification with Tel el-Jisr is based on the discovery in 1918 of a synagogue floor from the 6th century A.D. Jewish villages are not common here, so this has been taken as support for the identification of Naarah with Jisr even though the distance is not quite exact. Avi-Yonah (*EAEHL* 3: 891) cites a midrash, *Lam. Rab.* 45a, which mentions the enmity between Naaran and neighboring Jericho. Jews were still mentioned in the 5th century A.D. (*Life* of Saint Chariton) and the 6th century (Palladius *h. Laus* 48).

However, Kallai (*HGB*) points out that such late "data" does not support earlier identifications, and there is no archaeological evidence for the earlier site. Glueck (1951) favored the first ruin N of Jericho in the Jordan valley proper, Kh. el-Ayash (because of its Iron I–II pottery) near Wâdī el-Auja. Most identify the nearest Roman ruin, Kh. el-Auja et-Tahta as Herodian Archelais. Kallai (*HGB,* 160, n. 131) notes confusion in the designation of sites, which complicates the identification. Kallai also notes an additional site NE of Kh. el-Mifgir (M.R. 193193). It has Iron Age finds and should be considered as a possible identification for Naarah. It is near enough to Tell el-Jisr to be related to it. Kallai (*HGB,* 165) concludes, however, that there is no conclusive identification.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**NAARAI** (PERSON) [Heb *naʿăray* (נַעֲרַי)]. The son of Ezbai and one of David's mighty men (1 Chr 11:37). In the parallel passage at 2 Sam 23:35 he is called Paarai the Arbite, and it is not possible to decide definitely which is the more original reading. For a discussion of the variants, see EZBAI.

STEPHEN PISANO

**NAATHUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Naathos* (Ναάθος)]. One of the sons of Addi who returned with Ezra (1 Esdr 9:31). While in Codex Alexandrinus the name appears as *naathos,* it appears as *lathos* in Codex Vaticanus. He was one of the Israelites who had married foreign wives and had to put them away with their children in accordance with Ezra's reform. He is possibly the same person as Adna in the parallel list in Ezra 10:30

JIN HEE HAN

**NABAL** (PERSON) [Heb *nābāl* (נָבָל)]. A wealthy sheep-and-goat owner from Maon who was the husband of Abigail (1 Sam 25:2–3). When David, who was fleeing from Saul, heard that Nabal was shearing his sheep in Carmel, where he tended his flocks, he sent ten young men to inform Nabal that he did not harm any of his men while he was with them in the wilderness. David then asked for help from Nabal. Instead of reacting positively, Nabal behaved arrogantly and refused to give any provisions to David's men. At this, David called his men to arms against Nabal but was intercepted by Abigail, who sent gifts of food to David. She pleaded on her husband's behalf, reminding David that Nabal, as his name implied, was a fool (Heb *nābāl,* "foolish, senseless"; cf. Prov 17:7). She then predicted that the Lord would establish David's house and preserve his life from his enemies (1 Sam 25:28–31). Because of her intercession David decided not to kill Nabal. Abigail told Nabal of his reprieve the morning after a banquet when "Nabal's wine had left him," and at this "his heart died within him; he became a stone" (1 Sam 25:37). Ten days later he died and David took Abigail as his wife.

Despite the popular etymology of Nabal's name, it has been suggested that *nābāl* may originally have had another meaning (cf. Akk *niblu,* scion), since "no parents would name their child 'Fool' " although it may have been a nickname (*EDB,* 1589). Levenson (1978: 13–14) suggests that his real name may have been suppressed "in order to give him a name indicative of his character." Nabal is referred to as a Calebite (v 3) and we are told that he was from Maon and his business was in Carmel (v 2). According to the LXX he was a Carmelite (v 5) and Josephus (*Ant* 6.13.6) calls him a Ziphite. These variants reflect the settlement of the clan of Caleb in the fertile area of Judea S of Hebron where Maon, Ziph, and Carmel were located.

McCarter (*1 Samuel.*AB, 402) points out that "the story is designed to illustrate the excellent qualities of one of David's wives" and that by marrying Abigail, David extended his base of power into Hebron, where he would become king later on (2 Sam 2:1–4). Nabal's sudden death at the hand of the Lord (1 Sam 25:38) brought to fulfillment Abigail's prediction that the Lord would eliminate David's enemies (1 Sam 25:29).

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STEPHEN PISANO

**NABARIAH** (PERSON) [Gk *Nabarias* (Ναβαριας)]. One of the six men who stood on Ezra's left as he read aloud the law of Moses to the people in the open square before the east gate of the temple (1 Esdr 9:44). His name appears as Nabadias in the Vulgate. Ezra's public reading occurred on the day of the New Year, which was a day of convocation (Num 29:1–6). Josephus connects this event with the Feast of Tabernacles (*Ant* 11.5.5). The name does not appear in the parallel list in Neh 8:4

JIN HEE HAN

**NABATEANS** [Gk *Nabataioi* (Ναβαταιοι)]. People from the Arab kingdom of Nabatea, which played an important role in the history of Palestine as early as the 2d century B.C., supporting the Maccabeans Judas and Jonathan (1 Macc 5:24–28; 9:35). The Nabatean king Aretas IV is mentioned in 2 Cor 11:32–33 This kingdom, with its capital at Petra, flourished during the late Hellenistic and early Roman imperial periods. The Nabateans (or "Nabataeans") designated themselves as the *Nabaṭû* (*nbṭw*), and are known either as the *Nabataioi* or as "Arabs" by Greek writers. Their territory embraced parts of modern S Syria, Jordan, the Negeb of Israel, the Sinai, portions of the E deserts of Egypt, and the NW region of Saudi Arabia. Within this region, over 1,000 archaeological sites have been cataloged as being Nabatean or containing remains described as Nabatean (Wenning 1987; Gatier and Salles 1988). The expanding corpus of Nabatean Aramaic inscriptions has also reached over 4,000, although most of these are merely graffiti and the longer ones consist mainly of stereotyped funerary phrases. The reconstruction of their history is dependent on Greek, Latin, and Jewish classical sources (Starcky *DBSup* 7: 886–1017; Hammond 1973; and Bowersock 1983 are fundamental).

**A. Origins**

The prehistory of the Nabateans remains controversial. The relations of the Greco-Roman Nabateans with the earlier Ishmaelite tribe of NEBAIOTH mentioned in the OT has been rejected on linguistic grounds. The discovery of the spelling *Nabayât* in N Arabian texts agrees with that of the Hebrew Bible (*Nabayôt*) and the Assyrian records (*Nabaiati;* with variants), which seems to suggest that this early tribe was unrelated to the later Nabateans, whose name appears as *Nabaṭû* in their Aramaic inscriptions. The absence of the *yod* and presence of the emphatic *ṭet* (rather than *taw*) makes it difficult to assume any relationship between the two. Instead, scholars have sought for the origins of the Nabateans in S Arabia, where the root *nbṭ* appears in the SW Semitic dialects (*DBSup* 7: 900), but neither the Nabatean pantheon nor their cultural traits seem typical of this region. Moreover, the root *nbṭ* is known in NW Semitic much earlier than its appearance in S Arabia. Historical and geographical factors also suggest that the Nabateans arose within the Aramaic-speaking world of the so-called "Fertile Crescent." Within this context, it has been proposed they were a subtribe of Qedar (Knauf 1986) or from the sphere of the Persian Gulf (Milik 1982), possibly in the vicinity of the al-Hasa or Hofuf oasis near ancient Gerrha (Graf fc.).

Wherever their origins, by 312 B.C. the Nabateans were centered at Petra, where they defended themselves successfully from an attack by Antigonous the One-Eyed, a veteran commander from Alexander the Great's eastern campaigns (Hieronymus of Cardia *apud* Diodorus Siculus 19.95). This same source also indicates they had already established themselves as merchants engaged in the profitable aromatic trade from S Arabia. In 259 B.C., the Zenon papyri represented them as part of the ethnographic landscape of the Ḥaurān and N Transjordan (*Papiri greci e latini,* 406). By the 2d century B.C., they occupied the coastal areas of the Red Sea, where they harassed Ptolemaic merchant ships (Diodorus 3.43.5). With the eclipse of the Minaean kingdom in S Arabia by 100 B.C., formerly the main transporters

of aromatics to the Mediterranean (Strabo 16.4.18), the Nabateans emerged into prominence as the primary conveyors of frankincense and myrrh from S Arabia, no longer just middlemen. In the process, they developed numerous settlements along the caravan routes between the Ḥijāz and Damascus, and between Petra and Gaza.

**B. History of the Monarchy**

The relations of the Nabatean kings with the Hasmonean and Herodian dynasties of Judea (Kasher 1988) and with the Roman authorities (Bowersock 1983; Funke 1989) are the context in which the few historical facts regarding Nabatea emerge in the ancient sources. However, Nabatean Aramaic inscriptions also have helped establish a more secure chronology and sequence for the Nabatean monarchs.

Aretas I (fl. 170–160 B.C.) is the first known Nabatean monarch, the friend of the Maccabean rulers Judas and Jonathan (1 Macc 5:24–28; 15:22; cf. 2 Macc 12:10–12). He is probably the ruler "Aretas, King of the Nabateans" mentioned in the earliest known Nabatean inscription found at Elusa in the Negeb. See ARETAS. A king named Rabbel I has sometimes been assigned to the long interval between Aretas I and II, but the epigraphic evidence cited in support of this hypothesis is uncertain (*DBSup* 7: 905; cf. Bowersock 1983:71–73).

During the reign of Aretas II (fl. 100 B.C.), the Nabateans became embroiled with Alexander Jannaeus, the Hasmonean king who captured the port city of Gaza from the Arab monarch. Aretas also is probably the Arab king "Herotimus" who conducted campaigns into Egypt and Syria (Justin 39.5).

Obodas I (ca. 93–85 B.C.) was also in continual conflict with Alexander Jannaeus during his reign, finally defeating him about 90 B.C. (Jos. *Ant* 13.13.5 [375]) and seizing territories in Moab and Galaaditis from him (13.[382]). In 87 B.C., the Seleucid king Antiochus XII was defeated at Cana in S Syria and was killed by the forces of Obodas (*Ant* 13.15.1 [387–91]; *JW* 1.4.7 [99–102]). After Obodas' death, a royal cult developed around him, centered in the Negeb city that bears his name (Negev 1986).

Aretas III (85–62/1 B.C.) was king when the first great expansion of Nabatea took place. Known as the "philhellene" from his coins, Aretas expanded the borders of Nabatea into S Syria as far as Damascus and struggled with Alexander Jannaeus for control of Moab and Gilead in Transjordan. More intimate relations existed between Aretas and the Idumean ruler Antipater, the father of Herod the Great. In 63 B.C. they combined their forces in support of the Hasmonean claimant Hyrcanus before being repelled by the Roman general Pompey. In the aftermath, Nabatea became a client-state of Rome. There is no record of Aretas III after 62 B.C.

A king named Obodas II has been postulated as the successor of Aretas III based on several coins bearing his name and a portrait of an unusual nature. The coins enumerated for the first three years of his reign are placed between 62–60 B.C. (Meshorer 1975: 16–20). This putative predecessor to Malichus I is more problematic now with the publication of the Tell esh-Shuqafiya inscription dated to the 26th year of the reign of Malichus I and the 18th (not 14th) year of Cleopatra VII Philopater (Jones et al. 1988). This text, dated to 35/34 B.C., firmly places the accession year of Malichus I in the year 61/60 B.C., leaving a possible gap of only one year for the hypothesized Obodas, assuming that Aretas III died in 62 B.C., not in 61 B.C.

Malichus I (61–30 B.C.) ruled during the period of civil war and turmoil in Rome, producing shifts in his alliance and diplomatic maneuvering. In 55 B.C., Gabinius, the governor of Syria, attacked Nabatea and exacted tribute from Malichus. In 47 B.C. Malichus supplied military aid to Caesar at Alexandria, but later supported the Parthians who invaded Judea in 40 B.C., rather than Mark Antony, which placed him at odds with Herod the Great and Antony when they were expelled. Afterward, he was forced to pay a large indemnity to Rome (Dio Cassius 48.41.5), and Antony also exacted revenues and territories from Malichus at the request of his lover Queen Cleopatra of Egypt (49.32.5; *Ant* 15.4.1 [92–96]; *JW* 1.[360]). In 31 B.C., Herod attacked Nabatea and defeated the forces of Obodas near Philadelphia (modern Amman). The defeat of Antony and Cleopatra at Actium in the same year marked the transition to Augustan rule in the Near East. Nabatean favor with the new regime was gained by their destroying Cleopatra's ships at the Suez in her abortive attempt to escape from Rome (Plutarch *Ant.* 69.3; Dio 51.7.1).

Obodas III (30–9 B.C.) enjoyed more cordial relations with Rome and Judea. In 26 B.C. he supported the Roman campaign of Aelius Gallus into S Arabia with 1,000 Nabatean troops commanded by Syllaeus, his minister. Nabatean relations with Herod the Great also appear to have been friendly as a result of Syllaeus, who even attempted to marry Salome, Herod's sister, until Herod made the arrangement dependent on his conversion to Judaism (*Ant* 16.7.6 [225]). At Obodas' death, Syllaeus attempted to seize control of Nabatea, but was thwarted by Herod's advisor Nicolaus of Damascus. Augustine later had the ambitious Nabatean minister executed (Strabo 16.4.24).

The lengthy reign of Aretas IV (9 B.C.–40 A.D.) marks the apogee of the Nabatean kingdom. He appears to have been from a collateral branch of the royal house and assumed the throne without the approval of Augustus, embroiling himself in controversy with Rome during the early years of his reign. Afterward, however, Aretas, known as "the lover of his people," brought about the great expansion and development of the Nabatean realm, bringing him into contact and sometimes conflict with the Herodian dynasts and Rome. His rule marks the architectural development of the Nabatean capital at Petra, the establishment of the *entrepôt* at HEGRA in the Ḥijāz, and the flourishing of the cities along the Petra-Gaza road in the Negeb. The political, commercial, and cultural aspects of Nabatea reached a high point under his rule.

Literary references to the reign of Malichus II (A.D. 40–70) are minimal, which has led to it being characterized as one of political and economic decline. However, he appears to have been the Nabatean king mentioned in *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 19, implying that trade was still flowing from the Red Sea port of Leuke Kome to Petra at the time. Commercial and military activity also continued at Hegra in his reign, with its citizens occupying the distant N Arabian oasis of Dumah (Jauf) in the Wâdī Sirhan. In A.D. 67, he provided military assistance of 1,000 cavalry and 5,000 infantry to the Romans during the First Jewish Revolt, 66–73 (*JW* 3.4.2 [68]). A Nabatean inscription discovered at Rome in 1989 also appears to date to his reign.

Rabbel II (A.D. 70–106) came to the throne in his minority, with his mother Shuqailat ruling as regent until A.D. 75. His accession appears to have been marked by turmoil. A certain Damasi, the scion of an important Nabatean aristocratic family at Hegra, led a revolt against the royal house of Petra. Support for the uprising included tribes from the far N of the Nabatean realm as well as the citizens of his Hijazi home. The phrase "who brought life and deliverance to his people" that appears in Rabbel II's titulary from A.D. 75 and afterward probably refers to his participation in quelling the rebellion (Graf 1988: 180–81). During his reign, Bostra became the new center for the royal house or at least an alternative to the traditional capital at Petra. Inscriptions in the Negeb also indicate that there was an important development of the agricultural resources of the region during his reign. For his long rule, two queens are known, Gamilat (A.D. 76–102) and Hagru (A.D. 102–106), who are designated as Rabbel's "sisters," the daughters of Malichus II.

In A.D. 106, the governor of Syria, Cornelius Palma, annexed the Nabatean kingdom to Rome. The failure of Trajan to take the title "Arabicus" and the presence of the phrase *Arabia adquisita* on coins of his reign (rather than *Arabia capta*) is thought to suggest a peaceful annexation; other indications suggest that some force was required and some conflict took place (Bowersock 1983: 79–82; Graf 1989: 378–88). The transition to Roman rule is marked by the Babatha archive, discovered at En-gedi, containing documents that stretch from A.D. 93 to the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba revolt in A.D. 132 (Bowersock 1983: 76–79). There is no trace of the descendants of the Nabatean royal house in these documents or other sources after the annexation. The theory that a putative Malichus III ruled over a truncated portion of the kingdom no longer seems viable (Graf 1988: 176–77). The archive of Babatha does reveal that an Obodas was the crown prince of Nabatea in A.D. 98, but his fate after the annexation remains unknown. Unlike most client-kingdoms annexed by Rome, there is no evidence of any of the descendants of the Nabatean royal family serving in Roman imperial administration or obtaining senatorial status. Trajan did draft six auxiliary units—the *cohortes Ulpiae Petraorum*—from the Nabatean army, although they were assigned to adjacent provinces of the East and soon disappeared (Bowsher 1990). Although Bostra became the capital of the Roman province, Petra received the title of metropolis under Trajan and served

as the administrative center for the S region. The tomb of the Roman governor L. Aninius Sextius Florentinus (ca. A.D. 127) is even located at the old Nabatean capital city.

**C. Language and Inscriptions**

The fundamental study of the grammatical and epigraphical aspects of Nabatean Aramaic remains that of Cantineau (1930–32). The Aramaic language used by the Nabateans has its greatest affinity to that employed earlier as the lingua franca of the Achaemenid Persian period. However, this language was adopted; the native language of the Nabateans was an Arabic dialect akin to classical Arabic. This is reflected in the fact that their personal names are primarily Arabic (Healey 1989), typically spelled according to the orthographic practices of the earlier imperial Aramaic (Diem 1973). The peculiar paleography of the 4,000 Nabatean texts (*DBSup* 7: 924–37) also indicates that it was the basis for the development of the Arab script. Late texts also contain a more substantial Arabic vocabulary and syntactical element, forming the basis for the theory of the gradual Arabization of the language. However, the loanwords represent a rather small specialized vocabulary that is mostly funerary and political in nature (O'Connor 1986). The basic Arabic onomasticon of Nabatea and the presence of nearly classical Arabic in an Aramaic Nabatean text of ca. A.D. 100 (Negev 1986) argues against the progressive Arabization of the language.

The Nabateans were obviously polylingual, writing and speaking in other languages indigenous to the region, as is suggested by bilingual texts in the related but different proto-Arabic dialects of Thamudic and Safaitic. The later texts also mention tribes of the Nabatean realm and petitions to deities known from the Nabatean pantheon (Graf 1989: 358–75). Aramaic apparently was used by the Arab rulers primarily for formal and monumental purposes, but they normally spoke in Arabic. Any future history of Nabatea must now consider this larger corpus of non-Aramaic texts. In similar fashon, Nabatean material culture is diverse. Neither the distinctive "eggshell"-thin pottery finds nor Aramaic inscriptions are necessarily indicators of the presence or extent of the Nabatean realm (cf. Graf 1986). Instead, the fact that the Nabateans preserved the indigenous cults of the Edomites, Moabites, and Syrians, wrote in diverse scripts, and spoke several languages suggests a heterogeneous society in which the indigenous populations of Transjordan, N Arabia, and elsewhere were assimilated under Nabatean hegemony. The term "Nabateans" should then be understood as a vast political alliance of various peoples.

**D. Nabatean Relations with Judaism and Christianity**

Relations between the Nabatean monarchs and the Hasmonean and Herodian dynasties were generally intimate, but occasionally strained (Kasher 1988). The conflicts of Alexander Jannaeus with the Nabatean kings obviously were a result of their expansionist policies after the collapse of the Hellenistic kingdoms. The struggles with the Herodian dynasty were prompted by similar ambitions. Nevertheless, the relations with the Jews generally appears to have been cordial, as suggested by a Jewish presence at Hegra and by the archive of the Jewess Babatha, whose family had peacefully settled within Nabatean territory (Bowersock 1983: 76–78). In fact, the flourishing of Nabatea under Aretas IV offers an excellent parallel to that of Judea under Herod the Great, whose mother Cypros was herself of Nabatean descent. Both client-kingdoms assimilated substantial influences from Greco-Roman culture, as witnessed by the architecture and art of each realm. This "Hellenized" Nabatea even has been viewed as a model for the world of the NT, particularly the Galilean countryside of Jesus (Schwank 1983). However, such elements are more difficult to locate within Nabatean society at large, outside of the upper strata. The Nabatean hinterland is more a reflection of local and indigenous tradition than a synthesis of native and Greco-Roman culture. It is interesting that at the core of Nabatean art there existed a nonfigurative tradition that apparently produced two iconoclastic reactions against the adoption of Hellenistic figurative representations, one in the reign of Aretas IV, and the other after the annexation in A.D. 106, two periods when foreign influences on Nabatea were substantial (Patrich 1990).

The relations of Nabatea with the rise of Christianity are more obscure. The Church Fathers often associated the "magi" mentioned in the birth narrative of Jesus with Arabia, the land of "frankincense and myrrh" (*1 Clem.* 25.1–2; *Dial. Trypho* 78.1; Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion* 3.13). Consequently, some modern scholars have postulated that the magi were Nabateans from Petra (e.g., Charbel 1985), although most

have preferred Babylon or Persia for their home country. More certain is the fact that the daughter of Aretas IV—probably Shaʿudat (*DBSup* 7: 914)—was the wife that Herod Antipas divorced in order to marry Herodias, the wife of his half-brother Herod Philip. This action, condemned by John the Baptist (Matt 14:3–12 and par), led to military conflict between the royal households (*Ant* 18.5.1–3 [109–25]). The only clear allusion to the Nabateans in the NT is in the account of Paul's escape from the governor of Aretas IV and the city of Damascus (2 Cor 11:32–33). Paul's earlier sojourn in Arabia (Gal 1:17) is more difficult to locate, although the Decapolis region has been suggested.

No traces of Nabatean conversion to Christianity appear until the Byzantine period. The Christian scholar Origen of Alexandria participated in a synod at Bostra, an old Nabatean center and the capital of Arabia, whose bishop Beryllus was the subject of a doctrinal inquiry (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* VI.33). Petra was also the home of several prominent Sophist philosophers and rhetoricians at the time (Bowersock 1983: 135). But it is not until the time of Constantine that there is any record of churches at Petra and in the desert hinterland of Arabia (Eus. *Comm. on Isaiah* 42.11 = PG 24.392). In A.D. 325, bishops from Bostra, Philadelphia (Amman), and Aela (ʿAqaba) participated in the Council of Nicea, but no bishops from Petra were present. Nevertheless, later in the 4th century, hellenized bishops were active at Petra (*DBSup* 7: 921–23), but by this time Nabatean presence is difficult to trace in Arabia. There are no dated Nabatean inscriptions from Petra or Bostra after the annexation of the kingdom in A.D. 106. Emigration by many Nabateans from the heartland of the province to the peripheral regions of the Sinai, the E deserts of Egypt, and the Arabian peninsula evidently took place. Inscriptions from the postannexation period are from the fringes of the province or border regions (Wenning 1987: 305). The last dated inscription in Nabatean Aramaic is from A.D. 356 in the Ḥijāz (Wenning 1987: 305).

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**NABONIDUS** (PERSON). The successor of Labasi-Marduk, who ruled as king of Babylon for seventeen years (556–539 B.C.), and who was on the throne when Cyrus took Babylon in 539 B.C. Nabonidus, the father of Belshazzar, appears only in the book of Daniel, but was confused with the infamous Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar (Hartman, Di Lella *Daniel* AB, 50). He appears by his proper name (Aram *nbny;* see Milik 1956, 407–11) in an Aramaic document found three decades ago at Qumran, entitled "The Prayer of Nabonidus."

Berossus, in his *Babyloniaca,* notes that Nabonidus was not related to any of his predecessors, although in his own inscriptions he claims to have been a legitimate successor of Nebuchadnezzar (605–562 B.C.) and Neriglissar (560–556 B.C.). The problem of how and when he seized power remains a difficult one to resolve. Neriglissar died shortly after his Cilician campaign in early April of 556 B.C. Yet Berossus says his son and successor, Labasi-Marduk, ruled for another nine months before Nabonidus took control. Unfortunately, the dated cuneiform contract tablets support a reign of only about two months for Labasi-Marduk, after which cities from Nippur to Babylon and Sippar dated their documents to the accession year of Nabonidus. Berossus claims that Labasi-Marduk was put out of the way by a group of "friends" because of "the evil practices he manifested." It has been suggested that Nabonidus' own son, Belshazzar, may have had a hand in the murder of Labasi-Marduk, with the ultimate goal in mind of becoming king himself. Those who support this view point out that Belshazzar had business dealings with prominent banking families that were influential in Babylon during the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and Neriglissar. Furthermore, he appears to have profited from the confiscation of property belonging to Neriglissar following Labasi-Marduk's death. Despite these circumstances, however, there is no direct evidence to support this conclusion.

Whatever the case, certain of Nabonidus' own inscriptions do support Berossus' contention that he "bore no relation to the royal race." He was, in all probability, of western Aramean origin and was well advanced in age when he ascended the throne. He claims to have been an only child who had no followers and no desire to become king. To a limited extent, this view is supported by the contents of the famous "biography" of his mother, Adad-guppi, which was found several decades ago in Harran (Gadd 1958). While this and other important inscriptions were erected there by Nabonidus himself after his return from Arabia, they nevertheless focus on his restoration of the Ehulhul temple of Sin and his apparent preoccupation with this god. Adad-guppi asserts that she was responsible for Nabonidus' becoming acquainted with Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar and that his advancement was almost entirely due to her talents. Such a contention is probably not an overstatement since, unlike his predecessor, Neriglissar, Nabonidus apparently was not associated with prominent Babylonian business interests and held no position in any temple bureaucracy.

Unfortunately, the sections of the *Nabonidus Chronicle,* the *Verse Account* and other royal inscriptions (see Grayson TCS 5; *ANET*, 305–7; 308–15; 562–63) that we would normally expect to detail events of Nabonidus' early years survive only in fragmentary condition. Nevertheless, we do know that he carried out a campaign into Cilicia, visited a number of temples in Babylonia, and ordered the repair of fortifications surrounding a number of cities. Not only did he excavate the Egipar in Ur and rebuild the Ebabbara in Sippar, but he also restored or reinstated religious practices associated with Marduk in Sippar and Uruk. Nabonidus' royal inscriptions repeatedly emphasize his association with earlier times, despite his forceful seizure of power. He liked to emphasize his Assyrian and Chaldean "ancestry." He portrays his "antiquarian" and even Akkadian interests (as illustrated by his excavations at Agade, Uruk, and Ur) as evidence of respect for his predecessors and of his reign's continuity with the past (Reiner 1985: 1–16). Yet at the same time he engaged in an extensive reorganization of the Eanna temple bureaucracy in Uruk, where opposition to the succession of a number of monarchs apparently emerged at various times. It has been suggested that intervention in temple affairs in Uruk represents the possible influence of Babylonian business interests on the king himself, resulting in greater external control of property held by the Eanna.

However, such a conclusion ignores the fact that intervention or control of temple affairs in Babylonia was a fact of life as early as the time of Nebuchadnezzar and the relatively small number of Chaldean administrative documents published to date has distorted our picture of the relations between palace and temple in pre-Achaemenid times.

After returning from a second campaign into Cilicia in 553 B.C., Nabonidus left Babylon for Syria, Anti-lebanon and Arabia. Present evidence suggests that he was away from the capital city for at least ten years, during which time his son, Belshazzar, ruled the kingdom as co-regent. It is likely that Nabonidus was aware of the activities of Cyrus of Persia at the time of his departure, since otherwise it would be difficult to explain such a long absence. Nevertheless, the purpose of his visit to Arabia and the oasis of Tema remains unclear (Lambert 1972). While the evidence from Tema published to date is inconclusive, we do know from other sources that Nabonidus made it his principal residence, enlarged its size and fortifications, and stationed troops there. Records of the Assyrian kings from Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.) to Esarhaddon (681–669 B.C.) indicate both an awareness of the immense economic resources of northern Arabia and attempts to impose tribute in the form of spices and gold on a number of tribes located there. Although Nabonidus' ties to the worship of Sin in Harran probably were a source of friction between himself and the priesthood of Marduk and could have resulted in a lengthy absence from Babylon, it is likely that control of the trade routes from Arabia to Mesopotamia was more of a motivating factor in his decision to reside in Tema for at least a decade.

By the time he returned to Babylon in 543 B.C., Cyrus of Persia had already conquered the kingdoms of Media and Lydia, which left Babylonia open to invasion from virtually all sides. It appears that Belshazzar, Nabonidus' son and co-regent, remained in the vicinity of Sippar (at the command of a Babylonian army) when Cyrus campaigned in Anatolia. There is no evidence of engagements between Chaldean and Persian forces prior to 543 B.C. Unfortunately, the surviving cuneiform sources are either fragmentary or say nothing of substance about events that may have taken place between 543 and 540 B.C. In fact, Nabonidus' name is strangely missing from what does survive. Nevertheless, it appears now that Nabonidus rebuilt Sin's temple in Harran, the Ehulhul, sometime after his return from Tema, while apparently failing to give proper attention to such important centers as Uruk and its Eanna sanctuary, which he had reorganized in his earlier years (Tadmor 1965). The reasons for these activities may never be known, but the Persians insisted that Nabonidus tried to alter traditional religious beliefs by replacing Marduk with Sin, who now became the supreme God of Babylonia. Whatever the case, Cyrus' armies eventually took Babylon in 539 B.C. and Nabonidus' reign came to an end. Classical sources assert that Nabonidus died in another part of the Persian Empire some time after Babylon fell.

In the available cuneiform material from the Chaldean period (605–539 B.C.), Nabonidus is the subject of more varied characterizations than any other monarch. It must be remembered, of course, that he bore no relationship to the other members of the royal line, a fact that later Classical writers were quick to point out. Hence, he was certain to mean different things to different people; his memory would be preserved by various chroniclers or biographers for altogether dissimilar purposes. To some of his contemporaries, he was the symbol of the traditional devotion of a monarch to his god and to the upkeep of his important temples; to others, his reign stood out as an example never to be repeated again. Since such a variety of description exists in the documents, it is not surprising that a multiplicity of elements can be associated with each one, elements that not only enhance the picture of the individual being described but also preserve a cultural attitude toward such a person in accordance with his peculiar achievements.

In attempting an examination of what survives, it is important to make a distinction between sources written during the king's reign and those composed following the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus I of Persia. Fortunately for us, included in the former group is a rather detailed biographical sketch of Nabonidus' mother, Adad-guppi, which provides us both insights into the life of this rather extraordinary woman, and a picture of some of what took place during her son's reign. Clearly, Nabonidus was a devotee of the god Sin of Harran (presumably the city of his origin). A "local" account of his preoccupation with this god would, therefore, be expected to stress this essential fact. In this inscription we are told that "Nabonidus … performed indeed all the forgotten rites of Sin … He completed the

rebuilding of the temple Ehulhul, led Sin … in procession from Babylon … [and] installed [him] in gladness and happiness [in] Harran" (Gadd 1958). The same attitude is reflected in a stela of Nabonidus, also found at Harran, which credits the god Sin with establishing his rule over the Chaldean kingdom. "(This is) the great miracle of Sin," Nabonidus notes, "that none of the [other] gods and goddesses knew (how to achieve) … Sin, the lord of all the gods and goddesses residing in heaven … called me to kingship" (*ANET*, 562). Accounts like these could never appear in an inscription in Babylon, formulaic though they may be. Likewise, a description detailing the setting-up of an image of Sin could not be displayed in the capital city, where devotion to Marduk was fundamental to one's success as a monarch. Nevertheless, these descriptions indicate the existence (in Syria, at least) of a highly favorable attitude concerning Nabonidus, one which portrayed the monarch as a penitent, reverent ruler who had respect for the past. Such a highly positive portrait emphasizing the king's piety stands in dramatic contrast to the largely hostile opinions voiced by the Marduk priests in Babylon following Cyrus' conquest in 539 B.C.

Official chronicles detailing the year-by-year events of the reign of Nabonidus have been known for over a century. The relationship of these chronicles to the substance of the foregoing inscriptions will be dealt with later. However, due to their lack of detailed accounts of the king's accomplishments, it is necessary to examine what survives of the Persian point of view; here, naturally, Nabonidus is blamed not for being inattentive to the responsibility of caring for and restoring temples in various urban centers, but for neglecting Marduk and attempting the worship of a new god (i.e., Sin of Harran) whom no one had even seen in the land. Such an unusually critical attitude appears in the *Verse Account* of Nabonidus, an editorialized inscription composed to justify the end of the Chaldean dynasty and the rise of Persia to prominence. "[He had made the image of a deity] which nobody had (ever) seen in (this country)," the account reads, and "he called it by the name of Nanna." Furthermore, "he let everything go," entrusted his kingdom to his son, Belshazzar, and left Babylon for a ten-year sojourn in Tema. In a similar text, the *Cyrus Cylinder*, these "evil deeds" of the last Neo-Babylonian monarch are detailed, with emphasis being placed on the positive elements in the Achaemenid conquest of Babylonia. "The chief of the gods (Marduk) was enraged … The gods … left their sanctuaries, angered that Nabonidus had brought them to Babylon." According to this account, it was only when Marduk "took pity on the people of Sumer and Akkad who had become like corpses" and commanded Cyrus to conquer Babylonia that everything returned to normal.

In examining the Persian sources and considering the contents of Nabonidus' own inscriptions (both in Babylon and Harran), it is not hard to understand why the later Classical writers considered Nabonidus to be only a name in a list, while the Persians viewed him as an example of something never to be repeated again. The Achaemenids did not consider either the construction or restoration of sanctuaries that were characteristic of Nabonidus to be significant, since they were considered the traditional responsibilities of Babylonian monarchs. Instead, the activities of the king amounting to behavior that went contrary to the traditional will of a god had to be emphasized. Cyrus I, of course, had to cast his own image in a favorable light; having taken Babylon through force and betrayal, it was necessary to be propagandistic in justifying his success. Such, therefore, were the circumstances surrounding the creating (by the priest-scribes of Marduk in Babylon) of an account which focused on the outright heretical acts of the last king of the Chaldean period. Nebuchadnezzar's 43-year reign was one in which devotion to Marduk was accepted fact; Nabonidus, on the other hand, not only halted the New Year Festival but also forsook his kingdom for a sojourn in Tema. But the most hated act of all was his preoccupation with the god Sin of Harran, a preoccupation that, as we have just seen, formed an integral part of the king's own elaborate accounts. Thus, while Nabonidus (in one quarter of his kingdom, at least) may have been viewed as a monarch devoted to the worship of Sin and to the care and upkeep of his sanctuaries, to the Babylonians (under Persian rule) and the Jews of the postexilic period) Nabonidus was literally mad, and consequently did not deserve the devotion of his subjects. As a result, many of these hostile characterizations seen in the Achaemenid portrayals were to be incorporated into other sources where they were employed for different reasons.

As noted above, additional information regarding the reign of Nabonidus can be found in the chronicles and contracts datable to the king's reign. These sources differ markedly from those discussed above; the rather one-sided characterizations of the Persian and Syrian sources are totally absent, leaving only the rather dry, event-by-event record of happenings associated with each year. Both the *Nabonidus Chronicle* and the economic texts contain numerous references to the king's journey to Tema; both note the monarch's absence from Babylon during at least a ten-year period of time. What is germane to our investigation is the king's own justification for his deeds. The Persians associated his lengthy journey with a neglect of his kingly responsibilities; anyone devoted to Marduk would hardly have avoided being present during the celebration of the New Year Festival, since it would have necessitated cancellation of such an essential event. This fact was certainly worthy of note in the *Nabonidus Chronicle,* where we read that "[The king] did not come to Babylon [in the month of Nisan] … The [Akitu festival] did [not take place]."

What, then, was the king's justification for his own absence? The answer is to be found in his account displayed in Harran, namely, that he was commanded to do so by his god until a ten-year period of time elapsed, after which he could reenter his capital city. In the words of Nabonidus, he was merely carrying out the orders of Sin; he did only what he was instructed to do by divine command. Thus, while the Persians could exploit the absence of the king from Babylon to their propagandistic advantage, the inhabitants of Harran were witnessing the acts of a perfectly normal monarch doing only what a devout servant of Sin would be expected to do. The accounts of these deeds, then, naturally carry forth the positive tradition that emphasizes the king's piety.

While the name of Nabonidus does not occur anywhere in the OT or in the *Midr* Rab., his image is nevertheless preserved in the so-called *Prayer of Nabonidus.* This discovery allowed scholars to reassess information found in the book of Daniel in light of relevant materials found in other cultures. While the date of this manuscript is 1st century, B.C., it contains descriptions that are at least similar to the *Verse Account* quoted earlier. It suggests a continuity that spanned several centuries and kept alive a folkloric image that was to be characteristic of several of the Hebrew sources, especially the book of Daniel. It gives us "the words of the prayer that Nabonidus, king of Assyria and Babylon, the [great] king, prayed [when he was smitten] with a bad inflammation by the decree of the [Most High God] in [the city of] Tema. [With a bad inflammation] I was smitten for seven years and from men I was put away. But when I confessed my sins and my faults, He [God] allowed me [to have] a soothsayer. This was a Jewish [man of the exiles in Babylon]."

This astonishing little piece (which is, of course, Midrashic in genre), identifies Nabonidus and Daniel (he must be the Jewish man of the text) and mentions Babylon and Tema—all the aspects of a historical reconstruction. This seems to indicate that the OT in general, and the book of Daniel in particular, assume far greater importance (from both folkloric and historical points of view) than the somewhat imaginary reconstructions found in the *Midr. Rab.* If this is so, then, why is there no mention of Nabonidus in the Apocryphal and the pseudepigraphical works (written in Greek) or in the relevant chapters of the Hebrew OT? Probably because, while the fortification of Babylon was not significant to the Jews, conquest, on the other hand, was. The capture of the city of Jerusalem, the dismantling of the temple of Solomon, and the deportation of captives were acts never to be forgotten; the author of such horrible deeds had to be portrayed in such a way as to not only place emphasis on destruction and wickedness but also to show that the apparent power or might of the king of Babylon was merely the result of Yahweh's punishment of the Hebrews. The king was only a tool to be used in the teaching of a lesson. In this light, a characterization of Nebuchadnezzar had to be richly embellished with elements drawn from a number of sources, folkloric or otherwise. In the process, however, the Hebrew writer made use of historical materials associated with Nabonidus, not because he was "confused" but, rather, because of the fact that Nabonidus appeared in his own and later sources in such a way as to *fit* the situation involving Nebuchadnezzar that was being described. Certainly, the Achaemenids needed to (and did) emphasize Nabonidus' lack of attention to Marduk; when the Hebrews returned to Palestine, they carried with them their own hatred for Nebuchadnezzar plus the Persian hostility toward Nabonidus and, as a consequence, transformed them

both into a story of a conqueror-king who would forsake his god and require the worship of another by his subjects (Dan 3:1–3). The subsequent account of the madness of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan 4:33) reflects the contents of the *Lives of the Prophets* and the *Wisdom of Ahiqar,* and also echoes the Prayer of Nabonidus quoted earlier, where the king is said to have lived apart from men for seven years.

Herein lies, then, perhaps as fine an example as can be found of a melding of history and oral tradition. Nabonidus' own inscriptions inform us of his (at least) ten-year absence from Babylon. The *Verse Account,* although it clearly exaggerates this fact for political reasons, essentially preserves historical fact. The *Prayer of Nabonidus,* written in Aramaic, further emphasizes this point while adding a purely folkloric description to the picture. The traditional image of a prisoner is thus superimposed on both a historical figure and an essentially factual account of his activities. The Maccabean author(s) of the book of Daniel, four centuries removed from the Chaldean period, chose to substitute the name of Nebuchadnezzar for that of Nabonidus, not because of an ignorance of history or because the events of the exilic period were forgotten, but due to the fact that Nebuchadnezzar was the architect of the captivity and a didactic commentary could best realize its objectives through a portrayal of a king that combined history and fiction. To the Hebrew writer, it did not matter whether a characterization harmonized with historical accuracy; the events of the reign of Nabonidus could be combined with the destruction of the city of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in order to construct an image of a king that could be easily related to the rule of any monarch at any point in time. Thus, as with the Arabic sources, everyone who besieges Jerusalem is thought of as a Nebuchadnezzar; the characterization of the figure becomes propagandistic. Not limited by time or space, it becomes applicable to all periods of history (see Sack 1982).

While it is, therefore, interesting to note the many and varied characterizations of Nabonidus that have led to the publication of a number of interesting studies focusing individually on portions of the surviving sources, it is, nevertheless, unfortunate that their contents may result in our knowing relatively little of the true *historical* Nabonidus. The sources do provide us, however, with an understanding of the cultural attitudes of a number of ancient Near Eastern peoples toward a king who represented many things at different periods of time.

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**NABONIDUS, PRAYER OF** (4QPrNab.) The *Prayer of Nabonidus* (4QPrNab) was published by J. T. Milik in 1956 from three fragments of the first column and a fragment of a later column of a single ms, which is dated paleographically to ca. 75–50 B.C.E. A further fragment of the first column was noted in an addendum. There have been many subsequent reconstructions, of which the most authoritative is that of F. M. Cross. Cross reconstructs the first column as follows:

(1) The words of the p[ra]yer which Nabonidus, king of [Ba]bylon, the great king pray[ed when he was stricken] (2) with an evil disease by the decree of G[o]d in Teman. [I Nabonidus] was stricken with [an evil disease] (3) for seven years, and from [that] (time) I was like [unto a beast and I prayed to the Most

High] (4) and, as for my sin, he forgave it. A diviner—who was a Jew o[f the Exiles—came to me and said:] (5) "Recount and record (these things) in order to give honor to the name of the G[od Most High." And thus I wrote: I] was stricken with an evil disease in Teman [by the decree of the Most High God, and, as for me,] (7) seven years I was praying [to] gods of silver and gold, [bronze, iron,] wood, stone (and) clay, because [I was of the opini]on that th[ey] were gods …

The fragment of a later column published by Milik refers to a dream which disturbed the speaker, and contains the words "how you are like …"

Discussion of this fragmentary work has been primarily concerned with its relation to chap. 4 of the book of Daniel. Scholars had long suspected that the story in Daniel had its origin in a tradition about Nabonidus rather than Nebuchadnezzar, specifically about his absence from Babylon when he sojourned for ten years in Tema in the Arabian desert. 4QPrNab shared with Daniel 4 the following features: (1) A Babylonian king speaks in the first person (the OG of Daniel provides a fuller parallel on this point); (2) he is punished by God for seven years (Dan 4:29; seven times); (3) a Jewish exile interprets the experience; and (4) the king has a disturbing dream. Further, the reference to gods of silver and gold, etc., is paralleled in Dan 5:23 Of course there are differences too: the name of the king, his location at Tema, the nature of his affliction (a skin disease in the *Prayer*; transformation into a beast in Daniel). Yet most scholars have taken 4QPrNab as striking confirmation of the theory which links Daniel 4 with traditions about Nabonidus. The relationship is enhanced by some reconstructions. Cross reconstructs line 3 as "I was like [unto a beast …]." R. Meyer thinks the dream in the *Prayer* concerned a great tree, as in Daniel. Milik suggested that the last fragment should be completed "how you are like Daniel" (taking the king as the speaker and an angel as the addressee). However plausible these suggestions may seem, it is well to bear in mind that they are not actually attested in the fragments. Our text retains an older form of the tradition than Daniel, insofar as the king is identified as Nabonidus and his sojourn at Tema is recollected. The relationship with Daniel 4 is not necessarily one of direct literary dependence; the two stories may be different elaborations of a common tradition.

The most disputed issue in the interpretation of the *Prayer* concerns line 4 (Cross: "and as for my sin, he forgave it"). Milik takes the verb *sûbq* as "he *granted* me a diviner," but he has to emend *lh* to *ly* to sustain this. Fitzmyer rendered the line: "an exorcist remitted my sins for Him," and took it as a rare Jewish instance of forgiveness through a human agent. The line is too ambiguous, however, to stand as evidence for an idea which is in dispute. It is simpler to take God as the subject.

4QPrNab is part of the corpus of Aramiac writings found at Qumran which has no specifically sectarian characteristics. It is probably older than the 2d century B.C.E. The reminiscence of Nabonidus' stay at Tema suggests that the underlying tradition goes back to the eastern diaspora, wherever this particular work may have been composed.

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JOHN J. COLLINS

**NABOPOLASSAR** (PERSON). Founder and first king of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty of Mesopotamia. Later historians of the Hellenistic period state that he served under the Assyrian king Sin-šarra-iškun (Gk Sarakos) before leading a revolt that led to Babylonian independence from Assyria. These writers further describe him as a Chaldean ruler who made Babylon his capital. There is, unfortunately, no evidence proving that Nabopolassar (Akk *Nabû-apla-uṣur*) and his successors were Chaldeans—that is, representatives of an ethnic group distinct from the Arameans, who flourished in Babylonia at the same time. In his own inscriptions, he refers to himself as the "son of a nobody." It is possible, as Lambert has hinted, that his origins can be traced to the area around Uruk, since he appears in a Babylonian chronicle in a context that suggests he originally came from there. The exact date of Nabopolassar's accession to the throne in Babylonia cannot be determined with accuracy. Although he asserts that he officially began his

reign on August 26, 626 B.C., there is some evidence to suggest that Babylonian cities were already dating their contracts to the "accession year of Nabopolassar" at least two months earlier. Whatever the case, both the Babylonian sources and the Classical accounts are in agreement that Assyria was in turmoil during the latter years of Assurbanipal (669–626 B.C.). In fact, the surviving sources provide us with no evidence indicating either the extent of his sovereignty over Babylonia, the dates for the reign of his successor, Asûsûur-etil-ilani, or the identity of a certain Sin-sûarra-isûkun, known to the later Hellenistic writers as Sarakos. As a result, Nabopolassar, through an alliance with the Medes and their king, Cyaxeres, took advantage of the unsettled situation to liberate Babylonia from Assyrian control. The Medes and Babylonians united their forces and prepared to engage the Assyrians and their Egyptian allies. Pockets of resistance to the Chaldeans now developed in Babylonia (in Uruk and Nippur), complicating an already confused situation. Focusing on these important strongholds, the Assyrians tried to take advantage of an apparent disunity and held out for almost seven years. By 615 B.C., however, Nippur had fallen into Nabopolassar's hand, freeing him to press his advantage into Assyria in an attempt to take Asûsûur and Nineveh. The Medes and their Scythian allies actually took Asûsûur before the Chaldean host could arrive. There, Nabopolassar and Cyaxeres concluded a peace treaty, and two years later, in 612, Nineveh was taken. Although Cyaxeres now had an opportunity to share in the spoils of conquest, he instead retreated to his homeland.

In 609 B.C., the last king of the Assyrian empire, Aššur-uballit II, organized one final, futile attempt to recover lost territory. The northern city of Harran was to be the focal point of such efforts, but it, too, fell and the remaining troops retreated into Syria. The Egyptian monarch Necho II (610–595 B.C.) feared both the Medes and the Chaldeans as much as had his predecessors. Furthermore, the Egyptians had years before become friends of the Assyrians, and the collapse of their empire would disastrously upset the balance of power in Mesopotamia and Syria. To avoid this, in 608, the pharoah marched his armies across Palestine and reached the Euphrates river, where he spent the better part of three years fighting against Nabopolassar's forces in a lost cause. In 605 B.C., the end for the Assyrians finally came at Carchemish.

Nabopolassar's original claim, made twenty-five years earlier, to kingship over Babylonia, had been purely nominal. But by 605 B.C., the reverse was true. Nineveh lay in ruins; the Medes and Egyptians were no longer a threat to anyone, and southern Mesopotamian cities were dating their documents according to the appropriate year of Nabopolassar, "king of Babylon." Yet two decades of war meant that the king could hardly devote the time necessary to pressing affairs in the capital. Now, however, with the independent Chaldean dynasty firmly in control, the supremacy of Marduk of Babylon, the "king of the gods" of the Babylonian Creation Epic, must once again become accepted fact. His temple, the Esagila, and the ziggurat Etemenanki had to be restored, and a fortification wall had to be built. Nabopolassar's own contemporary cuneiform sources (as well as those of his son, Nebuchadnezzar) indicate that he died in his hour of triumph over Assyria, while all of this construction work still lay ahead. Nebuchadnezzar (605–562 B.C.) completed the work over the next several decades.

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**NABOTH** (PERSON) [Heb *nābôt* (נָבוֹת)]. The victim of a judicial murder perpetrated by Jezebel in the name of her husband, King Ahab of Israel (1 Kings 21). According to this account, Ahab sought to acquire Naboth's ancestral property, a vineyard situated in Jezreel. Naboth refused Ahab's overtures out of religious attachment (cf. Lev 25:23; Zakovitch [1984] suggests that the phrase "inheritance of my fathers" is intended as a midrash on Naboth's own name: *Naḥălat ʾĀBŌT*). Ahab did not press the issue; but his Tyrian queen, Jezebel, engineered a conspiracy by which Naboth was accused of lèse-majesté

("Naboth cursed God and the king"), convicted on perjured testimony, and stoned to death. Ahab then took possession of the property he had coveted. See also the related discussion in AHAB (PERSON). The frequency with which Naboth's name appears throughout the story is striking. Even after his death, he is named six times in three verses (21:14–16); he haunts the scene like a ghost that will not be laid to rest. After Naboth's murder, Elijah the prophet was sent by Yahweh to condemn Ahab for what he had done. The king repented, and his punishment—violent death and the obliteration of his whole line—was deferred to the next generation.

Other references to Naboth's death, found in 1 Kgs 22:38 and 2 Kgs 9:21–26, raise questions about both the place and the time of the incident. 1 Kgs 22:38, read together with 21:19, suggests that Naboth's trial and execution took place in Samaria rather than Jezreel. This has led some scholars to locate the vineyard there as well. Timm (1982: 118–21) rehearses the arguments for both locations, and concludes that the evidence is insufficient to choose between the two. Miller (1967: 308–17) argues, on the basis of 2 Kgs 9:26, that the offending king was not Ahab but his son Joram. The reference in that verse seems to go back to a variant account of the Naboth incident, since the sons of Naboth spoken of in 2 Kgs 9:26 are not mentioned in 1 Kings 21 There seem, then, to have been several versions of the Naboth story in circulation, varying in details such as connections to Jezreel or to Samaria; identity of the royal oppressor; involvement of Naboth's sons; perhaps even the spelling of his name (the LXX reads *nabouthai*, which points to an underlying Heb *nbwty*). The story's enduring portrait of a small landowner helpless before the damnable acquisitiveness of the powerful may lie behind Micah's denunciation of similar rapacious land-grabbing in Judah a century or more later (Mic 2:1–2; cf. Mic 6:16).

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**NABRATEIN** (M.R. 197267). The Arabic name for Kefar Neburaya of the Palestinian Talmud, located 3 km N of Safed at 650 m above sea level. The site was known to the 19th-century explorers Renan, Wilson, Guérin, and Kitchener. It was systematically surveyed in 1905 by the German team of H. Kohl and C. Watzinger (1916). In 1960, N. Avigad deciphered a synagogue lintel inscription which the Germans had published. The lintel stone with wreath and menorah reads: " (According) to the number four hundred and ninety-four years after the destruction (of the temple), the house was built during the office of Hanina son of Lezer and Luliana son of Yudan" (Avigad 1960: 52). The date equivalent is 564 C.E. and corresponds to the final stratum of Byzantine occupation at the site.

Archaeological excavations were undertaken in 1980 and 1981, and the focal point of the expeditions was the synagogue that had previously been surveyed. In addition, soundings were conducted in the village in several areas to the W of the synagogue. The following occupational history of the site is reflected in the structural remains: Period I—Early Roman (ca. 1–135 C.E.); Period II—Middle Roman (Synagogue 1, ca. 135–250 C.E.); Period III—Late Roman (phase "a": Synagogue 2a, ca. 250–306 C.E.; phase "b": Synagogue 2b, ca. 306–363 C.E.); Gap (ca. 363–500/564 C.E.); and Period IV—Byzantine 2 to Early Arab (Synagogue 3, ca. 564–700 C.E.).

The Period IV occupation is defined by the material associated with the basilican synagogue of eight columns. The structure has a single entrance on the S facade facing toward Jerusalem and another on the N wall. Its external dimensions are 16.8 m by 11.6 m and it is one of the smaller Galilean synagogues. A porch probably was attached to the facade, three columns of which have been found. In all probability a wooden torah shrine stood somewhere on the S wall; its form and structure is suggested by a late Byzantine ceramic depiction found in a nearby room (Meyers, Strange, and Meyers 1982). The lintel inscription, dated to the year 564 C.E., is unique in Jewish epigraphy in taking 70 C.E., i.e., the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem, as its departure point. The stone itself apparently was reused from an earlier,

probably Period III, Roman building. What is astonishing about the reuse of such a lintel, however, is the long gap which separates the earlier occupation from the Byzantine resettlement.

The Period III synagogue is a much smaller basilica with only six colums, 13.85 m by 11.2 m Its grandest phase was the earlier one, ca. 250–306 C.E., when two bemas flanked the S facade wall. On the one in the SW stood a magnificent torah shrine which was destroyed in 306 (Meyers, Strange, and Meyers 1981a) and partially buried within the bema in the SW corner. Its roof tiles were deposited in a plastered burial pit under the floor of phase b alongside it. The pediment bears a striking similarity with other known depictions of arks in ancient Jewish art. Two rampant lions stand astride a peaked roof with a rosette and egg-and-dart carvings just beneath the roof. A scallop-shell carving occupies the center of the pediment and has a hole carved in it where the eternal light hung. This represents the oldest and most definitive proof for the existence of the ark of law. Standing on the raised platform where Scripture was stored and read, it provides eloquent testimony to the importance and authority of the Bible in everyday life. See SYNAGOGUE.

A still earlier, four-columned synagogue from Period II was found beneath this one. It was built on the broadhouse plan, 11.2 m by 9.35 m, with the S wall, the longer wall, occupying the focus of worship in this period as well. Synagogue 1 is the oldest broadhouse ever discovered anywhere and bears some similarities to nearby Khirbet Shemaʿ. The fact that an early 2d century synagogue of this type could be found in Galilee at the time when the synagogue in general was assuming its architectural form(s) is most significant. It clearly shows how a rigid typology did not influence the early designers of synagogues. Two bemas are located on the S wall in this phase and an imprint of a table or small platform was discovered in the center of the building, suggesting that at this early stage Scripture was read in the center and away from the wall of orientation.

Soundings in the village produced quantities of whole pottery and a number of destroyed architectural fragments with relief sculpture on them—lions, birds, sheep, etc.—that may have been buried in debris after the 306 or 363 earthquakes. Coins reveal a much wider trade network than was expected, especially with E Diaspora cities; but the expected Tyrian coins are still prevalent. A surprisingly well-preserved Period I occupation was excavated, indicating a fairly stable settlement at the end of the Second Temple period. Judging from the architecture and the many pithoi, or large storage jars, that were found in the village, Nabratein might well have been a manufacturing or distribution center for fine Galilean olive oil or wine. A striking feature of the site is the elegance and size of the synagogue relative to the smallness of the settlement itself. It is possible that Nabratein was a kind of way station for traders and travelers going to inland Galilean highland towns or was merely a comfortable stopping-off place for anyone heading S

Although Nabratein will perhaps always be associated with the wonderful ark pediment found there in 1981, it is also significant for the information it provides about Jewish life in Palestine after the Arab conquest of the 7th century. Also, that Jewish settlers chose to return to the site after a century and a half of abandonment reveals something very important about the Semitic attachment to sacred space. Nabratein was apparently an appropriate place to return to in the 6th century. Where the settlers came from, however, and why they chose to return at this time, are questions we still cannot answer.

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ERIC M. MEYERS

**NACON** (PERSON) [Heb *nakōn* (נַכֹן)]. Var. CHIDON. Owner of a threshing floor mentioned in 2 Sam 6:6, which the "ark of God" passed on its way to Jerusalem when David was transporting it from the house of Abinadab at Kiriath-jearim.

There has not been agreement as to whether the Hebrew word, *nakōn,* should be taken to be a proper noun referring to a person. It has been argued that the term should be taken to be a participial adjective in the *niphal* of the root *kwn.* In this case the phrase *gōren nakōn* would mean a "certain/definite threshing floor" (Morgenstern 1918; Arnold 1917). This is not an acceptable rendering, since the noun *gōren* is feminine singular, while the form of *nakōn* as a participle is masculine singular (Carlson 1964).

Others have argued that *nakōn* should be taken as a noun derived from the verb *nkh*, which means "to strike" (Tur-Sinai 1951). Thus, the phrase would be translated "the threshing floor of destruction." In this way the name would function as a literary device foreshadowing the incident to follow in vv 6–7, in which Uzza touched the ark to keep it from falling and was "struck" down by Yahweh for such an offense as touching the ark. The suggestion appears to be one of great improbability.

Thus, the term ought to be accepted as a proper name referring to an individual. Similarly, the arguments for resolving the differences between the name found in 2 Samuel 6, Nacon, and that found in 1 Chronicles 13, Chidon, attempt to hypothesize and trace the grammatical development from one of these to the other (see Campbell 1975; Jackson 1962; and McCarter *2 Samuel*). In such there is no definitive answer.

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RANDALL C. BAILEY

**NADAB** (PERSON) [Heb *nādāb* (נָדָב)]. Name of 5 persons in the Hebrew Bible and the Apocrypha.

The name is a shortened form of names such as Nedebiah (*nědabyāh*; 1 Chr 3:18), "YH (WH) is noble" (Noth *IPN*, 193; Fowler *TPNAH*, 161). Although the name Nadab has yet to appear in extrabiblical sources, longer theophoric names containing the element *ndb* are attested to in preexilic seals and ostraca (Tigay 1986: 57–58; Fowler *TPNAH*, 351).

**1.** Firstborn son of Aaron according to Num 3:2 (P). Other lists in P always name Nadab first, although they do not explicitly call him the *běkôr,* "firstborn." According to Exod 6:23, his mother was Elisheba, from a prominent family of Judah; this probably symbolizes the interconnection between Judah and the Aaronide priesthood (Galil 1985). Syntactically, Nadab is paired in genealogical lists with his brother Abihu; these lists typically read *nādāb wĕ›ăbîhû› ›el ‹āzār wĕ›îtāmār,* "Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar" (Exod 6:23; 28:1; Num 3:2; 26:60; 1 Chr 5:29 [—Eng 6:3]; 24:1). This pairing probably reflects awareness of the story of Lev 10:1, that Nadab and Abihu died when they offered an *›ēš zārâ,* "a foreign fire," to God (cf. Num 3:4; 26:61; 1 Chr 24:2). This is an extremely difficult story, whose meaning was debated already in antiquity (Shinan 1979). The words following "a foreign fire" in Lev 10:1, *›ăšer lō› siwṣ ›ōtām,* "which (God) had not commanded them," are lacking in the parallel in Num 3:4 and 26:61 and may be an early gloss that explicates "foreign" as "unauthorized" (Gradwohl 1963: 289). Perhaps the "proper" fire should have been taken from the altar (Lev 16:12; cf. Haran 1978:232), or Nadab and Abihu violated the prohibition of Exod 30:9, that no *qĕṭōret zārâ,* "foreign incense," may be offered (Levine 1989: 59). Alternatively, the ambiguity of the story may reflect the irrationality of God (Greenstein 1989: 56–64). Outside of P, the two brothers are mentioned together in Exod 24:1a and 9–11, in a source related to the revelation at Sinai that singles out Nadab and Abihu as ascending along with Moses and seventy

elders and seeing God. They are not given any genealogy there, but it is likely that the incident refers to the same two sons of Aaron. The source-critical analysis of this chapter is very difficult, and these verses cannot with certainty be assigned to J or E (Childs *Exodus* OTL, 500). This source, which elevates the status of Nadab and Abihu by including them among those allowed to ascend and see God (contrast Exod 24:2 or 24:12), is opposite in tone from P's conception, which singles them out for a cultic infraction. This P tradition is probably polemicizing against the inclusion of the clans of Nadab and Abihu among the Aaronide priests by claiming that they do not exist since their eponymous ancestors were killed for a severe cultic infraction, and they died childless (Num 3:4; cf. 1 Chr 24:2). Thus, the P texts and Exod 24:1a, 9–11 reflect the different status of the clans of Nadab and Abihu according to their respective authors (Noth *Leviticus* OTL, 84). For the possible interconnections between this Nadab and Nadab, king of Israel, see #2 below.

**2.** Second king of the N kingdom, son of Jeroboam (I), who ascended to the throne upon the death of his father (1 Kgs 14:20) in the late 10th century. According to the Bible, he began to reign in Asa's second year (1 Kgs 15:25) and was assassinated by Baasha son of Ahijan at Gibbethon, a Philistine city, while Nadab was leading a campaign against that city (15:27); Baasha then murdered the remaining descendants of Jeroboam (15:27–29). The predominant source of this material is generally seen as the Israelite annals, which have been inserted into a Dtr framework and set within a synchronic chronology. The dating of these annals and their historical accuracy have not been clarified; in any case, the Dtr editing of Nadab's reign is very extensive. No extrabiblical material sheds light on Nadab's reign. Perhaps the battle against the Philistines reflected an attempt to consolidate political power via a military victory (*IJH,* 398). A similar siege against Gibbethon is recounted in 16:15, during the reign of Zimri. Perhaps one of these references to a siege on Gibbethon is incorrect, the result of material which was transferred from one king to another to fill out that king's reign. Alternatively the attempt to conquer Gibbethon by the N kingdom reflected its desire to capture a strategic city, and to "drive a wedge between Judah and Philistia and thus to undermine the economic position of Judah (Yeivin 1960: 218).

There is a similarity between Nadab, son of Jeroboam, and Nadab, son of Aaron, especially in relationship to the account of the golden calf fashioned by Aaron (Exodus 32) and Jeroboam's golden calves (1 Kgs 12:28–33). The extensive similarities in terminology and motif suggest a literary relationship between these texts (Aberbach and Smolar 1967), but the direction of the borrowing and whether it is literary or historical is debated, especially due to the complexity of evaluating the sources and attitudes of these two pericopae (Debus 1967; Childs *Exodus* OTL, 558–62; Hahn 1981). Several possibilities present themselves: (1) Jeroboam patterned his actions after a historical occurrence associated with the desert tradition, the building of ancient golden calves. These calves did not yet have a negative valuation and Jeroboam wanted to give his cultic "innovations" greater prestige by associating them with Aaron's actions. (2) The Jeroboam material is patterned after a form of the golden calf pericope which evaluated that episode negatively; this reflects an attempt by a Judean, anti-Northern author to polemicize against Jeroboam by associating him with a great sin of the past. (3) The golden calf pericope is patterned after Jeroboam's actions; this would then reflect an anti-Aaronide polemic in one of the redactions of Exodus 32 If either 2 or 3 is correct, the similarity in name between Aaron's sons Nadab and Abihu, and Jeroboam's sons Nadab and Abijah (1 Kings 14), all of whom died prematurely (Aberbach and Smolar 1967:134) may be the result of literary patterning, in which case either Nadab 1 or Nadab 2 did not exist as a historical figure. Furthermore, it is possible that the different valuations in the Priestly and non-Priestly material of Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, may reflect different attitudes toward the legitimacy of Northern worship as established by Jeroboam.

**3.** A Judahite, the son of Shammai, father of Seled and Appaim (1 Chr 2:28, 30). This appears in a section of the genealogy dealing with the descendants of Jerahmeel (vv 25–33), who is listed as a great-grandson of Judah (vv 4), but who was originally a clan on Judah's S frontier (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 54). The genealogy is from one of the Chronicler's sources (Williamson 1979). The Jerahmeel section is characterized by the formula *wayyāmot PN loʾ bānîm*, "he died childless" (vv 30, 32), which is not found elsewhere in Chronicles; this suggests a separate source for this section. A similar note is found

in 1 Chr 24:2 in relationship to Nadab and Abihu. The brother of this Jerahmeelite Nadab is named Abishur (v 28); it is unclear if the similarity in name to Nadab and Abihu/Abijah is coincidental or the result of patterning.

**4.** A son of Jeiel (1 Chr 9:36). In 8:30, his father is listed as Avi-Gibeon, but this is an error. See JEIEL #5. Nadab was an early Benjaminite, an ancestor of King Saul, and the settler of the Benjaminite city of Gibeon, according to 1 Chr 9:35 This genealogy is probably preexilic (Demsky 1971), though some see the tie of Benjamin to Gibeon rather than Gibeah and the double mention of Ner and Kish in vv 36 and 39 as an indication that this section of the genealogy is artificial (Malamat 1968: 171). On the repetition of the genealogy in 1 Chronicles 8 and 9, and its structure within the genealogies in Chronicles, see AHAZ.

**5.** Cousin of Ahikar (Tob 11:18). Tob 14:10 tells of the damnation of Nadab for betraying Ahikar and of the reward to Ahikar for acts of charity. The author of Tobit extensively used some form of the pseudepigraphic book, Ahikar (Simpson *APOT* 1: 189–92). Ahikar, however, does not mention Nadab; Nadab is probably a corruption of Ahikar's Nadin or Nadan, who in Ahikar is the protagonist's nephew rather than cousin (Lindenberger *OTP*, 458 n. 57 and 58). The original Nadin or Nadan is a shortened form of an Akkadian name from the root *nadānu (m),* "to give." The form of the name Nadab in Tobit is highly variable between different manuscript traditions (Lindenberger *OTP*, 488 n. 57), but most forms are attempts to bring the name "Nadin/Nadan" into line with better known names which are similar graphically or aurally, such as Nadab.

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MARC Z. BRETTLER

**NADABATH** (PLACE) [Gk *Nadabath* (Ναδαβαθ)]. A village or place in the S Transjordan from which a Jambrite wedding party proceeded toward Madaba when it was ambushed by Jonathan and Simon Maccabeus ca. 160 B.C. (1 Macc 9:37). The attack on the procession was an act of revenge against the Jambrites of Madaba, who had captured and executed John Maccabeus as he was transporting the baggage of the Hasmonean forces for safekeeping with the Nabateans at a time when those forces had been forced by the Seleucid Bacchides to retreat.

Josephus provides a parallel account of the ambush, in which there are two key differences (*Ant* 13.1.4 §18–21). He names the home of the bride "Nabatha" and describes the bride's father as an "Arab noble," rather than as a "noble of Canaan," as the author of Maccabees describes him. Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 384–85) contends that the reason for the variant is that Josephus knew of no "Nadabath" and so substituted an Aramaic form of "Nebo," which was located in the mountainous country NW of Madaba. Goldstein sees the author of 1 Maccabees as using the toponym Nadabath in an effort to inflate the exploits of the Maccabees so that they might be compared with the military heroes of early Israelite history. The early Israelite leaders had been victorious over Arab peoples of the same region including the "Nodab" (Gk *Nadabaioi*; 1 Chr 5:19). Goldstein contends, on the basis of a simple misreading and an example of this mistake by Symmachus, that "Maon" was misread as "Canaan" and was preserved in the mss of Maccabees. Maon was the home of a longtime foe of ancient Israel and would thus have

contributed to the author's efforts in drawing a comparison with earlier history. As a result, Goldstein suggests "that Nadabath, a village named for the Nadabite tribe, lay in the territory of the town of Maon." Thus he locates the site at modern Main, 7 km SW of Madaba (M.R. 219120).

The mountainous terrain from which the ambush was launched and into which the survivors fled is of little use in indicating the specific route of the party and hence the direction of Nadabath from Madaba. This description generally excludes the location of the town from being to the E of Madaba. On the basis of Josephus' account, the site of Nadabath has been identified by some scholars as modern en-Neba, NW of Madaba. Another proposed location is Kh. et-Teim 2 km S of Madaba (M.R. 223123).

ROBERT W. SMITH

**NAG HAMMADI** (26°03´N; 32°15´E). A site near the Egyptian village of al-Qaṣr (ancient Chenoboskion) where, in late 1945, thirteen leather-bound books (codices) written in Coptic were found buried in a storage jar beneath a large boulder. The codices date to the 4th century and reflect a combination of gnostic and early Christian elements. This entry consists of two articles. The first summarizes the archaeological work that has been accomplished in the Nag Hammadi area, specifically the 4th-century monastic basilica discovered at nearby Faw Qibli. The second article surveys the codices themselves, especially their literary genres and religious character.

### *ARCHAEOLOGY*

Located on the W bank of the Nile, some 500 km S of Cairo and at the beginning of the river's turn to the E, the city of Nag Hammadi has given its name to archaeological excavations on the Nile's opposite or N bank in the village of Faw Qibli. The surrounding area on both sides of the river is rich in archaeological remains and has attracted the interest of excavators from the very first years of European activity in Egypt.

As early as 1843 R. Lepsius inspected the rock tombs from the 6th Dyn. found in the cliff face of the Gebel el-Tarif, across the Nile from present-day Nag Hammadi, and named them after a nearby village, Chenoboskion (1904: 177–81). A few years prior to Lepsius' visit, the English explorer Wilkinson had noted both these tombs and the ancient city of Hou (Diospolis parva) located on the opposite bank just 5 km S of Nag Hammadi (1843: 116–17), where Lepsius also stopped on his return trip in 1845 (1904: 181). At the end of the century Petrie excavated the Roman temple in Hou as well as a predynastic cemetery on its outskirts (1901). Based on earlier topographical surveys (Amélineau 1893; Lefort 1939), Debono conducted a brief but unproductive excavation at the supposed site of a Pachomian monastery in the village of Faw Qibli during the early 1950s (1971). However, it was not until the emergence of the so-called Nag Hammadi Codices at the end of the 1940s that systematic exploration of the area's archaeological remains was seriously contemplated. James M. Robinson, organizer of the team which prepared the Nag Hammadi manuscripts for preservation and study, also focused attention on an archaeological survey in hopes of clarifying the original locus of the codices, which according to all accounts had been brought to light at the base of the Gebel el-Tarif. He first sought to engage the Palestinian archaeologist, Paul Lapp, to lead a team to the site of the manuscript discovery, but the Six-Day War of 1967, and then Lapp's unfortunate accidental death in 1970, interrupted these plans (Robinson 1965/66; Van Elderen and Robinson 1976). It was only in 1975 that protonmagnetometer tests of the manuscript find area along the edge of the cliffs at the Gebel el-Tarif, conducted by Philip Hammond, were undertaken; the results were inconclusive. Later that same year the first official season of the Nag Hammadi excavations was directed under the leadership of B. Van Elderen and T. S. Söderbergh.

Several of the 6th-Dyn. cliff tombs were cleared of rubbish and trenches were laid at the manuscript find site. Though evidence was recovered of late-antiquity usage of the tombs by Christian ascetics, no firm connection to the Nag Hammadi Codices could be established (Van Elderen and Robinson 1976; Habachi 1979).

The next year work was shifted to the site of the basilica from the Pachomian monastery at Pbow, now Faw Qibli, whose remains still littered the surface. This monastery had been the headquarters of the 4th-century network of Pachomian communities in the area and a relationship was suspected to exist between

the Nag Hammadi library and this monastic foundation (Robinson 1979). Under the direction of B. Van Elderen, and with the assistance of P. Grossmann, the expedition's main effort was expended on recovering the outside walls and the inner stylobates of the basilica (Van Elderen and Robinson 1976). During the third season, 1977–78, work was completed at the cliff tombs and efforts were redoubled to establish a ground plan of the Pachomian monastic basilica at Faw Qibli; it was now clear that an earlier building, also likely a church, underlay the basilica, and evidence was mounting that an even earlier structure had preceded both of them. Whether any of these constructions were contemporary with the founding of the Pachomian settlement in the second decade of the 4th century could not be confirmed (Van Elderen 1979; Grossmann 1979).

The expedition returned to the field in 1979–80 for a fourth season when work continued on the inner stylobates, the outer walls, and the apse of the basilica (Lease 1980). After an extended interlude, a small team under the direction of P. Grossmann resumed operations in 1986, seeking to clarify the relationship between the basilica and its immediate predecessor (Grossmann fc.). The sixth and last field work at Faw Qibli was completed in 1989, when a skeleton crew under the direction of P. Grossmann confirmed the ground plan of the intermediate church and recovered the ground plan of the site's earliest church building (Grossmann and Lease fc.). All three church structures made heavy use of reused limestone blocks for the foundations of the outside walls and corners, presumably robbed from previous Roman buildings in the immediate area. Burned brick, and in the case of the earliest structure also unfired mud brick, made up the bulk of the walls and stylobates. While the basilica (mid-5th century) was ca. 78 m in length and the intermediate church some 56 m long, the earliest church would have been only ca. 40 m Thus at each building phase the new church was approximately half again as long as its predecessor.

It would appear that the earliest church, as its two successors, was a five-aisle structure with a very narrow nave, thus indicating that this ground plan was the original form at Pbow. As in the later churches there were also rows of columns in the earliest church which ran along the E, and probably along the W sides. The stylobates for these column rows were of unusual construction, consisting of individual foundations for each column which were connected only at the surface level by marginal rows of bricks. Later the apse was added, and as a consequence, the intercolumnar spaces of the E stylobate closest to the apse were most likely closed. This would have created *pastophoria*-like rooms (Grossmann and Lease fc.).

A major difficulty still remaining is the dating of these churches. While the "great" basilica appears firmly dated to 459 (Van Lantschoot 1934:31, 45, 51), the intermediate church cannot be precisely dated. Very preliminary ceramic analyses all point to the late 4th or early 5th centuries, but the condition of the sherds is such that a more exact chronological determination may not be possible. This is even more the case for the earliest church. The extensive destruction associated with the erection of the later churches, and the thorough robbing of the site for building materials, have left few, if any, certain indicators for setting the time of its construction. Indeed, one must emphasize that a stratigraphical level associated directly with this earliest church has yet to be established. At the moment, however, one is at least partially justified—based primarily on the size and the primitive design and construction—in identifying the earliest church as possibly the initial one built for the monastic community at Pbow before Pachomius' death (ca. 330–346; Bacht 1983: 25, 30–31). Thus a preliminary construction history of the site at Pbow would posit a first church during Pachomius' lifetime (= phase I; ca. 330–346); a second, or intermediate and larger church (= phase II; post-370s and Athanasius' triumph or post-380s and the official appointment of Christianity as a state religion; or even later?); and a third, final church—the "great" basilica (= phase III; completed in 459).

Problematic, however, remain hints of structures on the site *prior* to the three churches. In the very first square of the Faw Qibli excavations (Square 1, 1976) and in the largest trench of the latest season (Square 39, 1989), fragments of four different walls emerged, only one of which can be explained in connection with one of the known buildings. The other three, running roughly E-W and very roughly parallel to each other, are neither related to each other nor to any of the three known structures (= churches). These wall fragments seem to lie below the level of the identified structures and thus point to an older, prior building

on the site. What this may have been—a small chapel, for example, associated with Pachomius' earliest organization there, or nonmonastic constructions from a previous occupation and use of the site by others—is not possible to determine at this time. Perhaps further excavation in the middle of the site, where these wall fragments appear best preserved, will shed some light on this matter.

As to the end of the site's formal monastic use, it should be noted that in all the seasons at Faw Qibli, beginning in 1976, neither traces of fire (almost always associated with violent destruction, whether by war or plunder) nor evidence of earthquake damage (in such a case, large stationary pieces, such as columns, all fall in the same direction, which is certainly not the case at Faw Qibli) could be established. In addition, no ceramic evidence, preliminary as it is, points much beyond the 5th–7th centuries. In the face of this archaeological evidence, or rather lack of evidence, it is difficult to maintain an end to the site through destruction by the Persians (620s) or at the time of the Moslem invasion (post-640s). Even harder to accept is the legendary ascription of the site's destruction to el-Hakim (1009), who, like Nero, had many acts charged to his account long after the fact because he was a convenient figure for explaining such violence (cf., Salih 1895:282). Closer to the truth may be simply that the Pachomian community at Pbow reached its zenith during the 5th century, began to decline throughout the 6th century, and was abandoned toward the end of the same century (Timm 1984: 949–50).

Before the Persian and Moslem invasions of the 7th century, therefore, the site probably already served as a source of building materials: note the extensive, systematic robber trenches and the almost complete lack of capitals on the site; the first two ever found there only came to light during the 1989 season and were heavily damaged. One did reveal clearly, however, its acanthus leaf and branch design. Since it can be dated firmly to the basilica of 459, it is an important piece of evidence in revising accepted notions of a so-called "Coptic art." Even at such a late date, this capital displays the usual design featured in the imperial Byzantine (= Constantinopolitan) catalog (Severin 1977).

In any case, the archaeological evidence not only says little or nothing about the supposed link between the Pachomian community at Pbow and the Nag Hammadi gnostic literature (as Robinson, *NHL*, 16; but see Robinson 1979: xix), but also indicates that the community, and thus the active use of the site, ended with the whimper of decline and abandonment and not the bang of violent destruction.

It would therefore appear appropriate to change the name and identification of these excavations from "Nag Hammadi," which inaccurately assumes such a connection, to the "Faw Qibli excavations," thus following the general and accepted Egyptian practice of naming an excavation after its *actual* site name.

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GARY LEASE

## *NAG HAMMADI CODICES*

A group of twelve papyrus codices, plus eight leaves from a thirteenth, dating from the 4th century C.E. and inscribed in Coptic. The manuscripts were discovered in 1945 in Upper Egypt, ca. 10 km outside of the modern city of Nag Hammadi. They are now housed in the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo. The standard citation for each of the manuscripts is NHC followed by the number of the tractate in the codex, e.g., *Trim.Prot.* (NHC XIII, *1*). An alternative citation is also in use: CG (Cairensis Gnosticus). NHC I is also called the Jung Codex. Most (but not all) of the 52 tractates in the Nag Hammadi collection are gnostic in character. Hence, the American edition of these and related Coptic texts is called the Coptic Gnostic Library.

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A. Discovery and Acquisition of the Nag Hammadi Codices
B. Description of the Nag Hammadi Codices
C. Publication of the Nag Hammadi Codices
D. Contents of the Nag Hammadi Codices
E. Provenience of the Manuscripts
F. Classification of the Tractates
    1. Literary Genres
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G. Importance of the Nag Hammadi Codices

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### A. Discovery and Acquisition of the Nag Hammadi Codices

In December 1945, two brothers, Muḥammad ʿAlī and Abū al Majd, of the al-Sammān clan from the village of al-Qaṣr (ancient Chenoboskion), together with six other fellahin, were digging for *sabakh* (a nitrate soil used for fertilizer) at the base of the Jabal al-Ṭarīf, 9 km W of the ruins of the Basilica of St. Pachomius at Faw Qibli (ancient Pabau). Abū al Majd unearthed a storage jar beneath a large boulder; Muḥammad ʿAlī broke the jar, which contained thirteen leather-bound books (codices). An attempt was made on the spot to divide the find into eight equal lots, a process that involved dismembering some of the codices, but the other fellahin renounced any share in the find, and Muḥammad ʿAlī bundled the codices together and brought them home. There his mother, Umm Aḥmad, burned some of the papyrus leaves as fuel for her bread oven. The story of the find and the subsequent fate of the codices has been pieced together by J. M. Robinson (Robinson 1984: 3–31).

The bulk of Codex I was eventually acquired by a Belgian antiquities dealer in Cairo, Albert Eid, who sent it (except for the cover) out of Egypt. It was eventually purchased for the Jung Institute in 1952, and was officially presented by the director of the institute, Dr. C. A. Meier, to C. G. Jung in Zürich in 1953 and named the Jung Codex. (C. G. Jung had a lifelong interest in Gnosticism and alchemy.) Jung's heirs returned the codex to Egypt, in accordance with an agreement with the Egyptian government. As each portion was published, it was sent to the Coptic Museum; the last installment was received in 1975. The leather cover of Codex I, which had remained in Egypt, was sold to a collector and eventually acquired in 1973 by the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity of the Claremont Graduate School (Claremont, California).

Codex III was acquired by the Antiquities Service for the Coptic Museum in 1946. The director of the museum, Togo Mina, showed it to a young French scholar, Jean Doresse, in 1947, who initiated plans for its publication. However, the political coup d'état in Egypt in 1952 interrupted these plans.

Codices II, IV–XIII, and part of Codex I were eventually acquired by Phocion J. Tano, a Cairo antiquities dealer. Tano brought them to the attention of Étienne Drioton, then director general of the Antiquities Service, and Jean Doresse in 1948. After a period of fruitless negotiations for purchase of the codices, the new government in Egypt headed by Nasser declared them national property in 1952.

One intriguing problem associated with the story of the discovery of the Nag Hammadi Codices is the question of precisely how many codices there are. The discoverer, Muḥammad ʿAlī, consistently maintains that thirteen bound books were found in the jar. But what is now referred to as NHC XIII consists of eight leaves of papyrus that had been ripped out of a codex in antiquity and stuffed into the cover of Codex VI (Robinson 1972). Our Codex XIII, therefore, cannot count as one of the thirteen separate books found in 1945, for it was then part of Codex VI. Was a complete codex destroyed in Umm Aḥmad's oven, together with leaves of papyrus from other codices now left incomplete? Or will it, or parts of it, eventually turn up on the market (Robinson 1984: 15–24)?

**B. Description of the Nag Hammadi Codices**

The present numeration of the Nag Hammadi Codices was devised by Martin Krause for the Coptic Museum (see Krause 1962), and has superseded all other numeration systems previously in use. (For a table of correspondences, see Robinson 1984:31).

All of the Nag Hammadi Codices, with the exception of Codex I (and possibly Codices XII and XIII) are single quire codices. (A "quire" of the kind typically found in 4th-century codices, such as those from Nag Hammadi, consists of a stack of sheets of papyrus, folded once in the center.) Codex I was made up of three quires. Not enough is left of Codices XII and XIII to determine how many quires each comprised.

Of the leather (sheepskin and goatskin) covers in which Codices I–XII were bound, all but that of Codex XII are extant. The leather covers of Codices I, IV–IX, and XI contained "cartonnage." (Cartonnage consists of scraps of discarded papyrus glued into leather bookbindings in order to stiffen them. On the cartonnage from the Nag Hammadi Codices, see below.)

In the table that follows, the basic information is provided for each of the codices regarding: (a) maximum height of the folios (leaves) in cm, (b) maximum width, (c) original number of folios, (d) original number of inscribed pages, (e) original number of uninscribed pages, (f) number of inscribed pages extant, and (g) number of uninscribed pages extant.

| | (a) | (b) | (c) | (d) | (e) | (f) | (g) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NHC I: | 30.0 | 14.1 | 72 | 140 | 4 | 140 | 0 |
| NHC II: | 28.4 | 15.8 | 75 | 145 | 5 | 145 | 3 |
| NHC III: | 25.8 | 16.1 | 78 | 147 | 9 | 135 | 3 |
| NHC IV: | 23.8 | 13.4 | 46 | 81 | 11 | 81 | 11 |
| NHC V: | 24.3 | 13.3 | 47 | 84 | 10 | 84 | 10 |
| NHC VI: | 27.9 | 14.9 | 40 | 78 | 2 | 78 | 2 |
| NHC VII: | 29.2 | 17.5 | 65 | 127 | 3 | 127 | 3 |
| NHC VIII: | 24.2 | 14.7 | 72 | 136 | 8 | 132 | 6 |
| NHC IX: | 26.3 | 15.0 | 38 | 75 (76?) | 1? | 72 | 0 |
| NHC X: | 26.0 | 22.2 | 36+ | 68+ | 4 | 54 | 2 |
| NHC XI: | 28.2 | 14.3 | 37 | 72 | 2 | 72 | 2 |
| NHC XII: | ? | ? | 38+ | 71+ | ? | 20 | 0 |
| NHC XIII: | 27.2 | 13.9 | ? | ? | ? | 16 | 0 |

A page is represented in this table as extant even if only a single small fragment remains. The figures given, therefore, do not provide an accurate picture of how much material is lost from each codex. Those codices that have sustained the greatest loss are IV, V, VIII, IX, X, XI, and XII. The best preserved is

Codex VII. As stated earlier, Codex XIII consists of eight folios of a papyrus codex that had been tucked into the front of the leather cover of Codex VI in antiquity.

The Nag Hammadi Codices are now housed in the manuscript wing of the library of the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo, kept in two storage cabinets designed and built for them. The papyri are conserved in Plexiglas panes, with conjugate leaves rejoined to form the original sheets that were stacked and folded in two to make up the quires. The final conservation was carried out in 1974–75 as a special project directed by J. M. Robinson and funded by the Smithsonian Institution and the American Research Center in Egypt.

Up to fourteen different scribal hands may be represented in the Nag Hammadi Codices. Codices I, II, and XI were each inscribed by two different scribes. There is also some overlapping of scribal hands from one codex to another: the second scribe of Codex I was also the first scribe of Codex XI, and the second scribe of Codex XI was also the scribe of Codex VII. The main scribe of Codex II may also have inscribed Codex XIII. The similarities among the hands of codices IV, V, VI, VIII, and IX presumably reflect the influence of a single scribal school (Emmel 1978: 27–28).

Two main Coptic dialects are represented in the Nag Hammadi Codices: Sahidic (S), with various deviations from the classical form of the language (II–IX; XI, *3–4*; XII–XIII); and Lycopolitan (L, also called Subakhmimic, $A^2$), with considerable variation from tractate to tractate (I, X, and XI, *1–2*).

The cartonnage taken from the leather covers of Codices I, IV–IX, and XI, consists of documentary Greek papyri of the 3d and 4th centuries (the latest date, attested in the cartonnage of Codex VII, is 348 C.E.), as well as documentary and literary Coptic papyri of the same period. The Coptic papyri include fragments of a Sahidic biblical codex (Genesis 32:5–21 and 42:27–30, 35–38, from the cartonnage of Codex VII), probably of the late 3d or early 4th centuries C.E. (Barns, Browne, and Shelton 1981).

**C. Publication of the Nag Hammadi Codices**

With the publication in 1977 of the facsimile edition of Codices IX and X (Robinson et al. 1977b) and a one-volume English translation of all of the tractates (Robinson and Meyer 1977; cf. Robinson and Smith 1988), the entire Nag Hammadi collection finally became available in some form to the public, 32 years after its discovery. Until that time several tractates, including two entire codices, remained unpublished.

Codex III was the first of the Nag Hammadi Codices to come into the possession of the Coptic Museum. While the initial plans for publication were cut short by the political events in Egypt in 1952, the text of tractates *1, 3*, and *4* became largely accessible in the *apparatus criticus* to Walter Till's publication of the Berlin Codex (BG, Till 1955). Jean Doresse eventually published III, *2* several years later (Doresse 1966, 1968).

In 1952 C. A. Meier, director of the Jung Institute, invited a team of European scholars to edit Codex I, and the *Gospel of Truth* (excluding pp. 33–36, part of the material from Codex I that had not been taken out of Egypt) was published in 1956 (Malinine et al. 1956). The rest of Codex I was published by this team over the next nineteen years (Malinine et al. 1961; 1963; 1968; Kasser et al. 1973; 1975).

In 1952 some photographs were made by the Egyptian authorities for a facsimile edition of the Nag Hammadi mss that had been sequestered by the government. A first volume was published in 1956 (Labib 1956), containing photos of Codex I, pp. 33–36; 49–50; 59–82; 87–90; and Codex II, pp. 1–110. This volume became the basis for several subsequent publications of texts and translations. That same year the International Committee for Coptic Gnostic Papyri was formed, and further publication plans were laid. Three years later the *Gospel of Thomas* was published as a result of this effort (Guillaumont et al. 1959). A French translation of the *Gospel of Thomas* was included by Jean Doresse as an appendix to a book on the Nag Hammadi Codices published by him (Doresse 1958; 1959; cf. 1960), a work which became the chief source of information on the Nag Hammadi collection for years thereafter.

Martin Krause and Alexander Böhlig worked in the Coptic Museum during the next few years, and several texts were published as a result (Krause and Labib 1962; 1971; Böhlig and Labib 1962; 1963). Meanwhile, in 1961 UNESCO became involved in the plans for publishing a complete facsimile edition; as a result over a thousand photographs were made and shipped to Paris between 1963 and 1966. The International Colloquium on the Origins of Gnosticism held at Messina in 1966 urged the completion of this project (Bianchi 1967: xvi), and J. M. Robinson was appointed secretary of an ad hoc committee of

the colloquium. Robinson entered into protracted contact with UNESCO concerning the project. In view of the fact that UNESCO envisioned only a facsimile edition, Robinson organized a team of scholars working under the auspices of the new Institute for Antiquity and Christianity of the Claremont Graduate School to prepare a multivolume English-language edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices to be entitled "The Coptic Gnostic Library."

In 1970 Gamal Mokhtar, President of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, in consultation with UNESCO, appointed a new international committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices. The committee met in Cairo and drew up the guidelines for the facsimile edition, entrusting to a technical subcommittee (Søren Giversen, Rodolphe Kasser, Martin Krause, and J. M. Robinson [Secretary]) the task of identifying and assembling fragments of papyri for definitive photography. Members of the team of scholars working on the English-language edition participated in work sessions of the technical subcommittee in the Coptic Museum. The first volumes of the facsimile edition were published in 1972 (Codices VI and VII; Robinson et al. 1972a; 1972b). The project was completed in 1984 with the publication of *addenda et corrigenda* as part of an introduction to the facsimile edition (Robinson 1984).

The first volume of the Coptic Gnostic Library was published in 1975, a critical edition of NHC III, *2* and IV, *2* (Böhlig, Wisse and Labib 1975), and the last of the volumes are yet to appear.

While the Coptic Gnostic Library Project of the Institute for Antiquity and Christianity at Claremont was producing tentative transcriptions and translations, a group of doctorands studying Coptic with Hans-Martin Schenke at Humboldt-Universität in East Berlin began to focus their work in a concerted manner on the Nag Hammadi texts. This was the genesis of the Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptisch-gnostische Schriften, directed by Schenke, and over the years a good deal of cooperation has existed between the German and the American groups. The German project involves three phases: (1) publication of translations of selected texts in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (the first was by Schenke in 1973); (2) monographs and dissertations on the Nag Hammadi texts (the first was by Beltz in 1970; cf. also Tröger 1973, an important volume of essays); and (3) a projected German translation of the complete collection of texts to be published as volumes 2 and 3 of *Koptisch-Gnostische Schriften* in the series, "Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte" (Schenke 1978).

In 1974 the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada provided an initial grant to a group of scholars associated with the University of Laval in Québec for the production of a complete French-language critical edition of the Nag Hammadi texts, entitled "Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi" (see Ménard 1973). The first volume was published four years later (Ménard 1977), and several have been published since.

Thus, over the years since the first meager publication efforts of the 1950s, a growing number of texts, translations, and studies has accumulated. An enormous bibliography now exists, and no end is in sight (Scholer 1971a, b).

**D. Contents of the Nag Hammadi Codices**

The following table lists for each tractate the title and abbreviation commonly used in English-language scholarship and the page and line of the ms where it begins and ends (or, in the case of lost material, where it began or ended so far as this can be determined). Pagination is uncertain in the case of Codices X (after p. 10), XII, and XIII (indicated below with asterisks). XII, *3* consists of miscellaneous fragments, and is not an identifiable tractate.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I,*1*: | A,1–B,8. + B,9–10 | *The prayer of the Apostle Paul (colophon)* | *Pr. Paul* |
| I,*2*: | 1,1–16,30. | *The Apocryphon of James* | *Ap. Jas.* |
| I,*3*: | 16,31–43,24. | *The Gospel of Truth* | *Gos. Truth* |
| I,*4*: | 43,25–50,18. | *The Treatise on the Resurrection* | *Treat. Res.* |
| I,*5*: | 51,1–138,27. | *The Tripartite Tractate* | *Tri. Trac.* |
| II,*1*: | 1,1–32,9. | *The Apocryphon of John* | *Ap. John* |
| II,*2*: | 32,10–51,28. | *The Gospel of Thomas* | *Gos. Thom.* |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| II,*3*: | 51,29–86,19. | *The Gospel of Philip* | *Gos. Phil.* |
| II,*4*: | 86,20–97,23. | *The Hypostasis of the Archons* | *Hyp. Arch.* |
| II,*5*: | 97,24–127,17. | *On the Origin of the World* | *Orig. World* |
| II,*6*: | 127,18–137,27. | *The Exegesis on the Soul* | *Exeg. Soul* |
| II,*7*: | 138,1–145,19. + 145,20–23 | *The Book of Thomas the Contender (colophon)* | *Thom. Cont.* |
| III,*1*: | 1,1–40,11. | *The Apcryphon of John* | *Ap. John* |
| III,*2*: | 40,12–69,20. | *The Gospel of the Egyptians* | *Gos. Eg.* |
| III,*3*: | 70,1–90,13. | *Eugnostos the Blessed* | *Eugnostos* |
| III,*4*: | 90,14–119,18. | *The Sophia of Jesus Christ* | *Soph. Jes. Chr.* |
| III,*5*: | 120,1–47,23. | *The Dialogue of the Savior* | *Dial. Sav.* |
| IV,*1*: | 1,1–49,28. | *The Apocryphon of John* | *Ap. John* |
| IV,*2*: | 50,1–81,2. | *The Gospel of the Egyptians* | *Gos. Eg.* |
| V,*1*: | 1,1–17,18. | *Eugnostos the Blessed* | *Eugnostos* |
| V,*2*: | 17,19–24,9. | *The Apocryphon of Paul* | *Apoc. Paul* |
| V,*3*: | 24,10–44,10. | *The (First) Apocryphon of James* | *1 Apoc. Jas.* |
| V,4: | 44,11–63,32. | *The (Second) Apocryphon of James* | *2 Apoc. Jas.* |
| V,*5*: | 64,1–85,32. | *The Apocryphon of Adam* | *Apoc. Adam* |
| VI,*1*: | 1,1–12,22. | *The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles* | *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.* |
| VI,*2*: | 13,1–21,32. | *The Thunder: Perfect Mind* | *Thund.* |
| VI,*3*: | 22,1–35,24. | *Authoritative Teaching* | *Auth. Teach.* |
| VI,*4*: | 36,1–48,15. | *The Concept of Our Great Power* | *Great Pow.* |
| VI,*5*: | 48,16–51,23. | *Plato, Republic 588b–589b* | *Plato Rep.* |
| VI,*6*: | 52,1–63,32. | *The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* | *Disc. 8–9* |
| VI,*7*: | 63,33–65,7. + 65,8–14. | *The Prayer of Thanksgiving (scribal note)* | *Pr.Thanks* |
| VI,*8*: | 65,15–78,43. | *Asclepius 21–29* | *Asclepius* |
| VII,*1*: | 1,1–49,9. | *The Paraphrase of Shem* | *Paraph. Shem* |
| VII,*2*: | 49,10–70,12. | *The Second Treatise of the Great Seth* | *Treat. Seth* |
| VII,*3*: | 70,13–84,14. | *The Apocalypse of Peter* | *Apoc.Pet.* |
| VII,*4*: | 84,15–118,7. + 118,8–9 | *The Teachings of Silvanus (colophon)* | *Teach. Silv.* |
| VII,*5*: | 118,10–127,27. + 127,28–32 | *The Three Steles of Seth (colophon)* | *Steles Seth* |
| VIII,*1*: | 1,1–132,6. + 132,7–9 | *Zostrianos (cryptogram)* | *Zost.* |
| VIII,*2*: | 132,10–140,27. | *The Letter of Peter to Philip* | *Ep. Pet. Phil.* |
| IX,*1*: | 1,1–27,10. | *Melchizedek* | *Melch.* |
| IX,*2*: | 27,11–29,5. | *The Thought of Norea* | *Norea* |
| IX,*3*: | 29,6–74,30 +. | *The Testimony of Truth* | *Testim. Truth* |
| X,*1*: | 1,1–68*,18 | *Marsanes* | *Marsanes* |
| XI,*1*: | 1,1–21,35. | *The Interpretation of Knowledge* | *Interp. Know.* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| XI,*2*: 22,1–44,37. | *A Valentinian Exposition* | *Val. Exp.* |
| XI,*3*: 45,1–69,20. | *Allogenes* | *Allogenes* |
| XI,*4*: 69,21–72,33. | *Hypsiphrone* | *Hypsiph.* |
| XII,*1*: 1*,1–34*,28. | *The Sentences of Sextus* | *Sent. Sextus* |
| XII,*2*: 39*,?–60?,30. | *The Gospel of Truth* | *Gos. Truth* |
| XII,*3*: | *Fragments* | *Frm.* |
| XIII,*1*: 35*,1–50*,24. | *Trimorphic Protennoia* | *Trim. Prot.* |
| XIII,*2*: 50*,25 +. | *On the Origin of the World* | *Orig. World* |

Note: Where original titles are lacking in the mss, modern scholars have assigned titles. The titles so assigned are: *Ap. Jas.*; Gos. Truth; Tri. Trac.; Orig. World; Disc. 8–9; Pr. Thanks.; Norea; Testim. Truth; and *Val. Exp.* Of these, *Gos. Truth* is so called from the *incipit*, which served as a title in antiquity (cf. Iren. *Adv. Haer.* 3.11.9). The titles of *Plato Rep.*; *Asclepius*; and *Sent. Sextus*, while not occurring in the Nag Hammadi mss, are also elsewhere attested.

**E. Provenience of the Manuscripts**

Three major factors point to a monastic provenience for the Nag Hammadi Codices. First, the site of the discovery: The jar containing the codices had been buried midway up the talus of broken rock at the foot of the Jabal al Ṭārif. There is evidence that the talus was used for burials in the early Byzantine period. Over 150 caves are located in the cliff; the one nearest the site of the discovery (T8) has on one of its walls a Coptic inscription, in red paint, of the opening lines of several OT psalms (Robinson 1979: 213). This area had obviously been frequented by Christians. Did a gnostic community use the cliff area as a retreat, and then bury their library before disappearing without a trace? A more likely possibility is that Christian monks, from one or more of the monasteries nearby in the valley below, used a monastic burial site as a place in which to bury a cache of books, presumably because the content of those books had come under suspicion in the monastic communities (Wisse 1978: 436–37).

Second, the cartonnage found in the leather covers points to a monastic context for the manufacture of the codices. This is at least true in the case of the cartonnage found in Codex VII, which contains fragments of a biblical codex and a homily, as well as private letters indicating a monastic provenience, including one from a "Pachomius" to a "Paphnoute." (For a balanced discussion see Veilleux 1986:278–83.) If, as seems likely, the books were manufactured in one or more of the Pachomian monasteries in the vicinity of the find (Sheneset-Chenoboskion, Pabau, or Tabennesi), were they also inscribed by Pachomian monks, or were they manufactured and sold uninscribed to unknown purchasers? Our first point indicates a likelihood that the scribes of the codices were members of one or more of the monastic communities in the area.

Third, the colophons and scribal notes in some of the manuscripts (esp. I, II, and VII) containing pious Christian prayers and the like, are indications of a monastic provenience for the actual copying of the manuscripts. The persons who copied the various texts into the codices evidently treated them as edifying religious literature. A purge of heretical books was carried out in the Pachomian monasteries by Pachomius' successor, Theodore, in response to Athanasius' paschal letter of 367 C.E. Such a purge could have resulted in the burial of the books on the part of recalcitrant monks who wished to preserve them from destruction (Wisse 1978: 435–37). Thus the Nag Hammadi Codices were actually not in use for very long. They (or at least Codex VII) must have been manufactured after 348 C.E. and were presumably buried in the late 4th or early 5th century. The bowl used as a lid to close the mouth of the jar in which the codices were found is still extant; it is red slipware of the 4th or 5th century (Robinson 1979: 213).

**F. Classification of the Tractates**

While the texts in the Nag Hammadi collection number 52 in all (though the fragments constituting XII, *3* may be from more than a single tractate), five tractates are represented by more than a single copy: *Gos. Truth* (I, *3*; XII, *2*), *Ap. John* (II, *1*; III, *1*; IV, *1*), *Orig. World* (II, *5*; XIII, *2*); *Gos. Eg.* (III, *2*; IV, *2*); and

*Eugnostos* (III, *3*; V, *1*). There are, therefore, 46 different tractates in the Nag Hammadi collection (counting XII, *3* as one). Of the four tractates in the closely related Berlin Codex, two are also represented in the Nag Hammadi collection: *Ap. John* (BG, *2*) and *Soph. Jes. Chr.* (BG, *3*). All of the texts in question are Coptic translations of Greek originals. Three of them (*Plato Rep.*, *Sent. Sextus*, and *Pr. Thanks.*) were already known in their original Greek versions before the Nag Hammadi discovery; one (*Asclepius*) was known in a Latin version. Since the discovery, previously extant Greek fragments have been identified as representing two of the tractates from Nag Hammadi (*Gos. Thom.* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.*). An extensive parallel to part of *Ap. John* is found in Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I.29, but it is not certain that Irenaeus knew *Ap. John* as such. Even so, *Ap. John* was evidently considered to be a very important writing, given its multiple attestation, and is, in fact, a key text for the scholarly study of gnostic mythology.

In what follows, the Nag Hammadi tractates will be classified, first according to literary genre and then according to religious character, especially their relation to Gnosticism. The reader is also referred to the respective articles on the individual tractates treated here.

**1. Literary Genres.** The Nag Hammadi collection features a number of different genres, and literary classification is complicated by the fact that some tractates display features of more than one literary genre or contain different genres within them. Thus, the following classification should not be regarded as definitive or exhaustive.

**a. Apocalypses.** Several of the tractates have the term "apocalypse" in their titles: *Apoc. Paul*; *1 Apoc. Jas.*; *2 Apoc. Jas.*; *Apoc. Adam*; and *Apoc. Peter.* Many of the other tractates are subject to classification as "apocalypses," in whole or in part, according to the criteria commonly accepted (Collins 1979; Fallon 1979): *Ap. John*; *Hyp. Arch.*; *Soph. Jes. Chr.*; *Asclepius*; *Paraph. Shem*; *Zost.*; *Ep. Pet. Phil.*; *Melch.*; *Marsanes*; *Allogenes*; and *Hypsiphr.* Two of these, *Zost.* and *Allogenes*, were known as "apocalypses" in antiquity (Porph. *Vit. Plot.* 12). One, *Soph. Jes. Chr.*, is an apocalypse that has been created as such out of a previously existing tractate also found in the Nag Hammadi collection, *Eugnostos. Ap. John* is similarly a composite document, but it belongs, in its present form, to the apocalypse genre. *Hyp. Arch.*, also a composite document, contains an apocalypse within it (Pearson 1984: 464–65). In addition, *Ap. Jas.* counts as an apocalypse, though it is introduced as an epistle.

Other tractates share features of the apocalyptic genre. *Steles Seth* is presented as a revelation of the content of three steles inscribed by Seth, a heavenly figure associated in gnostic mythology with the biblical son of Adam. The steles contain prayers addressed to the members of the gnostic divine triad of Father, Mother, and Son. *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.* contains within it a revelation of the risen Lord to the apostles.

Two other categories, here treated separately, could arguably be included in a discussion of gnostic apocalypses: revelation dialogues and revelation discourses. They are, in any case, closely related generically to the gnostic apocalypses already listed, all of which contain revelation dialogues or discourses within them. It must be stressed that the apocalypse genre, including the revelation dialogue and revelation discourse, is a central medium of literary expression in Gnosticism.

Of the gnostic apocalypses here mentioned, *Apoc. Adam* represents typologically a key link in the evolution of gnostic apocalyptic out of Jewish apocalyptic tradition (MacRae 1979: 152).

**b. Revelation Dialogues.** Three Nag Hammadi tractates can be classified as "revelation dialogues" rather than "apocalypses," since they lack an account of the appearance of the revealer. These are *Thom. Cont.*; *Dial. Sav.*; and *Disc. 8–9. Dial. Sav.* is especially interesting because it appears to have been constructed out of a collection of sayings of Jesus like *Gos. Thom. Thom. Cont.* has recently been adjudged to be a Christian revision of a Hellenistic Jewish pseudepigraphical letter attributed first to the patriarch Jacob (Schenke 1983). *Disc. 8–9* is a typical dialogue of the Hermetic tradition.

**c. Revelation Discourses.** The genre "revelation discourse" is also known as "wisdom monologue" (Layton 1987: 77–78). Two of the examples from the Nag Hammadi collection feature female revealer-figures: *Thund.* and *Trim. Prot. Thund.* closely resembles a shorter "I am" discourse attributed to Eve now embedded in *Orig. World* (II 114,8–15). *Trim. Prot.* appears to be an expansion of a revelation discourse attributed to "Pronoia" ("Providence") in the longer version of *Ap. John* Its relationship to the prologue of

the Gospel of John is a matter of debate (Robinson 1981). *Treat. Seth* features Jesus Christ as the revealer. *Great Pow.* also belongs to this genre, although it lacks the "I am" self-predication found in the others. The first main section of *Ap. John* can also be called a revelation discourse (Pearson 1984: 458).

**d. "Rewritten Bible."** In this category, which does not constitute a separate literary genre per se, are included those portions of tractates which consist for the most part of paraphrases or running commentary on the opening chapters of Genesis. *Ap. John*; Hyp. Arch.; and *Orig. World* contain notable examples, wherein the focus is on the story of Adam and Eve and the early history of humankind now retold from a gnostic perspective. Formally, the closest parallels to this kind of literature are some of the OT pseudepigrapha, especially *1 Enoch* 6–11, *Jubilees*, and the *Genesis Apocryphon* from Qumran (1QapGen.) (For the term "Rewritten Bible," with reference to these Jewish writings, see Nickelsburg 1984:89; cf. Pearson 1988:647–51). In this category should also be included discrete sections of tractates which formally resemble Jewish midrashim, such as the midrash on the serpent-revealer in *Testim. Truth* and the midrash on David and Solomon in the same tractate (Pearson 1984: 457).

**e. Gospels.** Four of the Nag Hammadi tractates are called "gospels": *Gos. Truth* (its *incipit* is used as a title); *Gos. Thom.*; *Gos. Phil.;* and *Gos. Eg.* None of these is a gospel of the canonical type, though *Gos. Thom.*, a collection of dominical sayings, resembles in its form the hypothetical "Q"source presumably used by Matthew and Luke. *Gos. Truth* is a homily on the "gospel"; here the term *euangelion* is used in its original Christian sense as "message of salvation" (cf. Rom 1:16; 1 Cor 15:1; etc.). *Gos. Phil.* is an anthology of excerpts from various other works (Layton 1987: 325–26). *Gos. Eg.* (not to be confused with the work of that same name cited by Clement of Alexandria and other patristic writers) is also entitled *The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit*, and consists of a doctrinal treatise to which is added a liturgical service book for a gnostic baptism ceremony. A *Gospel of Mary* is found in the related Berlin Codex (BG, *1*). This text belongs to the "apocalypse" genre.

**f. Epistles.** One of the Nag Hammadi tractates bears the term "epistle" in its title: *Ep. Pet. Phil.* This tractate receives its title from the letter with which it opens; however, as a whole the tractate belongs more properly to the "apocalypse" genre. Two tractates can be classified as "doctrinal epistles": *Treat. Res.* and *Eugnostos. Ap. Jas.* has an epistolary framework at the beginning and the end, and *Hyp. Arch.* shows epistolary features in its opening passage.

**g. Acts.** One tractate from the Nag Hammadi collection, *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.*, has the term "Acts" in its title, and resembles in some ways the numerous acts of apostles that constitute part of the NT apocrypha. It is probably a piece of a larger work, containing within its extant portion a revelation of the savior. The Berlin Codex contains a similar text: *The Act of Peter* (BG, *4*).

**h. Doctrinal Treatises.** To this category belong *Tri. Trac.; Orig. World;* and *Val. Exp.* The last named tractate is a doctrinal exposition, to which have been added liturgical fragments on the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist. *Gos. Eg.* is also a doctrinal treatise with liturgical matter at the end. All of these texts present accounts and interpretations of the basic gnostic myth of cosmogony and salvation, with *Tri. Trac.* and *Val. Exp.* offering different interpretations from the Valentinian school. Two other tractates, *Exeg. Soul* and *Auth. Teach.*, can be treated under the general category of "doctrinal treatises," but of a special type: they consist of allegories on the fall and return of the soul.

**i. Wisdom Books** *Sent. Sextus* and *Teach. Silv.* belong to this category. The former is a previously known collection of short aphorisms. The latter is a *logos protreptikos* (hortatory discourse) generically akin to the Wisdom of Solomon in the Greek Bible. Neither of these is "gnostic" in the technical sense of the term.

**j. Homilies.** To this category belong *Gos. Truth; Interp. Know.*; and, at least partially, *Testim. Truth. Gos. Truth* is a meditative disquisition on the message of salvation, and was probably composed by the heresiarch Valentinus himself (Layton 1987: 250–51). *Interp. Know.*, another Valentinian text, presumes a setting in Christian corporate worship. The first part of *Testim. Truth* is a polemical sermon attacking the beliefs and practices of catholic Christian opponents, to which has been added material made up of various sources and utilized for a polemical purpose. In addition, the second part of *Thom. Cont.* consists

of a homily made up of woes and blessings pronounced by the savior. *Zost.* concludes with a brief admonitory sermon.

**k. Prayers.** Two tractates are so identified in the mss. *Pr. Paul*, with title, has been written into the front flyleaf of Codex I. *Pr. Thanks* is a previously known prayer of the Hermetic tradition appended to *Disc. 8–9.* It is introduced with the words, "This is the prayer that they spoke." In addition, *Steles Seth* consists basically of three prayers of praise offered up by "Seth" to members of the divine triad of Father, Mother, and Son. Prayers of praise, with the formula "Holy are you," are found embedded in *Melch.* (IX 16,16–18,7). Some of the appended liturgical material in *Val. Exp.* consists of prayers. Two liturgical prayers are embedded in *Ep. Pet. Phil* (VIII 133,21–134,9). Prayers of invocation are also found at the end of *Gos. Eg.* in material that actually constitutes a "liturgical service book" (Layton 1987: 101–2). Prayers for individual meditation are embedded in the Hermetic tractate *Disc. 8–9* (VI 55,24–57,25). Some of the colophons in Codices I, II, and VII should be classified as prayers, but they reflect the (monastic) setting of the scribes rather than the content of the tractates copied (see E above).

**1. Hymns.** Some of the aforementioned prayers could also be construed as hymns, especially those that were apparently meant to be chanted in a worship setting. One entire tractate, *Norea*, can be labeled a "hymn" or "ode" on account of its strophic structure. The Hermetic tractate *Disc. 8–9* refers throughout to the singing of hymns, and hymnic material, including "glossolalia" (*voces mysticae*), is found in it (esp. at VI 60,17–61,17). Similar material occurs in *Gos. Eg.* and *Zost.*

**m. Anthologies.** One of the tractates labeled a "gospel," *Gos. Phil.*, is really an anthology of mostly unconnected excerpts from other gnostic works. None of these other works is extant. *Orig. World* is almost an anthology in that it contains a number of discrete sources within it. Finally, *Plato Rep.* represents an "anthology" of another kind, for it can safely be assumed that it was not taken directly from book 9 of the great philosopher's masterwork but rather, as was common practice in antiquity, from an anthology of excerpts from ancient writers.

**2. Religious Character.** The earliest major work on the Nag Hammadi collection treated it as a "library" of "undoubted unity" belonging to a single sect of "Sethian" gnostics (Doresse 1960: 249–51). But over the years it has become clear that it is not a "library" of a single group at all, but a collection of disparate works of various origins. Not all of the texts are "gnostic," and the Gnosticism represented in the texts that are gnostic is of various types, some of which, moreover, are not easily classified by sectarian affiliation according to the catalogs of the great heresiologists of the Church. If one can speak of a unity at all in the collection it would be a unity not of a theological or philosophical sort, but having to do with lifestyle. That is to say, many of the texts in the collection advocate an ascetic lifestyle, and all of them could be read in that light. From this perspective, it is not difficult to understand how these writings could be appreciated in a monastic setting (Wisse 1971; 1978).

However, since most of the texts are, in fact, gnostic, it will be useful to classify the collection in terms of their gnostic or non-gnostic character, as well as in terms of the kinds of Gnosticism represented, to the extent that this is possible.

**a. Sethian Gnostic Texts.** While Doresse's initial classification of the Nag Hammadi collection must be rejected, scholars meanwhile have noted that there are a number of tractates which appear to be "Sethian" in some sense, and are clearly related to one another in terms of content; that is, they share a common underlying mythological "system" (Schenke 1974; 1981). One of the features of this system is an emphasis on Seth, son of Adam, as a revealer figure and spiritual father of a gnostic "race of Seth." Hence, the classification "Sethian" is suggested by the texts themselves.

The Nag Hammadi texts that belong to this system are: *Ap. John*; *Hyp. Arch.*; *Gos. Eg.*; *Apoc. Adam*; *Steles Seth*; *Zost.*; *Melch.*; *Norea*; *Marsanes*; *Allogenes*; and *Trim. Prot.* To these texts must be added the system described by Irenaeus in *Adversus Haereses* 1.29, which is parallel to part of *Ap. John*, and the untitled tractate from the Codex Brucianus.

Of the Nag Hammadi texts here named, one is definitely a Christian text, *Melch.* (whose gnostic features may be secondary). Others appear to reflect various stages of "Christianization" of originally non-Christian material; these are *Ap. John*; *Hyp. Arch.*; *Gos. Eg.*; and *Trim. Prot.* Still others are not

Christian at all, but reflect a profound influence from Platonist philosophy: *Steles Seth*; *Zost.*; *Marsanes*; and *Allogenes. Apoc. Adam*, another non-Christian text, stands in close relationship with Jewish apocalyptic tradition.

It is to be noted that the system described by Irenaeus (1.29) is expressly associated by him with a group of sectarians called, simply, *gnostikoi* ("gnostics"). Irenaeus does not use the term "Sethian." On the other hand, Hippolytus (*Haer.* 5.19) describes a system that he attributes to a group of "Sethians," and refers to a book of theirs called *The Paraphrase of Seth* (V.22). The content of the Nag Hammadi tractate, *Paraph. Shem*, resembles the system described by Hippolytus, though it does not cohere very well with the other "Sethian" texts already identified. Should it be called, nevertheless, a "Sethian gnostic" tractate? In any case, *Paraph. Shem* is a non-Christian gnostic apocalypse featuring a redeemer called "Derdekeas." The *Paraphrase of Seth* known to Hippolytus was a Christianized version of the mythological system found in *Paraph. Shem.*

Other Nag Hammadi tractates seem in various ways to be related to the Sethian gnostic ones mentioned. *Orig. World* contains material that coheres with such Sethian texts as *Hyp. Arch. Eugnostos*, a non-Christian text, contains teaching concerning the divine world and Anthropos that is akin to the material on the same subject in *Ap. John* and Iren. *Haer.* 1.29 (van den Broek 1981). *Soph. Jes. Chr.* is a Christianized version of *Eugnostos.* Finally, *Treat. Seth*, a Christian gnostic text, reflects in its background a Sethian mythological system (Painchaud 1982: 5–6, 21).

**b. Valentinian Texts.** The Valentinian school is one of the most important heretical complexes in the ancient Church, and quite a bit was known about it before the Nag Hammadi discovery. Irenaeus expressly says (*Haer.* 1.11) that Valentinus adapted the "gnostic" teachings (described by him in 1.29) in setting up his own school. Thus Valentinus can be said to have been a "reformer" of the (Sethian) gnostic religion represented by *Ap. John* and related texts (Layton 1987: xv).

Given the importance of the Valentinian movement, it is not surprising that a number of Valentinian tractates should show up in the Nag Hammadi find. Four of the five tractates in the Jung Codex (NHC I) are surely of Valentinian origin: *Pr. Paul; Gos. Truth* (probably composed by Valentinus himself); *Treat. Res.;* and *Tri. Trac.* If the Jung Codex represents a Valentinian collection of texts, *Ap. Jas.* (1.*2*), though not of Valentinian authorship, was considered of value to Valentinian gnostics. Another "James" text, *1 Apoc. Jas.*, seems to reflect some Valentinian influence, and may have been subjected to some Valentinian editing.

Also clearly of Valentinian origin are *Gos. Phil.; Interp. Know.*; and *Val. Exp.* Valentinian influences have been discerned in *Exeg. Soul*, and are possibly present in some other tractates as well, such as *Orig. World* and *Norea. Testim. Truth* contains some Valentinian influences, but also takes a stand against the Valentinian school. It has been suggested that the author of that tractate is the ex-Valentinian Julius Cassianus (Pearson 1981: 116–20).

**c. Hermetic Texts.** The pagan Greco-Egyptian gnosis featuring "Thrice-Greatest Hermes" as its central revealer is represented in the Nag Hammadi collection by three tractates: *Disc. 8–9; Pr. Thanks.*; and *Asclepius.* The two last named are texts known before the Nag Hammadi discovery. *Disc. 8–9* is new Hermetic work, akin especially to *Corpus Hermeticum* I (*Poimandres*) and XIII, but showing more distinctively Egyptian coloring.

**d. Texts of the Thomas Tradition.** The Syrian (Edessene) Christian tradition identified with Judas Thomas, Jesus' "twin brother," is represented by two texts from Nag Hammadi: *Gos. Thom.* and *Thom. Cont.* This tradition can be considered "gnostic" only in the broader sense of the term (Layton 1987: 360). *Gos. Thom.* was an especially important work. Fragments of three different copies of that gospel in Greek are included in the vast collection of papyri from Oxyrhynchus. (See H. Attridge's edition in Layton 1989:95–128.) *Gos. Thom.* may have been utilized by the authors of such Nag Hammadi tractates as *Dial. Sav.* and *Testim. Truth*, and may also have influenced Valentinus and his pupils (Layton 1987: 220, 360).

**e. Miscellaneous Gnostic Texts.** In the case of several Nag Hammadi tractates it is difficult (if not impossible) to discern any particular sectarian affiliation. Of the Christian gnostic texts in question, some are associated with special apostolic authorities: James, the brother of Jesus, was especially beloved in

certain Jewish Christian traditions (*Gos. Thom.* 12), and is the focus of three Nag Hammadi tractates: *Ap. Jas.; 1 Apoc. Jas;* and *2 Apoc. Jas.* The "Petrine tradition" (Perkins 1980: 113–30) is represented by *Apoc. Pet.* (not to be confused with the apocalypse of the same name preserved in Ethiopic); *Ep. Pet. Phil.*; and *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.* (but the last may not be of gnostic origin). The apostle Paul is credited with an account of a heavenly journey: *Apoc. Paul* (not to be confused with another account of a heavenly journey with the same title preserved in Latin and several other languages).

Other Christian gnostic texts which defy sectarian identification are *Dial. Sav.; Auth. Teach.; Great Pow.; Treat. Seth*; and *Soph. Jes. Chr.*

Two gnostic tractates in this miscellaneous category are evidently not influenced by Christianity: *Thund.* and *Hypsiphr.*, though certainty in the case of the latter is unattainable owing to the fragmentary condition of the ms.

**f. Non-gnostic Texts.** Two Christian texts from Nag Hammadi are definitely not gnostic: *Teach. Silv.* and *Sent. Sextus.* The latter was known before and is preserved in a number of languages. *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.* is also better included with the non-gnostic apocryphal acts, for there is no firm indication in the extant material of any specifically gnostic features. Of course, there can be no question about the non-gnostic character of Plato's *Republic*, though it is possible that the snippet found at Nag Hammadi in a fractured Coptic translation, *Plato Rep.*, has been subjected to gnostic editorial adjustment in its Coptic stage.

To be sure, the "gnostic" or "non-gnostic" character of many of the texts is not easy to determine, and scholars often differ in their judgments on this point. Some have questioned the "gnostic" character of such texts as *Ap. Jas.; Dial. Sav.; Thund.; Auth. Teach.*; and even *Gos. Truth.* Other scholars, at least initially, assumed the "gnostic" character of *Gos. Thom.; Teach. Silv.*, and others. It is evident that much more work needs to be done on the study of this material.

**G. Importance of the Nag Hammadi Codices**

As one of the most important manuscript finds of the century, comparable in that respect to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Nag Hammadi collection has had an enormous impact on a number of scholarly fields and disciplines.

In the field of NT studies, *Gos. Thom.* alone has spawned a huge bibliography. The most important feature of that text is that it consists of a collection of Jesus' sayings which is probably independent of the canonical gospels and, in the case of some sayings, preserves very ancient gospel tradition. The study of gospel tradition has also been enriched by other texts as well, especially *Dial. Sav.* and *Ap. Jas.* New issues in Johannine scholarship have emerged in the study of such texts as *Trim. Prot.*, particularly its relationship to the prologue of the Gospel of John. Indeed, the whole question of the impact of Gnosticism upon the NT and its world has been reopened by the study of the Nag Hammadi texts, and no credible work can be done on that question without recourse to the new material. As study of these texts proceeds, more critical issues for NT studies continue to emerge.

In the field of early Christian history in general, the Nag Hammadi texts have provided new evidence for the analysis of the relationship between "orthodoxy" and "heresy" in the early Church, and how these came to be defined. The study of the religious character of certain geographical areas of the early Church, especially Syria and Egypt, has been greatly enlarged. The study of the history of the NT canon, and of early Christian literature in general, has new material with which to work and new questions to ask.

The study of early Judaism has also been enlarged, for now there is a quantity of new material that bears upon the question of the connections between Judaism and Gnosticism, and the whole issue of Jewish sectarianism in relation to the eventual consolidation of normative (rabbinic) Judaism. The Nag Hammadi collection has been considered of enough importance on these matters to be included in the purview of an important survey of Jewish writings of the Second Temple period (Pearson 1984); one of the texts, *Apoc. Adam*, is even included in a standard collection of OT pseudigrapha (MacRae *OTP* 1: 707–19).

Needless to say, the study of ancient Gnosticism has now been put on a solid basis as a result of this discovery of original gnostic works. Previous to this discovery, scholars of Gnosticism were, for the most part, dependent upon the patristic heresiologists (the gnostics' enemies) for their source material.

Gnosticism, to be sure, is only one of the important currents in Hellenistic-Roman religion and philosophy, and, as an eclectic phenomenon, bears upon the study of other religious traditions. The Nag Hammadi collection has provided new material for the study of Hermeticism, for example, and even for the study of Middle Platonism and Platonism. Indeed, an international conference was held in 1984 devoted to "Neoplatonism and Gnosticism," and the Nag Hammadi texts played a very large role in the papers and discussions (Wallis and Bregman 1989).

The study of the Coptic language has been enormously enlarged by the Nag Hammadi discovery, for it is interest in the Nag Hammadi texts that has drawn significant numbers of students into the study of Coptic who otherwise would not have considered such study. The impact of the Nag Hammadi discovery has also been such that the wider study of the whole range of Coptic literature has been accelerated. In addition, the Nag Hammadi texts themselves provide new material for innovative breakthroughs in Coptic philology, especially in grammar and dialectology. An international society has been organized which is devoted to Coptology in all of its aspects, the International Association for Coptic Studies. Its organizing conference took place in Cairo in 1976, in conjunction with a meeting of the International Committee for the Nag Hammadi Codices.

Finally, the close scrutiny of the Nag Hammadi mss carried out by Robinson and his team has resulted in a number of breakthroughs in codicology and papyrology (Robinson 1978).

These are only some of the areas and disciplines which have been enlarged by the Nag Hammadi discovery. In actual fact, it would be virtually impossible to assess fully the enormous impact upon scholarship made by the random digging of those fellahin from al-Qaṣr at the Jabal al-Ṭarīf on that December day in 1945.

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**NAGGAI** (PERSON) [Gk *Naggai* (Ναγγαι)]. The father of Esli and son of Maath, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent of Adam and God (Luke 3:25). Codex D omits Naggai, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31 The name "Naggai" occurs nowhere else in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, and falls within a list of seventeen otherwise unknown descendants of David's son Nathan (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 500), although there is a Gk *Nage* / Heb *nōgâ* at 1 Chr 3:7, as a son of David. A few NT mss read Gk *Nagai* here (A 1241) (see Hervey 1853:136). Kuhn (1923: 208–9) argues that two seemingly parallel lists of names—Luke 3:23–26 (Jesus to Mattathias) and 3:29–31 (Joshua/Jesus to Mattatha)—were originally identical, the first perhaps reflecting a Hebrew context and the second an Aramaic context, tracing Mary's line of descent (since it does not mention Joseph as Jesus' father). Naggai in the first list corresponds to Melea in the second list. With no major textual variants for Naggai and Melea to support confusion of the two, Kuhn's theory has little plausibility.

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**NAHAL OREN** (M.R. 148241). A site located on the W side of Mt. Carmel on a steep terrace facing S at a height of 46–53 m above sea level. It is near the point where the Nahal Oren stream enters the coastal plain.

The Mt. Carmel region belongs to the Mediterranean plant belt with about 500 mm of rain per year. A perennial spring is located about 100 m E of the site.

During two cycles of excavations held in 1954–57 and 1959–60 (Stekelis and Yisraeli 1963) and 1969–71 (Noy, Legge, and Higgs 1973), about nine levels have been identified representing the Kebarian, the Natufian, and the early Pre-Pottery Neolithic A and B (PPN A and PPN B) cultures. These cultures represent the level of late hunter-gatherer and early farmer which date to ca. 16,000–6800 B.C.E.

The Kebarian culture encompassed two cultural phases. To the earliest belongs a short stone wall founded on bedrock and a rich flint industry and animal bones. Among the flint tools are truncated bladelets, carinated and small-end scrapers, and burins. The upper phase is characterized by extremely small microliths, particularly triangles and crescents (Noy et al. 1973; Kukan 1978).

The Natufian culture reflects the Middle and Late phase (Valla 1981). The middle Natufian phase was mainly uncovered in the lower part of the terrace where a cemetery with about 30 skeletons and varied

installations covered most of the area. Studies of the human teeth revealed special nutrition habits (Smith 1970). Some notable elements in the cemetery are large hearths made of white slabs of stone, "pipe mortars" standing near some of the graves, and small elongated cup holes laid near some of the skeletons. Individual or small groups of individuals found in one grave and the northern orientation of the bodies are also characteristic (Noy fc.). The later phase stands out by stone walls crossing the terrace, individual graves, animal figurines carved on stone, and animal horns (Stekelis 1960), a rich flint industry and, in addition, bone tools, limestone vessels, and elongated basalt polishers, some of which are decorated. The small microliths continue to the end of this phase (Henry 1973; Valla 1983).

Several architectural features exist between the late Natufian levels and those of the PPN A, but these are still under investigation and evaluation.

The PPN A village was built on terraces, where 20 round buildings have been uncovered. Even though the major site belonged to one occupation level, other short occupation levels exist. The houses range from 3–4 m in diameter and are built of local stones; their floors are of terre pisee and most are equipped with round hearths built of small stones, cup holes on flat stones, and some local stone vessels. The flint tools include tranche axes (the Tahunian type), elongated sickle blades of the Beit Tamir type, arrowheads of El Khaim points, Hegudud truncations (Bar Yosef, Gopher, and Nadel 1987), and some small obsidian blades from the Gülü Dag source in Anatolia (Yellin, personal communication). These tools represent the Sultanian stage in PPN A Small human figurines carved from stone were found on house floors and very few burials were below the house floor.

The PPN B is the last occupation of the terrace; most of the architecture suffered natural erosion and human destruction. The earliest stage still has some rounded houses following the tradition of the previous period. The second phase of the PPN B settlement is scattered on the terrace with rectangular houses which were built with medium stone pebbles. Some of the houses were paved with flat square pebble stone. Some skeletons without heads were found buried below the houses (Noy 1973). Two-level grinding stones and upper semi-elliptical stones made from basalt or limestone are common; some of the flint was heated and beautiful color was achieved. Helown, Jericho, and Byblos points, some with Abu Ghosh retouch, are well known (Gopher 1985). Long sickle blades, some with serrated and short tangs, and long pointed blades are unique in shape and length. Minute beads cut from shell were sewn on garments as decoration. In the Kebarian phases, deer and gazelle were the most hunted animals and in the Natufian and PPN A phases the gazelle was the major animal hunted, but in PPN B there was a growing number of goats and sheep (Legge 1973: 90–91). Cultivated plants appear in PPN A and B (Dennell 1973: 91–93).

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TAMAR NOY

**NAHALAL** (PLACE) [Heb *nahălāl* (נַהֲלָל)]. Var. NAHALOL. Fourth Levitical city mentioned in the Zebulun listing (Josh 21:35). There are no parallels to Nahalal in the 1 Chronicles account. Nahalal is mentioned in two other OT accounts, first in the allotment list to Zebulun (Josh 19:15), and, second in the Judges conquest narrative. In the conquest narrative "Zebulun did not drive out the inhabitants of … Nahalol, but the Canaanites dwelt among them, and became subject to forced labor" (Judg 1:30). The exact location of biblical Nahalal is unknown; however, two tells have been suggested as possible sites: Tell el-Beida and Tell en-Nahl.

Tell el-Beida (M.R. 168231) has been suggested by J. Simons (*GTTOT*, 202) as biblical Nahalal. Beida is located 1 km S of modern Nahalal, a Moshav-ovedim founded in 1921. No doubt this is one reason why Simons associated biblical Nahalal with Beida. The tell is situated in the N central section of the Esdraelon Plain. It is a rich area with a good water supply. At the S base of the tell there is a spring of water and surrounding Beida there are tributaries of the river Kishon. To the S and W lies the fertile Esdraelon Plain while to the N and E are the lower Galilee hills. The closest trade route is 9 km to the SW at Jokneam, where it passes across the Carmel and meets the Acco-Bethshan route.

None of the early geographers make any reference to Tell el-Beida. The archaeological surveys conducted at el-Beida have shown an occupation during EB, MB, LB, Iron I, Iron II, Persian, Roman, Byzantine, and Arab periods. There are many difficulties in trying to associate biblical Nahalal with Tell el-Beida. First and foremost is the name of the site. The modern moshav, Nahalal, founded in 1921, is hardly evidence to demonstrate a case for "historical memory" of a place name. It is possible the moshav chose the name because of biblical Nahalal of Zebulun, but the relationship goes no further than that.

Tell en-Nahl (M.R. 156245) was first identified as biblical Nahalal by Albright (1923: 26–27). He argued his position on the philological grounds that Nahalal was nearly identical in form with the Nahl in Tell en-Nahl. However, there is a geographical problem that Tell en-Nahl is located in the plain of Acco in the tribe of Asher, whereas Joshua and Judges locate it in the tribal territory of Zebulun. Tell en-Nahl is located 10 km E of the Mediterranean. It lies in the coastal plain, E of Haifa, centrally located between the E hills and the coastline. Acco, Tell en-Nahl, and the pass leading into the Esdraelon Plain fall on a near N–S line. The view from Tell en-Nahl to the N is Acco, to the E one sees the valley stretching to the low hills, to the S is the Carmel range, and to the W Haifa and the sea. The tell is surrounded by fertile agricultural lands. 2 km to the W of Tell en-Nahl flows the Kishon River. There is a small tributary that flows past Tell en-Nahl immediately to the N The archaeological surveys which have been conducted at Tell en-Nahl indicate occupation during the EB, MB, LB I, LB II, Iron I, Iron II, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Arabic periods.

The one major obstacle, as noted above, to the identification of Tell en-Nahl with biblical Nahalal could be resolved if Zebulun's borders had expanded to include this Levitical city; however, that solution is not entirely satisfactory. While the historical memory of the name is important, yet the tribal location must also be considered seriously. Nevertheless the etymological considerations for Tell en-Nahl are attractive and the pottery stretches over the three Iron II centuries. Tell en-Nahl is therefore tentatively accepted as biblical Nahalal. The geographical location of this city remains troubling and until more is understood about Zebulun's expansion to the sea this identification will have to be regarded as speculative. See also Peterson 1977:125–39.

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JOHN L. PETERSON

**NAHALIEL** (PLACE) [Heb *naḥălîʾēl* (נַחֲלִיאֵל)]. The location of one of Israel's final encampments prior to entering Canaan (Num 21:19). It is listed after Mattanah and before Bamoth. Its name ("stream of ʾEl[w]) implies that it was a wadi rather than a town. Eusebius (*Onomast.*) located it near the Arnon. Recent identifications have included the Wadi Wala, which feeds into the Arnon from the N, and the Wadi Zerqa Ma'in which flows into the Dead Sea 18 km N of the Arnon.
RANDALL W. YOUNKER

**NAHAM** (PERSON) [Heb *naḥam* (נַחַם)]. Identified as the sister-in-law of Hodiah in the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr 4:19).
H. C. LO

**NAHAMANI** (PERSON) [Heb *naḥămānî* (נַחֲמָנִי)]. A leader of the Jewish community who returned to Palestine with Zerubbabel shortly after 538 B.C.E., the end of the Babylonian Exile. Neh 7:7 lists Nahamani sixth in a list of twelve names which is headed by the names of Zerubbabel and Joshua (the parallel passage, Ezra 2:2, omits the name). The list introduces a passage which records the divisions of the people of Israel, the priests, the Levites, and the temple servants. Nahamani (Gk *naemani*) is replaced in the later parallel 1 Esdr 5:8 by the name Enenios (which is rendered Bigvai, without warrant, by the RSV, in an effort to reconcile the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah).
STEVEN R. SWANSON

**NAHARAI** (PERSON) [Heb *naḥăray* (נַחֲרַי)]. One of David's mighty men and the armor-bearer of Joab in 2 Sam 23:37 and in the parallel at 1 Chr 11:39 Naharai is called "the Beerothite," and we learn from 2 Sam 4:2–3 that they were Benjaminites who had fled to Gittaim. There is some textual confusion in the LXX of Samuel, as he is called Gelorai in the majority of the Greek manuscripts. The mss of the Lucianic text, which contain what is most likely the OG reading, may witness to an original form close to MT, however, since they have *araia*, perhaps a corrupt form due to the loss of the initial *nu* by haplography from the preceding *anamin.* McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB, 494) explains the Greek form in 2 Sam 23:37 by a series of mutations: "*gelōrai* (Gk **gedōrai* < Heb **gdwry* < **gḥry* < *nḥry*)." The LXX of 1 Chr 11:39, except for minor variants, witnesses to the MT form.
STEPHEN PISANO

**NAHARIYEH** (M.R. 159267). A small mound on the coast 6 miles N of Acco, at the mouth of the Gaʿaton River. It has remains of the MB, Iron II, and Persian periods, with Roman-Byzantine-Islamic ruins in the vicinity. In excavations in 1947 by I. Ben-Dor, and then in 1954–55 by M. Dothan, the principal discovery was a small cult site about 40 m in diameter and rising just 3 m, right on the dunes of the shoreline ca. 800 m N of the main mound. Despite the potential significance of the cult site, the lack of proper stratigraphic excavation and the absence of any but preliminary reports have robbed the site of its full meaning. The artifacts discussed below, for instance, including the figurines, may be only tentatively attributed to a particular phase (although all are MB; see Negbi 1976:130–31).

The cult site has five major periods of use. Stratum V ("Str. A/Ph. 5") belongs to the MB I period, ca. 1900–1800 B.C., although a few four-spouted lamps and "Canaanean"-style flints suggest some use already in EB IV (Albright's "MB I" period). To the S of the area was a rectangular, single-room structure ca. 6 × 7 m, with a large pebble pavement adjoining it to the S, identified by the excavators as the earliest phase of a *bāmāh* or "high place." Finds from this phase included typical MB I pottery, including Syrian-style painted wares; seven-spouted lamps; cooking pots; many miniature votive vases; a stone mold for casting a horned "Astarte"-type figurine, as well as five silver and bronze figurines themselves (Negbi 1976: 64); and bones of cattle and sheep-goats.

Strata IV–III ("Str. B/Ph. 4–3") were not well separated, but they appear to date from late MB I, perhaps into MB II. At this time the *bāmāh* paving was expanded to ca. 14 m in diameter, covering the wall stubs

of the rectangular structure, and steps to the raised platform were added. A new rectangular broadroom temple was built to the N, ca. 10.7 × 6.2 m, with four column-bases down the center. An intervening courtyard featured an altarlike installation. Finds from this phase included seven-cupped bowls and seven-spouted lamps; hundreds of miniature votives; numerous cooking pot sherds; many beads, items of jewelry, and bronze toggle-pins; animal bones; terra-cotta fenestrated stands; and evidence of metal-working. Of particular interest are three mold-made silver figurines (Negbi 1976: 64).

Strata II–I ("Str. C/Ph. 2–1") is sketchily described by the excavators, and was probably not well discerned stratigraphically. It appears to date to MB III and even into MB III/LB I, ca. 1650–1500 B.C. Several subsidiary rooms were added to the broadroom temple, on both ends. Few finds attributable specifically to this phase are mentioned. The *bāmāh* was raised and expanded again, finally covering the S structure completely. The latest deposits included imported Cypriot wares of the transitional MB III/LB I horizon.

The excavators suggest connecting the Nahariyeh sanctuary with the cult of Asherah, El's consort at Ugarit, known there as *Athiratu-yammi*, "She who Treads/Subdues the Sea." The unique, isolated location right by the seashore and the proliferation of molds and "Mother Goddess" figurines (19 in all; Negbi 1976: 130) makes this connection quite plausible. Dove figurines found by Ben-Dor would corroborate the identification, since Asherah (later, as Tanit) is often associated with doves.

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WILLIAM G. DEVER

**NAHASH** (PERSON) [Heb *nāḥaš* (נָחָשׁ)]. King of the Ammonites, whose siege of Jabesh-gilead was broken by a decisive Israelite victory early in Saul's reign (1 Sam 11:1–2). Ammon and Israel had long wrangled over territory east of the Jordan (Judg 11:4–33). Background for Nahash's siege is provided by a passage, possibly original, found just before 1 Sam 11:1 in 4QSam[a] and witnessed to by Josephus, *Ant* 6.5.1 §68–71. This describes a longer pattern of repression by Nahash against Gad and Reuben, of which Jabesh-gilead was simply the last chapter. Nahash had gouged out right eyes indiscriminately, and seven thousand refugees escaped to Jabesh-gilead. MT and LXX pick up the story when, after a month's respite, Nahash besieged the city. Because Nahash wanted to humiliate Israel, he offered the city brutal conditions for the vassal treaty they requested and gave them a week to seek aid from their fellow Israelites. The biblical authors used the story of Saul's subsequent victory, similar to the heroic stories found in the book of Judges, to establish the popularity of Saul's kingship. In another place it is suggested that the oppression of Nahash was Israel's motive for requesting a king (1 Sam 12:12). According to 2 Sam 10:1–2 = 1 Chr 19:1–2, Nahash remained king into the first part of David's reign and was on friendly terms with him, perhaps because of a mutual antipathy for Saul. Nahash's son Hanun picked a disastrous quarrel with David which led to the loss of Ammonite independence. Later, Shobi, another son of Nahash, provided supplies to David during Absalom's rebellion (2 Sam 17:27). A puzzling genealogical reference in 2 Sam 17:25 describes Abigail the sister of Zeruiah (and of David according to 2 Chr 2:16) as Nahash's daughter. If this is not a textual corruption from 2 Sam 17:27 and if one may assume that Nahash king of Ammon is meant, this would indicate that David had a family connection with the Ammonite royal house through his mother's marriage to Nahash. This would help explain Nahash's friendly relations with David, Hanun's suspicion of David's motives (2 Sam 10:2–4), and David's later personal acceptance of the Ammonite crown (2 Sam 12:30).

RICHARD D. NELSON

**NAHATH** (PERSON) [Heb *naḥat* (נַחַת)]. The etymology of this personal name is unclear. It could possibly mean "clear, pure" (cf. Ar **nḥt;* cf. also *IPN*, 228).

**1.** The firstborn son of Reuel, and the grandson of Esau (Gen 36:13, 17; 1 Chr 1:37). According to Gen 36:17 he was one of the "tribal chiefs" (Heb *ʾallûpîm*) of the Edomites, and as such the name probably represents a clan within the Esauite-Edomite tribe of Reuel.

**2.** Apparently a son of Zophai (or of Elkanah?) listed in the Levite genealogy of 1 Chr 6:11 (—Eng 6:26). The name, however, ought to be read either as Toah, in conjunction with 1 Chr 6:19 (—Eng 6:34), or as Tohu, in accordance with 1 Sam 1:1

**3.** A Levite overseer during the reign of King Hezekiah of Judah (2 Chr 31:13).

ULRICH HÜBNER

**NAHBI** (PERSON) [Heb *naḥbî* (נַחְבִי)]. The name "Nahbi," according to Noth (*IPN*, 229), is related to the Arabic term *nachbun* which means "fearful" or "timid." The personal name "Nahbi" is found only in Num 13:14 The son of Vophsi, Nahbi represented the tribe of Naphtali among the twelve men Moses sent from the wilderness of Paran (Num 12:16) to spy out the land of Canaan. Though not the head of the tribe of Naphtali (Num 1:15; 7:78), he was one of its leading princes (Num 13:2–3). His selection was doubtless based upon his suitability for the mission to be carried out.

JON PAULIEN

**NAHOR** (PERSON) [Heb *nāḥôr* (נָחוֹר)]. **1.** Descendant of Seth and Shem, son of Serug when Serug was 30, father of Terah at the age of 29, and grandfather of Abraham (Gen 11:22–25). Nahor lived 148 years. In the book of Joshua (24:2), Nahor and Terah are regarded as polytheists. Two issues arise regarding Nahor: the context of his religion and the origin of his name. As to the first, the presumed location of Nahor at Ur of the Chaldees and the subsequent movement of his son, Terah, to Haran, suggest a religion associated with the moon deity, Sin. Sin played an important role at both of these sites (Edzard 1965: 102). As to the origin of Nahor's name, many scholars relate it to Naḫur, a site listed in records from the Mari texts and throughout the 2d millennium B.C., and located near Harran on the plain of the Upper Balikh river (Westermann, *Genesis 1–11* BKAT, 748). See also NAHOR (PLACE). A personal name *na-ḫa-ru-um* appears in the 3d millennium B.C. Ur III period (Schneider 1952: 519–20). It is not clear whether this is more closely related to the Akk *naḫraru/nērāru,* "to help," which is also productive of names in the Mari period (Stamm 1939: 212, n. 4; 367; Rasmussen 1981: 315). Personal names with a W Semitic *nḥr* root appear in the Old Babylonian period at Mari (Birot 1979: 160; ARM 22, p. 197, no. 222, 10) and elsewhere (Gelb 1980: 27, 329), and may be found in some Jewish names from Babylonia of the 1st millennium B.C. (Zadok 1977: 335, 342). However, the root does not appear elsewhere in personal names with a *qatūl/qatōl* form.

**2.** Brother of Abram, son of Terah when Terah was 70, and husband of Milcah (Gen 11:26–29). His eight sons with Milcah included: Uz, perhaps related to Job; Buz; Kemuel, "the father of Aram"; Chesed; Hazo; Pildash; Jidlaph; and Bethuel, the father of Rebekah (Gen 22:20–24). Nahor's concubine, Reumah, bore him four additional children: Tebah; Gaham; Tahash; and Maacah. Laban is also named as a "son" of Nahor (Gen 29:5), understood as a "descendant" of Nahor. At Mizpah, Jacob and Laban swore by the God of Abraham and by the god(s) [*ʾĕlōhê*] of Nahor (Gen 31:53). The latter may be related to the deities worshipped by Nahor, grandfather of Abram. Several issues emerge concerning Nahor: (1) his relation to his grandfather, Nahor; (2) Nahor's name; (3) his marriage to Milcah, the daughter of his brother Haran; (4) the religion of Nahor; and (5) the meaning of his twelve offspring.

As to (1) Nahor's relation to his grandfather, who bore the same name, it should be noted that this is the only clear instance of papponymy in the book of Genesis. However, the practice does occur elsewhere in the Bible and in the ANE (Wenham *Genesis* WBC, 253). Items (2) and (3) above are treated, respectively, in NAHOR (PERSON) and MILCAH.

The question of (4) the religion of Nahor may be related to the religion of his grandfather. Indeed, the similarity in names may imply an intended relationship. Since both of these figures are associated with Ur and Harran, the cult centers of the lunar deity Sin, it may be that the worship of this deity formed the focus of their religion. By swearing by the god(s) of Nahor, his ancestor who settled in the Harran area, Laban may have been concerned to protect his property. In recently published texts from (LB) Emar, inheritance clauses refer to the heirs invoking the gods of the deceased [DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia … tu-na (-ab-)bi*] (Huehnergard 1985: 429–31). This seems to be a right and an expectation of the heirs which coincides with their possession of the inheritance. Here is a further indication of distinction in property rights and family responsibilities between Laban as Nahor's representative in the Harran area, and Jacob, as Abraham's representative in the region to the south (Morrison 1983: 163). As to (5) the meaning of the twelve offspring, comparisons have been drawn with the twelve sons of Jacob, also mothered through both wives and concubines. If so, the twelve children of Nahor may reflect twelve tribes. This seems to be implied at least for Kemuel, "the father of Aram."

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RICHARD S. HESS

**NAHOR** (PLACE) [Heb *nāḥôr* (נָחוֹר)]. The servant of Abraham journeys to "the city of Nahor" in Aram-naharaim where he searches and finds Rebekah, granddaughter of Nahor, as a wife for Isaac (Gen 24:10). In Genesis 24, the remaining three occurrences of the name "Nahor" (vv 15, 24, 47) refer to the personal name of Nahor, brother of Abraham. See NAHOR (PERSON). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that "the city of Nahor" is not necessarily a city whose name is Nahor but the city occupied by Nahor. If so, it may refer to Haran, a city in which Abraham sojourned with Nahor before traveling to Canaan (Gen 11:29–31). This is also the city from which shepherds who knew Laban, son of Nahor, came (Gen 29:4–5). On the other hand, there is a city Naḫur which appears in early cuneiform texts. Spelled as *na-ḫu-ur* or as *na-ḫur*, it is found in texts from Mari (Kupper 1979: 24) and elsewhere in texts from Old Babylonian (Groneberg 1980: 173), Middle Babylonian, and Middle Assyrian sources (Kessler 1980: 91; Nashef 1982: 201). It is not clear that this place name appears in any texts from the lst millennium B.C. (Kessler 1980: 223–24). The city has been located in the area of one of the W branches of the Ḫabur river to the E of Harran.

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RICHARD S. HESS

**NAHSHON** (PERSON) [Heb *naḥšôn* (נַחְשׁוֹן)]. Son of Amminadab and chief (*nāśî'*, Num 2:3) of the tribe of Judah during the wilderness sojourn after the Exodus. As the leader of the tribe of Judah, he

helped Moses conduct a census of the able-bodied fighting men of Israel prior to their departure from Mt. Sinai (Num 1:7), presented the offerings of the tribe of Judah on the first day of the twelve-day celebration of the dedication of the altar (Num 7:12, 17), and conducted Judah both to its proper place on the E side of the tabernacle in the Israelite camp (Num 2:3) and to its position at the head of the tribes as the Israelites prepared to depart from Mt. Sinai (Num 10:14).

Nahshon is listed in a number of significant biblical genealogies. He is celebrated as the ancestor of David both in the OT genealogies in Ruth 4:18–22 and 1 Chr 2:3–17 and in the genealogies of Jesus Christ (Matt 1:4; Luke 3:32). In the genealogies of Moses and Aaron (Exod 6:14–25), Nahshon is identified as the brother of Elisheba, Aaron's only wife from whom the Aaronic priests descended (Exod 6:23). This marriage between Aaron and Nahshon's sister constituted a covenant between the house of David and the house of Aaron and thereby was regarded by the tradition as linking the royal and priestly lines in Judah (Galil 1985: 493). The name "Nahshon" means "little snake"; it may have been given as a nickname (*IPN*, 229).

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DALE F. LAUNDERVILLE

**NAHUM** (PERSON) [Heb *naḥûm* (נַחוּם)]. 1. An Israelite prophet. See NAHUM, BOOK OF.

2. The father of Amos and son of Esli, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:25). D omits Nahum (Gk *naoum*), substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31 The name Nahum as an ancestor of Jesus occurs nowhere else in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, and falls within a list of seventeen otherwise unknown descendants of David's son Nathan (Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB, 500). Kuhn (1923: 208–9) argues that two seemingly parallel lists of names—Luke 3:23–26 (Jesus to Mattathias) and 3:29–31 (Joshua/Jesus to Mattatha)—were originally identical, the first perhaps reflecting a Hebrew context and the second, in an Aramaic context, tracing Mary's line of descent (since it does not mention Joseph as Jesus' father). Nahum, in the first list, corresponds to Jonam, in the second list. Apart from the OT prophet Nahum (see Nah 1:1; cf. Tob 14:4), for whom there is no evidence of his being a relative of Jesus, nothing further is known of any person with this name in the biblical documents.

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STANLEY E. PORTER

**NAHUM, BOOK OF** The seventh book of the twelve Minor Prophets in the Hebrew Bible. The superscription of the book reads: "An Oracle concerning Nineveh. The Book of the vision of Nahum the Elkoshite." Outside the Bible, Nahum (*naḥûm*, comfort) is a well-attested NW Semitic name (Cathcart 1979: 1). However, nothing is known about the prophet Nahum, and even the place of his origin, Elkosh, has not been identified. Jerome (CChr 76 A, 526) proposed "Elcesaei," a village in Galilee; Pseudo-Epiphanius (*PG* 43, 409) placed it in Judea; and there have been several attempts by modern scholars to locate the site of the ancient town (for bibliography, see Cathcart 1973:38).

**A. Text**

Recently-discovered witnesses of the text of Nahum discovered in modern times include the Pesher of Nahum (4QpNah) found at Qumran; the Hebrew Scroll of the Minor Prophets from Wâdī Murabbaʿât (Mur 88); and fragments of the Greek text of the Minor Prophets from Naḥal Ḥever (8 ḤevXIIgr) (Barthélemy 1963). There are no significant variants in the text of Nahum in these scrolls, and the student of the text should probably pay more attention to linguistic investigation than to dubious textual reconstruction.

Ugaritic studies have alerted us to the precise usage of *ṣārâ* in Nah 1:9, though *BHS* still recommends emendation of the text to *ṣārāyw*. The interpretation of *yōdēaʿ*, "cares for, is friendly to," in 1:7 is further supported by *KTU* 1.114.7 (*il dydʿnn*, "the god friendly to him"); and *pĕlādôt* in 2:4 may mean "blankets," "coverings," or even "caparisons" in the light of Ug *pld*. The word *mnzr* in 3:17 has yet to be

satisfactorily explained: if it is a military term, it may be a corruption of *ḫnzr*, a term for some kind of military personnel at Ugarit. However, in the light of recent study of Neo-Assyrian preoccupation with astrology and magic, H. Torczyner (1936: 7) was almost certainly correct in reading *manzāzayik,* since in Neo-Assyrian sources the *manzazē* were officials of the palace, including "astrologers, augurs, magicians" etc. (Parpola 1970–71,I:2). In that same verse, the parallel term *ṭipsārayik* is equivalent to Akk *ṭupšarru,* a word used for "astrologer" in Neo-Assyrian texts (Parpola 1970–71,I: 2).

The recently discovered bilingual inscription from Tell Fakhariyeh contains the word *qlqlt*ˀ in line 22 of the Aramaic text, and its equivalent in the Neo-Assyrian text, *tupqinnu*, makes it clear that the meaning is "rubbish dump, refuse heap" (Abou-Assaf et al. 1982: 21, 36). This text, and the occurrence in another Neo-Assyrian text (*AfO* 8 iv 16) of the word *kiqillutu*, "refuse dump" (probably a loanword from W Semitic), may throw light on Nah 1:14, *ʾaśîm qibrekā kî qallôtā.* This new evidence supports the *BHS* apparatus, which suggests reading *qîqālôt* or *qîqālôn*, yielding the translation, "I will make your grave a refuse heap."

Finally, more attention is now being given to techniques in classical Hebrew poetry (Watson 1984), and further research in this area will be useful in the assessment of the results of redaction-criticism and of other methods used in the study of the biblical books.

**B. Date**

The superscription of the book does not mention any date, but it is clear that the reference to the Assyrian sacking of Thebes (No-Amon; 3:8) in 663 B.C. provides the earliest possible date. There is an impression that Nineveh, which fell in 612, was still standing at the time of the oracles, though it is not impossible that the oracles were composed shortly after it fell. However, there is widespread agreement that a date for the oracles should be sought between 663 and 612, but a more precise dating is very difficult to achieve. Two possibilities have been suggested. The first dates the book to ca. 625 B.C., when Nabopolassar emerged as the leader of an aggressive Babylonia, a development which must have given heart to those peoples who hated the oppressing Assyrians. The second possible date is shortly before 612 B.C., just as the Assyrian empire was entering its death throes, since in 614 B.C. the Medes (under Cyaxares) had already taken Assur and would soon take Nineveh. W. Maier (1959: 31) counters that Nineveh had already become weak and degenerate after the death of Assurbanipal in 626 B.C., and he prefers to date Nahum shortly before 654 B.C., a few years after the sack of Thebes (Maier 1959: 36).

**C. Contents**

Following the superscription (1:1), the contents may be summarized as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1:2–8 | Hymn of Theophany |
| 1:9–2:3(—Eng 2:2) | Threat, Promise, and Judgment |
| 2:4(—Eng 2:3)–3:19 | The Fall of Nineveh |

**1. Hymn of Theophany.** The sayings and oracles of Nahum are introduced by a hymn of theophany (1:2–8). There has been much discussion as to the extent of the psalm because of its partial alphabetic acrostic character. According to F. Delitzch (*Psalms* BC$^3$, 117), this was first noticed by a certain pastor G. Frohnmeyer. Unfortunately, this observation by Frohnmeyer prompted a number of scholars to carry out major critical surgery on the first chapter of Nahum in an attempt to reconstruct a complete alphabetic acrostic, and when G. Bickell (1880: 559–60; 1882:211–13; 1894) and H. Gunkel (1893: 223–44; 1895:102–6) presented their reconstructions, W. R. Arnold protested that these scholars had "decapitated a masterpiece of Hebrew literature" (1901: 236). In recent years critics have not been quite so ardent, and few scholars have pursued the acrostic beyond vv 8 or 9 (see, e.g., Christensen 1975:17–30).

There is considerable debate concerning the date of the psalm. It is unlikely that the psalm was composed by Nahum, but given the incomplete nature of the acrostic, it may be that either Nahum modified an already existing psalm and used it as an introduction to his oracles, or a subsequent editor placed it before Nahum's actual oracles. In any event, the hymn does not reflect any particular historical situation; rather it is a typical hymn of theophany, and its language is similar to that of the Canaanite descriptions of the theophany of the storm god Baʿal (Cathcart 1975: 68–71). Of particular interest is the

reference in 1:4 to Yahweh's roar at the Sea (*yām*) / Rivers (*nĕhārôt*), which recalls the conflict between Ba‹al and the Sea/Rivers in the texts from Ugarit. Like Ba‹al at Ugarit, Yahweh is portrayed as a storm god, a warrior, and a king, and it is the recognition of these motifs that is important for understanding the book of Nahum as a whole and the relationship between the psalm and the oracles in particular (see below).

**2. Threat, Promise, and Judgment.** Verses 1:9–2:3 have been adjudged by many critics to be in disorder. Verse 9 seems to be addressed to the enemies of Yahweh in general, but since this verse is probably a link between the psalm and the following oracles, one can safely assume that the Assyrians are the specific enemy. A linguistic argument in favor of taking v 9 as a link-verse is the presence of *klh ‹śh* ("he will make a full end") in vv 8 and 9, and *ḥšb* ("to plot") in vv 9 and 11

Verses 10–11 and 14 are further threats against the enemy, but v 11 is clearly directed against Nineveh, while v 14 is directed against the king of Assyria. This series of threats is interrupted by vv 12–13, which are promises to Judah.

Chapter 2 opens with a series of imperatives, typical messenger formulae announced by the *mĕbaśśēr,* the courier of Yahweh the divine warrior, who is about to wage war against the Assyrians. (On the *mĕbaśśēr,* see Miller 1973:12–23, 66–74; and *CMHE*, 229). In 2:1 (—Eng 1:15) there is a message of salvation to Judah and in 2:2 (—Eng 2:1) a message of judgment to Nineveh. Verse 3 (—Eng v 2) states clearly the objective of Yahweh's war against Assyria, namely to deliver his people and restore "the glory of Jacob, indeed the glory of Israel."

**3. The Fall of Nineveh.** Nah 2:4–14 (—Eng 2:3–13) and 3:1–19 contain a superb description of the assault on Nineveh and its panic and downfall. Nah 2:4–14 (—Eng 2:3–13) is a self-contained unit, but it is difficult to say the same of 3:1–19 Perhaps with Eissfeldt (1965: 414) we should divide it as follows: 3:1–7 describing the destruction and humiliation of Nineveh; 3:8–17, a passage full of derision and irony, stressing the futility of Nineveh's efforts to defend itself; and finally 3:18–19, a dirge or funeral lament.

**D. Interpretation**

G. Fohrer (1968: 451) is willing to allow "some genuinely prophetical insights" in Nahum, but he is inclined to view the prophet as a "representative of optimistic prophecy with a strong feeling of nationalism." Because there is no condemnation of Israel or call to repentance in the oracles but, on the contrary, a great exultation over the fall of Nineveh, scholars have attributed a virulent nationalism to Nahum and have even alleged that he tends to exhibit the characteristics of false prophecy. Haldar (1947) believes that the book of Nahum originated in cultic circles and that in it the historical enemy is identified with cosmic foes. In other words, there is an element of propaganda in the book. Haldar's views have been widely rejected, but some of his insights in connection with myth deserve attention. Jeremias (1970: 11–55) and Schulz (1973) have not been convincing, and it seems more sensible to try and interpret the material as we have it, rather than engage in wholesale dismembering and reconstruction of the text (Schulz) or in speculation that some oracles against Nineveh were originally directed against Jerusalem/Israel (Jeremias). However, this does not mean that some editorial or redactional process has not taken place, especially with regard to 1:9–2:3 (see *IOTS*, 444; Coggins 1982: 80).

The introductory hymn of theophany (1:2–8) plays an important role in the book, and scholars have not pursued sufficiently their general observations that in it there is a strong sense of the sovereignty of God and a portrayal of Yahweh's lordship over history. The "Avenging God" (1:2, *›ēl nōqēm*) is the one who as king and judge will punish the Assyrians to save Israel. The overthrow and sacking of Nineveh were historical acts of war by the Medes and Babylonians, but more importantly they were acts of war by Yahweh. The "scatterer" (2:2, *mēpîṣ*) who attacks Nineveh is "the jealous and avenging God," "the Lord of Wrath," who rages against his enemies. He is a mighty warrior, "great in power" (1:3, *gĕdōl kōaḥ*) who directs the earthly "mighty warriors" (2:4) against Nineveh. The Lord of the Storm who overcomes the Sea (1:3–4) to establish his dominion and assert his kingship is Yahweh the King, who decides the fate of the king of Assyria (1:14; cf. 3:18).

**E. Nahum and the Day of Yahweh**

Chapters 2 and 3 of Nahum have a number of lines and phrases which are similar to some found in those biblical passages which speak of the Day of Yahweh. It is true that a common "war-language" is to be expected, but, nevertheless, it is remarkable that a number of lines and phrases are found only in Nahum and the classic Day of Yahweh texts (Cathcart 1975: 72–76). (Compare Nah 1:10 with Joel 2:5, Obadiah 18, and Mal 3:19; Nah 2:5 [—Eng 2:4] with Jer 46:9, Joel 2:9, and Amos 5:16; Nah 2:9 [—Eng 2:8] with Jer 46:5, 21; Nah 2:10 [—Eng 2:9] with Isa 2:7; Nah 2:11 with Isa 13:7–8 and Joel 2:6; Nah 3:2 with Joel 2:5; and Nah 3:10 with Isa 13:16, Joel 4:2, and Obadiah 11)

R. H. Charles spoke of the Day of Yahweh as follows: "This conception is related to the people as a whole, and not to the individual. It means essentially the day on which Yahweh manifests Himself in victory over his foes" (1913: 86–87). It is not surprising therefore that Charles included Nahum in his discussion of the Day of Yahweh, though it seems he is the only scholar who has done so.

The motifs of the Day of Yahweh appear in Nahum, for that "day" was "a day of judgment," when Yahweh punished the guilty because Yahweh as Divine King was also Judge Supreme. The day was also a "day of victory" on which Yahweh asserted his kingship and lordship over creation. If J. Day, after his recent assessment of the Ugaritic and OT evidence, is correct in his view that "the motif of Yahweh's Kingship, and with it the *Chaoskampf* … had its *Sitz im Leben* in the Feast of Tabernacles at New Year's eve" (1985: 21), then perhaps some of the work of earlier scholars like P. Humbert, who associated Nahum with the New Year, deserves more attention. See also DAY OF YAHWEH.

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KEVIN J. CATHCART

**NAIDUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Naidos* (Ναιδος)]. An Israelite layperson, one of the descendants of Addi, who was forced to give up his foreign wife during Ezra's reform (1 Esdr 9:31). It is possible that Naidus is an alternate form of one of the names which occur in Ezra 10:30 Its position in the list is parallel to Maaseiah, not Benaiah as *IDB* 3: 499 and *ISBE* 3: 479 suggest (though Maaseiah appears to be

linguistically parallel to Moossias). On the other hand, it is also possible that this name is drawn from a different list of individuals. Evidence for the latter is indicated by (1) the lack of a name similar in form to Naidus in Ezra 10:30, and (2) the different ancestors named in these two accounts (Addi in 1 Esdr 9:31; Pahath-moab in Ezra 10:30). However, whether Naidus is an alternate form in a parallel account, or whether it is simply drawn from an alternate list of names available to the compiler of 1 Esdras 9, cannot be known for certain.

JOHN KUTSKO

**NAIN** (PLACE) [Gk *Nain* (Ναιν)]. A village or small town mentioned in Luke 7:11 as a *polis.* The crowd bearing the body of a young man exited the "gate" of the city, which implies a city wall, and Jesus raised him from the dead.

The site today is identified with the Muslim town of Nein (M.R. 183226) in the plain of Jezreel on the N slope of the hill of Moreh, N of modern Afula and about 9.5 air miles from Nazareth. Origen of Caesarea knew of the village about A.D. 200 *sel. in Ps.* 88), and it is mentioned as lying in the territory of the tribe of Issachar in one ancient Jewish source (*Gen.Rab.* 98.12). It is mentioned by Eusebius in the 4th century (*Onomast.* 140:3) as "a village, in which he raised the son of the widow from the dead. And now it is to the south of Tabor at the twelfth mile from En-Dor." Jerome (141:5) corrects Eusebius to read "two miles from Tabor near Aendor." Jerome was aware that there was a church at Nain in his day, but he did not visit it (*Ep* 46:12; 108:13). Usually commentators conclude that Nain lay off the main road, which accounts for why Jerome stayed away. Egeria, the 4th-century Spanish pilgrim, visited a church at Nain a generation later which was built from, or upon, the house of the widow whose son was raised. She also saw the tomb where he was to be laid (Peter the Deacon P1:4). It is possible that this was a house-church like the "House of St. Peter" at Capernaum. Its situation off the main road may account for the lack of references in the Christian pilgrim literature from Egeria until Eutychius of Alexandria in the 10th century.

A survey by the University of South Florida in 1982 confirmed that the topography apparently includes a ruined and eroded circular wall around the city, completely covered with soil and debris, which would have required a gate as in Luke 7:11 On the NW side of the city is a spring with ancient cut stones and fragments of Roman sarcophagi scattered about. A basin 2.0 × 1.5 m collects the slow-moving water. A cemetery of rock-cut tombs is found on the E side of the village. An intact sarcophagus from the cemetery rests beside the modern church. A small edifice described as early as 1598 as "a building like a small palace" lies in ruins N of the village and about 100 m from the spring. It resembles 13th- or 14th-century structures and is known locally as "the place of the Lord," apparently a mosque.

JAMES F. STRANGE

**NAIOTH** (PLACE) [Heb *nāyôt* (נָיוֹת)]. The place to which David fled from Saul, having escaped with the help of Michal, his wife and Saul's daughter. David fled to Ramah where Samuel the prophet was, and the two of them dwelt in Naioth (1 Sam 18:18). From here David fled again and later met Saul's son Jonathan in 1 Sam 20:1ff. It was to Naioth that Saul pursued David, first sending messengers and later going himself. In each case the pursuers were overcome with prophetic behavior, most likely some form of ecstatic behavior common to prophecy.

This is the second episode which is said to explain the saying "Is Saul also among the prophets?" The other is 1 Sam 10:12 which concludes the story of Saul's receiving ecstatic gifts as part of his royal commissioning (1 Sam 10:1–13). Because of this duplication of stories about Saul's ecstatic behavior and because Saul is said at an earlier point to have never seen Samuel again (1 Sam 15:35), the episode of Saul pursuing David to Ramah (where Samuel was residing) and there exhibiting prophetic behavior is thought to be secondary to the original account of David's rise to power (see the discussion in McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 330f.).

Of greater importance in discussing the place Naioth itself is the question of the meaning of the word. As our preliminary definition indicates, Naioth is said to be "in Ramah" (1 Sam 19:19, 22, and 23

[twice]). In addition, Saul's messengers are sent to Ramah, not to Naioth (1 Sam 19:22). Because of this, early scholars tended to identify Naioth as a locality within Ramah (Driver *NHT*, 159). Another view is based on the alternate spelling given in the MT The text has the consonants in the order *nwyt* while the marginal note (the *qere*) suggests that *nywt* is to be preferred. The RSV follows this suggestion in rendering the place as "Naioth." Following the Aramaic translation of the OT, the Targum, Morton (*IDB* 3: 500) and others (see the comments in *NHT*, 158–59) propose understanding the name to refer to a "house of instruction"—a prophetic school within Ramah. Morton (*IDB* 3: 500) cites 2 Kgs 6:1–7 as evidence for this type of prophetic school. More recent study has given some nuance to this suggestion. A. Malamat (1962: 146) notes in texts from Mari an Akkadian term for "encampment" or pasture settlement (*nāwum*) which has several related words in Hebrew, one of which is *nāyôt.* Malamat (1962: 146) thinks it likely that these kinds of settlements on the outskirts of a town housed prophetic fraternities. McCarter (*1 Samuel* AB, 328) follows Malamat on this and accordingly translates "the camps" for *nāyôt* where it occurs. He cites Jer 33:12 (which contains the related term *nĕwēh,* "habitations") as an example of shepherds dwelling in these types of settlements.

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JEFFRIES M. HAMILTON

**NAME** See FAMILY.

**NAMES, CITY** See CITY NAMES; TOPONYMS AND TOPONYMY.

**NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT** The God of Israel could be referred to by a number of names, titles, and epithets in the text of the Hebrew Bible. These are significant as indicators of developments in the course of Israel's religious history and as expressions of concepts of the divine held by the ancient Israelites.

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A. Function of the Name
B. The Divine Name Yahweh
C. Non-Yahwistic Divine Names and Titles
    1. El (Divinity)
    2. El-Elyôn (God Most High)
    3. El-ʿOlām (Everlasting God)
    4. Shaddai (Almighty)
    5. AbéÆr (Mighty One)
    6. Paḥad (Fear)
    7. Elohîm (God)
    8. Baal
    9. AdoÆn/AdoÆnai (Lord)
    10. Ṣebaoth (Hosts)
    11. Conclusion
D. Foreign Divine Names
E. Attenuation of the Divine Name
    1. Cosmopolitan Thinking
    2. Scrupulous Thinking
F. From Immanence to Transcendance

———

**A. Function of the Name**

One should be careful not to interpret OT data related to the theme of the "name of God" simply in the light of our modern conceptions of person, personality, existence, or identity. In doing so, one would run the risk of missing the appropriate approach to the essential dimensions of the biblical faith of ancient Israel. Moreover, OT discourse concerning the "names of God" should always be perceived in its twofold

context: In respect to the name of God, Israel did not think in any fundamentally different way than in respect to *human* personal names; Israel's thinking about the "name of God" was carried out in the larger context of the ancient Near Eastern world and its divinities.

The "name" is a "distinguishing mark"; seen in an etymological perspective this is true for the common Semitic word *šumu* and consequently for the Hebrew word *šēm,* "name" (KB, 983; Grether 1934: 1). A "distinguishing mark" makes it possible to differentiate, to structure, and to order. In this respect "to name" or "to designate" belongs to the ordering of creation; thus primordial time preceded naming in the Babylonian epic of creation *Enūma elisû* (1.1 [*ANET*, 60] "when on high the heaven had not been named …, when no gods whatever had been brought into being, uncalled by name …"). The bestowal of names initiates the human ordering of creation in Gen 2:19 ("so out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field … and brought them to the man to see what he would call them; and whatever the man called every living creature, that was its name"). This association of the act of naming with creation underlines the fact that the name represents something wholesome and salutary; the knowledge of the name opens up specific human dimensions for communication and for fellowship. The one who knows the name of a god or a human can appeal to them. The knowledge of the name can thereby have effective power. Magic and incantations attempt to use this knowledge through techniques which exploit the influence of the name. Thereby free communication degenerates into a manipulative attempt to dominate. Even when such attempts appear to be effective, they are ultimately completely mistaken because they are based on a simplistic and false identification of the person (whether divine or human) with the "distinguishing mark" (name). Or, to express it in a modern way, they are based on an erroneous equation of existence and identity.

The "distinguishing mark" (name) is not quite identical with what is designated; this little difference allows one to think and to hope that the name will endure. This hope also indicates an aspect of the salutary significance of the name: it juxtaposes the experience of human transience with hope of durability. The durability of the "name" can be manifest in the succession of generations ("name" = son: Deut 25:7; 2 Sam 14:7; Ruth 4:5, 10), or owing to a particular exploit ("name" = fame: "let us make an name for ourselves" Gen 11:4; cf. 2 Sam 8:13).

In the sphere of the "name of God" this little difference between the "distinguishing mark" (name) and what is designated can be of considerable theological significance whenever one attempts to express at the same time God's transcendence (his heavenly existence) and his immanence (his presence appealed to in the temple celebration). This thought is particularly conspicuous in Solomon's prayer for the dedication of the temple (1 Kgs 8:27–30). However, there are reasons to assume that similar features could be found in other ancient Near Eastern cultures. The difference between the divinity and its presence in the cult through the name could indeed occasionally lead to a hypostatization of the name as an independent divine figure, e.g., in the Babylonian divine name Isûum and in the Aramaic divine name Asûima (cf. 2 Kgs 17:30 [Amos 8:14]). Both of these names may be a form of the common Semitic word *šumu/šēm,* "name," with a prosthetic *ʾalep* (Grimme 1912: 14–15; bibliography in Barstad 1984: 167–70 and 175–77; somewhat differently Roberts 1972: 40–41). If the Babylonian divinity Isûum is represented as a "dieu bifront" (*RLA* 5: 213–14; Lipiński 1987: 152; cf. *ANEP*, 693; Furlani 1935: 136–56), then this representation corresponds to the cultic function of the "name of God" mediating between the world of human pronounceability of God and his unpronounceable heavenly existence.

**B. The Divine Name Yahweh**

In Israel of the biblical tradition only one name of God was cultically appealed to: Yahweh (Heb *yhwh*). See also YAHWEH (DEITY). When one speaks of Yahweh one also speaks of Israel. The oldest texts of the OT start from this relationship between Yahweh and his people Israel, so e.g., in the Song of Deborah (one of the oldest [poetical] texts) after the mention of the name of Yahweh the epithet "God of Israel" follows unpretentiously (Judg 5:5; cf. v 3). In fact "Yahweh, the God of Israel" represents one of the most frequent expressions of OT times. What disappears in the course of time is the self-evidence of the appeal to the name of Yahweh. The loss of this obviousness of a living relationship with God is compensated by an explicit confession of faith.

A case example of one such confession is the book of Deuteronomy, especially in its older form, which comprised chaps. 6–26 It begins in a pointed way by mentioning the name of Yahweh ("Yahweh our God is one Yahweh" [6:4]), and concludes in 26:16–19 with a mutual declaration of a covenant between "Yahweh, the God of Israel" and "Israel, Yahweh's people." In the book of Deuteronomy, the old expression "Yahweh, the God of Israel," conditioned by the literary form of Moses' farewell address to the gathered people, was made personal ("Yahweh, your God") and in this form repeated with an almost tiresome frequency. However, this very strongly emphasized confession of the name of Yahweh and his relationship to Israel is not simply a literary reflexion of the piety of a (small) "Yahweh Alone Party" (Smith 1971: 33; Lang 1983: 13–59). Rather, one should understand in the light of the larger political, cultic, and religious awakening of the time of Josiah (639–609 B.C. [2 Kgs 22–23]). That the name of Yahweh became a constitutive part of the "Josianic reformation" can be seen from the sudden increase in theophoric names with a Yahwistic component in the generation. The epigraphic evidence which archaeology has put at our disposal is quite unequivocal (Rose 1975: 171–82).

A "confessional situation" is in most cases also a "struggle situation." In a confession of the name of Yahweh it is not only a matter of finding one's security and identity. Rather, in the same time a process of demarcation takes place with respect to those who think differently concerning Yahweh's name and concerning its invocation in the cult. The inner Israelite differentiation of the Josianic reform is manifest, e.g., in the brutal action against the cultic sites in Bethel (2 Kgs 23:15–20), an ancient Yahweh sanctuary (cf. Gen 28:10–22), which had served as a royal state sanctuary (1 Kgs 12:26–33), during the time of the N kingdom (926–722 B.C.). The difference of the confession of faith in Yahweh of the N kingdom when compared with the confession of the Josianic reform can also be seen in the light of the difference in use of divine names; here again one can have recourse to epigraphic evidence, in particular to the Aramaic texts from Elephantine. See ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI.

The documents from this colony show that Elephantine Jews built a Yahweh temple (which lasted until 410 B.C.). The spelling of the divine name *yhw* (with three consonants) found in the papyri presumably represents a form older than biblical *yhwh* (Rose 1978: 16–30). But these texts show combinations of the name of Yahweh which cannot be reconciled with what the biblical texts establish as a norm of the faith in Yahweh: e.g., *ʿntyhw* "Anath-Yahwē" (*CAP* 44.3). (On the divinity *ʾšmbytʾl* [*CAP* 22.124], see BETHEL [DEITY]).

For the historical Israel of the royal period one should assume a diversity of confessional expressions of the faith in Yahweh. To these the book of Deuteronomy opposes as a program and a creed its emphasis on the "one Yahweh!" (6:4) and one central sanctuary chosen by Yahweh (12:5, 11, 13, 14, 18, 21, 26). The old "covenant" relationship between Yahweh and Israel (26:16–19) would thus be realized in a comprehensive way and with ultimate authority only at the one central sanctuary: exclusively in the Jerusalem temple. The Deuteronomic creed and the Josianic reform complement each other.

In the subsequent biblical discussion concerning the "localization" of the "covenant"-relationship, the special name of Yahweh plays a part, but the biblical texts also offer some fundamental reflections concerning the function of the name of God. With the older, shorter form ("the place which Yahweh shall choose" [e.g., Deut 12:14, 18]), one is content to emphasize the choosing of a central sanctuary; the younger, longer form specifies the function of this choosing ("the place which Yahweh shall choose to cause his name to dwell there" [e.g., Deut 12:11], or "the place which Yahweh shall choose to put his name there" [e.g., Deut 12:5, 21]). One could almost speak of a "theology of the name" (von Rad 1947:25–30; Mettinger 1982: 52–66; 123–32). The presence of the divine name at the cult site serves to emphasize the legitimacy of the appeal to God as it was carried out in the cult; the way and the manner in which the name of Yahweh is appealed to in the central sanctuary (= Jerusalem) represents the only legitimate form which corresponds to the will of God, Yahweh having deposited his name there. Only there (and not, e.g., in Bethel) could one be sure that the name invoked by the priest would be identical with the one which God himself revealed. The legitimacy of the entire cultic service (the word and the sacrifice) depends on the legitimization of the name of God.

The "theology of the name" is then also appropriate in order to facilitate a theological reflection beyond the cultic sphere as it opens the way for a distinction between the earthly "dwelling of the name of God" and the heavenly dwelling of God. This amounts to a theological differentiation between the immanence and transcendence of God.

The old formulaic relationship between Israel and the name of Yahweh ("Yahweh, the God of Israel") did not find an emphasis only in an inner Israelite differentiation, but could also serve as a negation of everything which stood outside of this relationship. What is not comprised by the name of Yahweh should have no justification to exist in Israel. This demarcation (or delimitation towards the outside) finds its radical expression in the first commandment ("Thou shalt have no other god before me [lit., in front of my face, i.e., vis-à-vis the symbol of my cultic presence"]). Where one appeals to the name of Yahweh any other divine presence has to be eliminated (e.g., Deut 12:2–3: "… you shall destroy their name out of that place"). The divine name of Yahweh does not tolerate any foreign divine name.

In this way in the Josianic reform and in the Deuteronomic creed the name of Yahweh became the focal point for the representation of what faith in God should mean for Israel. In the final analysis, the book of Deuteronomy is nothing else but a sermonic commentary on the old designation "Yahweh, the God of Israel." The name of the people, *Yiśrā˒ēl,* is itself formed with another theophoric element: "El." This incongruity between the name of God and the name of the people allows one to conclude that the "Yahweh-Israel" relationship is a result of a historical development which should not be seen independently from the formation of the national and political entity called "Israel."

In addressing the question of the relationship between "Yahweh" and "El," historical and philological research attempts to clarify the epoch *before* the formation of the biblical tradition. Indeed the biblical tradition itself preserved a memory of the fact that the relationship "Yahweh-Israel" is not primordial, but arose in the course of history, whether it is related to the basic experience of the liberation from Egypt ("I am Yahweh thy God from the land of Egypt" [Hos 12:10—Eng12:9]), or to the covenant and the Sinai revelation (e.g., Exod 24:8), or to a covenant declaration in the land of Moab (Deut 26:18), or to the completion of the conquest (Joshua 24). The biblical tradition has equally preserved a memory that within the tribes which would later form the people of Israel, other divinities were also worshipped (Josh 24:15: "Choose you this day whom you will serve, whether the gods which your fathers served in the region beyond the river …, but as for me and my house, we will serve Yahweh"; cf. v 23: "Then put away the foreign gods which are among you, and incline your heart to Yahweh"). Since the OT intends to be a document of the faith of *Israel*, the possibility of writing the *pre*-Israelite history of the name of Yahweh in the time of the tribes remains extremely limited. One of the most popular theories on the origin of the name of Yahweh is the Qenite or the Midianite hypothesis: Yahweh was presumably worshipped by these nomadic tribes in the Southern Palestine (cf. e.g., the narrative tradition of Moses' Midianite [or Qenite] father-in-law [Exod 2:16; 3:1; Judg 1:16; 4:11; etc.; cf. the discussion in Kinyongo 1970:7–19]). One thing is certain: Yahweh does not belong to the autochthonous divinities worshipped in Canaan.

**C. Non-Yahwistic Divine Names and Titles**

The encounter between the nomadic or half-nomadic migrant groups and the sedentary populations in the region of the arable land out of the convergence of which Israel arose is reflected in the titles and attributes of the biblical god.

**1. El (Divinity).** One of the oldest such encounters and also the most unproblematic was the one which related faith in Yahweh with the worship of El. According to Gen 33:20, Jacob had built an altar in Shechem and called it "El-Elohe-Israel"; the author of this text assumes an identity of this "El" with Yahweh. Actually, "El" is not a divine name but a common Semitic appellative for the "divinity" (see *TDOT* 1: 242–61). In order to make appeals to the divinity, this "El" required some concrete expression either by being related to a locality (e.g., "El-Bethel," Gen 35:7), or by adding an epithet (e.g., "El of the covenant" [El-BeréÆt], Judg 9:46; El-Roi, Gen 16:13; cf. 22:14). For many worshipping communities with a polytheistic religious structure, "El" could also become a personal divine figure (e.g., the Aramaic inscriptions of Panammuwa [Zincirli; 8th century B.C.] mention "El" alongside the divinities Hadad, Resûef, Rākib-el, S²amaš; *KAI* 214 and 215). As a whole the "international" character of the god "El" and

the original appellative function of the name "El" have occasioned the circumstance that this title may refer to the highest god (god-king), to the founding god (*Göttervater*), or to the god-creator. "El" appears to have this function and form in the texts from Ugarit-Ras Shamra, reflecting an expression of the Canaanite religion at the end of the 2d millennium B.C., but also in the biblical texts like e.g., Genesis 14, where Melchizedek is designated as "the king of Salem" and "the priest of El-Elyôn [RSV: "God Most High"], creator of heaven and earth" (vv 18 and 22).

**2. El-Elyôn (God Most High).** In the biblical tradition this "El-Elyôn" was naturally identified with Yahweh (Gen 14:22): "I [= Abram] have lifted up my hand unto Yahweh, El-Elyôn, creator of heaven and earth." This identification is facilitated by the fact that both elements of the divine name El-Elyôn can be reduced to the function of the attributes: "the divinity, the most high." The conversion into an epithet of Yahweh is, of course, only the last phase of a long process. In the poetic language which stands even closer to the Canaanite worldview, Deut 32:8–9, speaks of "Elyôn" (as the creator and sustainer) who attributes to different nations a portion of the inhabitable land and assigns a nation to a god (to a divine being, "son of El" [according to the original form of the text; cf. LXX, Qumran]). Then Yahweh had equally acquired "his people as his portion." This text seems to presuppose an even earlier differentiation between the "supernational" creator-god ("Elyôn") and Israel's national god Yahweh (cf. Ps 82:1, 6).

Genesis 14 is the only text in the OT where the terms "El" and "Elyôn" are directly connected ("El-Elyôn"). However, there are numerous instances where "El" and "Elyôn" are mentioned in parallelism, e.g., Ps 73:11 ("and they say, 'How can El know? Is there knowledge in Elyôn?' "); Ps 107:11 ("for they had rebelled against the words of El, and spurned the counsel of Elyôn"). Salem in Genesis 14 is to be identified with Jerusalem (cf. Ps 76:3: Salem = Zion), which supports the assumption that the adoration of El-Elyôn was transmitted to the Israelite tribes by the intermediary of this Canaanite city-state. It would have been transmitted first to the Benjaminites who settled north of Jerusalem (cf. the conjecture "Elyôn" in the blessing of the tribe of Benjamin, Deut 33:12 [Helck 1984:523–29]), and then after David's conquest of Jerusalem to other groups of the young kingdom (The Davidic connection arises from reading the conjectured "Elyôn" in the last words of David, 2 Sam 23:1: "the oracle of the man who was named by Elyôn"; cf. 1 Sam 2:10 [*HALAT*, 780]). With David and Solomon in the royal (residential) city of Jerusalem, the official and national cult was associated with the name of Yahweh, whereby pre-Israelite traditions were further transmitted and extensively absorbed. In many poetic texts Yahweh is placed in parallelism with Elyôn (e.g., 2 Sam 22:14 = Ps 18:14; Ps 21:8); the last clear identification is expressed in Ps 47:2: "Yahweh-Elyôn is terrible, a great king over all the earth."

With the appropriation of the epithet " (El-)Elyôn" the Yahweh worship, which is of nomadic provenance, has become enriched with the dimensions of world creation and the royalty.

**3. El-ʿOlām (Everlasting God).** Gen 21:33 attests this divine epithet for the cultic worship in Beer-sheba but identifies this divinity "El-ʿolām" quite naturally with Yahweh (cf. Jenni 1952–53: 1–5). Numerous ANE texts show that this epithet is not specific to the biblical tradition. Like "El-Elyôn" this epithet appears regularly in contexts in which the *royal* dimensions of the divinity are emphasized. *ʿolām* designates the "fullness" (totality) of the experience of time and space. With this concept one attempts to place the concrete and limited human experience into the largest possible frame. Within the world of human experience in the ancient Near East, this "transcendence" was extensively personalized and symbolized in the king. In Israel too, one wished this *ʿōlām* to the king: "May my lord King David live for ever [*ʿōlām*]!" (1 Kgs 1:31). In respect to the Davidic dynasty developed a term designating an "*ʿôlām* covenant" (cf. 1 Sam 20:42; 2 Sam 7:13, 16). The *ʿôlām* character of the king points ultimately to the *ʿôlām-quality* of god, of which numerous biblical and extrabiblical texts speak. In these texts one cannot always clearly determine whether *ʿōlām* emphasizes mainly the specificity of god (or of gods respectively) or whether *ʿōlām* functions as an epithet or even as a proper name (as in El-ʿolām Gen 21:33). In Ps 75:10, the expression "the God of Jacob" stands in parallelism with *ʿōlām:* "I will praise *ʿŌlām* (or: "for ever"), I will sing praises to the God of Jacob."

**4. Shaddai (Almighty).** It is somewhat more difficult to determine exactly the facts about the title "El-Shaddai." See ALMIGHTY. Only the final result in the process of appropriation, its identification with

Yahweh, can be clearly ascertained. Exod 6:3 offers an etiology: "I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, as El-Shaddai ('God Almighty'), but by my name Yahweh I was not known to them." All other aspects of the title, its origin (Hebron? [cf. Alt 1929:12–13 and 54–62]) its history, its function (name or attribute?), even its etymology (cf. Koch 1976:308, 328) and its meaning still remain uncertain. (The meaning "Almighty" is based on the LXXand the Vg and should be seen as a free rendering of the Heb term which had become obscure.) Besides exilic texts which mention "El-Shaddai" (e.g., Exod 6:3 [P] and Ezek 10:5), there are a few more ancient ones like the oracle of Balaam in Num 24:16: "He knows the knowledge of Elyôn, he sees the vision of Shaddai" (cf. v 4). The conspicuous feature in this text is the parallelism between Elyôn and Shaddai (as in Ps 91:1). One could add to this the mention of El and Shaddai in the blessing of Jacob (Gen 49:25: "By El, thy father, who shall help thee; by Shaddai, who shall bless thee …").

In the case of El-Shaddai as well, philological-historical research leads us again to the sphere of the Canaanite religion. The *sûdyn* "Shaddayin" in the Aram inscription from Deir ʿAlla were presumably divine beings of uncertain character. See DEIR ʿALLA (TEXTS). What is theologically significant, however, is to find out in what manner this tradition has been used for the expression of faith in Yahweh. The key text, Exod 6:3, uses an ancient epithet (which no longer had any cultic usage) to contrast the religion of the patriarchs with the Yahweh religion in such a way that the period of the patriarchs should not be lost for the history of Israel's faith. The faith of the patriarchs reflects genuine experiences of God, for the true God had "appeared" to them (Heb pass. "had been seen"), although this was more an intuitive experience than empirical knowledge ("I was not known to them"); full fellowship with God is possible only where "my name Yahweh" is known.

This late (exilic or postexilic) theological conception of the "Priestly writing" remains essentially in line with the old traditional associations of the name of Yahweh: (1) The name Yahweh is related to *Israel*: it is only to Israel that "I am Yahweh" is emphatically addressed (Exod 6:6: "Say to the people of Israel, 'I am Yahweh …' "; v 8: "I will bring you into the land: I am Yahweh"). (2) The *cultic* dimension of the name is evident in the Priestly supposition that before the revelation of the true name of God, Yahweh, no legitimate offerings are conceivable; for the Priestly writing, the time of the patriarchs is a period without cultic offerings. (3) The name of Yahweh was associated with the event of the liberation from Egypt (Exod 6:7: "I am Yahweh your God, who brings you out from under the burden of the Egyptians"); all the rest is prehistory of Israel and, in a sense, the prehistory of Yahweh. For this "prehistory" narrated in the book of Genesis, the Priestly author does not use the divine name Yahweh but prefers the expression "Shaddai" (or "Elohîm").

**5. Abîr (Mighty One).** Here, too, one deals with an ancient divine epithet, which in the OT text appears particularly in connection with the expression *ʾăbîr yaʿăqōb* (RSV: "the Mighty One of Jacob"): Gen 49:24; Isa 49:26; 60:16; Ps 132:2, 5 The Hebrew word *ʾăbîr*, however, is not used only for God but also for humans and for animals. The basic etymological meaning of this word (in Hebrew and other Semitic languages) is "might" or "strength." For humans the term *ʾăbîr* serves to designate war heroes (e.g., in Ps 76:5, *ʾăbîr* stands in parallelism with "men of might"), and for animals (e.g., choice stallions or steeds [Judg 5:22; Jer 8:16; 47:3; 50:11]). The quality designated by *ʾăbîr* is perceived to be particularly embodied in the strength of a bull; in the texts from Ugarit-Ras Shamra, *ʾibr* means "bull" (*UT* 3, no. 39); also in biblical texts, bulls can be designated with the term *ʾăbîr* (Isa 34:7; Pss 22:12; 50:13).

Jeroboam I (933–911 B.C.E.) the founder of the first Israelite dynasty, did not seek to introduce any new divinity into Israel when he erected the bull figures in Dan and in Bethel (1 Kgs 12:26–30); rather, his act is to be understood as an attempt to give expression to an old N Israelite tradition (as reflected, e.g., in the old divine epithet "ʾAbîr of Jacob" [cf. Gen 49:24 in the blessing of Joseph]) in the figure of an impressive cultic object (Weippert 1961: 93–117). This representation of the God of Israel could be confused with that of the Canaanite god Baal; consequently, as the polemical demarcation against Baal began, the problem arose, on the one hand, to uphold the old epithet "ʾAbîr of Jacob," and on the other hand, to dissociate the strength *(ʾăbîr)* of a bull from Yahweh, the God of Israel. The Masoretic copyists had recourse to an artifice by introducing a *dāgeš* in the letter *bet* and thus distinguished between two

words: *ʾăbîr* was reserved for the divine epithet "ʾAbîr of Jacob" (or Israel, respectively), while all other occurrences of the term were written *ʾabbîr*.

This differentiation, however, does not resolve all the problems. In Ps 78:25, the manna is called "the bread of the *ʾabbîrîm"*. Grammatically the plural *(-îm)* is used; nevertheless, one may question whether it is not an instance of a plural of "majesty" (or of "absolutization") which is often employed in connection with God. The context in Psalm 78 speaks of *God:* Yahweh is "Elyôn" (v 17) and he is equally the *ʾăbîr* par excellence; the Revised Version of 1927 translates the grammatical plural as singular, which is correct in respect to its meaning: "man did eat the bread of the mighty." In the gift of the manna the separation between divine and human existence was overcome. The LXX did not understand this divine epithet any longer and rendered it with a plural: "bread of the angels" (cf. RSV).

**6. Paḥad (Fear).** As in the case of *ʾăbîr,* the term *paḥad* represents a divine epithet which is mentioned in connection with the patriarchs: Gen 31:42, 53b ("Terror/Dread of Isaac"). See also FEAR OF ISAAC. Alt (1929/1953: 24–25) had seen in this epithet a divine name, this has been questioned by other scholars (*CMHE*, 4; Koch, 1980). The meaning of *paḥad* is also debated (Albright proposed "kinsman of Isaac" [*FSAC*, 188–89]; rejected by Hillers 1972); the understanding of *paḥad* as "terror" should be given preference since the term has frequently this meaning in the OT Many occasions of fright provoked by the encounter with the numinous are explicitly related to God: e.g., 1 Sam 11:7 speaks of "*paḥad* Yahweh" (= the dread which Yahweh causes to fall upon the enemies of Israel). As the might of the "*ʾAbîr* of Jacob" represents an element of protection and of security for the community which identifies itself as belonging to "Jacob," so the terror-spreading numinous effect of "Isaac's *Paḥad*" represents a warranty of an effective protection for this community, which is comprised under the name of "Isaac."

One can trace a definite dissemination of this divine epithet "Paḥad" in the ANE (Lemaire 1985: 500–1). Different divinities were ascribed the capacity of spreading a numinous dread. In the context of OT texts this ancient divine epithet allows the biblical author to talk of the (tribal) prehistory of Israel and of the (numinous) prehistory of Yahweh without using specific divine *names.*

***7. Elohîm (God).*** "Elohîm" belongs to the linguistic root "El" (god); "El" and "Elohîm" can be understood as parallel and interchangeable terms (e.g., "Sons of El" [Ps 29:1; 89:7] and "Sons of Elohîm [Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7]). The form "El" is found preponderantly in older (or archaizing) texts in the OT The origin and function of the medial "*h*" is debated in philological research. Texts from Ugarit-Ras Shamra also show a plural with the medial "*h*" as a particular by-form. However, its main area of distribution is the Aramaic-speaking world. Beginning with the 8th century B.C., Aramaic developed increasingly as the international language of the ANE, and its progressive influence on Israel is beyond doubt (the most recent books of the OT [e.g., Daniel] contain chapters written in Aramaic). The assumption of such an extremely strong influence of the Aramaic language could explain the weighty presence of the term "Elohîm" in the biblical texts: late (montheistic) Israel had found in Elohîm a term to express that the numinous concept which Aramaic designated with "Elohîm" as international and unspecific, was nothing else but the rudimentary form of knowledge of the one and true God, which had been given only to Israel with the name of Yahweh (*TDOT* 1: 267–84).

Grammatically the form "Elohîm" contains the plural ending *-îm.* The function of "Elohîm" as a true plural ("gods") is reflected in numerous biblical texts (e.g., Exod 12:12: "all the gods of Egypt"). In this function "Elohîm" can be preceded by a definite article ("the gods"; e.g., Exod 18:11: "now I know that Yahweh is greater than all the gods"). In Heb "Elohîm" can be accompanied by plural adjectives (e.g., very frequently in Deuteronomy: "other gods") and construed with plural verbal forms (e.g., Ps 97:7: "all gods bow down before him [Yahweh]").

The striking feature of the OT texts lies in the use of this plural form "Elohîm" in order to designate the one God of Israel. One could think of a "plural of majesty"; however, it is most probable that this plural should be understood in the sense of an intensification and eventually as an absolutization: "God of gods," "the highest God," "quintessence of all divine powers," "the only God who represents the divine in a comprehensive and absolute way." In this function the term "Elohîm" can stand as a surrogate for the name of the biblical God; e.g., Gen 1:1 (P): "In the beginning Elohîm created the heaven and the earth."

In this sense is the term "Elohîm" used in a systematic way instead of the divine name "Yahweh" in one part of the Psalter (Psalms 42–83); therefore in the scholarly literature this part is called the "Elohistic Psalter (note the two almost identical Psalms 14 [with "Yahweh"] and 53 [with "Elohîm"]).

When in the OT texts the form "Elohîm" is used instead of "Yahweh" in this or similar ways, this mirrors different types of theological reflection, in an attempt to place one's own tradition of faith and of the name of God in a context of an increasing challenge manifest through different religions and other divine names. The differentiation in the Priestly writing between "Elohîm" (= pre- [and extra-?] Israelite) and "Yahweh" (= genuinely Israelite) is only one attempt, in the crisis of Israel's dispersion among the nations (in the time of the Babylonian exile), to transform the faith in one primarily national Yahweh into a new form which tries in a conscious and an increased manner to incorporate into one's own tradition the experience of the supranational and international.

Besides the confrontation with the religions of the surrounding world, in the exilic period there arises an inner Israelite dialogue concerning the way one should deal with the traditions. What now appears as a Priestly layer on the Pentateuch must have once been an independent work, which attempted to offer an alternative to the great Deuteronomistic-Yahwistic historical work (Rose 1981: 320–28; Van Seters 1983:323). What is called the "Yahwist source" (J) in the Pentateuch by exegetes is in fact distinguished by the fact that (in contrast to the Priestly writing [P]), it employs the divine name "Yahweh" from the beginning and presupposes cultic appeal to the name of Yahweh already for the beginning of human history; cf. Gen 4:26: "To Seth [= the third son of Adam and Eve] also a son was born, and he called his name Enosh [=humanity]. At that time men began to call upon the name of Yahweh." For the theologian "J" (the Yahwist), to invoke the name of Yahweh is not an exclusive right of Israel. Rather, access to this God and to his name is in principle open to all of humanity ("Enosh"). The texts of this author are characterized by a truly extraordinary, but presumably programmatic juxtaposition or even blending of "Yahweh-Elohîm" (in the narrative of creation Gen 2:4b–3:24), but also by the integration of the "Elohistic" material ("E"; e.g., Genesis 20) in his narrative flow, stamped throughout with the name of "Yahweh." The constant interchange between "Yahweh" and "Elohîm" in his story of Joseph (Genesis 37–50) and in his story of Balaam (Numbers 22–24) must appear quite confusing. Yahweh, the God of Israel, is "Elohîm."

What interests the theologian "J" in the God of Israel is not his particularity, which expresses itself in an individual name, but the manifest realization of his function: he accomplishes what one expects of a god (*Elohîm*). His name "Yahweh" does not express anything else but a definition of a true and helpful existence: the author of Exod 3:14 understood "Yhwh" etymologically as "I am that I am." The divine name "YHWH" is thus derived from the Semitic verb *hyy/hwy* "to be" in the sense of a helpful and effective being ("*Da-Sein*": support, manifestation, event [von Soden 1966]; cf. somewhat differently Albright 1924: 370–78; *FSAC*, 15–16: "he causes to be, he creates"; cf. Freedman 1960; *TDOT*). The powerful effectiveness which one expects from every divinity (cf. the etymology of *El/Elohîm*, is realized only by Yahweh as the unique true *Elohîm*. In this way the (particular) name of Yahweh can step behind the (universal) Yahweh function (= *Elohîm*). Vis-à-vis this universalistic ("humanistic") interpretation of the "J" theologian, the theology of the Priestly writing attempts to teach faith in Yahweh in a quite pointed way starting from the particularistic specificity of Israel. Both authors employ the term "Elohîm" virtually as another name for Yahweh; each, however, with a very different theological purpose.

**8. Baal.** While the largest spheres of the pre- and extra-Israelite *El*/*Elohîm* tradition could have been integrated into the faith in Yahweh, the process of confrontation between Israel and the Canaanite Baal tradition was on the whole more complicated.

Nevertheless, the starting point is not essentially different insofar as the term *baʿal* did not originally represent a specific divine name but rather an appellative "lord, owner, possessor," which could be used entirely outside the religious language and without a reference to a particular divinity (*TDOT* 2: 181–200). Thus every married man is a *baʿal* (possessor, owner) of his wife (e.g., Gen 20:3; Exod 21:3, 22, etc.), every family leader was a *baʿal* of his family ("house"); in the same way one could be a *baʿal* of a field or

of a herd of cattle. The sphere over which one exercises one's possession is defined by the genitive (*baʿal* of … ). See also BAAL (DEITY).

In a similar way the sphere over which the ancient Near Eastern divinities exercised their lordship is defined; the biblical texts contain a considerable number of such genitival constructions with the element *baʿal,* e.g., "Baal-Peor" (Num 25:3, 5; Deut 4:3; Ps 106:28) is the god who is the owner (*baʿal*) of the sanctuary on Mount Peor in Transjordan (Num 23:28). The divine epithet *baʿal* is attested in the entire Semitic-speaking world and was attributed to a variety of gods. In the West Semitic sphere (Syro-Palestine) a particular development occured. From the middle of the 2d millenium B.C. the original epithet was oriented more and more to function as a divine name: first of all, the name was reserved for a clearly defined type of divinity (the storm god); the individual names (e.g., Hadad) of originally different gods of this type receded into the background, so that eventually the term *baʿal* could assume the function of a divine name.

In the West Semitic sphere this development took place with a varied rapidity: in the areas strongly exposed to international exchange and trade (e.g., Ugarit-Ras Shamra) it certainly occurred much faster than in the hill areas of Samaria and Judah. The use of a widely disseminated divine epithet allowed the cities and regions involved in the exchange to emphasize even more strongly their common features as over against their particularistic traditions with their isolating effect. With this "international" character Baal is comparable to "El"; contrary to "El," however, the term *baʿal* stresses much more the dynamic element, which on the one hand, is due to its heritage from storm god, and on the other hand, to the meaning of the word *baʿal:* the rule or dominion implied must be constantly and actively achieved, exercised and demonstrated.

The Israelite tribes which came into contact with Canaanite Baal worship must have felt or even hailed the affinity between their similarly immensely dynamic, and downright warlike Yahweh tradition (e.g., Exod 17:16: "A hand upon the banner of Yahweh! Yahweh will have war with Amalek from generation to generation!") and the Canaanite Baal. In any case, there are a number of indications showing that the Israelites as well began to worship their god Yahweh using the epithet *baʿal,* which the Canaanites applied to the most dynamic god in their tradition. King Saul named one of his sons "Ishbaal" (= "man of the lord"); by doing this he certainly did not intend to show reverence to the foreign, Canaanite divinity Baal. Rather, the epithet *baʿal* referred to Yahweh, the God of Israel. This assumption is further corroborated by the list in 1 Sam 14:49, where the three sons of Saul are mentioned. The second son, called ISHVI (Heb *yišwî*) (perhaps "man of Yahweh"), should probably be identified with "Ishbaal." The theophoric elements ḇaʿalʷ and "Yahweh" in the Israelite personal names are interchangeable since Yahweh is "*baʿal*" (lord). The personal name Baalyah in 1 Chr 12:6 is a confessional name meaning "Yah (= Yahweh) is lord [*baʿal*].". That is to say, whatever one characterized with the epithet *baʿal,* it was fully realized by Yahweh (and only by him!); he is the *baʿal* par excellence.

Under these presuppositions of "Yahweh's baalship" it is not surprising that in the OT psalms Yahweh is worshipped with terminology similar to that used of the Canaanite Baal in the epics from Ugarit-Ras Shamra, that is, as the one "who rides on the clouds" (Ps 68:5; 104:3; Deut 33:26), who manifests himself in thunder and storm (e.g., Ps 18:14–15; 77:19). Behind Psalm 29 could be hidden an entire Canaanite hymn to Baal which was transposed into a hymn to Yahweh. This "baalization" of Yahweh should not be understood as if by it the specific Israelite tradition was abandoned; the epithet *baʿal* does not replace the divine name *Yahweh.* Rather, this entire development reflects the natural attempt of a young nation to learn from the cultural experience of older nations. This cultural and religious process of learning had received an enormous impetus from the fact that David had established the capital of his kingdom in the ancient Canaanite-Jebusite city of Jerusalem, and that his son Solomon had erected there the royal palace and the Yahweh temple with the help of Phoenician builders. In doing so the Phoenicians were not just suppliers and workmen; rather, they conceived and erected the temple in Jerusalem as if they were building a Baal temple in their own homeland, and to Solomon this probably appeared suitable.

After the David/Solomon era began a contrary development which saw it as unbefitting to use the epithet *baʿal* for Yahweh. The end of the unity between Israel and Judah (933) and the subsequent feud

between these brother nations led to a significant political weakening which had as its cultural and political consequence the gradual transformation of Palestine into a "backyard" of the Aramaic and Phoenician sphere of influence. King Omri of Israel (886–875 B.C.), himself not of Israelite origin (maybe of Aramaic origin?) initiated a policy of coalition and intermarriage with the royal house of Phoenician Sidon. Through the Sidonian princess Jezebel, Israel came into direct contact with a religion in which the term *baʿal* was not just an epithet but had become the divine name of a Phoenician god. Beginning in the 9th century B.C., the term *baʿal* became for the traditionally oriented worshippers of Yahweh in Israel increasingly the embodiment of everything foreign; therefore, one could no longer address one's own god Yahweh with the honorific title *baʿal* "Yahweh" and "Baal" had become incompatible alternatives; this is portrayed in the striking narrative of Elijah's confrontation with the prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel (1 Kings 18). The book of Hosea as well is stamped with this opposition; the prophet would like to suppress the word *baʿal* in Israel's future worship of Yahweh: "And in that day, says Yahweh, you will call me, 'My husband,' and no longer will you call me, 'My Baal' " (Hos 2:18—Eng2:16). Later writers go even further in the suppression of the name Baal by substituting *bōšet* ("shame"; Jer 3:24; 11:13; Hos 9:10) thus deforming the name Ishbaal into "Ishbosheth" (= "man of shame"; 2 Sam 2:8 [for a different view, see Tsevat 1975:71–81]).

**9. AdoÆn/AdoÆnai (Lord).** While the address "my *baʿal*" ("my lord"/"my master") was banned from the religious language in the worship of Yahweh, another term enjoyed an increased popularity: The Heb word *ʾādôn* (see also ADONAI) appears to have a meaning close to that of "*baʿal*"; both words could be rendered "lord." *ʾādôn* differs from *baʿal* in nuance, in that this term does not necessarily designate a relationship of ownership but rather authority. Its antonym is Heb *ʿebed* "subordinate, servant, slave." The pharaoh made Joseph the "*ʾādôn* (lord) of his house" (Gen 45:8; Ps 105:21), the term *baʿal* ("owner") being inappropriate here. Above all, the king is addressed with the deferential *ʾădônî* "my lord." Insofar as God is represented as a heavenly king he can be spoken of as "*ʾādôn*$^{w}$ and appealed to as "my *ʾādôn*". With reference to God, the form *ʾadônāy* is most frequent; the ending *-āy* is either a personal pronoun on a plural noun ("my lords," "my lordship"), or an emphatic substantival-afformative ("lord par excellence").

The royal tradition in the representation of the divinity was well established in the ANE centuries before the beginning of Israel's history. As Israel grew into this monarchic tradition, Yahwism took over royal imagery and royal titles. David called his fourth son Adoniyah (2 Sam 3:4; 1 Kgs 1–2), an unmistakable sign that for David, Yahweh is to be worshipped as a king and appealed to with the deferential designation *ʾādôn.* On the name, see ADONIJAH (PERSON).

The royal tradition appears in a particularly significant way in the story of Isaiah's call (Isaiah 6), and therefore it is not surprising to find that in this connection the honorific title *Adonai* is employed (v 1: "I saw Adonai [the Lord par excellence] sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up; and his train filled the temple"; cf. vv 8 and 11). The prophets see themselves as called and authorized messengers of the king Yahweh, and therefore show a predilection for the "messenger formula" ("thus speaks XY …"), which legitimizes the word of the messenger as being identical with the formulation given by the king who appointed them. It is not accidental that one finds the royal honorific title "lord" used with a particular frequency in the introductory and concluding formulas of the prophetic speeches ("thus says Adonai, Yahweh of hosts" [e.g., Isa 10:24], and "… oracle of Adonai, Yahweh of hosts" [e.g., Isa 3:15]). Moreover, the royal function of the term Adonai in these formulas is implied by its affinity with the expression "Yahweh of hosts": the subordinate stands at the disposal of the ruler (*ʾādôn*) and accomplishes his will.

In the prophetic books the term *Adonai* occurs 320 times out of the total 449 occurrences (for the term's distribution in the OT, see *TDOT* 1: 62–64). The book of Ezekiel alone contains 217 occurrences of this term. In the title Adonai, the prophet in the Babylonian exile might have seen a possibility of differentiating between his god Yahweh and the Babylonian divinities who were called *bēl (< bʿl)* but not *ʾādôn,* (this was not widespread in Mesopotamia. Thus the same title *Adonai*, which in the West Semitic (Canaanite) world of monarchic Israel was a symbol of a definite integration of Yahwism into the old

royal tradition, later in the time of the Exile, could become an expression of differentiation over against foreign religious forms. The divine name *Adonai* does not appear at all in 1–2 Chronicles or Leviticus; this may indicate that in these writings the royal-monarchic tradition is set aside in favor of a priestly-Aaronic point of view.

**10. Ṣebaoth (Hosts).** "Ṣebaoth"is a plural, which sets again the question to the philologists and the exegetes how to understand it, whether as a "real" plural designating ("the hosts"), or whether here again one meets a plural of "majesty," of "intensity" designating something "absolute." The basic etymological meaning of *ṣebāʾôt* is "force, weight, might" (Eissfeldt 1950: 110–11), with a particular consequence that the subordinate be enlisted to serve. A case example of such an enlistment by a royal sovereign is the recruitment for military service (1 Sam 8:11–12a); but also the recruitment for work could be designated with this term (Exod 38:8; 1 Sam 2:22; cf. 1 Sam 8:12b–13). Consequently "Yahweh Ṣebaoth" is the one who has the absolute power to recruit others into service (cf. "plural of extension and importance" [Tsevat 1965:49–58]; "name of a god whose principal attribute was royal majesty" [Ross 1967:76–92]). See also HOSTS, LORD OF.

The "power to recruit into service" comprises several domains: first of all it is Israel who is recruited into service by Yahweh, its highest sovereign. Thus in 1 Sam 17:45, the divine name "Yahweh Ṣebaoth$^{w}$ is placed in apposition with "the God of the armies of Israel." The Song of Deborah (Judges 5) illustrates that Yahweh's power of control reaches widely beyond the "armies of Israel"; for not only the Israelites as "Yahweh's troups" (v 13) fight against Jabin of Hazor and against Sisera the captain of his army (Heb *ṣābāʾ* [4:2, 7]), but the stars as well fight on Yahweh's behest: "from heaven fought the stars, from their courses they fought against Sisera" (5:20). The stars symbolize "the host of heaven" (e.g., Isa 40:26; 45:12), the recruited powers of heaven, which could also be perceived as members of a heavenly court of Yahweh (1 Kgs 22:19: "I saw Yahweh sitting on his throne, and all the host [Heb *ṣābāʾ*] of heaven standing beside him on his right hand and on his left"). This representation has its analogies in other ANE religions; the astronomy of Babylonian science and religion exercised a particular influence which, e.g., during the long reign of Manasseh (687–642 B.C.) should not be underestimated. By contrast (according to 2 Kgs 23:5, 11), his grandson Josiah (640–609 B.C.) followed a policy of emancipating his kingdom from all political and religious vassal conditions; he proscribed every cult having to do with "the sun, the moon, the planets, and all the host of heaven" (23:5).

In confrontation with Babylonian science and religion the view of Israel in respect to the power of the stars became increasingly critical, leading to the rejection of astrology (Deut 17:3; Jer 8:2). Eventually it became a criterion of differentiation between Israel and the nations: Israel is forbidden to worship "… the sun and the moon and the stars, all the host of heaven, … things which Yahweh your God had allotted to all the [pagan] peoples …" (Deut 4:19). The prophet Ezekiel does not employ the divine name "Yahweh Sebaoth," perhaps he wanted to renounce an old tradition which in the meanwhile had become ambiguous. When other biblical texts from the same period still use the term *ṣābāʾ* ("host"), they are careful to indicate that in Yahweh's vicinity all other forces must be categorically devoid of power. When, e.g., the Priestly writing continues to designate Israel as "*ṣebāʾôt* (hosts) of Yahweh," then these *ṣebāʾôt* do not represent a military power but a community on its way to a worship at Sinai (Exod 12:41; cf. 6:26; 12:17, 51); when the heavenly *ṣebāʾôt* (hosts) are mentioned, then these do not represent powers so much as the (peaceful) angels and messengers of God (Ps 148:2: "Praise him, all his angels, praise him, all his host [*ṣābāʾ*]!"

In the period of the Exile (after the downfall of the Judean monarchy), Israel had to find for their theology and for their faith in Yahweh other forms of expression than the traditional ones which were anchored in the context of royal-military imagery. Moreover, in the Persian period (the episode of Zerubbabel, ca. 520 B.C.) arose the expectation of a royal Messiah, and so it is not surprising to find the sudden strong usage of the divine name "Yahweh Sebaoth" by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, for it elicited memories and hopes of the national power and greatness.

**11. Conclusion.** All the epithets and titles which in the course of its history the faith of Israel combined with the name of Yahweh, cannot be referred to as original attributes of the Israelite worship of Yahweh;

rather, they mirror—both together and individually—the history of the dialogue between the OT faith in God and the ANE world. In the course of history of this dialogue the movement of integration became gradually substituted by an opposite movement of demarcation and exclusivity.

**D. Foreign Divine Names**

Originally Israel showed a considerable readiness to integrate into its own faith in Yahweh epithets, titles, and other attributes stemming from religions of the surrounding world, while at the same time it refrained from placing the proper names of foreign gods into a relationship with Yahweh's name. Herewith Yahwism clearly differs from Mesopotamian practice; for example, among the 50 different names of Marduk are listed numerous older Sumerian divinities in an attempt to identify and harmonize them with the Babylonian main divinity (*ANET*, 69–72; Bottéro 1977: 5–28).

Although the possibility of identification of Yahweh with other deities remains excluded, it is nevertheless significant to see in what way in different periods, Israel dealt with the names of foreign gods. In an older period it was naturally presupposed that other nations had a god responsible for them in a way similar to Israel. Just as Israel was "the people of Yahweh" so were the Moabites "the people of Chemosh" (Num 21:29; Jer 48:46). The existence of these gods was not doubted; however, their power was deemed to be less than that of Yahweh. 1 Kings 10 narrates how the Syrian king Ben-hadad erred in assuming that Yahweh could be spoken of in a disdainful way as a "mountain god" (vv 23 and 28), whose sphere of influence would be restricted to the hill country of Samaria. Yahweh can confront and engage in battle with any other national god; even the god of the great power of Egypt cannot succeed against Yahweh: "Yahweh Ṣebaoth, the God of Israel, said: 'Behold, I am bringing punishment upon Amon of Thebes' " (Jer 46:25). The depiction of Yahweh's superiority can, in the narrative, acquire traits of a parody; thus 1 Samuel 5 narrates the powerlessness of the god Dagon, the god of the Philistines in Ashdod who must formally fall before Yahweh (cf. Delcor 1964:136–54).

The derision of the powerlessness of foreign gods can lead to the negation of their existence. The story of God's judgment on Mount Carmel (1 Kings 18) may be mentioned as an example: seen in a historical perspective the issue was the claim to preeminence in Israel contested between Yahweh and the Phoenician Baal (v 36: "Yahweh, let it be known this day that thou art God *in Israel*"); in the narrative development of this event Elijah's scorn for Baal is sharp (v 27: "either he is musing, or he is gone aside, or he is on a journey, or perhaps he is asleep and must be awakened"). Therefore his remark "cry aloud, for he is a god" (v 27) can be understood as irony and negation of Baal's existence.

Altogether one finds very few foreign divine names in the biblical texts (note the list of gods in 2 Kgs 17:30–31); the majority of foreign deities were simply ignored. The names of others, although mentioned, were deformed or altered. Marduk, the main god of the Babylonians became "Merodach" (Jer 50:2; cf. Merodach-Baladan [Isa 39:1], Berodach-Baladan [2 Kgs 20:12 (MT)], Evil-Merodach [2 Kgs 25:27; Jer 52:31]); the vowels of this name might be a case of a dysphemic Masoretic vocalization intended to slander, perhaps by calling to mind the word *me›ōrar* cursed. This practice is comparable to the procedure of replacing "Baal" with *bōšet* "shame." This *bōšet*-dysphemism is probably found in the deformation of the divine name Astarte in Masoretic Ashtoreth (1 Kgs 11:5, 33; 2 Kgs 23:13) and in the construction of a (false) divine name Molech (e.g., Lev 18:21; 20:2–5; 1 Kgs 11:7; cf. *TWAT*, 965–66; somewhat differently Heider 1985:223–28). Milcom, however, is not originally a divine name (1 Kgs 11:5, 33; 2 Kgs 23:13; Jer 49:1, 3; Zeph 1) but an expanded divine title which expresses the royal function (*mlk*) of the god. The case is similar with the word Asherah, which may originally have represented the divinization of cultic sites (Albright 1925: 100; Deut 16:21 suggests a holy tree or a cultic stake) which only secondarily became a name of a goddess (Albright's theory has been followed; cf. Lipiński 1972; *TDOT* 1: 438–44).

The goddess Anath, Baal's consort, is never mentioned in the biblical texts; her cult must have been of considerable significance in Syria and Palestine (cf. "Anath-Yahweh" in Elephantine); her name is found in numerous place and personal names in Israel: Anathoth (as a place name [e.g., Josh 21:18; Jer 1:1]; as a personal name [1 Chr 7:8; Neh 10:19]), Beth-Anath (Josh 19:38; Judg 1:33), and others.

Israel's relation to the names of foreign gods mirrors its changing attitudes toward foreign religions: finally, the existence of foreign gods was denied. In the list of gods of Solomon's foreign wives (1 Kgs 11:5–8) the word "gods" was eventually replaced with "abomination": "Milcom the abomination of the Ammonites," "Chemosh the abomination of Moab."

**E. Attenuation of the Divine Name**

When for biblical faith other gods do not exist any longer, the necessity of a name disappears; it is no longer indispensable to have a "distinguishing mark" in order to differentiate one's god from others. In postexilic texts the use of the divine name "Yahweh" clearly diminishes (it does not appear at all in the following books, Esther, the Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes). Yahweh is the only god; Yahweh and God ("Elohîm") became synonyms. The gradual reduction of the use of the divine name on the basis of its loss of function can lead to its complete removal; in this development with Judaism, two mutually exclusive tendencies were manifest: a cosmopolitan attitude and a scrupulous outlook.

**1. Cosmopolitan Thinking.** From ancient times the wisdom milieu, in conjunction with its international and interreligious thinking, had preferred the general term "god" over any individual divine name. The wisdom literature of ancient Israel participated in this common Oriental current, for which the wider perspective was more important than any particular concretion. For these circles the "fear of god" (religion) seemed more important than any particular cult of any individual divinity. In the period of a universal dispersal of Israel (the time of the Exile), as the customary sacrificial cult for Yahweh was made impossible, the influence of this sapiential, cosmopolitan thinking reached wider circles in Judaism. The expression "God of heaven" from the diplomatic language of the Persian period came into the vocabulary of the monotheistic faith of Judaism, furthering the abandonment of the name of Yahweh in favor of this title with a universalistic appeal ("God of heaven" appears preponderantly in later texts of the OT: 17 times in Ezra-Nehemiah, 12 times in Daniel, cf. e.g., Jonah 1:9; 2 Chr 36:23; one should also name the 9 occurrences in the Elephantine papyri). The cosmopolitan atmosphere of the Persian period and the subsequent Hellenistic era encouraged a tendency to view particularistic thinking as antiquated and unenlightened; it was inevitable that the particular divine name "Yahweh" would be affected by this "modernistic" tendency as it was adopted by larger circles in Judaism.

**2. Scrupulous Thinking.** The contrary movement is the strong conservatism of traditional Judaism manifest in the revolt of the Maccabees and later in Qumran. This milieu is characterized by an increasingly rigorous interpretation and application of tradition and the precepts of the Torah (the Pentateuch). The prohibition in the decalogue (see TEN COMMANDMENTS) of misusing the name of Yahweh was originally oriented against magical practices, but in the course of the interpretation of the law it became the occasion of eventually denying *any* use of the divine name. This prohibition was motivated by scrupulous fear and a desire to ensure that it would not be used "in vain" (Exod 20:7; Deut 5:11) either by Jews or non-Jews. Even the cultic use of the name in the temple or the synagogue was eventually affected by this fear: whenever in the biblical texts the name of Yahweh was mentioned, it was read and pronounced as "Adonai ("my lord"). See also KETHIB AND QERE. Thus in the Greek translation of the OT (LXX) the name of Yahweh was rendered throughout with *kyrios* ("Lord"). The Masoretic Hebrew manuscripts of the OT have preserved the consonants Y-H-W-H (the tetragram) but supplied the vocalization "Adonai." The authentic pronunciation of the name of Yahweh thus became lost and only isolated instances can be found in the writings of the Church Fathers (Rose 1978: 6–16).

**F. From Immanence to Transcendance**

Judaism had secured that the divine name should not be profaned any more. The divine name, once the "distinguishing mark" of divine presence and immanence, had become the essence of God's unapproachable holiness so that in the Jewish tradition "the Name" (*haššēm*) could be synonymous with "God." The nuance of difference between God and his name was lost; God and the divine name were one, and equally holy.

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MARTIN ROSE

**NAMES, DOUBLE** Additional names adopted by an individual or bestowed upon him by others. Refer to abbreviations list in the appendix of article (see G below).

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A. Introduction
B. Phraseology
C. Types of Double Names
    1. Ethnica
    2. Nickname
    3. Pet Name
    4. Metronymic
    5. A Family Trait
D. Reasons for the Addition of a Byname
    1. Cultural Assimilation
    2. Official/Private Contexts
    3. Status
    4. Religion
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**A. Introduction**

The term "double name" is sometimes also called "*byname*,""*supernomen*," or "*signum*." The types of such names and the reasons for their acquisition vary. The assuming of extra names, which sometimes actually replace a birth name (whether intentionally or not), is a phenomenon of the Greco-Roman world which spanned the period of the 2d century B.C. to the 3d century A.D., with a peak of frequency in the 2d century A.D.; though it was not confined to this period absolutely. The examples of this naming feature which fall outside these chronological limits (e.g., Paris/Alexander of Trojan War fame) are considerably less common. The phenomenon is not confined to the Greco-Roman milieu, though that will be the focus of this article. Double names occur in various Semitic languages, e.g., Nabatean (*NDIEC 1976*, 92–93), Hebrew (Jacob/Israel, etc.), Palmyrene (Teixidor 1979: 5), and Egyptian (*CEML* 4: 1012, 1095, 1113). Double names were used by Jews and Christians no more and no less than by others in the Greco-Roman world of the period. The high frequency of attestation of bynames in Egypt and Asia Minor in comparison with other areas merely reflects the relative number of texts recovered from those places. Women possess bynames less often than men; but this may be a reflection of the greater frequency with which males are named in ancient texts. There are some attestations of young children with double names. For a discussion of why the use of double names may have been rather more widespread (at least for Ptolemaic Egypt) than the surviving frequencies may suggest, see Clarysse (1985: 57–66, especially 64 n. 22).

Lest this question seem of antiquarian interest only, it may be observed that double names occur quite commonly in contemporary Western society. At one end of the spectrum is the double name adopted by criminals and others wishing to conceal their birth name. But the pejorative connotation of "alias" is unknown for bynames in antiquity. Similarly, no ancient writer assumed a nom de plume (a disputed case is Xenophon [ca. 428/7–ca. 354 B.C.], who may have written his *Anabasis* under the name of Themistogenes of Syracuse; *Hell.* 1.2.). The attribution of a work to a more famous individual is a separate question: a writer "fathers" his work upon someone else in order to have it achieve wider currency. This phenomenon of literary falsification was prevalent in antiquity, particularly among early

Christian pseudepigraphica (Speyer 1971). In our own times, there is often a specifically religious motive leading to the adoption of a new name. Western converts to Islam come to mind, such as Muhammed Ali (formerly, Cassius Clay), or Jusuf Islam (formerly, Cat Stevens). Since these individuals substitute a new name for their former one, we are not looking at an exact parallel to the phenomenon of the double name (see F.4 below). One well-known aspect of the Puritan phenomenon in 17th-century England was the adoption of some quite remarkable first names. This appears to have been a congregationally focused initiative, a very self-conscious attempt to indicate the separated character of the congregation, and an expression of independence from the established church, where, of course "standard" Christian names were common. One of the best-known such individuals was Praise God Barebones, a member of the Long Parliament.

The not very large body of research into double names in Greco-Roman antiquity has rarely been taken fully into account by those considering instances in the NT Indeed, it is often the case that a single name-combination (Saul/Paul, or Simon/Peter) is examined without particular reference to comparable examples in the NT While such studies may prove fruitful (Elliott 1972), to view individual instances against a wider canvas provides better perspective and illustrates how the language of the NT is entirely a normal part of its times. For the reason(s) which account for the double name of a Saul/Paul may not be identical with those for a Simon/Peter.

Of the studies by classicists, two may be particularly singled out. M. Lambertz (1913–14) devoted his pair of long articles to the spread of the use of double names in the Roman Empire: his evidence is assembled on a regional basis. Nearly thirty years later R. Calderini (1941–42) chose to concentrate upon Egypt, mainly focusing upon papyrus evidence in her bipartite contribution. Lambertz (1913: 79 n. 4) lists previous bibliography, to which Calderini adds little. W. Kubitschek's brief article in Pauly-Wissowa (PW 2A: 2,448–52) is superseded by their contributions. Deissmann (1979) is not the only one who draws upon documentary parallels for his NT study, which is very brief and confined to Saul/Paul. Cerfaux (1938) drew upon Lambertz's articles and more recent papyrological publications in his study of these names in Acts. Yet he fails to make the point that it is the author of Luke/Acts, far more than any other NT writer, who shows greatest interest in bynames, varying the formulae for stylistic reasons. The single most valuable study since Calderini is Kajanto (1963). Solin (1980) provides useful insights on double names among Jews, a matter which had claimed Cassuto's attention half a century earlier (1932–33).

There still remains a need for a comprehensive onomastic study of the *supernomina* in the NT, set against the wider context of current Jewish and Greco-Roman usage. With the completion of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* the whole range of Greek literature, from Homer to A.D. 600 (including the Fathers), may now be practicably investigated for a subject such as this. When the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* is brought to completion (the first volume appeared in 1987) this area of research will be further facilitated. As for the documentary evidence, the sheer bulk of inscriptions and papyri being published annually provides plenty of scope for thorough investigation in this area.

In what follows, the different formulae used to indicate double names will be illustrated by reference to several typical examples, drawn particularly from recently published documentary texts. For these texts, dates are A.D. unless otherwise specified. Further examples to illustrate these formulae may be found in the studies of Lambertz and Calderini. Consideration of types of double names will be followed by examination of the variety of reasons for the assuming of an extra name. NT instances of bynames will be dealt with in each of these sections. Next, attention will be given to two particular features involving double names in the NT. Finally, brief observations will be made on some related onomastic phenomena. Examples listed under one subheading are often relevant to other sections. This article focuses exclusively upon personal names, not uses of double names applying to other contexts (e.g., cities or geographical regions). Almost all of the examples provided here are Greek, but a small number in Latin is included.

**B. Phraseology**

**1. *A ho (hos) kai B* (A also [known as] B).** This is by far the most common formula used to indicate a byname, notwithstanding that it occurs only once in the NT (Acts 13:9, Saul/Paul). In a fragmentary list of 54 names in Milne, *IG Aeg.* 33028 (Karnak, ca. 200), seventeen use the *ho kai* style to introduce a

double name. Occasionally, the formula is filled out by the addition after the second name of a participle (*epiklētheis, legomenos,* etc.), e.g., *Jos. JW 1 99; Ant 12.43, 385; 13.10, 131; 20.240; CPJ 3: 462, M. Clodius Alexander ho kai Gaianos epik (aloumenos) Thebes in Egypt, 157).*

*Documentary examples: Iv. Eph.* 6:221b, Eutychia/Elpis (1st–2d cent.; 2224; Aurelius Herodes/Zeuxanemios (early 3d); 2249c, Donata/Theusebion (Jewish?; undated); 2253c, Eugamia/Diapherousa (servile?; undated); 7, 1.3010, *P. Statienus* Petronianus/Julianus (ca. 220); Pfuhl/Möbius 1159, Trophimos/Krasos (=Crassus; Christian; Altintaș in Phrygia, later Imperial); 1606, Cornelia Fortunata/Doutouros (Tomi, 3d); *SEG* 29: 781, Aletia/Elpidous (Thasos, Imperial); 1275, Gellia Tertia/Elpis (Apameia in Bithynia, 3d); *CIJ* 1: 694, Cl. Tib. Polycharmos/Achyris (Stobi, late 3d); 2.1238, Pheidon/Epiketeos (N of Jerusalem, undated); 1532, Epitychia/Dionysia (Fayum, 29 B.C.); *P.XV Congr.* 14, Heron/Eirenais and Sisois/Chairemon (Philadelphia in Egypt, 41–48/9); *P.Oxy.Hels.* 12, Apollonios/Euporos (99); 23, Calpurnius Isidoros/Harpokration (212; the same man appears in several other texts); 24, Aur. Ptolemaios/Zeuxianos (217); 26, Aur. Dionysios/Apollonios and Aur. Sarapiades/Hierax (296); *P.Köln.* 2.84, Zoilos/Dionysos (Thinites, 143); *BGU* 13:2223, Isidora/Haropkratiane (175).

Sometimes the byname is introduced merely by *Kai,* e.g., *AE* (1979) 612, Aphrodeitos *kai* Eirenaios (Mylasa in Caria, Imperial); cf. note in the first publication *ZPE* 34 [1979]: 215–16); *P.Köln.* 2.109 (provenance unknown in Egypt, 4th–5th), Pataor *kai* Loutteos; on this last example, cf. *NDIEC 1979,* 124. A further example is noted below under B. 19. An interesting bilingual epitaph preserves the formula in transliterated Latin letters: Acathocles *(sic) o cae* Rodios (*CIL* 10:11; Rhegium Iulium in Sicily, Imperial). The normal Latin equivalent is *qui et.*

**2. *A ho kaloumenos B* (A called B).** This participle is not terribly common as a byname formula. It is rather more frequently used to define a person or thing by some attribute, e.g., Rev 12:9 (see *NDIEC 1976,* 92); cf. *I.Kyme.* 41:47–48 (1st–2d centuries), in which Isis is "called" *Thesmophoros.* In the NT: Luke 6:15, Simon/Zelotes; 8:2, Mary/Magdalene; 22:3, Judas/Iscariot; Acts 1:23, Joseph/Barsabbas *hos epeklēthē* Justus; 13:1, Simeon/Niger; 15:22, Judas/Barsabbas; 15:37, John/Mark.

*Documentary examples: Iv. Eph.* 6.2241, Cornelia Saturnina/Lollia (Imperial); 2285a, Dionysios/kallistos (undated); VII, 1.3429.20–21, Olympos/Nikephoros (near Metropolis, 2d century B.C.); 4356, Herais/Thymele (Hypaipa, undated); *I.Smyrna* 1.245, Attalos/Gaius, son of Gaius (undated; here the son's second name is derived from his father's name).

**3. *A ho epikaloumenos B* (A additionally called B).** A common way to introduce an additional name. NT: Acts 11:13, Simon/Peter (the same formula is a *v.l* at 10:5); 12:12, John/Mark.

*Documentary examples: P.Petaus* 53, Pentheus/Pkanpesoul, N./Alektonas, and Maximus/Tene (Ptolemais Hormu, 184/5); of the 22 people listed in the 29-line *P.Petaus* 67, eleven have this formula (185); of the ca. 150 people listed in the 174-line *P.Petaus* 93, 28 have this formula (late 2d).

**4. *A ho epiklētheis B* (A additionally called B).** A reasonably common way to indicate the *supernomen,* especially when it is—or was in origin—a nickname. NT has Acts 4:36, Joseph/Barnabas.

*Documentary examples: Iv. Eph.* 5.1609, NN/Graus (apameia in Bithynia?, not dated), very possibly servile in view of the nickname, "old man"; *CIJ* 2: 1435, Alexandros (?)/Borzochoria (= Bar Zachariah) (Alexandria, not dated).

*Literary examples:* Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 1.5b. Hegemon/Phake; 10.437e Dionysios/Metathemenos ("Shifty"); 13.583e, Synoris/Lychnos ("Lamp"); D.S. frag. 35.33.3, M. Cato/Demonsthenes; Diogenes Laertius 5.84, Demetrios/Ixion, and Demetrios/Stamnos.

**5. *A ho klētheis B* (A called B).** Parallel to (4) above, but rarer in its use as a byname formula. Not so used in the NT

*Documentary example: Iv. Eph.* 7.1.3127, Ti. Claudius/Paulinus/Charixenos (Scala Nova, Imperial).

**6. *A epiklēn B* (A by name B).** Not very common; for the form see LSJM, *s.v.* nowhere used in the NT

*Documentary examples: CIJ* 1:108, Hermione/Barseoda (Rome, undated); 2:776, M. Aurelius Alexander/[As?]aph (Hierapolis, 3d?); *SEG* 26: 1214, Julianus/Euteknios (Lyon, 3d–4th); Lifshitz 1967: no. 84, Isaak/Sindouros (Lapethos on Cyprus, 5th A.D.).

*Literary example:* Jos. *Ant.* 20.233, Onias/Menelaus.

**7. *A ho legomenos B* (A spoken of [as] B).** Not common as a double name formula. NT: Matt 27:17, Jesus/Christ (a title on its way to becoming a name); John 11:16, Thomas/Didymos (a translation name which has become a genuine *supernomen;* also at 20:24; 21:2); Col 4:11, Jesus/Justus.

*Documentary example:* Reilly, *Slaves* 580 (=977), Hermione/Graus (Kalymna, 2d).

*Literary example:* Jos. *Ant.* 13.320, Salome/Alexandra.

**8. *A ētoi B* (A or B).** A rare usage not found in the NT

*Documentary examples: P.Oxy.* 8.1122, Aurelius Phoibammon/Loukas (407); 46.3295, Aurelia Nike/Taias (295); cf. the Latin inscription *AE* (1976) 419, Paula *sive* (E)ustathia (Gaul, late Imperial).

**9. *A anth'hou B* (A instead of/alternatively B).** Not common; apparently attested as a byname formula only in nonliterary papyri (a distinctively Egyptian Greek usage?).

*Documentary examples: P.Basel* 10, Tesenouphis/Horos (Soknopaiu Nesos, 166); *P.Mich.* 4.1.223.3118, Heuremon/Pekmeis (Karanis, 175; the same man—a Jew: see *CPJ* 3:492, nos. 4, 6—is identified as P./H. at *P.Cair.Mich.* 359.691 (Karanis, 175); *P.Petaus* 15, Suchotes/Suchion (Ptolemais Hormou, 194/5); 93.73–74, Pouaris/Kynaros (Ptolemais Hormou, late 2d cent.).

**10. *A ho dia logōn B* (A by the name of B).** Even less common than the previous type; apparently attested as a byname formula only in nonliterary papyri (a distinctively Egyptian Greek usage?).

*Documentary examples: BGU* 13:2263, Pabous/P …, Stotoetis/Sotas, and Sotas/Satabous (Soknopaiu Nesos, mid-2d); *P.Strasb.* 7.4.775, N/Anoubion, and N/Ptasios (Herakleopolite nome, ca. 300).

**11. *A B* (i.e., double name without any formula to indicate it).** This type is more common than certain other ways of expressing the byname, but is naturally less easy to detect. NT: Simon Peter is the preferred reading at 2 Pet 1:1 (cf. RSV). In contrast to Judas *ho kaloumenos* Iscariot at Luke 22:3, he is named J. *Iskarioth* at 6:16 (cf. Matt 26:14, *ho legomenos* J. *Iskariotes*).

*Documentary examples: P.Mich.* 4.1.223.391, 2190, Pekmeis Heuremon (karanis, 175), who at 1.3118 in the same text is designated P. *anth'hou* H.; *I.Bankers* 15, Metrodoros Asbolios is called M. *ho epikaloumenos* A. later in the same inscription (Kourion in Cyprus, 3d); *Iv. Eph* 7.1 3329, Euboulos Kassandros (near Ephesos, undated); *I.Smyrna* 1.247, M. Aurelios Moschos III Poseidonios (3d, or later?); *CPR* 5: 2.14 Aurelius Jonah Skim (Heraklepolis, late 5th); 15, Jacob Symeon (Herakleopolite nome, 477) is a possible example: see ed. n., ad loc. *CIL* 8: 4.26415, Pullaienus Florentius Titinius Pupianus, a man addressed by Cyprian, *Ep* 66, as Florentius *qui et* Puppianus. *AnSt* 37 (1987) 49–53, no. 1, C. Flavius Chrysippos Panages (Cremna in Pisidia, II) may well be a further example.

**12. Double Bynames.** Fairly rare. NT: Acts 1:23, Joseph *ho kaloumenos* Barsabbas *hos epeklēthē* Justus. *Documentary example: P.Vindob.Tandem* 11.44–45, Aurelius Theodoros *ho kai* Herakleios *epikaloumenos* Nikon (Herakleopolite nome, 241/2). *Literary example:* Appian, 12.2.10, Mithridates *hōi* Dionysos *kai* Eupator *epōnyma ēn.*

***13. Variation of the Formula.*** It is clear that the various formulae used to mark a double name were interchangeable. The only minor qualification to this is that in the case of double bynames a form of *epikaleisthai* is generally used to introduce the last name, since it is normally a nickname in origin. NT: in Acts, John Mark is designated variously: 12:12, J. *ho epikaloumenos* M.; 12:25, J. *ho epiklētheis* M.; 13:5, simply John; 15:37, J. *ho kaloumenos* M.; 15:39, simply Mark. The single name Mark is the form that won out in the Church, as is clear from the gospel title, presumably to differentiate him from the apostle John. So, too, for Simon Peter. In Matt 4:18 and 10:2 he is described as S. *ho legomenos* P.; Luke 6:14 uses the periphrasis S. *hon kai ōomasen* P.; while in Acts participial and finite verb forms of *epikaloumai* are interchanged (10:5, 18, 32, 11:13), clearly for stylistic variation within that section. As in the case of Paul and Mark, the name Peter eventually ousted his Jewish name (cf. 1 Pet 1:1). As further illustration of the interchangeability of the formulae not that whereas Acts 1:23 gives Joseph *ho kaloumenos* Barsabbas *hos epeklethe* Justus, Papias refers to him as Justus *ho epiklētheis* Barsabbas (*PG* 5:1256).

*Documentary examples: P. Petaus* 93.73–74, Kronios *epikaloumenos* Samanytis, son of Pouaris *anth'hou* Kynaros (Ptolemais Hormou, late 2d); *I.Bankers* 15 uses both *ho kaloumenos* and *ho epikaloumenos* to refer to Alexander/Luscinius (Kourion in Cyprus, 3d).

*Literary examples:* 1 Macc 2:1–5, all five sons of Mattathias son of John have *supernomina*: four are *ho kaloumenos,* one is *ho epikaloumenos.* Later the *ho kai* formula is used of Judas Maccabeus (1 Macc 8:20; 2 Macc 5:27; 8:1). *Jos. Ant.* 18.35, Joseph *ho (kai)* Caiaphas; at 18:95, J. *ho* C. *epikaloumenos*; but in the Gospels he is simply called Caiaphas. According to Theodoret, *Qu. in Num., PG* 80.368, Moses' father-in-law had the double name (*diōnumos*) Raguel "like Jacob *kai* Israel, like Simon Peter (no intervening formula), like Thomas *ho legomenos* Didymos, like Thaddaios *ho kai* Lebbaios."

**14. Reversal of Name Order.** *Documentary examples: CPJ* 2:178, Theodotos *ho kai* Niger (Edfu, 79), whereas at 2:249 he is Niger *ho kai* Theodotos (Edfu, 73/4). In a series of texts, *P. Sakaon* 11, 12, 82, 85 (cf. 76), dated between 297–300, we have testimony to an official, probably a Christian, who usually calls himself Aurelius Athanasios *kai* (sic: not *ho kai*) Philadelphos, and who signs his name Aurelius Philadelphos. But in no. 12 he calls himself Aurelius Philadelphos *kai* Athanasios. On this man see *NDIEC 1978,* 77. On the use of *kai* alone to introduce a by-name, see B.1, above.

*Literary example:* Cyprian of Carthage is designated both Cyprianus *qui et* Thascius (*Ep* 66, *tit.*), and Thascius *qui et* Cyprianus (*Act. Procons. Cyp.* 3.3).

**C. Types of Double Names**

**1. Ethnica.** Used as a byname, as distinct from a descriptive label of origin, this is rare. *Documentary examples: Homm. Sauneron.* 2.55–56, Psenosiris *ho kai* Syros (Akoris in Egypt, Hadrianic); Lowey, *IGB* 303, Euprepes *ho kai* Rhod[ios] (Rhodes, Imperial).

**2. Nickname.** Perhaps the most common type. *Documentary examples: SEG* 26: 1843, C. Julius Capito *hos kai* Odysseus (Cyrenaica, lst cent.), a soldier perhaps so named as a reflection of his mobility while in service; *I.Bankers* 17, epitaph for a young banker which says that his parents called him Synekdemos but everyone else used the crude nickname Billos (Kelenderis in Asia Minor, Imperial); *IGUR* 3.1321, Rufinus whom people used to call Asterion, "starlet" (Rome, 3d or 4th); *Epigraphica Anatolica* 12 (1988) 116 no. 63 Flavius Ktesiphon *ho kai* Sphekas, "wasp" (Stratonikeia in Caria, Imperial); *P.Coll.Youtie* 65.12–13, 29, M. Vibius Horigenes *ho kai* Magnus (Oxyrhynchos, 241; nickname omitted in 1.73). With this last the well-known instance of C. Pompeius Magnus (1st cent. B.C.) provides an obvious parallel. Of other Roman nicknames which became assimilated as *agnomina* perhaps the best known is Q Fabius Maximus Verrucosus Cunctator (late 3d B.C.).

*Literary examples:* Jos. *Ant.* 12.43, Simon *ho kai* Dikaios *epiklētheis* "because he was pious towards God and good-willed towards his compatriots." Cf. in the NT, Col 4:11, Jesus *ho legomenos* Justus, and the second by-name of Joseph/Barsabbas/Justus at Acts 1:23 Even though no explanation is given for the accession of these names in the NT, we may infer something similar to what Josephus makes explicit for Simon. Note, too, the famous classical example of Aristeides "The Just" (Plut. *Comp.Ar.et Men.* 9); but here it is not a double name. Jos. *Ant.* 13.383, Alexander Jannaeus was so cruel that he was given the name (*epiklēthēnai*) Thrakidas by the Jews. Cassius Dio, *Epit.* 80.4.1, P. Valerius Eutychianos *ho kai* Komazon acquired his by-name because of his mimes and laughable behavior. Diogenes Laertius 5.84 mentions that a certain Demetrius was called (*epiklētheis*) Ixion "because he was thought to have acted wrongly with regard to Hera." In the same passage is mentioned another Demetrios *ho epikletheis* Stamnos ("Wine-jar"); but no reason for this nickname is provided. Athen. *Deipn.*, 13.583e, Theokleia *epekaleito* Koronē ("Crow").

**3. Pet Name.** *Documentary example: IG* 10.2.1.214, at the end of this text which honors C. Antonius Urbanianus Philistos we are told that "his parents themselves (honored) their sweetest child Pierios" (Thessalonike, 240/1 or slightly later).

**4. Metronymic.** This appears to be very rare, and may be an oddity. *Documentary example: BGU* 13:2251.17, Didymos *epikal (oumenos)* the son of Achllis (Fayum, 2d century).

**5. A Family Trait.** This is particularly marked to distinguish members of ruling dynasties from the Hellenistic period onward. Various Ptolemies, Seleucids, and Antigonids had differentiating bynames, clearly thought of as such in view of the addition of one of the formulae. Names like Ptolemy Philadelphos, Seleucus Nicator, and Antigonos Monophthalmos come to mind. The Persian Artaxerxes III (359–338 B.C.) was differentiated from homonymous predecessors by the *supernomen* Ochos. Other royal

houses employed the device, such as rulers of Cappodocia, Bithynia, and Pontus. It is therefore nothing out of the ordinary to find certain of the Hasmoneans bearing double names: Alexander Jonathan (Jannaeus), and John Hyrcanus. The phenomenon is a feature of Imperial Roman rulers: C. Iulius C.f. Caesar/Augustus, popularly called Octavian; Antoninus/Pius, etc. But the case of Roman emperors' names is more complex than that of members of Hellenistic dynasties and client kingdoms, because of the Roman practice of adoption. Furthermore, from the mid-Republic onwards an *agnomen* was not an uncommon addition to the *tria nomina*, sometimes being added to commemorate some particular achievement. Members of the Scipionic family of 3d–2d centuries B.C. illustrate this, e.g., P. Cornelius P.f. Scipio Africanus, and his brother L. Cornelius P.f. Scipio Asiaticus. Some of the Caecilii Metelli attached *agnomina* to their names, reflecting in somewhat gross fashion their imperialistic outlook: e.g., Macedonicus, Delmaticus. Some other examples have been noted above under "nicknames" (c.2). But it is not only ruling families which might display this accretion of names. One recently published property transfer (161 B.C.) forms part of a larger archive which provides evidence of at least 15 individuals with double names out of some three dozen family members spanning six generations (Ritner 1984: 171–84 and pl. 30). *P.Coll.Youtie* 67 (260/1) includes the name Sarapion *ho kai* Apollonianos, which the editor shows (see the family tree on p. 450) was used by four family members spanning three generations. For discussion of this phenomenon in the papyri see Calderini (1942: 17–20), and Bagnall (1988: 23).

In *P. L. Bat.* 22, the editor draws together a private archive of a certain Dionysius who, in nearly 40 documents (both Greek and Demotic) spanning 116–104 B.C., is referred to by two other names as well: Plenis and *Pa-‹š€* . In the three generations for which his family is attested, five other people out of a total of fourteen have a second, or in one case a third, name.

**D. Reasons for the Addition of a Byname**

**1. Cultural Assimilation.** Egyptians, Jews, Lycians, Syrians, and other non-Hellenic individuals frequently adopted a Greek or Latin double name to advertise their identification with Greek mores. This is very possibly the most common reason for the adoption of a byname; certainly it is the easiest to perceive. But it is obvious that this does not account for all instances by any means, since there are many examples of individuals whose double names are ethnically identical with their primary names (e.g., Greek + Greek; Egyptian + Egyptian).

*Documentary examples:* Teixidor 1979:20, Male *ho kai* Agrippa (Palmyra, 131); *P.Köln.* 2.100, Taarpaesis *he kai* Isidora (Oxyrhynchite nome, 133); *CPJ* 1:126, Apollonios *hos kai* Ionathas *Syristi*, "in Aramaic" (Fayum, 238/7 B.C.); *CIJ* 1:108 Hermione *epiklēn* Barseoda (Rome, undated), an epitaph for an infant less than one year old; 2:776, M. Aurelius Alexander *epikln* [As?]aph; (Hierapolis, Imperial); *IGUR* 3.1231, Theodosia/Kalypso (early Imperial), epitaph for a young Jewish woman aged 18. For the proposal that this text is Jewish see Horsley (1987a). The Jewish examples here provide clear parallels for such NT name combinations as Saul/Paul, Simon/Peter, John/Mark, and Jesus/Justus. Paul, at least, must have had both Jewish and his Latin name from birth (Acts 22:26–29), for which *CIJ* 1:108 above provides a good parallel, as does also the double name of a Christian child who died before reaching the age of two, *AE* (1976) 419 (quoted above at B.8).

*Literary example:* Diogenes Laertius 4.67, the Carthaginian philosopher Hasdrubal, better known as Kleitomachos, who became head of the academy at Athens in 129 B.C.

**2. Official/Private Contexts.** It has been suggested recently (Clarysse 1985; Bagnall 1988) that in Ptolemaic Egypt what determined the use of an Egyptian or Greek name was the type of document which the person initiated (Clarysse 1985: 59–60). Private texts (especially those in Demotic) show a preference for Egyptian names, while Greek names preponderate in official documents concerned with government or military administration. One inference drawn from this observation is that double names are largely visible only among those with some official role. Furthermore, at least in the sense of language, the context is Egyptian by choice, and Greek only for official purposes (Bagnall 1988: 23). There is some basis for these propositions, but (as Bagnall allows) they do not account for the whole phenomenon of additional names because of their diversity chronologically and geographically. The motivation cannot have been so single in all cases.

*Documentary examples:* Erbsteit archives (Pathyris, mid 2d century B.C.), for which see Ritner (1984) and Bagnall's inferences (1988: 23) about the use of double names by the males in the family. See *P. L. Bat.* 22 (ca. 40 texts from Akoris in Middle Egypt ranging from 116–104) archive of the family of Dionysius also known as Plenis and *Pa-‹š€* .

**3. Status.** A slave with a non-Roman name usually adopted the name of his master upon emancipation. But there are examples where the first name is retained in such a way that it is thought of as forming a byname with the freed-status name.

*Documentary examples: SEG* 29: 781, Aletia Tertulla *he kai* Elpidous (Thasos, Imperial); 1275, Gellia Tertia *he kai* Elpis (Apameia in Bithynia, 3d).

**4. Religion.** A byname may be adopted to signify a shift in religious adherence. In such a circumstance it is not uncommon for the former name actually to be abandoned (see below, F.4); but those instances cannot then be considered double names.

*Documentary examples: CIJ* 1:523, Veturia Paulla became a convert to Judaism at the age of 70 and took the name Sara (Rome, undated). *SIRIS* 586, a sarcophagus for Tetratia Isais, who is called Memphius (sic) elsewhere on the same monument (on female *supernomina* in *-ius* see Kajanto, 41). The accompanying epigram makes plain that she was a devotee of Isis (Ravenna, 3d). *BGU* 13:2224, Apollonarion *he kai* Sarapias, sister of Sarapion (175) provides a possible example: the sister adopted the extra name in order to identify more closely with the cult of Sarapis.

**5. Homophony.** Not especially common; in the NT *Saulos/Paulos* may be an example (cf. Mussies, 361), as may be the substitute name Simeon/Simon.

*Documentary examples:* Pfuhl/Möbius 1977–79:1509, Gauros *ho kai* Gaius (Byzantion, probably 2d cent.); *I.Nikaia* 275, Antiochis *he kai* Antonia (undated), may be a further example.

**6. Punning.** In the NT the double name Simon/Peter involves a pun at one remove (Matt 16:15–18): Cephas was accorded as a punning nickname but the Greek translation (John 1:42) came to predominate.

*Documentary examples: Iv. Eph.* 7:2.3824, Menekrates *ho kai* Baros (Hypaipa, undated): the latter name in the good sense of "strength" may be playing on *-krat-* in the first name; 3828, Aurelius Sokrates *ho kai* Euphronios (Hypaipa, 3d [?]): here the by-name may well be playing on the name Sokrates, the implication being that this individual was a dullard who didn't live up to the reputation of his great namesake. Note also *IGLS* 6: 2841, [K]onnaros *ho kai* Briares (Baalbek, undated): this is el-QoÆnera, the Palmyrene god El, who created the earth, whose by-name here means "strong, powerful."

**E. Further Observations on Usage in the NT**

While it will be clear from the foregoing that the occurrences of double names in the NT fit naturally into the larger Greco-Roman linguistic and cultural context there are two aspects which deserve further comment.

**1. A Semitic Feature.** The use of a patronymic as a double name which then largely ousts the primary name appears to be a Semitic feature, not confined particularly to Judaism. In the OT the name Bath-sheba at 2 Sam 11:3 appears to be an example, although she is also called there the daughter of Eliam. In Acts 4:36 we are told that Barnabas' first name is Joseph, but he is everywhere called simply Barnabas; and this is the name that survives in the later tradition (as in *Ep. Barn.*). Later, at Acts 13:6–8, we encounter Bar-Jesus, for whom a translation equivalent is given ("Elymas the magician"), but not his primary name. Barabbas in the Gospels provides a further example, though it is uncertain whether the name Jesus preserved by some mss at Matt 27:16–17 was Barabbas's primary name. Other examples in the NT are Bartimaeus (Mark 10:46) and Bartholomew (Mark 3:18, and parallels; Acts 1:13). Barsabbas is interpreted as a name by the author of Acts for two men (1:23 and 15:22). Contrast Matt 16:17 where Bar-Jonah remains a patronymic and is not to be thought of as having become a name in its own right. Beyond the NT other instances may be mentioned. Earlier, the Hebrew subscription to Sirach says that the book was written by Simon Ben Sira; but he was normally referred to merely by the patronymic-become-byname. In the 2d century A.D. Simon Bar Kokhba is rarely referred to as Simon: the patronymic had become a second name. A further example of a Semitic patronymic serving as a byname occurs in *CIJ* 2:1435, noted above at B.4.

Is this double name feature distinctive of Judaism? Although all the examples given above are Jewish, and non-Jewish instances are not easy to locate, the question should perhaps be left open, in view of the oddity quoted above at C.4, where a metronymic occurs as a byname in Egypt.

**2. Fluid Examples.** In the NT there are a small number of individuals whose possession of a double name is not settled in the tradition. In contrast to Luke 6:15, Simon *ho kaloumenos Zelotes*, the latter word is used as a description of him at Acts 1:13, not as a name (so, too, Chrysostom, *Hom. in Matt.; PG* 57–380). The author of Luke/Acts has employed the Greek equivalent of Aram *qan›ānā,* which Mark 3:18 (= Matt 10:4) has preferred to transliterate as S. *ho Kananaios.* With the double name in Luke 6:15 may perhaps be compared *CIJ* 1:362, Ionios (=Jonah?) *ho kai* Akone (Rome, undated), the latter name being suggested by Frey (ad loc.) to be an attempt to transliterate *qan›ānā.* A second example of this onomastic fluidity is Mary *he kaloumenē* Magdalene at Luke 8:2; contrast 24:10 where Magdalene is merely adjectival. This latter use is standard in other Gospels.

Even more than with the previous feature, we should be cautious about claiming this fluidity as distinctively Jewish, let alone distinctive to the NT For it is to be expected that certain types of *supernomina* will not become permanently attached to the primary name from their first use. Nicknames and patronymics are two obvious kinds of bynames which would all fit into this category of being in flux for some time.

**F. Related Phenomena**

Alterations to names may be effected in other ways which do not strictly constitute double names. Some types of these may be noted briefly.

**1. Apocopation.** This was common in antiquity no less than today. A probable NT example is Epaphroditus/Epaphras (Phil 2:25, 4:18; Col 1:7, 4:32). Yet it is clear that each of these names had a life of its own (*NDIEC 1979,* 5: 21–23).

**2. Translation Names.** In the NT note Cephas/Peter (John 1:42); Tabitha/Dorcas (Acts 9:36); Thomas/*Didymos.* Only the last of these has become a double name (John 11:16; 20:24; 21:2), though the "Peter" element in the first has been formed into a double name on occasions with Simon/Simeon. In Acts 13:6–8 the author suggests that Elymas is the translation equivalent of Bar-Jesus, but this is doubtful. For some examples from the papyri see Clarysse (1985: 65).

**3. Substitute Name.** In the NT note Simeon/Simon, Silas/Silvanus, Jason probably for Jesus at Rom 16:21 At 1 Macc 7:5 Alcimus probably replaces Eliakim. The diminutive Priscilla replacing Prisca in Acts shows that the phenomenon is not always due to a desire to replace a Semitic name with one that looks more Greek or Latin.

**4. Change of Name.** Perhaps the most famous instance in antiquity of the abandonment of the original name in favor of a new one is provided by Amenhotep IV, pharaoh of Egypt in the mid New Kingdom, who altered his name to Akhenaton to promote a unique monotheistic reform in Egypt. *IG* 4:1.123.22–33 (Epidauros, late 4th B.C.) records that Asklepios gave the name Apistos (Unbeliever) to a man who came for a cure but disbelieved that the god could heal him. Only the new name is recorded on the inscription, not the man's original name. Vitruvius 10.2.15 recounts the discovery by the shepherd Pixodaros of the quarry from which the Ephesians were able to take their marble for the temple of Artemis. In recognition of this find the citizens decreed honors to him and changed his name to Evangelus. A number of Christians on trial at Caesarea in 308 bewilder the magistrate because they have renounced their birth-names, which were pagan theophorics. In place of them they chose names to identify with their new faith, such as Elijah and Samuel (Eus. *m.P.* 11.8). In Pfuhl/Möbius 1977–79:764 the deceased Meteleios says that he changed his name to Teinexeios; yet both are preserved on the epitaph (Prusa ad Olympum, late Imperial). As a final example, Ammianus 16.12.25 mentions the case of Agenarich, whose name was changed to Serapion by his father when the latter became an initiate of Isis.

**G. Appendix: Abbreviations of Documentary Publications**

| | |
|---|---|
| *CEML* | Catalogue des étiquettes de momies du Musée du Louvre: Textes grecs, 4ème partie, by F. Baratte and B. Boyaval, *Cahier de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille* 5 (1979) 237–339 (text nos. 1000–1209). |
| *CPR* | *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri. V. Griechische Texte. II.* Ed. J. Rea and P.J. Sijpesteijm. 2 vols. Vienna, 1976. |

| | |
|---|---|
| *Homm. Sauneron* | *Hommages à Serge Sauneron, II. Egypte post-pharaonique*. Cairo, 1979. |
| *I. Bankers* | *Epigraphica III. Texts on Bankers, Banking and Credit in the Greek World*, ed. R. Bogaert. Textus Minores 47. Leidon, 1976. |
| *IGLS* | *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie.* Vol. 6. Ed. J.-P. Rey-Coquais. Paris, 1967. |
| *IGUR* | *Inscriptions graecae Urbis Romae.* Vol. 3. Ed. L. Moretti. Rome, 1979. |
| *I.Kyme* | *Die Inschriften von Kyme*, ed. H. Engelmann. Bonn, 1976. |
| *I.Nikaia* | *Katalog der antiken Inschriften der Museums von Iznik (Nikaia)*, ed. S. Sahin. 3 vols. bonn, 1978–81. |
| *I.Smyrna* | *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*, Vol. 1. Ed. G. Petzl. Bonn, 1982. |
| *Loewy, IGB* | *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer*, by E. M. Loewy. 1985, Repr. Chicago. 1976. |
| *Milne, IG Aeg.* | *Inscriptions Graecae Aegypti*, vol. 1, ed. J. G. Milne. Oxford, 1905. Repr. Chicago, 1976. |
| *P.Coll.Youtie* | *Collectanea Papyrologica. Texts published in Honor of H.C. Youtie*, ed. A. E. Hanson. 2 vols. Bonn, 1976. |
| *P.Köln* II | *Kölner Papyri*, vol. 2, ed. B. Kramer and D. Hagedorn. Papyrologica Coloniensia 7. Opladen 1978. |
| *P.Oxy.Hels.* | *Fifty Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. H. Zilliacus et al. Papyrologica Coloniensia 4. Cologne, 1969. |
| *P.Petaus* | *Das Archiv des Petaus*, ed. U. Hagedorn et al. Papyrologica Coloniesia 4. Cologne, 1969. |
| *P.Sakaon* | *The Archive of Aurelius Sakaon*, ed. G. Paréssoglou, 1969. |
| *P.Vindob.Tandem* | *Fünfunddreissig Wiener Papyri*, ed. P. J. Sijpesteijn and K. A. Worp. Zutphen, 1976. |
| *P.XV Congr.* | *Actes du XVsuper e Congrès international de Papyrologive*, vol. 2, ed. J. Bingen and G. Nachtergael. Papyrologica Bruxellensia 17. Brussels, 1979. |
| *SIRIS* | *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Iseacae et Sarapiacae*, ed. L. Vidman. Berlin, 1969. |
| *ZPE* | *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.* |

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G. H. R. HORSLEY

**NAMES, HYPOCORISTIC** A hypocoristicon is generally a single-element name resulting from the shortening of an originally longer one. Hebrew names, and Semitic names in general, were often composed of two elements (or, as was often the case in Akkadian names and sometimes the case with West Semitic ones, three elements) which formed a nominal or verbal sentence. It was not uncommon for one of these elements to be dropped, producing this hypocoristic form. Theoretically, any element that occurs in a compound name can be considered hypocoristic when found alone, and it can be assumed that biblical names such as *ʿôbēd,* "servant (of)," or *yākîn,* " (he) will establish," are hypocoristic, the fuller form not being represented. As such, they can be differentiated from one-word names, such as those based

on descriptions, plants and animals, the elements of which were rarely employed in compound names. However, names such as *šāʾûl,* "asked (of)," which refers to King Saul over 350 times in the OT and never appears in a "full" or longer form (note also the three lesser known individuals named Saul in the OT and Saul/Paul in the NT), suggest that sometimes these elements were used independently, not as hypocoristica of longer names. Despite the sizable corpus of onomastic evidence from inscriptions as well as in the Bible, there is still not enough known about naming practices in the ancient Semitic world to clearly define the functional conventions regarding hypocoristic names. Were they generally considered informal? Did they receive greater preference in speech than in writing? What role did personal preference, as opposed to cultural convention, play in the use of hypocoristic forms? Does the Bible provide a balanced view of hypocoristic use? To what extent, if any, did neighboring Semitic societies differ in their conventions? Such questions have yet to be fully answered.

A hypocoristicon could be verbal, nominal, or theophoric. It could stand alone, with or without minor changes in vocalization, or have a suffix appended to it (Noth *IPN* 36–41). Examples of the most common suffixes, *-â, -āʾ* and *-î,* on nominal and verbal Israelite hypocoristica include: *ʿezrāʾ, ʿezrâ* (cf. *ʿēzer, ʿazrîʾēl, ʿăzaryāhû*); *šebnāʾ, šebnâ* (cf. *šĕbanyāhû*); *mîkāʾ, mîkâ* (cf. *mîkāʾēl, mîkāyāhû*); *ʿabdî* (cf. *ʿebed, ʿabdāʾ, ʿabdĕʾēl, ʿabdîʾēl*); *ʿuzzî* (cf. *ʿuzzāʾ, ʿuzzâ, ʿuzzîʾēl, ʿuzzîyāhû*). Other hypocoristic suffixes include *-ay: ḥelqay* (cf. *ḥēleq, hilqîyāhû*); *-at* (most often associated with feminine names): *šimrāt* (cf. *šemer, šimrî, šĕmaryāhû*); *maḥlat* (cf. *maḥlî, maḥlōn*); *-ôt: šēmôt; šĕlōmôt* (cf. *šĕlūmîʾēl*); *-o: dôdô* (cf. *dôday*); *šĕlōmōh* (cf. *šĕlūmîʾēl*); *-ān/-ām: šipṭān* (cf. *šĕpaṭyāhû*); *ʾăḥuzzām* (cf. *ʾăḥuzzat, ʾăḥazyāhû*); *-ôn/-ôm: ʿabdôn* (cf. *ʿebed, ʿabdāʾ, ʿabdĕʾēl*); *gēršôm, gēršôn.* Diminutive use of the *-ôn* suffix is probably attested in the names *šimšôn* and *naḥšôn.* Theophoric hypocoristic personal names, based on either a divine name or epithet, were much less common throughout the ancient Semitic world. Examples from the OT, with and without suffixes, include: *ʾēlāʾ* (ʾl [Samaria ostraca]), *baʿal* (*bʿl* [Samaria ostraca]), *gād, gādî, malkām, rešep*, and possibly *yēhûʾ*.

Hypocoristic geographic names are less common, or at least less demonstrable, due to the fact that the majority of known geographic names are sparsely attested. Also, there is a proportionally greater number of one-word geographic names, compared to personal names, both with and without suffixes, which cannot, strictly speaking, be considered hypocoristic. Many of these are descriptive in nature. A name such as *gibʿâ,* "height," cannot automatically be considered a hypocoristicon, even when there are names compounded with this element, such as *gibʿat šāʾûl,* since the term *gibʿâ* is descriptive and can function independently, as compared with a name such as "hears," or "servant [of]." Demonstrable examples of geographic hypocoristica in the OT, for which the hypocoristic and the longer form refer to the same site, include: *yābēš,* "dry" (cf. *yābēš gilʿād*) and *yabneh,* "[deity] causes to build" (cf. *yabnĕʾēl*).

The potential value of biblical parallel passages in studying the use of hypocoristic names is illustrated by comparing 1 Chr 9:16: *ʿōbadyâ ben-šĕmaʿyâ ben-gālāl* ("Obadiah the son of Shemaiah, son of Galal") and Neh 11:17: *ʿabdāʾ ben-šammaʿ ben-gālāl* ("Abda the son of Shammua, son of Galal"). An interesting display of hypocoristic usage, which exemplifies the present incomplete understanding of hypocoristic conventions, involves Jeremiah's scribe Baruch. He is always called *bārûk* in the MT (23 times), usually with the patronymic *ben-nērîyâ/-yāhû,* and in Jer 36:32 he is referred to as *bārûk ben-nērîyāhû hassōpēr* ("Baruch the scribe, the son of Neriah"). This phrase is identical, except for the hypocoristic form of *bārūk,* to the inscription on an Israelite bulla which reads *brkyhw bn nryhw hspr* (Avigad 1978: 53).

Other ancient Semitic names also evidence this practice of hypocoristic usage, exhibiting both independent and suffixed forms. These latter are similar to those mentioned in reference to the Israelite names listed above and can easily be reviewed in the published studies of major collections of names from the ANE (See for example: Stamm 1939: 11, 113–14; Benz 1972: 232–35; Gröndahl *PTU,* 49–54; Huffmon *APNM,* 130–40; and Zadok 1977: 148–70). One popular Akk hypocoristic suffix, *-ya,* found also in the cuneiform representations of Ugaritic and Amorite names, induced Jastrow (1894: 101–27) to propose that the Israelite theophoric *-yâ* should be regarded as merely an emphatic suffix. Gray (1896: 150–51), among others, rightly disputed and rejected this theory, noting that Jastrow's explanation might be correct in only a few, rare cases.

Hypocoristic forms of Hebrew, as well as Aramaic, names continued to be employed into the NT period. Examples from the NT, preserved in Greek, include: *Anna = ḥannâ,* "grace, favor" (cf. *ḥānān, ḥannî›ēl, Ananias = ḥănanyâ*) and *Symeōn = šim‹ōn, Simōn = šim‹ōn,* "[deity] has heard" (cf. *šim‹ā›, šim‹â, šim‹î, šĕma‹yāhû*).

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**NAMES, THEOPHORIC** Theophoric names, both personal and geographic, have as one of their elements a divine name or epithet. Since many Semitic names were compounded from two or three elements to form verbal or nominal sentences, theophoric names thus represent declarations about or expressions of petition to the deity mentioned in the name.

The most common divine name found in Israelite theophoric personal names is a form of YHWH, which never occurs in a name in its full form, *yhwh,* but does appear in several standardized ones: *yĕhô-, yô-, -yāhû, -yô, -yâ,* and rarely *-yĕhô-* and *-yoÆ-.* This is followed to a lesser extent by the generic *›ēl,* "god." Examples from the OT and Israelite inscriptions include: *›ûrîyāhû/›wryhw,* "YHWH is my light"; *yĕhônātān/ywntn,* "YHWH has given [the child]"; *yišmā‹ē›l/yšm‹›l,* "God hears [requests]." Divine epithets, or characterized titles, were most often references to kinship or dominion. Examples of this type of theophoric personal name include: *›abnēr/›ābînēr,* " (My) [divine] father is a lamp" (cf. *›ăbîyāhû/›byw,* "YHWH is my [divine] father"); *›ăḥînādāb,* "My [divine] brother is noble" (cf. *›ăḥîyāhû/›ḥyhw,* "YHWH is my [divine] brother"); *›ădōnîrām,* "My lord is exalted" (cf. *›ădōnîyāhû,* "YHWH is my lord"); *malkîrām/mlkrm,* "My [divine] king is exalted" (cf. *malkîyāhû,* "YHWH is my king"). Despite the assimilation of Gk names by the Jews of the Greco-Roman period, Heb and Aram names are recorded in the NT, although they have been preserved in Greek form. Examples of theophoric names from the NT include: *Iōannēs = yôḥānān,* "YHWH is gracious"; *Zacharias = zĕkaryāhû,* "YHWH has remembered"; and *Gamaliēl = gamlî›ēl,* "recompense of God."

Theophoric names in other ancient Semitic societies were generally similar in form to those names already cited, differing in the divine name or epithet employed, although many of the latter were fairly standard among different Semitic groups. Examples of some non-Israelite theophoric names contained in the OT are: *hădad‹ezer = hdd‹zr* [Aram], "Hadad is (a) help (er)" and *nĕbûkadne›ssar/nĕbûkadre›ssar = Nabû-kudurri-usur* [Akk], "O Nabu, protect the heir."

Theophoric geographic names are less common and are usually cultic or commemorative in nature. Examples from the OT, not all of which originated with the Israelites, include: *bêt-‹ănāt,* "Temple of Anat"; *bāmôt ba‹al,* "High places of Baal/the lord"; *migdal-›ēl,* "Tower of God"; *naḥălî›ēl,* "Wadi of God"; *ba‹al pĕrāsîm,* "Baal/lord of the breaches"; *pĕnû›ēl,* "Face of God." The only place names in the OT which contain the divine name YHWH are early altar names, such as *yhwh šālôm,* "YHWH is peace," and later futuristic names for Jerusalem, such as *kissē› yhwh,* "Throne of YHWH."

Since names in the ANE were often chosen for their meaning, theophoric names, especially personal ones from the OT period, prove to be a valuable resource for religious information. (Geographic names, by nature, are long-term identifiers. Many of them continued through a variety of population and cultural changes, thus restricting their value.) The very fact that so many of the names in ancient Semitic societies, including the Israelites, were of a theophoric nature demonstrates a strong disposition toward the role of the divine in the lives of these people. These names indicate what attributes and qualities were associated with a specific deity by the general populace of a society. Although basic qualities, such as being mighty, mindful of worshippers, and hearing and responding to petitions were attributed to most major deities, comparisons can be enlightening. According to Israelite personal names, YHWH was brother, father, god,

lord, king; he blessed, created, gave, heard, judged, knew, protected, remembered, saved; was light, good, great, gracious, noble, righteousness, perfection; etc. Hunsberger (1969) felt such information could be employed to demonstrate a correlation between the content of Israelite theophoric personal names and theological shifts due to major sociopolitical events during the course of the OT period.

Theophoric names also provide an indication of which deities were considered important by a given population group. Even in polytheistic societies, where many of the sometimes hundreds of deities which were recognized were actively worshipped, certain divine names were more popular in theophoric personal names than others (see, for example, Fine 1954: 116–34). Interestingly, research has indicated at Ugarit that divine names such as *ʾaṯrt, dgn* and *yrḥ,* which are well-known from mythological and cultic texts, were not popular in personal names (de Moor 1970: 222; *PTU,* 103, 123, 145). Concerning ancient Israel, studies have shown that despite the prophetic polemics against the waywardness of the people from the time of the Judges onward, a comparatively large percentage of Israelites had names containing the divine element YHWH, while surprisingly few people had names which contained a non-Yahwistic theophoric element (Tigay 1986, for the inscriptional evidence; Pike 1989, for OT evidence). These are the types of information which theophoric names can provide—information which must be weighed in any evaluation of the religion of ancient Israel.

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DANA M. PIKE

**NANEA** (DEITY) [Gk *Nanaīa* (Ναναια)]. A goddess of Mesopotamian origin whose name in Semitic sources is given as *Nanâ* or *Nanay (a).* Her syncretistic cult spread far and wide throughout the ancient world, including Greece. In the Greek world she was equated with Artemis or Aphrodite, in Egypt with Isis, and in Iran with Anahita. Her name is attested from Alexandria and the Fayum to Transoxiana, and from Arad to Piraeus. Known Nanaiophorous names include Barnanaios, Bathnanaia, Mekatnanaia, and ʿAbdnanay. From early times Nanea was affiliated with sun and moon, and posed as a deity of love and war.

Of particular interest is a temple of Artemis-Nanea in Dura-Europos built in Roman times. Dedicatory inscriptions identify her as the chief goddess of the city, a status she also enjoyed at Susa already in Seleucid times. Images of Aphrodite, Nike, and Tyche in her temple at Dura-Europos suggest associations with these deities. According to 2 Macc 1:13–18, Antiochus IV (Epiphanes) on his eastern campaign (165–164 B.C.) reached Persia, where he attempted to contract a marriage with Nanea and claim the wealth of her temple as dowry. The priests of the Nanaeion displayed the treasures and thus lured the king inside the precinct. Then from a concealed door in the ceiling they stoned him and his attendants, decapitated them, and tossed their heads to the rest of the royal retinue waiting outside.

Antiochus' attack on the temple is confirmed by Polybius (31, 9), Josephus (*Ant* 12.354) and Appian (*Syr Wars* 66; cf. 2 Macc 9:1–2). All three locate the temple in Elymais (Elam) and identify the goddess as either Artemis (Polybius, Josephus) or Aphrodite (Appian). 1 Macc 6:1–4, though not naming the goddess, includes among the temple's riches dedicatory offerings left by Alexander the Great (cf. Josephus).

The nature and circumstances of Antiochus' death as depicted in 2 Maccabees 1 are contradicted by all other ancient sources. Confusion with Antiochus III (the Great), who lost his life in an attempt to rob a temple of Belus in Elymais (Diodorus 28, 3, 29, 15; Justin 32, 2; Strabo 16, 1.18) seems likely.

The exact location of the Nanaeion in question is unknown. For discussion see *AI* and Goldstein *Maccabees* AB

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ALBERT PIETERSMA

**NAOMI** (PERSON) [Heb *no‹ŏmî* (נָעֳמִי)]. The wife of Elimelech, mother-in-law of Ruth (Ruth 1:1–4).

The family of Elimelech left Bethlehem-Judah for Moab because of famine in the land. Naomi was bereft of Elimelech and her two sons, Mahlon and Chilion, during their ten-year sojourn in Moab (1:1–5). Her daughters-in-law, Ruth and Orpah, weighed their responsibility to the family, and despite Naomi's resistance Ruth accompanied Naomi back to Bethlehem (1:8–18). Although destitute, Naomi and Ruth survived because of the aid of a relative named Boaz (2:1; 4:3, 5) who subsequently married Ruth and purchased a parcel of land in Naomi's possession (4:3, 9–10). Naomi instructed Ruth to approach Boaz and request him to undertake the role of the family's *gō›ēl* (kinsman-redeemer) in their behalf (3:2, 9). However, there was no clear legal obligation upon Boaz since the law limited a *gō›ēl* marriage to a brother-in-law of the widow (Deut 25:5–10). The familial relationship between Naomi's husband and Boaz must have been distant since Naomi did not know of him until her return to Bethlehem (1:8–16; with 2:20).

Also, scholars are puzzled that Naomi is said to have had land for sale. There is no provision in the OT for land ownership by a widow, and more importantly the story portrays Naomi as penniless without mention of her propriety of land. It is best to conclude that Naomi, since she had no sons, was the only party who could dispense the land to a qualified relative.

Another difficulty regarding Naomi is the ascription of Ruth's child, Obed, to Naomi by the women of Bethlehem: "A son has been born to Naomi!" (4:17). The story assumes that the audience will understand this without explanation. Perhaps the writer interpreted Boaz as a proxy for both Elimelech and Mahlon, making the child both Ruth's and Naomi's.

The name "Naomi" is the only one whose meaning is explained in the story itself (1:20–21). The name means "pleasant" or "my pleasantness," although the former is preferred since *y* is a hypocoristicon. It is related to the root *n‹m,* "to be pleasant, delightful," and the adjective *nā‹îm,* "pleasant, delightful." By a play on words Naomi implies this meaning for her name because she contrasts it with "Mara" ("bitterness"). See MARA. She explains to the Bethlehem women that her present condition of sorrow prevents her from being "Naomi."
KENNETH A. MATHEWS

**NAPHISH** (PERSON) [Heb *nāpîš* (נָפִישׁ)]. A son of Ishmael (Gen 25:15; 1 Chr 1:31) and, like all the sons of Ishmael, an Arab tribe (1 Chr 5:19). See ISHMAELITES. According to 1 Chr 5:19, Naphish inhabited N Transjordan (or an adjacent region) in the Persian period. See JETUR; NODAB. Two or three centuries earlier, a chief of this tribe, ‹Amm-la-yiṯa‹ (in Akkadian, *Am-le-ta Na-pi-šá-a-a*) is mentioned in a cuneiform letter to Ashurbanipal (CT 53, 289 Rs 8f) in connection with a Massaean (see MASSA) and the "rebellion" of the Kedarite chief Yauṯa‹, which troubled the Assyrian king before 649 B.C. (Knauf 1983).

Zadok (1982: 296) has suggested that the Nephisim/Nephushesim (Ezra 2:50 = Neh 7:52) were prisoners of war from the tribe of Naphish. The various spellings of the Nephusim's name (Ezra 2:50 *npysym* [Ketîb], *npwsym* [Qerê]; Neh 7:52 *npwšsym* [Ketîb], *npyšsym* [Qerê]) caution against this suggestion, although neither the difference of the second syllable's vowel (*û* versus *î*) nor the inconsistent rendering of the sibilant (*s* and *š*) provide insurmountable obstacles against it. Although ancient N Arabian *sin* is generally rendered *šin* in Hebrew and Aramaic, occasional spellings with *samek* occur as early as the 5th century B.C.

For an explanation of the tribal name, cf. Arabic *nafîs* "precious"; as a personal name, Nafîs is attested for Tayma-Thamudic and Safaitic (Knauf 1989: 81).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**NAPHOTH-DOR** (PLACE) [Heb *nāpôt dôr* (נָפוֹת דּוֹר)]. A Canaanite city-state situated 12 miles S of Carmel and 9 miles from Caesarea. It lies in the N part of the plains of Sharon and was an important seaport town for many centuries beginning in the LB Age. It maintained links with the Mediterranean world from the 15th or 14th centuries B.C. It is identified with modern Kh. el-Burj (M.R. 142224).

The name Naphoth-dor is found in numerous forms, implying varied connotations. It is likely that the Egyptians named it Tantura, whereas the Sea Peoples called it Naphath-dor and the Assyrians referred to it as Du›ru. The MT uses both the plural form *nāpôt* (Josh 11:2) and the singular *nāpāt* (Josh 12:23; 1 Kings 4:11) although the singular form is better attested in the MT and in the versions.

"Naphath" has been understood to mean a "district" or a "dune." The sand dunes in the area would certainly have been the reason for that name. On the other hand, the language of the Sea Peoples who occupied the town in the 12th century suggests an alternative meaning. The cognate in archaic Greek means "a wooded country." This is a semantic equivalent of Sharon, conveying the meaning "Dor of Sharon."

The long history of Naphoth-dor is reflected in the abundant remains from the LB Age down to the Crusader period. Apart from the remains some significant references to it in ancient documents illustrate its importance. After being founded probably by the Egyptians in the 15th century, it continued to serve as a harbor. An inscription of Rameses II from the 13th century B.C. mentions it for the first time. It was destroyed at the hands of the Sea Peoples in that century, and the Tjeker, one of the Sea Peoples, subsequently took control of Dor. Wen-Amon's report makes reference to Beder, king of Tjeker, as being in control of Dor during his visit to the city. It flourished throughout the Iron Age and became the capital of Solomon's fourth district governed by Ben-abinadab, his son-in-law. It was also a customs sanctuary. A seal of a priest called Zekaryahu suggests its links with Yahwism. Tiglath-Pileser III attacked it in 734 B.C. and captured it in 732 B.C. He reorganized the area by forming the District of Du›ru consisting of the region which extended as far as the Philistine border. Later Sargon II formed the Province of Samaria which included the former Province of Du›ru. The Assyrian Eponym List and the list of cities repeatedly mentions this city. It was granted autonomy under the Persians and became a Sidonian colony. Later it became a Ptolemaic royal fortress. Antiochus Sidetes besieged it employing cavalry, infantry and ships, but without success. By the end of the 2d century B.C. it was ruled by the tyrant Zoilus. Alexander Jannaeus was able to acquire it by negotiation and Pompey granted it autonomy in 64 B.C. by returning it to its former owners. It continued to be a free city under Herod and his successors. Josephus remarks that the Gentiles who inhabited it practiced Apollo worship. There is also evidence for the worship of Zeus and Astarte. A synagogue was in existence before the destruction of the Second Temple. There was a church and it became a bishopric during the Byzantine period in the 7th century A.D.

Joshua 11 recounts that the King of Naphoth-dor was a member of the coalition which fought against Joshua. Though the king was defeated the victory over the city was temporary, since Josh 17:11 and Judg 1:27 indicate that this city was one of those that remained to be conquered. The account of the defeat, however, affirms that a famous and powerful city like Naphoth-dor was given into the hands of Israel by the Lord when Israel was an obedient people.
PAUL BENJAMIN

**NAPHTALI** (PERSON) [Heb *naptālî* (נַפְתָּלִי)]. The sixth son of Jacob and the second son of Bilhah, Rachel's servant, and the eponymous ancestor of the tribe Naphtali. Naphtali is born to Bilhah and Jacob after Rachel suggests to her husband that he should have children by her servant. She is driven to this plan because she is unable to conceive, in contrast to her sister Leah, who at the point of the initiation of Rachel's plan had already had four sons by Jacob. Although born to Bilhah, Rachel has the privilege of

naming Naphtali. *Naptālî,* formed from a base involving the *Nip‘al* of *ptl,* a verb that means "to twist" or "to wrestle." In popular etymology the name is associated with the words Rachel speaks upon naming him: "with wrestlings of God I have wrestled with my sister, and I have prevailed" (Gen 30:8). Although barren, Rachel feels a measure of success with the births of two sons to her servant; they do not, however, solve her anguish of childlessness. Only with the birth of her own child, Joseph, can she say that God has removed her reproach.

The book of Judges recounts that the tribe of Naphtali attempted to drive out the people of Beth-shemesh and Beth-anath, but was unsuccessful. They do, however, subject the residents to "forced labor" (Judg 1:33). Naphtali's most noted campaign occurs under the direction of its famous military leader, Barak. Barak, instructed by Deborah to fight Sisera at Mt. Tabor, with the assistance of Naphtali and Zebulun, leads people memorialized as those willing to risk "their lives to the death" (Judg 5:18). Naphtali was also summoned by Gideon to fight the Midianites and Amalekites (Judg 6:33–35). Mayes (*IJH,* 315), however, suggests that this reference is not historical because the list of the tribes who assist Gideon appears differently in Judg 7:23 (although Naphtali does appear both here and in Judg 6:33–35) since Gideon's campaigns were undertaken primarily by his own clan, the Abiezrites. It is uncertain whether Jacob's reference to Naphtali as an "unleashed hind" (Gen 49:21) in his blessing to the tribes is pejorative or a reference to the tribe's resilience in fighting.

Deut 27:11–26 describes Naphtali as one of the tribes who participates in a blessing/curse ceremony on Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Ebal. Naphtali, along with Reuben, Gad, Asher, Zebulun, and Dan, represents the curses that will result if the Israelites break the covenant. Elliger (*IDB* 3: 509) suggests that since it is said that Naphtali "dwelt among the Canaanites," probably has a non-Semitic name, and was probably under the domination of Hazor, it enjoyed a lesser status among the tribes. However, the description in Ps 68:27 which refers to Naphtali as one of only four tribes (along with Benjamin, Judah, and Zebulun) who are participants in a temple procession may counter this suggestion. Naphtali is also cited as the tribe that provides three cities to the Gershonites as a portion of their levitical inheritance (Josh 21:32; 1 Chr 6:76).

The boundaries and cities of Naphtali are given in Josh 19:32–39 This territory consists of the N regions of Israel around the E parts of the Galilee. This area is also indicated by Moses' blessing to Naphtali, who is to possess "the lake and the south" (Deut 33:23). The reference to the S is an enigma since the S regions of the Galilee belonged to Issachar. The exact boundaries of Naphtali are disputed. The region extending from Mt. Tabor to the Jordan, clearly part of the territory of Naphtali, is understood to be the tribe's N border by Noth (1935: 225–26), but the S border by Aharoni (*LBHG,* 238). The N border of this tribe may be missing due to the inability of Israel to clearly demarcate its N territory within Canaanite strongholds (Aharoni *LBHG,* 231). The list of Naphtali's territory appears abbreviated; instead of giving independent border demarcations, the references include only the boundaries of the adjacent territories of Zebulun and Asher. The disputed S boundary touches Zebulun, the W boundary borders Asher, and the E border meets at the Jordan (*LBHG,* 239).

Several cities listed as Naphtali's border cities have been identified. Aznoth-tabor, Heleph, Adami-nekeb, and Jabneel have been identified with, respectively, Khirbet el-Jebeil, Khirbet ‘Irbadeh (both at the foot of Mt. Tabor), Khirbet et-Tell above Khirbet ed-Damiyeh, and Tell en-Na‘am. Lakkum may be Khirbet el-Manṣurah (*LBHG,* 238–39).

Gottwald finds the biblical references to Naphtali's territory and skirmishes tenable since Naphtali existed in mountainous and forested terrain that could have been readily defended (1979: 528). Noth and Gottwald suggest that the city of Hazor, whose destruction is described in Joshua 11, was not destroyed by Joshua but by Naphtali in the 13th century B.C.E. (Gottwald 1979: 154; *NHI,* 149). Naphtali continued to challenge the feudal city-states in the E regions of the upper Galilee. Because of its success there, Naphtali was able to settle the region, or, if their settlement had already begun, to increase its own independence (Gottwald 1979: 528).

During the period of the monarchy, Naphtali is mentioned as one of the regions conquered by Ben-hadad of Syria. Ben-hadad, allied with Asa of Judah against Baasha of Israel, attempted to encroach upon Judah's territory (1 Kgs 15:20). During the reign of Pekah of Israel, Naphtali came to an end. Tiglath-

pileser of Assyria captured "all the land of Naphtali, and he carried the people captive to Assyria" (2 Kgs 15:29). Ezekiel hopes for the restoration of Naphtali in the N, alongside Dan and Asher.

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SHARON PACE JEANSONNE

**NAPHTHA** [Gk *naphtha* (ναφθα)]. A highly flammable substance mentioned twice in the Apocrypha. It was one of the substances used to heat the furnace into which Azariah (i.e., Abednego), Shadrach, and Meshach had been cast (LXX Addition to Daniel v 23). It was also the common name (Gk *naphthai*) used for the thick liquid that in the time of Nehemiah was used to ignite the sacred fire of the altar sacrifices (according to 2 Macc 1:26). Strabo (16.1, 15) also refers to naphtha as a liquid that ignites if it is brought near fire. These references clearly allude to some petroleum product. The word itself comes from the Akk *napṭu*, which eventually worked its way into Greek as a loanword (Aram *nepṭā/napṭā;* Goldstein, *2 Maccabees* AB, 181). See also NEPHTHAR.

GARY A. HERION

**NAPHTUHIM** The Table of Nations (Gen 10:13) and the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 1:11 place the Naphtuhim among the descendants of Mizraim (Egypt), son of Ham, son of Noah. These two references have the only occurrences of the name in the Bible. Because of the association with Egypt, scholars have looked in that direction to identify more closely who these people might be.

Kitchen (*NBD,* 815) proposes two Egyptian etymologies for the Hebrew name. One is associated with the delta area of Lower (i.e., northern) Egypt, and the other with the "oasis" area W of the Nile. The former location has merit since in the genealogies the Naphtuhim are closely associated with the Pathrusim, probably to be identified with Upper (i.e., southern) Egypt. Rendsburg (1987) proposes an Egyptian original which reads "those of Ptah." This, he claims, refers to Memphis, headquarters of the worship of that Egyptian god (see *CAH*$^3$ 1/2: 15–17, 52; Kitchen 1973: 187–94). This would locate the Naphtuhim somewhat south of the delta, in Middle Egypt.

The Aramaic Targum on Chronicles reads 1:11 as Pentaskinnai, from the Greek *Pentaschoinon.* This is located in the northeastern delta region of Egypt (*EncMiqr* 5: 905). While an Egyptian identification of the Naphtuhim is sure, the lack of more specific evidence does not allow us to determine the exact area occupied by them.

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DAVID W. BAKER

**NARCISSUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Narkissos* (Ναρκισσος)]. In Rom 16:11, Paul sent greetings to "those of the people of Narcissus who are in the Lord," i.e., the Christians among the slaves or freed (wo)men of Narcissus. Narcissus himself does not receive greetings. Perhaps the Christian Narcissus had died or was absent from Rome (cf. Cranfield *Romans* ICC, 792), or more probably he was *not* a Christian. That only some of the servants of Narcissus' household were Christians supports the latter possibility. And Paul probably would have added some detail about Narcissus, as he did with the other Christians mentioned in Rom 16:3–13, if Narcissus had been a Christian.

The Christian slaves or freed (wo)men of Narcissus formed a house-church in Rome (Lampe *StadtrChr,* 302, 319). Paul mentioned four other groups in Romans 16 which evidently worshiped together: The "house-church" of Prisca and Aquila (v 5), "Asyncritus, Phlegon … and the brethren/sisters who are with them" (v 14), "Philologus, Julia … and all the saints who are with them" (v 15), and "the (Christians) of the people of Aristobulus" (v 10). The latter were slaves and freed (wo)men again. In addition, Jewish and pagan sources reflect that (freed) slaves of one master formed worship communities without the master belonging to their religion: The Jewish freed (wo)men of Agrippa, of Augustus, and of the *gens Volumnia* established three different synagogues in Rome, as did a group of former Herodian slaves (see the

inscriptions in Lampe *StadtrChr,* 367). In the year 61 C.E., Cassius (in Tacitus *Ann.* 14.44) complained about those slaves in distinguished Roman households "who have different rituals, foreign religions." Looking from the pagan side, Cassius confirms Rom 16:10–11

Since freedmen named Narcissus were numerous in Rome (Lampe *StadtrChr,* 136), it is superfluous to speculate whether Narcissus was the famous imperial freedman under Claudius (*CIL* 15:7500) as is sometimes proposed. *Acts Pet.* 48:7; 49:15; 53:13; 61:8, 27 (2d century C.E.) portray Narcissus as a Roman presbyter owning a house where Christians met.

PETER LAMPE

**NARD** See PERFUMES AND SPICES; FLORA.

**NARRATIVE, COURT** See COURT NARRATIVE (2 SAMUEL 9–1 KINGS 2).

**NARRATIVE, HEBREW** Narrative communicates meaning through the imitation of human life, the temporal ordering of human speech and action. It constructs a verbal world that centers on human characters, their relations, desires, and actions in time. Time is crucial for narrative. Unlike other kinds of discourse, e.g., lyric poetry, proverbs, or legal codes, which communicate through images, propositions, or admonitions, narrative is distinguished by plot, a sequence of connected action that leads, through varying degrees of dramatic intensity, to some sense of resolution. Narrative interrelates distinct events to form a coherent whole without extraneous incidents.

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A. Narrative Portions of the Bible
B. Narrative and Genres
    1. Genres
    2. Narrative
C. Elements of Narrative
    1. Plot Structure
    2. Character
    3. Narrator's Point of View
    4. Language and Meaning
    5. Irony
    6. Reader's Point of View
D. Conclusion

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**A. Narrative Portions of the Bible**

The bulk of the Hebrew Bible is narrative. The primary story extends from Genesis through 2 Kings. The plot is initiated by God, who attempts to establish and sustain a relationship of trust with humankind. A particular family is chosen and promised a land and nationhood, gifts which will come to represent God's pledge of commitment and of presence in the relationship. For its part, the divinely chosen family seeks to realize its vision of land and nationhood with, and sometimes without, God's assistance. God's desire for relationship and human desire for place and identity prove frequently incompatible and provide the ingredients of conflict in the overall story. Though the gifts are gained they are lost finally through the people's failure both to take seriously their own story and to respond to God's desire.

A second major narrative is the book of Chronicles, to which the books of Ezra and Nehemiah form a sequel. Prefaced by a genealogical compendium of Israel's ancestors prior to the monarchy, 1 and 2 Chronicles is an account of the kingdom of Judah from the death of Saul through the Exile and announcement of restoration. The heart of the story is an elaborate account of how King David established a united state, organized its bureaucracy, founded the temple, provided for its functionaries, and promoted the levitical priesthood. What follows is essentially a falling away from this perceived ideal. The narrative traverses the same period as 2 Samuel–2 Kings but presents a distinctive point of view, narrower in its focus and more obvious in its ideology. The two books that follow detail the

rebuilding of Jerusalem and the temple and the attempt by both Ezra and Nehemiah to sustain the restored community as a theocratic state in the face of external and internal pressures.

Some of the prophetic books also include narrative, usually retelling the historical circumstances in which the prophet worked and prophesied. Material in Isaiah and Jeremiah virtually duplicates segments of 2 Kings. Other books contain a type of discourse marginally akin to narrative as such: visions and divine speeches often report series of events. Visions, however, often minimize temporality, and divine speeches offer more of a catalogue of events rather than a closely constructed plot in which tension rises and falls.

Of the remaining narratives, the books of Ruth and Jonah fit into the temporal scheme of the primary story, and further develop the theme of God's desire for relationship in ways that are both consonant and contrastive with the larger account. Esther and Daniel 1–6 continue Israel's story after the loss of the land. These narratives capture the crisis of the displaced people dealing with foreign rule. Esther relates the pressures upon national identity in an alien context and Daniel explores the limits of God's sovereignty and God's relationship to the rest of humankind. Of all biblical narrative, Job is the most temporally and geographically elusive. Its distinctiveness lies not only in its present form—a brief narrative framing an extensive poetic dialogue—but also in its interest in an individual whose nationality is obscure and whose relationship to Israel is not, on the surface of the story, of primary importance.

**B. Narrative and Genres**

Biblical scholars have for several hundred years focused their attention upon the way the narratives have come to be in their present form. They have attempted to recover from the Bible its original sources, written and oral, and to write a history of the development of biblical literature and its conventional literary forms for the purpose of reconstructing the history of Israel and Israelite religion. Despite some impressive early hypotheses, the findings of source analysis have proved mainly inconclusive. Even those critics more interested in the literary characteristics of the material have attended to questions of genre or form rather than to the inner workings of the stories themselves. But while definitions of conventional forms can be helpful, they cannot capture the complexity of meaning produced by biblical stories.

**1. Genres.** Form critics have designated a variety of genres in Hebrew narrative. The term "saga" has been frequently used of the ancestral narratives in Genesis; "legend" is sometimes used of the narratives about Moses in Exodus and Numbers, or about Elijah and Elisha in 1 and 2 Kings; the Joseph story in Genesis has been termed a "novella," as have the books of Esther, Jonah, and Ruth, and the story of King David's family found in 2 Samuel 9–20 and 1 Kings 1–2. Etiologies, or accounts of origins, are found at various places in Genesis–2 Kings. "Tale" is another term that has been used of shorter story units.

Often the labels are used to indicate some perceived relation to "history," though such relations are extremely difficult to determine. In the case of the primary story (Genesis–2 Kings), scholars have been readier to designate as "history writing" subject matter closer to the exilic period (6th century B.C.E.). A major exception has been the story of King David, often thought to be a reliable historical document from close to the time of David. On the other hand, the Chronicler's story, in part because of its more obvious ideological bias and its later composition, has long been viewed as historically less reliable than Samuel and Kings, despite the fact that it presents itself as "history writing" no less than those books.

It would appear that some useful distinction might be made in terms of "imaginative" genres (saga, legend, novella, etc.) and "recording" genres (anecdote, annalistic extract, memoirs, history writing, etc.). In practice, however, such distinctions are not easily sustained. The difference between fiction and nonfiction, for example, is not always clear, especially where ancient "history-like" writing is concerned. Even where historical records are involved, once events are selected and ordered by an author or editor, particularly when serving a distinctive ideology, a distance is established between the narrative world and the world of "what actually happened." In short, then, genre labels, especially those which are conceived in terms of historiographical purpose, are of limited use.

**2. Narrative.** Nevertheless, an important distinction can be made between "dialogic" and "monologic" narrative. The former is represented by much of the primary story together with most of the shorter stories such as Ruth, Jonah, Daniel 1–6, and Esther. It is more open to multiple interpretations, entertains within

it several ideological points of view or "voices," often in tension, and is characterized by restraint on the part of the narrator and a premium on "showing" through characters' actions and dialogue rather than simply "telling." The latter is represented above all by Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. It has more in common with the rhetoric of public persuasion such as the political speech or the sermon, tends to elicit a narrower range of responses from the reader, minimizes tensions and ideological plurality, and is characterized by a premium on "telling" through extended monologues from both narrator and characters.

**C. Elements of Narrative**

If the narrative is thought of as the narrator's construction, what the reader does may be thought of as reconstruction. Plot is the organizing force or principle through which narrative meaning is communicated. But not only is meaning expressed on a time continuum, it is conveyed through different and incomplete sources—the voice of the narrator, the speech and actions of characters. Presented with fragmented but potentially coherent information, the reader must observe, order, and amplify in order to forge meaning.

**1. Plot Structure.** A reader comprehends a plot both in terms of the simple sequence of action and in terms of the rise and fall of dramatic tension. How the reader discerns the dramatic structure of the plot will determine what is most significant in the sequence. Dramatic structure can be charted with three basic categories. The *exposition* sets up the story world and initiates the main series of events. The situation presented in an exposition is usually characterized by incompleteness, disorder, or unfulfilled desire, from which develops a subsequent *conflict.* The conflict, which may be internal to a character or an external one, between characters, moves through various phases until a climax gives way to some degree of *resolution.* Thus the story of the succession to David in 1 Kings 1–2 establishes that the king is old and senile and that the oldest son, Adonijah, desires and expects to succeed to the throne. Conflict materializes in a rival party backing Solomon, and a climax is reached when Nathan and Bathsheba make a successful preemptive strike on Solomon's behalf. The king yields the throne to the younger son. Resolution follows in stages with the king's death and the eventual execution of Adonijah.

In most cases, however, the plot structure may appear to be more complex. For example, there may be several points of intensity or climax. Sometimes this will depend on which character's point of view is perceived to be predominant in the narrative as a whole. Thus in the story of Jephthah in Judges 10–12, the major climax of the story, from the Israelites' point of view, is Jephthah's victory over the oppressing Ammonites (11:32–33). That, too, could be taken to be the climax, from Jephthah's point of view, if his initial predicament is his expulsion from Gilead. On the other hand, the story of a Jephthah early deprived of a family might be seen to reach a climax in his decision to sacrifice his only child. When the tragic role of the daughter predominates, however, the climax may perhaps lie in her acceptance of death as her lot.

Another factor that complicates biblical plots is the frequency with which narratives are constructed from a number of seemingly separate plots. This factor has often led scholars to postulate the presence of originally independent sources in what they see as a composite rather than unitary final narrative. In terms of the final form, however, irrespective of their origins, these plots usually function as subplots or episodes within a larger plot. Thus the stories of Abraham and Sarah in Egypt (Genesis 12), Sarah and Hagar (Genesis 16 and 21), or the wooing of Rebekah (Genesis 24) are all episodes within the larger story of promised land and nationhood. In the family story of Jacob (see Genesis 37:2) the story of Judah and Tamar becomes a subplot within a larger plot which deals primarily with Joseph but in which, in the fraternal struggle for ascendancy, Judah also plays a prominent role.

In some cases, as with various stories of the ancestors in Genesis, the episodes are not causally connected, but rather linked through association. Genesis 26, Isaac's visit to Gerar, has no immediate connection with the preceding incident involving Jacob and Esau's birthright. Nor does it flow into the next episode which reverts to the rivalry between the brothers. Yet it fits into the larger Genesis story, first, by associating Isaac's behavior with that of his father in Abraham's visits to Egypt and Gerar (chapters 12 and 20) and, second, by foreshadowing, through motifs of deception and strife, the coming struggle within Isaac's own family. In other cases, as with the last chapters of Judges or 2 Samuel (or likewise the fight between Ephraim and Gilead at the end of the Jephthah story), the episodes appear as a

kind of coda or epilogue which invites the reader to reflect back on what has preceded and to discover thematic and often ironic associations.

Frequently in the larger narrative complexes the subplots and plot episodes center upon one or two main characters as hero or heroine. When the larger plot is considered, however, the main protagonist (apart from God) generally turns out to be a corporate character such as the ancestral family or the people of Israel. As the complex story unfolds the reader, who keeps shifting focus between the inner and outer plots, maintains a more balanced perception of the whole.

**2. Character.** A reader's reconstruction of character involves observing, assessing, comparing and contrasting what the characters do, what they say, what the narrator says about them, how other characters respond to them and what other characters say about them. We may usually take what the narrator says about a character as a serious guide to aid us in our understanding of a character, but the narrator seldom tells us all we want to know. Rarely does the narrator describe external appearances or present internal thoughts and emotions. Moreover, what other characters say cannot always be relied upon since characters in biblical narrative, mimicking real life, convey only limited human viewpoints, frequently prejudiced and self-serving. In her speech to David in 1 Samuel 25, Abigail heaps opprobrium upon her husband, Nabal, and pictures David as the angel of God, able only to do good. Yet we may be justified in suspecting her of exaggerating once we have noticed, first, the dubious nature of David's unsolicited "protection" of Nabal's flocks, second, the haste and vehemence with which David orders reprisals against the whole of Nabal's household, and, third, the fact that Abigail is desperately seeking to placate David, even to the extent of offering discreetly to join him ("And when the Lord has dealt well with my lord, then remember your handmaid," v 31).

The relationship of character to plot is not simply that characters enact plot. Desire and ambition motivate the movements and changes that constitute the plot. And desire and ambition are forces within the characters who people the story. To understand the complexity of the character we need to determine the desire. Why does Abram try to pass his wife off as his sister in Genesis 12? After he receives God's promise of land, nationhood, and blessing, Abram sets out to find this land seemingly without a word to his wife Sarai about the divine promise. When famine strikes, he eagerly leaves the land of promise to go to Egypt where he, afraid for his life, presents Sarai as his sister rather than his spouse. Pharaoh takes her as his concubine, paying in exchange for her a rather handsome sum to the man Abram. The reader is left pondering Abram's motivation. Is fear only part of what inspires him to pawn his wife? Does she not become the surety for "blessing"? Did he ever intend for the aged and barren Sarai to share in the divine promise at all? Might "nationhood" require the womb of a younger woman? One of the maidservants provided by Pharaoh, perhaps?

**3. Narrator's Point of View.** Narrative information is presented through the point of view of the narrator and the characters. These perspectives in conjunction with that of the reader form a system of relationships. The reader's point of view affects and is affected by the relation between the perspectives of the narrator and the characters. The narrator's point of view can be detected in direct narration, comment, and explanation. Alternatively, the narrator may step aside and allow the characters to speak for themselves and so to convey their own point of view. The most common error readers of biblical narratives make is confusing a character's point of view with that of the narrator. This can be avoided by carefully comparing and contrasting what the narrator tells the reader directly with what the characters say.

Take, for example, the exposition of the story of Judah and Tamar in Genesis 38 Judah's sons die, the narrator tells us, because they "do evil in the sight of the Lord." When dealing with their widow, Tamar, who is entitled to marry his third son, Shelah, Judah tells her to return to her father's house. Shelah, he says to her, is not old enough to marry yet, but to himself he says, "lest he, too, die like his brothers." It is clear from this inner speech that he views Tamar to be a jinx, whereas the narrator has made it clear that the deaths are God's responsibility. This distinction between point of view assists the reader in evaluating both the characters, Judah and Tamar. First, the reader is guided to accept the narrator's assessment and to recognize Tamar's innocence. Second, the discrepancy invites the reader to consider Judah's readiness to

blame the woman rather than see any fault in his sons. His double standard will become doubly apparent in his subsequent rush to condemn her for a second time when she is found to be pregnant. Ironically, where he sees harlotry, the reader sees radical responsibility. The harlotry is his own.

**4. Language and Meaning.** All narrative information is, of course, communicated through the medium of language. The language of narrative is often multivalent, carrying more than one meaning at once. There are several different types of verbal ambiguity. Sometimes two or more meanings of unequal force are present in a single word or phrase. A careful reader recognizes the play of both meanings off one another, while the characters usually perceive only one meaning to be intended. In the Judah and Tamar story cited above, Tamar, disguised as a prostitute, bargains with an overly eager Judah for his cord, seal, and staff as a pledge of payment for her sexual services. Judah understands her to be referring to the staff that he is carrying in his hand and he willingly leaves it along with the other articles in her care. An astute reader might note, however, that the Hebrew word for staff also means "tribe" and might muse over the fact that Tamar, in the course of the story, indeed controls the future of Judah's tribe. The phallic shape of the staff also allows sexual connotations to play in an already sexually loaded story. Tamar is essentially bartering for a phallus that will bring her children and security, and with Judah's staff in her possession, she is able to emasculate him publicly when he attempts to have her burned for harlotry.

When meanings of equal force are carried in the same word or phrase, the ambiguity may be recognized by the characters as well as by the reader. The significance of the ambiguity is, nevertheless, usually left to the reader to determine. For example, in Ruth 2 Naomi exclaims upon seeing the grain Ruth has gleaned from Boaz's field, "Blessed be he by Yahweh whose kindness has not forsaken the living or the dead!" It is unclear from the construction whether Naomi is referring to the kindness of Yahweh or that of Boaz. For the reader, this ambiguity underscores a major theological point found in the book of Ruth, namely, that divine and human action are often difficult to distinguish.

When savoring the language of narrative, the reader must take seriously variation in expression. A change in wording can often indicate a different point of view (as indicated above), offer insight into a character's values, or reveal a character's attempt to manipulate others in the story world. To cite another example from Genesis 38, we should not miss there a subtle change of term for the role played by Tamar. When Judah sees her alongside the road, he considers her to be a common prostitute (*zônāh*). His subsequent dealings with her reflect this assumption. When he sends payment to her by the hand of his friend the Adullamite, the search is made for a *qĕdēšāh,* a "holy woman," a person who engages in sexual activity as cultic ritual. The shift in terminology points again to Judah's double standard. For public consumption he portrays his dealings under a more socially acceptable label.

An example of a deliberate variation in a situation involving persuasion can be found in Judges 19–20 The Levite, having handed over his concubine to a mob intent on raping him, equivocates on the details when he seeks to incite the congregation of Israel to take revenge on Gibeah. He avoids describing himself as the object of homosexual desire; instead, he claims that the men wanted to kill him. He avoids implicating himself in the woman's death; instead, he simply states that she was raped and is dead. His speech reduces a situation of complex culpability to a simple scenario of himself as victim with the entire male population of Gibeah at fault. If his view of the woman as a disposable possession was not already apparent to the reader in the preceding scene, it should be by the end of his speech.

**5. Irony.** When a narrative situation suggests more levels of meaning than the characters involved can recognize, irony is present. Irony is incongruity of knowledge. Characters think they know what they are doing when in fact they may be doing something rather different. They think they understand the way the world is when in fact it is different. Sometimes the discrepancy of knowledge is contained within the story world, so that some characters know more than others. Both Joab and David are in a position to savor the irony of Uriah carrying the letter which is also his warrant of execution (2 Samuel 11). In such cases the reader is also aware of the irony. At other times the reader alone is in a position to appreciate the irony. To Joab, at the news of Uriah's death, David sends the message, "Do not let this thing be evil in your sight, for the sword devours now one and now another." But to the reader the narrator observes a few verses later, "But the thing that David had done was evil in the sight of Yahweh."

Irony as an ingredient or mode of narration varies within the Hebrew Bible. Genesis–2 Kings is particularly rich in irony, Chronicles much less so. That difference is typical of the difference between dialogic and monologic narrative.

Irony becomes particularly significant as an interpretive strategy when the irony is played out between narrator and reader. "In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did what was right in his own eyes" observes the narrator several times amid the accounts of chaotic self-interest at the end of Judges. Are we to read this as a recommendation of kingship as a cure of ills? But if we do, we must ignore both the story of Abimelech (Judges 9) and most of the resulting history of the monarchy in Samuel and Kings where kingship seems no major barrier to the further exercise of corrosive self-interest.

Likewise we are told in the book of Kings of David's and Solomon's rectitude in such positive terms that we may be led to see in them some absolute standards of behavior. But one key word, "except," creeps into the evaluative statement. David "did what was right in the eyes of the Lord and did not turn aside from anything that he commanded him all the days of his life, except in the matter of Uriah the Hittite" (1 Kings 15:5). That "except" can have a powerful effect on the way we read the sentence if we recognize the matter of Uriah the Hittite to be the pivotal episode in David's life, representing a peak of grasping for whatever was good in his own eyes. Likewise we may be impressed by an apparent encomium of Solomon, who "loved the Lord, walking in the statutes of David his father; except he sacrificed and burnt incense at the high places" (1 Kings 3:3). By the end of his story we are obliged to consider whether that comment might not be ironical. "He had seven hundred wives, princes, and three hundred concubines; and his wives turned away his heart [from God] … [he] built a high place for Chemosh the abomination of Moab … and so he did for all his foreign wives, who burned incense and sacrificed to their gods" (1 Kings 11:3, 7, 8).

**6. Reader's Point of View.** Irony often is produced through setting up a conflict of facts or values as in the cases just mentioned. Awareness of irony is then a matter of point of view. Indeed play with the reader's point of view is characteristic of much Hebrew narrative and not just in connection with irony. A common way of effecting this is through allusion to other stories, episodes or characters.

The exposition of the book of Ruth describes a situation structurally reminiscent of the exposition to the Judah and Tamar story in Genesis 38 There is separation from family/homeland, a sojourning elsewhere, marriages to foreign women, deaths of two sons and spouse. In the Genesis story, as noted above, Judah suspects Tamar, the Canaanite widow of his two eldest sons, to be the cause of their death. Without openly accusing her, however, he urges her to return to her father's house. Naomi's attitude toward her daughters-in-law is not openly declared by the narrator but she, too, urges return—each to her mother's house. Struck by the analogy between the stories, a reader might well wonder whether Ruth has become to Naomi what Tamar was to Judah, namely, an albatross around her neck. The reader seeking to understand Naomi's motives is thus prompted to scrutinize her speech and actions with a degree of suspicion instead of taking them simply at face value.

Likewise awareness of the symbolic value of Moab in other stories—the story of Lot and his daughters (Genesis 19) and the sin of Baal-Peor (Numbers 25)—enables a reader of Ruth to align his or her point of view for a moment with that of the Israelites in the story or its implied ancient Israelite reader and detect racial and religious prejudice against Moab. Finally, the depiction of Naomi sending Ruth down to the threshing floor at night to lie with Boaz calls to mind not only the way Laban tricked Jacob into marrying Leah rather than Rachel (Genesis 29) but again the deception of Lot by his daughters and Judah by Tamar. Again, the allusions inculcate suspicion on the part of the reader so that entrapment comes into focus as an explanation for an enigmatic episode.

Sometimes allusion is effected by precise word-choice as well as structure. Jephthah (Judges 11) arriving home after victory and a vow that he will sacrifice the first to meet him encounters his daughter, who has gone out "with timbrels and dancing." The narrator's insistence that she was "an only child (*yĕḥîdâ*)—he had, apart from her, no son or daughter" recalls God's speech to Abraham in Genesis 22: "Take your son, your only child (*yāḥîd*) Isaac, whom you love … and offer him as a burnt offering …"

Later, in 1 Samuel 14, analogy brings into play a third text, Saul's threat to execute his son Jonathan for violating an oath that Saul had made on behalf of the army.

The parallels help to enlarge a reader's perspective. Why is it that the sons are spared, the daughter killed? Is this the priority of patriarchy? Or, to put it another way, why is the daughter so alone? The angel reaches out to stay Abraham's knife, the people stand between Saul and Jonathan, but no one intervenes on the daughter's behalf, though female companions appear to weep for her virginity upon the mountains. Another narrative analogy reinforces the point: Miriam meets a returning victorious Moses (Exodus 15) accompanied by "all the women … with timbrels and dancing." With timbrels and dancing, too, "the women" greet the victorious Saul and David on their return home (1 Samuel 18). By contrast the daughter stands before her father isolated, apparently bound to his will, a patriarchal victim. In turn, her isolation points back to Jephthah's own experience of familial (especially patriarchal) rejection. What we see is a vicious cycle, a cycle of abuse. Ironically, the rejected child, whose desire is for acceptance and security, destroys his own child. Human failure ensures that oppression accompanies Israel's deliverance from oppression.

**D. Conclusion**

The narrative of the Hebrew Bible is multifaceted and richly rewards the careful and imaginative reader. There are many ways of reading that have found favor with the communities that have treasured these stories. No account can do justice to them all. Rather we have selected some features of the text and pointed to ways of response that both draw upon contemporary understanding of how literature is read and also contribute to the interpretive traditions of the great communities of the book.

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**NAṢBEH, TELL EN-** (M.R. 170143). A site situated ca. 12 km N of Jerusalem along the main road which leads from Jerusalem to Shechem/Samaria. The tell is generally identified with biblical MIZPAH of Benjamin (Josh 18:26; cf. 1 Sam 7:5–11); some reject this identification, however, preferring to identify Nabi Samwil (ca. 8 km NW of Jerusalem) with Mizpah. Albright (1948: 203) has alternatively suggested that Tell en-Naṣbeh may have been ancient Ataroth-addar.

**A. The Site**

Tell en-Naṣbeh lies on a spur (ca. 770–784 m above sea level) which connects with a mountain on the N Deep valleys surround the site on the other three sides. A fortification wall laid out in a large oval, which measures ca. 265 m N–S and 160 m E–W, encompasses ca. 32 dunams. In addition to its strategic importance along the main N–S central hills road, after the division of the kingdom it became particularly important as a border defensive town.

**B. History of the Site**

After an initial occupation with a small settlement in the EB, the site was deserted until it was reoccupied ca. 1100 B.C., apparently by the Israelites. The city was the scene of the rallying of Israel's forces in retaliation against Benjamin for the rape-murder of the Levite's concubine (Judges 20). It later was part of the circuit of the prophet Samuel (1 Sam 7:16–17). Following the division of the kingdom, Asa apparently fortified the site in an effort to secure his N border against Israel (1 Kgs 15:17–22; see also below). After Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem and appointed Gedaliah governor of Judah, Gedaliah established his residence at Mizpah, where he was later assassinated (2 Kgs 25:22–25; Jeremiah 40–41).

After the Exile, the city became the capital of the district (Neh 3:7), and during the Maccabean revolt, it was where Judas mustered his army against Gorgias (1 Macc 3:46).

**C. The Excavations**

**1. Chalcolithic–EB** The only evidence for these periods is occasional sherds on the site and in caves. The caves, most of which are around the base of the tell, were primarily used for burial, but there is evidence of occupation in some.

**2. Iron Age I.** The tell was unoccupied through the EB, MB, and LB, but was reoccupied in the 11th century B.C. The excavations have revealed part of the fortification wall, which averaged only about a meter thick, into which were integrated at least two towers. Parts of the domestic area have also been discovered.

**3. Iron Age II. a. The Fortification System.** An offset-inset defensive wall was traced around the entire 660 m circuit of the tell. Nine or ten towers were incorporated into the system. The outer face of the wall stood ca. 12–14 m above the surface, while the interior stood 8–10 m high. The wall averaged 4 m thick, and the towers added another 2–5 m The towers were defended with glacis, while several sections of the wall had the added strengthening and protection of buttresses, retaining walls, or glacis. The wall was built of fieldstones, which were only slightly dressed. They were bonded with clay mortar and chinked with small stones. A thick plaster covered the lower sections of the wall (ca. 4.5–5 m) to prevent scaling by the enemy. Beyond the wall was a fosse, 2–5 m wide, which is the only fosse found at an Iron Age site in Palestine.

A peculiar feature of the fortifications is the inconsistent quality of construction. It appears that it was built in sections (indeed some sections are not connected to each other). Perhaps the wall was built by groups of corvée laborers, who were required to meet certain work quotas. Such an inference may be corroborated in the biblical texts describing the strife between Baasha and Asa. Upon Baasha's retreat from Judah's border, "King Asa made a proclamation to all Judah, … and they carried away the stones of Ramah and its timber, with which Baasha had been building; and with them King Asa built Geba of Benjamin and Mizpah" (1 Kgs 15:22).

The city gate at Tell en-Naṣbeh is one of the best preserved from ancient Palestine. It was a two-entry gate with an opening 4.2 m wide which was apparently 2.2 m high. Benches lined the cubicles between the piers and along the wall and gate just outside the first set of piers. Sockets in the threshold of the outer piers indicate that two pivoting doors were used to close the gate. The doorjamb of the E pier still preserved the slot in which the bar that locked the gate would be stowed when the gate was open, and the W pier retained the hole in which the end of the bar was placed to lock the door. The gate design is unusual in that it is not a bent right or left access, but is a direct access, which still necessitated an entry route parallel to the city wall.

A large open square (8 by 9 m) stood immediately in front of the gate and another was just inside. A covered channel drained both the squares and the city gate.

Near one of the city gates was a stone pillar, a *maṣṣebah,* like the one (with a basin nearby) found in the town gate of Tell en-Farah (N)—these both certainly had some cultic function. See TIRZAH (PLACE).

The discovery of numerous *lmlk* royal store jar handles testifies to the alignment of the city with Judah, at least in the late 8th century B.C. In contrast, the excavations at Bethel, just 5 km to the N, yielded no such seal impressions.

**b. Domestic Remains.** About a third of the area within the wall has eroded away completely to bedrock. Because of the absence of cisterns, it would appear that this area was not densely developed, since the presence of cisterns is common in developed areas. From the concentration of houses, it appears that the city may have accommodated a population of ca. 1,000. With few exceptions, no houses were built against the wall, but this area served as a street encircling the houses. Most of the houses of the town were very poorly built; however, some were fairly well-built with either monolithic or stacked drums, which supported the ceiling. The presence of strong pillars and stairs implies that some of the buildings had upper stories.

Three examples of four-room houses were found built against the wall, and separated from the main group of buildings—these may have had a public function of some kind and perhaps were storehouses (for the collection of taxes?) or military structures.

Water was supplied to the site mainly by cisterns, fifty-three of which were discovered on the site. A seasonal spring is on the SE edge of the mound, but it is often dried up during the summer months.

**c. Small Finds.** Tell en-Naṣbeh has yielded one of the most complete collections of Israelite pottery in the country. Epigraphic finds included seven incised potsherds, various stone weights, and numerous seal impressions, among which were 68 *lmlk* seal impressions and several private seals, the most beautiful of which is the seal of "Jaazaniah servant of the king."

Badè, the original excavator of this site, suggested that Jaazaniah was one of Gedaliah's officials and that he should be identified with Jaazaniah, the captain of the forces mentioned in both 2 Kgs 25:23 and Jer 40:8, but his identification is not absolutely certain. The seal depicts the representation of a cock, the earliest known representation of this bird in Palestine. Other finds include a short dedicatory inscription in Neo-Babylonian, a cylinder seal, and numerous scarabs.

Meager building remains testify to some occupation during the Persian period, and fragments of Attic pottery (ca. 540–420 B.C.) have been found on the site. Among other imported ware was an E Greek Clazomenian vessel, unique in Palestine, dating from 540–530 B.C. From this period numerous stamped seal impressions were found on pottery reading *Yhd* and *Yršlm* and about thirty reading *Mṣh*, which some have suggested is an abbreviation for Mizpah, but this is not convincing. In the inscription deciphered by N. Avigad, the name is written in full, *Mwṣh*, which probably refers to Moṣah, a locality W of Jerusalem.

Wampler dated the Persian period settlement to 587–400 B.C.; he believed the site was abandoned after that time. However, Albright and G. E. Wright have contended that occupation continued at Tell en-Naṣbeh during the first half of the 4th century B.C. Evidence in the form of surface and tomb finds (i.e., sherds and coins) testifies to settlements during the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods at nearby Kh. ʿAtara and Kh. Shweikha.

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**NASI** See SANHEDRIN.

**NATHAN** (PERSON) [Heb *nātān* (נָתָן)]. Var. NETHANIAH. **1.** A son of David born in Jerusalem to Bath-shua (Bathsheba) (2 Sam 5:14; 1 Chr 3:5; 14:4). Three full brothers of Nathan's are listed: Shammua (Shimea), Shobab, and Solomon. In addition, David had six sons born previously in Hebron to six different wives, and nine born in Jerusalem to unnamed wives, as well as many sons born to his concubines in Jerusalem.

The genealogy of Jesus in Luke 3 includes this Nathan as the son of David through whom Jesus was descended (v 31). Matthew's genealogy traces it through Solomon (1:6). The two genealogies thus diverge at this point, and they converge again (briefly) with Shealtiel and Zerubbabel (Matt 1:12; Luke 3:27). Many solutions have been proposed to the problem of the divergences between these genealogies (see Johnson 1969:139–252). The one preferred here sees the Matthean genealogy as giving Jesus' legal lineage; the Lukan, his natural lineage (Marshall *Luke* NIGTC, 157–62), but the definitive solution undoubtedly has not yet been advanced.

This Nathan is also mentioned in Zech 12:12, an eschatological passage that lists several houses (i.e., families) that will mourn a messianic figure who has been pierced. Four families are mentioned by name

(vv 12–13): David's and his son Nathan's, and Levi's and his grandson Shimei's, representing royal and priestly (i.e., civil and religious) authority, respectively.

Zech 12:12 conceivably could be referring instead to the prophet Nathan (see Mitchell *Haggai and Zechariah* ICC, 333). If so, then royal, prophetic, and priestly traditions all are represented in vv 12–13, and the Shimei there could be Saul's descendant, representing the (failed) dynasty of the first king. This seems less likely than the first proposal, however.

**2.** A prophet in David's time who figured prominently in events at three critical junctures in David's life: (1) he delivered the dynastic promise to David; (2) he confronted David about his sin involving Bathsheba and Uriah; and (3) he intervened on Solomon's behalf in the struggle for succession to David's throne.

Nathan first appears, with no introduction and no pedigree, in the crucial and much discussed 2 Samuel 7 (paralleled at 1 Chronicles 17), in which he delivers to David the important promise of a perpetual dynasty (see Kaiser 1974; McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 190–231). His first word to David, delivered on his own authority (v 3)—that David should build a house for YHWH—was overruled by YHWH himself. He appeared to Nathan in a night vision (vv 4, 17), with his message about David's dynasty and his son's place in building YHWH's house. Nathan then delivered this message via the classical prophetic formula ("Thus says YHWH"—vv 5, 17), and David responded with a prayer of thanksgiving (vv 18–29).

Nathan's greatest moments came in his confrontation with David after David's two great sins (2 Samuel 12). Here, he boldly and courageously accused the king of gross sin. He used a fictional legal case to do this, at which David became incensed at the injustice perpetrated (vv 1–6). Nathan dramatically pointed out that David himself was the wrongdoer (vv 7–9), and pronounced a sentence (vv 10–12). (Nathan appears in this role in the superscription to Psalm 51) David immediately repented, and Nathan pronounced forgiveness, but declared that the child born of the adulterous affair would die (vv 13–14). After this happened, David and Bathsheba were blessed with another son, Solomon, and Nathan was the bearer of a message of comfort to them at this time (vv 24–25).

Nathan next appears as Bathsheba's and Solomon's ally in the struggle for succession to the senile David's throne (1 Kings 1). He was excluded, along with several other officials, from Adonijah's installment as king (vv 7–10), and he helped Bathsheba plan a strategy for having Solomon installed (vv 11–14). Both of them appeared before David, reminding him of a promise he apparently had made to make Solomon king (vv 13, 17, 30). In response, David authorized Solomon's installation as king (vv 28–37); consequently, Nathan and Zadok the priest anointed Solomon king (v 45), and Adonijah was displaced (vv 41–53).

Nathan appears in these texts (especially the first two) as a court prophet with free access to the king, yet as one who spoke with the authority and boldness of the classical prophets of the 8th century and later. He certainly does not appear as beholden to the king in the way the 400 court prophets that Ahab consulted do (1 Kings 22). He also appears as a historian of sorts: the "Chronicles of Nathan the Prophet" are mentioned in 1 Chr 29:29 and 2 Chr 9:29 as being among the historical records for the reigns of David and Solomon. His prophetic authority appears again later, when Hezekiah installed Levites with musical instruments in the temple, according to YHWH's command through "David and Gad the king's seer and Nathan the prophet" (2 Chr 29:25). He also was likely the Nathan of 1 Kgs 4:5 (see 4 below).

**3.** The father of Igal, who was one of David's select group of thirty mighty men (2 Sam 23:36). He was from Zobah, a region N of Dan. In 1 Chronicles, he is listed as the brother of Joel, rather than as the father of Igal (11:38). McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB, 494–95), emending the verse in Samuel at several points, based upon OG readings and the parallel in 1 Chr 11:38, reads it as follows: "Igal son of Nathan, the commander of the army of the Hagrites."

**4.** The father of two of King Solomon's officials: Azariah, who was over the district prefects, and Zabud, a priest and the "king's friend" (1 Kgs 4:5). It is impossible to tell whether this Nathan is David's son (see 1 above), or the prophet (see 2 above), or someone else; most scholars see him as either of the first two. Of these, it would appear more plausible that he was the prophet, given (1) the positive role the prophet played in Solomon's accession; and the facts that (2) Solomon may have been loath to give a

brother's (and possible rival's) sons high positions in his administration, and (3) his son Zabud was the "king's friend," an unlikely title for a nephew.

**5.** The son of Attai and father of Zabad (1 Chr 2:36). His name is found in a lengthy Judahite genealogy (2:3–4:23), specifically, among the descendants of Jerahmeel, son of Hezron (2:25–41). His grandfather was an Egyptian slave, to whom Sheshan gave one of his daughters in marriage, since he had no sons (2:34–35).

**6.** One of the "leading men" sent by Ezra to Iddo and others at Casiphia (a place otherwise unknown), to ask him to provide Levites for Ezra to perform religious services (Ezra 8:16; 1 Esdr 8:44). Thirty-eight Levites were provided, along with 220 temple servants to attend them (Ezra 8:18–20). This Nathan may have been the same one mentioned in Ezra 10:39, a son of Binnui (MT Bani), one of those who put away their foreign wives and children during the reforms of Ezra (cf. the variant Nethaniah in 1 Esdr 9:34).

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**NATHAN-MELECH** (PERSON) [Heb *nětan-melek* (נְתַן־מֶלֶךְ)]. A chamberlain under Josiah, king of Judah (2 Kgs 23:11). Josiah removed the horses dedicated to SÛamasû, the sun-god, which were near the chambers of Nathan-melech, as part of his purge of the Jerusalem cult. Nathan-melech is called a *sārîs,* often translated "eunuch," but the term need not be understood in the literal sense. Though similar to the Arabic root *sarisa,* meaning "to be impotent," the term is actually an Aramaic loanword of Akkadian origin (*ša rēši*), which means "he who is at the head (of the king)." The exact status of a *sārîs* is difficult to determine, for the term is given to officials of various standing in the court (Gen 37:36; 1 Kgs 22:9; 2 Kgs 18:17; 20:18; 25:19). The name "Nathan-melech" means "the King has given." It is a theophoric name declaring that the child has been given (*ntn*) by the deity (*mlk*). Melech is not the name of a deity, but a title (king) and may refer to Yahweh as King. However, it is also possible that it refers to Molech, whose worship is mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures (1 Kgs 11:7; 2 Kgs 23:10; Jer 32:35) or to the Ammonite deity, Milcom (1 Kgs 11:33; Jer 49:1, probably to be identified with Molech). For further discussion see Gray *Kings* OTL; and *IPN.*

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**NATHANAEL** (PERSON) [Gk *Nathanael* (Ναθαναελ)]. 1. A priest from the line of Pashhur, required by Ezra to dismiss his foreign wife (1 Esdr 9:22).

2. A relative of the fictional Judith, identified in the opening genealogy of the book's second half (Jdt 8:1). Designed to provide the book's heroine with an exemplary Jewish heritage, there is little point in treating the genealogy, and the reference to Nathanael in particular, as historical (Enslin 1972: 109–10; Lamparter 1972: 161; Zenger 1981: 434). In this case, as in others, the names have been drawn from other biblical texts (cf. Neh 12:21; see Zenger 1981:485).

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**3.** A disciple of Jesus from Cana in Galilee (John 1:45–51; 21:2). Nathanael was brought to Jesus by Philip, who confessed Jesus to be "him of whom Moses in the law and also the prophets wrote, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph." The testimony, apparently alluding to Deut 18:15, 18, identified Jesus as the prophetic figure expected by some circles within 1st-century Judaism. Philip's testimony was met with disbelief by Nathanael, who responded, "Can anything good come out of Nazareth?" His disbelief was apparently based on the scriptural lore that neither the awaited prophet nor the Messiah would have Galilean origins (John 7:40–44).

The rejoinder identifies Nathanael as a serious student of the scriptures, a trait confirmed by the evangelist's description of him as having been seated under a fig tree prior to Philip's invitation. In rabbinic tradition, fig trees were frequently cited as appropriate locales for teachers to discuss the meaning of the scriptures with their students (Str-B 2. 371). Further indications of Nathanael's scriptural competency are to be found in his use of "Rabbi" to address Jesus and the allusion to Jacob's vision at Bethel (Gen 28:12) at the conclusion of Jesus' dialogue with him.

In the encounter between Jesus and Nathanael, Jesus enigmatically proclaims Nathanael to be a true Israelite and wins his adherence by a demonstration of his superhuman knowledge. As is frequently the case in the fourth gospel, those who come to faith in Jesus because of his superhuman power or knowledge express their faith in a profound christological statement. Nathanael professed Jesus to be the Messiah, "You are the Son of God! You are the King of Israel!"

Nathanael, the true Israelite, is then promised a vision of the Son of Man by Jesus (John 1:51). The verse containing the promise was most probably an originally independent unit of material, appended to the story of Nathanael by the evangelist. In his gospel, it serves to identify Nathanael as a representative disciple (cf. the plural, "you will see") to whom the vision of the Son of Man is promised. Seeing Jesus is characteristic of faith and discipleship in the fourth gospel (John 1:39).

In the promise of the vision of the Son of Man, Jesus offers a self-revelation to Nathanael. The promise's allusion to the vision of Jacob (= Israel; cf. Gen 32:28–30) at Bethel is best understood within the Jewish tradition of paraphrasing the scriptures. In context, Jesus' saying identifies Jesus in glory as the revelation (manifestation) of God. Thus Nathanael, who has been seen by Jesus, is one who will see who Jesus truly is. In this respect he is a "true Israelite," meriting from Jesus a title of honor which stands in contrast to "the Jews," a title used of Jewish leaders with pejorative connotations in the fourth gospel.

Nathanael is not mentioned in the Synoptic Gospels, but Christian tradition has had a tendency to identify him with BARTHOLOMEW whose name comes after that of Philip in the Synoptics' listing of the Twelve (Matt 10:3; Mark 3:18; Luke 6:14; Acts 1:13). Although Bartholomew is a patronymic name, leaving open the possibility that he had a proper, personal Hebrew name, there is no historical evidence to support the identification of Nathanael and Bartholomew. Most probably the desire to find the name of Nathanael, whose discipleship is celebrated in John 1:45–51, on the list of the twelve disciples led to the confusion between Nathanael and Bartholomew.

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**NATIONALITY AND POLITICAL IDENTITY** The term "nation" is commonly employed in OT studies, being the standard translation of Heb *gôy* (as opposed to "people," the standard translation of Heb *ʿam*) (*TWAT* 1: 965–73; *THAT* 2: 290–325; Høgenhavn 1988: 23–42). Yet the modern use of the term and its derivates ("nationality," "nationalism") has special features, not necessarily to be found in the quite different situation of biblical times. The possibility of (unperceived) misunderstandings is a real one; in particular, the current idea that Israel was a "nation" (in its modern sense) is doubtful and in any case the subject for specific research.

As is well known, the terminology and the very same historical reality of the "national states" are the result of the great political movements of the late 18th century: The American declaration of independence (1776) and the French Revolution (1791) established the transfer of sovereignty from kings to peoples, eventually giving birth to the national states, i.e., states coincident with ethnic boundaries (Weil 1938; Kohn 1956; Guyomar 1974; Ranum 1975). European history in the 19th century is largely the history of the progressive constitution of national states—the political movements being deeply

embedded in the "romantic" culture of the time (with its positive evaluation of peoples, national traditions, language, etc.). In the 20th century the national idea gained a worldwide extension (being applied to new states emerging from decolonization: Cohen and Middleton 1970). But at the same time it underwent various processes of crisis (cf., e.g., Shafer 1955; Deutsch 1962; Snyder 1968; Mancur 1982; Gellner 1983): application to quite artificial entities, extremization in the form of nationalism (not devoid of racist implications); challenge by the international character of new political movements; and lastly a growing inadequacy to face the needs of an advanced capitalism and a "world-system" market.

The flourishing of nationality as the leading model of political organization seems therefore to be quite limited in time. During the long millennia from the birth of the state to the late 18th century, other models were mostly in use: from the city-state to the universal empire, from the feudal system to the centralized monarchy—with the principle usually well on the fore that the state (including the people) was the personal belonging of its sovereign (be it king or god). The application of the term "nation" to political realities in the old periods of history is possible (cf., e.g., the use of "nation" with reference to ethnic groups at a stateless stage: Mair 1962:15–16; and case studies like Bailey 1960), but is always in need of a specific definition in order to avoid the suspect of anachronism. On the other hand, the nationalistic trends in past-century Europe were effective in shaping the institutional history of Israel in terms of a search for national unification. (Clements 1976: 142–43; Sasson 1981).

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A. Political Identity in the Ancient Near East
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## A. Political Identity in the Ancient Near East

**1. The Archaic Counterposition "Us" vs. "The Others.".** In the early stages of development of the state in the ANE there is no place for the national state. On the one hand, the prevailing dimension is that of the city-state (so that a single people is often divided into a multitude of states); on the other hand, the processes of unification in Egypt and lower Mesopotamia gave birth to a counterposition between the inhabitants of the more civilized alluvium and the "barbarians" of the surrounding areas—a counterposition more cultural (also cosmological, in a sense) than nationalistic in nature. The Egyptians, by locating the Nile valley at the center of the world, distinguish their own land as *t€* from the neighboring countries as *ḫ€ śwt,* the fertile valley (*kmt*) from the surrounding desert (*dsûrt*), and even label only Egyptians as really "men" (*rmt*), and consequently their own language as the only "human language." The same approach is found in the Sumerian world, with the counterposition between the land (= lower Mesopotamia) as KALAM and the hilly seats of the foreigners as KUR.KUR.RA (Limet 1978; Steiner 1982). In both the Egyptian and the Sumerian cultures the feeling of superiority leads to describe the strangers/foreigners as inferior, hardly human, beings—lacking the basic features of culture. This counterposition ("us" vs. "the others") cannot be considered as a kind of nationalism, however; and the various "foreign peoples" (Helck 1964; Limet 1972), albeit listed in stereotyped sequences (e.g., Uphill 1965–66), are just a component of the chaotic periphery threatening the cosmic order established by the god (and maintained by the sovereigns) at the center of the world.

**2. The Lack of Ethnic Motivations in Political Conflicts.** In lower Mesopotamia, the close contact between Sumerians and Akkadians produced an obvious consciousness of linguistic, ethnic, and cultural

differentiations (Sollberger 1960; Kraus 1970; Cooper 1973). It has been observed, however, that ethnic identity was never an important political factor, neither in the inner (political, administrative, religious) relationships, nor even in conflicts between bordering states (Jacobsen 1939). The rise of Sargon of Akkad has been often (in the early stages of research) presented as the result of a new wave of Semitic intruders, as a conscious attempt to establish a Semitic empire over the Sumerian cities, as a climax in the assumed conflict between the two ethnic groups. Such implications are not present in the documents of the time, and the resulting "Akkadization" of the written official records is only the result of the location of the new capital city in a Semitic-speaking area. Quite different is the ethnic and cultural animosity against the barbarian invaders of the Guti dynasty. Again, the so-called "Sumerian renaissance" is well characterized by its use of the Sumerian language in the administration, because of the location of the capital city Ur in the Sumerian area, but any kind of discriminating politics against the Akkadians is lacking—the kings of Ur bearing the title of "kings of Sumer and Akkad." In the following Old-Babylonian (OB) period, Sumerian became a dead language, but the new element of the West-Semitic Amorites kept Mesopotamia in a multilinguistic state, again with no political relevance attached to the ethnic groups. As soon as the Amorites were culturally assimilated, their origin made no difference in their status as members of the state.

The same situation has been studied in N Syria, where Hurrian and West-Semitic groups closely intermingled in the same states, as Alalah (where the Hurrians prevail) or Ugarit (where the Semites prevail). Also in this case, some proposals about an ethnic interpretation of the political relationships have been shown not to be supported by the documents of the time (Paltiel 1981). Even the onomastic habits in the royal houses were not simply the reflection of ethnic affiliation, but took into account political purposes and marriage links (Liverani 1978).

Lastly, the political role of the ethnic groups of Indo-Iranians in the Mitanni kingdom has been clearly overevaluated by the peculiar trends of prewar Germany, and is now quite discredited (Kammenhuber 1968). In any event, the issue of the Indo-Iranians is one of political elitism rather than the formulation of a "national" state.

**3. The Territorial State and the Role of the Tribe.** During the Bronze Age, i.e., from the "urban revolution" at the end of the 4th millennium to the 13th century B.C., states had a "territorial" nature. Individuals belonged to one state just because they were resident in its territory—with no consideration of their ethnic affiliation or origin. The king, residing in a "palace" in the capital city, was the sovereign of the territory controlled by that city, i.e., he exerted a "monopoly" of taxation on the surrounding villages, he was the head of the administrative organization (in its largest sense, including cult and army), he was recognized as the representative of the local god. The king's subjects were basically divided into two categories: (a) the "free" population, mainly peasants and pastoralists, residing in villages, engaged in food production, owning the means of production (land and cattle), dependent on the king on a fiscal basis only; and (b) the "king's servants," mainly engaged in specialized activities, residing in the capital city, using means of production which belonged to the palace, therefore dependent on the king in their working relationships. The inner structure of the state was socioeconomic; linguistic and ethnic qualifications were irrelevant.

This general picture obtained also in Syria-Palestine (Buccellati 1967), divided during the Bronze Age into a multitude of kingdoms, centered on capital cities and governed by local kings (leaving aside the higher sovereignty imposed in some periods by foreign empires, which did not alter the local political structure). The kingdom was designated by the name of its capital city (e.g., Ugarit), to which the titulary of the king makes reference (e.g., RN king of Ugarit). In the case of a larger kingdom encompassing more cities, the minor ones would be ruled by "vassal" kings, in a system of "Chinese boxes." Quite seldom, in countries devoid of important cities, the kingdoms were named after the country (e.g., Amurru, Nuhashshe). In any case, what was evidenced was a territorial unit, not an ethnic one.

The system outlined above is valid for discussions of the sedentary and urbanized population. The pastoral element had a quite different social and political organization, based on kinship relations instead of residence. The relevance of this "tribal" sector in the "dimorphic" society of the Bronze Age was

subject to some fluctuations through time. The apex of their impact on the territorial states took place ca. 2,000 B.C., in the "intermediate period" between EB and MB (Kamp and Yoffee 1980); and was still important during the MB period, when many kingdoms in upper Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine had a double designation according to the capital city and the surrounding tribe. So the king of Mari was also king of the Hana (tribe); the king of Tuttul was also king of the Amnanum (tribe); the king of Abattum was also king of the Rabbum (tribe); etc. Even in lower Mesopotamia the Amorite penetration gave origin to similar cases: e.g., the king of Uruk was also king of the Amnanum. The MB kingdoms seem to be composed of two elements, the territorial one (the capital city and its territory) and the tribal one. Their spatial coincidence may have been only partial, and their nature was quite different (residence in one case; kinship in the other).

Later on, during the LB period, the tribal sector became less and less important, its political role completely marginal, and its relations with the king's palace tendentially hostile. The double labeling disappeared in the 17th century. Syria and Palestine in the LB Age were politically shaped according to the "territorial" model in its most "pure" form—the residual tribes (Ahlamu in upper Mesopotamia, Sutu in Syria; the Shasu in Palestine according to the Egyptian sources) were considered outside the reach of the king's control.

**4. The Early Iron Age: From Tribe to "National" State.** At the end of the Bronze Age, the territorial states underwent a serious inner (socioeconomic) crisis (Strange 1987): the palace organization collapsed, and the tribal element acquired a new preeminence. Peoples of nomadic origin gained control especially of the inner belt (almost abandoned after the flourishing in the EB Age) between the most urbanized coastal plains and the steppe plateau: the Arameans in Syria and in upper Mesopotamia; Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites in Transjordan. A colonization took place in the hilly country of Cisjordan (Israelites), which was previously unsettled. Arameans and Chaldeans further penetrated the alluvium of lower Mesopotamia, which was subject to an agricultural and demographic crisis and partly reduced to swamps and pasturelands.

The characteristic "model" of the Iron Age state was no longer territorial: it was a state based on tribal kinship. The state took its name from the ruling "house" (*bêt PN*), and the members of the state were its "sons" (*bĕnê PN*), as if all the population was a huge "extended family" ultimately going back to a common tribal ancestor. From the old stock of the "Ahlamu Arameans" a number of tribal states came into being in upper Mesopotamia (Bit Adini on the Middle Euphrates, Bit Bahyani in the Habur triangle, Bit Zamani on the Upper Tigris) and in N Syria (Bit Gusi or Bit Agusi in the Aleppo area; cf. also Bit Gabbar as the ruling dynasty in Sam'al); while the Aramean tribes kept their political autonomy in southern Mesopotamia (Bit Yakini, Bit Dakkuri, Bit Ammukani, Bit Sha'alli, Bit Shilani). In Palestine the same picture can be deduced from the names of the *Bĕnê ʿAmmōn* and the *Bĕnê Yiśrāʾēl* themselves. In cases where the new states were named after a regional name (like Moab, Edom, Judah) it is doubtful whether they were topographical or tribal in origin.

Of course, it is not only a matter of names. The implication is that the members of the state were no longer just the inhabitants of a region, but rather individuals belonging to the same tribe—linked together by birth (or "blood") ties, common language, common traditions (as revealed by genealogies and by etiological stories), and the common worship of a tribal god. The counterposition between states acquired nationalistic elements as well. The political belonging and relationships were, in the last analysis, inscribed into the individual's birth; and the "model" state would encompass all the members of the same "nation" and nobody else (unless in the form of foreign residents).

It is lastly to be noticed that the national element was characteristic of the Iron Age states not only in the West Semitic world of Syria and Palestine. Similar trends can be pointed out also on the Anatolia, Armenian, and Iranian highlands: the kingdoms of the Phrygians or the Lydians in Anatolia, or those of the Manneans or the Medians in Iran had a "national" basis and characterization hardly precedented in the Bronze Age.

**5. Evolution and Decline of the National States.** Of course, the national features of tribal origin were immediately challenged by the remains of the old territorial kingdoms. The passing of time produced a

progressive reestablishment of the territorial ties, the sedentary and urban elements recovered their preeminence at the expense of the tribal pastoralists, and the kinship relationships were reshaped in the form of administrative structures. The results were different in different areas: in Syria and Palestine a compromise was reached between territorial and tribal elements; in lower Mesopotamia the tribes remained politically separated from (and antagonistic to) the old temple-cities; in Assyria and in Egypt some kind of "nationalistic" feeling was added to the traditional views of centralization and imperialistic expansion.

Later on, the advancing empires of Assyria, Babylon, and Persia successfully acted in order to destroy the nationalities in the subdued regions—in order to produce a homogeneous texture throughout the territory of the empire. The transformation of the conquered kingdoms into "provinces" (later "satrapies"), the destruction of temples and palaces (the seat of the local cultural and religious traditions), the establishment of a unified administration, and the presence of imperial officials, the recourse to cross-deportations (especially affecting the ruling elites), were all powerful means for the overcoming of the national dimension, and even for the linguistic and cultural unification of the Near East. The residual (or renovated) nationalistic movements were by now framed not more in a pluralistic background of contending nations, but in a context of resistance by the local ethnic groups against an all-embracing and superimposed ideology and government—a situation that was inherited by the Hellenistic and Roman empires.

**B. "National" Identity in Israel**

**1. Preliminary Remarks.** When dealing with the topic "Nationality and Political Identity" in ancient Israel, a problem is immediately perceived, which is common to every historical subject in OT studies. Scholars can make use of a more traditional approach, by using the statements contained in the OT books as bits of evidence for the times to which they refer, or they can use a more critical approach, by using the same statements as evidence for the times in which they were written. It is evident how different the two counterposed possibilities are: namely, to accept the institutional evolution outlined in the OT (from tribal confederacy to united kingdom, eventually divided, conquered and exiled, and to be restored as a religious community); or to read it as a series of flashbacks, all of them belonging to the postexilic period, and whose connection with the "real" history of previous periods is quite doubtful. In the present article, the traditional frame will be maintained, but the critical caution will be introduced time and again. In any case, the entire institutional development of ancient Israel takes place within the Iron Age (the patriarchal legends can be left aside, of course), in a period when some kind of "national" identification was historically possible—even though the scenery of the first Iron Age is completely different from those of the Assyrian, Achaemenian or Hellenistic empires.

**2. The "Tribal" Picture.** The picture provided by the OT traditions of the periods of the conquest and of the Judges fits quite properly into the developmental paradigm "from tribe to state"—and it must be said that these traditions provided a basic contribution to the very building of the paradigm in the Semitic world, along with early Islamic history (Moscati 1962). The Canaanite city-states are the representatives of the Bronze Age system of territorial states in the sedentary-urbanized component of the population. The league of the twelve tribes, on the other hand, is a case of pastoral groups giving birth to a larger political unit, to which the term "nation" can be applied—with common leaders (Moses, Joshua, the Judges), with a political structure reproducing the kinship relationships, with the national god Yahweh. The "nation" is already existent before the conquest, so that only a territory is needed to establish a national state. The conquest brings about the inclusion of the former local settlements (villages becoming clans of the Israelite tribes), and the destruction (or more seldom the inclusion) of former polities. After the conquest some areas and cities are "left" outside the Israelite league, so that belonging to the Israelite political unit is (at least tendentially) coincident with the ethnic unit itself. Besides Israel, other national polities exist, the result of foreign immigration (Philistines: but their pentapolis has no political unity) or of parallel developments (Ammon, Moab, Edom).

The "classical" reconstruction (Alt 1925, 1930; Noth 1930) has been criticized and has become obsolete on many points: the pastoral nature of the tribe; the league as an "amphictyony" (de Geus 1976); the

arrival of Israel from outside Palestine; the nomadic origins. A new paradigm has developed in the USA, in which Israel is constituted following an inner social upheaval rather than an immigration (Mendenhall 1962, 1973; Gottwald 1979). This "new paradigm" is certainly important in many respects, yet it changes very little the institutional picture of the premonarchic period: we are in any case dealing with some kind of "national" unity (whatever the origin of its components and the reasons for its constitution). The underscoring of the early and decisive role played by the covenant (Mendenhall) and by the national worship of Yahweh (Gottwald), as well as the counterposition (be it ethnic or social) to the Canaanites in any case strengthens the national hypothesis.

Much more drastic is the criticism coming from European scholarly circles on the historical reliability of the traditional picture, because of the late date of the documents in which the traditions are embedded (a difficulty surmounted by the Alt-Noth school through a high dating of the documentary sources, and practically ignored by the partisans of the "revolution" hypothesis). A "moderate" solution is that the system of the twelve tribes cannot be earlier than the monarchic period (e.g., de Vaux 1973:37–65), and its origin should be sought in the administrative partitions of the united monarchy. This solution would mean the overturning of the traditional paradigm: instead of "from tribe to state" we would have "from state to tribe," and the emphasis would be on the artificial (as contrasted to genetic) origin of the tribal links. A more "radical" solution is that the tribal system is basically a forgery of postexilic times, and that the outer origin of the Israelites as well as their conflicts with the former inhabitants of the land are the reflection of what happened when (and after) some exiled groups came back in Palestine (cf. recently Lemche 1985). In both cases, we have no evidence for any national entity "Israel" in the premonarchical period; and the scenario of the book of Judges is a mythical model for the conditions obtaining in Palestine during the Achaemenian and Hellenistic periods.

Apart from the problem of the late date of the texts, some important arguments favor the "negative" position: the artificial nature of the twelve tribes league (the documents more confidently assigned to an early date preserve the memory of different groupings) and of their political system in general; the legendary (even mythical) nature of the stories about the Judges, and the etiological nature of most stories about the Conquest; the late emergence (not before the exilic age) of the role of the covenant and of the traditions about Exodus and Conquest in the Prophets and the Psalms (Lemche 1985: 306–85); lastly the progressive growth of Yahweh toward a role of "national" god which seems anachronistic in the formative period.

Data outside the OT are extremely scanty for the 13th–12th centuries. The mention of Israel in the Merenptah stela (Ahlström and Edelman 1985) cannot prove nor disprove anything; other topographical or tribal names (e.g., the *Yʿqb-ʾl* of Thutmose III or the **Bny Rhm* of the Beth Shan stela) are even more uncertain. The very existence of a political entity "Israel" before the monarchic period must remain a matter of doubt; and even more uncertain is its institutional structure (including the presence or absence of any "national" self-identification). The solution depends largely on the validity attached to later traditions.

**3. The Monarchic Picture.** Political conditions change around 1000 B.C. with the constitution of a large kingdom in Palestine, a kingdom largely inhabited by Israelites and considered by the Israelite tradition to complete the trend toward a national state. According to the tradition (esp. 1 Samuel 8), a "people" (*ʿam*) of Israel was already at hand, with its kinship structure, its territory, its common cult and law: the only feature necessary to transform the people into a "nation" (*gôy*) like the surrounding ones, was a kingship (*mamlākāh*), i.e., a politically centralized power (Rost 1934; Speiser 1960). At the terminological level, this "institutional" meaning ("nationality" = "people" + "state") is challenged by a prevailing connotative aspect: "we" are *ʿam*, while "the others" are *gôyîm* (Cody 1964; May 1968). This connotation is based on the privileged appreciation of the kinship relations to define a community from within, and of the political appreciation to define the outer communities. Yet it brings about the prevailing ethnic character of Israel (also in the monarchic period), at the expense of its national unity.

In fact, a noteworthy difference exists between Israel's institutional history as seen by later tradition and in contemporary records. According to the tradition, the national unity was accomplished already by Saul, best represented by David and Solomon, but unfortunately disintegrated into the two separate kingdoms

of Judah and Israel, to be hopefully reconstituted in the future. Unity would be the norm, division an unfortunate accident. But during most of Israelite history, the "normal" condition of a national unity is a memory from the past and a hope for the future. Moreover, if we reject the possibility of any national consciousness in the period of the Judges, then the following process has to be reformulated accordingly: a progressive compaction as a result of the political vicissitudes.

A diachronical analysis makes the situation more precise but also more problematical. The short-lived kingdom of Saul has a kind of national character, in being basically limited to tribal territory, in keeping a part of the former kinship organization, in rising as a defensive need against surrounding nations—but is basically limited to the northern tribes (Ahlström 1986: 85–99). Under David, the kingdom of Israel can hardly be defined as a national state. The division between Judah and Israel is paramount in the formative process, the capital city is chosen outside the tribal territory, and the extent of the kingdom encompasses non-Israelite elements (from the Canaanite towns to the neighboring peoples). The ideal borders of Israel move from a national horizon ("from Dan to Beersheba") to an imperialistic one (from the Euphrates to the "brook of Egypt"). Even the army shifts from national to professional, and the palace administration is largely a legacy of the Canaanite polities. The composite nature of the Davidic state is inherited by Solomon, whose administrative structuring and building programs may have produced some degree of national self-identification (Ahlström 1982), but had been overevaluated by later traditions. The administrative structure provided a model for inner ethnic relationships, the temple became the focus of the national identity, and the royal dynasty (Ishida 1977) was seen as the privileged guarantee of the divine willingness to preserve Israel's freedom and unity.

But was the idea of a "national kingdom" already operating in David's and Solomon's time? Or was it a flashback to the exilic period? In fact the following story of the divided kingdoms seems to imply a low degree of national consciousness. The northern tribes considered the Jerusalem dynasty as foreign to their own traditions and interests; the conflicts between Judah and Israel were almost endemic, yet quite similar to those with other states; the political structure of both kingdoms focused on the respective capital cities; the cult was multicentered (even if Yahweh was given a privileged status in both kingdoms). It is difficult to maintain that the difference between Judah and Israel was in some way less marked or different in nature from the difference, e.g., between Moab and Edom, or between Damascus and Hama. In the same period, the Philistine and the Phoenician city-states were also politically independent inside an ethnic (not a national) unity. As to the very name "Israel," its application to both Judah and the northern kingdom is quite problematic before Josiah's times (cf. the basic materials in Danell 1946). As to the name "Hebrew," its application to the Jewish nationality is very late (Lemche 1979).

The attempt by Josiah to revive the Davidic model of a unified kingdom certainly had a greater impact than the original Davidic reality. In David's times the unity was basically political, on a variegated ethnic basis; in Josiah's times, on the contrary, the national feeling is evident (if the Deuteronomistic history belongs to this period)—unification of cult, promulgation of the divine law, reconstruction of past history as a process finalized to the national unity, role of the covenant with the national god, and counterposition to other nationalities. It is probably with Josiah's reforms that we can more confidently speak of a "nation" of Israel.

The reason for the change has to be looked for in the Assyrian policy of conquest and deportation affecting the northern kingdom. The foreign immigrants in Palestine produced a situation of "inner boundaries." Inside the same area, groups of different ethnic origin were present, and the attempt to preserve an identity gave rise to a sort of national self-identification. When Assyria collapsed, Josiah's attempt to annex the north Palestinian provinces found its ideological justification in tracing a national unity back to the Davidic model through the "twin" kingdoms of Israel and Judah similarly related to Yahweh's role. By this time, the specific self-identification of Israel as the "people of Yahweh" (von Rad 1929; Lohfink 1971), and the nationalistic stance against the neighboring peoples, had received a coherent shaping—to be further elaborated and partly modified in postexilic times, e.g., by the Deutero-Isaiah (Hollenberg 1969; Orlinsky 1970; Wilson 1986; Høgenhavn 1988).

**4. The Exilic and Postexilic Pictures.** The process went on with the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem and the deportation of the Judean political elites. Different from the Israelite exiles in the Assyrian empire, who underwent an affective loss of political identity, cultural traditions, and religious cult, and were substituted in Palestine by newcomers of different origin, the Judean exiles in Babylon were able to keep (thanks to a different attitude of the conquerors and the short time of the Exile) and to improve their national consciousness. And when they were allowed to come back to Palestine, they found the area almost free for a new colonization (the Babylonians did not use any cross-regional transfer of population), and put into being a program of national recovery by adding a racial element (prohibition of mixed marriages) to the religious and cultural elements already conceived in Exile.

The most important "pre-Israelite peoples" found in Palestine by the Moses tribes according to the traditions, are artificial formations from the geographical designations of Syria-Palestine obtaining in Babylonia: Amurru and Hatti (Van Seters 1972; Ishida 1977: 466–68). This forgery of nonexistent "nations," and their fate under Josiah's attacks, are obvious models for the struggle of the Judean immigrants against the other Palestinian groups, a struggle certainly endowed with nationalistic implications quite anachronistic one millennium before.

As a kind of paradox, the national unity of Israel was the result, not so much of a political unification, but of the political disaster of the Exile and the return. The national self-identification was achieved, not when the material conditions were more stable and peaceful, but as a reaction against vicissitudes and conditions conceived in order to destroy any national feeling in the melting-pot of the imperial state. As a consequence of this paradoxical situation, the features were privileged in the shaping of the nationality, that were conceivable outside the land: the unity of cult (the Solomonic temple was never so important in Israelite ideology than after it was destroyed), the common law of divine origin, the historical traditions (providing a model for national recovery), and the assumed ethnic unity (in the form of extended kinship ties). On the contrary, the features were lacking of a territorial seat and of a political unification and independence. Land and kingship (the basic prerequisites for any national entity at the time) were projected toward the future, as something needed in order to (re)establish a full national unity. All the differing attempts which took place in the postexilic period—from the building of the Second Temple to the constitution of the Hasmonean kingdom—were conceived of as a restoration of the past, and necessarily produced the myth of a lost national identity and history. But this "former stage" of the national unity never occurred in reality in the forms later presumed in order to fit the political programs of the postexilic community. So the Israelite nationality assumed its form in the very period of its disintegration, as something projected in the past and in the future—but undergoing "presently" to a state of crisis.

Lastly, since the projects of restoration of some kind of political unity and independence were largely unsuccessful (the imperial order of the Achaemenian and Hellenistic periods being incompatible with anything more than a local community centered on the Jerusalem temple), a further shift took place. From the model of the national state emerged that of a religious community (Causse 1937; Ahlström 1986: 101–18), devoid of any political power and competence, and reusing the previous projects of national recovery as a metaphor for the eschatological salvation. The "national" origin of the Jewish religious community kept important features, however, in the ethnic and racial limitations of its membership—to be eventually overcome by the "universalistic" character of Christianity (under the impact of the Hellenistic-Roman cosmopolitism).

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MARIO LIVERANI

**NATIONS** [Heb ʿ*ammîm* (עַמִּים), *gôyim* (גּוֹיִם), *lĕʾūmmîm* (לְאֻמִּים)]. The study of the nations within the canonical tradition of ancient Israel leads inevitably to the primary tension between the concepts of nationalism and universalism. On the one hand, particularly within the prophetic literature, there are passages which express the narrowest self-interest and even hatred for Israel's enemies among the nations. But alongside these stand passages expressing an exalted vision of worldwide salvation for "the nations." Scholars are divided as to how deeply embedded within the developing canonical tradition of ancient Israel they choose to see the latter development. Nonetheless, it is clear that "Israel as a light to the nations" is no peripheral theme within the canonical process. The nations are the matrix of Israel's life, the raison d'être of her very existence.

The initial period of world prehistory in the book of Genesis ends with the Flood, after which humanity makes a new start from Noah and his sons and separates into families, languages, lands, and nations. The Table of Nations in Genesis 10 lists some seventy entities, which include the whole of the ancient world, as known to the author, divided roughly into racial groups. It is without parallel in ancient literature, for this interest in the nations reflects accurately the biblical emphasis on history as the vehicle of revelation and the nations as the object of God's redemptive purpose.

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## A. Terminology

**1. In the Old Testament.** Three words appear in the Hebrew text of the OT which are used more or less synonymously in reference to the nations, each of which may be used in the singular to refer to a particular nation, including Israel.

ʿ*ammîm* (cf. Ugaritic ʿ*m,* "clan"; Vg. *populi* or *nationes;* LXX *ethnē* or *laoi*), "peoples." The stress is on kinship as the basis of the group, at least in the original meaning of the word. In the singular, the term ʿ*am* is used most frequently in reference to Israel as the "people of Yahweh." In such cases the LXX uses *laos.* The LXX uses *ethnē* for the plural in the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges; elsewhere both *ethnē* and *laoi* are used.

*goÆyim* (Akkadian loanword from West Semitic, *gaʿu,* "gang" or "group" [e.g., of workmen]; Vg. *gentes;* LXX *ethnē*), "nations"; KJV alternately "heathen." This term stresses political and social rather than kinship bonds.

*lĕ›ummîm* (cf. Akkadian *li›immu,* "thousand"; Ugaritic *l›m,* "people"; Vg.. *populi;* LXX *ethnē*), "peoples"; KJV (incorrectly) "the people." Originally the term probably referred to a city which could produce a contingent of soldiers (a "thousand") in time of war. The word is often used in parallel with *goÆyim* within the prophetic literature and Psalms.

A fourth term appears in both Hebrew *›ummôt* (Gen 25:16; Num 25:15) and *›ummîm* (Ps 117:1) and Aramaic *›ummâ* (Dan 3:29) and *›ummayyā›* (seven times) with the meaning "nation(s)," "tribe(s)," "people."

**2. In the New Testament.** The primary term used in the NT is *ethnē* (Vg.. *gentes*), taken from LXX usage. "Gentiles" is used in reference to non-Jewish nations in contrast to the Jews (Luke 21:24; Acts 9:15; 1 Cor 1:23), or in contrast to followers of Christ (Matt 6:7, 32; 10:5; 20:19; Eph 2:11–12). "Nations" is used in reference to all nations including the Jews (Matt 24:9, 14; Mark 11:17; Rev 7:9). Exceptions to be noted include Acts 13:19; 14:16; and Gal 3:8

In the NT the term *laoi,* "peoples" in the plural, occurs only eight times, four of which are in parallel to *ethnē,* indicating either Semitic style or LXX quotation (Luke 2:31; Acts 4:25, 27; Rom 15:11), and four in Revelation within the formula "nations, tongues, and tribes," reminiscent of Genesis 10 and Dan 3:4–7

**B. Israel Against the Nations**

**1. Holy War as a Celebrated Event in Ancient Israel.** The institution of Holy War during the period of the Judges should be distinguished from Yahweh's Holy War as celebrated in the cultus of Ritual Conquest. Yahweh's Holy War is the ritual fusing of the events of the Exodus-Conquest into one great cultic celebration in which the Divine Warrior marched with his hosts from Sinai to Shittim and then across the Jordan River to Gilgal, the battle camp for the conquest of Canaan. The nature of the institution of holy war as reflected in the Song of Deborah (Judges 5) can be reconstructed, at least in part, from an analysis of Yahweh's Holy War as celebrated in the Ritual Conquest tradition. The ark of the covenant was a battle palladium. The tribal groups had designated positions within the battle camp under priestly organization. Moses and Joshua, as "judges" over Israel, filled the role later assumed by the prophets in delivering war oracles to inspire the troops in battle.

The quotation from the Book of the Wars of the Lord in Num 21:14 presents the Divine Warrior as poised on the edge of the promised land, before the most celebrated battles of the Exodus-Conquest. He has come in the whirlwind with His hosts to the sources of the river Arnon in Transjordan. He marches through the wadis, turning aside to settle affairs with Moab before marching against the two Amorite kings to the north, and then across the Jordan to Gilgal and the conquest of Canaan.

The actual conquest of Canaan was apparently reenacted as part of the annual festival tradition within ancient Israel, from the period of the judges down into the monarchic era, and perhaps beyond, as suggested by the so-called "War Scroll" from the Dead Sea community at Qumran. The tribal units of Israel took up their designated positions around the ark of the covenant at Gilgal. From there they set out to conquer Jericho in ritual tradition as part of the spring festival of Passover each year.

**2. Egypt and Amalek as Paradigmatic Enemies.** The crossing of the Jordan river in the tradition of Ritual Conquest was set over against the crossing of the Red Sea (*yam sup*), or "Sea of Reeds [or rushes]," in which the people of Israel were delivered from their traditional foe, the Egyptians (cf. Exod 15, the "Song of the Sea," and Ps 114:5). After crossing the sea, Israel's first military encounter was against the Amalekites (Exod 17:8–15). Amalek was defeated and cursed in the name of Yahweh, who pledged "war with Amalek from generation to generation" (Exod 17:16). In later tradition Israel was commanded to "blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven; you shall not forget" (Deut 25:19). Though not much is known about Amalek so far as history is concerned, her traditional enmity with Israel surfaces in the story of Saul's demise because of his refusal to slay Agag, king of Amalek, and again in the story of Esther whose archenemy Haman is identified as the Agagite (Esth 3:1, 10; 8:3, 5; 9:25).

The war with Amalek is the first in a series of wars which, together with the defeat of the Egyptians at the Red Sea, constitute Yahweh's Holy War par excellence. Further battles in this series include the war with the Canaanite king of Arad (Num 21:1–3), the wars with the Amorite kings Sihon and Og (Num

21:21–35), and the war against Midian (Num 31:1–54)—all under the leadership of Moses. After Moses' death, Joshua led the people across the Jordan to the second phase of Yahweh's Holy War against Jericho, Ai, and the Canaanite inhabitants of the promised land.

**3. The Seven Traditional Enemies of Deuteronomic Tradition.** The full list of "seven nations greater and mightier than (Israel)"—the Hittites, the Girgashites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and the Jebusites—appears in three passages (Deut 7:1; Josh 3:10; 24:11). Though some of these "nations" are identifiable, the Perizzites and Girgashites remain obscure. Detailed study of the occurrences of these seven names within the biblical tradition suggests that the complete listing of seven nations is probably traditional in nature. Within the holy war materials of the Deuteronomic tradition these seven nations apparently constitute a roll call of enemies within some sort of cultic context.

**4. Assyria and Babylon Join Egypt as Paradigmatic Enemies.** In the flow of historical events, the northern kingdom of Israel was eventually destroyed by Assyria under Sargon II (722 B.C.E.), and somewhat later Judah fell to the Neo-Babylonian Empire under Nebuchadnezzar (587–586 B.C.E.). The prophetic books of Nahum and Jonah focus on Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, which became a symbol for the archenemy of God's people. In the book of Judith the city of Nineveh, as the capital of Assyria, was said to be ruled by Nebuchadnezzar, in complete disregard of history as such. Nebuchadnezzar was the ruler of the New Babylonian Empire, which destroyed Jerusalem; Babylon subsequently became another symbol of the archenemy (cf. Rev 18:2).

**5. The Oracles Against the Nations.** Within the prophetic literature of ancient Israel, the oracles against the nations constitute a large and distinctive block of material. The classical prophets of ancient Israel were apparently political figures, sharing in the rule of the people in some way, alongside the king. Jeremiah's self-description of his call to be "a prophet to the nations" (Jer 1:5) speaks of one aspect of this responsibility.

The establishment of the Davidic monarchy and the centralization of Israel's worship in Jerusalem introduced a powerful impulse to the religion of ancient Israel which tended to reshape earlier tradition. The cultus of the premonarchic Covenant League was retained but was subordinated to a royal cultus administered by dominant priestly families under the control of the king. Yahweh's Holy War, as cultic reenactment of the Exodus-Conquest, was no longer climaxed by mere possession of the land of promise. The ark of the covenant was carried in ritual procession to its "eternal resting place" on Mount Zion in Jerusalem. The climax of the Royal Festival became the enthronement of the Davidic monarch in dynastic covenant. The ark of the covenant was subsequently housed permanently in an elaborate temple, constructed under Solomon, which became the center of Israelite worship until its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar in 587 B.C.E.

Beginning with the oracles against the nations in Amos 1–2, the member nations of the former Davidic empire were judged in a highly stylized manner for violation of the treaty stipulations of their "covenant of brotherhood." Motifs from earlier war songs of Israel's Covenant League were incorporated into this poetic composition, which was essentially a reversal of Yahweh's Holy War as celebrated in the Ritual Conquest traditions. The Divine Warrior was now leading his hosts in battle against his own people because they had spurned their covenant obligations. The framework of the idealized Davidic empire as the legal basis for judgment speeches against the nations was expanded in the developing tradition from Amos to Jeremiah. Isaiah's oracles against Assyria, Egypt, Ethiopia, and the insurgent Arab tribes of the East were based on the concept of the universal sovereignty of Yahweh as suzerain of the nations. The intent of the tradition at the hands of Isaiah, Nahum, Zephaniah, and Jeremiah appears to be primarily political. The major thrust of the oracles against the nations in this period was aimed at shaping foreign policy in Judah with respect to the nations concerned.

**C. Israel and the Nations in History**

**1. The Davidic Empire as Political Ideal.** Under David, Israel as a political entity was no longer a loosely federated tribal league, but rapidly became the center of an international empire. After defeating the Philistines (2 Sam 5:17–25; 1 Chr 18:1), David first turned his attention to Moab: he defeated Moab, ruthlessly punished their army, exacted tribute, and became their overlord. Next came the Arameans and

the Ammonites. After humiliating David's delegation and thus provoking war with Israel, Hanun king of Ammon summoned his Aramean allies to aid him in battle. David defeated the Arameans and drew up a treaty of peace which made of the Aramean states a kind of province administered from Damascus. He also negotiated a "treaty of friendship" with king Toi of Hamath, making him a vassal within the emerging Davidic empire (cf. 2 Sam 8:9–10). The Ammonite campaign continued under Joab, David's general. When finally forced to capitulate, Ammon became Davidic territory with David ostensibly its king (cf. 2 Sam 12:26–31 and 1 Chr 20:1).

After the Aramean campaign, Edom was attacked and ravaged with dreadful cruelty by Joab and his troops (cf. 2 Sam 8:13–14; 1 Kgs 11:15–17), making David the undisputed master from Egypt to the Euphrates. The Philistines were reduced to their pentapolis and immediate coastal area. David was king of Judah, Israel, Jerusalem, Ammon, and the Canaanite city-states incorporated into Judah and Israel. He ruled through provincial governors or vassal chiefs in Aram, Edom, and Moab and had established treaty relationships with Tyre and Hamath. David had thus become the most powerful ruler in the world of his day, and Israel was transformed from a tribal confederation to suzerain of a league of nations.

Though the Davidic empire as a political reality did not survive the breakup of the United Monarchy in 922 B.C.E., the ideal extent of Israel's suzerainty under David lived on in prophetic circles. Mauchline has demonstrated this persistent belief in the Davidic empire in the 8th and 7th centuries, particularly in the writings of Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. The emergence of both the Assyrian and the Neo-Babylonian empires did not obliterate the prophetic vision of Israel as the kingdom of David at its height in the first half of the 10th century B.C.E. In fact, this political ideal played a formative role in the shaping of the messianic hope of ancient Israel.

At the midpoint of the 8th century, Egypt was divided with numerous petty dynasts competing for the political authority of the decadent 22d Dynasty. Egypt seemed to be moving relentlessly down the road toward disaster and eclipse while Assyria was once again on the rise. From 801 to 746 the Assyrian kings were occupied with difficulties closer to home—north, east, and south of Assyria—and consequently left the West relatively undisturbed. Jeroboam II of Israel was thus able to conquer Damascus and to restore the old Davidic border on the north in eastern Syria (cf. 2 Kgs 14:23–25); while his younger contemporary Uzziah, king of Judah, regained control of the southern desert, the land of Edom, and its sea-trade routes to the south (2 Chr 26:1–15).

To summarize the first half of the 8th century, it may be said that Assyrians, Arameans, and Urarteans fought each other to a standstill in Mesopotamia and Syria. Given the internal stability that chanced to prevail in Judah and Israel at the time, it is no wonder that the divided kingdom briefly regained the economic strength and territorial extent of the Solomonic empire. Assyria's long respite made the people of Israel forget how much the conquests and splendor of Jeroboam's reign were the result of Assyria's maiming Israel's more immediate oppressors. With the rise of Tiglath-pileser III in 745, after the death of Jeroboam II in Israel, things changed. Assyria was now bent on conquest, and Syria-Palestine was a prime target in her march toward Egypt and control of the Near East.

**2. An Era of Transition (ca. 750–700 B.C.E.).** The accession of the usurper Tiglath-pileser III (745–727) to the throne in Assyria marks the beginning of a new era, for he and his two successors changed the balance of power in the ANE In 745, Tiglath-pileser found Assyria in a difficult, even desperate military and economic situation; but over the next forty years Assyria recovered and consolidated control of all its old territories, reestablishing itself as the preeminent military and economic power of the Middle East. Tiglath-pileser reorganized the nearer Syrian provinces under direct Assyrian rule and divided the former provinces into smaller prefectures so as to secure centralized control of the empire. At the same time he regulated succession to political power in the middle tier of states, including Israel, and waged war against the more distant ones.

Israel was soon beset with internal crises brought on by the new Assyrian policy, and political prominence in Syria-Palestine apparently passed to Judah. The inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser for the year 738 mention the fact that he fought in Judah. Uzziah's daring attempt to halt the expansion of Assyria failed and the league dissolved. By 738, Tiglath-pileser reached the mountains of Lebanon, founding

Assyrian provinces in the former territory of the kingdom of Hamath. The list of kings paying tribute to Assyria at this time includes the kings of Byblos, Tyre, Aram, and Samaria, and even a certain queen of Arabia.

Uzziah died in 735 or 734 and was succeeded by his son, Jotham, who had apparently shared a lengthy coregency with his father. Jotham died in 734 and was succeeded by Ahaz, who was immediately confronted with a political crisis of major proportions: Pekah had usurped the throne in Samaria and, together with Rezin king of Aram, apparently began preparing a new league against Assyria. When Ahaz refused to join this league, the two kings marched against Jerusalem in an attempt to replace him with a certain "son of Tabeel" (Isa 7:6). During the campaign of Rezin and Pekah against Ahaz, the Edomites asserted their independence and invaded Judah from the south (2 Kgs 16:6; 2 Chr 28:17). The people of Philistia also took the opportunity to overcome the cities of the Negeb and the Shephelah of Judah (2 Chr 28:18). If the reconstruction of Aharoni and Avi-Yonah is correct, Rezin, king of Aram, either neutralized Ammon and Moab or engaged their assistance against Judah at this time. Then, in spite of the warnings of Isaiah (Isa 7:4), Ahaz turned to Assyria for aid.

Tiglath-pileser's actions were swift and decisive. From Assyrian inscriptions it is known that he had already set out on a campaign to Philistia in 734. Hanun, king of Gaza, took refuge in Egypt and Tiglath-pileser left troops on the Egyptian border, thus cutting the kings of Palestine off from Egyptian aid. In response to the appeal of Ahaz of Judah, Tiglath-pileser marched against Israel and Aram-Damascus. In the years 734–33, the plains of Esdraelon and Sharon, the region around Mount Carmel, and Gilead in Transjordan were incorporated into the Assyrian provincial system, leaving the city-state of Samaria with only a measure of independence. By 732 the Assyrian victory was complete with the conquest of Damascus and the incorporation of its territory into the Assyrian empire (2 Kgs 16:9). Tiglath-pileser's second western campaign (734–732) was decisive, for from the Taurus mountains in the north to the River of Egypt in the south, the entire Mediterranean littoral now paid him homage, either as province or as vassal kingdom. In 731, Tiglath-pileser's attention was again diverted to other regions with a rebellion in Babylonia, settled in 729 when he set himself up as Pul, king of Babylon (2 Kgs 15:19; 1 Chr 5:26).

Tiglath-pileser died in 727 and his successor, Shalmaneser V (727–722), was occupied for some time securing his throne. Though Israel was not hard-pressed by Assyria, Hoshea continued to pay tribute. Then, in 726, an event to the south altered the situation. 2 Kgs 17:4 records the fact that Hoshea, king of Israel, appealed for aid against Assyria to a certain King "So" in Egypt, who is probably to be identified with Tefnakhte I of Sais. Hoshea, who evidently was no longer as pro-Assyrian as he had been in 732, welcomed the news from Egypt that a new dynasty was emerging in the Delta which promised to unite a badly divided Egypt and return her to her legendary greatness. Reports evidently confirmed the news as Tefnakhte rapidly gained the supremacy of the Delta area and began to move south with his troops. At last the time was right and Hoshea withheld tribute from Assyria, apparently convinced that Tefnakhte would come to his aid.

Tefnakhte's rise to power in the Delta was preceded by the emergence of Piye (*Pi*ʿ*ankhi*), a Cushite ruler in Upper Egypt, whose brother later became the first pharaoh of the Ethiopian 25th Dynasty in Egypt. Piye ordered his troops, which were already in Upper Egypt, northward to besiege Hermopolis, which had just submitted to Tefnakhte. Meanwhile, he dispatched a second army which defeated Tefnakhte's fleet on the Nile and continued on its way to Heracleopolis, the last major city in the Delta still holding out against Tefnakhte. Piye's troops were victorious both by land and by sea, and Tefnakhte saw his empire crumbling even more quickly than it had taken form. When Piye left the Delta to return south, he apparently left the various petty dynasts in their individual cities as vassals. In Upper Egypt his rule continued for an uncertain but brief period.

Meanwhile, Sargon II (722–705) had taken power in Assyria during the siege of Samaria. In his first campaigns following the fall of Israel, he was defeated near Der by Merodach-Baladan, then king of the small kingdom of Bit-Yakin, who had the assistance of the Elamite king Humbanigash. Sargon turned against Syria where, following the death of his brother, Shalmaneser V, the Assyrian rule had collapsed, at least as far north as Hamath. Apparently Piye deemed the time a propitious one to deal a vital blow to

Assyria, for on the historic battlefields of Qarqar on the Orontes, Sargon had met the kings of Hamath and Damascus, and others whom the Egyptian general Re›u (formerly read Sib›u) had been able to muster. Though the fact that this Egyptian was indeed Piye's general cannot be demonstrated, it seems likely that such was the case. The defeat of the allies was complete, and in 720 Sargon pursued the Egyptian contingent as far as Raphia, whence the Egyptian general fled home, presumably to Ethiopia, for Sargon did not cross the Egyptian border.

In 720 Tefnakhte reemerged as king in Sais, apparently by allying himself with Assyria so as to make a new bid for the control of Egypt and to keep Assyrian forces out of the Delta. In 718 he erected a stela which he dated to his eighth year as pharaoh, considering his reign from his earlier rise to power in 726. Tefnakhte's son Bocchoris, who was recognized by all as a pharaoh of the 24th Dynasty, in 716/15 left a monument dated to his sixth year and reigned until 710/09 when Shabaka, brother of Piye, founded the Ethiopian 25th Dynasty, which was involved in much of the diplomatic intrigue in Palestine in the following decades.

The respite following Sargon's first campaign in the West lasted two years (719–718) during which time Sargon was engaged in the far north. In 717, Carchemish conspired against Assyria and Sargon, unleashing a two-year show of strength in the West, defeated Carchemish and marched south to the Egyptian border where, according to a fragment of a clay prism published in 1941, he received tribute from king Shilkanni (Osorkon IV) of Bubastis, the last king of the so-called 23d Dynasty in Egypt. It is significant that Osorkon is called king (*Lugal*) and not pharaoh ($^{m}$*Pi-ir-Õu*) in this inscription. The *PirÕu* (pharaoh) who was king of Egypt in 715, according to the annals of Sargon II, was probably Bocchoris. Osorkon was a king of Egypt in the western Delta in 716, but Tefnakhte of Sais (in 720) and his son Bocchoris (in 715) were recognized as pharaohs by the Assyrians.

In the midst of these events on the Egyptian border, Ahaz of Judah died and was succeeded by Hezekiah (715–687). Sargon was again occupied on his northern frontier until 712, when Palestine once more felt the full impact of the Assyrian arms. The provocation for Sargon's third and last western campaign came from Ashdod, where a certain Yamani had usurped the throne. Yamani had contacted other Philistine cities, Judah, Edom, Moab, and Egypt in an attempt to stir up a rebellion. Anticipating an Assyrian attack, he fortified Ashdod against siege. When news of Ashdod's revolt reached Sargon, he dispatched his army under a commander-in-chief who "came to Ashdod and fought it and took it" (Isa 20:1). Ashdod and her surrounding territory were organized as a new Assyrian province ruled by a governor.

For the rest of his reign (710–705), Sargon was occupied in Mesopotamia and in Anatolia, where his death on a battlefield in 705 triggered widespread rebellion, beginning with Babylonia. Ashkelon and Ekron took an active part in this rebellion, probably because of the ominous proximity of Assyrian authority in the province of Ashdod. Hezekiah intervened in Ekron deposing the loyal Assyrian vassal Padi, taking him captive to Jerusalem. The increasingly aggressive policy of the Ethiopian dynasty in Egypt was no doubt an important factor in the anti-Assyrian stand of Ashkelon and Ekron. For four years Sennacherib (705–681) took no steps to quell the rebellion. Finally in 701, after settling affairs in Babylon, he marched against Philistia and Judah.

Sennacherib's campaign against Judah in 701 is well known, though still the subject of sharp debate among scholars. The records present an unusually complete account from both sides. The problem arises over the very different interpretations given to the biblical and Assyrian evidence. Albright, Bright, and others have argued that there were actually two contests between Sennacherib and Hezekiah and that the Assyrians won the first but lost the second. Hallo, Tadmor, and others reject the two-campaign theory. It is sufficient here to note, with Hallo, that the accession of Sennacherib in 705 symbolized in many ways the start of a new phase in the Assyrian impact on western Asia.

**3. *Pax Assyriaca* (ca.** 700–640 B.C.E.). The triumph of Assyria and the subsequent *pax Assyriaca* brought an eclipse to the developing tradition of oracles against the nations within the prophetic literature of the OT, for no such material can be dated to this period with any degree of confidence. During the first half of the 7th century Judah, Moab, Ammon, Edom, and Philistia remained subservient to Assyria as

vassal kingdoms or nominal Assyrian provinces. The other nations addressed in prophetic materials of the second half of the 7th century reveal a rather stormy history for the so-called *pax Assyriaca.*

The conquest of Phoenicia by Assyria was a drawn-out affair which met continued opposition, particularly from Tyre. When Sennacherib marched against Phoenicia, Luli, king of Sidon, fled to Cyprus where he died. The Assyrians installed Ittoba‘al II as king in Sidon, who was in turn succeeded by ‘Abdmilkot. Allying himself with Cilicia, ‘Abdmilkot revolted against Assyria, and this time the Assyrian conquest was followed by destruction and exile of the population. In 677, Sidon was razed to the ground and replaced by the new city of Kar-Esarhaddon. Tyre was spared and a treaty was drawn up which set up an Assyrian governor alongside King Ba‘al. Six years later (671) Tyre revolted, in league with Taharqa (Tirhakah), king of Egypt. Though Esarhaddon’s reign (681–669) in Assyria marked continued decline in Phoenician independence, Tyre remained autonomous under the rule of Ba‘al during the reign of Ashurbanipal (669–630). Sometime after the sack of Thebes (663), Ba‘al rebelled again, and though the revolt was quelled, Tyre was not occupied and merely had to send homage and tribute as a nominal vassal to Assyria.

The emergence of the Ethiopian 25th Dynasty (ca. 710–664) in Egypt set the stage for one of the great power struggles in antiquity. With a direct clash of interest in Lower Egypt and southern Palestine an eventual confrontation with Assyria was inevitable. However, as Gardiner has noted, it was with a third party to this dispute that ultimate victory was destined to lie, namely with Psammetichus (Psamtik) I (663–609), founder of the Saite 26th Dynasty. The campaigns of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal from 675 to 663, climaxed by the sack of Thebes, marked the crest of Assyrian expansion. To defeat the Ethiopians, Ashurbanipal apparently used the royal house of Sais to unify Lower Egypt against the Ethiopian king. In so doing the Assyrians set the stage for a second phase in the power struggle. After about a decade on the throne, Psammetichus I shook off the restraint and supervision of the resident Assyrian officials and allied himself with Gyges of Lydia in a successful revolt against Assyria. By the time Ashurbanipal settled affairs with Elam and Kedar around 640, the independence movement of Psammetichus had gone so far that the Assyrian monarch did not care to risk opposing it.

The history of Elam from ca. 700 to 639 is marked by conspiracy, revolt and factional strife, with seven rebellions against Assyria in six decades. It is possible that Egypt (or Ethiopia) was involved in most, if not all, of these revolts, and Judah may have been a party in as many as four of the widespread conspiracies associated with them. In the rebellion of 703–701, Shutruk-nahunte II of Elam (717–699) is singled out as the most prominent ally of Merodach-Baladan of Babylon. Sennacherib put down the revolt, routing the Elamite forces in 703 and again in 700. Between these two conquests of Elam, Sennacherib defeated a coalition of western states including “Hezekiah the Jew,” the princes of Egypt, and the “king of Ethiopia.” From 694 to 689 B.C. the bitter struggle between Elam and Assyria was resumed, no doubt precipitating revolt in the West again as had occurred earlier in the Elamite revolts of 721–720 and 703–700. The involvement of Egypt in such a revolt is reflected in the biblical reference to Taharqa (Tirhakah) in 2 Kgs 19:9 Unfortunately, the Assyrian records are incomplete for the years immediately following the sack of Babylon in 689. A second campaign in southern Palestine on the part of Sennacherib to quell a revolt in 688 is certainly possible, if not likely. The defeat of Elam in 689 marked the end of political unity and the beginning of an era of factionalism there. Nonetheless, the embers of revolt continued to smolder and burst forth in flames of rebellion twice in connection with the Assyrian conquest of Egypt (ca. 675–663).

When revolt broke out in Babylon in 652 under Ashurbanipal’s brother Shamash-shum-ukin, the widespread conspiracy included numerous petty states in Syria-Palestine and pharaoh Psammetichus, who had already freed Egypt from Assyrian rule. If credence is given the Chronicler’s account of the Babylonian captivity of King Manasseh (2 Chr 33:10–17), Judah was a member of the conspiracy, as was the case earlier in 701 and probably ca. 688. The Babylonian revolt led to civil war in Elam, which Ashurbanipal put down. By 646 Elam was once more under Assyrian control, at least for the moment. Six years later the stage was set for a final coup which once and for all put an end to an independent Elamite kingdom. In 639 Susa was taken by Assyria and utterly destroyed.

The Kedarites emerged as the dominant power of the desert league of Arab tribes in Syria-Palestine during the closing years of the reign of Sennacherib (ca. 690–688). The years up to the Babylonian revolt in 652 were relatively tranquil for Assyria in the Kedarite controlled area of Syria-Palestine. Kedar joined in the revolt against Assyria in 652, sending troops under Abiyate to assist Shamash-shum-ukin in Babylon. When the Arab reinforcements were defeated, Abiyate went to Nineveh, where he submitted to Ashurbanipal and was appointed king of the Arabs. Some time prior to Abiyate's return to his people, a certain Uaite› "made himself king of Arabia," thus claiming leadership of the Arab confederacy. Around 640 Abiyate apparently deemed it politic to renounce his fealty to Assyria and to join with Natnu of Nabate and with Uaite› in revolt again. In Ashurbanipal's second campaign against the Arabs (639–637), Uaite› and Abiyate were captured and taken to Assyria. After humiliating Uaite›, Ashurbanipal apparently had mercy on him as he did earlier with Necho I of Egypt, Tammaritu of Elam, and Manasseh of Judah, whom he restored as vassal kings after subjecting them to a humiliating ceremony of submission. That this was the case is suggested by the fact that a later inscription makes reference to Nuhur, the son of Uaite›, who came in submission to Ashurbanipal and was granted his father's throne.

Though the details are not certain, it is likely that the assassination of King Amon in Judah in ca. 640 (2 Kgs 21:23–24) was related to the simultaneous revolt against Assyria on the part of Elam, Kedar, and Tyre. Realizing that the time was not yet right for such drastic action, the "people of the land" put the murderers to death and placed the boy Josiah on the throne in Jerusalem. This action forestalled Assyrian intervention and gave Judah the opportunity to revolt at a more opportune moment.

**4. *Regnum Davidicum redivivum* (ca. 640–609 B.C.E.).** Little is known about the history of Babylon and Assyria from 640 to 630. Ashurbanipal died ca. 630 and was succeeded by his son Asshuretililani, whose rule was challenged early. In 629 Sinsharishkun, another son of Ashurbanipal, was recognized as king in Sippar and Uruk; and a certain Sinshumlishir, commandant of the Nippur garrison, claimed the throne of Assyria in 627/26. That year has also been described as "the year in which there was no king in the land." In the year 626 the diadem of Babylon passed from the hands of Assyria to the Chaldean Nabopolassar (626–605), who organized a new dynasty in Babylon. The death throes of the mighty Assyrian empire were at hand.

With the decline of Assyria after the middle of the 7th century, the stage was set for the restoration of Judah among the nations. From 648 to his death in 642, Manasseh remained a loyal vassal to Assyria; and his son Amon (642–640) apparently continued his father's policy. When Elam, the Arab confederacy, and Tyre were again in revolt against Assyria in 640, pressure was exerted on Judah to join them. The assassination of Amon was probably an attempt on the part of rebel extremists to force Judah to throw off the Assyrian yoke. Instead, a more moderate group, the "people of the land," regained control in Judah, executed the king's murderers, and installed the eight-year-old Josiah (640–609) as king of Judah. This action apparently staved off Assyrian intervention in Judah, though it seems that the advisers of the young king were merely seeking a more opportune time to restore the "kingdom of David."

In the eighth year of his reign, according to 2 Chr 34:3, Josiah "began to seek the God of David his father." In other words, as early as 632 Josiah repudiated the gods of his Assyrian overlords. Four years later he annexed the Assyrian provinces to the N—Samaria, Megiddo, and probably Gilead. Of the three Transjordan states only Moab, which was but a shadow of her former self, escaped direct territorial incursion on the part of Judah. The Negeb in particular was wrested from Edomite control.

Unfortunately for Judah, the international situation in the Levant in the 7th century was only superficially similar to that of the 10th century, such that it was quite impossible to restore the empire of David for any length of time. Egypt was again seeking an Asian empire of her own, and the temporary vacuum formed by the demise of Assyria was soon to be filled by the Neo-Babylonian Empire. Josiah met his death at Megiddo in battle against the Egyptian forces of Neco II (609–594), who was on his way north to Haran to check the progress of the Medo-Babylonian alliance against Assyria. The death of Josiah in 609 marked the beginning of the end for the kingdom of Judah and for the former members of the Davidic League as well. Judah, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Aram, and Phoenicia were soon to be

swallowed up by the military might of Nebuchadnezzar the Great (605–561). Philistia, Egypt, Kedar, and distant Elam (Persia) were to share the same fate.

**5. *Imperium Babylonicum* (ca. 626–582 B.C.E.).** The accession of Nabopolassar (626–605) marks the beginning of a new era in the history of the ANE The Babylonian Chronicle for 626 begins with a revolt in Babylon in which Nabopolassar routed the Assyrian garrison established by Sinsharishkun. Since his first official act in the chronicle was to return to Susa the gods carried off to Uruk by the Assyrians some twenty years earlier, it is clear that he either had or hoped to have Elamite (or Persian) support in his struggle against Assyria. By November 624, Uruk was retaken by Assyria; but Sinsharishkun's belated foray into Babylonia in 623 appears to be the action of a hard-pressed man who snatched time for temporary measures to control a local insurrection. Aware that the Egyptians were now potential enemies to any force pushing into Syria, Nabopolassar allied himself with the Medes in order to destroy the great citadels of Assyria along the Tigris.

When Nabopolassar engaged the Assyrians in Syria on July 23, 616, they fled in disarray. In a second encounter in September the "army of Egypt" appeared along with the Assyrians. The penetration of Egyptian forces so far into Syria can only mean that the Egyptians were aware of the growing weakness of Assyria and of Nabopolassar's intention of establishing Babylonian control there. In May 615, Nabopolassar besieged Asshur but was forced to retreat before the forces of Sinsharishkun. By midsummer of 614 an army of Medes was advancing toward Nineveh. Again Shinsharishkun repelled the invaders, at least from Nineveh. Turning downstream along the bank of the Tigris, the Medes attacked Asshur, which was poorly defended, since Sinsharishkun had gone to the defense of Nineveh. The city was sacked and its inhabitants massacred. The destruction of Asshur was such a shocking violation of international practice of the time—which usually permitted a city to ransom itself unless it could be termed "rebellious"—that even the Babylonian Chronicler took pains to dissociate Nabopolassar from this act of savagery. An alliance of "peace and cordial relations" was concluded between Umakishtar, king of the Medes, and Nabopolassar, and it apparently remained in effect through the major campaigns against Nineveh (612) and Haran (610). After 609 the Medes disappear from the extant chronicles.

After two unsuccessful assaults on Nineveh in 612, the wall of the city was finally breached and the Medes and Babylonians poured into the city. Sinsharishkun died, as Shamash-shum-ukin before him, in the ruins of the city. Though Nineveh was utterly destroyed, Sinsharishkun's son Asshuruballit II (611–609) managed to escape, making his way to Haran, the final bastion of Assyria. When the combined armies of Babylonia and the Medes marched against Haran in 610, the Assyrians and Egyptians fled and the city was taken. The Egyptian force was a garrison, which was apparently delayed by Josiah's fateful battle at Megiddo in 609. A vain attempt on the part of Asshuruballit to retake Haran in 609, with Egyptian help, failed. The final curtain had fallen on Assyrian power in the ANE

In March 609, the Babylonians and Medes returned to their own lands, and sometime later, according to tradition, a covenant of friendship between Babylonia and the Medes was sealed by the marriage of Nabopolassar's son Nebuchadnezzar to Umakishtar's daughter Amyntas. With their eastern frontier secured by treaty, the Babylonians gave their attention to affairs in the West.

In the spring of 605 Nabopolassar turned over command of the army to Nebuchadnezzar who, in his first major campaign, took the Egyptians by surprise and defeated them roundly at Carchemish. Though this defeat of the Egyptians marked the beginning of Babylonian dominance in Syria-Palestine, the struggle was by no means over. Entries in the Babylonian Chronicle for the next four years show repeated military expeditions in the West. On August 15, 605, Nabopolassar died and Nebuchadnezzar returned in haste to Babylon to secure his throne. After the ceremonies of accession, he returned to Syria to continue his military exploits. In February 604 he returned to Babylon for the New Year's festival. Later that year he was again in Palestine, where he destroyed Ashkelon. Further campaigns in Palestine in 603 and 602 were designed to eliminate the Egyptian sphere of influence from Gaza north. In December 601, having reduced most of Syria and Palestine, Nebuchadnezzar launched a campaign against the borders of Egypt. In the ensuing battle the Egyptian forces were crippled, but at great cost to Nebuchadnezzar. Nebuchadnezzar was forced to withdraw, and his next year was spent in Babylon rebuilding his army.

Egypt, on the other hand, was so seriously weakened that, for the moment, she was reduced to virtual parity with the lesser states of southern Palestine.

From the death of Josiah at the hands of pharaoh Neco in 609 to the second fall of Jerusalem in 587, the kings of Judah and the other Palestinian states held their thrones at the pleasure of Egypt or Babylon. Foreign policy in Jerusalem and other major cities of the area was determined by which of these two powers seemed stronger or more menacing. After the death of Josiah, Judah became an Egyptian vassal. Jehoahaz, a son and successor of Josiah, was deposed, after reigning only three months, by Neco, who installed Eliakim, another son of Josiah, with the crown name Jehoiakim (609/8–597). After the defeat of Egypt at Carchemish in 605, the area as far south as Riblah was placed under tribute. In 604 Nebuchadnezzar extended his exactions to "all the kings of Hatti land," though Jehoiakim, Adon of Ashkelon, and perhaps others, held out for a time. Sometime in 603, probably after the fall of Ashkelon, Judah also became tributary to the Babylonians. This relationship stood until 601.

The decisive battle between Nebuchadnezzar and Neco at "the borders of Egypt" in 601/600 was a blow to the pro-Babylonian faction in Jerusalem. Jehoiakim withheld tribute in a vain attempt to reassert Judean independence. In 599/98 Nebuchadnezzar sent raiding parties from his Syrian bases to plunder the Arabs. The Babylonians sent raiding bands of Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites against Judah as well, as late as 598. Josephus has reconstructed this raid, perhaps with the aid of additional sources now lost.

Late in November 598 a mixed force of Chaldeans, Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites appeared before Jerusalem. The death of Jehoiakim at this time was probably the result of a palace revolt in which "his body was thrown outside the gates of Jerusalem, and left there, like the body of an ass" (cf. Jer 22:19 and 36:30). Jehoiakim was succeeded by his eighteen-year-old son, Jehoiachin, who, three months and ten days later, was carried into exile by the Babylonians on March 16, 597; his uncle Mattaniah was installed with the throne name Zedekiah (2 Kgs 24:17). The treasuries of the palace and temple were looted, and the royal family, together with members of the court, soldiers, and artisans, were deported to Babylon (2 Kgs 24:13–16). In Babylon, Jehoiachin was maintained in nominal captivity along with a group of kings from other lands. Meanwhile, in Jerusalem, Zedekiah was regarded as regent for the exiled king of Judah.

Jerusalem was the focus of an anti-Babylonian coalition in 594 when envoys from Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon came in a conspiracy (Jer 27:3). For some reason the revolt did not materialize. In 591 Psammetichus II (594–588) made a trip through *Ḥurru* (Phoenicia), which may have had as its purpose the inciting of further rebellion in Palestine. When Zedekiah foolishly withheld, or perhaps reduced, the amount of tribute paid to Babylon in 590 or 589, Babylonian troops appeared before the walls of Jerusalem. An Egyptian army under pharaoh Apries (Hophra) (588–568) came to the aid of Jerusalem, causing the siege to be lifted temporarily, but the Egyptians were routed and the siege was resumed. Finally, in the summer of 587, weakened by siegeworks, famine, and plague, Jerusalem was stormed and methodically destroyed (cf. 2 Kgs 25:8–21; Jer 52:12–27). Booty and prisoners were transported to Mesopotamia.

The catastrophe which struck Judah in 587 did not immediately affect Ammon, Moab, and Edom. By the beginning of the last decade of the 7th century, Ammon had asserted its independence and rapidly became the dominant state of S Transjordan, expanding as far west as the Jordan valley. Nebuchadnezzar's victory at Carchemish in 605 posed a new threat to the petty states of Palestine, and it is probable that the king of Ammon was among the "kings of Hatti" who paid homage to the Babylonian monarch in 604. After three years, Jehoiakim of Judah revolted, though Ammon and Moab remained loyal and fought with the raiding parties dispatched from Syria against Judah (2 Kgs 24:2). The Ammonites and Moabites remained loyal to Babylon in order to secure protection against the Kedarite dominated Arab confederacy which was encroaching upon the borders of all the states in Transjordan. It was not until 594, after the first fall of Jerusalem, that Ammon and Moab were induced to join with Edom, Tyre, and Sidon in a conspiracy against Babylon.

Though the widespread revolt against Babylon did not materialize, Ammon remained in open rebellion, even to the point of interference in the internal affairs of the remnant of Judah after 587. King Baalis of Ammon was involved in the plot to assassinate Gedaliah, the governor of Judah (Jer 40:14). Apparently

the Ammonite king was trying to gain control of Judah, possibly in the hope of restoring the kingdom of Josiah, this time under Ammonite rule. Though the subsequent political events in Transjordan from 586 to 582 are obscure, it seems probable that punitive measures were undertaken by Nebuchadnezzar. Josephus records a Babylonian campaign in Coele-Syria against Ammon and Moab "in the fifth year after the sacking of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-third year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar" (*Ant.* 10.9.7). The biblical account in Jer 52:30 apparently describes the same event, noting that 745 Jews were included in the deportation of 582, which was carried out by Nebuzaradan, the doughty Babylonian general who had also executed the deportation of 587. The devastating punitive action of 582 created a political vacuum in Transjordan into which poured the Arab invaders of the Kedarite League, destroying all organized political activity in the area (cf. Ezek 25:4–5, 8–9). By the middle of the 6th century the Ammonite state had collapsed, as witnessed by archaeological explorations which show that sedentary occupation of Ammon ceased almost completely until the early 3d century.

The situation in Moab was similar to that in Ammon. In 604 the Moabite king submitted to Nebuchadnezzar and remained loyal to Babylon in the revolt of ca. 600–597. Though Moab sent envoys to Jerusalem in the conspiracy of 594, she apparently withdrew and returned to nominal vassalage to Babylon. When Judah was destroyed in 587, Moab was spared. Fugitives who fled from Judah were scorned by the Moabites who, according to the prophet Jeremiah, rejoiced over the fate of Judah and proclaimed their own country to be an impregnable fortress (Jer 48:26–30). The haughtiness of Moab produced a flood of condemnation from the prophets of Judah. In the Babylonian campaign of 582, the voice of Moab, like that of Ammon, was silenced. Some of the Moabites were exiled to Babylonia, while others fled to Egypt. The destruction of the line of Moabite fortresses in the first quarter of the 6th century meant Moab's end. Subsequent Arab encroachment destroyed any surviving sedentary culture in Transjordan.

The kingdom of Edom managed to survive the devastations of 587 and 582 in Palestine. Along with the other petty states of the area, Edom submitted quietly to the Babylonian yoke in 604. Though envoys from Edom were present in Jerusalem in the conspiracy of 594, Edom apparently withdrew. When Babylonian forces besieged and captured Jerusalem in 587, the Edomites joined the forces of Nebuchadnezzar and exulted over the destruction of their ancient enemy (cf. Ps 137:7; Lam 4:21–22; and Obad 10–16). After the deportation of the people of Judah to Babylon in 587 and 582, the Edomites moved northward into southern Judah, making Hebron the capital of a kingdom which eventually came to be known as Idumea. Behind them the Nabateans pressed into former Edomite territory and established a kingdom with Petra as their capital.

The fate of Philistia and Phoenicia at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar is not clear, at least in detail. Only the fall of Ashkelon in 604 can be dated. Gaza, which fell into Egyptian hands in the reign of Neco II (609–594), was later listed as a Babylonian dependency along with Tyre, Sidon, Arvad, and Ashdod. Citing an earlier source of Philostratos, Josephus mentions a thirteen-year siege of Tyre, which apparently began in 587, the year Jerusalem fell, and terminated in 573, when Tyre surrendered.

**D. The Nations in Prophetic Eschatology and Early Apocalyptic Literature**

The fate of the separate nations addressed in the oracles of the OT prophets has been presented in order to explain the transformation of prophecy in relation to the nations, which took place against this background. The death of Josiah in 609 and the conquests of Nebuchadnezzar from 605 to 597 mark the end of an era in the development of the prophetic literature of ancient Israel, and the beginning of a major transformation of the war oracle in particular. Beginning with Habakkuk and Jeremiah's oracle against Elam (Jer 49:34–39), the focus of attention shifted from contemporary events of political history to the realm of eschatology. The primary intent of this new literary mode was no longer that of shaping foreign policy per se, but the preservation of the people of Israel in the impending crisis by means of hope in events yet to come. The fall of Jerusalem in 597 and its final destruction at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar in 587 served to complete this transformation. Loosed from its moorings in the royal court and temple cult, OT prophecy evolved rather quickly from a focus on prophetic eschatology to that of early apocalyptic.

Within this setting those who assembled the biblical material in its present canonical form turned their attention to the deeper meaning behind the historical events. The nation of Israel was not to be understood in isolation from other nations, even her bitter enemies of times past. One of the most interesting examples of this shift in perspective appears in the book of Isaiah at the conclusion to the oracles against Egypt (19:24–25):

> In that day Israel will be the third with Egypt and a blessing in the midst of the earth, whom Yahweh of hosts has blessed, saying:
> "Blessed be Egypt, my people, Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel my heritage."

Both Assyria and Egypt/Ethiopia here take their place alongside Israel as part of the people of Yahweh.

Isaiah's oracle against Arabia (Isa 21:13–17) does not move beyond the Davidic ideal of earlier tradition, as witnessed by the inclusion of Arab tribes within the roll call of nations in Psalm 83 Arab groups were occupying land within the idealized boundary of the former Davidic empire. Moreover, the agreements formulated between the Queen of Sheba and Solomon placed Arabia within the sphere of influence of the United Monarchy. With Assyria and Egypt/Ethiopia, however, no such rationalization was possible. The new model was found within the holy war traditions of ancient Israel, especially the war songs from the premonarchic era. The Divine Warrior was seen to be the suzerain of all nations, the Lord of history, whose dominion knew no geographical bounds. Even mighty Assyria was but the "rod of Yahweh's anger," as the Divine Warrior chastened his chosen people. Once he was through with this unwitting servant, the Divine Warrior would vent his wrath against Assyria as well, to punish "the arrogant boasting of the king of Assyria and his haughty pride" (Isa 10:5–12).

The resurgence of Assyria in the last half of the 8th century was paralleled by a dramatic recovery on the part of Egypt, which eventually succumbed to invasion from the south and political subjugation to Ethiopia. Though these events in Egypt did not immediately threaten Judah, Isaiah incorporated them within his model of the nations under the suzerainty of Yahweh in a series of oracles (Isa 18–20; 30:1–17; 31:1–3). Yahweh, the Divine Warrior, comes riding upon the stormcloud to Egypt, where her gods tremble before him (Isa 19:1). It is Yahweh who stirs up Egyptians against Egyptians in civil struggle (19:2). It is Yahweh who confounds their plans (19:3) and gives them into the hands of a hard master, a fierce king who will rule over them—probably Piye (Pi‹ankhi), or perhaps his brother Shabaka, who founded the Ethiopian 25th Dynasty in Egypt (ca. 710 B.C.E.).

Since these oracles against Egypt already possessed trans-historical elements, it was but a short step to lift them to the realm of eschatology. The judgment of Egypt was portrayed in apocalyptic fashion as the Nile is dried up (19:5–10) and the traditional wisdom of Egypt's sages is turned into confusion such that Egypt staggers "as a drunken man staggers in his vomit" (19:11–15). An altar and a pillar were to be erected in Egypt to Yahweh as a sign and a witness to Yahweh's presence there. When Egypt cries to Yahweh for deliverance from her oppressors, Yahweh will send a savior who "will defend and deliver them" (19:19–20). The picture presented here is indeed remarkable, for Yahweh will one day send a "new Moses" to deliver Egypt from bondage. Yahweh will reveal himself to the Egyptians, who in turn will worship him (19:22). Yahweh will build a highway from Egypt to Assyria for a new exodus, in which both the Egyptians and the Assyrians will participate along with Israel (19:23–25).

The idea of Assyria as "the rod of (Yahweh's) anger" in Isa 10:5 must be understood in terms of its literary context. The "March of Conquest" in 10:27c–34 is more than a description of the approach of Assyrian troops on hapless Jerusalem. It is the Divine Warrior himself who threatens daughter Zion with destruction. The vision continues across the chapter division. In spite of the hewing down of "the thickets of the forest" (10:34), a shoot from the stump of Jesse will become an ensign to the nations (11:1, 10) for an eschatological contest. Although the focus in these passages is on the remnant of Israel, it is clear that Yahweh is Lord of the nations. He will use, however unwittingly, even wicked Assyria to pave the way for a "new Conquest" (11:12–16) which will establish his people in a "new Kingdom" described in messianic terms (11:1–9). We have a transformation of prophetic language and thought which very nearly anticipates that of apocalyptic.

Further evidence of an eschatological transformation that includes the nations within the purview of Yahweh's people is found in Zephaniah. Yahweh's terrifying might "will lay waste all the gods of the earth." They are going to "bow down before him, each in his own place—all the lands of the nations" (Zeph 2:11). The picture is somewhat like that found in Jeremiah's oracle against Elam, in which Yahweh declared that he would establish his throne in that distant land (Jer 49:38). The prophet is projecting his message into the distant future where he sees a new day on the horizon, a day when pagan world powers will submit themselves to Yahweh, the suzerain of the nations.

Cultic gatherings at the Temple in Jerusalem became anticipations of the gathering of all nations to worship Yahweh. Kings from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the kingdoms of the earth, bearing gifts for the temple and singing praises to God, join the procession of the tribes of Israel to the temple in Psalm 68 In Deutero-Isaiah we see the descendants of Israel returning to Zion from exile, in contexts which suggest that the "survivors of the nations" are reckoned among these descendants (Isa 44:1–5; 45:22–25; 49:12–20; 53:10). When, as a result of the suffering and mission of the servant, the peoples at the ends of the earth are waiting for Yahweh's rule, their survivors join themselves to Israel to converge on Jerusalem (55:5). People from nations "of every tongue" join the returning Jews (Zech 8:21–23), and the alienation of the enemy nations is removed when Yahweh changes "the speech of the peoples to a pure speech" so that they may call on his name (Zeph 3:9). Kings lead their nations in a great procession (Isa 60:3, 11), which extends "from sea to sea and from mountain to mountain" (Mic 7:12), bringing the wealth of the nations on camels (Isa 60:5–6), driving before them animals for sacrifice, and carrying the sons and daughters of Israel in their arms (v 4). They join themselves to Yahweh and become his people (Zech 2:11) and go up every year to the Feast of Tabernacles in Jerusalem (14:16).

The destination of this pilgrimage is Mount Zion, which becomes a house of prayer for all nations (Isa 56:7; cf. Mark 11:17). Zion, as the navel of the earth (Ezek 5:5; 38:12) and the throne of Yahweh (Jer 3:17), is also the world mountain symbolizing the supremacy of Yahweh over the nations and their gods (Ps 99:9; Isa 2:2–4 = Mic 4:1–4; Isa 66:20; Dan 2:35). Zion will then be called the birthplace of the nations (Psalm 87). This eschatological pilgrimage will be climaxed by a great "festival banquet on Mount Zion," to which Yahweh will invite "all peoples" as he removes "the veil that is spread over all nations," destroys death, and "take(s) away the reproach of his people" (Isa 25:6–8). Thus will the nations become sons of Abraham and inherit the promised land as their own.

The Jewish mission to the nations in later postexilic times (see PROSELYTE) belongs to this same motif; for the object of the mission was to make Jews of the people of the nations and to bring them to worship Yahweh at Jerusalem. The obvious link with Jewish nationalism and legalism lies behind Jesus' severe condemnation of the proselyte movement (Matt 23:15).

In the exilic period, the motif of dominion over the nations was subordinated to that of the servant who suffers at the hands of the nations and is despised by rulers. In eschatological times, however, kings and rulers will bow down to Israel and serve the servant (Isa 14:1; 49:7, 22–23; 60:10–14; 61:5). Peoples from the nations will come to rebuild Jerusalem as the servants of Israel, and will bring their wealth as tribute (Isa 60:1–3, 10–18) to the glory of Yahweh.

In the postexilic literature the holy war motif reappears, in terms of a new exodus, in which Yahweh will overthrow the nations (Hag 2:7), cast down those who have scattered Judah (Zech 1:21), make the plunderers plunder for Israel (Zech 2:8–9), and trample the people in anger (Isa 63:6). Jerusalem herself will become a cup of reeling to all peoples (Obad 16; Zech 12:2). The eschatological dominion of Israel over the nations is most clearly expressed in Daniel, where the stone "cut out by no human hands," breaks the image into powder and then becomes a great mountain which fills the whole earth (Dan 2:34–35). This stone is God's kingdom, "which shall never be destroyed, nor shall its sovereignty be left to another people" (v 44). In another vision, a Son of Man, who is identified with the "saints of the Most High," is "given dominion and glory and kingdom, that all peoples, nations, and languages should serve him" (Dan 7:13–14).

In early apocalyptic literature (Isa 24–27; Ezek 38–39; Zech 9–14) the enmity of the nations toward Israel grows in intensity until the climactic struggle at Mount Zion, where Yahweh both summons them

and punishes them for their violence on Israel. The author of Daniel places this final struggle in the persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes. This literature reveals the extreme enmity between the Jews and the nations, and the cry for revenge and vindication by direct intervention of God, born of intense suffering. The result is a complete polarization between Israel and the nations in contrast to the situation of earlier periods, so that the word *gôyim* ("nations" or "gentiles"), becomes a technical term denoting non-Jews as enemies and aliens. The retention of the term, however, remains a significant link with the earlier tradition and its emphasis on the mission of Israel to the nations.

**E. A New Israel: The Righteous from All Nations**

The inclusion of the righteous from among all nations within the "New Israel" of prophetic vision appears to be a specific and sustained challenge to a narrow nationalistic conception rooted in ancient legal pronouncements. That ancient nationalistic perspective surfaced again in the "fundamentalist" reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah which excluded all foreigners. Meanwhile, embedded in the very structure of the canon itself is an alternate point of view, perhaps best illustrated in the book of Jonah and its place within the Book of the Twelve (minor prophets). The message of Jonah is clear: Not only does God have a right to show compassion on Nineveh, the capital of wicked Assyria, but Jonah's anger over God's compassion for that great city is dangerous. The moment that Jonah's anger excludes compassion for the object of that anger it becomes a great evil, one that will destroy him (and Israel as well).

A close look at the four central books within the Book of the Twelve—Jonah-Micah and Nahum-Habakkuk—shows the canonical ambivalence which some scholars would remove from Isaiah 40–55 The fact that Nahum and Habakkuk may be described as a single literary unit is suggested by the following outline:

A. Hymn of Theophany (Nahum 1)
  B. Taunt Song against Nineveh (Nahum 2–3)
    C. The Problem of Theodicy (Habakkuk 1)
  B'. Taunt Song against the "Wicked One" (Habakkuk 2)
A'. Hymn of Theophany (Habakkuk 3)

The close relation between the books of Jonah and Micah, on the other hand, is demonstrated by the fact that the missing ending to the book of Jonah is supplied in liturgical use within Jewish tradition by the addition of Mic 7:18–20 to the afternoon reading of Jonah on the Day of Atonement to the present time.

Wicked Nineveh is the subject of both Jonah and Nahum, but in sharply contrasting manner. In Jonah, Nineveh is the focus of God's compassion in what some have called the greatest missionary text in the OT On the other hand, as Robert Pfeiffer once put it, "Nahum's classic paean on the fall of Nineveh is one of the earliest and by far the best of (the) outbursts of hatred for the heathen kingdoms." The conflicting attitudes of nationalism and universalism could not be put in sharper contrast.

The complementary nature of Jonah-Micah over against Nahum-Habakkuk is also seen in a comparison of the second half of each of these literary constructions. Micah's prophecy of the fall of Jerusalem (3:9–12) sets the stage for Habakkuk's reflections on the profoundly disturbing question of why a just God is "silent when the wicked swallows up the man more righteous than he" (1:13).

The dialectic within the prophetic literature of the OT in terms of nationalism and universalism is part of the very structure of the canon itself. It is not to be removed by scholarly reconstruction of the biblical text, nor is it to be explained away by semantics. Even wicked Assyria is the work of Yahweh's hands (Isa 19:24), and as such she enjoys the same potential relationship to Yahweh as did Israel of old. As a light to the nations, the Servant Israel has a mission to the nations. Those who respond to that message, even among the Assyrians, will constitute the people of Yahweh—a new Israel.

A close look at structural detail within the partriarchal narratives in Genesis suggests a remarkable role for Edom in relation to Israel in the purposes of God.

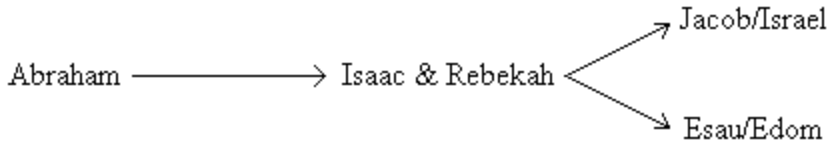


Jacob and Esau are presented as twin brothers and the eponymous ancestors of Israel and Edom, respectively. Z. Weisman has demonstrated the priority of national consciousness as reflected in the Jacob stories over that of the traditions concerning Abraham and Isaac. This observation raises new questions about the canonical process itself in ancient Israel.

It has long been noted that the editorial conclusion for the book of Job places him among the patriarchs in Genesis. From a literary perspective, Job is in effect an adoptive patriarch who takes his place alongside Abraham. The 140 years allotted to Job after his great testing becomes part of a larger structural pattern in which that number is associated with each of the patriarchs. Abraham was 140 years old when his son Isaac married Rebekah. Isaac and Rebekah were in turn married for 140 years; and Jacob was 140 years old at the point of his "wrestling match" at the River Jabbok when his name was changed to Israel (Genesis 32). And, of course, his twin brother Esau/Edom was also 140 years old at this decisive reunion of the estranged brothers. Placing Job within this schema makes of him the literary "twin brother" of Abraham, as suggested in the following diagram:

Job Jacob/Israel

Isaac & Rebekah

Abraham Esau/Edom

The fact that the home of both Job and his friends is so strongly associated with Edom thus takes on deeper meaning, for Job and Esau are associated structurally. In terms of canonical structure Edom seems to be included within a larger conception of Yahweh's people. As Job and Esau are related in chiastic fashion in the above diagram, so are Abraham and Jacob, both of whom are associated with Aram-Naharaim. In terms of canonical structure, the Arameans, too, belong to the people of Yahweh, as the ancient Deuteronomic confession put it: "A wandering Aramean was my father" (Deut 26:5).

At this juncture it is instructive to take a closer look at Deuteronomic legislation with regard to the nations. Both Egypt and Edom are clearly given precedence over Moab and Ammon, the incestuous offspring of Lot in the Genesis narrative (Gen 19:30–38; cf. Deut 23:7–8). The treatment of Moabites and Ammonites is much harsher (Deut 23:3–6). It is possible to see a historical reason for the different treatment of Egypt and Edom over against Moab and Ammon in terms of the idealized program of political expansion in the time of king Josiah. At this time Edom was within the political sphere of Egypt and both stood outside the scope of Josiah's projected political expansion, which included both the former territory of the northern state of Israel and the Transjordan states of Moab and Ammon.

A close look at the canonical process in ancient Israel suggests another point of view concerning the inclusion of Moab within the "New Israel" of prophetic vision. Both the question of genre and setting for the book of Ruth are subject to renewed debate. Apparently only a foreign woman could embody what the author wanted to say—even a Moabite who, according to Deut 23:4, could never enter into Yahweh's assembly. In short, Ruth is conceived by the author as a kind of matriarch by adoption. It is a literary and canonical challenge to a simplistic reading of the book of Deuteronomy, in a manner somewhat parallel to the book of Job, which may be read as a canonical challenge to a superficial reading of the Deuteronomic theology of history. Job suffers not because he violated the terms of the Covenant, but because he was "a blameless and upright man" (Job 1:8), at least within the folktale frame of the book. And, like Ruth, this man from the land of Uz is a foreigner.

In short, Job and Ruth are to the Patriarchs of earlier tradition what the nations are to Israel within the prophetic literature. While universalism can be qualified as a form of nationalism, as Hollenberg has argued, it can also stand alone. Job was admitted to the patriarchal structure of the book of Genesis because he was a righteous man—"blameless and upright, one who feared God, and turned away from evil" (Job 1:1). He was admitted to the community of faith because of the quality of his life. Thus,

universalism need not have national roots as such. But in the end, of necessity, it becomes national because those who swear allegiance to Yahweh, as Ruth did, *are* Israel—that is, the people of Yahweh from among all nations (cf. Isa 19:2).

The covenant community in ancient Israel was open to non-Israelites from the start, according to Deuteronomy, since the resident alien (*ger*) actually participated in the covenant ceremony concluded before Moses' death (Deut 29:10). Even the exiled community of Judahites in Babylonia remained open to foreigners who wished to join it, and there were foreigners who did (cf. Isa 56:2–8). The readiness of strangers to join this politically crushed community is no more astonishing than their acceptance within that community; for it would have been natural for the exiles to have closed ranks tightly. That this did not happen witnesses to the radical hospitality of Israel to foreigners, which was ultimately grounded on a self-conscious representation of God's interest in all the nations.

In the NT there is a consciousness that the promise made first to Abraham was being fulfilled. The evangelists compiled their narratives accordingly. John the Baptist began his preaching with a rebuke to the Jewish nationalists; the children of Abraham are not confined to Israel according to the flesh (Matt 3:9). Jesus is described at the outset as a "light for revelation to the nations" (Luke 2:32); and the early days of his life are placed not in Israel but in Egypt (Matt 2:15). Jesus began his public ministry not in Bethlehem or Jerusalem, but in "Galilee of the nations" (Matt 4:15). During his ministry there, many came to him from among the neighboring peoples (Mark 3:8). Later he made a journey into Tyre and Sidon, beyond the borders of the Jewish state. On this trip he exorcised a demon in the Phoenician girl whose mother recognized him as the giver of the bread of life (Matt 15:21–28; Mark 7:24–30), cured a deaf mute in the Decapolis (Mark 7:31–37), and fed the 4000 in the wilderness (Matt 15:32–39; Mark 8:1–10). Jesus later healed the servant of a Roman centurion, with commendatory words for the faith of this man from the nations (Matt 8:5–13; Luke 7:1–10; cf. John 4:46–54, where this healing is taken as one of the great signs of Jesus' power), and a demoniac in Gerasa, whom he sent as a missionary of God's grace to his own people (Mark 5:19–20 ). The mission of the 70 whom Jesus sent out is intended to be to the nations (Luke 10:1–16). Jesus gave his disciples the mission to be the servant of light and the salt of the world (Matt 5:13–14; cf. Isa 42:6; 49:6; and on the fact that salt may imply covenant, cf. Num 18:19; 2 Chr 13:5). The triumphal entry into Jerusalem revealed Jesus as the messianic king who will bring the blessings of peace unto the nations (Matt 21:5; cf. Zech 9:9–10). In short, Jerusalem as the city on a hill whose glory cannot be hidden is the signal for an eschatological pilgrimage of the nations (Matt 5:14; cf. Isa 60:1–3). There is to be a gathering of all nations before the throne of the King (Matt 25:32), and the righteous among the nations will receive their inheritance in the Kingdom of God.

The first Christians knew that the risen Christ had sent them to the nations on a mission in line with the eschatological signs of the earthly ministry of Jesus (Matt 28:19–20; Mark 16:15; Luke 24:47; Acts 1:8), the prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah, the royal (messianic) theology, the Sinai covenant, and the ancient promise to Abraham.

Paul found the very purpose of the death of Jesus to be that "in Christ Jesus the blessings of Abraham might come upon the nations" (Gal 3:14; cf. v 8). This fulfillment of the promise to Abraham in Christ brought Israel to a crisis, however, for it implied the end of her national aspirations. According to Jesus, the nations themselves will judge Israel for her hardness of heart (Matt 12:41–42). Peter quoted the promise to Abraham in order to encourage the Jews to take up their mission to the nations (Acts 3:25–26), and Paul quoted Isa 49:6 as a judgment on the Jews for refusing to see their mission to the nations (Acts 13:47). Paul finally concluded that it was in the providence of God that the very disobedience of Israel after the flesh should mean that the blessing would reach the nations through Christ (Rom 11:11–12).

The final appearance of the mission of Israel to the nations is in the book of Revelation, where in the midst of world catastrophe and the martyrdom of Christians there is an "angel flying in midheaven, with an eternal gospel to proclaim to those who dwell on earth, to every nation and tribe and tongue and people" (Rev 14:6).

In the NT, the line was drawn not so much between Jews and the nations as between the Christian community and the nations. According to the Gospels, the Son of Man would be handed over to the

nations (Matt 20:19; Mark 10:33; Luke 18:32), for all nations are at enmity with Jesus and with his disciples (Matt 24:9; cf. 10:7–18; John 15:18–20).

The alliance of Jew and gentile against the followers of Jesus is a prominent theme in the book of Acts (12:1–5; 14:2; 16:10–24; cf. 2 Cor 11:26). Similarly, suffering at the hands of the nations is central in 1 Peter and Revelation, where the nations play a major role in the apocalyptic drama as the enemies of God who trample the Holy City for 42 months (Rev 11:2). Nonetheless, the time has come to destroy the destroyers (Rev 11:18), so that mighty Babylon (Rome), who made the nations drunk (14:8; 18:3, 23; cf. Jer 51:7), will be broken and the nations defeated (16:19). Satan, the deceiver of the nations, will be bound during the reign of the saints (20:3) and then released to deceive the nations once again, prior to the great apocalyptic battle before the "camp of the saints" and the "beloved city" (20:7–9). In the end, the nations are destroyed, Satan is cast into the lake of fire, and the dead are raised for judgment. This marks the end of the nations as enemies of God and the ultimate fulfillment of the OT prophetic vision which foresaw the ingathering of the nations within the kingdom of God.

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**NAVE** See discussion of *hêḵāl* in TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

**NAZARAEANS, GOSPEL OF** See NAZORAEANS, GOSPEL OF THE.

**NAZARENES** The term "Nazarene" has been used in English for several related Greek and Semitic-language terms found in NT and later writings. Some of these terms are more accurately represented by other spellings, and the ways in which these terms became related remain to some extent a matter of debate. In general, Nazarene means either (1) a person from Nazareth, or (2) a member of a religious group whose name may have other connotations.

Two Greek forms, *Nazōraios* and *Nazarēnos,* are rendered in English versions of the NT as Nazarene, corresponding to the more Hellenistic of the two. (Similarly, English uses Essene for *Essaios* and *Essēnos.*) However, in the Greek NT text, *Nazōraios* is the more frequently used form. That *Nazōraios* is the more Semitic of the two is suggested by the Syriac NT, which renders both forms as *Nāṣrāyā.* Matthew, John, and Acts use *Nazōraios* exclusively; Mark and Luke (once or twice, depending on the manuscript) employ *Nazarēnos.* No other NT books use the name.

In the NT, Nazarene most frequently describes a person—namely, Jesus—from Nazareth. Nazareth is not directly mentioned in Hebrew literature until the liturgical poems of Kallir (7th cent. C.E.?). This, together with philological questions on the link between the town name and Nazarene, led to much speculation on the origin of these names (see Schaeder *TDNT* 4:874–79). Archaeological excavation has revealed a Jewish settlement in Nazareth in the 1st cent. C.E. (see NAZARETH), and an inscription from about 300 C.E. found in Caesarea confirms the spelling of the town as *NṢRT* (Avi-Yonah 1962). While one might expect the *Ṣ* (*ṣade*) to be represented in Greek by *s* (*sigma*), parallel cases using *z* (*zeta*) are known. Thus questions on the formation of the gentilic remain. In rabbinic literature Jesus is labeled *YŠHW HNWṢRY,* apparently a *nomen agentis* from the root *NṢR,* meaning, e.g., "observer" (of torah). There are at least two cases in the NT where Nazarene means something different than, or additional to, "from Nazareth." Most of Jesus' followers were not from Nazareth, nor, according to Luke 4, was he well received there. These cases are significant for later use of Nazarene as a group name.

Matt 2:23 has puzzled many by asserting that when Jesus' family arrived in Nazareth it fulfilled what was said by the "prophets" (note the plural) "that he shall be called *Nazōraios*." The text clearly associates Nazareth and *Nazōraios,* but since no Hebrew Scripture mentions Nazareth, readers had to look for other allusions, calling on the Hebrew roots *NṢR* and *NZR.* In the case of *NṢR,* Isa 11:1 prophesies the messianic "shoot (*neṣer*)" from Jesse; additionally *NṢR* as a verb can mean "to observe, to guard." On the other hand, if Matt 2:23 alludes to *NZR,* there are stories of Nazirite vows, consecrating Samson (Judges 13) and others (Samuel in 4Q1 Sam). Jesus was surely not a Nazirite proper, but the LXX associates this root with holiness, and consequently some church writers (e.g., Tertullian, Eusebius) so interpreted the verse. The intention of Matt 2:23 depends in part on the language knowledge and exegetical method of the writer(s) of Matthew (Brown 1977: 207–13). In any case, Matt 2:23 presents *Nazōraios* as a favorable appellation.

In Acts 24:5 Paul appears accused by other Jews as a leader of the "heresy" of the *Nazōraioi.* Though of course he defends his teaching, Paul does not disown the name. Acts also introduces the name Christian (*Christianoi*), which eventually displaced Nazarene as the preferred self-designation of the increasingly Greek and Latin speaking gentile Church. But while those who believed in Jesus as Messiah abandoned the name Nazarene, Jews generally—including Jews who believed in Jesus, but who still observed Mosaic law—kept using Nazarene and its apparent varieties, including Heb *Noṣrim.* Additionally, the name was retained by the churches speaking Syriac (*Nāṣrāyā*), Armenian, and Arabic (*Naṣāra*).

In patristic literature the evolution continued. Writing ca. 200 C.E. Tertullian noted, "the Jews call us *Nazarenos*" (*Against Marcion* 4. 8). A century later Eusebius switched to past tense: "We who are now called Christians received in the past the name *Nazarenoi*" (*onomast.*). Writing about 375 C.E. Epiphanius condemns the *Nazōraioi,* who are not a newly founded group, as a heresy (*Panarion* 29). Jerome followed Epiphanius: "… since they want to be both Jews and Christians, they are neither Jews nor Christians" (Epistle 112.13 to Augustine).

Epiphanius and Jerome (in the works cited) also provide the first clear accounts of the practice in some ancient synagogues of condemning the *Noṣrim* in the blessing or curse on heretics (*birkat ha-minim*): "…

may the *Noṣrim* and *Minim* speedily perish …" (according to Cairo Genizah manuscripts). By this time, Epiphanius and Jerome are not sure whether the curse encompasses all Christians or only Jewish-Christians.

Epiphanius also condemns the *Nasaraioi* (*Panarion* 18) which his sources describe as a pre-Christian, law-observant group. There is no direct evidence that such a group existed. However, Epiphanius may have encountered a claim such as that made by the Mandeans, who call themselves the *Nāṣōrāyā,* the true religious "observers." (This claim parallels that made by other groups, e.g., the Samaritans' self-description as the "true *keepers* of torah.") The Mandeans claim to predate Judaism as well as Christianity.

Another illustration of the question of differing meanings of the terms subsumed by Nazarene appears in the 3d cent. Middle Persian inscription of Kartīr, a Zoroastrian priest who was intolerant of other religions. Kartīr condemned, among others, "… Jews … and *Nazarai*, and Christians …" (lines 9–10; Chaumont). Nazarene here could represent orthodox Christians (if "Christians" in this case refers to Marcionites) or Mandeans or some variety of Jewish-Christians.

To define Nazarene, one must take into account the time, place, language, and religious perspective of the speaker, as well as the meanings of other available religious group names. The development of these names merits further study.

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**NAZARETH** (PLACE). The town of Jesus' youth in Lower Galilee, just N of the valley of Jezreel (M.R. 178234). The Sea of Galilee lies 15 miles to the E while the Mediterranean lies 20 miles to the W Nazareth is identified by Matthew (2:23) and Luke (1:26; 2:4, 39) as the village of Mary and Joseph, the place where Jesus grew up (Luke 2:39, 51) and the village he left to visit the towns and villages of Galilee to begin his ministry (Mark 1:9). Luke mentions a synagogue in Nazareth (4:16) where Jesus spoke as an adult and where his message was not well received (4:28–30). Evidently later in his ministry, it was well known that Jesus was from Nazareth (Matt 21:11), which did not always evoke an amiable response (cf. John 1:45–46).

The etymology of the Hebrew name of the town is difficult. The formula quotation in Matt 2:23, "He went and dwelt in a city called Nazareth [Gk *Nazaret*], that what was spoken by the prophets might be fulfilled, 'He shall be called a Nazarene [Gk *Nazōraios*]' " calls for an explanation. The usual solution is to appeal to Isa 11:1, "… a branch [Heb *nēṣer*] shall grow out of his [Jesse's] roots." In this case Nazareth would mean "branch" or "shoot," indicating the fecundity of the area. But the plays-on-words are more enigmatic than that, and Matthew's formula is used in a form that appears nowhere else in Matthew, suggesting that he is not quoting the OT.

As inferred from the Herodian tombs in Nazareth, the maximum extent of the Herodian and pre-Herodian village measured about × m, for a total area just under 60 acres. Since most of this was empty space in antiquity, the population would have been a maximum of about 480 at the beginning of the 1st century A.D. Nazareth lay beside Yafa or Yafia, a city that Josephus fortified in the first revolt against Rome and in which he lived (*JW* 2.20.6–573; *Life* 52–270). This village was known to be Jewish as late as the 4th century A.D. After the failure of the First Jewish Revolt against Rome, the twenty-four "courses" or divisions of priests from the Temple in Jerusalem fled northward. One priestly family by the name of Hapizez (or Hapises) settled in Nazareth (*Mishmaroth* 18). That Nazareth was the home of a priestly course is repeated in a fragment of a Byzantine period Hebrew inscription, a list of the priestly courses, found at Caesarea in 1962. In the 3d century, Nazareth still had a strong priestly character

according to *Midr. Qoh.* 2.8. In the 3d century the Christian martyr Conon from Nazareth of the family of Jesus was killed in Asia Minor (Bagatti 1969: 16).

The next reference to Nazareth is in the 4th century, when Eusebius mentions that Nazareth is fifteen miles E of Legio, near Mount Tabor. Jerome adds that it was merely a tiny village, a "viculus" (rather than "oppidum"), but neither Eusebius nor Jerome mentions a church (*Onomast.* 138.25; 141.1). Epiphanius (*Adv. Haeres.* 30.1–347) tells the story in his memoirs (377 A.D.) of Count Joseph of Tiberias, who appealed to the Emperor Constantine for permission to build a church at Nazareth, among other places. Constantine agreed, and presumably the church was built. When Egeria visited Nazareth about ten years later, however, she was shown "a big and splendid cave in which [Mary] lived." There was also an altar in the cave and a spring to draw water (Peter the Deacon T). Since this text confuses the remains from the Church of Gabriel and the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth, Peter has presumably confused Egeria's notes. It is possible that the Helenopolis mentioned in A.D. 444 by Sozomen (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.2) refers to Nazareth and Mt. Tabor, cities of special interest to Helena, the mother of the emperor Constantine. She understood the Transfiguration of Jesus to have taken place on Mt. Tabor. The Piacenza Pilgrim in A.D. 570 says that the house of Mary "is now a basilica." This same pilgrim says he visited the synagogue of Jesus. He admired the beautiful Jewish women of Nazareth and hinted that Jewish-Christian relations were at least on a cooperative level (v161.4). Adomnan (Arculf), who lived about A.D. 679–704, visited Nazareth after the Arab conquest. He saw two churches that correspond to the Church of Gabriel and the Church of the Annunciation or perhaps the Church of St. Joseph and the Church of the Annunciation. According to Willibald (Hugeburc 95.20–25), by 808, Christian-Muslim relations had deteriorated so that Christians paid a "ransom" for the Church of the Annunciation to the Muslims.

Nazareth was excavated from 1890 to 1910 within the precincts of the Church of St. Joseph and the Church of the Annunciation. Vlaminek excavated in 1895 and Viaud from 1907–1909. A Neanderthal skull was found near Nazareth in 1934 about 1.5 miles to the SE Excavations began again in 1954 by Bagatti. Beneath the Church of the Annunciation are some very suggestive archaeological remains. Among them are two small caves with painted plaster, a cross, and inscribed prayers to Jesus in Greek. These could derive from the end of the 3d century, but are most cautiously dated to the early 4th century. These caves are incorporated into a building with mosaic floors that faces S toward Jerusalem. This building, which is oriented N–S, would be interpreted as a synagogue except for a large, equal-armed cross built into its mosaic floor. The excavator interprets this building as a Jewish-Christian synagogue, which may be correct. Between the mosaic floor and the caves, at a level 1.2 m below the main floor of the Jewish-Christian synagogue, is a second 4th-century mosaic with a Greek inscription: "Offering of Conon, Deacon of Jerusalem." This Conon is evidently a namesake of the Conon mentioned above. When the main mosaic in the floor of the synagogue was lifted the excavators discovered a Jewish ritual bath that measures about two m on each side. Seven steps lead down to the water. Since the ritual bath is not oriented either with the synagogue or with its caves, it seems to be earlier than the structure. In the debris that filled the ritual bath was found painted plaster with inscriptions and graffiti scratched onto it in Greek and Syriac. The plaster had belonged to a 4th-century synagogue which was destroyed to give way to the building of a 5th-century church with its attached monastery. In the debris beneath the floor of one of the rooms of the monastery were about seventy architectural fragments that appear to have belonged to the 4th-century synagogue.

In chronological order, the occupational sequence in this area appears to have included: (1) detached caves of indeterminate (perhaps domestic) use, dating before the 3d century; (2) the cutting and use of a ritual bath, perhaps as early as the 2d century but not after the 3d century, perhaps for Jewish-Christians; (3) the building of a synagogue above the ritual bath which incorporated the caves (this was likely the church seen by Egeria and reported by Peter the Deacon); and finally (4) the building of a 5th-century church and monastery which incorporated the caves and floor of the 4th-century synagogue. This may be the church and monastery seen by the Piacenza Pilgrim in A.D. 570. The long continuity of use and incorporation of earlier units in later buildings suggests a continuity of veneration and worship extending back to the Roman period.

Beneath the convent of the Dames de Nazareth about 100 m W of the Church of the Annunciation are remains of houses, a tomb of the Herodian period, and other underground working spaces typical of those found beneath the other churches. It appears that the inhabitants of Nazareth took advantage of the soft limestone to build cisterns, basements, storage bins, and other underground installations, primarily for agricultural use.

The general archaeological picture is of a small village, devoted wholly to agriculture, that came into being in the course of the 3d century B.C. Although there are traces of earlier Bronze Age or Iron Age occupation, none of these suggests a continuity of more than a generation at a time. It is the late Hellenistic period that gives life to Nazareth, as it does with many other sites which have been surveyed or excavated in the Galilee. People have continued to live in Nazareth from the 3d century B.C. to the present day.

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**NAZORAEANS, GOSPEL OF THE** The name (note the spelling: on the name, see Schrader *TDNT* 4:874–79, and Klijn and Reinink 1973:44, n. 2) given by scholars to a presumed Judaic-Christian gospel, now lost. The matter of these Judaic-Christian gospels, namely, the Gospel of the Nazoraeans, the Gospel of the Hebrews, and the Gospel of the Ebionites, has been called the most enigmatic and irritating problem in the NT Apocrypha: enigmatic because all are now lost, and irritating because our knowledge of these early (pre-170 C.E.) gospels comes only indirectly via the Fathers' cryptic and inconsistent remarks. Snippets of text, assigned by scholars to one or the other of these three Judaic-Christian gospels, are quoted by the Fathers (often with no clear attribution) and appear to be preserved *in scholia* (the ZION GOSPEL EDITION). See also HEBREWS, GOSPEL OF THE; EBIONITES, GOSPEL OF THE.

The title "Gospel of the Nazoraeans" is never used by the Fathers. Rather, they speak of a gospel used by the Nazoraeans. It is difficult to ascertain whether this is a distinct gospel or simply the "Gospel of the Hebrews," also cited by the Fathers. The evidence, contradictory and inconclusive, follows.

Epiphanius (*Haer.* 29.7.1–29.9.4) offers the first description of the Nazoraeans and their gospel. According to him, they are like the Jews in everything, save that they accept Jesus as the Messiah. Regarding their origin, Epiphanius appears to know two traditions. According to the first (29.1.2–3; 29.6.23), the name roughly parallels the usage in Acts 24:5, and denotes the earliest (hence Jewish) Christians. According to the second tradition (29.7.7–8), the group originated in Pella, among the Judaic-Christians who fled Jerusalem prior to its destruction in 70 C.E. (cf. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.5.3). Epiphanius states that they know Hebrew well, and that they possess "the whole (*plērestaton*) gospel of Matthew in Hebrew. It is carefully preserved in Hebrew letters" (29.9.4). Epiphanius, however, never names this gospel, nor does he quote from it. Given his description of the Nazoraeans and their gospel, we may distinguish it from the similar gospel which Epiphanius attributes to the Ebionites, for the Ebionites' gospel "which is called with them 'according to Matthew' which is not complete but falsified and distorted (*oux holō de plērestatō, alla nenotheumenō kai ēkrōtēriasmenō*), they call it 'the Hebrew gospel' " (30.13.1). Epiphanius further reports that the Ebionites have "removed the genealogies of Matthew" (30.14.3). Moreover, Epiphanius quotes from this Ebionite gospel, and it appears to be a harmonization of the Synoptic Gospels and together with some non-received traditions. Thus, we may say Epiphanius knew two Judaic-Christian gospels: one used by the Nazoraeans, and one used by the Ebionites. Both gospels are related to Matthew, and both appear to be in Hebrew (Aramaic).

Jerome is the second Father to speak of a gospel in use among the Nazoraeans, and certain of his statements confirm what we learned from Epiphanius. Jerome states that "Matthew … was the first to compose a gospel of Christ in Judea in Hebrew letters and words for the sake of those of the circumcision who believed … From the Nazoraeans who use this book in Beroia, a city in Syria, I also received the opportunity to copy it" (*de vir. ill.* 3). From time to time in his prolific writings, Jerome refers to a "gospel which the Nazoraeans use," but he never calls it the "Gospel of the Nazoraeans." On the contrary, he

sometimes equates it with the "gospel used by the Ebionites," and even calls it the "Gospel according to the Hebrews." Compare the following: (1) "a gospel which the Nazoraeans and the Ebionites use, which we translated from Hebrew to Greek and which is called the authentic text of Matthew by a good many" (*in Matt.* 12.13); (2) "the gospel which is 'according to the Hebrews' which the Nazoraeans are accustomed to read" (*in Hiez.* 18.5–9); (3) "From the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews.' In the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews' which was written in Chaldaic and Syriac language, but with Hebrew letters, and is used up to the present day by the Nazoraeans" (*adv. Pelag.* 3.2).

Scholars have usually assumed that Jerome knew two gospels—(1) the gospel used by the Nazoraeans, and (2) the Gospel of the Hebrews (also quoted by Origen, *in Io.* 2.12)—and that he frequently confused them when quoting. Jerome's quotations are, by and large, brief.

The difficulty in assigning the various fragments quoted by the Fathers or found in the scholia to one or another of these three Judaic-Christian gospels is formidable. A comparison of the assignments made by Preuschen (1901), James (1924), Klostermann (1929), and Vielhauer *(NTApocr)* makes this apparent. It is worth noting that only when reaching the medieval sources (Vielhauer, frag. 24–36) does one find the name "Gospel of the Nazoraeans" used. And of the twenty-three patristic fragments in Vielhauer's reconstruction, all but three come from the Zion Gospel Edition or Jerome—whose sources and attributions are, as we have seen, less than certain. Lagrange questioned the existence of the Gospel of the Nazoraeans, equating it with the Gospel of the Hebrews. Waitz and Vielhauer argue for three distinct gospels. Given our present state of knowledge, it is difficult to say which, if any, theory is correct.

Nevertheless, the testimony of the Fathers and the whole complex of Judaic-Christian gospel quotations—from whichever of the gospels they may come—serve to establish the following: (1) the Nazoraeans apparently had a particular gospel, perceived to be an ancient/original form of Matthew; (2) this gospel was apparently written in Hebrew characters, probably in the Aramaic language; (3) the descriptions of the beliefs of the Nazoraeans, as well as the various appellations given the gospel ("used by the Nazoraeans"; "Gospel of the Hebrews"; "the Jewish gospel") and the citations, show a distinctive perspective, Jewish in outlook, Semitic in character and expression. When compared with our present (Greek) canonical Matthew, many of the fragments appear to be expansions or interpolations. Logically, however, one would expect to find just the opposite: if, indeed, it was equated with the "original" Matthew, and written in a Semitic language, one would expect it to present the shorter, less-developed text. If one is to take the Fathers' reports of the antiquity of the gospel used by the Nazoraeans at face value, then the fact that many of the fragments now assigned to the Gospel of the Nazoraeans seem to be secondary expansions would lead one to question their assignation.

Since Tatian's Diatessaron has numerous readings similar to those found in the various Judaic-Christian gospels (thus providing a *terminus ad quem*), it should not be overlooked in reconstructing these gospels. Similar parallels have also been noted between the gospel of Thomas and the Judaic-Christian gospels (Quispel 1975; 1981); these too bear consideration in future studies of this elusive and vexing subject.

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**NEAH** (PLACE) [Heb *nēʿâ* (נֵעָה)]. A place on the NE border of the territory of the tribe of Zebulun (Josh 19:13), situated between Rimmon and Hannathon, in the vicinity of the Bet Netofa Valley. The precise location of the site, however, remains unknown.
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**NEAPOLIS** (PLACE) [Gk *Neapolis* (Νεαπολις)]. A common name given to many Greco-Roman towns and cities founded near older sites, meaning simply "new city." The Neapolis mentioned in the NT (Acts 16:11) is certainly the seaport town for Philippi, which was 16 km inland. Located on a promontory on the coast of the Aegean Sea (40°56′ N; 24°23′ E), Neapolis had a harbor on both bays.

The first of several sections of Acts in which the author employs the first person plural begins at Troas prior to the voyage by sea to Neapolis. The mention of the seaport and the island Samothrace are unnecessary detail in the account of the trip to the main destination of Philippi (Acts 16:12; cf. Acts 20:6, "And we sailed from Philippi"), but it is detail that is understandable in an alleged eyewitness account: Samothrace, a small island with a 5000-ft. mountain, was an obvious landmark on the voyage, and one tends to note that place where one touched land again. The apostle set foot in Europe for the first time when he landed in Neapolis on the second missionary journey. From there, the travelers would have gone the short distance to Philippi using a part of the Roman highway called the Egnatian Way, which began here at the Aegean and spanned Macedonia to reach the Adriatic.

The earliest record of Neapolis appears to be in a tribute list of Athens from the 5th century B.C., in which it is treated as a city of Thrace rather than of Macedonia (Finegan *IDB* 3: 527), and part of the Athenian Confederacy. Pliny (*HN* 4.18) also treats it as Thracian, but the geographers Strabo (7.330) and Ptolemy (*Geog.* 3.13) link it with Macedonia, as does the Acts account.

The ships of Brutus and Cassius were moored in the W harbor at Neapolis when the conspirators fought Mark Antony and Octavian at the battle of Philippi in 42 B.C. (Appian *BCiv.* 4.106). The name of the city was changed to Christoupolis in later years. The modern name for the town is Kavalla, and apart from coins and inscriptions found there and in nearby Philippi, there are also the ruins of the Roman aqueduct and a shrine to the locally esteemed goddess Parthenos.
CONRAD GEMPF

**NEARIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *neʿaryâ* (נְעַרְיָה)]. A name held by two persons in the Hebrew Bible. The name means "servant of Yah."

**1.** Neariah was a leader of the tribe of Simeon in the time of Hezekiah king of Judah. He and other tribal leaders, all the sons of Ishi, led a group of Simeonites to Mount Seir, which was at that time in the possession of the Amalekites. These they drove out; then they took possession of the land. The story appears to be an etiology to explain the presence of this group of Simeonites in Mount Seir and to justify their possession of it (1 Chr 4:42).

**2.** The fourth son of Shemiah, according to the MT (1 Chr 3:22–23). The phrase "and the sons of Shemiah" in v 22 may be a dittography and many scholars delete it. This would make Shemiah the first son of Sheconiah and Neariah the fifth son.
RUSSELL FULLER

**NEBAI** (PERSON) [Heb *nêbāy* (נֵיבָי)]. A leader of the people and a signatory to the covenant established by Ezra (Neh 10:19; K *nwby*). The meaning of the name is obscure and at least one scholar has suggested that the place-name, Nebo (Ezra 2:29), has been mistaken for a personal name (Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* Century Bible, 181). It is more likely, however, that a family has assumed the name of the village in which they resided (Meyer 1896: 156; Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 177; and Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 324).

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**NEBAIOTH** (PERSON) [Heb *nĕbāyôt* (נְבָיוֹת), *nĕbāyōt* (נְבָיֹת)]. A son of Ishmael (Gen 25:13; 28:9; 36:3; 1 Chr 1:29) and, as is the case with all the sons of Ishmael (with the possible exception of KEDEMAH), an Arab tribe (Isa 60:7). The tribe is mentioned in several Assyrian inscriptions from the time of Ashurbanipal; the various Assyrian spellings render ancient N Arabian **Nabayât*, as does the Hebrew form. In the middle of the 7th century B.C., the Nebaioth and the Assyrians entered commercial relations. At the end of his reign, Ashurbanipal claimed to have conquered their "distant" country and to have destroyed their settlements (Eph‘al 1982: 221–23; Knauf 1989: 65–66; 93–96). In Taymanite inscriptions—dated by Winnett (1980) to the 6th century B.C. and by Roschinski, Högemann, and Knauf to the early 4th century B.C. (Knauf 1989: 76–77)—*nbyt* (i.e., **Nabayât*) are mentioned among the enemies of the city of Taymâ›. The Assyrian and the ancient N Arabian references combined lead to the vicinity of Ḥâ›il (27°35′N; 41°42′E) for the tribe's location.

It has previously been assumed that the Nebaioth may be identical with the Nabateans (*Nabaṭ* in Arabic); but both linguistically and historically this equation is untenable (cf. Eph‘al 1982: 233 n. 33; Knauf 1989: 92 n. 507 contra Broome 1973; Bartlett 1979: 62–63). The Nabateans could have formed a Kedarite clan before they ascended to the dominium over N Arabia after the demise of the Kedarite confederation, ca. 400 B.C. See KEDAR; NABATEANS. It is, however, possible that biblical authors of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. applied the name "Nebaioth" from the list of the "sons of Ishmael," Gen 25:13–15 (originating in the 7th century B.C., see ISHMAELITES) to the Kedarite clan Nabat whom they encountered in their immediate vicinity, within the borders of Edom (Knauf 1989: 108–9). This assumption would explain why the "daughter of Ishmael" married by Esau is always a "sister of Nebaioth," although her name varies in Gen 28:9 and Gen 36:3 Then the parallelism between the "sheep of Kedar" and the "rams of Nebaioth" (Isa 60:7, from the end of the 6th century B.C.) would become more obvious. Finally, the qualification of Nebaioth as Ishmael's firstborn (Gen 25:13) becomes understandable if Nebaioth refers to the Nabateans and if this qualification forms part of the final redaction of the Pentateuch, ca. 400 B.C. By then the Kedarites had been dispersed; earlier, from the 7th through the 5th centuries B.C., Kedar had been the most powerful tribe among the Ishmaelites, and as such could have claimed "primogeniture" with more right than the "distant" Nebaioth.

The formation of the tribal name with the feminine plural affornative belongs to a class of tribal names which is rare in Classical Arabic but frequent among contemporary Arab tribes and clans. Thus the name **Nabayât* provides an example for the antiquity of some features of "modern" Semitic usage.

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**NEBALLAT** (PLACE) [Heb *nĕballaṭ* (נְבַלַּט)]. A town of Benjamin that was repopulated by returning Judeans in the postexilic period (Neh 11:34). It is listed in conjunction with Lod, and has been identified with Beit Nabala (M.R. 146154; 4 miles NE of Lod), a site that has yielded Iron Age II and Persian period remains. On the basis of the name Sin-uballaṭ, Albright (1924: 106 n. 15) suggested that the name may preserve the memory of a 7th century B.C. Assyrian governor, Nabu-uballiṭ.

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**NEBAT** (PERSON) [Heb *nĕbāṭ* (נְבָט)]. The father of Jeroboam I, first king of Israel (1 Kgs 11:26).

The text uses the patronymic to distinguish this king from Jeroboam II (Jeroboam son of Joash). See JEROBOAM. Nebat (or perhaps only Jeroboam himself) is identified as an "Ephrathite," which most scholars take as a synonym here for "Ephraimite." Since Jeroboam's mother is named (unlike the mothers of other Israelite kings) and she is called a widow, some scholars infer that Nebat died young. Šanda (*1 Kings* EHAT, 317) proposes that the name is not in fact a patronymic but a clan name; however, the suggestion that it means "Nabatean" is surely wrong: The Nabateans do not appear in the region until at least three centuries later. Danielus (1967–68:211–12) argues that *nbṭ* means "The Lady," and that "Son of Nbṭ"is a throne name taken by Jeroboam I to honor the cow-goddess Hatḥor, whose cult he would have known in Egypt (1 Kgs 11:40) and to whom the sanctuaries he established at Dan and Bethel would have been dedicated (1 Kgs 12:28–30).

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**NEBIIM** The second section of the Jewish division of the Hebrew Bible meaning "Prophets" (Heb *nĕbî᾽îm*). This section is divided, in turn, into two sections, the Former (Heb *rî᾽šônîm*) and Latter (Heb *᾽aḥărōnîm*) Prophets. The Former Prophets include the historical books of Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel, and 1–2 Kings. The Latter Prophets include the three "major" prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel) and the so-called twelve Minor Prophets (Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi).

**NEBO** (DEITY) [Heb *nĕbô* (נְבוֹ)]. The name of a Babylonian deity mentioned only in Isa 46:1, a passage which comes from the pen of an exilic Judean in the Babylonian captivity (ca. 550 B.C.). Nebo, or Nabû, was the tutelary deity of the ancient city of Borsippa, some 15 miles S–SW of Babylon. He achieved great popularity throughout Mesopotamia and the surrounding regions during the 1st millennium B.C. The name of this god appears as the theophoric element in at least three Babylonian names mentioned in the OT: the great king Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian official Nebushazban, and the military commander Nebuzaradan (some have included Abednego, but with reservations). The meaning of the name has been contested. At the turn of the 19th century many scholars believed that it meant "proclaimer," "prophet," "announcer" (cf. Heb *nabî᾽*). In recent decades, however, most scholars would share the conclusion of Albright (*FSAC*, 231–32) that the correct etymological meaning is "one who is called (by god), one who has a vocation (from god)" (Rassmussen 1981: 103, 310; *AHW* 697b, 699b).

**A. Nebo in the Mesopotamian Pantheon**

The earliest extant reference to Nebo/Nabû is attested in the Chronicle of Hammurabi, where in the 16th year it is recorded that "the throne of Nabû [was made]" (King 1898–1900, 3:235, 251). Nabû does not appear in the earliest pantheon of Ur (Roberts 1972: 167–72), nor does his name occur in the royal Assyrian inscriptions before 1115 B.C. *(GARI).* The data concerning Nabû are somewhat meager before 1000 B.C., but they increase dramatically in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, when Nabû became one of the most beloved deities in Mesopotamian religion (see further below).

Late in the 2d millennium B.C. Nabû was considered to be the eldest son of the god Marduk. Accordingly, he was called "Mighty, exalted Lord, who knows all; majestic, ever splendid, the veritable First-born of Marduk" (Ebeling 1953: 13b). Marduk was the son of Enki/Ea (one of the four greatest deities) and the god who had successfully defeated the wicked Tiamat. By virtue of this victory, Marduk received not only the entire universe by right of conquest, but also possession of the sacred Tablets of Destiny (that prescribed the functions of the political, social, and moral order, and that Tiamat had illegally given to her evil ally Kingu) and supremacy over the total assembly of the grateful gods (see *ANET*, 60–62, 501–502). See ENUMA ELISH. As Marduk's firstborn, Nabû enjoyed a most honored status. His mother was the important goddess Sarpanitu, the veritable complement of Marduk, whether as the goddess of childbirth, or in her assistance to the needy and as the source of salvation and life to the

perishing (Ebeling 1953: 69; *BWL* 69.34, 38). In Mesopotamian mythology, the family of Marduk maintained high integrity and a loyalty to its regal responsibility and avoided the sorts of scandals that had marred the reputation of the great god Enlil.

According to the myths, Nabû also married well. One of his wives was the eminently prestigious Sumerian goddess Nana, the divine queen of Uruk who brought to the marriage an equally noble heritage as "the first-born of Anu, surpassing great, whose might is the greatest among all the goddesses." In every way her marriage to her "noble spouse Nabû" was beneficial; she was compassionate, helpful to his Majesty, and greatly loved by him (*LAR* 2: 743–51). The other wife was the great lady Tasûmetum, a Babylonian goddess who was honored in the Babylonian date formula "The year of Tasûmetum" (King 1898–1900, 3:240–41 n.) Their warm and singularly devoted marital relationship is suggested by her association with Nabû in matters of state (e.g., the ratification and guarantee of the treaty between KTK and Arpad in Syria [*ANET*, 659]), her kindly touch with those in need (Langdon 1927: 5; Ebeling 1953: 24, 124–27), and the frequent references to her and Nabû together. Thus Nabû's marriages and his supreme pedigree helped to convince the Babylonian citizenry of the stability and moral foundation of the Babylonian throne.

In the divine assembly, Nabû shared many of the predicates associated with the ancient and distinguished goddess Nidaba, who was the most famous divine exponent of the scribal craft. Likewise, Nabû came to be regarded as the scribe par excellence, a sort of secretary-general and record-keeper of the heavenly council. As such, he was custodian of the Tablets of Destiny that his father Marduk had wrested from the defeated Tiamat and Kingu. This position gave him great power. As scribe (or secretary-general), he had the task of setting in writing the various destinies that were proclaimed orally and to observe any deviations from the desired goals of the decrees. In certain respects, therefore, he could be regarded as a sort of "power behind the throne" of his father, Marduk. Nabû was eminently qualified for such a responsibility, and despite all the historical vicissitudes of 1st-century Mesopotamia, Nabû (along with Marduk, Sarpanitum, and Tasûmetum) was accorded primal responsibility and honor, held in high esteem not only by the Assyrians and the Babylonians, but also later by the conquering Persians.

**B. The Cult of Nebo**

No summary can replace the animated devotion of the prayers, hymns, dedicatory inscriptions, and other affirmations produced by the devotees of the Nabû cult (many of these may be found in Ebeling 1953 [which brings up to date the monumental work of King 1896]; Falkenstein and von Soden 1953; and Seux 1976). Much additional information concerning prayers and psalms to Nabû (as well as the ceremonies practiced by the Babylonian kings) is available in the Assyrian royal correspondences (Waterman 1930–36), in the historical records (*LAR*), and in the exhaustive studies of the Ashurbanipal era (Streck 1916) and the Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions (Langdon 1912), supplemented by the results of ongoing archaeological excavation.

The cultic literature of the Nabû rites follows a recognizable literary pattern called a *šu-ila* composition (see esp. King 1896 and Ebeling 1953). The composition generally begins with lavish praise of the nobility, splendor, heritage, accomplishments, etc., of the deity. Then there follows a description of the distress that currently afflicts the suppliant, who then introduces a prayer that distills the thought of the lament. Finally, a vow is proffered to the effect that if deliverance is granted by Nabû, then the grateful suppliant will perform the vow.

Although Nabû's tutelary domain was the city of Borsippa (site of the great temple of Ezida), sumptuous dwellings were provided for Nabû in Calah, Assur, Nineveh, Babylon, and almost every significant city in Mesopotamia (*LAR* 1: 799; Streck 1916, 3: 822–23), an assertion that archaeology has fully substantiated. The worship of Nabû even spread as far as Syria and Syene (Egypt), where some migrant Syrians lived and named the god Nabû more than any other in their correspondences. The liturgies of the Nabû cult were richly devised with numerous and diverse priestly ministrants, each with specific duties. The temple was often the legal center where deeds, contracts, and oaths were recorded, public notices posted, juridical procedures processed, and temple slaves supervised. The temples were

also the refuge of the sick; thus exorcists with their extensive practice of caring for the mentally and physically ill mingled there with sacrificers, musicians, choristers, seers, prophets, and custodians.

The major annual festival in the Assyro-Babylonian period was the New Year Festival, in which the basic foundation of the political order was powerfully reaffirmed through myth and ritual. In this paramount drama Marduk and Nabû played the lead roles. After some initiatory ceremonies beginning on the second day of the month Nisannu, the (statue of) the god Nabû boarded his sacred barge in Borsippa and headed for the capital city of Babylon a few miles away. The excitement in Babylon must have been great when the barge came into view and the noble son of Marduk arrived at the home of his father. Over the course of the next ten days the divine father and son presided over rites that reaffirmed the divine rule and legitimacy of Marduk, that purified the temple and the people, that formulated the decrees for the coming year, that vindicated and reinstated the human king of Babylon, and that affirmed the victorious future of Nabû. All this was intended to undergird national unity and reinvigorate the hopes and positive feelings of the Babylonian citizens. See also AKITU.

The Nabû cult outlasted the Babylonian empire. The Persian conqueror Cyrus was personally committed to the survival of the native Babylonian cults (Oppenheim 1985). It is interesting to note that when the Macedonian Antiochus I Soter (280–262/1 B.C.), by right of conquest, became "king of Babylon," he left an inscription eulogizing Nabû, whose temple in Borsippa he rebuilt (*ANET*, 317). Even as late as the 1st century A.D. a temple to Nabû was built in the oasis city of Palmyra (Teixidor 1979: 106). However, the Nabû/Nebo cult was at its peak during the Neo-Babylonian period, the time when the Judean elite lived in exile in Babylon. The author of Isaiah 46, who lived among them, gives witness to the extravagant processions whereby (statues of?) the gods Bel (= Marduk) and Nebo were paraded before their devotees through the streets of Babylon (vv 1–2). This writer was a keen observer of details: the gods mounted on pack animals, the swaying deities, the weary beasts, the priceless array of the gods. But the writer envisioned a day of judgment fierce at hand, when instead of the adulation of the crowd, it would be the despairing cries of frantic people vacating the capital. The priests have laden the beasts of burden with the gods. They shall not escape but shall fall victim to the enemy; the jeweled adornment of the deities will not save them from the looting of the foe. Nebo and Marduk will then be revealed for what they truly are—simply the impotent creations of mere human beings.

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**NEBO** (PERSON) [Heb *nĕbô* (נְבוֹ)]. The ancestor of several men who were required to divorce their foreign wives during the reforms of Ezra (Ezra 10:43 [LXX *Nabou*]; 1 Esdr 9:35 [Gk *Nooma*]). This may be a reference to the Judean *town* of Nebo. See NEBO (PLACE) #2.

**NEBO** (PLACE) [Heb *nĕbô* (נְבוֹ)]. **1.** A town in NW Moab and one of the final stages of the Exodus (Num 33:47). Nebo may have been founded by people of Babylonian origin since Nebo is the name of a principal Babylonian deity. After the town was taken from the Amorite king Sihon the tribes of Gad and Reuben requested possession of Nebo because the region was suitable for livestock (Num 32:3, 33–38). The Reubenites rebuilt the city and continued to occupy it (cf. 1 Chr 5:8). According to the Moabite Stone (ll 14–18) the town of Nebo came under Moabite domination, and as such Nebo appears in the doom prophecies of Isaiah (15:2) and Jeremiah (48:1, 22) directed against Moab. Though the exact site of the town is unknown it probably was one of the tells near Mount Nebo. Eusebius and Jerome (Lagarde 1887: 283, 96–100; 142, 1–6) located Nebo 8 Roman miles S of Heshbon. During the present century the town has been tentatively equated with *Khirbet ʿAyûn Mŭsā* (e.g., *MBA*, 181), *Luhithu* (cf. Saller and Bagatti 1949:4–5, 204–207), but mostly with *Khirbet el-Mekhayyat*, which is about 5 miles from *Ḥesbân* (e.g., Kaiser *Isaiah 13–39* OTL, 67; Saller and Bagatti 1949:207–217).

*Khirbet el-Mekhayyat* (M.R. 221131) is situated about 2 miles SE of the hill of *Siyâgha*, traditionally associated with the death of Moses, and about 1.25 miles SW of the highest peak of the Nebo ridge called *Jebel en-Neba.* Saller and Bagatti (1949: 207–209) claim that this identification is confirmed by (1) the local tradition represented by the name *Neba*, and especially (2) the testimony of the *Life of Peter the Iberian.*

Excavations carried out since 1933 (and periodically reported in *Liber Annuus*) reveal a wall, and building activity and cisterns both inside and outside the wall. Though our knowledge of the history of the site is sketchy, it appears so far that the two most prosperous periods in the history of the town of Nebo were Iron Ages I and II and the Byzantine period. Due to variant readings in 1 Macc 9:37 it is uncertain whether the author refers to the town of Nebo. See also NEBO, MOUNT.

**2.** A town of uncertain location referred to in lists of Israelites who returned after the exile from Babylon (Ezra 2:29). Assuming (1) the validity of the reading "the *other* Nebo" in the parallel account in Neh 7:33, and (2) the return of the exiles to Jerusalem and Judah (Ezra 2:1; Neh 7:6) and its placement after the towns of Bethel and Ai, this Nebo is generally located in Judah, though recently the less likely identification of this Nebo with the Nebo in Moab has been suggested (Cogan 1979: 37–39). Scholars generally tentatively identify Nebo with modern *Nŭbā* (M.R. 153112) approximately 3 miles NW of Bethzur and 2 miles E of *Khirbet Qeila* (Keilah) (e.g., *GP*, 398). Nebo in Ezra 10:43 and 1 Esdr 9:35 is most likely a reference to a person and not a place.

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**NEBO, MOUNT** (PLACE) [Heb *nĕbô* (נְבוֹ)]. A mountain in Moab, which was the site of Moses' preview of the promised land and the place where he died and was buried (Deut 32:49–52; 34:1–8). The two and a half Transjordanian tribes name it as part of the territory they requested of Moses (Num 32:3). The toponym "Nebo" is often found in biblical texts as both a mountain and as a town in Moab. See NEBO (PLACE) #1.

**A. Biblical Citations**

The mountain Nebo is remembered in the traditions tied with the conquest of Transjordan and with the last part of the Exodus before Israel's entrance into the promised land (Num 33:47). The connection of Nebo with Pisgah (Deut 34:1) ties the mountain with the geographical descriptions of S Gilead ("and

from Bamoth to the valley lying in the region of Moab by the top of Pisgah which looks down upon the desert" [RSV], or "which is opposite Jeshimon" [MT]; Num 21:20). Num 23:28 adds the toponym "Peor" and reads (MT): "Balak took Balaam to the top of Peor which faces toward Jeshimon." In the description of the territory of the Reubenites and Gadites the area extends "as far as the Sea of the Arabah, under the slopes of Pisgah" (Deut 4:49). The text of Josh 12:3 is inflated: "and the Arabah to the Sea of Chinneroth eastward and in the direction of Beth-jeshimoth, to the sea of the Arabah, the Salt Sea, southward to the foot of the slopes of Pisgah." Consequently, in the list of cities of Reuben one finds in order Beth-peor, the slopes of Pisgah, and Beth-jeshimoth (Josh 13:20).

The toponym "Nebo" as a town recurs among the cities of the same conquered territory (Num 32:3), even though later it is said that Reuben's sons built Nebo (Num 32:38). It was part of the Bela family territory, and formed its boundary with Baal-meon (1 Chr 5:8). In the prophetic texts it is considered a city of Moab (Isa 15:2; Jer 48:1, 22), but in the Mesha Stele (lines 14–18) it is mentioned as a conquered Israelite city (*ANET*, 320).

Later Jewish tradition tells about Jeremiah who, accompanied by the tabernacle and the ark, went to the mountain where Moses had ascended to see the inheritance of God (2 Macc 2:4).

**B. Identification**

As far as the mountain is concerned, if the Targumic texts are not specific in translating Nebo as the tomb of Moses (Pseudo-Jonathan in Num 32:3, 38; 33:47; Onkelos Num 32:3 and several *midrashim*), Eusebius records that the mountain was on the road from Livias to Esbus (*Onomast.* 16.24) and that it was shown to pilgrims at the sixth mile on the same road W of Esbus (*Onomast.* 136.5). The pilgrim Theodosius (mid 6th century) writes that the death place of Moses could be visited in the neighborhood of Livias (*De Situ* 19). The pilgrim of Piacenza (ca. 570) places the sanctuary eight miles from the Jordan river (*Itinerarium* 18.13). Egeria (end of 6th century) left Jerusalem intending to visit the sanctuary. From Jericho she crossed the Jordan and stopped at Livias. Accompanied by a priest of the city who knew those places well, she took the road from Livias to Esbus on the plateau. At the sixth mile, a detour from the main road led her to the Springs of Moses, from which she climbed to the summit of Nebo to see the Memorial of Moses (*Itinerarium* 10–12). Bishop Peter the Iberian, old and sick and having come to Transjordan to cure himself in the thermal waters of the area, stopped to pray at the sanctuary of Moses where he had once been as a young man before his conversion (*Vita Petri* 85).

An early description of the Siyagha ruins 9 km W of Madaba was given by Le Duc de Luynes in 1864 and subsequently by the members of the American Palestine Exploration Society in 1873 and by the Survey in 1881, who hypothesized its biblical identification. The discovery of Egeria's itinerary in 1884 and of Peter the Iberian's life in 1895 were decisive for the identification of the Siyagha ruins with the sanctuary of Moses. The city of Nebo is apparently mentioned by Eusebius (*Onomast.* 136.14) under the item "Naba, a city of Reuben," which mentions a desert place called Nebo about eight miles S of Esbus. Peter the Iberian's biographer knew a village by that name, inhabited by Christians, which was on the mountain of Nebo (*Vita Petri* 85). In 1863 De Sauky noted the name Khirbet el Mukhayyat, a tell not far from Siyagha that was first explored by the Survey members in 1881 and then by Musil in 1901, who proposed the historical identification with the biblical toponym.

**C. Archaeological Exploration**

**1. The Mountain of Nebo.** The mountain Nebo is delimited on the N by wadi Ayoun Mousa and on the S by wadi Afrit, which drains to the W into the Jordan valley. The highest peak is 835 m, and while the others have slightly lower altitudes, none is lower than 700 m The two most important peaks from a historical point of view are to the N—Siyagha (710 m)—and to the SE—Mukhayyat (790 m). Perennial springs gush into the valleys. The mountain region makes a natural balcony providing a dramatic view which includes the Dead Sea and the Jordan valley; the Judean desert from Tekoa to Jerusalem; and up to the mountains of Samaria.

An early human presence is testified by dolmens and menhir, as well as by megalithic circles. An EB III tomb was found in wadi Abu en-Naml, which is a continuation of wadi Ayoun Mousa further E. There is an MB tomb on the slopes of Khirbet el-Mukhayyat, and ceramics of the LB I have been gathered near

some monuments (apparently tombs) on the ridge of el-Mushaqqar and on the N slopes of wadi Ayoun Mousa. Iron Age II sherds were gathered on the surface on the peak el-Mukhayyat.

In 1933, an excavation was conducted on Siyagha under the direction of S. Saller, assisted from 1935 by B. Bagatti. The 1933, 1935, and 1937 campaigns revealed a basilica with mosaics and a monastery that had developed around it. At the same time, a thorough exploration of the mountain was made and several churches of Khirbet el-Mukhayyat were excavated. The results of the work at Siyagha were published in 1941 and those of el-Mukhayyat in 1949. A restoration program of the sanctuary and mosaics at Siyagha was entrusted in 1963 to V. Corbo, who recovered the surface mosaics of the presbytery from the S nave and from the two lateral chapels in the S port to add new elements to the history of the sanctuary. The work, which was interrupted by the Arab-Israeli wars, resumed in 1976 under M. Piccirillo, who continues the investigations.

The original state of the constructions and the beginning of human presence on the summit of Siyagha remain problematic. In spite of some contrary indications, Piccirillo is inclined to believe that the monument as well as its occupation were established in the 4th century with the Christian sanctuary. Originally it had three apses, to which was added an atrium. The cell and the atrium were used for funeral purposes. About the time of abbot Alexis (ca. late 4th century), two funeral chapels were added on the N and S. If the Alexis remembered in the S chapel is the abbot mentioned in the inscription of the presbytery, it would appear that the mosaics were contemporary. The atrium pavement near the S wall was decorated with a braided cross, while the area before the sanctuary, on the highest point of the mountain, consisted of a courtyard surrounded on the N and S by monastery rooms.

In August of 531, the mosaicists Soelos, Kaiomos, and Elias renovated and embellished diaconicon, the baptistry, and the very elegant ciborium. The diaconicon-baptistry stood on the N side of the courtyard and was accessible by stairway in front of the sanctuary.

In 597/98, the sanctuary was completely restructured. The facade of the old church was destroyed and became the presbytery of the new basilica with three naves, which took the place of the courtyard. The mosaic of the central nave with dedicatory inscriptions has been lost. The new sanctuary included a long diaconicon chapel on the N wall which covered the old diaconicon, and a new baptistry along the S wall. During the first decade of the 7th century, the chapel of Theotocos was added. The basilica was supplied with a narthex decorated with mosaics. One approached the basilica by means of five wide steps.

The buildings associated with the renovated basilica are divided into residential blocks around paved courtyards on the N, S, and W sides, and around the church atrium. The excavations revealed that the E sector and perhaps the N one on the steep slopes of Ayoun Mousa were abandoned. The monastery included places cut into the mountain slopes, like the hermitage dug into the rock on the W side, and a complex of rooms covered with mosaics at the time of abbot Procapis (the first decade of the 6th century). For bibliography on Siyagha, see Bagatti 1936; *DBSup* 7: 1122ff.; Corbo 1967; 1970; Piccirillo 1976; Saller 1941–50; and Yonick 1967.

**2. The City of Nebo: Khirbet el-Mukhayyat.** In 1949 Saller and Bagatti published the mosaics and the inscriptions of four churches. In 1962 J. Ripamouti excavated a small monastery in wadi Afrit, a tower of the Iron Age, and several tombs in the necropolis of the city. From these examinations it is clear that the ruins, which had been naturally fortified, had been inhabited in Iron Age II, in the Hellenistic/Roman period (2d century B.C.–1st century A.D.), and in the Byzantine period (5th–6th centuries).

The acropolis, which was later fortified, includes the churches of St. Georges and of the martyrs Lot and Procopius. The church of St. Georges was built with donations from some village families (ca. 535), and was decorated by the mosaicists Nalium, Kiriacos, and Tomas. Greek inscriptions accompany the mosaic decorations, which include themes of hunting, vine harvest, and agriculture, with personifications of the Seasons and the Earth. There is also an inscription in Christian-Palestinian Aramaic. The church of Sts. Lot and Procopius was built with donations from various women, among whom was Mrs. Roma, and its mosaic work was done at the time of bishop John of Medeba, who resided there in 562. The church preserves one of the most beautiful designs of the Madaba School mosaicists, with symbolic scenes,

Nilotic motifs in the intercolumniation, and scenes of hunting, shepherding, and vine harvest in the central area.

The inhabited area of the slopes of wadi Afrit includes a church to which, at the time of bishop John, a chapel was added on the N side. The church of Amos and Casiseos, named after the benefactors whose names are engraved on the small pilasters of the balustrade, is probably the oldest in the village. The chapel of priest John which borders it was built over earlier remains and included new mosaics executed under the supervision of deacon Kaiomos. The mosaics were done by the same team who worked in the church of Sts. Lot and Procopius with donations from the same benefactors. Besides the usual scenes and personifications, there are two portraits of a lady and a clergyman (perhaps priest John) who took care of the work. The monastic complex, known to Arabs as el-Kenish, is made up of three interconnecting rooms forming the head of the chapel, which are on split levels on the wadi slopes. For bibliography, see Milik 1960; Piccirillo 1973; Saller 1966; 1967; and Saller and Bagatti 1949.

**3. The Exploration of Wadi Ayoun Mousa.** Explorations have identified the milestones from the Roman-Byzantium period which mark the road from Esbus to Livias. Near the fort of Mehatta, the stones of the sixth mile still exist, from which branches a road leading to the springs. Among the vineyards are three monastic complexes. In the summer of 1984, excavations began of the monastery of Kaiano. The church was built at the time of bishop Cyrus of Medeba (early 6th century) by Casiseus in memory of members of his family who were buried in the two tombs below. This attribution is recorded on two inscriptions in Greek and is repeated on an inscription in Christian Palestinian Aramaic. The church was rebuilt and the mosaics redone at the higher altitude with the donations from Salamanus, Paul, Maxim, and Lady Harton, probably at the end of the century. See Piccirillo 1984; Puech 1984.

**D. Conclusion**

From the archaeological excavation it is clear that the biblical toponym Nebo has been preserved by the city of Nebo. The summit of Siyagha acquires importance with the construction in the 4th century of the sanctuary dedicated by the Christians of the region to the memory of Moses. However, even earlier the mountain was already known by this name, as it is testified by the *Onomasticon.*

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MICHELE PICCIRILLO


## **NEBUCHADNEZZAR** (PERSON) [Heb *nĕbûkadne (ʾ)ṣṣar* (נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר)]. Var.

NEBUCHADREZZAR. The second king of the Chaldean dynasty of Babylonia, successor to his father Nabopolassar. Nebuchadnezzar (Akk *Nabu-kudurri-uṣur*) ruled for 43 years (605–562 B.C.). Before his reign began, he developed a considerable reputation as a field commander. In early 605 B.C. he took the initiative against Egyptian armies located south of Carchemish on the Euphrates River and won a decisive victory. After word was received of Nabopolassar's death, Nebuchadnezzar returned to Babylon to formally ascend his father's throne. He then left his capital city for Syria where, over the next three years, he forced a number of cities, including Damascus, to accept Babylonian suzerainty and provide tribute. From 601 to 598 B.C., his armies not only fought the Egyptians and their pharaoh Necho II (610–595 B.C.)

but also penetrated Arabia, where they were able to carry off much plunder. While it appears that he suffered heavy losses in the engagement with Egypt in 601 B.C., he nevertheless (in 599) prepared to deal with Syria and the kingdom of Judah, whose king Jehoiakim subsequently lost his throne. In March of 597 B.C., Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem and placed Zedekiah, Jehoiachin's uncle, in control. Josephus, in his *Jewish Antiquities*, and the OT relate an account of a second siege of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. that resulted in the destruction of Solomon's temple and the beginning of the so-called Babylonian Captivity of the Jews that was to last until 538 B.C. Unfortunately, the Babylonian Chronicle breaks off after the entry for 594 and, thus far, no corroboration of this second campaign into Judah can be found in the cuneiform sources. In fact, his later campaigns against Tyre and Egypt referred to by Josephus cannot be precisely dated or completely accounted for in the cuneiform evidence. Nebuchadnezzar died in 562 B.C. and was succeeded by his son Amel-Marduk (OT Evil-Merodach) who, according to Jer 52:31, released the imprisoned Jehoiachin, former king of Judah, and gave him an allowance.

Nebuchadnezzar's reign was also marked by significant building activity in Babylon and elsewhere. Temple restoration projects were organized throughout southern Mesopotamia. No fewer than five walls were built to enclose Babylon. The so-called "Summer Palace" was constructed in the part of the city still carrying the name "Babil." But the S Palace was the most important, not only because of its size, but because it was located near the Ishtar Gate and the Processional Way, one of the many streets that were a feature of the "inner city." Extensive work was done on the Etemenanki, the ziggurat of Babylon that found its way into the OT as the infamous Tower of Babel. According to the classical sources, Nebuchadnezzar married Amytis, daughter of the Median king Astyages, and constructed the royal gardens near the N palace. These Hanging Gardens were created to remind his wife of her mountainous homeland, and were remembered by later writers as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world.

Nebuchadnezzar's own contemporary cuneiform sources (Grayson *TCS* 5), including the important Babylonian Chronicle, are largely incomplete and provide us with relatively little information about the important events of his reign. As a consequence, we know perhaps less about the actual historical events of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar than about those associated with almost any other king of the Chaldean period. Nevertheless, he turns up in more secondary sources for the Chaldean period than any other monarch of his dynasty, and in many of them, descriptions of the king's deeds bear no relationship to historical accuracy. In addition to the books of Jeremiah, 2 Kings, 2 Chronicles and Daniel of the OT, no less than ten of the rabbinic commentaries mention his name. Also, he appears in six books of the Apocrypha, in several Arabic commentaries, and in the extant writings of classical and medieval Greek and Latin authors. These latter sources, ranging from Berossus' *Babyloniaca* to the *Chronicle* of the Venerable Bede, speak not only of Nebuchadnezzar's conquests but also place particular emphasis on his building activities in Babylon. The question, then, that must be addressed concerns the reason for his prominence in these sources. Certainly, one explanation lies in the fact that the Greek mind idolized the monumental. Any famous metropolis that could not easily be visited by anyone was a topic of great interest and it was incorporated as a noteworthy feature into the historian's work. Thus it is not surprising to find that Babylon fascinated nearly everyone. Its imposing walls and ziggurat were, literally, unreal. Since the creation itself was extraordinary, the creator of such a marvel had to be extraordinary also. Thus the classical writers characterized Nebuchadnezzar's building activities in a variety of ways. On the one hand, he emerged (in the writings of Berossus and Megasthenes) as the creator of a monument of imposing size and enduring quality who was given ability by Marduk to restore Babylon and build its walls. On the other hand, writers of the so-called "universal histories" (such as Strabo and Diodorus Siculus) lost Nebuchadnezzar's achievements among those of several other kings who together constituted an image of a "superfigure" who was either a god or godlike. Actual human achievements were cast in the guise of a superhuman with actual historical names being (if at all) of only secondary concern or consideration.

Understandably, the element of conquest was of greater concern to the Hebrews. In Nebuchadnezzar's case, the capture of the city of Jerusalem, the dismantling of the temple of Solomon, and the deportation of captives were acts never to be forgotten. The author of such horrible deeds had to be portrayed in such

a way as not only to place emphasis on destruction and wickedness but also to show that the apparent power or might of the king of Babylon was merely the result of Yahweh's punishment of the Hebrews. The book of Daniel is a case in point. The king was only a tool to be used in the teaching of a lesson. In this light, the characterization of Nebuchadnezzar had to be richly embellished with elements drawn from a number of sources, folkloristic or otherwise. In the process, however, the Hebrew writer made use of historical materials associated with the reign of Nabonidus (556–539 B.C.), not because he was confused but, rather, because of the fact that Nabonidus just happened to appear in his own and later sources in such a way as fit the situation involving Nebuchadnezzar that was being described. Nebuchadnezzar's "image" need not harmonize with historical accuracy; indeed, it knew no limits of time or space and was applicable to all periods of history.

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RONALD H. SACK

**NEBUSHAZBAN** (PERSON) [Heb *nĕbûšazban* (נְבוּשַׁזְבָּן)]. One among a list of Babylonian officials who played a role in taking Jeremiah from imprisonment in the court of the guard and entrusting him to Gedeliah (Jer 39:13–14). Nebushazban held a position entitled Rabsaris. While knowledge of the functions of Babylonian officials is sketchy, the position is thought to be a high military or diplomatic office—in the Neo-Assyrian period he would have been the "chief eunuch," but according to Bright (*Jeremiah* AB, 243) this is no longer a valid designation in the Neo-Babylonian period (see also Carroll, *Jeremiah* OTL, 691). The text does not indicate the specific role Nebushazban may have played either in the capture of Jerusalem or the release of Jeremiah. Another list of Babylonian officials occurs in Jer 39:3 in which SARSECHIM is titled Rabsaris. However, it is widely held that the Hebrew of Jer 39:3 is confused, and the verse is typically reconstructed with the aid of Jer 39:13 to include Nebushazban (Bright, 243). The name in Akkadian would be *Nabˇ-šūzibanni* "Nabû deliver me" (cf. *IDB* 3: 530).

JOHN M. BRACKE

**NEBUZARADAN** (PERSON) [Heb *nĕbûzarʾădān* (נְבוּזַרְאֲדָן)]. A high-ranking Babylonian official who played a key role in the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.E. and subsequent deportations of portions of the Judean population (2 Kgs 25:8–11, 18–21; Jer 39: –14; 52:30). In addition, Nebuzaradan is identified as the Babylonian official who after the fall of Jerusalem participated in freeing Jeremiah from prison and entrusting him to the care of Gedeliah (Jer 39:11–14; cf. Jer 41:10; 43:6). Nebuzaradan's title was literally "chief butler" ("*rab tabbāḥîm*" cf. Gen 37:36). However, this title is clearly archaic. The functions of Nebuzaradan which are described in 2 Kings and Jeremiah indicate that he was a ranking military official. English translations often identify him as "captain of the guard" (RSV, ASV, KJV). In 2 Kgs 25:8–11, Nebuzaradan is presented as commander of the forces which invaded Jerusalem and the Babylonian official responsible for the destruction of the temple, the king's palace, and other prominent Jerusalem residences. Nebuzaradan oversaw the deportation of the Judean population following the fall of Jerusalem in 587 (2 Kgs 25:11–12, 18–21). Nebuzaradan also is mentioned in connection with a later deportation during the 23d year of Nebuchadnezzar in 582/1 B.C.E. (Carroll, *Jeremiah* OTL, 569–70).

Though the historical accuracy of the accounts of the release of Jeremiah from prison after the fall of Jerusalem are dubious (Bright, *Jeremiah* AB, 244ff; Carroll, 695ff), the narrative in Jer 39:10–14 indicates that Nebuzaradan was charged by Nebuchadnezzar to see that Jeremiah would not be harmed. Nebuzaradan entrusted Jeremiah to Gedeliah, the newly appointed Babylonian governor of Judea. Others in Judea were apparently dealt with similarly by Nebuzaradan (cf. Jer 41:10; 43:6).

Nebuzaradan's name means " 'Nabu' has given offspring." In later traditions, he is regarded as a proselyte (perhaps based on Jer 40:2–6; Carroll, 692).

JOHN M. BRACKE

**NECKLACE** See JEWELRY.

**NECO** (PERSON) [Heb *nĕkōh* (נְכֹה)]. An Egyptian Pharaoh of the 26th Dynasty (Saite), and son of its founder, Psammetichus I (Psamtik; 663–609 B.C.E.). Neco (or Necho) ruled from 609 to 595 B.C.E. He is most well known for his role in the death of Josiah of Judah at Megiddo in 609 (2 Kgs 23:28–30 = 2 Chr 35:20–27), and for his brief control over Syria-Palestine in the closing years of the 7th century B.C.E. According to Babylonian sources, he was a major foe of Babylon during the last years of Assyria in the late 7th century B.C.E.

The sources for Neco's reign are biblical, Akkadian, and classical, and so are written from a perspective which does not reflect the Egyptian point of view. They consist of part of the biblical account of the last decades of the kingdom of Judah (2 Kings 23–24), some highly emotive poetry from the prophetic tradition (Jer 46:1–12), fragments of the neo-Babylonian Chronicles, and the history of Herodotus. Of the sources, Herodotus appears to be the most suspect since he offers no account of Neco's involvement with the great events of the fall of Assyria. However, both the biblical and Akkadian records have a distinct agenda of their own and are also highly selective with their information. The biblical accounts of the involvement of Neco in the death of Josiah do not agree on all details.

From this selective data we can reconstruct the following sketchy outline of Neco's career and the events leading up to it. In the early 7th century B.C.E. Asûsûrbanipal of Assyria (ca. 668–627 B.C.E.) invaded Egypt and dispersed the princes of the Delta, among them Taharqa and Neco (I) (*ANET*, 294–97), then sacked the capital of the 25th (Ethiopian) Dynasty at Thebes. Neco I was later killed by the Ethiopian Shabaka, but his son, Psamtik I (664–610 B.C.E.), consolidated his power at the new capital Sais with the help of Ionians and Carians, and embarked on campaigns to the N and E. Conflict with Syria-Palestine culminated in the Egyptian capture of Ashdod in 635 B.C.E. (Hdt. 2:157). The son of Psamtik, Neco II, took advantage of a weakened Syria, and expanded Egyptian trade to the E and W (Hdt. 4:42). He then turned to warfare with his eastern neighbors, including the Syrians and Arabs, and captured the border town of Gaza, an event which is probably reflected in Jer 47:1–7

The activities of Neco impinge more directly upon the history of Judah with a reconstruction of the moves of Neco found in biblical and Akkadian sources. 2 Kgs 23:29–35 (= 2 Chr 35:20–36:4) refer to Neco's move to the N to aid Assyria in 609 B.C.E. From Akkadian sources (Wiseman 1956: 54–63; *ANET*, 305), we learn that Neco had taken an army N to help Aššuruballiṭ retake Harran from a small Babylonian garrison. A Babylonian counterattack, under Nabopolassar was unsuccessful, but with the Assyrians and Egyptians engaged at Harran, the Babylonian army plundered at will in N Assyria. It is possible that Aššuruballiṭ died in this campaign. In any event, he is not heard from again.

By 606 B.C.E. the Egyptian army was now at the gates of Carchemish, but not necessarily under the direct leadership of Neco, and successfully campaigned against Kimuhu (Commagene) and Qaramati. The Babylonian army, now under the crown prince Nebuchadrezzar, attacked in the following year and completely routed the Egyptian force. According to the record, "… the Egyptian army withdrew before [Nebuchadrezzar]. He accomplished their defeat and to non-existence [beat] them. As for the rest of the Egyptian army which had escaped from the defeat … the Babylonian troops overtook and defeated them so that not a single man escaped to his own country" (Wiseman 1956: 67–69). This complete annihilation of the Egyptian army was celebrated with equal glee by the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 46:2–12). In the following year Nebuchadrezzar attacked the S Levant as far as Ashkelon, but an attack on the border of Egypt was repulsed by Neco in 601 B.C.E. Neco was now confined to his former territory. "… the king of Egypt did not come again out of his land, for the king of Babylon had taken all that belonged to the king of Egypt, from the Brook of Egypt (Wadi el-Arish) to the River Euphrates" (2 Kgs 24:7).

It was during the first advance of Neco northwards (609 B.C.E.) that Josiah met him at Megiddo, and died (2 Kgs 23:29–33). After a brief reign by Josiah's son, Jehoahaz, Neco set Eliakim (Jehoiakim), Josiah's younger son, on the throne of Judah, and for the next few years Judah was a tribute-paying vassal of Egypt (2 Kgs 24:31–35). It was presumably during the advance of the Babylonian army in 604 B.C.E. to

the borders of Egypt that Jehoiakim changed his allegiance to Babylon. However, Nebuchadrezzar's failure to enter Egypt in 601 B.C.E. encouraged the king to throw off the Babylonian control (2 Kgs 24:1) and to look to the S for support, despite prophetic warnings (Jer 46:14–28). Following the repulsion of the Babylonian army, the two nations of Egypt and Babylon ceased hostilities, and nothing more is heard directly of Neco. He died in 595 B.C.E. and was succeeded by his son, Psammetichus (Psamtik) II.

In 2 Kgs 23:28–30 and clearly in 2 Chr 35:20–27 the impression is given that Josiah died in battle against Neco. Some, however, have doubted this and have argued that Neco arrested and executed Josiah (Cogan, Tadmor *2 Kings* AB, 300–301), who had gone N, not seeking battle, but simply to meet Neco. This is possible but unlikely. The reason for Josiah's move can only be guessed at, but it makes sense for him to fear both a revival of Assyrian power in Judah, and a resurgent Egypt. Strategically, a battle at Megiddo was the best option, but the strategy misfired, and like his predecessor Thutmoses III in 1468 B.C.E., Neco defeated a local force at this important site.

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T. R. HOBBS

**NECROMANCY** See MAGIC.

**NEDABIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *nedabyâ* (נְדַבְיָה)]. Nedabiah occurs only in 1 Chr 3:18 where he is listed as the seventh son of Jeconiah/Jehoiachin. Otherwise the name is found in extrabiblical material.

RUSSELL FULLER

**NEGEB** In the Bible the word "Negeb" (Heb *negeb*), or "Negev," refers to one of the main regions of Palestine S of the hill country of Judah, W of the Arabah, and NE of the Sinai peninsula (see Gen 12:9; 13:1). The Hebrew word seems to mean "dry south country." This entry contains three articles, one surveying the archaeological remains of the Negeb in the Bronze Age, the second surveying the archaeological remains in the Iron Age (Israelite period), and the third covering the Hellenistic-Roman period.

***BRONZE AGE***

A. Environmental Background
B. Settlement History
    1. Northern Negeb
    2. Central Negeb
    3. Southern Negeb
C. Society and Economy
D. The Biblical Narrative
E. Summary

**A. Environmental Background**

The modern Negeb is a rough triangle with its E border running N from the Gulf of Aqaba/Eilat through the Arabah valley to the Dead Sea; its W border begins at the same point, running NW to Raphiah. The N border, less clearly defined, is sometimes considered coincident with the Nahal Beer-sheba drainage, although for some scholars is as far N as Kiryat Gat and the Nahal Shiqma drainage. However, the hilly regions to the E and the coastal area to the W are excluded. On a general level, the Negeb is an extension of the Arabian-Saharan subtropic desert zone and shows geographic continuity with Sinai. Although the biblical Negeb is generally considered to have incorporated the N Negeb exclusively, the Bronze Age predates most of the biblical narrative, and archaeological remains S of Beer-sheba are of considerable interest and importance.

The physical geographical-climatic divisions of the Negeb played a significant role in determining the nature of settlement in the Bronze Age, so that to a great extent regional contrasts are reflected in the archaeology. Thus settlement in the loessial semi-arid plains of the *N Negeb,* generally above the 200-mm isohyet considered to be the threshold for viable dry farming, is dominated by urban centers and associated villages. In contrast, the arid degraded steppe of the *Central Negeb.* Highlands, receiving only between 75 and 150 mm of rainfall yearly, hosted a variety of pastoral nomadic adaptations with much less emphasis on agriculture. Settlement in the harsh desert regime of the *S Negeb* (averaging less than 50 mm of rainfall per annum) is characterized by both pastoral sites and encampments and, apparently, copper mining-trade sites. Significant E–W climatic gradients also affected settlement, so that, for example, there may be major differences in settlement patterns within subregions such as the E versus W halves of the Beer-sheba Basin.

In addition to these physical geographic and climatic factors, there is accumulating evidence of Bronze Age climatic change which may have played an important influencing role in Negeb settlement. Summarizing briefly, the Chalcolithic period in the N Negeb, preceding the EB Age, shows evidence of wadi alluviation, continuing on a somewhat lesser scale into the early part of the EB This accords well with other lines of evidence from both the Negeb and the rest of the country indicating a moister phase in this period. The length of this phase is difficult to determine, but it seems to have been followed by a period of unstable climate and subsequently a period of desiccation, corresponding roughly to the EB IV and the MB This is difficult to demonstrate specifically in the Negeb, but can be seen in adjacent areas, as in Dead Sea lake levels, alluvial fills around Nahal Lachish, and arboreal pollen decline in the Upper Jordan valley. The dry period may have continued into the Iron Age.

**B. Settlement History**

The chronological sequence in the Negeb during the Bronze Age shows several culture-stratigraphic disconformities and gaps which vary in length and areal scale in the different subregions. See Fig. NEG.01.

**1. Northern Negeb.** The final phases of the Beer-sheba Chalcolithic culture, dating to ca. 3700 B.C. (calibrated radiocarbon years) are followed by a much less widespread EB I. The chronological span of this phase has not been established. In the NW Negeb, at sites such as En Besor and Gaza H, somewhat later at the Besor Bridge site, and farther N as at Tell AREINI, there seems to have been significant Egyptian presence. In the E, as at ARAD and (small tell) MALHATA, Egyptian influence seems much less evident.

The EB II shows the rise of Tell Arad as a fortified town which clearly played a central role in Negeb economic systems. There appears to be a concomitant decline in the number of smaller sites in the region.

The abandonment/destruction of Tell Arad by the end of the EB II seems to correspond to a shift in urban settlement to the N and W, to such sites as Tell el HESI and Tell HALIF, leaving the Beer-sheba basin with little evidence of occupation in this period, although Tell ʿIRA shows some EB III occupation. These sites were themselves abandoned in the EB IV; occupation seems to have been on a significantly smaller and non-urban scale in this period.

Reurbanization in the MB centered around the NW Negeb, at sites such as Tell Haror, Tell Nagila, and, closer to the coast, Tell JEMMEH and Tell el FARA (S). In the E, (large) Tell MALHATA and Tell Masos show occupations in this period. In this region one can trace a general line of cultural continuity through the LB, although the Beer-sheba basin shows little evidence of sedentary populations throughout the MB and LB

**2. Central Negeb.** Chalcolithic settlement is sparse, but is followed by a major peak in the EB Literally hundreds of sites, probably related to a system of sheep/goat pastoralism and copper trade, have been discovered as a result of intensive survey work. Although this peak has traditionally been attributed to the EB II to correspond to the rise of Arad as an urban center, there seems no compelling reason to reject an EB I date for some of the sites, especially in light of EB I presence in Sinai. Ceramic evidence is inconclusive, although there are indeed types which may be attributed to the EB I. Attribution to the EB III is somewhat more problematic, since contiguous regions do not show unambiguous evidence of EB III

occupation, and ceramic assemblages contain no hints of EB III. This apparent decline in settlement corresponds well with the eclipse of urban Arad and the end of Canaanite outposts in Sinai.

The tendency to see a settlement hiatus in the EB III in the Central Negeb is supported by the major changes evident in the region in the EB IV. Aside from significant transformations in material culture, including ceramics and stone and metal tools, the EB IV shows marked changes in settlement patterns. Sites such as Ein Ziq, BEER RESISIM, Mushabe Sadeh, Nahal Nizzana, Har Zayad and to a lesser extent, MOUNT YERUHAM, show densely clustered villages of up to 200 structures, far larger than sites from the EB I–II. Furthermore, the focus of settlement shifts from the W edges of the highlands along the axis from Har Karkom–Har Harif to Ramat Barnea (in the EB I–II) further N and E more to the center of the highlands in the EB IV.

Unlike the N Negeb, in the Central Negeb there is virtually no evidence of occupation, permanent, ephemeral, or otherwise, during the MB or LB. The significance of this gap has been debated, one school claiming it reflects a major demographic decline in the region (some claiming total abandonment), and a second suggesting it merely reflects reduced archaeological visibility due to a reversion to more nomadic lifestyles which left few recoverable residues.

**3. Southern Negeb.** In this region, as exemplified by the TIMNA‘ and Uvda valleys, a local culture, sometimes referred to as the Timnian, spans the transition from Chalcolithic to the first stages of the EB. Biqat Uvda sites attributed to the EB II also show N influences, both architecturally and in the ceramic assemblage. The problem of EB III sites is similar to that in the Central Negeb, and the general cultural discontinuity between the EB I–II and the EB IV also resembles that found farther N except in the absence of comparably large EB IV village sites.

As in the Central Negeb, in the S Negeb there is little or no evidence of “indigenous” occupation during the MB and LB However, in the Timna‘ valley impressive remains of LB Egyptian copper mining colonies have been excavated.

**C. Society and Economy**

During the EB I, as mentioned above, the NW Negeb shows a major Egyptian presence; interpretations range from conquest, colonization, and annexation to Egypt to trade, trade stations, and trade quarters in some sites. Material culture shows a mix of Canaanite elements with locally produced Egyptian types. Most sites have been incompletely excavated and are difficult to characterize. Nevertheless, the settlement system can be generally described as one of hamlets, villages, and perhaps a central town at Areini. Economy was based on village farming and animal husbandry, and given the Egyptian presence, trade can be assumed to have had a significant role as well. In the NE Negeb, EB I society can be characterized as one of village organization and subsistence farming. There is little evidence of large-scale Egyptian presence in the region.

It is difficult to distinguish EB I from EB II in the Central and S Negeb. However, using the local Sinai-Nawamis (Timnian) culture as a comparative base, (possible) EB I sites show affinities to those of Sinai, with hints of Egyptian influences in the ceramics and lithics. Sheep/goat husbandry was the dominant economic mode.

The concomitant development of urban (and fortified) Arad and the organized copper trade from S Sinai in the EB II had its ramifications for the entire Negeb. Egyptian influence wanes in the N, and examples of “Aradian” architecture and ceramics appear at numerous sites throughout the Negeb. The increased Canaanite presence in the Central and S Negeb, almost unquestionably stimulated by copper exploitation both in S Sinai and the Timna‘ valley, seems to have effected major growth in the pastoral nomadic population, as well as tying it more closely to the N economy. Thus, this period shows the development of a classic system of urban/village heartland and pastoral nomadic hinterland, with a typical nomadic dependence on the economies of the N. Archaeologically this is reflected in the animal bone assemblages, central pen-attached room architecture, disappearance of arrowheads from the lithic assemblages, and trade items such as some ceramics, metals, shells, and flint tools. Fields of round secondary burial tumuli are often found in association with these pastoral sites and may be a Negeb version of the Nawamis tombs

of S Sinai. Possible ritual sites, such as at Har Karkom and in the Ramon Crater (Makhtesh), have also been discovered.

This general framework seems to have collapsed with the decline of Arad and the copper trade. Reasons for this are debated and include invasion and destruction, climatic change, and internal social dissolution. It is possible that reassertion of Egyptian control over SW Sinai also played a role. EB III cities such as at Tell Halif and Tell Hesi, although showing good evidence for Egyptian trade, do not show the desert contacts evident in EB II Tell Arad. As in N Israel, the EB III in the N Negeb is dominated by complex city sites supported by agricultural hinterlands.

The decline of urban civilization in the EB IV has been interpreted as the result of invasion, internal collapse, plague, climatic catastrophe, and various combinations of these factors. EB IV sites in the Negeb as a whole are dwarfed by the large sites of the Central Negeb, which have been viewed as the remains of large seasonal base camps of pastoral nomads. However, their size, the permanent nature of the agriculture, and the proximity of the sites to water suggest they may have been occupied year-round. Typically the sites show round rooms with central columns, often attached to one another in a room-small courtyard complex. Rectangular tumuli are often associated with the larger sites. The subsistence base of this culture is difficult to reconstruct since, aside from the presence of grinding stones, there is little evidence for agriculture; from the presence of ovicaprids and pens, pastoralism clearly played a significant role. Discoveries of caches of copper ingots indicate that the metal trade persisted, if not perhaps on the same scale as in the preceding EB II. Other sites in the S Negeb are considerably smaller and more ephemeral, although showing similar material culture. In the N Negeb, sites from this period have been little investigated.

MB and LB cities in the N Negeb at Tells Masos, Malhata, Nagila, Fara (S), Haror, Sera‘, Jemmeh, etc., show impressive and sophisticated fortification systems, public structures, and possibly elite residences. These sites fall into the general mode of the MB–LB Canaanite culture of N and central Palestine. They show international connections, especially with Egypt, and sites such as Malhata, Haror, Fara (S), and Masos may be Egyptian (Hyksos) garrisons. Tombs seem to show status differences within the population. Subsistence economies were based on grain agriculture and animal husbandry. Historical and political events in this period in the N Negeb are tied to the coastal plain and the Shephelah and as such are less associated with the Negeb as a geographical unit. The transition from MB to the LB in this region is marked by the reduction of some of the Egyptian fortresses, but shows essential cultural continuity.

The S Negeb in the LB, at Timna‘, again shows Egyptian mining colonies. Of special interest is the temple to Hathor at Timna‘. These discoveries can be tied to the Egyptian control of SW Sinai.

**D. The Biblical Narrative**

It is difficult to tie the biblical narrative to Negeb Bronze Age sites and locations with any certainty, especially in the Central and S Negeb, where there are virtually no written records associated with the sites. Thus, in the N Negeb, Tell Haror can be reasonably associated with GERAR, and Tell el Fara (S) with Sharuhen, but even the identification of Tell Arad with its pre-Iron Age biblical counterpart is problematic, as is the identification of the biblical Besor with Wadi Gaza. In the Central Negeb, if on the one hand identifications such as Ein el Qudeirat with KADESH-BARNEA seem well founded in the Iron Age, they present problems for earlier parts of the biblical narrative. The virtual absence of remains from the MB or LB in this area (and the rest of the Central Negeb) contradict the 38-year Israelite settlement recounted in Exodus. Similar problems attend virtually all attempts to identify specific sites (especially Mt. Sinai) in the Central Negeb with places mentioned in Exodus.

**E. Summary**

The Negeb in the Bronze Age cannot really be seen as a stable culture-geographic unit. The nature and borders of settlement shift considerably with each archaeological phase, so that in different periods, subregions may be either “abandoned” or incorporated into the N sphere, or may undergo significant shifts in type of settlement. This dynamism, or perhaps better, instability, is a function of basic tensions in man-desert adaptations, stimulated by external historical processes and/or minor climatic changes. Tying

the biblical narrative to the archaeological history remains a speculative endeavor except in specific circumstances.

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STEVEN A. ROSEN


## *IRON AGE*

Within its biblical limits, the Negeb embraced mainly the area of the Arad and Beer-sheba valleys, a flat upland region, measuring ca. 40 × 40 km, in S Judah. See Fig. NEG.02. The region is covered by loess soil and has a semi-desert climate, with an annual rainfall of around 200 mm. This amount of rainfall is insufficient for intensive, high-yield agriculture, but permits subsistence cultivation and sheepherding.

The main wadis of the biblical Negeb are Wadi Gerar and Wadi Beer-sheba. These are the two largest tributaries of Wadi Besor, which drains the region into the Mediterranean. Along these streambeds and their tributaries exist active wells, with especially high-yielding wells found in the vicinity of Tel Masos, Tel Malhata, and Tel ʿAroer in the E Negeb.

The name "Negeb" derives from the Hebrew radical *ngb,* meaning "dry" or "dryness." In biblical terminology *negeb* is often synonymous with *darom,* that is, "south" or "southern direction." Throughout the history of Israel, the Negeb has been a region of strategic importance, both as a landbridge and as a buffer between the S deserts of the Negeb mountains and the Sinai, and the settled country in the N The S deserts were often occupied by hostile wandering tribes, thrusting N into the settled country, sometimes to conquer and displace its population, and sometimes for the purpose of robbery and despoliation. In response to this threat, the central authorities established a series of fortified settlements in the Negeb during the periods of the United Monarchy and after.

The Negeb was part of the tribe of Judah, as well as of the tribe of Simeon, which had been absorbed by the latter (Josh 15:20–32; 19:1–9). The tribe of Judah also absorbed various other tribal elements, including families of the Kenites (Judg 1:16), Jerahmeelites (1 Sam 27:10), and Cherethites (1 Sam 30:14), as well as sons of Caleb (1 Sam 30:14). The Kenites apparently lived in the E Negeb, the Jerahmeelites in the SE, the Calebs in the NE, and the Cherethites in the W of the Negeb. These localities

were named after the tribal families. The area of the tribe of Simeon is generally located in the central Negeb, though some scholars place it further to the NE

The earliest occupation evidence for the Israelite period is at Tel Masos, where a settlement was established at the end of the 13th century B.C. However, no remains of Canaanite settlement from the LB have so far been discovered in the region.

This lack of evidence has created difficulties with regard to the biblical accounts of the Israelite settlement and the reported battles with the Canaanites over ARAD and HORMAH, which are described as Canaanite cities (Num 21:1–3; 33:40) and are said to have been destroyed by Joshua (Josh 12:14). Modern scholars have tried to overcome these difficulties in various ways. Glueck (1968: 114–15) suggested that the king of Arad was not the ruler of that city but merely the chieftain of a wandering tribe in the area. On the other hand, Mazar (1965) proposed to identify Arad with Tel Malhata (though no Canaanite remains from the LB were found there either). See MALHATA, TEL. The suggestion that the conquest of Arad is an etiological story reflecting the biblical writer's experience of the ruined early Canaanite city was advanced by Fritz (1966). Aharoni (*LBHG,* 215–16), based on the list of cities conquered by Shishak during his campaign in Canaan in 925 B.C., which mentions two forts named Arad (*Arad rabbâ* and *Arad lĕ bêt yeruhem,* abbreviated for *Arad lĕ bêt yerehmi*ʾ*elî*), would identify the former (*Arad rabbâ*) with Tel Arad and the latter (*Arad lĕ bêt yeruhemz*) with Tel Malhata. Naʾaman (1980) suggested a location for Ḥormah at Tel Halif (and not at Tel Masos, as frequently proposed), giving as one of his reasons for this identification that Tel Halif has an occupation stratum from the Late Canaanite period (though this stratum is not from the period of Israelite settlement, but dates to the Iron Age period).

During the period of the Judges, the Negeb was only thinly settled, with few permanent settlements. To this period are assigned stratum II at Tel Masos, strata VII–VI at BEER-SHEBA, and stratum III at Tel Esdar. See ESDAR, TEL. Recently a large settlement has been discovered E of Tel Beer-sheba on one of the tributaries of Wadi Yatir; the pottery of this settlement dates apparently to this period (11th century B.C.). The settlement was unfortified, and its population probably engaged in sheepherding, commerce, and perhaps agriculture.

The wars conducted by Saul against the Amalekites were in defense of these border settlements, which, however, were destroyed at the end of the 11th century, perhaps by one of the wandering desert tribes (like the Amalekites) pushing up from the S.

In the 10th century B.C., probably in Solomon's reign, new fortified towns were erected on the destruction layers of the previous settlements. Such new fortified towns were excavated in stratum V at Tel Beer-sheba and at Tel Malhata, while perhaps the fort of stratum at Arad belongs to this period. In their layout, planning, and construction, these new fortified towns and forts reflect the official state policy of creating a S defense line, probably as a shield against Egyptian attacks. They were, however, destroyed during Shishak's invasion of Judah.

The settlements of the Negeb highlands (some of which are described as "forts" in the research) are dated by some scholars to the 10th century and by others to the 11th century B.C. It was at this time that the Israelite population apparently began its expansion into the Negeb highlands. Some of these settlements, including those uncovered at RAMAT MATRED, were apparently civilian agricultural estates, while others probably served as garrisons for army personnel commanded to defend this border region. Given the mobile nature of warfare in the desert and against wandering tribes, one would not expect to find fortified settlements of the tower-fortress type; and accordingly the settlements that were erected in strategic places in the lowland and on hilltops are best defined as military garrison forts.

During the 8th and 9th centuries, the Judean occupation of the Negeb remained sparse, confined almost exclusively to fortified settlements, as at Beer-sheba, Tel Malhata, and Arad. In the 8th century, the Negeb borderland was the scene of many Assyrian campaigns against Philistia and Egypt; some scholars believe that in one of his campaigns against Philistia in 720 B.C., Sargon II penetrated the area of Judean settlements, inflicting widespread destruction. The destruction of stratum II at Beer-sheba may be assigned to this year, though Aharoni, the excavator of the site, attributes the destruction of this stratum to Sennacherib's campaign of 701 B.C. Others date the destruction of stratum II as late as Nebuchadnezzar.

In the 7th century, there was an upturn of settlement activity in the Judean Negeb. Only at Beer-sheba was the settlement not revived after its destruction; other destroyed sites were rebuilt. New settlements were also established during this century at Tel ʿIra, Tel Masos (a small settlement), Horvat ʿUza, and on the N outskirts of Beer-sheba. See AROER (PLACE), ʿIRA, TEL; ʿUZA, HORVAT.

The most prominent of these new settlements was the strategically sited and well-fortified settlement at Tel ʿIra, which may perhaps be identified with the biblical Ramah of the Negeb. In all probability it became the central town of the Judean Negeb, replacing Beer-sheba, which had ceased to exist at that time.

The settlement pattern of the E Negeb for this period shows great density, resulting probably from the efforts of the central administration to secure this S border against both attacks by Arab tribes and the attempts of Edom to seize parts of the Negeb, which it desired to control the transit routes to the seas. However, this defensive effort of the Judean kingdom was also aimed against Babylonia, which conducted its first military campaign against Judah at the end of the 7th century. There is increasing evidence that the Edomites actively participated in the destruction of the Judean Negeb cities, which significantly weakened Judah before its final demise. Aside from the traditional enmity that existed between Judah and Edom, which is amply attested in the Bible, there is archaeological evidence of hostile Edomite presence in the E Negeb during this period. This evidence includes pottery finds from all the mentioned Judean sites (and especially Qitmit), as well as written documents, of which the most important are Arad ostracon no. 24 (in which the commander of Arad is ordered to send reinforcements to Ramat Negeb "lest Edom arrive there") and the Edomite ostracon from Horvat ʿUza. The combined archaeological evidence can be taken to indicate that large areas of the E Negeb were annexed at the end of the First Temple period by the Edomites, who perhaps were also responsible for the destruction of the Judean cities during the Babylonian campaign against Jerusalem in 586 B.C., or a few years thereafter.

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ITZHAQ BEIT-ARIEH

## *HELLENISTIC-ROMAN PERIOD*

There is growing evidence that the history of the Nabateans in the Negeb did not begin in the Hellenistic period, as formerly thought, but began in the Persian period, if not earlier. Archaeological evidence for this period is extremely scarce, but it is scarce for the Hellenistic period as well. Outstanding are the pits in which Persian pottery was found at Horvat Ritma in the central Negeb. Theoretically these pits mark the arrival of nomadic Arabs to the central Negeb. See also NABATEANS.

In studying the history of the Arabs of the Negeb, known as "Nabatean" from the end of the 4th century B.C.E. onward, scholars have tended to discredit Herodotus' account, limiting it generally to the statement "the Arabs call Dionysus Orotalt; and Aphrodite, Alilat" (3.8). Whereas the identity of Orotalt is disputed, Alilat is identified with al-Ilat, or Allat, the chief goddess of the Nabateans. But Herodotus supplies much more information. In his discussion of Cambyses' campaign against Egypt, Herodotus paid much attention to the matter of water supply: "I will tell of a thing that but few of those who sail to Egypt have perceived. Earthen jars full of wine are brought to Egypt twice a year from all Greece and Phoenicia besides: yet one might safely say that there is not a single empty wine jar anywhere in the country … Each governor of a district must gather in all the earthen pots from his own township and carry them to those waterless lands of Syria; so the earthen pottery that is brought to Egypt and unloaded and emptied there is carried to Syria to join the stock that has already been taken there" (3.6). But the Arabs supplied Cambyses' army with water in a different way: "… the Arabian planned and did as I shall show: he filled camel-skins with water and loaded all his live camels with these; which done he drove them to the waterless land and awaited Cambyses' army" (3.9). And as is Herodotus' habit: "I must relate the less credible tale also, since they tell it. There is a great river in Arabia called Corys, issuing into the sea called

Red. From this river (it is said) the king of the Arabians carried water by a duct of sewn oxhides and of other hides of a length sufficient to reach to the dry country; and he had many tanks dug in that country to receive and keep the water. It is a twelve days' journey from that river to that desert. By three ducts (they say) he led the water to three several places" (3.9).

Herodotus' account is confirmed by the more recent and more accurate account of Hieronymus of Cardia related by Diodorus. After describing the Nabatean Arabs this source concludes, "Consequently neither the Assyrians of old, nor the kings of the Medes and Persians, nor yet those of the Macedonians have been able to enslave them, they never brought their attempts to a successful conclusion" (2.48.5). This source is more specific on the matter of water supply: "As the earth in some places is clayey and in others of soft stone, they make great excavations in it, the mouths of which they make very small, but constantly increasing the width as they dig deeper, they finally make them of such size that each side has a length of one plethrum. After filling these reservoirs with rain water, they close the openings, making them even with the ground, and they leave signs that are known to themselves but are unknown to others" (19.94.6–8). This notice not only tallies in every detail the description of the cisterns excavated by the Nabateans in the Negeb, but fits well the nature of the lithology of the central Negeb, and not of any other Nabatean region.

The only positive evidence for the presence of the Nabateans in the Negeb in the first half of the 2d century B.C.E. is the Elusa inscription, antedating by half a century the evidence from any other Nabatean site. The other finds at Elusa, Oboda, Nessana, and more recently at Moyet Awad in the Arabah and some sites along the SW shore of the Dead Sea are coins of the Hellenistic period, "Megarian" bowls and Eastern Sigillata wares, and numerous stamped jar handles originating in the Greek islands, the wine jars of Herodotus. As the Nabateans refrained from drinking wine at this early period (cf. Diod. 19.94.3–4), these wine jars were an improvement on the more perishable skins which they used for the transportation of water on their journeys in the desert.

On no site in the central Negeb were discovered any traces of buildings which date earlier than the last quarter of the 1st century B.C.E. This again agrees with Hieronymus'-Diodorus' description: "It is their custom neither to sow corn, plant fruit-bearing trees, use wine, nor construct any house; if anyone is found acting contrary to this, death is his penalty" (19.94.3–4). Only very recently have archaeologists been able to find traces of Nabatean tent encampments of this period.

Most of the 1st century B.C.E. is not represented by any finds in the whole of the central Negeb. The retreat of the Nabateans from the Negeb was an outcome of the aggressive policy of Alexander Jannaeus and his predecessors. Not only did Nabateans lose territories which they held in Moab, but they also lost the harbors of Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, and Rhinocorura (cf. *Ant* 13.395). It is only with the ascendancy of John Hyrcanus II that the fortunes of the Nabateans began to change (Ant. 14.18). Herod apparently restored to the Nabateans use of the S harbors, which brought a new prosperity, and marks the beginning of the Middle Nabatean Period (30 B.C.E.–50 C.E.). During this period the Petra-Oboda-Gaza road was built. The road follows Nahal Neqarot (Wadi es-Siq) necessitating the construction of a caravanserai at Moyet Awad, and forts and water stations at other locations. In some sections the road was cleared of stones and marked by curbstones and unepigraphical milestones. A secondary road led from Petra to Mampsis, joining the Oboda-Gaza road NE of Oboda. This road, too, had a caravansarai and minor stops and water stations along its course. Thus the region which during the Early Nabatean Period had only a few sites, developed no less than six. The main caravan stop, and the backbone of the whole system, must have been at Oboda, and included a large temple, which in addition to its regular religious functions apparently served also as a bank. The army which protected the whole region was stationed in the large camp, and large camel sheds supplied the necessary vehicles for the caravan traffic and its protection. Another temple apparently existed at Elusa, a caravan halt at Mampsis, and a fort at Nessana. The noncombatant population must still have lived in tent encampments, traces of which have been discovered at Elusa, Oboda, and Biq‘at Uvdah, NW of Eilat, from which a road branched off to Nessana and Gaza. The destruction of this system apparently occurred in 50 C.E., when newly invading Arab tribes, who had been weakened by the loss of international spice trade to the Romans, flooded the Nabatean realm. This

historical picture, corroborated by the archaeological finds at Oboda and other Nabatean sites in the Negeb, is now confirmed by the history of Nabatean coinage, which showed a steep decline in silver content in 50 C.E.

The reign of Malichus II (40–70 C.E.) seems to have been a period of decline in the Negeb, as it was elsewhere in the Nabatean realm. The accession to the throne of Rabel II marks the beginning of a new prosperity. The Nabateans, who lost a large share of trade, began to develop agriculture. At first this was based on horse breeding, apparently developing the Arabian horse which became renowned in subsequent centuries. This is mainly attested at Mampsis, but similar stables were found also at Sobata and Oboda. Barley was grown for food in the surrounding valleys. At the beginning the Nabateans terraced narrow valleys only, but they later cultivated wider valleys, depending on the supply of rainwater from much larger catchment areas. This new development was so important that the event was celebrated by religious festivities, and the king was honored by a new title: "He Who Brought Life and Deliverance to His People," which is attested on numerous inscriptions at Oboda and the surrounding hinterland. During this period the Nabateans began to construct spacious dwellings to compensate for the loss of freedom they had enjoyed with their tents. Nothing portrays this change of life better than the production of pottery. The luxurious Middle Nabatean wares, which equaled the quality of their sumptuous architecture, gave way to pottery types better suited to rich farmers. The annexation of the Nabatean kingdom to the Roman empire on March 22, 106 C.E., did not adversely affect the prosperity of the Nabatean Negeb. The construction by Trajan of a new road to connect the *Via Nova* with a road from Jerusalem, Hebron, and Mampsis must have contributed to the well-being of the Negeb. This economic boom continued well into the 3d century C.E., when Palestine was subdivided into three separate provinces and the Negeb formed the backbone of the large new *Palestina Tertia.* Most of the evidence for this period still comes from Oboda. Although Nabatean-Aramaic gave way to Greek, and the old Semitic cults assumed a Roman disguise, the builders of the new temple at Oboda all bore Nabatean names. King Oboda, after whom the city was named, and who was deified after his death, was venerated at this temple as Zeus-Obodas. The work of constructing a new quarter at Oboda was entrusted to a Nabatean architect from Petra, who followed assiduously Nabatean methods of planning and construction. Although the evidence is not as decisive as at Oboda, this prosperity in the post-Nabatean Period was shared also by Elusa, Mampsis, Sobata, and Ruheibah.

The accession to the throne of Diocletian, and the great interest which he took in the E, was a turning point for the towns of the central Negeb. The Nabateans, who were at home in the desert, felt it unnecessary to protect their towns with walls. On the other hand, Diocletian, who consolidated the *limes Palaestinae* along the *Via Nova*,found it necessary to fortify Mampsis, which was the weakest link in the system of the Negeb. Citadels for the protection of the towns people were built at Oboda and at Mampsis. The construction of the wall at Mampsis became an obstacle to further urban development. The policy instituted by Diocletian was apparently followed also by Constantine the Great and his house. In the second half of the 4th century C.E. began the struggle between Semitic-Roman paganism and Christianity. Soon after the middle of the century the first churches were built at Oboda, Mampsis, Sobata, and Nessana. Literary evidence shows that Elusa played an important role in the advent of Christianity, and that opposition to the new religion was stronger in this large town, which had been a center of Roman cultural life. From a study of personal names, it is clear that even in this late period the Nabateans were still the dominant element in local population, and that even in the Church they contributed the rank and file.

Agriculture formed the basis of the local economy, as seen in the large number of papyri found at Nessana which refer to the cultivation of wheat, barley, vegetables, and fruit trees of various kinds. Archaeological data indicate that olive oil production and wine also contributed significantly to the prosperity. The climatic conditions of the region made it possible to produce wine of a quality good enough to compete with the wines of S Europe. Local trade and the pilgrimages to the holy places in S Sinai were factors of lesser economic importance.

In 636 C.E. the Negeb was conquered by the Moslems. Mampsis was apparently destroyed in an earlier raid, and Oboda, which apparently put up a strong opposition, did not survive this conquest. However, the towns in the W part of the region survived at least until the end of the 7th century C.E. Although there was apparently no direct pressure, the necessity to pay heavy taxes for the upkeep of the Islamic army and population weakened these towns, and disturbed the delicate balance between survival and ruin in the Negeb. Another factor which might have sealed the fate of the towns of the Negeb was the loss of a market for the main product of the towns of the Negeb—wine.

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AVRAHAM NEGEV

**NEHELAM** (PLACE) [Heb *hanneḥĕlāmî* (הַנֶּחֱלָמִי)]. An appellation of Shemaiah, a prophet among the exiles in Babylon who wrote a letter to the religious officials of Jerusalem in which he opposes Jeremiah (Jer 29:24, 31–32). Though the RSV treats this as a proper name, the Hebrew does not seem clearly to support this interpretation. The word in Hebrew is a gentilic formation and appears most likely to be an adjective which modifies the proper name "Shemaiah." A solution to the problem may be found in a possible parallelism between Shemaiah the Nehelam and Jeremiah of Anathoth (Jer 29:24–28). Anathoth in Hebrew also has the gentilic formation—Jeremiah of Anathoth (Heb *bĕyirmĕyāhû hā·ănnĕtōtî;* Jer 29:27). This might indicate that Nehelam is a place name, perhaps the town of Shemaiah's origin. However, no such place is known or referred to elsewhere in the OT, though this does not exclude the possibility that Nehelam refers to an obscure location. Muilenberg (*IDB* 3: 532–33) notes that LXX B reads *ailameiten* (Elamite), but also suggests that Nehelam may be a family name. Carroll (*Jeremiah* OTL, 564) proposes that Nehelam is a "literary creation" to set Shemaiah the Nehelam opposite Jeremiah of Anathoth. Yaure (1960: 306–309), taking Nehelam as a *Nip·al* form of *ḥlm* "to dream," proposes that Nehelam means "dreamer" (i.e., he is a prophet whose inspiration is derived from dreams). So, Shemaiah is a prototype of Elymas in Acts 13:6–12 However, this proposal has found little support (cf. Carroll, 564; Bright *Jeremiah* AB, 209; *IDB* 3: 533).

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**NEHEMIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *nĕḥemĕyâ* (נְחֶמְיָה)]. 1. A leader of the Jewish community who returned to Palestine with Zerubbabel shortly after 538 B.C.E., the end of the Babylonian exile. Ezra 2:2 lists this Nehemiah (Gk *neemias/neemios*) third in a list of twelve names, immediately after the names of Zerubbabel and Joshua. This order is followed in the parallel passages Neh 7:7 (Gk *neemia*) and 1 Esdr 5:8 (Gk *neemiou/neemias*).

2. Neh 3:16 mentions one "Nehemiah the son of Azbuk, ruler of half the district of Beth-zur." It is unclear whether this Nehemiah or his father ruled this half-province. He worked under the direction of Nehemiah ben-Hacaliah on the project to rebuild the city walls of Jerusalem in the 5th century B.C.E. STEVEN R. SWANSON

3. The son of Hacaliah who is the central figure in the book of Nehemiah and one of the most convincing human personalities in the Bible. The dating of his primary reform activity begins in 445 B.C., the 20th year of Artaxerxes (Neh 1:1; 2:1)—although Josephus refers to Xerxes' 25th year (*Ant* 11.5 §168) and his 28th year (§179; see note in LCL 6: 400). In contrast with Ezra, Nehemiah "was a successful man of action. Through his energy, unselfishness, and cleverness he brought new life to the dying Jewish community in Jerusalem" (Pfeiffer *IDB* 3: 534). This convincingness does not mean that every detail in his transmitted history is unambiguous. Around every great leader cluster legends and midrash. See EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOKS OF.

Already in Neh 1:1–2:9 the colorful presentation of Nehemiah's emergence leaves us with one massive uncertainty. In 1:1 was he just "cupbearer," or table servant to the king? The "cupbearer" attested throughout centuries of Persian history and legend was a favorite and trusted youthful official. Such a position would indeed best account for the instant success of his carefully nurtured attack on the monarch's resistance (1:4; 2:1–4; the king's only reply was "How soon will you come back?"). It would also account for the prompt success of his wall building (6:15) and whatever else he later set his hand to (5:6ff; 13:8, 10, 15, 23).

The "honorable and privileged" dignity of the cupbearer ("wine taster," or at least trusted authority responsible for the king's nutriment reaching him free of poisoning) to Van den Born (*EDB,* 1626–27) "seems to suggest that he was a eunuch." But that was the requirement for the quite different but equally trusted office which we still today call "chamberlain"; though Myers (*Ezra, Nehemiah* AB) from 2:6 concludes that Nehemiah's duties extended to the harem. The real reason for suspecting Nehemiah was a eunuch is of a quite different order. "Eunuch," not cupbearer, is the reading of the usually more reliable Greek texts corresponding to Neh 1:11 (i.e., Esdras-B 11:11 except Alexandrinus and a Sinaiticus corrector). The confusion is quickly seen to be an inner Greek problem; though *oinochoos,* "wine pourer," corresponds to Hebrew *masûqeh* (causative participle of *šāqāh,* "to drink"), it strongly resembles *euno-echos,* "bed-holder." Since "eunuch" was the name of an official probably higher and better known in Greek circles, we may suppose that this term was chosen simply as "trusted high official" without anatomical implications: either as the most primitive rendition of *masûqeh,* or as an early scribal correction of *oinochoos* which won almost complete acceptance. In any case "eunuch" as a physical condition is totally alien to the exuberance and forcefulness shown throughout Nehemiah's career (Yamauchi 1980).

Another dilemma with which the very opening of the book of Nehemiah confronts us is momentous in itself but minor for our portrayal of his personality. The event which prompted his taking action (1:3) was "the wall of Jerusalem broken down and its gates destroyed by fire." Since this is last minute news brought by his brother Hanani, the reference can hardly be to Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of Jerusalem in 2 Chr 36:17 (cf. 2 Kgs 25:10). This wall destroyed only in 446 has been equated to a rebuilding already undertaken by the temple builders (Ezra 4:12, related rather to Ezra himself [rejected by Williamson 1987:75; *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 59] or to rebellions in the area of Judah attested in secular history (Morgenstern 1957). While keeping open the relevance of these efforts, we see no imperative need to suppose that the Jerusalem disaster which grieved Nehemiah was anything but a local mishap without any international or even political involvements.

Like Gelin in his thumbnail sketch, which is still the best (1960: 23, summarized in *JBC* 24: 100 and *NJBC*), we may take up at once the aspect of Nehemiah's character which most calls for attention and debate. Was he really "vain" (2:10, 18; 5:15; 6:11)? But to "explosively emotional" we will add a more challenging question which Gelin's summary ignores. Was not Nehemiah's "vanity" ultimately a form of separatism and xenophobia?—doubtless an understandable form, as exemplified in an overachiever, yet one which may give us an important key to the place he has earned in history.

His characterization of two Jerusalem locals as "outsiders," Sanballat the Horonite and his toady, Tobiah the Ammonite (2:10, 19), is followed by a confidence in God which excludes that they can "have any part or justification or *zikkārôn* ."*Zikkārôn* can mean remembrance, memoir, or monument. Does it hint that Nehemiah is already thinking of the wall as a "monument more enduring than bronze" to his own achievement, or at least to that of the returned exiles? Verse 20 contains a clear implication that the never exiled Jerusalemites might have already wanted, or would eventually desire, to share in the wall building.

Such a desire is admittedly far clearer in Ezra 4:2 Though that verse in its context is related not to the wall but to the Temple building of a century earlier, the continuation is a letter to Artaxerxes protesting *wall* building in Jerusalem (vv 12 and 16; *city* rebuilding in Artaxerxes' answer in v 21). Thus Ezra 4, at least vv 7–22, may well be seen as belonging to the Nehemiah context (6:7 "report to the king"; the alternative transposition of Ezra 4 to Ezra 10, perhaps echoing 9:9, "protection in Judah and Jerusalem," has to suppose that part of Ezra's failure lay in trying to build a wall, *the*wall *later*destroyed [Neh 1:3]).

A radical change within the Sanballat-Tobiah party is recorded: though Nehemiah 4 shows only their taunts and opposition, in Nehemiah 6 they are desirous of dialogue. Neh 6:2 interprets this offer a priori as a plot, and Neh 6:10–13 makes much more explicit a more sinister plot, but one only suspected (though prudently) by Nehemiah. If, however, we make a judicious effort to focus on only the recorded facts, apart from Nehemiah's frankly hostile innuendos, we may find it possible and plausible to maintain that the local low-class inhabitants of Jerusalem were just as Judean and Yahweh-worshiping as those who returned from exile, though mingled among them and in administrative positions were many "Samaritans" (name applicable in general to non-exiled Judah, made subordinate to the province of Samaria). Of these in turn, *some* (though hardly a [Beth-]Horonite from the Samaria-Judah border, or even an Ammonite) might have been in part descendants of the Mesopotamians installed under Sargon in 721 (2 Kgs 17:24; cf. Ezra 4:10). These merit also elsewhere in the Bible the taunt of "foreign captives" (Neh 4:4). The intrenched Jerusalemites, rabble and leaders, despised the wall building project as hopeless at first, then came to fear it as a threat to their "Persian peace," but finally, seeing that it was likely to succeed, sued to have a part in it. But Nehemiah, more than ever after seeing how successful he had been in the face of their opposition, refused to allow all the "people of God in Jerusalem" to unite, and stuck intransigently to his claim that only the upper-class Judeans who had suffered in Babylon were the true Jews.

If this reconstruction of the facts is at least to some extent admissible, it would account for the praise of Nehemiah without Ezra in Sir 49:11 (especially in Cazelles' [1954] view that Ezra's aim was to conciliate the "Samaritans" not only of Judah, and thus bring them to accept "his" Pentateuch). But the more permanent Ezra-glorifying tradition in *m. ʾAbot* 1:1 (Ezra's wall was the Law) fitted a situation in which the "true Judeans" no longer wielded the power, but lived as a resistant minority in the midst of encroaching "non-observers."

To this question of how (pardonably) overbearing or "vain" Nehemiah really was, a further answer is provided by the "Nehemiah-memoir" thesis (von Rad 1964). The (apparent) fact that he wrote his own memoirs at all, and in such a style as to put his achievements in so favorable a light, must indeed be taken to imply a personality forceful and self-assured like Caesar or Churchill; his record, like theirs, is not only justified by the facts it narrates, but also shows considerable literary skill. In comparison with so plausible a "Nehemiah-memoir" thesis, there is hardly likelihood of any "Ezra-memoir" at all.

A further question then becomes relevant: whether the "Nehemiah-memoir" was a religious duty to be walled up in a shrine like our "cornerstone documents," destined to be seen by human eye either never or long past the time for vanity. Though some such religious intention may have been invoked, it seems safe to say that whoever wrote the "Nehemiah-memoir" in first person was guided chiefly by an eye on an immediate readership. On the other hand, the prayerful doxologies of Neh 1:11; 5:19; 6:9, 14; 13:14, 21, while losing nothing of their touching personal sincerity, fit the hypothesis of a secret votive document for the Temple even better than a report to the public.

Amazingly, throughout this belligerent account up through Neh 5:13 the only title under which Nehemiah postures proudly is "cupbearer," or rather his own personal prowess and leaderliness. Also in his admirable but autocratic intervention against usury abuses (5:1–13, where v 10 admits that he himself

is one of the guilty), he invokes no title or authority whatever except common sense and good-natured bullying (doubtless as in Neh 13:25). But with Neh 5:14 we learn for the first time, and quite obliquely from a date *twelve years later* than the events described, that he had been appointed not Judah's governor but "*their* governor (*peḥām*) in the land of Judah." Yet in Neh 7:2 he puts his brother Hanani in charge of Jerusalem, not "as governor" nor "to take place as governor," along with Hananiah (who was already *śar* of the citadel, not *peḥâ*, though similarly rendered "governor" in RSV). Only dubiously as associated with Ezra's speech in Neh 8:9, Nehemiah is called *tiršātā*› (not *peḥâ*), echoed even more dubiously in Neh 10:2—Eng v 1

The repopulating of Jerusalem in Neh 11:1, confidently attributed by Pfeiffer (*IDB* 3: 534) to Nehemiah, is in fact an anonymous popular move, mentioning neither him nor any title. And the Zerubbabel-era genealogies which follow end up mysteriously in 12:26, "These were in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua son of Jozadak and in the days of Nehemiah the *peḥâ* and of Ezra the priest, the scribe." What follows in Neh 12:27–30 is the dedication of the wall, exactly what we would have expected at Neh 7:1—but here with no mention of Nehemiah at all in either the third (as since 8:9) or first person. But suddenly in 12:31, in the first person Nehemiah intervenes to direct the procession upon the wall (then v 47 mentions him only noncommittally and in the third person). And what follows in 13:1–5 was while Nehemiah (in first person) was not in Jerusalem. Upon his return (with the king's permission, but no mention of old or new title other than his customary bumptiousness [13:6]) he angrily throws furniture around and gets Tobiah thrown out of his choice Temple quarters. He further defends Levite perquisites, but as fact finder and public-spirited citizen accusing the officials (*rîb, sĕgānîm,* 13:11; "I appointed" treasurers in 13:13 MT is an emendation unacknowledged in RSV 13:12). Again in 13:17 he accuses the nobles (*rîb, ḥōrîm*), and takes the law into his own hands—with his personal servants) (v 19), and threatening bodily violence (v 21). All these virtuous even if not nonviolent activities of Nehemiah are as much in the religious as in the civil sphere, and despite some verbs of commanding in the first person account, no mention is made of a title or office.

In the whole book it is patent that the personality and leadership of Nehemiah were relatively independent, not indeed of the Persian king's authority and good will, but of whatever official title Nehemiah may have had; indeed this fact enhances his stature as human being and achiever. Without reopening the debate about civil authority titles in Ezra-Nehemiah (North 1972; see also EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOKS OF; McEvenue 1981; Nober 1961), and while noting respectfully that our claim of no civil authority function at all has met with less acceptance for Nehemiah than for Ezra, we may firmly reiterate two basic issues of common sense and universal experience hardly overcome by the exceedingly problematical philology of *peḥâ* and *tiršātā*›*:* (1) Human nature tends inexorably to give people on a higher social level a title safely nobler than what the facts require; and to retain temporary titles long after their actual function. (2) The work Nehemiah is shown doing is that of a building contractor, an amateur but highly endowed contractor; this work itself involved insistence on justice and brotherhood (Nehemiah 5); and his success with these rather religious aspects of his proper task impelled him toward cognate ventures in which either he himself seems to recognize he was overstepping whatever authority he had (e.g., the sabbath in 13:19), or the text is dubious as to whether Ezra or another is acting (mixed marriages 10:1—Eng9:38; 13:1–3). As for Neh 5:14, its chief thrust is his justified boast that he did not "eat like a lord" (*peḥâ*) among his collaborators; and the undeniably arresting phrase "from the time I was appointed their *peḥâ*" loses much of its force in view of the debates aroused by 5:15 inserting Nehemiah into a series of former governors (including Zerubbabel?; note also Ginzberg 1947:4.352 "Zerubbabel *was*Nehemiah"; and also Smitten's (1974) defense and Emerton's (1972: 177–79) rejection of Kellermann's (1967: 154–59) claim that Nehemiah was of Davidic lineage). Ultimately even if Nehemiah had some genuine civil function, it plays a negligibly slight role in evaluating the genial personality and self-sacrificing religious devotedness conspicuous in the actual work which he is shown doing.

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ROBERT NORTH

**NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF** See EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOKS OF.

**NEHUM** (PERSON) [Heb *nĕhûm* (נְהוּם)]. One of the first citizens to return to Judah from the captivity of the Babylonian exile (Neh 7:7). This name may, however, be a scribal error. We expect the name "Rehum," which is found in a parallel list in Ezra 2:2 (cf. 1 Esdr 5:8). Note that this is the only occurrence of the name "Nehum," while "Rehum" occurs quite frequently in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.
NORA A. WILLIAMS

**NEHUSHTA** (PERSON) [Heb *nĕḥuštā*› (נְחֻשְׁתָּא)]. Mother of Jehoiachin, King of Judah (2 Kgs 24:8). Nehushta's name occurs in the regnal formula of her son in 2 Kings, but is missing from the parallel account in 2 Chr 36:9 She is the daughter of Elnathan, and one of three queen mothers from Jerusalem (the others being Jecoliah and Jehoaddan). Nehushta is referred to, but not named, in two lists of captives taken from Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar in 598/597 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 24:12, 15) and in two passages in Jeremiah (13:18; 29:2). In the latter she is given the title *gebira* ("great lady"), which designates her official position at court. See also JEHOIACHIN; QUEEN.
LINDA S. SCHEARING

**NEHUSHTAN** [Heb *nĕḥūštān* (נְחֻשְׁתָּן)]. See SERPENT, BRONZE; HEZEKIAH.

**NEIEL** (PLACE) [Heb *nĕ‹ê›ēl* (נְעִיאֵל)]. A town in the allotment of Asher (Josh 19:27). Most scholars identify Neiel with Khirbet Ya‹nin (M.R. 171255), on the E edge of the Plain of Acco (see *LBHG,* 382).
DAVID SALTER WILLIAMS

**NEKODA** (PERSON) [Heb *nĕqôdā*› (נְקוֹדָא)]. **1.** Eponymous ancestor of a family of Nethinim, or temple servants (Ezra 2:48). The "sons of Nekoda" (LXX *nekōda*) returned from captivity in Babylon to Jerusalem and Judah with Zerubbabel. They are mentioned in the parallel lists in Neh 7:50 and in 1 Esdr 5:31 (Gk *noeba*). Suggestions for the meaning of the name link it with *nāqōd* "speckled, spotted" or Akk *niqūdu* "moorhen" (*HALAT* 2: 680; cf. IPN 225).

**2.** Eponymous ancestor of a family of returned exiles (Ezra 2:60). The "sons of Nekoda" were unable to prove their Israelite descent. Probably their family records had been lost or destroyed in the exile (see Fensham *Ezra Nehemiah* NICOT, 55). They were among a group of families that returned under Zerubbabel from exile in Telmelah, Telharsha, Cherub, Addan, and Immer (Ezra 2:59–63). The name also appears in the parallel lists in Neh 7:62 and in 1 Esdr 5:37 (Gk *nekōdan*).

KENNETH HUGH CUFFEY

**NEMUEL** (PERSON) [Heb *nĕmû᾽ēl* (נְמוּאֵל)]. Var. JEMUEL NEMUELITE. Name of two individuals in the Hebrew Bible. The exact meaning of the "Nemuel" or "Jemuel" is uncertain (Fowler *TPNAH,* 121, 123).

**1.** A head of the tribe of Reuben (Num 26:9), and brother of Dathan and Abiram.

**2.** A Simeonite and ancestor of the Nemuelites (Num 26:12; 1 Chr 4:24). Nemuel is also called Jemuel in Gen 46:10 and Exod 6:15 This name change probably results from scribal confusion over the Heb *nun* and *yod.* Nemuel is the preferred reading.

JOEL C. SLAYTON

**NEOLITHIC** See PREHISTORY.

**NEPHEG** (PERSON) [Heb *nepeg* (נֶפֶג)]. **1.** A Levite included in the genealogy that functions to legitimate Moses and Aaron (Exod 6:14–27). His father was Izhar, descended from Levi's son Kohath, and his brothers were Korah and Zichri (6:21).

**2.** One of thirteen sons of David listed as having been born to David's wives in Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:15; 1 Chr 3:7; 14:6), in addition to his six sons born at Hebron. His mother's name is unknown: four of the thirteen were Bathsheba's sons; the remainder were born to unnamed wives. Besides these thirteen, David had numerous (unnamed) sons born to his concubines, according to 1 Chr 3:9 The occurrence of Nepheg's name after NOGAH in both lists in 1 Chronicles and the latter's absence from the MT in Samuel has led to the suggestion that the name Nogah was a corruption of Nepheg. See also DAVID, SONS OF.

DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

**NEPHILIM** [Heb *nĕpilîm* (נְפִלִים)]. A group of antediluvians who were the product of the union of the sons of God (*hā᾽ĕlōhîm*) with the daughters of humans (*hā᾽ādām*) (Gen 6:1–4). They are described as heroic (*hāggibbōrîm*) and famous (*᾽anšê hāššēm*). In Genesis 6, the Nephilim are connected with the multiplication of humanity on the face of the earth (v 1) and with the evil of humanity which brings about God's judgment in the form of the flood (vv 5–7). Verse 4 includes a reference to later (postdiluvian) Nephilim. The majority of the spies who were sent by Joshua to spy out Canaan reported giants whom they called Nephilim, and who are designated in the account as the sons of Anak (Num 13:33). The reference to Nephilim as ancient dead warriors in Ezek 32:27 requires a textual change from the MT's *nōpĕlîm* (Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* Hermeneia, 168, 176; Hendel 1987a: 22).

Their heroic attributes were noted in translating Nephilim in the versions. Both the LXX and the Vulgate render the expression as *gigantes.* The Syriac has *gnbr᾽.* The Samaritan Pentateuch and Targums also follow this custom (Alexander 1972), using either *gybryh* (Samaritan), *gybrym* (Neofiti), or *gbr᾽* (Onkelos). *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* translates Nephilim with the names of the fallen angels (*šmḥz᾽y w᾽z᾽l*) mentioned in *1 Enoch* as leading the rebellion. Nephilim are referred to as "giants" in the Apocrypha/Pseudepigrapha, usually with reference to their pride and wickedness, and to God's judgment upon them (e.g., Bar 3:26–28). The fullest development appears in *1 Enoch* 6–19, and this is followed by allusions in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Midrashim, and the NT (Dimant 1974; Hanson 1977).

2 Peter 2:4 and Jude 6 are the NT allusions to the Nephilim. Here they are identified as angels who rebelled and have been imprisoned by God. They lead a list of biblical examples of rebels and their punishments current in contemporary Jewish paraenisis (Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter* WBC, 46–47). Although elements of Greek Titan mythology have been identified here and in Gen 6:1–4 (Kraeling 1947, who separates the *gibbōrîm* from the Nephilim), the presence of a common source for the traditions of *1 Enoch* and those of the Greek world is more likely (Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter* WBC, 50–53, 248–49). Speiser (*Genesis* AB, 46) identifies this source as Hurrian. Kilmer (1987) has sought to identify the Nephilim with the *apkallu* of Mesopotamian tradition.

The root *npl,* "to fall," seems to be the basis of Nephilim, i.e., "the fallen ones." This may refer to their fall from heaven, their "fall" into sin, or their fallen status as dead at the time when the events are recorded. The earliest use of the W Semitic *npl* supports the last option. It occurs in a military context, the 14th century B.C.E. letter of Lab'ayu of Shechem to the pharaoh (EA 252, lines 25–27), "Fall under them that they may smite you!" The sons of Anak, who are identified with the later Nephilim in Num 13:33, are also identified with the Rephaim in Deut 2:11 As the Rephaim are understood as ancient warriors slain by Israel and others, so the Nephilim, "the fallen ones," are those who are doomed to die.

Source critics have ascribed Gen 6:1–4 to J, while recognizing it as uncharacteristic (*WPGI*, 329; Gunkel, *Genesis* BKAT, 52; Noth 1948: 29). Recent studies have ascribed the text to a Canaanite origin (Westermann, *Genesis* BKAT, 499–500) or to later editorial activity (Scharbert 1967: 66–78; Schreiner 1981: 65–74). Hendel (1987a; 1987b) argues that the improper mating of deities and humans was the original reason for the Genesis flood. However, later additions to this tradition changed the reason to the matter of a general evil in the imaginations of humanity.

As fathers of the Nephilim, the identity of the sons of God is important in understanding whether the Nephilim of Genesis 6 were semi-divine or completely human. The sons of God (*hā›ĕlōhîm*) have been understood as nonhumans (gods, angels), rulers, or descendants of Seth. The first interpretation is supported by the term's use in Ugaritic myths, in the OT (Ps 29:1; Job 1:6), and in the intertestamental and NT material noted above. It allows for a real contrast with "daughters of men," which would be nonspecific if it were to mean daughters of nonrulers or daughters of the descendants of Cain (Cassuto 1973; van Gemeren 1980–81; Wenham, *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 139–40). Further, the mating of deities with women appears in ANE and Greek mythology (Bartelmus 1979: 36–78). Support of identification with rulers may be found in a similar designation given to the Ugaritic king Keret and to the Davidic king (2 Sam 7:14; Ps 2:7), and in traditional Jewish exegesis (Alexander 1972; Tsukimoto 1979: 19–21). The Sethite interpretation has few modern adherents (Junker 1935; for a reversal of this argument, in which the Sethites are the daughters of man, cf. Eslinger 1979).

For Wenham (*Genesis 1–15* WBC, 141), the key seems to be the limitation of human life span in v 3 The daughters of men willingly cohabited with divine beings in order to produce offspring who would gain much longer life spans and perhaps achieve immortality. By rejecting this attempt, God has established a rigid distinction between the mortal and the immortal (Clines 1979: 33–37; Petersen 1979: 58– 59; Schreiner 1981: 70–72). The mating of the sons of God with the daughters of men became but one example of the "cosmic imbalance" created in Genesis 1–6

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RICHARD S. HESS

**NEPHISIM** (PERSON) [Heb *nĕpîsîm* (נְפִיסִים)]. Var. NEPHUSHESIM. Eponymous ancestor of a family of Nethinim, or temple servants (Ezra 2:50; K *nĕpîsîm*, Q *nĕpûsîm; naphisōn*). The "sons of Nephisim" returned from exile in Babylon to Jerusalem and Judah under Zerubbabel. The name occurs in 1 Esdr 5:31 (Gk *naphisi*). In the parallel list in Neh 7:52 it appears as Nephushesim (Heb K *nĕpûššîm,* Q *nĕpîššîm; nephōsasim*). The form in Nehemiah could result from a superimposition of two variant spellings on each other, one with *ś* (MT understands this as *sû*), the other with *s* (*IDB* 3: 536). It is also possible that an *s* was placed as a superscript over *ś* to distinguish it from *š.* A scribe who was not acquainted with this device then incorporated the superscript letter into the text (Honeyman 1944: 47–48). The group may be descended from the Ishmaelite clan of Naphish (cf. Gen 25:15; cf. *HALAT* 2: 669–70).

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KENNETH H. CUFFEY

**NEPHTHAR** [Gk *nephthar* (νεφθαρ)]. The name that Nehemiah and his associates gave to the precious thick liquid that ignited the sacred fire of the altar sacrifices (2 Macc 1:36). The author relates it to the common word "naphtha," and erroneously implies that it has a Hebrew etymology, perhaps from *pṭr,* "separate, set free," and, by extension [?], "purify" (Goldstein, *2 Maccabees* AB, 181). See also NAPHTHA.
GARY A. HERION

**NEPHTOAH** (PLACE) [Heb *neptôaḥ* (נֶפְתּוֹחַ)]. A location on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin (Josh 15:9; 18:15). It has been identified with present day Lifta (Arabic name), that is, Me Neftoah (modern Hebrew name), about 3 miles NW of Jerusalem (M.R. 168133). The name appears only in the phrase *maʿyan mê neptôaḥ* ("spring of the waters of Nephtoah"). Scholars have often recognized the name of the Egyptian Pharaoh Merneptah in *mê neptôaḥ*. The entire phrase, then, would mean "the well of Merneptah," which could be identified with the wells of Merneptah referred to in Papyrus Anastasi III ("Journal of a Frontier Official," *ANET*, 258), which dates to about the end of the 13th century B.C.E.
WESLEY I. TOEWS

**NEPHUSHESIM** (PERSON) [*npwšsym* (נפוּשׁסים) (Kethib); *nĕpîššîm* (Qere)]. The "father" of a group of temple servants (Neh 7:52). The parallel list in Ezra 2:50 has *npysym* (Kethib), *nĕpûsîm* (Qere), "Nephisim" (RSV). See also NEPHISIM; NAPHISH.

**NER** (PERSON) [Heb *nēr* (נֵר)]. 1. The son of Jeiel, the founder of the postexilic settlement at Gibeon (1 Chr 9:36; Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 81). The name has accidentally fallen out of the parallel text in 1 Chr 8:30 It is possible that it represents a clan rather than an individual in the genealogy.

2. The son of Abiel (1 Sam 14:51), father of Abner, brother of Kish, and uncle of Saul ben Kish, the first king of Israel (1 Sam 14:50). Nothing is known of his life. His name appears regularly as a patronymic in connection with Abner ("Abner ben Ner"), and is known from the Saulide genealogies in 1 Sam 14:47–51 and 1 Chr 8:29–40; 9:35–44 In the latter two genealogies, Ner is listed as Kish's father instead of as his brother. A plausible explanation of the inconsistency of Ner's status is easily found. In addition to redefining Ner's place in the ramage, the genealogies in 1 Chronicles have omitted the names of the Saulide ancestors Abiel, Zeror, Becorath, and Aphiah, which were readily available from 1 Sam 9:1

It appears that the Chronicler intentionally did so in order to be able to graft the Saulide genealogy onto the postexilic genealogy of Gibeon. The occurrence of the name "Ner" among the postexilic settlers at Gibeon easily allowed the Saulide family tree to be added by identifying the postexilic Ner with Saul's uncle Ner. The move required the elimination of the earliest four ancestors of Saul, and Ner's relocation in the line of descent from a parallel ramage to Saul's direct line of descent.

The association of a clan of Ner with Gibeon seems to have had a long history, which is corroborated by the appearance of the name Ner'a on some wine jar handles excavated from the fill of the great pool at Gibeon (Demsky 1971: 22). The handles are generally dated on the basis of paleography to the 7th–6th century B.C. (Avigad 1959; Cross 1962). The resettlement of Ner in Gibeon in the postexilic period can almost certainly be seen to be a return of the group to its ancestral home, which can be dated as far back as the 11th century B.C., if one is willing to associate Saul's uncle Ner with Gibeon as well.

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

**NEREUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Nēreus* (Νηρευς)]. A Roman Christian who received greetings from Paul in Rom 16:15 He probably was a gentile Christian (Lampe *StadtrChr,* 58), because Paul usually mentioned specifically if persons in the list of Romans 16 were Jewish-Christian "kins (wo)men" (Rom 16:7, 11, 21). While the latter term is absent in his other letters, Paul in Romans, after chaps. 9–11 (cf. 9:3), was interested in emphasizing Christians' ties to Israel. It can be assumed therefore that he purposefully applied or omitted the label "kins (wo)man" in Romans 16 (The only exception is Aquila at the beginning of the list, about whom so many other characteristics were reported that his Jewish background was passed over.) A member of a Roman house-church (Lampe *StadtrChr,* 301), Nereus, his sister Philologus, Julia, and Olympas were mentioned individually, while the other participants were mentioned only generally as "all the saints who were with them." The five persons therefore may have played leading roles in the house-church. As the inscriptions of the city of Rome show, the name "Nereus" was commonly held by slaves (Lampe *StadtrChr,* 142, 145, 148, 152–53). Thus Nereus was most likely a slave or freedman; so was his sister.

PETER LAMPE

**NERGAL** (DEITY) [Heb *nērgal* (נֵרְגַל)]. The name of the god whose idol and cult were introduced into Samaria by the people of Cuth, who had been deported there by the Assyrians (2 Kgs 17:30). The name of this deity is also an element in the name Nergalsharezer (Jer 39:3, 13). Nergal—Sum [E]N.ERI.GAL, "Lord of the Great City (i.e., of the Underworld)" or *Nergal*$_x$ (KIS.UNU.GAL)—was the Sumerian netherworld god of Kutha, a city about 20 miles NE of Babylon. Kutha was thought to have been the earthly residence of all the underworld deities (Buccellati 1982: 3). The Akkadians identified Nergal with their own underworld deity Erra, so that by the 1st millennium B.C. the names became virtually interchangeable. Both gods were associated with fire, famine, drought, plague, and sudden death.

In one tradition, Nergal's consort was Ereshkigal, sister of Inanna-Ishtar and mistress of the underworld. The fragmentary text *Nergal and Ereshkigal* (*ANET,* 103–104) offers a glimpse into Nergal's domestic behavior: in a quarrel with Ereshkigal, he grabs her by the hair, throws her to the floor, and threatens to cut off her head. In other traditions Nergal's mate is either ominously named Lāṣ, "No Exit," or identified as the mother-goddess Mamma, who was more specifically the wife of Erra (Roberts 1972: 44).

The West Semites identified the Akkadian Nergal with Resheph, also a god of the underworld. By the 4th century B.C. the Cypriots in turn identified Resheph with Apollo in his more negative aspects (Fulco 1976: 49–54). The description of *rešep* and *qeṭeb* in Deut 32:24 (RSV "burning heat" and "pestilence") and of Apollo in the *Iliad* (1.45–52) match very closely the depiction of Nergal's activities as recounted in the 1st millennium B.C. annals of the various Assyrian and Babylonian kings (e.g., *ANET,* 538).

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WILLIAM J. FULCO

**NERGAL-SHAREZER** (PERSON) [Heb *nērgalśar-ʿeṣer* (נֵרְגַלְשַׂר־אֶצֶר)]. Var.

NERIGLISSAR. Included in the list of Babylonian officials in Jer 39:3, 13, Nergal-sharezer was connected with the fall of Jerusalem and the subsequent release of the prophet Jeremiah. Nergal-sharezer is thought to be Neriglissar, King of Babylon from 560 to 556 B.C.E.

Regretfully, textual problems in Jer 39:3 make the identification of Nergal-sharezer more difficult. Nergal-sharezer is mentioned twice in this verse: the first mention states that he was the prince of Sin-magir, and the second, which matches Jer 39:13, refers to him as an official whose title is Rabmag. Thompson (*Jeremiah* NICOT, 644) argues that the name is a common one and that two different identically named persons are intended in v 3. By contrast, Bright (*Jeremiah* AB, 243) and Rudolph (*Jeremiah* HAT, 245) believe the two occurrences of Nergal-sharezer refer to the same person who is both prince of Sin-magir, a province in Babylon (Bright, 243), and holder of the title Rabmag. The function of this office is not known (cf. Wiseman (1956: 38, 94).

It is widely held that Nergal-sharezer is the brother-in-law of Nebuchadrezzar's son, Amel-marduk (562–560 B.C.E.), whom Nergal-sharezer succeeds as King of Babylon. It is not clear how Nergal-sharezer came to power, although evidence suggests he may have instituted a revolt and murdered his brother-in-law, Amel-marduk (Wiseman 1985: 10–11; Wiseman 1956: 38–39; Josephus *AgAp; BHI,* 352). *The Chronicles of the Chaldaean Kings* (BM 25142, Wiseman 1956:75–77) record an account of an extensive and successful military conquest of Neriglissar in 557/6. This campaign pushed into W Cilicia (SW Asia Minor) against King Appuasu to punish an attack on a Babylonian protectorate in that region (Bright *BHI,* 243).

Nergal-sharezer's name includes that of the Babylonian sun god, Nergal. The name means "Nergal, protect the king."

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JOHN M. BRACKE

**NERI** (PERSON) [Gk *Nēri* (Νηρι)]. The father of Shealtiel and son of Melchi, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:27). D omits Neri, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31 The name Neri occurs nowhere else in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, and falls within a list of seventeen otherwise unknown descendants of David's son Nathan (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 500). In 1 Chr 3:17 and Matt 1:12, the father of Shealtiel is said to be Jeconiah, not Neri, which has led to several proposals to explain the apparent discrepancy (for a survey see Marshall 1978:163–64). Plummer (*Luke* ICC, 104), assuming that Zerubbabel and Shealtiel in Matt 1:12 and Luke 3:27 are the same person, argues that, since Jer 22:30 states that Jeconiah had no children, the line of David could not proceed through him: "The three pedigrees (of Matt 1:12; Luke 3:27; 1 Chr 3:17) indicate that an heir for the childless Jeconiah was found in Shealtiel the son of Neri, who was of the house of David *through Nathan.* Thus the junction of the two lines of descent in Shealtiel and Zerubbabel is fully explained. Shealtiel was the son of Neri of Nathan's line, and also the heir of Jeconiah of Solomon's line; and having no sons himself, he had his nephew Zerubbabel as adopted son and heir." A major problem with this view is that Jer 22:30 on the most plausible reading does not say that Jeconiah was to be childless (cf. 1 Chr 3:17–18, where seven sons are listed), but that, "as far as throne succession was concerned, he was as good as that"

(Bright *Jeremiah* AB, 143; cf. Johnson 1969:183–84). A second proposal (see Johnson 1969: 243–45, where the text is quoted) cites Eusebius *qu. Marin* 3.2 which records that Eusebius knew of some, possibly including Luke, who thought that Jeconiah was passed over in the genealogy because the curse on Jeconiah made messianic descent through his line impossible. Johnson goes on to emphasize the implications of this for his view that the Lukan genealogy reflects belief in Jesus as prophet (note mention of Nathan) (contra Abel 1974:209). As Johnson points out, however, it is difficult to know who exactly—Eusebius or Luke—was meant to have believed this theory. A third position, suggested by Jeremias (1969: 295–96), is that even though nowhere else in the OT except 1 Chr 3:17–19 is it said that Zerubbabel was a descendant of Jehoiakim, the author of 1 Chronicles may have "wrongly considered as the grandson of the last reigning king, the restorer of the Temple upon whom for a long time political hopes were concentrated, and upon whose descendants still in later years the messianic hope was fixed." And fourth, Kuhn (1923: 214; see also Hervey 1853:92–93, 148–49) argues that Neri, as well as several other men in this section, is a corruption, in particular here of Heb *mlkyrm* found in 1 Chr 3:18, on the basis that Gk *nēri* and *melchi* are derived from a single name: Heb *nrymlky* (meaning "my king is my light"), possibly making it into 1 Chronicles through the corrupted intermediate form *mlkynrh* (Kuhn believes he can prove the change from Heb *nry* to *rm*). This proposal has not won widespread acceptance, especially since there is serious question whether the genealogy at this point is based on 1 Chronicles (Marshall 1978: 164; cf. Jeremias 1969:295–96).

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**NERIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *nērîyâ* (נֵרִיָּה)]. The son of Mahseiah and father of Seraiah (Jer 51:59) and Baruch, the scribe or secretary of Jeremiah the prophet (Jer 36:4; see also 32:12, 16; 36:8, 14, 32; 43:3, 6; Bar 1:1). Seraiah, an officer of the king (see Keil n.d., 317), seems to have been entrusted with carrying and then reading an oracle from Jeremiah, when Seraiah accompanied Zedekiah, king of Judah, to Babylon (Jer 51:59; cf. v 61). Baruch, Jeremiah's scribe and biographer, usually remains in the background, except in Jer 45:1 and the following verses, where he reveals his despair, presumably brought about by the writing of Jeremiah's scroll of judgment (Bright *Jeremiah* AB, 185). Avigad (1978: 53–56) believes that two recently discovered seals, possibly from an official archive, refer to biblical Neriah. One seal mentions a "Berechiah son of Neriah [Heb *nryhw*] the scribe," and can be interpreted as referring by way of his full name to biblical Baruch as a royal rather than private scribe, and one with access to the temple and royal precincts (cf. Muilenburg 1970:227–30). The second seal refers to a "Seraiah (ben) Neriah [Heb *nryhw*]," presumably Baruch's brother. On the basis of Baruch and Seraiah both being educated and literate men, possibly each with a public position of importance, it can be speculated that Neriah was a man of not insignificant abilities and probably of some position and means, although he is otherwise unknown to the biblical documents.

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STANLEY E. PORTER

**NERO** (EMPEROR). Nero was the fifth Princeps to rule Rome under the political system created by Augustus after civil war had ended the Roman Republic. He was also the last Princeps who could claim blood descent from Augustus, for the next round of civil wars, in A.D. 68–70, ended the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

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A. Early Life
B. The First Years of Rule
C. Deterioration and Opposition
D. Foreign Policy
E. Provincial Administration
F. The Neronian Persecution
G. The False Neros

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**A. Early Life**

L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, as Nero was called at birth, was the only child of Julia Agrippina, the great-granddaughter of Augustus, and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, whose family belonged to the ancient nobility and whose father had married a niece of Augustus. Born on 15 December A.D. 37, when his uncle Gaius Caesar (Caligula) had been on the throne for less than a year, the young Domitius was soon deprived of his mother, sent into exile by her brother in the autumn of 39, and of his father, who died toward the end of the next year. Within a few months, however, Gaius was murdered, and Claudius, his successor as Princeps, restored the boy's property and recalled his niece Agrippina from the island of Pontia. In 49 Agrippina married her paternal uncle, a type of union previously regarded as incestuous but now authorized by senatorial decree, and, in the next year, Domitius was adopted by his stepfather, acquiring at the age of twelve the name Nero Claudius Caesar Germanicus.

Though the Principate was not an avowed monarchy and there could therefore be no law of succession, Nero had now clearly displaced Claudius' own son Britannicus as the expected political heir. He was not only the older son of the current ruler (adoption had long been common practice in Roman aristocratic families and no distinction was made between adopted and natural sons): he was also a direct descendant of Augustus, a fact that he and his mother never ceased to publicize. Then, in 53, he was married to Octavia, the daughter of Claudius by his former wife Valeria Messallina.

Agrippina saw to it that Nero received a good training in oratory, for the ability to make a good speech was expected of the Princeps, just as it had always been of men in public life. She had prevailed on Claudius to cancel the sentence of banishment he himself had imposed on the distinguished orator, writer, and philosopher Lucius Annaeus Seneca. He now prepared Nero for his oratorical debut in the Senate, where he pleaded for concessions on behalf of various cities of the empire, in Latin or Greek, as appropriate.

When Claudius died on 13 October 54, the way had been prepared for Nero's accession. He was escorted into the camp of the Praetorian Guard by Sextus Afranius Burrus, who owed his position as sole Prefect to Agrippina. The Senate echoed the salutation of the Guard, conferred the necessary powers on Nero, and then declared Claudius a god and Agrippina his priestess. The will of Claudius was suppressed, so that his intentions with regard to Britannicus, like the question of whether his death was natural or contrived, remained a matter for speculation.

**B. The First Years of Rule**

The ancient tradition is unanimous on the excellence of Nero's initial years of rule. Indeed, two 4th-century writers, Aurelius Victor (5.2–4) and the unknown author of the *Épitome de Caesaribus* (5.2–5) ascribe to the later emperor Trajan the view that, for a quinquennium, Nero surpassed all other Princeps. Though little reliance can be placed on the ascription to Trajan and the five years have been variously located in the first, last, or middle portion of the reign, the contrast made by both authors with the rest of

Nero's life suggests that they are alluding to his first years as Princeps, a period hailed as a Golden Age by contemporary poets (Calp. Sic. 1.42; *Carm. Einsidl* 2.22; Sen. *Apocol* 4.1, vv. 8–32).

Two of our most important literary sources, the biographer Suetonius and the Greek historian Cassius Dio (whose work is preserved for this period only by Byzantine excerpters), suggest that the young emperor at first left the business of government to his mother. Dio adds that Seneca and Burrus took over control after a few months, leaving the emperor free to concentrate on the pleasures of youth. The Roman historian Tacitus, however, has a more subtle view. He regards the influence of Agrippina, given visible form on coins of December 54 showing the heads of Agrippina and Nero facing each other, as a matter of appearance only, and the role of Nero's contrasting but concordant advisers as one of guiding the young Princeps in government, not of replacing him. Various indications tell in favor of Tacitus' picture, which is substantially the same as that offered for public consumption in Seneca's essay *De Clementia,* published in late 55 or 56. There Seneca explains that Nero will enjoy great security and affection if he perseveres in his liberal and generous conduct, and he portrays Nero as reluctant to sign the death warrants presented by his Praetorian Prefect.

In *De Clementia.* Seneca criticizes by implication the cruel and irregular exercise of jurisdiction by Nero's predecessor and thereby endorses the reversal of the Claudian style of government announced in Nero's accession address to the Senate, also written by Seneca. The imperial widow will not have liked that any more than she will have relished the dismissal early in 55 of her ally, Claudius' powerful ex-slave M. Antonius Pallas, from his post as chief accountant (*a rationibus*).

Earlier still, there had been criticism of Claudius in the *Apocolocyntosis,* Seneca's satirical account of his deification, which was probably presented to the court at the Saturnalia festival in December of 54. This work is revealing not only about the real balance of power, but about Nero's role in government, for it combines the criticism of his predecessor with two themes also found together in contemporary poetry: praise of Nero's artistic interests and political approval of his adherence to legal forms and his protection of senatorial freedom. The young Princeps must then have prided himself on both counts. Indeed, it is possible to view Nero's interest in poetry, music, and chariot-racing, which had overshadowed his traditional training in oratory from his early years, not as a distraction from government but as part of his conception of it. The philhellene emperor clearly felt that he had a mission to civilize the Roman upper classes and bring them to appreciate and practice the esthetic, intellectual and athletic skills that had always been regarded as respectable by their Greek equivalents. Thus in 59 he celebrated the first shaving of his beard with a festival for which the upper classes were encouraged to take lessons in singing and dancing. A year later he introduced for the first time at Rome public games in the Greek fashion, to be celebrated every five years. Men of high rank participated in contests of oratory, poetry, singing, and playing the lyre. It was only at the second celebration of the games in 65 that the Princeps himself performed.

The political message of the new régime had been made clear in Nero's first speech to the Senate (Tac. *Ann* 13.4; Suet. *Nero* 10). Excesses of court influence were renounced: to the audience that meant that there would be no more commands obtained through powerful secretaries like Narcissus (Suet. *Vesp* 4.1), no more grants of citizenship secured through bribery (Acts 22:28), no more malicious prosecutions engineered by imperial ladies like Messallina (Tac. *Ann* 13.43). In fact, not only was Agrippina prevented in the first months of the reign from joining her son on his dais, not only was Pallas dismissed from his post, but the imperial ex-slaves who served the emperor in various secretarial capacities disappear entirely from the ancient accounts until after 61 when we begin to hear of such notorious minions as Polyclitus, Epaphroditus, Patrobius, and Helius.

Nero had also promised to end the practice of exercising imperial jurisdiction behind closed doors, a practice which had facilitated improper influence. Trials of this kind were usually for treason (*maiestas*), an elastic charge even in the Republic. Claudius is credited with keeping a promise to end *maiestas* charges (Dio 60.3.15). If his promise covered all charges under this statute, he had disregarded it, but, more plausibly, it covered only charges involving disrespect to the emperor which the law had come to cover by interpretation since the late reign of Augustus (Tac. *Ann* 1.72). In that case, he had kept his

promise yet undermined justice by showing extreme credulity toward charges of a more orthodox type and by trying such cases *intra cubiculum*, which made convictions easier to obtain. Nero is not known to have tried any cases in this manner or to have allowed *maiestas* charges in the extended sense to be brought until 62 (Tac. *Ann* 14.48).

The new Princeps had further assured the Senate that he would not monopolize jurisdiction in general—another allusion to Claudius, whose passion for jurisdiction had led him to take cases that would normally have come before other tribunals and to sit among the advisers when ordinary magistrates tried cases. But it would be wrong to conclude (as does Sherwin-White 1963:110–11) that Nero neglected his judicial duties, for his biographer describes his procedure in detail (Suet. *Nero* 15), while Seneca's treatise *De Clementia* is largely concerned with the administration of justice by the Princeps and closely reflects the freedom, especially in the matter of penalties, that characterized the *cognitio* procedure of the imperial and senatorial courts.

Nero closed his accession manifesto with a general formula for a division of responsibilities between himself and the Senate. The narrative of Tacitus, however, who vouches for the emperor's fidelity to his promises, shows that the formula was understood, not in the sense of a clear constitutional division, but as an assurance that the Princeps would show increased respect for the authority of the Senate. Symbolic of the new attitude was the legend *ex senatus consulto* appearing consistently on the silver and gold coinage. Though it is not clear whether this is an authorization mark of some kind or relates to the types and legends on the coins, some advertisement of respect for the Senate is clearly intended.

**C. Deterioration and Opposition**

The tradition of the Quinquennium Neronis reflects a contemporary view that the murder of Agrippina, thought to be organized by her son, marked the turning point of the Neronian Principate (Tac. *Ann* 15.67): Nero's responsibility for the death of Britannicus in 55, though credited by some, was not so widely rumored. For Tacitus, however, the political deterioration of Nero's government, as opposed to his own moral decline, did not begin until 62, when a *maiestas* charge of the dubious kind was admitted, Burrus died, and Seneca withdrew from his active role as adviser. Nero's increased cruelty and exhibitionism coincided with the increased influence of his dissolute friend Ofonius Tigellinus, who took over part command of the Praetorian Guard, and of Nero's paramour Poppaea Sabina, whom he finally married in 62, after divorcing his unloved and barren wife Octavia.

One of Nero's persistent problems, in fact, was the presence of a considerable number of dynastic rivals, as the descendants of Augustus and his successors multiplied. Moreover, the Senate could in theory confer the relevant powers on any appropriate candidate, and Republican nobility still counted for much. That fact was ultimately to be demonstrated in 68 by the successful coup of Servius Sulpicius Galba, but three years earlier there was an abortive conspiracy to replace Nero with C. Calpurnius Piso. It was mounted by senators, *equites*, and officers of the Praetorian Guard, including its other Prefect, Faenius Rufus. Though there is no sign of the involvement of senatorial army commanders that was later to lead to Nero's overthrow, the causes of dissatisfaction were already present. Nero had extended his crimes outside the palace. The disappointment of his hopes for an heir from Poppaea, who was pregnant when he married her but gave birth to a girl who lived only a few months, had led to fear and persecution of aristocrats related to the imperial house, like the Junii Silani. Nero also offended conservatives by planning to perform in public at Rome at the Neronia scheduled for that summer, having already made his debut in 64 at the Greek city of Naples.

The emperor's popularity with the propertied classes had been further undermined by a natural disaster which devastated the city of Rome and placed the economy under strain. In the early hours of 19 June 64, a fire broke out in shops around the Circus Maximus and spread north through the valley between the Palatine and the Esquiline. It lasted for nine days in all and reduced three of the fourteen regions of the city to rubble, leaving only four regions untouched. The emperor was energetic in providing emergency shelter, clearing debris, and helping with reconstruction. But it soon became clear that he intended a reconstruction of Rome involving not only a new code of safety for building construction, but the use of land, previously in private occupation, for a grand palace and spacious parks in the center of Rome. The

precious metal coinage shows the financial strain of Nero's efforts: both the gold and silver were reduced in weight and the silver content of the *denarius* lowered by more than 10% in addition. The ancient authors attest the resentment that Nero's plans aroused. The planned extension of the city, if carried out, would no doubt have relieved the housing shortage caused by his wider streets and by the sprawl of the Golden House which even included a lake where the Colosseum now stands. But Nero never lived to realized his conception, which was probably to provide Rome with a fine center of government open to the public: it must be remembered that emperors, like ordinary Roman magistrates, had always conducted business in their own residences.

The scale and fury of the fire, the fact that its second outbreak occurred on Tigellinus' estates, and perhaps knowledge of Nero's dissatisfaction with the limits of his own first palace the Domus Transitoria, then being built, gave rise to the rumor that Nero had deliberately started the blaze. The Princeps first attempted to quash the story by religious ceremonies to appease the supposed anger of the gods. When this failed, Nero decided to direct popular hostility toward an unpopular minority whose refusal to join in the recent pagan ceremonies may have attracted attention at this point. On the Christians were visited cruel punishments, including one particularly appropriate to the alleged crime: they were crucified and used as living torches to light the Emperor's races in the Vatican Circus (Tac. *Ann* 15.44; Suet. *Nero* 16.2). A corrupt passage of Juvenal (1.155) suggests that Tigellinus had a hand in the punishment, perhaps taking revenge for the damage to his property.

Though Tacitus says that Nero's cruelty aroused pity for the Christians and though the Domus Aurea displaced houses of the poor as well as of the rich, Nero never seems to have lost his popularity with the ordinary people of Rome, who loved his generosity and his games (Tact. *Hist* 1.4.3; Suet. *Nero* 57.1). The threat came from the upper classes, and especially from senators who found themselves in positions of authority in provinces where the propertied elite had become discontent. For after the fire at Rome, confiscations are attested in Gaul, Spain, Africa, Britain, Judea, and Egypt, to say nothing of the art treasures that were brought from Greece to adorn the Domus Aurea.

Nero now decided to fulfill his ambition to compete in the traditional Greek games. In September 66 he left for Greece, despite the detection of another conspiracy at Beneventum, a town that he could be expected to visit on his way to Brundisium. Some of the Greek festivals had to be rescheduled, so that the Emperor could compete and win in all of them during his visit. The highpoint was his liberation of Greece from Roman administration and taxation, announced at a special celebration of the Isthmian Games at Corinth on 28 November 67. The text of Nero's speech in Greek is preserved on an inscription (*ILS* 8794).

While in Greece, Nero deposed and executed three senatorial commanders of the highest rank. But disaffection was rumbling in the West. At last Nero, in response to the warnings of his ex-slave Helius, returned to Italy. Soon after, in March of 68, Julius Vindex, the governor of one of the Gallic provinces, rose in arms. Although he was defeated two months later by the governor of Upper Germany, Verginius Rufus, Nero's failure to respond quickly and decisively had encouraged others to defect. The Praetorian Guard were told that he had already fled abroad and declared for Galba. The Senate followed suit, decreeing Nero a public enemy. Nero took refuge in the villa of his ex-slave Phaon, and there he committed suicide, reputedly lamenting, "What an artist dies with me!" (Suet. *Nero* 48–49).

**D. Foreign Policy**

Nero, like his predecessors, was mainly content to follow the guidelines laid down by Augustus in foreign affairs. Two problems dominated his reign: Britain, of which the southern part had been made a Roman province by Claudius, and the eastern frontier. In Britain Nero's governors set out to end the resistance of the Welsh tribes and of the Druids who were defeated in their stronghold on Anglesey. The most significant fighting, however, came in Norfolk, where the tribe of the Iceni resisted Roman annexation after their king died. They were joined by the Trinovantes who resented the veteran colony, with its expensive cult of Divus Claudius, planted in their midst at Colchester.

In the East, ever since the conquests of Pompey the Great had brought the Roman Empire up against the Parthian dominions, the problem had been to secure stable control of the border kingdom of Armenia,

where the Augustan policy was to have a "client king" selected by Rome. Nero's general Domitius Corbulo finally negotiated a new arrangement, in the latter part of 63, by which a member of the Parthian ruling house would hold Armenia, as the Parthians had repeatedly tried to do, but would publicly recognize Roman suzerainty. The new settlement was to prove stable, but it committed Rome to providing more military support in the area than the Augustan arrangement. Further to the N, Nero annexed the kingdom of Pontus and was planning to take personal command of an expedition against the Sarmatians N of the Dariel Pass in the Caucasus. Tribal movements there had already had repercussions as far as the Danube.

**E. Provincial Administration**

The historian Tacitus found an exception to the excellence of Nero's early years of rule in the laxness with which provincial governors had been brought to justice. Nero's good relations with the Senate led him to cooperate with senatorial reluctance to sentence their peers on the testimony of their subjects. As for the appointment of governors, his record was mixed until his last years, when his fear of giving power to potential rivals led him to install undistinguished, though not necessarily incompetent, men in key military provinces.

His most disastrous appointments were in Judea, where the decision taken by Claudius, after the death of Herod Agrippa I, to return to the Augustan policy of direct rule imposed on Nero the obligation to find *equites* of particular skill and tact to serve as procurators. Antonius Felix, the brother of the influential Pallas, had been appointed as procurator late in Claudius' reign. Despite his tactless marriage to the Jewish princess Drusilla, he was retained by Nero, though it is not clear for how long. It is worth noting, however, that the Eusebian-Jerome date of 56 for the appointment of his successor Porcius Festus accords well with the evidence of Tacitus (*Ann* 13.14; 21–22) that Pallas was dismissed in 55 but that Agrippina, his political ally, regained some influence at the end of 55. For the decision to remove Felix would, on this chronology, have been taken in 55 and his acquittal, when tried in Rome on charges brought by the Jews of Caesarea, would then fall in 56 and could be plausibly attributed to the influence of Pallas, as Josephus notes (*Ant* 20.182).

Of Nero's four procurators, only Porcius Festus escapes censure from Josephus. Felix is represented as cruel and murderous, Lucceius Albinus as venal, and Gessius Florus as exhibiting the vices of the others in heightened form. All found themselves unable to maintain order in the province. Rebellion finally broke out in the summer of 66 when rebel forces took possession of Masada and massacred the Roman garrison there while others took control of the temple in Jerusalem and banned the daily sacrifices for the Emperor. Nero was in Greece when, on 8 November 66, he heard of the defeat of the governor of Syria Cestius Gallus, who had marched to Jerusalem in hopes of restoring order. Nero appointed the future Emperor Vespasian, then in his entourage, to take command of the Jewish War.

The two Neronian procurators whom Paul encountered are portrayed in a more benign light by the author of Acts than by Josephus. Antonius Felix is shown observing the traditions of Roman criminal justice; moreover, the tribune of the auxiliary unit in Jerusalem who arrests Paul, Claudius Lysias, is punctilious himself and clearly expects his superior to behave similarly. Once Paul revealed his possession of Roman citizenship, the tribune released him from his bonds and asked the Sanhedrin to investigate the Jewish charges against him (22:30). He was consistently concerned to protect his Christian prisoner from mob violence, to the extent of dispatching him in the dead of night to the procurator at Caesarea with a large escort for protection, just on the strength of evidence from Paul's nephew that there was a Jewish plot against his uncle. Lysias sent along a letter to Felix stating that he had uncovered only charges concerning the violation of Jewish law, "nothing deserving execution or imprisonment" (24:29), and that he had told Paul's accusers to go and confront him at Caesarea. Felix, having ascertained that Paul came from Tarsus in Cilicia, an area probably subject to the governor of Syria at that period, decided not to bother the senior senatorial legate, who was also his own superior in times of crisis, but to try the case himself when the Jewish accusers arrived (24:35). Though the advocate for the Jerusalem priests cleverly adduced a charge of fomenting agitation among the Jews throughout the world—a menace that Claudius' Letter to the Alexandrians shows was a real worry to the Roman government—Felix stated that

he must wait for the testimony of Claudius Lysias and then kept Paul in comfortable custody, allowing his friends access to him (24:23).

The bad motives attributed to Felix—hope of a bribe from his Christian prisoner and a weak wish to conciliate the Jews (24:26–27)—do not seriously darken the portrait of a man described by the Jewish accuser as a guarantor of peace and a reformer benefiting his Jewish subjects, but also shown as willing to listen to Paul's lecture on morality and the new faith (24:24–25). Even his retention of Paul in custody for two years is understandable: other Roman governors, including the upright Cicero (*ad Att* 6.1.7), are known to have avoided decisions that could earn them criticism, and Felix will have been aware that two of his predecessors had been recalled for trial. Moreover, Paul seems to have welcomed the chance to harangue the procurator and his Jewish wife, for he did not exercise his right of appeal at this stage (Sherwin-White 1963:53).

In Acts, Porcius Festus also insists on the Jews coming to Caesarea, the procurator's seat of administration, to accuse Paul (25:5), finds nothing substantial in their charges which mostly concern Jewish law, but hesitates to offend the Jews and suggests a trial at Jerusalem, where he might have allowed an advisory role to members of the Sanhedrin. Scholars are not agreed as to whether Paul's defense, "Neither against the laws of the Jews, nor against the temple, nor against Caesar, have I offended at all" (25:8), is evidence that treason against Rome, if only in the form of causing a riot, was alleged by the Jews. In any case, once Paul expressed his right as a Roman citizen to appeal to Caesar in order to avoid the proposed trial, Festus, having consulted his *consilium* in the traditional Roman way, decided neither to drop the proceedings altogether nor to pursue the trial to an acquittal (which would not have violated the appeal) but to send Paul to Rome for trial (25:12, 21).

Though there is broad agreement among scholars on the type of jurisdiction exercised by Roman governors of all categories, namely *cognitio*, an accusatory procedure not bound by statute and allowing the governor discretion in countenancing charges and in deciding penalties, there is less certainty about the scope and nature of appeal in this period and about Paul's request in particular. The Greek word attributed to Paul in Acts 25:11, *epikaloumai*, is the standard Greek equivalent of the Latin *appello* (Plut. *Marc* 2.4; Dio 51.19,6), addressed in the Republic to the tribunes of the plebs, but under the Empire to the Princeps when it came to replace the old *provocatio* to the people. Since, however, in the juristic sources, appeal always seems to occur after sentence, an attempt has been made to reinterpret Paul's demand as one for transfer of jurisdiction (Garnsey 1970: 182–85). But the alleged right of *reiectio Romae* is poorly attested (Cotton 1979: 45), and it has been more plausibly argued that appeal could, at least in the early Principate as in the Republic, be laid against a magistrate's authority at various stages in the proceedings, including both before and after sentence (Lintott 1972: 264). See also APPEAL TO CAESAR.

**F. The Neronian Persecution**

Without firm evidence of the date and circumstances of Paul's martyrdom, it is difficult to relate his two-year imprisonment in Rome, attested in Acts 28:30 to the Neronian persecution of 64. Paul is said to have comforted his fellow passengers on the stormy voyage to Rome by recounting a dream in which an angel tells him that he will survive to stand before Caesar (Acts 24:27; Fox 1987: 430). If we are meant to take this as a true divine prediction, Paul must eventually have been tried by the Emperor. Unless a very late chronology for Paul's journeys is adopted, it will not do to explain the delay by Nero's negligence, for during his years of good rule, as we have seen, Nero was conscientious about jurisdiction. It is better to remember that Paul's trial would not deserve high priority, in Roman terms, and that his accusers may have taken some time to pursue their case, if they ever did.

Nothing suggests that the charge against Paul was Christianity, or anything other than offenses against Jewish law and the fomenting of unrest among the Jews. That will not have been new to the Romans, if we can trust the story in Suetonius of Jewish unrest in Rome under Claudius *impulsore Chresto* (*Claudius* 25.4).

Nero's ability to distinguish Jews from Christians, whom he singled out in 64 as scapegoats, should probably be traced, as Edward Gibbon surmised, to his wife Poppaea, rather than to Paul's accusers. For Poppaea is described by Josephus as *theosebēs* (*Ant* 2.195), and she had recently met Josephus, securing

for him the release from custody of some Jewish priests (*Life* 16), and had succeeded in overturning a decision by the procurator of Judea in favor of King Herod Agrippa (*Ant* 20.195). It is ironic that, because of her friendship with the wife of Gessius Florus (*Ant* 20.252), she is held responsible for imposing the last and worst of the Neronian procurators on the people she favored.

For the Christian sources, Nero was the first to persecute the Christians (Melito in Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.26.9; Tert. *Ad Nat.* 1.7.8/9; *Apol.* 5.3/4), and this was the one Neronian practice (*institutum Neronianum*) to survive. The account of Tacitus, however, shows us a very different situation from the later Trajanic one, revealed in Pliny's famous letters (*Ep* 10.96–97), where the charge is Christianity, and apostasy secures pardon. In 64, Nero, by blaming the fire on the Christians as a group, could then treat a confession of Christianity as proof of incendiarism. On his assumption, that while Christians these people had committed the crime for which they were now to be punished, later apostasy from the religion was clearly irrelevant. When Tacitus says that the Christians were convicted "not so much for the crime of arson as for hatred of the human race" (*Ann* 15.44), he is not making a statement about the legal position but about the political reality that enabled Nero to punish for arson, people who were already hated for their exclusiveness. The historian's own attitude illustrates the point, for, in going on to describe the Christians as "guilty and deserving of the worse punishments," he is not endorsing Nero's view of the fire (he had already given his own view of its cause) but popular ideas of Christian conduct.

**G. The False Neros**

The secrecy of Nero's death and burial (Suet. *Nero* 50) lent plausibility to a belief in his survival current in the eastern part of the Empire, where he had enjoyed a certain popularity. In 69 "Achaea and Asia were alarmed by a false report of Nero's return" (Tac. *Hist* 2.8). The imposter, who resembled Nero facially and was skilled in singing and playing the cithara, collected a following of slaves and impoverished adventurers, but his claim to be supported by the legions of Syria and the East was alarming enough for him to be assassinated by order of the Roman governor of Galatia-Pamphylia. Then, in A.D. 80, an Asiatic named Terentius Maximus made the same claim and won the support of the Parthian King. The Parthians went on to support another imposter in 88–89, and Dio Chrysostom, writing about this time or later, says of opinion in the East (*Or.* 21.10), "Even now his subjects wish he were alive, and most men believe that he is." It is notable that even Greek writers like Plutarch, Philostratus, and Pausanias, whose Roman connections and sympathies led them to share the Roman assessment of Nero's crimes and artistic aspirations, soften their judgments because of his one great act, the liberation of Greece (Plut. *Ant.* 87; *Mor.* 505C, 567F; Philostratus *Apoll.* 5.7; Paus. 7.17.3).

The Jews and Christians, deliberately perverting the Greek hope that the philhellene emperor would return, portrayed him as an avenging spirit who would punish their Roman persecutors. In the Jewish Sibylline oracles, written not long after the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem in 70, Nero has fled to the Parthians and will cross the Euphrates to destroy Rome and the whole world (4.119–24, 138–39; 5.137–52, 362). The Christian oracles see Nero as the antichrist whose persecution of the Christians prepares for the destruction of Rome (8.70, 88–90). The Christian Fathers and later Christian writers continued and established this hostile tradition, thus endorsing the view of Nero's original pagan historians.

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**NERVA** (EMPEROR). Marcus Cocceius Nerva was born in Narnia (Italy) on November 8, probably in A.D. 35, and became emperor after Domitian's assassination (September 18, 96). The Cocceii, despite their faint links with the Julio-Claudians (possibly through Nerva's mother), lacked illustrious lineage, yet they could trace their ancestry back as far as a consul of 36 B.C., and were one of the few lineages able to do so at the end of the 1st century A.D.

Not much is known of Nerva's early career. There is no evidence that he was a jurist like his famous grandfather in the days of the emperor Tiberius (Tac. *Ann* 6.26), nor that he ever commanded an army or governed a province. He was a poet and impressed Nero by his ability, for Nero dubbed him the "Tibullus of the age" (Mart. *Spect.* 8.70.7). Nero was also impressed by his assistance in the detection of the Pisonian conspiracy of 65, which resulted in the execution or forced suicide of many eminent Romans: both he and the praetorian prefect Tigellinus "were awarded triumphal honors … and busts of them were placed in the palace in addition to triumphal statues in the Forum" (Tac. *Ann* 15.72). What precisely Nerva did to merit such unparalleled honors is not recorded, nor is there any hint that he was in danger of retribution or retaliation on Nero's death. Quite the contrary, for he managed not only to survive the vicissitudes of the Civil War (A.D. 68–69) but also to emerge as a favorite of the new regime, holding ordinary consulships at critical periods, i.e., in 71 (under Vespasian) and in 90 (under Domitian). Normally these offices were reserved for Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, or some imperial relative, and Nerva is the only non-Flavian to have held two of them in this period. Later writers, possibly in an effort to explain his almost uncanny ability to survive each change of ruler and, at the same time, to acquire even greater honors from the new regime, allege that, during the last years of Domitian's reign, he was banished and that his life was in danger. However, this is regarded as highly unlikely.

More controversial is Nerva's role in Domitian's assassination. His activities at the time of the Pisonian conspiracy, together with his well-rewarded support of Vespasian and Domitian, must surely have rendered him an unlikely confidant of those who planned Domitian's death. Yet Dio Cassius (67.15.5), although not Suetonius, claims that the conspirators warned Nerva of their intentions. Also, support comes from the *Fasti Ostienses*, which show that Nerva speedily replaced Domitian: he was named emperor "on the same day" as the assassination.

Nerva's selection may seem surprising. His "advantages" were negative: he offended no one, he was 60 years old, he had no children and so could not establish a dynasty, he had no connections with the military: essentially, he was safe. But these qualities do not necessarily lead to sound administration.

The quality of his brief sixteen-month reign is debatable. Domitian's memory was officially condemned, his statues melted down or destroyed, his legislation abrogated, and informers prosecuted. A number of measures obviously designed to win support were introduced: the customary donative was paid to the army and the people; the postal service became more the responsibility of the central government, minimizing its burden on local areas and individual cities; the water supply was reorganized; and the *alimenta*, a system of support for poor children, may have been inaugurated at this time rather than in Trajan's reign. So, while Nerva's setting up an economic commission to recommend savings does not prove that a financial or budgetary crisis existed, it need hardly cause surprise if such a crisis did exist.

Even less satisfactory was his relationship with the army. Apart from Nerva's assumption of the title *Germanicus* and references to both a victory in Pannonia and to a war against the Suebi, we have no indication of official military activity during his reign. On the other hand, it is clear that he could control neither the Praetorian guard nor one of the senior military commanders. The result, according to Pliny, was that the "country was in peril and the whole realm tottering to a fall" (*Pan.* 5.5–6). The Praetorian guard, under the command of Casperius Aelianus, demanded the execution of Domitian's murderers: Nerva had to agree to the request and Parthenius and Petronius were killed—an obvious display of the emperor's impotence. Another problem was the attitude of the army commander in Syria. Pliny refers to "someone who was then [i.e., in 97] in the East, at the head of a powerful and celebrated army, about whom serious though unconfirmed rumors were circulating" (*Ep* 9.13.10). The identity of this "someone … in the East" has long puzzled scholars, but it now seems that he was Marcus Cornelius Nigrinus

Curiatius Maternus, commanding the 4 legions of Syria. His precise activities have not been discovered, but it is argued that he was later executed by Trajan, as was Casperius Aelianus.

Nerva's attitude toward Judaism and Christianity was less repressive than his predecessor's. Eusebius notes that the apostle John was recalled from exile and resumed residence at Ephesus (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.20); presumably, Domitilla was treated in a similar fashion. On a coin, Nerva also claimed to have removed certain injustices (perhaps false charges) associated with the collection of the Jewish tax. The precise nature of the reform is not known, but, when taken in conjunction with Dio Cassius's statement that "no one was allowed to accuse other people of treason or Jewish life" (68.1.2), it seems clear that Nerva's regime was more tolerant, or at least less harsh, than Domitian's.

As his position deteriorated during the summer of 97, Nerva resorted to the expedient of adoption. He selected (or was persuaded to select) the governor of Upper Germany, Marcus Ulpius Traianus, who was given the title *Caesar;* subsequently the senate conferred on Trajan all the imperial powers, making him virtually co-ruler with Nerva. The decision, whether forced or not, proved to be a wise one, and when Nerva died on January 25, 98, the transfer of power was accomplished smoothly and peacefully.

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BRIAN W. JONES

**NESSANA** (M.R. 095031). A town in the W part of the central Negeb, 52 km SW of Beer-sheba, known by the Arabic name *Aujah el-Hafir.*

**A. Identification and History**

The ancient name of the site is not mentioned in any of the historical sources, and were it not for the discovery of the ancient papyri on the site, the name "Nessana" would not have been known. Its exact meaning is unknown. Perhaps it comes from the Semitic word niṣan, meaning "bud."

The site is on one of the major ancient caravan routes, leading from Aila on the Red Sea through the W fringes of the Negeb to Rhinocorura and Gaza, and over Elusa to Beer-sheba, Hebron, and Jerusalem. The earliest remains on the site were sherds: Rhodian, Coan, Pamphylian, and Italian stamped jar handles of the Hellenistic period. Among the comparatively numerous numismatic finds were coins of Ptolemy IV (212 B.C.E.), Ptolemy VII (127–126 B.C.E.), and John Hyrcanus I (134–104 B.C.E.). The excavators did not hesitate to relate these finds to the Nabateans, who had already established in the 3d century B.C.E. a caravan stop at this place. Mistakenly they assigned the Nabatean fort to this period.

From the Middle Nabatean period (30 B.C.E.–50/70 C.E.) came much Nabatean and Early Roman pottery and coins of Aretas IV (9 B.C.E.–40 C.E.), Malichus II (40–70 C.E.) or Rabel II (70–106 C.E.). Probably in this period the fort was built on the N part of the acropolis, and much of the grafitti originated (which the publisher assigned to the 3d century C.E.).

The late 2d–early 3d century C.E. is represented only by two coins of Septimius Severus (193–211 C.E.). The number of coins increases greatly at the beginning of the 4th century, with the accession of the House of Constantine. However, the excavators tend to assign the major construction operations on the acropolis to Theodosius II (408–450 C.E.). This date is based on the assumption that a military unit by the name of "the Most Loyal Theodosians," mentioned in one document at Nessana, was recruited by him and that it was stationed in Nessana. However, the document in question, although found at Nessana, did not originate there, but at Rhinocorura, at which two brothers, "natives of the village Nessana," served in the above-mentioned unit. Moreover, Theodosius I (379–383 C.E.) and not II was an active military monarch, and was probably the one to recruit the unit. In any case, the history of Nessana does not differ much from that of Mampsis and Oboda; the construction of the citadel on the acropolis must be assigned to the times of Diocletian and Constantine. This new date also affects the ecclesiastical history of Nessana. According to the excavators, the North Church formed part of the citadel, and they suggest at least one part of it,

identified as a chapel, was built at the same time as the citadel. Should the new date be accepted, the construction of this church must be reassigned to the second half of the 4th century C.E., a date assigned also to the early churches in the other towns of the Negeb.

The Byzantine period was one of great prosperity for Nessana. The acropolis served as a military, ecclesiastical, and possibly an administrative center, and the town extended along the W slope and beyond the wadi on the W. Farms surrounded the town, and the prosperity of Nessana continued until the end of the Byzantine period. The Moslem conquest of Nessana initiated a gradual decline. In addition to the ceramics, evidence for this period comes mainly from the large number of papyri dating to the latter part of the 7th century C.E. Most important for the study of the decline are documents in which the townspeople are requested to pay to the Arab military and civil authorities taxes in wheat, oil, and money. The omission of wine may help explain the fate of Nessana—grape wine must have been the most important product of Nessana, and with the loss of a customer, the Byzantine army, Nessana was doomed.

**B. History of Research**

E. Robinson (1838) visited Aujah, but identified it with Oboda. After visits by E. H. Palmer in 1871 and P. J. Lagrange in 1897, A. Musil in 1896 and 1902 drew the first detailed plan of the site (1907: 88–109). Musil's description is of great importance, because the Turkish authorities built an administrative center at Aujah el-Hafir that destroyed the ancient lower town, which Musil said was surrounded by a wall with gates. No trace of this wall has survived. When E. Huntington visited the site in 1908 the Turks had completed their work. One of their buildings was erected above a church which had been decorated with multicolored mosaics, and was dedicated in 502 C.E. He described two collonaded streets, each 200 m long. A German team headed by T. Wiegand drew a plan of the North Church in the acropolis and found fragments of Greek papyri. The painted Nabatean pottery they identified as "Coptic," and during their visit the newly built Turkish center had already deteriorated badly. P. H. Haensler, a German physician in the service of the Turko-German army, spent two months at Nessana, describing the extant remains and copying Greek inscriptions found during the looting of the North Church.

J. H. Iliffe visited the site in 1934, and from 1935 to 1937 extensive excavations were conducted. These concentrated only on the acropolis, where there was still hope of salvaging some of the ancient remains. The greatest achievements of the expedition were the excavations of the North Church and the discovery of the unique archive of papyri.

**C. Excavations**

**1. The Nabatean Fort.** The fort was on the N end of the acropolis. Since the North Church was built over the fort, few details of the fort are known. It measured 27 × 25 m, and was fortified with round towers and a retaining wall on its S side. From the little-detailed plan, it appears that the rounded towers and retaining wall were meant to support the building after it had been shattered by an earthquake. The rest of the building, which apparently consisted of a central court with a central cistern and with rooms around it, was destroyed almost to its foundations. The stones in the construction of the fort were differently dressed than those of the other buildings at Nessana. According to A. Negev, some stones in the foundations of the court were dressed in typical Nabatean fashion. The excavators dated the fort to the 2d century B.C.E. This date is based on mixed pottery found at the foundations, which included both Hellenistic and Early Roman-Middle Nabatean pottery. It thus seems that it should most probably be dated late 1st century B.C.E. to early 1st century C.E.

**2. The Citadel.** This large structure (85 × 35 m) occupies the central part of the acropolis. It is strengthened by rectangular corner towers, and two towers on its W side, which face the desert. It had gates on the S and E, facing the lower town. In an early phase, the citadel had eighteen rooms along its W wall; an additional nine rooms were built later on the E. In the SW part of the court is a large, rectangular cistern (ca. 5 × 15 m) covered by a roof resting on seven arches. The excavators suggested that the citadel was used as a headquarters, arsenal, and stables for the military camels, but not as barracks. They also suggested that the large court was used in times of emergency to protect the civilian population. The excavators suggested that after 600 C.E., the citadel was excavated by the military, and was annexed to the North Church to house a monastery.

**3. The North Church.** The North Church abuts the N wall of the citadel. Because of the steep slope on the W, the entrance to the building was on the E. A long monumental staircase leads from the town below to a narrow atrium (named "East Court"), which has a cistern under its floor. At a later stage, a portico was added E of the atrium. A door in the SW corner of the atrium opens on a narrow corridor ("Room 10"). To the S are two rooms, which the excavators assumed had been a chapel used by the soldiers before the construction of the larger church. This was, however, a mortuary chapel, in which a priest and a deacon were buried in 464 and 475 C.E., respectively. One of the epitaphs mentions a "holy martyrium" and the other a "holy place," which probably refer to the whole church; according to other inscriptions found in the building, it was dedicated to the saints Sergius, Stephen, and Bacchus. A corridor leads to a small court ("South Court") and to Room 8, where the papyri were found; two other doors lead into the basilica. The basilica (10.70 × 19.0 m) is a rectangular hall with a single apse, attached to the back wall by a short support. Within the apse are remains of the bishop's throne and at its sides near the walls of the apse are traces of two small columns. These columns apparently supported small altar tables for the placement of reliquaries. The church was eventually lengthened by 3.0 m W of the basilica is a baptistry with a semicircular font built into the floor. In addition to the hundreds of papyri found in the church, there were discovered 90 inscriptions, graffiti, and paintings.

**4. The South Church.** This church (20.8 × 14.1 m) was on a low hill S of the acropolis, and is one of the few churches in the Negeb initially built as a triapsidal church. There is a small atrium of porticoes on the S and E, and the basilica is entered by two doors instead of the usual three. S of the basilica are a chapel with an apse at its E end and three small rooms, one of which is entered by a door behind the apse. One of these rooms, S of the atrium, could have served as a prothesis. There were apparently rooms, or one long hall also N of the basilica. An inscription engraved on a capital reads: "Holy Mary, Mother of God, help and pity thy slave—year 496" (601/2 C.E.).

There were also two churches in the lower town, the East Church or Monastery Church, and the South Church. Both were razed by the Turkish authorities. An inscription in the mosaic floor of the East Church was copied by Huntington in 1909: "For the salvation of the benefactors Sergius, ex-assessor and monk, and Pallus his sister, and John the deacon, her son, curialis of the metropolitan city of Emesa. In the year 496, in the 5th indiction, on the 20th of the month Gorpiaeus" (i.e., September 7, 601 C.E.). It is noteworthy that the 7th century C.E. began at Nessana with the construction of two new churches, or at least with the construction of one, and the laying of a mosaic floor in the other.

**5. The Papyri.** The discovery of the hundreds of papyri at Nessana—both literary and nonliterary—is certainly the most important contribution to the study of the history of the whole region in the Byzantine and Early Arab periods. Among the literary papyri are a Latin-Greek glossary of the *Aeneid* of Virgil and fragments of *Aeneid* II–VI; a group of ecclesiastical literature includes fragments of the Gospel of John, Acts of St. George, fragments of the Pauline epistles, letter of Abgar to Christ and Christ's reply, the Twelve Chapters of Faith, and another theological fragment. Among the secular literature are a Greek glossary and legal fragments. The nonliterary archive includes 195 documents and fragments of documents. These include contracts referring to everyday life (marriages, divorces, inheritances, divisions of property, sales, loans, receipts, letters on ecclesiastical affairs, allotments of taxes, and accounts of cavalry units). To the period following the Arab conquest belong bilingual Greek-Arabic documents dealing with the payment of taxes, demands to supply guides for journeys to the Holy Mountain (in Sinai), lists of fields and crops, and protests against the payment of heavy taxes. The latest documents found at Nessana are of the late 7th century C.E.

**D. Summary**

Nessana was founded by the Nabateans at the beginning of the Hellenistic period (Early Nabatean period) as one of three major caravan stops on the routes from N Arabia to the Mediterranean. At the beginning of the Early Roman period (Middle Nabatean period) the Nabateans built a fort on the site. The history of the site in the 2d and 3d centuries C.E. is not at all clear. During the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine, a citadel was built on the site to house units of local militia, apparently soldiers recruited from the local population, who were allotted farms. By the middle of the 4th century at least part of the

population was Christian, and the construction of churches began. The town thrived until after the Islamic conquest, perhaps until the 8th century C.E., when the burden of heavy taxation caused its decline.

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AVRAHAM NEGEV

**NETAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *nětā‹êm* (נְתָעִים)]. A town of Judah where royal potters resided (1 Chr 4:23). See GEDERAH. Most scholars feel that the site of Netaim is unknown, although Albright (1925: 50) suggested an identification with Khirbet en-Nuweiti, south of the Wadi Elah.

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DAVID SALTER WILLIAMS

**NETHANEL** (PERSON) [Heb *nětan›ēl* (נְתַנְאֵל)]. A personal name meaning "God has given."

1. The son of Zuar, mentioned in chaps. 1, 2, 7, and 10 of Numbers along with the chiefs of the tribes of Reuben, Simeon, Judah, Zebulun, Ephraim, Manasseh, Benjamin, Dan, Asher, Gad, and Naphtali. Nethanel is identified as the chief (*nāśî›*) of the tribe of Issachar in Num 1:8, 16; and 2:5b. In the register in Num 1:5–16, Nethanel and the other chiefs are designated as the "summoned ones of the assembly" (*qĕrû›ê hā‹ēdâ* [Q]; "the elect of the congregation") who were to assist Moses and Aaron in registering the adult males of their tribes. In Numbers 2, Moses and Aaron were given instructions in (1) the order in which the tribes were to encamp around the tabernacle and (2) the order in which the tribes were to march. Nethanel and the tribe of Issachar were to encamp with the tribes of Judah and Zebulun on the E side of the tabernacle. When camp was broken and the tribes set out, Issachar was to be second in order, following Judah. (See Num 10:11–28, which reports Israel's breaking camp and setting out from Sinai.) The order in which the tribes and their leaders are mentioned in Numbers 7 (which reports the gifts of the tribal chiefs for the tabernacle and altar) and Numbers 10 is the same as that observed in Numbers 2 A different order, unique in the OT, is seen in Num 1:5–16 (Another difference to be noticed in these texts is that the father of Eliasaph the chief of Gad is identified as Reuel in Numbers 2 and as Deuel in Numbers 1, 7, and 10 in the MT and RSV Eliasaph's father is called Reuel consistently in the LXX [Gk *ragouēl*]. This may well reflect a desire of the LXX translator to achieve consistency rather than bearing witness to another textual tradition.)

2. The fourth son of Jesse, a brother of David, was named Nethanel according to the Chronicler (1 Chr 2:14). That the names of all the children of Jesse are given might be taken as characteristic of the Chronicler's concern with the tribe of Judah and with the family of King David. Braun says that making David the seventh son rather than the eighth may reflect a desire to depict David as a uniquely favored child, but adds that he could point to no other symbolic use of a number in the Chronicler's work (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 34). It should be noted that 1 Sam 16:10–11 and 17:12–14 speak of eight sons of Jesse, and 1 Chr 27:18 mentions a brother of David named Elihu.

3. One of the priests who was to sound a trumpet before the ark as the Levites were bringing it into Jerusalem at David's direction (1 Chr 15:24).

4. A Levite, identified as the father of Shemaiah, the scribe who recorded David's organization of the priests and Levites by ancestral houses (1 Chr 24:6).

5. The fifth son of Obed-edom, listed by the Chronicler as a gatekeeper in 1 Chr 15:16–24 (see also 1 Chr 15:21 and 16:5). This may reflect the changing status of those who claimed Obed-edom as their ancestor.

6. One of the princes sent by Jehoshaphat in the third year of his reign to teach in the cities of Judah (2 Chr 17:7). Myers (*2 Chronicles* AB, 99) proposes that the fact that laymen were mentioned as teachers points to a tradition older than the Chronicler, since the Chronicler considered the Levites to have had the primary responsibility as teachers. He considers 2 Chr 17:8 as a possible addition by the Chronicler. The nature of the "book of the law of Yahweh" which the officials, Levites, and priests took with them is not known. Williamson holds that the Chronicler understood it as primarily religious in character, based on what we now know as the Pentateuch (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 282–83) but agrees with Myers' suggestion (*2 Chronicles* AB, 99–100) that the book referred to in the Chronicler's sources may have been a royal law code. Commentators have also discussed the possibility that the report of the teaching mission in 2 Chr 17:7–9 represents another version of the report of judicial reform in 2 Chr 19:4–11

7. One of the levitical officials who with his brothers Conaniah and Shemaiah offered pascal lambs and cattle for the Levites for the Passover celebrated in the reign of Josiah (2 Chr 35:9). In 1 Esdras 1:9 Nethanel (Gk *Nathanēl*) and the others are identified as commanders of a thousand (Gk *chiliarchoi*) while the LXX of 2 Chr 35:9 calls them chiefs (Gk *archontes*).

8. A priest of the family of Pashhur, he was required to divorce his foreign wife during Ezra's reform (Ezra 10:22). The list of those who divorced their foreign wives and disowned the children born to them may seem "extraordinarily small considering the furor and the census figures in chapter ii" (Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 87). Myers discusses three possible explanations: (1) the problem was not as serious as it would seem on the surface; (2) the list preserved is only a partial list perhaps reflecting only the upper classes; or (3) the reform was not successful (ibid., 87–88). Stating that the first explanation can be easily dismissed, he favors the second explanation (ibid., 87–88). Blenkinsopp, on the other hand, argues that the reform was not successful (*Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 197–201).

9. The head of the priestly house of Jedaiah (Neh 12:21).

10. One of the musicians who participated in the dedication of the rebuilt wall of Jerusalem (Neh 12:36). Blenkinsopp (*Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 342–43) and Myers (*Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 200–204) emend the MT of Neh 12:35a, moving the conjunction from the beginning of v 35a to the beginning of 35b in order to show that Zechariah (who is a descendant of Asaph) and the others who used the "musical instruments of David the man of God" were levitical musicians. Nethanel was in the procession led by Ezra the scribe.

KEITH L. EADES

**NETHANIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *nětanyâ* (נְתַנְיָה); *nětanyāhû* (נְתַנְיָהוּ)]. Five people in the Bible bear this name, which means "Yahweh gives." Names compounded with the theophoric element *yāh/yāhû* plus the verb *ntn* produce such nomenclature as Jonathan (see *TPNAH,* 352; cf. the theophoric element *ʾel* in such names as Elnathan, Nathanael, and Nathanel). Of the twenty occurrences in the OT, five have *-yāhû* as the final element and fifteen have *-yāh;* the name appears once also in the deuterocanonical writings (Gk *Nathanias*). The Akkadian equivalent produced with the verb *nadānu,* "to give," and the name of the deity is also common (see CAD 11/1: 42; *AN,* 357).

1. One of the musicians associated with the school of Asaph, adept in percussion and stringed instruments as well as vocal rendition of the liturgy (1 Chr 25:2, 12). Nethaniah and his three associates were members of the larger confederation of the six sons of Jeduthun, and the nine students of Heman forming altogether the masters of the royal choir school. The term prophesy (v 1) is characteristic of temple music; it has its origin in the early prophetic guilds where emotional extravagances were practiced. In this new musical consortium the music would be prophetic, but with the emotional and ecstatic patterns moderated (see Dalglish 1962:214–20).

2. One of the nine Levites whom Jehoshaphat sent to the citizenry of Judah in his third regal year together with five princes of the realm and two priests to inculcate the basis of Judean religion in the nation (2 Chr 17:8).

3. The father of Jehudi and the son of Shelemiah, the son of Cushi (Jer 36:14). Nothing is properly related of Nethaniah, but it may be inferred that he was present in Jerusalem, if not at the royal palace, when Jehudi read the words of Jeremiah before Jehoiakim, king of Judah, and would therefore be alive in the year 604 B.C. That his son had such immediate entrée to the aristocracy and the royal court appears to confirm what may be drawn from the recital of his genealogy to the fourth generation, that he was ensconced in Judean nobility. That the princes chose Jehudi to be their liaison to Jeremiah suggests that the family was of esteemed fidelity to have one of its members serve as an internuncio between the prophetic and the political in the days when the two parties clashed.

4. The father of Ishmael, a royal military official and the infamous murderer of Gedeliah, the governor of Judea, newly appointed by the high command of the Babylonians. In the twenty-four times that the name Ishmael appears (2 Kgs 25:23, 25; Jeremiah 40 and 41), seven omit the patronymic, while seventeen instances carry the reading "the son of Nethaniah." The text indicates three generations of the family and includes the note that it belonged to the royal family (2 Kgs 25:25). What the relationship was between the tempestuous and irresponsible son and the father is not provided in the narrative.

5. A son of Bani; he was required to put away his foreign wife (and children) during Ezra's reform (1 Esdr 9:34). In the parallel account in Ezra 10:39, he is called Nathan. See NATHAN #6.

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EDWARD R. DALGLISH

**NETHINIM** [Heb *nětînîm* (נְתִינִים)]. A class of "temple servants" (RSV) who appear in the postexilic period. The Hebrew Bible has seventeen references to the Nethinim, all in Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra 2:43, 58, 70; 7:7; 8:17, 20 [2x]; Neh 3:26, 31; 7:46, 60, 73; 10:29—Eng v 28; 11:3, 21 [2x]), with the single exception of a reference in 1 Chr 9:2 In every occurrence, the word has the definite article (*hannětînîm*) and never appears in the singular. Etymologically, the word is a past participle of the root *ntn*, "to give." Thus it means, literally, "those who have been given." This is confirmed by the fact that the single instance in which the LXX does not transliterate the Hebrew word (most often as *hoi Nathinim*), it is rendered "the given ones" (Gk *hoi dedomenoi;* 1 Chr 9:2).

The mention of the Nethinim is in the context of those who returned to Jerusalem from exile in Babylon. The first group (Ezra 2:43–54 = Neh 7:46–56 = Esdr 5:29–32) led by Zerubbabel included 392 temple servants and sons of Solomon's servants (Ezra 2:58 = Neh 7:60; cf. 372 in 1 Esdr 5:35). The second wave (Ezra 8:16–20) initiated by Ezra included 220 more members of this clerical order. In Nehemiah 7 this original list is taken up again as the prologue for an appeal by Nehemiah for settlers to move into Jerusalem proper (Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 164). There are questions which pertain to the dating, provenance, and purpose of these lists, but they do not affect our discussion of this subject.

The Nethinim are one of the five clerical orders associated with the temple in Ezra-Nehemiah: priests, Levites, gatekeepers, singers, temple servants (Neh 10:28). Ziha and Gishpa are said to be in charge of these temple personnel (Neh 11:21, omitted in the LXX). The temple servants are said to live within a specific precinct on the Ophel in Jerusalem (Neh 3:26, 31; 11:21), as well as in other cities (Ezra 2:70 = Neh 7:73).

The fact that a number of the names of the Nethinim are foreign has led to speculation that they had their origins among groups of prisoners of war or conquered peoples. In Josh 9:23, 27 the Gibeonites are given the task of cutting wood and carrying water "for the house of God," ostensibly because they deceived the Israelites into making a covenant with them. But the story may reflect the practice of using subject peoples for menial tasks (cf. Num 31:30, 47). Though Ezra 8:20 ascribes the origin of the Nethinim to "David and his officials," Ezek 44:7–9 condemns the practice of using foreigners in the temple services (*AncIsr,* 89–90).

Whatever the scruples of Ezekiel, by the time of Ezra and Nehemiah the Nethinim appear to be well-recognized and important members of the religious establishment. The initial disinterest of the levitic families in Ezra's mission appears to be overcome by the active recruitment of significant numbers of the Nethinim to participate in the venture (Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 70). There is evidence in the Talmud (*m. Yebam.* 2:4; *m. Qidd.* 4:1) that the Nethinim were viewed as foreigners, and the designation of them by Josephus as *hierodouloi* ("sacred slaves," *Ant* 11.5.1 §128) implies their function as the menial laborers of the temple. Their position in the Ezra-Nehemiah context, however, is more elevated. They are even exempt along with priests and Levites from certain taxes (Ezra 7:24). In 1 Esdr 1:3, the Levites are called *hierodouloi* of Israel, the same term used for the Nethinim by Josephus.

The general impression is that the Nethinim are an accepted and rather well placed group within the religious community and, consequently, in the general community. Though they do not fully belong in the priestly ranks, they are close to the Levites in the hierarchy and are clearly seen to be in a position superior to the "servants of Solomon" and the other groups assigned to more menial tasks.

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## NETOPHAH (PLACE) [Heb *nĕtōpâ* (נְטֹפָה)]. NETOPHATHITES.

A town in the hill country of Judah, located near Bethlehem and Anathoth (1 Chr 2:54; Ezra 2:21–23; Neh 7:26).

According to 1 Chr 2:54, the Netophathites were descendants of Caleb through Salma. The town was the home of two of David's "mighty men," Maharai and Heleb (2 Sam 23:28–29; 1 Chr 11:30) who served as captains for the tenth and twelfth military divisions (1 Chr 27:13, 15). 2 Kgs 25:23 suggests that the family of Seraiah, son of Tanhumeth, who supported governor Gedaliah after the latter was appointed by Nebuchadrezzar, was from Netophah. However, a parallel passage in Jer 40:8 indicates that it was the "sons of Ephai" who came from Netophah.

Ezra 2:22 indicates that 56 Netophathites (cf. 1 Esd 5:18, fifty-five) as well as 123 men from Bethlehem joined those who returned with Zerubbabel from Babylonian captivity. The total of these two groups (179) is at variance with Neh 7:26 which says that the total number of men from these two towns was 188. A number of Levites who returned from the Exile settled in the villages of the Netophathites, even though the territory was not originally assigned to them (1 Chr 9:16). Some of these Levites sang at the dedication of the rebuilt wall of Jerusalem (Neh 12:28).

Byzantine sources appear to preserve two forms of the name—*Natoupha* and *Metopa.* Conder believed Kh. Umm Tuba, near Bethlehem, preserved these ancient names. Kolb and Alt, on the other hand, felt that the two Byzantine names must be distinguished and that only the latter be identified with Kh. Umm Tuba. They proposed to identify biblical Netophah with Kh. Bedd Faluh (M.R. 171119), a site which rests on the spur of a ridge created by the conjunction of two valleys ca. 5.5 km (3.5 mi) SE of Bethlehem.

Mazar suggested that Ramat Rahel (M.R. 170127) would make a better candidate because of its proximity to Jerusalem (Neh 12:28), a suggestion maintained by Avi-Yonah. However, Aharoni's failure to find Iron I remains at the site (from the time of David's mighty men), led him to abandon this identification. Most scholars now seem to prefer Alt's original identification with Kh. Bedd Falul. A nearby spring, ʿAin en-Natuf, may preserve the ancient name.

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**NETS** See ZOOLOGY.

**NETWORK** A word appearing in technical descriptions of two sacral appurtenances. First, it translates Heb *resûet* ("net") and refers to the bronze grating on the altar made for the Tabernacle (Exod 27:4–5; 38:4). See also GRATING. Second and more frequently, however, it translates Heb *śĕbākâ* (also "net") and is used in reference to part of the ornamentation on Jachin and Boaz, the two bronze pillars that flanked the entry to the forecourt of Solomon's Temple. Since the Hebrew word denotes a window lattice (2 Kgs 1:2) and is found in parallel with *rešet* (Job 18:8), its general nature as a kind of grillwork around the capitals of the two pillars seems clear. Perhaps it served as a device for hanging the pomegranate decorations (1 Kgs 7:17, 18, 20; 2 Chr 4:12, 13; 2 Kgs 25:17 = Jer 32:22–23); or like *resûet,* it may have been a grating to cover the "bowls," which were also part of the capitals (2 Kgs 7:40, 41; cf. 2 Kgs 25:17 and Jer 52:22–23). Whatever its exact function, it contributes to the intricacy of the metalwork used to decorate the two pillars and so participates in forming the striking visual appearance of these symbolic features of the Temple. See also CAPITAL.

CAROL MEYERS

**NEW** [Gk *kainos* (καινος), *neos* (νεος)]. In the NT, the idea of "new" is most commonly represented by the use of two adjectives, *kainos* (42 times) and *neos* (23 times), which in the English language versions of the Bible are generally translated "new." Many scholars, particularly on the basis of the 19th-century lexographical studies of R. C. Trench and H. Cremer, distinguished the meaning of the two adjectives, ascribing a qualitative aspect to *kainos* and a temporal aspect to *neos.* There is, however, ample reason to affirm that in their NT usage the two terms are essentially synonymous. The interchangeability of the two adjectives in such passages as Mark 2:21–22 (Matt 9:16–17; Luke 5:36–39) and Heb 8:8, 13; 9:15; 12:24, as well as the parallelism between and probable dependence of Eph 4:22–24 upon Col 3:10, underscore the essential synonymity of the two terms. *Kainos* represents a more literary usage, while *neos* represents more popular terminology which has made its way into Koine Greek literature.

**A. The Profane Use**

If a distinction is to be made apropos of the NT usage of these terms, it a distinction between a merely profane (or narrative) use and a more theological use. A profane sense is to be discerned in the gospels' reference to the new tomb in which Jesus was buried (Matt 27:60; John 19:41). A profane sense is also to be discerned in the use of the comparative of *neos* (*neōteros*) as a pronominal adjective to designate a young person, thus the younger son in the Lukan parable (Luke 15:12, 13), young stretcher bearers (Acts 5:6), the young person cited in a traditional proverb (John 21:18), and the young person as the subject or object of community regulations (1 Tim 5:1, 2; Titus 2:4, 6; 1 Pet 5:5; cf. Luke 22:26). Community regulations on young widows are also found in the NT (1 Tim 5:11, 14). The profane sense of "new" is likewise reflected in the related expression "from youth" (*ek neotētos;* Mark 10:20; Luke 18:21; Acts 26:4).

**B. The Theological Use**

A manifestly theological connotation of the adjective "new" is found in such NT expressions as new commandment (John 13:34; 1 John 2:7, 8; 2 John 5), new covenant (Luke 22:20; 1 Cor 11:25; 2 Cor 3:6; Heb 8:8, 13; 9:15; 12:24), new creation (2 Cor 5:17; Gal 6:15), new earth (2 Pet 3:13; Rev 21:1), new Jerusalem (Rev 2:12; 21:2), new heavens (2 Pet 3:13; Rev 21:1), new hymn (Rev 5:9; 14:3), new name (Rev 2:17; 3:12), new person (*anthrōpos;* Eph 2:15; 4:24; Col 3:10), new teaching (Mark 1:27), and new tongues (Mark 16:17).

**C. Old and New**

"New" is a relational term, implying both comparison and contrast. These aspects of the term are most apparent in the expressions "new covenant," "new commandment," and "new creation," especially in those passages (Heb 8:8, 13; 9:15; 1 John 2:7, 8; 2 Cor 5:17) where the NT authors explicitly dwell on the newness of the subjects at hand.

In the letter to the Hebrews, where only the new covenant is explicitly described as new (*kainos* in Heb 8:8, 13; 9:15; *neos* in Heb 12:24), the author introduces the idea of a "new covenant" by citing Jer 31:31–34, in explanation of his own contrast between a first and a second covenant (Heb 8:7). According to the author the new or second covenant is so much better than the old that, in a commentary on the biblical text, he claims that the new covenant has made the old obsolete (Heb 8:13). Jesus Christ is the mediator of this new covenant (Heb 9:15; 12:24), a covenant established in his blood (12:24). Essential to the author's idea of newness are the dimensions of uniqueness and permanence, and thus finality.

Specific reference to the prophecy of Jeremiah is absent from the other NT references to the new covenant, but the language of both the eucharistic passages (Luke 22:20; 1 Cor 11:25; some manuscripts of Matt 26:28; Mark 14:24) and Paul's reference to ministers of a new covenant (2 Cor 3:6) apparently allude to the biblical text. The eucharistic meal and the ministry are realities in a new and definitive, because divinely and ultimately established, order of things.

In this way, "new" acquires an eschatological connotation. This eschatological dimension is related to a Jewish understanding of time and an apocalyptic world view in which all of history is under the direction of God and oriented to its ultimate realization. Newness is characteristic of God's ultimate and definitive action in history.

The eschatological aspect of "new" also is present in the use of the neuter nominative form of the adjective (*kainon,* equivalent to the adverb, in Matt 26:29; Mark 14:25) when Jesus speaks of eating anew in the kingdom, thereby making reference to the traditional motif of the messianic banquet.

Within the Johannine school, the love commandment is described as a new commandment (John 13:34; 1 John 2:7, 8; 2 John 5). The commandment is new because of its christological focus. The commandment is a final gift of the departing Jesus and has Jesus himself as its foundation. The Johannine epistles recognize the traditional nature of the love commandment, affirming that it is part of the baptismal catechesis ("which you have heard from the beginning," 1 John 2:7; 2 John 5) and is, in this respect, an old commandment. Nonetheless the commandment is new precisely because of its christological aspect ("true in him"). As such it is an ultimate reality, belonging to the true light, which is already shining, in contrast to the darkness, which is passing away.

The eschatological dimension of "new," specified by its christological reference and the aspect of finality, is also clearly present when the apostle Paul writes, in an apocalyptic vein, of the new creation (2 Cor 5:17; cf. Gal 6:15). The new creation is "in Christ." It stands in contrast with the old creation which has passed away.

**D. Eschatological Aspect**

The eschatological aspect of "new" is predominant in the apocalyptic scenarios of the book of Revelation, which speak of the new heavens and the new earth (Rev 21:1; cf. 2 Pet 3:13), the new Jerusalem (Rev 2:12; 21:2), a new hymn (Rev 5:9; 14:3), and a new name (Rev 2:17; 3:12). Elements of comparison and contrast are present in all of these descriptions, but finality is the preeminent aspect. Because of these apocalyptic scenes, R. A. Harrisville (1960: 18–20) cites a dynamic quality as a distinctive aspect of the NT idea of newness.

This eschatological dimension of "new" is also clearly present within the deutero-Pauline writings. Both Ephesians and Colossians speak of the new person (*anthropos;* Eph 2:15; 4:24; Col 3:10). In these writings the christological reference and the element of finality are integral to the meaning of "new," just as they were in the apostle's own work (1 Cor 11:25; 2 Cor 3:6; 5:17; Gal 6:15).

The eschatological aspect of "new," without, however, its Pauline and Johannine specificity, is clearly apparent in the expression "new tongues," found in the canonical conclusion to Mark, where it is part of an eschatological summary (Mark 16:17–18). There the adjective characterizes the spirit-provoked phenomenon of glossolalia.

**E. Contrast**

Elsewhere in Mark the element of contrast comes to the fore in the evangelist's use of "new." Jesus' new teaching stands in contrast to the teaching of the scribes (Mark 1:27; cf. v. 22). Matthew, who wants to highlight the continuity between traditional teaching, the teaching of Jesus, and the teaching of the

Church (Matt 3:2; 4:17; 10:7), has omitted "new" from his parallel commentary on the reaction to Jesus' teaching (Matt 7:28–29).

The element of contrast also characterizes the use of "new" in a series of metaphorical remarks attributed to Jesus, especially apropos new wine and new wineskins (Matt 9:17; Mark 2:22; Luke 5:37–39), and new patches and new clothes (Mark 2:21; Luke 5:36). In their present context these metaphorical expressions symbolize the radical newness of Jesus' eschatological presence (cf. 1 Cor 5:7). See also *TDNT* 3:447–51 and 3:896–901.

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**NEW COMMANDMENT** In the Johannine literature a new commandment (*entolē kainē*) is mentioned four times (John 13:34; 1 John 2:7, 8; 2 John 5). John's new commandment of love is of a somewhat different order from the Synoptics' teaching on love, where the focus is on the significance of the law (Matt 5:43–47; 22:39; Mark 12:31; Luke 6:27–28, 32–35; 10:27–37).

Within the Johannine gospel the new commandment is presented as a gift of the departing Jesus to his disciples. As such, it is one of the great realities of salvation given by Jesus, along with the Spirit, the bread of life, living water, eternal life, peace, glory, the word of God, and the power to become children of God. The specificity of the new commandment of love is to be found in its object ("one another," that is, the members of the community) and its christological reference ("as I have loved you"): Jesus is the model, ground, and means of the disciples' love for one another.

The Johannine love commandment is a new commandment because of this christological reference: a new and definitive era of salvation has been inaugurated with the presence of Jesus. A manifestation of this new era is to be found in the love the disciples have for one another, a love which participates in the Father's love for his Son ("*as* I have loved you," cf. John 3:35; 5:20). For John, the new commandment is constitutive of the Church insofar as the disciples of Jesus are recognizable by their mutual love (John 13:35) and insofar as their mutual love binds them together as a community.

The description of the love commandment as a *new* commandment apparently became problematic when the Johannine community was troubled by gnosticizing elements which reveled in a new Christian experience at the expense of Christian tradition. The tension of the situation led the author(s) of 1–2 John to affirm that the new commandment was, in fact, the old commandment. That is, the love commandment had not only been taught in the baptismal catechesis of the Johannine community, it had also been part of the Gospel proclamation from the very outset.

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**NEW COVENANT** [Heb *bĕrît* (בְּרִית).*ḥădāšâ* (חֲדָשָׁה)]. A phrase appearing in Jer 31:31, and only there in the OT, which denotes the basis on which a future relationship between God and his people will rest following the collapse of the Mosaic covenant and Israel's loss of nationhood in 587 B.C. This new relationship, which God himself will create, is anticipated in other terms by Jeremiah and also by Ezekiel, Second Isaiah, and Malachi. The new covenant forms the centerpiece of a larger eschatological hope which includes a new act of salvation, a new Zion, and a new Davidic king. The belief in a new covenant existed among the Essenes of Qumran, but it was the Christian Church that laid real claim to Jeremiah's promise, establishing the new covenant finally as its charter of faith. In the NT the phrase

"new covenant" appears in Luke 22:20, in Paul's Corinthian correspondence (1 Cor 11:25; 2 Cor 3:6), and in the Letter to the Hebrews (Heb 8:8, 13; 9:15; "fresh covenant" in 12:24). See also COVENANT.

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A. Old Testament
B. Literature of Judaism Including Qumran
C. New Testament
D. Patristic Literature to A.D. 325

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**A. Old Testament**

The new covenant prophecy in Jer 31:31–34 is one of four brief eschatological utterances that conclude an earlier edition of Jeremiah's Book of Comfort (chaps. 30–31). A rhetorical structure calls attention to the eschatological nature of these utterances ("Behold the days are coming" in 31:27, 31, 38; cf. 30:3), and indicates that the promised future will contain both continuity and discontinuity with the past (*ʿôd,* "again" in 31:23, 39; and *lōʾ … ʿôd,* "not … again" in 31:29, 34a, 34b, 40; cf. Lundbom 1975:32–36). Discontinuity gets the accent in the new covenant passages. Whereas the *tôrâ* remains in the new covenant and the obligation to comply with its demands still exists, conditions for compliance are vastly improved because Yahweh promises to write his *tôrâ* on the human heart.

Scholars have considered two major questions when discussing the concept of a "new" covenant: (1) whether this covenant really is "new," and (2) whether the Mosaic covenant over against which the new covenant is compared continues to be viable. Zimmerli (1965: 80) believes that Jeremiah announces the end of the Mosaic covenant. Von Rad (*ROTT,* 212–13) agrees that the old covenant really was broken; nevertheless, the revelation it contained was not nullified in whole or in part; so far as content goes, the new covenant also neither alters nor expands the old. What may certainly be said is that for Jeremiah the gulf between the new covenant and the old is greater than for any who preceded him. The new covenant will be more than a renewed Mosaic covenant, such as those formalized in the plains of Moab (Deut 5:2–3; 28:69 [—Eng 29:1]), at Shechem (Joshua 24), or in Jerusalem at the climax of the Josianic Reform (2 Kings 23). It is a really "new" covenant, one that marks a new beginning in divine-human relationships and one which is grounded in a wholly new act of divine grace, i.e., the forgiveness of sins (Jer 31:34; cf. Ezek 36:25–28).

The forgiveness of sins did not undergird the Mosaic covenant, in fact it played no part at all in that covenant's understanding—either in the earliest formulation or in the formulation appearing in Deuteronomy. The act of divine grace undergirding the Mosaic covenant was the deliverance from Egypt (Exod 20:2; Deut 5:6). In Deuteronomy the nation is promised life if it obeys the covenant; if it does not obey, Yahweh will rain down a multitude of curses, the most serious of which will be the loss of the land. The essential Deuteronomy (i.e., chaps. 1–28) makes no provision for a restored divine-human relationship once the covenant is broken and the curses have fallen (4:29–31 is exilic or postexilic). Disobedience is simply not the problem for Deuteronomy that it is for Jeremiah and Ezekiel (*ROTT,* 270). Deuteronomic theology is best summed up in Joshua's words to the people at Shechem: If you disobey the covenant Yahweh will *not* forgive your sins; instead he will punish you (Josh 24:19–20). A later theology concludes the Holiness Code in Leviticus 26 There, provisions are made for the forgiveness of sins, after which Yahweh says he will begin again with Israel on the basis of his covenant with Abraham (Isaac and Jacob) and his remembrance of the land (Lev 26:40–45).

The new covenant is new because Yahweh's *tôrâ* will be written on the human heart. The Sinai covenant was written on tablets of stone (Exod 24:12; 31:18; *et passim*). In the homiletical rhetoric of Deuteronomy, however, the *tôrâ* was supposed to find its way into the human heart (Deut 6:6; 11:18). But Deuteronomy knows—as does Jeremiah—that the heart is deceitful and layered with evil (Deut 10:16; 11:16; Jer 4:4). Jeremiah is the more negative in assessing the human condition. He says sin is "engraved" on the tablet of the heart (17:1), that the heart is "deceitful above all things" (17:9). In addition he believes the people have not the ability within themselves to make their relationship with God right again (e.g., 2:25; 13:23; cf. *ROTT,* 216–17). In any case, prior "heart talk" in Deuteronomy and Jeremiah is

background for and determines the articulation of the new covenant promise. Jeremiah on another occasion says that Yahweh will give Israel a (new) heart (24:7). Ezekiel expects for Israel a new heart and a new spirit (Ezek 11:19; 36:26); both they were to acquire for themselves (18:31), a demand of course incapable of fulfillment.

According to ancient Hebrew thought, the "will" took up residence within the heart (Johnson 1949: 79). So if the *tôrâ* is written on the human heart, people will have the will to obey it; moreover, they will no longer have to admonish one another to "know Yahweh," for everyone will know him (Jer 31:34). Knowing Yahweh here and elsewhere requires the expanded meaning of "knowing and doing the *tôrâ*" (Hos 4:1–2; Jer 5:4–5). In Deuteronomy the people must continually be told, "Be careful to do (the commands)" (5:1, 32; 6:3, 25; etc.), "Take heed … lest you forget the covenant/Yahweh" (4:23; 6:12; 8:11; etc.). The liturgical injunctions in 6:6–9 and 11:18–20 admonish them to keep Yahweh's words in their hearts as well as in other more conspicuous places. In the end, however, admonitions such as these and more from the prophets were made to no avail. Disobedience exceeded all limits and the Mosaic covenant was undone.

In Jer 32:37–41, which is a parallel passage to 31:31–34 (*ROTT,* 214), the covenant of the future is described as an "everlasting covenant" (*bĕrît ʿôlām*). The term "everlasting covenant" appears also in Jer 50:5 Previously, only the unconditional covenants given to Noah, Abraham, Phinehas, and David (Freedman 1964; *TDOT* 2: 270–72), along with a few lesser ones, were taken to be everlasting. Unconditional covenants were at home in southern theology, i.e., in P traditions (Gen 9:16; 17:7, 13, 19; Exod 31:16; Lev 24:8; Num 18:19; 25:13) and psalms from the Jerusalem temple (Pss 89:20–38—Eng 89:19–37; 111:5, 9; cf. 2 Sam 23:5). At some point before the Exile, the covenants to Abraham and David were expanded so as to cover Jerusalem and the temple (Isa 37:33–35 = 2 Kgs 19:32–34; Pss 105:8–11 = 1 Chr 16:15–18; 132:11–18; cf. Isa 31:4–5; Jer 7:1–15). Ezekiel and Second Isaiah look forward to an everlasting covenant between Yahweh and the nation (Ezek 16:60; Isa 55:3; 61:8) which they describe elsewhere as a covenant of "peace" (Ezek 34:25; 37:26; Isa 54:10) or one in which Yahweh's Spirit will indwell the people (Ezek 36:27–28; Isa 59:21). These varied descriptions of the future covenant were part of the larger messianic hope taking shape at that time. The servant figure of Second Isaiah will personally embody the new covenant (Isa 42:6; 49:8), and through this servant other nations will be brought into covenant relation (Isa 55:1–5; Muilenburg, *IB* 5: 405). One finds a universalism in Second Isaiah not existing in Ezekiel. Malachi's "messenger of the covenant," finally, is cast as a priestly figure (Mal 3:1; cf. 2:1–9).

**B. Literature of Judaism Including Qumran**

In postexilic Judaism the covenant idea contains all the ambiguity characterizing the larger eschatological hope generally. National life has been reconstructed along the old lines, which is to say the Mosaic covenant is again central and the Law (Torah) occupies a position of supremacy. In Nehemiah 9–10 a "faith covenant" (*ʾămānâ* in 10:1—Eng9:38) is made to walk according to Yahweh's *tôrâ* given through Moses. Ezra prays that the people will thereby return to the "faithful heart" of Abraham (9:7–8). At the same time a new covenant is looked for in the future, at which time the Messianic Age will dawn. Bar 2:35 speaks of an everlasting covenant which will secure Israel's tenure in the land. In *Jubilees,* where the Law has eternal validity and the Messianic Age is thought to have already begun, an everlasting covenant is described in which the people on their part will confess sin, and God on his part will create a holy spirit in the people and will cleanse them (*Jub.* 1:22–24).

Among the Essenes at Qumran the new covenant finds fulfillment in a separated community (*yḥd*) which believes it is living in the "last days." This community has important similarities to the early Church. Members of the Qumran community swore an oath to uphold a covenant variously described as a "covenant of God," an "everlasting covenant," a "covenant of repentance," a "covenant of steadfast love" (*ḥsd*), and a "new covenant." The Essene covenant theology is contained in two sectarian documents found among the Dead Sea Scrolls: the *Manual of Discipline.*(1QS), and the *Damascus Document.*(CD) which also goes by the name of the Zadokite Document. The latter was known before the Dead Sea discoveries, two fragmentary medieval codices having been found in the genizah of the Cairo Synagogue

in 1896. These were published in 1910 (*APOT* 2: 785–834; Rabin 1958). The *Damascus Document* contains three references to a "new covenant" which people have entered into "in the land of Damascus," a cryptonym for their place of exile in the Qumran desert (cf. Amos 5:26–27). The "new covenant" references are 6:19; 8:21 = 19:33/34; and 20:12 in Rabin (also Gaster 1976), and 8:15; 9:28, 37 in *APOT* 2. Seven mss of the *Damascus Document* were found in Cave 4, some tiny fragments also in Caves 5 and 6 (Cross 1961: 82; *IDBSup,* 210). Of these only the Cave 6 fragments have been published. See DEAD SEA SCROLLS. Also in the *Pesher on Habakkuk* found at Qumran (1QpHab) there may originally have been a reference to the "new covenant" in 2:3; however, the MS has a lacuna where scholars think "covenant" once stood, leaving the reading uncertain and opinions about it divided.

The Essene Jews who separated themselves from the rest of Judaism and relocated in the Qumran desert did so in order to be reborn as the New Israel. According to Cross (1961: 80) the word "community" (*yḥd*) as used in the *Manual of Discipline* is eschatological, i.e., it means "Israel of the New Covenant." People entering this new covenant were required to return to a serious study of the Mosaic Law; required also of each member was strict obedience to the Law's demands as understood in light of interpretations given by the priestly hierarchy. At the top of this hierarchy was the Teacher of Righteousness, the original leader of the sect, and also the author, perhaps, of the *Manual of Discipline.* The *Damascus Document* is from a later period after the Teacher's death (Cross 1961: 121). The community bore an unmistakable stamp of legalism; nevertheless that legalism was informed by the prophets whose great legacy at Qumran was the conviction that sin lay deep within each human soul and only through repentance and purification was a restored relationship with God possible. The *Damascus Document* in 19:16 (*APOT* 2: 9.15B) called the Qumran covenant a "covenant of repentance" (*bryt hšwbh*). Repentance had to precede purification, which was accomplished in the initiatory baptismal rite (Black 1961: 94).

This new covenant was to be everlasting. Whatever else this signified, it at least meant that anyone entering the covenant was expected to remain within it for life (1QS 3:11–12). The covenant was renewed annually, at which time all members underwent evaluation. This covenant had its obligations, and like the Mosaic covenant, these obligations were fortified with blessings and curses (1QS 2:1–18). The *Manual*reads much like Deuteronomy. The main difference between the two is that in the *Manual*the older corporate sense is gone; the blessings and curses, for example, fall now upon individuals. The *Manual*does not foresee any abrogation of the covenant as a whole nor does it imagine the noncompliance might lead to the whole community being destroyed. The same can also be said of the Church (cf. C below). On the other hand, the individual responsibility presupposed in the *Manual*appears not to result from any inner motivation, at least not the sort Jeremiah envisioned in his new covenant prophecy. God is said to have placed a holy spirit in the people of Qumran (1QS 3:7), but they still need admonitions to obey, as both the *Manual*and the *Damascus Document* make clear.

The new covenant idea undergoes no further development in Judaism. The Midrashim contain merely a few citations of Jer 31:33 for purposes of focusing on the old problem of remembering the Torah. *Midr. Cant.* 8:14 interprets the phrase about God writing the Torah on people's hearts to mean that God recalls for the people what they themselves have forgotten and what has led them into error. More often in the midrashic literature, the Jeremiah verse is given a meaning closer to the one it had originally: that forgetting the Torah can be expected in the Present World, and only in the World to Come, when the Torah is (truly) written on the heart, will people no longer forget it (*Midr. Qoh.* 2:1; *Midr. Cant.* 1:2; *Midr. Pesiq.* 107a; *Midr. Yal.* on Jer 31:33; cf. Str.-B. 3:89–90, 704).

**C. New Testament**

The Christian Church, from earliest times, claimed the promise of Jer 31:31–34 and understood itself to be the people of the new covenant. It also thought of itself as a new people (1 Pet 2:1–10): Israel reborn, but a more inclusive Israel to which gentiles now belong. It comes as somewhat of a surprise then to find so little said in the NT about a new covenant. G. E. Wright (1971: 986) attributes the paucity of references to legalistic connotations which the term "covenant" had in the NT period. He says "covenant" had come to mean almost exclusively obedience to the law; for this reason NT writers were uncomfortable with the term, using it only to point out that in Christ the covenant was not law but faith or life in the Spirit. NT

rhetoric at this point contrasts sharply with Jewish rhetoric and rhetoric found in the Essene sectarian documents from Qumran.

The words "new covenant" are placed on the lips of Jesus only in the longer text of Luke 22:20, where, at the Last Supper Jesus passes the wine and says, "This cup … is the new covenant in my blood." Scholarly opinion is divided about the originality of this reading, though the longer text does have wide support. This Lucan text, in any case, depends most likely upon 1 Cor 11:25, where Paul cites a Last Supper tradition antedating him, perhaps reflecting usage in the Antioch Church (Jeremias 1955:127–31): "This cup is the new covenant in my blood." Mark 14:24 records Jesus' words as, "This is my blood of the covenant," a modification in the direction of Exod 24:8 (*TDNT* 2:133; Richardson 1958: 230; cf. Heb 9:20). Matt 28:26 adds "for the forgiveness of sins," which is new covenant language from Jer 31:34 (Dodd 1953: 45). In some ancient mss both the Mark and Matthew texts have the word "new" added. Some form-critics conclude that neither "new" nor "covenant" was spoken by Jesus (*BTNT* 146; Jeremias 1955:110–15), which is to say the Last Supper liturgy was originally more brief and in each of the synoptic passages has undergone expansion. Even in its most radical reconstruction, the Last Supper liturgy clearly conveys the idea that Jesus' death, or his shedding of blood, seals the new covenant which God now makes with humankind. Sacrificial terminology from Exod 24:3–8, all but absent in the Prophets (but see Zech 9:11), has come to dominate the covenant idea where it takes on fresh new meaning.

Paul refers to himself and the Corinthian laity as "ministers of a new covenant" (2 Cor 3:6) where Jer 31:31–34 appears to be in the back of his mind. This covenant has found expression in the *hearts* of the Corinthians, wherein the "Spirit of the living God" resides (vv 2–3). It therefore contrasts with the "old covenant" of Moses (vv 14–15) which was written on stone (v 3).

Paul might have said more about the new covenant were it not for his concern to establish a more ancient base than Jer 31:31–34 for the new faith in Christ. The important promise for Paul is the one given to Abraham, that through him all the families of the earth would be blessed. Paul grounds the blessings through Christ in the Abrahamic covenant so they may apply equally to Jews and gentiles (Gal 3:14). Paul must short-circuit the Mosaic covenant if he is to realize his goal of evangelizing the gentiles, for the Mosaic covenant was made only with Israel (cf. Rom 9:4; Eph 2:11–13). Moreover, the Mosaic covenant contains the law which is now a burden to everybody—Jew and gentile. In Paul's view the law only brings people under its curses. But Christ, by dying on the cross, becomes himself a curse which redeems those under the law who have faith in him (Gal 3:10–14). The new covenant, therefore, contains only blessings which makes it just like the Abrahamic covenant. The Mosaic covenant serves Paul only for the purpose of making a contrast with the Abrahamic covenant. In his allegory in Gal 4:21–31, Paul sees the Abrahamic covenant (fulfilled through Sarah) leading to freedom, sonship, and the Jerusalem above; the covenant made at Sinai (called Hagar) leads to present Jerusalem, i.e., the Jews and Judaizers, and thus slavery.

As a Christian, Paul has a major problem knowing what to do with the law (Torah). The law is supposed to belong to the new covenant, but the coming of Christ has eclipsed the law. Paul resolves this problem to some extent by adopting a developmental attitude toward the covenants. Among the former covenants the Abrahamic covenant is primary, and it was not annulled by the Mosaic covenant which came later (Gal 3:17). Paul exploits the dual meaning of *diathēkē* as "covenant" and "will" (or "testament") in Gal 3:15–18 in order to make this point. The Mosaic covenant, when originally given, was accompanied with great splendor, though it was a splendor that faded (cf. Exod 34:29–35); now there is no splendor at all associated with the Mosaic covenant because of the surpassing splendor of Christ, whose new covenant is eternal (2 Cor 3:7–11). Paul also betrays a developmental attitude toward the covenants when he views the Mosaic law as a schoolmaster that must discipline a people not yet mature (Gal 3:23–24). With the coming of Christ, however, those having faith are no longer subject to their former schoolmaster (vv 25–26). In Romans, Paul says Christians are discharged from the law (Rom 7:6), that Christ is the end of the law (10:4). Yet Paul does not want to dispense with the law; in fact, he claims to uphold it (3:31). His other statements, however, distance him irrevocably from Judaism, for whom the law is central and

eternally binding. For Paul, Christ is central, and the new covenant written by his life-giving Spirit surpasses all other covenants and is eternal.

Paul's law and grace dichotomy (Rom 6:14) stems from the lack of a typology in his thinking between the new covenant in Christ and the Mosaic covenant. Were such a typology made, Paul would have to concede that the Mosaic covenant/law had its own accompanying act of divine grace, which was the Exodus from Egypt.

Paul's views on sin and reconciliation in Romans lack covenant language *per se,* nevertheless they rest almost certainly on broad-based assumptions about the new covenant which existed in the early Church. According to Paul's gospel both Jew and gentile are under the power of sin, both stand in need of forgiveness, and both are reconciled to God by Jesus' death on the cross. In Ephesians too (whether or not it is Pauline) the blood of Christ is said to bring gentiles near to God, even though formerly they were strangers to the covenants of promise (Eph 2:12–13).

In Rom 2:14–15 Paul seeks parity between Jew and gentile by stating that upright gentiles not possessing the Jewish law show nevertheless "that what the law requires is written on their hearts." Such people also possess a "conscience" (*syneidēsis*). The first remark about a law-equivalent "written on the heart" appears to be a borrowing from Jer 31:33 (cf. Str.-B. 3:89–90); the following remark about a "conscience that bears witness" derives most likely from Stoic or Jewish-Hellenistic philosophy. Paul's precise understanding of how the new covenant manifests itself among the gentiles is by no means transparent in these verses, but one should note that his thinking nevertheless runs parallel to Jeremiah's new covenant passage where the promise of a law written on the heart is followed by the promise of a new inner motivation to know and do the law (Jer 31:34).

In Rom 11:25–32 the new covenant prophecy is given a most extraordinary interpretation, unlike any other in the NT and certainly unlike any made subsequently by the Church Fathers. Elsewhere the referent for the new covenant is the Church, who is the New Israel; here the referent is the Israel that remains hardened to the gospel (Dodd *Romans* MNTC, 182). Paul says that at some future time, when the full number of gentiles have come in and the Parousia of Jesus occurs, *all.* Israel will be saved. Isa 59:20 is quoted in support of the Parousia (v 26); next comes the new covenant prophecy: "And this will be my covenant with them, when I will take away their sins" (v 27). The OT passage or passages here quoted cannot be identified with certainty. The first part of v 27, "And this will be my covenant with them," is thought to be a continuation of the previous quotation of Isa 59:20 into v 21a The second part of the verse, however, "when I take away their sins," has to be from somewhere else. Some suggest this phrase comes from Isa 27:9b, which in the LXX compares nicely, except for the singular "his sin." The plural "their sins" concludes the new covenant passage of Jeremiah (LXX 38:34), where also in v 33 the beginning words are "For this is the covenant." Paul could then be giving a freely rendered abridgment of Jer 31:33–34 (Dodd *Romans* MNTC, 182). An abridgment of this same Jeremiah passage is found in Heb 10:16–17 Regardless of what precise passages make up this florilegium, Paul gives the new covenant promise its most inclusive meaning possible: he believes this covenant really is for everyone.

Paul's lack of a typology between the Mosaic covenant and the new covenant in Christ is compensated for, to some extent, by theology embedded in Matthew and John's gospels. Indirectly, and in different ways, some scholars suggest that both gospel writers draw a parallel between Jesus and Moses. Matthew depicts Jesus as the "new Moses" leading a "new Exodus"; the Sermon on the Mount is Jesus' "new Torah" (Davies 1969: 10–32). Although the new Torah is significantly less burdensome than the old (Matt 11:28–30), no antithesis is intended between the two; the new comes to complete the old (5:17). Matthew does, however, intend an antithesis between the new people of God and the old. Jesus pronounces his "blessings" on the new torah (5:3–11); but on the old he pronounces "woes" (23:13–36). These blessings and woes are structurally balanced in the gospel and most likely constitute an adaptation of the old covenant form found in Deuteronomy (Deut 11:26–32; 28). The language, however, is toned down by Matthew. The words *makarioi* (blessed) and *ouai* (woe) translate the Hebrew *ʾašrê* and *hôy,* both less strong than the covenant words *bārûk* (blessed) and *ʾārûr* (cursed). Jesus does not go so far as to curse the scribes and the Pharisees. Also, with the blessings and woes spoken to different audiences, the

new people of God receive neither woes nor curses, only blessings. This amounts to Matthew saying that there can be no abrogation of the new covenant and no destruction of the Church (Matt 16:18).

John in a different way presents Jesus as a "new Moses" (Glasson 1963). But for this gospel writer Jesus gives no new Torah, unless one identifies such in the new commandment to "love one another" (John 13:34). Jesus himself is the Logos. John therefore makes a law/grace dichotomy similar to Paul's: "For the law was given through Moses, grace and truth came through Jesus Christ" (1:17). The Holy Spirit is John's answer to the new inner motivation required to know and do the Torah. He dwells within the believer (14:17) and in Jesus' absence will bring his teachings (torah) to remembrance (14:26). He will also convince the rest of the world of sin, righteousness, and judgment (16:7–11).

In the letter to the Hebrews the new covenant is given its most prominent place in the NT The new covenant passage from Jeremiah is quoted twice, once in its entirety (8:8–12) and once in abridged form (10:16–17).

For this NT writer, Christ is the great high priest of the heavenly sanctuary (7:26), one who has "obtained a ministry which is as much more excellent than the old as the covenant he mediates is better, since it is enacted on better promises" (8:6). The Mosaic covenant, which is here called the first covenant, was shown to be faulty because people under it turned up faulty (8:7–8a). Reference here is presumably being made to the first covenant's provisions for noncompliance, i.e., the curses. The new covenant prophesied by Jeremiah has better promises: it contains God's unconditional commitment to forgive sins; it is eternal (9:15; 13:20); and Jesus is the covenant's surety (7:22). According to Hebrews, Jeremiah in announcing this new covenant treats the Mosaic covenant as obsolete. That obsolescence is just now being seen as the first covenant is ready to vanish away (8:13).

Jesus is the "mediator of the new covenant" (9:15; "better covenant" in 8:6; "fresh covenant" in 12:24; cf. 1 Tim 2:5–6; Isa 42:6; 49:8). In Judaism the covenant mediator was Moses (cf. Gal 3:19) and after his death the high priest (Richardson 1958: 229). Jesus becomes mediator of the new covenant by virtue of his death on the cross, which the author of Hebrews explains in priestly and sacrificial categories understood within Judaism (9:1–14). Special appropriation is made of the Day of Atonement ritual (Leviticus 16). As the high priest who enters once and once only the Holy Place with his own sacrificial blood, Jesus secures for God's elect their eternal redemption (9:11–12, 24–28; cf. 7:27). This death purifies human consciences (9:14; 10:22; cf. Rom 2:15), something not possible with the earlier sacrifices (9:9).

The Holy Place—or Heavenly Sanctuary (9:24)—is for the elect also the Promised Land of rest and inheritance (4:9–11; 9:15). In raising the subject of inheritance the author of Hebrews uses both meanings of *diathēkē:* "covenant" and "will" (9:15–22; cf. Gal 3:15–18). A will does not take effect until the death of the one who makes it, i.e., the testator. Jesus is therefore the testator of the new covenant. At his death the elect receive their inheritance, which is redemption from transgressions under the first covenant. The blood performs the same function of ratification in the new covenant as it did in the old (9:18–21; cf. Exod 24:6–8). The author echoes a common Rabbinic theme when he says that without the shedding of blood there is no forgiveness of sins, or no atonement with God (9:22; cf. Lev 17:11).

In the abridged quotation from Jeremiah in 10:16–18, the accent is on the concluding words of the new covenant promise which state that God will no longer remember the peoples' sins. Earlier in chap. 10 the author maintained that yearly sacrifices on the Day of Atonement—as well as daily sin offerings—were ineffectual because they had to be repeated. Jewish teachers would find such an argument unconvincing; indeed it is flatly contradicted in *Jub.* 5:17–18. Nevertheless, for this writer Jesus makes the single offering of his body, which for all time perfects the sanctified elect (10:10, 14). Once the forgiveness of sins is granted, there is no longer any sin offering which can be made (10:18, 26).

The "once for all" view of Jesus' sacrifice is matched in Hebrews with a "once for all" view of repentance, enlightenment (baptism), and sanctification of the believer. If one deliberately sins after coming to a knowledge of the truth, that person profanes the blood of the new covenant and has only God's vengeance to look forward to (10:26–31). This exaggerated view of Christian sanctification has the effect of recasting the new covenant in terms of the old, and it also qualifies the "blessings only" promise

made to the Church. Although curses are not explicitly placed on individuals who lapse under the new covenant, they are implied (6:1–8; 10:26–31). The idea that deliberate sin makes a sin offering inefficacious is found in Num 15:30–31 (*t. Yoma* 8:9 applies the same principle to the Day of Atonement ritual; cf. Buchanan *Hebrews* AB, 144). But in a closing benediction the author of Hebrews prays that the Lord Jesus, "by the blood of the eternal covenant," will equip the elect to do God's will (13:20–21).

**D. Patristic Literature to A.D. 325**

The Church of the 2d and 3d centuries carried on its polemic against two major opponents, one external to the Church, the other internal. The external opponent was the Jews from whom an all-gentile Church had now been completely cut off. The Fathers saw the Jews as a rejected people, one which the Church had supplanted in God's economy of salvation. Against the Jews they contrasted the new and old covenants, or the new and old "laws," if topics such as circumcision happened to be at issue (Tert. *Adv. Judaeos* 3). By the end of the 2d century the phrase "New Testament" (="New Covenant") was the name given to the Gospels and other apostolic writings which the Church took to be Scripture (Iren. *haer.* 4.15.2). The Hebrew Scriptures were called the "Old Testament" (Melito of Sardis fr. 4; Iren. *haer.* 4.15.2), a designation found already in 2 Cor 3:14 where Paul alludes to the *reading* of the "Old Covenant" in the synagogue.

The internal threat to the Church was heresy, above all Gnosticism which peaked in the mid-2d century. The most serious aberration of Christian thought to impact covenant understanding came from Marcion (A.D. 100–160), a gnostic in the minds of some, but for others one who merely had affinities with Gnosticism. Marcion wanted to cut off Christianity from Judaism—completely and for all time. Against Marcion, and others such as Valentinus, who was a true gnostic, the Fathers fought to preserve Christianity's Jewish roots, arguing that the God of the NT was not distinct from the God of the OT, that the Holy Spirit in the NT was the same Holy Spirit found in the OT, and that NT Scripture itself was inextricably bound to OT Scripture—indeed it was a fulfillment of it. Gnostics minimized the historical foundations of Christianity; they were more concerned with creation than covenant, which explains perhaps the noticeable absence of discussion about the covenant in Gnostic treatises, including the horde of texts recently found at Nag Hammadi. In a rare quote of the words of Institution for the wine in *Pistis Sophia* (4.141), the wine and/or blood—along with fire and water—are mysteries which have the ability to purify sin (Schmidt 1978: 366–69).

The Fathers explained the rejection of the Jews by citing the "calf incident" in the wilderness at which time the Mosaic covenant was promulgated (*Ep. Barn.* 4: 14; Iren. *haer.* 4.15.2; Tert. *Adv. Judaeos* 3; cf. Exodus 32). Origen (*Cels.* 74–75) typed the Jews on the basis of this incident, i.e., the incident explained how it happened that the Jews rejected Jesus.

The *Epistle of Barnabas* does not mention the new covenant, but rather "the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ," which contrasts with the older law of sacrifice in that it is "without the yoke of necessity" (*Ep. Barn.* 2 [*PG* 2: 729–30]). The Christian has forgiveness from sins through Jesus' blood (chap. 5). For Barnabas there was only one covenant, received by Moses, but immediately lost due to the sin of the calf. In reality, Israel never had a covenant with God. Christians are heirs to this one covenant through Christ in whom it is sealed upon their hearts. Barnabas thus argues that the one covenant cannot belong to both Jews and Christians (*Ep. Barn.* 4; 13–14; cf. *BTNT*, 98, 110–11). Promises of a future covenant cited from the OT are Ezek 11:19; 36:26 (chap. 6) and Isa 42:6–7 (chap. 14).

Justin Martyr in his *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew* recognizes two laws or covenants (*dial.* 10–12, 67, 118, 122–23). The old through Moses has been abrogated and remains only for the Jews, although Justin asks rhetorically if even this is so since the Jews do not believe their own Scriptures (*Dial.* 29). The new law and covenant through Christ in any case replaces the old; it does not require circumcision along with other lesser observances, and it is final, eternal, and universal in scope (*dial.* 11). Jer 31:31–32 and Isa 51:4–5 point to Christ as the new law and covenant, also to Christians who are the true spiritual Israel (*Dial.* 11; cf. 123). Isa 42:6–7 likewise points to Christ, and its promise of a covenant which will be a "light to the nations" finds fulfillment in illumined gentiles, who under the new covenant are the true proselytes (*dial.* 122).

Irenaeus (*haer.* 4.15.1) says that when the Israelites made the calf they decided in favor of slavery. This did not cut them off from God, but it did subject them to a state of servitude for the future (cf. Gal. 4:21–31). Stephen in Acts 7:38a–43a referred to the calf incident and God's decision to give up the Jews to slavery, and is cited (40.15.1). The old covenant, under which the Jews lived until the coming of Christ, is law; the new covenant under which Christians live, promised in Jer 31:31–32 and Ezek 11:19; 36:26 (4.33.14) and not fulfilled by Zerubbabel when temple worship was restored after the Exile (4.34.4), is gospel, or a "covenant of liberty" (4.9.1–2; 16.5; 33.14; 34.3–4). It was fulfilled in Christ. Both old and new covenants were prefigured in Abraham (4.25.1, 3). The older law predicted the new covenant, which in turn became a fulfillment of it (4.34.2). The new covenant also canceled the old covenant (4.16.5). Irenaeus reflects the typological thinking of Hebrews when he says the old covenant was a *type* of heavenly things—things now existing in the Church (4.32.2). The Bishop of Lyons, however, was also capable of process thinking. In his view divine grace multiplies over time and Christian living is a process of maturation. God's new covenant of liberty bestowed more grace than the old covenant of bondage. Then, as the Christian's love toward God increases, God bestows more and greater gifts (4.9.2–3). Life under the new covenant also calls for greater faith, which means a higher quality of living (4.16.5; 28.2). Since the new covenant grants real liberty, the Christian is more significantly tested in doing what God requires (4.16.5).

Tertullian cites the new covenant promise of Jeremiah to show the Jews that circumcision is replaced by a new law unlike any previously given (*Adv. Judaeos* 3). The old law made customary the *lex talionis;* the new urges mercy and converts one to peace (cf. Iren. *haer.* 4.34.4 on the new covenant bringing peace). Gentiles are admitted under this new law. In fact, a curious reversal has taken place: the Jews, who were known by God and made the recipients of his many benefits, forgot him and turned to idolatry, i.e., the calf; the gentiles originally did not know God, nevertheless they forsook their idols and converted to him by accepting the new law in Christ. Jer 31:31–32 is quoted against Marcionism to show that the old covenant was only temporary, since it needed changing. Isa 55:3 promises in addition that the old covenant will be replaced by an eternal covenant which will run its course in Christ (*adv. Marc.* 4.1; cf. Just. *dial.* 12; 118 on the new covenant as an eternal covenant).

Clement of Alexandria, who was a Christian philosopher, saw in Jer 31:33–34 an indication that God had implanted his heavenly teaching, or laws, into human minds and hearts. These laws enable all people to know him and to be the recipients of his grace (*Protr.* 11 [*PG* 8, 233–34]). Clement says the old covenant disciplined people with fear, but in the new covenant fear is turned into love (*paed.* 1.7 [*PG* 8: 321–22]; cf. Just. *dial.* 67 who says the new covenant no longer builds on "fear and trembling"). Clement does recognize that the law given through Moses was an ancient grace, but it was only temporary; eternal grace and truth came through Jesus Christ.

Origen (*c. Cels.* 74–75) says the Jews fashioned the calf because they did not believe the marvels of Egypt, the Sea, and the Wilderness. In keeping with their character of disbelief they refused to accept the coming of Jesus and the "second covenant," which were equally marvelous. Christian preachers, says Origen, like the Apostles are to be "ministers of the new covenant" (2 Cor 3:6), i.e., messengers who ascend high mountains by preaching good news to the poor (*comm. in Jo.* 1.11; cf. Isa 52:6–7; 40:9). Paul was a "minister of the new covenant," distinguished not by voluminous writings but by the preaching he did under the power of the Spirit (*comm. in Jo.* 5.3; cf. Rom 15:19). Origen therefore wonders if he himself will qualify as a "minister of the new covenant" with all the writing he is doing (*comm. in Jo.* 5.4).

Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* 4.20) reiterates themes developed by the earlier Fathers. Jer 31:31–32 shows that Jews are disinherited and that Christians—thanks to the death of Jesus—are now heirs to the kingdom. The "House of Judah" in v 31 refers to those called out from among the gentiles. There are two testaments: the old, which is used by the Jews, and the new, which is used by Christians. The new fulfills the old and is more complete than the old. As a result of being adopted under the new covenant, the gentiles are freed from their chains and brought into the light of wisdom (Isa 42:6–7).

Against Marcion and others, the Fathers argued that although there were two covenants (and two peoples), there was but one God (Iren. *haer.* 4.9, 15, 32–33; Tert. *adv. Marc.* 1.20; 4.1; Or. *comm. in Jo.* 1.14). Clement of Alexandria argued against the Valentinians that the Holy Spirit operating in the Church was the same Holy Spirit which operated in the OT ([*exc. Thdot.* 24 *PG* 9, 671–72]). Irenaeus saw in both Testaments the same righteousness of God when God takes vengeance, although he believed that in the NT, vengeance was more real, more enduring, and more rigid (*haer.* 4.28.1).

The Marcionite heresy required also from the Fathers a defense of the unity of Scripture. Origen did this with eloquence. He said all the sacred writings were in fact one book (*comm. in Jo.* 5.4; *comm. in Mt.* 2.15), "one perfect and harmonized instrument of God" (*comm. in Mt.* 2.1). The OT was the beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ; from another point of view, John the Baptist was a *type* of OT (*comm. in Jo.* 1.14–15). If Origen was the most eloquent in defending the unity of Scripture, Tertullian was the most open in acknowledging Scripture's diversity, but he said that amidst all the diversity there was still no inconsistency with one and the same God (*adv. Marc.* 4.1).

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**NEW EARTH, NEW HEAVEN** The expression "new heaven, new earth" (Gk *ouranos kainos kai gē kainē*) is found in the preface to the vision of the new Jerusalem in Rev 21:1 (cf. 20:11). It is an element of the expectation of cosmic upheaval common to apocalyptic literature. It occurs in a partially plural form in 2 Pet 3:12 as "new heavens and a new earth." Its source is probably to be traced to Isaiah, where "new heavens and a new earth" are integral to the prophetic promise of restoration (65:17; 66:22).

It is uncertain if the new heaven and new earth in Rev 21:1 are renewed versions of earth and heaven, or replacements for them that result from the return to primeval chaos and destruction by fire. Both expectations were common to Jewish tradition (Str-B 3:843–44). The renewal tradition is exemplified by *2 Bar.* 57:2 "… and the belief in the coming judgment was brought about, and the hope of the world which will be renewed was built at that time …" (*OTP;* cf. *2 Bar.* 32:6; 2 Esdr 7:75; *Jub.* 1:29; 1 Cor 7:31; *1 Enoch* 45:3–5). The replacement tradition was adopted by the NT and the early Church and is exemplified by 2 Pet 3:10–13: "… the heavens will be kindled and dissolved, and the elements will melt with fire! But according to his promise we wait for new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness dwells" (RSV; cf. Matt 5:18 = Mark 13:31 = Luke 16:17; 1 John 2:17; *Did.* 10:6; *2 Clem.* 16:3; *1 Enoch* 72:1; 83:3–5; 91:15–16; cf. Ps 102:25–27). The most widely accepted interpretation of Rev 21:1 is that it is illustrative of the replacement tradition.

The major distinction between the former heaven and earth and the new heaven and earth is the absence of the sea (Rev 21:1; cf. *T. Mos.* 10:6; *Sib. Or.* 5:447). The sea may symbolize the primeval ocean out of which the first heaven and earth were made. The sea was the source of the beast (13:1) and the great harlot is seated upon many waters (17:1), and thus may symbolize incomplete sovereignty over the powers of chaos and sin. The absence of the sea in the new heaven and new earth indicates that the long

awaited purging of sin from creation has been accomplished (Rom 8:18–22; Rev 21:27; 22:14–15). This is echoed in 2 Pet 3:13, where righteousness dwells in the new heavens and new earth.

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**NEW GATE** (PLACE) [Heb *ša῾ar-yhwh* (שַׁעַר־יהוה).*heḥādāš* (הֶחָדָשׁ)]. A gate of the Temple's inner or upper court that probably was located to the S of the inner court and led to the royal residences (possibly identified as the Upper Gate and/or the Gate of the Guards). It was at the New Gate that a royal judiciary came to listen to the people's complaints against Jeremiah's prophecy concerning the ruin of Jerusalem and the Temple (Jer 26:10). It was also from the New Gate that Baruch (Jeremiah's scribe) read the prophecies of Jeremiah (36:10), whose words were subsequently read before King Jehoiakim (36:20–26). In close proximity to the New Gate was the chamber of Gemariah, the son of Shaphan the scribe, whose family distinguished themselves in their reverence for the Torah and in their support of Jeremiah (2 Kgs 22:3–20; 2 Chr 34:8–20; Jer 26:24; 29:3; 36:10, 25).

For a time (at least until the reign of Jehoiakim, 597 B.C.E.), the New Gate was so called as it was probably the Upper Gate rebuilt by Jotham (758–743 B.C.E., 2 Kgs 15:35; 2 Chr 27:3), possibly in response to his father's unauthorized intrusion into the Temple (2 Chr 26:16–21; 27:2).

DALE C. LIID

**NEW JERUSALEM** [Gk *Ierousalēm kainē* (Ἰερουσαλημ καινη)]. This expression is found in the Bible only in Rev 3:12 and 21:2 The vision of the New Jerusalem begins in 21:2 with the announcement that it is coming down from heaven to unite the new heaven and the new earth. The New Jerusalem refers to the capital of the new creation in which the presence of God is with humankind (21:3). As indicated by 3:12, where the faithful of the church of Philadelphia are promised that the name of the New Jerusalem will be written upon them, the citizens of the New Jerusalem are those who have not denied Christ, and have remained faithful to his word (cf. 21:7).

The concept of the New Jerusalem derives from the OT exilic and postexilic prophetic expectation of the restoration of Jerusalem, the return of God to his Temple, and his acknowledgment by all the nations. The restoration of Jerusalem is the focus of the promises and the salvation of God (Isa 2:1–5; 49:14–18; 52; 54; 60–62; 65:17–25; Jer 31:38–40; Mic 4:1–4; Zechariah 14). The actual restoration in the Persian Period was disillusioning, and in later Jewish literature the expectation of Jerusalem restored was replaced by Jerusalem supernaturally transformed by God (Tob 13:8–18; *T. Dan.* 5:12–13; *Sib. Or.* 5.420–27; *1 Enoch* 90:28–29) or a Jerusalem from heaven which would replace the earthly Jerusalem altogether (2 Esdr 7:26; 10:25–28; 13:36; *2 Bar.* 4; 32:1–4). The idea of a Jerusalem in heaven was appropriated by the NT (Gal 4:26–27; Heb 11:10; 12:22; 13:14; cf. Phil 3:20).

The OT image of the people of God as his bride is often associated with the renewal of Zion, the renewed Jerusalem (Isa 49:10; 54:1–8; 61:10; 62:4–5). The NT contains the image of the Church as the bride of Christ (Eph 5:25–33). In 2 Esdr 10:25–28, Zion, represented as a woman, is transformed into a heavenly city. In light of these images, the imagery of the bride and New Jerusalem present here in Rev 21:2, 9 (cf. 19:7–8) indicates that the New Jerusalem, while distinct from its citizens, partly symbolizes the redeemed.

The New Jerusalem is described in detail in Rev 21:1–22:5 The description contains many details which are similar to descriptions of the restored or transformed Jerusalem of the OT and the Jerusalem from heaven of later Jewish literature (Isa 54:11–12; Tob 13:16–18), as well as descriptions of the heavenly city of the gods found in Babylonian sources. The city is portrayed as the Temple of God (cf. 21:3, 22) and the new Paradise of the re-creation anticipated in apocalyptic literature (cf. 22:1–5; *2 Bar.* 4; *4 Ezra* 8:52; *T. Dan.* 5:12–13; cf. Ezek 47:1–12).

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**NEW MOON** See CALENDARS.

**NEW TESTAMENT SEMITICISMS** See SEMITICISMS IN THE NT.

**NEW TESTAMENT, OT QUOTATIONS IN THE** The OT quotations in the NT express the historical fact that early Christianity has significant roots in the religion of Judaism, as well as the theological fact that paramount theological statements and arguments of NT writers are made in continuity with the OT, which they call Scripture (*graphē*). In terms of the latter, these quotations are indeed symptomatic of the fundamental fact that the outlook, content, and language of most NT writers are essentially determined by the OT It is necessary to point out, however, that there is no evidence for an uninterrupted continuity from the OT to the specific theological statements of the NT writers. The gospel of the cross and resurrection of Jesus Christ is more than just the eschatological result of the OT

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A. Fundamental Concerns
B. Quotative Formulas
C. Quotations of Scripture and Midrash
D. Textual Criticism
E. Scripture Quotations in NT Writings
1. Paul
2. Deutero-Pauline Letters
3. Synoptics
4. Acts
5. The Gospel of John
6. Hebrews, James, 1 Peter

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**A. Fundamental Concerns**

The reader of the NT writings is apt to gain the impression of a fundamental continuity, especially because of the frequent appeal of some NT writers to OT sayings which are often introduced by stereotypical *formulae quotationis* (see below). Hence the question arises, whether these quotative formulas are intended to substantiate the NT proclamation by virtue of their OT testimony. To the extent that it represents the Scriptures of early Christianity, the OT is uncontestably authoritative and, in this sense, is cited as holy Scripture. Yet for some of the NT writers, its authority structure in relation to the NT kerygma and to the proclamation of Jesus is only marginally the object of theological reflection. In keeping with ancient Jewish interpretation of Scripture, the interrelationship of the two or three authoritative dimensions (especially the scheme of "promise and fulfillment" and the methods of typology and allegory) reaches a certain balance. In the NT this interrelationship is once again hermeneutically presupposed, rather than delineated.

The crucial theological question is, from what perspective or with what preunderstanding did the NT writers read the OT as Scripture? For almost all NT writers concerned, this preunderstanding may be circumscribed—though individually quite diverse, as follows: the announcement of the eschatological redemptive event which God has accomplished in Jesus Christ, is the content of the OT writings. In this sense they understand the OT as the manifold promise of Christ. This is true a fortiori when they work with the "promise-fulfillment" schema which had already been constitutive for the deuteronomistic historiography and, principally, also when they use the allegorical or typological method. In this regard

the manner of Scripture usage is comparable to the interpretation of Scripture practiced at Qumran, though not in terms of content, but in form (cf. e.g. Isa 40:3 in Mark 1:3 and 1QS 8:13ff). Of course, this kind of interpretation of Scripture diminishes the literal sense, if it does not indeed lose its meaning altogether.

A distinction is therefore to be made between the *Vetus Testamentum per se* and the *Vetus Testamentum in Novo receptum.* Over against the Vetus Testamentum per se, the latter constitutes a new theological entity. It is the task of NT theology to extricate this entity in the individual mosaic pieces and to assemble them so as to show the theological features (Hübner 1990: 37–76). It can be argued that especially the OT quotations in the NT are of considerable importance in such a picture. The text basis of the Vetus Testamentum in Novo receptum, however, is primarily the Septuagint (on certain modifications, see below). Much theological argumentation in which the NT writers engage by means of OT quotations would lose its own power of argument, if it were to be predicated upon the original Hebrew text which differs from the LXX in a given instance (e.g., Deut 27:26 in Gal 3:10). Nevertheless it is constitutive of the theological particularity of the Vetus Testamentum in Novo receptum that it is largely based on the LXX

**B. Quotative Formulas**

The larger part of the OT citations begins with an introductory formula (*formula quotationis,* hereafter abbreviated fq., [pl.] fqq.) and is thereby characterized as a quotation in its form. At times the occurrence of a quotation is obvious even in the absence of such a formula.

Beginnings of a fq. occur already in the OT, e.g., 2 Kgs 14:6 "according to what is written in the book of Moses,"4 Kgdms 14:6 (LXX) "as it is written in the book of the laws of Moses." This is paralleled in the Qumranian "as it is written" (1QS 5:15; 8:14; 4QFl 1, 2:12; CD 7:19). Thus the rabbinic *kktwb.*(Aram *kdktyb*) as [it] is written) which is not attested until after the NT era, may well have been used in rabbinic exegesis during NT times.

To this exegetical tradition, therefore, belongs the most frequent NT fq. "as it is written" or "thus it is written," " (for) it is written" or similarly (62 times), particularly in the Synoptics and Paul. Next to these we find other forms of *grapho* (to write), e.g., "as it has been written" or variations of "the scripture says." The latter formula provides the transition to the fqq. which are built upon a form of *lego* (to say). In lieu of the Scriptures, their writers may be cited, e.g., Isaiah (John 1:23) or David (Acts 2:25). Apart from those cases in which God, Christ, or the Holy Spirit is introduced as speaker in the quotation, using the first person singular (Romans 9–11, Acts, and Hebrews), God himself is not mentioned as speaker in the fqq. In the Pauline corpus, *kathos eipen ho theos* "as God said" is singular in 2 Cor 6:16 But this citation is part of an interpolation into the Pauline text. In all ten instances, *legei kyrios* "the Lord says" is part of the quotation or an addition to the quotation by the NT writer (Ellis 1978: 182–87).

An exception is found in the fqq. of the fulfillment quotations of Matthew, namely "in order that that which was said by the Lord through the prophets may come to pass saying …" or similarly, which are constitutive of his theological conception. John's fulfillment quotations which are also theologically relevant are less stereotypical formulations. Likewise characteristic for Matthew are the Scripture references in Matthew 5 which are introduced with *ekousate hoti errethe (tois archaiois)* "you heard that it was said (by the ancients)" and surpasses or renders ineffective with an antithesis.

Occasionally (especially in Paul, see below) a single fq. introduces combinations of quotations (merging two or more Scripture statements) or mixed quotations (parts of one Scripture statement are inserted into another). Neither of these phenomena is typically Jewish and, consequently, not likely borrowed from Jewish exegesis.

**C. Quotations of Scripture and Midrash**

The Midrash Jewish exegesis was indeed familiar with collating Scripture statements which were to interpret one another. To date, however, Judaic scholarship (Bloch *DBSup* 5: 1263–81; J. W. Doeve, R. Le Déaut, G. Vermes, and A. G. Wright) has not yet reached a consensus on this. To what extent specific types of midrashim, such as the Proem Midrash (Peticha), do indeed have NT parallels, is difficult to determine in each case (on this, see Ellis 1978:154–62; Koch 1986: 224–27; Hanson 1974: 201–24).

Since the relationship between the method of NT quotation and the Midrashim is still unclear, no further reference will be made.

**D. Textual Criticism**

Although most NT writers cite the OT from the LXX and an appeal to the Hebrew original warrants serious consideration only in specific cases (e.g., in some of the fulfillment quotations in Matthew), there are frequent divergences between the text of the LXX and the NT quotation. The hypothesis of P. Kahle did not succeed, according to which the history of the LXX did not begin with an original text, but rather with multiple, targum-like Greek translations of Hebraic popular texts. See SEPTUAGINT. It is appropriate to assume with D. Barthélemy, R. Hanhart, and others, that continued recensions of the LXXwere made in the direction of content agreement between the Greek translation and Hebrew original, and that this process is also reflected in the quotations in the NT (Hanhart 1984: 400–09).

**E. Scripture Quotations in NT Writings**

**1. Paul.** Among the Pauline letters acknowledged as authentic, Scripture quotations are found only in Romans, 1–2 Corinthians, and Galatians, and among the Deutero-Pauline letters only in Ephesians and 1–2 Timothy. But even in the letters of Paul the quotations occur with considerable diversity. One encounters very frequent citations in Galatians 3, Romans 3f. and especially Romans 9–11 (with approx. 25 quotations, i.e., more than half of all the quotations in Romans). 1 Corinthians has only 17 quotations, 2 Corinthians at best 11, while Galatians, with only six chaps., has 10 quotations (with minor variations, depending on the method of counting). Because of the combinations of quotations which are frequently found in Paul, the number of cited Scripture statements is higher than the number of formal quotations.

The issue of which letters contain quotations must also be considered in relation to which of the OT books Paul cites. Isaiah is cited 28 times (in 25 cited texts), the Psalms 20 times (in 29 cited texts), Deuteronomy and Genesis 15 times each (in 13 and 12 cited texts, respectively), and the Minor Prophets 8 times (in 12 cited texts). Five quotations or less are found in Exodus, Leviticus, Proverbs, 1 Kings (LXX) and Job (according to Koch 1986:33). A negligible number of quotations are disputed with regards to their source (e.g., 1 Cor 2:9). Koch (1986: 35) unjustly argues against Paul's citing of Jer 9:23–24 in 1 Cor 1:31 and 2 Cor 10:7, especially since the use of Bar 3:9–4:4 in 1 Cor 1:18–31 can also be documented (Hübner 1984b: 161).

In the 10 citations in Galatians, Genesis is used four times, Leviticus twice, and Deuteronomy twice, while Isaiah and Habakkuk are used only once. The quotations from Genesis are drawn from the narrower frame of Genesis 12–27, due to the Abrahamic theme, since judaistic opponents of Paul demand the circumcision of the gentile Christian Galatians, presumably by appealing to Genesis 17 Next to Hab 2:4, the central argument for Paul, however, was Gen 15:6 In contrast, six of the 17 quotations in 1 Corinthians (likely written after Galatians) are from Isaiah. Since 2 Corinthians may be composed of five individual letters, little can be determined concerning favorite OT writings in the 10 quotations. The picture in Romans is all the more noteworthy. That the Genesis quotations are found in strategic positions, namely three times in Romans 4 and 9 respectively, can be explained from the theme of these chapters. But apart from Gen 15:6, the Genesis quotations in Romans are not of primary relevance to the theological argument. Notably, none of the three Genesis quotations in Rom 9:6–9 is introduced by a fq. One must ask, therefore, whether Paul actually uses these quotations as Scripture evidence. At any rate, all three quotations are used as a spoken word of God, as an announcement of what he intends to do or of what is to happen, according to his will: *klēthēsetai* in Gen 21:12 (Rom 9:7) is the theological passive ("they will be called"). In Gen 18:10, 14 (Rom 9:9) God speaks in the first person plural; in Gen 25:23 (Rom 9:12) *errethē autē* "it was said to her" is once again in the theological passive. Consequently, because Paul's motive in using all three Genesis quotations was not primarily that they were written in Scripture, but that they were spoken by God (the key term in Rom 9:6–29 is *kalein* "to call"), the quotation of Mal 1:2–3 in Rom 9:13 likewise should not be understood as Scripture evidence in the strict sense of the word, despite the fq. *kathōs gegraptai* "as it is written." A Scripture quotation cannot prove an already spoken word of God; it can only confirm it. The real strength of the "written word" lies in the

fact that in it God once again speaks with the divine "I" (on the divergent argumentative functions of Paul's Scripture statements, see Koch 1986:257–85). On Romans 9–11, see Hübner 1984a).

In the final pericope of Rom 9:6–29, Paul appeals to the prophets exclusively and, significantly, the otherwise stereotypical "as it is written" does not occur here. Since God calls gentiles to be his people, according to Hos 2:25, in Rom 9:25 he is the subject of the fq. "as indeed in Hosea he says." Likewise peculiar are the fqq. in Rom 9:27, 29: "Isaiah cryed out over Israel" and "as Isaiah predicted." Paul most frequently cites from the book of Isaiah. In 16 or 17 quotations, 19 or 20 references from Isaiah are used, 10 or 11 of which occur in Romans 9–11 alone. But the theological relevance of the dominance of Isaiah is not only rendered effective through the formal quotations, but also in 11:26 "and so all Israel will be saved; as it is written …" God himself ushers his initially partial redemptive activity regarding Israel (cf. 9:27) into his comprehensive redemptive activity. Rom 11:26 makes implicit reference to Isa 45:25 (see also Isa 45:27; Hübner 1984a: 113). The linguistic circumstances that the semantic field of Isaiah (especially Isa 45–66) is largely identical with Romans 9–11, raises the assumption that Paul read Isaiah from his Christian preunderstanding and such references as Isa 45:17, 25 appeared to him to be revelatory of the mystery mentioned in Rom 11:25 Paul in general, and Romans 9–11 in particular, demonstrates that the observation of the OT context is essential for the exegesis of the Scripture quotations in the NT (Hanson 1983: 7). The independent and theologically productive character of Paul's use of the LXX can be derived symptomatically from the combination of quotations in Rom 3:10–18 (Koch 1986: 180–84; "an intentional composition" of the apostle, comprised predominantly of references from the Psalms).

Thus we find a relationship of interdependence between kerygma and Scripture: Paul reads the Scripture on the horizon of the kerygma, that is on the horizon of his doctrine of justification and interprets it accordingly. Conversely, via reading the Scripture from the vantage point of faith as preunderstanding, he gains such decisive convictions as that of the eschatological redemptive justification of Israel (Rom 4:23–24).

Koch correctly points out that for Paul the Scripture attests to the Gospel, hence it is a word addressed to the present; in this case the Gospel is a precondition for understanding the Scripture, as seen especially in 2 Cor 3:12–18 (1986: 331–41). On the basis of three assumptions, it is possible to lay claim to Scripture as witness of the Gospel (1986: 344–47): (1) Based on a radically changed frame of understanding: Paul assumes the conviction from the pre-Pauline communities that "messianic announcements of Scripture are to be understood as fulfilled in Christ." (2) By means of a distinctly selective use of Scripture: Quotations from Leviticus and Numbers are largely missing. (3) By means of massive changes, in part, in the wording of the Scripture quotations: Paul has changed 52 of the 93 quotations.

Of course, one may be of a different opinion in individual instances, as a purview of his prize example of Rom 10:6–8 shows (Koch 1986: 129–32). There are convincing reasons, in this case, for the argument of W. Sanday and A. Headlam (*Romans* ICC, 286–90) and others, that Paul does not adduce a Scripture quotation when he uses statements from Deut 9:4; 30:12, 14 by introducing them with the fq. "but the righteousness based on faith says, …" and then juxtaposes them to the undisputed Mosaic quotation of Lev 18:5, introduced with the fq. "Moses writes concerning the righteousness of the Law thus …" (Hübner 1984a: 85–91).

While Paul uses Scripture quotations en masse for his gospel of justification, he is also capable to do entirely without Scripture quotations when he expresses something unique to him. It is striking, for instance, that he cites Scripture only sporadically in Romans 5–8, and not at all when he unfolds the Christian's existence in the Spirit in Rom 8:1–17

**2. Deutero-Pauline Letters.** No Scripture quotation is found in Colossians, although its author refers back to authentic Pauline letters which contain formal quotations. To begin with, this is paralleled by the author of Ephesians who likewise forgoes Scripture quotations in chaps. 1–3 which are theologically crucial for him. Not until Eph 4:8 does one encounter Ps 67:19 (LXX). The bulk of this quotation corresponds to the LXX, but diverges significantly in matters of content. Most likely this is not done deliberately against the OT text, since the writer of Ephesians may have taken recourse to a Jewish

tradition of exegesis (see commentaries). What is crucial, however, is that the quotation is interpreted christologically in Eph 4:9–11 Except for this quotation, all others in Ephesians are in an immediate, paraenetic context. 2 Thess 1:9–10 is likely not to be construed as a quotation. But the Pastoral Epistles do contain some quotations.

**3. Synoptics. a. Jesus and the OT.** The question of Jesus' use of Scripture is one of the most disputed in exegetical scholarship. The spectrum of opinions ranges all the way from the argument that Jesus, as a Jew, respected the uninterrupted authority of Scripture, to the assertion that the specifics of his preaching were expressed symptomatically in a view critical of the Scriptures, even in the annulment of the Law's central claims. One must maintain that, apart from the fulfillment quotations in Matthew, in the Synoptic Gospels Jesus himself generally appeals to Scripture. He cites it as the authoritative word of God and, in doing so, uses the invincible term *gegraptai* "written." He cites Moses (Mark 7:10; 10:6–8), the prophets (Mark 7:6–7; 11:17), David (Mark 12:36) and the Psalms (Mark 12:10–11, 36).

In sharp contrast is the fact that in his own authority he relativizes statements of the Law (Mark 10:6 [Gen 1:27; 2:24] against Mark 10:4 [Deut 24:1–4, verbalized by the Pharisees]), exceeds them (Matt 5:21, 27), or even annuls them (Matt 5:31–32, 38–39, 43–44 as annulment is disputed). The annulment of the Levitical food regulations in Mark 7:15, however, is made without reference to Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14

The more convincing arguments favor the hypothesis that Jesus indeed relativized or even annulled statements of the Law. Such sayings as Matt 5:18 (=Luke 16:17) are not authentic sayings of Jesus. To be sure, Jesus is able to render affirmative quotations of OT sayings. Typically, for instance, he uses the commandment concerning the parents in the Decalogue, Exod 20:12 = Deut 5:16, against the Pharisiac notion that because of Num 30:3 even an immoral qorban pledge dare not be broken. His struggle is not primarily against strange abuses, as manifested in a qorban pledge entered immorally; the issue is the correct understanding of God. One cannot refuse the dissolution of an immoral pledge for the sake of the glory of God, when people are treated unjustly thereby. Jesus appeals to the Decalogue because for him it holds absolute importance as expression of the will of God. Hence, Jesus does not advocate a formal principle of Scripture.

**b. Synoptic Gospels.** All of the 18 quotations in Mark (with minor variations in number, depending on the computation) are also found in Matthew (yet, if Mark 1:11 is quasi-mixed, this would not be true of Matt 3:17). Luke, however, did not utilize some of these quotations in his gospel because he ignored the particular Markan pericopae for theological reasons. Over and above Mark, Matthew and Luke share from the logia source Q especially the Scripture quotations from the pericope of Jesus' temptation in Matthew 4 (= Luke 4).

Only a small portion of the Markan Scripture quotations in the mouth of Jesus refers to authentic sayings of Jesus. The entire gospel of Mark is predicated upon one fulfillment quotation. According to Mark 1:1–4, the appearance of John the Baptist occurred "in the wilderness" at the beginning of the Gospel, "as it is written in Isaiah the prophet." The quotation introduced with this fq. contains not only Isa 40:3 (LXX), but also the mixed citation from Mal 3:1 and Exod 23:20 The Gospel is then signaled as the fulfillment of the Scriptures from the outset. To begin with, the fulfillment quotation in Mark 1:2–3 focuses primarily on John the Baptist, yet it emphatically points out the path of Jesus; the *hodos* "way" motif is central to the gospel of Mark, drawn up from the perspective of Jesus' passion, with the path of Jesus leading to Jerusalem (Mark 8:27; 9:33–34; 10:17, 32, 52; Steichele 1980: 79–80).

If the question "Who and what is Jesus" (Steichele 1980: 37), central to the fulfillment quotation in Mark 1:2–3, permeates the whole Gospel, it is necessary to ask whether the voice from heaven in Mark 1:11, with its two OT components of Ps 2:7 and Isa 42:1 (Jesus as son of God and servant of God), should not be regarded as more than a mere allusion. God himself cites the sayings of the OT which are messianically understood, and so fulfills his own holy scripture.

This quotation of the Scriptures at the beginning of Mark has its parallel in the quotation of Ps 21:2 (LXX), voiced by the crucified Jesus, in Mark 15:34 The salvation expressed in the thanksgiving hymn of Psalm 21 must be considered here. The resurrection in which the community believed, is the

presupposition for describing the passion of Jesus by means of this Psalm (Gnilka 1979: 322). This is further supported by the allusion to Ps 21:19 (LXX) in Mark 15:24 That the passion was prophesied in the OT, in Mark's understanding, can also be seen in the quotation of Zech 13:7 in Mark 14:27 which is introduced by *gegraptai* "written" (cf. Mark 14:49). In the Spirit, David already attested to the majesty of Jesus, Ps 109:1 LXX in Mark 12:36 Further, the quotation of Ps 117:22–23 (LXX) is christologically significant.

Matthew particularly belongs to those writings of the NT whose theology, as far as content is concerned, is essentially determined by the reception of the OT. Of course, the status of the scholarly inquiry continues to be controversial on some crucial points. In general, however, the distinction of two types of OT quotations proposed by H. J. Holtzman, has been accepted: (1) reflection quotations which are joined to a narrative and comment on the narrative as fulfillment of a prophetic promise; (2) context quotations which are themselves an integral part of the narrative. There is, however, no consensus on the precise number of fulfillment quotations. In any case, the following quotations must be considered: Matt 1:22–23; 2:15, 17–18, 23; 4:14–16; 8:17; 12:17–21; 13:35; 21:45; 27:9 The following are subject to debate: 2:5–6; 3:3; 11:10; 13:14–15

Modern scholarship is fairly unanimous on the issue that the fqq. of the fulfillment quotations are to be traced back to the redactional work of the evangelist, but not on the issue that this also applies to the quotations themselves. The situation which has been noted repeatedly since W. C. Allen (*Matthew* ICC, 281) demands an explanation, namely that, on the one hand, those quotations which the evangelist adopted from Mark or Q, or personally inserted as context quotations, were either left unchanged or only marginally changed, in light of the LXX On the other hand, the fulfillment quotations, in part, show an affinity to the Hebrew original (occasionally also with a distinct dependence upon the LXX, as e.g., in Matt 1:23, partly as mixed quotations comprised of LXX components and a verbatim translation of the Hebrew original when the latter differs from the LXX). It has been held as unlikely, however, that the same author would strive for as close an affinity to the LXX as possible in one part of his quotations, while favoring more closely the Hebrew original in another part. As an escape from this dilemma, therefore, various forms of a hypothesis have been suggested, according to which the evangelist made use of an existing tradition in his fulfillment quotations. In this case it is highly unlikely that he follows an oral tradition of a liturgical practice familiar to him (Kilpatrick 1946; Matthew is Mark liturgically revised). Likewise, the argument of F. C. Burkitt (1907) and J. R. Harris (1916–20) that the evangelist borrowed the quotations from a collection of testimonia, fails to convince.

Conversely, K. Stendahl's hypothesis of a "School of Matthew" is an attempt at explanation worth discussing. As for E. von Dobschütz (1928: 338–48), if the evangelist was a converted Rabbi and if he actively participated in the life of the Church, it is "tantamount to saying that there was a school at work in the church of Matthew" (Stendahl 1967: 30). The interpretation of Scripture practiced in that church, for Stendahl, was "the Matthean type of midrashic interpretation; … it closely approaches … the midrash pesher of the Qumran Sect" (1967: 35). The peculiar treatment of the texts of the fulfillment quotations in the school of Matthew, therefore, should be seen as analogous to the commentary of Habakkuk in 1QpHab, in which "a violation of the consonant text" of Habakkuk was carried out with creative liberty (1967: 190–202). Thus Stendahl's hypothesis is certainly capable of providing a plausible explanation for the difference between the extant type of the fulfillment quotations and the text type of the remaining quotations in Matthew.

B. Gaertner (1954: 1), however, has been able to adduce considerable arguments for the fact that Stendahl's hypothesis of a fairly liberal usage of the Habakkuk text is subject to serious doubts. The pesher interpretation in the Qumran commentaries is based on an uninterrupted continuity of the text (that is, in the CD it emerges as previously fixed text segments), while the interpretation of the scripture by Matthew could be named a messianic *interpretatio pūnctūalis.*

But even if these objections to Stendahl are taken seriously, it still remains to be taken into consideration that both the community at Qumran and the writer of Matthew read and interpret the

prophetic texts as promises of an already fulfilled presence of salvation, or of one which is being fulfilled. Hence the hermeneutical premise is common to both.

Another presupposition in Stendahl's argument is questionable, namely the assumption of an "unbroken line from the School of Jesus via the 'teaching of the Apostles,' the 'ways' of Paul … to the rather elaborate School of Matthew with its ingenious interpretation of the OT as the crown of its scholarship" (1967: 34). Whether we are allowed to understand Jesus as a teacher of a "school," however, is extremely doubtful.

Recently attempts have been made to relativize the discrepancy between the text form of the fulfillment quotations and that of the remaining quotations in Matthew. Thus R. H. Gundry argues as follows: "contrary to former opinion, the Matthaean formula-citations do not stand out from other synoptic quotation material in their divergence from the LXX, but the formal quotations in the Marcan (and parallel) tradition stand out in their adherence to the LXX" (1975: 5). But he encumbers his argument heavily with the hypothesis which has been held prior to him (among them E. J. Goodspeed), that "the Apostle Matthew was a note-taker during the earthly ministry of Jesus … from whose material the synoptists drew" (1975: 182–83). His result: "Matthew was his own targumist and drew on a knowledge of the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek textual traditions of the OT" (1975: 172). But quite apart from the untenable argument that Matthew had written the words of Jesus in shorthand, even his own evaluation of the text forms of the quotations in Matthew cannot remove the discrepancy under discussion within these quotations; it can at best mitigate it (see especially the summary, 1975:147–50).

According to G. M. Soares Prabhu, too, all the fulfillment quotations in Matthew have "the same adaptive, context-directed character." From this he concludes that they are "free targumic translations made from the original Hebrew by Matthew, in view of the context into which he has inserted them" (1976: 104). His—albeit quite brief—investigation of the context quotations certainly cautions against too blatant an assertion that the LXX is the Bible of Matthew. But neither has he succeeded in demonstrating the nonexistence of the fact that there are, in principle, two divergent text forms in the OT quotations in Matthew.

While some queries with regard to the construction of the quotations in Matthew remain, statements about the theological intention of the evangelist can be made with greater certainty. Its characteristic expression is found especially in the fqq. of the fulfillment quotations: what took place in the Christ event—e.g., the virgin birth, according to Isa 7:14 (Matt 1:22), or the return from Egypt, according to Hos 11:1 (Matt 2:15)—happened in order to fulfill what the prophets had said. To be sure, this theological intention would be turned on its head, if one were to view the evangelist as a theologian who thinks from the perspective of the OT, that is, of the promises of the OT. Rather, he is thinking from the perspective of the fulfillment in Jesus Christ. Not until Israel's Scripture is read from the perspective of the Christian faith can the former be understood as Scripture of the fulfillment.

The opinion of P. Vielhauer, according to whom the evangelist is not concerned with the fulfillment of the Scripture in Jesus, but rather with the fulfillment of particular sayings in the details of the life of Jesus (1975: 362) is to be rejected. Even the appeal to what the prophets have said in the disputed fulfillment quotation in 2:23 contradicts that, but even more so 26:54, 56: The writings of the prophets must be fulfilled in the passion.

The quotations of Matthew continue to present scholars with extremely difficult tasks. Attention must be given to the inquiry into the extent to which, if at all, the respective OT context is to be considered in understanding the citations (A. T. Hanson's claim), in what sense, if at all, one is allowed to speak of an atomized exegesis by Matthew (against this, Gundry et al.), and to what extent the evangelist, or his school, practiced Jewish exegetical methods.

It is also true of the Lukan writings that the author's appeal to the OT by far exceed what can be read explicitly from the Scripture quotations. Allusions to the LXX occur frequently (as well as some possible traces of a direct use of a semitic text) in the poetic elements of the infancy narratives in Luke 1–2, with features resembling quotations. These hymns are indeed to be regarded as pre-Lukan (see commentaries) and cannot say much, therefore, about the evangelist's attitude to the OT Characteristic of his theological

conception are those quotations which he alone features and in which his theological intention can be discerned.

While Mark presents the pre-Easter Jesus at least in a certain distance to the law of Moses (Mark 7:15 is not in Luke), already in the infancy narratives Luke stresses the faithfulness to the Law by the parents of the Baptist and by the parents of Jesus. As declaration concerning the complete obedience to the Law by the Baptist's parents, Luke 1:6 corresponds to Luke 2:23, a quotation of Exod 13:2, 12, 15 (LXX text only in part), which is introduced with "as it is written in the law of the Lord" followed by a quotation of Lev 5:11 (cf. Lev 12:8), which is introduced with "… according to what is said in the law of the Lord." The combination quotation in Mark 1:2–3 which contains a mixed quotation, is rectified by Matthew as well as by Luke (both bring in Mal 3:1 and Exod 23:20 only in the baptist pericope of Matthew 11 = Luke 7). In Luke 3:4–6—a fulfillment quotation, as in Mark 1:2–3—Luke expands the reference from Isaiah and thereby lends it more weight. It is of special programmatic significance that in Luke 4:18–19 Jesus quotes Isa 61:1–2; 58:6 in his inaugural sermon in Nazareth and applies it to himself. Isaiah has promised him as the Christ and stipulated his tasks. More than the other Synoptics, Luke submits the messianic ministry of the earthly Jesus to the prophetic promise. Luke then adds as a commentary "Today the scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing" (v 21).

It is not clear whether or not the statement of Luke 7:22 which consists of several sayings of Isaiah (Isa 29:18; 42:18; 26:19; 61:1), in Jesus' answer to the Baptist, should be regarded as quotation uttered by Jesus. Luke may well have understood it as such, since Isa 61:1 is mentioned again.

Only Luke relates the passion event to Isaiah 53 In Luke 22:37 (Gethsemane scene) Jesus applies Isa 53:12 to himself "and he was reckoned with transgressors." Here Luke varies from the LXX text, a certain proximity to the MT is unmistakable. Holtz (1968: 41–43) considers the LXX "most likely" to be the source; but against this is the fact that not a single LXX manuscript has the text found in Luke. It may be regarded as certain that there is no authentic saying of Jesus here (Rese 1969: 164).

The quotation of Hos 10:8 in Luke 23:30, which comes across as a saying of Jesus, belongs to Luke's own material (LXX text, though with transpositions). From Psalm 21 (LXX), quoted twice in Mark, Luke uses only Ps 21:19 (LXX) (Luke 23:34). Yet the crucified Jesus no longer utters Ps 21:2 (LXX), but instead Ps 31:6 (LXX) (Luke 23:46, the text is almost entirely LXX). The passion which was purposed by God and announced by the prophet Isaiah, cannot afford Jesus to utter a single word of Godforesakenness.

In the same way the resurrected Jesus also instructed the Emmaus disciples, in Luke 24:44, that everything written in the Law of Moses, the Prophets and the Psalms, had to be fulfilled. Jesus himself "opened" their understanding for them to comprehend the Scriptures, that "it is thus written" that Christ suffers and is raised from the dead on the third day. Furthermore, it is written that in his name repentance for the forgiveness of sins will be proclaimed to all people. Hence, Luke 24:44–47 is a programmatic reference which presents the Christ event as the salvific event in keeping with the Scriptures and, at the same time, serves as the transition to the second volume of Luke's two volume work, Luke-Acts. Accordance with the Scriptures constitutes an essential and central element in the theology of the gospel of Luke, which finds its clear expression in the Scripture quotations.

**4. Acts.** Depending on the count in the book of Acts, most of the slightly more than 20 quotations are used in Peter's speeches and sermons in chaps. 1–3, in Stephen's speech in chap. 7, and in Paul's first speech given in Pisidian Antioch, in chap. 13 James appeals to a Scripture quotation during the Jerusalem council. Most of the quotations are thus encountered in speeches or sermons. In addition, in Acts 8:32–33 the Ethiopian eunuch reads a text from Isaiah aloud (see ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH); Acts 13:22 may possibly have to be viewed as a mixed quotation. Paul documents his faithfulness to the Law and his loyalty to the state with a quotation from the Pentateuch in Acts 23:5, and, finally, a quotation at the end of Acts, intended as a programmatic quotation functioning as Scripture evidence, underscores the mission-theological intention of Luke. It is precisely at the pivotal points of his second work that Luke placed key Scripture references.

In Peter's Pentecost sermon is found the eschatological quotation of Joel 3:1–5 in Acts 2:17–21 and the christological quotations of Ps 15:8–11 (LXX) and 109:1 (LXX) in Acts 2:25–28, 34–35 (prophetic

announcement by Deuteronomy, cf. also Luke 20:42–43; according to fq. in Acts 4:25 David speaks "by the Holy Spirit" [see commentaries regarding text-critical problem]).

In Paul's first sermon which expresses the failed announcement of salvation to the Jews by means of a salvation-historical sketch—the christological quotations of Ps 2:7 (LXX); Isa 55:3; Ps 15:10 (LXX) in Acts 13:33–35, and the quotation of Hab 1:5 which is introduced in Acts 13:40–41 by a fq. whose locus is a warning leveled predominantly against the Jews. This quotation has its counterpart in the gospel to the gentiles of Isa 49:6 in Acts 13:47, after the stir: God himself had destined Paul (and Barnabas as well) to be the light for the salvation of the gentiles.

In the speech of James (Acts 15:15–17) Luke quotes Amos 9:11–12 as Scriptural proof for the mission to the gentiles: God will rebuild David's fallen tent (interpreted christologically, since Christ is its referent), in order that "all the peoples" may seek the Lord.

Paul's mission-theological reflection at the end of the book, Acts 28:25–28: Via Isaiah the prophet the Holy Spirit has already announced to the fathers the blindness of the Jews in Isa 6:9–10 Hence "this salvation" (namely the salvation of the Jews) is sent to the gentiles. Acts concludes, then, with the emphatic recognition that the Scriptures of the Jews negate salvation to the same Jews and according it to the gentiles.

Theologically significant is the Ethiopian eunuch's quotation of Isa 53:7–8 in Acts 8:32–33 That which is encountered for the first time in the synoptic tradition in Luke 22:37, namely the quotation of Isa 53:12 which Jesus uses and applies to himself, is continued here: Isaiah 53 refers explicitly to the passion of Jesus.

Which OT books Luke knew, is a matter of dispute. According to T. Holtz, on his own he used only the Minor Prophets, Isaiah, and Psalms recognizably and, with some degree of probability, it may be assumed that he was acquainted with the LXX text of the Book of the Twelve Prophets and of Isaiah, which has affinities to the text type of the codex Alexandrinus (1968: 169). However, Holtz also claims that Luke did not know the Pentateuch (at least Exodus to Deuteronomy), that he used quotations from it only through secondary mediation, and that he stands virtually alone in his lack of knowledge of the Torah (1968: 171). This argument, however, is not uncontested (see Rese 1969:211).

In Acts the fqq. are conspicuous. Of the Minor Prophets Joel is mentioned by name in Acts 2:18; as for the other two Minor Prophets, Amos and Habakkuk, they are only mentioned as "prophets": Amos in Acts 7:42; 15:45 and Habakkuk in Acts 13:40 Does the reference to the "book of the Prophets" in Acts 7:42 mean the Minor Prophets? In a formal sense, this finds its correspondence in the fq. of Acts 1:20: "for it is written in the book of Psalms" which introduces Ps 68:26 (LXX) and 108:8 (LXX). In Acts 28:25–26 Isaiah is introduced by mention of his name, while the Holy Spirit is explicitly mentioned as the actual speaker. But in Acts 7:48 he is simply introduced with "as the prophet says." Is Isaiah the prophet? In Acts 13:34 and 13:47, however, God is said to be the speaker in these quotations from Isaiah. Elsewhere God appears as the speaker in some references to God's direct address, e.g., to Abraham in Acts 3:25 (Gen 22:18). In quotations from the Psalms, David is mentioned as the speaker several times (Acts 2:25, 34; 4:25). The special introduction of Ps 2:7 in Acts 13:33 is unique: "as it is written in the second Psalm." In the two instances where Deuteronomy 18 is quoted, Moses is the speaker (Acts 3:22; 7:37). It is noteworthy, therefore, that Luke was apparently more concerned to posit important OT characters, such as David, Moses, or Isaiah, or even God himself, or the Holy Spirit, as speakers (note the frequent form of *legein* or *lalein*, "to say") in the formal Scripture quotations. Out of over 20 quotations only 5 are introduced with a fq. in which the term *gegraptai*, "written," occurs. The written character of the quotation, for Luke, seems to be of secondary importance.

**5. The Gospel of John.** The picture given by the Scripture quotations in John appears to be rather confusing at first glance, because there is no easily recognized pattern by which these quotations were placed within the overall structure of John. A further element of uncertainty is apparent, since the literary-critical questions of John continue to be completely fluid, and since only a literary-critical analysis of this NT writing could indicate where exactly it is the evangelist wants to use a quotation.

Certain structural elements, however, can be discerned clearly. Five quotations are introduced with the fq. *gegrammenon estin,* "it is written," or similarly (John 2:17; 6:31; 45; 10:34; 12:14; see also 8:17, where the evangelist begins with the peculiar fq. "in your law it is written that …" [codex Sinaiticus: *gegrammenon estin,* "it is written"], apparently to introduce Deut 17:6 or Deut 19:15; there are striking differences in comparison with the OT text, however). The fulfillment quotations are notable as well, but these are not encountered until John 12:38, and their fq. is generally something like, "in order that the scripture might be fulfilled" (12:38; 19:24 and 19:36 as the evangelist's remark; 13:18 and 15:25 as Jesus' statement).

If one inquires as to who is the respective speaker in the quotations, no clear direction emerges in this case either. The Baptist produces the first quotation; frequently it is the people, or Jesus, or the evangelist who wrote the Scriptures. Likewise, the inquiry into the underlying text yields no clear answers. Occasionally there is verbal agreement with the LXX text (there are only four clear LXX quotations); in most cases, however, there are considerable modifications with regard to the LXX Sometimes there may be dependence upon the Hebrew original, while other times neither the LXX nor the Biblia Hebraica can be discerned as the primary text. In some references to the Scriptures it is not possible to determine a clearly verifiable OT reference.

According to Rothfuchs (1969: 153) the evangelist consistently uses *ho logos,* "the word," when the locus of the fulfillment quotation is established with fair accuracy. The fqq. of the fulfillment quotations use *hē graphē,* "the scripture," when no locus is mentioned. Further, the fqq. of most other quotations use neither *ho logos* nor *hē graphē;* instead they merely use forms of *legō* "to say" and *graphō* "to write," while a locus may or may not be given (with the exception of John 7:38). Rothfuchs also correctly observes that by *hē graphē* the evangelist has in mind "the locus of the Scripture reference," all the more so since he uses the plural *hai graphai* "the scriptures" (John 5:39) for the whole scripture. Of the four fqq. using *ho logos,* only two introduce an OT quotation, while the other two refer to a saying of Jesus as fulfilled (John 18:9, 32), without stating explicitly the particular saying of Jesus to which reference is made.

A clear perspective is further obtained from another observation made by Rothfuchs. With the exception of John 12:38–40, all of the fulfillment quotations have to do with Jesus' enemies and their actions (1969: 170). Thus the two quotations from Isaiah in John 12:38–40 take on a more distinct profile. The failure of humanity, expressed in the remaining fulfillment quotations, is ultimately traced back to God himself who blinds their eyes and hardens their hearts. Therefore, as indirect fulfillment quotations Isa 53:1 and 6:10 are of central significance in the framework of the Johannine conception, because they lend clarity to the theological purpose of the remaining fulfillment quotations.

The quotations of Isa 53:1 follow the LXX text verbatim, but the first part of the quotation of Isa 6:10, however, shows major divergences. R. Schnackenburg (1984: 143–52) has demonstrated that the evangelist deliberately changed the text of Isaiah here. He eliminated the idea of hearing and established the sequence of "eyes-heart," in order to show that God's oppressive action begins in the external realm of man and penetrates into his inner being (see also the Pharisees' failure to see in John 9). Hence the evangelist used the LXX text where he deemed it appropriate to his theological conception, and radically changed the biblical text where, in his own estimation, he considered it inappropriate.

The christological conception which is expressed by means of the modification of the text, actually receives its clarity in the commentary on the quotation in John 12:41, where the immediate context of the quotation is given by appealing to Isa 6:1; Isaiah did not see the glory of God, but of Christ (see John 1:18; Schnackenburg 1984: 151). The evangelist's interpretation of the immediate context is an important indication for the assumption that his way of referring to the Scriptures was the result of his independent pursuit of it, all the more so since the same can also be shown elsewhere in John.

Among the climactic statements of the evangelist is John 19:28–30 where the death of Jesus is said to be the triumphant conclusion of his work (see John 12:32, "and I, when I am lifted up from the earth …"). In v 28, "to fulfil the scripture" *hina teleiōthē* instead of *hina plērōmē* is predicated upon Jesus' last word "it is fulfilled" *tetelestai* in v 30 The death of Jesus, which is theologically interpreted from the vantage point

of his exaltation, is the center of the Johannine "theology of the cross." It is theologically important that precisely this death constitutes the fulfillment and completion of Scripture. The theology of the cross and the theology of Scripture are inseparably intertwined in John. A closer evaluation indicates, therefore, that the picture of the quotations in John, which appeared to be so confusing at first, is actually well thought out and well structured.

The argument of E. D. Freed, according to which the evangelist was dependent upon the Synoptics in his literary use of Scripture, is to be rejected; his following statement, however, should be given serious consideration: "But in no other writer are the OT quotations so carefully woven into the context and the whole plan of composition as in Jn" (1965: 129).

**6. Hebrews, James, 1 Peter.** The question of which LXX text the author of Hebrews used has still not been completely resolved. Many quotations are based on the A-text, while some are based on the B-text. Is the source a recension based on traditions which were later taken up in codices A and B? According to E. Ahlborn, the question of which LXX text the quotations in Hebrews follow is often misleading because the mss. in the respective OT books belong to divergent recensions (1966: 10). "An Alexandrian recension as source for Hebrews is out of the question … Likewise Alexandrinus per se as source for the quotations, is eliminated; rather it is plausible that A knew Heb and used it" (1966: 141).

Nowhere among the fqq. does one find *kathōs gegraptai,* "as it is written," or something similar; instead fqq. with forms of the verb *legein,* "to say," are used continuously. It is important that the quotations are spoken; the quotations cite God as the speaker, at times also the Son of God (2:12–14); 10:5–7) and the Holy Spirit (3:7–11; 10:15–17), but rarely one of the OT characters (occasionally Moses; but does 9:19–20 constitute a quotation in the true sense of the word?).

The quotations are used as proof in the framework of christological intention. In Hebrews the support by the spoken word of God is analogous to the support of Scripture in other NT writings. Thus God speaks to his Son (1:5–13) and the Son to his Father (10:5–7). In quotations with a paraenetic purpose the Holy Spirit is introduced as speaker (3:7–11; 10:15–17). Thus God speaks as the Father to the Son (and vice versa) and God as the Holy Spirit to the Church. The dominant role of the Psalms in the quotations in Hebrews is reflected in that the words of the Father to the Son are taken from the Psalms. Among the approximately 30 Scripture quotations there are 15 taken from the Psalms. Pss 2 and 109 (LXX) are particularly important for the theology of Hebrews (Christ as the Son of God and as priests). In contrast to many other NT writings, Isaiah is hardly ever referred to in Hebrews. However, while the exposition of the high priestly office of Jesus in Hebrews constantly alludes to the OT cultic regulations, this cult is hardly deemed worthy of a quotation (only in Exod 25:40 in Heb 8:5, as a cultic instruction from God to Moses, and Exod 24:8 in Heb 9:20, but as a statement of Moses). As high priest, Jesus speaks against the OT cult in 10:5–7 (from Ps 39:7–9 LXX). While his high priestly office is described in cultic categories, in principle it actually denotes the negation of cultic existence. There is a dialectic between the OT cult being surpassed and of being rendered ineffective. The Hebrew writer's method of exegesis is noteworthy because of the way in which quotations are handled. Shorter passages of a longer quotation are repeated and then commented upon individually (see 3:7–9; 10:5–7). In this connection, the current literature tends to point to Jewish exegetical methods as parallels (especially F. Schröger, passim). G. W. Buchanan perceives Hebrews as "homiletic midrash, which is based in Psalm 110" (1972: xix–xxx).

In James, three of the four quotations in James 2 are used in conjunction with the topic of the law (Lev 19:18 in Jas 2:8; two commandments of the Decalogue in Jas 2:11; especially Gen 15:6 in Jas 2:23 against Paul or a misunderstood Paulinism). Of the eight scripture quotations in 1 Peter, three are from Isaiah and three from the Psalms.

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**NEW YEAR FESTIVAL** See AKITU.

**NEZIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *nĕṣîaḥ* (נְצִיחַ)]. The name of a family of temple servants who returned to Palestine with Zerubbabel shortly after 538 B.C.E., the end of the Babylonian exile. The name appears in Ezra 2:54 in the phrase "the sons of Neziah" (Gk *nasoue/nasous/nethie*), where the temple servants are distinguished from the people of Israel, the priests, and the Levites. The parallel verse Neh 7:56 (Gk *nisia/n (e)is (e)ie*) and the later parallel 1 Esdr 5:32 (Gk *nasi/nasith*) also list "the sons of Neziah."
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**NEZIB** (PLACE) [Heb *nĕṣîb* (נְצִיב)]. Town situated in the Shephelah, or lowlands, of Judah (Josh 15:43), within the same district as Libnah and Mareshah. This settlement, whose name perhaps means "post" or "garrison" (from *nṣb*, "stand, station oneself"), is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The ancient town is most often identified with modern Khirbet Beit Nesib (e.g., Aharoni *LBHG*, 382), approximately 15 km E and slightly N of Lachish and 12 km NW of Hebron (M.R. 150110). Given that the location is appropriate and that the ancient and modern names are

clearly related, this identification seems secure. However, archaeological confirmation of occupation during the appropriate time period has yet to be found.
WADE R. KOTTER

**NIBHAZ** (DEITY) [Heb *nibḥaz* (נִבְחַז)]. Among the foreigners whom Sargon II settled in Samaria after deporting the local population are listed (2 Kgs 17:30) the people of Avva (var. Ivvah, 2 Kgs 19:13) with their gods Nibhaz and Tartak. The many variations of the first god's name in the ancient sources indicate that the deity was foreign and unfamiliar even to the early editors. There is no satisfactory explanation of Nibhaz's name in contemporary scholarship. One early suggestion (see Cogan and Tadmor *2 Kings* AB, 212), that Nibhaz is the Elamite god Ibnahaza and Avva the Elamite Ama, is unlikely on both geographical and chronological grounds (for context see Edzard *WbMyth* 1).

In the Persian-period Aramaic papyri from Hermopolis, Egypt, the proper name *ʾIsm-madbaḥ* is encountered. The second element, *madbaḥ*, seems to mean "Altar," personified as a deity. As such, it would correspond to the *Dii Madbachṓ* and more fully Gk *Dii Bōmṓ* ("Zeus Altar") of N Syrian inscriptions. Some have proposed that Nibhaz is a miswriting or corruption of Madbaḥ (see Gese et al. 1970: 169 and summary in Milik 1967:577–78, 605).

Milik (1967: 578, 606) makes a yet more plausible suggestion: the LXX variants of the name would indicate that the original form ended in *-r*. If so, the name probably would have been *Nabā-ḥāzer,* "Nabu-Returns." Compound Nabu names were common at the Aramaic-speaking Jewish community at Elephantine, Egypt (Porten *ArchEleph*, 166). The context of 2 Kings 17–19 would suggest a N Syrian background for Avva and Nibhaz[er?], and there is reason to make associations between Aramaic-speaking Syria and Egyptian diaspora communities. See also ASHIMA. The Babylonian Talmud (*Sanh.* 63b) read *nibḥan,* deriving it from the root *NBḤ,* "to bark," and translated it as "dog," an interpretation which fit nicely the anti-idol tenor of the passage.

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**NIBSHAN** (PLACE) [Heb *nibšān* (נִבְשָׁן)]. Town situated in the wilderness of Judah (Josh 15:61), within the same district as En-gedi. This settlement is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). Recent archaeological work in the Buqeiah valley has uncovered three Iron Age fortress farms which may be associated with the towns of this district (Stager 1976). If the list in Jos 15:61–62 runs N to S, then ancient Nibshan is probably to be located at Khirbet el-Maqari, approximately 9 km SW of Khirbet Qumran (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 392; M.R. 186123).

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**NICANOR** (PERSON) [Gk *Nikanōr* (Νικανωρ)]. The name Nicanor appears several times in 1 and 2 Maccabees. It is difficult to determine whether there were two or three separate individuals bearing this name.

1. The governor of Cyprus (2 Macc 12:2). Because this Nicanor has a relatively low rank, he is not to be confused with the other references to "Nicanor" in 1 and 2 Maccabees.

2. The soldier who had been in command of the elephant corps and who was appointed by Demetrius I as governor of Judea, charged with the responsibility of capturing and killing Judas Maccabeus, scattering those forces loyal to him and setting up Alcimus as high priest (2 Macc 14:12ff). Some would distinguish this Nicanor from the Nicanor mentioned in other passages (so Goldstein *I Maccabees, II Maccabees*, AB). However, there are no insurmountable problems with the assumption that all the references to Nicanor in 1–2 Maccabees (except 2 Macc 12:2, which pertains to Nicanor #1 above) allude to the same

individual; consequently it seems reasonable to assume (with Abel 1949 and Habicht 1976) that there was only one distinguished person named Nicanor fighting Judas Maccabeus, not two.

On this assumption, Nicanor was therefore the son of Patrocles (1 Macc 8:9). He is usually identified with the close friend of Demetrius I who was with him when he was hostage in Rome (Polybius 31.14 (22).4; and cf. *Ant* 12.402). However, Nicanor already held a high position under Antiochus IV, before Demetrius I came to power. He is first mentioned in the battle of Emmaus as one of those (along with Ptolemy and Gorgias) to whom the battle against Judas Maccabeus depicts Gorgias playing the major military role, but in the 2 Maccabees version Nicanor has the leading role. In 2 Maccabees this incongruency is explained by the fact that Gorgias, who was sent to join Nicanor in command, was a commander with military experience (8:9); 2 Maccabees therefore focuses on Nicanor to show him as an example of an enemy to the Jews (8:11) who, with God's help, is punished and defeated (vv 24–28, 34–36). This brought to an end the first phase of Nicanor's involvement with the Jewish revolt.

The second phase came at the time of Demetrius I, who began to rule in 162 B.C.E. Assuming that he is the same Nicanor mentioned in Polybius, then he should have earlier visited Rome and taken part in Demetrius' flight from there and in Demetrius' successful campaign to regain the Seleucid throne. Demetrius then sent Nicanor to quell Judas' revolt: Judas had not acquiesced with the installment of Alcimus as high priest. Again Nicanor is depicted as being extremely inimical to the Jews, but this time by the writer of 1 Maccabees (7:26–35). It seems that his army was not large enough for the task (probably because Demetrius was preoccupied on other military fronts), hence Nicanor tried to overcome Judas not by force but either through strategum (according to 1 Macc 7:27–31) or reconciliation (according to 2 Macc 14:18–25). This proved unsuccessful, and at a battle at Chapharsalama Judas was victorious.

In spite of the discrepancies in our two sources, and probably after the Jews received harsh treatment from the frustrated and hostile Nicanor, the two armies met a second time, this time at Adasa. There, even though he enjoyed some military support (1 Macc 7:39), Nicanor was defeated and killed. The victory was commemorated by an annual holiday on that same day, the 13th of Adar (1 Macc 7:48–49). Some uncertainty exists about the year in which the battle of Adasa occurred, but most commentators date it to 160 B.C.E. This whole event is treated in detail and with much embellishment in 2 Maccabees 15 There Nicanor, the sinner and blasphemer, received from God's hand the retribution he deserved (cf. also *Meg. Ta῾an.* on the 13th of Adar).

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**NICANOR GATE** See BEAUTIFUL GATE.

**NICODEMUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Nikodēmos* (Νικοδημος)]. A fairly common Greek name in the 1st century meaning "conqueror of the people." Its Semitic equivalent was "Naqdimon," sometimes shortened to "Naqai." The biblical individual of that name is mentioned only in the gospel of John (3:1, 4, 9; 7:50; 19:39). Nicodemus is portrayed as a Pharisee who was also part of the ruling class in Judea (3:1), presumably a member of the Sanhedrin. John 19:39 implies that he was quite wealthy, and in 3:10 Jesus addresses him as the preeminent teacher of Israel. The above, combined with the fact that "rulers" and "Pharisees" are distinguished elsewhere in the gospel (cf. 7:48; 12:42), suggests that Nicodemus was a prominent figure within the governing group.

Nicodemus first appears in John 3:1–12, where he visits Jesus by night and is confronted with the "born-again" discourse. About six months before the crucifixion the "chief Priests and Pharisees" seek to have Jesus arrested as a deceiver (7:32, 45–52). Nicodemus protests, arguing that the law required them to give Jesus a fair hearing (7:51). He is accused, in response, of having joined Jesus' Galilean followers (7:52). Nicodemus last appears after Jesus' death, bringing a large quantity of spices to anoint Jesus' body (19:38–42). The three Nicodemus episodes in the Fourth Gospel are connected by editorial marks in 7:50 and 19:39

Though Nicodemus is often portrayed as timid, Robinson (1985: 284) is probably correct in seeing him as quite courageous. Most likely, Nicodemus came by night, not out of fear, but to avoid the crowds that would have interrupted his interview with Jesus. His reaction to the council's desire to arrest Jesus was boldly calculated to bring out the irony of their lawless act at the very moment in which they were ridiculing the lawless behavior of the "crowd" (7:49–51). And he certainly showed more courage at the Cross than did the absent Disciples of Jesus.

There is no serious reason to doubt that Nicodemus was a historical individual. It is questionable, however, whether the gospel material leads to the conclusion that he became a disciple of Jesus. Brown (*John* AB, 130) sees Nicodemus as the counterpart to Judas: he moves from darkness to light (3:2), just as Judas moved from light to darkness (13:30). Along with him Beasley-Murray (*John* WBC, 47), Cotterell (1985: 238), King (1986: 45), Morris (*John* NICNT, 210) and Schnackenburg (1980–82, 1: 364–65) understand the actions of 19:38–42 to be those of a secret but committed disciple of Jesus. However, secret discipleship is not a complementary designation in the Fourth Gospel (12:42, 43). And it is possible to understand the extravagance of Jesus' burial not as an act of love and respect as do Bultmann (1971: 680n4) and Schnackenburg (1980–82, 3: 295), or as a pointer to His royalty as do Morris (825) and Brown (60), but as a failure to understand the cross combined with a lack of faith in the resurrection (see De Jonge 1971: 342 and Sylva 1988: 148). Thus, Michel (1981: 231), Pamment (1985: 71, 73), and Sylva (1988: 149) argue that Nicodemus remained on the fence throughout the gospel, never making a positive decision for Jesus.

Considerable study has investigated whether Nicodemus might be equated with one or more individuals in the Talmud or in the writings of Josephus. Helpful summaries of the evidence can be found in Klausner (1929: 29–30), Robinson (1985: 284–87) and Str-B 2:413–19, but the evidence is insufficient at this point to draw any firm conclusions. The total absence of Nicodemus in the Talmud would not be surprising if he indeed became a Christian.

Christian tradition suggests that Nicodemus gave evidence in favor of Christ at the trial before Pilate, was deprived of office and persecuted by hostile Jews as a result, and was ultimately baptized by the apostles Peter and John. The *Acts of Pilate* became known as the *Gospel of Nicodemus* in the Latin tradition after the 14th century.

Numerous parallels between John 3:1–2 and 2:23–25 and the frequent use of plurals in 3:1–12 indicate that within the gospel itself, Nicodemus functions as a representative of those who had a partial faith in Jesus as a result of the "signs" which Jesus did. For the evangelist such individuals are in darkness, not in light (note the genitive usage of "night" in 3:2 cf. 12:37, 42, 43). As a ruler, teacher, and Pharisee, he demonstrates for the author of the gospel that the very best that the Judaism of his day could offer was inadequate to rightly comprehend the significance of Jesus.

On the positive side, however, Nicodemus functions, along with the Samaritan woman, as an illustration of the power of the Christian gospel to attract whoever might believe, regardless of education, wealth, piety, or circumstances (John 3:16; 12:32). The Fourth Gospel reflects a situation at the close of the 1st century where Pharisees were divided over the significance of Jesus as they had been seven decades earlier (cf. 9:16). The Nicodemus episodes appealed to those Pharisees who, like Nicodemus, had only a relative acceptance of Jesus, to come to the "light." (John 3:18–21) Without a more complete decision they would not be able to fully understand Jesus or the nature of the salvation that he brought.

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**NICODEMUS, GOSPEL OF** See PILATE, ACTS OF.

**NICOLAITANS** [Gk *Nikolaïtai* (Νικολαΐται)]. A group mentioned in Revelation in the letters to Ephesus (2:6) and Pergamum (2:15). The former reference tells us only that the risen Lord commends the church at Ephesus for joining him in hating the works of the Nicolaitans. The latter reference is more informative, for the risen Lord chastises the church at Pergamum for holding the teaching of the Nicolaitans. By way of a similitude, the teaching of the Nicolaitans is defined as that of Balaam of the OT and Jewish tradition: eating food sacrificed to idols and immorality (Num 25:1–2; 31:16). Since these same two sins are listed at Thyatira as the teaching of a self-proclaimed prophetess named Jezebel (2:20–25), it is probable that, although not specifically named, the Nicolaitans were present there also, and that she was a Nicolaitan prophetess.

The risen Lord presents the Nicolaitans as a great threat to the churches he addresses. He commends the church of Ephesus for hating them (2:6; cf. *Ign. Eph.* 6:2; 9:1), and declares to the church of Pergamum that he will come and war against the Nicolaitans with the sword of his mouth (2:16). To the church of Thyatira he promises that those who refuse their teaching will receive no other burden, and encourages them to hold fast until he comes. As for Jezebel, she will be made sick, her less ardent followers will be thrown into great tribulation unless they repent, and her more ardent followers will be struck dead (2:20–25).

The Nicolaitans are not merely a subgroup in the church who were more lenient toward pagan religion and society. In the letters their thought is called a teaching (Gk *didachē;*.2:14, 15, 20, 24), and they may have claimed inspiration for this teaching (2:20). Their leaders may have called themselves apostles (2:2) and prophets (2:20), and been actively seeking disciples. They were permissive about both eating meat offered to idols and immorality. The former is the purchase of previously consecrated meat at the marketplace or the actual participation in pagan religious festivals where such meat was served. The latter is either a synonym for idolatry, or, as seems more probable in connection with pagan practice at religious festivals, sexual license. Both eating meat offered to idols and immorality were in direct contradiction to the Apostolic Decree, which forbids gentiles to practice either (Acts 15:20, 28–29; 21:25). This antinomianism may be a misrepresentation of the Pauline doctrine of liberty, as was the case with the antinomians of 2 Peter, who are also likened to Balaam (2:15; 3:15–16; cf. Jude 11).

The Nicolaitans appear to have gnostic tendencies. Irenaeus (*Haer.* 3.11.1) states that the Nicolaitans had disseminated doctrine similar in kind to the gnostic heresy of Cerinthus. Their teaching could have been based on a dualism claiming that what was done in the body had no bearing on the soul. Jezebel may have claimed to know the "deep things (of Satan)" (2:24), a claim reminiscent of the gnostic secret knowledge. If Jezebel and her group described the deep things as being "of Satan," then she may have claimed to possess knowledge which prevented being overcome by sin while being a libertine. "Of Satan" may also be an ironic twist added to denigrate the opposition (cf. 2:9, 3:9 for such irony).

Apart from these observations and suggestions, nothing can be confidently known about the Nicolaitans other than what is stated in Revelation. Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.26.3) basically repeats the biblical material, adding the assertion that the Nicolaitans were heretical followers of Nicolaus, the proselyte of Antioch who was chosen to be one of The Seven (Acts 6:5). Hippolytus (*Haer.* 7.24) underscores Irenaeus, adding that Nicolaus departed from true doctrine. Clement of Alexandria (*Str.* 2.20) claims that Nicolaus was an ascetic, and then current Nicolaitans were not his true followers because they perverted his teaching that it was necessary to abuse the flesh. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (6:8) describe the Nicolaitans as "shameless in uncleanness." Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* 1.29; *De proescr. haeret.* 33; cf. *De Pudic.* 19) speaks of the lust and luxury of contemporary gnostics he calls Nicolaitans, but distinguishes them from the Nicolaitans of

Revelation by calling them another type, a Satanic sect, more specifically called the Gaian heresy. Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 3:29) notes that the Nicolaitans claimed Nicolaus, arose briefly, and died out.

When all this patristic evidence is compiled, we still do not know the connection, if any, of Nicolaus to the Nicolaitans, or the connection of the Nicolaitans in Revelation to later sects of the same name. Contemporary scholarship is skeptical that the 2d century manifestation of the Nicolaitans is linked to the Nicolaitans of Revelation. All that can be said is that the biblical presentation of the Nicolaitans was part of a heresiological tradition associated with later Gnosticism and other heresies.

Perhaps the designation "Nicolaitan" was not the name of the sect in Revelation at all. The close association of Balaam and the Nicolaitans in Rev 2:14–15 may be the result of a wordplay. It has been proposed that Nicolaitan is an etymological play on the Hebrew name "Balaam." Balaam (*bil*ʿ*ām*) can be the contracted form of *bāla*ʿ ʿ*am* ("he has destroyed the people") or *ba*ʿ*al* ʿ*am,* ("lord of the people"). Nicolaitan also could be the Greek equivalent of *nikạ laon* ("he has conquered the people").

In support of this proposal, a similar Hebrew wordplay with the name Balaam is found in *t. b. Sanh.* 105a. There are other wordplays using Balaam in the first century (e.g. Philo, *Cher* 32). Jezebel and Balaam are cryptic descriptions rather than the self-designations of the groups so characterized. Jezebel represents the active promotion of idolatry and immorality for her sanction of Baal worship in Jerusalem. Balaam represents idolatry, immorality, and false teaching for taking Balak's advice and leading the Israelites into idolatry and immorality with the Moabite women. Thus Nicolaitans may be a cryptic name for the sect in Revelation used to associate them with the negative traditions about Balaam.

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**NICOLAUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Nikolaos* (Νικολαος)] One of the seven Hellenists chosen to supervise the daily distribution for dependent widows in the early Jerusalem church and designated a proselyte from Antioch (Acts 6:5). The name is derived from the Greek verb "conquer" (*nikaō*) and the noun "people" (*laos*).

Since the following narratives indicate that Stephen and Philip were born Jews and the grammar of the sentence clearly applies the description "proselyte" only to Nicolaus, the implication is that the others in the list were born Jews and he alone had come into Judaism from paganism by way of circumcision (Pesch 1986: 229; Kuhn *TDNT* 6:742–44). Cadbury (1933: 59–74) thought that others in the list might have been gentiles. But this theory is dispelled by Nicolaus' position in the list as last. Gentiles would have been listed after born Jews and proselytes.

It has been conjectured that either Luke or one of his sources was connected with Antioch on the Orontes. The mention of Nicolaus as being from Antioch is sometimes thought to be another example of the city's prominence in Acts in support of this theory.

The notation of Nicolaus as a proselyte may also be significant for Luke's theology. Jack Sanders (1987: 137–39) has argued that the appearance of Nicolaus at this point in Acts is important in terms of understanding Luke's view of the spread of the gospel in ever-widening circles from its Jewish parent. Nicolaus is the first named gentile to come to faith (cf. the implication in Acts 2:10). If Sanders is correct, Nicolaus is, for Luke, part of a "gray area" between Jews and gentiles. He is not totally Jewish and not totally gentile and thus can function as a bridge as Luke moves the gospel away from Judaism toward gentile Christianity.

Early church tradition (Iren. *Her.* 1.26.3; Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.29.1–3) connected this Nicolaus with the later Nicolaitans first mentioned in Rev. 2:6 This connection seems to have arisen by inference from the name and there is no definite knowledge about Nicolaus beyond what is recorded in Acts.

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**NICOPOLIS** (PLACE) [Gk *Nikopolis* (Νικοπολις)]. The name of several cities of the Greco-Roman world that had Greek-speaking populations and were founded in commemoration of military victories. Cities bearing this name were found in Epirus, in most of the provinces of Asia Minor, and in Egypt. Sometime around A.D. 63–65 the apostle Paul arranged to meet Titus in one of these cities (Titus 3:12). The identification of the specific Nicopolis is facilitated not only by Paul's description of it as a good place to spend the winter but also on the basis of Paul's recorded travels.

Nicopolis of Pontus, the location of Pompey's victory over Mithridates in 66 B.C. (Strabo 12.555), was at a strategic position in the Roman communication system and was growing during the 1st century, but it lay far from Crete and from Paul's known journeys. The Nicopolis in Bithynia (Pliny *HN* 5.150), or in Cilicia (Strabo 14.676) would have provided uncomfortable winter quarters. The Nicopolis in the Delta region of Egypt near Alexandria, that had been founded by Caesar Augustus (Josephus *Ant* 5.11.15 § 273) would have provided a comfortable climate, but it also lies outside Paul's reported travels. Some cities named Nicopolis were founded by later Roman leaders and thus would not have been the site of the meeting between Titus and Paul.

The most likely site for the meeting was the Nicopolis in Epirus; this same Nicopolis is also known as Nicopolis of Achaia. This variance has resulted because Tacitus (*Ann.* 2.53) described it as an Achaian town, whereas Ptolemy (*Geog.* 3.13) ascribed it to Epirus. The two terms are designations for large portions of what is today modern Greece. It was located on the W side of the Greek peninsula across the sea from the S end of the Italian peninsula (39°02´N; 20°44´E). The city was built on the isthmus of the Bay of Actium. Augustus founded the city in commemoration of the important naval victory over Mark Anthony in 31 B.C. which took place in the bay. The undisputed Princeps established the city as a Roman colony. The show piece of Nicopolis was a memorial dedicated in 29 B.C. to Neptune and Mars. The monument was decorated with a number of rams from the front of ships captured during the naval conflict. The city dominated the trade of the region and was the venue for a quadrennial festival which rivaled the Olympic games. Herod the Great, in his typical flair for promoting his own position with Augustus, made generous donations toward the construction of a temple there, as well as for numerous other public buildings (Josephus, *Ant* 16.5.3 § 147). The city became the home of the exiled philosopher Epictetus in A.D. 89 (Aulus Gellius *Attic Nights* 15.11.5). The site is occupied today by the modern village of Smyrtoula.

Paul's intention to meet Titus in Nicopolis sometime after being released from prison in Rome would have been a continuation of his evangelistic endeavor. It is widely held that after traveling through Miletus and Corinth, Paul made his way to Nicopolis, where he was arrested and returned to Rome in a second Roman imprisonment.

Codex Alexandrinus appends a note to the epistle to Titus indicating that the letter was sent from Nicopolis, but this note is not attested in other ancient manuscripts. It contrasts with Titus 3:12, which suggests that Paul was *near* Nicopolis, not *in* Nicopolis. Paul is usually thought to have written the letter from Corinth.
ROBERT W. SMITH

**NIGER** [Gk *Niger* (Νιγερ)]. The second name of Simeon, who was part of a group of prophets and teachers in the church at Antioch (Acts 13:1). The name is a Graecized form of the Latin word for "black," thus it is assumed that this Simeon was of African origin. This African connection has led to speculation that he is to be identified with Simon of Cyrene (Luke 23:26). It has also been suggested that the grammar of the sentence may specify that Niger was a prophet (with Barnabas and Lucius, Saul and Manean being teachers). But it is more likely that Luke has stylistically varied the list by shifting particles. Another speculation connects this Niger with the Simeon mentioned in Acts 15:14

The list seems to assume that Niger was an Antiochean. This may reflect Luke's general interest in Acts with this city and perhaps provide a further clue for the provenance of Acts. The list, and Niger's place in it in Acts, illustrates the diversity of the community at Antioch, highlighting the Lucan theme of the universality of the gospel.

THOMAS W. MARTIN

**NIGHT HAG** See LILITH (DEITY).

**NILE** (PLACE) [Heb *yĕ›ōr* (יְאֹר), *nāhār* (נָהָר); *yām* (יָם)]. The river that essentially defines Egypt.

This article consists of two entries. The first surveys OT references to the Nile River, while the second provides a geographical overview of the river's role in constituting Egyptian life.

***OLD TESTAMENT***

The term most commonly used to refer to the Nile River or its tributaries (particularly the Delta region) in the Hebrew Bible is *yĕ›ōr.* This Hebrew word is generally thought to be a loan word from Eg *i (t)rw,* "river, Nile, a river/stream [of the Nile]" (*WbÄS* 1: 146–47; Lesko 1982–89 1:60; de Buck 1948:1; Lambdin 1953: 151; see Kadish 1988 for a discussion of the word's possible origin); and is often followed by the adjective ‹€ *(j),* "great" (i.e., the "Great River") to denote the Nile generally and its central artery within the Delta system (Gardiner 1947: 153*–68*; Bietak 1975: 118–25).

In the Pentateuch, the Nile is most prominent within the story of Joseph (Genesis 41) and the Exodus tradition (Exodus 2, 7–8). In Gen 41:1–3, Pharaoh sees in his dream seven healthy cows emerging from the Nile and feeding on the "reed grass" (Heb *›āḥu,* from Eg *3ḫ[w],* "papyrus thicket"; see Lambdin 1953:146) near the river. In his recounting of the dream to Joseph, Pharaoh (or rather the narrator) adds the Heb *śĕpat,* "lip, edge," to *yĕ›ōr,* i.e., "In my dream I saw myself standing at the edge of the Nile" (v 17). The same phrase (Heb *śĕpat hayĕ›ōr*) is also found in Exod 2:3, where the text states that the child (Heb *yeled*) Moses was placed "in the marsh (*sûp*) at the river's edge" (see Ward 1974:343 for "marsh" instead of RSV "reeds").

Certainly the most celebrated biblical narrative concerning the Nile is that relating the story of the plagues, specifically the first two where the river turns to blood (7:15–24) and frogs emerge from its waters, infesting the land of Egypt (7:25–8:11 [Eng 8:1–15]). According to the text (7:20), Moses lifted his staff and struck the waters of the Nile in the presence of Pharaoh and his servants, whereupon all the waters of the Nile turned to blood. The intended effect of this miracle upon Pharaoh was, however, lessened by the fact that Egypt's "magicians" (Heb *ḥarṭummîm,* a problematic term generally believed to be of Egyptian derivation; see Lambdin 1953:150–51 and Quaegebeur 1985) were able to do the same (7:22), although one naturally questions how they accomplished this feat. One would have to assume that the miracle was first reversed, i.e., the blood—which was now throughout all the land of Egypt (v 21b)—became water once again, thus allowing them to demonstrate their comparable powers. In the same fashion (but this time Aaron wields the staff), the second plague brings frogs from the "waters of Egypt" (8:6) upon the land. There is some confusion within the text concerning the origin and extent of these two plagues—whether they were restricted to the Nile (as in 7:17, 20–21a; 8:3, 9b, 11) or encompassed all bodies of water (7:19, 24; 8:1–2 [—Eng 8:5–6]; see Fohrer 1964; Childs *Exodus* OTL, 130–62; Zevit 1976 for a discussion of the source-critical problems and final redaction of the plague narrative). With respect to the latter position (i.e., all bodies of water), Zevit (1976: 199–202, 210–11; 1990:22) has noted that these descriptions echo the language of Genesis 1, and are intended by P to evoke the "undoing" of Yahweh's creation (compare, e.g., "their bodies of waters" [Heb *miqwēh mêmêhem*] in exod 7:19 with "the gathering of waters" [Heb *miqwēh hammayim*] in Gen 1:10).

As with the crossing of the Red Sea, scholars have never tired of seeking natural explanations for these otherwise miraculous events. The most widely cited treatment of the plagues from this perspective is that of Greta Hort (1957–58), who attempts to demonstrate that "the salient features of each plague are also the salient features of one specific natural phenomenon, and that the plagues follow upon each other in the Bible in the sequence which such phenomena would have in nature" (85). Thus, the "blood-red" color of

the waters of the Nile was brought about by an abnormally high inundation (contra the earlier view of a low Nile, e.g., Petrie 1911:35–36), which in turn raised the level of flagellates within the water to a point where the fish could no longer survive. The numerous dead fish then made the water foul and undrinkable, and, according to Hort, at that point the already reddish water of the high inundation "became truly blood-red in colour" (94). As for the plague of frogs that followed, Hort explains that invasion of dry land as the result of the masses of dead and decomposing fish along the banks of the river that threatened the frogs' normal habitat (96–97).

The most frequent objection to Hort's rather elaborate scenario (apparent as she progresses through the plagues) is that she fails seriously to consider the source-critical/redactional history behind the formation of the narrative (e.g., Greenberg 1969:202). According to Zevit (1976: 195–96), the "plasticity" of the plagues tradition, reflected in their varying order in Psalms 78 and 105, "tells against any attempt to explain the order of the ten plagues as reflecting a connected series of natural catastrophes," although he does not deny the possibility that "some actual natural disasters ultimately lie behind the various traditions" (see also Zevit 1990:42). (Note also the comments of Beegle 1979:117–18 and the insightful critiques of Greenberg 1969:200–3 and de Vaux *EHI*, 360–62.)

While she is not interested in literary analysis per se (e.g., p. 85), Hort's conclusion that the narrative is indeed historical implies some type of unity, even if at the hands of its latest redactor who placed the plagues in their correct historical sequence (note her revealing, if not confusing, statement on the "original account" of the first plague [p. 95]). While she often relies upon the details of the text and, indeed, maintains that it is in these that her case is strongest, Hort must at times "interpret" certain passages. For example, she consistently refers to the "blood-red colour" of the Nile, while the biblical writer(s) state that the Nile actually became blood (note Exod 4:9), and infer that the death of the fish was due to this change (Exod 7:20–21). Ironically, Hort employs natural means to explain what was clearly perceived by the biblical author(s) as a purely miraculous event—one whose sole purpose was to magnify the superior power of their god, Yahweh—and thus defeats the purpose of the biblical text. The writer does not speak in terms of a natural catastrophe, but wishes the reader to understand that this occurrence is strictly beyond the normal course of affairs (high inundations were not previously unknown or unique), and thus evidence of the hand of Yahweh. Ultimately, Hort's rationalistic explanations reveal more about the mind-set of the modern interpreter than the biblical text itself (see also the comments of Childs *Exodus* OTL, 168; Coats 1988: 12–13).

Attempts to support the historicity of the first plague through an appeal to the Egyptian text *Admonitions of Ipuwer* (e.g., Zevit 1990:20), which states "Lo, the river is blood" (Eg *iw ms itrw m snfw;* see Gardiner 1909:27 and plate 2, 10; translation from Lichtheim *AEL* 1: 151) overestimate the historical value (and misunderstand the genre) of this text (note esp. the comments of Lichtheim [149–50] on the literary topos "national distress"; also Kemp in *AESH* 74–75). Hort contends (as she must) that this statement in the *Admonitions* refers to "the dreaded calamity of *too high* a rise of the Nile" (92), but elsewhere in the same text one finds passages that indicate otherwise. For example, prior to the above quotation, one reads, "Blood is everywhere, there is no shortage of dead … Many dead are buried in the river [*itrw*], the stream [*nwj*] is the grave, the tomb has become a stream" (Gardiner 1909: 25–26; *AEL* 1: 151). Thus, the writer has prepared the reader for what follows, i.e., the numerous dead bodies in the river have turned it to blood.

Aside from this Egyptian text, Hort's treatment of the first two plagues is conspicuous by its absence of reference to ancient Egyptian texts concerning the Nile or inundation—from the 13th century or any other period of Egyptian history—that might support her scenario. (Another Egyptian example of the "water into blood" motif, although unrelated to the Nile, is found in a late demotic text of Roman date; see Montet 1968:95–96, citing Maspero; Lichtheim *AEL* 3: 148.) The ancient Egyptians kept detailed records of Nile levels (crucial in the modern reconstruction of Egyptian chronology; e.g., von Beckerath 1966) and were fully aware of the destructive consequences of too high an inundation (e.g., the flooding of temples; under Sebekhotpe VIII [13th Dyn.], see Habachi 1974 and discussion in Baines 1974 and 1976; under Osorkon III [23 Dyn.], see Breasted *ARE* 4: 369; von Beckerath 1966:44–45; Edwards in *CAH*$^{a}$ 3/1:

567) and modern Egyptologists increasingly recognize the socioeconomic impact of these fluctuating levels upon the course of Egyptian history (e.g., Bell 1975; Butzer 1976: 26–38; 1984). Thus, it is all the more puzzling that such a catastrophic series of events related to the Nile should fail to prompt even the slightest mention in Egyptian texts from the alleged period of their occurrence. The traditional response to this uncomfortable silence has been that it was not in the best interest of the Egyptians to cite such embarrassing "defeats," but one does find other such catastrophes narrated within Egyptian inscriptions (e.g., the account of the destructive storm during the reign of Ahmose [1550/1539–1525/1514 B.C.E.; see Vandersleyen 1967], where no attempt is made to hide the negative effects of the disaster, as one finds, e.g., with the high inundation under Taharqah [690–664 B.C.E.; see Macadam 1949:27; Kitchen 1986: 388–89]). While highly conservative regarding the historicity of other events recorded in the book of Exodus, it is instructive to note the cautious approach of Sarna, who remarks of the plagues tradition that "the entire account has a didactic and theological purpose, not a historiographic one. In order to underline and emphasize these points, the narrator has devised a literary structure of impressive artistry" (1986: 75, 77). Unlike Sarna, who nevertheless does not rule out the possibility of a historical core behind the tradition (68–70), Van Seters (1986: 38) explains the plagues as a literary creation of the Yahwist (for him of exilic date), who drew from both biblical (prophetic) and ANE (curse) traditions.

Another issue raised regarding the first plague is the Nile's place in Egyptian religion vis-à-vis the biblical statement that Yahweh's actions on behalf of his people constituted a judgment against "all the gods of Egypt" (Exod 12:12; Num 33:4). One frequently finds the statement that the first plague was directed against the Egyptian "Nile god" Hapi (e.g., Finegan 1963:49; Aling 1981: 106; Sarna 1986: 79; but compare Greenberg 1969:201). But as Egyptologists have long known, the Eg word *ḥʿpi* refers not to the Nile, but to the inundation. This important distinction between Eg *itrw (ʿ€ )* as the river and *ḥʿpi* as the inundation was demonstrated by de Buck (1948), who collected numerous examples in support of his thesis (see also Hornung 1982: 77–79; Janssen 1987: 131, note 22; Baines 1985: 112). The term "Nile god," coined with reference to the many offering bearers in Egyptian reliefs associated, but not exclusively so, with the abundance of the inundation, is misleading at best and should be abandoned (see esp. the extensive treatment of Baines 1985, particularly pp. 112–16, who prefers the term "fecundity figures"). However, leaving aside their overt theological biases, one need not assume that the biblical writers' own perception of the Nile in Egyptian thought—however they may have acquired this knowledge—must tally in all respects with that presented in Egyptian texts. It is not impossible that the biblical authors drew from a more "popular" view of Egyptian religion current in the Palestine of their day (the importance of later Egyptian traditions, i.e., from the 7th–6th centuries, in the composition of the Exodus narratives should not be overlooked). Be that as it may, it is clear from the text that the biblical authors/redactors were aware of the extreme importance of the Nile to the welfare of Egypt, and that any serious disruption of its normal agricultural cycle (which revolved around the river), as the first plague was certainly intended to be, would deal a severe blow to the very heart of the Egyptian way of life (compare Isa 19:5–8).

Outside the Pentateuch, the Nile figures most prominently within the prophetic corpus, particularly in the major prophets' oracles against Egypt. In Amos 8:8 and 9:5, the earth trembles (Heb *rgz*) and melts (Heb *mwg*) like the rising and falling of the Nile; at first reading, an apparent reference to the inundation, but there are serious textual problems in these two (not quite parallel) verses. The Heb (*Nipʿal*) verb *grś,* "be tossed/thrown about" (v 8b) is better suited to a violent sea (Isa 57:20), unlike the inundation (see discussion in Andersen and Freedman, *Amos* AB, 811–13). A somewhat similar description of the rising Nile occurs in Jer 46:7–8, where, in his attempt to reassert Egyptian dominance in the N, Pharaoh Neco (Necho II, 610–595 B.C.E.) likens his march into a devastating inundation, the "gushing" or "surging" (Heb *gʿś*) waters of the many Delta rivers (*nĕhārôt*).

In the book of Isaiah (7:18), the predicted invasion of the Egyptian (or rather Kushite) army, summoned by Yahweh as judgment against Judah (cf. 5:26; discussion in Hayes and Irvine 1987:137–38), is compared to a swarm or plague of flies from the streams/rivers of Egypt (Heb *yĕʾōrê miṣrāyim,* i.e., the Delta of Lower Egypt). Many regard the reference to Egypt here as a later interpolation (e.g., Wildberger

*Jesaja 1–12* BKAT, 301–5; brief discussion in Clements *Isaiah 1–39* NCBC, 89–90). Elsewhere (Isa 19:5–8), the downfall of Egypt is symbolized in part by the drying up of the Nile with its streams and canals (here Heb *yām, nāhār,* and *yĕʾōr* are all used interchangably; compare Ezek 30:12).

The RSV's "Nile" in Isa 18:2 represents the traditional interpretation of Heb *yām* here; but, as the commentaries reveal, the first two verses of this chapter are fraught with textual and historical difficulties. Others (e.g., Clements *Isaiah 1–39* NCBC, 164; Hayes and Irvine 1987:254; note also NJPS) prefer "sea" (i.e., the Mediterranean), a reading partially dependent upon one's view of the origin (Kush or Jerusalem?) and destination (Assyria, Jerusalem, or even Kush?) of the messengers of v 2 (discussion in Wildberger *Jesaja 13–27* BKAT, 678–89; Kaiser *Isaiah 13–39* OTL, 89–94; Hayes and Irvine 1987:252–55; note the interpretation of Ezek 30:9). In his oracle against Tyre, the First Isaiah (23:1–3) comments upon the productive trade relations between the N Levantine coast and Egypt: "her [Tyre's] revenue came from the grain [lit. "seed"] of Shihor, and from the harvest of the Nile" (Heb *yĕʾôr,* omitted in LXX; on Shihor, see Bietak in *LÄ* 5: 623–26). The RSV rendering of Isa 23:10, "Overflow [Heb *ʿibrî*] your land like the Nile," is generally emended, with support from Qumran and the LXX, to "Till [Heb *ʿibdî*] your land like the Nile" (although the meaning of the verse as a whole is still unclear; see NJPS and the suggestions of Wildberger *Jesaja 13–27* BKAT, 857; Hayes and Irvine 1987:292).

In 2 Kgs 19:23–24 (= Isa 37:24–25), the Neo-Assyrian monarch, Sennacherib, boasts of his exploits in Lebanon and, following the traditional interpretation, Egypt. Evidence for the latter derives from the phrase *yĕʾōrê māṣôr,* "the streams/rivers of Masor," rendered by RSV and others (NJPS, NEB) as "streams of Egypt." Here *māṣôr* is taken as a variant for *miṣrāyim,* the common term for Egypt. This view, however, has not gone unchallenged (e.g., Calderone 1961). Tawil (1982: 199–202) suggests that Heb *māṣôr* should be identified with the Mesopotamian geographical site *šadê Muṣri,* Mount *Muṣur,* and that the biblical account (19:24 = 37:25) is actually a reference to Sennacherib's construction of irrigation works in this area (modern Jebel Bashiqah, E of Khorsabad) for the city of Nineveh. Although, as he admits (201, note 34), the presence of *yĕʾōrê māṣôr* in Isa 19:6, a clear reference to Egypt, remains unexplained.

The prophet Nahum (3:8–10) compares the fall of Nineveh (612 B.C.E.) to the earlier Assyrian sack of Thebes "that sat by the Nile" in Upper (southern) Egypt (663 B.C.E.). The references to rivers/streams (*yĕʾorîm*), water(s) (*mayim*), and sea (*yām*) in Nahum's portrayal of this S Egyptian city have caused difficulties (although *yām* could refer to the Nile, as in Isaiah 19 above, and Nahum's description may reflect a knowledge of this chapter). As earlier scholars have noted, this description of Thebes is more suited to a typical city of the Delta (see Spiegelberg 1904:33; Müller 1903; Simons *GTTOT,* 474; on Delta cities, Bietak 1979:100–1), and later tradition (e.g., Jerome) identified Heb *Nōʾ-ʾāmôn* (Thebes) with Alexandria (see Doorslaer 1949). However, Nahum's description of Thebes as insular and aquatically fortified may draw from his own limited knowledge of Egyptian cities, which included only those of the Delta, as opposed to the lesser-known cities (at least to the inhabitants of Palestine) of Upper (southern) Egypt (but see Schneider 1988, who defends the prophet's description as accurate and possibly reflecting a personal knowledge of the city).

In Ezekiel's oracles against Egypt (Ezekiel 29–32), the pharaoh is like the "great sea creature [Heb *hattannîm haggādôl*] lying [in the sense of "at ease"?] in the midst of his rivers [*yĕʾorāyw*], who says 'My Nile [MT sg. *yĕʾōri*] is my own, I made it [for?] myself' " (29:3; see Freedy and Redford 1970:471; Boadt 1980: 26–30; see also v 9 and 32:2–3). Through this statement, the pharaoh proudly asserts his sole ownership of and sovereignty over Egypt, and such hubris, of course, does not go unpunished. To continue the metaphor, Yahweh will hook the animal and leave him to rot out of water, with his carcass as food for the "beasts of the earth and birds of the air" (v 5; note the cosmic dimensions of this event in 32:3–8). While Heb *yĕʾōr* is used exclusively in 29:3–5 and 9, other related passages (32:2, 14) vary with *yām, nāhār,* and *mayim.* There is disagreement over the interpretation of Heb *tannîm* in 29:2 and 32:2 (generally read *tannîn;* see Zimmerli *Ezekiel 2* Hermeneia, 106; Boadt 1980: 26–27). Since the seminal work of Gunkel (*Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit,* 1895), a number of scholars have advocated a mythological context for this passage, identifying Ezekiel's *tannîm* with the well-known sea

creature or dragon subdued (or requiring subjugation) by Yahweh (e.g., Isa 27:1; 51:9; Ps 74:13; for Gunkel, see translation of selected passages in Anderson 1984:25–52; discussion in Boadt 1980:26–27; Day 1985: 94–95). Others (e.g., Cooke *Ezekiel* ICC, 325–26) reject this view, rendering *tannéÆm* as "crocodile," a creature familiar in Egyptian literature (e.g., Westcar Pap., see Simpson 1973:17–18, 30; *Admonitions of Ipuwer*, see Lichtheim *AEL* 1: 151; Book of the Dead, see Allen 1974:29, 41–43, 65, etc.; see Stead 1986:69 for illustration; in general, Brunner-Traut in *LÄ* 3: 791–801). According to Zimmerli *Ezekiel 2*, 111, this mythological monster has already been demythologized in Ezekiel, and "what should be thought of in the first instance is the crocodile." He then draws attention to the often quoted phrase from the Poetical Stela of Thutmose III, where Amun-Re says of the king, "I let them [the king's enemies] see your majesty as a crocodile [*dpi*], master of terror in the water, unapproached" (*Urk. IV*, 616, line 9; translation from Lichtheim *AEL* 2: 37). However, the relevance of this text for Ezekiel is greatly diminished when one notes that in the same poem, Amun also caused the king's foes to see him as (among other things) a youthful bull, a fearsome lion, a falcon (?) (Eg *nb dmt*, lit "lord of wing") pouncing on its prey, and a jackal. A more fruitful, although highly speculative, approach to the question of Egyptian parallels might be found in those inscriptions or reliefs assigning royal attributes (e.g., through assimilation with Re, Horus, or Osiris) to the Egyptian deity Sobek (Gk *Suchos*), represented in the form of a crocodile, a human body with a crocodile head, or fetish; not unnaturally, Sobek is also closely associated with the Nile (e.g., "Lord of the Nile") and is protected by its fish (see Brovarski in *LÄ* 5: 995–1031, esp. 999–1000; compare Ezek 29:4–5). But even the existence of suitable Egyptian parallels need not imply conscious borrowing by the biblical writer.

In a handful of passages, *yĕʾōr* is unrelated to the Nile or Egypt: Isa 33:21 (the broad rivers of the restored Zion); Job 28:10 (man-made channels cut through rock); and Dan 12:5–7 (the shore of the Tigris [?], compare 10:4).

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## *GEOGRAPHY*

The most remarkable of the ancient world's river systems (Hurst 1925; 1957; Hurst and Phillips 1931), the Nile formed an indispensable resource for Egypt and a series of cultures in Nubia and Sudan in Ancient times.

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A. Course and Hydrology.
1. White Nile.
2. Blue Nile.
3. Main Nile.
B. Inundation.
C. Nile North of Khartoum.
1. Development.
2. Inundation and occupation.
D. Land and Water.
1. Natural irrigation.
2. Nile and Egyptian Agriculture.
E. Nile in Egyptian Religion.

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### A. Course and Hydrology

**1. White Nile.** The sources of the Nile lie 6,671 km from the river's mouths, in the Kagera river system in Central Africa which empties into Lake Victoria, the largest freshwater lake in the Eastern Hemisphere. The Victoria Nile leaves the lake, flowing over the Owen and Ripon falls, and enters shallow and swampy Lake Kioga. The river then flows through more rapids to the edge of the Central African rift at Murchison Falls, entering Lake Albert with a volume of 10.7 G $^3$/year (billions of cubic meters). The Albert Nile descends from the lake 153 m in its 156 km course to the Uganda-Sudan border. The river, here known as the Bahr el Gebel (River of the Mountain), flows to the great swampy Sudd (Block) with a volume of 26.5 G $m^3$/year, where despite the addition of the Bahr el Ghazal (Gazelle River), evaporation and percolation

reduce the volume of water that leaves the Sudd as the White Nile (Bahr el-Abyad) to only 14.24 G $m^3$/year. The Sobat, which rises in the Ethiopian highlands, the last significant tributary to the White Nile, brings the flow to 25.2 G $m^3$/year, its volume at Khartoum (Kleinschroth 1977: 158–59).

**2. Blue Nile.** From Lake Tana in the N Ethiopian highland, the Blue Nile (Bahr el-Azraq) flows 900 km to Rosieres Dam in Sudan, descending 1,300 m, partly through a spectacular gorge (Williams and Williams 1980:212), and receiving numerous tributaries. The rivers Dinder and Rahad join the Blue Nile below Rosieres to make a total flow of some 51.4 G $m^3$/year (Kleinschroth 1977: 159).

**3. Main Nile.** The Blue and the White Niles join at Khartoum, and the river receives the addition of the seasonal Atbara north of the Sixth Cataract to make up the annual volume at Aswan of 84 G $m^3$/year, the last addition to the Nile for 2,700 km when it empties into the Mediterranean (Kleinschroth 1977: 159).

**B. Inundation**

For nine months, the river's water comes primarily from the White Nile. Most of the Nile's flow occurs in a three-month inundation season from August to October, when monsoon rains in Ethiopia swell the Sobat, the Blue Nile, and the Atbara to make up 95 percent of the Nile's volume for the season, the inundation being more than 80 percent for the entire year. The inundation is quite irregular, and the total volume has varied from a low of 41 G $m^3$/year in 1913/14 to 151 G $m^3$/year in 1878–79 (Kleinschroth 1977: 159).

**C. Nile North of Khartoum**

Six cataracts divide the Nile into moderately sloped navigable reaches and regulate the speed of the inundation. From Aswan, the Nile descends somewhat less than 1 m for every 10 km The river follows a valley at the edge of the Eastern Desert plateau that varies from the Nile's own width to about 15 km which often encloses the valley between high cliffs (Kleinschroth 1977: 159; Rushdi Said 1975:12–13 and 31–32). Below the First Cataract, the valley becomes wider, especially north of the great bend at Nag Hammadi. North of Cairo, the cliffs disappear and the Nile divides, now into two branches (Rosetta and Damietta), in ancient times into seven (Bietak 1975: 75–98), forming the great fertile Egyptian Delta, some × km

**1. Development.** The Nile Valley, a graben, and the Delta were filled with hundreds of meters of sediment, beginning in mid-Tertiary times (Williams and Williams 1980:218–20), but the gray-black alluvium that forms the agricultural plain is a thin surface that has been deposited in the last 30,000 years (Rushdi Said 1975:30–32). The Nile berms are above the plain, which slopes downward toward the edges (Bietak 1975: 53–54; Butzer 1976: 15–17). The banks of different courses generally paralleled the river as natural dikes.

**2. Inundation and Occupation.** The broad valley and the annual silt-laden inundation make possible a lush vegetation on the floodplain and an almost miraculous agricultural productivity. The inundation (6–8 m above low water) covers the land about 1.5–2 m deep for about 45 days. Its timing is right to allow grain plants to mature in the winter without further watering. The inundation's soaking removes soil-damaging salts and leaves a thin (ca. 1 mm) layer of fresh silt with new nitrogen to renew the land. The silt increased the height of the land about one meter per millennium, broadening the valley floor and filling lower, swampy areas more rapidly than higher ones, an important long-term change (Rushdi Said 1975:33).

**D. Land and Water**

Based on the distribution of water, different modes of occupying the Egyptian valley can be characterized as "natural irrigation," basin irrigation, perennial irrigation, and artificial irrigation (Willcocks and Craig 1913:299–426; Schenkel 1978: 21–23).

**1. Natural Irrigation.** The simplest agriculture in the valley involved no modification of the flood. As the river receded, a cultivator would follow its progressive fall with rows of plantings. Probably derived from seasonal playa agriculture, this technique appears elsewhere in Africa where shallow seasonal bodies of water occur (McIntosh and McIntosh 1984:159; Butzer 1976: 19). It was recently used in parts of Nubia and where irrigation is not practicable, and it is sometimes enhanced by terracing or by the erection

of small dam-traps which create mud flats in the braided channels of the Second Cataract (Vercoutter 1966: 161–63, pls. XVI–XVII).

The condition of the land could be unpredictable even when floods were normal. The river's eroding meanders and changing bed continuously altered the landscape, and the location of "good" floods would change (Russell 1966: 78–79; see Rushdi Said 1975:37–38; Butzer 1976: fig. 1), so in a thirty-year period, only a few Niles were ideal, and many were too high or too low. Land usable one year might not be adequately watered, silted, or drained the next. The silt provided sufficient fertility for planting grain only every second year or two years out of five (Girard 1824: 137–48; Baer 1971), and with the variable inundation, a field's fallow cycle could not be anticipated and land ownership would be difficult. Even with irrigation, villages could be difficult to site (Russell 1966: 79).

**2. Nile and Egyptian Agriculture.** Egypt developed complementary agricultural practices, engineering works, economic arrangements, and administrative measures that formed the basis of its monumental civilization.

**a. Agricultural Cycle.** Egyptians raised many garden crops and other specialized products, but the agricultural cycle was dominated by the cultivation of grains, generally barley and millet, and raising livestock, goats, sheep, and cattle. These two activities were mutually dependent. Grain was alternated with fallow, but alternation with nitrogen-enriching crops, as done more recently, was apparently not practiced. Animals were fed on straw from the fields and they foraged in the fallow fields, where their droppings helped enrich the soil (Willcocks and Craig 1913:762; Baer 1971; *LÄ* 2: 934–35).

The population, about 2.5–4.5 million, about ¹/₅ urban, was supported by cultivation of somewhat less than half the arable land in any one year (for estimates, see Baer 1962:42–44; 1971; for the fallow cycle, see Girard 1824:141). Much land was privately owned, but large areas were controlled by the ruler and cults (Baer 1962: 32–33; Hughes 1952: 74). Most cultivators sought favorably inundated land to lease in a single year for about ¹/₃–¹/fs18 2 of the crop or other rent, in addition to any land they might possess (Baer 1962: 33–39; 1963:9–16). Farmers often operated with associates and hired hands in teams (Hughes 1952: 45, 49 note m, 68–69 note f; Baer 1963: 7; note household rations 18–22).

**b. Hydraulic Engineering: The Basin System.** The most important element of Egyptian agriculture made the inundation perform more reliably, regulating the natural regime. At its simplest, the banks of the river were reinforced, and transverse dikes were constructed between natural levees enclosing basins, which were carefully leveled to ensure even watering and deposition of silt (Butzer 1976: 20; Baer 1971; Hurst 1957: 38–41; Girard 1824: 10–13). In the 19th century, these generally varied in size from 2,000 to 40,000 acres, averaging about 7,000, but they could be made much smaller (Willcocks and Craig 1913:301; Baer 1971). An inlet canal, sometimes an abandoned channel, was dug to about halfway between the high and low Nile to lead water onto the fields, and a drain was dug to lead it off again. In Upper Egypt, the same canal could serve for both watering and drainage. At the appropriate time, the high Nile was let into the canal by cutting a closing bank, and 40–45 days later, the drain would be opened to clear the fields for planting. The simplest basin systems would be established by a village or a town (Hurst 1957: 39), but a considerable amount of yearly maintenance was necessary, backed by regular labor obligations (*LÄ* 2: 333–34; Goyon 1982: 64 n. 23). The effectiveness of basin irrigation could be greatly enhanced by large projects and its flexibility improved by complex refinements (Wilcocks and Craig 1913:299–341). Nevertheless, irrigation, like many mundane but very important functions, is not detailed in Egyptian sources (Baer 1971; Schenkel 1978: 25). Before the end of the New Kingdom, there are few unequivocal references to irrigation apart from some important texts in the First Intermediate Period (Schenkel 1978: 29–36) and the titles of some low-echelon officials in the New Kingdom (Endesfelder 1979: 47–49). Irrigation was largely a local or mundane matter that rarely appears in representations and only occasionally in texts before the Ptolemaic period. Because it is first mentioned in inscriptions during the First Intermediate Period, an irrigation revolution has been postulated (Schenkel 1978; *LÄ* 1: 776–82).

There is substantial evidence for hydraulic works much earlier (Schenkel 1978: 26–27). Before the First Dynasty, the monumental decorated mace-head of Scorpion (third predessor of Narmer) shows a

hydraulic event no matter what ceremony was actually depicted. The pharaoh appears with a hoe in his hand attended by a man with a basket and a second man with a sheaf. Below is what seems to be a canal with men, also holding hoes, partly in the water, and a palm revetted against the flood (Smith 1946: 113–14, fig. 30; but see Schenkel 1978:29; Helck 1987: 97; *LÄ* 1: 1261–63). From Dynasty I, inundation levels were recorded in the annals, a systematic recording later intimately connected with the basin system (Jaritz 1986: 1–2). In the Old Kingdom, canals were built for shipping. Quays at royal mortuary complexes were located on the Memphite canal (*LÄ* 3: 10–12). A large (110 × 98 × 14 m) masonry-faced dam across an Eastern Desert wadi, the Sadd el Kafara, was constructed in the Old Kingdom (Fahlbusch 1986; Garbrecht et al. 1983: Appendix B). Abundant evidence of early hydraulic engineering and careful measurement indicates indirectly that the basin complex was already in existence.

**c. Hydraulic Engineering: True Irrigation.** As the land rose in ancient times, the canals gradually gained on the higher land and were extended to increase the area that could be irrigated using devices that would lift the water into a garden plot, devices such as the shadoof, lifting up to 3 m (Girard 1824: 17–18; *LÄ* 5: 520–21). In Ptolemaic times, the Archimedes' screw was added, and later a simple ox-turned waterwheel with buckets or chambers (*tambusha*) which could lift water about a meter (Hurst 1957: 44–45). A wheel with a rope chain of pots or buckets (*saqia*) imported by Roman times from Persia was capable of lifting water up to even 10 m, making it possible to water large gardens and palm groves (Girard 1824: 20–22).

Large projects such as the Old Kingdom Sadd el-Kafara were sponsored by the state. The most famous of these was the Lake Moeris (not to be confused with Birket Qarun) probably created in the southern Fayum in the Middle Kingdom (Herodotus 2: 148–50; Garbrecht 1986b: 8–11). In the Ptolemaic period, this region was made much more productive with elaborate works (Bonneau 1981; see also Eck 1986:5–6).

**d. Government, Agriculture and Irrigation.** Although not well represented in the texts, irrigation was an essential economic support of the Egyptian state, and the state at least indirectly became necessary for successful irrigation through its concern with agricultural output. Important measures complemented basin complexes and agricultural practices to make Egypt's large population and continuity possible. Security against marauding invaders, animals, and social disorder, the fundamental obligation of the pharaonic state, was needed to keep enough of an active agricultural population (young males) on the land to maintain the dikes and canals or even to prevent deliberate acts of destruction (Schenkel 1978: 27, also 29–31 and 55–87). Measurement of the inundation (Jaritz 1986: 2) together with taxes and rents paid in kind to institutions not only supported their own activities, but provided grain to be stored and available to alleviate famine (Schenkel 1978: 37–49; see Genesis 41; *LÄ* 3: 84). In addition, governments and even officials undertook the resettlement of people on reclaimed land, an "internal colonization" (Goyon 1982: 64; Schenkel 1978: 55–57, 65–67).

**e. Nile and Egyptian History.** In four millennia, failures were bound to occur (Butzer 1976: 26–38; 1984: 106), and they could lead to famine, starvation, cannibalism, banditry, social disruption, and displacement. It is difficult to attribute specific periods of social disorder to Nile failure because disruption of normal agricultural routines or grain supplies by war or mismanagement would have the same effect, but even some unusual Niles did not cause insuperable difficulties, as indicated by much more complete medieval records (Russell 1966). Relatively low Niles recorded in the Second Dynasty occur in a period of some conflict, but increasing prosperity is also shown in the development of royal complexes and the great private cemetery at Helwan (Butzer 1984: 106, 108; but see Stadelmann 1985). Major disruptions at the end of the Old Kingdom are not accompanied by explicit documentation of poor Niles, but formulistic references to events that occur regularly in Egypt, such as dust storms that appear in the *khamsin* season and shallow water (1 m), occur commonly (Willcocks 1889: 19); a famine at the end of the 11th Dynasty may also have its origin in social or administrative disruption (Bell 1971; Butzer 1984: 106–7, 108–9; see von Beckerath 1965, esp. p. 9). In late Dynasty XII and early Dynasty XIII, records of extremely high water in Nubia under the powerful Amenemhat III are not accompanied by evidence of chaos, despite a change of dynasty (Bell 1975; Butzer 1984: 107, 109; see Bietak 1975:63 n.

198; Vercoutter 1966). At the end of the New Kingdom, drastic rises in prices are accompanied by official corruption in the grain supply and by invasion and infiltration from Libya and Nubia that repeatedly disrupted work routines as far S as Thebes (*CAH* 2/2: 616–34; Butzer 1984: 107–8, 109–10; Baer 1962: 27–29). Shortage and disruption are correlated in late Ptolemaic and Roman times, attributed to rapacious administration and neglect. In medieval times, long periods of low Niles were accompanied by reduced population and a generalized social weakening, sometimes even plagues, without sudden disruption (Russell 1966: 75, 77–82).

Fragmentary and disputed evidence indicates that quite early, Egyptians developed agricultural practices, some irrigation technology, and institutions for storing and distributing produce that were capable of dealing with almost any variation in the Nile. When these habits and institutions broke down, as when people avoided exactions or pestilence wiped out part of the population, the irrigation works deteriorated rapidly from neglect and Egypt was impoverished (Russell 1966: 71; Bonneau 1971: 189–98; Garbrecht 1986a: 10–11; Eck 1986: 20–22). If fluctuation in the inundation probably had limited effect on the course of Egyptian history, long-term changes may have been more influential. The deposition of silt, concentrated especially in the Delta (Rushdi Said 1975:33–34; van den Brink et al. 1987), increased the area available there for cultivation so much that it became Egypt's predominant region by the end of the New Kingdom, a position it has occupied to the present day.

**E. Nile in Egyptian Religion**

Despite its importance to Egypt, the Nile's deity, Hapy, was not numbered among the great gods of the pantheon (Bonneau 1964: 229; *LÄ* 4: 485–88). God of the inundation, Hapy had his own cults (see *LÄ* 4: 498–500), festival, and hymn (*LÄ* 4: 490–96), but was most often seen as the bringer of produce offerings. He is often shown covered with zigzag lines as though under water, a male figure with pendulous breasts, a large stomach, and a beard, wearing a papyrus bundle on his head. He typically appears as a pair of gods who tie the plants of Lower and Upper Egypt together on the side of a throne. Rows of Nile gods, one for each district or nome, alternately red and blue, bring offerings to the chief god of a temple (Bonneau 1964: 223–29). Hapy was identified or clearly associated with many gods in their aspect of fruitfulness, but he was especially close to Nun, the primeval water which was connected to the inundation, as Hapy-Nun (Bonneau 1964: 238–39), and to Osiris, joined with him as Hapy-Osiris (*LÄ* 4: 485–88; see also Bonneau 1964:243–74). The first rising of the Nile at the Cataract was brought about by Khnum, with his associates Satis and Anukis (Bonneau 1964: 232–33), and the pharaoh was a guarantor of its fruitfulness (Bonneau 1982: 62–63, *LÄ* 6: 831–33).

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## NIMRIM, THE WATERS OF (PLACE) [Heb *mê-nimrîm* (מֵי־נִמְרִים)]. Waters located in Moab

and mentioned in oracles against Moab (Isa 15:6; Jer 48:34). The once fertile and well-watered region had become desolate and denuded. Eusebius and Jerome equated the Waters of Nimrim with *Bennamerium* N of Zoar (Lagarde 1887: 284, lines 32–34; 143, lines 11–13). Modern scholarship has traced the name Nimrim to locations both NE and SE of the Dead Sea. Most scholars identify the Waters of Nimrim with the homonymic *Wâdī en-Numeirah*, a small stream flowing W just above the *Wâdī el-Ḥesā* into the Dead Sea about 8–10 miles above its S end (e.g., Rudolph *Jeremia*, HAT, $^{2}$ 265; Wildberger *Jesaja* BKAT, 616). The ruined site called *Numeirah* (M.R. 201059) which lies at the source of the *Wâdī en-Numeirah* may have been the location of the ancient Moabite town.

Other scholars hold that the ancient biblical name Beth-nimrah (Num 32:36; Josh 13:27), identified by many with *Tell el-Bleibil* (M.R. 2010146), survives in the name of the Roman-Byzantine site called *Tell Nimrîn* (about 1 mile SW of *Tell el-Bleibil*), and suggest that the waters of the *Wâdī Nimrîn* may be a reference to the biblical Waters of Nimrim (e.g., Glueck 1943:11).

Given the association of the Waters of Nimrim with towns such as Zoar and Horonaim and the apparently southern escape route of the fugitives (cf. Isa 15:1–5), a southerly location of the Waters of Nimrim, while not proven, seems preferable.

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**NIMROD** (PERSON) [Heb *nimrōd* (נִמְרֹד)]. A pre-Israelite hero mentioned in Gen 10:8 (= 1 Chr 1:10), 9–12, and Mic 5:5—Eng 5:6 The Genesis passage, part of the Table of Nations of chap. 10, but marked out from the rest by its narrative, not simply genealogical, character, is regularly assigned to J. It describes Nimrod, the first of the (post-Flood) heroes, as the son of Cush. As a hero he achieves proverbial renown as a hunter, and rules the land of Shinar/Babylonia, with its chief cities, Babylon, Erech/Uruk, and Akkad/Agade. From there he extends his kingdom to Assyria, building Nineveh, Rehoboth-Ir, Calah, and Resen. In Micah the land of Nimrod is put in parallel and thus presumably equated with the land of Assyria.

The identity of Nimrod has been much debated. Three different approaches have been pursued. The first identifies Nimrod as a god, usually the Mesopotamian Ninurta or Marduk. The second would find in Nimrod a legendary Mesopotamian hero, either Gilgamesh or Lugalbanda, or a legendary eponym of Mesopotamia, parallel to the Ninos of Greek tradition. In the third approach, Nimrod has been equated with an historical personage, especially the Mesopotamian kings Sargon of Agade or Tukulti-Ninurta I of Assyria; less often, Nazimaruttash, a Kassite king of Babylonia, the Egyptian pharaoh Amenophis III, or the Aramaean ruler Ben-Hadad.

Deciding among this bewildering variety of identifications is not easy. Since the Genesis text, especially, describes human achievements in a Mesopotamian setting, one would expect a legendary hero, an eponym, or an historical personage of Mesopotamia, not a god, even if the form "Nimrod" fits best as a Hebrew corruption and denigrative reinterpretation ("we will rebel" [*mārad*]) of the divine names Ninurta or Marduk. A way to reconcile these alternatives is to suppose (so Speiser 1958) that Nimrod is a legendary hero, eponym, or historical personage whose name is an abbreviation of one formed with "Ninurta" or "Marduk," like Tukulti-Ninurta I.

In trying to narrow the options further, we may observe that the biblical representation of Nimrod seems to have drawn upon a multiplicity of Mesopotamian traditions. The mention of Babylon, Erech/Uruk, and Akkad/Agade points, on the one hand, to Babylonia. More specifically, the fact that Nimrod is based in Babylonia, from which he then extends his rule over Assyria (construing *ʾaššûr* in Gen 10:11 as the land, in the directional case, viz., "he went out to Assyria"), reflects, at the least, the long-standing cultural superiority of Babylonia over Assyria. But there seems to be an implication of Babylonian political domination as well, for which the best background would be either before 2000 B.C., under the Agade or Ur III dynasties, or ca. 610–539 B.C., under Neo-Babylonian (Chaldean) rule. On the other hand, the likelihood that "Cush," Nimrod's father, stands for the Kassites (Akkadian *Kaššû/Kuššû*) and that "Shinar" reflects "Shanhara," a designation of Kassite Babylonia, points to the use of Babylonian traditions originating in Kassite times, i.e., from the later 2d millennium B.C.

Assyria also forms a part of the imagery of the biblical Nimrod, particularly the Assyria of the Neo-Assyrian period (9th–7th centuries B.C.), when it dominated Babylonia. This is clear from the identification of the land of Nimrod with Assyria by the 8th–7th-century prophet Micah. It also fits the picture of Nimrod as hunter in Genesis 10, for this is a well-known royal motif in Mesopotamian literature and art which became especially prominent with the Neo-Assyrian kings. Finally, a Neo-

Assyrian setting explains the Genesis 10 reference to Nineveh, Calah, Rehoboth-Ir, and Resen. Calah (= modern Nimrud), founded apparently in the early 13th century B.C., only became a major capital with its grandiose revival by the Neo-Assyrian king Assurnasirpal II in the early 9th century. "Rehoboth-Ir" seems best explained as Assyrian *rebīt āli*, "the public square of a city"; more specifically, given its position in v 11 next to Nineveh, it should be *rebīt Ninua*, the large square complex of Nineveh which the 8th–7th-century Assyrian king, Sennacherib, boasted of enlarging as part of his great rebuilding of the city and establishment of it as the principal imperial capital. "Resen," in turn, makes good sense as Assyrian *risnu*, an aqueduct or canal, of which we know two major examples in Assyrian history, both Neo-Assyrian: the Patti-hegalli, dug by Assurnasirpal II in the early 9th century in the area of Calah and restored by Esarhaddon in the early 7th; and the huge canal system around Nineveh, dug by Sennacherib in the late 8th–early 7th century. The Resen in Gen 10:12 which is said to be between Nineveh and Calah, could well be an echo, albeit a bit confused, of one or both of these enterprises.

The diverse traditions just sketched make it difficult to look only for one personage whom Nimrod is supposed to represent. Speiser's proposal, for example, that Nimrod is the Middle Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I may account for the connection with Cush, since it was a Kassite ruler whom Tukulti-Ninurta defeated in his conquest of Babylon. But it does not readily explain the hunting motif, as Speiser himself admits, since hunting is not found as a literary or artistic topos in the sources for Tukulti-Ninurta's reign. Nor, obviously, can it fit the identifications of Rehoboth-Ir and Resen discussed above.

It appears, thus, that Nimrod functions for the biblical writers as a legendary—and composite—eponym of Mesopotamia, and as such we should not expect to find any precision of historical reference. The parallel would be with the Ninos of Greek tradition, likewise the eponymous hero-founder of Assyria and its empire and likewise of composite background. Indeed, already in antiquity, Ninos was identified with Nimrod.

Still, the Nimrod portrait does represent a reaction to certain Mesopotamian historical realities, and since the latest of these takes us into the 1st millennium B.C., specifically, the 9th–6th centuries, then perhaps it is this period when at least the present form of our portrait was fashioned. One can speculate that it was the great achievements of the Neo-Assyrian kings of the 9th–7th centuries that served as a particular impetus for the portrait. The reversal of perspective, however, whereby Nimrod moves from Babylonia to dominate Assyria, rather than vice versa, would not be expected if the portrait had been completely fixed in the Neo-Assyrian period. Hence, one may conjecture that the final form of the portrait, with this reversal, reflects the Neo-Babylonian exile. In this regard one may add that all three Babylonian cities in Gen 10:10, although founded much earlier, continued and flourished in Neo-Babylonian times; indeed, Akkad/Agade became the particular focus of efforts to seek out and restore its ancient history.

In postbiblical sources, Jewish, Christian, and Muslim, Nimrod was not forgotten. The attachment of his name to various ancient Mesopotamian ruins in Iraq, especially Calah, was only one aspect of the interest in remembering and elaborating on his hunting and military might. This power, however, was seen mostly negatively: Nimrod being singled out as the greatest sinner since the Flood, whose crowning evils were his claim to be divine and his willingness to sponsor the Tower of Babel. A few sources, however, managed a more positive view, describing his opposition to the building of the Tower. For further discussion see *EncMiqr* 5: 872–73; *RGG* 4: 1496–97; Westermann *Genesis 1–11* BKAT, 686–92.

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PETER MACHINIST

**NIMSHI** (PERSON) [Heb *nimšî* (נִמְשִׁי)]. The father or grandfather of Jehu, king of Israel. Jehu is called "son of Nimshi" in 1 Kgs 19:16; 2 Kgs 9:20; and 2 Chr 22:7 He is called "son of Jehoshaphat, son of Nimshi" in 2 Kgs 9:2, 14 See JEHU. The identification of Nimshi as Jehu's grandfather is generally preferred, since the Heb *ben* is broader than the Eng "son," and can be construed as "grandson," "descendant," or the like. It is often inferred that Nimshi was a more prominent figure than Jehoshaphat, though he is otherwise unknown today. Šanda (*2 Kings* EHAT, 93) conjectured that Nimshi might be a clan name, but its appearance as a personal name on a Samarian ostracon makes this hypothesis unnecessary. The etymology of the name is unsure. Šanda (*1 Kings* EHAT, 450) relates it to the same root as "Moses," but this is unlikely; Noth (*IPN*, 230) cites an Arabic cognate for "mongoose."
JEROME T. WALSH

**NINEVEH** (PLACE) [Heb *nînĕwēh* (נִינְוֵה)]. The capital of Assyria in the last few decades of the Assyrian empire. The majority of the biblical references to Nineveh are to this period. Apart from these references there is the narrative in the Bible, Gen 10:11–12, regarding Nimrod, who was "a mighty hunter"; he began his kingdom at Babel (Babylonia) and then went into Assyria where he built four cities, two of which were Nineveh and Calah.

In the Bible, Nineveh was regarded as the seat of the greatest enemy of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah and most biblical references are to its fall. Thus Jonah was commanded by the Lord to go to Nineveh to cry out against it because of its wickedness. See JONAH, BOOK OF. In the book of Jonah we read the prophet's attempts to avoid this divine commission, which included the flight by sea and being swallowed by a whale, before finally accepting his fate. The story of Jonah and Nineveh is referred to in the NT in Matt 12:40–41 and Luke 11:30–32 The tradition has continued at the site of Nineveh to the present time, for on one of the two mounds, Nebi Yunus, there is a mosque dedicated to the prophet Jonah ("Nebi Yunus" in Arabic) and inside this structure there hangs the bone of a whale. With regard to the fall of Nineveh, the entire book of Nahum ("an oracle concerning Nineveh") gloats over this event, calling the Assyrian capital "the bloody city, all full of lies and booty." A brief description of Nineveh's fall is found in Zeph 2:13

**A. Location and Excavation**

The ancient site of Nineveh is still part of a major city, now called Mosul, which is the second largest city in the republic of Iraq. The site of Nineveh is on the east bank of the Tigris just a few kilometers downstream from the foothills of the Kurdish mountains. The modern city of Mosul has spread over onto the west bank of the Tigris. This region is an obvious location for a major settlement. The surrounding countryside was and still is a rich agricultural area. From the point of view of trade, Nineveh was on both the N-S trade route going up and down the Tigris and also straddled a major E-W route following along the S foothills of the Kurdish mountains. In its heyday the site of the city Nineveh covered an area with a circumference of approximately 7.75 miles (12.5 km). Within this circumference were two citadels or tells called respectively Kuyunjik and Nebi Yunus, with the river Hosr flowing between them. Only the Kuyunjik mound has been extensively explored since on the other mound, Nebi Yunus, is located the major shrine dedicated to the prophet Jonah (Yunus). Because of the sacred nature of the latter mound it has remained virtually untouched by modern archaeologists.

Although the location of the ancient city of Nineveh was never forgotten in native tradition, being preserved in medieval and modern Arabic sources, European explorers who were ignorant of this tradition remained confused about the location until the mid–19th century. In fact, even Sir Austin Henry Layard, one of the pioneer archaeologists in Assyria, was misled to think that the site of Nimrud farther

downstream was the location of ancient Nineveh and it was realized only later that it was actually the site of ancient Calah. Serious digging began at Nineveh in the mid–19th century by French and British explorers and excavation has continued at the site by various nationalities, including Iraqis. Unlike the archaeological work at Asshur and Calah, however, excavations at Nineveh have usually been very sporadic and unsystematic. Nevertheless in the late 19th century the libraries of Ashurbanipal, our most important source for the history and culture of Assyria, were discovered here and taken to the British Museum.

**B. History**

The history of the city Nineveh is an integral part of the history of Assyria. Nineveh was one of the four great cities of Assyria, the others being ASSHUR, CALAH, and ARBELA. The patron deity of Nineveh was Ishtar, goddess of love and war, who was also the patron deity of Arbela. The site of Nineveh was settled in prehistoric times but nothing is known of its history until the mid–3d millennium B.C. (ca. 2400 B.C.). At this time it was under the political control of the Old Akkadian kings in the south and there is a record that one of these kings, Manishtushu (ca. 2269–2255) rebuilt the temple of Ishtar. Nineveh does not appear prominently in the historical record again until the time of Shamshi-Adad I (ca. 1813–1781 B.C.), who also restored the temple of Ishtar and mentioned the work of his predecessor, Manishtushu. Apart from these periods when Nineveh was ruled by foreign powers it generally was an autonomous city-state with no political links to the other cities in the Assyrian heartland.

In the middle of the 2d millennium B.C. Nineveh came under the control of the kingdom of Mitanni but then was wrested from Mitanni by the rulers of the city-state of Asshur. This was the beginning of the creation of the country Assyria and from the reign of Assur-uballit I (1363–1328 B.C.) Nineveh, together with the other cities of the Assyrian heartland, was regarded as an intregal part of the land of Assyria. During the period of the Middle Assyrian Empire the great Assyrian kings built extensively at Nineveh, concentrating on the temple of Ishtar. The early kings of the Neo-Assyrian Empire continued this policy of building at Nineveh.

In the 7th century B.C. the city of Nineveh was transformed from being a major metropolis in Assyria to being the capital of the entire country and empire. This was the result of a decision by Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) (cf. 1 Kings 19; Isaiah 37). See SENNACHERIB. In choosing Nineveh as his capital, Sennacherib launched a massive rebuilding program there. He built a magnificent palace and cut a professional way right through the center of the city from the palace to the bridge crossing the Tigris. His workers constructed an intricate system of aqueducts and canals to bring water into the city to irrigate an extensive garden which he created. The transformed city was surrounded by an enormous wall with several fortified gates, the remains of which are still standing. Thereafter Nineveh remained the capital of Assyria until the fall of the empire and the capture of the city itself in 612 B.C. by a coalition of Medes and Babylonians.

A. KIRK GRAYSON

**NINLIL** (DEITY). In Sumerian and subsequent Akkadian mythology, a goddess of grain and the wife of the god ENLIL. Her temple was called the Kiˀur, located in Nippur. Although she is the consort of the leading Sumerian god, Enlil, Ninlil does not appear widely in the mythological texts. The two major works in which she figures are *Enlil and Ninlil* (Cooper 1980) and *Enlil and Ninlil: The Marriage of Sud* (Civil 1983). In the former text, Ninlil's mother, Nunbarshegunu, prepares her for marriage with Enlil, but cautions her against meandering about alone. Ninlil disobeys, and Enlil, spotting her alone near a stream, ignores her pleas that she is not adequately prepared and rapes her. The gods brand Enlil a sex offender and banish him from Nippur. He opts to descend to the netherworld in exile.

Ninlil, now pregnant with his child, the moon god Nanna-Suˀen, attempts to follow Enlil. He, disguised as various netherworld functionaries, mates again with Ninlil, apparently wishing to produce chthonic offspring to take the place of Nanna Suˀen in the Underworld. Ninlil does bear three such sons. Jacobsen (1976: 104) suggests that this tale is part of the cult of dying and reviving gods associated with fertility and the agricultural seasons.

In the latter text, Enlil offends Sud and her mother by assuming Sud was a prostitute. However, he becomes infatuated with her and asks her to marry him, but she mocks him and refuses. Enlil sends his messenger to Nanibgal, her mother, and placates them both with many gifts. Nanibgal concedes and allows Enlil to marry Sud, at which point her name is changed to Ninlil.

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**NINURTA** (DEITY). A Sumero-Akkadian god of the south wind and agriculture, but also of hunting and, especially during the militaristic Assyrian regimes of the early 1st millennium B.C., of warfare (*EncRel* 10: 447–48). Early in the Sumerian period he was identified with Ningirsu, the tutelary god of Lagash at the Eninnu temple and the special patron of King Gudea. The myths concerning Ningirsu and those about Ninurta seem eventually to have become interchangeable.

Ninurta figures in a whole cycle of mythological texts, a corpus which has not yet been adequately studied. However, the myths consistently associate Ninurta with one or another aspect of water and its management: life-giving storms, floods, dams, irrigation. The still enigmatic myth of the bird god Zu or Anzu (*ANET*, 11–13, 514–17) deals with Ninurta and hydrology on a more cosmic level (see Jacobsen 1976:131–34).

Ninurta's mate is either Gula or Baba, the latter more originally Ningirsu's wife. Neither Gula nor Baba is prominent in the extant literature. Albright (*YGC*, 138) and others associated Ninurta with the West Semitic god Ḥoron.

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**NIPPUR** (32°08´N; 45°03´E). The mounds of Nippur, located in the desert about 150 kms SE of Baghdad, stand today to a height of 18 meters above the alluvial plain. From the time of its establishment as a village along the Euphrates in the 6th millennium B.C. to its abandonment in the 9th century A.D., the site was almost continuously occupied, providing an archaeological record spanning 7,000 years. The Sumerians considered Nippur one of their oldest and most sacred cities, and it was apparently one of the few Mesopotamian cities which had a special legal status involving certain tax-shelter privileges. It is also one of the few great cities of Mesopotamia which retained its ancient name in the memory of man for a thousand years after its abandonment.

As the home of the temple of Enlil, the chief god of the Sumerian pantheon, Nippur was a sacred city of ancient Mesopotamia for thousands of years, but it was never a political capital. Throughout much of its history, control of the city and the sanction of its chief god, Enlil, were necessary to legitimize a ruler's sovereignty over Mesopotamia. Nippur also served as a major scribal center. The approximately 50,000 cuneiform tablets excavated at the site constitute about 80 percent of the Sumerian literary texts known today; also found were administrative, legal, medical, and economic documents of major importance. The location of the city on the linguistic and ethnic frontier between Sumer and Akkad gives the contents of these texts increased significance.

From 1889–1990 Nippur was the focus of the first American excavation in the Near East, sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania. The excavators made rough plans of several major buildings, uncovered some important artifacts, and found many thousands of clay tablets. From 1948–52, three seasons of joint excavations were conducted by the University of Pennsylvania and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago at the Ekur (the Enlil Temple), and on Tablet Hill. From 1953–62, the American Schools of Oriental Research joined with the Chicago team for five seasons of work on the North Temple and the

Inanna Temple. Finally, the Oriental Institute conducted ten seasons of work at the site between 1964 and 1989, including excavation of the Parthian fortress at the Ekur, a temple and palace along with other structures on the West Mound, and outlying parts of the site to the SW and NE

Throughout much of its history, the walled city was an irregular rectangle measuring 1.0 by 1.6 km The city covered approximately 150 hectares and had about nine gates. Branches of the Euphrates River ran W of the city and through the center of the city during some periods. The three major mounds which make up the site are traditionally called Temple Hill, Tablet Hill, and the West Mound.

The Ekur, or temple precinct of Enlil, was sacred to this deity from at least the late 4th millennium to the mid–1st millennium B.C. The great ziggurat, or temple tower, was built by Ur-Nammu about 2000 B.C. The last major use of the area was as a Parthian fortification in the 1st century A.D. The Inanna Temple, nearby on Temple Hill, was sacred to this goddess from the 3d millennium to Parthian times. The North Temple was built in about 2300 B.C.

Excavations at Tablet Hill have encountered dwellings and administrative buildings. On the West Mound excavators have found dwellings, a temple dating to the 3d to 1st millennium B.C., a Kassite palace (ca. 1300 B.C.), and a Parthian villa. The Islamic settlement was principally on the West Mound.

Throughout its long occupation, the fortunes of the city of Nippur were often reflected by the size and quality of public construction by those in power in Mesopotamia. Strong rulers sponsored major building projects which coincided with times of prosperity. When the country was in a state of conflict or chaos, the economy of the city often suffered, the power of surrounding nomadic groups increased at the expense of urban dwellers, and major building projects ceased.

Although excavations at Nippur have not discovered the prehistoric settlement, the presence of thousands of sherds of the distinctive Hajji Mohammed phase of prehistoric Ubaid pottery attests to settlement by the mid–6th millennium B.C. Similarly, hundreds of ceramic cones of a type used as architectural decoration in Protoliterate temples found at the Enlil temple site attest to temple building here in the 4th millennium. Sumerian texts record a tradition at Nippur of the building of a temple to Enlil called the “Tummel.” It was built by Enmebaragesi, a king who is attested in fragmentary inscriptions dating to the ED II period.

With the rise to power of the Semitic Akkadian dynasty under Sargon I (late 3d millennium), the Enlil temple became the focus of major royal building activity, and this central shrine became a repository of objects dedicated by the king. The North Temple was built at this time, and an archive of the Akkadian governor of Nippur has been excavated on the West Mound.

It was not until the Sumerian revival marked by the rise of the Third Dynasty of Ur, however, that royal building projects made a major impact on the site which remains to the present day. Ur-Nammu, the first king of that dynasty, built a three-staged temple tower (ziggurat) for Enlil, as well as a series of courtyards and auxiliary temples which would be repaired and rebuilt on the same plan for the next 1,500 years. The Inanna Temple was also rebuilt during this dynasty, while the building or rebuilding of portions of the city wall set the boundaries for the city that would be maintained throughout the centuries.

With the shift of control of S Mesopotamia to the Amorite Old Babylonian dynasty with its capital at Babylon, building continued at Nippur under kings such as Hammurabi, but there was a shift of religious hegemony from Enlil of Nippur to the god Marduk of Babylon. Over the years, however, a cosmogony evolved in which some of the aspects of Enlil were combined with those of Marduk. Beginning about 1720 B.C. there is also evidence of a major economic crisis at Nippur, probably related to a lack of water, which may have resulted in a temporary abandonment of the city.

The 14th century B.C., when control of S Mesopotamia had passed to a dynasty of Kassite kings which originated outside the country, marked a time of major building and rebuilding of temples at Nippur, as well as the city wall. An unusually vivid record of the city at this time is preserved in a captioned plan drawn on a clay tablet. See Fig. NIP.01. Also attested at Nippur during the Kassite dynasty is a palace on the West Mound. This palace fell into ruin and was abandoned, along with most of the rest of the city, by the mid 13th century, perhaps as a result of an Elamite raid on the city about 1224 B.C. In the ensuing centuries, there is little archaeological or textual evidence for activity at Nippur except at the Ekur.

Occupation is attested again by the mid–8th century, however, by an archive of several hundred tablets which portray Nippur as a thriving town surrounded by Chaldaean and Aramaean tribes.

The last major restoration of the precinct of Enlil was in the late 7th century B.C., during the rule of Assurbanipal, king of the N Assyrian dynasty which controlled all of Mesopotamia along with much of the Near East. Assyria's strength at Nippur, which included troops stationed there, enabled it to hold out to the end in the struggle between Assyria and the Chaldean tribes for control of Babylonia, even though it suffered a devastating siege. Nippur supported Assyria until its final defeat by the Chaldeans in 612 B.C.

After the defeat of the Chaldean Babylonians by Cyrus in 539 B.C., Nippur continued to prosper under Achaemenid rule. An archive of tablets of the Murashû family (see MURASHU, ARCHIVE OF) reflects their financial power at Nippur, where they owned mortgages on much of the land. They rented out canals, cattle, and fisheries, and loaned money at high interest rates to local landowners so that they might pay their taxes.

The city continued to be occupied in the Seleucid period, and in the first centuries before and after the time of Christ it was the focus of massive building operations by the Parthians, who constructed an enormous fortress over and around the remains of the ziggurat and temple complex of Enlil. We know little about the character of occupation of the site during the rule of the Sassanian dynasty in the 3d to 7th centuries A.D., but the presence of potsherds attests occupation, and the Babylonian Talmud notes that important colonies of Jews lived at Nippur as well as at Babylon. A distinctive archaeological feature of this period are hundreds of incantation bowls, more than are known from any other site. While most are found today on the surface of the site, they have been found buried upside down beneath the floors in the corners of houses dating to the Sassanian period. The inner surface of each bowl is covered with an incantation in Syriac, Mandaic, or the "Jewish" dialect of Aramaic, written in a spiral from the center outward. Some of the incantations contain biblical quotations. There is often a crude drawing of a chained demon or spirit in the center of the bowl. These bowls were apparently designed to protect houses and their inhabitants from the demons and evil spirits which are named in the inscriptions.

After several hundred years of Islamic occupation, principally on the West Mound, Nippur's long history as an urban center came to an end. Throughout the 7,000 years in which Nippur was a major settlement, the Euphrates and its branches shifted gradually from the E to the W, and the structure of the city shifted as well. Through time, it became increasingly difficult to divert water to the area; it was abandoned, and eventually became desert.

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**NISAN** [Heb *nîsān* (נִיסָן)]. The first month of the Hebrew calendar, roughly corresponding to March–April. See CALENDARS (ANCIENT ISRAELITE AND EARLY JEWISH).

**NISROCH** (DEITY) [Heb *nisrōk* (נִסְרֹךְ)]. According to 2 Kgs 19:37 (Isa 37:38), the god in whose temple Sennacherib was assassinated. The identity of Nisroch is problematic, since Assyrian sources do not attest to any god with such a name. One possible candidate is the god Enlil, whose name was sometimes used as an epithet of the god Ashur, the chief god of Assyria. Another is Ninurta, the Assyrian god of war. But in both cases there are serious difficulties in reconciling the biblical form of the name with the forms preserved in Assyrian sources.

A. KIRK GRAYSON

**NOADIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *nôʿadyâ* (נוֹעַדְיָה)]. Var. MOETH. A personal name utilizing the verb *yʿd,* which as *Nipʿal* can mean "meet by appointment," "appear," or "gather," and the theophoric element *yh.* Translation possibilities include "Yahweh has revealed himself, has become manifest"—particularly through the birth of a child (*IPN*, 184), "Yahweh has met by appointment," "Yahweh has gathered together" (Myers 1987: 766). Brockington (*Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* Century Bible, 104) suggests "Yahweh has kept his appointment," envisioning a connection with *mõʿēd* ("appointed meeting") in the designation of the tabernacle as "tent of meeting." Some, such as Odelain and Séguineau (1981: 284), BDB (418), and White (*HDB*, 555), render it "encounter, meeting with Yah." This name is born by two individuals in the Hebrew Bible.

**1.** The son of Binnui and one of two Levites who were "with them," i.e., Meremoth and Eleazar, when Ezra and those with him brought into "the house of our God" the silver, gold, and vessels and weighed them into Meremoth's hands (Ezra 8:33). Gunneweg (*Esra* KAT, 157) believes these personal names are secondary additions to a tradition in which the personalities were all anonymous. In the 1 Esdr 8:62—Eng 8:63 account of this event, the second of the two Levites is *Mōeth Sabannou,* which Bewer (1922: 78) believes is a corruption of *Nōadeia Banaiou.*

**2.** The prophetess (MT *hannĕbîʾāh*) or prophet (LXX *tę̄ prophētę̄*) who, along with other unnamed prophets (MT hannĕbîʾîm; Codex Alexandrinus *tōn prophētōn*) or priests (Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus *hiereōn*) contributed to "making me (i.e., Nehemiah) afraid" (Neh 6:14). Elsewhere this charge is levied against (v 13) the one spoken of in v 12 who "spoke the prophecy against me." Where this speaker is understood to be Shemaiah (v 10) some (Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther* Century Bible, 156; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 260) find it strange that rather than Shemaiah, elsewhere unknown Noadiah (Codex Alexandrinus *Nōadia;* Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus *Noadia*) is mentioned in this imprecation in which God is called upon to "remember" (Heb *zakrāh* + *lĕ*) the threateners. Clines (*Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 176) even wonders if Noadiah was Shemaiah's wife! Drawing upon the Lucianic recension of the LXX, which reads "warned" (Gk *enouthetoun*, reflecting Heb *mbynym*) instead of "fearing" (LXX *phoberizontes* = MT *myrʾym*) and thus changes the imprecation of v 14a to a supplication in v 14b, Batten (*Ezra and Nehemiah* ICC, 258) suggests that Noadiah was working for Nehemiah. However, the miniscule manuscripts representing this Lucianic recension omit the personal name Noadiah and read instead *ge tę̄ ǫ̣dę̄/hodę̄ tę̄ prophētidi*, "the song/way the prophetess." Ehrlich (1914: 198–99) argues that the one being spoken of in vv 10–12 is not Shemaiah, who is only referred to as the owner of the house mentioned in v 10 He believes Noadiah, possibly in a position of high authority, functions as the false prophet (not prophetess!) who speaks the words in v 10 (he believes the verb form *nwʿd* is a corruption of *nwʿdyh*) and is referred to in v 12

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**NOAH** (PERSON) [Heb *nōaḥ* (נֹחַ), *nōʿâ* (נֹעָה)]. **1.** The son of Lamech who, along with his family, survived the Flood (Gen 5:28–9:29; Heb *nōaḥ*). See NOAH AND THE ARK.

**2.** One of the five daughters of Zelophehad son of Hepher of the tribe of Manasseh (Num 26:33; 27:1–11; 36:1–12; Josh 17:3–6; Heb *nōʿâ;*.cf. 1 Chr 7:15). Noah and her sisters petitioned to receive legal status as heirs because their father had no sons (Num 27:1–4). Their request was granted provided that they marry within their father's tribe (Num 27:5–7; 36:1–9). Noah and her sisters followed the divine ruling on their case and married cousins on their father's side (Num 36:12). Hence their inheritance remained in their father's tribe. Scholarly interest in the daughters of Zelophehad has focused on

questions related to the prehistory of the story of the daughters (e.g., the relationship of the daughters to places—here the mention of the name Noah as a district in the Samaria Ostracon 50 is relevant [Lemaire 1972]); its sources, development, form, purpose, and historicity; its significance for the study of Israelite case law (Weingreen 1966); the relationship of Manasseh and its subclans of traditions about settlement to the east and west of the Jordan (Snaith 1966); the rights of women (Sakenfeld 1982); and more recently its positioning in terms of the literary and theological shaping of the book of Numbers (Olson 1985).

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**NOAH AND THE ARK** This entry consists of two articles. The first focuses on the biblical hero of the Flood (Gen 5:28–9:29) who later became the subject of Jewish and Christian legend. The second article focuses on the ark itself and the claims through the ages that its remains have survived.

## *THE HERO OF THE FLOOD*

A. Introduction
1. Name
2. Flood Heroes in Other Ancient Literature
B. Noah in Judeo-Christian Tradition
1. Hebrew Bible
2. Apocrypha
3. *Genesis Apocryphon*
4. New Testament
5. Pseudepigrapha

### A. Introduction

In the genealogical reckoning of Gen 5:28–29, Noah is introduced as a son of the 182-year-old Lamech. Noah stands at the end of the era that is now to be destroyed, the era that has lasted more than 1,500 years since the beginning of the world when the first human couple was created.

According to the genealogies of Genesis 4 and 5, there have been 7–10, depending on how we count them, generations starting with that of Adam and Eve up to Noah's generation. However, the narrative tradition hurries through the same 1,656 years in just three generations, beginning with that of Adam and Eve, followed by that of Cain and Abel, and now of Noah and his family. Then the Flood sweeps over—only Noah's family is saved, because "Noah was a righteous man; he was blameless in his time; with God Noah walked" (Gen 6:9). Thus, Noah is the one who is saved, guarded by the covenant of the rainbow, and in turn is destined to save humanity. He is the father of the new era; he is the father of Shem, Ham, and Japheth, whose offspring are going to repopulate the entire world after the Flood (Gen 10:1–32). Noah is an epoch divider figure as well as a bridge between the quasi-mythological history and a more humanly accountable history.

In these early chapters of Genesis a complex image of Noah emerges. The later chapters and books variously refer to Noah specifically by name or obliquely by alluding to many aspects of Noah and the Flood Story. In the following sections the major significance of Noah and his ancient counterparts and some of the more obvious references and allusions to him are examined.

**1. Name.** No firm etymology for the name Noah (Heb *Nōaḥ,* Gk *Nōe*) has been established, but it is generally derived from the verb root *nwḥ,* to rest, settle down, repose, etc.; thus "Noah" may mean "to rest." Whatever "Noah," spelled consonantally as *nḥ,* may have meant originally, the genealogy (Gen

5:29) gives us a folk etymology that Noah *(nḥ)* is to bring us comfort (*nḥm,* Pi‘el, to comfort, console: *Nip‘al,* to be sorry, console oneself); thus *nḥ* is associated aurally to *nḥm,* making Noah the bringer of comfort *(nḥm)* from labor (derived from *‘śh*) and toil (derived from *‘ṣb*).

It is not fortuitous that when the Flood Story introduces Noah, these very same roots, *nḥm, ‘śh,* and *‘ṣb,* are repeated in the same order: “And the Lord was sorry [*nḥm*] that he had made [*‘śh*] man on the earth and it grieved [*‘ṣb*] him to his heart”—(Gen 6:6).

The wordplay involving *nḥm* continues; “And the Lord said, ‘I will blot out [*mḥh*] man whom I have created’ ” (Gen 6:7). Here the two key consonants *ḥ* and *m* are reversed. The wordplay still goes on as “Noah [*nḥ*] found favor [*ḥn*] in the eyes of the Lord” (Gen 6:8); note here the two consonants of the name are also reversed. Furthermore, Noah begets a son named Ham (*ḥm,* Gen 6:10), relating assonantally to *nḥm,* “comfort,” but substantially to *ḥms,* “violence”; “and the earth was corrupt in the eyes of God and the earth was filled with violence [*ḥms*]” (Gen 6:11). “Noah” *(nḥ)* and “violence” *(ḥms)* are picked up again in Gen 6:13 and the wordplay extends to the word *mḥwṣ,* “outside,” in Gen 6:14, as Noah is to “pitch it (the ark) with pitch inside and outside [*mḥwṣ*].”

Moreover, observe that Ham is introduced soon after the initial episode of the story, namely, the sexual involvement of the sons of gods with the daughters of men (Gen 6:1–4), and then he finds himself in a sexual offense against Noah at the final episode of the story (Gen 9:18–29). These two episodes of sexual intrigue frame the story, and Ham is closely associated with both of them.

The notion of *mḥh,* “blotting out,” as a result of the Lord’s “regret” *(nḥm)* terminates in the central episode of the devastating flood destruction (Gen 7:17–24), where that verb is used both actively and passively: “and he blotted out [*ymḥ*] every living thing that was upon the face of the ground … and they were blotted out [*ymḥw*] from the earth” (Gen 7:23). The idea of the name Noah, “rest,” is fittingly echoed where the ark securely rests *(tnḥ)* after 150 days of water ordeal, yet the dove *(ywnh)* could not find the place to rest *(mnwḥ)* its foot (Gen 8:9).

Many words that are loosely associated with the name Noah are used in a cluster at the beginning of the story. These same words are then distributed in strategic positions throughout the story, helping to unify the story and to make it unmistakably Noah’s Flood Story.

**2. Flood Heroes in Other Ancient Literature. a. Mesopotamian.** Noah as the Flood hero has many counterparts in ancient literature. To begin with, the Sumerian and Akkadian genealogical material as well as the epic tradition preserved various names of the righteous Flood hero, who stands exactly at the same relative position in world history as Noah, that is, at the end of the mythological, primeval historical era, ushering in a new, more concretely historical era. The Flood, thus, serves as an epoch divider. The main difference between Noah and his Mesopotamian counterparts is that Noah dies, while the other Flood heroes seem to gain immortality (Cohen 1974). See FLOOD.

**(1) The Sumerian Deluge Story.** The Sumerian counterpart of Noah is Ziusudra (meaning “life of prolonged day(s)”), the son of Ubartutu of Shuruppak. He is the Flood hero and epoch divider who becomes immortal. This is known from both the genealogical tradition found in the Sumerian king list (Jacobsen 1939) and from the narrative tradition as preserved in the Sumerian Deluge Story (*ANET,* 42–44; Civil 1969).

The 6-column text of the Sumerian Deluge Story is badly broken; the major portion of each column is gone. Only about one fourth (approximately 70 out of 300 lines) of the story remains, and even that is preserved imperfectly. But the text includes more than the Flood Story. In column 1, there appears to be one or two episodes of earlier destructions of humankind long before the Flood. The text also recalls the creation by Anu, Enlil, Enki, and Ninhursag of the black-headed people, i.e., the Mesopotamians. The kingship and civilization are established, and the name of five antediluvian cities, which we know from the Sumerian King List and to which different gods are assigned, are listed in column 2. The pious king Ziusudra is praying in column 3 and the impending flood is announced in column 4. The Flood rages, Ziusudra is saved, and he offers a sacrifice in column 5. The earth is repopulated and Ziusudra becomes immortal and lives in Dilmun in column 6. The rest of the tablet is broken off.

**(2) Gilgamesh XI** The best preserved Mesopotamian Flood narrative, however, is found in Tablet 11 of the Akkadian Gilgamesh epic. It provides so far the clearest parallel to Noah's flood story. The creator and magician god Enki/Ea cleverly communicates to Utnapishtim (for the meaning of the name, see below), whose nickname is Atrahasis (meaning "exceedingly wise"), about the impending disaster and instructs him to build a cubical ship with six stories and nine sections and to save himself and his family. The Flood rages for seven days; everyone dies except the Utnapishtim family, the seed of all living creatures, and all the craftsmen. The ship rests on the top of the Mount Nasir, a bird is let out to check the water level, and Utnapishtim offers a sacrifice over which the hungry gods gather like flies. Utnapishtim is granted immortality by the gods. According to Anne D. Kilmer (1987b) we perhaps can even recover a rainbow covenant motif from the enigmatic passage describing Ishtar's colorful necklace of lapis lazuli and her promise:

Then she [Nintu] approached the big flies
Which Anu had made and was carrying …
Let these flies be the lapis around my neck
That I may remember it [every (?)] day [and forever (?)]

(Atrahasis, 3.5.46–6.4)

The parallel passage in Gilgamesh is:

When at last the Great Goddess arrived,
She lifted up the great flies [jewels] which Anu had made light-heartedly[?]
"These gods—verily [by] the lapis round my neck and I shall not forget
These days—surely I will remember forever and not forget."

(Gilgamesh XI 162–169)

Enki then chastises Enlil for sending the most destructive flood instead of a less severe disaster, such as a lion or a famine, to "diminish mankind." In response Enlil makes Utnapishtim immortal.

The Flood hero himself, reluctantly at first, narrates this Flood Story to Gilgamesh, who is questing immortality and thinks that he too may obtain it by consulting Utnapishtim. Thus the rest of the Gilgamesh Epic offers no contextual parallel to Genesis, except for some isolated verbal and motif similarities.

**(3) The Atrahasis Epic.** However, the Atrahasis Epic, though the Flood portion of the text (Tablet III) is quite damaged, presents a narrative account of the Mesopotamian primeval history that parallels Genesis 1–11 inclusively. The Flood Story in Atrahasis (approximately 405 lines) is more than twice the size of the Gilgamesh flood story (approximately 190 lines). Although they seem to tell the same story (cf. Utnapishtim is identified as Atrahasis, "Exceedingly Wise," in Gilgamesh XI.187), the function of the Flood in these two epics is quite different; in Atrahasis it is a population control measure and an epoch divider, whereas in Gilgamesh it explains how immortality was once granted to a mortal. A synoptic outline of the Atrahasis Epic and Genesis 1–11 is as follows:

| Atrahasis | Genesis 1–11 |
|---|---|
| A. Creation of Mankind | |
| (Tablet I.1–248) | (Gen 1:1–2:25) |
| Summary of Work of Gods | Summary of Work of God |
| Creation of Mankind | Creation of Mankind |
| B. People's Numerical Increase | |
| (I.249–415) | (2:4–3:24) |
| Attempt to Decrease Numbers | Adam and Eve |
| Threat of Death by Plague | Near Death |
| C. Second Attempt to Decrease | |
| Double Story (II i.1–vi.55) | (4:1–5:32) |
| 1. Threat of Death: Drought | 1. Cain and Abel |
| 2. Severer Means | 2. Lamech's Taunt |

| | |
|---|---|
| D. Final Solution | |
| (II vii–II vi.40) | (6:1–9:29) |
| Atrahasis's Flood | Noah's Flood |
| Salvation in Boat | Salvation in *Tēbâ*—Ark |
| E. Resolution | |
| (III vi.41–viii.18) | (10:1–11:32) |
| Compromise between Enlil and Enki | Dispersion—Abram Leaves Ur |
| "Birth Control" | Exodus Motif |

The Atrahasis Epic begins with the creation of humankind because the labor-class gods are fed up with the heavy tasks imposed on them by the management-class gods, and they make much "noise," especially against the chief god, Enlil. As a result, the mother goddess Mami and magician god Enki create procreating people as a substitute for the laboring gods. The people multiplied so much in 1,200 years that they made a great "noise," to the annoyance of Enlil. Enlil tries to exterminate them first by a famine, then 1,200 years later by a drought, and finally, yet another 1,200 years later, by the flood. Three times Enlil's plans are foiled by Enki and his faithful worshipper Atrahasis. Now the thrice failing and furious Enlil convenes a divine assembly where a post-Flood compromise is reached among gods to limit the expanding population. At least three such population control measures (Kilmer 1972) are suggested, presumably by Enki and Mami:

> Moreover, a third category let there be among people;
> Let there be among people bearing women and barren women!
> Let there be among people the *pāšittu-demon;*
> Let him snatch the baby
> from the lap of the woman who bore it!
> Place *Ugbabtu*-priestess, *Entu*-priestess,
> and *Igiṣītu*-priestess;
> Let them be taboo and
> Thus cut off child-bearing!

(Atrahasis III vi.52?–vii.9)

Note Genesis 1–11 topically parallels the Atrahasis Epic but reaches exactly an opposite conclusion. Whereas the Atrahasis Epic suggests "birth control" as means to curb human population, Genesis offers "dispersion" as means to accommodate the expanding population in response to the initial blessing of Gen 1:28, "Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth." Out of the dispersion of Gen 11:1–9, who but Adam, the first Hebrew, emerges.

Atrahasis may have received immortality in the end. We cannot be sure because of the broken text, but his longevity, known from the unbroken part of the epic and spanning over three generations of 1,200 years each, is extraordinary. This gave rise to the following speculation.

**(4) The Enki and Ninmah Story.** The longevity of Atrahasis has led to the thought that Atrahasis may be the first man, or at least the first baby. This speculation is based on a Sumerian story called "Enki and Ninmah" (Benito 1969), which deals with the creation of people in two stages (Kikawada 1983). Note in the following story of Enki and Ninmah, the same topics and motifs as in Genesis 1–2 and Atrahasis I.1–351 are found, i.e. in the first stage humanity is invented for the purpose of work, to have dominion over the other living beings (Gen 1:26), and to bear the toil of the gods (Atrahasis I.191), and in the second stage specific persons, Adam and Eve (Gen 2:7, 22) and seven pairs of people (Atrahasis K 3399+3934, Obverse iii 9–13), are created and destined to be self-propagating by establishing marriage (Gen 2:24, Atrahasis I.300–1).

The Enki and Ninmah story begins after the goddess Nammu gives birth to gods who work in different regions of the world. When the work becomes too severe for the worker gods, they complain to the manager gods. The creator god Enki first tries to ignore the complaint by sleeping, but mother Nammu persuades Enki to create "substitutes," namely humanity, for worker gods. Nammu decrees the fate of the

new creature; goddess Ninmah imposes work on humankind. Gods become very happy; and have a big feast where Enki and Ninmah get drunk. That is the first stage of creation.

In the second stage, Ninmah proposes a people-making contest to Enki, one to create and the other to decree fate. Ninmah begins and she creates from clay six (could be seven, see Lambert and Millard 1969) creatures with some physical weaknesses. Enki decrees fates for them:

| Ninmah's Creature | Enki's Decree |
|---|---|
| 1. One with weak arm | Court officer |
| 2. One with blinking eyes | Singer |
| 3. One with weak feet | ? |
| 4. One with uncontrollable semen emission | Made safe |
| 5. One barren | Appointed to harem |
| 6. One sexless person | court officer |

All these creatures of Ninmah are appointed to appropriate stations in the society—hence they gain independence and livelihood. The apex of the second stage is the creation of the procreating woman and her first baby, Umul, who was miraculously sired by Enki, the magician god himself. An irony of this story seems to lie in the fact that Ninmah the mother goddess does not recognize a baby:

> She [Ninmah] approached Umul and asked him questions
> [but] he did not know how to speak,
> She offered him bread for his nourishment
> [but] he did not reach out for it,
> On the … [his] heart could not rest,
> he could not sleep,
> Standing up he could not sit down,
> could not lie down,
> a house he could not build[?]
> food he could not eat,
> Ninmah said with a stammer to Enki,
> "The man you have fashioned is neither alive nor dead, he cannot carry anything."

(Enki and Ninmah 96–101)

Then Enki advises her to hold him on her lap and assures her that Umul, having Enki's "form," will be a pious man. By the bringing forth of the first baby the model for human procreation is established by Enki, who instructs Ninmah, saying, "pouring the semen of an erected phallus in a woman's womb, that woman will conceive in her womb."

If the Enki and Ninmah story and the Sumerian deluge story are viewed in succession, they together seem to offer a tantalizing parallel to the whole of the Atrahasis Epic (Kilmer 1976). For this reason, Atrahasis is suspected of being the first baby. The other link between Atrahasis and the first baby lies in the meaning of the names. The first Sumerian baby's name, given at birth, is Umul, "my day [of death] is far"—suspiciously a longevity name! Note that Atrahasis' other name is Utnapishtim, reading here as *ūta-napištim,* "I have found life"—a longevity name given at the "end" of life when he is made immortal (Gilgamesh XI.193–95). Perhaps it is even better to read his full name, Utnapishtim the Distant, as *um-napištim-rūqi,* meaning "day of my life is long," which would give us a still closer parallel to the Sumerian hero. Note that the name of the hero in the Sumerian deluge is Ziusudra, which means "life of prolonged day(s)"—a longevity name as well. Mesopotamian Noahs all have longevity names. In sharp contrast (Cohen 1974) to these names, Noah *(nḥ)* may signify eternal "Rest" or "Repose" in Sheol (cf. Isa 57:2 and Job 3:17).

**b. Indo-European. (1) Iranian.** The *Avesta,* in *Vendidad* Book 2 of the Iranian tradition, preserves a Zoroastrian counterpart to Noah, called Yima/Yama, the first man and first king (Christensen 1943), entrusted with government as well as religion. Yima helps expand the overburdened earth in three stages

to accommodate the increasing population. He lives through 1,200 years until he is directed by Ahuramazda to prepare for an impending flood resulting from the melting snow. Ahuramazda gives Yima detailed instructions on how to make an enclosure in the mountain to save himself and "the seed of small and large cattle and the mortals and dogs and birds and the red burning fire" (*Vendidad* 2.25). The end of the story takes on an eschatological tone and it appears as though Yima is still in the enclosure even at the present time. From this story, too, we can recover the overall outline of the primeval history. Yima, like Noah, stands at the demarcation point between the primeval era and the new age to come.

**(2) Indian.** From India we can observe the Flood hero in both the genealogical and narrative traditions. He is either the seventh (or fourteenth) Manu, the last sage of the primeval era. In genealogical material Manu Vaivasvata stands at the end of the primeval epoch that is terminated by the Flood. The succeeding epoch has a different form of social structure which is reflected in a different type of genealogy (Thapar 1976). The antediluvian genealogy is a linear type wherein only one leader in a given period is accounted for, as in Genesis 4 and 5 After the Flood, the style of genealogy changes to the branched type wherein all the contemporary leaders and their relatives are recorded, i.e., to describe a family tree as in Genesis 10 The same Manu, in a narrative tradition, is saved from the Flood by a giant horned fish, which he found when it was little and helped by giving it successively bigger containers in which to grow. Thus, Manu Vaivasvata, like Noah, is the hero of the epoch-dividing Flood.

**(3) Classical.** Another Indo-European flood tradition is found in Greco-Roman literature, featuring righteous Deucalion and his pious wife Pyrrha, the best example of which is preserved in Ovid's *Metamorphoses.* This Flood Story is placed in the same relative position in the early history of humankind as in the Mesopotamian tradition and Genesis.

The *Metamorphoses.*begins with creation, followed by deterioration of the world in four stages from the Golden Age of the righteous to the Iron Age of evil. Jove then intends to get rid of the evil; he tries this in three stages. First, the household of evil, Lycaon, is blasted by a thunderbolt. Next, Jove wants to do the same thing to the whole earth but he is dissuaded because of the fear that heaven would be burnt up as well. In the third and final stage Jove sends the Flood from which the righteous couple, Deucalion and Pyrrha, are saved; after the Flood the earth is repopulated for the new epoch.

A scholiastic commentary on Homer's *Iliad.*(*Il.* 1.5, on *Dios boulēn*) preserves a progression of topics similar to that found in *Metamorphoses.* The commentary also alludes to and summarizes the lost composition by Stasinos, entitled *Cypria,* whose emphasis is on the unburdening of the overpopulated earth in three stages. The motif of overpopulation brings this tradition close to the Mesopotamian and the biblical traditions.

**B. Noah in Judeo-Christian Tradition**

Both in the Old and New Testaments as well as in the intertestamental literature there are references to Noah. The following are some obvious examples and some speculative specimens.

**1. Hebrew Bible. a. Exodus 1–2, 15** Moses is an obvious Noah figure, perhaps even a double Noah figure, in the book of Exodus, although Abraham emerges as an even earlier reflection of the Noah figure in the Sodom and Gomorrah story (cf. 2 Peter 2:5–6 section of this article).

The Hebrew people, now located in Egypt, must go through the threefold trial and tribulation of Pharaoh's effort to diminish their number; note the very close parallel to the outline of the Atrahasis Epic as well as that of Genesis 1–11 First, taskmasters are set up to impose hard work on the Israelites, but the harder they oppress the Israelites, the more the Israelites "multiply" (Exod 1:12, cf. 1:7 where "Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth" of Gen 1:28 is already echoed and amplified). Then, Pharaoh orders that the infant sons are to be killed by the two midwives Shiprah and Puah. When this plan too fails, the third trial is commanded by Pharaoh, "Every son that is born to the Hebrews you shall cast into the Nile!" (Exod 1:22). This is the Flood in miniature: Moses is saved in the ark *(tēbâ),* the Hebrew word used exclusively for Noah's ark.

The connection is underscored by the language (cf. Exod 2:3 and Gen 6:14), for this is the only time the word *tēbâ* is used outside of Genesis 6–9 The way in which the ark is built is the same in both instances: the one for whom the ark is made, the material of which it is built, and the number of times it is to be

"pitched with pitch" are all designated in the same order. Out of this water ordeal there emerges an adult Moses, a hero for the new age, another Noah.

Moses along with the children of Israel, however, goes through another epoch-dividing Flood as depicted in Exodus 15 Here the war imagery of the Lord as a Man of War dominates, but the Flood as the means of salvation for Israel and that of epoch divider is also present. While the pharaoh's army is drowned in the upsurging waters, Moses and Israel emerge as a new entity to be feared among the neighbors such as Philistia, Edom, Moab, and Canaan. A new era for Israel thus begins. Note the change in the form of genealogical reckoning (cf. Thapar 1976) as well. After Noah's Flood up to this point the genealogy has been of the branched type accounting for the lines of brothers and sisters, but now it reverts to the linear type of reckoning, accounting again only for the main line of leadership.

The war image associated with the Noachian Flood is recoverable from the rainbow. Remembering that the biblical Hebrew does not have a special word for "rainbow," what we have in Gen 9:12, 14, 16 is the expression "a bow [the weapon] in the cloud," suggesting, perhaps, that the Lord is declaring a truce after a war by resting his bow in the cloud.

In the following section only a few prophetic reflections of Noah material are brought out, although there may be many other allusions that are hidden in unsuspected places.

**b. Isaiah 54** The important verses here are 9 and 10, which read:

For this is like the days of Noah to me,
As I swore that the waters of Noah
Should no more over the earth,
So I have sworn
that I will not be angry with you
and will not rebuke you.
For the mountain may depart
and the hills be removed,
but my steadfast love
shall not depart from you,
and my covenant of peace
shall not be removed,
says the Lord,
who has compassion on you.

Along with Noah the Flood and covenant are recalled by Isaiah for the people who are afflicted and not comforted (*nḥm,* Isa 54:11), reminding them of the everlasting kindness and great compassion of God (*rḥmh,* Isa 57:7, 8). Isaiah plays on the folk etymology of the name Noah, i.e., *nḥm* of Gen 5:29, and adds *rḥmh,* "compassion," to the continuing wordplay.

Isaiah renames the covenant, changing it from the "everlasting covenant" (Gen 9:16), to the "covenant of peace" in Isa 54:10 This may be seen as a commentary on the rainbow. It is based on a further play on the name Noah *(nḥ),* especially in reference to Isa 54:15–17 in which the Lord has caused the smith to blow *(npḥ)* the fire of coals *(pḥm)* to create weapons. But these weapons will not be used against God's people. Realizing that Hebrew has no special word for rainbow, we understand that the Lord hangs the bow on the cloud, as a sign of the covenant and as a gesture of peace after a battle.

**c. Jeremiah 31** In the context of the everlasting covenant, Jeremiah 31 may be appreciated in a new light. While Jeremiah's new covenant (Jer 41:31–34) is explicitly based on the Mosaic covenant, the Noachian covenant may be implicitly referred to in the passage immediately following (Jer 31:35, 36). In it Jeremiah recalls both the creation of sun and moon and the perpetuity of seasons as promised by the rainbow covenant:

Thus says the Lord,
who gives the sun for light by day,
and who the fixed order of the moon,
and the stars for light by night,

who stirs up the sea and its waves roar—
the Lord of hosts is his name,
"If this fixed order departs from before me,
then shall the descendants of Israel
cease from being a nation
from before me all the days."

Note that both Isaiah's reinstatement of the Noachian covenant of perpetual compassion and Jeremiah's updating of the Mosaic covenant of the Law are described in the cosmic setting of mountains and hills (Isa 54:10) and heaven and earth (Jer 31:37). Both prophets seem to invoke the primeval history, the earliest part of cosmic and human history, for the establishment of a new covenant. Perhaps they are recalling the very beginning of the world when and only when the entire creation is described as "good" and "very good," insisting upon making the new covenant firmly based on the primeval goodness of the creation (Cf. Hesse and Kikawada 1984).

**d. Ezekiel.** The Lord's speech to the Son of Man (Ezek 14:12–20) demands righteousness for salvation, recognizing no act of supererogation. Noah, Daniel, and Job are singled out as exemplary men of righteousness in sinful ages. Ezekiel sees the three men as having survived extraordinary ordeals by their own righteousness.

Noah, as the hero of the epoch-dividing Flood, may be hidden at the end of Ezekiel's first vision (Ezek 1:1–18). The vision moves from "I saw and behold …" (Ezek 1:4) and "I saw … and behold …" (Ezek 1:15) to the audition, "I heard …" (Ezek 1:24). Ezekiel hears seven voices *(qwl).* One of the seven voices is that of many waters (Ezek 1:14), perhaps of the Flood. The six voices are clustered in two verses (Ezek 1:24, 25). As the seventh voice is about to be heard, Ezekiel makes a flashing allusion to Noah's Flood by "the bow in the cloud on the day of rain" (Ezek 1:28). The seventh voice, climactically introduced, is none other than the voice of the Lord; and it is heard throughout the rest of the book.

Here, Ezekiel is apparently invoking primeval authority for contemporary speech, as did the poet of Psalm 29 In the Psalm we find the lone reference to the Flood, *mabbûl* (Ps 29:10), outside of the Noah story (Genesis 6–9).

**e. Jonah.** Within the ironic reversal of the whole narrative structure of primeval history, we find Jonah as another Noah in the episode of the tempest and the great fish. The overall topical outline of the book of Jonah that chiastically parallel Genesis 1–11 (Hesse and Kikawada 1984) is given in the table below.

| | Jonah | | | Genesis | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A. | Fleeing to Tarshish | | A. | Dispersion | |
| | Not going to Mesopotamia despite God's will | 1:1–3 | | Coming out of Mesopotamia according to God's will | |
| | Nineveh | 1:2 | | Babel/Shin‹ar | 11:1–32 |
| | Hebrew | 1:9 | | Abram, the Hebrew | 14:13 |
| B. | Flood, *nāhār* | 1:4–15 | B. | Flood *mabbûl* | 6–9 |
| | Ship of tribulation | 1:5 | | Ship of salvation | |
| | Jonah = Dove | | | Dove | 8:10–12 |
| | Fish, vessel of salvation | 2:1 | | (Cf. Manu and Fish, Indian myth) | |
| | Waves passed over Jonah | 2:4 | | Wind passed over earth | 8:1 |
| | *Tĕhôm* surrounds | 2:6 | | *Tĕhôm* bursts forth | 7:11 |
| | Bottoms of the mountains | 2:7 | | Tops of the mountains | 8:5 |
| | Jonah remembered the Lord | 2:8 | | God remembered Noah | 8:1 |
| | In 40 days … | 3:4 | | End of 40 days … | 8:6 |
| C. | Jonah's anger and | | C. | Cain's anger and | |
| | *Tôb* in causative stem | 4:4 | | *Tôb* in causative stem | 4:7, 9 |
| | Driven out before God | 2:5 | | Driven out of God's face | 4:14 |
| | *Hebel* = Abel | 2:9 | | Abel = *hebel* | 4:2 |
| | Jonah wants to die | 4:4 | | Cain wants to live | 4:13–14 |
| | Jonah *yšb* east of city | 4:5 | | Cain *yšb* east of Eden | 4:16 |
| D. | Gourd and Worm | 4:6–7 | D. | Tree and Snake | 2:5–3:24 |
| | Protection from evil | 4:6 | | Cause for evil | 3:22 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Glad because of gourd | 4:6 | | Tree is delightful | 3:6 |
| | Worm causes gourd to wither | 4:7 | | Snake entices to eat of tree | 3:4–5 |
| | Gourd taken away = test | 4:7 | | Tree given = test | 2:17 |
| | Jonah wants to die because of gourd | 4:9 | | Eat of tree and surely die | 2:17 |
| E. | God who care for both | | E. | God the Creator of | |
| | Men and beasts | 4:11 | | Beasts and men | 1:1–2:3 |
| | Seven narrative days | | | seven days of creation | |
| | Cf. "God of heaven, who made the sea and the dry land" | 1:9 | | | |

Jonah is not only Noah (Jonah 1:4–3:4) but also he is Adam (Jonah 4:6–9), and Abel (Jonah 2:5–4:5). Moreover, we may even visualize Moses when Exod 34:6–7 is restated in Jonah 4:9, "… for I know that thou art a gracious God and merciful, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love, and repentest of evil," or recall Abram when Gen 14:13, 19–22 is echoed in Jonah 1:9, "I am a Hebrew, and I fear the Lord, the God of heaven who made the sea and the dry land," as an answer to his shipmates.

**2. Apocrypha.** In the Apocrypha of the OT, references to Noah appear in such books as Tobit, Sirah, and the Wisdom of Solomon. In these books Noah takes a minor part in the list of people who are to be commended.

Tobit's advice to his son Tobias (Tob 4:3–21) includes an admonition to marry his own kind as did Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Tob 4:12). Neither the Flood nor the covenant is recalled.

In Sir 44:17–18, Noah appears in the long list of praises to the fathers of old, a list that begins with Enoch and ends with Moses. Noah is regarded as a substitute/continuator in the new age and in the remnant left from the Flood which ended because of the covenant.

Wis 4:10 refers to Noah without using his name, for the main interest of the passage lies in the enumeration of the accomplishments of Wisdom. Adam, Abel, Noah, Abraham, et al. are all alluded to without names. Wisdom saves the earth by "guiding the righteous man's course by a poor piece of wood."

**3. *Genesis Apocryphon.*** Column II of the *Genesis Apocryphon* preserves fragments of an episode recounting Noah's extraordinary birth. Noah is so extraordinary that his father, Lamech, is frightened and doubts the paternity of the child, suspecting one of the Watchers, the holy ones, or the fallen angels (for an Assyriological view on the Nephilim, cf. Kilmer 1987a). Lamech first goes to his wife, *bt›nws,* who assures him that the child is his, reminding him of her pleasure when the child was conceived. Still discontent, Lamech goes to his father, Methuselah, who in turn proceeds to Enoch, his own father, for explanation. Here the text breaks, but what happens next may be supplied from the pseudepigraphic fragment of the book of Noah (= *1 Enoch* 106, see above).

**4. New Testament. a. Matthew 24:38 and 1:1–3:17** Matthew uses the Flood as an illustration for the eschatological coming of the Son of Man, who will come stealthily without the knowledge of incorrigible sinners. The Flood is seen here as the epoch divider and the Son of Man event will be analogous to it; the Son of Man is another Noah.

For Matthew, Jesus like Moses is another Noah from the outset (Kikawada 1974). In fact, the outline and themes of Genesis 1–11 and Exodus 1–2 as well as the ancient parallel to them can be seen in the first three chapters of Matthew's gospel. See Fig. NOA.01 All four are relating the primeval history. Atrahasis and Genesis 1–11 are on a macrocosmic scale whereas Exodus 1–2 and Matthew 1–3 are on a microcosmic scale. All four symbolically tell their stories from the very beginning of the world through the epoch-dividing event, and then introduce the new era. In all the biblical examples the dispersion or Exodus motif emerges as a means of salvation in contrast to the Mesopotamian method of salvation, i.e., birth control. The motifs of mass killing of undesirable population and of the "Flood" as an epoch divider are present in all.

Jesus the Savior comes out of the water of salvation. Thereupon, he is met by the dove, linking him to the Flood tradition and making him another Noah.

**b. 1 Peter 3:20** In a very enigmatic passage of 1 Peter 3:13–22 in which Peter may be claiming that Christ has preached the gospel to the dead (cf. 1 Pet 4:6), especially to the dead of the time of Noah, the Flood is made analogous to baptism as a means of salvation through water. Quite independently of this

passage, however, the baptism of Jesus in Matthew's gospel can be construed as a miniature Flood bearing the significance of an epoch divider within a miniature primeval history in Matthew 1–3

**c. 2 Peter 2:5–6** Peter makes a reference to two Genesis figures, Noah and Lot, both of whom are righteous persons saved from disasters. It is difficult to know how much Peter wished to parallel these figures, but the stories of these two men are astonishingly similar. Consider the following (the present writer owes this observation to his student Hugo Garcia).

The whole area of Sodom and Gomorrah was said to be "like the garden of the Lord" (Gen 13:10); but the people of Sodom were very wicked (Gen 13:13). Despite Abraham's plea on behalf of the people, they were to be destroyed (Gen 18:16–33). From this point on the parallel with Noah becomes closer. In both the Noah and Lot stories the sex offense episodes, including incest and homosexuality, frame the story and the sequence of events concerning the great disaster and salvation from it provides point-by-point contacts between the two:

| Sodom and Gomorrah Story | Noah's Flood Story |
|---|---|
| Sex offensive involving "angels" and "daughters" | |
| Angels—homosexual (19:1–11) | Sons of God (6:1–4) |
| Announcement of disaster because of wickedness | |
| To Lot (19:12–14) | To Noah (6:11–13) |
| "come in [*boʾ*]" and "shut [*sgr*]" | |
| Angels brought Lot (19:10) | All flesh (7:16) |
| Instructions for salvation of a family | |
| Lot and daughters 19:15–23 | Noah family 6:14–18 |
| "Rain"—*himṭîr* 19:24, *mamṭîr* 7:4 | |
| Brimstone/fire 19:24 | 40-day rain 7:4 |
| All die but one family | |
| Lot's family 19:25–29 | Noah's family 7:21–23 |
| "God remembered" | |
| Abraham instead of Lot 19:29 | Noah and animals 8:1 |
| Living outside of city | |
| Cave in hills 19:30 | In tent 9:20–21 |
| Drunkenness | |
| Of Lot 19:32–35 | Of Noah 9:21 |
| Sex offense—Incest | |
| Father/daughters 19:31–38 | Father/son, homosexual 9:22–23 |

Thematically, note that Lot, like Noah, is the epoch-divider figure who, having experienced the end of Sodom and Gomorrah, ushers in the new generation of Moabites and Ammonites. The major difference, however, lies in the fact that Lot is not a covenant figure as is Noah. The reason for this may be that Noah obeys all that God commands (Gen 6:22; 7:5, 9, 16), whereas Lot twice modifies the angel's instruction to flee to the hills—initially Lot wants to go to the little city of Zoar because it is closer than the hills, but eventually he settles *(nwḥ)* in a cave in the hills outside *(mḥwṣ)* of Zoar because he is afraid of the city! On the other hand, Lot's cousin Abraham, the intercessor for Sodom and Gomorrah, is a covenant figure whom "God remembers" (Gen 19:29, cf. 8:1, "God remembers Noah"). Abraham vicariously participates in the "rain" of fire that sweeps over Lot's cities, thus making both Lot and Abraham Noah-like.

**d. Hebrews 11:7** In the list of righteous people of faith, Noah is used to illustrate the definition of faith as "the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen." Noah's obedience of the divine

instruction to construct an ark saves his household and preserves the seed of righteousness for the new generation. Noah is seen as a bridge between the condemned world and the new age.

**5. Pseudepigrapha. a. *1 Enoch* 106.** Enoch tells the story of Lamech being frightened at the birth of Noah. At birth Noah's "body was as white as snow and red as a rose; the hair of his head as white as wool and his *demdema* [an Ethiopic word describing his hair] beautiful; and as for his eyes, when he opened them the whole house glowed like the sun—[rather] the whole house glowed even more exceedingly" (*1 En.* 106:2). Lamech goes to Methuselah and Methuselah to Enoch; but note that Lamech does not go to his wife for explanation first as he did in the *Genesis Apocryphon.*

Enoch assures Methuselah that Lamech indeed is the child's father, revealing the secret that there will be a Flood to destroy wicked humanity. Enoch advises Methuselah to name the child Noah. He will be saved from the disaster along with his three children (*1 En.* 106:18) and "he will comfort the earth after all the destruction" (*1 En.* 107:3; cf. 106:18). The folk etymology of the name in Gen 5:29 is reflected here also. Apart from the name and its folk etymology, this pseudepigraphic story, like that in the *Genesis Apocryphon*, has nothing to do with the Genesis story, although some connections with the Sumerian and possibly with the Babylonian stories may be adduced in terms of the miraculous birth of the Flood hero (see above).

*1 Enoch.* includes a few more references to Noah. The Most High sends the archangel Uriel to Noah to inform him of the impending Flood, so that Noah may escape the destruction and preserve his seed for the future generations (*1 En.* 10:2). In *1 Enoch* 65, Enoch foretells the destruction of the world and the salvation of Noah in response to Noah's outcry for help because the earth had "sunk down" or "became deformed" (*1 En.* 65:1). One is tempted to speculate here that a tradition of preflood overpopulation as in the Atrahasis Flood Story and of overburdened earth as in Yima's Flood Story may be reflected in this passage.

The word of God comes in *1 Enoch* 67 and tells Noah that he has been "blameless" and "righteous" (cf. Gen 6:9) and that "the angels are working with wood [making an ark]" (*1 En.* 67:2). The divine speech also includes an echo of the blessings of Gen 1:28 and 9:1, "Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth." In contrast to this passage, *1 En.* 89:1 reports that Noah himself makes the ark, which floats on water to save him.

**b. *Book of Jubilees.*** From its own peculiar viewpoint of chronology and law, the *Book of Jubilees* recounts the history of the world from creation to Moses, with whom the new age of the Law begins. The Flood Story is retold in much greater detail in *Jub.* 4:28–10:17. Noah also appears in scattered references down to *Jub.* 22:13 in the context of blessing (*Jub.* 9:24, 27; 22:13) and covenant (*Jub.* 14:20). Moses, however, replaces Noah as the epoch divider as in the book of Exodus.

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## *NOAH'S ARK*

Noah's ark (Heb *tēbâ*) was the great boxlike vessel by means of which Noah and his family escaped the waters of the Flood. According to the story, God was dissatisfied with the violence of human creatures and decided to destroy them and cleanse the earth by means of a universal deluge. Because he was a righteous man, Noah was to be the exception. Consequently, God instructed him to construct a huge floatable "box" wherein he and his family could ride out the destructive waters. It was to be made of "gopher wood," the identification of which is a matter of dispute among modern interpreters [Heb *gōper,* possibly the same as Gk *kyparissos,* Eng "cypress"]. The vessel was then to be caulked with pitch (bitumen), divided into three partitioned decks, and provisioned for Noah's family and for pairs of land and flying animals. When it was completed, rain and subterranean waters devastated the earth for 40 days, covering the tops of the highest mountains. Approximately one year later, when the waters had subsided and the earth had become dry, Noah's family disembarked atop one of the mountains of Ararat and repopulation of the earth began.

### A. Dimensions of the Ark

The size of the vessel is given in "cubits," the modern estimate for which is approximately 18 inches each. Thus, 300 cubits long, 50 cubits wide, and 30 cubits high converts into 450 feet, 75 feet, and 45 feet, and this yields a rectangular box which was more suitable for floating than for sailing. Its size is astonishing in comparison with some modern vessels (e.g., the English ship *Mayflower* was only ninety feet long).

There is reason to suspect that the dimensions reflect a preoccupation with the number 60, as was commonly the case in Mesopotamian mathematics and occasionally that of the Bible. (For example, the ages of the Mesopotamian antediluvians in the Sumerian King List are given in multiples of $60^2$ years and those of the Bible in Genesis 5 are given in multiples of 60 months with the occasional supplement of 7 years.) Thus, the vessel of Utnapishtim, the Mesopotamian flood hero of the Akkadian version, is 120 cubits per side. (Allowing 19.7 inches for a Babylonian cubit, this yields 197 feet per side, for a volume about 5 times that of Noah's boat.) The sides are thus (60 × 2) cubits, a reflection that Mesopotamian mathematics reckons in a place notation of base 60 (in contrast to the English system of base 10). This means that Utnapishtim's vessel is two ideal (or base) units per side and has an ideal volume of $(60 \times 2)^3$. Good fortune, one may suppose, must thereby smile upon it.

The dimensions of Noah's vessel, likewise, rather than being random or corresponding to actual measurement of Israelite boats, reflects the same idealization. It is 300 (60 × 5) cubits long and 30 (60/2) cubits high. The third dimension, the width, is a curious 50 cubits, but nonetheless the resultant volume is $(60^3 \times 2) + (60^2 \times 5)$ cubic cubits.

### B. Claims that the Ark has Survived

Prior to the beginning of the Common Era, the claim was being made that parts of the Flood Hero's boat yet survived and had been seen: "It is said there is still some parts of this ship in Armenia, at the mountain of the Gordyaeans; and that some people carry off pieces of the bitumen … [for] use chiefly as amulets" (Josephus, *Ant* 1.3.6 [1st century, C.E.], quoting the Babylonian priest Berossos [3d century, B.C.E.]). Berossos here speaks of the Sumerian hero, Ziusudra, whom Josephus happily identified with Noah. Thereafter (in Christian, Jewish, and Muslim literature), a number of sites were proposed as the landing place of Noah's ark, most of which were alleged to have produced wooden remnants: in Arabia (Jabal Judi in the ʿAjaʿ Range), on the headwaters of the Tigris in SE Turkey (Cudi Dağ/Jabal Judi in the Gordian Mountains), in the Caucasus Range (Mt. Baris), in W Turkey (near the city of Apamea), in N Iran (Alwand Kuh and Mount Demavand), and in NE Turkey (Masis/Ağri Dağ).

It is the last of these sites, a majestic mountain (39° 42′ N; 44° 18′ E) which rises dramatically to a height of 16,900 feet above the plain, that modern ark searchers have designated as "Mount Ararat" (a

term which the Bible itself, at Gen 8:4, does not use; rather, it speaks of "the mountains of [the kingdom of] Ararat"). See Fig. NOA.02 for map of proposed sites. Although the literature of the native Armenian population knows this peak as the landing place only since the 11th–12th centuries C.E., the claim has recently been made (in newspapers, magazines, books, movies, and television programs) that this is undeniably the biblical site. Such claim has been supported by eyewitness testimony to a boat protruding from a glacier, by photographs, and by pieces of hand-hewn timber which reportedly date to high antiquity (up to 5,000 years of age, which might accord with Archbishop Ussher's literal biblical chronology which puts the Flood around 2450 B.C.E.; Montgomery 1972; Navarra 1974).

None of this alleged evidence for the survival of Noah's vessel has withstood rigid scrutiny (Bailey 1978; 1989). The eyewitnesses fundamentally contradict each other and some accounts have been shown to be fabrications. The photographs are either now missing or have been denounced as fake. The beams, based upon the best scientific evidence, are to be dated to the 7th century C.E. (Bailey 1977). There is no reason, then, to believe that remnants of Noah's ark are to be found anywhere in the world (regardless of one's decision about the historicity of the biblical account of the Flood).

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**NOAH, APOCALYPSE OF** A pseudepigraphal book mentioned by name only in *Jub.* 10:13 and 21:10. Some scholars identify portions of this work in *Jub.* 7:20–39 and 10:1–7, as well as *1 En.* 6–11; 54:7–55:2; 60; 65:1–69:25; 106; 107 (Charles, *APOT* 2: 168; Rist, *IDB* 3: 556). Further evidence for its existence is provided by fragments discovered in Cave 1 at Qumran (Dupont-Summer 1962:299; Rist, *IDB* 3: 556). Its exact date, author, and place of composition are unknown. However, it is clearly earlier than *Jubilees,* which is usually dated between 161 and 140 B.C.E. (Wintermute, *OTP* 2: 44; Rist, *IDB* 3: 556). It was probably composed in Hebrew or Aramaic somewhere in Palestine. While some fragments are apocalyptic, many contain ideas and language that cannot be so classified.

Since all we possess of the *Apocalypse of Noah* are fragments embodied within other works, it is impossible to present a complete and coherent picture of the content or structure of the book. From the extant fragments, it seems that the book focused primarily on the fallen angels (mentioned in Genesis 6). These angels taught magic, medicine, astrology, alchemy, the art of making weapons, and all kinds of evil and injustice that corrupted the earth and brought about the Flood. The names of the angels and a description of their evil deeds are also provided.

One fragment relates information about the primeval monsters Leviathan and Behemoth (cf. Job 40 and 41). Others contain descriptions of the many "hidden things," such as the contents of the first and last heaven, and what is beneath the earth and in the depths. They tell of the mysteries of the winds, lightning, and thunder; God's promise to Noah; and of the punishment of the evil angels. The story of Noah's birth and how he and his family were spared from the Flood is also told in one of the frag- ments.

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**NOB** (PLACE) [Heb *nōb* (נֹב)]. Town N of Jerusalem where David met Abimelech the priest (1 Sam 21:1—Eng 21:2). It was here that David and his companions ate the Bread of the Presence (an episode mentioned in Jesus' dispute with the Pharisees concerning the Sabbath; cf. Matt 12:1–4, Mark 2:23–28, and Luke 6:1–5) and where David received the weapons of Goliath. During this time Nob apparently held

the position of the chief sanctuary of YHWH after the fall of Shiloh, Ahimelech being the great-grandson of Eli, the priest at Shiloh (cf. 1 Sam 14:3; see McCarter *Joshua* AB, 349).

Saul hears of this through the information of Doeg the Edomite (1 Sam 22:9). Saul summons Ahimelech and all the priests of Nob (1 Sam 22:11) and eventually razes the city when the priests refuse to disclose David's whereabouts (1 Sam 22:19).

Isaiah lists Nob among the cities overrun by an army advancing on Jerusalem from the north (Isa 10:32). On the difficulties in understanding this passage, see GALLIM and the bibliography listed there. Nob is later listed among the cities to which the Judahites returned after the Exile (Neh 11:32).

The proximity of Nob to Jerusalem is plain in Isa 10:32 where the invader shakes its fist at Jerusalem from Nob. Albright (1925: 139; so also Donner 1968:50; *NHT,* 172) places Nob on Râs el-Mešârif, a slope of Mount Scopus within sight of Mount Zion. Another slope north of Mount Scopus, Quʿmeh, has also been named as a possible site (*IDB* 3: 557), though Râs el-Mesûârif has the advantage of being more clearly within eyesight of Jerusalem. The exact location of the town, however, remains unidentified.

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**NOBAH** (PERSON) [Heb *nōbaḥ* (נֹבַח)]. A male descendant of Manasseh who conquered a league of cities, known as KENATH, at the same time that his relative Jair presumably was campaigning against Og of Bashan (Num 32:47). Other traditions (1 Kgs 4:13 and Deut 3:4) report more generally that all Israel took the land of Og from Bashan and divided it for the half-tribe of Manasseh.

PAUL NIMRAH FRANKLYN

**NOBAH** (PLACE) [Heb *nōbaḥ* (נֹבַח)]. 1. An area of Gilead named after its Manassite conqueror, Nobah (Num 32:40–42). The context of the Numbers passage is a description of Moses' division of the territories of Sihon and Og to the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh. Nobah, a leader of Manasseh, subsequently overthrew Kenath and its environs and renamed the area after his own name. In 1 Chr 2:23 the old name Kenath is used. See KENATH. Gray (*Numbers* ICC, 441) suggested that the name Kenath was retained by later generations because the new name failed to establish itself. The site has been identified as modern Qanawat in Hauran at the extreme NE corner of Manasseh's territory.

2. A town near Jogbehah in E Gilead (Judg 8:10–11). Using Nobah and Jogbehah as a surprise travel route, the judge, Gideon, made an attack against the Midianites at Karkor. The exact site is unknown, and this possibly might be the same as Nobah #1 above.

JOEL C. SLAYTON

**NOBLES** See PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (POSTEXILIC JUDEAN OFFICIALS).

**NOD** (PLACE) [Heb *nôd* (נוֹד)]. The name of the land where Cain went after he had killed his brother Abel and Yahweh had put a mark on him to prevent him from being killed in revenge (Gen 4:16). This verse locates it "east of Eden." The land of Nod is not mentioned elsewhere in the Bible. It is unlikely that an actual geographical location is meant. The name seems to be derived from the Hebrew root *nwd,* "to wander." The word *nōd* also appears as a noun in Ps 56:9 (—Eng 56:8) with the meaning "wandering(s)" (RSV "tossings"). Thus, rather than denoting a specific place, the land of Nod symbolizes Cain's fate as "a fugitive and a wanderer (*nād*) on the earth" (Gen 4:12, 14). The same appears to be true for the phrase "east of Eden." Gen 3:24 reports that Yahweh God drove the man out of the Garden of Eden and placed the cherubim and a flaming sword at the E of the garden to prevent access to the tree of life. "East of Eden" simply means outside of the Garden of Eden, and thus banishment from God.

The LXX reads "the land of *Naid*" in Gen 4:16 Unlike "Nod," which fits the context beautifully, "Naid" has no perceptible meaning. It seems to be a corruption of *nôd* due to a confusion of the letter *waw*

(representing *ô* in the MT reading) and the letter *yod* (representing the *ai* diphthong of the LXX reading). *Waw* and *yod* were almost identical in appearance for much of the history of the Hebrew language, and confusion of the two letters is common in the Hebrew Bible.
JAMES R. DAVILA

**NODAB** (PERSON) [Heb *nôdāb* (נוֹדָב)]. A tribe in N Transjordan, 1 Chr 5:19 In 1 Chr 5:18–22, Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh conduct war against "the Hagrites, Jetur, Naphis and Nodab" (5:19). 1 Chr 5:10 dates this war to the reign of Saul. See HAGAR; HAGRITES; NAPHISH. As, according to its orthography, the name Jetur cannot have entered the biblical tradition before the 7th century B.C., the date provided by 1 Chr 5:10 must be aberrant. See JETUR. Most probably, the Chronicler (Eph'al 1982: 100 n. 337, 239), or one of his redactors (Knauf 1989: 49–52) had contemporary Arab tribes from N Transjordan (and a conflict between them and Jewish settlers?) in mind when he wrote his account, which then dates to the 4th–3d centuries B.C.

It can be argued that Nodab is identical with Adbeel, an Ishmaelite tribe (Gen 25:13; see ISHMAELITES) attested in 734/733 B.C., when Tiglath-pileser III entrusted this tribe with the control of the Egyptian border. The Assyrian king may have encountered Adbeel in southern Syria or northern Transjordan (Knauf 1989: 67). The names Nodab and Adbeel were linked to the same tribe by W. F. Albright (1956: 13). Knauf (1989: 67) derives both names linguistically from **Nadab'il,* "God has called up, incited." The LXXrenders "Adbeel" by *Nabdeêl,* and "Nodab" by *Nabadaioi.* As the sequence *db* is impossible in Greek, and had to be changed to *bd,* the occurrence of the same metathesis in *Nabadaioi* (where *d* and *b* are separated by a vowel) indicates that the two names were regarded as identical by the.

Personal names from *NDB*, "to call up, to incite," occur in biblical Hebrew (Nadab, Nedabjah), Ammonite ('Amminadab), Safaitic, Thamudic, classical Arabic, and Sabaic (Nadab).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**NOGAH** (PERSON) [Heb *nōgah* (נֹגַהּ)]. One of thirteen sons of David listed as having been born to David's wives in Jerusalem (1 Chr 3:7; 14:6), in addition to his six sons born at Hebron. His mother's name is unknown: four of the thirteen were Bathsheba's sons; the remainder were born to unnamed wives. Besides these thirteen, David had numerous (unnamed) sons born to his concubines, according to 1 Chr 3:9

Nogah's name is missing (along with the first occurrence of "Eliphelet") from the list of David's sons born in Jerusalem in 2 Sam 5:13–16 A corrupt dittography with the following name, Nepheg, has been postulated, and the list in 2 Samuel has been seen as the more reliable (e.g., Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 56). However, there is evidence that the 2 Samuel list originally carried both names missing in the MT See ELIPHELET #1. Also, the number of David's sons given in 1 Chr 3:8—nine—requires the presence of Nogah's name, as well as both occurrences of "Eliphelet." Thus, it is most reasonable to accept Nogah as a separate name and person. (See Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 19.) See also DAVID, SONS OF.
DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

**NOHAH** (PERSON) [Heb *nôḥâ* (נוֹחָה)]. The fourth son of Benjamin according to 1 Chr 8:2 Besides 1 Chronicles 8, the sons of Benjamin are listed in three other places: Gen 46:21 (= *Jub.*); Num 26:38–41; and 1 Chronicles 7 In none of these other lists does Nohah appear. The following table clearly shows the many divergences between these lines.

| Gen 46:21 | Num 26:38–41 | 1 Chr 7:6 | 1 Chr 8:1–2 |
|---|---|---|---|

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bela | Bela | Bela | Bela |
| Becher | | Becher | |
| Ashbel | Ashbel | *Jediael | Ashbel |
| Gera | *Ahiram | | *Aharah |
| Naaman | *Shephupham | | *Nohah |
| *Ehi | | | |
| *Rosh | | | *Rapha |
| *Muppim | | | |
| *Huppim | *Huppam | | |
| *Ard | | | |

*Indicates names not appearing in the other lists

The name most closely resembling Nohah is Naaman in Gen 46:21 The presence of the name Naaman later on in the list (1 Chr 8:4, 7), however, argues against simply substituting "Naaman" for "Nohah." Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 157–58) suggested that "Nohah" is a transcriber's variation of "Ahoah" (v 4), but there is no support for this suggestion. Of these lists, the list reflecting the oldest traditions is the one in Numbers 26, but even that list probably does not list the actual sons of Benjamin, instead giving clan names (Noth *Numbers* OTL, 203–8). Von Rad (*Genesis* OTL, 403) suggested that the list in Genesis 46 is artificial and the product of "very late and theoretical erudition." The great differences among the lists as well as their differing purposes make it difficult, if not impossible, to assert the priority of one list over the others and thereby identify a name like Nohah which occurs only in one.

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**NOPHAH** (PLACE) [Heb *nopaḥ* (נֹפַח)]. "Nophah" appears as the name of a town in the MT of Num 21:30 However, this text has suffered in transmission and was interpreted differently by the versions. In the Masoretic punctuation the last consonant of the word *ʾăšĕr* ("which") is marked with a *punctum extraordinarium* indicating that the *reš* was questioned by the scribes at an early date. The Sam. Pent. and LXX considered the consonants underlying the word "Nophah" to be a verbal form meaning "to breathe," "to set aflame" (a reading followed by Noth 1940–41: 169; Althann 1985: 568–71). Taking the consonants *npḥ* as a verb and replacing the word *ʾēš* ("fire") for *ʾăšĕr* by omitting the last consonant, the Sam. Pent. and LXX understood the MT reading "unto Nophah which" to mean "further kindled a fire." The latter reading is followed by the RSV whereas the former is retained by the KJV If "Nophah" is a place-name as in the MT (e.g., Hanson 1968:306), it refers to an unidentified site in Moab probably S of Heshbon.

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**NOREA, THOUGHT OF** (NHC IX, *2*). The second of three gnostic tractates contained in Nag Hammadi Codex IX (27,11–29,5), inscribed in Sahidic Coptic. It is one of the shortest tractates in the Nag Hammadi corpus, and is found in a relatively undamaged portion of the MS. The title has been assigned to it by modern editors from a phrase occurring in the text at its conclusion (29,3). Another title is in use in German scholarship: *Ode on Norea,* a title which is based on a judgment concerning the literary genre of this tractate. While its strophic structure and diction are reflective of the characteristics of Semitic or "biblical" poetry, the putative Greek text of *Norea* seems to lack the meter that would qualify it as Greek poetry (e.g., the Naassene Psalm preserved by Hippolytus, *Ref.* 5.10.2).

A clear fourfold structure is reflected in this tractate: (1) Norea's invocation of the Father and his divine companions, 27,11–20; (2) Norea's deliverance, 27,21–28,12; (3) Norea's role as savior, 28,12–23; (4) the future salvation of Norea's spiritual progeny, 28,24–29,5.

Norea is a "saved savior" in this and related texts. In the Sethian gnostic system Norea appears as the daughter of Eve and the sister-consort of Seth. She is thus the spiritual mother of the gnostic race. In the *Hypostasis of the Archons.*(NHC II, *4*) she is portrayed as the intended victim of rape by the wicked archons, and as "crying out" for help (II 92,33–93,2). The help comes in the form of a heavenly revelation mediated by Eleleth, one of the four "luminaries" in the Sethian system. The tractate *Norea* dovetails with *Hyp. Arch.*, for the invocation comprising its first part is followed by the sentence, "It is Norea who cries out to them" (27,21–22). Norea's deliverance and reintegration into the Pleroma are then treated; this constitutes the second section of the tractate.

Norea's role as savior, highlighted in the third and fourth sections of the text, is a particularly interesting feature of *Norea* and the closely related *Hyp. Arch.* Both documents are included among those gnostic tractates that are associated in modern scholarship with Sethian Gnosticism. But, whereas in most of those texts it is Seth who is the gnostic savior par excellence, in *Norea*, as in *Hyp. Arch.*, the major salvific role is played by Seth's consort, Norea. She thus functions as the feminine counterpart to Seth, as the mother of the gnostic elect. She is a saved savior, and her salvation is paradigmatic of that of her spiritual progeny. This feature of *Norea* would, no doubt, have appealed to female members of a gnostic group; indeed, it is possible that *Norea* was composed by a gnostic woman (Stroumsa 1984: 35–70).

There are no clear indications of Christian influence in *Norea*, unless such technical terms as "Pleroma" and "deficiency" are traceable to Valentinian influence. (Valentinian Gnosticism is, of course, a Christian form of the gnostic religion.) In any case, the figure of Norea itself originates as a gnostic reinterpretation of a Cainite antiheroine in Jewish Haggadah, Naamah (cf. Gen 4:22). The original spelling of "Norea" is "Horaia," a form of the name that occurs in other gnostic sources. *Hōraia* is the semantic equivalent in Greek of Hebrew *naʿămâ* ("pleasing, lovely"). Gnostic traditions revolving around Horaia-Norea probably developed in Jewish gnostic circles, independently of Christianity.

The technical terminology in *Norea*, as well as its allusions to developed gnostic traditions (e.g. "the four holy helpers," 28,27–28), suggest that this tractate represents a comparatively late development of an earlier Jewish Gnosticism. Its original Greek version can be dated to the late 2d or early 3d century. It could well have been composed in Egypt, or in another E Mediterranean region.

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**NORTH** [Heb *ṣāpôn* (צָפוֹן)*, śĕmōʾl* (שְׂמֹאל)]. One of the cardinal compass points in the ANE. But unlike modern Western culture, "north" was not the primary direction for orientation. "East" was the primary direction for orientation, probably from the rising sun. See DIRECTION AND ORIENTATION. Hebrew had two major words for "north," *ṣāpôn,* from a root which meant hidden or dark, and *śĕmōʾl,* literally the left hand. This latter term shows clearly the Hebraic use of the body to gain directions when one faces east.

In addition to the expected use in reference to the direction, "north" comes to have several specific connotations in the OT. "North" is especially the direction from which invaders come (Jer 1:14–15; Isa 14:31). Certainly Israel's position influenced this understanding. Protected by the sea on the W and the Syrian desert on the E, her only major concerns for massive invasion came from the S (Egypt) and the N (Assyria, Babylon, the Hittites, etc.). Especially in the latter period of the monarchy and exilic/postexilic periods, those empires to the N and E were by far the strongest. Perhaps as much symbolically as

geographically, "north" is also the direction invaders will come upon Babylon (Jer 50:9; Zech 2:10—Eng2:6) and the direction from which Gog of Magog will come (Ezek 38:6, 15).

Since the invaders have come out of the N and have carried off exiles, it is only natural that the returning exiles will come from the N (Jer 3:18).

In Ugaritic mythology, *ṣpn* is the name of the holy mountain, used especially as Baal's abode, and was the place of the assembly of the gods. Mt. Ṣapon is usually identified with Mt. Casius, N of Ras Shamra. In other texts Baal calls himself the god of *Ṣpn* and the title-epithet "Baal Ṣpn$^{w}$ appears in several texts. Closely related to this Ugaritic and Canaanite mythology must be the reference to God's abode in the far N (Isa 14:13). Also God appeared to Job out of the N (Job 37:22) and Ezekiel's cherub chariot theophany appeared from the N (Ezek 1:4).

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**NORTH AFRICAN CHRISTIANITY** See CHRISTIANITY (NORTH AFRICAN).

**NORTH AFRICAN JUDAISM** See JUDAISM (NORTH AFRICAN).

**NORTH COUNTRY, THE** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾereṣ* (אֶרֶץ).*ṣāpôn* (צָפוֹן)]. Ominous appellation for the N regions of Mesopotamia and Syria. This designation is used mostly by Jeremiah, but is also found four times in Zechariah.

Jeremiah is told in one of his opening visions that evil is about to break forth from the N against Judah (Jer 1:13–16). In Jeremiah 4–6, Yahweh states that he is about to bring "evil" and "great destruction" from the N Specifically, he refers to a nation skilled with "bow and spear," a cruel nation who will show no mercy to Zion (Jer 6:22–23, see also 10:22 and 25:9). At the end of his book, Jeremiah sees a great and mighty nation arising again from the North Country, but this time against Babylon. In nearly the same language as Jer 6:22–23, the prophet predicts a nation skilled at warfare will show no mercy to Babylon (Jer 50:41–42, see also 50:3, 9 and 51:48).

The North Country is also the land of the Exile, from which Yahweh will redeem his people. Jeremiah uses the designation in this way, and similar expressions freely (Jer 3:12, 18; 16:15; 23:8; 31:8, etc. and see also Zech 2:6).

Israel's unique geographical features contributed to these perceptions regarding the North Country. With the Mediterranean on her W and desert protecting her E and SE, enemies normally approached from the SW or N Although the Egyptians and Philistines were to the S and SW, most of Israel's attackers came from the N Even Assyrian and Babylonian armies were considered northern enemies. The North Country was a designation broad enough to include the NW extremities of Mesopotamia (since it was the site of Egypt's defeat at Carchemish on the Euphrates in 605 B.C., Jer 46:2, 10).

The specific identity of Jeremiah's northern foe (Jeremiah 4–6) is a much disputed question. Herodotus reports that the Scythians invaded Syria-Palestine around 625 B.C., near the beginning of Jeremiah's ministry (1.104–6). Proponents of an older "Scythian hypothesis" hold that Jeremiah's descriptions of invaders best fit these Indo-European nomads from the Russian steppes (for recent reviews, see Holladay *Jeremiah* Hermeneia 1: 42–43 and Perdue 1984:6–10). Recent commentators have tended to deny this position (Bright *Jeremiah* AB, lxxxi–lxxxii; Holladay, 42–43; and Thompson *Jeremiah* NICOT, 86–87). Others have argued that Jeremiah's "foe from the north" carries a definite mythological flavor (Childs 1959: 197–98). Thus, no specific historical group can be identified with the northern army. Recently, it has been suggested, on the basis of cuneiform texts and archaeological evidence, that Scythian mercenaries served as the vanguard of the Chaldean attack against Jerusalem, so that the Scythian theory is not to be entirely dismissed (Yamauchi 1982: 87–99).

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**NORTHWEST SEMITIC LANGUAGES** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).
**NOSE RING** See JEWELRY.

**NOT MY PEOPLE** (PERSON) [Heb *lō‹* (לֹא).*‹ammî* (עַמִּי)]. The third child, a son, born to the prophet Hosea and his wife Gomer (Hos 1:9). At God's command, Hosea gave each of his three children names symbolizing divine judgment against Israel. This last of Hosea's children bears the most drastic of the three sign names. The formula "I will be your God and you shall be my people" lies at the heart of God's covenant with Israel, and thereby at the center of Israel's self-identity (Exod 6:7; Lev 26:12; 2 Sam 7:24; Jer 7:23; etc. s reversed in). The name of Hosea's first child, JEZREEL, anticipated the impending military defeat of the reigning dynasty. His second child's name, NOT PITIED, indicated God's withholding of love and protection from the house of Israel. "Not My People" signifies that God has repudiated the covenant and utterly rejected the people of Israel. The judgment of Hos 1:9 is reversed in 2:25 (—Eng 2:23). "Not My People" will be renamed "My People" (cf 2:1, 2—Eng1:10; 2:1). The verse promises that divine judgment of Israel will be followed by the restoration of covenant. See HOSEA, BOOK OF.
CAROLYN J. PRESSLER

**NOT PITIED** (PERSON) [Heb *lō‹* (לֹא).*ruḥāmâ* (רֻחָמָה)]. The second child, a daughter, born to the prophet HOSEA and his wife Gomer (Hos 1:6, 8). Her name is explained (v 6) as a sign that God will "no more have pity on the house of Israel." The Hebrew word translated "pitied" *(rḥm)* also has the broader meaning "love." Denial of pity elsewhere in the prophets is associated with judgment, entailing both withdrawal of protection and active destruction. The child's name (like the names of her brothers) thus symbolizes God's refutation of love for and wrathful judgment against Israel. The child later becomes a symbol of renewal and eschatological hope. Hosea 2:25 (—Eng 2:23) promises that God will "have pity on Not Pitied" (cf. 2:3—Eng2:1). See also HOSEA, BOOK OF; JEZREEL (PERSON); NOT MY PEOPLE (PERSON).
CAROLYN J. PRESSLER

**NOVELS, GREEK AND LATIN** The novel, as understood by the modern reader, was not a genre recognized by ancient literary criticism. Traditionally, the depiction of fictional characters and their adventures and emotions was the province of the poets (epic, tragic, comic). Prose fiction emerges relatively late in Greek and Latin literature and, even when it does so, is virtually unnoticed by the arbiters of literary taste. It does not even have a name of its own: *drama* (Photius), *mythoi eroticoi* (Ach. Tat. 1.2.3), and *historia* (Longus 1.1.1) are all used. Its neglect by contemporary intellectuals has tended to lead to a corresponding neglect by scholars, but the recent flowering of critical interest in this branch of literature has opened up many avenues of interest to biblical studies.

**A. The Novels**

The texts may be divided into two groups, the sentimental or "ideal" romance of love and adventure, and the picaresque or comic. Of the former, five complete texts and numerous fragments survive, all Greek: Achilles Tatius, *Adventures of Leucippe and Cleitophon,* in 8 books (2d century A.D.); Chariton, *Chaereas and Callirhoe,* in 8 books (before A.D. 150: possibly as early as 1st century B.C.); Heliodorus, *Aethiopica,* in 10 books (2d–4th century A.D.); Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe,* in 4 books (end of 2d century A.D.); Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephesiaca* or *Anthia and Habrocomes,* in 5 books, possibly abridged from 10 (A.D. 150–250) Fragments include those of the *Ninus Romance.*(ca. 100 B.C.), *Parthenope and Metiochus,* Iamblichus' *Babyloniaca,* and Lollianus' *Phoenicica.*

Broadly speaking, the 2d century A.D. may be regarded as the heyday of the ideal novel, but the papyrus fragments show that similar tales were circulating in written form at least in the 1st century B.C., almost certainly earlier. Of the complete texts, Chariton and Xenophon (whatever their actual dates) represent the earlier, less sophisticated approach to the genre, while Heliodorus, Longus, and Achilles Tatius reflect a more consciously literary approach influenced by the Second Sophistic. All five texts concern the

adventures of a pair of young lovers (hence the name "erotic": but the treatment is on the whole sentimental-romantic rather than pornographic). All but Longus involve a separation at the beginning of the story and a "happy ending" in which the couple are reunited after an impossibly complicated series of adventures including voyages, shipwrecks, capture by pirates, attempted rape, mistaken identity, imprisonment, sacrifice, suicide, and entombment. Longus' story stands alone as a Theocritean pastoral idyll describing the gradual sexual awakening of the young shepherd and shepherdess; there is no voyaging here, but, as in the other novels, the couple are separated by capture (pirates, and an invading army) and finally reunited with the aid of divine intervention.

Of the picaresque type we have only Latin examples. Petronius' *Satyricon* (probably 1st century A.D.) was originally at least 16 books in length: most of books 15 and 16 survive, including the famous scene of Trimalchio's dinner party *(Cena Trimalchionis).* The work is a highly individual and sophisticated composition, drawing on a Roman tradition of satire and probably deliberately parodying the Greek ideal novel (Hägg 1983: 171). Here a travel narrative is used as a framework for a series of comic and scandalous episodes: the antihero, a Greek student accompanied by two rogues, is "a kind of comic reversal of Odysseus or Aeneas in his wanderings" (Hägg 1983: 170). Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* or *The Golden Ass,* in 11 books, dates from the mid or late 2d century A.D. The story relates the adventures of Lucius who, overcurious about magic, is turned into an ass and endures many vicissitudes until his final intiation into the mysteries of Isis and restoration to his own shape. Lucius' wanderings as an ass again provide the framework for a variety of tales, many of the "Milesian" (pornographic) type, but some of the "ideal" type, notably the myth of Cupid and Psyche (4.28–6.24). There is a Greek version of the simple *Story of the Ass* (wrongly attributed to Lucian), to which Apuleius has added a variety of ingredients.

**B. Origins**

Against a prevailing preoccupation with the "development" of the novel out of earlier Greek literary genres (Alexandrian love elegy, hero tales, degenerate historiography, and mystery texts were all suggested), B. E. Perry, in his classic study *The Ancient Romances* (1967), asserted that "the first romance was deliberately planned and written by an individual author, its inventor. He conceived it on a Tuesday afternoon in July … It did not come into being by a process of development on the literary plane" (p. 175). More recent studies, however, have stressed once again that the extant novels cannot be considered in isolation, but must be placed in a context embracing all the varied types of narrative activity taking place in the Hellenistic world and in the Near East. Thus, for example, Scobie (1969) looks at the role of the *aretalogus* and other tellers of "wonder tales" in Roman society. Hägg (1983) examines the Greek novels against a broad background of epic, drama, historiography, popular biography, and fantastic travel tales, but also stresses their continuity with the "historical" romances (Alexander, Apollonius of Tyre) and with the new Christian popular literature of apostles, martyrs, and saints. Anderson (1984) spreads the net wider: like Braun (1938), who had earlier suggested the need to look further east, Anderson points out parallels to the Greek novels in Sumerian tales like *Dumuzi's Dream* and *Enlil and Ninlil,* and finds in Petronius' *Satyricon* "a substantial portion of an Ancient Near Eastern tale-complex about an everyman and his fortunes at the hands of an at least ambiguous companion" (p. 193). Even Apuleius, in this perspective, becomes part of a continuum of oriental storytelling reaching right through from *Gilgamesh* to the *Arabian Nights.*

**C. Style**

As Perry (followed especially by Reardon) stressed, none of this "background" research should detract from the appreciation of the extant texts as individual works in their own right. Once we have assimilated the fact that much of their plot content is a "given" to these authors, not original invention as might be assumed with a modern novelist, it remains true that the ancient novelists (like Shakespeare) all exercised their individual talent and judgment in the *presentation* of their stories (Hägg 1983: 108, "the goal was originality, not in content but in execution"). Characterization, idealized and often wooden, tends to come second to complicated plot construction, which is often handled in a masterly fashion: Rattenbury (1949) made an apt comparison with film scenarios. The setting of the ideal novels tends to be timeless or archaic; their language leans toward the classicistic even in Chariton, while Achilles Tatius, Heliodorus,

and Longus write in the full-blown Atticizing manner associated with the Second Sophistic. All the Greek novelists use the basic narrative as a thread on which to hang learned excurses, geographical or pictorial descriptions, and rhetorical displays. Xenophon is the least artistic of the five: Dalmeyda (1926) believes his infelicities of style and construction are his own, not the result of an incompetent epitomator's work. Petronius and Apuleius, following the centuries-old convention for comedy, depict something more like the real world of their day, and include much racy and idiomatic contemporary diction; but they remain "highly sophisticated authors addressing themselves ostensibly to the learned world of fashion for purposes of their own" (Perry 1967: vi).

**D. Audience**

If we accept Northrop Frye's definition of popular literature as "what people read without being told to," then the Greek novels must certainly be regarded as popular literature, despite their apparently frigid and mannered styles. The number of papyrus fragments of novels testifies to their wide distribution in an age when the school classics, from Homer downward, must have been losing their appeal. As Reardon (1969) observes, Perry's objective was to stress not only the individual achievement of the novelists but their cultural context, the "broad conditions of society" in which and for which they wrote. Earlier historians had already pointed out that the rise in the novel's popularity in the 2d century A.D. coincided with an era of mass literacy and relative prosperity for the middle classes (Giangrande 1970). Within the broader category there must be distinctions between one end of the spectrum and the other: Perry's "poor in spirit" (1967) perhaps applies more obviously to the audiences of Xenophon or Chariton than to those of Longus or Achilles Tatius who, as Giangrande observes, must have possessed "a notable degree of culture." Nevertheless the very fact that the novels remained outside the canon of accepted literary taste makes them a potentially valuable introduction to the tastes and interests of that widely distributed subculture of the Eastern Empire, scarcely represented in our predominantly aristocratic literary remains, which (while aware of the inadequacies of the term) we can only call "middle class." As Hägg observes (1983: 90), "the people who needed and welcomed the novel are the same as those who were attracted by the mystery religions and Christianity," an observation which seems to be confirmed by the fact that the decline of the novel after the 3d century A.D. apparently coincides with the rise in popularity of the Christian stories of martyrs and saints (p. 161).

**E. Religion**

One theory sees the novels as originating in the mystery religions: Kerenyi (1927), Merkelbach (1962; 1965). Thus Merkelbach sees Achilles Tatius' novel as a retelling of the myth of Isis and Osiris, with concealed references to the mystery rituals of baptism and mock-mummification: "the narrative symbolizes the fall of the human soul into matter, its wandering through life and its arrival at the safe haven of the Isis religion, or the homecoming of the soul into the kingdom on the other side after death" (1965: 11). Even if this view is not accepted (it has not convinced the majority of scholars, cf. Turcan 1963), it is still true that the ideal novels are both highly moral (chastity and fidelity invariably triumph over all conceivable obstacles) and deeply imbued with religious sentiment. Priests, temples, and processions figure largely, the gods play an active role in the narrative, and the hero and heroine often have a deeply personal relationship with their own private deities. Even the picaresque adventures of Apuleius' *Golden Ass* end in a dramatic conversion to Isis in Bk.11 (for the significance of this scene for our understanding of ancient attitudes to religious conversion, see Nock 1933: chap. 9). Interestingly, the atmosphere of the narrative itself tends to give an archaic or timeless picture of the religious scene, with the new personal deity manifesting himself or herself to the individual against a backdrop of traditional cult and ceremonial: the Isis novels never mention Christianity or Judaism, just as Acts never mentions Isis or Serapis.

**F. The Bible**

The relevance of all this to the Bible may be described under four heads: motif and incident; embellishment; style and presentation; audience.

**1. Motif and Incident.** If the Greek and Latin novels are part of a continuum of ancient oriental storytelling, then it should not surprise us if many Bible stories also form part of the same continuum.

Extrabiblical parallels to the Daniel story *(Ahiqar, Prayer of Nabonidus)* are already well known; similarly, Joseph, Esther, Tobit, Susannah, even Ecclesiastes and the gospel parables contain motifs which can be paralleled in other Near Eastern tales (Anderson 1984: 103 n. 20, 105 n. 76, 187; *OTP* 2: 487). It is not here a question of direct influence: merely that some biblical stories may be regarded as ladlefuls out of the same "pot of story" (to use Tolkein's phrase) from which the Greek and Latin novelists drew.

**2. Embellishment.** More direct influence (though not of any of the extant novels) may be seen in those cases where the biblical story has been embellished in extrabiblical tradition in novelistic fashion, most obviously by supplying a romantic interest absent in the original story. The Joseph story has been enhanced in this way in *Joseph and Aseneth* (Burchard 1985: 183–84); Josephus' account of Moses' Ethiopian expedition (*Ant* 2§ 238–53) has also gained an embryonic love interest (252). We may also note here Christian postbiblical stories such as *Paul and Thecla,* which supply the romantic interest (in a sublimated form) which is lacking in the canonical stories (Hägg 1983: 159–60).

**3. Style and Presentation.** Novelistic influence on the style and presentation of some biblical material has long been suspected, notably in Acts (Norden, Dibelius). Acts is a sober narrative compared with its apocryphal successors, but the detailed account of the shipwreck as well as the inclusion of apparently gratuitous geographical information in the second half of the book seems to point to a wish to gratify an audience whose tastes were, at least in part, molded by the novels (Pervo 1987). Whether these tastes influenced the *content* of Acts—i.e., whether the author actually invented incidents—is another matter: on the analogy of the extant novels, we can now see that the authors were for the most part working on "given" plot material rather than inventing freely, and this may provide a better model for the biblical writers' approach to their work.

**4. Audience.** Perhaps the most fruitful line to be pursued in the study of the Greek and Latin novels is for the light they throw on their audiences and their tastes and interests (including religious interests): see D and E above. It is clear that there was in the late Hellenistic and early imperial periods a reading public of armchair travelers who liked "a good yarn" well laced with exotic adventure: the ingredients of love, death, and religion could be combined in many different ways, but the desire to edify while entertaining, and the need to entertain while edifying, were never too far apart. It is surely not too fanciful to suggest that similar needs and desires may have motivated many biblical storytellers as well.

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**NU** The thirteenth letter of the Greek alphabet.

**NUMBERS AND COUNTING** Numbers are often mentioned in the Bible, where they are always expressed in terms of number words. Nevertheless, inscriptions on archaeological objects such as weights, ostraca, and monuments demonstrate that the use of number symbols was common in ancient Israel. The forms of these number symbols reveal foreign influences, in no way unexpected under the given circumstances. Also the literary use of numbers in the Bible demonstrates a fair amount of foreign influence. High numbers are often of a form which is characteristic for numbers originally expressed in the Mesopotamian number system with the base 60. Stylistic comparisons can be made in many cases between passages in the Bible and parallels in Ugaritic or Sumero-Akkadian legends. The religious-literary-historical nature of the Bible explains why computations in the Scripture are very few and unsophisticated. For a proper understanding of the role played by numbers and counting in the cultural environment where the biblical literature arose, it is necessary to look for extraneous sources and influences. How important that role was, and how deep and widely branched its roots, will be demonstrated below. Comparatively little emphasis will be put on numbers occurring in the Bible itself, since detailed discussions exist elsewhere (*IDB* 3: 561–67; *EncJud* 12: 1254–61). See also MATHEMATICS, ALGEBRA, AND GEOMETRY.

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## A. Number Representations and Arithmetic

**1. The Preliterate Middle East.** For five millennia before the invention of writing, a uniform method for the recording of numbers was spread over the entire Middle East (Schmandt-Besserat 1977). The method consisted of the use of small "tokens" of clay as representations of numbers and measures. Such tokens have been discovered at practically all excavated sites from Anatolia in the north to Iran in the east and Egypt in the west. Some tokens found in Israel, for instance, can be dated to the 7th millennium B.C. (Jericho), while others are as late as the 2nd millennium B.C. (Megiddo). These tokens come in many shapes, such as cylinders, spheres, disks, cones, ovoids, etc., and in various sizes. It is probable that they were used in trading and commerce, in and between many autonomous regions. The meaning of the various shapes and sizes of the tokens can be inferred, on a tentative basis, from a comparison with the corresponding shapes and sizes of the written number notations which eventually replaced them (see below).

The number representation system based on tokens was used without any apparent modification well into the 4th millennium B.C. Thereafter the beginning of urban civilization on an unprecedented scale forced the system to undergo a series of profound changes (Schmandt-Besserat 1980; 1981; Le Brun and

Vallat 1978; Ifrah 1981. As a first step, perforations allowed tokens to be tied together in groups, forming permanent records. At the same time, many new types of tokens appeared, and the increased use of incised or attached markings on the tokens made possible the recording of ever more complex economic transactions. A second step was to surround groups of tokens by balls of clay, so-called "spherical envelopes," often with imprints of cylinder seals for the further protection and verification of records. Such balls with tokens have been found at sites ranging from Shah Dad in southern Iran to Dumah, near Hebron, in Israel. The next step in this increasingly rapid development was when the use of the tokens was discontinued in favor of a new invention, "impressed" clay tablets with punch marks as number symbols. Reed styli of different diameters were used to punch circular and semioval marks into the clay, in an obvious attempt to imitate the shapes of small and big cylindrical, spherical, and conical tokens. The invention of writing was the logical last step in this chain of innovations. It took place, probably in southern Mesopotamia, some time toward the end of the 4th millennium B.C.

**2. Ancient Mesopotamia.** The earliest written records unearthed so far are "proto-Sumerian" clay tablets from Uruk in southern Mesopotamia (ca. 3000 B.C.). This archaic Uruk script consists of both word and number signs. Some word signs are pictographic, while others are abstract and can be interpreted only when they are precursors to Sumerian word signs of known meaning. The number signs, punched into the clay with a set of round styli, are easy to distinguish from the word signs. They consist of combinations of small and big, round and semioval marks. Sexagesimal numbers are written by repetition of the signs "small oval, small round, big oval, small round in big oval, big round" with the values 1, 10, 60, 600, 3,600. Number signs can also denote values of measures for grain, length, area, etc., so that one and the same sign can have, for instance, the values 10, 6 grain units, and 1,800 area units, depending on the context (Friberg 1984). Measures of time (days, months, years) are indicated through diverse combinations of number signs with the pictogram for "sun, day." The "administrative" year is, in the early Uruk texts as in later cuneiform texts, a fictive year of 12 months with 30 days each (Englund 1987).

With the evolution of the cuneiform script, the number signs changed form but were still used for both sexagesimal numbers and measures. The end result of the development was the sexagesimal place-value system (ca. 2000 B.C.), which allowed all numbers to be written by repetition of only two number signs, "upright wedge" for "1" and "oblique wedge" *(Winkelhaken)* for "10." A sexagesimal zero was used sparingly, most often in Late Babylonian mathematical and astronomical texts (ca. 300 B.C.).

The oldest known mathematical texts are from the Sumerian city of Shuruppak (Fara), ca. 2650 B.C. They consist of a table of squares, a multiplication exercise, and two division exercises, all with high numbers involved. The later OB period, ca. 1700 B.C., was a time when the teaching of mathematics was intense in the Mesopotamian scribal schools. At the elementary level, this teaching was based on the use of elaborate multiplication tablets, division tables, and tables of measures. At a more advanced level, the curriculum comprised algorithms for the computation of square roots, reciprocals, etc., as well as methods for solving quadratic equations and indeterminate problems, and practical rules for computations having to do with bricks, irrigation, work division, and so forth (Neugebauer and Sachs 1945). During the LB period, ca. 300 B.C., there was a renewed interest in mathematics, coupled with the production of astonishingly sophisticated mathematical division tables or astronomical tables with predictions for the movements of the sun, the moon, and the planets.

**3. Ancient Iran.** Toward the end of the 4th millennium B.C. the influence from the Late Uruk culture in Mesopotamia reached far into ancient Iran. This was the time of the spherical envelopes and the impressed tablets. Thereafter followed a break in the relations between the two regions, at about the time when the Archaic Uruk script was invented in Mesopotamia. Not much later, an independent "proto-Elamite" script was invented and established in Iran. It was based on a repertory of abstract signs, probably a mixture of word signs and syllable signs, written on clay tablets in lines from right to left. The script turned out to be relatively ephemeral, and is still undeciphered, with one important exception, the sign for "barley, grain." The number signs which are present in practically all proto-Elamite texts are formed in the same way as the number signs on the early Uruk tablets (Friberg 1984). It is possible to

show that the notational systems for sexagesimal numbers and grain numbers are nearly identical in the two scripts. There is also, unexpectedly, a third proto-Elamite system of number notations which is decimal, with special signs for "100" and for "1,000." Decimal number signs were probably used to count animals, while sexagesimal numbers were used to count people and inanimate objects. In the Sumerian scripts there were never any special signs for decimal numbers. The words for "hundred" and "thousand" in Sumerian were loanwords from the Semitic language of the Akkadian (Semitic) part of the population of southern Mesopotamia. Special signs for "100" and "1,000" did not exist until a relatively late date, around the end of the 3d millennium B.C. Cuneiform signs for "10,000" appear only in a few texts from peripheral sites (Nuzi, Hattusha, Ugarit). The explanation of the meaning of the proto-Elamite number signs entails an important partial decipherment of many proto-Elamite clay tablets. A majority of the texts can be shown to be simple economic or administrative documents with additions, multiplications, and conversions between various systems of numbers. In this respect there is no great difference between protoliterate texts from ancient Iran and from neighboring Mesopotamia.

**4. Ancient Egypt.** Available facts suggest that writing was invented in Mesopotamia toward the end of the 4th millennium B.C. Information about the new technique must have spread rapidly, for within a very brief time span two other independent scripts were invented, the proto-Elamite script in Iran and the hieroglyphic script in Egypt. The latter seems to have been fully developed from the beginning, complete with notations for large numbers up to a million (the image of a seated god stretching up both arms). The role of "a million" as a conventional notation for a "vast number" is clear from its frequent appearance in Egyptian myths (*ANET*, 3–36): In *The God and His Unknown Name of Power* it is said about Isis, "Her heart was craftier than a million men; she was choicer than a million gods; she was more discerning than a million of the noble dead." In the *Spell for Not Dying a Second Time,* Atum answers the deceased, "Thou art (destined) for millions of millions (of years), a lifetime of millions." The only whole numbers appearing in the hieroglyphic script are decimal numbers: a single stroke for "1," an arc for "10," a lotus for "100," a finger for "1,000," and a tadpole for "10,000" (Gillings 1972). Hieroglyphic numbers in monumental inscriptions were formed by the additive principle, so that writing a number like 89 required 17 symbols, 8 nines and 9 ones. For everyday practical purposes, the cursive hieratic script was developed, with individual signs for the units 1–9, for the tens 10–90, for the hundreds 100–900, and for the thousands 1,000–9,000 (See *LA*, s.v. Symbolische Zahlen). Place-value notation for decimal numbers and fractions was never introduced.

Three kinds of notations for fractions appear in the hieratic and hieroglyphic scripts, namely "unit fractions" $1/n$, individual signs for the "special fractions" $^1/_2$, $^1/_3$, $^1/_4$, $^2/_3$, and $^3/_4$, and signs denoting binary fractions (from $^1/_2$ to $^1/_{64}$) of the basic units of capacity and area measure. In their hieroglyphic forms, the capacity fractions were fashioned as parts of the eye of the falcon god Horus: the inner part ($^1/_2$), the iris ($^1/_4$), the eyebrow ($^1/_8$), etc. The unit fractions *1/n* were written with the sign *r'*, "mouth," as *r'-5*, *r'-6*, etc. Mathematical papyri from the first half of the 2d millennium B.C. show that the concept of common fractions a/b was unknown. This led to great practical difficulties in the course of even the simplest computations involving fractions. The best-known example is constituted by the *Rhind Mathematical Papyrus* (Robins and Shute 1987). A disproportionally large part of this document is occupied by a table with rules for the doubling of unit fractions, from $2 \times {}^1/_3 = {}^2/_3$ to $2 \times {}^1/_{101} = {}^1/_{101} + {}^1/_{202} + {}^1/_{303} + {}^1/_{606}$. Doubling was an important arithmetical operation for the reason that multiplication by any whole number could be replaced by a series of doublings, followed by an addition. So, for instance, since $13 = 1\times8 + 1\times4 + 0\times2 + 1 \times 1$, the product $13 \times 7$ can be computed as $(1\times8 + 1\times4 + 0\times2 + 1\times1) \times 7 = 1 \times 7 + 0 \times 14 + 1 \times 28 + 1 \times 56 = 105$. The method had the advantage that it could be used equally well for solving division problems. It is possible that Egyptian scribes carried out additions on some kind of primitive abacus. Multiplications, divisions, and operations with fractions were carried out explicitly on the papyrus, sometimes with the use of both black and red ink for the reader's convenience.

Some important late Egyptian mathematical texts (3d century B.C.–2d century A.D.), written in the demotic script, were published by Parker (1972). At this time, the Persian and Greek conquests of Egypt had opened the way for increased cultural contacts between Egypt and Mesopotamia. This fact is obvious

in Parker's demotic mathematical texts, which demonstrate a typically Babylonian choice of topics. On the other hand, the conservativeness of Egyptian mathematical traditions manifests itself through the continued use of the unwieldy unit fractions as the sole means of expressing fractions.

A few late Greek mathematical papyri from the middle of the 1st millennium A.D., recovered from sites in Egypt, are other examples of how amazingly tenacious mathematical traditions can be (Knorr 1982). *Papyrus Akhmim,* the most complete of these texts, shows clear similarities with the more-than-2,000-years-older *Rhind Mathematical Papyrus.* It begins with an extensive multiplication table for unit fractions, and continues with 50 arithmetical problems, many solved with techniques related to those used in the construction of the table. The main part of the table lists the products of $^{2}/_{3}$ and the unit fractions from $^{1}/_{3}$ to $^{1}/_{10}$ with the units, tens, hundreds, and thousands. The products are expressed as sums of unit fractions, as in the example $^{1}/_{7} \times 1{,}000 = 142\ ^{1}/_{2}\ ^{1}/_{3}\ ^{1}/_{42}$.

The number notations used in the mentioned Greek-Egyptian papyri are Greek alphabetic numerals (Ifrah 1981), using the letters *alpha–theta* for the units, *iota–koppa* for the tens, and *rho–san* for the hundreds. The classical Greek alphabet with its 24 letters is, for this purpose, augmented with three obsolete letters, the *digamma* (6), the *koppa* (90), and the *san* (900). The thousands and the myriads (ten thousands) are denoted by the letters *alpha–theta* with special distinguishing marks. It is difficult to assess the age of this system, but it is documented in a marriage contract on a papyrus from Elephantine 310 B.C., on coins dating from the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (286–246 B.C.), and in papyri with multiplication tables and tables of squares from the last part of the 3d century B.C. From this time until the end of the Middle Ages, the Greek alphabetic numerals played nearly the same role in the Near East and around the eastern Mediterranean as the Roman numerals did in western Europe. However, the alphabetic numerals were not the only type of numerals used by the ancient Greeks. In Greek monumental inscriptions from the second half of the 1st millennium B.C. (and also on a famous Greek counting board) one encounters Attic (or Athenian) numbers, with special acrophonic signs for 1, 5, 10, 5 × 10 … 5 × 10,000. The Attic number system was of the same structure as the more well known Roman system.

**5. Ancient Syro-Palestine.** Around the middle of the 3d millennium B.C., Ebla was a flourishing Semitic city-state in Syria. The remains of its rich library were found to contain mostly administrative and economic accounts written in Eblaic on clay tablets using the Old Sumerian cuneiform script. The numbers used in these accounts are decimal. One of the texts is a mathematical exercise, the solution of a division problem involving high numbers (Friberg 1986). It is the oldest known mathematical text with decimal numbers. The problem solved in the text can be formulated as follows: if a month's rations for a man is $^{10}/_{11}$ *gu-bar* of barley, then how many *gu-bar* are needed for the daily rations of 260,000 (2 *ma-i-ḫu* 6 *ri-ba*$_x$) men? A clever and efficient algorithm yields the correct answer: 7,879 *gu-bar.* The number in the answer is written in a decimal-sexagesimal hybrid notation which is typical for Semitic cuneiform texts as 7 *li* 8 *mi* 60 + 20 – 1. Another text from Ebla, in Sumerian, contains a brief list of notations for high sexagesimal numbers. It ends with an admission of defeat: the number 60 × 60 × 60 × 60 (= 12,960,000) "cannot be counted," since the scribe cannot think of an appropriate notation for it. In an OB metrological list, the same number is referred to as "the great ŠR the hand does not reach."

Mari, a Mesopotamian outpost at the upper Euphrates, has yielded a few OB mathematical texts (Soubeyran 1984). The texts comprise the usual assortment of combined multiplication tables and tables of reciprocals or square roots. There is also a mathematical exercise which contains an early parallel to the famous Indian legend about the reward demanded by the inventor of the game of chess: if one starts with 1 grain of barley, and if the amount of barley is doubled every day, how much barley will there be after 30 days? The answer, correctly computed and expressed in the Mari grain measure system, has one unexpected feature: the words *līmum* and *mētum,* which normally stand for "thousand" and "hundred," have here the sexagesimal values 600 and 60. There exist roughly contemporaneous examples of a similar nature from Mesopotamia, which clearly demonstrate the difficulties caused by the clash between the sexagesimal arithmetics associated with the Sumero-Akkadian cuneiform script and the indigenous decimal number words of the Semitic populations.

The coastal city Ugarit, which flourished between the 15th and 13th centuries B.C., was influenced by the Mesopotamian civilization. This is clearly demonstrated, for instance, by some clay tablets found in Ugarit, on which Sumero-Akkadian metrological lists (lists of notations for measures of capacity, weight, and area) are inscribed in the cuneiform script. In one of these lists, capacity measures are enumerated from 1/3 SÌLA (= 1/3 liter) to 60 $SIG^7GUR$ (= 60 × 60 × 60 × 5 × 60 SÌLAS). In another list, weight measures proceed from 1/2 grain to 60 talents (=60 × 60 × 60 shekels = 60 × 60 × 60 × 3 × 60 grains). Texts written in Ugaritic using the Ugaritic cuneiform alphabet often express numbers in terms of Ugaritic number words, and use the local system of weight measures. A good example is offered by a brief text (Liverani 1972), which mentions *šbʿ.kkr.šʿrt?b.kkr.aḏdd|wbkkr.ugrt ḫmš.kkrm alp.ṯmn mat kbd d mnḥt* "seven talents of wool in the talent of Ashdod, but in the talent of Ugarit five talents one thousand eight hundred [shekels] as tribute." The text seems to imply that the talent of Ashdod was worth only 4/5 of the talent of Ugarit. Indeed, 4/5 × 7 talents= 53/5 talents=5 talents 1800 shekels, if 1 Ugarit talent=3000 shekels. The number word of highest rank in Ugaritic is *rbt*, "myriad," "10,000." For the "special fractions" 1/2 and 1/3 the usual cuneiform signs are used, but 2/3 was referred to by the Sumerian/Akkadian loanword *sûnpt* (Gordon 1965).

The order of the 30 letters in the Ugaritic cuneiform alphabet is known from several alphabetic lists, so-called "spelling books," from about the 14th century B.C. (Ifrah 1981: pl. 95). The oldest known examples of the Phoenician "linear" alphabet, on the other hand, go back no further than the 12th century B.C. The 22 letters of the Phoenician alphabet are arranged in the same familiar ways as the letters in the many alphabets derived from it: Aramaic, Hebrew, early Arabic (see below), Greek, Etruscan, Roman, etc. Moreover, if those 8 letters are removed from the Ugaritic alphabet which have no equivalents in the Phoenician alphabet, then the remaining letters in this alphabet are also arranged in the same order. It is therefore probable that the Ugaritic alphabet was just an expanded variant (in cuneiform) of a primordial Northwest Semitic alphabet dating back at least to the 15th century B.C. This conclusion is important because the ancient Greeks were not the only, and probably not the first, people using alphabetic numerals. Other examples are the Hebrews and the Arabs. (The often repeated attribution of the first use of alphabetic numerals to the Phoenicians has, however, never been confirmed.) In the case of the Hebrew alphabet with its 22 letters, *ʾalep–ṭet* are used for the values 1–9, *yod–ṣade* for 10–90, and *qop–taw* for 100–400 (Ifrah 1981: chap. 17). Higher number units are expressed by combinations of letters. In the case of the Arabic alphabet, the situation is complicated by the fact that the order of the letters in this alphabet is no longer the same as it was when the letters were given their numerical values (Ifrah 1981: chap. 21). The Early Hebrew script is used in inscriptions dating from the time of the kings of Judah and Israel (about the 11th to 6th centuries B.C.). Many such documents in the form of ostraca inscribed with simple receipts or messages reveal that not only number words but also genuine number signs were used to write numbers. Ostraca have been found at Samaria, Lachish, Arad, Kadesh-barnea, and Ophel Hill. In all cases the Early Hebrew number signs are identical with Egyptian hieratic numerals in the form they had during the New Kingdom (Ifrah 1981: chap. 15). This picture is confirmed by hieratic inscriptions on many Israelite inscribed weights (Aharoni 1966). Since 4 Israelite shekels weighed the same as 5 Egyptian *qedets*, weightstones of 4, 8, 16, and 24 shekels are inscribed with the hieratic numerals for 5, 10, 20, and 30. The best examples of inscribed ostraca with numbers are those from Kadesh-barnea (Lemaire and Vernus 1980; 1983). On one of these ostraca, a simple writing exercise, the number 2,382 is repeated many times. A particularly big ostracon contains on the obverse a list of capacity measures, from 1 to 10 *ʾlpm* (10,000) *kor*, a list of weight measures, from 1 to 10 *ʾlpm* shekels; and a partly unintelligible list of fractions (?).

As a trading and traveling people, the Arameans gradually imposed their culture on the entire Middle East. The Hebrews, who adopted the language and writing of the Arameans, also borrowed their way of denoting numbers, as did the Phoenicians and other Semitic peoples. Aramaic number notations were based on the use of separate signs for 1, 10, 100, 1,000, and 10,000. For the ones and the tens the additive principle was used, so that for instance 70 was written as 7 tens, grouped two by two so that the result looked like 20 + 20 + 20 + 10. For the units of higher rank the multiplicative principle was used, so that

18,000 was written as 1 × 10,000 + 8 × 1,000 (Ifrah 1981: chaps. 19, 25). Examples of Aramaic number notations can be found in many preserved papyri from the Jewish military colony established in the 5th century B.C. on the island of Elephantine, in the Nile. A bilingual ostracon found at Khirbet-el-Kom, a site in Israel between Lachish and Hebron, dates to the 3d century B.C. It mentions twice, once in Greek and once in Aramaic, a sum of 32 drachmas. In the Greek part of the text, 32 is written as *lambda beta,* in the Aramaic part as 20 + 10 + 2.

The oldest examples of the use of Hebrew alphabetic numerals may go as far back as the late 2d and the 1st centuries B.C., namely a single letter *mem* for a year date on a clay seal, and the letter *gimel* as a sheet number on a parchment scroll found at Khirbet Qumran (Ifrah 1981: chap. 18). Other examples are offered by coins with inscriptions such as "Shekel of Israel year 5*(he)*" (struck during the first Jewish rebellion, A.D. 70), and "Year 2 *(bet)* of the liberation of Israel" (from the time of the second Jewish rebellion, A.D. 132–34), etc. The relatively late dates of these first examples suggest that the Hebrew alphabetic numeration was introduced as a result of Greek influence. As a matter of fact, between the 1st century B.C. and the 7th century A.D., when the Hebrew alphabetic numeration became increasingly common in the Jewish world, many Jewish scribes in the Diaspora preferred to use the Greek alphabetic numerals.

**B. Numbers in Poetic and Religious Literature**

**1. Sumero-Akkadian.** In the Sumerian myth *Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld.*(*ANET*, 55), Inanna has to give up, one by one, her 7 ME-symbols, her crown, her wig, her measuring rod and line, etc., as she enters through the 7 gates to the netherworld. Her corpse is hung from a stake for 3 days and 3 nights, but it comes to life again when "sixty times the food of life, sixty times the water of life, they sprinkled upon it."

Three sources (two OB texts and Berossos' Babylonian history) contain lists of the Sumerian kings who reigned before the Flood, all characterized by an amazing longevity (Langdon 1923). In W.-B. 444, 8 antediluvial kings from five cities are said to have reigned for 8, 10, 12, 8, 10, 8, 8, $^{55}/_{6}$, and $^{51}/_{6}$ ŠR (meaning 3,600) years, or for a total of 1 ŠR-GAL 7 ŠR (=67 × 3,600) years. In W.-B. 62, 10 kings reign for 2 *šár-gal* 7 *šár* years, and Berossos mentions 10 kings reigning for an even 432,000 (2 ŠR-GAL) years.

The *Epic of Gilgamesh* enjoyed an unparalleled popularity in the cuneiform literature; its known editions, in four different languages, range in time from the 21st to the 6th centuries B.C., and in provenance from S Mesopotamia to Anatolia (Thompson 1928; Schott and von Soden 1969). One of its distinguishing features is the tendency to use numbers as a literary tool. This tendency is partly a consequence of the important role played by the teaching of mathematics and metrology in the Late Sumerian/Old Babylonian school, the *eduba.* To mention some examples: Gilgamesh, the godlike hero, is "two-thirds divine, one-third human," he is 11 cubits tall. Enkidu, his companion, "dallies six days, seven nights with the courtesan-girl in his mating." The two are each laden with axes and swords weighing 10 talents (600 minas). The gate of Uruk, Gilgamesh's city, has 7 bolts. On their way to the Cedar Forest, the heroes "break their fast after twenty 'double-hours,' rest after thirty"; after 3 days they have covered the distance from Uruk to Lebanon. Humbaba raises 8 winds against them. Ishtar's invitations are refused by Gilgamesh, who accuses the goddess of digging "seven and seven" pits to trap the lion she loves. Ishtar summons the Heavenly Bull, threatening 7 years of famine. The breath of the bull kills 100 men of Uruk, 200, 300. Enkidu lies on his deathbed "for a day, a second day … an eleventh and a twelfth." Gilgamesh follows the course of the sun, through the mountain of darkness, for 12 "double-hours." To cross the Waters of Death, he fashions punting poles 5 NINDAN (60 cubits) long and uses one, a second, …, a twelfth; after 2 times 60 they are all spent. Utnapishtim tells him how he made his ship 10 NINDAN high, 10 NINDAN square above, divided its innards, and smeared it with 6 times 3,600 measures of bitumen; on the seventh day the work was done. Gilgamesh fails the test for immortality, to avoid sleep for 6 days and 7 nights. The time he is asleep, 7 days in all, is noted on the house wall and marked by the 7 pieces of bread baked for him but not eaten.

The Babylonian *Story of the Flood* (Lambert and Millard 1969) is another example of a cuneiform literary work with interesting numbers. It begins with a description of the misery of the gods, summarized

in a difficult passage with the doubtful translation, "The seven great Anunnakū were making the Igigū suffer the work" (see below). Later, it is mentioned how Bēlet-kāla-ilī, Mistress-of-All-the-Gods, "nipped off 14 pieces of clay, 7 she put on the right, 7 on the left … 7 and 7 birth-goddesses, 7 produced males, 7 produced females." An oft-repeated motif is the lamentation "2 times 600 years had not yet passed, when the land extended and the peoples multiplied."

The prominence of the number 7 in the quoted examples is evident. Many more examples are quoted by Hehn (1907) from Mesopotamian and other sources. The etymology of the Semitic word for "7" is unclear, and cannot be used to explain the popularity of this particular number. The correct explanation may be simply that 7 is a conveniently sized odd number. It is also the first "nonregular" number in the sense of OB mathematics (it is not divisible exclusively by 2, 3, and 5). Hehn proposes that "7" may have, in many instances, the symbolic meaning "innumerable." The ziggurat of Uruk, for example, had 7 stories. Some lexical or bilingual texts translate "7" (but also "40" and "50") with *kisûsûatu,* a word meaning "totality." The clearest example is probably the Babylonian-Assyrian $^{d}$7-*bi* or $^{il}$*si-bit-te,* the "Seven Gods," often mentioned together with, or instead of, the "Great Gods" and all "Known and Unknown Gods." The Seven Gods are associated with the enigmatic Anunnakū and Igigū (see *RLA* s.v. Igigu), which are sometimes responsible for all kinds of unfavorable events, sometimes representative of all gods in the heavens or on the earth. Interesting cryptograms for Anunnakū and Igigū are 1 10 and 5 1 1. The first of these cryptograms may have the value 1 (60) × 10=600, the other both 5 (60) × 2=600 and 5 + 1 + 1=7.

A NB metrological table text from Uruk (von Weiher and Friberg, unpubl.) begins with a table of "mystic numbers" of the gods. After some damaged lines follow the equations $^{d}$7 - *bi*=[7], $^{d}$I - gi$^{4}$ - gi$^{4}$ = 8, $^{d}$*A - nun - na - ki* = 9. The table goes on, assigning the numbers 10, 20, 30, 40, 50 to the great gods Bēl, Shamash, Sîn, Ea, and Enlil. This second group of mystic numbers appears also, with a few others, in a NA mystic text (Livingstone 1986: 30) listing "names of Sîn," the moon god. That text assigns to Anu, "father of the gods," the number 1 (or 60). A related text (ibid., 22) starts by mentioning the days of the month associated with Sîn: the 7th day, the 14th day, the day of the full moon *(sûapattu),* etc. It continues with a series of "metamathematical" equations. One example will suffice: it is stated that the 22d day is associated with the 14th day, because 14 × 10 = 140 = 2 20 (base 60), and if the order of the digits is reversed, then 2 20 becomes 20 (+) 2 = 22. The numbers 40 and 50 appear as ideograms for gods already in texts from the 3d millennium.

Metamathematical reasoning may also lie behind the fact that 3 20 appears as a cryptogram for "king" in cuneiform omen texts. Indeed, 20 (the number of the sun god) is a common ideogram for *šarru,* "king," and 20 × 10 = 200 = 3 20 (base 60). Other common cryptograms in omen texts are 15 for *imittu,* "right," and 2 30 (= 15 × 10) for *šumēlu,* "left." According to a famous passage in an inscription of the NA king Sargon II, the wall around his city Dur Sharrukin (Khorsabad) measured 4 (3,600) 3 (600) 1 (60) 3 (6) 2 cubits. This is also, says Sargon in the inscription, "the number of my name." In an effort to explain this cryptic statement, one may resolve the king's name into its constituent parts *šarru-kīnu.* The first part of the name can be replaced by the cryptogram 3 20, the second part by the sumerogram GUB (the picture of a foot). A sign with the same pronunciation is GUB$^{3}$ (the picture of a left arm), which is a sumerogram for *šumēlu,* "left" and can be equated with 2 30. In this way, the king's name can be expressed by the cryptogram 3 22 30, a sexagesimal number with 5 "ones" and 5 "tens." The length of the city wall transformed to sexagesimal place-value notation is 4 31 20, another number with 5 "ones" and 5 "tens," and therefore also another cryptogram for "Sharrukin" or "Sargon."

**2. Ugaritic.** Just like the Mesopotamian *Epic of Gilgamesh,* the Ugaritic poetic texts (Gordon 1949) exhibit a pronounced tendency to use numbers as a literary tool. In the *Baal and Anat Cycle,* for instance, "graded numbers" is a recurring theme: for the decoration of Baal's house, Ḫasis "pours silver by thousands, gold he pours by myriads." Baal declares that "a thousand *šd* the house shall comprise, a myriad *kmn* the palace" (*šiddu* and *kumani* are, respectively, Akkadian and Hurrian loanwords for a certain Ugaritic unit of area and length measure). A variant of this theme involves tens and ones together: Baal's conquests are immense, "He took sixty-six towns, seventy-seven cities, eighty, Baal … ninety,

Baal." Before descending into the underworld, he impregnates a heifer: "He lies with her seventy-seven times … eighty-eight times, so that she conceives." Another recurring theme is the "climactic series of numbers," as when Baal's house is turned into gold and silver by the application of divine fire: "Behold a day and a second … a third and a fourth … a fifth and a sixth, the fire eats into the house … on the seventh day the fire departs from the house." A similar climactic series appears in a passage in the Hittite *Song of Ullikummis.*(*ANET*, 122): "They drank once, they drank twice … they drank seven times; and Kumarbis began to speak."

The stylistic devices mentioned above are applied also in the *Epic of Keret.* In a dream, El advises king Keret, "For a day and a second, a third day, a fourth day, a fifth day, a sixth day, do not send thine arrows toward the city … behold at sunrise on the seventh, king Pbl will not be sleeping." Keret makes a vow: "If I may take Ḥurrai to my house … I'll give twice her price in silver, thrice her price in gold." "Vast numbers," starting with 3,000,000, are used in the description "Thine army, a great host: three hundred myriads (*ṯlṯ mat.rbt*), troops without number, soldiers without reckoning … arrayed in twos, look all of them arrayed in threes." The opening lines of the epic are hard to translate. It is usually assumed, perhaps in error, that they mention a sequence of unit fractions that sum up (almost) exactly to 1. The plight of King Keret is described as follows: "Destroyed is the house of the king, who had seven brothers, (there were) eight sons of one mother … a third died at birth, a fourth of disease, a fifth the pestilence gathered up, a sixth the sea engulfed, a seventh of them fell by the sword … a family is perished." In the *Epic of Aqhat,* a cycle of lean years is described in the words "Seven years may Baal fail, eight the Rider of Clouds, without dew, without rain …"

**3. The Bible.** "Graded numbers" is an often-used stylistic device in the OT In Deut 32:30, there are two linked pairs of graded numbers: "How should one chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight, except … the Lord had shut them up?" In Isa 17:6, the ruining of Damascus is described in the parable "gleaning grapes shall be left in it … two or three berries in the top … four or five in the outmost fruitful branches." A more elaborate gradation can be found in Gen 4:24, "If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy-and-seven-fold." In Amos 1:3–2:15, the Lord says, "For three transgressions of Damascus, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof," after which follows a list of 8 transgressions and punishments. A "climactic series of numbers" appears in Genesis 1: "And the evening and the morning were the first day … the sixth day … and on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made."

Vast numbers occur frequently in the OT Sometimes they are precise, as in Num 3:43, where the firstborn males of Israel number "twenty and two thousand two hundred and threescore and thirteen," with an excess of 273 over the number of the Levites, an excess which had to be redeemed by 5 × 273 = 1,365 shekels of the sanctuary. Sometimes they are symbolic or hyperbolic, as in Daniel's dream in Dan 7:10: "thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him" (cf. Rev 5:11). According to Dahood (1981), the difficult passage Ps 4:8 may be translated, "Put joy in my heart; a hundred thousand fold *(mā‹ōt)* be their wheat, and their wine ten thousand fold *(rabbû)* " Similarly in Isa 48:19, "Your offspring would have been like the sand, and the issue of your body like its hundred thousand grains" (cf. Gen 41:49, "And Joseph gathered corn as the sand of the sea, very much, until he left numbering; for it was without number"). Sand as a symbol for the "innumerable" appears also in Gen 23:17, where the Lord promises Abraham, "I will multiply thy seed as the stars of the heaven, and as the sand which is upon the seashore."

Several numbers occur frequently in the Bible and are of symbolic or cultural significance, notably "7" (Gen 41:26, "The seven good kine are seven years; and the seven good ears are seven years; the dream is one"), but also, for instance, "3" (Job was blessed with 7 sons and 3 daughters), "4" (4 rivers issued from the garden of Eden), "10" (the number of righteous men required to save Sodom), "12" (the sons of Jacob were 12), "40" (the number of years the Israelites wandered in the wilderness), "70" (Jer 25:11, "these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years"), "1,000" (see above), and many numbers derived from these. The examples can be multiplied. Besides, many biblical (as well as Talmudic or Midrashic) numbers have a sexagesimal structure (2 Chronicles 2: "And Solomon told out threescore and ten

thousand men to bear burdens, and fourscore thousand to hew in the mountain, and three thousand and six hundred to oversee them"; Gen 8:6, "And Noah was six hundred years old when the flood of waters was upon the earth").

Many attempts have been made to find correlations between the antediluvian section of the Sumerian King List and the genealogy in Genesis 5 The futility of such attempts is obvious in view of the fact that there are three bids for the total length of the reigns of the Sumerian kings before the Flood (67, 127, and 120 times 3,600 years), while in the Hebrew Bible the years between the creation and the Flood are 1,656, in the Septuagint 2,262, and in the Samaritan recension 1,307. There is no discernible regularity in the listed ages of the patriarchs at the time when they begat their first son, or at the time of their death. On the other hand, Noah was an even 500 years old when he fathered Shem, Ham, and Japheth, and 600 at the time of the Flood. Lamech lived for 777 years, until 5 years before the Flood, and Methuselah lived for 969 years, only to die in the Flood. Enoch lived for 365 years, or for as many years as there are days in a year.

Many interesting numbers are mentioned in Revelation 7–9. To mention a few examples: "four angels standing on the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth," "and there were sealed an hundred and forty and four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel," "and when he had opened the seventh seal there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour; and I saw the seven angels which stood before God; and to them were given seven trumpets," "and the fourth angel sounded, and the third part of the sun was smitten," "and the number of the army of the horsemen were two hundred thousand thousand." Even more interesting is the well-known passage in Rev 13:18, "Let him that has the understanding count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man; and his number is Six hundred threescore and six." It is reasonable to assume that this "number of the beast" should be explained by interpreting the letters of some detested name as alphabetic numerals (Ifrah 1981: 332). The problem has tried the ingenuity of interpreters for centuries, and many different solutions have been proposed. If, for instance, the name of Nero is written as *nrw (n) ḳsr*, then the sum of the values of its letters is equal either to 100 + 60 + 200 + 50 + 200 + 6 = 616, or to 616 + 50 = 666. In order to find the proposed hidden sense of many words or passages in the Scriptures, a kind of numerology called gematria (from Gk *geometria*) was developed in the Talmudic, Midrashic, and Kabbalistic literatures (Ifrah 1981: 321–36). The basic idea was to interpret words, or groups of words, by computing the sums of their constituent letters as alphabetic numerals, and relating words to each other if they added up to the same letter sums. To quote just one example: the difference between letter sums of the Hebrew names of Adam and Eve *(ḥawah)* is (1 + 4 + 40) – (8 + 6 + 5) = 45 – 19 = 26, and 26 is the letter sum of YHWH.

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JÖRAN FRIBERG

**NUMBERS, BOOK OF** The fourth book of the Hebrew Bible.

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A. The Title
B. The Subdivisions
C. The Cohesion
D. Alternation of Law and Narrative
E. Structures
F. Redaction
G. The Antiquity of the Priestly Materials
    1. Technical Terms
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    5. Priests
    6. Israelites
    7. Moses

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**A. The Title**

The Hebrew title of the fourth book of the Torah is called *bĕmidbar,* "In the Wilderness." The English title, *Numbers,* goes back to the Latin *Numeri* and the earlier Greek (LXX) *arithmoi.* However, the LXX title is probably derived from the oldest Hebrew title, *ḥōmeš happĕqqûdîm,* "the Fifth (of the Torah concerning) the Mustered" (*m. Yoma.* 7:1; *m. Menaḥ* 4:3), referring to the several censuses recorded in the book (chaps. 1–4, 26). It was also entitled *wayyĕdabbēr* after the first word (see Rashi on Exod 38:26), as is the case with the other books of the Torah. The present Hebrew title, *bĕmidbar* (the fifth word of the opening verse), seems more apt since it actually encompasses all the events described in the book, which took place "in the wilderness."

**B. The Subdivisions**

The book of Numbers describes the journey of the Israelites from Mt. Sinai to the borders of Canaan. Their 40-year trek comprises 40 stations (see chap. 33) which can be subsumed under three main stages: the wilderness of Sinai (1:1–10:10), where the preparations for the journey are made; the vicinity of Kadesh (10:11–20:13), where the bulk of the 40 years is spent; and from Kadesh to the steppes of Moab (20:14–36:13), where they prepare for the conquest and settlement of the promised land.

Numbers also subdivides according to temporal as well as spatial criteria. The 40 years embrace two generations, both of whose accounts begin with the census (chaps. 1 and 26). The generation of the Exodus, doomed to die in the wilderness (14:32–34), is finally extinguished by a plague at Baal-peor

(25:9, 18–19). Thus, the second census, which follows immediately upon the plague (25:19), states unambiguously: "Among these there was not one of those enrolled by Moses and Aaron the priest when they recorded the Israelites in the wilderness of Sinai. For the Lord has said of them, 'They shall die in the wilderness.' Not one of them survived, except Caleb the son of Jephunneh and Joshua the son of Nun" (26:64–65). The chapters that follow the second census (27–36) differ sharply from the preceding ones, which are informed by murmuring and rebellion (chaps. 11–14; 16–17; 20:1–13; 21:4–9); later ones, however, describe the fidelity and stoutheartedness of the new generation (chap. 32), which, as a reward, does not lose a single life, even in battle (31:49). That these chapters constitute an organic literary block is indicated by the accounts concerning the daughters of Zelophehad which flank them at both ends (27:1–11; 36.

**C. The Cohesion**

Regardless of how one conceives the overarching organizational structure of the book, it is more important to note the thematic and verbal links that bind the material together. Chaps. 1–10 deal with the preparations for the march through the wilderness: chaps. 1 and 2 constitute the census and camp arrangement predicated upon military criteria. Chaps. 3–4, 7–8 deal with the Levites: they undergo a census for guarding and transporting the tabernacle (chaps 3–4); they receive carts from the tribal chieftains for the tabernacle transport (7:1–9); they are purified prior to their entry into tabernacle service (8:1–22); and they are informed of the retirement regulations (8:23–26).

The laws comprising chaps. 5–6 are inserted into these preparations for the march since they have as their common denominator the prevention and elimination of defilement in Israel's camp. Thus 5:1–4 banish the bearers of severe impurity; 5:5–8 prescribe reparation for the desecration of God's name in a false oath; 5:11–31 ordain a test for the suspected (defiled) adulteress; 6:1–21 highlight the law of the defiled Nazirite. However, the most likely basis for the joining of these pericopes is that in each the priest plays a prominent role: it is the priest who determines and terminates ritual impurity (5:1–4; see Leviticus 13–15), officiates at the reparation sacrifice (5:5–8), is the recipient of all sanctuary donations (5:8–10), executes the ordeal for the suspected adulteress (5:11–31), officiates at the ritual for the Nazirite (6:1–21), and offers the priestly blessing (6:22–27). If so, then chaps. 5–6—perhaps originally an independent scroll—was inserted here because of its opening law, the impurity of the wilderness camp. Certain words bind the inner chapters: *maʿal,* "trespass" (5:6, 12); *ʾiššâ,* "woman" (5:31; 6:2); *ṭāmēʾ,* "impure" (5:2; 5:13, 14, 19, 20, 28, 29; 6:9) and, of course, *kōhēn,* "priest" (5:8, 9, 10; 5:15–26; 6:10, 11, 16, 19, 20; 6:23 [equivalent]).

Chaps. 11–14, 16–17 detail Israel's rebellions in the wilderness. Ostensibly, chap. 15, a legal miscellany, jarringly interrupts this sequence. However, its thematic and literary links with the previous unit prove otherwise. Chap. 15 begins with two laws that are operative in Canaan (vv 2, 18). They are a reassurance to the Israelites condemned to die in the wilderness that their children will indeed inherit the promised land (14:31). A third law (vv 22–31), bearing no heading, may originally have referred to the two preceding laws. The case of the Sabbath violator follows (vv 32–36) since his punishment is not certain: will he be subject to *kārēt* mentioned in the previous law (vv 30–31; see Exod 31:14) or is he to be put to death, as demanded by Exod 31:15? A fifth and final law, tassels, has no apparent connection with the immediately preceding material but was probably placed here to provide a verbal inclusion to the episode of the scouts (chaps. 13–14): by wearing tassels, Israel will henceforth be warned about "scouting" and "whoring" with sight and thought (14:33–34; 15:39).

Demoralized by the majority report of the scouts and condemned to die in the wilderness, the people are psychologically receptive to demagogic appeals to overthrow their leadership and return to Egypt. Four discrete rebellions have been fused in chap. 16, all attributed to the machinations of Korah. The aftermath vindicates Aaron when his fire pan of incense brings not death (16:35–17:5) but life (17:6–15) and when his rod blossoms miraculously (17:16–26). As a result of their hazardous responsibility in guarding the tabernacle against encroachment, the priests and Levites are granted specific endowments (17:27–18:32).

The position of chap. 19, purification rites for corpse contamination, is an enigma. By dint of its theme, corpse contamination, one would have expected it to have been placed with the other impurity sources

described in Leviticus 11–15, or at least with Num 5:1–4, which presumes a knowledge of the laws of corpse contamination (5:2). Why was it placed here? Perhaps the twice-mentioned warning that corpse contamination may pollute the sanctuary (vv 13, 20) made this chapter a natural sequel to the episode of Korah (chaps. 16–18), which deals especially with the issue of the desecration of the sanctuary by encroachment.

The traditions concerning the final stage of the wilderness march from Kadesh to the steppes of Moab are collected in chaps. 20–21 They are grouped in two parallel panels, the first detailing the failure and punishment of Moses and Aaron and the second describing the failure and deliverance of the people. The unifying theme is that God provides water (and all of Israel's needs) even when the leaders fail to do so. The emphasis on God's providence is perhaps what accounts for the insertion of the episode of the bronze serpent (21:4–9) and a new itinerary list (21:12–20), the latter containing two ancient poems (21:14–15, 17–18). A third poem, the Song of Heshbon (21:17–20) has been inserted to justify Israel's conquest of Transjordan (21:17–20).

The "Document of Balaam," as chaps. 22–24 are called in rabbinic tradition, is the largest independent section in Numbers. It has absolutely no verbal or thematic link with the contiguous chapters. The only connecting link is its setting: the steppes of Moab. Perhaps it performs the same function as chap. 15: it reassures Israel that despite her defection she is blessed and she will live through her posterity in the promised land. With the exception of the ass episode (22:22–35), itself an interpolation, these chapters, comprising both prose and poetry, are an integrated, interlocking, artfully structured unity.

The apostasy at Baal-peor (chap. 25) resembles the apostasy of the golden calf (Exodus 32) in context and placement. Both involve illicit worship, the slaughter of the guilty, and the choice of the line of the Levites/Phineas. Both describe the fall of Israel after having previously attained the sublime heights of the Lord's promise of Israel's future greatness (the Sinaitic covenant, Exodus 19–20, 24; Balaam's blessings, Numbers 23–24). According to one tradition (31:16), it was Balaam who plotted the Baal-peor apostasy. If so, it would account for its placement here.

The final 11 chapters of Numbers (26–36) are motivated by a single theme, the immediate occupation of the promised land: a (second) census of able-bodied men for war in the land and for the apportionment of the land (chap. 26); inheritance rights of women in the land (27:1–11; chap. 36); the succession to Moses in the land (27:2–13); the cultic calendar of the land (chaps. 28–29) and the fulfillment of vows (chap. 30); the war against Midian (chap. 31); the allotment of Transjordan (chap. 32); a summary of the wilderness stations (33:1–49); evicting the inhabitants of the land and extirpating their cult (33:50–56); the boundaries of the land (34:1–15); supervisors for the division of the land (34:16–29); the levitical holdings in the land (35:1–8); and preventing the pollution of the land by homicide (35:9–34). The final chapter, further instructions on women's inheritance rights (chap. 36), is an appendix; however, it forms an inclusion with the earlier material on the daughters of Zelophehad (27:11), thereby framing the chapters on the new generation (chaps. 27–36).

**D. Alternation of Law and Narrative**

A striking feature of Numbers is that law (L) and narrative (N) alternate regularly, as follows: 1:1–10:10 (L); 10:11–14:45 (N); 15 (L); 16–17 (N); 18–19 (L); 20–25 (N); 26:1–27:11 (L); 27:12–23 (N); 28–30 (L); 31:1–33:49 (N); 33:50–36:13 (L).

In the main, the narrative is confined to the wilderness march; the law, to the three main structures of the march: Sinai (1:1–10:10); Kadesh (chaps 15, 18–19); and the steppes of Moab (chaps 28–30, 34–36). However, there are exceptions. Certain events are associated with stations, e.g., the scouts (13–14), the Korahite rebellions (16–17), and the Midianite war and Transjordan settlement (31–32), and some laws arise from test cases, composed in narrative style, e.g. the *pesaḥ* (9:1–14), the wood gatherer (15:32–36), and Zelophehad's daughters (27:1–11). Thus, this alternation is not a matter of whether Israel was stationary or in motion.

The admixture of these two genres is of no surprise for anyone conversant with the ANE vassal treaties which open with a recounting of the suzerain's beneficial actions to his vassal (narrative), followed by the stipulations imposed upon the vassal (law). The book of Deuteronomy is a parade example of this literary

type where the law code (chaps. 12–26) is preceded by a recital of God's salvific acts for Israel (chaps. 1–11). Numbers, too, operates in the shadow of Sinai; Israel had accepted the suzerainity of its God and is bound to his law while the narratives continue to manifest divine providence (and Israel's backsliding).

**E. Structures**

The individual pericopes of Numbers manifest design. Their main structural device is chiasm and introversion. Also evidenced are such artifices as parallel panels, inclusions, subscripts and repetitive resumptions, prolepses, and septenary enumerations. The pericopes are linked not only to each other by associative terms and themes but also to similar narratives in Exodus by the same itinerary formula. The revelation to Moses at Sinai (Exodus 33) is the pivotal center not only for the Exodus and Numbers narratives but also the entire Hexateuch, which takes the shape of a grand introversion in which the events after Sinai repeat the failures and fulfill the promises of the pre-Sinaitic period.

**F. Redaction**

Despite this unmistakable evidence of recensional activity, one cannot with confidence speak of the redaction of Numbers. Redaction implies a single mind or, if several persons are involved, a single mind-set or school. To be sure, marks left by two editors from the Priestly school have been detected in the account of the scouts (chaps. 13–14), the Korahite rebellions (chap. 16), the war against Midian (chap. 31), and in other pericopes (e.g., chap. 36). However, there is as yet no way to ascertain if these strands were deposited by the same person. And even if they betray the same style and ideology, other pericopes reveal that another (Deuteronomic) school was at work. There are only two places where a Deuteronomic hand can be detected (21:33–35 and 32:7–15), and there is a strong possibility that it represents the last editorial activity in Numbers, even after the Priestly recension had been completed. This possibility will be augmented by the evidence, presented here below, that the Priestly material is of great antiquity. Yet, until new evidence is adduced, it would be more prudent to speak of Numbers' composition rather than its redaction.

One conclusion, however, can be asserted with relative certainty. The interpolations bearing the Priestly trademark show that the Priestly material does not comprise an independent source but is the product of at least two recensions. In other words, two writers of the Priestly school—possibly redactors—added their interpolations to combined Priestly and epic material, thereby composing the book of Numbers.

**G. The Antiquity of Priestly Materials**

There is scholarly consensus on the antiquity of the poetry and narratives that comprise the non-Priestly stratum in Numbers. The same verdict must be passed on those texts assigned to the priestly stratum as well. The sheer weight of the demonstrably old terms and institutions contained in the Priestly material renders such a conclusion ineluctable. The evidence of technical terms will be marshaled first.

**1. Technical Terms.** The sociopolitical divisions of ancient Israel are described by (1) *ʿēdâ,* "congregation"; (2) *môʿēd,* " (national) assembly"; (3) *maṭṭeh,* "tribe"; (4) *ʾelep,* "clan"; (5) *nāśîʾ,* "chieftain"; terms which cease being used after the 9th century. Even more compelling is the term (6) *ʿăbōdâ* which in the Tetrateuch (Genesis-Numbers) only means "physical work" and is the occupation not of the priests but of the Levites, whereas in the postexilic literature (e.g. Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles) it means "cultic service," the occupation of the priests. However, these two meanings are mutually exclusive: Levites perform cultic service on pain of death. Thus the fact the *ʿăbōdâ* is ascribed only to Levites in Numbers whereas in the Second Temple period priests alone are permitted to do *ʿăbōdâ* ineluctably leads to the conclusion that Levitic *ʿăbōdâ* is a preexilic phenomenon, and since this term proliferates throughout Numbers (chaps. 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 16, 18), the cultic contexts in which this term is found must all be adjudged old. Similarly the term (7) *mišmeret,* meaning "guard duty" in Numbers, changes to "course of duty" in postexilic texts, a meaning, however, it does not have in Numbers, another indication that its cultic contexts in Numbers must be old. Evidence of another sort is provided by (8) *ʾāšam,* "feel guilt," the Priestly forerunner of prophetic *šāb,* "repent." Since the latter word is totally absent from the Priestly texts, and indeed from the Tetrateuch, it stands to reason that *ʾāšam* is a preexilic term—indeed, one that most likely was current before the 7th and possibly the 8th century when prophetic *šāb* became the prominent term for repentance. Further evidence has been adduced by (9) *mi* ...

*wāmaʿălâ,* "from … and upward" (1:3) and (10) *yityalĕdû,* "registered," which were replaced in postexilic texts by *mi … lĕmaʿălâ* and *hityaḥēs,* respectively. Also (11) *ḥallâ,* "loaf" (6:15, 19; 15:20), which appears only in the Priestly texts and in 2 Sam 6:19, is changed to the frequently attested *kikkār* when the latter passage is cited in 2 Chr 16:3, and (12) *leḥem tāmîd,* "regular bread" (4:7), *leḥem pānîm,* "display bread," in the Priestly texts (e.g., Exod 25:30; 35:13) and in the early narratives (1 Sam 21:5; 1 Kgs 7:48 [= 2 Chr 4:19]) is always referred to in postexilic books by the term *maʿăreket* (e.g., Neh 10:34; 2 Chr 2:3). Finally (13) *ʾummâ,* a rare word for "tribe" (25:15) attested in the Akkadian of ancient Mari, is usually replaced by *lĕʾōm.*

In addition to the 13 terms above which can be shown to have fallen out of usage by the time of the Babylonian Exile, there remains a host of other technical terms which are attested in literature—especially Mesopotamian—antecedent to the Bible. The term used at ancient Mari for (14) "muster the troops" is the exact cognate of *pāqad ṣābāʾ* (1:13). (15) None of the 24 names found in the list of chieftains (1:5–15) is compounded of the divine element YH (YHWH), a fact which corresponds with the tradition that the Tetragrammaton was first revealed to Moses. (16) Old Aramaic *ʿdn* and Akkadian *adê* correspond to biblical *ʿēdût,* "pact" (1:53). (17) The word *qārab,* "encroach" (3:10) has an exact cognate in Nuzi (15th century) Akkadian. (18) The word *millēʾyad,* "ordain," also has an older Akkadian equivalent (see 3:3). (19) The word *ṣābāʾ,* "service" (4:3) in Akkadian as well as Hebrew has a military and nonmilitary meaning. Other ancient Akkadian terms surfacing in the priestly texts of Numbers are (20) *ṣāb,* "draught animal" (7:3); (21) *ʿămûd,* "pillar" (14:14), i.e., the "standard" of the deity; (22) *pērēš,* "specify (by oracle)" (15:34); (23) *mišḥâ,* "perquisite, allotted measure" (18:8); (24) *ṣāmad,* "couple (sexually)" (25:2); (25) *mekes,* "tax" (31:27); and (26) *sikkîm,* "pointed object" (33:55). To be sure, this latter group of thirteen terms, though attested in antecedent Mesopotamian literature, could have survived even in late biblical Hebrew. But in their aggregate, and coupled with the preceding thirteen terms which demonstrably did not survive in postexilic Hebrew, they make a strong case for the preexilic provenience of their contexts.

**2. Institutions.** The antiquity of the terminology is matched by the antiquity of the institutions represented in the Priestly texts:

(1) Israel's camp in the wilderness is square-shaped; in later Israel the war camp was round. The wilderness camp most resembles the war camp of Rameses II, the probable Pharaoh of the Exodus. Not only is the latter square in shape but Pharaoh's tent sanctuary is in its center and is surrounded by thick walls as protection against defilement, a function supplied in Israel's camp by the levitical cordon.

(2) The custody of the tabernacle is shared by the priests who guarded inside the sacred precincts and the Levites who guarded without, a tradition that is found solely in the anterior Hittite cult. In the texts dealing with Solomon's Temple, however, the Levites do not appear at all and only surface in Ezekiel's visionary temple and in the postexilic writings which were influenced by the Torah literature. Moreover, the Levite guards of the tabernacle were armed, ready to strike down any encroacher, a fact which explains the action of Phineas at Baal-peor, who slew the encroaching couple in his capacity as chief of the levitical guards. Armed levitical guards are not, however, attested for the two Jerusalem Temples.

(3) The firstborn originally held a sacred status, possibly as officiants at the worship of the family's ancestors. Their replacement by the nonsacred Levites may reflect an ancient polemic and struggle against ancestral cults in Israel.

(4) The purification offering required of the Nazirite who successfully completed his vow conflicts with the Torah's definition of the *ḥaṭṭāʾt.* Following Rambam, the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* here serves directly to desanctify the Nazirite, a function that is more characteristic of the reparation offering. Like the boiled shoulder eaten by the Nazirite in the sanctuary court (see below), it probably reflects a more ancient usage of the purification offering prior to its differentiation from the reparation offering.

(5) The boiled shoulder of the Nazirite ram (6:19) is at odds with Israel's sacrificial system, which never requires the shoulder, nor that the lay offerer cook his sacrificial portion inside the sacred precincts. However, both practices are attested in pre-Israelite Lachish and pre-Temple Shilo.

(6) The details of form and manufacture of the tabernacle menorah do not correspond with those of Solomon's Temple or of later periods but most closely resemble the design of lampstands of the LB Age.

(7) The use of trumpets for assembling the people to worship as well as to war (10:1–10) is characteristic of the New Kingdom in Egypt.

(8) Ecstatic prophecy as a group phenomenon (11:25) is last attested at the time of Saul (1 Sam 19:20–24).

(9) The rebellions which are conflated in the Korah pericope (chap. 16) are redolent of high antiquity: that of the Reubenites, Dathan, and Abiram against Moses before their tribe lost its firstborn leadership status, and that of the Levites against Aaron before the struggle over which priestly family would control the Temple had been settled.

(10) The account of the war against the Midianites (chap. 31) bears many hallmarks of antiquity, chief of which is the absence of camels from the spoils whereas they predominate in the inventory of booty taken from the Midianites in Gideon's war (Judges 6–8). Thus the Mosaic account must have originated before the 11th century when the Midianites developed a camel cavalry.

(11) Moses permits his soldiers to marry their Midianite captive women (31:18), a precedent which Moses himself had set (Exod 2:16–21) but which was anathema to the postexilic age (for example, Ezra 9).

(12) The boundaries of the promised land (chap. 34) do not conform to any historical situation in Israel's national existence but are congruent with Egypt's Asiatic province during the period of the New Empire (15th–13th centuries). Transjordan, in particular, lies outside the promised land (and the Egyptian province) though it is occupied by Reuben and Gad during the period of conquest and settlement. The book of Deuteronomy, on the other hand, adjusts to historical reality by making the conquest of all of Transjordan a divine command.

(13) Deuteronomy, the product of the 8th and 7th centuries, is familiar with the following Priestly materials in Numbers: (a) details of the scouting expedition attributed to the Priestly strand (for example, 14:31–33; Deut 1:39); (b) the priestly dues (18:20; Deut 18:2); (c) the death of Moses (27:12–14; Deut 32:48–52); (d) the succession of Joshua (27:18; Deut 34:9); (e) the asylum cities (35:13–14; Deut 19:8–9). In addition, Deuteronomy exhibits knowledge of Priestly laws from other Torah books, for example, (f) priests are in charge of leprosy cases (Deut 24:8; Lev 13:2, 9, etc.); (g) blemished sacrifices (Deut 17:1; Lev 22:20); and (h) the reciprocal covenant (Deut 29:12; Exod 6:7; Lev 26:12). To be sure, it can be (and has been) maintained that in all these Deuteronomic passages a later editor interpolated these Priestly elements. However, it can be shown, in many instances, that the so-called additions are too integrated into their contexts to allow for their excision, and furthermore, it is more logical to posit a borrowing of Deuteronomy from the Priestly material than to assume that a later hand reworked so many Deuteronomic passages.

(14) The big bulge in the story of Gad and Reuben (32:7–15) is replete with Deuteronomic phrases. Thus it seems probable that the final redaction of this piece was done by a Deuteronomist. Of course, it can be maintained that this latter-day Deuteronomist lived in the postexilic period. This, however, is unlikely since it presupposes that the Deuteronomic school extended over several centuries. In any event, the existence of this Deuteronomic bulge proves that the last editorial hand in Numbers is not of the Priestly school.

(15) As Y. Kaufmann has already argued (1960), the absence of priestly sanctums such as the ark, the Urim and Thummim (27:21), and the anointing of oil (4:16) in the postexilic age speaks eloquently for their antiquity. Similarly, the 12:1 ratio of priests to Levites in postexilic times (Ezra 2:36–42; 8:15) cannot be squared with the 1:10 ratio presupposed by the tithe laws (18:26) unless the latter stem from a much earlier period.

In addition, there are many other institutions reflected in the Priestly texts of Numbers which are demonstrably old, as follows: (16) the census (1:2, 3, 49), whose closest model is that of ancient Mari; (17) the golden libation bowls inside the tent (4:8; 28:7), which may reflect a pre-Mosaic usage; (18) the priestly doctrine of repentance, which precedes the prophetic doctrine; (19) the antiquity of the temple

tithe, in general, and the tithe of the levitical tithe (18:25–32), in particular (ibid); (20) the letter to Edom (20:14–17), which resembles 2d-millennium diplomatic notes; (21) the copper serpent worshipped by Israel in the wilderness (21:4–9) and that found in a shrine in Timna, approximately the same place and time attributed to the Numbers passage. (22) It is possible that it is the priestly tradition that Balaam seduced Israel to engage in the idolatrous rites at Baal-peor, which is reflected in the 8th-century Deir ʿAlla inscription; (23) the second census (chap. 26) of Israel's clans (and not its tribes) belongs to the premonarchic age; (24) the Manassite clans (26:29–34) are shown by the Samaria ostraca (8th century) to be the names of districts, indicating that the Manassites settled there in a much earlier period; (25) the master itinerary of the wilderness march (chap. 33) most closely resembles, in form, 9th-century Assyrian itineraries; (26) the probability that the original plan for the levitical and asylum towns is to be found in the Priestly (rather than Deuteronomic) texts.

Thus, 11 Priestly terms and 15 Priestly institutions mentioned in Numbers disappear from usage in the postexilic age. In addition, 13 Priestly terms and 10 Priestly institutions, though they may have continued in use in later times, originate in the earliest period of or prior to Israel's national existence. In sum, we have 26 strong reasons and 23 supportive ones for affirming the antiquity of the Priestly material in the book of Numbers.

**H. Polemics**

Israel's ideological war with its pagan surroundings is reflected in the book of Numbers. Its first encounter with the Baal fertility cult in the steppes of Moab is calamitous, resulting in a devastating plague (25:1–9) and an avenging attack against the Midianites (25:16–19; 31:1–54). Balaam, the foreign diviner who is the instigator of the Baal apostasy—according to one tradition (31:16)—must unlearn his heathen arts before he can qualify for direct revelation from God. First, as he consistently insists to Balak, he is a diviner, not a sorcerer. Second—and here he enters the realm of Israelite prophecy—he discards the divinatory technique and seeks a direct communication from the Lord.

The transformation of Balaam is matched by the transformation of two rituals that were clearly pagan in origin. The ritual of the suspected adulteress (5:11–31), minus the interpolated verse 21, originally called for an incantation ordeal employing magical water but not invoking the name of any deity. The Priestly legislators, however, found the formula unacceptable since it ostensibly attributed the effect of the incantation to the water itself. They therefore inserted a statement affirming that the efficacy of the ritual was due to the God of Israel (v 21b).

An even more striking transformation of a widespread, long-enduring pagan belief is evident in the purification ritual for those contaminated by contact with a corpse (chap. 19). The preparation of the exorcistic medium, the ashes of the heifer, was totally overhauled so as to incorporate it into Israel's monotheistic sacrificial system. Moreover, the hitherto demonic impurity attributed to corpses was devitalized by denying it the automatic power to contaminate the sanctuary.

A polemic against paganism may also lie behind the replacement of the firstborn by the Levites (3:11–14; 8:16–19). That the human firstborn originally held a sacred status is indicated by their being "dedicated, sanctified, transferred, to the Lord" (Exod 13:1, 12; 22:28) and the need to "ransom" them from the Lord (18:15). This terminology may be a reflex of an attested custom in the ANE whereby the firstborn was expected to nurture and worship the spirits of his departed parents and grandparents. Thus the substitution of the firstborn by the Levite may reflect Israel's ancient struggle against the deeply rooted ancestor worship in its environment.

Priestly concerns play a major role in the book of Numbers. It is therefore not surprising that a number of issues addressed in this book express Priestly points of view and thus are brushed with polemical colorations. For example, Num 5:9–10 declares the right of each worshipper to choose the priestly recipient of his donations. The inflated language of this passage betrays its polemical character. The controversy within Priestly circles over the issue of egalitarian division versus worshipper's choice may be reflected here. The law of the temporary Nazirite (6:1–21) may also be a polemic. The priests may have frowned on lifelong Nazirites (e.g. Samuel and Samson) and their asceticism. Instead, they proposed a limited period which could be brought under priestly control (6:1–21). Finally, the possibility should be

entertained that the Priestly texts deny that Moses could communicate with God "face to face." Rather, he could only hear God's voice while standing in the outer room of the tent of meeting where the veil blocked his vision of the ark and cherubim onto which the divine fire cloud had descended. Thus the priests may have taught that the privilege Moses received to penetrate the fire cloud at Sinai's summit in order to receive the Decalog was unique: Moses was not vouchsafed the experience again.

**I. Realism**

It has been frequently averred that the Priestly laws predicate a utopia and do not reflect the existential conditions of Israel's life. Even those who posit that the Priestly laws were written in the Babylonian Exile affirm they are future-oriented—preparing the way for Israel's restoration and reoccupation of its land. To be sure, there can be no doubt that idealism permeates the Priestly legislation (indeed, every code sets forth ideals; otherwise why promulgate it?). Yet it is also true that these laws are permeated by a realism that reflects the social, economic, and political conditions that obtained in ancient Israel, and they thus provide a window on the life of ancient Israel. Evidence will be adduced from several laws in Numbers.

a. The census and organization of Israel's camp (chaps. 1–2) are grounded on military principles that reflect the actual dangers that persons on a trek through the wilderness would encounter.

b. The law of the suspected adulteress (5:11–31) is geared toward curbing the lynch mentality that prevailed in society and was thus meant to protect the hapless woman from the uncontrollable rage of her husband and/or community.

c. As discussed above, the Nazirite law (6:1–21) may be the Priestly countermeasure to the prevailing institution of the lifelong Nazirite.

d. Though the purification procedure for corpse contamination (chap. 19) uses wilderness terminology, it nonetheless reflects settled conditions. The impurity bearer, for example, need not leave his community, as is mandated by the older law of Israel's wilderness camp (5:1–4). This change, therefore, reflects the changed conditions of Israel's national existence—again an instance of law as a mirror of society.

e. The fact that the *šābûʿôt* festival is not called a *ḥag* (28:26) despite its designation as such in the other calendars of the Torah (Exod 23:16; 34:22; Deut 16:10, 16) implies that realism prevailed over idealism: the middle of the harvest season was no time to make a pilgrimage to the sanctuary. Furthermore, that this festival's designation as *ḥag* is missing in the one other Priestly calendar (Lev 23:16–21) proves that the omission of this term is no accident but a clear example of how the Priestly legislator accommodated the law to changing socioeconomic conditions.

f. The levitical settlements are a model of town planning. They allow not only for variations in size at the moment of their settlement but also for their future growth. This is realism at its finest.

g. The appendix to the case of Zelophehad's daughters (chap. 36) reflects the changeover from clan to tribal dominance. Thus the two stages of adjustment to reality are manifested here: the fear that daughters who inherit may marry first outside their clan and then outside the tribe. Once again, the Priestly legislation is shown to have undergone amendment in order to address changing needs.

**J. Theology and Anthropology**

**1. The Presence of God.** The principal actor in the book of Numbers, of course, is God. Even under extreme provocation, he keeps his covenant with the Israelites; guides them through the wilderness; and provides for their needs.

Of all of God's attributes, it is on his *ḥesed* that Moses bases his plea that God not destroy Israel (14:18–20). The word *ḥesed* stands for God's constancy, his fidelity to his covenant with Israel. It is this unimpeachable reliability of God's word that Balaam, the heathen prophet, lauds: "God is not man to be capricious / a mortal to change his mind / would he speak and not act / promise and not fulfill?" (23:19).

The high point in Balaam's praise of Israel is reached when he exclaims: "Lo, there is no augury in Jacob / No divination in Israel / Jacob is told at once / Yea Israel, what God has planned" (23:27). Israel, then, is unique among the nations. It needs neither diviners nor divination to learn the deity's will; it has direct access to God. Indeed, the Balaam story is nothing but the education of a prophet. At the outset, having associated himself with the God of Israel, Balaam rejects Balak's request that he curse Israel, an

act which would make him a sorcerer who could coerce the deity to accede to his desires. Balaam, however, will only admit to divinatory powers, which, by virtue of God's grace, enable him to discern his will. As Balaam proceeds—blessing Israel—he learns something else: the Lord need not be approached by complex techniques. Balaam then casts aside his divinatory apparatus and becomes a true prophet "who hears God's speech / who beholds visions from the Almighty / Prostrate, but with eyes unveiled" (24:4).

To be sure, there is a qualitative difference between Moses and any other prophet. To the latter, "I make myself known to him in a vision / I speak with him in a dream" (12:6). Not so with Moses: "With him I speak mouth to mouth / Plainly and not in riddles" (12:8). This distinction is also apparent in the degree of approachability to God: when Moses is in the company of Aaron or his people, God's presence—*kābôd* (see below)—is beheld in the tabernacle courtyard (14:10; 17:8, 15; 20:6) to which all of Israel has access. However, when Moses meets with God alone, he is permitted to stand inside the tent, before the veil (7:89; 17:19). Nonetheless, it must be remembered that this distinction is not in kind but in degree. Divination presumes that the deity leaves traces of his plans imprinted upon natural phenomena which the skilled diviner can discern. Not so, proclaims Israel: God will disclose his will to a prophet only when he so desires and he does so directly, eschewing mediation.

The *kābôd* on Sinai's summit has transferred itself to the tabernacle, visible as a cloud by day and as fire by night (9:15–16). Its starts and stops determine Israel's stages and stations. Its constant visibility is a sign to Israel and the nations "that you, O Lord, are in the midst of this people; that you, O Lord, appear in plain sight when your cloud rests over them and when you go before them in a pillar of cloud by day and in a pillar of fire by night" (14:14b). Thus the divine presence will enter with Israel into the promised land. Just as God's presence mandates the purity of his camp (5:1–4; 31:19, 24) so his presence in the land mandates Israel not to pollute in his land (35:34).

Since God's fire cloud descends upon the ark whenever he wishes to address Moses (7:89), the ark also serves as a tangible witness to the divine presence. The sight of the ark in battle holds promise that Israel will be victorious over its enemies (10:35–36; 31:6), while its absence is a sure sign that Israel will be defeated (14:43–44). That the ark is flanked by winged cherubim indicates that it represents a flying chariot, a symbol that God is not confined to his tabernacle-ark except when he descends upon it to communicate with Israel. During the march, the ark, distinguished by its blue cover (4:6), occupies the very center of the camp (10:21), but according to another tradition, it is placed at the head of the camp to lead the march (10:33).

God supplies Israel with all of its nutritional needs: manna and quail (11:14–34) and water, even when rejected by the people at large, or its leadership (20:12–13; 21:5). God also assures Israel's victory over its enemies (21:21–35; 24:8–9, 17–18).

**2. Sacrifice.** The doctrine of collective responsibility is nowhere better illustrated than in the *ḥaṭṭāʾt,* the purification offering. This sacrifice, brought for severe physical impurity on inadvertent violations, presumes that these offenses give off a miasma that is attracted magnetlike to the sanctuary and accumulates there until God abandons it and his people to their doom. Thus this sacrifice preserves a vivid image of how the individual can affect the commonweal.

The other sacrifice with a totally expiatory function is the *ʾāšām,* the reparation offering (5:5–8). It is brought for the desecration of the sanctums, be they cult objects or God's holy name. The latter offense, even if committed deliberately, may be expiated by this offering provided that remorse and confession have taken place. Thus only unrepented sins are ineligible for sacrificial expiation. Repentance alone, however, cannot absolve sin (in contrast to the later teaching of the prophets). According to priestly theology, repentance must be augmented by sacrifice; otherwise divine forgiveness is unavailable.

**3. Intercession. a. Prophetic.** The prophet's job is to defend his people before the divine judge. The intercessory role of the prophet is underscored by the Lord's statement to Moses after the scout heresy: "I would fain strike them with pestilence and disown them; let me make of you a nation …" (14:12), a statement which is semantically equivalent to the Lord's request of Moses following the apostasy of the golden calf: "now let me be, that my anger may blaze forth against them and that I may destroy them and

make of you a great nation" (Exod 32:10). First, by asking Moses not to intercede, God as much as admits that prophetic intercession is effective. Moreover, God seems to be hinting to Moses—perhaps even testing him—that he should intercede if he wants to save Israel. The psalmist, citing a striking image from Ezek 22:30, pays this tribute to Moses' intercessory achievement: "He would have destroyed them, had not Moses, his chosen one, stood in the breach in front of them, to keep his wrath from destroying them" (Ps 106:23). So, indeed, Numbers confirms that Moses interceded for his people at every turn and thereby assuaged the divine wrath (see 11:2; 12:13; 14:13–20; 16:22; 21:7).

**b. Priestly.** And yet a prophet, even a Moses, can only avert punishment; he cannot expunge the sin. Sin remains suspended over the heads of the sinners, capable of exacting retribution at a future date. Thus Moses' intercession mitigates or postpones the punishment but it does not abolish it: God's anger will take its toll and the sinners will die, be they Korah and his cohort (chap. 16) or the entire generation of the Exodus (chap. 14).

A priest, however, can not only intercede but win absolution as well. Aaron stems the plague by offering incense (17:6–14), and his grandson, Phineas, does the same by force (25:7–8). More typically, however, the priest obtains forgiveness by means of sacrifice (15:22–29). To be sure, sacrifice is not inherently efficacious; it must be accompanied by contrition and confession (for deliberate sins) and, even then, forgiveness is not assumed but is dependent on the grace of God. Still, the impact of the tandem repentance and sacrifice is total: the sin is erased from the divine record. This Priestly teaching predates the subsequent prophetic doctrine that repentance alone can eradicate sin, but it demonstrates that the older Priestly circles fully appreciated the power of repentance, even if they hitched it to the sacrificial system.

That repentance by itself in Numbers (and in the preceding Torah books) is incapable of shriving sin is evident from the fact that Moses never asks his people to repent. He also takes for granted that punishment is the ineluctable consequence of sin. Once only does he ask God for forgiveness, but his request is rejected out of hand (Exod 32:32–33). True, he also asks for reconciliation (*sālaḥ*.14:19), and this time his request is approved (14:20); however, this means only that God will not abandon Israel but will continue to maintain his covenant with it.

**4. Levites.** The book of Leviticus is the domain of the priests; the Levites do not appear there at all. But they proliferate in Numbers and, indeed, dominate the book. They are expressly excluded from the national census (1:47–53; 2:33) to be mustered separately (chaps. 3–4). They are assigned wagons for their transport duties (7:6–9), undergo purificatory rites when they join the work force (8:5–22), and are assigned guard duty in their retirement years (8:23–28). They march between the tribal units laden with the disassembled tabernacle (10:17, 21). Having joined Korah's rebellion against Aaron (16:7–10) they, henceforth, are represented by Aaron (17:18, 23). They are assigned lethally dangerous guard duties in the tabernacle precincts, for which they are rewarded with the tithe (18:1–6, 21–24). In the second census, they once again are counted apart from the people (26:57–62). They receive a 1/50 share of the spoils (31:30, 47) as well as 48 cities in the settled land, six of which are designated as asylums for unintentional homicides (35:6, 9–15).

The most important function of the Levites, one that invests their entire adult life, is to guard the sanctuary against encroachers. In fact, they are identified by this function—"guardians of the tabernacle of the Lord" (31:30, 47). In the ancient world, the entrances to temples were adorned with images of protector gods to ward off supernal demons. In Israel, where the world of demons has been abolished, the sanctuary remains in danger of defilement by the one creature capable of the demonic—man. His sin can pollute the sacred precincts and his physical encroachment upon the sanctums can bring down the wrath of the deity upon the entire community. The levitical cordon is therefore empowered to strike down the encroacher; moreover, it is made fully responsible if any encroachment occurs. Just as in the human sphere the guard pays with his life if anyone manages to slip through his watch (e.g., 2 Kgs 10:24), so in the divine sphere the levitical guards are guilty of a capital crime before God for failing to prevent encroachment upon the sanctuary. Henceforth, the Israelites need not be concerned that God will punish the entire community; only the encroacher and the negligent levitical cordon will pay the penalty. For

Israel's sake, God will compromise his doctrine of collective responsibility. The Levites will be the lightning rod to absorb the divine anger so that Israel may worship at the sanctuary without fear.

**5. Priests.** The centrality of the priesthood in assuring divine favor for Israel by means of sacrifice has already been discussed. The story of the Korahite rebellions (chaps. 16–17) vindicates the Aaronids as the sole priestly line and declares that any encroacher on their prerogatives is to be put to death (18:3, 7).

In Numbers, the priests are assigned the following roles: (1) to serve as guards at the entrance and in the courtyard of the tabernacle (3:38; 18:5); (2) to dismantle and cover the tabernacle sanctums before the Kohathite Levites carry them (4:1–20); (3) to officiate at the ordeal of the suspected adulteress (5:11–31), the rite terminating the aborted and successfully completed Nazirite period (6:1–21), the priestly blessing (6:22–26), the purification of the levitical work force (8:5–26), blowing the trumpets (10:8), and preparing the ashes of the red heifer (19:1–10).

The high priest is assigned even loftier responsibilities: (1) to intercede for Israel with sacrificial means (17:6–15); (2) to consult the Urim and Thummim oracle (27:21); and (3) to serve by his death as vicarious atonement for the unintentional homicide (35:28).

For their service, the priests are granted the following emoluments: they are assigned sacrificial portions, *ḥērem,* of the firstlings of pure animals, and the redemption price of impure firstlings and human firstborn (18:8–20), a tithe of the levitical tithe (18:25–32); and ¹/fs18 500th of the spoil (31:30, 41–46). The worshiper is permitted to designate his priestly officiant and recipient of his edible donations (5:9–10).

**6. Israelites.** All Israelites, men and women alike, are to attach tassels, each containing one violet cord, to the edges of their outer garments (15:37–41). The tassels render their garments *ša*ʿ*ăṭnēz,* a mixture permitted only to priests. The tassels must contain a violet cord, the emblem of royalty. Thus the tassels remind Israelites that they belong to a royal priesthood (Exod 19:6). Though only priests are holy from birth, all of Israel can aspire to a life of holiness (Lev 19:2). Belonging to royalty, they serve no mortal king; they are servants of God.

Yet Israelites who crave the austere life of the priesthood can do so by retaking the Nazirite vow (6:1–21); but this practice, it seems, is transitory and discouraged. Indeed, even Levites (see above), are not inherently holy. Though they are bound to the sanctuary as much as the priests, in ritual requirements they differ not at all from the laity. The priesthood, then, is the prerogative of the descendants of Aaron. Attempts on the part of the laity to break into this circle lead to disaster (chap. 16). It is enough that Israel's special relationship to God sets it on a path that leads to a life of holiness.

Another tradition in Numbers, however, sets not the priest but the prophet as the ideal and Moses as the paragon (12:6–8). Just as one cannot choose to be a priest, so one cannot be a prophet except by divine election (11:16–17, 23–25). Still, though Eldad and Medad's prophesying is regarded by Joshua as a threat to Moses' leadership, Moses rises to the summit of altruism when he proclaims: "Would that all the Lord's people were prophets, that the Lord put his spirit upon them" (11:29). This teaching is echoed by a later prophet: "After that, I will pour out my spirit on all flesh, your sons and daughters shall prophesy; your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions" (Joel 3:1).

**7. Moses.** One would expect the traditions about a founder of a nation to be embossed with legend and hyperbole. Yet what surprises about Moses, particularly his appearances in Numbers, is his all-too-human, flesh-and-blood character. Betraying a streak of self-doubt (11:14; see Exod 4:10–14), he indulges in self-pity (11:11, 15), and even begins to doubt God (11:21–22); he becomes more intemperate (20:10–11) and—in the plain hearing of his assembled people—he allows his anger to overrun his words and commits the ultimate heresy: he attributes the miracle to himself (20:10). This man Moses we know; we recognize him in ourselves. He is burnt out, worn down by his grueling task, and chaps. 11–20 record his steady decline. Though it is years since his people have been liberated from Egypt, by their hankering after their past material security (11:5) and their panicky fears that the promised land promises only disaster (14:3), they reveal that they still are slaves. Moses cannot handle them. His leadership falters and he cannot be trusted to bring them into the land.

Yet despite these lapses, Moses remains a giant. Indeed, it is in this book that he attains unprecedented moral stature. Though he selflessly intercedes with God for his people whenever the occasion demands it (11:2; 12:13; 14:13–20; 16:22; 21:7), he refuses to utter one word in his own defense when his own family pillories his reputation, producing the editorial comment: "Moses was a humble man, more so than any other man on earth" (12:3). He bears no grudge against his sister Miriam when she defames him (12:1–2); to the contrary, he prays that her punishment be remitted (12:13). Moses brushes aside Joshua's warning that the prophesying of Eldad and Medad is a threat to his leadership: "Are you wrought up on my account? Would that all the Lord's people were prophets" (11:29). The Numbers traditions about Moses thus prove him capable of reaching new spiritual heights. True, he plummets to his nadir, but it is matched by his zenith.

Moses' lapses, though fatal, are few and momentary. Otherwise he is the unfailing leader. He has prepared his people militarily for the Conquest. Organizing them into an effective army (chap. 1), he succeeds in establishing a secure bridgehead on the Jordan by conquering much of the east bank (21:12–22:1) and by crushing the Midianites (chap. 31). His administrative acumen is in evidence when he provides for the succession to Aaron and to himself (20:22–29; 27:12–23) and when he successfully negotiates with the tribes of Reuben and Gad to lead their brethren in the campaign of conquest for the privilege of settling in the conquered Transjordan territory (chap. 32). To the end of his days he functions as covenantal mediator when he renders oracular decisions: the second Passover for impurity bearers (9:1–14), the punishment for the Sabbath violation (15:32–36), inheritance rights for women (27:1–11; 36:1–10). His continued success as prophet-intercessor has already been discussed above. Having consecrated the tabernacle and its clergy (Leviticus 8), Moses no longer officiates as priest (contrast Exod 24:8; and see Ps 99:6). However, he is still credited as the author of Israel's cultic institutions: purificatory rites (5:1–4; 31:19–20, 24), sacrificial accompaniments (15:1–16), priestly gifts (15:17–21; 18:25–32), and the cultic calendar (chaps. 28–29). To be sure, the Priestly tradition refutes the legendary superhuman status accorded to the figure of Moses: it allows Moses an aural but not visual audience with God (7:8a, and despite Exod 33:11) by barring him from the Holy of Holies, but it never denies that he was the greatest of men.

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JACOB MILGROM

**NUMENIUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Noumēnios* (Νουμηνιος)]. In 1 Macc 12:16, Numenius, son of Antiochus, is mentioned along with Antipater, the son of Jason, in a letter from the high priest Jonathan the Hasmonean to the Spartans. Numenius and Antipater were to convey greetings to the Spartans, who were en route to Rome on a mission from Jonathan to restore cordial relations between Judea and Rome (ca. 143 B.C.E.). The presence of Greek names in this list should not be surprising given the Hellenistic atmosphere of the Hasmonean court (Tcherikover 1959: 252–53). Numenius is once again mentioned in 1 Macc 14:24 and 15:15 as the envoy of the Hasmonean high priest Simon to Rome. Numenius carried a large gold shield to Rome as a gift to confirm the peace between Judea and Rome (ca. 142 B.C.E.). Numenius' efforts were part of an Hasmonean foreign policy designed to court a growing Roman influence as a hedge against the threat of the Syrian Seleucids. Josephus expands the account in 1 Maccabees 12 by noting that Numenius was a member of the Judean ruling council (*Ant* 13.5.8 §169). Josephus also cites a decree from the Roman senate during the time of Julius Caesar noting the history of diplomatic relations between Rome and Judea (*Ant* 14.8.5 §§145–48). In this decree, reference is made to a Jewish mission to Rome by Alexander, son of Jason, Numenius, son of Antiochus, and Alexander, son

of Dorotheus, who present a golden shield to the senate. As both *Ant* 14 and 1 Macc 15:16 agree that the Lucius was Roman consul and as Josephus describes the purpose of the Jewish mission to Rome as the restoration of relations and mention is made of the gift of a golden shield, one cannot escape the conclusion that the subject is the mission described in 1 Maccabees 14 and 15 However, significant differences between the accounts exist. 1 Macc 14:22 names Numenius' colleague as Antipater, son of Jason, while Josephus names him Alexander. Further, in *Ant* 14 the mission takes place during the time of the high priest Hyrcanus (ca. 106 B.C.E.). Josephus' account may reflect a witness independent of 1 Maccabees but which nevertheless confirms Numenius' mission to Rome.

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**NUN** The fourteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

**NUN** (PERSON) [Heb *nûn* (נוּן)]. Father of Joshua (Exod 33:11; Num 11:28; 14:6; etc.). He is named the father of Hoshea (Num 13:8, 16; Deut 32:44), and the father of Jeshua (Neh 8:17), but these names are variant forms of "Joshua." He is said to be the son of Elishama from the tribe of Ephraim (*nôn* of 1 Chr 7:27 being an alternate form of *nûn*). It may be that the LXX *naué* preserves a more original form of the Hebrew term *nāweh;* the *nûn* of the MT is a contraction of *nāweh* with the *n* enclitic. The word *nāweh* means "the herds and men comprising a nomad tribe," in contrast to "fish," the meaning of *nûn.* This suggests the possibility that the name is a tribal designation rather than a patronymic. For further discussion see Soggin *Joshua* OTL; and Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB.

PAULINE A. VIVIANO

**NUNC DIMITTIS** This is the Latin for "Now you are permitting me to depart," and has become the title of the poem of praise recited by Simeon in Luke 2:29–32 (See Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB, 418–33; Farris 1985: 127–42.)

This poem, together with Simeon's remarks in vv 34–35, plays an important literary role in Luke's total work. The initial word *nyn* (now) echoes the word *sēmeron* (today) in v 11 At the same time it suggests a contrasting period of anxious waiting that finally is resolved in the present assurance of peace. Simeon sees what others have desired to see (Luke 10:24) and his patience is therefore a model for Christians who are to live in expectation of Christ's return (21:19). Unlike many self-styled benefactors (22:25) who do not fulfill promises, God is reliable and keeps faith. What Zachariah prophesied (1:76–79) is now fulfilled. In an echo of Luke 2:11, salvation is here again identified specifically with the person of Jesus. Especially significant is the pandemic perspective. In contrast to "all the people" in the singular (v 10), Simeon speaks of salvation that has been prepared for "all the peoples." This perspective is explored further in v 32 In contrast to the more limited view expressed in the Benedictus (1:78), Jesus is to be "a light for revelation to the Gentiles." This expression apparently means that because of Jesus, gentiles are to be viewed as proper candidates for salvation.

Simeon's statement is replete with allusions to Isaiah's presentation of the Servant of the Lord, whose identity fluctuates from corporate Israel (Isa 43:10; 44:1) to an individual Israelite (42:1; 49:1–6). On the one hand, it is Israel's obligation and high privilege to be a "light to the nations" (42:6). On the other hand, the anticipated extraordinary Israelite appears on the scene in the person of Jesus, whose mission is identical with that of Israel, to be a "light to the nations" (Isa 49:6). The implicit presence of these protagonists gives Simeon's words an intensely dramatic character. Will the two work together in carrying out the assignment? Will corporate Israel recognize that in Jesus, their "glory," they possess their greatest claim to fame? Luke's auditors know the answer, and it is confirmed with pathos in Luke 2:34–35 Nevertheless, as Luke 15 affirms, Jesus endeavors to secure the participation of Israel's caretakers in what ought to be a joint enterprise. In the face of rejection of the Lord's Servant, God is determined that Israel's mission shall be achieved. Among the chief representatives of Israel in the new community of believers are Paul and Barnabas, who declare at Acts 13:47 that they are committed to the assignment

given to the Servant (Isa 49:6). Similarly, at Acts 26:17–18 Paul assumes the obligations cited in Isaiah 49, and at Acts 28:28 solemnly confirms that the mission has been discharged. Thus Simeon's prophecy finds it dramatic fulfillment.

The Nunc Dimittis appears as an evening prayer in the *Apostolic Constitutions* 7.48.

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**NUTS** See FLORA.

**NUZI** One of the provincial administrative centers of the land of Arraphe, the capital of which was located at present-day Kirkuk in the second half of the 2d millennium B.C. This predominantly Hurrian city belonged at least for part of its history to Mitanni, one of the great nations of the Near East at that time. See HURRIANS; MITANNI. Nuzi's fame derives from the over 3,500 cuneiform tablets found there. These texts document the administrative activities of the palace and private estates for the latter part of the community's existence and the social and economic transactions of the city of Nuzi and the neighboring cities over a six-generation period. Especially significant is the information concerning administrative, social, economic, and legal structures and practices at Nuzi and neighboring cities and towns. These materials illustrate vividly the history and daily life of a mid-2d-millennium-B.C. community in the ANE. The customs so amply documented at Nuzi find parallels at other ANE sites and have helped to illuminate materials that otherwise would be poorly understood. Among the Near Eastern cultures compared with that of Nuzi, the world of the OT has received extraordinary attention.

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A. Archaeology
B. Nuzi Archives
C. History and Chronology
D. Ethnic Identity
E. Social Structure
F. Military
G. Religion
H. Law
I. Economic Structure
J. Types of Texts
K. Family Structure and Inheritance
L. Nuzi and the Old Testament

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**A. Archaeology**

Ancient Nuzi was located at modern Yorgan Tepe, 13 km SW of Kirkuk in N Iraq. Excavations of the site from 1929–31 exposed a large portion of the main mound of Yorgan Tepe and two small mounds to the N (Starr 1937–39). The site was occupied during the prehistoric, Akkadian, Hurrian, and Partho-Sassanian periods. During the Akkadian period it was named Gasur. Limited excavation to the Akkadian level produced a number of Sargonic texts apparently belonging to a royal estate (Foster *SCCNH* 2: 89–107; Meek 1932; 1935). The site is best known, however, during the Hurrian period of the mid–2d millennium B.C., when it was called Nuzi. For this phase at the site, the main mound yielded the architectural remains of a palace, a temple, administrative buildings, and numerous private residences. On the suburban mounds the homes of more affluent members of the community, including Prince Šilwa-Tešup and the families of Teḫip-tilla, son of Puḫi-šenni and Katiri, were located. Large quantities of ceramics ranging from fine palace ware to crude utilitarian vessels and an array of stone, bone, glass, and metal artifacts were found. Among the more distinctive finds are the ceramic animal figures associated with the temple and fragments of wall painting (Starr 1937–39). Cylinder seals were found at the site, but

the corpus of seal impressions on the tablets from Nuzi provides an unparalleled wealth of information for the history of glyptic art and the site of Nuzi itself (Porada 1947).

Archaeological evidence for Nuzi's (and incidentally, Mitanni's) international connections during the second half of the 2d millennium B.C. include the fragmentary "International Style" wall paintings that show Egyptian Hathor head designs, a bull's head, and a Syrian palmette design alternating in a frieze. In addition, Nuzi ware pottery with its characteristic light-on-dark painted designs is found throughout the Mitannian sphere of influence. The inspiration for this style has been traced to the Aegean. Furthermore, the Saustatar seal on *HSS* 9 1 is a superlative example of the Mitanni style in glyptic art, which draws on Syrian and Mesopotamian predecessors but contributes its own unique character (Smith 1965; Porada 1948).

**B. Nuzi Archives**

Some 3,500 cuneiform tablets were retrieved from buildings throughout the excavated areas of Nuzi. These tablets originate in family and administrative archives found in both the suburban and main mounds. Tablets were kept in family archives to the extent that they continued to have meaning to their owners. Tablets involving real estate passed with the property either through inheritance or sale and were kept as the legal deeds to the property over a number of generations. Non–real estate tablets, those involving personnel, livestock, and consumable goods, probably were transmitted in a similar fashion, but were kept for only as long as the ownership of the property might be questioned. In these cases, the time involved would be far shorter than that for real estate. Because of these practices, Nuzi archives contain many types of texts. In any given archive, however, real estate documents tend to represent the activities of many generations while other types of documents cluster near the end of Nuzi's existence. Similarly, in administrative archives in which the texts are largely ration lists and other documents relating to the daily activities of the palace or an estate the texts relate primarily to the later period of Nuzi. These archive-keeping practices generated materials within families over a number of generations and a vast amount of information concerning activities at Nuzi in its later period. (Morrison *SCCNH* 2: 167–213; 1979; Wilhelm 1980; 1986; Maidman 1976; 1979; Mayer 1978; Dosch 1976).

Scribal "families" (especially the family of Apil-Sin) who worked at Nuzi throughout its history have been identified in many archives. These scribal "families" serve as the skeleton for the reconstruction of the internal chronology of Nuzi. Because of the coherence of the individual archives and the numerous cross-references among them, an internal chronology of at least six generations can be established for the Nuzi tablets (Friedman *SCCNH* 2: 109–30; Stein *SCCNH* 2: 225–320; Wilhelm 1970).

**C. History and Chronology**

An absolute chronology for Nuzi is difficult to establish because there are few references in the texts to events and figures outside the land of Arraphe. The names of at least two kings of Arraphe, Kip-Tesûup and his son Itḫi-Tešup (also Ithiya), are known from royal letters, some bearing seal impressions, found in the Nuzi archives of Prince SÛilwa-Tesûup (Wilhelm 1970). The latter king was a vassal of Saustatar, king of Mitanni, as the famous Saustatar letter (*HSS* 9 1) indicates. A text mentioning Parsatatar (father of Saustatar) (*HSS* 13 165) suggests that Arraphe belonged to Mitanni during the reign of that king as well. Texts from the later period in the Nuzi archives mentioning Assyrian and Kassite activities in the region coincide with evidence from Assyria and Babylonia to suggest that the site was sacked by the Assyrians, perhaps during the reign of Aššur-uballiṭ I (1365–1330 B.C.).

Saustatar's dates remain problematic and the circumstances surrounding Nuzi's demise are not entirely clear, so Nuzi's exact place in ANE history has not been established. It is apparent, however, that the Nuzi archives span the period from Mitanni's dominance of northern Mesopotamia and Syria to the rise of the Middle Assyrian Empire. On the other hand, evidence from the Mari letters suggests that the site was settled by Hurrians and known as Nuzi as early as the reign of SÛamsûi-Adad, when his son Isûme-Dagan was embroiled in conflicts with the Hurrians to the north and east of Assyria (Wilhelm 1970).

**D. Ethnic Identity**

The Nuzi tablets are written in a dialect of Akkadian heavily influenced by Hurrian (Wilhelm 1970; Gordon 1938). The population of Nuzi was predominately Hurrian, but there are references to Assyrians,

Babylonians, and others living and working at Nuzi and elsewhere in the land of Arraphe. Furthermore, personal names, though largely Hurrian in origin, include Akkadian, Mitannian, Kassite, and other elements, attesting to the influence of these ethnic groups on the region (Cassin and Glassner 1977; Gelb, Purves, and MacRae 1943).

One group documented in the Nuzi texts that has received special attention is the *ḫab/piru.* These individuals of varied ethnic backgrounds entered the community to work in return for food, clothing, and protection. Typically, they placed themselves and their families in servitude (Akk *wardūtu*) in wealthy households. In some instances, they reserved the right to replace themselves and thereby regain their freedom. Initially, these Nuzi *ḫab/piru* were equated with the Hebrews because of apparent parallels in their behavior. They were foreigners who migrated into settled areas to make lives for themselves just as the Hebrews were doing in Egypt and Canaan. However, the linguistic and historical evidence from Ugarit, Alalakh, and Amarna demonstrates that the *ḫab/piru* cannot be categorized either as an ethnic group or generally as "foreigners" (Greenberg 1955). Instead, they appear to have been individuals who belonged to neither the settled nor the nomadic social orders of the ANE and in different locations were found assimilating to one or the other way of life (Rowton 1976). Indeed, at Nuzi they would appear to be homeless refugees who were trying simply to survive.

**E. Social Structure**

As would be expected at any urban center of the time, the socioeconomic structure of Nuzi was complex. The king of Arraphe and the royal family, including the queen, numerous *esrītu* women (concubines), and *mārē šarri* and *mārāti šarri* (sons and daughters of the king), stood at the peak of the social ladder. The king of Arraphe was a vassal of Mitanni, at least during the reigns of Parsatatar and Saustatar, but managed the internal affairs of his kingdom. In essence, the king was the head of the military, the economy, the law, and the cult.

At Nuzi the term SAL.LUGAL has been translated as "queen," but whether this term refers only to the chief wife of the king or to highly placed "secondary" wives remains an open question. Women so designated, however, include property owners and entrepreneurs who owned their own estates. A related issue is the existence of *esrītu* women or "concubines" as they are often called. The term is found only during this period in Assyria, the Hittite lands, and Mitanni, and so may have had a Hurrian connection. *Esrītu* women in Mitanni and the Hittite lands were attached to royal households (in Assyria they are found in private households), often owned property and engaged in business, and held high status in the community.

The *mārē šarri,* "sons of the king," were landowners and businessmen who also served in the military, and the *mārāti šarri,* "daughters of the king," appear in the records as landowners with households. Children of the king would inherit according to their rank, but even sons and daughters of "secondary wives" or *esrīti* women could rise to important economic positions in the state (Morrison 1979; Wilhelm 1980; 1986).

Below the royal family, well-to-do private citizens and officials, including judges, mayors, irrigation officers, and the like, formed the *rākib narkabti* ("charioteers," though they may not all have served in that capacity in the military), the equivalent of the *mariyannu* class elsewhere. These individuals had their own estates and business activities that included banking, real estate acquisitions, manufacturing, and trade. Records belonging to a number of such prominent individuals were found at Nuzi, even though their principal estates were located elsewhere in the land of Arraphe. This discovery reinforces our understanding of Nuzi's significance as a provincial administrative center.

The Nuzi archives also attest to a large group of middle-class property owners, professional workers, and small landholders. Such individuals participated to the extent of their means in the social and economic life of the community, buying and selling real estate, trading in various commodities, and making marriage and adoption contracts and wills.

Typically, the *wardu*s, "slaves," are considered the lowest social and economic class in the community. Indeed, slaves might have been prisoners of war or personnel traded into Arraphe from the land of Lullu. A great many slaves, however, were people who were forced by economic necessity to join the

households of those who could support them. In return for food, clothes, and shelter, these people committed their families and their labor to someone who would take them in, typically the wealthy landlords. They could be sold or given away, but they retained rights to property ownership and could engage in a wide variety of contracts, including land acquisition, adoption, and the like, if they had the means. Indeed, some slaves prospered at Nuzi and had estates far greater than those of the average citizen. Pai-Tesûup, the slave of Prince SÛilwa-Tesûup, was one such individual (Morrison 1983–84; Wilhelm 1980).

Women at Nuzi and Arraphe had more freedom than those in many other ANE nations. Enjoying the right to own property and make most contracts on their own, women engaged actively in real estate and commercial transactions and occupied important social and economic positions in the community. Amminnaya, wife of the king; Winnirke, the wife of Puḫi-šenni and mother of Teḫip-Tilla; and Tulpunaya are perhaps the most famous of Nuzi's real estate baronesses. Others include *esrītu* women and princesses whose royal positions augmented their power and wealth. Often women were protected in marriage documents and wills. For instance, some marriage contracts prohibit the groom from taking a second wife, and some wills appoint the deceased wife or even daughter as executor of the estate with powers of disinheritance over male members of the family. In addition, a son might be entrusted with the care of his mother and sisters after the death of his father. In such instances, stipulations concerning the mother's future behavior and inheritance rights might be made. On the other hand, fathers and brothers, either real or contractual, of women arranged for the marriages of their daughters or sisters and appear in guardian-like roles. There is evidence, however, that the woman involved could refuse the marital choice made for her. In general, then, it appears women at Nuzi had broad freedoms, but certain limitations did exist with respect to women's activities in the larger community. (Grosz *SCCNH* 1: 161–82 and *SCCNH* 2: 131–52; Gordon 1935; 1936).

**F. Military**

Landowners of all economic levels were responsible for paying taxes and performing or having a substitute perform the *ilku*—military and corvée service—for the state. Those who did so were called the *ālik ilki* In the military context, they were the infantry. Above them were the *rākib narkabti,* the charioteers, who came from the royal and landed families of Nuzi and other cities of Arraphe. While on duty, these forces were armed and fed by the king. Nuzi produced voluminous inventories and ration lists recording equipment and food distributed to the troops, lists of chariots and horses, and who did and did not report for military service. Further, the palace archives record the manufacture of weapons, armor, and chariots for use by the army both at Nuzi and abroad (Kendall 1975).

**G. Religion**

Information about the cult is sparse at Nuzi, but palace records do reflect the distribution of rations to cult personnel. Nuzi had at least one major temple, and perhaps smaller ones, but the center of the cult in Arraphe would, of course, have been in the capital city (Jankowska *SCCNH* 1: 195–209). Presumably, the Nuzi records reflect only royal support for the local religious institution(s).

On the common level there are references to "family gods" in the Nuzi texts, and archaeological evidence indicates that residences might have shrines. It is assumed that the "family gods" passed from father to eldest son in the normal course of inheritance. However, the "gods" often appear in wills in which an individual designates either the heir to the gods or the distribution of his gods among his sons or daughters. Disinherited family members are prohibited from approaching the family's gods. There is even a court case concerning a family's gods of whom an outsider had gained possession (*HSS* 14 8). Clearly, the family gods were of great significance to individuals at Nuzi. Indeed, they appear to have represented the identity of the family itself. On the other hand, the father of a family had the power to shape the future identity of his family through various kinds of contracts and his will. Seemingly the allocation of the "family gods" was one of many demonstrations of this authority (Cassin *SCCNH* 1: 37–46; Deller *SCCNH* 1: 47–76; Draffkorn 1957; Greenberg 1962).

**H. Law**

All citizens in Arraphe, including slaves, were able to seek redress in court, so litigation concerning property ownership and other civil and criminal matters was common. Judges, who were among the *rākib narkabti* class, presided over the courts in the cities of Arraphe and were assisted by various court officials. The parties involved in the cases presented their testimonies, which were recorded on tablets. The judges' decisions appear to have been based on common law that was fairly standard throughout the ANE Therefore, there are numerous parallels between the law as illustrated by the Nuzi texts and such legal documents as the Code of Hammurabi and the laws of the OT If the evidence was not sufficient for the judges to render a verdict, they could send the parties to either the "oath of the gods" or river ordeals. In some instances, usually when the local judges could not adjudicate because of conflicting testimony or some other reason, the case was referred to the king for final judgment. The most famous of the Nuzi legal cases is the impeachment trial of the mayor Kušši-ḫarbe for numerous counts of malfeasance and abuse of authority. The testimony of numerous witnesses is preserved on ten tablets and some fragments. In that Kušši-ḫarbe disappears from his office, it appears that he was convicted of the crimes with which he was charged.

**I. Economic Structure**

The city of Nuzi, like all of the cities in Arraphe, was surrounded by agricultural land divided into districts. Outside of Nuzi proper, there were many towns and villages of varying sizes. These were linked by roads that led from Nuzi to other cities and byways connecting the smaller settlements, each with its own population and urban affiliation. The fields were irrigated by canals, some of which could support traffic, and, of course, natural waterways (Zaccagnini 1979).

Nuzi's economy was agriculturally based with wealth deriving ultimately from the land and what it produced. The "palace" and wealthy landowners held substantial real estate throughout the land of Arraphe and employed large numbers of dependents and slaves in agricultural pursuits. Barley, wheat, and various fruits and vegetables were produced: sheep and goats were used for their wool, meat, and milk; and pigs, large cattle, asses, and horses, used primarily in the chariotry, were raised (Cross 1937; Morrison *SCCNH* 1: 257–96). The produce of these large operations was used to support their personnel and provide a surplus for use in many activities.

Industry at the palace and the large estates included the manufacture of many goods, most notably textiles (both fabric and garments), leather goods, furniture, wooden and metal tools and weapons, stonework, chariots, and the like (Cross 1937; Zaccagnini *SCCNH* 1: 349–61). Professionals in these crafts are found among the dependents of the palace and large estates. Especially prominent among the workers in ration lists are the textile workers, most of whom were women. Many of these manufactured items were luxury goods, trade goods, or equipment used by the state, so references to them do not often appear outside of the archives of the wealthy.

The palace and some large estates (especially those of Prince Šilwa-Tešup and Puḫi-šenni son of Muš-apu) were also banking centers engaged in lending silver, gold, other metals, grain, wood, bricks, livestock, and wool to private individuals and dependents of the estates. Normally, grain loans were necessary to carry the borrowers over until the harvest, after which the loan plus interest was to be repaid. Both the loan documents and the accounting texts recording grain loans have been found (Owen 1969).

Loans involving silver, gold, or other metals as well as horses sometimes were related to the overland trade. Both the palace and private individuals sponsored trade in raw materials and finished products outside Nuzi, including the land of Lullu. All parties involved in this trade expected substantial returns on their investments (Zaccagnini 1977).

Smaller property owners also worked the land and had livestock, but the produce of their holdings was consumed largely by their families with little left over for other activities. Some had the means to make small loans; more often they were borrowers. It is assumed that everyday goods for the use of the family or for sale were produced at home or by craftsmen working in the city and towns. The Nuzi tablets trace the gradual impoverishment and dissolution of these small landowning families and the growth of the large estates (Zaccagnini 1979; Wilhelm 1980; Morrison *SCCNH* 2: 167–213) over the six-generation period they record. There were certainly many and varied reasons for this pattern. In general, many of the

freeholds operated on the margin of subsistence, and it did not take much to push a family over the edge into bankruptcy. Poor crops, debt, division of an estate into increasingly smaller and insufficient units, and lack of labor in the family might all have been causes.

The state and private sectors of Nuzi's society and economy coexisted in close interconnection. Repeatedly, it can be shown that high officials responsible for irrigation, land management, and the judiciary first were property owners in their own rights. In mercantile activities there was much interaction among merchants working for the palace and for private individuals. The palace depended on the productivity of the private sector for taxes and personnel for the military and corvée. Further, as a "bank" the palace had a vested interest in the fortunes of its clients. On the other hand, the private sector relied on the state for protection and maintaining order.

**J. Types of Texts**

While land was inalienable, land acquisition was possible by a number of means. In the *ṭuppi mārūti* ("tablet of sonship") type of contract, a landowner (the seller) adopted an individual who did not belong to his family (the buyer) in order to sell a piece of property. The property purchased was called an "inheritance share" and the price "a gift" (usually movable property such as silver, grain, livestock, clothing, or a combination of such items). Often the texts note who will perform the *ilku* service on the land. The inalienability of land at Nuzi might be attributed to political, religious, or social reasons or to a combination of them. (1) Political: Land was owned by the king and granted in exchange for "feudal service." The land and the responsibility for the service could pass only from father to son as in the OB system. (2) Religious: A family, its land, and its family gods were inextricably bound together. The king granted the land on behalf of his gods who were the ultimate owners of the land and superior to the family gods. Again, only family membership qualified an individual to possess the property in question. (3) Social: Land was granted to a family in common (an "extended family commune") in return for service, and all the individuals within a family were responsible ultimately to the family. Only through adoption into the family could a person acquire land that was part of the family's holdings. Certainly, nobody was fooled by the fiction of this type of adoption. At the very least, the *ṭuppi mārūti* texts demonstrate how close the tie between the family and its land at Nuzi was at one point in time and may be an extension of earlier practices that were indeed legitimate. The motivation for these "real estate adoptions" usually appears to have been financial distress on the part of the seller (Chiera and Speiser 1924–25; Cassin 1938; Lewy 1942; Koschaker 1928; Purves 1945; 1947).

A method of transferring real estate for a limited period of time was the *ṭuppi titennūti* ("tablet of lease") contract. Land was leased for varying periods of time in return for a fee of movable property. The land could be redeemed by its owner at the end of the time indicated or on demand, depending on the terms of the contract, by returning the fee. In the meantime, the lessor reaped the produce of the land. The *titennūtu* type of land transaction may have developed because the transfers effected by the *ṭuppi mārūti* contracts deprived families of their land, and so their source of wealth, permanently. Again, the motivation for this sort of arrangement appears to have been financial difficulty (Speiser 1932).

*Ṭuppi aḫḫūti* ("tablet of brothership") contracts also exist and serve as another means of passing an "inheritance share" to an individual outside the family (Lewy 1940; Cassin 1962; Skaist 1969; Paradise 1972). All of these real estate arrangements reflect the sale of a birthright, either between a "father" and a "son" or between two "brothers."

The *ṭuppi mārūti* and *ṭuppi titennūti* types of contracts were used for personnel acquisitions as well. In a "real adoption" an individual adopted a son who would inherit his adopted father's property after caring for him (and often his wife) in his old age and "weeping over him and burying him" when he died (Cassin 1938). In personnel leases, a man could place himself, his children, or his slaves into servitude for a predetermined period of time in return for a fee the return of which would redeem the leased person (Eichler 1973).

Other forms of personnel contracts include the *ṭuppi mārtūti* ("tablet of daughtership") whereby an individual adopted a woman as a daughter and agreed to provide for her marriage. A fee was paid to a relative of the woman, and varying arrangements made as to the division of the bride-price. In the *ṭuppi*

*aḫātūti* ("tablet of sistership") a woman was adopted as a sister and the terms were similar to those of the *ṭuppi mārtūti.* The nuances of "daughtership" versus "sistership" are not entirely understood in that the ends of these contracts appear to be essentially the same, i.e., a "guardian" who will arrange for the woman's marriage is appointed. In the first the guardian has the rights of a father and in the second of a brother (Grosz *SCCNH* 1: 161–82 and *SCCNH* 2: 131–52; Eichler 1977).

The marriage contracts *(ṭuppi riksi)* show that fathers or brothers arranged for the marriages of their daughters or sisters. Daughters received dowries from the family's property, usually in the form of silver or movable property. In certain exceptional cases, real estate was included in a dowry. In return the father or brother received a payment normally equivalent to 40 shekels of silver. These marriage contracts might also include clauses prohibiting the groom from taking a second wife or establishing the status of the bride's children as primary heirs to the groom's estate (Gordon 1936; Koschaker 1928).

Wills *(ṭuppi šimti)* describe the distribution of an individual's estate after his death. There are relatively few wills from Nuzi, considering the number of families and amount of property attested at the site. Most likely, wills were drawn up if the testator wished to depart from normal inheritance practices (Paradise 1972).

Among other types of texts that exist, some warrant mention. The *ṭuppi šupeʾulti* ("tablet of exchange") records exchanges of property. The *ṭuppi tamgurtu* ("tablet of agreement") attests to agreements made between parties before witnesses concerning a transaction. The *lišānšu* ("declaration of PN") usually records a statement made by an individual before judges and/or witnesses concerning real estate and other transactions already completed by the parties involved. The relationship of this sort of text to the other types of texts mentioned above is still not clear (Maidman 1976).

**K. Family Structure and Inheritance**

The kinship terminology of both land and personnel documents at Nuzi stresses how important the family was as the basic unit of the community and provides some insight into the nature of the family at Nuzi. The family structure was patriarchal. The father had complete authority over his wife/wives and children and could disinherit an offending child, sell or lease his children, and arrange for his children's marriages in the sorts of transactions discussed above. Moreover, he could direct the disposition of his estate through a duly witnessed and sealed will.

The family property, especially real estate, passed through the male line with a larger share being given to the chief heir *(māru rābu),* normally the eldest son, and smaller shares to other sons. Typically, it appears, the eldest son also became head of the family with responsibility for his mother and unmarried sisters and kept the family gods. Many wills from Nuzi, however, show that the father could designate his chief heir and head of the family (not always the same individual), divide his property as he chose, and make various stipulations about the use of his property, the ownership of the family gods, and the responsibilities of his wife and children (Paradise 1972).

The institution of "brothership" is not entirely clear at Nuzi. Essentially, "brothership" in the texts appears to indicate guardianship rights over sisters, but these are not identical to a father's rights. It has been suggested that "brothership" at Nuzi indicates that the Hurrians began as a matriarchal society in which the brother of the matriarch was the authority of the family and, hence, was a fratriarch. Through marriage to his sister, the fratriarch became a patriarch and the entire system shifted from the female to the male line. According to this analysis, the marriage and adoption texts in which "brothership" figures are simply vestiges of this form of societal organization. The problem with this explanation is that there is no evidence that the Hurrians ever married their sisters (Koschaker 1928; Skaist 1969).

**L. Nuzi and the Old Testament**

When the Nuzi tablets were discovered, many scholars found striking parallels between the social, economic, and legal practices at the site and those described in the OT. It is not possible to itemize all of the parallels discussed in the literature, but some of the more famous and enduring ones must be noted. For a thorough treatment of this subject see Gordon 1964; Speiser 1930; 1963a; *Genesis* AB.

A number of episodes in the patriarchal narratives reflect a background of family law that is similar to that demonstrated at Nuzi. In the story of Abraham in Genesis, Abraham adopted Eliezer of Damasacus as

his heir because he had no children (Gen 15:2–3). At Nuzi, slaves were adopted by childless couples. Sarah, the chief wife, unable to conceive, provides her handmaid Hagar as a substitute through whom her husband can have children. Subsequently, when a child is born to Sarah, he becomes the principal heir, even though he is younger than Hagar's son (Gen 16; 21:1–21). The Nuzi tablets record similar situations, including inheritance provisions for children born to the chief wife after the handmaiden's. On two occasions Abraham called Sarah his sister to conceal the fact that she was his wife (Gen 12:11–20; chap. 20). Though not entirely clear on the subject themselves, Nuzi materials have been used to explain this "wife-sister motif" (Speiser 1963a).

In the marriage of Isaac, Laban, Rebekah's brother, handled the negotiations (Genesis 28–31), and Rebekah was asked if she consented. Later, Laban arranged his own daughters' marriages to Jacob (Gen 29:15–30), but it appears that the women were not consulted. Typically at Nuzi, a clause concerning the woman's consent is included in marriage contracts drawn up by brothers, but this clause is absent in contracts drawn up by fathers. Furthermore, the gifts proffered in the marriage of Rebekah are reminiscent of marriage prestations at Nuzi. Jacob's arrangements with Laban in return for marriage to Rachel and Leah also find parallels in the Nuzi texts. (Moses' marriage to Zipporah resembles Jacob's situation.) In the treaty reached between Jacob and Laban there are clauses containing terms similar to those of marriage contracts at Nuzi.

Nuzi parallels exist for the institution of levirate marriage, illustrated by the Judah and Tamar story (Genesis 38) and codified in Deut 25:5–10 (Burrows 1940).

In the Joseph story, Joseph's brothers worry that their father, Jacob, favors Joseph, a younger son, possibly because they fear he will be chosen as primary heir. The Nuzi tablets show that a father could name his heir regardless of his rank of birth. (It is worth noting that Joseph's acquisition of land and "slaves" for the pharaoh in return for food recalls the way the small landowning families of Nuzi gave themselves and their lands up to the large estates.)

Related to matters of family and inheritance is the "deathbed blessing." In biblical material, instances such as Isaac's blessings on Jacob and Esau (Genesis 27), Jacob's on his and Joseph's sons (Genesis 48–49), Moses' on Israel (Deuteronomy 33), and Joshua's (Joshua 23–24) illustrate the importance of the deathbed blessing in shaping the identity and "share" of Israel and its component parts. Though at Nuzi the deathbed blessing is confined to property litigation, it apparently was recognized as valid evidence in courts of law (Speiser 1955).

Rachel's theft of the *tĕrāpîm* is subject to many interpretations ranging from psychological to legal, all attempting to explain her apparent rash behavior. The Nuzi texts demonstrate that the household gods were the very heart of the family and appear to have been passed down through either traditional or willed lines of inheritance. Thus, in nearly all interpretations of this incident, the Nuzi evidence has been cited (Cassin *SCCNH* 1: 37–46; Gordon 1937; Greenberg 1962; Morrison 1983; Speiser *Genesis* AB).

The similarities between the socioeconomic milieus of Nuzi and the patriarchal narratives suggest that the two cultures shared a common background in the ANE in the 2d millennium B.C. While most scholars agree that the patriarchal age predated the Nuzi materials (e.g., *BHI*), others made them contemporaneous (Gordon 1964). Moreover, the widespread distribution of Hurrians was credited with the dissemination of Near Eastern and specifically Hurrian customs throughout the area including Nuzi and the patriarchal setting (Speiser 1967).

More recent studies have demonstrated that the customs described in the Nuzi texts and the Bible are found throughout the Near East in the 2d and 1st millennia B.C. (Indeed, some survive to this day in more rural areas of the Near East.) Moreover, 1st millennium materials may offer better parallels in some cases (Van Seters 1969; 1975). Yet others look to folklore and literary forms to elucidate the biblical text (Thompson 1974; 1978). As a result, Nuzi has receded as an important tool for analyzing the Bible and dating its materials.

While the Nuzi materials are no longer considered important for the chronology of the OT, there is no question that they provide some of the best available evidence for common social, economic, and legal practices in the ANE These practices were widespread and deeply entrenched throughout the Syro-

Mesopotamian sphere of influence. Thus, Nuzi's continued value in biblical studies derives from its illustration of the background against which the OT was written.

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**NYMPHA** (PERSON) [Gk *Nympha* (Νυμφα)]. Nympha and "the church in her house" are greeted by Paul at the end of Colossians (4:15). It can be inferred from the text that she lived in Laodicea, although there is an ambiguity in the reference which leads some commentators to think her home was in Colossae or Hierapolis. One theory is that by analogy with the sending of greetings to the Laodiceans just previously in 4:15, Nympha's must be the church of Hierapolis since that group is not greeted otherwise in the letter (Gielen 1986: 123–24). By extension of this analogy, it has also been reasoned that just as the Laodicean church is evidently referred to by Paul as the local, thus not partial, church, so must Nympha's house-church be the entire church at Hierapolis (Gielen 1986: 123–24). Assumably Nympha was not only hostess but also leader of that local church.

As a household head, Nympha was likely a widow or single, but it cannot be excluded that she was a rather independently acting married woman. How she came to know Paul is not clear. Since he is not known to have visited Colossae, Laodicea, or Hierapolis, perhaps she met him in Ephesus.

Nympha's place in the NT as a female Christian has been retained only at the cost of some debate. While her gender is assumed to be feminine by the RSV, since her name in Greek is cited only in the accusative case, *Nymphan*, which could refer to a woman named Nympha or a man named Nymphas, other translations have variously interpreted this person. The issue has been complicated by variations in manuscripts for the possessive pronoun modifying "house" in Col 4:15 Some texts read *autēs,* "her," others *autou,* "his," still others, *autōn,* "their." Since the feminine reading is the hardest to explain, it is most likely to be the original. The masculine form was probably a correction of the feminine by copyists who could not envision a woman in such a leadership role. The reading "their" could have been substituted when scribes included in the pronoun the earlier mention of "brethren" in Col 4:15

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# O

**OAK OF TABOR** (PLACE). See TABOR, OAK OF.

**OAK TREE.** See FLORA.

**OAK, DIVINER'S.** See DIVINER'S OAK.

**OBADIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿōbadyāhû* (עֹבַדְיָהוּ)]. A common Hebrew name meaning "Yahweh's servant."

**1.** One of the twelve Minor Prophets. See OBADIAH, BOOK OF.

**2.** The manager of Ahab's household and a devoted follower of Yahweh during the reign of Ahab, king of Israel (1 Kgs 18:1–16). Obadiah is described as "over the house" (Heb *ʾăšer ʿal-habbāyit*) of Ahab. The phrase occurs elsewhere in 1 Kgs 4:6; 16:9; 18:3; 2 Kgs 10:5; 15:5; 18:18 (= Isa 36:3); 18:37 (= Isa 36:22); 19:2 (= Isa 37:2); Isa 22:15; and on a 7th-century B.C. seal. According to Mettinger (1971: 88, 110), it designates the one who supervises the royal estate and who was also probably responsible for royal trade and mining.

Obadiah is noted in 1 Kgs 18:4 as protecting a group of Yahwist prophets during a period of persecution. The Omride dynasty, of which Ahab was the second ruler, arranged diplomatic relations with Ethbaal, king of Sidon (1 Kgs 16:31). This move brought Ethbaal's daughter, Jezebel, into the Omride dynasty and facilitated in Israel the worship of Baal, the Canaanite god of fertility. Conservative forces represented by Yahwist prophets found themselves subjected to persecution by Jezebel. Yet in Obadiah they found a friend who provided secret sanctuary and food for them.

While assisting the king in a search for water during a drought, Obadiah happened upon the prophet Elijah, who commanded him to appear before Ahab with a message concerning the prophet's whereabouts. Fearing for his life, Obadiah balked at the task. He reminded Elijah of how far and wide Ahab had sought him as well as the danger in which he had already placed himself by spiriting Yahweh's prophets into a safe hiding place. He then claimed that when he related Elijah's message to Ahab, the prophet would vanish and thereby place Obadiah's life in even greater danger. Nevertheless, the prophet assured Obadiah of his safety by promising to appear that very day before Ahab. Obadiah delivered the message and was rewarded by Elijah keeping his word.

**3.** A postexilic descendant of David (1 Chr 3:21). After the name Jeshaiah in v 21, a textual difficulty arises which obscures the verse's sense. Following "Jeshaiah," the MT reads, "the sons of Rephaiah, the sons of Arnan, the sons of Obadiah, the sons of Shecaniah." The MT, therefore, specifies no direct connection between the persons listed. Another possibility is to read *bĕnô* "his son," instead of the MT *bĕnê,* "sons of." According to this emendation, which is supported by the LXX (and accepted by the RSV), Obadiah would be the son of Arnan and the father of Shecaniah. According to the text-critical principle that the more difficult reading is to be preferred, the MT should probably be retained. Nothing can thus be known about Obadiah except that he is from David's family.

**4.** A descendant of Issachar and son of Izrahiah (1 Chr 7:3). According to the Chronicler, Obadiah would have been roughly contemporary with Moses. This list of Issachar's descendants emphasizes the family's warrior traditions, which correspond with the description of Issachar in Judg 5:15. Obadiah is one of five "chief men" (Heb *roʾšîm*). This title indicates a place of leadership in his family.

**5.** A son of Azel and a member of the family of Saul (1 Chr 8:38; 9:44). The list in which his name is fixed occurs twice in 1 Chronicles. The first list, in chap. 8, delineates the descendants of Benjamin in relation to the Chronicler's unified Israel theme. The second list, in chap. 9, serves to introduce the story of Saul's death in chap. 10.

**6.** One of the first exiles to return to Judah (1 Chr 9:16). The list in which his name occurs appears again in Nehemiah 11 but in the latter Obadiah's name does not occur. (For the chronological problem suggested by the two lists, see MESHULLAM.) 1 Chr 9:16 lists Obadiah as a Levite.

**7.** A member of the tribe of Gad who joined David during his stay in Ziklag (1 Chr 12:9). Obadiah is one of a group of warriors whose skill and prowess underscore the quality of the people who gathered around David. According to v 14, Obadiah was an officer in the army. Verse 15 amplifies the description of Gadite ability already provided in v 8 by stating that these Gadites had crossed the Jordan in its flood stage. The inclusion of the list of Gadites contributes to the Chronicler's theme of Israel united.

**8.** A member of the tribe of Zebulun and father of Ishmaiah (1 Chr 27:19). Obadiah is here the patronymic for one of the leaders of the tribes during David's reign. The exact bureaucratic task of tribal leaders is not clear, but vv 23 and 24 suggest that they had something to do with census taking.

**9.** A prince of Judah who was among a group commissioned by Jehoshaphat to teach "the book of the law of Yahweh" to the people of Judah (2 Chr 17:7). That members of the laity are commissioned to perform religious instruction is notable. Myers suggests that the position of members of the laity as teachers is possibly quite old and that the reference to the Levites in 2 Chr 17:8 might be the Chronicler's own addition to an older tradition. According to Myers (*2 Chronicles* 99–100), the "book of the law of Yahweh" could hardly be the Pentateuch as it now exists and might refer instead to a royal law code such as the Code of Hammurabi. Historically, he is certainly correct but from the perspective of the Chronicler, the "book of the law of Yahweh" would most surely have been understood as the Mosaic Torah.

**10.** A Levite who served as an overseer in the repairing of the temple during the reform of Josiah (2 Chr 34:12). He is noted as a Levite of the lineage of Merari.

**11.** A priest who accompanied Ezra to Jerusalem (Ezra 8:9 = 1 Esdr 8:35). He bears the patronym "son of Jehiel." In Neh 10:5 Obadiah was among those who set their seal to the covenant renewal under Ezra. If Ezra's journey to Jerusalem took place in 458 B.C., then it is possible that the Obadiah mentioned in Neh 10:5 is the same as in Ezra 8:9 (= 1 Esdr 8:35). However, because of the chronological uncertainty concerning the date of Ezra's mission (see EZRA), an identification of Obadiah in Ezra 8:9 with Obadiah in Neh 10:5 is not certain.

**12.** A gatekeeper during the priesthood of Joiakim (Neh 12:25). His task was to guard the storehouses of the gates.

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## OBADIAH, BOOK OF.

This prophetic book—only 21 verses, almost entirely in poetic form—stands in the collection of the Twelve after Amos and before Jonah (so MT, EVV): LXX arranges the first six differently.

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A. Place in the Canon
B. The Prophet
C. Contents and Plan of the Book
D. Text
    1. Obadiah and Jeremiah 49
    2. Unity and Disunity: Dislocation
    3. Text and Language
E. Historical Context and Interpretation

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### A. Place in the Canon

The position of Obadiah within the Hebrew canonical order probably implies a belief that the first six books all belonged to one general period. The precise order could be related to possible relationships between the individual books: Obadiah 16–21 could be in some measure based on Amos 9:12, and this could explain why Obadiah follows Amos. Less probably, Obadiah 1–14 could be linked back to Joel

4:19—Eng 3:19. In the Greek order the first five are of decreasing length, but that tradition perhaps associates Obadiah and Jonah more closely with Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah, which follow, in order to relate these books to the later Assyrian/Babylonian period. Since Obadiah is so very brief, it may be asked whether its inclusion as a separate unit is linked with the desirability that the last "book" of the Latter Prophets should be made up of twelve prophetic collections.

**B. The Prophet**

This point may be taken a little further when the name Obadiah is considered. No information is available about the prophet except what may be deduced from the book. No serious question arises of identification with any other biblical character of this name. Later Jewish tradition (*b. Sanh.* 39b: cf. Jerome, *In Abdiam*) associated him with the Obadiah of 1 Kings 18, the controller of the royal household who protected prophets of Yahweh from Jezebel: this is a legend attached to a devout character, showing also the common tendency to identify those who bear the same name. More seriously it may be asked whether here the name Obadiah ("servant" or "worshipper of Yahweh," cf. "Abdiel"), while frequently attested in both biblical and archaeological sources, could, like "Malachi," be a pious invention to identify a prophetic fragment making up the Twelve.

**C. Contents and Plan of the Book**

The first heading of the book is "vision of Obadiah," an expression used in Isa 1:1 and Nah 1:1 (and elsewhere) in the sense of "prophetic message" rather than narrowly denoting visionary experience. The second heading: "thus says the Lord Yahweh to (concerning) Edom," in effect covers much of what follows, though the content of the book is not so restricted as this phrase may seem to suggest.

The content may be set out briefly:

a. 1b–7: judgment on Edom brought by the nations—divisible into 1b–4 and 5–7;

b. 8–14 (15): the day of doom—within which 10–14 concern Edom and the fate of Jerusalem;

c. (15) 16–21: the day of Yahweh, bringing both judgment and salvation.

These divisions are open to some question. There are markers ("oracle of Yahweh") at the end of 4 and the beginning of 8; there is also a punctuating conclusion ("so Yahweh has spoken") at the end of 18. There are close links of theme between 1–7 and 8–14, but style and content differ. In particular 12–14 show closely structured form: each line begins with a prohibition, and each line (except 14a) ends with an expression descriptive of the day of Yahweh.

Verse 15 is problematic. Most often it is supposed that 15b—a markedly proverbial-style expression—is the true continuation of 14, summing up the warnings or accusations of 12–14 by emphasizing that retribution on Edom will be in exact relation to its own actions. Verse 15a is then seen as the beginning of the salvation oracle or oracles of 16–21. The similarity between the openings of 15b and 16a could have attracted the former away from its correct position. But while this is possible, 15b could be an addition underlining the retributive thought present in the context. 15a broadens the idea of the day of Yahweh to concern all nations, and this could form a fitting conclusion to the Edom oracles, stressing that these oracles, whatever their original reference, are now typical, expressive of a doom which is to come upon the whole world. This is then explained in 16 in terms of a reversal by which Judah, forced to drink the cup of Yahweh's wrath, will now see all nations brought to a comparable judgment (cf. Jeremiah 25, especially 15f).

The emphasis on Edom is clear throughout the book. The major part is an oracle (or oracles) on Edom as a foreign nation, such as may be found in a number of other prophetic books, in most instances as part of a collection of such oracles. The appearance alongside foreign-nation oracles of a message of general judgment ushering in salvation for Israel is also familiar (cf. Zephaniah 3; Isaiah 24–27 as a sequel to 13–23; Jeremiah 25).

The poetry of Obadiah is marked by vivid imagery of a kind frequently to be found in the prophetic books. The contrast between pride and humiliation in 2–4 uses ideas found also in Isaiah 2 and in the poem on the overthrow of Tyre in Ezekiel 28. Being "set among the stars" in 4 (excised as a gloss by some commentators) may echo the mythological theme of the fallen daystar (Isa 14:12–14, AV "Lucifer"; cf. Luke 10:18). The inescapability of divine judgment in 3–4 suggests comparison with Ps 139:7–12.

Judgment compared to thieves in 5 (cf. Joel 2:9) was to be developed in the NT (cf. 1 Thess 5:2). The "day of Yahweh" theme, much used here, is especially clear in Amos 5:18–20; Isa 2:12–22; Zephaniah 1. Betrayal of friends or by allies (7, 10, 12–14) is a theme used of Edom in Amos 1:11 (cf. 1:9. Cf. also Ps 41:9; Job 6:14f). The fire motif of 18 may be compared with Isa 10:17f. Inheritance/dispossession (17, 19f) may be seen also in Num 24:18f and often in Deuteronomy (cf 2:12). Direct relationship between such uses is hardly to be posited: the poets draw on a rich heritage of poetic language and image.

**D. Text**

The text of Obadiah presents some problems.

**1. Obadiah and Jeremiah 49.** Jer 49:7–22 offers a more substantial oracle against Edom, set in the long series of foreign-nation oracles in Jeremiah 46–51. There are numerous points of similarity between the two texts, most closely in 49:14–16 (cf. Obadiah 1–4) but also in 49:9f (cf. Obadiah 5f). The nature of the relationship between the two texts has been widely discussed but without full agreement being reached. Recent discussions of relationships between such pairs of texts have tended to be cautious of claiming direct dependence of one on the other. The closeness at some points in this particular case suggests a relationship due more probably to the common use of source material or the use of traditional or liturgical material. Close parallels may provide a basis for considering the quality of each text, with consequent proposals for textual emendation where one or the other appears doubtful. More properly, each text needs to be considered in its own right. In such cases, one text may subsequently have influenced the other in the course of transmission, and the versions may similarly have been influenced by the alternative text.

More important is the recognition that Jer 49:7–22 offers a larger and distinctive collection of oracles against Edom and that this collection functions within the whole complex of Jeremiah 46–51, just as the Edom oracle in Amos 1:11f does in Amos 1–2. The Obadiah oracle (or oracles) in 1–14 (15) functions differently, being set in the context of the salvation message of (15)16–21; in this respect it comes nearer to the Edom material of Isaiah 34 followed by salvation in Isaiah 35, and of Ezekiel 35 in relation to its sequel in Ezekiel 36–37.

**2. Unity and Disunity: Dislocation.** The question of the unity of the book has already been raised by the notes on content and the comments on the relation to Jeremiah 49. If, as seems probable, Obadiah 1–4 makes use of an already existing oracle, and possibly some other elements in 1–14 build on earlier material, then the unity of this part of the book is to be seen in the integrating of originally separate elements into a new whole. Such a unity has as much validity as the alternative, still maintained by some, that the whole section is of one piece. Unity is in terms of the total impact of a now-impressive grouping of various types of oracles (noting especially the very different style of 12–14, all gathered around the one theme of doom.

A different type of question is posed by joining (15)16–21 to this material. A division into two units, 16–18 and 19–21, appears proper, though there are verbal links between them which make their association intelligible: to some degree 19–21 provide an exegesis of 16–18. But the extension and reinterpretation of the Edom theme here, precisely picked up by the Esau references of 18, 19, and 21, point to the whole book having a new unity in which the Edom oracles are lifted out of whatever historical context may be postulated for them so as to give them a broader meaning, an application to a situation different from that previous one. The evidence in prophetic books of links with liturgical usage (for example the psalms in Isaiah 12 and Habakkuk 3) invites the possibility that "Obadiah" as the author of the book as we now have it could be understood as a cult prophet, or as one who interpreted existing prophetic material in a cultic context. Attempts at giving greater precision to such a view (for example, Watts, Wolff *Obadja* BKAT) cannot be sufficiently demonstrated.

**3. Text and Language.** Some of the problems here relate to possible historical references (see below). In addition to proposals for emendation based on the Jeremiah parallels, there are difficulties not easily resolved. Thus the last word of 9 ("by slaughter") should perhaps, with some support from the versions, belong to 10 ("for the slaughter and violence …"). In 12 the first "the day of" is probably due to reduplication. The text in 20 is evidently in some disorder: various alternative proposals, all conjectural,

may be found in commentaries and modern translation. The curious "there is no understanding of it" or "in it" at the end of 7 could be a marginal note to the last clause of 8 making the comment that Edom's supposed wisdom (from which 1 Kgs 4:30 has sometimes been cited) is in reality nonexistent. Another suggestion, which may be paralleled in ANE scribal practice, is that it is the despairing comment of a copyist who could not understand the text in front of him: certainly the *hapax legomenon* rendered "trap" (RSV) is unclear (cf. the various proposals in commentaries and translations).

**E. Historical Context and Interpretation**

While it would be proper to determine the historical context of the book or of the prophet before considering interpretation, the two questions interlock. In part, the answer to these questions turns on deciding how far the oracles allude to events already past. Does the doom oracle of 1b–4 refer to a disaster which has already overtaken Edom, or to the future? Or, if it is taken over from an earlier context, does it in effect provide the justification for what has now happened (Jerome, *In Abdiam*)? Do the prohibitions in 12–14 carry their normal sense of "do not …" (so NEB, JB), or should they be rendered "you should not have …" (so RSV)? Such a difference of interpretation reflects a different understanding of the relation of 12–14 to historical events. Much, indeed, turns on this last point, and has its context in the wider questions of the relationships during the biblical period between Edom and Judah. Since there is evident allusion to a disaster to Judah and Jerusalem here (explicitly in 11), and since Psalm 137 places Babylon and Edom in parallel, it has seemed clear to many that in one way or another Edom was involved in the Judean disaster. Lam 4:21f, often assumed to belong shortly after 587 B.C., has been thought to give added support. Evidence that during the period of Babylonian rule Edomites may have taken over some parts of southern Judean territory would support this. When read as reference to the actualities of the period, 12–14 seem to provide a basis on which more can be said about Edom and its involvement than appears in narrative sources. Some justification must exist for the extreme hostility that is to be found both in the numerous prophetic oracles against Edom and in the Jacob-Esau traditions. At a later period, Judean-Idumaean hostility, particularly in the 2d and 1st centuries B.C., provides indications of the continuing relevance of such older stories and oracles.

The difficulty with this kind of interpretation is that it runs the risk of constructing history largely out of prophetic oracles or poetry. The relationship here, as elsewhere, between historical events, allusions to them in poetic form, and the poetic use of motifs in a nonhistorical manner is very difficult to determine. In respect to Obadiah 12–14 there are possibilities of various kinds. It is entirely intelligible, and may be correct, to see precise allusion; it is also proper to observe that there is no statement here which necessitates a merely historical construction. Underlying the material of these and other Edom oracles there is no doubt the reality of hostile relationships at various periods between the two peoples; but fixing this more precisely always remains open to some question. It is clearly improper to give too definite an answer. It should be noted that 1 Esdr 4:45 adds the gratuitously developed legend that it was Edomites who burnt the temple: such an item cannot be used as if it were historical evidence.

Interpretation is affected by these historical questions. Read with a close linking of the words to historical events, the main part of Obadiah can seem all too much a piece of relentless hostility to one particular people, now rounded off with the hope of a total reversal in which Jerusalem contains a holy refuge, Edom is destroyed, not even a remnant left, and more broadly all the surrounding territories are recovered by Jews returned from exile. The text of 20 may conceal the corrupted name Halah, a place of exile named in 2 Kgs 17:6; "Sepharad" has been variously identified, for example with Sardis in Lydia or Sapardu in Media, possibly to be equated with Sepharvaim (2 Kgs 17:24).

If it is right to see precise references to a particular period for the judgment oracles, then the two favored alternatives are (1) a date shortly after 587 B.C. (cf. Lam 4:21f), the detail of 12–14 being seen as immediate recollection; (2) a 5th-century date, as also for Malachi, on the assumption that the pressures of the Nabataeans represent the experienced or future disaster to Edom. Neither proposal is really adequately based on clear historical or archaeological evidence.

In the light of other Edom oracles, as also of Lam 4:21f and Psalm 137, it is possible to read the Edom references, whatever historical attachment may underlie them, as symbolic of the alien outside world upon

which divine judgment ultimately falls and over which in the end-time divine rule is absolutely established. The same themes are to be found in many prophetic passages (for example, Isaiah 11; Zachariah 9, 14) and in psalms which see the eventual subjection of all nations to Yahweh and his anointed king (so Psalms 2; 89; 110). The two styles of interpretation are not mutually exclusive, for the hostilities of centuries, still a factor at the end of the biblical period, can underlie the recognition of a more than historical sense to the book. If the antagonism of Judah and Edom has become of largely antiquarian interest, the confidence in the overthrow of the powers of evil and the establishment of royal rule belonging entirely to God is one that has lasting significance. (For other discussions of various issues see Allen *Obadiah* NICOT; Bewer *Obadiah* ICC; Coggins *Obadiah* ITC; Keller *Abdias* CAT; Rudolph *Obadja* KAT; Watts *Obadiah* CBC; and Wolff *Obadja* BKAT.)

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**OBAL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿôbāl* (עוֹבָל)]. Var. EBAL. A son of Joktan and hence the name of a South Arabian tribe (Gen 10:28; 1 Chr 1:22), which, however, hitherto could neither be identified nor localized in a satisfactory way. The forms of the name with an initial *e-* vocalization (e.g., 1 Chr 1:22, RSV Ebal; Samaritan *Ībal;* LXX *Geibal, Gabal*) might have resulted from an assimilation to *ʿêbāl,* which is attested as the name of an Edomite (Gen 36:23; 1 Chr 1:40) and as the name of a mountain near Shechem (Deut 11:29, etc.). The Greek forms with *g* at the beginning of the word could point to a South Arabic *ġbl;* there is, however, no evidence of such a root.

Glaser (1890: 427) considered whether *ʿôbāl* is to be identified with Yemenite *ʿubāl,* a locality on the Wâdī Sihām between Bāğil and Ḥağailah at the border of the Tihāmah toward the highland; if this is correct, one would have to look for *ôbāl* in the middle of the Yemenite coastal plain. At the same time, however, Glaser drew attention to the fact that a form like *ʿĀbil* or *ʿAibal* would better correspond to the biblical name. A clan or tribal group *(bnw) ʿblm* is attested several times in the Sabaean inscriptions, especially in votive texts from Mārib. Most of the inscriptions in which the *(bnw) ʿblm* are mentioned, however, do not give a hint at the provenance of their donors; some, however, indicate that we obviously have to deal with two different groups. The dedicators of the inscription Ja 558 belong to the tribe of Faišān which settled around Mārib, and RES 4387 is the epitaph on a tombstone from Mārib mentioning names of members of the clan *ʿblm.* On the other hand, the *bnw ʿblm* of Ja 621 are designated as *ʾʾḏnn,* i.e., as belonging to the tribe of Maʾḏin, the territory of which extended in the area NW of Ṣanʿāʾ. The *bny ʿblm* of Ja 585, which are counted among the tribe of Ghaimān, were most probably resident in the same region. The donor of the inscription RES 4143, who is identical with the donor of the text Ja 635 and who also belongs to the *ʿblm,* is supposed to have come from the same district, not far from Ṣanʿāʾ (cf. Ryckmans 1981: 286). This distinction into two different groups is also supported by the South Arabian tradition. Al-Hamdānī (1966: 106–8, 109) clearly distinguishes between the *Ḏū ʿIbl* as a clan of Mārib and the tribe *Ḏū ʿĀbil bin Ḏī Aqyān bin Saba*ʾ, which is itself divided into four branches. Wâdī Ḍahr and the places Kaukabān and Ṯulā are mentioned as the settlement area of the Āl Ḏī Aqyān, and the town of Šibām below the mountain-fortress of Kaukabān is distinguished from the other Yemenite localities of the same name as Šibām Aqyān (Al-Hamdānī 1884: 72). Since an equation of Hebrew *ʿôbāl* with S Arabic *ʿĀbil* is worth being advocated, it is quite possible that the biblical name refers to that Sabaean tribal group of the *(bnw) ʿblm* whose ancient settlement area was likely located in the Yemenite highland approximately between Ṣanʿāʾ and Šibām Aqyān or Šibām respectively (ca. 45 km NW of Ṣanʿāʾ). Inscriptions which have been found there enable us to retrace the history of this region to the early time of the Sabaean realm.

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**OBED** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿôbēd* (עוֹבֵד)]. Var. EBED. **1.** The son of Ruth and Boaz, the grandfather of King David, ancestor of Jesus Christ (Ruth 4:13, 17, 22; 1 Chr 2:12; Matt 1:5; Luke 3:32). Obed was the son of the Moabite Ruth who had returned with her mother-in-law Naomi to Bethlehem where she married Boaz, a relative of Ruth's deceased husband, Mahlon. See RUTH, BOOK OF; NAOMI. By extension of the Israelite custom of kinship marriage (Deut 25:5–10), Boaz fathered Obed, but he did so in the name of Mahlon. While the narrative indicates that Obed is the son of Mahlon, the genealogy gives the actual lineage of Obed by Boaz. Since the child is Ruth's (4:15) and Naomi's (4:17), the story depicts Obed as heir to Boaz, Mahlon, and Elimelech (Ruth 4:9–10).

The historicity of Obed's kinship to the royal house, however, is often debated. Related to this problem is the legitimacy of the name Obed. The naming of Obed by the women of the city differs from the expected formula for naming a child (4:17). Where the name "Obed" should occur in the formula, only the word *šēm* ("name") appears and there is no connection between the meaning of "Obed" ("worshipper") and the women's explanation: "A son has been born to Naomi." The reconstructed name *ben nōʿam* ("son of pleasantness") therefore has been suggested for the original name; the lost name has been supplanted by "Obed" in order to tie the narrative to David's genealogy (Eissfeldt 1965: 479). This opinion no longer dominates, however (Sasson 1979: 175). The name Obed is a vocalized participle and derived from *ʿbd,* meaning "worshipper." It may be a shortened form of "Obadiah" *(ʿōbadyâ).*

**2.** Son of Ephlal, descended from Jerahmeel who was the firstborn of Hezron (1 Chr 2:37–38).

**3.** One of David's "mighty men" (1 Chr 11:47). Obed is among those names added by the Chronicler which are absent in the parallel account of 2 Samuel (*Chronicles* NCBC, 103–4).

**4.** Son of Shemaiah, a member of the Korahite division of gatekeepers. The four sons of Shemaiah are reported to be leaders as a result of their exceptional ability (1 Chr 26:6–7).

**5.** Father of the military commander Azariah, who assisted the priest Jehoiada in executing Queen Athaliah and establishing the legitimate rule of King Joash (2 Chr 23:1, 14–15).

**6.** One of the men who returned with Ezra from Babylon, the son of Jonathan and descendant of Addin (1 Esdr 8:32). In the parallel account of Ezra, the variant name "Ebed" is given (Ezra 8:6).

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**OBED-EDOM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿōbēd-ʾĕdôm* (עֹבֵד־אֱדֹם)]. Four individuals in the OT bear this non-Yahwistic name meaning "Servant of (the god) Edom" (cf. the Phoen personal name *ʿbdʾdm*). According to Albright (*YGC,* 140 and n. 76), the theophoric element (*ʾĕdōm/ʾādōm?)* names the consort of Resheph, an Underworld deity known from Egypt and Canaan.

**1.** The "Gittite" (i.e., one from Gath) at whose house David stored the ark of God when the sudden death of Uzzah halted the procession to bring it from Baale-judah (2 Sam 6:2 = Kiriath-jearim, 1 Chr 13:6) to the City of David (2 Sam 6:1–11 = 1 Chr 13:1–14). His name and origins in Gath may well place him among Philistine expatriates loyal to David (2 Sam 15:18–22; 18:2), thus explaining the king's willingness to leave the ark with a foreigner, apparently now a convert to Yahweh (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 170). Yahweh blessed Obed-edom and his household because of the ark, prompting David to bring the ark on into the city (2 Sam 6:11–12 = 1 Chr 13:14; cf. 15:25).

**2.** Son of Jeduthun, named primarily as a gatekeeper (1 Chr 15:18, 24; 16:38) and perhaps performing special service related to the ark (15:24). In the celebration accompanying the ark into the city, he

functioned as a musician, appointed by David to lead as one of the lyre players (15:21) and after that to minister with harp and lyre before the ark, along with his 68 brothers (16:5, 38).

**3.** Son of Korah through Kore (1 Chr 26:1, 19). Obed-edom and his sixty-two descendants, including eight sons, served at the S gate of the temple precinct and the storehouses related to it (26:4–8, 15). The size (26:8; cf. 16:38) and fitness (26:6, 8) of the family for temple service are stressed by the Chronicler.

**4.** Levitical custodian of temple treasures at the time Joash, king of Israel, sacked Jerusalem following his defeat of Amaziah of Judah (2 Chr 25:24). He presumably served in the gatekeeper tradition of his clan (cf. 1 Chr 26:4–8, 15; and #3 above). Whether Obed-edom was taken captive (LXX, Vg) or (more likely) is simply named keeper of the vessels and precious metals lost to Joash is not clear from the MT. The 2 Kgs 14:14 parallel does not mention him.

The precise relationship between these four remains unclear due to the nature of the Chronicler's work where one or more families of temple servants claiming ties to the Philistine caretaker of the ark are given levitical ancestry.

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DAVID L. THOMPSON

**OBELISK.** See MASSEBAH.

**OBIL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿôbîl* (אוֹבִיל)]. A state official; an Ishmaelite. One of twelve stewards of royal property appointed by David, his specific charge was to oversee the camels (1 Chr 27:30). Of the twelve, he is one of seven identified with a gentilic rather than by paternity, a feature which may underscore his non-Israelite background. Some have argued for the antiquity of the list because of the inclusion of an Ishmaelite; others that it is artificial (and perhaps late) because "Obil" means "camel driver" (see Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 263).

RICHARD W. NYSSE

**OBLATION** [Heb *minḥâ* (מִנְחָה)]. "Oblation" is the word the RSV uses to translate *minḥâ* in 1 Kgs 18:29 and 18:36. *Minḥâ* can refer either to sacrifices in general or to grain offerings specifically. In 1 Kings, it indicates the evening offering, which was one of two daily sacrifices performed in the tabernacle and in the temple. According to Exod 29:39, this offering takes place "between the evenings" *(bên hāʿarĕbāyim)*, that is, after sundown but before all the sun's light has left the sky. Josephus, by contrast, states that the evening offering occurs at the ninth hour, which is about three o'clock in the afternoon (*Ant* 14.4.3). This regular evening sacrifice, as well as the morning one, is described in Exod 29:38–46 and Num 28:1–8 (where the two sacrifices are referred to as *qorbān*). In both offerings, the priests slaughter an unblemished lamb as a burnt offering accompanied by a cereal offering of flour and oil and a drink offering.

PAUL V. M. FLESHER

**OBODA** (M.R. 128022). A town in the Negeb which was named after a Nabatean king who reigned 30–9 B.C.E.

**A. History of Research**

U. J. Seetzen passed by Abdeh in 1807 and recognized the preservation of the ancient name of the site. H. Palmer in 1870 drew the first schematic plan of the site, and A. Musil drew a more detailed plan in 1902, recognizing and noting a number of significant features. These investigations were followed by those of A. Jaussen, R. Savignac, and H. L. Vincent in 1904; C. L. Woolley and T. E. Lawrence in 1914; and the German work of T. Wiegand in the same period. The Colt Expedition of 1937 located a building which apparently was a caravansary on the SW end of the plateau. Full-scale excavations at Oboda were conducted by M. Avi-Yonah (1958), A. Negev (1959–61), and A. Negev in collaboration with R. Cohen (1975–77). These investigations have clarified the occupation of the site into the following periods: Early Nabatean (4th–early 1st centuries B.C.E.); Middle Nabatean (30/25 B.C.E.–50/70 C.E.); Late Nabatean (ca.

70–150 C.E.), and Post-Nabatean, including the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. See also NABATEANS.

**B. History**

Oboda, whose name is preserved in the Arabic form, Abda, is named after the Nabatean king Obodas (apparently the second king by this name), who, according to Stephanus Byzantinus (482.15–16), was buried at the site after his deification. A recently discovered Nabatean inscription and numerous Greek inscriptions in the ruins of the temple at Oboda testify to the persistence of the cult into the 2d and 3d centuries C.E. Ptolemy (Geog. 5.17.4) lists Eboda (= Oboda) among the cities of Arabia Petraea. It is known as Oboda on the Peutinger map along the main road from Aila to Jerusalem. Although the city prospered in the Late Roman and Byzantine periods, it is never mentioned again in historic sources.

The earliest traces of settlement, coins and Hellenistic pottery, are from the late 4th century B.C.E. The wide distribution of the mints from which these coins originate hint of the role of Oboda, with Nessana and Elusa, as a major caravan stop on the network of the international spice trade. No building remains of this period have been found, and it seems that the nomadic Nabateans conducted their trade from tent encampments. The conquest of Gaza by Alexander Jannaeus (ca. 100 B.C.E.) apparently precipitated a brief decline of Oboda. At the beginning of the reign of Obodas II, however, the Nabateans resumed control of the Negeb, establishing at Oboda a major caravan stop. A magnificent temple was built on the W part of the plateau, rising 619 m above sea level. At the N end of the plateau was a military camp, accommodating up to 2,000 soldiers and their camels. The S part of the site was allotted to breeding stock. No private buildings have been discovered for this period and it seems that the civilian population still lived in tents. This period of prosperity encompasses the entire reign of Aretas IV (9 B.C.E.–40 C.E.). By the middle of the 1st century C.E., at the beginning of the reign of Malichus II (40–70 C.E.), Oboda was sacked by Arab tribes who wreaked havoc in all of the Nabatean kingdom, which resulted in the cessation of Nabatean rule at Oboda until ca. 70 C.E., when Rabel II ("He Who Brought Life and Deliverance to His People") ascended the throne. The Nabateans lost their supremacy in commercial trade and turned to agriculture. This transition is attested at Oboda by dedicatory inscriptions on agricultural installations. Rabel's death and the annexation of the Nabatean kingdom to Provincia Arabia had little adverse effect on Oboda, but the building activities that had begun in the 80s of the 1st century continued until ca. 125 C.E. Activities for the remainder of the 2d and 3d centuries can be traced by numismatic evidence. The town extended along part of the W slope of the hill, and in the beginning of the 3d century a new residential quarter was established on the S part of the plateau, with a contemporary cemetery on the W slope. The old Nabatean temple was renovated on the acropolis and dedicated to Aphrodite and to Zeus Oboda, thus perpetuating Oboda's cult. Although the ones dedicating the temple were all of Nabatean descent, the old Aramaic-Nabatean language yielded to Greek, which was the language of the numerous dedications.

With the advent of Diocletian and Constantine, major changes occurred in the E. Some Late Nabatean houses and the old military camp, which had been abandoned since ca. 50 C.E., were plundered for stone to construct a smaller citadel on the E half of the acropolis. During the early Byzantine period, Oboda spread along the entire W slope, with isolated farmhouses along the plateau.

From the 4th century C.E., olive oil and wine production were the basis of the economy. On the plateau and along the slopes, five winepresses, an olive oil press, and several wine cellars were built. Working and storage space was found in the excavation of caves in the back of each of the houses. Numerous cisterns were excavated in and around the city and a bath was supplied with water from a 64-m-deep well. Apparently in the second half of the 4th century, the old Nabatean temple was destroyed and its stones used to build the North Church on the acropolis. A century later the South Church and monastery were built bridging both the North Church and the citadel, making a huge complex.

The latest-dated inscription at Oboda is from 612 C.E. Both churches were discovered full of ash and charred beams from the wooden frame of the roof. This destruction is attributed to 636 C.E., when Oboda was stormed by the Islamic raids, which precipitated the desertion of the site.

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AVRAHAM NEGEV

**OBOTH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾōbōt* (אֹבֹת)]. An unidentified stage of the Exodus between Mount Hor and the plains of Moab (Num 21:10, 11; 33:43, 44). The encampment at Oboth immediately preceded the people's rest at Iye-abarim.

Oboth has been identified by some with ʿAin el-Weiba on the W edge of the Wâdī ʿArabah, almost 18 miles due W of Feinân (e.g., *GP*, 400–1). Feinân is generally identified with Punon, the encampment preceding Oboth (Num 33:43). See PUNON. However, though ʿAin el-Weiba would be a suitable camping ground, its location produces an inexplicable detour to the W given the general NE direction the Israelites were traveling toward the Transjordanian mountains. Hence other suggestions for Oboth have been offered, including an unspecified location N of Feinân (e.g. Davies 1979: 90) and a position N of Bozrah (*MBA*, 42). The location of Oboth depends largely upon one's reconstruction of the route of the Exodus.

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**OBSCENE LANGUAGE.** See BIBLE, EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE.

**OCHIEL** (PERSON) [Gk *Ochiēlos* (Ὀχιηλος)]. See JEIEL.

**OCHRAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿokrān* (עָכְרָן).]The father of the chief (*nāśîʾ*, Num 2:27) Pagiel of the tribe of Asher. Each of the five times that Ochran is mentioned in the OT occurs in a tribal list where his mark of distinction is his status as the father of Pagiel. Under the leadership of Ochran's son Pagiel, the tribe of Asher participated in the census of Israelite fighting men carried out by Moses (Num 1:13, 40–41), presented its offerings on the eleventh day of the twelve-day celebration of the dedication of the altar (Num 7:72, 77), took its proper place on the N side of the tabernacle in the Israelite camp (Num 2:27), and assumed its position in the order of march at the Israelites' departure from Mount Sinai (Num 10:26). The name Ochran seems to mean "the perplexed or afflicted one" (*IPN*, 253).
DALRVILLE

**OCINA** (PLACE) [Gk *Okina* (Ὀκινα)]. A site which is part of a list of towns occurring in the book of Judith (Jdt 2:28). The name Ocina occurs only here in the Bible, where it is part of a list of towns on the seacoast stretching from N to S. It is possible that "Ocina" is a corruption of "Acco," an ancient harbor city N of Mount Carmel. See ACCO (PLACE); PTOLEMAIS (PLACE). This would be the correct geographical location. However, given the genre of the book of Judith, it is also possible that the name is fictitious. See JUDITH, BOOK OF.
SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**OCTOPUS.** See ZOOLOGY.

**ODED** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿōdēd* (עֹדֵד), *ʿôdēd* (עוֹדֵד)]. This name is of uncertain etymology, with BDB (pp. 728–29) deriving it from *ʿûd*, "prob. return, go about, repeat, do again," and KB translating it as *"Orakeldeuter"* (752; cf. also the discussion in Willi 1972: 221–22). There is probably some connection with the name Iddo (*ʿiddô, ʿiddō, ʿiddô*).

**1.** The first person in the Bible mentioned as having this "name" was an individual in the early 9th or very late 10th century said to be *ʿăzaryāhû ben-ʿōdēd,* a prophet in Judah who preached a word of encouragement to King Asa (2 Chr 15:1). Strangely enough, in 15:8 the prophecy is said to have been given by "Oded the Prophet" (*ʿōdēd hannābîʾ*). The RSV restores "Azariah the son of Oded," a reading at least as old as the Syr Peshitta and some manuscripts of the LXX (specifically the Lucianic recension). Perhaps a clue can be found in the Old Aram inscription of Zakkur, beginning with line 11 (obverse), where we are told by Zakkur, "I lifted up my hands to Baalshamayin and Baalshamayin answered me and Baalshamayin spoke to me through (lit. "by the hand of") seers and prophets (*ʿddn*)" (my translation). Since (*ʿddn*) clearly has the sense of "prophet" in this passage (*DISO*, 204; Degen 1969: 47, 52; Segert 1986: 545; cf. also *ʿdd*—"herald" in Ugaritic, II AB vii, 46 [Gibson 1965: 65]), it is quite likely that *ben-ʿōdēd* referred to a prophetic class in 15:1 (or even a prophetic disciple—cf. the discussion with regard to Amos 7:14 in Wolff *Joel and Amos* Hermeneia, 312–14). Since the term was a rare one for a prophet, *hannābîʾ* was then appended to *ʿōdēd* in 15:8 as an attempt to clarify for the reader the meaning of the term. The term *ʿōdēd* was then later misread as a personal name, resulting in the confusion witnessed by the versions (for a similar explanation, cf. the discussion in Montgomery 1909: 68–69).

**2.** This individual was also a prophet (!), this time from late-8th-century Samaria, who rebuked Israel for taking 200,000 Judeans captive (2 Chr 28:9). Several Ephraimite tribal leaders joined him and succeeded in dissuading the Israelites to let the Judeans go free, which they did after feeding and clothing them (2 Chr 28:10–15).

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H. ELDON CLEM

**ODOMERA** (PERSON) [Gk *Odomēra* (Ὀδομηρα)]. According to 1 Macc 9:66, Jewish forces under Jonathan the Hasmonean killed Odomera and his brothers along with the sons of Pharison near Bethbasi south of Jerusalem (ca. 160 B.C.E.). Odomera and his brothers were probably a bedouin tribe allied with the Syrian forces under Bacchides. A variant reading, however, would indicate that Jonathan did not slay (Gk *epataxen*) Odomera and his brothers but, rather, commanded or summoned them (Gk *epetaxen* in Codex Venetus and 340). Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 395) prefers the variant reading, noting its common use in 1 Maccabees. For Goldstein, Jonathan would hardly have slipped out of Bethbasi under Seleucid siege to attack a group of bedouin but would have done so to enlist aid in defeating the Syrian army. Josephus indicates that Jonathan did seek aid to defeat Bacchides, in an account which parallels 1 Maccabees 9 (*Ant* 13.1.5 §28). However, the Josephan account appears to be based on a different tradition in that Jonathan slips out of Bethalaga and not Bethbasi (*Ant* 13.1.5 §26). Zeitlin (1950: 166, n. 66) demurs from using Josephus to argue that these bedouin were allied with the Jews by noting that according to Josippon, who made use of the Hebrew text (unlike Josephus, who probably read the Greek), Jonathan does indeed kill these bedouin allies of Bacchides.

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**ODOR** [Heb *rêaḥ* (רֵיחַ); Gk *osmē* (ὀσμη)]. In the OT odor is not directly related to texts dealing with perfume, except for Cant. 1:3 and Jer 25:10 (LXX), "myrrh," or for Cant. 1:12, "nard." Odor can be that left by the smell of garments (Gen 27:27) or of fire (Dan 3:27). Most often found is the reference to "a pleasing odor," found 40 times between Gen 8:21 and Num 29:26. Lev 1:3–17 gives the following definition: "it is a burnt offering, an offering by fire upon the altar, a pleasing odor to the Lord." Such a rite is found in the Babylonian narratives that relate to thanksgiving for being rescued from the Flood.

God is favorably inclined by the pleasing odor offered by the worshipper; he "acknowledges with his nose," wherewith the breath of life is to be found (Gen 7:22), that odor which restores life. In the biblical Flood Narrative, it is Noah who first presented such an offering: the Lord smelled the pleasing odor and blessed Noah after the Flood (Gen 8:20–22). The Noachian tradition is often referred to during the rite of the burnt offering to the Lord. The only exception is Lev 4:31, which refers to the offering for sin, since in that rite only certain parts are burned, which are never elsewhere termed as producing "a pleasing odor." Another exception is to be found in Ezek 6:13; 16:19; 20:28, which concern idols instead of the Lord.

Odors that conform to divine prescription are efficacious, as in Tob 8:3 where the demon Asmodeus flees from the smell of fish. When angered by his unworthy people, the Lord will not smell the pleasing odors (Lev 26:31). Thus, odors can apparently be tokens of both approval and disapproval.

When quoting LXX, *osmē euôdias* is the translation of *rēaḥ nîḥōaḥ,* and a metaphoric sense of "a pleasing odor" can be discerned (Sir 39:14). The same was asserted about prayer in the Qumran community (1QS 8:9) and later, in the apostolic period, about the praise of the creator (*Ep Barn* 2:10).

The NT usage is exclusively metaphoric. Paul calls the Philippians' offering a pleasing odor, a sacrifice acceptable and pleasing to God (Phil 4:18); the author of Ephesians exhorts his readers to "walk in love, as Christ loved us and gave himself up for us, a pleasing odor and sacrifice to God" (Eph 5:2).

Paul discusses the apostolic ministry of the new covenant in which Christ through the apostle "spreads the fragrance of the knowledge of him everywhere" (2 Cor 2:14–16). This passage expresses a universal apostolate where Paul, Timothy, and Silvanus are a pleasing odor of Christ to God, among those who are being saved and among those who are perishing. This "pleasing odor of Christ" (2 Cor 2:15) is among all people but in a somewhat different fashion. In the Greek text both participles are present tense, "those who *are proceeding* toward perdition and those who *are* by now *proceeding* toward salvation" (2 Cor 2:15). Thus Christ's life is actually the living, present "life of Christ" inspired and conveyed by faith. The "pleasing odor of Christ" is believed to draw to life those who are perishing. Thus God makes use of Paul's apostolic ministry and the work of all Christians in order that Christ may be known by all.

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MAURICE CARREZ

**OFFERINGS.** See SACRIFICE AND SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS.

**OFFSET** [Heb *migrāʿâ* (מִגְרָעָה)]. Rebatements in the construction of the wall of the temple so that the side chambers could be constructed without actually being attached to the temple (1 Kgs 6:6; cf. Ezek 41:6–7). The distinction of the temple as a separate sacred space is thus preserved. "Offset" is from a root *(grʿ)* meaning "to diminish," and it probably refers to a ledge in the wall created by a reduction in its width at a given point. The second tier of side chambers was thus wider (6 cubits) than the bottom tier (5 cubits); and the uppermost wall was wider still (7 cubits). See also TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

CAROL MEYERS

**OG** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿôg* (עוֹג)]. King of the land of Bashan in Transjordan (Num 21:33–35). He was defeated and killed by the Israelites as they passed through his territory on the way to the promised land. Og's kingdom is portrayed as a settled region; sixty cities are mentioned in the narrative of the conquest of the area (Deut 3:1–10). Og is also connected with two major cities in the region which are assumed to have been his capitals: Edrei and Ashtaroth (Josh 12:4). After the region had been conquered, the territory of Og was given to the half tribe of Manasseh, which chose to remain east of the Jordan (Josh 13:29–30).

An additional note about Og is found in Deut 3:11, where he is said to be the last survivor of the REPHAIM, a putative race of giants mentioned occasionally in the Hebrew Bible and presumed to have inhabited Canaan in pre-Israelite times (Deut 2:20). The great size of Og was confirmed by a reference to

his “iron bedstead” still on display at Rabbah (Deut 3:11). This bedstead was some 6 feet (4 cubits) wide and 131/2 feet (9 cubits) long. The Hebrew words translated “bedstead” and “iron” have been much discussed in the secondary literature. The translation “bedstead” is from the Hebrew ʿ*ereś,* which is usually understood as “couch” or “bed.” In Deut 3:11, some take it as a last resting place and so a tomb or sarcophagus (Mayes 1979: 144). In connection with this reference to a sarcophagus, the term *barzel* is understood as “basalt,” a dense black stone commonly used in the region (Driver *Deuteronomy* ICC, 54).

The importance of the defeat of Og in Israel’s memory is demonstrated by the continued references to the event in various parts of the Hebrew Bible. The Pentateuch refers to the victory over Og in both Numbers and Deuteronomy (Num 21:33; 32:33; Deut 1:4; 3:1–13; 4:47; 29:6—Eng29:7; 31:4). The Deuteronomistic History picks up this event in Joshua and in 1 Kings (Josh 2:10; 9:10; 12:4; 13:12, 30–31; 1 Kgs 4:19). The summary of Israel’s history in Nehemiah 9 includes this event in 9:22. There are also references to Og in Psalms 135:11 and 136:20.

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PHILLIP E. MCMILLION

**OHAD** (PERSON) [Heb ʾ*ohad* (אָהַד)]. He was the third of the six sons of Simeon (Gen 46:10; Exod 6:15). Ohad was the grandson of Jacob and Leah, and his name is mentioned in the genealogical list of the people who descended with Jacob to Egypt at the invitation of Joseph at the time of a severe famine in the land of Canaan (Gen 46:8–27). Ohad’s name does not appear in the parallel genealogical lists of the descendants of Simeon in Num 26:12 and 1 Chr 4:24. Cheyne (*EncBib,* 3460) explained this omission by saying that the name Ohad comes from a dittography of “Zohar,” Simeon’s fifth son. Keil (1951: 372) explained the omission of Ohad’s name in the parallel genealogical lists by saying that Ohad either died without fathering children or did not leave a sufficient number of children to form an independent clan.

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CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

**OHEL** (PERSON) [Heb ʾ*ōhel* (אֹהֶל)]. The fifth child of Zerubbabel. Ohel is listed second in 1 Chr 3:20, which records a second distinct list of Zerubbabel’s children. It has been suggested that these names were grouped separately because they were born after the return to Palestine. It seems unlikely that these names represent the offspring of Meshallum as was previously suggested (Albright 1921: 10; Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 57).

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RUSSELL FULLER

**OHOLIAB** (PERSON) [Heb ʾ*ohŏlîʾāb* (אָהֳלִיאָב)]. Ahisamach’s son, from the tribe of Dan, and Bezalel’s cocraftsman in the tabernacle construction (Exod 38:23—LXX 37:21). Oholiab possessed the necessary skills—traceable to divine inspiration—for fashioning several individual items in accordance with the instructions he received from Moses (31:6). He and Bezalel also taught their special skills to a great host of manual laborers engaged in the work on the tabernacle (35:30–36:7). Yet the two were not architects. When it came to assembling the parts into an integrated whole, not they but Moses personally performed the task (40:1–33). The name Oholiab is unusual but not necessarily an artificial construction since there is evidence of its elements in W Semitic nomenclature. Noth (*IPN,* 158–59), who compares the form with Phoenician ʾ*hlbʿl* and ʾ*hlmlk* and with Sabaean ʾ*hlʾl,* considers it a nominal sentence name, and translates it as “father is a tent (i.e., shelter)” rather than either “family of father” or “tent of father.” The name is archaic, not containing the new title YHWH in the function of a formative element. Cole (*Exodus* TOTC, 209) sees no reason to consider it an ungenuine insertion. He adds that it is datable at the latest to the time of the Davidic tent (1 Chr 15:1), since Solomon’s artificer had a different name (1 Kgs

7:13). One may therefore accept the possibility that behind the names of both Oholiab and Bezalel, and even behind their assignment to certain Israelite tribes, there stand the historical figures of craftsmen who were at one time involved in the furnishing of the sanctuary (Noth, *Exodus* OTL, 240). Clements (*Exodus* CBC, 199), however, denies an extraordinary instance of survival of tradition and thinks they simply represented famous family guilds of craftsmen well known in ancient Israel—families who were expert in woodcraft and metalcraft and who were employed in making and furnishing the temple.
EDWIN C. HOSTETTER

**OHOLIBAMAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾoholîbāmâ* (אָהֳלִיבָמָה)]. The daughter of Anah, son of Zibon the Horite, and the second wife of Esau (Gen 36:2, 14, 18, 25). Oholibamah was also the mother of Jeush, Jalam, and Korah (vv 5, 14, 18). As such, she (along with Adah and Basemath) was considered one of the Edomite tribal mothers. Originally she probably belonged to the Horitic-Seiritic tribal system. Later (as Esau's wife) she and her three sons were genealogically integrated into the Esauite-Edomite tribal system. Furthermore, she was regarded as her own tribe on the basis of the addendum in Gen 36:40–43, a list of Edomite "tribal leaders" (Heb *ʾallūpîm*) that probably ought to be attributed to the Priestly source (cf. also 1 Chr 1:51b–54, which is a shortened version of that addendum). The meaning of the name is unclear. Perhaps it can be understood as "my (god's) tent (protection, refuge) is with them (*ʾōhel* plus preposition *bĕ-* and 3d person plural suffix?)" or as "my tent (protection) is (divine name)." Another possible meaning could be derived from Arabic *ʾhl,* "people, clan," and mean "people/clan of (a certain) god."
ULRICH HÜBNER

**OLD AGE.** Aging in the Bible represents a welcomed pilgrimage through the transitions of life. Old age enjoys its own vocabulary and high regard (Lev 19:32). Nevertheless, like other stages of life, it brings mixed blessings.

**A. Old Age as Physical Traits**

Languages throughout the ANE use "white hair" (wool) to refer to one of optimum age and wisdom. White hair is the primary trait of old age. Akkadian *ši-pa-tu* (wool, gray hair) and *ši-bu* describe those who are old, older, or very old (*AHW* 3: 1228, 1244). Hebrew uses *sêbâ,* "gray head," as a synonym for old age (*BDB*, 966; Gen 15:15; 25:8; Judg 8:32; 1 Chr 29:28). A similar image appears in biblical Aramaic describing the "ancient of days" who sits enthroned with hair like "lamb's wool," *ʿămar nĕqēʾ* (Dan 7:9; Sokoloff 1976).

A second word, "elder," *zāqēn* (Hebrew), and its equivalents *šibtum* (Akkadian), *senator* (Latin), *gerōn* (Greek), and *sheikh* (Arabic), designate both people of advanced age and people of a distinct social grade. Hebrew derives the word from *zaqan,* one who wears a beard, i.e., a fully accredited adult. Though the term defines any person past puberty, it also designates a clan leader, a local official, and an old person. (For discussions of the elders as a distinct social grade or position, see Bornkamm *TDNT* 4:651–83; Harvey 1974). The feminine form also describes older women (*zĕqēnôt,* Zech 8:4) and old age in general (*ziqnâ,* Gen 24:36). Aged, decrepit persons are designated by a parallel term, *yases* (2 Chr 36:17), and its derivative for the venerable aged, *yasis* (Job 15:10; 32:6; 12:12; 29:8).

**B. Old Age as Advanced Years**

The Bible also indicates aging by referring to a chronological age. Some texts record a life span in years. Others use idioms to describe longevity as "full of days" or "advanced in years": *ʾōrek yāmîm* ("length of days"); *yāmîm rabbîm* ("many days"); *śĕbaʿ yāmîm* ("sated with days"); *mĕlēʾ yāmîm* ("full of days"); *bāʾ bayyāmîm* ("advanced in years"); and *śêbâ ṭôbâ* ("a ripe old age"). Verbal forms include *haʾărēk yāmîm* ("to lengthen days"); *harbôt yāmîm* ("to increase days"); and *hôsēp yāmîm* ("to add days"). The expression *ʾrkymm (ʾōrek yāmîm*) was discovered in a Hebrew inscription at Kuntillet Ajrud dating from the late 9th to the early 8th century B.C.E. Other counterparts of the above phrases have been found in West Semitic languages and in Akkadian (Malamat 1982: 215).

Long life in ancient literatures represents an exceptional achievement. Advanced years indicate importance (Gen 5:1–32) and divine favor. The Bible mentions that Abraham (Gen 25:8), Gideon (Judg

8:33), and David (1 Chr 29:28) lived to a "good (ripe) old age" (*śêbâ ṭôbâ*). They died prosperous, of natural causes, and were buried in their family tomb, obviously blessed by God (Gen 15:15). The Bible notes one exception: it explains how Enoch walked with God and yet lived only a relatively short time: "God took him" (Gen 5:22–24).

The Bible glorifies some of its heroes by describing their longevity. For example, a Deuteronomic summary praises the good health of Moses at his death (Deut 34:7), and Caleb brags on his extra vigor at 85 years of age (Josh 14:10–11).

A study of fourteen kings from the dynasty of David presents a clearer picture of the average life span during the royal eras of Israel, 926–597 B.C.E. (Wolff 1974: 119–23; *PI* 2: 46). Omitting Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah, the age at death of the remaining kings varies between 66 (Manasseh) and 21 (Ahaziah), the average being 44. Premature and unnatural causes of death such as assassination may account for some of these deaths. Nevertheless, in spite of superior diet and medical care, monarchs in stable Judah during this period did not live 70 or 80 years (contra Ps 90:10). Outside of stories about the patriarchs in Genesis, only Moses (120 years), Joshua (110), Job (140), and the high priest Jehoiada (130, 2 Chr 24:15) are said to surpass 100. One passage suggests that only in the eschatological kingdom would people regularly attain 100 years (Isa 65:20). Generally, transitions to old age began earlier than age 65 (see Harris 1987: 11–17).

**C. Old Age as the Final Transition**

**1. Stages of Life.** The Bible also describes the aging experience as a sequence of the seasons of life. Such seasons indicate common transitions: childhood, youth, maturity, and elderliness. Akkadian uses a number of words to describe the various age groups: 40 years *(la-lu-tu),* "prime of life" (CAD 9: 52); 50 years *(umu-ar-ku-tu),* "short life"; 60 years *(si-pa-tu),* "wool"; 80 years *(si-bu-tu),* "old age"; and 90 years *(lit-tu-tu),* "extreme old age" (CAD 9: 220–21).

Life also is pictured as four seasons (childhood, youth, young marrieds, the elderly; Jer 51:22), or as five stages (small child, youth [maturity begins at age thirteen, Gen 17:25], adult men and women, the elderly *(zāqēn),* and the aged *(mĕlē᾽ yāmîm)*; Jer 6:11). The Bible also defines a maximum life span as the fourth generation of a family, equating it with the life span of 70–80 years mentioned in Ps 90:10 (Malamat 1982: 216–18). Though the fourth-generation position may be an important one, few elderly in fact lived to enjoy it.

**2. Adult Responsibilities and Retirement.** Life's transitions indicate changes in the work and role patterns of individuals. Twenty-year-old males are considered responsible adults (Num 14:29; 32:11) and liable to enter military service (Num 1:3, 18; 26:2) and to pay taxes (Exod 30:14). According to Num 4:3, the Kohathite branch of Levites were to serve as priests between the ages of 30 and 50. Other texts suggest that (other?) Levites could begin their service as early as age 25 (Num 8:24) or even 20 (1 Chr 23:24). Regardless, Levites would retire at age 50 to assist younger priests (Num 8:24–26). Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist, and also of the priestly division of Abiathar (Luke 1:5; 1 Chronicles 24, esp. v 10) considered his wife and himself "old," yet that did not preclude him from serving in the temple (Luke 1:18–25). Nevertheless, priests at age 50 entered some form of retirement, a common transition of old age.

Life transitions began somewhat earlier in agricultural occupations, The toil was so difficult that parents retired from active farming as soon as children were old enough to work the field. Then they would train their grandchildren and advise the younger generation. A father or mother might also serve as an elder or judge for the clan, the community (wise woman at Abel, 2 Sam 20:14–20), and in some cases a tribe or nation (Deborah, Judg 4:4–5; wise woman of Tekoa, 2 Sam 14:1–7).

A price list associated with payments of vows (Lev 27:1–8) provides values for men and women at different stages of life. Such evaluations apparently estimate the worth of a person's work capacity adjusted to represent the cost of a slave at various times in life (Wenham 1978). These values (calculated in shekels of silver) are as follows:

| | Male | Female |
|---|---|---|

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 mo.–5 yrs. old | 5 | 3 |
| 5–20 yrs. old | 20 | 10 |
| 20–60 yrs. old | 50 | 30 |
| Over 60 yrs. old | 15 | 10 |

The peak value for a male (20–60 yrs.) may indicate that period when he could be conscripted for military service as given in census instructions (Num 1:3, 20, 22; 26:2, 4; 2 Chr 25:5). After age 60 a female does not decrease in value as much as a male. The comparative worth of an older woman changes from the earlier 3/5 ratio to that of 2/3, perhaps indicating that elderly women lived healthier and more active lives than elderly men. A drop in value of both genders at age 60 suggests that both had retired by then.

**D. Old Age as Debilitation and Loss**

The Bible also mentions the debilitating losses which accompany old age. A key transition for the woman comes at menopause, when she loses the ability to give birth to children. When a woman can no longer give birth (Gen 18:11; Ruth 1:12; Luke 1:18, 36) or when a man is unable to sire a child for his wife (Gen 18:12), the Bible considers that a sign of advanced age. Failing health (e.g., loss of hearing, sight, or normal vigor) also indicates old age (Gen 27:1–2; 1 Kgs 1:1–4).

To some degree old age brought a loss of income as well as significance. Women especially experienced this dilemma. A widow in the Bible represents the most traumatic example of one who is helpless and yet worthy of support from the community. Without a kinsman-redeemer, or sympathy from a godly leader, or miraculous aid from God, widows possessed little hope (1 Kgs 17:9–24; 2 Kgs 4:1–7). Consequently, the "reproach of widowhood" remained synonymous with suffering and loss (Isa 54:4; Lam 1:1; 5:3–4; Rev 18:7).

An older widow could experience deep bitterness and depression because of her severe losses and inability to recover from them, as in the noteworthy case of Naomi (Ruth 1:20–21). Note also the convincing ruse of the woman of Tekoa (2 Sam 14:1–7). Biblical texts single out older widows as in need of extra help and compassion (1 Tim 5:3–8). Luke–Acts mentions how early Christians organized to care for widows (Acts 6:1–7; 9:39). Jesus praised the widow who gave her remaining money to the temple (Luke 21:1–4), and he showed compassion on a widow whose only son had died (Luke 7:11–16). He angrily denounced those who "devour widows' houses" and then prayed long prayers (Luke 20:47). The epistle of James defines "pure religion" as visiting orphans and widows in their affliction (1:27).

The Bible reveals the God of Israel as the defender of powerless widows (Deut 10:18), commanding the people of the covenant to care for them (Deut 14:29; 24:17, 19–21). Prophets and others condemn violations of these responsibilities (Isa 1:23; 10:2; Mic 2:9; Mal 3:5; Job 22:9; 24:3; 31:16; Ps 94:6).

Aging fathers, likewise, are portrayed as victims in the Bible (often of their children's ambitions). Note how children exploit drunken (old?) fathers in the stories of Noah and Lot. Encouraged by his mother Rebekah, Jacob manipulates his nearly blind father into blessing him instead of his brother Esau (Genesis 27). Absalom temporarily overthrows his aging father David (2 Samuel 15–19). Nathan and Bathsheba exploit David's failing health and memory to establish Solomon as his successor (1 Kings 1).

Prophets condemn disregard for vulnerable parents (Mic 7:6). Intergenerational love remains their ideal (Mal 4:6). The books of Sirach (3:1–16) and Tobit (4:1–4) reinforce these ideals and the benefits of filial support for parents. In the Synoptic Gospels Jesus condemns those who shirk the care of aging parents through a religious vow called "Corban" (Mark 7:5–13). Talmudic rabbis also teach filial reverence and illustrate these laws with examples of obedience (*mora, Qidd.* 31a, 31b, *j.* Pe›a 1:1; 15c).

Aging parents sometimes enter a somewhat dependent and vulnerable stage before death. Qoheleth mentions common debilitating losses of aging in a poem describing death (Eccl 12:1–8). The teacher describes vividly the "coming days of hardship and those years that arrive" as a weakening body which collapses in death. Old age in the Bible signifies more than divine blessing; it also indicates a transition into a weakened social and physical condition which needs respect and protection to compensate for its losses (Prov 19:26; 28:24; Exod 20:12).

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J. GORDON HARRIS

**OLD GATE** (PLACE) [Heb *šaʿar hayšānâ* (שַׁעַר הַיְּשָׁנָה)]. A gate in the outer defensive wall of Jerusalem on the W side of the Temple Mount above the E slope of the Tyropoeon or Central Valley mentioned by Nehemiah (3:6; 12:39) and possibly by Zechariah (14:10).

Because gates are often identified with some geographic location outside a city to which they lead, it would be natural to think of this gate as having received its name from the village of Yešānâ (i.e., "Jeshanah," identified with Khirbet el-Burj or el-Burj Isana [M.R. 174156]), one of a triangle with Ephron [M.R. 178151] and Bethel [M.R. 172148] guarding the Taiyibe ridge and access to the Benjamin plateau (2 Chr 13:19; Neh 11:25–36; 1 Macc 9:15, *Ant* 14.15.12 § 458). Although this strategic control point on the N frontier of Benjamin was militarily and politically more important than many have realized, the definite article before *yĕšānâ* prevents us from considering *šaʿar hayšānâ* a proper name and associating it with the village of Jeshanah. This coupled with the difference in gender between *šaʿar* (masc) and *yešānâ* (fem) leaves two possibilities: (1) the text needs emending to possibly *šaʿar hammišneh* ("the Mishneh Gate"), associating the gate with the Mishneh quarter of Jerusalem that has been located by some in the Tyropoeon or Central Valley to the W of the Temple Mount; or (2) one should supply a feminine noun such as *hāberēkāh* (the pool) or *hāʿîr* (the city) to read *šaʿar hayšānâ hāʿîr*, "the gate of the old city." Additionally, some have wanted to identify this gate with the Gate of Ephraim in order to resolve (unnecessarily) the absence of the Ephraim Gate in Nehemiah's restoration text (3:7, 8) and the deletion of the Old Gate in the LXX procession text (12:39). Many have reviewed the several possibilities (Avi-Yonah 1954: 242–43; Simons 1952: 276–78, 305–6; Vincent and Steve 1954: 240, 243; Williamson 1984: 81–88), yet the enigma of the Old Gate has not been completely resolved. We know from Nehemiah's restoration and procession texts (3:6; 12:39) that this gate was located to the N of the Ephraim Gate and to the S of the Fish Gate along the rather prominent inclined street (1 Chr 26:18) that ran N–S and led from the inner foundation or Sur Gate to the Fish Gate.

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DALE C. LIID

**OLD TESTAMENT QUOTATIONS IN THE NT.** See NEW TESTAMENT, OT QUOTATIONS IN.

**OLIVE OIL.** See PERFUMES AND SPICES.

**OLIVE TREE.** See FLORA.

**OLIVES, MOUNT OF** (PLACE) [Heb *maʿălē hazzêtîm* (מַעֲלֵ֥ה הַזֵּיתִ֖ים)*; har hazzêtîm* (הַר הַזֵּיתִ֖ים)*;* Gk *to oros tōn elaiōn* (το ὀρος των ἐλαιων)*; to oros kaloumenon elaiōn* (το ὀρος καλουμενον ἐλαιων)*; tou elaiōnos* (του ἐλαιωνος)]. A small ridge of three summits, about two miles long, the highest

of which is not quite 3,000 feet above sea level, running N to S across from the Kidron Valley E of Jerusalem and known for its abundance of olive trees.

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A. Description
B. Old Testament and Late Judaism
C. New Testament
D. Shrines on the Mount

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**A. Description**

The Mount of Olives belongs to the Central Mountain Range, the main range of mountains which runs through the central and S portions of Palestine from the N to the S. To the W of Olivet lay the Kidron Valley and the city of Jerusalem. Toward the E lay Jericho, the Jordan Valley, and the Dead Sea. There are several undulations along the two-mile ridge separating several high points. The northernmost summit is the highest, which has been reported to be 2,963 feet above Mediterranean Sea level. This summit has been identified with Nob (Isa 10:32) and Mount Scopus (Josephus *JW* 2.19.4, 7; 5.4.1), but there is no certain evidence for these suggestions. This N peak today is called Ras el-Mesharif.

The center of the Mount of Olives is a bit lower (about 2,700 feet) than its N counterpart. It stands opposite the temple area and is about 100 feet higher than Jerusalem itself. To the S and SE one can see the expansive wilderness of Judea; to the E is a spectacular view of the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea; to the W lies a deeply stirring panorama of the old city of Jerusalem. The S summit, the southernmost part of the ridge, is the smallest of the three. This peak, facing W, overlooks the ancient site of Davidic Jerusalem, just S of the temple area.

The mount itself is composed of cretaceous limestone with a chalklike top layer and was named "Olives" because of its extensive olive groves. The olive tree, one of the hardier trees, was able to thrive in this terrain. Although populous with olive trees, this ancient site was also dotted with pines. The mount, denuded of trees in the time of Titus, contains only a fraction of the tree population it had in ancient times. Today there are major deforested areas and numerous cemeteries. Since Christ often traversed this ridge and spent not a few hours in its groves, there are many commemorative churches honoring this terrain. Some of these sites, however, are questionable.

**B. Old Testament and Late Judaism**

Surprisingly, in spite of the close proximity of the Mount of Olives to Jerusalem, there are only two explicit references to this mount in the OT. The first reference occurs in 2 Sam 15:30. David, fleeing from Jerusalem after his son Absalom led a successful revolt, took the path which led over the crest of the Mount of Olives as he made his way to his temporary exile in the Transjordan: "David went up the ascent of the Mount of Olives, weeping as he went, barefoot and with his head covered." Interestingly, the text recalls that "David came to the summit where God was worshipped" (2 Sam 15:32). Previously, the OT had not mentioned this "place of worship." However, given the inclination of ancient peoples to worship on mountains, it is not impossible that a sanctuary existed here. It is tempting to identify this place of worship with Nob, but this identification is far from certain (cf. 1 Sam 21:1; 22:9–11). The second explicit reference to the Mount is found in Zechariah's description of the Day of Yahweh: "On that day his feet shall stand on the Mount of Olives and it shall be split in two from east to west by a very wide valley; so that one half of the Mount shall withdraw northward, and the other half southward … then the Lord your God will come, and all the holy ones with him" (14:4–5).

Besides these two explicit references there are several probable implicit references. In 1 Kgs 11:7–8 mention is made of high places built by Solomon for all his foreign wives to worship the Moabite god Chemosh and the Ammonite god Molech. These places of worship, the text says, "were east of Jerusalem, to south of the Mount of Corruption" (2 Kgs 23:13). Today the Mount of Offense (variously called Mount of Corruption, Sandal, or Evil Counsel) may well be the place where these abominations occurred, but this identification is by no means certain. Some scholars see a play on words in 2 Kgs 23:13. The Hebrew word "corruption" *(mašḥît)* is very close to the word "anointing" *(māšaḥ)*. Thus the "mount of anointing"

(Mount of Olives, from which the sacred anointing oil is produced) has become the "mount of corruption." Though this suggestion is very possible it should be noted that the ascription *Mons Offensionis* (Mount of Offense) can be traced only as far back as Quaresmius of the 17th century A.D.

A second implicit reference is found in Ezekiel. The prophet was enabled to view the glory of God depart from the temple, whereupon it "stood upon the mountain which is on the east side of the city" (Ezek 11:23). Later in the book, Ezekiel reported that he saw the process reversed. In his vision of the new Jerusalem, Ezekiel saw this glory return and enter the eschatological temple (43:2–5). The mountain referred to by Ezekiel is commonly understood as Olivet.

The Mount of Olives has also been associated with the rite of the burning of the red heifer so that its ashes could serve as a purification (Num 19:1–10). According to the Talmud, this purification rite was performed on the Mount of Olives opposite the E gate of the temple (*Para* 3.6–7, 11). Moreover, the Mishnah claims that Jews in Jerusalem announced the new moon to their brethren in Babylonia by means of a chain of fire signals, the first of which began on Olivet. Furthermore, according to tradition, the dove sent forth from the ark by Noah retrieved the olive branch from the Mount of Olives (Ge 8:11; *Gen. Rab.* 33:6). Tradition also suggests that those faithful Jews who died abroad would be channeled back to Jerusalem through underground caverns and be resurrected and emerge at the sundered Mount of Olives (*m. Ketub.* 111a). Also, when the glory of God departed from the temple it was to have tarried three and a half years on Olivet while eagerly awaiting Israel's repentance (*Lam. Rab.* Proem 25; cf. Ezek 10:18).

**C. New Testament**

Almost certainly, Jesus traversed this mountain many times to and from feasts and festivals in Jerusalem. Although this route could have been avoided and a route directly N through Samaria followed, the Jewish custom was to head E and then N to avoid stepping on Samaritan soil. Despite the numerous trips using this circuitous route, apart from Jesus' final week of ministry the Mount of Olives is mentioned only infrequently.

The references to the Mount of Olives outside the passion week occur at John 8:1, the pericope of the woman taken in adultery (many scholars seriously question the authenticity of John 7:53–8:11), and Acts 1:12 (cf. Luke 24:50–53), in which Jesus' ascension is described. There may also be several implicit references outside of Jesus' passion week. These references include the visit to Mary and Martha where Mary is affirmed for seeking to be taught (Luke 10:38–42); the raising of Lazarus (John 11); and the feast "six days before the Passover" (John 12:1; cf. Matt 26:6–12; Mark 14:3–9). Although none of these pericopes explicitly mentions the Mount of Olives, nevertheless they all occurred at or near Bethany, which is on the E side of the mountain.

With regard to the passion week, the references to Olivet are numerous. The triumphal entry, which began at Bethany and terminated in Jerusalem, explicitly mentions the Mount of Olives (Matt 21:1–11; Mark 11:1–10; Luke 19:28–39; John 12:12–15). While proceeding into Jerusalem, Jesus paused on Olivet and wept over the unrepentant Jewish nation (Luke 19:41–44); traditionally this site has been marked by the Dominus Flevit chapel, but this identification is by no means certain. Apparently Jesus did not lodge in Jerusalem during his final week, but rather in Bethany, probably at the home of Mary and Martha or perhaps with Simon the leper (cf. Mark 11:11; 14:3; Luke 21:37). The Gospels' description of Bethany suggests an identification with the Arab village of el-Azariyeh. Bethphage was apparently adjacent to Bethany, but nearer the top of the Mount of Olives. Abu-Dis probably corresponds to this city today, although some identify it with the village et-Tur on the very top.

The cursing of the fig tree, occurring the day after the triumphal entry, took place on Jesus' evening return to Bethany (Matt 21:17–19; Mark 11:11–14; 19–20) and probably occurred on this mountain. It is also likely that the Mount of Olives was in view when Jesus taught that the person of faith could say to the mountain, "Be taken up and cast into the sea," and it would occur (Matt 21:21). Also during his passion week, Jesus gave his disciples an eschatological outline (Matthew 24; Mark 13) from "the Mount of Olives opposite the temple" (Mark 13:3; cf. Matt 24:3). Luke informs us that during the evenings of the passion week, Jesus tarried on Mount Olivet (Luke 21:37). The seclusion of the groves was probably heartily welcomed after the rigor of teaching in the temple all day. It is probably from this mountain that

Jesus sent his disciples into Jerusalem (Matt 26:18; Luke 22:8) to prepare the Passover. After celebrating this feast in the city, they sang a hymn and went to the Mount of Olives (Matt 26:30; Mark 14:26; Luke 22:39; cf. John 18:1). Jesus' destination on the Mount of Olives was the garden of Gethsemane (Matt 26:36). This garden was probably located on the W side of Olivet, and here Jesus agonized before his Father in prayer (Matt 26:30, 36ff.; Mark 14:26, 32ff.; Luke 22:30ff.; John 18:1ff.). It was also in this place that Jesus was betrayed by Judas and seized by the soldiers (John 18:12; cf. Matt 26:47–57; Mark 14:43–50; Luke 22:47–54).

**D. Shrines on the Mount**

Only the city of Jerusalem would have a greater concentration of shrines than the Mount of Olives. Most of these shrines are related to events named in the NT, but their origin and accuracy are nonetheless problematic. For example, there are three triumphal entry trails, three gardens of Gethsemane, three sites for Jesus' ascension, two Jericho roads, etc. There is even a shrine over the supposed "last footprint of Christ."

A basilica dedicated in the name of Helena, Constantine's mother, was probably the first shrine on Olivet. Located on the S end of the central hill, it was built ca. 325 and is called the Eleona ("Olives"). It was destroyed in the 7th century by the Persians, but became the site upon which the Church of the Pater Noster was built in 1869. Ostensibly the Lord's Prayer was taught on the ground marked by this church and therefore the walls are covered with versions of the Lord's Prayer in no less than sixty different languages. Also on the mount stands a Greek orthodox monastery, *Viri Galilaei,* which reportedly draws its name from Acts 1:11: "Men of Galilee, why do you stand looking into heaven?" Thus the "mountain of Galilee" (Matt 28:15) is dubiously identified with a place on the Mount of Olives. A chapel marking the ascension of Christ is located at the summit of Olivet. Built in 1834, this sanctuary also houses a stone which some have claimed contains the footprints of Jesus.

On the W slope of the Mount of Olives the visitor can choose one of three possible sites for the garden of Gethsemane, commemorated by three different churches. The first one, near the center of the W slope, is the Russian Church of Mary Magdalene. The more celebrated Roman Catholic Church of All Nations, with its Stone of the Agony in front of the altar, lies just below it. The garden, marked by the Church of All Nations, contains olive trees which probably were planted about a millennium ago. Thirdly, the Armenian Gethsemane, with its church built ca. 455, claims to be the site of the burial of Mary. Though not a shrine, the German hospice, Augusta Victoria, built by Kaiser Wilhelm II, located on the N of the Mount of Olives also deserves special mention. In digging its foundation in 1907 an ancient settlement was uncovered. Because of the association of the valley of Jehoshaphat with the Day of the Lord, there is an extensive tradition of religious burials on the Mount of Olives. Included among the burials are James, the Apostle; Mary, the mother of Jesus; Joachim and Anna, Mary's parents; and Joseph, the husband of Mary.

The Mount of Olives is also important in the Moslem tradition. A Muslim shrine, the Inbomom, built around 375, contains what is claimed to be the last footprint of Christ upon earth. Of greater importance is the Islamic belief that the final judgment will occur in the Kidron Valley between the Mount of Olives and the celebrated Jerusalem shrine, Dome of the Rock. Ibn el-Gaqih summarizes this final cataclysm: "The Mount of Olives faces the Mosque, and between them is the Valley of Ben Hinnom, and from it 'Isa [Jesus] ascended to Heaven. And on the Day of Judgment all souls will be gathered to it and they will cross the bridge over the valley of Jehoshaphat, some to Paradise and some to Gehenham." Additionally, Muslim tradition asserts that Olivet is holy because "Saffiya, the wife of the prophet … prayed there."

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WARREN J. HEARD, JR.

**OLYMPAS** (PERSON) [Gk*Olympas* (Ὀλυμπας)]. A Roman Christian who received greetings from Paul in Rom 16:15. He was probably a gentile Christian. See NEREUS. The Greek name Olympas was derived from a longer name beginning with the letters "Olymp-" (e.g., Olympiodorus, Olympianus, Olympicus, Olympheius; cf. Patrobas—Patrobius, Epaphras—Epaphroditus). According to the epigraphical and literary sources from the city of Rome, "Olympas" occurs only two times (Lampe *StadtrChr*, 139–41, 149). As the name was not common there, it probably indicates that Olympas had immigrated to Rome.

PETER LAMPE

**OLYMPIAN ZEUS, TEMPLE OF** [Gk *neās Dios Olympiou* (νεας Διος Ὀλυμπιου)]. The name proposed by Antiochus IV Epiphanes for the temple in Jerusalem (165–164 B.C.E.) in 2 Macc 6:2, when he prohibited the observance of Jewish religious practices. In the language of 2 Maccabees this is the grievous act of Antiochus which parallels the ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION in 1 Macc 1:54 [Gk *bdelygma erēmōseōs*] and Dan 11:31 and 12:11 [Heb *šiqqûṣ měšômēm*]. Josephus says that the king "compelled them to do reverence to the gods in whom he believed" (*Ant* 12 §253). The strong language reserved for descriptions of this event makes it extremely unlikely that the majority of Jews would have regarded this renaming as somewhat inconsequential or regarded Zeus as almost a common noun for a god in general (cf. Bartlett *Maccabees* CBC, 32; Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 272–73). It is doubtful that Antiochus here was attempting to identify the God of Israel with Zeus in order to transform Judaism into one of the syncretistic religions of the east (cf. Schiffman *HBC*, 905). Nor should Antiochus simply be viewed as an apostle of Hellenism. It is much more likely that he wished to evoke the origins of his dynasty and its first patron, i.e., to establish in Jerusalem a symbol of the Seleucid Empire (Rigsby 1980: 233–38). There is ample evidence of his particular devotion to the Olympian Zeus as patron of the dynasty (Abel *Maccabees* EBib, 360; Habicht *2 Maccabees* JSHRZ, 229). See ANTIOCHUS #4.

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JOHN KAMPEN

**OMAR** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿômār* (אוֹמָר)]. The second son of Eliphaz, and therefore Esau's grandson (Gen 36:11, 15; 1 Chr 1:36). Following Gen 36:15, he belonged to Edom's "tribal leaders" (Heb *ʿallūpîm*) and represented a clan within the Esauite-Edomite tribe of Eliphaz. The meaning of the name is not completely clear. It could either be considered an animal name (cf. Heb *ʿimmēr,* "lamb," "sheep"; Assyrian *emāru (m),* Babylonian *imēru (m),* "donkey") or more likely as a shortened form of the theophoric personal name "God NN has spoken" (cf. Heb *ʿamaryāh (û), ʿimrî* (?), *ʿḥyʿmr, ʿmrʿl;* Sabean *ʿlʿmr;* Safaitic/Thamudic *ʿmr (ʿ)l*).

ULRICH HÜBNER

**OMEGA.** The twenty-fourth and last letter of the Greek alphabet. See also ALPHA AND OMEGA.

**OMENS IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST.** Belief that in omens lies a divine message, and attempts at interpreting this message, are ancient and universal. In the ANE the oldest sources for divinatory practices come from Mesopotamia, where the need to interpret omens gave rise to the extensive and well-attested art of divination and its practitioner, the diviner. Much of the evidence dates from the first half of the 2d millennium.

In Mesopotamia the ominous was found in any deviation from the ordinary, both in nature and among mankind: from the erratic motions of the planets to freak births among humans and beasts; from the behavior of a sacrificial lamb on its way to slaughter to that of a lizard on the wall of a house; from the ominous import of a chance utterance (Akkadian *egirrû,* corresponding to the Greek *kledon;* cf. 1 Sam 14:8–12) to that of one's dreams. All these phenomena were believed to contain divine messages which could be interpreted by the specialist so that appropriate measures could be taken to avert the portended evil, or a course of action leading to disaster could be avoided.

However, the diviner did not depend on natural phenomena alone for clues to the divine will, but commonly created the means whereby the divine response to specific questions could be obtained. This might be accomplished by presenting to the gods the liver of a sacrificial sheep on which they could "write," as it were, their verdicts, or by pouring oil over water and observing the patterns, or by letting smoke rise from a censer and observing its configurations. These three methods of interpreting omens, hepatoscopy, lecanomancy, libanomancy, respectively, are some of the methods of divination attested in ancient Mesopotamia. Of the three, hepatoscopy, i.e., liver divination, or in its more general application, extispicy (since in practice the entire entrails [exta] of the sheep came under scrutiny), was most prevalent in the royal service. Extispicy is attested, in a fully developed form, from early in the 2d millennium B.C. Its practical aspect is represented by the so-called extispicy reports, which are observations on the appearance of the entrails of a sacrificial sheep. Irregularities and abnormalities in the exta were considered ominous, and predictions were derived from them. Such extispicy reports are attested from the first half of the 2d millennium to the 7th century B.C., when this practice was vigorously pursued by the later Sargonid kings of Assyria, Esarhaddon and his son Ashurbanipal. In fact, the extispicy practiced on behalf of these two gave rise to a distinct genre in Mesopotamian omen literature, that of queries to the sun-god, Shamash, co-patron (with Adad) of Mesopotamian divination. Extispicy is also referred to in the inscriptions of Nabonidus (556–539 B.C.) as a means of eliciting a divine response.

The ability of the diviner to elicit a divine response lies in the nature of divination. Of the two types of divination attested, oblativa and impetrita (also referred to as intuitive and inductive, or natural and artificial, divination) it is the latter which enabled the diviner to present to the gods the means whereby a divine decision could be obtained. Oblativa could not serve this purpose, dependent as the Mesopotamians were on the occurrence of natural phenomena. The three divinatory practices mentioned above, extispicy, lecanomancy, and libanomancy, may serve as examples of impetrated omens. To this type belongs also the Israelite method of consulting God through the *ʾûrîm* and *tummîm.* The response appears to have been binary in nature, i.e., "yes" or "no" answers to specific questions, or "favorable" and "unfavorable," as the case might be (*TDOT* 2: 453–54).

Much of the evidence from Mesopotamian divinatory practices (among which are extispicy, lecanomancy, libanomancy, teratomancy [unnatural births], physiognomy, astrology, oneiromancy [dream omina]) and other aspects of Mesopotamian experience considered to be of ominous import is represented by literary omen series. Some omen series date back to the first half of the 2d millennium B.C.; in them the results of centuries of observations have been recorded and eventually systematized in series arranged as conditional statements (i.e., if such-and-such is the case, then such-and-such is the result).

Much of the early evidence that divinatory practices, notably extispicy, played an important role in the everyday life of the people and not just the royal court comes from the city of Mari (dating at the latest from the 18th century B.C.), where accounts of extispicies performed for sundry purposes and their results (favorable or unfavorable) are commonly described in letters.

Other evidence that not only extispicy but astrological omens were popular in the royal courts comes from 7th-century-B.C. Assyria, where aside from diviners in the service of Esarhaddon (681–669 B.C.), scholars who consulted and interpreted the compendiums of astrological omens gained much influence at the court by advising the king of how best to avoid the pitfalls of evil celestial omens, such as eclipses. One way to avert the evil influences of an eclipse was the appointment of a substitute king who was expected to take upon himself any evil consequences; later, he would be executed when the danger was believed to be over.

Some of these practices, notably hepatoscopy, are attested beyond the boundaries of Mesopotamia. Liver models, i.e., clay models of sheeps' livers used by the apprentice diviner to learn his craft, are attested in Boghazkoi, Ugarit, Megiddo, and Hazor (all from the 2d millennium B.C.), indicating the spread of Mesopotamian divinatory practices elsewhere in the Near East and beyond.

In the Bible, the ominous was not found or sought after in deviation from the ordinary, either in nature or in human affairs. Biblical writers, notably in the Wisdom Literature, found the wonders of God's work

in the harmony of nature. The Bible, in fact, frowns on most forms of divination, which it proscribes as examples of heathen practices (e.g., Deut 18:10–11).

Nevertheless, procedures for eliciting a divine response to the needs of the people in times of crisis were present in ancient Israel too, and legitamate means to this end were available in the form of the *ûrîm* and *tummîm* and the *ʾēpôd* (Exod 28:30–31; *TDOT* 2:453–54). Other ways of seeking omens were also available, e.g., through dreams and prophecy, which were evidently considered acceptable ways of inquiring of God. Interpretation of dreams is closely associated in the Bible with the careers of Joseph and Daniel, and according to 1 Sam 28:6, God did not answer King Saul through dreams, or the *ʾûrîm* or prophets, on the eve of his final confrontation with the Philistines.

Prophecy was regarded until recent times as a uniquely Israelite institution. However, evidence for it elsewhere in the ANE has come to light in recent years (Wilson 1980). In texts from Mari (pre-18th century B.C.) reference is made to several types of prophets, male and female. They deliver messages, demands, and exhortations from the gods for the last king of Mari, Zimri-Lim. Zakur, an 8th-century-B.C. king of Hamath in Syria, informs us in his inscription that Beʾelshamayn spoke to him "through seers and diviners." In 7th-century-B.C. Assyria, prophets and more commonly prophetesses, who were associated with the cult of Ishtar of Arbela, pronounced oracles for Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal.

It is clear that in the popular mind, prophets were associated with the foretelling of the future, as indicated by the episode of Saul and his father's lost asses, where it is said (1 Sam 9:9) that formerly a prophet had been known as a "seer" (cf. Amos 7:12).

In Ezek 21:26, there is a description of the king of Babylon standing at the crossroads and trying to determine how to proceed by the oracular means of shaking or tossing arrows (belomancy), consulting the *tĕrāphîm*, and inspecting the liver of a sheep. The omens determined his course of action. Of the three, only the third, hepatoscopy, is not attested in ancient Israel. Of the other two, the *tĕrāphîm* are well-attested and are in some instances associated with the ephod (Judges 17–18 passim; Hos 3:4). Belomancy is also known, e.g., 2 Kgs 13:14–19, which relates an incident involving the prophet Elisha and Joash, the king of Israel. See also PROPHECY.

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IVAN STARR

**OMER** [Heb *ʿōmer* (עֹמֶר)]. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**OMICRON.** The fifteenth letter of the Greek alphabet.

**OMRI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿomrî* (עָמְרִי)]. The origin of the name Omri is disputed, as is its meaning.

Probably it is an abbreviated form of the longer "Omriyahu," following the same pattern as the name Zimri = Zimriyahu = "Yahweh is (my) protection." However, while the first element in the name Zimri [yahu] is known, with the name Omri[yahu] the initial element is questionable; here there is no obvious underlying Hebrew root. A derivation from either Arabic or Amorite is possible. The first hypothesis is somewhat more probable in that the name of the N Israelite king Omri's daughter, Athaliah, can be brought into association with the Arabic language stock. If one goes with the hypothesis of an Arabic verbal root, then the name Omri[yahu] can be rendered: " (The) life (which) Yahweh (has given)" (Gray *I and II Kings* OTL, 365). The chronologically earliest bearer of this name that can be determined with certainty is the Omri who was king of the N kingdom of Israel in the 9th century B.C.E. Those who bear this name in the work of the Chronicler (1 Chr 7:8; 9:4; 27:18), even though they are partly assigned to a historical era somewhat earlier than the time of the N Israelite king Omri, are most likely anachronistic reflections of the linguistic usage of a later time. However, these references in the work of the Chronicler do show that the name Omri came to be incorporated into the onomasticon of Israel and Judah.

**1.** A king of N Israel and founder of a dynasty. Determinations of the years of his reign differ by several years: 882/878–871 B.C.E. (Begrich; Jepsen); 885/880–874 B.C.E. (Thiele); or 886–875 B.C.E. (Andersen).

1 Kgs 16:15–28 deals with the history of Omri. Here his elevation to the kingship is described in some detail, but very little is said about his actual reign. The name Omri also appears in filiation formulas in 1 Kgs 16:29–30 ("Ahab the son of Omri") and in 2 Kgs 8:26 = 2 Chr 22:2 ("Athaliah the daughter [RSV: granddaughter] of Omri"). "Omri" also appears in a critical retrospect in Mic 6:16. Finally, the name appears in extrabiblical sources, where Omri is the first mentioned king of Israel. He is directly named in lines 4–8 of the inscription of King Mesha of Moab (*ANET*, 320), while he is referred to indirectly in several Assyrian inscriptions.

Omri was the first one in the history of the N Israelite kingdom to succeed in establishing a ruling structure that lasted for any length of time. The Omride dynasty, which encompassed not only the reigns of Omri and his son Ahab but also of his grandsons Ahaziah and Joram, held on to the Israelite throne for a total of 33 years, counting from the beginning of Omri's sole rulership (878–845 B.C.E., following the chronology of A. Jepsen 1979: 204–18). To be sure, the Jehu dynasty, which took over the rulership from the Omrides, considerably outdid its predecessor in length of rule, holding fast to the reins of power for almost a full century (845–747 B.C.E., following the Jepsen chronology). The royal houses of Omri and Jehu were the only two actual dynasties to appear in the history of the N kingdom, a history which otherwise was characterized by constant changes of rulership and usurpations of the throne.

The origins of Omri remain in the dark. The verse which mentions him for the first time (1 Kgs 16:16) neither gives the name of his father nor identifies his tribal or regional affiliation. Only his title is given: "commander of the army." From this one can conclude that the family of Omri was not of Israelite origin and that he himself belonged to that class of foreign mercenaries which, since the time of David, had formed the backbone of the Israelite military. According to whether one associates the name Omri with the Arabic or the Amorite language family, one must correspondingly ascribe to his family an Arabic or a Canaanite line of descent. Since the name Omri is quite likely a shortened form of "Omriyahu" (i.e., a name containing a theophoric element for "Yahweh"), one can further assume that he and his family had adopted the Yahwistic faith and had embraced as their own the traditions of Israel. The name of Omri's daughter, Athaliah (which also contains a theophoric element for "Yahweh"), provides additional evidence for Omri's Yahwistic orientation.

1 Kgs 16:15–22, which rests upon reliable sources, reports the circumstances surrounding Omri's seizing of the Israelite throne. The accession of Omri was preceded by one of the coups d'etat which were so characteristic of the N kingdom. The ruling king, Elah, after a reign of barely two years, had been overthrown in the capital city of Tirzah (Tell el-Far‘ah North) by Zimri, the commander of half of Elah's chariot force. Zimri formed a conspiracy against Elah and seized the opportunity provided by a drinking bout in order to assassinate the king, whose family (the "house of Baasha") Zimri subsequently exterminated when he set himself upon the throne (1 Kgs 16:8–14).

While these events were being played out in Tirzah, the Israelite army, under the command of Omri, was encamped against the Philistine border town of Gibbethon *(‘āqir).* These conflicts at Gibbethon (a similar situation is reported for a mere quarter century earlier, and that one also led to a change in the rulership, with Baasha replacing Nadab, cf. 1 Kgs 15:27) had as their chief goal a gaining of clear control over the open countryside leading to the city of Gezer, countryside whose possession was a matter of dispute between the Israelites and the Philistines. As news of the palace revolt and the transfer of power that had taken place in Tirzah reached the military camp at Gibbethon, the warriors gathered there refused to recognize Zimri as their new ruler but rather proclaimed their commander-in-chief, Omri, as king. We can no longer determine whether behind this course of events there might have been some sort of rivalry between the militia and the chariot contingent, perhaps even some deep-seated conflict rooted in the fact that the militia tended to be drawn from the tribes and therefore was oriented toward specifically Israelite traditions whereas the chariot contingent was comprised of professional soldiers who were more strongly oriented toward Canaanite ways.

Omri immediately seized the advantage of the moment, lifted the seige of Gibbethon, and with his army turned against Tirzah. Apparently the forces in support of Zimri proved too weak to be able to mount serious resistance to Omri and the Israelite army. With the final conquest of Tirzah by Omri impending,

Zimri burned down a portion of the palace complex over his own head and perished in the blaze. His reign had lasted a mere seven days.

With the conquest of Tirzah, however, the rulership was by no means secured solely in the hands of Omri. As is noted all too briefly (1 Kgs 16:21–22), a portion of the populace raised against Omri another pretender to the throne, Tibni, the son of Ginath. Here the particulars escape us; we can only speculate about the corresponding details. For instance, perhaps certain of the tribes did not concur with the decision of the army encamped before Gibbethon and chose their own candidate for the kingship. Perhaps traditionalist circles opposed the elevation to the throne of a mercenary whose family background was not Israelite. We are just as poorly informed about the regional distribution of the spheres of influence of, respectively, Omri and Tibni. One can imagine that Omri exercised control over the tribes of the central highlands, while Tibni's base of power was Galilee and perhaps also the plain of Jezreel. But all of this remains pure speculation. At the very least, however, one must assume that the Israelite throne was divided for several years—from 882 until 878 B.C.E., according to Begrich and Jepsen, or from 885 until 880 B.C.E., according to Thiele. Andersen's hypothesis that no divided monarchy actually developed, but rather that the reign of Tibni amounted to no more than an episode lasting a few weeks, or at most a few months, during 886–885 B.C.E. must be judged a minority opinion. In the confrontation between these two concurrently ruling monarchs, which hardly ran its course without some military clashes, Omri gained the upper hand. The death of Tibni, which took place under unknown circumstances, finally opened the way for Omri to assume sole rulership over Israel.

Several chronological discrepancies in the OT regarding Omri's accession to the throne and the duration of his reign can be explained by reference to the fact that the throne was divided for several years. In 1 Kgs 16:15 the events which led to both the deaths of Elah and Zimri and the elevation of Omri are said to have fallen in the 27th year of Asa of Judah; according to 16:23, however, Omri did not ascend to the throne until the 31st year of Asa. The difference between these two statements is obviously a reflection of the period of divided rule. Also according to 16:23 Omri reigned for 12 years, whereas according to 16:29 he died in the 38th year of Asa of Judah, which at first glance would seem to ascribe to him a reign of only 7 years. The 12-year ascription actually describes the total time that Omri ruled, including the time that Tibni was his rival, and therefore properly begins with the 27th year of Asa (16:15). The 7-year span between the 31st year of Asa (16:23) and his 38th year (16:29) thus refers to the years when Omri was sole monarch. With some justification one can assume that there were two systems of dating in the N kingdom, one which incorporated the reign of Tibni and the other which ignored it (cf. Noth *Könige I* BK, 351).

The OT conveys very little information regarding the actual reign of Omri (1 Kgs 16:23–28). On the basis of indirect references and extrabiblical sources, however, one can see that Omri must have been one of Israel's greatest, most energetic, and most foresighted kings. He had a new vision for the government of Israel, one which looked beyond the needs of the moment and which went on to become the characteristic Omride policy; it was carried out in exemplary fashion, particularly by his son Ahab, and was continued even by his grandsons Ahaziah and Joram. The guiding principles of his governmental policy were two: treaties without and parity within. Omri introduced a foreign policy in which Israel sought to win the support of certain neighboring states by means of treaties and diplomatic marriages. So, for example, the marriage of the crown prince Ahab to the Phoenician princess Jezebel, which served to guarantee the accord with the Phoenicians, was certainly proposed by Omri and was brought to fruition during his own lifetime. Liekwise the termination of tensions with the neighboring state to the S, Judah, is most probably to be ascribed to the time of Omri, even though the actual marriage between the Judean crown prince Joram and Omri's daughter Athaliah, a marriage which sealed the peaceful relations between the two states, only took place somewhat later. In order to reach agreement with Judah, Omri apparently accepted certain territorial losses; he abandoned efforts to regain portions of the tribal territory of Benjamin that had been annexed to Judah by Asa several decades earlier (1 Kgs 15:22).

This deliberate policy of peaceful alliance was a response to the external state of affairs at the time: it obviously served a defensive purpose in the face of a menacing danger. Since there is no evidence for

encroachment by the Assyrians into the Syro-Palestinian area during this time, the opponent against which the policy of Omri was directed can only have been the Aramean state of Damascus. On the basis of their raid into Galilee at the time of King Baasha (1 Kgs 15:16–22), the Arameans had proved themselves a dangerous, militarily effective antagonist. It is quite possible that they had been exerting steady pressure on the N boundaries of Israel, and especially on the N reaches of Israelite Transjordan, ever since. Included in the overall plan of Omri as king was obviously the goal of securing Israel against this constant threat from the N.

Similar intentions can also be recognized as lying behind Omri's domestic policy. With regard to the latter, the primary concern was to reduce tensions within the realm, particularly tensions between the Israelite tribes and the traditionally Canaanite elements of the populace. The sociocultural, and above all religious, differences between these two groups had apparently not been appreciably relaxed since the time of the united monarchy under David and Solomon. In order to eliminate, or at least to reduce, the growing internal tensions that went back to the time of the incorporation of both elements into one state, Omri initiated a policy of parity, a policy that aimed at equal treatment for both factions of the population. Included within this policy was a recognition, and even fostering, of Canaanite religion on the part of the state. This policy of equal treatment in matters of religion subsequently aroused the opposition of staunchly Yahwistic circles, especially of the prophets Elijah and Elisha and of the prophetic groups that gathered about the latter. In the final analysis, it is also with reference to these Yahwistic opponents and the allies who stood with them that the negative judgment upon Omri and his dynasty in OT traditions is to be explained. So, finally, it must be said that the domestic policy set into effect by Omri did not achieve its desired goal, but that it rather conjured up new tensions, tensions which eventually contributed in no small way to the downfall of the Omride dynasty.

Part of Omri's grand design for the governing of Israel was the building of the new capital city, Samaria (Sebastiya). Up to this point the royal residences of the N kingdom, specifically Shechem (Tell Balatah, 1 Kgs 12:25—the transferring of the capital to Penuel, apparently necessitated by the pharaoh Shishak's invasion, amounted to only a temporary measure) and Tirzah (Tell el-Far‘ah North, 1 Kgs 14:17; 15:33), had been located in territories belonging to the Israelite tribes. For a time Omri continued to use Tirzah as the royal residence after taking it over from Zimri; he had the damage done during the conflict repaired, and he even started to enlarge the city. However, two years after he succeeded in gaining the sole rulership, Omri discontinued the rebuilding of Tirzah and abandoned the city. The excavations at Tell el-Far‘ah North (Stratum III) under the direction of R. de Vaux (*EAEHL* 2: 395–404) have been able to show a destruction of the city, obviously the destruction at the time of Omri's conflict with Zimri, and also a rebuilding of the city that was begun but not finished.

Omri constructed his new capital city of Samaria on a previously unbuilt site. He purchased the hill of Samaria in consonance with Canaanite law—which also suggests that he purchased the land from a Canaanite landowner. The seller is called Shemer (1 Kgs 16:24), but this can hardly be historically correct. Rather, this name must have arisen later as part of an attempt to provide an etiology for the name *šōmrôn,* which in all probability was originally the name of the hill itself. The hill was an advantageous site for the building of a national capital, since it was militarily defensible and also strategically located on the N-S trade route. Since the site had been purchased, the new residence built there fell to the royal family as a private estate. In this way the city acquired a singular juridical position. None of the tribes could lay claim to it as a part of its territory; rather, it stood directly under the jurisdiction of the king. In this way the status of Samaria corresponded to that enjoyed by Jerusalem, the capital city of Judah, since the time that David had conquered it for himself. Finally, the acquisition by Omri of previously unbuilt land offered the advantage that in constructing the new city, no attention needed to be paid to existing structures or to foundations already in place.

Construction work on Samaria lasted until the time of Omri's son Ahab. It is not an easy matter to distinguish between the phases of building activity already completed under Omri from those that were finished only later under Ahab. However, the excavators at Samaria assign—even if not without question—to the time of Omri the weaker, inner walls of the upper city as well as the palace complex

(Stratum I). There is no doubt that the palace received its final fitting out only under Ahab, but it is by no means impossible that Omri had already employed Phoenician craftsmen during the palace's basic construction phase.

Omri may have intended from the outset that his capital city, newly erected on formerly Canaanite property and hence not reckoned to any Israelite tribal territory, should be primarily for the benefit of the Canaanite portion of the populace. The hypothesis of A. Alt (*KlSchr* 2: 116–34), namely that under the Omrides Samaria was the capital city for the Canaanite element while Jezreel (Zerʿin) served as the center for the Israelite element in the population, is admittedly much in dispute. In favor of Alt's thesis, however, is the fact that only during the Omride dynasty—neither before nor after—did Jezreel, which was located in the tribal territory of Issachar, play the role of a secondary royal residence. Whether this duality can be carried back to the time of Omri himself remains open to question, however. Clear attestation for Jezreel as a royal residence does not come until the time of Ahab (1 Kgs 18:45–46; 21:1), and it was not Omri but rather Ahab who built the Baal temple in Samaria (1 Kgs 16:32).

Only an extrabiblical source, the stele of King Mesha of Moab (*ANET,* 320–21), gives information concerning the military successes of Omri. In the retrospect portion of the stele, Mesha reports that "Omri had occupied the land of Medeba" (lines 7–8). Omri therefore did enjoy a certain military success against the Moabites, checked their northward expansion, and pushed them back beyond the Seil Heidan. The area which Omri won back from the Moabites lay between the N tip of the Dead Sea and the Seil Heidan; it was territory traditionally reckoned to the tribe of Gad. Omri restored Israelite settlement to the region and apparently also reaffirmed Israelite hegemony over Moab. Word of further military actions on the part of Omri, which may be hinted at in 1 Kgs 16:27, has not been recorded. However, one can assume that Omri was able to hold and to secure Israel's N boundary against the Arameans. It is historically improbable that he suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of the Aramean state of Damascus and had to accept harsh terms in a peace settlement, despite being presupposed in 1 Kgs 20:34. The whole incident related in 1 Kings 20 probably originally referred to a time during the Jehu dynasty, later in the history of Israel. All in all, there can be little doubt that at the time of his death Omri left behind for his son Ahab an Israelite state that was both strong and well equipped to deal with external threats.

In 845 B.C.E. Jehu overthrew the Omride dynasty and exterminated the Omride royal house. However, the name of Omri outlasted this catastrophe. In Assyrian inscriptions from the time of the Jehu dynasty and even afterward (*ANET,* 280–81, 284–85), not only is Jehu called "son of Omri" *(mār Ḫumrî)* but even the whole of the N kingdom of Israel is referred to as "land of Omri" *(Bīt-Ḫumrî).* The international reputation of the Omride dynasty is reflected in this development from a dynastic appellation to the name of a country. Within the OT, on the other hand, the phrase "house of Omri" never appears; "house of Ahab" is used as a designation for the Omride dynasty.

The Deuteronomistic redactors selected for inclusion in their work only a small amount of the total material which tradition had preserved regarding Omri. Their theological evaluation of him is a negative one (1 Kgs 16:25–26). Their particularly sharp remark that Omri "did more evil than all that were before him" (v 25)—a remark which is then repeated with reference to Omri's son Ahab (v 33)—is not grounded in anything specific, since the reference in the immediately following verse (v 26) to the perpetuation of the "sin of Jeroboam," by which is meant the veneration of the calf images at Bethel and Dan, is a stereotypical charge having nothing uniquely to do with Omri. Perhaps the Deuteronomists derived their particularly negative evaluation of Omri from the fact that he was Ahab's father; in the traditions surrounding the figure of Elijah, Ahab appears as the foremost protagonist of N Israelite idolatry (1 Kgs 16:30–33). An analogous evaluation of Omri and, synonymously, of the "house of Ahab" is also to be found in the Deuteronomically influenced Mic 6:16. Finally, the Chronicler simply passes over the reign of Omri in silence; his name appears only in conjunction with a reference to his daughter Athaliah (2 Chr 22:2). See also *BHH* 2: 1341–42; Eissfeldt *KlSchr* 2: 453–63; Alt *KlSchr* 3: 258–302; *RGG* 4: 1630; *IDB* 3: 600–1.

**2.** A Benjaminite who appears in the genealogy of the patriarch Benjamin (1 Chr 7:8). It is more likely that he belonged to a postexilic Benjaminite family.

**3.** A Jerusalemite (1 Chr 9:4), most likely a member of a Judean clan in postexilic Jerusalem.

**4.** A leader of the tribe of Issachar, ostensibly from the time of David (1 Chr 27:18), but who appears in a list of obviously later origin and in a tradition of questionable historical value (1 Chr 27:16–22).

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WINFRIED THIEL
TRANS. CHARLES MUENCHOW

**ON** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾon* (אָוֹן)]. The son of Peleth, a Reubenite, who participated in a rebellion against Moses along with Korah, Dathan, and Abiram (Num 16:1). There is some question concerning the reliability of this information since this is the only occurrence of the name On. In the account of the rebellion, the names of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram recur, but not On. In addition, Num 26:5–9, which lists the genealogy of Reuben, does not include On. Furthermore, Num 26:8 lists Eliab as the son of Pallu. On this basis, Noth has suggested that two changes be made so that Num 16:11 would read, "he (referring to Eliab) was the son of Pallu" (*Numbers* OTL, 118), rather than, "On was the son of Peleth." Another suggestion involves omitting the name On, and reading, "sons of Eliab, son of Peleth" (Sturdy *Numbers* CBC, 116). There is, however, no manuscript evidence that would support these emendations. Hence, it is wiser to let the enigmatic On stand as the son of Peleth.

CHRISTINA DE GROOT VAN HOUTEN

**ON** (PLACE). See HELIOPOLIS.

**ONAGER.** See ZOOLOGY.

**ONAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾônām* (אוֹנָם)]. **1.** A clan name in the genealogical clan list of Seir the Horite. This person is referred to in Gen 36:23 and in the matching genealogy in 1 Chr 1:40 as the fifth son of the clan chief Shobal, and is thus a grandson of Seir. These Horite clans are not to be associated with the Hurrians. They represent the original inhabitants (perhaps as cave dwellers) of the region of Edom, but they lost control of that area to the encroaching "sons of Esau" (Deut 2:12–22). The conquest by the Esau tribes of Edom is matched in the text with the conquest of Canaan by the tribes of Israel.

**2.** A clan name in the genealogical clan list of Judah in 1 Chr 2:26, 28. Onam is described as the son of Jerameel by his second wife Atarah. Onam, in turn, is the father of Shammai and Jada. Wilson (*GHBW*, 183) suggests that the inclusion of Onam in both the Horite and Judahite lists demonstrates social and/or political contact between these people. Intermarriage might have taken place and economic or political treaties initiated. These agreements in turn may have led the Chronicler to add the Horite genealogies to those of Judah.

VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

**ONAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾônān* (אוֹנָן)]. The second son of Judah and Shua, a Canaanite woman (Gen 38:2–4). He was the brother of Er and Shelah. In the genealogical list of Judah's descendants, Onan is mentioned as the daughter of Bath-shua (1 Chr 2:3).

Judah had arranged a marriage between his firstborn, Er, and a woman named Tamar. Er, however, died an early death, which was attributed to an act of Yahweh because of Er's unmentioned wickedness (Gen 36:7). Because Er had died childless, Tamar was left a widow without a son to continue the family of her deceased husband. According to the custom of levirate marriage, it fell upon Onan to continue the family of his brother by fulfilling the responsibility of the brother-in-law. The meaning of this responsibility is expressed by the Hebrew word *yābām,* "the husband's brother." The Latin translation of the OT rendered the Hebrew word as *levir,* "brother," from which comes the concept of levirate marriage.

The purpose of levirate marriage is expressed by Deut 25:6: "that his name [the name of the dead brother] may not be blotted out of Israel." Thus, in order to comply with the intent of the tradition, Judah commanded Onan to take the wife of his deceased brother in order to raise an offspring for his brother (Gen 38:8). Onan was not required to actually marry Tamar, for in levirate marriage the widow only had the right to a son to preserve her husband's name (Coats 1972: 463). Onan obeyed his father; however, he was unwilling to fulfill his responsibility toward his deceased brother. Whenever he had sexual relations with Tamar he would let the semen fall to the ground (Gen 38:9), thereby avoiding giving a child to Tamar. This action of Onan probably was a reference to coitus interruptus, but Onan's conduct has produced the word "onanism," which has come to be a reference to masturbation.

The reason given in the narrative for Onan's reluctance to provide a son for his brother was that he knew that the offspring to be born of Tamar would not be his son but would belong to his brother and would carry the name of the deceased. It is possible that he refused to provide the heir for his deceased brother because he desired the inheritance of his dead brother for himself (Thompson and Thompson 1968: 9). However, Onan's reluctance to give a child to his sister-in-law may reflect a rejection of this custom already present in society. The regulation of levirate marriage in Deut 25:5–10 shows that the custom had encountered some opposition. The law in Deuteronomy allowing a man to refuse his duty was a concession to the reluctance to comply with the custom. Because of Onan's unwillingness to bear a son for his deceased brother, Yahweh was displeased with Onan and slew him also (Gen 38:10).

The names of Onan and Er are mentioned in the list of the people who descended with Jacob to Egypt (Gen 46:12). Although Onan and Er had died in the land of Canaan, they are counted among the seventy people who migrated to Egypt with Jacob. The marriage of Judah to a Canaanite woman may reflect a political alliance between the tribe of Judah and the Canaanites and consequently be a veiled reference to territorial expansion by the tribe of Judah. Albright (*YGC,* 69) identified the name Onan with the Babylonian clan Awnanum and surmised that the deaths of Er and Onan might reflect the early extinction of two minor clans of Judah. Thompson (1974: 185) has strongly rejected this view.

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CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

**ONESIMUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Onēsimos* (Ὀνησιμος)]. The slave of the addressee of the "Epistle to Philemon" (probably Philemon, also possibly Archippus; Phlm 1–2). Onesimus' name means "useful," representing the type of slave name that expressed what a master wished from his slave. Though his master was Christian and hosted a house-church in Colossae (Phlm 2; Col 4:9, 17), Onesimus himself was still a pagan. Thus, the case differed from others in which a whole household had become Christian (e.g., 1 Cor 1:16; 16:15; cf. Acts 10:2, 44–48; 16:15; 18:8).

The common exegesis of the letter to Philemon is that Onesimus at some time ran away from his master. See also PHILEMON, EPISTLE TO. As a fugitive slave, he went to the imprisoned Paul (e.g., Gnilka *Philemon* HTKNT, 68) after he had embezzled money for his flight (Phlm 18–19; e.g., Gülzow

1969: 31). But this version leaves open why he did not—like other runaway slaves—hide abroad in a robber band or in a big city. Paul's prison (probably in Ephesus) was not a logical place to hide, because fugitive slaves were pursued. Roman legal texts render another solution more probable (Lampe 1985: 135–37). Like many other slaves who had done something wrong (cf. Phlm 18–19) and feared the anger of their master, Onesimus went to a person whom he asked to plead his case with his master. See also SLAVERY. Often, a close friend of the master was chosen by these slaves for this purpose. Asking for intercession, they were not considered fugitive slaves. Their intention was to *return* to the master's house and to continue living there peacefully. (*Digesta* 21:1:17:4, 5, 12; 21:1:43:1; Plinius *Epistulae* 9:21, 24). Exactly what Onesimus' misdeed was we do not know; but it did some damage (Phlm 18–19) so that he needed a mediator. Interestingly enough, the pagan slave asked the Christian apostle for help against his Christian master.

Paul sent Onesimus back with a letter appealing to the master to swallow his anger about the damage Onesimus committed and to accept him again with love. Paul stressed his appeal by pointing out that he had converted Onesimus into a Christian in the meantime (something that the master had not achieved); Onesimus therefore deserved to be welcomed as a "beloved brother" in the master's house church, leaving no more room for anger (Phlm 10, 16, 17).

As a Christian, Onesimus was now "useful" for Paul and his master (v 11). Paul combined his appeal for Onesimus with a request for himself; Paul asked the master to send Onesimus back so that the latter could "serve" the apostle (vv 12–14). The "service" has often been interpreted as a personal one for Paul in prison (e.g., Stuhlmacher *Philemon* EKKNT, 40). It is more probable (Ollrog 1979: 102–6, 122) that Paul asked to have Onesimus as a co-worker in mission for a time in place of the master himself (Phlm 13). This temporary delegation of a co-worker by a single congregation to serve another in mission (cf. Phlm 14) is known elsewhere (2 Cor 8:23; Phil 2:25–30; 1 Cor 16:17; Col 1:7). Through these workers, the congregations shared actively in Paul's mission work. Since Onesimus' master represented a house church (Phlm 2), Paul's wish can be interpreted as such a wish for a congregational delegate. Paul asked for Onesimus to be a mission co-worker as a representative of the master and his house church. Other mission helpers were already present in Ephesus when Paul wrote his letter in prison, and sent their greetings (Phlm 24).

From Col 4:9, it can be concluded that the master indeed released Onesimus for temporary service to Paul's mission. After a while, Paul sent him back to his master together with Tychicus and the letter to the Colossians (Col 4:7). It should be noted, however, that this conclusion from Colossians is based on the assumption that Colossians was written a few weeks later than the letter to Philemon by a co-worker of the apostle (which seems most likely; Schweizer *Colossians* EKKNT, 27–28. Others date Colossians either at exactly the same time as the letter to Philemon or later than Paul's death).

Paul, in the Epistle to Philemon, defined a new relationship between slave and master, but he did not ask to free Onesimus from slavery. Paul never criticized the institution of slavery. (Neither is it clear that in 1 Cor 7:21 he really encouraged the slaves to avail themselves of the opportunity to gain freedom whenever this chance came. Everybody should "remain in whatever state he was called" [7:24].) What mattered to Paul is that the existing social difference between slave and master no longer had relevance in the Christian community (Gal 3:27–28; 1 Cor 12:13), where all should treat each other as equally worthy and with love. Existing worldly social differences should no longer be used to the disadvantage of the (in worldly eyes) lower classes. Paul himself did not care whether his mission co-worker Onesimus was a slave or freeborn. In the Church, "free" and "slave" were no longer relevant social terms; they were transformed into spiritual terms: all Christians were "slaves of Christ" and "free" from sin's power (1 Cor 7:22).

As with almost all slaves in the cities of that time (Alföldy 1981: 359), however, Onesimus was probably freed while he was in his thirties at the latest. That Onesimus later, at the age of over 70 at the beginning of the 2d century, was bishop of Ephesus (*Ign. Eph.* 1:3, 6:2) is only a possibility. For further discussion, see commentaries on Philemon and Colossians in Hermeneia, NCBC, WBC, and BBC.

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**ONESIPHORUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Onēsiphoros* (Ὀνησιφορος)]. Onesiphorus is referred to in 2 Tim 1:16–18 as one who had rendered much service at Ephesus and who later had eagerly searched for and found Paul in his captivity in Rome. This Ephesian, not being "ashamed of [Paul's] chains" (1:16), had often "refreshed" him (1:16)—in contrast to other Asians, e.g. Phygelus and Hermogenes, who had "turned away" from Paul (1:15). 2 Timothy also includes greetings to the household of Onesiphorus (4:19) and a prayer that the Lord might grant mercy to his household because of his service to Paul (1:16). Onesiphorus himself does not seem to be included, suggesting that he was either not envisioned as present among the (alleged) recipients of 2 Timothy, was with Paul, or was already dead. The latter is most likely since the author of 2 Timothy writes: "May the Lord grant him to find mercy from the Lord on that Day" (1:18). If Onesiphorus had indeed died, then this prayer is the earliest one for the dead found in Christian literature. As such it has been cited as clear scriptural support (especially among Roman Catholics) for prayer for the dead. (Jewish precedent for such prayer is found in 2 Macc 12:43–45.) The prayer itself in 1:18 with its double use of "the Lord" is problematic; it raises the question of whether the references are to Christ and/or God (Hanson *Pastoral Epistles* NCBC, 127).

The idea that Onesiphorus searched eagerly for Paul "when he arrived in Rome" (1:17) has been subjected to close scrutiny. The underlying Greek phrase, *genomenos 'en rhōmę̄,* literally means "being in Rome" or "having arrived in Rome." Yet, in the interest of reconstructing whatever apparently historical details can be extracted from the Pastoral Epistles—and harmonizing them with what is known about Paul from the authentic letters and Acts—attempts have been made to give a different sense to this phrase. One suggestion had been to take *rhōmę̄* as a Greek word for "strength," not the name of a city, and thus read "when he regained his strength." While this removes the necessity of locating Onesiphorus' visit and thus the imprisonment of Paul referred to in 2 Timothy in Rome, it is an improbable reading, for, as Dibelius and Conzelmann (*Pastoral Epistles* Hermeneia, 106) point out, nothing was said previously about Onesiphorus being sick. Paul, and consequently Onesiphorus, must therefore have been envisioned as `eing in Rome.

Another theory about Onesiphorus, an improbable one because it is too strained, is the attempt to identify him with Onesimus. This is based on the assumption that Onesimus is a shortened form of Onesiphorus (Lyman *IDB* 3: 602).

Apart from the references in 2 Timothy cited above, Onesiphorus is not mentioned elsewhere in the NT. He is, however, rather prominent in the apocryphal *Acts of Paul* (3.2–7, 15, 23–26, 42). There Onesiphorus is described as a resident of Iconium who, with his wife Lectra and children Simmias and Zeno, welcomes Paul into Iconium and acts as his host. Paul's appreciation of Onesiphorus inspires jealousy in his traveling companions Demas and Hermogenes, who oppose him from that point on. It is in the house of Onesiphorus that the virgin Thecla is inspired by Paul to break her betrothal and follow Paul.

In contrast to 2 Timothy, the apocryphal *Acts* locates Onesiphorus not in Ephesus but in Iconium and names his family members. The document also contrasts him with Demas and Hermogenes, while 2 Timothy contrasts the exemplary Onesiphorus with Phygelus and Hermogenes (2 Tim 1:15), although it refers to Demas later as well (4:10), casting him in an unfavorable light. Apart from these differences, however, both 2 Timothy and *Acts of Paul* share an emphasis on the faithfulness of Onesiphorus and his

family to Paul in spite of the desertion of others. While these differences and similarities could be explained as the elaborative dependence of the *Acts of Paul* on 2 Timothy, it remains possible that both are also independent witnesses to a common strand of oral tradition from Asia Minor (MacDonald 1983: 65–66).

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FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

**ONIAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Onias* (Ὀνιας)]. The name of four persons of a priestly family in Hellenistic Palestine. "Onias" is the Greek form of the Hebrew name *ḥônĕyû* or *ḥônî.* This form is related to the name John (Heb *y (ĕh)ôḥānan*). The Oniads are traced back to Jehoiada, the high priest who returned from the Babylonian Captivity, and through him to Zadok, who was appointed by King Solomon. For a genealogical table of this family line see Fig. ONI.01.

**1.** Son of Jaddua, who was high priest in Jerusalem at the time of Alexander the Great. He held office about 300 B.C.E., and may have been the Onias who corresponded with a Spartan king named Areus (1 Macc 12:7, 19–23). There is no agreement about who the correspondents were, and various combinations of the four candidates (Onias I or II and Areus I or II) have been proposed. Onias I was father of Simon I.

**2.** Onias II was the son of the high priest Simon I. On his father's death he was still young, and was substituted temporarily in this office, first by his uncle Eleazar, and then by his grandfather's brother Manasses (*Ant* 12.44, 157). Onias II officiated about the middle of the 3d century B.C.E. He might have been in correspondence with the Spartan king Areus (see #1 above). He came into conflict with Ptolemy III (246–222 B.C.E.), according to Josephus (*Ant* 12.158–59) because of his refusal to pay tribute. But the issue of tribute (and Josephus' characterization of Onias as greedy) cannot serve as a full and satisfactory explanation for the conflict. Political motives may account in part for Onias' behavior. At the accession of Ptolemy III, the third Syrian war began. Onias II sided with the Syrians, perhaps because he believed that direct contact with the Babylonian diaspora accorded better with his interests. But Onias miscalculated the outcome. Ptolemy III was the victor, and Onias II fell into disfavor in the Ptolemaic court. His fall enabled Joseph, the head of the Tobiad family, to strengthen his position in Judea. With this began a power struggle between Tobiads and Oniads that ended eighty years later with the consolidation of Hasmonean power. Nonetheless, under his son Simon II, the high priesthood regained power and prestige.

**3.** Onias III succeeded his father, the high priest Simon II (known as "the Just"), about 190 B.C.E. At the time he inherited the office of high priest, its influence was at a peak. But the power of the office began to decline, in part because of a severe crisis in Judean society caused by tensions between various political, social, and cultural power groups. Onias III faced opposition from Simon and his supporters.

Simon was the brother of Menelaus and Lysimachus, the leaders of the more extreme hellenizers; he was additionally a member of the priestly order of Bilga (Balgea), who, in cooperation with the Tobiads, contested the hegemony of the Oniads. The confrontation between Simon and Onias III foreshadowed the hellenizers' coup d'état and its consequences for Judea.

Conflict between Simon and Onias III began over supervision of the market in Jerusalem. The main issue was probably pecuniary, although Simon was encroaching on the jurisdiction of the high priest to enlarge his own authority. The incident was a portent of the future of the high priestly office, with increasing interference from the imperial government and greater impetus toward hellenization.

Onias III next faced interference (at Simon's instigation) from Heliodoros, the minister of King Seleucus IV (187–175 B.C.E.), in the fiscal management of the temple (2 Maccabees 3). Heliodoros intended to confiscate deposits entrusted to the temple's treasury, probably because of suspicion sowed by Simon that they belonged to enemies of the Seleucid regime. His intention aroused alarm in Jerusalem. According to the florid account in 2 Maccabees 3, when he approached the treasury office with his bodyguards, a supernatural horseman in golden armor reared against him and two young men beat him nearly to death. The incident was seen by the author of 2 Maccabees as a manifestation of God's power in defense of his sanctuary (2 Macc 3:24). Friends of Heliodoros asked the high priest Onias, who then prayed and offered sacrifice for him with the result that God restored Heliodoros to life. The chastened

official returned to Seleucus IV and declared to him the deeds of the supreme God of the temple of Jerusalem. (This story resembles the narrative in Daniel 1–6; see Bickerman 1939–44.)

The "miracle" of Heliodoros' chastisement was not taken at face value, and Simon accused Onias of perpetuating a hoax (2 Macc 4:1–2). Animosity progressed to violence; murders between the factions in Jerusalem and malice on the part of the governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, Appolonius son of Menestheus, convinced Onias that the rivalry had gone too far. Onias traveled in person to meet with the king himself at Antioch.

Onias arrived at Antioch (the year is 175 B.C.E.) to find that Seleucus IV had been murdered by his minister Heliodoros. The throne was subsequently occupied by the king's brother, who became Antiochus IV.

Jason, Onias' brother, took advantage of the new situation and bought from the new king the appointment to the high priesthood. Jason held the office for approximately three years and implemented changes in Jerusalem. During that time Onias remained in exile in Antioch (whether voluntarily or under detention is not clear).

At this point the story of Onias dissolves in conflicting accounts. Jason was dethroned by Menelaus, brother of Simon, in the year 172 B.C.E. Menelaus wished to dispose of Onias, the legitimate high priest. To achieve his aim he bribed Andronicus, a regent for Antiochus IV at that time, to murder Onias. Onias took refuge in an asylum at Daphne, near Antioch. He was finally lured out and murdered (2 Macc 4:30–38). The story of the murder of Onias III has a parallel in Diodorus Siculus (30.7.2), where Andronicus is implicated in the murder of Antiochus, son of Seleucus IV, and executed for it. The similarity of the two stories is evident, yet their relationship is unclear.

Josephus records two different accounts of Onias' fate. In *JW* (1.33; 7.423) he states that Onias III was never detained in Antioch and that he founded a Jewish temple in Egypt. But the account of Onias in the *Antiquities* accords with 2 Maccabees 4. For the various critical opinions see Stern (1960).

**4.** Onias IV was a son of Onias III. The main source about him is *Ant* 13.62–73, to which may be added *Ant* 12.387–88; and 20.236. The narrative in *JW* is erroneous. According to *Ant* 13, Onias had immigrated to Egypt and was living in Alexandria at the time of the Maccabean wars. He requested from the Ptolemaic ruling couple Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 B.C.E.) and Queen Cleopatra permission to build a temple to the God of Israel in Egypt. The king and the queen consented to his request, and allotted to him a ruined Egyptian temple in Leontopolis in the nome of Heliopolis. The site was reconstructed as a Jewish temple under Onias as "high priest" and with other priests and Levites. It served mainly as the worship center of the Jewish inhabitants of this region.

There are some problems concerning the date and purpose of Onias' migration to Egypt. According to *Ant* 12.387, this took place in 162 B.C.E., after the execution of Menelaus and the appointment of Alcimus to the high priesthood. His motive for immigrating may have been despair of obtaining the high priesthood in Jerusalem for himself.

The chronology of his activities is not confirmed by *Ant* 13.62, and may be in conflict with *CPJ* 1 no. 132. This papyrus, dated to September 21, 164 B.C.E., is a letter from Heroides to a certain person whose name was restored by Wilcken as *Oni[ai]* (Onias). If the restoration (endorsed by Tcherikover in *CPJ* 1: 244–46) is correct, and the recipient was Onias IV, as seems probable, then Onias IV should have come to Egypt some time before 164 B.C.E. This chronology is in conflict with *Ant* 12.387, but not with *Ant* 13.62, which supposes that a certain time elapsed between Onias IV's arrival at Alexandria and his request to build a temple.

In view of this, we accept Tcherikover's opinion that Onias IV came to Egypt about a decade before he requested permission from Philometor and Cleopatra to build the temple; the temple would then be dated about 160 B.C.E. A reminiscence of Onias as founder of a temple in Egypt is preserved in *b. Menah.* 109:2. There Onias is a son of Simon the Just (Simon II), who founded a temple in Alexandria.

Onias IV also stood at the head of a Jewish army, which was centered in the Heliopolite nome. He and his sons served as generals under the Ptolemies, and played a role in Ptolemaic politics.

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URIEL RAPPAPORT

**ONION.** See FLORA.

**ONO** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾônô* (אוֹנוֹ)]. A settlement in the NW Shephelah (M.R. 137159), first mentioned in a list of locations in Upper Retenu (Palestine and Syria) conquered by Thutmose III (1490–1436 B.C.). Its hieroglyphic representation, as it appears in these annals (Simons 1937: 112, no. 65) carved on the walls of the Sanctuary of Amon at Karnak, is, according to Albright (1934: 35, 46), vocalized as *ʾU-nu.* Although its location is not precisely fixed, the sequence of towns on the roster provides some geographical perspective (Aharoni *LBHG,* 49): Mahoz, Joppa, Gath, Lod, Ono, Aphek, Socoh, Yaḥam, *hbdn,* Gath, Migdol. Dorsey (1981: 175, 180; fc.: 319) places it at the crossing of the international coastal route (from Gaza to Aphek) with a NW extension (Beth-horon—T. Hadid—Ono—Joppa: the path of a 19th-century-A.D. road) of an alternate branch (between Lod and Beth-horon) of the main road linking Joppa to Beth-horon.

A tradition preserved in 1 Chr 8:12 assigns the building, or rebuilding, of "Ono and Lod and its daughters (i.e., villages, LXX *lōmas*)" to one of the three sons of Elpaal, a Benjaminite. The Greek Codex Vaticanus of this text lacks the words "and Lod." The location of Benjaminite towns so far to the W is problematic. Mazar (*WHJP* 3: 113) believed that during the early settlement, the Benjaminites spread W into the northern coastal plain—to Ono and Lod and elsewhere—to escape the overcrowding of the area bounded by Ephraim, Jerusalem, and the Gibeonite cities. Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 60–61) suggests that when the Danites, whose initial allotment included "territory over against Joppa" (Josh 19:46), were removed to Leshem/Laish, their land was absorbed by Judah and Ephraim. Since Judah and Benjamin had, to some extent, merged since the division of the kingdom, Benjaminites, who earlier enjoyed close ties with the Joseph tribes (Gen 35:24; 46:19–21), moved into this territory. Alt (*KlSchr* 2: 283) proposed that following a period of Philistine dominion, probably as part of the state of Ekron, the land N of Ekron to the *Nahr el-ʿAuja* was annexed by Josiah following an overthrow of Ekron.

That Benjaminites were living in Ono during the Persian period is attested by Neh 11:35. Here "Lod and Ono" (see Neubauer 1868: 86) is thought by Simons (*GTTOT,* 390) to be the referent of the apposition "the valley of Craftsmen (*gê haḥărāšîm,* although cf. 1 Chr 4:14 and *b. Meg.* 4a)." Simons (*GTTOT,* 381) believes Lod and Ono formed an "enclave in the territory outlined by the Danite city-list of Josh 19:40–48." Smith (1896: 253, n. 1) understood the area around Lod to be Samaritan. Avi-Yonah (1966: 17–18) suggested that Ono, along with Lod and Hadid, should be considered similar to Judean villages dispersed through Edom which were to be excluded from the Persian province of Judah/Yehud. Both Aharoni (*LBHG,* 416) and Blenkinsopp (*Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 268) concur in excluding this region from Judea during the Persian period. On the other hand, Albright (1963: 93) speculated that Lod and its adjoining towns were added to the province of Judah by Nehemiah himself. Stern (1982: 246, 248–49) maintains that the region of the NW Shephelah was part of the Gezer district of the province of Judah during the Persian period.

Ono is also mentioned in the rosters of returnees from exile as the town of origin of some of those who came back to Jerusalem and Judah. In Ezra 2:33 the "sons (i.e., citizens) of Ono" are listed along with those of Lod and Hadid as numbering 725. In Neh 7:37 these same three localities claim 721 of the returnees. In 1 Esdr 5:22 the "sons of Ono" are paired with those of "the other Elam (LXX A *kalamōlalou,* LXX B *kalamōkalou*—a corrupt combination of "Lod and Hadid" according to Turner [*IDB* 1: 482])" and number 725.

Neh 6:2 records a proposal by Nehemiah's enemies to meet him "in the villages *(bakkĕpîrîm)* in the plain of Ono." Although LXX (*kōmais,* cf. LXX 1 Chr 8:12) and the Vulgate read "villages," Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 135), Blenkinsopp (*Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 267), and others treat *hakkĕpîrîm* as a place-name. Simons (*GTTOT,* 390) suggests that "the plain of Ono" may be the same area referred to as "the

valley of Craftsmen." The choice of this location is understandable if, as Blenkinsopp (*ibid.,* 216, 268) suggests, Sanballat's home was nearby in one of the Beth-horons in the Shephelah NW of Jerusalem or if, as Alt (*KlSchr* 2: 343 n. 4) proposes, the territory was a neutral zone between the provinces of Ashdod and Samaria.

Talmudic sources contribute to our knowledge of Ono. It was a walled city in the days of Joshua (*b. Meg.* 4a, *m. ʿArak.* 9:6). It was a part of Judea (*b. ʿArak.* 32a, b). The towns of Lod, Ono, and Ge Haharashim were laid waste in the days of the concubine of Gibeah (Judges 20) and rebuilt by Elpaal; after falling again they were repaired by Asa (*b. Meg.* 4a). The distance from Lod to Ono was three miles (*b. Ketub.* 111b). A Rabbi Ḥanina resided in Ono (*m. Giṭ.* 6:7). Two rabbis spent a Sabbath in Ono on their way to Lydda/Lod (*b. Ḥul.* 56b). The Midrash on Lam 1:17 (also quoted in the Midrashim on Lev 23:5 and Cant 2:2 [section 5]) describes Lydda/Lod and Ono as adversaries.

A late-3d-century-A.D. manumission text (No. 1205) from Oxyrhynchus in Egypt (Hunt 1912: 240) mentions a councillor *(bouleutēs)* of *Oneitai.* If, as Hunt (1912: 241) and Avi-Yonah (1966: 123, n. 43) suggest, this designation refers to Ono (or its inhabitants) it may indicate that Ono was made an independent municipality sometime during the 3d century, maybe as a consequence of the strife with Lod (Avi-Yonah 1966: 123, 158; *EncJud* 12: 1407). Ono appears in 5th- and 6th-century Byzantine town lists as an independent town (Abel *GP* 2: 401; Avi-Yonah *EncJud* 12: 1407).

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**ONYCHA.** See PERFUMES AND SPICES.

**OPHEL** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿōpel* (עֹפֶל)]. The word means "hill," "mound," or "bulge," and in some instances refers to a hill (Isa 32:14; Mic 4:8). With the article, the word refers to a specific hill or mound, such as the hill of Samaria (2 Kgs 5:24; cf. the Mesha Stone from Dhiban, which speaks of the wall of the "citadel" of Qarhoh [the high acropolis of Kerak in Jordan]).

Usually, however, the word *haʿōpel* is used as a proper noun to refer to a section of the SE ridge of ancient Jerusalem, south of the temple platform and just north of the City of David where the ridge widens to join the temple platform, or it may refer to the hill of Zion itself (Kenyon 1967: 14–15). Some of the kings of the divided monarchy initiated various construction programs on the Ophel (Jotham, 2 Chr 27:3; Manasseh, 2 Chr 33:14). After the Exile, the Nethanim (i.e., various temple servants) took their turn in repairing the city walls on the Ophel (Neh 3:26–27; cf. 11:21).

During the Roman period, Josephus calls the area Ophlas, a transliteration into Greek from the Aramaic *apla,* and locates it next to the temple platform. He describes the course of the first old wall of Jerusalem as "passing a spot which they call Ophlas, [which] finally joined the eastern portion of the temple" (*JW* 5.4.2 145). This reference to the Ophlas indicates the external bulge just below and SE of the corner of the present Haram esh-Sharif of the temple platform.

The area was strategically important, and during the Roman siege of Jerusalem, John, one of the Jewish leaders, was able to control the temple area with the "Ophla and the valley called Kedron" (*JW* 5.6.1 §254). Josephus correctly distinguished between the Ophlas, located at the N end of the SE ridge, and the area he called "Akra, that is to say, the lower town" (i.e., farther down the SE ridge) which during the

Roman siege was held by another Jewish leader, Simon (*JW* 5.6.1 §253; cf. *JW* 6.6.3 §354; Simons 1952: 60–66; Mazar 1975: 173; Mare 1987: 66).

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**OPHIR** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾôpir* (אוֹפִר)]. According to the Table of Nations (Gen 10:29) and the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 1:23, Ophir was a Semite, son of Joktan, born six generations after Noah. His name is also associated with a geographical area. The names of his brothers in the genealogy would seem to place him and his descendants in Arabia. See HAVILAH (PLACE); SHEBA (PERSON) #1. This location is supported by a descriptive note that places the sons of Joktan in the "eastern hill-country" in the region between Mesha and Sephar (Gen 10:30). An exact location is not known, but the S Arabian area around Yemen would fit the evidence. The name itself is recorded in inscriptions coming from the pre-Islamic period (Ryckmans 1934: 298, 339–40).

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**OPHIR** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾôpîr* (אוֹפִיר)]. A maritime nation which was a source of gold from at least the reign of Solomon (1 Kgs 9:28; 22:49; 2 Chr 8:18). It also provided fine wood and precious stones (1 Kgs 10:11; 2 Chr 9:10; Job 28:16). All of these were delivered to Israel by ship through the port of Ezion-geber on the Red Sea. The gold seems to have been of a particularly high quality since in some of the passages it is used in conjunction with more specific Hebrew terms for fine, choice gold (Job 22:24; Ps 45:10[—Eng 45:9]; Isa 13:12). Ophir became so associated with this rare metal that the name Ophir itself, without any further qualifier, is to be understood as "gold" in Job 22:24. Gold from this source is also known from an extrabiblical inscription from Israel (Maisler 1951).

In poetic and prophetic references to the wealth of Ophir, it is not the source or origin but rather the quality of the metal which is stressed. It is said to be precious indeed, but less so than wisdom (Job 28:16), a relationship with God (Job 22:24), or even humanity itself (Isa 13:12).

The geographical location of Ophir is unclear, and the question has raised a multitude of suggestions ranging from southern Africa to India. The popular attraction to the romantic idea of some distant, exotic location of fantastic wealth has undoubtedly fueled the speculation.

Some have suggested that Ophir is strictly a legend, with no historical existence at all. Because of the large amount of gold which is claimed to have been delivered from there (15 tons), some have suggested that it is the mythical equivalent of Eldorado (North 1967: 197–98). Based on other ANE records, however, it is possible to show that this amount of the metal is not implausible.

An issue which has exacerbated the problem of identifying the location of Ophir concerns the possible relationship between the Ophir of the genealogies of Noah (Gen 10:29; 1 Chr 1:23; see OPHIR [PERSON]) and that mentioned above. The former has been fairly certainly located in the Arabian peninsula, leading to the same suggestion as to the location of Ophir in all of its biblical occurrences. A problem with this location has been suggested because it does not lend itself to the production of some of the exotic animal life associated by some with Ophir's gold (1 Kgs 10:22). This argument against an Arabian site is not compelling since the gold mentioned in 1 Kings 10 is not specifically stated to originate in Ophir. Its source is unspecified, and its mass (666 shekels, v 14) exceeds that which is said to have been transported from Ophir (420 shekels; 1 Kgs 9:28). Even if the gold of chap. 10 were from Ophir, it is not stated that the exotic animals were from the same location. They could have come from a different place, with the ships then on-loading the gold en route back to Israel (North 1967: 200). The

association of the gold from Ophir with the queen of Sheba (1 Kgs 10:10–12), generally identified with Seba and the Sabeans in SW Arabia, adds to the merit of the Arabian identification of Ophir.

Christidès rejects the identification of the Solomonic Ophir with that of the genealogies on the basis of alternative readings of the name (1970: 242). Most of the non-genealogical texts in their Greek and Latin versions have the place-name with an initial *s* not found in the Hebrew text, i.e., Sōphēr (a) (1 Kgs 9:28; 10:11), Sōpheir (a) (Job 22:24; 28:16; 2 Chr 8:18), Soupheir (1 Chr 29:4; 2 Chr 9:10), and Souphir (Isa 13:12). This distinction from the "Ophir" form of the genealogies he feels sufficient to warrant an interpretation which sees the two as separate entities.

Aside from an Arabian site, one of the two other major contenders for the location of Ophir is India (Schreiden 1953: 587–90). This identification was made by Josephus (*Ant* 8.164) concerning 1 Kgs 9:28, and applied by Jerome to Job 28:16 in his translation of the Latin Vulgate. (S)upara, a site some 40 miles N of Bombay, and mentioned by Ptolemy (*Geog.* 7.1.5), has been suggested (see Christidès 1970: 243), as has Goa (Gray *HDB*, 713). In favor of a location on this subcontinent is a sea trade between India and the Middle East from at least the 2d millennium B.C. Also, the commodities which might be associated in Kings with the biblical Ophir are indigenous to India.

Several have also suggested Africa as the site of Ophir. With the discovery of the wealth of Zimbabwe in southern Africa during the 19th century, some suggested that Ophir had been found (Peters 1895; see North 1967: 200). Albright (*ARI*, 133–34) suggested a location farther N along the African coast in what is now Somalia. This is an area associated with the Egyptian *punt.* See PUT. The commodities associated with Ophir are found in this area. This is especially so if one accepts the possibility that some of the geographical descriptions used for parts of this area extend to both sides of the Red Sea, including East Africa and the W Arabian peninsula (ibid.; also North 1967: 201). This would be a combination of two of the suggestions already mentioned.

None of these possibilities have been compellingly proven. The only extrabiblical reference to Ophir does not shed much geographical light on the subject. A text from Tell Qasile dating from the 8th century B.C. reads "gold of Ophir to Beth-horon. 30 shekels" (Maisler 1951: 266). This could indicate the transfer of the metal from its source to another location. Another possibility is that "Ophir" is a description of the fine quality of the gold, as has already been shown for some OT texts. In neither case are we able to obtain any more geographical precision. Though not conclusive, the Arabian or East African sites seem more likely.

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**OPHNI** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿopnî* (עָפְנִי)]. A settlement in the E half of Benjamin (Josh 18:23). The text is not explicit regarding its exact location. The fact that it appears in a list that tends to group names according to geographical proximity, in this case neighboring Geba, suggests that it would be located at the modern site of Jifna (M.R. 170152), some 3 miles (5 km) NW of Bethel. If so, the settlement would actually lie in Ephraim rather than Benjamin as suggested by the larger context, leading us to conclude either (1) that the N boundary of Benjamin was in actuality much more irregular than the schematic description of Josh 18:11–20 would suggest, or, as is now more commonly assumed, (2) that the border description and the listing of towns are contradictory, the two deriving from quite different periods in Israel's history.

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**OPHRAH** (PERSON) [Heb ‹*oprâ* (עָפְרָה)]. The son of Meonothai in the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr 4:14).
H. C. LO

**OPHRAH** (PLACE) [Heb ‹*oprâ* (עָפְרָה)]. **1.** A town in the tribal allotment of Benjamin (Josh 18:23). This Ophrah has been identified with modern et-Taiyibeh (M.R. 178151), about 4 miles N of Bethel (Boling *Joshua* AB, 430; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 238). It may also be described as lying on the intersection of two lines, one running NE from Jerusalem, the other NW from Jericho. This Ophrah also figures in the story of Jonathan's surprise raid on the Philistines at Michmash, where it is said to be the road (roads at this time being named by their end points) taken by one of three Philistine raiding parties (1 Sam 13:17). The other two roads named are "Beth-Horon" and the "valley of Zeboim." Morton (*IDB* 3: 607) and McCarter (*1 Samuel* AB, 238) equate this Ophrah with the Ephron of 2 Chr 13:17 and, on the basis of evidence from the early Christian father Jerome, with Ephraim of 2 Sam 13:23 and John 11:54 (on the former, see the textual note in McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 330, who cites manuscripts of the LXX which lend credence to this equation). In addition, Morton (*IDB* 3: 607) cites Aphairema, a district given to Judea from Samaria by Demetrius in 1 Macc 11:34 as identical with the Benjaminite Ophrah.

**2.** A second Ophrah is associated with the traditions surrounding the judge Gideon (Judg 6:11, 24). This Ophrah is located by these stories in the territory of the tribe Manasseh (that is, to the N of the tribal claim of Benjamin). Judg 6:11 tells us that the Manassite Ophrah belonged to the clan of Abiezer (cf. Josh 17:2, 1 Chr 7:18; see *IDB* 3: 607), and the naming of the place as "the Oak at Ophrah" suggests a place of prophetic activity (cf. the tradition of "Deborah's Palm" in Judg 4:5; see Boling *Judges* AB, 130), though in this case one operating in the Baal cult (cf. Judg 6:25ff). The stories about Gideon continue with no further mention of Ophrah until Judg 8:27 when Gideon makes an ephod there, which the text tells us became a source of apostasy for Gideon and Israel. Upon his death, Gideon is buried in his hometown of Ophrah (Judg 8:32). His son Abimelech killed his brothers there (Judg 9:5), save for Jotham, in a bid to gain sole rule for himself. This Manassite Ophrah has not been located with any certainty, though the location of Gideon traditions in the valley of Jezreel (e.g. Judg 6:35) gives weight to the suggestion of Aharoni (*LBHG*, 263) that this Ophrah should be identified with modern ‹Affuleh (M.R. 177223) in the center of the valley of Jezreel.
JEFFRIES M. HAMILTON

**ORACLE.** An oracle is information transmitted from the deity to human beings, usually either answers to important questions or revelations about future events. This entry consists of two articles, one surveying the use of the word "oracle" (Heb *maśśā›*) in the OT, and the other surveying oracles as an element in ancient Egyptian religion. For other discussions of oracles, see PROPHECY; SIBYLLINE ORACLES; and WOE.

### *OLD TESTAMENT*

Although discussions of prophecy in the OT often use the English word "oracle" as a general term for any speech by a prophet, the RSV and other modern translations use it mostly to translate a single Hebrew word, *maśśā›*. *Maśśā›* designates a specific type of speech used by ancient Israelite prophets. Thus when translating *maśśā›,* "oracle" indicates that a prophetic passage or speech belongs to this specific type.

The OT identifies eighteen passages by means of the Hebrew term *maśśā›*. The RSV labels all of them with the term "oracle." These are: 2 Kgs 9:26a; Isa 13:2–14:23; 14:29–32; 15:1b–16:12; 17:1b–11; 19:1b–25; 21:1b–10, 11b–12, 13b–17; 22:1b–14; 23:1b–18; 30:6b–7; Ezek 12:11–16; Nah 1:2–3:19; Hab 1:2–2:20; Zech 9:1–11:3; 12:1b–14:21; Mal 1:2–3:24[—Eng1:2–4:6].

Jer 23:33–38, Lam 2:14, and 2 Chr 24:27 use the term *maśśā›* to refer to unreported speeches of Israelite prophets. In the Lamentations and Chronicles passages the RSV translates *maśśā›* with "oracle," but uses "burden" in the Jeremiah passage to show the pun created in Jer 23:33 through the use of a homonym of *maśśā›* meaning "burden" (i.e., "You are the burden"). Other passages where translations

use the term "oracle" do not contain the term *maśśā᾽,* and in Prov 30:1 and 31:1 *maśśā᾽* is a name. See MASSA [PERSON].

*Maśśā᾽* has often been thought to designate a specific type of prophetic speech, but a comprehensive definition of the genre has been reconstructed only lately. This definition, developed in a recent study (Weis 1986), indicates that a translation for *maśśā᾽* such as "prophetic exposition of divine revelation" would be preferable to "oracle."

Within ancient Israel the type, or genre, of speech called *maśśā᾽* is found exclusively within the prophetic movement. A *maśśā᾽* responds to a question about a lack of clarity in the relation between divine intention and human reality. Either the divine intention being expressed in some aspect of human experience is unclear, or the divine intention is clear enough, but the human events through which it will gain expression are unclear. In any event, the initiative for a *maśśā᾽* lies not with the deity or the prophet, but with the prophet's community—or a member thereof—which asks the question to which the *maśśā᾽* is a response.

The topic of a *maśśā᾽* is thus always some person, group, situation, or event (e.g., Philistia, the ravaging of Moab, the destruction of Tyre, Babylon, the renovation of postexilic Judah, Nineveh, Jerusalem, King Ahab). The addressee of a *maśśā᾽* is either the prophet's own community or the person or group that is the topic of the passage.

A *maśśā᾽* is based on a particular revelation (given to the prophet) of the divine intention or of a forthcoming divine action. A speech or text belonging to this genre was composed by the prophet in order to expound the way in which the revealed divine action or intention would actually express itself in human affairs. Thus, regardless of the overall formal structure they exhibit, all texts belonging to the genre *maśśā᾽* link descriptions of God's acts or intentions with descriptions of human acts and events in order to present events taking place in the human realm as the manifestation or result of divine initiation (e.g., Isa 13:6–8; 19:1b; 23:11–13; Zech 9:4–5a).

On the basis of this exposition a *maśśā᾽* gives direction for human action in the present or near future, or provides insight into the future. Those texts that give insight into the future are predominantly announcements of future events and conditions (e.g., Isa 17:1b–11; 30:6b–7; Ezek 12:11–16). Those texts that give direction contain commands and/or prohibitions that are justified by reports of past or present events and conditions (e.g., Isa 15:1b–16:12; 21:1b–10; 22:1b–14; 23:1b–18). Commands or prohibitions concerning jubilation and lamentation are addressed to the person or group that is the text's topic (e.g., Isa 23:1b–6, 14). Commands or prohibitions concerning concrete human action apart from jubilation or lamentation are always given to the text's addressee (e.g., Isa 16:3–4a is addressed to officials of Judah, not to the Moabites).

The oldest texts of the OT that belong to this genre (e.g., Isa 14:29–32; 15:1b–16:12; 21:1b–10; 22:1b–14) come from the 8th century B.C.E., and contain within themselves the revelation on which they are based (e.g., Isa 14:32b; 16:6–11, 21:2b [+ 21:9?]; 22:14b). They communicate and expound that revelation for the first time, and respond to a specific inquiry addressed to the prophet about some aspect of the immediate human situation for which the significance is unclear (e.g., Isa 15:1b–16:12 concerns the advisability of giving sanctuary to refugees from an attack on Moab). These examples of the genre *maśśā᾽* usually give direction for action. These texts are produced by prophets who appeal to a living revelatory encounter with the deity, and out of that—through the *maśśā᾽,* which they compose—seek to communicate how the deity is at work in human affairs, and thus how the audience should itself act. The texts are written compositions, but were probably delivered orally. This version of the genre *maśśā᾽* predominates *before* the Exile.

There is some evidence that the prophets who used this type of speech thought of themselves in terms of the metaphor of the lookout on the city wall who watches for dust clouds and other signs of approaching events. These lookouts then had to interpret the significance of the phenomena, or the meaning of the signs that they observed, in order to deliver usable insight or direction—just as the prophets using the genre had to expound the revelation they received in order to give usable insight or direction.

The latest texts of the OT that belong to this genre (e.g., Zech 9:1–11:3; 12:1b–14:21; Mal 1:2–3:24—[Eng1:2–4:6]) come from the late 6th and early 5th centuries B.C.E. Unlike the earliest examples of *maśśā᾽* they refer to a previously communicated revelation that is found outside the *maśśā᾽* (e.g., the previously communicated revelations for the three texts listed above are Haggai 1–2 and Zechariah 1–8, plus Zech 11:4–17 for the last two). Here a *maśśā᾽* is the prophet's response to a generalized complaint that God's intention expressed in the prior communication has not shown itself in human affairs as expected. These examples of the genre tend to give insight into the future rather than direction for action. In other words, they accept the revelatory status of some previous prophetic communication of the divine intention, and in the face of the failure of that intention to appear in human affairs as expected expound how it will actually manifest itself in the near future. These examples of *maśśā᾽* are produced by prophets who derive their authority chiefly from a revelatory text (i.e., earlier prophecy) and only a little (if at all) from a living revelatory encounter with the deity. Although this usage of *maśśā᾽* is a pattern of the postexilic period, there are signs that the shift had begun by the very end of the preexilic period (note the reference to a previously communicated revelation in Hab 2:2–3, although Habakkuk 1–2 otherwise conforms to the preexilic pattern for a *maśśā᾽*).

It is not clear whether the prophets responsible for the postexilic texts conceived of their work under any particular metaphor, but they had become less the originators of new prophecies and more the guardians and interpreters of old prophecies deemed still to have life. The evolution of the genre *maśśā᾽,* in this respect, participates in the evolution currently posited by some for the prophetic movement as a whole. The shift from localizing revelation in a personal encounter with the deity to localizing revelation in a written text, seen in the development of the genre *maśśā᾽,* is also an important step on the road to a religion centered around a canonical Scripture as the source of divine guidance.

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RICHARD D. WEIS


## *ANCIENT EGYPT*

An oracle is information transmitted from the world of the gods to humans. Different from theological revelations, the term "oracle" is usually reserved for those occasions which relate to the will or knowledge of god with regard to the actions of human beings. Because of this, oracles have often been assumed to reveal a person's destiny, and, therefore, they are indicative of cultures which have a very fatalistic worldview. On analysis, however, this proves to be a highly problematic position.

Oracles can be divided into two categories: the solicited and the unsolicited (Blackman 1925: 249ff.; 1926: 176ff.). The unsolicited oracle, the less common of the two, is a sudden, unexpected message from the divine, often occurring in dreams. We are familiar with such oracles in Egypt in relation to royalty, such as Prince Osorkon (Caminos 1958: 88–89), Pharaoh Merenptah, and on the famous sphinx stele of Tuthmoses IV (Sauneron 1959: 19ff.).

Solicited oracles result from a conscious human attempt to discover the divine will. This attempt usually comes in the form of a question which is phrased either to solicit verification ("yes" or "no") or for specification, the answer to which requires explanation. The former is, of course, the most common type of oracular question (Černý 1935: 41ff.), and it is regularly encountered in Egypt in cases of adjudication where the petitioner presents his case to the god who will, by one means or another, communicate

agreement or disagreement (Parker 1962: 44–45). The latter type of question requests much more information from the god; the most common example of this is incubation, creating a situation—usually through an altered state of sleep or deep meditation—wherein one induces the god to communicate the divine will or knowledge (Volten 1942: 40–41). This practice of incubation, or dream invocation, does not seem to occur in the earlier stages of Egyptian history (Ray 1976: 131 ff.), and may be concomitant with the Late Period change in Egyptian thought, which saw a distinct change in the Egyptian acceptance of the power and prominence of fate (Miosi 1982: 69 ff.).

Oracles were made in numerous ways and related to various topics (Roeder 1959: passim). They frequently involved voices which emanated from the recesses of chapels or from statues. These "divine" voices were certainly those of priests who interpreted the will of god. Prophetic messages were also associated with dreams, particularly associated with temple incubation, and they were often transmitted by people who were possessed or in a trance. Oracles could also occur without speech, as was the case for those made during processions of the god in his sacred boat, when he communicated his will by forcing the boat carriers to move in one direction or another or by interpreting the movement of sacred animals (Ray 1976: 131).

Oracles were sought by all classes—from peasants to pharaohs—and they covered all topics; e.g., whether some food was good enough to eat; what was the most effective cure for a disease (Ray 1976: 134); how to ensure conception; matters of commerce; the selection of a high priest or of a pharaoh; and whether professional advancement was likely. Quite often oracles were sought to decide guilt or innocence in legal disputes; usually these were solicited, requiring only a "yes" or "no" response.

The presence of a priest was absolutely essential in oracular matters. Priests sometimes wrote the questions, were usually the vehicle through which a god transmitted an oracle, were responsible for recording oracles, particularly in legal matters (Posener 1968: 99), and were often responsible for interpreting the meaning of oracles. Indeed, there existed at the serapeum at Memphis expert and professional dream interpreters who were available to anyone. Some of these individuals may have been part of the personnel of the main temple, while others worked independently. In the late Ptolemaic and Roman periods, cults and their priesthoods may have been quite competitive in attracting clients for their particular oracular interpretation skills (Ray 1976: 130 ff.).

As mentioned above, there is a tendency to connect too quickly oracles with a fatalistic worldview. However, it can be seen that many oracles, especially those which involved adjudication, refer to *past* events; predictions and fate are certainly not involved with these. Some appeal to god's omniscience and reflect a present circumstance—knowing the most appropriate cure or the whereabouts of someone or something—and again are not associated with fate or predictions. Others merely show a god's preference or favor (e.g., his choice of high priest or pharaoh).

Of course, many oracles do refer to the outcome of future events, but even here we must be wary of automatically linking ability to predict with fate or predestination. Other explanations are possible. An Egyptian's future was not considered fixed and predestined. It was, instead, seen as the result of a dynamic interaction between the individual—with his own desires, motivations, and actions, and his own physical and temporal environment—and the gods. The divine was imminent and was always reacting to man, principally through the process of reward and punishment. When the future was revealed to a person through an oracle, he may simply have been finding out what god wanted him to do or what particular response or reaction god had in store for him based on his position at any given moment within the process of the law of reward and punishment. Divine revelation of some event in a totally static and predestined future is quite different from god's revealing to someone what his future responses will be within a dynamically interactive relationship.

Thus, reference to oracles does not necessarily indicate a belief in a predestined life. Oracles could refer to the past, or to god's omniscience or preference; these are not related to fate. Oracles relating to the future may merely record what deserved rewards or punishments might or will occur, or what questions man feels are beyond his capacity to answer.

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FRANK T. MIOSI

**ORAL TRADITION.** This entry consists of two articles. The first deals with the role of oral tradition in the formation of the NT writings. The second deals with the role and importance of oral tradition in early Judaism. For the role of oral tradition in the formation of the OT writings, see FORM CRITICISM (OT); GENESIS, THE NARRATIVE OF; JOSHUA, BOOK OF; JUDGES, BOOK OF; SCANDINAVIAN SCHOOL (OT); TRADITION HISTORY.

## *NEW TESTAMENT*

The oral tradition of the NT developed in a world which had set a high premium on both the written and the spoken word.

On the one hand, early Christianity was in its Jewish and Hellenistic loyalties heir to literate cultures of distinction. In ancient Judaism scrolls were revered as repositories of wisdom and revelation. From the 3d century B.C.E. onward the hellenization of the ANE world accelerated chirographic processes, rapidly increasing the quantity and variety of Hellenistic and Jewish-Hellenistic literature. There had never been in Western history a production of scrolls, papyri, and manuscripts on such a massive scale. The Christian movement, therefore, originated in a Jewish-Hellenistic milieu which highly prized the written word.

On the other hand, the canonization of biblical literature is apt to delude us into thinking of texts as the single most important tool of civilized existence in the ancient world. Orality, which had been humankind's sole or predominant medium for millennia, prevailed long after the introduction of alphabetic writing systems (Ong 1982: 115–16). Despite the growth of a chirographic culture in antiquity, the Hellenistic age remained strongly beholden to oral modes of communication, composition, and education. Mnemonic devices and formulaic modes of expression dominated thought structures. Orators could carry in their minds a vast stock of commonplaces, and rhetoric was one of the most serious and consequential subjects of civilized life. Texts themselves were hearer-friendly. Any text worthy of consideration was meant to be read aloud (Balogh 1926; Hendrickson 1929; Saenger 1982).

As a result of this dual commitment to textuality and orality in late antiquity, Christianity does not possess a tradition transmitted in purely oral fashion over a millennium (like the Hindu Vedas). Texts came early to the Christian movement, and oral proclamation was subject to textualization almost from its inception. But it must likewise be acknowledged that in early Christianity, as elsewhere in the ancient world, speech remained a principal means of communication. There is no rational ground for rejecting the existence of oral tradition altogether (Ellis 1975: 299–315). In early Christian life and worship the oral proclamation was the rule. As is evident from the Pauline letters, this proclamation was saturated with traditional forms and formulas. Even glossolalia was a learned skill which availed itself of fixed sounds and rhythmic utterances. The interaction, moreover, of discourse with texts and vice versa took on many forms, ranging from close partnership to strained relations all the way to textuality's urge to revise antecedent proclamation.

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A. Oral Proclamation of Jesus

1. The Saying

2. The Parable
3. Miracle, Exorcism, Apothegm

B. Synoptic Tradition
C. Gospel Composition
D. Paul
E. Commonplace Tradition
F. Rhetoric of the NT

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**A. Oral Proclamation of Jesus**

The oral gospel originated with Jesus himself. In the only canonical passage pertaining to his educational, linguistic background, he is called a man of literary, scriptural knowledge, although without formal rabbinic schooling (John 7:15). In communicating his message, he entrusted himself to the oral medium without—as far as is known—ever committing a word to writing. Insofar as all four canonical Gospels have given us the portrait of an itinerant speaker of authoritative words, surrounded by audiences and engaged in debates, they will have retained genuine features of Jesus the oral performer.

The aphoristic saying *(ho logos)* and the parabolic story (*hē parabolē*) constituted the two formal units of Jesus' proclamation. Both were oral operations, not literary categories, and together they formed the basis of what came to be the gospel tradition. Their formation, moreover, was rooted in Jewish and Greco-Roman culture. Far from being Christian inventions, the saying and the parable presented themselves as ready-made linguistic instruments to Jesus and his early followers.

**1. The Saying.** Speaking in sayings was a proven way of managing information in antiquity. Teachers and philosophers, prophets and scientists were trained to handle knowledge in aphoristic fashion. Brevity, rhythmic patterning, and appeal to visual imagination were characteristic aspects of ancient sayings, including those of the Jesus tradition. As is true of all generic choices, a commitment to the genre of saying imposed artistic and ideological limitations upon the speaker. An effective operation of the sayings, therefore, depended not only on a rhetorically skilled performance, but on using the genre to its full potential. The latter is well documented by the rich display of varied types of sayings in the gospel tradition: proverbial sayings, wisdom sayings, prophetic sayings, apocalyptic sayings, ethical sayings, curses and beatitudes, among others (Bultmann 1963: 69–166). Within the limitations set by the genre, diversity was desirable in order to achieve maximal rhetorical effects. Irrespective of the literary fixation of Jesus' sayings, the mnemonic structuring, the rhetorical appeal, and the compositional variability of many reminds us of their oral genesis and performance.

**2. The Parable.** Parable availed itself of story, a chief vehicle in oral teaching. Brevity as well as rhythmic and thematic patterning must once again be viewed as concessions to hearers. Another hallmark of Jesus' parables is their narrative variety; they are not reducible to one single tale (Crossan 1973). The parable, as the saying, functioned like an instrument the effectiveness of which depended on the skills of the performer. In keeping with oral proprieties, Jesus' parables stayed close to the human world. Up to a point hearers could recognize themselves in these stories. But in the course of a parabolic rendition, the narrative realism frequently conflicted with the social experience of the hearers. At this very point the parabolic logic intruded upon hearers' lives, making their engagement in the story inescapable. Remembering, therefore, was not the only, and not even the most important, objective of parables. The tradition has, quite appropriately, furnished some parables with the closing formula: "He who has ears to hear, let him hear." It invited hearers to complete the parable, and to make sense of it in their lives.

**a. Plurality of Originals.** What was fundamental about the rendition of sayings and parables was their disposition to function as autonomous speech acts. They were not meant to be heard as scattered pieces or fragmented knowledge in need of an explanatory framework. Saying and parable constituted discrete utterances. Each oral performance carried with it its own logic and sense of integrity; each was an authentic act of communication. Our search for *the* one original saying or parable of Jesus is, therefore, not only fraught with technical difficulties, but from the perspective of oral performance meaningless.

Multiple oral renditions of a saying or parable produced a plurality of originals, and hence not the one original (Lord 1960).

**b. Clustering Processes.** If saying and parable constituted the initial phase of proclamation, then their clustering arrangements began to enrich and complicate the tradition. The juxtaposition of sayings and parables resulted in a variety of formations. Two sayings combined into an aphoristic compound. Three or more sayings and parables coalesced into speech complexes (Crossan 1983). Clustering also was at the root of the formation of Jesus' speeches, the best known of which were the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5–7), the Sermon on the Plain (Luke 6:20–49), and the Farewell Speech (John 13:31–17:26). Further development of the clustering processes led to sayings collections, arrangements with little or no interest in narrative syntax. A notable example is Q, which was, however, acceptable to the canonizers only by way of Matthean and Lukan mediation. Clustering, moreover, elevated sayings, dialogues, and parables to a gospel in its own right, the sayings gospel or revelation discourse. A prominent example of a sayings gospel was the gospel of Thomas. See THOMAS, GOSPEL OF (NHC II,*2)*. Its Jesus functioned as a teacher of wisdom more than as object of faith. Most clustering processes were products of writing: one does not speak in series of sayings. But in seeking to perpetuate the living authority of Jesus as speaker of sayings and parables, the sayings gospel remained committed to oral sensibilities. It displayed, therefore, the competing interests of speech and writing in the tradition.

**3. Miracle, Exorcism, Apothegm.** In addition to saying and parable other types of oral communication developed which organized and recollected vital information. The miracle (or heroic) story centered on the single, spectacular aspect of Jesus' healings. Simultaneously simplifying and magnifying the dramatic healing action, it created a heroic image of Jesus which conformed to the mnemonic and aesthetic requirements of oral communication. In the exorcism (or polarization) story life was grasped by its opposites and Jesus was profiled as a memorable figure in conflict with evil. Ideological simplicity and adversary relations had obvious imaginative advantages over the monotonous course of daily life. The apothegmatic (or didactic) story enacted a variety of controversy or dialogue scenes which culminated in a saying. In this case the stories served as a mnemonic bridge designed to call attention to the final saying, which carried the tradition's social, cultic, and moral values. What all three types of oral stories had in common was a mnemonic structuring, a high degree of imaginative appeal, and a personalization and actualization of information.

**B. Synoptic Tradition**

In the 20th century Bultmann (1963), Gerhardsson (1961; 1964; 1979; 1986), and Riesner (1984) developed the most influential models of the precanonical, synoptic tradition. Together with Schmidt (1919) and Dibelius (1934), Bultmann pioneered the school of form criticism. See FORM CRITICISM. Its basic premise was that many of the sayings and brief narrative units in the Gospels had formerly been operating as speech events. This form-critical insight gave rise to the concept of a pre-gospel, oral tradition. Bultmann suggested an active transmission of the tradition along evolutionary lines from oral simplicity to gospel complexity. Gerhardsson and Riesner, questioning many of the assumptions of form criticism, advocated a relatively stable process of transmission. The former appealed to rabbinic transmissional processes, while the latter located a reliable transfer of sayings in circles comprised of Jesus' disciples and sympathizers. It has, however, been questioned as to whether the synoptic tradition submits to a single conceptual model (Kelber 1983). All oral proclamations were discrete acts of speech, separated by intervals of nonspeaking and unconnectable by linear, evolutionary tracts. Nor was the tradition limited to orality. Stories, sayings, and cluster arrangements came to be written down. Once textualized, they were as a rule recycled back into speech. This interplay of text and proclamation ruled out progressive solidification of orality into textuality. While speech was often written down out of preservative instincts, interpretive impulses were built into the tradition from its inception. The parable, for example, always called for interpretation. Prophetic and apostolic figures continued to proclaim Jesus' words, updating them and adding new ones to their repertoire (Beare 1967; Boring 1982). Forgetting and suppression, moreover, were as much part of tradition as remembering and interpretation (Abel 1971). In sum, the synoptic tradition is a catchword used to reify a tangle of transmissional and hermeneutical

processes, of recall and revision, of omission and deconstruction, which in their entirety may elude diagrammatic representation.

**C. Gospel Composition**

According to the two-source hypothesis, the Matthean and Lukan narratives were composed in dependence on Mark and the sayings source Q. Mark in turn had developed out of an orally dominant tradition. The thesis of Griesbach, which has recently been revived in some quarters, presents an alternative model (Farmer 1964). On that hypothesis, Mark wrote after Matthew and Luke, and Luke was dependent on Matthew. The Matthean gospel in turn had developed out of a tradition of early "eyewitnesses." How the ancients were supposed to have proceeded, however, technically and practically, in merging Mark and Q into the Matthean/Lukan syntheses, or in conflating Matthew and Luke into the Markan composition, has remained unexplained and unexplored. What to the modern mind appears to be a skillful juggling of textual sources may in ancient scribality have been a partnership of chirographic activity with an oral memory in possession of multiple traditions.

Whatever the genetic history of the Gospels, their narrative design appeals to the ear more than to the eye. An oral, paratactic style dominates over subordinate, dependent clauses. Multiple kinds of redundancies accommodate listeners to hear their way through these narratives. Single-action scenes, controversies, and speeches make up the backbone of their syntax. Doings and sayings take over narrative functions where the modern reader would expect character development and psychological probing. This is not to suggest that the Gospels are oral traditional literature, e.g., direct transcriptions of the same oral story (Lord 1978). The marks of textuality are unmistakably present in the Gospels. But textual constructions and dependencies notwithstanding, the gospel narratives still operate in the interest of an aesthetics of hearing.

**D. Paul**

The bulk of the pre-Pauline Christian materials recoverable from the apostolic letters appears in forms fashioned by oral needs and/or designed for oral use in worship: baptismal formula (Gal 3:28), eucharistic formula (1 Cor 11:23–26), acclamation formula (1 Cor 12:3; 16:22), confessional formula (1 Cor 15:3–5; Roman 1:3–4), faith formula (1 Thess 4:14; Rom 10:9b), doxology (Rom 1:25c; 9:5c), and hymn (Phil 2:6–11). In addition, the apostle made use of dominical sayings (1 Cor 7:10–11; 9:14), although with surprising infrequency.

While the degree of Paul's indebtedness to Jewish, Hellenistic, and Jewish-Hellenistic culture has remained controversial, there is growing certainty that his style of argumentation was informed by ancient rhetoric (Wuellner 1979; 1986). The exercise of theology in such a world was primarily a dynamic interpersonal affair. It did not intend to prove truth abstractly, but through persuasion and by soliciting action. Partiality rather than objectivity was desirable. In a number of his letters Paul communicated the nature and terms of the gospel in a disputational, polemical style. This is traditionally understood as a response to historical adversaries but it can also be appreciated as a rhetorically effective communication. Assertion against opposition, rather than dispassionate logic, was a proven rhetorical strategy. In the same vein, Paul communicated by means of popular polarities: Jew/gentile, male/female, master/slave, believer/unbeliever, spirit/flesh, wise/foolish, among others. The best-known example of his rhetorical style is the diatribe (Bultmann 1910; Stowers 1981). In using it, the apostle simulated objections to his argument, or drew false inferences from it, both of which he subsequently refuted (1 Cor 15:35–37; Gal 2:17). In effect the diatribe furnished him with a method of creating dialogues between himself and imaginary interlocutors (Rom 3:27–4:2). The purpose of the diatribe was pedagogical more than polemical. Dialogue enhanced contact with the addressees and the exposition of error sought to deepen their commitment to the gospel. In keeping with the ancient rhetorical tradition, moreover, Paul was in command of an arsenal of fixed topics and popular maxims. The paraenetic section of Galatians (5:25–6:10), for example, is composed of diverse sayings; Galatians 4:12–20 constitutes a collection of maxims focused on the topic of friendship; Romans 12:9–21 contains another series of sayings loosely arranged around the topos of love. Typically, many of these maxims had parallels in Judaism, Hellenism, and

Jewish-Hellenistic philosophy. They belonged to a common stock of ancient philosophical, rhetorical wisdom.

In Pauline studies a notable shift is taking place from epistolography to rhetoric (Wuellner 1976). It is based on the premise that the key to the apostle's writings does not lie in theories of literature but rather in theories of argumentation. Work on the rhetorical design of an entire Pauline letter, however, is still in its infancy. The most successful rhetorical interpretation of a Pauline letter has been Betz's commentary on Galatians (*Galatians* Hermeneia). On Betz's reading, Galatians conjures up the situation of a law court, with Paul functioning as the defendant, the addressees as jury, and Paul's opponents as the accusers.

**E. Commonplace Tradition**

The use of common stock materials was a recurrent feature outside the *corpus Paulinum* as well. The Letter of James, for example, carries clusters of sayings which were occasionally connected by catchwords, but more often lack a discernible connectedness (1:2–27; 3:13–4:12; 5:7–20). Some sayings in James bear a close resemblance to those in the Sermon on the Mount (1:22 = Matt 7:24–27; 5:12 = Matt 5:34–37). But whether or not they originated with Jesus, for James they were *loci communes* in that they belonged to a tradition common to all believers irrespective of individual authorship. The topic of the rules for the household enjoyed special popularity (Col 3:18–4:1; Eph 5:22–6:9; 1 Tim 2:8–15; 6:1–2; Titus 2:1–10; 1 Pet 2:13–3:7). Again, there was little that was specifically Christian in these rules. The ethos they displayed belonged to the common tradition shared by non-Christians and Christians alike.

**F. Rhetoric of the NT**

The oral tradition of the NT was a phenomenon comprised of a plurality of speech acts and diverse modes of proclamation. Ranging from saying to hymn, and from parable to doxology, it represented a rich world of sound and voices, of shared knowledge and intimacy, of loyalties and polemics, of remembering and participation. Once textualized, each item of proclamation, including its aesthetic, ideological ambience, was subject to revision. In different words, none of the twenty-seven texts was in its entirety the product of orality. The oral tradition of the NT exists only in forms embedded in and overridden by textuality.

A distinction must be made between the primary orality and literary rhetoric. The former entailed acts of speech at specific situations. It was not itself a text, although it could become textualized. At the point of textualization, primary orality was inevitably subject to the norms of the written medium. Literary rhetoric, on the other hand, described the stylistic and argumentative disposition of texts which shared basic objectives with oral proclamation. Not unlike primary orality, literary rhetoric developed strategies appealing to hearers, but owing to its textual identity it had to negotiate rapprochements with the chirographic technology. It may justly be assumed that all twenty-seven texts of the NT, not merely the Pauline letters, represent various degrees of literary rhetoric. The Apocalypse, for example, was constructed less according to a linear plot, but rather as a drama of recapitulation, allowing hearers through successive remembering to immerse themselves in a world of expanding symbols and images (Barr 1987). Even the Letter to the Hebrews, which is distinguished by a polished and educated style, defines itself as a "word of exhortation" (Heb 13:22: *logos tēs paraklēseōs*), a discourse designed to prove a case and to move hearers to take appropriate action. Reader-response criticism or reception theory, which has scarcely begun to be employed in biblical studies, is destined to make a crucial contribution to our understanding of the rhetorical nature of the NT texts.

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## *EARLY JUDAISM*

According to rabbinic Judaism, "oral tradition" is the authoritative interpretation of the Written Law. Judaism understands the oral tradition to have been given by God to Moses on Sinai and therefore to be equal in authority and holiness to the Written Torah, represented by the Pentateuch.

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A. The Concept of Oral Tradition
B. The Character and Antiquity of the Oral Tradition
C. Past Perspectives on the Oral Tradition

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### A. The Concept of Oral Tradition

Judaism maintains that God's revelation to Moses at Sinai, described in the book of Exodus, contained two distinct parts. One component was the Written Law, embodied in the text of the Pentateuch. This component was transmitted in writing and made accessible to all the people of Israel. The other part was the Oral Law. This aspect of the revelation was formulated for memorization and was transmitted orally by successive generations of sages. Judaism holds that God taught the oral tradition to Moses, who repeated it to Joshua. After Joshua, the chain of tradition lists "elders" and the biblical prophets. Ultimately, the oral materials passed into the hands of rabbinic authorities. To assure that this revelation would not be lost as a result of war, national strife, or other physical or intellectual calamity, beginning in the 2d century C.E., the rabbis codified the oral materials and preserved them in written form.

The first and principal document of the Oral Torah is the Mishnah, a Hebrew-language law code, edited in the land of Israel ca. 200 C.E., but containing statements attributed to rabbis who flourished over the preceding 200 years. Other rabbinic texts, including the Tosefta, Midrashic documents, and the Talmuds of the land of Israel and of Babylonia, are deemed also to embody the originally oral revelation. The Babylonian Talmud, completed in ca. 600 A.E., is the final document considered to be part of the oral tradition. The rabbinic theory of Oral Torah thus holds that statements and principles expressed by sages who lived over a period of close to 600 years preserve teachings that derive from God's original revelation to Moses at Sinai.

In this theory, the Written and Oral Torahs are part of a single, uniform revelation and are, accordingly, of equal authority and importance. When a 2d-century rabbi in the Mishnah or a 5th-century sage in the Midrash or Talmud responds to a discussion or question from his own day, his judgment does not comprise his own thinking and analysis. Rather, it is part and parcel of the divine revelation of Torah at Sinai. Even though the sage's comment is expressed in his own words and responds to a question or issue raised in his own day, it is understood to derive, in detail, from what God told Moses at the time of the original revelation (Neusner 1986: viii). The statement in every respect has the authority of divine revelation.

The first evidence for this concept of Oral Torah is found in Mishnah tractate *ʾAbot,* which dates to early in the 3d century C.E. It begins:

> Moses received Torah at Sinai and passed it on to Joshua, Joshua to elders, and elders to prophets. And prophets handed it on to the men of the great assembly …

(trans. Neusner 1986: 47)

Use of the term "Torah," without the definite article, indicates that the passage does not speak of the Pentateuch, always referred to as "the" Torah. Further, the passage describes Torah's closed transmission to specific individuals and groups. This process does not pertain to the written Scriptures, which were made accessible to all Israelites. The passage thus describes Moses' receiving of a second component of revelation, referred to elsewhere in rabbinic literature as Oral Torah. Developing the theme introduced here, the remainder of the first chapter of *ʾAbot* describes the subsequent transmission of this Oral Torah through generations of Jewish leaders and ultimately to those same rabbis who are cited in the Mishnah.

The notion introduced in *ʾAbot,* of the closed transmission of an esoteric revelation, functions polemically within rabbinic Judaism. The claim to possess an otherwise unknown component of God's revelation legitimates rabbinic authority and promotes the Israelite people's acceptance of rabbinic leadership. The concept of Oral Torah claims that rabbinic leaders are direct successors to Moses, whom these authorities call "our Rabbi," thus designating him the first rabbinic sage. According to the notion of oral tradition, furthermore, only under rabbinic guidance can the Israelite people correctly observe God's will. The Written Torah, available to all of Israel, contains only half of God's revelation. Access to the written Scriptures alone does not provide the people with all the information needed to properly observe the law. Correct observance is possible only under the guidance of rabbinic authorities, who have the revealed key to understanding the written Scripture.

The concept of oral tradition described here is uniquely rabbinic. Other postbiblical Jewish writings know nothing comparable. This is evident, for instance, in Josephus' descriptions of the Pharisees, whom the later rabbis understand to be the direct recipients of the oral tradition. In his first book, *The Jewish War,* Josephus says nothing about the Pharisees' knowledge of inherited traditions. He states only that of the several Jewish philosophical schools, the Pharisees are "considered the more accurate interpreters of the laws" (*JW* 1.97, LCL). Josephus' later work, the *Antiquities,* reworks his earlier descriptions so as to encourage the Roman government to support the Pharisees as leaders of the Jewish people (Smith 1956: 81). To substantiate his case that the Pharisees are the nation's legitimate rulers, Josephus notes that they preserve and follow certain traditions developed in accordance with their distinctive philosophical doctrine:

> They follow the guidance of that which their doctrine has selected and transmitted as good, attaching the chief importance to the observance of those commandments which it has seen fit to dictate to them.

(13.171, LCL)

It is one thing to say that a group preserves and follows some traditions received from past generations. That is what Josephus argues in the passage in *Antiquities.* The same general idea is found in Philo, who focuses upon the Jews' adherence to laws and traditions handed down from Moses, their lawgiver. It is quite another to claim, as the rabbis do, that *all* of the legal and exegetical dicta of a particular group have been passed down by tradition and derive, ultimately, from divine revelation. Outside of the rabbinic writings, such a notion is absent from Jewish discussions of oral tradition.

In sum, the notion of oral tradition legitimates all rabbinic statements about the meaning of Scripture and the content of revelation. Under the theory of Orah Torah, rabbinic interpretations have the authority of the word of God. At the same time, the concept of Oral Torah delegitimizes all interpretations that derive from outside of rabbinic circles. These are viewed as (simply) the work of fallible human intellect. By establishing the rabbis as the only authoritative source for correct practice and understanding of the divine word, the theory of Oral Torah promotes and justifies the rabbis' spiritual and political leadership over the Israelite people.

**B. The Character and Antiquity of the Oral Tradition**

The nature and content of the documents of rabbinic Judaism lead to conclusions quite different from those suggested by the notion of Oral Torah. What the rabbis conceive of as an oral tradition originating at Sinai takes the concrete form of arguments and discussions among rabbinic sages of the first centuries of the Common Era. The earliest of these discussions, found in the Mishnah, took place for the most part in the aftermath of the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E. and the failed Bar Kokhba revolt of 133–35 C.E. During this decisive period in Jewish history, rabbinic sages studied and interpreted Scripture, working out a program of ritual and legal practice that eventually would shape Judaism according to the rabbis' own ideals and aspirations. By the end of the Mishnaic period, the rabbis came to consider the results of their deliberations to be part of a divinely revealed oral tradition. From the principles, rules, and issues at play in the rabbinic documents, it is apparent, however, that this Oral Torah is substantially the product of the rabbis' own day and of their own distinctive attitudes and philosophies.

To illustrate this point, let us examine Mishnah tractate *Berakot* 1:1, a typical legal discussion:

A. From what time may they recite the Shema-prayer in the evening?
B. From the hour that the priests enter [their homes] to eat their heave offering,
C. "until the end of the first watch"—the words of Rabbi Eliezer.
D. But sages say, "Until midnight."
E. Rabban Gamaliel says, "Until the rise of dawn."
F. There was an incident: His [that is, Gamaliel's] sons returned from a banquet hall [after midnight].
G. They said to him, "We did not [yet] recite the Shema."
H. He said to them, "If the dawn has not yet risen, you are obligated to recite [the Shema].
I. "And [this applies] not only [in] this [case]. Rather, [as regards] all [commandments] which sages said [may be performed] 'Until midnight,' the obligation [to perform them persists] until the rise of dawn."
J. [For example] the offering of the fats and entrails—their obligation [persists] until the rise of dawn [see Lev 1:9, 3:3–5].
K. And all [sacrifices] which must be eaten within one day, the obligation [to eat them persists] until the rise of dawn.
L. If so why did sages [D] say [that these actions may be performed only] until midnight?
M. In order to protect man from sin.

Rabbinic sages discuss the time frame within which a certain obligatory prayer may be recited. As presented here, this issue clearly was live in the period of the discussion's named authorities, the early 2d century C.E. Since the matter is still under dispute, it appears hardly to represent the end product of a tradition of revealed law, intended by God to define exactly how the rules of the Written Torah are to be carried out. The Shema prayer itself is known only from the rabbinic literature. Accordingly, there is no reason to posit a long history of legislation concerning its recitation.

While Eliezer, B-C, suggests temple practice as the guide to the answer to A's question, neither he nor the other cited authorities argue or imply that these positions represent the way things always—or even recently—have been done. Quite to the contrary, L-M explains that the opinion of sages (that is, anonymous rabbinic authorities), D, is not meant to represent the true law at all. These unnamed authorities give an early time—midnight—for completion of the requirement in order to prevent people from becoming lax and failing to fulfill their obligation. So here matters are explicit: the sages do not simply repeat what they know to be a revealed law, passed on through tradition. Rather, they intentionally

refrain from indicating the correct parameters for proper practice, preferring, instead, to give their own reasoned opinion as to what the people should be told.

The form and concerns of this passage suggest that the rabbinic literature records discussions and opinions from the time of the rabbis themselves. This impression is supported by recent analyses of the content of the discussions found in the Mishnah as a whole. The consensus of this scholarship is that the ideals and principles that inform the Mishnah's rules are the creations of those same rabbis cited in that document. These rabbis, that is to say, report their own opinions and disputes on a variety of topics. They do not simply repeat, in their own names, laws that they inherited.

This point is illustrated by reference to the Mishnaic division of Agriculture, which contains the rabbinic treatment of Scripture's laws for tithing and maintenance of the holy land, e.g., observance of the prohibitions against planting mixed kinds and tilling the land during the Sabbatical Year. Observance of these restrictions would have been of central concern to the Israelite people from antiquity all the way through Second Temple times. Meticulous observance of the tithing laws also is generally considered one central characteristic of the Pharisaic movement. If the Mishnah preserves an ancient oral tradition at all, we should likely find substantial traces of it here.

This, however, is not the case. Like the rest of the Mishnah, the vast majority of the division of Agriculture is attributed to authorities who lived in the period after the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E., and, to an even greater extent, after the Bar Kokhba revolt of 133–35 C.E. (Avery-Peck 1985: 359–61). It is from this later period that most of the division's attributed laws and all of its anonymous materials appear to derive. Further, the smattering of facts and ideas attributed to authorities from the period before 70 does not present a coherent interpretation of the character or meaning of the agricultural law. Nor are these facts sufficient to allow practical implementation of Scripture's tithing restrictions. In all, then, it is clear that traditions of agricultural practice that might have existed in or prior to rabbinic times simply are not preserved in the rabbinic literature.

It is noteworthy, too, that the few extant details of agricultural practice attributed to authorities who lived during the Second Temple period do not provide the starting point for the later rabbinic deliberations. Within the division of Agriculture, that is, the rabbis followed their own interests. Their legal deliberations exhibit no significant dependence upon a knowledge of practices that might already have existed. These deliberations follow a path that is distinct even from the concerns introduced by the earliest cited rabbinic masters. The few extant details from this early period, that is, offer no clue to the character of the system of Mishnaic law as it develops in the later rabbinic academies. This suggests that both the topical interests of and the program of inquiry followed by the rabbis were their own, developed independently of any inherited body of law and interpretation.

This is not to suggest that traditions of agricultural and other practices were not known in the first centuries. From a variety of historical sources it is clear that from the time of Scripture itself, Jews did tithe and observe the other laws introduced in Scripture. Further, the Mishnah does assume a number of details not available in Scripture. These include the identification of the distinctive set of agricultural gifts discussed by the Mishnah's authorities. Accordingly, it is clear that at some point prior to the inception of the discussion later recorded in the Mishnah, unidentified individuals carefully read Scripture and delineated a set of agricultural tithes.

In light of this fact, the point must be clearly stated. It is not that traditions regarding ritual practice and the meaning of Scripture did not in all probability exist in late antiquity. The point, rather, is that so far as the literary evidence indicates, the rabbis did not take up and preserve any such traditions, using them as significant components of their own legislation. Rather than a compendium of prior oral traditions, the Mishnah and other rabbinic writings, as they have come down to us, are the independent intellectual and literary creations of rabbinic circles. These documents do not preserve an ancient tradition of law, but rather develop themes and ideas suggested by Scripture and worked out by the rabbis themselves.

This is not to deny that the sages did, at points, use facts, such as the definitions of the agricultural offerings, which antedate the discussions recorded in the Mishnah. But the historical provenance of these facts cannot be determined. Even in their case, therefore, it is impossible to speak with confidence about

an ancient oral tradition, let alone about one going back to Sinai. Moreover, the way in which the rabbis took over such facts, incorporating them within their own systematic legal and theological discussions, means that the meaning and significance they might have had within a prior context cannot be recovered. In the division of Agriculture, like the rest of the Mishnah, accordingly, rabbinic authorities preserved little of any inherited corpus of laws and interpretations. The content and character of rabbinic law, rather, is worked out fully within the Mishnah itself, by the authorities cited there.

**C. Past Perspectives on the Oral Tradition**

The evidence of the Mishnah and other rabbinic literature does not disprove the existence within early Judaism of an oral tradition extending back into history. This evidence only shows that even if the rabbis knew such a tradition, they did not embody it within their own legal dicta and scriptural interpretations. As a result, what rabbinic Judaism calls Oral Torah in fact is the creation of the sages who flourished in the 1st through 6th centuries C.E.

An earlier generation of scholars of Judaism, however, failed to make this important distinction between the system of law and exegesis that the rabbis created and transmitted under the heading Oral Torah, on the one hand, and ancient traditions of practice and interpretation that theoretically existed, but for which we have no extant literary evidence, on the other. Instead these scholars largely accepted the rabbinic version of matters. They attempted, therefore, to conceive of how an oral tradition, beginning at or close to the time of Sinai, could have existed and developed so as ultimately to be codified and preserved in the rabbinic texts.

In light of this perspective, scholars argued that the very nature of the Written Torah necessitates the existence of an oral tradition. This view is described in detail by M. D. Herr (*EncJud* 12: cols. 1439–40):

> [I]t is clear that there can be no real existence for the Written Law without the Oral. The need for the positing of the existence of the Oral Law is inherent in the very character and nature of the Torah. The statutes of the Written Law could not have been fulfilled literally even in the generation in which they were given, since "that which is plain in the Torah is obscure, all the more that which is obscure" (Judah Halevi, *Kuzari*, 3, 35) …
>
> If, therefore, the statutes of the Torah could not be properly understood in the generation in which it was given, how much less could it be understood by later generations? In addition to this consideration, it was a fundamental doctrine of the rabbis that the Torah was given by God for all time, that it would never be exchanged for another Torah and certainly never rescinded, and that it provided for all possible circumstances which might arise at any time in the future … It can thus be regarded as a historical fact that the Oral Law existed not merely from the moment the Written Law was given (and in this sense it is correct to say that the Written and Oral Laws were given together to Moses at Sinai), but it may even be maintained that the Oral Law anticipated the Written Law, as the Written Law not only assumed the observance of the Oral Law in the future, but is in effect based on its previous existence. Since the written law relies—by allusion or by its silence—on statues, customs, and basic laws not explicitly mentioned in it (marriage, divorce, business … ), these statutes are ipso facto converted into part of the Oral Law.

Herr continues by describing the continuous existence and development of the Oral Law throughout Jewish history, tracing it in the books of the Bible, the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period, the early Targums, and the rabbinic literature.

This approach, much like that of the rabbis themselves, sees the transmission of law and theology within Judaism as the result of a unitary and linear process, beginning with Scripture and continuing through all later developments within (Orthodox) Judaism. While Herr stops short of making claims concerning the divine origin of the oral tradition, his view still makes an important theological point. It argues that the corpus of law and interpretation embodied within rabbinic Judaism is authentic, having existed at least from the moment (if not before) the Written Law was given and having been accurately preserved and transmitted through the generations.

The problem, as we have seen, is not with the claim for the existence, throughout Jewish history, of traditions external to the Written Law. Certainly, in each period within Jewish history, cultural, legal, and

ritual practice was determined not only by scriptural statements but, additionally, by interpretations of the meaning and import of those statements. The problem, rather, is how to conceive of and describe these traditions. Until recently, scholars understood them to comprise a monolithic corpus, rightly designated "the" oral tradition and correctly understood as being embodied in the rabbinic writings. This perspective failed to recognize the difference between any traditions that did in fact exist, on the one hand, and the intellectual and literary processes that gave way to the documents of rabbinic Judaism, on the other. As recent study of those documents has made clear, they are the products of the authorities cited in them and are not the end product of a long history of transmission of originally oral laws and interpretations.

In the minds of the rabbis, the oral tradition of Sinai took shape in the Mishnah and in the successive documents of rabbinic Judaism (Neusner 1986: viii). But this rabbinic notion of Oral Torah cannot be equated in any concrete sense with a corpus of laws and interpretations that actually existed throughout Israelite history. Clearly, Jews in different historical periods and places observed Scripture's dicta according to interpretations of the biblical text, some of which may have been transmitted from generation to generation. But there is no evidence that such traditions ever comprised a unitary tradition stretching back to Sinai. Even if such an oral tradition existed, the clear evidence of the rabbinic writings indicates that these texts do not embody it. They are, rather, the products of their authors, who pursued their own independent program in order to create a system of practice and belief that would take Judaism from their day to our own.

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**ORATORY.** See RHETORIC AND RHETORICAL CRITICISM.

**ORDAIN, ORDINATION.** Appointment to formal functions in a religious community. Greeks and Romans knew a variety of modes of selection and installation to public office, and some of these influenced the later developments in the Church. Greek society commonly filled magistracies and priesthoods by election, by taking lots, or by a combination of the two methods. *Cheirotonia* was voting by a show of hands. Entrance into office involved the candidate undergoing a formal scrutiny of his qualifications, taking an oath, and bringing entrance sacrifices.

The Roman Republic chose magistrates by an election by the voting units of the assembly. Existing magistrates had great influence in determining the outcome and had the right to designate lesser magistrates. Colleges of Roman priests filled vacancies by co-optation. Offices were formally assumed by taking the auspices to determine divine favor and formally beginning to exercise the functions. The oath held a prominent place. Under the empire the imperial designation eclipsed other methods of selection.

The divine choice was determinative for positions of leadership in Israel. This may be seen in the hereditary principle governing the levitical priesthood (Numbers 3) and God's choice of kings, made known through prophets (1 Sam 9:16; 16:1; 1 Kgs 11:30–38). Out of the elaborate ceremony of consecration to the priesthood (Exodus 19; Leviticus 8), the anointing with olive oil was understood as the crucial element. The oil was sprinkled on all the priests, but it was poured on the head of the high priest (Lev 21:10), so that the term "anointed priest" referred to the high priest. Anointing with oil was likewise crucial in the appointment of kings (1 Sam 10:1; 16:13–14; 1 Kgs 19:16). Exodus 29 and Leviticus 8 use words from the root *mlʾ* ("to fill") in reference to the installation of a priest. The full expression seems to have been "to fill the hand" (Judg 17:5, 12), but with what is not clear—portions of the sacrificial animal (Lev 8:27) or divining stones (Lev 8:8) are the most likely interpretations. In most OT passages the sense is "appoint" without reference to the original denotation. The OT accounts of consecration of priests did not influence early Christian practice of ordination.

Accounts of two special appointments became important in the later Jewish and Christian practices. In the account of the consecration of the Levites in Num 8:5–13 the people of Israel were instructed to "lay

their hands upon the Levites" (v 10). This action perhaps expressed the idea that the Levites were a sacrificial offering or, more precisely, a substitute for the firstborn of the nation (vv 17–18). When Moses appointed Joshua to succeed to the leadership of Israel in Num 27:15–23, he laid his hands on him, so investing him with authority, and commissioned him. Although Num 27:18 says Joshua was chosen because the spirit was in him, Deut 34:9 seems to say that Joshua was full of the spirit of wisdom because "Moses had laid his hands on him." On the other hand, the text may be understood as saying that Moses' laying on of hands was evidence for and not the cause of the spirit of wisdom in Joshua.

By Herodian times, if not earlier, investiture with the garments of the high priesthood and not chrismation was constitutive in the making of the high priest (Josephus *Ant.*20.6–14; *m. Hor.*3:4; *b. Yoma* 12a–b).

Admission to the Sanhedrin was obtained by a formal seating in the chair of teaching and judging (*Assum. Mos.* 12.2; *Sipre* Num 27:18, 20). The Mishnah, therefore, may reflect pre-70 conditions in its description:

> The Sanhedrin was arranged like the half of a round threshing-floor so that they all might see one another. Before them stood the two scribes of the judges …
>
> Before them sat three rows of disciples of the Sages, and each knew his proper place. If they needed to appoint another as judge, they appointed him from the first row, and one from the second row came into the first row, and one from the third row came into the second; and they chose yet another from the congregation and set him in the third row. He did not sit in the place of the former, but he sat in the place that was proper for him …

(*m. Sanh.* 4:3)

The same procedure apparently was employed for the lesser Sanhedrins of 23 in places away from Jerusalem (*b. Sanh.*17b). A similar concern with being seated in one's proper place may be observed in the Qumran community (1QS etc. 5.23–24; 6.8–13).

Ordination of individual rabbis is first attested for Johanan b. Zakkai after 70:

> Originally, every one [i.e. every teacher] ordained his own pupils, thus R. Johanan b. Zakkai ordained R. Eliezer and R. Joshua; R. Joshua ordained R. Akiba; R. Akiba ordained R. Meir and R. Simeon. They were anxious to honor this house [the house of the Nasi] and declared that if the Beth Din ordained without the approval of the Nasi the ordination was not valid, but if a Nasi ordained without the knowledge of the Beth Din the Semikah was valid; then again they made a regulation that ordination should be performed with the mutual approval of the Beth Din and the Nasi.

(*j. Sanh.*1, 19a, 43)

Private ordination of a student by his rabbi belongs to the troubled period between 70 and 135. The limitation to the Nasi presumably occurred after 135, and the requirement of mutual consent in the 3d century. Rabbinic ordination employed the imposition of hands, but not prayer, and developed its technical terminology from the Hebrew word *sāmak* ("to lean upon"). It granted an equal status and had a legal significance in that it conferred juridical functions.

Christian ordination did not derive directly from rabbinic ordination; rather, both practices were independent developments from the Jewish heritage.

The Qumran community was hierarchically organized with a priestly dominance. Nonetheless, the voice of the "many" was heard in the selection of leaders. The whole congregation appears to have made the choice of the ten judges (CD 10.4–6), and the phrase *yṣʾ hgwrl* ("the lot shall go out") was used figuratively for all decisions in which the whole assembly had a part, including the selection of leaders by the members (1QSa etc. 1.13–17).

The divine initiative in the selection of leaders is manifested in Jesus' selection of the Twelve and in Paul's words about spirit-inspired ministers given to the Church. A selection of an inner circle of twelve disciples by Jesus is firmly embedded in the synoptic tradition (Matt 10:1–4; Mark 3:13–19; Luke 6:12–16). No special act accompanied their choice, although a later apocryphal tradition supplies an imposition of hands (*Acts Pet.*10).

Paul often mentions gifts and functions bestowed on the Church by God (Rom 12:6–8; 1 Cor 12:28–30; cf. Eph 4:11); but these cannot be identified with offices in the Church, nor does Paul give any indication how these inspired functionaries might be recognized or set apart: presumably their charisma was self-evident and its own authorization. Paul does refer to churches' choosing messengers to carry their contribution to the Judean Christians (2 Cor 8:19), using the word *cheirotonein.* During Hellenistic times this word had come to mean "elect," in whatever way, or even "select" or "appoint." Philo and Josephus attest a religious usage of *cheirotonein* in Hellenistic Judaism in reference to the appointments of God, including his selection of leaders for his people (Philo *Quod Det* 39; Josephus *Ant.* 4 §34, 54, 66).

Acts and the Pastoral Epistles give evidence of more developed practices which later provided the precedents for the ceremony of Christian ordination.

The selection of Matthias to replace Judas (Acts 1:23–26, according to the best supported text) employed a procedure without parallel in the early history of the Church—the taking of lots, which preserved the idea of the Lord himself choosing his apostles. The prayer, particularly the designation of God as the "knower of hearts," found echoes in later ordination liturgies.

Acts 6:1–6, the most complete account of the selection and setting apart of Church functionaries in the NT, was one of the most influential texts. There are numerous verbal parallels with the Greek version of Num 27:15–23, as well as a common sequence: a command to select someone meeting definite qualifications to be appointed for a responsibility, who is then publicly presented to receive the laying on of hands. The roles, however, are in a measure reversed: the disciples take the place of God and Moses in making the selection (cf. Acts 15:22 for the whole Church choosing representatives), and the apostles take the place of Israel as witnesses before whom the appointees are formally presented to receive a public commissioning. Luke's linking of the first step in developing an organization for the Church with the first transmission of authority in Israel (an event which also served as the pattern for rabbinic ordination) was a bold claim that Christians were the true heirs of the biblical traditions.

Acts 13:1–3 refers to a choice by the Holy Spirit speaking through prophets, and based on this choice a human commissioning by fasting, prayer, and laying on of hands. The account has allusions to Numbers 8. The laying on of hands did not impart the Holy Spirit to Paul and Barnabas, but, as in Numbers 8, ratified the divine choice and set apart representatives who were offered to the Lord for his service. The significance of the event is made clear by Acts 14:26.

The linking of the laying on of hands with prayer points to the practice of bestowing a blessing in this manner (Gen 48:14, *šit*) as the primary origin of Christian usage. Jesus used this gesture in blessing (Mark 10:13–16); the varying usages of the act in early Christianity (healing, bestowing the Holy Spirit, reconciling penitents, exorcism) had in common the bestowal of a blessing; and the Church Fathers interpreted the act in terms of a benediction (Jerome *In Isa.* 16. 58; John Chrysostom *hom. 14 in Ac.; Vita Polycarpi* 11).

The centrality of prayer emerges in the more summary account in Acts 14:23 of the appointment of elders in the churches. The chief problem of this text is the meaning of *cheirotonein.* Does it keep the Hellenistic meaning of "elect" or "select," so that Paul and Barnabas made the choice (cf. the meaning in *Did.* 15 and Ign., *Philad.* 10; *Smyrn.* 11; *Polyc.* 7 for congregational election)? Or is the word used in the sense of "appoint" or "install," and so looks in the direction of the later ecclesiastical meaning of "ordination" (for an appointment with the idea of commission, see Justin, *Dial.* 108)?

A set of passages which belong together—1 Tim 1:18; 4:14; and 2 Tim 1:6—provides a parallel to Acts 13:1–3. Prophecies pointed out Timothy, according to 1 Tim 1:18; in view of this verse, *dia prophēteias* in 4:14 should be taken as accusative and translated "on account of prophecies" (if "prophecy" is genitive, then the reference may be to prayer as the means of imparting the gift). Similarly, Acts 20:28 speaks of bishops made by the Holy Spirit, i.e. designated by spirit-inspired prophecies. The college of presbyters laid hands on Timothy (this was not laying on of hands to make him one of the presbyters, who are throughout distinct from Timothy). If the prepositions may be pressed, Timothy received the charisma "through" *(dia)* the laying on of Paul's hands (2 Tim 1:6) but "with" (*meta* as an accompanying circumstance) the laying on of the hands of the elders (1 Tim 4:14).

The *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus from the beginning of the 3d century provides the first complete description of an ordination ceremony. Some of its features reflect widely representative practices: the congregation chose or approved the bishop; *cheirotonia* meant "ordination" (if the restoration of the text is correct); the right to confer ordination was limited to a bishop, although presbyters shared in the ceremony; the ordination was by the laying on of hands and a prayer for the bestowal of the Holy Spirit; the newly ordained bishop proceeded immediately to the celebration of the eucharist; and lesser clergy (appointed by the bishop) were named or received the symbol of their office.

Christian ordination put its emphasis on the divine choice of ministers for the Church, a choice mediated by prophetic utterance or by selection by the people. God bestowed with his call his blessing, mediated by prayer, which was reinforced by fasting and the laying on of hands. Although the central element of ordination was the benediction, there were the accompanying themes of commissioning or authorization and the ratification or creation of representatives for service to God.

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**ORDEAL.** Like most of their contemporaries, the ancient Israelites were familiar with ordeal procedures. The conceptual basis for this judicial practice was the belief that God possessed a knowledge surpassing that of humans. A crime might have been committed without a soul in sight, but the Lord had been a witness. "The eyes of the Lord are in every place, keeping watch on the evil and the good," says Prov 15:3 (cf. Zech 4:10; 2 Chr 16:9). The Lord "tries the kidneys and the heart" of men (Jer 11:20; 17:10; 20:12; Ps 7:10—Eng v 9; 26:2, and from his investigation there is no escaping (Ps 139:1–12). In this respect, the Lord had assumed functions attributed elsewhere in the ANE to solar deities, like the Mesopotamian Shamash. Just as nothing remains hidden before the penetrating sunlight (Ps 19:7—Eng v 6, no sin remains hidden before the scrutinizing face of the Lord (Ps 19:13—Eng v 12). Should a judicial inquest prove inconclusive, an appeal to God for a verdict from on high was bound to clear things up.

The ordeal is not the only means by which humans could involve the supernatural in a legal case. It has close affinities with divination and oath, both of which could also be resorted to in cases where the court was unable to reach a verdict. In order to avoid confusion, one must try to distinguish between the three procedures. Generally speaking, divination is primarily used in the early stages of the legal process, as a preliminary procedure. It can be resorted to as a means of justifying bringing a charge against an individual. Ordeals, on the other hand, may be invoked to determine whether the accused is in fact guilty or not. Also, the ordeal involves the suspect in a far more direct manner than divination. In the ordeal, the accused is subjected to a physical test, the outcome of which decides his guilt or innocence. Such a test is also one of the elements in which the ordeal differs from the oath. In its simplest form, the oath consists of a solemn statement by which the juror refers his case to the heavenly court. It is fundamentally a transfer of jurisdiction. The divine agent invoked is expected to render a verdict by implementing the

appropriate sanction. In the ordeal, verdict and punishment usually make up two separate phases. Once the deity has manifested his verdict in the ordeal, the human judges decide the measures to be taken in consequence.

In practice, however, these distinctions are often blurred, making it sometimes difficult to decide whether a given procedure is actually an oath, an ordeal, or a species of divination. A case in point is the treatment of the wife whom her husband suspects of adultery, dealt with in Num 5:1–31. Although the relevant passage probably belongs to the postexilic strata of the Pentateuch, it incorporates material that savors of great antiquity. In two originally separate literary strands, one and the same procedure is described. In summary, this is what the text says. Since legal proof is lacking, the suspected wife, possibly pregnant, is to be taken to the sanctuary where, among other things, her husband presents a "remembrance offering, a reminder of iniquity" (Num 5:15). The priest then sets the wife "before the LORD" and makes her take an oath. Thereupon she is given a powerful potion to drink, a mixture of "holy water" and dust from the temple floor, into which conditional curses, written in ink and erased in the liquid, have materially passed. In case of guilt, the water will turn out to be "bitter" and make the woman's body swell and her thigh fall away. Apparently, the sexual organs of the wife will be affected. If she is innocent, nothing will happen to the woman, who will then have no difficulty conceiving children.

In studies on Israelite jurisprudence, the case of the *śôṭâ,* "the errant woman" as the suspected wife is referred to in the Mishna, is often cited as a crown witness of trial by ordeal. In the strictest sense of the term, however, this can hardly be called an ordeal. Verdict and sanction coalesce, and the matter does not belong to the competence of the human judge. Perhaps we should speak here of a dramatized oath. As a rule, the oath is exacted from the accused on the assumption that God will curse the perjurer. In the case of Num 5:11–31 the penalty is specified beforehand. Through the consumption of the "bitter water that brings the curse" (Num 5:24), the sanction has been ritually anchored in the woman's body, ready to be activated when circumstances trigger it. Once the ceremony is over, the wife is left to her fate. No human jury intervenes to decide about the appropriate punitive measures. Also the delay in which the curse will go into effect is left vague; it may be a matter of hours, days, weeks, or months.

The procedure followed for the *śôṭâ* falls into the category of drinking trials. The latter have in common that the guilt of the suspect is established, and in some cases penalized, by his reaction to a special potion which he is made to drink. When one searches the OT for traces of this practice, one discovers that apart from Num 5:11–31, there are only indirect allusions. Yet these are clear enough to warrant at least a twofold distinction, based on the nature of the potion that is used. Sometimes the suspect is given water to drink; at other times it is wine. Setting aside Num 5:11–31, a drinking trial by means of water is alluded to twice. According to Exod 32:20, Moses made the Israelites drink water mixed with the powder of the ground "golden calf." Presumably, those guilty of idolatry would not prove impervious to this noxious mixture. The sober description is reminiscent of trial by ordeal and was interpreted as such in *b. ʿAbod. Zar.* 44a. Exod 15:22–26 can also be connected with the drinking trials, if the "bitter water" (Exod 15:23) of Marah was indeed used by the Lord to "try" his people.

The use of water in drinking trials was by no means restricted to the soil of Palestine. T. Frymer-Kensky (1977) found evidence for it in Susa texts, and could also point to a Hittite parallel. J. M. Sasson (1972) drew attention to a similar practice in Mari. There are also a few Neo-Assyrian texts which bear on the theme. They show that a promissory oath (as contrasted with the purgatory oath) could be accompanied by "drinking water from a *ṣarṣaru*-jar." In the same vein, the series *Šurpu* speaks of a "curse" *(māmītu)* incurred "by drinking water from a *ṣarṣaru*-jar" (III 62). Presumably, this water became harmful when the oaths were false. Thus, the taking of an oath was coupled with an act that linked it to threats of punishment in case of noncompliance. In other words, the perjurer was exposed to an imminent curse which would "enter his inwards like water," as Ps 109:18 puts it. There is no need to assume that some sort of poison was added to the water, since in the ANE the water itself was often rather unhealthy. Thus, a Babylonian extispicy text pictures the situation of an army overcome by thirst during a campaign. "They will drink bad water," goes the prediction, "and they will die." Similarly, the water around Jericho is purported to have caused death and miscarriages until the actions of Elisha made it wholesome (2 Kgs

2:19–22). Under such circumstances, water that had neither been filtered nor boiled could very well serve as a judgment drink.

Most of the OT allusions to drinking trials, however, seem to envisage the use of wine. The relevant texts are often referred to as the "cup of wrath" passages (Isa 51:17–23; Jer 25:15–29; 49:12; 51:7, 39; Ezek 23:31–34; Obadiah 16; Hab 2:15–16; Zech 12:2; Pss 60:5—Eng v 3; 75:9; Lam 4:21). They conjure up the image of an "anti-banquet" (W. McKane 1980), during which the Lord provides his guests with poisonous food and drink instead of wholesome dishes and wine that cheers the heart. A special emphasis falls on the "cup" *(kôs)* or "chalice" *(qubbaʿat)* (Mayer *TWAT* 4: 107–11). It apparently contains wine (Jer 25:15; Ps 75:9), but this is "wine of poison" (Jer 25:15), according to the primary meaning of *ḥēmâ,* "venom, poison" (cf. Ug *ḥmt* and Akk *imtu*). Hab 2:15 indicates that poison could be purposefully added to the wine, partly at least in view of heightening the narcotic qualities of the beverage. The effect of the wine was expected to be twofold: it would bring about intoxication and drunkenness, making the drinkers totter and stagger, and would eventually lead to their destruction (Jer 25:27; 51:39). The ingestion of the potion resulted in the eliciting of a verdict, a proof of guilt, and the imposition of a penalty.

Although the imagery of the "cup of wrath" passages was inspired by ordeal procedures, the biblical authors detached it from its judicial context to serve as a literary motif in descriptions of God's judgment. The connection between the cup of judgment and the ordeal is still present, however, in some of the individual laments in the Psalter. In 1928, H. Schmidt published a monograph in which he argued that various psalms were purgatory prayers, spoken by suspects in the context of sacral jurisdiction (Psalms 3; 4; 5; 7; 17; 26; 27; 31:2–9—Eng vv 1–8; 57; 139; 142; cf. Pss 11; 13; 55:2–20—Eng vv 1–19; 56; 59; 94:16–23; 109; 140; Beyerlin 1970 added Pss 23; 63). Even though Schmidt has perhaps included too many psalms in his newly defined *Gattung,* the thrust of his argument appears to be valid. Several psalms do indeed hint at a nightly ordeal, to be followed by an acquittal in the morning (Ps 17:3, 15; cf. Pss 3:6—Eng v 5; 139:18). Because these prayers have come down to us without a description of the accompanying rituals, the nature of the ordeal must be pieced together from the oblique allusions occurring in the pertinent complaints. The recurrent reference to a "cup" *(kôs)* suggests that it was a drinking trial (Pss 11:6; 16:5; 23:5; cf. 116:13). The expected effect of this cup was dual: judgment upon the wicked, salvation for the righteous. Ps 11:6 says that the wicked will have "a scorching wind" *(rûaḥ zilʿāpôt)* as "the portion of their cup" (*mĕnāt kôsām*), whereas in Ps 23:5, the cup, said to be overflowing (*rĕwayâ*; Vg. *calix meus inebrians*), is drunk in a festive mood. Guilt or innocence determined one's attitude toward this cup: either fearful apprehension or joyful anticipation. Also the description of God's judgment in Ps 17:14 suggests that it materialized in the effects of a drinking trial.

The hypothesis of a drinking trial as the institutional background of the "Psalms of the Accused" makes sense when it is set in the broader context of the sacral repast. In the ANE, oath ceremonies were frequently connected with the celebration of a sacrificial meal. Pacts were concluded over a solemn banquet (Gen 31:53–54; Exod 24:11); according to a letter from the Mari archives, the partners "ate from the same platter, drank from the same goblet, and anointed themselves (or each other) with oil" (ARM VIII 13 rev. 11´–14´). The effect of the various actions—eating, drinking, being anointed—was twofold: it signified the mutual bond as well as the danger of disloyalty. In case the oath was taken in a callous way, the food would turn into a source of illness, and the water and the oil which had penetrated the body would prove to be the bearers of a curse (Ps 109:18). Traces of the belief that under certain conditions, normally harmless food could have detrimental effects are also contained in the Talmud. Significantly, the second cup drunk during a meal is called the "cup of retribution" (*kôs šel pûrʿānût,* b. Ber. 51b), a designation used by the *Tg. Jon.,* Ezek 23:32 for the "cup of wrath." Paul's interpretation of the Lord's Supper seems to be indebted to similar conceptions. He says that "anyone who eats and drinks in an unworthy manner eats and drinks judgment upon himself," a judgment consisting of weakness, illness, and possibly death (1 Cor 11:27–30). The drinking trials alluded to in the Psalms and the various "cup of wrath" passages pertain to the same conceptual sphere. Through the consumption of a consecrated substance the faith of the juror was put to the test.

The instances of ordeal considered until now were all closely connected with the oath. A similar connection gleams through in Exod 22:7–10—Eng vv 8–11. When one Israelite has a grudge against another, suspecting him of the embezzlement of his property, "the case of those two shall come to the gods *(ʿad-hāʾelōhîm);* the one whom the gods declare guilty shall restitute in double to his neighbor" (Exod 22:8—Eng v 9). Once the litigants had committed themselves by oath (Exod 22:10—Eng v 11), the deities—the term was later interpreted as "judges"—were to manifest their verdict. This is probably the clearest instance of an ordeal to be found in the OT, even though the actual procedure remains in the dark. The drinking trials discussed above implied a transfer of jurisdiction. In Exod 22:7–10, the sentence is determined by the human agents. The gods are asked to indicate the verdict, but the appropriate sanction is for the court to take.

A most unusual type of ordeal, bordering on divination, is to be found in Num 17:16–26—Eng vv 1–11. It is the story of Aaron's rod, miraculously transformed overnight. In its present form the passage looks like a piece of propaganda for the Levites. The episode relates how a dispute over sacrificial rights was settled by means of an ordeal. Twelve rods, each inscribed with the name of one of Israel's clans, were deposited in the "tent of meeting." On inspection the following morning only the rod of Aaron had sprouted, the sign agreed upon beforehand as indicating God's election. As far as we can see, this way of eliciting a divine verdict is unique and it hardly reflects actual custom. The etiological nature of the story is evident: the author may well have based his account on the presence in the sanctuary of a staff, a relic purportedly harking back to the time of Aaron (cf., perhaps, Jer 1:11). The described procedure, probably fictitious, stands between ordeal and divination.

Finally, the OT contains a literary reflection of ordeal by fire. The story of Daniel and his comrades in the fiery furnace (Daniel 3), legendary in nature, shows familiarity with the Persian trial by fire. The latter consisted of a passage through flames; it was introduced in Babylonia under the reign of the Achaemenids. Since the experiences of Daniel are set in a Babylonian milieu, the author probably used the Persian fire ordeal as a model. Rabbinical sources contain a similar account, also set in Babylonia, in which Abraham figures. This story of "Abraham in the Fiery Furnace," of which Pseudo-Philo offers an extended version (*L.A.B.* 6.15–18), is found in *Gen. Rab.* 38:13. In Israel itself, though, ordeal by fire was never practiced.

Judging by the biblical sources, the only type of ordeal to enjoy some popularity was the drinking trial. It should be kept in mind, however, that the latter was always preceded by an oath. The ordeal, taken in the broad sense of the term, served as an immediate test to verify the reliability of the oath-taker's witness. In many cases, the ordeal may not even have been necessary. Fear of God's curse was such that the prospect of the ordeal may have sufficed to scare feigned innocents into confessing.

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**OREB AND ZEEB** (PERSONS) [Heb *ʿōrēb ûzĕʾēb* (עֹרֵב וְזְאֵב)]. The two "princes of Midian" who were captured and slain by the men of Ephraim when Gideon defeated the Midianites (Judg 7:25; 8:3; Ps 83:12—Eng 83:11). They were killed, respectively, at "the rock of Oreb" and "the winepress of Zeeb." The former location, at least, became legendary in later tradition (Isa 10:26), and it is uncertain

whether these place names gave rise to etiological legends about "Midianite princes," or vice versa. Both names are authentic pre-Islamic Arabic personal names, common to the onomastics of the Arabian desert fringe area (but not Amorite, Ugaritic, or biblical Hebrew). The name Oreb can be compared with Safaitic and Old S Arabic *ġrb, ġurāb* ("raven"), *ġārib.* "Zeeb" can be compared with *ḏ›b,* "wolf," found in Old S Arabic dialects, Thamudic, and very often in Safaitic and Nabatean (*d›bw* and the diminuitive *d›ybw, ḏu›aib*); in Classical Arabic until recent times it was used as a personal and tribal name. Regardless of how the names got into the biblical tradition and Israelite toponymy, they must be associated with the pre-Islamic Arabic cultural and linguistic complex (Knauf 1988: 90).

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**OREN** (PERSON) [Heb *›ōren* (אֹרֶן)]. Individual of the tribe of Judah, the third son of Jerahmeel who was firstborn of Hezron (1 Chr 2:25). His name is spelled the same as the mountain ash found in Isa 44:14.

DAVID CHANNING SMITH

**ORIENTATION.** See DIRECTION AND ORIENTATION.

**ORIGEN** (PERSON). An Alexandrian-born early Church Father (ca. 185–253); most of what we know about him comes from Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* (ca. 340).

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A. Life
B. Works
  1. Treatises
  2. Homilies
  3. Letters
  4. Dialogues
C. Difficulties in Interpretation
D. Sources
E. Origen and the Church
F. Theology
G. Biblical Study
H. Piety
I. Origen's Legacy

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**A. Life**

Not a biographer in the modern sense, Eusebius presents Origen as a model scholar and saint, combining in his person ideals admired by pagans and Christians alike (Cox 1983). We can also glean information from such sources as the *Panegyric* by a student of Origen traditionally identified as Gregory Thaumaturgus (ca. 213–ca. 270), occasional personal references in Origen's surviving works, and some of Jerome's (ca. 342–420) letters. Pierre Nautin (1977) provides the most persuasive account of Origen's life, based on a critical analysis of all sources, but has been challenged on many points (Barnes 1981: 81–93; Crouzel 1984).

Notwithstanding the difficulties involved in reconstructing the details of Origen's life and work, the following outline is reasonably certain. Origen was born, ca. 185, in Alexandria, where he was reared in a Christian family of some means. He received an education in Greek literature and the Christian Bible. During the reign of Septimius Severus (193–211), when Origen was in his teens, his father was martyred and his estate confiscated, leaving his family destitute. A wealthy Christian woman enabled Origen to complete his studies so as to become a teacher of Greek literature. During his youth Origen also became familiar with other intellectual traditions. His patron also supported a gnostic whose teaching Origen

attended; he studied philosophy under the Platonist Ammonius Saccas (early 3d century), who later taught Plotinus (205–ca. 269); and he became familiar with Jewish exegetical traditions. He probably studied also with Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150–ca. 215), who dealt with many issues Origen was to develop more fully. During a second period of persecution under Severus, when Bishop Demetrius of Alexandria (d. ca. 231) and most of the Church's teachers hid or fled, Origen courageously provided Christian instruction. Shortly thereafter he underwent a conversion that led him to abandon pagan literature, to adopt a life of rigorous self-mortification (almost certainly including voluntary castration), and to restrict himself to Christian teaching.

Origen's learning commanded the respect of pagans and Christians alike. When he converted Ambrosius, a wealthy Alexandrian, from Gnosticism, he gained a lifelong friend and patron. Ambrosius encouraged Origen to write and provided Origen with stenographers and copyists so that he could compose treatises *ex tempore,* becoming one of the most prolific authors of antiquity. His fame soon spread far beyond Alexandria, reaching the highest circles of the empire. In 231 the dowager empress Julia Mammaea called him to audience at Antioch.

Although Bishop Demetrius gave after-the-fact approval to Origen's teaching, his efforts at establishing episcopal hegemony over the Church in Egypt provided little scope for a brilliant lay teacher. Journeys to Rome and to Greece, undertaken at various times, were probably attempts to find an intellectual center where the Church would be more congenial. After 233 Origen settled at Caesarea in Palestine, whose bishop, Theoctistus, had ordained him to the presbyterate during an earlier sojourn. This ordination infuriated Demetrius, who had come to view Origen as a heretic.

Most of Origen's surviving works were written at Caesarea, where he preached extensively. Although Heraclas (d. 247), Demetrius' successor as bishop of Alexandria, also considered Origen unorthodox, the bishops of Palestine and the nearby province of Arabia (modern Jordan) made use of his expertise at least twice in synods concerned with christological doctrine. After being imprisoned and tortured during the Decian persecution of 251, Origen died at Tyre, his health broken by his sufferings (ca. 253).

**B. Works**

The emperor Justinian (483–565) procured Origen's condemnation as a heretic in 553 and saw to the destruction of most his works. Even so, extensive writings have survived, some, including his treatise *On First Principles,* in Latin translations of regrettably questionable accuracy. Nautin (1977: 241–60) provides a comprehensive list of Origen's works and their editions. Origen wrote in four established genres: (1) learned treatises, (2) homilies, (3) letters, and (4) dialogues. Outside such classification is his massive *Hexapla,* an edition of the OT in which, most likely, six parallel columns enabled the reader to see the Hebrew text, its Greek transcription; and four translations into Greek, those of Aquila and Symmachus, the LXX, and that of Theodotion. To these Origen added two Greek translations of the Psalms that he had personally discovered.

**1. Treatises.** Most of Origen's treatises, including his earliest work, *On Psalms 1–25,* were biblical commentaries. He also wrote a commentary on Lamentations and began massive commentaries on Genesis and on John while still at Alexandria. Of these only the first two books of the *Commentary on John* (CJ), vital for understanding Origen's christology, survive in more than fragments. While there he also wrote treatises, now lost, *On the Resurrection,* against what he considered the crudely materialist views of simple Christians; *On Natures,* against Valentinian anthropology; and a work called *Stromata* (his use of this unusual title, evoking a variegated oriental carpet, is our best indication that he was familiar with Clement of Alexandria).

Origen's great treatise at Alexandria, *On First Principles* (OFP), often known by its Greek title, *Peri Archon,* was the first Christian attempt to provide a systematic and philosophically informed account of the principal doctrine of the faith. Recent scholarship has shown that the *Peri Archon* belongs to the genre of philosophical treatises on "physics" (the doctrine of God and God's relationship to the world). Such treatises are characterized by a two-part structure in which a general conspectus is followed by a treatment in more detail, but in the same order, of particular issues (Harl 1975; Dorival 1975). Origen's treatise actually has a fourfold structure. A preface briefly enumerates the "*archai,*" first principles in the

philosophical sense employed by the pre-Socratics, but also, for him, elementary principles of the Christian faith as transmitted by the Church's tradition. The first major section of the work deals with God; rational creatures and their fall from God into various kinds of embodiment; and the world and its place in the process whereby God is bringing about the return of rational creatures to their original state. The second deals with particular issues such as the manner of the incarnation, the free will of rational creatures, and biblical interpretation. A short recapitulation sums up these doctrines and ties up loose ends.

Origen continued his never-completed commentaries on Genesis and John after removing to Caesarea. He also wrote commentaries on Proverbs, the Song of Songs, Isaiah, Ezekiel, the Minor Prophets, Luke, Matthew, and most of the Pauline Epistles, as well as a fuller commentary on the Psalms. Some books of the commentaries on John and Matthew survive in Greek, and more or less faithful translations of the commentaries on Romans, the Song of Songs, and much of the rest of the commentary on Matthew survive in Latin. The others survive, at best, only in fragments. In addition, Origen wrote *scholiae,* which appear to have been commentaries on selected passages of works or parts of works not covered by continuous commentaries (Nautin 1977: 372–75). We know of scholiae on the Pentateuch, the Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, and John.

Three nonexegetical treatises written at Caesarea, his *Exhortation to Martyrdom, On Prayer,* and *Contra Celsum,* survive in Greek. A further work, a treatise (or homily) *On the Passover,* a spiritual interpretation of Exodus 12, has recently been discovered and edited (Nautin and Guéraud 1979). The *Exhortation to Martyrdom* exhibits the Maccabean veneration of martyrdom that suffused the Church of Origen's time. For him this signified a preference for intellectual over corporeal existence. *On Prayer* provides a concise introduction to Origen's piety; its justification of prayer for its own sake, as opposed to having petitions granted, places it at the head of a long succession of Christian mystical literature. The *Contra Celsum* (CC), in eight books, refutes Celsus' *True Logos.* Celsus, a 2d-century Platonist, attacked Christianity on philosophical grounds and provided a rationale for persecution by accusing Christians of disloyalty to the empire. Origen's reply is the most cogent apology for Christianity written in Greek.

**2. Homilies.** While in Palestine Origen preached homilies, recorded by stenographers, on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1 Samuel, Job, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Matthew, Luke, Acts, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Titus, and Hebrews. One hundred and fifty-six OT homilies, along with thirty-nine on Luke, survive in Latin translations by Jerome and Rufinus. Vittorio Peri (1980) has recently demonstrated that an additional seventy-five homilies in the Latin *Treatise or Homilies on the Psalms,* ascribed to Jerome, are in fact adaptations of homilies by Origen. Twenty homilies on Jeremiah (HJ) and one on 1 Samuel survive in Greek. These works do not display the oratory of the great 4th-century preachers, but employ the subtle diatribe style of philosophical teachers like Epictetus (ca. 55–ca. 135). Like the commentaries, they interpret the biblical text verse by verse, but they treat it in less detail and concentrate on moral exhortation.

**3. Letters.** Little is left of Origen's extensive correspondence, but those fragments that survive provide valuable insights into the man and his thought. We have one letter written to him along with his reply, his correspondence with Julius Africanus concerning the authenticity of the story of Susanna in the LXX version of Daniel.

**4. Dialogues.** Ancient sources mention among Origen's works a *Dialogue with Candidus* from his Alexandrian period; and part of his *Dialogues with Heracleides,* which almost certainly dates from his Caesarean period, has recently been discovered. Neither of these works were literary dialogues in the tradition of Plato, but were transcripts of debates in which Origen had engaged.

**C. Difficulties in Interpretation**

The loss of so many works makes interpreting Origen difficult. A comparison of Latin translations with Greek texts reveals, at the very least, a loss in nuance and subtlety. It is particularly regrettable that we lack the full Greek text of *On First Principles,* crucial for interpreting Origen's thought. That work was controversial in its own time. It became even more so as Christian doctrine became more fixed in the

century and a half that elapsed between its composition and its translation. In his translator's preface Rufinus (ca. 345–410) justified correcting theological errors in the Greek text on the pretext that there had been heretical interpolations. However, if Rufinus understated putatively heterodox elements in Origen's works, others have overstated them. Antoine Guillaumont (1962) has shown that the views of Evagrius Ponticus, a 4th-century Origenist, have become confused with Origen's own, so that we cannot assume that Origen taught all the doctrines for which he was condemned in 553.

Origen's theological method also poses difficulties of interpretation. He presupposes a division between the vast majority of simple Christians, who accept the Church's teaching on faith and are motivated by fear, and a small minority of spiritual Christians, who rationally understand their faith and are motivated by love (Rius-Camps 1970; Hällström 1984). Valentinian gnostics made a distinction between psychics and pneumatics, but Origen differentiated his position from theirs by insisting that spiritual Christians differ from their simpler fellow believers not by nature, but because they have progressed further toward likeness to God. Origen taught that the Christian theologian should exercise a prudent reserve, extending even to deliberate deception (as, in his opinion, the biblical authors themselves did) in presenting profound doctrines that might shock or demoralize simple believers (CC 4.19 and HJ 20.3–7). We must, therefore, be attentive in studying Origen to determine to what extent doctrines simply hinted at or presented as mere speculations are in fact serious expressions of his thought. This difficulty has led to widely divergent estimates of Origen's thought.

**D. Sources**

Origen seldom cites authors outside the Bible, and those works that he did use he thoroughly transformed. When we speak of sources, therefore, we are not ordinarily speaking of borrowings but of constituent elements of a remarkably original intellectual synthesis. This is true of the Bible itself. Given Origen's intimate knowledge of and ardent devotion to the biblical text, it may seem paradoxical that the extent of this influence is a matter of controversy. Thus, for example, Eugène de Faye, author of a pioneering study of Origen, argued that the Bible was, in effect, an empty shell into which Origen poured his own thought (1923: 72–95). Henri de Lubac (1950), by contrast, presented Origen as a genuinely biblical thinker. Such widely divergent views are possible because Origen understood the Bible in terms of intellectual traditions of his time.

Origen received the Bible through the mediation of early Christianity. His statement of the fundamental principles of the faith conforms to earlier summaries by such authors as Irenaeus and Hippolytus and his ethical teaching reflects the asceticism and veneration of martyrdom which were current in the Church of his time. His christology depends on the Logos speculation which writers such as Justin Martyr (ca. 100–ca. 165) brought into the Christian tradition from Philo (ca. 29 B.C.–ca. A.D. 50). Although he mentions Ignatius of Antioch (ca. 35–ca. 107) and is said to have met Hippolytus of Rome (ca. 170–ca. 236), he does not mention either Irenaeus (ca. 130–ca. 200), whom he may have read, or, for that matter, Clement of Alexandria.

Gnosticism's influence on Origen is of a different character. Although one can speak of a limited positive influence of Gnosticism on Origen's exegesis (Daniélou 1955: 191–99), its principal influence is negative. Origen may justly be called the greatest of the anti-gnostic Fathers (le Boulluec 1985), and Hal Koch has shown that the refutation of gnostic understandings of God, the world, and the human condition is a mainspring of Origen's theology (1932). He never tired of refuting the schools of Valentinus, Basilides, and Marcion. He also denied any access to a secret, esoteric tradition such as many gnostics appealed to (Hanson 1956). Origen, by contrast with Irenaeus, sought not simply to refute the gnostics but to provide a reasoned response to the serious issues they raised. He regarded the refusal to identify the Creator and Lawgiver of the OT with the God and Father of Jesus Christ as the fundamental error of all gnostics (CC 5.4 and 5.61), and he felt obliged to demonstrate the fundamental consistency of the Christian tradition that identified them. In doing so, Origen was forced to go far beyond the Church's traditional rule of faith, which simply did not deal with such issues as why the world came into being or why some souls have a better lot than others. Ironically, this led him to develop an esoteric account of the

origin and destiny of the cosmos that, as Hans Jonas (1934) has pointed out, is structurally much like a gnostic system.

Although Origen taught that Judaism was superseded by Christianity and engaged in anti-Jewish polemic occasioned by the intense competition between Christians and Jews in Caesarea, his relationship to Judaism is much more positive (de Lange 1976: Sgherri 1982). He regarded Philo more highly than any postbiblical Christian writer and he respected the learning of the rabbinic teachers of his time. Origen recognized the importance of the Hebrew text for the understanding of Scripture and he sought out and utilized, with or without attribution, Jewish Haggadah in his exegesis.

Origen's biblical interpretation constantly testifies to his training in Hellenistic literary theory, known as grammar, which determines his method of approaching a text and, for that matter, his literary, if unadorned, style (Neuschäfer 1987). He was also trained in the scientific and mathematical disciplines that made up encyclical education and could use the astronomical discovery of the precession of the equinoxes to refute astrology.

Origen studied under Ammonius Saccas and continued throughout his life to read and teach philosophy, which he saw as an indispensable preparation for biblical interpretation. He was a sophisticated philosopher of the school we call Middle Platonism, itself an eclectic blend of Platonic metaphysics, Aristotelian logic, and elements of Stoic ethics, along with Neo-Pythagorean mystical speculation (Berchman 1984). Philosophical terms continually occur in his writings, and philosophical concepts inform his theology. Origen, like Justin Martyr before him, considered Christianity the true philosophy and parted company with pagan philosophy when the Church's teaching compelled him to do so, most notably in his doctrine of the incarnation.

**E. Origen and the Church**

Origen described himself as a "man of the Church," remained throughout his life in communion with the Church, and vigorously defended its teachings against heretics, Jews, and pagans. Nonetheless, the Church has had difficulty assimilating his thought and, as his tensions with the Alexandrian episcopate indicate, he was already suspected of unorthodoxy during his lifetime. Origen, for that matter, frequently and unsparingly criticized bishops.

Origen's understanding of the Church and of his role as a theologian made tensions inevitable. Essential to both is the distinction between "spiritual" and "simple" Christians. Most Christians are simple, and, although this should not be the case, so are many who hold clerical office. Unspiritual clerics, however, have no right to arrogate for themselves disciplinary authority that can only be exercised by the spiritual. Furthermore, teaching, as a mediation of the word of God, is the highest ecclesiastical function and the source of genuine authority. The administration of the sacraments is distinctly subordinate to this function (Lies 1978). While Origen professed loyalty to the Church's rule of faith, he held that as a spiritual man, it was his duty to pass beyond the acceptance of such doctrines on faith, as is appropriate for the simple, and to acquire a rational understanding of them. Such an understanding would uncover the hidden system of thought that gave the Church's teaching its coherence (Kettler 1965). Not surprisingly, bishops considered such views subversive.

**F. Theology**

In *On First Principles* Origen discussed the doctrines which, in his opinion, the soul most needs in its journey toward God (OFP 4.2.7). Hal Koch (1932) has shown that Origen employed the Middle Platonic philosophy to construct a system in which the driving force is God's providence, which employs the material and spiritual worlds as *paideia* (a Gk word that means both "education" and "discipline") for rational beings while respecting their freedom of choice. Origen believed that such a system underlay and made sense of the Bible. In his doctrine of God (God the Father) Origen argued for the incorporeality of God and for God's utter unity and simplicity in contrast with the multiplicity of the created world. His understanding of God's purpose enabled him to provide a rational justification, over against the gnostics, for the Church's teaching that the Creator and Lawgiver in the OT is the Father of Jesus Christ in the NT.

For Origen the Son is God's Logos ("Word" or "Reason"), and Wisdom, a second divine hypostasis, or second God, subordinate to and eternally generated by the Father. Although consistent with Middle

Platonic speculation about the divine hypostases, Origen's subordinationism was characteristic of Christian thought in his time; Arius' (ca. 250–ca. 336) retention of it comes not from Origenism, but from theological conservatism. By contrast, his concept of eternal generation was highly influential in the formation of the Christian doctrine of the trinity. The manifold aspects *(epinoiai)* of the Logos, the "express image of [God's] substance" (Heb 1:3), mediate between the absolute unity of God and the multiplicity of the Created World (Lyons 1982). Likewise, various aspects meet the needs of fallen rational spirits at every stage of their return to God (Harl 1958). The incarnation enables rational beings to know the Logos and, through the Logos, to know God. It involves the inseparable union between the Logos and a full human person. This is possible because of the Son's preincarnate union with his human soul, the one rational being who did not fall from its original adherence to God. The Holy Spirit, the third divine hypostasis, is eternally generated through the Son and shares in the Son's knowledge of and subordination to the Father. The Spirit's sphere is limited to sanctifying the saints, an activity which includes giving insight into those who wrote the Bible and to those who interpret it spiritually.

Rational beings were created in unity with God and all but the being who was united with the Logos fell from God through satiety. Some did not fall very far, and their return is relatively easy. These beings constitute the angels and the spirits that animate the heavenly bodies, whose task is to serve those below them. Other rational creatures fell more precipitously; these are called "souls" *(psychai)* because they have "cooled" *(psychesthai)* from their once ardent love of God. God created the material cosmos from nothing in order to arrest the fall of these beings and to facilitate their return. Origen thus affirmed, against the gnostics and with Plato and the Bible, the goodness of the cosmos.

Once in each world age these souls can become enfleshed in grossly material human bodies. Through God's providence, their situation in the world is a just recompense for their sin and their experience here provides a means for them to choose freely to return to God and, in so doing, to become intellectually and ethically more like God. Origen thus transforms Christian eschatology. Our experience in this life determines whether our future life will be a continual growth in the knowledge of God, including knowledge of the Bible and the created order, both of which reveal God, or will be the painful purgation symbolized by the fires of hell in which simple Christians do well to believe literally. Christian belief in the resurrection is a way of talking about the identity of the embodied person who dies in this world with the glorified person of the world to come. Similarly the advent (Parousia) of Christ that is significant for us is his advent in our souls.

Other rational beings, the adverse powers, have fallen too far for such embodiment to be useful. These beings continually attempt to frustrate the progress of human beings and, in the guise of pagan deities, to deceive them into worshipping them to the neglect of the one true God. Origen holds forth the hope that all creatures, however, shall eventually return to God. To deny even Satan, the prince of demons, the possibility of repentance would mean to deny the free choice of a rational being. To bring even the most obdurate beings to the point where their existence apart from God is unbearable, a very long cycle of world ages will be necessary.

**G. Biblical Study**

Origen is best known for his allegorical interpretation, but, in keeping with his training in Hellenistic literary study, he was a master of all aspects of biblical scholarship. This ranged from establishment of the text, through careful study of grammar and syntax, to the most speculative theological application. Origen's students reputedly dreamed about the Bible at night from having studied it so assiduously all day, and Origen found the erotic imagery of the Song of Songs entirely suitable to describe the soul's intercourse with the Logos in Scripture.

Origen never attained the ability to read Hebrew, even though keenly aware of its need. His *Hexapla* was an attempt to make up for this lack by enabling him to compare the Church's LXX text with all other Greek translations. Its use is apparent in his *Homilies on Jeremiah*, where he occasionally mentioned that he preferred another reading to that of the LXX. Origen used Hellenistic critical signs to mark places where the LXX evidently differed from the Hebrew. This immense work was probably never copied in its entirety and unfortunately perished with Origen's original manuscript.

Origen's works reveal him being careful of grammatical niceties and using historical or geographical information to illuminate the Bible's literal meaning, which he respected. Although he had a high doctrine of biblical inspiration and lacked a modern appreciation of history, Origen's approach to Scripture was neither naive nor insensitive. He was able, in his interpretation of Paul, for example, to grasp the overall thrust of a biblical author's argument and to recognize when that author was using categories of thought not identical to his own (Gorday 1983). He recognized serious inconsistencies in the Bible and explained them as a deliberate policy on the part of the inspired authors to hide deeper insights from the simple and to signal their presence to the more intelligent by interweaving falsehoods into the narrative. Intelligent readers of the Bible can recognize that a text is literally false when it is unworthy of God, contradicts another inspired text, or is manifestly improbable. A striking instance of interweaving is in the gospel of John, where Origen argues on the basis of inconsistencies among the gospel accounts and historical improbabilities that Jesus' entry into Jerusalem and cleansing of the temple did not literally happen at all (Grant 1961; Kettler 1973). Instead, the account symbolizes the Logos' entry into and purification of the soul (CJ 10.22–34).

Although he found historical investigation helpful in understanding the text, Origen rejected historical information as a goal of interpretation because he could see no way in which purely historical knowledge could lead the soul toward God. It is this attitude toward history that distinguishes Origen sharply from the approach exemplified by Theodore of Mopsuestia (ca. 350–428) and often referred to by the modern term "typology." While his allegory may initially strike the reader as arbitrary, it possesses remarkable internal consistency throughout his works. Origen believed in a natural symbolism, grounded in the sensible world's dependence on the intelligible world, which Charles Bigg (1913: 173) aptly referred to as a "sacramental mystery of nature."

The anti-gnostic thrust of Origen's theology, with its concern to vindicate the unity of the Creator and Lawgiver of the OT and the Father of Jesus Christ of the NT, implied exegetically the unity of the two testaments. God's command to consume the entire Passover lamb (Exod 12:10) symbolizes the need to interpret the whole Bible as a unity and is a standing rebuke to Jews and gnostics who only accept one testament (CJ 10.28.107). The Bible is treated as a consistent and harmonious whole, in which every part illuminates every other part; Origen frequently brings to bear a multitude of verses containing the same word or concept in order to elucidate a difficult passage. There is, however, a significant difference between the testaments: Christ, who is only announced in a shadowy way in the OT, is shone forth in the NT. Even so, the NT requires interpretation. An inspired interpreter must transform the sensible gospel shown forth in the NT into the eternal, or spiritual, gospel of Rev 14:6, which bears a relation to the NT similar to that which the NT bears to the OT (CJ 1.3.12–8.46).

**H. Piety**

Walther Völker's pioneering study (1931) demonstrated a rich affective piety in Origen and laid the groundwork for an appreciation of Origen's key role in the history of Christian spirituality. Origen depicted the Christian life as, ideally, a continual progress toward the knowledge of God, a progress by which we are transformed both ethically and intellectually so as to become more like God. Unlike the Cappadocians, whom he resembles in many ways, Origen, as Hans Urs von Balthasar noted (1936–37), locates the reason for our ignorance of God not in the absolute incomprehensibility of God, but in the silence of the Logos, who communicates to us what we need to know when we need to know it. For Origen, God, as Raoul Mortley puts it (1986: 84) "whilst incommunicable in language, is accessible to the mind and the object of knowledge."

There is no tension between Origen's piety and the intellectual rigor of his theology and exegesis (Crouzel 1961). Indeed, the latter is the highest expression of the former. It is precisely in the interpretation of Scripture, informed by the best insights of all aspects of learning, that the soul makes its progress. Spiritual interpretation was, in fact, the chief means by which the Logos conferred to souls at all levels of progress the saving knowledge of God. Origen's interpretation of Scripture is consistently oriented toward the transformation of the person who reads the Bible or hears it interpreted (Torjesen 1985). This process requires divine grace and a willingness to wait upon the Logos. Origen, in fact,

believed that the Christian soul continues to study Scripture as it progresses toward God after death (CJ 32.3; OFP 2.11.3).

**I. Origen's Legacy**

Manlio Simonetti (1986) has pointed out that Origen presents an elitist way of living the Christian life which could only have arisen during a time when the Christian community permitted a relatively great freedom of thought and which was doomed by that community's organizational evolution. Nevertheless, while Origenism per se rapidly became a bypath in the history of Christianity, Origen's influence was immense. This is particularly true of monastic theology, where Origen's way of life to some extent survived. Athanasius and the Cappadocian Fathers freely adapted Origen to the needs of their own time and through them and others Origen became the father of scriptural study and systematic theology in the Christian tradition.

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**ORIGEN'S HEXAPLA.** See HEXAPLA OF ORIGEN.

**ORIGIN OF THE WORLD** (NHC II,*5*). See WORLD, ON THE ORIGIN OF (NHC II,*5)*.
**ORNAMENTS.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**ORNAN** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿornān* (אָרְנָן)]. An alternate form of ARAUNAH.

**ORPAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿorpâ* (עָרְפָּה)]. The wife of Chilion and sister-in-law of Ruth (Ruth 1:4; 4:10). See CHILION. Due to famine in Bethlehem, Elimelech and Naomi moved to Moab, where their sons, Mahlon and Chilion, married the Moabite women Ruth and Orpah (1:1–4). See RUTH, BOOK OF. With the deaths of Elimelech and his sons, Naomi and the Moabitesses were left without male progeny. Naomi decided to return to her homeland, but she urged her daughters-in-law to remain and marry Moabite husbands, where they could secure for themselves a future. Orpah elected to stay in Moab while Ruth insisted on accompanying Naomi (1:13–17).

Orpah's character in the story serves as a foil for Ruth. Since her decision to stay behind is not condemned by the story's narrator, Ruth's decision is recognized as an exceptional act of devotion to the family. By contrasting the women, the storyteller shows Ruth to be a woman of great value to Naomi and the family of Elimelech.

To highlight the difference in their characters, the story paints this word portrait of Orpah: "Orpah kissed her mother-in-law, but Ruth clung to her" (1:14). By subtle means, the story continues to compare Orpah with Ruth. Naomi says of Orpah, "See, your sister-in-law has gone back to her people and to her gods, return after your sister-in-law" (1:15). The reference to Orpah as "sister-in-law" *(yĕbimēk)* is the term occurring in Deut 25:5–10, which describes the responsibilities of the brother-in-law (or lever) to a widowed sister-in-law. See MARRIAGE (OLD TESTAMENT AND ANE); FAMILY. The irony of Naomi's statement is that it is Ruth who comes closer to playing that role than Orpah.

Also, the story contrasts Orpah with Ruth when Naomi remarks that Orpah has returned to her "people and her gods" (1:15). This is proleptic of Ruth's exclamation: "Your people shall be my people and your God my God" (1:16). The final gate scene provides another subtle comparison for the reader. A significant theme in the story is reward for faithfulness. When Boaz concludes his negotiations, he declares that he has purchased all that belonged "to Chilion and to Mahlon" (4:9). Whereas Ruth shall enjoy through Boaz both Chilion's and Mahlon's inheritance, Orpah is not present to benefit from the legacy of her deceased husband, Chilion.

The etymology of Orpah is usually related to *ʿōrep*, meaning "neck." Thus, Jewish midrash explains that Orpah turned her back on her mother-in-law. Jewish tradition also has Orpah and Ruth sisters, the daughters of the Moabite king Eglon. An alternative explanation for the name is *ʿarîp*, "cloud."

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**ORPHISM.** A religious movement dating to the 6th century B.C.E. centering on the figure of Orpheus, producing a sizable literature with cosmogonic and theological themes, and inviting people to find salvation by living a particular lifestyle. Although the materials we may call "Orphic" first appear in the 6th centuries B.C.E. and much evidence comes from Neoplatonic authors living as late as the 6th century C.E., the movement was likely the strongest in the 6th and 5th century B.C.E. and lasted into the 3d century B.C.E. Three relatively discrete types of materials comprise Orphism: legends about Orpheus, an Orphic literature, and ritual practices and regulations for an Orphic way of life.

Orpheus was first and foremost a musician with shamanic powers. His voice and his lyre had the magical ability to charm animals and to change the course of rivers. He joined the expedition of the Argonauts, as Apollonios of Rhodes writes in the mid-3d century B.C.E., a somewhat effeminate man whose entertaining music prevented the sailors from quarreling and whose sacrifices won the blessing and aid of the gods. His journey to Hades to reclaim Eurydice remains ambiguous; Euripides (*Alc.* 357–59) indicates that Orpheus successfully retrieved his wife, but Plato (*Symp.* 179D) suggests that he left Hades

without her because he lacked the courage to join her in death. Orpheus himself is portrayed on numerous vase paintings of the 5th century B.C.E. as dying at the hands of Thracian women and their spears, clubs, and stones, perhaps because he refused to initiate them into his mysteries or because his music enthralled their husbands. Somehow Orpheus managed to survive his death or at least to enjoy a pleasurable existence in Hades. A number of 4th- and 3d-century vases from S Italy show him playing his lyre in the underworld and his initiates holding a papyrus scroll, suggesting that victory over death was thought possible for those following an Orphic regimen, while the noninitiates would continue to suffer for their sin.

The Orphic literature of the 5th and 4th centuries exhibits a keen interest in the origin of the gods and the world. One of the richest creation accounts, the Derveni commentary of the 4th century, tells how Zeus, a monotheistic deity, produced the world through his power (Okeanos) and his thought (Moira). Although Zeus has no partner, he created the world by "aphroditing," or making love; his sexual energy functions as a metaphor rather than a mythical description of the world's beginning. A sharp distinction seems to identify Zeus as permanent and the world as temporal, perpetually undergoing change as its elements combine to form entities only to dissolve and recombine to make new entities. Even though deities and cosmos are distinct, continuity between them is assured because Zeus governs the world as its king. The author of the Derveni text developed his linguistic and allegorical theories to comment on Orpheus' creation account, for he tried to show that as sexual activity both unites and divides, so the linguistic act of naming objects and events indicates the unity of the world even as it shows its differences.

Other Orphic creation myths elaborate themes of the Derveni account and also introduce new topics. Most accounts show the world deriving from a primal unity, with strife or tension soon arising as the force which divides beings and objects. Descriptions of the bizarre Orphic deities demonstrate how Orphism differs from the orderly gods of the Olympian religion of the polis: bodies of dragons, multiple heads, angelic wings of gold, and voices of bulls. We also hear of incest and parental emasculation. Several accounts tell of a succession of rulers from Phanes to Ouranos and Gaia, thence to Kronos and Rhea, and finally to Zeus, the transitions anything but smooth yet all culminating in the reign of Zeus. Common to all myths is the recognition that the world cannot be sustained by its own power but instead needs the attention and effort of a ruler or a king who is beyond it. However, the monstrosity of the gods prior to Zeus' rule and the divine struggles before Zeus takes the throne are neither capricious nor fanciful, because they show the trials and experiments that preceded the rule of Zeus (and as one account has it, his son Dionysos). The rule of Zeus adds unity to the division and tension characterizing previous generations of rulers, and thus transforms deformity in to clarity and beauty; the birth of Dionysos makes salvation possible for humans caught in their hereditary sin.

Mention of Dionysos and soteriology prompts us to move from Orphic creation accounts to anthropological motifs in Orphic literature. Aristotle writes that the Orphic poems distinguish soul from body, holding, moreover, that the soul enters the body from the universe (*De An.* 1.5.410b). Plato adds that the body is a sort of prison for the soul, not one where the soul is punished but a garrison where it resides for safekeeping and with the gods as its guardians (*Cra.* 400C and *Phd* 62B). But why are souls in bodies? And how do they get there? The myth of the dismemberment of Dionysos by the Titans, considered by many scholars to be the cardinal Orphic myth, provides the clue to answers. According to the myth, when the Titans observed the child Dionysos at play, they disguised themselves and then dismembered Dionysos, boiled and roasted him, and finally ate him; Zeus, however, struck the Titans with his thunderbolt, reducing them to ashes. From the ashes, the human species arose—partly Titanic and partly Dionysiac. The myth is not the basis for a sacramental ritual of intimacy with the gods, but one which describes the divine deeds which led to the human plight.

Several times Plato refers to Orphic notions of a judgment and destiny of the human soul, as though to suggest that the duality of humans, i.e., their Titanic-Dionysiac nature, presents humans with choices and responsibilities. In the *Phaedo* and the *Gorgias*, Plato draws on the Orphics to develop his own views; to the Orphics he attributes the view that the human soul retains after the death of the body those traits and

characteristics it had acquired when the two were together, and that the soul would be judged—naked, and thus without any ability to deceive the judges. Pure and just souls are to be rewarded, whereas impure and uninitiated souls are to suffer severe penalties in Hades.

Where a distinction between life before death and life after death is marked by a final judgment, a connection is also established by the belief that the soul's destiny after death is determined by its behavior in its body prior to death. An Orphic way of life provides both ritual and ethical foundations for happiness after death. Euripides (*Hipp.* 952–53), Aristophanes (*Batrachoi* 1032), and Plato (*Leg.* 6.782) refer to the Orphic initiatory rituals as well as their prohibition on eating meat and sacrificing animals. Plato (*Resp.* 364D–365A) also refers to a large number of Orphic books or liturgical texts used to persuade individuals as well as large groups that ritual participation can eliminate guilt and pardon injustices, and that proper sacrifices can save the dead as well as the living from punishment in the next world. Among the most interesting materials providing information about Orphic practices is a statement in the Derveni text about the wandering Orphic practitioners who journeyed from city to city to perform their rites and received payment for performing rituals to mollify fears about life after death. All these references to Orphic rituals and bans demonstrate that Orphism was more than merely a literary religion, and that it offered an alternative to the traditional Greek religion of warring deities and blood sacrifice.

At the center of the Orphic life was a ban on killing, be it for food or for sacrifice. This prohibition meant that those who followed an Orphic way of life put themselves in sharp and uncompromising opposition to the mainstream of Greek religion with its sacrifices, which served to distinguish eternal gods from mortal humans at the same time it linked the two by apportioning rights and duties among them. The Orphics renounced the general Greek way in favor of a life of purity, nonviolence, and vegetarianism. The negative model was the Titans who swallowed Dionysos to kill him; the positive model was Zeus who, according to one creation account, swallowed the entire universe in order to give it new life and peace and order. The Orphics could imitate Dionysos and thus transport themselves back to a pure time of the beginnings of the world, and thus procure salvation for their souls. Hence it was not the Titanic killing and eating of Dionysos that brought a sacramental intimacy with the gods but a rejection of killing based on Dionysiac hope that made salvation ritually and ethically possible for the Orphics. Here we have an encouragement to preserve life, for killing damaged the psyche in a body whereas avoidance of killing enhanced the psyche. And because the psyche continued to exist after the death of the body, it could anticipate a blessed life after death if it followed the Orphic way of life. Orphism became a religion of salvation—renouncing blood sacrifice, abandoning the Greek civil religion, and finding in liturgical and ethical practices a life of Dionysiac joy.

Orpheus does not appear as the historical or even legendary founder of Orphism. It is likely, however, that the people we have come to know as Orphics adopted Orpheus as their teacher and master because his nonviolence established a pattern they desired and his shamanic powers enabled them to look beyond society and nature to another world where their salvation was guaranteed.

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**ORTHOSIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Orthosias* (Ὀρθοσιας)]. A port city in Phoenicia to which Trypho, the usurper to the Syrian throne, fled in 138 B.C. when defeated in Palestine by Antiochus VII Sedetes (1 Macc 15:37). The site is attested in many ancient manuscripts and was later a bishopric. The name of the city indicates a great deal of Hellenistic influence. Its name is derived from an epithet attributed to

Artemis, meaning "upright." This toponym was also used to name a city in the Maeander River drainage area of W Asia Minor. The port city of Orthosia is located by ancient geographers S of the Eleutherus River and N of Tripolis (Pliny *HN* 5.17; Ptolemy *Geog.* 5.14). It is located through the use of the Peutinger Tables to be in modern Lebanon in the vicinity of Ard Artuzi near the mouth of the Barid River (ca. 34°31′N; 35°57′E). Trypho's flight to Orthosia was a retreat toward his original base of support in Apamaea. He was not able to land at Tripolis since it was loyal to Antiochus. From Orthosia he was able to travel along the Barid River and through the Homs Gap in the Lebanon Mountains into the Orontes Valley.

ROBERT W. SMITH

**OSNAPPAR** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾosnappar* (אָסְנַפַּר)]. The king reported to have transported some of the people of Babylonia to Samaria (Ezra 4:10). The context clearly suggests an Assyrian king, and some Greek codices of Ezra read *salmanassarēs,* suggesting an identification with Shalmaneser. To the best of our knowledge, Samaria was besieged and captured by Shalmaneser V, while the various transfers of population groups were carried out by his successor Sargon II. See SARGON. There seems to be no way to reconcile the name "Sargon" with the biblical form Osnappar. Some scholars have suggested that the name is actually a corruption of the name of the last great Assyrian king Ashurbanipal, since he waged numerous campaigns against the Elamites and since Elamites and "men of Susa" are listed among those peoples deported to Samaria (Ezra 4:9).

A. KIRK GRAYSON

**OSPREY.** See ZOOLOGY.

**OSTRACA, SEMITIC.** The word "ostraca," plural of Gk *ostrakon,* "shell, sherd" (cf. Heb *ḥeres, ḥăsap*), is used in epigraphy for inscriptions written on sherds. Mostly written with ink but sometimes incised, these ostraca can be from various dimensions: from a few centimeters up to the size of a sheet of paper (ca. 21.5 × 28 cm; Lemaire and Vernus 1983). Written on one side (generally the convex one) or on both sides (recto and verso), they can contain texts ranging from one word (personal name) to several-dozen lines or columns of ciphers.

Sherd, as a material for writing, was not so practical as leather or papyrus but much cheaper: ostraca were mainly used for learning writing, for short and provisory administrative notes such as receipts, or for short letters, especially in war time, when it was difficult to get imported papyrus.

In Palestine, during biblical times, besides the Beth-shemesh and Izbet-Sartah ostraca from the late 2d millennium B.C. and a few Gk ostraca from the beginning of the Christian era, one may distinguish three groups of Semitic ostraca corresponding to three periods of writing.

(1) *Paleo-Hebrew ostraca* were mainly used in the royal administration from the 8th century B.C. to the fall of Jerusalem in 587. The main collections were found in Samaria, Lachish, and Arad (Lemaire 1977) but several other ones come from Jerusalem, Meṣad Hashavyahu, Kadesh-Barnea, and Ḥorvat ʿUza. From the same period, a few Ammonite, Moabite, Edomite, and Philistine (Naveh 1985b) ostraca were found in Transjordan, the Negev, and the Philistine plain. See EPIGRAPHY, TRANSJORDANIAN.

(2) *Aramaic ostraca* were used in administration during the Persian period. Two collections of these ostraca have been found in Arad and Beer-sheba while various exemplars were discovered at Samaria and several other places.

(3) *Square Hebrew ostraca* were used toward the turning of the Christian era at Qumrân, Massada, Murabbaʿât, and Herodium. They contain mostly abecedaries, names, and schoolboy's exercises. See also LACHISH LETTERS; ARAD OSTRACA; SAMARIA (PLACE) (OSTRACA).

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**OSTRICH.** See ZOOLOGY.

**OTHNI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿotnî* (עָתְנִי)]. A Levitical gatekeeper in the Jerusalem temple, one of the sons of Shemaiah (1 Chr 26:7) who was the firstborn son of Obed-Edom (1 Chr 26:4). While no other mention is made of Othni, considerable discussion attaches to his grandfather, Obed-Edom: in this passage (1 Chr 26:4–8) he and his posterity are listed among the gatekeepers, while other passages include him among the Levitical musicians, of the clan of Asaph ("with harps and lyres," 1 Chr 16:5; "with lyres," 1 Chr 15:21). Perhaps the Obed-Edom clan members originally were temple musicians, but later were demoted to the rank of gatekeepers (1 Chr 15:24, which also designates them as gatekeepers, is often considered a later gloss; see Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 125–27, 169–71). If that shift actually happened, Othni may have been a temple musician who was later remembered as a gatekeeper when the reputation of his family was downgraded.

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**OTHNIEL** [Heb *ʾotnîʾēl* (עָתְנִיאֵל)]. The first of the military leaders who "judged" Israel in the book of Judges (3:7–11). Only the Heb verb *šāpaṭ* "to judge," and never the noun *šōpēṭ* "judge," is used with reference to those leaders. In such usage, it appears, "to judge" is to organize successful counteroffensive against oppressive overlords.

Othniel's career description displays an outlook and employs framework rubrics that are variously observed in the stories of other "judges." It appears, therefore, that Othniel's story is offered as an example, presenting the relationship between Othniel and Israel as exemplary. It is told at the beginning of the book of Judges in such a way as to introduce the problems with which Israel and Yahweh would be confronted in Israel's remembering the rest of the era.

The narrative unit is compact. When Israelites forsook Yahweh and turned instead to Baal and Asherah, Yahweh sold them into the hand of Cushan-rishathaim, "king of *ʾărām nahărāyim"* (Judg 3:8; RSV: "Mesopotamia"). When the Israelites cried out to Yahweh, he raised up a savior who rescued them, Othniel the son of Kenaz, further identified as Caleb's younger brother (Judg 3:9; cf. Josh 15:17). Othniel's leadership was recognized as manifesting the spirit of Yahweh when he went forth to defeat Cushan-rishathaim and win forty years (a generation?) of "rest" for the land. Such, overall, will be the repeated pattern of the premonarchy period. Information about the protagonists here at the outset is minimal.

References to the spirit of Yahweh occur sporadically throughout Judges (6:34; 11:29; 13:25; 14:6, 19; 15:14), differently manifested in various individuals. Here it stands for an impersonal power or force which can be absorbed or can so envelope a person that he or she becomes capable of extraordinary deeds.

The meaning of Othniel's name is not clear, except for the final syllable, Heb *ʾēl*, "God." The first element is a root that appears elsewhere in OT only in the personal name Othni (1 Chr 26:7), who was a Levitical gatekeeper in the temple (note *TPNAH*, 96).

Othniel appears to be presented as Caleb's nephew, who won Caleb's daughter Achsah as his wife by capturing the town of Debir (Josh 15:15–19), a town apparently identical with Kiriath-sepher (Judg 1:11–15). The genealogy in 1 Chr 4:13 supports the statement in Judg 3:9 that Othniel was the son of Kenaz, Caleb's brother. On the other hand, Othniel is also a clan or tribal name in 1 Chr 27:15. Thus Othniel and Caleb are clans of the tribe of Judah. The eponymous hero Othniel is a southerner, from the area where Debir is also situated (probably Khirbet Rabud), not far from Hebron, which Joshua allotted to Caleb (Josh 15:13–14).

The name of the oppressor, "Cushan Doubly Wicked," is obviously a distortion, and "king of Mesopotamia" (Heb *melek ʾărām;* Judg 3:10) is problematical. (RSV's translation of *ʾărām* as "Mesopotamia" is unique here and dependent on the inferred meaning of Judg 3:8; elsewhere the name is translated "Aram" [e.g., Num 23:7] or "Syria" [e.g., Judg 10:6; 1 Kgs 10:29].) The oppressors of Israel in the premonarchy period never came from so far away as Mesopotamia. The suggestion that the oppressor's name may be related to one Irsu, a Syrian usurper in Egypt during the period of anarchy which concluded the 19th Dynasty (Malamat 1954), has not fared well. Recognizing the ease of misdivision in an unpointed consonantal Hebrew text, the oppressor might instead have been king of *ʾarmōn-hărîm,* "a hill country fortress" (Boling *Judges* AB, 81), located not far from Hebron and Debir. If so, and Othniel was a southern hill country liberator, then the story rings with a sound of more authenticity than is generally granted.

This tradition about the southerner Othniel as conqueror of Debir remains in tension with the tradition about the northerner, Joshua of Ephraim, who is elsewhere credited with the conquest of Debir (Josh 10:38–39). Or perhaps the place had changed hands again, in the interim.

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**OTHONIAH** (PERSON) [Gk *Othonias* (Ὀθονιας)]. One of the sons of Zattu who returned with Ezra (1 Esdr 9:28). He was one of the Israelites who had married foreign wives and had to put them away with their children in accordance with Ezra's reform. The parallel list in Ezra calls him Mattaniah (Ezra 10:27).

JIN HEE HAN

**OVENS, TOWER OF THE** (PLACE) [Heb *migdal hattannûrîm* (מִגְדַּל הַתַּנּוּרִים)]. A tower in the outer wall of Jerusalem to the W of Ophel. Nehemiah refers to this tower in both the restoration (3:8–13) and the procession (12:38–39) texts and places the tower to the N of the Valley Gate and S of the Broad Wall and the Ephraim Gate. The Tower of the Ovens was probably an integral part of the bakers quarter NW of the City of David and near the royal residence where the "Bakers' Street" was found (Jer 37:21). Avi-Yonah (1954: 244) alludes to the prevailing breezes from the W that would provide the drafts and ventilation for such a complex of ovens. Those who have held to a maximalist view of Jerusalem during Nehemiah's reconstruction have associated the Tower of the Ovens with reinforcement of the Corner Gate by Uzziah (2 Chr 26:9; Sayce 1883: 218; Simons 1952: 234 and n. 2; and Vincent 1954: 243). Simons' suggestion that Nehemiah refers to the Corner Gate when he speaks of the Tower of the Ovens (3:11; 12:38) and Vincent's equation of the Tower of the Angle (2 Chr 26:9) with the Tower of the Ovens have obscured rather than clarified the location of the tower. The accumulative evidence appears to corroborate Avi-Yonah's proposal that the Tower of the Ovens should be placed near the NW limits of the City of David, N of the Valley Gate and S of where the Broad Wall intersects the W wall of the Temple mount (Avi-Yonah 1954: 244; Williamson 1984: 85).

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**OVERLAY.** An English word that translates five different Hebrew terms signifying various technical applications of metal—gold, silver, and bronze—over a wooden or stone object or structural element. The most common term is from the verb *ṣph* and is used frequently in the tabernacle texts of Exodus to describe the covering of "pure gold" attached to various appurtenances such as the ark (Exod 25:11; 37:2) and its fittings. It also designates the brass and silver overlay for other tabernacle objects or structural features. Similarly, the holiest places and items of the First Temple are said to be overlaid with gold (e.g., 1 Kgs 6:20; 6:28; 2 Kgs 10:18) although the designation for gold in the Temple differs from that of the tabernacle texts. Similarly, the royal throne was overlaid with gold (2 Kgs 10:18; 2 Chr 9:17).

In several other passages, different Hebrew words are found for gold. They are probably not synonyms but rather indicate differences in technology. In 2 Chr 3:8, 9, *ḥph* is used with "fine gold" in Isa 40:19, *rkʿ* is used to describe the covering of an image (made of metal?) with gold; and in Hab 2:19, gold and silver are said to overlay (from Heb *tpš*) stone idols.

The frequent use of the root *ṣph* apparently refers to the use of hammered-out sheets of metal. The other words may designate variations on the process that depend on the quality of the gold or the nature of the object to be overlaid. The technique for covering stone, for example, would have to be different than for that used to cover wood (acacia wood in the Tabernacle; cedar, olivewood, and cypress wood in the Temple).
CAROL MEYERS

**OWL.** See ZOOLOGY.

**OX** (ANIMAL). See ZOOLOGY.

**OX** (PERSON) [Gk *Ōx* (Ὼξ)]. A name given as part of the genealogy of Judith (Jdt 8:1). The name in its Greek form is non-Semitic. It appears in certain manuscripts as Oz (Gk *Ōz;* see Vaticanus, OL$^{s}$, Syr), which is a translation of the Hebrew name Uzzi (Heb *ʿuzzî*). If "Ox" is a corruption of "Oz," its Hebrew original, Uzzi, appears eleven times in the OT (Ezra 7:4, Neh 11:22, 1 Chr 5:31—Eng 6:5, etc.). However, none of these occurrences connect the name "Uzzi" with the tribe of Simeon, the tribe to which, according to the author, Judith belongs. Therefore, it is probable, given the genre of the book of Judith, that the name is part of what Noth (*HPT*) calls a "secondary genealogy," and thus completely fictitious. See further JUDITH, BOOK OF.
SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**OXYRHYNCHUS SAYINGS.** See SAYINGS OF JESUS, OXYRHYNCHUS.

**OYSTERS.** See ZOOLOGY.

**OZEM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾōṣem* (אֹצֶם)]. Two individuals of the tribe of Judah.

**1.** Sixth son of Jesse and the brother of David the King. The sons of Jesse are listed here as being seven whereas 1 Sam 16:10 indicates eight sons.

**2.** Fourth son of Jerahmeel (1 Chr 2:25).
DAVID CHANNING SMITH

**OZIEL** (PERSON) [Gk *Oziēl*]. A name given as part of the genealogy of Judith (Jdt 8:1). The Hebrew form of the name is Uzziel (Heb *ʿuzzîʾēl*), which occurs several times in the OT. The occurrence of which the author of the book of Judith was most likely thinking is 1 Chr 4:42, where a certain Uzziel appears as a member of the tribe of Simeon. Judith, according to the author, is also a Simeonite. The purpose of the genealogy is to prove the purity of Judith's Jewish descent, and to provide the story with verisimilitude. See JUDITH, BOOK OF.
SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**OZNI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿoznî* (אָזְנִי)]. Var. EZBON. OZNITE. One of the sons of Gad and founder of the clan of the Oznites, according to the genealogy of Num 26:16. He is preceded in the list by Shuni and followed by Eri. This second census in Numbers is closely related to the genealogy of Genesis 46. There (Gen 46:16) and also in *Jub.* 44:20, Ezbon is listed as the son of Gad between Shuni and Eri. There is no manuscript evidence which would support Ozni or Ezbon as the preferred reading in both places. Rather, there seem to be two renditions of the same name.

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# P

**P.** The abbreviation used in Pentateuchal source criticism to designate the Priestly Writer. See PRIESTLY ("P") SOURCE; TORAH (PENTATEUCH); SOURCE CRITICISM (OT) .

**PAARAI** (PERSON) [Heb *pa‹ăray* (פַּעְרַי)]. One of "The Thirty," an elite group of the warriors of King David (2 Sam 23:35). He is called "the Arbite" (Heb *›arbî*), which is a reference to his home village, ARAB, in the hill country district of Hebron (Josh 15:52).

There is some textual confusion over both the name "Paarai," and the gentilic "Arbite." In the parallel list of David's champions in 1 Chr 11:26–47, the reading corresponding to "Paarai the Arbite" is "Naarai the son of Ezbai" (1 Chr 11:37; LXX supports this). Although certainty is impossible, scholars generally feel that Samuel has the superior reading, Naarai resulting from a confusion of the Hebrew letters *pe* and *nun,* and "son of Ezbai" being the result of corruption.

In the LXX of 2 Kgdms 23:35, Codex Vaticanus reads *Ouraioerchi* for the term "Arbite" in MT. This suggests the translator read Heb *›arḥi* instead of *›arbi,* "Archite" in place of "Arbite." This would then place the home town of Paarai in the hill country of Ephraim. Although some scholars have argued for the originality of this reading, it has a weak textual basis. It would also be incongruous with the geographical arrangement of the list, since Paarai's name is included with other warriors, all of whom came from the southern district of Judah (Elliger 1966: 101–2).

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**PADDAN-ARAM** (PLACE) [Heb *paddan-›ărām* (פַּדַּן־אֲרָם)]. Var. PADDAN. A name for the area around Haran, the homeland of Abraham's family in upper Mesopotamia. This designation occurs only in Genesis and only in passages generally ascribed to the Priestly source. It appears particularly in reference to Jacob's sojourn with Laban at Haran in Genesis 28–31. It is to Paddan-aram that Isaac sends Jacob in Gen 28:1–7, and it is there that most of Jacob's sons are born (Gen 29:31–30:24; cf. Gen 35:26; 46:15). Scholars have generally seen it as an alternate name for ARAM-NAHARAIM, a substantial region of upper Mesopotamia located around the great bend of the Euphrates River (Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 358; de Vaux *EHI,* 195). On the other hand, some have argued that Paddan-aram was an Aramaic rendering of the city name HARAN (PLACE) (O'Callaghan 1948: 96).

These two distinct identifications depend upon the meaning of the word *paddān.* Those who argue that the name designates a large geographical area generally translate it as "field," thus making Paddan-aram mean "Field of Aram." This has been based largely on two arguments (already referred to in Rashi's commentary on Gen 25:20): (1) the noun *paddān* has a cognate in Arabic which means "field," and thus Aramaic may also have had a similar meaning for the word; and (2) Hosea 12:13 (—Eng 12:12) refers to this area as *śĕdēh ›ărām,* "Field of Aram," in a reference to Jacob's sojourn there, and this is deemed to be a Hebrew translation of *paddan-›ărām* (de Vaux 1948: 323; Albright *FSAC,* 237; Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 358). However, neither of these arguments is conclusive. There appears to be no clear Aramaic or Syriac occurrence of *paddān* as "field." Its regular meanings in Aramaic and Syriac are "plough, yoke (of oxen)," and in Arabic the primary meaning is "yoke" as well. The derivative meaning, "field," may be an inner-Arabic development. As for the second argument, one must admit that the use of *śĕdēh ›ărām* in Hosea need not be understood as the translation of a place name at all.

The other proposal, that Paddan-aram is an Aramaic rendering of the city name Haran, relates *paddān* to the Akkadian *padānu/paddānu,* which means "road, highway." This is a synonym for Akkadian *ḫarrānu,* "road, highway, caravan," the probable source of the name, Har (r)an (O'Callaghan 1948: 96). But the

argument depends on the Aramaic word also having the meaning "road" or "caravan," and there is no such evidence currently available. Thus the exact extent of the area designated by this name remains uncertain.

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WAYNE T. PITARD

**PADON** (PERSON) [Heb *pādôn* (פָּדוֹן)]. The head of a family of Nethinim (Temple servants) who returned from the Babylonian Exile (Ezra 2:44 and parallels in Neh 7:47 and 1 Esdr 5:29). The list in Ezra-Nehemiah implies that this return took place immediately in response to Cyrus's declaration in 538 B.C.E. But 1 Esdras places this return in its more probable date at the time of King Darius (ca. 522). As members of the guild of NETHINIM, the family of Padon would have had a special role in the temple cult, perhaps assisting the Levites (Levine 1963; Weinberg 1975). Although some scholars consider the Nethinim to be foreigners or of foreign origin (largely on the basis of later rabbinic sources), it is more likely that during the postexilic period the Nethinim, as cultic personnel, were neither considered foreigners nor slaves. Rather, like the Levites, they had been devoted to cultic service the precise nature of which can no longer be identified. The size of Padon's family, its origins, and specific role are no longer discernible. See Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC.

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TAMARA C. ESKENAZI

**PAGANS.** See NATIONS.

**PAGIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *pag‹î›ēl* (פַּגְעִיאֵל)]. The son of Ochran and the chief (*nāśî›*, Num 2:27) of the tribe of Asher during the wilderness sojourn after the Exodus. He is mentioned only five times in the OT in four different tribal lists. He helped Moses conduct a census of all able-bodied warriors among the Israelites (Num 1:13). He led the tribe of Asher to its proper place on the N side of the tabernacle in the Israelite camp (2:27) and to its position in the rear guard when the Israelites prepared to depart from Mt. Sinai (Num 10:26). He also presented the offerings of the tribe of Asher on the eleventh day of the twelve-day celebration of the dedication of the altar (Num 7:72, 77). While the meaning of the name "Pagiel" is uncertain, *HALAT* (861) suggests that it means "the one who intercedes with God"; Gray (*Numbers* ICC, 8) proposes the meaning: "the lot or fate given by God."

DALE F. LAUNDERVILLE

**ḤPAḤAD.** See NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT.

**PAHATH-MOAB** (PERSON) [Heb *paḥat-mô›āb* (פַּחַת־מוֹאָב)]. The name Pahath-Moab suggests a title, (military) governor of Moab, rather than a personal name. It is derived from the Hebrew word *peḥâ*, meaning military governor, and is related to the Akk *paḥâtu/piḥâtu* of the same meaning. The best explanation for the use of Pahath-Moab as a personal name is that a person of humble origins rose to a position as governor of Moab and assumed his title in place of his given name. One can only guess that this person was one of obscure background who achieved this position under David (1 Sam 22:1–2) and became the governor of the newly subjugated land of Moab (2 Sam 8:2). This person is never otherwise identified, however, and is known primarily as the ancestor of one of the large Judean clans which returned from the Babylonian exile with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:6; 8:4; 10:30; Neh 3:11; 7:11; 1 Esdr 5:11; 8:31). Neh 10:15—Eng10:14 names Pahath-Moab as one of the chiefs of the people who set his seal to Nehemiah's covenant.

D. G. SCHLEY

**PAI** (PLACE) [Heb *pāʿî* (פָּעִי)]. Var. PAU. Residence of the Edomite king Hadad (1 Chr 1:50). See also PAU (PLACE).

**PALACE.** Neither the Hebrew OT nor the Greek NT has a specific word for "palace," although various terms so translated suggest a structure that was an elite residence and at the same time served certain military, judicial, and even religious functions. For instance, *bêt hammelek* (2 Chr 9:11), "house of the king," denotes what we would call a palace. Similarly, in the NT, *aulē,* literally "hall" or "court," clearly implies in some passages a palace (cf. Matt 26:3; Luke 11:21).

Few actual palaces are known thus far from excavations in Palestine, and certainly none that compare to the famous palaces brought to light in ancient Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia. Ancient Palestine was a marginal region, relatively poor in material culture in comparison with Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia. It has thus yielded few remains of luxurious buildings such as palaces. This brief survey will note the principal structures that might be considered "palaces" in the pre-Classical sites and Classical periods (see articles on specific sites for further detail). We shall regard as a "palace" any unusually large and elaborate structure that is clearly not an ordinary private dwelling, especially those whose locations and/or contents and furnishings suggest both residential and administrative functions.

**A. Bronze Age**

**1. The Early Bronze Age (ca. 3400–2000 B.C.).** The only truly palatial structure known from the first urban era in the 3d millennium B.C. is the ʿAi *palais* of Mm. Marquet-Krause (1949), reinvestigated by J. A. Callaway. See Figs. PAL.01 and AIP.01. In its initial phase, it no doubt functioned as a temple, but by EB III (ca. 2600–2400 B.C.) it had become a citadel-palace, of monumental proportions and excellent stone masonry.

**2. The Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2000–1500 B.C.).** The phase of urban revival in the early 2d millennium B.C. produced a number of elaborate structures, possibly the residences and also administrative centers for local dynasts in Palestine's characteristic "city-state" system. "Palace 7200" adjacent to the city gate at Shechem (Dever 1974) is a large, two-story colonnaded structure, incorporating a tripartite temple and located on a public plaza. It resembles and even rivals the royal complex of stratum VII at Alalakh in Syria. Petrie's old "Palace II" at Tell el-ʿAjjül (1931–34) is an impressive multiroomed structure, also near the city gate. The largest (and earliest) such structure is the Ras el-ʿAin/Aphek "Palace I" of MB I, with spacious, thickly plastered rooms and courtyards, and massive column bases that rival or surpass any in contemporary Syria in size. A recently discovered palace at Kabri, in Lower Galilee, even boasts plastered floors with painted designs. It is likely that other Middle Bronze Age palaces existed in Palestine.

**3. The Late Bronze Age (ca. 1500–1200 B.C.).** When Palestine came under Egyptian New Kingdom domination in the Late Bronze Age—especially in the well-known "Amarna Age" of about the 14th century B.C.—a number of palatial structures appeared. Several were clearly palaces, since they were modeled along the lines of Egyptian-style "Governor's Residencies," as E. Oren has shown (1985). Among the latter are elaborate, multiroomed buildings such as those at Beth-shan, Aphek ("Palace 1"; Beck and Kochavi 1983; 1985), Tel Batash VII (Kelm and Mazar 1984), Tell esh-Shariya IX (Oren 1982), Tell el-ʿAjjûl ("Palace III") (Petrie 1931–1934), Tel Masos, Tell Jemmeh, Tell el-Ḥesi, Tell el-Farʿah (S), and Deir al-Bâlah in the Gaza strip. The Aphek palace is exceptional. It has two stories, the lower no doubt administrative and the upper residential. The lower story features an entrance court with a large water basin, several large work and service rooms, and a still larger area that is probably an audience chamber. The administrative function of the Aphek palace is indicated by its relative wealth of textual remains (for a Palestinian site), including cuneiform fragments, a lexical tablet in Akkadian, and a Hittite *bulla.* A monumental building unearthed at Gezer long ago by Macalister along the N "Inner Wall" may constitute another example, as does also the badly ruined "Palace 14120" of the modern excavations.

**B. Iron Age**

**1. The Iron I Period (ca. 1200–900 B.C.).** The periods of the Israelite settlement and early monarchy have yielded a few palacelike structures, such as Albright's "fortress of King Saul" at Tell el-Fûl/Gibeah (Albright 1924; Sinclair 1960; Lapp 1965). More certain are the Solomonic period *bit ḫilani-style* "Palace 6000" and Building 1723 (Ussishkin 1973) at Megiddo (both str. VA/IVB)—the latter possibly the residence of the district governor Baʿana, who is known from the Hebrew Bible (1 Kgs 4:12). "Palace 10,000" at Gezer is connected with the city gate (Dever 1985), like "Palace 6000" at Megiddo, but it is less elaborate; both appear to be more administrative than residential, i.e., citadels. The most important Iron I palace in early Israel would have been, of course, the Royal Palace in Jerusalem. This is described in 1 Kgs 7:1–12 (cf. also 2 Sam 5:11–15 for David's palace), but no trace of this structure has been (or ever likely will be) discovered. Similar structures, however, which fit even the details of the biblical structure, have been found in 9th–8th century Syria at such sites as Zinjirli (ancient Samʿal) and Tell Halaf. Here one finds, as with the Jerusalem temple, a location on the citadel near the main temple, ashlar (dressed) masonry construction, etc.

**2. The Iron II Period (ca. 900–600 B.C.).** Similar palaces at regional centers existed during the period of the divided monarchy. In Israel, was the Hazor VIII–V Citadel in the upper city, a massive residence-fortress. The Gezer "Palace 10,000" continued in use, but more as a residence. The most significant palace in the N kingdom of Israel was no doubt that of the Omride kings at the capitol of Samaria (Crowfoot, Kenyon, and Sukenik 1942), in the 9th–8th centuries B.C. The royal quarter on the acropolis was surrounded by a casemate (double) wall. The palace area included a splendid building constructed in the finest Phoenician ashlar masonry ever found in ancient Palestine. Dubbed the "ivory house" by the excavators, this building yielded more than 500 fragments of carved ivory inlays, no doubt from wooden furniture (see Ahab's "house of ivory" in 1 Kgs 23:39; cf. "beds of ivory" in Amos 6:4). These are the finest Phoenician-style ivories known from Palestine, and they hint at the luxury goods that once embellished the local palaces but which were almost always looted in antiquity. Just to the W of this building was found a group of 63 ostraca, mostly tax receipts, indicating the administrative functions of the palace.

In Judah, Ramat Raḥel (Aharoni 1962; 1964), on the outskirts of Jerusalem, may have been an auxiliary residence of the kings of Judah; it had splendid ashlar masonry, capitols, and balustrades of Phoenician style. Albright's "West Building" at Tell Beit Mirsim, a *ḫilani-style* structure built into a city gate, is probably another palace (Albright 1932; Albright and Kelso 1943). See Fig. PAL.02. The most monumental Iron II palace in Palestine is the strata V–II "Residency" at Lachish (Tufnell 1953; Aharoni 1975), an enormous masonry structure with several successive additions, still standing to an impressive height today. It continued in use until the Assyrian destructions, and was even rebuilt in the Persian period.

**C. Later Palaces**

There may have been Assyrian or Babylonian palaces in Palestine following the destruction of the N and S kingdoms, but no trace of these has survived, with one possible exception. A large building built in Assyrian-style vaulted mudbrick construction, containing Assyrian "palace ware," was found at Tell Jemmeh, possibly ancient Yurza, of the 8th–7th centuries B.C.

The Persian rebuild of the Lachish "Residency" has been mentioned above. The Hellenistic period in Palestine has yielded a number of monumental buildings, but none that can be positively identified as a palace.

In the Roman era, the most notable remains of palaces are those identified with the well-known building activities of Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.). His principal residence in Jerusalem is relatively well described by Josephus, and archaeological investigation has confirmed that it is to be identified in the earliest phases of the Citadel, now incorporated into the Jaffa Gate in the W wall of the Old City. Herod's "Winter Palace" on both banks of the Wadi Qelt, W of Jericho, has been investigated by both American and Israeli archaeologists (Pritchard 1958; Netzer 1982) and has produced splendid remains of residential areas, courtyards, and luxurious gardens. See Fig. JER.06. Another retreat of Herod's was the Herodium (Netzer 1981; Netzer and Arazi 1985), a fortress (and also Herod's tomb) 4 miles SE of Bethlehem, excavated in

recent years. An even more grandiose Herodian palace and desert retreat was erected, along with other structures, at Masada, on the W shore of the Dead Sea. Masada was extensively cleared by Y. Yadin in 1965–67 (1966) and gives the visitor an unforgettable impression of Herod's ambition and his taste for the Roman lifestyle.

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WILLIAM G. DEVER

**PALAEOGRAPHY.** Palaeography provides the student of the Bible with a tool for studying both the material culture of ancient civilizations and the religious, political, and intellectual culture of these societies. By providing a sound basis for establishing relative chronologies for manuscripts, inscriptions on monuments, potsherds, and coins, palaeography joins with other archaeological evidence in allowing the student to gain a better understanding of everyday life in the ancient world.

*Palaeography* is the study of ancient writing with reference to the way the letters are formed and how these letters change form over a period of time. There are several subcategories within palaeography which are defined in relation to the type of material the scribe wrote upon and the tools the scribe used. As a subcategory, *palaeography* refers to the study of writing drawn with a pen or a brush, upon any material which will hold the ink or paint, but particularly leather, parchment, papyrus, paper, and ostraca (Metzger, 1981: 1). *Epigraphy* refers to the study of writing carved into nonporous materials such as stone, metal, bone. *Numismatics* refers to the study of coins; coins often bear an inscription and other symbols or designs representative of the minting authority.

**A. Functions and History**

Once sufficient evidence is in hand, a palaeographer is able to establish a typological sequence of the changes which occur in the form and orientation of the characters written by the scribes. Not every newly discovered manuscript, inscription, or coin comes with an absolute date written upon it. But the palaeographer can date the newly discovered writing on the basis of the relative chronology that the typological sequence provides.

This makes palaeography an indispensable tool for detecting forgeries and authenticating genuine manuscripts, inscriptions, and coins. The science of palaeography was born out of an attempt to prove the authenticity of the credentials of several Benedictine monasteries through classifying Latin manuscripts

by age using handwriting and other internal evidence. This led to the publication of *De Re Diplomatica* by Jean Mabillon (1632–1707) of St. Maur. Mabillon's methodology was soon adapted to the study of Greek manuscripts (Metzger 1981: 1).

With a sufficient base of evidence, one can even identify the work of individual scribes in a number of manuscripts or the hand of specific engravers in a number of different coin dies. An example of this is found in the palaeographic and numismatic study of the abundant Hasmonean coinage (ca. 103–37 B.C.) available for study. At least twelve different engravers made dies for the Hasmonean rulers (McLean 1982: 111).

**B. Methodology and Techniques**

The palaeographer tries to envision the ideal form which the scribe or engraver was trying to achieve. The scribe had in mind a basic form with a certain sequence and direction of strokes, and had some understanding of the proper proportions of the character to be produced, whatever the actual outcome might be. The feature of human nature that allows us to use typological analysis for scripts, pottery, and art forms is that the individual execution of the "ideal form" is different each time. No person signs his or her name exactly the same way each time. Yet the signature must be recognizable. Therefore the range of tolerated variation is limited in any given instance.

It is the innovations, whether accidental or deliberate, in the actual production of a form which result in reinterpretation of the form, its proportions, and even the sequence and direction of strokes. Subsequent students or apprentices have a new ideal form as their standard. It is this continual modification that allows us to determine typological sequences over the long term. The more frequent the use of a script or individual letter within the script, the greater is the possibility of innovations and reinterpretation. More frequent letters will have a faster rate of development than less frequently used forms.

However, one cannot study the change in any given letter in isolation from the rest of the letters of the script. Just as each of us learned that our printed and cursive letters have ideal proportions, spacing, and angular relationships with the other letters in a word or line, these same considerations must be taken into account. The palaeographer must create a horizontal script chart which displays examples of all the letters found in a given manuscript in alphabetical order. The proper proportions, spacing, and angular relationships must be recorded with reference to the ceiling or base line used in any given manuscript. The term "swing" is used for scripts hanging from a ceiling line; "stance" is used for scripts oriented to a base line.

Modern English and Hebrew alphabets are drawn in relationship to a base line. The early Semitic alphabets, including Aramaic, Hebrew, and Phoenician, were drawn hanging from a ceiling line. Often the ceiling or base line used by the original scribe is still visible on the manuscript. The Palaeo-Hebrew manuscript of Leviticus found in Cave 11 at Qumran (11QpaleoLev) provides a good example of the horizontal ceiling and vertical margin lines used by scribes (Freedman and Mathews 1985: pl. 9).

Inscriptions on coins and other media create special problems for determining the ideal swing or stance envisioned by the engraver. Stones and other natural objects have limitations of size, and possible flaws; miscalculation of available space by the engraver further modifies letter shape and stance or swing. The die cutter has limited space upon which to put the required inscription on the coin. Letters are often squeezed into odd corners at odd angles. A line of script will start at one angle and finish on another. A script chart for a Hasmonean coin might show extreme variations of swing or shape of letters owing to the engraver's attempt to use available space. The palaeographer must recognize that such variations have no bearing on the development of the script. Also, a common numismatic convention of writing the inscription around the circumference of the coin makes the establishment of an orientation line difficult.

Perhaps the most important development in palaeography is the continuing work of perfecting techniques in infrared and microphotography, computer enhancement, and digital recording of images. One of the scholars in the forefront of these developments is Prof. Bruce Zuckerman, director of the West Semitic Research Project of the University of Southern California. One of the major goals of the project is to make good-quality photographs of West Semitic inscriptions available to the whole scholarly community (Coughlin 1987). Standard photography has made reproductions of manuscripts, inscriptions,

and coins available to the beginning and experienced palaeographer that would otherwise be unavailable because of the cost of travel and the restrictions of various institutions on access to their collections.

The use of photographic materials, however, is not without its dangers. Photographs of manuscripts do not pose too much of a problem. But a photograph of an inscription or a coin involves reducing a three-dimensional object to a two-dimensional reproduction. The position of the camera, the angle and type of lighting, the amount of relief in the original inscription or coin result in different images being recorded. The best palaeographic analysis remains dependent on access to as many of the original artifacts as is possible. The palaeographer can turn the objects to get different lighting effects and identify distortions caused by lighting that might be impossible to detect in a photograph.

The use of original coins or inscriptions does not completely solve the problem; the making of a script chart once again involves reducing a three-dimensional character to two dimensions. This reinforces the earlier observation that the palaeographer must be able to envision the ideal form behind the actual form which the scribe or engraver produced. Naturally, the palaeographer is limited by what she sees, or thinks she sees.

This interpretation and reproduction of what the palaeographer perceives means palaeography is both a science and an art. Therefore, the value of palaeographic analysis is dependent on the quantity of material available for comparison. The methodology, techniques, and abilities of the palaeographer are crucial. The information gleaned from palaeography is vital for creating, supplementing, or debunking relative chronologies or absolute datings not only for writings, but also for pottery and other archaeological artifacts. It is useful for determining the authenticity of manuscripts, inscriptions, and coins.

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MARK D. MCLEAN

**PALAL** (PERSON) [Heb *pālāl* (פָּלָל)]. One of those who worked on the wall of Jerusalem following the return from Babylonian exile (Neh 3:25). His name may be a shortened form of Pelaliah, which means "Yahweh has interposed/judged" (Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* Century Bible, 143). Palal was the son of Uzai.

MICHAEL L. RUFFIN

**PALEO-HEBREW SCRIPT.** See HEBREW SCRIPTS.

**PALEOLITHIC.** See PREHISTORY.

**PALEOPATHOLOGY.** The study of ancient health and disease in man and animals from the evidence of archaeological remains. While the term "paleopathology" itself is often thought to have been coined by Armand Ruffer early this century, it is clear that it was used in dictionaries as early as 1895 (Moodie 1921: 21), and as early as 1892 in articles dealing specifically with the subject (Zimmerman and Kelley 1982: 1). The terms "pathology" and "pathologies" are still often used incorrectly in the sense of "lesion(s)" or "disease process (es)," rather than correctly to mean the *study* of such conditions (see the Editorial 1985). The field of paleopathology is very broad and includes the study of disease processes in plants, lower and higher animals, and hominids from the earliest eras from which there is evidence to the recent historical past. One can find paleopathological studies on a variety of specimens—evidence of

fungal parasitism in fossil plants, traumatic lesions in ancient crustaceans, fractures and arthritis in dinosaurs, osseous lesions in extinct cave bears and bison, dental attrition among Neanderthals, and a myriad of paleopathologic studies on recent man (Tasnadi-Kubacska 1962; Moodie 1921). The present discussion will necessarily focus on human paleopathology as it concerns the biblical world.

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A. History and Development of Paleopathology
1. Prior to ca. 1850
2. From ca. 1850 to ca. 1930
3. From ca. 1930 to ca. 1960
4. From ca. 1960 to the Present
B. The Nature of the Evidence
1. Decarnated Skeletal Remains, Including Teeth
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3. Blood, Biological Pigments, and Stains of Biological Origin
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**A. History and Development of Paleopathology**

The science of paleopathology appears to have emerged nearly simultaneously in America and Europe near the turn of the century from out of its early beginnings in the late 18th century and early 19th century, with work based largely upon specimens indigenous to each hemisphere. It seems valid to speak of paleopathology in the narrower sense of the biblical world as its development is directly related to British and European advances in paleopathology which were early based almost entirely upon human and animal remains from Egypt. The history of paleopathology in the biblical world might be outlined as follows (for a worldwide perspective, see Pales 1930; Armelagos et al. 1971; Buikstra and Cook 1980; and Angel 1981).

**1. Prior to ca. 1850.** Before the mid-1800s, interest in human paleopathology ultimately emerged from curiosity and interest in the mummies which accompanied the flow of antiquities from Egypt into Europe and Great Britain. And indeed, human paleopathology is to a large extent the spawn of formative Egyptian archaeology. Already by 1662, German naturalist Andreas Gryphius (1616–1664) had published an anatomical treatise on two mummies which, however, stemmed from his preoccupation with mystery, ritual, and death (Neveux 1964). This early general curiosity surrounding Egyptian mummies soon developed into a more serious interest in their anatomy and health. In 1765, English physician John Hadley (1731–1764) published a scientific description of an Egyptian mummy belonging to the Royal Society (Dawson and Uphill 1972: 130). And in America as well, surgeon John C. Warren (1778–1856) of the Massachusetts General Hospital described a Ptolemaic period mummy in 1821 (Dawson and Uphill 1972: 298). A number of such accounts followed by physicians and others who had either acquired mummies locally or had purchased them as tourists in Egypt. Typical of the increasingly scientific and medical nature of early paleopathology, English physician A. B. Granville (1783–1872) published in 1825 an account of a Persian period mummy in which he observed a cystadenoma of the ovary. The report of the mummy and its unwrapping is still useful reading (Dawson and Uphill 1972: 77). Particularly

important in this period is the work of surgeon Thomas J. Pettigrew (1791–1865), who studied a particularly large number of mummies and produced his *History of Egyptian Mummies* in 1834, recently reprinted (Pettigrew 1834). This work was an early landmark in paleopathology as well as being the first book written in England on the archaeology of Egypt (Dawson 1934). It contained, by the standards of the day, many important observations of mummification, anatomy, and other issues of interest to the paleopathologist. Serious accounts of mummies also began to appear early in the century from nonphysicians such as German anthropologist Johann F. Blumenbach, one of the early founders of the science of physical anthropology, and English historian William Osburn (Dawson and Uphill 1972: 31, 219).

Similarly, while studies of the human skeleton also dated back to the 1600s, detailed work did not appear until the 1800s, notably with the appearance in 1844 of such works as S. G. Morton's *Crania Egyptiaca* (Brothwell 1968: 1). Interest in skeletal remains would continue through the century, with the development of several models and theories concerning the various races of man as early understood and characterized from skeletal remains, especially the skull.

**2. From ca. 1850 to ca. 1930.** From the mid-1800s to roughly 1930, human paleopathology in the biblical world continued to center largely on mummified human and faunal remains from Egypt. Austrian physician Johann Czermak (1828–1873), who perfected the early laryngoscope, published the first microscopic anatomical and histological observations on mummified organs and tissues in 1852 (Dawson and Uphill 1972: 75). Among many other figures of importance in this period are physician D. M. Fouquet (1850–1914) (whose work on mummies was influential but contained many errors), and French naturalist Louis Charles Lortet (1836–1909), who continued work on mummified fauna of Egypt. Toward the turn of the century and later, human paleopathology in the biblical world was largely a British affair focused upon Egypt with landmark contributions by anthropologists G. Elliot Smith (1871–1937) and Frederic Wood-Jones (1879–1954) during the archaeological survey of Nubia, the first and largest systematic pathological survey of ancient human remains to date (Smith and Wood-Jones 1910).

Under the direction of Egyptologist Margaret Murray (1863–1963), the first serious interdisciplinary approach to the dissection and medical study of a mummy was made in 1907 before an audience at the Manchester Museum (Murray 1910). English pathologist Marc Armand Ruffer (1859–1917) made many important early contributions to descriptive paleopathology and the scientific study of mummified human tissues, and is commonly regarded as the "Father of Paleopathology," although others such as Pales have applied this epithet to the great Rudolph Virchow (ascribing to him "la paternité de la paleopathologie," and more accurately, it seems, calling Ruffer "le grand animateur" [Pales, 1930: 7, 13]). During the last part of the 19th century, Virchow reported on a broad group of paleopathological specimens ranging from early prehistoric mammals and hominids to the specifics of the hair of Egyptian mummies, quite aside from the fact that some of his conclusions were later shown to be incorrect. Ruffer's contributions were nevertheless a major landmark in paleopathological method also. While the first histological studies on mummified tissue dates to the work of Czermack in 1852, Ruffer left a lasting imprint on the field with pioneering work which employed relatively modern histological techniques on mummified tissues and also with the formulation of the so-called Ruffer's Solution. This histologic reagent is used in the rehydration of mummified human tissues, although the formula has been slightly modified in recent years (Sandison 1955, and others). A number of Ruffer's papers were collected and reprinted after his death (Sandison 1967; Moodie 1921).

Characteristics of this period is the descriptive paleopathology of human remains, centering largely on trauma, skeletal lesions, and early interest in infectious diseases, especially syphilis, which was then incorrectly diagnosed in human remains from early Egypt by Lortet, Zambaco Pasha, and others (Lortet 1907; Zambaco Pacha 1897). Also, the period is marked by the first application in paleopathology of several scientific methods and technologies. Flinders Petrie, for instance, utilized X-ray studies on mummies just three years after its application in medicine (Petrie 1898).

**3. From ca. 1930 to ca. 1960.** It has been stated that the years of ca. 1930–1960 reflect a period of relative stagnation in paleopathology worldwide (Buikstra and Cook 1980). This was due in part to the

criticism of several established racial osteometric models and theories and the subsequent shift of interest away from the study of bones to the study of living populations in anthropological circles (Brothwell 1968: 2). However, work did not cease entirely. Among the contributions of this period could be mentioned a number of papers by Douglas Derry on a variety of paleopathological subjects (see Armelagos et al. 1971) or the important work of British physician William C. Boyd, who surveyed a large number of mummies in the first large-scale effort to determine blood groups from associated ancient mummified tissues (Boyd and Boyd 1934; Boyd and Boyd, 1937). Also, in 1931 Moodie published X-ray studies of seventeen Egyptian mummies. However, aside from various individual studies, no attempts were made at assembling a major synthesis of paleopathologic knowledge on a scale such as those which had been produced earlier in the century by Moodie or Pales.

**4. From ca. 1960 to the Present.** Since about 1960 and more recently, and paralleling progress in technology and anthropological theory, there have been numerous advances in the field of paleopathology with an increase in the number of paleopathologic subspecialties as well. The increase in the number of published reports on human remains since about 1960 is notable (cf. Bass 1979). Several important syntheses and collections of paleopathologic knowledge have appeared, although none have dealt specifically with the biblical world (e.g., Brothwell and Sandison 1967; Brothwell 1968; Janssens 1970; Steinbock 1976; Cockburn and Cockburn 1980; Ortner and Putschar 1981; Cohen and Armelagos 1984; David 1986; Zimmerman and Angel 1986; others). Work on the histology of dessicated and mummified tissues has been advanced with the appearance of a paleohistological atlas and a number of detailed studies on the microstructure and staining characteristics of preserved soft tissues (Zimmerman and Kelley 1982). A radiographic survey of 133 mummies from museums in Europe and Britain was made by Gray in 1967 (Gray 1967), and an X-ray atlas and new pathological study of the royal mummies in the Cairo Museum has appeared (Harris and Wente 1980). Several specialized studies have provided vast improvements in the diagnostic criteria for the evidence of several diseases in skeletal remains, especially syphilis (Hackett 1976), and leprosy (Moller-Christensen 1961; 1978). Major advances have been made in the area of paleonutrition providing several new nonspecific skeletal indicators of metabolic stresses. Technological advances have provided medical diagnostic tools and techniques which have been of importance to paleopathology such as CAT (computed axial tomography) and scanning of human remains, and fiber optics, which allow the study of body cavities and the sampling of the internal tissues of mummified corpses without the unacceptable massive destruction of museum specimens previously associated with the gross dissection of autopsies. The facial reconstruction techniques of forensic medicine have been usefully applied to ancient human remains as well (David 1978). Indeed, the blossoming of paleopathology in recent years holds great promise for unprecedented discoveries and advances in our ability to extract knowledge from human remains. Achievements such as the successful cloning of ancient Egyptian mummy DNA in the modern laboratory demonstrates the potential for obtaining *direct* knowledge of the biological nature and makeup of the ancient inhabitants of the biblical world (Pääbo 1985).

Examples of what can be accomplished by interdisciplinary teams employing modern techniques can be seen from the efforts of Rosalie David, whose team conducted a thorough interdisciplinary mummy autopsy at the Manchester Museum, in the tradition established by Margaret Murray (David 1978; David and Tapp 1984). Important also is the more recent team study of the mummy of Ramesses II, which was flown to France for the application of a battery of modern diagnostic procedures, then sterilized by gamma radiation before being returned to Cairo (Balout and Roubet 1985).

However, with advances in techniques and technologies is associated the increasing cost of paleopathological research and the difficulty in applying some techniques to large numbers of specimens. From a practical standpoint, much that is potentially available for use in paleopathology is usually unavailable in the field to the archaeologist and paleopathologist. Advances in diagnostic technology which are relatively common in medicine are often applied only exceptionally to archaeologic period human remains. Unfortunately, paleopathology in the archaeological setting still relies largely on

descriptive osteological studies with specialized study of smaller specimens or portions of specimens which can be studied at, or taken from, the site.

**B. The Nature of the Evidence**

The various specimens obtained from archaeological excavations from which paleopathologic data are obtained may be grouped as follows:

**1. Decarnated Skeletal Remains, Including Teeth.** Skeletal remains are the most frequently encountered human remains in biblical archaeology. A large variety of evidence can be obtained from the skeleton, such as information regarding the age, sex (still difficult or impossible with immature specimens), stature of the individual, identification of blood groups, relative health, and the existence of certain general disease processes, evidence of parturition (past childbirth), the presence of accidental and inflicted trauma, dietary information and nutritional status, several nonspecific markers for biological stress, and information about certain social customs (i.e., changes in bones owing to frequent kneeling). Often, evidence of specific diseases can be detected such as arthritis, leprosy, tuberculosis, treponemal infections, septic infection (pyogenic osteomyelitis), certain anemias and metabolic bone diseases, and malignancies and tumorlike processes (Steinbock 1976). A number of nonspecific indicators may be found singly or together in skeletal remains to suggest the presence of stress and disease, such as early age at death, Harris lines, dental crowding, dental hypoplasias, or thin long bone cortices. When large numbers of burials are found, populations may be profiled and defined by the application of osteometric analysis to the skeletons.

The information gained from skeletal material depends upon many factors, most important being the presence of a complete skeleton in good condition. However, much may still be learned from fragmentary skeletal remains as well. In fact, the probable sex, relative age, and an estimate of the stature of an ancient person may be determinable from a single recovered bone. An example of the wealth of data which can be extracted from an incomplete, poorly preserved, prehistoric skeleton in the hands of competent osteologists is seen in the recent and superb analysis of the paleolithic period skeleton from Wadi Kubbaniya, Egypt (Close 1986). The presence of a healthy skeleton does not eliminate the presence of disease since most acute illnesses and conditions resulting in death leave no imprint upon the bones. Teeth also may provide evidence of the age of the individual, the quality of the diet, and several nonspecific indicators of nutritional stress and growth disturbances (Price et al. 1985). Occasionally, evidence of certain social customs and occupations is present in teeth such as grooves in the teeth of weavers who pulled fibers from the mouth, etc.

**2. Preserved Soft Tissues and Hair.** With the survival of soft tissues is often preserved information regarding the specific health of that particular tissue, and thus certain implications may be drawn for the health of the individual. Important advances in the study of preserved tissues have been made in recent years (Zimmerman 1979; Zimmerman and Kelley 1982), and it is from Egypt that we have the greatest amount of knowledge in this regard. Zimmerman, for example, has shown the wealth of data extractable from preserved soft tissues in a recent study of a small group of mummies which demonstrated the presence of tuberculosis, anthracosis (the accumulation of carbon particles from inhaled smoke from cooking fires, etc.), severe atherosclerosis, a rare ancient occurrence of a benign dermatofibroma of the skin on the heel of one mummy, cases of spina bifida, and an infected but healed fracture (Zimmerman 1977). Work on the histology of mummified tissue has shown that many preserved tissues and lesions retain most of the characteristics comparable to freshly processed tissues of the same type. However, some inflammatory reactions (and associated neutrophils), areas of hemorrhage, malignancies of the colon, and evidence of acute myocardial infarction are poorly preserved in mummified tissues (Zimmerman 1979; Zimmerman and Kelley 1982).

Hair is important for the assessment of the nutritional status of the individual and for racial and population profiles (e.g., Hrdy 1978). The color of preserved hair must be interpreted cautiously especially when red-brown and near-blond colors are encountered in populations where dark and black hair is to be expected. Factors such as the oxidation of pigments, damage to the hair, the process of mummification, or fungal invasion of the hair shaft are all known to alter the color of hair.

**3. Blood, Biological Pigments, and Stains of Biological Origin.** Blood and other biological stains are encountered infrequently in archaeology and in the past were often ignored. However, when properly studied, such material can reveal extraordinary information. Dessicated ancient blood—indeed, the survival of even intact erythrocytes of several thousand years age has been demonstrated (Zimmerman 1973)—contains much potential information concerning the person to whom it belonged, at least the blood type (groups A, B, O, M, and N, usually excluding the Rh antigens, which are unstable over time) if not the manner in which the blood might have been shed. Wounds sustained before death may cause bloodstains on associated bone (Wood-Jones 1908a). Also, the discovery and proper analysis of the pink-colored bones from the cemeteries at Qumran revealed dietary practices among the monks at Qumran which are unattested by any of the published Dead Sea Scrolls or archaeological artifacts (Steckoll et al. 1971). The presence of bright yellow hematoidin on a femur from Tell esh-Shuqafiya, Egypt, is proof of the presence of an old wound and a subsequent nonacute or nonsudden death in the individual a few weeks after the wound was sustained (Jones 1988). However, quite unreliable are the conclusions drawn from the study of red-stained bedrock during the excavations at Bethel which attempt to link it with blood shed by sacrificial victims on a Canaanite altar (Kelso 1968).

**4. Coprolites, Soil from the Burial, and Ancient Cesspits.** Recent broadened interests in human paleopathology now require an examination of the soil of the burial, especially the soil in the pelvic and abdominal areas, for the presence of coprolites, or ancient fecal remains. Fecal remains may be found as part of the individual grave soil or in masses in ancient pit toilets. Archaeologic fecal remains may contain direct evidence of the diet of ancient man, data on the domestication of plants and the use of wild plant foods, the presence of hair and bone of animal and fish origin used as food, evidence of ancient technologies, the season of defecation of the specimen determined from seasonally specific food remains, as well as data on the microbiological and parasitic inhabitants of the human or animal alimentary tract. The soil from the pelvis and burial may also contain urinary parasites or various materials inserted into the rectum of the individual for medicinal or magical purposes prior to death. Unfortunately, much less may be learned concerning nutrition from fecal analysis owing simply to the fact that it is difficult or impossible to assess the nutritional value of foods assimilated by the body from the undigestible fibers and residues which are not assimilated. Many problems remain in the study of coprolites such as the difficulty in determining if a sample is of human versus animal origin, and various quantitative and qualitative assessments implied by the indigestible remains present in the coprolite. Attempts at culturing and recovering viable ancient human intestinal microorganisms from coprolites have failed repeatedly (see, Wilke and Hall 1975; Bryant 1974 and references).

With regard to the biblical world, paleofecal studies are very few. One analysis of coprolite specimens from caves near the Dead Sea dating to the late Second Temple period, suggest the presence, perhaps commonly, of *Entamoeba histolytica, Giardia lamblia,* and *Chilomastix mesnili.* All three are common intestinal protozoa in developing countries, the first two of which may cause diarrhea and abdominal complaints but also may be life-threatening, the latter being a harmless protozoan inhabitant on the colon (Witenberg 1961). Several studies of Egyptian coprolites have provided some data on food items and ancient parasites from various periods (Cockburn et al. 1975; Smith and Wood-Jones 1910: 181–220; Netolitzky 1911; 1912).

Occasionally, other biological artifacts are recovered with the burial soil such as tissue and arterial calcifications, urinary and gall stones, and echinococcal cysts, among others.

**5. Foreign Objects Associated with Grave Contents.** Burials may contain durable objects which provide considerable evidence for the paleopathologist. Among these may be weapons embedded within a portion of the skeleton such as arrowheads (Pahl 1983), the remains of rope nooses and garrotes (Wood-Jones 1908b), crucifixion nails (Zias and Sekeles 1985), the presence of splints or bandaging (Smith 1908b), and many other items.

**6. Fabricated Cultic, Artistic, and Other Fashioned Artifacts.** While this group of artifacts easily may fall within other spheres of study such as the history of medicine, sociology, cult, or myth, they often have relevance directly to paleopathology as well. Various objects found in association with human

habitation and burials sometimes preserve replicas or images of certain human activities of medical importance or portrayals of pathological conditions. However, such artifacts must be interpreted with caution. For example, from Egypt, the painted limestone statue of the dwarf Khnumhotep (Egyptian Museum no. 160), the granite sarcophagus lid with the portrait of its dwarf occupant Djehor (Egyptian Museum no. 1294), or the statuette group of the dwarf Seneb with his wife (Egyptian Museum no. 6055) prove the existence of achondroplastic dwarfism in ancient Egypt, agreeing importantly with the literary and artistic evidence from ancient Egypt as attested by many examples (Ruffer 1911 = Moodie 1921: 35–48; Dawson 1938). However, the claim of Yoeli (1955 and 1968), that a single Canaanite figurine dated to the 14th century B.C. portrays the *facies leonis* of advanced leprosy at such an early date runs counter to current knowledge of that disease in antiquity. Also, several ancient portrayals of the Pharaoh Akhenaten have stimulated much discussion about several possible diseases he may have had although his mummy itself has not yet been found (Aldred and Sandison 1962).

Another area which holds some potential in anthropology, genetics, and paleopathology is the study of ancient fingerprints left on pottery by the potter, pressed into the insides of bivalve molded figurines, pottery, etc. Fingerprints on various objects uncovered by the archaeologist are a relatively common discovery, but little study has been made of these important sources of ancient dermatoglyphs.

More directly applicable to the biblical world is the unusual case of the famous woman Babata from the time of Bar Kokhba, whose artifacts were found in the so-called Cave of Letters in Nahal Hever. Her possessions included a basket (her "purse") which contained such traditional feminine objects as scraps of cloth, a mirror, household items, and various personal documents. Also recovered were two important and telling artifacts, her sandals. One sandal had a normal sole pattern, but the other was peculiarly shaped to conform to the outline of her pathologically malformed foot. Babata, it appears, was crippled and had a visibly deformed foot, the shape of which was reflected in her sandal, a disability she bore her entire life. She likely had the noticeable limp of a cripple, and certainly she could not run well. See LAME, LAMENESS. None of Babata's skeletal remains have yet been identified (Yadin 1963; 1971).

**C. Pseudopathological Changes in Human Remains**

An area of paleopathology of which we still know little is the study of false diseaselike lesions or changes in human remains which are due to factors in the burial environment and therefore occur *post mortem.* Relatively common are such changes as bending or warping of long bones due to grave soil pressure over time, tracks along bones made by roots or insects which mimic venous imprints in bone, or scratches and erosions due to carnivorous animals, all of which may appear pathologic in their origin (Wells 1967). Such alterations in skeletal remains may be particularly enigmatic—at times one may not be sure if certain lesions on ancient bone represent disease processes or are the result of innumerable environmental factors. One of the most important examples of pseudopathological changes in human bone being interpreted as truly pathological are the past attempts of several physicians to see the existence of syphilis anciently in skulls from Egypt dating many centuries earlier (even to the late Predynastic period of Egypt) than any previously known from any part of the world (Fouquet 1896; Zambaco Pacha 1897; Lortet 1907; others). These pseudo-syphilitic bony changes of the skull resembled true syphilitic changes so closely that the claims of ancient syphilis in Egypt remained unchallenged for more than a decade until it was shown that such changes were actually due to a combination of the effects of insects and sandy burials upon the skull (Smith 1908a).

A more recent example is the question of the true incidence of ochronosis in ancient Egypt. Several claims for its existence were called into question only because ochronosis in modern times is a rare autosomal recessive condition. X-ray films of the intervertebral discs of Egyptian mummies often present an impression indistinguishable from the densification of the intervertebral spaces characteristic of alkaptonuric ochronosis seen in modern examples, and thus several claims for the common existence of ochronosis in ancient Egypt have now been shown to be the result of artifacts owing to the processes of mummification (Sandison 1968; Vyhanek and Strouhal 1976).

**D. Animal Paleopathology**

Much of the present discussion may be relevant to the paleopathology of animal remains. Ancient animals also may be found to have had arthritis, broken bones, and other diseases, although the impact of such discoveries is often minor or insignificant in archaeological terms. However, other findings are clearly more applicable to the archaeological setting. Among the more important aspects of animal paleopathology are the evidences of man-inflicted wounds associated with hostilities, animal sacrifice, etc. (Holladay 1982).

**E. Are Archaeological Human Remains a Biohazard?**

The issue of biohazardous risk associated with archaeological period biological evidence has been raised occasionally, most recently with regard to the smallpox virus. Smallpox was eradicated worldwide by 1979, but some have cautioned that viable smallpox virus particles may be entombed in potential reservoirs such as the mummy of Rameses V, which is covered with smallpox pustules (Meers 1985). However, the infectious risks associated with archaeologic human remains appear to be extremely small, generally speaking. Smallpox virus particles have not been proven viable after more than a year in dormancy. It is often difficult or impossible to culture viable organisms from mummy viscera, or matter from ancient pit toilets which must have initially received a variety of contagious organisms. However, there are few studies of this question and presently there are no established guidelines regarding the biohazardous potential of archaeologic period human remains.

**F. The Paleopathologist**

During the early days of paleopathology, the paleopathologist (although many early researchers in ancient disease process never thought of themselves in such terms) was most often an anthropologist or physician, but sometimes an historian, antiquarian, or chemist. At the present day, and reflecting the diverse nature of diagnostic techniques and technologies, the paleopathologist, now more than ever, represents many fields and orientations—most often anthropologists and archaeologists specializing in osteology and paleopathology, and physicians who may represent such specialties as pathology and radiography. Also, one often finds paleopathological studies, especially in team efforts, which include the work of biochemists, microbiologists, demographers, forensic artists, and many others. Such diversity in paleopathologic science is its major strength and this interdisciplinary nature of paleopathology will only increase in the future. However, the paleopathologist must necessarily bridge several fields, no matter what one's initial training might be. The paleopathologist must understand human physiology and pathology, the concepts of diagnostic osteology (often not the same as that of modern surgical pathology), or such fields as paleoenvironment, biochemistry, and many others, while at the same time being aware of the requirements of solid archaeological technique and the elements and principles of accurate history. It is to be expected, therefore, that paleopathological studies may occasionally vary in quality.

**G. Paleopathology and Reburial Laws**

Without question, the greatest obstacle to the paleopathologist is the established laws and regulations in most modern countries of the biblical world which require reburial of excavated ancient human remains. The implications of such regulations are many, such as greatly restricting the length of time permitted for the study of human remains, restriction of the application of special techniques and technologies to the specimens, or elimination of the opportunity for future study of problems which were not touched upon initially in the field. For example, the reader will note that many of the references to studies of osteological material used in this article mention the frustration of time restrictions and reburial requirements attached to the study of human remains. Such laws also prevent the restudy of osteological samples years after an initial assessment. One possible effect of this is seen in a recent craniometric restudy of skulls from Lachish which determined that only 39 percent of the specimens had been assessed correctly in the initial study performed soon after their excavation. Had these skulls been reburied instead of deposited in the British Museum of Natural History, much of our data on the population at Lachish derived from these skulls would have remained forever incorrect (Keita 1988).

Local religious and cultural sensitivities often even prevent the excavation of human remains from their ancient burial sites. And so, for example, important sources of data for the anthropology and paleopathology of the ancient Jews, such as the Jericho necropolis containing many thousands of burials,

or the cemeteries at Qumran containing approximately 1200 burials, still remain largely unstudied except for a few samplings (Hachlili et al. 1981; Steckoll 1967–69; Haas and Nathan 1967–69; Steckoll et al. 1971). One can appreciate and understand the many religious, social, and traditional motivations underlying the establishment of reburial laws, but clearly, the dead can only speak to us and tell us of their ancient lives when their remains are accessible for careful and reverent study by sympathetic modern scientists. Many ancient people still wait to speak. That skeletal remains may be housed in museums is only to their honor rather than the comparative anonymity of a cursory examination and haphazard reburial.

**H. Paleopathology and Archaeology of the Biblical World**

It is only in recent years that human and animal remains from archaeological excavations have begun to receive the attention they deserve. Today, it is apparent that paleopathology often touches upon issues which relate directly to biblical period history, problems, and personalities. Some random examples of this applicability might include the following out of many possible examples.

Without question, the best evidence for the paleopathologist is to be found in mummified human remains where the skeleton as well as some or all of the soft tissues are preserved. In this regard, we know that Merneptah, the probable Pharaoh of the Exodus, had severe periodontal disease and had lost all of his upper maxillary teeth in the molar-bicuspid regions, leaving only his frontal teeth with which to chew food. He also had extensive arteriosclerosis and was obese (Harris and Wente 1980: 330, 294). A restudy of male skulls from ancient Lachish has provided new confirmation of the multinational population suggested by data from the Bible and excavations at the site (Keita 1988).

Paleopathological studies of human skeletal remains from the ancient Middle East have yet to demonstrate the existence of leprosy and syphilis in the ancient biblical world before the 6th century A.D., although some biblical translations of and commentaries on Leviticus 13 and 15 have led many to believe that it existed at an earlier date. See LEPROSY; DISCHARGE. A skeleton from the Abba cave at Giv‘at ha-Mivtar, thought to be that of one of the Maccabean heroes and which possessed evidence of wounds which generally agreed with that reported of his death, has been shown with reasonable probability by modern paleopathologists to be the remains of a woman who had sustained a sword wound to the face *post mortem* (Smith 1977). Important new contributions to our previously sketchy knowledge of the methods of crucifixion have also been reported (Zias and Sekeles 1985 and references).

Populations of several periods in ancient Israel have been osteometrically profiled (Arensburg 1973; Nathan 1961; Smith and Zias 1980; Arensburg and Rak 1985; others), and for example, the Jewish population during the Second Temple period has been described as generally of a robust short to medium stature, having brachycranic to mesocranic skulls, with short broad faces. Jewish families of this period were faced with a child mortality of 30 percent although this was lower than that experienced by non-Jewish neighbors of the same period (Smith and Zias 1980), and similar to that of Bedouin skeletal remains from Israel dating to the last century (Goldstein et al. 1976). Dental disease and arthritis were evident by middle age (Hachlili et al. 1981; Smith and Zias 1980). Specific diagnostic problems such as various forms of trauma in late ancient Israel have been described (Rak et al. 1976), as well as numerous observations on the health and diseases of Jewish inhabitants of Israel during the period of 100 B.C. to A.D. 600 (Arensburg, Goldstein, and Rak 1985).

Among the most important recent studies of human remains from Transjordan have been the series of reports dealing with EB Age human remains from shaft tombs at Bab edh-Dhra (Ortner 1979; Ortner 1981; Ortner 1982), and the skeletal remains from Tell el-Mazar which represent a significant number of Iron Age human remains known elsewhere in large numbers only from Kamid el-Loz and Lachish (Disi et al. 1983). Iron Age human remains are very much fewer from other sites in the biblical world such as Megiddo (Hrdlička 1938), Ain Shems (i.e., Beth-shemesh; Hooton 1939), Azur, or Gezer (Macalister 1912). All of these studies demonstrate that degenerative arthritic conditions, trauma, and dental attrition are the most obvious conditions reflected in these human remains. Trephaning is also evident in a significant number of crania from this period, however it is to be interpreted.

Less work has been done on the osteology and paleopathology of skeletal specimens from Mesopotamia. The region is most famous for the discovery of the prebiblical Neanderthal remains from the Shanidar Cave in N Iraq (Trinkaus 1983). Otherwise, a number of scattered and relatively recent reports have appeared which focus largely on isolated or small groups of human specimens, although "bin" ossuaries are known from several sites. Nevertheless, some of these studies present important and rare paleopathological cases such as the possible remains of conjoined ("Siamese") twins from early Tell Hassuna (Abdul Aziz and Slipka 1966). Clearly, the most important and only synthesis of paleopathological data from this area is the recent study of Rathbun which concentrates largely on specimens dated earlier than about 1000 B.C. (Rathbun 1984). In this region, he notes that "pathology has yet to be considered adequately," and further, although the majority of specimens date from the metal ages, superficial study and reporting in the past "again makes comprehensive comparisons tenuous" (Rathbun 1984: 138). However, several skeletal markers for inadequate or periodic nutritional stresses are present in remains from earlier periods, as is generalized dental attrition, especially in earlier specimens and in the Neanderthal remains. Bronze and Iron Age skulls from some sites show a very high incidence (40 percent) of advanced otitis media or inner ear infections and resultant sequelae with a presumably high incidence of associated deafness. Trauma, often violent in origin, was evident in four of six Shanidar Neanderthals and 15 percent of metal age specimens. Osteoarthritic changes were common in all specimens and the average age at death was low (Rathbun 1984).

From Egypt, there are of a host of studies, too many to be properly sampled here owing to space considerations. Egyptian specimens have given us the most comprehensive body of data on health and disease in the entire ancient world. Evidence of trauma of many types has long been known from this region. Several infectious diseases are known from ancient Egypt such as tuberculosis, poliomyelitis, smallpox, and degenerative vascular disease. Arthritis of several types was common. There is no evidence of vitamin D deficiency (rickets) or syphilis. Parasitism was widespread throughout the entire biblical world with a variety of probable sequelae such as anemia, reduced work output, poor health and longevity, and poor nutrition. Parasites such as schistosomiasis, for example, are well documented in ancient Egypt as early as 1000 B.C. beginning with the discovery of schistosome ova in the renal tubules of a mummy by Ruffer in his early landmark paper (Ruffer 1910). It was probably also present in much of ancient Mesopotamia as well since the habitat in this region was and is well suited for the spread of the disease and the shells of the snail intermediate host can be found in mudbricks used in the construction of ancient Babylonian *ziggurats.* Various other conditions are known, among them the presence of renal stones and gallstones, hernia, rectal disease, anthracosis, emphysema and pneumonia, acromegaly, achrondroplastic dwarfism, or vesicovaginal fistula associated with narrow pelvic architecture in childbirth (for further references, begin with Sandison 1985). The human remains also present us with some surprises. The high incidence of periosteal reactions in the tibias of ancient Egyptians is not convincingly accounted for, and sepsis seems only occasionally or rarely to have followed severe examples of broken bones which likely were compound fractures. Nearly all septic changes of the facial bones are due to advanced dental disease. Many other less threatening and less fatal conditions existed as well. Mummies from Egypt have shown that societies with high-population-density dwellings suffered from carbon deposits in the lungs owing to smoke inhalation from domestic fires (Zimmermann 1977).

**I. Observations on Health and Disease Applicable to the Biblical World**

While more specific information on health and disease in the biblical world can be had in another article in this dictionary, some results and inferences drawn from the efforts of paleopathologists may be summarized to provide here a broad general statement on the subject. Many things are clear from the study of ancient health and disease, that is, paleopathology, which are applicable to most or all of the biblical world. See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

While there are always some long-lived individuals in every society, life expectancy in the ancient biblical world was short by modern standards, averaging in the range of 30 to 45 years depending upon the place and time. The advances of Greek society alone are credited by some with the extension of average longevity about five years to roughly 40–45 years of age, and it appears that at turn-of-the-era

Jericho, one-fourth of the population survived beyond age 50. Women generally lived shorter lives than men by as much as ten years (Arensburg, Goldstein, and Rak 1985) in contrast to the life span of modern American women, which surpasses that of men by about ten years. Mortality associated with childbirth was greater, as was also infant and subadult mortality. Indeed, the figures obtained from some skeletal groups suggest that by age 18 as much as 30 percent of the population had already perished (Hachlili et al. 1981; Ortner 1979). More startling are the burials from the Meroitic cemetery at Aksha (N Sudan), where 45 percent of the burials were age 12 and less (Vila 1967).

In ancient times there was always the constant reality of uncertain nutrition, reflected by the presence of *cribra orbitalia*, a skeletal lesion which is apparently a reaction to sustained iron deficiency, found in the ocular orbits of the skull. This has been observed commonly, for example, in ancient Jewish skeletal remains, especially those of children, which date to the Second Temple period (Arensburg, Goldstein, and Rak 1985).

Trauma, accidental and inflicted, was one of the most common causes of injury and disability, and is one of the most frequent causes of pathological conditions apparent in ancient skeletal remains. Healed broken bones are often found in various states of union and disunion as evidence of accidents and inflicted wounds. Certain forms of arthritis and degenerative conditions were common. By the Coptic/Byzantine periods, dental caries became much more notable and increasingly so thereafter in association with refinements in diet and lifestyle, whereas before this time and in association with more unrefined diets, attrition (wear) was common and caries were rare (Arensburg, Goldstein, and Rak 1985; Brothwell 1959). Infectious diseases went largely unchecked except for natural immunity. A variety of states of disability must have existed anciently owing to many causes. It cannot be stressed too strongly that pain was a common fact of life for much of the ancient population.

Arterial disease was probably widespread anciently and is known to have existed in Egypt at least. Evidence of cancer from antiquity is very rare, but the reasons for this are not clear. A possible explanation may be the shorter life span of most people anciently, and thus the probability that malignancies were expressed in many fewer of the population. Another explanation may be that many malignancies often do not spread to the bone before death and are thus not apparent to the paleopathologist.

**J. Conclusion**

The importance of a serious study of human remains from archaeological excavations in view of the real and potential knowledge to be gained thereby has resulted in the frequent participation of a paleopathologist as part of the staff of archaeological expeditions, and reflects the increasing sophistication of the theory and method of the so-called "New Archaeology." See ARCHAEOLOGY, SYRO-PALESTINIAN. Clearly, as much may be learned about the inhabitants of an ancient tell from their skeletal remains as from associated artifacts.

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RICHARD N. JONES

**PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF.** With the collapse first of Samaria (722 B.C.) and then of Jerusalem (586 B.C.), political control of the land of Canaan passed from Israelite/Judean hands into the hands of successive conquering empires. This entry surveys how those various imperial powers arranged to administer this territory. The entry consists of six sequential articles covering (1) Assyrian and Babylonian administration, (2) Persian administration, (3) local Judean officials during the Persian period, (4) Ptolemaic (Hellenistic Egyptian) administration, (5) Seleucid (Hellenistic Syrian) administration, and (6) Roman administration. For the Hellenistic Jewish administration of Palestine in the period between Seleucid and Roman rule, see HASMONEAN DYNASTY.

## *ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN ADMINISTRATION*

The administrative domination of Mesopotamia over Palestine, as manifested first in the Neo-Assyrian then in the Neo-Babylonian empire, spans the two centuries from the 730s to 539 B.C. "Palestine" here will be understood essentially as the territories comprising the biblical Israel and Judah. However, to follow the Mesopotamian impact on them, occasional notice must be taken of the contiguous regions of Transjordan, including Ammon, Moab, and Edom; of Philistia, including Ekron, Ashdod, Ashkelon, and Gaza; and of Phoenicia, especially Tyre and Sidon.

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A. Neo-Assyrian Period
1. First Contacts
2. Neo-Assyrian Empire in Its Classical Period
B. Neo-Babylonian Period
1. Preliminaries
2. Samaria in the Neo-Babylonian Period
3. Judah as Vassal
4. Judah as Province

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### A. Neo-Assyrian Period

**1. First Contacts (853–745 B.C.).** Prior to the 730s, Mesopotamian (which at this time means Assyrian) contact with Palestine was intermittent and unimportant. Three moments are recorded in the sources available. Two of them come in the middle of the 9th century B.C., when the Assyrian king, Shalmaneser III, attempted to advance beyond the N Syrian region, attacked already by his predecessors, into S Syria: (1) 853, at the battle of Qarqar, near Hamath in Syria. Here Shalmaneser's advance was apparently stopped by a Syro-Palestinian coalition led by the Aramean Hadadezer of Damascus and Irhulena of Hamath, and among its other prominent members was Ahab of Israel (*ANET*, 278–79); (2) 841, in which Shalmaneser finally broke through the local coalition, overrunning S Syria and apparently Transjordan and Israel (Hos 10:14 may be an echo of this: cf. Astour 1971). In his mention of Syrian rulers who paid him tribute, Shalmaneser includes the apparent leader, Hazael, the recent usurper of the Aramean throne of Damascus who had been attacking Israel, and the ruler of Israel himself, who seems to be Jehu ($^{I}$*Ia-ú-a/Ia-a-ú mār* $^{I}$*Ḫu-um-ri-i*), the recent usurper of the dynasty of Ahab (*ANET*, 280–81; cf. P. K. McCarter's proposal that the king here is Jehoram, son of Ahab [McCarter 1974], and the responses by Weippert 1978 and Halpern 1987). Shalmaneser III's victory may have given Israel some relief from the Aramaeans, but it was only temporary. For with the withdrawal of Assyrian forces, Aramean pressure from Hazael returned, and another forty years remained before a "deliverer" appeared (2 Kgs 13:5), in the person of Adad-nirari III. The latter king records in several inscriptions his defeat of Syria-Palestine, especially Damascus, and in one of them adds that he accepted tribute from "Joash, the Samarian" (Page 1968), i.e., Joash, grandson of Jehu, king of Israel. The date of submission is disputed between 803/802

(e.g., Schramm 1972) and 796 (e.g., Millard and Tadmor 1973), but two results can be discerned. First, the submission seems to have brought some Israelite captives to Assyria, as revealed by their inclusion in wine ration lists from Kalah a couple of decades later (Kinnier-Wilson 1972: 91–93). Second, the submission, with the defeat of Damascus, allowed Joash and his son, Jeroboam II, under the nominal protection of Assyria, to gain back territory in Transjordan previously lost to Damascus and then, eventually, when Assyria became too preoccupied elsewhere to interfere, to embark on an expansion of their own (2 Kgs 13:25; 14:25,28).

The three moments just noted represent no sustained concern for Palestine on the part of the Assyrians. Insofar as they had an interest in permanent control it extended, to the W, only so far as the Syrian states up to the W bend of the Euphrates, which were either annexed as provinces or, more often, kept as vassal states (e.g., Nasibina, Rasappa, Guzana, Harran, Bit Adini; cf. the Tell Fakhariyeh stela, probably of the middle 9th century B.C. [Abou-Assaf, Bordreuil, and Millard 1982]). Syria farther W and S was largely for periodic raids to gather booty and personnel and to keep lines of commerce open to the Mediterranean and beyond. Into this area N Israel—never Judah—was drawn, but Assyrian armies barely grazed its territory. The tribute and captives thus taken can be construed as a kind of imposition of vassalage upon the local Syro-Palestinian states, but it was a vassalage clearly not regularly enforced, all the more as Assyria in the century between 850 and 745 also faced serious challenges from other outsiders on other borders, especially Urartu to its N, and from rival elites within its midst.

**2. Neo-Assyrian Empire in Its Classical Period (745–609 B.C.). a. Tiglath-pileser III and His Imperial Reforms.** This pattern changed with the accession of Tiglath-pileser III as Assyrian king in 745. Apparently a usurper, who succeeded to the throne out of the struggle among rival elites, Tiglath-pileser undertook a vigorous program to rebuild the Assyrian state. On the one hand, he seems to have curtailed the independence of various high officials, who had become virtually kings in their own right. On the other, he initiated almost immediately upon his accession a wide-ranging series of military campaigns in all directions: first to the south to Babylonia (745); then to the E to the Zagros and W Iran (744); next to N and central Syria, detaching them from the Urartian sphere of influence (743–738); then to the N to Urartu and E to the Medes in W Iran (738–735); back to Damascus and Syria along with Palestine (734–732); and finally, to Babylonia once more (731–727), with which he was involved almost until his death in 727. The successes of these campaigns Tiglath-pileser sought to consolidate into an imperial system. While it rested on earlier Assyrian efforts, in extent and complexity it was really something new, and continued, with some modifications, as the basic political structure until the collapse of Assyria at the end of the 7th century.

This imperial system relied on a large-scale bureaucracy that radiated from the imperial cities in the Upper Tigris area outward, and more particularly on an increasingly professional army hardened by regular campaigning, a well-maintained road network, and an intelligence and propaganda apparatus to monitor potential trouble spots and spread the message of Assyrian invincibility. The areas conquered were arranged in two basic categories, both of which had been used by Assyrian rulers before Tiglath-pileser, though over a more limited territory. The first were the vassal states. Here the local state and ruler were kept intact—although if the ruler had been resistant, he could be replaced by someone else in his family or community who would be more pliant—in return for which the ruler had to agree to become a loyal subordinate of the Assyrian sovereign. The agreement seems to have been formalized in an oath-treaty to the Assyrian king directly, the *adê,* which stipulated loyalty to the king and his dynasty, coordination of foreign policy with that of the king, and approval from the king for any local change of ruler. The vassal was also obligated economically in the form of material goods and personnel. These were often taken in a large amount upon conquest by the Assyrian king, and after that the vassal sent them in smaller sums annually as tribute *(biltu, mandattu/maddattu)* as well as in occasional special taxes *(katru, tāmartu/nāmurtu).* It was also expected that the vassal would furnish men and supplies to Assyrian military campaigns and building enterprises conducted in his vicinity. What may not have been required was worship of the Assyrian gods (see further below). To ensure compliance with the obligations that were demanded, at least in the case of potentially uncertain vassals—it is not clear whether this applied to

all vassals—the Assyrian central administration installed an official called a *qēpu* at or near the vassal's court, together with a small garrison, or sometimes it relied on a nearby governor *(šaknu)* for this task.

If the vassal rebelled or if the newly conquered state in other ways required it, the Assyrian king could annex it outright as a part of Assyrian territory (the formulas in the Assyrian royal inscriptions speak of "seizing it anew," which probably means "reorganize" [*ana eššūti ṣabātu*] or "reckoning the local population with my people/the Assyrian people" [*ana/itti nišê mātīya/māt Aššur manû*]). In this way, the state lost its independence and became an Assyrian province *(pīḫatu)* ruled directly by an Assyrian official labelled either *šaknu* (= Heb *sagan*) or *bēl pīḫati* (= Heb *peḥāh*). These two titles have been conventionally translated as "governor," but what difference, if any, existed between them has not yet been agreed on. The governor maintained his own palace complex in the capital city of the province. He also controlled various other locales of authority within the province: fortresses *(birtu, ḫalṣu)*, royal roads, and stations for royal messengers and the army *(bīt mardīte)*. Collecting taxes—in addition to the general terms for tribute, *biltu* and *mandattu/maddattu*, the particular categories used were the *ilku*, a tax in labor service, and the *šibšu*, a tax on agricultural produce—was one of the governor's main duties; part of these was sent on to the central imperial cities in the Assyrian heartland, while the other part remained in the province to maintain the local administration. The governor had to keep the imperial center regularly informed of all activities and to join the Assyrian army on campaign when ordered. He also, unlike the apparent situation in the vassal states, provided for Assyrian religious cults, though native gods and their worship were certainly not proscribed. And in the process of carrying out his duties, assisted by a variety of subordinates—the *rab ālāni*, in charge of a subdistrict (perhaps = *qannu*) of settlements with its own urban center, was the most important—the governor was normally able to gain profit of his own: at least of some of the taxes left over after the distribution to the central and provincial administrations could be used by him personally, and he was normally granted land by the king, often tax-free, outside his own province.

A province was created normally as a result of Assyrian military action, which resulted in the destruction of certain of the local cities and towns of the region and deportation of significant elements of the population, especially from the local elites and craftsworkers, to other parts of the empire, most prominently to the central imperial cities in the Upper Tigris triangle. Here the deportees entered the work force, as skilled craftsmen or as laborers, on state building projects, were mustered into the army, or became part of the governing bureaucracy. In turn, the lost population was replaced, at least partially, by deportees brought in from other provincial regions. While it is clear that Tiglath-pileser III created provinces and practiced deportation on a far larger scale than his predecessors, and that his policy was continued by his successors, the origins of this policy are no longer certain. Forrer (1920: 10–11) had argued that it began by his breaking up into smaller units the large provinces in existence from earlier decades in the area from the Tigris to the western bend of the Euphrates—provinces that had been controlled by powerful, rather independent governors. As noted above, it does appear that Tiglath-pileser curbed the power of these officials, but Garelli (Garelli and Nikiprowetzky 1974: 113–14, 232–34) has more recently cast strong doubts on the assumed breakup of territory as one of the means by which this was done.

This imperial system of vassal states and provinces exhibited several peculiarities or partial modifications. Babylonia, because of its ancient cultural associations, was the most troublesome part of the empire, and at various times was a vassal, province, and especially a state ruled by a member of the Assyrian royal family, whether a son, brother, or the reigning king himself. In the west, the Phoenician cities remained vassal states under special protection, so that their maritime commerce would flourish to Assyria's benefit. Vassals of another kind were the nomadic Arab tribes in the Syro-Arabian desert and the N Sinai—similar arrangements operated with other nomadic groups like the Medes—who were too elusive, resistant, and far away to be coerced into provinces. Rather, with their sheiks nominated as vassal rulers and pasture rights occasionally given on the margins of Assyrian imperial lands, the Arabs could be used to facilitate trade, the passage of Assyrian armies, and other kinds of communication through the

deserts and other border areas over which they alone had mastery. This was particularly crucial in the Assyrian campaigns against Egypt, which had to go through the Sinai.

**b. Israel in the Classical Neo-Assyrian Period.** Within the imperial system just described, the fortunes of Israel and Judah can be followed. Israel, from the first campaigns of Tiglath-pileser III to the W in 743–738, passed rapidly from vassal to province. In 738, in the wake of Tiglath-pileser's defeat of a N Syrian coalition led by Azriyau of Yaudi (not = Azariah/Uzziah of Judah!), Menahem, king of Israel paid the Assyrian tribute (2 Kgs 15:18–20; *ANET*, 283a; Levine 1972: 18.II 5). The resulting vassal status, however, was shattered by 734, when a new Israelite king, Pekah, joined forces with the king of Damascus, Razyan II (= biblical Rezin), in an anti-Assyrian pact to enlarge their territory at the expense of Judah under Ahaz. This so-called Syro-Ephraimite war brought Tiglath-pileser back to the region, and in 732 he defeated the coalition and conquered the two states. Damascus became a set of provinces; Israel lost, it appears, its W and E territories to provinces (see below). The core of Israel, around the capital Samaria, was allowed to remain a vassal state under a new, seemingly pro-Assyrian ruler, Hoshea, whose accession had to be approved by Tiglath-pileser III (*ANET*, 284a; cf. Borger and Tadmor 1982: 244–249). But by 725 Hoshea was in open revolt against the successor of Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser V. And the response was equally decisive. Israel was attacked and Samaria was besieged. Hoshea seems to have been captured and deported at the beginning of this siege (2 Kgs 18:9–10 with 17:4–6), and after three years, during which time, leadership may have been assumed by city elders or generals, Samaria fell in 722, at the end of Shalmaneser's reign (2 Kgs 17:5–6; TCS 5: 73.I 28; cf. Tadmor 1958: 37). His successor, Sargon II, however unfairly claimed responsibility for this success (Tadmor 1958: 34), dating it to his accession year. But two years later, in 720, Sargon had a legitimate boast when Samaria revolted a second time, in conjunction with a widespread uprising of the W vassals and provinces supported by Egypt, and he put it down (*ANET*, 285, and victory stelae of Sargon from Samaria [Crowfoot, Crowfoot, and Kenyon 1957: 35 & pl. IV 2] and Qāqūn [cf. *RLA* 5: 203b]. At this point, apparently, Samaria and its environs became definitively an Assyrian province, under the name *Sāmerīna*, the Assyrian equivalent of Hebrew *Šōmĕrōn* (= Samaria). And as in 722, population deportation took place.

After 720, therefore, no independent or vassal state existed in the territory of (N) Israel. The classic study of Forrer (1920: 60–61,63) had supposed that four provinces were established in what had been the Israelite state prior to 732. Three came in 732 after Tiglath-pileser III's campaign: Dor (= Assyrian *Du'ru*) on the Mediterranean coast from above Ashdod to the Mt. Carmel region; Megiddo (= Assyrian *Magiddû/Magaddû*) in the Jezreel Valley and Galilee; and Gilead (= Assyrian *Gal'a[d (d)a];* on the form see Weippert 1972: 154–55) in the N Transjordan. The fourth province was Samaria (= Assyrian *Sāmerīna*) in the hill country below the province of Megiddo, established in 722–20 under Sargon II. As Eph'al (*WHJP* 4/1: 284–86), however, has noted, no Assyrian or Biblical texts unequivocally mention Gilead as an Assyrian province; when the name occurs in Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions, it designates only a city, and only by extrapolation from biblical texts that describe earlier periods and later Hellenistic Greek texts can one infer that Gilead in 8th–7th-century Assyrian history designated the capital city of a province. Similarly for Dor, the Assyrian references are only to a city, and one can only guess whether this was an isolated Assyrian center or the capital of an Assyrian province by the same name. Only for Megiddo and Samaria do the Assyrian records—and for Samaria, also the biblical (2 Kgs 17:24, 26)—testify clearly to their existence as provinces. And at least by Esarhaddon's time, the territory of Samaria appears to have included Aphek, close to the Mediterranean coast (Borger 1956: §76:16, as collated by Tadmor *apud* Cogan 1974: 100, n. 19).

As for the deportations, these proceeded over a number of decades, beginning with Tiglath-pileser III's campaign of 734–732. In 733–732, the king deported large numbers from the Transjordanian tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half-Manasseh, then within the N kingdom of Israel (1 Chr 5:6, 26) and from Upper Galilee (2 Kgs 15:29; Tiglath-pileser III annals, which give the number as 13,520 [Tadmor 1967: 66]). With the fall of Samaria in 722/720, the inscriptions of Sargon II number the deportees at 27,290 (*ANET*, 285a), but whether this figure represents the sum from the conquest in 722, by Shalmaneser V, and 720, by Sargon II, who also, it may be recalled, took credit for the 722 conquest, or just the sum from 720 is

not clear. The Biblical record (2 Kgs 17:6; 18:11; 1 Chr 5:26) seems to record only the 722 deportation, which it indicates took the captives to the upper Euphrates, around the Habur River (Habor, river of Gozan), to the area apparently NE of Nineveh beyond the Tigris (Halah, cities of the Medes). Assyrian texts, in turn, indicate the presence of Israelites after 722/20 in Gozan (= Tell Halaf), Kalah (= Nimrud), and Nineveh as various kinds of officials and workers, military and otherwise. Of these, recent evidence from the reign of Sargon II suggests that the Assyrian especially prized Samarians for their expertise in chariot and equestrian warfare and deported them to serve both as contingents within and as experts to advise the army (Dalley 1985).

Doubtless not all the inhabitants of the former kingdom of Israel were exiled. But to replace those who were the Assyrians brought in deportees from other parts of the empire. 2 Kgs 17:24 (cf. 30–31) speaks of people brought from a variety of cities in Babylonia (Babylon, Kutha, perhaps Hamath and Sepharvaim), probably in Elam (Avva, though some have located this in Babylonia), and possibly in Syria (Hamath and Sepharvaim, if they are not in Babylonia). These are presented as coming in the wake of the 722/20 conquests (cf. also Sargon II annals, *ANET*, 284b; Tadmor 1958: 34), though it is likely that the 2 Kgs list is a composite of several deportations, both from 722/20 and later. Clearly later, either in 716 or in 715, Sargon records the transfer of parts of Arab tribes—the Tamudi, Ibadidi, Marsimani, and Hayyapa (*ANET*, 286a). And in Ezra 4:2, 9–10, there are notices of additional deportations to Samaria in the following 7th century by Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal (= Heb Osnappar), the latter, according to vv 9–10, including people from Babylonia (Erech/Uruk and Babylon) and Elam (Susa) as well as other places.

The operation of Assyrian administration in these provinces of the former kingdom of Israel can be followed only in limited fashion. Sargon II's inscriptions speak of imposing on the newly created province of Samaria, after its conquest, tribute (Akk *biltu, mandattu/maddattu)*, continuing "the *biltu* of their former king" (Winckler 1889: 1.100.24–25, *ANET*, 285a, which should refer to the tax system of Israel when it was an independent state). Three governors are known from Assyrian documents, all important enough to have achieved the status of eponym (references in *RLA* 5: 203): Itti-Adad- (a)ninu of Megiddo (679, reign of Esarhaddon); Nabu-kitta-uṣur of Samaria (690, reign of Sennacherib; in different documents he is described as *bēl pīḫati* [Grayson 1963: 96.120] and as *šaknu* [Postgate 1970: 148]); and Nabu-sar-ahhesu (646 or 645, reign of Ashurbanipal) also of Samaria. A *rab ālāni* is attested from an Assyrian document found in Samaria, in which he is to be given, apparently on order of the governor, a ration of animals (Reisner, Fisher, and Lyon 1924: 1.247; 2, pl. 56b). Samaria and Megiddo, apparently as capital cities of their respective provinces, are noted in several lists of Assyrian administrative centers, some of which indicate tribute submitted by these centers to the Assyrian crown. Dor is also listed in these texts, but note above Eph'al's caution about identifying it as the capital of a province. Several Assyrian texts, letters, and administrative lists, indicate contingents from Samaria in the Assyrian army, though it is not clear whether these represent forces sent by the province or deportees from the original Assyrian conquest in 722/720 (cf. Dalley 1985 and other references in *RLA* 5: 204). Akkadian texts reflecting Assyrian control have been found in three settlements: Samaria (Reisner, Fisher, and Lyon 1924: 1.247; 2, pl. 56a–b; Crowfoot, Crowfoot, and Kenyon 1957: 35, pls. II–III, XV: 18a), Gezer (republished by Becking 1981–82), and Tell Keisan near Acco (Sigrist 1982). The texts at issue include: for Samaria, a legal order, a bulla with the royal Assyrian seal that bears the name of a local resident, a cylinder seal of a Nabu-zabil with an inscription mentioning various Babylonian gods, and a fragment of an Assyrian royal stela, probably of Sargon II; for Gezer, two legal contracts, one dated to 651, recording the sale of an estate with houses and slaves, and the other dated to 649, describing the sale of a plot of land, in addition to several uninscribed cylinder and stamp seals and impressions (Reich and Brandl 1985: 45–48); for Tell Keisan, a list of bread rations perhaps for foreign soldiers or settlers. The texts, thus, are of standard Mesopotamian types, found elsewhere in the Assyrian empire, and reflect Mesopotamian/Assyrian administrative/legal procedures. The personnel involved, if one may judge from the names, are of mixed background—Assyrian, Babylonians, Egyptians, Aramaeans, Israelites—exactly what one would expect from Assyrian deportation policy and confirming, at least in broad outline, the

range of population pictured for conquered Samaria in the biblical sources noted above (2 Kgs 17; Ezra 4).

The archaeological picture of the N kingdom after the Assyrian conquest correlates with the picture described in the written sources. Sites like Hazor (Level VA), Megiddo (Level IVA), Beth-shan (Level IV), and Gezer (Level VIA) show destruction in the latter 8th century that fits with the written evidence of Tiglath-pileser III's campaigning in their area in 733–32. In turn, the destruction of Samaria (Period V–VI)—not complete, but centered on the buildings of the Israelite royal quarter—and of other sites like Tell el-Farah of the N (Level VIIc–d) and Shechem (Level VII) can be attributed to the conquest of 722. Most of the destroyed sites—Beth-shan is one of the exceptions—were resettled, although not all immediately. Some like Tell el-Farah of the north (Level VII e) and Shechem (Level VI) were now poorer and less extensive than before. In the case of Samaria (Level VII), the earlier defensive walls seem to have been kept and restored, although the general rebuilding indicated by Sargon II in his annals (*ANET*, 284b) has not been found on the site.

Megiddo (level III), Hazor (Level IV), and Gezer (Level VB) evidence refortification that suggests their positions as Assyrian administrative centers: Megiddo as capital of the province of the same name; Hazor and Gezer as subprovincial centers perhaps for *rab ālāni,* Hazor within Megiddo and Gezer within Samaria or possibly Dor. At all three sites, the remains of fortified buildings were discovered that doubtless served administrative needs, and hence have been called palaces. The plan of the one at Gezer is unclear, but at Hazor (citadel) and Megiddo (buildings 1052 and 1369), the structures are of the "open court" type, in which a series of rooms is arranged along the four walls of the building with an open court in the middle. This type appears to derive from Babylonia, and was brought to Palestine, where it was previously unknown, by the Assyrians; Lachish (where, however, the structure, called by the excavators the Residency, is now to be dated to the Achaemenid Persian period), Tell Jemmeh, and Buseirah represent other (southern) sites in Palestine where the building is found. Note that at Hazor and Megiddo, these "open court" buildings were in central locations: at Hazor occupying the whole of the W bluff of the citadel; at Megiddo, both near the city gate. In addition, just NE of Hazor at Ayyelet Ha-Shahar a new settlement was established, more or less contemporaneous with the Assyrian occupation of Hazor III. The bulk of this is another palace, whose fragmentary plan seems directly to reflect the palaces of the Assyrian imperial capitals, with two, not one, open courtyards, slightly separated, around which rooms are arranged (Reich 1975). A recent suggestion by J. Bloom (1989) is that the Ayyelet Ha-Shahar palace represents the dwelling of the Hazor *rab ālāni,* while the open court building on the citadel of Hazor III is an Assyrian *ekal mašarti,* the armory and headquarters of the Assyrian garrison at Hazor. Indeed, that there appears to be no real settlement in Hazor III beyond this building suggests that the site served then exclusively military-administrative purposes.

Besides these architectural features, the Assyrian presence in Samaria and adjacent provinces can be traced in various artifacts. The small, but noticeable number of cuneiform texts and seals from Samaria, Gezer, and Tell Keisan has been described above. The other noticeable artifact is a distinctive pottery, hitherto unknown in Palestine, which has been labeled Assyrian palace ware because it is at home in the palaces of the Assyrian imperial capitals (Nimrud has furnished an especially large collection; see Oates 1959). This pottery is distinguished by its thin, fine ware, and its shapes include a bowl with a high flaring rim which reflects a metallic prototype. The pottery appears in Palestine primarily in the first years of Assyrian occupation both in imported and in local copy, and gives way rather soon to indigenous pottery styles.

What did the Assyrians expect from the population of natives and deportees settled in Samaria and the other provinces which they had created out of the former kingdom of Israel? Several inscriptions of Sargon II speak, as we have seen, of the tribute *(biltu, mandattu/maddattu)* imposed on the population, by which should probably be understood both the initial spoil and the subsequent regular payment of taxes. The inscriptions make a point that this was done "just as if they were Assyrian" *(ki ša Aššurî),* and add that "I also had them trained in proper behavior" *(inušunu ušāḫiz)* (Lie 1929: 6:7.17; Winckler 1889: 1.100–1.24; cf. *ANET*, 284–85). What is involved here is elaborated on in another inscription of Sargon,

treating the resettlement of captives and others in his new capital of Dur-Sarrukin (Khorsabad): "I ordered citizens of Assyria, knowledgeable in all the proper behavior *(mūdūte ini kalama),* as overseers and supervisors to teach them correct conduct, the worship of god and king" *(ana šūḫuz ṣibitte pālaḫ ili u šarri)* (Lyon 1883: 12.74). These statements reflect, as Cogan (1974: 49–55) has pointed out, the effort to organize the new and mixed population of the provinces and to teach them proper obedience. Indeed, the possibility that such statements may have been broadcast to the local population, at least to the local elites, is suggested by the way they are echoed in a biblical text like 2 Kgs 17:27–28 (Paul 1969). What the obedience involved, certainly, was the orderly payment of taxes, service to the crown, and resistance to rebellion. Included as well was a degree of religious obeisance, which, as other Assyrian texts, not relating to Israel, suggest, could take such forms as taxes for support of the temples of the Assyrian gods in the imperial centers and the erection of images of deified weapons, particularly associated with the imperial god Ashur, in provincial cities, around which, one can assume, worship occurred. But obeisance to the Assyrian gods did not apparently displace the worship of other deities connected with the provincial populations. This is clearly indicated by the narrative in 2 Kings 17, which describes the various deportees in Samaria each worshipping their own gods along with Yahweh, whose cult is said to have been reactivated there with the approval of the Assyrian king, and eventually to have predominated among the population. While there is doubtless some special pleading in this narrative on the part of its Deuteronomistic editors, the religious tolerance it assumes from the Assyrian authorities is borne out by practice elsewhere in the empire (Cogan 1974: 55; 38 n. 101; 104–7).

The waning of Assyrian rule in Samaria and adjacent provinces seems to have begun, or at least becomes noticeable, in the late 640s, in the wake of Ashurbanipal's costly wars in the S and E parts of the empire, viz., against Babylonia (652–648) and Elam (647–646). Against the background of these wars, the West saw the opportunity to challenge Assyrian control, and the last attested Assyrian interventions in the S Levant were in the mid-latter 640s in response: a campaign against the nomads who were menacing the provinces from the middle Euphrates to the Transjordan; and the conquest of mainland Tyre (Ushu) and Acco, which had rebelled. By the 620s and the death of Ashurbanipal (627), the situation of the empire as a whole became urgent, provoked and aggravated by strife within the ruling Assyrian elite joined to a resurgent independence in Babylonia and Iran. Not surprisingly, Egypt took advantage to extend its influence through Palestine, to which Assyria seems eventually to have agreed in return for support elsewhere; one by-product may have been the Assyrian cession of Megiddo to Egypt in this period (Malamat 1973; archaeologically this is Megiddo II). It is probably no accident as well that the 620s mark the full emergence of the political and religious reforms undertaken by Josiah of Judah, reforms that may have included a reclamation of territory in Judah previously removed by Sennacherib in his 701 campaign (2 Kgs 23:5, 8; 2 Chr 34:9, 32; letter from Meṣad Ḥashavyahu [*ANET*, 568) and an attempt to expand into Samaria and perhaps adjacent provinces (2 Kgs 23:15–20; 2 Chr 34:6–7, 9, 33; for the debate on this see D. Edelman 1991). Significantly, the extant sources on Josiah's reforms (2 Kgs 22–23; 2 Chr 34–35) do not report any concomitant defensive measures against Assyria nor, in turn, any Assyrian response.

**c. Judah in the Classical Neo-Assyrian Period.** Unlike Israel, Judah's involvement with Assyria, from the western campaigns of Tiglath-pileser III in the 730s B.C. until the collapse of the Assyrian empire in 614–609 B.C., shows a basic consistency: its status as vassal is never changed. That status first becomes clear in 734–732 B.C., when Judah was attacked by the "Syro-Ephraimite" coalition of Damascus and Israel as part of a general agitation against Assyrian authority in the region, and Tiglath-pileser III responded with a campaign of conquest through S Syria, Israel, Transjordan, and the Mediterranean coast from Phoenicia to "the city of the Brook of Egypt" in the Sinai (Wiseman 1951: 23.18). In this campaign, Ahaz of Judah affirmed his loyalty to the Assyrian, who secured his throne, and this affirmation is made clear in the biblical text (especially 2 Kgs 16:7–18) and in an Assyrian list of tribute providers either from 734 or 732 (*ANET*, 282a, where the name appears in Akkadian, as $^{I}$*Ia-ú-ḫa-zi* = Jehoahaz). Sometime around his conquest of Samaria in 720, Sargon II noted in one inscription that he was "the subduer of the country Judah which is far away" (*ANET*, 287a), which would not seem to indicate that Judah had

revolted at that time, but rather had paid tribute as a loyal vassal (so Tadmor 1958: 39 n. 146). And two other occasions of demonstrated loyalty are recorded in Assyrian texts for the long fifty-five-year reign of Manasseh of Judah: the first in the annals of Esarhaddon, where Manasseh is listed among twenty-two W vassal kings who were commanded, about 679 or 677, to bring to the imperial capital at Nineveh materials for the construction of the royal armory and storehouse *(ekal mašarti)* (*ANET*, 291); the second from the annals of Esarhaddon's successor, Ashurbanipal, in which many of the same rulers brought gifts to the king and troop contingents to join his first campaign against Egypt in 668/667 (*ANET*, 294).

This history of vassalship was disturbed on several occasions, but it is noteworthy that none of them resulted in a change of status for Judah. Thus, in the anti-Assyrian revolt of 713–712 led by Ashdod, Judah was at least tempted to join, if it did not actually do so (cf. Isa 20:1–6; Prism A of Sargon II in *ANET*, 287a). But the outcome for her was at the most a payment of tribute, as recorded in an Assyrian text that may date from the end of this revolt and lists tribute payments from various Palestinian and Transjordanian groups as well as Egypt (ND 2765; cf. Cogan 1974: 118). In the great rebellion against Sennacherib of 705–701, Hezekiah of Judah was one of the major western leaders, extending his influence perhaps to Samaria and the other N provinces (2 Chr 30:5, 10–11, 18; 31:1) as well as to Philistia (Sennacherib annals, *ANET*, 287b). In turn, Sennacherib's counterattack, in his third campaign of 701, resulted in a sizable conquest of Judean territory ("46 of his strong cities, walled forts and … countless small villages in their vicinity" [Sennacherib annals, *ANET*, 288a]), the transfer of this territory to loyal Philistine vassals (Mitinti of Ashdod, Padi of Ekron, and Ṣilli-bel of Gaza), large slaughter and deportations from the captured settlements (Sennacherib's annals number the deportees at 200,150 [*ANET*, 288a], and the slaughter and deportation from Lachish are the most graphically recorded in the excavations at the site and in reliefs from Nineveh [Ussishkin 1982]), and a very large payment of tribute from Judah as well as an increased annual tax. Yet the Assyrian siege of Jerusalem was suddenly withdrawn; and Judah, though now reduced essentially to Jerusalem and its environs, was allowed to retain its vassal status and even its rebel king, Hezekiah (Sennacherib annals, *ANET*, 287b–88; Naʾaman 1974; main Biblical sources are 2 Kgs 18–20 = Isa 36–39 and 2 Chr 32).

Judah's vassalship was again disturbed, though still not broken, in the reign of Hezekiah's successor, Manasseh. 2 Chr 33:11–13 reports that Manasseh was captured and brought before an unnamed Assyrian king in Babylon. If the incident is authentic, as seems likely, it cannot easily be equated with either the Esarhaddon or the Ashurbanipal mentions of Manasseh noted above. It may refer, rather, to the possible involvement of Judah, along with other W vassals, in the rebellion of the Egyptian Taharqa (biblical Tirhakah) in 671 against Esarhaddon (so Cogan 1974: 69 with earlier opinions). Or it may be connected with Judean (and other western) restiveness in reaction to the Babylonian war or Ashurbanipal in 652–648 (see in Cogan 1974: 68–69; as Cogan and others have also suggested, this same rebellion and war, respectively, may also be behind the deportations to Samaria in the reigns of Esarhaddon [Ezra 4:2] and Ashurbanipal [Ezra 4:9–10]). Whatever the case, the account in 2 Chronicles 33 makes clear that Manasseh was not removed from his throne, but with the help of Yahweh, restored to Jerusalem by the Assyrians, presumably after a sizable tribute payment (which is not, however, noted). Finally, we may recall the political and religious reforms of the last Judean king, Josiah, which went unchallenged by Assyria even though they appear to have become increasingly aggressive in the 620s. Indeed, the only external force Josiah had to deal with was Egypt, which moved, as noted above, to fill something of the Assyrian vacuum in Palestine. Whether Josiah actually became an Egyptian vassal is moot (cf. *HAIJ*, 388–90), but by 609, they were at odds. For in that year, Pharaoh Necho II slew Josiah at Megiddo, evidently when Josiah attempted to stop the Egyptians from marching to the aid of the beleaguered Assyrian army in Harran (2 Kgs 23:29–30; 2 Chr 35:22–24).

Within the historical framework just given, details about the Assyrian management of Judah as vassal are, as they were for Israel, sparse. The effectiveness of the Assyrian propaganda apparatus in communicating authority and demands is made clear by the many echoes of imperial rhetoric in the biblical texts of the period, none more than in (First) Isaiah (Cohen 1979; Machinist 1983). More concretely, as we have seen, the vassal's duty of regular tribute (*biltu, mandattu/maddattu* [= tribute] and

*tāmartu/nāmurtu* [= supplementary gifts]) is documented for the reigns of Ahaz, Hezekiah, and Manasseh; the punitive tribute and spoil from rebellion for the reign of Hezekiah. Judeans in Assyrian army service are likewise known from Manasseh's reign, as mentioned, where they apparently were grouped into a separate unit, and the same is true for a regiment of Judeans from Lachish, deported in the wake of Sennacherib's campaign of 701, who served as palace guards in Nineveh (Barnett 1958; cf. Reade 1972: 106–7). The Assyrian practice of supervising a vassal state by placing one or more government commissioners *(qēpu)* in or near it, or of using a nearby governor *(šaknu),* is attested for several W states: e.g., the Arabs of Queen Samsi, under Tiglath-pileser III; Tyre and Ashdod, under Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal and perhaps also, in the case of Ashdod, under Sargon II after the 713–712 rebellion (*WHJP* 4/1: 286–87; Elat 1975: 64–66; Tadmor 1966: 95). Whether such a commissioner was placed in Judah is moot. None is explicitly attested, but Elat (1975: 63–64) has argued on indirect grounds that one was appointed after the 701 campaign, and set up his headquarters in Lachish. This argument has been opposed by Ussishkin (1977: 53 and n. 14), who notes that there is nothing in the archaeological record of Lachish level II (the level of the post-701 period) that points to an Assyrian presence. Especially, Ussishkin (1977: 39) shows that the so-called Residency building, which was an "open court" structure and for Elat and Aharoni was used by the commissioner, belongs not to level II, but to level I of the Achaemenid Persian period. It represents, thus, a survival of the "open court" form beyond Assyrian times. Ussishkin's refutation notwithstanding, it makes sense to suppose that Assyrian garrisons and associated officials were at least within range of Judah to monitor affairs. Among the places they may be looked for are the sites of Tell esh-Sharia (probably Ziklag) and Tell Jemmeh (probably Arṣa) in the northwestern Negeb just inside or over the Judean border. Here excavations by Oren (1982: 159–61 for Level VI) and Van Beek (1983), respectively, have revealed in the 7th–century levels such features as Assyrian palace ware, iron spearheads, and massive fortresslike buildings. The Jemmeh building is of the "open court" form and has mud-brick barrel vaulting. Together such remains suggest that at that time both sites were Assyrian military posts.

Other archaeological traces of Assyrian activity may be found elsewhere in Judah. Thus, the devastation of Sennacherib's 701 campaign is attested at a number of sites, most dramatically at Lachish level III (on the dating see Ussishkin 1977), with such features as the massive siege ramp and counterramp against the city wall (Ussishkin 1983: 137–46; Eph'al 1984), tomb 120 with its mass burial of some 1500 persons, and numerous iron arrowheads; there is also, one will recall, the Assyrian record of all this in the extensive wall reliefs from Nineveh (Ussishkin 1982). Moreover, some pieces of Assyrian palace ware have turned up in Judah, though far less and generally later—in the latter half of the 7th century (e.g., Ramat Rahel Level VA)—than in Samaria and the other N provinces. In general, the archaeological indications, combined with other sources, suggest that Judah only slowly recovered from the devastation and truncation of its territory caused by the 701 campaign, and that the burden of heavy taxation never allowed a return to full economic health.

In the Assyrian management of its vassals, the matter of religious control has become a disputed question. Against an older opinion, Cogan (1974) and McKay (1973) have independently concluded that while religious obeisance in some form was expected of the provinces, it was not of the vassals. No Assyrian sources, they argue, indicate that vassals were required to support Assyrian sanctuaries or to maintain Assyrian religious symbols or cults within their own territory. On the other hand, vassals certainly had the option of making occasional gifts for Assyrian gods if they wanted to on their own volition. More recently, Spieckermann (1982) has returned to the older view; and while acknowledging that Assyrian texts rather infrequently mention demands for worship of the Assyrian gods, he believes that there are some instances (e.g., in Esarhaddon's treaty with the Median vassals, lines 393–96, 401–9 [*ANET,* 538a]) and that these are echoed by Assyrian practices such as deporting the statues of the gods of the people whom they conquer (e.g., for Samaria in 722/720: cf. Gadd 1954: 179, 4.32–33), presumably to be replaced (even if this is not explicitly stated) by the statues of Assyrian gods. The dispute between Cogan/McKay and Spieckermann is not easily resolved, but it appears to turn on the nature of the evidence each is seeking: Cogan/McKay looking for explicit concrete requirements and actual practices

involving Assyrian cults; Spieckermann willing to infer such requirements from more generally phrased statements, such as in the Esarhaddon treaty, because of his conviction that the religiously grounded character of Assyrian imperial ideology—promoting the superiority of the god Ashur—makes religious impositions a logical part of imperial practice.

The relevance of this debate for Judah centers on the religious innovations associated with the kings Ahaz and Manasseh: the erection of a new altar in Jerusalem copied from one seen by Ahaz in Damascus during his meeting with Tiglath-pileser III; the passing of children through fire and the Molech cult; and astral cults, which included also horses (2 Kgs 16:3–4, 10–16; 21:5–6, 18, 26; 23:5, 10–12; 2 Chr 28:3; 33:5–6). For Cogan and McKay, these innovations reflect long-standing Syrian (Aramean)-Canaanite traditions, not Assyrian, except possibly for the cultic use of horses; and their promotion by Ahaz and Manasseh was a voluntary revival of these traditions in Judah, not an Assyrian imposition. The new altar, in any case, was adapted, as the biblical text makes clear (2 Kgs 16:12–16), for a specifically Israelite/Judean worship of Yahweh in Jerusalem, not for any Assyrian god. Spieckermann admits this latter point, but supposes that the new altar was part of a religious change enforced on Ahaz when he met and affirmed his loyalty to Tiglath-pileser in Damascus, and that the old altar became then, in Jerusalem, the vehicle for the worship of Assyrian deities. It is difficult, however, to infer such worship from the only source we have, 2 Kgs 16:14, 16.

**d. Trade and the Neo-Assyrian Involvement in Israel and Judah.** The Assyrian treatment of Israel and Judah in the latter 8th and 7th centuries B.C. does not make sense, finally, unless it is seen with Assyrian policy toward the S Levant as a whole. Clearly a crucial aspect of this policy was opening up and maintaining lines of trade into the Mediterranean, along the coast into Egypt, and through the Sinai and down the Jordan Valley into Arabia. From these channels came a great variety of natural resources such as wood, precious objects like glass and gold, animals like horses and camels, and human personnel, which the Assyrians increasingly desired for their capital cities and elsewhere in the empire. Menacing the flow of this trade, on the other hand, were the Egyptians, especially under the aggressive 24th and 25th Dynasties, and the nomads of the Syrian desert. These occasionally accepted peaceful relations with and even the domination of Assyria, but often as not resisted it, in the process encouraging the breakdown of authority among the Assyrian provinces and vassal states of the S Levant—the Egyptians focusing on those W of the Jordan, the nomads on those E.

The Assyrians, in turn, sought to deal with these challenges as inexpensively as possible. Accordingly, they preferred to maintain control through vassal states, which obviated the need for large commitments of Assyrian troops and bureaucrats. While continually restive vassals were converted to provinces, this was not done, as Otzen (1977–78: 103–6) has acutely observed, S of a line running roughly E-W above Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. Thus, Samaria, Megiddo, and perhaps Dor and Gilead became provinces; but S of them Judah, the four Philistian kingdoms (Ekron, Ashdod, Ashkelon, and Gaza), and Ammon, Moab, and Edom in the Transjordan—plus various Arab tribes in the Sinai—all remained vassals, despite the rebellions they occasionally offered. Their distance from the Assyrian imperial centers made it simply too costly to establish and supply them as full provinces—though Ashdod may have had a brief period as such shortly after 712. As vassals, then, these S states could serve as facilitators of trade with the Mediterranean, Egypt, and Arabia and as buffers against Egyptian and nomadic hostility when it appeared, their activities watched by isolated Assyrian administrative posts at sites like Tell esh-Sharia, Tell Jemmeh, Tell Abu Salima, and Tel Qatif/Tell Rukeish. (The latter two have each been identified with the commercial and administrative center [Akk *kāru*] set up by Sargon II in 716 to organize trade in the region; see Reich 1984 [who advocates Abu Salima] and Oren et al. 1986 [who prefers, probably correctly, Qatif/Rukeish]). One exception to this geographical division, it should be added, was the Phoenician cities, Sidon, Tyre, Aradus, and Byblos. Although in the latitude N of the Dead Sea and occasionally rebellious, these were nonetheless preserved mostly as vassals, presumably because the Assyrians felt that a heavy hand would interfere with their mercantile activities, and thus with the benefit the Assyrians sought to derive from them.

**B. Neo-Babylonian Period**

**1. Preliminaries.** When the Assyrian state collapsed in the years 614–609, its empire in Syria-Palestine fell largely under Egyptian control of the Pharaoh Necho II. This control did not last long. Babylonia, under the Neo-Babylonian or Chaldean dynasty, first challenged it, though unsuccessfully, in 607. Then in 605, at the battle of Carchemish, a Babylonian army led by the crown prince, Nebuchadnezzar II, decisively defeated the Egyptians and so opened Syria-Palestine up to Babylonian control. Nebuchadnezzar became king the next year, 604, and with his successors appears to have followed Assyrian imperial practices rather closely, preserving the division into provinces and vassal states and utilizing deportation.

Babylonian domination of Judah and the former territory of Israel was briefer than the Neo-Assyrian, and is more sparsely recorded. Nebuchadnezzar II appears to have taken control of the region if not immediately after his Carchemish victory, then within the next couple of years (on the question and a rather late date for the capitulation of Judah at the end of 603, see Malamat *WHJP* 4/1: 208–9 and references). Babylonian sovereignty remained until 539, when the whole of the empire passed into the hands of the Achaemenid Persian ruler, Cyrus II.

**2. Samaria in the Neo-Babylonian Period.** Within this chronological framework, hardly anything is known about the Babylonian treatment of Samaria and the other N provinces set up by the Assyrians. If these provinces came, partly or largely, under the control of Josiah of Judah in the 620s, it is possible that the Babylonians at first allowed them to remain as such. But by 599/98, Samaria, at least, seems to have been a separate entity, if we follow the LXX of 2 Chr 36:5, which reports that Nebuchadnezzar II included Samarians among the local contingents of troops that he sent to counter the rebellion of Jehoiakim of Judah in that period. (The parallel account in 2 Kgs 24:2, both in the MT and in the LXX, leaves out the Samarians.) This argument was advanced by Alt (1934/1953: 325 and n. 3; cf. also Malamat *WHJP* 4/1: 209 and n. 16). Much more debated, because more conjectural, is Alt's further contention (1934/1953: 328–29) that at a later point, perhaps after the deportation of 582, the Babylonians brought Judah under the jurisdiction of the province of Samaria, and that this arrangement prevailed through Achaemenid Persian rule until the arrival of Nehemiah. In any event, Samaria continued to be occupied in the period after 586, as Jer 41:5 makes clear (referring to inhabitants of Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria), though this cannot be confirmed easily by the archaeology of the area, given the scanty and poorly defined materials uncovered.

**3. Judah as Vassal.** In regard to Judah, Babylonian control under Nebuchadnezzar II moved through two stages: vassal and then province. The first lasted for almost twenty years, from 605/603 to 586, and through three Judean vassal kings: Jehoiakim (605 [became king in 609]–598), his son, Jehoiachin (598–597), and his brother, Mattaniah/Zedekiah (597–586) (on the problem of the dates in this period, see Malamat 1968: 144–51; Cogan and Tadmor *II Kings* AB, 317 *ad* 2). But it was marked by several severe strains: rebellion against Babylonia (ca. 600–597) led by Jehoiakim and then Jehoiachin; a conspiracy of Judean and neighboring leaders from the Transjordan and Phoenicia, held in Jerusalem under the aegis of Zedekiah (apparently 595–594), and concerned to plan, through it did not fully implement, further anti-Babylonian resistance; and a major new rebellion against Babylonia (589–586) involving the same Zedekiah. These rebellions and conspiracy followed the earlier Assyrian pattern: they began while the Babylonians were occupied elsewhere and were inevitably opposed by other Judean groups which thought them counterproductive (the prophet Jeremiah was a prominent member of these). Yet they regularly involved not only Judah, but also some other Palestinian states, Phoenician and/or Transjordan, although the broad coalitions of rebel states of Assyrian times seem not to be found. In turn, encouragement to rebel was always supplied by Egypt, whether indirectly or directly by military confrontations with Babylonian forces, but Egypt never offered sufficient strengths or persistance to sustain the rebellions (cf. Egypt as "a broken reed" not to be relied on, a motif used both in the Babylonian [e.g., Ezek 29:6] and in the earlier Assyrian periods [e.g., 2 Kgs 18:21 = Isa 36:6]).

Nebuchadnezzar's response was in each instance a strong one, although sometimes it was delayed by the necessity to attend to troubles in other parts of the empire. Thus in 599–597, the king first sent local imperial garrisons and auxiliaries to harass the Judeans, followed up a year later by an invasion of Judah

and capture of Jerusalem by the main Babylonian army, which resulted in a deportation of the local elites, including the rebel Judean king, Jehoiachin. The latter was replaced as vassal by his more pliant uncle, Mattaniah, renamed Zedekiah, who, in turn, was required, as in Assyrian practice, to pay a "heavy tribute" *(biltu kabittu)* (TCS 5: 102.11–13; 2 Kgs 24:1–17; cf. 2 Chr 36:5–10). Another Babylonian campaign to Syria-Palestine occurred in 594–593 (TCS 5: 102.25–26); and although not certain, this may have intersected with two events of the same year: the Jerusalem conspiracy, noted above, and the (enforced) visit of Zedekiah and/or one of his officials to Babylon (Jer 51:59). Finally, in 588 or 587—the date is disputed (cf. Malamat 1968: 150–51; Cogan and Tadmor *II Kings* AB, 317 *ad* 2)—Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judah once more, this time with much greater devastation of the countryside, and began a 11/2–2-year siege of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 25:1–22; 2 Chr 36:11–21; Jeremiah 34; 37; 52:1–27). Briefly interrupted when an Egyptian force came to help the Judeans then withdrew, the siege was brought to a violent conclusion in the summer of 586. Deportation and heavy slaughter, including the sons of the vassal Zedekiah and the highest priestly echelon, destruction of the city, especially of the royal palace and the Temple, and wide plunder, including the Temple's sacred implements, all marked the Babylonian effort. Judah's vassalship was thereby ended and a new provincial status for it begun (see below), and what is significant is that this change had not been made earlier, as a result of the troubles of 600–597 or 594–593. Apparently, Nebuchadnezzar tried to hold on as long as he could to the Assyrian policy of not establishing provinces below the Jerusalem–Dead Sea line; only the tenaciousness of the rebellion in 589–586 made him decide that this policy was too mild and indulgent.

Within this twenty-year period of vassalship, several features of the Babylonian management of Judah are discernible. As in the Assyrian empire, the Judean vassal kings were called the "servants" of their sovereign (e.g., 2 Kgs 24:1 for Jehoiakim; cf. 2 Kgs 16:7 for Ahaz), and received their status from him through some kind of loyalty oath, akin to the Assyrian *adê*. To be sure, no Neo-Babylonian oath document actually survives, but of the three Judeans, Zedekiah is reported to have been brought to the imperial capital at Babylon to take such an oath in 597 (Ezek 17:12–21; Josephus, *Ant* 10.102).

Vassal activity must have been monitored, as in the Assyrian case, by various administrative centers and their associated garrisons. Riblah, near Hamath in Syria, appears to have been the main one for Syria-Palestine, taken over by the Babylonians from the Egyptians who preceded them (2 Kgs 23:33); it is here that Zedekiah and his entourage were brought before Nebuchadnezzar for judgment when caught trying to escape the siege of Jerusalem in 586 (2 Kgs 25:6, 20; Jer 39:5–7, 52:9–12, 26–27). Of Babylonian centers within or adjacent to Judah, there are no clear indications, but they must have existed, as in the Assyrian period, probably in the provinces of Samaria and the Transjordan. From these it may well be that the initial harassment of Judah in 599–98 was coordinated, using a mixture of Chaldean forces, with local troops from Moab, Ammon, Syria, and perhaps Samaria (2 Kgs 24:2; LXX to 2 Chr 36:5, as noted above).

Babylonian deportation policy, as revealed by the Judean deportations of 597 and 586, as well as a third carried out in 582, also reflected Assyrian practice, but with some variations. For both Babylonia and Assyria, deportation was aimed particularly at the leading elements of the local population—even more, it seems, under Babylonia than under Assyria—and served to punish and (it was hoped) weaken local resistance to imperial authority, as well as to furnish the empire with workers and soldiers. On the other hand, Babylonian deportation appears to have been less extensive than Assyrian; at least the numbers and frequency of deportations stand out less in texts about the Neo-Babylonian state than in texts about the Neo-Assyrian. Compare, for example, the numbers for the Assyrian deportations from Samaria and Judah—27,290 and 200,150, respectively—with those for the three Babylonian deportations from Judah—10,000, 8,000, 3,023 in 597, probably to be totaled at not more than 11,000; 832 from Jerusalem in 586; 745 in 582 (2 Kgs 24:14–16; Jer 52:28–30)—although it must be admitted that these numbers raise serious problems of interpretation (see, e.g., Ackroyd 1968: 22–23. n.24; Malamat *WHJP* 4/1:211; *HAIJ*, 419–20). Further, the Babylonians did not replace those taken from Judah with deportees from elsewhere in the empire, either while Judah was a vassal (when Assyrian did not do it either) or after 586, with its apparent conversion to a province (when Assyrian would have done it). The point is that

Babylonian deportees seem to have been resettled virtually exclusively in Babylonia and not, as in Assyrian, all over the rest of the empire as well. And in resettling them, as the Judean deportees and other examples show (Jer 29:4–7; *ANET*, 308; cf. Eph'al 1978 and *WHJP* 5:17–27; 256–58, the Babylonians seem to have been more intent than the Assyrians on keeping exiled communities intact.

The deportation policy had another facet bearing on the management of Judah. This is the evidently deliberate tension created in 597, when the rebel Judean king, Jehoiachin, and his courtiers were exiled to Babylon and his uncle, Zedekiah, was appointed in his stead. As biblical (2 Kgs 25:27–30; Jer 52:31–34) and Babylonian sources (*ANET*, 308b) indicate, the exiled Jehoiachin was allowed to retain his community and treated reasonably well, if closely watched. He had the loyalty of many Judeans, both among the Babylonian exiles and back in Judah (Jer 28:4; note the dating by his reign even when in exile in Ezek 1:2). Since Babylonian records tell us of other exiled rulers who were similarly treated (*ANET*, 308a; *WHJP* 4/1: 213, 351 n. 26), the practice may have been, as Malamat notes (*WHJP* 4/1: 213), to keep the exiled ruler as a threatened replacement for the new vassal in case the latter failed or misbehaved. But if so, the situation had an unintended effect, since the tension it provoked with the new vassal helped, in Zedekiah's case, to weaken his authority and thus to reduce his chances for success as a Babylonian vassal.

**4. Judah as Province.** Nebuchadnezzar II was determined that after 586 Jerusalem should not remain the functioning capital of the area. This is clear from the biblical report about its massive destruction in that year, confirmed by the excavations in the ancient center of the city. See DAVID, CITY OF; OPHEL. Here the work of Kenyon (1974: 166–71) then of Shiloh (1984: 29 and *passim;* 1986; 1989) has laid bare the devastation of level X, with its revelations of collapsed city and house walls, scattered and crushed home furnishings, intermixed with arrowheads and other weapons and a hoard of inscribed bullae of Judean officials active on the eve of the destruction.

Babylonian destruction was not confined to Jerusalem. The biblical record only briefly alludes to this, in its note about the towns of Lachish and Azekah (Jer 34:7). One must go to the archaeological evidence, therefore, to get a sense of how much beyond Jerusalem destruction reached. The Babylonian goal seems to have been particularly the fortresses throughout Judah, and the evidence shows destruction, in levels regularly with groups of pottery similar to that found in the Jerusalem Ophel destruction, in the W hill country and Shephelah (Lachish II, Tell Beit Mirsim $A^3$, Gezer VA), in the central Judean hills (Beth-zur III, Khirbet Rabud [probably = Debir] IB, Ramat Rahel VA), in the Negeb (Arad VI, Tel Malhata, Tel Ira VI, Tel Masos, Aroer II, and Kadesh Barnea Upper Fort), and on the Western Dead Sea shores (Ein Gedi V). The letters written on ostraca from Arad VI and Lachish II add to this picture, by describing military activities at these two border fortresses just prior to or at an early stage of the rebellion, before matters became desperate (one exception may be Lachish letter 4, which may attest the fall of, or at least danger to, Azekah [*ANET*, 322]). Interestingly, the note about Lachish and Azekah in Jer 34:7 reports that while the Babylonians were besieging Jerusalem, only these two fortresses, of those outside the capital, remained in Judean hands. The indication is, then, that the Babylonians probably completed their devastation of the rest of Judah before they conquered Jerusalem, just as Sennacherib had undertaken to do in 701.

According to the biblical book of Chronicles (2 Chr 36:21), the Babylonian destruction and deportation were so thorough in 586 that the land "lay desolate" for seventy years thereafter, to "enjoy its sabbaths." But from other textual evidence and archaeological work, it becomes clear that this portrayal is inaccurate, the outgrowth of the particular ideological interests of the Chronicler. Some areas of settlement in fact survived. These included part of Jerusalem itself, notably the W quarter (note the rich burials from the Hinnom Valley [Barkay 1986]), but especially the territory of Benjamin N of Jerusalem. Whether because Benjamin had voluntarily surrendered to the Babylonians early in the 589–586 rebellion or because even earlier, perhaps in 598–597, the Babylonians had split it off from Judah (*WHJP* 4/1: 212; 217–18), Benjamin seems to have escaped extensive destruction. Although the stratigraphy is not always clear, it appears that Benjaminite sites like Bethel, Tell en Nasbeh (= Mizpah), Tell el-Ful (Gibeah), and Gibeon continued right though 586 without a break.

It was at an ancient political center of Benjamin, Mizpah (= Tell en Nasbeh), 12 km N of Jerusalem, that Nebuchadnezzar established a new Judean capital; and we should probably understand that the core of the new community was now in Benjaminite territory. The two deportations of 597 and 586 had depleted the land of many of its leading elements—most of the royal family, major officials, key military and religious figures, the upper class of landed wealth, and various skilled artisans (2 Kgs 24:12–16; 25:11–12; Jer 52:15–16; Jer 24:1; 27:20; 29:2, 21). Those who were left, according to the biblical sources, were "the poorest people of the land" (2 Kgs 24:14), "the poor people who owned nothing" (Jer 39:10)—that is, the peasantry and other lower classes who had owned little or no property before the destruction. In addition, there were still some of the ruling elite around, who had escaped harm by going into hiding or into the Transjordan or by professing loyalty to Babylonian rule (Jer 40:7–12; cf. *WHJP* 4/1: 220–21). From this elite, Nebuchadnezzar chose Gedaliah as the ruler of the surviving Judean community.

Gedaliah son of Ahikam came from a distinguished family of Judean royal officials (2 Kings 25:22; Jer 40:5), whose service reached back to the reign of Josiah. It makes sense that Gedaliah himself should also have had government experience, and that may be attested if we can connect him with the person named in a seal impression found at Lachish, apparently of the early 6th century (Tufnell 1953: 347–48 and pls. 44–45: No. 173). In that impression, which still bears traces of the papyrus fibers of the document to which it was fixed, the owner's name is written in the longer form, Gedalyahu, and is given the well-known title "the one over the house," which could designate a royal official. A similarly spelled Gedalyahu, together with his son, Hananiah, appears in another seal impression with papyrus fiber marks, which seems to date to about the same period (Avigad 1964: 193–94 + pl. 44C). Unfortunately, neither impression provides the name of Gedaliah's father, and since we know of other Gedaliahs in the period (Jer 38:1), an identification with the new Judean ruler is not certain.

Once installed in Mizpah, Gedaliah was able to attract various Judeans who had earlier fled the Babylonian invasion (Jer 40:7–12). He also had the support, and supervision, of a Babylonian garrison at the site (Jer 41:3). The arrangement fits best with the supposition that Gedaliah functioned as Babylonian governor over a provincial Judah, and not, as Miller and Hayes have recently proposed (*HAIJ*, 423), as king. The indications that they find in the Biblical text for this are all highly indirect and can be interpreted otherwise. The fact remains that Gedaliah was not of royal blood, and it is hard to see what advantage the Babylonians would have gained by appointing him king and flouting so flagrantly and provocatively native Judean royal tradition. Indeed, though Gedaliah is not explicitly labelled a governor, the designation he is given, the one whom Nebuchadnezzar "appointed (*Hipʿil* < *pāqad*) over them (=/ the people left in the land)" (2 Kgs 25:22; Jer 40:7, 11; 41:2, 18), would suit an imperial official like a governor nicely (cf. Gen 41:34; Esth 2:3); it is, however, never used in the Bible for making a king (expected would be a *Hipʿil* verb from *mālak,* as in Nebuchadnezzar's making Mattaniah/Zedekiah vassal king [2 Kgs 24:17]).

In establishing Gedaliah's governorship, the Babylonians were determined not to allow the economy of the area to languish. The biblical texts report that Nebuzaradan, the leader of the Babylonian army against Jerusalem in 586, made the Judean poor who were left in the land "vinedressers and plowmen" (2 Kgs 25:12), "and gave them vineyards and fields" (Jer 39:10). In turn, Gedaliah advised his people to "dwell in the land, serve the king of Babylon" and "gather wine and summer fruits and oil, and store them in your vessels" (Jer 40:9, 10). Graham's recent study (1984) has made clear that behind these notices—and perhaps also various archaeological finds at Mozah, Gibeon, Tell en Nasbeh/Mizpah, and En Gedi, though the dating is not in all instances secure—is the establishment of a deliberate economic policy, in which the estates of the Judean wealthy who had been deported were transferred to the lower classes, to be worked by them for the benefit of the Babylonian state. Gedaliah was the local coordinator of this policy; and through taxes and trade, the products of the Judean economy, wine, balm, oil, and dyes, appear to have made their way beyond Judah to Babylonia itself.

What about religious practices in provincial Judah after 586? The Babylonians' deliberate destruction of the Jerusalem Temple, plunder of its sacred implements for removal to Babylon, and execution of its principal priests (2 Kgs 25:9, 13–21 = Jer 52:13, 17–27) indicate an effort to destroy the cult at least as it

had been practiced in Judah. But there is evidence that the worship of Yahweh continued, albeit on a much more modest level, which the Babylonians presumably tolerated, although their attitude is not represented with any precision. The principal notice is Jer 41:4. It records a procession of pilgrims from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria, thus evidently from the Samarian province, coming in mourning garb to present *minḥāh* offerings and incense *(lebōnāh)* to the temple of Yahweh, all but ten of whom were waylaid and killed in Mizpah by Ishmael ben Nethaniah, who had assassinated Gedaliah the day before (vv 5–8). Mizpah has been suggested as the location of the temple in question (e.g., *HAIJ*, 426), but more likely it is the ruin of the Jerusalem Temple which was the goal, and the mourning garb was to lament its destruction. Whether within this ruin the altar survived as the point of worship is debated; those in favor point to the absence of any notice of the altar's destruction in the biblical descriptions of the Babylonian burning and sacking of the Temple. Likewise debated is the nature of the worship: whether animal sacrifices had ceased and only nonanimal sacrifices were continued, and whether sacrifices altogether were giving way to prayer. The passage of Jeremiah clearly indicates that sacrifices were still being made, but may suggest that these were only of the nonanimal kind, if *minḥāh* here means cereal offerings and is not used more ambiguously as a general term for sacrifice, animal and nonanimal. Who supervised the sacrifices is not specified. One would expect priests, but with the main Jerusalem leadership executed, it is possible that no priests were involved at the Temple ruin, or else other priestly orders, previously subordinate or peripheral, now took over. As for prayer, various biblical texts, for example 1 Kings 8 (especially vv 46–54), have been held to emphasize it over against sacrifice and to reflect the post-586 period in Judah (e.g., Jones 1963). But the interpretation and dating of these passages is far from clear, even though one should certainly not deny the existence of prayer in the worship of the period, ubiquitous as it was already in preexilic times when the Temple and other sanctuaries were functioning.

The tenure of Gedaliah, though not specified, seems to have been a short one. He had bitter enemies, opposed to his collaboration with Babylonia and perhaps to other things he stood for. The enemies centered on a group of royalists, led by Ishmael son of Nethaniah, of the royal family, who had initially professed support of him, but then conspired with the Ammonite king Baalis (= *baʿal-yišʿa,* in the seal impression referring possibly to this king: Herr 1985; Younker 1985) and assassinated Gedaliah, his entourage, and the Babylonian garrison at Mizpah (Jer 41:1–10). The aim of the plot may have been the restoration of an independent Judean kingdom, but the result was further disaster. Ishmael's forces were set upon by those Judeans supporting Gedaliah and Babylonian rule; the losing Ishmael and eight of his companions succeeded in escaping to their ally, Ammon. In turn, the bulk of the Gedaliah forces, fearing a severe Babylonian reaction, decided to flee Judah for Egypt, and took Jeremiah with them (Jer 41:11–43:7). The fear may have been warranted. Jer 52:30 mentions a third deportation from Judah in 582, after those of 597 and 586; and while the reason for this is not given, many scholars have connected it with the assassination of Gedaliah, thus yielding about four years for his rule. The matter is not resolved, because others have understood the laconic dating of the assassination to the "seventh month," without any elaboration (Jer 41:1–3), to imply a time within Gedaliah's first year of rule, i.e., 586–585 (cf. Holladay *Jeremiah 2* Hermeneia, 296). Be that as it may, the biblical authors provide no further notice about Judah under Babylonian rule. For them at least, the importance of Judah as a viable community had ceased for the moment, and all attention was turned to the exile in Babylonia.

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## *PERSIAN ADMINISTRATION*

The period of Persian dominance in the ANE, ushered in by Cyrus in 539 B.C., is not easily documented by the available epigraphic and archaeological evidence. Persian rulers dealt with the region that came to be called Palestine, which was defined differently over time, by using political and administrative savvy to serve their own interests. Although Persian policies toward and administrative structures governing Palestine are difficult to reconstruct because of the meager evidence, an overview of administrative practice in the south, the north, Samaria, and Judah is possible.

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A. Sources
B. The Region Called Palestine
C. Persian Administration
    1. In the South
    2. In the North
    3. Samaria
    4. Judah

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### A. Sources

The sources available for the study of the Persian administration of Palestine fall into two distinct groups, and the difficulty which confronts us in consequence is that of relating the one to the other. First, the literary and archaeological sources illuminate the history of Palestine (principally Judah) throughout this period. Alongside the relevant biblical texts, mention should also be made of the Aramaic texts from

the Jewish community in Elephantine, Upper Egypt, of the Aramaic texts from Wâdī ed-Dâliyeh, of a number of seals and coins throughout the region, and of course, the general conclusions which may be drawn from a study of the material remains of the period. Of later textual sources, none is more important than Josephus, whose history of the period (*Antiquities* 11) probably includes a few items of authentic material not otherwise preserved. These sources are not comprehensive and so do not enable us to reconstruct a satisfyingly connected history even of Judah, let alone the remainder of Palestine (see Williamson 1990). However, this is less serious for our present purposes than might at first appear, in so far as our concern is with policy and administrative structures rather than with the course of events as such.

Second, we have a good deal of information regarding the affairs of the Achaemenid empire as a whole. Until the last century, this was confined to classical sources, such as Herodotus, Ctesias, Thucydides, and Xenophon. Now, however, it is possible to refine and sometimes modify this picture by firsthand texts from the center of the empire itself: monumental texts in Old Persian, such as Darius I's Behistun inscription, have been joined by the Elamite and Aramaic texts from Persepolis, while information in local languages from Babylon, Egypt, Asia Minor, and elsewhere has helped to round out the picture (see Cook 1983; Frye 1984). Hardly any of these, however, make any mention whatsoever of Palestine; our problem, therefore, is to match what we know of Persian administrative practices in general with such specific texts as we have for the history of Palestine during this period.

**B. The Region Called Palestine**

"Palestine" was not a name or district officially recognized by the Persians. Furthermore, Herodotus is not fully consistent in his usage of the term. Generally in his writings, Palestine explicitly excludes Phoenicia (e.g., in his list of satrapies, 3.91: "… the whole of Phoenicia and that part of Syria which is called Palestine …"), but at 7.89, beyond the more restricted definition, he also goes on to say, "This part of Syria [i.e., including the land of the Phoenicians], together with the country which extends southward to Egypt, is all known as Palestine." In view of this ambiguity, it would seem best in the present context to concentrate attention primarily on the territories originally included within the preexilic kingdoms of Israel and Judah, but to include some comments on neighboring districts (where sources permit) for comparison and contrast.

At the macro level, the administrative status of this territory under the Persians is relatively straightforward. When Cyrus entered Babylon in 539 B.C., he inherited at a stroke the whole of the neo-Babylonian empire, which was made up of both Babylonia and former Assyria and thus stretched around the fertile crescent as far as Egypt. During the early years of Persian rule, this whole area ("Babylon and the land Beyond the River") was administered as a single unit under Gubaru, whom Cyrus appointed as governor.

Similarly, after Darius I crushed two rebellions in Babylon at the start of his reign, we find that a Persian named Ushtani is governor over the same extended area, but that in addition he has a subordinate with responsibility for "Beyond the River" (i.e., the western side of the fertile crescent) only, namely Tattannu Olmstead 1944), who is clearly to be identified with the Tattenai of Ezra 5:3, 6; 6:6, 13. Ushtani remained in office until at least 516 B.C. (Graf 1985: 87), and Tattenai until as late as 502 B.C. (Rainey 1969: 53, Oppenheim in Gershevitch 1985: 563). It is thus apparent, on the basis of firsthand sources, that we cannot follow without qualification the somewhat later account of Herodotus when he both implies that the major reform of the empire into twenty satrapies should be dated early in the reign of Darius I and that Babylon and Beyond the River were administered as separate satrapies (the ninth and fifth in his list respectively) from that time on. It is widely believed currently (though, cf. Dandamayev *CHJ* 1: 329) that whereas the major reorganization of the empire was achieved by Darius, the specific separation of Beyond the River to form a new satrapy was realized only in the early years of Xerxes' reign as part of his reforms following two Babylonian revolts (Rainey 1969: 57; Graf 1985: 89–93). Thereafter, Palestine will have remained as part of this new satrapy until the end of the Persian period.

There is little agreement as to where the capital of the new satrapy was located. Sidon, Tripolis, Damascus, Ashkelon, and Belesys all have some sort of claim (Cook 1983: 174), though the first-named

seems most probable (Elayi 1980: 25–26). More interestingly, it appears from material remains that the Persian overlords limited their presence to a few specific garrison towns (notably Lachish, Hazor, Tel Poleg, Shiqmonah, Ramat Rahel, Ein Gedi, Tell es-Sadiyeh, Tell Mazar, Tell el-Hesi, Samaria. Tell el-Farah, and Gezer; see Kenyon 1987: 145–47), and were content thereafter to leave the administration in local hands. They will have relied upon their excellent road system and periodic inspections by high officials of the king, known as "the King's Eye" (who traveled the provinces with a military patrol drawn from the Persian army itself) to ensure stability and provide an independent check on the loyalty of both satraps and governors.

**C. Persian Administration.**

It is when we turn to the issue of provincial administration within this satrapy that we encounter great difficulties, and indeed the almost complete lack of connection between our two major blocks of sources (to say nothing of their spasmodic character) means that over many issues we cannot hope for more than reasonably informed conjecture. Nor should we assume that the Persians administered every province alike; a brief look at the situation in the extreme S and the extreme N of our area should underline this point before we move on to a more detailed discussion of Judah and Samaria.

**1. In the South.** The S border of the Persian province of Judah ran along a line to the N of Hebron and Lachish, so that these prominent centers, to say nothing of more southerly towns such as Arad and Beer-sheba, lay outside the Jewish province. This situation probably reflects a continuation of that which developed after the first Babylonian conquest (597 B.C.), when the territory of Judah was diminished and Edomite and other Arabian tribes expanded into the area.

Herodotus (3.4–9; 3.91; 3:97) tells us that in return for Arabian help during his Egyptian campaign, Cyrus' successor Cambyses did not subdue their territory but rather established "friendly relations" and that this was continued later in the sense that the Arabs were not obliged to pay revenue but that they did make annual contributions in the form of "gifts." From the Persian point of view, this may well have been regarded as a practical means of securing one of their borders with a minimum of effort, while Eph'al (1982: 206–10) has suggested that the "gifts" were in fact a fixed amount paid in return for the delegation to "the king of the Arabs" of the supervision of the spice trade from Arabia to the coast S of Gaza. A less generous attitude might be to observe that the arrangement was as much as the Persians could hope to achieve in the light of what we now know of the power and extent of this kingdom. Geshem the Arabian, who was an enemy of Nehemiah located to the S of Judah (cf. Neh 2: 19; 6:1–2, 6), is probably to be identified with the father of ḳainū son of Geshem, king of Qedar," whose name appears on a silver bowl found at Tell el-Maskhūṭa in lower Egypt, and perhaps with the Gashm ben Shahr referred to in a Liḥyanite inscription from Arabian Dedan (see the most recent defense of this identification by Graf fc., 10–11, *contra* Eph'al 1982: 213–14). This suggests that in the middle of the 5th century B.C., at any rate, the Qedarite confederation was an extensive and powerful force whose total subjugation the Persians may have considered too costly.

It has been reasonably argued, however, that following the Egyptian revolt at the very end of the 5th century, the relationship changed and the Persians established the province of Idumaea; a further reason for this may have been that the growth in population of S Palestine made this fiscally rewarding (de Geus 1979–80). This would then account for the presence of 4th-century Aramaic ostraca at Arad and Beersheba whose terminology is suggestive of Achaemenid administration, but whose late date cannot support Stern's conjecture (*CHJ* 1: 81) that the area was a regular Persian province throughout the period of Persian rule. The history of S Palestine thus makes clear that Persian administration proceeded on a pragmatic basis and was subject to development in the face of changing circumstances.

**2. In the North.** Administration of the Phoenician cities, located basically to the N of Palestine, but with influence on and hence implications for virtually the whole of the Palestinian coast, leads by a quite different route to a comparable conclusion (see especially Elayi 1980). In the early years of Persian rule it is clear that they shared many common objectives with the Persians in terms of control of the eastern Mediterranean seaboard. Not only, therefore, did they rapidly submit to Cyrus after he had entered Babylon (assuming that they are included among "the kings of the West land" mentioned in the Cyrus

cylinder; see *ANET* 316), but they materially aided his successor Cambyses with naval assistance for his invasion of Egypt, as they did subsequent kings in the later Greco-Persian wars of the early 5th century.

In response to (if not indeed to secure) such loyalty, these Phoenician city-states seem to have been treated with a light hand by the Persians. They retained their hereditary monarchs, were able later to mint their own coinage (Betlyon 1982), and were given considerable freedom in their commercial enterprises. Thus although they were included within the fifth satrapy, it would be a mistake to think of them either individually or collectively as simply another province. Once again, Stern (1982: 239; *CHJ* 1: 80–81) rejects this conclusion, citing in particular the fact that the Eshmunazar inscription includes the description of a region which coincides with the boundaries of the Assyrian-Persian province of Dor. What he does not state, however, is (1) that this is south of the central area of the Phoenician city-states, (2) that the area was given to Sidon as a reward for loyalty by the Persian king (unidentified, but perhaps Xerxes I, following his wars with Greece), thus implying a change in what had formerly been the situation, and (3) that the area is geographically separated from Sidon by Tyre, so that it cannot be part of a single province. The political geography of this area is admittedly extremely complex (Elayi 1982) and we do not have sufficient sources to resolve all the issues satisfactorily. Furthermore, conditions did not remain static (Katzenstein 1979) and of course later on in the Persian period the area saw at least two major revolts against the central authorities, but none of this should detract from the fact that, once again, the Persians adopted a pragmatic approach to their administration in this area—granting considerable autonomy to a traditional way of government in order to secure the benefits of much-needed Phoenician maritime skills.

This brief survey of S and N Palestine has concluded that we cannot bring *a priori* considerations to bear on an analysis of the administrative structures of any given area within the satrapy of Beyond the River. Since we have to be alert to variety, we should not be afraid of concluding from a study of relevant evidence that one province may have been administered differently from another. Unfortunately, for parts of the coastal plain, as for Galilee and Transjordan, we do not have sufficient evidence to draw any firm conclusions whatever (for a survey of what is available, see Avi-Yonah 1966: 23–31; and Stern 1982: 237–53). But for the heartland of Judah and Samaria, the OT itself, together with epigraphic and other archaeological remains, enables us to be rather more positive.

**3. Samaria.** The first issue concerns whether these two districts were initially administered as a single province, or whether they were two separate provinces from the very start of Achaemenid rule. References to Sheshbazzar (Ezra 5:14) and Zerubbabel (Hag 1:1, 14) as "governors" of Judah, as well as to the territory of Judah as a "province" (Heb *hamĕdînâ*, Ezra 2:1), give initial support to the latter opinion (*IJH*, 510). This was challenged by Alt (*KlSchr* 2:316–37), however, who argued in an influential article that Judah became part of Samaria in Babylonian times and that this continued to be the case until Nehemiah's time, when Judah first gained its independence (hence the opposition which Nehemiah aroused). He further argued that *pḥh*, "governor," was a broad term that could equally well refer to a "special commissioner" (see more recently McEvenue 1981).

In a strongly worded riposte originally published in 1971, Smith (1987: 193–201) pointed to the hypothetical nature of Alt's case and to the fact that Neh 5:15 implies that there were governors of Judah before Nehemiah. In the second edition of his book (1987: 149–50), Smith was also probably right to draw attention to the appearance of "Elnathan the governor" on a bulla and seal published by Avigad (1976). Neither the precise significance of the title nor the date of this material is completely certain, although probability strongly favors Avigad's and Smith's position (Williamson 1988).

Finally, various historical considerations may be added to the foregoing proposals. For instance, it needs to be asked why, if Judah was not an independent province with Jerusalem as its capital, the various official enquiries in Ezra 4 and 5 were necessary. Presumably on Alt's view the governor of Samaria should have had authority to act within his own province (Ezra 4), while Tattenai in Ezra 5 should have approached him, and not the Jews, for an explanation of what was going on. On balance, therefore, we should conclude that Judah and Samaria were administered separately throughout the period of Persian rule.

What little further is known of Samaria may be conveniently summarized next. The precise boundaries of the province are uncertain, but Avi-Yonah (1966: 24–25) has argued convincingly that it did not include Galilee, the situation thus remaining as it had under the Assyrians. The mixed population of the province (Stern 1982: 245) appears to be reflected in the names and titles of Ezra 4: 9–10, but textual difficulties preclude pressing this evidence further. By the middle of the 5th century B.C., however, when Nehemiah came to Jerusalem, Sanballat was acting as governor. The biblical text never ascribes this title to him, but it appears on a seal from Wâdī ed-Dāliyeh (Cross 1974: 18) as well as in the Elephantine papyri (*CAP* 30.29). Because he was succeeded by his descendants through a further four generations and appears himself to have been the first in his family to act as governor (for the evidence for both these assertions, see SANBALLAT), it is likely that his appointment reflects some administrative changes by the Persians following the revolt of the western satrapies under the leadership of Megabyzos in about 449 B.C., but unless Nehemiah's appointment a few years later is to be seen in the same context we do not know what further measures they took at this time.

**4. Judah. a. Boundaries.** Turning finally to Judah, we find our evidence to be more abundant than for any other of the provinces in Beyond the River. First, we can reconstruct not only the approximate boundaries of the province, but even its internal divisions. From the list of those who returned from Babylon (Ezra 2; Nehemiah 7) and that in Nehemiah 3, which details the participants in the reconstruction of the walls of Jerusalem, we learn that Gibeon, Mizpah, and Bethel were included, suggesting a northern border slightly more extensive than that of the kingdom of Judah after the division of the monarchy. To the east, the mention of Jericho points to the river Jordan continuing as the natural border. To the south, however, the border was pulled back to a line between Hebron and Lachish outside the province and Beth-zur and Keilah inside, as already noted, this probably continued the situation established by Nebuchadnezzar. The southwestern border, including Keilah and Zanoah, is not controversial, but in the northwest there is considerable dispute as to whether the trio of Lod, Hadid, and Ono (Ezra 2:33) are to be included or not. For different reasons, Alt (*KlSchr* 2:338–45) and Avi-Yonah (1966), among others, have argued that this district lay outside the province of Judah, whereas to counter this Stern (1982: 245–49) has added archaeological considerations to the textual data, namely the place of discovery of a number of seal impressions which he believes belonged to the Judean administration and of coins bearing the legend *yh (w)d* (Judah). As regards the disputed area, he locates this within a district that he calls "northwest Shephelah," centered on Gezer, where such finds have been made. Unfortunately, however, this sort of evidence cannot at present finally settle the issue. The trio of towns are at quite some distance from Gezer, so that we cannot be sure exactly where the border lay. This leaves us with the literary evidence alone, which points unanimously to their inclusion. This may seem a little odd geographically, but it is possible to defend it on historical grounds (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 33–34, 254–55). It thus emerges that the province was probably no more than 40–50 km wide, less than half as large as the preexilic kingdom of Judah.

Again on the basis of Nehemiah 3, it is clear that the province was divided into at least five districts (themselves apparently further subdivided), with their "capitals" at Jerusalem, Keilah, Mizpah, Beth-haccherem, and Beth-zur. Some scholars accept that this reflects the actual situation (e.g., Aharoni *LBHG*, 364), while others believe that one or two districts may simply not be mentioned in the list. For instance, Avi-Yonah (1966: 22) adds Jericho, whereas Stern (1982: 248–49) adds Gezer and Jericho, but subsumes Beth-haccherem within Jerusalem. Such details, of course, are of less significance in the present context than the intensity of administrative structures which the data present as a whole.

**b. Governor.** As already noted, the Persians administered this province through a "governor" (Heb *peḥâ).* We may list the names of those known to us with the source which states their title, while recognizing that in the case of those known only from epigraphical sources, there can be little certainty as to absolute or relative chronology (Avigad 1976: 35; modified by Williamson 1988), as follows:

| NAME | DATE | SOURCE |
|---|---|---|
| Sheshbazzar | 538 B.C. | Ezra 5:14 (and 1:8?) |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Zerubbabel | 520 B.C. | Hag 1:1, 14 |
| Elnathan | late 6th century B.C. | see avigad 1976 |
| Nehamiah | 445–433 B.C. | Neh 5:14–15, 18; 12:26 |
| Bagohi | 408 B.C. | *CAP* 30:1 |
| Yeḥezpîyâ | 4th century B.C. | see Rahmani 1971; Mildenberg 1979; Betlyon 1986 |
| Yeh‹ezer | (uncertain) | Aharoni 1962: 28; Aharoni 1964: 19, 43 |
| Ahzai | (uncertain) | Aharoni 1962: 28; Aharoni 1964: 19, 43 |

The dates refer to the year attested by the source, not the duration of the office, concerning which there is generally no information. The names "Yeh‹ezer" and "Ahzai" appear on stamps from a refuse dump at Ramat Raḥel, but there is no means of telling whether they were governors before or after Nehemiah's time. It thus appears as if the administration was wholly in Jewish hands. The only possible doubt here concerns Bagohi, but since we know that, despite its Iranian etymology, this name could be used by Jewish families (Ezra 2:2), it seems probable that this is also the case here. In any event, he should almost certainly not be associated with the famous general of Artaxerxes III (Williamson 1977).

**c. Strategic Location.** Moving beyond these rather severely factual matters, we should observe next that Judah probably benefited considerably under the Persian administration from its location near the border with Egypt. (The situation ought to have been the same in the case of such neighboring provinces as Ashdod, but we have no literary evidence by which to check.) Though Cyrus himself never invaded Egypt, there can be little doubt that he had it in mind, and his son Cambyses duly fulfilled his ambition. We have already noted how, in quite different ways, this turned out to the advantage both of the Arabs to the south and the Phoenician city-states to the north and west. The dealings of the early Achaemenids with Judah should be viewed in the same light. Although Cyrus is not so much regarded now as acting purely out of liberal humanitarian considerations (Kuhrt 1983), he was certainly not above making use of such when it could be seen to work to his advantage—and in the case of Judah, it surely was. The return of some of the exiles with their temple treasures from Babylon, together with permission to rebuild the temple itself, is not out of place in terms of Persian policy toward both the area of Babylon itself, as revealed in the Cyrus cylinder, or toward Beyond the River, as noted above.

Indeed, as it turns out, for most of the major turning points known to us in the history of the postexilic period which brought the Jews into close contact with the center of power in the empire, wider international considerations can always be postulated as motivation on the part of the king. In summary (and in addition to the factors already mentioned), we may link (1) the favor of Darius I (Ezra 5–6) with his desire to consolidate his rule after the spate of rebellions at its inception; (2) the mission of Ezra (on an early date) with the Egyptian revolt (though cf. Margalith 1986; (3) the harsh measures of Ezra 4: 8–23 soon after with the revolt of the satrap Megabyzos once he had successfully put down the Egyptian revolt; (4) the mission of Nehemiah with a postulated desire of Artaxerxes I to stabilize the position in the whole of the satrapy following Megabyzos' revolt (Williamson 1990); and (5) a late date of Ezra's mission (i.e., 398 B.C.) with a further Egyptian revolt (Cazelles 1954). Finally, the account of how one Bagoses "defiled the sanctuary, and imposed tribute on the Jews" because the high priest Joannes murdered his brother Jesus in the temple (Josephus, *Ant* 11.297–301) may be linked with the attempt by Artaxerxes III to recapture Egypt in 344–343 B.C. both because a Persian general named Bagoses played an important part in this campaign, and because it is possible that the Tennes revolt just before could well have divided Jerusalem into pro-Persian and pro-Egyptian parties; but this example is far less certain, and could equally well have been motivated by local issues alone.

Evidence is continuing to accumulate regarding the administrative procedures which undergirded this policy. Frei (1984) has collected examples from Egypt and Asia Minor as well as Judah to illustrate how frequently reforms in the spheres of law and the cult as they affected a particular province were initiated by the Persians in response to specific petitions by the local inhabitants under an indigenous leadership. Similarly, Blenkinsopp (1987) is only the latest in a long line of scholars who have compared the

accounts of Ezra and Nehemiah with that of the Egyptian Udjahorresnet (for his inscription, see *AEL* 3: 36–41). He was a collaborator who, again explicitly by means of a petition, "used his new position to influence Cambyses to carry out a thorough restoration of the cult at the dynastic sanctuary of Sais" (*AEL* 3: 410), and who was almost certainly involved in the codification and enforcement of the ancient laws of Egypt, as recorded in the Demotic Chronicle (Spiegelberg 1914).

In the light of these and other examples that could be listed, a picture emerges with regard to Judah in which king and subject were each willing to make some concessions in return for what was regarded as an even greater good. As texts from various sources show, the Jews, for their part, were generally quite willing to act loyally toward the empire—including offering prayers and sacrifices on behalf of the king and his family (Ezra 6: 10; 7: 23)—in return for relative religious and legal freedom as well as tax concessions (elsewhere it has been argued that, ironically, it was this administrative convenience rather than any internal ideological development which was the primary catalyst for the exclusive stance of the Jewish reformers; see Williamson 1989). Conversely, it is likely that the Persians regarded this as a small price to pay for loyalty on their W border. But of course, as Ezra at least demonstrates, any suspicion of an abuse of this delicate arrangement was speedily treated in a harsh and peremptory manner.

Another important area in the Persian administration of Palestine is unfortunately one regarding which we have least information. As part of the satrapy of Beyond the River, Judah must have had to contribute its share toward the 350 talents of silver which, according to Herodotus 3.90–97, the satrapy as a whole was liable to pay as revenue each year, but how much and by what means the province made its contribution we have no way of knowing. On the one hand, Cyrus (Ezra 6: 4), Darius I (Ezra 6: 8–10), and Artaxerxes (Ezra 7: 20–24) all made grants for the support of the temple, and it has often been supposed that this was administered by deducting the amount expended from the amount of revenue owed by the province. In addition, there were specific tax concessions for the cultic personnel (Ezra 7: 24). On the other hand, it is clear from Neh 5: 4 that the burden of taxation fell heavily on many in the population and, from vv 14–19 of the same chapter, that several of Nehemiah's predecessors as governor exacted their dues from the people with a heavy hand. (It is possible, on the basis of evidence from the Persepolis tablets, that these dues in kind were accepted as part of the province's overall dues in revenue, but we cannot be sure.) In addition, steps were taken periodically (Nehemiah 10 and 13) to enforce the payment of tithes for the support of the temple.

Now, it has frequently been stated in the past that in the later part of the Persian period, at least, the situation already obtained which seems certain for the Hellenistic period, namely that civil as well as sacred authority lay in the hands of the high priest. If that were so, then several of the kinds of payment just listed would have been concentrated into one, and the whole system would be relatively clear. Unfortunately, however there is virtually no evidence for this hypothesis (nor have I been able to find any serious attempt to defend it; most scholars just assert it, though see Meyers 1985), and much that tells against it, such as the list of (secular) governors given above (see also Laperrousaz 1982). Thus, beyond the suggestion that the jar handles stamped with the official name of the province were once part of a system for collecting revenues in kind, we remain in the dark about this important topic.

Finally, we should observe that a number of coins stamped with the name of the province are now known from the 4th century B.C., again attesting both the administrative independence and favorable status which Judah enjoyed at that time. The occurrence of the name of a governor on some of these coins is thus not expected. More difficult to account for, however, is Barag's reading of one coin as *yḥn[n] hkhn* "Johanan the priest" (1985). Were there other evidence to support it, this might be taken as signifying that by the second half of the 4th century B.C. (i.e., just before the collapse of Persian rule) Judah was indeed governed as a hierocracy, but in fact both Barag and Betylon (1986) agree that this single coin more likely attests a time of revolt or subversive activity against Persian rule.

In sum, therefore, the Persian administration of Palestine can be best characterized as one of enlightened self-interest, exploiting with no little skill their varied ways of gaining favor with the local peoples for their own strategic and political ends.

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## *POSTEXILIC JUDEAN OFFICIALS*

A problem for exegesis of biblical references to officials lies in the fact that the official of preexilic towns called a *śar* seems to be accompanied by *sĕganîm* and *ḥōrîm,* instead of the earlier "elders," just as the previously rare *peḥâ* has now become a top-ranking "governor" or *tiršātā*ʾ. Such changes might be expected to have some relation with Persian administrative reforms, either under Darius I, or perhaps more likely in Xerxes' reorganization following the Babylonian and Egyptian revolts at his accession. But a lexical scrutiny of the terms involved, together with what little new light archaeology has shed, may point rather to developing outlooks held within the biblical period itself.

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A. The Monarchic Period
1. *śar*
2. Other Officials
3. *nāśî*

4. *sāris*—"Eunuch"
5. *sĕganîm*
6. "Elders"
7. Conclusion

B. The Postexilic Period
1. Overview of Sources
2. Ezra 9:1–2
3. Nehemiah 2
4. Nehemiah 12
5. *rō›š*

C. Ezra and Nehemiah as Officials

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**A. The Monarchic Period**

**1. *Śar.*** In the Monarchic period, as reported in Kings and Chronicles, the typical upper-bracket official is *śar.* Though the term is taken from Akkadian *šarru,* "king," it rarely seems to mean so high a ruler. But it does have a wide variety of meanings. The term is applied to David in his condottiere days (1 Sam 22:2); to the top but rather collegial authorities of the Philistines (for *sarĕn* 5 times in 1 Samuel 29); and in Isa 49:7, the "Servant of Yahweh," though subject to *mōšlîm* (RSV "rulers"), will be honored by *mĕlākîm* and *śārîm* (RSV "princes"). The word *śar* is used for the highest officials of David (1 Chr 22:17); and Solomon (1 Kgs 4:2); for princes (Qoh 10:16; Hos 3:4); for magistrates, *per se* suggesting judicial powers (Isa 1:23); although in Deut 1:15 rather military, as distinct from *šōpēṭ* of 1:16; similarly Exod 2:14. But *śar* is also the "city-ruler" or mayor (Judg 9:30, of Shechem; "king" in Josh 12:9–24; 1 Kgs 22:26 = 2 Chr 18:25, Shomron?). In 2 Chr 34:8, Maaseiah is the *śar* of Jerusalem involved in the finding of "the [Deut-scroll] Law," but not in the parallel 2 Kgs 22:3, where 23:8 names Joshua as *śar* of Jerusalem. The *śārîm* of cities seem to have had an authority which was rather collegial (though not clearly in subordination to a single "ruler") and paired with "elders" (Judg 8:14, for Succoth; 2 Kgs 10:1, Shomron; 2 Chr 29:20, Jerusalem). The preexilic *śar* is quite insistently *‹ebed* of the king (Rüterswörden 1985: 4–19, 92–95), though in Zeph 1:8 he is distinct from the *bĕnê hammelek.* As synonym of *rō›š, rab, pāqîd,* and *‹al haṣṣebā›,* the *śar* is progressively militaristic, culminating in the "Archangel" Michael of Dan 12:1. Throughout Chronicles, as in Job 29:9–10, the plural *śārîm* is equated with *nĕgîdîm* (RSV "nobles"), though preexilically *nāgîd* occurs only in the singular for the king as Yahweh's choice (de Vaux *AncIsr*). The fact that *śar* is occasionally used for top authorities, even sovereigns, increases rather than diminishes its vagueness: like "leader," it is a term of honor even for the most supreme potentate, but is also fully applicable to a village mayor or razzia leader.

**2. Other Officials.** Flanking the preexilic *śar* are not only the *pāqîd* and *nāgîd* noticed above (really names for highest-level authority), but also his "counselors" (*yo‹aṣ, niṣṣāb* [de Boer 1955]), and "policemen" (*šōmēr;* also *šōṭēr* [van der Ploeg 1954]). Even *peḥâ* occurs as early as 1 Kgs 10:15 under Solomon, for a taxable official of "the land." It is not clear whether this is Israel or Judah, or perhaps the immediately preceding Arabia as in 2 Chr 9:14. In the relatively similar context of 1 Kgs 11:15, *śar* is plainly a military title, as indeed it is in a notable proportion of all its occurrences (BDB, 3ab), not unlike the military "dictator:" *qĕṣîn* (RSV "leader") of Isa 3:7 and Joshua-Judges. But no less than four times in 1 Kings 20 alone, *śar* seems to be the head of a *mĕdînâ:* no number of such *śārîm* is given, and they are curiously neither equated with, nor distinguished from, the exactly thirty-two "kinglets" *(mĕlākîm)* who were helping Ben-hadad and carousing with him (1 Kgs 20:16–17). The anomalous use of *mĕdînâ* here will reappear below in the controversy as to whether Judah ever became a separate province with its own top authority (? *peḥâ/tiršātā›*).

**3. *nāśî›*.** This term has a semantic and chronological range so similar to *śar* that it is striking not to find the two in parallel. Though it is used for Abraham by Hittites in Gen 23:6, for Solomon by Yahweh in 1 Kgs 11:34, and for top civil rulers in general in borrowed Israelite law (Exod 22:27), nevertheless already in Numbers and Ezekiel it is primarily used for lay posts in the religious organization. Mysteriously

falling out of use in the postexilic period, it reappears shortly after as the rabbinic term for a high or highest religious office equated with *nāgîd.* Mantel (1961: 51) has only a fleeting allusion to the possible equating of *nāśî›* with *śar* (*m. ›Abot* 1.2; Rost 1938: 65) or its Greek equivalents, or with *śārîm* as a group sometimes consulted by high priests. Schürer-Vermes's (*HJP²* 2: 203) discussion on *gerousia* is unrelated to *śar* or *nāśî›;* but the equivalence is examined by Horbury (1986) under the name "phylarch." The *nāśî›* of Ezra 1:8 for Sheshbazzar is declared "utterly unhistorical" by Donner (1986: 410).

**4. *sāris*—"Eunuch."** With two *sameks, sāris* only accidentally sounds to us like *śar;* its Akkadian origin is *ša rēšî,* "he who is chief," where *rô›š* is made an adjective. In 1 Kgs 22:9 the *sāris* is exactly the kind of official for minor errands which concerns us here. But he is usually a much higher and *foreign* official; as in Genesis 37–38; Esth 1:10–11; and Rab-Saris in parallel with the famous Hebrew-speaking Rab-Šakeh of 2 Kgs 18:17. Though such an official was often called "eunuch" in the Orient, BDB is rather outdated in assigning this as its principal meaning and relating it to admittedly denominative verbs for "castrate" in Syriac, Aramaic, and Arabic. Hence it will hardly prove relevant to the long-standing debate as to whether Nehemiah (1:11) was really a eunuch, as in the corresponding Greek (*2 Esdras* 11:11: *euno-échos* is also explainable as inner-Greek variant for *oino-chóos* [as MT]; North "Chronicles/Ezra/Nehemia" *NJBC;* Yamauchi 1980). Even if Nehemiah was called "eunuch," this term, like our "chamberlain," may have really signified some administrative office. If so, it would seem to have been of a higher and more privileged rank than the local officials being discussed here.

**5. *sĕgānîm*.** It is not included among the dozen terms for postexilic officials studied by Rüterswörden. It does in fact occur some six times in the major prophets (Isa 25:41) for high officials of Assyria, Babylon (always parallel with *pāḥôt,* Ezek 23:6; 12:23; Jer 51:23,57), or Media (Jer 51:28). But it will be prominent in Nehemiah as an official of Judah distinct from, but equated, with *ḥōrîm.* This *ḥōr[îm]* virtually never occurs in preexilic sources. Isa 34:12 (LXX), concerning Edom, begins "And there shall be no *ḥōrîm* [which RSV connects with the preceding verse]; 'No kingdom there' they will call it." In the exilic horizon of Jer 27:20; 39:6 it occurs for "the (slain) nobles;" later still we have Qoh 10:17, "happy is your land when your king is a son of *ḥōrîm,* and your *śārîm* dine at the proper time."

**6. "Elders."** Apart from the "pre-state judges" (not really judges before 1 Sam 7:16, but rather charismatic "leaders"), great importance is attached in preexilic times to the "elders." The *zāqēn* is doubtless largely equated with *rō›š,* presumably heads of families *(ro›šê ›abôt),* and had great consultative influence but no real authority.

**7. Conclusion.** Really *all* the above biblical terms for civil authority are shifting and interchangeable. This was the (orally communicated) conclusion of Alonso-Schökel in preparing his Chronicles (1976), after an exhaustive effort to attach specific significances. This is also held by McEvenue (1981: 364), "the form of political authority in Judah from 597 to 445 B.C. remains obscure in our sources" (p. 359, "the head [*rō›š*] of a district or [*›abôt*] family, *niṣṣāb* under Solomon [1 Kgs 4:5, 7], later *śar* [1 Kgs 20] and also *peḥâ* [1 Kgs 10:5 = 2 Chr 9:14] is a lower official whose chief responsibility is organizing the taxes").

**B. The Postexilic Period**

**1. Overview of Sources.** On the specifically postexilic administration our information comes wholly from Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. Their presumed authorship by the Chronicler, and also the likelihood of a post-Nehemiah date for Ezra, are now widely questioned but must still be regarded as fully open possibilities. In any case, terms for earlier history specific to Chronicles, some of which have been mentioned above, may reflect an Ezra-era usage. Furthermore, *śar* within Chronicles occurs frequently in combinations not attested earlier, and always plural: with *rēkûš,* "possessions" (1 Chr 27:31; cf. 28:1); *maḥlĕqôt,* "departments" (1 Chr 28:1); *mĕle›ket hammelek,* "royal works" (1 Chr 29:6); *šālîšāyn/milḥāmôt* (2 Chr 8:9; 32:6 "chief of the adjutants" [Rüterswörden 1985: 45]), comparing the only use of *śar* in the singular, "of determining the singers," Ezra 2:65). Also peculiar to the Chronicler is the equating of *śar* with *rō›š;* Rüterswörden gives a number of examples, mostly of *śar* for *rō›š,* but some of *rō›š* for *śar.* His general conclusion is that the Chronicler differs from the Deuteronomist in two points (p. 145): (1) he marks no hiatus between kingdom and prekingdom practices (*šōṭēr* and *šōpēṭ* are used also

for the Kings era) and he ignores the "King's *ʿăbādîm"* (2 Chr 8:9); and (2) he makes a distinction between secular and religious officials.

References in Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, and such possibly contemporaneous works as Job, Joel, and Jonah are fleeting and vague. The Maccabees and the Wisdom Literature, while not ignored here, are not very instructive. De Vaux's *Ancient Israel* (1961: 98), though devoting a lengthy chapter to the Chr-Ezra priesthood, has only a half-page on the postexilic "state" (Ezra 5:9; 6:7, the *mišpāḥōt* and their *zāqēnîm,* families and elders).

**2. Ezra 9:1–2.** These verses provide the main source on administration. In v 1 a complaint against "mixed" marriages is lodged with Ezra by the *šārîm.* RSV and NJB render this "officials"; Fensham (*Ezra/Nehemiah* NICOT, 124) and NEB perhaps better use "leaders," whom they relate to the three groups immediately enumerated: "people" (laity), priests, and Levites—though the complaint will turn out to be precisely *against* these three groups. And the next verse comes to a climax with a claim that the worst offenders are the *śārîm* themselves and the *sĕgānîm.* We might harmonizingly render "*some śarîm* protested against the widespread abuse in which (other) *śarîm* and even Seganim were involved." But it seems more objective to recognize that *śar* has become, or remains, a rather mild term for any kind of leadership, "important people," which would fit equally both verses. As for a distinction between *śārîm* and *sĕgānîm,* Fensham admits it is very difficult to find any at all; he hesitantly suggests that the *sĕgānîm,* of which we do not even know a singular form, are a kind of council for the *śar;* thus they would be a kind of *zāqēnîm* or *ḥōrîm.* And yet, with a casual reserve for the Nehemiah usages below, he audaciously equates the *sĕgān* as Akkadian loanword *šaqnu* with *peḥâ/bēl peḥâtî* "governor." Henshaw (1968: 465–69) had found that *šaqnu* is never identical with *bēl peḥâtî,* but is also never clearly above or below him (see also Lipiński 1973).

**3. Nehemiah 2.** Neh 2:16 is a rich source of data on those *sĕgānîm* and other officials who knew nothing of his night ride. The *sĕgānîm* are mentioned first "because they were very important," says Fensham (*Ezra/Nehemiah* NICOT, 167); but he less guardedly adds (adapting Widengren 1977: 522) that they were "probably representatives who were chosen by the congregation"—like his "council" of Ezra 9:2, but not *zāqēnîm* as suggested above. Like *śārîm* in Ezra 9:1–2, *sĕgānîm* seems to be used here in two different senses, first as a general term including also other officials about to be enumerated; then as a specific group among these officials, distinct from the four other groups.

One of these groups is suitably enough "the priests" as in Ezra 9:1 but surprisingly without "the Levites." A second group in Neh 2:16 is "the *ḥôrîm*", not noblemen in the real sense of the word, but persons with certain rights, "citizens" according to Fensham. Williamson (*Ezra/Nehemiah* WBC, 191) rejects Kellermann's attempt to take *ḥôrîm* as the local leadership distinct from *sĕgānîm,* "Persian appointees." It is important to bear in mind that *ḥôr* nowhere in biblical Hebrew means "free" or "freedman" as it does in modern Hebrew, which follows Aramaic-Arabic (and perhaps Sabean-Amharic).

There remain in Neh 2:16 two anomalous groups. "The Judeans," even more than *sĕgānîm* itself, is applicable to *all* the groups. The term is perhaps used in contradistinction to "the people of the land" (2 Kgs 25:22; see *NJBC* on Neh 4:1), those Judeans who had never gone into exile and thus had become administratively a part of the Babylonian-Persian Samarian province (Williamson *Ezra/Nehemiah* WBC)—and remained such to the bitter end, despite claims of a separate "Judah-province" to be noticed below. Nehemiah has a very prickly relationship with this "people of the land." Much of his polemic against "the [or specific] Samaritans" seems in fact directed against those full-blooded Judeans and Yahweh worshipers who had never been deemed worthy of the hardships of exile (inflicted on only the upper crust: 2 Kgs 24:14, 16). Nehemiah does not in fact elsewhere use "Judeans" as an appellative for "returnees only," "Judeans worth listening to," but we might find this implication here if our interpretation of "low-brow Samaritan-province people of the land (of Judah)" is correct.

The fifth and even more anomalous group of "officials left in ignorance" in Neh 2:10 are "the doers of the work" (RSV "the rest that were to do the work"), presumably the heads of the various guilds or locality groups immediately enumerated in Nehemiah 3, "but we cannot deduce this from the Hebrew," says Fensham (*Ezra/Nehemiah* NICOT, 167) overcautiously, citing Kaupel (1940). In that chapter indeed

we have a *sixth* group to add to the five enumerated in Neh 2:16, namely the *śar* of *pelek* or half-*pelek*. The term is generally there taken as "chief of a district" (Neh 3:16, Bet-Zur; 3:15, Mizpah) or half-district (3:9, 12, Jerusalem; 3:17–18, Keilah; 3:16, Beth-zur, under a different Nehemiah). Rüterswörden (1985: 46) concludes that these uses of *śar* in the singular were formations invented by the Chronicler without foundation in actual usage, even in the postexilic period (except for *bîrâ* in Neh 7:2); more interestingly he claims that the *śar pelek* cannot be related to *rab pilkani*, because that Akkadian term relates to *building* supervision (Demsky 1983, "corvée"). But in this context of Nehemiah there is question precisely of building supervision; and even the more general commission of Nehemiah is primarily that of *building* contractor. In any case, mention of "the doers of the work" in Neh 2:16 may justifiably be focused as a very modern nuance: Nehemiah puts the labor union leaders on a par with the bureaucrats and hierarchs, even if only to bypass them all temporarily.

**4. Nehemiah 12.** Neh 12:40 is the third passage focusing on *sĕgānîm*. Here we have a procession, in which Nehemiah himself leads "half of the *sĕgānîm* with me," that is, the counterclockwise half of the parade. We may see in those *sĕgānîm* the *civil* authorities, or rather "Very Important Persons" including Nehemiah himself, since the clockwise half includes mostly priests. It also includes (obscurely in 33, but tardily as head of the procession in 36) "Ezra the scribe"; whereas Ezra "the priest, the scribe" is more directly paired with "Nehemiah the *peḥâ"* in Neh 12:26, but as a purely chronological colophon to a preceding list. Fensham discreetly finds it "of interest" that Nehemiah mentions only his own half of the leaders *(segānîm)* and not any other half under the leadership of Ezra. RSV flatly excises all three references to Ezra. We would say more cautiously that the common name "Ezra" may well belong to the obscure personage of Neh 12:33, and may have given rise to 36 assuming that *the* Ezra was meant, and he would thus of course go to the head of the parade. The chronological notice of Neh 12:26 does not imply that Nehemiah was *present* or even *contemporary* with Ezra any more than with Jeshua ben-Jozadak a century earlier (Ezra 5:2), but in noting this we must repeat that the question of whether Ezra was in fact at least briefly on the stage *with* Nehemiah, or only before or after him, is fully open, because the Albright-Rudolph emendation of 7th to 27th year of Artaxerxes in Ezra 7:7 is not one bit more audacious than to excise *all* the references to Ezra and Nehemiah functioning together.

In Neh 12:31 *both* groups of paraders are "marshaled" by Nehemiah as "master of ceremonies"—a very low place on the totem pole, whatever happens to be the actual rank of its incumbent; and the *śārîm* here used for the paraders doubtless means "the leaders of various degree along with their escorts." In verse 32 the clockwise half alone are called *śārîm*, which is thus a synonym of the *sĕgānîm* of the counterclockwise half in Neh 12:40.

**5. *rō›š.*** This term has not shown up prominently in these key passages from Ezra-Nehemiah. It is used postexilically for special groups (Müller 1976; Bartlett 1969) and, as noted above, becomes interchanged with *śar.* Despite *adrazdā›* of Ezra 7:23 (Rundgren 1982), the Bible rarely gives a Persian title except through Akkadian, from which Aikhenwald (1985: 66) concludes that the Persian administration left no lasting trace.

All in all, our search for the above data on *minor* officials has revealed that these are at times varyingly equated with the highest local authority, sometimes having no other title, sometimes *peḥâ*, to which *sĕgan/šaqnu* is not probably equal, superior, or inferior.

**C. Ezra and Nehemiah as Officials**

In no case is there further evidence calling in doubt the published view that neither Nehemiah nor Ezra possessed any genuine permanent civil office within the Persian government (North 1972). The sporadically recurring claims that Nehemiah as governor stood in an unbroken line with Zerubbabel and the previous (or identical: so Lust 1987) Sheshbazzar; or that some or all of these were of Davidic lineage, thus putting this "governorship" on a far more solid and even messianic plane, have not been followed up.

But what is apparent is that more recent studies (Klein 1976), some even after respectful note of North (1972), continue to maintain in various ways that Nehemiah as *peḥâ* and *tiršātā›* was truly a governor, a cog in the Persian satrapy system, over Judah created into a *mĕdînâ* or province distinct from Samaria (Bengtson 1965; Frye 1984; Gershevitch 1985). These general histories of Persia draw their accounts of

Judean administration mainly from the philology-based dictums of outdated exegetes, or from Herodotus, with no really new empirical data. This is despite interest in the questions raised by Cross (1975) in adding a new Sanballat to the dynasty of Nehemiah's opponents (Betlyon 1986).

The request made to the king by Nehemiah at his initial appointment (1:7–8) clearly excludes any civil authority. Nehemiah asks for a recommendation to the governors of the province and for help in his building project, and there is no evidence that the king's edict went beyond these modest requests. McEvenue (1981: 363; citing Nober 1961) demolishes Morton Smith's conclusions drawn from *peḥâ;* and he briefly dismisses *tiršātā*› as likewise ambivalent. Yet he goes on to maintain that Nehemiah had a genuine civil office in the Persian administration, proved not from his titles but from the way he is shown acting; and Alonso-Schökel agrees with this (oral communication). But as *Nehemiah* NJBC shows, what Nehemiah is actually shown doing is building a wall, incidentally surmounting "foreign intrusions" (Nehemiah 4), labor troubles (Nehemiah 5), and other national solidarity crises progressively taking on a religious tinge: mixed marriages, sabbath—his manhandling and threats in Neh 13:15, 21, 25 seem to imply he was exceeding whatever authority he may have had.

After surveying McEvenue's view that there was no independent province of Judah before Nehemiah, and equating it with Alt's, Williamson (1987: 40–50) goes on to prefer the position of M. Smith and Widengren: there was a Persian province of which Sheshbazzar was appointed governor, as Ezra 5:14 says. But in understandable diffidence about that verse, Donner (1986: 422) holds that Nehemiah's original Persian commission was simply to build the wall, and at a later stage he became the first real "governor" of the *newly constituted* province (*mĕdînâ;* Neh 11:3; 7:6 = Ezra 2:1; Esther often; but already also Neh 1:3) of Judah. No two events in the civil life of a region are less likely to pass unnoticed than its erection into a new degree of independence, or the inauguration of a ruler with the highest title thus far granted. It seems inconceivable that such a great day would have passed unnoticed either in Nehemiah's personal memoirs, or in the Ezra books otherwise so fond of describing in detail just such solemnities.

We know even less about Ezra (Donner 1986: 431), but what at any rate is certain is that between the two of them something momentous was accomplished in the creation of a new Israelite identity. For further discussion see Galling TGI, and *CHJ* 1: 130–61.

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ROBERT NORTH

## *PTOLEMAIC ADMINSTRATION*

### A. Chronology and Extent of Ptolemaic Control

After two brief periods of control (320–315 and 312 B.C.), Ptolemy I Soter gained permanent possession of Palestine in 301 B.C., when Antigonus the One-Eyed was defeated at the Battle of Ipsos. Ptolemy and his successors held "Phoenicia and Hollow Syria," as they called it, for a century until Antiochus III ("the Great") defeated the forces of Ptolemy V Epiphanes at Paneion in 200 B.C. During the intervening years, Ptolemaic and Seleucid forces fought several wars over control of Palestine, but with one exception we do not know of any significant and lasting gains by either side in these wars until the final Ptolemaic loss. Shortly before his death in 146 B.C., Ptolemy VI Philometor made an attempt to recover Palestine, but death cut short his early success (for the chronology and extent of Ptolemaic rule, see Bagnall 1976: 11–13).

The area under Ptolemaic control during the 3d century was bounded on the S by Egypt, on the W by the Mediterranean, and on the N probably by the Eleutherus River (the modern Kebir), the northern boundary of modern Lebanon. It is clear that Arados and the territory to the N in general never came under lasting Ptolemaic control (Seyrig 1951: 206–20). Ptolemy III Euergetes did gain control of Seleucia-in-Pieria and of Laodiceia in the Third Syrian War (246–241 B.C.), but they were lost by his successor, Ptolemy IV Philopator, in 219 and not regained despite Philopator's victory at Raphia in 217 (for control of Laodicea, see Rey-Coquais 1978). The limits of Ptolemaic control to the E are less clear. Philadelphia (Rabbath-ammon, modern Amman) was certainly Ptolemaic, along with much of Transjordan, but we do not know how whether any of Moab was under Ptolemaic rule nor exactly how far N it extended E of the Jordan. Paneion (the site of the final loss in 200 B.C.) was probably part of the Ptolemaic domains; Damascus was in Ptolemaic hands at least from the 270s until the 250s, and perhaps throughout the period. It seems likely enough that Ptolemaic control extended to the E slopes of the Anti-lebanon Mountains throughout their extent.

### B. Military Occupation and Settlement

The Ptolemies certainly kept garrisons in the principal cities of the region, made up of mercenaries recruited from all over the E Mediterranean (Bagnall 1976: 17; Rey-Coquais 1978). In peacetime their numbers were no doubt modest, but in time of war field forces were imported in much greater quantity. Most of the military commanders mentioned in the ancient sources appear in accounts of the Ptolemaic-Seleucid wars, and we know little about the regular garrisons and their commanders. There is not even any evidence until the last two decades of Ptolemaic rule of any military governor of the region as a whole. It seems likely, however, that as in many other regions of their empire (at varying dates), the Ptolemies appointed in Palestine a *stratēgos,* or provincial governor, who had both military and civil functions. But such an appointment may not have come until the second half of the 3d century (Bagnall 1976: 219). The first absolutely certain *strategos* of the area, indeed, is first found after Antiochus III's conquest; the title is mentioned in an inscription dealing with the property of Ptolemaius son of Thraseas, formerly a Ptolemaic general, who had gone over to the Selucid king at an unknown date and become a *stratēgos* and high-priest, evidently of Syria and Phoenicia (for this official and his landholdings, see Fischer 1979; Bertrand 1982).

The Ptolemies also settled troops on land in the region in much the same way they did in Egypt: a soldier was allocated land to support him and his family, but he held it on condition of continued military service, when needed, by him or his son. These soldiers evidently tried (as elsewhere) to take advantage of their superior economic positions to enslave natives, a practice firmly forbidden, with limited exceptions, by the Ptolemaic government (Liebesny 1936). Many of them married local women; and in the Ammanitis there was a group of them under the command of a local chieftain, Tobias (Edgar 1925: 1.59003). We have no idea of the numbers of these settlers, who provided substantial military reserves and helped ensure the loyalty to the Ptolemaic crown of the areas in which they were settled. Ptolemy II founded or refounded and renamed (as Greek cities) several towns (Ptolemais, from Acco; Philadelphia, from Rabbath-ammon; Philoteria, on the Sea of Galilee), and all of these presumably had Greek soldiers among the settlers and citizens.

**C. Civil Administration in the Cities**

The scarce inscriptions of the period give us almost no information at all about the administration of the cities of the inferior in this period, and only some limited facts about the coastal cities, which were no doubt the focus of Ptolemaic interest. Though the Phoenician monarchy was preserved for a time at least in Sidon (as some of the Cypriot monarchies had survived briefly under Ptolemaic rule), it probably did not outlast Philokles son of Apollodorus, who served as a Ptolemaic admiral (Merker 1970; Seibert 1970). Signs of Greek civic institutions soon appear: Sidon is called a *polis;* members of its upper class compete in Greek athletics at Delos, Delphi, and Nemea; and the city has an official in charge of athletic contests whose title *(agonothētes)* is Greek. The Greek civic title *archon* is attested for Sidon and Marissa. Even with all these signs of Hellenization, however, the substance of local government may not have changed very much. The Phoenician term *sufet,* president of the people, and its Greek rendering *dikastes,* appear in Tyre and Sidon.

In all probability the cities of the coast, and at least some of those in the interior, had some land attached to them and under their administration. But our evidence for this land under Ptolemaic rule is nonexistent. Nor do we have any real indication of the relationship of the civic officials to royal ones, either those at the level of the whole province or those with more local control. Ptolemaic administration elsewhere kept local governments in check with supervision by the garrison commander (or city commandant) and financial officials, and the same was probably true in Palestine.

**D. Civil Administration in the Countryside**

The countryside of the province of Phoenicia and Coele Syria was divided (at least by 261 B.C.) into administrative units called hyparchies *(hyparchiai),* of whose size and number we know nothing. At the head of the financial bureaucracy in each hyparchy, just as of each nome in Egypt, was an *oikonomos,* who was in charge of such things as supervising the underwriting of the collection of taxes to contractors, overseeing the actual tax collection, and registering ownership of slaves. (This information comes mostly from Lenger 1980: 21–22.) Administrative symmetry and Ptolemaic practice in Egypt suggest that the

*oikonomos* operated collegially with at least one other official, who was probably called a *hyparchos.* So far, however, no evidence for these officials at the level of the entire region, to whom the *oikonomoi* probably reported at least in this aspect of their work, called "the manager of the revenues in Syria and Phoenicia." His one appearance in the papyrus uses a participle of the verb *dioikeo,* but he may well have held the title *dioiketes,* as did the finance minister in Egypt to whom he doubtless reported.

At the village level, the royal administration was represented by komarchs. They were responsible for seeing that the proper declarations of taxable or restricted property (such as livestock and slaves) were filed with the *oikonomos.* There were also royal judges, called *dikastai,* but we know virtually nothing about who they were, what areas they were responsible for, or what their jurisdictional competence was.

Despite this structure, which appears to be a Greek framework imposed on the country, the Ptolemies relied substantially on local institutions and magnates to rule the countryside for them, just as they did in the cities. The story of Joseph son of Tobias (see below) indicates that wealthy locals acted as tax farmers on a large scale, just as Tobias' role as the commander in charge of military settlers in his area shows an attempt to enlist the most powerful local figures in the military side of Ptolemaic rule.

**E. Economic Management**

Like any empire, the Ptolemaic was interested in exploiting its opportunities for income from the lands it controlled. Palestine was a useful backup source of wheat for Egypt when the Egyptian harvest was poor, but in ordinary times its agricultural interest was certainly more for the wide range of fruits, vegetables, oils, and wine that it produced than for wheat, which Egypt produced in abundance. The Phoenician ports had a long history as commercial centers, and these clearly offered numerous opportunities to Greeks in Ptolemaic service to make money. The Zenon papyri from the 250s show us some of the range of economic interests at stake (Harper 1928; Tcherikover 1937).

Royal interest in these activities, however, centered on taxing them. Export and import taxes at the ports, largely in the control of tax farmers, were undoubtedly important (as they were elsewhere in the Ptolemaic empire). The agricultural land of the province was also taxed. The career of Joseph son of Tobias, recounted in book 12 of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities,* shows us a prominent local notable bidding for the tax contract for the entire province, outbidding the longtime holders of the contract and still making a fortune over more than two decades (the dates are disputed: see Bagnall 1976: 21 n. 42).

From the reign of Ptolemy II on, the coinage for the entire region was supplied by seven coastal mints (Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais, Joppa, Gaza, Berytos, and Askalon). Like Ptolemaic coinage elsewhere, it was minted on a standard with a lower weight for the drachma than was common elsewhere. The Ptolemies systematically excluded coinage from elsewhere from Palestine (as they did from Egypt, Cyprus, and Cyrene), and hoard and excavation finds from the middle of the 3d century until its end show almost exclusively Ptolemaic coins. Many of them remained in circulation after the Seleucid conquest (Bagnall 1976: 180–83).

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ROGER S. BAGNALL


## *SELEUCID ADMINSTRATION*

Only a few sources provide information about the Seleucid administration and staff in Palestine. The sources comprise a few inscriptions, the more or less extensive but tendentious accounts in 1–2 Maccabees, and the later works of Josephus. The works of Polybius and Poseidonius, who were the most important contemporary authors in the Greco-Roman ambit, as well as those of their immediate successors, are almost completely lost. The authors of the Roman Imperial period only imprecisely or summarily inform us about the management and bureaucracy of the Hellenistic period. In spite of the many problems and uncertainties concerning the historical and political development (in particular of Judea), the following survey will attempt to depict some basic features of the Seleucid administration of Palestine in the 2d century.

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A. Seleucid Conquest and Maccabean Revolt
B. Rise of Hasmonean Rule
C. Remnants of Seleucid Sovereignty
D. Conclusion

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**A. Seleucid Conquest and Maccabean Revolt (200–157 B.C.)**

During the Fifth Syrian War (202–ca. 195 B.C.) Ptolemy, the governor of the Ptolemaic border province of Syria and Phoenicia, sided with the Seleucid Antiochus III the Great and thus retained his position as provincial governor after Antiochus' victory. In 199 B.C. the Seleucid king perhaps regulated the legal and property relations of his newly won territory in a "decree;" in so doing, it is likely that he simply confirmed the existing Ptolemaic arrangements (see the inscription of Hefzibah, Fischer 1980: 1–3; see also Bengston 1964: 147–48; Fisher 1986: 66). Accordingly, Antiochus allowed the theocracy of Jerusalem and Judea to retain its conventional form, including the "high priest" *(archiereus),* the "council of elders" (*gerousia,* also in its traditional and unofficial sense called *hoi presbyteroi*), the "priests" *(hiereis),* and the "rest of the Judeans" *(hoi alloi Ioudaioi).* However, as far as we are aware he did this only indirectly in a formal message directed to his provincial governor, Ptolemy. In this letter, Antiochus allowed "the Judean people" and their temple further "magnanimities" through the governor, although in a precarious and time-limited fashion (*Ant* 12.138–44; cf. *WHJP* 6: 81–86; Taylor 1979: 51–107, 169–70). A further "announcement" seeking to protect the domestic cult regulations in Jerusalem (*Ant* 12.145–46) may have been secured from the king by Jonathan, the father of Eupolemus. In the winter of 194/3 B.C. Antiochus married off his daughter Cleopatra to the Ptolemaic king; in so doing, he may have awarded her (rights to) half of the *phoroi* (tribute) of Phoenicia and Coele-Syria ("Syria," according to the earlier Ptolemaic nomenclature). However, this personal dowry was apparently understood by both Cleopatra and by the Egyptian (Ptolemaic) rulers as the Seleucid return, surrender, or renunciation of the (entire) province.

The hereditary Zadokite high priest in Jerusalem represented the now-subject "nation of the Judeans" to the king. His task included ensuring the deliveries of the *phoroi* to the king. He assumed the principal responsibility for the territorial administration, and with his own army, he assumed responsibility for the cultic, political, military, and administrative (juridical) interests of the Seleucid king on the regional level. Thus, for example, he communicated to the court the news of the "immeasurable wealth" of the temple in Jerusalem. He likewise presented to the sovereign an accusation emerging from the Judean council of elders against the high priest. He also presented to the sovereign "memoranda," that is, petitions, applications, or complaints. When appropriate, the Seleucid monarch informed him and/or assigned other functionaries to carry out his projects. In the sense of his royal "instruction," the governor apparently also issued executive "decisions" on behalf of the (pseudo-) autonomous congregations or cities of his region (2 Macc 6:8, according to Fischer 1985: 352, n. 10).

Unlike the *dynastēs,* the provincial governor—a Macedonian or Greek who was a foreigner and as such subject to transfer—could not normally bequeath his position to members of his own family. He probably dwelt in Acco-Ptolemais, which was officially called "Antioch-in-Ptolemais" from the time of Antiochus IV at the latest. Certainly this site was, in juridical terms, a *polis* which had its own more or less "free,"

"democratic," and/or Hellenized administration. The "people" plus their own "assembly," "council," and "magistrates" were the typical institutions of such communities. The Seleucids themselves, particularly Antiochus IV and his house, encouraged the urbanization and extension of such "Greek" *poleis* as Acco in order to support their rule, especially E of the Jordan. Moreover, in many cases such cities had originated in the foreign military settlements of the Macedonian kings.

According to *Ant* 12.154, 175, the province was originally divided into four (?) districts (*merides* in the official usage, perhaps *eparchiai* in the common usage): (1) Coele-Syria (in the strict sense); (2) Samaria (at least in the Maccabean period Judea seems to have belonged within its jurisdiction); (3) Idumea (?); and (4) Phoenicia (without the N parts, that is, the region N of the river Eleutherus). Each possessed its own district governors and troops. Similarly, at this district level "subcommanders" *(hyparchoi)* were empowered to act in the civil and particularly in the fiscal arena. They were served by the local leaders in the respective counties (Bengston 1964: 10–11, 21–29, 170; cf. *HJP²* 2: 186). According to the sources, there was, however, no satrap at the peak of the civil and financial administration of the province. It may be that the native and hereditary high priest of Jerusalem enjoyed the rank and/or function of "subcommander" *(hyparchus)* of Judea; the same possibly applied to the Samaritans. Galilee was perhaps a hyparchy within the district of Samaria. However, these details and functions remain quite unclear and problematical.

Stationed on the site itself, the "commanders of garrisons" (*phrourarchoi*; at larger places *akrophylakes* or *eparchoi*) exercised the supreme military authority. As representatives of the standing army they performed all the immediate and tangible functions of occupational, police, or general security forces. In this capacity they preserved the public order alongside the civilian functionary, the *hyparch* or high priest, and helped to ensure the regular payment of the tax monies to the crown. Occasionally such commanders were designated by the types of troops or weapons at their command (e.g., the "elephantarch," as well as the "Mysarch" and the "Kypriarch" who were, respectively, commanders of mercenary units from Mysias and Cyprus).

Local "mayors" *(kōmarchai)* are not attested in the entire province; however, it seems probable that the Hasmonean Mattathias (prior to the Maccabean Revolt) and (afterward) his son Jonathan exercised (as "judges") such an administrative function at Modein and Michmash, respectively (1 Macc 2:17; 9:73). Local traditions manifested themselves fairly strongly at the lower (local) level, whereas in the first half of the 2d century the Greco-Macedonian element predominated at the top of the administrative system.

It is not possible here to deal with the conflicts concerning the "immeasurable wealth" of the temple in Jerusalem, the rivalries about the position of high priest, or the events and prehistory of the Maccabean Revolt under Antiochus IV (175–164 B.C.), Antiochus V (164–162), and Demetrius I (162–150). See MACCABEAN REVOLT. Perhaps it would be best to emphasize the following points here in abbreviated terms. Jason had attempted to establish a sort of community or even a *polis* of the "Antiochenes-in-Hierosolyma" (Jerusalem). When he failed in the end to deliver "the immeasurable wealth" of the sanctuary (as Onias III had done before him), the Seleucid king appointed Menelaus, brother of the temple manager, to serve as the new Judean high priest. See MENELAUS. The appointment of Menelaus not only deposed the traditional Zadokite dynasty in this increasingly cosmopolitan town; it also shifted the focus of the office from the religious and cultic to the economic and political sphere. At first the league between Antiochus IV and his protégé Menelaus survived, but when Judas Maccabeus achieved preeminence among the people, the "failure" was liquidated by Antiochus V. The revolt itself began in 166; it extended steadily from the *phrourarch* of Jerusalem throughout the *meridarch* of Samaria up to the provincial governor *(stratēgos).* Finally, it escalated up to the central government, only to be put down by Demetrius I himself in 157 B.C. During the Revolt, the Hasmoneans had shown themselves to be capable military leaders and very able politicians, which recommended them to the king (note the personal meeting between Antiochus V and Judas, when the latter received "forgiveness" but by no means renounced his "rebellious temper").

**B. Rise of Hasmonean Rule (152–129 B.C.)**

The Seleucid pretender and bastard, Alexander Balas (150–145 B.C.), considered the Hasmonean Jonathan his "brother and friend," and as early as 152 B.C. appointed him to the office of high priest in Jerusalem. After Alexander's subsequent victory over Demetrius I, the general conditions in Palestine changed drastically. In the course of the Seleucid succession struggle, which lasted until 138, the Hasmonean leaders brought increased autonomy to Judea. Henceforth, the local leader served (in the Seleucid staff) as a *dynastēs,* with his own military forces; he ascended swiftly and won advantages for his own country and for himself from his double function, that is, against the rivaling kings as well as against his own Judean compatriots. On the other hand, the royal power in Palestine diminished both quantitatively and qualitatively, as Rome now had no serious opponent in the E Mediterranean. In other words, an additional destabilizing factor had now entered the political arena. In addition to this, the native element of the population now began more strongly to assume leadership positions in competition with the Greek-born and with the immigrant "Macedonians," a phenomenon which allows comparison with simultaneous developments in Egypt.

The events which took place in these years may be summarized in the following manner. In 152/51 B.C. Demetrius I had ended the general occupation of the territory of Judea, with the exceptions of Beth-zur and the citadel of Jerusalem; he also granted to Jonathan the right to assemble his own troops and to fortify Zion. In 150/49 the victorious Alexander Balas appointed the Judean leader to be his provincial governor *(stratēgos)* and district governor *(meridarches)* (of Samaria, including Judea?); about 145 B.C. Jonathan received the court title of "relative of the king," plus the territory of Ekron as his personal, immediate, and privileged fief, on the rank order of a *dynastēs* within the Seleucid realm. The next ruler, Demetrius II (145–139, 129–125 B.C.), who maintained the garrisons in Jerusalem and Beth-zur, confirmed Jonathan's cultic, military, and political position; he laid claim to the military forces of his Judean vassal, and in fact received them. The same disposition was accepted by his rival, Balas' minor son Antiochus VI (145–142 B.C.), who additionally appointed Jonathan's brother Simon to be "*strategos* from the Ladder of Tyre to the border of Egypt" (1 Macc 11:57–59). In their victorious struggle as functionaries of the young Antiochus VI against Demetrius II, the two Hasmoneans attempted to extend their own rule, which is probably what finally cost Jonathan his life.

After this, Simon (142–134 B.C.) gathered the reins of power in Judea to himself and returned under the banner of Demetrius II. Presumably in the beginning of 141 B.C., the Demetrius II granted not only him (as "high priest and friend of the kings") but also the "elders *(presbyteroi)* and the people *(ethnos)* of the Judeans" both amnesty and deliverance from taxation, allowing them to enter the royal service (1 Macc 13:36–40).

As yet, there is no indication that the Judean dynast tangibly supported the Seleucid king; instead, we discover that "the people" dated their own (i.e., presumably the non-Greek, viz. Aramean) documents according to the reign (!) of "Simon, the great high priest, the commander-in-chief and leader of the Jews" (1 Macc 13:42; Josephus, however, differs, referring to the high priest [*archiereus*] Simon, as "the benefactor [*euergetēs*] of the Judeans and the ethnarch" [*Ant* 13.213–14; varia lectio: "eparch"]). The first year of this alleged freedom of Israel from the "yoke of the nations" corresponds to Seleucid Era 170 by the Babylonian (and therefore Judean) reckoning, that is, the year 142/141 B.C. (from spring to spring) by the Julian reckoning (1 Macc 13:41–42; 14:27; *Ant* 13.213–14). Henceforth, as of the beginning of the year 141 B.C., the Judeans considered themselves to be completely free and independent. However, the Seleucid king had neither agreed to nor pronounced the formal decree of independence. Thus the "honorary record of the great assembly of the priests, the people, the community authorities, and the elders of the country for Simon, the high priest *en asaramel* and his brothers" (1 Macc 14:25–49), which was composed in the late summer of 140, served as an additional, proper and quasi-"Israelite" legitimation of Hasmonean sovereignty (cf. *Ant* 13.215–17, which reveals a similarly plebiscitarian-"democratic" tendency). In 141/40 B.C. (= year 172 by the Macedonian Seleucid reckoning, i.e., from autumn to autumn) the considerable privilege of *asylia* was accorded by the king to the city of Tyre with its important sea harbor. In 138 the new king Antiochus VII Euergetes (139–129 B.C.), who later managed to retard the struggle for the Seleucid succession, directed some demands to Simon, the "high priest and

people's leader of the Judeans." Simon only partially assented, and succeeded in repelling the retaliatory attack of the "high commander of the coastal district" (1 Macc 15:38), which was launched on Antiochus VII's personal order. However, in the beginning of 134 Simon fell prey to the plot of his son-in-law Ptolemy, the (royal?) chief, on the plain of Jericho. Once again (around 133 B.C.) Antiochus VII achieved the subjugation of Judea. In spite of several concessions, John Hyrcanus I (134–104 B.C.), the son of Simon, was confirmed as the legitimate dynast of the people and even received a limited right to issue his own coins. As vassal and military leader, he followed his lord Antiochus VII into the Parthian War of 131–129 B.C.

**C. Remnants of Seleucid Sovereignty (129–63 B.C.)**

Hyrcanus survived the death of Antiochus VII in the Parthian War. He was the first Hasmonean to hire foreign mercenaries (which apparently counted as a sign of royal power). According to Josephus (*Ant* 13.273), on his return he "fell away from the Macedonians (i.e., from the Seleucid kings) and did not concern himself with them as either subject or friend" (namely as functionary, vassal, or ally). Instead, he pursued his own successful policy of expansion everywhere in Palestine. Nevertheless, some vestige of Seleucid royal authority was officially retained, as evidenced by a document from 124/23 which reflects the usage of the Seleucid Era (2 Macc 1:9).

It was Alexander Jannaeus (104–78 B.C.), son and successor of Hyrcanus, who first assumed the most exalted title "king" (*melek* or *basileus*), who dated his documents (as the Ptolemies had already done) by the years of *his own* reign, and who formally declared himself free and independent. It is conceivable that the Seleucids never renounced their juridical claim to the possession of the Hasmonean territories.

In fact, it was the "Macedonian" kings who had exhausted themselves in passionate dynastic competitions in the years following the death of Antiochus VII in 129 B.C., while at the same time Ptolemaic (Egyptian) influence over Syria and Palestine had been steadily increasing. In 125, Tyre became completely free, and other coastal sites of the former province of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia followed suit shortly thereafter (Gaza between 112 and 103; Sidon in 111; Ascalon in 104/3; Acco probably in 103 or 102. In other places, particularly in the interior, local potentates (*tyrannoi, monarchoi*) established their own more or less independent governments—Zeno Cotylas had done so in Philadelphia already under Antiochus VII; somewhat later, his son Theodorus did so in Amathus on the Jordan; Zoilus would so do in Straton's Tower and Dora; Ptolemy, the son of Mennaeus, would do so in Chalcis in the Lebanon region, etc. Occasionally the fairly meager sources permit us to make out individual events clearly, as, for example, the controversy over Joppa and the territories which Antiochus VII had detached from Judea.

When Alexander Jannaeus laid siege to Acco at the beginning of his reign, neither of the two Seleucid pretenders—Gryphus (Antiochus VIII) or Cyzicenus (Antiochus IX)—was able to assist the town. By purest chance we happen to possess a dedicatory inscription from this city by a "first friend, minister for the land forces," who was also "local commander." The king honored in this document is possibly Antiochus IX (although this is debated). Actually, this Antiochus, who controlled S Syria and the coastal sites of Phoenicia and Palestine for a few years following 113/12, was able to assert himself in battle with his half-brother Antiochus VIII, who mainly ruled in the N Shortly before the turn of the century, the Ptolemies and Hasmoneans ruled the field in swift succession. With only a few exceptions, especially on the coast, Judeans and Nabatean Arabs, under their own increasingly Hellenizing and pro-Greek princes, determined the development of the former province of (Coele-)Syria, Judea (to which Samaria had in the meantime become subject), Idumaea, and Phoenicia (*Ant* 13.395; cf. Justinus, *Epit.* 39, 5–4–6; 40, 2:4). Thus, in the course of a single century the juridical, political, military, and economic pace of events had considerably intensified and fundamentally changed through the disintegration of the sole determining central authority (Rome had not yet seized control of the region).

**D. Conclusion**

In the course of one century, the Seleucid administration continuously proved itself to be, in both its regular and its transient functions, neither rigid nor formalistic. Instead, it was capable of adaptation and thoroughly suited to build upon its Ptolemaic predecessor, organically and by varying degrees. For the

moment it also proved to be able to compensate for the loss of its own Greco-Macedonian basis by the absorption of both new and domestic resources.

After the misconceived and unsuccessful policy of Antiochus IV in Judea, the Seleucid kings promulgated a policy which was at once indulgent yet determined; which ensured reciprocal advantages, took account of the actual situations, and allowed for contingencies. This was a policy of "good intention" of "faithfulness and obligation" in the form of "good deeds" with respect to the subject peoples. The Seleucids were thus able, with different intentions and in varying degrees of success, to attach the rebellious, aggressive, and ambitious clan of the Hasmoneans to their own "concerns." Moreover, they did so despite their losses of territory and power, despite the dynastic embroilments, despite Rome's continuously emergent influence, and above all despite the newly awakened senses of national and regional self-awareness which continually weakened their universal dominance, and which continually intensified the instability of the normally well-established power structures.

This process of gradual dissolution of central authority was accompanied by the continuous reevaluation and increased emancipation of the local and regional powers, that is, the dynasts, the *tyrannoi*, and the *monarchoi*, as well as of both the indigenous elite and the eminent individuals in the towns. These tendencies manifested themselves in an increase in privileges and in a refined and to some extent extremely complex "legal empowerment" of the ever more divergent and pluralistic instances.

With the death of Antiochus VII in 129 B.C. the final decline of Seleucid sovereignty began, at least in Palestine. Exalted titles replaced the *de facto* absent royal power and concealed the lack of real Seleucid authority. The political chaos was reflected by the dominance of the military, and by an unmistakable expansion in terms of industry, trade, and finance; in addition to this there was apparently a demographic increase. The dynasty of the Hasmoneans, with their success on the regional power level, did not end as Israelite "priests," genuine "judges," or true biblical "kings," as David and Solomon had done. Rather, they were very appropriate to their own time, "Hellenized," self-assertive, occasionally unscrupulous personalities who distinguished themselves as "leaders," "power holders," and finally as "kings" in the Greek sense, like the Seleucids and Ptolemies. This dynamic development of "decline and fall," like the once-great empire of Alexander, may have experienced a final, sometimes exaggerated and even exuberant flowering. However, unlike Poseidonius and the sectarians of Qumran, who deplored such a "denaturation" from very different points of view, the modern historian is in a considerably better position to study the transformation and the authentic achievements of the Seleucids as well as their fragmentation and "orientalization."

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TRANS. FREDERICK H. CRYER


## *ROMAN ADMINISTRATION*

This article covers the period of Roman administration in Palestine from the time of Pompey's conquest in 63 B.C. until the crushing of the Bar Kokhba revolt in A.D. 135.

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A. From Pompey's Conquest to the Parthian Invasion
B. Herod, King of the Jews
C. Herod's Legacy
    1. Sons of Herod
    2. Early Prefects of Judea
    3. Reign of Herod Agrippa
D. The Last Procurators of Judea
E. The War with Rome
F. Judea under Imperial Legates

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**A. From Pompey's Conquest to the Parthian Invasion**

The establishment of Roman control over W Asia after Pompey's decisive overthrow of Mithridates VI of Pontus in 64 B.C. was bound to affect the state of Judea, which for nearly 80 years had enjoyed independence under the Hasmonean dynasty of priest-kings. But division within the Hasmonean camp at that time positively invited Roman intervention in Judea.

When Salome Alexandra, Hasmonean queen regnant, died in 67 B.C., rivalry broke out between her two sons—Hyrcanus II, who had occupied the high priesthood during her reign, and Aristobulus II, who had been her military commander-in-chief. Hyrcanus, the older son, was heir to the throne, but Aristobulus rebelled against him and defeated his forces. Hyrcanus relinquished his royal and high-priestly titles in his brother's favor. Hyrcanus was totally devoid of personal initiative or ambition, but he was manipulated by the ambitious Idumean Antipater. Antipater persuaded Hyrcanus that Aristobulus had designs on his life and that he should seek sanctuary with the Nabatean king Aretas III. Aretas invaded Judea on Hyrcanus's behalf and defeated Aristobulus.

Aristobulus and Hyrcanus both sent legations to Damascus, where Aemilius Scaurus, Pompey's lieutenant, had arrived in 65 B.C. Scaurus favored Aristobulus, and ordered Aretas to leave Judea. But when Pompey himself came to Damascus in 63 B.C., legations from the two brothers appeared before him in turn, and Pompey eventually gave his support to Hyrcanus. Jerusalem was surrendered to Pompey, but the followers of Aristobulus barricaded themselves in the well-fortified temple area and held out against Pompey's forces for three months. The temple area was stormed in July or August, 63 B.C.

Pompey confirmed Hyrcanus in power, but withheld the title of king from him, and released from his control the Greek cities of the Mediterranean seaboard and Transjordan which his predecessors had conquered, placing them under the direct authority of the Roman governor of Syria (Scaurus), who at the same time exercised general supervision over Judea.

In 57 B.C. Alexander, son of Aristobulus II, escaping from his Roman captivity, raised an army and occupied three fortresses in Judea. Aulus Gabinius, newly appointed proconsul of Syria, put down the rebellion and reorganized the province of Judea. Hyrcanus was left with the high priesthood and the custody of the temple; Judaea was divided into five districts, each administered by an aristocratic council.

In 54 B.C. Gabinius was succeeded as proconsul of Syria by Licinius Crassus, a member of the first triumvirate at Rome along with Pompey and Julius Caesar. Crassus plundered the temple treasury in Jerusalem to raise funds for his campaign against Parthia. In that campaign he was defeated and killed (53 B.C.). His quaestor Cassius (later to be one of Caesar's assassins) exercised supreme authority in Syria and Judea from 53 to 51 B.C.

The civil war which broke out in 49 B.C. between Pompey and Caesar ended the following year with Pompey's defeat at Pharsalus in Thessaly and his murder when he fled for asylum to Egypt. Hyrcanus, at the prompting of Antipater (who for several years had been quietly consolidating his power base in Judea), declared his support for Caesar. A material proof of this support was given in the spring of 47 B.C. when Caesar found himself outnumbered in Egypt: Antipater sent troops and other supplies to his aid, and

Hyrcanus persuaded the large Jewish colony in Egypt to fight on his side. Caesar was grateful: when he came to Syria later that year he named Hyrcanus "ethnarch of the Jews" over and above his high priesthood, while he honored Antipater (the effective power behind Hyrcanus' throne) with Roman citizenship and freedom from taxation, and appointed him procurator of Judea. Gabinius' division of the province into five administrative districts was now canceled.

Antipater appointed his two sons, Phasael and Herod, military prefects in Judea and Galilee respectively. About the same time Herod, a young man of outstanding ability, was appointed military prefect of Coele-Syria by Sextus Caesar, governor of Syria.

Julius Caesar's assassination on March 15, 44 B.C., was a heavy blow to the Jews, both in Palestine and throughout the empire. Cassius, one of the leading assassins, came back to take control of Syria, and received from Hyrcanus and Antipater the support which they had given to Caesar. Antipater's policy, followed by his son Herod, was to support Rome, whoever might be the representative of Roman power in the east from time to time. Antipater was killed by a private enemy in 43 B.C.; his authority was taken over by his two sons. Next year they were nominated tetrarchs of Judea by Mark Antony, who became ruler of the Roman east when he and Octavian (Caesar's heir) defeated Cassius and Brutus at the battle of Philippi.

In 40 B.C. the whole of W Asia was overrun by the Parthians, from beyond the Euphrates. In Jerusalem they placed Antigonus, the last surviving son of Aristobulus II, on the throne as king and high priest. Phasael was captured and committed suicide; Herod escaped to Rome. There Antony and Octavian persuaded the Roman senate to recognize him as king of the Jews.

**B. Herod, King of the Jews**

It was now for Herod to give substance to his title by winning back his kingdom. The Romans lost no time in expelling the Parthians from the territories they had overrun, but left Antigonus on the throne in Jerusalem. Most of his subjects were well pleased to have an effective Hasmonean ruler again. It took long and hard fighting on Herod's part to reduce Judea. Jerusalem was taken in the summer of 37 B.C. after a siege of three months in which Herod's forces were augmented by Roman troops under the command of Sosius, governor of Syria.

For 33 years (37–4 B.C.) Herod reigned over Judea (including Samaria, Galilee and parts of Transjordan) as Rome's faithful ally. When civil war broke out between Antony and Octavian in 31 B.C. and Antony (with Cleopatra) was defeated at the battle of Actium (committing suicide at Alexandria the following year), Herod went to meet Octavian at Rhodes and undertook to be as loyal a friend to him as he had been to Antony. Octavian recognized Herod's worth to Rome and confirmed him in his status as king of the Jews.

Rome found it convenient to control several subject nations in the E part of the empire through client kings, who ranked officially as "friends and allies of the Roman people." These kings were completely dependent on Rome for their power, and were bound to retain the favor of Rome, but they enjoyed considerable freedom in the administration of their kingdoms. See CLIENT KINGS. If they kept the peace within their own boundaries and in adjoining territories, Rome was content: Rome reaped all the advantages from this arrangement, and the client kings incurred all the odium—and where Herod was concerned, there was no lack of odium. But when Herod subdued unruly tribes on his NE frontier, Augustus (the style which Octavian adopted from 27 B.C. on) knew that the best way to keep them pacified was to add them to Herod's kingdom. By the end of Herod's reign his dominions approached the dimensions of the empire of David and Solomon a thousand years before. But, whereas David and Solomon were overlords over weaker rulers, Herod could never forget that he was subject to the overlordship of Augustus, to whom indeed his subjects had to swear an oath of allegiance as well as to Herod himself (Joseph. *Ant.* 17.42).

**C. Herod's Legacy**

When Herod died in 4 B.C., his kingdom was at the disposal of Augustus. In his last will he had bequeathed his kingdom to three of his sons, but the will could not take effect until Augustus confirmed it. Judea and Samaria were bestowed on Herod's son Archelaus (cf. Matt 2:22), who received the title of

ethnarch; Galilee and Peraea (S Transjordan) went to Archelaus' full brother Antipas ("Herod the tetrarch" of the gospel records), while their half-brother Philip received as his tetrarchy the territories which Herod had acquired E and NE of the Sea of Galilee in 23 and 20 B.C.—"the region of Ituraea and Trachonitis" (Luke 3:1).

**1. Sons of Herod.** Archelaus, who inherited his father's ruthlessness but not his statesmanship, proved so intolerable to his subjects in Judea and Samaria that after 9 years they threatened revolt if he were not removed. Augustus accordingly removed him in A.D. 6 and banished him to Gaul. His principality was transformed into a Roman province.

Philip governed his mainly gentile tetrarchy justly and peaceably. He built himself a capital at Banyas, near one of the sources of the Jordan, and named it Caesarea in honor of the emperor; it was known as Caesarea Philippi ("Philip's Caesarea") to distinguish it from other foundations of the same name. When he died in A.D. 34 his tetrarchy was added to the province of Syria.

Antipas was politically the ablest of Herod's sons. He governed Galilee and Peraea in the interests of Rome for over forty years. He vigilantly checked any movement which he suspected might lead to insurrection. His capital was Sepphoris, until he built a new one on the W shore of the Sea of Galilee and called it Tiberias in honor of the Emperor Tiberius. He fell from power in A.D. 39, when his nephew Agrippa I satisfied a grudge by poisoning the mind of Tiberius' successor Gaius (Caligula) against him. Gaius deposed and banished him, and gave his tetrarchy to Agrippa.

**2. Early Prefects of Judea.** When Archelaus was deposed in A.D. 6 his territory was placed under the general supervision of the imperial legate of Syria, with its own governor of equestrian rank. The first event of the new order was the census held by Quirinius, legate of Syria, to determine the amount of tribute which the province of Judea would henceforth have to pay to Rome. The idea that the people of God, living in the holy land, should pay tribute to a pagan ruler was offensive to many Jews, chiefly to Judas of Galilee and his followers, who led a rising against the Romans; this was inevitably put down (Acts 5:37). It is plain from the gospels that the propriety of paying tribute to Caesar remained a burning question in Judea and Jerusalem (Mark 12: 13–17; Luke 23:2).

The first provincial governor of Judea was Coponius. Between A.D. 6 and 41 he and his successors appear to have been called prefects. This is Pontius Pilate's designation in the Caesarea inscription which bears his name; if Tacitus, writing ca. 115–17, calls him a procurator (*Ann.* 15.44.4), that may be because the later governors of Judea (44–66) were called procurators.

The prefects had some cohorts of auxiliary troops under their command: garrisons were maintained at Caesarea (the Mediterranean port founded by Herod ca. 13 B.C., where the prefects set up their official residence), at Jerusalem (in the Antonia fortress NW of the temple area) and elsewhere in the province. If more force was required, the legate of Syria could supply it from the legionary troops at his disposal.

The internal affairs of the Jewish nation were administered by the Sanhedrin, their senate and supreme court. The prefect reserved the right of capital punishment; only for offenses against the temple was this right left in the hands of the Sanhedrin, by a special concession from the Romans. Jerusalem had the status of a holy city; when its sanctity was disregarded by an insensitive prefect, he was apt to incur the emperor's disapproval. Images were not to be introduced within the city limits (for their presence would infringe the second commandment); when Pilate nevertheless brought into the city military standards bearing busts of the emperor, the Jewish authorities protested and Pilate had to remove the busts (*Ant* 18.35; *JW* 2.169).

From A.D. 6 to 41 the prefects of Judea, or occasionally the legates of Syria, appointed and deposed Jewish high priests. Annas, for example, was appointed in A.D. 6 by Quirinius; his son-in-law Caiaphas was appointed in A.D. 15 by the prefect Valerius Gratus, and retained the office until 37, when he was removed by Vitellius, legate of Syria. In addition to his sacral duties, the high priest was president of the Sanhedrin. The prefects maintained further control of the high priests until 37 by keeping their holy vestments under armed guard in the Antonia fortress.

**3. Reign of Herod Agrippa I.** When Gaius (Caligula) succeeded Tiberius as emperor in 37, he made Agrippa, grandson of Herod the Great, ruler of Philip's former tetrarchy, with the title king. When, two

years later, he deposed Antipas, he added Galilee and Peraea to Agrippa's kingdom. When Claudius became emperor in 41, he enlarged Agrippa's kingdom with the addition of Judea and Samaria, so that Agrippa ("Herod the king" of Acts 12:1) ruled a territory almost as extensive as his grandfather's.

Agrippa enjoyed considerable autonomy within his kingdom, but otherwise his authority was strictly limited. When, for example, he convened a conference of neighboring client kings at Tiberias, the legate of Syria ordered it to disband. His Jewish subjects were mostly pleased with his rule, but it lasted only three years: in 44 he died after a short and sudden illness (Acts 12:20–23; *Ant.* 19.343–50).

**D. The Last Procurators of Judea**

Agrippa's seventeen-year-old son, Agrippa the younger ("Agrippa the king" of Acts 25:13), was adjudged too immature to inherit his father's kingdom; Claudius gave him a tiny kingdom in South Lebanon. Judea (with Samaria, Galilee, and Perea) reverted to provincial status.

The governors of Judea from 44 to 66 were called procurators. Unlike the prefects from 6 to 41, they were not allowed to appoint high priests: this privilege was given to the late Agrippa's brother, Herod of Chalcis, and after him to the younger Agrippa.

Cuspius Fadus, first of the new procurators, tried to govern justly, but did not hold his office long. His successor, Tiberius Julius Alexander, an uncle of Philo, the Jewish philosopher of Alexandria, was unacceptable to most Jews because he was an apostate from his ancestral religion. He dealt sternly with insurgents, including two sons of Judas the Galilean, who were crucified by his orders. The next procurator, Ventidius Cumanus (48–52), experienced the difficulties inherent in governing both Jews and Samaritans. He intervened unsatisfactorily in a dispute between the two communities. Both sides appealed to the legate of Syria, who ordered their leaders, with Cumanus himself, to go to Rome and submit to Claudius' judgment. Claudius ruled in the Jews' favor, and Cumanus was deposed and exiled.

Cumanus' successor, Felix, was not a member of the equestrian order, like his predecessors, but a freedman who owed the appointment to the influence of his brother Pallas at the imperial court. Felix's procuratorship was disturbed by repeated outbreaks of insurgency, which his forces put down ruthlessly. A flattering description of his measures is given by Tertullus in his speech for the prosecution when Paul appeared on trial before Felix (Acts 24:2–3). His severity led to a stiffening of anti-Roman resistance in Judea. He was eventually recalled from office (A.D. 59) because of his inept handling of a feud between Jews and gentiles in Caesarea.

At his departure from Judea, Felix left Paul in custody for his successor, Porcius Festus (59–62) to deal with. It was at his appearance before Festus that Paul, exercising his right as a Roman citizen, appealed to have his case transferred from the subordinate provincial court to the supreme imperial tribunal in Rome (Acts 25:11–12).

Of Festus (exceptionally among the governors of Judaea), nothing discreditable is recorded, but he died suddenly after three years in office. Events in the three months' interregnum which followed his death showed how strictly Roman authority was maintained over a province even in the absence of a governor. The high priest Ananus took advantage of the interval which elapsed before the arrival of Festus' successor to assume the right of capital jurisdiction (one of his victims was James the brother of Jesus); this usurpation of an authority which was not his would have brought down Roman reprisals on the province if his action had not been disowned by his being deposed from the high priesthood.

Of the last two procurators of Judea, Albinus and Gessius Florus, nothing good is related. Their insensitivity and ineptitude were largely responsible for the Jewish revolt of 66, but Josephus depicts them as unworthy representatives of imperial Rome, which deserved better agents. Albinus accepted bribes impartially from the Jewish establishment and the insurgents, and on the eve of his departure, he released criminals from prison indiscriminately; Florus' misdeeds made Albinus appear a paragon of justice (*JW* 2.277; *Ant* 20.252). He flaunted his venality even more disgracefully than Albinus, and took savage reprisals when his vexatious treatment of the Jews became more than they could endure. Even Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.10) concedes that it was Florus' malevolence that made Jewish patience snap at last.

When the ensuing revolt quickly developed to a point where Florus could not cope with it, Cestius Gallus, legate of Syria, intervened with the twelfth legion and additional troops. On reaching Jerusalem,

Gallus realized that the reduction of the strongly defended Temple area would require a greater force than he had brought, so he withdrew northward, and his troops were severely mauled by the insurgents on their way through the Pass of Beth-horon.

**E. The War with Rome**

A state of war now existed throughout all Palestine, and supreme authority was vested in Vespasian, the commander-in-chief sent by Nero with adequate forces (three legions and auxiliary troops) to put down the revolt. When, in the strife that followed Nero's death, Vespasian was proclaimed emperor by the eastern legions in July 69, he left for Rome with Jerusalem still unreduced, entrusting the prosecution of the war to his son Titus. When Titus in turn left for Rome, after bringing the siege of Jerusalem to a successful conclusion in September 70, his place as commander-in-chief was taken by Vettenius Cerialis.

**F. Judea under Imperial Legates**

After the war, Judea's status as a Roman province was raised: it was now governed by a legate of senatorial rank, no longer under the general supervision of the governor of Syria, like the earlier prefects and procurators, but directly responsible to the emperor, with legionary troops under his command. These troops belonged at first to one legion only, the tenth *(Fretensis)*; later, between 120 and 130, the sixth legion *(Ferrata)* was also stationed in Judea. The seat of government continued to be Caesarea, now a Roman colony.

The first three legates appear to have been Cerialis, commander of the fifth legion at the siege of Jerusalem; Lucilius Bassus, who stormed the fortresses of Herodium and Machaerus; and Flavius Silva, who reduced Masada. The extant list of legates is incomplete: Lusius Quietus, appointed by Trajan, had put down a Jewish rebellion in Mesopotamia in 115; Tineius Rufus, appointed by Hadrian, was legate when the Bar-Kokhba revolt broke out in 132. The governor under whom this revolt was crushed (135) was Julius Severus, who had earlier been governor of Britain. Thereafter the name of the province was Palestine (Syria Palaestina); Jerusalem was refounded as a Roman colony and renamed Aelia Capitolina.

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**PALESTINE, ARCHAEOLOGY OF.** This entry consists of four articles surveying, respectively, the prehistoric periods, the Bronze and Iron Ages, the Persian period, and the New Testament period.

## *PREHISTORIC PERIODS*

The study of prehistoric Palestine began with surface collections made during the 19th century by travelers who came to look for the country's biblical past. The first excavation was carried out by F. Turville-Petre (1925–1926) in Zuttiyeh and Emireh caves in Wadi Amud near Tiberias. He was followed by D. Garrod, who is known mostly for her excavations in the Carmel caves (1928–1934) and by R. Neuville in rock shelters in the Judean desert (1928–1935). He also dug in Qafzeh cave (near Nazareth) with M. Stekelis, the first Israeli prehistorian, who excavated Jisr Banat Ya‹aqub, a Lower Paleolithic site in the Jordan Valley. From the 1950s through the 1980s, a series of excavations have been conducted in various parts of Israel, and these, with the results of surveys and excavations in Sinai and Jordan, have provided a continuous cultural sequence for the Middle and Upper Paleolithic, Epi-Paleolithic, and Neolithic periods. Our knowledge of the earlier period is still fragmentary—the number of sites is small and they are poorly dated.

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A. Paleolithic
B. Neolithic
1. Pre-Pottery Neolithic (PPN)

2. Pottery Neolithic (PN)
C. Chalcolithic

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**A. Paleolithic**

The earliest occurrences of artifacts testifying of the presence of early hominids in the Near East were found during the excavations at UBEIDIYA, in the central Jordan Valley. The archaeological horizons of this site are embedded in a sequence of lacustrine and fluviatile deposits which is defined at the Ubeidiya Formation. This formation overlies the Erq el-Ahmar Formation, which contained Late Pliocene mollusks and is the earliest limnic formation within the Jordan Rift, which was formed by a series of tectonic movements younger than 3.2 million years. The excavations at Ubeidiya demonstrated the presence of numerous implementiferous layers but only 14 were extensively excavated. The lithic industries are characterized by the high frequencies of core choppers from which flakes were removed and used. Polyhedrons, spheroids, and a few hand axes form the rest of the assemblages. It is worth noting that most core choppers and polyhedrons were made of flint pebbles; spheroids were shaped from limestone, and hand axes were dominantly made of basalt and the rest from flint and limestone. Only the earliest levels at Ubeidiya do not contain bifaces. The assemblages resemble the Oldowan of Africa. However, as the rest of the assemblages includes bifaces, trihedral, or picks even in small numbers, the entire lithic sequence is cautiously attributed to the Early Acheulian.

Over 120 species of mammals, birds, and reptiles were identified. Among the most common mammals are the horse, deer, hippopotamus, elephant, several carnivores, and various rodents (which essentially characterize a forest-steppic environment). The paleoecological reconstruction of the immediate environment of the site encompasses a variety of habitats including an open fresh-water lake, pebbly beaches, thickets with reeds and tamarisk along laguna areas, open grassy meadows, partly forested western slopes of the Jordan Rift with some rocky exposures, a plateau covered with oak forest above the valley, and some dry wadis descending into the lake much as they do today.

The site of Ubeidiya is dated on the basis of faunal correlations. The presence of certain species including an elephant (*Mammuthus meridionalis tamanensis*), rhinocerus (*Dicerorhinus etruscus*), horses (*Equus tabeti*, *Equus caballus*), deer (*Praemegaceros verticornis*), warthog, and wild boar (*Kolpochoerus oldowayensis*) led to a long-distance correlation between the faunal biozones of W and E Europe and E Africa, and indicates the Ubeidiya should be dated to 1.4–1.0 million years ago. This is the best-dated Lower Paleolithic site in the entire Near East and represents one of the stations of *Homo erectus* as members of this genus moved from Africa into Asia and Europe.

Other Lower Paleolithic sites, all of which are classified as Middle or Upper Acheulian, are found in the Jordan Valley or the coastal plain, where considerable amounts of deposits are exposed. The hilly areas are often stripped of any Lower or Middle Pleistocene accumulations.

Evron-Quary is a small site including the remains of some Middle Pleistocene mammals. Its lithic assemblage contains a few large flint bifaces and a small flake industry indicating that part of the assemblages was transported into the site. See EVRON.

JISR BANAT YA‘AQUB, on the banks of the Jordan River and currently under excavation, is known for its assemblages of lava flake cleavers which were made in the same technique so common in Africa. With the cleavers are lava bifaces and a collection of large mammalian fauna, which are best correlated with the European Cromerian fauna. They include elephants, rhinoceroses, hippopotamuses, wild boar, and deer. This site overlies a lava flow dated by Potassium/Argon (K/Ar) to 0.68 million years with a normal magnetic polarity. The age of the site is estimated to be around 0.5 million years old. According to the observations made by M. Stekelis in the 1930s, the upper layers of the site contained Acheulian industry in which the bifaces were mainly made of flint. Two fragments of human femora, without exact provenience, were collected from the dumps created by the deepening of the Jordan River channel, which considerably damaged the site.

Upper Acheulian materials, most of them collected from surface scatters, were located in the various regions of Palestine including the oases such as AZRAQ and Nahal Zin. However, it seems that hominids

during the Lower and Middle Pleistocene were not able to cope with arid or semiarid conditions. Sites located in the deserts, therefore, signify pluvial times. Upper Acheulian assemblages were also excavated in cave sites such as Tabun cave and Umm Qatafa cave. See CARMEL CAVES. The animal bones are often those of large to medium mammals, probably indicating the scavenging activities of humans.

In several sites, the Upper Acheulian is overlain by a lithic industry which has several names. The current term "Mugharan Tradition" was suggested by A. Jelinek, on the basis of his excavations in Tabun cave. Others still use the term "Acheulo-Yabrudian." Both terms mean that this entity contains several facies of the same lithic industry. One "facies" contains thick scrapers of various shapes including canted and transverse forms, often demonstrating considerable resharpening ("Yabrudian"); the second together with the scrapers has varying frequencies of often small, oval or pointed bifaces; and the third "facies" is dominated by blades with a few bifaces and burins ("Amudian"). The first two facies are the most common.

The Acheulo-Yabrudian demonstrates a particular geographic distribution. This entity occupied the N Levant, and its S manifestations are just S of Mt. Carmel and into the Transjordanian plateau. U-series datings suggest that this entity lasted from about 180/150–120 thousand years ago.

Human relics in Acheulo-Yabrudian contexts include the fragmentary skull recovered in Zuttiyeh cave and a broken femur in Tabun cave. The Zuttiyeh skull is morphologically attributed to the late *Homo erectus* or the archaic *Homo sapiens.*

In stratified cave sites such as Yabrud (Anti-Lebanon mountains) or Tabun cave, the Acheulo-Yabrudian is overlain by the Mousterian complex. The long sequence of Tabun cave enabled the general description of three types of lithic industries, mostly made through the use of various methods of the Levallois technique. Each of these is named after the main layer in Tabun as identified by D. Garrod, although A. Jelinek was able to refine the subdivision and accurately relate the industries to their geological deposit.

In "Tabun B"–type industry, the blanks were removed by the unidirectional and convergent methods of Levallois. Short and broad points are common as well as side scrapers. A more "facies" with more blades and elongated points occurs at the lower levels of this entity in Tabun and Kebara caves. See KEBARA CAVE.

The "Tabun C"–type industry is often dominated by radial and bidirectional core reduction methods which were responsible for the production of large oval flakes. However, convergent flaking is present and resulted in the presence of a "facies" with Levallois points (such as in Tabun and Qafzeh caves).

The earliest industry is the "Tabun D" type, which contains numerous elongated points and blades, however, with side scrapers. Among the best examples are Tabun and Abu Sif caves. This type of industry seems to be more common in the Negeb and the S Transjordanian plateau than in the N part of Palestine. The lack of a sufficient number of well-founded dates precludes the establishment of the Mousterian sequence. Thermoluminescence (TL) and Electron Spin Resonance (ESR) dates from Qafzeh cave (averaging 90–100 thousand years for the hominid bearing layers) and Kebara cave (averaging 48–64 thousand years for the entire sequence in the site) support earlier contentions based on rodents' biozones. An estimated age for Tabun D–type industry will be in the order of 130/115–100/95 thousand years. However, the current use of these dating techniques and cross-checking by other radiometric methods makes any suggested conclusions premature.

The current surge of dates was motivated by the renewed discussion on the origins of anatomically modern humans. The number of Mousterian human remains discovered in Palestine is large when compared to other regions of the Old World. Several relics were uncovered by intentional burials such as in Tabun, Skhul, Kebara, Qafzeh, and Amud caves. The entire sample is considered to represent the West Asian Neanderthal (Tabun, Kebara, and Amud) or the archaic *Homo sapiens* (also referred to as "Proto-Cro-Magnon" at Qafzeh, Skhul). While one school views the entire collection as representing the same population, others see the Neanderthals as either emerging from local ancestors or as Europeans migrating into the Levant with the onset of glacial conditions (110 or 75 thousand years ago).

There is ample evidence to indicate that the Mousterian people gathered plant foods and hunted gazelles and fallow deer, although they did not refrain from opportunistic scavenging. The signs of utilization on their tools reflect hide and woodworking, and butchery. Levallois points bear impact marks as they have been employed as spear points. The use of red ocher is rare as is the collection of marine shells. Imported elements in sites include raw material for the production of artifacts and curated tools. Hearths were often rounded or oval, and amorphous ashy deposits are common in well-preserved situations in caves (e.g., Kebara).

The transition from the Middle Paleolithic to the Upper Paleolithic is reflected in the local evolution within the lithic industries. The best example is in Boker Tachtit, a site in Nahal Zin in the Negeb, excavated by A. Marks. The lithic sequence of this site demonstrates a transition in core reduction methods from a mixture of bidirectional Levallois cores and prismatic Upper Paleolithic cores for blade production to simple unidirectional Upper Paleolithic blade cores. The Transitional Industry includes Levallois points removed from blade cores with a bidirectional scar pattern. In Ksar Akil (Lebanon), the Transitional Industry represents an idea similar to that of the Upper Paleolithic. Tool types such as end scrapers are made on Levallois blanks. The specific tool type common in Lebanon, the chamferred blades and flakes, were not found in Palestine except for rare surface occurrences. The Early Upper Paleolithic sequence is therefore characterized by the dominance of tool types such as end scrapers and a few burins. The blanks are either mainly flakes (Emireh cave) or blades (Boker Tachtit).

It is the following industry which signifies the subsequent phases with the dominance of blades/bladelets (often removed from unipolar prismatic cores). This industry was called the Ahmarian Tradition and most of its sites are known from the Negeb and Sinai, but also include the early layers in some caves (e.g., Kebara). The dominant point forms are either the Ksar Akil type or the El-Wad type and retouched bladelets are often a steady component of these assemblages. The entire Ahmarian sequence is radio-carbon dated to 38,000–20/18,000 B.C. when it develops into the Kebaran Complex. Most of the sites indicate a greater mobility than in the Middle Paleolithic, accompanied by the hunting of gazelle, fallow deer, roe deer, and more ibex in the semiarid areas. Intensive use of red ocher is recorded and several grinding tools were also employed in the preparation of the color. Bone tools are quite rare and the manipulation of marine shells began around 20,000 B.C.

The Ahmarian sequence in the cave sites is interrupted by the distinct appearance of the first Aurignacian elements, such as carinated and nosed scrapers and later by the dominance of an industry essentially produced on flakes. It is this industry which is currently named Levantine Aurignacian.

With carinated and nosed scrapers, the Levantine Aurignacian assemblages contain El-Wad points which are also present in Ahmarian assemblages. However, rich bone and antler objects add to the distinction of this entity. Most of these objects were made by cutting and shaving with flint knives. Two split base points, a typical object in the European Aurignacian, were found in Kebara and El-Quseir caves. Two incised slabs, found in Hayonim cave, may represent artistic expressions.

The Levantine Aurignacian is only known from the N and central Levant and is not present in the Negeb or S Jordan. It is therefore considered as the archaeological expression of a social unit foreign to the Near East, which arrived in the region and lasted for some time between 32,000–28,000 B.C.

The following phase of the Upper Paleolithic is signified by an abundance of scrapers and burins (in several sites the latter is the dominant tool type) and it seems that in most assemblages, these tool types are made on flakes. In some sites the burins, especially those on truncation, dominate the assemblage. It is in this type of site (Nahal Ein Gev I, Jordan Valley) that a flexed burial of a woman, 30–35 years old, was uncovered.

The subsequent industries (ca. 25/24,000–20/18,000 B.C.) are characterized by the proliferation of blade/bladelet production, and microlithic tools become the dominant forms. This phase, which can be referred to as the Late Ahmarian, heralds the onset of what is known as the Kebaran cultural complex (ca. 18,000–12,500 B.C.), which encompasses a variety of assemblage types. The changes in the form of the microliths leads from nongeometric forms such as the obliquely truncated bladelets (Kebara points) to the

elongated trapeze-rectangles, which characterize the ensuing cultural complex known as the Geometric Kebaran (ca. 12,500–10,800/10,500 B.C.).

The Kebaran sites are generally small and located in lower altitudes. Most are known from surface collections and limited excavations. The largest excavation is in Ein Gev I (on the E shores of Lake Tiberias), where a shallow basin dug into the sandy deposits which formed the foundations of a small hut (5–7 m in diameter) was exposed. Repeated occupations resulted in considerable accumulation of flints and animal bones (mainly deer and gazelle). A burial of a 30–35-year-old woman was found under one of the levels in the center of the hut. A mortar and several pestles were among the domestic utensils. Recent excavations in Urkan er-Rubb II, a site in the lower Jordan Valley, retrieved the only art object from this period—a flat pebble which bears several incised series of the "ladder" pattern.

The climatic conditions during the Kebaran Complex were cold and dry (the Late Glacial Maximum) and human occupations were limited to the belt of Mediterranean vegetation and margins of the steppic Irano-Turanian belt including some of the desert oases. The subsequent climatic amelioration which brought the increase in temperatures and precipitation enabled the Geometric Kebaran groups to inhabit many of the formerly arid areas. Moreover, the spatial expansion of vegetal and animal resources tempted groups from neighboring regions to move in. Such is the archaeological complex of the Mushabian, mainly known from Sinai; which is considered to be a penetration from NE Africa. Other groups moved into the inland basins on the Transjordanian plateau such as the Azraq.

The general increase in population within the entire region and the different lithic knapping traditions imported into Palestine left a variety of assemblages which cannot easily be clustered under one or two taxons. However, the common denominators are the microliths, mostly the trapeze-rectangles, the triangles, and the lunates. In terms of lifeways, these were basically small groups of hunter-gatherers who left behind ample evidence for reconstructing small campsites with a hearth and a particular distribution of the dumps. The larger sites are either palimpsests of reoccupations where deflation and erosion obliterated many features or sites where rapid accumulation of sand and loam today enables the identification of discrete features such as hearths and activity areas. The consumption of seeds, grain, acorns, and nuts is best recorded in the use of pounding and some grinding tools such as mortars, pestles, and mullers. Marine shells were brought mainly from the closest shoreline—either the Mediterranean or the Red Sea. From the large Geometric Kebaran site of Neveh David (Mt. Carmel), two burials with fragmentary skeletons are known.

The settlement pattern reconstructed for the Epi-Paleolithic groups depends on the available resources and their seasonal distribution. On the whole, lowlands were better suited for winter exploitation while highlands were better suited for summer occupations. Water sources are abundant in the hills of Palestine (including the Transjordanian plateau) and the dry summer had no effects on the availability of this resource. Over one hundred species of plants can be exploited during the year and the stress period is often from November through late February. The common medium- to small-size mammal is the gazelle (mainly *Gazella gazella*), which is a stationary mammal with a very small home range territory (1–5 $km^2$). Such an availability, reliability, and accessibility of resources would encourage a semisedentary settlement pattern with some storage facilities.

A short and abrupt climatic crisis, probably around 10,000/10,500 B.C. was responsible for the disruption of the socioeconomic situation and caused some groups to resolve the seasonal shortages by settling down on the ecotone of the Mediterranean open forest and the steppic belt or on the boundary between the coastal plain and the hilly areas. This archaeological entity known as the Natufian culture has a distribution of sites which avoids the arid belt.

The Natufian large sites (or base camps) are up to 5,000 $m^2$ and contain rounded and oval houses (e.g., Ain Mallaha, Hayonim Cave and Terrace, Wadi Hammeh 26), burials, and rich lithic and bone industries. The houses are often dug into the ground and the walls of undressed stone are slanting inside. In one large house in Ain Mallaha a series of postholes were uncovered. There is no evidence for the use of mudbricks by the Natufian and it seems that the superstructures of the houses were built of organic substances.

Natufian burials display various styles in disposition of the dead. Collective burials are more common in the Early Natufian and positions are supine, semiflexed, and flexed. In rare cases, skulls of adults were intentionally removed. The late Natufian sites contain more single burials in flexed position. Grave goods possibly indicate social differentiation. They include body decorations made of bone and stone pendants, shell beads, often using the various species of *Dentalium* and rarely some mundane tools. The original places of the decorations were probably as head-gear, garments, and belts. Of special importance is the burial of a woman with a young dog exposed in Ain Mallaha, indicating the domestication of this mammal.

The lithic industry of the Natufian culture often demonstrates a proliferation of geometric microliths, especially of lunates shaped by either Helwan or abrupt retouch. Sickle blades, burins, perforators, and a few delicate, elongated picks make for the rest of the assemblages. The production of small flakes and short bladelets as blanks for tools differentiate the Natufian from the former cultural complexes. The use of microburin technique to obtain oblique snaps possibly indicates the local tradition of certain groups which lasted through the two phases of the Natufian. However, Helwan retouch (a bifacial retouch on lunates) is more common in the Early Natufian. On the whole, the Early Natufian is better known from some large sites and small ephemeral occupations in the semiarid zone while the Late Natufian is poorly known from a few sites such as NAHAL OREN Terrace (Mt. Carmel), Salibiya I (Jordan Valley), Rosh Zin, and Rosh Horesha (Negeb).

Natufian art expressions are more numerous than in any of the preceding periods. They include the carving of heads of ungulates on sickle hafts, limestone figurines schematically representing humans and animals, zigzag and meander decorations incised or carved on domestic objects, and some incised slabs where the ladder pattern is dominant. The sudden increase in artistic activity in the Natufian is explained by the need to increase symbolic behavior to maintain social cohesion. Natufian sites also differ from each other by types of ornaments, especially the arrangements of *Dentalium* shells or common bone beads. It seems that body decorations were the salient means of group identification.

The Natufian economy was based on intensive collection of cereals (which left its marks as a special luster on the sickle blades) although some scholars have suggested that during this period emerged the earliest farmers. Unfortunately, plant remains in Natufian sites are scarce, mainly owing to bad preservation in Mediterranean soils. For pounding and grinding, they employed mortars and pestles which were made either of limestone or basalt. Hunting continued, and at some sites, the decrease in gazelle size is interpreted as overexploitation. Otherwise, the range of hunted game and collected reptiles or trapped water fowl is wider than in any previous Epi-Paleolithic entity. It seems that the Natufian subsistence strategy had responded to the increase of basic group size and sedentarism (which leads to increase of population). Even if Natufian groups were not permanently annually sedentary, the investments in building structures in the sites reflects a tight pattern of anticipated mobility.

The evidence for sedentarism is derived from the proliferation of commensals, such as house mice and house sparrows, in some Natufian sites. Recent chromosomal studies, as well as metrical analysis of living wild and domestic forms of house mice, confirm the identification of the Natufian mice populations as including both forms of this self-domesticated rodent.

The study of Natufian skeletal remains indicates that they were generally healthy, with a stature of 153–160 cm (i.e., ca. 60–62.5 inches), a life expectancy of 32–35, and about 20–30 percent mortality of children 0–12 years old. Teeth attrition demonstrates (except for the Kebara sample) the eating of ground and pounded substances. Thus Natufian economy seems to have been a mixture of hunting and gathering of a large variety of foodstuffs which enabled the survival of larger groups. During the 11th millennium B.C. (based on uncalibrated C14 dates), the Near Eastern climate returned to cold and dry conditions. Natufian adaptations were slightly changed, but the most prominent example of efforts to retain the traditional lifeways are the archaeological remains of Late Natufian groups in the Negeb and N Sinai, who developed some special regional attributes and are therefore known as the Harifian culture.

The Harifian sites demonstrate a well-defined distribution. The small sites (sometimes less than 100 $m^2$) are dispersed in the lowlands (which in N Sinai and the W Negeb are covered with sand dunes). The

larger sites were uncovered in the highlands of the Negeb, on the plateau of Har Harif and its vicinity which lies 1000 m above sea level. The sites contain semisubterranean buildings, often lined with stones. Mortars, pestles, grinding stones, and slabs with numerous cupholes are found either inside the huts or around them. The lithic industry is Natufian-like with numerous microliths dominated by lunates but with the inclusion of what seems to be a desertic projectile point—the Harif point. This is a microlithic point, with a rhomboid form, modified by abrupt retouch and microburin technique. Animal bones include mainly gazelle, ibex, and hare. No plant remains were recovered and charcoal samples indicate a similar vegetation, probably with a better cover of *Pistacia atlantica.* Radiocarbon dates indicate a distribution between 8700 and 8000 B.C. (uncalibrated). Taking into account the problems of "dead wood," typical to desertic sites, these dates could be interpreted as indicating the presence of humans during only one or two centuries.

**B. Neolithic**

The Natufian culture marks an important threshold in the cultural and social evolution in the Levant. The emergence of sedentary and semisedentary communities in which the social unit was larger than the smaller Paleolithic band demonstrates a change in human organization. Under the climatic circumstances prevailing in the Levant around 8000 B.C., with the increase of annual precipitation and an additional rise of temperatures, the adoption of systematic harvesting of natural stands of cereals led to the establishment of permanent farming communities. In these new and large villages, such as Jericho, Netiv Hagdud, and Gilgal (in the Jordan Valley), cultivation of barley was practiced. See GILGAL (PREHISTORIC SITES).

Archaeological observations dated to the Early Neolithic period (8300/8000–6000/5800 B.C.) provide ample evidence for the contemporary presence of farmer-hunters and hunter-gatherers in the S Levant. The sown land, which is a narrow "corridor" stretching from the Damascus basin through the W edges of the Transjordanian plateau into the Jordan Valley and the Edom Mountains (S Transjordan), was inhabited by the earliest cultivators. The coastal belt and the deserts were occupied by hunter-gatherers, who continued to survive while interacting with the villagers. While agriculture as a subsistence strategy expanded, the Lebanese mountains and the arid region remained the primary territories of hunter-gatherers, who continued their mutual exchange (food and commodities) with the farming communities.

Current researchers use a variety of archaeological terms to describe the material culture of the Neolithic period. Terms such as "Pre-Pottery Neolithic" or "Aceramic Neolithic" interchange with Archaic or Early Neolithic. The use of chronological terms such as Period 1, 2, 3, … etc., is based on C14 dates which are currently subject to calibration. In order to keep the basic terminology in line with those used in Palestinian archaeology, the terminology proposed by K. Kenyon during her excavations in Jericho will be used.

**1. Pre-Pottery Neolithic (PPN).** The number of sites excavated and studied from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (PPNA) (8300–7300/7200 B.C.) is small. Most of them were found in the Jordan Valley or the adjacent slopes of the Jordan Rift. On the basis of lithic studies, this period was subdivided into two phases—the Khiamian and the Sultanian. The Khiamian lithic assemblages contain moderate frequencies of microliths (mainly lunates and retouched bladelets), perforators, burins, some sickle blades, and arrowheads mostly of the El-Khiam type (a small projectile with bilateral notches near the often retouched base). The Sultanian contains the same components with the addition of axes-adzes and polished celts. Unfortunately the Khiamian is known from only one unicultural site (Salibiya IX) and from two sites where the Khiamian assemblages are partially mixed with the underlying Late Natufian industry (HATULA, El-Khiam Terrace). The Sultanian is well represented in Jericho, Netiv Hagdud, Gilgal, Gesher, and Hatula. It is possible that the Khiamian, as an archaeological phenomenon, represents the actual transition from the Natufian to the Early Neolithic, and the overlapping radiocarbon dates only indicate that this transition was a rather rapid change, which deserves the definition of the "Neolithic Revolution."

An additional aspect of this major cultural change is site size. PPNA sites vary in size from 2.5 hectares (Jericho), through 1.5–1.0 (Netiv Hagdud and Gilgal), to the smallest occupations of this period in the desert, which hardly cover 100 $m^2$. Minimal demographic estimates would suggest a population of 150

persons per hectare and thus a large village like Jericho probably had a population of about 450 people. If such minimal estimates are correct, then the largest villages held a sufficiently large social unit to maintain their biological vitality. Such a group size is a significant departure from the previous Paleolithic period.

The Sultanian architectural remains are best known from the excavations of JERICHO. The so-called "town wall," built of undressed stones 1.8 m thick and 3.5 m high, was exposed in the W trench. In front of the wall was a 3.5 m wide shallow ditch dug into the chalky bedrock. Behind the wall, inside the settlement, is the rounded tower, 8.5 m high, built of stone and covered with a thin layer of mud, with a small door and interior staircase with 22 steps. On the N side of the tower, a few large and deep rounded structures built of mudbricks were exposed. The "town wall" according to Kenyon's observations, was removed by erosion on the N end of the village and is only 1.6 m thick on the S end. The conventional interpretation is that the wall and the tower were part of a fortification system against human aggression. The ample evidence for the role of erosion evidenced in Jericho and neighboring sites in the lower Jordan Valley led to the alternative interpretation that the defense system was built in order to protect the settlement from flooding. Apparently, the PPNA period was wetter and slightly warmer than the preceding millennium. These conditions secured the success of the early farming communities, which otherwise under climatic conditions similar to today's, with frequent droughts, would have retreated to better-watered areas.

Domestic architecture is represented in Jericho, Netiv Hagdud, Gilgal, and Hatula in oval houses, the foundations of which were dug into earlier levels, which were lined with stones and a superstructure built of mudbricks. The shape of the roof is somewhat unclear, but some collapsed examples indicate that they had a flat roof with wooden beams and mats covered with mud. On the floors there is evidence for the use of mud and plaster. Mats covered the floors. Hearths were embedded into the floors, generally forming a sort of a shallow, well-paved basin. Some of the houses or structures were rounded with a smaller diameter of about 3 m. The walls were built of mudbricks which often have a planoconvex cross-section. Mud as a building material was brought from the vicinity of the site and thus "foreign elements" such as flints from earlier sites were incorporated in the site's deposits.

While burials are absent from some sites (such as Gilgal), they are otherwise found in various places, including situations which are often interpreted as under the floors. It is conceivable that some burials took place in open spaces which were later built up. Building required leveling and thus some burials, or storage installations, stratigraphically occur under the floors. Burials are generally single and only from adults were skulls removed while leaving the jaw in place. No grave goods were encountered in any of the sites.

The lithic industry of the PPNA is generally characterized by the production of blades, bladelets, and flakes. It differs from the Natufian by having much lower frequencies of microliths even in the desertic sites such as Abu Madi I in S Sinai. Among the retouched pieces, there are small projectiles such as El-Khiam point and a few others with a small tang or with a triangular shape. Perforators are common as are burins. Sickle blades are often plain and a few bear bifacial retouch and are known as Beit Ta'amir knives. The group of bifacial tools include axes-adzes (in which the transverse removal shaped the working edge; i.e., Tahunian axes), chisels (with narrow working edges), and picks. Polished celts made of basalt and limestone occur as well. In the desert sites, sickle blades and bifacial tools are missing. Instead higher frequencies of scrapers were noted. Retouched or used blades are common in most of PPNA assemblages.

Art objects are quite rare, but small figurines exist, which are made either of limestone or clay. A common type is the sitting female (most notably known from Netiv Hagdud), a female with a string skirt and birds (Gilgal), and schematic figurines of kneeling females (?) from Salibiya IX and Nahal Oren. It seems that the small number of excavations and the small areas dug in the sites are responsible for the poor sample of artistic representations.

The economic basis of the Sultanian villages was a mixture of cultivation of emmer (in the Damascus plain), barley, and legumes. Fruits and wild seeds, including nuts and acorns, were collected. Gazelle and

foxes were the main game animals in the Jordan Valley with some fallow deer, bovids, and hare. Water fowl trapping was a major seasonal activity for the collectors in the village, and several species of ducks are evident. The health of the population (as inferred from the skeletal remains) was comparable to that of the earlier Natufian period. Similar frequencies of child burials are recorded. In some cases in Jericho skull deformation was practiced *in vivo.*

It is impossible to separate the cultural changes that took place in Palestine from those of the entire Levant. Although agriculture as a subsistence strategy was first established in the central and S Levant, it rapidly diffused northward and the ensuing technological changes in the N Levant began by the mid-8th millennium B.C. (uncalibrated).

The following period, the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (PPNB; ca. 7300/7200–6000/5800 B.C. uncalibrated), is better known from Palestine and other parts of the Near East. It was recently suggested, on the basis of stratigraphic evidence from AIN GHAZAL (near Amman) to name the latest portion of this period as PPNC.

Climatic conditions during the PPNB were wetter than in the PPNA, at least until the second half of the 7th millennium B.C. (uncalibrated). Site size increased considerably, especially when the sizes of the largest sites of each period are compared. The surface size of Ain Ghazal is 12 hectares, Basta is 12 hectares, Beisamoun is 12, Yiftahel is 4, and Jericho is 2.5 hectares. The largest sites are about five times larger than the largest known PPNA sites. Even if the increase in size took only 500 years, it still reflects a population increase which is evident not only in the lusher areas of Palestine, but also in the desert region in the Negeb and Edom, where relatively large PPNB sites were discovered and several were excavated.

The change in domestic architecture, which among other archaeological criteria led K. Kenyon to propose her subdivision, is neatly expressed in the houses with a rectangular plan exposed in Jericho, Ain Ghazal, YIFTAHEL, Munhatta, Beisamoun, and Nahal Oren. The excavations in Beidha demonstrate that the appearance of rectangular houses was preceded, at least at this site, by polygonal buildings, where the roof was supported with wooden posts. The use of lime plaster for building floors and coating lower portions of the walls, as well as storage facilities, is recorded from various sites. This practice is not evenly distributed within the sites, and is therefore understood to indicate socioeconomic hierarchies. In Ain Ghazal, the preservation of postholes implies the use of timber, and in the later phases of the site's history, the diminishing of this resource is reflected in smaller spaces and fewer posts.

PPNB burials are found under floors and in open spaces. Skulls of adults were removed and in a few sites nests of skulls were found. Better known are the plastered skulls uncovered in Jericho, Beisamoun, and Ain Ghazal (as well as Tel Ramad in S Syria). An additional method of treating skulls was discovered in Nahal Hemar cave (Judean Desert), where the skulls were modeled in asphalt. There is a consensus that the special treatment of the skulls is a direct evidence for the "ancestors' cult." This is possibly supported by the important discovery of a cache of plaster statues of humans in Ain Ghazal. Similar, but fragmentary, remains were also found in Jericho and Nahal Hemar cave. The human statues, made of lime plaster and modeled on reed skeletons, represent males and females. The fashion in which they were constructed recalls the Mesopotamian legend of the creation of man, perhaps indicating the antiquity of this myth.

Additional insights on either domestic or cultic activities are gained from the numerous clay figurines which represent pregnant females, males, and animals, including oxen, sheep, goat, as well as some wild species. A cache of human figurines, stone masks, modeled skulls, and numerous domestic objects in a small, dark cave in Nahal Hemar in the S end of the Judean Desert indicates that ritual activities also encompassed special sites which perhaps marked territorial ownership.

The PPNB lithic industry differs from its predecessor by the heavy reliance on blade removal from bipolar cores, which in their more elaborate, elongated form, are known as "naviform" cores. The punched blades were shaped into arrowheads, perforators, burins, sickle blades, or simply used in their original shape. The typological changes in arrowhead types proved to be chronological indicators for the subdivision of the PPNB and for marking prehistoric provinces within the Levant. The earliest types are

the Helwan point (with bilateral notches and a tang) and the Jericho point (with wings or clear-cut shoulders and a tang) and the later types are the Byblos point (leaf-shaped with a tang) and the Amuq point (leaf-shaped). The two latter types are often shaped by flat pressure flaking.

Sickle blades are either plain blades (which bear the luster resulting from the harvesting of cereals) or elongated, tanged blades, often finely serrated. A complete curved sickle made from a bent ibex horn, in which were three blades which had been attached with resin, was found in Nahal Hemar cave. Sickle blades are generally found only in sites within the sown land.

Burins are common in many, but not all, sites. In Transjordan there is a geographic province which stretches into the Syro-Arabian desert where burins are the most common tool type.

The group of bifacial tools including axe-adzes and celts see some changes through time. While in most early and middle PPNB sites, the Tahunian (tranchet) types dominate, there is a shift in the later PPNB to objects with rounded retouched or polished working edges. Triangular shapes increase in frequency. Desert sites contain none of these types, which seem to have been used in cutting and working wood and sometimes served as hoes.

Imported raw materials such as obsidian, which had first appeared in the Late Natufian, are more frequent in some PPNB sites although not necessarily at the large ones. The mechanism responsible for the distribution of this commodity is still poorly understood. Other exotic raw materials include greenstone (serpentine, malachite, rosasite), from which beads and pendants were made. Marine shells were collected on the shores of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea and distributed through the Levant. It seems that cowries *(Cyprea sp.)* and *Glycimerys sp.* are among the commonly used species. The preference for these forms marks a departure from the more *Dentalium*-shell-dominated assemblages of the Natufian and the PPNA.

The PPNB village economy was based on cultivation of domesticated species of cereals and legumes with the continuous collection of wild fruits and seeds. Hunting gazelles, along with a few roe deer, fallow deer, wild boar, and hare was supplemented in the villages (which were located within the core area of farming communities) by raising goats and sheep.

The domestication of goats and sheep is a controversial issue. While wild goats occur in the faunal collections of Epi-Paleolithic and PPNA sites (although in very small percentages), wild sheep were apparently absent from the original wild fauna of the Levant. Goats and sheep were most of the hunted game in the Zagros Mountains since Mousterian times. There is ample evidence to indicate that the domestication of these herd mammals took place during the Early Neolithic period in the Zagros region and perhaps in the E Taurus. The exchange networks which enabled the incorporation of domesticated cereals into the Zagros economy were probably responsible for the introduction of goats and sheep into the Levant. Thus, the shift in the faunal spectra is reflected in the PPNB sites, which in Palestine are located within the "corridor" which runs from the Damascus basin through the Jordan Valley. It is only in later times that both the W hilly slopes of Palestine and the desert fringes in Transjordan acquired the domesticated species.

In the late stages of the PPNB, new domestic objects were introduced. These products are known as the "White Ware," which is made of a mixture of ashes and plaster. The forms include bowls, open jars, and bowls on pedestals. Most of those are known from N Syria, and they rarely occur in Palestinian contexts.

The end of the PPNB period is not as clear as its beginning. Many sites were abandoned. The abandonment of villages either during the PPNA or the PPNB is an issue which has never received an adequate treatment. Suggested reasons which might cause a population to move out or not to return to their home base may include group aggression, salinization of fields, mortal epidemic, and temptation to move to an empty and a better environment. The "collapse" of the PPNB in the S Levant is known to have been a major break or an abrupt change of settlement pattern. In the site of Ain Ghazal, where this phase is named "PPNC," there is sufficient evidence to demonstrate the presence of two cultural changes. The first is signified by a change in the lithic industry and mortuary practices. The main core reduction strategy was based on the production of flakes and to a lesser extent of blades. The dominant tool types

are burins, with low frequencies of other formal tool types including arrowheads. Burials were less organized and with no evidence for skull removal.

The second cultural change brought about the establishment of what is known as the Yarmukian culture, the assemblages of which contain ceremics. This introduction is part of the definition of the following period.

**2. Pottery Neolithic (PN).** The Pottery Neolithic is a poorly known period, mainly because of a major change in settlement pattern. This change is archaeologically expressed in two ways: (1) in stratified sites the PN remains are found in numerous pits of various sizes which often penetrated and disturbed the wealth of PPNB rectangular buildings (Jericho, Munhatta, Beisamoun, etc.), and (2) many new settlements were established either in the Jordan Valley (Sha'ar Hagolan) or along the coastal plain. Most of these were abandoned after some time and their remains provide excellent examples of unicultural assemblages.

The invention of pottery and its introduction to domestic use took place first in the N Levant and later in Palestine. As mentioned above, the "White Ware" is made of lime plaster mixed with ashes. Clay pots outnumber in Palestine the White Ware products and the common forms are simple, including jars, cooking pots, and bowls. These were decorated first with chevron pattern and red paint and later by painting alone.

The economy of this period is based on the cultivation of cereals and legumes, herding goats and sheep, raising pigs in the more humid parts of the country, and some cattle. The activities of pastoral nomads, who partially subsisted on herding goats, are reflected in numerous desert sites. These groups continued to hunt and were possibly exchanging meat and other products for carbohydrates with the farming communities.

Evidence for burials is still rare, but indicates a shift from the earlier pattern. One burial under a small built-up cairn of rocks was exposed in Sha'ar Hagolan. Single flexed and semiflexed burials were found in other sites. Further indications concerning belief systems are reflected in clay and stone figurines. The Yarmukian culture, represented to date in Sha'ar Hagolan, Munhatta, Ain Ghazal, and Jericho, is famous for the female clay figurines which depict seated women, with tall headgear and a mask on the face, but exposed breasts. Schematic images of the same female were incised on river pebbles. The minimal representations kept the slanted eyes or the female organ. Additional patterns on the pebbles are the network and series of parallel lines.

Temples or shrines are as yet unknown from the more sedentary sites, but occur mainly in the desert sites. An open temple found in Biqat Uvda has an open courtyard and a small enclosure in one corner with miniature steles of undressed stones. Two small pebble-coated pits, which contained charcoal, were uncovered in the courtyard. Rock figures were found on the surface just outside the shrine. These were made by planting small stones which depict a series of panthers and one antelope. Panthers, more than lions, seem to have been part of the animal imagery of the Neolithic religious world.

The distribution of the PN sites in Palestine reflects a settlement pattern which was based on cultivation and herding with seasonal mobility. The investment in the more permanent sites seems to have been less than in the PPNB period and probably points toward a less anticipated pattern of mobility. It might reflect the unstable climatic conditions which by the mid-Holocene were changing from a stable pattern of precipitation to one which resembles much more today's unpredictable pattern.

**C. Chalcolithic**

The Chalcolithic period (5000–3500 B.C. calibrated) marks the establishment of a typical Mediterranean socioeconomic structure based on large and small communities, which practiced cultivation of cereals and legumes, herding goats and sheep, some cattle, raising pigs in suitable areas, and tending a variety of fruit trees. There are some regional subcultures, and in a few cases several scholars view them as chiefdoms. In the arid region, both pastoral nomads and seasonal herders from villages exploited the natural pastures maintaining constant interaction.

Several cultural attributes characterize the subregions and are archaeologically expressed in particular architectural remains and pottery types. It should be stressed that, contemporaneously, major urban

centers were already established in Mesopotamia and the emergence of large human organizations—chiefdoms and states—was underway. By the end of the Chalcolithic period in Palestine, writing systems were employed in Mesopotamia and Egypt, and there is ample evidence of connections between the Sumerians and the Egyptians.

The Chalcolithic period suffers from the same taxonomical problems as almost every other archaeological period. Its earliest phase, which certain scholars still call "Late Pottery Neolithic" (spanning the last third of the 6th and first half of the 5th millennia B.C.) is sometimes known as the "Wadi Rabah culture," the sites of which were found only in N and central Palestine. Most of the sites of the second half of the 5th and first half of the 4th millennia contain the remains of the Ghassulian culture (named after Tuleilat el-Ghassul, a site in the lower Jordan Valley, across the river, and E of Jericho). However, in the Negeb, which is one of the most studied subregions, a sequence of local entities, beginning with the Qatifian (ca. 4500–4000 B.C.), followed by the Besor phase and then the Beer-sheba-Ghassulian culture (ca. 4000–3500/3300 B.C.) was suggested. See RABAH, WADI; GHASSUL, TULEILAT EL-; and BEER-SHEBA.

The climate of the Chalcolithic period was and is a subject for debate. The palynological evidence and the deposition of the loess in the N Negeb suggest a humid period with considerable precipitation in the S. The plant remains from the site of Shiqmim were interpreted as indicating a climate similar to today's. However, it is difficult to understand how the Negeb sites had flourished, while subsisting on farming and herding in an area with repeated droughts without economic support from a central political power. A low-level regional social organization (i.e., chiefdom) is inferred from the archaeological remains. Hence, favorable environmental conditions seem essential for the survival of semidesert Chalcolithic communities during the 4th millennium B.C.

The Wadi Rabah culture, considered here as Early Chalcolithic, is known from sites in the Upper Jordan Valley, the coastal plain, Mt. Carmel area, and the lower Galilee. It is characterized by the pottery known as Dark Face Burnished Ware. Some of the pots are angular, with red, brown, and black color and decorated with incisions, fingerprints, shell prints, and clay relief. Other types include the bow-rim jars. In some sites evidence for the influence of the Halafian culture (known from N Syria and S Turkey) is inferred from the ornamentation of the pots with geometric bicolor designs. The lithic artifacts are shaped in the forms which were common during the Chalcolithic period such as backed sickle blades, adzes with planoconvex longitudinal cross-section, robust perforators, cortical scrapers, and the lack of arrowheads.

The houses exposed in small excavations are either square or rectangular, built on stone foundations. Similar structures were uncovered in other sites which are not included in the Wadi Rabah entity, in other parts of the country. Additional common attributes are within the economic realm. All sites were those of farmers and herders. Because of the similarity of the material remains with the following millennium, the only reliable way to differentiate them is with C14 dates. It seems that communities of pastoral nomads continued to evolve in the Near Eastern desert, and still relied on herding goats and sheep. Most scholars view as autochtonic the development of Palestinian society from this phase into the Late Chalcolithic.

The Ghassulian culture is better known and is represented by a wide distribution of sites, mostly villages and hamlets of various sizes, often located on alluvial terraces. The basic house plan was the broad room type, with the entrance in one of the long walls of the house. Sometimes it is subdivided with one or two small rooms at the ends. Storage installations were built inside the houses or in the courtyards (which in Tuleilat el-Ghassul were encircled). In the Beer-sheba region subterranean rooms and tunnels, carved into the loess, were exposed by J. Perrot and other archaeologists. These unusual features ignited debate regarding their function. However, the objects found inside the underground rooms and tunnels indicate that they were intentionally closed, but the inhabitants never returned to retrieve their belongings.

Special buildings or compounds either (1) occupied a special topographic location, such as the temple of En Gedi, (2) were specifically decorated, such as the house with the frescos in Ghassul, or (3) contained special vessels and artifacts like the one in Gilat. The presence of temples or shrines is not a major change, as already noted above. This phenomenon began at least during the Neolithic when social cohesion among farming communities required a more permanent establishment. In this context the hoard

found in a cave in Nahal Mishmar should be mentioned. The large collection of cult objects which include standards decorated with maceheads, animal figures, scepters, "crowns," decorated animal figures, doors (which resemble the ossuaries), standards, carved hippo tusks with numerous well-oriented holes, and numerous maceheads was related to the En Gedi temple. However, petrographic analysis of pottery derived from the two sites did not confirm this hypothesis. A similar analysis illuminated the important place of the temple exposed in Gilat, one of the Negeb village sites where two ceramic figurines were uncovered. One of these depicts a seated woman carrying a churn on her head while the other one is a ram with three cornets on its back. To the general description of cultic objects one should add the ivory male and female human figurines from Bir es-Safadi, near Beer-sheba, the schematic basalt face carvings known as the pillar statues from the Golan, and the numerous "fiddle" figurines, found in various sites, which sometimes were made of foreign metamorphic rocks and were brought into Palestine.

Mortuary practices are signified by the establishment of cemeteries which lie outside the habitation area. Such cemeteries with circular graves or tumuli were exposed in Adeimeh and near Shiqmim. Others were found in dug-out caves in the kurkar (sandstone) ridges in the coastal plain. Clay ossuaries are an additional attribute of this culture. They have two basic forms, either circular like a jar with an opening at the top, or rectangular like a "house" with an opening in the narrow side. Both types were interpreted by M. Dunan as representing silos. The "house"-type ossuaries often have legs and a door in the upper part of the narrow side, a trait which resembles silos much more than the typical broad-room Chalcolithic house. Some of the ossuaries were decorated on the front pediment with attributes (e.g., horns) similar to those common on the Golan pillar statues or in the hoard of Nahal Mishmar, thus indicating a common belief system.

Craft specialization in the Chalcolithic is reflected in the lithic, pottery, and especially the metal assemblages. Among the lithics, the frequent tool types are adzes with the planoconvex cross sections, the scrapers on tabular flint (which seem to have been a trade item), backed sickle blades, some microlithic tools, and hammer stones. A special tool type is the starlike, perforated, bifacially retouched disk.

Ceramic technology was marked by the introduction of the slow wheel (tournette), the production of V-shaped bowls, the cornets (which are the hallmark of the Ghassulian), the churns (used for butter production), and a variety of pots including large pithoi, holemouth vessels, globular jars, basins, footed vessels, and vessels with multiple handles. Clay was used to construct large storage jars (i.e., pithoi) as tall as 2 m; these were decorated with rope designs. Pottery decorations, however, were minimal and the "hanging triangle," red painted stripes, and rope motifs in relief seem to have been the common ones.

Two other raw materials received careful attention by the artisans of this period—basalt and ivory. Basalt objects included, besides the traditional mortars, grinding bowls, pestles, handstones, fenestrated bowl stands, delicately shaped V-shaped bowls, and pillar statues. Ivory craftsmanship was well done and a workshop was discovered in Bir es-Safadi (Beer-sheba). Both elephant and hippopotamus tusks were exploited. Additional raw materials, which have been used, include mined malachite and turquoise which were quarried in Feinan, TIMNA (PLACE), and S Sinai. In addition to making beads and pendants, the Chalcolithic period is marked by the development of metallurgy.

The main evidence concerning the metallurgical achievements of this period come from the hoard of Nahal Mishmar cave (Judean Desert). The spectrographic analysis indicates that the mace heads and probably most of the elaborate forms were made by the lost wax-casting technique. Copper mines and smelting installations were uncovered in Timnaʿ, but the full picture of the entire exploitation system (including investment in labor, food supplies for workers, exact sourcing, etc.) is not well documented.

The transition from the Chalcolithic to the Early Bronze period is again not a simple subject for discussion. However, by the end of this social process, urban centers emerged in Palestine and thus marked another threshold in the history of the country.

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OFER BAR-YOSEF

## *BRONZE AND IRON AGES*

Ancient Palestine was geographically a small country, situated astride the narrow coastal "land bridge" between Egypt and Syro-Mesopotamia. Its vulnerable geopolitical position, in addition to its mountainous terrain and its semiarid agricultural conditions, made the country economically unstable, politically fragmented, and constantly subject to foreign domination. Palestine was thus a marginal area compared to its great neighboring empires; but its long history and contribution to universal culture were nevertheless uniquely important.

The archaeological history of Palestine has frequently been surveyed, and detailed data on individual sites and problems will be found in many publications (see also *EAEHL*; Aharoni 1979; Shanks and Mazar 1984; Mazar 1989; and, for Transjordan, especially Hadidi 1982–89). The present treatment, therefore, confines itself to an overview, concentrating on the Bronze and Iron Ages as is typical of the divisions usually made in Syro-Palestine archaeology. See also ARCHAEOLOGY. Major attention is given to discoveries and changed opinions since about 1970.

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A. The Late Chalcolithic Age
B. The Early Bronze I–IV Age

C. The Middle Bronze Age
D. The Late Bronze Age
E. The Iron I Period
F. The Iron II Period

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**A. The Late Chalcolithic Age (ca. 3800–3400 B.C.)**

The last "prehistoric" phase preceding the Bronze Age and its rapid urban development was the Chalcolithic (or "Copper-Stone" Age). Early Chalcolithic (sometimes called "Late Neolithic," ca. 4500–3800 B.C.) is not yet well defined, but it represents a transitional phase between the long Neolithic period (ca. 9th–6th millennium B.C.; see preceding article) and distinctive village cultures of "proto-urban" type. These later Chalcolithic sites (ca. 3800–3400 B.C.) consist mostly of small villages, grouped in several complexes and marked by strongly regional cultures. Some are in the N and inland, while others are along the coast and the river valleys, and especially in the lower Jordan Valley and the N Negeb. One of the first sites extensively investigated (in the 1920s), Tuleilat al-Ghassul, at the N end of the Dead Sea, produced a large, exceptionally well planned and laid out village. Grains and cereals were grown, possibly using primitive irrigation; olives and grapes were imported from the hill country; and copper was brought from mines farther S in the Jordan Valley. A sanctuary revealed frescoes with exotic cult scenes. The lithic and ceramic industries were technically and aesthetically very advanced, and both textiles and basketry were attested. More recent excavations at Nahal Ḥever along the W Dead Sea shore have yielded dozens of very elaborate arsenical copper implements, mostly cultic, produced by a lost-wax method of casting. Near Beer-sheba, a group of similar sites, most recently Shiqmim, has produced a series of ivory male and female figurines carved in the round, copper items, exotic painted pottery, rectangular houses, the first well-preserved tombs found (of *tholos*-type, at Shiqmim), and even some evidence for runoff irrigation agriculture (again at Shiqmim). The coastal sites near Tel Aviv are characterized by secondary burials in terra-cotta painted ossuaries, some in zoomorphic form, others representing domestic houses. The latest regional Late Chalcolithic family is in the far N, as exhibited for instance at Tel Teo near Shiqmonah, a well-planned village with exceptional stone-built rectilinear houses. On the Golan heights, Claire Epstein has investigated many pastoral nomadic camps and agricultural villages, the latter characterized by broadroom dwellings, rope-molded pottery, and curious basalt anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines.

The general picture of the Chalcolithic is that of a highly sophisticated society, based on intensive farming, and particularly concerned with religious expression. Although still regional, it represents a further development from "tribal" to a "chiefdom" level of social organization. Indeed, the last century or two is classed by some authorities (together with the early part of the following phase) as the "Proto-Urban" horizon. In Egypt and Mesopotamia, this is the Late Predynastic and Proto-Historic period, with monumental art and architecture, and even the beginnings of writing, already in evidence (see further Levy 1986).

**B. The Early Bronze I–IV Age (ca. 3400–2000 B.C.)**

Early Bronze Age studies have flourished since 1970, changing our views of every phase (see further Broshi and Gophna 1984; Richard 1987). Early Bronze I, ca. 3400–3100 B.C., appears more and more as a "Proto-Urban" (Kenyon's term), transitional phase between Late Chalcolithic and the true urban Early Bronze period. Among the key sites is ʻEn-Shadud in the Jezreel Valley, a well-developed agricultural village founded *de novo,* with typical broadroom dwellings. In the N Shephelah, Gezer continues the Chalcolithic occupation but remains, as most sites, an unwalled village. J. A. Callaway's reexcavation of ʿAi, N of Jerusalem, greatly clarifies older work, revealing several well-defined "pre-urban" phases. The final publication of the Jericho volumes clarifies the occupational deposits that complement Kenyon's red-painted and red-burnished ceramic groups from tombs, upon the basis of which she (like Wright) had characterized this period. Kenyon's notion of three intrusive *ethnic* groups, however, finds little favor today. Bâb edh-Dhrâʿ in S Transjordan exhibits a pre-town phase of occupation, with early disarticulated, secondary shaft-tomb burials supplanted by articulated primary burials toward the end of EB I (Wright's

"EB IB"). Renewed workup of the unpublished Tel Gath materials will almost certainly clarify the Palestinian EB I–Egyptian Late Predynastic connection already attested. At Yiftaḥel, in lower Galilee, several long oval houses clearly dated to Early Bronze I apparently lay to rest the older notion of "apsidal" dwellings as characteristic of this period. All sites thus far excavated show that city walls were first built only in the succeeding phase (the former "EB IC," or transitional phase, now generally being abandoned).

Early Bronze II, ca. 3100–2650 B.C., is now richly documented as Palestine's first, and very impressive, urban period. By "urban," we mean a "complex society" that exhibits such features as densely nucleated population, in a hierarchically tiered settlement pattern with a few large sites; a stable subsistence system, in this case based on intensified agriculture, industry, and trade; social stratification; centralized political administration (not state-level formation in Palestine, but the typical "city-state"); and monumental art and architecture. In Egypt and Mesopotamia, this first urban era comprises the Archaic/Proto-Dynastic and Early Dynastic I–II periods, with writing well in evidence, but Palestine lags somewhat behind these developments.

The most important recent EB II site is Arad, E of Beer-sheba, where Ruth Amiran's exceedingly important excavations since the 1960s have revealed much of the 50-acre site's city plan. It includes a massive masonry wall with many round towers; an extensive and well-laid-out domestic quarter with broadroom dwellings; a "twin temple"; a "palace"; and an enormous catchment system and deep reservoir. Among the small finds are a potsherd with a signature of Narmer, the first pharaoh of Dynasty 1 in Egypt; imported Egyptian pottery; painted Abydos wares like those found in Dynasty 1–2 tombs; and materials linking Arad with a number of EB II "colonies" of Arad found by Israelis throughout the Sinai. ʿAi is also important, with massive city walls, several gates, and a large colonnaded temple with Egyptian Dynasty 1–2 alabaster vessels. Egyptian trade is further illustrated at ʿEn-Besor, a way station or trading emporium at the mouth of the Wadi Gaza, which has yielded more than 30 sealings for jars (or grain sacks) of Dynasty 1 date. Across the N Sinai, Israeli archaeologists have found small EB II camps along the caravan routes with both Palestinian and Egyptian materials, further evidence of a brisk trade. Current dates for EB II, ca. 3100–2650 B.C., emphasize the long-held correlation with the Archaic period in Egypt, Dynasties 1–2, and thus provide a relatively well-fixed chronology, although somewhat higher in accordance with the current tendency to raise the date of the beginning of Dynasty 1.

Early Bronze III, ca. 2650–2350 B.C., was a period of urban collapse in the N, still poorly illuminated. As previously, it was marked by lustrous "Khirbet Kerak" red and black pottery of Anatolian derivation. In the S, recent excavations have brought to light a renewed urban phase, with even larger fortifications. The main sites are Tel Yarmut, near Beth-shemesh, with massive embankments, city walls, towers, and gate; Lahav, near modern Gath; and Petrie's old site of Tell el-Ḥesi, reexcavated by an American expedition. At the end of this period, however, these sites declined, like those of EB II, and there were only scattered unfortified settlements (e.g., Nahal Rephaim).

Several recent discoveries in Jordan testify to the fact that the Palestinian urban EB II–III cultures flourished to a hitherto unsuspected degree in Transjordan. W. Rast and T. Schaub have excavated the extensive town site of Bâb edh-Dhrâʿ on the Lisan, which had large defenses, a temple area, and a vast cemetery that included unique charnel houses, nearly all abandoned by EB IV. To the S, Numeira is a one-period EB III walled site, destroyed (by earthquake?) at the end of EB III. A number of other EB II–III sites are now known in Jordan through surface surveys. In the N, German and Jordanian work at Mughayir, E of Irbid, has brought to light an urban center fully comparable to those in W Palestine. S. Helms' site of Jawa, far out in the NE desert near the modern Iraqi border, was founded at the beginning of EB I, but the date of the massive fortifications is not yet clear (i.e., they may belong to the Middle Bronze citadel). The Transjordanian sites, like those of W Palestine, generally ended as *urban* sites with EB II or EB III; but S. Richard's site of Khirbet Iskander, on the Wadi Wala, flourished precisely as a walled town in EB IV, thus far unique. Then it, too, like nearly all the other large EB sites in Jordan, was abandoned entirely throughout the MB and LB Ages.

The explanation for the end of the EB II–III urban period is sought today not in "Amorite invasions," as previously, but in a complex interrelationship of causes, among them possible climatic shifts, environmental degradation, overpopulation, bureaucratic mismanagement, and possibly the diminution of international trade with the beginning of Egypt's "First Intermediate period" (Dyn. 6–11).

Early Bronze IV, ca. 2400–2000 B.C. (Albright's "Middle Bronze I," Kenyon's "Intermediate EB–MB"), was the posturban phase. A former dark age, it is now illuminated by hundreds of newly discovered small settlements and seasonal camps in the marginal zones, especially the Jordan Valley and the Negeb-Sinai. Dozens of isolated cemeteries, represented by hundreds and hundreds of shaft tombs in S Palestine, have yielded secondary disarticulated burials. Thus the settlement at Be'er Resisim in the Negeb highlands, together with the vast cemetery at Jebel Qaʿaqīr in the Hebron hills, excavated by W. G. Dever, seem to reflect the way of life of migratory pastoral groups. In central and N Palestine, however, as well as in the Jordan Valley, an increasing number of small, permanent agricultural villages are known; most are not on the older *tell* sites, most of which remain abandoned. The new evidence seems to confirm the notion of several distinct "families," or regional cultures. The Transjordanian family may have preserved some of the urban character of the preceding EB II–III period, for S. Richard has brought to light an EB IV fortification system and urban-style occupation at Kh. Iskander, on the Wadi Wala (see further Dever 1980; Richard 1987).

Palestine appears to have been a relatively isolated hinterland of Syria in EB IV, where pastoral nomadism and rural villages characterized the socioeconomic structure. This contrasts with Syria, where in EB IV, "Palace G" at Ebla produced evidence of a network of international relations and a large archive of texts. Some contacts between Palestine and Syria are attested, however, in a few items, probably brought by migrating pastoralists or by trade, such as Syrian "caliciform" pottery at several sites in the N, and a silver goblet of provincial Ur III style found in a shaft tomb at ʿAin es-Sâmiyeh near Jerusalem. Contacts with Egypt, which was in its own "dark age" in the First Intermediate period (ca. 2315–1999 B.C.), were nonexistent.

**C. The Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2000–1500 B.C.)**

The MB has been well illuminated by recent archaeological work (see further Broshi and Gophna 1986; Dever 1987). The three phases designated by Albright as "Middle Bronze IIA–C" (using "Middle Bronze I" for the previous period) are increasingly termed Middle Bronze I–III, but not all authorities yet agree on the transitions, or on the absolute dates. Israeli archaeologists recognize only an "MB IIB" (i.e., combining the last two).

The first phase (ca. 2000–1800 B.C.), coinciding almost exactly with the renascent Egyptian Dynasty 12, witnessed a major shift in settlement patterns, back to the central agricultural zone (see further Gerstenblith 1983). This entailed the reoccupation of nearly all the older urban sites and the founding of numerous new, small unwalled settlements. Many of these sites would be fortified before the end of the period. Excavations of the Tel-Aviv University since 1973 at Tel Aphek are the most revealing, combined with extensive surface surveys throughout the Sharon Plain. Aphek exhibits an unfortified "pre-palace" phase, then a "palace" phase with city walls and a palatial administrative building. The rich ceramic repertoire is in the new fast wheelmade style, often beautifully burnished and sometimes painted, which seems to reflect Syrian influence. Recent publication of the earlier excavations at Dan, Akko, Beth-shan, Shechem, Gezer, and many isolated tombs reveal the same ceramic developments, along with the introduction of new cist tombs and the introduction of true tin-bronze metallurgy—often accompanied by early earthen ramparts and city walls. At Dan there was found an almost intact triple-entryway mudbrick and plastered city gate, still standing to its original three-story height (Biran 1984).

Middle Bronze II (ca. 1800–1650 B.C.), coeval with Egyptian Dynasty 13, saw the fuller development of highly urbanized city-states, nearly all of which were fortified (see further Kempinski 1983 on this and the following phase). Recent excavations at Dan, Hazor, Akko, Kabri, Shechem, Tel Zeror, Tel Poleg, Aphek, Jerusalem, Jericho, and elsewhere further document this trend. Some sites were first founded in this period, like Ashdod and its port, Tel Mor. Egyptian imports such as scrabs and alabasters increased, and Cypriot pottery was imported on a larger scale.

The final phase, Middle Bronze III (ca. 1650–1500 B.C.), marked the zenith of urban development in Palestine, and coincided exactly with the late "Second Intermediate" period and the Semitic "Hyksos" Dynasty 15 in Egypt. New sites like Gezer, previously unwalled, were heavily fortified; while existing defenses at other sites were augmented, often with several phases of construction in evidence. The typical system consisted of *terre pisée* embankments, a plastered *glaçis* (or ramp), at least one masonry and mudbrick city wall, often an outer revetment wall, and even dry moats or fosses. Both double- and triple-entryway gates were found, and both casemate and solid walls. Even tiny forts like Tel Mevorakh and Tel Mor on the coast near Tel Aviv, or small hill country sites like Shiloh, boasted massive fortifications.

Several small villages in the Jordan Valley, among the first such sites excavated, have brought to light MB III temples surprisingly like those formerly known at large urban sites such as Megiddo and Shechem. Among them are Kfar Ruppin and Tel Kittan near Beth-shan, and Tell el-Ḥayyat across the Jordan.

Two large urban sites demonstrate the main character of the period. Shechem had a massive embankment, revetted by an outer cyclopean Wall A (still standing 10 m high) and topped by casemate Wall B. Just inside the triple-entryway NW Gate was a two-story colonnaded palace, an attached tripartite private (?) temple, a barracks or citadel adjoining the gate, a large plastered plaza, and a *migdal* (or fortress) temple similar to the area D temple at Ebla. The entire complex is closely paralleled by stratum VII at Alalakh in Syria. Gezer exhibits an even larger wall and tower system, in places more than 15 m thick (the Inner Wall and Tower 5017), together with a large triple-entryway gate and a skillfully engineered, multilayered *glaçis*. To this period belongs the Gezer "High Place," an installation of 10 large steles in a N–S alignment with a stone basin and plastered pavement, probably a cult place of some sort.

The end of MB III saw virtually every site in Palestine violently destroyed, probably in connection with the expulsion of the Hyksos in Egypt under the renascent Dynasty 18 kings, ca. 1540–1480 B.C.. Nearly all the more recent sites noted above have produced clear evidence of these destructions, particularly Shechem and Gezer. The destruction of the Hyksos capitol of Avaris in the Delta, now positively identified by the excavations of M. Bietak at Tell ed-Dabʿa, must be related to these events. The site shows a Canaanite population and material culture, including tombs with Palestinian weapons and pottery, beginning as early as 1800 B.C. or even earlier (in Levels G–F).

Literacy seems to have begun in Palestine toward the end of the MB Age. A few more examples of the "Proto-Sinaitic" script have turned up (as at Gezer); and fragmentary cuneiform tablets are known from Hazor, Megiddo, Gezer, and Hebron.

**D. The Late Bronze Age (ca. 1500–1200 B.C.)**

The LB I, ca. 1500–1400 B.C., was a postdestruction horizon that is still not well illuminated (see further Gonen 1989; Leonard 1989). The LB IIA–B period, however (ca. 1400–1200 B.C.), is increasingly well known, especially the IIA phase of the "Amarna Age" in the 14th century B.C. The major sites recently investigated are Tell Abu Hawam, Tel Kittan, Tel Mevorakh, Aphek, Gezer, Jerusalem, Tel Batash in the Sorek Valley, Lachish, Ashdod, Tel es-Sariʿa in the N Negeb, and Deir al-Balaḥ in the Gaza area. Across the Jordan, important LB remains have come to light at Deir ʿAllā, Tell es-Saʿidiyeh, Pella, Irbid, Amman, and other sites.

Virtually all these sites, despite their strategic location and importance, remained unwalled, or simply made slight reuse of the old MB fortifications. The sole exception may be Gezer, where the "Outer Wall" system has been dated by the excavators to the LB IIA period.

Among the most important finds are new temples at Tel Kittan, Tel Mevorakh, and Lachish (the "Summit Temple"), and in Jordan at Deir ʿAllā and Amman. Large, multiroomed Egyptian "residencies" have been recognized now at major centers such as Gezer, Aphek, Ashdod, Tel es-Sariʿa, and Deir al-Balaḥ. Finally, rich LB II tombs have been partially published from Akko (the "Persian Garden"), Dan, Shechem, Gezer (Cave I.10A), Jerusalem, and elsewhere. The general picture of political conditions and socioeconomic structure in Palestine, as revealed in the well-known Amarna letters from Egypt, fits very well indeed with the most recent LB II archaeological discoveries. All indications point to Egypt's incorporation of Palestine into the New Kingdom empire.

There are now a number of confirmed destructions at the end of the LB and the beginning of the Iron Age, from ca. 1250–1150 B.C., but virtually none would any longer be attributed to an "Israelite conquest" under Joshua. Hazor appears to have been destroyed ca. 1250 B.C., Lachish ca. 1150 B.C., both by unknown agents. Tell Abu Hawam, Tel Mevorakh, Aphek, Ashdod, and other coastal sites were likely destroyed by the incoming Philistines and other "Sea Peoples." Many sites, such as Megiddo, Beth-shan, Shechem, and Gezer, show considerable continuity or were not destroyed at all. It is increasingly clear that Egyptian influence, despite declining Dynasty 20 power, continued even as late as Rameses VI.

**E. The Iron I Period (ca. 1200–900 B.C.)**

The early Iron Age ("Iron IA–B," 12th–11th centuries B.C.) saw the appearance of two new ethnic groups among the population of Canaanite Palestine, the Philistines and the Israelites. Both are well illustrated by recent archaeological finds, in what must be accounted among the most significant archaeological advances of our era (see further Dothan 1982; Callaway 1988; and especially Finkelstein *AIS*).

The main Philistine domestic sites are Ashdod, Gezer, and Tel Miqne (Ekron). The appearance of new architectural and ceramic styles is clearly evident, including both imported Late Mycenaean III:$C1_b$ monochrome pottery and its locally made bichrome derivatives—reminders of the Aegean origins of the "Sea Peoples." Tel Qasile, on the coast at the mouth of the Yarkon River, has revealed a sequence of several well-preserved temples with quantities of Philistine pottery and other Aegean elements. Deir al-Balaḥ, in the Gaza strip, has produced more than two dozen distinctive terra-cotta anthropoid coffins from the late 13th century B.C., similar to those long known from Beth-shan and elsewhere, but made in a local potter's workshop. These Egyptian-style coffins suggest that some of the earliest "Sea Peoples" appeared along the coast of Palestine as Egyptian mercenaries even before the time of Rameses III. Today many scholars believe, however, that the distinctive bichrome painted pottery of the Philistines came into vogue only in the second generation, ca. 1150 B.C., after these people were partly assimilated.

Early "Israelite" settlements (or better, "Proto-Israelite") have now been clearly recognized for the first time. Most were small, unwalled hilltop villages in central Palestine, Galilee, and possibly the N Negeb, established *de novo* and not on the ruins of Canaanite LB urban sites. Particularly important (although largely unpublished) are ʿAi, Raddanah, Shiloh, and Giloh, all near Jerusalem; ʿIzbet Ṣarṭeh, near Aphek (probably Biblical Ebenezer); and probably Tel Esdar, Tel Masos, and Beer-sheba, all in the N Negeb. These villages are characterized by early "four-room" courtyard houses, stone silos, rock-hewn cisterns, terrace farming, crude iron implements, transitional LB/Iron I pottery (including the well-known "collar-rim" store jars), and even a few Old Canaanite (or "Proto-Hebrew") ostraca (ʿIzbet Ṣarṭeh). Most sites were abandoned in the late 11th–early 10th century B.C. with the growth of urbanism under the United Monarchy of Israel. In addition, extensive Israeli surveys in ancient Ephraim and Manasseh, in Lower Galilee, and along the Sharon Plain have revealed several hundred small agricultural villages of the 12th–11th centuries, all probably "Israelite." These new discoveries clearly discredit the older "conquest" model of Albright. Instead, they support a modified version of the Alt-Noth "peaceful infiltration" model, or even the "peasants' revolt" model of Mendenhall, Gottwald, and others. *Any* model for the Israelite settlement must now take into account: (1) the *continuity* from LB Canaanite culture into early Iron I, especially in ceramics; and (2) the *indigenous* factors in the Iron I hill country settlement, i.e., changes in settlement patterns, demography, and socioeconomic structure, rather than supposed "invasions," from Transjordan or otherwise. See ISRAEL, HISTORY OF (ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE ISRAELITE "CONQUEST").

Two possible early Israelite cult sites are now known. The Mt. Ebal installation, a tower or large altarlike structure with pits containing many burnt animal bones, is dated clearly to the 12th century B.C., but its interpretation is disputed. The "Bull site" east of Dothan is of the same date, and its enclosed altar, standing stone *(māṣṣēbāh),* and a finely cast bronze bull strongly suggest an El (or Canaanite) sanctuary in the heartland of Israelite tribal territory.

The late Iron I period in the 10th century B.C. (Albright's "Iron IC," or Israeli "Iron IIA") is now best documented in a number of Davidic-Solomonic constructions at increasingly urbanized sites (see further

Dever 1983). Nearly identical three-entryway city gates and casemate walls at Hazor, Megiddo, and Gezer provide a commentary on I Kgs 9:15; and both Megiddo and Gezer also have 10th-century "palaces" that were probably residences of royal governors. Of the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, nothing remains. The plan of the structure, however, and details of its decoration and furnishings, may now be confidently reconstructed from the increasing number of Bronze and Iron Age Canaanite-Phoenician temples and cultic artifacts brought to light. These include the MB tripartite "Temple 7300" at Shechem; similar temples at Mumbaqat and elsewhere in Syria; more "Proto-Aeolic" capitals; artistic motifs on ivories and seals; bronze stands; a life-sized horned altar from Beer-sheba; and other data. See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

The extension of Solomonic power is well illustrated by a string of forts recently investigated through the Negeb, extending to the earliest fortress at the oasis of Kadesh-barnea in the Sinai. Finally, Jerusalem itself has been extensively dug, where Y. Shiloh has uncovered several 10th century B.C. pillared houses on the E slope S of the Temple Mount, on a terraced and stepped stone podium that recalls the biblical *millo,* or "filling." On the coast, Tel Mevorakh provides rich evidence of imported Cypro-Phoenician pottery; and Tel Miqne and Ashdod illustrate the continuing culture of the Philistines along the coast, never fully assimilated. Increasing evidence points to the end of Iron I with the convergence of the death of Solomon, the raid of Shishak, and the breakup of the United Kingdom, ca. 920 B.C.

**F. The Iron II Period (ca. 900–600 B.C.)**

The Iron II period, representing the full development of the Israelite monarchy and the zenith of Israelite material culture, has been especially well documented by recent Israeli archaeology (see further Shiloh 1980; Horn 1988; Gitin and Dever 1989). Nevertheless, there are still serious chronological difficulties, and the 9th century B.C. in particular is still inadequately attested.

We can only mention the main sites, moving from N to S. Dan, excavated since 1966 by A. Biran, remains largely unpublished but has revealed a massive 9th-century "High Place" of ashlar masonry; an associated shrine with altars, anthropomorphic figurines, a horned altar, bronze implements and shovels, and burned animal bones; and both outer and inner triple-entryway city gates, with a connecting roadway. Yadin's last campaigns at Hazor (1969–70) brought to light a magnificent 9th-century water shaft hewn into the bedrock, with an underground gallery reaching the water table deep underground. Megiddo, reexcavated by Yadin in the 1960s, now makes clear that the well-known "stables" (perhaps storehouses) are 9th century B.C. (i.e., Ahab, rather than Solomon), as is its water system. Tell el-Farʿah (N), dug in the 1950s–1960s by R. de Vaux, has finally published the Iron Age sequence, which has important domestic material and cultic remains. The 10th century B.C. elite quarter of the City of David in Jerusalem continued to develop, and it has yielded not only a good pottery sequence but also figurines, inscriptions, and a cache of late 7th century B.C. bullae featuring many Judean names known from the Hebrew Bible. Other Iron II Israelite sites include Yoqneam W of the Megiddo pass; Shechem, not yet published; and Gezer, with important domestic remains, reused and augmented city walls and gates, and destruction levels of the Neo-Assyrian period. Tell Keisan, near the bay of Haifa, gives evidence of Cypro-Phoenician cultural influence, as do Dor and Tel Mevorakh farther S on the coast.

In the S, both Arad and Beer-sheba, excavated by Y. Aharoni, yield nearly complete town plans of an Iron II Israelite fortress and district store-city, respectively, both with sanctuaries. At Arad, a collection of several dozen ostraca is especially noteworthy. Lachish, reexcavated since 1973 by D. Ussishkin, is perhaps the key site. The well-attested destruction of the gate area in stratum III can now be fixed to the raid of Sennacherib in 701 B.C. (not 598 B.C., as formerly). This raises the Iron II chronology of Judah by as much as 100 years and is of revolutionary import. Other important Judean sites recently dug are Khirbet Rabûd (now "Debir"), Lahav, and Tell el-Ḥesi. For the 7th–early 6th century B.C., both Tel Miqne (Ekron) and Tel Batash (Timna), in the Sorek Valley, provide a wealth of information, including evidence of industry and trade with the Philistine coast. The latter is also illustrated now by the upper levels at Ashdod.

In the Negeb-Sinai, some of the Iron I forts and the fortress at Kadesh-barnea continued into Iron II. The 8th century B.C. hilltop fort and shrine at Kuntillet ʿAjrûd, in the E Sinai, are known only from

preliminary publications. Kuntillet ʿAjrûd has yielded dozens of graffiti and votives of a cultic nature, including a painted stone jar with two Bes figures, a half-nude enthroned female, and a Hebrew inscription mentioning in a blessing formula "Yahweh of Samaria and his Asherah." To the extreme S, Nelson Glueck's excavation of Tell el-Kheleifeh, on the Gulf of Eilat (Ezion-geber?), has finally been published as well as possible.

Among scattered finds are numerous Iron II chamber and bench tombs, yielding large collections of pottery, figurines, weights, and several inscriptions. Judean tomb inscriptions are now known from Khirbet Lei and Khirbet el-Qôm, in the Hebron hills, as well as from Silwan (Jerusalem). The 8th century B.C. el-Qôm inscription seems also to mention Yahweh and Asherah together.

Outside Israel, the contemporary Transjordanian states of Ammon, Moab, and Edom are increasingly well documented by a number of excavations. The main sites are Pella, Amman, Tel es-Sa'idiyeh, Amman, Heshbon, Dhibân, Buseira (Bosra), Tawilan (Tema?), and ʿUmm el-Biyara (Sela?). The material culture is parallel to that of Israel, as are the closely related West Semitic dialects now reconstructed from a growing *corpus* of ostraca and seals (see further Dornemann 1983; Geraty and Herr 1986; Sauer 1986). The cult, however, differs substantially, to judge from the names of known deities and cult practices. The best evidence for the Edomite cult comes from a hoard of exotic 7th-century figurines found at Qitmit, S of Arad in SE Israel.

Both the Assyrian destructions in the N in 735–721 B.C., and those of the Babylonians in Judah in 587/586 B.C., are well attested in clear destruction levels at nearly all the sites mentioned above. Nevertheless, surveys have shown that many smaller sites escaped destruction, especially in Judah, where an "Iron III" phase may be detected extending well toward the end of the 6th century B.C.

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WILLIAM G. DEVER


## *PERSIAN PERIOD*

Between 545 and 538 B.C.E., the whole of the Middle East—including Palestine—was conquered by the Achaemenid kings of Persia. During the reign of Darius I (522–486 B.C.E.), its borders were consolidated and its interior division was determined. Accordingly, some twenty satrapies were established, each of which was divided into subprovinces (compare the description in Esth 1:1).

Palestine constituted only a tiny part of one of these satrapies, named "Beyond the River" (Ezra 4:10–11), a term which was borrowed from the former Assyrian administration and perhaps from an even earlier period (see 1 Kgs 4:24). In addition to Palestine, the province included Syria, Phoenicia, and Cyprus. According to Herodotus (3.5), its N border was in Poseideion (now al-Mina at the mouth of the Orontes), and its S border was at Lake Sirbonis (Bardawil Lake).

The subdivision of Palestine appears to have been based on the older divisions of the Assyrian and Babylonian administration, probably related to the territorial boundaries of the various peoples living in the country during that period. The best known of these provinces were Megiddo, Dor, Samaria, Judea, Ashdod, and Gaza. At the head of each province was a Persian governor or a local representative who was responsible to the satrap of "Beyond the River" for its efficient administration, payment of taxes, etc. This arrangement lasted for some two hundred years, from 538 to 332 B.C.E., when the entire Middle East was conquered by Alexander the Great.

**A. Archaeological Research**

From the standpoint of archaeology, the history of the Persian period in Palestine is obscure, despite the fact that it is relatively recent. The information provided by the Bible, our major literary source for the Israelite period, gives anything but a clear picture, and even this does not go beyond the middle of the 5th century B.C.E. The same is true of the following period with regard to the information provided by Greek literature (Herodotus, Pseudo-Scylax) and the Apocrypha.

Some epigraphic sources have been added through recent discovery. Among them are the inscriptions of Darius I found at Persepolis, the inscriptions of the Phoenician kings discovered at Sidon, the archives of the Jewish military colony from Elephantine in Egypt, the inscriptions found at Tell el-Maskhuta in Egypt, where a similar Arab military base existed, and the archive of the satrap, ʾArsam.

Palestine, too, has yielded some outstanding discoveries. Of prime importance are the Samaritan papyri dating to 375–332 B.C.E. discovered in a cave at Wadi Daliyeh, and the hoard of bullae from a postexilic Judean archive found near Jerusalem. Also important are some Egyptian steles found at Gezer and Acco. But the main epigraphic materials in Palestine are the ostraca, discovered at many sites and written in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Phoenician. Most are lists of proper names (Hebrew, Phoenician, Arabic, Babylonian, Egyptian, etc.) or receipts for consignments of food, merchandise, etc. Although they give no indication of contemporary events, they are of considerable importance for our knowledge of the everyday life of the period. They also shed light on the country's military and fiscal organization, and indirectly on the composition of the population. Short inscriptions, some with the titles of officeholders, have been discovered on seals, seal impressions, bullae, and coins.

However, the combined literary and epigraphic sources still provide little information of the history of Palestine during the Persian period, and the overall picture which emerges remains unclear. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the material culture of this period in Palestine has for many years been unorganized and has fallen short of that of the previous periods.

Significant advances in the study of the period have occurred relatively recently. Settlements of the Persian period have been discovered in Galilee and the coastal plain: Tel Dan, Tel Anafa, Hazor, Beth-Yerah, Taanach, Tel Qedesh, Tell Qiri, Tel Yokneʾam, Akzib, Acco, Tell Keisan, Uṣa, Gilʾam, Shiqmona, Tel Megadim, Tel Dor, Tel Mevorakh, Tel Zeror, Mikhmoret, Makmish, Jaffa, Tell Qasile, Tell Abu-Zeitun, Aphek, Tirat Yehudah, Ashdod, and Tel Seraʾ, as well as the more recent excavations at Gezer, Lachish, Tell el-Ḥesi, and Tell Jemmeh. Excavations revealing Persian occupation have been conducted in the mountain region at Shechem, Gibeon, Tell el-Fûl, Jerusalem, Ramat Raḥel, and En-gedi; and in the Negeb, Persian-period remains were found at Beer-sheba, Arad, and Kadesh-barnea. Further evidence has come from excavations and surveys in Sinai. Of special importance were the excavations at Hazor, Shiqmona, Tel Megadim, Tel Dor, Tel Mevorakh, Tel Michal, and En-gedi, since at these the Persian

strata were better preserved and could serve as a frame of reference to investigate the regional assemblages. These finds are now enriched by homogeneous assemblages from Shechem, Wadi Daliyeh, Qadum, the Sheikh Ibrahim cave near Jerusalem, the burial cave at ʿAin ʿArub, N of Hebron, as well as the recent finds from Tell el-Mazar E of the Jordan.

In some of these excavations the stratum of the Persian period contains two phases or more, while at other sites the finds belonged to only part of the Persian period. It is now possible to analyze the development of the Persian material culture in Palestine and to classify the finds into early and late.

Recent excavations have cast a new light on cult objects. Important collections of statuettes and figurines have been discovered at Tel ʿErani, Tel Ṣippor, and Tel Dor. Our knowledge of the various types of seal impressions has been expanded by the excavations at Ramat Raḥel and by the collection of bullae and seals from the Jerusalem area.

**B. The Character of the Material Culture**

**1. Regional Diversity: Eastern and Western Influences.** A study of the material culture of Palestine reveals that the country was divided into two distinct regions at the beginning of the period: one included the hill country of Judea and Transjordan (and to a lesser extent Samaria), while the other was Galilee and the coastal area. The border between these two cultural areas is at times very sharp—almost like a border dividing two countries. Without an understanding of this division of Palestine it is difficult to understand the material development of the culture of the period.

An analysis of the remains of these two regions demonstrates that the material culture of the hill country is basically "eastern" in character. It is made up of a local culture (which continues the Israelite tradition) and eastern influences (Assyrian, Babylonian, but also Egyptian). The coastal culture, on the other hand, is basically "western" in nature, containing eastern Greek, Cypriot, and Athenian elements. It is therefore probable that the Greek material culture considerably preceded the Macedonian conquest and that Greek materials had already been adapted to local traditions and customs. The main bearers of this new culture to Palestine were probably Phoenicians and only secondarily Greek soldiers and settlers.

It seems then that Albright's definition of "Iron III" for the culture of this period is justified if it is applied only to the mountain region of Judea and Benjamin; it seems much less appropriate, however, for other regions of the country. Moreover, it is now evident that the difference between the "coastal" culture and that of the "hill country" is not a chronological difference as proposed by Albright, but rather a question of concurrent influences from "western" and "eastern" cultures over these respective areas.

**2. Achaemenid Influences.** From all that has been said so far, the fact remains that in the case of the material culture in Palestine one cannot distinguish any influence of the *Persian* material culture (i.e., the culture of the rulers by whose name we identify the entire period). The scanty Persian influence is mainly expressed by isolated types of ceramics; by a small number of ornaments and Achaemenid style metal objects, which also appear to have been made by the Phoenicians; and by a few clothing accessories on some Phoenician figurines.

The main influence of the long period of Persian rule in Palestine is seen not in the material culture but only in those spheres immediately connected with political affairs, such as administration, military organization, finance, and taxation. In each of the few inscriptions from Wadi Daliyeh so far published, the dates given are according to the royal years of the Persian kings, and the officials named are local Persian administrators. Information about military organization is contained on an ostracon recently discovered at Arad, which mentions an individual who belongs to a certain "standard" (i.e., a Persian military unit also known from Elephantine in Egypt). The military strongholds and granaries discovered at nearly all the large sites in Palestine reflect the maintenance of the Persian military system. Many of the weapons and chariot accessories found in the tombs of the period are of the Scytho-Iranian type, just like those found in the guard rooms at Persepolis, confirming the earlier supposition that some of the tombs at Gezer were in fact the graves of Persian soldiers. Persian influence is most conspicuous, however, in matters of taxation and money. Whereas Persian rulers could be liberal and magnanimous toward the conquered people in matters of cult and administration, in matters pertaining to the economy and taxation they were rather severe. The taxes levied on the various provinces were determined according to their size

and prosperity, and had to be paid in precious metals only. The seal impressions on the handles of vessels from Judea, which give evidence of the taxation system, use motifs taken from Achaemenid royal motifs. Their stratigraphic contexts (only from the end of the 6th to the end of the 5th century B.C.E.) prove that matters of administration and finance in Judea were only initially conducted by officials of the Achaemenid empire. Subsequently, these Achaemenid seals were replaced by seals written in Aramaic bearing the name of the province, *yhwd.* This implies a change in the administration of the province at the end of the 5th century B.C.E., perhaps at the time of Nehemiah or a little later. Alt surmised that Nehemiah freed Judea from its subjection to Samaria and turned it into an independent province.

**C. Stratigraphic Evidence of Conflicts**

A detailed study of the sites of this period in Palestine allows us to conclude with some measure of certainty that there were two waves of destruction during the Persian period. We learn about the first through the excavations in the territory of Benjamin. A large number of the towns which had been spared the destruction wrought by Nebuchadnezzar were destroyed about a hundred years later (ca. 480 B.C.E.). No historical explanation has been found for this destruction, though it may be assumed that it occurred in connection with some minor war, such as that which threatened Judea in the days of Nehemiah. The picture is different concerning the second wave of destruction, which affected only the coastal regions and the Negeb apparently around 380 B.C.E. This destruction is connected with the Egyptian struggle for independence (ca. 404–400 B.C.E.), which spread two decades later to the lowlands of Palestine. This assumption is strengthened by two important finds: an inscription of Nepherites I (399–393 B.C.E.) at Gezer, and steles of Achoris (393–380 B.C.E.) at Acco and Sidon.

The end of the Persian period in Palestine is marked by staggered destruction levels that testify not to a single "death blow" but to sporadic conflicts associated with the demise of Persian power. Such conflicts included the Sidonian revolt of 351 B.C.E., which brought about the destruction of the province of Dor; the wars associated with Alexander the Great in the territories of Tyre, Acco, and Gaza; and the Samaritan revolt against Alexander, which resulted in the destruction of many major cities in these regions (e.g.: Megiddo, Acco, Tell Abu Hawam, Samaria, and Gaza). Several cities (Shiqmonah, Tel Ṣippor) may have been destroyed even as late as the wars of the Diadochi, as is proved by the coins of Alexander the Great which were uncovered within the destruction levels of the Persian period.

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EPHRAIM STERN

## *NEW TESTAMENT PERIOD*

Scholars did not systematically pursue the archaeology of the NT period in Palestine, (ca. 50 B.C.–A.D. 150) until roughly the second half of the 20th century. This was because of the relative paucity of Roman monuments in Palestine at a time when archaeology was dominated by interest in major architecture. Roman Palestine seemed to furnish few Greek and Roman temples, aqueducts, theaters, circuses, hippodromes, etc. This was at the very time when the imaginations of the 19th and early 20th century pilgrims and scholars had been captured by the splendid monuments of Egypt, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia, most of which related to the OT period. On the other hand, Greece, Italy, and W Turkey still appeared to provide more than enough attractive architecture to illustrate the NT narratives, while the seemingly paltry finds of a few potsherds and coins from Hellenistic and Roman Palestine hardly seemed

worth the effort. Apart from the Temple Mount of Herod the Great in Jerusalem, most showpieces of Roman civilization came from other well-known Classical sites in the E Mediterranean. As late as 1960, W. F. Albright could cite relatively few discoveries of Roman Palestine in the revised edition of *The Archaeology of Palestine.* These included certain painted tombs of Tell Marissa, the mausoleum of the Tobiads at Araq el-Amir, the Hellenistic citadel at Beth-zur, the "fortress of Simon Maccabeus" at Gezer (now known to be misidentified), the town plan of Tell Marissa, ossuaries and tombs of the period, certain discoveries in Jerusalem (the walls, the Ecce Homo arch, the alleged Gabbatha pavement beneath the convent of the sisters of Zion), NT Jericho (excavated from 1950–51), the cities of Gerasa and Petra in Jordan, synagogues in Galilee (including Capernaum), and certain epigraphic discoveries, such as proper names, that echo those found in the NT. The Dead Sea Scrolls were not mentioned, but were discussed in detail by G. E. Wright in his 1962 work *Biblical Archaeology.* Thus interest in the archaeology of the NT period seemed to be dominated by the concerns of the classical archaeologist of the same period, including the hope of finding texts.

Researchers focused on sites mentioned in the NT. These included Capernaum, visited by Robinson in 1857, who identified the synagogue, but did not identify the site (Tell Hum) with Capernaum. The site was subsequently visited and probed by many until 1921, when it was systematically excavated by Dr. G. Orfali. In 1968, excavations resumed under Frs. Corbo and Lofredda. In Jerusalem, meanwhile, no less than 46 excavations were carried out before 1967 by a host of well-known archaeologists, including R. A. S. Macalister, E. L. Sukenik, J. W. Crowfoot, R. W. Hamilton, M. Avi-Yonah, K. Kenyon, and J. Hennessy. Among many questions pursued by excavators were the location of Golgotha and the tomb of Christ, the location and dates of the city walls of the Roman period, the search for Herod's palace, the discovery of the Ecce Homo arch, and the discovery and identification of the so-called Gabbatha pavement. Excavations at Caesarea, the political capital, were conducted from 1948 to 1963 by such luminaries as J. Ory, M. Avi-Yonah, A. Frova, A. Negev, and E. A. Link. Bethlehem and the Church of the Nativity fascinated generations of scholars, and publication of its remains by H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel began in 1914. Similarly Nazareth was excavated by M. Viaud from 1890–1909 and by B. Bagatti in 1954. Armchair archaeologists wrote about the archaeology of Antioch, Ephesus, Laodicea, and Athens.

A second focus of interest in archaeology of the period was on artifacts and items that illustrated the NT and other early Christian and postbiblical Jewish literature. Those who pursued this line described writing materials, the scroll and codex, the potter's craft, ancient tombs (so as to reconstruct on paper the tomb of Christ), inscriptions, ritual baths at Qumran as forerunners of Christian baptism, coins, and certain manuscripts discoveries (for example the Samaria Papyri, the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Bar Kokhba letters, the Bodmer papyri, and the Nag Hammadi finds), including papyri and codices containing alleged sayings of Jesus. This broad line of investigation promised less than the more narrowly defined study of inscriptions and papyri, which after all promised—and delivered—a host of evidence to solve various linguistic enigmas in the NT and other ancient literature. The study of the Roman period Egyptian papyri faced certain limits, namely, that one was extrapolating to Palestine from another Roman province with only similar, not the same, religious and political institutions.

On the other hand, the amount of archaeological knowledge about the NT period seems to have expanded exponentially since the 1960s. This is knowledge from systematic and large-scale excavations, thorough regional surveys, and pursuit of accidental discoveries. In this period the interests of the scholar have gradually shifted from those of Classical art and archaeology to include questions of the size and population of ancient cities and villages, reconstructions of rural and urban life, the nature and extent of Hellenism, the magnitude of Greek/Aramaic bilingualism, of the nature and extent of urbanism and of urban vs. village life, understanding of Jewish burial customs, evidence for the "God fearers" of the book of Acts, methods of identification of distinctively Jewish symbols, grasping more clearly early synagogue architecture, identification of house churches, understanding Herod the Great and his dynasty, developing the role of numismatics in historical reconstructions, realizing the dynamics of Roman-Jewish relations, and disclosing details of Roman rule. In addition, scholars have given attention to particulars of archaeological data of the period with a variety of goals in mind, such as determination of subsistence

patterns, study of regional Roman architecture, investigation of water systems, and deduction of ancient methods of olive and wine production. Other scholars have attempted to understand early Christian symbols, or to specialize in Roman Jerusalem and its archaeological history, or to research other "holy places" such as the Tomb of Lazarus. Others debate the identification of the Emmaus of Luke or uncover campsites of the Sixth Legion "Ferrata" in Galilee or the Tenth Legion "Fretensis" in Jerusalem. These developments in archaeology show promise of linkage with NT scholarship in a more direct and fruitful way. On the other hand, the unfolding of allied specialties in the archaeology of the period has often proceeded without regard for connections with NT scholarship, research in Christian origins, or the study of Rabbinic Judaism. Such developments include stratigraphic excavation of Roman sites for purely scientific reasons, advances in numismatics, studies in ancient glass, neutron-activation analysis of ancient ceramics and other technological studies, or the formation of theory and models in archaeology. Probably the dominant trend in recent archaeology of the period is an attempt to place the archaeology of the NT period into the wider discipline of Roman archaeology in ancient Palestine and the E Mediterranean.

It is within this wider understanding of archaeology that we must place recent excavations in ancient Palestine. For example, excavations at Khirbet Shema, Meiron, Gush Halav, and Nabratein, all in Upper Galilee, have disclosed a vigorous Jewish village life from the 2d century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. and later. Similar conclusions must follow from excavations in a series of ancient villages and towns from the Negeb to the Galilee. Local and regional trade networks bore goods to the remotest parts of Upper Galilee. That is, town and village life was not isolated, but movement of goods, services, and ideas was extensive. Excavations of tombs and structures in Nazareth Ilit, to cite only one example, indicate that there was a tiny Roman agricultural village above Nazareth about a fifteen-minute walk away. In a similar vein, excavations at the Herodium near Bethlehem reveal an entire support village around the fortress, suggesting that similar support villages might be found elsewhere. The density of occupation in ancient Judea in the NT period appears to have been nearly the highest in the Roman Empire, if not the highest. On the other hand, excavations in a variety of cities and large towns indicate a degree of urbanization in ancient Palestine that goes beyond traditional understandings. For example, excavations at Magdala-Tarichaeae have disclosed a small portion of a Roman-style city complete with paved streets. The excavations at Tiberias have revealed a very large city and a detached city of Hammath to the S in the 1st century, confirming certain literary notices in Josephus and the Jerusalem Talmud. The same situation pertains at Hippos-Susita on the SE shores of the Sea of Galilee. Excavations at Sepphoris have unearthed remains of a robust Roman city of large Jewish population whose toparchy surely extended to Nazareth, suggesting a degree of urbanization of Lower Galilee heretofore only suspected. Similarly, recent excavations at Bethsaida (Roman Julias) have disclosed a rather small urban complex of the 1st century. Other excavations at Caesarea Philippi-Paneas have only begun to show the extent of the ancient city. A similar conclusion is supported by excavations at Caesarea, Jerusalem, Antipatris, Azotus (OT Ashdod), and others. Probably the most spectacular example of excavations in an urban center of this period are those at Beth Shean. In this case a truly striking Roman city of grand proportions has emerged since 1986. Although most of the finds postdate the NT period, there are sufficient remains to suggest the thoroughly Roman character of this city. For example, various inscriptions and temple architecture suggest that paganism in various forms flourished at Beth Shean, including the worship of Dionysus and Zeus-Akraios. An inscription and Roman temple correlate with the ancient local tradition that Dionysus founded the city and buried his nurse Nysa there. Also town and village planning is evident in their traces, suggesting a clear governing and planning structure. Excavations at Capernaum have combined to reveal a very large, well-planned town that thrived from the 2d century B.C. to the Arab period. The same degree of planning is visible at Chorazin, although the remains are largely Byzantine. Excavations at Horvat Amudim at the E end of the Beit Netopha valley reveal a large, thriving Roman town of unknown name in the 1st century that continued to the Byzantine period. The accidental find of a fishing boat in the mud of the Sea of Galilee has revealed the only 1st-century boat thus far found from ancient Palestine. The sophisticated level of shipbuilding revealed in the construction of the boat suggests that an infrastructure

of shipbuilders and other artisans likely formed part of the population of the cities and villages of the lake. Interest in 1st-century synagogues, though the word is understood less as a dedicated cultic structure and more as a "gathering place" *(synagogēs),* continues unabated. Probably the best known of these structures are at Masada, the Herodium (though it seems to be 2d-century), Gamala, and Magdala. In the last case, the Franciscans unearthed a likely synagogue of the 1st century situated at the corner of two paved streets. Also at Capernaum, their excavations beneath the 4th-century synagogue unearthed what is simplest to identify as a 1st-century synagogue. In the Golan Heights, just inside the city wall at Gamala, breached by the Romans in the First Revolt against Rome, was found a rectangular building with interior columnation and benches that is usually interpreted as a synagogue. It went out of use with the destruction of Gamala by the Romans in A.D. 67. Identification of house churches, besides the one at Dura-Europos, is an emerging controversy. Beneath the 5th-century octagonal church at Capernaum, one block away from the famous Byzantine synagogue, is an Early Roman house likely converted to a house church, the so-called "House of St. Peter." This was identified by its continuous history and use as a holy place right up to the 5th century. It is an interesting question how many house churches we may not be able to identify because such structures did not acquire a fixed architectural form nor contain a fixed iconography until later centuries.

Excavation of hundreds of tombs of the NT period mainly confirms the outline of Jewish burial custom known from rabbinic sources of the early centuries. Jewish tombs are usually of the loculus type and are very sparing in their finds. Artifacts found in tombs of the period are predominantly lamps and glass phials, perhaps lachrymortaria. Only a few clearly Jewish tombs have had coffins, as the rule was to bury first in a shroud directly in the loculus with subsequent reburial in an ossuary. Some tombs have burial inscriptions. These inscriptions were intended for the family and are almost always in Greek, though many names and epitaphs in Hebrew, Aramaic, and other languages are known. This is the most telling archaeological evidence for deducing bilingualism or trilingualism in ancient Palestine, since Greek is the norm within the tomb, that is, for the family. Since tombs are often equipped with a forecourt and other architectural features not required for inhumation itself, there was obviously a well-developed ritual of mourning, as the noncanonical Mishnaic tractate "Mourning" *(Sem.)* indicates.

The archaeological picture of the architectural culture to be associated with the dynasty of Herod the Great is coherent and striking. Herod and his sons (and grandsons) relied heavily upon developments in Roman engineering and architecture to produce buildings in grand style, as witness Ramat el-Khalil in Hebron, the city gates of Caesarea, Sebasté, and Tiberias, the stunning Temple Platform in Jerusalem, his palaces at Jerusalem, the Herodium, Masada, Jericho, and Machaerus in Jordan, his extensive waterworks traced from Bethlehem to Jerusalem, the building of Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Bethsaida-Julias by his sons, and by many other remains. Herod the Great relied upon delicate and expensive media in his decoration of the Temple Mount, but he relied upon painted and molded plaster in Masada and Herodium. Nevertheless the architecture of the Herods bespeaks the aesthetic and political ascendancy of Rome and the place of the Herods as client-kings or client-rulers for Rome.

The evidence from archaeology suggests that the overlay of Roman culture provided symbols, architecture, and conventions of its own that the underlying Jewish culture might accept or reject. The degree of participation in the overlay varied with the Roman institution and the century under discussion. For example, it is as yet a matter of controversy whether any Roman theaters in ancient Palestine so far excavated were built in the 1st century A.D. apart from the Herodian theaters at Caesarea and Jericho. Other theaters associated with the Roman cultural overlay have been surveyed or excavated at Abila, Philadelphia (Amman), Gerasa (Jerash), Botzra (Bosra), Gadara, Pella, Philipopolis, Hippos-Susitha, Hammath-Gader (el-Hammeh) and Petra E of the Jordan, and at Flavia Neapolis (Nablus), Eleutherapolis (Beth Guvrin), Sebasté (Samaria), Beth Shean-Scythopolis, Dora, Dionysias-Soada (Suweida), Legio, Maiumas near Caesarea, and Sepphoris W of the Jordan. The sheer number of theaters suggests that investigation of the social structures associated with Roman theaters in ancient Palestine may be a fruitful line of inquiry. Baths also were introduced with Greek culture, though the presence of Rome spurred construction of baths, since they were apparently somewhat less offensive to Jewish culture. The

enormous bath complex at Hammath-Gader on the E shores of the River Yarmuk and S of the Sea of Galilee is almost totally Byzantine, but it raises the question of the degree of acceptance of a Roman cultural form such as public bathing in the period under discussion. In any case, it is clear that the architectural and aesthetic norms of Greek and Roman Hellenism, and certainly the Greek language, penetrated everywhere into ancient Palestine. What is not clear is the extent of penetration of other Hellenistic ideas such as rhetoric, Greco-Roman notions of the social position of women, or the relation of the human to the divine. Such abstractions are a greater challenge to assess archaeologically, though perhaps it is not impossible.

The future challenge to archaeologists of this period and to exegetes of the NT and other early Christian and Jewish literature is to combine insights from the two disciplines with the hope of achieving clear social-historical reconstructions of ancient Palestinian life. Since historical investigation at the moment is dominated by social history, and since exegesis of the NT and other ancient texts currently bears the same interpretative weight, it is possible to see a fruitful collaboration. For example, research into the social structures of Jewish society, of the imperial cult, and of the penetration of alternatives to the old Roman Religion, including Mithraism, into the cities of the provinces is in full swing among historians. Ever since G. Theissen and J. Gager, research into the social histories of early Christianity (the "Jesus movement") has expanded to include the social context of ancient Palestine, including aspects of temple and society or synagogue and society. It has already been suggested that one fruitful avenue of inquiry has been study of the structures of society relating to Roman theaters. This should be expanded to include study of other forms of Roman entertainment. Since 1931 archaeologists have excavated hippodromes at Bozra (Bosra), Kanath, Gadara, Gerasa, Caesarea, Jericho, and Beth Shean, with another possibly at Herodium. Josephus mentions one at Magdala-Tarichaeae (*Life* 132, 138) and at Jerusalem (*Ant* 17.193), though neither have been found. Another field of potential worthwhile inquiry is in the social norms of temple worship and cult in Judaism and the Roman world as revealed in texts and monuments, and there is no dearth of temple remains in Israel, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan. Recently considerable archaeological evidence has been adduced for reconstruction of the buildings and other remnants of Jewish cult on the S end of the Temple Mount, including ritual baths. Finally a potentially important area of study for the future is in theory and method in archaeology, especially the hermeneutics of monuments, and a comparative study of interpretation in archaeology and interpretation in textual studies. Some initial forays in this direction have been attempted.

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JAMES F. STRANGE

**PALESTINE, CLIMATE OF.** The climate of any particular region, by which is meant the general pattern of weather which recurs from year to year, is directly related to that region's position upon the surface of the globe. Thus, the climate of a region cannot be considered in isolation from the climates of other neighboring regions, but must be observed in relationship to them, since shifts in the distribution of high and low pressure systems, together with corresponding changes in global air-flow, have a profound impact upon regional climatic patterns.

Most of Palestine, except for the Jordan Valley and the area W of the Dead Sea (which is in a steppe climate zone), falls within the subtropical or Mediterranean climatic region, a region which is characterized by two distinct seasons per year—a dry one and a wet one (the terms "summer" and "winter" are sometimes used, but are not really descriptive of the seasons in Palestine). Being on the N margin of the subtropical zone, Palestine is situated between a subtropical arid zone to its S, the great deserts of Arabia and the Sahara, and a subtropical wet zone to its N. Even though Palestine itself is relatively small, this location results in some marked climatic differences between the N and S regions of the area. The climatic boundary position refers also to the W-E direction with the proximity of the Mediterranean on the W and the large Asian land mass on the E, with corresponding regional differences within the area from W to E.

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A. Factors Influencing Climate
    1. Atmospheric Pressure and Winds
    2. Latitude and Insolation
    3. Relationship to Water and Land Masses
    4. Regional Topography
B. Seasonality in the Palestinian Climate
    1. The Rainy Season
        a. Limits and Development
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        c. Rain Days and Rainfall Intensity
    2. The Dry Season
        a. Limits
        b. Dew and Humidity
    3. The Transitional Periods
C. The Climate during Biblical Times and the Climate Today

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**A. Factors Influencing Climate**

**1. Atmospheric Pressure and Winds.** One of the principal meteorological factors influencing the Palestinian climate is the shifting global system of high- and low-pressure areas. During the dry season, Palestine sits on the W edge of an extensive low pressure area which is centered over India (the cause of the Indian monsoons) and which extends over the Persian Gulf and Mesopotamia. There is also a secondary low centered over Cyprus. As the air circulates in a counterclockwise direction around the Indian low, and is in turn deflected by the Cyprus low, the resulting airflow over Palestine is from NW to SE, bringing what was known to the ancient Greeks as the "etesian winds."

The wet season commences when this entire system of low pressure areas is displaced southward by a shift in the path of the jet stream, which brings Palestine into the zone of the westerlies of the temperate zone, with its cyclonic storms, units of low barometric pressure with circular, counterclockwise airflow. These cyclonic storm systems move E toward Palestine following the path of a low-pressure trough in the Mediterranean, which is situated between one high pressure area in Central Asia and another in the Sahara. See Fig. PAL.03. As these cyclones (about twenty-five in an average year) travel across the Mediterranean (in four to six days), they are reinforced by the confluence of warm African air with cooler European air, producing unstable conditions in the atmosphere, commonly resulting in precipitation.

**2. Latitude and Insolation.** A second factor affecting Palestinian climate, especially with respect to sunlight intensity (insolation) and temperature, is its distance from the equator, since this determines both the amount of heating from the sun and the moderate seasonal variations in the length of daylight hours. Palestine lies between 31°15′ and 33°15′ N latitude, which is approximately equivalent to S California.

With the stable conditions of the dry (summer) season, Palestine is typically sunny and warm, with insolation intensified by the extremely low degree of cloud cover. There are no completely overcast days in the summer, and only a fourth of summer days are partly cloudy, with fair-weather cumulus and stratocumulus clouds. In most of the area, cloud cover is less than 10% in July and August. Summer sunshine hours may approach close to 98% of the possible. Even in the winter season this figure remains at 50%, which is higher than either W Europe or E North America. The latitude also means that the sun strikes the ground at a high angle, as high as 80° during the dry season. This results in solar radiation at the rate of an annual mean of 5 million calories per square meter. On a summer day this figure rises to 7.5 million cal./$m^2$, while on a clear winter day it falls to 3 million cal./$m.^2$ Even on a cloudy winter day, however, this figure is still 1 million cal./$m^2$ (Ashbel *EncJud* 10: 184). Expressed in another way, this means that horizontal surfaces receive illumination of some 90 kilo-lux-hours at noon in summer, and an area perpendicular to the sun's rays receives over 130 klh, nearly the absolute maximum possible. These quantities of klh are reduced by only one-third in the wet season (Ashbel *EncJud* 10: 184–85).

Palestine's general temperature patterns are also a product of its latitude. While temperatures vary within the area from N to S and depend upon regional topography and distance from the sea as well, they are generally comparatively high owing to the high insolation. Highest temperatures normally occur in August and the lowest are in January in all four orographic regions of the area. See Fig. PAL.04. January averages are 53.5°F in the Coastal Plain, 46.5°–50°F in the W Highlands, 53.5°–55°F in the Jordan Valley, and 47°F in the Transjordanian Plateau. August figures are 75°–79°F in the Coastal Plain, 71.5°–79°F in the W Highlands, 82°–93°F in the Jordan Valley, and 78°F in the Transjordanian Plateau (Orni and Efrat 1973: 136).

**3. Relationship to Water and Land Masses.** Palestine's geographic position—at the SE corner of the Mediterranean, where the sea is in close proximity to the desert, and between the Sahara and Arabian deserts on the one hand and the Russo-Siberian plains on the other—greatly influences its climate.

Local winds are generated by differences in temperature at the border of water and land masses. Land warms more quickly than the sea during the day and cools more rapidly at night. The land thus becomes cooler than the sea at night and develops higher atmospheric pressure over it, with the opposite occurring during the day. Therefore there are ordinarily offshore winds at night and onshore winds during the day. The onshore breeze is stronger and more persistent than the offshore breeze in the summer, owing to the low over the Persian Gulf. Rainfall tends to decrease and the temperature range tends to increase with distance from the sea.

The location of Palestine between the deserts and the Russo-Siberian plains also affects precipitation. Normally storms develop over the Mediterranean where the warm tropical air from N Africa clashes with cold air from Asia. Should, however, the high pressure systems in these two areas become linked at their margins instead of clashing, the resulting ridge of high pressure can block the progress of rain-bearing depressions, bringing drought to Palestine.

**4. Regional Topography.** While climatic contrasts between the S and N parts of the area are largely explained by Palestine's global position, other differences in weather within the area are due to the fact that there are four distinct orographic regions, whose lines of relief run in a N-S direction, at right angles to the movement of the cyclonic storms. Rainfall distribution is decisively influenced by landscape relief because air ascending a slope cools, while its relative humidity increases. Descending air warms and decreases in humidity. Not only do differences in elevation affect the flow of air, and thus the development of weather patterns, but also such things as the angle of slope and the direction the slope faces. While the general rule is that rainfall decreases with distance from the sea, an increase in elevation changes this. Higher elevations with seaward slopes show a true orographic increase in precipitation, while lee slopes of such elevations show a sharp orographic decrease in precipitation, in what is known as the rain-shadow effect. The angle of the slope is also relevant. The steeper the ascending slope, the smaller is the area where the amount of rain resulting from the cooling of the air can concentrate. While there is a general decrease in precipitation in the area from N to S and there are other variations within each region from N to S, the general climatic patterns of the four orographic regions can be described as follows:

*The Coastal Plain*, which includes the central section of the Esdraelon Plain, is naturally greatly influenced by the sea. Throughout the year, the relative humidity is high, averaging 65–70% (see Fig. PAL.05) and the diurnal temperature range (about 13°F) is considerably less than it is in the W Highlands. With a January average temperature of 55°F, both snow and frost are quite rare in this region (Orni and Efrat 1973: 151). The sirocco (see below) is less frequent here than in other parts of the country. Rainfall is both heavier and begins earlier than inland, with some 60% of the season's rain coming by the end of January. See Fig. PAL.06. Rainfall also increases from 10 inches annually in the S to 32 inches in the N (Orni and Efrat 1973: 152).

*The Western Highlands*, including Mount Carmel, have lower relative humidity than the coast, averaging 60%, and both the diurnal and annual temperature range is greater (Orni and Efrat 1973: 153). This area has the highest precipitation W of the Jordan, even though the onset of the rainy season is later than on the coast. Owing to considerable variations in topography, however, the rainfall map in the

Highlands shows significant variability within the region. Both frost and snowfall are common in the higher elevations.

*The Jordan Rift Valley* is both in the rain shadow on the lee side of the Western Highlands and is below sea level in most of its length. This results in sharply decreased precipitation from that in the Highlands and in markedly warmer temperatures as well. The general rule of decrease in precipitation from N to S holds for this region, but there are other differences as well. In the N part of this region there is a large annual temperature range, with frost common in the winter, but long, hot summers. For example, Beth-shan has six months with average maximum temperatures above 86°F (*GB,* 59). To the S, around the Dead Sea, which is both the lowest spot on earth and is surrounded by mountains on the E and W, there are unique climatic conditions. The relative humidity is quite low, averaging 57%, but is modified to some degree owing to the extremely high evaporation rate of water from the Dead Sea, resulting from the high temperatures. The annual mean temperature at the S end of the Dead Sea is 78°F, and falls to only 62.5°F in January. The highest temperature ever recorded in Palestine, 124°F, was recorded here (Orni and Efrat 1973: 157). Precipitation amounts are the lowest in Palestine, less than 5 inches annually.

*The Transjordanian Plateau* has a climate which generally resembles that of the Western Highlands. There are, however, differences caused by its higher elevation and greater distance from the sea. The seaward slopes of these higher elevations see more rainfall than do the Western Highlands. The annual and diurnal temperature ranges are also greater. Frost and snow are even more common.

**B. Seasonality in the Palestinian Climate**

**1. The Rainy Season. a. Limits and Development.** The terms "summer" and "winter," which are used to describe the seasons in the temperate zone, are not as descriptive of the seasons in Palestine as are the terms "dry season" and "wet season," since, as an indicator of seasonality, temperature variation is not as marked as is the sharp bifurcation in the precipitation pattern. In the Bible this season *(ḥōrep)* is one of rainy, stormy weather (Lev 26:4; Deut 11:14; Isa 4:6; 25:4; Job 37:9; Ezra 10:9, 13; Cant 2:11; John 10:23; Acts 28:2). The word *sĕtāw,* another meteorological term in Hebrew, occurs only once in the Bible (Cant 2:11); but its Arabic cognate, *sitaʾ,* is the common word for rain as well as winter in the dialect of Jerusalem. The Greek term *cheimōn* in the NT means both "winter" and "storm" (Scott *IDB* 3: 623) (see Fig. PAL.07).

The wet season begins first in the N part of the area, usually in mid-October, and ends last there in the spring, usually in March. The rainy season starts as the cyclones of the temperate zone create steep pressure gradients which cause more rapid and steeper movement of air masses, cooling them and causing them to gain in relative humidity. When this moist air reaches its saturation point, its moisture precipitates in rain or snow.

About 70% of the rainfall in Palestine falls from November to February, with January being both the wettest and coldest month (Orni and Efrat 1973: 146). There are differences in rainfall patterns as well as amounts in the four orographic regions. The Coastal Plain receives 50% of its annual rainfall by early January, the Western Highlands attain that figure about the end of January, and the Transjordanian plateau only in February (Orni and Efrat 1973: 146). At the beginning and end of the rainy season come what the Bible speaks of as "the former and latter rains" (*malqôš* and *yôreh*). See RAIN.

**b. Variations in Rainfall.** The rainy season in Palestine is, however, highly unpredictable—both in its temporal distribution within a season and in successive seasons. Five types of seasonal distribution have been observed: (1) normal, with even distribution throughout the rainy season—occurs about one-third of the time in Jerusalem and 42% of the time in Haifa; (2) a wet early season with a dry second half—occurs about 20% of the time in Jerusalem and the Judean Mountains, only 6% of the time in the N; (3) a dry early season with a rainy second half—more Ÿ common in the N than in the S; (4) heavy rains in the middle of the season with a relatively dry beginning and end—rare, occurring only 2–3% of the time; and (5) twin or multiple-peaked season with dry spells between the peaks—about 35% of the time in the Judean Mountains and 24% of the time in Haifa (Ashbel *EncJud* 10: 185). These variations in the temporal distribution of rainfall throughout the season have significant consequences for agriculture. Especially important for farming is the date of the initial rainfall that marks the end of the dry season and

the date of the last rain, since the former is needed to prepare the soil for plowing and the latter influences the maturation of crops. Rain at the end of the season, if the timing is right and not too late, serves to bring cereal crops to successful maturation, especially wheat. But such rains, if too late, can easily devastate barley, which is particularly susceptible to rain during harvest. Such rain during the harvest season is a rare occurrence. In 1 Sam 12:17 Samuel says: "Is it not wheat harvest today? I will call to YHWH and he will give thunder and rain …" When the prophet successfully called for rain in a normally dry period, his prophetic credentials were confirmed.

In addition to such variations in the temporal distribution of rainfall in a season, there are significant variations from year to year. Two parameters come into play here: (1) the frequency of abnormal (+ or –) precipitation; and (2) the extent of deviation from the mean. In assessing these two variables, Jerusalem can be used as an example, since there exists for Jerusalem the longest series of recorded rainfall for the area, beginning in 1846/47. In the 42-year period 1920–1962, there were two series of years when there was an average deviation of 30% (±) or more from the mean annual rainfall, one dry cycle and one rainy cycle as follows (Amiran 1964: 104):

*Dry Cycle (1920/21–1937/38)*

| | Total Amount of Deviation | Number of Years of Occurrence |
|---|---|---|
| Number of years | | 18 |
| Positive deviations | 26 | 4 |
| Negative deviations | 365 | 14 |
| Positive deviations of 30% or more | 0 | 0 |
| Negative deviations of 30% or more | 283 | 7 |
| Negative deviations of 50% or more | 106 | 2 |

*Rainy Cycle (1944/45–1961/62)*

| | Total Amount of Deviation | Number of Years of Occurrence |
|---|---|---|
| Number of Years | | 18 |
| Positive deviations | 85.4 | 4 |
| Negative deviations | 369 | 14 |
| Positive deviations of 30% or more | 79 | 2 |
| Negative deviations of 30% or more | 243 | 5 |
| Negative deviations of 50% or more | 117 | 2 |

What is most significant in these figures is the fact that even in the eighteen-year rainy cycle five of these years had negative deviations of 30% or more. Even more critical for agriculture, however, is the spacing of these years. A dry year in a series of more or less normal or wet years rarely has serious consequences for the farming economy. But while the farmer can weather a single dry year, a series of such years can be disastrous. Amiran (1964: 104) observes that three consecutive dry years, each with a negative deviation of 30% or more, are part of the experience of every farmer in Palestine. It is perhaps not coincidental that this same three-year figure is used to describe the disastrous drought in the time of Elijah (1 Kgs 18:1).

Jerusalem rainfall data for the years 1920/21–1949/50 are represented in Fig. PAL.08. The left side of the chart represents 1920/21 and the right side 1949/50 (Rosenan 1955: 151). On the basis of this data, it can be observed that a cycle of three or more consecutive years with 30% or more negative deviation occurs twice within this relatively short span of years. Put in other terms, this means that three years out of ten will experience accumulation of rainfall about 16% less than the mean and that one or two of these years will experience more than 25% less.

Perhaps the most meaningful way of assessing the variability of rainfall and its impact on agriculture in Palestine is one developed by D. Sharon (1965: 172), who presents rainfall data by calculating the standard deviation (in percent) of the annual amount of rain, and then plotting standard deviation isopleths (1965: 172). On such a plotting, Jerusalem, together with much of the central hill country, falls within the 30%–40% range in the measure of standard deviation, with most of Galilee in the 20%–30% range. The 40% range encompasses Beer-sheba, the Negeb, and the Jordan Valley S of Beth-Shean. Sharon then interprets such standard deviation figures of 20% and 40% by means of the following table (1965: 171):

| | Probable Percentage of Years with Variation of | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Standard Deviation | ≤ 20% | ≤ 40% | ≤ 60% | |
| 20% | 68 | 96 | | 99.7 |
| 40% | 38 | 68 | 87 | |

The conclusion to be drawn from this table is that wherever there is a standard deviation of 40%, variations of less than 20% from the average annual rainfall can be expected in only 38% of the years, whereas in 32% of the years, variations that exceed 40% will occur. Furthermore, in 13% of the years, deviations exceeding 60% can be encountered. Sharon concludes: "Thus, the data … supply valuable information on the variability of rainfall which might be expected at each specified level. The latter could also be interpreted in terms of the risk associated with the relative or absolute deviation of each size, at each station" (1965: 171).

**c. Rain Days and Rainfall Intensity.** While the annual amount of rainfall in farming areas in Palestine roughly approximates that of some agricultural areas in temperate zones, the difference between the two lies not in the annual amount of rain but in the number of rainy days and in the intensity of rainfall in a given hour or day (Ashbel *EncJud* 10: 185–86). A rain day, in international terminology, is one on which there is at least 0.1 mm of rainfall (Orni and Efrat 1973: 147). Thus, while Jerusalem and London have about the same average annual rainfall (22 inches), London has over 300 rain days while Jerusalem has only 50 (Orni and Efrat 1973: 147). The number of rain days per season (like the amount of annual rainfall) decreases from N to S and from W to E. Rain tends to be concentrated within a few hours of the day, with sunny intervals between showers (Karmon 1971: 28). The heaviest showers tend to occur at the beginning and toward the end of the season when there are clashing air masses which differ considerably in temperature and moisture (Orni and Efrat 1973: 146). The net result of these patterns is high-intensity rainfall, resulting in increased runoff and, consequently, frequent flooding.

**2. The Dry Season. a. Limits.** The dry season typically begins in May-June and lasts until September, with three to four completely rainless months. Even though the air moving into Palestine from the Mediterranean is moisture-laden during this season, rain cloud formation is inhibited by the presence of high pressure in the upper atmosphere, which causes air to subside and creates a thermic inversion over the E Mediterranean area. As air settles and is compressed, its temperature increases while its relative humidity declines, thus deferring rain (Hopkins 1985: 80).

**b. Dew and Humidity.** Although rainfall is not triggered during the dry season, the steady, moist W winds do bring dew, the formation and amount of which are dependent both on relative humidity and nighttime cooling as well as on the properties of the cooling surfaces of soil and vegetation upon which the dew falls. The distribution of the number of dew nights and the amount of dewfall, like that of rainfall, varies considerably from one area to another. But by comparison with dew amounts, the number of dew nights is relatively stable, just as the number of rainy days varies only slightly in comparison with variations in amounts of rainfall. There are three distinct dew regimes: (1) a coastal type with a summer maximum; (2) an interior type with a spring maximum; and (3) the hill type with an autumn maximum (Gilead and Rosenan 1954: 121). Dewfall is especially significant in the Coastal Plain (including the Jezreel Valley) and on the sea-facing slopes of the Western Highlands, where dew falls heavily and regularly during the dry season. See Fig. PAL.09. The Central Huleh Basin and the lower Beth-shan Valley also have considerable amounts of dew. Dew falls on nights when the soil becomes cooler than the air with which it comes into contact. The incidence of such nights increases as one travels S in the Coastal

Plain, where the moisture-laden air from the sea is coupled with the cool nights caused by the nearby desert. Studies of dew show that the richest month for dew in the Coastal Plain is August. The number of dewfall nights in the Coastal Plain ranges from 138 in the N to 250 in the S, with an average of 200 (*GB,* 44). In the Western Highlands there are between 100 and 180 nights of dewfall per year (Orni and Efrat 1973: 155). See Fig. PAL.10.

Dewfall is important for agriculture, especially in the S Coastal Plain, where melons can be grown as a typical dry season crop. Its presence and value are frequently attested to in the Bible (Gen 27:28; Deut 33:28; Judg 6:38; 2 Sam 1:21; 1 Kgs 17:1; Isa 18:4; Hos 14:5; Mic 5:7; Zech 8:12; Hag 1:10; Job 29:19).

**3. The Transitional Periods.** Palestine does not have a spring and fall as they are known in the temperate zones, but rather two short, irregular transitional periods which fall between the dry and rainy seasons and which are characterized by particular weather patterns. These periods typically last about six weeks, with one occurring from early April to mid-June; the second from mid-September to the end of October. These transitional periods are clearly demarcated from the dry season and merge into the wet season, there being some overlap with the end of the rainy season in April-May and with its beginning in September-October.

Two important meteorological phenomena characterize these transitional periods: the sirocco and desert storms (Baly, *GB,* 52). The name "sirocco" is derived from the term *sharqiyyeh,* meaning an E wind, and is known in Egypt as *khamsin* and in modern Israel as *sharav,* although these terms do not refer to precisely the same conditions and thus are not strictly interchangeable (*GB,* 52). Israelis commonly use the term *sharav* as a general term for any kind of hot air that moves into the area from the E desert. Actually, however, there are three distinct situations which may give rise to *sharav* conditions of E and SE winds or a rise in barometric pressure: (1) the *khamsin* proper (which Baly [*GB,* 52] prefers to call the sirocco), in which a low over eastern North Africa causes warm, dry winds to blow over Palestine from the E; (2) the *sharav* proper, where a high over the area itself causes subsiding air to be compressed and heated; and (3) a situation in which a low moves into the area from the direction of the Red Sea, bringing with it unseasonably warm air (Orni and Efrat 1973: 141). Baly (*GB,* 52) suggests restricting the use of the term "sirocco," which is limited to the transitional periods, to the first of these conditions.

The sirocco proper (or true *khamsin,* which occurs sporadically during the transitional seasons) is characterized by a set of phenomena which includes strong thermal inversions which compress, heat, and desiccate trapped stagnant air, and strong dust-carrying E winds blowing across Palestine from the Arabian desert whence they are attracted by a low over Libya or Egypt (Karmon 1971: 24) [cf. Ezek 12:10; 19:12]. During a sirocco, which may last from two or three days to three weeks, temperatures may rise rapidly by as much as 16–22°F, with a corresponding lessening of the diurnal differential. Relative humidity can drop by as much as 40%, and the air becomes filled with very fine dust (*GB,* 52). Although the mean maximum daily temperature typically occurs in August, the record high temperatures for the area have been recorded in May and June during a sirocco. In such conditions, "People with a heart condition, nervous complaints, or sinus trouble are particularly affected, but even the mildest-tempered person is apt to become irritable and to snap at other people for no apparent reason" (*GB,* 52). Relief from the sirocco comes when the low-pressure area moves on eastward, bringing to the area a sudden shift to cooler, moister westerlies. The sirocco is characterized by variable intensity and duration in different regions of the area. Intensity increases as one goes from E to W, and becomes especially oppressive in the Jordan Rift Valley. Since it is a descending wind from the E, the Western Highlands have more days of sirocco than the lowlands to their W. Biblical references to the sirocco are frequent (Isa 27:8; 40:6–8; Ezek 17:10; Hos 12:1; 13:15; Ps 103:16; Job 37:16–17; Luke 12:55; Jas 1:11).

The second situation, the *sharav* proper, develops with rising barometric pressure under anticyclonic conditions, bringing an E wind which blows toward the area from a center of high pressure over Iraq, and sometimes also Turkey. This kind of storm is not restricted to the transitional periods, but may occur during the wet season (Ashbel *EncJud* 10: 189). Such a strong E wind in the wet season is referred to in the Bible as a *qādîm* (Exod 10:13; Ps 48:8; Jonah 4:8). Such a situation brings conditions which resemble

those of a sirocco, but it is not only as hard to bear as a sirocco, but the high often becomes stationary and thus the *sharav* can last longer than the sirocco (Ashbel *EncJud* 10: 190).

### C. The Climate during Biblical Times and the Climate Today

A theoretical comparison of the climate in Palestine in biblical times and today presents three possibilities: (1) that the climate during biblical times was more moderate; (2) that the climate was harsher than now; and (3) that the climate was similar to today's. Evidence for significant climatic variations in the ANE is diverse, multiform, of varying quality and applicability, and above all, widely open to competing interpretations. Among the various types of evidence that have been marshaled in support of significant climatic change are: (1) extrapolation from the reconstructions of climates of adjacent and climatically related areas (particularly NW Europe); (2) historical events (migrations, cultural breaks, etc.) purportedly tied to climatic variations; (3) hydrological evidence, especially regarding the level of the ground water table, the Dead Sea, and the fluctuation of the Mediterranean Sea coast; (4) dendroarchaeological and paleobotanical evidence; (5) palynological evidence; (6) fossil fauna (especially recovered from cave excavations); (7) pedological and sedimentary analysis; and (8) paleometeorological deductions (Hopkins 1985: 101). While individual pieces of such evidence may prove substantial, there have been no synthetic treatments of them with respect to their applicability in assessing climatic change.

Investigators have, however, established considerable support for the idea that in prehistoric times there were different climatic conditions in Palestine than exist there today. Animal bones characteristic of a hot and humid climate, for example, have been discovered in the Tabun F level in the Carmel Caves, which included small mammals that have become almost extinct today (Ben-Yoseph 1985: 226). It is thus concluded that archaeological data support the theory that, at least for some time at the end of the Pleistocene era, the Palestinian climate was similar to that of the tropics.

But have there been changes in the climate of Palestine during and since the biblical period? On the one hand, it seems clear that, in terms of what Butzer calls "third-order" changes profound enough to show up on the astronomical scale of climatic history (Butzer 1974: 730), the general pattern of the climate, with the alternation of dry and wet seasons, has not seriously changed since 6000 or 7000 B.C. in the Neolithic period. Below such third-order changes, paleoclimatologists speak of second-order variations, measured in hundreds of years, and first-order fluctuations which are observable within a lifetime (Butzer 1974: 730). With respect to such second-order variations and first-order fluctuations, Baly says, "That climate is not static but rather in a state of constant fluctuation is now beyond doubt, and it would be a great mistake to take any set of climatic figures as 'normal' " (*GB,* 65). But having said this, he also adds, "Any attempt to reconstruct theoretically the relationship between climatic fluctuations of western Europe [where there is more complete data than for Palestine] and those of Palestine is fraught with danger" (*GB,* 67). Ben-Yoseph concludes that the amounts of precipitation have not changed in Palestine, but their usefulness has decreased as a result of human land-use patterns. Erosion on hillsides, owing to poor land management, has led to an increase in the water lost to runoff after rain. Deforestation reduced the fog and the amounts of water that accumulated in the treetops. Thus the same amount of water falling on the land lost part of its effectiveness through an increase and expansion of human neglect of the land. The gradual decline of the land was not caused by a change in climate but rather by the people living there (Ben-Yoseph 1985: 237).

We can then conclude with Hopkins that the climate of Palestine in the biblical period has not changed appreciably from that of today, but only varied around a mean that closely resembles present conditions (Hopkins 1985: 107).

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FRANK S. FRICK

**PALESTINE, GEOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY OF.** See GEOGRAPHY AND THE BIBLE (GEOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE).

**PALESTINIAN FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS.** Palestine can be understood in a restricted sense as the "land of Philistia" but also in the sense intended by Greek and Latin authors to designate all the territory found between Syria-Phoenicia and Egypt, including the two banks of the Jordan. During the Byzantine period the word "Palestine" took on a still greater range, the area being divided into three provinces: *Palestina prima, secunda,* and *tertia* or *salutaris.* What will be presented here are the funerary inscriptions found in Palestine taken as "Cisjordan," from the most ancient times up until the Byzantine period, beginning with the reign of Constantine, and divided where possible chronologically by sites according to language and script.

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A. Canaanite Inscriptions
B. Hebrew Inscriptions
  1. Jerusalem
  2. Jerusalem: Ketef Hinnom
  3. Khirbet el-Qōm
  4. Khirbet Beit Lei
  5. Conclusion
C. Phoenician Inscriptions: Achzib
D. "Idumean" Inscriptions: Marissa-Maresha
E. Jewish Inscriptions
  1. Tomb of Jason
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  4. Inscribed Sarcophagi
  5. Ossuaries
  6. Necropolis of Beth Shearim
  7. The Coast
  8. Conclusion

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**A. Canaanite Inscriptions**

The short inscriptions from tombs at Lachish are not, strictly speaking, funerary inscriptions, but neither should they be set aside too quickly. The "Lachish Dagger" from tomb 1502, dated to the 17th century B.C., carries an engraving of a four-letter name, best understood as Turanza (Puech 1986–87). The cover of an incense burner from tomb 216, from the early 13th century, still shows traces in red ink of a date and the name of a person, "The month of Ziv for Baʿal[x]." On the outside of a bowl from tomb 527 a date is painted in white, "The third of the month of [ …]" and is to be dated in the 13th century (Puech 1986–87). Do these dates refer to the inhumation of the deceased? Whatever the case, as the oldest alphabetic inscriptions discovered in tombs, they merit being mentioned along with the anthropoidal clay sarcophagi with hieroglyphic inscriptions, slightly more recent, that mention proper names also.

**B. Hebrew Inscriptions**

**1. Jerusalem.** A necropolis from the monarchic period was discovered by the Frenchman Clermont-Ganneau in 1870 and 1881 on the slopes of the village of Siloam to the east of the old city of Jerusalem (Clermont-Ganneau 1871: 103; 1885: 217–18; 1899a: 305–16). He soon suspected its importance since, despite the poor state of preservation of the two inscribed panels on the walls of the rock-cut tomb that

had served as a cell for Byzantine hermits and as a cistern during the Arab period, he suspected that this could be the tomb of Shebna, the steward of the palace (Heb *ʾăšer ʿal habbāyit*) mentioned in Isa 22:15 (Clermont-Ganneau 1899a: 313). This pioneer of archaeology and Palestinian epigraphy succeeded in removing the two inscribed panels on behalf of the British Museum, where they are exhibited.

In 1946 a fourth inscription was discovered above the entrance to a tomb adjoining the one on the N (Reifenberg 1948). From the remains of three lines, one can read only two or three words: (1) "Tomb of … (2) who will o[pe]n (?) [ …]," for the more usual "Tomb of PN[ … Cursed be the person] who will o[pen …]." It was evidently the tomb of a person of high rank whose name still eludes a more secure interpretation (Ussishkin 1975).

It was not until 1953 that the longer inscription above the door of the "steward's" tomb was deciphered by Avigad with the help of photographs and a squeeze:

(1) "This [is the tomb of x]yahu, steward of the palace. There is neither silver nor gold here, (2) only [his bones] and the bones of his maidservant with him. Cursed be the man who (3) would open this (tomb)!"

Only the theophoric name with a Yahwistic element is not restorable. Following Clermont-Ganneau, Avigad (Yadin) (1953) and Gibson (*TSSI* 1: 24) want to restore [Sheban]-yahu after Isa 22:15–16, but Katzenstein (1960) proposed [*Helqi*]yahu, father of Eliakim (2 Kgs 18:18). These two propositions seem hardly likely because of their length, which exceeds the space to be filled. From the Lachish ostraca and recently published bullae, other names of royal stewards from the end of the 7th century are known. It is therefore useless to speculate on the name of the owner of this tomb. Of the one-line inscription engraved in a rectangular panel to the right of the preceding one, only the first half is preserved: " (Sepulcral) chamber next to the (funerary) ch[amber …]" At most three words are missing; they could refer to the deceased or to the interdiction against opening the tomb (see Avigad 1955; Ussishkin 1969). These two inscriptions on panels on the W face of the same monolithic tomb probably refer to two separate sepulchral chambers, each probably furnished with a sarcophagus dug into the rock for different inhumations, probably for the same family. The short inscription designates the interior room on the S side that has no access to the exterior and so it describes the composite aspect of the tomb.

The monolithic tomb to the N known as that of the "wife of the pharaoh" also carries a one-line inscription in a rectangular panel above the entrance, but enlargement of the door in the Byzantine period almost completely destroyed it, with the exception of the last two letters (*dalet/reš* and *reš;* Clermont-Ganneau 1885: 217–18 and pl. IID). Although the inscription is incomplete, the remaining letters date the structure to the end of the monarchic period, contemporary with the two other monolithic tombs.

**2. Jerusalem: Ketef Hinnom.** Several tombs located on the SW side of Gehenna between the road toward Bethlehem and the Scottish Hospice, and dating from the end of the monarchic period to the Roman period were recently brought to light. In tomb 25 two small silver rolls were discovered, measuring respectively 2.75 cm long and 1.1 cm in diameter and 1.14 cm long and.55 cm in diameter. These rolls are amulets or charms finely engraved with more than twenty lines, for which we have presently only a summary publication (Barkay 1986). The clearest passage concerns the priestly benedictions of Num 6:24–26 in an abridged form: *ybrk yhwh wyšmrk yʾr yhwh pnyw ʾlyk wyśm lk šlm* "May Yahweh bless <you> and keep you. May Yahweh make his face to shine upon you and may he bring you peace!" Num 6:25b–26a adds "and may he be gracious to you. May Yahweh lift up his countenance upon you." The double mention of the tetragrammaton is paired with the benediction, the peace and the illumination of the face. The amulets worn by the living accompanied the dead in the tomb in order to continue in their favor their protective and apotropaic role. In this sense, these inscriptions also interest the world of the dead. They date paleographically to the end of the 7th century.

**3. Khirbet el-Qōm.** Clandestine excavations at Khirbet el-Qōm, located about 11 km E-SE of Lachish (and perhaps to be identified with MAKKEDAH [Dorsey 1980]), brought to light in 1967 two tombs of the Iron II period with a quantity of ceramic materials and inscriptions on the walls. See KOM, KHIRBET EL-. Tomb I to the E of the site is composed of a central room and three side rooms with benches, rooms 1 and 2 to the right and 3 facing the entrance. Inscription number 1 was engraved on the W wall of the

central room, to the left of the entrance to room number 3. Inscription number 2 was painted on the lintel of this same entrance. Tomb II, to the S roughly halfway between the village and the wadi, contains a central room with two lateral rooms on either side of the entrance. Inscription number 3 was incised on the pillar-shaped wall between the two rooms on the right. The walls of Tombs I and II also bear a certain amount of graffiti.

**a. Inscription 1.** The deeply engraved inscription was cut out of the wall by its discoverers. The reading of the three lines is assured (Dever 1969–70: 151): "To Ophay, son of Natanyahu, (belongs) this room."

**b. Inscription 2.** The inscription painted on the lintel of the same room posed several problems with its reading (Dever 1969–70: 156–57), but the reading seems to be fairly certain: Ophay, rather than ʿUzah (Barag 1970), thus "To Ophay, son of Natanyahu." It thus concerns the same personage to whom belonged this burial chamber. The inscription incised to the left was meant to specify and fix through time the property already indicated by the dipinto. These two contemporary inscriptions date probably from the first half of the 7th century or even ca. 700.

**c. Inscription 3.** This inscription, less carefully incised above a very deeply engraved hand, has been the object of considerable research because of its importance, but its interpretation remains in dispute. The engraved right hand is hanging in the position of an amulet, as is well known, and it must have an apotropaic meaning (Schroer 1983). The maledictions and benedictions of the inscription should logically belong to the same literary genre, something that interpreters have generally not recognized. The inscription is an imprecation in favor of Uriyahu, as the first line says very clearly when correctly read and interpreted. The verb *hqšr* is of an assured reading (the letter *qop* is certain); the word should not be read *hqšb* "be careful" (*contra* Dever 1969–70), *hʿšr* "the rich," (Lemaire 1977; Miller 1980; Jaroš 1982; Zevit 1984; Hadley 1987), *hšr* "the singer" (Mittmann 1981; Spronk 1986: 307–10), *hśr* "the governor" (Naveh 1979a; Angerstorfer 1982), or *hʾšr* "the one who" (Shea 1990). However, *hqšr* does not mean "was added" (Garbini 1978; Catastini 1984) but in the *Hipʿil* "to conjure," "to bind by conjuration," as in Isa 8:12–13 (were one should read ***tqšyrw,*** which has been changed into *tqdyšw* by metathesis and the Yahwistic purism of a scribe). The entire inscription reads as follows (note that line 4 is written to the left of the engraved hand, and line 5 is written below the engraved hand).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | *ʾrhyw. hqšr. ktbhr* | "Uriyahu conjured his inscription. |
| 2 | *brk. ʾryhw. lyhwh* | Blessed be ʾUriyahu before Yahweh, |
| 3 | *wmṣryh. lʾšrth. hwšʿ lh* | and from his adversaries by his asherah he saved him/saved him! |
| 4 | *lʾnyhw* | From/by ʾOniyahu |
| 5 | *wlʾšthr* | and by his asherah." |
| 6 | […] *ḥ̊* | […] |

The third line is superimposed over another text; certain letters are repeated or displaced, and it is possible that the original phrase was a little different, perhaps "Blessed the Uriyahu (?) before asherah! Save him (from his enemies!)"; as a kind of doublet of line 2, this sentence was corrected to read "and from his adversaries by his asherah …" The suffix pronoun *h* ("his") of *ʾšrth* ("his asherah," probably referring to the cultic pole rather than the deity) does not agree well with a parsing of *hwšʿ lh* as an imperative ("save him"), as might be expected in an imprecation. The *waw* of *wmṣryh* (at the beginning of line 3) could be consecutive: "*because* from his enemies by his Asherah He saved him." The engraving is the work of Oniyahu (line 4), and line 5, incomplete (but not a graffito), could repeat a precative formula, parallel to lines 2–3.

Whatever it may be, the sense of this inscription is clear: it is a conjuration-imprecation of an apotropaic character in which the benediction of the deceased Uriyahu before Yahweh and his asherah assures him of salvation, and serves at the same time as a malediction against encounter with his adversaries or enemies, perhaps violators of the tomb and dark forces of the netherworld. The hand in the shape of an amulet with magic powers reinforces this interpretation. This inscription would date from around 700 B.C.

**d. Graffiti.** Some letters were incised on the left wall, opposite room 2 of Tomb I: *ʾalep* (or *ʿayin* ?); *ʾalep, bet,* and *mem* (not *nun-lamed,* as read by Dever [1969–70: 157]). These letters could represent the initials of the zodiac signs "lion (-scorpion?)," "lion," "virgo," and "libra," the four consecutive and central signs (five through eight of the zodiac, and for this reason endowed with magic and apotropaic powers. The graffiti on the pillars and in rooms 3–4 of Tomb II do not make any sense, but the engraved hand belongs to the same context as inscription 3. The inscriptions on vases cannot be called funerary inscriptions: a proper name on a pitcher, *yḥml,* and on a bowl, *ʾl* "El." (The letters of "El" are the first and twelfth letters of the alphabet, that is to say the beginnings of the two halves, *ʾalep* [to *kap*] and *lamed* [to *taw*]. This alphabetic significance is more likely if the inscription had any link with the burial.)

**4. Khirbet Beit Lei.** On the E side of Khirbet Beit Lei 8 km E of Lachish, a tomb was discovered dug into the rock. It includes a principal room (2 × 3 m) with two burial chambers, one to the NW and the other to the SW, of the kind with three benches well known before the Exile. It held the remains of eight people, of which two are children, still *in situ* at the moment of discovery, and without ceramic vessels in the interior. The small amount of pottery found in the entrance well dates from the Persian period. The walls are covered with pictures and inscriptions.

**a. The Pictures.** The pictures incised on the walls represent three subjects: human figures, ships, and camps.

(1) The human figures are three in number:

(a) On the N wall of the central chamber is a crudely incised stocky man holding what is perhaps a lyre (Naveh 1963) or a bow and arrow (Bar-Adon 1975; Lemaire 1976: 567).

(b) On the lower part of the E wall of the entrance to the S burial chamber is a lightly engraved person with extended hands on both sides, as in a position of prayer or surrender. These two figures seem to have been executed by the same hand.

(c) On the W wall of the principal chamber to lower part and to the left of the entrance of the funerary chamber is another deeply engraved person with a well-drawn robe that reaches to the knees and a tall headdress, perhaps a crested helmet of the Assyrian kind, the hands at the height of the face.

(2) On the S wall of the central chamber are two crudely incised ships with sail and rudder that do not seem to have religious significance (Naveh 1963) but rather a military one (Lemaire 1976).

(3) On the N wall, facing the ships, two vaguely circular incisings represent an encampment: one is divided into four quarters like the camps of the Assyrian army on campaign according to friezes, and the other is divided into three parts, perhaps a tent.

**b. The Inscriptions.** At least seven texts are inscribed on the walls.

(1) Above and to the right of the "camp" can be read *ʾ (w)rr* "cursed" (Naveh 1963 pl. 11 E, F).

(2) Also on the N wall, facing the entrance to the S burial chamber, can be read (1) *ʾrr ḥ*(2)*rpk,* "cursed be the one that challenged you!" (Lemaire 1976); if the *kap* that precedes is joined to this inscription, its translation is "like a curse done, be the one that reproached you!" (Naveh 1963 pl. 11 D).

(3) On the W wall above and to the left of the person with the helmet and between the two "long" inscriptions, *ʾr* "cursed!"; to the right, more deeply incised, is the word *ʾtt* "signs" (Naveh 1963 pl. 13).

(4) On the S wall, between the ships and the entrance to the S chamber, (1) *ʾrr* (2) *yšr mḥr,* a text capable of being understood in several ways depending on whether one reads the two lines together. Naveh corrects the reading to suggest "Cursed be the one who pillages the tomb!" Bar-Adon (1975) and Lemaire (1976) transpose the first *ʾalep* and *yod* and correct the final *reš* to *he* to understand *ʾrr ʾšr ymḥh,* "Cursed be the one who erases!" This formula is found elsewhere in funerary inscriptions, but at the end of the text. One wonders what the reader is adjured not to erase, because nothing precedes this text and because there is no personal name! Without emending the text, one could suggest that it be understood "Cursed be the one who will sing (*šyr;* or 'govern' [*śrr*]/'behold' [*šwr*]) tomorrow!" (The word *mḥr* "tomorrow" is attested in epigraphic Hebrew at Arad.) The passage perhaps alludes to the national catastrophe.

(5) Above, to the left of the same entrance, is incised the inscription *hwšʿ yhwh,* "Yahweh, save!"

(6) On the W wall above (3) is a very lightly engraved inscription of two lines descending slightly to the left under the vein of the rock. The second line, perhaps the longer, is the most difficult to read (Naveh 1963 pl. 13). One possible reading is the following:

1 *ḥbrt (?) yhwh ʾlhyk ... hʾrṣh* "Blows of Yahweh, your God. It is he who favored

2 *lḥṣ yhdh wlʾ lʾ<ʾ>ḥy yršlm* the oppresion of Juda, but not for the brethren (?) of Jerusalem."

Some have wanted to find biblical expressions in this passage, and therefore read it differently. One different reading is: (l) *kl hʾrṣ h*(2)*ry yhd (h) lʾlhy yršlm* (Naveh 1963; *TSSI* 1: 58; Lemaire 1976; Miller 1980); this reading disregards the dividers between words, traces of letters, and the lineation.

The fact of oppression inflicted by an enemy and the religious interpretation of oppression as permitted by the divine will are both well known in the Bible (Deut 26:7; 2 Kgs 13:4; Pss 42:10; 44:25), even with respect to Judah after the Assyrian and Babylonian campaigns. If God was favorable (*rṣh*, line 1) to or permitted this oppression (*lḥṣ*, line 2) of Judah (the reading *yhwd* is also possible in line 2), he did not allow it to touch the "living" (*ḥy*, or better, *<ʾ>ḥy* "the brethren") of Jerusalem, who were spared this time. A word perhaps preceded the beginning of the first line, to the left of the margin, but no clear trace can be made out.

(7) Below inscription (3), written with the same tool and above other crisscross patterns that were written earlier, another line in alignment with (6) seems to be the continuation of the preceding inscription. It reads: *(h?)bqd yhwh yḥnn ... nqh yh yhwh,* to be understood either as "He (= Judah) was punished. Yahweh will be gracious; acquit Yah, Yahweh!" or (with asyndeton) "Yahweh has punished, he will show grace; …" The translations differ according to whether one reads a *he* at the beginning of the line; the verb *bqd* (in the orthography attested at Arad; biblical Heb *pqd*) is either a *Hopʿal* or (better) a *Qal*, but with a different subject. There is no question of Moriah (Naveh 1963; *TSSI* 1: 58), nor of "God the merciful" (Cross 1970; Lemaire 1976; Miller 1980), but of punishment, a request for grace, and acquittal.

In conclusion, these inscriptions and graffiti represent a coherent and lively description of a catastrophic situation. An encamped enemy received reinforcements from the sea, it oppressed Judah but spared Jerusalem, according to the will of God. May the one that defied you be cursed! One asks God to save, to absolve, and to show grace, and curses the one who will sing/govern (?) tomorrow. It is a moment for the survivors to mourn and to realize cause of the punishment (disobedience to the divine will?). The incised figure with extended hands could be a supplicant or someone giving up to the conqueror (Hezekiah capitulated in 2 Kgs 18:14); the one with the "lyre" might be a musician or an archer. The atmosphere is not that of a festival but of mourning (Isa 22:12–13).

Even if their literary genre is more varied than normal, in view of the particular circumstances these inscriptions of national lamentation are appropriate in a tomb in which were probably inhumed members of the resistance of the highest rank, victims of this oppression (the seige of Lachish) for which one lamented and called God to their aid. The texts are not of a prophetic or poetic nature (Miller 1980). The ships could be Philistine or Phoenician vessels allied to Sennacherib after the capture of Sidon and the enthronement of Ittobaal. Because Beit Lei is situated very close to Lachish, and because in the Bible the verb *ḥārap* occurs a number of times in the account of the campaign of Sennacherib (2 Kgs 19:4, 16, 22, 23; 2 Chr 32:17; Isa 37:4, 17, 23, 24), it is very probable that Sennacherib's campaign in Judea is alluded to here (so Lemaire 1976). Jerusalem was not taken (Isa 31:5) but the strongholds of Lachish and Shephelah fell and Juda was oppressed (2 Kgs 18:13–14). The paleographic dating would lend support to association of the inscription with the campaign of 701 B.C. and not 587 (Cross 1970; Naveh 1963). The circumstances of these burials doubtless explain the absence of pottery on the interior. Whatever the case, this new interpretation corresponds perfectly to the historical situation as it can be understood with the help of biblical and extrabiblical texts (discussed by Gonçalves 1986). Consequently these inscriptions, having come down to us because they were hidden in a tomb, are another extrabiblical testimony of contemporary events.

**5. Conclusion.** The funerary inscriptions from the four sites of the monarchic period are all in keeping with a certain concept of life after death. It is prohibited (in the Siloam inscription) to open the sarcophagus and thus to disturb the rest of the deceased; the conjuration of the Khirbet el-Qôm inscription invokes the blessing of Yahweh and his asherah or the magic hand to assure the salvation of the dead; amulets bear priestly benedictions of divine protection, illumination of the face, and peace upon persons living and dead (Ketef Hinnom); maledictions curse an enemy who sowed oppression and mourning, and the lamentation leads to an act of faith in the just punishment of God and a call for divine pardon so as to be saved (Beit Lei).

**C. Phoenician Inscriptions: Achzib**

In one of the cemeteries from the Phoenician site of Achzib on the Galilean coast, several funerary steles have been discovered. They bear the name of the deceased and sometimes his profession: "for Zakarmilk," "for ʿAmsakar," "for ʿAbdšamaš, son of ʾUšay," "for ʿAma, the founder," followed in this case by the ʾ*ankh* or sign of life in Egyptian hieroglyphics. What significance could this sign have on a funerary stele? In order to draw the most precise conclusions, one has to take into account all of the archaeological evidence of these necropolises and not only the epigraphic evidence. The writing and name forms are typically Phoenician, and date the steles to the 7th century.

**D. "Idumean" Inscriptions: Marissa-Maresha**

Some very beautiful tombs from the Idumean capital Marissa have revealed engraved and painted inscriptions in the frieze above the *loculi* or above the *loculi* themselves. The tomb of Appollophanes (no. 1) was decorated with a hunting scene with a series of domestic and wild animals, in color, designated by their names in Greek. Also painted were a Cerberus and an eagle or a phoenix. The long funerary inscription gives the age of the owner and underlines his good reputation during 33 years as the leader of the Sidonians. The other inscriptions give us the names of the dead, Phoenicians, Greeks, Idumeans for the most part. One reads twice or three times the phrase "do not open," but in one instance (no. 29) the malediction specifies damnation: "Let no one touch it, or else there will be no salvation for him!" Another Greek inscription of four lines is of uncertain interpretation; it could be a "monologue of a couple separated by death." The other inscriptions are of the more common sort: name of the deceased (patronymic, age). Several of them mention dates that probably relate to the reign of a Ptolemy. Thus the tombs would date from the 3d to the beginning of the 1st century B.C. Some of them were reused after the rejudaization of Idumea by the conquests of John Hyrcanus, but no Jewish inscription relative to this period has been found, read, or published. Only a short Nabatean inscription above a reinhumation niche (Oren and Rappaport 1984: 146) is to be read perhaps *šlm*(?) *qymw* "Salam (or Salmay), son of Qayamu."

These funerary inscriptions are important for the dating and the sociological milieu of Marissa and its region. As elsewhere, it is stressed that the repose of the dead should not be disturbed. Did the drawings of the Cerberus and the eagle/phoenix in the tomb perhaps have a religious signification respecting belief in life after death? The question must at least be asked.

**E. Jewish Inscriptions**

By the expression "Jewish inscriptions," one is to understand the inscriptions in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the two great periods of ancient Judaism, since the Persian period has not yet revealed any epigraphic funerary texts.

**1. Tomb of Jason.** Discovered in 1956 in the Rehavia quarter W of Jerusalem, this tomb contains two chambers, one with a *kokh* or *loculus* (place of inhumation) and an *ossilegium* chamber, and a porch which was also cut into the rock, with several connecting rooms (a forecourt, outer court, inner court, and the porch proper surmounted by a *nepeš*), in part dug into the rock, in part built (Rahmani 1967). Inscriptions, graffiti, and drawings are traced on the walls of the porch that gives access to the chambers.

**a. Drawings.** On the W wall are traced two warships, a troop transport ship, and drawings of palm trees. A recumbent deer is painted on the N wall above the entrance to the *ossilegium.* On the plaster of the E wall are engraved five *menorot* with seven branches, probably later than the preceding paintings. Other graffiti remain difficult to identify.

**b. Aramaic Inscriptions.** Five Aramaic inscriptions are more or less legible in the tomb.

(1) An inscription of four lines was written in charcoal on the left part of the N wall. Cursive writing and its poor preservation make the reading of it difficult (Avigad 1967; *MPAT* number 89; Puech 1983a; Beyer 1984). It reads:

1 *qw/yn› ‹lm› ‹wbd lyswn br pynḥs ›› ḥy‹ šlm dy (?) bnt (?) lk qbwr ṭ/sb› hwh šlm*
2 *byr[w]š[l]m*
3 *kdyn qw/yn› ‹lm› rḥmy› lm‹bd› lk zy hwyt šw› h (wh) šlm*
4 *ḥny br ywsh mḥy qw/yn› ḥyk ylyn šlm*

(1) This eternal abode was (re)built for Jason, son of Phinehas, <my brother.> Peace! Because I have reconstructed for you a tomb, o good (man) [or: elder] be in peace (2) in Jerusalem!

(3) This eternal abode the friends were obliged to build [or: built as a monument] for you who were worthy. Be (there) (in) peace!

(4) Honi, son of Jose, restored this abode so that he could rest (there) (in) peace.

The Aramaic word *qwn›* or *qyn›* (a medially weak noun) means "plot, abode," excluding "lamentation" (Avigad 1967; *MPAT*), but one can hesitate between *dy bnt lk* and *(›)ry bnt lk* and between *ṭb›* and *sb›*. In line 3 for *kdyn* one can hesitate between "to be obliged to" (the normal sense) and "to do" (sometimes in Syriac). The phrase *lm‹bd›* could be nominal or infinitival.

(2) On the E wall are two lines of formal writing in black ink with a date; the numbers are written in figures, represented here As arabic numerals: (1) *b*27 *l*[false start!] (2) *b*24 *l›lwl šnt* 22 (?) […] "On the 24th (day of the month) Elul, year 22 […]."

(3) On the E wall, one line in black ink that can be read: … *kwhnt› w … ›l ybz› šṭn yt b* …, "… (of) the priesthood and (of his anointed?). Let no adversary destroy the t[omb!]."

(4) On the E wall, an inscription of four lines in black ink. Two lines in closely written formal script probably carrying the mention of a "thousand" or a "ship" and sailors *(gbry ›nywt),* and of the littoral of Kanope. The two other texts in cursive script probably mention "Leah, daughter of Joseph, son of Menahem, son of Menahem."

(5) On the W wall, two lines of crude script in charcoal beneath a warship, illegible, reading partly, *bnth* …

**c. Greek Inscription.** This text of two or three lines is written in charcoal under the Aramaic inscription (1) and is aligned to the right of it. The reading is certain (Puech 1983b).

1 *euphraineste (h)oi zōntes*
2 *adelphoi k (ai) pein (h)o (i) m (akarioi) a (nthrōpoi). O (udeis) ath/an (atos)*

(1) Feast, you living (2) brothers, and drink, y (ou), h (appy) m (en). N (o one) is immor (tal)!

**d. Significance.** The inscriptions introduce the person for whom the tomb was built, Jason, son of Phinehas. This was very likely the grandson of Jason, the high priest of Jerusalem who was ousted by Menelaus, took refuge in Ammon, then in Egypt, and died in Lacedemonia; he was neither brought back nor mourned in Jerusalem (2 Macc 5:10). The name and the inscription (3) suggest that this is a family tomb of (high) priests (note the *menorahs*) that had to be restored after a *damnatio memoriae* (see (1) and the archaeological evidence that indicates a first use ca. 200). This Jason was a great personage, influential, probably the commander of Cleopatra's III's fleet (see (4) and the warships). Either he ended his days in Jerusalem, rehabilitated, or his remains were brought back to Jerusalem, where it was hoped he would rest in peace. The dated inscription (2) refers to the 22d year of a reign, probably of Alexander Jannaeus (103–75 B.C.), and thus 81 B.C. but the tomb was in use until 31 B.C. (when it was damaged by an earthquake) and, after being abandoned, again around A.D. 30–31. Although it is a property of the Sadducean party, the plans and furnishings of the tomb attest, it seems, to the general conception of life after death in the Judaism of the period. The epicurian tone of the Greek inscription reflects moreover the practice of the *marzeaḥ:* mourning and rejoicing with and because of the dead (see Tob 4:17). Inscription (3), although poorly preserved, carries a curse against anyone who would destroy the tomb (Puech 1983b).

**2. Tomb of Benê Hezîr.** On the W slope of the Mount of Olives in the Kidron Valley has been excavated a funerary monument (a tomb and its *nepeš*) for the Benê Hezîr family, the Hebrew inscription

of which has been known for more than a century (de Vogüé 1864); but its exact reading was the work of Avigad (1954: 60). The inscription would date from the first half of the 1st century B.C., about two generations after the completion of the monument. It mentions the names of the deceased of the priestly family buried in the tomb: "This tomb and its *nepeš* (are) those of Eleazar, Oniah, Yo‹ezer, Judah, Shim‹on, Yohanan sons of Joseph, son of ‹Obed, of Joseph and Eleazar sons of Oniah, the sons of Hezîr."

**3. Tomb Inscriptions.** In the necropolis of Giv‹at ha-mibtar, an Aramaic inscription engraved in (paleo-)Hebrew letters, was discovered above a *kokh* (the niche in which the bones of the deceased are deposited) in a panel divided into seven bands, bands two and five being painted in dark red (Beyer 1984: 347; *MPAT,* 68). The text reads: "I, Abba, son of the priest Eleazar, son of Aharon the Elder, it is I, Abba, the oppressed, the persecuted, who was born in Jerusalem, exiled in Babylonia, and who brought back Mattatia, son of Judah. And I have buried him in the grotto that I acquired by deed."

The author of the inscription, recalling his ancestry, relates his own story and the act of piety that he accomplished in bringing back to Jerusalem the bones of Mattatia, deposited in a tomb that he himself had acquired. The return to Jerusalem of the bones of Jews who died in foreign lands is now well known from the inscription of Jason (?) (Puech 1983a) and an Aramaic inscription on an ossuary from the Mount of Olives: "Joseph, son of Elasah, *›rtq›,* brought the bones of his mother (or our mother; Aram *›mk/nh*) Amma to Jerusalem" (Puech 1982a). The family may have come from N Mesopotamia. Another example of this phenomenon is the return of the family of Queen Helena of Adiabene (tomb of the Kings). Even the transfer of bones buried within Palestine to Jerusalem is also known. A slab for the closing of a loculus carries an engraving: "Here were brought the bones of Uzziah, king of Judah. Do not open" (Beyer 1984; 343; *MPAT,* 70). The king Uzziah (8th century B.C.) could not be buried with his fathers because of his leprosy, but the transfer was noted by this Aramaic inscription of the 1st century C.E. (its provenance is unknown).

An Aramaic dipinto in the Kidron Valley mentions another loculus (and its dimensions) for the gathering of ancestors' bones: "This loculus was made for the bones of our fathers, two cubits long. Do not open!" (Beyer 1984: 340; *MPAT,* 67; *CIJ* 1300; see also 1334).

**4. Inscribed Sarcophagi.** Despite the number of sarcophagi found at Jaffa, Azoth, Caesarea, Haifa, Apollonia, Gezer, and Jifna, few carry inscriptions of any interest. The best known is that of Queen Helena of Adiabene, discovered in the tomb of the kings N of Jerusalem (now in the Louvre in Paris; Beyer 1984: 343; *MPAT,* 132; *CIJ,* 1388). The name and title of the deceased are engraved in two scripts, Estranghelo and Palestinian Aramaic, "Saddan/Saran (or Saddah/Sarah), the queen"; this must be the Semitic name of Helena (Jos. *Ant* 20.92–96), and allows us to identify the funerary monument which is dated to ca. A.D. 50–60.

A sarcophagus cover has recently been discovered in a necropolis E of Jerusalem with a unique Aramaic inscription. In the absence of the name of the deceased, his last wishes are engraved on the tectiform cover. On one end of the sarcophagus and on one triangular side of the tectiform cover, above the depression that served as a handle, the word *skr* can be read; and on one of the two long sides of the cover, *skr ›mr dy l› lhšnyh wlh ytqbr ‹mh b›rnh dnh kwl ›nš* "He (had it) closed. He said to not change it, and that no one should be buried with him in the sarcophagus" (Puech 1989). The dead man asked to remain alone for eternity and did not want to change his place of rest, for example by being placed elsewhere in an ossuary according to the practice of the period in order to reuse the sarcophagus. The cover should be considered as sealed by order (*skr*) and nobody else, not even a member of his family, should join him. Thus neither another inhumation nor a reinhumation was permitted, but only the first inhumation of the deceased, probably to avoid all impurity and/or the disturbing of the bones, in anticipation of general corporeal resurrection. These indications from the beginning of our era are based in the ancient practice "do not open" applied to tombs, sarcophagi, or *loculi.* The use of sarcophagi of wood or stone thus did not cease with the practice of reinhumation in ossuaries.

**5. Ossuaries.** Among the several thousand ossuaries brought to light in Palestine, a fairly large proportion carry signs and inscriptions more or less finely engraved on the coffin or the stone cover. Most of the inscribed ossuaries come from Jerusalem and its periphery (see *CIJ, MPAT,* Beyer 1984) and from

Jericho (Hachlili 1978, 1979) but a few from Gezer (Macalister 1906; *CIJ* 1176–84), Lydda (*CIJ* 1173), Jaffa (*MPAT* 135), Ziph (Rahmani 1972), Nazareth (*MPAT* 109). The major period of their use extends from the end of the 1st century B.C. (ca. 40–30) up until around A.D. 70 as indicated by the pottery, the coins, and the paleography of some inscriptions. A Hebrew-Aramaic bilingual inscription mentions "Simon, the builder of the temple" (Naveh 1970) and another (Greek-Aramaic) "the bones of Nicanor of Alexandria who made the doors (of the temple)" (*CIJ* 1256; Clermont-Ganneau 1903; see *y. Yoma* 41a; Acts 3:2). An ossuary contained the remains of the granddaughter of the high priest Theophilus (to be dated after A.D. 37) (Barag and Flusser 1986), and another from Jericho mentions the queen Agrippina, spouse of the Emperor Claudius, Empress from 50 to 54 (Hachlili 1979). Certain inscriptions advert to the reinhumation of as many as three generations prior to A.D. 68–70; the *loculi* of these tombs remained in use. This was the case for the tombs of four families: Goliath at Jericho (Hachlili 1979), Dositheus (Sukenik 1928), Simeon the Elder (Savignac 1925), and Qallôn of Jerusalem (*MPAT* 90–95). These indications are important cautions against classing these ossuaries as Judeo-Christian without other evidence. The occasional mention of professions has the same import: priest (Puech 1983a; Milik 1958: 22; Naveh 1979b; Barag and Flusser 1986; *CIJ* 1317), rabbi (*CIJ* 1266, 1268–69), scribe (*CIJ* 1308; *MPAT* 99), artisan (Milik 1958: 12), potter (*MPAT* 86), Nazirite (*MPAT* 121–22), proselyte, and others are mentioned. The signs in the form of an X or a cross on the cover correspond normally to identical signs on the case, and have no religious significance; they indicate the proper position of the cover in order to close it correctly (Smith 1974; Puech 1982b). The rare injunction "do not open" (*MPAT* 95) still plays the role of metal seals (see Puech 1984), as also the *chi-rho* sign (Colella 1973); a divine threat is another protection, as in the (Aramaic) warning, "Whoever will use this ossuary to his own profit, a curse [= offering] of God on behalf of the one who is [enclosed] within" (Milik 1956–57). To these brief formulas can be added indications of consanguinity, "son," "daughter," "wife," "father," "mother," and sometimes the place of origin: Alexandria, Cyrenaica, Ptolemais (Avigad 1962), Beisan/Scythopolis (*CIJ* 1372–74), Bethel (*CIJ* 1283), Capua (*CIJ* 1284), Tyre, Sheba (Puech 1983b).

If these specifications indicate a desire for inhumation in Jerusalem, others, perhaps even families of priests originating in Jerusalem, had their tombs at Jericho (Hachlili 1978–79): "Ishmael, son of Simeon, son of Paltiya, of Jerusalem" (ossuary and inscribed bowl). At other times a surname may characterize a family (e.g., Goliath), or the age of the deceased may be indicated in Greek (Hachlili 1978; Avigad 1962). Finally, an inscribed ossuary found in the excavations of the street Midbar Sinai in Jerusalem carries the specification *šl by dwd* "belonging to the house of David" in Hebrew, but with the Aramaic form *by* for Heb *byt* (Flusser 1986). As evidence of the survival of several families claiming to be of the House of David, this discovery is not without importance for the NT and the Davidic origins of the Messiah Jesus.

The inscriptions on the ossuaries in particular show a surprising diversity of scripts: Aramaic and paleo-Hebrew (*CIJ* 1264), NE Aramaic (Puech 1982a), Palmyrene (Puech 1983b), and Greek (Estranghela on Helena's sarcophagus). Bilinguals are not rare, but trilinguals exist as well (*MPAT* 145). The Semitic, Greek, and even Latin names allow us to have a fairly good idea of the population, all the while aware that the owners of the rock-cut tombs, the sarcophagi, and ossuaries really represent only the elite and prosperous families of the country.

A beginning of the Greek alphabet, apparently followed by the Hebrew letters *aleph* (perhaps for *ʾ[rwr]* "cursed" and *qop* (perhaps for *q[dš]* "holy") in paleo-Hebrew, written in charcoal on the interior face of a cover found at the corner of the bench opposite the entrance of a tomb at Jericho (Hachlili 1979), must have a magic and apotropaic meaning, equivalent to the benedictions and maledictions and the engraved hand at Khirbet el-Qôm, the Hebrew alphabet from a tomb at Tell Eitun (unpublished; see E.6 below), and the amulets of Ketef Hinnom and Emmaus, discovered in a tomb (*CIJ* 1185, Beyer 383). It is not impossible that the inverted writing of several proper names also has such an apotropaic value. Names in Greek script include *naduoI* (for *Ioudan* [*CIJ* 1232]), and in Hebrew script *mwlš* (for *šālôm* [*CIJ* 1258]) and *pswy* (for *Yôsēp* [Joseph; *CIJ* 1389]). Finally an ossuary cover brought to light in the tomb of Bethphage carries, inscribed in two columns, lists of names and sums paid. This reckoning is perhaps to be associated with work executed in the necropolis or in the workshop that made the ossuaries. By the

paleography it would date to the last third of the 1st century B.C. (Milik 1971). The use of ossuaries may have continued sporadically up until A.D. 135, but epigraphic indications are lacking on this matter. This practice would have been that of the dominant party, the Pharisees, and the epigraphic evidence does not contradict it.

**6. Necropolis of Beth Shearim.** An important center for Jewish activity from the second half of the 2d century (centered around Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi) up until its destruction in 352, Beth Shearim became the Jewish capital, succeeding in some manner to Jerusalem. See JUDAH THE PRINCE, RABBI. Thus its necropolis attracted numerous rich Jews from abroad who desired to rest in Palestinian soil.

Most of the inscriptions come from numerous catacombs dug into the hills. They are engraved or written in charcoal or in red paint on the lintels, stones, and walls, or on the sarcophagi themselves. Among the several hundred inscriptions found in better and worse states of preservation and corresponding degrees of legibility, the great majority are in Greek; only about a fifth are Semitic, many of these in Hebrew, probably because of the influence of the rabbinical school. Palestinian Aramaic is scarcely found at all, but Palmyrene is well represented. Thanks to these documents, it is possible to have an idea of the sociocultural milieu of the inhabitants of the region and their places of origin, be it from abroad, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut, Byblos, Yaḥmur, Beqaʿa, Phaene, Palmyra, Asia (Ezion Geber), Himyar, Meishan (Babylonia), Antioch, Pamphylia, or from Palestine itself, Gabara, Havara, Caesarea, Judea, Maʿon. Also, it appears that the personal names, principally Semitic, come first of all from the biblical world; but there are also names identifiable as Palmyrene (e.g., Mokimos, Sassos, Zenobia, Barazabedia), Nabatean (e.g., Arthis), and Canaanite (e.g., Enebelos [Hannibal]). The most frequently found Greek names are based on Hebrew names (e.g., Theodotos) or phonetic approximations (e.g., Simon), but others are typically Greek, (e.g., Symmachos, Kyrilos, Korinthis, Seleukos), including even Greek and Egyptian theophorics (Diodorus, Dionysius, Eisas, Kalliope, Ourania), which is even more surprising in this Jewish milieu. A certain number of Latin names are attested (e.g., Sabinus, Severius, Germanicus). The use of a second name is not uncommon: Sarah or Maxima, Rael Ourania, etc. But even if one does not press the evidence too much, the names, with the language used, reveal a cultural and religious milieu and denote certain divisions, tolerances, and openness to other cultures. This is confirmed by the two epigrams and figurative representations found on the walls and sarcophagi (victories, the god Eros, amazonomachy). The period of codified interdictions seems largely over, at least for the Jews of the Diaspora. It is notable that in catacombs number 14 and 20, where rabbis were inhumed, the Hebrew inscriptions are more numerous, and that their names are in Hebrew and those of their wives in Greek or Latin. The Greek inscriptions sometimes give the profession (goldsmith, doctor, banker, dyer) and titles (head of synagogue, rabbi, priest [these last also in Hebrew], priestess).

Other than the new words to designate a tomb, *hapsis, krepis, osta, nepeš,* the Greek inscriptions in particular instruct us about postmortem beliefs. The interdiction against opening a sarcophagus in which a husband and wife repose is accompanied with a malediction concerning future life: “Whoever would dare to open what is above us, may he not have any part in eternal life” (no. 129). Another threatens divine judgment at the resurrection: “Whoever would move this one (fem.), he who has promised to resurrect the dead will judge him” (no. 162; cf. John 5:21). The only Aramaic inscriptions are in the same vein: “Whoever would open this sepulcher above the one it encloses, may he die an impious death” (Avigad 1976: 1–2). The Greek inscription (no. 134) stipulates: “No one has the right to open this, in accordance with divine and secular law.” One cannot help but recall an imperial edict (exhumed in a village in Galilee and dating from the beginning of the current era) concerning the violation of sepulchers and the profanation or transfer of a corpse (Abel 1930). These unique formulas perfectly reflect Jewish beliefs of the period: a doctrine of the resurrection of the dead after the general judgment; the conviction that the wicked will not take part in the future life of the just; and the consequent opinion that the Jew who did not respect the eternal rest of the dead until the day of judgment as impious and merited the reward of the impious. A pious Jew hoped for the participation of the deceased in the resurrection of the just: *ʿmydt[n ʿm hṣdyqym*], “[their] resurrection [with the just]” (Avigad 1976: 15). Certain inscriptions express the need for courage to face the journey toward eternal life, sometimes adding “and your soul will have

immortal life" (no. 130). The use of the language "soul" and "immortality" translates the Jewish idea of eternal life that is not opposed to the resurrection of the body. But the Greek influence is perhaps felt more strongly in the Greek epigram of the mausoleum: "… I went to Hades … because the All-Powerful Destiny had decided it." If the Greek word "Hades" translates Heb Sheol in the LXX, the idea that the goddess *Moira* (fate) cuts the cord of life is not at all Jewish, and the formula seems surprising in this milieu. The second epigram (catacomb 18) expresses no Jewish ideas at all in designating the tomb as the riches in which a man rejoices after his death, a sentiment evidenced also by the Homeric inspiration of the poetic Greek phraseology.

On the arch of chambers II–VI in catacomb 1 are engraved the nine first letters of the Greek alphabet that must also have had a magic and apotropaic value (see B.2–3 and E.5 above) without having any direct or immediate relation to pagan influences. In catacomb number 35 an abecedary completely in Hebrew was discovered (unpublished). Graffiti represent the Menorah, boats, and animals.

**7. The Coast.** A series of tomb inscriptions dating from the first centuries of the current era have been discovered along the Palestinian littoral, in particular at Caesarea, Apollonia, Jaffa, Azotus, Ascalon, Gaza/Maioumas in particular. The contents of these inscriptions can be summarized in general as an indication of the name and patronymic of the deceased, sometimes the age, the profession, and the place of origin. Among this last are Babylonia (*CIJ* 902), Cappadocia (*CIJ* 910), Tarsus (*CIJ* 925, 931), Alexandria (*CIJ* 918, 928, 934), and Pentapolis (*CIJ* 950). Most often in Greek, they also can be written in Hebrew or Aramaic or be partially bilingual. The most important group was found at Jaffa. Several names of rabbis known in Jewish literature are found there (Klein 1931), but also a priest from Egypt (*CIJ* 930), and a centurion from a Jewish family (*CIJ* 920). Rarer, some inscriptions indicate Roman soldiers form the 5th Macedonian legion at Emmaus, in Latin (Landau 1976; Negev 1971) or others in Greek, at Beit Nattif (Savignac 1903), at ʿEitun (Tsaferis 1982a), and elsewhere.

**8. Conclusion.** These "Jewish" funerary inscriptions reveal a richness of sociocultural (languages, scripts, personal names, ethnography, history) and religious information (funerary customs of reinhumation, transfer of bones, beliefs, Sheol, immortality, resurrection, judgment, eternal life). The belief in resurrection seems already accepted, and is expressed to a certain extent in the practice of reinhumation in ossuaries, but not exclusively, because inhumation in sarcophagi or the gathering of bones in an *ossilegium* does not contradict that belief in any way. The attraction of Palestinian ground, and Jerusalem in particular, as a place of burial during the epoch of messianic effervescence is certainly linked. This attraction does not seem to have disappeared or diminished until the age of Constantine, according to the evidence that has been discovered.

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**PALESTINIAN JUDAISM.** See JUDAISM (PALESTINIAN).

**PALLU** (PERSON) [Heb *pallû*› (פַּלּוּא)]. PALLUITE. The second of the four sons of Reuben (Gen 46:9; Exod 6:14; 1 Chr 5:3). Pallu was the grandson of Jacob and Leah. His name is included in the list of the seventy people who migrated to Egypt with Jacob and his family at the time of a great famine in Canaan (Gen 46:8–27). Pallu was the father of Eliab (Num 26:8). The redactor of Numbers provided

some additional information about the descendants of Pallu through Eliab in order to show that Dathan and Abiram (Num 26:9) were the leaders of the group that was dissatisfied with Moses' leadership and who had opposed him in the wilderness (Num 16:1–30). It is possible that Pallu may be identified with Peleth, a son of Reuben mentioned in Num 16:1. According to the second census list of Israel mentioned in Numbers, Pallu became the eponymous ancestor of the Palluites, one of the Reubenite clans (Num 26:5).

CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

**PALM TREES, CITY OF.** See CITY OF PALM TREES.

**PALMYRA** (34°33´N; 38°17´E). An oasis in the Syrian desert halfway between the Phoenician coast and the Euphrates. It was an important caravan city in 1st–3d centuries A.D., then became a Byzantine frontier fortress. Occasional references from the 19th through 11th centuries B.C. (archives from Kaneš, Mari, Emar, and Assyrian annals) indicate limited importance of the site, whose native name, Tadmor, was already in use, going back to an Amorite dialect (possible meaning "guarding post"). Biblical references that Solomon founded Palmyra are late: 2 Chr 8:4 mentions "Tadmor in the wilderness," and apparently derives from 1 Kgs 9:18, where the *ketib* reads *tamar*. The context of 1 Kgs 9:18 suggests a location for Tamar S of the Dead Sea (cf. Gen 14:7; Ezek 47:18–19; 48:28). If the Chronicler understood *Tadmor*, and adapted the context accordingly, it proves only that the desert station had already some renown in the early Hellenistic period. Josephus (*Ant* 8.6.1) abounds in the same sense, as does modern Arab folklore. See TADMOR.

The Greek name *Palmyra* remains unexplained; it can hardly be related to the Latin *palma*, in spite of Hebrew *tamar* meaning "palm." Latin texts are extremely rare in Palmyra, but there are about two thousand inscriptions in local Aramaic, including the longest known NW Semitic inscription, the Tariff, which is a text of the law passed in 137 A.D. to harmonize and complete earlier rules concerning municipal custom duties and taxes. The language is practically the same as the contemporary Jewish Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and is very close to the biblical Aramaic. The script is a monumental version of the Achaemenid chancery ductus, but there exists also a cursive script.

**A. History of Palmyra**

Disregarding some Paleolithic flint finds and a few Bronze Age sherds, the earliest remains discovered in Palmyra date to the 2d century B.C., and consist of burial deposits in the underground family tomb of Yedi‹bel. The first safely dated inscription, commissioned by the priests of Bel in 44 B.C., is nearly contemporary with a failed attempt by troops of Mark Antony to loot the city, which had hastily been evacuated by the inhabitants (App., *BCiv* 5.9). A tiny chapel of the Arab goddess Allat was erected before ca. 50 B.C., but all other extant monuments were built around the B.C./A.D. transition or later.

The city was self-governed by an assembly composed of a number of tribes, four treasurers, and probably other elected officials, but it was at the same time a part of the Roman province of Syria. Statues of Tiberius and his kin were erected in the temple of Bel in 17 A.D. Under Nero, the Senate was created, and two archonts were placed at the head of the city, which was divided on territorial or religious criteria between four reformed tribes, in accordance with the Hellenistic institutions.

By the time of Nero, Palmyra had already risen to prominence as a major merchant power, with outposts in Babylon and Seleucia-on-Tigris, and later in Vologesias and Charax, river ports closer to the Persian Gulf. Its trade provided the Roman Empire with oriental luxuries and essentials such as frankincense, spices and scents, silk, cotton, and pearls, brought to the head of the Gulf from China and India. The Palmyrenes transported these goods by boat on the Euphrates and on camelback across the desert to the Mediterranean. To accomplish this, it was essential to maintain secure footholds on the river (such as the island of ‹Ana) and especially to maintain security of the desert tracks, which they assured by promoting positive relations with the nomads. The heyday of their trade was between 130–160 A.D.

The emperor Hadrian visited Palmyra in 129 A.D. and made it a free city (i.e., autonomous in fiscal matters). Further privileges were granted when it was given the status of colony, awarded by Caracalla after 212 A.D. However, with the mounting danger of Sassanian expansion, trade came to a standstill and

direct rule was introduced. Septimius Odainat, son of Hairan, is known to be the "Head of Tadmor" (Gk *exarch*) in 252, and then as Roman governor of the province Syria-Phoenicia in 258. After he defeated an attempted invasion by Sapor I in 260, he was proclaimed by Emperor Gallienus "corrector of the whole East" and took for himself the Persian title of "King of Kings." Such audacity was too much for the imperial government, and he was assassinated in 267/68, apparently the result of an official plot. His widow Zenobia, however, maintained power for her minor son Wahballat, and conquered Egypt and Asia Minor, forming a short-lived Oriental empire. The new "empire" was crushed in 272 by Aurelian who, after an uprising in Palmyra the following year, captured the city and devastated it.

Much reduced in size, Palmyra became then a legionary fortress of the *limes* of Diocletian (about 300 A.D.). It was restored in the 6th century by Justinian, but the caravan trade never revived. Taken by Moslems in 634, Palmyra continued as a town until the middle of the 8th century, and became a fortress again in the 12th century. After being an insignificant village for several centuries, Palmyra is now an expanding town of over thirty thousand.

**B. Archaeological Remains**

The present-day ruins correspond largely to the inner city of 2d–3d centuries A.D., as preserved within the reduced perimeter of the Diocletian's wall. The residential areas are practically untouched by research, but the street grid is clearly visible on the surface. The main thoroughfare was shaded, in a way typical of the Roman East, by two rows of columns. The road has been partly cleared, together with the neighboring complex of public buildings, which include a theater, a square agora, a caravan entrepôt, etc. A characteristic feature at Palmyra, which is found sparingly at other sites, is brackets fixed on columns at about two-thirds of their height; these held bronze statues of worthy citizens, but only the dedicatory inscriptions remain.

Immediately outside the city is the necropolis, which includes about 200 partly preserved tombs. The oldest type is the funerary tower, with multistoried loculi opening on each floor. There are also collective monuments sometimes called *nāpša* (i.e., "soul, person"), a term applied also to individual funerary stones. Other tombs are underground, which consist of long galleries with vertical niches, and in the 2d century the so-called funerary temples appeared, which are lavishly decorated mausolea of Classical inspiration.

The major monument of Palmyra is the sanctuary of Bel, erected on top of a mound which was the likely site of the early settlement and its temples. The present cella, dedicated in 32 A.D., but completed probably later, is outwardly Hellenistic, but contains at its short ends two deep, raised niches where cult images were exposed and sacred objects kept. The flat roof could accommodate some ceremonies, while other activities took place at the slaughtering altar, the lustration basin, and the banqueting hall, all set in the huge square courtyard surrounded by porticoes. The much smaller sanctuary of Baʿal-šamīn consisted of an irregular temenos divided into several colonnaded courtyards. Founded at the beginning of the 1st century A.D., it received a Classical cella just before 131 A.D. to enshrine an older cult-relief in a richly adorned exedra. There was also the temple of Nebo, raised on a high podium in the middle of its courtyard, which apparently replaced an older building. The shrine to the goddess Allat was for a long time a small chapel, but later was preserved within a 2d-century cella. The temple of Arṣū is utterly destroyed, while those of Atargatis, ʿAglibōl and Malakbel, and others, are not located yet.

The chief god of Palmyra was Bel, which reflects the Babylonian name of the archaic Bōl (apparently a dialectical rendering of common Semitic *baʿal*), and was preserved only in composite names (e.g., the Moon-god, ʿAglibōl; or the Sun-god, Yarḥibōl). These three, in company of Arṣu, ʿAštart, and others, owned together the great temple and formed a group of planetary gods with Bel, as Jupiter, governing the Cosmos. They appear, however, in different combinations in other sanctuaries, preserving disparate tribal traditions; thus ʿAglibōl was worshiped in the "Sacred Grove" together with Malakbel ("Angel of Bel"), a youthful vegetation god, but also a Sun-god distinct from Yarḥibōl, who presided over the source Efqa, the main water supply for the oasis. While these gods are unknown outside the sphere of Palmyra cults, others are more common: Arṣu is an Arab armed godhead equated with the Greek Ares and proceeding from the Safaitic Ruḍā; Herodotus (3.8) identified Orotal as the major god of the Arabs, and also

identified Allat with Aphrodite. While Ba‹al-šamīn, "Lord of Heaven," is known in the 10th century B.C., he arrived in Palmyra as the supreme deity of a tribe, parallel to, but distinct from Bel. A crowd of lesser gods, often undistinguishable from each other, were imported by their nomadic worshipers from the desert. Characteristically, they are always armed, either in the bedouin way or wearing an armor as Roman soldiers did.

The forms of cult are known very imperfectly. In addition to the traditional holocausts, there were simple frankincense offerings on altars of which several hundreds survive. Ritual meals, organized by particulars or by associations (with that of the priests of Bel paramount), consisted in solemnly sharing food and wine in the presence of a god. Cult images were most often graven in relief and not sculpted in the round, so that some traditional offerings and trappings were obviously no longer appropriate, and a more spiritual understanding of divinity might be supposed. Such an understanding is certain in the case of the so-called anonymous god, which was apparently Ba‹al-šamīn, who was worshipped outside his sanctuary with ritual consisting of incense burning on votive altars. These altars bear formulas expressing the transcendent and ethical character of the god, whom they never call by name. However, in spite of some modern speculation, this cult was not monotheistic.

In the art of Palmyra the gods and their faithful are represented in relief, aligned in a strictly frontal view. This convention is also constant in funerary sculpture, which consists of plaques with half-figures of men and women in high relief; these are applied on grave slits, and larger plaques with family banquet scenes are placed on sarcophagi. Artists strove to express a vivid presence of the deceased and their contact with the beholder via a frontal posture and large open eyes. While they are keen on details of dress, jewelry, etc., a portrait likeness is seldom attempted. The relation to Byzantine art strikes the eye though direct links are missing, since the art of Palmyra became extinct in the late 3d century, shortly after those of Hatra and Dura, which had shared in the same artistic and religious outlook.

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**PALSY.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**PALTI** (PERSON) [Heb *pālṭî* (פָּלְטִי)]. Var. PALTIEL. **1.** Son of Raphu, and a Benjaminite (Num 13:9). Palti's name appears sixth in a list of twelve men sent by Moses to spy out the land (Num 13:1–16). Each man represented a tribe, Palti representing the tribe of Benjamin.

**2.** Second husband of Michal, Saul's daughter; and the son of Laish from Gallim (1 Sam 25:44, 2 Sam 3:15). Palti's name appears in a note about David's wives (1 Sam 25:43–44) and in the narrative concerning David's negotiations with Abner (2 Samuel 12–21). (In the latter he is called Paltiel.) Saul gave Michal, David's wife, to Palti. No reason is stated for this action. After Saul's death, David stipulated the return of Michal as a condition of his talks with Abner, commander of Ishbosheth's army (2 Sam 3:14). Michal is taken from Palti, as David requested (v 15). Palti follows her, weeping, all the way to Bahurim. When Abner orders him to return, however, he obeys (v 16).

LINDA S. SCHEARING

**PALTIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *pāltî›ēl* (פַּלְטִיאֵל)]. **1.** Son of Azzan; an Issacharite (Num 34:26). Paltiel's name appears eighth in a list of twelve tribal representatives designated by Moses to divide the land of Canaan (Num 34:19–29).

**2.** Second husband of Michal; son of Laish (2 Sam 3:15). See PALTI.

LINDA S. SCHEARING

**PALTITE, THE** [Heb *happalṭî* (הַפַּלְטִי)]. Occurs only in 2 Sam 23:26 as the gentilic designation of Helez, fifth in the main list of "the Thirty," David's corp of military elite *(haggibbōrim).* See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS. It identifies him either as a Calebite through Pelet (1 Chr 2:47) or as a native of Beth-Pelet (M.R. 141079), a Judean town near Beer-sheba (Josh 15:27). The latter is more likely in view of the context, though the two may be associated. The LXX's *phelōthi* reflects the confusion found in the Chronicler's parallel and related lists (1 Chr 11:27; 27:10), where Helez is "the Pelonite" (MT *happĕlônî;* LXX *phelōni*).

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**PAMPHYLIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Pamphylia* (Παμφυλια)]. A district in S Asia Minor bounded on the N by Pisidia and the Taurus Mountains, on the E by Cilicia Tracheia (later called Isauria), and on the W by Lycia. The district, which bordered the Mediterranean coast, covered a territory about eighty miles long and thirty miles wide. Several navigable rivers, including the Kestros and the Eurymedon, flowed through the region to the S coast of Asia Minor and emptied into the Pamphylian Sea. The major cities on the coast were Attalia, Side, and Coracesium and in the interior were Perga and Aspendus (Strabo 14.4.1–3; see also Bean 1968: 1053–81). The coastal towns were used as an operational base for pirates from Pamphylia and Cilicia (Strabo 12.7.2–3, 14.3.2). The climate along the coastal plain was uncomfortable and malaria was prevalent. The region produced abundant fruit crops and was renowned for its pharmaceutical products.

According to one tradition, Pamphylia was colonized by a mixed multitude of Greeks led by Amphilochus and Calchas after the fall of Troy (Herodotus 7.91; Strabo 14.4.3, 12.3.27, 14.5.23). Pamphylia literally means "many tribes, or nations," but the region had its own aberrant Greek dialect related to the Arcadian Greek (see Ramsay 1880 and Brixhe 1976; the city of Side had its own script and language which persisted until the 2d century B.C.E. and is still essentially undeciphered; cf. Acts 2:10). Pliny (the Elder) reports that the region was once called Mopsopia, after the celebrated soothsayer Mopsus (*HN* 5.26; Strabo 14.4.3; see Pausanius 7.3.2; compare with another earlier diviner by the same name in Pindar *Pyth.* 4.191; and Apollonius of Rhodes 1.1083, and 4.1502ff.). Mopsus shared an oracle-shrine with Amphilochus in Cilicia, where his name occurs in local place names and in 8th-century bilingual hieroglyph inscriptions from Karatepe.

Pamphylia was ruled by local kings before being absorbed into Croesus' Lydian empire. Pamphylia fell to the Persians and continued under Persian control until it submitted to Alexander the Great. Although Pamphylia was occupied by Ptolemy I and III, the district was generally controlled by the Seleucids. The region was surrendered to the Romans by Antiochus III in 189 B.C.E. The Attalids of Pergamum gained a small part of the W coastline, where they founded the city of Attalia.

Pamphylia was part of the province of Cilicia from 102 B.C.E. to 44 B.C.E. and then was included in the province of Asia. Antony granted Pamphylia to Amyntas in 36 B.C.E. and it was joined together with Galatia from 25 B.C.E. to 43 C.E. (see Smye 1934) when Claudius formed Lycia-Pamphylia. Pamphylia was reunited to Galatia by Galba, after the Lycians procurred a temporary independence, and was finally reunited again with Lycia by Vespasian. Luke's use of a common article bonding "Cilicia" and "Pamphylia" in Acts 27:5 was probably not to indicate a political entity (which did not exist) but rather a geographical unit, both sharing the S coastline of Asia Minor.

It appears that Pamphylia had a sizable Jewish population during the Maccabean period, considering that it was one of the countries notified by the Roman consul in 142 B.C.E. of a renewed alliance with the Hasmoneans of Judea (1 Macc 15:23). Side was specifically mentioned in the circular; however, inscriptions relating to Jews in this city date to a later period (*CLL* no. 781; Robert 1958: 36–47; Lifshitz 1967: nos. 36–37). Philo included it among countries having a significant Jewish population, and

Pamphylian Jews were reported in Jerusalem at Pentecost (Philo *Gaium* 281–82; Acts 2:10). It is likely that there were Jews in the city of Perga during Paul's missionary activities there (Acts 13:13; 14:25).

Paul, Barnabas, and John Mark visited Pamphylia during their first missionary journey. They sailed from Paphos on Cyprus up the Kestros River to Perga (or an adjoining port town, Acts 13:13). There is no indication that Paul or his companions preached to the Pamphylians at this time. After an apparent difference of opinion, John Mark left his colleagues and returned to Jerusalem (Acts 13:13). Paul and Barnabas crossed the Taurus Mountains and preached in Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:14). A possible explanation of the unusual course of events is that the three agreed to evangelize Pamphylia but for some reason there was a change of venue and John Mark refused to acquiesce. Some scholars have conjectured that Paul, who was probably enervated by the intense efforts at Paphos, may have contracted malaria in the moist Pamphylian climate (cf. Gal 4:13), forcing a change in itinerary. On their return, Paul and Barnabas preached in Perga and perhaps Attalia before sailing back to Antioch (Acts 14:24–26).

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**PANEL** [Heb *misgeret* (מִסְגֶּרֶת)*; sippûn* (סִפּוּן)]. A word used to denote the sides of the lavers in Solomon's Temple and also the wooden (cedar) paneling of houses. The temple texts describe the elaborate stands for the lavers as having framed panels decorated with lions, oxen, and cherubim (see 1 Kgs 7:28, 29, 31, 32, 35, 36). See also LAVER. Otherwise, Jeremiah delivers an oracle against Shallum, who is berated (Jer 22:14) for building such a fancy dwelling, paneled with cedar. In Hag 1:4, the prophet urges the people to rebuild the desolate Temple since they already live in "paneled" *(sĕpûnîm)* houses. However, the Haggai passage may mean "finished" houses in contrast to God's ruined dwelling. An obscure Hebrew word *(śāḥîp)* is rendered "paneled" in Ezek 41:16.

CAROL MEYERS

**PANTHEONS, MESOPOTAMIAN.** In the polytheistic world of Sumer, Babylonia, and Assyria thousands of gods existed, and since the cuneiform scribes made and used all kinds of lists of signs, words, and numbers for various practical and theoretical needs, gods' names were also compiled in list form. In a restricted sense, the word "pantheon" can be used to describe these lists. The earliest such list is *ca.* 2600 from Ur (UET 2: 105), which consists of only twelve names, and its purpose is not clear. However, from Fara and Abu Ṣalābīkh *ca.* 2500 B.C. there are lists of between 600 and 400 names, as well as some shorter ones, which are clearly meant as comprehensive statements of the pantheon. The two longest, one each from Fara and Abu Ṣalābīkh, show set principles of arrangement. Both begin with the most senior members of the pantheon by rank, to express a theological statement, but later in the lists another principle of arrangement appears. For example, in the big Fara list there is a long section of names beginning with *Nin-*, put together only because they share the same first sign, something akin to our alphabetic arrangement, with no theological significance.

In the 2d millennium another type of list arose, which continued to be copied until the 1st millennium, namely gods' names written in signs which are not self-explanatory and so have the reading indicated in phonetic signs, thus being a philological tool. However, the 3d-millennium type continued to be compiled and used, at least for the first few centuries of the 2d millennium, and at least one of these survived into the 1st millennium. But before 1600 B.C. more systematic lists were being compiled, giving the major deities of the pantheon in order of rank, each with spouse, children, courtiers, and other related minor gods. Such single-column lists required considerable knowledge to use and understand, so a double-column format was introduced *ca.* 1500 B.C. The names were explained by being equated with another

name, on the analogy of Sumero-Babylonian word lists, and explanatory notes followed or took the place of the equivalent name, e.g. "Asallukhi = Marduk, prime son of Enki." This kind of list is, of course, extremely informative for modern scholars, though in need of critical handling, and the longest list of this type is called *An = Anum* after its first line, and contains not far short of 2000 entries. It was compiled by expanding older lists in the second half of the 2d millennium. It continued to be copied until at least the period of the Persian empire.

A still more elaborate type of list also appeared in the second half of the 2d millennium, utilizing three subcolumns. As before, the name in the first subcolumn was explained by an equation with another name, and then a phrase indicated the special reference of this particular name of the god being dealt with, e.g., "An = Anum, of mankind." Instead of simple phrases, more elaborate epithets are used in some of these lists.

All but one of these lists are Sumerian or Babylonian, the exception being a single-column Assyrian list, known from 1st-millennium copies, but perhaps of 2d-millennium origin. For further discussion see *RLA* 3: 473–79.

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**PANTHER.** See ZOOLOGY.

**PAPHOS** (PLACE) [Gk *Paphos* (Παφος)]. A city in the SW of the island of Cyprus (34°45′N; 32°25′E), seat of the island's administrative government during the NT period. The Paphos of Acts 13:6–13 is actually the newer of two neighboring cities bearing the same name, sometimes differentiated by the terms "New Paphos" (*paphos nea;* Pliny *HN,* 5.130) and "Old Paphos" (*palaipaphos;* Strabo 14.683).

The maiden missionary voyage of Saul and Barnabas took them to Cyprus at the very outset. They landed in Salamis and made their way to Paphos at the other end of the island. Here they encountered the Jewish magician Elymas and the proconsul Sergius Paulus, who was the first of many secular authorities to summon Paul to give an account of himself. Paul (as Saul is called for the first time in the course of this narrative) successfully curses one with blindness (the apostle's first recorded miracle) and converts the other. Given some of the external evidence, the references connecting this city to a Sergius Paulus, to proconsuls in general, and to a Jewish magician are not surprising. Cyprus had recently been made a senatorial province, and the capital, and therefore proconsular residence, was in Paphos. There seems to be evidence for the name "Sergius Paulus" in an inscription found in N Cyprus (*SEG* 20.302, lines 9–11), but the best conjectures at dating make it unlikely that it refers to the same man (cf. now Mitford *ANRW* 2/7/2: 1300, 1330). Josephus (*Ant* 20.142) mentions a Cypriot Jewish magician named Atomus, again unlikely to be identified with the man in Acts, unless perhaps one regards the Bezan text as preserving his name more accurately (*et*[.]*mas* for *elumas*). On all these matters see Hemer 1989: 108, 109, 166f.

Cyprus was annexed by Rome in 58 B.C. and, after a very short period as a province with a military governor, became a senatorial (proconsular) province in 22 B.C. Paphos was well known for its temple and cult of a goddess syncretistically identified as the Greek Aphrodite, who became known as the "Paphian goddess." She was allegedly born on the foam of the sea, and floated on a shell to the shore of Cyprus near Paphos. The city also had a history of earthquakes, and was virtually destroyed by one in the 4th century A.D. It was perhaps as a result of this that Paphos lost its title as the capital of the island to Constantia, which was the rebuilt city of Salamis. The modern name for Paphos is Baffo, and excavations have revealed parts of several public and private buildings from the Roman era, including the city walls, an amphitheater, and a luxurious villa which may have been the governor's palace.

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CONRAD GEMPF

**PAPIAS** (PERSON). The writings of Papias (traditionally, ca. A.D. 60–130) are known to the modern world only from fragments and would be neglected today if it were not for certain statements made by

him about Mark and Matthew that have intrigued NT scholars. This interest has rescued Papias from obscurity but has also distorted his importance and skewed the significance of his role in the early church.

**A. Papias the Man**

According to Irenaeus, our earliest witness, Papias was "a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, a man of primitive times," who wrote a volume in "five books" (*haer.* 5.33.4; quoted by Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.1). Eusebius already doubted the reality of a connection between Papias and the apostle John on the grounds that Papias himself in the preface to his book distinguished the apostle John from John the presbyter and seems to have had significant contact only with John the presbyter and a certain Aristion (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.3–7). Eusebius' skepticism was no doubt prompted by his distaste—perhaps a recently acquired distaste (Grant 1974)—for Papias' chiliasm and his feeling that such a theology qualified Papias for the distinction of being "a man of exceedingly small intelligence" (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.13). Nevertheless Eusebius' analysis of the preface is probably correct; and his further point that Papias' chiliasm put him to the same camp as the Revelation of John is surely relevant. It is notable that Eusebius, in spite of his desire to discredit Papias, still places him as early as the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98–117); and although later dates (e.g., A.D. 130–140) have often been suggested by modern scholars, Bartlet's date for Papias' literary activity of about A.D. 110 has recently gained support (Schoedel 1967: 91–92; Körtner 1983: 89–94, 167–72, 225–26).

It is also Eusebius who informs us that Papias was "bishop of the community in Hierapolis" (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.36.2). A somewhat different impression is left by Irenaeus, who is interested in the connection between Papias and the "presbyters" of Asia Minor. In this context the term "presbyter" refers not to church officials but to followers of the disciples (notably John) who handed on the orthodox theological tradition. It seems unlikely, as Harnack thought, that Papias was Irenaeus' source for his knowledge of the presbyters (Körtner 1983: 36–43). For in the crucial passage, Papias is evidently treated by Irenaeus simply as one who reinforces the authority of the presbyters in handing on the saying of the Lord about the wonderful fruitfulness of the earth in the millennium (*haer.* 5.33.3–4). The likelihood is that the presbyters were charismatic leaders in Asia Minor who in some quarters were believed to have been followers of the apostles and sometimes of the Lord himself and who were responsible, among other things, for promoting an apocalyptic form of Christianity; and it seems probable that John the presbyter and Aristion were the most important of these figures for Papias (Körtner 1983: 114–32).

**B. Papias' Exposition of the Lord's Logia**

What has become for many the standard collection of fragments of Papias (in Bihlmeyer) contains some thirteen items, the most important of which are derived from Irenaeus (*haer.* 5.33.4–5) and Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39). Other collections have additional materials, including a number of minor references to Papias from the church fathers. Körtner, for example, numbers twenty-two items in his edition of the fragments. Efforts to enrich the collection from the traditions of the presbyters in Irenaeus (Loofs 1930: 325–38) or from Armenian sources (Siegert 1981; Kürzinger 1983) are problematic (Körtner 1983: 31–43).

Papias' book was entitled "Exposition of the Lord's Logia" (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.1). Papias uses the term *logia* also in his discussion of Mark where the words and deeds of Jesus are under discussion (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.15). To judge from the fragments, the term "exposition" *(exegesis)* refers primarily to the act of collecting and correlating the materials. We do not know to what extent (if any) the shape of the book was determined by the written sources used by Papias (Mark and Matthew). We do not know what the scope or structure of the book was. We do not know whether the five divisions of the work represent anything more than perhaps an imitation of the Pentateuch, the Psalms, or some other collection. We cannot specify the genre of the work with any confidence (though perhaps the relevant parallel is offered by the *apomnemoneumata*—the memoirs—of antiquity). It is not known whether any polemical intent informs the writing of the work, although opposition especially in Gnosticism or to Paulinism or to the Gospel of John have often been named in this connection. We do know that the preface of Papias' book and his account of the gospels of Mark and Matthew reflect the horizons of Greco-Roman rhetorical theory and practice. But there is disagreement as to how deep the influence goes (for an extreme statement of the

case, see Kürzinger). It is possible that Papias was exercising a kind of rhetorical criticism on the tradition primarily for historical purposes with a view to establishing the credentials of his own chiliastic theology and thus promoting his work as a resource for the Christianity dominant in his immediate environment or at most (if we are not dealing merely with rhetorical flourishes) as a response to vaguely defined tendencies that involved (as Papias saw it) an openness to "those who have much to say" and a receptivity to "alien commandments" (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.3). In any event, it is not to be taken for granted that the anti-Gnostic use soon to be made of such theology necessarily illuminates Papias' own purpose.

Somewhat similarly, Papias discloses his preference for oral tradition in good rhetorical style as a preference for "a living and abiding voice" (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.4), yet he clearly is also well disposed to his written sources. Thus he apparently was a man who within certain limits sought to soften rather than to sharpen polarities and apparent contradictions.

**C. Papias' Sources**

Papias mentions "the presbyters"—or more precisely, those "who had actually attended the presbyters"—as his oral source and in this connection names seven (presumably representative) disciples (Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas, James, John, and Matthew) and two others, "Aristion and the elder John," whom he also calls "disciples of the Lord" (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.3–4). These lines from Papias' preface can be read in a way that identifies the presbyters with the disciples. But it is more likely that Papias regarded the presbyters as followers of the disciples. If the latter is correct, Papias claims to have his information from the disciples at third hand (Schoedel 1967: 98). It is also possible to read the passage in a way that identifies the apostle John with the presbyter John. But this reading also seems very doubtful (Schoedel 1967: 98–99). Presumably, then, Aristion and the presbyter John were regarded as personal "disciples" of Jesus who were not among the twelve; and presumably John was called "the presbyter" (whereas Aristion was not) to distinguish him from the apostle, who had just been named (Munck 1959). In any event, Papias "often mentions them [Aristion and the presbyter John] by name and sets forth their traditions in his writings"; and the assertion of Eusebius that Papias was himself a hearer of Aristion and the presbyter John is probably based on nothing more definite than that (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.7).

**D. Papias' Theology**

It is presumably from (followers of) Aristion and the presbyter John, then, that Papias derived his chiliastic doctrine. This connects Papias with a distinctive theological tradition that involves especially the presbyters of Asia Minor, Montanism, and later enthusiasts for millennialism. Interest in this tradition may have been reinforced in the case of Papias by the use of the NT Apocalypse (Körtner 1983: 82), but that is not certain (Schoedel 1967: 113–14). Papias' own theology left its mark in Irenaeus and elsewhere (notably, it seems, in Victorinus of Pettau, who died ca. A.D. 304). The background of the famous saying of the Lord about the miraculous fruitfulness of the earth in the millennium has been found in Jewish apocalyptic literature (Gry 1944, 1946), and there is little in the fragments of Papias that could not be seen as inspired by an apocalyptically oriented form of Jewish Christianity. But there are occasional hints of other theological concerns such as Papias' account of "a woman reproached for many sins in the Lord's presence" (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.17). And the interest in literary and historical questions evidently has intellectual foundations independent of Jewish Christianity. Moreover, Papias' accounts of miracles—the resurrection of a dead body (a story "received from the daughters of Philip," presumably Philip the evangelist and not Philip the apostle as Eusebius asserts), and the drinking of poison by Justus without any harmful effects (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.8–10; cf. Mark 16:17–18), or the gruesome account of Judas' death (in a fragment stemming from Apollinaris of Laodicaea)—suggest the atmosphere of the legendary acts of the apostles. That such events functioned as eschatological signs for Papias is possible, but that is not at all obvious from the fragments themselves. That Papias was in such instances adapting to his purposes stories that had Gnostic dimensions (Beyschlag 1961) is even less likely (Schoedel 1967: 111–12, Körtner 1983: 137–44; 148).

**E. Papias and the New Testament**

What the fragments have to tell us about Mark and Matthew is information that Papias himself traces to "the presbyter" (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.15–16). Eusebius separates the statements about Mark and Matthew,

but they may originally have followed one another and certainly seem closely related. Perhaps the simplest reading of the statement on Mark is that Mark served as Peter's interpreter (possibly in the role of *methurgaman*, or oral translator) and wrote down what he heard Peter say of the words and deeds of Jesus and that his writing is defective in "order," though not in accuracy or fullness of recollection, because Peter naturally referred to the Lord's *logia* in a random manner. Some have suspected that Papias did not have in mind the gospel of Mark that we know, but the arguments are tenuous. On another point, Kürzinger has attempted to show that Papias was speaking not of translation from the native language of Peter but of presentation of the reports of Peter (an interpretation which he applies also to Papias' statement about Matthew); but this seems to push a rhetorical approach to Papias' terminology too far (Schoedel 1967: 107; Körtner 1983: 203–4). On the other hand, an interpretation in rhetorical terms is somewhat more likely when it comes to the suggestion that Papias meant to say that Peter spoke "in *chria*-style" rather than "as needs *(chriai)* dictated." But the point that is debated more than any other is what Papias had in mind when he said that Mark did not write "in order." It is perhaps most likely that Papias was measuring Mark by Matthew (who is said by Papias to have made "an ordered arrangement" of the materials)—or perhaps more generally by Papias' own conception of what ought to be included in such an account—and that he had in mind completeness of information as well as "order" in the narrow sense of the term. In any event, Papias is defending Mark in spite of perceived deficiencies.

Perhaps the simplest reading of the much briefer statement of Papias on Matthew is that Matthew organized the Lord's *logia* in Hebrew (Aramaic?) and that people ("each one") translated them variously. Some have held that Papias had in mind something other than the gospel of Matthew as we know it (a collection of sayings like Q, for example, or a collection of *testimonia*), but such views enjoy little support today. Again Kürzinger thinks that Papias is speaking of materials written not in the Hebrew language but in a Semitic style and of the presentation of such Semitically colored materials in different ways by Mark and Matthew ("each one"); but this also seems to push the terminology unnaturally (Schoedel 1967: 110; Körtner 1983: 203–4). To be sure, it is unclear what Papias had in mind when he referred to the variety of translations of Matthew. Conceivably the Jewish model of the translation of Scripture orally by a *methurgaman* lies in the background, or it may be that Papias was trying to account for the existence of Jewish Christian gospels (like the *Gospel According to the Hebrews*) which rivaled the authority of our Matthew. In any event, it is likely that, in the case of both Mark and Matthew, Papias was offering an explanation of the fact that he possessed Greek versions of what he assumed must have had Semitic prototypes. In other words, the concern for the authenticity of the tradition is once again the main point. Clearly, then, Papias' purpose must be taken into account before his statements are scrutinized for clues to the origins of the gospels. For this and other reasons there is an understandable reluctance of scholars today to rely heavily on Papias in the unraveling of NT problems.

Some scholars have found hints in the fragments that Papias also knew the gospels of Luke and John (and was dissatisfied with them or, quite the opposite, used one or the other of them as the standard by which he measured the adequacy of Mark), but the evidence is fragile. In particular, the reference to Mark's lack of "order" has inevitably suggested a connection (positive or negative) with Luke's claim to have set his materials down "accurately in order" (1:3). And Papias' assertion that he will hand on only "commandments" given by the Lord and "coming from the Truth itself" has suggested dependence on the Gospel of John (14:6, 15). But it is hard to find much to support these points. Certainly the evidence of the so-called "anti-Marcionite prologue" that names Papias as the apostle John's amanuensis is not impressive (Schoedel 1967: 121–123). Also highly problematic, however, is the information contained in two interdependent fragments of Papias that links the (relatively early) martyrdom of James (Acts 12:2) with that of John and that has consequently often been used to question the apostolicity of the Gospel of John (Schoedel 1967: 117–21). At the same time, the distinction apparently made between the disciple John and the presbyter John in Papias' preface plays a legitimate role in assessing claims made for the authorship of the various writings attributed to John in the NT and in evaluating the tradition concerning the Ephesian ministry of John the apostle.

A complex relation obtains between Papias' story of "a woman reproached for many sins in the Lord's presence" (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.17), the *pericope adulterae* now located in John 7:53–8:11, and the *Gospel According to the Hebrews* that Eusebius names as containing the story (cf. Becker). Here it is worth noting only that it is Eusebius (and not necessarily Papias himself) who makes reference to the *Gospel According to the Hebrews*.

Finally, Eusebius says that Papias "made use of testimonies from the first letter of John and likewise from that of Peter" (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.17). If this is accurate, it seems unlikely that the theology of either of these two writings influenced Papias deeply. Conceivably an interest in the figure of Peter prompted by Papias' Jewish Christian orientation had something to do with his use of 1 Peter and his appeal to what the presbyter had to say about Peter's role in the formation of the gospel of Mark. But that is obviously tenuous, and it seems unlikely in any event that opposition between Peter and Paul would have been involved. Papias' Christianity was evidently non-Pauline, but it was not necessarily anti-Pauline.

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**PAPYRI, EARLY CHRISTIAN.** "Papyri" is used as a generic term to refer to texts written on papyrus or similar writing materials (in particular parchment, ostraca, and wooden tablets) which have emerged through stray finds or excavation, mainly in Egypt. The word conveniently distinguishes these from the "manuscripts" (mostly on parchment) handed down through the medieval library tradition. The writing materials of Mediterranean antiquity—of which papyrus was the principal one (Lewis 1974)—in general failed to survive the passage of time. Arid and desolate conditions along the Nile valley, however, proved especially favorable to their preservation (the moister Delta region much less so), and papyri have turned up in large numbers from scrap heaps and other sites in Egypt since late in the 19th century (comprehensive surveys of papyrology, including treatment of Christian materials, are given by Montevecchi 1973; Turner 1980; and there are several standard bibliographies for the field; for explanations of sigla denoting papyrus editions see Oates et al. 1985). Outside Egypt, papyrus finds have been on a very much smaller scale and the attestation of early Christianity slight. A parchment fragment of Tatian's *Diatessaron* (P. Dura 10) was found at Dura-Europus, where Christianity was practiced alongside other worshipping traditions in this remote Roman outpost, destroyed by the Persians in A.D. 256/57.

In filling in some of the considerable gaps presented by the literary, epigraphic, and archaeological sources, papyri offer a type of documentation of great directness, and extend the range of evidence to times and places for which documentation is otherwise unavailable (the full range of source materials for Christianity in Egypt is considered in Pearson and Goehring 1986). Alexandria, pivotal in the history of Christianity as in cultural history more generally, has itself yielded no papyrus finds, a major gap in the documentation scarcely alleviated by the finding elsewhere of texts which emanate from or refer to Christianity there, and by the assumption that Alexandrian practice had a decisive influence on scribal and other aspects of Christian books in Egypt. Middle Egypt has yielded much, particularly the Fayum and Oxyrhynchus, as well as Hermopolis, Antinoopolis, and other places. Finds from Upper Egypt are fewer but highly significant; from there have come, or may have come, some of the best-preserved texts (notably the Bodmer and Chester Beatty biblical codices in Greek, and the Nag Hammadi Coptic Gnostic codices), with monastic milieux providing an important role in the transmission of theological literature. There is evidence of the spread of Christianity westward to the Great Oasis by the 3d century, a process stimulated by the flight or banishment of persecuted Christians to remote regions (on Christianity in the oases see Wagner 1987: 355–72). Traffic beyond the First Cataract is likely to have carried Christian influence into Nubia as early as the 4th century.

The chronology of the Christian texts presents a formidable problem, owing to the uncertainties of paleographic dating (on handwriting and other aspects of scribal practices, see Metzger 1981, Turner 1987; Turner [1977] gives some important re-datings). Most datings are very approximate. None of the texts can be safely assigned to the 1st century. The 2d century provides the first sure glimpses of the penetration of Christian literature along the Nile. In the 3d century the number of biblical and theological texts increases substantially, and there are clear references to Christians in official documents. Official reaction to Christianity reached a turning point with the Diocletianic persecutions in the early years of the 4th century and then the toleration of Christianity under Constantine I, and these developments receive papyrus attestation. By the mid-4th century the Christianization of Egypt was considerably advanced, and ecclesiastical and monastic institutions were part of the social fabric (Bagnall 1982; 1987 uses the criterion of personal names to quantify the rate of the changes). Papyri reflect this consolidation in their number and range.

The papyri relating to Christianity add to the general store of textual data, and give firsthand evidence of the spread of Christian beliefs. They contribute to the question of defining "Christian," although owing to the limited evidence there is an inescapable circularity in the identifying of Christian elements in texts and the illumination of Christianity on the basis of the texts. The papyri bear out the view that there was a diversity of beliefs and practices, but the low proportion of specifically "unorthodox" material warns against overstating the diversity (Roberts 1979; Samuel 1985). Light is shed, albeit in a scattered and incomplete way, on some of the great developments, such as the introduction of Christianity into Egypt, the growth of Coptic Christianity, the rise of the monastic movement, the formulation of liturgy, and the transmission of the textual traditions of the OT (including pre-Hexaplaric and non-LXX material) and of the NT (including texts with "Western" affinities).

The bulk of the texts are in Greek (over 300 by the early 4th century; in the space available here only a representative sample of texts can be cited), a phenomenon reflecting the transplantation of Hellenic culture to Egypt through commerce and conquest and its continuance under the Roman administration (Lewis 1983, Bowman 1986 provide general perspectives on the period in the light of the evidence of papyri). Only a handful of texts are in Latin (Cavenaile 1987). Coptic scriptures (Metzger 1977: 99–152; T. Orlandi's survey of Coptic literature in Pearson and Goehring 1986: 51–81) begin to appear in the 3d century, as well as Coptic glosses to Greek texts (the glosses in a papyrus of Isaiah, P. Chester Beatty VII, being among the earliest specimens of Coptic). Some codices contain collections of both Greek and Coptic texts (as Hamburg Pap. bil. 1, with several OT books in Greek and Coptic along with the Acts of Paul in Greek), and there is evidence for Greek-Coptic glossaries (British Museum Pap. 10825 verso, for some or all of the Minor Prophets).

Papyri illuminate the cultural phenomenon of the form of Christian books, a feature which is of significance for questions of attribution and of the use to which texts were put, as well as for the cultural attainments of their copyists and readers. Typically (but not exclusively), Christian biblical papyri are written in informal styles of handwriting, are in codex form (varying in size from large to miniature, with one or two columns to the page), and have *nomina sacra* (distinctively Christian contractions of certain sacred names such as the word for God or Lord, e.g. *kȳ* = *kyrios*) (Turner 1977; Roberts 1979). This general picture of Christian books applies to both OT and NT texts. The possibility of a Jewish milieu, or at least the influence of Jewish scribal tradition, arises where an OT text is written calligraphically, is in roll form, uses the Tetragrammaton (the Hebrew *YHWH* = Lord, represented by paleo-Hebrew or square Hebrew characters), or carries a non-Septuagint Hebraizing version (as that of Aquila or Symmachus; on the various Greek translations and their attestation [Tov *ANRW* 2/20/1: 121–89]). A concurrence of several such features, suggesting Jewish attribution as unavoidable, occurs seldom. The Jewish presence in Egypt declined dramatically as a result of cycles of revolt and persecution, and Jewish papyri in this period are correspondingly few.

In the 2d and 3d centuries the Christian preference for the codex for biblical texts (the roll was not infrequent for Christian literary works) is in marked contrast with the still traditional use of the roll for works of classical literature, for which the codex did not become standard until the 4th century (Turner 1977; Roberts and Skeat 1983). In the same century parchment came into common use in Egypt; an increase in the proportion of parchment codices for biblical texts is part of this wider change. In addition to the codex form, Christian scribes used the roll form on exceptional occasions for biblical texts. Some biblical texts appear in the form of individual sheets, including instances (notably of Psalm texts) which are evidently for liturgical use, and texts used as amulets.

The consistency with which Christian scribes favored the codex is matched by the regularity with which they used *nomina sacra.* Like the codex, these are found in use in the earliest examples of Christian biblical papyri. The system shows some variety in its earlier stages, both in the choice of words abbreviated and in the methods of abbreviation. Abbreviations became normal for the following fifteen words, and could be employed whether in context the words had a "sacred" or "profane" sense: *theos, kyrios, Iēsous, christos, uios, pneuma, Daueid, stauros* (and *stauroō*), *mētēr, patēr, Israēl, sōtēr, anthropos, Ierousalēm* and *ouranos* (Paap 1959; Roberts 1979).

Biblical papyri (which are augmented by biblical quotations and reminiscences in apocryphal and literary papyri and in some of the letters) provide a core of evidence (biblical and literary papyri are catalogued in van Haelst 1976 [including a chronological list of early texts, pp. 409–13], with updates by Treu in his "Christliche Papyri" reports [Treu 1969– ]; and Aland 1976 is confined to texts on papyrus specifically, as is the series of text volumes begun with Grunewald and Junack 1986). The biblical papyri are more abundant than texts in other categories, and provide a useful indicator of the geographical spread of Christianity along the Nile (Roberts 1979). They provide the earliest witnesses to many passages, and offer numerous variants. They shed light on scribal practices, on reading preferences, on the canon of scripture, and on text types current in Egypt. (Aland and Aland 1987 gives contents and textual evaluation of NT texts on papyrus and parchment. In these matters it needs to be remembered that statistical considerations are affected by the accidents of preservation and publication.)

Evidence for a complete Bible in a single codex is lacking. Most of the papyri survive as leaves or fragments of one book, and their original extent is unclear. Groupings of a small number of books frequently occur. There is evidence of varying clarity for collections of the usual subgroupings: the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Wisdom books, the Minor Prophets, some of the Major Prophets, the Four Gospels, the Johannine books, the Pauline Epistles, the Catholic Epistles. From this list are absent as a group the historical books of the OT, which are weakly represented. The sequences of books within these groupings are frequently noteworthy (for example, the Pauline Epistles appear in descending order of length in P. Chester Beatty II). There are also some unanticipated groupings of biblical works (a striking instance is P. Oxy. VIII 1075 + 1079, from a papyrus roll with Exodus on the recto and Revelation on the verso), and combinations of biblical and other (such as patristic) material (where a theme may be

discernible, as with the apparently Paschal contents of the Savery Coptic codex, which has Melito, *On the Pasch,* as well as 1 Peter, Jonah, and other texts).

Best represented of all are the Psalms (P. Bodmer XXIV being especially extensive), a reflection of their importance in worship and also in the schoolroom. Other examples of substantially preserved OT papyri include texts of Genesis (Berlin, Cod. Gr. fol. 66 I, II; P. Chester Beatty IV and V), Numbers and Deuteronomy (P. Chester Beatty VI), Proverbs, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus (P. Ant. I 8 + II 210), the Minor Prophets (Washington MS. V), Isaiah (P. Chester Beatty VII + other fragments), Ezekiel, Daniel and Esther (P. Chester Beatty IX + X + other fragments). P. Chester Beatty I has the remains of the four Gospels and Acts. The Gospels of Matthew and John are particularly well represented. Strong attestation for the gospel of John (including the substantially preserved codices of John and Luke-John, P. Bodmer II and P. Bodmer XIV–XV), and the occurrence of noncanonical material with Johannine affinities, lead to the conclusion that Johannine thought had very considerable influence in early Egyptian Christianity. A work of similar popularity (to judge by the numbers) was the *Shepherd of Hermas,* which achieved some canonical status for a time; the papyri show it to have circulated in several of its component parts. P. Bodmer VII + VIII has 1 and 2 Peter and Jude complete. P. Chester Beatty III has a third of Revelation. Some casual biblical excerpts appear in the margins of documents (such as the beginning of the Lord's Prayer written beside accounts, P. Erl. 105–10).

With the canonical books must be considered the extracanonical or apocryphal texts, bearing in mind that the idea and content of the canon were in the process of clarification, and that authentic material, such as new sayings of Jesus, may be transmitted independent of the canon. The papyri attest several apocryphal gospels not otherwise known, among them one of the earliest Christian papyri, Greek fragments of an unidentified gospel or gospel harmony (P. Egerton 2 = P. Lond. Christ. 1, with another fragment recently identified in the Cologne collection, P. Köln VI 255). The identified NT apocrypha include the *Protevangelium of James* complete (P. Bodmer V), and Greek fragments of the gospel of Thomas (P. Oxy. I 1, IV 654, 655; now reedited in Layton 1989), recognized after the discovery of a Coptic translation of the work among the tractates of the Nag Hammadi codices.

Literary papyri include identified works of patristic authors, works which may be attributed to known authors on the grounds of content or style, and works of unknown authorship, among which homiletic literature and works of hagiography are prominent. The variety of writers attested goes beyond specifically Egyptian circles and, in fact, the Alexandrian theologians are weakly represented (some identifications for Origen, uncertain attribution for Clement; Alexandrian textual criticism is represented in P. Grenf. I 5, a papyrus of Ezekiel in which the Hexaplaric system of signs is used). Melito of Sardis is relatively well represented. Other writers found include Aristides, Irenaeus, Julius Africanus, Eusebius, and Pachomius. An epistle against the Manicheans (P. Ryl. III 469) may be a pastoral circular from an Alexandrian bishop. Two versions of the anonymous *Acts of Phileas* (P. Bodmer XX, P. Chester Beatty XV) illuminate the development of martyrological compositions based on the form of official reports of court proceedings.

Knowledge of Gnostic and related writings has been revolutionized by the finding of the Nag Hammadi codices, containing over 40 tractates in Coptic (most if not all translations of Greek originals, reaching back into the early period). There is a small number of distinctively gnostic papyri in Greek from our period, including portions of the *Gospel of Mary* (P. Oxy. L. 3525 as well as P. Ryl. III 463, the latter likewise from Oxyrhynchus), the *Sophia of Jesus Christ* (P. Oxy VIII 1081; also found among the Nag Hammadi tractates), and a work regarded as probably from the school of Valentinus (P. Oxy. I 4). Several Coptic Manichean codices were discovered in the Fayum in 1930 and the process of their preservation and publication continues to the present day.

The liturgical texts, prayers, and hymns which survive are for the most part unknown from other sources. As well as individual prayers from formal and private milieux (P. Oxy. III 407 is a well-preserved example), there are collections, one of them conspicuously syncretistic (B.K.T. VI 6 1, which includes a hymn from the *Poimandres,* with doxology added). P. Oxy. XV 1786, a hymn to the Trinity with musical notation, offers the earliest extant specimen of Christian hymnody.

There is a miscellaneous group of "subliterary" papyri, including biblical oracles, glossaries, onomastica and word lists, biblical passages used for school exercises, and glosses and other marginalia. Through the magical genre, preserved in Greek and Coptic, run crosscurrents of thought which typify the period, when biblical excerpts could be used as amulets or Christian ideas could be drafted into magical formulations. Some Christian symbols occur in texts of various genres, such as the staurogram worked into an abbreviated form of the word for "crucify" in biblical texts, or the number 99 (the numerical value of the letters of *amēn*) added to a private letter (P. Oxy. XXXI 2601).

The private letters, from ca. A.D. 200 onward, show persons expressing their beliefs, incidentally or more deliberately, in the course of everyday affairs (whether some letters assigned earlier actually refer to Christians is debated; this is part of a general problem of attribution, since monotheistic or other usages may be consistent with Christian belief without being distinctive of it [Naldini 1968; Wipszycka 1974; Tibiletti 1979]). The standard conventions of letter writing were adapted so that Christian phraseology appears in greetings, prayers, and salutations. The conveying of Christian sentiments in the body of a letter becomes frequent in the 4th century, and some biblical quotations and allusions occur. The correspondence of churches and monasteries—such as letters of recommendation—begins to appear in the latter half of the 3d century. Some light is thrown on Christianity in Alexandria; there is, for example, an apparent mention of the late-3d-century bishop of Alexandria Maximus (P. Amh. I 3 [c]), and a description of conflicts between adherents of Athanasius and supporters of the Meletian schism (P. Lond. VI 1914). P. Lond. VI 1913–1922 is a series of letters from around A.D. 330–40 from a Melitian monastic milieu (now further illuminated, though with a slightly later focus, by the archive of Nepheros in Trier and Heidelberg). The mutually supportive roles of church and military functionaries is documented by the archive (early 340s–early 350s) of Abinnaeus, a cavalry officer stationed in the Fayum (P. Abinn.). The papyrus letters give evidence of social and cultural levels, norms (such as the ascetic), and customs (such as the bestowal of Christian names). On the whole, in both the 3d and 4th centuries, the writers are from the higher levels of town or village society (Judge and Pickering 1977, with a list of letters and documents).

Some official and other documents refer to or originate with Christians, or are concerned with events of relevance to the history of Christianity. There is a tendency in the evidence of the documents toward depicting a transition from confrontation to integration in the community, a result of the types of circumstances which could lead to the appearance of persons in public records (such as the holding of property) or the public designation of persons as church-related (as when ecclesiastical titles became commonplace). Documents have the advantage that, in most instances, they contain specific dates or are susceptible of reasonably close dating (even here doubts over dating may arise, owing to questions of reading or interpretation). Firmly dated texts begin to emerge in the middle of the third century. Between A.D. 250 and A.D. 350 the focus of the documents changes from the investigation of Christians (in the latter half of the 3d century and the first few years of the 4th) to the role of church institutions in the social and economic order (particularly from the early 320s onwards). At the beginning of that period are certificates of sacrifice from the Decian persecution (the so-called Decian *libelli* [P. Oxy. XLI 2990 was the 44th to be published], not specifically referring to Christians), and soon after (at or near to the time of the persecution of Valerian) investigative documents in which the word "Christian" occurs (P. Oxy. XLII 3035, XLIII 3119); at the midpoint, the dismantling of churches under Diocletian is attested (P. Oxy. XXXIII 2673; cf. P. Harr. II 208); toward the end of the period, ecclesiastics and monks have become part of the daily scene (e.g. P. Col. VII 171), Sunday is referred to as "the Lord's Day" (P. Oxy. LIV 3579), an Egyptian monk is summoned by Constantine to the Synod of Caesarea (P. Lond. VI 1913, A.D. 334), and bishops are found as substantial landowners (P. Herm. Landlisten), a signal of the large role of the church in the politics and economy of Byzantine Egypt.

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**PAPYRI, PAPYRUS.** Articles on individual papyri can be found under the following titles: BODMER PAPYRI; CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI; ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI; SAMARIA (PAPRYRI); and EGERTON PAPYRUS. On papyrus as a writing material, see FLORA; WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS.

**PARABLE.** An extended metaphor or simile frequently becoming a brief narrative, generally used in biblical times for didactic purposes.

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A. Parabolic Genre
B. Parabolic Corpus
    1. The Hebrew Scriptures
    2. The Jesus Tradition
C. Parabolic Interpretation

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### A. Parabolic Genre

The Greco-Roman literary tradition took the genre "parable" in a fairly restricted manner. In his *Rhetoric* (2.20) Aristotle distinguished two types of proof used in all types of rhetoric. First, there is the example *(paradeigma),* which is to be used inductively. This is divided into two classes, "one which consists in relating things that have happened before, and another in inventing them oneself." The former

is history, the latter fiction. Those fictional examples are again divided into two subclasses: the fable *(logos)* and the comparison *(parabolē).* Fables are impossible or unrealistic fictions. Aristotle gives an instance from Aesop: The flea-ridden fox refuses the hedgehog's offer of help because his fleas are now sated. Parables are possible or realistic fictions. Aristotle gives an instance from Socrates: "If one were to say that magistrates should not be chosen by lot, for this would be the same as choosing as representative athletes not those component to contend, but those on whom the lot falls; or as choosing any of the sailors as the man who should take the helm, as if it were right that the choice should be decided by lot, not by a man's knowledge" (2.20.4). Second, there is the saying *(enthymēma),* which is to be used deductively. Here again there are two classes. One is the maxim *(gnōmē),* for instance: "There is no man who is really free." Another is the proverb *(paroimia),* for instance: "An Attic [i.e., troublesome] neighbor."

The Hebrew literary tradition gave the genre a much wider understanding. As we shall see in more detail below, the word *māšāl,* with its most usual Greek translation, *parabolē,* meant a similitude or comparison and the expression had a very wide range of application. In fact it is almost synonymous with metaphor.

Contemporary literary criticism agrees with the Greco-Roman tradition in emphasizing the narrative element in parable but with the Hebrew tradition in allowing both impossible and possible stories into the genre. Three elements are stressed in modern parabolic theory. Parables combine the qualities of narrative, metaphor, and brevity. A parable must tell, in as short a space as possible, a story with a double meaning. One meaning will usually be quite clear on the surface of the narration. Another, and presumably deeper meaning, or other, and possibly multiple meanings lie hidden within the complexities of the narrative, and these challenge or provoke the recipient to interpretation. Parables are lures for interpretation and also revelations of the very process of interpretation itself.

**B. Parabolic Corpus**

**1. The Hebrew Scriptures.** In the Hebrew scriptures the parabolic genre, as *māšāl* or *parabolē* is not limited to narratives but is concentrated around the idea of comparison, of one thing said and another intended. It therefore includes everything from proverb to allegory (Boucher 1977: 86–89). The full continuum of its usage can be seen even in a single book, for example, in Ezekiel.

The term can designate what we would call a proverb, and specific examples are italicized in the following cases. In Ezek 12:22–23 God says to the prophet, "Son of man, what is this proverb that you have about the land of Israel, saying, 'The days grow long and every vision comes to nought'? Tell them therefore, 'Thus says the Lord God: I will put an end to this proverb, and they shall no more use it as a proverb in Israel.' " In Ezek 16:43b–45b, God accuses Jerusalem, "Have you not committed lewdness in addition to all your abominations? Behold, every one who uses proverbs will use this proverb about you, 'Like mother, like daughter' … Your mother was a Hittite and your father an Amorite." Finally, in Ezek 18:2–3, in a text very similar to the first one in 12:22–23, God again refutes an Israelite proverb. "The word of the Lord came to me again, 'What do you mean by repeating this proverb concerning the land of Israel, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." As I live, says the Lord God, this proverb shall no more be used by you in Israel.' "

There is a special instance of parable-as-proverb in the case of proverbs of warning or bywords of caution. In Ezek 14:8 God is threatening idolators who seek prophetic guidance despite their infidelity: "I will set my face against that man, I will make him a sign and a byword and cut him off from the midst of my people; and you shall know that I am the Lord."

At the other end of the continuum are instances of what we would term allegory. Once again there are very good examples in Ezekiel. Here the parable designates a narrative comparison with the hidden meaning carried by both the narrative sequence and details of the story. In Ezek 17:2 God tells the prophet, "Son of man, propound a riddle, and speak an allegory to the house of Israel." There follows in 17:3–10 the parable-allegory of The Two Eagles, which is explained in detail in 17:11–21. The first or "great eagle" is Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon, the "young twig" is Jehoiachin, the "seed of the land" is Zedekiah. The "second eagle" is Pharaoh Psammeticus II of Egypt. The turning of the vine away from the first eagle which had planted it and toward the second eagle is Zedekiah's pro-Egyptian intrigues which

will bring the wrath of Babylon down upon him. There is another parable-allegory in Ezek 20:45–49 where The Great Fire from the north will destroy the trees of the south, and Ezekiel protests, "Ah Lord God! they are saying of me, 'Is he not a maker of allegories?' " It should be noted that not every single element in the allegorical story has a specific referent in the allegorized history.

In those preceding instances the word *māšāl* or *parabolē* was explicitly used for those parabolic or allegorical stories. But even in Ezekiel there are allegories where the term does not appear. They are simply called prophetic lamentations. For example, The Young Lions in Ezek 19:1–9 has Judah as a lioness. Jehoahaz as the "young lion … brought with hooks to the land of Egypt," and Jehoiachin as "another of her welps … put … in a cage and … brought … to the king of Babylon." Similarly, The Vine's Branch in Ezek 19:10–14 has Judah as a vine, the "strongest stem" is Zedekiah, the "east wind" is Nebuchadrezzar, and the "transplantation in the wilderness" is the Babylonian Exile.

There are several instances elsewhere in the Hebrew scriptures where the specific term *māšāl* or *parabolē* is not used but which should also be considered as parables in the sense of allegories. Here the stories are taken not from natural events but from human actions. The most famous may well be The Ewe Lamb in 2 Sam 12:1–4. The "rich man" is David, the "poor man" is Uriah, the "ewe lamb" is Bathsheba, and Nathan traps David in his own indignation. Notice, once again, that even in such parabolic allegories, not every narrative element has an extranarratival referent. What, for example, in the story of David's adultery and murder corresponds to the narrative's "there came a traveler to the rich man"? Is it part of the allegorical challenge that the recipient must determine just how far such detailed references are to be passed? A similar allegorical trap is sprung on David by The Widow's Sons in 2 Sam 14:5–7. Here the first son is the murdered Amnon, and second son is the fugitive Absalom. One final example, which Aristotle would have termed a fable rather than a parable, is the case of the antimonarchic story in Judg 9:8–15. The trees sought a king but were turned down by olive, fig, and vine, and had to take in the end the useless and dangerous bramble. In that example there are no specific referents for olive, fig, and vine, but the bramble clearly applies to Abimelech.

Most of what will follow in this parabolic tradition is already set up by those preceding examples. Parable extends from nonnarrative proverb to narrative allegory, from fables with possible or impossible natural protagonists to stories with quite possible and plausible human protagonists, and with or without the specific title of parable being present.

**2. The Jesus Tradition.** The Christian tradition was consciously aware that Jesus spoke both in aphoristic parables and narrative parables. This is clear in two documents discovered at Nag Hammadi. The aphoristic parables are recalled by the comment in *Dial. Sav.* (NHC III.5) 139:8–11, "Mariam said, 'Thus about "The wickedness of each day," and "The laborer being worthy of his food," and "The disciple resembling his teacher." '" Those three sayings are known to us also from elsewhere in the Jesus tradition. The Wickedness saying is in Matt 6:34b. The Laborer saying is in Matt 10:10b; Luke 10:7b; 1 Cor 9:14; 1 Tim 5:18b; *Did.* 13:1–2. The Disciple saying is in Matt 10:25a; Luke 6:40. The narrative parables are recalled by the comment in *Ap. Jas.* (NHC I,*2*) 8:1–10, "It was enough for some ‹to listen› to the teaching and understand 'The Shepherds' and 'The Seed' and 'The Building' and 'The Lamps of the Virgins' and 'The Wage of the Workmen' and 'The Didrachmae' and 'The Woman.' " Those seven parables are also known to us from elsewhere in the Jesus tradition. The Shepherds (despite the plural) is probably Matt 18:12–13; Luke 15:4–6. The Seed is Mark 4:3–8; Matt 13:3b–8; Luke 8:5–8a; *Gos. Thom.* 9. The Building is Matt 7:24–27; Luke 6:47–49. The Lamps is Matt 25:1–13. The Wage is Matt 20:1–15. The Didrachmae (despite the plural) is Luke 15:8–9. The Woman is either Matt 13:33 or *Gos. Thom.* 97.

Following from the Hebrew scriptural usage, we would expect the term "parable" to cover both the aphoristic and narrative metaphors of Jesus. Thus, when Jesus is accused of Satanic collusion, Mark 3:23 continues, "And he called them to him, and said to them in parables, 'How can Satan cast out Satan? If a kingdom is divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand. And if a house is divided against itself, that house will not be able to stand.' " In this case of Kingdom and House the term "parables" refers to nonnarrative or aphoristic metaphors. Later in Mark 12:1, the story of The Evil Tenants is introduced with, "And he began to speak to them in parables," and in 12:12 it is concluded with, "And they tried to

arrest him, but feared the multitude, for they perceived that he had told the parable against them; so they left him and went away."

This wide understanding of parable as including both aphoristic metaphor and narrative metaphor is present even within the same chapter in Mark 4. This opens in 4:2, "And he taught them many things in parables," and concludes in 4:33–34, "With many such parables he spoke the word to them, as they were able to hear it; he did not speak to them without a parable, but privately to his own disciples he explained everything." Yet inside those emphatic frames, the section includes both parables-as-narratives, for example, The Sower in 4:3–8, The Harvest Time in 4:26–29, The Mustard Seed in 4:30b–32, and parables-as-aphorisms, for example, Lamp and Bushel in 4:21, Measure for Measure in 4:24b. And both types of parable receive the warning, "He who has ears to hear, let him hear," in 4:9 and, "If any man has ears to hear, let him hear" in 4:23.

In general, therefore, the Jesus tradition follows the Hebrew scriptural precedent and places the emphasis on comparison or metaphor in applying the term "parable" to a unit. Whether the unit is aphoristic or a narrative metaphor is of no significance. The data of the Jesus tradition necessitates, however, the expansion of that double into a triple category: aphoristic parables, extended parables, and narrative parables.

**a. Aphoristic Parables.** There is a very high incidence of aphoristic metaphors in the Jesus tradition and these may be present with or without the explicit term "parable" being present. For example, Mark 2:21–22 says, "No one sews a piece of unshrunk cloth on an old garment; if he does, the patch tears away from it, the new from the old, and a worse tear is made. And no one puts new wine into old wineskins; if he does, the wine will burst the skins, and the wine is lost, and so are the skins; but new wine is for fresh skins." Matt 9:16–17 follows Mark in not calling this aphoristic metaphor about Patches and Wineskins a parable. And it also occurs without explicit parabolic characterization in *Gos. Thom.* 47d. But in Luke 5:36a the same unit is introduced by "He told them a parable also." Exactly the same phenomenon occurs in the case of The Blind Guide. Matt 15:14b reads, "And if a blind man leads a blind, both will fall into the pit." The aphoristic metaphor also appears in *Gos. Thom.* 34 and again without being explicitly called a parable. But Luke 6:39 reads, "He also told them a parable: 'Can a blind man lead a blind man? Will they not both fall into a pit?' "

It is already evident from some of the above examples that aphoristic parables often appear in doubled format. We just saw the doubled aphoristic metaphors of Patches and Wineskins. There are also several cases where an aphoristic metaphor appears as single in one text but as double in another. For example, the Dogs and Swine saying in Matt 7:6 reads, "Do not give dogs what is holy; and do not throw your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under foot and turn to attack you." *Gos. Thom.* 93 also has this saying as a doublet, "‹Jesus said,› "Do not give what is holy to dogs, lest they throw them on the dung leap. Do not throw the pearls to swine, lest they grind it [to bits]." Yet *Did.* 9:5 warns with a single aphoristic metaphor, "But let none eat or drink of your Eucharist except those who have been baptized in the Lord's Name. For concerning this also did the Lord say, 'Give not that which is holy to the dogs.' " Again, the sayings on Hating One's Family and Carrying One's Cross appear as a doublet in Matt 10:37–38; Luke 14:26–27; *Gos. Thom.* 55. But the latter saying appears alone in Mark 8:34; Matt 16:24; Luke 9:23; and the former appears alone in *Gos. Thom.* 101. Finally, the famous saying about the Prophet's Own Country appears as follows in *Gos. Thom.* 31 (P. Oxy 1.30–35), "Jesus said, 'No prophet is accepted in his own village; no physician heals those who know him.' " Instead of this double version, with prophet and physician present, there is a single version, with only prophet present, in Mark 6:4; Matt 13:57b; John 4:44.

In most of these cases it is almost impossible to decide whether a single saying has been doubled by analogous creation or an originally double saying has been contracted into single format. In that final instance, the second option seems more plausible. Prophet could be taken literally and the metaphorical physician could easily drop away. This is confirmed by Jesus' comment in Luke 4:23, "And he said to them, 'Doubtless you will quote to me this proverb, "Physician, heal yourself; what we have heard you

did at Capernaum, do here also in your own country." '" Luke, in other words, may have known the double aphorism but opted, unlike Mark and the rest, for the physician rather than the prophet.

There are even some cases where a single or double aphorism is moving on to become a triple version. We saw already the double saying on Kingdom and House in Mark 3:24–25 and Luke 11:17b. In this case Matt 12:25b almost triples it: "Every kingdom divided against itself is laid waste, and no city or house divided against itself will stand." One begins to glimpse a possible third saying about a divided city added to that on kingdom and house. Similarly the Serving Two Masters saying appears in single form in Matt 6:24, "No one can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will be devoted to one and despise the other." So also in Luke 16:13. But this is a triple version in *Gos. Thom.* 47, "Jesus said, 'It is impossible for a man to mount two horses or to stretch two bows. And it is impossible for a servant to serve two masters; otherwise he will honor the one and treat the other contemptuously.' "

Aphoristic parables, in other words, appear in single, double, triple, or even multiple units, and these may either expand or contract as the transmission progresses. And doublets, of course, could be formed either synonymously, with twin positives or twin negatives, or else antithetically, with a balanced positive and negative in whichever order. All the preceding doublets were in synonymous parallelism. Examples in antithetical parallelism appear in the next section.

**b. Extended Parables.** The distinction between extended and narrative parables may be clarified by an example. The narrative parable of The Treasure appears in Matt 13:44: "The kingdom of heaven is like treasure hidden in a field, which a man found and covered up; then in his joy he goes and sells all that he has and buys that field." On the one hand, this is much more than a simple aphoristic parable, as if it had said only, "the kingdom of heaven is like a treasure hidden in a field," and stopped right there. On the other, it is surely a minimal story, with beginning, middle, and end, with the three sequential elements of finding, reburying, and buying. Still, despite its brevity or maybe even because of it, one could certainly not guess from the opening sentence how the story would unfold. That is a narrative parable and the application depends on how one reads the entire story. There is, in other words, some at least minimal amount of surprise or unpredictability in narrative parables.

Extended parables, however, are but the predictable unfolding of what is implicit in aphoristic parables. Consider The Two Houses in Matt 7:24–27 or Luke 6:47–49, "Every one then who hears these words of mine and does them will be like a wise man who built his house upon rock; and the rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew and beat upon the house, but it did not fall, because it had been founded on the rock. And every one who hears these words of mine and does not do them will be like a foolish man who built his house upon the sand; and the rains fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew and beat against that house, and it fell; and great was the fall of it." That could be taken as a sequential narrative with beginning, middle, and end, with building, flooding, standing, or building, flooding, falling. It could be considered a narrative parable, just like The Treasure. But each half does no more than unpack the details already quite predictable in those opening aphoristic metaphors, "built on rock" or "built on sand." No doubt, the expanded metaphor is quite suitable as the climactic ending for Matthew's "Sermon on the Mount," but it is also a moot point in aesthetics whether expanded metaphors are not often ruined metaphors. It is sometimes best to leave the unpacking to the recipient's imagination.

In The Two Houses the extended parables were based on an aphoristic doublet but this doublet, unlike the synonymous ones seen earlier, was an antithetical formation. It balanced a positive with a negative rather than having a synonymous formation containing two of either. Several other extended parables contain antithetical parallelism. For example, notice the contrasted options in The Two Shepherds of John 10:11–13, The Two Positions of Luke 14:7–10, The Two Stewards of Matt 24:45–51; Luke 12:42–46; The Two Reactions of the master in Luke 17:7–9, The Two Refusals of the playing children in Matt 11:16–17; Luke 7:31–32; and The Two Sons of Matt 21:28–32. A graphic illustration of the difference between an extended parable and a narrative parable may be seen by comparing that last instance with the story of the two sons in The Prodigal Son of Luke 15:11–32.

Of course, not all extended parables have this antithetical format. Examples without it are the Fig Tree's Lesson in Mark 13:28 and Matt 24:32, but explicitly called a parable only in Luke 21:29–30; or Knowing the Danger in Matt 24:43; Luke 12:39; *Gos. Thom.* 21,103.

In the Jesus tradition, extended parables form the center of a parabolic continuum with clearly aphoristic parables at one end and clearly narrative parables at the other. There are, therefore, extended parables which are extremely close to aphoristic ones and others extremely close to narrative ones.

An example of the former instance is Before the Judgment. In Matt 5:25–26 and Luke 12:58–59 this reads: "Make friends quickly with your accuser, while you are going with him to court, lest your accuser hand you over to the judge, and the judge to the guard, and you be put in prison; truly, I say to you, you will never get out till you have paid the last penny." But the synoptically dependent version in *Did.* 1:5 is much shorter: "He … shall be tried … and being in prison he shall be examined as to his deeds, and he shall not come out thence until he pay the last farthing."

There are several examples of the latter instance, that is, of parables which stand on the exact borderline between an extended and a narrative parable. Examples are The Harvest Time in Mark 4:26–29; *Gos. Thom.* 21; The Mustard Seed in Mark 4:30–32; Matt 13:31–32; Luke 13:18–19; *Gos. Thom.* 20; The Leaven in Matt 13:33; Luke 13:20–21; *Gos. Thom.* 96; The Midnight Friend in Luke 11:5–8; The Tower Builder in Luke 14:28–30; The Warring King in Luke 14:31–32; The Unjust Judge in Luke 18:2–4; and all three parables from one of the Nag Hammadi texts, The Palm Shoot in *Ap. Jas.* 7:22–28; Grain of Wheat in *Ap. Jas.* 8:10–23; Ear of Grain in *Ap. Jas.* 12:20–27.

Finally, there is one very interesting parable, The Returning Master, which might be classified in any of the three categories. In Mark 13:34–36 and Luke 12:35–38, the combination of parabolic third-person and parenetic second-person discourse renders it hard to decide whether there might be a full narrative parable behind those units. But in any case, the synoptically independent version in *Did.* 16:1 is simply an aphoristic parable: "Watch over your life: let your lamps be not quenched and your loins be not ungirded, but be ready, for ye know not the hour in which our Lord cometh."

**c. Narrative Parables.** The most famous parables in the Jesus tradition are not the extended but the narrative parables. It is those, for example, that gave to our language the images of the prodigal son and the good Samaritan. It must be remembered, however, that Jesus was an oral teacher and that those stories may well be no more than plot summaries of stories which might have taken hours to tell.

In a famous article of 1909, Axel Olrik spoke of the epic "laws" of folk narrative, and those traditions of oral storytelling are still obvious even in the necessarily summarized versions of Jesus' narrative parables. The "Law of Three" appears in the path, rocks, and thistles of The Sower in Mark 4:3–8; Matt 13:3–8; Luke 8:5–8a; *Gos. Thom.* 9; in the three servants of The Talents in Matt 25:14–30, in the "improved" version in *Gos. Naz.* 18, and even in Luke 19:15–26 despite the initial "ten servants" in 19:13; and in the Priest, Levite, and Samaritan of The Good Samaritan in Luke 10:30–35. But those last two cases also follow the "Law of Twins," that is, the first two servants in The Talents and the first two travelers in The Good Samaritan form a twinned situation as contrasted with the third one in each case. The Law of Contrast, of clearly polarized protagonists, appears in the farmer and his enemy in the Wheat and Weeds in Matt 13:24–30; *Gos. Thom.* 57; in the Rich Man and Lazarus in Luke 16:19–31; in the Pharisee and Publican in Luke 18:10–13; in the former and latter guests of The Feast in Matt 22:1–13; Luke 14:15–24; *Gos. Thom.* 64a; and in the wise and foolish bridesmaids of The Closed Door in Matt 25:1–12. The "Law of Concentration" on one leading character explains the emphasis on the master in The Vineyard Laborers in Matt 20:1–15. The "Law of the Single Strand," of unentangled plots, is clear in the three successive scenes of The Unmerciful Servant in Matt 18:23–35. The "Law of Opening," moving swiftly from rest to movement, is evident at the start of The Prodigal Son in Luke 15:11–32 or The Unjust Steward in Luke 16:1–7. But "The Law of Ending," returning terminally from movement to rest, is quite absent in those two parables. It is as if they are deliberately left hanging to force the hearer into judgment and commitment.

Another feature of Jesus' narrative parables, apart from their oral character, is their normalcy. The realities of Galilean life peer out from the everyday actions of peasant women, in The Lost Coin of Luke

15:8–9 and The Empty Jar of *Gos. Thom.* 97; and from the lethal actions of peasant rebels, in The Tenants of Mark 12:1–11; Matt 21:33–43; Luke 14:15–24; *Gos. Thom.* 65–66, and in The Assassin of *Gos. Thom.* 98. Parables speak of a fish, in The Fishnet of Matt 13:47–48; *Gos. Thom.* 8; of a flock, in The Lost Sheep of Matt 18:12–13; Luke 15:4–6; *Gos. Thom.* 107; and of a tree, in the Barren Fig Tree of Luke 13:6–9. One might move up in such a world, but it would take luck or even cunning, for example, in The Treasure of Matt 13:44; *Gos. Thom.* 109; or The Pearl in Matt 13:45–46; *Gos. Thom.* 76. To make a point about riches, a rich farmer is chosen, in The Rich Fool of Luke 12:16–20; *Gos. Thom.* 63.

**C. Parabolic Interpretation**

In the rabbinical tradition the interpretation of a parable is usually quite clear from the context. The classical sequence for rabbinical usage is: (1) the problem requiring a parable; (2) the introduction of the parable, often with a redundant emphasis, "They parable a parable. Unto what is the matter like? It is like …" but also with several abbreviated forms all the way down to the simple, "It is like"; (3) the parable itself; (4) the application, often introduced with some word like "thus"; (5) biblical quotation, often introduced with "as it is written" (Johnston 1978: 1.164–65, 2.526–38). In the Jesus tradition, however, the interpretation of the parables is much more problematic. This is probably because the parables were often told concerning the Kingdom of God and that explained a symbol by a metaphor. This meant that the first hearers and final writers were themselves forced both to transmit and to interpret the parables at the same time. The presumption is that Jesus intended this effect, namely, that the parables would be both provocative and unforgettable so that the recipient would be forced inevitably to interpret.

The narrative parables of Jesus can receive external and/or internal interpretation. The most obvious mode of external interpretation is by commentary. In this usage the parable is given a detail-by-detail interpretation, somewhat similar to what was seen already for The Two Eagles in Ezekiel 17. The classic example is The Sower in Mark 4:3–8; Matt 13:3–8; Luke 8:5–8a. This is interpreted by Jesus in Mark 4:13–20; Matt 13:18–23; Luke 8:11–15. The seed is the word of God and the earth is the hearers; the birds are Satan; the rocks are persecutions; the thistles are temptations. Similarly, the Wheat and Weeds in Matt 13:24–30 is interpreted by Jesus in 13:36–43, and The Fishnet in Matt 13:47–48 is interpreted by Jesus in 13:49–50. What is striking, however, is that all three of those parables are also known in *Gos. Thom.* 9, 57, 8, but they receive no interpretation at all in that gospel. It must therefore be considered quite possible that such commentaries derived not from Jesus but rather from the tradition itself. In doing so, the tradition may have placed more emphasis on the details of the parable than they will plausibly bear. Although one should not distinguish parable from allegory by saying that the former applies only one point from story to referent while the latter applies every detail, it is correct that the application of Jesus' stories seems to derive more from their general structure than from specific detail.

Another mode of external interpretation is from context. Luke 15:1–2 reads, "Now the tax collectors and sinners were all drawing near to him. And the Pharisees and the scribes murmured, saying, 'This man receives sinners and eats with them.' " Next comes The Last Sheep in 15:3–6, with the conclusion in 15:7, "Just so, I tell you, there will be more joy in heaven over one sinner who repents than over ninety-nine righteous persons who need no repentance." Then comes The Lost Coin in 15:8–9, with the conclusion in 15:10, "Just so, I tell you, there is joy before the angels of God over one sinner who repents." Finally, the chapter concludes with The Prodigal [Lost] Son in 15:11–32. It is clear that the opening sentence sets the context for the interpretation of all three parables which follow it. Yet, on the other hand, The Lost Sheep appears in Matt 18:12–13 and *Gos. Thom.* 107 without the same setting. Context, then, like commentary, is from transmissional process rather than original situation.

Three different interpretations by three different contexts are given to The Feast in Matt 22:1–13; Luke 14:15–24; *Gos. Thom.* 64. First, in the *Gospel of Thomas,* there are three parables in 63–64–65 linked together by their openings concerning "a man." They are also linked by content. *Gos. Thom.* 63 is The Rich Fool, also known from Luke 12:16–20. Then comes 64 about The Feast. Finally, there is 65, The Tenants, also known from Mark 12:1–11; Matt 21:33–43; Luke 20:9–18. All three parables, in other words, involve the dangers and temptations of wealth or greed. This is a first contextual interpretation for the meaning of the middle parable on The Feast. And in case there might still be doubt, that parable as

found in the *Gospel of Thomas* concludes with this explanation from Jesus: "Businessmen and merchants will not enter the places of my Father."

Second, the Lukan version is located within Luke 14:1–24, which groups a series of Jesus' sayings concerning meal situations within an actual meal situation itself. There are four units involved and each one opens with a reminder of the symposium situation. Luke 14:1–6 has a healing "one sabbath when he went to dine at the house of a ruler who belonged to the Pharisees." Then in 14:7–10 he discusses The Two Positions "to those who were invited." Next in 14:12–14, "He said also to the man who had invited him, 'When you give a dinner or a banquet, do not invite your friends or your brothers or your kinsmen or rich neighbors, lest they also invite you in return, and you be repaid. But when you give a feast, invite the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind, and you will be blessed, because they cannot repay you. You will be repaid at the resurrection of the just." Finally, in 14:15–24, the parable of The Feast is introduced with this dialogue: "When one of those who sat at table with him heard this, he said to him, 'Blessed is he who shall eat bread in the kingdom of God.' " All that preceding context serves to interpret the concluding parable. In it, those first invited are unable to come, and this reflects on the authorities among whom Jesus sits. Instead, their places are taken, in 14:21, by the outcasts of Israel, by the same four classes mentioned earlier in 14:13, the poor, maimed, blind, and lame.

Third, Matthew formed a parabolic diptych of two parables: The Tenants, concerning an owner and his tenants in 21:33–44, and The Feast, concerning a king and his guests in 22:1–14. He then placed as their interpretive hinge this statement in 21:45–46: "When the chief priests and the Pharisees heard his parables, they perceived that he was speaking about them. But when they tried to arrest him they feared the multitudes, because they held him to be a prophet." This means that Matthew intends each parable to throw contextual light on the other and for both to be understood against that dangerous situation noted in the middle.

Apart from those external interpretations from commentary and context, there are also manifold possibilities of internal interpretation by the very details imbedded in the story as it is told and retold. The same parable of The Feast may serve again as paradigmatic instance. First, in Luke 14:18–20, and despite the fact that in 14:16b the master had "invited many," only three guests have their refusals recorded. One had bought a field, another five yoke of oxen, and a third had got married. This same triad, reminiscent of Olrik's "Law of Three," reappears in Matt 22:5–6, although here it is almost totally swallowed up in the plurality of servants and refusals of that version: "But they made light of it and went off, one to his farm, another to his business, while the rest seized his servants, treated them shamefully, and killed them." But in *Gos. Thom.* 64 there are four guests and four refusals recorded and that is surprising within the "Law of Three." When you look closely at the four dialogues between servant and guests, the second one is doubly different from the other three. While they begin with "My master invites you" and conclude with "I ask to be excused (from the dinner)," that second one begins with, "My master has invited you" and concludes without any polite request to be excused. It seems most likely that *Gos. Thom.* is interpreting the parable internally by adding in that second instance to bring the total number up to four. This confirms what was seen already from external interpretation. The original three excuses involved claims against merchants, preparing a wedding for a friend, and buying a farm. That is, only two out of three involved business. But, since the concluding aphorism turned the parable against "businessmen and merchants," *Gos. Thom.* added in another commercial enterprise. Thus, he created his new second excuse, "I have just bought a farm" on the model of the old final one, "I have just bought a farm," and so had three out of four guests excused for the commercial activities which the ascetic Thomas considered an obstacle to heaven.

Second, we already saw that Luke had allowed the outcasts of Israel into The Feast instead of the authorities to whom Jesus was speaking. But that was not enough to fill the banquet. Therefore, besides those outcasts in 14:21, from "the streets and lanes of the city," the servant is commanded in 14:23 to "Go out to the highways and hedges, and compel people to come in, that my house may be filled." The new guests from near at hand are the outcasts of Israel but those from afar off are the gentiles. By these internal details Luke has interpreted the parable as an allegory of the history of salvation.

Third, after setting up The Feast in contextual parallelism with The Tenants, as seen above, Matthew also inserts internal details that draw attention to that interpretation. In The Tenants, instead of the single servants of Mark 12:2–5 and Luke 20:10–12, the owner in Matt 21:34 "sent his servants" and in 21:36 "again he sent other servants." Then, in parallelism with that plurality, and again in contrast with the single servants of The Feast in Luke 14:17–23 and *Gos. Thom.* 64, the king in Matt 22:3 "sent his servants" and in 22:4 "again he sent other servants." But by far the most striking interpretation through added internal detail is the incident of the wedding garment present in this parable only in Matt 22:11–14. This is best seen as Matthew's own creation and it interprets the parable as an allegory of Christian history, just as Luke had done, but now with a special terminal warning for Christians themselves. In Matthew's reading, God has invited his people to come to the marriage feast of Jesus. Their refusal has been punished by the destruction of "their city," presumably of Jerusalem by Titus in 70 C.E. Now the gentiles have taken their place at the feast. But, and this is characteristically Matthean, even among those actually at the feast, there are "both good and bad" (22:10). On the last day, at the final judgments, God will review the guests, and then it will not be enough to be at the feast, it will be necessary to be properly attired as well. Matthew, in other words, thinks certain members of the Church are destined for eternal condemnation. Possibly their attitude toward the Mosaic Law was one of which he disapproved. So also, in the preceding parable of The Tenants, the replacement tenants in 21:41 must make certain to "give him the fruits in their seasons." It is not enough just to have received the vineyard. And in the Wheat and Weeds, a parable recorded both in Matt 13:24–30 and *Gos. Thom.* 57 but interpreted only in Matt 13:36–43, Matthew knows that there are both wheat and weeds in the kingdom, but "at the close of the age," in the last judgment, "the Son of man will send his angels, and they will gather out of his kingdom all causes of sin and all evildoers, and throw them into the furnace of fire; there men will weep and gnash their teeth" (13:40–41).

All of those differing interpretations, with the difference most obvious in the case of The Feast, but actually present everywhere among the parables, should not be considered as the interpreter's failure but rather as the parable's success. It is a parable's destiny to be interpreted and those interpretations will necessarily be diverse. When the diversity ceases, the parable is dead and the parabler is silent.

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J. DOMINIC CROSSAN

**PARACLETE** [Gk *paraklētos* (παρακλητος)]. Five distinct though related questions arise concerning the term *paraklētos,* which is found five times in the Johannine writings (John 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7; 1 John 2:1) and nowhere else in the NT. These are (1) the significance of the term in the Gospel (there is no problem about 1 John 2:1, where it is applied to Christ and means "advocate" or "intercessor"); (2) the meaning of the word itself; (3) the religious origins of the tradition concerning the Paraclete; (4) the functions assigned to him in the Gospel, (5) the relationship between the Paraclete logia and what is said about the Spirit in the body of the Gospel.

There is no single obvious meaning of *paraklētos* in the Gospel. As Lindars observes (1981: 63), the evangelist is aware that the title is not self-explanatory, since he accompanies each of its occurrences with an account of the Paraclete's function. If one of these occurrences could be shown to be the source of the

others, this would prove a useful starting point. In 1907 Wellhausen argued that the farewell discourse comprises two variants placed one after the other. This view has subsequently become increasingly popular among scholars, though few would share Sasse's opinion (1925) that the second of these, chaps. 15–16, is actually the earlier and some would divide chaps. 15–16 into two or even three independent sections. In 1927 Windisch argued that the Paraclete sayings could be excised from the Gospel without loss of continuity and concluded that they had been inserted into the discourse by the evangelist from a source in which they were grouped together. If this were right, then it would be impossible to recover the source of the tradition by working directly from the Gospel text as it has been transmitted. Although the arguments are inconclusive, the most likely hypothesis is that chap. 14 was composed before chaps. 15–16 and consequently that the Paraclete was first seen as Jesus' representative after his death (14:16) and his successor in his teaching role (14:26). In that case, the other functions assigned to him, of witnessing (15:26) and of convincing or convicting the world (16:7) may derive from a source closely affiliated to the synoptic tradition, perhaps even from that tradition itself.

There are four reasons why it is difficult to recover the meaning of the Greek *paraklētos:* (1) Although the form of the word (a verbal adjective ending in *-tos*) points to a probable passive sense (hence Old Latin *advocatus,* literally "called to the side of"), an active sense "Counselor," "Comforter") cannot altogether be excluded. (2) None of the possible meanings of *parakalein,* either active or passive, squares precisely with the various functions attributed to the Paraclete in the Gospel. (3) These functions cannot be reduced to or summed up in a single comprehensive term that could then be substituted for *paraklētos.* (4) The few earlier extant uses have been scrutinized by Grayston, who concludes (1981: 75) that "*paraklētos* was a word of general meaning which could appear in legal contexts, and when it did the *paraklētos* was a supporter or sponsor." This conclusion is too vague to be of very much use. Since all suggested The Feasts ("Advocate," "Counselor," "Comforter," etc.) are simply guesses, it is best to stick to the anglicized "Paraclete," which provides a distinct and recognizable *name* for the personage identified in the farewell discourse as "the spirit of truth" (14:17; 15:26; 16:13) or "the Holy Spirit" (14:26), thus performing for English-speaking readers the same service as *paraklētos* for readers of the original Greek and *Paracletus* for the readers of Jerome's Vulgate.

If the problem of the meaning of *paraklētos* cannot be solved linguistically, then can it be solved historically? Is it possible to find a figure in near-contemporary religious belief and practice who may plausibly be thought to have furnished a model for the Johannine Paraclete? Suggestions are wide-ranging and include the returning Elijah (Spitta); the Mandaean *Yawar* or helper (Bauer *Johannesevangelium* HNT; Bultmann); OT and Jewish intercessors, both angelic and prophetic, in particular the angel Michael or the mediator *(mēlīṣ)* in Job 33:23, translated in the Targum by the loanword *prqlyṭ* (Mowinckel, Johansson); the fusion of two figures from the Qumran documents, Michael and "the spirit of truth" (Betz), a fusion which, according to another scholar (Johnston), the Paraclete was designed to combat and displace, the second or successor figure in a tandem relationship: Joshua/Moses, Elisha/Elijah (Windisch), to which Bornkamm added John the Baptist/Jesus; late Jewish angelology and the figure of personified Wisdom (Brown 1966–67). Müller (1974) has supplemented these suggestions by arguing for a properly form-critical investigation into the testament or valedictory form. Another proposal comes from Franck (1985), who thinks that the Paraclete may have been modeled on the Methurgeman, who had to translate and (later) preach upon the Scripture readings in Aramaic-speaking synagogues. Lastly, one may mention Hermann Sasse's proposal (1925), revived by Culpepper (1975), that the Paraclete is simply to be identified with the Beloved Disciple. Of these suggestions two may be singled out as especially fruitful. The first is the comparison between the Paraclete's role as Jesus' representative and successor with that of Joshua, commissioned by Moses on the eve of his death to lead his people into the Promised Land. Here the *Testament of Moses,* itself largely a midrash of Deuteronomy 31–34, repays study along the lines proposed by Müller. The second is the evocation of the *angelus interpres* familiar from apocalyptic literature, a suggestion that may be reinforced by de la Potterie's study (1965) of the Greek verb *anangellein* (cf. John 16: 13–15), used by Theodotian to render Heb *pšr* in Daniel 2. It must be acknowledged, however, that arguments based on the methods of the history-of-religions school turn out

to be almost as inconclusive as those based on lexicography. A good up-to-date summary of the various theories is to be found in the work of Burge (1987).

Fortunately the uncertainties concerning meaning and origin need not stand in the way of the actual exegesis of the farewell discourse, which is quite explicit about the roles assigned to the Paraclete. Most of these are straightforward, since they echo, as Brown (*John xii–xxi* AB, 1135–44) insists, the teaching and revealing activities of Jesus. Two of the terms employed by Windisch to describe the Paraclete's role are particularly suggestive: he is Jesus' *Doppelgänger* or *alter ego* (1927: 129), a term especially appropriate to the first logion (14:16); he is also Jesus' successor, his *Kalif auf Erden* (1933: 311), a term reminiscent of Tertullian's *vicarius Christi*, which well fits the second logion (14:26). The function of reminding (14:26) is probably to be associated with the passages earlier in the Gospel where the disciples are assured that they will remember Jesus' words (2:22) and actions (12:16), but only after he has been glorified. The function of witness (15:26) is in all likelihood derived from the Synoptic tradition (Matt 10:19–20 = Mark 13:11–12; Luke 21:16).

By far the most difficult saying is John 16:7–11, for it is impossible to give a single meaning to the verb *elenchein* "convince" (RSV), while at the same time taking the three words that follow, *hamartia,* "sin," *dikaiosynē,* "righteousness," and *krisis,* "judgment," in their natural sense, unless the phrase *elenchein ton kosmon peri*, "convince the world concerning …," is taken to mean simply "to prove the world wrong in its ideas about," a usage which accords ill with the other instance of *elenchein peri* in 8:46. Windisch (1927: 120, n.2) suggested that the phrase concerning righteousness is a corruption. Worth mentioning, because it has been ignored by subsequent commentators, is Bammel's idea (1973) that the original logion spoke of the teaching functions of the Paraclete concerning themes which are the object of christological controversy elsewhere in the Gospel: the world's failure to respond to Jesus (= *hamartia,* 8:40); Jesus' justification by the Father (= *dikaiosynē*); the defeat of the prince of this world (= *krisis,* 12:30). Bammel admits, however, that this is not how the editor of the text, who added the three explanatory clauses, saw the matter.

Few commentators have attempted to link the Paraclete sayings with the other references to the Spirit. Exceptions are Porsch (1974) and Burge (1987). They can appeal to the fact that in many of its occurrences (e.g. 3:34; 6:63) the term *pneuma* is used in direct connection with the words of Jesus. Furthermore, even if the Paraclete passages came from an independent source, the evangelist felt able to identify him with the Holy Spirit (14:26), thus providing some justification for attempting an integral exegesis of all the allusions to the spirit in the Gospel. Additional support comes from the editorial comment interjected at 7:39: "for the Spirit did not yet exist (*oupō gar ēn pneuma*) because Jesus had not yet been glorified." Some allusions to the Spirit, however, e.g., 1:32–3; 3:5–8, are aligned with the Paraclete passages only with great difficulty and the editorial gloss in 7:39 cannot altogether disguise the conceptual differences.

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JOHN ASHTON

**PARADISE.** A loanword from Old Persian *(pairi-daēza),* which means "enclosure," then "park" or "garden." It appears in Late Biblical Hebrew as *pardēs,* only with profane meaning (Neh 2:8 [RSV: "forest"]; Cant 4:13 [RSV: "orchard"]; Eccl 2:5 [RSV: "park"]). The profane meaning continues in Mishnaic Hebrew *pardēs* "park" (e.g., *t. Beṣa* 1.10) and in Jewish Aramaic *pardēs (āʾ)* "garden" (e.g., *B. Meṣ.* 103a).

The Old Persian etymon is also the source of the Greek loanword *paradeisos.* In the LXX *paradeisos* denotes God's garden (Gen 2:8–10, 16), and the shift from secular to religious meaning has been made. The religious meaning—God's garden or Paradise—entered Jewish thought and vocabulary after the Babylonian Exile, was combined with the hope of a blessed eschaton, and appears in the Apocrypha (2 Esdr 4:7; 6:2; 7:36, 123; 8:52) and frequently in other early Jewish writings (*Psalms of Solomon* 14; *Sib. Or.* frag. 3.46–48; *2 Enoch* 8–9; *3 Baruch* 4; *Joseph and Asenath* 18; *4 Baruch* 9). In the NT, the religious meaning "Paradise" alone is evident (Luke 23:43; 2 Cor 12:3; Rev 2:7).

The biblical Garden of Eden attracted non-Jewish conceptions of a paradisiac garden. The development of "Paradise" within Judaism was aided by the image of a special garden, Eden, free of any trouble or inconvenience, in which the human and divine were close and collegial, in which every tree was "pleasant to the sight and good for food" (Gen 2:8), and from which flowed four rivers (Gen 2:10–14). Mixed with these images were the following concepts: the Isaianic words that Zion will become like Eden and the garden of the Lord (Isa 51:3), that God's people will be as a watered garden (Isa 58:11), and his planting (of special trees in the desert [Isa 41:18–19]) for his glory (Isa 60:13); Jeremiah's vision that the righteous are those whom God will plant in the promised land in faithfulness (Jer 32:41). Related images are Ezekiel's images of the garden of God, the trees of Eden, and the trees by the waters (Ezek 31:8–9; cf. 36:35). Equally important for the understanding of the Jewish development of Paradise are the Psalmist's words, which were memorized by devout Jews: "Blessed is the man who … delights … in the Law of the Lord, … He is like a tree planted by streams of water, that yields its fruit in its season, and its leaf does not wither" (Ps 1:1–3).

This symbolic language, as well as other images and myths, combined in numerous ways to produce the Jewish concept of Paradise. One of the earliest passages is *1 Enoch* 32, according to which Enoch journeys to the east and "came to the garden of righteousness and saw beyond those trees … the tree of wisdom … from which (his) precursors, ate and … realized that they were naked and (so) … were expelled from the garden" (*1 En.* 32:3–6). Another early image is found in *Jubilees.* Abraham "perceived that from him there would be a righteous planting for eternal generations …" (*Jub.* 17:26). One of the most interesting early examples is found in the sectarian psalms from Qumran called the Hodayoth. According to column 8, the Righteous Teacher probably looks back on his life and allegorically forsees his community as the one that will produce the eternal planting from which shall issue the shoot for the glorious Eden (1QH 8, cf. 1QS 8.4–5; CD 1.7–8). The image of Paradise is fully developed in *2 Enoch* 8, according to which Enoch is taken "up to the third heaven, and … looked downward, and … saw Paradise. And that place is inconceivably pleasant … And in the midst … the tree of life, at that place where the LORD takes a rest when he goes into paradise" (*2 En.* 8:1–3 [J]). According to the *Apocalypse*

*of Moses*, Paradise is not only in the third heaven (40:2), it is also on the earth (38:5). Paradise is thus obviously situated in different places according to early Jewish documents. It is on the earth either far to the east (*1 En.* 32:2–3, *2 En.* 42:3–4), to the northeast perhaps (*1 En.* 61:1–13), between the northeast and the west (*1 En.* 70:3–4), to the north (*1 En.* 77:3–4), to the far west perhaps (Jos. *JW* 2.155–56), but never to the south (but see *1 En.* 77:1–2). It can be readily seen, from this brief list, that the books collected together as *1 Enoch* are a repository of many diverse Jewish ideas.

Paradise is sometimes perceived as the (post resurrection) intermediate abode of the righteous (*1 Enoch* 37–70), or as the hidden eschatological place of the righteous (*2 Enoch* 8). Other passages describe the righteous enjoying life in Paradise or Eden, but provide no indication of their duration there (*Apocalypse of Abraham* 21). It is also frequently portrayed as closed (*4 Ezra* 7), as one would expect from the Genesis account of the expulsion; note *2 En.* 42:3[J], "And I ascended into the east, into the Paradise of Eden, where rest is prepared for the righteous. And it is open as far as the third heaven; but it is closed from this world." This passage seems to result from an attempt to resolve the tension arising from placing Paradise on the earth and also in the third heaven. Jews did not think about diverse places, but only one and the same Paradise. In *4 Ezra*, Ezra is told, "for you … Paradise is opened, the tree of life is planted, the age to come is prepared, plenty is provided, a city is built, rest is appointed …" (8:52; cf. *Apocalypse of Abraham* 21). The Jewish apocalypses contain the conviction that the final (or second) age will be characterized by the blessed state at creation of the first age, but without the possibility of disobedience, disharmony, discomfort, and discontinuity. Only in this sense can it be said that the Paradise of the first age reappears in the second (final) age. The Jewish myth of Paradise is so developed by the end of the 1st century C.E. that the author of *Joseph and Aseneth* freely borrowed from it in describing the garden beneath Aseneth's tower.

Such creative ideas in early Jewish theology influenced Christians. According to Luke 23:43 Jesus tells the repentant thief that he will be with him that day in Paradise. Paul reveals that he was taken up into the third heaven, and thus probably into Paradise (2 Cor 12:3). The author of the *Odes of Solomon* describes Paradise; as also in the *Psalms of Solomon* but in contrast to many other texts according to which the righteous eat the fruit of the trees (see *T. Levi* 18:11; Rev 2:7), the righteous are portrayed as "blooming and fruit-bearing trees." The poet proclaims, "Blessed, O Lord, are they who are planted in your Land, and who have a place in your Paradise" (*Odes Sol.* 11:18; cf. *Gos. Thom.* 19).

JAMES H. CHARLESWORTH

**PARAH** (PLACE) [Heb *pārâ* (פָּרָה)]. A settlement in the E half of Benjamin (Josh 18:23). The exact location of the site is unknown. Z. Kallai (*HGB*, 401) has recently argued that the settlement is likely to be situated near Bethel or Ophrah on grounds that the names in the list in which it appears are geographically grouped. Long-standing scholarly opinion has, however, identified the site with the modern Tell Fara some 6 mi (10 km) N of Jerusalem (M.R. 177137). It is possible that this latter site, being located both by a substantial spring (it still provides Old Jerusalem with water) and in close proximity to Anathoth, is also known by the name "Parath," the river to which Jeremiah went to hide his linen belt (Jeremiah 13).

ELMER H. DYCK

**PARALEIPOMENA IEREMIOU.** See BARUCH, BOOK OF 4.

**PARALLELISM.** Parallelism is the most prominent rhetorical figure in ancient Near Eastern poetry, and is also present, although less prominent, in biblical prose. It can be defined as the repetition of the same or related semantic content and/or grammatical structure in consecutive lines or verses. For example, in Ps 103:10 we find that both the sense and the structure of the first line are echoed, in different words, in the second:

Not according to our sins did he deal with us;
And not according to our transgressions did he requite us.

But, while the definition cited here works well for the most part, and the example of Ps 103:10 would be universally accepted as a parallelism, there is no consensus on precisely what parallelism is or how it works, and therefore no absolute criterion for identifying parallelisms. As we move farther away from identity or similarity between the two lines, more questions arise and there is more disagreement about the identification of a parallelism. For instance, some scholars would consider Ps 106:35 to be a parallelism while others would insist that it is not.

They intermingled with the nations;
They learned their ways.

What does seem certain, though, is that parallelism is a matter of relationships—between lines and/or parts of lines. The history of the study of biblical parallelism can be understood as a quest to determine the precise nature of the relationship between groups of words which give the strong impression of being related in at least one of a number of ways.

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A. The Study of Parallelism, Past and Present
B. Types and Categories
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**A. The Study of Parallelism, Past and Present**

Biblical parallelism became the focus of scholarly attention as the result of Bishop Robert Lowth's discussion of it in his *De sacra poesi Hebraeorum (Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews)* in 1753 and his *Isaiah: A New Translation with a Preliminary Dissertation and Notes Critical, Philological, and Explanatory* in 1778. To be sure, Lowth was not the first to notice the phenomenon of parallelism (for the pre-Lowthian history of the study of parallelism see Kugel 1981: 96–286), but, due to the then-current trends in biblical studies and his own prominence in the field, it was his definition, articulated in the introduction to *Isaiah*, that became the classic definition of parallelism.

> The correspondence of one Verse, or Line, with another I call Parallelism. When a proposition is delivered, and a second is subjoined to it, or drawn under it, equivalent, or contrasted with it, in Sense; or similar to it in the form of Grammatical Construction; these I call Parallel Lines; and the words or phrases answering one to another in the corresponding Lines Parallel Terms.

Lowth spoke of the correspondence of parallel lines and terms. This was generally understood as sameness or identity by most of Lowth's successors; so the emphasis was put on the synonymity or redundancy in parallelism to the neglect of parallelism's other dimension: variation and continuity. Studies of parallelism from the late 18th century until the 1980s reiterated, with ever-increasing refinements, the basic sameness of parallel lines. Not until the work of J. Kugel and R. Alter was the balance rectified. Kugel rejected the notion of the synonymity of parallel lines, replacing it with the notion of continuity: "A, what's more, B." In a similar vein, Alter spoke of the "consequentiality" of parallel lines. The views of Kugel and Alter place the emphasis on the *difference* between parallel lines. Parallel lines could now be seen as adding new information, containing an intensification or a progression, rather

than just going over old material in new words. This shift in perception can be illustrated in Ps 18:9—Eng18:8 (= 2 Sam 22:9).

Smoke went up from his nostrils;
From his mouth came devouring fire;
Live coals blazed forth from him.

Most biblical scholars would view these lines as synonymous; Kugel and Alter would see in them an intensification and/or a progression. Actually, it is not a question of either sameness of difference, either synonymity or continuity; both dimensions are equally present in parallelism, and it is the creative tension between them that makes this such a pleasing figure.

Both Kugel and Alter came to the study of the Bible from literary criticism, and both brought their finely honed skills as readers to parallelistic texts. But literary criticism often eschews precise analysis in favor of more diffuse observations. So, while achieving a reorientation of the view of parallelism, Kugel and Alter achieve it only at a level of extreme generality. They offer only the vaguest definitions of parallelism and do not provide the criteria for deeper analysis of its workings.

There are at least two potentially more "scientific" models for the analysis of parallelism: the mathematical and the linguistic. A mathematical approach, stressing the symmetries between parallel lines, is espoused half-heartedly by W. G. E. Watson (1984: 114–119), but for the most part Watson relies either on grammatical models or those preceding them. Linguistic models have been proposed by S. A. Geller, E. Greenstein, and A. Berlin. All three draw on modern linguistics, especially transformational grammar and the views of R. Jakobson (see below).

While there are major differences between 18th and 19th century studies and the most recent studies of parallelism, they have some things in common. All attempt to analyze parallelistic texts with the most current literary and linguistic tools available; and all seek to define the relationships that pertain between parallel lines. In some sense, therefore, Lowth's definition remains classic, and his terms like "correspondence," "equivalent," and "contrasted," if interpreted in their broadest sense, remain relevant to the study of parallelism.

**B. Types and Categories**

The preceding section presented a simplified summary of the major approaches to the study of parallelism. But most scholars' energy was spent in the detailed analysis of specific types and subtypes of parallelism. Here, too, Lowth's work served as a guide to his own and later generations, for in his *Isaiah* he provided a framework for the classification of types.

**1. Synonymous, Antithetic, and Synthetic Parallelism.** Based on the semantic relationship of the parallel lines, Lowth reduced parallelism to three sorts: synonymous, antithetic, and synthetic. In synonymous parallelism the same sense is expressed in different but equivalent terms: "When a proposition is delivered; and is immediately repeated, in whole or in part, the expression being varied, but the sense entirely or nearly the same." An example is Ps 112:1:

Happy is the man who fears the Lord;
Who is greatly devoted to his commandments.

Notice that the meaning of both lines need not be identical, only "nearly the same," and that terms found in the first line may be lacking in the second (and vice versa). In fact, there is considerable latitude in all of Lowth's categories, which later biblicists sought to constrict.

In antithetic parallelism "two lines correspond with one another by an opposition of terms and sentiments." The antithesis may range from "exact contraposition of word to word" to "a general disparity." Prov 10:1 illustrates:

A wise son makes glad his father;
But a foolish son is the grief of his mother.

In synthetic parallelism (also called constructive or formal parallelism), according to Lowth,

> the parallelism consists only in the similar form of construction; in which word does not answer to word, and sentence to sentence, as equivalent or opposite; but there is a correspondence and equality

between different propositions, in respect of the shape and turn of the whole sentence, and of the constructive parts …

Eccl 11:2 is an example:

Give a portion to seven, and also to eight;
For you do not know what evil shall be upon the earth.

This is the loosest of Lowth's categories, and the one that received the most criticism. Some viewed it as a catchall of miscellaneous, difficult-to-categorize cases, and others did not think that it was a legitimate form of parallelism at all.

**2. Additional Types.** As parallelism was studied more closely, its many permutations became evident: word order might vary from line to line; some terms might be ellipsed and others added (i.e., the parallelism might be termed complete or incomplete; incomplete parallelism might or might not have compensation), and so forth. To some extent, Lowth had allowed for these permutations within his three types, but, given the scholarly penchant for categorizing and labeling, it was not long before the number of types grew. Many of the additional types are not of the same order as Lowth's; that is, in one sense they can be considered subtypes and in another sense they cut across the lines of the original three types. The most well-known of these additional types will be presented here.

**a. Chiastic Parallelism.** The order of the terms in the first line is reversed in the second line, yielding an AB//BA pattern, as in Jer 4:5a:

Proclaim in Judah;
And in Jerusalem announce.

More than two sets of terms may be involved: ABC//CBA, etc. Chiastic patterning is not limited to parallelism, but it is often found in parallel lines.

**b. Staircase Parallelism.** A steplike pattern in which some elements from the first line are repeated verbatim in the second and others are added to complete the thought. Judg 5:12 provides an illustration:

Awake, awake, Deborah;
Awake, awake, chant a song.

(Cf. Greenstein 1974 and 1977; Loewenstamm 1975; Watson 1984: 150–56).

**c. Emblematic Parallelism.** A parallelism in which a simile or metaphor forms one of the lines, as in Ps 42:2:

As a hind yearns for watercourses;
So my soul yearns for you, God.

**d. Janus Parallelism.** This type of parallelism hinges on the use of a single word with two different meanings, one of which forms a parallel with what precedes and the other with what follows. Thus, by virtue of a double entendre, the parallelism faces in both directions. An example is Gen 49:26:

The blessings of your father
Surpass the blessings of my ancestors/mountains [*hwry*]
To the utmost bounds of the eternal hills.

(Cf. Watson 1984: 159; Rendsburg 1980).

**3. Parallel Word Pairs.** Although 20th-century scholars continued to refine the distinctions involving the relationships between parallel lines as a whole, the major efforts were placed on the analysis of certain sets of parallel terms, or, as they came to be known, fixed word pairs. Lowth had mentioned parallel terms ("words or phrases answering one to another in corresponding lines"), but it was the discovery and decipherment of Ugaritic poetry, together with the ascendancy of the Parry-Lord theory of oral composition, that spurred the collection, from biblical and Ugaritic poetic texts, of sets of terms that recur frequently in parallelisms. The emphasis was on recurrence—those terms, like "day" and "night," "heaven" and "earth," which were found together frequently. It was thought that such pairs were the functional equivalents of the formulas in Greek and Yugoslavian poetry that enabled a poet to compose orally. Lists of these pairs grew long (they number over 1,000), as did the bibliography on word pairs (See primarily Dahood *Psalms* AB, 3.445–56; Dahood 1972, 1975, and 1981. See also Avishur 1977; Berlin 1983, 1985: 64–80; Boling 1960; Cassuto 1971; Craigie 1971, 1979a, 1979b; Culley 1967; Gevirtz 1963;

Held 1953, 1962, 1965; Kugel 1981: 27–39; Melamed 1961, 1964; O'Connor 1980: 96–109; Watson 1984: 128–43; Watters 1976; Whallon 1963, 1969; Yoder 1970, 1971.) Attention was paid to frequency, to the order in which the members of a pair occurred, and to their grammatical form. Inevitably, there were attempts to categorize the semantic relationship between words in a pair: synonyms, antonyms, a whole and a part, abstract and concrete, common term and rare or archaic term, the breakup of stereotyped phrases. In the last, a conventional phrase is split, one part occurring in one line and the other in the next line (cf. Melamed 1961, 1964). For instance, the phrase "horses and chariots," a conventional combination (cf. Josh 11:4), is split in Zech 9:10:

I shall banish chariots from Ephraim;
And horses from Jerusalem.

Likewise in Ps 20:8—Eng 20:7:

These (call) on chariots;
And those on horses.

It was also noticed that numbers obey a formula, x // x+1, when they appear in parallelism. Thus "three" parallels "four" (Amos 1:3); "six" parallels "seven" (Job 5:19). The principle may employ a factor of 10: "one thousand" parallels "ten thousand" (Ps 91:7).

Many scholars saw in word pairs the essence of parallelism, the *sine qua non* without which parallel lines could not exist. Furthermore, it was suggested, these pairs formed a kind of "poet's dictionary"—a poetic substratum on which poets might draw in order to compose parallelisms. These conclusions reflect the fact that the impetus for the study of word pairs was intimately bound up with theories of oral composition, unproved and unprovable at least for biblical poetry. But even when these theories came under criticism, the collecting of word pairs did not cease, for word pairs had taken on a life of their own in biblical studies. As such, this enterprise represents one of the most extensive lexical studies of ancient texts. The preoccupation with word pairs focused attention on the similarities between Hebrew and Ugaritic poetry, and on certain of their lexical aspects, but it did so to the neglect of the rest of the parallelism and the pairing of other terms in it which did not occur with any notable frequency. Moreover, it threatened to perpetuate certain misunderstandings about the nature of parallelism and the nature of word pairs. (Cf. Kugel 1981: 27–39; Berlin 1983, 1985: 64–80.)

**4. Linguistic Models.** By the 1970s the influence of modern linguistic research, especially structural linguistics and transformational grammar, began to be felt in biblical studies. Interest in the grammatical analysis of poetry grew, and with it, the grammatical analysis of parallelism. A number of scholars (Berlin, Collins, Geller, Greenstein, O'Connor, Pardee, Watson), working independently, offered grammatical treatments of parallelism. They varied somewhat in type and level of analysis (cf. Berlin 1985: 18–30), but they all signaled a return to the analysis of the line as a whole, rather than the concentration on word pairs; and they all showed that linguistics had something new and important to contribute to the study of parallelism.

No modern linguist has had more impact on the study of parallelism, both within and outside of the Bible, than Roman Jakobson. Jakobson's (1966: 423) most famous dictum on the subject was

> Pervasive parallelism inevitably activates all the levels of language—the distinctive features, inherent and prosodic, the morphological and syntactic categories and forms, the lexical units and their semantic classes in both their convergences and divergences acquire an autonomous poetic value.

This was taken by both Stephen Geller (1979) and Adele Berlin (1979, 1985) as a programmatic guide for the analysis of biblical parallelism. Geller limited his treatment to the grammatical aspect, as did Berlin 1979 (cf. also Greenstein 1982), but Berlin's 1985 work offered a more comprehensive linguistic description, including areas and issues previously dealt with in word pair studies. Since this is the broadest and most recent study, a detailed summary of it will be presented here.

Parallel can be viewed as a linguistic phenomenon involving linguistic equivalences and/or contrasts that may occur on the level of the word, the line, or larger areas of text. (For the most part, biblical parallelism operates at the level of the line.) Equivalence does not mean only identity, but a word or construction that, linguistically speaking, belongs to the same category or paradigm, or to the same

sequence or syntagm. One can discuss four linguistic aspects which may be activated in parallelism: the grammatical aspect, the lexical aspect, the semantic aspect, and the phonological aspect.

**a. The Grammatical Aspect.** In grammatical parallelism the syntax of the lines is equivalent; i.e., their deep structures (and perhaps their surface structures as well) are the same. For example, the surface structures are the same in both lines (in the Hebrew) of Ps 103:10:

Not according to our sins did he deal with us;
And not according to our transgressions did he requite us.

Many parallelisms, however, employ lines of different surface structure which can be related back, using the methodology of transformational grammar, to the same underlying deep structure. A nominal clause may be paired with a verbal clause, as in Mic 6:2b.

For the Lord has a quarrel with his people;
And with Israel will he dispute.

A positive clause may be paired with a negative clause, as in Prov 6:20:

Guard, my son, the commandment of your father;
And do not forsake the teaching of your mother.

The subject of one clause may become the object in the next clause, as in Gen 27:29:

Be a lord over your brothers;
Let the sons of your mother bow before you.

There may be contrast in grammatical mood: an indicative may parallel an interrogative, an imperative may parallel a jussive, etc. In Ps 6:6—Eng6:5 a negative indicative is paired with an interrogative.

For in Death there is no mention of you;
In Sheol who can acclaim you?

The seeds of grammatical analysis are present in Lowth's definition ("similar to it in the form of Grammatical Construction"), but Lowth and his successors did not develop it because their understanding of grammar was quite different from that of modern linguists and they lacked the tools for this type of analysis.

Parts of lines are also subject to grammatical, or morphological, analysis. Parallel terms may be of different word classes: e.g., noun // pronoun; noun, adjective, or participle // verb, etc. The first is illustrated in Ps 33:2:

Praise *the Lord* with a lyre;
With the ten-stringed harp sing to *him.*

The second can be seen in Ps 145:18:

The Lord is near to all his *callers;*
To all who *call* him in truth.

This type of morphological pairing is possible because the forms paired can be substituted for each other in a sentence. That is, they belong to the same paradigm and are, therefore, linguistically equivalent.

When parallel terms are from the same word class (e.g., both nouns), there may be other morphological contrasts present: the tense or conjugation of verbs may be different; there may be contrast in the number, gender, or definiteness of nouns. In fact, to quote P. Kiparsky (1973: 235): "the linguistic sames which are potentially relevant in poetry are just those which are potentially relevant in grammar." One could easily substitute the word "parallelism" for "poetry" in this statement, for in parallelism any grammatically equivalent form ("linguistic same") can be paired with another. Some examples follow:

(a). The tenses contrast (*qtl* // *yqtl*) in Ps 26:4:

I do not [Heb: did not] consort with scoundrels;
And with hypocrites I do not [Heb: will not] associate.

(b) The conjugations contrast (*qal* // *niphʿal*) in Ps 24:7:

Lift up, O gates, your heads;
And be lifted up, O eternal doors.par

(c) A singular parallels a plural in Prov 14:12 = 16:25:

There is a right *path* before man;

But its end is *paths* of death.

Note that the same word is used in both forms. Often different words, one in each number, are used, as in Deut 32:7 ("remember" [sing.] // "consider" [pl.]) and Lam 5:17 ("this" // "these").

(d) In Lam 3:47 the terms in the first line lack the definite article while those in the second line have it.

Panic and pitfall were ours;
The desolation and the destruction.

There are other types of grammatical equivalences and contrasts, and numerous examples of each. The benefit of such a grammatical approach to parallelism is that it can account for the many permutations which earlier approaches were at a loss to explain, and it can relate, under one rubric, in a holistic manner, many phenomena which were previously considered disparate.

**b. The Lexical Aspect.** Earlier approaches dealt with one facet of the lexical aspect of parallelism—fixed word pairs. But actually, there is no reason to limit the discussion only to fixed, or frequently recurring, pairs. All parallelisms involve the pairing of terms, and all lexical pairings can be better understood through recourse to linguistics.

The process whereby terms are paired in parallelism is similar to the process which generates associations in psycholinguistic word association games. That is, parallel word pairs are the product of normal linguistic association. Every word has a potential mate, and it does not require any special training or talent to produce one.

Linguists have discovered rules that account for the kinds of associations that are made. They have noted that in word association games a word may elicit itself; and so in parallelism, a word may be paired with the same word, or with a word from the same root (cf. 2 Sam 22:7; Job 6:15). They have also noted that a word may have a number of different associates, and that some are likely to be generated more often than others.

The rules for word association are categorized as paradigmatic or syntagmatic. In paradigmatic operations, a word is chosen from the same category and may substitute for the given word. The most common type of paradigmatic choice is one with minimal contrast, which produces an "opposite," as in *good-bad, man-woman.* A related type of operation invokes the "Feature Deletion and Addition Rule." The features of a word are listed hierarchically by linguists; for example, *father* = noun, singular, animate, human, parent, male. When a feature is deleted it is usually done from the end of the list, so that *father* will more likely generate *mother* (changing male to female) or *son* (changing parent to its reverse) rather than something involving a change higher on the list, like *ram.* The preferred change is the change of a sign (plus or minus), i.e., +/– male, +/– parent. This yields minimal contrast. If a feature is deleted, the result is a superordinate, as in *father-man.* An added feature produces a subordinate, as in *fruit-apple.* If another word is chosen with the same list of features, we have a coordinate, as in *cat-dog* (both are noun, singular, animate, mammal, domesticated, etc.). The higher on the list a feature is, the less likely that it will be changed. This accounts, first of all, for the tendency toward paradigmatic responses (i.e., associations involving the same class of words). It also explains why certain responses occur more frequently than others.

Syntagmatic responses involve the choice of an associate from the same sequence rather than the same class. Often this is realized in the completion of idioms. In English the word *cottage* will often evoke *cheese.* This is similar to the phenomenon described by Melamed (1961; 1964) as the breakup of stereotyped phrases. Conventional coordinates, like *sws-rkb* ("horse-chariot/driver"), *ḥsd-ʾmt* ("loyalty-truth"), may be paired in parallel lines. Another type of syntagmatic pairing in the Bible involves the splitting up of the components of a personal or geographic name: *Balak* // *king of Moab* (Num 23:7); *Ephrathah* // *Bethlehem* (Ruth 4:11). There are also other examples of syntagmatic pairings such as *chair* // *sit* (Isa 16:5; Lam 5:19) and *write* // *book* (Job 19:23).

While lexical parallelism, that is, the pairing of associated words, generally accompanies grammatical parallelism, it can occur in lines which are not grammatically parallel (at least paradigmatically). An example is Ps 111:6:

The power of his deeds he told to his *people (ʿmw)*

In giving to them the inheritance of *nations (qwym).*

The syntactic structure of the lines is not equivalent, but the pair *people-nation* is a known association. There are other cases in which the lexical pairing occurs in addition to semantic pairing; a creative tension between the two may be at play. Job 5:14 provides an illustration:

By day they encounter darkness;
And as in the night they grope at noon.

The semantic and grammatical pair is *day-noon,* but the common lexical associates *day-night* gives an added dimension to the parallelism.

**c. The Semantic Aspect.** The semantic aspect pertains to the relationship between the meaning of the parallel lines. It was this relationship that Lowth categorized as synonymous, antithetic, or synthetic; and which Kugel described as "A, what's more, B" (see above). From a linguistic perspective, the semantic relationships in parallel lines, like the lexical relationship between word pairs, can be viewed as either paradigmatic or syntagmatic.

It is not always so easy, however, to categorize particular examples as one or the other. Sometimes the relationship is ambiguous and would be interpreted differently by different readers. Take, for example, Hab 3:3:

His glory covers heaven;
And the earth is full of his praise

It is possible to analyze these lines as paradigmatic—each conveying a similar meaning; on the other hand, the second line may be perceived as a result of the first, in which case there would be a semantic sequence, or syntagm.

In many case both paradigmatic and syntagmatic elements are present, as in Isa 40:9:

Ascend a high hill, herald (to) Zion;
Lift your voice aloud, herald (to) Jerusalem.

The actions of the herald are sequential, but the vocatives ("herald to Zion/Jerusalem") are paradigmatic. It appears to be in the nature of parallelism to combine these two forces, so that the expression advances even as the lines are bound firmly together. In this way the second line of a parallelism often disambiguates, or clarifies, the first; or on a more abstract level, parallelism may serve as a metaphor.

A thorn comes to the hand of a drunkard;
And a proverb to the mouth of fools. (Prov 26:9)

**d. The Phonological Aspect.** Sound equivalences may be activated in parallelism just as grammatical and lexical equivalences are. Often this takes the form of sound pairs—the pairing of terms that are phonologically equivalent (i.e., they contain the same or linguistically related consonants). In some cases the sound pairs are also word pairs: *šlwm* // *šlwh,* "peace // tranquility" in Ps 122:7; *bwrk* // *bʾrk,* "your cistern // your well" in Prov 5:15; *šwṭ* // *šbṭ,* "whip // rod" in Prov 26:3. More often, it seems, sound pairs are not lexical or semantic pairs; they may not even be from the same word class.

He made the moon for *time-markers* [*mwʿdym*]:
The sun *knows its setting* [*ydʿ mbwʾw*]. (Ps 104:19)

I will cut off your horses *from your midst* [*mqrbk*];*your chariots* [*mrkbtyk*]. (Mic 5:9)

(In this last verse the lexical pairs are *horses* // *chariots.*)

Several sound pairs may occur in a parallelism and they may be patterned in different ways: AABB, ABAB, ABBA. The effect of sound pairs is to reinforce the bond created by the other forms of equivalence between the parts of the parallelism. Sound pairs provide an added dimension, an additional type of linguistic equivalence. The more equivalences there are in a parallelism, the stronger is the sense of correspondence between one line and the next. This, in turn, promotes the perception of semantic unity. The various linguistic equivalences may act in concert, or they may produce an artistic tension, creating an interplay that adds to the interest of the parallelism.

Because there are infinite possibilities for activating linguistic equivalences, there are infinite possibilities for constructing parallelisms. No parallelism is "better" or "more complete" than any other.

Each is constructed for its own purpose and context. The device of parallelism is extraordinarily flexible, and its expressive capabilities and appeal are enormous, as the poets of the ANE discovered long ago.

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ADELE BERLIN

**PARALYSIS.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**PARAN** (PLACE) [Heb *pā·rān* (פָּארָן)]. The name which designates the wilderness area S of Israel, W of Edom, and N of the wilderness of Sinai (*IDB* 3: 657). While this location is not given directly, it can be inferred from the several OT references to the wilderness of Paran. In particular, Num 13:3 and 26 report that the spies sent to scout out Canaan from the S were sent from and returned to Paran. Num 13:26 adds the specific note that the spies returned to Kadesh, apparently a town within the larger area designated by the "Wilderness of Paran." In Deut 1:22, the location is also given specifically as Kadesh-barnea. The site of Kadesh-barnea is located at Tell el-Qudeirat in N Sinai at the juncture of two ancient routes: the Way of Shur and a branch of the Via Maris (*EAEHL*, 697).

While Deuteronomy names the departure point of the S reconnaissance of Canaan as Kadesh-barnea at Deut 1:22, Deut 1:1 includes Paran in its list of locales which define the wilderness in which Israel encamped and locates this wilderness in the Arabah, which lies S of the Dead Sea and N of Sinai.

Additional information about the location of the Wilderness of Paran can be gleaned from the account of Abraham's victory over the coalition of kings in Genesis 14. Gen 14:6 states the limit of territory taken by the king Chedorlaomer to be "as far as El-paran on the border of the wilderness." n. Glueck (1935: 104) places the route of this action in the Arabah on the way to Sinai. From thence Chedorlaomer turned back to Kadesh (Gen 14:7), a note which strengthens the geographical tie between Paran and Kadesh.

Num 12:16 reinforces this general location for the Wilderness of Paran as it notes that the people of Israel travelled there from Hazeroth, which Numbers locates on the journey from the Wilderness of Sinai to the Wilderness of Paran. Gen 21:21 names the Wilderness of Paran as the place where Ishmael grew up, and the rest of the chapter allows us to infer that this must be placed beyond Beer-sheba (cf. Gen 21:15) on the way to Egypt (cf. Gen 21:21b); that is, in the general area S of Israel and N of Sinai. Such a general picture of the location of the Wilderness of Paran is confirmed in 1 Kgs 11:18, where Solomon's adversary Hadad the Edomite flees from Edom to Egypt by way of Midian and Paran (that is, W from Edom).

Num 33:36 has an additional geographical reference lacking in the MT which equates Paran and Kadesh, but this cannot be relied upon, as it could well be an attempt to harmonize the various references to Kadesh and Paran.

The other references to Paran are of a different sort. Deut 33:2 and Hab 3:3 bear great similarity to each other, as both describe in poetic terms the appearance of YHWH on the path of the Exodus (cf. Exod 15:15, Ps 68:7f, and Judg 5:4 for similar descriptions of the Exodus and the entry into Canaan as divine appearances).

1 Sam 25:1 should be read as "the Wilderness of Maon" with the LXX, since the continuation of this story about David, Abigail, and Nabal takes place in Maon (see McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 388).

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**PARAN, EL-.** See EL-PARAN (PLACE).

**PARAPET.** See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

**PARAPHRASE OF SHEM.** See SHEM, PARAPHRASE OF (NHC VII,*1*).

**PARBAR** [Heb *parbār* (פַּרְבָּר)]. An outer building or court mentioned by the Chronicler as one of the places where temple gatekeepers were stationed (1 Chr 26:18). The meaning of the Hebrew word is uncertain. It is often identified with *parwār* in 2 Kgs 23:11 referring to a structure attached to the side of the temple. Allegro (1960: 117), on the basis of usage in the Copper Scroll from Qumran, suggested that the word refers to a toilet or waste chamber for the high priest or king. *Parbār* in 1 Chr 26:18 would, thus, probably refer to a waste chamber connected with the temple. The word *parwār* is generally supposed to be a Persian loanword meaning "open pavilion." In an Aramaic-Lydian scroll from Sardis (Littman 1916: 26–27) *parwār* refers to the open anteroom of a tomb. In the Mishnah the word often means "suburb" or "adjunct."

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TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**PARENESIS AND PROTREPTIC.** Discourse whose aim is to exhort or persuade the reader or auditor to do good.

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A. Background and Definitions
B. Literary Forms
C. Structure, Devices, and Techniques
D. Traditional and Commonplace Material
E. Parenesis in the Undisputed Pauline Letters
F. Parenesis in the Pastoral and Catholic Epistles
G. Parenesis and Apocalyptic Literature

———

**A. Background and Definitions**

Dibelius' comparison of the letters of James and Paul with the Mandates in the *Shepherd of Hermas,* the synoptic speeches of Jesus, and Greco–Roman parenetic works (*James* Hermeneia, 2–7) disclosed the common character of all of these as diverse collections of older sayings material arranged in no particular order and not focused on a particular situation or thought. In the Jewish milieu parenesis appears in the maxims in the didactic poetry of the Wisdom tradition and *Ps-Phocylides,* in the properly prose parenetic of Tob 4:5–19; 12:6–12, and the "Two Ways" teaching (*Didache* 1–6 and *Epistle of Barnabas* 19–20), in the sayings of Ps-Menander, and in the legendary and apocalyptic *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.* In form, the didactic poetry of Hesiod, the prose tractates of Isocrates and Plutarch, the letters of Seneca, and the maxim collections of the *florilegia* parallel the Jewish and Christian parenesis. In content, too, the Christian authors, like the writers of Jewish Wisdom, incorporated into their generally applicable parenetic guidebooks or guidebook sections a vision of the correct way of life common to their Greco-Roman contemporaries.

Hartlich (1889: 328–29) distinguishes protreptic (*protropē,* protreptikos logos, an exhortation or persuasion to a commonly agreed upon good, associated with *paraklēsis* or exhortation) from parenesis (*parainesis,* proposal by precept of a debatable good, associated with *symboulē* or counsel, advice). Burgess (1902: 299) finds that the ancient theoreticians are not consistent in distinguishing the two terms, although many refer to a predominance of precept in parenesis. Vetschera (1911–12: 4–9), while agreeing

that parenesis is distinguished by its use of precepts ("principles by which one should live"), also finds the parenetic work to be broader in content than the protreptic one. For him the protreptic piece, in popular philosophy as well as rhetoric, hopes to lead the addressee to obtain a certain knowledge and its *aretē* ("virtue"). The parenetic work, on the contrary, covers many areas of life, e.g., culture, friends, fortune, under the aspect of their usefulness for obtaining a happy and virtuous life. Thus, the distinction rests on both content and form. Given this mixed verdict from antiquity, Vetschera's definition of parenesis is a reasonable guide: "a literary work which by its structure and aim delineates a collection of precepts which relate unexceptionally to the practical conduct of life, indeed to promote it, as far as it can, and to lead to virtue." Protreptic is treated along with parenesis here since, though different, both apply to a range of hortatory devices to urge the audience to a virtuous and happy life.

A vital, though not yet fully clarified, role in the employment and development of the hortatory devices which serve parenesis in popular philosophy and education was played by the progymnatists (teachers of elementary rhetoric) and their handbooks of rhetorical theory and exercise. Clark (1957: 186–88) notes a protreptic-apotreptic (persuasion-dissuasion) end in the exercises (see Nicolaus and Aphthonius) on how to develop and apply a *chria* ("clever saying) and *gnomeē* ("epigram" or "proverb"). Coleman (1974: 280) finds this put to work in the moralist Seneca's letters. Epistle 104, for example, associates ideas, precepts, and rhetorical devices in a hortatory argument which parallels the school exercises.

**B. Literary Forms**

Burgess (1902: 186–87, 234–44) finds moralizing parenesis both in epideictic (displaying praise or blame) oratory, in the prose diatribe (conversational form of teaching), and in the half-dialogue or epistle, especially when adopted by rhetorically adept popular philosophers. Prior to the widespread use of the parenetic letter, Isocrates and his successors used parenetic discourses, like the *Ad Nicoclem, Ad Demonicum,* and *Nicocles,* to effect their parenetic ends. These "instruction booklets" for rulers and subjects are full not of new but of conventional prescriptive teachings, drawn from a variety of sources, arranged in a locally unstructured but nonetheless not haphazard order, and meant to be perennially valid. Though similar in content to poetic compendia of maxims and precepts, these discourses are couched in epistolary terms and carry a friendly tone proper to letters of exhortation.

The "Kingship Treatises" *(principis speculum)* of Plutarch and Dio Chrysostom make use of another typical parenetic feature, catalogs of virtues and vices, remarkably alike in content despite the different authors and contexts.

The parenetic aims in these "epistolary" discourses surface in the exhortation section of some actual official letter-memoranda prescribing the duties of newly appointed officials. More widespread, however, was the teaching letter, a development from the philosophical dialogue, for moral instruction. Indeed, Guillemin (1929: 32) notes that epistolary parenesis owes it success to the letter's friendly tone and that the parenesis is a concomitant of the teacher's friendly relations with the pupils. The letter's familiar and quietly persuasive conversational tone makes the friend present as he acquits himself of the friend's hortatory task. The correspondent in turn relies on the teacher–friend for guidance. The letter writer's self-presentation, which Ps-Demetrius *Eloc.* 223 considered the essence of a letter, serves as a surrogate for the actual presence and sharing of life circumstances. Seneca regarded this mutuality in the letter to be the most effective method of moral instruction. The letter may even be more effective than actual presence since it can propose an ideal model unequivocally expressive of the parenetic concepts. The practical situation of geographical distance and the theoretical superiority of the letter for parenesis led popular philosophers like Seneca and the Cynics to prefer the letter for their moral instruction and exhortation.

**C. Structure, Devices, and Techniques**

While parenetic works have been commonly thought to be random collections of hortatory material, structural principles do organize the parenetic texts. In addition to the characteristic commands, prohibitions, advice, warnings, maxims, and precepts, Cancik (1967: 23–24) finds a broad array of auxiliary hortatory devices like declarations, comparisons, examples, explanations, applications, and concluding calls to action. Others (Thyen 1955) add catalogs of virtues, vices, and sufferings, appeals to common knowledge and authority, together with rhetorical techniques like hyperbole, antithesis, paradox,

and irony, which help make the exhortations strike home. Moreover, Cancik's (1967: 8–9, 25–26) study of Seneca's moral letters finds them to be carefully structured so as to build persuasive hortatory arguments either by themselves or mixed with theoretical observations. Before Seneca, Isocrates and his followers related example, a prime hortatory tool (*Evagoras* 73–81), to prescriptions by describing those characteristics in the positive and negative exemplars which correspond to the precepts. When the examples were only roughly sketched out (*Ad Demonicum* 11) the loosely organized prescriptive section which follows filled out their parameters. Similarly, when "Kingship Treatises" used catalogs of virtues and vices from popular philosophical moral teaching, they also delineated exemplary types to be imitated or avoided.

Malherbe sees the call to imitate the prescribed virtues embodied in exemplars and, presumably, in the teachers themselves, as typical. Catalogs of sufferings help establish the authoritative teacher–exemplar whose experiences and progress have shown that the task at hand is possible. The difficult task calls for persistent striving, often expressed in athletic images, and can occasion drastic interventions by the teacher-guides described with medical analogies. The teachers, though sometimes harsh, are really friends who by frankness rather than flattery seek not to harm but to improve their charges.

**D. Traditional and Commonplace Material**

To Verner (1983: 15–25) the parenetic material can be traditional in three ways: borrowed from other sources, arranged in typical structures, or inserted as self-contained units of generalized exhortation *(topoi).* Its commonplace and general character argue against seeing therein reflections of the author's own outlook or a specific situation. He finds, however, that the more developed the structure of a parenetic section, the more likely does it reflect the author's perspective. Thus Romans 12–15 arguably contains not generalized *topoi* but concrete and personal applications of the gospel exposed theoretically earlier in the letter and even throughout Paul's letters. Similarly, 1 Cor 11:23–34 uses liturgical tradition and parenesis to meet the community's needs.

**E. Parenesis in the Undisputed Pauline Letters**

Paul, whose letters stand in for his personal presence in support of his parenesis, makes hortatory appeals which combine authoritative demands with diplomatic sensitivity and lead into parenetic sections (Rom 12:1–2; 15:30–32; 16:17; 1 Cor 1:10; 4:16; 16:15–16; 1 Thess 4:1, 10b; 5:12, 14). While these sections ordinarily appear after the body of the letter (Romans), they may precede it (1 Corinthians, actually framing the body) or even constitute the body (1 Thessalonians, prepared for by a long thanksgiving).

Paul's written parenesis echoes the traditional and comprehensive teaching on moral conduct which accompanied the missionary preaching. To Collins (1984: 327–32) this recalls the Jewish Hellenistic missionary sermon which grounds moral responsibilities in the convenantal relationship. The ethical life, a sign of the Holy Spirit, entails an ethic of response and growth. While urgent ("in the Lord Jesus") what Paul writes is not new but is a reminder of what his correspondents already know, so that they might continue along their chosen path. Beyond the specific questions and preparations for the parousia, building a life of virtue engaged Paul's efforts. Consequently, the motivation behind the parenesis is multiform, as in 1 Thessalonians which appeals to final judgment, the Christians' call to holiness, and their response to the gift of the Holy Spirit.

The parenetic character of a letter section explains the function of its diverse elements. Thus, for example, the hymn in Philippians 2 sets the positive example of self-sacrificing humility being urged; the vice and virtue lists in Galatians 5 provide a noncontrovertible reminder of Paul's original message about the Galatians' Spirit-filled existence; the opponents and exemplars (including Paul) in 1 Thessalonians alert the correspondents to well-known figures in and beyond the community whose way of life calls for emulation or avoidance. Paul goes beyond his contemporaries when he calls explicitly for imitation of himself as a prime example of the Christian life, resting this claim not on his own works (unlike some boastful Cynics) but on the gospel.

While some of Paul's material is Christian-specific, like motivation based on the presence of the Holy Spirit or on the eschatological implications of the resurrection, much, like the catalogs of virtues, vices,

and sufferings, the images of father, nurse, pedagogue, and disease, the themes of money- or reputation-seeking teachers, the desire to be with the correspondents, the personal relationship and mutual concern among the correspondents, is common to Greco-Roman parenesis. The same is true for formal features like catalogs, prescriptions, contrasts, threats, reminders, affirmations of prior knowledge, model figures, the call the imitation, and expressions of frankness. In Paul, all of this complements his missionary preaching, setting out parameters of the Christian life-style which pleases God, however similar it is to that of their non-Christian neighbors.

**F. Parenesis in the Pastoral and Catholic Epistles**

The Pastoral Epistles, with their catalogs of virtues, vices, sufferings, and household duties; with the commonplace teachings on riches and women; and with their prescriptions of what to do and reject, whom to associate with and avoid, in an epistolary handbook for young officials from a teacher-friend-model, are unmistakably parenetic. Their apparently haphazard arrangement actually constitutes a developed hortatory argument, which ultimately rests on the logic of deduction and illustrative examples (Donelson 1986: 66–113). Their claim to Pauline authority and divine sanction for the sound teaching and ethical program finds support in a succession of teachers from Paul to Timothy and Titus to appointed officials in the context of the pseudepigraphical letters themselves. These all illustrate in action the letters' prescriptions and outlines of appropriate behavior, virtues, and qualifications for office, while the vice-laden and quarrelsome false teachers demonstrate the ill effects of heresy. The letters propose a typical, Greco–Roman, "bourgeois" morality, in a Christianized version (Schwarz 1983). Their insistence on propriety seems aimed at both innercommunity unanimity and stability (e.g., Titus 1:5–9) and extracommunity reputation of the increasingly well-established church members (e.g., 1 Tim 3:7).

The use of typical Greco–Roman *Haustafeln* (lists of household duties) in 1 Pet 2:11–3:12; 1 Tim 2:1–15; Titus 2:1–15 (and see Eph 5:21–6:9; Col 3:18–4:1) touches the larger question of the specifically Christian character of the parenesis in the letters. Balch (1981: 81–109) argues that the lists in 1 Peter are not an instance of de-eschatologized Christianity adopting the ethic of its environment, nor an attempt to suppress social unrest among slaves or women insisting on their baptismal equality (Gal 3:28), nor part of the Church's mission to convert by good example. Rather, by maintaining commonplace ethical standards, they seek to quiet the suspicions and ill will of masters and husbands toward their slaves and wives who have abandoned the traditional gods for the new Christian belief. The lists' traditional parenesis, which serves the apologetic purpose of giving assurance that traditional values are still being maintained, is furnished with properly Christian motivation of Christ's patient suffering, God's judgment, and Christ's guardianship.

**G. Parenesis and Apocalyptic Literature**

The imagery of current or impending crisis in apocalyptic literature, which works as motivation for their parenesis, has led to the search for likely persecution settings, like a Domitian reign of terror for the book of Revelation. Osiek (1986: 113–21), however, finds that the apocalyptic visionary myth in the *Shepherd of Hermas* is addressed not to the historical but to the social reality of the community, where the demands of religious visionaries either are losing their appeal or directly threaten the economically comfortable and upwardly mobile church members. The parenesis function to expand the horizons of the community and move them in the direction of a faith commitment explained and shaped by the apocalyptic myth.

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BENJAMIN FIORE

**PAREVE.** See MEAL CUSTOMS (JEWISH DIETARY LAWS).

**PARMASHTA** (PERSON) [Heb *parmaštā*ʾ (פַּרְמַשְׁתָּא)]. One of the ten sons of Haman (Esth 9:9).

On problems surrounding this list of names see ADALIA (PERSON). Parmashta (LXX *marmasima*) may render the otherwise unattested Old Iranian name **Fra-mathista* "preeminent" (Scheftelowitz 1901) or **Parvaštā-* "standing before" (Hinz 1975: 183 s.v. **parvaštā-*).

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PETER BEDFORD

**PARMENAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Parmenas* (Παρμενας)]. One of seven gifted leaders, "of good repute, full of the Spirit and of wisdom" (Acts 6:3) who were chosen to look after the needs of the Hellenistic Jewish Christian widows who had been neglected in the "daily distribution" (Acts 6:1, 5). The name Parmenas may be a shortened form of Parmenides, which means "steadfast" or "trustworthy." It was a rather uncommon Greek name at the time (Foakes Jackson and Lake 1979: 66). Since all seven had Greek names and only one of them, Nicolaus, is explicitly called a Proselyte, it is probable that the other six, including Parmenas, were either Jews born in the Diaspora or Palestinian Jews with Greek names (as would be the case with Jesus' disciples Andrew and Philip). The work of two of them, Stephen (Acts 6:8–8:2) and Philip (Acts 8:5–40; 21:8) makes it clear that the Seven did not limit themselves to "serving tables" (Acts 6:2) but functioned for the Hellenists in the way that the Twelve did for the Hebrew Christians (See Simon 1958: 7). According to later tradition, Parmenas was one of the seventy appointed by Jesus (cf. Luke 10:1), became bishop of Soli on Cyprus (cf. Acts 11:19, 20) and was martyred at Philippi during the reign of Trajan (Schermann 1907: 302–3, 344).

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JON PAULIEN

**PARNACH** (PERSON) [Heb *parnak* (פַּרְנַךְ)]. The father of Elizapahan, leader of the tribe of Zebulun who was appointed to help distribute the land to the Israelites (Num 34:25). Parnach is taken to be a name derived from either Elamite or Persian. It means either "spendor" or "success." A similar name is found in a Neo-Babylonian text from the Achaemenid era. In the LXX, Parnach was rendered as *par (a)nax*.
RAPHAEL I. PANITZ

**PAROSH** (PERSON) [Heb *parʿōš* (פַּרְעֹשׁ)*;* Gk *phoros* (φορος)]. Head of a family of Babylonian exiles who are listed as returnees under the leadership of Zerubbabel and others (Ezra 2:3 [= Neh 7:8 = 1 Esdr 5:9]) and later under Ezra (Ezra 8:3 [= 1 Esdr 8:30]). Some from this family married foreign wives and later agreed to divorce them in response to Ezra's reform (Ezra 10:25 [= 1 Esdr 9:26]). A member of this family assisted Nehemiah in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem (Neh 3:25), and the leader of this clan affixed the family name to the covenant document of Nehemiah in Neh 10:15—Eng10:14. For discussion of the list in Ezra 2, see AKKUB.

That the list of builders in Nehemiah 3 is a partial one is evident from the references to "second portions" in 3:11, 19, 20, 30 without previous notations of corresponding first portions (cf. 3:4, 21; 3:5, 27). There is widespread agreement that the list came from independent archives, perhaps in the temple, and was incorporated into the Nehemiah Memoirs by Nehemiah himself or by some other editor. (See Batten *Ezra and Nehemiah* ICC, 206–7; Clines *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 149; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 199–202.)

Many do not regard the list and covenant of Nehemiah 10 as belonging originally in this context. Williamson (325–30) surveys various views about the origins of this list. He concludes that it was compiled from other lists in Ezra and Nehemiah in order to be attached to the terms of an agreement drawn up by Nehemiah following his reforms of Nehemiah 13. This document was then kept in the temple archives until being inserted into its present position. (See also Clines, 199–200; Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 174–75; Jepsen 1954: 87–106.)

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CHANEY R. BERGDALL

**PAROUSIA.** The Greek word *parousia* used in the NT to speak of the arrival (2 Cor 7:6f; Phil 1:26) or presence of someone (2 Cor 10:10). It is also used as a technical term to speak of the arrival or presence of Christ in glory at a particular point in the eschatological process (e.g., Matt 24:3). The belief in the Parousia or presence of Christ in glory is firmly rooted in all strands of the NT, though the expectation can be referred to apart from the word (Rev 19:11ff; 1 Cor 15:23ff; Mark 13:26; 14:62) or by use of other terms (e.g., *apokalypsis* in 1 Cor 1:7; 1 Pet 1:7). Even in those books where the person of Christ does not loom large (like the letter of James), the Parousia of the Lord (God or Christ?) is referred to (Jas 5:7).

A form of the Parousia hope does probably go back to the historical Jesus and represents part of that set of convictions most clearly represented in Matt 19:28 and par. in which Jesus uses eschatological imagery to speak of the future reign with his disciples in the kingdom of God (Kümmel 1966). There was probably no coherent Parousia doctrine in Second Temple Judaism, though the material in the *Similitudes of Enoch* (chaps. 37–71) comes very close to it. This material represents an interpretation of Daniel 7 in a direction parallel to what we find in the future Son of Man sayings in the Synoptic Gospels, though, with the exception of Matt 25:31 there is not much evidence to suggest that the NT was dependent on the *Similitudes* (or vice versa for that matter). There are hints that the expectation of an imminent return of the Messiah may have been deeply rooted in the earliest Aramaic-speaking church if 1 Cor 16:22 (cf. Acts 3:19ff) is anything to go by.

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A. Revelation and the Jesus Apocalyptic Tradition
B. Pauline Letters
C. Synoptic Eschatological Discourses
D. Gospel of John
E. Delay of the Parousia
F. Conclusions

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**A. Revelation and the Jesus Apocalyptic Tradition**

In the book of Revelation there is ample evidence of the belief in the imminent coming of Christ, especially in chaps. 1 and 22, and in Rev 19.11ff (Rissi 1972). This follows the Divine Warrior myth which is here applied to the future conquering messiah. There appears to be evidence here of the influence of the Jesus story: the Rider on the White Horse already bears the marks of his death (19:13). In addition, there are explicit links with the vision of the Son of Man in 1:14 which inaugurates John's vision of what is to come.

This section belongs to a much longer symbolic account of the manifestation of the divine righteousness within human history which culminates in the exaltation of the Lamb and its claiming the right to open the sealed scroll. This triumph immediately precedes the establishment of the messianic kingdom on earth, in which those who have been slain for the testimony to Jesus reign with the Messiah for a thousand years (v 4). Revelation 19–22 is not too far removed from the roughly contemporary eschatological accounts in *2 Bar.* 29–30 and *4 Ezra* 6:11ff and 7:32ff. A scheme of woes, messianic kingdom, resurrection, judgment and new age is clearly discerned in all three works. Revelation uses much more vivid imagery as compared to the prosaic prediction found in *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch.* The role of the redeemer figure is much more obvious in Revelation than it is in the other two apocalypses where the Messiah's role is hardly touched on; indeed, there is little sign of the warrior role found in the *Psalms of Solomon.* A comparison between Revelation and these sections of *2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra* is necessary in order to note the way in which the Parousia passage in Rev 19:11f is part of a much larger complex of hopes for the dissolution of the present order, the overthrow of the hostile powers, and the establishment of a messianic kingdom on earth (Rowland 1982).

**B. Pauline Letters**

1 Thess 4:15–17 describes the moment of vindication of the elect (Jewett 1986). Paul indicates that it is a word of the Lord (v 15), and it has several points of contact with the account of the coming of the son of man in Matt 24:30–31. It is, of course, a fragmentary eschatology for a limited purpose (the encouragement of the community dealing with the death of some of their number before the coming of the Kingdom). It indicates how closely intertwined the fulfillment of the eschatological hope had become with the person of Christ, a significant development in emerging Christian eschatology.

A case can be made for supposing that Paul's eschatology in 1 Cor 15:22ff follows the general outline of that found in Revelation 19–21 and presupposes a messianic reign on earth, while Christ subjects the enemies of God to himself (cf. Rev 19:11ff), though this has been a matter of considerable debate (Davies 1965; Schweitzer 1931). Also similar to Revelation 19 is the account of the Parousia in 2 Thessalonians 2 (Jewett 1986). Once again this eschatological fragment is to be found in a context dealing with a particular pastoral problem. As such, like 1 Corinthians 15, it offers only a fragment of the eschatological drama, sufficient to deal with the particular issue confronting the writer: the threat of disturbance to the community because of an outburst of eschatological enthusiasm prompted by the belief that the day of the Lord has already arrived (2:2). To counteract such enthusiasm, readers are told that the rebellion must take place first along with the revelation of the man of lawlessness who opposes God and sits in the temple of God and makes himself God. It is clear that this sign of the coming of Christ has not yet taken place, because there is something restraining his appearance (2:5) at his proper time; (whatever that may be: Paul himself; the evangelizing of the gentiles; the Roman Empire, some divine/angelic restraint such as is found in, e.g., Rev 7:1). Meanwhile the mystery of lawlessness is already at work. In other words, the present is in some sense a time of eschatological fulfillment. In this sense it is similar to Revelation where the exaltation of the Lamb provokes the initiation of the whole eschatological drama, in which the seer and other prophetic voices have their part to play (chap. 10). Until the Restrainer is removed there cannot be the manifestation of the antichrist figure. The coming of the man of lawlessness will be accompanied by signs and wonders which will deceive those who are on the way to destruction, just as the activity of the beast and the false prophet deceive the nations of the earth in Rev 13:7 and 12ff. Finally the Lord Jesus will slay the man of lawlessness with the breath of his mouth.

**C. Synoptic Eschatological Discourses**

When viewed in the light of Rev 19:11f. the synoptic eschatological discourses (Matthew 24–25; Mark 13; Luke 21) show some remarkable omissions (Wenham 1984). It is true that they manifest the same kind of preoccupations with the messianic woes which are so characteristic of several eschatological passages from writings of this period of Judaism. While there may well be some kind of connection between the sort of focus of evil which is outlined so cryptically in Mark 13:14 and the hubris of lawlessness mentioned in 2 Thessalonians, nothing is said about the effects of the coming of the Son of Man on the forces of evil. Indeed, the description of the coming of the Son of Man in all three Synoptic

Gospels is linked explicitly with the vindication of the elect, thus focusing on the final aspect of the messianic drama in the vision of the man from the sea in *4 Ezra* 13. The certainty of vindication is there but the lot of the elect when they have been gathered from the four corners of the earth is not touched on at all in Mark. The element of judgment at the Parousia of the Son of Man is not entirely absent, however, from the Synoptic discourses as the climax of the Matthean version is the account of the final assize with the Son of Man sitting on God's throne separating the sheep from the goats. But here as elsewhere in these discourses the focus of attention is on the present response of the elect. It is the recognition of the heavenly Son of Man in the brethren who are hungry, thirsty, strangers, naked, weak and imprisoned in the present age, who will inherit the kingdom prepared by God from the foundation of the world.

Similarly in Markan discourse, the preoccupation of the bulk of the material is not so much the satisfaction of curiosity about the details of the times and seasons so much as dire warnings of the threat of being led astray, of failing at the last and of the need to be ready and watchful to avoid the worst of the disasters which are to come. In the bleak moments of the last days in Jerusalem there is little attempt to dwell on the privileges of discipleship (though an eschatological promise is made to the disciples a little later in the Lukan version in Luke 22:29f. in the context of the supper discourse). It is not a future without hope but the thoughts of the hearers are made to dwell on responsibilities in the short medium term as the essential prerequisite of achieving millennial bliss. These are sentiments which are very much to the fore in *4 Ezra* where a convincing theodicy and the minutiae of eschatological destiny are relegated to the need to follow the precepts of the Most High in order to achieve eternal life. In comparison with the more extended accounts of the coming of the new age to be found in other material, both Christian and Jewish, the Synoptic Discourses concentrate on the period of strife and tribulation leading up to the coming of the Son of Man, what happens thereafter is not explored. In the Lukan account, however, there is the expectation that the arrival of the Son of Man is but the beginning of the process of liberation, for which the tribulations and destruction had been the prelude. This point is made very clearly in the climax of the discourse in Luke 21:26ff: "When these things come to pass, stand up right and hold your heads high, because your liberation draws near" (v 28). It is only when that which has been described in the series of predictions comes to pass that the kingdom of God begins to draw near. The implication is that the kingdom does not arrive with the coming of the Son of Man; that is only part of the eschatological drama whose climax is still to come, when there will be a reversal of Jerusalem's fortunes (v 24). Indeed, that is exactly what we would suppose if we followed the account in Revelation where the arrival of the Rider on the White Horse is the prelude to the struggle which must precede the establishment of the messianic kingdom.

**D. Gospel of John**

The Johannine Paraclete offered a compensation for the return of Jesus. Indeed, there are occasions in the farewell discourses (John 14–17) that the coming of Jesus and the coming of the Spirit/Paraclete are closely linked (Johnston 1970). What is not in doubt is that the Paraclete's function is to act as a replacement for the departed Jesus (John 14:15ff cf. John 16:9ff). This would become particularly appropriate at a time when the living exponent of the link with the past (such an important theme in the Johannine writings, e.g., John 1:14; 1 John 1:1 and John 21) had died. The Paraclete comes to the disciples; the world cannot receive him; and it is the Paraclete who enables the disciples to maintain their connection with the basic revelation of God, the Logos who makes the Father known (John 14:17ff; 15:26). The Paraclete thus points back to Jesus, the Word made flesh, and is in some sense at least a successor to Jesus, a compensation by his presence for Jesus' absence with the Father. See also PARACLETE.

The disciples are those to whom Jesus comes. The one who loves Jesus and keeps his commandments will be loved by him and Jesus will manifest himself to that disciple (John 14:21); indeed, to that disciple will both the father and the Son come and make their home (14:23). The dwellings which Jesus goes to prepare for the disciples with the father can be enjoyed by the one who loves Jesus and is devoted to his words (John 14:2; cf. 14:23). Likewise the manifestation of the divine glory is reserved not for the world but for the disciple (John 14:19). Whereas elsewhere in both OT and NT all flesh will see the salvation of

our God (Isa. 52:3ff) and those who pierced the victorious Son of Man will look upon him in glory (Rev 1:9; cf. Mark 14:62), the world cannot see the returning Jesus. The goal of the new age in Revelation is that those who bear the name of God on their foreheads (Rev 22:3f) will see God face to face. In John this is part of the bliss reserved for the disciples in heaven. There they will be with him and see his glory (17:24).

Whatever hope there may be for the future (and there are signs that the Fourth Gospel has not moved entirely to a realized eschatology), the focus is on the first coming as the ultimate moment to which the witness of the community and the Spirit-Paraclete both point. Those who love Jesus and keep his commandments are those to whom the incarnate Son of Man comes and with whom the Father and the Son make their abode (John 14:21, 23). The presence of the eschatological glory among the disciples who love him has about it a "vertical" dimension in which the coming son of man is not primarily a figure who appears as a reproach to the nations. The lack of concern for the future of the world is not because the Johannine community is disappointed because of the nonfulfillment of the Promise but because of the concentration on those who are of the light rather than the children of darkness outside the elect group (Meeks 1972).

**E. Delay of the Parousia**

A question which always arises when the doctrine of Parousia is discussed is the issue of the problem caused for Christians of the nonfulfillment of the expectation. This theory is one which has been extraordinarily influential within biblical exegesis over the last century or so. The classic theory associated with Schweitzer (1931) and Werner (1957) which ascribes the emergence of orthodox Christian doctrine as part of the response to the problem caused by the delay has been subjected to critical scrutiny over the years (also Grässer 1957). There is little doubt that the explicit evidence for the delay of the Parousia being a problem within primitive Christianity is not as large as is often suggested; 2 Peter 3 is in fact a rather exceptional piece of evidence (Käsemann 1964). Other passages which are often mentioned in Matthew and Luke, for example, have to be set alongside other indications which point in the opposite direction. But while one would want to question the view that the delay of the Parousia must have been a problem, it would be wrong to dismiss some of the issues which this particular theory has highlighted. Early Christianity may have dealt with nonfulfillment of its grandiose hopes by intensifying those hopes such as we find, for example, in the vigorous expectation which is to be found in the pages of Matthew's gospel (Bornkamm 1963). The departure of apostolic figures may have caused a crisis of confidence within nascent Christianity. The apostle Paul's theology and self-understanding cannot be properly understood without reference to his expectation of the partial presence and imminent expectation of a new age. For example, the mission to the gentiles and probably also the collection for the saints in Jerusalem may have been linked with the framework of an eschatological drama in which Paul is a crucial actor. Thus it would be appropriate to consider the effect of Paul's departure on that doctrinal construction in which Paul's role was so important.

The issue can be illuminated by reference to Karl Mannheim's (1960) discussion of the utopian or, to use Mannheim's terms, "chiliastic mentality." One aspect of this type, he argues, is the way in which the present moment becomes the Kairos, the moment to take decisive action. The utopian then takes it upon himself:

> to "enable the absolute to interfere with the world and condition actual events" (p. 192) … the present becomes the breach through which what was previously inward bursts out suddenly, takes hold of the outer world and transforms it (p. 193) … the chiliast is always on his toes awaiting the propitious moment … he is not actually concerned with the millennium to come; what is important for him is that it has happened here and now … the chiliastic mentality has no sense for the process of becoming; it was sensitive only to the abrupt moment, the present pregnant with meaning (p. 195).

That sense of destiny which probably undergirded Paul's self-understanding and his activity actually enabled his thinking to cohere as an expression of the outlook of one who believed himself called to be an agent in the dawn of the new age, the means by which the gentiles became fellow heirs of the commonwealth of Israel. Once that sense of being part of the "propitious moment" disappears, however,

the understanding of present activity as an integral part of that drama and its relationship with the future consummation of the divine purposes gradually disappears also. When that happens it does become more difficult to see that future consummation as anything other than an article of faith rather than a goal in which present activity forms an indispensable part in "interfering with the world and conditioning actual events."

Something similar may be found in the appendix to the gospel of John. One issue which is touched on in the closing verses of the chapter is the problem posed by the death of the Beloved Disciple. John 21:23 indicates that there was an expectation current among the members of the community that this disciple would not die before the return of Jesus. Now that he has, a question mark has been placed about the future coming of Jesus; the sense of being part of a "propitious moment," the "present pregnant with meaning" have been replaced by bewilderment in the face of the departure of a figure who had hitherto been the key to the ongoing story of the community. Indeed, the outlook of the community and its view of its future have been deprived of their eschatological significance. Accordingly, the basis for that view is questioned and the tradition on which it is based is subjected to scrutiny.

Early Christianity had ample resources for dealing with the nonfulfillment of their hopes, particularly from within precisely that vehicle of expression of that hope. The apocalypses are interested in the world above where God's reign is acknowledged by the heavenly host and where the apocalyptic seer can have access to the repository of those purposes of God for the future world (Rowland 1982 and 1985). Thus the apocalyptic seer can glimpse either in the heavenly books about the mysteries of eschatology or be offered a preview of what will happen in human history in the future. In most apocalypses that experience of a disclosure of the heavenly mysteries is reserved for the apocalyptic seer, but it was perfectly possible to extend that privilege to a wider group. It is that which we find in different forms in the *Hōdāyôth* (1QH) and the *Odes of Solomon* both of which offer the elect group a present participation in the lot of heaven and a foretaste of the glory which is to come. The identification of the ecclesia of the elect with Christ in the heavenly places is stressed in the letter to the Ephesians (1:21; cf. 3:5ff), so that the present life of the Church becomes a glimpse, a foretaste of the kingdom of God, just as the Spirit enables the believers to regard the present as a participation "in the powers of the age to come" (Heb 6:5) (Lincoln 1981).

The privilege granted to the apocalyptic seer of glimpsing the glory which is to come can be paralleled also in aspects of Paul's understanding of apostleship. See APOSTLE. The presence of the apostle whether in person, co-worker, or through letter represented the presence of Christ confronting his congregations (Rom 15:14ff; 1 Cor 4:14ff; 1 Cor 5:3ff; Phil 2:12). When he finally reaches Rome he promises that his coming will bring blessing (Rom 15:29). Like the Risen Christ who stands in the midst of his churches, in Rev 1:13ff the apostle of Christ comes as a threat and a promise: a threat to those who have lost their first love or exclude the Messiah and his apostle; a promise of blessing at his coming for those who conquer. The direct commission from God not from other men to be an apostle of Jesus Christ (Gal 1:1) is central to Paul's role. That has set him apart like Jeremiah before him. He is no ordinary mortal sent by the God of Israel but one in whom the presence of the Messiah dwelt, as bearer of the marks of his death (Gal 6.17; 2 Cor 4.10; 2 Cor 10.10; Phil 3.10) (Funk 1967).

**F. Conclusions**

We saw in examining the Synoptic discourses that there is in fact very little attempt made to sketch the character of the liberation which draws near. The sketch of the ideal society or the ideal world is lacking, a mark of either a lack of any political realism or of a merely utopian fixation. But we should attempt to assess the significance of such an absence, for it would be wrong to suppose that the early Christian writings are devoid of any hope for a better world. Rather they prefer to hint at their conviction that one is coming without being too precise about what it will involve. It is the language of myth and metaphor which is to the fore rather than the offering of any detailed political manifesto. The point is made by the markers in the book of Revelation itself. The reader is reminded at the start of the vision of the Rider on the White Horse that discourse of a very different kind is being used here. The reference to the open heaven is a sign that we have to do with attempts to evoke rather than to describe exhaustively what is to come. It is about what is beyond in the sense that it is both future and different from the patterns of

society currently offered. To speak of it, therefore, demands a language which is both less precise and yet more potent and suggestive, a language which after all is what is appropriate when one sets out to speak of that which is still to come.

The book of Revelation offers a timely reminder in its own form about supposing that its preoccupation with eschatological matters offers an opportunity to avoid the more challenging preoccupations of the present. Thus, the vision of hope inaugurated by the exaltation of the Lamb is set within the framework of the Letters of the Seven Churches. Even if we can discern a preponderance of "religious" issues in these letters (warnings against false teaching, suspicion of false prophecy, loss of an initial religious enthusiasm), we should probably regard the issues being touched on here as typical of a complacent second generation religious movement which is making too many accommodations with the surrounding culture and which needs to be brought back once again to its countercultural affirmation in the light of its witness to the new age. Thus the promise of a part in the New Jerusalem is linked with present behavior. The readers of the Apocalypse are not allowed to dream about millennial bliss without being brought face to face with the obstacles which stand in the way of its fulfillment and the costly part to be played by them in that process: they have to wash their robes and make them white in the blood of the Lamb, and avoid being marked with the mark of The Beast.

Similarly the eschatological discourse in the Synoptic Gospels must not be separated from th narrative of Jesus' proclamation and inauguration of the reign of God. It is that context which is necessary to prevent the discourse about the future becoming the goal of the narrative. Discipleship involves sharing the way of the cross of the Son of Man as he goes up to Jerusalem. What is offered to the disciple is the sharing of the cup of suffering of the Son of Man rather than the promise of sitting at his right hand and his left when he reigns on earth. It is not that this request is repudiated but, as the eschatological discourse makes plain, there can be no escape from the painful reality of the present witness with its need to endure the tribulations which precede the vindication. That is the challenge which faces those who wish to live out the messianic narrative in their own lives; no short cuts to the messianic reign are to be found here.

Within the NT the promise of his coming is found in different forms and functions in various ways. In 1 Thessalonians, that classic proof-text of the rapture of the saints, the concern is reassurance. However numerous may have been the words of the Lord known to Paul relating to this episode the piece chosen by him is intended to reassure the elect that even those who die before the coming of the Messiah will not forfeit the right to share in the privileges of that messianic period. We are told nothing of what will happen after the rapture; but in 1 Thessalonians that is not important, as the point of quoting the word of the Lord is to reassure rather than to provide information about what will happen hereafter. As such this passage, fragmentary as it is, conveys little of the threat to and struggle to be undergone by the disciples of Jesus which we find when we read the parallel passages in the wider contexts of Mark 13 and Matthew 24–25. Despite the similar promise to the elect in Mark 13:26 that they will be gathered by the returning Son of Man that deliverance is on the other side of the period of great tribulation from which they are not exempt and which promises real risks of apostasy (cf. Rom 8:19ff). Similarly in Rev 19:11ff the coming of the Messiah is a threat even to the elect. In Rev 1:13ff the Risen Christ may stand among his churches but frequently finds himself on the outside knocking at the door (Rev 3:21) and reproving those who have lost their first love (2:4f). All the inhabitants of the earth run the risk of falling for the illusion of greatness created by the Beast and its agents and finding that the same apocalyptic light which lights the way to the wedding feast of the elect shines with anger on the wicked (Jacob Boehme quoted by Bloch 1972: 182).

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**PARSHANDATHA** (PERSON) [Heb *paršandātā*ʾ (פַּרְשַׁנְדָּתָא)]. One of the ten sons of Haman (Esth 9:7). On problems surrounding this list of names ADALIA (PERSON). Parshandata (LXX *pharsannestain*) is the same name as Aramaic *pršndt* attested on a (late Achaemenid?) Mesopotamian seal. It perhaps renders Old Iranian **Pṛšanta-dāta-* "born to a multicolored person" (Zadok 1986: 108f).

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PETER BEDFORD

**PARTHIANS** [Gk *Parthoi* (Παρθοι)]. An Iranian people who developed an empire (ca. 238 B.C.E.–224 C.E.) second only to Rome, a few of whom were present in Jerusalem at the feast of Pentecost (Acts 2:9). Most Parthians were polytheists but those visiting Jerusalem must have been some of the many Jews or Jewish proselytes who lived within the boundaries of the Parthian Empire (*Ant* 15.2.2 §14). According to Acts, the Parthians and people from many different nations heard their native languages being miraculously spoken by Christians who had just been filled with the Holy Spirit (2:1–13).

While Parthians are not explicitly mentioned anywhere else in the Bible, several of Revelation's apocalyptic scenes were almost certainly inspired by the dreaded Parthian cavalry. Caird suggests that the conquering bowman on the white horse in Rev 6:2 was not Christ, but rather an evil figure resembling a Parthian mounted archer (*Revelation* HNTC, 80). Three features of the terrible cavalry invasion described in 9:13–19 recalled the Parthians as well: (1) their origin near the Euphrates River, (2) the cavalry's bright plate armor (Beasley-Murray *Revelation* NCB, 165), and (3) the horses' ability to wound with their mouths and tails (9:19), suggesting the Parthian's tactics of shooting one volley of arrows as they charged and then shooting another volley over their horses' tails as they withdrew (Caird *Revelation* HNTC, 122). The threat of a Parthian invasion may also lie behind the invasion over the dried up Euphrates by the kings from the East (16:12).

The Parthians first rose to power in the mid-3d century B.C.E. when Arsaces led a successful revolt against the Seleucid Empire in what is now NE Iran. Two great kings, Mithradates I (ca. 171–138 B.C.E.) and Mithradates II (ca. 124–87 B.C.E.) expanded the Parthian Empire westward, not halting until they met Roman forces at the Euphrates River, which became the boundary between the two empires. The Parthians defeated Roman armies under Crassus at Carrhae (Haran) in 53 B.C.E., Mark Antony in 36 B.C.E., and Paetus in 62 C.E. Trajan finally defeated the Parthians and permanently ended their threat to Rome in 114–16 C.E. Their empire disintegrated in the 220's C.E.

The Parthians were influenced by Iranian, Greek, and Semitic cultures. The chief Zoroastrian god Ahura Mazda was widely honored as the most powerful of the deities, but Babylonian, Greek, and Hindu gods were also worshipped and the empire at its peak encompassed large numbers of Buddhists and Jews. See further *CHI* 3.
MARK J. OLSON

**PARTITION/DIVIDING WALL.** See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

**PARTRIDGE.** See ZOOLOGY.

**PARUAH** (PERSON) [Heb *pārûaḥ* (פָּרוּחַ)]. The father of Jehoshaphat, who was in charge of one of the twelve administrative districts in Solomon's kingdom (1 Kgs 4:17). Jehoshaphat's territory was Issachar, one of the districts identified by its old tribal name. Other districts are designated according to cities or geographical regions. This may have been an attempt to incorporate Canaanite territory conquered by David (*AncIsr,* 135). Each district was responsible for providing food and supplies to Solomon's court one month of the year (1 Kgs 4:7, 27–28).
PHILLIP E. MCMILLION

**PARVAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *parwāyim* (פַּרְוָיִם)]. Presumably an area from which gold was secured for use in Solomon's construction of the Temple (2 Chr 3:6). This geographical interpretation is reflected in most early manuscripts and in the major English translations. The suggestion of the Syriac Peshitta (cf. the Vulgate) that the word is a descriptive category (i.e., "good," "fine") has not generally been accepted. It appears implausible since such descriptions immediately precede this reference (i.e., v 5 "pure"; v 6 "good").

Early rabbinic interpretation, however, was open to a descriptive use of the term when they sought an etymology for the word. It is associated with *parîm,* "young bulls," whose red blood suggested such a hue for the metal (*Midr. Cant.* 3:10; *Exod. Rab.* 35:1; cf. Milik 1959), and with trees bearing fruit *(pārâ)* of gold (*B. Yoma* 21b, 39b, 45a; *Num. Rab.* 11:3; see Del Medico 1963).

An early geographical understanding is evident in 1QapGen 2:23 where Parvain, a variant of Parvaim, is said to be the home of Enoch (Fitzmyer 1971: 52–53, 94). Here it seems to refer to some far-off, exotic land which might even be understood as mythical (Grelot 1961: 35). It is possibly associated with the apocryphal "Garden of Righteousness" (Enoch 60:23; 106:8; Grelot 1964). The actual location of the geographical source of the gold is not clear. Suggestions have been given linking it to Farwa in Yemen or el-Farwein in NE Arabia (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 207).

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DAVID W. BAKER

**PAS-DAMMIM** (PLACE) [Heb *pas dammim* (פַּס דַּמִּים)]. The scene of one of David's military victories over the Philistines (1 Chr 11:12–14). The name is a variant form of EPHES-DAMMIM.

**PASACH** (PERSON) [Heb *pāsak* (פָּסַךְ)]. A son of Japhlet listed in the genealogy of Asher in 1 Chr 7:33. While his grandfather Heber is mentioned in the parallel genealogies of Asher in Genesis 46 and Numbers 26, Pasach remains an obscure figure. He neither appears elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible nor is attributed with any descendants. While some scholars consider such unique names as fabrications of the Chronicler, Johnson and others suggest that this genealogy derives from military census lists, themselves arranged in genealogical form (Johnson 1969: 64–66).

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JULIA M. O'BRIEN

**PASEAH** (PERSON) [Heb *pāsēaḥ* (פָּסֵחַ)]. 1. The father of Joiada, one of those who repaired the wall of Jerusalem following the return from Babylonian exile (Neh 3:6). The LXX has *phasek.* The name means "lame" (Clines *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 57).

**2.** The forebear of the temple servants who came out of Babylon (Ezra 2:49). The LXX has *phasē;* the parallel listing in 1 Esdras 5:31 has *phinoe.* Clines (152) points out that Joiada could be a descendant of the temple servant Paseah. On the other hand, it is possible that we are dealing with two different persons named Paseah. Brockington (*Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* Century Bible, 136) maintains that the Joiada of Neh 3:6 was probably not one of the temple servants because they are said to repair the wall at another place (Neh 3:26). In that case, the Paseah of Ezra 2:49 would be a different person than Joiada's father. It is not necessary to conclude, however, that all of the temple servants would have worked together.

**3.** A descendant of Judah (1 Chr 4:12). The LXX has *phissēe.*

MICHAEL L. RUFFIN

**PASHHUR** (PERSON) [Heb *pašḥûr* (פַּשְׁחוּר)]. Name of five individuals in the Hebrew Bible and the Apocrypha. The name is derived from Egyptian and means probably either "Son of Horus" or "Portion of Horus" (Fowler *TPNAH,* 64–65).

1. Son of Malchiah (Jer 21:1; 38:2). In Jeremiah 21, Pashhur the son of Malchiah along with Zephaniah the priest—the latter subsequently executed by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer 52:24–27)—are sent by King Zedekiah to the prophet Jeremiah. The two are to inquire of the prophet if there is any hope that Yahweh will deliver Judea from the invading Babylonians (Jer 21:2). While this text does not indicate Pashhur's title or official position, he is presented as a person who has close connections with King Zedekiah. The focus of Jeremiah 21 is upon the message of Jeremiah that Judea must surrender to Babylon; the lives of those who surrender will be spared (Jer 21:9).

In Jeremiah 38, Pashhur, son of Malchiah, is among a group of officials who upon hearing the prophet Jeremiah's urging to surrender to Babylon (Jer 38:2; cf. Jer 21:9), appeal to King Zedekiah to be allowed to kill Jeremiah. Zedekiah turned Jeremiah over to these princes who lower the prophet into a cistern of the king's son, Malchiah. This account suggests that Pashhur would have been a royal prince, a grandson of Zedekiah. This would explain both the close connection to Zedekiah in Jeremiah, chaps. 21 and 38, as well as his association with those who regarded Jeremiah's plea to surrender to Babylon as treasonous.

In 1 Chr 9:12 and Neh 11:12, a Pashhur, son of Malchiah, is identified as the grandfather of Adaiah, one of the priests in Jerusalem after the exile. However, it is not clear if this is the same Pashhur found in Jeremiah, chaps. 21 and 38. In Jeremiah 21, only Zephaniah—not Pashhur—is designated as a priest. However, Chronicles and Nehemiah designate Pashhur as part of the priestly line.

**2.** Opponent of the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 20:1–6). Hearing Jeremiah's prophesy of doom against Jerusalem in Judea (Jer 19:14–15), the narrative indicates that Pashhur beat Jeremiah and placed him in stocks in the upper gate of the temple (Jer 20:2). When released, Jeremiah pronounces judgment upon Pashhur. This judgment includes a play upon Pashhur's name so he is no longer to be known as Pashhur but as *māgôr missābîb* ("Terror on Every Side"). The judgment also included a threat of death and exile to Pashhur and his family.

**3.** Father of Gedeliah, one of the supporters of Zedekiah and opponents of Jeremiah (Jer 38:1). It is not clear how, if at all, this Pashhur is related either to Pashhur, son of Immer, the priest in Jer 20:1–6, or Pashhur, son of Malchiah, of Jeremiah, chaps. 21 and 38.

4. One of the ancestors of the priests who return from the exile (Ezra 2:38; Neh 7:41; 1 Esdr 5:25). These descendants of Pashhur are among those who leave their foreign wives (Ezra 10:22; 1 Esdr 9:22).

5. One among those who participate in the sealing of the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh 10:3). It is not clear if there is a relationship between this priest and the "sons of Pashhur" whose return from exile is mentioned elsewhere in Nehemiah (see #4 above).

JOHN M. BRACKE

**PASSION NARRATIVES.** This term usually designates the sections of the canonical gospels that recount the suffering and death of Jesus of Nazareth: Matt 26–27; Mark 14–15; Luke 22:23; John 12–19.

Critical scrutiny of these sections as self-contained narratives originated from source-critical considerations. Schmidt (1919: 303–9), Dibelius (1935: 178–217), and Bultmann (1963: 262–84) saw in

Mark 14–15 a continuity that their atomizing analyis did not find elsewhere in Mark, and they posited variously a pre-Markan passion narrative which had come to Mark in elaborated form. Subsequent form criticism focused on the tradition history of individual units (see esp. Linnemann 1970). The origin of narrative details was often ascribed to a process of primitive Christian scriptural exegesis.

The approach here will be literary and generic. The narratives have a literary shape and serve a function within the context of the gospels as wholes. Their literary shape originated in an identifiable genre of Jewish stories, and the narratives developed from pre-canonical sources into the texts of the four canonical gospels and the non-canonical *Gospel of Peter*.

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A. Jewish Stories of Persecution and Vindication
B. Mark 11–15
C. Matthew 21–27
D. Luke 19–23
E. John 11–19
F. The Gospel of Peter
G. Pre-canonical Passion Narratives

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**A. Jewish Stories of Persecution and Vindication**

The generic model for the passion narratives occurs in Jewish stories about the persecution and vindication of a wise or righteous protagonist: Genesis 37, 39–41; Esther (Mordecai); Daniel 3 and 6; Susanna; and, with modifications, 2 Maccabees 7; and Wisdom 2, 4 and 5 (Nickelsburg 1980). These stories originate as court tales (see also *Ahiqar*) about a wise man who, as the object of a conspiracy, is persecuted, consigned to death, rescued, vindicated, and exalted in the royal court. In Daniel 3 and 6 the courtier is a faithful Jew whose obedience to the Torah and trust in God lead to his condemnation. In Susanna the court setting is dropped and the protagonist is a god-fearing woman. In Wisdom 2, 4 and 5 the unnamed hero, a *type* of the wise and righteous spokesman of the Lord, is identified with the Servant of Second Isaiah and the story is recounted in language heavily influenced by Isa 52:13–53:12 (Nickelsburg 1980: 156, n. 15).

The plot of these stories is embodied in a series of common narrative elements that depict the actions and attitudes of the characters. The stories differ from one another in their specific settings and characters and the particular issues that give the stories their continuity (e.g., Joseph's ability to interpret dreams, Susanna's chastity, the righteous man's status as God's son). In 2 Maccabees 7 and Wisdom 2, 4, and 5 the vindication does not prevent death, but takes place in spite of it.

Three factors distinguish the gospel narratives from their Jewish prototypes. The protagonist is a historical figure of the recent past. Unique status is ascribed to him, as Messiah, Son of Man, Son of God. His divinity gives the narratives a special nuance: a genre that originally described the suffering of a righteous man now recounts the death of a divine being.

**B. Mark 11–15**

The literary genre of the Markan passion narrative is evident in the many narrative elements typical of the Jewish stories. These elements, of which there are more than in any single Jewish story of this genre, carry two major themes: Jesus' relationship to the temple and Jesus' messianic status.

The temple theme enters the gospel in chap. 11. In a provocation typical of the genre, Jesus "cleanses" the temple, explaining his actions by quoting two prophetic passages, one anticipated a new, eschatological temple (11:15–17). This action triggers a conspiracy by the temple authorities (11:18; cf. 11:22–33; 12:1–12). An oracle predicting the destruction of the temple is explicit in Jesus' private teaching in 13:1–2. The conspiracy reemerges in 14:1–2, usually designated as the beginning of the Markan passion narrative. Jesus' alleged claim that he would destroy the temple and build a new one appears in the accusation before the Sanhedrin (14:57–58). Although the charge is not substantiated, it is presumed at the crucifixion, where mocking bystanders challenge the validity of his alleged claim (15:29–30). The rending of the temple veil anticipates the vindication of Jesus' prediction (15:38).

The set of generic elements that bear the theme of Jesus' messiahship make use variously, and usually with irony, of the titles "Christ," "King of the Jews/Israel," "Son of God/the Blessed": Conspiracy (14:3–11, though the title does not appear, note the anointing); Accusation and Condemnation (14:61–64; 15:1–20); Acclamation (15:26); Ordeal (15:31–32); Vindication and Acclamation (15:39). Different from the temple theme, Jesus' identity as a divine being called "Son of God" and his status as Messiah are present from the beginning of the gospel. Both God and the evil denizens of the supernatural realm identify Jesus as God's Son and holy one (1:11, 24; 5:7; 9:7). His status as Messiah is suggested in the allusion to Psalm 2 in 1:11 and becomes focal in 8:29. In the latter context, however, Jesus interprets Messiah in terms of the "Son of Man" who must die (8:31–33). This crucial modification of any idea of a triumphant Messiah-King, is repeated three more times (9:9–13; 9:31; 10:32–45) in predictions that point the reader toward a denouement in which Jesus' status as Son and Messiah will be validated in his passion and death. Roman irony about "the King of the Jews," ridiculously condemned to die, shadows the truth of his messiahship. The crucifixion constitutes an ordeal; Jesus renounces the temptation that he prove his messiahship by miraculously saving himself (15:31–32), and, by losing his life, he affirms his vocation as Messiah (cf. 8:34–35). In the end, in another unwitting shadowing of the truth, the pagan centurion, seeing the proof of "this man's" mortality, becomes the only human being in the gospel to acclaim Jesus' divine identity as God's Son. Thus, in the context of the gospel, the passion narrative is the key that unlocks the significance of Jesus of Nazareth, revealing kingship in death and divinity in the determination to accept human mortality.

The passion narrative is inextricably connected to the story of the empty tomb. The Jewish stories saw vindication in a rescue from death. The pair, persecution/vindication, recurs in Mark's repeated passion predictions, in language beholden to the Deutero-Isaianic texts that inform Wisdom 2; 4–5. See SON OF MAN. The function of the Sanhedrin's "seeing" the enthroned Son of Man will be to vindicate Jesus' admission of messiahship and divine status, which was the immediate cause of his condemnation (Mark 14:62–64). Although the story climaxes christologically in the centurion's confession—however defective—the narrative pattern requires Jesus' resurrection and exaltation, though neither is described in narrative form.

While, from the point of view of genre, the pattern of persecution and vindication reflects the Jewish stories mentioned above, Mark's passion narrative also sounds this double motif through allusions to canonical psalms about the suffering and exaltation of the righteous one. Noteworthy are: 14:18 (Ps 41:9); 14:34 (Ps 42:5, 11; 43:5); 15:24, 29, 34 (Ps 22:18, 7, 1); 15:23, 36 (Ps 69:21). Although scripture is not cited in any of these cases (contrast, e.g., 14:27), the wording of the psalms is narrativized in a way that was typical of Jewish stories. Through this use of Israel's religious traditions, Mark and his source(s) cast the narrative of Jesus' suffering and death in a familiar mold that others had used to describe the suffering and vindication of the wise and righteous.

Mark's use of a traditional genre and pattern is governed and nuanced by his view of Jesus' unique status as the Messiah and God's Son. Jesus' unjust death served a unique divine purpose. Probably relying on ideas drawn from Isaiah 52–53, understood and nuanced in new ways, Mark's Jesus claims that his death initiates a covenant that will effect "a ransom for many." The idea is asserted in the climactic announcement that prepares for and interprets the passion narrative (10:45) and in the account of the Last Supper which was familiar to Mark's readers from the liturgical context in which they remembered and celebrated Jesus' death (14:22–25).

Although Jewish stories of persecution and vindication provide a model for most of the cast of characters, the plot, and many of the narrative elements of Mark's passion narrative, the prominence of Jesus' disciples and of episodes about them are worthy of special note, particularly because of their negative characterization. This Markan motif is introduced in chapter one and unfolded in the gospel's plot. The disciples' apostasy, recounted in the passion narrative, is an extension of the ignorance and misunderstanding described in chaps. 3–10. The historical setting and literary and theological function of this portrait of the disciples continues to be debated. Three facts are noteworthy. (1) In the pericopes about Gethsemane and the Sanhedrin trial, in episodes not typical of the genre, the disciples' apostasy is

carefully contrasted with the faithfulness and obedience of Jesus, the righteous sufferer. (2) This faithless shrinking from appropriate and necessary suffering is linked to Mark's understanding of messiahship and to the disciples' calling to imitate Jesus' suffering service for others (cf. 8:31–38; 9:31–35; 10:32–45; 13:9–13). (3) Mark's allusions to his own time in chap. 13 suggest a polemic against false teachers who proclaim a Messiah much like the one wrongly expected by the Twelve. They also predict that the disciples must suffer like Jesus and they contain warnings against the kind of careless conduct attributed to the disciples in Gethsemane (cf. 13:32–37 with 14:32–42). Thus Mark's christology, which culminates in the narrative about Jesus' unique and saving death, does not exclude a paradigmatic aspect in the faithful and obedient suffering depicted in that narrative.

Mark's characterization of the antagonists is of special importance. In keeping with the temple motif, Jesus' enemies are the members of the Jerusalem establishment—the chief priests, scribes, and elders. Although the historical fact of the crucifixion presupposes condemnation by the Roman governor, Mark's narrative reflects a double tendency to exculpate Pilate and blame the Jewish authorities. In terms of the genre, Pilate plays the role of the friendly helper figure who attempts to deliver the protagonist, and the centurion's acclamation does not come from the lips of one who has been portrayed as Jesus' enemy. In contrast to these more or less well-disposed characters, the Jewish authorities pursue Jesus' destruction. These tendencies, which the other evangelists will underscore, are noteworthy because, with the exception of 1 Thess 2:14–16 and the book of Acts, they are otherwise absent in the NT. Their presence in the gospels and Acts reflects 1st century Jewish-Christian controversy and Christian apologetic vis-à-vis the Romans. Therefore, historical conclusions about Jewish participation in the arrest, trial, and death of Jesus must be drawn with much more caution and tentativeness than has been traditional.

With respect to their genre, contents, and necessary placement in the plot, the passion narratives of the other canonical gospels evidence many similarities to Mark's account. At the same time, in keeping with their purposes, the respective evangelists both emphasize and deemphasize aspects of Mark's account and add traditional and newly constructed material.

**C. Matthew 21–27**

From start to finish, Matthew repeatedly emphasizes that the Jews and their leaders have rejected their Messiah and that salvation now belongs predominantly to the gentiles. In keeping with this view, Matthew's major changes in the passion narrative expand on Mark's tendency to exculpate Pilate and blame the Jews. The malevolence of the Jewish leaders is evident in a number of Matthean editorial changes. The chief priests and the Sanhedrin seek *false* testimony against Jesus (26:59; cf. Mark 14:55). Different from Jesus' open claim to divine status in Mark 14:62, Matthew's Jesus responds ambiguously, "you say so" (26:64). Nonetheless, he is condemned for blasphemy. Matthew repeatedly contrasts the Jewish leaders' malevolence with the protests of Jesus' innocence expressed by other characters. The chief priests and elders pursue their death plot, cynically rejecting Judas' confession of sin and attestation of Jesus' innocence (27:3–10). In the trial before Pilate, the governor raises the issue of amnesty as a device to rescue Jesus (27:15–18; contrast the crowd's initiative in Mark 15:6–10). Following this and Pilate's wife's divinely prompted attestation of Jesus' innocence, the leaders incite the crowd to ask for Barabbas (27:19–20), and the curse is invoked in response to Pilate's public handwashing (27:24–25). The scene echoes the Judas story (vv 3–10). Contrast is again implied when only the centurion and the soldiers respond to the visible phenomena that vindicate Jesus' status as God's Son (27:51–54). The story of the guard at the tomb (27:62–66; 28:2–4, 11–15) emphasizes the Jewish leaders' hardheartedness. They attempt to prevent the disciples from stealing Jesus' body and claiming that he is risen. When the resurrection takes place, it is they who perpetrate a fraud.

Matthew moves significantly beyond Mark by ascribing responsibility for Jesus' death to the people as a whole, and he makes the consequences explicit. The elders are "the elders of the people" (26:3, 47; 27:1; cf. Mark 14:1, 43; 15:1). In 27:24–25, Mark's "crowd"—here identified as "all the people" (*laos*, the technical term for the nation)—invokes a curse on themselves and their descendants, which will be fulfilled in the destruction of Jerusalem, and the Jews' disenfranchisement as God's people. Matthew makes this point in 21:28–22:10, where he interpolates into his Markan source two parables that

complement the parable of the vineyard (Mark 12:1–12) and identify Jesus' controversies in Jerusalem as confrontations inextricably related to the story of the passion and its consequences.

Matthew exploits the possibilities of the genre in order to underscore aspects of the christology implicit in Mark's narrative. He enhances the theme of Jesus' status as God's Son. This title is linked to that of "Christ" in the Sanhedrin trial (26:63; cf. Mark 14:61) and in Matthew's addition in 16:16 (cf. Mark 8:29). He keeps it in prominence in the crucifixion scene through a pair of additions to the narrative element of the ordeal (27:40, 43), which reflect the ordeal element in Wis 2:17–18 and its combination of "son of God" language with an allusion to Ps 22:8. Thus, as in Wis 5:5, the protagonist's vindication as God's Son (Matt 27:54) is a response to the cynical taunt that he prove his sonship by escaping death. Moreover, Matt 27:40 parallels Matt 4:6 and makes explicit that the taunt is a satanic temptation to obstruct God's purpose that Jesus must die (cf. Matt 16:21–23, par. Mark 8:31–33).

Matthew elaborates on Jesus' death as a saving event, retaining Mark 10:45 at 20:28 and Mark 14:24 at 26:28. In 26:28 he inserts the motif of "forgiveness of sins," deleted from his account of John's baptism (contrast Matt 3:1–2 with Mark 1:4). The eschatological aspects of soteriology appear in Matthew's crucifixion account. Cosmic signs, expected on the Day of the Lord, accompany Jesus' death, and the resurrection of the saints anticipates and is dependent on Jesus' resurrection (27:51–53).

Following Mark, and in keeping with his own interest in the fulfillment of scripture, Matthew ties the passion events to scripture and its traditional interpretation. At 26:24, 54 he follows or modifies Mark. At 27:9–10 he uses a typical citation formula. He retains the Markan allusions to the Psalms and adds the language of Psalm 22 and Wisdom of Solomon mentioned above.

**D. Luke 19–23**

Although the Lukan passion narrative retains the genre, the general order, and the contents of Mark's narrative, its omissions, additions, and transpositions have led some scholars to conclude that Luke used a traditional passion narrative in addition to Mark's (Taylor 1972). While Luke's narrative may well retain unique traditional material, most of the differences from Mark are understandable as expressions of Luke's literary and theological interests, and an independent passion narrative seems an unnecessary hypothesis.

Jesus' negative relationship to the temple is recast in Luke's narrative. The motif is present primarily in chaps. 19–21, where the temple is the setting for a major confrontation between Jesus and the Jewish authorities. Similar confrontations, also between Jesus' followers and the authorities, are a typical feature of Luke-Acts (Petersen 1978). In the passion narrative, however, the motif has disappeared from crucial elements of the genre. The conspiracy is tied to Jesus' teaching in general and not to his "cleansing" of the temple (19:47; cf. Mark 11:18). The accusation that he threatened to destroy the temple is deleted from the Sanhedrin trial (22:66–71) and the taunts at the crucifixion (23:35; cf. Mark 15:29–30). Only the rending of the veil remains, as one of several phenomena that *precede* his death. Most of the deleted material reappears in Acts in the confrontation stories about Stephen and Paul (see below).

Luke's view of Jewish responsibility for Jesus' death is ambivalent. The leaders' malevolence is emphasized. Their plot is a function of wholesale opposition to his teaching (19:47; cf. 4:25–30). The second mention of the conspiracy is juxtaposed to the statement that Judas acts at the prompting of Satan (22:1–3), whose "hour" and "authority" are present when the authorities and their soldiers arrive at Gethsemane (22:52–53). Although at the Sanhedrin trial Jesus twice avoids the Messianic claim explicit in Mark 14:61–62 (cf. 22:67–70), the authorities hear what they wish (v 71). Before Pilate they perpetrate a double lie: he claims to be Christ, a king; he forbids paying tax (23:2, anticipated in 20:20–26). The contrast between Pilate's estimation of Jesus and the leaders' accusations is also developed by Luke. Pilate becomes Jesus' advocate, and his threefold formal statement of Jesus' innocence is underscored by Herod's judgment (23:4, 14–15, 22). The condemnation is a capitulation "to their will" (23:25). By moving the soldiers' mockery to the crucifixion, Luke identifies as Jews rather than Romans the "they" who lead Jesus to Golgotha and crucify him (contrast 23:25ff with Mark 15:16ff).

Luke's ambivalence about Jewish responsibility appears in his statements about the "people" and the "crowd(s)." The "people" react in horror to the parable of the vineyard, while the leaders plot his demise

(20:9–19). The death plot in 22:2 is a reaction to Jesus' popular support, not in spite of it (cf. Mark 14:2). On the way to Golgotha, Jesus is followed by a crowd of "the people" and lamenting women. At the cross, in contrast to the leaders, who mock Jesus, "the people" watch, and at the end these "crowds" beat their breasts in repentance (23:35, 48). Only in 23:4, 13 are "the crowds" and "the people" mentioned explicitly in a negative way. In Acts, Luke frequently reasserts the leaders' responsibility for Jesus' death and attributes Stephen's death to them, but he describes mass conversions of the people—though other "Jews" in Asia Minor and Europe persecute Paul.

The christology in Luke's passion narrative has its own nuances. Although for Luke, Jesus is God's Son, the title is lacking at 23:47, where the centurion sees in Jesus' death the evidence of his innocence or righteousness, not his divine status. More central—the leaders' lies notwithstanding—is Jesus' status as the Chosen One, the Christ, who must suffer to enter his glory (23:35, 42; 24:26, 46; cf. Acts 2:36).

Luke deemphasizes the idea of Jesus' death for others. At 18:34 he omits Mark 10:45 and replaces it at 19:10 with a logion that ties the Son of Man's saving work not to his death but to his reclaiming the likes of Zacchaeus. Other parts of Mark 10:35ff appear at the Last Supper, where the exemplary aspects of Jesus' death are stressed (22:24–30) in the context of the institution of the Eucharist—if the long reading is accepted. In spite of this interpretation of Jesus' death "for you", no statement of its vicarious function occurs in the "kerygmatic" formulae in Luke 24 and Acts, though his death is according to God's plan, and forgiveness and salvation are tied to his name. Central is the pattern of persecution and vindication/exaltation typical of the Jewish stories.

Luke's passion narrative portrays Jesus as a model of patient and selfless suffering. At the Last Supper he thinks of his disciples (22:15). In Gethsemane, he heals the high priest's servant (22:51). At the crucifixion the "cry of desperation" (Mark 15:34) is replaced with a prayer for forgiveness, comfort for a fellow sufferer (typically of Luke, an outcast to be saved), and the confident committal of his spirit to the Father (23:34, 42:43, 46). The paradigmatic quality of Jesus' passion is evident in Acts. In chaps. 6–7, Stephen's trial and death are cast in the genre of the passion narrative. The conspiracy results from his claim that Jesus threatened the temple (and Torah) (6:8–14). His vision of the glorified Son of Man (6:15; 7:54–56) parallels the Sanhedrin trial (22:69; Mark 14:62). His final words (7:59–60) parallel Jesus' words at Luke 23:46, 34. His death and the attack on the Christians is a persecution of Christ (9:4–5), and Saul's confession at 9:20 takes up the Markan centurion's acclamation dropped in Luke's passion narrative. Moreover, Saul will have to "suffer" for Jesus (9:16), and his journey to Jerusalem (20:22ff) parallels Jesus' journey in the gospels.

This relationship of the fate of master and disciples is enhanced by Luke's systematic expunging of most of the negative aspects of Mark's portrait of the disciples. They endure with him in his temptation (22:28). Their careless behavior in Gethsemane is minimized, and their sleep is attributed to grief (22:45). They do not apostasize (Mark 14:27–28, 50–52 are omitted), and they are present at the cross (23:49).

**E. John 11–19**

The Johannine passion narrative contains the major episodes common to the Synoptics: conspiracy (11:47–53); anointing (12:1–8); royal entrance (12:12–19); Last Supper and announcement of betrayal and denial (13:1–30, 36–38); Gethsemane (18:1–12); Jewish trial and Peter's denial (18:13–27); trial before Pilate (18:28–19:16); crucifixion with a final scene focusing on a Roman soldier's action which interprets Jesus' death (19:17–37); burial (19:38–42). The major formal difference from the Synoptics is the presence of the typical Johannine discourses, which function as testamentary instruction on the nature of Jesus' death and on the disciples' life afterwards (esp. chaps. 13–17).

Although John's passion narrative bears many resemblances to the Synoptic accounts, its episodes do not function as interrelated elements of a consistent and complete story of the genre described above. No single issue is the cause of a conspiracy, the substance of an accusation, the subject of an ordeal, and the object of a vindicative acclamation. The temple cleansing (John 2:13–22) has no plot as its consequence. In 11:45–53, the conspiracy, which results from the raising of Lazarus, alludes to the relationship between Jesus' death and the temple's destruction, but the issue is never again mentioned. Although Jesus' status as Christ and Son of God are at issue in the Roman trial (18:28–19:16), they have not been mentioned in

the hearing before the high priest, and in the crucifixion account the messianic motif appears only in the superscription. Jesus' status as Son and Messiah is not vindicated at Golgotha.

These differences from the Synoptic Gospels are consonant with the context of the gospel. First, the charge that Jesus claims to be God's Son (19:7) reflects hints and open claims throughout the gospel (contrast Mark's secrecy motif) and follows through on two episodes in which these claims trigger charges of blasphemy and attempts to stone Jesus (8:31–58; 10:22–39). The climactic acclamation of Jesus' divinity occurs in Thomas' post-resurrection confession and the Evangelist's conclusion (John 20:28–31), which links messiahship and divine sonship (cf. also 11:27).

Secondly, different from the Synoptics, Jesus' death is integral and necessary to the plot of the whole gospel. John describes repeated attempts to capture or kill Jesus (5:16–18; 7:10–19, 25, 32; 8:37, 59; 10:22–39). These incidents reflect, in turn, the narrative pattern of John's christology. Jesus, the eternal Son of the heavenly Father, the Logos who became flesh to reveal God's will, is rejected by his own, and this rejection climaxes in the crucifixion. The passion narrative describes the death which is also the Son's departure to the realm from which he came, and the discourses in the narrative interpret this death as glorification and exaltation, employing a paradigm reminiscent of the Wisdom of Solomon. See RESURRECTION.

Through this structurally essential theme of rejection, John raises the anti-Jewish element to high relief. Different from the Synoptics (except Matt 21:45; 27:62), the Pharisees play a major role in the death plot (7:32, 45–52; 11:46–47, 57; 18:3). More important, John identifies "the Jews" as the antagonists who seek Jesus' death (passim). As in Matthew, responsibility for Jesus' death has been generalized from the leaders to the people. Moreover, these Jews are the historical agents of the primordial mythical darkness that opposes the heavenly light and salvation.

Although John's primary soteriological pattern depicts the descent of the Revealer who gives life to those who accept him, and although Jesus' death is the treacherous rejection of the Revealer, John sees positive value in Jesus' death. This paradox is presented at the introduction to the passion narrative, where unwittingly the high priest rightly interprets the death he is plotting (11:49–52). In passages that correspond to Mark 10:45; 14:24, Jesus describes himself as the Shepherd, or loving Friend, who lays down his life for the sheep, or friends (10:11–18; 15:12–15). The motif also occurs, though cryptically, in passages that allude to Jesus as the Passover lamb (19:14, 36; cf. 1:29).

Scholars debate the extent to which John understood Jesus to be a real human being. However one resolves the question, John's passion narrative lacks the features that stress Jesus' humanity and suffering in the other gospels (Käsemann 1968), although aspects of Luke's narrative approximate John's view. Especially noteworthy is John's Gethsemane story, where epiphany replaces agony (18:1–12; cf. 12:27–28, which takes up the synoptic Gethsemane logion and dismisses it). The crucifixion scene depicts a Jesus in control. It lacks the desolation suggested by the quotation of Ps 22:1, and it cites Ps 22:18 and Ps 69:21 not to attest the righteous one's suffering, but to prove how events took place to fulfill scripture and how Jesus orchestrated them to this end. It is in the citation of these Psalms and other scripture that John's passion narrative approximates the motif of vindication. What Jesus does and what happens to him define him as God's agent, but within a cosmic context. John describes not the vindication of the righteous one's conduct, but the fulfillment of a grand divine purpose.

The relationship between the Synoptics and John's gospel is debated. Recent discussion favors independence. This position must explain the following parallels with peculiarly Lukan details: John 13:2, Luke 22:3 (Satan and Judas); John 13:4–20, Luke 22:24–27 (servant motif at the supper); John 18:23, Luke 22:67–68 (double conditional sentence); John 18:38, 19:4, 6; Luke 23:4, 14, 22 (Pilate's triple response); John 19:12, Luke 23:2 (kingship and Caesar); John 19:25–26, Luke 23:40–43 (Jesus' concern for others); John 19:30, Luke 23:46 (he commits his spirit). Collectively, these similarities suggest John's dependence either on Luke or on a substantial parallel narrative.

**F. The Gospel of Peter**

This work exists in one fragmentary copy. It begins at the conclusion of the trial before Pilate and continues with the mockery, crucifixion, burial, and setting of the guard at the tomb. After a description of

the resurrection and the discovery of the empty tomb, the story breaks off with Peter, Andrew, and Levi setting off for the Sea of Galilee (cf. John 21). The common opinion that the gospel contained an account of only the passion and resurrection can be neither proven nor disproven. Evidently it included an account of a trial before Jewish leaders, where the issues may have been a threat against the temple (see *Gos. Peter* 26), and Jesus' status as Son of God (see *Gos. Peter* 6–9, 45–46).

Most scholars believe that the gospel is dependent on the canonical gospels. Especially noteworthy are the parallels with material unique to Matthew, Luke, and John: the handwashing and the guard at the tomb (Matthew); the presence of Herod, the repentant thief, the lament about Jerusalem (found in a minor Lukan ms tradition), the people's repentance, the acclamation of Jesus as "righteous" (Luke); the breaking of the bones, and the fear of the Jews (John). Crossan (1988) ascribes many of these elements to a pre-Markan narrative that was supplemented by other material from the canonical texts. Although this analysis ascribes too much to primitive tradition, there seem to be some early elements in the *Gospel of Peter*, e.g., the story of the guard at the tomb.

Whatever its relationship to the other gospels, the *Gospel of Peter* attests the tendency to exculpate Pilate and blame the Jewish leaders. The author heaps up and reinforces anti-Jewish material spread through the other gospels and reshapes other pericopes to this end. Details in the Matthean handwashing scene appear twice (1, 46). The act of condemnation is attributed not to Pilate but to the Jewish king. Actions elsewhere ascribed to Roman soldiers are attributed to the Jews, the people, or their leaders. The request for Jesus' body and the necessity to bury him is mentioned three times in connection with a concern to obey the Law. The Jewish leaders are ready to commit the "great sin" of denying the resurrection, lest their admission of wrong lead to their execution by the people. The element of the miraculous, introduced through the signs at Jesus' death and the description of the resurrection, underscores the wickedness of the leaders, who refuse to repent with the people or to make a confession as Pilate does.

Although the document's fragmentary state obscures the author's christology, some tentative conclusions are possible. The name "Jesus" never occurs in the extant text. The author's titles for him, "the Lord" and "Son of God," emphasize Jesus' divinity, as does the description of the gigantic stature of the risen one. That such a gospel would have been a favorite among docetists (according to Serapion, ca. 200 C.E.) is not surprising, but it is not clear that only gnostics or other docetists could have written it.

**G. Precanonical Passion Narratives**

Many questions about the shape of pre-Markan passion traditions remain unresolved. The earliest textual evidence is in Paul. The eucharistic text in 1 Cor 11:23–26, which mentions the night, the betrayal, the words over the bread and cup, and an eschatological hope, may reflect a fuller account similar to the long text of Luke 22:17–22. The tradition in 1 Cor 15:1–5 may indicate knowledge of an account of the burial and, perhaps, the discovery of the empty tomb on the third day. Heb 5:7–10, a later nongospel text, knows either the Gethsemane story, or an account of the crucifixion. Form-critical analysis has shown that some of Mark's pericopes have developed from older traditions. The generic shape of Mark's narrative supports the earlier critical opinion about its unity. The presence of doubled narrative elements carrying two motifs may indicate that the material about the temple derives from an earlier running account (Nickelsburg 1980). The strange placement of the story of the resurrection of the holy ones in Matt 27:51–54 suggests that the pericope is traditional. Along with the *Gospel of Peter*'s post-Resurrection acclamation of Jesus, it may reflect an earlier narrative with a high christology tied to Jesus' miraculous vindication. The passion narratives in John and the *Gospel of Peter* deserve close scrutiny. The literary form in John resembles Mark's (even if the elements do not function as they do in its generic prototype), and its parallels to Luke are striking. If it is independent of these gospels, it attests an extensive early narrative of known generic shape. Even if the *Gospel of Peter* is not completely independent of the canonical gospels, it seems to contain pre-Markan material.

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**PASSOVER MEAL.** See UNLEAVENED BREAD AND PASSOVER, FEASTS OF.

**PATARA** (PLACE) [Gk *Patara* (Παταρα)]. A prominent seaport city of Lycia, a region of SW Asia Minor (modern Turkey). Patara, which served as the port for the city of Xanthus (Xanthus = 36°22´N; 29°20´E), is located just 7 miles E of the mouth of the Xanthus River. The importance of Patara is indicated by its inclusion in the Lycian League of which it was the 6th largest member. The ruins of the city are situated near the modern village of Gelemish.

Paul sailed to this city from Rhodes on his last missionary journey (Acts 21:1–2). Most manuscripts record that once at the city he transferred to another ship which was sailing directly to Tyre. The prevailing winds of the area made the direct sailing route from Asia Minor to Phoenicia possible. The Codex Bezae and a few other manuscripts add "and Myra" to the phrase "to Patara" which indicates that Paul switched ships at the nearby Lycian city of Myra (Acts 27:5). The former reading, however, is thought by many scholars to be more reliable than the latter because of the preponderance of textual evidence and the preference for the Alexandrian over the Western text.

Patara was colonized at an early date by Dorians from Crete. It was highly regarded by the Greeks because Homer lists it as an ally during the Trojan War (*Il.* 2.876ff). The inhabitants of Patara, however, were not Greek, but spoke the Lycian language until Ptolemaic times. The name of the city is linked with Patarus the son of Apollo and like Delphi, the city was famous for its oracle of Apollo (Hdt. 1.182). The oracle was only active during the winter months because Apollo preferred to spend his winter months here instead of his normal home on the island of Delos.

The city issued its own coinage as early as the 4th century B.C. Alexander the Great captured the city during the winter of 334–333 B.C. The city was renamed briefly Asinoe after the wife of Ptolemy II after he appropriated the city in 275 B.C. Antiochus III seized the city in 197 B.C., but his control was short-lived because the region came under the control of Rhodes after the Peace of Apameia.

The Lycians were allowed by the Romans to form an autonomous league of cities in 167 B.C. This league developed a unique style of representative government called republican federalism. Twenty-three cities of the league had either one, two, or three seats in the assembly according to the size (Strabo *Geog.* 14.3.2–3); Patara controlled three seats. Pliny records that there were 32 member cities in his day (*HN* 5.101). Except for the brief control of Brutus in 42 B.C., the region enjoyed relative freedom until A.D. 43, during the reign of Claudius, when Lycia was joined with Pamphilia to form a new Roman province.

The legendary Saint Nicholas is thought to have been born at Patara, but he became the Bishop of nearby Myra where he is thought to be buried.

Patara was rediscovered in 1811 by the British survey team led by Francis Beaufort, but little archaeological work has been carried out at the site. The protected harbor of Patara which was well equipped with a lighthouse is now filled with alluvial deposits. Several travelers of the 19th century

recorded the ruins visible to them. The remains are substantial including: portions of the city wall, a large theater dated to the reign of Tiberius and rebuilt in A.D. 147 during the administration of Antoninus Pius, and a granary erected by Hadrian.

Other information about the site has been gained through the discovery of numerous inscriptions. One inscription notes that Vespasian built a bath for the city. Other inscriptions record the gifts of renowned citizens of the city who had gained power and wealth through their involvement in Roman politics.

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**PATHOLOGY.** See PALEOPATHOLOGY.

**PATHROS** (PLACE) [Heb *patrôs* (פַּתְרוֹס)]. PATHRUSIM. According to the Table of Nations (Gen 10:14) and the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 1:12, the Pathrusim were among the descendants of Mizraim (Egypt), the son of Ham, the son of Noah. The name of this population group only occurs here in the Bible, but the name of the geographical area Pathros also occurs in the prophets. In each occurrence, Pathros is linked to Egypt, just like it was in the genealogies. As part of the messianic kingdom, God will not only restore exiles found in Assyria and Elam, to the E of Israel, but also from the SW, from "Mizraim, Pathros and Cush (Ethiopia)" (Isa 11:11). In Jer 44:1, 15, God addresses people living in Egypt, including more specifically those living in Pathros, but they do not pay attention. Exiles from Egypt will be restored to Pathros (Ezek 29:14), and judgment upon Egypt and Noph will effect Pathros, among others (30:14). All of these references indicate that Pathros is a subsection of Egypt. The progression of the three Egyptian elements in Isa 11:11 could indicate a location of Mizraim (Egypt) in Lower (i.e., N) Egypt, Pathros in Upper (i.e., S) Egypt, and Cush (Ethiopia) furthest up the Nile. The same progression is exhibited in an Assyrian inscription of Esarhaddon (*ANET,* 290; *NBD,* 883), where Pathros is referred to as Petorisi. This location of Pathros between Memphis/Cairo and Aswan is supported by the Egyptian name for the area, *p*ꜣ*-t*ꜣ*-rs (y)* "the south land" (*NBD,* 883).

DAVID W. BAKER

Upper Egypt had often formed an administrative unit distinct from Memphis and the Delta in early periods of Egyptian history; but the final severance of any direct connection between Thebes and the royal house at the close of the New Kingdom (11th century B.C.) tended to increase the isolation of the valley. By the 7th century B.C., the term "House of Amun," i.e., the great estate of the Theban god who had been chief of the pantheon, was often used synonymously with "Upper Egypt." By the time of Esarhaddon's campaign against Egypt (671 B.C.), *Musru* ("Egypt," i.e., the Delta), *Paturisi* (= the Southland, Upper Egypt), and *Kusu* (Kush) together signified the totality of the Egyptian king Taharqa's holdings, from the Mediterranean to the Sudan.

The Saite kings of the 26th Dynasty (664–525 B.C.) separated off the Southland and treated it as an administrative unit once again. It was assigned a governor and a master of commercial shipping, mainly for purposes of taxation; while for purposes of cultic continuity, a princess of the royal line was installed at Thebes as "Divine Worshipper of Amun." A foreign garrison, including a paramilitary (?) unit from Judah, was installed at Elephantine on the S border. The Persians continued the Saite practice of assigning a single governor to the Southland and maintained the garrison, but did away with the role of the Divine Worshipper. "The Southland" survived in Coptic as *Mares,* the "Southern Country," the precursor of the modern Arabic *Sa'id,* "the South."

DONALD B. REDFORD

**PATMOS** (PLACE) [Gk *Patmos* (Πατμος)]. One of the Sporades Islands in the Aegean Sea located off the coast of Asia Minor, 37 miles SW of the city of Miletus and 28 miles SSW of the island of Samos

(37°20′N, 26°34′E). The desolate volcanic island is 25 miles in circumference, about 10 miles long N to S and 6 miles wide at its broadest point (the N half). Mt. Elias, the highest point on the island, rises more than 800 feet. On the isthmus at the center of the island a Greek settlement has been excavated.

Patmos is mentioned by both Thucydides (3:33) and Strabo (10:5). However, the island is especially important for its relationship to the history of the early church. Patmos is the traditional location of John's visionary experiences recorded in the book of Revelation. John begins the Apocalypse by stating that he was banished to the island of Patmos (Rev 1:9). A cave on a hill in the S part of the island, below the monastery of St. John the Divine, is the traditional site of John's visions.

Roman prisoners and dissidents were often banished to islands, and three islands, in particular, in the Sporades were used for exiles (Pliny *HN* 4:69–70; Tacitus *Ann.* 4:30). John was exiled to Patmos, according to early church tradition, in the 14th year (95 C.E.) of the emperor Domitian (Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 3:18–20; see also Irenaeus *haer.* 5.30.3; Jerome *vir. ill.* 9). Legends about John's deeds on Patmos are preserved in the *Acts of John (by Prochorus)*, a 5th-century text pseudepigraphically attributed to the apostle's scribe. John was probably released during the reign of Nerva (Cassius Dio 68.1) and lived into the reign of Trajan (Irenaeus *haer.* 2.22.5), serving as pastor of the church at Ephesus.

The monastery of St. John the Divine was built over John's grotto in 1088 by St. Christodoulos. The monastery library, which still contains a large collection of biblical and patristic mss, is one of the major collections of Byzantine texts.

SCOTT T. CARROLL

**PATRIARCHATE.** The office of head of the Jewish community of Roman Palestine. The incumbent is called *patriarchēs* in Gk sources (occasionally *ethnarchēs*) and *nāśî'* in Heb ones. The office is fairly well documented in legal, literary, and epigraphic materials from the 2d century C.E. till its demise, for reasons not specified by the sources, between 415 and 429 (*Cod. Theod.* XVI, 8:22; 8:29). The incumbent of the patriarchal office, at its peak, wielded considerable power over the Jews of the eastern Roman Empire and was granted high honors by the Roman imperial authorities. Around 240 Origen noted that as a result of the great powers granted him by Caesar, the ethnarch differed in no way from a king. Origen illustrated these powers by reference to the ethnarch's *de facto* competence to try capital cases according to Jewish law (Or. *ep.* 1, 14). And laws preserved in the Theodosian Code show that the patriarchs of the late 4th and early 5th centuries were granted such honorifics as *clarissimus, illustris,* and *spectabilis,* titles used for the holders of the highest offices in the empire (*Cod. Theod.* XVI, 8:8; 8:11; 8:13; 8:15). It is not clear whether all the patriarchs enjoyed the same degree of power and recognition. Still, for most of its history the patriarchal office does approximate the position of a (client) king. The patriarch served as chief magistrate of the Jews, maintained a court and lived in splendor from the income on extensive landholdings and taxes paid by Jews, and the office was hereditary within one family. Let us examine each of these features in turn.

The patriarchs had the authority to appoint, supervise, and depose officials of the local Jewish communities—first in Roman Palestine and by the 4th century elsewhere in the empire as well. These communities enjoyed considerable autonomy in matters of personal status, civil litigation, and even minor criminal affairs. The patriarchs also judged cases themselves, heard appeals, and issued legal rulings. The editing and publishing of a compendium of traditional Jewish law, the Mishnah, by the patriarch Judah I early in the 3d century C.E. also relates to the role of the patriarch as chief magistrate. Since Jewish law did not distinguish between "religious" and "civil" matters, the patriarchs seem to exercise both types of authority. An example of a "religious" function is the authority of the patriarchs to regulate the Jewish calendar.

The patriarchs lived a style befitting a provincial magnate. In carrying out their judicial activities they were assisted by a *consilium* of advisors some of whom seem to have attended on the patriarch at all times. Fourth century sources mention *apostoloi,* delegates, who were sent abroad to carry out the patriarch's orders and supervise affairs in the local communities in his name (Epiph. *Adv. Haeres.* 30.4–12). They also collected a tax from the local communities for the maintenance of the patriarchate (*Cod.*

*Theod.* XVI, 8:14; 8:29). Jewish sources describe the levees conducted by the patriarchs at which clients paid their respects daily in the manner of the Roman *salutatio* (y. Sabb. 12:3, 13c; *Ta‹an.* 4:2, 68a; *Hor.* 3:9, 48c). They also refer to a police force, apparently composed of Gothic troops, which served the patriarchs (*y. Sanh.* 2:1, 19d; *Hor.* 3:1, 47a).

The patriarchate was hereditary within one family, the descendants of Gamaliel of Yavneh (Jamnia) who flourished around the end of the 1st century. Gamaliel appears to have been the scion of an aristocratic Jerusalemite family affiliated with the Pharisaic party and active in Judean politics. While the exact status of Gamaliel of Yavneh and of his son Simeon is debated, all agree on the preeminence of his grandson Judah I, referred to in Jewish sources simply as Judah the Patriarch *(yĕhûdâ hannāśî›).* It was in Judah's time that the family of Gamaliel began to claim descent from the ancient Judean royal house of David. The claim of Davidic descent provided a Jewish legitimation for the kingly prerogatives of the Gamalielan patriarchate.

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**PATRIARCHS, TESTAMENTS OF THE THREE.** Around the figures of the three first patriarchs of the Israelites—Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—there grew a small body of apocryphal stories now called "testaments." This title, which was given to them at some time in the history of their transmission, is not very suitable, since drawing up wills and offering advice to future generations are not central. These stories, rather, emphasize the inexorableness of death, depict the fate of souls after death, and urge the keeping of basic moral laws.

All three works were preserved by Christians, and the *Testaments of Isaac* and *Jacob* may be originally Christian. Although the existing texts of the *Testament of Abraham* contain Christian elements, it was probably originally a Jewish work. The other two works are dependent on it, and the *Testament of Jacob* is also dependent on the *Testament of Isaac* (Stinespring, *OTP* 1: 903–4). Thus they were composed in the chronological order of the patriarchs themselves: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

**A. The Testament of Abraham**

There are two principal recensions, a longer one (A), and a shorter (B). Both are preserved in Gk mss. The Gk recension A is supported on the whole by a Romanian version, while B is supported by another Romanian version, and also by Slavonic, Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic versions. There are wide variations at each stage; not only are there two different recensions, there are also fairly substantial differences from version to version and from manuscript to manuscript. The stories were very freely handled, and it is not possible to establish "the original text." Despite this, there is a good deal of common material, and there are even striking agreements between A and B in the Gk mss. There seems to have been a core story, best

preserved in recension A, which was modified in various ways as it was copied and translated. B is probably an abbreviation of the longer story now found in A. *T. Ab.* B 9:8, for example, refers to "evenly balanced" deeds, but only A has a description of the weighing of deeds; B here has a reminiscence of the judgment scene of A (so Nickelsburg 1972; for the opposite view see Schmidt 1972).

The provenance, date, and original language of *Testament of Abraham* are uncertain. The Gk of recension B has a Semitic cast, which once led some to argue that it was earlier than A and that it was written in Hebrew. On examination, however, the Semitisms turn out to be biblical, and they are probably the result of imitation of the Bible in its Gk translation. Most scholars now think that the story was first composed in Greek (Turner 1955; Delcor 1973: 32–34; Janssen 1975: 198–99; discussion in Sanders, *OTP* 1: 873–74 and n. 14).

The basic story is earlier than the immediate ancestors of the surviving recensions. Although A has an earlier form of the story than B, it also contains more late words and shows clearer signs of Christian scribal work. As it now stands, the slightly Christianized version of A could be as late as the 6th century C.E. This only confirms, however, that scribes handled the text freely. The core story, which depicts a judgment in which Christ plays no role, was not composed by Christians. Yet it also lacks emphasis on aspects of the Jewish law which set Jews apart from Gentiles. The judgment falls on all equally, on the basis of the observance of extremely general moral laws, and there is no reference to specifically Jewish commandments (e.g., circumcision, sabbath, and food laws). This seems to require a time and place of relative peace between gentiles and Jews, when Jews were not being forced by pagan harassment to defend those parts of the law which distinguished them from gentiles.

The second clue to the date and provenance of the basic story is reference to the weighing of souls in *T. Ab.* A 12:13. Although the idea of weighing or balancing deeds is widespread, the weighing of souls is distinctive of Egyptian religion (Delcor 1973: 67–68, following James 1892). Thirdly, the closest parallels to recension A are found in *Testament of Job, 3 Baruch, 2 Enoch,* and *Apocalypse of Moses.* Of these, *Testament of Job* is probably, and *3 Baruch* and *2 Enoch* are possibly, from Egypt. It is thus not unreasonable to assign *T. Ab.* to Egypt, before the worst period of antagonism between Jews and Gentiles, that is, at the latest before 115 C.E. (there were troubles between Jews and others in Alexandria in 41, 66, 72, and 115–117 C.E.: see Smallwood 1981: 364–68; 393–96; 403–9; Tcherikover 1959: 356 and n. 65). It should, however, be borne in mind that ideas "floated" around the Mediterranean, and *T. Ab.* could have been written anywhere that Jewish, Greek, and Egyptian ideas came together.

Some scholars have attempted to attribute the work to one of the Jewish "sects" known from Josephus and the NT. What is truly distinctive about it, however, is not sectarian bias of some sort, but its completely commonplace view of God's mercy, the importance of avoiding heinous sins (such as murder and robbery), and the punishment of those who commit them (*OTP* 1: 877–78).

The setting of the narrative is the time just before Abraham's death. The story of recension A is this: The archangel Michael is sent by God to tell Abraham that his time has come and that he should prepare a will. (This is the "testamentary" element in the story.) He resists and refuses to go with the archangel. Michael then returns to God, who instructs him to show Abraham the inhabited world. Michael conducts him on a tour, during which the patriarch sees people engaged in various sins and calls down death upon them. God orders the tour stopped, since he, unlike Abraham, is merciful and wishes to give sinners time to repent. Michael then takes Abraham to the place of judgment, where he sees souls being tried. They are tried in three ways—by fire, by written record, and by the weighing of deeds. There are also three judgments—by Abel, by the twelve tribes of Israel, and finally by God himself. Abraham sees one soul that is judged to be neither righteous nor wicked, and he intercedes on its behalf. He then repents of his former harshness and pleads on behalf of the sinners whose death he had caused. God saves the soul whose fate was in doubt and restores the dead sinners to life. Michael then returns Abraham to his home. The patriarch, however, still refuses to die. God sends Death, who terrifies Abraham, so that he becomes faint. Death tricks Abraham into kissing his hand. The patriarch's soul cleaves to the hand of Death, and it is escorted to heaven by angels.

The shorter version, B, differs from A in two principal ways: (1) Abraham's view of the judgment of souls comes before his tour of the world rather than after; (2) the judgment itself is much less fully described.

The story is clearly Jewish: its hero is Abraham; the angel Michael is well known in Jewish literature; the first judgment is by Abel, who was one of the sons of Adam according to Genesis; the twelve tribes of Israel also figure in the judgment; the God of the story is clearly the God of Israel. Yet apart from these points, Jewishness plays no role. The sinners of Abraham's tour are robbers, murderers, adulterers, and thieves (*T. Ab.* A 10; B 12). The first judge, Abel, judges "the entire creation" on the same basis, since "every person has sprung from the first-formed," that is, Adam (A 13). The soteriology of the document is that one should avoid heinous sins, those regarded as such in all cultures, and repent in the case of disobedience. Being Jewish or not seems to be a matter of indifference.

The Christian elements in *T. Ab.* as it now stands are these: a concluding prayer refers to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit; this is obviously a scribal addition. At two points the wording of the NT has been influential: 11:2–10 reflects Matt 7:13–14 (the theme of two gates or ways is common and need not have been derived from Matthew, but there are a few striking verbatim agreements); 13:13 reflects 1 Cor 3:13–15 (testing by fire is also common enough, but again there are striking verbatim agreements). The work as a whole has not been revised by Christian hands. Its emphasis on common religious views—God's mercy, avoidance of wickedness, certainty of judgment, and efficacy of repentance—did not require Christianizing.

**B. The Testaments of Isaac and Jacob**

These are possibly Christian compositions (so Denis 1970: 34), written to commemorate Isaac and Jacob on the days set for honoring them in the calendar of the Coptic church. There are more reminiscences of the NT than there are in *T. Ab.* (e.g., the body is the temple of the Holy Spirit, *T. Isaac* 4:15, cf. 1 Cor 6:19; the unrighteous will not inherit the kingdom, nor will homosexuals, gluttons, or idolaters, *T. Jacob* 7:19f.; cf. 1 Cor 6:9–10). It is possible, however, that earlier Jewish stories have simply been taken over for use in the Coptic church (so Stinespring *OTP* 1: 904). These two Testaments exist only in Arabic, Coptic, and Ethiopic versions. They are usually dated to the 2d or 3d centuries C.E. although *T. Isaac* 7:12, which states that the Arabs have designated the three patriarchs as "the holy fathers," reflects the influence of Islam.

Whether these Testaments were originally Jewish or Christian, they add only a few themes to those of *T. Ab.* Neither contains elements which distinguish Jew from gentile. They have in common with *T. Ab.* emphasis on universally accepted standards of behavior, the need to repent before death, and God's mercy and forgiveness. The stories are built around the themes of *T. Ab.:* the time of death and a tour of heaven and hell. In addition, both condemn homosexuality (*T. Isaac* 5:27; *T. Jacob* 5:8). The *Testament of Isaac* champions asceticism—fasting, praying in the middle of the night, abstaining entirely from meat and wine, and not sleeping in the comfort of a bed (4:1–6)—as well as the virtue of charity towards the poor (6:11–13). Enmity towards one's neighbor is especially condemned (*T. Isaac* 5:17–20). The *Testament of Jacob* recommends prayer, fasting, reading the Torah of Moses, giving alms, and avoiding immorality. Generosity to strangers and charity to the poor are urged (*T. Jac.* 7:11, 21–25), especially clothing the poor (7:21; cf. Matt 25:36).

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E. P. SANDERS

**PATRIARCHS, TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE.** A book of the Pseudepigrapha that gives the parting words of each of the twelve sons of Jacob, spoken immediately before their deaths to their assembled sons (and grandsons or brothers). For text, see *OTP* 1: 775–828.

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A. Content and Structure
B. Textual Witnesses
C. Related Hebrew and Aramaic Material
D. Jewish or Christian?
E. Ethical Teaching
F. Expectations about the Future

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**A. Content and Structure**

In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (T. 12 P.)* the emphasis is on exhortation: the sons should give heed to what their fathers command them and transmit their instructions to their descendants. Each testament deals with one or more virtues or vices, illustrated by the patriarch's own experiences or by references to the behavior of Joseph, the ideal son of Jacob (the exceptions here are *T. Levi*, which has very little exhortation, and *T. Asher* which has practically nothing about the patriarch's life). The illustrative material is taken from the chapters in Genesis which speak about the sons of Jacob (29:30–31:24; 34; 35:16–26; 37–50) and from related Jewish traditions. The sons should follow the good example of their father (and of Joseph) or avoid his sins. Taken together, the exhortatory passages in *T. 12 P.* give a colorful spectrum of virtues and vices within the framework of the general admonitions to obey the law of God and the commandments of the patriarch.

In all testaments the exhortatory section is connected with a prediction concerning the future of the tribe of the patriarch. It will forget the Lord's commandments and will be punished with exile, or it will rebel against Levi and Judah (the exception here is *T. Joseph*). The final note, however, is always one of peace and salvation. The sons and their descendants are warned beforehand and called to repentance. Only if they obey God's will as expressed by the patriarchs will there be a future for them. These passages about the future actually speak about events that have already taken place in the time of the author(s) as well as of events that are still unfolding.

The closing passages record the patriarch's wish to be buried in Hebron, and his death. The sons are said to have done what their father commanded them: they laid him in a coffin and brought him to Hebron.

The *T. 12 P.* are clearly pseudepigraphical. Their opening and closing passages are influenced by Gen 49:1–2, 29–33; 50:24–26, and their opening passages by that of 4Q‹Amram (see below). This writing constitutes a fine example of the (in itself very variegated) genre "testament." Testaments of the form found in *T. 12 P.* are basically farewell discourses that receive special weight because they give the last words uttered by a great man of the past. The spiritual legacy of the fathers consists of closely connected exhortations and predictions, remaining authoritative to the end of times.

**B. Textual Witnesses**

Fourteen mss of *T. 12 P.* are known; one of these, and the marginal notes in one other, give only extracts, while a second gives only two fragments. The oldest Greek witness (Cambridge Univ. Libr., Ff I.24, ff. $203^{r}$–$261^{v}$) dates from the late 10th century. The most important ancient version is the Armenian, over 50 mss of which are known; the oldest are from the 13th century. The date of the version is disputed, but it certainly existed in the 10th century. Of less importance are the Slavonic, Serbian, and New Greek versions. The Latin version known in many mss has served as a basis for a number of translations into European languages. It has no independent text-critical value since it was translated from the Cambridge ms.

The extant witnesses form two families, one consisting of only two mss: the Cambridge ms plus the "extracts-ms," the latter consisting of all the other witnesses. Here two subfamilies besides some independent witnesses can be distinguished. Reconstruction of the oldest attainable text is often rather difficult, due to the complexity of family II and, in a number of cases, the impossibility of making a clear choice between the readings of family I and family II.

In principle, the whole surviving ms tradition could derive from a single 9th- or 10th-century minuscule codex. In some instances, however, divergencies between family I and family II can be traced to different interpretations of uncial characters. This implies that the last common source was a manuscript in uncial script that was earlier than the 9th century, how much earlier we do not know. The few very short references to *T. 12 P.* in Origen (*Hom. in Joshua* 15.6) and in Jerome (*Tractatus de Psalmo 15*) prove that these authors knew the writing, but they do not enable us to determine the text these two authors had before them.

On the basis of this evidence we may conclude that *T. 12 P.* existed in the beginning of the 2d century A.D.; what happened between A.D. 200 and the archetype of the present manuscript tradition is unknown. How long before A.D. 200 the document was written, and whether it underwent any substantial changes before it reached Origen (or earlier Christian readers) will have to be determined otherwise (see below).

There is no reason to assume that *T. 12 P.* in their present form (or nearly their present form) were translated from Aramaic or Hebrew into Greek. Especially in the ethical passages, so many particularly Hellenistic words and phrases are found that it is practically impossible that they could have been written in any other language but Greek. It cannot be excluded, however, that parts of the material incorporated in *T. 12 P.* existed, at one time, in some Aramaic or Hebrew form.

**C. Related Hebrew and Aramaic Material**

Since the beginning of this century a number of fragments of an Aramaic Levi-text from the Cairo-Genizah have been known. They partly correspond with the second major addition found in one Greek ms (Athos, Koutloumous 39, ff. 198$^{r}$–229$^{r}$) of the 11th century, which is inserted after *T. Levi* 18:2. In 1955 a fragment consisting of part of one leaf, found in the fourth cave at Qumran, was published; it corresponds to the (fuller) Greek text found in the Greek ms, as an insertion in the middle of *T. Levi* 2:3. The Aramaic fragment belongs to a scroll now called *4Q213* TestLevi$^{a}$; additional (mostly very small) fragments of this scroll and of another document (*4Q214* TestLevi$^{b}$) have been published or announced. Also in the first cave a number of fragments were found, most of them extremely small (*1Q21,* 1–60). There is also a small Syriac fragment.

A full and comprehensive survey of all the Genizah and Qumran material is urgently needed. Of course, the Greek additions to ms Koutl. 39 also have to be taken into account. Unfortunately, we do not know how this material reached the scribe of this ms (or the scribe of an earlier ms copied by him), nor do we know whether he had at his disposal more than he copied. Finally, it is completely uncertain at what time the Greek material was translated from Aramaic or Hebrew.

We are able to say, however, that the Greek additions and the Aramaic material of different provenance ultimately go back to a common ancestor. As far as we are able to reconstruct it, it must have contained a prayer and vision of Levi (cf. *T. Levi* 2–5), a report on the expedition against Shechem (cf. *T. Levi* 6, perhaps also 7), a vision like the one in *T. Levi* 8, the instructions of Isaac to Levi in a very extended form (*T. Levi* 9) and parallels to *T. Levi* 11–13. We know nothing about the end of the document; only a fragment of an invective against the Levitical priesthood corresponding to *T. Levi* 14:3–4 has been preserved. As far as we can make out it was not a testament like those found in *T. 12 P.* There are some links with 4Q‹Amram- and 4QQahat-fragments found at Qumran. Perhaps these three complete documents constituted a series of priestly (final) exhortations and visions of importance for the Qumran community.

*T. Levi* differs in many respects from the other eleven testaments, and this is clearly due to the fact that its author followed a "Vorlage" very similar to the hypothetical ancestor of the known Levi-material. Whether he consulted it in Aramaic (or Hebrew), or had it already before him in Greek, we do not know. Comparison in detail between the present *T. Levi* and Levi-material known to us makes it likely that the

author of *T. 12 P.* abbreviated the text in many places (sometimes very drastically) and that he redacted it thoroughly.

A number of tiny fragments from the third and fourth cave at Qumran have been connected with *T. Judah* and *T. Joseph,* but this connection remains hypothetical. There is, however, a genealogy of Bilhah comparable to the one found in *T. Naph.* 1:6–12, of which 4QTestNapht. 1 II 4–5 (corresponding to *T. Naph.* 1:12) has been published. It has no connection with the medieval Heb *Testament of Naphtali.* However, this testament has two visions that are clearly related to those found in *T. Naph.* 5–7. Although the Hebrew text is much later, it helps us to get some idea of the fuller and more consistent account which must have formed the "Vorlage" of the present heavily redacted text of the visions in the present *T. Naphtali.*

*Midr.* Wayissaʿu (found in later collections) gives an account of a war against the Amorites like that described in *T. Jud.* 3–7 (cf. also *Jub.* 34:1–9), followed by a description of the war against Esau and his sons, like that found in *T. Jud.* 9 (and *Jub.* 37:1–38:14). Again, this late midrash does not provide us with the document used by the author of the present *T. Judah,* but it shows that he could consult a more elaborate account of the wars, selecting and redacting material in order to illustrate Judah's heroic deeds.

The author of *T. 12 P.* had much more material at his disposal—e.g., traditions about Judah, his wife, his children, and Tamar in *T. Jud.* 8, 10–12 (etc.), showing points of contacts with *Jubilees,* and numerous haggadic details scattered all over the Testaments. We can also mention a list of seven spirits inserted in *T. Reu.* 2:3–3:1 (reflecting Stoic conceptions), and a list of parts of the human body and its functions in *T. Naph.* 2:8 (parallel to Heb *T. Naph.* 10:6).

There is a great diversity in the biographical material. The *T. 12 P.* are clearly a literary composition for which the author used traditions about the sons of Jacob from various sources. He incorporated whatever he could use, adapting the general pattern followed in each testament wherever this was necessary.

**D. Jewish or Christian?**

The *T. 12 P.* belong to the Jewish pseudepigrapha of the OT, and have found a place in all collections of OT pseudepigrapha published in the past hundred years. They contain a number of Christian passages, particularly in the sections dealing with the future, but these have usually been explained as the result of interpolation or of a more thoroughgoing Christian redaction. The remaining document is regarded by many scholars as Jewish. Even without the Christian passages it does not form a unity. Scholars differ, however, with regard to the earlier stages of redaction.

At the beginning of the 20th century, R. H. Charles distinguished between a 2d-century B.C. pro-Hasmonean original to which extensive anti-Hasmonean passages (advocating a Messiah from Judah) were added in the 1st century B.C. In 1970 J. Becker assumed a Hellenistic-Jewish "Grundschrift," stemming from Wisdom circles dated around 200–175 B.C. This formed the nucleus of the present writing that took shape in the subsequent centuries by the addition of Hellenistic-Jewish homilies, apocalyptic visions, midrashic expositions, etc. In 1977 A. Hultgård, in an analysis of the apocalyptic passages, found first an anti-Hasmonean stage with the expectation of an ideal Levi and an ideal Judah; later, in the beginning of the 1st century B.C., the emphasis was on intervention by God himself, on the expectation of a Davidic messiah and on the hope of the resurrection and the last judgment. In the 1st century A.D. there was a new redaction, introducing a central eschatological figure called the "priest-savior," the result of the merger of different traditions.

A different approach has also been advocated (de Jonge 1953). There is no doubt that *T. 12 P.* are Christian in their present form and must have received that form sometime in the second half of the 2d century A.D. One first has to establish the meaning of the present *T. 12 P.* (allowing, of course, for possible alterations in the period between their origin and the origin of the archetype of our manuscript tradition) for a Christian audience around A.D. 200. Because the Christian passages cannot be removed without damaging the fabric of large sections of the work, we must assume at least a thoroughgoing Christian redaction. It is very difficult, if not impossible, to establish the exact contents of this "original" (pre-Christian) Jewish document, let alone to detect different stages in the redaction of that document. It

is, in fact, uncertain whether one should speak of a Christian redaction of an existing Jewish *T. 12 P.* or of a Christian composition.

It should be kept in mind that early Christians (with some exceptions) regarded the Jewish Bible as Holy Scripture and the great figures of the OT as their spiritual ancestors. They were interested in obtaining more information on those they read about in the OT, and took their exhortations and predictions seriously. Moreover, Hellenistic Judaism and early Christianity shared a great number of ethical notions derived from Hellenistic popular philosophy. Much of the exhortatory and biographical material contained in *T. 12 P.* could serve the purpose of Jews as well as of Christians; it is the overall context in which it functions that determines its present meaning.

**E. Ethical Teaching**

The exhortatory sections form the kernel of each testament. *T. Benj.* 10:4–5, at the end of *T. 12 P.*,characterizes the many ethical instructions in this and other testaments:

> "For I teach you these things instead of any inheritance
> And do you, also, therefore, give them to your children for an everlasting possession;
> for so did Abraham and Isaac and Jacob.
> They gave us all these things for an inheritance, saying:
> Keep the commandments of God,
> until the Lord will reveal his salvation to all the nations."

A description of all that will happen at God's final intervention follows, in agreement with the general pattern in *T. 12 P.;* in this case Israel's negative reaction to Jesus Christ is emphasized (vv 8–10). Yet the chapter ends in v 11 with the words:

> "But you, if you walk in holiness before the face of the Lord,
> you will again dwell safely with me;
> and all Israel will be gathered together unto the Lord."

The various testaments deal with a great number of vices and virtues. Of the vices we may mention the ignorance of youth and sexual impurity *(T. Reu.),* envy *(T. Sim.),* arrogance *(T. Levi),* love of money and impurity *(T. Jud.),* anger and lying *(T. Dan.),* and hatred *(T. Jud.).* Among the virtues are simplicity *(T. Iss.),* compassion and mercy *(T. Zeb.),* natural goodness *(T. Naph.),* chastity and endurance *(T. Jos.),* and a pure mind *(T. Benj.). T. Asher* deals with the two faces of vice and virtue, and warns against "doubleness" (the opposite of simplicity). The warnings against vices are more prominent than the disquisitions on virtues. In many cases biographical examples are used by way of illustration. There is no regular pattern in the treatment of biography and exhortation; the author was not really interested in following a certain order as long as he made his exhortatory point, told the available stories about the patriarch, and linked the former with the latter.

The exhortations are also clearly connected with warnings against evil spirits. Beliar (Satan, the devil) and his evil spirits stand over against God and his angels. *T. 12 P.* have no systematic angelology and demonology; in general they think along dualistic lines; also in *T. Asher* where all sorts of "intermediate" cases are discussed, the emphasis is on a serving God with a single mind. Dualism and demonology serve to accentuate the ethical advices and warnings. Often (personified) vices and the spirits of those vices are mentioned together and are virtually interchangeable. The emphasis lies clearly on the struggle of individuals (in their own personal circumstances) with evil influences coming from outside but at work within their minds and bodies.

The exhortations are concerned with ethical matters. With regard to Jewish customs it is significant that *T. 12 P.* nowhere demand the observance of the sabbath, or of circumcision, or of the dietary laws. They assume that the patriarchs—before the revelation at Sinai—nevertheless observed a number of regulations in the Law of Moses; *T. Levi* 9:7–14, for instance, records instructions to Levi by Isaac concerning the priesthood, though in a very summary form (we happen to have here very detailed regulations in the passage in the Greek addition after *T. Levi* 18:2 in ms Koutl. 39). The situation is different with regard to the direct exhortations to the sons of the patriarchs. So marriage with gentile women is forbidden to Levi (*T. Levi* 9:10) and predicted among the sins of Levi's sons (14:6; cf. *T. Dan.* 5:5). Judah mentions his

troubles when he married the Canaanite Bath-shua (*T. Jud.* 8:10–12), but in the exhortatory sections the warnings are against women in general, not against gentile women in particular. Joseph, the man who remains faithful to God in the midst of temptation and oppression, marries the daughter of his masters (*T. Jos.* 18:3); no specific conditions with regard to her are mentioned. The author of *T. 12 P.* obviously concentrates on what he regards as the essentials of the law. In *T. Levi* 16:3 Jesus is introduced as the "man who renews the law in the power of the Most High" (cf. *T. Levi* 14:4; *T. Dan.* 6:9). As the new priest predicted in *T. Levi* 18 he will spread the true knowledge of God over the entire world (see vv 3, 5, 9).

A very important virtue is *haplotēs,* i.e., simplicity, integrity, wholehearted obedience to God's commandments (against "doubleness" characterized and condemned in *T. Asher*). *Haplotēs* is the central virtue in *T. Issachar,* and there it is directly connected with the two great commandments, see 5:1–2:

> "Keep, therefore, the law of God, my children
> and acquire simplicity and walk in guilelessness,
> not meddling with the commandments of the Lord
> But love the Lord and your neighbor,
> show mercy to the poor and the weak."

These two commandments are also found together in *T. Iss.* 7:6–7; *T. Dan.* 5:2–3 (cf. *T. Gad.* 4:1–2; *T. Jos.* 11:1), and especially in *T. Benj.* 3:1–5. They also occur separately: for "to love (to fear) the Lord" see *T. Levi* 13:1; *T. Zeb.* 10:5; *T. Dan.* 6:1 (cf. *T. Gad.* 3:2; 5:2, 4–5; *T. Benj.* 10:10), and for "to love one's neighbor" see *T. Reu.* 6:9; *T. Sim.* 4:7; *T. Zeb.* 8:5; *T. Gad.* 6:1, 3; 7:7; *T. Jos.* 17:2.

An analysis of the ethics of *T. 12 P.* shows beyond doubt that this writing originated in a community wanting to make clear to anyone interested how one should obey the God of Israel and of the Gentiles. The author is well acquainted with distinctions and forms used in the Wisdom books of the LXX and with ideas propagated in Hellenistic popular philosophy. Occasionally there are notions that have only parallels in Christian sources. In general, the ethics of *T. 12 P.* may be characterized as Hellenistic-Jewish. If it were not for certain Christian elements, *T. 12 P.* could be regarded as a Hellenistic-Jewish document—and in fact many scholars have regarded them as such, removing Christian "additions." It should be remarked, however, that exhortatory passages in many writings of the early Church are in line with Hellenistic-Jewish and Hellenistic ethics; there is very little specifically Christian in them, either.

In this connection it is important to note that Justin Martyr in his *Dialogue with Trypho* distinguishes three periods in the history of humanity. First, before Moses, people were righteous and pleased God without obeying the specific commandments of the law—among these were Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (*Dial.* 19:3–4; 46:3). Then, at the time of Moses, the law was given and became a temporary legislation for the Jews. However now, after the coming of Jesus Christ, this law is no longer necessary: "… as an eternal and final law was Christ given to us" (*Dial.* 11:2). This law is not only eternal but also universal. Similar ideas are found in Irenaeus (*haer.* 4:13–16) and Tertullian (*Adv. Iud.* 2 and 3).

We may add that Justin, Irenaeus and Tertullian use the word "patriarchs" to denote the "saints" of the pre-Mosaic era, and that Justin includes the righteous Israelites in the final salvation: "The righteous Gentiles will be saved, with all the patriarchs, prophets, and the righteous men of Jacob" (*Dial.* 26:1; 45:2–4; 80:1–2; 130:2). *T. 12 P.* concentrate on the essential commandments and put them into the mouths of the twelve sons of Jacob belonging to the pre-Mosaic era. These commandments have to be obeyed by non-Jews *and* Jews alike in the period inaugurated by Jesus Christ, who is the savior of non-Jews *and* Jews alike. If the sons of Israel obey their patriarchs and give heed to their predictions, including those concerning Jesus Christ, they will share in God's final salvation together with the believing gentiles (cf. *T. Benj.* 10).

**F. Expectations about the Future**

Much attention has been devoted to the analysis of the eschatological passages in *T. 12 P.* It is here that the great majority of the explicitly Christian elements are found; many different attempts have been made to determine the extent of the Christian interpolations (or redactions) and to reconstruct the underlying

Jewish passages. They have also been studied in view of the type(s) of eschatology reflected, and have been assigned to different redactions in different periods in Jewish history (see especially the studies of R. H. Charles and A. Hultgård).

In all testaments except *T. Reuben*, *T. Simeon*, and *T. Joseph* we find passages announcing the future sins of the sons of the patriarch, followed by exile, (repentance) and return. They represent an eschatological variant of the Deuteronomistic view of the history of Israel. It is eminently suited to describe the entire period from the patriarchs to the present time. It also brings out clearly the intrinsic connection between the exhortations and the predictions of the future. The Sin-Exile-Return pattern allows for repetition. In *T. Levi* 10; 14–15; 16, where the sins are those of Israel's priestly leaders against Jesus, the repetition serves to stress the hostility of Levi's sons. Yet there is salvation for them, too (16:5 "he will … in pity receive you through faith and water"). In 17:8–11 we find a description of a (final) seventh jubilee-period, according to a scheme of Sin-Exile-Return + (new) Sin, and in chap. 18 there follows a (Christian) description of a new priest as savior. In *T. Zeb.* 9:5–9 we find two Sin-Exile-Return passages with a short (Christian) savior passage in between. The second passage ends with a reference to the time of consummation, according to *T. Zeb.* 10 the time of the resurrection of the patriarch and (the faithful of) his tribe. Also, in *T. Naph.* 4 and *T. Asher* 7 history repeats itself. In the first instance Jesus Christ appears at the end (v 5); in the second at the end of the first sequence (v 3). We may add that *T. Jud.* 24, portraying a king as savior, follows after the Sin-Exile-Return sequence in *T. Jud.* (18:1); 23:1–5, and is, in turn, followed by a resurrection passage in chap. 25.

In the return element of the Sin-Exile-Return passage—as well as in the savior passages (to be supplemented with *T. Dan.* 5:10b–13 attached to the announcement of the salvation from Judah and Levi) and the resurrection passages (also in *T. Sim.* 6:7, and in *T. Benj.* 10:6–10 mentioned in the previous section)—there is no doubt that in the end the descendants of the patriarchs (i.e. Israel) will share in God's salvation for Jews and Gentiles. We should note that in *T. Sim.* 7:2; *T. Naph.* 4:5; *T. Jos.* 19:6 and *T. Benj.* 3:8b the gentiles are mentioned before Israel.

Levi-Judah passages are found in all testaments except *T. Zeb., T. Ash.* and *T. Benj.* In *T. Reu.* 6:5–7 and *T. Sim.* 5:4–6, (in testaments without Sin-Exile-Return passages) we find predictions of rebellion against these two tribes (cf. *T. Dan.* 5:4; *T. Gad.* 8:2). Here and elsewhere, we find injunctions to obey these two tribes, because Levi will be priest and Judah will be king; in *T. Jud.* 21:1–5 the sons of Judah are told that the priesthood (concerned with heavenly things) is superior to the kingship (an earthly matter). A few times Levi is said to act as a ruler and as a warrior (*T. Reu.* 6:7 (11); *T. Sim.* 5:5, cf. *T. Levi* 5–6).

This idea of a juxtaposition of priesthood and kingship, and the supremacy of the priesthood over the kingship, is a familiar one, and scholars have tried to establish links with similar ideas in the Qumran Scrolls. See MESSIAH. One should note, however, that in *T. Levi* 4:4; 5:2 (cf. *T. Reu.* 6:8) the period of priestly activity of Levi and his sons is limited. The new eschatological priest in chap. 18 is not said to be a Levite. And in the many Levi-Judah passages that announce that salvation or a savior will come out of these tribes (or out of Judah alone), clearly Jesus is meant (*T. Sim.* 7:1–2; *T. Naph.* 8:2; *T. Gad.* 8:1; *T. Jos.* 19:6; cf. *T. Levi* 2:11; *T. Jud.* 22:2; *T. Dan.* 5:10).

*T. 12 P.* are clearly concerned with the final destiny of Israel. The descendants of the sons of Jacob should realize that the savior of the world has come, they should realize "that the Lord will judge Israel first for the unrighteousness done to him, because they did not believe that God appeared in the flesh as deliverer" (*T. Benj.* 10:8). At the same time they may be convinced that, if it lives in holiness and believes in Jesus Christ, "all Israel will be gathered unto the Lord" (*T. Benj.* 10:11). The Christian group that was responsible for the present *T. 12 P.* was clearly concerned with the salvation of the Jews; in their thinking about and their contacts with their Jewish brethren they were certainly guided by the ideas expressed in this writing.

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MARINUS DE JONGE

**PATRIMONY.** See FAMILY.

**PATROBAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Patrobas* (Πατροβας)]. A Roman Christian who received greetings from Paul in Rom 16:14. He was probably a gentile Christian. See NEREUS. A member of a Roman house-church (Lampe *StadtrChr,* 301) Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermes, and Hermas were quoted by name, while the other participants were mentioned only generally as "the brethren who are with them." The five persons therefore may have played leading roles in the house-church. Patrobas' name is a short form of "Patrobios." According to the epigraphical and literary sources from the city of Rome, both names occur only very rarely ("Patrobios" eight times, "Patrobas" never except for one fictitious imperial freedman in Martial 2.32); Patrobas therefore may have been an immigrant in the capital (Lampe *StadtrChr,* 139–41, 148).

PETER LAMPE

**PATROCLUS** (PERSON ( [Gk *Patroklos* (Πατροκλος)]. The father of Nicanor, who in 2 Macc 8:9 is appointed by Ptolemy to lead a large force of Seleucid troops "to wipe out the whole race of Judea." Nothing else is known of Patroclus except that he was named after the figure from Greek mythology. See NICANOR concerning whether his son is also the villain of the latter portion of 2 Maccabees (14:12ff.).

JOHN KAMPEN

**PAU** (PLACE) [Heb *pāʿû* (פָּעוּ)]. Var. PAI. The residence of the Edomite king Hadar (= Hadad II?) who was married to Mehetabel daughter of Matred, daughter of Mezahab (Gen 36: 39; cf. 1 Chr 1:50). Hadad (II) is mentioned as the last of the Edomite kings in the Edomite king list (Gen 36:31–39), whose dating is very questionable, and in the parallel text 1 Chr 1:43–50. The place name could be traced back to the Arabic personal or clan name *faġw.* The LXX transmits it as *Phogō (r),* the Peshitta as *Peʿō* or *Paʿʿō,* the Samaritanus as *Fū* and the Vg as *Phau.* The site is localized in the Gebalene or in Edom by Eusebius, *Onomast.* 168.7; 170.13 *(Phogōr, Phogō)* and by Hieronymus, *Onomast.* 169.7; 171.10 *(Fogo).* It is not possible to locate it more precisely.

ULRICH HÜBNER

**PAUL** (PERSON) [Gk *Paulos* (Παυλος)]. An early Christian apostle who was perhaps the most important and creative figure in the history of the early Church, whose formulations of Christian faith as expressed in his epistles to fledgling churches have become part of the foundation for orthodox Christian theology.

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**A. Sources**

The primary sources for the study of the Apostle Paul are his authentic letters (1 Thessalonians, Galatians, Philippians, Philemon, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Romans). Historical information can also be gleaned from the book of Acts (see D.1 below), the deutero-Pauline epistles (Colossians, Ephesians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Timothy, and Titus), other NT writings (James, 2 Peter), and later apocryphal literature (apocryphal Acts [McDonald 1983], introductory information in NT manuscripts and canon lists, Pseudo-Clementine literature, Mani Biography [Betz 1986b]). These different groups of documents do not have clear-cut boundaries, though, since scholars still dispute whether or not some of the deutero-Pauline epistles are authentic, and whether the authentic letters contain later interpolations (see the articles on the various Pauline letters). Whether the apocryphal material provides reliable historical evidence independent of the NT presents a further problem, which must be decided on a case by case basis (*NTApocr* 2: 71–74; Schneemelcher 1987–1989; Betz 1986b: 215–34).

Secondary literature about Paul and his writings is vast; no exhaustive bibliography exists. For informative surveys see Schweitzer 1912; Bultmann 1929–36; Metzger 1960; Rigaux 1968; Merk 1988; *ANRW*, pt. 2, vol. 25/4: 2649–2840).

**B. Life**

**1. Name.** Paul is commonly known by his Greco–Roman *cognomen, Paulos,* but we know from Acts that he bore the Jewish name Saul as well (Acts 7:58; 8:1, 3; 9:1, 4, etc.). He himself never mentions his Jewish name in his letters, but always identifies himself as Paul (e.g., 1 Thess 1:1; 2:18; Rom 1:1; 1 Cor 1:1, 12–13; etc.).

**2. Ancestry.** While his Jewish name corresponds to his being a Benjaminite (Phil 3:5; Rom 11:1; cf. Acts 13:21), his Greco–Roman name may have been given to him in connection with his citizenship in Tarsus, a city in Cilicia where he was born and raised (Acts 9:11; 21:39; 22:3; cf. 9:30; 11:25). While there is some doubt with regard to his Roman citizenship, he certainly was not anti-Roman in his politics (Rom 13:1–7). His Roman citizenship plays an important role in Acts (16:37–38; 22:25–29; 23:27; 25:8–12, 21; 26:32; 27:24; 28:19), but there are questions prompted by the flogging (Acts 22:25; cf. 2 Cor 11:25; see Bauer 1988, *s.v. mastizō*) and the appeal to Caesar (Acts 25:8–12, 21; 26:32; 27:24; 28:19; see Conzelmann, *Acts* Hermeneia, 189–90, 203–4). If the author of Acts did have reliable information about Paul being a Roman citizen by birth (22:28), he certainly made the most of it in explaining how Paul got out of Jerusalem to Rome. At any rate, the family considered itself religiously "orthodox" (Phil 3:5; 2 Cor 11:22; Rom 11:1).

**3. Education.** What kind of education Paul may have received growing up in Tarsus (Acts 21:39; 22:3) is entirely a matter of speculation, although as Acts 22:3 presents it, he had an ideal Jewish education: "I am a Jew, born at Tarsus in Cilicia, brought up in this city [Jerusalem or Tarsus?], educated at the feet of Gamaliel, according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers." This claim suggests that Paul's family moved from Tarsus to Jerusalem, where he received his secondary education (26:4). But this claim must be weighed carefully because it corresponds with the tendencies in Acts to emphasize the apostle's regard for his Jewish heritage (13:14ff.; 14:1; 15:23–29; 16:1–3, 4, 13; etc.) and to link him with Jerusalem

(7:58–8:1a; 8:1b–3; 9:1–2, 26–29; etc.). This latter tendency, together with Luke's attendant assumption of Paul's familiarity with Jerusalem, clashes with Paul's own testimony about his visits to the city (Gal 1:22). Luke's picture of Gamaliel is unclear as well (Acts 5:34; see *Acts* Hermeneia, 186). See also GAMALIEL. A further obstacle to reconstructing Paul's education arises from our ignorance of the specific content of Jewish education at that time, whether in Tarsus or in Jerusalem, whether elementary or secondary (see Safrai 1976; *HJP²* 2: 332–34, 415–22; Saldarini 1988: 137–39).

The fact that Paul acted as an international envoy, first on behalf of Jewish authorities (Acts 8:3; 9:1–2, 21; 22:4–5, 19; 26:10–11; Gal 1:13, 23; 1 Cor 15:9; Phil 3:6), then as a Christian missionary, means that he must have received a good Hellenistic education. He gave speeches, taught, wrote long letters, and was involved in highly specialized theological debates. His abilities as a founder of churches, working with many collaborators on an international level, make it impossible to conceive of him as an uneducated and culture-bound Jew from the East. Comparative figures of the time, especially Josephus and Philo show that being well-educated and Jewish did not exclude one other.

Objections to Paul's education as having been Hellenistic include recourse to his confession of being a layman in rhetoric (2 Cor 11:6; cf. 1 Cor 2:1–5) and his use of a secretary (Tertius, Rom 16:22). Such arguments, however, miss the fact that 2 Cor 11:6 is itself a rhetorical *topos* (see Betz 1972: 47–69; 1986a) and fail to explain how his letters became literary masterpieces. These letters—with their skillful rhetoric, careful composition, and elaborate theological argumentation—reflect an author who was in every way uniquely equipped to become the "apostle of the gentiles" (Rom 11:13; cf. Gal 2:8, 9; Rom 1:5). This much is clear also from a comparison with his sometime mentor and associate Barnabas, whose abilities fell short of what was needed. Similarly, Luke regards Paul as well-equipped to defend himself in court, while the Jewish priests must have a professional orator (Acts 24:1).

**4. Pre-Christian Career.** Before his conversion Paul actively preserved and protected the religious traditions of his forefathers. Considering himself an "orthodox" Jew, he was zealously committed to eradicating apostasy. Going further than his peers, he became a member of the Pharisaic sect (see Saldarini 1988: 134–43) and took it upon himself to persecute the Christian church (Gal 1:13, 23; Phil 3:6; 1 Cor 15:9). Exactly why he singled out the Christians for persecution is not clear, though a clue may be found in his particular dislike for the Christians in Damascus (Gal 1:17, 22–23; 2 Cor 11:32; Acts 9:2–25; 22:5–6, 10–11; 26:12, 20) and relative disinterest in those of Jerusalem and Judea (cf. Acts 8:3). The reason for persecuting the Christians of Damascus seems to have been that, though Jews, they had discontinued Torah observance, doing so as a matter of principle rather than casual neglect. But neither Paul nor Acts provides any detailed information.

**5. Conversion.** While Paul was approaching Damascus he suddenly experienced a vision of Christ. This experience had dramatic consequences, changing his entire life, self-understanding, theological views, and goals. Whether this vision occurred in his mind (Gal 1:12, 16) or externally (Acts 9:3–8; 22:6–11; 26:12–19) remains unclear, but it turned him from a persecutor to a propagator of Christianity. Christ himself commissioned him to proclaim the gospel among the gentiles (see also 1 Cor 9:1; 15:8, 9–11; Rom 1:5). Although we customarily label this experience Paul's "conversion," this can be done only in retrospect, for at that time Judaism and Christianity were not yet separate religions. In reality, then, Paul changed brands of Judaism, switching from Pharisaic to Christian Judaism.

**6. Apostolic Career. a. The Autobiographical Résumé in Galatians.** As Paul reports in Gal 1:17–24, the first part of his autobiographical résumé (see Betz, *Galatians* Hermeneia, 72–81; also GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE), after seeing Christ he left Damascus at once and went to Arabia, that is, the Kingdom of Nabataea, called *"Provincia Arabia."* See NABATEANS. This mission in Arabia, given the nature of Christ's commission to him, must have been among gentiles, not Jews. We may also infer that Paul did not initiate this mission but joined a venture already begun by the Damascus church, an inference confirmed by the fact that Paul afterward returned to Damascus. How successful his mission to Arabia was we do not know (see also Gal 4:25; Acts 2:11; *1 Clem.* 25:1, 3; cf. Rom 15:19).

Paul emphasizes that after Christ's appearance and commission he chose not to consult with the other apostles in Jerusalem. Why did he avoid this contact with the Christian authorities in Jerusalem? The

reason seems to be connected with the Arabian mission. If Paul had persecuted the Damascus Christians because of their disregard for the Torah, and if those Christians had begun the mission in Arabia among the gentiles which Paul joined, then the Arabian converts in turn must not have submitted to Torah and circumcision. The Jerusalem church, however, must have looked at this enterprise with uncertainty or even disapproval, thus rendering plausible Paul's avoidance of Jerusalem.

Three years after his conversion Paul finally went to Jerusalem, a visit that he describes in Gal 1:18–24. Analysis of this trip to Jerusalem has been complicated since the writing of Acts, whose author assumed that Paul had come to Jerusalem, preached there, and moved freely in and out of the city (9:26–30). If we pay strict attention to Galatians, we realize that Paul had much less visibility during his stay there. What Paul tells us is that at that time he saw Peter for 15 days, an interview which presupposes Peter's sympathy with Paul's activity. The church as a whole, however, seems to have been divided, so that when Paul says, "I saw none of the other apostles, but only James the brother of the Lord" (Gal 1:19), he implies that he avoided them because they did not care for him. James, perhaps because he was not a (missionary) apostle, was agreeable to a visit. Did the churches of Jerusalem and Judea, when they praised God for Paul without ever having met him (Gal 1:22–24), know that he preached the Gospel without subjecting the converts to Torah and circumcision? At least we can say that no clear decision had been made and that tensions must have existed with regard to this question. We may conclude from this report that the tensions between Paul and the other apostles issued from their competing policies on foreign missions. Following his visit, Paul set out for another mission campaign in his home territory, Syria and Cilicia (Gal 1:21). It is not clear whether Peter and James approved of this campaign.

When Paul came to Jerusalem the second time "after fourteen years" (Gal 2:1), the mission to Syria and Cilicia had been carried out successfully. Paul names as his main collaborator Barnabas, a Jewish Christian like himself. According to Acts, Barnabas was Paul's Christian mentor (Acts 4:36–37; 9:27). The Jerusalem church had sent him to Antioch where he became the leading figure among the Jewish Christians from Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Syria/Cilicia. He went to Tarsus looking for Saul (Paul) to bring him to Antioch (Acts 11:25–26), where the mission to the Greeks was born (Acts 11:20) and where the name "Christian" *(Christianoi)* first came into use (11:26). From here Barnabas and Saul/Paul were sent out together on a missionary campaign (13:1–3) which first took them to Cyprus (13:4–12), then to Pamphylia and Pisidia (13:13–14:28). That this campaign is the same as the one mentioned in Gal 1:21 (Syria and Cilicia) is probable, but not provable.

The mission campaigns also brought to the fore a problem which could no longer be left undecided: Must the new gentile converts be circumcised or not? Is the church part of Judaism or a separate Christian religion? After considerable disagreements (Acts 15:1–2) and even a revelation (Gal 2:2), Paul and Barnabas went up to Jerusalem, taking along Titus, an uncircumcised gentile convert, as a test case. The Jerusalem conference (Gal 2:1–10; Acts 15:2–29; see Betz *Galatians*, 81–103) saw three parties, two of which had opposite answers to the main problem, while a third group stayed in the middle. After heated debates, Paul and his party (Barnabas and Titus) prevailed, gaining recognition of Titus as a Christian without circumcision; however, compromises had to be made. The Christian mission was divided into two thrusts, one to the Jews (under the apostolate of Peter), and the other under the leadership of Paul and Barnabas, without official titles (Gal 2:8–9). The acknowledged link between the two thrusts was the shared belief in the one God (2:8; Rom 3:30; 10:12). The agreement, which also included the pledge to collect money for the poor in Jerusalem (2:10), was approved by the three "pillars" (James, Cephas, and John), and the delegation from Antioch (Paul and Barnabas), but not by an intransigent third group, called by Paul "false brothers" (2:4). This conference had far-reaching consequences not only for the church, but in particular for Paul's future course of life.

One question which had been left undecided was whether the gentile *"Christianoi"* constituted a new religion, or whether Jewish and gentile Christians were together still part of Judaism. This indecision laid the seed for future conflict (see, e.g., the case of Timothy, Acts 16:1–4, and in general Cohen 1986; Bryan 1988), seed which came to fruition at Antioch (Gal 2:11–14). Confrontation arose there after Peter came to Antioch and dined with the gentile Christians, signifying their equal participation in salvation through

Christ. This was subsequently contradicted by a delegation of "men from James" when they arrived from Jerusalem. After heated debates, Peter and the other Jewish Christians caved in to their visitors' censure and cut off table fellowship with the gentile Christians. Thus they reestablished the borders between clean and unclean foods *(koinophagia)*, leaving gentile Christianity outside. Paul, however, did not go along with his fellow Jewish Christians but remained with the gentile Christians. Confronting Peter in an open debate, he accused him of inconsistency ("hypocrisy") in theology and religious practice. The result was a complete break between Paul and the other Jewish–Christian missionaries, including his former mentor Barnabas (see also Acts 15:36–39). Henceforth Paul and the gentile churches founded by him were on their own, though plagued by contrary Jewish–Christian missionaries. To the end, however, Paul never lost hope that a reconciliation with the Jerusalem church might be accomplished, pinning this hope to the collection for the poor (1 Cor 16:1–4; 2 Corinthians 8 and 9; see Betz, *2 Corinthians 8–9* Hermeneia); and intercession by the church of Rome (Rom 15:30–32).

**b. Further Data Concerning the Mission to Galatia.** The biographical résumé in Gal 1:12–2:14 ends with the Antioch episode, but further data can be concluded from the letter. Although details are missing, the letter presupposes the founding of the Galatian churches. Later, anti-Pauline agitators appear, the result of which is the letter. If the founding visit can be correlated with Acts 16:6, it can also be coordinated with Gal 4:13, and Paul's second visit would be the one mentioned in Acts 18:23. It is, however, not clear whether Acts is at all informed about Galatian churches. Paul's itinerary in Acts appears to be based on good information only in some parts, while on the whole it is the creation of the author of Acts who attempted to fit pieces of tradition into what he envisioned to be a consistent narrative. There may have been journeys that Paul undertook but Acts did not include, just as there are reports about those that seem unlikely to us. The Galatian letter at any rate mentions a foundation visit (Gal 1:9; 4:13). A second visit that would match up with Acts 18:23 would depend on a special interpretation of *to proteron* (Gal 4:13). Following the founding of these churches, rival Jewish–Christian missionaries found a hearing among them, and in order to prevent their drifting away Paul wrote his letter. The founding of the Galatian churches must have preceded 1 Corinthians, since he mentions the Galatian churches and the collection for Jerusalem in 1 Cor 16:1–4.

**c. The Mission to Macedonia and Greece.** For information regarding the mission to Macedonia and Greece we must rely on Paul's letters to the Thessalonians and Corinthians, and on Acts. According to Acts 16:6–10, Paul went through Phrygia, Galatia, and, passing by Mysia, to Troas. From there he decided to go to Macedonia, responding to a vision of a Macedonian asking him to come. Timothy accompanied him on this trip (Acts 16:1–4), as did Silas (Acts 15:40; 16:19, 25, 29; 17:4, 10, 14, 15; 18:5; however, according to 15:33 he had already left for Jerusalem). Together, these three men (whose affiliation is verified by Paul's letters, 1 Thess 1:1 [2 Thess 1:1]; cf. also 1 Thess 3:2, 6; 2 Cor 1:19) sailed from Troas via Samothrace to Neapolis, the harbor of Philippi. They met their first success in Philippi, where they founded the first church in Macedonia (16:11–40). From Philippi they went to Thessalonica, establishing a church there as well (17:1–9). The next stations were Beroea (17:10–15), Athens (17:16–34; 1 Thess 3:1–2), and Corinth (18:1–17; 1 Cor 1:1–2, 14, 16; 3:5–15; 16:15, 17); in all these cities, churches were established. According to Acts, this concluded the second missionary journey. The third journey began with Paul sailing to Ephesus in the company of Priscilla and Aquila (18:18–21). Rather confusing is a strange trip Paul is said to have made from Ephesus "down" to Caesarea, then "down" to Antioch, and through Galatia and Phrygia back to Ephesus (18:22; 19:1).

**d. The Journey to Jerusalem.** Another revelation caused Paul to plan a second journey to Macedonia and Achaia, and then to Jerusalem and Rome (Acts 19:21–22). Sending Timothy and Erastus ahead, Paul followed after the riots in Ephesus stirred up by Demetrius had subsided (20:1). He went through Macedonia to Greece, that is Corinth (20:2). These scarce notes, which are based on some sources known to Luke, can be correlated only roughly with what we know from Paul's letters, esp. 1 Cor 16:1–11; 2 Cor 1:8–11, 15–18; 2:12–13; 7:5–7, 13–16; Rom 15:22–31. The main differences are (1) that the situation was much more complicated than Acts leads us to believe; (2) that Paul had to change his travel plans several

times; and (3) that he almost lost his Corinthian church because of internal strife and opposition. See CORINTHIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE.

Although Acts 20:1–6 also assumes that Paul changed his travel plans, these changes concern the final trip to Jerusalem, not the second visit in Corinth. While Rom 15:22–31 testifies that Paul was then in Corinth and would soon depart for Jerusalem, Acts 20:1–6 tells us that Jewish opponents prevented his going from Corinth to Syria directly. Instead he was forced to return to Macedonia and Troas. The delegation mentioned in 20:4 eventually assembled in Troas and left from Assos, sailing S along the coast to Mitylene, Chios, Samos, and Miletus, where Paul said farewell to the Ephesian elders who met him there (20:13–38). The voyage to Palestine is described in detail (21:1–7).

Upon arriving in Palestine, the party stayed in Caesarea and planned to continue to Jerusalem, although people warned Paul that calamity would be awaiting him there (21:8–15, cf. 20:22–24; Rom 15:30–31). At Jerusalem, Paul and his delegation were first greeted in a friendly manner (21:17), but when he visited James (21:18), he was informed about Jewish animosities. Paul's reports about the success of the mission among the gentiles (21:19–20a) were held against the fact that large numbers of Christian Jews in the Jewish heartland had remained faithful to the Torah and regarded Paul's mission among the gentiles as apostasy because he would not subject the new converts to the Torah of Moses, to circumcision and the Jewish way of life (21:20b–21). Yet, the elders of the church, including James, had a clever proposal ready for Paul, advising him to become one of four men who would take it upon themselves to complete a Nazirite vow, shave their heads, make the necessary offerings, and thus publicly demonstrate their adherence to the Jewish religion (21:22–26). The ploy almost worked, but failed at the last minute when Jews from Asia Minor recognized Paul in the Temple and incited the crowd to seize him (21:27–30). The Roman military intervened, rescuing him from being assassinated by the mob, but holding him under arrest (21:31–36).

**e. The Trials in Jerusalem.** As the narrative in Acts proceeds, the descriptions become increasingly dramatic and detailed with a good number of speeches and debates. To what extent these reports are based on reliable information is unknown. There appears to be some basic information worked in, but the total picture is certainly the result of Luke's imaginative history-telling techniques. From the data available to him, he tried to present a plausible picture of how Paul got himself arrested, extricated from the Jewish authorities and the lynch mobs, transferred to Roman protective custody, and eventually transported to Rome. The total result turns out to be a mixture of local politics, bizarre and fanatical maneuverings by dangerous mobs, and above all Paul's own strategies to escape certain death. Tragically, his final trump card, the appeal to Caesar, while saving him from death in Jerusalem, made his transfer to Rome inevitable. Thus, in the end, Paul must go before Caesar because his own appeal to Roman law, and the will of God, require it (19:21; 21:14; 25:12; 26:31–32; 28:19).

The chain of events begins with Paul's defense (in Hebrew) to the Jewish crowds (21:40–22:21), which, however, led to renewed rioting, necessitating Paul's removal to the Roman barracks for protective custody (22:22–24a). Fearing that he would be flogged, he revealed that he was a Roman citizen, whereupon the Roman officer unfettered Paul and prohibited the soldiers from flogging him (22:24b–29). The next defense occurred before the Jewish high priests and the fully assembled Synhedrium/Sanhedrin, but this attempt also failed and the soldiers had to rescue Paul from another rioting mob (22:30–23:11). Next, Jewish fanatics conspired to murder Paul, but were foiled when his nephew told him of their plan and then informed the tribune as well (23:12–22). Almost 500 soldiers were needed to escort Paul safely from Jerusalem to Caesarea, where he was kept under guard in Herod's praetorium (23:23–35).

Paul's trial before the procurator Felix is narrated in dramatic detail (24:1–27). When the next procurator, Festus, wanted to move the trial to Jerusalem, Paul sensed the danger and appealed to Caesar (25:1–12). This appeal created a dilemma for the procurator because there were no charges against Paul that could stand up in a Roman court of law. When King Agrippa and Queen Berenice came to town, Festus brought Paul before them hoping that the king might help him dispose of the case (25:13–26:32). Indeed, Paul's defense before them is so convincing that Agrippa was ready to set him free, were it not for the appeal to Caesar which he could not overrule (26:32).

**f. The Journey to Rome.** Thus Paul, together with other prisoners, was dispatched to Rome. Under the protection of Julius, a friendly centurion of the Augustan Cohort, they sailed in a ship from Adramyttium via Sidon along the coast of Asia Minor to Myra in Lycia (27:1–5). From Myra they took a ship to Italy (27:6–8). This trip almost ended in disaster when they encountered a violent seastorm, suffer shipwreck, and barely made it ashore in Malta (27:9–44), not realizing where they were (28:1). Paul stayed for three months and was remembered in Malta for his extraordinary miracles (28:2–10). As the winter season drew to a close and the travel lanes reopened, Paul, still accompanied by the officer Julius, now his friend, took another ship to Syracuse in Sicily, continuing to Rhegium and Puteoli in Italy (28:11–14). Thus he arrived in Rome, where Roman Christians met him well outside the city (28:15–16). An attempt by Paul to explain himself before the Jewish leaders in Rome failed (28:17–28). The book of Acts then concludes by saying that Paul lived in Rome for two years at his own expense, "preaching the kingdom of God and teaching about the Lord Jesus Christ quite openly and unhindered" (28:30–31).

**g. Death.** Strangely, Acts has nothing to say about what happened when the two years were over. Coming to Rome fulfilled Paul's plan (and God's will) that he should go to Rome, although the way in which it came to pass differed from what he had imagined (19:21; 23:11; 27:24). Probably Luke, the author of Acts, knew that Paul was executed as a martyr in Rome (cf. 20:22–24; 21:11, 13). The reason Luke chose to end the book in this way (if this is the original end) is unknown, but there are various theories that try to explain it (see *Acts* Hermeneia, 227–28; Schneider 1980–82, 2:411–13).

Paul's letters confirm this foregoing narrative only in broad outlines. His plan to lead the delegation going to Jerusalem is affirmed by Rom 15:25–28, but Paul's earlier hesitation (1 Cor 16:3–4) is not known to Acts, nor does Acts seem to know why the delegation went to Jerusalem in the first place. The entire matter of the collection made by the Pauline churches seems to be unknown to Luke. Even when he found bits of information in his sources, he did not know what to do with them and therefore misplaced and misinterpreted the data (11:27–30; 21:24, 26; 24:17–18). Paul's self-understanding as the apostle of Christ, so preeminent in the letters, is alluded to only in Acts 14:4, 14. Paul's mission to Illyricum (Rom 15:19) and his plan to go to Spain (Rom 15:24, 28) were unknown to Luke as well (but cf. the Muratorian Canon, for which see *Acts* Hermeneia, xxxii). There can hardly be any doubt that Luke did not know Paul's letters. For him Paul was not a letter-writer but a powerful speaker, the opposite of what his opponents had concluded (cf. 2 Cor 10:10; 11:6). The accounts of Acts do not give any hint that Paul's major struggles were with opponents from Christian Judaism, not simply from Jews. Above all, there is a wide gap between what Acts reports about Paul's theology and what we learn at this point from Paul's own letters (see Vielhauer 1966).

### C. Paul's Image in Later Sources

Paul's death as a martyr is also known to other NT authors, such as the followers of the apostles who wrote the epistles to the Colossians (see esp., 1:24), Ephesians (see esp., 3:13), and the Pastoral Epistles (see, esp., 2 Tim 4:6–8; and Wolter 1988). Still later testimonies are *1 Clem.* 5:5–7 and Ignatius of Antioch (Eph 12:2; Rom 4:3), and the apocryphal *Acts of Paul* (see esp., 11:1–7; and *NTApocr* 2: 73, 383–87). For further references see Schneider 1980–82, 2: 413; Lüdemann 1988. The historical information contained in these sources is extremely limited and does not significantly increase the data that can be obtained from the NT. Almost nothing is known about Paul's theology outside the Pauline and deutero-Pauline letters.

### D. Chronology

**1. Problems.** Establishing a chronology for Paul's life and letters is beset by abundant difficulties. Four basic problems should be distinguished: (1) establishing the most probable sequence of Paul's letters and letter fragments, and the events to which they allude; (2) evaluating the sequence of events narrated in the book of Acts; (3) connecting the events reported in Acts with those mentioned in the letters; and (4) assigning actual dates to specific events. Two attendant circumstances further complicate matters. First, whereas Acts never refers to Paul's letters, some events reported in Acts can be correlated with events mentioned in the letters, although a further problem then arises since correlations can be made in several ways. Second, while scholars agree that priority of credibility should be given to Paul's own letters,

without Acts no extended sequence of events can be determined. But all information yielded by Acts rests on the assumption that its author had access to historically reliable sources and that he used them in an historically responsible fashion, an assumption that is open to criticism. As a result, all attempts to determine a chronology for Paul's life and letters are hypothetical or even "experimental" (Jewett 1979: 95–104), even though several such hypotheses have been advanced in recent years.

Among these, notice should be given to the fact that Jewett (1979) and Lüdemann (1984; building on Knox 1950) have agreed that Paul made only three trips to Jerusalem after his conversion. The significance of this point lies in its deviation from the framework of Acts, which presents five such trips. Jewett and Lüdemann have therefore agreed to a major paradigmatic shift. Still, even this resembles other recent hypotheses in that all are based on older investigations and offer little in the way of new evidence (see *RGG* 1: 1693–94, and for surveys and bibliographies Rigaux 1968; Vielhauer 1975: 70–81; Suhl 1975; Dockx 1976; Jewett 1979; Lüdemann 1984).

**2. Datable Events.** The Gallio inscription enables us to date the reign of Iunius Gallio's proconsulship in Achaea to the years 51/52 or 52/53. These dates agree with Paul's 18-month visit in Corinth and the reference to Gallio in Acts 18:11–17. This visit would then have occurred in A.D. 51–53.

The conference of church leaders in Jerusalem, the so-called Apostolic Council described in Gal 2:1–10, presupposes that Peter was still in Jerusalem (his departure is reported in Acts 12:17), and that James and John, the sons of Zebedee, were still alive (their martyrdom is mentioned without dating in Mark 10:39). The John who attended the conference (Gal 2:9) was most likely one of the sons of Zebedee. If James, the brother of John in that text, was assassinated by Herod Agrippa I (Acts 12:2), and if this was also true of his brother John, then the Jerusalem conference must have occurred before that king's death in A.D. 44 (see *HJP²* 1: 442–54); the Jerusalem conference can thus be dated in ca. 43/44, a sequence roughly agreeing with Acts 11:27–12:1. If there is then the question about whether the events reported in Acts 12–17 are sufficient to fill the period from 43 to 51, it should not be assumed that Acts reports everything that happened. If the date of 43/44 for the Jerusalem conference is allowed to stand, Paul's conversion would have occurred ca. 15 years earlier (Gal 1:18; 2:1, counting 14+3 years, with the two beginning years included), that is, ca. 27–29. If so, Jesus would have been crucified some time earlier under Pilate's office as procurator (A.D. 26–36), that is, perhaps A.D. 27. Paul's conversion could then be dated in A.D. 28 (Vielhauer 1975: 78). These dates are all approximations.

Other synchronizations are even less certain. When Paul says he was driven out from Damascus three years after his conversion mission in Arabia and return to Damascus (Gal 1:17–18; 2 Cor 11:32–33), a precise dating within the reign of Aretas IV (ca. 9 B.C.–A.D.40) seems impossible (see *HJP²* 1: 581–83; 2: 129–30; perhaps under Caligula [37–41]?). The edict of Claudius mentioned in Acts 18:1–2 is attested also by Suetonius, but the exact date cannot be ascertained. The date of A.D. 49 given by Orosius (5th century) would fit with the meeting of Aquila and Priscilla with Paul in Corinth (see *HJP²* 3: 77–78). Paul's two-year (Acts 24:27) imprisonment in Caesarea (Acts 23:23–26:32) occurred during the governorship of Felix, whose office lasted from ca. 52–60 (?) (see *HJP²* 1: 460–66). The replacement of Felix by Festus (60–62 [?]), mentioned in Acts 24:27 (see *HJP²* 1: 467–68), may have taken place in the year 60, or two years earlier (see *HJP²* 1: 465). According to Acts, Paul was brought before Felix (Acts 23:33–24:26) and then Festus (Acts 25:6–26:32), events which may be dated so as to fall into the years 59/60 (*HJP²* 1: 467). If we knew precisely how long Paul stayed in Palestine and how long it took to travel from Ephesus to Palestine, his two and one-half years of residence in Ephesus (Acts 20:31) could be dated, but the time spans are a matter of guesswork. It may not be far off to put Paul's Ephesian residence sometime around A.D. 55. Also uncertain is the year of Paul's death. If he traveled to Rome in the year 60, stayed there for two years (Acts 28:30), and was martyred immediately afterwards, his death would fall into the years 63 or 64, a date coinciding with the persecution of Christians by Nero after the great fire (A.D. 64).

**3. Dating of the Letters.** The dating of Paul's authentic letters is a separate and related problem. While there is some agreement about the sequence of the letters, further complications arise if some of the letters

(e.g., 2 Corinthians, Philippians) are actually collections of letter fragments. At a number of points, however, connections can be made between the letters and datable events in Acts.

Scholars agree that 1 Thessalonians is Paul's oldest extant letter. This letter appears to have been written not long after the founding of the church, which according to Acts 17:1–9 took place during the second missionary journey, perhaps in A.D. 49, when Paul came to Thessalonica from Philippi (1 Thess 2:2). Given that Silvanus and Timothy were with Paul (1 Thess 1:1; cf. Acts 18:5), the letter may have been sent from Corinth ca. 50/51 (Vielhauer 1975: 88–89).

The dating of Galatians is quite uncertain because Acts does not report the founding of any churches in Galatia; nevertheless, the itineraries recorded in Acts do leave open the possibility that Paul founded these churches during his second missionary journey (16:6–8) and visited them again during the third (18:23). It is unclear whether this return visit occurred before or after the Galatian crisis, which goes unnoticed in Acts. At any rate, the letter was written in response to the growing threat by anti-Pauline forces in these churches, perhaps during Paul's residence in Ephesus (Acts 20:31), ca. 52–54/55.

1 Corinthians may have been written at the same time that Galatians was, which would explain the reference to Galatia in 1 Cor 16:1. The Corinthian letters have a history in themselves, made up of a complex series of letters. If the Corinthian church was founded during the second missionary journey (Acts 18:1–18), ca. 50/51, the possible dates for the letters cover the period between Paul's first departure from Corinth and his final return to that city. 1 Corinthians was written from Ephesus (1 Cor 16:8) near the end of his residence there (ca. 54/55). See CORINTHIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE.

The letter fragments in 2 Corinthians were written after 1 Corinthians and before Paul's third and final visit to Corinth, perhaps written from Ephesus and various places in Asia and Macedonia, ca. 55–56. See CORINTHIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE.

The Philippian correspondence seems to have been sent some time after the foundation of that church (Acts 16:12–40), after Jewish Christian opponents had appeared and threatened Paul's work (Phil 3:2, 17–19), and at a time when Paul was in prison (in Ephesus? [see Vielhauer 1975: 170]). Whether Philemon, also a prison letter (Phlm 9), comes from the same time and place cannot be determined. The Epistle to the Romans was sent from Corinth shortly before Paul's departure for Palestine, probably A.D. 56.

**4. Summary.** Although efforts to pin precise dates on events in Paul's life usually fail to convince, the same cannot be said in regard to the general parameters of Paul's ministry. Here we find general agreement in assigning the apostolic conference to the 40s and the extant letters to the early and mid-50s. All of these rest within the period of Paul's Christian ministry, which at most extends from about A.D. 28 to A.D. 64.

**E. Theology**

As NT scholars have refined their methods, describing Paul's theology has become more exacting and complex. The following can provide no more than a sketch.

**1. Methodological Problems. a. Sources.** By common agreement, the primary source for Paul's theology should be his recognized authentic letters; the deutero-Pauline and, to a lesser degree, the Pastoral Epistles may receive limited consideration, inasmuch as they reflect Pauline tradition after his death. However, the speeches attributed to him in the book of Acts express the theology of the author of Luke-Acts, not Paul, and should not be used (see Vielhauer 1966).

Having identified the sources, one must decide *how* to use Paul's letters to arrive at his theology. Clearly, gathering a mosaic of quotations from the letters and putting them together under doctrinal headings will not add up to a theology of Paul, for it fails to account for the origin of Paul's ideas and the dialogical nature of his statements through successive letters. On the whole, Paul sets forth his theology not in doxographical abstractions but in contextual letters reflecting ongoing debates.

Paul's letters provide access to his theology on two levels: that of doctrinal presuppositions and that of applications to specific problems within his churches. These occur in the course of extended arguments in which Paul moves from his theological premises to the resolution of specific issues, both practical and theoretical. In arguments where Paul actually cites his presuppositions, they often have the form of abbreviated principles or formulae, sometimes lifted from another context (e.g., hymns or creeds). Such

references occur as they are needed from case to case, so that in one sense none of the letters provides a complete description of his theological "system" (if he ever had a "system"); in another sense, every argument is itself a complete theological statement.

Not only does Paul's theology lie embedded within extended arguments, but his arguments lie within an epistolary context. This first requires that due consideration be given to the argument of an epistle as a whole. Second, this requires that attention be given to the place of the letter within the entire discussion of which it is a part, for Paul's arguments take place within an ongoing dialogue. Whatever Paul argues for and against in any given letter represents no more than one "picture" in an entire sequence, which includes a previous history, other discussion partners who often hold differing viewpoints, envoys and couriers who provide further commentary, and a subsequent history of exchanges, until the point when the dialogue breaks off. As in any exchange of letters or dialogue, the same or similar issues may be brought up repeatedly, and Paul may respond differently in each case. Depending on the circumstances, Paul can change his argumentation, present a revised version of it, or even change his position.

**b. Character of His Thought.** Although differing circumstances effected change and revision within Paul's thinking, some balance should be maintained in analyzing these variations. It would be as wrong to overlook the differences between Paul's letters as it would be to treat these differences as substantive self-contradictions, as opportunistic accommodations to what is deemed desirable, or as evidence of emotional instability. Räisänen (1987) certainly advanced criticism when he pointed out contradictions between Paul's letters; unfortunately, he largely ignored the structure and epistolary nature of Paul's arguments. Such oversight allows surface-level contradictions to obscure consistency of thought at a deeper, presuppositional level (see Boers 1988; Beker 1988). Admittedly, though, if Paul did pursue a consistent theological position throughout his letters, despite the differences between them, this consistency remains to be demonstrated.

This situation raises further questions with regard to Paul's thought. Did he work with a fixed theological "system" in the back of his mind? Or did he develop his arguments *ad hoc*, based only on a limited set of assumptions? Did Paul have a consistent theology throughout his apostolic career, or did his theology gradually evolve in the context of mission and controversy in which he was constantly involved? If he worked from a fixed theological system, was that system pre-Christian (Pharisaic, rabbinic, or apocalyptic) with his Christian convictions simply overlaid or appended? Or was his theology something altogether new that grew out of his vision of Christ and his commission to take the gospel to the gentiles? In short, how creative and dynamic a theologian was the apostle Paul? Such questions form the substance of the present debate in NT scholarship.

**c. Understanding His Thought.** Paul's theology is as difficult to grasp as that of any creative thinker. It is more than the sum of his extant letters and letter fragments, and more than a string of surface-level quotations. Rather, it involves analysis of Paul's arguments as part of an ongoing debate, so as to reveal the methods Paul uses to move from certain principles to the positions he adopts. This approach places us more in step with the apostle himself, because, while he no doubt does hold some non-negotiable assumptions, his theology is primarily the result of *processes of thought.*

Paul's thinking also contains development. As a result, positions taken in his last letter, Romans, are considerably more advanced that those in his first (extant) letter, 1 Thessalonians. This does not mean, however, that he would repudiate his earlier letters, for each letter is designed to respond to particular readers and a specific set of theological problems. Each letter must therefore be judged sufficient in itself theologically, though insufficient to the extent that it calls for future follow-up.

Paul's theology as a whole can be conceived of in different ways. If conceived of as the totality of all his thinking, involving all the letters he ever wrote and all the speeches and activities he ever undertook, this theology is inaccessible to us. As readers of his letters, however, we have access to his theology in another way: these letters allow us to enter into the apostle's thought processes. By analyzing Paul's arguments concerning specific issues and the positions he took throughout an ongoing debate, we as readers can learn to think like Paul and in this way gain entrance into the world of Paul's theological thinking. If this theology always remains incomplete, credit it to the fact that Paul's thinking was always

open-ended. Even Paul's final and theologically most complete letter, Romans, points beyond itself. Such open-endedness encourages the reader to take Paul's theology beyond Paul, which is precisely what happens in the deutero-Pauline letters (2 Thessalonians, Colossians, Ephesians, the Pastorals).

**2. Major Phases in the Development of Paul's Theology.** If analyzed according to their chronological sequence, Paul's letters evidence major phases of his theological development. Such developments and their implications for the understanding of the apostle's thought are the subject of current scholarly discussions (see *ANRW*, pt. 2, vol. 25/4; 2653–54). Traces of development include direct references by Paul himself to views held in the past but now overcome, citations of pre-Pauline traditions taken over by him, or shifts in his thinking observable by critical investigation.

**a. Pre-Christian Pharisaism.** Although reliable sources here are extremely scarce, some conclusions can be drawn from Paul's own references to his pre-Christian past and the theology he affirmed at that time (see Gal 1:13–14; 1 Cor 15:9; 2 Cor 11:22; Phil 3:5–6; perhaps also Gal 5:11; see also *ANRW*, pt. 2, vol. 25/4: 2658–67; Saldarini 1988: 134–43, with bibliography). According to his own witness, Paul was an Israelite from the tribe of Benjamin, a "Hebrew from Hebrews" circumcised on the eighth day of his life (2 Cor 11:22; Phil 3:5). He was a member of the Pharisaic sect (Phil 3:5; Acts 23:6; 26:5) and devoted to upholding "the traditions of the forefathers" (Gal 1:14).

If this is assumed, he must have been a well-versed member of the Pharisaic party. This much can be said, although a paucity of sources leaves us unable to say anything specific about the education of diaspora Pharisees in Asia Minor (see Saldarini 1988: 137–41). The affirmation that he was "a son of Pharisees" (Acts 23:6) at the least assures us that his Pharisaism was genuine. That he was authorized to persecute Christians means that his aims received official recognition. Although our sources regarding early Pharisaism are scarce, there is reason to assume that these Pharisees had educational standards and theological consciousness, even if their criteria may have been quite different than later rabbinic orthodoxy. One should not assume that Pharisaic theological education of a serious nature could be obtained only at Jerusalem (against Oepke 1933: 444; see *ANRW*, pt. 2, vol. 25/4: 2660).

The information given in Acts that Paul came from Tarsus to Jerusalem to study with Rabbi Gamaliel I (22:3; cf. 26:4; see GAMALIEL) flatly contradicts Gal 1:22, a discrepancy which raises questions about the historical reliability of Acts 22:3. Those who nevertheless trust Acts (Oepke 1933: 440–46; van Unnik 1973: 259–320) draw further conclusions from it, mostly by consulting later rabbinic sources. If Paul, as Oepke suggested (1933: 412), was an ordained rabbi and educated in Jerusalem, serious problems arise. Is it conceivable that a pupil of Gamaliel displays no evident knowledge of Hebrew scripture, instead always citing the? Jeremias (1969) even postulated that Paul was a Hillelite because he shared doctrines and exegetical methods attributed to Rabbi Hillel. Haacker (1972) advanced the opposite hypothesis, labeling Paul a Shammaite. But the historical evidence concerning the teachings of Hillel and Shammai is as shaky as the alleged connections between their teachings and Paul's theology (see Davies 1955: 1–16). One should, in fact, ask why it is almost impossible to establish any connections between Paul and the rabbinic sources. Whatever the answer may be, the accuracy of the information about Gamaliel (Acts 5:34; 22:3) is dubious. Furthermore, one cannot ignore how perfectly Acts' information about Gamaliel fits Luke's ideas (Strecker 1976: 482 n. 10). Still, if what Acts says is accurate, Gamaliel's theology was remarkably Hellenistic-Jewish and very different from the later rabbinic standards, a possibility not to be dismissed offhand.

At any rate, Paul's testimony leaves no doubt that his primary concern as a Pharisee was Torah and righteousness. A conscientious Jew, with respect to the Torah Paul stood "blameless" (Phil 3:6; cf. Gal 1:13, 14; Acts 22:4; 26:5). Paul describes in Gal 5:3 what he thought about the law, not without polemic poignancy: "I testify again to every man who has become circumcised, that he is obliged to do the whole Law." The concept of "the whole Law" is presupposed also in Gal 3:10 (LXX Deut 27:26), where "everything that is written in the book of the Law" defines quantitatively what is meant by "the whole Law"; anything less amounts to being "under the curse." This view does have an affinity to the rabbinic concept of the Torah as consisting of 613 prescriptions and prohibitions, as well as to the rigoristic position attributed to Shammai (*b. Sabb.* 31a; see Betz *Galatians*, 260; *ANRW*, pt. 2, vol. 25/4: 2665).

If Paul claims to have been "blameless" in terms of the Torah, he went further in his zeal by persecuting the Jewish Christians of Damascus, whom he, in agreement with the authorities at Jerusalem, regarded as "apostates" (Gal 1:13; 1 Cor 15:9; Phil 3:6; Acts 8:3; 9:1–2, 21; 22:4, 19; 26:10–11). The main reason for this persecution seems to have been that these Jewish Christians did not subject gentile proselytes to Torah and circumcision, discontinuing "the traditions of the forefathers" which Paul so zealously enforced (cf. perhaps Gal 5:11). At any rate, it seems to be clear that already the pre-Christian Paul had focused his theological concerns on the Torah, circumcision, and other ancestral traditions. He was, of course, not alone in this, as demonstrated by his later opponents in Jerusalem, Galatia, and elsewhere, who (even as Christian Jews) continued to hold the same views Paul once held and then rejected. See GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.

It is not inconceivable that some of Paul's earlier concerns emerge in a later Christian context. Paul's sharp critique of Jewish claims in Rom 2:1–29 includes a discussion of Jewish prerogatives: the possession of the Jewish Torah (2:12–16), the honorific name "Jew" (2:17–24), and the ritual of circumcision (2:25–29). Essentially, the passage involves painful Jewish self-criticism, no doubt informed by Paul's intimate knowledge of Jewish theology. Does his critique of false Torah observance (2:12), pretentiousness (2:18–20), hypocrisy (2:21–22), and mere external ritual (2:25–29) reflect concerns he had felt already as a Pharisee? (This critique has close parallels in the Sermon on the Mount.) See SERMON ON THE MOUNT/PLAIN. Romans 9–11, a discussion of Judaism's eschatological destiny, may also draw on material coming from an earlier period of Paul's life. These possibilities, however, raise two fundamental questions which non-existent sources keep us from answering: Did Paul really believe that his personal "blamelessness" assured his salvation (cf. Sanders 1977: 442–43)? Or did he harbor some doubts, like the would-be disciple of Jesus in Mark 10:20 who, having done all of the Torah from his youth on, was still unsure of the way to eternal life? And did Paul share the view that his individual salvation was all he had to be concerned about, or the other view that his individual salvation was conditional upon the salvation of "all Israel" (Rom 11:25–26)? If these questions could be answered positively, we would begin to understand why he was impressed, first negatively, then positively, by the Christian gospel.

**b. Conversion to Jesus Christ.** According to his own testimony (Gal 1:1, 11–12, 15–16; 1 Cor 9:1; 15:8; Phil 3:5–6), the greatest change in Paul's thinking was brought about as a consequence of his vision of Christ on the road to Damascus. Appearing to him in this vision, Christ commissioned him to "preach the gospel to the gentiles." Paul at once dedicated himself to this task. At this point, the accounts in Acts (9:1–19a; 22:1–16; 26:9–18) differ in that Ananias mediated Paul's commission to him (9:15–16; 22:10, 14–15; cf. 26:16–18). What were the consequences of this event for Paul's theology? Four things immediately present themselves.

(1) Paul's commitment to Pharisaism came to an abrupt end, as he switched from Pharisaic to Christian Judaism.

(2) Paul's assignment to preach the Gospel to gentiles first meant that he joined the missionary enterprises of the Damascus church, from which he must also have received his first instruction in Christian theology. Unfortunately, our knowledge of this old church is extremely limited, so that we do not precisely know what kind of instruction and tradition Paul received at that time (see also Betz *Galatians,* 64–66). What did the Christians of Damascus have in mind when they converted non-Jews? How did they, as Jews, justify it? Clearly, the reason for Paul's persecuting them was that they failed to subject the new converts to circumcision and Torah. What was their theological reason for making converts outside of the Torah covenant? Was it in fact done outside of the Torah covenant? At any rate, they must have had theological reasons, but we do not know what they were. Nor do we know what the Jewish-Christian church in Jerusalem thought about this: Did they approve or disapprove? Or were they already divided over the question, as they obviously were later on?

(3) The next immediate question to be raised is whether and in what way the new converts from paganism were to become partakers of the (Sinai?) covenant. See COVENANT. If they were not circumcised and did not observe the Mosaic Torah, how could these converts hope to be partakers of

salvation? Perhaps some conclusions can be drawn from Acts, provided of course it reflects the actual practices of the Damascus church. Since after his conversion Paul was baptized (Acts 9:18; 22:16), the ritual of baptism must have served as an initiation to the Christian faith. In connection with the gift of the spirit (9:17), the effect of baptism was purification and remission of sins (Acts 22:16: "Rise and be baptized, and wash away your sins, calling on his name."). To be sure, this theology agrees with Luke/Acts (see also Acts 1:5; 2:38; 5:31; 7:60; 10:43; 13:38; 26:18), but it may also reflect views held much earlier in the Damascus church. If this ritual of baptism was indeed administered to gentile converts in Damascus as well, taking the place of circumcision, then the new gentile Christians would have thereby joined the community of the sanctified. Christological and soteriological beliefs would have justified this status (cf. 1 Cor 1:13–17; 6:11; 10:2; 12:13), just as Christian ethics amounted to a preservation of sanctity until the Last Judgment (1 Thess 5:23; 1 Cor 1:8; 2 Cor 11:2). If, broadly speaking, this theology was affirmed by the Damascus church, it came close to Paul's theology in 1 Thessalonians [see below, E.2.c. (1)]. In fact, some of the pre-Pauline formulae cited in Paul's letters may go back to traditions taught in Damascus.

(4) One must keep in mind that when Paul spells out the changes in his life and thought, he does so retrospectively, yet this does not necessarily mean that these recollections were completely beside the point. As he affirms, the changes brought about by his conversion involved his entire life and thinking, not only certain aspects. Four of the most important changes are highlighted by Paul himself.

(a) The most immediate change was Paul's recognition and confession of Jesus Christ as "lord," *kyrios,* and "son of God," *hyios tou theou* (Gal 1:16; 1 Cor 9:1; Phil 3:8; cf. Acts 9:5, 10; 22:8, 10; 26:15). In contrast, the title "messiah," *christos,* does not seem to play an important role in Paul's conversion (cf. 1 Cor 15:3; see Bauer 1988: 1768–69). To be sure, it is remembered in his christology, but it was not the fulcrum of his conversion (differently Acts 9:22; 17:3; 18:5, 28; see Bauer 1988; *s.v. Christos*). This role was played by *kyrios.* This revelation of Jesus as *kyrios,* "lord," certainly received reinforcement by the confessions made in the first Christian worship service Paul attended (cf. e.g., Rom 10:9–10; Phil 2:11; 1 Cor 8:6; 12:3; 2 Cor 4:5). From this point, adopting already-existing christological and soteriological formulae and hymns was a small step, although when Paul cites such material in his letters it may not come only from Damascus (see especially, Gal 1:4; 4:4–6; Phil 2:6–11; 3:7–11; Rom 1:3–4; 1 Cor 15:3–5; Phil 3:7–9).

(b) An immediate consequence of Paul's invocation of Christ was the reevaluation of the fundamental concept of "righteousness," *dikaiosynē* (see *BTNT* 1: 270–85; Conzelmann 1969: 214–20; *Galatians,* 116–119; *2 Corinthians* 8–9, 114–116; *ANRW,* pt. 2, vol. 25/4: 2694–2709, 2721–29; with further bibliography). In retrospect, Paul described the changes in two texts. The first was Gal 2:15–16: "We who are Jews by birth and not sinners know from [the] gentiles that a person is not justified by works of [the] Law but [only] through faith in Christ Jesus. So we also have come to believe in Christ Jesus, in order that we might be justified by faith in Christ and not by works of the Law, since it is not by works of [the] Law that all flesh will be justified." Paul's new Christian view is that Jesus Christ, by virtue of his death and resurrection, has acquired righteousness and that those who believe in him "in obedience of faith" (Rom 1:5; 6:12, 16, 17; etc.) are already now and will be at the Last Judgment beneficiaries of that righteousness (Gal 5:5–6; see *BTNT* 1: 274–79). The opposite, as it now appears to his Christian understanding, is a "righteousness based on the works of the Torah" (Gal 2:16; see Betz *Galatians,* 116, n. 35).

The second text in which Paul described his reevaluation of the concept of righteousness was Phil 3:7–9: "But whatever gain I had, I counted as loss because of the surpassing worth of knowing Christ Jesus my Lord. For his sake I have suffered the loss of all things, and count them as refuse, in order that I may gain Christ and be found in him, not having a righteousness of my own, based on [the] Law, but that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness from God that depends on faith …" (RSV). This newly found "righteousness" is "in Christ" (Gal 1:22; 2:4, 16, 17; etc. See Conzelmann 1969: 208–12; Betz *Galatians,* 119, n. 60); indeed, Christ is that righteousness (1 Cor 1:30), which is "the righteousness of God" (Rom 1:17), a gift of grace to those who believe in Christ (Gal 5:5–6; 2 Cor 5:17; Rom 1:16–17;

3:21–22; etc.). The opposite is described as "my own righteousness" (Phil 3:9), i.e., basing one's hope for eternal salvation entirely on the individual's sufficient Torah observance. Paul claims that his reevaluation of the notion of righteousness is more than a second track to accommodate the admission of gentile Christians into the church and in salvation. Gal 2:16 states that Paul belongs to those Jews who have become Christians because they have come to recognize the insufficiency of their pre-Christian notions concerning eschatological righteousness. Up to this point there seems to have been broad agreement in Jewish Christianity. Disagreement arose, however, about the consequences.

(c) The most difficult question to solve was, What impact does the Christian Gospel have on the concept and observance of the Law (Torah)? This question is still disputed today. The basic problem is that Paul seems to be vacillating between two concepts of law, a Jewish concept and his own Christian concept. How are the two related to one other? (For discussion and bibliography, see *BTNT* 1: 259–69; Conzelmann 1969: 220–28; Räisänen 1987; Sanders 1977; 1983; Wilckens 1982; Hübner 1984; *ANRW*, pt. 2, vol. 25/4: 2668–94; *TRE* 13: 64–72; Westerholm 1986: 229–37; 1988.) For Paul, reevaluating his position on the Torah meant the rejection of his former Pharisaic concept, which he described in Gal 5:3: "I testify again to every man who has become circumcised, that he is obliged to do the whole law." As he now sees it, this Torah has come to an end with the coming of Christ (Gal 3:22–25; Rom 10:4). His judgment is therefore rather negative: "What then is the Law?—Because of the transgressions it was given in addition, till the offspring should come to whom the promise had been made, ordained through angels, through a mediator" (Gal 3:19). All Paul is willing to concede at this point is the inferior role the Torah has played in the history of salvation (3:23): "Before the faith came we were kept in custody under [the] Law, confined until the coming faith was to be revealed." This Torah did not have the capacity to "make alive" and generate "righteousness" (3:21).

This does not mean, however, that Paul was an antinomian who rejected the law in any form, or even the Torah. There could be no question that the demands of the Torah had to be fulfilled, if righteousness as the prerequisite for entering into the kingdom of God was to be obtained. Furthermore, there were not two different Torahs, an older one to be rejected and a new one to be approved. Rather, there were competing definitions of what the Torah was.

According to Paul, the Pharisaic Torah was deficient because it summarized the Torah in the wrong way. In this Pharisaic view, God revealed his will in the form of many laws, all of which must be obeyed. For the Pharisees, then, fulfilling "the whole law" meant keeping the quantitative sum total of all laws (Gal 5:3). This notion is, however, not the only possible one.

Paul called his new concept "the law of Christ" (6:2; cf. 1 Cor 7:19; 9:21). This law summarized the many prescriptions and prohibitions of Scripture in another way by regarding the love command Lev 19:18 as the common denominator *(kelal):* "For the whole Law is fulfilled in one word: 'you shall love your neighbor as yourself' " (Gal 5:14; cf. Rom 13:8–10). This concept of Torah as a single principle was apparently taken over from Jewish Christianity (see Matt 5:43; 19:19; 22:39; Mark 12:31, 33; Luke 10:27; Jas 2:8), coming probably from the historical Jesus himself, although it was also attributed to R. Hillel (see Betz *Galatians,* 274–76). The important difference is that this concept of the Torah does not require the specifically Jewish Torah observance, but it can in principle be fulfilled by every human being. If the love command is "fulfilled," the "whole Torah" is fulfilled, and thus righteousness is assured. This concept, therefore, permits gentiles to access salvation without their having to pass through the religion of Judaism. How Christians, whether Jews or gentiles, might then fulfill this Torah is the next question.

(d) Since gentiles by definition do not partake of the Mosaic covenant, extending salvation to them required a special act of God in order to extricate them "from the present evil aeon" (Gal 1:4). Even before Paul, early Christianity interpreted Jesus' death on the cross as his voluntary self-sacrifice "for our sins" (Gal 1:4; 1 Cor 15:3; cf. 1 Thess 5:10). His death was in accordance with God's will, so that it was a manifestation not only of Christ's love (Gal 2:20) but also of God's (Rom 8:3–4, 32, 39). As a righteous man "without sin" (2 Cor 5:21), Christ took the curse (Gal 3:13) and the accumulated burden of human sinfulness on himself (2 Cor 5:21). His absolute obedience to his Father, manifest in his willingness to be crucified, though innocent, was meritorious enough (Phil 2:6–11; Rom 1:3–4; 5:19) to provide a ransom

from eternal condemnation for those who believe in him (1 Thess 1:10; Gal 3:13; 4:5; 1 Cor 6:20; 7:23). Thus achieving "reconciliation" with God on behalf of sinful humanity (2 Cor 5:18–21; Rom 5:10–11), Christ cleared the way (Rom 5:1) for gentile Christians to become partakers, not of the Mosaic covenant, but of the prior promise God had made to Abraham. As believers in Christ they have become "sons of Abraham" (Gal 3:6–18, 29; cf. Rom 4:1–25).

Several christological and soteriological formulae, most probably going back to pre-Pauline Jewish Christianity and still somewhat controversial as to their exact meaning, describe the two acts initiated by God, through Christ, to integrate gentile Christians into the salvation process. (1) The formulae interpret Christ's death as a voluntary self-sacrifice and atonement (Gal 1:4; 2:20; 3:13; 4:4–6; Phil 2:6–11; 1 Cor 1:23, 24, 30; 15:3–8; 2 Cor 5:17–21; Rom 3:24–26; 4:25; 5:6–11; 8:3, 32). Its meritoriousness means the remission of the sins that have accumulated beforehand (Rom 3:25; 4:25). (2) In formulaic language Paul also wrote about the work of the divine spirit which enables the believer to "fulfill the demands of the Law" (Rom 8:4). The formula in Gal 4:4–6 contains a summary of these doctrines: "When, however, the fullness of time had come, God sent his son, born by [a] woman, put under [the] Law, in order that he might redeem those who are under [the] Law, in order that we might receive the adoption as sons. And, since you are sons, God sent the spirit of his son into our hearts, crying out 'Abba! Father!' " (for interpretation, Betz *Galatians*, 205–11).

**c. Earlier Phases of Paul's Theology.** (1) The letter of 1 Thessalonians reflects Paul's theology during his early mission to the Greeks, a phase prior to the great confrontations with his Jewish-Christian opponents. In this epistle, Paul looks back at the turbulence surrounding that church's foundation (1:5–6; 2:1–2; cf. Acts 17:1–9), turbulence which for the time being (cf. 3:2–5) appears to have subsided, giving way to "peace" (cf. 1:1; 5:3, 13, 23). Paul recalls how the Thessalonians accepted the "gospel" (1:5–6; 2:2, 4, 8, 9; 3:2) and cites a summary of it as a reminder (1:9–10; cf. 4:5). This summary reflects the mission *kerygma* (i.e., preaching), which includes the turning away from idols to the worship of the living and true God, and the awaiting of the *parousia* of Christ (cf. 2:19; 3:13; 4:15; 5:23). The *kerygma* is based on the christology of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ (1:10; 2:15; 4:14), the "son of God" (1:10) and "Lord" (1:1, 3, 6, 8; 2:15, 19; 3:8, 11, 12, 13; 4:1, 2, 6, 15, 16, 17; 5:2, 9, 12, 23).

The church (1:1; 2:14) consists of those who have been called to the kingdom of God (2:12; 4:7; 5:24). They have been given the holy spirit (1:5, 6; 4:8; 5:19), and have thus been purified (2:3; 4:7). As believers in the gospel (1:7; 2:10, 13; 4:14) they have thereby obtained the status of "holiness" (3:13; 4:3–7; 5:23) without recourse to the Torah. They are addressed as "the holy ones" (3:13; 5:27) and as "the sons of [the] light and the sons of [the] day" (5:5). Preserving this state of holiness "unblemished" until the *parousia* (3:13; 5:23), when they will greet the coming Christ in mid-air (4:13–18), is the purpose of Christian ethics. Paul described the desired ethics only in general terms as "how you must conduct your lives and please God" (4:1; cf. 2:12, 15; 4:12, 5:12–22), and cited the temptations of the devil as the primary cause for concern (3:5; cf. 4:3–8). However, the faith of the Thessalonians was still young and insecure; deficiencies exist (3:10) and strengthening was needed. For this reason Paul sent the letter, and in keeping with this purpose he included comfort for the unsettling death of some members (4:13–18; 1:10).

(2) While 1 Thessalonians barely mentions "sin" and "righteousness" (2:10, 16), the conspicuous role in Galatians of justification by faith in Jesus Christ and related concepts indicates that Paul wrote this letter in a very different situation. Basically, however, Paul's theology in this letter is the same as in 1 Thessalonians, and the Galatian letter lends confirmation to it, rather than changing it. See also GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.

Accordingly, Christian salvation is based on the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ (1:1, 4; 2:19–20; 3:1, 13; 4:4–6; 5:11, 24; 6:12–14), the gift of the spirit (3:2–5, 14; 4:6; 5:5, 16, 17, 18, 22, 25; 6:1, 8), the "putting on" of Christ in baptism (3:26-28), and living the new, Christian life as "new creation" (6:15), filled with "the fruit of the spirit" (5:22–23a; cf. 5:16–18, 25). The Christian is "in Christ," i.e., a member of the "church of God" (1:2, 13, 22; 2:4, 17; 3:26–28; 6:15–16). This church moves forward under the guidance of the spirit and awaits the eschaton (5:5, 10, 21; 6:7–9).

This basic conception has been radically challenged by the Jewish–Christian opponents of Paul who invaded the Galatian churches. See GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.

As Paul presents the matter, these opponents have almost persuaded the Galatians to circumcise themselves and to accept the Jewish Torah (1:6–7; 5:1–12, 13, 15–16). This could only mean the abandonment of the Pauline Gospel and its substitution by another version of the Gospel that included observance of the Torah (1:6–9; cf. 1:11; 2:2, 5, 7, 14). Such a move would reverse Paul's own "conversion" from Pharisaic Torah observance to the Christian Gospel without the Torah. Speculation about the reasons for the Galatians' impending switch is difficult, but they must have had serious reasons. The problem they seemed to have had to face was the occurrence of serious moral failure (6:1). With only Gospel and spirit, they probably felt they lacked adequate protection against the temptations by the "flesh" (3:3; 4:13, 14, 23, 29; 5:13–24; 6:1, 8, 12–13). Under the tutelage of the Mosaic Torah, they would be given clear directives about what to do and from what to abstain.

Against his adversaries' doctrines the apostle spells out his doctrine of justification by faith in Jesus Christ (2:15–21; 3:2–5, 6–18, 19–25, 26–28, 29; 5:5–6; 6:7–10, 14–16). This doctrine originated in Jewish Christianity itself and had in fact legitimated the early mission to the non-Jews (2:1–10, 15–16; see Betz *Galatians*, 115–19). But Paul presses the revolutionary contrast between justification by faith in Jesus Christ and by "works of the Law" (2:16–21; 3:2–5, 10–13, 18, 19–25; 5:4; 6:13) only when his Jewish-Christian competition threatened his entire mission. In his Galatian letter we see how for the first time this doctrine became the main subject of a theological argument.

The doctrine of justification by faith basically affirms the sufficiency of salvation through Christ, without the Torah, for gentile Christians. In fact, Paul's strongest counterargument against his opponents contrasts the sufficiency of Christ with the insufficiency of the Jewish Torah. This insufficiency became manifest in Christ's death (2:21; 4:4–5), in the Jewish-Christians' belief in Christ (2:15–16), and in the previous history of the church. As a result of these unmistakable factors the Galatian churches had been founded without subjection to the Torah (1:16–2:14; 3:1–5; 5:1–4, 18), nor need it ever be, for, as Paul points out, the Torah was no longer the agent of salvation (2:19; 3:11–13, 19–25; 4:4–6; 5:18). Once this was recognized, those who had been born Jews were free to continue their Jewish life. It is, however, a completely different matter for Gentiles like the Galatians to feel they must accept circumcision and Torah, because they thereby concede that faith in Christ alone is not sufficient for salvation. Such a concession, to be sure, means cutting themselves off from the benefits of Christ (1:6–7, 8–9; 2:21; 3:1–5; 5:2, 4, 6; 6:12–16). Ceasing to be partakers in Christ's salvation, they would in effect become converts to Judaism.

Therefore, when Paul reaffirms his original message to them (1:8–9; 6:14–16), he advises the Galatians to rely on the spirit, as they have done before (3:1–5; 5:5, 16–18, 25; 6:1, 7–9). Such reliance on the spirit is sufficient as a weapon to deal with the temptations of the "flesh." On the other hand, abandoning the preciously won "freedom in Christ" (2:4–5; 3:26–28; 4:21–31; 5:1, 13) and taking up the yoke of the Torah (5:2) can only mean voluntarily entering into the confinement and slavery under law, sin, and flesh (2:4–5; 3:22–24; 4:4–5, 21–31; 5:1–12), that is, the "elements of this world" (4:3–11). Therefore, Paul's letter ends by affirming a "rule": "Neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is [worth] anything but [a] new creation [is worth everything]" (6:15; cf. 5:6; 1 Cor 7:19). This reflects the sufficiency of the spirit which he summarizes earlier in the letter: "If the spirit is the source of our life, let the spirit also direct our course" (5:25).

(3) Although written after Galatians, Paul's Philippian correspondence contains a theology in many ways similar to that of Galatians. One feature unique to Philippians—Paul's rumination on his possible, impending death—comes as little surprise given that he writes this letter while imprisoned, most probably in Ephesus (Phil 1:7, 12–26; cf. 1 Cor 15:32; 2 Cor 1:8–11; Acts 19:32–40). In the short run this reflection on the proper attitude to take when confronted with the threat of one's own death would prove premature (2 Cor 1:8–11; 11:23); nevertheless, in the long run it was quite realistic (cf. Rom 15:30–32). Although not entirely new (cf. 1 Thess 1:6; 2:14; Gal 6:14, 17), another prominent theme in the Philippian letter fragments (see Koester 1961; 1982, 2: 132–34) is Paul's participation in Christ's suffering, death,

and resurrection. This partnership provides the logic for the conspicuous role in Philippians that Christ's and Paul's examples play in the apostle's exhortation. Paul bases such imitation chiefly on the Christ hymn cited in 2:6–11 (see Betz 1967). This hymn also anchors Paul's main parenetical concern in Philippians, the unity of the church (esp. 1:5–11, 27–30; 2:1–4, 17–18; 4:1, 2, 7). A completely different tone appears in the fragment 3:2–4:3, where Paul sharply attacks his Jewish–Christian adversaries. On the whole, though, Paul's theology in Philippians again includes the doctrine of justification by faith in Jesus Christ (Phil 1:11; 3:5–11) and reliance on the spirit (1:19, 27; 2:1; 3:3).

The letter to Philemon may also have been written during the Ephesian imprisonment. Regardless, its basic theology again resembles the previous letters, although the major subject matter is of course different.

**d. The Crisis at Corinth.** The great crisis in the church of Corinth (for details, see CORINTHIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE and CORINTHIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE) confronted Paul with new, rapidly changing situations and challenges. Although the causes that gave rise to the crisis are to some extent confusing, it appears that, as far as theology is concerned, the problem stemmed neither from disagreement with what Paul taught, nor, in the first stages, from outside interference. Apparently, some of the Corinthians themselves had developed Paul's own theology in directions unpalatable to the apostle. As a result, charismatic experiences and ecstatic prophecy, though not unfamiliar to Paul (see 1 Thess 1:5; 5:20; Gal 3:5; Phil 3:10; 1 Cor 14:18), played too large a role in this church: the overwhelming abundance of and superior status attributed to their enthusiastic displays went beyond anything Paul had seen. Based on these experiences, members of the church apparently created their own theologies and modes of behavior without taking into account that this new Corinthian diversity posed a threat to the very existence of the church. Feeding into the crisis were other factors of social and religious origin, complicated by outside interference (Apollos? Cephas? [see 1 Cor 1:12; 3:4–6, 22; 4:6; 9:5; 16:12; Acts 18:24–19:1]). Interacting with each other, these factors gave the crisis a life of its own that at times drove Paul to the brink of his own demise.

The theological issues Paul confronted are stated succinctly in the prooemium of 1 Corinthians, the thanksgiving prayer (1:4–9). Since much of the language in the passage appears to conform to the Corinthians' self-understanding, Paul expected the Corinthians to agree when he saw "God's grace *(charis)* given in Christ Jesus" being manifest among them: "in everything you have been made rich through him [sc. Christ], in every form of speech and in every form of knowledge" (1:5; see Betz 1986a). The Corinthian church experienced this spiritual wealth in its abundance of spiritual gifts, *charismata*, which had become a source of pride (1:7; 7:7; 12:4–31). Being Greeks, they especially cherished, "eloquence and knowledge" (1:5; cf. 2 Cor 8:7). These cherished gifts were all derived from the divine spirit which revealed them through prophecy (see, esp. 1 Cor 12:8; 14:1–40). These experiences also satisfied the Greek cultural expectation that they possess "wisdom" (*sophia* [1:22]). But Paul considered the Corinthians' pride to be compromised severely by the fact that they seemed unable to cope with cosmopolitan diversity and sophistication in the church and that their pride created strife and factionalism (see 1:10–17; 3:3–4; 11:18–19; 12:25). These deteriorating developments created an intolerable discrepancy between claim and reality. As Paul put it, the Corinthians' wealth of *charismata* was still deficient: they lacked mature love among each other and consequently congregational harmony (1:7–9, 10, 13a; 3:1–2; 8:1; 13:1–13; 16:14). This discrepancy not only disrupted their congregational life in a threatening way, but also raised the question whether this church would be able to appear at the Last Judgment, as it would be required to do, "blameless" (1:8; cf. 15:58).

Paul's theology in 1 and 2 Corinthians differs markedly from his earlier letters because the crisis in Corinth solicited a new response with a new, special kind of theology. Since the Corinthians' ideas were not simply imported from the outside but were mostly based on assumptions in Paul's own theology, he could not simply repudiate their ideas, but had to take them up and develop them in a different direction. Thus, Paul agreed with the Corinthians that a wealth of eloquence and knowledge is certainly a laudable blessing; he added, however, that it ought to add up to "wisdom of God" and not "wisdom of this world"

(1 Cor 1:18–3:23). This new theology of wisdom is designed to affirm the Corinthian claims on the one hand, but correct them on the other by bringing them in line with Paul's own theology of the cross.

In order to meet the challenge, Paul proceeded from his established positions on theology and christology (see, esp. 1:1–3, 4–9, 18–24; 8:6; 12:3; 15:3–5). Dealing not with Jewish but Greek claims (1:22), he applied the principles of his theology of justification by faith in Jesus Christ not to "works of the law" (as in Galatians), but to the claim to possess wisdom (1:18–31). The common denominator was the principle of proper and improper "boasting" (1:29–31; 3:21; 4:8; 5:6; 9:15–16; 15:31). In the first part of 1 Corinthians (1:18–3:23) Paul demonstrated what in his eyes really constituted Christian wisdom by critically analyzing the concept. In the second part he brought these clarifications to bear on his own role as church leader (chap. 4) and on the concrete problems which disturbed the church (chaps. 5–15). Since 1 Corinthians evidently did not achieve its goals, the fragments assembled in 2 Corinthians provide further insights into Paul's monumental struggle to get the church to understand and accept his theological viewpoint. Thus, the entire Corinthians correspondence, at least to the extent we possess it, amounts to an education in the apostle's theological thinking. Within the parameters of the struggle, he worked out positions on a broad range of issues, from legal and ethical issues to those of religion and worship, including even self-evaluation of his own role and conduct. See CORINTHIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE; CORINTHIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE.

On the whole, the Corinthian crisis subjected Paul's theology to the test of fire (1 Cor 3:13–15). Apparently, he had no time for critical reevaluation of his theological premises, in particular his doctrines of the spirit, sin, and the law. It is, however not surprising that after the struggle was over, Paul took the time to revise his thinking in rather substantial ways, resulting in his *magnum opus*, Romans.

**e. The Later Paul.** When Paul wrote his letter to the Romans, he took the occasion to summarize his theology in a more systematic fashion than in his previous letters. This letter does not, however, present a complete and final statement, but rather a résumé of a more mature stage in his theological development. Paul felt the need for this summary for a number of reasons. First, since he did not found the Roman church yet intended to visit it, the letter served as an appropriate way to introduce himself. Second, the apostle also realized that he had to counteract the hostile rumors circulated by his opponents and the caricatured versions of his teaching with which they slandered him (Rom 3:5–8; 6:1). Third, because he knew that dangers awaited him in Jerusalem (15:30–32), Paul sent this letter to Rome, and possibly a copy to Ephesus, as something like a theological "testament" (see Bornkamm 1971a: 88–96; 1971b).

Although presented as a defense argument, the main thesis of which is stated in 1:16–17, Paul's letter contains more than merely an apology for views he has always held. In comparison with his earlier letters, Paul in Romans writes with much greater circumspection and complexity. This letter includes elaborate discussions of theological topics previously argued, or at least mentioned, topics that are entirely new, and, most importantly, revisions of earlier positions on significant theological doctrines. It is incorrect to think, therefore, that in Romans Paul merely presents a fuller version of what he more briefly sets forth in other letters.

The point of Paul's argument as a whole is to explain the reasons why he still refuses to be ashamed of the gospel as he has been preaching it, and why his gospel is indeed God's power achieving salvation for every believer, Jew or Greek (1:16–17). If he can successfully demonstrate this, he can hope the Romans will not be embarrassed by his visit and will support his plans for a mission in Spain (15:22–24).

As the opening thesis (1:16–17) indicates, Paul bases his entire argument on the doctrine of justification by faith in Jesus Christ. This doctrine had, of course, been argued before in Galatians and Philemon, and with special application in the Corinthian letters, but its full development in terms of a history of salvation reaching from Adam (5:12) to the *parousia* (2:5, 16; 8:31–39; 13:11–14) occurs only in Romans. The application of this pivotal doctrine to history has abbreviated parallels in 1 Cor 15:21–22, 45–49 and Gal 3:6–29, but the thoroughness and comprehensiveness of the approach in Romans is a new achievement.

As Paul begins citing his proofs, he first offers a radical critique of paganism (1:18–32) and Judaism (2:1–3:8); this approach is new as well, although elements have occurred in earlier letters (cf. Gal 3:19–25; 4:8–10; Phil 3:2–9; 1 Cor 8–10; 2 Cor 10:1–13:10). While all ancient religions are, according to the

apostle, corrupt to the core, divine restitution began with Abraham and reaches all the way to Christ (Rom 4:1–25; cf. Gal 3:6–25). Abraham and Christ, therefore, are the two main pillars on whom the doctrine of justification by faith rests (3:9–31). Unlike Galatians, in Romans Paul does not repudiate the Torah (see 7:12, 16, 21–23; 8:2–8), but instead argues in favor of being a "genuine" Jew and against being a Jew by pretense (2:1–29). The prototype of the genuine Jew is Abraham, who was declared righteous by God even though neither Torah nor circumcision existed at that time. His righteousness was his unconditional faith in God, on account of which he received God's promise. This promise finds fulfilment in Jesus Christ, and is subsequently applied to all who believe in him (4:1–25); therefore, Christ, not Abraham, provides access to God's grace for all believers (5:1–12). Jesus Christ, and Jesus Christ alone, the new and second Adam, has overcome the human corruption endemic in the race since Adam and now makes possible for humanity a means of deliverance from the domination by sin and death that resulted from Adam's fall (5:12–21; cf. 1 Cor 15:21–22, 45–49).

Chapters 6–8 set forth the benefits of Christ's salvation. Initially Paul refers to the doctrine of baptism into the death and resurrection of Christ (6:1–11), writing that through baptism the Christian is sacramentally initiated into and made a partaker of Christ's death and resurrection as a salvation event (see *BTNT* 1: 292–314; Conzelmann 1969: 199–212; Wedderburn 1987). Though Paul has mentioned the basic components of this teaching in Gal 3:26–28 (cf. 1 Cor 1:13–17), the comprehensiveness of what he says here goes beyond anything he previously wrote about baptism. He has spelled it out here because baptism links the Christian to Christ's salvation and thereby provides the basis for the Christian's participation in the benefits of Christ's salvation about to be discussed. The first of Christ's benefits which Paul presents is liberation from the enslaving power of sin (6:12–23), a doctrine which seems to be older and already presupposed in the earlier letters (1 Thessalonians, however, does not mention it). The second benefit, liberation from the law (7:1–25a), expands what Paul had previously said only when referring to his own paradigmatic experience (Gal 2:19–20; Phil 3:7–8). The third benefit is liberation from death (Rom 8:1–30), an idea with antecedents in 1 Thess 4:13–17 and Gal 2:19–20 (also Phil 1:12–26; 1 Cor 15:50–57; 2 Cor 1:3–11; 2:14–17; 4:7–5:15; 13:3–4), but not before stated as a part of an overarching salvation doctrine. These benefits reach their climax with the fourth, viz. the eschatological union with God (Rom 8:31–39; cf. 1 Cor 15:20–28).

The final section on the history of salvation concerns the relationship between Jews and Christians in future history (Romans 9–11), a dimension which Paul had never before addressed. Recognition of this as an issue presupposes Paul's concession that the *parousia* will not be imminent (cf. 13:11–14) and that there will be two religions, Judaism and Christianity, existing side by side for some time to come. Paul still argues on the premises of his doctrine of justification by faith in Jesus Christ that Jews and Christians will have to coexist, stimulating and checking one another by peaceful competition (11:13–24). The final "mystery" will be disclosed when "the fullness of the gentiles enter into" the kingdom of God, and "all Israel will be saved" (11:25–26).

This entire history of salvation is regarded as a succession of God's merciful deeds (12:1), beginning with Abraham and ending when no accuser remains for the Last Judgment (8:31–39; 11:33–36). This grandiose historical and eschatological panoply is yet another new development in Paul's theology.

A further significant shift in Paul's thinking takes place in his ethics, for which the apostle finds a new foundation (Betz 1988). Instead of grounding Christian ethics simply in the spirit, as he does in his earlier letters, Paul develops a new concept in Rom 12:1–15:13. Paul now conceives of ethics as the human response to God's merciful deeds in the history of salvation (chaps. 4–11). This response is a matter of obligation and involves the self-dedication, and, indeed, the self-sacrifice of the whole human person, body and mind (12:1).

Paul has also integrated the notion of spirit into the benefits of Christ (5:5; 7:6; 8:2–27). Thereby Paul has prevented the (Corinthian) misunderstanding of spirit in terms of individualistic spirit possession. The spirit cannot be divorced from the body because self-sacrifice includes the whole person. This person also belongs to the corporate body of the church (12:3–8; see also 1 Cor 12:12–27; Gal 3:26–28) and does not exist in isolation. Moreover, Christian existence is inconceivable without the norms set by the notion of

love (*agapē* [12:9–21]). Concretely, Christian ethics is a matter of obligations toward society at large: the state (Rom 13:1–7), the law (13:8–14), and the weaker members of the Church (14:1–15:18).

**3. Summary.** The extant letters and letter fragments show an author constantly involved in debates and conflicts, trying to explain, defend, and recommend what he sees to be the implications of Christian life and thought. The urgency to engage in this dialogue grew out of Paul's awareness that he and his assistants were taking part in momentous historical developments. This urgency pressed even harder when doom threatened Paul's gentile mission, requiring that he provide theological warrant for it. Thus, through the course of his ministry Paul increasingly found that his task was not only to bring the Gospel to the gentiles, but to bring theological clarification to the Gospel.

As Paul attempted to make sense of Christian theology, the Damascus event provided an unexpected answer to an old Jewish question: "Is God the God of Jews only? Is he not the God of gentiles also?" Because Christ ordered Paul to preach the gospel to the gentiles, Paul could now answer boldly: "Yes, of Gentiles also" (Rom 3:29). Thus the universality of the gospel commission confirmed the unity of God. The Damascus event also demonstrated that the Damascus Christians were correct, righteousness was available apart from Torah. Combining this realization with the unity of God, Paul concluded that the Gospel must provide a single, inclusive means of justification: "Since God is one, he will justify the circumcised on the ground of their faith and the uncircumcised through their faith" (Rom 3:30). Thus, the doctrine of justification by faith was implicit in the Gospel message itself as Paul experienced it: coming to grips with it and making it explicit in ever greater clarity and detail is the thread that runs through Paul's life and letters.

To raise a basic question yet again, does any continuity and consistency of thought underlie the shifts and changes, the theological reformulations and revisions evident in Paul's letters? From the foregoing, we can say that despite changes of position, such as his realization that the *parousia* would be delayed and that the historical coexistence of Christian and non-Christian Judaism would persist for some time, Paul steadily held on to justification by faith. Moreover, if there was anything that established the theological identity and legitimacy of Christianity as a new religion, it was Paul's discovery and exposition of the God who "in Christ" justifies a sinful and godless humanity.

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**PAUL AND SENECA, EPISTLES OF.** A series of 14 Latin letters that comprise an apocryphal correspondence between Paul and the Roman philosopher Seneca. They were most likely written in the 3d or 4th century to commend Seneca to Christians or to recommend Paul's letters to members of Roman society. The correspondence is attested in numerous corrupt manuscripts, most of which date from the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries, although a few are as early as the 9th. The letters were known to Jerome and Augustine, but scholars disagree over whether they regarded them as authentic. Some scholars suggest that the letters we now possess are not the ones known to Jerome and Augustine (Lightfoot 1953: 330–31). The correspondence remained popular throughout the Middle Ages. It is noted by Peter of Cluny in *Tractatus adversus Petrobrusianos* (*PL* 189.737C); by Peter Abelard in *Introductio ad Theologiam* 1.24 and in *Expositio in epistolam Pauli ad Romanos* 1.1; and in the *editio princeps* of Erasmus (Kurfess *NTApocr* 2:135). English translations are provided by James and Kurfess.

The correspondence alternates, with letters 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, and 13 purportedly written by Seneca, and letters 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, and 14 supposedly written by Paul. In letter six Paul greets Lucilius along with Seneca; letter seven is addressed to Paul and Theophilus. The letters contain an exchange of compliments between the two writers.

Seneca begins the series by praising the "wonderful exhortations for the moral life" contained in Paul's letters (Kurfess *NTApocr* 2:135). Paul responds, in letter two, by thanking Seneca for his high praise. Letter three tells of Seneca's desire to read some scrolls to the emperor. Letter four expresses Paul's desire to meet with Seneca. In letter five Seneca is distressed that Paul has not come to see him, and wonders if it is because he is afraid that the empress is displeased over his giving up the beliefs of Judaism. Seneca says that a visit might enable Paul to explain why he has given up these beliefs and practices. The sixth letter provides an opportunity for Paul to encourage Seneca and Lucilius to treat all people with respect.

In letter seven Seneca reports that he agrees with what Paul says in his letters to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Achaians (= 2 Corinthians; see 2 Cor 1:1), and that Paul's thoughts have made a positive impression on the emperor. Paul uses the eighth letter to tell Seneca that, while showing love and respect for him, he must take care not to offend the empress. In letter nine Seneca expresses his new understanding of Paul's concerns and his desire that they begin to work afresh. Letter ten concerns Paul's acknowledgement that his name should have been placed last on a letter he previously sent to Seneca. Seneca sends the eleventh letter to indicate his distress and grief over the persecution experienced by Paul and other Christians. Letter twelve is Seneca's response to the issue, raised in letter ten, of the placement of Paul's name. He indicates that he is not at all offended by the placement and suggests that they are equals. In letter fourteen, Seneca encourages Paul to write with refinement. Finally, in letter 14 Paul

pushes Seneca to write in such a manner as to "make yourself a new herald of Jesus Christ" (Kurfess *NTApocr* 2:141).

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DANA ANDREW THOMASON

**PAUL'S NEPHEW.** The report about an unnamed nephew in Acts 23:16–22 is the only reference we have to Paul's family connections. Naturally, there is the temptation to view the incident as a Lukan creation. However, since Paul as a Roman citizen would in any case have been brought to Caesarea as the first stage in any judgment process, Luke would have had no motive for creating the incident (Williams *Acts* BHNTC, 251). The account must go back to an eyewitness (Hengel 1983: 175); at least, Paul's sister and nephew appear to be historical (Lüdemann 1987: 254–55). Moreover, Paul's sister's family or the nephew himself must have had connections in Jewish circles for him to have heard of the ambush. This story may belong to a tradition about Paul's family moving from Tarsus to Jerusalem and about his education there under Gamaliel (cf. Acts 22:3).

Not unreasonably, scholars infer from Phil 3:8, "For his (Christ's) sake I have suffered the loss of all things," that Paul was disinherited for his acceptance and proclamation of Jesus. Such a situation would explain how his sister's family might still have Jewish connections (Bruce *Acts* NICNT, 457–58). Also, visits to persons in prison were possible (e.g., Luke 7:18; Matt 11:2; 25:36; Acts 24:23; 28:30; Phil 2:25–30). Nonetheless, because there is a minimum of verifiable evidence, much that is said is conjectural.

The text reports that Paul's nephew learned of the ambush planned against him and told him about it. Paul then appears almost to order the centurion to lead his nephew to the tribune since he has something to tell him. The centurion does this. The tribune takes Paul's nephew aside and inquires what he has to say. Paul's nephew tells him about the Jewish ambush, that they will ask him to bring Paul down to the Sanhedrin the next day, and that more than 40 individuals have bound themselves by oath to kill Paul at that time. Paul's nephew urges the tribune not to agree to their request. The tribune tells him to tell no one that he has informed him of the plot, and then dismisses him.

In the story, Paul does the reasonable thing, and the centurion does his duty. Both Paul's nephew and the tribune demonstrate moral character. The nephew cares enough about Paul to risk informing the Romans, and the tribune is well disposed and attentive, yet cautious. The story of Paul's nephew belongs to Luke's theme that the Roman officials are well disposed toward the Christians (O'Toole 1984: 160–66).

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**PAUL, ACTS OF.** A 2d-century Christian writing recounting the missionary career and death of the apostle Paul and classed among the NT Apocrypha. In this work Paul is pictured traveling from city to city, converting gentiles and proclaiming the need for a life of sexual abstinence and other encratite practices. Though ancient evidence suggests that the *Acts of Paul* was a relatively lengthy work (3600 lines according to the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus), only about two-thirds of that amount still survives. Individual sections were transmitted separately by the medieval manuscript tradition (Lipsius 1891), most importantly the *Acts of Paul and Thekla* and the *Martyrdom of Paul*, both extant in the original Greek and several ancient translations. Manuscript discoveries in the last century have added considerable additional

material. The most important of these include a Greek papyrus of the late 3d century, now at Hamburg (10 pages), a Coptic papyrus of the 4th or 5th century, now at Heidelberg (about 80 pages), and a Greek papyrus of correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians (*3 Corinthians* = Testuz 1959), now at Geneva. These finds have confirmed that the Thekla cycle and story of Paul's martyrdom were originally part of the larger *Acts of Paul* (details in Bovon 1981 or *NTApocr.*). See also PAUL, MARTYRDOM OF; THEKLA, ACTS OF.

The papyrus discoveries have suggested that the story of the *Acts of Paul* was organized according to an itinerary of missionary visits to the leading cities of the Roman East (Schmidt 1905), including at least Antioch of Syria, Iconium, Antioch of Pisidia, Seleucia, Myra, Sidon, Tyre, Ephesus, Philippi, Corinth, then on to Italy, and finally martyrdom at Rome. In each city Paul encounters believers, sometimes already known to him; whether he has sent fellow workers ahead or is now visiting previously established communities is not always clear. A constant theme is the opposition engendered by Paul's preaching of conversion to a Christianity marked especially by renunciation of ordinary life and values. Because the work is incomplete and its original sequence of events not entirely recoverable, however, arguments from silence about its contents or interests must remain more than usually tentative (Schmidt 1905 and 1936; Schneemelcher *NTApocr.*, and 1974; Bovon 1981).

There are many coincidences of names and places with the account in the NT Acts of the Apostles, but very little actual agreement in detail for any particular event or place. There is some diversity in the manner of Paul's preaching from city to city, but consistency in his message: the need for conversion to a life of celibacy in Christ. In Iconium, for example, we see Paul pronouncing beatitudes that stress the value of a life of renunciation: "Blessed are those who have kept the flesh pure … Blessed are the continent … Blessed are those who have renounced this world … Blessed are those who have wives as though not having them … Blessed are the bodies of the virgins …" (*Acts of Paul and Thekla* 5–6). This stress on encratism, that is, a life of ascetic renunciation and physical denial, represents an important current within earliest Christianity (Tisserot in Bovon 1981; Brown 1988).

In several places, following a theme familiar in the Apocryphal Acts in general, social and legal conflict arises because of Paul's success in summoning pagans (especially women) to the celibate or virginal life. The best-known surviving section was transmitted separately in late antiquity and the Middle Ages as the *Acts of Paul and Thekla* due to St. Thekla's importance as a figure of cult in Christian Asia Minor (for the extensive hagiographical tradition see Dagron 1978). This story portrays a young woman, about to be married to a leading city figure, who upon hearing Paul instead adopts the celibate Christian life and attempts to journey with the apostle and then herself become a missionary. Paul is not very encouraging until Thekla proves her mettle (and her vocation?). Thekla's stubborn celibacy twice provokes anger, first in her native Iconium from her rejected fiancé, whereupon she is arresed, condemned to death in a public beast-fight, but ultimately rescued by divine intervention. In the second case, in Seleucia, Thekla is condemned to the beasts by another rejected man, and then baptizes herself when in imminent danger; after her second miraculous rescue, she adopts an apostolic life and finally receives Paul's blessing and approval for her work.

The motifs of travel, frustrated love, and other entertaining elements are reminiscent of many aspects of the ancient popular genre of romance novels (Söder 1932; Pervo 1987), with the important difference that in these ascetic acts the tone is less erotic than anti-erotic. There is very little theological argument or speculation, but instead the narrative describes the dangers and successes of those steadfast in their renunciatory behavior. The early Christian communities are portrayed as joyfully united in prayer and simple communion, looking for the soon and sudden end of the world, portrayed in the traditional apocalyptic imagery.

The themes, locales, and external evidence all point to a composition date sometime in the mid-2d century, somewhere in Asia Minor. Tertullian claimed to know that the work was the product of an Asian presbyter who however was quickly exposed as a fraud (*De baptismo* 17). Tertullian's objection to the work is the leading role, self-baptism, and attitude assigned to Thekla, and his response is a good indication of both the appeal and the threat embodied in the work. Some modern scholars suggest that the

authors of at least the Thekla cycle, perhaps in an earlier oral form, were women seeking affirmation of their celibate way of life and leadership role in Asian Christianity (see esp. Davies 1980 and Burrus 1987). Certainly the stories in the *Acts of Paul* reflect the more radically renunciatory side of 1st and 2d century Pauline Christianity and uphold the tradition of sexual equality over the subordination of women (cf. e.g., 1 Corinthians 7 vs. 1 Timothy 2), but specific claims about the gender of the writer(s) go beyond the evidence available (see MacDonald 1983 and 1986).

The nature of the relationship between the *Acts of Paul* and the NT Acts is disputed, though traditionally, as with most "apocryphal" literature, scholars suggest that these stories are intended to supplement the canon (Söder 1932; Schneemelcher 1964 and 1974). But some have argued more recently that while the author(s) of the *Acts of Paul* may well have known the NT Acts, that work was not in any way decisive for his (or her!—see above) own understanding of Paul's story (esp. Pervo 1987). For example, the dominant motif of Jewish hostility to Paul's mission in the NT Acts, along with at least passive acceptance from Roman authorities, is entirely missing. In the *Acts of Paul* the Jews and their synagogues are offstage; the apostle preaches to the gentiles and encounters opposition from the social and governmental elite and indeed finishes by being executed at Rome at Nero's command. Only in this last episode it is not Paul's preaching of celibacy that puts him in danger—instead Nero perceives a social, political, and perhaps even a military threat from "Christ's army" as led by Paul. If the NT Acts are known, in sum, they are not used as a source either of reliable information or of authoritative interpretation about Paul's life and theological orientation.

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**PAUL, APOCALYPSE OF.** The name of two different apocryphal works, both inspired by the tradition of Paul's "rapture" into the heavens (2 Cor 12:2–4). One, an extensive tour of paradise and hell, composed sometime in the 4th or 5th century C.E. is preserved in a long Latin version; a Greek abridgment, and in Armenian, Old Russian, Syriac, and Coptic versions. It also appears to have been an important source for later Christian works which described the geography of the fiery punishments in hell (see A below). The other, a Christian gnostic work from the 2d or 3d century C.E. (NHC V,*2*), emphasizes Paul's ascent with the twelve apostles through the eight heavens of Jewish and Christian traditions into the "tenth," the resting place of the elect (see B below). It survives in a single reasonably well-preserved Coptic version found among the gnostic writings at Nag Hammadi. There are some parallels between its vision of the souls being punished in the fourth and fifth heavens and the punishments reported in the

*Testament of Abraham* 10. Epiphanius alludes to an *Ascension of Paul* used in some gnostic groups (*Pan.* 38.2). Since that work had only three heavens, it may indicate that yet a third apocalypse of the heavenly journey type circulated in early Christian circles.

**A. Latin Version**

Although *Apoc. Paul* was originally composed in Greek, the long Latin version represents the best text for this early Christian work. It is first clearly attested in Augustine (*In Joh. Tract.* 98.8; *Enchir.* 112–13). An ancient introduction to the work claims that is was composed in the late 4th century C.E. Many modern scholars think that the body of the apocalypse may have been written in the early 3d century, since Origen refers to an *Apoc. Paul* as accepted by the church and also gives a description of the fate of the soul similar to that beginning in chap. 13 *(Hom. in Pss. 5).* The author praises asceticism (chaps. 9, 24, 26, 39–40) and condemns persons who only appear to renounce the world by wearing the garb of the ascetic (chap. 40). But unlike later texts it does not refer to the extensive development of monastic asceticism.

The so-called "Tarsus introduction" (chaps. 1–2) claims that the manuscript was found in 388 C.E. by a person living in a house once owned by Paul. Following instructions given by an angel in a dress, the finder discovered in the foundations a marble box containing the revelation. Chaps. 3–10 detail creations complaint against the sinfulness of humanity. God's forebearance is demonstrated in the delay of judgment. Nevertheless all the deeds of humans are reported by angels every morning and evening. Paul's journey to the third heaven enables him to see how the wicked and righteous souls depart from the body at death (chaps. 11–18). Journeys in the heavenly regions allow Paul to see Enoch and Elijah in paradise, the land where the righteous dwell during the millennium and the city of Christ. The righteous ones of the Hebrew Bible and the altar where David sings are found in that city (chaps. 19–30). Then Paul is taken to see the extensive punishments suffered by sinners. At the end of the journey he and the archangel Michael plead for mercy for sinners. Christ responds by rebuking the sinners but granting them rest from punishment on Sunday (chaps. 31–44). The journey ends in paradise where Paul is met by the righteous including the Virgin Mary, the patriarchs, Moses and Adam (chaps. 45–51). Adam blesses Paul for the many persons he has brought to faith. On the Latin version, see James 1893; Duesning 1965; Himmelfarb 1983.

**B. Coptic (Gnostic) Version**

The first of four gnostic apocalypses, in the Achmimic dialect, from Codex V at Nag Hammadi, this work bears the title *Apocalypse of Paul* at the beginning and end of the writing (NHC V,*2*). It is not related to the *Apoc. Paul* preserved in the Latin, though Paul does witness the judgment of various souls in his ascent through the fourth and fifth heavens. Reincarnation is presented as the punishment extracted by the demonic guardians of the heavens from those souls which have not obtained true knowledge (21, 18–22).

The book opens with Paul meeting a small child, his guiding angel, also identified with the Holy Spirit on "the mountain in Jericho." The divine figure will lead the apostle in his ascent to Jerusalem. Gnostic revelations frequently picture the risen Christ as a polymorphic figure who appears like a child. Thus the opening appears to recall Paul's resurrection vision and his going up to Jerusalem to visit the apostles (Gal 1:11–17; 2:1–2). Here he is taken into the heavenly Jerusalem where he will meet his "fellow apostles," the Twelve. As they begin the ascent, Paul is shown his body and those of the Twelve on the earth below. In the shining light of the sixth heaven, Paul must utter a formula, "open to me and the [Holy] Spirit, who is before me," in order to pass by the toll collector (22, 21–23). Passing into the seventh heaven, he encounters an old man on a throne who acknowledges Paul's election in terms drawn from Gal 1:15. An extended dialogue in which Paul speaks the gnostic formulas about returning to the "place from which he came" and leading others from the captivity of the lower world shows that the old man is the Jewish creator god. Paul goes beyond that god's heaven and authority when he gives the "sign" that makes it possible for him to enter the next heaven, the Ogdoad. There the Twelve greet Paul, and they continue in the company of the elect to the tenth heaven.

This *Apoc. Paul* has clearly used the genre of heavenly journey to embody the gnostic formulas for the post mortem ascent of the soul. This theme along with the formulaic dialogues necessary for the soul to

gain its freedom appears in a number of gnostic writings (*Gos. Mary, 1 Apoc. Jas., Gos. Thom.* Log. 50). On the Coptic version, see Murdock and MacRae 1979; Fallon 1979; Kasser 1965; Krause 1983; Orbe 1983.

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PHEME PERKINS

**PAUL, MARTYRDOM OF.** A document describing Paul's encounter with the emperor Nero in Rome and his subsequent trial, execution, and miraculous appearance after death. Originally the *Martyrdom of Paul* was the concluding section of the 2d century apocryphon the *Acts of Paul,* but it was separated very early and transmitted independently in medieval Christianity in connection with the cult of the holy apostle and martyr. The story tells how Paul runs afoul of Nero by resurrecting and converting Patroclus, the imperial cupbearer. A search leads to Paul's arrest and that of many other Christians, all of whom are condemned to death when Nero hears Paul's threats of apocalyptic judgment with fire. Paul predicts that the emperor will see him after his death; after his execution by beheading, when milk miraculously spurts from his neck rather than blood, the apostle does appear, causing Nero to free the remaining Christians. While in jail awaiting execution, Paul had begun to convert the Roman centurion Cestus and the prefect Longus, who at his instructions visit his tomb at dawn and receive baptism from Titus and Luke. The historical value of the story is minimal, as is suggested by its borrowing of many motifs from similar accounts of the deaths of holy people, and its literary merits are few; but the *Martyrdom of Paul* nonetheless achieved great popularity. See also PAUL, ACTS OF.

PHILIP SELLEW

**PAUL, PASSION OF.** See PETER AND PAUL, PASSION OF; PAUL, MARTYRDOM OF.

**PAUL, PRAYER OF THE APOSTLE** (NHC I,*1*). Inscribed in the front flyleaf of Codex I of the Nag Hammadi collection is a brief (2 page) work followed by a title and colophon. Apart from a few lines missing at the top of the first page, the work is well preserved. Although it survives in Sahidic Coptic, the *Prayer of the Apostle Paul* (NHC I,*1*), like most of the other works in the Nag Hammadi collection, was probably composed in Greek, the language of the colophon and title. The date of composition is uncertain, although it was clearly written before the final copying of the collection in the mid-4th century, and probably after the mid-2d century, when the Valentinian Gnosticism evidenced in the text emerged.

In form, the text resembles prayers and hymns in other gnostic, Hermetic, and magical sources. The extant portion begins with a series of invocations of the redeemer, "Jesus Christ, the Lord of Lords." He is asked to bestow on the supplicant his blessings, including bodily healing and eternal salvation.

The major motifs of the prayer are gnostic commonplaces. Thus, the invocations identify the redeemer as the "source," "mind," "fullness," and "repose" of the supplicant, who asks for the redemption of "my eternal light-soul and my spirit." Yet the text also owes some of its motifs to the Psalms and to the Pauline epistles. A clear example of dependence on Paul, and at the same time another indication of gnostic orientation, is the request to be granted "what no angel-eye has seen and no archon-ear has heard and what has not entered into the human heart" (cf. 1 Cor 2:9). The Gnosticism involved is probably Valentinianism, which is represented in several other works contained in the codex, including the *Gospel of Truth* (NHC I,*3*), *The Treatise on Resurrection* (NHC I,*4*), and *The Tripartite Tractate* (NHC I,*5*). The invocations of the redeemer would be at home in Valentinianism, as are the designations of the redeemer

as "First-born" and "First begotten." The disparaging reference to the creation of the human heart "after the image of the psychic God" evokes the common gnostic reading of Genesis and the Valentinian tripartite schema which consigns the creator God of the OT and all his works to the "psychic" realm.

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**PAULUS, SERGIUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Sergios Paulos* (Σεργιος Παυλος)]. The proconsul of Cyprus converted by Paul when he and Barnabas visited that island on their first missionary journey (Acts 13:7).

The Roman cognomen "Paulus" is found in two inscriptions which have been thought to identify the proconsul mentioned in Acts 13 (*IGRR* III.930 and *CIL* VI.31545). The "Paulus" mentioned in the first inscription is too late be connected with Paul. The second inscription mentions an L. Sergius Paulus who was curator of the Tiber, but does not connect him with Cyprus. He could be the Paulus mentioned in Acts if it is assumed that he was later appointed to Cyprus in the right time frame. A third inscription (*IGRR* III.935) has been restored to read "Q. Sergius Paulus." The identification of this person with the proconsul of Acts is more probable than the other two inscriptions but conclusive proof is lacking (Van Elderen 1970: 155f). If a definite inscriptional identification of Sergius Paulus could be made it would be important for establishing the chronology of the Pauline missionary journeys in Acts.

Because Luke fails to mention the baptism of the proconsul some have thought that he was not actually converted. The Lukan emphasis on repentance and baptism as a sign of conversion found in the early chapters of Acts is less prominent in the Pauline sections of Acts. But Luke's use of *pistis* (faith) and *pisteuō* (believe) in connection with Paul is an effort to mimic Pauline language and connotes conversion. In Luke's eyes, Sergius Paulus is a convert. Ramsay (1920: 150–72) attempted to use inscriptional evidence mentioning other members of the family to substantiate Luke's claim as historically accurate. His results are intriguing but inconclusive.

The portrayal of Sergius Paulus as a convert may be important to the theology of Acts in two ways. First, it has been thought to reflect a pro-Roman apologetic. Luke is said to be seeking Roman acceptance of Christianity by stating that a Roman of the Senatorial Order had found it acceptable. But since there are other aspects of Acts which make a Roman apologetic problematic a second explanation may be suggested. From a sociological perspective the story about Sergius Paulus functions to provide social legitimacy for the Christians who were reading Acts. Rather than indicating that Luke's community actually had such upper-class members, this story of an aristocratic Roman convert would help Christians from marginalized groups or others experiencing status inconsistency to see themselves as on a par with other religions groups in the Greco-Roman world. See ELYMAS.

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**PAVILION.** See ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

**PEACE.** This entry consists of two articles. The first one deals with peace in the OT, and the second one covers peace in the NT.

### *OLD TESTAMENT*

The principal word used to express the idea of peace in the Hebrew Bible is *šālôm.* The root of the word is found in many Semitic languages. The Akkadian *salāmū* comes closest to the core meaning of the root, "to be hale, whole, complete." In one form or another the notions of wholeness, health, and completeness inform all the variants of the word. Peace is not, then, simply a negative, the absence of war. Peace is a positive notion, a notion with its own content.

*Šālôm* is the daily greeting in Israel; *šālôm ʿălêkem* "peace upon you (pl.)" is a common expression we could translate as "good day." But it really is closer to "may you be well." To be well is, of course, to be "whole, to be complete," to have physical and spiritual resources sufficient to one's needs.

Wholeness or completeness can be ascribed to things as well. Thus Solomon in 1 Kgs 9:25 offers peace offerings *(šelāmîm)* in the temple he completed *(šillam).* A debt is made good *(šallēm)* through payment of money. Vows are completed *(šallēm)* through sacrificial offerings.

Peace is contrasted with war. Qoheleth notes that "there is a time for peace and a time for war" (Qoh 3:8). In numerous passages peace is negotiated to end or preclude hostilities (Deut 20:10–12; Jos 9:15; 10:1; 10:4; 11:29). R. de Vaux (*AncIsr,* 254) notes that "peace in a political sense is not only the absence of war in a purely negative sense, but it includes the idea of friendly relations between two peoples" (see Judg 4:17; Isa 7:14; 1 Kgs 5:4, 26; 22:45). Peace is also synonymous with victory (Judg 8:9; 2 Sam 19:25, 31; 1 Kgs 22:27–28; Jer 43:12). Peace and prosperity are paired (Mic 3:5; Zech 8:12; Mal 2:5). In this pairing it would seem that peace is seen as a sort of economic freedom.

Then there is the idea of dying peaceably. "You shall go to your fathers in peace" (Gen 15:15) is a promise to Abraham; this peace is contrasted to disquiet. The peace of the blessed rest overcomes the natural anxiety about death and the afterlife. These usages of *šālôm* are "secular" or "profane," in contrast to the theological understanding of *šālôm.*

G. von Rad (*ROTT,* 1:130) observed that "the relationship guaranteed by a covenant is commonly designated by the word *šlm*" (see Gen 26:30ff; 1 Kgs 5:26; Isa 44:10; Job 5:23). The Hebrew Bible speaks of the *bĕrît šālôm* "covenant of peace" (Num 25:12; Ezek 34:25; 37:26). This notion of a covenant of peace is particularly useful in developing our understanding of *šālôm.* The covenant initiates a relationship which is based in some sense on mutually assured obligations. Though God cannot be said literally to be "obliged," there is an implicit contract that attaches transcendent values to ordinary or customary human actions.

It is this association of *šālôm* with *bĕrît* "covenant" and also with *mišpat* "judgment, justice" that ties together the nuance of wholeness with the notion of peace as an action. In Ps 34:14 the psalmist charges hearers, "Do good, seek peace, pursue it." Here peace is not something that simply happens; it is a content-laden thing that one can lay hold of. And, further, peace is not seen as a mere product but as an end in itself.

In Zech 8:16–19 the notion of peace is joined with *mišpat;* where the root *šlm* again is used in its meaning of true or complete justice. And *šālôm* is joined with *ʾemet* "truth." Peace, truth, and justice are parallel terms. Their association in this passage implies that peace has a content like justice and truth. Peace encompasses a relationship that is ordered, a relationship of equity. So in Ps 85:10 "righteousness and peace shall kiss"; the two join together as partners in the blessed life. And in Isa 32:17 the prophet avers that "peace is the effect of righteousness," which in the Vulgate becomes *"opus justitiae pax"* or "peace is the work of justice." In this we see a profound theological sense to peace which is far beyond the simple idea of the cessation of war or the absence of conflict. Indeed, peace is not seen as tranquility and order, but rather as the deep commitment to the work of justice.

Peace also points to the future, because it reconnects an ideal of justice that is remembered and expected. That the figure of the herald of glad tidings (Nah 1:15), whose task it is to announce a victory, did so to inaugurate peace is very important. The herald contrasts with the false prophet who announces "peace, peace, but there is no peace" (Jer 6:6; 8:11; 8:15). Jeremiah's contrast is, like that in Isaiah, between justice and injustice, righteousness and unrighteousness. Peace is clearly associated with justice and often synonymous with justice.

The figure, then, of the *śar šālôm* "Prince of Peace" (Isa 9:5—Eng9:6) is to be seen as the bringer of justice, as the vindicator. He is "in purpose wonderful, in battle God-like, Father of all time, Prince of peace" and his kingdom shall be established and sustained with justice and righteousness. The same confluence of the peace-bringer with the renewal of justice and righteousness is found in Isaiah 40.

Isa 9:5 should be seen also in the light of Isa 11:1–5, where the figure is described who shall inaugurate the peaceable kingdom in which lion and lamb shall dwell together, while "they shall not hunt or destroy

in all my holy mountain" (Isa 11:9). This image of peace as an eschatological event manifests the sense of completion inherent in the idea of peace. Von Rad writes that the anointed one in Isaiah will establish a "paradisal peace … to bring order over into the world of nature and to resolve its conflicts" (*ROTT,* 2:170). Peace is, in fact, the order of creation (ibid., 147).

The theological implications are clear enough. Creation is depicted as an act of divine completion. "On the sixth day God completed all the work he had been doing" (Gen 2:2). "And God saw all that he had made and it was very good" (Gen 1:31). The order of the cosmos created harmony and peace. Justice, righteousness, and peace are all present in this "original state." The parable of Adam and Eve is one in which sin is unknown and even "good and evil" are unknown. The depiction of the dissolution of paradise in J's narrative leads from the serpent's wiles to the murder of Abel, the Flood, and the division of the peoples of the earth. In brief, creation, once completed, is now fractured and scattered, disunited and without peace.

The apocalyptic eschatology of the late kingdoms and early exile envisioned the restoration of the created order. Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah refer repeatedly to this glorious new creation. "I will make your government peace, and righteousness rule over you" (Isa 60:17). "I will send peace flowing over her like a river" (Isa 66:12). This peace is the mark of the new heavens and the new earth which the Lord will make (Isa 66:22). So peace, *šālôm,* embraces the notion of the restoration of creation to justice, truth, and righteousness. Peace is a blessing and a sign of the blessed life of the new creation just as it was the hallmark of the first creation. Peace is "from the Lord" (1 Kgs 2:23) and is "the Lord's own work" (Isa 52:7). Peace is both a restoration of the divine plan of creation and the harbinger of the completion of life to come. And to the ears of a weary planet it brings the good news that strife shall cease and that the peoples of the earth "shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks."

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## *NEW TESTAMENT*

The word *eirene* (peace) appears in almost every writing of the NT. It describes an international calm and a relationship of goodwill between God and humans. Most frequently it describes a social reality, a state of reconciliation and wholeness among a group of people.

A. Classical Words
B. Judaism and Peace
C. Early Christian Views of Peace
    1. Jesus
    2. Paul
    3. Other Early Christian Writings

### A. Classical Words

In classical Greek three words can be translated "peace": (i) *galēnē:* the calm of nature, specifically at sea; of the mind or spirit and even of the conscience (Arist.*Ep.*5); (ii) *homonoia:* concord, or the quality of community life which emerges when people think alike or agree; and (iii) *eirēnē;* the most frequently used and the most inclusive of the terms. Plato speaks of the "profound peace" which comes to older persons when they no longer need to be concerned about their passions (*Resp.*329c).

The Greek view of peace has often been portrayed as consisting primarily in the absence of war: the normal human state (Fuchs 1965). More precisely, two contrasting ideals exist alongside each other: the Homeric, or heroic ideal, which presupposes that war will be the arena in which the truly human virtues can be displayed. The other, the unheroic ideal, presupposes that human beings achieve their true potential in work which produces peace and justice (Hesiod). The dominant note in the iambic poets is not

exaltation of heroes but using all the resources of art to hold up to ridicule the faults and weaknesses of human nature. Competition in the arts is encouraged (Klassen 1984).

The Homeric ideal is praised in classical literature (tragedy, historical writing, political propaganda) and even dominates the political agenda of the polis. Peace is seen as a positive value, even as the highest value, and war is seen as a necessary stage and the means by which peace is attained. *Si vis pacem, para bellum* ("if you wish peace, prepare for war") went the ancient, widely quoted slogan (Haase 1977).

One exception is comedy, especially the comedy of Aristophanes whose anti-war position merits further exploration. The power of Euripides' protest against war in his plays, *The Women of Troy* and *Medea* is felt even to this day.

Prior to Socrates, the adage, "Do good to your friends and harm your enemies" seems to have held the day. With his fundamental dictum that "it is never right to repay anyone evil for evil" (Apol. 30D) a new approach to the resolution of conflict emerged (Dihle 1962). Both Cynics and Stoics built upon Socrates' insight but forged different concepts of peace. The Cynics praised world citizenship and used illustrations from animal life to deprecate human wars (Malherbe 1977). The Stoics opted for a concept of peace as internal control or inner tranquility *(ataraxia)* which ran the risk of becoming insensitive to one's own feelings as well as to the attacks of others. The Stoics however have deeply influenced the later prevailing view of peace through Varro (ca. 40 B.C.E.) whom Augustine copied, and Epictetus (1st century C.E.), whose manual was for centuries the handbook of the soldier (Klassen 1977).

The Latin words *concordia* and *pax* correspond to the Greek *homonoia* and *eirēnē* respectively. A significant shift has taken place, however, in that *pax* commonly refers to an enforced pacification program.

**B. Judaism and Peace**

The Jewish concept of *šālôm* undergirds the Christian view of peace. For the early Hebrews Yahweh could be designated *Shalom* (Judg 6:24) and the word designates the state of being well. Whereas the Greeks were clearly comfortable applying peace to the inner nature of humans, the Hebrews tended to use the term primarily for interpersonal or social relations where it comes very close to meaning "justice." When justice is done it is seen as God's gift to the people, and the prosperity *(šālôm)* comes to the people when they live faithfully under God's covenant (Ravitsky 1987).

The concept of peace undergoes many changes in the Jewish literature preceding and contemporaneous to the early Christian period. Already in the LXX we perceive the tendency to interiorize peace as the term *eirēnē* begins to be used in connection with the "soul" (Lam 3:17). Most illuminating for our time period, however, may be an intriguing shift in the tradition as reflected in the Talmud about the altar made of unhewn stones. As J. Neusner (1970) has observed, the Ishmaelite version, commenting on Deut 27:6 that no iron tools are to be used on the stones of the altar led R. Simon Eleazer to say that the altar was meant to prolong life, iron however shortens it. "It is not right for that which shortens life to be lifted up against that which prolongs life."

R. Yohanan b. Zakkai (16–80 C.E.) spells it out specifically for peace: "The whole stones are to establish peace, although they do not see, hear nor speak, yet they serve to establish peace between Israel and their Father in heaven … How much the more then should the child of peace who establishes peace between people, between husband and wife, between city and city, between nation and nation, between family and family, between government and government, be protected from harm."

One generation later, Rabbi Aqiba commenting on the same text left out all references to peace. The "children of peace" became the children of Torah. For the Aqiban party during the war of Bar Kokhba, which they endorsed, the exegesis of Yohanan ben Zakkai was rejected (so Neusner). For Yohanan the atoning function of the altar and the life-enhancing role of the altar was displaced by human beings: children of peace. In this respect Yohanan stood very close to his fellow rabbi, Jesus of Nazareth.

**C. Early Christian Views of Peace**

The NT uses *galene* once to refer to the calmness of the Sea of Galilee (Mark 4:39 and parallels). The second, *homonoia,* meaning concord or harmony among people, is never used in the canonical NT although it is frequent among the Apostolic Fathers. By far the largest number of occurrences are of the

word *eirēnē,* which appears in every NT author except 1 John and in its various forms about 100 times in total.

In Christian ethical thought, *eirēnē* is deeply influenced by the function *šālôm* had in Jewish literature. Thus it is used most often as a greeting of encounter (John 20:19, 21, 26) or as a departing salutation (Mark 5:34). In the NT epistles it has clearly become formulaic; joined with the word "grace" (Rom 1:7; 1 Cor 1:3; 2 Cor 1:2; Phil 1:2; Col 1:2; 1 Thess 1:1; 2 Thess 1:2; Titus 1:4; Phlm 3; 1 Pet 1:2; 2 Pet 1:2; Rev 1:4); and with the word "mercy" as well (1 Tim 1:2; 2 Tim 1:2; 2 John 3; Jude 2) at the beginning of the letters, sometimes at the end (3 John 15; 1 Pet 5:14), and occasionally at both (Eph 1:2; 6:23; Gal 1:3; 6:16).

**1. Jesus.** Behind the emphasis placed by NT writers on peace lies the teaching and practice of Jesus. With the words: "Go in peace" he dismissed both the woman healed of her hemorrhaging (Mark 5:34; Luke 8:48) and the sinful woman who came to see him while he was at a meal (Luke 7:50). In the Fourth Gospel in particular peace appears both as a parting gift (14:27) and as a greeting by the risen Christ to his disciples (20:19, 21, 26).

According to Mark the gift of peace is not only to be granted to people as they leave but is also an action which can be commanded. He transmits a word that urges the early disciples to share the salt of friendship, i.e., to eat together and by doing so to keep the fellowship or community intact: Mark 9:50c: "Have salt among yourselves and keep peace with each other" (Lattke 1984). Although we cannot be certain Jesus spoke these words, there are no inherent grounds to deny their genuineness. It is reasonable to assume that Jesus wanted the relationships among his disciples to have integrity. What is noteworthy is the imperative verb which is repeated in later Christian texts. If peace can be commanded it clearly takes effort and not just receptivity to divine gifts.

There is of course the disclaimer: "Do not think that I have come to cast peace upon the earth, I have not come to cast peace but a sword" (Matt 10:34 = Luke 12:51). To take this to mean that Jesus literally promoted the sword or violence contradicts all the other evidence found in the Gospels. When a disciple used a sword, Jesus firmly rebuked him and the damage was undone (Luke 22:51). The saying signifies, rather that Jesus will bring division into the lives of people by his claim to their loyalty and allegiance. The most sacred of all obligations, that of the family, will be attenuated by his call. Jesus declares that not all that the world terms peace is truly that. Jesus has not come to bring a false peace in which outer quietness rules while storms rage within but rather to cut clean as a sword the division between truth and falsehood, between idolatry and true service of God.

Closer to the central element in Jesus' work and that of his disciples is the term of self-designation he suggests for his disciples: "child of peace" (Luke 10:6). The Jewish custom of the time was to designate persons in accordance with their behavior (sons of light, sons of darkness, sons of Beliar, sons of righteousness). Given the central place peace holds in Judaism one would expect 1st-century Jews to designate peace-loving people as "children of peace." One group which could have been called that was the "peace party" during the war of 66–74 C.E. But Jesus is the only 1st-century Jew to whom this phrase is attributed; Hillel, his contemporary, preferred to invite: "Be of the disciples of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing peace" (*Pirke Aboth* 1:12). Little is said about Aaron and his peacemaking in Jewish sources. One can only conclude that when the figure of Aaron is cited Stoic virtues were invoked and that sons of Aaron are those who quietly stand by (Rabinowitz 1967; Klassen 1981).

The phrase "child of peace" which appears only here, is most likely a genuine coinage of Jesus. After him, only Luke and Tertullian used it. It did not emerge as a term for post-Easter Christians, perhaps because of the presence of the "peace party" in the revolt against Rome in 66–70 C.E. The more assertive term: "Peacemaker" (Matt 5:9: noun; Col 1:20 as an aorist participle and Jas 3:18 [noun] combined with the verb "to make") upstaged it.

The formula "to make peace" is found in the OT (Isa 27:5); generally God is the subject of the verb. It appears in such a context in the LXX (Josh 9:15) but it also is used of military leaders, as those who pacify the countryside. 1 Maccabees prefers its usage for a state of real peace without battle (11:51; 13:37;

14:11) but also once uses it for a military action (6:49). In a later Jewish text the term is used for the male organ that makes peace between husband and wife (*Midr. R. Lev.* 18:1).

In the NT, the term goes back first of all to Jesus and the beatitude which promises the high calling of being a child of God to those who are peacemakers (Matt 5:9). The promise of being called a child of God is well known in Jewish circles (Sir 4:10) and is generally associated with keeping the covenant (*Pss. Sol.* 13:8; 17:30; *Deut. Rab.* 7:9), observing the law and, in general, remaining faithful to God.

Among the beatitudes of Jesus the term "peacemaker" is the most assertive. All the rest designate a state or an attitude while this one describes a concrete act (Windisch 1925). Some of the other occurrences enforce this point: Jesus is described as "having made peace" (Eph 2:15) through the blood of his cross (Col 1:20). By interposing himself between the warring parties, Jesus atoned for their sin and made peace by reconciliation.

More problematic is the usage in Jas 3:18. Various diverse renderings of this sentence have been proposed. One acceptable translation is: "For the (fruit or) harvest of justice has been sown in peace by those who make peace." A reading of Isaiah 32–33 in the LXX makes it clear that a connection exists between justice and peace and even the image of sowing is introduced here (Isa 32:20).

James utilizes the theme of sowing and reaping and those two terms describe very well the relationship between peace and justice. It is an organic relationship—that of seed and fruit but it is also clear that their sequence can be reversed. In order to receive the gift of God's peace one can do justice, when Yahweh is heeded then peace will flow down like a river (Isa 48:18; 66:12). If one makes peace then justice will grow like a flower (Isa 32:16–19). Paul too sees peace and justice as integrally bound to each other (Rom 14:17).

In Mark both the verb "be at peace" (9:50) and the noun (5:34) appear only once. In Luke's gospel the noun appears 13 times and in the Acts another seven times. Luke speaks explicitly of peace more often than Mark, Matthew, and John combined. He obviously has a particular interest in the topic of peace (Swartley 1983; Donahue 1982). He reads the Christ event through the eyes of his contemporaries who have heard much of the peace of Augustus. They have identified the Jews as those who disrupted that peace in the war of 66–74 and with whom the Christians could be all too easily identified.

The forerunner of the Messiah in Luke signals that "in the tender compassion of our God … the morning sun will rise upon us to shine on those who live in darkness, under the cloud of death, and to guide our feet into the path of peace" (Luke 1:79). The allusions are to Isa 59:9–10 and its vivid description of how hard it is to find one's way when there is neither justice nor peace.

In the infancy narratives "peace is virtually identified with that salvation which will characterize the new age" (Donahue). Luke also has the angelic hymn promising peace on earth to those responding to that event (2:14). The inverted doublet appears in 19:38 where Luke follows Job 25:2 in affirming that God has established "peace" in heaven; both have "glory to God in highest heaven." Job's assumption is that peace must be brought to heaven before it can be brought to earth, although the LXX translators cannot bring themselves to affirm that *eirēnē* is needed in heaven. They change the meaning to "he made the universe" (Gk *sympasam*), from "he established order or peace in the heavens."

Luke, however, can also use the term, *eirēnē,* to describe the more secular or mundane security involved in peace: from theft (11:21), averting war (14:32; Acts 12:20), release from persecution (Acts 9:31), reconciliation after an altercation between two people (Acts 7:26), or the end of a disagreement within the Church (Acts 15:33).

An early lament over Jerusalem (Luke 13:34) bemoans Jerusalem's treatment of the prophets. Luke, and only he, depicts most poignantly Jesus' last lament over Jerusalem: "Seeing the city he wept over her saying: 'If only you had known on this day that which brings peace; but now it is hidden from your eyes' " (Luke 19:42). In no other place is it so movingly stated that Israel's national tragedy is a result of her refusal to live according to the covenant with God. Even the desire to make Jesus a good Stoic who would not weep yields here to the historical reality. Similar statements are found in Josephus twenty years after the event.

Finally, the formula: "he gave the good news of peace through Jesus Christ, who is Lord of All," (Acts 10:36) indicates that the author of Luke-Acts saw the word "peace" as a capsule for that which the good news about Christ contains. It is incorrect to restrict the meaning to peace between God and humans (Haenchen *Apostelgeschichte* MeyerK, 304; Zahn *Apostelgeschichte* HKNT, 355–56). Especially in this context of the gentile mission—where the universality of God's love and acceptance is being proclaimed—it is not irrelevant that one of the greatest human divisions of ancient society, that between Jew and gentile, is described as overcome. The similarities between this and Ephesians are worthy of note.

The Fourth Gospel affirms that peace is intimately related to Jesus himself. It is a gift related to the commission to forgive sins (20:19, 21, 26) and go forth in the power of the Holy Spirit, but also before his death he promises them: "Peace I leave to you, my peace I give to you, the kind of peace the world cannot give" (14:27). The difference between the world's peace and that of Jesus is not explained, but it has to do with John's notion of the world *(kosmos).* "In the world you will have trouble. But courage! The victory is mine; I have conquered the world" (16:33). In Christ peace is available to them. The difference must not be drawn along Stoic lines, as if the peace of Christ "has nothing to do with the absence of warfare nor … with an end to psychological tension, nor with a sentimental feeling of well-being" (Brown *John xiii–xxi* AB, 653). Caesar's peace enforced by violence is not the same as the peace of Christ which derives from his victory over evil through the absorption of suffering. The two are dramatically different ways of bringing peace. In general, the Johannine community has little interest in the topic of peace. The word appears only six times in the Fourth Gospel and is christologically determined.

**2. Paul.** The matter stands very differently with Paul. His roots in Judaism are firmly established and yet he lives in the Roman Empire as a Roman citizen. From many angles he would clearly appreciate the *pax Romana.* At the same time he is captivated by the *pax Christi.* Paul begins with God and not with Christ.

We find here the surprising fact that the formula, "the God of Peace" if not a Pauline construct, was so attractive to him that he avails himself of it more frequently than any other ancient writer. It is known to appear in only one other ancient writer prior to Paul.

The *T. Dan* boldly pronounces: "Speak the truth each one to their neighbor and you will not fall into anger and confusion, but will remain in peace and have the God of peace and no war will conquer you" (5:2). The author promises that if Israel repents they will find mercy and be given peace, even as the Lord wages war against Beliar. Those who call upon the Lord will have "eternal peace" (5:9–10). The author is convinced that if Israel repents the kingdom of Beliar will come to an end and the "angel of Peace himself will strengthen Israel, so that it will not fall into deepest evil" (6:5).

The "angel of peace" appears also in the *T. Asher* where the soul at peace going forth with joy will learn to know the angel of peace who will lead him into eternal life (*T. Asher* 6:6). The *T. Benj.* even says that "if you have a good attitude, then even evil people with be at peace with you" (5:1). Here the role of the angel of peace is to lead the soul of the good man (*T. Benj.* 6:1), "who loves those who wrong him as he loves his own life" (4:3). He believed firmly that good will conquer evil and that the pious man when attacked will through his mercy bring the wanton man to repent because he showed mercy and maintains silence. And a righteous man because he prays, even though for a brief time he may be humbled, later he will appear far more illustrious, … for the angel of peace guides his life" (5:4–6:1).

The angel of peace appears also in Ethiopic Enoch as a guide to follow and interpreter. These writers instead of speaking of the God of Peace envision an angel of peace as an intermediary.

Paul used the formula, "the God of Peace" a total of six times. The earliest reference is 1 Thess 5:23 and the latest is Phil 4:9. Most often (five times) it appears as a benediction or prayer but also to enforce an ethical admonition: "God is not of chaos but of peace" (1 Cor 14:33). Once it is combined with the "God of Love" (2 Cor 13:11) and once changed to "the Lord of Peace," (2 Thess 3:16). Here he prays that peace will be given to his readers always and in every way. In another text the God of peace will "sanctify" them completely (1 Thess 5:23).

In a strikingly unique reference Paul predicts that "the God of Peace will soon crush Satan under your feet" (Rom 16:20). In this sole reference to Satan in Romans, Paul used traditional apocalyptic language for the defeat of evil (Malherbe 1983) and only here is it perhaps possible to describe "peace as essentially an eschatological concept and not a social-political one" (Furnish 1984), a set of alternatives ordinarily foreign to his thinking. Obviously Paul while eschewing the term, "the God of War" (Exod 15:3) does not leave behind conflict terminology when he develops a new term to describe the God he has learned to know through Jesus Christ (Delling 1975). The morality he has described in Romans (esp. 16:17–19) will be the instrument by which Satan is crushed under *your* feet (Malherbe 1983).

Paul speaks, moreover, not only of the God of Peace but also of the peace of God (Phil 4:7); and of the peace of Christ (Col 3:15). In the first instance he stresses that the peace of God transcends human reason and comprehension. Nevertheless, it is his prayer that it may protect his readers' hearts and minds from wrongful intrusion. Although it may transcend human comprehension, its major domain of operation is still the human mind as well as the heart.

Similarly, the author of Colossians prays that the peace of Christ may serve as an arbitrator or referee in the hearts of those who hear him read (3:15). The author sees peace as the purpose of their calling, just as in 1 Cor 7:15 Paul states that being called to a relationship of peace is more important than maintaining a marriage between a believer and unbeliever.

In rabbinic sources it was affirmed that God had lied to retain peace between Sarah and Abraham and that peace was more important than truth (*Yebam.* 65b, *Midr. Rab. Gen.* 48, *Der. Er. Zuṭ.* 9). Paul affirms a similar position: Peace between husband and wife is a major objective, it is their calling (1 Cor 7:15). Peace stands third in the fruit of the spirit (Gal 5:22) and in Rom 14:17 the kingdom of God is defined as consisting of justice, joy, and peace in the Holy Spirit. Paul also prays that the God of Hope will fill the Romans with all joy and peace, so that they, while they believe, may abound in hope in the power of the Holy Spirit (15:13).

The imperative "be at peace among yourselves" occurs three times in the Pauline letters: once in Romans urging his readers to make peace with all people (12:18) and twice urging unanimity among the believers (1 Thess 5:13; 2 Cor 13:11). These imperatives, without parallel in Greek and Roman literature, have the same impact as the imperatives to "pursue the things that pertain to peace" (Rom 14:19); "send him (Timothy) on ahead in peace" (1 Cor 16:11) and "Take heed to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace" (Eph 4:3). The impact is strengthened when the verb "pursue" is used as in 2 Tim 2:22; Rom 14:19; Heb 12:14 (with all people) and 1 Pet 3:11: "Seek peace and pursue it"; (quoting from Ps. 34:14). In total there are eleven imperatives "to seek" or "pursue peace" and several specify to live at peace with all people. The cumulative impression of these texts is that for the early Christian community peace had a very high priority. Could this stress on the value of harmonious life within community and beyond have come from Jesus himself?

The richest source for understanding peace in the NT is found in the letter to the Ephesians. In part this is true because of the affirmation: "Christ is himself our peace" (2:14). Further the term "proclaim good news" of peace is used twice, once in a noun phrase ("the gospel of peace" 6:15), and once in a verbal phrase (2:17). This author is working in a situation where he is not only eager to show that Jew and Greek are no longer separated by cultural or religious differences but he seems also to be dealing with a Caesar-cult which elevates the contribution Caesar has made to peace.

Against the credit bestowed on Caesar for peace, this author credits Jesus for having broken down the wall of partition, with "having made peace." He seeks to strengthen the Ephesians' devotion to Jesus, who is described not only as peacemaker but as peace himself. Later Christianity could have avoided individualism, anti-semitism, and blind obedience to Caesar if it would have taken this view of peace more seriously. For the focus is on communities, reconciled in one person.

Paul's contemporaries excelled in attempts to glorify and even deify peace or the emperor who had been effective in restoring order to the empire. In an allusion to the coinage of the empire, Paul warned about the people who promised "peace and security" (1 Thess 5:3). Important as these may be, if they are obtained only through repression they have to be discarded as alien to the manner of peacemaking

associated with Jesus (Wengst 1987). In a highly militant passage, the author of Ephesians, borrowing freely from other precedents (Isaiah 59; Wis 11:20ff) prescribes as part of the armor: "let the boots you wear be the gospel of Peace" (6:15). The trampling boot of the soldier has been transformed into good news that peace has arrived. It is not an accident that in Cynic circles as well one of the profoundest statements in the 1st century about war and peace is found in a letter attributed to Heraclitus, directed at Ephesus (Malherbe 1977). In any case that letter was a brilliant rejection of war rather than a statement on how peace could be achieved.

There is only one reference in Paul to peace between God and humans (Rom 5:1). It forms part of his argument in the first part of Romans that a profound alienation has crept into God's relationship with humankind, an alienation from which no one is exempt and from which no one can be humanly extricated. Only God's act of sheer mercy makes peace with God a possibility. Once that peace is achieved then a new relationship with life is available. It is a new life, "those who live on the level of the spirit have a spiritual outlook and that is life and peace" (Rom 8:6).

**3. Other Early Christian Writings.** The letter to the Hebrews also, used the designation "God of peace" in the finest prayer found in the NT (13:20). Melchizedek is called "a king of peace" and a parallel is drawn between him and Jesus, both of whom were kings of justice and peace (7:2). In the hortatory section (12:7–15) sonship, peace, justice, and holiness, are joined.

There is finally one reference in the NT to peace in which eschatology plays a major role. The author of 2 Peter foresees the time when the world will go up in flames and, as if it is inevitable, urges "since the whole universe will break up in this way, think about what sort of people you ought to be, what devout and sanctified lives you should live!" (3:11–12). Christians look forward to a new heaven and a new earth, "the home of justice."

The final advice remains: "With this to look forward to, do your utmost to be found in a good relationship *(eirēnē)* with him, unblemished and above reproach in his sight" (14–15). This, like Romans 5, stresses "peace" as a relationship with God, without however ignoring the human dimension. It shares with other texts concern with justice (v 13) and holiness (v 11). It could emerge from a community influenced by Stoicism which had resigned itself to the inevitable. Convinced that the course of history cannot be changed the Stoics stress a holy life which is tied to peace with God. The issue of justice is not muted and the combination: "Pursue peace with all and holiness without which no one will see the Lord" (Heb 12:14) is clearly also evident here.

Ever since the days of Augustine, when he dipped into pre-Christian Stoic thought (Varro) for his definition of Christian peace (Fuchs 1965), peace as an inner feeling has had a pervasive influence. This text, however, while it takes eschatology seriously, brings no support for escape from the present world. The next world can be brought not by quietism but by repentance (3:9). The prophet's conviction that repentance influences history overrides the apocalyptic tendency to determinism.

The sharpest challenge to the Christian concept of peace came with the ascendance of the Caesar cult and the attendant persecution. The response was an immersion in the apocalypse, not as a diversion from history but rather as a use of the imagination which allows one to take the enemy seriously and to project the battle against a mightier screen. Much of the ancient apocalyptic literature was subversive, and apocalyptic imagery could be used for communication among the persecuted minority without unduly endangering the group. So books like the *T. Moses* affirm that Divine sovereignty will be maintained, but they also affirm that the role of the faithful is to endure suffering without retaliation. For the Christian community represented by the Revelation, one secure anchor is the assurance that the blood of the martyrs will be vindicated. God will rule in history because history's greatest show of power came in the Lamb that was slain. History is the unfolding of the rule of the Lamb. It will end when the throne of the Lamb becomes also the throne of God (21:22; 22:2, 3).

Thus the plot of the book is the realization in history of that which is perceived as proleptically accomplished in chaps. 4 and 5. The main purpose of the book is to encourage those who follow the Lamb to remain faithful to his manner of dealing with evil and with power; especially they must endure suffering patiently and remain true to the Lamb (Lampe 1981). By concentrating on the glory and power

of the Lamb and ascribing all honor and power and glory to him, their loyalty to the emperor is of course lessened and they resist the temptation of worshipping the beast. At the same time the Lamb overcomes his enemies through the Word that proceeds out of his mouth, and although that is described as a "sword," what comes out of the mouth can heal as well as hurt (19:15). The difference between the two is decided by the receiver.

The apocalyptic persuasion, sometimes seen as hostile to peace in history, "for you shall hear of wars and rumours of wars, do not be alarmed" (Mark 13:7 = Matt 24:6 = Luke 21:9), makes no claims about the inevitability or necessity of war. It simply affirms that as long as there are people who grasp for power and promote violence, war is predictable. Clearly the Lamb does not initiate war, for the beast and the dragon (those committed to war with the Lamb) use that method (17:14). The Lamb will overcome, and in that terminology the Apocalypse of John uses conflict terminology in a highly symbolic way. Accordingly peace does not become internalized, and the struggle is public, but it also safeguards early Christianity from joining in the revolution against Rome from 66–74 C.E. and in subsequent revolts. At least for the first 200 years the early Christian movement followed the understanding of the relation of peace to war left them by their Teacher. This was true even when the basic usage of words for peace changed (in *1 Clement*, Beyschlag 1972; van Unnik 1970) and when they adopted Roman ways of thinking about peace.

Early Christian views on peace were anchored in theology and Christology, what members believed about God and what they believed about Jesus. This had profound implications for their self-understanding as a community and for their convictions about how people could live together. Within the community, openness or freedom of speech was practiced. It was believed, following the proverb that "a frank rebuke leads to peace" (Prov 10:10). It was also united with joy (Rom 14:17), just as the Proverb already predicts that those who seek peace will find joy (Prov 12:20). So peace had inner dimensions, but was not confined to inner attitudes, just as it had theological roots but profound implications for community living. Beyond the inner-personal and the interpersonal community aspects, the NT views on peace also included a concern for the outsider. They followed Judaism in prescribing the pursuit of peace with all people and in every way as one of the highest priorities of Christian conduct (1 Pet 3:11; Heb 12:14; Rom 12:18; 14:19).

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**PEACEMAKING, PEACEMAKERS.** Making peace *(eirēnopoieō)* and peacemakers *(eirēnopoios)* occur each once in the NT (Col 1:20; Matt 5:9). Until now there has been no consensus among scholars as to who is the subject of "peacemaking" in Col 1:20. For some it is God or the "fullness" of v 19, for others it is Christ. Most recent commentators and authors of monographs distinguish two layers in Col 1:15–20: an early Christian (or even pre-Christian) hymn and a comment on it. Burger (1975: 3–79) distinguishes three layers. The oldest was an original (Christian) hymn that spoke of Christ as "beginning, first-born from the dead, in whom all the fullness dwelt … whether on earth or in heaven" (vv 18b–20). A subsequent editor made God the subject of the whole strophe vv 18b–20 (i.e., of the work of atonement and peace among the heavenly and the earthly beings through Christ by virtue of his resurrection). The final author of Colossians then reinterpreted this work of God by reference to the redeeming death of Christ. The double "through him" in v 20c still shows the insertion. On this level, the "peacemaking" refers probably to the reconciliation of heaven and earth with God. (For the word, cf. Prov 10:10; for the idea Rom 5:1, 10; 2 Cor 5:20.)

There is an echo of Col 1:20 in Eph 2:15, where "making peace" *(poiōn eirēnēn)* is said of Christ. The author of Ephesians seems to have used, in addition to Colossians 1, a hymnic fragment apparent in Eph 2:14–17. This fragment speaks in cosmic language of Christ as unifying two divided areas (heaven and earth). It ends with a reference to Isa 57:19 combined with 52:7: the announcement of peace to those distant and near (v 17). Whereas the hymn speaks of the reconciliation of heaven and earth and their atonement with God, the author of Ephesians seems to have understood the "atonement" mainly as

reconciliation between Jews and gentiles. He took the concept of "peace" from the quotation of Isaiah, made it the main theme of the whole strophe (v 14), and referred the peace in v 14b–15 to the unity of Jews and gentiles, and in vv 16–17 to their common atonement with God (cf. Burger 1975: 117–39.)

To those who "make peace" (same expression), Jas 3:18 announces a "fruit of righteousness sown in peace" (dat. *commodi* rather than *auctoris: BDF* 188, 1; it is sown probably by God in the sense of a passivum divinum). "Making peace" refers here to a peaceful attitude in the community as a sign of divine wisdom, as the preceding vv 13–17 show.

The beatitude of the "peacemakers" in Matt 5:9 is one of a group of passages common to Matthew and Luke (Matt 5:34; 6:11–12 par.) going back either to a pre-Matthean expansion of Q, to tradition, or to the redactional activity of Matthew. The opinion of McEleney that it goes back to tradition, together with vv 7 and 8, is well founded. In the present context "peacemaking" may refer to both one's own enemies or to those of the community (vv 10–12, 21–26, 38–47: cf. Schnackenburg).

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JOHANNES BEUTLER

**PEARL, HYMN OF THE.** See HYMN OF THE PEARL.

**PEARLS.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**PEDAHEL** (PERSON) [Heb *pĕdah›ēl* (פְּדַהְאֵל)]. The son of Ammihud, the leader of the tribe of Naphtali who was appointed to help distribute the land to the Israelites (Num 34:28). Pedahel is a theophoric name, consisting of the element *pdh,* "ransom," "redeem" and the common term for the divine, *›el.* Thus, Pedahel may be translated as either "the divine has ransomed" or "the divine has redeemed." The name has been found, outside of Scripture, in a Phoenician seal from Damascus dated to the 8th century B.C.E., and an Assyrian cognate, Padu-ilu, occurs in a text from Nineveh (*APNM,* 256; *IPN,* 180).

RAPHAEL I. PANITZ

**PEDAHZUR** (PERSON) [Heb *pĕdāhṣûr* (פְּדָהְצוּר)]. The father of the chief (*nāśî›,* Num 2:20) Gamaliel of the tribe of Manasseh. Each of the five times that Pedahzur is mentioned in the OT occurs in a tribal list where his mark of distinction is his status as the father of Gamaliel. Under the leadership of Pedahzur's son Gamaliel, the tribe of Manasseh participated in the census of Israelite fighting men carried out by Moses (Num 1:10, 34–35), presented its offerings on the eighth day of the twelve-day celebration of the dedication of the altar (Num 7:54, 59), took its proper place on the west side of the tabernacle in the Israelite camp (Num 2:20), and assumed its position in the order of march at the Israelites' departure from Mt. Sinai (Num 10:23). The name Pedahzur means "the Rock has rescued," where "the Rock" is an appellative rather than a proper name and serves as a metaphor for the Lord (cf. Ps 18:3). Noth (*IPN,* 181) speculates that a child would be named Pedahzur because the mother was delivered from danger at the time of childbirth.

DALE F. LAUNDERVILLE

**PEDAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *pĕdāyâ* (פְּדָיָה)]. The name Pedaiah was held by seven people in the Hebrew Bible. The name is attested more frequently in the postexilic period and may have been more popular then. The meaning is "Yahweh has ransomed" with the shortned forms "Yah" or "Yahu."

**1.** The maternal grandfather of king Jehoiakim of Judah (608–598 B.C.E.). His daughter's name is given in the MT as either Zebiddah (Kethib) or Zebuddah (Qere) (2 Kgs 23:36). The latter might mean approximately "gifted." Pedaiah came from the town of Rumah which was in the N near Rimmon. The name occurs in extrabiblical sources in the Ophal seal (6th century B.C.E.) and in the Elephantine papyri, AP, 43 (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 21).

**2.** The third son of Jeconiah/Jehoiakin and, contrary to most other traditions, the father of Zerubbabel (1 Chr 3:16–24). Compare Ezra 3:2, 8; 5:2; Neh 12:1; Hag 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 23; and in the New Testament Matt 1:12 and Luke 3:27. Williamson has suggested that since the genealogical list in 1 Chronicles is later than the other materials and puts Zerubbabel in a less exalted position it is likely to rest on an accurate tradition (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 57). But it is just as possible that this list reflects Zerubbabel's mysterious loss of importance in the postexilic community after the completion of the temple. Note that the LXX substitutes the name Shealtiel in our text for Pedaiah.

**3.** The father of Joel from the half tribe of Manasseh W of the Jordan River (1 Chr 27:20). The list in 1 Chr 27:16–22 purports to give the rulers of each tribe under David. The list is, in the opinion of some scholars, integral to vv 23–24 which follow and have as their main purpose to exonerate David from blame for the census. The list may then give the names of the tribal rulers who were responsible in this matter (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 175–176).

**4.** The son of Parosh in Neh 3:25 (LXX 2 Esdr 13:25). He helped to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem under Nehemiah.

**5.** The man who stood on the left of Ezra when he read the Book of the Law to the people in Jerusalem. This was probably a place of honor, but we do not know anything more about him or his position (Neh 8:4 = 1 Esdr 9:44).

**6.** The father of Joed and the son of Kolaiah of the tribe of Benjamin (Neh 11:7 = 2 Esdr 21:7). They are listed in chap. 11 along with the other leaders of the people dwelling in Jerusalem and in the provinces during the time of Nehemiah.

**7.** The Levite who was appointed by Nehemiah to supervise the distribution of the portions of the Levites from the temple storehouses (Neh 13:13). The appointment of officers to oversee the distribution of the portions was the last action in a series which Nehemiah took apparently following the reading of the "Book of Moses" which is mentioned in v 1. The room which he caused to be cleansed and used for this purpose was the same one that Tobias the Ammonite had been given the use of by the high priest. In reinstituting the distribution of the levitical portions Nehemiah not only solved the problem of supporting the Levites, the skilled help of the Second Temple, but also got rid of an antagonist who, being an Ammonite, was supposed to be barred from the Temple anyway.

RUSSELL FULLER

**PEDESTAL** [Heb *kēn* (כֵּן)]. The Hebrew word is probably a variant of *mĕkōnā* (cf. 1 Kgs 7:27; Exod 30:18), and is a technical designation for part of the base of each of the bronze stands of the temple courtyard (1 Kgs 7:31).

CAROL MEYERS

**PEDIMENT** [Heb *marṣepet* (מַרְצֶפֶת)]. A word found in conjunction with the way in which King Ahaz partly dismantled the bronze Sea of the temple courtyard (2 Kgs 16:17). He removed the bronze oxen that held the Sea, which he then set upon a stone "pediment." Since this word is related to a more common word meaning "pavement," the elevated connotations of "pediment" may make that word a less appropriate translation.

CAROL MEYERS

**PEGAI.** See FEJJA.

**PEKAH** (PERSON) [Heb *peqaḥ* (פֶּקַח)]. A king of N Israel ca. 735–732 B.C., Pekah was the son of Remaliah. He succeeded to the throne after his assassination of King Pekahiah who had united Israel for two years (2 Kgs 15:23).

The name Pekah is closely related to Pekahiah, the name of the king whom the Bible reports Pekah succeeded. Pekahiah in Hebrew means "Yahweh opened [the eyes]" (*TPNAH,* 94) or "Yahweh is open-eyed or alert" (*IPN,* 186). Pekah is a shortened form of the name derived from the same Hebrew verbal

root *pqḥ*. This verbal root occurs in the Hebrew Bible in a name only in connection with the names of these two kings. The similarity of the two names and the distinctiveness of the verbal root have raised the possibility that the two kings were actually one and the same person. However, this is unlikely. The two kings have two different fathers: Remaliah is the father of Pekah (2 Kgs 15:27), Menahem of Pekahiah (2 Kgs 15:23). It is quite possible that Pekah originally had another name. When he murdered King Pekahiah and usurped the throne, he may have taken the closely related name Pekah for himself as a means of identifying himself as a legitimate successor. Isaiah 7 provides some evidence that the name Pekah may have been perceived as a usurped and illegitimate name for the new king. The prophet Isaiah mentions the name of Rezin king of Syria, but the prophet simply refers to the king of Israel as "the son of Remaliah" with no mention of his name (Isa 7:4–5, 9; 8:6). Isaiah may thereby signal a refusal to acknowledge the legitimacy of Pekah's reign by avoiding the name stolen from the previous king Pekahiah. In any case, it seems clear that Pekah and Pekahiah are two distinct royal figures.

The second and most troublesome issue connected with Pekah is the question of the precise number of years which he reigned as king of Israel. 2 Kgs 15:27 reports that Pekah "reigned twenty years." The difficulty is that contemporary Assyrian records contradict such a lengthy reign. The extrabiblical evidence indicates that Menahem reigned as king of Israel at least until 738 B.C. and probably a year or two thereafter. Menahem is reported to have paid tribute to the Assyrian conqueror Tiglath-pileser in 738 B.C. Pekahiah was Menahem's son and reigned after him for two years (2 Kgs 15:23) which places his reign somewhere in the years 737–736 B.C. Thus, Pekah's rule did not probably begin until 735 B.C.

Moreover, Assyrian records indicate that in 732 B.C. Tiglath-pileser conquered N Israel and soon replaced Pekah with another king, Hoshea. This puts the end of Pekah's reign during either 732 or 731 B.C. Therefore, Pekah could not have ruled N Israel for more than five years and more probably for only four years (735–732 B.C.). But what then is the origin of the tradition of a twenty-year reign for Pekah?

Three major solutions have been proposed. Thiele (1951: 113–14) has argued that Pekah was already a member of the inner court during the reigns of King Menahem and his son King Pekahiah. In support of this assumption, Thiele pointed to 2 Kgs 15:25, where Pekah is called a "captain" (Heb *šālîš*), which Thiele understood to be a very high officer in the royal court. Thus, when Pekah actually took over the kingship from Pekahiah, Pekah figured the years of his reign to include the years he had served in the court under Menahem and Pekahiah as well as the years he actually held the kingship in N Israel.

A second solution has been proposed by H. J. Cook (1964: 126–27), who argued that the term "captain" *(šālîš)* does not necessarily imply a high rank but may at times designate a class of warriors of lesser rank. Thus, Pekah may not have been a part of the inner court of Menahem and Pekahiah. Rather, Cook argued that the kingdom of N Israel in this period was torn apart into two rival kingdoms. Menahem and Pekahiah ruled only a portion of the N kingdom of Israel, the district of Samaria. Gilead and some of the N parts of Israel were ruled by the "captain" Pekah, who moved these areas toward independence from Samaria during the reign of Menahem (cf. the reference to Gileadites in 2 Kgs 15:25). Thus, Pekah ruled over a part of N Israel, according to Cook, for twelve years and over all of the N kingdom for eight more years, which calculates to a total of 20 years. Cook's assignment of eight full years for Pekah's rule over all Israel may be questioned in light of the Assyrian records mentioned above which place Menahem as still ruling in 738 B.C. Cook's attempt to dissociate Pekah's function as "captain" from a role within Pekahiah's inner court strains the biblical text, which explicitly calls Pekah "his [i.e., Pekahiah's] captain" and thus suggests an internal court revolt.

A third proposal advanced by Na›aman (1986: 74–82) maintains that Pekah's only tenure as king was his rule over N Israel for five years (736–731 B.C.). Pekah perceived himself as the only legitimate ruler since the dynasty of Jehu which had continued until its interruption by Menahem and Pekahiah. These latter two kings had been pro-Assyrian and had thus forfeited the consistently anti-Assyrian tradition of the preceding Jehu dynasty. Pekah may have seen himself as resuming this anti-Assyrian tradition. Thus, Pekah rejected the legitimacy of the reigns of Menahem and Pekahiah and counted their years of kingship as his own. An early Israelite historian recorded Pekah's reign as twenty years long, including in the total Pekah's actual reign and the reigns of Menahem and Pekahiah. This tradition was written into the royal

records and was part of the tradition which was later faithfully recorded but not fully understood by the writer of Kings.

Another issue associated with Pekah is N Israel's relationship with the empire of Assyria in this period. The previous kings, Menahem and Pekahiah, had been pro-Assyrian and paid tribute to them; this was apparently supported in the district of Samaria. The Gilead faction in the N led by Pekah apparently did not support such overtures to Assyria and desired independence. When Pekah became king of all N Israel, he joined King Rezin of Syria in an anti-Assyrian coalition. Pekah and Rezin joined together in a military expedition to Jerusalem to force Ahaz, the S king of Judah, to collaborate with them against Assyria. Ahaz quickly summoned the aid of Assyria whose army under Tiglath-pileser came and conquered the rebellious forces of Pekah and Rezin. The Assyrians took the Syrian capital of Damascus and killed the Syrian king Rezin (2 Kgs 15:37; 16:1–9; cf. Isaiah 6–12).

Finally, two traditions differ about the details of Pekah's eventual demise as king of N Israel. In Assyrian records, Tiglath-pileser himself takes credit for setting up Hoshea as successor after the overthrow of Pekah: "they (the Ephraimites) overthrew their king Pekah and I placed Hoshea as king over them" (*ANET,* 284). In contrast, the biblical tradition indicates that Hoshea overthrew Pekah and set himself up as king, with no mention of Tiglath-pileser's support. 2 Kgs 15:30 reports that Hoshea organized a conspiracy against Pekah and killed him and usurped his throne. The two versions of the same event, one Assyrian and one biblical, simply represent two different perspectives. Hoshea was probably designated by the Assyrians as their choice to succeed the rebellious Pekan. But it was Hoshea who had to obtain the support and means by which to overthrow Pekah, thus providing the basis for the biblical tradition (Hayes and Hooker 1988: 64–65).

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DENNIS T. OLSON

**PEKAHIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *pĕqaḥyâ* (פְּקַחְיָה)]. A king of N Israel ca. 737–736 B.C. Pekahiah was the son of Menahem, who had reigned over N Israel for ten years before his son. The name "Pekahiah" in Hebrew means "Yahweh opened [the eyes]" or "Yahweh is open-eyed or alert." See PEKAH (PERSON). The biblical account of Pekahiah's reign is brief and couched in the Deuteronomistic introductory and closing formulas regularly used for the kings of Israel (2 Kgs 15:23–26). The report of the conspiracy concerning the overthrow of Pekahiah introduces the most important dimension of Pekahiah's reign.

Pekahiah's kingship was overthrown by a man named Pekah who was a son of Remaliah; Pekah may have usurped not only Pekahiah's throne but also his name (2 Kgs 15:25). In this verse, Pekah is called "his [i.e., Pekahiah's] captain" (Heb *šālîš*), which suggests that Pekahiah was the victim of an internal court revolt led by one of the king's own officers. However, the biblical account also notes that the rebel Pekah was abided by "fifty men of the Gileadites." It seems likely that Pekah was indeed a court officer who also had his origins and an independent base of support in the province of Gilead, whence he drew the core of his fighting force. Thus, Pekahiah's downfall was the product both of internal court intrigue as well as resistance from at least certain areas within the N kingdom of Israel.

What were the reasons for this resistance and revolt? Pekahiah and his father Menahem stand out among the kings of N Israel as allies of the Assyrian empire (2 Kgs 15:19–20). A long line of Israelite kings before them since King Jehu had been vigorously anti-Assyrian, struggling to maintain the independence of Israel. Many Israelites likely perceived the capitulation to Assyria by Menahem and Pekahiah as a threat to Israel's integrity. While Menahem seems to have been an able ruler with a relatively lengthy tenure of ten years, Pekahiah's reign was short-lived, indicating some weakness as a ruler.

Another possible reason for Pekahiah's fall may have been a popular resistance in the N kingdom of Israel to any notion of a hereditary dynasty. The S kingdom of Judah had a political tradition and a theological foundation for the hereditary succession of kingship from father to son in the promise to David of an eternal dynasty in 2 Samuel 7. The N kingdom of Israel did not have such a tradition or theological rationale, and the practice of hereditary succession of kingship seemed to be resisted among at least some groups within Israel. This resistance may account for the fact that Menahem's kingship was not overturned, even though it may not have been popular among all segments of the population. However, when Pekahiah became king and aroused hostility for both his pro-Assyrian stance and his role as part of an hereditary dynasty, popular outcry may have provided the base of support necessary for his assassination and the usurpation of his throne by Pekah.

One final issue relates to the translation of 2 Kgs 15:25. The RSV notes the place where Pekahiah was killed as "in the citadel of the king's house." The Hebrew of the MT adds the phrase, "Argob and Arieh," which is problematic in meaning. Some scholars have suggested emending the Hebrew to render the translation, "and his four hundred warriors," indicating the small army who had supported Pekah's revolt. Another scholar has suggested translating the Hebrew terms as meaning "near the eagle and near the lion," suggesting that Pekahiah was murdered between two palace statues of an eagle and a lion which were intended ironically to represent the guardians of the palace (Geller 1976: 374–77). Perhaps the most likely suggestion is that "Argob and Arieh" were displaced by a scribal error from the list of place names conquered by Tiglath-pileser in 2 Kgs 15:29. Both verses contain a reference to Gilead so that a scribe's eye may have jumped from one to the other as the text was copied. See also ARGOB AND ARIEH (PERSONS).

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DENNIS T. OLSON

**PEKOD** (PLACE) [Heb *peqōd* (פְּקֹד)]. An E Aramean tribe resident in the territory E of the Tigris, centered between the Sealand in the S and the Diyala River to the N (Jer 50:21; Ezek 23:23). In the migration of the Arameans in the Fertile Crescent during the 2d millennium B.C. the Puqudu appear to have arrived in their settlement several centuries before the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, King of Assyria (744–727) and King of Babylon (728–727 synchronously). During the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian empires the Puqudu were generally subject to the regnant powers, but repeatedly expressed their rebellious spirit, as the Assyrian royal correspondence indicates (cf. Waterman 1936 s.v.) even in the days of Tiglath-pileser and his successors. A similar pattern of refractoriness continued into the Babylonian regime, though it appears that they were politically subservient to this dominant power (Cooke *Ezekiel* ICC, 253). The Puqudu were a formidable Aramean tribe, capable of military might, and enjoyed considerable prosperity as an agrarian society.

The Peqod (Puqudu) are referred to twice in the OT. First, in an extensive taunt song (Jeremiah 50:1–51:58), its composer mingles imprecations presaging the demise of the great Babylonian power, yet here and there are mingled promises of hope for the depressed people of Judah. The date for the composition may be generally set ca. 545 B.C. For this intermingling of woe to the foe but redemption for Judah one may witness such in the passionate enunciation of woes, incisive mockeries, and vehement taunts hurled upon Babylon in vv 2–3, 9–10, 11–16, 21–33; and, on the other hand, passages of promise for the enslaved Judeans in 50:4–5, 6–7, 17–21.

Now in the midst of this martial excitation the poet bids the rising military avenger to invade the land of Merathaim and move against the inhabitants of Peqod, to slay, destroy utterly, and perform all the command of Yahweh (v 21). That the poet should single out the far flung SE border states of the empire indicates the depth of the enemies' penetration and suggests the total fragmentation of the glory that once was Babylon.

The two tribal areas of MERATHAIM and Pekod are in parallelism and have been considered paronomasia. Merathaim is cognate with the Hebrew *m-r, m-r-r,* "bitter, to be bitter" and/or the derivative

*m-r-h*, "to rebel." On the other hand, it would appear that the name Merathaim was derived when the Aramaic tribe settled on the banks of the lagoon of the S Tigris, the *mar marratu* or "bitter river." That this possesses greater verisimilitude than the notion of rebellion is more easily argued from the unlikelihood than any nation would call itself "Rebellion," but the term Merathaim is dual so it has been interpreted to mean "Double Rebellion." But this is the paronomasia that the poet uses to indicate the massive breakup of the Aramean settlements.

The term in parallelism to Merathaim is Pekod which has as it root meaning "visit," "visitation," or "to visit." The term is basically a neutral word: visits may be benign (Gen 50:24) or punitive (Exod 32:34; cf. *HALAT* s.v. *pāqad*). No tribe would call itself "punishment," but the poet seizes upon this derivative nuance and selects Pekod as a pun, suggesting that the incursion will be a punishment to the Aramean tribe of Pekod. That the Hebrew writers often used paronomasia in regard to geographical terms may be gathered from Mic 1:10–16. Accordingly, two remote areas of the Babylonian Empire will spell out in the day of the coming invasion "Double Rebellion" and "Punishment" for the power of Babylon.

The second occurrence of Pekod appears in Ezek 23:23, a verse in a lengthy censorious allegory depicting the sheer wickedness of Judah under the guise of a loose and sensuous maiden. The vivid portrayal of the Judean aristocracy as steeped in religious and moral harlotry climaxes with the thundering woes that the Lord Yahweh will make Judah abhorrent in the eyes of her erstwhile friends (lit. "lovers"), the great Babylonian Empire, and will gather together such a military force of Babylonian power even summoning tribal regiments from the extremities of her borders: the Chaldeans, Pekod, Shoa, Koa, and the defecting (?) Assyrians; and with these Judah will feel the judgment of God for her multiplied infidelities. This prophecy may be dated shortly before the fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians.

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EDWARD R. DALGLISH

**PELAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *pĕlā (ʿ)yâ* (פְּלָעְיָה)]. The name Pelaiah occurs three times in the Hebrew Bible, all three times referring to persons in the postexilic Judean community. The name may mean "Yahweh is wonderful" or "Yahweh has done a wonder."

**1.** Pelaiah is listed as the third son of Elioenai in the genealogy of postexilic Davidic descendants in 1 Chr 3:16–24. Not much is known of these individuals. The Chronicler may have intended to end on a positive note by listing the seven sons of Elioenai.

**2.** In Neh 8:7; 10:10 (cf. 1 Esdr 9:44) Pelaiah is given as the name of one of the Levites who attended the reading of the Law by Ezra and helped the people to understand (Heb *mebînîm ʾet hāʿām*). In addition in Neh 10:10 he is listed as one of the Levites who affixed his seal (Heb *ḥātûm*) to the covenant which the community made. The passage in Nehemiah 8 shows the Levites acting in a teaching capacity which became one of their functions in the postexilic period.

RUSSELL FULLER

**PELALIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *pĕlalyâ* (פְּלַלְיָה)]. A person listed in the genealogy of Adaiah, one of the priests who settled in Jerusalem upon returning to Judah during the days of Ezra (Neh 11:12). Pelaliah was the grandfather of Adaiah, the third member of a linear genealogy extending seven deep (Adaiah < Jeroham < Pelaliah < Amzi < Zechariah < Pashhur < Malchiah). A parallel genealogy for Adaiah is presented in 1 Chr 9:12, with the difference that its depth is reduced from seven to four members. As a result, the middle three members of the longer genealogy, including Pelaliah, have dropped out, and 1 Chronicles gives the genealogy as Adaiah < Jeroham < Pashhur < Malchiah. The LXX reading of Neh 11:12 also abridges the genealogy to four members, but effects the reduction by deleting not the three central members but rather the first three members (i.e., Adaiah, Jeroham, Pelaliah), thereby beginning with Amzi. Such genealogical variability is not surprising given the nature and function of genealogies. Because the social function of linear genealogies is to legitimate the status of present institutions by

linking them to primary ancestors, it is commonly the middle members of such genealogies which would cease to function and therefore be dropped. This principle accounts for the shorter form of the genealogy presented in 1 Chr 9:12. However, it cannot explain the reading of the LXX, beginning as it does with Amzi rather than Adaiah.

The function of this genealogy relates to the postexilic need to link the priestly family of Adaiah with the eponymous figure Malchiah to whom, according to 1 Chr 24:9, David granted the fifth priestly course. That Pelaliah drops out in the version presented in 1 Chr 9:12 simply illustrates the primary social function of such genealogies.

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**PELATIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *pelāṭyâ* (פְּלָטְיָה)]. The name Pelatiah is held by four persons in the Hebrew Bible. With one exception the name, which may mean "Yahweh delivers," is attested only during the Persian period. Pelatiah also occurs in the Elephantine papyri (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 21).

**1.** The first son of Hananiah in the list of David's postexilic descendants in 1 Chr 3:16–24 (1 Chr 3:21). This would make Pelatiah the grandson of Zerubbabel although some see no connection between this list and the descendants of Zerubbabel due to textual problems in v 21.

**2.** One of the sons of Ishi of the tribe of Simeon. In 1 Chr 4:42 Pelatiah is one of the captains of a group of five hundred Simeonites who destroyed a settlement of Amalekites on Mt. Seir during the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah (727–698 B.C.E.). This fragment of tribal history seems to preserve the justification for the Simeonites presence on Mt. Seir.

3. The son of a certain Benaiah (Ezek 11:1, 13). He was one of two Judean princes mentioned by the prophet in his judgment oracle against the leaders of Jerusalem, they are termed officers of the people (Heb *śarê hāʿām*) an expression which occurs elsewhere only in postexilic materials (Zimmerli *Ezekiel* Hermeneia, 257). At the end of Ezekiel's vision Pelatiah falls dead. This may represent the fulfillment of the prophet's word in the context of the judgment oracle.

4. One of the chiefs of the people (Heb *roʾšê hāʿām*) who affix their seals to the covenant which the postexilic community entered into under Nehemiah.

RUSSELL FULLER

**PELEG** (PERSON) [Heb *peleg* (פֶּלֶג)]. Son of Eber when he was 34, brother of Joktan, and at 30 the father of Reu, in the line from Noah to Abraham (Gen 10:25; 11:16–19). Peleg lived 239 years. During his life "the earth was divided" (10:25); the meaning of this expression and the meaning of Peleg's name are two disputed issues.

As to the name, there are three related sources. First, Peleg is composed of the Hebrew root, *plg*, "to divide; division," which appears only in the *Piʿel* and *Nipʿal.* Here it may function as an appellative (Malamat 1968: 166). Second, the Akkadian *palgu*, "canal," appears as early as the Old Akkadian period (Gelb 1957: 214) and throughout the later periods. The only known personal name related to this root is found in a 7th century B.C. Akkadian text from Ur, *pal-gu.* Whether it is to be understood as Akkadian or as Aramaic is uncertain (Zadok 1977: 334). Third, the origin of Peleg has been associated with a geographic name, known in Hellenistic times as Phalga, which may lie where the Upper Euphrates and the Balikh divide (Thompson 1974: 306; *HALAT,* 878). In fact, the only clear example of the geographic name *phalga,* is quoted in a Byzantine source as located in Seleucia and Mesopotamia (PW 19: 1668). In addition, Old Babylonian *pulukkum* (Hallo 1964: 69; Groneberg 1980: 186), New Babylonian *pallukkatu* (Zadok 1985: 245–46), and proposed Arabian place names (Thompson 1974: 306) appear as possible locations for Peleg, but these are no closer phonologically and farther removed from N Mesopotamia, which appears to be the origin of a number of the place names associated with figures mentioned in Genesis 11. See also NAHOR (PERSON); HARAN (PERSON).

As to the meaning of the "division of the earth" during the life of Peleg, this may be related to any of the proposed explanations of the name. If Peleg is meant to reflect the W Semitic root, "to divide," then the division may simply refer to that between the descendants of Peleg and those of his brother Joktan. See JOKTAN. If Peleg is suggestive of the Akkadian word for "canal," the division may refer to that between civilized canal builders and nomadic peoples. If Peleg is a geographic name in N Mesopotamia, then the division may suggest the events of Gen 11:1–9.

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RICHARD S. HESS

**PELET** (PERSON) [Heb *peleṭ* (פֶּלֶט)]. **1.** A Calebite, one of the sons of Jahdai (1 Chr 2:47). The genealogy of the descendants of Caleb in 2:42–55 balances the earlier list in 2:18–24. 1 Chr 2:46–47 report Caleb's descendants through his concubine Ephah.

**2.** One of the ambidextrous warriors from the tribe of Benjamin who joined David during the period of his fleeing from Saul (1 Chr 12:3). He was a brother of Jeziel and son of Azmaveth; Azmaveth should perhaps be identified with David's warrior in 11:33. The Chronicler has doubled the list of warriors who supported David (1 Chr 11:41b–12:40) beyond what was contained in the parallel narrative (2 Sam 23:8–39 = 1 Chr 11:10–41a). The source for these additional lists can only be a matter of conjecture, though Williamson has provided a convincing argument for the structure of 1 Chronicles 11–12. The long list reflects the Chronicler's concern to show "all Israel" united in support for David, a characteristic theme of his history. Within the immediate context (1 Chr 12:1–8—Eng12:1–7) the Chronicler is concerned to show the support David enjoyed among Saul's kinsmen before Saul's death; the twenty-three Benjaminite warriors named here joined David while he was at Ziklag, the Philistine city given to David by Achish, King of Gath (1 Chr 12:1; 1 Sam 27:6). Ambidexterity or left-handedness among Benjaminites is also noted in Judg 3:15; 20:16.

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RAYMOND B. DILLARD

**PELETH** (PERSON) [Heb *pelet* (פֶּלֶת)]. 1. The father of On, one of the conspirators who, alongside Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, challenged the authority of Moses and Aaron in the wilderness (Num 16:1). The MT reading, "… and On the son of Peleth, sons of Reuben (i.e., Reubenites)," is difficult for at least three reasons. First, unlike Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, On has no further role in the narrative, and the name here seems out of place. Second, the use of Heb *benê reʾûbēn* to mean "generic Reubenites" is unusual, given the use of *benê ʾelîʾāb* in the preceding phrase to refer to children of a specific person. Third, the text does not correspond to the given genealogies of the descendants of Reuben. Such confusion has led to different emendations. Some would delete the entire reference to "On the son of Peleth" (Budd *Numbers* WBC, 179). Others reconstruct the genealogy based upon the information given in Gen 46:9 and Num 26:5, 8. There the genealogy is given as follows: Reuben > Pallu > Eliab > Nemuel/Dathan/Abiram. Accordingly, Peleth is equated with the Pallu ben Reuben mentioned in those texts. By deleting "On" (or emending to read "and he" as in *BHS*) and by changing Peleth to Pallu, the

text is commonly emended to read "… and he [i.e., Eliab] was the son of Pallu the son of Reuben" (so *BHS*).

**2.** One of the descendants of Jerahmeel and Judah (1 Chr 2:33). The genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–9 function at a general level to establish the continuity of "all Israel" through the disruptive period of exile. By beginning with the genealogy of Judah, however, there is also a claim being made for the priority of this specific tribe, resulting from the importance of David in the Chronicler's perspective (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 3). The first genealogy to be developed, therefore, is that of Ram, leading as it does to David (2:9–17), even though Jerahmeel has genealogical priority. Peleth appears alongside Zaza as the final member of the genealogy of Jerahmeel. To this base genealogy has been added a longer linear genealogy of Sheshan (vv 34–41), which likely functioned to establish the authority of the family of Elishama in the postexilic community. Peleth, therefore, represents the end point of a truncated early base genealogy which was later reworked for new purposes in the postexilic period.

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ROD R. HUTTON

**PELETHITES** [Heb *pĕlētî* (פְּלֵתִי)]. A group of mercenaries in David's employ, always mentioned in conjunction with the Cherethites; as a military force distinct from the regular army, they were under the command of Benaiah (2 Sam 8:18; 20:23; 1 Chr 18:17). Their allegiance to David was evidenced by their support of him at the time of his flight from Absalom (2 Sam 15:18), by their pursuit of Sheba during his revolt against David (2 Sam 20:7), and by their actions in support of the coronation of Solomon as David's successor in which they were following the political policy of their leader Benaiah (1 Kgs 1:38, 44). Although the Cherethites appear in clear ethnic contexts (1 Sam 30:14; Ezek 25:16; Zeph 2:5) from which their settlement in S Philistia and their Aegean origin can be deduced (see CHERETHITES), similar claims cannot be made with any certainty for the Pelethites. The most common assumption regarding the identity of the Pelethites is that they were Philistines. According to this view, the Heb *pĕlētî* "Pelethite" is derived from *pĕlīštî* "Philistine" (Montgomery *Kings* ICC, 86). Evidence for the otherwise unattested assimilation of *šin* and *taw* is sought in the Gk *pheleththei,* with its doubled *theta* reflecting the supposed original form of the name. The change from *pĕlīštî* to *pĕlētî* would have been occasioned by analogy from *kĕrētî.* Thus in this view the Heb *hakkĕrētî wĕhappĕlētî* should be translated as "Cretans and Philistines." On the basis of an alleged parallel with the Gk *peltē* "light shield," Albright (*CAH*$^3$ 2/2: 512) surmised that the biblical expression is a hendiadys referring to "light-armed Cretan" mercenaries. Delcor (1978: 421) hinted at a possible connection between the Pelethites and Peleth son of Jonathan from the Jerahmeelite genealogy (1 Chr 2:33). A possible parallel to the biblical Pelethite has been identified in a Punic inscription, in which a certain Hannibal son of Baalhanun is referred to as *hplty,* which term presumably indicated his place of origin (Schult 1965: 74–79). Be that as it may, the evidence is insufficient to allow us to determine with any measure of certainty a clear identification of the Pelethites.

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CARL S. EHRLICH

**PELLA** (M.R. 207206) An ancient city situated in the foothills of the Transjordanian plateau, a little less than 5 km E of the Jordan river and 32 km S of the Sea of Galilee.

**A. The Site.**

The central occupational area of Pella is today a flattened ovoid mound some 300 m long that rises 30 m above a small valley immediately to the S known as the Wadi Jirm. Mild winters and abundant water from a spring which flows into the Wadi Jirm from the base of the mound made Pella one of the most habitable locations in the Jordan valley. Although summer temperatures often exceed 100° F, the vicinity has considerably less summer heat than localities in the S part of the Jordan valley. Unlike some sites in the N Jordan valley, Pella remains free of frost in the winter. In most years, winter rains are sufficient to

permit abundant spring crops. The rolling hills that surround the site were once forested, but ancient lumbering and continued grazing by sheep and goats have left the hillsides largely denuded of trees except where reforestation has been carried out in recent years.

Immediately W of the mound is a narrow tableland (Ar *ṭabaqah*, which appears in the present name of the site, Ṭabaqat Faḥl), extending about 800 m toward the Jordan valley. N of the mound, across a small valley, is a low outcropping of the marly limestone which underlies the entire site. On the E rises a large hill known as Jebel Abu el Khas. S of the mound, across the Wadi Jirm, lies a dome-shaped natural hill called Tell el Ḥuṣn. All of these locations show evidence of occupation at various times.

Pella is mentioned briefly in more than one hundred ancient texts. *Faḥl* is a corruption of an earlier Arabic place name *Fiḥl*, the phonetic equivalent of the Semitic name *Piḥil (um)* by which the city was known at least as early as the 19th century B.C. The language that was spoken was a dialect of NW Semitic related to Ammonite and Moabite. The Hellenization of the name to Pella honored the Macedonian birthplace of Alexander the Great, who conquered of the region in 332 B.C.

**B. Excavations**

Major archaeological research at the site was begun in the spring of 1967, the results of which have been published in the first volume of the excavation report series (Smith 1973). Field operations at the site were disrupted by the 1967 war, but were resumed in 1979. Preliminary reports on the individual seasons have been published in the *ADAJ* and the *BASOR*, commencing in 1980. An interim report on the 1979–81 seasons was published in 1982 (McNicoll, Smith, and Hennessy 1982). In 1989, a second volume of the final excavation reports was published (Smith and Day), and other volumes were in preparation.

**C. History**

Excavations and surface surveys have revealed a very long occupation at Pella and in its vicinity. A broad slope half a mile NE of the mound is littered with Paleolithic chert implements, some of which date from one-half to one million years ago. A short distance beyond are Kebaran and Natufian sites dating from 20,000–8,000 B.C. Pre-Pottery Neolithic and Pottery Neolithic artifacts of the 8th–5th millennia B.C. have been found on the mound itself and at a number of places near Pella.

Chalcolithic occupation in the 4th millennium B.C. is attested on the mound, and a small site of the same period was excavated on a slope to the SE of Tell el Ḥuṣn. The EB city has not yet been found, but potsherds excavated on the mound attest to a flourishing occupation in EB I, and occasional sherds of EB II–III suggest that a settlement continued to exist through much of the 3d millennium B.C. Toward the end of the EB Age occupation may have dwindled.

During the 2d millennium B.C., when the name of the city appears in Egyptian lists of foreign conquests, Pella stood firmly within the Canaanite cultural milieu. The MB period, ca. 1950–1550 B.C., was a time of prosperity. Numerous tombs found on Tell el Ḥuṣn reveal the urbanity of the inhabitants in the latter part of this period. During much of the LB Age there seems to have been a decrease in the city's prosperity, but a revival is attested around 1200 B.C.

Several centuries during the Iron I and early Iron II periods (ca. 1200–600 B.C.) are not well attested at Pella. It is possible that around 1100–800 B.C. the city underwent a decline in population. The relative lack of archaeological evidence for these centuries may explain, in part, why Pella is not mentioned in the OT; there may, however, have been other factors that figured in this silence, since Pella remained outside the sphere of Hebrew cultural influence, clinging to old Canaanite ways.

Thick deposits of debris dating from the end of the Iron II period show that Pella enjoyed a resurgence around the 7th century B.C. The occupational area of the town may, however, have extended across only the E portion of the mound. Although pottery from this time is abundant, there is little to suggest that the city was highly prosperous or trade-oriented; the culture appears to have been largely local, with relatively little trade between Pella and other regions.

Archaeological evidence for Pella during the Persian period, from the mid-6th century until the late 4th century B.C., is slight. Persian suzerainty may not have been conducive to Pella's prosperity, but the specific occasion for the near-abandonment of the site in the 6th century may have been the Neo-Babylonian conquest of the region early in the 6th century.

In 332 B.C. Alexander the Great marched near Pella in his conquest of the East, and was later credited by some ancient writers with the refounding of the city. There is at present, however, little evidence of the Early Hellenistic period at Pella. Whether or not it was ever actually refounded, the city began a gradual revival by the end of the 3d century B.C. It greatly increased in vigor in the 2d century, when its population grew rapidly and the city expanded from the central mound to adjoining areas, including the Wadi Jirm and Tell el Ḥuṣn. Participating in international trade, the inhabitants grew sufficiently prosperous that they could eat on dishes manufactured in Asia Minor, drink wine bottled in Syria or Rhodes, use fish sauce prepared in Egypt, and decorate their homes with figurines that may have been manufactured on the coast of the Levant. Greek came into increasing use as the language of both trade and culture.

This comfortable existence was abruptly terminated in the year 83/82 B.C., when Alexander Jannaeus, the Hasmonean ruler of Israel, ordered his troops to cross the Jordan and destroy Pella because the inhabitants refused to practice circumcision and other Jewish customs. Excavation has brought to light a thick stratum reflecting that destruction, but unfortunately most of the remains were churned up during the rebuilding of the city in the Roman Period.

When the Roman general Pompey marched through Syria and Palestine in 64/63 B.C. and claimed the entire region for Rome, Pella lay in ruins. Pompey freed a number of cities in N Transjordan from Hasmonean domination, thereby gaining a measure of gratitude from the citizens. At this time, if not before, Pella became part of the DECAPOLIS, a loose federation of ten commerce-oriented cities in N Transjordan. Its location also placed the city on the N border of Peraea, E of the Jordan river.

Pompey's actions did not have an immediate impact on Pella, but the city began to revive toward the end of the 1st century B.C. or early in the following century. Under the aegis of Rome, new patterns of trade were established. As Pella regained prosperity, new streets were laid out on the mound and more dwellings and commercial buildings began to be constructed. By the time that civic leaders decided to embellish the city with some public buildings in Roman style, the mound had apparently become well-filled with houses and shops; consequently the builders were obliged to construct the larger structures in a new civic area located at the SE base of the mound. It is likely that these public buildings were clustered around a forum that was constructed in the Wadi Jirm. Most of this burst of construction probably took place in the later 1st century or the 2d century A.D. The civic pride of the Pellaeans is reflected in the fact that in A.D. 82, the city issued its first coinage, consisting of four different bronze types. Among the civic buildings constructed during the Early Roman Period were a large temple (shown on a coin of Pella, but not yet found at the site), an odeum (excavated in 1979–81), and public baths (partly excavated in 1981–83). Little of these buildings survived into the 20th century; earthquakes, to which the Jordan valley is prone, may have damaged some of them, but in any case their building stones were extensively robbed for use in later structures.

Pella is not mentioned by name in the NT, but Jesus certainly would have known of the city, and could have visited it on his travels in the region of the Decapolis and Peraea (Mk 5:1–20; 7:31–37; 10:1–16 and par.). A few decades later Pella played a distinctive part in the history of the nascent church. Around A.D. 67, when the Roman army began to threaten Jewish insurgents in Jerusalem during the First Jewish Revolt, the Christians of that city are reported to have fled to Pella in obedience to an oracle delivered by a prophet active in the church. It is possible that the apocalyptic passage in Mark 13:3–37 and parallels, which includes Jesus' instruction that when Jerusalem is desecrated his followers in Judea should "flee to the hills" (v 14), is related to the oracle which prompted Jerusalem Christians to seek refuge at Pella. That Pella would have been considered an appropriate refuge is plausible if one considers that the Christians who fled to Pella may have been primarily Hellenists, of which there were many in the Jerusalem church from the earliest days (cf. Acts 6:1). Precisely because Pella was known as a non-Jewish city, it could be presumed to be safe from Roman aggression during the Jewish Revolt.

The length of time that these early Christians stayed at Pella is not recorded. Perhaps some of the refugees chose never to return to Jerusalem; in any case, Christianity had gained a foothold in the city. It would hardly be surprising if no evidences of earliest Christianity were found at Pella, since Christians

during the first two centuries used no religious symbols, built no churches, and otherwise left no material remains that would readily distinguish them from others in the population; nevertheless, a late 1st- or early 2d-century sarcophagus found beneath the floor of the West Church in 1967 may possibly be a relic of the Jerusalem Christian community at Pella (Smith 1973: 143–49). By the mid-2d century, Christianity was firmly enough established at Pella that the city was home to the early Christian apologist Aristo.

The Late Roman period and earliest phase of the Byzantine period, from the middle of the 2d century through the end of the 4th century, is not adequately known at Pella. It appears to have been a time in which the population again declined. Family tombs which had been cut in the Early Roman period continued to be utilized, however, a fact which suggests that there was continuity of population and local practices. There was little or no new public construction, unless the widely-known baths of the city (which are mentioned in a 4th-century text) were possibly remodeled and enlarged.

During the Byzantine period, paganism rapidly disappeared at Pella, as it did elsewhere in the empire, although it continued to survive in indirect ways as pre-Christian elements found their way into the local Christianity. Excavated artifacts show that a former mother goddess was assimilated to the Virgin Mary, and pagan elements were incorporated into amulets that were intended to protect the wearer from evil. Although possibly attracted by some E heresies, the Christians of the city continued to affirm orthodox beliefs. The city's major architecture during this period consisted of ecclesiastical structures such as the West Church, the East Church and the Civic Complex Church (which was probably the Cathedral), all of which have been partly or entirely excavated.

The 6th century saw Pella's population and prosperity reach their maximal extent. Many new houses, ranging from villas to hovels, were built, often with the lower parts of walls constructed of hewn stones and the upper parts of mudbricks. Space was at such a premium that houses were built on some of Tell el Ḥuṣn's steep slopes. The city's merchants carried on extensive trade with Syria, Egypt, the coast of Palestine, and other places in the Byzantine world, and the households of the city were well stocked with imported goods. But the secure roads and far-flung markets of the empire were already beginning to deteriorate, and the 7th century must have been as grim for the inhabitants of the city as the 6th century had been pleasant. The climate may have turned slightly drier, bringing drought to many parts of Transjordan. Large cisterns constructed during this century indicate that the water supply from the spring had dwindled until it no longer sufficed for a large population.

Capitulation to Islamic forces in A.D. 635 brought further changes in the city's pattern of life. Byzantine social and economic institutions weakened or disappeared entirely, while caravan trade with regions to the E, made newly accessible because of Muslim conquests, brought fresh commercial contacts to the city. These developments were not sufficient, however, to prevent further decline of the city's fortunes during the next hundred years. Severely damaged by an earthquake in the year 717, Pella virtually ceased to exist in 747, when a massive earthquake destroyed most of its surviving buildings. Excavations have provided vivid pictures of the devastation which brought the city's existence to an end.

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ROBERT HOUSTON SMITH

**PELONITE** [Heb *pĕlōnî* (פְּלֹנִי)]. A descriptive adjective of Helez, one of David's champions, a select class of warriors directly attached to the king for special assignments, named in the list of 1 Chr 11:10–47 (v 47), a list which, up to v 41a, parallels that of 2 Sam 23:8–39. No such place as "Pelon" or group of people as "Pelonites," have been identified. In the parallel text (2 Sam 23:26) Helez is called a Paltite, a designation which has been identified as either a member of the clan of Calebites who descended from Pelet (1 Chr 2:47) or an inhabitant of Beth-pelet, a town in S Judah (Josh 15:27) which might have been

associated with the Calebite clan (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 497). Therefore, it has been suggested that "Pelonite" is a corruption of the original "Paltite" (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 102). However, the same Helez appears to be mentioned in a list of commanders found in 1 Chr 27:1–15 (v 10). Here Helez the Pelonite is also said to be "of the sons of Ephraim," a designation which would conflict with the interpretation that Helez of 2 Sam 23:26 is from Beth-pelet in Judah.

"Pelonite" also occurs as a descriptive adjective for Ahijah (1 Chr 11:36); however, this construction, "Ahijah the Pelonite," seems to have arisen through a corruption of the text. The parallel text (2 Sam 23:34b) reads, "Eliam, son of Ahithophel of Gilo" (*ʾly ʿm bn-ʾḥytpl hglny*), who is also encountered at 2 Sam 15:12 and 31. It is possible that in one or more stages of translation the eyes of the transmitter skipped from the first to the second *ʾalep,* omitting "Eliam, son of," then jumped from the first to the second *l,* resulting in *ʾḥytplny,* and finally "corrected" the *t* to *h,* to read in accord with v 27b, *ʾḥy (h) hplny,* "Ahijah the Pelonite" (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT 102).

RODNEY K. DUKE

**PELUSIUM** (PLACE) [Heb *sin* (סִין)]. A city in the 14th Lower Egyptian nome, 30–40 km E of the Suez Canal, just S of the coast and E of the Pelusiac mouth and Lake Manzala (31°02´N; 32°32´E), mentioned in Ezekiel's oracle against Egypt (30:15–16). For general information and additional references, see Thissen 1982. In both commerce and warfare it has been a point of entry into Egypt at the NE frontier; it served as a "customs-house" for trade in the Hellenistic period (Kees 1961: 210), and it is mentioned in the Roman *Itinerarium Antonini* as the starting point of roads across the Egyptian Delta (Kees 1961: 183). Herodotus (2.141) ascribes the Assyrian retreat from Pelusium under Sennacherib to an onslaught of mice (Gardiner 1961: 345); he also notes a garrison at "Daphnae of Pelusium" (2.30) in the Saite period (Gardiner 1961: 357). Pelusium was taken by the Persians to usher in both the "first" and "second" Persian dominations of Egypt, in 525 and 343 B.C.E. respectively (Gardiner 1961: 364, 343); was ordered by the Persian satrap to open its gates to Alexander in 332 B.C.E. (Bevan 1927: 2f.); was taken by Octavian in 30 B.C.E. (Bevan 1927: 380); and fell to the Arabs after a month of fighting in 640 C.E. (Lane-Poole 1925: 2).

The name Pelusium is first used by Herodotus, and the corresponding Demotic form is first attested in Ptolemaic times (Cheshire 1985: 20, 23 n. 21). According to Classical authors, the town was founded by the eponymous Peleus, father of Achilles (Amm. Marc. 22.16.3) or by Isis in memory of her foster-son Pelusios (Plutarch *De Is. et Os.* 17), or is named for the region's characteristic mud (*pēlós*—Strabo 17.1.21). This last statement has led most Egyptologists to identify it with the toponym *Swn,* attested since the Old Kingdom, which resembles the word *s'in* "mud," a position supported by the rendering of *Swn* as *Ṣinu* in cuneiform, *sîn* in the Hebrew Bible (Ezek 30:15), *Sain* in *LXX,* and *Pelusium* in the Vulgate (Cheshire 1985: 20; Kitchen 1973: 393 n. 877). Doubt is cast on this identification by a demotic onomasticon, P. Cairo 31169, which contains a geographical list giving *P€ -ʾi-ʾir-ʾImn* followed immediately by *T€ -ʿmy* "The mud," and, much later in the text, *Swn* (Cheshire 1985).

Amun was the preeminent deity of Pelusium (as reflected in the demotic form of the name), Isis and Harpokrates were venerated there, and a temple of Zeus Kasios was founded under Hadrian. The veneration (or, sometimes, abomination) of the onion is ridiculed by Classical and patristic writers as *Religio Pelusiaca* (thus Jerome, Commentary on Isaiah, 13, 46; cf. Juvenal 15, 9; Thissen 1982; Griffiths 1984). In the mid-19th century, Lepsius suggested that Per-Rameses (biblical "Raamses") was located in the vicinity of Pelusium, a view first upheld and then abandoned by Gardiner (Rowley 1950: 27–28). Per-Rameses is now agreed to be located in the Khatana-Qantir region (Van Seters 1966: 127–51; Bietak 1979). Pelusium was renowned as a source of fine wine (Kees 1961: 81–82). There was another town named Pelusium in the Fayum (Cheshire 1985: 22 n. 6).

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**PENDANTS.** See JEWELRY, ANCIENT ISRAELITE.

**PENINNAH** (PERSON) [Heb *pĕninnâ* (פְּנִנָּה)]. The second wife (1 Sam 1:2, 4) of Elkanah, the father of Samuel. Elkanah may have married her because his first wife, Hannah, was barren. The mother of several children, Peninnah became Hannah's rival and taunted her at every opportunity (1:6–7). In time the Lord honored the prayers of the pious Hannah, who herself eventually became the mother of four sons and two daughters (1:21; 2:21). In her song of thanksgiving and praise, Hannah apparently made several references to her tormentor Peninnah, though not by name (2:1, 3, 5–8).

Unique to 1 Samuel 1, the name Peninnah is sometimes compared to Ar *faynānā,* "woman with luxuriant hair," or *fanan,* "tree branch" (in reference to her fecundity). It is perhaps better, however, to assume that *pĕninnâ* is the feminine singular form of the plural *pĕnînîm,* the meaning of which is uncertain ("coral," "pearls," and "rubies" all have their advocates) but which denotes a reddish substance (Lam 4:7).

With the possible exception of Prov 20:15, all the other attestations of *pĕnînîm* in the OT (Job 28:18; Prov 3:15; 8:11; 31:10; Lam 4:7) and Apocrypha (Sir 7:19; 30:15) describe someone, or something, as being better than *pĕnînîm.* Especially instructive is Sir 7:19:

> Do not divorce a prudent wife,
> for her charm/grace (*ḥn*) is worth more than rubies (*pnynym*).

Perhaps Ben Sira was alluding to 1 Sam 1:4–5, where it is implied that Hannah (*ḥnh,* "Grace")—at least in Elkanah's eyes—was better than Peninnah (*pnnh,* "Ruby").
RONALD YOUNGBLOOD

**PENTATEUCH.** See TORAH; also SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

**PENTECOST** [Gk *pentēkostē* (πεντηκοστη)]. The Greek name for the Jewish Feast of Weeks, deriving from its occurrence 50 days after Passover (Acts 20:16; 1 Cor 16:8). Because the early Christians received the baptism of the Holy Spirit on this day, the term is now more commonly used to refer to that event recounted in Acts 2:1–13.

The Feast of Weeks was the second of the three great Jewish feasts. Its name signified that it concluded the period of seven weeks which began with the presentation of the first sheaf of the barley harvest during the Passover celebration (Lev 23:15–16; Deut 16:9). Thus it was originally an agricultural feast marking the end of the grain harvest and was celebrated during the month of Sivan (May/June). Both Josephus (*Ant* 3.10.6 §252; *JW* 1.13.3 §253) and Jewish intertestamental writings (Tob 2:1; 2 Macc 12:31–32) refer to the feast as Pentecost.

According to Acts, the apostles remained in Jerusalem after the Resurrection appearances. On the day of Pentecost they were gathered in one house when the Holy Spirit came upon them, sounding like a mighty wind and appearing like tongues of fire upon each of them. Then the apostles began miraculously to speak in foreign languages, attracting the attention of foreign Jews who were amazed to hear their native languages spoken by Galileans. This set the stage for Peter's sermon which resulted in the conversion and baptism of about 3000 people (Acts 2:1–47).

Scholarly reaction to Luke's account has ranged from Marshall's defense of the basic historicity of the entire narrative (1977: 347–69) to Haenchen's conclusion that it is essentially Luke's theological attempt to explain the coming of the Spirit, not an historical account of actual events (1971: 172–75). Objections

to the Pentecost narrative center on the miraculous elements as well as John's very different retelling of the giving of the Spirit (20:19–23). Dunn defends the miraculous elements, noting that the believers expected nothing similar to what occurred (1975: 148). He also defends Luke's dating of the gift of the Spirit at Pentecost against John's placing it at Jesus' first Resurrection appearance to the disciples (1975: 139–41).

Various passages in OT and Jewish writings have been suggested as providing the background against which the Pentecost events might be best understood: Philo *Dec* 33, God created a sound on Sinai and changed it into fire; Exod 19:18, the Lord descended in fire; and Gen 11:1–9, the confusion of languages at Babel. More important from Luke's perspective are the prophecies by Joel (2:28–32, cited in Peter's speech in Acts 2:17–21), John the Baptist (Luke 3:16) and Jesus (Acts 1:5) regarding the pouring out or baptism of the Spirit. Luke also closely associates the baptism of the Spirit at Pentecost with the mission and expansion of the church to people of every nation.

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MARK J. OLSON

**PENUEL** (PERSON) [Heb *pĕnû᾽ēl* (פְּנוּאֵל)]. Two individuals mentioned in the OT bear this name.

**1.** The son of Hur and grandson of Judah, and listed as the father of Gedor (1 Chr 4:4). If Gedor is identified with Jedur, a town in the hill country near Jerusalem, then Penuel was a co-founder with Jered (1 Chr 4:18).

**2.** The son of Shashak of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:25). The RSV renders the name according to the *Qere*; however the *Ketib* is *pny᾽l,* perhaps reflecting a variation similar to Gen 32:31–32 (Eng 32:30–31) where both spellings Penuel and Peniel are used for the same location. See PENUEL (PLACE); *GKC* § 90 k.

DAVID CHANNING SMITH

**PENUEL** (PLACE) [Heb *pĕnû᾽ēl* (פְּנוּאֵל)]. A city in E Palestine on the Jabbok river where Jacob wrestled with the angel (Gen 32:32). The place is located E of the Jordan river and E of Succoth. According to the Genesis story (Gen 32:24–32), as Jacob was returning home from Paddan-aram, he spent the night at the ford of the Jabbok. That night he wrestled with a man (Hos 12:4 calls this "man" an angel) who ultimately blessed him and renamed him Israel, "Prince of God." So moved by this experience, Jacob names the place Penuel, "the face of God."

Jacob's name for the ford eventually became the name for a town built on that site, for the name is mentioned again in the period of the Judges. When Gideon was pursuing the Midianite kings, Zebah and Zalmunna, he asked for provisions for his army from the towns of Succoth and Penuel. Fearing reprisals from the Midianites, the two towns refused Gideon's request and insulted him. After Gideon had defeated the Midianites, he returned to Penuel and destroyed the tower of the city and every man in it (Judg 8:8–9, 17). Later Jeroboam rebuilt the town fortifying the site to ward off attacks on the E frontier (1 Kgs 12:25).

The site of Penuel is identified with Tell edh-Dhahab esh-Sherqiyeh, "the Hill of Gold" (M.R. 215177), on the brook Jabbok, Nahr ez-Zerqa. Some suggest that Pernoual, number 53 in Pharaoh Shishak's list of conquered cities, is the same as Penuel. Later Assyrian documents call the city Panili.

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JOEL C. SLAYTON

**PEOPLE OF THE EAST.** See EAST, PEOPLE OF THE.
**PEOPLE OF THE LAND.** See AM HA›AREZ.

**PEOR** (PLACE) [Heb *pĕ‹ôr* (פְּעוֹר)]. **1.** A mountain in Moab to which Balak took Balaam in hopes of securing a curse against Israel (Num 23:28). After his two previous attempts resulted in blessings rather than curses (Num 23:7–10, 18–24), Balak led Balaam to the top of Peor for a third and final pronouncement. Once again, a blessing followed. According to Num 24:2, the view from Peor enabled Balaam to see the Israelite camp in the plains of Moab below. As such, it must have been located somewhere in the vicinity of Mt. Nebo. See NEBO, MOUNT. Although Eusebius situated the mountain just over 6 miles W of Heshbon, a precise identification has not been made.

In addition to the incident involving Balak and Balaam, Peor appears in connection with Israelite apostasy. Associated with the site are intermarriages with foreigners as well as the idolatrous worship of BAAL-PEOR, the god of this particular mountain (Num 25:3, 5, 18; 31:16; Deut 4:3; Ps 106:28). Such apostasy later served as a comparison to the apparently disloyal act of the Reubenites, Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, who built an altar E of the Jordan (Josh 22:17).

**2.** A town in the hill country of Judah, referred to only in an expanded list appearing in the LXX (Josh 15:59). Peor has been identified with Kh. Faghur (M.R. 164119), located some 5 miles SW of Bethlehem.
TERRY L. BRENSINGER

**PERAZIM, MOUNT** [Heb *pĕrāṣîm* (פְּרָצִים)]. See BAAL-PERAZIM (PLACE).

**PEREA** (PLACE) [Gk *Peraia* (Περαια)]. A territory E of the Jordan river, described by Josephus as extending "in length from Machaerus to Pella, in breadth from Philadelphia to the Jordan" (*JW* 3.3.3 §44).

**A. Identity**

The name Perea is found in variant readings of Luke 6:17 (Codex Sinaiticus, Freer Gospel; Sinaitic Syriac). Elsewhere the Gospels refer to the region as "beyond the Jordan" (Matt 4:15; 4:25 [= Mark 3:8]; 19:1 [= Mark 10:1]; John 1:28; 3:26; 10:40). Alternate readings of Mark 10:1 indicate some confusion over the identity of the district. The difficulty involves a description of the region as an extension of Judea. The Alexandrian text reads, (he) "went to Judea and beyond the Jordan," while the Western, Caesarean, and Antiochian texts have, (he) "went to Judea beyond the Jordan." There is great diversity of support for the Alexandrian text, but this may reflect an attempt to harmonize Mark 10:1 with the parallel in Matt 19:1 (Metzger 1971: 103). A third variant, mainly attested in later witnesses, reads in translation, "he came into the territories of Judea via Transjordan." This rendering appears to be an attempt at clarification by copyists who were troubled by the geographical difficulties involved in the two readings.

**B. Boundaries**

The W boundary of Perea was fixed by the Jordan river and the Dead Sea. In the S the region was bounded by the land of Moab (*JW* 3.3.3 §47). n. Glueck's survey of the Transjordan put the S frontier running E from the Dead Sea on a line with the fortress of Machaerus (el-Mukawer M.R. 209108) to the "top of the western edge of the Moabite plateau" (1939: 140). Avi-Yonah extended the border S to the Arnon and its confluent Aidonas (Sel Heidān), so as to include the land around Machaerus (1966: 170–80). To the E Perea was bounded by Philadelphia, Gerasa, Arabia, and Heshbonitis (*JW* 3.3.3 §47). Glueck's survey marked the E boundary of Perea by a N–S line to the W of Gerasa, Philadelphia, Heshbonitis, and Medeba. Gerasa (Jerash M.R. 234187) was a city of the Decapolis and therefore probably not part of Perea. A bloody boundary dispute between the Pereans and the inhabitants of the village of Zia (Kh. Zey M.R. 217166), fifteen Roman miles W of Philadelphia (*Ant* 20.1.1 §1–3), would seem to confirm the frontier was W of Philadelphia (Rabbath-ammon M.R. 238151). Josephus included Heshbonitis (Heshbon, Esbus, Hesban M.R. 226134), twelve miles E of the N end of the Dead Sea, among the cities of Moab in *Ant* 13.15.4 §497, while in *Ant* 15.8.5 §294 he placed Heshbon in Perea. It may be that Heshbon, which was part of Jewish territory during the reigns of Alexander Jannaeus and Herod the Great, fell into the hands of the Arabians after the death of Herod. At the beginning of the

Jewish War 66–70 C.E., Heshbonitis was not part of Jewish hegemony (*JW* 2.18.1 §458). Eusebius claimed that Perea bordered on Heshbon (*Onomast.* 136, 7, 13; 18, 3). Medeba (Madeba M.R. 225124) was not considered Perean territory. In the N, according to Josephus, the frontier reached to Pella (*JW* 3.3.3 §47). According to Eusebius, the N border was actually located six miles from Jabesh (Tell el-Maqlub M.R. 214201) on the road leading to Gerasa (*Onomast.* 32, 5–7; 33, 5–7). Gersa was to the S of the Wadi Jabis and Pella (M.R. 207206) was N. At the outbreak of the Jewish War, Jews attacked Pella, an unlikely strike if the city were within Jewish territory since the Jewish attacks were directed against Syrian villages and the non-Perea cities of Philadelphia, Heshbon, Gerasa, Sythopolis, Gadara, Hippos, and Gaulanitis (*JW* 2.18.1 §458–59). It is probable that the N boundary ran along the Wadi Jabis including the city of Amathus (Tell Amtah M.R. 208182) 18 to 20 miles S of Pella and NE of the Jabbok (Avi-Yonah 1969: 179–80).

**C. History**

In the OT, the Transjordan territory from the Jabbok to the Arnon was known as Gilead (Josh 12:2). Moses gave this land to the tribes of Reuben and Gad and the half tribe of Manesseh (Josh 12:6; 22:9). During the monarchies of Saul and David, the land was occupied by the Israelites and the prophetic literature refers to the balsam (Jer 8:22) and pasturage for which the district was known. The Syrians controlled the land from 900 to 780 B.C.E. when Jeroboam II retook the territory. He held it only briefly. In 733 B.C.E., the Assyrians conquered the area. They carried out a deportation of the local population (2 Kgs 15:29). There is no further mention of a Jewish presence in the Transjordan until the Maccabean era.

During the conquests of Alexander the Great, Greeks immigrated into Perea. By the time of the Maccabees the area was inhabited mainly by gentiles (Hoehner 1972: 54–55) who threatened the Jewish minority (1 Macc 5:1; 45–54). Schürer suggested that the opposition of the local population to the Jews living beyond the Jordan indicates a decline in Jewish inhabitants and the existence of a dispersion among the gentiles (*HJP*[1] 1/1: 192). John Hyrcanus (135–104 B.C.E.) and his successors concentrated on Judaizing the region. Early in the years of his reign the Hasmonean monarch Alexander Jannaeus (104–78 B.C.E.) besieged Gadara and Amathus, the most important fortresses beyond the Jordan (*JW* 1.4.2 §86). Jannaeus succeeded in subduing the greater part of Perea reaching from the vicinity of the N city of Pella S to the fortress of Machaerus on the E shore of the Dead Sea (*JW* 7.6.2 §171). Despite the conquest of Perea ca. 88 B.C.E., Jannaeus was apparently unable to secure the territory. Around 57 B.C.E., Gabinius, a former legate of Pompey, made Amathus (Tell Amtah M.R. 208182) one of five administrative districts in Palestine. Each of these regions was governed by a sanhedrin under his general direction. The duration of the administrative districts was probably limited to the rule of Gabinius, although the sanhedrin continued to function after his time (Smallwood 1976: 31).

During the Roman period, Perea was considered a Jewish territory. Its capital was Gadara (Gedor, Tell Jedur, Gedora M.R. 220160) eighteen miles N–NW of the N tip of the Dead Sea near es-Salt. This Gadara should not be confused with Gadara (Umm Qeis M.R. 214229) in the Decapolis. Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.E.) built additional fortresses in the Transjordan and established military colonies there (*Ant* 15.8.5 §294). Near the end of his life, Herod unsuccessfully sought relief in the baths of Callirrhoe (Zereth-shahar, ez-Zarat M.R. 203111) on the E shore of the Dead Sea (*Ant* 17.5.1 §171–72). In 20 B.C.E. with the permission of Augustus, Herod appointed his brother Pheroras to the post of tetrarch of Perea with control of its revenues (*Ant* 15.10.3 §362). After Herod's death, Perea was assigned with Galilee to Herod Antipas' tetrarchy. In Perea, Antipas (4 B.C.E.–39 C.E.) fortified a city which he named Julias (Livias, Betharamphtha, Tell er-Rame M.R. 211137) in honor of the empress Julia. It may be, as Schürer (*HJP*[1] 2: 214–15) and others have suggested, that the city was originally named Livias in honor of Livia, Augustus' wife, and later (14 C.E.) renamed Julias when Livia was adopted into the *gens Julia.* The name reverted to Livias after the 1st century. The boundary dispute between the Jews of Perea and the Philadelphians over the frontier of Zia climaxed ca. 44 C.E. Fadus the procurator arrived in Judea and discovered that the Pereans had taken arms without the consent of their rulers. He arrested three of the revolt leaders, condemning one to death and two to exile (*Ant* 20.1.1 §2–4).

From this period on, Galilee and Perea were included in the provincial designation of Judea, together with districts formerly identified as Judea, Samaria, and Idumea (Smallwood 1976: 1). In 54 C.E., when Nero acceded to the throne he granted Agrippa II (28–100 C.E.) two-thirds of Perea, specifically the toparchies of Abila (Abel, Tell Abil M.R. 231231) and Julias. Agrippa's ambition was to reign over a territory equal to that of his father and grandfather, but his dream was brought to an end by the outbreak of the Jewish War in 66 C.E. During Vespasians's campaign in Perea in 68 C.E., many Jews fled to Jericho. The Roman general captured Gadara, described as a "city of some strength" (*JW* 4.7.3 §413), and subsequently subdued the whole of Perea as far as Machaerus, which he did not take. After Agrippa's death in 100 C.E., Perea became part of the Roman province of Syria.

**D. NT and Rabbinic Sources**

In the NT, Perea is the land "beyond the Jordan" (Mark 3:8). Galilean Jews making the trip to Jerusalem traveled via Perea in order to avoid contact with the Samaritans. Those making the journey by crossing the Jordan thought they never left Jewish territory, reinforcement for the Jewish character of the population in the 1st century (Hoehner 1972: 56). John the Baptist was active in the district. According to the gospel of John, the Baptist responded to priests and Levites who had come from Jerusalem questioning his baptisms (John 1:28). Later John's disciples asked him about Jesus "who was with you beyond the Jordan" (John 3:26)—an indication that John's main activity was in the Transjordan. Around the time of the Battle of Actium, Antipas imprisoned and executed John in the fortress of Machaerus (*Ant* 18.5.2 §116–19). Josephus does not record the details of John's arrest as described in the Gospels (Matt 14:6–12 [= Mark 6:22–28]; Luke 9:9), but attributes the execution to Antipas' fear that John might incite a revolt. Jesus also ministered in Perea. He answered the Pharisees concerning divorce (Matt 19:1–9), blessed children (Matt 19:13–15), taught the disciples concerning marriage (Matt 19:10–12), withdrew from the Jews (John 10:40) and attracted crowds who had heard of his reputation as a healer (Mark 3:8 = Matt 4:25).

Jewish literature assumes that Perea was a land inhabited by Jews (*Seb.* 9.2; *Ketub.* 13.10; *B. Bat.* 3.2; *Menaḥ.* 8.3). In the Talmudic period, Perea did not have as favorable a reputation as Judea and Galilee. According to the Aboth of Rabbi Nathan, Judea represented the grain, Galilee the straw and "ha-Yarden" (Perea) the chaff (Neubauer 1868: 241–51).

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DIANE I. TREACY-COLE

**PERESH** (PERSON) [Heb *pereš* (פֶּרֶשׁ)]. The Manassite son of Machir and his wife Maacah (1 Chr 7:16). According to the genealogy of Manasseh in 1 Chr 7:14–19, his brothers included Sheresh and Gilead, and perhaps Huppim and Shuppim, too. Peresh is omitted, however, from other Manassite genealogies and biblical texts.

There are several difficulties in 1 Chr 7:14–19 that have bearing on the identity of Peresh. First, Maacah, the mother of Peresh, is called the wife of Machir (v 16), as well as his sister (v 15). In addition, Gilead appears to be the brother of Peresh (v 14), but in v 17, he is included among the "sons of Gilead." There have been several attempts to resolve these difficulties, but none is completely satisfying. Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 151–52) emended "Machir" in v 16 to "Gilead." Therefore, Maacah was Machir's sister but Gilead's wife (as well as his aunt), and Gilead, rather than Machir, was the father of Peresh. In addition, the names of Shuppim and Huppim (v 15) should be deleted, since they are glosses from v 12 (the genealogy of Naphtali) and so cannot have been the brothers of Peresh. Rudolf (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 68–71), however, reconstructs 1 Chr 7:14–19 extensively on the basis of Num

26:29–34. In his arrangement, Maacah becomes the daughter of Gilead and the mother of Peresh, but the name of her husband is missing from the text.
M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**PEREZ** (PERSON) [Heb *pereṣ* (פֶּרֶץ)]. Var. PHARES. PEREZITES. The son of Judah and Judah's daughter-in-law Tamar (Gen 38:28; 1 Chr 2:4; 4:1). He was the brother of Zerah (Gen 38:29) and the father of Hezron and Hamul (Gen 46:12; Num 26:21; 1 Chr 2:5).

The story of his birth provides a popular etymology for his name. When the time came for Tamar to give birth there were twins in her womb. One of them stretched out his hand and the midwife placed a scarlet thread on it to indicate that he was the first born. After the hand was withdrawn, the other brother came bursting forth. At this the midwife exclaimed: "What a breach you have made for yourself." For this reason he was named Perez, a name which means "breach" (Gen 38:27–29). The story of Perez's birth is an attempt to explain the preeminence of the younger clan Perez over the older clans of Judah. In the second census list of the tribes of Israel mentioned in the book of Numbers, Perez is listed as the eponymous ancestor of the Perezites (Num 26:20). In addition, two other Judean clans come from Perez, the Hezronites and the Hamulites (Num 26:21). The superiority of Perez and his clan is due to the fact that David descended from Perez through Boaz and Ruth (Ruth 4:18–22).

The reference to Perez in the blessing which the leaders of Bethlehem bestowed upon Boaz, "May your house be like the house of Perez, whom Tamar bore to Judah," (Ruth 4:12) reflects the belief that Perez enjoyed numerous progeny. Because of Perez's prominence among the clans of Judah, the Perezites occupied important positions in Judean society. One of his descendants was the commander of the first division of David's army (1 Chr 27:2–3). Some of the Perezites lived in Jerusalem after the return of the exiles from Babylon (1 Chr 9:4), among them there were 468 who were "valiant men" (Neh 11:4–6). Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, who returned to Jerusalem from Babylon, and who was exhorted by Haggai and Zechariah to rebuild the temple, was from the clan of Perez (RSV and Gk *Phares*; 1 Esdr 5:5). In the NT, the ancestral line of Jesus is traced through Perez (Matt 1:13; Luke 3:33).

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**PEREZ-UZZAH** (PLACE) [Heb *pereṣ ʿuzzâ/ʿuzzā* (פֶּרֶץ עֻזָּה/עֻזָּא)]. Appears twice in the Bible (2 Sam 6:8 = 1 Chr 13:11). A place of uncertain location between Jerusalem and Baalah-Judah (Kiriath-jearim; cf. Josh 15:10), 14 miles to the NW. Here, as the ark of God was being brought from Baalah to the City of David, Uzzah, son of Abinadab, took hold of the ark to steady it and died. The name reflects that tragedy. The text explains that "Yahweh broke forth against Uzzah" (*pāraṣ yhwh pereṣ bĕʿuzzâ*), translating *pĕrōṣ b-* as in Exod 19:22, 24 and 1 Chr 15:13. If the place name carries that understanding, as the LXX, Vg, Tg and most modern English versions hold, it means "the breaking forth upon Uzzah" (e.g., Hertzberg *1 and 2 Samuel* OTL, 276). McCarter takes *pereṣ* to mean "an interruption in … family line," as in Judg 21:15. He translates the etiology "Yahweh made a breach in Uzza," and the place name "Uzza's Breach." The name may originally have referred to a breach in the wall of Jerusalem where the incident occurred, with later theological reflection prompted by the various meanings of *pereṣ* (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 161, 170).
DAVID L. THOMPSON

**PERFUMES AND SPICES.** A variety of perfumes and spices are named in the Bible. Perfumes and spices were important items of trade in the ancient world.

**A. Perfumes**

Although the human sense of smell has atrophied over the millennia as hunting and being hunted became less of a pastime, our delight over pleasing smells—especially those which function as an aphrodisiac—has grown. Like many products desired and manufactured by early cultures, individual

perfumes were identified by chance or experimentation. Most are derivatives of plants, although a few are extracted from animals. Some probably were discovered as medicinal potions were concocted, but in many cases their origin is found in the natural smells of the forest and desert, which attracted humans just as the scent of flowers drew insects.

**1. Biblical Terms.** Specific Hebrew terms for perfume or those associated with the perfume industry in the Bible are *rôqēaḥ* (Exod 30:25, 35; 37:29; Eccl 10:1), *raqqāḥ* (1 Sam 8:13; Neh 3:8), *mirqaḥaṯ* (2 Chr 16:14), *riqqûaḥ* (Isa 57:9), *rîaḥ* (Exod 30:38), *nûp̱* (Prov 7:17), *qeṭōreṯ* (Prov 27:9), *mequṭṭereṯ* (Cant 3:6), *bātê hannepeš* (Isa 3:20), *bōśem* (Isa 3:24).

**2. Sources.** Since most of the substances (with the exception of stacte and gum) used as perfumes in the Bible are not native to Canaan, they had to be acquired through trade. Caravans carried these precious commodities from the Arabian desert or from ports along the Red Sea and the Mediterranean coast where Egyptian, Phoenician, and later Roman ships (Miller 1969: 120) had deposited them. The places of origin for the plant-based perfumes mentioned in the biblical narrative include Arabia (bdellium, frankincense, myrrh—Isa 60:6; Jer 6:20), India (aloes, calamus, saffron), Nepal (nard), Sri Lanka (cassia, cinnamon), Iran (galbanum), Somaliland (frankincense, myrrh). The one perfume derived from animals, Onycha, was extracted from the muscle of a Red Sea mollusk.

The trade in perfumes and spices created an elaborate network of land and sea routes from the sources to the markets (Van Beek 1960: 106). One such route used by the Ishmaelite traders, who were carrying "gum, balm, and myrrh" from Gilead to Egypt, brought them in contact with Joseph's brothers as they pastured their flocks near Dothan (Gen 37:25). The biblical narrative describes how in the monarchical period, Solomon participated in a joint venture with the Phoenicians. According to this account a fleet of "Tarshish" ships was constructed which plied the waters of the Red Sea and the Arabian and East African coasts for three years at a time (1 Kgs 10:22–26; 2 Chr 9:21). The cargoes included luxury items such as "gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks" as well as myrrh and spices (Stieglitz 1984: 141).

In order to gain a fuller understanding of the extent of trade in the ancient world, two accounts are instructive: Ezekiel's "lamentation over Tyre" (chap. 27) and the "lamentation over Babylon (= Rome)" in Revelation 18. A vast array of products are listed from metals to jewels to slaves. Among the perfumes and spices listed are balm from Judah (Ezek 27:17), cassia and calamus from Uzal (27:19), and "the best of all kinds of spices" (27:22) from Sheba and Ra'amah (all in SW Arabia). The Roman merchants are said to have trafficked, among other things, in "cinnamon, spice, incense, myrrh, and frankincense" (Rev 18:13). Eastern trade routes stretched along the coast of Africa down Somaliland and Madagascar, across the Indian Ocean to Indonesia, and all along the Persian Gulf and the W coast of India (Miller 1969: 145–47; Van Beek 1960: 109).

**3. Manufacture.** Raw materials for the manufacture of perfumes in ancient times can be divided into two categories. The first consists of plant materials, including "essential oils" (which are obtained through distillation or expression), flower oils, and gums, resins, and exudations. The second category is made up of a variety of animal secretions (Balsam 1972: 600).

Collection of these materials depended upon the form that they took in nature. In some cases, bark was stripped from trees (cinnamon), roots dug from the ground (mandrake, nard) or gathered from flowers (saffron). Another method consisted of tapping trees (frankincense and myrrh) and collecting the "tears" of resin once they had had time to dry (Van Beek 1960: 101; *IDB* 3: 731). Packaging for storage could be as simple as a cloth bag or as elaborate as a finely shaped alabaster jar (Matt 26:7) or perfume box (Isa 3:20). A large number of these perfume jars have been uncovered in excavations throughout the Near East, some still containing minute amounts of their contents.

Some fragrances, like frankincense and myrrh, did not require refining. They were simply transported to buyers and then burnt as incense (Exod 30:34; Cant 3:6). However, myrrh at least was also pulverized into a fine powder and placed in a sachet worn between a woman's breasts (Cant 1:13). Recipes also exist for the blending of fragrances to create sweet smelling incense and perfume. For instance, Exod 30:23–25 contains a list of ingredients (myrrh, cinnamon, aromatic cane, cassia, olive oil) and their proportions for use in the creation of "anointing oil" to be used in the tabernacle. The profession of perfumer is first

ascribed to Bezalel in Exod 37:29. The industry was restricted in part to the priestly community (Exod 30:37–38; 1 Chr 9:30), but there was obviously a large secular market. For instance Samuel mentions that women will be drafted to work for the palace as perfumers (1 Sam 8:13).

The utensils and methods for blending, however, are missing in these texts. Clues to that process can be found in Middle Assyrian texts dating to the 13th century B.C.E. (Ebeling 1948: 132–43). They, along with Egyptian tomb paintings from the time of Tuthmosis IV (1397–1384), contain evidence of an elaborate series of steps which included steeping and boiling the ingredients while oil and other items were added until they were properly mixed (Shelmerdine 1985: 16). Recent excavations at Ein Gedi have also revealed the tools and furnaces used for the commercial production of balm in ancient Judah (Zohary 1982: 198).

**4. Uses.** Some of the substances mentioned above have few uses in antiquity. Frankincense, for example, was primarily burnt as incense in religious ceremonies (Exod 30:34; Lev 2:2), although it occasionally is mentioned as a perfume or fumigant (Cant 3:6). Myrrh, however, was used in many ways—for example, as incense (Exod 30:23), as a perfume to freshen garments (Ps 45:9), and as a cosmetic treatment (Esth 2:13). In Mark 15:23 myrrh mixed with wine was offered as a painkiller to Jesus on the cross, and in John 19:39, a hundredweight of myrrh and aloes was used to embalm Jesus' corpse and line his linen shroud.

Of course, perfumes functioned as a cosmetic, providing pleasing fragrance as well as needed protection for the skin in the hot and dry climate of the ANE (Cant 1:3, 5:5). The more costly fragrances made them the rivals of gold (Matt 2:11) for the attention of the wealthy and a remarkable gift. The reaction of the disciples over the use of an alabaster jar of nard to anoint Jesus' feet (Mark 14:3–5) is thus quite understandable. It was made even more expensive (300 denarii = worker's pay for half a year) by its costly container and the distance from which it had come (Nepal).

**B. Spices**

In biblical usage, spices [Heb *bōśem*] are associated with aromatic oils, perfumes, incense, and embalming substances. There are no references to their use with food except in a cultic context—the placing of frankincense on the Bread of the Sanctuary (Lev 24:7), which was later consumed by Aaron and his sons (Van Beek 1960: 113). However, cuneiform texts from Mesopotamia contain recipes which include lists of spices used to flavor food (Bottero 1985: 38), and there is mention of spiced wine in Cant 8:2.

Spices, generally in pulverized form and mixed in combination with each other and oil had many uses. These included anointing oil (Exod 30:23–25—for use on the tent of meeting and the ark; Cant 1:3, 12 and Esth 2:12—as a fragrance or cosmetic), sweet smelling incense for the exclusive use of the priests (Exod 30:34–38; 2 Chr 2:4), and a freshener, providing an enticing fragrance to a home (Cant 7:13) or a lover's bed (Prov 7:17–18). They were also widely used in connection with funerals. In the latter case spices could be applied to the corpse (Luke 23:56; 24:1; John 12:3–7) or used to mask the odors of a funeral pyre (2 Chr 16:14).

Since most spices had to be obtained from merchants who had traveled great distances, they were prized and displayed as part of a king's treasury (2 Kgs 20:13). Only the kings and the very wealthy could afford to use them lavishly (Solomon's perfumed litter in Cant 3:6–7; the king's robes "fragrant with myrrh and aloes and cassia" in Ps 45:7–8) or expect them to be burnt at their funerals (Jer 34:5). They also served as appropriate presents when trying to make a good impression or a peace offering, as Jacob does in his gift to Pharaoh in Gen 43:11.

While the medicinal qualities of spices are rarely mentioned in the biblical text because Yahweh was considered the source of healing (Zohary 1982: 183; 2 Chr 16:12–13), some were undoubtedly cultivated or obtained for their pharmaceutical value. For instance, mandrake is mentioned twice in connection with its aphrodisiac qualities (Gen 30:14–15; Cant 7:13). In Jer 8:22, the "balm of Gilead" (Heb *ṣŏrî*) is described in medicinal terms. It is obtained by "wounding" the storax-gum tree and does contain a significant amount of balsamic acid (Zohary 1982: 192).

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VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

**PERGA** (PLACE) [Gk *Pergē* (Περγη)]. An important Greek city in Pamphylia, visited by Paul at the beginning and end of his first missionary excursion into the interior of Asia Minor ca. A.D. 47–48 (Acts 13:13; 14:25).

According to the book of Acts, Paul and his associates, Barnabas and John (Mark), sailed for the mainland following their evangelistic excursion across Cyprus (13:13). They arrived in Perga, a river port on the S coast of Asia Minor (36°59′N; 30°46′E), some 7 miles up the river Cestrus (modern Aksu). Strabo (*Geog.* 14.42) says that it could be reached directly from the sea, as suggested by the narrative of Acts; but this would have demanded a scala on the river at the nearest point approaching the city (Bean 1979: 25). John Mark left the company of Paul and Barnabas here and returned to Jerusalem. We are not told by the narrator why he left, though many commentators have offered their creative speculations to remedy our historical ignorance (e.g., hesitancy with the way Paul was moving in regard to Jewish-Gentile relations; afraid of the rugged journey across the mountains and into Galatia; homesick for his mother and friends in Jerusalem, etc.). We are told, however, that his departure was not regarded in a favorable light by Paul and was the source of the break of the cooperative missionary venture of Paul and Barnabas (Acts 15:36–40).

Perga was founded by a mixed multitude of Greek immigrants after the Trojan War. Recent excavations have turned up a number of statue bases of "founders" of the city—some of them the legendary leaders of the original migration (such as Calchas and Mopsus), but others who are known to have been prominent historical personages (such as M. Plancius Varus and his son, C. Plancius Varus, fl. second half of 1st century A.D., who were originally Italians) who were designated "founders" as a result of their personal philanthropy on behalf of the community (Bean 1979: 31–32).

The Plancius family had great wealth and influence in various parts of Asia Minor and were the leading family in Perga during the first two centuries A.D. M. Plancius Varus had a political career in Rome under Nero and managed to survive the intrigues of A.D. 69 to become proconsul of Bithynia under Vespasian. He had served as a Roman senator, and his son was later to achieve the double distinction of being a successful athlete and also consul during the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117–38). A descendant of the family was to become a celebrated philosopher (Varus). But it was his daughter, Plancia Magna, who exercised the greatest influence in her day. Dozens of texts have been found with her name on them, more than in the case of any other civic personage. She was responsible for the erection of a magnificent array of statues of the Roman imperial family just inside the S gate, many of which are now in the fine museum in Antalya. Plancia herself was priestess of Artemis and held the highest civic office of state (*demiurgus*). Several striking statues of her have also been uncovered.

The city of Perga was a very wealthy and beautifully decorated city from Hellenistic times. Its remains today are second only to Ephesus among the cities associated with the apostle Paul. At least three aqueducts supplied water to the city. The towers of the 3d century B.C. gate are still standing and are among the most impressive of any city of the period. One of the best preserved stadiums in Asia Minor is found just outside the wall of Perga, as is a moderately well preserved Greek theater that was later converted to the Roman style and which would have been operative when Paul visited the city in ca. A.D. 47–48. Perga's theater could accommodate up to 14,000 spectators (Bean 1979: 29). There were numerous elaborate Roman baths in the city and also a very large gymnasium with a *palaestra* (lit. wrestling place) adorned with statues and dedicated to the emperor Claudius (A.D. 41–54). At the foot of

the acropolis was a handsome *nymphaeum* (fountain) adorned with a reclining statue of Kestros [Cestrus] (god personifying the local river). Although there was a famous temple to Artemis in Perga that appears on the coinage of the city from the 2d century onward and served as an "inviolable" sanctuary of refuge from the time of Domitian (A.D. 81–96), its location has not yet been determined. In spite of its Asiatic setting, the culture of Perga was almost entirely Greek and, to a lesser extent, Roman. Only about one or two percent of the names represented at Perga are Anatolian; a third of them are Roman. There was presumably a synagogue, where Paul may have preached on his return visit from Galatia (Acts 14:25), but there is no tradition of any early church having been established here.

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**PERGAMUM** (PLACE) [Gk *Pergamos* (Περγαμος)]. One of the seven cities whose Christian community was addressed in the book of Revelation (1:11; 2:12). Also known by the form "Pergamon," this city had a long history. Pergamon (modern Bergama; 39°07´N; 27°11´E) emerged as the center of the most important kingdom in W Asia Minor during the early 3d century B.C. and remained one of the cultural and political centers of the region into the 4th century A.D.

The oldest portion of the city is the acropolis, which rises steeply to a height of nearly 1,300 feet above the plain of the Caicus river. This acropolis, powerfully fortified by the rulers of the Attalid dynasty in the 3d and 2d centuries B.C., was the base from which these dynasts could extend their power throughout the region and the fortress to which they could retire when overmatched in the field. The portion of the city lying around the base of the acropolis (much of it built over by modern Bergama) seems to have developed under the protection of the kings and to have expanded in the years of peace after Roman control was firmly established in Asia Minor in the 2d and 1st centuries B.C.

The earliest record of settlement at Pergamon comes in the course of Xenophon's description of the Spartan campaigns of 399 (*Hell.* 3.1.6). He says that the city was one of several which had been given to the descendants of the Spartan king Demaratus, who had been driven from his throne in 490 and became a close adviser to the Persian king Xerxes. The city itself does not appear to have been a very important place at this point, and it is possible that the Persians discouraged extensive development on a site of such great natural strength. It was not until after Alexander the Great's conquest of Asia (334–323 B.C.) that Pergamon began to emerge, first as a major military center, and then as a major political center. By the time of the battle of Courepedium, fought between Lysimachus and Seleucus in 281, the last of the *diadochoi* or "successors" of Alexander, the acropolis had become one of the most important fortresses in western Asia Minor. It was here that Lysimachus had deposited a significant portion of his treasury under the care of the eunuch Philetaerus. In the confusion which had preceded Lysimachus' defeat at Courepedium, Philetaerus had begun to assert his independence from the king (283) (Allen 1983: 11). The years after the battle were even more confused, because of the chaos in the Seleucid court after the murder of Seleucus I shortly after his victory, and because of the Celtic invasion of Asia Minor in 278/277. Philetaerus took advantage of these troubles to begin building up his own kingdom around Pergamon (283–263).

Philetaerus was succeeded by his brother, Eumenes I (263–241), who continued the work of expanding Pergamene power. Eumenes I met with considerable success in the face of the continued Celtic threat to the Greek states off the coast and the endemic military and political crises of the Seleucids (Will 1979–82, 1: 135–52; 234–301). Eumenes' son, Attalus I (241–197), made even more important contributions in this regard. It was Attalus who first claimed the title of *basileus* or "king" (as opposed to *dynastes* or "ruler") for the family after his crushing defeat of the Celts early in his reign and it was Attalus who initiated the alliance between Pergamon and Rome in 212. It seems that he made it to protect himself from the Seleucids, who had reduced his realm on one occasion to little more than the acropolis, and from the aggression of King Philip V of Macedon as well. The result of this alliance was perhaps more spectacular than anything that Attalus could ever have anticipated: the destruction of Seleucid power in Asia Minor. In 193 Rome went to war with the Seleucid king, Antiochus III. In 189 a Roman army, with Pergamene

assistance, defeated Antiochus at the battle of Magnesia so decisively that in the treaty of Apamea (187) he had to surrender his family's claim to rule any territory north of the Taurus. The Romans rewarded the Pergamenes, who were then ruled by Attalus' son Eumenes II (214–153), with massive grants of the territory taken from Antiochus throughout Anatolia and in Thrace. Although Rome's relations with Eumenes were strained during the last decade of his life, the kingdom of Pergamon remained Rome's most important ally in the E Mediterranean for the remainder of his reign and throughout the reigns of his brother, Attalus II (153–138), and son, Attalus III (138–133) (Hansen 1971: 70–163; Allen 1983: 76–135; Will 1979–82, 2: 210–38, 285–93, 379–85, 416–25). This situation came to an end in 133 when Attalus III died without issue and left the royal lands to Rome. Rome accepted the bequest in the face of an effort to seize the throne made by a man named Andronicus, who claimed to be the bastard son of Attalus II (for discussion of the circumstances and earlier bibliography, see Potter 1988). The Romans suppressed the revolt of Andronicus and created the province of Asia out of the old Attalid kingdom.

The status of the city of Pergamon remained somewhat ambiguous in the years of Attalid rule. On the one hand it functioned as the royal residence; on the other, it continued to be administered as a normal Greek city, and royal institutions never replaced civic magistracies in the administration of its daily affairs. While the kings ruled their lands and provinces through their appointed officials, Pergamon itself was governed by a council (*boulē*) and board of ten *stratēgoi* (generals). An official known as the *prytanis* appears to have been the chief executive officer of the *boulē,* though his duties appear to have been mostly ceremonial, while the *stratēgoi* looked after most matters of importance. Other important officials were the *nomoplylakes* and *astynomoi* (both groups concerned with maintaining public order), the *tamiai* (treasurers) and, after the great expansion of the Attalid kingdom in 188, a royal officer, "the overseer of the city" or "overseer of the sacred revenues," who looked after the interests of the kings (Allen 1983: 159–77). After the establishment of Roman rule, the "overseer" disappeared and was not replaced, but the civic constitution remained essentially unchanged. Aside from these officials, the most important positions were the various superintendencies of the major civic festivals, the priesthoods of the city's gods, of the royal cult, and in the years after Augustus (31 B.C.–A.D. 14) the priesthoods of the cult of the Roman emperors. These offices, as was the case in all classical cities, would have entailed substantial expenditures by the holders.

In the 2d century B.C. Pergamon emerged as one of the great artistic and intellectual centers of the Greek world. This was reflected by the construction program of Eumenes II on the acropolis (for a thorough summary, see Hansen 1971: 234–433). When he took the throne there were a few sacred buildings, including a temple of Demeter, a temple of Athena, a temple to the Magna Mater and a temple to Aphrodite, some royal palaces, a theater and two monuments which Attalus I had erected to commemorate his victories over the Celts and the Seleucids. Eumenes II made the acropolis an architectural marvel. He enclosed it with a magnificent new circuit wall and built imposing monuments: among them a new theater, a new palace, the great altar, the upper agora and the new precinct of Athena. Eumenes' temple of Athena stood on the W side of a square above the theater. The N, E, and S sides of this square were enclosed by new stoae, and behind the N stoa he constructed a new library which became one of the great centers of learning in the ancient world. The patronage of the kings also provided opportunities for the practice of the plastic arts, and the works of sculpture which adorned their monuments remain some of the most magnificent examples of Hellenistic art.

The institution of direct Roman rule in Asia Minor did, however, result in problems for Pergamon. Although certain of her citizens such as the Mithridates (not to be confused with the homonymous Pontic king) who gave Julius Caesar invaluable assistance in the 40s were clearly men of great importance, her position declined in relation to other cities in the Roman province, and Ephesus replaced her as the leading city in the region. This may have been due, in part, to Ephesus' location at the mouth of the Cayster river and her superb harbor, but it also may have resulted from the damage that Pergamon suffered in the wake of the first war between Rome and Mithridates of Pontus in 89–84 B.C. Mithridates swept over the Roman province, ordered the massacre of all Romans in the area and established Pergamon as one of his capital cities. The Roman general Cornelius Sulla exacted a heavy price from

Pergamon after his defeat of Mithridates, and a period of relative decline seems to have lasted until the end of the century. It was only in the reign of Augustus that Pergamon began to recover, and this recovery seems to have owed a great deal to the efforts of one of her citizens, Julius Quadratus. This man greatly enhanced the sanctuary of Asclepius (Asclepeium) just outside the city (Bowersock 1969: 19; Habicht 1969: 1–4), and it soon became a major intellectual center. This development may be connected with the growth of its medical staff, which appears to have been deeply concerned with both medical and rhetorical studies.

In the early years of the 2d century, Pergamon was once again one of the great cities of the region. The vigorous intellectual life of the city is eloquently reflected by inscriptions; remarks in Philostratus' *Lives of the Philosophers*; in the works of Galen, the greatest doctor of antiquity, who was born in Pergamon in 129 and practiced there in his early years; and in the remarkable spiritual autobiography, *The Sacred Tales,* of the professional rhetorician or *sophist,* Aelius Aristides, who lived in the Asclepium for many years (for the intellectual life of this period, see Bowersock 1969; for Galen, see Bowersock 1969: 59–75; for the Asclepeium, see Habicht 1969: 6–18). Even though the city seems to have suffered in the course of the 3d century—as did the other cities of Asia Minor—the writings of the 4th-century historian and biographer Eunapius of Sardis provide further glimpses of life in the city which suggest that it retained its importance as an intellectual center into his own time. His evidence also suggests that, despite the presence of a Christian community in the city since the 1st century (Habicht 1969: 19), the city as a whole was very slow to adopt the new faith. One reason for this may have been the importance to the city of the cult of Asclepius, who was himself a god of healing, and the feeling among many pagans that the healing miracles which Asclepius was believed to have performed proved that he was a true protector of his people. It is therefore not surprising that it was at Pergamon that the future emperor Julian first encountered important teachers of the Neoplatonic school. This was a decisive point in the intellectual odyssey which ended in his apostasy from the Christian faith and his effort to restore the worship of the pagan gods during his brief reign (361–363). The continuing importance of the cult of Asclepius may also be illustrated by the fact that one of Julian's closest advisers was the doctor Oribasius, who was a native of the city (Bowersock 1978: 28–29).

Pergamon appears to have declined in the centuries after Julian's visit, and it was never able to recover from the damage that it sustained during the Arab invasions of 663 and 716. The story that, in the course of the siege of 716, the defenders of the city cut a pregnant woman to pieces, and dipped their gauntlets in the pot where they had boiled the remains of mother and child (Theoph. 390), suggests that the sophistication of the inhabitants at this point was somewhat less than it had been in the 4th century. These inhabitants had, by this time, largely withdrawn to the acropolis where their humble dwellings were nestled among the monuments of the Attalid monarchy, which were torn apart to supply building materials. When the future emperor Theodore Lascaris visited the site in the 12th century he wrote with sadness that the poor modern buildings that he saw among the remains of the classical city revealed what he felt was the poverty of his own age in comparison with that of the ancients (*Ep.* 80; Foss 1977: 479–81).

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D. S. POTTER

**PERIDA** (PERSON) [Heb *pĕrîdāʾ* (פְּרִידָא)]. See PERUDA (PERSON).

**PERIPHRASIS.** See BIBLE, EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE.

**PERIZZITE** [Heb *pĕrizzî* (פְּרִזִּי)]. Group of pre-Israelite inhabitants of Canaan. The term is always used with the definite article as a collective name for Perizzites. The term Perizzite is found in 21 of the 27 lists of pre-Israelite nations. It occurs in ten-name lists (Gen 15:20), seven-name lists (Josh 3:10), six-name lists (Josh 7:1), five-name lists (1 Kgs 9:20), and two-name lists (Gen 34:20). In the most common six-name lists the Perizzites always occur in the fourth position in the latter half of the lists among other little known nations including the Jebusites and the Hivites (Exod 3:8; 33:2).

The fact that Canaanites and Perizzites occur together four times in two-name lists suggests that each of these groups stands for a larger combination of peoples (Gen 13:7; 34:30; Judg 1:4–5). Some have suggested that Perizzites is etymologically linked to *pĕrazî* "rural country" and that " 'Canaanites' and 'Perizzites' here stand for 'those living in fortified cities,' and 'those living in unwalled towns or hamlets' " (Ishida 1979: 479). Ishida argues, however, for an ethnic distinction between the terms and suggests that "Canaanites" refer to Semitic people and "Perizzites" refer to non-Semitic people (1979: 480).

According to Josh 11:3 the Perizzites are located in the hill country of Canaan. On the basis of Gen 15:19–21 and Josh 17:15 Ishida suggests that the Perizzites and Rephites can be "positioned in the forest country between Judah and Ephraim" (1979: 483; see also *GTTOT,* 71–72).

While the land of the Perizzites was promised to Abraham and his descendants (Gen 15:20) the Israelites found it difficult to totally defeat these people. In spite of reports that they were defeated (Josh 12:8) intermarriage took place between them and the Israelites (Judg 3:5) and the Israelites did not totally separate from them (Ezra 9:1). The descendants of the pre-Israelite nations who still lived in the land were reportedly reduced to slavery by Solomon (1 Kgs 9:20–21). The Perizzites continued to find their place in the traditional lists of pre-Israelite inhabitants of Canaan (Neh 9:8; Jdt 5:16; 1 Esdr 8:69).

There is no scholarly consensus about the ethnical or etymological background of the term Perizzites. Boling and Wright suggest that "The term may be ethnic (Hurrian) or appellative (cf. *pĕrāzôt,* 'unwalled villages,' Esth 9:19; Ezek 38:11; Zech 2:8)" (*Joshua* AB, 166). Speiser suggests that the term Perizzites is probably non-Semitic and since its suffix *-izzi* is also independently attested in Hurrian that it might be a local group of Hurrians (*IDB* 3: 242).

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STEPHEN A. REED

**PERSECUTION OF THE EARLY CHURCH.** There were many reasons for the persecution of the Christian church in the four centuries preceding the conversion of Constantine. Different reasons predominated at different times; no single reason or simple set of explanations can explain persecution in any given period. As a result, the most promising approach to the subject as a whole is an examination of the institutions involved: the imperial government, the local civic authorities and the church itself. This makes it possible to review the different concerns of each and the changes that occurred. Scholars have had difficulty arriving at a consensus with regard to persecution because the sources are diffuse and often tendentious. Some account of these sources is therefore necessary before exploring the causes, effects and changing nature of the persecutions in more detail.

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A. The Sources
B. The Imperial Government
C. Persecution and Local Government
D. Persecution and the Church

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**A. The Sources**

The sources for the persecution fall into three categories: statements by the imperial authorities and pagan writers; Christian apologetic works and other theoretical discussion of persecution; and the extant Christian martyr acts.

The first of these three categories is the least well represented. All that survives is the correspondence between Pliny and Trajan on the subject of the Christians when Pliny was governor of the province of Bithynia-Pontus (in N Turkey) in 111 or 112; a rescript (a response to a written inquiry which had the force of law) from the emperor Hadrian to a governor of the province of Asia (W Turkey) in 122/123; *libelli* (certificates of sacrifice) preserved on papyri from Egypt from the time of Decius' edict on sacrifices in 249/250; the text of Valerian's edict of 258 summarized in a letter of Cyprian and a number of documents connected with the great persecutions of 303–313 that are either quoted in Christian writers or can be reconstructed from their accounts. Finally, there are the fragments of authors such as Celsus (whose *On True Doctrine* is quoted extensively by Origen in his response, *Against Celsus*) and some passing remarks in Suetonius' biographies and Tacitus' *Annals.* As a whole, these texts reveal the attitude of the state towards the church and the steps that the imperial authorities thought would be effective against the church.

The Christian apologetic and historiographic tradition, which begins with the Gospels, is extremely complicated. The authors of these works seem to give straightforward explanations for persecution, such as the jealousy of the Jews or Nero's edict of A.D. 64 (Nero reigned from A.D. 54–68), but these explanations often fall apart on close examination. The standard explanation from the 2d century onwards was that the "Christian name," the *nomen Christianum* (membership in the Church) was persecuted as a result of Nero's edict; persecution was an *institutum Neronianum,* a Neronian practice, that was only permitted by emperors who all agreed were evil. This explanation is unsatisfactory and was influenced by a tendency of Christian writers to interpret Roman history in the same terms as Jewish history had been presented in the OT, that "good kings" honored Yahweh and "bad" did not. The other explanation that they offer, that persecution was the result of ignorance of Christian doctrine on the part of ill-educated pagans, is similarly too simplistic. Nonetheless, these works often shed valuable light on relations between the church and the imperial authorities and the most important of them, Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History,* written in the early years of the 4th century, preserves a number of documents which are crucial for an understanding of the persecutions. Other works such as Tertullian's *To the Martyrs* and *Concerning Flight in Persecution* or Cyprian's *Concerning the Lapsed* reveal that persecution caused serious doctrinal problems. The question that they sought to answer was "Is persecution the work of the Devil or of God?" A person's behavior in time of persecution would be conditioned by his answer to this problem.

The martyr acts, accounts of the execution of individual martyrs or groups of martyrs, are the most difficult source, but when handled with sufficient care, also the most important. Care in their interpretation is essential as these acts vary greatly in their content. Some are rhetorical fictions which provide, once the gory details of a martyr's death are stripped away, no more than the fact of the martyrdom and its date—and even these might not be authentic. Others, such as *The Passion of Pionius and his Companions* contain vivid eyewitness accounts and even documents composed by martyrs as they lay in prison awaiting execution. The details which they present are of great value for reconstructing the attitudes of both the persecutors and the persecuted, and the doctrinal statements which many of them contain shed important light upon the tensions to which persecution gave rise within the church.

**B. The Imperial Government**

The Gospels and *Acts* show that the Jewish communities in Palestine and other cities of the Greek East drew Romans into the persecution of the church. Suetonius' obscure allusion to problems at Rome in the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41–54) between Jews and the "followers of Chrestus" suggests the same thing, although it is debated whether there "followers of Chrestus" were Christians (Suet. *Claud.* 25). The executions of Peter and Paul at Rome, before Nero issued his edict against the Christians in 64, may have been the result of complaints about their activity from the Jewish community. But these actions can only have had a tangential relationship to that edict. When a great fire ravaged Rome in 64, Nero attempted to shift the blame for the fire from himself onto another party and ordered the mass arrest and execution of Christians in Rome. This was the event which led later Christian writers to claim that persecution was a "Neronian institution." In fact, it is not likely that Nero's edict extended to Christians who lived outside of the city and it may have been no more than an extreme version of earlier edicts, of both Republican and

imperial date, which banned or restricted the practice of certain cults within Rome or Italy. As was the case with these earlier edicts, Nero's edict probably ceased to be enforced after the immediate crisis ended. It is certainly true that Pliny does not seem to be aware of the edict when he investigates Christianity in 111/112.

The opening lines of Pliny's letter to the Emperor Trajan (98–117) reveal that he was not sure of either the specific reasons for the persecution of the church, or of the proper procedure for deciding the cases before him. He wrote (*Ep.* 10.96): "I have never been present at investigations of Christians; so I do not know how or to what extent they are to be punished or sought out. I have thought about these questions a great deal: should some distinction be shown on grounds of age, or should there be no difference in the treatment of children and adults; should mercy be given to the repentant, or should nothing be forgiven to a person who was once a Christian, should the fact of being a Christian (the *nomen Christianum*) be punished, even if there was no other crime, or should only the crimes connected with the name be punished?" Thus Pliny knew that people had been tried for being Christians, and since we know that he spent most of his adult life in Rome and Italy, we may surmise that he means Christians had been tried at Rome during his mature years. He knew the charge against these people was that they were members of a religious sect that indulged in criminal activity. This is an important point. He knew that members of the sect were punished because of crimes that they were believed to be committing in his own time, not because of anything that had happened in the reign of Nero. The explanation for this may have been that the Emperor Domitian (81–96) had taken some action against the cult—though the evidence for this is open to dispute—or it may have been that Pliny and all other Roman magistrates were charged with protecting the areas under their administration from "evil men." Whatever the case, it was membership in the cult that was at issue, and whether by being a member of that cult a person had broken the law. We know from other sources that the crimes associated with Christianity were attacks on pagan temples or images of the gods, cannibalism and incest. It is also clear from this letter that Pliny attempted to discover whether or not the Christians in his area were actively engaged in these crimes. He discovered that they were not. In the meantime he executed any Christians who were not Roman citizens if they refused his order to sacrifice to "our gods," the grounds being insolence in the face of his authority; and he sent Roman citizens who were guilty of the same offense to be tried at Rome. While he awaited Trajan's response he treated the church as an illegal private association (see de Ste Croix 1969).

Pliny's question was whether he should treat Christians as guilty because of their beliefs or simply because the church was one of a number of the private associations (*collegia*) that Trajan had banned. Trajan's response made it clear that the practice of Christianity was defined as a religious offense and that, as a cult, it was illegal. A person charged with Christianity could be forgiven past membership in the cult if he recanted and offered sacrifice to the gods. Trajan added the further provision that Pliny, whose other duties were onerous enough, should not spend his time seeking out Christians and that he should not investigate charges against people which he found in anonymous denunciations (Pliny, *Ep.* 10.97). The implication is that if someone came to Pliny in person and denounced another, that person could be charged. This decision was restated by Hadrian (117–138) in a letter that he sent to Minicius Fundanus in 122/123.

The practice of the Christian faith was therefore illegal because the Roman authorities thought that it involved the commission of crimes, but it was up to individual governors and other magistrates to act against Christians as they saw fit. They had a great deal to do: they had to maintain the tranquillity of their provinces, prevent riot and insurrection in the cities under their control, keep the highways free of brigands, and ensure that cities were able to pay their taxes. Most if not all governors probably felt that they had more important tasks than dealing with the Christians and, with the passing of time, some may even have come to feel that there was nothing wrong with the religion so long as its practitioners did not disturb the peace. In one case, a provincial governor even rescued a Christian congregation from brigands after its bishop had led it out into the desert to greet Christ at his second coming. Tertullian tells of another governor who let an unrepentant Christian go free after only "moderate torture" and of yet another who refused to act when he was confronted by a Christian community asking to be put to death. He

suggested that they jump off cliffs or hang themselves instead (Ter. *ad Scap.* 4.3; 5.1). It is a universal literary device of the martyr acts that the magistrate presiding at the investigation of Christians always asks the prospective martyrs to recant. The authorities seem always to have been more interested in convincing Christians to apostatize than in executing them. To this end the punishments inflicted were more often flogging, imprisonment, and exile, rather than death.

This state of affairs continued until the middle of the 3d century. In 249, the Emperor Decius (249–251) ordered all inhabitants of the empire to sacrifice to the ancestral gods and to obtain a certificate (*libellus*) proving that they had done so. Failure to sacrifice could result in exile, the confiscation of property, prison, or death. The edict was not aimed at eradicating Christianity, but rather at ensuring the goodwill of the ancestral gods in a time of crisis. Nonetheless, it had a significant impact on some Christian communities. In North Africa, Cyprian, the bishop of Carthage, took a very strong line against members of his congregation who either sacrificed (*sacrificati*) or fraudulently obtained *libelli* (*libellatici*). There seems to have been a great number of people who took one or the other of these options, perhaps believing that under the circumstances such a sacrifice was not a serious sin. We know of bishops who retained their sees after sacrificing, and obedience to the edict seems to have been so widespread in the east that the issue never arose as to the terms under which those who had sacrificed should be re-admitted to communion.

The edicts of Valerian (253–260) in 257 and 258 were very different matters. They represent the first empire-wide efforts to destroy the church. The first edict seems to have included the following provisions: Christians should honor the traditional gods of the empire (this did not mean that they had to cease to honor their own god, but only that they had to show respect for the others as well), clergy who would not obey the edict should be arrested and of church property confiscated. The second edict, which may have been motivated by the recalcitrance of members of the clergy who had been arrested, seems to have been concerned entirely with the treatment of unrepentant Christians. According to its terms all members of the clergy who persisted in the faith would be executed, male Christians who were members of the highest orders of society (the equestrian and senatorial) would suffer confiscation of their property and death if they persisted, and Christian women (presumably women of the same social classes) would suffer the confiscation of their property and exile. Members of the imperial household who had been or were Christians would be condemned to work in chains on the imperial estates. The reasoning behind these edicts is obscure. It is clear that they represented a radical departure from Valerian's earlier policy towards the church and it may be, as the bishop of Dionysius of Alexandria suggested (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 7.10), that court politics had something to do with the decision to attack the church. In any event, the edicts did not remain in force for long. Valerian was captured by the Persians in the summer of 260 and his son Gallienus (253–268) issued an edict of toleration in the same year. This edict legalized the practice of Christianity and ordered the restoration of church property that had been confiscated under the earlier edicts.

In 260, therefore, Christianity was recognized as a legal cult in the empire and persecution came to an end for a generation. We even hear of Christian bishops asking the emperor Aurelian (270–275) to intervene in a dispute over the see of Antioch and to expel the bishop, Paul of Samosata. This state of affairs continued until the very last years of the reign of Diocletian (284–305).

Diocletian's decision to issue an edict of persecution is difficult to understand. Up to this point in his reign he had been openly tolerant of the church. Christians held high positions in his court and a Christian, Lactantius, held the prestigious chair in Latin rhetoric in his capital Nicomedia (in NW Turkey). The reason may, in fact, lie in the politics of his reign, for Diocletian's edict seems to have come at the end of an elaborate campaign within the court to promote hostility to the church. This campaign appears to have been the work of the *Caesar* Galerius (an important feature of Diocletian's reign was the creation of a college of four emperors, the two senior emperors, or *Augusti*, were Diocletian and Maximian Herculius, the two junior emperors, or *Caesares,* were Galerius and Constantius, father of the future emperor Constantine). In the later years of Diocletian's reign Galerius appears to have exerted a tremendous amount of influence over the senior emperor, and he appears to have been a fervent anti-

Christian (Barnes 1981: 21–27). This also appears to have caused a split in the imperial college, for the persecution edicts—as was also the case with other measures taken in these years—were not enforced as vigorously by Maximian Herculius and Constantius as they were by Diocletian and Galerius.

The first edict was promulgated on February 23, 303. Its terms were as follows: Christian churches and houses where Christian scripture was discovered were to be destroyed, copies of scripture were to be burned, church property was to be confiscated, and meetings for Christian worship were forbidden; Christians who persisted in the faith would lose the capacity to bring actions in court; Christians whose status exempted them from physical coercion in courts (*honestiores*) would lose the protection of their status; Christian members of the imperial household would be enslaved. A few months later—in the spring or summer of 303—a second edict was issued, ordering the arrest of Christian clergy. This led to a crisis for the state as the prisons filled up, and in the autumn of 303 yet another edict was handed down, stating that Christian prisoners who sacrificed would be released. Finally, in January or February, 304, an edict was posted ordering all the inhabitants of the empire to sacrifice. None of this succeeded, in great measure because such measures depended upon the willingness of imperial officers to execute them and there were not many who went beyond token obedience. In fact, Constantius seems to have refused to act on them in anything more than the most cursory way and Maximian did not enforce any edict except the first.

Diocletian and Maximian abdicated in favor of Galerius and Constantius on May 1, 305, and this in effect ended what persecution there had been in the W since Constantius assumed supreme power there. When Constantine succeeded his father on July 25, 306, he issued a general edict of toleration in the part of the empire that he controlled (at first only Britain and Gaul). In the E, Galerius continued to enforce the edicts until 311, when he too issued a general edict of toleration a few months before his death. There were only two further outbreaks after that. Maximin Daia (*Caesar* under Galerius after 305 and *Augustus* in his own right after 311), influenced by a powerful anti-Christian lobby at court, engaged in a brief persecution between 311 and 312/313 when he issued an edict of toleration before going to war with Galerius' successor, Licinius. In July of 313, Licinius, who had defeated Maximin, issued a general edict restoring Christian property throughout the E (this edict, issued at Nicomedia, is often referred to as the "edict of Milan" because it was believed that it was the result of a meeting between Constantine and Licinius in that city during 312). Although Licinius restricted Christian worship before his final defeat by Constantine in 324, this edict effectively marked the end of imperial efforts to act against the Christian church. It was in the time of Constantine that the power of the imperial government came to be directed instead against Christian heretical sects in defense of what Constantine defined as orthodoxy, as well as, by gradual stages, traditional cult.

**C. Persecution and Local Government**

In the first three centuries A.D. most outbreaks of persecution did not begin with the imperial authorities. They began as local pogroms inspired by a feeling on the part of the inhabitants of individual cities that the Christians in their midst were atheists whose presence upset the traditional gods. It was a reaction that is summed up best by Tertullian's observation (*Apol.* 40.1) that, "if the Tiber rises to the walls, if the Nile does not rise to the fields; if the sky stands still, if the earth moves, if there is famine, if there is pestilence, the cry goes up, 'Christians to the lion.' "

It was the dislike of the provincials for the Christians in their midst that led Pliny to investigate the sect, and this often seems to have been the case elsewhere. Thus in 177 there was a serious outburst at Lyons which resulted in the death of a number of Christians. The incident began when a mob seized a group of Christians and dragged them to the town forum where the civic authorities asked them about their beliefs. When they confessed their faith, they were imprisoned to await the governor (who would be coming to the city in the course of his annual tour of the province). Thereafter, the governor sentenced unrepentant Christians before large and enthusiastic crowds (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.7–10). The members of these crowds seem genuinely to have believed that the Christians were dangerous "atheists," and also to have believed the charges that were extracted from the slaves of some of the members of the congregation: that the Christians regularly committed incest (a misunderstanding of the Christian use of the terms

"brother/sister") and that their rites involved cannibalism (a misunderstanding of the Eucharist). The charge of atheism could move crowds to a great frenzy. It was leveled against Polycarp when he was sentenced to death at Smyrna in the 150s, crowds cried, "away with the atheists" during his trial and during an earlier execution (*Mart. Pol.* 3.2; 9.2). Mobs at Alexandria tried to force Christians whom they seized to sacrifice to the gods, and Alexander, priest of an oracular cult of Glycon, is said to have had Christians cursed as atheists at celebrations of the mysteries of his god.

As the church became more familiar to people in general and Christians were more frequently people of high social status, such charges became less common, and the local authorities at times appear reluctant to engage in full-scale persecution. It is clear from the *Acts of Pionius*, that Pionius' refusal to recant and the prospect of his death at the hands of the governor deeply upset the local magistrates. It is also clear that the officials charged with enforcing Valerian's edicts in North Africa made a real effort to convince Christians to apostatize and appear to have been extremely uncomfortable when they were faced with the prospect of executing Christians who were members of the highest levels of society. A local magistrate at Cirta, in North Africa, who was charged with enforcing Diocletian's first edict, appears to have been on familiar terms with the local Christians and averse to the use of violence in carrying out his orders. The local Christians were equally averse to forcing him to do so (von Soden 1913: 28). It seems to be a general rule that in the later part of the 3d century and early 4th century, as the state became more directly involved in the persecution of the faith, local authorities became less willing to join in and there were fewer anti-Christian riots.

The exception to this general rule appears in cases where entire communities were Christian. In such cases, however, it would appear that the local jealousies characteristic of the cities and towns of the empire were more important than issues of religion. From the time of Constantine onwards we hear much about towns such as Orcistus in Phrygia, which suffered at the hands of their neighbors during the persecution of Galerius and Maximin Daia and were rewarded for their faith under the new dispensation. In the 4th century, local pride came to be intertwined with issues of religion and a new chapter opened in the tale of intercity violence in the Roman Empire, as Christians destroyed temples and pagans fought back.

The total number of Christians who suffered death or imprisonment for their faith is difficult to estimate. Pliny's letter to Trajan suggests that he killed a number of people in the course of a routine investigation and the records of local pogroms suggest that from time to time individual Christian communities suffered heavy losses. Even though enforcement was erratic, the edicts of Decius, Valerian, Diocletian and his successors caused substantial casualties in some areas. But, the numbers were probably not enormous in absolute terms: most Christian communities were not large and no community is known to have been destroyed by a persecution. A figure of around 30,000–50,000 victims in the centuries before Constantine, which would allow for an average of between 75 and 125 victims a year throughout the empire, may be roughly correct.

**D. Persecution and the Church**

As the attitude of the state and local authorities changed towards the church, so too did the attitude of the church towards persecution. From the earliest period, Christians who were willing to endure death, torture, and imprisonment for the faith were greatly honored. The cult of martyrs quickly came to play an important role in the church, and some movements, such as Montanism, placed a premium upon martyrdom. For any Christian, persecution was seen as a time to prove ultimate devotion, and in facing the authorities a Christian might feel that he was reenacting the Passion. The emotion is summed up most eloquently by martyrs imprisoned at Carthage in the late summer of 250: "what … could, through God's favor, befall any man which might bring him greater glory or bliss than this: in the very midst of his executioners, undaunted, to confess the Lord God … to become, by confessing the name of Christ, a partner of Christ in his passion; to have become, by God's favor, a judge of his own judge (Cyp. *Ep.* 31, 2, 3)." A number of Christians even went so far as deliberately to attract the attention of the authorities so that they might suffer for the faith. But this also led to problems within the Church.

One difficulty persecution caused the church (above and beyond the physical suffering of some of its members and the intellectual problems it raised about the nature of evil) was the challenge that martyrs posed to the established hierarchy of the church. Montanists certainly taught that martyrs were closer to God than the authorities of the church, and that attitude was also common in more conventional circles. Cyprian treated the question at length in his *Concerning the Lapsed* (*de Lapsis,* 15–21) and argued that the absolution granted by martyrs to those who had sacrificed or obtained *libelli* during the reign of Decius had no effect—that penance had to be imposed by the duly constituted officers of the church. But this did not solve the issue, even in Cyprian's own province. At the time of the great persecution there is a great deal of evidence for efforts by the church to restrict the title of martyr and regulate the celebration of the cult. The early 4th century council at Elvira in Spain ruled that "voluntary martyrs," people who were killed while insulting traditional cult, could not be regarded as true martyrs. Mensurius of Carthage refused the title of martyr to people who did not try to evade the authorities. It would even appear that he forbade members of his congregation to bring food to such people when they were in prison (cf. Jonkers 1954: 18 n. 60; von Soden 1913: n. 4, 6). But his ruling did not go unchallenged; even a Christian, such as Lactantius, who subscribed to the doctrine that people should not offer themselves to the authorities, could not restrain his admiration for a man who was executed after tearing down a copy of Diocletian's first persecution edict (Lactant. *de Mort. Pers.* 13.2–3). The problem did not end for the orthodox church until the end of the persecutions.

The second major problem was that persecution gave rise to schism. People responded differently to persecution, and while all might agree that "authentic martyrs" should be treated with the highest regard, not all could agree as to what constituted proper behavior on the part of their weaker brethren. Debate over this question became particularly vehement at the time of the Decian edict on sacrifices and even more so in the time of the Great Persecution. The great Donatist and Melitian disputes arose directly out of this issue: both sects challenged the orthodox church's more moderate treatment of those who were weak in the face of persecution. Such disputes were not easily quelled and were carried on with great vehemence, as may be seen in the statement of the schismatic bishop Majorian of Carthage at the time of his consecration in 311. He said, "I am the real vine and my father is the gardener. Every barren branch of mine he cuts away; and every fruiting branch he cleans (John 15:1–2). Thus I cast off the barren branches which have been cut, thus the incense burners, the *traditores,* who are hateful to god, may not remain in the church of god, unless, confessing their grief they are reconciled through penance. Hence it is not fitting to have communication with Caecilian, a heretic, ordained by *traditores*" (von Soden 1913: 6).

It was through the promotion of schism that persecution by the imperial authorities caused the most difficulty to the Church. The quarrels which arose in the wake of the Great Persecution did not end with the victory of Constantine. In fact, they led to the opening of a new chapter in the relationship between the Church and the empire. This was the violent persecution of heretical sects by the imperial government in defense of the orthodox faith.

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**PERSEPOLIS** (PLACE) [Gk *Persepolis* (Περσεπολις)]. One of the ancient capitals of the Achaemenid kings of Iran (the others were Susa, Ecbatana, and Babylon). Now called Takht-i Jamshid (the Throne of Jamshid), it is located in SW Iran (29°57′N; 52°52′E) in the province of Fars (the homeland of the Achaemenids), approximately 32 miles NE of the modern city of Shiraz. The Old Persian name for the site was *Parsa.* It is mentioned in 2 Macc 9:2 as a city which rebelled against and defeated Antiochus.

The site is situated on a large platform, partially artificial and partially carved from the native rock at the W foot of the Kuh-i Rahmat (Mountain of Mercy). The platform, the cistern, an elaborate system of drains, the central part of the Apadana or large audience hall, and several sections of the Treasury building were founded and, in the main, brought to completion by Darius I (522–486 B.C.). Construction probably began shortly after 520 B.C. Late in the reign of Darius, and in the early years of Xerxes, the platform was expanded to the W and Darius' private palace, a second phase of the Treasury, part of the fortifications, the main stair and the Gate of All Nations were built. Xerxes himself built a new, larger private palace, the central building (Tripylon), and the Harem. He also reorganized and enlarged the Treasury, and laid the foundations for, and perhaps completed, a large new audience hall, the Hall of a Hundred Columns. All remaining construction can be dated to the reigns of either Artaxerxes I or his successors, but any further construction is nothing more than the completion, or the enlargement, of the building plans laid down by Darius and modified by Xerxes.

The Persepolis platform and the buildings on it are a remarkable artistic and architectural statement. It is probable, however, that what has been exposed is only the "fortification," or the citadel, of a far more extensive complex. There are several palaces on the plain to both sides of the platform, and no doubt more await excavation. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that a much larger "City of the Persians" stretched across the plain at the front and to the sides of the platform.

The characteristic architectural feature of the Persepolis building complex is the columned hall. Other individual elements, such as the Mesopotamian-inspired winged bulls which guard Xerxes' Gate of All Nations, are clearly borrowed from other cultures, but the columned hall is rooted in the experiences of the Iranians on the Iranian plateau. The prototypes of the great halls, such as the Apadana and Hall of a Hundred Columns, can be found in the columned structures of Hasanlu V and IV (1400–800 B.C.) and in the columned halls of the Median sites of Nush-i Jan and Godin II (8th–7th centuries B.C.).

Another major feature of the site is the relief sculpture which adorns almost every building. Characteristic of these reliefs is that they are entirely unhistorical; they tell no developing story, as did many reliefs of the Assyrians and the Egyptians. Instead they give a static picture of something that is already done, that already exists, that is accomplished (tribute brought, monsters slain, fire honored, dignitaries received). More important, the king is everywhere and is the focus, in one way or another, of almost all the reliefs. Yet this king is not an individual; there are no portraits of Darius, Xerxes, or Artaxerxes. Instead they project a dynastic image of the glory and concept of kingship, rather than a realistic depiction of a particular king. Thus the whole of even a complex composition such as the great reliefs on the stairways of the Apadana present a planned, spiritual, abstract, and almost cosmic composition of static totality.

It can be suggested that the ultimate goal of both the architecture and the decoration of Persepolis was to present to the world the concept of a *Pax Persica*—a harmonious, peaceful empire ruled by a king who contained within his person and his office the welfare of the empire.

T. CUYLER YOUNG, JR.

**PERSEUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Perseus* (Περσευς)]. Illegitimate son of Philip V and the last king of Macedonia, whose defeat is mentioned in a list praising Roman accomplishments (1 Macc 8:5). In the 180s B.C.E., Perseus helped his father prepare Macedonia for war against Rome, while his legitimate half brother, Demetrius, defended Philip in the Senate against accusations of illegally seizing Thrace. Jealous

of Demetrius' success in Rome, Perseus engineered his death in 181 with a forged letter implicating him in treason. Later Philip learned the truth, but he died too suddenly to prevent Perseus' accession to the throne in 179.

Perseus continued to arm Macedonia and make alliances with Rome's enemies. Seleucus IV married his daughter Laodice to Perseus in 177 to join the Macedonian cause. After Seleucus' assassination in 175, the pro-Roman King Eumenes of Pergamum put Antiochus IV on the Seleucid throne to block a Seleucid alliance with Perseus. Though Antiochus IV negotiated with Perseus, he did so secretly so as not to anger Rome.

The accusations against Perseus and the fears about his military buildup led Rome to invade Macedonia in 171. In the Third Macedonian War, Perseus would neither capitalize on his victories by destroying the Romans nor could he get them to surrender. On June 22, 168, the Roman general Aemilius Paulus finally defeated Perseus at Pydma and took him captive to Rome. Perseus lived in a dungeon in Alba until Aemilius convinced the Senate to give him better quarters. However, after two years, Perseus so antagonized his guards that they kept him awake constantly until he died from sleeplessness.

Rome's involvement in the Third Macedonian War permitted Antiochus IV to invade Egypt in 171 and to control it until 168, when Rome forced him to leave Egypt.

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**PERSIAN ART.** See ART AND ARCHITECTURE (PERSIAN ART).

**PERSIAN EMPIRE.** In the third quarter of the 6th century B.C., the political geography of the Middle East underwent a profound change. Divided around 550 between powerful contemporary kingdoms (Babylonia, Egypt, Media, Lydia), it would be, in the decades that followed, unified by the conquests of the Persians, a small group practically absent from historical documentation until the time when, under Cyrus the Great (560/59–530), they began their indomitable expansion. Under the reigns of the first three representatives of the new "Achaemenid" dynasty, the territory controlled by the Persian armies continued to extend in all directions at a very rapid pace.

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**A. The Creation of an Empire**

**1. The Persian Kingdom Before 550 B.C.** We know very little about the Persians before the appearance of Cyrus. They were an Iranian people who, coming directly from Central Asia or via the Caucasus and the Zagros around 1000 B.C., settled in the region that would become Persia (Fārs), i.e., the heart of the Persian Empire. The way of life of these Persians is poorly understood. Herodotus makes reference to tribes of nomads and tribes of farmers, but this text remains too schematic. The Persians settled in a

region that had traditionally been held by the masters of Susa, the Elamite kings. It is therefore hardly surprising that the first title held by the Persian kings was that of "king of Anshan," a direct reference to the Fārs region near Maliyan, traditionally under Susa. The expansion of the first Persian kingdom was done at the expense of Susa and the Neo-Elamite kings. But the Perso-Elamite contacts did not take place solely during periods of war. The Fārs was then inhabited by Elamite populations with whom the Persians had established fruitful contacts. The "Acropolis Tablets," whose dating is still contested (second half of the 7th century or the first half of the 6th century), attest to the presence of a Persian population in Susa during this period. All of this explains why Elamite influence was so powerful in the institutions of the Persian State: for example, the Persepolis tablets that date from the reigns of Darius and Xerxes are written in the Elamite language (sprinkled with Persian terms).

In the absence of indisputable written documents, we cannot reconstruct with certainty the different stages of the history of the Persian kingdom before Cyrus the Great. In his genealogy, Darius I affirms that eight kings reigned before him. But Darius' pretentions are highly debatable (see below). On the other hand, an inscription by Ashurbanipal (669–630 B.C.) refers to a certain Kurash, "king of Parsumash," who rendered homage to the Assyrian king and sent him his son as hostage ca. 640 B.C. It is now doubtful that this was actually Cyrus I: a recent study (de Miroschedji 1985) places his reign ca. 610–589 (Cambyses I [585–559] and Cyrus II [the Great] succeeded him). The only evidence pertaining to Cyrus I remains a seal from Persepolis referring to "Kurash of Anshan, son of Teispes." We are forced to admit that the current state of the evidence does not allow us to create a picture of Persian politics and society at the time when Cyrus II began his assault on the kingdoms of the Middle East.

**2. The Conquests of Cyrus (550–530 B.C.).** Cyrus' first target was the Median kingdom of Astyage and its capital Ecbatana (Hamadan). The relationship between the Medes and the Persians was ancient: they were both peoples of Iranian culture. The different versions of the "legend of the founder" transmitted by classical sources (as well as from a passage of the Sippar Cylinder) attest to the Persian kingdom's status as vassal to Ecbatana. It is probable that Cyrus was able to benefit from a certain weakening of Astyage before a group of nobles. Whatever the reason, the Median army was defeated and Cyrus seized Ecbatana and imposed himself as successor to the Median kings. Most likely the peoples of Central Asia (Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sakai, and Bactrians) who had been linked to Ecbatana came to renew their (more or less lax) state of dependence: Cyrus could certainly demand contingents of them to reinforce his army, which was already swollen with Median troops. The conquest of Ecbatana also allowed Cyrus to obtain the treasure of Astyage and to remove it to Persia.

His first conquest resulted in his territorial expansion up to the border of the Lydian kingdom of Croesus, that extended to the Halys River. Croesus, who had an alliance with the Babylonian king Nabonidus, himself took the offensive. He was defeated in pitched battle at Pteria, and the following winter (546?) Cyrus laid seige to Sardis. Most of the Greek cities, subjects of Croesus, underestimated Cyrus' power and refused to surrender. Only Miletus, a city traditionally "Medizing," abandoned Croesus' camp. After the fall of Sardis, Cyrus was called back to the E front, while his generals, under the high command of the Mede Harpage, continued to assault the recalcitrant Greek cities, which soon had to submit after hard combat. Only Miletus was able to strike an advantageous agreement with its new masters.

The reasons for Cyrus' rapid departure are thus presented by Herodotus: "Babylon in effect created difficulties for him, the Bactrian people, the Sakai, and the Egyptians; it is against these adversaries that he proposed to march in person" (1.153). After a little-known expedition on the Iranian plateau, Cyrus decided to march against the principal power opposing him, the Neo-Babylonian kingdom and its king Nabonidus. The conditions and the circumstances of the capture of Babylon in 539 are presented by classical sources (Herodotus, Xenophon) and by contemporary Babylonian texts. Cyrus' Cylinder (*ANET*, 315–316), drawn up after the Persian victory, affirms that Cyrus' victory was facilitated by the Babylonians themselves, who were eager to get rid of Nabonidus, whom they considered impious. In reality, the conquest of Babylonia was not so simple. Nabonidus and the Babylonian army tried to resist the invaders, but after a Babylonian defeat at Opis (October 539) the road to Babylon was open. One of

Cyrus' generals, Gobryas, was able to enter the next day, and shortly after, Cyrus himself made his solemn entrance. The Persian propagandists knew how to present Cyrus as a good king coming to restore order and security and to reconstruct the sacred temples.

The conquest of Babylonia allowed Cyrus the opportunity to seize the territories of the Outer-Euphrates. Several kings and cities from this region soon submitted to him. There was no doubt that Cyrus intended to march on these regions, but it was not necessary to launch any military expedition during his reign. However, it was decided to allow the Judeans who had been in exile in Babylon to return to Jerusalem. The text of the edict is cited twice in the Hebrew Bible (2 Chr 36:23; Ezra 1:2–4; cf. 1 Esdr 2:3–7). The Judeans could resettle in Judea and reconstruct the temple of Jerusalem, taking with them the objects of the cult that had been taken as booty by the Babylonians. The biblical texts present the act of Cyrus as being directly inspired by Yahweh (cf. also Isa 45:1–7). In reality, contrary to what has often been said, Cyrus had no special sympathy for Yahwism. He acted with respect to the Yahwist cult as he had acted with respect to the Babylonian temples. Placed in the historical context of the ANE, the royal decision takes on its true character: while it was a decisive episode for the Judeans themselves, at the same time it was a common and banal event for the Persian political establishment. It is probable that, in doing this, Cyrus had political objectives in mind, probably already anticipating an expedition against Egypt, which was located on the other side of Judea.

**3. Cambyses and the Conquest of Egypt (530–522 B.C.).** Cyrus himself was not able to lead the conquest into Egypt for reasons that are not exactly known. It is known that the king disappeared during combat in Central Asia against the Massagetai. The task of leading the Persian armies against the pharaoh fell to his son Cambyses, who had a sizeable fleet at his disposal, thanks to the support of the Ionians and the Phoenicians. The new pharaoh, Psamtik III, soon suffered a decisive defeat, and in the spring of 525 Cambyses was able to enter Saïs, the capital of the dynasty. He had less success with his expedition against Ethiopia, which ended in a military disaster. Thus, the empire had practically attained the dimensions that would stand until the arrival of Alexander, reaching from Central Asia to the Mediterranean. Certainly the next king Darius led important expeditions, but one can say that the work of conquering these lands was accomplished essentially by the first two kings. By 525 B.C., the Persians had no more neighbors in the Middle East: the ancient kingdoms of Media, Lydia, Babylonia, and Egypt had been transformed into satrapies administrated by the Persians.

Contrary to what the Greek tradition (especially Herodotus) claims, the conduct of Cambyses with respect to the Egyptian temples was not fundamentally different than that of Cyrus in Babylon. Certainly there were depredations, to which the Judeans of Elephantine would allude a century later. But the Egyptian documents attest to the respect that the king paid to the sacred bull Apis, and the autobiography of Ujahorresne, a newly-conquered Egyptian noble, indicates that Cambyses protected everything, especially the temple of the goddess Neith in Saïs. It was, moreover, necessary for the new conqueror to mold himself in Egyptian traditions: thus he also adopted the pharaonic title, and there is little doubt that he was seen as a pharaoh by the vast majority of the Egyptian population. In fact, Cambyses "pharaonized" himself in Egypt, just as Cyrus had "Babylonized" himself in Babylon. The attitude taken by the first two kings constituted the basis of a flexible policy that the Achaemenids constantly implemented within the diverse populations of their empire.

**4. Uprising, Revolts, and New Conquests (522–500 B.C.).** Called back to Persia by an uprising, Cambyses died on the return road (522). The consequent dynastic struggle is known to us not only from Herodotus but also from Darius, who had the facts engraved on the rock of Behistun after his victory. But Darius' account is hardly adequate for the historian. According to Darius, the uprising was the work of a magi, Gaumata, who posed as Cambyses' younger brother, Bardiya (called "Smerdis" by Herodotus). Darius presents himself as the legitimate successor to the eight previous kings, the hero who took control of a conspiracy of nobles, killed the usurper, and immediately ascended the throne (the end of September 522). But this version of events is questioned by many historians who think that Gaumata was indeed Cambyses' brother. In that case, Darius himself would have been the usurper. This dynastic competition was accompanied by a series of revolts against the Persian power. Although Darius cites Egypt among the

rebels, it seems that the most important rebellions took place in the heartland (Persia, Elam, Babylonia, Media) and to the E on the Iranian Plateau.

With the help of a necessarily reduced army, Darius launched numerous counter-offensives led by generals who remained loyal to him. The different royal armies had to fight on several fronts at the same time: in December 522, for example, one notes two victories by Darius in Babylonia, the quelling of a rebellion in Elam, a victory in Arachosia, and another in Assyria. Fortunately for Darius, two satraps on the Iranian Plateau (in Bactria and in Arachosia) joined him in the fight against the rebels, as did Darius' real father, Hystaspes, in Parthia-Hyrcania. Darius' consolidation of power was, however, long and difficult: Elam abandoned the struggle definitively only in 520. It is even later still, in 518, that Darius reestablished order in Egypt.

These revolts show a marked dynastic character. The rebels borrowed the name of a king, thereby attaching themselves to a dynasty deposed by the Persians: one of the Babylonian rebels presented himself as the son of Nabonidus, while a Median chief posed as a member of the Cyaxares family. The symbolism is clear—they were trying to terminate the short period of Persian domination and to link themselves to the history of different preexisting kingdoms (Babylonia, Media, Elam, etc.). All the rebel chiefs succeeded in mobilizing large armies against the Persians, as attested by the high number of losses recorded in the Akkadian and Aramaic versions of the Behistun inscription. The danger was greater in Asia Minor, where the satrap Oroites tried to profit from the troubles by declaring independence from the central power. Elsewhere, the problems confronting the central power instilled hope in people who did not directly take part in the revolts. There exists an echo of this in certain prophetic texts (Haggai, Zechariah) documenting Judean hopes for a restoration of the Israelite monarchy. Furthermore, the Persian people were themselves divided when Darius confronted a native Persian competitor in the person of Vahyazdata, who took for himself the name of Bardiya, thus indicating clearly that he considered himself to be Cyrus' legitimate successor. This dynastic crisis thus added to the imperial crisis.

Inversely, the victories won by Darius attest to the stability and sturdiness of the empire established by Cyrus and Cambyses. Many satraps remained loyal, and Darius found devoted aides among the nobles who had actively participated in the elimination of Gaumata-Bardiya. It is with the support of the aristocratic Persians that he was able to put an end to the secession of Oroites in Asia Minor without a military campaign. He was even able to take strong measures against the noble intaphernes who had defied his authority; no aristocrat would take Intaphernes' side. One thus understands why Darius proudly celebrated his victories on the rock of Behistun: under his feet lay Gaumata, and before him were drawn the "lying kings" he had recently vanquished. According to his own declarations, it was the victory of the Truth (*arta*) over the Lie (*drauga*), in other words, the triumph of loyalty over the rebellion. The strength of the king and the empire would soon be magnified by the construction of a new capital, Persepolis. Shortly after his victories he led a major expedition into Central Asia and India, whereby the Indus valley was annexed to the empire. In 513 the expedition into Scythia was less successful, but it still allowed the Persians to settle in Thrace and to reduce the Macedonian kingdom to vassalage. The empire had thus reached its largest extension.

**5. The Organization of the Empire under Darius.** According to Herodotus, Darius' victory in 520 was followed by a reorganization of the empire: "He established in the Persian Empire twenty governments (*archai*) called satrapies; the various governors were appointed, and each nation assessed for tributes (*phoroi*) that should revert to him" (3.89). In reality, satraps and tribute already existed during the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Bardiya, but Darius was the first to unify and systematize the administrative practices. The people (*ethnē*) were reunited from within the large governmental provinces (the satraps) and made to pay a tribute each year, probably calculated in prorate of cultivatable lands. Only some people (Arabs, Ethiopians, Colchidians) maintained their status as donors. The Persian territory itself was exempted from tribute. Several Achaemenid documents (royal lists, "Gift Carriers" of Persepolis, "Throne Carriers," a statue of Darius, Egyptian steles) refer to lists that have often been considered lists of satraps. They were actually selective lists of countries (*dahyu- ava*), upon which one

should not base conclusions about an administrative structure. It is also necessary to underscore the fact that both the number and the specific responsibilities of the satraps evolved over time.

Each satrapy was given to a high Persian aristocrat, aided by administrators. The satrap could call upon garrison and occupation troops. The satrapy had to pay its tribute every year to the Persian king, who deposited the sum in the stores and treasuries of the empire. The size of the stocks of precious metals later found by Alexander the Great is an indication of the viability of the system. In order to control the satraps more effectively, large numbers of native Persians were installed and were given sizeable plots of land along with the obligation of leading their cavalry troops as requisitioned by the satrap. In Babylonia, the land was awarded to the *hatru,* collectivities of diverse ethnic origin that in return were supposed to provide soldiers and diverse taxes. The satraps were required to be diligent in implementing the royal orders that they regularly received from royal couriers.

Within the satrapy the local peoples, dynasties, and other recognized communities continued to enjoy a certain degree of autonomy (e.g., the dynasties of Cilicia and of Caria remained in place). It was up to the local chiefs to conduct their contingent of the royal army. By the same token, the internal organization of the conquered Greek cities was essentially unchanged; in fact the first Persian kings happily relied on the local tyrants. Darius essentially continued his predecessors' policies with respect to conquered populations. In Egypt, he continued to present himself as pharaoh, as attested by the title engraved on his statue found at Susa. In the same way, he confirmed to the Judeans the privileges that Cyrus had granted them (Ezra 6). In a general manner, the king also recognized the earlier practices of the temples, as is so eloquently attested by the letter he sent to Gadatas, who was accused of having violated the privileges of the temple of Apollo near Magnesia of Meander (in Asia Minor). This policy has been erroneously labeled "religious tolerance"; actually it was an attempt to reconcile the central power with the local subjects, and the fundamental objective remained maintenance and reinforcement of the Persian Empire. The royal policy with respect to Babylonian temples clearly shows this orientation, since one can find abundant evidence attesting to the intervention of the Persian administration in the management of the wealth of these temples, while at the same time the cults and local temples were not threatened.

The entire imperial system was dominated by the king. While not regarded as a god himself, the Persian king was viewed as the earthly lieutenant of the great deities of the empire, the first among them being the god Ahura-Mazda. The king was consecrated at Pasargadae during the course of a religious ceremony (which is described by Plutarch). But the new king did not take his power only from the gods: he also held it from filiation. Custom required that the eldest son succeed his father, and that he, in turn, designate his heir. This frequently-attested custom did not stop the drama of succession, since certain younger brothers did not easily accept being bypassed (e.g., Bardiya's struggle against his elder brother Cambyses, and also the case of the succession after the assassination of Xerxes, when Artaxerxes II came to power after eliminating his older brother Darius in a bloody struggle).

The monumental structures built in the large capitals symbolized the new power attained by Darius' empire. During his reign the first improvements were made at the site of Susa, improvements attested both archaeologically and from numerous inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes. Darius also had a large palace built in Babylon, and work was continued at Parsagadae, the capital founded by Cyrus. It is probably during the period of Cambyses that Persepolis was first chosen as a site, but it was up to Darius to design the plan and to him and his successors to construct it. The style and grandeur of the buildings are amply documented by archaeological evidence and by a group of Elamite tablets, the Treasury Tablets, published by G. C. Cameron in 1948. Another group of contemporaneous tablets, an important part of which were published by R. T. Hallock in 1969, attest to productive activities in Persis under Darius. They are also interesting because they shed light on persons such as Artaphernes, Mardonios, and Datis, who are mentioned in classical sources. The land was worked by laborers from all parts of the empire, who are often identified in the tablets as *kurtash,* a generic term which applied to a wide variety of persons (prisoners of war, dependent peasants, "free" salaried workers). A similar ethnic diversity is found among the groups of workers employed at the building sites at Persepolis. All the buildings and inscriptions there function to exalt the vastness and the richness of the territory ruled by the Great King. If

Susa had become (according to the Greek testimony) the most frequented capital of the court, Pesepolis was always clothed with an essentially ideological function. During the course of the year, the Great King and the court moved from capital to capital: Persepolis, Susa, Babylon, Ecbatana.

A system of royal roads completed the unification of the empire. Herodotus (5. 52–53) gives a precise description of the route and the organization of the Royal Road that during Darius' reign went from Sardis to Susa. But there existed many other royal roads linking the capitals of the empire to the satraps' capitals. A group of tablets from Persepolis gives precise descriptions of the roads and the rights enjoyed by officially-authorized travelers, including the right to travel on the roads and to receive rations at wayside inns. Among other functions, these well-maintained and protected roads allowed troop convoys to deploy to various places where they had been ordered; thus the military played an essential role in the survival of the road system.

The Persian king had numerous troops at his disposal in order to control the territories and populations of the empire. In order to regulate local problems, the satraps could summon the troops of their government. Sometimes a satrap could be given command of the troops of several satraps: he would thus receive the title of *karanos.* If the king decided to mount a large campaign, he convened the royal army, composed of contingents from all the countries of the empire. Darius assembled them to lead his expeditions of conquest. The best known example is the army raised by Darius and then by Xerxes to march against the Greeks. The royal army is described in detail by Herodotus (7. 60–99). Each ethnic contingent kept its own weapons. Each of the large divisions of the army was commanded by a Persian, often a relative of the king; similarly the naval contingents were given to Persian commanders. The diversity of the contingents and the disordered character of this army (often emphasized by Greek authors) should not be misleading. Within this array, several contingents constituted the army of the elite, the real fighting army—the Persians, the Medes, the Bactrians, and the Sakai. The components of the royal army thus corresponded in effect to the political and ideological motives: it visually symbolized the grandeur and the diversity of the empire.

**B. The Empire in the 5th Century**

**1. The First Retreats on the Mediterranean Front (500–448 B.C.).** The first setbacks took place on the W front at the very beginning of the 5th century B.C. For reasons still not completely clear, the tyrant Aristagoras of Miletus led a revolt against the Persians. At the head of these forces, he ravaged Sardis (499), initiating the Ionian revolt. But the land and naval superiority of the Persians would soon become obvious, despite the fact that the cities of the straits (Bosporus) and the Cypriot kingdoms joined the rebellion. After 497 or 496, the Persians retook Cyprus and then obtained the submission of the cities to the N. After a Greek naval defeat at Lade, Miletus was taken in 494. The Persians destroyed the city and deported part of the population. Then the satrap Artaphernes relinquished the office of tyrant and accepted the democratic regimes, fixing norms for levying tributes on the territories of the cities. The Persians profited from their victory by sending an army into Thrace in 492 under the command of Mardonios, son-in-law of the king.

An expedition against Greece was launched in 490; it is referred to as the First Persian War. The objective was less the annexation of Greece than domination over the Cyclades. The Persian defeat at Marathon revealed the Persian vulnerability in the Aegean. Almost immediately Darius began a new expedition, this time directed against the Greek cities themselves. His death in 486 and the subsequent revolts in Babylonia and Egypt slowed down his son and successor Xerxes, and it was only in 480 that the immense land and sea force finally set off (the contingents are counted and described by Herodotus). Faced with this threat, Athens and Sparta concluded an alliance of common action, and Themistocles decided to abandon Attica to concentrate his effort on the sea. Although Athens was thus taken by the Persians, the Persians then suffered a major naval defeat at Salamis, which forced Xerxes to return to his kingdom. The elite-army left in Greece under the command of Mardonios suffered a disaster the following year at Plataea (479). This defeat caused renewed hope in the Asian cities, so much so that the same year the Greek fleet won yet another victory at Mykale. Soon, under the aegis of Athens, a league

was formed to which a number of Asian cities adhered. The objective was to lead reprisal expeditions against the Achaemenid territories and to protect the cities against Persian counterattacks.

In three years the strategic situation had thus been upset. The Persians had lost Thrace (where only a few garrisons still resisted) and no longer enjoyed hegemony on their Mediterranean front. Furthermore, Athens emerged from the war strong. The city had access to important resources, a first rate navy, and its leaders had decided to launch a large offensive against the Achaemenids' possessions. Around 466, Cimon achieved a double victory over Persian forces in Pamphylia. Several years later, the Athenians came to the aid of the Inaros dynasty in Egypt, which had revolted against the Persians (460). The arrival of a Persian army under the command of Megabyze (Xerxes' son-in-law) resulted in a complete disaster for the Athenians—Egypt came once again under Achaemenid domination. Several years later, after an Athenian success in Cypriot waters (450), negotiations were opened that would lead to the Peace of Callias (448), about which there has been much dispute. The two adversaries, Athens and Persia, wanted to put an end to the hostilities. Even if the Persian king continued to affirm his dominion over these cities, he still had to concede the Athenian presence, a notable setback to the Achaemenid power on the Mediterranean front. Peace was renewed later by Darius II shortly after his accession.

**2. Imperial Strength and Royal Power.** It is often assumed that Xerxes' setbacks inaugurated a long period of decline in Achaemenid history that would culminate with the conquest of Alexander. This is a very tendentious assumption that has no documentary foundation. The relative importance of Darius' reign and that of Xerxes is a misleading result of the unequal division of narrative Greek sources. Herodotus' work ends with the Persian defeats of 479 in Greece and Ionia. No author of his stature undertook a record of Persian affairs. Today's historian must go to Diodorus of Sicily and to Ctesius. The latter devoted several books of his *Persika* to the actions of the kings after Cyrus up until the year 398 B.C., the 7th year of king Artaxerxes II. For the most part, his story refers to dynastic problems, to the intrigues of the court, and to the difficulties encountered by the royal power. See CTESIAS. However, his vision of Persian history at the least must be nuanced because it is at the same time very biased. The paragraphs that he devotes to the reigns of Xerxes (486–465) and Artaxerxes I (464–424) are less centered on royal politics than on the picturesque and novel-like story of the noble Megabyze. As for the reign of Darius II (425–405/4), he summarizes the difficulties of the accession of the king and the revolts that he had to put down. The idea of a Persian decline beginning with Xerxes is found in other Greek authors of the 4th century (Plato and Xenophon in particular), but their interpretations arise more from their Greek ideological biases than from a reasoned analysis of the course of Persian history.

On the Persian side, the documentation is unfortunately very scanty. However, everything leads one to believe that neither the royal power nor the imperial domination were ever seriously or profoundly jeopardized by the setbacks on the Mediterranean front. The tablets from the Treasury of Persepolis recount that the construction work was more active than ever during the reign of Xerxes and the first years of Artaxerxes I (486–461). The activities of these kings are confirmed by royal inscriptions. The importance of an inscription by Xerxes must also be considered. In it, the king recalls first of all that he restored order in the provinces that had rebelled. He also affirms the preeminence of the god Ahura-Mazda. This has been seen as a modification of the religious policies of the Achaemenids—Xerxes attempting to impose the cult of the supreme Persian god by forbidding the cult of local gods. However, this is not the case. The document makes no reference to any specific measures taken in Babylonia or anywhere else. Above all, it attests to the strength of the monarchic ideology, still reinforced and codified in a rigorous manner during Xerxes' reign and fully maintained by his successors.

The strength of the monarchic ideology did not prevent dynastic difficulties, which were numerous and serious during the 5th century. If, as designated heir, Xerxes succeeded his father without difficulty, his own succession was much more tumultuous. He was assassinated by rebels, as was his eldest son Darius. The younger son, Artaxerxes, came to power only after difficult combat. In 424, the death of Artaxerxes I was soon followed by the assassination of his son Xerxes II, who reigned only a few weeks. Fierce competition then ensued between two of his illegitimate sons, Sogdianos and Ochos. The latter was finally recognized as king under the name of Darius (II) at the end of an intense civil war, recounted by

Ctesias and echoed in Babylonian tablets. At the end of his life, Darius II followed the Achaemenid custom of designating his eldest son Artaxerxes as his successor. But, his accession in 405/404 precipitated a war of succession instigated by his younger brother Cyrus and supported by their mother Parysatis, a war (401) of which Xenophon (*Anabasis*) and Ctesias have left accounts. However, one cannot talk about a deterioration of the dynasty since such dynastic struggles occurred from the beginning of Achaemenid history. They never threatened the hegemony of the Achaemenids with respect to the great aristocratic Persian families.

On the other hand, existing documentation does not allow for a continuous reconstruction of imperial affairs in the 5th century. Babylonia and Egypt are the best known governments, thanks to Babylonian tablets on the one hand, and Aramaic documents on the other. The archives of the house of Murashû give important information concerning economic and social life in Babylonia between 455 and 403. They allow us to have a precise idea as to the condition of the land and people, in particular the operation of the *hatru*-system and the military and fiscal obligations that were levied on the plots of land of the communities located in this region. Other archives also attest to the new place held by the Babylonians in the administration. One example is Belshunu who, after having been "governor of Babylon" between 421 and 404, was named satrap of Syria (i.e., Trans-euphrates) between 407 and 401; he is the Belesys of Xenephon.

In Egypt, the Aramaic documents furnish information about the satrapic government of Arshama and about the management of the large Persian domains in the Nile river valley during the last quarter of the 5th century. A group of letters (*DOTT, 260–69; ANET,* 492) refers to the hostilities that the Judean garrison of Syene-Elephantine encountered ca. 410 B.C. from the Egyptians and the Persian governor Widranga. After the destruction of the local temple of Yahweh, the dispute was taken before the king and the satrap, who judged in favor of the Judeans, who were then permitted to reconstruct their temple. The Aramaic documents and the Greek sources also point out the difficulties encountered by the Persians in Egypt from the revolt suppressed by Xerxes at the beginning of his reign (485) to the Inaros revolt crushed by Megabyze at the end of Xerxes' reign (456). The defeat of another dynasty, Amyrtaios, had not meant the end of this principality in the Delta. In 445/44, Psamtik still seemed to be a powerful pharaoh. In 404, another Amyrtaios succeeded in implanting himself firmly in Upper Egypt then, several years later (398), in Lower Egypt. That would mark the end of the Persian domination of Egypt until 343 (see C.3 below).

The Athenian defeat in Sicily in 412 and its repercussion in Ionia put Asia Minor in full light in the accounts of Thucydides (*The Peloponnesian War,* Book 8) and Xenophon (*Hellenics*). This front had practically disappeared in the documentation since the middle of the 5th century, except for Ctesias' reference to a satrapic revolt. In 412, the two principal satraps of Asia Minor—Pharnabazus (Hellespontine Phrygia) and Tissaphernes (Sardis)—tried to ally themselves with Sparta. Both had received from Darius II the order to force the Greek cities once again to pay the royal tribute. But the Greek sources for the most part treat the struggles between Athens and Sparta, disregarding Achaemenid affairs. The nomination of Cyrus in 407 as commander in chief of the Persian troops allowed the reestablishment of Achaemenid positions, but these were soon jeopardized by Cyrus' subsequent revolt against his brother Artaxerxes (404–401), the designated successor to the throne.

**C. From Artaxerxes II to Alexander (404–334 B.C.).**

**1. Dynastic Crisis and Royal Power.** Menaced on the western front, the empire once again experienced serious dynastic problems during the course of the 4th century. The succession of Artaxerxes was difficult. His eldest son and designated heir, Darius, was put to death for treason. His younger son, Ochos, was recognized under the name of Artaxerxes III (359–358). The succession of the latter took place in the middle of a bloodbath. He was assassinated by the chiliarch Bagoas who had Oarses, youngest son of Artaxerxes III, recognized as king, before making him disappear and pushing Darius (III) onto the throne. According to Diodorus, the reason for this was that the "Royal House was extinguished and there was no longer anyone to whom birth permitted them to inherit the power" (17.5.5)—an excessive judgment, given the fact that Darius was an Achaemenid. His selection is explained by the

Achaemenid custom of endogamy that had always enabled power to be conserved in the "royal line"; Darius III was in effect married to his own sister Stateira—they were both born to one of Darius II sons. Thus, dynastic continuity was maintained.

The prestige and power of the last Persian kings remained strong, as attested by their inscriptions and by their continuation of the work at Persepolis. The desire of the kings to restore and to strengthen their ties with the different Persian communities located in the different regions of the empire also attest to it. Ever since the first kings, the Persian communities of the *diaspora* constituted the "backbone" of Persian power in the empire's territories. They were under obligation to continue to live according to the Persian way of life, to promote a cult to the Persian gods, and to obey in every way the satrap, lieutenant of the king in the satrapy. An inscription found at Sardis shows that a temple and a statue dedicated to Ahura-Mazda existed there (named Zeus Baradates: "Legislator"): the text indicates that a high administrator of Sardis prohibited the followers of the cult of Ahura-Mazda from participating in the Anatolian mystery cults. One should probably link this decision to the order given by Artaxerxes II to the Persians of the large capitals of the empire reinforcing their devotion to Anahita, one of the three great deities of the Persian Empire (along with Ahura-Mazda and Mithra). This complemented similar measures aimed at identical objectives: regrouping the Persian *diaspora* around traditional Persian ideas, and thus around the royal person.

**2. The Retaking of Asia Minor.** On the Asia Minor front, the reign of Artaxerxes II—once the danger of Cyrus had been eliminated—showed a clear consolidation of power. The years following the defeat of Athens in 404 saw a series of expeditions by Sparta, presented as campaigns to liberate the Greek cities from Achaemenid rule. But even the most ambitious of the Spartan chiefs, Agesilaus, never threatened Persian domination. Soon the Persians supported the Athenian Konon against Sparta. The Persian king quickly became the arbiter for quarrels between Greek cities, to such a point that in 386 Artaxerxes II imposed his will on all the Greek cities by unilaterally enacting a treaty called "the Peace of Antalkidas" (from the name of the principal Spartan negotiator). The royal edict was brought to the attention of the Greek ambassadors in the following terms: "The King Artaxerxes considers the cities of Asia as belonging to him, as well as the islands Clazomenes and Cyprus; on the other hand, the other cities, large or small, remain autonomous, except for Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros, which, as in the past, will belong to the Athenians." In other words, the Greek cities of Asia Minor reverted to direct domination of the Achaemenids. The royal decision was, in addition, accompanied by an unambiguous threat: "Those who do not consent to these conditions of peace, I will personally make war upon them with the help of all those who accept them, on land, on sea, with my fleet, and with my treasure" (Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31). The Persians were wise enough to permit some internal autonomy for the subjugated cities. An inscription shortly after the Peace of Antalkidas indicates that, after a territorial conflict between Miletus and Myous, the satrap Strouses submitted the decision to a tribunal of Ionians, the king and the satrap confirming the judgment of the tribunal. This document attests to great continuity in Persian policy with respect to the Greek cities dating back to the measures taken by Artaphernes a century earlier.

**3. Egyptian Danger and Satrapic Revolts.** On the Aegean front—the only region the Greek sources talk about—the Persians won no victories. For several decades the central government tried to retake Egypt, which had been independent since 404 B.C. Numerous armies were mobilized in Syro-Palestine; all failed. Furthermore, under the reigns of Hakoris (392–380) and his successors, Egypt led a political offensive in the E Mediterranean. The successive Persian defeats in 385–382, 373, and again in 360–359 represented serious military failures and cruel losses of prestige for the Great King. The need to amass troops against Egypt was one of the reasons that pushed Artaxerxes to the Peace of Antalkidas in 386. In fact, the Persian defeats incited other revolts. Thus a two-year long war (382–381) was required to suppress the rebellion of Evagoras of Salamis, who could rely on the aid of Hakoris.

The Persian position was even more precarious because the central power had to face several satrapic rebellions in Asia Minor during the course of the 4th century. The most important was the one traditionally called the Great Revolt of the Satraps (360 B.C.) that itself led to individual revolts, of which the best known is that of Datames in Cappadocia. According to Diodorus, the revolt, directed by Orontes,

covered the entire Aegean front from Asia Minor to Cyprus; however, it probably did not have the global character that the Greek historian has given it. However, it is clear that it represented an evident danger for the Persian power. Paradoxically, the revolt dissipated after the initial successes of the royal armies. Orontes, soon followed by other chiefs, submitted to the Persian king by betraying his comrades. This alone attests to the solidarity of loyalist sentiment among the Persian chiefs of the provinces.

One of the first measures taken by Artaxerxes III upon coming to the throne was to order the satraps to dismiss their Greek mercenary troops. The massive enrollment of mercenaries had become commonplace from Cyrus' expedition on. The Persians and also the Egyptian pharaohs used them with increasing frequency. For the Greek authors of the 4th century, this growing demand for mercenary Greeks attested to the military deterioration of the Achaemenid Empire. Such a polemical view cannot be accepted without reservation. The Persian armies of the 4th century were certainly not composed only of mercenaries, and (contrary to an interpretation currently defended) the Babylonian tablets do not bring indisputable proof of the decline of the *hatru* system during the 4th century. But faced with enemies that fought like the Greeks, the satraps of Asia Minor very naturally used troops for which they themselves did not have the equivalent and that they could quickly enroll and mobilize. The existence of an increasingly abundant market in Europe and a growing demand in Asia is sufficient explanation of the phenomenon. Artaxerxes III himself did not hesitate to enroll numerous mercenaries in the army that he would lead to reconquer Egypt, but at the same time he had understood that it was extremely dangerous to leave the recruitment up to the satraps.

A new defeat at the hands of Egypt in 351–350 B.C. had disastrous consequences. The Phoenician cities revolted the following year. Artaxerxes III prepared an immense army and fleet. The campaign was initiated by the satraps Belesys and Mazaios in 345. Sidon had to surrender and suffered terrible reprisals. In 343, the Persian army (containing a large contingent of Greek mercenaries) won a victory in Egypt. Thus, around 340, the Persian Empire recovered the territorial boundaries of 480. Despite the revolts, the central power had succeeded in maintaining Persian domination. Even in Asia Minor the regions formerly left in the hands of more or less submissive dynasties had been transformed into satrapies in their own right: this was the case with Cilicia and with Caria (where the satraps were from the family of Hekatomnids, at least until 340 when a Persian acquired the satrapy). The regions that chronically proved difficult to control were thus included in the satrapies. This was the case of Lycia, now reunited with the satrapy of Caria, as the inscription of Xanthos shows. The Persian Empire was thus far from experiencing the profound decadence to which the Greek polemic authors of the 4th century constantly referred.

**D. Alexander and the End of the Persian Empire (334–330 B.C.)**

Reassured on the interior front, without worrying unduly about the Greeks, the Persian kings realized too late the growing power of the kingdom of Macedonia during the period of Philip II (359–336). Within several years he had extended the Macedonian territory to the Straits, had given his kingdom an army without compare, and had defeated the Greek cities at Chaeronea (338). This victory was followed by the founding of the Corinthian League, whose proclaimed objective was the liberation of the Greek cities of Asia Minor. However, from this date on, a strong Macedonian force operated within Asia Minor. The victories won by Memnon in 337 and a certain lack of lucidity no doubt explain why the central Persian power did not consider it advantageous to mobilize the royal army in 334 to oppose the young Alexander, who had succeeded his father Philip in 336. The task of pushing the Macedonian forces back to the sea was thus given to the satraps of Asia Minor. The defeat of Graneikos (May 334) would be of great importance. Alexander would soon capture Sardis, which would give him the Persian Mithrenes as well as the logistic means that he lacked. In several months (spring–winter 334), the Persian king lost Asia Minor. During the following spring (333), the death of Memnon ended an enormous naval counterattack by the Persians that might prove capable of pushing Alexander back into Europe.

Facing this danger, Darius III decided to mobilize the royal army. Almost all of the contingents of the empire, except the contingents to the E of Iran, were assembled in Babylon and marched to Cilicia to stop the Macedonians. The battle of Issos (November 333)—represented on the famous mosaics of Neapels—was a severe defeat for Darius, who had to flee the battleground and to leave royal women and children to

fall into the hands of the enemy. The negotiations initiated by the Great King proved uneventful. Incapable of defending the Syro-Phoenician coast and Egypt and abandoned by the Persian forces, Darius decided to raise a new army in which he could this time enroll the contingents from E Iran. The troops were assembled and trained in Babylonia, then dispersed in the upper valley of the Tigris, to the W of Arbela, a famous stop on the Royal Road. In the beginning of the month of October 331 Darius was again defeated. He fled toward Ecbatana, leaving open the road toward the great capitals. Babylon and then Susa without resistance fell into the hands of the conqueror, who seized the immense royal Treasuries. Alexander would soon (end of 331) come to Persepolis, which would be surrendered by the Persian governor before being pillaged in the spring of 330.

During this time, Darius tried to mobilize a new army in Media. But the rebellions within his entourage and the speed of the advancing Macedonians prevented him from even engaging in battle. The Great King was soon assassinated by a plot conceived by Bessos, satrap of Bactria (July 330). Bessos took the royal title under the name of Artaxerxes, hoping to stop Alexander at Bactria; however, he was soon handed over to the conqueror and put to death. Despite some resistance led by the small princes of Sogdia and Bactria, Alexander succeeded in imposing his dominion over E Iran (329–327), before taking the Indus River valley (327–325). Two years after his return to Babylonia, he died, at last conquered by malaria (June 323).

If one considers rightly that the death of Darius III in July of 330 marks the end of the Achaemenid Empire founded by Cyrus and his successors, one must also emphasize the imperial structures that remained intact during Alexander's lifetime. The conqueror left unchanged the satrapies and the tributary system. On the other hand, one of his concerns had been to call Persian and Iranian nobles into his service. In 334 he admitted the Persian Mithrenes into his entourage, but in 330 he made a decision of great importance by giving satrapic governments to Mithrenes himself and to Mazaios, command posts he had up until then reserved for Macedonians and Greeks. Without compromise he pursued this policy of Macedono-Iranian collaboration. Numerous Iranians were named satraps in the countries of the Iranian plateau, and Iranian contingents served in the army side by side with Greeks and Macedonians. In 327, Alexander married an Iranian princess, Roxane who, after the death of the young conqueror, gave birth to his son, Alexander IV. In Persia itself, he was careful to name as satrap his companion Peukestas, who demonstrated his goodwill by adopting the Persian way of life. As for the conqueror himself, he put to his own profit the customs of the Achaemenid court, despite opposition from within part of his entourage. His ultimate objective was to allow the Persians and the Iranians to evolve in a flexible and gradual manner into the ruling class of the new empire, that the defeat of Darius III had allowed him to create on the ruins and on the model of that of Cyrus and his successors.

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PIERRE BRIANT

TRANS. STEPHEN ROSOFF

**PERSIAN LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (LANGUAGES OF ANCIENT IRAN).

**PERSIS** (PERSON) [Gk *Persis* (Περσις)]. A Roman Christian who received greetings from Paul in Rom 16:12 as "the beloved Persis." Having been close to Paul in the E of the Roman Empire, she had immigrated to Rome. This latter fact is confirmed by the epigraphical and literary sources from the city of Rome which show the name "Persis" only six times; the Romans very rarely used the name (Lampe *StadtrChr,* 138–41). Persis had "worked hard in the Lord" (for discussion of this phrase, see

TRYPHAENA AND TRYPHOSA). As with all names recalling a geographical area, "Persis" ("Persian") was a typical slave name; two out of three set "inscriptions" in the city of Rome attribute the name to (freed) slaves (Lampe *StadtrChr,* 145–46, 153). Persis was probably a gentile Christian. See NEREUS.
PETER LAMPE

**PERSONALITY, CORPORATE.** See CORPORATE PERSONALITY.

**PERUDA** (PERSON) [Heb *pĕrûdā*ʾ (פְּרוּדָא)]. Var PERIDA. Head of a family belonging to Solomon's servants who had returned from the Babylonian Exile (Peruda in Ezra 2:55; Perida in the parallels in Neh 7:57 and 1 Esdr 5:33). The list in Ezra-Nehemiah implies that this return took place immediately in response to Cyrus' declaration in 538 B.C.E. But 1 Esdras places this return in its more probable date at the time of King Darius (ca. 522).

Some have used 1 Kgs 9:20 to conclude that Solomon's servants were originally enslaved foreigners. Levine (1963), however, suggests that the term denotes Israelite officials supervising foreigners. In the postexilic era, when the family of Peruda appears, the term "servant" typically refers to officials. Like the temple servants (Nethinim), Solomon's servants are temple functionaries. They are members of the congregation of Israel and separated thereby from ordinary slaves (Ezra 2:65). The name Peruda could mean "the solitary one." The number, origin, and specific tasks of the Peruda family are no longer discernible. See Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC.

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TAMARA C. ESKENAZI

**PESACH.** The Hebrew name for the festival known as Passover. See UNLEAVENED BREAD AND PASSOVER, FEASTS OF.

**PESHARIM, QUMRAN.** The discovery of the Qumran library has brought to light a hitherto unknown type of biblical commentary, employed by the Qumran community, which has come to be known as "pesher" (pl. pesharim). This name derives from the frequent use of the term "pesher" (Heb *pšr*—in the OT it occurs only once at Qoh 8:1; Akk *pišru,* Aram *psr*ʾ) to introduce an interpretation of a biblical text. The word is used in the sense of "interpretation, realization" (Rabinowitz 1973: 226 suggests: "a presaged reality"), akin to the Heb *ptr.*

The term "pesher" is currently used in four different senses: (a) a Qumranic biblical commentary written in pesher-like form; (b) the formal term used to introduce the expositionary section of this kind of commentary; (c) the literary genre of these commentaries; and (d) the particular exegetical method of these Qumranic commentaries.

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A. Form and Content of the Extant Pesharim
1. Continuous Pesharim
2. Thematic Pesharim
3. Isolated Pesharim
4. Other Forms of Pesharim
B. Nature and Structure of the Pesharim
C. Literary Genre of the Pesharim
D. Exegetical Method Used by the Pesharim

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**A. Form and Content of the Extant Pesharim**

The importance of the Scriptures in the life and ideology of the Qumran community is expressly stated in the writings of the Qumranites (CD 6:3–11; 1QS 6:6–8; 8:2, 15–16; 1QpHab 2:8–10; 7:7–8), from which we learn that exposition and interpretation of the Torah and the Prophets constituted an important part of the community's special teaching. This is corroborated by the numerous biblical texts and biblical

commentaries found among the Qumran scrolls. Significantly, most of the surviving commentaries offer expositions of divine discourses, mainly from the Prophets, but also from the Torah, as well as from the Psalms and the book of Daniel (4QPs37 on Ps. 37; 11QMelch ii.9–12 on Pss. 82:1–2 and 7:8–9; 4QFlor 1–2.i.14 on Ps. 1:1 and elsewhere; 4QFlor 1+3 ii.3 on Dan 12:10; 11QMelch ii.8 on Dan 9:25), since both David and Daniel were considered prophets (11QPs$^{a}$ 27:11; 4QFlor 1+3 ii.3). The commentaries are identified as belonging to the Qumran community by virtue of their terminology, subject matter, and ideology. These commentaries are the only Qumran texts so far published that refer to historical persons and events, and they constitute the main evidence for dating the Qumran community and understanding its history. Some scholars have concluded, based on the fact that the extant pesharim are all single Herodian mss with no copies or overlapping sections, that the pesharim were autographs and produced within the community at a later stage in its history (Milik 1959: 41; Cross 1980: 114–15). However, some pesharim betray a copyist's hand (e.g., 4QpIsa 5:5a–5, which has an interlinear addition that appears to be a correction; Horgan 1979: 3–4) and therefore may not be autographs. Moreover, the exegetical method of the pesharim is to be found already in much older Qumranic works such as 1QS, CD, and 1QM. It is possible therefore, that some of these pesharim, or their sources, may be attributed to an early stage in the community's history, or even to the founder of the community himself.

The extant pesharim appear in several forms: (a) *continuous pesharim*—running commentaries (section by section) on single biblical books, mainly the Prophets; (b) *thematic pesharim*—exposition of verses from various biblical books, organized around a common theme, such as 4QFlorilegium and 11QMelchizedek; (c) *isolated pesharim*—exposition of one or two biblical verses, within a work of a nonpesher genre (e.g., Isa 40:3 in 1QS 8:13–16; Isa 24:17 in CD 4:13–15; and Num 21:18 in CD 6:3–10). These first three forms share a common lemmatic structure: a biblical citation followed by an exposition, usually introduced by the term "pesher." There are also (d) *other forms of pesharim*.

**1. Continuous Pesharim.** Most of the extant pesharim are of this type. Fragments of 15 mss were discovered in Qumran Caves 1 and 4 (editions: Allegro 1968, to be used with Strugnell 1969–71; cf. also Horgan 1979). These include:

4QpIsa$^{a}$ (= *4Q161,* on Isa 10:22–27, 33–34; 11:1–5),
4QpIsa$^{b}$(= *4Q162,* on Isa 5:5–30),
4QpIsa$^{c}$(= *4Q163,* on Isa 8:7–8; 9:11–20; 10:24; 14:8, 26–30; 29:10–23 [with a quotation from Zech 11:11]; 30:1–21; 31:1),
4QpIsa$^{d}$(= *4Q164,* on Isa 54:11–12),
4QpIsa$^{e}$(= *4Q165,* on Isa 40:11–12; 14:19; 15:4–5; 21:10–15; 32:5–7; 11:11–12),
4QpHos$^{a}$(= *4Q166,* on Hos 2:8–14),
4QpHos$^{b}$(= *4Q167,* on Hos 5:13–15; 6:4–11; 8:6–14),
1QpZeph (= *1Q15,* on Zeph 1:18–2:2),
4QpZeph (= *4Q170,* on Zeph 1:12–13),
1QpMic (= *4Q14,* on Mic 1:2–9; 6:15–16),
4QpNah (= *4Q169,* on Nah 1:3–6; 2:12–14; 3:1–14),
1QpHab (the Habakkuk pesher, the longest and best preserved ms, containing a pesher on Hab 1:1–2:20),
1QpPs (= *1Q16,* on Ps. 68:13, 30),
4QpPs$^{a}$(= *4Q171,* on Pss. 37:2–39; 45:1–2; 60:8–9), and
4QpPs$^{b}$(= *4Q173,* on Ps. 129:7–8).

Most of the continuous pesharim have a common structure, exegetical method, and subject matter. They all refer in a similar way to a certain community, its leaders and opponents, and its history. Similar references appear also in other Qumran documents. It is generally assumed that the pesharim, as well as writings such as 1QS and CD, refer to a community of Essenes, one of the three Jewish sects that, according to Josephus, flourished in Judaea during the Second Temple era. See also ESSENES.

**a. The Pesher on Habakkuk (1QpHab).** This pesher, the first to be published, has received the most attention. The ms is written in an early Herodian hand (Trever and Cross 1972); thirteen columns have

been preserved but, owing to extensive decay, without their lower edge (Cross 1972: 4). The author expounds the first two chapters of Habakkuk verse by verse, reading contemporary events into the prophecy.

The exposition refers repeatedly to three main persons, designated by special sobriquets, and to events connected with them. The first figure, the Teacher of Righteousness (based on Hos 10:12; Joel 2:23), is the leader of a group whose members are described as "The Men of Truth" and "The Doers of the Torah" (7:1, 10–14; 8:1–3). This leader is an inspired teacher of the Torah (5:11–12) and the Prophets. Being divinely inspired, he is able to decipher the hidden historical and eschatological meaning of the prophetic words (2:7–10; 7:4–5). The Teacher of Righteousness is involved in a bitter controversy with a second person, an ideological opponent, a person referred to as "The Man of Lies" or "The Spouter of Lies" (based on Mic 2:11), who was at one time the Teacher's follower but broke away, together with his adherents, to form his own group (2:1–3; 5:9–14; 10:9–13). The third person, yet another adversary of the Teacher, is a political leader, a ruler of Israel, who is accorded the sobriquet "The Wicked Priest" (1:12–15; 11:4–8). This Wicked Priest is described as one "who was called by the true name at the beginning of his course" (8:8–9), but who, corrupted by wealth and power, defiled the Temple (12:2–10) and amassed wealth by violent and sinful means (8:8–13; 9:8–12; 11:12–16; 12:10). He pursued the Teacher of Righteousness to "his place of exile," and disturbed his rest on the Day of Atonement (11:5–7, which seems to indicate that "The Wicked Priest" used a different calendar from that of the Teacher and his followers; Talmon 1965: 166–167; for polemic in matters concerning the calendar and festivals, cf. also CD 3:12–16; 4QpPs$^{a}$ 1–10 ii 10–11; 4QpHos$^{a}$ ii 16–17).

The external and internal conflicts of the Teacher and his followers were seen by the pesher as signs of the approaching eschatological era and the End of Days (7:7–14). The Qumranites believed that the day of final judgment was imminent, and hoped to see their wicked opponents punished and their own faithfulness to the true way of the Torah rewarded (8:2; 10:3; 12:14; 13:3). One of the contemporary events which made a deep impression on the author of the pesher was the approach and attack of a terrible people, the Kittim, whom he identified with the Chaldeans in Habakkuk. The Kittim are depicted as swift, cruel, mighty, merciless, and invincible (2:10–4:16; 6:1–2). Their attack is interpreted by many of the pesharim as a divine punishment of their wicked adversaries.

There is no reason to believe that all these details are invented. It is generally assumed that they refer to real persons and events. At present, the most plausible identification is that the Kittim are the Romans (note 1QpHab 6:1–12, which appears to refer to the Roman military standards. The identification of the Kittim as Romans is corroborated by 4QpNah 3–4 i 3; Milik 1959: 64–65; Cross 1980: 123). Similarly plausible is the identification of the Wicked Priest as one of the early Hasmonean rulers, generally assumed to be either Jonathan (161–142 B.C.E.; Milik 1959: 65–71; Vermes 1981: 151; Murphy-O'Connor 1974: 229–33; Delcor, *DBSup* fasc. 51: 907) or Simon (142–134 B.C.E.; Cross 1980: 142–52; Nickelsburg 1976). Both more or less fit the description in 1QpHab 9:1–2 and 11:15. Others identify the Wicked Priest as Alexander Janneus (103–76 B.C.E.; Delcor 1951; Nitzan 1986: 132–33) or Hyrcanus II (Dupont-Sommer 1980: 274). The identity of the Teacher of Righteousness remains, however, an enigma. Initially, it was argued that he was a descendant of the high priests of the Zadokite lineage who was ousted from office by the Hasmonean Jonathan (Stegemann 1971: 250–51), but this explanation is too conjectural. See also TEACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS. As for the Man of Lies, he was sometimes identified as the leader of the Pharisees. This is based on 4QpNah 3–4 ii 2, 4 (cf. also 4QpIsa$^{c}$ 23 ii 10), in which the community's opponents are referred to as "the Seekers of Smooth Things," an expression interpreted as a cryptogram for the Pharisees (Amoussine 1963; Flusser 1970). Others see him as identical with the Wicked Priest (Vermes 1981: 143), but the different characteristics of the two men make this identification unacceptable.

**b. The Pesher on the Psalms (4QpPs$^{a}$).** Substantial fragments of four columns of this Herodian ms have been preserved (Stegemann 1963–64; 1967–69). The author reads the dichotomy of the Righteous and the Wicked, as described in the Psalms, as referring to the Teacher of Righteousness and his followers on the one hand and their opponents on the other. The Teacher is referred to here as "the Priest" (1–10 iii

15). He is persecuted both by the Wicked Priest (1–10 iv 8) and the "Wicked ones of Ephraim … who will seek to lay their hands on the Priest and his partisans" (1–10 ii 18). This is seen by the author as part of the events taking place "at the time of testing that is coming upon them" (1–10 ii 19–20). The community believed that its own salvation by God was imminent, as was the punishment of their enemies. The Man of Lies also figures here. He is the one "who led many astray" with false teaching (1–10 i 26–27).

The sharp contrast between the Teacher (and his followers) and their opponents is also reflected by the various epithets applied to each party. The Teacher and his adherents are variously called "those who practice the Torah" (1–10 ii 15, 23), "the Congregation of the Meek" (1–10 ii 10; iii 10), "the congregation of his chosen ones" (1–10 ii 5), and "those who returned from the wilderness" (1–10 iii 1; cf. 1QM 1:2–3; 4QpIsa$^{a}$ 2–6 ii 18). Their adversaries are referred to as "the Ruthless Opponents of the Covenant" (1–10 ii 14; iv 1–2), "the Wicked of Ephraim and Manasseh" (1–10 ii 18), and "the Wicked Princes" (1–2 iii 7). The contrast between the community and its opponents is seen as part of the cosmic battle between the forces of Good and the forces of Evil (1–10 ii 7–11).

**c. The Pesher on Nahum (4QpNah).** Substantial fragments of five columns of this late Hasmonean or early Herodian ms have survived (Strugnell 1969–71: 205). Published after 1QpHab, this pesher was the first of the Qumran writings to mention historical names. It mentions "[Deme]trius King of Greece" (4QpNah 3–4 i 2), probably referring to the Seleucid ruler Demetrius III Eukerus (95–88 B.C.E.; Cross 1980: 124–25; Milik 1959: 72). It also mentions "the kings of Greece from Antiochus until the rise of the rulers of the Kittim" (4QpNah 3–4 i 3). While it is difficult to ascertain which specific king this refers to, it is at least clear that the kings of Greece (= *yawan,* as in Dan 8:21; 10:20; 11:2; also referred to in CD 8:11–12), namely the Seleucids, are distinct from "the rulers of the Kittim" (mentioned also in 1QpHab 3:5), who must then be the Roman governors. These references, therefore, place the events and persons alluded to in the pesharim on a firm historical footing, dating them in the 2d century B.C.E.

The Nahum pesher seems to refer to events dating from Alexander Janneus to the fall of the Hasmonean kingdom following the conquest of Palestine by Pompey (63 B.C.E.; cf. 4QpNah 3–4 iv). Perhaps the clearest indication is the allusion to Alexander Jannaeus, referred to here as "the Lion of Wrath." This Lion is one "who would hang men up alive" (4QpNah 3–4 i 7), apparently alluding to Alexander Jannaeus' crucifixion of the Pharisees who had transferred their allegiance to Demetrius III (cf. Josephus *Ant* 13.14.2 §§379–83; *JW* 1.4.6 §§96–98). The pesher, though it may appear to be condemning Jannaeus' act, may in fact be approving it as an appropriate punishment for the Pharisees' treachery (thus Yadin 1971, relying on the ruling of 11QTemple 64:6–13 to hang traitors alive [cf. Deut 21:22–23]; also Yadin 1983, 1: 378).

"The Seekers of Smooth Things" (4QpNah 3–4 i 7, based on Isa 30:10; cf. Ps. 21:3; Dan 11:32), namely the Pharisees, appear both as the foes of the Lion of Wrath and as the adversaries of the Qumranites. Most of the pesher's polemic is directed against them. They are referred to as "those who lead Ephraim astray; with their false teaching, their lying tongue, and deceitful lip they lead many astray" (4QpNah 3–4 ii 8; cf. 4QpPs$^{a}$ 1–10 ii 18–19). A similar charge is leveled by 1QpHab against the Spouter of Lies and his followers. 4QpNah refers to three distinct groups within Israel, by means of three biblical symbols: Ephraim, Manasseh, and Judea. Ephraim stands for the Seekers of Smooth Things, namely the Pharisees (4QpNah 3–4 ii 2, 8). A second group, represented by Manasseh, is also condemned by the author (4QpNah 3–4 iii 9–11, iv 1–7). The third group appears to refer to the Qumran community itself, and is represented by Judea and Israel (4QpNah 3–4 iii 4–5).

It had been concluded from other Qumran writings (1QS and CD) that the Qumran community must be identical with some branch of the Essenes. If the pesher's tripartite symbolism is equated with the three Jewish sects referred to by Josephus—Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes (*Ant* 13.5.9 §§171–73; 18.1.2–5 §§11–22; *JW* 2.8.2–14 §§119–166)—the second group, Manasseh, must be identified with the Sadducees (Amoussine 1963; Flusser 1970; the same tripartite symbolism underlies 4QpPs$^{a}$ 1–10 ii 18–19 and other pesharim). However, new evidence shows that the members of the Qumran community adhered to a Sadducean halakhah (Qimron and Strugnell 1985, citing the yet unpublished work 4QMMT; see also

MIQSAT MA‹ASE HATORAH), so that the identification of the triple symbolism of the pesharim with the three sects of Josephus must be modified.

**d. The Pesher on Isaiah (4QpIsa$^{d}$).** A fragment of this pesher offers an interesting insight into the self-image of the Qumran community. The pesher interprets the description of the eschatological Jerusalem in Isaiah 54 as symbolic of the eschatological community and its leadership: "the council of the community was established [among the] priests and the p[eople] [in the midst of] the congregation of his chosen ones, like a stone of lapis lazuli in the midst of the stones" (1 2–3). Underlying the equation of the eschatological Jerusalem with the community is also the equation of Jerusalem with the Temple and, consequently, the equation of the community with the Temple (also in 1QS 5:5–6; 8:5–6; 4QFlor 1–2 i 6–7; cf. Dimant 1986: 184–89). The pesher appears also to connect the twelve community leaders (cf. the twelve apostles of the early Christian community) with the twelve precious stones on the breastpiece of the High Priest (Exod 28:4, 15 etc.). A similar theme and approach are to be found in the description of New Jerusalem in Revelation 21. The concept of community as temple is applied also to the early Christian community by several NT writers (e.g., Matt 16:17–18; Eph 2:19–20; Rev 3:12; cf. Baumgarten 1977; Flusser 1965).

**2. Thematic Pesharim.** Unlike continuous pesharim, the thematic pesharim do not provide a running commentary on a single biblical text; they are a collection of pesharim of various biblical verses on a single, or several themes. The theme thus dominates the structure and development of the pesher, and dictates the choice of biblical texts to be interpreted. These pesharim use a structure similar to the continuous pesharim, but modify it in some ways.

**a. 4QFlorilegium (4Q174).** Several fragments of this ms together preserve most of one column, and parts of another two columns (editions: Allegro 1968: 53–57; Strugnell 1969–71: 220–25; Brooke 1985: 86–91). The ms dates from the end of the 1st century B.C.E. or the beginning of the 1st century C.E. (Brooke 1985: 83–84). Organized around citations from 2 Sam 7:10–14 (1 Chr 17:9–13); Exod 15:17–18; Amos 9:11; Ps. 1:1; Isa 8:11; Ezek 37:23; and Ps. 2:1; the work expounds various eschatological themes.

The best preserved column contains a pesher on 2 Samuel 7. It interprets the prophecy of Nathan concerning the House of David as alluding to three temples (Schwartz 1979; Dimant 1986): the future eschatological temple (Heb *mqdš ›dny*) to be built by God (1–2 i 1–5; also mentioned in 11QTemple 29:10); the Temple of Israel (Heb *mqdš yśr›l*), which was the temple built by Israel and later desecrated (probably to be equated with the contemporary temple; 1–2 i 5–6); and the Temple of Men (Heb *mqdš ›dm*), that is, the temple created and fashioned by the life and deeds of the Qumran community itself. The pesher accordingly states (1–2 i 6–7) that the sacrifices in this third temple are not of animals but of "deeds of Torah" (Heb *m‹śy twrh;* cf. 4QMMT *m‹śy mṣwh;* Qimron and Strugnell 1985: 406). The author goes on to interpret 2 Sam 7:11–14 as referring to the Shoot of David, the eschatological leader of the community (mentioned also in 4QPatrBless 3; cf. 4QpIsa$^{a}$ 7–10 ii 22; CD 7:16), who will appear together with another leader of the community, the Interpreter of the Torah (mentioned also in CD 6:7; 7:18).

This first section (4QFlor 1–2 i 1–13) does not use the term "pesher" at all, whereas the second section (4QFlor 1–2 i 14–19) does. Moreover, this second section opens with the formula "Midrash of 'happy is the man …' " (Ps. 1:1) (Heb *mdrš m›šry h›yš*). These distinctions were taken to indicate that this second section (4QFlor 1–2 i 14–1–3 ii 1–6) is a real pesher in the form of a midrash, whereas 4QFlor 1–2 i 1–13 is not (Brooke 1985: 140–41, 154–55). This view is, however, questionable, since both sections employ the same exegetical procedures and syntactic patterns as other pesharim. The differences of style and terminology between the two sections may indicate that 4QFlor was originally a collection of various eschatological pesharim.

**b. 11QMelchizedek (11QMelch).** Parts of three columns of this early Herodian ms have survived (de Jonge and van der Woude 1965–66; fresh edition Puech 1987: 488–89). The fragments describe the events as taking place during the tenth eschatological jubilee, so that originally they must have formed part of a larger pesher on ten jubilees. But differences of style and subject matter make it doubtful whether the fragments *4Q180–181* are to be considered as part of this pesher (as Milik 1972 has suggested; cf. Dimant's criticism 1979: 89–90).

In 11QMelchizedek the author strings together pesher-type expositions of various biblical texts (Lev 25:9–10, 12:13; Deut 15:2; Isa 49:8; 52:7; 61:1–3; Pss. 7:8–9; 82:1–2; Dan 9:25). He interprets the freedom accorded in the biblical jubilee as the eschatological liberation of the Sons of Light imprisoned by the evil Belial (ii 1–6). This liberation will take place at "the End of Days" (ii 4), at the end of the tenth jubilee (ii 7), which implies a division of historical time into ten jubilees (cf. *1 En.* 93:1–10; 90:12–17; Kobelski 1981: 49–51). The chief actor in these events is Melchizedek, the eschatological judge who figures as a priest in Gen 14:18 and Ps. 110:4. In this capacity he acts as liberator and expiator of sins for the Sons of Light while wreaking vengeance upon Belial and his hosts (ii 13–14). By applying Ps. 82:1 to Melchizedek (ii 13), the author of the pesher treats him as a supernatural figure.

**3. Isolated Pesharim.** Most of the isolated pesharim come from the first part (the admonition) of the *Cairo Damascus Document:* 3:20–44 (on Ezek 44:15); 4:13–19 (on Isa 24:17); 6:3–11 (on Num 21:18 + Isa 54:16); 7(B):10–21 (on Isa 7:17 + Amos 9:11 + Num 24:7); 8 (A):8–15 (on Deut 32:33); and 19 (B):7–13 (on Zech 11:11 + Ezek 9:4). Only one isolated pesher is to be found outside this document (the *Community Rule* interprets Isa 40:3; note also 9:20). Significantly, all the isolated pesharim occur in paraenetic sections, where the pesharim serve as prooftexts both for events in the history of the community and for its ideological tenets. The texts commented upon in this way are mostly prophetic, but a few are taken from ancient songs found in the Torah (Num 21:18; 24:7; Deut 32:33). This means that these songs were considered prophetic and were interpreted as such.

**4. Other Forms of Pesharim.** Another type of biblical interpretation is the use of various sobriquets in the pesharim to refer to historical persons. Most of these sobriquets serve as cryptograms for pesher-type interpretations of biblical passages (cf. above and the examples discussed by Nitzan 1986: 43–46). Thus, for instance, the epithet "The Seekers of Smooth Things" for the community's opponents clearly refers to Isa 30:10, but implies a pesher of the entire context of Isa 30:8–14. The epithet "The Teacher of Righteousness" is based on Hos 10:12 and Joel 2:23, but has its source in a pesher of the larger context of the two verses (note esp. Joel 2:18–27). Although these sobriquets cannot formally be considered "pesharim," they are derived by the same exegetical principles.

Another form of pesher is interpretation of biblical verses by allusion, that is, without explicit quotation (cf. 1QpHab 11:12–14 on Hab 2:16, alluding to Deut 10:16; Jer 4:4; see other examples cited by Nitzan 1986: 61–78). These interpretations of alluded vv are also derived by the pesher's exegetical method. The fact that pesher-like characteristics appear in various other literary forms indicates that continuous or thematic pesharim were not the only literary forms that employed the pesher-type exegesis.

**B. Nature and Structure of the Pesharim**

Besides the pesharim, the members of the Qumran community employed several other modes of biblical interpretation (Gabrion, *ANRW* 2/19/1: 779–848; Fishbane 1988). However, it is the pesharim which are most typical of the community. Their distinctive historical-eschatological subject matter and typical lemma-and-exposition form reflect in a unique way the doctrines and attitudes of the Qumran community.

The *Pesher on Habakkuk* claims that the pesharim are of divine origin. It states that "God divulged all the mysteries of the words of His servants the Prophets" to the Teacher of Righteousness (1QpHab 7:4–5), and these mysteries relate to the historical events leading to the eschatological era (1QpHab 2:8–10). Biblical prophecies are, therefore, interpreted as enigmatic predictions relating to events of the Last Day, revealed to the Prophets who perhaps did not understand them (being too far removed in time from the events about which they prophesied). These enigmatic mysteries (Heb *rzym;* e.g. 1QpHab 7:8; 1QS 3:23; 1QH 2:13; 1QM 3:9; CD 3:18; cf. Dan 2:29 et al) could therefore only be unraveled by an inspired person living close to the time of the actual events. The Teacher of Righteousness, according to 1QpHab, not only possessed such great visionary powers, but was also inspired and guided by God (Elliger 1953: 154–55; Nitzan 1986: 25–26). We should not conclude from this that all the extant pesharim were necessarily composed by the Teacher of Righteousness himself, but the pesher-method, as developed within the Qumran community, may ultimately derive from him. The numerous exegetical techniques the pesharim share with other contemporary literary corpora seem to indicate that the Teacher of Righteousness, like

other contemporary Jewish writers, also drew on traditional exegetical modes and traditions (Fishbane 1988: 340–41; Dimant 1988: 379–84).

The character and form of the pesharim are best understood by observing the relationship between their formal structure and their content. The lemmatic pattern makes for a structural and stylistic distinction between the biblical citation and its exposition, thus differentiating between the word of God and man's interpretation of it. The *Pesher of Habakkuk* provides the most comprehensive illustration of pesher patterns. The work consists of small pesher units. Because the main text expounded is known, each unit opens with a biblical citation without any introductory term. The interpretation which follows is, however, always introduced by the term "pesher." Such pesher-interpretation identifies parts of the biblical citation with contemporary personages or activities (Rabinowitz 1973: 226), with further explanations (Brooke 1979–80: 498).

When applied to *persons* the identification is introduced by the formula *pšrw ʿl* ("its interpretation concerns") + a noun + the relative *ʾšr* ("who"/"which") + verb/s describing the activities of the persons mentioned. An alternative formula uses *pšr hdbr ʿl* ("the interpretation of it concerns"; cf. 1QpHab 10:9; 12:2, 12–13). A good illustration is 1QpHab 6:8–10:

> THEREFORE HE DRAWS HIS SWORD CONTINUALLY TO SLAUGHTER NATIONS AND HE HAS NO COMPASSION [Hab 1:17]. Its interpretation concerns the Kittim, who destroy many with the sword …

When applied to *activities* the identification is introduced by the formula *pšrw ʾšr* ("its interpretation is that") or *pšr hdbr ʾšr* ("the interpretation of it is that") + verb. A good illustration of this form is found in 1QpHab 7:7–7:

> FOR THERE IS YET A VISION CONCERNING THE APPOINTED TIME. IT TESTIFIES TO THE END, AND IT WILL NOT DECEIVE [Hab 2:3]. Its interpretation is that the last end will be prolonged …"

The pesher unit may be elaborated by repeating a portion of the citation and giving it a fresh interpretation. The subordinate character of such elaborations is indicated by special introductory terms: the quotation is always introduced by the formula *wʾšr ʾmr* ("and as for what he said"; cf. 1QpHab 6:2; 7:3; 9:3; 10:1–2) or *hwʾ ʾšr ʾmr* ("this is what he said"; cf. 1QpHab 3:2, 14). Such repeated quotations are followed by additional identifications, again introduced by the term "pesher" (e.g., 1QpHab 5:6–7; 7:3–4). These identifications are in the form of nominal sentences which repeat some terms from the quotation itself, and equate them with other, nonbiblical, terms. For example, 1QpHab 12:3–4 (on Hab 2:17) reads: "for 'Lebanon' *is* the council of the community, and the 'beasts' *are* the simple ones of Judah."

The above formal patterns are employed, with slight modifications, by all continuous pesharim (Brooke 1979–80: 498–500; Horgan 1979: 239–44), with a single exception: 4QpIsa$^{c}$, which omits comment on some passages of its main Isaiah text, contains quotations from Jeremiah and Zechariah (Horgan 1979: 237–38).

The thematic pesharim also employ the basic patterns of the continuous pesharim, with appropriate modifications. But unlike the continuous pesharim, they employ a combination of main text with subordinate ones. Thus, for example, 4QFlorilegium, like the continuous pesharim, quotes the main text of 2 Samuel 7 without any introductory formula (1–2 i 10–11) because the main text had been cited explicitly in the initial section of the pesher (which has not been preserved). As with the continuous pesharim, the interpretation which follows the quotation is identifactory, but takes the form of nominal equations (4QFlor 1–2 i 2, 11) instead of a "pesher." This is followed by fresh quotations from other biblical books, considered by the author to refer to the same exegetical subject. Since these quotations come from biblical books other than that of the main text, their source is explicitly mentioned. These quotations are introduced by the term *kʾšr ktwb* ("as it is written"; cf. 4QFlor 1–2 i 2, 12), a typical introductory formula for scriptural prooftexts (also used in explicit nonpesher quotations, chiefly in legal sections of Qumran works; cf. CD 5:1–2; 11:10; 1QS 5:15). These quotations are in turn interpreted as subordinate units (which repeat a quotation and introduce it with "and as for what he said" [4QFlor 1–2 i 7], or introduce nominal equation [4QFlor 1–2 i 12–13]). 11QMelch is too fragmentary to permit a full reconstruction of the structural patterns. The surviving quotations are all introduced by formulas used to

mark subordinate elaborations ("and as for what he said"; "this/as it is written"). The main quotation appears, therefore, to be missing.

**C. Literary Genre of the Pesharim**

The fact that the term "pesher" is not always used in the pesharim indicates that the use of this term is not constitutive to the genre (Brooke 1979–80: 492). Rather, the structure, terminology, and exegetical purpose of the work are of greater importance. The exegetical procedure underlying each pesher-unit may be reconstructed as follows (similarly Brooke 1979–80: 497).

The first step consists in locating within the biblical citation the subject of the exposition and identifying it with a contemporary figure or situation. The subject may be located in a noun, a verb, or a pronoun of the biblical text. These identifications may appear to the modern reader to be very arbitrary, but they are often based on an already existing exegetical tradition. Thus, for instance, the equation of the Chaldeans with the Kittim goes back to a well-established exegesis (cf. Num 24:24 together with Isa 23:12–13 and Dan 11:30; Brooke 1985: 328–29). Similarly, the identification of the term "Lebanon" in Hab 2:17 with the community (1QpHab 4:12) rests on the traditional equation of Lebanon with the Temple (in the Targums tradition; cf. Brownlee 1956; Vermes 1961: 28). It is this initial step of applying the ancient prophecy to a contemporary situation that is the most difficult. This is often done through symbolic or allegorical equations: the lion of Habakkuk stands for a human king (4QpNah 3–4 i 1–6), the eschatological Jerusalem stands for the Qumran community (4QpIsa$^{d}$), a reference to "a town" stands for "the town of vanity," namely, for a group of opponents led by the Spouter of Lies (1QpNah 10:9–10).

Having established the identification, the author sets out to relate the various details in the citation to the identified subject (the second step). In order to bridge the gap between the literal meaning of the biblical prophecy and the sense attributed to it in the pesher, the author will indicate the presence of analogy, similarity, or identity between various elements of the two texts.

Finally, the above aims are achieved by the application of various exegetical techniques (the third step; see D below).

The exegetical steps described above, as well as their eschatological subject matter, though not always explicitly formulated, are essential components of (and underlie all forms of) pesharim. They are the distinctive features of the pesher-commentary. The presence or absence of these constituents is, therefore, sufficient to decide if a work is to be defined as a pesher or not. The occurrence of the term "pesher" is important, but not indispensable, for such a definition. We may find pesher-type works which do not employ the term "pesher," but employ other terminological equivalents to perform the same task (cf. 4QFlor 1–2 i 1–13). Conversely, the pesher exegetical method may be employed in a different literary form and with different structural patterns (compare isolated pesharim and the sobriquets; cf. also 1 Macc 7:16–17 commenting on Ps 79:2–3; cf. Dimant 1988: 390–91).

It should be noted, however, that two Qumranic texts make a different use of the term "pesher": the text known as 4QOrdinances (= *4Q159*) 5:1, 5 uses the term to introduce a pesher on a legal passage from the Pentateuch (Lev 16:1?). In another text, *4Q180*, the term "pesher" introduces abstract themes later to be interpreted by means of pertinent quotations. This indicates that the use of the term "pesher" may have been wider than what can be gathered from the evidence of the continuous and thematic pesharim (Brownlee 1979: 28; Dimant 1979: 96).

What is the genre of the pesharim? A heated debate on this question was conducted in the years following their publication. It was argued that the pesher, serving as it does to disclose contemporary events presaged in ancient biblical prophecies, should not be termed "interpretation" or "exposition" of scripture, for it does not aim at explaining or clarifying biblical verses, but rather at disclosing coming events (thus Rabinowitz 1973). Nevertheless, the lemmatic structure and the exegetical techniques used by the pesharim link them firmly with other types of lemmatic commentaries, such as the rabbinic midrashim and the commentaries of Philo. Some scholars have, in fact, classified the pesher as a sort of Qumranic midrash (Brownlee 1979; Brooke 1985). Other scholars have discovered an affinity between the pesharim and the interpretation of dreams as practiced in the ANE and as evidenced in the biblical stories of Joseph (Gen 40–41) and Daniel (chaps. 2–6). The pesharim, like the interpretation of dreams,

aim at revealing future events alluded to in visions, and do so by similar exegetical means (Rabinowitz 1973: 230–32; Finkel 1963–64).

But although the pesher has some affinity with all these literary forms, and especially with the prophetic dreams and apocalyptic visions, it has a distinct form, distinct aims, and a distinct background. The distinctiveness of the Qumranic pesharim lies in their peculiar structure and terminology, and in their systematic application of the biblical text to the historical circumstances of the community itself. The immediate purpose of the pesharim is to vindicate the Teacher of Righteousness and his followers in their struggle against their opponents, to strengthen the adherents' faith and their powers of endurance, and to inspire them with hope for the future (Brownlee 1979: 35–36). The Qumranic pesher should, therefore, be considered as a commentary of a special kind.

**D. Exegetical Method Used by the Pesharim**

The pesher's strict formal distinction between the biblical lemma and its interpretation indicates the interpreter's main task: to extract the desired sense from the biblical citation by indicating the analogy and similarity between the text and the community's situation. To accomplish this a number of exegetical techniques were used (Elliger 1953: 130–48; Brownlee 1951; Bruce 1960: 11–18; Horgan 1979: 244–49; Brooke 1985: 279–352; Nitzan 1986: 39–79):

(1) modeling the interpretation on the syntactic and lexical patterns of the citation (cf. 4QFlor 1–2 i 1–13; Dimant 1986: 174);

(2) using, in the pesher, lexical synonyms of words occurring in the biblical citation;

(3) punning on words of the citation (paranomasia);

(4) atomizing;

(5) vocalizing or grouping the consonants of words in the citation in a different way; and

(6) adducing other biblical quotations which share one or more terms with the main citation.

These procedures have close parallels in the rabbinic midrashim, in early biblical versions, and in early apocalyptic literature. It is, therefore, often asserted that they are identical with the techniques used in the rabbinic midrashim (Silberman 1961–62; Slomovic 1969–71; Brooke 1985: 154–55, 283–92). These procedures, though similar, are nevertheless not identical; they are used in widely different texts, different in character, period, and social background. Identity cannot, therefore, be established until further research is carried out. However, the affinity between the exegetical methods used in all these corpora seems to indicate that the Qumranic pesher is not a unique phenomenon, but it must be placed within the wider framework of Jewish exegesis of the Second Temple era.

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DEVORAH DIMANT

**PESHITTA.** See VERSIONS, ANCIENT (SYRIAC); CHRISTIANITY (SYRIA).

**PESTILENCE.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE; PALESTINE, CLIMATE OF.

**PETER** (PERSON) [Gk *Petros* (Πετρος)]. Var. SIMON PETER; SIMON; CEPHAS. The most prominent of the 12 disciples of Jesus.

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A. Pauline Letters
B. Book of Acts
C. Gospel of Mark
D. Gospel of Matthew
E. Gospel of Luke
F. Gospel of John
G. The Petrine Epistles
H. The Apocryphal Writings

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### A. Pauline Letters

There are undisputed references to Peter in 1 Corinthians and Galatians; some would hold that there are also veiled references to Peter in 2 Corinthians. Not only do the Pauline letters represent the earliest extant literature in the canonical NT but they also contain references to Peter which predate considerably the time of their writing. However, when Paul relates such meetings with Peter, he does so in a context which is intended to reinforce his apostleship and his understanding of the gospel.

According to the evidence in Galatians and 1 Corinthians, Paul sees Peter serving at least four important functions: (1) Peter is the first-named witness to whom the risen Christ appeared according to the list in 1 Cor 15:5; (2) Peter was a source of tradition about Jesus if one accepts *historēsai* in Gal 1:18 as meaning that Paul went up to Jerusalem "to get information [about Jesus] from Cephas;" (3) Peter served as a leader in Jerusalem during the time of the Christian Paul's first visit (Gal 1:18) and continued to have a position of importance during Paul's second visit (Gal 2:1–10); (4) Peter participated in the apostolate to the circumcised as Paul did in the apostolate to the uncircumcised (Gal 2:8).

**1. Galatians.** In order to understand Paul's assertions about Cephas (Paul uses the name "Cephas" in Gal 1:18; 2:9, 11, 14 and in 1 Cor 1:12; 3:22; 9:5; 15:5, but the name "Peter" only in Gal 2:7–8) it is necessary to understand what factors in the Galatian controversy prompted Paul to include references to him. Since it is unlikely that Paul believed Peter himself was causing the difficulty in Galatia by preaching "a different gospel" (1:6) the solution must lie elsewhere. According to one explanation Paul's primary opponents were Judaizers who were incorrectly invoking the name of Peter in support of their position. That the Galatians understood Peter as an authority figure, either because of his personal apostolate or because of the significance of Jerusalem, is suggested by Gal 1:18. However one may wish to define the specific profile of these Judaizers this much is clear: that their "different gospel" included such Jewish practices as circumcision (5:1–6) and the celebration of feasts according to the Jewish calendar (4:10). Thus, on the one hand, Paul refers to Cephas in terms of past history: at Jerusalem (Gal 2:1–10) and at Antioch (Gal 2:11–14) Peter had been involved in two of Paul's prior confrontations with Judaizers, and in each of them he refused to capitulate to those demands which would have imposed Jewish practices on gentile converts. On the other hand, this review of the past serves to refute the attempt of the Galatian Judaizers in associating their position with that of Peter and those "who were men of repute" (2:2) at Jerusalem. Thus, for example, the fact that "those who were of repute" extended to Paul and Barnabas "the right hand of fellowship" (2:9) would certainly weaken the claim of the Galatians. Paul, then, rejects the legalistic mentality common to the groups in Jerusalem, Antioch, and Galatia.

In order to determine Paul's perception of Peter, three encounters between the two must be taken into consideration: (1) Gal 1:18, Paul's initial visit to Jerusalem and meeting with Peter; (2) Gal 2:1–10, Paul's second visit to Jerusalem concerning the circumcision issue; and, (3) Gal 2:11ff., Paul's rebuke of Peter at Antioch.

With regard to the first of these meetings, one meaning of the verb *historēsai* is "to gather information from someone" and it is possible that Paul received information about Jesus during this visit, perhaps including the Risen Christ's appearance to Cephas (1 Cor 15:5). Concerning the second visit to Jerusalem, Paul went privately to "those who were of repute [ …] lest somehow I should be running or had run in vain" (2:2). Critical is how one is to understand this latter phrase. Paul may have regarded himself inferior to these Jerusalem authorities, including Peter, and was concerned that if Jerusalem did not approve of his policy in not circumcising gentile converts he might be doctrinally "running in vain." Or Paul may not have been concerned about winning the doctrinal approval of the authorities in Jerusalem but rather much more concerned in bringing clarity to the political intrigues which had been launched against his policies. The degree of authority which Paul attached to Peter is conditioned by the interpretation of this phrase. At the very least, one may say that Paul took these leaders seriously even if he did not understand them to be his ecclesiastical superiors. With regard to the final encounter at Antioch it is probable that Paul is not challenging the person of Peter but rather the fact that Peter acted without principle with regard to the "truth of the gospel." The main issue is that Peter was not drawing consistent consequence from the one and only gospel (1:7; 2:14).

This incident at Antioch raises another set of interesting questions concerning possible changes in the relationship between Peter and Paul and between Peter, James, and John. With regard to the former, does the phrase "I opposed him to his face" mean that Paul opposed "*even* Peter," in the sense of implying Peter's superiority? Or does Paul's challenge of Peter face to face suggest an increasing self-assurance on Paul's part? Read in this way, one could understand 1:18 as suggesting Paul as inferior to Peter; 2:7–8 indicating that both are equal; and 2:11–21 implying Paul's superiority as a result of his ability to confront

Peter. If such a tentative interpretation is followed, one could argue for a shift in power. With regard to the latter point (Peter's relation to James and John), it is also possible, more convincingly, to suggest a change in this relationship. In 1:18–19, Cephas is named before James; in 2:9 James is mentioned before Peter and John. Thus, at least by the time Paul writes Galatians, *James*, and not Peter as was the case during Paul's first visit, is recognized as the major figure in Jerusalem.

**2. 1 Corinthians.** Cephas is referred to in 1:12, 3:22, 9:5, and 15:5. The first two references involve the tendency toward division in Corinth (those belonging to Paul, to Apollos, and to Cephas) and they raise the question whether Peter had ever been in Corinth. That he engaged in missionary activity is made clear by Gal 2:7–8, 11 but also by Acts 1–12 where Peter is active in Samaria, Lydda, Joppa, and Caesarea. That he was in Corinth is possible; in that case the existence of a Peter-party in Corinth included those who were converted by him during the time that he preached there. However, other cogent explanations have been put forth, viz., that the Corinthians, in an attempt to end the in-fighting decided to appeal to a higher earthly authority, Cephas. The reference to Christ would then be understood similarly. Or, the Cephas-party might have included those baptized by him in Palestine and who subsequently migrated to Corinth. Paul's reference to Peter in 1 Cor 15:5, "Do we not have the right to be accompanied by a wife, as the other apostles and the brothers of the Lord and Cephas?", unfortunately does not help decide this issue since this verse can be used on both sides of the argument. However this matter may be decided there is a likely consensus that the Cephas-party in Corinth does not necessarily reflect the views of Peter any more than the Paul-party accurately reflected the views of Paul.

In 1 Cor 15:5 a different set of problems is encountered. Verse 5 is set in a very carefully structured context which continues through 15:8: "And that he appeared: [1] to Cephas, [2] then to the Twelve; [3] and then he appeared to more than 500 brethren at one time, and then he appared: [4] to James, [5] then to all the apostles; [6] last of all, as to one irregularly born, he appeared also to me."

Most would agree that these verses contain an early tradition that the first appearance of the resurrected Christ was to Cephas, a tradition that is consonant with that in Luke 24:34; by Paul's own admission the appearance to him was the "last of all." Other than these chronological references, few would assert that the entire list as we have it before us follows any chronological order. The problem is twofold: (1) Where does the pre-Pauline tradition end and where does Pauline redaction begin; (2) how do the two groupings of three relate to one another?

Concering the first issue the question arises whether the fact that Jesus *appeared* originally belonged to a pre-Pauline formula or derives from Paul himself. Also, were the names of Cephas and the Twelve already in the pre-Pauline formula or did Paul add these names? Even if the latter should be the case he was dependent on earlier tradition for information about those to whom the Risen Jesus appeared. Concerning the second problem, several solutions have been offered—none without difficulty, however. Some suggest that the first three appearances (Cephas, the Twelve, more than 500 brethren) represent those who had been Jesus' followers during his lifetime; the second three appearances (James, all the apostles, Paul) were directed to more recent followers of Jesus. Another suggestion understands the first group as a "church-founding" appearance and the second as a "mission-inaugurating" one. Another explanation wishes to see rival lists reflected in these groupings, a suggestion that coheres with the thesis of a shift in power as reviewed in the discussion of Galatians. Still others would explain these lists as duplicate reports of the same appearances with James substituted for Cephas and "all the apostles" substituted for the Twelve. Finally, if Paul is dependent on tradition it may be that these lists have no functional significance as he uses them in 1 Cor 15:5–8. If a functional significance is to be found one should look to 1 Cor 15:11: "Whether then it was I or they, so we preach and so you believed." Whatever differences may have existed between Paul and the others, whether Christ appeared to them first or last, is irrelevant since they all preach the same gospel. By underscoring this harmony in the apostolic preaching Paul wishes to show the absurdity of the party rivalries and tendency toward division present in the Corinthian church.

**3. 2 Corinthians.** Although there are no specific references to Peter in 2 Corinthians, there are, nevertheless, some scholars who detect indirect references in this probably composite letter. In 10:7 Paul

argues: “If someone is confident that he is Christ’s, let him remind himself that we are Christ’s as much as he is.” Again in 11:4–5: “If someone comes who proclaims another Jesus, not the Jesus whom we proclaim [ …] you submit to it readily enough. But I think that I am not least inferior to these superlative apostles.” According to the interpretation under consideration, this “someone” is Peter and it is he who is causing the difficulties in Corinth. Thus it is necessary for Paul to refute him in sharp and polemical language. This view is usually rejected because it is based on a speculative identification of vague references in 2 Corinthians and because it runs counter to the neutral, if not favorable, interpretion of Peter in 1 Corinthians.

**B. Book of Acts**

This review of Peter in the NT attempts to follow a chronological sequence with the exception of the books of Acts. There are two primary reasons for departing from chronological order: first, the book of Acts describes activities of Peter roughly contemporaneous with those mentioned by Paul; and second, even though Acts is “volume two” of Luke’s portrait of primitive Christianity, to have discussed Acts after Luke’s gospel would effectively break the sequence of reviewing the portrait of Peter in all four gospels. However, this treatment of Acts after the Pauline letters does not suggest that Acts is a consistently reliable historical source of the events Luke describes. Luke is a theologian who shapes early traditions for his literary purposes. One of the chief problems in the study of Acts is the discrimination between Lukan redaction and Lukan sources. Even more difficult is to move behind both source and redaction to the historical level. Despite these problems an attempt will be made to describe both Luke’s understanding of Peter and, where possible, that of the sources used by Luke.

The following functions of Peter (Luke prefers the name “Peter,” using “Simon” in Acts only in 10:5, 18, 32, and “Cephas” not at all) are brought to prominence in Acts: (1) Peter is first mentioned in the post-resurrectional list of the Eleven in Acts 1:13; (2) Peter guides the process leading to the election of Matthias to fill the place left vacant by Judas (Acts 1:15–26); (3) Peter is a preacher both within the Jerusalem church and as a missionary to those outside (Acts 2:14–36; 3:12–26; 4:8–12; 5:29–32; 10:34–43); (4) Peter is a miracle worker and, as in the case of Paul, some of these miracles resemble those of Jesus as presented in the gospels (Acts 3:1–10; 5:1–11, 15; 9:32–42); (5) Peter is the object of miraculous divine care and receives visionary or heavenly guidance (Acts 5:17–21; 10:9–48; 12:6–11); and (6) Peter is a spokesman for the Jerusalem community (Acts 8:14–25; 11:1–18 [where Paul has to defend the actions described in the previous text to the entire community]; 15:7–11).

Three significant matters in Acts need to examined more closely. The first of these is Acts 10:1–11:18 which discusses the issue of Peter and the conversion of the gentiles. The problem in this text is twofold: (1) How much of this account is historical and how much is the result of Luke’s theological program? (2) What is the relationship of Peter’s apparent precedence in, if indeed not his inauguration of, the gentile mission to Paul’s statement in Gal 2:7–8 that he, Paul, had been entrusted with the gospel to the uncircumcised?

With regard to the first difficulty, two explanations are possible. First, that Peter’s conversion of the Roman centurion Cornelius at Caesarea Maritima is a historical fact incorporated by Luke into a theological context and that this incident was then recalled at the Jerusalem conference where the issue of Paul’s large-scale conversion of gentiles was the subject of discussion. A second explanation is that the entire scene is a creation of Lukan theology, viz., that the mission to the gentiles had to have the approval of the Twelve and that Peter’s action serves as the legitimation of the decision recounted in Acts 15 that the gentiles did not need to be circumcised. Common to both views is that the editorial hand of Luke is evident in this text and that God intended salvation to be extended to the gentiles (10:18) through Peter’s conversion of Cornelius. Not unimportant is that Paul’s first missionary journey only takes place after this event.

The second difficulty with this text is its relationship to Gal 2:7–8. How does Peter’s conversion of Cornelius and his statement in Acts 15:7, “God made choice among you that by my mouth the gentiles should hear the word of the gospel and believe,” relate to the conclusion found in Gal 2:7 that “Peter had been entrusted with the gospel to the circumcised.” One resolution is to acknowledge a contradiction.

Another would be to note that Gal 2:9 does not contrast Peter and Paul on a one-to-one basis, but rather each is part of a larger mission team; this suggests a more complicated missionary pattern. One also needs to take into account the fact that Luke prefaces and modifies the Petrine inauguration of the gentile mission by describing that there were missionaries to the gentiles before either Paul or Peter and that Luke records in Acts 8 the missionary activity of Philip among the Samaritans and Philip's baptism of an Ethiopian eunuch, as well as the fact that in Acts 10:2 it is emphasized that Cornelius was "a devout man who feared God." Thus, as a "God-fearer" he was already positively inclined toward Judaism and an observant of some Jewish practices. This last view would suggest that Peter's missionary relationship to gentiles might be different from that of Paul insofar as it does not involve the conversion of large numbers of gentiles who had no previous attachment to Judaism.

The second significant matter which needs to be examined is the relationship of Peter to the Jerusalem church. In Acts 8:14, 9:32, and 15:6–7, 22–23, Peter and the Jerusalem apostles are mentioned at significant points in the development of the Christian missionary strategy. Who is supervising this development? Peter? The Jerusalem church? If the latter, who is in charge? A review of the evidence in Acts would suggest the following possible models of church leadership involving Jerusalem:

(1) Peter and the other members of the Twelve were involved with a Christian missionary strategy far more extensive than just Jerusalem. Peter was not a local church leader, and once the Jerusalem church grew to the point of requiring consistent administrative leadership this role was assumed by James, the brother of the Lord. He continued in Jerusalem even after Peter and the others were no longer present either because of missionary journeys or death. The authority of James extended only to the Jerusalem church; however, he was more widely known because of his relationship to Jesus. Paul's regard for James would have been for him as a local church leader and his primary loyalty would have been to the Jerusalem church as a whole because of its historical priority as the "mother church."

(2) Although Peter was widely known because of his relationship with the ministry of Jesus, he was essentially a local church leader in Jerusalem. At some latter point James took Peter's place as the leader of the Jerusalem church. Neither had a role as leader in the churches beyond Jerusalem.

(3) Peter was a leader in the universal church centered in Jerusalem. This position of universal leadership, with the exception of his apostleship, was transferred at some latter point to James.

Whichever hypothesis one finds most convincing, each seems to support the thesis that Galatians 2 suggests a shift in leadership (however narrowly or widely one may wish to define this) from Peter to James. As one turns to Acts 15 this understanding of Galatians 2 also gains support: there one observes that Peter speaks first (15:7–11) and that the final persuasive words are spoken by James (15:12–31).

The third and last significant area that needs to be reviewed is the important chapter dealing with Peter and the gathering in Jerusalem, Acts 15. The problems as well as the proposed solutions are myriad. The issue which calls forth the gathering of the apostles and elders is the assertion by certain persons from Judea who insisted that "Unless you are circumcised according to the custom of Moses, you cannot be saved" (15:1). In partial agreement with the position outline in Gal 2:7–9, Peter, James, the apostles and the elders take a stand for freedom, not requiring that gentile Christians be subject to circumcision and the whole law, "It has seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things" (15:28). Even though Luke stresses the theme of "accord" *(homthymadon)* in 15:25, there are differences in the position of Peter and James. While Peter recommended to the "council" no circumcision or law based on the precedent of his conversion of Cornelius, James urges a few regulations to be observed by the gentiles. Not only did James concede less than Peter did on this issue, the apostles and elders followed James in their decision to enforce these regulations in a letter to those "who are of the gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia" (15:23). Thus in Luke's presentation all play a decisive role: Peter through his witness; James in his judgment; and, the apostles and elders in their letter of enforcement.

One of the difficulties in using chap. 15 as a straightforward historical account of the events is one we have encountered earlier: the difficulty in determining what belongs to Luke's sources and what results from his redaction of earlier materials. A few illustrations will suggest the complexity of the issue. If one

accepts the dominant scholarly view that Acts 15 corresponds to the events described by Paul in Gal 2:1–10, how should one understand the four regulations of Acts 15:20–29 (abstention from the pollution of idols, from unchastity, from what is strangled, and from blood) which are not mentioned by Paul. Further, how could Paul dispute with Peter at Antioch (Gal 2:11–14) if these regulations had been sent to the church at Antioch with Paul and Barnabas? Such inconsistencies between the two accounts lead many scholars to question the historical reliability of the Lukan portrait and even whether such a letter was ever sent by the Jerusalem gathering. It is likely that Luke had at his disposal a tradition that the Jerusalem leaders together with Paul had reached an agreement and a tradition that from an early period gentiles in mixed Christian communities had to observe certain Jewish regulations concerning impurity so that fellowship might exist with the Jewish Christians.

Although what has just been outlined represents a position frequently found in the literature, there are many alternatives. One such alternative, by way of example, would take seriously the redactional creativity of Luke while asserting the essentially reliability of the underlaying historical data. It suggests that Acts 15 conflates two Jerusalem meetings: the one is represented by Peter's address in Acts 15:6–11 and that this coheres with Paul's description in Gal 2:1–10; the other meeting took place later and was provoked by controversies about meals jointly shared by gentile and Jewish Christians. An example of such an argument can be found in Gal 2:11–14. As a result of such unrest, James and the Jerusalem church issued the four regulations described in Acts 15:20 and 29. Paul was not present at this second meeting and he may, therefore, not have known of these regulations or, perhaps, they were addressed only to that area for which the Jerusalem church had jurisdiction. By placing the confrontation between Paul and Peter prior to this second meeting, a number of the tensions between Acts 15 and Galatians 2 are resolved.

The fact that there are no further references to Peter in the book of Acts, which for the historian is regrettable, is due to Luke's primary interest in portraying the missionary advance of the early church. Luke's literary plan moves from Jerusalem and from Peter (Acts 1–15) to the gentile churches of Asia Minor/Greece/Rome and to Paul (Acts 16–28). This author is also concerned to show the links between the late 1st-century churches and the early period. Thus Acts begins in Jerusalem with the twelve apostles (Acts 2:37), with particular emphasis on Peter and John, continues on with "the apostles and the elders" (Acts 15:6, 22; 16:4) and finally to "James and all the elders" (Acts 21:18). For the purposes of his theological perspective, it is Paul who is the key figure in this latter period, and it is he who is the missionary successor to Peter—the one who had played such a dominant role in the foundational period of the early church in Jerusalem.

**C. Gospel of Mark**

Most contemporary NT scholars assert that Mark was the first gospel written and that Matthew and Luke used it as a source. Further, it is almost universally held that the Gospels are multidimensional, viz., they contain various levels of tradition: (1) materials and redaction stemming from the gospel writer; (2) written or oral pre-gospel sources and traditions; and, (3) material that is derived from the historical Jesus. Although it is not always possible to distinguish these levels with great certainty, the attempt is necessary and is bound to affect not only one's understanding of Mark's intention and theology but also Mark's interpretation of the role of Peter. For example, is Mark pro-Petrine, and anti-Petrine, both, or neither? In accepting these presuppositions of the historical-critical method, contemporary scholarship places little value on Papias' statement that Mark was "Peter's interpreter" and that he was dependent on Peter's testimony.

In Mark 3:16 the evangelist refers to "Simon whom he surnamed Peter." Thereafter Peter is the dominant name (eighteen times) for this disciple with only one reference to "Simon" thereafter (14:37; prior to 3:16 also in 1:16, 29, 30, 36).

The following general picture of Peter emerges in Mark's gospel: Simon and his brother Andrew were fishermen on the Sea of Galilee where Jesus called them as his first disciples to follow him and become fishers of men (1:16–18). At the house of Simon and Andrew in Capernaum, Jesus healed Simon's mother-in-law (1:29–31). Following additional healings in Capernaum, Simon, together with others,

report to Jesus that people were seeking him (1:35–38). Of the Twelve appointed by Jesus the first of these in the list of their names is Simon "whom he surnamed Peter" (3:14–16). When Jesus revived the ruler's daughter he permitted only Peter, James, and John to follow him. This is the first of three traditional scenes (cf. 9:2–13 and 13:3–8) involving an "inner group" of three disciples (but in 13:3–8 Andrew is also included in this group) among the Twelve (5:37). Peter's confession on the way to Caesarea Philippi that Jesus is the "Messiah" and Jesus' subsequent rebuke of Peter referring to him as "Satan" (8:27–33). The transfiguration of Jesus before Peter, James, and John. Peter "did not know what to say" and offered to make 3 booths for Jesus, Moses, and Elijah (9:2–13). Peter, somewhat perplexed, responds to Jesus, "Lo, we have left everything and followed you," to which Jesus responds with a word of promise concerning this life and the age to come (10:28–30). As Peter and the others pass by the fig tree which Jesus had cursed on the previous day (11:12–14) he remarks, "Master, look! The fig tree which you cursed has withered" (11:21). Peter, James, John, and Andrew ask Jesus privately when the temple buildings would be destroyed, a question which gives occasion to Jesus' apocalyptic discourse (13:3–8). Despite Peter's assertions to the contrary, Jesus predicted that Peter would deny him three times that very night (14:27–31). At Gethsemane, Jesus took Peter, James, and John and shared with them his great distress. Asking them to remain and watch, he went further to pray. Upon his return he found them sleeping and said to Peter, "Simon, are you asleep? Could you not watch one hour?" Twice again Jesus leaves only to return to a similar situation (14:32–42). Following Jesus' arrest, Peter followed him at a distance into the courtyard of the high priest. Having denied Jesus three times prior to the cock crowing a second time, Peter remembered Jesus' prediction and broke down and wept (14:54–72). A young man dressed in a white robe sitting on the right side of the tomb where Jesus had been laid, announces to the women who had come to anoint him, "But go, tell his disciples and Peter that he is going before you to Galilee; there you will see him, as he told you" (16:7).

**1. Peter's Confession of Jesus as Messiah (8:27–33).** The question of the historicity of this pericope is a difficult one and the opinions of scholars vary. Unfortunately, since Matthew and Luke are dependent on Mark, these gospels do not assist in evaluating this question. Some have noted a general sequential parallel between this Markan account and John 6:66–71 and have suggested that Mark may have altered and adopted a pre-Markan tradition, especially at 8:27b.

If Peter did in fact make a confession that Jesus was Messiah he probably understood that term in a way consonant with that of intertestamental Judaism, viz., as the anointed king of the House of David who would come and deliver Israel from its enemies and establish a world empire characterized by peace and justice. That some understood Jesus' role in such a regal way is confirmed by his crucifixion as a would-be Messiah king.

Jesus' charge to his disciples not to tell anyone about him (8:30) and the prediction that the Son of Man must suffer, be killed, and be raised after three days (8:31) is generally thought to stem from Markan redaction although, especially with regard to the latter, it is quite possible that Mark was drawing upon an earlier tradition concerning the passion of Jesus. Further, there is much agreement that Peter's refusal to accept the suffering of the Son of Man, Jesus' rebuke of Peter (8:32–33), and the unfavorable reaction of Peter to Jesus, all in their present wording and location stem from the hand of the evangelist. However, Jesus' rebuke of Peter in 8:33, "Get behind me, Satan! For you are not on the side of God, but of men," may well be a traditional saying which contains a historical reminiscence. In such an understanding, Peter's misguided confession and Jesus' rebuke suggest a picture of Peter marked by bungling enthusiasm.

This pericope and the general portrait of Peter outlined above raise the question of Mark's intention. Is his picture of Peter essentially a negative or a positive one? At several points Peter serves as a spokesman for others, and there are three scenes where he appears with James and John as constituting an "inner group." And yet, there are other scenes in which Peter is portrayed as the embodiment of the disciples failure, as for example in 14:50 where all the disciples forsake Jesus and flee but only Peter's denial is singled out and underscored. Is Mark hostile to Peter and does he seek to highlight his failings? Or, is Mark emphasizing the prominence of Peter in order to rehabilitate his memory and counter attacks made

by a larger anti-Petrine movement? One popular view suggests that Mark's gospel is an effort to counteract a *theios aner* christology in Mark's community. In this effort the disciples are portrayed as holding the view that Jesus was predominantly a miracle-worker. Mark has Jesus correct this view by insisting on a theology of suffering. According to this understanding of Mark's theology, Peter is presented by the evangelist as the spokesman of an erroneous christology. This later view of Mark's theological intention would see Mark 8:27–33 as a classic example of Peter's role as a spokesman for an erroneous christology which must be rejected. However, there are other scholars who would understand Mark's insertion of 8:31 not as a rejection of Peter's confession but as a corrective through the addition of the theme of suffering. Peter's confession is inadequate and must be corrected in this way. Thus, Jesus does not rebuke Peter for his confession of him as Messiah but for tempting Jesus with an understanding of messiahship that does not recognize the suffering and death of Jesus.

**2. A Post-Resurrectional Message to Peter (16:7).** A young man sitting in the tomb speaks to the women: "But go, tell his disciples and Peter that he is going before you to Galilee; there you will see him, as he told you." This verse is paralleled in both Matthew and Luke, although only Mark explicitly refers to Peter. Such a reference to Peter can be interpreted either positively or negatively depending on one's understanding of Mark's overall intention. If, as many scholars agree, 16:7 is a redactional insert (note the tension between verses 7 and 8: in v 7 the women are told to go to the disciples and Peter with a message and according to v 8 they said nothing to anyone), it is possible that this verse allows for a post-resurrectional appearance and even the fact that Mark was aware of a tradition that the risen Jesus had appeared first to Peter (according to this interpretation Mark means, "Tell the disciples, *especially* Peter"). Obviously such an interpretation would present Peter in a most positive light: he was one of the most important witnesses of the risen Jesus. However, there are those scholars who insist that 16:7 refers not to a post-resurrectional appearance but to the parousia. Since such appearances are linked with a *theios aner* christology Mark wishes to counteract such traditions with an emphasis on the parousia in Galilee when his disciples will Jesus return as the Son of Man. Such a perspective would interpret this specific reference to Peter negatively: Mark is attempting to discredit the tradition that Jesus had appeared to Peter by emphasizing that they all will see Jesus when the parousia occurs—"Go tell the disciples, *even* Peter …" Once again it is evident that one's understanding of Markan theology as a whole influences one's interpretation of specific pericopes.

**D. Gospel of Matthew**

Matthew's unique contribution to the image of Peter in the NT can be found particularly in three passages: Peter walking on the water, sinking, and being rescued by Jesus (14:28–31); Peter's confession of Jesus as Messiah and the Son of the living God and Jesus' response in the form of a blessing and promise concerning the church (16:16b–19); and Peter's question about paying the temple tax (17:24–27).

Since Matthew is dependent on Mark, most of the Petrine scenes and pericopes found there also appear in Matthew, sometimes with insignificant variations. For example, where Mark in 1:35–38, 5:37, 11:12–14, 13:3ff., and 16:7 includes a specific reference to Peter, it is omitted in Matthew. This apparent "lessening" of Peter's importance is balanced by Matthew's insertion of "first" *(prōtos)* before Matthew's name in the list of the Twelve (10:2) and the introduction of Peter in Matt 15:15 and 18:21–22, for which there are, respectively, Markan and Lukan parallels, and thus to be attributed to Matthean redaction.

Before analyzing in greater detail the three passages where Matthew makes his most important contribution, one should note that all three of these pericopes are found in the context of Matthew's fourth book (13:53–18:35), a section which reveals particularly Matthew's ecclesiastical concerns. It is in this book, for example, where the only two occurrences (Matt 16:18; 18:17) of the word *ekklēsia* (church) appear in the four gospels, and thus it is likely that we shall gain insight into Matthew's perspective about the role of Peter in the 1st-century church from these texts.

**1. Jesus Rescues Peter (14:28–31).** Matthew modifies Mark 6:45–52 (for example, the omission of Jesus' intention of passing by the disciples) and adds the material now found in Matt 14:28–31. As a result, there is a more positive picture of the disciples. The Markan scene ends with words of amazement: "for they did not understand about the loaves, but their hearts were hardened." Following Jesus' rescue of

Peter, both get into the boat and those in the boat worship Jesus saying, "Truly, you are [the] Son of God." Since there are no parallels for the Matthean material the question of source and historical value are difficult to evaluate. Certain similarities can be noted with the scene in John 21:7–8 where Peter rushes from the boat to Jesus who stands on the shore of the Sea of Tiberias. There one finds the same basic pattern of leaving the boat in a context of hesitation concerning the identity of Jesus and the confession of Jesus as "Lord." The suggestion that we may have here a post-resurrectional appearance (modified and retrojected by Matthew back to a point in the life of the historical Jesus) is a plausible one: the theme of Peter as a man of little faith who sinks and has to be saved by Jesus coheres well with an appearance of the risen Jesus to Peter following his denial.

In this scene Peter is portrayed as a disciple who has genuine love for Jesus as he desires to go to him but also as one who has an insufficient faith during Jesus' earthly ministry. When this tension is not held together, widely differing interpretations as to Matthew's view of Peter can be given. If only the latter is stressed, then one might be inclined to stress Peter as a man "of little faith," as one possessed by a presumptuous and misguided enthusiasm. If only the first element is stressed, it results in interpretations which view this pericope as illustrating the primacy of Peter. Perhaps more nuanced would be the view that Peter is indeed given a prominence among the disciples; certainly he had an insufficient faith, but at least there was the first glimmering of faith. Although Peter is weak, he begins to see with the help of Jesus, and although Peter sinks, Jesus rescues him. While there is an element of typical discipleship portrayed in this scene, there is also a singular emphasis on Peter; since Peter will soon be declared the rock on which the church is to be built, it becomes important for Matthew's congregation to know that Jesus saves Peter even when he begins to sink. Before leaving this pericope, one should also note that, contrary to Mark, the *disciples* confess Jesus as "Son of God." In the structure of Matthew's gospel this confession anticipates virtually the same confession that Peter will make in Matt 16:16b and for which Jesus praises him.

**2. Peter's Confession and Jesus' Promise (16:16b–19).** Matthew has preserved all the key elements of the Markan account and has expanded it at two points: first, in addition to confessing Jesus as Messiah, Peter also confesses him to be "the Son of the living God" (Matt 16:16b); and second, following this confession Matthew has inserted three verses (16:17–19) in which Jesus calls Simon blessed and calls him Peter, promises that his church which will be built on this rock (Peter?; see below) and that the powers of death shall not prevail against it, and the promise is made that the keys of the kingdom shall be given to Peter. Also, Matthew expands the rebuke of Peter in Mark, "Get behind me, Satan!", by adding: "You are a stumbling block for me" (16:23). Because of the complexity of this entire pericope, it is best to analyze it in several parts.

a. *Peter's confession of Jesus as "the Son of the living God"* (16:16b). In Matthew, as opposed to Mark, there is no suggestion that Peter misunderstands the title Messiah, for Jesus himself praises it (16:17) as a result of divine revelation. As we noted, this confession is expanded to include one of the most exalted titles for Jesus in the NT, "Son of God." It is frequently coupled with the title Messiah in the NT as, for example, in John 20:31: "That you may believe that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God." The Johannine context is certainly post-resurrectional and belongs to an appearance of the Risen Jesus to Peter. It could be argued that in Matthew 16 we have a combination of two different Petrine confessions: one located in the earthly ministry of Jesus and one located in the post-resurrectional context. This view gains some support from our previous analysis of the confession of Jesus as "Son of God" in Matt 14:33, a scene which, together with Jesus' promise to Peter that he would be the rock on which the church would be built (Matt 16:18) and the giving of the power of binding and loosing (Matt 16:19) may also be post-resurrectional in origin. Thus, while Matthew does not say that Peter was the first among the Twelve to see the risen Jesus (as some interpret Mark 16:7), much of Matthew's special material about Peter appears to have had as its original context a post-resurrectional setting.

The combination of these two confessions into one scene result in the alteration of Peter's role over against the Markan portrayal. Not only is he the spokesman for the disciples but he is the recipient of a revelation that is not shared with the other disciples. For Matthew, Peter's confession is no longer the

turning point in the gospel: His messianic origins have been the subject of reflection from the very beginning of this gospel (1:1, cf. 9:27; 12:23 and 15:22) and all the disciples confessed him as Son of God in 14:33. Although Peter's confession no longer has a chronological priority in Matthew, it will be given an ecclesiastic priority in the words that follow.

b. *"And Jesus answered him, 'Blessed are you, Simon Bar-Jonah! For flesh and blood has not revealed (this) to you, but my Father who is in heaven' "* (16:17). This verse adds strength to the suggestion that we may be dealing with an originally post-resurrectional context. The clause, "*flesh and blood* has not revealed [*apokalyptein*] this to you" is remarkably similar to Paul's description of his experience with the resurrected Jesus in Gal 1:16: when God "was pleased to reveal [*apokalyptein*] his Son to me [ …] I did not confer with *flesh and blood.*" Both Matthew and Galatians contrast a revelation from God with mere human information ("flesh and blood"). In all likelihood neither is dependent on the other; more probably, both have taken up a traditional way of describing post-resurrectional appearances.

Although Matthew received such a post-resurrectional tradition there are some signs of Matthean redactional elements. "Father who is in heaven" is found in Matthew's version of the Lord's Prayer (Matt 6:9) whereas Luke has the almost certainly more original "Father" (Luke 11:2). The macarism "Blessed are you" is not used by Mark and is found in Matthew's gospel 13 times. However, the fact that it is used in Luke, which may suggest that this represents a "Q" pattern, and that it is part of a post-resurrectional scene in John 20:29 might suggest that it comes from Jesus himself.

c. *"And I tell you, you are Peter; and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it"* (16:18). The argument for a pre-Matthean origin for the basic material contained in this verse is strengthened by the recognition of an Aramaic substratum lying behind Matthew's Greek. In Aramaic the Greek play on the word "Peter" is marked by an identity: "You are *Kepha* and upon this *kepha* I will build my church." Further, the Semitisms, "gates of Hades" (interpreted by the RSV as the "powers of death") as well as "flesh and blood" and "bind and loose," all suggest that 16:17–19 originated in an Aramaic-speaking environment.

The setting of this verse is in all probability post-resurrectional. While one should not exclude the possibility that Jesus might have thought of building *a church* in the sense of organizing a people in preparation for the imminent end, the reference to the "gates of Hades" not prevailing over the church does seem to suggest a permanence which would go beyond the supposed intentions of the earthly Jesus. The intentions expressed here cohere more closely with those post-resurrectional appearances described previously as "church-founding."

The identity of "the rock" is an important exegetical question. In view of the Aramaic identity of *Kepha/kepha* there can be no doubt that the rock on which the church is to be built is Peter. Even though there is a slight difference between *Petros/petra* in the Greek text of Matthew, most scholars today would hold that this same identity between the rock and Peter is also the intention of Matthew. However, other views are possible. One such view found in the Church Fathers (e.g., Origen, Ambrose, Chrysostom) and advocated by some today is that *petra* is not Peter himself but Peter when he confessed and "thinks the things of God" (16:23).

If indeed Peter is to be the rock on which the church is to be founded, how does this relate to the image of Peter as the "stumbling block" *(skandaion)* (16:23) for Jesus, an image which represents a sharpening of the Markan form of Jesus' rebuke. Although the issues are complex, one commonly held view would suggest that in response to Peter's confession "You are the Messiah" (16:16) he is given a name which will signify his *future* role as the rock on which the church will be built, a role which according to Matthew's presentation Peter would assume after the resurrection. Further, in response to misunderstanding the necessity of Jesus' suffering, Peter is referred to as a stumbling block for Jesus, as one advocating human rather than divine values. It is the same kind of weakness which Peter will display in his final denial of Jesus, a denial from which Jesus will have to save him so that he can play the role of the foundation rock.

d. *The passage that relates Peter to the "power of the keys"* (16:19) *reads as follows:*

(a) "I will give you the keys to the kingdom of heaven.

(b) Whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven;
(c) whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

This division of v 19 not only demonstrates the parallelism between parts (b) and (c), but also raises the question about the relationship of parts (a) to (b) and (c). In other words is "the power of the keys" defined by that which follows so that they are identical or is the reference to the "keys" a reference to a more general authority of which only a part is further specified in (b) and (c)? A further difficulty is the relationship of these verses in Matthew 61 to those found in Matt 18:18. Is the power of binding and loosing given to Peter the same in *all* its aspects to that which is given to the disciples in general in Matt 18:18? If the power is the same, then it would follow that all the disciples, not just Peter, received an identical power of the keys.

Much of the uncertainty involved in answering these questions would be removed if one could with certainty define the significance of the reference to the "power of the keys." Some have suggested that the background is that of Isa 2:15–25 where Eliakim is installed as the new prime minister of King Hezekiah and on whose shoulder God places "the key of David; he shall open [ …] and he shall shut." The prime minister is given the power to allow or refuse entrance to the palace, that is, access to the king. Matthew, then, would be portraying Peter in a similar way and also giving to him a broad power of the keys, viz., allowing or refusing entrance into the kingdom. One part of this broader power would be the specification of binding and loosing, but others might include baptismal and post-baptismal discipline, excommunication, legislative powers, and the power of governing. Other interpretations are possible and one of these would assert that the power of the keys originally referred to the authority to forgive sins through baptism and that this authority was then at a later time reinterpreted in terms of the rabbinic pattern of binding and loosing.

What exactly is meant by the power to bind and loose? These two verbs in combination are found in at least two different contexts in rabbinic literature. Most often they are used in the sense of imposing or removing an obligation by an authoritative decision. These verbs are also used in the sense of imposing or lifting a ban of excommunication. Which meaning is intended in Matt 16:19 and 18:18? Are the meanings identical or are they being used in different ways? A key issue is to what extent 16:19 gives Peter a responsibility that is distinguished from that given to the other disciples. Some have understood Matt 16:19 as representing the first usage; Peter seen as a chief rabbi issuing binding rules in contrast to "the teaching of the Pharisees and Sadducees" (16:12), and Matt 18:18 as representing the second usage. Such a view presupposes Matthew's congregation as one which had recently emerged from within Judaism and is now in tension with it. Since other understandings of Matthew's situation are possible, other solutions to the above questions can be offered. And yet when all of these options are reviewed one can conclude that, while for Matthew Peter does function as a model of discipleship in general, Matthew does give him a prominence that the others do not receive. See also KEYS OF THE KINGDOM; BINDING AND LOOSING.

**3. The Temple Tax (17:24–27).** Matthew interrupts the Markan sequence he is using and inserts this unique Petrine scene. The collectors of the half-shekel tax (the didrachma) ask Peter, "Does your [in the plural; Peter representing the disciples?] teacher not pay the tax?" Peter answers in the affirmative and then in the house Jesus, addressing him as Simon, asks from whom earthly kings collect their toll and tribute. Following Peter's response "From others," Jesus concludes that the sons, therefore, are free of such tolls. In order not to give offense "to them" Peter is to go fishing and give "to them" the shekel which he will find in the mouth of the fish.

The central issue in this pericope is whether the Temple tax is to be paid. Which tax is meant? That by which every male Jew above 19 years of age had to pay, a half-shekel yearly for the maintenance of the temple prior to its destruction in A.D. 70? Or, the *fiscus iudaicus,* a poll tax imposed on the Jews after A.D. 70 for the support of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus? Even if 17:25b–26 goes back to the historical Jesus (note, for example, the reference to "Simon" as in 16:17), which is possible, no clear answer can be given for Matthew's redaction of this traditional saying, although it is likely that he may have been addressing this later development *(fiscus iudaicus).* At both levels, viz., during the ministry of Jesus and

Matthew's redactional level, Peter is able to give the correct answer because Jesus showed him the way. Even if the pre-Matthean elements of this passage can no longer be described with complete accuracy, it is certain that for Matthew's community Peter exercises a teaching authority in the name of Jesus, an authority already ascribed to him in Matt 16:18–19. Not only in terms of this pericope but for Matthew's presentation of Peter as a whole, it can be said that he extends Peter's preeminence from the ministry of Jesus into the church situation which Matthew addresses. As in 15:15 (Jewish food regulations) and 18:21–22 (forgiveness), so here it is Peter who poses a problem facing the Christian community.

**E. Gospel of Luke**

As in the case of Matthew, this gospel was written toward the end of the 1st century and used Mark, Q, and some other special material as sources. That this author wrote not only the gospel but Acts as well must be kept in mind as one considers the Lukan portrait of Peter in the gospel.

One has in Luke's gospel a portrait of Peter written about the same time as Matthew's, but directed to a Christian community in a different location and context. In general it is possible to make this generalization: Luke is interested in presenting a positive picture of Peter and he effects several changes in his sources to achieve this purpose. Some examples of this intent would include Luke's omission in 9:18–21 of any reference that Peter refuses to accept Jesus' prediction about the suffering of the Son of Man and to Jesus' rebuke of Peter (Mark 8:31–33). In Mark 13:3, Peter, James, John and Andrew ask a question which could be understood as a misunderstanding on their part, viz., when will the Temple be destroyed. In Luke 21:7 this question is asked by an anonymous "they." This Lukan tendency to omit or reduce all that is blameworthy in the life of Peter is also evident in the passion narrative. The prediction of Peter's denials (Mark 14:29–31) is prefaced in Luke's account by Jesus' prayer that Simon's faith will not fail and that he will turn again and strengthen his brethren (Luke 22:31–32). Also Peter is not referred to by name in the Gethsemane scene and therefore does not receive any special blame from Jesus for sleeping as is the case in Mark 14:32–42. The denials of Jesus in Mark (14:66–72) are softened by the Lukan Peter. Not only is the intensity of these denials reduced, it is only in the Lukan account that one reads, "The Lord turned and looked at Peter," an *implicit* reproach that causes Peter to weep bitterly (Luke 22:62).

This positive Lukan view of Peter both prepares the way for his second volume, the Acts of the Apostles, and allows the image of Peter to be enhanced even further in Acts. In Mark 14:12–17 and Matt 26:17–20, it is the "disciples" who prepare the Passover meal; in Luke 22:8 it is "Peter and John" who are asked to prepare this meal for Jesus and his disciples. Not only does Luke give Peter a prominent and praiseworthy role in Acts, often, in the early chapters of Acts, this is carried out in association with John (Acts 3:1–11; 4:13–22; 8:14).

Even though they are too numerous to describe in detail, one should be cognizant of numerous other, relatively minor, changes which Luke makes in his description of Peter when contrasted with Mark and Matthew. A few examples must suffice. Unlike Matthew, Luke 4:42–43 reproduces the scene found in Mark 1:35–38 (Simon searching for Jesus) but replacing the reference to Simon with "the people," probably because he had not yet been called to follow Jesus. In Luke the message of the young man to the women to the empty tomb (Mark 16:7, "Go, tell his disciples and Peter") is omitted and replaced with a tradition that the risen Jesus had appeared to Simon (24:34). In Luke 8:45 it is Peter who responds to the question, "Who was it that touched me?" in the healing account of Jairus' daughter, information not found in Mark or Matthew. Where in Matt 18:21 Matthew inserts the name Peter to identify the questioner, it is not found in Luke 17:4. On the contrary, in Luke 14:41, Luke inserts the name of Peter in identifying the questioner, whereas in Matt 24:44–45 no name is specified.

Three Petrine scenes found in Luke's gospel must be discussed in detail and it will be necessary to ask whether the striking consistency of the use of the name "Simon" in these scenes would suggest that they have come to Luke from pre-Lukan sources. These pericopes include the miraculous catch of fish, a scene which serves as the context for the call of Simon (5:1–11); Jesus' prayer at the Last Supper that Simon's faith will not fall but that he will turn and strengthen his brethren (22:31–32); and the tradition that the risen Lord appeared to Simon (22:34).

**1. The Call of Simon (5:1–11).** The call of the first disciples in Mark (1:16–20) and Matthew (4:18–22) is straightforward and to the point: "Follow me and I will make you become fishers of men;" they respond by leaving their nets and following him. The story before us in Luke 5 is considerably more detailed. What is Luke's source for this information? Does he have a source independent of Mark and Matthew or has he added to the call of the disciples another narrative about Peter and a miraculous catch of fish? There are a number of awkward elements in the account of Luke 5:1–11—the transitions between Peter's response, the belated identification of James and John, Jesus' subsequent address only to Simon, as well as the fact that the response "Depart from me" would be more appropriate on land—which suggest that it originally belonged to a setting other than that of the call of the first disciples.

There are some striking similarities between this Lukan scene and the account of Simon Peter's catch of fish in John 21:1–13. Among these many similarities, one should not overlook the identical use of the name "Simon Peter" in both accounts. Although this combination of names is used more frequently by John than any other NT writer, it is found only here in Luke. These similarities have led many scholars to conclude that both Luke and John are using a common source independently of one another and that this source recounted the story as a post-resurrectional appearance as is the case in John 21. If the suggestion of a post-resurrectional context is valid, one finds Luke employing a literary technique similar to the one used by Matthew in 16:16b–19: the retrojection of post-resurrectional material into the ministry of Jesus.

Only in Luke 5:10 do we find these words of promise by Jesus to Simon: "Do not be afraid; henceforth you will be catching men." This redactional intention of Luke is preparing for the prominent role that Simon will have among the disciples in Acts. Thus, it is evident that Peter's missionary endeavors related in Acts are rooted in the pre-Easter intention of Jesus where these endeavors are always grounded in the power of Jesus which alone allows the sinful Simon to become a fisher of men.

**2. Jesus' Prayer for Simon's Faith (22:31–32).** Not only are these words absent from Mark and Matthew, the entire context leading up to Peter's denial (Luke 22:54ff.) is different in Luke's account. The Lukan tendency to deemphasize the weakness of the disciples is evident in these verses in which their falling away is only obliquely hinted.

In order to deal with the question of the origin of these words, we need to look at them more closely: " (31) Simon, Simon, behold, Satan demanded you [pl.] to sift like wheat. (32) But I have prayed for you [sing.] that your [sing.] faith may not fail. And you [sing.], when you [sing.] have turned again, strengthen your [sing.] brothers."

That part of this text addressed to Simon in the second person singular ("Simon, Simon [ …] I have prayed for you that your faith may not fail") is likely to be pre-Lukan. This proposal is strengthened by the double use of "Simon" which contrasts with the prediction of *Peter's* denials which follow. As the use of "to strengthen" suggests, this pre-Lukan source was modified by Luke and then incorporated into the present context where Luke may be following a source independent of Matthew and Luke. This would help one make sense of the awkward plural-to-singular shift which occurs here.

At the level of Lukan redaction Simon is part of the larger apostolic group (the pl. "you") whom Satan demanded so that he might sift them like wheat. For Luke the disciples are also subject to temptation, and that includes Simon. Although there is no Lukan equivalent to Mark 8:33 ("He rebuked Peter and said, 'Get behind me Satan' "), there is the implication of some kind of failure in the words "turning again" and in the denials themselves. Since the phrase "turning again" precedes the period of Peter's denial of Jesus, it is likely that Luke intends that through Jesus' prayer the lack of faith implicit in the denials would not become a permanent failure and that his faith would be revived following the resurrection.

Jesus also prays that when Simon had turned again that he would strengthen his brothers. Since Luke has never referred to a failure of such magnitude that their faith needed to be restored, it is not probable that this is the intended reference. To be preferred is that interpretation which understands "brothers" in the broader sense of strengthening the *larger Christian community* through his missionary preaching. Such activity is described in Acts and Acts 15:32 may serve as an example: "Judas and Silas, who were themselves prophets, exhorted the *brothers* … and *strengthened* them." Thus in Luke 22:31–32 the author is preparing for Peter's missionary career and role as the leading spokesman for the faith of the Jerusalem

Church as portrayed in the first fifteen chapters of Acts. By calling special attention to Simon by the use of singular "you" one again observes (as was the case in Luke 5:1–11) how Luke wishes to prepare for Peter's post-resurrectional prominence as described in Acts.

**3. The Lord's Appearance to Simon (24:34).** When the two disciples to whom the Risen Jesus had appeared on the road to Emmaus (24:13–32) returned to Jerusalem, they immediately told the Eleven gathered there, "The Lord has been raised indeed and appeared to Simon" (24:34). There are several problems involved in Luke's presentation of all the appearances of the risen Lord on one day and it is therefore best to understand that this announcement to the Eleven originally belonged to a kerygmatic formula that Luke has placed awkwardly into the present context. This suggestion is supported by the use of the term "Simon" in 24:34, as opposed to the previous reference in 24:12 to Peter, and the fact that this formula in 24:34 from early Christian proclamation is remarkably similar to the one found in 1 Cor 15:4–5: "He was raised [ …] and appeared to Cephas." Luke probably knew nothing more about the original setting of this announcement than the fact that it was the first appearance of the risen Jesus to a member of the Twelve. By inserting this piece of kerygmatic tradition, Luke is the only gospel writer to make explicit reference to a special appearance of the risen Jesus to Peter. Perhaps this was one more way in which Luke wished to prepare for Peter's post-resurrectional role. Thus, it is not by accident that Peter is the last of the Twelve to be referred to by name in the gospel and the first of the Twelve to be mentioned by name in Acts. If for Luke the Twelve are the link between the historical Jesus and the church, Peter is the most prominent example of such a link.

**F. Gospel of John**

The Fourth Gospel was written about the same time as the gospels of Matthew and Luke or perhaps slightly later. It was addressed to a community different from the communities addressed by the Synoptic Gospels and one familiar with a different gospel tradition. Characteristic of this divergent tradition is its emphasis on a certain unknown "disciple whom Jesus loved" (John 19:35; 21:24). Given the current state of the scholarly discussion, it is impossible to establish with any certainty that John's gospel was dependent on the synoptic tradition. It is possible, however, that this writer may have drawn upon sources independent of even the pre-synoptic sources. As a result there are a number of important scenes involving Peter that are unique to the gospel of John, such as the footwashing scene (13:6–11) and Simon's cutting off the ear of the servant of the high priest at the time of Jesus' arrest (18:10–11). While not frequent, there are several references to Peter in the Fourth Gospel which parallel those found in the synoptics: Simon Peter is called a disciple; his name is changed from Simon to Cephas (1:42); he confesses Jesus, serving as a type of spokesman for the Twelve (6:67–69); Jesus predicts his denial (13:36–38); and he denies Jesus three times (18:17–18, 25–27).

The material dealing with Peter in the gospel of John may be placed under the following headings: those passages where he appears without the Beloved Disciple; those where he appears with the Beloved Disciple; and the role of Simon Peter in John 21.

**1. Peter Apart From the Beloved Disciple (John 1–20).** There are six references to Simon Peter without mention of the Beloved Disciple. These include: (1) 1:40–42, Jesus meets Simon and indicates that he will be called Cephas; (2) 6:67–69, Simon Peter confesses Jesus as the Holy One of God; (3) 13:6–11, Jesus washes Simon Peter's feet; (4) 13:36–38, Jesus predicts Simon Peter's denials; (5) 18:10–11, Simon Peter cuts off the servant's ear in the garden; (6) 18:17–18, 25–27, Simon Peter denies Jesus three times.

The first two of these passages have certain parallels in the Synoptics. In the first of these (1:40–42) Jesus gives to Simon the name Peter. However, in the Johannine account it is Andrew who announces "We have found the Messiah," and it is he who leads his brother Simon to Jesus. Although Jesus' response, "So you are Simon, son of John? You shall be called Cephas (which means Peter)," has certain similarities with Matt 16:17–18—especially that the name change follows the confession of Jesus as the Messiah—here it is Andrew, not Peter, who has made the acknowledgment. In the second of these passages (6:67–69), it is Peter who was the one who spoke for the Twelve in confessing Jesus at a critical time. Important as this confession is in the Fourth Gospel, it does not play the decisive role it did in

Mark's gospel, or in a different way in Matthew's gospel, primarily because Simon is portrayed as already having participated in a similar confession in 1:40–42. In John's gospel, Simon Peter is neither rebuked as in Mark and Matthew or praised as in Matthew. While cast in the role of spokesman for the Twelve, he is given no special prominence because of his confession of Jesus.

In John 13:6–11, the third Johannine passage to refer to Peter, he does not understand the significance of Jesus washing his feet and thus insists, "You shall never wash my feet." However, when Jesus points its necessity, Peter overracts: "Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head." While having no exact parallel in the Synoptic Gospels, this scene is consistent with the image of Peter as a somewhat impulsive figure who at times misunderstood the intention of Jesus.

This same impulsive tendency is found in the fifth scene, John 18:10–11. Only in John is Simon Peter identified as the swordsman who cut off the ear of the high priest's servant. Jesus' response to Peter, "Put your sword into its sheath; shall I not drink the cup which the Father has given me?" does appear to echo Peter's misunderstanding of Jesus as the suffering Son of Man following his confession at Caesarea Philippi and Jesus' subsequent reprimand (Mark 8:31–33; Matt 16:21–23).

The fourth and the sixth scenes both refer to Peter's denials of Jesus. In 13:36–38 the reference is the prediction of the denials and in 18:17–18, 25–27 to the three denials themselves. These references are substantially the same as those found in the synoptics. In John 13:36 there is indeed a word of Jesus to Simon Peter not found elsewhere: "Where I am going, you cannot follow me now, but you shall follow afterward." That the reference in John 21:18–19 to Peter's death has some connection to John 13:36 is evident. Either the writer of 13:36 had already known of Peter's death and made subtle reference to it or the connection may have been made by the redactor who wrote 21:18–19.

**2. Peter and the Beloved Disciple (John 13–20).** Unique to John's gospel is the relationship between the Beloved Disciple and Peter. Although there are many unanswered questions concerning the identity of the Beloved Disciple, it is reasonable to suggest that for this congregation he was a real person who had been a companion of Jesus and whose career was dramatized so that he could serve as a model for all believers. There are three pericopes which associate Simon Peter and the Beloved Disciple that deserve our special attention in John 13–20: (1) 13:23–26 at the Last Supper; (2) 18:15–16 in the courtyard of the high priest; (3) 20:2–10 at the empty tomb of Jesus.

The "disciple whom Jesus loved" appears for the first time in the setting of the Last Supper (13:23–26). In 13:23 he is "reclining on Jesus' bosom" (13:23), a reference, no doubt, to Jesus' affection for him. Simon Peter, at some distance from Jesus, must ask the Beloved Disciple what Jesus meant with regard to his statement that one of those eating at table with him would betray him. It is then in response to the Beloved Disciple's question that Jesus answers by identifying the traitor. That Simon Peter has at least a secondary part in this story indicates that he too was an important figure in the community's memory of the career of the earthly Jesus. The texts which follow will confirm the importance of both these disciples while always giving the indication that it was the Beloved Disciple who was closest to Jesus.

In 18:15–16 there is reference to "another disciple" and to "the other disciple." That this refers to the Beloved Disciple is suggested by John 19:25–27 where he is the only male disciple who stands at the foot of the cross together with Jesus' mother. It is to him and not Simon Peter that the mother of Jesus is entrusted. Thus, the Beloved Disciple, in contrast to Peter, is held up as the faithful one, as the one who neither denied Jesus nor fled during the passion.

In John 20:2–10, Simon Peter and "the other disciple, the one whom Jesus loved," run to the tomb together. Although the Beloved Disciple arrives first, he waits for Peter to enter before him. When the Beloved Disciple finally enters after Peter, it is reported in 20:8 that he "saw and believed," a possible indication that for the Johannine community it was the Beloved Disciple who first came to resurrection faith, a thesis that is strengthened when John 21:7 is examined.

That the Beloved Disciple was a basic source of tradition for this community is obvious (19:35). Thus he had to be depicted as one close to the events surrounding Jesus. Yet at the same time this community also knew that it was impossible to tell the Jesus story without reference to Peter. While the Beloved

Disciple was of enormous internal importance to the Johannine church, Peter was essential to an accurate transmission of the Jesus tradition.

**3. Peter and the Beloved Disciple in John 21.** Although John 21 is usually considered to be an addition by a later hand to the materials collected in John 1–20, that ought not to suggest that it might not contain traditions older than that found in the preceding chapters. Since the entire chapter is constructed around the twin figures of the Beloved Disciple and Simon Peter, it will be well to subdivide this chapter into three small units: (1) the appearance of the risen Jesus and the miraculous catch of fish (21:1–14); (2) the risen Jesus instructing Simon to feed his sheep (21:15–17); and (3) Jesus referring to the destinies of Simon Peter and the Beloved Disciple (21:18–23).

Where the story about the miraculous catch of fish in John 21:1–14 is most markedly different from the similar account in Luke 5 is in the contrast between the Beloved Disciple and Peter. Although both see a stranger on the shore, it is the Beloved Disciple who recognizes that it is the Lord and who then relays this information to Peter. As in 20:8 and elsewhere in John's gospel, Peter is important to the story, but it is the Beloved Disciple who is most closely attuned to Jesus and the events surrounding him. Also consistent with 18:10–11 where Peter rushes to defend Jesus with a sword is Peter's impetuosity in jumping from the boat to rush to Jesus.

Other changes between this Johannine account and the one reviewed previously in Luke 5 would include the fact that Simon is no longer portrayed as being alone in importance next to Jesus, but now he is in the midst of six other disciples. Nevertheless, Peter still is portrayed as having a prominent role: he takes the initiative to go out fishing; he jumps into the sea to go and meet Jesus; and he brings the nets from the boat to the shore. One would be able to say more about the symbolism involved if one could be sure that for John, as for Luke, this scene was also referring to future missionary work.

In 21:15–17 the Beloved Disciple is absent and full attention is given to Peter. The threefold question, "Simon, son of John, do you love me?" is often described as a rehabilitation of Peter following his threefold denial. Since the Beloved Disciple never denied Jesus he need not be rehabilitated.

Although some elements in 21:15–17 gain clarity from an examination of the shepherd imagery in John 10, a more immediate background to the threefold giving of pastoral authority to Simon may be an OT text such as Ezekiel 34 where the king is described as a shepherd and where the shepherd, in turn, is given enormous pastoral authority. Similarly, in John 21, Simon is given a pastoral authority rooted in love in which he is instructed to feed *Jesus'* sheep.

This scene may simply attest to Peter's rehabilitation or it may also reflect the fact that Simon Peter is increasingly being perceived by some circles in primitive Christianity as a symbol of pastoral authority. If the latter is indeed the case, then there are some partial parallels to Matt 16:18–19, although John 21 is more concerned to stress the theme of Peter's love and obligation to the sheep in contrast to Matthew's stronger emphasis on authority and legal imagery. Perhaps closest to 21:15–17 is a text which has yet to be discussed, 1 Peter 5:1–4. There, Peter addressing his fellow presbyters, urges: "Tend the flock of God that is in your charge, exercising oversight not by constraint but willingly [ …] not as domineering over those in your charge but being examples to the flock. And when the Chief Shepherd is manifested, you will obtain the unfading crown of glory." Here the good shepherd language of John 10 is incorporated with the themes of an authority grounded in love and an obligation to the flock.

In John 10 it is stated that the good shepherd protects his sheep even if it means laying down his life for the sheep (10:11–18). The connection between John 10 and John 21 is strengthened by the fact that the command to feed the sheep is followed by the prediction that Peter will die by laying down his life for the sheep. The language used in 21:18–23 is reminiscent of martyrdom and the invitation of Jesus in 21:19, "Follow me," may well be an invitation to martyrdom.

In this scene (21:18–23) one notes both similarities and dissimilarities between Simon Peter and the Beloved Disciple. Both are witnesses but in quite different ways. It is only Simon Peter who receives the commission to be a shepherd, a commission that involves a willingness to die. Since Jesus willed the Beloved Disciple's witness, it is not inferior, but of a different type. He "remained" as Jesus desired, viz., he lived out a long life in the love of Jesus. The Johannine community realized that, as they could not

narrate the details about Jesus of Nazareth without reference to Simon Peter, so too they could not recount the story of the Christian church without mention of Peter's important missionary and pastoral role. And yet the community made sure to place their model of discipleship, the Beloved Disciple, alongside Simon Peter and emphasized his primacy in love. For them such a manifestation of discipleship was just as authentic as that of the other traditional apostles.

**G. The Petrine Epistles**

**1. The First Epistle of Peter.** In order to discuss the role and function of Peter in this document, two items must be discussed: the origin and nature of the epistle; and the description of Peter as shepherd in 5:1–4.

Both the question of authorship and the destination of this epistle are significant for understanding the perspective of Peter presented in 1 Peter. Most NT scholars argue that 1 Peter is pseudonymous and written by someone invoking Peter's name, authority and memory; a likely dating would be late in the 1st century. Pseudonymity does not lessen the importance of this writing as a witness to Peter. If anything, it enhances its importance since it implies that some 20 or 30 years after his death Peter's name could still be thought to carry weight and be invoked to instruct Christian churches, especially if the area of Asia Minor (Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia) addressed is not Petrine territory. With regard to this latter point, it is impossible to judge with certitude whether Peter or his co-workers had missionized in this area, some of which had been evangelized by Paul. If this is not the case then 1 Peter would testify to the fact that Peter's authority extended to areas where other apostle's had worked and that one would hope to guide such churches by invoking Peter's name.

Another not unimportant issue is raised by the greetings in 5:13 from "the woman who dwells in Babylon" to these churches addressed in Asia Minor. Since "Babylon" is commonly understood to be a symbolic name for Rome it raises the question of Peter's relationship with Rome. Does this epistle attempt to exercise not only Petrine but also Roman influence over churches that may originally have been outside the orbit of Peter's influence? Not unimportant in evaluating this question is the evidence of *1 Clement*, a document of the 1st century, in which the Roman church writes to the church at Corinth, a church which had been founded by Paul.

In the description of Peter as shepherd in 5:1–4, Peter assumes the title of "fellow presbyter" and addresses the presbyters of the communities of Asia Minor. His authority is greater than simply being a "fellow presbyter" for in 1:1 his authority is defined as apostolic and in 5:1 he is identified as a "witness *(martys)* of the sufferings of Christ," a reference that may reflect knowledge that he died as a martyr *(martys)*.

The relationship between 1 Peter 5 and John 21 has already been touched on and it is quite possible that they are dependent on a common tradition related to the Province of Asia (for many the gospel of John is composed in Ephesus). This would explain the relationship between Peter's instruction to his fellow presbyters to "tend the flock of God" *(poimainein)* in 1 Peter and the fact that he had himself been charged to tend *(poimainein)* the sheep of Jesus. A similar reference to feeding *(poimainein)* is made in Acts 20:28 where Paul instructs the presbyters of Ephesus. Not only had the term "shepherd" taken on specific meaning for those who were presbyters in the churches of that area, but also for Peter who is being portrayed as the principal presbyter-shepherd.

**2. The Second Epistle of Peter.** The strong consensus among scholars is that 2 Peter is also pseudonymous and may well be the last NT book to be composed, perhaps in first decades of the 2d century. Peter is presented as an eyewitness authenticator of tradition about the historical Jesus (1:16–18) and as an authority who can correct misunderstandings of Paul (3:14–16). On the basis of the author's statement in 3:1 that this is "the second letter that I have written to you" one can assume that the same audience is intended although such a specific reference is absent.

The threat being addressed by this document is that of false teaching and moral confusion, a situation not dissimilar to that addressed in Acts 20:28–30. Peter is being presented as the guardian of the orthodox faith and serves to counteract the teachings of the false prophets (2:1). To their assertion that there will be no future coming of Jesus in glory (3:1–10), Peter is portrayed as an eyewitness, presumably of the

Transfiguration, when Jesus received honor and glory from God the Father (1:17). Peter is in a strong position to refute their false assertions not only as one who saw the first coming of Jesus in glory, but also because he was one of those for whom the prophetic word was made more sure (1:19) and who had been given the authority to interpret prophecy and Scripture (1:20–21). Peter's apostolic authority does not stop here: he can even correct the false interpretations attributed to other apostles and particularly those ignorant and unstable persons who are twisting the letters of Paul (3:15–16) "to their own destruction." In offering such interpretations, 1 Peter has presented us with a Petrine teaching office not dissimilar to the one outlined in Matthew 16 and one to which there could be authoritative recourse in refuting the appeal of his opponents, probably some sort of gnostics, to the letters of Paul.

**H. The Apocryphal Writings**

This subject is one of several important areas which go beyond the scope of this essay. Others would include the role of Peter in the Apostolic Fathers and the archaeological evidence for the presence of Peter in Rome. With regard to the latter, while it is likely that Peter did get to Rome late in his career and was martyred and buried there, the exact results of recent excavations under St. Peter's Basilica in Rome continue to be debated. Nevertheless, a brief indication of the use of the Peter tradition in some of these apocryphal writings will be useful in understanding the variety of ways in which Peter was interpreted in gnostic circles and also as a background to the kind of problems being addressed in 2 Peter and elsewhere in the NT.

Several of the church fathers (Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, and Origen) refer to strong anti-Petrine tendencies in the literature of various gnostic groups. In some cases (e.g., Carpocratians) this is the result of a denigration of the wider body of the apostles; in other cases it is due either to their elevation of Paul into a central position (e.g., Valentinians) or to their elevation of some lesser apostle (James, Thomas, Mary Magdalene) because he or she received a special revelation. Many of these anti-Peter tendencies reflect the gnostic-orthodox controversies of the period. In the *Gospel of Thomas* 51:18–25, for example, Peter appears to represent the orthodox objections against the role of women in the gnostic groups: "Let Mary leave us, for women are not worthy of life." Peter also represents these orthodox objections to the gnostic claim that certain of their model apostles had experienced a separate and unique vision of the Lord. Thus, groups that venerate Mary, James, and Thomas precisely because of such visionary experiences would tend to elevate the importance of their model over Peter or to polemicize against Peter. In the *Apocryphon of James,* James, not Peter, is consistently regarded as the apostolic leader in the early church. In fact, in the *Apocryphon of James* many of the items attributed to Peter in the NT are reformulated and now attributed to Peter. Thus in 13:39–14:1, Jesus' response to a question asked by Peter is given to James, "I have revealed myself to you, James." Similar tendencies can be found in the *Gospel of Thomas* and in the *Acts of Thomas.*

As a result of the discovery of the Nag Hammadi texts, it is now possible to point to at least three gnostic writings which are pro-Petrine: the *Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles,* the *Epistle of Peter to Philip,* and the *Apocalypse of Peter.* Whereas some of the gnostic writings radically alter Matt 16:16b–19 in a derogatory way, the *Acts of Peter* accepts and amplifies this high Matthean view of Peter and understands Peter as the unquestioned apostolic leader. In the *Epistle of Peter to Philip,* heavily dependent on Luke-Acts, the reinterpreted Peter speeches are understood to be models of gnostic teaching. Peter is the apostle who has true gnostic insight. The *Apocalypse of Peter* provides several visions experienced by Peter in which Jesus explains to him the true, gnostic teachings, especially with regard to the nature of Jesus. It is a docetic view of Jesus in which a literal crucifixion, preceded by Jesus' suffering, is denied. Here, too, Peter serves as the transmitter and guarantor of the authentic gnostic teaching and here, also, Matt 16:16b–19 is reinterpreted in a gnostic manner: "But you yourself, Peter, become perfect in accordance with your name with myself, the one who chose you, because from you I have established a base for the remnant whom I have summoned to knowledge" (*Apoc. Pet.* 71:15–21). These three Nag Hammadi documents confirm Basilides' description of a secret, gnostic, Petrine apostolic tradition in which Peter is viewed most positively. But since both the gnostic anti- and pro-Petrine tendencies present

a view of Peter reconstructed through gnostic eyes, both tendencies would be rejected by such NT writings as 2 Peter.

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**PETER AND PAUL, ACTS OF.** The *Acts of Peter and Paul* is a 6th or 7th century Greek expansion of the Pseudo-Marcellus *Passion of Peter and Paul.* It survives in an Armenian translation as well. Elaborations of Paul's travels and martyrdom give Paul a role more nearly equal to that of Peter. The Jews in Rome convince Nero to order Paul's execution, but believers in Rome express their wish to have "the two great lights" united in their city. Dioscuros, the shipmaster who brought Paul from Gaudomelite to Syracuse, converts and accompanies him to Italy. Paul ordains a bishop when he stops in Messana. In Puteoli, Dioscurus is mistaken for Paul, since both are bald. He is seized and beheaded. The town later sinks into the sea. Paul, informed by a dream, corrects the behavior of the Roman bishop Juvenalias, who had been ordained by Peter. From the point of Paul's arrival in Rome, the story follows the longer version of the *Passion of Peter and Paul.* The discussion of circumcision does not appear. The story of Perpetua is inserted into Paul's martyrdom (cf. Plautilla in the Pseudo-Linus *Passion of Paul*). Perpetua, who is blind in one eye, gives her handkerchief to Paul as he is led out to execution. Immediately after the apostle's death, the cloth is returned to Perpetua and her eye is healed. These events led to the conversion of the soldiers who beheaded Paul. Perpetua and the soldiers are eventually martyred for their faith. See also PETER AND PAUL, PASSION OF.

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**PETER AND PAUL, PASSION OF.** The *Passion of Peter and Paul,* an account of the martyrdoms of the two apostles which circulated under the name of Peter's follower Marcellus, survives in two forms. The longer version is extant in Greek, Latin, and Slavonic. Composed perhaps in the 6th century, it is based loosely on the *Acts of Peter,* but shows knowledge of the Pseudo-Clementine Romances and the *Acts of Paul* as well. One early manuscript incorporates material from Pseudo-Hegesippus, *De excidio Hierosolymae* 3.2 (Migne, *PL* 15.2169–71). The longer version was used in the *Acts of Peter and Paul.* The briefer version of the *Passion of Peter and Paul* is a 6th or 7th century compilation of Latin sources. It deletes most of the speeches and the letter of Pilate, but adds narrative details. In both versions Paul's role is minor compared to Peter's.

The longer text of the *Passion of Peter and Paul* begins with Paul's return to Rome from Spain. Jews who have opposed Peter's gentile mission seek Paul's help but find that the two apostles agree in their teaching. Simon Magus, who claims to be the Christ, takes advantage of the disturbance to appeal to Nero against the apostles. Simon has demonstrated his divinity by appearing alive three days after an illusory decapitation (cf. *Martyrdom of Paul* 4). When Peter and Paul come before Nero to dispute with Simon, they produce the *Letter of Pilate to Claudius.* Peter demonstrates his ability to read minds by secretly blessing bread. When Simon sends a large dog against him (cf. *Acts Pet.* 7), Peter displays the bread causing the dog to disappear. Simon is silenced in a debate concerning circumcision. To prove his divinity, Simon promises to fly from a tower (cf. *Acts Pet.* 32). At the prayers of Peter and Paul, the demons supporting Simon drop him to his death.

The apostles are condemned by Nero for having caused Simon's death. The prefect Agrippa (Clement in some mss) suggests appropriate modes of execution. Paul is beheaded on the road to Ostia. Peter is hung

upside down from a cross. From that position he reports the *Quo vadis* story. Strange men appear from Jerusalem to help Marcellus bury Peter's body on the Vatican hill. Nero is forced to flee the city and dies in the desert. Finally, men from the E attempt to steal the bodies of the apostles. The relics are given temporary burial on the road to Ostia. Thus, the *Passion of Peter and Paul* authenticates the various cult sites for the apostles which had been used in Rome from the mid-3d century.

In the shorter version of the *Passion of Peter and Paul,* the two apostles arrive in Rome together. They lodge there with relatives of Pilate, believers who first bring the apostles to the attention of Nero. Other additions, drawn from the *Acts of Peter* by way of Pseudo-Hegesippus, include the resurrection of a young man, Nero's anger over Simon's death, the *Quo vadis* scene in its proper place, and the placing of Simon's death in Aricia. The apostles are sentenced by Clement rather than Agrippa. The deaths of the apostles are not described, so neither Peter's speeches at the cross nor the disposition of the relics is reported.

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**PETER AND THE TWELVE APOSTLES, THE ACTS OF** (NHC VI,*1*). This tractate is the first in the miscellaneous collection of Sahidic Coptic tractates comprising Nag Hammadi Codex VI. For all its brevity (12 pages) it is a remarkably complex document. The first half consists mainly of an account, with heavy allegorical overtones, about a pearl merchant who attracts the poor but is shunned by the rich, and who turns out not to have the pearl he is hawking; it is available only to those willing to journey to his city. The pearl merchant's name is Lithargoel, which means, according to the text, a lightweight, glistening stone (5.16–18) (Wilson and Parrott 215 n.). The account takes place in an island city identified simply as "Habitation" (the Coptic for which may be a translation of the Greek word meaning "inhabited world").

The observer of all this is Peter, who, with the other disciples, was brought to the city by an apparently chance wind (1.26–28) shortly after setting sail to begin what seems to be the post-resurrection apostolic ministry (relevant details at the beginning of the tractate are missing due to lacunae).

The transition between the first and second half of the tractate is briefly interrupted by Peter's vision of the waves and high walls that surround the city. An old man (angelic interpreter?) interprets it in such a way that the city is seen as a symbol of the community of the faithful who have to endure in this world in order to enter the kingdom of heaven (6.27–7.19).

The remainder of the tractate recounts the dangerous journey of Peter and the other disciples to Lithargoel's city and their meeting with a physician, who subsequently reveals himself as Christ (9.8–15), and still later makes it clear indirectly that he is also Lithargoel (10.8–13). The disciples are instructed about undertaking a ministry of healing in the city from which they had just come. Christ ends with a warning against the wealthy in the church.

Evidence of editorial activity abounds (Krause 1972; Wilson and Parrott 1979) and leads to the conclusion that *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.* is a composite, the earliest level of which was probably the allegory of the pearl merchant Lithargoel. It may be that the story was originally about a god who bore that name (Krause 1972: 51), but in the absence of evidence of a Lithargoel cult in antiquity, it seems better to assume that the name was originally created as a cover name for Christ within the context of the allegory.

Although it has been identified as gnostic (Perkins 1980: 127), there is in fact nothing within the tractate that compels that conclusion, and, furthermore, it stands within a codex that has a number of tractates that

are clearly not gnostic. It seems likely, however, that the tractate could have been used by gnostics. The allegory may well have had a Jewish Christian origin. That is suggested by the name Lithargoel, which has the form of Jewish angel names, the attraction of the poor (alone) to the pearl merchant (the Jewish Christians called themselves Ebionites, or the Poor), and the similarity of the allegory to some found in the Jewish-Christian *Herm. Sim.* The discourse of Christ and the disciples, which assumes a ministry within a church made up of both rich and poor (10.1–7; 12.8–13), may well have been added by an orthodox editor, who felt the church was becoming too worldly. The material in which Christ is identified as a physician may reflect the effort of Christians to counter the widespread attraction of the cult of Asclepius.

The earliest portion of the tractate—the allegory—probably should be dated no later than the middle of the 2d century, because of the affinity with *Herm. Sim.*, which is dated in the mid-century or before. The tractate as a whole, then, may have been put together in its present form toward the end of the 2d century, or early in the 3d.

It has been suggested that *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.* might have been part of the lost first third of the apocryphal *Acts of Peter* and perhaps even its introductory section (Krause 1972). Both share encratite characteristics and there are some connections to be made with *Act of Peter* in Papyrus Berolinensis 8502 (BG). On the other hand, the encratism of *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.* lacks the sexual element found in *Acts of Peter,* and the connections with *Act of Peter* do not clearly lead to the conclusion of a prior literary relationship; moreover, there are significant reasons for thinking they were not connected (e.g., *Act of Peter* is set in Jerusalem, which was also the setting of the first part of *Acts of Peter; Acts of Pet. 12 Apost.* is not). It seems best to think of *Acts Pet. 12 Apost.* as one of the independent narratives about the apostles that began to appear in the 2d century.

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DOUGLAS M. PARROTT

**PETER TO PHILIP, LETTER OF** (NHC VIII,*2*). The *Letter of Peter to Philip* is the second and concluding tractate within Codex VIII of the Nag Hammadi library. Situated immediately after the long tractate *Zostrianos* (NHC VIII,*1*), *Ep. Pet. Phil.* fills most of the last nine pages of Codex VIII (132,10–140,27). The tractate opens with a superscribed title ("The letter of Peter which he sent to Philip," 132,10–11) that places the text within the tradition of letters ascribed to Peter (e.g., 1–2 Peter, and the *Epistula Petri* at the opening of the Pseudo-Clementines). *Ep. Pet. Phil.*, however, is not to be identified with any of the previously known letters attributed to Peter, and represents a newly discovered work in the Petrine corpus.

The body of *Ep. Pet. Phil.* may be divided into 2 major sections: the letter itself (132,12–133,8), and the account of the meetings of the apostles (133,8–140,27). The letter of Peter describes the separation of Philip and the need for a meeting of all the apostles. At 133,8 the letter concludes, and after the reference to the willing response of Philip to Peter, Philip disappears from the scene, and is only implicitly present as an anonymous member of the apostolic group assembled around Peter.

The balance of *Ep. Pet. Phil.* (133,8–140,27) provides an account of the apostolic gatherings, frequently in the form of a "dialogue" between the resurrected Christ and the apostles. Peter and the apostles come together for the first meeting on the Mount of Olives and offer prayers to the Father and the Son. The risen Christ appears as a light and voice, and the apostles raise several questions for Christ to answer. The

voice from the light responds by discoursing on the deficiency of the aeons and the fullness *(plērōma),* and the detainment and struggle of the apostles. At the conclusion of this meeting the apostles return to Jerusalem, and on the way the discussion about the problem of suffering prompts a response by Peter as well as by the revelatory voice. After the apostles reach Jerusalem, they teach and heal, and Peter delivers an exemplary sermon. The apostles are filled with holy spirit and part in order to preach the gospel. Finally, Jesus appears again to commission the apostles, and the tractate closes with the apostles departing "into four words" (140,25; possibly the four gospels to be sent to the four directions).

As the contents of the tractate indicate, *Ep. Pet. Phil.* bases itself upon a variety of early Christian and gnostic traditions, and interprets these traditions in a Christian gnostic fashion. Thus, numerous parallels may be noted between the tractate and portions of the first (Petrine) section of the NT Acts of the Apostles (chaps. 1–12), including scenes, themes, and terms. The revelatory discourse on fullness (136,16–137,4) also resembles the hymn to the Logos in John 1:1–18, and the little "Pentecost" of *Ep. Pet. Phil.* (140,1[?]–13) recalls not only Acts 2 but also the Johannine "Pentecost" account (John 20:19–23). Further, the depiction of the resurrected Christ as a light and voice throughout the text represents a primitive means of describing glorious appearances of Christ in the NT and other early Christian literature (e.g., Mark 9:2–8 par.; 2 Pet 1:16–19; Acts 9:1–9; 22:4–11; 26:9–18; 1 Corinthians 15; Rev 1:12–16). Conversely, the discourse on the deficiency of the aeons (135,8–136,15) addresses specifically gnostic issues by providing an abbreviated myth of the mother (cf. Eve/Sophia) which shows no overtly Christian features whatsoever. This discourse, adopted as a revelatory discourse of the risen Christ, reflects a simple version of the myth, and is similar to the Sophia myth of the *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,*1;* III,*1;* IV,*1;* Berlin Gnostic Codex 8502,*2*) and the Barbelognostics of Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 1.29.1–4).

On the basis of such traditions as these, *Ep. Pet. Phil.* proclaims its Christian gnostic message. The tractate legitimates its message by deriving it from Peter and the apostles and, ultimately, from Jesus. Now, the tractate maintains, the risen Christ must speak again as a light and voice in order to provide a renewed revelation of the Christian gnostic message. The tractate thus shows its concern that the apostles, and the Christian gnostic believers themselves, be empowered to act as "illuminators in the midst of mortal people" (137,8–9). They are to gather for worship and go forth to preach, "in the power of Jesus, in peace" (140,27).

The evidence of the tractate suggests that *Ep. Pet. Phil.* very likely was composed in Greek around the end of the 2d century C.E. or into the 3d, and was translated into Coptic some time thereafter. The Coptic dialect of the tractate resembles Sahidic to a considerable extent, although dialectical peculiarities, including forms traditionally called Subachmimic and Bohairic, are also to be found. See LANGUAGES (COPTIC). In addition to the Coptic text of *Ep. Pet. Phil.* from the Nag Hammadi library, another copy of the Coptic text is reported to have been found in a papyrus codex which is not yet published or available for study.

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**PETER, ACT OF.** The apocryphal *Act of Peter* recounts the story of Peter's paralyzed virgin daughter for purposes of encratite edification. While elements of the story were previously known through secondary sources, the sole primary text came to light in 1896 with the purchase in Cairo of a Coptic papyrus codex (*P. Berol.* 8502). *Act Pet.* is the last of four tractates preserved in the codex, the other three of which are decidedly gnostic in character (*Gos. Mary, Ap. John,* and *Soph. Jes. Chr.*). *Act Pet.* itself contains no clearly gnostic theologumena (Parrott 1979: 475–76). The text, written in the Sahidic dialect with a few non-Sahidic forms, is generally well preserved (Parrott 1979: 473).

*Act Pet.* reports how, while Peter was healing the sick on the Sabbath, an individual asked him why he did not heal his own beautiful virgin daughter who lay paralyzed in a corner. Peter, to reveal the power of God, restores her body whole, and the crowd rejoices. He then commands her to return to the corner where her paralysis reafflicts her. The crowd weeps.

Peter explains why this is necessary. The girl, when young, was very beautiful. Her beauty tempted a certain Ptolemy, who saw her bathing with her mother. He abducted the girl when his offer of marriage was rejected. But before he could seal the relationship through intercourse, the girl was paralyzed in answer to Peter's prayers. Ptolemy returned the child with her virginity intact. Smitten with grief, he became blind and through a vision learned that God's vessels were not given for corruption and pollution.

When he narrated these events to Peter, Ptolemy's sight was restored. He died shortly thereafter, leaving a parcel of land to Peter's daughter for her support. Peter reports that he sold it and gave the proceeds to the poor, since God cares for his own. The story finished, Peter distributes bread to the crowd and then returns to his own home.

*Act Pet.* represents a single act in the genre of the Acts of the Apostles. It belongs to the beginning of the longer *Acts of Peter,* though the story is missing in the surviving witnesses (especially the Latin *Actus Vercellenses*) of the longer work (Schmidt 1903: 21–25; 1924: 321–48; Vouaux 1922: 35–38; Schneemelcher *NTApocr,* 269–70; Parrott 1979: 474–75; contra Ficker 1904: 402–3; 1924: 227–28). The content is encratite and serves to warn the reader of the dangers associated with sexuality. The fact that marriage and sexual relations are not explicitly denounced and that Peter remains married to his wife may suggest a less-pronounced encratism (Parrott 1979: 475). However, the idea that beauty entices sin and that paralysis serves as an appropriate defense of virginity underscores the author's view of human sexuality as corrupting and polluting of the body.

*Act Pet.* was in existence by the end of the 2d century when it appeared in the longer *Acts of Peter* (*NTApocr,* 275; Parrott 1979: 476). It is an important witness to a strong encratite or ascetic presence in early Christianity in general and within the Petrine tradition in particular.

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**PETER, ACTS OF.** One of the earliest of the apocryphal acts of the apostles, the *Acts of Peter* reports a miracle contest between Simon Magus and the apostle Peter in Rome. It concludes with Peter's martyrdom. The *Acts of Peter* was originally composed in Greek during the second half of the 2d century,

probably in Asia Minor. The majority of the text has survived only in the Latin translation of the Vercelli manuscript. The concluding chapters are preserved separately as the *Martyrdom of Peter* in three Greek manuscripts and in Coptic (fragmentary), Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic, Armenian and Slavonic versions. See PETER, MARTYRDOM OF.

The stichometry of Nicephoros indicates that roughly one-third of the original *Acts of Peter* has disappeared. Schmidt (1903) suggested that the missing portions recounted Peter's activities in Jerusalem, including Simon Magus's first confrontation with Peter and Paul (cf. *Acts of Peter* 23). The story of Eubula, now found in *Acts of Peter* 17, may have originally appeared in this section. Similarly, two episodes mentioned by Augustine (*Contra Adimantum* 17) probably belonged to this lost section: the story of Peter's daughter (partially preserved in the Berlin Coptic Codex), and the story of the gardener's daughter (summarized in the Pseudo-Titus Epistle). Krause's suggestion that the *Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles* from Nag Hammadi represents lost portions of the *Acts of Peter* has not won acceptance.

The surviving sections of the *Acts of Peter* describe the end of Paul's ministry in Rome and his departure for Spain. Soon thereafter, Simon Magus arrives in Rome, where he uses both wonders and arguments to seduce all but a handful of those who believe in Christ. To counter the works of Simon, Christ sends Peter from Jerusalem to Rome. Peter converts the ship's captain during the voyage. Once in Rome, Peter restores many to faith by preaching. Peter confronts Simon, using as intermediaries a dog and an infant, both of whom gain the powers of prophetic speech for the purpose. Marcellus, a senator who had been the patron of believers before he was misled by Simon, is restored to faith. He miraculously repairs a statue of the emperor which had been shattered during an exorcism (cf. Philost. *VA* 24).

Further visions, public miracles, and teaching from Peter lead up to a public contest with Simon. A brief debate about the identity of God and Christ precedes the contest of miracles during which Peter raises three men from the dead and exposes Simon's deceptions. When Chryse, a wealthy woman of the worst reputation, donates money to Peter in response to a vision, he takes it as a demonstration of Christ's ability to care for believers in material as well as spiritual matters. Simon tries to regain his influence by flying above the city of Rome, but he is brought down by Peter's prayer. Simon withdraws to Aricia, where he dies from the injuries suffered in his fall.

Peter's martyrdom follows. Agrippa, the prefect, is angered when his concubines decline his advances after hearing Peter preach on chastity. Xanthippe, wife of Albinus, is converted and withdraws from her husband's bed. The two men conspire to kill Peter. Peter is warned and persuaded to leave the city. At the city gate he encounters Christ entering Rome "to be crucified again." Peter recognizes his own destiny in these words and returns to be arrested. Peter asks to be crucified upside-down and explains the soteriological significance of that position in a lengthy speech from the cross. After his death, Peter appears to Marcellus to rebuke him for attending to the apostolic corpse. Meanwhile, Nero, angered at having missed the chance to torture Peter, begins to persecute the other believers. Nero is stopped by a vision, and peace comes to the faithful in Rome.

The *Acts of Peter* interweaves stories, mostly miracles, and teachings of diverse origins. It is less closely related to romance literature than are other early apocryphal acts of apostles. Travel plays a small role, because Peter is not portrayed as a wandering missionary but as the reestablisher of the Roman church. The theme of chastity is present but not dominant. Physical persecution is not important except in the martyrdom section; rather Simon is called a "persecutor" for uprooting Christians from their faith. The main concern of the *Acts of Peter* is the restoration and maintenance of faith in the face of competition from other cults. Simon is a composite figure representing a number of challenges to the faith of believers rather than a particular heresy. Each side competes for loyalty by claiming to offer superior benefits. The *Acts of Peter* shows great concern for the newly converted and the possibility of returning to the church after apostasy. Peter's falterings during the lifetime of Christ are repeatedly mentioned, as is Paul's initial role as a persecutor.

Lipsius's identification of the *Acts of Peter* as gnostic has been rejected. The theological stance represented in Peter's speeches and the stories is eclectic. The *Acts of Peter* affirms God's role as creator and the reality of Christ's sufferings. It stresses the polymorphism of Christ, a motif often associated with

docetism, but used here to show that Christ takes on whatever form is necessary to aid those in need (Cartlidge). The *Acts of Peter* reflects the piety of popular Christianity rather than the thoughts of the theologians.

Research on the questions of sources, redaction, and genre continues (Poupon). Studies of the social world of the apocryphal acts have included the *Acts of Peter.* The stories concerned with chastity have been analyzed as reflections of the roles and concerns of Christian women (Davies 1980, and Burrus 1987). It has been suggested that patron/client relationships provided a model for both Christology and propaganda in the *Acts of Peter* (Stoops 1986).

The *Acts of Peter* mentions a written gospel and may have been intended to supplement the canonical Acts of the Apostles, although it does not agree with it in detail. The *Acts of Peter* is more clearly related to the *Acts of Paul,* although which text has priority is debated. The solution depends in part on whether the first three chapters dealing with Paul and the final chapter reporting the Neronian persecution belong to the original of the *Acts of Peter.* General similarities with the *Acts of John* have been noted, but literary dependence cannot be demonstrated.

The *Acts of Peter* was not widely circulated (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.3.2), perhaps because of its association with Manichaeism (cf. Augustine and *Manichean Psalm-book*). However, the *Acts of Peter* did serve as an important source for much of the later Petrine literature. The Pseudo-Clementine Romances show a general familiarity with the *Acts of Peter* and may be designed to fit into the period between Peter's activity in Jerusalem and his journey to Rome. The *Acts of Peter* follows the Clementine *Recognitions* in the Vercelli manuscript. The Martyrdom section was expanded in the Pseudo-Linus *Passion of Peter.* The *Acts of Peter* also lies behind alternative accounts of Peter's death in Pseudo-Hegesippus and in the Pseudo-Marcellus texts, the *Passion of Peter and Paul,* and *Acts of Peter and Paul.* The later currency of these secondary texts is shown by the *Apostolic History* of Pseudo-Abdias, which drew on them all in the late 6th or early 7th century.

Stories and speeches from the *Acts of Peter* were also incorporated into other works. Elements appear in the 3d century *Carmen apologeticum* of Commodian and perhaps in the *Didascalia.* In the 4th and 5th centuries, the *Life of Abercius* and *Acts of Philip* used the *Acts of Peter.* It was used again in the *Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena,* the *Acts of Saints Nereus and Achilleus,* and in the Syriac *Teaching of Simon Cephas in Rome* and the *History of Simon Cephas in Rome*.

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**PETER, APOCALYPSE OF** (NHC VII,*3*). This Gnostic tractate bears no relationship to two other apocryphal writings of the same name, the one partially preserved in Greek and fully in Ethiopic translation, the other extant only in Arabic. A complete copy of the Gnostic *Apoc. Pet.* in Sahidic Coptic is present in the Nag Hammadi Codex VII, pp. 70:13–84:14. There can be little doubt that the original was written in Greek. The title found at the beginning and end of the tractate preserves the Greek case endings and the many serious grammatical and syntactical problems suggest an incompetent translator (as in the case of NHC VI,*5; Plato Rep. 588b–589b*) rather than an inept Coptic author or major corruptions in the ms transmission. These philological problems seriously hinder the interpretation of the text.

*Apoc. Pet.* was appropriately named, for it confirms well to the literary genre of the apocalypse. The introductory section (70:14–72:17) places the two main characters, the Savior and Peter, in the temple, apparently shortly before the crucifixion, where they are threatened by the priests and the people. This leads to a vision (72:17–73:10) which, similar to the experience of Elisha's servant in 2 Kgdms 6:17, opens Peter's eyes to the truth about the opponents. This vision becomes the occasion for a lengthy discourse (73:10–81:3) in which the Savior reveals to Peter that there will be many who do appear to accept "our teaching" but who in reality oppose the truth. In 81:3–82:16 Peter receives another vision, or perhaps two, during which his eyes are opened for the true reality of the crucifixion. The vision is again followed by an explanatory revelation (82:17–83:15). The tractate closes by specifying those who are worthy to receive the revelation (83:15–84:13).

The generally gnostic character of *Apoc. Pet.* is evident from a radical dualism which distinguishes between two levels of reality which closely resemble each other but are opposites. The one is material, mortal and counterfeit; the other is spiritual, immortal and true. The teaching of *Apoc. Pet.* focuses on the implication of this dualistic worldview for ecclesiology and Christology. Thus in the Church there are those who have only mortal souls and who form an imitation sisterhood which stands over against the true brotherhood of the immortal ones. These false teachers, who follow the "Father of their error," are blind and deaf in that they are only able to recognize material reality. They are unaware that the one who died on the cross was only the physical Jesus and not the spiritual, living Christ. These blind Christians praise Christ in a *apokatastasis* (74:9) which probably refers to their belief in the restoration of the physical body of Jesus. There is a similar polemic against carnal resurrection in *The Testimony of Truth* (NHC IX,*3*, pp. 34:26–37:5). Another Nag Hammadi tractate, *The Second Treatise of the Great Seth* (NHC VII,*3*) joins *Apoc. Pet.* in its denial that the heavenly Christ was crucified and in portraying Christian opponents as an imitation church.

The polemic of the tractate is directed against several groups of Christians. The references, however, are so general or enigmatic that it is impossible to identify them with positions known from Patristic sources. The main opponents appear to be the bishops and deacons of the orthodox church (79:5f.). In spite of his heretical Christology, the author does not appear to speak from a sectarian viewpoint. He acts more as a champion of the "little ones" who are temporarily dominated by the counterfeit leaders, but who will eventually reject their rule (80:8–29).

As in the case of most other gnostic writings, it has not been possible to assign *Apoc. Pet.* to any of the sects described by the heresiologists. Most likely we are dealing with an idiosyncratic text and not with sectarian teaching. It is quite unnecessary to see *Apoc. Pet.* as a representative of a pro-Petrine form of Gnosticism. The figure of Peter was simply taken from the canonical literature which the author knew and accepted. On the basis of the late 4th century date of Codex VII and the nature of the polemic in *Apoc. Pet.*, one would guess that the Greek original was written not earlier than the 3d century and possibly as late the early 4th. Nothing in the tractate betrays the identity and provenance of the author.

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**PETER, FIRST EPISTLE OF.** One of the so-called Catholic Epistles in the NT; written by, or in the name of, Peter the apostle to Christians of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia.

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C. Literary Genre and Integrity
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    1. NT Literary Affinities
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E. Style, Vocabulary, and Composition
    1. Style
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    2. Authorship and Provenance: A Petrine Group in Rome

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## A. Introduction

1 Peter is a letter of encouragement and exhortation written in the name of the apostle Peter during the latter third of the 1st century C.E. to Christian communities scattered throughout Asia Minor suffering as an oppressed minority in an alien society. Its eloquent articulation of the meaning of Christ's death and resurrection for Christian life in society, its rich use of common Christian tradition, its lofty expression of the divinely conferred dignity and responsibility of the elect and holy people of God, its courageous summons to brotherly solidarity and hope in the face of social hostility, and its moving pastoral tone gained for the letter rapid recognition in the early Church and an undisputed place in the biblical canon. Though figuring prominently in subsequent centuries of Christian theology and worship, questions raised by modern scholars regarding virtually all features of its composition, setting, and aim have made it a continuing "storm-centre of New Testament studies" (Neill 1964: 343).

## B. Ancient Reception and Modern Reassessment

External attestation of 1 Peter was early and widespread. 2 Pet 3:1 may be among the earliest witnesses to its existence, though the precise letter implied is by no means certain. Numerous certain echoes of the

letter, however, are contained in *1 Clement* (Lohse, in Talbert 1986: 53–55), Polycarp's letter to the Philippians (Bigg *Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude*[2] ICC) and Justin Martyr (Bigg *Peter and Jude* ICC, 10). Irenaeus (*Haer.* 4.9.2; 16.5; 5.7.2) was the first to cite 1 Peter by name, followed by Tertullian (*Scorp.* 12), and Clement of Alexandria *(Str., Paed., Hypotyp.).* Known in Rome by the end of the first century *(1 Clement)* and recognized in both East and West in succeeding centuries, the letter was ranked by Eusebius in the fourth century among those canonical writings about which there was universal agreement (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.25.2). "There is no book in the New Testament which has earlier, better, or stronger attestation" (Bigg *Peter and Jude*[2] ICC, 7).

Centuries later in the Reformation era, it was 1 Peter along with the gospel of John and Paul's letter to the Romans, which Luther singled out as "the true kernel and marrow" of all the NT books. "For in them you … find depicted in masterly fashion how faith in Christ overcomes sin, death, and hell, and gives life, righteousness, and salvation" (*Prefaces to the New Testament,* 1522).

Such earlier enthusiasm has waned considerably since the advent of modern biblical criticism. Preoccupation with the Gospels and the historical Jesus, Paul, and supposed Petrine-Pauline polarities in the early Church has tended to reduce 1 Peter and other neglected NT writings to the status of exegetical step-children. Often arbitrarily assigned to the Pauline orbit of early Christianity, 1 Peter has been assessed as an inferior product of a "Paulinist," a dim and deficient reflection of the Pauline legacy. Within recent decades, however, the tide has begun to change. Studies of its source and redaction, specific passages with long histories of theological importance (2:4–10: Elliott 1966 and 1976: 250; 2:21–25: Osborne 1983; Elliott 1985; 3:18–4:6: Reicke 1946; Dalton 1989; Vogels 1976), and distinctive social ethic, have led to a renewed appreciation of this letter's witness to the struggle of the early Christian movement to maintain its mission and cohesion in the face of vigorous social opposition. Goppelt (*Der erste Petrusbrief* MeyerK, 179) is not alone in the judgment that "the First Epistle of Peter was the NT document that most vigorously united the witness of the word with the witness of Christian presence in society." (For research trends and literature since Reicke's 1964 AB commentary, see Beare 1970: 212–27; Schelkle *Petrusbriefe/Judasbrief* HKNT 13: 249–55; Elliott 1976, 1981; Goppelt *Petrusbrief* MeyerK; Brox 1978; Cothenet 1980; Sylva 1986. For an earlier survey, see Martin 1962.)

**C. Literary Genre and Integrity**

1 Peter bears all the essential characteristics of a conventional Greek letter. It opens with an epistolary salutation including the name of the chief sender, the apostle Peter (on Peter in the early Church see Cullmann 1958; O'Connor 1969; Brown et al. 1973), a description of the "elect" addressees and their location, and a greeting (1:1–2). Following the communication proper (1:3–5:11), it concludes with a commendation of its probable bearer, Silvanus, and the personal greetings of the co-senders, including Mark and an unnamed sister in the faith (5:12–14). The mention of specific names with only minimal introductory detail ("Peter, apostle of Jesus Christ," 1:1, cf. 5:1; "Silvanus, faithful brother," "Mark, my son," 5:12, 13) implies that the senders were known to the addressees and that the former counted on this personal familiarity to underscore the common bonds of experience and faith of which they wrote.

In contrast to the letters of Paul, 1 Peter was addressed to a much wider audience which was located not in a single city but throughout several Roman provinces of Asia Minor (1:1; cf. Jas 1:1). For this reason it is included among the "general" or "catholic" epistles of the NT (James, 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, Jude) although it nevertheless remains a particular message for a particular audience facing a particular set of circumstances. Included in the address were two large provinces (Bithynia-Pontus and Cappodocia) with no record of Pauline activity. Thus 1 Peter was not directed to an exclusively "Pauline" mission area. The interior of the territory circumscribed in 1:1, moreover, was agricultural and grazing land, a predominantly rural and less urbanized area quite distinct from the urban centers which attracted Paul (Puig Tarrech 1980; Elliott 1981: 59–65). The size of the total area addressed, moreover, presupposes a substantial advance of the Christian mission beyond the limits reached by Paul. This strongly suggests that 1 Peter was written decades after the Pauline mission to communities some of which had little if any contact with Paul.

Although the *final* and present form of 1 Peter is that of a letter, its *original* components have been the subject of sustained debate (surveyed by Martin 1962; Dalton 1989: 62–71; Elliott 1966: 11–13; Kelly *Peter and Jude* HNTC, 15–20; Goppelt *Petrusbrief* MeyerK, 37–40). Beginning with the influential study of the German scholar Richard Perdelwitz in 1911, some commentators have suspected hints of the letter's composite character. Claiming a break in thought between 4:11 (doxology) and 4:12 (new address) and a shift in situation from potential (1:3–4:11) to actual (4:12–5:11) suffering, as well as a distinction between the "hortatory" nature of the former section with its focus on baptism and the "epistolary" character of the latter, these scholars have hypothesized that 1:3–4:11 originally constituted a "baptismal homily or discourse" addressed to newly baptized converts. This sermon was subsequently incorporated into a letter (1:1–2, 4:12–5:14) intended as a message of consolation for these converts when the suffering anticipated in the sermon had become a reality (Reicke *James, Peter, and Jude* AB; Beare 1970; and the scholars listed in Kümmel 1975: 419–20). Further elaborations of the composite theory and the assumed cultic setting of 1 Peter propose that the document consisted mainly of a baptismal liturgy (Windisch and Preisker *Katholischen Briefe* HNT, 156–61) or even the celebrant's part of a baptismal eucharist occurring on the Paschal vigil of Easter eve (Cross 1954).

On the whole, such theories based on the purported composite character of 1 Peter must be judged more imaginative than cogent. Externally, there is no manuscript evidence of 1 Peter in any other than in its present form; internally, the consistency and coherence of the letter demonstrate its epistolary integrity. In ch. 4, vv 11 and 12 mark not a sudden break but rather a transition in the line of thought, similar to the transition at 2:10/11. The actual suffering of the readers is presumed throughout the letter (1:6; 2:18–20; 3:9, 13–4:6, 12–19; 5:7–10). The frequent use of the verb *paschein* ("suffer," 12x) appears prompted not by liturgical recollection during the paschal *(pascha)* vigil but by the social experience of the readers. Mention of baptism (3:21) and its related imagery (rebirth, 1:3, 23; 2:2; sanctification, 1:2, 15–16, 22; 2:5, 9; 3:5, 15; Exodus and redemption, 1:13, 18–19) and exhortation (1:14–16, 22–23; 2:1–3; 4:1) indicates the use of common Christian liturgical, catechetical and hortatory material, but provides no clear evidence that the document itself or any segment thereof was a baptismal homily or liturgy. Moreover, comparable contemporary examples of Christian homilies or liturgies embodied in letters are completely lacking. Accordingly, the theory that 1 Peter is the result of the combination of independently composed parts is both improbable and unnecessary. The consistency and coherence of its language, style, arrangement and line of argumentation indicate that 1 Peter was, in its origin, an integral letter (Selwyn 1947; van Unnik *IDB* 3: 758–66; Dalton 1989; Kelly *Peter/Jude* HNTC; Goppelt *Petrusbrief;* Elliott *James, 1–2 Peter, Jude* ACNT; Shimada 1985; Brox *Erste Petrusbrief* EKKNT$^2$).

**D. Literary Relations and Traditional Sources**

Relative to its length, 1 Peter has more affinities to more NT writings than any other NT document. Its apocalyptic perspective on the Christian social situation and the imminence of final divine judgment, its christological focus on suffering and its vindication, its stress on the distinctive corporate identity and responsibility conferred by baptismal conversion, its image of the Christian community as household of God, and the content of its moral exhortation link 1 Peter with a majority of the NT writings.

**1. NT Literary Affinities.** Particularly noteworthy are 1 Peter's affinities with Romans, Ephesians, the Pastorals, James, Hebrews, the Synoptic Gospels, and Acts (Forster's full listing [1913] is more useful than his analysis). In regard to the *Pauline and Deutero-Pauline writings,* compare 1 Pet 1:14–16 (Rom 12:2); 1:21 (Rom 4:24); 1:22, 3:8–9 (Rom 12:9–19); 2:4–10 (Rom 9:25, 32–33); 2:5 (Rom 12:1); 2:13–17 (Rom 13:1–7); 2:21 (Rom 4:12); 3:22 (Rom 8:34); 4:1 (Rom 6:7); 4:7–11, 14–16 (Rom 12:3–8, 13:8–10); 4:12–13, 5:1 (Rom 8:17); 1 Pet 1:3–12 (Eph 1:3–14, 3:2–6; cf. 2 Cor 1:3–11); 1:14–18, 4:2–3 (Eph 4:17–18, 5:8); 1:20 (Eph 1:4); 2:1 (Eph 4:25, 31); 2:4–6 (Eph 2:20–21); 3:1 (Eph 5:22); 3:22 (Eph 1:20–21); 5:8–9 (Eph 6:11–13); 1 Pet 1:3–5 (Titus 3:4–7); 2:1 (Titus 3:3); 2:9 (Titus 2:14); 2:13–3:7, 5:1–5 (1 Tim 2:8–15, 6:1–2; Titus 2:1–10, 3:1–2; cf. Eph 5:22–6:9, Col 3:18–4:1).

Beyond the Paulines, similarities with *James* include 1 Pet 1:1 (Jas 1:1); 1:6–7 (Jas 1:2–3. cf. Wis 3:5–6); 1:23–2:2 (Jas 1:18–22); 1 Pet 5:5 (Jas 4:6); 1 Pet 5:8–9 (Jas 4:7) and the common OT citations of Isa 40:6–8 (1 Pet 1:24–25; Jas 1:10–11), Prov 10:12 (1 Pet 4:8; Jas 5:20), and Prov 3:34 (1 Pet 5:5; Jas 4:6).

Affinities with *Hebrews* include 1 Pet 1:1, 2:11 (Heb 11:13); 1:2 (Heb 12:24); 1:23(4:12); 2:24 (Heb 10:10); 2:25, 5:4 (Heb 13:20); 3:9 (Heb 12:17); 3:18 (Heb 9:28); 4:14 (13:13) and the themes of social alienation and solidarity with the suffering of Jesus Christ.

Links with *Mark and the Synoptic tradition* include 1 Pet 2:4–8 (Mark 12:1–12 par.); 2:18–3:7, 5:2–5 (Mark 10:2–45 par. and domestic instruction for the household of God [cf. 1 Pet 2:5, 4:17 and Mark 3:20–35, 13:33–37 par.]); 1 Pet 1:19–21, 2:21–25, 3:18 (Mark 14–16 par.); 1 Pet 4:13 (Mark 13:9–13 par.); and 1 Pet 5:2–5 (Mark 10:35–45 par.). Affinities with specific *dominical sayings* include 1 Pet 1:10–12 (Matt 13:17; Luke 24:26); 1:13 (Luke 12:35); 1:17 (Matt 6:9; Luke 11:2); 2:12 (Matt 5:16); 2:19–20 (Luke 6:27–36); 3:9, 14; 4:5 (Matt 12:36); 4:13–14 (Matt 5:10–11, 39; Luke 6:22–23, 28); 5:6 (Luke 14:11); 5:7 (Matt 6:25–27).

From such similarities, earlier scholars concluded that 1 Peter manifested direct literary dependence upon much of the NT or at least upon the writings of Paul (e.g. the representative positions of Forster [1913] and Beare [1970]). More recent form-critical and traditional-critical analysis of the NT and 1 Peter in particular, however, have made it evident that similarities between 1 Peter and other Christian writings were the result not of literary dependency but of the common use of a wide stream of oral and written tradition (Selwyn 1947: 363–466; Lohse 1954; Kelly *Peter and Jude* HNTC; Best *1 Peter* NCBC; Elliott 1976; Goppelt *Petrusbrief* MeyerK; Brox 1978; *Petrusbrief* EKKNT$^2$; Cothenet 1980). 1 Peter has been aptly labeled an "Epitre de la Tradition" (Spicq *Les épîtres de Saint Pierre* SB, 15).

**2. The Influence and Use of Common Tradition.** The themes, images, and formulations of the letter reflect the influence of a broad range of Jewish, Judaeo-Christian and Hellenistic tradition. From the Greek OT (LXX) use was made of no less than twenty-four texts or combinations of texts. Linking the eschatological community with the history of God's covenant people, this material served to stress the social estrangement and oppression of God's people as resident aliens in diaspora (1:1, 17–18; 2:11; 3:6 [Gen 23:4, cf. Gen 12:1–20, 20:1–18; Isa 52:3, 5]; 3:10–12 [Ps 33(34)]; 4:14 [Isa 11:2]; 5:8–9, 13 [Jeremiah 50:51]); their election and holiness (1:15–16 [Lev 19:2]; 2:5, 9 [Exod 19:6; Isa 43:20; Hos 1:6, 9; 2:1, 3, 25]); the rejection, suffering, and exaltation of the Messiah-Servant (2:4–8 [Isa 8:14, 28:16; Ps 117(118):22]; 2:22–24 [Isa 53:4, 6, 9]); divine redemption of the righteous and oppressed (1:13 [Exod 12:11]; 1:17–19, cf. 1:2 [Exod 12–15; Isa 52:3, 5]; examples of Sarah, 3:5–6, and Noah, 3:20); fear of God rather than man (2:17 [Prov 24:21]; 3:6 [Prov 3:25]; 3:14–15 [Isa 8:12–13]); moral conduct (3:10–12 [Ps 33(34):13–17]; 4:8 [Prov 10:12]); the imminence of divine judgment (2:12 [Isa 10:3]; 4:17 [Ezek 9:6]; 4:18 [Prov 11:31 LXX]); and God's nurture (2:3 [Ps 33(34):9]) and exaltation of the humble (5:5 [Prov 3:34 LXX]; 5:7 [Ps 54(55):23]).

Though supplying no direct sources for 1 Peter, *1 Enoch* (6–16, 65–67, 106–8) illuminates the worldview behind 3:18–22 (Dalton 1989: 163–76); the Qumran writings reveal similarities in thought but differences in strategy (Goppelt *Petrusbrief* MeyerK *passim*); and works of Philo show similar expositions of the Exod 19:6 tradition (Elliott 1966: 96–101; 1981: 170–74) and similar appropriation of the Hellenistic household management tradition (Elliott 1981: 208–20).

The Christian tradition underlying 1 Peter, discernible from its contacts with other early Christian literature, is both parenetic and kerygmatic in character and Palestinian and Hellenistic in coloration (Lohse 1954). The *parenetic material,* comprising wisdom sayings on conduct (Psalms and Proverbs), Jewish-Hellenistic traditions (the domestic code in 2:13–3:7, 5:1–5; "virtues" in 3:8, 4:8–9, 5:5; "vices" in 2:1, 4:3, 15), and isolated sayings of the Lord (1:10–11, 13, 17; 2:12, 19–20; 3:9, 14; 4:13–14) was employed for the purpose of moral instruction and exhortation. The *kerygmatic material,* embodied in creedal or hymnic-like formulae (1:18–21, 2:21–25, 3:18–22; cf. 4:1), provided a christological basis for this exhortation (cf. also 1:3, 11; 2:4–10; 4:13; 5:4). Further traces of liturgical custom may be seen in the kiss of love (shared in the worship assembly, 5:14) and in the blessing (1:3) and doxology (5:10–11; cf. 4:11) with which the letter commences and concludes.

The liberal use of such a broad range of traditions served several significant ends. The socially estranged yet divinely elected company of believers was portrayed as the eschatological fulfillment of the covenant people of God. Suffering Christians were provided a rationale for endurance, hope, and God-

pleasing conduct through their solidarity with the rejected yet divinely vindicated Lord. And communities dispersed throughout Asia Minor were assured by distant fellow believers at "Babylon" of the breadth of the tradition which united the universal Christian brotherhood.

**E. Style, Vocabulary, and Composition**

**1. Style.** In 1 Peter this abundance of diverse tradition has been skillfully integrated in a composition consistent in style and coherent in theme. The letter was written in a polished Greek revealing numerous traces of literary refinement. The near-classical employment of the article and exact use of tenses is coupled with a more semitic appreciation of rhythm and parallelism (2:14, 22–23; 3:18; 4:6, 11; 5:2–3); the adept use of prepositions (1:2, 3–5, 21; 2:4; 3:18); and the effective rhetorical use of repetition, allied terms and contrasts (1:3–5, 7–8, 12, 14, 18–19, 23, 2:1, 4–10, 3:3–4, 13–17; 4:12–19; 5:2, 6–7). Evidence of the letter's predominantly hortatory tone includes some fifty-one imperatival constructions (including participles used as imperatives, 1:14; 2:18; 3:1, 7–9; 4:7–10), frequent use of the second person plural "you" (51 times), the parenetic "therefore" (2:1, 7; 4:1, 7; 5:1, 6; cf. 1:13), and the persistent thematic stress on behavior consistent with the will of God. The sequence of imperatives followed by supporting indicatives (2:18–20, 21–25; 3:3–4, 5; 3:13–17, 18–22; 4:12–16, 17–19; 5:7a, 7b; 8–9, 10) differs markedly from Paul who normally follows the reverse procedure.

**2. Vocabulary.** The Greek text of 1 Peter contains a total of 1,675 words and a vocabulary of 547 terms, sixty-one of which occur nowhere else in the NT. Several of these so-called *hapax legomena* express fundamental emphases of the letter: the Christian community as a "brotherhood" (*adelphotēs,* 2:17, 5:9; cf. 3:8 and 5:12) and covenant people of God (*hierateuma,* "body of priests" from the covenant formula of Exod 19:6 cited in 2:4, 9); "being (doing) good" (*agathopoios,* 2:14; *agathopoiia,* 4:19) over against "being (doing) evil" (*kakopoios,* 2:12, 14; 4:15) as characteristic of Christian conduct and holiness (Elliott 1966: 179–82). Further distinctive features include the frequent and refined use of the comparative particle "like/as" (*hōs,* 27x); the highest occurrence (12x) of *paschein* ("to suffer") in the NT; identification of the believer as "Christian" (*Christianos* [4:12], elsewhere only in Acts 11:26, 26:28), but no use of the terms *ekklēsia* ("church") or "body of Christ" as so frequently in Paul; and stress upon the believers as "elect/chosen" (1:1, 2:4–10, 5:13) "resident aliens and strangers" (1:1, 17; 2:11; cf. "Babylon," 5:13) which runs like a golden thread through the epistle.

**3. Compositional Devices.** Several types of compositional devices were employed to give the letter its structural and thematic coherence (Dalton 1989: 72–86; Combrink 1975; Talbert 1986: 141–51). (1) Many terms or images are repeated throughout the several sections of the letter ("elect/chosen," "call," "holy," "grace," "peace," "mercy," "believe," "hope," " (brotherly) love," "gospel/proclaim good news," "test/trial," "suffer," "rejoice," "exhort," "do (be) good versus evil"; and contrasts between righteous believers and unrighteous non-believers, "will of God" and "be subordinate," and images of Christian community such as "flock of God" or "household-family-brotherhood of God." (2) Parallel patterns of arrangement (main statement/negative/positive/conclusion) are evident in 1:13–16, 2:13–17, 3:8–9, 4:1–6; 2:18–21, 3:1–6, 13–17, 4:12–19; and 1:17–21, 22–25, 5:1–4. (3) Link-words are used to unite ideas or sources and effect continuity: "salvation" in 1:9/10 linking 1:6–9 with vv 10–12; "living stones[s] linking 2:4 and 5 and its different traditions (Elliott 1966); "evil (do evil, harm)" in 3:12/13 linking 3:10–12 and 13–17; " (be) humble" in 5:5/6 joining 5:1–5 and 6–11. (4) Chiastic arrangements have been observed (Combrink 1975 with varying degrees of cogency) in both smaller (1:10–12; 2:7, 17, 19–20; 3:19–22; 4:1–3, larger (1:3–12, 13–21[25]; 3:1–7; 4:1–6; 4:12–19; 5:12–14. (5) Some terms serve to mark the beginning ("exhort, beseech" in 2:11, 4:12, 5:12) or conclusion ("good news" in 1:12, 25; 4:6, 17) of subsections. (6) The device of inclusion (repetition of terms or motifs to signal the beginning and end of sections) was employed to integrate not only smaller units (1:13–21 ["hope"]; 1:3–2:10 ["mercy"] but also to unify and frame the letter as a whole. At both the outset and close of the letter the paradoxical relation of suffering and glory is stressed (1:6–8, 12; 5:10), peace is enjoined (1:1, 5:14), the grace of God (1:2) in which the believers are to stand fast (5:12) is given as a theme encompassing the entire letter (cf. 1:10, 13; 3:7; 4:10; 5:5), and the common social condition (diaspora, 1:1; Babylon, 5:13), familial unity (1:1, 5:12–14), and divine election (1:1, 5:13) of both senders and recipients of the letter are emphasized.

**F. The Transmitted Greek Text**

The Greek text of 1 Peter is relatively well preserved. The complete text is contained in Bodmer Papyrus 72 (3d century), nine chief uncials, and more than 500 minuscules. The history of its textual transmission involves no major problems, and only variants of minor significance (Beare 1970: 1–14; Schelkle *Petrusbrief,* 16–17; Goppelt *Petrusbrief,* 72–74).

**G. Structure**

The foregoing evidence of its genre, thematic emphases and compositional elements indicates the structure of the letter and its general line of argument. Framed by an epistolary salutation (1:1–2) and conclusion (5:12–14), the body of the letter combines an affirmation of the distinctive communal identity and divinely conferred dignity of Christian believers (1:3–2:10) with exhortation concerning their appropriate collective behavior within a hostile society (2:11–5:11). Underlying this union of affirmation and exhortation was the basic tension between the social condition of the suffering Christians and their divine vocation, their contrast to nonbelievers and their communion in Christ, their "homelessness" in society and their new home in the family of God.

**H. The Addressees and Their Situation**

Information concerning the addressees, their geographical location, social and religious features, and their problematic standing in society provides important indications of both the situation which prompted this letter and the strategy which shaped its response (Elliott 1981: 59–100).

**1. Geographical Location.** The geographical location of the addressees is indicated in 1:1: "… to the elect visiting strangers [and "resident aliens," 2:11] of the dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia." These Roman provinces of Asia Minor (modern Turkey) were formerly independent territories which since 133 B.C.E. had gradually come under Roman control through bequest or annexation. Their total population of ca. 8.5 million included an estimated 1 million Jews and 80,000 Christians by the end of the 1st century C.E. Apart from Syria-Palestine, it was here in Asia Minor that the Christian movement made its earliest and most extensive advance. The sequence of provinces in 1:1 and the unusual separation of Bithynia and Pontus (a single unified province since 62 B.C.E.) are probable indications of the intended route of this circular letter, commencing in Pontus and concluding in Bithynia. Such a route would be compatible with a Western (Roman) origin of the letter and its emissary, arriving and departing by ship at the northern shores of Bithynia-Pontus.

**2. Social and Ethnic Composition.** In regard to the social composition of the audience, the letter specifically refers to free men (2:16), household slaves (2:18–20), wives with nonbelieving husbands (3:1–6), husbands with Christian wives (3:7), community leaders ("elders," 5:1–4) and recent converts ("younger persons" [in the faith], 5:5). Culturally and religiously, the audience belonged to a worldwide brotherhood (5:9) originating in a Jewish messianic sect which believed that the life, death and resurrection of Jesus as the Christ had ushered in the final age and the culmination of the history of God's chosen people (1:3–2:10). Forming a distinctive minority whose members were identified as "Christians" (4:16), this movement was engaged in a universal mission (2:12, 3:1–2) among the "gentiles" (nonbelievers including both Jews and pagans).

The audience comprised an ethnic mix of converts from both Judaism and paganism. Indicative of the former is the frequent use of the Jewish scriptures (see 3. above), reference to messianic tradition (2:4–8) and venerated Hebrew figures (prophets and their search for the Christ, 1:10–12; Sarah and Abraham, 3:5–6; Noah, 3:20), comparative allusion to key events in Jewish history (Abraham as resident alien, 2:11 [Gen 23:4]; Passover and Exodus of Israelite aliens, 1:13, 18–19; alien existence in the dispersion, 1:1, and Babylon, 5:13), and stress on the distinctive features of Israel's identity (holy, 1:14–16; 3:5; elect, 1:1; 2:4–10; 5:13) which now characterizes the believers in Christ. On the other hand, reference to an earlier ignorance of and alienation from God (1:14, 2:10) and the behavior and idolatry typical of gentiles (1:14, 18; 2:11; 4:2–4) which was to be renounced also points to many pagan converts among the readers.

**3. Societal Status and Situation.** The vulnerable social standing of the addressees and the conflict in which they were engaged was due to a combination of factors: their social status as "strangers and

resident aliens" and the exclusive form of their religious allegiance. This, in turn, set the stage for the hostility they encountered and the suffering this brought.

**a. "Visiting Strangers and Resident Aliens."** One of the most notable features of 1 Peter is the identification of its addressees by a pair of Greek terms best rendered as "visiting strangers" (*parepidēmoi,* 1:1, 2:11) and "resident aliens" (*paroikoi,* 2:11; cf. *paroikia,* 1:17). Translations such as "exiles," "pilgrims," or "sojourners" (e.g., KJV, RSV, JB, NAB), along with the unwarranted addition (e.g., NEB, TEV) of "on earth" in 1:17 (absent in the original Greek), distort the social and political connotations of these terms. They likewise have led to the equally unwarranted assumption that 1 Peter advocates a spiritual "pilgrimage on earth" for believers whose ultimate goal is a "heavenly home." Such a theme underlies the cosmic theology of the letter to the Hebrews but hardly the perspective of 1 Peter with its focus on societal conflict and social rather than cosmic contrasts.

In the Greco-Roman world of 1 Peter, as in the Greek OT, *paroikoi* and *parepidēmoi* were regarded and treated as permanent or temporary "strangers in a strange land" (Elliott 1981: 24–37). Literally, *paroikoi* were foreigners who lived "alongside" *(par-)* the "home" *(oikos)* of others. This condition of geographical and social displacement (*paroikia* and related terms) was the constant and typical lot of God's ancient people. As Abraham was a resident alien in Egypt (Gen 12:10) and Canaan (Gen 23:4, 26:3; Heb 11:8–9), so Moses in the land of Midian (Exod 2:22; Acts 7:29), Israel in Egypt (Gen 15:13; Acts 7:6) living in a foreign "house of bondage" (Exod 20:2; Deut 5:6), Judah in Babylon (1 Esdr 5:7), and later the Jewish settlement in Ptolemaic Egypt (*3 Macc.* 7:19). Inscriptional evidence from Greek secular sources indicates that resident aliens formed a specific social stratum of local populaces (ranked below full citizens and above complete foreigners [*xenoi*]) and slaves. Their cooperation or noncooperation with the native population could result in their moving up or down the social ladder. Legally, such aliens were restricted in regard to whom they could marry, the holding of land and succession of property, voting, and participation in certain associations and were subjected to higher taxes and several forms of civil punishment. Set apart from their host society by their lack of local roots, their ethnic origin, language, culture, and political or religious loyalties, such strangers were commonly viewed as threats to established order and native well-being. Constant exposure to local fear and suspicion, ignorant slander, discrimination and manipulation was the regular lot of these social outsiders.

In Asia Minor, resident aliens were found among both the urban and rural populations, working as artisans, traders and dispossessed farmers (Magie 1950: 639–40, 1503). Because of their marginal status as outsiders, they frequently joined clubs or cults which offered the promise of social acceptance, mutual support, or even salvation. As the Christian movement expanded beyond Palestine and throughout the Jewish diaspora, it moved along the trade routes of the empire. Spread by itinerant artisans and traders, it enlisted no small number of converts who were strangers and resident aliens in their local communities. As the movement grew, it experienced increased resistance from local populations of Jews and gentiles alike. By the time of 1 Peter, the precarious social condition of the movement as a whole had begun to mirror that of many of its individual adherents. Strangers who had embraced the Christian faith for the communion, hope, and salvation it promised were discovering that membership in this sect provided no escape from the prejudices and animosities of the larger society. To the contrary, membership in this strange and exclusive movement from the East resulted only in an increase in social friction and suspicion of strangers now banded together in a missionizing movement. As Israel's history indicated, social alienation and oppression had been the regular experience of God's chosen and estranged people. From this history 1 Peter drew on models and memories of dispersion and gathering, suffering and deliverance, societal rejection and divine acceptance so that continuity with the past, along with faith in the present, might serve as an effective basis for hope in the future.

**b. Local Hostility, Not Official Roman Persecution.** An attempt to link 1 Peter and the Christian suffering it describes to a general persecution of Christianity initiated by Rome (Beare 1970: 28–38; Windisch-Preisker *Katholischen Briefe* HNT, 76–77) has justifiably been rejected by the majority of scholars. 1 Peter speaks of Christians suffering "throughout the world" (5:9) but the first general imperial persecution of Christianity did not occur until 251 C.E. under Decius. Earlier anti-Christian actions under

Nero in 64–65 (Tac. *Annals* 15:44; Suet. *Ner.* 16:2), possibly Domitian in 93–96 (Suet. *Dom.* 10–17), and Trajan (Pliny *Ep.* 10:96–97) were limited in scope to Rome or Pontus and *were* the product of sporadic local incidents rather than of universal legal proscription. Nor is a state persecution envisioned where respect for the emperor and civil law is enjoined (2:13–17) and a positive outcome of good behavior is anticipated (2:11–12; 3:13–17). The nature of the hostility encountered—verbal abuse and reproach (2:12, 3:16, 4:14), curiosity concerning Christian hope (3:15), anger at the severance of former social ties (4:4)—likewise makes the theory of a state-sponsored persecution both improbable and unnecessary. Details of the situation point rather to social polarization and conflict which was local, disorganized and unofficial in character (Selwyn 1947; van Unnik *IDB* 3: 758–66; Reicke *James, Peter, Jude* AB; Kelly *Peter* HNTC; Best *1 Peter* NCBC; Goppelt *Petrusbrief* MeyerK; Elliott 1981; Brox *Petrusbrief*$^{2}$ EKKNT). As strangers and aliens belonging to a novel cult and exclusive minority actively seeking adherents, these Christians were the victims of the harassment and discrimination regularly experienced by those suspected of posing a disruptive threat to local peace and prosperity.

Branded by pagans with the opprobrious label "Christians" (literally "Christ-lackeys"), and reproached for their allegiance to Christ (4:14, 16) they were called to account for their curious hope (3:15), reviled (3:9) and unjustly slandered as immoral or criminal wrongdoers by the ignorant (2:12, 14–15; 3:13–17; 4:15). Subjected to unjust treatment (2:18–20) and fear (3:6, 14), they were also abused as a result of their termination of previous social associations and modes of behavior (4:3–4). Faced with grief, sorrow, and suffering (1:6; 2:19–20; 3:14, 17; 4:1, 12–19; 5:9–10), the addressees were in danger of doubting the benefits of their conversion, abandoning hope in God's mercy, and abdicating their proper responsibilities toward both the brotherhood and the society at large.

**I. Strategy**

The expressed aim of 1 Peter was to encourage its suffering readers to stand fast in the grace of God (5:12). Its literary, theological, and social strategy was to set the issue of Christian suffering within the context of the tension between the readers' social estrangement and their divine vocation, their "homelessness" in society and their "at-homeness" in the family of God. To counteract the divisive and erosive effect of innocent suffering upon the confidence, cohesion, and commitment of the brotherhood and its mission, the letter reassures its readers of their distinctive communal identity as God's favored family, encourages winsome conduct among the gentiles along with love within the brotherhood, and urges continued trust in God who vindicates the faithful who share the suffering and glory of their exalted Lord.

**1. Dignity and Status Conferred by God.** At the outset of the letter (1:1–2:10), a rich array of terms, images, and contrasts serve to underscore the dignity and distinctiveness of the community to which the readers belonged. Elected by God (1:1), sanctified by the Spirit (1:2; cf. 1:22), redeemed by Christ's blood (1:18–19), believers in Jesus Christ, God's elect agent of salvation, belong to the elect and holy covenant people of God, the household in which the Spirit resides (2:4–10; Elliott 1966). In contrast to Jews (1:4, 10–12), pagans (1:18), and all who reject Jesus as the Christ (2:4–8), those believing the enduring good news (1:23–25) have a permanent inheritance, a sure salvation, and a firm basis for hope (1:3–5, 13, 21). Reborn by God the Father (1:3, 23; 2:2), believers as his obedient children are not to conform to the passion of their former ignorance but to the holiness of the Wholly Other in the time of their alien residence (1:14–17). Through sincere love of brothers and sisters in the faith and avoidance of divisive behavior, they are to maintain the solidarity of the brotherhood (1:22; 2:1; 3:8; 4:8).

**2. Demarcation from Non-Christian Outsiders.** As conversion confers new dignity and status before God, so it also demarcates believers from unbelievers and the old way of life from the new. In addition to the distinctive union that Christians are said to have with God and Jesus Christ, this point is further accentuated by the numerous contrasts drawn throughout the letter between past and present (1:14–15, 18; 2:10, 25; 4:2–3), impermanence and permanence (1:4–5, 23–25; 5:4), nonbelievers and the faithful (2:7–10), sinners and the righteous (2:24; 3:12, 18; 4:18), human desires and the will of God (2:11, 15; 4:1–3), abuse and innocent suffering (2:11–12, 18–25; 3:13–17; 4:4, 12–19; 5:8–9), devouring devil and brotherhood united with God (5:8–9). As children of God's family, Christians were indeed different and

should remain so. Within a society governed by the self-interests of human passion, futile traditions, hopelessness, and fear, Christians formed a distinctive community enlivened by mercy, faith, hope, and love.

**3. Distinctive Holy Behavior.** This difference, however, did not imply a Christian disdain of all societal norms and values. Although 1 Peter was hardly written to warn against Christian involvement in anti-imperial subversive activity (as argued by Reicke *James, Peter, and Jude* AB, xv–xxix and refuted by Sleeper 1968), it did stress the importance which Christians, like gentiles, attached to good conduct in both civic and domestic spheres (2:12, 14, 15, 20; 3:6, 10–12, 13–17; 4:15, 19). The ultimate norm of Christian behavior, however, was fear of God alone (1:17; 2:17, 18; 3:2, 15) and obedience to his will as exemplified by Jesus Christ (1:2, 14–17; 2:15, 18–25; 3:17; 4:2, 19). Where no conflict existed between conformity to God's will and submission to human authorities established by God (2:13), subordination was appropriate (2:13–3:7, 5:1–5) "because of the Lord" (2:13, 21–25; 3:18–22; 5:4). Respect for public law and domestic harmony was as typical of Christians as it was of gentiles. In the face of ignorant popular suspicion to the contrary, believers were urged to set the record straight.

On the other hand, the readers were reminded that they were ultimately servants of God (2:16), co-servants with the Christ (2:21–25), whose holy conduct was aimed also at gentile conversion and the glorification of God (2:11–12, 3:1–2, 4:11, 5:10). The letter's promotion of good conduct and domestic order is insufficient reason for concluding that its intention was to advocate Christian acculturation to Roman values (Elliott 1981; 1986 against Balch 1981; Stambaugh and Balch 1986). Where Christian adherence to gentile values, customs, and moral standards would obscure or contradict the distinctive features of Christian community and allegiance, there believers were to desist (1:14–19; 2:1, 11; 4:1–4), resist (5:8–9) and stand firm in God's grace (5:12). Respect was due the emperor, as to all men; but fear (awe and reverence) was to be reserved for God alone, and love, to members of the brotherhood (2:17). Retaliation sanctioned in society would be inconsistent with the solidarity believers have with their non-retaliating Lord (2:18–25; 3:9, 15–16). Exploitation of role and rank would put the lie to the humility, love, and mutual service owed one another by all believers (1:22; 2:17; 3:8; 4:8–9; 5:2–5) as "good household stewards of God's varied grace" (4:10–11). Continued association with nonbelievers and their selfish desires and futile ways (1:18; 2:11; 4:1–4) would deny the reality of their conversion, their holy union with God and Jesus Christ, and their incorporation into a new brotherhood of faith and hope (1:3–2:10). Thus the behavior encouraged in 1 Peter, while superficially consistent with some conventional standards, is ultimately and distinctively grounded in God's will for his holy children and their solidarity with Jesus Christ, God's suffering servant.

**4. Solidarity in Suffering.** Stress on the readers' special union with God and Jesus Christ likewise figures prominantly in the letter's discussion of their suffering. This innocent suffering is seen as a key symptom of their paradoxical situation: their estrangement in society and their union with God. In startling contrast to societal attitudes, suffering is described not as a bane but as a blessing, evidence of divine favor and sign of Christian solidarity. In continuity with earlier Jewish and Christian tradition emphasizing "joy in suffering" (Selwyn 1947: 439–58), 1 Peter regards the suffering of God's people as a sign of the end time, the day of judgment and salvation (1:6–9; 4:5–7, 17–19). Suffering, moreover, is an occasion for the divine "testing" of the purity and constancy of faith (1:6–7; 4:12). Suffering for doing good in obedience to God's will has as its reward "praise, glory, and honor" (1:7; 2:7; 5:10). Through such suffering, believers are united with their suffering Lord; his suffering serves as the model and means for theirs; and his glorification, as the basis for their endurance and hope (2:18–25; 3:13–4:6; 4:12–19; 5:1; Osborne 1983; Elliott 1985; Richard 1986). Righteous suffering is therefore a "blessing" and an opportunity to "keep the Christ (as) Lord holy in your hearts" (3:14–15). It is a sure sign of the presence of the "glory and the Spirit of God" (4:13–14) and the occasion in which those who bear Christ's name "give glory to God" (4:16). Through innocent suffering believers are united not only with God and the Christ but also with the worldwide Christian brotherhood (5:9). Therefore the suffering which the readers endure is not a reason for grief or despair but for "inexpressible and exalted joy" (1:8; cf. 4:13).

**5. Christian Community as the Household/Family of God.** The strategy of 1 Peter was to mobilize the resources of faith and concerted action which would enable the Christian addressees to stand firm and persevere as the community of God in a society from which they are estranged. Basic to this strategy, as the stress upon solidarity in suffering illustrates, was an emphasis upon the distinctive collective identity and responsibility of the believers. Although the term "church" *(ekklēsia)* is never employed, in the broader theological sense 1 Peter is one of the most church-oriented compositions in the NT. Through faith, believers are one "in Christ" (3:16; 5:10, 14). Their innocent suffering unites them with the suffering Christ and suffering Christians everywhere (2:18–25; 3:13–4:6; 4:12–16; 5:1, 8–9). Christians together constitute the "flock of God" (5:2). Once scattered, this flock is now being saved and gathered by its "chief shepherd" and guardian, Jesus Christ (5:4; 2:25). Within this one flock, Christian leaders ("elders"), as "under-shepherds," are to set the proper example for the people to follow (5:2–3). In 2:9–10, the culmination of a grand description of the people of God (1:3–2:10), a series of traditional communal epithets is used to depict the eschatological community of faith. This community is an "elect race, a royal residence [of God the King], a holy body of priests, God's own special people." Once the addressees were, like Hosea's illegitimate offspring, "Not-my-people" and "Without-mercy." Through God's mercy (1:3), however, they, like Hosea's contemporaries, have become the "People-of-God" and the "Ones-Shown-Mercy" (2:10; cf. Hosea 1:6; 2:1, 23). Those once alienated from God are now the very children of God (1:14).

Among these various images of community, it is the identification and exhortation of Christians as members of the *household* or *family of God* which dominates the letter from beginning to end. In two key passages of the letter, 2:4–10 and 4:12–19, the community is explicitly called the "household *(oikos)* of the Spirit" (2:5) or the "household *(oikos)* of God" (4:17). In the former passage, this phrase interprets the covenantal epithet *basileion* (Exod 19:6) cited in 2:9, and describes the eschatological community as the "house (hold) in which God's Spirit dwells" (Elliott 1981: 167–69). In the latter passage, "house (hold) of God" likewise identifies the community united with Christ and upon which God's Spirit rests. Consistent with this household metaphor are further instances of *oikos*-related terminology. The readers also are assured that they are being "built up" (*oikodomeisthe,* 2:5) by God and at the letter's conclusion this metaphor of construction and confirmation is repeated (5:10). In the household instruction of 2:18–3:7, the servant-slaves are addressed not with the conventional term for slaves (*douloi,* Eph 6:5; Col 3:22; Titus 2:9) but with the word for "household servants" (*oiketai,* 2:18). In its only NT occurrence, *synoikein* is used to exhort Christian husbands to "live together" with their wives in the knowledge that both spouses are co-heirs of the grace of life (3:7). Similarly, all the addressees are encouraged to practice hospitality, love, and mutual service as "household stewards *(oikonomoi)* of God's varied grace" (4:7–11).

In conjunction with this image of household/family, the process of salvation and conversion is pictured as a "rebirth" (1:3, 23; 2:2) initiated by God, the father of a new human family (1:2, 3, 17). Those who have been reborn have become his "children" (1:14; 2:2) subject to his will and protected by his power and care (1:14–17; 4:19; 5:6–7, 10). This process of "infamilialization" transforms believers into brothers and sisters. The senders (5:12, 13) and recipients of the letter belong to a "brotherhood" (2:17; 5:9)—the only NT occurrence of this term—whose cohesion is maintained through the practice of "brotherly love" (1:22; 3:8; 4:8) and expressed through the familial "kiss of love" (5:14). The roles, relations, and mutual responsibilities within this community are therefore appropriately defined according to the pattern of household instruction (2:13–3:9; 5:1–5). And the service owed by Christians to one other is compared to that of humble household servants (*diakonein,* 4:10, 11) and stewards (*oikonomoi,* 4:10).

The depiction of the universal believing community as the household or family of God functions as a comprehensive metaphor for coordinating the distinctive features of communal Christian identity and affirming the relation between identity and ethos. In addition to its literary utility, the image of the household constitutes a symbol of Christian community closely related to the history of the Christian mission. Most importantly, the psychological, social, and religious connotations of "house and home" make this image of community a compelling response to the problem of social estrangement.

It was the conversion of households which served as the focus and springboard of the nascent Christian mission (Luke 19:9; John 4:46–53; Acts 10–11; 16:15, 31–34; 18:8; 1 Cor 1:14, 16; 16:15). Households provided the base of Christian operations, the places of worship and centers for support and mutual aid (Acts 2:26; 5:42; 9:10–19; 12:12; Rom 16:1–23; 1 Cor 16:15; Col 4:15; Phlm 2). Household hospitality (1 Pet 4:9) facilitated the mobility of missionaries and thus the rapid expansion of the movement. The unity of this movement of household networks was expressed in several instances of greetings from "our house to yours" (Rom 16:5; 1 Cor 16:19; Col 4:15; Phlm 2; 1 Pet 5:12–14). It was a logical extension of this social reality when the Christian community as a whole was then described as the "household of God" (Gal 6:10; Eph 2:19–21; 1 Tim 3:5, 15; Heb 3:1–6, 10:21; 1 Peter).

Throughout ancient society the household or family was considered the fundamental form and model of social, political, and religious organization. For Judaism and Christianity, the house of Abraham, of Jacob, of Israel, of David, and of the new household of Jesus (Mark 3:21–35 par.) reckoned prominently in the history of salvation. With its diverse connotations, the reality and symbol of "household-family-brotherhood" provided a pregnant and powerful metaphor for describing a community created and sustained by God as Father, King, and Provider.

Finally, with this symbolization of Christian community, the letter addresses most directly the situation of its recipients, their social condition and their divine vocation. In society Christians are indeed strangers and strangers they should remain, as signs of holiness and beacons of hope. Endurance of suffering and steadfastness in faith is possible because of their incorporation in the household of God. In the family of the faithful the homeless of society *(paroikoi)* have a home *(oikos)* with God. The church, according to 1 Peter, is a home for the homeless.

**J. Date, Authorship, Place of Composition**

**1. Date.** The ambiguous nature of the letter's internal evidence concerning its date, authorship, and place of composition requires a consideration of several interrelated literary, historical, and social factors. Both a time frame for the letter's composition and a place of origin is suggested by its close links (Forster 1913: 398–411, 424–42) to two letters of Roman provenance, Romans (ca. 57 C.E.) and *1 Clement* (ca. 96). The nature of the numerous thematic affinities among all three documents, while not indicating direct literary dependency, points to the existence and use of a body of tradition common to the Christian community at Rome (Lohse, in Talbert 1986: 53–55; Best *1 Peter* NCBC, 32–36, 64–65; Goppelt *Petrusbrief,* 345–55). As Romans contributed to the tradition of the Roman church upon which 1 Peter drew, so 1 Peter subsequently added traditions and themes which recur in *1 Clement.* Accordingly, 1 Peter was written sometime between the years 57 and 96.

Other features of the letter are consistent with this general time frame and help to reduce its limits. Since the suffering described in 1 Peter was not the result of imperial persecution, scholars convinced of its Petrine authorship assign the letter to the years preceding the great fire in Rome (64 C.E.) and Nero's subsequent anti-Christian campaign (Bigg *St. Peter and St. Jude*[2] ICC, 87; Selwyn 1947: 56–63; van Unnik *IDB* 3: 765; Reicke *James, Peter, and Jude* AB 71; Spicq *Épîtres Pierre* SB, 26; Kelly *Peter and Jude* HNTC, 30). Further factors, however, including indications of the letter's pseudonymity, indicate the likelihood of a later date of composition in the middle years of the Flavian period, ca. 73–92 (Elliott 1981: 84–87; Best *1 Peter* NCBC, 63–64; Goppelt, 64–65; Brox, 38–47).

The vast scope of the letter's address (four provinces comprising ca. 129,000 sq. mi. and two provinces not reached by Paul [Bithynia-Pontus and Cappadocia]) requires the allowance of sufficient time for the spread of Christianity in this area subsequent to the mission of Paul. Moreover, the sequence of provinces given in 1:1 may reflect not only the intended route of the letter but also the alteration of these provincial boundaries undertaken by Vespasian in 72 C.E. (Elliott 1981: 60). Distance from the Pauline period and the early 60s is also indicated by the growth and coalescence of diverse traditions reflected in 1 Peter and the shift from an internal Jewish debate over the Mosaic law to a struggle of believers now labeled as "Christians" with an alien and hostile society. An accompanying shift in political perspective from the positive view of Roman government expressed in Rom 13 to the neutral stance of 1 Peter (2:13–17) would be a consequence of Nero's pogrom against the Christians of Rome, including Peter (65–67 C.E.),

as viewed from the distance of a decade or more. Though no longer under imperial attack, Christians had learned a sobering lesson about esteeming Roman officials as "ministers of God" (Rom 13:6).

The figurative use of the term "Babylon" to signify the letter's place of origin (5:13) likewise indicates its post-70 date and composition at Rome. The lack of any trace of Petrine activity in the Mesopotamian city of Babylon, or in the Roman military outpost in Egypt also known as Babylon, makes it virtually certain that, in accord with later Jewish and Christian usage, "Babylon" referred figuratively to Rome, the city attested by the unanimous witness of the early church as the location of Peter's final ministry and martyrdom. Rome, like Babylon of old (Isa 13; 43:14; Jer 50–51; Dan 1–7), was seen as the seat of a godless empire which also had destroyed Jerusalem and its temple and now marked an important site of God's dispersed people. This designation of Rome as "Babylon," occurring only in literature composed after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. (*Sib. Or.* 5:143, 159; *2 Bar.* 11:1, 67:7, *4 Ezra* 3:1, 28, 31; Rev. 14:8, 16:19, 17:5, 18:2, 10, 21), constitutes further cogent evidence for the post-70 composition of 1 Peter.

On the other hand, a date of composition no later than the early 90s is also likely. By the time of Revelation (ca. 95) the situation of Christianity in Asia, one of the provinces also addressed in 1 Peter, had worsened. In contrast to the conditions and political perspective reflected in 1 Peter, many believers had suffered martyrs' deaths (Rev 2:13; 6:9–10; 16:6; 18:24; 19:2) and the attitude toward Rome had changed to a thoroughly negative one (chaps. 12–18). Likewise, in Pontus, another province addressed in 1 Peter, Christian defections had begun by the mid 90s (Pliny, *Ep.* 10.96) and in Rome Domitian's "reign of terror" (93–96) was underway. 1 Peter reflects none of these later developments; its situation rather presupposes an earlier Flavian period marked by a relative tranquility which encompassed imperial-Christian relations as well (Magie 1950: 566–92).

These various factors taken together make it likely that 1 Peter was written from Rome sometime during the years 73 to 92 C.E. Consistent with this period of the Church's situation and theological development are further features of the letter such as the rudimentary mode of organization (4:10–11) and presbyteral leadership (5:1–5); the emergence of the household as ecclesial model (Mark, Luke-Acts, Colossians, Ephesians, Hebrews); a "servant" christology (Mark, Luke-Acts) which was later abandoned; a christological motivation of moral conduct (contrast later appeals to apostolic authority in Jude, 2 Peter and Pastorals); absence of contention over gnosis and heresy; and a still lively apocalyptic eschatological orientation.

**2. Authorship and Provenance: A Petrine Group in Rome.** This date of composition rules out authorship by the apostle Peter who, according to the most reliable evidence (Cullmann 1958: 70–152; O'Connor 1969), suffered martyrdom in Rome ca. 65–67. The letter's refined literary style, rich, often rare, vocabulary not occurring elsewhere in the NT; and consistent citation of the Greek OT are also difficult to reconcile with the NT picture of Simon Peter as an unschooled (Acts 4:13) and Aramaic-speaking Galilean fisherman (Schrage *Katholischen Briefe* NTD, 62–64; Brox *Petrusbrief*[2] EKKNT 43–47). The hypothesis that 5:12 identifies Silvanus as Peter's secretary and co-author (Selwyn 1947: 9–17, 241; Reicke *James, Peter, Jude* AB, 69–71) lacks convincing proof (Beare 1970: 212–16). Even less is known of Silvanus and his literary ability than of Peter and the commendation of Silvanus as "a faithful brother" would then appear a deceptive form of self-praise. The Greek expression employed in 5:12 *(dia Silouanou ... egrapsa)* conventionally identifies the *emissary* through whom a letter is delivered (cf. *Ign. Rom.* 10:1; *Ign. Phild.* 11:2; *Ign. Smyrn.* 12:1; cf. Polyc. *Ep.* 7:3) and occurs also in Acts 15:23 to identify Silas/Silvanus and Judas Barsabbas as emissaries of the letter of the Jerusalem council to the believers at Antioch (15:22–34).

Additional information from Acts records not only the personal association of Peter and Silvanus/Silas in Jerusalem and their important role in the promotion of the Gentile mission (Acts 15 and Silvanus's subsequent activity with Paul, 15:40–18:22). It also indicates Jerusalem (Acts 12:12, 13:13) as the place where both Peter and Silvanus also had contact with Mark, probably the same person identified in 1 Pet 5:13 as "my [Peter's] son." The absence of further introductory information concerning Silvanus and Mark in 1 Peter suggests that they, like Peter, were known to the addressees by reputation, if not through personal contact. In all likelihood, therefore, the Silvanus and Mark of 1 Peter were the same persons

associated with Peter in Jerusalem, later co-workers with Paul (Acts 13:4–13; Col 4:10; Phlm 24; 2 Tim 4:11; 2 Cor 1:19; 1 Thess 1:1; 2 Thess 1:1), and eventually reunited with Peter in Rome.

All three of the persons expressly named in 1 Peter would thus constitute important figures through whom the Palestinian tradition of Jesus' words and the kerygma of his death and resurrection was transmitted from East to West. The explicit mention of these three names indicates that 1 Peter is the communication not so much of an individual as of a *group,* a circle once gathered around the apostle Peter and now writing in his name. Less important than the question of who actually wrote the letter is the fact that 1 Peter represents the witness of the apostle Peter, the personal networks of a brotherhood reaching from Jerusalem to Rome, and the rich tradition of the Roman Christian community (Lohse, in Talbert 1986: 53–55; Best, 32–36, 64–65; Goppelt, 37, 65–70, 347–49; Elliott 1981: 267–95). The letter was ascribed most naturally to this group's apostolic leader, Peter, one who in his own life and death bore witness to Christ's suffering (5:1) and who was later attested as Mark's associate in Rome (Papias, Irenaeus, Origen, in Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39; 5.8.3; 6.25.3–6) and a major figure of the Roman community (*1 Clem.* 5:4; *Ign. Rom.* 4:3). Speaking in the name of their martyred leader, this Petrine branch of the family of God in "Babylon" assured fellow members of the household dispersed throughout Asia Minor of the bonds of suffering, faith, and hope which united the worldwide Christian brotherhood. In 1 Peter, accordingly, the ecumenical roots and vision of Christianity at Rome received their first significant articulation. (See also Michaels *1 Peter* WBC; Olsson *Forsta Petrusbrevet* Kommentar till Nya Testament; Schrage and Balz *Katholischen Briefe* NTD.)

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**PETER, GOSPEL OF.** The *Gospel of Peter* (= *Gos. Pet.*) was a narrative gospel of the synoptic type which circulated in the mid-1st century under the authority of the name Peter. An earlier form of the gospel probably served as one of the major sources for the canonical gospels. Neither quoted nor extensively described by patristic authors, *Gos. Pet.* is preserved today only in two very fragmentary manuscripts. The partially preserved story begins abruptly with the trial scene where Pilate washes his hands, includes a unique and unusual account of the resurrection, and concludes in mid-sentence with, apparently, the beginning of a resurrection appearance scene at the Sea of Galilee.

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## A. Patristic Sources and Manuscripts

**1. Eusebius and Origen.** The church historian Eusebius (ca. 303 C.E.) passes on a tradition about bishop Serapion of Antioch (ca. 200 C.E.) in W Syria who had received a report about a certain Gospel of Peter which was in use at the church in nearby Rhossus (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.12.2–6). Bishop Serapion had no serious objections to the use of the text but determined that it could be understood by some to promote a docetic Christology. An even more obscure reference is made by Origen (ca. 250 C.E.) in his commentary on Matt 10:17 (*PG* 13, 876C–877A). The patristic authors transmit no quotes from the gospel so that its contents and nature remained a mystery until the end of the last century.

**2. Akhmim Papyrus.** The French archaeological mission in Cairo discovered a Greek manuscript containing part of *Gos. Pet.* in the winter season of 1886–87 while excavating in the ancient Christian cemetery of the modern Egyptian town of Akhmim (ancient Panopolis), sixty miles N of Nag Hammadi (Bouriant 1892–93). While the monk's grave in which the manuscript was found dates from the 8th to 12th century (Bouriant 1892–93: 93–94; Swete 1893: xlv–xlvii), the scribal hand of the *Gos. Pet.* text dates from the 7th to 9th century (van Haelst 1976: no. 598) giving us a tentative date in perhaps the latter half of the 8th century for the copying of the *Gos. Pet.* text (750–800 C.E.). The text has been available for the past century in a photographic facsimile edition (Lods 1892–93: pls. I–XXXIV, esp. II–VI) accompanied by a critical text edition (Lods 1892–93: 219–24). Today the manuscript is conserved in the papyrus collection of the Cairo Museum.

The Akhmim manuscript is in the form of a codex (book) which was rather crudely constructed out of pages from other manuscripts. Following the facsimile edition of Lods (1892–93: pls. I-XXIV), the codex measures six inches high by four-and-a-half inches wide and has 33 unpaginated leaves (= 66 pages). The codex contains four separate texts: (1) part of *Gos. Pet.*, (2) part of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, (3) part of *1 Enoch* (1:1–32:6), and (4) part of the martyrdom of a certain Julian. The texts are copied by two or three different scribes, the two Petrine texts copied by the same scribe. Van Haelst dates the hand of the *1 Enoch* text from the 4th to 6th centuries and thus as the earliest hand in the codex (1976: no. 595).

For our purposes, it is noteworthy that the Akhmim text of *Gos. Pet.* is surrounded by typical though crude scribal decorations both at the beginning of the texts (where the scene of Pilate washing his hands abruptly begins) and also at the conclusion of the text (where the text suddenly ends in the middle of a sentence). This means that the earlier manuscript containing *Gos. Pet.* from which the Akhmim scribe copied was already a broken fragment. There was certainly enough room on the bottom part of the last page containing the *Gos. Pet.* text (= codex page 10) for the scribe to have copied more of that Petrine text onto his page, verifying that the scribe copied all of the *Gos. Pet.* text that was available to him from an earlier and fragmentary manuscript. As a result, we know nothing of the contents and nature of *Gos. Pet.* in the portions that originally preceded the scene of Pilate's handwashing and originally followed the beginning of the resurrection appearance scene of the Sea of Galilee.

**3. Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragments.** Cambridge University Press published in 1972 an edition of two small and fragmentary Greek papyri which probably belong to *Gos. Pet.* (Coles 1972: 15–16 and pl. II). The fragments are part of the larger sensational find known as the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, first discovered in 1897 in the rubbish heaps of the ancient town of Oxyrhynchus (modern el Bahnasa, north of Akhmim halfway to the delta). The editor of the text, R. A. Coles, observes (1) that the two fragments are from the same manuscript, (2) that the manuscript was a scroll rather than a codex, (3) that the extant, though brief, text has significant affinities with the text of *Gos. Pet.* from the Akhmim manuscript, (4) that the text of the Oxyrhynchus manuscripts can be identified with *Gos. Pet.* 2:3–5a from the Akhmim manuscript, (5) that the text of *Gos. Pet.* in the Oxyrhynchus fragments represents a different recension of the text from what we find in the Akhmim manuscript (cf. Crossan 1988: 6–9), and (6) that the informal type of scribal hand can be dated to the early 3d or possibly late 2d century (Coles 1972: 15–16).

Thus, the Oxyrhynchus fragments give us a papyrological witness to the *Gos. Pet.* which predates both to the patristic allusions to the text and also predates the Akhmim manuscript by about 500 to 600 years. Further, it is clear that the early papyrological evidence for *Gos. Pet.* is now as strong as that for the gospels of Matthew and Luke (Lührmann 1981: 225) and probably *better* than that for Mark, *Gos. Thom.*, and *Gos. Mary*. The 2 Oxyrhynchus fragments are generally considered a single manuscript and so are given the single inventory number P. Oxy. 2949. The papyri are now conserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

**4. Identifying the Text.** Following such analyses as those of Lührmann (1981: 216–26) and Crossan (1988: 3–9), most scholars today identify the texts on the Oxyrhynchus and Akhmim manuscripts with the *Gos. Pet.* mentioned by Eusebius. Since none of the surviving fragments contains the title of gospel, and since none of the patristic authors preserved quotes from the *Gos. Pet.*, the gospel text on the Oxyrhynchus and Akhmim manuscripts is technically from an unknown gospel. The strongest evidence which equates the gospel text of the papyri with the *Gos. Pet.* mentioned by Eusebius and used by western Syrian Christians in the late 2d century, is that the voice of the text's narrator-author is identified in the first-person singular as "Simon Peter" ("But I, Simon Peter …" 14:60; cf. 7:26; note the closely related third-person singulars in 7:27 and 14:59). Another, though weaker, indicator is that the gospel text of the papyri can be read, without too much trouble, as the same text which Serapion obliquely describes (Crossan 1988: 12).

**B. Debate over Literary Relations**

**1. Overview of the History of Research.** Debate continues over the relationship of *Gos. Pet.* to the canonical gospels. In line with the generally more conservative, and perhaps less critical approach of an earlier generation, *Gos. Pet.* was first understood to be a literary pastiche of texts borrowed from the

canonical gospels and then embellished by fanciful oral traditions (esp. Robinson 1892: 11–36, 82–88, and Vaganay 1930: 18–27; cf. also Swete 1893 and Zahn 1893). Adolf von Harnack proposed, as early as his lectures of November 3 and 10, 1892, that *Gos. Pet.* might preserve some independent traditions, but his discussion is too vague to be anything more than suggestive (1893: 32–37, 47). Clearer arguments for independent traditions in *Gos. Pet.* were later made by Gardner-Smith (1925–26a, b), Denker (1975), and most notably by Helmut Koester (1980: 126–30; 1982: 2.162–63). The most useful and fully documented analysis is the recent work of Crossan (1988: 16–30 and passim), who laments the early years of scholarly analysis with appropriately incisive statements: "one cannot help wondering if scholarship would have been better served by everyone taking a little more time instead of rushing to judgement … scholarship is at an impasse on the *Gospel of Peter* … it has accepted that impasse much too readily" (1988: 13–14).

**2. Crossan's Hypothesis.** A new direction in the study of the *Gos. Pet.* was initiated by the publication of Crossan's study in 1988. Rather than rephrase Crossan's statement, the present author presents here Crossan's own concise description of his hypothesis on the textual history of *Gos. Pet.*:

> I find three major stages in the compositional history of the present *Gospel of Peter* … I call the first and earliest stage the *Cross Gospel,* a document presently imbedded in the *Gospel of Peter,* just as Q is in Matthew and Luke … The second stage is the use of the preceding document by all four of the intracanonical Gospels. I hold it to be the only passion and resurrection narrative used by Mark and, along with him, by Matthew and Luke, and, along with them, by John … all the intracanonical passion and resurrection narratives are dependent on the *Cross Gospel.* … The third and latest stage occurs when this *Cross Gospel,* like John before it, comes under pressure to adapt itself to the intracanonical endings with their stories of honorable burial, discovery of the empty tomb, and apparition for missionary mandate to the apostles. This expanded composition is attributed pseudonymously to Peter, but it is already far too late to save it for intracanonical inclusion (Crossan 1988: xii–xiv).

Crossan's interpretation clearly falls into the camp of those, like Koester before him, who argue for independent traditions in *Gos. Pet.* Crossan's distinct contribution is twofold: (1) the identification of redactional strata within the present text, and (2) the construction of a theory of the development of those strata in relation to the development of the gospel tradition in general, especially the canonical gospels, Q, *Gos. Thom,* and numerous related texts.

The implications for the Koester-Crossan line of reasoning are clear. The sources now incorporated into the extant text of *Gos. Pet.* go back to the preformative stages of the development of the passion narrative and the empty tomb story, thus dating them to the mid-1st century. Koester argued for a text which was older than and "independent of the canonical gospels" (1982: 2.163) while Crossan has gone the distance in isolating those sources and demonstrating their place within the development of the tradition. One can expect that all future research on *Gos. Pet.* will need to begin with a serious consideration of Crossan's work.

## C. Contents and Story Line

The standard text in English translation is divided into 14 short chapters and 60 continuously numbered verses (yet it is standard practice to list both the chapter and verse numbers). The following resume of the story line follows the larger text from the Akhmim fragment (*NTApocr,* 183–87): *1:1–2* the conclusion of the trial scene with the presence of Jesus, Pilate (who alone washes his hands), Herod (who proclaims judgment) and his judges, and the people; *2:3–5a* (also in P. Oxy. 2949) Joseph the friend of Pilate asks to bury the body of Jesus before the Sabbath so as to keep the law; *2:5b–3:9* Jesus is delivered to the people who mock and beat him; *4:10–14* he is crucified with two malefactors who suggest he is innocent, only to enrage those who cast lots for his garments and thus refuse to break his legs so that his suffering might be extended; *5:15–20* the sky darkens at noon, the people are thus afraid that the Sabbath has begun with the body still on the cross, he cries out his last words and is taken up, then the veil of the Temple is rent in two; *6:21–24* the Jews bring Jesus down from the cross, at the ninth hour the sun shines again and the Jews rejoice, Joseph prepares the body for burial and puts it in his own sepulchre; *7:25–27* the Jews begin to lament as Peter and his fellows hide with mourning and weeping; *8:28–9:34* some Jews entreat Pilate to seal the tomb and set guards to prevent a theft of the body and consequent supposition of a resurrection;

a large crowd gathers; *9:35–11:49* the tomb opens with a voice from heaven, two men (angels) enter the tomb, three men (the two angels and the resurrected Jesus) come out of the tomb with a walking-talking cross following them, the soldiers report the event to Pilate and confess "in truth he was the Son of God"; then Pilate commands the soldiers to be silent about what they had heard and seen; *12:50–13:57* Mary Magdalene and some unidentified women friends go to the tomb to prepare the body (?), find the tomb opened, and speak with a young man who tells them Jesus "is risen and gone thither whence he was sent"; the women flee the scene in fear; *14:58–59* after the feast the people return to their homes; the twelve (!) disciples are still weeping and mourning and also return to their homes; *14:60* "But I, Simon Peter, and my brother Andrew took our nets and went to the sea. And there was Levi, the son of Alphaeus, whom the Lord …" [note: sudden conclusion of extant text in mid-sentence].

**D. Supposed Gnostic and Docetic Features**

The history of research on *Gos. Pet.* shows a definitive preoccupation with the issue of the supposed gnostic or at least docetic character of the gospel's christology. The supposed gnostic and docetic features of the text are found in 4:10, where it is said that at the crucifixion Jesus "held his peace as if he felt no pain"; at 5:19, where it is said that at his death he was "taken up"; and at 10:39–42 where the cross walks out of the tomb behind the resurrected Jesus with the two angels, and it then replies "yes" to the voice from heaven. Such features are hardly representative of any gnostic or docetic theology, and have been given ample consideration by Crossan (1988: 10–12) and Maurer (*NTApocr,* 100–81).

Crossan (1988: 10–12) extends the theological analysis into the Serapion tradition transmitted by Eusebius and notes that Serapion's concern was not with any gnostic or docetic features in the text, nor did he consider *Gos. Pet.* to be an unacceptable text, but rather that some persons (a certain Marcianus) were able to read *Gos. Pet.* in a docetic manner. Serapion then proceeds to list what he considers docetic additions to the text, but at that point Eusebius moves on to another issue. We have no reason to suppose that the docetic additions to the text which Serapion identified were found anywhere in the brief remains of the story as we have them in the extant text from the Akhmim fragment; they could have been found in scenes preceding or following the extant story.

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**PETER, MARTYRDOM OF.** The final chapters of the 2d century *Acts of Peter* circulated independently as the *Martyrdom of Peter.* See PETER, ACTS OF. The *Martyrdom* survives in three Greek manuscripts and in the Latin translation of the Vercelli *Acts of Peter.* Versions of varying

completeness also survive in Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, Slavic, and Syriac. The text is often found in association with the *Martyrdom of Paul.*

One Greek manuscript from Mt. Athos begins with the story of Chryse in *Acts Pet.* 30 and so contains the story of Simon Magus's final flight. The other versions begin with Peter's preaching of continence and conclude with the end of Nero's persecution of believers in Rome (cf. *Acts Pet.* 33–41). Attributing persecution to the concupiscence of prominent men is a common motif in early Christian literature. The prominence of Peter's preaching on chastity in the *Martyrdom* may have led to an overestimation of its importance in the *Acts Pet.* as a whole.

Interest in Peter's status as a martyr appears by the beginning of the 2d century in both Asia Minor and Rome. All traditions which locate Peter's martyrdom place it in Rome, often connecting it to Paul's martyrdom. By the end of the 2d century, the location of Peter's martyrdom was more precisely fixed at the Vatican hill, and soon took on significance in church politics. The failure of the *Martyrdom of Peter* to locate the place of Peter's execution or burial was corrected in later developments of the tradition, such as the *Passion of Peter* and the *Passion of Peter and Paul.* See PETER, PASSION OF; PETER AND PAUL, PASSION OF.

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**PETER, PASSION OF.** The *Passion of Peter* is a 4th or 5th century Latin elaboration of the *Martyrdom of Peter* from the *Acts of Peter.* It is based on the Greek original rather than the Vercelli Acts. Although presented as a report to the Eastern churches from Linus, Peter's successor as bishop of Rome, it is attested only in Latin. The *Passion of Peter* specifies the date and place of Peter's death and seems to have been prepared for use in the June 29 commemoration of the apostles Peter and Paul. In the ancient manuscripts, it is frequently followed directly by the Pseudo-Linus *Passion of Paul.* The *Passion of Peter* begins with Peter's conflict with Simon who is identified as the anti-Christ. It moves to Peter's preaching of chastity (cf. *Acts Pet.* 33). Because the four concubines of the perfect Agrippa follow his teaching, Peter is arrested. After Xanthippe, the wife of Albinus, visits Peter in prison, she also takes up the life of chastity. The jailors, Processus and Martinian have been converted and baptized by Peter in a miraculous spring. They add their urgings to the pleas of Marcellus and other believers to convince Peter to leave the city. The *Quo vadis* scene follows. Peter asks to be crucified head downward because he is not worthy of dying in the same manner as the Lord. The location of Peter's execution is specified as the Naumachia, near the obelisk of Nero on the hill, i.e. the Vatican. Peter's speech at the cross is retained and slightly expanded. God opens the eyes of the witnesses so that they are able to see angels crowned with flowers standing near the cross. They also see Peter standing at the top of the cross where he reads the words of his speech from a book handed to him by Christ (cf. *Acts John* 97–101).

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**PETER, PREACHING OF.** The customary translation of the title of the *Kerygma Petrou,* which is an example of apocryphal missionary literature attributed to Peter by various early Christian writers. Not an "Acts of Peter," but rather a document that was probably made up of a series of sermons, the primary source for the "Preaching of Peter" is Clement of Alexandria, who gives a sequence of quotations from the *Kerygma Petrou* in his *Stromateis* (1.29.182; 2.15.68; 6.5.39–41; 6.5.43, 6.6.48; 6.7.58; 6.15.128, see also *ecl.* 58). Although it is clear that Clement of Alexandria considered this work to be genuine, Origen no longer accepted it as part of legitimate Christian tradition, possibly because of its use by the gnostic Heracleon (*Jo.* 13.17). The apologist Aristides as well as Theophilus of Antioch may also have known this work, although neither of them quote the *Kerygma Petrou* by name. Eusebius, however, clearly lists it under the heading of non-canonical writings (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.3.2). From the attestation and surmised use of the *Kerygma Petrou* by early Christian writers, it is thought to have been composed sometime in the early part of 2d century C.E., possibly in Egypt.

Due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence for the *Kerygma Petrou* little can be said concerning the nature of the work as a whole or concerning the order of its composition. What does remain indicates that the *Kerygma Petrou* contained supposedly Petrine discourses, the contents of which are reminiscent of later 2d century apologetic literature. Peter, a likely choice as the authoritative missionary leader of early Christianity, is depicted as preaching on such topics as monotheism, the dangers of paganism, as well as the falsity of Jewish religion and worship. The *Kerygma Petrou* may also have included christological sections which utilized OT passages in its Christian interpretation of Jesus death and resurrection. Whether the christological passages are meant to be discourses of the resurrected Christ or further sermons attributed to Peter is not clear. The emphases on monotheism and paganism, as well as the negative assessment of Judaism found in the *Kerygma Petrou* connect it to the literature of the early Christian apologists. However, the *Kerygma Petrou* also manifests tendencies of early Christian missionary preaching found in the Acts of the Apostles, and is therefore seen as a possible intermediary tradition between Christian Greek apologetic literature and early Christian missionary proclamation. Although the *Kerygma Petrou* contains discussions concerning the attributes of God and comparisons of pagan, Jewish, and Christian worship, it is not therefore surmised that the author of the document was necessarily a Jewish Christian, as such topics were common in Christian literature of the 2d century.

Other less explicit references in early Christian literature have been suggested as further fragmentary evidence for the *Kerygma Petrou,* such as a "Doctrine of Peter" mentioned by Origen (*princ* praef. 8) or a "Teaching of Peter" quoted by Gregory of Nazianzus (*ep.* 20; *or.* 17.5). However, the identification of such documents with the *Kerygma Petrou* is seen to be questionable.

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KATHLEEN E. CORLEY

**PETER, SECOND EPISTLE OF.** A composition of the post-apostolic period that claims to be the testament of the apostle Peter dispatched as a letter. It is included in the canonical NT.

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A. Introduction
B. Reception and Importance
C. Literary Genre and Pseudonymity
D. Sources
E. Style and Structure
F. Situation
G. Strategy
H. Origin, Destination, and Date

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**A. Introduction**

The Epistle's words of encouragement, warning, and reminder, supposedly composed shortly before the apostle's death (1:12–15), were actually intended for Christians of a later generation beset by internal division and doubt concerning the Lord's final coming.

Because its addressees are unnamed (1:1), the letter has been included among the 7 "Catholic Epistles" (James, 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, Jude) whose destinations are less specific than the letters of Paul. Nevertheless, it provides a specific response to an urgent crisis. Gentile converts had begun to introduce novel doubts about theological assumptions long taken for granted along with forms of behavior deviating seriously from ancient norms. The letter's double aim was to refute these "false teachers" (2:1), their theory and praxis, and to reinforce stability and commitment among the faithful through reminder of their divine gifts and calling.

Its rather unique blend of apocalyptic message and Hellenistic expression gives it a culturally catholic character. Old and new are combined as in a new arrangement of an old song: a jazz improvisation on "Rock of Ages" or, more appropriately, "Give Me That Old Time Religion." To contend effectively in the present and to prepare for the future, it is argued, requires a recalling of the past. Thus 2 Peter outlines an interim ethic for the present (1:5–11, 19; 3:11–18) which is framed and guided by lessons from the past (prophecy: 1:19–21; 3:2; world history: 2:4–10a, 15–16; 3:5–6; apostolic witness: 1:12–18; 3:1–4) and by the prospect of judgment and cosmic renewal in the future (3:7, 8–10). Basic to this ethic is the assurance of God's continual and consistent action in human affairs in past (1:3–4; 2:2–8; 3:5–6), present (1:20–21; 2:3, 9–10a; 3:8–9) and future (3:7, 10–12).

**B. Reception and Importance**

Together with 1 Peter and a large body of non-canonical Petrine literature (including the *Apocalypse of Peter, Gospel of Peter, Preaching of Peter, Acts of Peter,* and the pseudo-Petrine gnostic writings), 2 Peter illustrates the prominence attributed to the apostle Peter in orthodox and heterodox circles. Despite its Petrine pedigree, however, no NT writing was so poorly attested among the Church Fathers or received into the canon with greater hesitation than was 2 Peter. It left no certain early traces among the churches of Antioch, Asia Minor, Africa, or Rome. In Egypt, however, the *Apoc. Pet.* (ca. 135) made use of it while Origen (died ca. 253) is the first extant author to mention it by name (*Commentary on John* 5:3). Here too it was translated into Sahidic and Bohairic versions and also included in $P^{72}$ (ca. 350). Nevertheless doubts concerning its canonicity (Eus., *Hist. Eccl.* 3.3, 3.25) or at least its authenticity (Jer., *Epist.* 120.11; Erasmus, Luther, Calvin, and most modern scholars) have persisted down to modern times. For some contemporary commentators, particularly German Protestant exegetes (represented by the influential study of E. Kaesemann [1964]), it is the content of 2 Peter which raises serious theological problems. An identification of gospel with tradition and faith with doctrinal assent, it is claimed, and an ethic based on final retribution rather than on the christological kerygma must be seen as a loss of the authentic evangelical spirit of Paul as the Church embarked on the regrettable path of "early catholic" institutionalization.

Such a negative assessment, however, has not gone unchallenged (Green 1960; Bauckham *Jude, 2 Peter* WBC, 151–54) and more recent studies (Fornberg 1977; Neyrey 1980a, 1980b; Bauckham *Jude, 2 Peter* WBC; Elliott and Martin *James, 1–2 Peter/Jude* ACNT) have sought to provide a more comprehensive basis for appreciating the letter's situation and strategy. 2 Peter remains an important NT document for both historical and theological reasons. It records the effort of Christianity in a transitional post-apostolic period to communicate effectively in a pluralistic cultural environment while at the same time remaining faithful to its apostolic heritage and underlying worldview.

**C. Literary Genre and Pseudonymity**

The epistolary salutation (1:1–2) and reference to its being a "second letter" (3:1) show that 2 Peter was dispatched as a letter. However, its formal character is determined primarily by 1:12–15 and the recurrent theme of prediction and reminder (2:1–3; 3:1–4, 17). Accordingly, this letter contains the "testament" or farewell address of the apostle Peter intended to forewarn and remind Christians living after his death.

2 Peter thus resembles other parting addresses or testaments contained in the NT (of Jesus: Mark 13 par.; John 13–17; of Paul: Acts 20:17–35; 2 Timothy), the OT (of Jacob: Gen 47:29–49:32; Deuteronomy

1–3; 28–31; of Joshua: Joshua 23–24; of Samuel: 1 Samuel 12), and especially in the OT Pseudepigrapha (*Testament of Abraham, Testament of Moses, Testament of Job,* and *the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*). Such testaments typically included notice of the speaker's impending death, the prediction of "future" events, and exhortation regarding the appropriate behavior of the righteous. Generally pseudepigraphical, the testament was a literary form employed to address current issues as the anticipation or forecast of some venerable figure of the past and thereby secure for its teaching the authority antiquity confers.

This appears to have been the chief motive behind the "Petrine testament" of 2 Peter. The use of this literary convention here (1:1, 3–11, 12–15; 2:1–3a; 3:1–4, 11–14, 17), along with arguments based on language and style, sources used, problems addressed, and theological content, points to pseudonymous authorship and a date long after Peter's death (Guthrie 1970: 820–48; Bauckham *2 Peter* WBC, 131–35, 158–62 for arguments for and against Petrine authorship; Metzger 1972 on the issues concerning canonical pseudepigrapha). Moreover, in the shift from future to present tense verbs (2:1–10a/10b–22; 3:2–4/5–18) "Peter's" prediction is abandoned altogether and the real author speaks to his present situation.

Aside from his familiarity with Hellenistic rhetoric, Jewish and Christian apocalyptic traditions, the Letter of Jude and unidentified letters of Paul, little can be said of 2 Peter's actual author. Considering his own identity less weighty than that of an apostle, he wrapped himself fully in Peter's mantle. Through the fiction of a Petrine testament and appeal to the apostle's eyewitness of Jesus' transfiguration (1:16–18; cf. Mark 9:2–8 par.), he attempted to combat powerful opponents and novel ideas with the authority conferred by apostolicity and earlier historical experience.

**D. Sources**

2 Peter is replete with anomalies (Elliott ACNT, 120–26). Two of them concern its main source and the Hellenistic stylization of its Jewish-Christian apocalyptic message.

In many respects the letter is an eccentric NT writing, outside the mainstream of early Christian kerygmatic and catechetical tradition. The author knows of a collection of Pauline letters (3:15–16) but is concerned less with their evangelical content than with their distortions by the "ignorant." Affinities with the Gospels are also few and vague, deriving from oral rather than from literary sources (compare 1:14 and John 21:18; 1:16–18 and Mark 9:1[2]–8 par.; 2:20 and Matt 12:45 = Luke 11:26; 3:4 and Mark 9:1, 13:19; 3:10 and Matt 24:43–44 = Luke 12:39–40). Not once is the OT cited explicitly though the letter abounds with OT allusions (compare 1:19 and Num 24:17; 2:4–5 and Genesis 6–8; 2:6–8 and Genesis 19; 2:15–16 and Num 22:21–35; 2:22 and Prov 26:22, Isa 66:3 [dog and sow]; 3:3 and Isa 3:4 LXX, cf. 66:4; 3:5–6 and Gen 1:6–8; 3:7, 10 and Isa 66:15–16; 3:8 and Ps 90[89]:4; 3:9, 12–14 and Hab 2:3; 3:10–13 and Isa 66:15–16, 22). Among the OT Pseudepigrapha, 2 Peter shows several striking similarities with the Syriac apocalypse of *2 Baruch* (text in *OTP* 1: 615–52) in both form (cf. the letter in chaps. 76–86) and content (delay of God's coming, divine forbearance, judgment of corruption). This late NT writing thus shows close ties with Jewish apocalyptic tradition in particular, affinities shared also by *1* and *2 Clement* and Hermas (Bauckham *2 Peter* WBC, 140).

The statement in 2 Pet 3:1 "This is now the second letter that I have written to you," along with other similarities, would seem to suggest 1 Peter as a source (Boobyer 1959). The affinities, however, are minor and superficial and derive from common convention and tradition rather than from literary dependency. The letters are thoroughly different in form, language and style, sources used, social situation and issues addressed, and theological message (Mayor 1907:lxviii–cv; Bauckham *2 Peter* WBC, 285–87).

The continuation of 3:1 in vv 2–3, however, is virtually identical with vv 17–18 of the Epistle of Jude. Moreover, of the 25 vv of Jude no less than 19, in whole or in part, have parallels in 2 Peter. Of Jude's 460 word vocabulary almost one quarter (111) are found in 2 Peter. This extraordinary correspondence of vocabulary, phrasing, ideas, and sequence argues against the use of common oral tradition (as suggested by Reicke *The Epistles James, Peter, and Jude* AB, 190) and for direct literary dependence. Earlier commentators (Bigg *Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude* ICC$^2$, 216–24; Luther, Spitta, Zahn) considered Jude an excerpt of 2 Peter. However, the broad current consensus is that the longer letter is clearly a later

revision and expansion of the shorter one (Mayor 1907:i–lxvii, 1–15; Grundmann *Judas and der Zweite Brief des Petrus* THKNT, 102–07; Fornberg 1977:33–59 for detailed comparisons). 2 Pet 2:1–18 reproduces Jude 4–16 in the same general sequence; 3:2–3 echoes Jude 17–18; 3:13–14, 18 reflect and modify Jude 24–25, 1:5 and 12; and other parallels occur in 1:1–2 = Jude 1–2; 1:5 = Jude 3; 1:12 = Jude 5; 3:13–14, 18 = Jude 24–25. Jude thus constituted the main source employed in 2 Peter and supplied the latter with both the material for the polemic of chap. 2 and the important theme of apostolic prediction and reminder.

2 Peter revised and expanded upon this material and set it within a larger framework of thought provided by chaps. 1 and 3. The OT examples from Jude 5–7 were arranged chronologically and references to Noah and Lot were added to balance the themes of destruction and deliverance (2 Pet 2:4–10a). Jude's references to the apocryphal traditions regarding Michael and Enoch (vv 9, 14–15) were omitted. The "way" of truth (2:2) and righteousness (2:21; cf. 2:15) was stressed as a Christian moral norm. The disruptive Christians were identified as "false teachers" (2:1) and apostates (2:20–22). The substance of their deviant teaching was identified and refuted (1:16–21; 2:19; 3:4–7, 15–16). The theme of appropriate response to God's benefactions and coming was developed (1:3–11, 3:8–18). And the whole of this expanded revision of Jude was presented as the testament and predictive warning of the apostle Peter (1:1, 12–15; 3:1–2).

**E. Style and Structure**

The letter's vocabulary and style also distinguish it from other NT documents. Fifty-eight of its 402 word vocabulary (1,105 total words) are unique in the NT—the highest proportion in the NT (14.4 percent). This taste for obscure and grandiose language is matched by a style marked by excess rather than economy of expression. Many passages in the Greek original contain verbal repetitions and recurrent sounds (1:3–4, 5–7, 12–15, 17–18, 19–21; 2:1–3, 7–8, 13; 3:6, 9, 16), pairs of synonym (1:7, 10; 2:13; 3:14), and graceful rhythmic formulations (1:16, 17, 19–21; 2:4–9; 3:13). The opening section of the letter (1:3–11), as Danker (1978; 1982: 453–67) has shown, mimics the stereotyped diction and style of the omnipresent public inscriptions celebrating the virtues and deeds of benefactors and saviors.

Much of the content also has a pronounced Hellenistic hue: the conventional Greek virtues encouraged in 1:5–7; the notion of death as a "putting off of the bodily tent" (1:13–14); identification of the realm of the dead or "hell" (RSV, NEB) as "tartarus" (2:4); dispute about myths (1:16–18), prophecy (1:20–21), and involvement of the gods in human history and final judgment (3:3–7); interest in knowledge as a means of access to God (1:2, 3, 6, 8, 12; 2:20, 21; 3:3, 17, 18); salvation conceived as godliness (1:3), escape from corruption (1:4, 2:20), and participation in divine being (1:4); and the conception of God and/or Jesus Christ as Benefactor and Savior (1:1, 11; 2:20; 3:2, 18). The author is quite conversant with popular philosophies, the mystery religions, and especially with the beliefs and behavior of, as well as arguments directed against, rationalists and sceptics who disputed divine providence, life after death, and post-mortem retribution.

All these features indicate an author and audience at home in a pluralistic Hellenistic society (Fornberg 1977: 111–48). At the same time, the Jewish-Christian scripture and apocalyptic traditions employed in the letter's argument reveal that this environment embraced Jewish-Christian as well as Greco-Roman cultures. In such environments the merging as well as clash of cultures was inevitable. 2 Peter was designed to communicate effectively across these cultures while at the same time contending for the ancient truth in the face of its novel distortion. With a diction that was exceptionally Hellenistic in its makeup, the letter formulates a message that was remarkably "primitive" and Jewish in its moral and apocalyptic orientation.

The Greek text and syntax of the letter is uncertain at several places and its meaning often obscure. The many textual variants reflect early attempts to make sense of these obscurities (1:4, 10, 15; 2:1, 4, 6, 12–18, 21–22; 3:5, 7–12). Bauckham's (*2 Peter* WBC) discussion is comprehensive and is based on the most recent edition of the Greek text (*NovTG*$^{26}$).

A coherent development of themes and line of argumentation and a consistency of terminology and style mark the integrity of the document as a whole. It is structured in three major sections. Following the

address and salutation (1:1–2), a preamble establishes at the outset how the addressees are to respond to the divine gifts and promises to which they owe their Christian existence and future hope (1:3–11). Then, 1:12–3:13 comprises a double apostolic and prophetic reminder serving as the basis for the denunciation and refutation of sceptical false teachers. A concluding exhortation (3:14–18), paralleling 1:3–11, reaffirms the gifts and responsibilities of the faithful.

Within these major sections, the units 1:12–15; 16–21; 2:1–22; 3:1–7; 8–13 are marked off by internal content and/or inclusions (1:12–15 "remind"/"recall;" 2:1–22 ("way of truth, righteousness") and by the introductory address, "beloved" (3:1, 8, 14). Linkwords ("knowledge," 1:2, 3, 8; "borne," 1:17, 18, 21; "prophecy," 1:19–21, cf. 2:1; "ignore," 3:5, 8; "forbearance," 3:9, 15; "wait," 3:13, 14), as well as frequent demonstratives ("these things," 1:8, 9, 10, 12; 2:20; 3:11, 14) are used to relate and join smaller units of thought. A major inclusion is evident in the combination of "grace and knowledge of our God (Lord) and Savior Jesus Christ" in 1:2 and 3:18 (cf. also "stabilized" and "stability" in 1:12 and 3:17) which thereby frames the letter as a whole.

**F. Situation**

2 Peter was directed to a Christian community in which converts from paganism (2:20), assuming the mantle of teachers (2:1), had begun to challenge traditional Christian beliefs and norms of behavior. Their divisive factional views ("heresies," RSV) had strong appeal apparently for members who had grown impatient with the delay of the Lord's coming *(parousia)* and had begun to lose faith in its promise (3:4). In his *Anchor Bible* commentary on this letter, Reicke (pp. 160–61) imagined a different situation more political in character. He proposed that the troublemakers were greedy Christian leaders who had accepted bribes from Roman aristocrats intent on gathering support for a revolt against the Roman emperor Domitian (81–96). There is no trace of these particulars in the text, however. Here the issue is described as an internal Christian problem. Covert introduction of alluring alien ideas was endangering the community's cohesion and stability (2:1–3, 14, 18; cf. 1:10 and 3:17).

This situation is further clarified by other explicit and implicit indicators of the dissenters' program. They "deny the Master who bought them" and "despise authority" (2:1, 10a). They deny the final "coming" *(parousia)* of God in judgment and cosmic renewal, and consider its promise empty (3:4, refuted in 3:5–10). On the other hand, they themselves promise "freedom" (2:19a, refuted in 2:19b–22), a deviant brand of freedom for self-indulgence probably gained through an idiosyncratic interpretation of Paul's writings (3:15–16). As Neyrey (1980a; 1980b; followed by Bauckham *2 Peter* WBC) has shown, the formula "not … but" employed in 1:16a/16b–18, 1:20/21 and 2:3b/4–10a also identifies teaching refuted by the author. This included rejection of the Lord's previous coming *(parousia)* in power as a "myth," individualistic and idiosyncratic interpretation of scripture ("prophecy"), and again denial of divine destruction and deliverance. In sum, these sceptics denied God's past, present, and future involvement in the world and human affairs, divine communication through and control over prophecy, and divine judgment of either sinners or the righteous.

Consonant with this theoretical position, they flaunted a supposed freedom from judgment as a release from the commandment of the Lord (2:21, 3:2) and a license for self-indulgence (2:2, 10a, 13, 18), "pleasure" (2:13), and personal gain (2:3, 15–16). Over against the common good and the binding norms of the community they advocated pursuit of individual interests and rejections of social constraints.

The repeated stress in 2 Peter upon an authentic "knowledge" (1:2, 3, 5,6, 8; 2:20; 3:17) as well as upon a correct understanding of the apostolic and prophetic tradition (1:16–21; 3:1–4, 15–16) has led many scholars to identify the opponents as Christian Gnostics (from the Greek *gnosis* meaning "knowledge"). However, interest in knowledge and wisdom as a means to perfection of salvation was by no means restricted to these heretical Christian groups of the 2d and later centuries. It was rather typical of the Hellenistic age in general, in secular as well as Jewish and Christian milieux.

Since the spread of Greek culture with the advance of Alexander's armies (333 B.C.E.), numerous philosophical and religious movements had competed with one another over the nature and source of knowledge and the means it provided for discovering the nature and goal of life, the essence of human happiness, and the way to attain it. Beside the schools of Plato, Aristotle, the Cynics and Stoics, the

school of Epicurus (341–270 B.C.E.) propounded views and practices with which the false teachers of 2 Peter seem to have much in common.

Among its basic tenets, this rationalistic and quasi-religious philosophy held that: knowledge derives from sense perception of the physical world, the "nature of things" (the title of a widely influential didactic poem by Lucretius, 94–55 B.C.E.); this perception teaches that all matter is composed of atoms and eventually disintegrates; hence everything is mortal and there is no "life after death;" the gods are distant from and uninvolved in the affairs of this world; hence the notion of post-mortem retribution or divine punishment is absurd and the "myths" concerning the gods held by the general populace are ridiculous; mortals should not be motivated by fear of the gods, death, or divine judgment but by pursuit of "pleasure" (*hēdonē* in Greek, whence "hedonist"), i.e., the absence of pain and disturbance; such knowledge frees one from fear, guilt, superstition, and involvement in the affairs of social and political life.

The founder of this philosophy was generally honored for his wisdom and personal morality and was celebrated as a "savior." Later adherents, however, came under severe censure for their "atheism" (rejection of the gods as popularly worshipped), their exclusiveness and especially for their alleged immoral conduct, whence the pejorative connotation of the related labels, "Epicurean" and "hedonist." They were, in fact, compared to pigs wallowing in their self-serving passions. This practical philosophy flourished for half a millennium in the ancient world and attracted adherents from all social strata and walks of life (DeWitt 1954).

To the outsider as well as to many a Christian convert, Epicureanism and Christianity appeared to have much in common, including their repudiation of popular religion, their sectarian exclusiveness, and their disengagement from political life. In the popular mind the two groups were closely associated and commonly subjected to the same condemnation. The description of those labeled "false teachers" in 2 Peter includes numerous traits typically associated with Epicureans. In addition to the substance of their teaching, the reference to their pursuit of "pleasure" (2:13) and their comparison with dogs and swine (2:22) is particularly striking. Most significantly, as Neyrey has shown (1980a; 1980b), the critique of the opponents' teaching closely resembles the polemic regularly leveled by Jews and Gentiles alike against Epicureans and those thought tainted by Epicureanism such as the Sadducees. In all likelihood, the Christians censured in 2 Peter were perceived as persons under the influence of Epicurean thought seeking to attract other members of the community to their new amalgamation of Christian freedom and rationalistic scepticism.

**G. Strategy**

This serious erosion of the confidence and cohesion of the community as well as of its public reputation (2:1–3) called for a persuasive response. To combat this situation the author combined a rebuke and refutation of the sceptics with a reaffirmation of the faithful. The letter of Jude, conventional anti-Epicurean polemic, language and motifs of benefactor commemoration, apocalyptic tradition, and apostolic-prophetic testimony provided the models and substance of the argument.

To isolate and discredit the sceptics, a comprehensive contrast is drawn between their behavior and that of the faithful, their new and alien false teaching and the ancient prophetic and apostolic testimony verified by God. Those who scoff at the Lord's coming are "false teachers" who exploit and entice with "false words" like the "false prophets" of old (2:1–3, 14–16). By contrast, you the faithful know the "truth" and its reliable source (1:12–21, 3:1–2; cf. 1:2–3, 5–8; 3:17–18). They are "ignorant" (3:16) like "irrational animals" (2:12, 22); they "forget" (1:9) and "ignore" (3:8) what they once knew (2:20–22). You should "not ignore" (3:8) but "remember" the testimonies (1:12–15, 3:1–2) and advance in all the gifts you have received from God (1:3–11, 3:14–18). They have followed Balaam's "way" of error (2:15), whereas you adhere to the "way of truth and righteousness" (2:2, 21). They are "unstable" apostates who mislead others (2:2, 15, 20–22; 3:16); you must resist their efforts and remain "stable" (3:17; 1:10, 12). They distrust God's "promise" (3:3–4; but their own "promise" of freedom is vacuous (2:17–19). However, the "promises" you have are reliable for they come from God (1:4; 3:9, 13). They are "ungodly," "lawless men" (3:17; cf. 2:6, 8) seeking their own self-serving passions and interests (1:20,

2:2–3, 10–11, 13–14, 18); they are unholy "slaves of corruption" (2:19–20). But you have "escaped corruption" and "passion" and share in God's holy nature (1:3–4; 3:11, 14). They, like the sinners of old, will be "condemned," though they doubt God's judgment (2:3, 4–10a; 3:4–7). but you can trust God's coming. If, like righteous Noah and Lot of old, you remain faithful, you will be rescued (1:10–11, 3:11–18).

Accompanying this strategy of demarcation was an argument based on historical precedence and antiquity. To allay doubt in God's present and future involvement in human judgment and cosmic renewal, the author recalled scriptural evidence and apostolic eyewitness testimony from the past. God's creative and destructive action in the world is recorded in history (2:4–8; 3:5–6). This history establishes the certainty of his present and future involvement in human judgment and cosmic renewal (2:9–10a, 12; 3:7, 8–13). As God spoke at creation (3:5), so he also spoke through the prophets and to his Son (1:16–21). This word and coming of God in the past is attested by the personal experience of the earliest of the apostles, Symeon Peter. This "coming in power," already experienced in human history, is a model for, and basis for confidence in, the parousia to come at the end of time (3:1–11).

Over against the novel and alien vagaries of the false teachers, 2 Peter thus posed the older, venerable, and more probative testimony of prophetic and apostolic tradition. Over against their aberrant and divisive sense of freedom, he emphasized the unifying way of truth and righteousness and the holy commandment received from Jesus Christ. Over against scepticism concerning the future, he urged recollection of what the believers had already received and knew. "Entrance into the eternal kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ" would be theirs if they awaited the day of the Lord in patient confidence and grew in the gifts already granted.

2 Peter has been faulted for its lack of reference to the heart of the kerygma, the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and its implications for Christian faith and conduct. The nature of the error confronted, however, concerned theological assumptions underlying that kerygma rather than the kerygma itself: the ancient Jewish and primitive Christian belief concerning divine providence and the exercise of divine justice. It was this previously unquestioned belief which converts from paganism had begun to challenge. Their scepticism focused not the person and role of Jesus but rather on the presence and participation of God in human history. In response, the author marshaled arguments and sources useful for the reaffirmation of this belief and the refutation of those who challenged it. Jude and anti-Epicurean polemic supplied the model and substance for the critique of the false teachers. Apocalyptic tradition likewise was used to reassert the universal scope of God's reign and to stress the link between present, past and future, protology and eschatology. The fiction of a Petrine testament supplied the letter with apostolic credentials which were older and therefore superior to those of Paul and Jude, the author of 2 Peter's chief source. Furthermore, Peter's eyewitness of Jesus' transfiguration, the foreshadowing of the future parousia in past time and space, countered the sceptics' charge that the parousia of God (or the gods) was merely a fanciful "myth." Finally, the testament form itself provided a means for depicting events of the present as already anticipated and addressed in an authoritative legacy from the past.

Linked to its theological eschatology of the endtime, 2 Peter proposed an "interim ethics" for Christians awaiting the dawning of the final day of the Lord. Between Christian conversion and cosmic consummation believers were to grow in the gifts and their stability and salvation by resisting the seduction of Christian subversives who deviate from the prophetic and apostolic norms of truth; avoid the corruption of the world by leading holy, godly and peaceful lives in accord with the way of righteousness; and with patient confidence await the promised day of the Lord.

Despite its marginal status within the course of Christian theology, the concerns of this letter retain perennial significance. For when sceptics of any age question the rule of God in human history, the certainty of afterlife, Christ's coming in power and judgment, and the implications of this for Christian morality, then this recollection of the ancient apostolic tradition assumes fresh urgency and vitality.

**H. Origin, Destination, and Date**

2 Peter contains only implicit information concerning its origin, destination, and date of composition. The letter's salutation (1:1–2) does not specify the geographical location of its intended audience. The

situation, style, and content of the letter indicate that both author and audience resided in culturally pluralistic Hellenistic environments. Both addressees and false teachers are said to have "escaped from the world's corruption" (1:4, 2:20), a characterization which is more appropriate to gentile rather than Jewish converts. On the other hand, the frequent allusions to the Jewish scriptures, the occasional use of Semitic turns of phrase (2:1, 2, 12–14; 3:3), and the strong reliance on Jewish apocalyptic materials, suggest that the audience on the whole was familiar with and could be persuaded by tradition drawn from the Jewish-Christian heritage. The addressees were also assumed to have known of Paul and at least some of his letters (3:15–16), of a previous Petrine letter, and possibly of the letter of Jude (3:1–3).

The location of the audience could have been in any of the cosmopolitan centers of the Mediterranean world penetrated by Christianity such as Antioch in Syria, Alexandria in Egypt, Ephesus in Asia Minor, or Rome. However, the cumulative evidence argues most strongly for Asia Minor. Here pagan, Jewish, and Christian cultures coexisted and clashed, Epicureans had a firm foothold, Pauline letters were gathered, and another epistle of Peter was known. Egypt as a possible, though less likely, place of destination is suggested by the early use of 2 Peter in the Egyptian *Apocalypse of Peter* (ca. 135 C.E.) and its first explicit citation by Origen of Alexandria (217–ca. 251).

Although the letter's place of origin is also unspecified, several indications point to Rome. This was the site of Peter's death and the location of the Petrine circle from which 1 Peter issued. The numerous affinities between 2 Peter and the clearly Roman documents of *1* and *2 Clement* and the *Shepherd of Hermas* suggest dependence on a common Roman Christian tradition (Bauckham *2 Peter* WBC, 145–51, 158–62). These documents, along with 1 Peter, also attest the pastoral concern of the Christian groups in Rome for the churches abroad.

The lower and upper limits of the letter's date of composition are established by its use of Jude (ca. 70–90) and its probable use by the author of the *Apocalypse of Peter* (ca. 135). This time frame also accords with its concerns, content, and retrospective perspective. The advanced Hellenistic spirit of the letter, the Christian divisions it describes, the delay of the parousia it must explain and the doubts it must dispel, its retrospective appeal to the legacy of an apostle no longer alive, the misuse of prophetic and Pauline writings it must correct, along with its relatively late attestation are all features which indicate that 2 Peter is, with great likelihood, the latest composition of the NT, written sometime in the first quarter of the 2d century. Composed in the name of Peter who had long since died (ca. 65–67 C.E.), it nevertheless claims to preserve a testament which provides a formal link with the past and a guideline for present and future. (See also Chase *HDB* 3: 779–96; Fuchs and Reymond *La deuxième épître de Saint Pierre. La épître de Saint Jude* CNT 2/13b; Kelly *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude* HNTC; Schelkle *Die Petrusbriefe, Der Judasbrief* HTKNT; Schrage and Balz *Die "Katholischen" Briefe* NTD 10; Spicq *Les Epitres de Saint Pierre* SB.)

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**PETHAHIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *pĕtaḥyâ* (פְּתַחְיָה)]. **1.** A priest who appears in an organizational list associated with David (1 Chr 24:16). According to the genealogical information in 1 Chronicles 24, Pethahiah was a descendant of Aaron through the family of either Eleazar or Ithamar. When lots were cast in order to organize the various officers of the temple, he was assigned to the nineteenth of twenty-four divisions. In light of the postexilic perspective of Chronicles, Pethahiah is further seen as an ancestor of a later priestly family (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 228).

**2.** A Levite (Neh 9:5) who participated in the ceremonies preceding the "sealing" of the new covenant (Neh 9:38). These ceremonies included both communal confession and worship. According to Neh 9:5, Pethahiah and other selected Levites called the assembly to join in a liturgical blessing of Yahweh prior to Ezra's prayer. In addition, this is most likely the same Pethahiah who, along with other Levites, priests, and laymen, listened to Ezra and agreed to renounce their foreign wives and children (Ezra 10:23; 1 Esdr 9:23).

**3.** The son of Meshazabel and a descendant of Judah, he appears in a catalog of officials who served the postexilic community in and around Jerusalem (Neh 11:24). Specifically, Pethahiah "was at the king's hand in all matters concerning the people." While some have suggested that such a description indicates a Jewish representative residing in Persia and functioning in a capacity quite similar to the one held earlier by Ezra (Ezra 7:12; Brockington *Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther* NCBC, 195; Fensham *Ezra-Nehemiah* NICOT, 248), the phrase "at the king's hand" can just as well be understood in a figurative sense. Given the general setting of Jerusalem and the surrounding towns in this passage, Pethahiah was likely a local advisor who reported to the king through regional officials (Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 327).
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**PETHOR** (PLACE) [Heb *pĕtôr* (פְּתוֹר)]. The home of Balaam, the Mesopotamian seer who was summoned by Balak to curse the Israelites (Num 22:4–6; Deut 23:4). According to Num 22:5, Pethor was located near the Euphrates River in the land of AMAW. Mentioned in occasional extrabiblical inscriptions, Amaw lay to the W of the Euphrates. Additional information concerning Pethor is provided in both the book of Numbers as well as the inscription of Shalmaneser III. In Balaam's first oracle, he mentions that he had been brought from Aram and the eastern mountains (Num 23:7). While such descriptions are noticeably vague, they suggest the general region that included central Syria and extended to the Euphrates (Budd *Numbers* WBC, 267; Noth *Numbers* ET, OTL, 183). Shalmaneser III's inscriptions, however, are a bit more precise. In this case, Pitru (the Hittite name for Pethor and the equivalent of the Assyrian *Ana-Aššurutîr-aṣbat,* meaning "I founded [it] again for Aššur") is positioned "on the other side of the Euphrates, on the river Sagur" (*ANET*, 278). Insofar as the Sagur joins the Euphrates some 60 miles NE of Aleppo, Pethor was situated on the W bank of the Euphrates in Upper Mesopotamia near the point where the two rivers meet. While a specific site defies certain identification, Tell Aḥmar (36°40´N; 38°08´E), located 18 miles S of Carchemish, has been suggested (Snaith *Leviticus and Numbers* NCBC, 287).
TERRY L. BRENSINGER

**PETHUEL** (PERSON) [Heb *pĕtû‹ēl* (פְּתוּאֵל)]. According to Joel 1:1, the name of the father of the prophet Joel. The name may mean "youth of El" or "a youth belonging to El" (*TPNAH,* 116, 123).
RICHARD D. WEIS

**PETRA** (PLACE). See NABATEANS.

**PEULLETHAI** (PERSON) [Heb *pĕ‹ullĕtay* (פְּעֻלְּתָי)]. Among the gatekeepers at the temple in Jerusalem, Peullethai (whose name means "recompense" or "reward") is named in 1 Chr 26:5 as the last of the eight sons of Obed-Edom cited. The list in which his name occurs (1 Chr 26:4–8) appears to be the

contribution of a reviser of the Chronicler's organization of the gatekeepers (Williamson Chronicles NCBC, 160–70; Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 173).
J. S. ROGERS

**PHALTIEL** (PERSON) [Lat *Phalthihel*]. A "chief of the people" who came to visit Ezra between Ezra's first and second vision, according to 2 Esdr 5:16. Phaltiel comes to Ezra's residence on the day after the first vision, and urges him to revive himself and lead the people. The Codex Complutensis renders the name as *Salatiel,* which is equivalent to the Heb name Shealtiel (Myers *1 and 2 Esdras* AB, 168). Shealtiel is the father of Zerubbabel in Ezra-Nehemiah (see SHEALTIEL), and so an identification of Phaltiel with Shealtiel is both possible and intriguing.

**PHANUEL** (PERSON) [Gk *Phanouēl* (Φανουηλ)]. Phanuel, whose name means "the face of God" (cf. Gen 32:32 LXX), is the father of Anna the prophetess and a member of the tribe of Asher (Luke 2:36). Asher was one of the lost northern tribes and the reference here indicates that after the exile some of the lost tribes returned to full membership in the Jewish nation.
JOANN FORD WATSON

**PHARAKIM** (PERSON) [Gk *Pharakim* (Φαρακιμ)]. Forefather of a family included under the heading the "temple servants," which returned with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:31). See also NETHINIM. However, this family is not included in the parallel lists in Ezra 2 and Nehemiah 7.

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CRAIG D. BOWMAN

**PHARAOH.** Egyptian *Pr-ˁ€* (pronounced something like ***pārĕ́*ō**), literally (the) "Great House;" a later designation of the king of Egypt.

The monarch who sat on the throne of Egypt was traditionally accorded a number of names and titles encompassing his divine and terrestrial roles in the scheme of things: "Horus" (the falcon-god incarnate), "Golden Horus," "Favorite of the Two Ladies" (i.e., the cobra and vulture, tutelary goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt), "He-of-the-Sut-plant-and-the-bee" (i.e., King of Upper and Lower Egypt), "son of Re" (the sun-god) etc. The word "Pharaoh," however, was not initially part of his titulary. Attested from the early 3d millennium B.C. as a designation of part of the large palace complex at Memphis wherein the king and the officers of his administration lived, the term by extension came to signify the authority of the central government. During the 18th Dynasty (ca. 1560–1320 B.C.), and certainly before the reign of Thutmose III (1504–1451 B.C.), "Great House" was occasionally applied to the person of the king himself by metonymy, much as "the Porte" stood for the Turkish sultan, or the "White House" betokens the President of the U.S.A. While initially this semantic development took place within the realm of the vernacular, before the close of the New Kingdom (ca. 1070 B.C.) "Pharaoh" had become a polite circumlocution for the reigning king in official jargon, and as such from the reign of Sheshonk I (last quarter of the 10th century B.C.) is sometimes included within the king's titulary in formal inscriptions. By the 8th century B.C. it was an integral part of the royal cartouche itself (i.e., the oval within which the king's name was written in hieroglyphs); and from the 7th century on was nothing but a synonym of the generic "king," the older word which it rapidly replaced. Its occurrence in the Bible in Genesis, Exodus, and 2 Kings as synonymous with "king of Egypt" conforms to the final stage of its native evolution.

The word did not escape oblivion itself. Although Ptolemaic temples (ca. 300–30 B.C.) display "Pharaoh" frequently and consistently in the context of inscriptions where it means only "king," the termination of the monarchy by the Roman emperor Augustus rendered it obsolete. Coptic Christianity (beginning in the late 3d century A.D.) wholly misinterpreted "Pharaoh" (as definite article *p-*) followed by *-rero,* "king"—no such word exists); while classical and Islamic tradition transmogrified it into a personal name for a few individual kings (see also *LÄ* 4: 1021).

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DONALD B. REDFORD

**PHARATHON** (PLACE) [Gk *Pharathōn* (Φαραθων)]. Variant spelling of PIRATHON.

**PHARES** (PERSON) [Gk *Phares* (Φαρες)]. See PEREZ.

**PHARISEES** [Gk *Pharisaios* (Φαρισαιος)]. Recent research on the Pharisees has paradoxically made them and their role in Palestinian society more obscure and difficult to describe. The three ancient sources—Josephus, the NT, and rabbinic literature—have very limited information which is difficult to interpret. Scholars have pictured the Pharisees as a sect within Judaism, a powerful religious leadership group, a political leadership group, a learned scholarly group, a lay movement in competition with the priesthood, a group of middle class urban artisans, or some combination of these. In most historical reconstructions of Jewish society the categories used to describe these groups, such as sect, school, upper class, lay leadership, etc. are ill defined or misused and not integrated into an understanding of the overall structure and functioning of society. Bits of evidence are often taken out of context, harmonized with each other, and used as building blocks for very improbable structures. Because Josephus names the three leading Jewish "schools of thought" as the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, and because the Pharisees, scribes, and Sadducees appear in the NT as opponents of Jesus, the importance and roles of these groups in Jewish society is vastly overemphasized. The proliferation of hypotheses about the Pharisees shows how poorly they are understood. After a review of previous scholarship, the evidence from Josephus, the NT, rabbinic literature, and Qumran will be reviewed and the historically reliable conclusions synthesized.

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C. New Testament
    1. Paul
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F. Synthesis

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### A. Previous Scholarship and Theories

Studies of the Pharisees in the last century have been beset with a number of political and methodological problems. Jewish interpretations of the programs of the Pharisees and Sadducees have often been covertly influenced by modern conflicts between traditional and progressive Jews. Many Christian accounts of the Pharisees have been vitiated by either uncritical acceptance of the anti-Jewish polemics of the NT or modern anti-Semitism. Apologetic defenses of the Pharisees by both Jewish and Christian scholars have distorted or romanticized the Pharisees and separated them from their historical context. Many traditional and historical studies of the Pharisees have been marred by an uncritical

acceptance of some or all of the sources (Josephus, NT, rabbinic literature) without sophisticated interpretation of the purpose, date, and natures of each. The fragmentary nature of the texts referring to the Pharisees has prompted scholars to harmonize the sources with one another, to fill in gaps with very speculative hypotheses, and to create historically unproven accounts of their origin, nature, history, teaching, and goals. Lack of evidence about the Pharisees and great discord over related issues such as the nature of Second Temple Judaism, its thought, laws, practices, and social structure, have joined to produce a welter of unproven theories concerning every aspect of the Pharisees' thought and history. Only the most influential writers and theories will be reviewed here.

A. Geiger's work on the Pharisees set the terms for the debate in the 19th and 20th centuries. He interpreted the Hillelites as more liberal and adaptable to evolving circumstances than the more conservative and literalistic Sadducees and Pharisaic Shammaites. The contrast between the rigidity of the old halakha (condemned in the NT according to Geiger) and the new halakha of the Pharisees (whom Geiger admired) roughly parallels the conflict in 19th century Germany between traditional Judaism and the Reform. Geiger's approach was popularized by the historians H. Graetz and I. H. Weiss and has continued with many modifications and variations to govern most accounts of the Pharisees until the present.

Christian accounts of the Pharisees have been greatly influenced by Wellhausen, Schürer (*HJP²*), Bousset, and Meyer, all of whom interpreted "late" Judaism as a legalistic degeneration of Judaism in comparison with prophetic ethics. Wellhausen and other 19th century writers were influenced by Hegelian and evolutionary ideas in their construction of historical schema and conveniently saw the Pharisees as symptomatic of a legalistic and materialistic Judaism, both deteriorating and about to be replaced by Christianity. This type of view, popularized by the influential histories of Schürer, Bousset, and Meyer has dominated much of Christian scholarship on the Pharisees and Judaism in general.

At the turn of the century a number of Jewish scholars had begun to argue against the prevailing Christian interpretation of the Pharisees (see the review of fourteen items by Box 1908–9). In the early part of this century, British and American scholarship was greatly influenced by the interpretations of the Pharisees by J. Lauterbach, L. Ginzberg, L. Finkelstein, L. Baeck, and H. Loewe. Lauterbach continued Geiger's tradition of reformed scholarship in a series of essays (1913–29) which relate the history of the Pharisees to the development of midrash and Mishnah in Jewish history. He interpreted the Pharisees as progressive lay leaders opposed to the conservative Sadducean priestly aristocracy. Ginzberg criticized Geiger's contention that the Pharisees changed and adapted the law and affirmed its antiquity. He related differences in the law to social and historical factors, especially the relationship of the Sadducees and Shammaite Pharisees to the aristocracy, and the Hillelite Pharisees to the common people. The laws of these groups focused on different concerns and produced different legal interpretations. Ultimately, Ginzberg's characterization of the Pharisees resembles that of Geiger. Finkelstein in early articles and studies and finally in his book, *The Pharisees*, took the sociological study of the Pharisees in a different direction, attributing differences in law and custom, not to liberalism and conservatism but to social class and geographical location, with the Pharisees representing the urban plebians and the Sadducees the rural patricians. He also attributed to some rabbinic laws and customs an origin in the monarchic period. Baeck, defending Judaism against the onslaughts of German anti-Semitism in the 1930's, understood the Pharisees as a movement which sought the dominance of religion over all of Jewish life and stressed a holiness which did not compromise with a hostile culture. The Pharisees were close to the people and led Judaism in changing social circumstances. H. Loewe, following Lauterbach and others, gave a comprehensive and sympathetic account of the Pharisees in a famous series of lectures presented to a Jewish and Christian audience in Britain.

All these scholars accepted at face value the sources which speak of the Pharisees, criticizing them only when they contradicted one another or seemed very improbable. The continuity of the Pharisaic and rabbinic movements and the pertinence of rabbinic literature for describing Pharisaic history and thought was assumed. Most understood the Pharisees as a lay movement or sect with scribal connections which was based on certain interpretations of the law. In general the rabbinic view of the Pharisees as a powerful

governing force, in competition with and eventually dominating the priesthood and other aristocratic leaders, was accepted. Their synthesis of the Pharisees and the rest of early Judaism, derived mainly from rabbinic literature's later understanding of its origins, was accepted by a new generation of Christian scholars.

R. T. Herford published a number of books which sought to counteract Christian polemics and anti-Semitism. In his study of the Pharisees he followed Lauterbach and presented a sympathetic portrait of the Pharisees as teachers of the oral law. He based his account of their teachings almost wholly on rabbinic literature and turned Wellhausen's theory on its head by arguing that the Pharisees continued the ethical tradition of the prophets. Herford, and Moore after him, encouraged an appreciation of the deep religious significance in the Pharisaic/rabbinic way of life and recognition of the vitality of Pharisaism which was the foundation of rabbinic Judaism and contributed so much to early Christianity. Herford's approach, based on the work of the Jewish apologists, influenced the presentation of Judaism in Gressmann's third edition of Bousset.

G. F. Moore's masterful and judicious synthesis of Jewish thought in the first two centuries has dominated the English-speaking world. Moore, who mastered both the primary and secondary sources, made use of rabbinic and other literature with attention to the problems of dating and continuity. His famous synthesis of "normative Judaism" which he argued formed the inner core of Judaism in all its manifestations has been decisively refuted by recent finds and research, but his study still retains value as a thoughtful summary of major themes in Jewish thought. In his account of the Pharisees and their place in Jewish history Moore followed the main lines sketched out by Geiger, Ginzberg, and others, with special emphasis on theological disagreement between the Pharisees and Sadducees, including a rough analogy between the Pharisees and Puritans.

S. Zeitlin, in numerous articles and his history of the Second Commonwealth, distinguished various meanings of the term "Pharisee" in rabbinic literature so that the historical group opposed to the Sadducees could be distinguished from other groups of "separatists" who were not Pharisees. The Pharisees according to Zeitlin had their origin in the 5th century and were not a sect, but emerged from a lay scribal movement which was focused on the oral law. Zeitlin makes critical use of the sources, but his methods for solving many problems and his exegeses of numerous texts are idiosyncratic; thus his work should be used with care.

Ellis Rivkin has taken up Zeitlin's work on the Pharisees with numerous modifications. The Pharisees are not a sect or movement, but a scholarly class dedicated to the teaching of the twofold law and interalizing Judaism through belief in life after death. They revolutionized Judaism by creating new institutions such as the synagogue, the *bêt dîn* (court), the dominance of the scholarly class, the master-disciple relationship, and the formulation of Mishnaic type law. The Pharisees originated in the Hasmonean period and were socially powerful leaders (Rivkin takes Matt 23:2 as historically accurate on this point). Rivkin more consistently distinguishes the varied uses of Pharisee in rabbinic literature, but in doing so he uncritically combines texts from very diverse documents and periods as if they formed one homogenous corpus. He too readily accepts rabbinic texts referring to the Pharisees, as well as the NT and Josephus, as reliable historical sources without taking into account the authors' purposes and historical distance from the Pharisees. In addition, he identifies Pharisaic teachings with much of rabbinic literature and Pharisees with scribes and sages. With these qualifications Rivkin's reconstruction of the Pharisees is the most detailed and critical since World War II, with the exception of that of Jacob Neusner.

Jacob Neusner has pioneered the use of rigorous historical-critical analysis of the full range of rabbinic sources. The stories of the Second Temple sages, which are usually used as the building blocks for reconstruction of the Pharisees, are found to be generally unreliable. The teachings of these sages can be accepted as 1st or 2d century only if the substance of the teaching is attested (that is, referred to or assumed) by a sage of the same or the next generation. The whole Mishnah also has been subjected to a formal and logical analysis to unravel its earlier and later layers. While no certain results can be achieved by these methods, some probable conclusions concerning the teachings of the Pharisees have been reached and correlated with the evidence in Josephus and the NT.

When the Mishnah and Tosefta are analyzed using Neusner's criteria (the logic of Mishnah's argument and the attested attributions), by far the largest body of law which can be somewhat reliably assigned to the early-and mid-1st-century concerns: ritual purity, tithes and other food laws, and Sabbath and festival observance. These laws set out an agenda of holiness for the land and people which was a fitting response for a powerless people dominated by the Romans because these laws pertain to the parts of domestic life—food, sex, and marriage—which can be controlled by people out of power in their own society. Food and reproduction within the household, rather than the public cult at the Temple and the governance of society, are within the grasp of a subject people. Neusner argues that the legal agenda of the Pharisees, centered around food laws and festivals, bespeaks a sectarian table fellowship which was not part of the political struggle or 1st-century Palestine. Neusner theorizes that the Pharisees were an active political party under the Hasmoneans (cf. Josephus), but were driven from the political arena by Herod's repression. He has further suggested that the absence of a coherent body of laws concerned with civil law and sacrifice in the Temple, though an argument from silence, indicates that the Pharisees were not in control of the Temple cult or the dominant force in society. Talmudic stories which depict the Pharisees as rulers of society are later retrojections of 3d to 6th century rabbinic power onto the Pharisees of the 1st century. It is more likely that the Pharisees had been under the Hasmoneans, and remained under the Romans, one of a large number of political-interest groups which combined a social-religious reform program with a search for power and influence over Jewish society and government. Though the Pharisees were less successful in the 1st century than in the Hasmonean period, they were still oriented toward power and continued to work for it after the destruction of the Temple. On the whole Neusner's theory is much more critical and adequate than those of his predecessors.

Two other overviews of the Pharisees by J. Bowker and H. Mantel are deserving of mention. Bowker thinks that Pharisees was the pejorative name for a movement of scholars called *hăkāmîm* (sages) who sought to make the laws fit daily life and extend priestly holiness to the people. They became a sect only when they were expelled from the Sanhedrin by John Hyrcanus and finally dominated Judaism after the destruction of the Temple. The *hakamic* movement embraced scribes and associates, *ḥăbērîm*, of *Tractate Demai* as part of their larger movement. In order to create the overarching *hakamic* movement, Bowker must uncritically meld a number of texts into an artificial whole. H. Mantel, who has written extensively on the Sanhedrin, oral law, and origins of rabbinic Judaism, locates the original disputes which separated the Pharisees and Sadducees in the time of Ezra, and envisions a scholarly social movement focused on the study of Torah spanning the centuries from the exile to the destruction of the Second Temple. His focus is on the origin and development of rabbinic halakha which he sets in the Second Temple period. Mantel accepts the rabbinic sources as historically accurate and critically assesses the sources only when they contradict each other or are incoherent. His account of the Pharisees is derived from the interpretation of rabbinic literature found in the German Jewish scholars of the 19th century.

Truly critical interpretation of the rabbinic sources and assessment of their contributions to the history of the Pharisees and their Second Temple context has only recently begun. The redactional tendencies of individual documents must be taken into account, the literary forms analyzed, and the antiquity of traditions established by comparison among many sources and with datable texts and events. As such research progresses (cf. the work of J. Neusner), hypotheses concerning the Pharisees' organization, social type, program, and purposes may be generated and tested. For the present, despite the contribution and theories of past research, much is not known concerning the inner workings of the Pharisees and their social roles in society.

**B. Josephus**

In his many volumes Josephus mentions the Pharisees less than twenty times, a reflection of their minor role in society. In the *Jewish War* the Pharisees are mentioned four times. Their great influence on Queen Alexandra and consequent political power in the early 1st century, B.C.E. is recounted disapprovingly. Later in that century, Herod accused his brother Pheroras' wife of subsidizing the Pharisees against him. After the long, laudatory description of the Essenes, the Pharisees are described briefly with the Sadducees as one of the three traditional Jewish philosophies. Finally, at the beginning of the Great War

the most notable Pharisees along with other Jewish leaders tried to prevent the revolt and the cessation of the sacrifices offered for Rome.

Pharisees as a group or as individuals are mentioned nine times in the *Jewish Antiquities*, three of which are parallel to passages in the *Jewish War*. Josephus gives a brief description of the Pharisees in Book 13, as he treats the Hasmonean period, and a longer one at the beginning of Book 18 (which covers the beginning of the 1st century, C.E.), parallel to the description in the *JW*. He recounts their conflict with John Hyrcanus which led to loss of influence, their political power under Alexandra, and their loss of it again at her death. During the Herodian period, Samaias and Pollion, who are Pharisees, appear in several incidents, including the defense of Herod (in a manner of speaking) at his trial before the Sanhedrin. Herod showed favor to Samaias and Pollion when he took Jerusalem and later exempted them from taking an oath of loyalty to him. Near the end of Herod's life the Pharisees formed an alliance with Pheroras' wife and her faction against Herod, an association which led to the execution of a number of Pharisees.

In the *Life*, Josephus says that he tried the Pharisaic way of life along with the Essenes, Sadducees, and an ascetic named Bannus; finally he chose the Pharisees. On the eve of the revolt, the leading Pharisees, along with the chief priests and Josephus, appear as a leadership group. Simon ben Gamaliel, a Pharisee, is the prime mover in Jerusalem to have Josephus removed from command in Galilee, and the delegation finally sent to remove Josephus from command has a priest Pharisee and two lay Pharisees along with a young chief priest.

**1. Hasmonean Period.** The nature of the Pharisees can be inferred from their activities during the Second Temple period. During the reign of John Hyrcanus (134–104 B.C.E.) the Pharisees were initially very influential on Hyrcanus, who was guided by their views of Jewish law and life (*Ant* 13 §288–98). Hyrcanus gave a banquet for his valued supporters, and when he asked them for any criticisms they might have, the Pharisees, like tactful clients, praised their patron. The Pharisees seem to have been allies and aids to Hyrcanus, probably as lower officials and functionaries in the newly organized Hasmonean rule. One Pharisee, Eliezer, did criticize Hyrcanus (a serious political attack is implicit) and was rejected by his fellow Pharisees. Nevertheless, a Sadducean friend of Hyrcanus, Jonathan, fanned the flames of the dispute, succeeded in outmaneuvering the Pharisees, and broke their influence on Hyrcanus. This tale of court intrigue and social conflict reflects the struggle for control of Jewish society which endured throughout the Second Temple period. In this complex political, social, and religious competition the Pharisees had at different times both major and minor roles.

The conflict between Hyrcanus and the Pharisees continued through the reign of his son. Alexander Jannaeus (103–76). Though Alexander expanded Jewish territory, Josephus criticizes him for his untactful policies and oppressive cruelty which aroused the people to disturbance and revolt and filled his reign with conflict (*JW* 1 §67–69; *Ant* 14 §85–106). On his death bed Alexander bequeathed his kingdom to his queen, Alexandra, and quieted her fears about the hostility of the people with the advice that she win the Pharisees over to her side so that they would control the people (*Ant* 13 §399–417). Alexander stresses to his wife the ability of the Pharisees to harm or help people by influencing public opinion, despite the fact that they sometimes act out of envy. He also reveals the Pharisees' political agenda, that is, their desire for power over the laws governing domestic Jewish life. Alexandra is to render them benevolent by conceding to them a certain amount of power. Alexandra followed this advice and also let the Pharisees have control over Alexander's corpse and burial, as he advised. The Pharisees, in turn, forgot their anger and gave speeches praising Alexander as a great and just king, which moved the people to give him a splendid burial. Josephus neither praises nor blames the Pharisees for their actions. He sees them as one of the political interest groups competing for power and influence. They are useful for the governing class because of their status and influence among the people. He seems to approve of Alexander's advice to his wife to win over the people and end the civil disorder which marked the end of his reign. The Pharisees are seen here as a force for order and thus win Josephus' approval. Josephus shows no interest in the details of the Pharisaic program, nor in their motives. He takes for granted their self-interested quest for power and cynical posthumous praise of Alexander. Subsequently, however, he criticizes them for causing disorder by trying to take vengeance on their enemies among Alexander's supporters and

officials, and he criticizes Alexandra for weakness in letting the Pharisees rule. Under Alexandra the Pharisees had substantial direct bureaucratic power in domestic affairs, recalled exiles, and freed prisoners; but they did not have unlimited power, because they could not punish on their own authority Alexander's old advisors and allies who had crucified eight hundred opponents of Alexander (*Ant* 13 §379–83).

In the confusion which followed the death of Alexandra the Pharisees are not mentioned. It is likely that they had lost influence and popularity with the people because of the way they had exercised power over them and thus lost political power to rival interest groups, coalitions, and factions. Though both of Alexandra's sons, Aristobolus and Hyrcanus, had supporters within Jewish society, neither is said to have turned to the Pharisees for support. The rise and fall of the Pharisees fits the pattern found in many other societies. In times of turmoil many groups and individuals emerge as partially independent power centers and compete for control and frequent changes of leadership are normal.

**2. Herodian Period.** Herod (37–4 B.C.E.) kept a tight hold on power, so all other groups receded before him and his network of spies. Two Pharisaic leaders, Samaias and his teacher Pollion, protested against the weak leadership of the Sanhedrin by giving Herod backhanded support (*Ant* 14 §163–84; 15 §1–4). Herod responded by treating them as favored clients. Twenty years later he exempted the Pharisees from an oath of loyalty because of his respect for Pollion (*Ant* 15 §368–72).

That the Pharisees remained a social and political force can be seen at the end of Herod's reign when the Pharisees participated in a factional intrigue over the succession to Herod with catastrophic results. Herod's brother Pheroras, the tetrarch of Perea, along with Pheroras' wife, mother, and sister, and Antipater's mother, conspired to have Antipater, Herod's son, succeed him (*JW* 1 §567–71; *Ant* 17 §32–60). Josephus recounts disapprovingly the Pharisees' long relationship with Pheroras's wife and their role in the plots. "There was also a group of Jews priding itself on its adherence to ancestral custom and claiming to observe the laws of which the Deity approves, and by these men, called Pharisees, the women (of the court) were ruled" (*Ant* 17 §41). The Pharisees are here pictured as influencing prominent women just as they had Alexandra in the previous generation. For Josephus, they are just one more group of court retainers surrounding Herod and scheming for power. "These men were able to help the king greatly because of their foresight [prediction], yet they were obviously intent upon combating and injuring him" (*Ant* 17 §41). If the number of Pharisees, six thousand, is accurate, it suggests that they were an organized group or movement with clear enough boundaries to be identified and with enough influence to be recruited by one faction of the royal family.

**3. War against Rome.** The Pharisees are next active during the revolt against Rome in 66 C.E. the chief priests, leading citizens, and notables (well-known leaders) of the Pharisees tried to persuade the people not to revolt but failed (*JW* 2 §409–17). Josephus makes a clear distinction between these legitimate leaders and the revolutionaries. The Pharisees, or at least their leaders, were part of the established leadership of Jerusalem during its last days. Josephus reaffirms their position when he recounts that he "consorted with the chief priests and the leading Pharisees" (*Life* 20–23) on the eve of the revolt. During the revolt while Josephus was general in Galilee his opponent, John of Gischala, recruited as an ally Simon ben Gamaliel, a high-born leader and member of the Pharisees (*Life* 189–98). Finally, when a delegation of four leaders was sent to remove Josephus from power in Galilee (*Life* 196–98), it consisted of a young chief priest, a Pharisaic priest, and two Pharisees from the common people. Clearly the Pharisees were enmeshed in the fabric of Jewish society and governance, but not in control.

**4. Political Role.** The minor role played by the Pharisees in Josephus is explained by his concentration on the governing class and its political and military fortunes which were so crucial for Jewish society as a whole. Neither the priesthood, the aristocrats, nor the peasants are treated except when they have an impact on the fortunes of the nation as a whole. The Pharisees are mentioned at times of change, crisis, or transition in government because when power shifted they and many other social and political forces in Jewish society became active in the competition for power and influence. When John Hyrcanus shifted his allegiance from the Pharisees to Sadducees, when Alexandra struggled to maintain control after her husband's death, at the beginning and end of Herod's reign, at the transition from Herodian rule to Roman

procurators, and in the complex events at the beginning of the war against Rome, the Pharisees and Sadducees are treated by Josephus as part of the political and social competition for power and influence.

The Pharisees functioned as a political interest group which had its own goals for society and constantly engaged in political activity to achieve them, even though they did not always succeed. They were not themselves the leaders of the Jewish community, though prominent leaders of the Pharisees—either by their station in the Pharisaic group or because of family status—were part of the governing class. The Pharisees as a group did not have direct power (except to a limited degree under their loyal patron, Alexandra) and were not as a whole members of the governing class. They were a literate, organized group which constantly sought influence with the governing class.

The Pharisees' precise goals for society and the laws by which they wished society to live are not described by Josephus, but the traditions which they promoted were popular with the people, especially in the Hasmonean period, according to Josephus. Both their activities in the Hasmonean period and the description of them at the end of Archelaus' reign imply that they were allied with traditional, nonrevolutionary Judaism. Whatever influence they achieved, they usually achieved with the help of a powerful patron, and they entered into coalitions with other groups among the upper classes in order to gain influence and move those who had power.

**5. Descriptions.** Josephus' descriptions of the Pharisees (along with the Sadducees, Essenes, and "Fourth Philosophy") are generally consistent with his accounts of them in action (*JW* 2 §119–66; *Ant* 18 §11–25; 13 §171–73, 297–98). However, the descriptions are far from complete and do not present a coherent picture of the groups' thought and organization. The Pharisees were noted for their practice of the law and their ability to interpret the law in their own way. This implies that they had particular views about how to live Jewish life and probably followed communal customs within an organizational structure. However, Josephus does not give us any information about the inner workings of the Pharisees or their presumably learned leadership. The Pharisees' acceptance of life after death and resurrection as well as reward and punishment is contrasted with the Sadducees' rejection of these teachings. Likewise, their positions on fate (meaning divine providence) and on free will and human responsibility are contrasted. The Pharisees' positions on life after death and divine providence are consistent with one another and probably derive from their eschatology and apocalyptic expectations: they picture God and humans as in a close relationship both in this life and the next. The Pharisees are said, both in the *Jewish War* and in the *Antiquities,* to be the leading and most influential school of thought, but their social class and status is not specified, except that most of them were of a lower social station than the Sadducees. The description of social relations among the Pharisees and with outsiders is consistent with their place in society. Since the Pharisees lacked direct political power, they cultivated harmonious relations with all and sought support for their mode of life through respect for tradition and their elders. (The Sadducees, like many who exercise power, were perceived as competitive, argumentative, and hard to get along with.) The Pharisees, most of whom did not have hereditary ties to positions of power, struggled to influence society as a group by winning influence. Consequently, they stressed social relations to build up their own group and win it favor and influence with others. That their struggle for power and influence was a group struggle is shown by the absence of names of Pharisaic leaders in most cases. Only Eleazar who attacked John Hyrcanus, Samaias and Pollion who struck up a peculiar and ambivilent relationship with Herod, Simon ben Gamaliel, and the three Pharisees who were part of the delegation sent to Josephus in Galilee (Jonathan, Ananias, and Jozar) are named.

**6. Organization.** Josephus says nothing about the Pharisees' internal organization. The beliefs which they espoused concerning afterlife, divine activity in history, and human freedom were most probably different enough from the traditional Jewish teachings and attitudes to require some positive commitment and explicit organization. However, their leadership structure, educational system, and criteria for membership are not described. Josephus calls them a *hairēsis,* a term often translated as "sect" or "school" (of thought). A *hairēsis* was a coherent and principled choice of a way of life, that is, of a particular school of thought (Simon 1979: 110, 104). In the view of the ancients and most importantly Josephus, once a few basic principles of a tradition were accepted one could then expect some diversity,

that is, some choice of particular ways of life and thought. Greek philosophical schools were usually ways of life based on a certain understanding of the universe and of moral law. Thus, Josephus uses *hairēsis* to describe the great currents of thought and practice in Judaism—espoused by the Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, and "Fourth Philosophy" revolutionaries—in such a way as to bring respectability to Judaism and attest to the antiquity and value of its traditions. The translation "sect" may be used if it does not imply withdrawal from political and social action. (Sect in classical sociological usage refers to a religious group which is in reaction to the main religious tradition and which sees itself as the true religion and an exclusive replacement for the dominant tradition.) With their distinctive interpretation of Jewish life and desire for political influence and power the Pharisees may be understood as a reformist sect. *School of thought* as a translation of *hairēsis* may be closer to what Josephus meant, though not necessarily to what the Pharisees were. Josephus is certainly comparing the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes to the Greek schools of philosophy in order to show that Jews are a respectable, civilized people with its own wisdom. The comparison is at least partially appropriate because Greek schools of philosophy did not just engage in the academic study of a group of doctrines, but urged on their members and students a way of life. That the Pharisees actually were similar to a philosophical school is likely because the formation of voluntary associations and social groups was a characteristic of Hellenistic society.

**C. New Testament**

The Pharisees appear in the gospels and Acts, mostly as opponents of Jesus and his followers. Different roles and characteristics are assigned to the Pharisees in each source. In addition, Paul refers to himself as a Pharisee once in his letters.

**1. Paul.** Paul is the only person beside Josephus whose personal claim to be a Pharisee is preserved (Phil 3:5) and he is the only diaspora Jew identified as a Pharisee. Paul argues in Philippians against those who propose that Christians be circumcised that, though he has every reason to have confidence in his Jewish birth and heritage (3:4–6), he counts all that as loss in comparison with Jesus (3:7–11). In recounting his Jewish past Paul refers to his circumcision, his membership in Israel and the tribe of Benjamin, and his way of life in Judaism: "in relation to law, a Pharisee; in relation to zeal, a persecutor of the church; in relation to righteousness in law, being blameless." Paul's single allusion to his having been a Pharisee is related to living Jewish life according to the Pharisaic interpretation of Torah. The two characteristics of his Jewish way of life which follow his claim to be a Pharisee seem to derive from his Pharisaism. First, his adherence to the Pharisaic mode of interpreting the law led him zealously to attack the followers of Jesus, a group which had mounted a major challenge to the Pharisaic way of life. Second, he kept the law as one was supposed to and achieved the righteousness from law which was proper to it. Paul is not referring to a highly complex doctrine of work righteousness vs. grace righteousness, but simply saying that he live a good life according to Pharisaic standards. Paul's casual reference to Pharisaism in Philippians implies that it is well known and accepted as a legitimate and strict mode of living Jewish life.

Paul's very brief description of his Jewish way of life as a Pharisee partly fits the view of the Pharisees found in Josephus. Both Josephus and Paul say that the Pharisees had an interpretation of the law, though neither says what it is, and both refer to the Pharisees as a well-known group which does not need detailed identification. Like Josephus, Paul does not tell us of the inner organization of the Pharisees. Both Paul and Josephus say that they were once Pharisees, but never again refer to Pharisaism as part of their Jewish identities. Perhaps both habitually thought of themselves as Jews against the larger horizon of the Greco-Roman world where inner Jewish distinctions, such as membership in the Pharisees, were important.

Paul never says where he made contact with Pharisaism (Tarsus, Syria, or Jerusalem?). Since he never refers to Pharisees as his opponents nor as leaders in the Jewish community in any of the letters addressed to communities in Asia Minor and Greece, it is very probable that Pharisees were not found in those communities. Since Paul lived and worked in greater Syria as a Pharisee, it is possible that Pharisaism had some influence there and that some Pharisees lived outside Jerusalem and Judea.

Paul does not say how he came to know about Pharisaism, why he was attracted to it, and what the Pharisaic life entailed. Pharisaism, as depicted as Josephus, the New Testament and rabbinic writings,

concerned itself with Palestinian Jewish political and social issues and with a certain style of Jewish life which included tithing and ritual preparation of foods. It was especially suited to life in Jewish villages and towns. Since Paul used purity language metaphorically to describe and maintain the new boundaries of the Christian community, he was familiar with Jewish and perhaps Pharisaic purity rules. Paul consciously created a new community with a new understanding of purity, just as the Pharisees had for Judaism.

In the diaspora it is unclear what the Pharisaic life might have meant. Both Josephus and Paul claimed to be Pharisees while living in the larger world of the Roman Empire. Perhaps they found the Pharisaic view of how to live Judaism as a viable response to the intellectual and spiritual challenge of Hellenism. Pharisaism probably brought Jewish practices into daily life and created a conscious way of life which answered the questions and crises felt by some Jews when confronted with the Greco-Roman culture.

Paul's social class and status as a Pharisee is imperfectly transmitted. Though Paul's letters present him as an artisan (1 Thes 2:9; 1 Cor 9:6) and so a member of the lower classes, some facts about Paul's life suggest that he had connections with the upper classes and was more than an uneducated and powerless artisan. That he was a city dweller does not mean that he was educated or influential, though the city offered opportunities usually lacking in rural areas. His letters, written in good but not highly literate Greek, testify that Paul received basic education in grammar. His familiarity with and interpretations of the Bible show that he had received a solid Jewish education (Luke's claim [Acts 22:3] that he studied with Gamaliel is not verified by his letters). It is likely that he spoke and read Hebrew and Aramaic. Paul travelled, like many artisans in antiquity, and as an artisan he could find employment in urban centers. In the account of his life in Galatians, he says he persecuted the church of God. Acts locates this activity in Jerusalem, Judea, Palestine, and S Syria, but Paul's own letters leave this vague. Nor do the letters say why Paul had left his home in the first place or what his relationship to Jewish authorities in Jerusalem and elsewhere was before he followed Jesus.

**2. Mark.** The gospels and Acts do not easily provide information for the historical understanding of the Pharisees because they date from the last third of the 1st century and thus do not give firsthand witness to the period before the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. they project onto the life of Jesus later controversies between the Christian and Jewish communities and reflect later authors' misunderstandings of tradition and of Palestinian society. In all cases the gospel authors have woven Jesus' opponents as characters into a dramatic narrative which is controlled by their purposes in writing the story rather than by a desire or ability to reproduce faithfully the historical events of Jesus' life. Thus the Pharisees undergo mutation for dramatic and theological purposes and are often attacked as Jesus' opponents.

Mark places the Pharisees in Galilee on all occasions except one (2:16, 18, 24; 3:2, 6; 7:1, 5; 8:11; 10:2; in a Galilean setting in 7:3; 8:15). The Pharisees meet Jesus at Capernaum and other rural towns (3:2, 6; 7:1, 5) and in many often indeterminate places (2:18, 24; 8:11; 10:2). In contrast with Josephus, who shows the Pharisees closely linked with the leadership in Jerusalem. Mark sees them as active only in Galilee. They do not lack alliances, for they plot with the allies of Herod Antipas, the ruler of Galilee (3:6), join the scribes in conflict with Jesus, and have some scribes in their midst (2:16). They appear in Jerusalem only once, but this is probably due to the literary arrangement of Mark. In chap. 12, just before his arrest, Jesus meets a series of opponents: the Pharisees and Herodians (12:13), the Sadducees (12:18), and a friendly scribe (12:28). It is likely that Mark brings the Pharisees into this Jerusalem context as a dramatic device to create a complete roster of Jesus' opponents just before the arrest and crucifixion.

The Pharisees dispute with Jesus over fasting (2:18), sabbath observance (2:24; 3:2), and divorce (10:2). The scribes and Pharisees dispute with Jesus over purification of hands (7:1), and the scribes of the Pharisees question his eating with sinners (2:16). This agenda resembles the pre-70 C.E. legal agenda isolated from the Mishnah by J. Neusner. The Pharisees also question Jesus authority by demanding a sign (8:11). In concert with the Herodians, the Pharisees try to trap Jesus in a political matter—the question of Roman taxes (12:13)—and they enter into a plot with the Herodians against Jesus.

Because the Pharisees in Mark have relationships with other groups in society, enter into a political alliance with the Herodians against Jesus (3:6), and put Jesus to the test with the Herodians at the

instigation of the Jerusalem leaders (12:13), they appear to be a well-connected political interest group, of which the "scribes of the Pharisees" (2:16) may be the Jerusalem representatives. Since their religious views are integral to the way Jews live in Palestine, they sought to control or influence the political, legal, and social factors which might determine the social practices and views of the community. The Pharisees were the defenders of a certain kind of community and Jesus challenged the Pharisees' vision of community by attacking their purity regulations concerning washing and food, as well as Sabbath practice. The effect of Jesus' teaching was to widen the community boundaries and loosen the norms for membership in his community. Jesus thus created a new community outside the Pharisees' control and quite naturally provoked their protest and hostility.

Mark differs from Josephus in placing the Pharisees and their allies, the scribes, in Galilee as potent political and religious forces. Since Mark writes just before or after the war against Rome, he is not anachronistically reading the later rabbis back into Jesus' life as Pharisees. His traditions reflect the mid-1st century experience of the early Christian community if not the experience of Jesus himself. Galilee was ruled by Herod Antipas during Jesus' life and was not under the direct control of the Temple authorities. It was divided into upper and lower Galilee by topography and tradition and had several major towns (such as Sepphoris and Tiberias) which served as regional centers for tax collection and security. In view of the complex social and political structure of Galilee, Jesus and his opponents in Galilee, the Pharisees, scribes, and Herodians, must be seen as minor actors in the larger political struggle for control during the 1st century. The Pharisees, one of many political and religious interest groups seeking power and influence over Jewish society, exercise influence on the people and compete with Jesus for social and political control. They enter into political alliances with the Herodians and are associated with the scribes, who have some political control and a presence in Jerusalem. Though we cannot be certain that Mark and his sources give us a completely accurate picture of the Pharisees as a strong community force in Galilee in the early and mid-1st century, such a role in Galilean society for the Pharisees is intrinsically probable.

**3. Matthew.** Matthew tends to insert the Pharisees into more narrative situations than Mark, but less than Luke. He also pairs them differently from Mark. The Pharisees and Sadducees appear together in two contexts (3:7; 16:1–12). The formulaic pair scribes and Pharisees, not found in precisely that form in Mark, appears in a large number of places (5:20; 12:38; 23:2, 13, [14], 15, 23, 25, 27, 29; in 15:1 the order is reversed to conform to Mark). In several passages Matthew eliminates Mark's scribes when they are opponents of Jesus and replaces them with Pharisees (9:11, 34; 12:24; 21:45) whom he considers to be Jesus' opponents par excellance.

The scribes and Pharisees are presented as the pious and zealous official representatives of Judaism whose practice and interpretation of the Bible are contrasted with Jesus' interpretation of biblical law and with Matthew's interpretation of how Christians and especially Christian leaders should function in the second generation of Christianity. In the background of Matthew's polemic against the scribes and Pharisees are the Jewish and Christian communities in Matthew's day. The Pharisees and Jesus' followers are competing groups, each with their own teachings, practice, and identity, a situation similar to that of the Matthean and Jewish communities a generation later. The polemic against the "scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites" (23:13, 15, 16, 23, 25, 27, 29) is noteworthy. The scribes and Pharisees are attacked for their failure to practice Judaism sincerely, guide others to live Judaism correctly, interpret the Bible correctly, and attend to the major principles of the law and Jewish way of life. They are used as negative examples for how a community leader should act (23:4–7) and are contrasted with Christian leaders, who should not use titles and should be characterized by lowliness (23:8–12). Matthew pairs the Pharisees and scribes without regard for any differences in their interests and functions (chap. 23), in contrast to Luke who carefully separates the woes against the Pharisees and lawyers so that they are condemned for failings appropriate to their respective activities in society (11:37–52). Matthew has provided a traditional list of improper attitudes and activities of which he accuses both the opponents of Jesus and the adversaries of his own community, both internal and external. The list is so polemical and the Pharisees and scribes so identified with one another that little reliable historical information can be gleaned from it.

Matthew, in comparison with Mark, expands the role of the Pharisees as opponents of Jesus. The Pharisees comprise the most constant opposition to Jesus in Galilee and are concerned with the same agenda as Mark's Pharisees: Sabbath observance, food rules, and purity (9:6–13, 14–17; 12:1–14). The Pharisees in Matthew have a wider role and are less distinct from the scribes than in Mark. They challenge Jesus' authority as a religious and social leader by assaulting its divine source (9:32–34; 12:22–30) and argue with him concerning divorce (19:3–9 in Judea). After Jesus attacks the Pharisees with a series of parables which they perceive as directed against them (21:45–46), they plot against Jesus (22:15). Thus they are active in Judea and Jerusalem, in contrast to Mark's Pharisees. The hostility of the Pharisees brackets the crucifixion in which they take no direct part. A lawyer of the Pharisees asks the last hostile question (22:34–35), and the Pharisees join the chief priests in requesting a guard for Jesus' tomb (27:62–65). The Pharisees are not only part of the local leadership whose influence over the people and power over social norms are being challenged and diminished by Jesus, but they are also in direct contact with the more powerful forces of the Jerusalem leadership.

These peculiar Matthean characteristics, which are generally but not exclusively attributed to his redaction of Mark and other traditional materials, prompt questions concerning Matthew's purposes in writing. Recent work on the role of the Jewish leaders in Matthew has been dominated by a redactional perspective which has emphasized the dramatic and theological use to which Matthew has put these leaders and doubted that either Matthew or the traditions he passes on provide any accurate, recoverable knowledge of these groups (Tilborg typifies this view). Some see Matthew's characterization of the Jewish leaders as a literary and theological device for identifying the Christian community in contrast to Judaism and explaining the rejection of Jesus by Judaism. In Matthew's narrative the leaders form a united front against Jesus and need not be precisely distinguished from one another in themselves or by specific function in the community. But, though the lines which distinguished the scribes and Pharisees from other groups and from each other have become somewhat blurred, the groups are not simply identified with one another. Some argue that Matthew's view of Jewish leaders, especially the prominence given to the Pharisees, reflects the polemical confrontation between the Matthean community and the post-70 C.E. Jewish community which was dominated by the Pharisees-become-rabbis (Davies 1963). This position has been overstated as the social positions and functions assigned to the scribes and Pharisees fit 1st-century Jewish society as we know it from Josephus, other NT books, and later rabbinic sources.

**4. Luke-Acts.** Luke is notable for adding references to the Pharisees a number of times (alone 7:36; 13:31; 14:1; 16:14; 17:20; 18:10–14; with scribes 11:53; with lawyers or teachers of the law 5:17; 7:30; 14:3). Many have claimed that the author has a less-hostile attitude toward the Pharisees both in the gospel and especially in Acts (Ziesler). The situation is not simple, however, for in the gospel Luke inserts hostile Pharisees into several situations but removes them from some places where Mark and Matthew portray them as hostile (Sanders 1985: 149–54). It is clear that Luke is not unreservedly friendly toward the Pharisees and has his own specific and limited complaints about them.

Some aspects of the Pharisees in Luke-Acts are unique. Three times Jesus dines with Pharisees (17:36; 11:37; 14:1). The Pharisees are community leaders (14:1) involved with wealth (16:14) and are politically active and informed (13:31). Though Luke follows Mark in locating the Pharisees in Galilee and not in Jerusalem, they are more ubiquitous and powerful than in Mark or Matthew. Along with the scribes they are a leadership group with power and wealth in the Galilean villages (5:17–26, 30–32; 6:7–11; 11:37–53; 14:1–3; 15:2). Finally, the Pharisees seem sympathetic to Jesus and Christians on several occasions (Luke 13:31; Acts 5:34–39; 23:6–9). Acts especially treats the Pharisees well because the Pharisees accept resurrection. Also in Acts, Jesus' followers are seen (along with Judaism) as a small part of the larger and more diverse Greco-Roman world. Finally, the positive view of some Pharisees toward Christianity and one reference to Christian Pharisees (Acts 15:5) fit Luke's theme of continuity between Judaism and the church.

Luke's presentation of the Pharisees and other Jewish leaders is part of a theologically motivated literary inversion of ordinary society. The leaders of the Jews, the rich, the other established citizens, and

sometimes Israel itself are pictured as rejecting Jesus and thus rejecting God and ultimately any hope of salvation. By contrast, the poor, the sinners, the non-Jews, and the outcasts like tax collectors accept Jesus and salvation from God and "become" Israel. This new community is gradually outlined and formed in the narrative and the Pharisees, scribes, and other leaders serve this overarching narrative theme. Luke objects that the Pharisees and other leaders do not care for the poor who depend on them and have a claim on their generosity (14:1–24; 17:14; 18:9–14). Luke also complains that the Pharisees' use of purity regulations to maintain social order leads to unjust relationships in which the poor are deprived of justice because they are judged to be unclean and outside of the social order (14:15–24). In response Luke defines true uncleanness as a moral, not ritual, deficiency and thus opens Christianity's group boundaries to the outcasts, Gentiles, and sinners.

New aspects of the Pharisees, scribes, and Sadducees appear in Acts. Pharisees appear as members of the Sanhedrin twice. Gamaliel, a Pharisee and a member of the Sanhedrin, had enough wisdom, respect, and influence to be able to overcome the Sanhedrin's rage and to counsel prudent caution in dealing with the apostles (5:33–40). Luke's attitude toward Gamaliel was positive because Gamaliel helped the apostles and because he was open to the possibility that their teaching might come from God. Luke has Paul cite his study with Gamaliel as a warrant for his respectability as a Jew (Acts 22:3) and thus testify to Gamaliel's importance and honored place in both Judaism and Christianity. Whether the presentation of Gamaliel in Acts is historical can be questioned because as a literary figure he serves Luke's purpose of showing Christianity's continuity with Judaism. When Paul appeared before the Sanhedrin, he declared that he was a Pharisee and the son of a Pharisee, and thus garnered the support of the Pharisees in the Sanhedrin (Acts 23).

Some Jerusalem Christians are identified as Pharisees by Luke. At the meeting of the Jerusalem community with Paul "some believers of those from the school *(hairēsis)* of the Pharisees" claimed that gentile believers had to be circumcised and instructed to keep the law of Moses (15:5). This zeal for the law of Moses fits Luke's idea of the Pharisees in both the gospel and Acts, and it is consistent with his picture of Paul when Paul later claims that he lived Judaism according to the strictest school *(hairēsis),* the Pharisees (26:5). The author of Acts uses the same word as Josephus to describe the Pharisaic group and identifies them by the strict way of life they lead according to their interpretation of the biblical law. In a way similar to Josephus, Luke presents Pharisaism as a political force noted for its renewal of Jewish life. Acts also agrees with Paul's own characterization of Pharisaism where he implies that the Pharisaic way of life is a recognized, demanding, and accepted way of living Jewish life (Phil. 3:5).

A word must be said about the historicity of Luke's account of the Pharisees. That some were members of the Sanhedrin and competed for power in Jerusalem is likely on the basis of Josephus' account. However, Luke's idea that Paul could be a Pharisee and a Christian and that there were Christians who remained Pharisees is very unlikely, especially granted all the conflicts with Jewish authorities recounted in Acts and alluded to in Paul's letters. Since the Pharisees were a political interest group with a program for living Judaism and a sect-like organization, any interpretation of Christianity, no matter how Jewish, would have found itself in conflict with them. In trying to establish the continuity between Christianity and Judaism, Luke maximizes their agreements and common interests. He associates the Jews who were strict in observance of the law (Pharisees) with the Jewish Christians who wished to remain faithful to the Mosaic law. Luke correctly perceives many things about the Pharisees, but he probably overemphasizes their positive relations with the early followers of Jesus.

**5. John.** The Pharisees in John function both as government officials and as the learned doctors of the law who are interested in Jesus' teaching and dispute its truth. (Scribes do not appear in John, except in 8:3 [the woman caught in adultery], a non-Johannine pericope.) The presentation of the Pharisees in John differs greatly from that in the Synoptic Gospels though a few common features remain. In both Galilee and Jerusalem the Pharisees are an ominous presence, ever-watchful and suspicious adversaries of Jesus who keep the people under surveillance and influence it with their propaganda. They compete with Jesus for influence with the people and attempt to undermine his teaching. All through the gospel the Pharisees are allied with the chief priests in taking official action against Jesus, especially on his trips to Jerusalem.

In addition, the Pharisees, either alone or with other officials, control the synagogue and the judicial processes for removing those whom they oppose. This picture of the Pharisees as an officially powerful group has significant features in common with Josephus' presentation of them during the Hasmonean period. According to both accounts they attained real political power even though it was derived from the governing class which they served. That they are not the highest authorities is clear in the account of Jesus' condemnation to death, during which the Pharisees drop from view. Thus, John follows the Synoptic Gospels in the passion account in assigning the highest leadership and contact with the Romans to the chief priests.

The Pharisees are first mentioned in connection with a delegation sent from Jerusalem to the Jordan to investigate John the Baptist (1:19–28). The Pharisees in the incident are located in Jerusalem, engage in official inquiry of John, and are interested in his precise teaching and the authority for it. Here and elsewhere John locates the Pharisees in Jerusalem, contrary to the synoptic tradition but in agreement with Josephus. The supervisory role of the Pharisees in society is further attested when Jesus' trip to Galilee from Judea (4:1) is said to be motivated by his hearing that the Pharisees know that he is making more disciples than John the Baptist. The implication is that the Pharisees will disapprove of Jesus and be a threat to him in some tangible way. The characterization of Nicodemus as a Pharisee and a "ruler" *(archōn)* of the Jews confirm this picture (3:1). He has an official capacity in Jerusalem, knows about Jesus, has a learned and positive interest in his teaching, and feels the threat of disapproval from his fellow Pharisees (7:52).

The Pharisees are threatened by Jesus' teaching and reject him because none of the authorities *(archontes)* or Pharisees have believed in him, and the people who have do not know the law (7:48–49). Only once do the Pharisees directly debate with Jesus (8:13–20); usually they maintain a superior position based on social recognition of their learning, their influence with the people, and their political power in conjunction with the chief priests—and so refuse to treat Jesus as an equal.

The story of the healing of the man born blind (9:1–39) and the controversy following it reveal much about John's view of the Pharisees' place in the community. When the man born blind had been cured and returned to his neighborhood in Jerusalem, those who knew him sought an explanation for his cure and took him to the guardians of community order and custom, the Pharisees, for an evaluation of the situation. The Pharisees questioned the man and upon discovering that Jesus had mixed clay on the Sabbath dismissed him as a sinner who broke the Sabbath rest (9:13–17). In this narrative the Pharisees are leaders concerned with teaching, order, and the exercise of power in the community. They use their socially accepted role as accurate interpreters of the tradition to condemn Jesus according to the laws and customs which give the community its identity and shape. What is especially noteworthy is that the people turn to them as the local officials concerned with public order and community norms. Similarly, when Lazarus had been raised from the dead, some went and reported to the Pharisees what Jesus had done. They then met in council with the chief priests to decide how to prevent disruption of the social order and loss of power (11:46–47; also 12:19). The Pharisees are presented as having either direct power or decisive influence in determining who is recognized as a Jew in good standing. This function is made clear in the summary which ends the first half of the gospel (12:36–50). Many believed, including leaders *(archontes)*, but did not admit it because of fear of the Pharisees who might put them out of the synagogue (12:42–43).

As presented by John, the Pharisees were a learned group who had influence with the people because they were accepted by them as guides in Jewish behavior and belief. As such they were community leaders, perhaps with some direct power in both the synagogue and government council in Jerusalem, and certainly with great influence in conjunction with the chief priests and other community leaders ("the Jews"). Like Josephus, John emphasizes those Pharisees (probably only a small leadership core) who were in Jerusalem and participated in the direct leadership of the nation. In contrast with the Synoptic Gospels, John emphasizes the Pharisees' leadership role in the community. They kept watch over Jesus and how people reacted to Jesus. They were the ones the people consulted or reported to when they were disturbed or confused by Jesus. They discussed Jesus' teachings and authority to teach, but except in one

case, they did not directly challenge Jesus. Rather, they acted as established leaders should; they kept their distance from the newcomer and schemed to blunt his influence and preserve their own. When they took official action it was with the cooperation of the chief priests and other officials. They were not the main political leaders, for the chief priests took over as the main opponents of Jesus in the passion narrative just as in the Synoptic Gospels. John has undoubtedly merged many forces which opposed Jesus into one figure: the Pharisees. However, John, who partly reflects mid-1st century traditions, agrees in some particulars with Josephus in his presentation of the Pharisees and may be critically appropriated into a synthetic presentation of the Pharisees.

**D. Rabbinic Literature**

Most studies and textbook treatments of the Pharisees cite the rabbinic sources extensively because they provide much more information than Josephus and the NT and are assumed to be less biased. But such reconstructions of Pharisaism have been based on an uncritical reading of a diverse body of later Jewish sources, including the Mishnah (ca. 200 C.E.), Talmuds (5th-6th centuries), and early medieval midrashic collections. These texts have usually been culled for the few passages which spoke of Pharisees; for the more numerous laws, sayings, and stories attributed to the sages who dated from before the destruction of the Temple; and for anonymous passages which seem to refer to pre-destruction society. Such materials, taken out of context, have been treated as historically accurate 1st century traditions and patched together into a narrative. Rabbinic literature must be read with the same kind of critical methodology used on Josephus and the NT, because each of the rabbinic sources tells stories of earlier times and records laws to accomplish its own religious purposes. With these cautions in mind, three bodies of evidence will be evaluated: (1) sayings and stories about 1st-century C.E. sages; (2) 1st-century C.E. laws; and (3) texts which mention the Pharisees by name.

**1. 1st-Century Sages.** Stories and sayings attributed to sages of the 2d and 1st centuries, B.C.E. are very few in number and almost impossible to evaluate historically. Of all the pre-70 sages, only Hillel has a large body of sayings and stories attributed to him (33 traditions in 89 pericopae according to Neusner 1971, 2: 185–302; 3:255–72). Because the talmudic rabbis conceived of Hillel as their founder and major teacher, they consistently depicted him as an appealing, wise, and patient person and surrounded his legal teachings with an array of wise sayings, stories of his origin and status, and accounts of his disciples. Hillel is even made the ancestor of Gamaliel and Simon ben Gamaliel and thus a founder of the patriarchal house, though there is no evidence for this in either *m. ʾAbot* or the Babylonian Talmud. The search for legitimacy through descent reaches it speak in the later claim of the patriarchal house that Hillel was a descendent of David *(j. Taʿan* 4:2). The stories about Hillel in the later rabbinic sources serve to legitimize the patriarchal house of the 2d to 5th centuries. Hillel's rise to power, wisdom, moral teaching, and dominance on matters of law make him (and implicitly his successors) a leader of great influence and power in all areas of life.

The Hillel of these rabbinic sources is not simply historical any more than the Jesus of the gospels is. The rabbinic sources show with relative certainty only that he was a dominant Pharisaic teacher at the turn of the era whose influence was felt after his death. When he was adopted as the originator of the Pharisaic and later rabbinic patriarchate, he was turned into a larger-than-life figure and even compared to Moses (*Sipre* Deut 357). Most of the stories about Hillel come from the mid-2d century and later and attest to the rabbis' self-understanding rather than to the history of Hillel.

Shammai, Hillel's opponent, appears almost exclusively within the Hillel materials. The rabbis claimed Hillel as their own and did not independently preserve Shammaite material nor did they present a fair picture of him and his teachings. The Mishnah and Tosefta show Shammai accepting the dominance of Hillelite positions and thus co-opt him for one of their purposes, convincing all Jews to accept the mishnaic interpretation of Jewish life. The Palestinian Talmud and midrashim are less hostile to Shammai than the Babylonian Talmud, which totally stereotypes him.

The materials attributed to the Houses of Hillel and Shammai outnumber all materials attributed to pre-70 sages, even those of Hillel. The houses' materials are highly stylized and reflect a large measure of redaction during the 2d century. Since the attributions of materials to particular rabbis cannot be presumed

to be accurate, rules and disputes can only be reliably dated if they are assumed or referred to in materials attributed to sages in a later generation (Neusner 1971, 3: 180–83). For example, if the Jamnian (70–130) or Ushan (140–170) sages know of a teaching or dispute, then it existed at that time and probably came from the previous generation. The rules attributed to the houses mostly concern tithes, purity, and Sabbath observance and not other wider concerns characteristic of the late 2d century. Thus, the 2d century sages seem to have had a group of disputes which came from the 1st century and which they preserved as part of their teaching. However, the houses' disputes do not give a full or first hand view of the 1st century Pharisees. The formulation of the legal materials attributed to the Houses of Hillel and Shammai is so stereotyped and pithy that they are surely literary constructions and neither the record of lively debate from the middle of the 1st century nor the verbally exact repetition of teachings from that period.

Little more is known about the 1st century sages following Hillel. A number of named authorities are mentioned, but not many traditions are assigned to them. The major figures of the 1st century are Gamaliel I (the elder); Simon his son; and, after the destruction of the Temple, Gamaliel II. The materials which mention these leaders are mostly stories, rather than the standard legal rulings assigned to later sages. The agenda of Gamaliel the Elder is broader than that of earlier sages and its scope is consistent with the station and duties of a member of the Sanhedrin (Acts 5:34–41). Simon is known from Josephus where he was active in the Jerusalem leadership during the war (*Life* 189–98). After the destruction of the Temple, Simon's son, Gamaliel II, gained power over the fledgling rabbinic movement which owed much to Second Temple Pharisaism. Little more can be reliably known about their teachings and activities.

The Second Temple sages and the Houses of Hillel and Shammai have usually been understood as scholarly rabbinic groups. But this view, fostered by the Talmuds, is a retrojection of later rabbinic schools onto the 1st century. Given the interpenetration of religion with politics and the rest of society, it is doubtful that the picture of the Houses of Hillel and Shammai as sectarian debating societies is accurate. Since the two groups identify themselves by the name of a leader or founder, they can best be understood as factions, that is temporary associations of disparate people grouped around a leader. Later after the deaths of the leaders, these factions became institutionalized into formal, corporate groups as part of 1st century society. Factions thrive when society's central authority is weak, disorganized, or unaccepted by much of the population, exactly the sociological conditions in 1st century Palestine. Judea was subordinate to Rome, and many popular movements, both violent and nonviolent, arose in response to this situation, as Josephus attests. The priests and leading families strove to keep the populace quiet, but ultimately they failed, with catastrophic results for the Jewish nation. Amid this maelstrom of activity many groups carved out their own ways of living Judaism to preserve their identities as Jews. Generally speaking, factions which persist for a long time and outlive their leaders become a formal group with an organized, self-perpetuating leadership and defined social identity. The late 1st century and early 2d century accounts of the Houses suggest that they were this type of group, and as such, two of many organizations of zealous Jews which provided a program for defending and reforming Judaism in the face of Roman and Hellenistic pressure. Hillel, Shammai, Judas the founder of the Fourth Philosophy, Jesus the preacher of the kingdom of God, Simon bar Giora the messianic pretender, and others were very common in 1st century Judaism and easily gathered modest groups of enthusiastic followers who strove to convince other Jews to join them in seeking influence and power over social policy.

**2. 1st-Century Laws.** When the Mishnah and Tosefta are analyzed using Neusner's method (the logic of Mishnah's argument and the attested attributions), by far the largest body of law which can be somewhat reliably assigned to the early and mid-1st century concerns ritual purity, tithes, food laws, and Sabbath and festival observance (1981: 45–75). These laws set out an agenda of holiness for the land and people. We do not know for certain who developed these laws dating from before the destruction, but the usual hypothesis, that it was the Pharisees who bequeathed these laws to the first generation of rabbis after the destruction of the Temple, is most probable. The gospel evidence of Pharisaic interest in purity and food and Josephus' claim that the Pharisees had their own interpretation of some Jewish laws converge with Neusner's analysis of early mishnaic law.

The stress on strict tithing, on observance of ritual purity by non-priests, and on strict observance of Sabbath and other festivals probably reflects the Pharisees' internal rules and program for a renewed Judaism. The articulation of the group's program and the recounting of disputes among various factions is common in the literature of political and religious social groups. Rules concerning food, purity, and group practices are typical boundary-building mechanisms. Ethnic groups in the Roman empire needed to maintain strong boundaries in order to keep the larger Hellenistic-Roman society and culture from absorbing them. Internal rules, such as food rules, kept the intimates of Jewish groups united to one another and distinct from gentiles and even from other Jews with whom they constantly had to interact and with whom they competed. While the precise mode of living Judaism is distinctive in these laws, the Pharisees drew on an old tradition of using priestly laws concerning purity, food, and marriage in order to separate, protect, and identify Judaism. The development of the priestly tradition in the Exile and the regulations for Judaism championed by Ezra and Nehemiah in the restoration period were forerunners of the type of regulations adopted by the Pharisees in the Greco-Roman period.

Associations or fellowships, mentioned a number of places in rabbinic literature, have often been identified with or compared to the Pharisees. The associates in *Tractate Demai* who were devoted to maintaining the rules of ritual purity and tithing are the best known. Other associations in Jerusalem seem to have been devoted to good works of various types, especially burial rites (*t. Meg.* 4:15). What is unclear in all these cases is what exactly is meant by the term "associate," how the texts differ from one another in their use of the term, and whether it is even a technical term at all. The Hebrew words *ḥăbûrâ* (association, fellowship) and *ḥăbērîm* (associates) are common words which simply refer to one's fellows, that is, one's townsfolk or social familiars, with no technical meaning or special organization implied. Thus, the tendency of scholars to gather together all the citations of *ḥābēr* and *ḥăbûrâ* and create a single historical group is misguided. The Pharisees have often been identified with the associates who appear in *m. Dem.* 2:2–3 because both groups are associated with tithing and ritual purity. The associates promised one another to tithe their food and to observe certain kinds of ritual purity. This means that the associates could confidently buy and sell to one another and also eat together without fear of breaking any of the laws they wished to keep. By contrast, they had to take great care in their dealings with the "people of the land," the *ʿam hāʾareṣ*, because the "people of the land" did not keep the special priestly laws of purity and did not tithe properly and fully. Their food was not properly sanctified and could not be eaten by associates. It had to be tithed if it was acquired by an associate. The Tosefta (2:2–3:9) sets out rules for accepting a person as an associate and stages of initiation (which are unclear and have provoked numerous disputes among scholars). It also discusses doubtful cases of reliability within the family and marginal cases in relations with the *ʿam haʾareṣ*. Though the associates have been linkled to numerous historical periods and groups, no certain identification can be made.

**3. Pharisee Texts.** The designation Pharisee is relatively infrequent in rabbinic literature and the texts using that term, which derive from several centuries of rabbinic literature, use it in different and sometimes pejorative senses. The etymology of the term "Pharisees" is disputed. The name seems to come from the Hebrew and Aramaic root *pršˇ* which means "separate, interpret." The most common etymological understanding of Pharisees is "separate ones," though separate from whom or what is disputed. In a good sense it would mean people who separated themselves from normal Jewish society or from gentile society in order to observe Jewish law (purity, tithing?) more rigorously. In a negative sense it would mean sectarians or heretics, that is, people who separated themselves illegitimately from society at large because of beliefs and practices judged illegitimate. Rabbinic literature uses the term in both senses. Another possible meaning of their name is "interpreters"; this meaning would fit with the observations in Josephus and the New Testament that the Pharisees had their own interpretation of Jewish law and were considered accurate interpreters of the law. The two senses of the root could imply that the Pharisees separated themselves from the priestly or dominant interpretation of Jewish law. No decisive evidence or arguments have solved this issue.

No Jewish group refers to itself as Pharisees. The authors of rabbinic literature referred to themselves and their forbearers as "sages" *(ḥăkāmîm)* and after the destruction of the Temple, used the title "rabbi"

for sages. They had no name for their movement, but called themselves Israel because they considered themselves to be simply proper Jews. The name Pharisees is a name used by outsiders, such as Josephus (taking the stance of a Hellenistic historian) and the New Testament. The sages do not customarily identify themselves or their predecessors as Pharisees, except when they implicitly ally themselves with the Pharisees in disputes with the Sadducees.

The Babylonian Talmud quotes the well-known list of seven types of Pharisees as a comment on *m. Soṭa* 3:4 (*b. Soṭa* 22b): "There are seven types of Pharisee, the *sykmy* Pharisee, the *nyqpy* Pharisee, the *qwzʾy* Pharisee, the *mdwkyʾ* Pharisee, the Pharisee (who says) Let me know my duty and I will do it, the Pharisee from love, the Pharisee from fear." The transliterated words are all obscure, but all are meant pejoratively. The Babylonian Talmud explains all five etymologically, but the Palestinian Talmud, which cites the list in two places (*j. Soṭa* 5:7 [20c]; *j. Ber.* 9:5 [13b]), gives different explanations. In *Soṭa* both Talmuds are discussing motives for studying Torah and avoiding hypocrisy. Several of the names are made to refer to hypocritical behavior or obedience to the law from imperfect motives. The Babylonian Talmud even rejects the last two—those who have motives of love and fear—in favor of the study of Torah for its own sake. It ends this section with a saying of King Yannai (Alexander Jannaeus) who warns his wife against those "painted ones" who pretend to be Pharisees.

Since these lists are found for the first time in Talmudic sources, they probably do not give accurate information about 1st century Pharisaism. By the 5th and 6th centuries Christianity had attained a position of power in the empire and since both the New Testament and early Christian writings contained attacks on the Pharisees as hypocrites, these lists may be a response to Christian polemics in which the talmudic authors defuse Christian criticism by agreeing with their attack on hypocritical Pharisees and by separating some Pharisees and themselves from those being attacked.

Some texts refer to Pharisees in a positive way, with the assumption that they keep ritually pure (*t. Šabb* 1:15; *m. Toḥar.* 4:15; *m. Ḥag.* 2:7). A number of Mishnah and Tosefta passages polemically contrast the Pharisees and Sadducees (e.g., *Yad.* 4:6–7; *m. Nid.* 4:2; *m. Para* 3:7; *t. Ḥag.* 3:35). Most of the disputes between the Sadducees and Pharisees (and others) concern interpretations of the laws of ritual purity. If the Pharisees based much of their program for Jewish life on a revised understanding of the purity laws and an application of them to all Israel, as has been argued above, then the conflict between the Sadducees and Pharisees on this issue is comprehensible and probably historical in its general content. The application of purity laws to the people at large was a new mode of understanding Jewish life, law, and Scripture and it is reasonable and even inevitable that the Sadducees or someone else should oppose them. Other texts contrasting Pharisees or sages with the Sadducees or Boethusians can be found in the Talmuds and midrashic collections. Despite the claims of Rivkin (1969–70) that many of the Pharisees-Sadducees texts in the Talmud and other later sources are historically reliable, most of these passages reveal the assumptions of their rabbinic authors rather than the nature of the Second Temple Pharisees.

**E. Qumran Literature**

Many commentators have claimed that certain polemical Qumran texts which mention the "seekers after smooth things" refer to the Pharisees. Qumran literature is filled with polemics and invective which bear witness to the social, political, and religious strife among Jewish groups during the Hasmonean period. The wicked priest, the man of lies, the man of scorn, the spouter of lies, the lion of wrath, and the seekers after smooth things are only some of the adversaries condemned for a variety of crimes by the Qumran literature. Though the allusions to the Qumran community's opponents, which are contained in the pesharim to Habakkuk, Nahum, Psalm 37, and other documents, are very difficult to correlate with history, they testify to the political and religious strife at the inception of the Qumran community in the 2d century B.C.E. (probably under Jonathan or Simon) and also under Alexander Jannaeus. Pesher Nahum certainly refers to events in the reign of Alexander Jannaeus. It names two Greek kings, Antiochus and Demetrius, who have been convincingly identified with Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.E.) and Demetrius III Eukairos (95–88 B.C.E.). The lion of wrath who opposed these kings and crucified his opponents is almost certainly Alexander Jannaeus (*Ant* 13 §379–83).

The identity of the "seekers after smooth things" remains a problem. The crucified opponents of Alexander and the seekers after smooth things are usually said to be the Pharisees because when they attained power under Alexandra (after Alexander's death), they sought to take vengeance on Alexander's allies who had supported the crucifixions (*Ant* 13 §410–15; *JW* 1 §96–98). However, Joseph does not identify Jannaeus' opponents as Pharisees. He says that Alexander's Jewish opposition came from many of the people and their leaders, not from one, limited group, such as the Pharisees (*Ant* 13 §372–76; *JW* 1 §90–92). After six years of civil disturbances in which 6,000 were killed by Alexander, this broadly based anti-Jannaeus movement asked Demetrius to intervene. After Demetrius had Alexander Jannaeus on the run, some people switched sides to give Alexander the victory. He then defeated and besieged his opponents and crucified the 800 survivors. Nowhere does Josephus identify this broad coalition with the Pharisees, though it is likely that they were partners in it.

According to Pesher Nahum, the seekers after smooth things called on Demetrius to intervene (4QpNah 3–4.1.2) and then were crucified by Alexander Jannaeus, an act which the Qumran community probably approved (4QpNah 3–4.1.7). If the identification of events is correct, the seekers after smooth things would be the coalition opposing Alexander Jannaeus. The metaphoric characterization of Alexander's and the community's opponents as "seekers after smooth things" *(dôršê ḥălāqôt),* found a number of times in Qumran literature (4QpNah 3–4.1.2, 7; 2.2, 4; 3.3, 6–7; 4QpIsa$^{c}$ 23.2.10; 1QH 2:15, 32; CD 1:18) is derived from the Bible. The word *ḥălāqôt* means "smooth things, flattery, and falsehood." Isa. 30:10 contrasts true prophecy with the smooth things *(ḥălāqôt)* and delusions desired by rebelious Israelites who will not listen to the Tocah of the Lord. Daniel 11:32 says that Antiochus Epiphanes will seduce by flatteries *(ḥălāqôt)* those who act wickedly against the covenant. Thus the term "seekers after smooth things" suggests that the Qumran community found their opponents too accommodating to changes in Jewish society, either because they twisted the meaning of the law (Isa 30:10) or allied themselves too closely with non-Jewish authorities and practices. The use of various epithets connected to "lie" and "falsehood" suggests that the community disagreed with its opponents on many points of interpretation and practice. Since the Qumran group had left Jerusalem, the seekers after smooth things were probably still there and active in Palestinian political struggles in a way the Qumran community did not approve. The Qumran polemics against their opponents testify to the diversity and conflicts in Jewish society. Thus their opponents, the seekers after smooth things, were probably a broad coalition of groups which included the Pharisees.

**F. Synthesis**

The Pharisees in Josephus' narrative function as a political interest group which had its own goals for society and constantly engaged in political activity to achieve them, even though it did not always succeed. They generally did not have direct power as a group and were not as a whole members of the governing class. They were members of a literate, corporate, voluntary association which constantly sought influence with the governing class. As such they were above the peasants and other lower classes but dependent on the governing class and ruler for their place in society. They were found in Jerusalem, and they probably fulfilled administrative or bureaucratic functions in society at certain times. They appear in each era of Jewish history from the Hasmonean period until the destruction of the Temple struggling to gain access to power and to influence society.

The Pharisaic association probably functioned as a social movement organization seeking to change society. The social, political, and economic situation of Palestinian Jews underwent a number of upheavals in the Greco-Roman period which demanded adaptation of Jewish customs and a reinterpretation of the Jewish identity fashioned by the biblical tradition. The Hasmoneans and the governing class changed Israel into a small, militarily active Hellenistic kingdom and took control of political and economic resources in order to control society. The Pharisees probably sought a new, communal commitment to a strict Jewish way of life based on adherence to the covenant. If they did so, they sought to capitalize on popular sentiment for rededication to or reform of Judaism. Such popular sentiment can produce a social movement which seeks reform, but a long-lasting, complex campaign for

reform or renewal requires the formation of a social movement organization which aims at promoting or resisting change in society at large.

If the Pharisees are called a sect, they are of the reformist type which seeks gradual, divinely revealed alterations in the world (Wilson 1973: 23–26; 38–49). This type of sect engages in political and social activities similar to those of the Pharisees. Wilson characterizes reformist sects as "objectivist" because they seek change in the world, not just in individuals or in a person's relations with the world. A reformist sect differs from the three other objectivist types of sect: the revolutionist, which awaits destruction of the social order by divine forces (apocalyptic groups); the introversionist, which withdraws from the world into a purified community (the Qumran community); and the utopian, which seeks to reconstruct the world according to divine principles without revolution. However, these types are not hermetically sealed off from one another. A group may have more than one response to the world at the same time, that is, it may overlap two or three of these categories. It may also change over time and even cease to be a sect if social conditions change. Consequently, if the Pharisees are understood as a sect, they may have had introversionist tendencies, manifested in their purity regulations, without losing their involvement or desire for involvement in political society.

The Pharisees may also be compared to Hellenistic philosophical schools or schools of thought if the analogy is cautiously and loosely applied. They had a program of reform for Jewish life, a particular interpretation of Jewish tradition and a definable and sometimes controversial outlook on fundamental matters crucial to Judaism. Since the Pharisees as depicted by Josephus acted as a political interest group, they went beyond the activities of many Greek schools. The designation school (of thought) is appropriate as long as this expression is not understood to refer to an exclusively academic and theoretical association.

A major question unanswered by the sources concerns the daily activities of the Pharisees and the source of their livelihood. The older theory that they were urban artisans is very unlikely because artisans were poor, uneducated, and uninfluential. The more common theory that the Pharisees were a lay scribal movement, that is, a group of religious scholars and intellectuals who displaced the traditional leaders and gained great authority over the community (most recently, Rivkin 1978: 211–51), is likewise very unlikely. Though some Pharisees were part of the governing class, most Pharisees were subordinate officials, bureaucrats, judges, and educators. They are best understood as retainers, that is, literate servants of the governing class, who had a program for Jewish society and influence with both the people and their patrons. When the opportunity arose, they sought power over society. This means that their organizations cannot be viewed as a monastic-like community or withdrawn sect which demands primary and total commitment from every member. It is most likely that Pharisees were active in a number of occupations and roles in society and were bound together by certain beliefs and practices and by endeavors to influence social change.

Concretely, a person was not primarily a Pharisee. A member of the Pharisees retained his family and territorial allegiances, his roles in society and occupation, his friends and network of associates. In some way not revealed in reliable first-century sources he committed himself to be a Pharisee, and this commitment with its particular understanding of the Jewish covenant and Jewish life guided many of his endeavors and claimed a part of his time, energy, and resources. The Pharisaic movement has some characteristics in common with Greek schools of thought and must have educated its members to some degree. This view of the Pharisees, admittedly hypothetical due to lack of evidence, is consistent with what the sources tell us of the Pharisees, including the information given by Saul the Pharisee.

The accounts of the Pharisees' beliefs in Josephus and the gleanings available in rabbinic literature and the NT provide incomplete information which is difficult to interpret. According to Josephus, who sought to relate the Jewish schools of thought to Greek philosophy, they affirmed the influence of divine activity on human life, the joint effect of human freedom and fate, and reward and punishment in the afterlife. Josephus' contrast of the positions of the three schools of thought probably derives from their eschatology and apocalyptic expectations. The Pharisees probably held positions on eschatology, divine providence, and human responsibility which were different enough from traditional Jewish teachings and attitudes to

require some positive commitment and explicit defense. In this the Pharisees were not unusual, as the great diversity of outlook in Second Temple apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature shows.

The rabbinic laws and stories which can be somewhat reliably dated to the 1st century show that the Pharisees had a strong interest in tithing, ritual purity, and Sabbath observance and not much of an interest in civil laws and regulations for the Temple worship. The New Testament also shows that the Pharisees had unique interpretations of these matters and sought to promote their observance and defend their validity against challenge by other establishment and reform groups, including the priests, Qumran community, and Jesus and his early followers. Serious differences in the understanding of Jewish covenant and commitment to God, people, and land separated these groups and factions within Judaism. Implicit in these programs for living Judaism were profound judgments concerning the meaning of Judaism and its place in the larger world where it was politically subordinate.

The purity rules, which seem so arcane to modern westerners, regularized life and separated that which was normal and life-giving from that which was abnormal or ambiguous, and so was a threat to normal life. Such a set of categories and rules excluded that which is foreign or strange; their usefulness against the attraction and influence of the Romans and Hellenistic culture is obvious. Purity and tithing rules separated the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, all of whom affirmed the biblical rules and had a distinctive interpretation of them in daily life, from one another and from the followers of Jesus as well as from numerous other messianic, apocalyptic, political, and reformist groups.

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ANTHONY J. SALDARINI

**PHARISON** (PERSON) [Gk *Pharisōn* (Φαρισων)]. 1 Maccabees 9:66 relates that Jewish forces under Jonathan the Hasmonean killed the sons of Pharison along with Odomera and his brothers near Bethbasi S of Jerusalem (ca. 160 B.C.E.). On the sons of Pharison see ODOMERA.
MICHAEL E. HARDWICK

**PHARPAR** (PLACE) [Heb *parpar* (פַּרְפַּר)]. A river in Syria near Damascus. 2 Kgs 5:1 records that Naaman, the commander of the Syrian army, had leprosy. An Israelite captive girl informed him that a prophet in Samaria could cure him. So he went to Elisha (v 9) who did not bother to come out of the house to see him but simply told him to go wash in the Jordan. Naaman became angry and argued: "Are not Abana and Pharpar, the rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel?" (v 12). The Abana is the modern Nahr el-Barada which flows through the middle of Damascus, dividing the city in half.

The Pharpar is probably the 40-mi-long Nahr el-Awaj, "the crooked river." It is formed by two small brooks at Sasa on Mt. Hermon where the waters form in a valley below a sheer wall of 6,000 feet. It runs NE ca. 6 mi. and then E in a deep tortuous channel to Kiswe. In this first section, it is called the Sabirany. Several canals which irrigate southern parts of the Damascus oasis tap into either side of Kiswe. The Awaj passes between Jebel Maani and Jebel Aswad and then turns SE. In the rainy season, surplus water empties into Lake Hijaneh (Bahrat el-Hijaneh), a salt lake or swamp ca. 10 mi. S of Lake Ateibeh. The river runs ca. 10 mi. S of Damascus. As such, it is not a river of Damascus, the city, but of a river of the larger oasis of Damascus, the Ghouta. The oasis, at an altitude of 2,650 feet, slopes slightly eastward. It owes its fertility to the Barada/Abana, Awaj, Wadi Mnin, and other small streams with sources in Hermon and Jebel Kalamun. The Awaj roughly separates the limestone region of the Damascus oasis from the basalt formation of the Hauran (Syria 1943: 23, 32, 50). The amount of water varies greatly. In the spring, when snows are melting, there is a good supply. During the summer, there is much less. The productivity of the S part of the Damascus oasis depends on the Awaj/Pharpar. Its cool, fresh waters, particularly in the early spring, could provide a favorable contrast to waters of the lower Jordan (Bowling 1975: 752). A tributary of the Awaj is called the Wadi Barbar which would preserve the biblical name. The Arabic for Pharpar is *farfara,* "move," "shake." Gehman (1970: 742) notes that local tradition, traced back to the 16th century, identifies the Pharpar as the Nahr Taura, one of seven canals drawn off from the Barada as it nears Damascus.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**PHASELIS** (PLACE) [Gk *Phasēlis* (Φασηλις)]. A city on the S coast of Asia Minor (modern Turkey) in the region of Lycia near the region of Pamphylia. Located on a headland, Phaselis controlled three harbors and thereby became an important point linking E and W trade.

Phaselis is mentioned in a list of cities receiving a letter circulated by the Roman consul Lucius (1 Macc 15:23). This letter, which was to circulate to several rulers and municipalities instructed those who received it to treat the Jews in their region with favor. This request was prompted by the gift of a shield made from 1,000 minas (1 mina equals about 1.25 pounds) of gold which the Jewish ambassadors brought to the Roman ruler.

The city may have been first settled by Dorian colonist and soon became an important center for trade. The geographical setting of the city isolated it from the surrounding region and this may have contributed to its independent nature. Settlers from Rhodes established the city as a trade center in the 7th century. Soon other colonists from Naucratus, the Greek outpost in Egypt, established trade routes between the two cities.

The city struck its own coins while under the control of the Persian Empire in the 6th and early 5th centuries. Phaselis joined the Athenian League in 466 B.C. and soon established important trade contacts linking Greek cities with the Phoenician coast (Thuc. *Peloponnesian Wars* 2.69). Phaselis as indicated by the minting of its own coinage, was relatively independent during the 4th and 3d centuries B.C.

The city first came under the control of the Ptolemies in 276 B.C., who were replaced by the Seleucids from 204–190 B.C. When Phaselis regained independence in 190 B.C., it began to mint coins once again. The city may have joined the Lycian League by 168 B.C., because it began minting coins that were typical of that confederation.

The inclusion of Phaselis separately on the city list of the Roman consul Lucius (1 Macc 15:23) dated to ca. 139 B.C., may indicate that the city had separated from the league at that time. The Roman consul Servilius Isauricus seized the city in 77 B.C. because it had become the base of the leader of the Cilician pirates, Zenicetes. The city declined in importance in later times, however it was the home of a Byzantine bishopric.

The site of the ruins of the city is near the modern village of Tekrova. The remains of the city include a stadium, a Roman aqueduct, and two temples, one constructed during the reign of Trajan and the other dating from the Greek era.

JOHN D. WINELAND

**PHICOL** (PERSON) [Heb *pîkōl* (פִּיכֹל)]. An army commander who accompanied the king Abimelech when covenants were made with Abraham (Gen 21:22, 32) and Isaac (Gen 26:26). It is not likely that Phicol and Abimelech were involved with both covenants since a period of some 70 to 80 years lies between the two events. In this light, scholars have generally taken one of two positions. One the one hand, some assert that there never were two separate covenants. According to Speiser (*Genesis* AB, 203), for example, behind the accounts is "a single incident which was differently reported in two independent sources." Noth (*HPT*, 102) asserts as a general rule that elements of tradition which appear in duplicate belong originally to Isaac rather than to Abraham, a position with which de Vaux (*EHI*, 167) concurs. On the other hand, some scholars feel that "Abimelech" and "Phicol" were titles or family names (Kidner *Genesis* TOTC, 154). In this view, both patriarchs could have made a covenant with an "Abimelech" and a "Phicol." See also AHUZZATH.

DAVID SALTER WILLIAMS

**PHILADELPHIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Philadelpheia* (Φιλαδελφεια)]. A city of the Roman province of Asia addressed by the risen Jesus in the book of Revelation (3:7–13).

Located in ancient Lydia, in the W of what is today Asiatic Turkey, Philadelphia was founded by Eumenes II, King of Pergamum (197–159 B.C.) or possibly his brother, Attalus II (159–138 B.C.), whose loyalty had earned for him the epithet "Philadelphus," hence the city's name. It is located near the upper end of the very fertile plateau in the Cogamus River (today Koca Çay) valley, a tributary of the Hermus

River, E of Sardis and on the route into the interior from Smyrna on the coast (38°22´N; 28°32´E). It is in the midst of a very prosperous agricultural region, though it was (and is) notoriously subject to frequent earthquakes. A severe one in A.D. 17 destroyed the city, and this was followed by a series of intermittent shocks which led the people to continue living outside the city for some years because of the structural instability of many of the city buildings and walls (Strabo, *Geog.* 12.8.18; 13.4.10; cf. Hemer 1986: 156–57). This disaster made an indelible impact on the contemporary world as the greatest in human history (Pliny *HN* 2.86.200). The nearby city of Sardis was equally badly hurt (Tacitus *Ann.* 2.47.3–4), but Philadelphia was among the cities whose tribute was remitted for five years to allow the people to have the resources to rebuild. Hemer (1986: 157) finds an historical allusion to this situation in the promise of Rev 3:12a: "He who conquers, I will make him a pillar in the temple of my God; never shall he go out of it …" The citizens of Philadelphia subsequently expressed warm gratitude on inscriptions and coins to the emperor Tiberius for his assistance in the process of rebuilding their city, and they later took the name "Neocaesarea." Still later, under Vespasian, it took another imperial name, Flavia (*BMC,* 60 and 60 of Vespasian; 62 of Domitian). Hemer suggests that this adoption of the name of the divine emperor is referenced and contrasted with the offer of a better and more lasting name in Rev 3:12b: "And I will write on him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, the new Jerusalem which comes down from my God out of heaven."

Another negative event that burned itself upon the collective memory of the people of Philadelphia was an edict from the emperor Domitian in A.D. 92 (practically contemporary with the probable date of the Apocalypse). In the interest of protecting the vine growers of Italy (or perhaps to encourage the production of grain at the expense of grapes), Domitian required at least half the vineyards in the provinces to be cut down and no new ones planted (Suet. *Dom.* 7,2; 14.2; Philostr. *VA* 6.42; *VS* 1.21). As can be imagined, this edict was bitterly unpopular in Asia and the source of severe hardship in a city like Philadelphia, which was so dependent on viticulture (cf. Rev 6:6) and where Dionysius was the chief deity. Thus the contrast between the character of Christ, who will never betray his people who have continued to confess his name even when they are weak and rejected (Rev 3:8, 10, 11), and that of the imperial god who had disappointed them so severely.

Ignatius, the bishop of Antioch on the Orontes, visited the city on his way to his martyrdom in Rome (A.D. 107) and also sent a letter from Troas to the church at Philadelphia. Some of the members of the church of this city were martyred ca. A.D. 155 along with Polycarp (*Mart. Polyc.* 1). Philadelphia was a center of prophecy in the post-apostolic age, a place where Christians tended to be fearless and aggressive in their witness for the faith, and possibly the birthplace of Montanism (Calder 1923: 309–54; cf. Hemer 1986: 170–74). Today, the Hellenistic and Roman remains are located underneath the modern Turkish town of Alaşehir. There is an ancient acropolis with a few minor excavations, an ancient church (with traces of 11th century frescoes), and a rather extensive portion of the city wall from Byzantine times. Finds from Philadelphia are located in the Manisa museum, some distance away.

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W. WARD GASQUE

**PHILEMON, EPISTLE TO.** One of the epistles of St. Paul that now stands as the 18th book of the NT (between Titus and Hebrews).

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A. Orientation to the Letter and Its Interpretation
B. Authorship and Rhetoric
C. Legal Context and Obligations
D. The Letter's Story

———

**A. Orientation to the Letter and Its Interpretation.**

While under arrest for his activities as a Christian, Paul of Tarsus with his "brother" Timothy wrote a personal but not private letter to his "beloved fellow worker" Philemon, to Apphia and Archippus (family members?), and to the congregation meeting in Philemon's house. The letter has a single theme: the future of the relationships among at least three persons: Paul, who identified himself as "a prisoner for Christ Jesus" and a "brother"; Philemon, a slave owner, who had become a Christian directly or indirectly in response to Paul's work sometime before he received this letter; and Onesimus, a male slave owned by Philemon, who was with Paul at the time of the writing and who had become a Christian directly under Paul's influence since leaving Philemon's household without permission. Paul seems to have intended also to put in question Philemon's future relationship to the Christians who met in his house (note the plural "you" in vv 22b, 25) and to "all God's people" (vv 5, 7).

The letter is correspondingly brief: 335 words encompassing an occasionally specialized vocabulary of 143 words. As such, it is the shortest extant Pauline letter in the NT canon. In its form, Paul followed more closely than in any of his other writings the pattern of Hellenistic letters known to us, particularly letters of intercession (see Stowers 1986). See also LETTERS (GREEK AND LATIN). In the context of Greek rhetoric (see below), the book of Philemon (hereafter Plmn) divides readily into five paragraphs:

Vv 1–3 Opening Greetings

4–7 Thanksgiving, Intercession, and Praise for Philemon (the exordium)

8–16 Appeal on behalf on Onesimus (the body or proof)

17–22 Reiteration and expansion of the appeal (the peroration)

23–25 Concluding Greetings

This brief document has attracted a large amount of scholarly attention during the past forty years (Schenk 1987), much of which has continued earlier efforts to explain the perplexing legal context and the extraordinary rhetorical aspects of this succinct, winsome, yet apparently slight document. Of particular importance is Petersen's attempt (1985) to embrace and move beyond these concerns in order to clarify the larger story (including the "social structures" and the "symbolic universe") within which Plmn first made sense. This story is grounded in profound theological convictions, even though Paul did not treat in the letter itself any of the obvious doctrinal or ecclesiastical issues that characterize all his other letters.

To be sure, even without focusing on the larger story as such, every scholar of Plmn has felt obliged in some way to propose as the context for exegesis a reconstruction of at least some of the circumstances which provoked the writing and preserving of this letter. Chief among the questions energizing these reconstructions and explanations have been:

Why did Onesimus decide to leave Philemon's household, and by doing so did he make himself a fugitive slave? Did Onesimus then come into contact with Paul because he searched for him and found him under arrest, or rather as an unintended result of being arrested himself as a lawbreaker? Or had his owner sent him to help Paul (see Winter 1987)?

Did the prohibition of Deut 23:16–17 (—Eng 23:15–16: "You shall not give up to his master a slave who has escaped from his master to you. He shall dwell with you …") play a role in Paul's keeping Onesimus with him during the period in which he became a Christian? And did it influence his choice of words in vv 13–14?

To what extent was Paul constrained by Roman law in his relationships with Philemon (not a Roman citizen) and Onesimus? In any case, was Paul's eventual urging of Onesimus to return to Philemon (with Plmn as a "cover letter") motivated primarily by his respect for Roman or local laws applying to the harboring and returning of fugitive slaves, or by his respect for Philemon's rights and feelings (see Getty 1987), or by his theology which required him to encourage reconciliation among estranged Christians (see 1 Cor 6:7)?

Exactly which actions was Paul urging Philemon to take with respect to Onesimus (vv 14, 16–18, 20–21)? For example, would Philemon have concluded from v 16 that Paul wanted him to change

Onesimus's legal and social status from that of his slave to being his freedman (see SLAVERY) because of Onesimus' new status as a Christian "brother" (see Daube 1986: 41)? Did Paul hope that his new "father/child" relationship with Onesimus (with implications of ownership—vv 10, 12) would strike Philemon as a prevailing counterweight to his own claims on his slave, leading to new perceptions of who was whose patron (v 11, 13, 15–17)? In any case, was Paul appealing to Philemon's honor (see vv 4–7) with the implication (vv 13–14, 21) that Philemon's "goodness" should lead him not only to restrain himself from punishing Onesimus and to reconcile with him but also to send him back to help Paul in prison or in the Christian mission (see Ollrog 1979: 101–6)?

Where and when was Paul imprisoned when he wrote (vv 1, 9–10, 13, 23)? Rome? Ephesus? Caesarea? And what should be concluded about the relation of Plmn to the Letter to the Colossians which includes references to both an Onesimus (4:9), and Archippus (4:17), and an Epaphras (4:12—see Plmn 23) whose home is Colossae? For example, could Plmn be the letter to nearby Laodicea mentioned in Col 4:16?

Was Archippus, rather than Philemon, the real addressee of Paul's appeals (see S. Winter 1986, following J. Knox)?

What role should Paul's direct advice to Christians in slavery in 1 Cor 7:21 play in interpreting Paul's letter to Philemon?

What circumstances in the subsequent lives of Paul and Onesimus contributed to the preservation of Plmn in the NT canon?

**B. Authorship and Rhetoric**

Although a few scholars seriously questioned Pauline authorship of Plmn in the 4th and 5th centuries (because the content seemed too slight) and again in the 19th century (because the situation presupposed by Plmn appeared too novelistic), the language, style, and structure of argumentation found in Plmn are unmistakably Paul's (Schenk 1987: 3142–3145). Many exegetes have concluded that Paul did not dictate these words but wrote the entire letter in his own hand (see Stuhlmacher 1975: 50).

Some of the many distinctively Pauline features are his self-designations in combination with "Christ Jesus" in vv 1 and 9, his use in vv 1 and 24 of the term *synergos* ("co-worker"), the phrase *en kyrio* ("in the Lord") without the definite article in Gk (vv 16, 20), participles as transitions to new clauses (vv 4, 5, 21), and the intensifying phrase *hina mē lego* ("to say nothing of") in v 19b, which suggests that he could indeed overlook a matter that by mentioning he especially emphasizes (see 2 Cor 9:4). Even the sentence that has provoked the greatest disagreements among translators (v 6) contains characteristic Pauline features (see Riesenfeld 1982).

Paul's artistry in crafting such a carefully woven argument and appeal has been widely recognized. Only recently, however, have scholars shown the strong influence of Greek rhetorical conventions on Paul's masterful argumentation in Plmn, in particular the genre of deliberative rhetoric (Church 1978; see White 1971; Schenk 1987). By use of skillful appeals to the reason, the emotions, and the character of their hearers, rhetoricians sought to establish two motives for action: maintaining honor and gaining advantage (Quint. *Inst.* 3.8.1–15, 6.2.9–14). According to Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian, such a deliberative statement was divided into three parts: (1) the exordium: for setting up the fitting mood and winning the favor of the hearer through praise and then linking that praise to the subject at hand; (2) the main body or proof: for making the aforementioned appeals to honor and advantage; and (3) the peroration: for restating the request, appealing again to the hearer's goodwill, expanding the argument, and placing the reader in an emotional frame of mind (Arist. *Rh.* 3.14–19).

Whether by training or observation, Paul used deliberative rhetoric when he appealed to Philemon, adapting this genre to his particular style and structure for letter writing. Following his characteristic salutatory format in vv 1–3, vv 4–7 function as Paul's exordium. With tact and succinctness, he first sought favor by praising Philemon for his love and faith (vv 4–5), then he focused the praise on those practical qualities especially pertinent to Philemon's positive response to the appeal (v 6), and then he referred to particulars (Philemon's loving care for God's people resulting in Paul's own joy and comfort) that he later developed in the body and underscored in the peroration (Church 1978: 20–24).

The body or proof is expressed in vv 8–16, opening with a perfectly balanced appeal to Philemon's character and feelings (vv 8–10a). Paul first applied the rhetorical convention of openly abandoning an apparently strong line of argument by referring to himself as an "ambassador" and a "prisoner" for Christ, and then for love's sake waiving that authority in order to make his first appeal to the free expression of Philemon's honor and love. In a further rhetorical move focused on Philemon's feelings, Paul duplicated the expression of his appeal (vv 9–10a) before finally mentioning its object—Onesimus—and punning effectively on the name's meaning: "profitable/useful." By doing so, Paul appealed to the second motive for action: Philemon's gaining advantage.

In vv 12–14 Paul returned to the first motive: maintaining honor. Not only has Onesimus become far more profitable to Philemon by becoming a Christian, but also Philemon has been presented with a further opportunity to express his true character, his "goodness." Paul emphasized the decisive character of this opportunity by stressing how important Onesimus was to him. While with Paul, Onesimus not only became his "son," but his "very heart," his own self (v 12). Thus Paul would regard Philemon's manner of dealing with Onesimus as treatment of himself (see v 17). Furthermore, by urging Onesimus to return home and depriving himself of his "son's" comfort and service, Paul set an example of selfless love for Philemon and established the basis for true reciprocity among the three men. By these means Paul was able to force a point of honor while ostensibly restraining himself from pressuring Philemon, who thus retained the freedom to respond honorably on his own.

Paul concluded his proof with reasoning that went beyond conventional rhetoric: it may have been necessary, i.e., providential, for Philemon to lose Onesimus as a slave in order to gain him as a "beloved brother" (vv 15–16).

Paul's words in vv 17–22 fulfilled all four requirements of a peroration with a fitting invoking of feelings: (1) Verse 17 restated his request. (2) Verses 18–19 expanded the argument with two strong rhetorical devices: anticipating a potential objection (by promising to compensate Philemon for any loss Onesimus had caused him), and emphasizing a point by claiming that it does not have to be made (Philemon owed Paul his life). (3) Verse 20 attempted to put Philemon in an emotional state of mind. (4) Verses 21–22 further sought Philemon's favor (Church 1978: 28–30). Paul poignantly concluded this rhetorical section with requests for hospitality (thus announcing his intention to follow the letter with a personal visit) and prayers for his release from imprisonment.

Rhetorical analysis of Paul's use of deliberative rhetoric in Plmn highlights its contrast to Pliny's Letter to Sabinianus (*Ep.* 9.21) about an errant freedman, to which Plmn is often compared. Pliny used a contrasting rhetorical model, the plea for pardon, stressing the freedman's youth and "genuine repentance" as well as the harm Sabinianus was causing himself with his understandable anger.

**C. Legal Context and Obligations**

Recent investigations have shown that a number of legal assumptions essential to the generally accepted reading of Plmn must be questioned: that Onesimus was a fugitive slave, that Paul in relation to Philemon was obligated to obey Roman laws regarding slavery, and that Onesimus would probably not ever have been made a freedman if Paul had not intervened on his behalf (if indeed that was included in Paul's request).

Until quite recently, leading exegetes of Plmn (e.g., Stuhlmacher 1975: 17–23; Suhl 1981: 21–23; O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon* WBC, 266–67) have generally presupposed that according to Roman or Greek law Onesimus became a fugitive slave (Lat: *fugitivus*) when he left Philemon's household (Winter 1987 and Schenk 1987 argue that Philemon *sent* Onesimus to help Paul in prison). They have assumed that Onesimus belonged to the category of those slaves who ran away from their owners in order to find a life of freedom—by going underground in a large city, or in a faraway country, or in an outlaw band. Also noted is the possibility, respected particularly in the eastern Roman provinces, for such fugitives to seek asylum in a temple, such as the one dedicated to Artemis in Ephesus, or at a statue of the emperor, in order to beg the priests or attendants to broker their sale to a more humane owner.

Against this background, scholars have noted their varying degrees of surprise that the fugitive Onesimus chose none of these options but rather seems to have sought out the assistance of a person

respected by his owner. Or they have suggested that Onesimus did not seek out Paul but rather unintentionally met up with him in prison after having been caught as a fugitive in a large city such as Rome or Ephesus, thus assuming (or concluding) that Onesimus only decided to return to Philemon because of Paul's urging. With Onesimus' putative fugitive status in mind, exegetes have discussed the range of punishments such a captured *fugitivus* could anticipate—beatings, chains, branding, in some cases even crucifixion—and concluded that part of Paul's intent in writing to Philemon was to persuade him to restrain himself from castigating Onesimus for running away.

In contrast to these longstanding assumptions, the Roman legal evidence presents as a common case a triangular situation in which a slave who got into some difficulty with his or her owner sought out a third party for the purpose of persuading that person to become the slave's advocate before the angry owner. The slave's goal was not to run away successfully but rather to return to the owner's household under improved conditions. According to Proculus, the foremost Roman jurist in the early 1st century C.E., such a slave emphatically did not become a *fugitivus* (*Dig.* 21.1.17.4). This opinion was echoed by such jurists as Vivianus during Trajan's reign, who mentioned the slave's mother as a natural advocate (*Dig.* 21.1.17.5), and by Paulus at the end of the 2d century, who specifically mentioned a slave who sought refuge and assistance from a friend of his owner (*Dig.* 21.1.43.1).

Among Roman models, this unexceptional triangular scenario provides the most adequate context for explaining the relationship among Onesimus, Paul, and Philemon in juristic terms (Lampe 1985: 135–37). Onesimus, then, was not a fugitive slave, nor had Paul been harboring a fugitive slave. If Onesimus had indeed intended to run away, there were surely much more promising and less risky places in which to "disappear" than at the side of a friend of his owner. But in this scenario, after causing his owner some serious loss (v 18), Onesimus sought out a respected friend of Philemon precisely in order to appeal for help in smoothing things out at home. This means that Onesimus' wrongdoing was neither running away nor stealing from household funds in order to finance his travel. Rather, something that he had done wrong led Onesimus to decide to seek out Paul as his advocate.

Lampe (1985: 137) acutely observes that this decision created a delicate situation: Onesimus, who was not yet a Christian, hoped to gain advantage by persuading one honored Christian teacher to put pressure on another Christian. Onesimus' initial trust in his owner's friend and "partner" (v 17) clearly bore surprising fruit: Paul led him to become a Christian (v 10), a "usefulness" (v 11) that Philemon had been unable to achieve in his own household. And Paul himself offered to make good whatever loss Onesimus had caused Philemon (vv 18–19). With these results in view, Paul appealed to Philemon to receive Onesimus back into the household as he would Paul himself, without mentioning directly the anger that had to be put aside and the forgiveness that was needed. Did Paul also anticipate that Philemon would make the new Christian Onesimus his freedman?

Innumerable former slaves throughout the Empire were living proof that neither Greek nor Roman slavery was usually a permanent state. Most commonly, an owner granted manumission to a *servus fidelis* as the due reward for faithful work and loyalty; this was frequently done by the owner's will at death. On the other hand, owners could punish disloyal slaves by including in their wills a clause prohibiting the heirs from ever manumitting them (Wiedemann 1985: 165). Yet there is also much evidence that owners while living had a variety of reasons for choosing to manumit some of their slaves (Bartchy 1973: 88–91), many of whom had reason to anticipate being set free about the age of thirty (see Alföldy 1972, opposed by Wiedemann 1985). (This is the appropriate context for resolving the famous disagreement about Paul's advice in 1 Cor 7:21 to Christians in slavery.) See SLAVERY (NEW TESTAMENT).

In this social-legal context the question regarding manumitting Onesimus was most likely *when*, not if, Philemon planned to set Onesimus free. Paul's climactic appeal in v 16 (receive him "no longer as a slave but … as a beloved brother") seems best understood as Paul's request that Onesimus' manumission not be delayed because of any wrongdoing (see v 18) and that Philemon forgive his slave and manumit him very soon. By this appeal Paul confronted Philemon with the choice either of continuing to regard himself as Onesimus' owner or of becoming his "brother" and "partner" (v 17) in a new social reality. Paul may well

have hoped that Onesimus would then be sent back to help him, in the status of Philemon's freedman (v 13).

What role, then, did Roman law as such play in this triangular relationship? There is no evidence that Philemon, a Phrygian, was a Roman citizen; therefore Paul was not obligated to extend to him the protections of Roman private law (see Derrett 1988: 73). And in any case, scholars must beware of accounting for any of Paul's actions solely in terms of Roman or Greek or even Jewish laws; at the least, matters depended on the respective civic statuses of the persons with whom he was involved. Nevertheless, general Roman principles regarding treatment of slaves, especially those who had left their owners for any reason, seem to have been broadly respected in the empire. Among the options known from Greek and Jewish law, this Roman model does seem to account best for the story in Plmn.

**D. The Letter's Story**

Every letter is a part of a story, arising out of some form of previous relationship between the writer and the reader, then itself creating a new dimension in the relationship, and finally implying at least one future event: the response of the reader(s). The writers, readers, and persons mentioned in letters are related to each other as superiors, equals, and inferiors, and the fact that Paul, Philemon, and Onesimus play multiple roles has made interpreting Plmn particularly difficult (see Petersen 1985: 63–64).

Thus every interpretation of Plmn has been based on some explicit or implied reconstruction of the personal stories of which it is a part. The most adequate interpretation of Plmn will integrate those stories into the letter's own story, a brief version of which follows.

Such a story begins, to be sure, prior to the writing of Plmn—with Paul's activities as a Christian evangelist in Asia Minor and his attempts in various cities to gather household-based communities of Christians characterized by their exclusive faith in the God of Israel, their merciful love for each other, and their hope in the future mercy of Jesus Christ (see 1 Thess 1:2–10). Paul's God was seeking to create a new social reality and solidarity among people long separated by religious, ethnic, and class barriers. Before having to consider the relations among Philemon, Onesimus, and himself, Paul had become well practiced in stimulating reconciliation and developing social cohesiveness among his surprisingly heterogeneous groups. And his other letters suggest that he sensed well how to use patron-client relationships to further his goals (see Elliott 1987).

Plmn's story becomes more focused with Paul's encountering Philemon somewhere along the way (Ephesus seems quite likely) and persuading him to become a Christian. This established Paul as Philemon's patron, as v 19 especially emphasizes: "you owe me even your own self." Probably the next step was Philemon's own evangelistic work, most likely in Colossae, resulting at the least in the community of Christians who met in his house, including Apphia and Archippus (v 2). In any case, Philemon had opened his household (see Elliott 1984) to this group of Christians and gained a glowing reputation as their patron (vv 5–7).

During this period Paul was taken prisoner either in Ephesus (ca. 54–56) or Rome (ca. 60–62). (In view of Acts 24:26–27, Caesarea has been proposed for more than a century, but this seems unlikely.) Ephesus was the closest large city to Onesimus' home, less than 100 miles distant, and many scholars have suggested that one of the imprisonments mentioned by Paul in 2 Cor 11:23 (see also his "affliction in Asia," 2 Cor 1:8) was there. In addition, Paul's request for hospitality (Plmn 22) has seemed to many to fit most easily with an arrest in Ephesus. This part of the story has been complicated by the traditional association of Plmn with the Letter to the Colossians and a Roman imprisonment, in which Onesimus is mentioned with Tychicus (4:9) as the bearer of the letter. In any case, because of his public activities as a Christian, Paul was under arrest in a kind of imprisonment that permitted him sufficient freedom to have personal contact with Onesimus and to write to Philemon.

At this point the scenario described above (in C) enters the story. A slave of Philemon named Onesimus, who had not become a Christian, caused his owner some serious loss (v 18). He then decided to leave his troubles behind and to seek out a respected friend of his owner in order to appeal for help in assuaging Philemon (v 15), probably hoping to use the Christian bond between these two men to his own advantage. Onesimus found Paul under arrest (v 13), and while visiting and assisting him was himself

persuaded to become a Christian (v 10). He thereby won Paul as his own patron and "father" and successfully persuaded him to become his advocate before his wronged owner.

At some point along the way Paul had heard about Philemon's great faith and love (vv 4–7), perhaps from Onesimus himself. Paul then built on that knowledge, on his friendship (v 17) and on his patron-client relationship with Philemon (vv 19–21), on Onesimus' personal service to him (v 13), and on the fact that Onesimus had become a Christian "brother" (v 16) and his own very dear "son" (v 10) by "pulling out all the stops" in a rhetorically crafted letter to Philemon on Onesimus' behalf. He even offered to pay from his own account for any damages done or debts Onesimus owed to Philemon, an amount Philemon may well have been able to cover from Onesimus' personal funds. See SLAVERY (NEW TESTAMENT).

Onesimus then returned to Philemon with Paul's strong, written appeal. If Philemon was moved by Paul's appeals to his advantage and his honor and then did all that Paul requested, he put aside his anger, forgave Onesimus, began to treat him with honor as a "brother," and smoothed out any remaining difficulties within the household (as he would have done for Paul, if needed). By these deeds he would have maintained his honor as a generous patron within his Christian community and before his own patron, Paul.

Moreover, the most direct way for Philemon to have stopped treating Onesimus as a slave (v 16) would have been to manumit him, probably well ahead of previous plans for doing so, especially in view of his wrongdoing. By making Onesimus his freedman he would have created a far more credible basis for functioning as his "brother" and "partner" (v 17) in the new kinship group they shared, their Christian community.

If Philemon, Apphia, Archippus, Onesimus, and the other Christians in their house-church accepted Paul's request that they pray for his anticipated stay with them (v 22), Philemon may well have waited for this visit to decide if he would encourage Onesimus to join Paul's group of "fellow workers" in the gospel. In any case, the return of Onesimus as a Christian, with Paul's strong support, presented Philemon with a major and pressing decision: would he deny his Christian identity by acting first of all with the prerogatives of an angry slave owner, or would he strengthen it by doing all in his power as Onesimus' patron to make him his "beloved brother" (see Petersen, *HBC*, 1245–48)? His house-church was watching, and Paul hoped to be there soon to see for himself.

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(For additional bibliography, see SLAVERY (NEW TESTAMENT)).


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**PHILETUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Philētos* (Φιλητος)]. A Christian who, along with Hymenaeus, had "swerved from the truth by holding that the resurrection is past already" (2 Tim 2:18). Because Hymenaeus can be linked with Ephesus (1 Tim 1:3), it can be assumed that that area was also the sphere of Philetus' activity. For further discussion on Philetus and related issues, see HYMENAEUS.

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**PHILIP** (PERSON) [Gk *Philippos* (Φιλιππος)]. **1.** Philip II, King of Macedonia (359–336 B.C.) and father of Alexander the Great (1 Macc 1:1, 6:2). Philip began his political career as the regent for the infant son of his dead brother Perdiccas III, but he soon displaced his nephew and became king instead. Five other contenders for the throne opposed him, but Philip captured coastal towns and the Chalcidian league, securing control over Macedon in the process. He founded new cities, beautified the Macedonian capital of Pella, and poured heavy resources into armaments. Then he turned his attention W toward Greece itself, conquering its city states and leagues in turn, ending with the defeat of Thebes and Athens in 338 and the formation of a league with all the cities except Sparta in 337. Philip next opened war on the Persian Empire, but was murdered by a Macedonian noble in 336 at the wedding of his daughter.

**2.** Philip V, ruler of Macedonia 221–179 B.C. mentioned (1 Macc 8:5) along with his son Perseus, the last Macedonian king, as a foe defeated by the Romans. As a young king he joined with Hannibal and waged the First Macedonian War (215–205) against Rome. Rome won, but at great cost. Hence, Philip V began attacking neighbors in the Agaean, while Antiochus III (Seleucid ruler 223–187) asserted Seleucid ambitions in Palestine and Asia Minor, causing Rome to attack Philip. After Antiochus took Palestine from the Egyptians at the outset of the reign of the child-king Ptolemy V (198), Philip V was able to secure land in Thrace and Asia Minor formerly held by Egypt. Rome, however, defeated Philip at the Battle of Cynoscephalae in 197. Philip was stripped of much of his territory and weapons, but left in power in Macedonia as a buffer against the ambitions of Antiochus III.

**3.** Phrygian governor of Jerusalem appointed by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (2 Macc 5:22) in 169 B.C. to complete the punishment of Jerusalem begun by Antiochus. Antiochus had attacked the city because he had been thwarted in his second campaign against Egypt in 169, causing a rumor to spread in Judea that he was dead and a battle to break out. Antiochus thought that Jerusalem had revolted and came to the city to take vengeance, ultimately robbing the Temple. He then appointed Philip to finish the task while he returned to Antioch. Philip proved more ruthless even than Antiochus, killing pious Jews who had assembled in caves to worship secretly (2 Macc 6:11). This Philip is mentioned once more (8:8), when he wrote to Ptolemy for help against the rising power of Judas Maccabeus. (According to 1 Macc 3:38, which is likely more accurate, Lysias was in charge, not Ptolemy, and dispatched Ptolemy, Dorymenes, and Gorgias to meet Judas.)

**4.** Foster brother of Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Macc 6:14). Upon his deathbed in Persia, Antiochus IV named Philip regent over his kingdom (6:14) and guardian of his son Antiochus V Eupator (6:55), roles he had previously entrusted to Lysius. See LYSIAS. Philip apparently carried the body of Antiochus back to Antioch (2 Macc 9:29), but the assertion that Philip fled to Egypt out of fear of Antiochus seems wrong. For one thing Antiochus was but a child, so Philip would have feared Lysias, if anyone. Second, 1 Macc 6:63 says that Lysias returned to Antioch, found Philip in control of the city, and defeated him, apparently contradicting 2 Macc 9:29. Goldstein (*2 Maccabees* 372–73) argues that 1 Maccabees is incorrect and that 2 Macc 9:29 is correct that Philip fled to Egypt, not, however, at the death of Antiochus in November or December, 164 B.C., but after April of 163. In the absence of better data, one should

approach Goldstein's reconstruction with caution. If Philip did indeed flee to Egypt, perhaps he was retreating before the advance of Lysias on Antioch.

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**5.** The son of Herod the Great and Cleopatra of Jerusalem. Josephus reports that he spent part of his youth in Rome, during which time Antipater made accusations against him to Herod: Antipater alleged that Philip had denounced Herod as the murderer of Aristobulus and Alexander and had said that he, Philip, would be Herod's next victim (*Ant* 17.80). These allegations caused Herod to hate Philip (*Ant* 17.146). But, discovering that Antipater's allegations were false, Herod was reconciled to Philip and made him a beneficiary under his last will, allotting to him Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, Batanaea, and Panias, with the title of tetrarch (*Ant* 17.189).

Philip played a part in the disputes which followed Herod's death. When Archelaus visited Rome to press his own case with Augustus, Philip remained in Judaea as his viceroy (*Ant* 17.219). But Varus, the Roman governor of Syria, soon persuaded Philip that he, too, should travel to Rome in order to support Archelaus there and to ensure that he would also receive a share if Augustus decided to partition Herod's kingdom (*Ant* 17.303). Under Augustus' final settlement, Philip received Batanaea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, Gaulonitis, and portions of the "domain of Zenodorus" in the vicinity of Panias. Our sources are imprecise as to the full extent of his territories: the Panias region is presumably the Ituraea of Luke 3:1 (cf. *HJP²* 1: 336). Philip ruled these territories as tetrarch, and received from them an annual income of 100 talents (*Ant* 17.319; *JW* 2.95).

Philip is known primarily as a builder. He refounded the city of Panias and named it Caesarea—the Caesarea Philippi (literally, "Philip's Caesarea") of the New Testament (Matt 16:13; Mark 5:27). He also refounded the town of Bethsaida: he supplemented its population, strengthened its fortifications, and named it Julias after Julia, Augustus' daughter. The refoundation will therefore have taken place early, presumably before Julia's exile in 2 B.C. (*Ant* 18.27–8). The foundation and refoundation of cities named after the emperor and his family was characteristic of client rulers under the Principate (Suet. *Aug.* 60 with Braund 1984: 107–11). Such cities tended to be centers of imperial cult: Herod the Great had already built a splendid temple near Panias for Augustus (*Ant* 15.363–64; *JW* 1.404–6). Philip's subjects were predominantly non-Jewish. Thus Philip's coinage bears images, most notably the heads of Augustus and Tiberius respectively. They also depict a temple, probably the temple which Herod had built near Panias. These coins indicate that Philip called himself simply "Philip, tetrarch" (*HJP²* 1: 340 n. 9).

Philip reigned as tetrarch from 4 B.C. until his death in A.D. 33/4. According to Josephus, he was a good ruler. His reign was mild and he avoided external entanglements. He traveled about his territories with only a small, select entourage, which would not be a burden upon his subjects. He dispensed justice promptly and fairly from a throne which he took with him in his travels around his tetrarchy. He died at Julias, where, after a costly funeral, his body was consigned to a tomb which he had built in preparation for his death (*Ant* 18.106–8).

Philip had married Salome, daughter of Antipas and Herodias, whose dancing had cost the head of John the Baptist (Mark 6:22) and who survived Philip to marry again (*Ant* 18.137). But Philip had no children: Tiberius annexed his territories upon his death (*Ant* 18.108). Philip the tetrarch is probably to be distinguished from another son of Herod named Philip (Mark 6:17 has the best mss authority; cf. also Matt 14:3; Luke 3:19; Josephus *Ant.* 18.5.1 §109). It is possible, however, that this second Philip is the product of confusion in our sources. See HEROD PHILIP.

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**6.** One of the twelve disciples of Jesus. In the Synoptic Gospels, he is only mentioned in the list of the disciples (Matt 10:3 = Mark 3:18 = Luke 6:14). More is known of him from the gospel of John where

Jesus called Philip to be one of the Twelve (1:43–44). Philip may have been a disciple of John the Baptist because his call took place near Bethany beyond the Jordan where John was baptizing (1:28). Philip is central in bringing Nathanael to Christ as one of the Twelve (1:45–46). Jesus tested Philip regarding how to feed the 5,000 in the wilderness, and Philip looks only to the expense of the matter (6:5–7). He acts as intermediary between Christ and Greeks who had come to worship at the Passover. They wanted to be introduced to Jesus and they sought out Philip to help them (12:20–26). He may have been chosen because he spoke Greek, had a Greek name, and came from Bethsaida, a predominantly Greek area (12:21). Within the confines of the Farewell Discourse, Philip asks Jesus for a vision of the Father, only to be told by Jesus that he already had seen the Father in him (14:8–9). Philip was present among the disciples in the Upper Room who were waiting for the coming of Holy Spirit (Acts 1:13). According to one tradition, Philip is the disciple who asked to go bury his father before following Jesus (Matt 8:21; Luke 9:56; Clem. *Str.* 3.4.25; 4.9.73).

**7.** One of the Seven chosen by the Jerusalem Church chosen to be an almoner to serve at table, administrate, and care for the poor and widows. The Seven were appointed as a response to the growing tension between the Hellenistic Jewish Christians and the Hebrew Christians of the Jerusalem Church. They served to relieve the disciples of such duties and permit them full time evangelism (Acts 6:1–7).

After the martyrdom of Stephen, Philip was forced to leave Jerusalem. As part of Luke's account of the spread of the Gospel to all the nations as a response to the Great Commission, an account of Philip relays his missionary work as an evangelist (Acts 8). He is noted for the conversion of non-Jewish believers. He made many converts, cast out demons, and healed the lame in the city of Samaria, even thwarting the influence and eventually converting the magician Simon Magus. Upon hearing of Philip's work, the apostles at Jerusalem sent Peter and John to Samaria to sanction officially the work and baptize the new converts in the Holy Spirit (vv 4–25).

In an episode on the road between Jerusalem and Gaza, Philip met a eunuch, the treasurer to the Candace, Queen of Ethiopia. Philip interpreted the Servant Song of Isa 53:7–8, identifying Jesus as the Servant. The eunuch was subsequently converted and baptized (vv 26–39). Philip then evangelized Azotus, the old Philistine city of Ashdod, about 20 miles N of Gaza, and proceeded to preach to cities along the coastal road until settling in Caesarea. Paul later stayed there with Philip and his four prophesying daughters (see below) on his last journey to Jerusalem (Acts 21:8–9).

Later tradition confuses Philip the Apostle and Philip the Evangelist. Confusion may have occurred as early as Papias (60–130 C.E.), for he refers to Philip the Apostle as living in Hierapolis with his daughters (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.8–10), but it was Philip the Evangelist who had notable daughters (see below). Also, Polycrates identified Philip the Apostle as buried at Hierapolis with his two aged virgin daughters and having another daughter buried at Ephesus (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.31.3). Eusebius does not catch Polycrates's mistake for he then quotes the *Dialogue* of Gaius to claim that Philip and his four prophetess daughters were buried at Hierapolis and goes on to quote Acts 21:8–9 (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.31.2–5).

The four virgin daughters of Philip the Evangelist are mentioned in Acts 21:8–9. Philip's daughters were Jewish-Christians who lived with their father in his home in Caesarea in Judea. They possessed the gift of prophecy and are literally called "virgin *(parthenos)* prophesying daughters." They are evidence that the gift of prophecy was the privilege of women in the early Church (cf. 1 Cor 11:5; Rev 2:20) and that the practice of prophecy among women evident in the OT was again manifested (e.g. 2 Kgs 22:14; Neh 6:14). Within Acts, these four prophetesses demonstrate the fulfillment of Joel's prophecy that in the latter days the spirit of God would be poured out on the daughters of Israel (Joel 2:28–29; Acts 2:14–21; cf. Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.17.2–3).

Luke may have received information about persons and events of the early years of Christianity in Judea from the daughters of Philip. Papias received information about Joseph Barsabbas (Acts 1:23) from the daughters of Philip (he confuses him with Philip the Apostle) (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.9–10). Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, mentions that Philip, one of the twelve apostles, and two virgin daughters who grew quite old were buried in a tomb at Hierapolis (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.31.2–3). Eusebius understands this reference to be to Philip the Evangelist, for he goes on to quote Proclus from the *Dialogue* of Gaius that

the four daughters of Philip were prophetesses who worked and were buried in Hierapolis along with their father Philip. In support, Eusebius cites Acts 21:8 as the biblical reference to the family (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.31.4–5).

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**PHILIP, ACTS OF.** A text which chronicles the adventures and martrydom of Philip at Hierapolis. About 50 Greek manuscripts, menologia for the most part, transmit the *Martyrdom of Philip.* This tale, which circulated in three divergent forms, was extracted from a larger work, the *Peregrinations* or *Acts of Philip the Apostle.* The remainder of the work—long lost—has been progressively recovered. This is especially so in the following manuscripts: Vatican, gr. 824 for *Acts Phil.* I–IX; Athos, Xenophontos 32 for the overall work in its long form less the essential of *Acts Phil.* II and VIII; the totality of *Acts Phil.* IX–X and the beginning of XI, folios having been mislaid or torn away; Athens, B.N. gr. 346 which gives a long form of the beginning of *Acts Phil.* VIII; and, if it really is the original end, Oxford, Bod. Baroccianus 180, which relates the translation of the apostle's relics from Ophiorymos to Hierapolis. The work was either dismantled for liturgical reasons (extraction of the *Martyrdom* as the reading for the Feast of St. Philip, 14 November) or else expurgated for doctrinal reasons (especially encratism).

The overall work was not, moreover, a single aggregate. *Acts Phil.* VIII and what follows until the end constitute a homogenous work and relate the journey of Philip the Apostle, accompanied by his sister Marian and his friend Bartholomew, to the city of Ophiorymos where he preached an encratic message, converted Nikanora the governor's wife, and Stachys the Blind, before being martyred by order of Tyrannognophos the governor. If Baroccianus 180 is followed, the tale finishes by the translation of the apostle's relics from Ophiorymos to Hierapolis where the tomb of Philip was venerated since the 2d century (Eus., *Hist. Eccl.* 3.31.1–4). On the other hand, *Acts Phil.* I–VII is a composite: *Acts Phil.* II, an independent episode (the confrontation at Athens between Philip, some Greek philosophers, and the High Priest of Jerusalem, inspired by Acts 17), *Acts Phil.* III–IV, a whole (the divine confirmation of Philip in his ministry and the healing of a young girl); *Acts Phil.* V–VII (the controversy with a Jew, a successful miracle, and the construction of a church). Certain of these episodes, as the proper names Azotus and Candankians suggest (*Acts Phil.* 33), must have originally been about Philip the Deacon (Acts 8) and not about the apostle. Different indices (2d century sources which were used as well as the mention of the *Acts Phil.* in the Decree of Ps-Gelatus 5.2.5, line 268, 5th–6th century) suggest that these different documents were grouped together into a single work by a 4th century author. This author or the editors of the sources relied on information relative to Philip which began circulating from the 2d century (the sepulcher at Hierapolis, the resurrection of a dead man; cf. Eus., *Hist. Eccl.* 3.31.1–4 and 39.9, as well as on a few legends [cf. the Manichean Psalm, "There were ten virgins," Allberry 1938: 192]). These also adapted passages from the other apocryphal Acts transferring them to Philip (cf. *Acts Phil.* VI, the joust between Peter and Simon, *Acts Pet.* 23–28), as well as different prayers of uncertain origin. The presence of this archaic material confers an importance on the *Acts Phil.* unsuspected until now.

In order to define the author's religious conceptions, one has to rely on the least normalized form of the *Acts Phil.*, i.e., Xenophontos 32. The work is encratic, hostile to marriage, favorable to sexual continence and abstention from meat, as is evident in such passages as "Purity *(hagenia)* communicates with God" (*Acts Phil.* V, 46). Mariamne is saved and fulfills a ministry, but only insofar as she is dressed as a man and inwardly has adopted a masculine dispostion. God and Christ generously offer salvation and confer on the believer a power capable of exorcism and healing. In addition, the apostles received from Christ a special dress (*Acts Phil.* I, 6) and a small coffer or case (*Acts Phil.* XIII). Coming in Christ's wake, they are healers of the soul; they settle in an abandoned dispensary.

The *Acts of Philip* is not hostile to the OT which is quoted in the dispute between Philip and Aristarchus (*Acts Phil.* VI, 77–79). Moreover the work transmits previously unpublished sentences of Jesus of a

synoptic type, doubtlessly coming from a document of the same type as the source of the Logia (Q; *Acts Phil-Mart. Phil.* 135).

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**PHILIP, GOSPEL OF** (NHC II,*3*). A Valentinian Christian document included among the Nag Hammadi Coptic codices discovered in Egypt in 1945. The text is extant only in this ms (Codex II,*3;* pp. 51–29–86:19), very likely a translation of an original Greek work. A Syrian provenance for the Greek text is suggested in part by the interest shown in the meaning of Syriac words (63:21–23; 56:7–9). Our Coptic copy is dated ca. A.D. 350.

**A. Title**

The text is anonymous and may bear Philip's name merely because he is the only apostle referred to by name (73:9–14). Among gnostics, however, Philip was considered a privileged recipient and caretaker of the Lord's revelation (*Pistis Sophia* 1:42). The apocryphal *Acts of Philip* portrays its protagonist as an ascetic who taught chastity and continence in marriage and who overcame heavenly demons by sacramental means.

**B. Composition**

*Gos. Phil.* is not like one of the NT Gospels. It is a compilation of statements in a variety of literary types: parable, paraenesis, narrative dialogue, dominical saying, aphorism, and analogy, along with samples of biblical exegesis, dogma, and polemics. These statements, however, are not placed into a narrative framework but are arranged in a sequence that is neither strictly topical nor predictable. Efforts to analyze the scheme of arrangement are hampered by inconvenient lacunae in the ms.

Some continuity of thought can be observed in the linkage of similar materials (e.g., 51:29–52:35, series of contrasts) or in the use of catchwords (e.g., 77:15–78:24, "love"). Abrupt changes of thought are frequent. Certain themes recur at unequal intervals (e.g., the need to rise before one dies, 56:15–20; 56:26–57:22; 66:16–23; 73:1–8), but with no obvious intervening development. There is a possibility that the compiler has broken coherent paragraphs into pieces (e.g., read in this order 70:5–9; 76:22–77:1; 66:7–29; or 75:13–14 followed by 61:36–62:5; or 63:5–11 prefixing 70:22–29).

**C. Content**

*Gos. Phil.* contains eight brief, enigmatic "new" sayings of Jesus (55:37–56:3; 58:10–14; 59:25–27; 63:29–30; 64:2–9; 64:10–12; 67:30–35; and 74:25–27). In addition it quotes five sayings of Jesus from Matthew (3:15; 6:6; 15:13; 16:17; and 27:46 [= Mark 15:34]) and three from John (6:53; 8:32, 34). The only other NT passages cited are Matt 3:10; 1 Cor 8:1; 15:50; and 1 Pet 4:8. There are many allusions to NT contexts and expressions, and the early chapters of Genesis receive an ongoing exegesis. There is no disparagement of the OT in *Gos. Phil.*, and the citation of Matt 3:10 is said to be as "the word says" (83:11).

*Gos. Phil.* tells several extracanonical stories about Jesus. He changed his appearance to suit the nature of those to whom he was revealing himself (57:28–58:10). His three female companions were each named Mary (59:6–11), though Mary Magdalene alone received many kisses from him (63:32–64:2). The result of mixing 72 colors together was a vat of white (63:25–30).

*Gos. Phil.* is very short on speculation about Sophia, the nature of the Pleroma, or the myth of creation. The tripartite division of humanity—fleshly, psychic, pneumatic—is not emphasized. *Gos. Phil.* speaks rather of being "a Hebrew," or "a Christian," or "a Christ."

The primary interest of *Gos. Phil.* is the restoration of Adam's original androgynous nature. Christ came expressly "to repair the separation" (70:12–17), which has brought death (68:22–26). The reunion is also spoken of as "the resurrection" (67:9–18) and must be attained before one dies, as pioneered by "the lord" (56:15–19). The reunion can be effected in the sacramental bridal chamber (70:17–22), where "the mysteries of truth" are revealed in type and image (84:20–21; 85:14–19).

Only “free men and virgins” may enter the bridal chamber; “animals, slaves, and defiled women” are excluded (69:1–4). A “virgin” is one never defiled by sexual intercourse (55:27–28), a “free man” does not sin (77:15–18); together they are called “Christians” (74:13–16), who possess “the resurrection, the light, the cross, the Holy Spirit” (74:18–21). Since “Christian” in the gnostic glossary normally designates the psychic rather than the pneumatic, *Gos. Phil.* is offering the psychic the chance to rise to the pneumatic level—by sacramental means (64:22–31; 74:12–15; 67:26–31). Even “a slave” can advance to a higher level (79:13–18).

*Gos. Phil.* summarizes: “The lord did everything in a mystery, a baptism and a chrism and a eucharist and a redemption and a bridal chamber” (67:27–30). This is probably the complete initiation sequence for a gnostic Christian. Initiation in the Church at the time of *Gos. Phil.* normally included baptism in water, chrism, and eucharist, set against a nuptial background. “Bridal chamber” in *Gos. Phil.* may be a covering term for the whole initiation, since a benefit of a particular sacrament (cf. 67:5–6; 69:12–14; 57:27–28) may also be associated with “bridal chamber” (86:4–11; cf. 70:5–9; 74:12–24). The converse is also the case (58:10–14; 69:4–14; 73:1–19; 75:14–24).

What the mystery of “redemption” accomplished is not explained. It is associated with both baptism and bridal chamber (69:25–27). Both Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.21.2) and Hippolytus (*Haer.* 6.41) say that a second baptism called “redemption” was in use among Valentinians. The ritual action in the sacramental bridal chamber has been variously estimated: an act of sexual intercourse by married couples (cf. 65:1–26), or a holy kiss shared by celibates (69:1–4; 59:2–6; 63:32–64:9; 82:4–7).

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**PHILIPPI** (PLACE) [Gk *Philippoi* (Φιλιπποι)]. Situated in N Greece at the border of E Macedonia and Thrace, ancient Philippi was the site of Paul’s earliest extensive missionary activity in Europe (Acts 16:11–40; Philippians). The city (41°00´N; 24°16´E) stood about 16 km NNW of the port city Neapolis (modern Kavalla) and originally bore the name Krenides (from the Greek for “spring”) in recognition of the abundance of streams in the area.

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A. Historical Overview
B. Krenides, Philippi, and the Thracians
C. Hellenistic Philippi
D. Early Roman Philippi
E. Later Roman Philippi
F. Sanctuaries and Rock Reliefs
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**A. Historical Overview**

Greek colonists from the nearby island of Thasos founded Krenides in 360–59 B.C.E. under the leadership of the exiled Athenian politician Kallistratos. In 356, King Philip II of Macedon brought the city under Macedonian dominion and renamed it after himself. It is likely that the financial resources which propelled Philip’s hegemonic policies in Greece derived in large part from the precious metals mined at Mt. Pangaion overlooking the plain of Datos in which Philippi was located.

Rome’s successful campaigns against Macedonian dynasts and dynastic pretenders in the 2d century B.C.E. led to the establishment of a Roman province of Macedonia. Over the course of the next century (mid-2d to mid-1st B.C.E.), Philippi served as a provincial outpost on the Via Egnatia, the main overland

artery linking Rome to the East. Two battles fought near the city in 42 B.C.E. resulted in the defeat of the "liberators" Cassius and Brutus who had been instrumental in the assassination of Julius Caesar. The victors at Philippi, Octavian (later titled Augustus) and Antony, emerged as the dominant powers of the Roman Mediterranean basin. Following the battles, Philippi became a Roman colony and discharged veterans receiving land allotments settled permanently in the area. Within a few years after Augustus' defeat of Antony at the battle of Actium (30 B.C.E.), as many as 500 more Roman soldiers—mostly veterans of Antony's praetorian guard who had lost their claims to land in Italy—received allotments and accompanying privileges in Philippi. Renamed Colonia Julia Augusta Philippensis, in honor of Augustus' daughter, the colony of Philippi embraced an area of more than 700 square miles extending from the Pangaion mountain range in the north to the colony's seaport of Neapolis in the S and from the Nestos river in the E to the Strymon in the W. The city of Philippi was the urban political center of the colony and with its proximity to the Via Egnatia also dominated the colony's commercial life.

Epigraphic evidence from Philippi indicates that the Egnatia in E Macedonia and Thrace was in a state of disrepair in the early Roman Imperial period. During the reigns of Augustus' immediate successors (Tiberius, Gaius, and Claudius) the colony may have been dependent largely on its access to the sea via Neapolis for commerce and communication. It was by the sea route—Alexandria Troas in Asia Minor to Neapolis and overland to Philippi—that the apostle Paul traveled to the city in 49 C.E. during the reign of the Emperor Claudius (41–54 C.E.). Trajan's (97–117 C.E.) and Hadrian's (117–138 C.E.) activities in the East occasioned the repair and upkeep of the Egnatia, and it is from this period and the time of their successors, Antoninus Pius (138–61 C.E.) and Marcus Aurelius (161–80 C.E.), that most of the Roman buildings now visible at the site originated.

Excavations at Philippi have revealed further building activity in the 3d and 4th centuries C.E. including the construction of one of the earliest known Christian churches in Greece. At least six more churches were built at or near the city during the 5th–7th centuries C.E. attesting to Philippi's dramatic ascendancy as an episcopal and ecclesiastical center and perhaps also as an important object of Christian pilgrimage. Taking their toll in this period was a series of extremely destructive earthquakes which disrupted construction and repair activity at some of the ecclesiastical sites and may have resulted in the city's general depopulation. In medieval times, there is evidence of a castle fortification at Philippi (mid-10th century C.E.) and of Christian burials (10th and 11th centuries C.E.), but by the 16th century only a small and scattered settlement occupied the site.

(Reports of the Greek Archaeological Service excavations at Philippi are included in the "Chronika" of *Archaiologikon Deltion* [in Greek]. Excavations of the Archaeological Society of Athens were reported in *Ergon,* 1958–69 [in Greek], and in *Pratika Archaiologikes Hetaireias,* 1958–67 [in Greek].)

**B. Krenides, Philippi, and the Thracians**

Of the Thasian settlement of Krenides little is known. Herodotus reports (7.112) that Thracian tribes were active in the Pangaion area at the time of Xerxes' invasion of Greece and that they held gold and silver mines in the region. According to Diodorus Siculus (16.3.7; 16.8.6–7), Philip II's takeover of Krenides came after the original Thasian settlers requested assistance in curbing Thracian hostilities. The impact of the native Thracians was durable throughout Philippi's early history, especially in local military, political, and religious matters. Thracian military contingents guided both Antony's and Octavian's forces as well as those of Cassius and Brutus before the first battle of Philippi—this, apparently, to insure that Thracian interests would be served whatever the battle's outcome. Inscriptions provide evidence of high civic honors bestowed by the Roman colony on Thracian dynasts who served as Roman client-rulers in the early Imperial period. Thracian royalty occupied the highest civic priesthoods even in the Roman province's capital, Thessalonica. Particularly acute was Thracian influence in Philippi's local religions. Herodotus reports a Thracian oracle of Dionysos at nearby Mt. Pangaion (7.111). The Thracian Bacchus, Bendis (associated with Artemis and Diana), and the rider hero are prominent features of Philippi's religious environment and their influence may explain certain peculiarties in the city's religious history.

**C. Hellenistic Philippi**

Few archaeological remains of the Hellenistic city have survived. A dedicatory inscription from the late 4th century B.C.E. provides some evidence for a temple of Apollo Komaios and Artemis. Foundations of fortification walls enclosing the acropolis and habitable area below date probably from Philip II's reign. Below the acropolis on the E within the city walls was an early theater of the Hellenistic period which was transformed on at least two occasions in Roman times.

At the SW base of the acropolis was a small Ionic prostyle structure (3d or 2d century B.C.E.) which may have served as a hero's shrine. Philippi's largest Christian basilica was to be built immediately adjacent to the sanctuary, and the church's outermost structures expanded to incorporate it into the ecclesiastical complex. Another heroön dating from the 2d century B.C.E. has been excavated in the Hellenistic city's center. A monumental temple-like structure was built above an earlier Macedonian tomb containing the remains of a young man thought to be associated with one of the city's or region's cults (as inferred from a religious relief on a pendant worn by the deceased). An inscription identifies the youth as Euephenes son of Exekestos, a name known from lists of initiates into the Samothracian cult of the "Great Gods." The earliest known Christian church at Philippi abutted the heroön which was later built over by an ecclesiastical establishment.

**D. Early Roman Philippi**

In the early 1st century C.E., a marble arch (no longer extant) was located two kilometers W of the city and marked the limit of Philippi's *pomerium*—an area which, according to Roman convention, was left uninhabited and uncultivated. Dating also from the early Roman colonial settlement are the foundations of a sanctuary of the Egyptian gods, a cult which enjoyed considerable popularity in Roman Macedonia. Judging from the use of expensive imported marble in the sanctuary's construction, Philippi's Egyptian cult establishment appears to have enjoyed the support of at least some wealthy adherents. The sanctuary commanded a prominent location on a central ledge at the base of the acropolis overlooking the Hellenistic Ionic prostyle heroön.

About 400 meters S of the Egnatia, a small structure was identified beneath a later Roman bath complex. Five inscriptions recovered in the bath's excavation suggest that the building was an early Roman Imperial period sanctuary of Bacchus and other gods and goddesses associated with him at Philippi. Three of the inscriptions are dedicated to Liber, Libera, and Hercules, and the other two to Liber Pater, the Roman religious analogue of the Greek Dionysos. A predominance of female dedicants in the inscriptions is striking. Dedicating a water system at the sanctuary to Liber, Libera, and Hercules was a thiasus of maenads, a cultic association of women distinctive to Dionysos religion. Three of the other inscriptions record devotional activity by individual women: one involved an offering to Liber Pater of a sestertia (1,000 denarii); another apparently the dedication of a statue directed to Liber, Libera, and Hercules. The fifth inscription was dedicated by a husband and wife to the divine triad. In addition to attesting to the financial well-being and independence of the female dedicants, the inscriptions reflect the participation of women in cultic activity involving Hercules. Such participation was unusual in Greek and Roman environments. At Thasos and Rome, for example, women could not take part in sacrificial activity for Hercules. Since Dionysos and Hercules were patron deities of Thasos, the origin of the site's original settlers, it is possible that the cult of Liber, Libera, and Hercules at Philippi stems from early Thasian devotions. In view of the cult's peculiarities (involvement of women and the additional attention to Libera), the influence of Thracian attachment to Bacchus, Bendis, and the rider hero also may have had an impact on the cult of Liber (in association with Libera and Hercules) at Philippi.

At the time of Paul's visit, the population of the colony would have included a relatively privileged core of Roman veterans and their descendants; Greeks descended from the inhabitants of the earlier Hellenistic cities (Krenides and Philippi) and from other Greek settlements in the area (e.g., Amphipolis, Maroneia, and Neapolis); Greeks involved in commerce who had migrated from Asia Minor (exemplified by the figure of Lydia of Thyatira mentioned in Acts 16:14); and native Thracians. Most of the colony's inhabitants probably lived in agrarian rural settlements, including those Roman veterans who established agricultural estates with slave work forces in the countryside. Although there is little archaeological evidence of such estates from the colony of Philippi, an excellent example of such villas from the later

Roman period has been excavated at the site of Tsoukalario on nearby Thasos. The presence of villages in the colony is attested by burial sites, inscriptions from which designate the deceased person as "villager" *(vicanus).* Epigraphic data indicate that Romans dominated the city's and colony's administration which was typically Roman (duumviri, aediles, and quaestors are in evidence). While Latin predominates in the inscriptions from the period, traces of the continued use of Greek and Thracian are apparent especially in cultic contexts. Half of the inscriptions pertaining to the Egyptian cult, for example, are in Greek—a number out of all proportion to the preponderance of Latin inscriptions in Philippi's epigraphic record. The Greek-speaking Paul was understood sufficiently well to have undertaken an extended stay at the city.

**E. Later Roman Philippi**

With the repair of the Egnatia during Trajan's reign (97–117 C.E.) and the increasingly eastward-oriented policies of his successors, Hadrian (117–138 C.E.) and Antoninus Pius (138–61 C.E.), Philippi enjoyed a period of extensive building activity. In the south-central part of the city, excavations have revealed a palaestra dating from the Antonine period. It included an exercise field, a compact amphitheater, a cavernous underground latrine complex, and various rooms for users of the facility. About 200 meters S of the palaestra were ornate public baths with richly decorated mosaic floors (no longer extant). Dating from the 2d century C.E., the baths were built over the earlier structure associated with dedications to Liber, Libera, and Hercules.

The palaestra's northern entrance issued onto a large street running parallel to the Via Egnatia which intersected the city as the decumanus maximus some forty meters to the n. Lying just off the large street immediately east of the palaestra was a market complex with a facade of Corinthian columns. A row of shops lined the other (N) side of the street across from the palaestra and market. Abutting the rear of the shops was the S wall of the forum.

Most of the remains of the forum presently visible date to the period of Marcus Aurelius' reign (161–80 C.E.). The forum is a clearly defined rectangle which encloses a marble-paved court measuring 100 meters from E to W and 50 meters N to S. Its N side is parallel and immediately adjacent to the Via Egnatia and features an imposing speaker's rostrum in the center, flanked by two shrine-like structures and two large fountains on either side.

Located along the forum's N axis in its E and W corners are two small temples very similar in size and ground plan. The two buildings frame the N forum complex and are aligned with stoas to the S which run along the forum's E and W sides. The structure in the W corner consisted of a pronaos *in antis* and a rectangular room within which a bench lined the side and back walls. A dedicatory architrave inscription suggests that the building may have been the scene of banquets held in honor of the divine Antoninus Pius ([ *... ex*] *voluntate sua a divo* [*A*]*ntonino ex epulis ... ).* The corresponding temple on the E side of the forum had a pronaos with two Corinthian columns *in antis* with a naos characteristic of a temple cella and not furnished with benches. Although there is an architrave inscription which appears to be quite similar to that of the W building, the central block presumably bearing the honored deity's name has not been recovered. An inscription on a small statue base recovered inside the cella refers in dedicatory style to Faustina Augusta, probably Marcus Aurelius' wife Faustina the Younger whose tenure as "Augusta" spanned the years 147 to 175 C.E. The presence of the statue of an emperor's wife suggests that the temple was the site of honors for the Roman imperial house as was its twin temple on the forum's E side. That the emperor's wife received divine honors at the colony is affirmed by inscriptions mentioning a priesthood of the divine Augusta recovered at Philippi and Neapolis.

Behind the stoa defining the forum's E side are a row of rooms some of which were occupied by the city's library. 2 Timothy 4:13 reflects the importance of popular literary culture in the period: Paul is portrayed as requesting the return of a cloak together with his books and parchments. Government buildings appear to have dominated the W side of the stoa in the center of which stood the curia chamber. Along the forum's S side was a large double-aisled stoa probably for the general use of the city's inhabitants and visitors.

**F. Sanctuaries and Rock Reliefs**

North of the Via Egnatia along the base of the acropolis were a number of sanctuaries situated in a quarry which had been used in the Hellenistic period. A well-executed inscription in Latin records devotees of Silvanus, a Roman god of woods and forests. The quarried-out rock face on which the inscription was carved served apparently as the back wall of a sanctuary otherwise constructed of semipermanent materials. Shrines dedicated to Magna Mater and Diana also are in evidence and if enclosed at all, would have been made of wood and other less durable materials. Though extremely difficult to date, the sanctuaries probably originated in the 1st or 2d centuries C.E.

The acropolis at Philippi bears 187 rock-cut reliefs. While a variety of deities are associated with the carvings (the Thracian rider, Magna Mater, Jupiter, Minerva, Isis), the vast majority of them represent a hunting goddess Diana, related to the Greek Artemis and Thracian Bendis. Some of the reliefs depicting Diana are in proximity to carvings of what appear to be human women accompanied, in some instances, with typically domestic paraphernalia. Interpreters of the reliefs have suggested that the women may have been worshippers of the goddess, as clearly was the case in certain ex votos with female dedicants and representations of a deity. It also is possible that human women depicted in the carvings were understood as being associated through funerary iconography with the protective powers of the goddess. Although the cemetery conventionally was located outside the city, the reliefs may have been religious memorials celebrating the deceased's assumption of immortal status. An analogous phenomenon occurs in mortuary iconography depicting deceased males as the Thracian rider hero.

Another set of reliefs depicting women and/or goddesses in a fairly remote area above the theater reflects perhaps the devotions and memorial activity of a group of women cult officials (priestesses of the Augustae) or associated adherents of Libera or Bacchus. However one understands the reliefs on the Philippian acropolis, it is unwise to attribute them to a single underlying religious motivation. They appear to be monuments to a rich variety of religious and honorific perspectives which were expressed in very different styles over a period of two or three centuries.

**G. Early Christian Philippi**

The earliest Christian building identified at Philippi is a small rectangular structure in the area just E of the Roman forum. Dedicated to Paul, the church was built in the second quarter of the 4th century C.E. (a floor inscription records donations by a bishop at Philippi who from independent testimony is known to have attended the Council of Serdica in 342 C.E.). While the church was immediately adjacent to the heroön built over the Macedonian tomb, there is no indication of a cultic relationship between the two establishments. It is noteworthy, however, that the earliest large basilica at Philippi (5th century C.E.) was constructed in immediate proximity to the heroön just above the Egnatia. This church complex, known as Basilica A, spread over an area almost as large as the Roman forum. The two-storied basilica with its apse oriented typically to the E, featured elegant frescoes in its various chambers, a long, broad nave, and an expansive narthex and exonarthex to the W. Excavations have revealed another basilica N of the Egnatia, to the W of and below Basilica A, which was carefully built and richly appointed with fine marble materials.

An even more grandiose church building (the so-called "Direkler Basilica" or Basilica B) was begun S of the forum adjacent to the palaestra. It was to have been crowned by an enormous free-standing dome which collapsed prior to completion of the church. A church of more modest dimensions later was built at the site.

East of the forum and incorporating the earlier church dedicated to Paul was an ecclesiastical complex designated by excavators as an "episkopeion" (installations associated with a bishop's residence). A monumental entryway to the complex consisted of a double-colonnaded stoa leading S from the Egnatia. Through the stoa, one gained access to a large octagonal chapel with a stepped apse to the E. Before reaching the octagon, one would have passed a number of rooms off the stoa's E edge: a pyramidal-shaped fountain (Phiale), a room of uncertain identity just above the heroön, a Diakonikon with a table or bench on its E wall, and a Prothesis which communicates with the chapel. Suggestions that an early Christian saint's cult involving water rituals continued the earlier cult at the heroön cannot be confirmed. Over 1,500 coins have been recovered in the area above the heroön, but these date only from the 4th to

6th centuries C.E. and not before. There are no architectural or other archaeological grounds for presuming cultic continuity between the two establishments.

North of the Phiale is an ensemble of elegantly executed rooms clustered around a baptistery which probably was covered with a dome, decorated on its walls and ceilings with mosaics. Hot water for the baptistery came from an adjacent thermae (bath) complex complete with caldarium, tepidarium, frigidarium, swimming pool, toilets, and perhaps a shower. The intimate proximity of such an extensive bath complex communicating with the ecclesiastical installation is a distinctive feature of the episcopal establishment at Philippi. Extensive storage areas which served the complex have been excavated as has a small burial site for infants located N and E of the octagon's apse.

Outside the city walls in the modern village of Krenides is another basilica from the early Christian period (the "Extra-muros Basilica"). Originally constructed in the 5th century C.E. in an area containing tombs, the "Extra-muros Basilica" was the site of later Christian burials some of whose epitaphs may include sectarian distinctions applied to the deceased. A series of earthquakes in the 6th and 7th centuries C.E. damaged the church, apparently beyond repair since a small Byzantine chapel was built on the site using remains from the earlier basilica. In the 10th and 11th centuries C.E., the area around the chapel served as a Christian cemetery.

In the immediate vicinity of the "Extra-muros Basilica" excavations have uncovered the apse of a much larger basilica dating from the 4th century C.E. At the site, a large funerary mosaic of the 6th century C.E. has come to light which indicates the titles of the deceased and the names of the bishops who had served during his lifetime. The mosaic is an important source in the reconstruction of Philippi's officialdom in the early Byzantine period. A possible explanation for the large number of imposing churches at Philippi is that in addition to its episcopal importance, the city enjoyed a special status as the site of early Christian pilgrimages focusing on Paul or other unknown saints. To establish whether or not this evolved out of regional attraction to Philippi's hero and/or healing cults of an earlier period will require further investigation.

Recovered near the "Neapolis Gate" SE of the theater were fragments of an inscription containing a version of the apocryphal correspondence between Abgar of Edessa and Jesus. The inscription has been dated from the mid-4th to mid-5th centuries and probably served as a device intended to protect the city.

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**PHILIPPIAN JAILOR.** Not named in Acts 16, although two late minisucle manuscripts, 2147 of the 11th century and 614 of the 13th, call him Stephanas (Metzger 1980: 41). Acts 16:23, 27, 36 are the only places in which *desmophylax,* "jailor," appears in the NT. According to Haenchen *Acts* (MeyerK, 501), Acts 16:25–34 contain so many improbabilities that these verses cannot be historical. However, vv 25–29 very likely contain a historical kernel, because according to 1 Thess 2:2, Paul had suffered and been shamefully treated in Philippi. This narrative would have also contained miraculous elements (Giesekke 1989: 348–51): the earthquake, opened doors, being freed from the stocks, and Paul's seeing through walls. In parallel fashion, Luke writes of the apostles (5:17–26) and Peter (12:3–17) being freed from prison (Lüdemann 1987: 187–91).

The jailor was instructed to guard Paul and Silas carefully, and he did. They were put in the inner prison and their feet were placed in stocks. Later, after the earthquake had opened the doors of the prison and the prisoners appeared to be gone, the jailor wanted to kill himself. But Paul prevented him and assured him that all the prisoners were still there. The jailor demanded a light and rushed and fell at Paul's and Silas' feet. He then led them outside and asked the question, "Men, what must I do to be saved?" Their answer was that he should believe in the Lord Jesus and he and his household would be saved, and then they spoke the word of the Lord to them. The jailor washed their wounds and was at once baptized with all of his family. He brought Paul and Silas into his household and set food before them and rejoiced with all his household that he had believed in God. The next day, the jailor delivered to Paul and Silas the magistrates' instruction that they were to be freed, and let them go in peace.

To show an appropriate equality, Luke draws parallels between men and women. Both Lydia (vv 13–15) and the jailor convert, and with their households believe and are baptized. Both show Paul hospitality. In addition, God protects the Christians. The security measures taken by the jailor are to no avail. Actually, Paul's calm confidence is contrasted with the agitated state of the jailor, who later humbly recognizes the importance of Paul and Silas. Consequently, through the Philippian jailor, Luke develops his themes of salvation, belief with one's whole household in the Lord Jesus, recognition of Jesus as "Lord," the word of the Lord, baptism, sexual equality, hospitality, and rejoicing in these things (O'Toole 1984: 33–61, 86–92, 125, 206–10, 225–47).

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**PHILIPPIAN SLAVE GIRL.** See SLAVE GIRL AT PHILIPPI.

**PHILIPPIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.** Written by the apostle Paul to the church in the NE Macedonian city of Philippi, the letter to the Philippians is the eleventh book of the NT canon. It is

traditionally referred to as one of Paul's four "Prison" or "Captivity" Epistles, because in this letter as well as in Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon the author indicates that he is incarcerated at the time of writing. The contents of Philippians may be briefly summarized as follows: After a salutation (Phil 1:1–2) and thanksgiving (1:3–11), Paul discusses his imprisonment and its effects on the progress of the gospel (1:12–26). Next, he gives exhortations to the church (1:27–2:18), citing a famous hymn from the early Christian liturgy (2:6–11). After indicating his plans to send Timothy and Epaphroditus to Philippi (2:19–30), Paul warns the Philippians about false teachers who would thwart their spiritual progress (3:1–21). Finally, he concludes the letter with various exhortations (4:1–9), an expression of gratitude for a gift sent to him by the Philippians (4:10–20), greetings (4:21–22), and a benediction (4:23).

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A. Establishment of the Church
B. Paul's Continuing Contact with Philippi
C. Analysis of the Letter to Philippi
    1. Authenticity
    2. Character and Contents
    3. Integrity and Purpose
    4. Place and Date of Composition
D. Opponents
E. The Christ Hymn
F. Text and Early Versions

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**A. Establishment of the Church**

According to Acts 16, Paul established the church in Philippi on his so-called second missionary journey. He was accompanied by Silas, Timothy, and possibly a third, anonymous individual whose presence may be implied by the use of "we" in the narrative of Acts (16:10–17; cf. also 20:5–15; 21:1–18; 27:1–28:16). With the founding of the church in Philippi, Christianity made its first appearance in Europe, a development that Luke attributed to divine intervention (Acts 16:6–10). Paul also attached special significance to his activity in and from this Macedonian city and referred to it as constituting "the beginning of the gospel" (Phil 4:15). It is appropriate that the first convert is identified in Acts as a woman, Lydia of Thyatira, for women played an important role not only in Macedonian social life but also in the church at Philippi (Phil 4:2–3; cf. Thomas 1972; Portefaix 1988). Paul's work in the city was marked by conflict and persecution (Phil 1:29–30). According to his own testimony, he was shamelessly mistreated there (1 Thess 2:2), and suffered abuse of the sort instanced by the account in Acts, in which he is seized, dragged into the marketplace, accused of crimes, publicly beaten with rods, and incarcerated, with his feet fastened in stocks (16:19–40). After a stay of uncertain length in Philippi (Acts 16:12, 18) and the conversion of a jailer (Acts 16:27–34) along with an unspecified number of others (Acts 16:40), Paul departed and went to Thessalonica (1 Thess 2:1–2; Acts 16:40–17:1). The preceding depiction, which incorporates the evidence of Acts, suggests a date of approximately 49 or 50 C.E. for Paul's ministry in Philippi (cf. Bruce 1977: 475; Schenke and Fischer 1978: 124; Lohse 1981: 80; Koester 1982: 103). For a different reconstruction, based on Phil 4:15 and the rejection of Acts as a reliable source for the dating and description of Paul's Macedonian ministry, see Luedemann (1984: 262), who places Paul at Philippi in either 36 or 39 C.E.

**B. Paul's Continuing Contact with Philippi**

Paul's departure from Philippi did not end his contact with the church there. The narrative of Acts may suggest that he left behind one of his associates (compare Acts 17:14–15), viz., the anonymous eyewitness of the "we" sections who is traditionally identified as Luke. Similarly, the resumption of first person plural language in Acts 20:5–6 in connection with another visit of Paul to Philippi may imply that this anonymous associate either remained in the city until that time or returned there to rejoin Paul. These suggestions, however, cannot be confirmed by Paul, who never mentions Luke in connection with the Philippians, and the use of "we" may be simply a stylistic device by the author of Acts (Robbins 1978).

By his own account, Paul had a unique relationship with the church in Philippi. Departing from his usual practice of refusing compensation from his converts (1 Corinthians 9), Paul accepted financial support from the Philippian church while he was in Thessalonica, and he did so on more than one occasion (Phil 4:15–16). Funds were also supplied to him later when he was in Corinth (2 Cor 11:7–9), and Paul's receipt of still another monetary gift occasioned at least part of his correspondence with the Philippians (Phil 4:10–20). Since the Philippians shared in the Macedonians' abject poverty (2 Cor 8:2), such largess was not a sign of their affluence, but of their genuine affection for the apostle and of their support of his labors (Phil 1:5; 4:10; cf. also Rom 15:26). These gifts served to solidify the bond between Paul and the Philippians and to nurture their special relationship. But communication was maintained not simply by the Philippians sending their envoys (such as Epaphroditus [Phil 2:25]) with gifts and probably letters to Paul (so Zahn 1909: 1.526; Moffatt 1923: 168). Paul, for his part, sent his co-workers to Macedonia and Achaia with messages for churches in those provinces (Acts 19:22). Timothy, who had played a part in the founding of the church at Philippi, probably traveled through that city on his way to Corinth (1 Cor 4:17; 16:10). In writing to the Philippians, Paul not only mentioned Timothy in the prescript (1:1) but also announced his intention once again to send him to Philippi (2:19, 23). Silas may also have been sent back to Philippi (cf. Milligan 1908: xxx; Lake 1919: 74). Paul was not content, however, to send his companions with oral or written messages; he had a long-standing desire to return to Macedonia in person (1 Cor 16:5; 2 Cor 1:15). This hope was finally realized after he paid a painful visit to Corinth and wrote a severe letter to the church there (2 Cor 2:13; 7:5; Acts 20:1–2). According to Acts, he paid a third and final visit to the city on his way to Troas (Acts 20:5–6; cf., however, 1 Tim 1:3). How these visits are to be related to the expectations and plans expressed in Philippians (1:19, 26; 2:24) depends on the date and place of the letter's composition (see below).

**C. Analysis of the Letter to Philippi**

Four matters especially germane to the interpretation of Philippians are its authenticity, character and contents, integrity and purpose, and place and date.

**1. Authenticity.** Four basic positions have been taken by NT scholars during the last two centuries in regard to the authenticity of the letter to the Philippians. First, a number of scholars in the 19th century denied the authenticity of the letter. The most important to do so was Ferdinand Christian Baur (1875: 2.45–79), who regarded Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians as the only genuine Pauline letters. Baur argued that the letter used Gnostic ideas in 2:6–11, was dependent on the Corinthian correspondence (esp. 2 Corinthians), contained monotonous repetitions, and lacked anything distinctly Pauline, including a concrete historical occasion and purpose (cf. Mengel 1982: 119–27). He viewed Philippians as a 2d century document that was intended to glorify Paul's success in Rome and to lessen the conflict between the Jewish Christian and the gentile Christian parties in the church. His rejection of Philippians was shared by most scholars of the early Tübingen School (e.g., Schwegler 1846: 1.168–69, 298; 2.133–35) as well as the later radical skeptics, who regarded all letters in the Pauline corpus as inauthentic (e.g., van Manen [*Philippians EncBib,* 3703–13]). Although the strongest arguments for the inauthenticity of Philippians were marshalled by Carl Holsten (1875; 1876), not many scholars found his interpretation of the evidence persuasive. Consequently, this extreme position had few advocates by the end of the century and has little support today (cf., however, Morton and McLeman 1966).

The second position, a compromise adopted by some scholars, is that Philippians contains both authentic and inauthentic material. A few interpreters (e.g., Völter 1892; 1905: 286–323) have discerned large blocks of non-Pauline material in the letter, whereas several others (e.g., Barnikol 1932) have limited the inauthentic parts to glosses added by a later redactor. Critics frequently have viewed the reference to "bishops and deacons" (1:1), for instance, as an ecclesiastical anachronism and dismissed it as an ancient gloss (so, e.g., Riddle and Hutson 1946: 123; Schmithals 1971: 89–90 n. 14; Schenke and Fischer 1978: 126; Schenk 1984: 78–82, 334). Many older scholars who rejected Philippians as completely inauthentic naturally used this same reference as part of their case against Pauline authorship. (For discussions of the first two positions and bibliography, cf. esp. Lipsius *Philippen* HKNT, 211–15; Vincent *Philippians* ICC, xxvi–xxx; and Mengel 1982: 317–24).

The third position, the traditional view that Paul wrote all the material contained in Philippians, was maintained by the majority of 19th- and early-20th-century scholars and still has numerous adherents. Current advocates include those who believe that Paul is the composer of the hymn found in 2:6–11; they view the hymn as either written by Paul at the time of the letter or, as is more likely, composed on a prior occasion and incorporated in the letter as part of his exhortation (so, e.g., Scott *IDB* 1: 46–47; Furness 1959: 240–43; Kim 1981: 147–49; Wright 1986: 352; cf. also the discussion by Martin 1983: 55–61).

The fourth position on the authenticity of Philippians, a variation of the traditional view, is held by the majority of contemporary interpreters. Paul's authorship of Philippians is affirmed, but his use of traditional Christian material is also recognized (cf. Schenk 1984: 336–38). Some, for example, see in Phil 3:20–21 either Paul's creative use of traditional motifs (so Siber 1971: 122–34; Collange 1979: 139; Martin *Philippians* NCBC, 146–51) or his citation of a non-Pauline hymn (so Strecker 1964: 75–78; Güttgemanns 1966: 240–47; Becker 1971; 1976: 106–16; Reumann 1984; for a different view, cf. Kim 1981: 150–56). Again, the hymn in 2:6–11 is viewed as pre-Pauline by a wide spectrum of scholars, who usually affirm that Paul has redacted the hymn by adding one or more glosses, such as "even death on a cross" (2:8; cf., e.g., Lohmeyer 1928; 1964: 91, 96; Bonnard *Philippians* CNT, 42, 47–49; Jeremias 1953: 152–54; Gnilka *Philipperbrief,* HTKNT, 131–47; Ernst 1974: 65–79; Barth *Philipper* ZB, 40–48; Martin 1983: xviii, 42–54, 297–305; Egger 1985: 59–60; compare Hofius 1976: 1–17). It is this fourth position that is adopted in this article.

**2. Character and Contents.** Paul's letter to the Philippians is essentially a letter of friendship. Addressed to a church which had supported him financially and with which he had a deeply personal relationship, the letter is replete with language and concerns drawn from the ancient topic of friendship. These include the idea that friends are of "one soul" (Phil 1:27; 2:2) and "one mind" (2:3) and thus think the same (2:2; 4:2). Friendship is a fellowship (2:1) or partnership (Gk *koinonia:* 1:5) that necessitates mutuality and reciprocity, the sharing of feelings (2:17–18) and hardships (4:14) as well as giving and receiving (4:15). Certain attitudes and actions are conducive to friendship (4:8), while others are inimical to it (1:15, 17; 2:3; 3:2). Because friendship often involves finances and patronage, the issue of its relationship to other ideals, such as self-sufficiency [Gk *autarkeia*], frequently needs to be addressed (4:10–20). The meaning of friendship is often clarified by a discussion of its antithesis, viz., enmity; the use of invective (3:2) and ridicule (3:2, 19) to castigate one's enemies (3:18) is as natural as it is conventional in Greco-Roman society (cf. Marshall 1987: 1–129, esp. 35–69).

Letters play an important role in the maintenance of friendship and serve during a time of absence (2:12) as effective substitutes for personal presence. In friendly letters such as Philippians, it is natural for writers to employ the vocabulary of gratitude (1:3–5) and affection (4:1), to recall past and current experiences (1:30; 2:22; 4:15–16), to express both yearning for the friends from whom they are separated (1:7–8) and an anticipation of seeing them in the future (2:24), to provide information about their own situation (1:12–26), to offer the advice and exhortation that is appropriate to their relationship (1:27–2:18; 4:2–7), to commend friends (2:19–30) and ideals (4:8–9) shared in common, and to give warnings about enemies whose values are alien to the basis of their friendship (3:1–21). Philippians is written at a time when Paul is in prison and thus involuntarily separated from the church at Philippi. He is fairly sanguine that he will be released from prison and see his friends again, though he must reckon with the possibility that his imprisonment will be followed by his execution rather than his acquittal and release (1:19–26). The correspondence with the Philippians is ultimately occasioned by the arrival of a gift from them, which Paul accepts as an expression of their friendship and support. Using traditional literary devices such as lists of virtues (4:8) and *peristasis* catalogues (4:11–12; cf. Fitzgerald 1988: 45, 205), he thanks them for their gift (4:10–20) and encourages them to be a community that is characterized by friendship (1:27–2:11; 4:2–9) and is active in the proclamation of the gospel (2:12–18), neither stampeded by opposition (1:27–30) nor deluded into believing that their spiritual goals already have been attained (3:12–16).

**3. Integrity and Purpose.** Serious doubts about the unity of Philippians began to be expressed during the 19th century (Clemen 1894: 133–41) and have increased greatly in the last 30 years. At the current time, three basic positions are held concerning the question of the letter's literary integrity. Given the

importance of this subject in recent scholarly literature, each of these three positions will be presented in some detail, with a judgment on this question deferred until the end of the discussion.

First, the traditional view that canonical Philippians is a unity is defended by a number of scholars (Mackay 1961; Furnish 1963; Pollard 1966; Jewett 1970a; Ernst 1974: 27–31; Kümmel 1975: 332–35; Dalton 1979; Lindemann 1979: 23–25; Garland 1985). According to this *One-Letter Hypothesis,* the epistle was prompted by a gift from Philippi brought to Paul by Epaphroditus, who at some point fell seriously ill and nearly died. It is debated whether Epaphroditus fell ill on his way to Paul or after his arrival. A possible reconstruction of events based on the former of these options is as follows (cf. Bruce *Philippians* GNC, xxv, 71):

1. The Philippians learn of Paul's imprisonment;
2. they send Epaphroditus with a gift to deliver to Paul;
3. Epaphroditus falls seriously ill on his way to Paul and nearly dies;
4. the Philippians learn of Epaphroditus' illness and become concerned;
5. Epaphroditus recovers, completes his journey to Paul, and delivers the gift;
6. Epaphroditus learns of the Philippians' anxiety for him and becomes distressed;
7. Paul sends Epaphroditus back to Philippi with a letter in which he commends Epaphroditus, thanks the Philippians for their gift, warns them about false teachers, and informs them about his own circumstances and plans.

Next, numerous contemporary scholars are convinced that canonical Philippians is a composite work. In support of this possibility in general, appeal is made to the following four considerations: (a) Paul wrote letters that either have not been preserved (1 Cor 5:9; cf. also Col 4:16) or have been partially preserved in other letters (possibly 2 Cor 10–13); (b) Phil 3:1a suggests previous correspondence with the Philippians (cf. NEB: "To repeat what I have written to you before is no trouble to me"); (c) one of the Apostolic Fathers of the 2d century C.E., Polycarp of Smyrna (*Phil.* 3:2), uses the plural *(epistolas)* to refer to Paul's correspondence with Philippi; and (d) Polycarp's own *Letter to the Philippians* seems to preserve two originally independent letters to the church at Philippi (so Harrison 1936).

Critics who posit redactional activity in regard to Philippians differ, however, as to the number of letters or fragments of letters contained in the document and the content that originally belonged to each piece of correspondence. Some scholars adopt a second basic position and divide the canonical letter into two separate letters, whereas others hold a third distinct position and divide it into three originally independent pieces. The basis of the division into two letters is primarily fourfold: (a) Paul's use of "finally" (i.e., "in conclusion") in 3:1a seems to suggest he is about to close the letter (cf. 2 Cor 13:11); (b) a sharp change in tone and content occurs after 3:1a; the invective that follows is out of harmony with the overall tone of the letter and interrupts the exhortation to rejoice (3:1a; 4:4); (c) the discussion of travel plans (2:23–24, 28–29) normally occurs toward the end of Paul's letters; and (d) different dangers face the church in chaps. 1 and 3; in 1:27–30 the church is threatened from without, whereas in chap. three the threat comes at least in part from those within the church. A *two-letter hypothesis* is seen by many scholars (e.g., Keck 1971: 846; Friedrich *Philipper* NTD, 126–28) as the best explanation of these peculiarities.

An early supporter of this hypothesis was Goodspeed (1937: 90–96), who argued that 3:1b–4:20 was originally part of the letter that Paul wrote upon receipt of the gift brought by Epaphroditus. The latter fell sick only after this first letter was sent. Upon his recovery he was sent back to Philippi with the letter that is preserved in 1:1–3:1a; 4:21–23. These two letters were later combined by an editor who placed the earlier letter at the end.

A more recent advocate of the two-letter hypothesis is Gnilka (6–18), who divides the material into Letter A: 1:1–3:1a; 4:2–7, 10–23 and Letter B: 3:1b–4:1, 8–9. Letter A is sent following the receipt of the Philippians' gift and Epaphroditus' recovery. While Paul expresses thanks for the gift, his primary purpose is to discuss the impact of his imprisonment and possible execution on the progress of the gospel. The letter is pastoral rather than polemical; false teachers have not yet appeared in Philippi, and the church's chief internal problem is lack of love. Letter B is written later, after Paul has been released from prison and after false teachers have invaded Philippi. Hence, Paul is no longer concerned with the

fettering of the gospel, but with its endangerment. The purpose of this passionate, polemical piece is to protect his beloved community from the pernicious propaganda of his opponents.

The *three-letter hypothesis* is usually distinguished from the two-letter hypothesis by the isolation of 4:10–20 as an independent letter of thanks for the Philippians' gift. This letter's existence is predicated on four considerations: (a) it is likely that Paul acknowledged the receipt of the Philippians' gift soon after it arrived, and the statement in 4:10–20 appears to be his first expression of thanks for it; that is, it is improbable that he waited so long to do so as the one-letter or two-letter hypotheses usually require (contrast Michael *Philippians* MNTC, xxi–xxii, 208–27; (b) in 4:18, Epaphroditus seems to have just arrived, whereas in 2:25–30 he has clearly been with Paul for some time; (c) the introduction of a new subject in 4:10 following the use of "finally" and a benediction in 4:8–9 is abrupt; and (d) the discussion of the gift is a self-contained unit that concludes with a doxology. Particular reconstructions of the three proposed letters differ widely in regard to details, but 4:10–20 is usually assigned to Letter A, 1:1–3:1a to Letter B, and 3:2–4:1 to Letter C. Advocates of this hypothesis include Müller-Bardorff (1958), Beare (*Philippians* HNTC 1–5), Rathjen (1960), Bornkamm (1962), Koester (1962; *IDBSup,* 666; 1982: 132–34), Fuller (1965: 34–37), Fitzmyer (*JBC,* 248), Marxsen (1970: 61–62, 66–68), Schmithals (1972: 65–122), Vielhauer (1975: 159–66), Collange (1979: 3–15), Barth (*Philipper* ZB, 10–11) and Lohse (1981: 81–82). Of the various sequences of events reconstructed by defenders of this position, that offered by Schenke and Fischer (1978: 125–29) is one of the most detailed and suggestive:

1. Epaphroditus is sent by the Philippians with a two-fold mission: to deliver the church's monetary gift to Paul and to serve Paul for a certain period of time; the purpose in both cases is to provide support for Paul, who has not yet been arrested;
2. Paul accepts this gift from the Philippians, just as he had previously at Thessalonica and Corinth; in gratitude he writes Letter A (4:10–20);
3. soon thereafter Paul is arrested and placed in prison;
4. while Paul is in prison, Epaphroditus falls ill and nearly dies;
5. when Epaphroditus finally recovers, Paul sends him back to Philippi with Letter B (1:1–3:1; 4:4–7, 21–23), which is ultimately a letter of recommendation and certificate of good conduct for Epaphroditus;
6. in keeping with his expectations (1:19), Paul is soon thereafter released from prison;
7. Paul sends Timothy to Philippi (2:23; Acts 19:22) and Corinth (1 Cor 4:17; 16:10–11);
8. Timothy returns to Paul (1 Cor 16:11);
9. instead of going himself, Paul once again sends Timothy back to Philippi and somewhat later sends Titus to Corinth;
10. Paul learns that his opponents have invaded Philippi and sends Letter C (3:2–4:3; 4:8–9) to the Philippians and Timothy, who not only is to defend the church against these false teachers but also, as the "true yokefellow" of Phil 4:3, is to help solve the dispute between Euodia and Syntyche.

Each of the three positions presented here has its strengths and weaknesses, but the presumption of the letter's literary integrity is probably correct. Defenders of the unity of Philippians correctly point to thematic elements that link the sections of the letter and structural considerations that favor the one-letter hypothesis. The extensive use of friendship language throughout the letter points toward the same conclusion. When viewed from the perspective of ancient discussions of friendship and enmity, the sharp change of tone at 3:2 and the strong use of invective in 3:2–19 are not even surprising; the ridiculing of one's enemies is but the natural antithesis to the praising of one's friends. Furthermore, Paul's strong desire to have both Timothy and Epaphroditus in Philippi (2:19–30) is related to the danger of the "dogs" of chap. 3. Indeed, the discussion of the opponents and of the strife between Euodia and Syntyche (3:1–4:3) is framed by the commendation of Timothy and Epaphroditus (2:19–30) and Paul's other co-workers (4:3), and it is followed by the apostle's parenesis (4:4–8) and presentation of himself—along with the others (3:17)—as a proper model for the church's imitation (4:9). Such framing of a discussion is rhetorically proper, as is the combination of parenesis and the presentation of both positive and negative models of conduct.

Finally, many of the peculiarities of Philippians listed above can be adequately if not convincingly explained without recourse to a partition theory. The postponement of the discussion of the gift until the end of the letter, for example, may well be part of a strategy that reserves until the end of a communication the treatment of the most important matters. In that case, 4:10–20 will be no postscript, but the climax to Paul's whole discussion of his partnership with the Philippians in the gospel. The primary purpose of 4:10–20 is certainly not to thank the Philippians for their gift. The gift provides the ultimate occasion for the letter, but not its immediate purpose. Paul here uses the gift as the occasion for commenting on their long-standing partnership in the gospel. Their recent gift is proof of their continuing friendship, and Paul discusses it so as to strengthen his special bond with them. Similarly, the emphasis on "thinking the same" in 2:2 is probably foundational for his appeal to Euodia and Syntyche in 4:2–3; their harmony is likely to be the key for the harmony of the church as a whole (cf. also Garland 1985: 171–73). This makes it unlikely that 4:4 was originally the resumption of 3:1, as many partition theories suggest. Such theories would have much greater probability if some traces of editorial activity were evident in the textual tradition (cf. Gamble 1975: 418), but this is not so in the case of Philippians. For these and other reasons, the one-letter hypothesis seems preferable, but Philippians' literary integrity will doubtless remain a greatly disputed issue for the foreseeable future.

**4. Place and Date of Composition.** Another highly contested issue involves the place and date of the letter's composition. The dating of the correspondence is determined by the decision made in regard to both the letter's integrity and the place of Paul's imprisonment. If Philippians is indeed a composite of 2 or 3 Pauline letters, the possibility of more than one place and date of origin must be considered. The choices as to Paul's place of imprisonment are essentially three: Rome, Caesarea, and Ephesus. Other locations, such as Corinth (Dockx 1973), have been proposed but are not likely.

In favor of Rome are the following considerations: (a) Paul was both imprisoned and executed there, facts which are consonant with the references to Paul's bonds (Phil 1:7, 13–14, 17) and his contemplation of martyrdom (1:19–26; 2:17) (see also SUICIDE); (b) the references in Philippians to the praetorium (1:13) and Caesar's household (4:22), though applicable to other cities, are most appropriate for Rome; (c) of the imprisonments described by Acts, the one in Rome (Acts 28:14–31) most closely matches the circumstances described by Paul in his letter; and (d) the early Church was virtually unanimous in assigning Philippians to Rome. The major argument against Rome is its great distance from Philippi (ca. 800 miles) and the consequent length of time necessary for the occurrence of the number of communications presupposed and three more are contemplated prior to Paul's anticipated visit. Supporters of Rome (e.g., Dodd 1953: 85–108; Cullmann 1953: 104–6; Buchanan 1964; Reicke 1970: 282–86) usually stress the relative speed of travel in this period and seek to reduce the number of communications between Paul and the Philippians as well as the length of time required for these to take place. If all or part of Philippians emanates from Rome, it would come from ca. 58–60 or 60–62 C.E., either early in Paul's imprisonment (so Lightfoot 1891: 30–46) or, as is far more likely, toward its end (so J. Weiss 1959: 1.389). In that case, it would be the last of his authentic letters (so Moffatt 1923: 166, 168, 170).

Advocates of Caesarea (Johnson 1957; Lohmeyer 1964: 3–4; Hawthorne *Philippians* WBC, xxxvi–xliv) typically assert that Paul's description of his situation corresponds more closely to Acts' account of the imprisonment there (23:33–26:32) than it does to the one in Rome. Paul is kept under guard in the praetorium of Herod (23:35; cf. Phil 1:13), but his friends are permitted access to him to attend to his needs (24:23; cf. Phil 2:25, 30). His incarceration is of sufficient duration (24:27) to accommodate the number of communications with Philippi, and during this period Paul is called upon several times to offer an *apologia* (24:10; 25:8, 16; 26:1–2, 24; cf. Phil 1:7, 16) for his activities. If the opponents of chap. 3 are non-Christian Jews (see below), a connection can be posited between Paul's philippic against the "mutilators" (3:2) and the Jewish opponents of Acts 21–26, who were responsible for his incarceration (compare 1 Thess 2:14–16). Finally, Paul could also anticipate, if released at Caesarea, a trip to Philippi on his way through Rome to Spain; no change in his travel plans of Rom 15:28 would have to be assumed. Support for this theory must rely entirely on Acts, for the Pauline corpus is silent as to an

imprisonment in Caesarea. Yet Acts' depiction of Paul's Caesarean imprisonment does not suggest that death was an imminent possibility in that locale. Freedom could always be purchased (24:26), or an appeal made to Caesar (25:10–12). Furthermore, Paul is depicted, even prior to his arrival in Caesarea, as knowing by divine revelation that his final place of witness will be Rome (23:11); execution in Caesarea is simply not an option entertained by Acts. Finally, in view of the great distance from Philippi to Caesarea, travel considerations also militate against this option. But if Caesarea is nevertheless accepted as the place of origin, correspondence would derive from ca. 56/57–58/59 C.E.

Suggested as an option only at the turn of the 20th century, Ephesus has been adopted by an increasing number of scholars and now rivals or even surpasses Rome as the imprisonment site favored by most (cf. Feine 1916; Deissmann 1923; Duncan 1929; Michaelis 1933; *An die Philipper* THKNT, 2–6; 1961: 204–10). The great argument in its favor is its close proximity to Philippi, a location that would have facilitated numerous communications with that city. In addition, the parallels in subject matter, vocabulary, and tone with 2 Corinthians 10–12 and Galatians suggest to many that all three were written about the same time, that is, during the three-year period that Paul was in Ephesus. This would be ca. 52/53–55/56 C.E., and such a dating allows the identification of the proposed visits of Timothy and Paul (Phil 1:26; 2:19, 23–24) with the ones recorded by the apostle (1 Cor 16:10; 2 Cor 2:13; 7:5) and Acts (19:22; 20:1–6). Finally, nowhere in Philippians does Paul indicate that he has returned to the city since he founded the church there (Phil 1:26, 30; 2:12, 22; 4:15; contrast 2 Cor 2:1; 13:1); if that is the case (and he has not simply failed to mention the trips of Acts 20:1–6), both Caesarea and Rome are excluded as possibilities. The major difficulty of this option is that neither Paul nor Acts mentions an imprisonment in Ephesus. One can only be inferred on the basis of such passages as 2 Cor 1:8–10; 6:5; and 11:23 (but not 1 Cor 15:32, which refers instead to the Heraclean contest with hedonistic opponents; cf. Malherbe 1968). Yet only on the basis of this hypothesis can Philippians (or at least 1:1–3:1) be assigned to Ephesus. On the other hand, Phil 3:1b–4:9 does not mention imprisonment. Those who regard this passage as part of another letter can assign it to Ephesus without necessarily postulating an imprisonment there. Thus one could, for example, assign Phil 1:1–3:1a to Rome and 3:1b–4:9 to Ephesus (compare Bruce, xxviii). But, in that case, 3:1b–4:9 might just as easily be assigned to Corinth (so, e.g., Gnilka, 25).

In view of the uncertainty involved, all reconstructions of the historical setting of Philippians necessarily remain highly tentative. Those that presuppose an imprisonment in either Ephesus or Rome are the most persuasive, and a decision between them is difficult. In the final analysis, however, Meeks (1983: 63) is probably correct when he says that "Rome still seems the most likely" place of composition for the letter.

**D. Opponents**

Two key issues have dominated the discussion of the opponents mentioned by Paul in the letter. The first has to do with the number of groups presupposed. As many as five are possible: the partisan proclaimers of Christ (1:15–18), the adversaries destined for destruction (1:28), the dogs and evil workers (3:2–4), the "perfectionists" (3:12–16), and the enemies of the cross of Christ (3:18–19). The partisan proclaimers of Christ, whose relationship to the group spoken of in 2:21 is disputed, were active in the city of Paul's imprisonment, not in Philippi, though the claim is sometimes made that they were itinerant Christian missionaries whose presence in Philippi was not desired by Paul (so Jewett 1970b: 363–71). The adversaries of 1:28 were located in Philippi, but it is debated whether the opponents of chap. 3 were already active in the city and thus posed an actual threat for the Philippians or were active elsewhere (perhaps in the city of Paul's imprisonment) and were only potentially dangerous. Whether present or imminent, however, the urgency of Paul's warning (3:2) suggests the danger was real. The opponents in 1:28 and 3:2–19 occasionally are identified as four separate groups (so, e.g., Michael, 69, 133, 160, 172); often three groups are detected (so, e.g., Hock *HBD*, 1223–24); frequently only two groups are identified, with those in chap. 1 distinguished from those denounced in chap. 3 (so, e.g., Barth, 37, 67); and sometimes a single group is inferred (so, e.g., Mearns 1987).

The second issue concerns the identification of these opponents, and the decision as to the number of groups involved obviously determines the material used to describe them. Moreover, to the extent that

they are equated with opponents mentioned in Galatians, 2 Corinthians, and Romans, material from those letters is employed to elaborate their portrait. As a consequence of all these factors, a plethora of portraits has been offered, but no broad consensus has yet emerged. Indeed, no fewer than 18 different descriptions of the opponents of chap. 3 have been offered (Gunther 1973: 2).

Even when only one group in Philippi is presupposed, assessments as to their identity differ widely. For example, Schmithals (1972: 58–122) sees them as Jewish Christian Gnostics with libertine tendencies, Collange (1979: 10–14, 75) as Jewish Christian itinerants with a "divine-man" Christology and self-understanding similar to that espoused by the opponents whom Paul confronts in 2 Corinthians, and Hawthorne (xliv–xlvii, 58, 125, 163) as non-Christian Jewish missionaries who were punctilious in their observance of the law (cf. also Klijn 1965). Many interpreters agree that the adversaries of 1:28 are non-Christian opponents (so, e.g., Vielhauer 1975: 160, 163) but view them as Gentile persecutors rather than Jewish agitators (cf. Martin *Philippians* NCBC, 22, 83; Friedrich, 147; compare 1 Thess 2:14). The opponents of 3:2, on the other hand, are clearly Jewish, though the conjecture is occasionally made that they are proselytes (so, e.g., Jülicher and Fascher 1931: 119), in which case Paul's emphasis on being "a Hebrew born of Hebrews" who was "circumcised on the eighth day" (3:5) would have special point. The debate historically has centered on the question of whether these people are Jewish propagandists (so, e.g., Benoit 1969: 31; Caird 1976: 133; Houlden 1977: 95–105) or Jewish Christian Judaizers (so, e.g., Vincent, 92; Jewett 1970b: 382–89; Bruce, 79, 81).

Sharply debated also is the question of whether Paul discusses one or two (or even three) groups in 3:2–19. Dibelius (*An die Philipper* HNT, 93), for instance, identifies two groups (Jewish agitators in 3:2–4 and immoral Christians in 3:18–19), whereas Koester (1962) discerns a single group of Jewish Christian missionaries with gnostic tendencies. Crucial to the decision is often the interpretation of Paul's damning indictment of his opponents in 3:19: "their god is the belly, and they glory in their shame." Some interpret "belly" and "shame" in terms of Judaizers' values. Thus Fitzmyer (252) sees in them a reference to the Judaizers' dietary observances and their advocacy of circumcision, and Mearns (1987: 198) sees both terms as "euphemisms for the circumcised male organ." Paul's words could easily suggest, however, a devotion to sensual and sexual pleasures, so that other scholars view them as libertines (so, e.g., Delling *RGG*$^3$ 5: 334; Beare, 136). It was common in rhetorical circles to accuse one's enemies of immorality (cf. Marshall 1987: 62–63), and Paul may be doing that here. Indeed, the group he has in mind could be the hedonistic opponents ("wild beasts") against whom he struggled at Ephesus (1 Cor 15:32; cf. Malherbe 1968: 79). Whoever they were, however, they seem to have been Christians whose perfectionist tendencies had a basis in a radically realized eschatology (cf. Holladay 1969).

**E. The Christ Hymn**

As was indicated previously, most modern interpreters regard the hymn in Phil 2:6–11 as pre-Pauline (see above). The discussion has therefore centered on questions concerning the hymn's original literary form, authorship, background, setting, and meaning, as well as its use and redaction by Paul. Of the various proposals in regard to the hymn's structure, those of Lohmeyer (1928: 5–6) and Jeremias (1953: 152–54) deserve mention. The former divides the hymn into six strophes (A-F) of three lines each (A: v 6; B: v 7a–c; C: vv 7d–8b; D: v 9; E: v 10; F: v 11), with v 8c treated as a Pauline gloss. The latter divides it into three strophes (A-C) of four lines each (A: vv 6–7b; B: vv 7c–8b; C: vv 9–11), with vv 8c, 10c, and 11c viewed as Pauline additions. Proposed sources for the hymn include the gnostic scheme of the Primal Man myth (Käsemann 1968); the Genesis story of Adam as well as later Jewish speculation about two Adams (Héring 1936; 1959); the Deutero-Isaianic figure of the Suffering Servant (Cerfaux 1954; 1959: 374–401); and the figure of divine Wisdom in Hellenistic Judaism (Georgi 1964). Sometimes only one source is recognized in the hymn, but more often the confluence of motifs from several sources, both Hellenistic and Jewish, is detected (Sanders 1971: 58–74). The author of the hymn has been sought in Jewish gnostic circles (Bonnard, 49), the early Palestinian church (Lohmeyer 1928: 9, 66), and the Hellenistic Jewish mission represented by Stephen (Martin 1983: 304–5, 318–19; cf. also Fuller 1965: 204–6). Early Christians used the hymn in a cultic setting, either at the Eucharist or during baptism. Whatever its original function may have been, Paul uses the hymn here in service of his parenesis. It is

usually assumed that the beginning of the hymn (2:6–8) refers to Christ prior to the Incarnation, so that his preexistence is presupposed (so, e.g., Bornkamm 1969: 113). Recently, however, this interpretation has been attacked by a number of scholars who insist that the hymn speaks only of the human Christ (Talbert 1967; Robinson 1973: 162–66; Bartsch 1974: 24–27; Murphy-O'Connor 1976; Howard 1978; Dunn 1980: 114–28). This controversy (Hurst 1986; Wanamaker 1987) and the continuing debate about the meaning of the term *harpagmos* (RSV: "a thing to be grasped") in 2:6 (Hoover 1971; Glasson 1974: 133–37; Moule 1970; Wright 1986) indicate that the hymn will continue to attract scholarly attention (cf. Rissi *ANRW* 2/25/4: 3314–26; Schenk *ANRW* 2/25/4: 3299–303). An excellent orientation to all the central questions involved in the study of the hymn is provided by Martin (1983; cf. also *Philippians* NCBC, 90–102, 109–16), whose survey is foundational for an understanding of current analyses of the hymn (cf. also Deichgräber 1967: 118–33; Sanders 1971: 9–12, 58–74).

**F. Text and Early Versions**

The text of Philippians is preserved in three fragmentary papyri, 18 parchment uncials (of which nine contain the entire text, three are fragmentary, and six are accompanied by commentary), and more than 625 minuscules (cf. Gnilka, 25–27). The earliest is $P^{46}$, one of the three Chester Beatty papyri of the NT. It dates from about C.E. 200 and contains 1:1, 5–15, 17–28, 30–2:12, 14–27, 29–3:8, 10–21; 4:2–12, 14–23. A second early papyrus is $P^{16}$, which dates from the 3d or 4th century and contains 3:10–17 and 4:2–8. The three earliest parchment uncials that contain the entire text of Philippians are Codex Sinaiticus (01), Codex Vaticanus (03), and Codex Alexandrinus (02). These five mss, plus three minuscules containing Philippians (33, 1739, and 2427), belong to the text critical "Category I," which indicates that they are "of a very special quality" and "should always be considered in establishing the original text" (Aland and Aland 1987: 105). There are ten additional manuscripts of Philippians that are of generally high quality and belong to the next class, "Category II" (Schenk 1984: 331). They include three 5th-century fragmentary uncials (04, 016, 048), the bilingual Codex Claromontanus (06, 6th century), $P^{61}$ (ca. C.E. 700) and 5 minuscules (81, 1175, 1881, 2127, and 2464). On the basis of these and other witnesses, a fairly reliable text of Philippians which involves no major textual problems can be reconstructed.

Philippians, along with the other letters in the Pauline corpus, was translated into a number of ancient languages. It was almost certainly translated into Old Syriac, though no copy of any of Paul's letters is extant in this early version. It is, however, preserved in the later Syriac versions, esp. the Peshitta. Other extant eastern versions that contain Philippians include Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, and Ethiopic. Of the Western versions, it is extant in Old Latin (Frede 1971), the Vulgate, Gothic, and Slavonic (cf., in general, Metzger 1977).

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**PHILISTINES.** This entry consists of two articles. The first surveys the history of the Philistines as it is presented in various historical sources. The second focuses particularly on Philistine material culture as it has been revealed through archaeological work.

## *HISTORY*

The Philistines (Eg *P-r-š-t-w;* Heb *pělištîm*), whose country of origin is still unknown, must have come to Canaan through the Aegean basin, destroying the Mycenaean and Minoan civilizations. They came partly overland via Anatolia, destroying the Hittite empire, Ugarit, and Amurru, and partly by ship via

Crete (Caphtor of the Bible, cf. Amos 9:7 and Jer 47:4; Keftiu of the Egyptians) and Cyprus ("Ships come from the quarter of Kittim," i.e. Cyprus [Num 24:24] probably alludes to the first waves of the Sea Peoples). They were allied with other Sea Peoples, and their ultimate goal was to settle in Egypt. In about 1190, Rameses III clashed with them and defeated them. Rameses settled the conquered Philistines, mostly as Egyptian mercenaries, in the coastal towns, Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ashdod (cf. Deut 2:23, where "Caphtorim" refers to the Philistines). The connection between Egypt and Caphtorim is reflected in Gen 10:13–14 (cf. Speiser, *Genesis* AB). The term "the Negeb of the Cherethites" (1 Sam 30:14) may reflect Philistine occupation of that part of the Negeb (for the identification of Cherethites as Philistines, cf. Ezek 25:16).

The references to the Philistines in Gen 21:32–34; 26:1, 8, 14–15; and in Exod 13:17; 15:14; 23:31) are all anachronisms, although the expression "the Sea of the Philistines" may reflect Philistine naval supremacy in the 12th and 11th centuries.

The signs of destruction in Ashdod, Ashkelon, and Gaza suggest that sometimes after the reign of Rameses VI (ca. 1150 B.C.E.), the Philistines drove out their Egyptian overlords by force. The Philistine Pentapolis was formed, a confederation of Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ashdod, together with two towns in the Shephelah which had already been settled by Philistines: Ekron and Gath. Each of these towns was a city-state, consisting of a "royal city" ruling a number of "country towns" (1 Sam 27:5, cf. 1 Sam 6:18). The rulers of these city-states were called *sĕrānîm* (singular, **seren*), a title whose etymology has not yet been satisfactorily explained; it may be from the Hittite word for "judge." For the next 150 years, until about 1000 B.C.E., the Philistine confederation was the most powerful entity in this corner of the world, occupying the land strip from Raphia in the S to Joppa, spreading gradually N (they founded Tell Qasile) and E through the Jezreel Valley to Beth-shan, and even establishing their hegemony over the Israelite tribes in the hill country (cf. 1 Sam 10:5; 13:23–14:16, and also 2 Sam 23:13–17). The source of Philistine power was apparently in the jealously defended monopoly of iron wares and the art of forging iron (1 Sam 13:19–21).

Very early the Philistines accepted the local Canaanite deities, dedicating temples to Dagon in Gaza (Judg 16:21–23), Ashdod (1 Sam 5:2–3), and Beth-shan (1 Chr 10:10–12), and to Astarte (1 Sam 31:10).

The clashes between the Philistines and the Israelites are vividly reflected in the book of Judges. Despite the heroic exploits of Samson (Judges 13–16) and Shamgar son of Anath (Judg 3:31), the pressure of the Philistines was relentless, as seen in the tales of the migration of part of the tribe of Dan, who traveled N in their search for a safe refuge.

Further evidence of the advance of the Philistines can be found in the defeat of the Israelites at Ebenezer (the Philistines had already reached Aphek), resulting in the loss of the ark of the covenant and the destruction of the holy precinct Shiloh (1 Sam 4; cf. Jer 7:12, 14).

Samuel's victory over the Philistines (1 Sam 7:5–14), even if it is historical, did not appreciably reduce the pressure of the Philistines. The people demanded a king to lead them in war. The king chosen was Saul, whose wars with the Philistines can be traced from the beginning of his reign (1 Sam 13) until its tragic end on Mount Gilboa (1 Samuel 31). The eventual victor, however, was David, whose triumphs over the Philistines (1 Samuel 17; 18:6–9, 25–27, 30; 19:8) had gained him such renown as to arouse the jealousy and hatred of Saul. David was forced to flee, and eventually to become a vassal to his former foes the Philistines (1 Samuel 27, 29).

After the death of Saul, David was crowned king of Judah in Hebron (2 Sam 2:1–4), apparently with the consent of the Philistines. When David was chosen king over all Israel, however, and moved his capital to Jerusalem, the Philistines realized their danger and attacked. David's victories over the Philistines made Israel the leading power in the land of Canaan. We may assume that Gath became a vassal state to Israel. This change is suggested by David's mercenaries from Gath, who were under the command of Ittai the Gittite (cf. 2 Sam 15:18–22), and by his bodyguard, the Cherethites and the Pelethites (2 Sam 8:18; 15:18; 20:7, 23; 1 Kgs 1:38, 44; 1 Chr 18:17). The crushing defeat inflicted by David appears to have put an end to the Philistine Pentapolis; henceforward each city-state acted independently in its own selfish interest. It seems likely that the Philistines made a defensive alliance with Pharaoh to protect them against David;

otherwise it is difficult to explain how Pharaoh was able to capture Gezer and give it as a dowry to his daughter, the wife of Solomon (1 Kgs 9:16). Forty years later apparently the same geopolitical situation enabled Shishak to invade Judah and Israel (1 Kgs 14:25), because no Philistine city, except Gaza, his starting point, is mentioned in his list of conquered towns. After the death of Shishak, Egypt was no longer a power in Asia. In the constant struggles between the Philistines and Israel (cf. 1 Kgs 15:27; 16:15) and the Philistines and Judah, in which the Philistines turned to the Edomites and the Arabs as allies (cf. Amos 1:6–8; 2 Chr 21:16–17), Judah sometimes prevailed (2 Chr 17:11; 26:6), and sometimes the Philistines (2 Chr 21:16–17; 28:18, until a new factor appeared on the scene, Assyria.

Philistia (Akk *Pa-la-aś-tu*) appears in Assyrian records for the first time in the inscriptions of Adad-nirari III (810–783 B.C.E.; *ANET,* 281b, 282a), but Assyrian domination of Philistia started only after the conquest of Syria by Tiglath-pileser III, when the Assyrian empire reached the Mediterranean, and the Assyrians began to try to dominate the maritime trade of the coastal towns of Phoenicia and Philistia. In 734 B.C.E., the first Assyrian campaign against Philistia began; its main object was the conquest of Gaza (the sequence of events is very fully expressed in Zech 9:5–6). The king of Gaza, Hanno, fled to Egypt, but later returned and was reinstated as a vassal of Assyria. The Assyrians were not interested in incorporating the Philistine territories into the Assyrian empire. They preferred to leave the towns as more or less autonomous tribute-bearing states. In the long list of kings bearing tribute are Mitinti of Ashkelon, Hanno of Gaza, and *Mu-še-ḫu-( ... )* of Ashdod or Ekron. It appears that Mitinti of Ashkelon was allied with Rezon of Damascus, because when the latter was defeated by Tiglath-pileser, Mitinti "disappeared," and his son Rukibtu became king in his place. Because of the heavy hand of Tiglath-pileser, all these petty states breathed a sigh of relief when he died in 727 B.C.E., but their rejoicing was premature (cf. Isa 14:29, 31).

About five years later, when Sargon ascended the throne of Assyria, Hanno joined the Syro-Palestinian rebellion headed by the king of Hamath, which was also supported by Egypt. In 720, Sargon, having crushed the rebels near Qarqar, attacked Philistia. Hanno called on the Egyptian army for help. The Assyrians met the Egyptians near Raphiah, defeated them, captured Hanno and took him captive to Assyria. Gaza subsequently remained a loyal vassal until the end of the Assyrian empire.

In 713 or the beginning of 712 B.C.E., Ashdod rebelled against Assyria, and in 712 Sargon sent an army to crush the rebellion (cf. Isa 20:1). This campaign is well documented in the annals, and two reliefs from Khorsabad, which depict the sieges of Gibbethon and Ekron. Sargon's victory is also attested on a stela, pieces of which have been found in the excavations in Ashdod. Ashdod was made a province, but the political arrangement is problematic since we also hear of kings in Ashdod, Mitinti in 701 and Ahimilki in 677 and 667.

The death of Sargon in battle in 705 set off a wave of rebellions in nearly all the vassal states in W Asia, who were apparently supported by Egypt. The loyal king of Ashkelon was replaced by his brother. In Ekron the local nobility deposed their king Padi and sent him to Jerusalem for safekeeping. Probably it is to this time that we must ascribe the notice in 2 Kgs 18:8 that Hezekiah "overran Philistia as far as Gaza and its border areas." In 701, after having suppressed the revolt in Babylon, Sennacherib appeared in the W. Near Tyre he received tribute from the vassal kings of Amurru, but of the Philistine kings, only Mitinti of Ashdod is mentioned. The king of Gaza does not appear on the list, perhaps because he had not rebelled. The rebel king of Ashkelon, Sidqia, was deported to Assyria and replaced with a new king with a typically Assyrian name, Sharruludari. When Ekron was besieged, the Egyptian army came to the support of the rebels but was defeated at Eltekeh. Ekron was conquered and its loyal king, Padi, restored to kingship as part of Hezekiah's submission. The loyal Philistine kings (Mitinti of Ashdod, Padi of Ekron, and Sillibel of Gaza) were rewarded with towns that had formerly belonged to the kingdom of Judah (cf. Isa 1:7). Philistia was thus both enriched and more firmly established as a buffer region between Assyria and Egypt.

The more belligerent policy toward Egypt which Sennacherib's successor, Esarhaddon, pursued involved a firm grip on Philistia, too. In his first campaign (679) Esarhaddon plundered Arzâ, apparently a town on the Egyptian border, and took its king captive. Four Philistine kings, Sillibel of Gaza, Mitinti of

Ashkelon, Ikausu (a Philistine name!) of Ekron, and Ahimilki of Ashdod, appear among "the kings of the country Hatti" who were required to do corvée work for Esarhaddon in Nineveh, apparently in 677/76. Esarhaddon conducted three campaigns against Egypt, and we may assume that in all these campaigns the Philistine towns served as depots and secured the long line of communication, although they are never mentioned, except for indications that in the second campaign Ashkelon supported Egypt, which was defeated.

All the vassal kings in W Asia, among them the four Philistine kings, Sillibel, Mitinti, Ikausu, and Ahimilki, were called upon to be auxiliary troops when Esarhaddon's successor, Assurbanipal, resumed the campaign against Egypt, which this time proved successful. About ten years later, however, Psammetichus I (656–610), prince of Saïs and founder of the 26th Dyn., was able to establish his independence.

As the Assyrian empire declined, Egypt seized dominion over the Philistine city-states. Herodotus (2.157) records that Psammetichus besieged Ashdod for twenty-nine years before he could conquer it. Psammetichus' invasion may be reflected in Zephaniah's prophecy against Philistia (Zeph 2:4), which describes events from the S (Egypt) to the N, Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Ekron. Jeremiah's phrase "what is left of Ashdod" (Jer 25:20) may also reflect the conquests of Psammetichus I. A witness to Egypt's dominion over Philistia is the statuette of Padese "the king's envoy to The Canaan (Gaza?) and Philistia." The fact that the Philistine cities were vassals of Psammetichus I and his son Neco II enabled these kings to come to the aid of a failing Assyria against the rising power of Babylonia. Nebuchadnezzar's great victory over Neco at Carchemish in 605 (cf. Jer 46:22–26) changed the whole situation, and in the following years the Babylonian armies swept through Philistia. The Aramaic letter found in Saqqara, in which a Philistine king asks urgent help from Pharaoh against the Babylonian king, probably belongs to this time. Only Ashkelon made any opposition, and it was turned into a heap of ruins for its temerity (cf. Jer 47). Some years later (592/1), the sons of Aga king of Ashkelon became hostages and they along with other exiles from Ashkelon are mentioned in a provisions list of the Babylonian court.

In 601/600 Neco II defeated Nebuchadnezzar decisively at Migdol, and occupied Gaza (Hdt. 2.159; cf. Jer 47:1). Three years later, Nebuchadnezzar returned and conquered Jerusalem (cf. Jer 52:28; 2 Kgs 24:12). It is probable that Gaza profited by Jerusalem's revolt in 598, sharing with Edom, the Negeb that had been lost by Judah (cf. Jer 13:19 and also Ezek 25:15–17).

When Pharaoh Hophra (Apries) succeeded to the throne of Egypt in 589 B.C.E., he persuaded Zedekiah to revolt and even came to the aid of Zedekiah against Nebuchadnezzar, but the Egyptian army retreated as soon as the main Babylonian forces left Jerusalem to fight them (cf. Jer 37:7). It is likely that the Philistine cities joined in the revolt, and it was probably at this time that Nebuchadnezzar deported people from the Philistine towns and settled them in the vicinity of Nippur, although our evidence comes from later times. The kings of Gaza and Ashdod appear (together with several other kings from W Asia) at the end of a list of high court officials from ca. 570 B.C.E. During the reign of Nabonidus, there existed a place named Gaza *(Ḫa-za-tu)*, which must have been founded by exiles from Gaza although the people mentioned all had Babylonian names. The archives of the Murasu family from Nippur (455–403 B.C.E.), also mention settlements near Nippur named "Ashkelon," "Bît Arsa," and "Gaza."

By the time the Persians became masters of Philistia (in 539 B.C.E.), the Philistine element in the language and culture had disappeared. ("Ashdodite" [Neh 13:24] was probably an Aramaic dialect). The towns became Persian towns, some belonging to Sidon or Tyre, some autonomous. Gaza became the base for Persian military operations against Egypt.

After the conquest by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C.E., Ashdod, Ashkelon, and Gaza became Greek *poleis* in every respect. The only trace of the Philistines that remained was the name Palestine, which was first used in Greek by Herodotus (1.105; 2.104) and in Latin by Pliny (*HN* 5.12), and which Hadrian made the name of the region for nearly two thousand years.

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## *ARCHAEOLOGY*

The Philistines were among the Sea Peoples, probably of Aegean origin, who first appeared in the E Mediterranean at the end of the 13th century B.C. These peoples were displaced from their original homelands as part of the extensive population movements characteristic of the end of the LB Age. During this period, the Egyptians and the Hittites ruled in the Levant, but both powers were in a general state of decline. The Sea Peoples exploited this power vacuum by invading areas previously subject to Egyptian and Hittite control, launching land and sea attacks on Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, to which various Egyptian sources attest.

The various translations of the name *Philistine* in the different versions of the Bible reveal that even in early times translators and exegetes were unsure of their identity. In the LXX, for example, the name is usually translated as *allopsyloi* ("strangers"), but it occurs also as *phylistieim* in the Pentateuch and Joshua. In the Hebrew Bible, the Philistines are called *pĕlištîm*, a term defining them as the inhabitants of *pĕlešet*, i.e., the coastal plain of S Palestine. Assyrian sources call them both *Pilisti* and *Palastu.* The Philistines appear as *prst* in Egyptian sources.

Encountering the descendants of the Philistines on the coast of S Palestine, the historian Herodotus, along with sailors and travelers from the Persian period onward called them *palastinoi* and their country *palastium.* The use of these names in the works of Josephus, where they are common translations for *Philistines* and *Philistia* and, in some cases, for the entire land of Palestine, indicates the extent to which the names had gained acceptance by Roman times. The emperor Hadrian officially designated the province of Judaea *Provincia Palaestine,* and by the 4th century C.E., the shortened name *Palaestina* had become the general term for the whole of Palestine.

The biblical references to Philistine origins are few and enigmatic. The first appears in the "Table of Nations" in Gen 10:14. The probable meaning of this verse, insofar as it relates to the Philistines, is "… and the Caphtorim, out of whom came the Philistines." The homeland of the Philistines, Caphtor (cf. Amos 9:7, Jer 47:4, Deut 2:23), is generally recognized by scholars as Crete, although some believe Caphtor to be located in Cilicia in Asia Minor. In other biblical references, the Philistines are synonymous with the Cherethites, that is Cretans (cf. Zeph 2:5, Ezek 25:16). Various biblical traditions, then, suggest that the Caphtorim are to be identified with the Cherethites, thus linking the Philistines with a Cretan homeland. The evidence supplied by the architectural remains, material culture and pottery from archaeological sites in Israel, strongly suggests that the Philistines originated in the Aegean.

Several key references to the Sea Peoples have been identified in Egyptian sources. According to inscriptions of Pharaoh Merneptah (ca. 1236–1223 B.C.), the Sea Peoples attempted to invade Egypt from the direction of Libya. The attack was led by Libyans joined by "foreigners from the Sea"—the Sherden, Sheklesh, Lukka, Tursha (Teresh), and Akawasha. This list of Sea Peoples does not, however, include references to the Philistines and Tjekker, who are first mentioned as invaders during the reign of Rameses III (ca. 1198–1166 B.C.). The reliefs and inscriptions at his mortuary temple at Medinet Habu in Thebes describe fierce naval and land battles with the Sea Peoples. An inscription under the land battle scene indicates that the Egyptian army fought the Sea Peoples in the "land of Djahi," i.e., the Phoenician coast and hinterland down to Palestine.

This information is supplemented by the Harris Papyrus I, in which Rameses' decisive defeat of the Sea Peoples, including the Philistines, is described. Subsequently, Rameses gave the Philistines permission to settle on the S coastal plain of Palestine. There they vied with the disunited Canaanite city-states and the newly arrived Israelites for cultural and political domination of the country.

The Onomasticon of Amenope, which dates from the end of the 12th or beginning of the 11th century, mentions the areas settled by the Sea Peoples in Palestine, as part of the sphere of Egyptian influence. It records a number of peoples, lands, and cities. Three ethnic groups, the Sherden *(srhn)*, the Tjekker *(tkr)*, and the Philistines *(prst)* are listed, together with Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Gaza, cities situated in the territory controlled by the Philistines.

Philistia, "The land of the Philistines," consisted of five major cities—Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Gath, and Ekron—which were united in a confederation. In addition to the Pentapolis, several smaller Philistine cities, called *ḥăṣērîm* ("villages") or *banôt* ("daughters"), are mentioned in the Bible. These include Ziklag, Timna, and Jabneh. The role of these smaller cities was as secondary, nearly autonomous centers under the control of the capitals of the city-states.

The territory of the Philistines as defined in Josh 13:2–3 designates the Brook of Egypt (Wadi el-Arish) and the Sihor as the S border, the N boundary as defined by the region N of Ekron, Judah as the E border, and the Mediterranean Sea as the W boundary. This region, as corroborated by archaeological evidence, was occupied by the Philistines for several generations after their arrival in Palestine and before their expansion in the 11th century. Major excavations have established a clear stratigraphic sequence by which the initial appearance, then the flourishing, and subsequently the assimilation of the Philistines can be traced, a process spanning most of the Iron I period (c. 1200–1000 B.C.E.). The discovery of archaeological remains of unmistakably Philistine character at sites quite distant from this area has raised the question of how Philistine culture spread beyond the confines of Philistia—through military conquest, through the establishment of military outposts, or through peaceful trade and commerce.

Four of the cities of the Philistine Pentapolis have been positively identified—Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Ekron. The location of the fifth, Gath, remains an open question. At Gaza, the ancient tel lies beneath the modern city and as a result, large-scale excavations have not been undertaken. Excavations at Ashkelon have revealed that the last Canaanite stratum was destroyed, followed by a Philistine settlement. The most extensive evidence of Philistine settlement and expansion is provided by excavations at Ashdod, Ekron, and Tell Qasile on the N border of Philistia. These sites provide complementary data on the nature of Philistine urban settlement, facets of their material culture, and cultic structures and practices.

Philistine occupation at Ashdod began in the early 12th century B.C.E. The first indication of the arrival of a new population was the partial destruction of the Egyptian-Canaanite fortress over which was built an open-air cultic installation. Adjacent to this installation was a potter's workshop in which was found a rich assemblage of locally made Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery, Aegean in style and a precursor of the earliest Philistine bichrome pottery. In the following occupational phases, Ashdod was a well-planned, fortified city. Two building complexes were uncovered, one of which included an apsidal structure with adjacent rooms and a courtyard. The last phase of Philistine settlement (ca. 1050 B.C.E.) at Ashdod was the largest and most prosperous. At that time, the lower city outside the acropolis area was occupied for the first time and massive mudbrick walls and a gate were built to protect the enlarged city. While the Philistine population had grown and flourished, the pottery and material culture reflect assimilation of local tradition and new Phoenician influences.

A clear understanding of the ceramic repertoire within the stratigraphic sequence is one of the keys to defining the settlement pattern of the Philistines, both within the borders of Philistia and beyond. The initial phase of Philistine settlement has been recognized at Ashdod and Ekron by virtue of the appearance of locally made Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery (see Fig. PHI.01), while the second phase of Philistine settlement and expansion is associated with the Philistine bichrome wares. The shapes and decorative motifs of Philistine pottery were a blend of four distinct ceramic styles: Mycenaean, Cypriot, Egyptian, and local Canaanite. The dominant traits in shape and almost all the decorative elements were derived from the Mycenaean repertoire and point to the Aegean background of Philistine pottery. Philistine shapes

of Mycenaean origin include bell-shaped bowls, large kraters with elaborate decoration, stirrup jars for oils and unquents, and strainer-spout "beer jugs." A few of many decorative motifs are stylized birds, spiral loops, concentric half-circles, and scale patterns. Although Philistine vessels were richly decorated with motifs taken from the Mycenaean repertoire, these motifs were rearranged and integrated with other influences to create the distinctive "signature" known as Philistine.

Excavations at Ekron (Tel Miqne) have revealed a LB Canaanite city-state which was transformed by the Philistines in the 12th century B.C.E. into a large, well-planned, fortified city which included industrial and elite quarters. A monumental building, possibly a palace with shrines, was discovered at the heart of the city in the elite quarter. See Fig. PHI.02. This building, probably part of a larger complex, included rooms which contained mudbrick altars and a number of bronze and iron artifacts of cultic significance. These rooms opened onto a hall in which was constructed a circular hearth flanked by two pillar bases. Hearths are an important feature in the Aegean and Cyprus where they are the central architectural element in the plan of the megaron. Mudbrick altars, a continuation of local Canaanite tradition, are also well-known in Cyprus and the Aegean at such sites as Enkomi, Kition, Phylakopi, and Mycenae.

The city at Tell Qasile was founded by the Philistines in the first half of the 12th century B.C.E. on the N bank of the Yarkon River. The site was obviously chosen because it was a perfect inland port site. Established on virgin soil, Tell Qasile was undoubtedly part of the Philistine expansion which followed their initial phase of settlement. In addition to industrial and residential structures found in other quarters of the city, three superimposed temples dating from the end of the 12th to the beginning of the 10th century B.C.E. were uncovered in the sacred precinct. These structures in their various phases included raised mudbrick platforms, mudbrick benches, pillars, and small chambers at the back of the temples interpreted variously as holy-of-holies or treasuries. A related building adjacent to the earliest temple (12th century B.C.E.) contained a hearth and two pillars, similar in plan and conception to the hearth and pillars found at Ekron.

There is both agreement and discrepancy between the Bible and the archaeological record with respect to Philistine religious organization and beliefs. The Aegean background of Philistine religion, which is not disclosed in the Bible, is evident through cultic architectural features such as the hearth mentioned above, as well as through small finds such as the "Ashdoda," a ceramic figurine found at Ashdod. See Fig. PHI.03. The Ashdoda is most likely a schematic representation of a female deity and throne, and is evidently a variant of the Mycenaean female figure seated on a throne, sometimes holding a child. These figurines are usually associated with the worship of the "Great Mother" or "Great Goddess." Several figurine fragments of the "Ashdoda" type have also been discovered at Ekron and Tell Qasile. At Ekron, head fragments with spreading headdress and birdlike features resemble the Ashdoda, while at Qasile the torso of a flat figurine of the Ashdoda type was found.

Archaeological evidence has revealed that in the Aegean, female, not male deities were primarily worshipped. Apparently by the 11th century this predominantly female pantheon was replaced by a male Canaanite pantheon reflecting the Philistines' more recent cultural milieu. The head of the Philistine pantheon appears to have been the Canaanite god, Dagon (1 Chr 10:10), to whom the temples of Gaza and Ashdod, and possibly also at Beth-shan, were dedicated. Another god, Baal-zebub (Baal-zebul), has his oracular temple in Ekron. The goddess Ashtoreth apparently also had a temple at Beth-shan (1 Sam 31:8–13). Philistine priests appear only once in the Bible, when the Ark was captured and taken to Ashdod (1 Samuel 5). The Bible also refers to the Philistine custom of carrying idols into battle (2 Sam 5:21) and to "Houses of Images," apparently a reference to temples in which images of the gods were kept. Among the few specifically Philistine religious beliefs that appear in the Bible are the golden images of mice and boils that were sent as a guilt *(ʾašam)* offering to God (1 Sam 6:4–16).

Philistine cult vessels also provide insights into Philistine rituals and beliefs. The *kernos*, reflecting Aegean influences, is a hollow ceramic ring on which objects such as birds, bulls' or rams' heads, or pomegranates are set. See Fig. PHI.04. It was apparently used for the pouring of libations in some religious ritual. Examples of *kernoi* decorated in Philistine style are known from Ashdod, Ekron, Gezer, and Megiddo.

A distinctive Philistine cult vessel is the one-handled lion-headed rhyton, a ritual or drinking cup. Similar rhyta have been found at Tell Jerishe, Tell Zeror, Megiddo, Tell es-Safi, Tell Qasile, and Ekron. The Philistine rhyton is a ceramic adaptation of animal-headed rhyta in metal and stone of Mycenaean-Minoan tradition.

Three high cylindrical cult stands from Tell Qasile were found in the Philistine temple. Each had a bowl topped with a bird's head. Another cult stand found at Ashdod features five musicians around its base. Each of the five figures plays a musical instrument: cymbals, double pipe, frame drum, and stringed instrument that is probably a lyre. These musicians represented on the stand were probably part of a Philistine cult, their role similar to that of the "Levites who were singers" in the temple of Jerusalem (2 Chr 5:12–13).

Other facets of Philistine life, such as mourning customs and burial practices, may be understood through several interesting types of finds. For example, terra-cotta female mourning figurines from Philistine burials at Tell 'Aitun and Azor show women with both hands on their heads, or with one hand on their heads and one on their breasts. Similar mourning figures are closely associated with the burial customs and the cult of the dead found in the Aegean world at the end of the Mycenaean period.

Burial customs are generally a sensitive indicator of cultural affinities, and Philistine burial customs reflect the same fusion of Aegean background with Egyptian and local Canaanite elements that distinguishes every other aspect of their culture. The use of anthropoid clay coffins (an Egyptian custom) and interment in rock-cut chamber tombs (of Mycenaean affinities) are two such indicators.

Anthropoid coffins are built roughly in the outline of a body. The lids are ineptly modeled with faces in what has been termed the "grotesque" style, with only a schematic outlining of facial features and arms. Five such coffins dating from the 12th–11th centuries B.C.E. were discovered at Beth-shan. The distinctive feature of the Beth-shan "grotesque" lids is the applique headdress. However, one lid portrays a headdress crowned by vertical fluting, identical to the "feathered" cap worn by the Peleset (Philistines), Tjekker, and Denyen on the Medinet Habu reliefs of Rameses III. This headgear provides decisive evidence that the bodies buried in these coffins were Sea Peoples, quite possibly Philistines.

Several stamp seals found in 12th-century strata at Ashdod may provide the only extant examples of Philistine language and writing. Used to imprint a lump of clay affixed to a letter, the text is apparently related to the Linear A and B scripts and the Cypro-Minoan syllabary utilized in the Aegean during the LB Age. Philistine words and personal names as they are preserved in the Bible are another possible key to the enigma of the origins of the Philistines and their language. The word *seren*, the head of each Philistine city-state, seems to be linguistically related to the Greek *tyrannos* ("tyrant"), likely a proto-Greek Illyrian or Lydian word that later entered the Greek language. The name Achish, *Agchous* in the LXX and Homer, which closely resembles the name Ikusu, king of Ekron in the Essarhadon annals, is sometimes compared with *Agchisēs* (Homer, *Il.* 2.189). *Agchisēs*, in Greek tradition, was related to the Dardanians, one of the Illyrian tribes that later migrated to Asia Minor and Greece. Scholarly opinion is divided on Goliath, which is sometimes compared to the Lydian *Alyattēs.*

Archaeological finds illuminating Philistine material culture are not limited to the ceramic medium. Though it is the latter that appears in greater quantities at excavations, no less significant is the Philistine contribution in the area of metallurgy. A key biblical reference in 1 Sam 13:19 reads: "Now there was no smith found throughout all the land of Israel; for the Philistines said, 'Lest the Hebrews make them swords and spears.' " Here it is clear that a worker in metal, without specifying whether the material was bronze or iron or both, is intended. Material evidence for bronze-working has been found at numerous sites associated with the Philistines, including Ekron, Tel Mor (harbor of Ashdod), and Tell Qasile. Significant small finds in bronze from the city of Ekron include wheels of a cultic stand similar to the type found at Cypriot sites of the same period, and a double-headed peg with suspension hole which may have parallels in Crete.

The discovery of various iron artifacts, including several bimetallic knives from 12th century strata at Philistine sites, raises the question of the role of the Philistines in the introduction of iron-working technology to Israel. Though it cannot be demonstrated with certainty that it was they who introduced this

new technology, it is very likely that these new settlers brought with them a knowledge of iron-working which acted as a stimulus to local industry.

A superior knowledge of metal-working, whether in bronze or iron, may have given the Philistines a military advantage in their early conflicts with the Israelites. The well-known biblical account in 1 Samuel 17 of the duel between David and Goliath provides a detailed description of Philistine armaments. Unlike the Philistines in the Medinet Habu reliefs, which depict an earlier period, Goliath of Gath wears a bronze helmet rather than a "feathered" headdress. Nevertheless, Goliath's spear, helmet, coat of mail, and bronze greaves, as well as the duel itself, are all features of Aegean arms and warfare. The Bible compares Goliath's spear to a "weaver's beam" because this type of weapon was new to Canaan and had no Hebrew name. Mycenaean warriors are depicted very similarly equipped on the 12th century Warriors' Vase from Mycenae.

Philistine material culture is a syncretistic blend of Aegean, Egyptian, and Canaanite elements. The dominant element is Aegean, as demonstrated by decorative motifs on pottery, cult practices, burial customs and funerary rites, and architectural styles. The same period which witnessed the collapse of empires in the Levant with the resulting cessation or reduction of trade (13th century B.C.E.), also produced migrations of populations, among them the Sea Peoples. When they settled, as they did on the coastal plain of Israel, these peoples introduced by means of material culture, cultic practices, and architecture a new ethnic element which reflected their origins in the Aegean. This period, from the beginning of the 12th century to the end of the 11th century B.C.E. was the Philistines' most flourishing era, both historically and culturally. From the early 10th century on, the Philistines gradually lost their cultural distinctiveness and assimilated into the Canaanite population, steadily declining in importance until they played no more than a minor role in the history of Palestine.

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TRUDE DOTHAN


**PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA.** A Hellenistic Jewish philosopher of 1st-century Alexandria.

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A. The Man and His Family

B. Philo's Writings

1. Exposition of the Laws of Moses
2. Exegetical Commentaries
3. Remaining Writings

C. Philo and the Jewish Community in Alexandria
D. Philo as Biblical Exegete
E. Central Ideas and Perspectives
F. The Significance of Philo

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**A. The Man and His Family**

Philo was a prominent member of the Jewish community of Alexandria, the largest Jewish settlement outside Palestine. The only certain date known from his life comes from his account of the great pogrom in Alexandria which started in A.D. 38 under the prefect Flaccus, during the reign of the Roman emperor Gaius Caligula. Philo was then chosen to head a delegation (*Gaium* 370) sent in A.D. 39/40 by the Jewish community to Gaius Caligula in Rome.

A few other datable events are found in his writings. In *Alexander*, or *Whether the Animals Have Reason* (*Anim*) 27, Philo speaks of the celebrations in various places given by Germanicus Iulius Caesar, probably in A.D. 12, when he entered on his first term of consulship. The horse race account in *Anim* 58 is found also in Pliny *HN* 8:160–61, where the event is said to have occurred during the games of Claudius Caesar in A.D. 47. Philo was aged already at the time of the embassy. On the basis of these observations, the time of Philo's death should probably be set around A.D. 50, and his birth to around 20–15 B.C.

Philo belonged to one of the wealthiest Jewish families in Alexandria. His brother, Alexander, was probably chief of customs (alabarch) of the Eastern border of Egypt and guardian of the Emperor Tiberius' mother's properties in Egypt. Alexander was rich enough to lend money to the Jewish king Agrippa I, and to plate the gates of the Temple of Jerusalem in gold and silver. Alexander's apostate son, Tiberius Iulius Alexander, born ca. A.D. 15, had a public career which took him to the highest post of a Roman official in Egypt, that of prefect (A.D. 66–70). He had then already served as procurator of Judaea (A.D. 46–48) and served as chief of staff under Titus during the siege of Jerusalem A.D. 70.

On the basis of information from Philo and Josephus, A. Terian has set up the following tables (see Fig. PHI.05) (*ANRW* 2/21/1: 282–83):

Although direct and datable information about Philo is scanty, it is possible to give a picture of him. His role as political leader is mentioned above. He was the head of the Jewish delegation sent to Gaius Caligula in Rome. A competing legation was sent by the Greek citizens of Alexandria, headed by Apion. Philo's mission turned into failure. The Jews thought they should meet a judge and get their rights, but discovered that Gaius Caligula was their foe. Gaius Caligula died in A.D. 41, and his successor, Claudius, issued an edict to normalize conditions in Alexandria. Claudius confirmed the particular religious and judicial rights of the Jews, but denied them equal rights with the Greek citizens.

Also apart from this legation to Gaius Caligula, Philo had political responsibilities. He tells in *Spec Leg* III:1–5 that circumstances forced him to leave philosophy and contemplation because envy had plunged him into the ocean of civil cares. By envy, Philo seems to allude to the tensions which existed between the Jews and other ethnic groups in Alexandria.

Philo was a learned person. In his youth he received the Greek general education of the encyclia. This general education consisted of literature, rhetoric, mathematics, music, and logic. Philo's writings show that he had a broad education also beyond the encyclia. He not only had excellent command of Greek language and literary style, but was well acquainted both with Greek authors and philosophers.

Although Philo was clearly conscious of being a Jew, he took an active part in the social life of Alexandria. He attended banquets, frequented the theatre, watched boxing matches, and attended horse races. Nevertheless, he was a religious person, loyal to Judaism and its institutions. His engagement in philosophy had its setting in the activities of the synagogues, which according to Philo were schools of philosophy. His writings prove that his philosophical interest largely was expressed in exegesis of the laws of Moses. At times (*Spec Leg* III:1ff; *Cher* 27) Philo indicates that he had mystical experiences in connection with his exegetical activity. At least once in his life he made a pilgrimage to the Temple of Jerusalem to offer up prayers and sacrifices. He was so strict in his emphasis on loyalty to the Jewish

ethnic community and its cause, that he advocated immediate execution of apostates without any formal trial (*Spec Leg* I:54–56; 315–18).

**B. Philo's Writings**

There has long been general agreement among scholars on the classification of Philo's expository writing. These fall into two main groups:

**1. Exposition of the Laws of Moses** *(Op; Abr; Jos; Dec; Spec Leg All; Virt; Praem).* These writings are but parts of one comprehensive rewriting of the law of Moses. On the basis of Philo's own terminology and outline, the "Exposition" can be divided in three parts: the story of creation, the historical part, and the legislative part. The *Life* of Moses was formerly classed in a group of miscellaneous writings, but Goodenough has shown that this and the "Exposition" were companion works. In these exegetical works, Philo paraphrases and expands the biblical text and so gives his own views. A similar method may be found in the book of *Jubilees*, the *Genesis Apocryphon*, and the *Biblical Antiquities of Pseudo-Philo.*

**2. Exegetical Commentaries.** These fall into two subordinate series:

(a) Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus, which is a brief commentary in the form of questions and answers on parts of the first two books of the Pentateuch. Most of the Greek original has been lost; modern editions depend mainly on the ancient Armenian version. The original work may have included other books of the Pentateuch, but Eusebius knew only the section on Genesis and Exodus. Greek fragments preserved by Byzantine writers deal only with Genesis or Exodus with two doubtful exceptions. Therefore we probably have the whole of the work.

(b) Allegorical Interpretations of Genesis, which consists of *Leg All* I–III; *Cher*; Sacr; Quod Det; Post; Gig; Quod Deus; Agr; Plant; Ebr; Sobr; Conf; Migr; Heres; Congr; Fuga; Mut; Somn; Deo. This series covers the main parts of Genesis 2–41. They have the form of a verse-by-verse commentary on the biblical texts. These commentaries vary in length and are more complex in form than Questions and Answers, though the question-and-answer form is also used. In this respect they are closer to the Midrashim than to the commentaries found at Qumran. Originally the title of all these commentaries seems to have been *Legum Allegoriae.* This name is now given only to the first work, on Gen 2:1–3:19. The others have different titles.

The commentary is mostly on two levels: the literal and the allegorical. The relationship between Questions and Answers and the Allegorical Interpretation of Genesis 2–3 is much discussed. Both works have the form of a commentary on verses or passages from the Pentateuch. Some scholars have suggested that "Questions" is catechetical, while "Allegorical Interpretation" is more scholarly. Against this is the fact that in general, where *Quaes* overlaps with sections of questions and answers in the "Allegorical Interpretation," there is no substantial difference. Moreover, the question-and-answer form also occurs in the "Exposition of the Laws of Moses," where it does not serve a catechetical aim. Scholars have observed that the question-and-answer form is also found in Greek commentaries on Homer. But it equally occurs in Palestinian exegetical tradition, and Philo may therefore share this influence from Greek exegetical forms with Jewish tradition.

**3. Remaining Writings.** There has been more uncertainty in the classification of the remaining writings. In general they have been divided into purely philosophical writings (*Aet; Provid; Anim; Quod Omn*) and historical and apologetic treatises (*Flacc*; 118 *Gaium*; *Vita Cont*; *Apol Jud; Vita Mos*). E. R. Goodenough (1933: 109–25) has rightly challenged the placement of *De vita Mosis* among the historical and apologetic writings. He has shown that this treatise and the Exposition of the Laws of Moses were companion pieces.

Apart from the questions related to *Vita Mos*, the classification of other writings as historical and apologetic is also rather unsatisfactory. The main weakness of this heading is that it fails to integrate these treatises with the other works of Philo. It therefore also seems pertinent here to start from the fact that Philo was an exegete. Against this background, the classification of these writings should be given the heading: Pentateuchal principles applied to contemporary issues and events.

These writings fall into three groups: (1) Writings in which Pentateuchal material, considered as literal narrative or as an adumbration of deeper principles, is applied to socioreligious factors in the Jewish community. *Apol Jud* and *Vita Cont* fall into this category. (2) Writings in which Pentateuchal principles are applied to, or are developed in dialogue with contemporary philosophical issues and religious phenomena: *Quod Omn, Aet, Provid,* and *Anim.* (3) Writings in which Pentateuchal principles are applied to specific historical events and persons: *Flacc* and *Gaium.*

The preserved fragments of *Apol Jud* deal with events and laws which cover parts of the Pentateuch from Jacob (Genesis 25) to the conquest of Palestine in the books of Joshua and Judges. The emphasis in *Apol Jud* is placed on a characterization of Judaism in Philo's own time, and it can therefore be listed among Philo's writings on contemporary issues.

In *Vita Cont,* Philo tells about the religious community of the Therapeutae to illustrate the aspect of heavenly ascent (*Vita Cont* 11). They are citizens of Heaven even in this life in the world (*Vita Cont* 90). They are in this way model Jews, since to be a true Jew is to be a citizen of Heaven; a proselyte receives a place in Heaven when he becomes a Jew (see for instance *Praem* 152).

The second group of treatises deals with philosophical issues. In these writings Philo uses his interpretation of the laws of Moses in evaluating and developing philosophical notions (see especially *Quod Omn* 42ff.; 53–57; 75–91; *Aet* 13–19; *Provid* I:22; 35; 84).

Even the view expressed by Philo in the treatise *Anim* seems to be selected on the basis of his Jewish attitude, and can be combined with ideas which he puts forward in other writings: the animals know nothing of God, cosmos, law, ancestral customs, state and political life. These attributes are exclusive to man. Some of these Stoic ideas are part of Philo's Exposition of the Laws of Moses. Thus, in saying that the animals know nothing about man's conscious and purposeful art, Philo in *Congr* 141 gives the full Stoic definition of art in the course of his exposition of Gen 16:5. Notwithstanding the Stoic influence, the Mosaic treatment of animals must be considered as the determining factor in moulding his thought. And the philosophical ideas of God, cosmos, ancestral customs, state and political life are points which in several places are central to Philo's interpretation of the Pentateuch. The conclusion is that Philo's views stated in *Anim,* as elsewhere, are influenced by his attitudes and views as a Jew in the sense in which he himself defines Jewish ideas in his other writings.

When Philo draws on Pentateuchal passages and principles in his philosophical writings, he presupposes the kind of exegesis which he has developed in his various expository works. They therefore presuppose Philo's work as an exegete, and do not belong to a period of his life before he had settled down to interpret the laws of Moses.

The hypothesis that Philo's philosophical writings were written prior to his expository works is built on the doubtful assumption that Philo had less interest in philosophy after he began to interpret the Pentateuch. But his expositions show that he was continually drawing on Greek philosophy and philosophical works. Some of the philosophical writings point rather to a later period than to youth: *Alexander,* or *Whether the Animals have Reason,* for example, must have been written some time after the year A.D. 12, and in it there is also probably a reference to the Jewish Alexandrian embassy to Rome in A.D. 39/40 of which Philo himself was the head. And if, as it seems, his own nephew Alexander was old enough to be his dialogue partner, Philo was most probably of advanced age.

It is, therefore, doubtful whether Philo's life should be divided into his philosophical period as a young man and his exegetical period as a mature and old man. He lived all his life in the double context of the Jewish community and the Alexandrian Greek community. Philosophy was Philo's life interest. The dialogues seem to be apologetic writings and thus to fall in line with the rest of his works.

The third group, the writings on contemporary matters, deals with the historical events connected with the pogrom in Alexandria in A.D. 38. The situation is portrayed as a conflict between the Jewish belief that they were the elected people of the one God, the Creator, and the usurpatory claim of power and of divine prerogatives of the Greek *polis* and the Roman emperor.

The connection between the historical writings *Flacc* and *Gaium* and Philo's expository writings can be quite closely drawn. In his exegetical works also Philo at times applies Pentateuchal principles to

historical events and persons. Thus as an example of persons who (as seen in Gen 37:9–11) exalt themselves above men and the world of nature, he lists Xerxes, who was punished with insanity. Another example was a governor over Egypt who attempted to disturb the ancestral customs of the Jews (*Somn* II:123ff.).

In *Flacc* and *Gaium* the same approach is followed, in such a way that the Pentateuchal principles—as understood by Philo—are used as an interpretative key, and the actual biblical passages are presupposed as background.

Of particular interest is *Gaium* 3–7, where Philo gives a summary of the main points of his interpretations of the laws of Moses and thus of the Jewish religion. He places emphasis here as elsewhere on God's creative, kingly, and providential powers, and on such of the other powers which serve both beneficial and punitive purposes (*Quod Deus* 77–78; *Plant* 50). This nation, whose God is the Creator, is according to Philo the race of suppliants (§3) in the sense that they serve as link between God and man. God's care for all men is in a sense the outcome of His care for the Jews (cf. *Praem* 44). Philo then tells how Flaccus and Gaius Caligula proved to be enemies of the Jews (*Flacc* 24 *Gaium* 373), but were in reality enemies of God himself: Flaccus was puffed up with arrogance (*Flacc* 124; 152), and Gaius even overstepped the bounds of human nature and claimed to be god (*Gaium* 75; 367f.).

Philo here narrates theologically interpreted history. In this respect these treatises show a similarity to history writing in the Old Testament, in Judaism, and in the New Testament. In the New Testament especially, the Passion narrative in the Gospels and the persecutions of the early church according to the Acts of the Apostles describe historical events and interpret them on the basis of the Old Testament. As for Philo's specific point about rulers being punished for their blasphemous arrogance, the brief story in Acts 12:20–23 applies this principle to the same King Herod who aided the Alexandrian Jews: "And the people shouted, 'The voice of a god, and not of a man!' Immediately an angel of the Lord smote him, because he did not give God the glory; and he was eaten by worms and died."

Philo's works are based on the interpretation of the Pentateuch, although also other LXX books are used. The predominance of his use of the Pentateuch probably reflects the reading practice in the Alexandrian synagogues. In this case, Pentateuchal pericopes were read in the synagogal gatherings, and other writings would have been drawn upon only in expositions or in other parts of the services. It should also be added here that the Pentateuchal books would be of special interest to the Jewish community in Egypt, since Egypt and the Exodus are central geographical and theological elements in these books.

Since Philo builds his exegesis on the Greek text of the LXX, he develops a theological understanding of this translation: the LXX is an exact and inspired translation of the Hebrew original. Moreover, it has a central role, since it serves as a revelation of the sacred writings to the Greek-speaking part of mankind. In spite of this fact, many details of the textual affinities of Philo's LXX text are uncertain, particularly because he sometimes departs from the LXX readings. The reason is that in the paraphrasing expositions Philo deals with the text as an active exegete; moreover, he works exegetical traditions into his paraphrase. Thus, it is impossible to reconstruct an original LXX text on the basis of his exegesis.

The question whether Philo knew Hebrew has been much discussed, but no consensus has been reached. The question is not of decisive importance, however. He undertakes etymological interpretations based on Hebrew, and he employs some traditions which were common to Greek-speaking and Hebrew-speaking Jews. He may have relied on written documents or on oral traditions in the Synagogues. Philo's broad knowledge and his role and place in the Jewish community suggest that he used both kinds of sources.

**C. Philo and the Jewish Community in Alexandria**

The situation of the strong Jewish community in Alexandria from the Roman takeover in 30 B.C. to the settlement of the increasing unrest by the Emperor Claudius in A.D. 41 has been subject to thorough examination.

The general conclusion can be summed up in this way: the Romans made a distinction between, on the one hand, the citizens of the Greek cities and the Hellenes of the provincial towns and villages, and on the other, the native Egyptian population. The first group was either exempted from the poll tax, in the case of the Greek citizens, or paid a lower rate, as did the Hellenes, while the native Egyptians paid the tax in full.

For the Jews in Alexandria, therefore, the question of their legal status was a burning issue, and they pressed for equal status with the Greek citizens of the city. The Greek citizens, on the other hand, tried to deprive the Jews of the privileges granted them by the Emperor Augustus and wished the Jews to be classified together with the native Egyptians.

After Gaius Caligula became emperor in A.D. 37, this state of cultural, judicial, and religious strife led to anti-Jewish riots which grew into a pogrom. A military uprising by the Jews against the Greeks followed in A.D. 41 on the death of Gaius Caligula and the accession of Claudius to the throne. Jews from Palestine and Egypt took part in the armed revolt, as can be seen from the fact that Claudius forbade the Alexandrian Jews to permit Jews from Syria and Egypt to enter the city. The emperor, furthermore, would not permit Jews to participate in the various activities connected with the gymnasium.

From these observations the following hypothesis can be formulated: It is probable that some Jews in Alexandria were content with the status quo under which they were permitted to live according to their own laws and customs as a separate *politeuma* of its own. Furthermore, it is certain that others coveted Greek citizenship for the sake of higher social and political prestige and greater economic advantages.

Strong forces among the Alexandrian Jews, however, seem to have entertained the (eschatological) expectations that other nations would acknowledge the law of Moses, and the people of God, the Jews, as the center of the world. Among these Jews there seem to have been two different perspectives as to methods which should be used. Some were in favor of using force, even arms, if necessary. The armed revolt by the Jews in Alexandria in 41 seems to have been inspired by such convictions, since the rebels were able to motivate even Jews from Syria and Egypt to come and join them. Others among the Alexandrian Jews advocated that the Jews were to conquer their surroundings by peaceful means; i.e., by their religion, based on the laws given by the Creator, and by their growing prosperity. Philo was of this opinion. In *Vita Mos* II:44, he expresses the conviction that increased prosperity and progress among the Jews will lead other nations to accept the laws of Moses; and Philo's writings serve the general aim of interpreting these laws to the surrounding world and preparing the Jews for their universal task.

Accordingly, in *Somn* II:83, Philo advises his fellow Jews to be cautious and not to use revolutionary provocations in their dealings with the non-Jewish political authorities: "… Surely then they are all lunatics and madmen who take pains to display untimely frankness, and sometimes dare to oppose kings and tyrants in words and deeds. They do not perceive that not only are their necks under the yoke like cattle, but that the harness also extends to their whole bodies and souls, their wives and children and parents, and the wide circle of friends and kinsfolk …" The conclusion drawn from this evidence is that Philo supported the policy that Jews should participate actively in the social life of Alexandria. He therefore belonged himself to those who infiltrated the Greek milieu centered around the gymnasium. At the same time, however, he attacked and passionately criticized pagan worships and pagan life-standards.

Among the burning issues are mentioned the paying of fees and participation in the life of the clubs. Reluctantly, Philo says: "… when the object is the share in the best of possessions, prudence, such payments are praiseworthy and profitable; but when they are paid to obtain that supreme evil, folly, the practice is unprofitable" (*Ebr* 20ff.), and it can lead to Egyptian animal worship (*Ebr* 95). Another issue is participation in the triennial festivals of athletic contests, which were organized by the cities. To Philo, these festivals are examples of contests in rivalry, lust, anger, and licentiousness. A Jew should try to avoid participation in these, but if compelled to take part, he should not hesitate to be defeated (*Agr* 110–21). In *b. Giṭṭin* 47a we find an example of this attitude. According to this text, Simeon S. Lakish at one period of his life was a professional gladiator. He justified this on the ground of grim necessity.

The treatise *De Josepho* reflects problems related to sexual ethics and to table fellowship. In *Jos* 42ff. and in 56–57 the difference is pointed out between the Hebrew nation and other nations in sexual ethics and marriage laws. The Hebrews have strict customs and strict laws on marital matters, while licentiousness has destroyed the youth of the Greek race and the barbarians. In Egypt it is easy for Jewish youth to leave the ancestral way of life and change to alien ways, because the Egyptians deify things created and mortal and are blind to the true God (*Jos* 254).

Another area of tension was that of table fellowship. Joseph gave a feast both for his own family and for Egyptians. Joseph feasted each party according to its ancestral practice, but Philo adds that the Egyptians followed the same seating order as the Hebrews. The Egyptians indicated that in other times the style of life in their country was less civilized, until Joseph introduced good order (*Jos* 202–6).

Philo speaks of Jewish institutions in Alexandria. He refers to the Jewish council of elders. There were many synagogues in each section of the town, and one synagogue was very large and notable. He often describes how the synagogues function, stressing the reading and explanation of the Bible: "And will you sit in your conventicles and assemble your regular company and read in security your holy books, expounding any obscure point and in leisurely comfort discussing at length your ancestral philosophy." Unfortunately, he does not provide any definite information about Jewish education or his own part in it. With regard to the LXX Philo refers to an old custom "to hold every year a feast and general assembly in the island of Pharos, whither not only Jews but multitudes of others cross the water, to do honour to the place in which the light of that version shone out."

Philo's writings show that he had a wide Greek education. He has an excellent command of Greek, a good literary style, and knows many Greek philosophers and writers. Some conclusion about Philo's knowledge of Greek philosophy may be drawn from explicit quotations, and the philosophical ideas he uses. Stoicism, Pythagoreanism, and Platonic traditions predominate. Philo's view that general education prepares for philosophy and his definition of philosophy as "the practice or study of wisdom, which is the knowledge of things divine and human in their causes." (*Congr* 79) are Stoic, as is also his division of philosophy into logic, ethics, and physics. From the Platonic tradition he takes over the distinction between the "forms" or ideas and the visible world, and between soul and body. From the Pythagoreans come speculations on numbers. Philo also shows familiarity with other philosophical schools and with Greek literature in general.

Non-Jewish sources have been incorporated in such a way that on the whole little identification of authors seems possible, but in some cases names of philosophers and authors are given.

**D. Philo as Biblical Exegete**

With regard to Philo's exegetical aims and methods, some scholars see him as the main representative of Hellenistic Diaspora Judaism, in contrast to Palestinian Judaism as represented in the rabbinic sources. This distinction does not do justice to Philo's own view of the situation. While he is involved in debates with fellow Jews in Alexandria, their views may, from this perspective, reflect debates in Judaism in general, Palestine included. Philo is primarily an exegete. Sometimes he agrees with other exegetes, sometimes he supplements them, and often he repudiates them; but he does not reveal the identity, whereabouts, or social status of his partners in debate. Indeed, more research is needed to examine whether his interlocutors represent specific schools. Tentatively, the following observations can be made.

Philo seems to refer to two different varieties of exegetes who championed literal exegesis. One was faithful to Judaism, while the other used literal exegesis to attack and ridicule the Pentateuch and Judaism. Some of the views of the "faithful literalists" are: in Deut 34:4 God humiliates Moses by not permitting him to enter the promised land; in Gen 11:7–8 the confusion of tongues refers to the origin of the Greek and barbarian languages; Gen 26:19–32 tells about actual digging of wells; in Exod 22:26–27 material return of garment is meant; the consistency of the rules about leprosy in Lev 14:34–36 is a matter of discussion. In arguing with the other group, Philo reflects disputes between non-Jews or Jewish apostates and Jews. The treatise *On the Change of Names* serves as defense against the literalism of a jester whom Philo himself had heard, and who committed suicide as a punishment from God (*Mut* 60–62). The change of one letter in Abram/Abraham and Sarai/Sarah is ridiculed by this group, as is the story of Jacob and Esau and their food; some of them maintain that the Bible contains myths (such as the story about the tower of Babel) similar to those which Jews themselves ridicule when recited by others. *On the Confusion of Tongues* serves also as defense against such mockery.

Philo also tells of Jews who used allegory to such an extent that valid Jewish custom was undermined. The central passage is *Migr* 89–93:

> There are some who, regarding laws in their literal sense in the light of symbols of matters belonging to the intellect, are overpunctilious about the latter, while treating the former with easygoing neglect. Such men I for my part should blame for handling the matter in too easy and off-hand a manner: they ought to have given careful attention to both aims, to a more full and exact investigation of what is not seen and what is seen, to be stewards without reproach. As it is as though they were living alone by themselves in a wilderness, or as though they had become disembodied souls, and knew neither city nor village nor household nor any company of human beings at all, overlooking all that the mass of men regard, they explore reality in its naked absoluteness. These men are taught by the sacred word to have thought for good repute, and to let go nothing that is part of the customs fixed by divinely empowered men greater than those of our time. It is quite true that the Seventh Day to meant to teach the power of the Unoriginate and the non-action of created beings. But let us not for this reason abrogate the laws laid down for its observance, and light fires or till the ground or carry loads or institute proceedings in court or act as jurors or demand the restoration of deposits or recover loans, or do all else that we are permitted to do as well on days that are not festival seasons. It is true also that the Feast is a symbol of gladness of soul and of thankfulness to God, but we should not for this reason turn our backs on the general gatherings of the year's seasons. It is true that receiving circumcision does indeed portray the excision of pleasure and all passions, and the putting away of the impious conceit, under which the mind supposed that it was capable of begetting by its own power: but let us not on this account repeal the law laid down for circumcising. Why, we shall be ignoring the sanctity of the Temple and a thousand other things, if we are going to pay heed to nothing except what is shown us by the inner meaning of things. Nay we should look on all these outward observances as resembling the body, and their inner meanings as resembling the soul. It follows that, exactly as we have to take thought for the body because it is the abode of the soul, so we must pay heed to the letter of the laws. If we keep and observe these, we shall gain a clearer conception of those things of which these are symbols; and besides that we shall not incur the censure of the many and the charges they are sure to bring against us (Loeb ed.).

In this passage, Philo summarizes his attitude as an exegete. The allegorical, though higher and more important, practically never invalidates the literal. (Only exceptionally does Philo discard the literal meaning altogether or allow it only a limited role.) Philo combines literal and allegorical methods of exegesis, stressing allegorical exposition against literalists and the literal sense against over-spiritualization.

Philo discusses other views which do not readily sort into the classes of literal and allegorical exegesis, although they may be combined with such an approach. As an example, we quote the following: "There are some whose definition of reverence is that it consists in saying that all things were made by God, both beautiful things and their opposites. We would say to these, one part of your opinion is praiseworthy, the other part on the contrary is faulty …"

The sources of Philo's allegorical method have been much discussed. Did he draw on Greek allegorical methods (especially as employed by the Stoics on Homer) or on Jewish traditions? He undoubtedly followed the Stoics, who read natural phenomena and ethical norms into Homer, though Philo emphasized the ethical, which he based on his concept of God. But other parallels are found in the Haggadah, especially as regards the idealization of the patriarchs and other biblical persons, often by means of etymologies.

It may be maintained that Philo attempts to make the allegorical method serve his aims as a Jewish exegete. In this respect, his allegorical interpretation shows affinities with the hermeneutical concept of prophecy and fulfillment. He spells out abstract principles which he sees in the biblical text, and these in turn can be applied to individuals and the Jewish community, serving to interpret specific events. Philo also adapts allegorical interpretation to the Jewish notion of election, which he uses to claim for the Jews and their sacred writings elements from Greek philosophy, education, ethics, and religion. Conversely, to Philo, allegorical interpretation is a way in which the wisdom of the laws of Moses and Jewish religious institutions can be disclosed to the world.

Philo often indicates that he uses other Jewish sources as well as the Bible. He refers to these sources in *On the Life of Moses:* "But I will … tell the story of Moses as I have learned it, both from the sacred books … and from some of the elders of the nation; for I always interwove what I was told with what I read." The question arises here whether Philo depended only on local Jewish tradition, or also on wider ones, including Palestinian Haggadah and Halakah. Philo's own visit to Jerusalem, his knowledge of conditions and events in Palestine, the frequent contacts between Alexandrian and Palestinian Jews, and the fact that both groups recognized the Temple of Jerusalem as their center, at least strongly indicate that Philo knew and followed Palestinian traditions. This conclusion is confirmed by a comparison of Philo with the rabbinic writings.

Philo practiced the common Halakah with regards to worship in the Temple of Jerusalem, the Temple tax, and pictures and statues in Temple and synagogues. His visit to the Temple may indicate that he recognized its rules about calendar and sacrifices. Philo knew of the conflicts between Pilate and the Jewish authorities in Palestine arising from the Halakah. In some cases where Philo's views are in conflict with the rabbinic Halakah, it can be proved that they represent an earlier stage of common practice (Alon 1977). Examples of haggadic views in Philo which have parallels in the rabbinic writings are: the rivalry among the stars as to precedence, the angel who appeared to Moses in the burning bush being the image of God; Moses growing extraordinarily fast; why Adam was last to be created; the manna and the well not conforming to the regular sequence of rain from heaven and bread from earth.

**E. Central Ideas and Perspectives**

At times Philo maintains that God is unknowable, transcending virtue and the good and the beautiful. He is "that which exists" (*tò on*), or "he who exists" (*ho ōn*). But, although God himself is unknowable, his activities, which are called his powers (*dynameis*) can be known. Central powers are: God's activity in creating the world, represented by the name "God" (*Theos*), and his continued activity in governing the world, indicated by the name "Lord" (*Kyrios*). The universe consists of the intelligible and the sensible world, both created and governed by God. God's powers are in the intelligible sphere, but reach into this world and are knowable by man.

Philo's technical use of the term *Logos* connotes God's mental activity during the act of creating. The parable of the architect in *Op* 15–25 illustrates this point: Philo tells about an architect who made a model of the various parts of the city he was to build. Similarly, *Pirqe R. El.* 3, portrays a king who wanted to build a palace, and first modeled on the ground its foundations, entrances, and exits. According to Philo, the architect thought out in his mind how he should build. Similarly, in an anonymous midrash, it is stressed that the man first sat and calculated how he wanted the building (Urbach 1975: 1.200–1). Philo applies this picture to the creation of the world; and he identifies the intellectual planning of the architect with Logos, meaning God's mental activity during the act of creating. Similarly, the parable of the architect in the anonymous midrash is supported by Ps 33:6: "By the word of the Lord the heavens were made." In his use of the parable of the architect, Philo thus to a large degree stays within the context of Jewish exegesis of the creation story. Nevertheless, Philo develops a philosophical exegesis on this basis. He focuses the attention on the intellectual activity of the architect, and in this way the model is not an "empirical" sketch or model, but the image of the city in the mind of the architect. Thus, the parable expresses the idea that the model of the world is the intelligible world (of ideas) conceived by God before he created the world perceived by the senses. Here Jewish exegetical tradition about God as architect and Stoic and Platonic terminology and thought categories are brought together in a synthesis. The Logos, as one of the powers of the intelligible world, reaches into our world, mainly through the mediators Moses and Aaron, both called Logos. The plural *logoi* can indicate the heavenly principles which are embodied in the laws and precepts given to the Jews through Moses.

In another sense, the Logos and the logoi may be conceived as heavenly figures such as angels and archangels. The Logos is also called a "second god," or God's firstborn. This Logos has many names: "the beginning," "the name of God," "the man after his image," and "he that sees" (Israel). The meaning of Philo's Logos is therefore complex: it embraces the scriptural "word," biblical figures, heavenly beings, the laws of Moses and Platonic and Stoic elements. In some places Philo uses the related concept

of wisdom, *Sophia.* When Sarah is a cosmic and heavenly figure she can be named Sophia, following Jewish Wisdom tradition.

Philo sometimes uses sexual imagery to describe the relationship between God and the world. The contrast between male and female means the contrast between the spiritual and the irrational or between the eternal and the transitory. Matter is female, while form and logos is male. The highest Logos and God himself are essentially asexual.

In Philo's anthropology, humans consist of soul and body, but Philo utilizes a variety of concepts such as soul, mind, and spirit. He distinguishes between the lower mind and soul, which operate within the context of sense perception and are mortal, and the higher mind and soul, which are indestructible and immortal. In Philo the higher soul does not have primarily an individualistic sense. In *On Drunkenness* 36–37 Philo writes: "He (Moses) in his wisdom was recalling the whole *people of the soul* to piety and to honouring God and was teaching them commandments and holy laws." Thus "the soul" is associated with piety, the honoring of God, the commandments and holy laws, the very characteristics of the Jewish people, in contrast with "a city of commonwealth peopled by a promiscuous horde, who swing to and fro as their idle opinions carry them."

Philo's dualism must also be connected with the distinction made between the chosen people, the Jews, and other nations. Philo combines an ethical dualism between heaven and earth and between soul and body with the dualism between Judaism and the pagan world. For example, the Jews who make education, wealth, and office serve the heavenly values, as manifested in the laws of Moses, bring heaven to rule over earth. If, on the other hand, the Jews have luxurious living, political careers, and licentiousness as their objectives, they join with the earthly, pagan disorder. Accordingly, when Philo interprets references to Egypt and Egyptians allegorically to mean the body, passions, moral values, etc., he combines these two aspects of his dualism: Egypt and Egyptian represent the pagans in contrast to the Jewish nation, and at the same time they represent evil body over against the Jewish nation which has the heavenly quality of the soul. When Jews yield to the somatic passions and other evils, they then join with the Egyptians in their vices.

Looking for a dominant feature in Philo's thought, some scholars have pointed to the tendency to bridge the gap between the transcendent God and man by intermediaries, such as Logos, the powers, etc. This is not enough. To Philo, it is specifically the Jewish people which intermediates between God and man. The notion of the cosmic and universal significance of Israel dominates in this thought.

The center of Jewish existence is Jerusalem and its Temple. All Jews see Jerusalem as mother city, their metropolis. Its earthly buildings are not its totality, but essentially represent God's cosmos. Surprisingly, the Logos is equally characterized as a "metropolis," and Philo regards Jerusalem as a manifestation of the divine Logos spoken by God when he created the world. Indeed the chief, surest, and best mother city—which is more than just a city—is the Divine Logos, and to take refuge in it is supremely advantageous. Furthermore, Philo seems to expect that all Jews of the Diaspora would be brought back to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the eschatological age.

Equally, the Temple in Jerusalem is an earthly counterpart of the cosmic heavenly Temple:

> The highest and in the truest sense the holy, temple of God is, as we must believe, the whole cosmos, having for its sanctuary the most sacred part of all existence, even heven, for its votive ornaments the stars, for its priests the angels who are servitors to His powers … There is also the temple made by hands; for it was right that no check should be given to the forwardness of those who pay their tribute to piety and desire by means of sacrifices either to give thanks for the blessings that befall them or to ask for pardon and forgiveness for their sins. But he provided that there should not be temples built either in many places or many in the same place, for he judged that since God is one there should be also only one temple (Loeb ed.).

Of the Levitic priests, Philo says that their perfection of body and soul makes them the image of God. This requisite perfection of body is a token of the perfection of the immortal soul, fashioned after the image of God, i.e. of the Logos through whom the whole universe was created. So, the high priest in the Jerusalem Temple is the true portrait of man.

Again, the biblical picture of Aaron as a mediator and as Moses' interpreter is developed into the high priest as the sacred Logos who separates and walls off holy thoughts from the unholy. Aaron was Logos in utterance, and the perfect interpreter. Along the lines of Jewish tradition, Philo attributes cosmic significance to the high priest. His vestments symbolize the whole cosmos, he is consecrated to the Father of the world, and thus is invested with universal meaning for the service of the Creator. The worship of the One God is seen in contrast to the erroneous polytheism of other nations. Therefore, it is worship on behalf of all mankind: through the Levites, the Jewish nation is the priesthood of all nations.

Philo's explanation of the feasts, of which only the Sabbath can be mentioned here, is illuminating. Jews, he says, regard the Sabbath with great reverence and will not yield to political authorities who want to abolish it. Already in the Pentateuch, the celebration of the Sabbath is founded on creation (Gen 2:2–3), and Philo is fertile in his interpretation of the Sabbath and its cosmic role. For instance, he elaborates in Pythagorean fashion on the number seven. One example out of many may be given: Moses recognized in the seventh day the birth of the world, celebrated in heaven and on earth, as all things rejoice in the full harmony of the sacred number seven. Hence, the Hebrew people, who follow the laws of nature, must celebrate this festival too. Basically, feasts and joy belong to God alone, for God alone is entirely blessed, exempt from all evil. But from this joy of God the joy of man flows, as a mixed stream.

The above illustrates how Philo gives a cosmic and universal relevance to Jerusalem, the Temple and the Sabbath, as also to the laws of the Jewish nation and the role of Moses. By introducing his laws into the story of creation, Moses implies that the universe is in harmony with the Law and the Law with the world. Thus the man who observes the Law is constituted a loyal citizen of the world. Primarily, this is Moses, a true cosmopolitan, in accordance with the development of that idea. In the second place, the people of Israel is meant.

Like Aaron the high priest, Moses is a messenger and mediator between God and man. As such, he is identified with an archangel, or with the Logos and in this capacity says: "and I stood between the Lord and you" (Deut 5:5), that is neither uncreated as God, nor created as you, but midway between the two extremes, a surety to both sides, … For I am the harbinger of peace to creation from that God whose will is to bring wars to an end, who is ever the guardian of peace. Similarly, Moses was one among the many angels when he mediated at Sinai and spoke on God's behalf to the people. He served as one of the logoi. Philo can even say that God sent Moses as a loan to the earthly sphere.

In *Vita Mos* 1:158 Philo interprets Moses' ascent of Mount Sinai to mean that he ascended into the realm of God. In rabbinic writings the same interpretation is found, and both Philo and the rabbis see Moses as god and king (cf. Exod 7:1). This explains Moses' authority: Though a figure of the past, he still is to determine the lives of Jews in the time after him. In his ascent and vision of the divine world they are to imitate him. They are Moses' disciples.

It was Moses who communicated the basic self-revelation of God as "I am He that is." This means that "God alone has veritable being," and that God's nature is to be, not to be spoken. Yet, so that the human race should not lack a title to give to the supreme goodness, he allows them to use the title of "Lord God."

In his references to examples and persons outside Judaism, Philo can use various lines of argumentation. In his discussion of the free men (in: *Quod Omn*) he says that the various levels of freedom of the worthy man receives their full dimension and true expression in Moses and in those who follow him in worshipping the Self-existent only. At several places Philo maintains that the Greek philosophers drew their thought from Moses and his Laws, *Heres* 214, *Leg All* I:108, *Spec Leg* IV:61, *Post* 133, *Quaes Gen* IV:152, *Quod Omn* 53–57, *Congr* 176. In agreement with this, Philo pictures Moses as the embodiment of all knowledge and wisdom. Although Moses had Egyptian and Greek teachers, he was independent in his apprehension so that he seemed a case rather of recollection than of learning.

Abraham, the ancestor of the Jewish race, is at the same time the prototype of proselytes, since he left his native country and its polytheism to discover the One God. In doing so he gained all the other virtues. Philo distinguishes three types of men: the earth-born, the heaven-born, and the true men of God. Abraham began as a man born of heaven, searching into the nature of the ethereal region. Later, he became a man of God, and the God of the Universe was his God in a special sense and by a special grace.

The sons of earth are those who follow the pleasures of the body. By combining these notions, we see that the sons of earth are in fact pagans or apostates. The men of heaven are pagans who, like young Abraham, seek heaven and the Creator. The men of God then are the Jews, who like the older Abraham are wholly owned by God.

Philo's concept of revelation can now be better understood. According to some scholars, he distinguishes in a general way between the lesser mystery of knowing God through creation and the greater mystery in which man experiences the vision of God himself. This distinction should be understood more specifically on the basis of the difference between Jews and other men: the chosen people received the revelation of God. Although other men share in a certain knowledge of God through creation and reason, it is only through the revelation received by the Jews that man is truly known by God.

**F. The Significance of Philo**

Scholars have interpreted Philo in a variety of ways. He has been seen as a great (Pharisaic) system builder and philosopher (Wolfson); as a representative of anti-normative Hellenistic Judaism, a Jewish mystery religion (Goodenough); as a representative of gnosticism (Jonas, Klein, Käsemann, etc.); or as a representative of Middle Platonism (Theiler, Früchtel, Dillon, Pearson). Since Philo combines motifs of Platonic/Pythagorean and Stoic nature, he shows obvious kinship with Middle Platonism. These Greek elements of Middle Platonic background are woven together with biblical and Jewish notions. His writings reflect the fact that different streams and traditions were present in Alexandrian Judaism. Philo's own emphasis on heavenly ascent and the complementary roles of ruler (Moses) and law-abiding person suggests that he draws on traditions from early Jewish mysticism. Furthermore, Philo and mystical Judaism share the idea of a heavenly being or angel, Israel, understood by means of a pseudo-etymology to mean "the one who sees God."

Was Philo then fundamentally Greek or Jewish? His loyalty to the Jewish institutions, the laws of Moses, the role of Israel as the priesthood of the world, and his harshness against renegades (even to the point of advocating lynching) shows that he was fundamentally a Jew. When Philo draws on Greek philosophy and various notions from pagan religions, his intention was not to compromise Jewish convictions and aims. He was such an extreme Jew that he referred all ideas and phenomena of value, also including those outside Judaism, to Moses as their origin and/or authentic formulation. Whatever good there was had its source in Scripture and thus belonged to the Jewish nation and its heritage. Consequently, being so extreme in his claims, he was on the verge of ending at the other extreme, that of being overcome by the ideas he wished to conquer. In this way, Philo's extreme form of particularism risked ending up in a universalism where Jewish distinctiveness was in danger of being lost.

Philo may have belonged to an elite group, small in number within the Jewish community of Alexandria. Nevertheless, his place is clearly within the community in such a way that he took part in debates and conflicts among different Jewish streams, and understood himself to represent traditions and interpretations of the synagogues, the Jewish schools of philosophy.

Philo reflects more firsthand knowledge of Hellenistic culture in general and Greek philosophy in particular than earlier Alexandrian Jewish writers, though direct historical lines can be drawn from Aristobulus' allegorical and philosophical exegesis and the philosophical language of the Wisdom of SolomonSolomon to Philo. Philo was literally the culmination of a literary tradition within Alexandrian Judaism: apparently, no significant works were produced after him by Alexandrian Jews.

Philo remained almost unknown in Jewish tradition until the 16th century. It was the Christian Church which preserved and adopted Philo; Byzantine anthologies even cite excerpts of Philo under the heading "of Philo the Bishop." Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Ambrose were influenced by Philo in their allegorical exegesis and their use of such concepts as wisdom, Logos, and faith.

In modern historical research, Philo is studied as a source for Greek philosophy, as a representative of Second Temple Judaism and as a forerunner of early Christian thought. As for the latter, Philo has especially been studied to throw light on the concept of Logos in the Gospel of John, on Platonisms in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and on exegetical techniques and forms used in the New Testament. Philo's

writings reflect a variety of movements within Judaism in the time of the beginnings of Christianity, and this observation has thrown light on some of its conflicts and debates, particularly in relation to Judaism and the Hellenistic world.

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PEDER BORGEN

**PHILO OF BYBLOS.** One of a number of learned scholars of Near Eastern origin active in the Roman empire. He was born ca. A.D. 70 and died in 160; we have no information where he lived, although Byblos and Rome are the obvious possibilities. His circle of friends centered around the ex-consul Herennius Severus, and included men such as Hermippos of Beirut, an exceedingly learned slave, who wrote *Concerning Dreams.* Philo himself was the author of several works. Worthy of particular notice is his encyclopedic compilation *Concerning Cities and the Illustrious Men Each of Them Produced.* This book was eventually abridged, and while it has not survived either whole or in abridgement, numerous citations from it can be found in the writings of Stephanus of Byzantium (who lived in the 7th century A.D.).

Philo is, however, best known for his *Phoenician History (PH).* The *PH* has not been preserved intact, and we know it only through the mediation of Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 260–340), who quoted extensively from it in his *Praeparatio Evangelica.* The *PH* suited Eusebius's apologetic and polemical interests almost perfectly. The principal pagan competitors of Christianity in his day were mystery cults, often based on allegorizing or physiologizing interpretations of myths. Philo opposed mystery cults as humbuggery, and strongly rejected allegorizing and physiologizing interpretations. Philo argued for a Euhemeristic interpretation of mythology, maintaining that the gods of myth were either immortal forces of nature or humans deified for their contribution to culture by a grateful posterity. As such, Philo provided Eusebius with a pagan witness whom he could employ to attack pagan opponents.

The excerpts preserved by Eusebius do not read as a smooth whole. Transitions are abrupt, and there are rarely more than two sentences devoted to any topic; hence Philo's comments are often difficult to understand. This obscurity may explain part of the fascination Philo has held for scholars over the centuries. More substantial reasons for scholarly interest in Philo are the obvious importance of the Phoenicians for understanding the background of the biblical world, and the desire to evaluate the material preserved by Philo in the light of our growing knowledge of the ANE. Indeed, for the past century, work on Philo has usually been undertaken under the influence of the latest discoveries from the Near East: there was a new impetus to read Philo at the time of the discovery of ancient Babylonian literature, and a similar wave in the aftermath of the publication of Ugaritic and Hittite myths. The latest scholarly tendency, however, has been to emphasize that Philo was an author in the Hellenistic-Roman world, and to balance interpretations of his work in ANE terms against those that employ the culture Philo himself knew as a frame of reference.

Philo's work has a strong polemical quality. It is Euhemeristic to the core, and it agrees on a relatively large number of small points with the little we know of the writings of other Euhemeristic historians. In this sense, the *PH* conforms to the canons of Euhemeristic historiography. As noted above, Philo opposed mystery cults which were growing popular in his day (cf. Lucian of Samosata) and violently attacked allegorizers and physiologizers (Plutarch may be a convenient example of the sort of opponent Philo had in mind). The antipathy between allegorizers and physiologizers on the one hand, and Euhemerists on the other, was mutual: thus Plutarch presented a "critical" attack against Euhemerus, while Philo argued at length against the interpretations of myths proposed by allegorizers and physiologizers.

Philo was also a strong Phoenician nationalist. He writes as if everything important happened first in Phoenicia, or was discovered by a Phoenician. He displayed a deep dislike of Greeks typical of learned Near Easterners of his day. For all these reasons, we should not expect objectivity of the *PH.* Philo was not a dispassionate historian, but an author determined to make a case with important contemporary implications, concerning which he felt intensely. All of this, as noted above, made Philo especially useful to Eusebius, but should be a constant source of caution in reading and evaluating the fragments of the *PH*.

The surviving extracts of the *PH* fall into a number of distinct sections. Eusebius has preserved part of Philo's introduction in which he discussed the purpose of the work and described Sanchuniathon, his supposed source, whom he claimed to be translating from Phoenician to Greek. Sanchuniathon was also known to Porphyry (232/3–ca. 305), and Eusebius cited a passage from the latter's polemic against the Christians in which Sanchuniathon was described and praised. According to both Porphyry and Philo, Sanchuniathon was a learned man of great stature and antiquity, antedating Hesiod, and either prior to or contemporary with the Trojan War.

Eusebius then presented passages from Philo's supposed translation of Sanchuniathon, beginning with a verse cosmogony, and continuing with a section on discoverers of essentials of civilized life. The latter are regularly gods, who have been turned into mortals by Philo (in accordance with his Euhemeristic beliefs) and whose area of divine function has become a discovery or invention. Philo continued with a long section on Kronos and his wars, describing the division of the world by the victorious party at the end of the battles. One of the major events of the conflict between Kronos and Ouranos is the castration of the latter by the former. Philo concluded this discussion with harsh criticism of the Greeks, foremost of whom was Hesiod, who misappropriated this Phoenician material and fashioned theogonies, gigantomachies, and castration stories of their own. Philo commented that we have become so accustomed to these distortions of the truth that it has become difficult to give up the incorrect versions and to recognize the authentic story—as he has presented it from Sanchuniathon—for its true worth.

Eusebius cited two additional sections from Philo's work, one explaining the origins of child sacrifice, and another on the nature of snakes. Snakes played an important role in some mystery cults (such as the rites created by Alexander of Abonuteichos, described by Lucian). Philo is therefore anxious to explain the true nature of snakes lest we be misled and accept the interpretation of them offered in the mysteries he hated.

Philo's work raises a number of questions around which scholarly interest has focused. What sources did Philo use in composing the *PH*? Did he have any very ancient document(s) from which he worked directly? What is the true relationship between Philo and Hesiod? Finally, was Sanchuniathon a historical personality, a legendary hero, a religious authority, or a fiction created by Philo or some prior forger?

As noted above, there have been several cycles in the answers proposed to these questions. Philo's claims are now, however, regarded with considerable skepticism. His cosmogony was written in the verse technique typical of Ugaritic, Phoenician and biblical poetry, but the contents stress a scientific explanation of meteorological phenomena difficult to conceive before the rise of rationalism in 6th-century Greece. In the Wars of Kronos, Philo tells a Byblian version of the common Mediterranean myth of "Kingship in Heaven," also known in Babylonian, Hittite, and Greek forms, but Philo knows these Byblian myths in their classical or Hellenistic versions; they have been touched up to look more like Hesiod. Moreover, Philo has exploited the similarities with Hesiod for his polemical purposes: to attack the Greeks as being inferior to the great ancient cultures of the Near East.

Philo does present Phoenician traditions—this is indisputable—but he has not discovered and somehow preserved unaltered texts from hoary antiquity. Rather he has retold contemporary versions of Phoenician myths, modified them to suit his pet theories, and presented the results as the true ancient versions. We therefore do not read relatively unaltered Bronze Age or early Iron Age sources in Philo.

As for Sanchuniathon, his name is a good Phoenician one, attested in inscriptions. He may have been a venerable figure of Phoenician religion, and Philo's sources must have been connected in some way with this outstanding authority. Unfortunately, the Sanchuniathon strata in Philo's work are beyond recovery. That material was part of a living tradition and was further modified by Philo as part of his reworking the

stories to fit his personal hypotheses. What little we are told of Sanchuniathon is of dubious value: he supposedly dedicated his book to Abibalos, king of Beirut; but book dedication did not become widespread until the Hellenistic period. The early date claimed for him is typical of the desire of barbarian historians to make their authorities equal in age with or older than Homer. Sanchuniathon therefore remains a shadowy figure of antiquity.

The *PH* and the Bible illuminate each other on a large number of points. For example, the verse cosmogony has the seeming anomaly of having the first stages of animal life preceding the blazing forth of the sun and moon. This seems so contrary to the logic of our expectations that one scholar proposed reorganizing the text of the *PH* so that animal life would commence after the sun and moon shone forth. Such drastic measures are, however, unnecessary, particularly in the light of Genesis 1, where the heavenly luminaries are created after the plants—another sequence jarring to the modern mind.

Philo's entire section on discoverers is reminiscent of Gen 4:19–22, where the Bible mentions several people who were the first to invent crafts or skills. Philo tells of mortal giants who gave their names to mountains which they conquered: to the Kassios, Lebanon, Anti-lebanon and Brathys (?). Their descendants were called after their mothers, because the women of the time had sexual relations with anyone upon whom they chanced. Philo is clearly writing about the Baals of these mountains, of whom the Baals of Kassios, Lebanon, and Anti-lebanon are known from other sources. The enigmatic Brathys may be an error for Itaburion, the usual name for Mt. Tabor in Greek. If this suggestion is correct, it would fit well with biblical evidence for the worship of Baal Tabor (Hos 5:1, Deut 33:18–19).

The entire section on these giants and their mountains is connected with the enigmatic passage in Gen 6:1–4. The Bible tells a fragment of myth about the union of divine beings or minor gods with human women. This story is further expanded in Jewish legend. Two hundred angels, under the leadership of Shemhazai, were attracted by the lewd practices, beauty, and sensual charm of human women. They descended on Mt. Hermon (= Anti-lebanon) and swore to cooperate in choosing wives. Giants resulted from these unions and the fallen angels then taught mankind all sorts of evil practices, from weapons and cosmetics to exorcism, magic, and divination. The version in Jewish legend is a relic of Canaanite myth: Danel (the hero of Ugaritic epic) appears among the fallen angels, and one of the skills humans learn is that of dyeing cloth—a reference to the chief industry of Phoenicia. Both the similarities and differences between Philo's story and the Jewish legend are clear. The original story, if there ever was one common source behind Philo and Jewish legend, would have spoken of gods or heroes. Philo has turned these into mortals, while Jewish legend would have transformed them into angels.

Deuteronomy 32:8 contains an account of the division of the world by *ʿelyôn*, the "Most High" one. As the text now stands, this *ʿelyôn* is the God of the Bible, who as the senior deity assigning shares could have taken any nation for his own, but chose to take Israel. In earlier versions of the text things might not have been so clear, as is suggested by fragments of Deuteronomy found at Qumran, in which the God of the Bible might have had a subsidiary role, with the main part assigned to El. On this understanding, Philo's account of the division of the world by the victorious El-Kronos is especially important.

In summary, there was extensive contact between the world of the Bible and the Phoenicians. Philo's sources go back to good Phoenician tradition, even if that material has changed with time and been modified by Philo to suit his polemical purposes. It is therefore appropriate that a number of points of contact between the *PH* and the Bible remain visible.

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**PHILO, PSEUDO-.** Pseudo-Philo's retelling of the biblical story from Adam to David is known by its Latin title *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum (L.A.B.)* and its English equivalent *Biblical Antiquities.* But the title is late, and the text itself makes no claim to have been written by Philo of Alexandria. The Latin title appeared first in the 1552 printing of the work, though one 14th-century manuscript bore the heading

*Liber Antiquitatum.* The term "Antiquities" suggests that some analogy was perceived with Josephus' *Antiquities,* and thus the work was attributed to Philo of Alexandria as the other great Jewish writer of antiquity known to Christian scribes. Manuscripts of *Biblical Antiquities* were transmitted along with the Latin translations of Philo's writings. Nevertheless, the nonallegorical approach to the biblical text, the likelihood that it was composed in Hebrew in Palestine, and the conflicts with Philo's genuine works indicate that the ascription to Philo has no historical foundation.

*Biblical Antiquities* exists in 18 complete and three fragmentary Latin manuscripts (Harrington and Cazeaux 1976: 15–57), all of German or Austrian origin, from between the 11th and 15th centuries. All break off abruptly in the midst of Saul's speech in chap. 65 and have gaps in content between 36:4 and 37:2 and between 37:5 and 38:1. The most important Latin manuscripts are Fulda-Cassel Theol. $4^{o}$, 3 (11th cent.) and Phillipps 461 (12th cent.). The Hebrew sections of *L.A.B.* in the medieval *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* appear to have been translated from Latin (Harrington 1974).

Pseudo-Philo retold the biblical story from Adam to David by selecting material from Genesis (1:1–8:14), Exodus (9:1–13:2), Leviticus (13:3–10), Numbers (14:1–18:14), Deuteronomy (19:1–15), Joshua (20:1–24:6), Judges (25:1–48:5), and 1 and 2 Samuel (49:1–65:5). Some biblical material was greatly expanded (especially the Kenaz story in chaps. 25–28 [see Judg 3:9, 11]), and other sections were severely abbreviated or bypassed almost completely (e.g., Genesis 1–3, Leviticus). Particular attention is given to the leaders of ancient Israel: Abraham, Moses, Joshua, Kenaz, Zebul, Deborah, Ehud, Gideon, Abimelech, Jair, Jephthah, Abdon and Elon, Samson, Micah, Phinehas, Samuel, Saul, and David (Nickelsburg 1980: 49–65).

While incorporating various literary forms (genealogies, dream visions, apocalypses, prayers, speeches, poems, etc.), *L.A.B.* is best described as an example of the "rewritten Bible" (Vermes 1961) comparable to *Jubilees, Genesis Apocryphon*, and Josephus' *Antiquities.* It treats the biblical texts more freely than the Targums and is not as directly concerned with the exposition of the biblical texts as the midrashim. It may reflect popular biblical interpretation as practiced in the ancient Palestinian synagogues.

Even though Latin is the language of the most important extant manuscripts, several passages are best explained by assuming a Greek stage in the transmission of the work and by supposing mistranslation from Hebrew to Greek (Harrington 1970). Therefore it seems likely that *L.A.B.* was composed in Hebrew, translated into Greek, translated into Latin, and partly retroverted into Hebrew *(Chronicles of Jerahmeel).*

A Palestinian origin is indicated by its original composition in Hebrew, use of a Palestinian biblical text, knowledge of Palestinian geography, literary parallels to *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, and theological interests. A date at the turn of the era is suggested by the silence about the destruction of the Second Temple, the assumption that worship continued at the Jerusalem Temple, and the use of a Hebrew biblical text-type that was suppressed around 100 C.E. (Perrot and Bogaert 1976: 22–74). Those who argue for a late 1st- or early 2d-century C.E. dating (James 1917) appeal to the parallels with *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* (both post-70 C.E.), the great interest in Jewish leaders, and the possible allusion to the fall of the Second Temple in 19:7.

Attempts at relating *L.A.B.* to specific Jewish groups (e.g., Essenes, Pharisees, Samaritans, anti-Samaritans) are not convincing. Rather the work appears to reflect the general spirit of the Palestinian synagogues. It illustrates how Jews read the Bible, tells us about the popular theology of the day, and contains some legends and motifs not found elsewhere in ancient Jewish literature. It may have been intended as a complement to the canonical books of Chronicles, though its theological interests were different.

*Biblical Antiquities* is the earliest witness to some popular Jewish motifs (Ginzberg 1909–38; Feldman 1971): Abraham's escape from Ur (6), Israel's being spared from the Flood (7:4), Job as Dinah's husband (8:8), Moses' being born circumcised (9:13), etc. It also contains some unique motifs and material: e.g., the connection between the tower of Babel and casting Abraham into the fire (6:3–18), the long section on Kenaz (25–28), and the idols of Micah (44:5). The focus of Pseudo-Philo's eschatological teaching was what happens after death (33:2–5; 44:10) and what will happen during and after God's eschatological intervention. He looked on idolatry and intermarriage of Jews with gentiles as especially reprehensible

offenses against God's covenant with Israel. Other special interests included prophecy, the "holy spirit," good and bad leaders, angels, and the Deuteronomic interpretation of history (sin, punishment, salvation).

*L.A.B.* provides important evidence about the text and interpretation of the Hebrew Bible from Genesis to 1 and 2 Samuel around the turn of the era. It also contains references to Psalms, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. It shares many apocalyptic motifs with *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, though it lacks their four-empire scheme of history and any interest in the messiah. In addition to some verbal parallels with the NT, its stories about the birth of Moses (9:9–16) and Samson (42:1–10) share features with the Matthean and Lukan infancy narratives. Its treatment of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac according to Genesis 22 (see 18:5; 32:2–4; 40:2) may have influenced early Christian ideas about Jesus' sacrificial death.

Medieval Christian writers (Rhabanus Maurus, Rupert of Deutz, Peter Comestor) referred to the work. The earliest explicit Jewish reference was by Azariah dei Rossi in the 16th century. Leopold Cohn's 1898 article revived modern scholarly interest in the document, but its omission from important modern collections of Jewish writings has prevented it from being taken as seriously as it deserves. The Latin text was edited by Kisch (1949) and Harrington (1976). It has been translated into English by James (1917) and Harrington (*OTP* 2: 297–377), German by Riessler (1966) and Dietzfelbinger (1975), Modern Hebrew by Hartom (1967), French by Cazeaux (1976), and Spanish by de la Fuente Adánez (1984).

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**PHILOLOGUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Philologos* (Φιλολογος)]. A Roman Christian who received greetings from Paul in Rom 16:15. He was probably a gentile Christian. See NEREUS. That Philologus was the husband (or brother) of Julia, being coupled with her in v 15, is only a possibility. According to the literary sources and to more than 37,000 Roman inscriptions, the name "Philologus" occurs only twenty-three times (whereas "Julia" appears more than 1,400 times; Lampe *StadtrChr*, 139–41). Since the name was not very common in the city, it probably indicates that Philologus had immigrated there.

PETER LAMPE

**PHILOMETOR** (PERSON) [Gk *Philomētoros* (Φιλομητορος)]. The coronation of Philometor as king of Egypt and his antipathy for the Seleucid king Antiochus IV are mentioned in 2 Macc 4:21. Philometor was Ptolemy VI Philometor, son of Ptolemy V Epiphanes and Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus III. Philometor was born ca. 184 B.C.E. and ruled from ca. 180–145. Philometor ruled under the regency of his mother until her death in 176 B.C.E. during which time relations between Ptolemaic Egypt and Seleucid Syria were cordial. Upon Cleopatra's death in 176 B.C.E., the regency was assumed by Eulaios and Lenaios, who were opposed to Seleucid control of Coele-Syria. The deterioration of relations between

Egypt and Syria, due to the regents, and not Philometor's personal opposition, led to Antiochus' hostile actions in Coele-Syria described in 2 Macc 4:21–22. The reference in 2 Macc 4:21 to Philometor's "coronation" (RSV; Gk *prōtoklēsia*) may be erroneous. *Prōtoklēsia* is found in Codex Alexandrinus but *prōtoklisia*, "first reclining" from the Gk roots for "first" (*prōt-*) and "recline" (*klin-*), appears in numerous other authorities. As *ēta (ē)* and *ipsilon (i)* were pronounced alike by the time of Codex Alexandrinus (Goldstein *II Maccabees* AB, 234), scribal error is possible. This "first reclining" or taking the place of honor at a banquet would possibly indicate a coming of age ceremony for Ptolemy VI Philometor rather than a coronation (Otto 1934: 16 and Robert 1969: 13). Polybius (xxvii 12.8–13.4) mentions Ptolemy Philometor's *anaklētēria* which is described as a coming of age ceremony. However, although the practice was known in Hellenistic Egypt, no such royal ceremony is known from the Ptolemaic period.

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**PHILOSOPHY** [Gk *philosophia* (φιλοσοφια)]. Referring most obviously to the classical Greek schools of thought and their investigation of nature and truth, "philosophy" could denote the study and scientific treatment of, or speculation about, diverse subjects. Besides the intellectual disciplines, it could signify prescribed training or, even more broadly, a way of life. Thus, Diodorus of Sicily (1st century B.C.E.) calls the priestly discipline and the study of astrology and divination undertaken by the Chaldeans of Babylon "philosophy" (2.29.1–4). (See *TDNT* 9:172–88.)

In the LXX, "philosophy" occurs only in *4 Maccabees*, where it has a broad meaning. Countering the charge that the religion *(thrēskeia)* of the Jews is foolish philosophy (5:7–11), the author defends obedience to the Law as sound philosophy because it enables one to achieve the cardinal Greek philosophical virtues (5:22–24). Philo, too, characterizes Judaism as a philosophy. In a discussion of Sabbath, he notes that the day of rest prescribed by Jewish law allows for the pursuit of wisdom and the study of the ancestral philosophy (*Mos.* 2.39. §211, 216). Josephus uses the term more narrowly, applying it to each of the religious parties in pre-70 C.E. Jewish Palestine; the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes constitute the philosophies of the Jews (*Ant* 18.1.2. §11; cf. *JW* 2.8.2 §119).

"Philosophy" appears only once in the NT (Col 2:8). In that context, the writer combats a threat to the Christian community at Colossae, disparaging the threat there as empty deceit and philosophy, specifically, a philosophy according to human tradition and the elements of the world, and not according to Christ. The label "philosophy," by itself, says nothing certain about what the letter writer opposes. The term's lack of any pejorative connotation may indicate that "philosophy" is the self-designation of a group at Colossae, but the semantic breadth of the word precludes any further deductions. (See Lohse *Colossians* Hermeneia, 127–31.)

Since contemporary Jewish writers describe Judaism as a philosophy, and both dietary regulations and Sabbath observances belong to the practices of the Colossian philosophers (2:16), the Colossian philosophy may have been a form of Judaism. On the other hand, philosophical schools of the period, particularly Middle Platonism and Neo-Pythagoreanism, exhibited a markedly religious hue. The letter writer may have applied the term "philosophy" to a brand of pagan philosophy in Colossae that had adopted certain Jewish practices.

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**PHINEHAS** (PERSON) [Heb *pînĕḥās* (פִּינְחָס)]. Var. PHINEAS. The name most likely derives from Eg *nḥsj* which meant "southerner" (the preformative *p3* adds the definite article "the"). "The southerner" was a term which referred to those people from south of ancient Egypt, such as the Nubians, and hence it

implied those of "dark skin." The association of Phinehas #2 with Hophni, another name of Egyptian origin, supports the contention of the Egyptian origin of Phinehas.

**1.** Phinehas was the son of Eleazar and Putiel, the grandson of Aaron and a descendant of Levi (Exod 6:25; Num 25:7; Judg 20:28; 1 Chr 5:30—Eng6:4; 1 Chr 6:35—Eng6:50; Ezra 7:5; *4 Ezra* 1:2b; *Ps-Philo* 28:1, 3). He was a priest (Num 25:7) and, as demonstrated by several passages, he was known for his strong and sometimes violent defense of the Israelite worship of Yahweh.

When the Israelites began to worship Baal-peor instead of Yahweh, Phinehas stood against them (Num 25:1–13; see also Ps 106:28–31; Sir 45:23–24; 1 Macc 2:26, 54; *4 Macc.* 18:12; *Hel. Syn. Pr.* 8:4–5, where Phinehas' actions are seen as exemplary). In particular, when an Israelite brought a Midianite woman into his family, Phinehas slew the man and woman with a spear (Num 25:6–8). Phinehas' action brought forth four reactions by Yahweh: (1) Yahweh's anger toward the people was tempered and, as a result, only 24,000 people died by a plague (Num 25:8–9); (2) Yahweh praised Phinehas for his action in abating the wrath of God against the people (Num 25:11); (3) Yahweh rewarded Phinehas with a "covenant of peace" *(bĕrît šālôm)* (Num 25:12); and (4) Yahweh conferred on Phinehas and his descendants the "covenant of priesthood forever" *(bĕrît kĕhunnat ʿôlām)* (Num 25:13; 1 Macc 2:54). This last point refers to the fact that this passage is one in which the Israelite priesthood is established. Another such text is Exod 32:25–29, where the Levites "ordain" themselves to the service Yahweh as a result of their violent killing of the unfaithful; it is another account where militaristic actions lead to priesthood. A third passage is Exod 28:1, where Aaron and his descendants become priests; however in this instance it is not as a consequence of any violent action on their part (see also Num 1:47–54; 8:5–26; Deut 33:8–11).

A second incident where Phinehas was involved with the defense of the worship of Yahweh was in the holy war against Midian (Num 31:1–54). Phinehas, as priest, accompanied 12,000 people into battle at Peor (Num 31:6). The battle concluded with the slaying of all males and females, except the young women who were virgins (Num 31:17–18), and a long instruction, in part by Phinehas' father, Eleazar, on the proper handling of the spoils of war (Num 31:21–54).

In Joshua 22, when the Reubenites, Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh returned to the Transjordanian region, they built an altar near the Jordan River (Josh 22:10). The priest Phinehas and 10 leaders of Israel took offense at this construction, claiming it indicated a turning away from Yahweh (Josh 22:11–20). The situation was resolved only when the Reubenites, Gadites, and half-tribe of Manasseh asserted that the altar was an "altar of witness" (Josh 22:26–27) to remind their children of their relationship with the 10 tribes of Israel, not an altar of sacrifice (Josh 22:28). This story not only reflects the defense of the worship of Yahweh, but it also introduces and defends the concept of a single central sanctuary, as is advocated in Deuteronomy 12.

A fourth episode which indicates Phinehas' defense of Yahweh is found in Judges 20. Here, the tribes of Israel are seeking revenge upon the Benjaminites in retaliation for their atrocities against the concubine of a Levite (Joshua 19). Just before the battle at Gibeah, Phinehas stood *(ʿmd)* before the ark of the covenant, consulting Yahweh and seeking his blessing prior to commencing the battle. Phinehas' role is again to defend the mainline Israelite tradition against those who would violate or turn away from that tradition.

Finally, Phinehas appears in the midst of a genealogy in 1 Chronicles 9. In this late genealogy, various priests, Levites, and temple servants are mentioned, and in the list of Levites who were gatekeepers at the temple, Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, is named as the one who rules over these gatekeepers (1 Chr 9:20). This relationship indicates the tension and rivalry between the Aaronite priesthood represented by Phinehas and the Levitical priesthood represented by the gatekeepers. Furthermore, these gatekeepers act as guards for the temple and temple treasury (1 Chr 9:26–27) which again reflects the military nature of the priesthood.

Three factors of significance can be derived from examining the activities of this Phinehas. Yahweh bestows the priesthood on Phinehas and his descendants, and all priestly factions (Aaronites, Levites, and Zadokites) must somehow be related to Phinehas. Secondly, Phinehas is a priest of Yahweh whose

zealous defense of Yahweh becomes a model for subsequent generations. Finally, Phinehas' defense of Yahweh, like that of other priests and priestly groups, clearly takes on militaristic characteristics.

The descendants of Phinehas are prominently mentioned among those who returned from Exile at the time of Zerubbabel and Ezra (Ezra 8:2; 1 Esdr 5:5). In 1 Esdr 8:29, the RSV form is Phineas (Gk *Phinees*), though the same Greek spelling appears throughout the LXX for Phinehas, including the parallel passage in Ezra 8:2.

**2.** Phinehas was the brother of Hophni, the son of Eli the priest (1 Samuel 1). These priestly brothers began as good priests, but they quickly turned into bad priests who abused their sacred trust (1 Sam 2:12–17). This deterioration is in sharp contrast to Samuel who was portrayed as a model priest. These incidents in 1 Samuel 1–4 thus provide reason for the later elimination of the Elide priesthood (see 1 Kgs 2:27). The story also asserts that ritual cleanliness was essential for participation in holy war. See HOPHNI for a more detailed discussion of the brothers Hophni and Phinehas.

At the end of 1 Samuel 4, Phinehas' wife had a child (1 Sam 4:19). She named the child Ichabod ("no glory") since Eli, Hophni, and her husband Phinehas were dead and the ark of the covenant was in the hands of the Philistines (1 Sam 4:21–22). She died almost immediately after naming her son (1 Sam 4:20).

According to 1 Sam 14:3, Phinehas had a brother, Ahitub, whose son was Ahijah the priest. Abiathar, the priest Solomon banished when he assumed the throne, is apparently the son of Ahimelech, who was the brother of Ahijah (1 Sam 22:20). Thus, the genealogical connection between Phinehas and Abiathar is established, the guilt of Phinehas and Hophni was visited upon Abiathar, and the line of Eli was at an end (1 Kgs 2:27).

**3.** Phinehas was the father of Eleazar (Ezra 8:33; 1 Esdr 8:63). Eleazar was one of the people, along with Meremoth the priest and Jozabad and Noadiah the Levites, who received the temple vessels and gold when they were returned from their captivity in Babylon. See ELEAZAR #5.

JOHN R. SPENCER

**PHLEGON** (PERSON) [Gk *Phlegōn* (Φλεγων)]. A Roman Christian who received greetings from Paul in Rom 16:14. See PATROBAS. He was probably a gentile Christian. See NEREUS. According to the epigraphical and literary sources from Rome, the name "Phlegon" occurs only nine times (Lampe *StadtrChr*, 139–41). Because the name was not common there, it probably indicates the Phlegon had immigrated to Rome. It has been proposed that he was a (freed) slave, but the inscriptions do not support the argument that the name was one commonly held by slaves (see Lampe *StadtrChr*, 150, 152–53; three out of seven inscriptions show slaves or freedman).

PETER LAMPE

**PHOCYLIDES, PSEUDO-.** A gnomic poet who lived in Milete in the 6th century B.C.E. Only a very few lines of his poetry are still extant, but ancient testimonies make abundantly clear that throughout antiquity he was regarded as a great authority in matters of ethics and correct behavior in daily life (van der Horst 1978a: 59–63). Under his mask a Jewish Wisdom poet, who probably lived in the second half of the 1st century B.C.E., or in the first half of the 1st century C.E., wrote a gnomic poem of 230 hexameters in the old Ionic dialect. It is a skillful forgery that remained unrecognized as such until the end of the 16th century. Up to that time this poem enjoyed an enormous popularity as a schoolbook; hence it is extant in over 150 mss (Derron 1980). From the early 17th to the middle of the 19th centuries it was often regarded as a Christian forgery because of its biblical resonances, until Jacob Bernays demonstrated its undeniably Jewish origin (Bernays 1856). In recent times there have been new critical editions (Young 1971; Derron 1986), translations and commentaries (van der Horst 1978a; Walter 1983), and several important studies on the poem (e.g., Küchler 1979 and Niebuhr 1987; further details in van der Horst 1988).

One of the striking characteristics of the poem is that on the one hand it draws heavily upon the Pentateuch (esp. Leviticus 18–20 and the Decalogue) and on the other hand it consistently avoids references to specifically Jewish precepts like sabbath observance, circumcision, and dietary rules. All cultic precepts are passed over in silence, only "moral" precepts for conduct in daily life are presented,

with a very heavy emphasis on sexual matters and on avarice, an emphasis to be found in other Jewish writings as well. Much of his material is also found in the "summaries of the Law" as presented in Philo's *Hypothetica* (in Eus. *P.E.* 8: 7, 1–9) and in Jos. *AgAp* 2 §190–219. They draw upon a common source in which the essentials of the Torah are summarized in the form of a short catechism. These catechism-like summaries (more examples in Neibuhr 1987) do not give any or only a minimum of cultic rules, but all of them emphasize strict sexual ethics, the viciousness of greed, the duty to care for the poor and the needy, honesty, modesty, and moderation. Mixed with these biblical and early Jewish rules one finds, both in *Ps.-Phoc.* and in Philo and Josephus, precepts of originally pagan Greek provenance, which are also presented as God's Law. Although not deriving from the Torah, this material is presented as God's commandments since it can be derived from the Torah and is in essential accordance with its intentions. Hence there are a great many lines in *Ps.-Phoc.* that have only pagan parallels (van der Horst 1978a: 105–262; Derron 1986: 35–54).

A much debated question is that of the author's purpose. Why did a Jew write a summary of the Torah, mixed with non-biblical ethical rules, under a heathen pseudonym? It has often been thought that he had a pagan audience in mind and wanted (*not* to make converts to Judaism but) to bring pagans to a kind of "ethical monotheism" (Crouch 1972: 89, 97); one scholar even asserted that this author cannot have been a Jew but must have been a "sympathizer" or "God-fearer" who wished to win over others to his way of life on the fringes of the synagogue (Rossbroich 1910). But there is a growing consensus now that the author's intended audience was Jewish and that what he hoped to achieve was to make clear to Hellenized Jews who were fascinated by the dominant Greek culture and were in danger of dropping Jewish values: (1) that biblical and Greek ethics are not incompatible; (2) that even the famous pagan Wisdom poet Phocylides promulgated biblical ethics; and (3) that their attachment to Judaism should be reinforced instead of slackened because it is perfectly possible to reconcile the Jewish religion with the surrounding Greco-Roman culture (Goodman *HJP²* 3: 687–92; van der Horst 1988).

The poem shares the characteristics of both Greek gnomologies and Jewish Wisdom literature and is as such a typical example of cross-cultural didactic poetry. In spite of its use of the old Ionic dialect, its origin in the late Hellenistic or early Imperial period is betrayed by its vocabulary, meter, and syntax (van der Horst 1978a: 55–58; Derron 1986: LXVI–LXXXII). Its place of origin is unknown but Alexandria is a good possibility since v 102 prohibits dissection of the deceased which was practiced in Alexandrian medical circles; but other possibilities cannot be excluded. The poem is an important source for our knowledge of popular morality in diaspora Judaism and as such it sheds light on several parenetic passages in the NT (van der Horst 1978b). See also *OTP* 2: 565–82.

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PIETER W. VAN DER HORST

**PHOEBE** (PERSON) [Gk *Phoibē* (Φοιβη)]. A woman from Cenchreae (near Corinth) commended by Paul in Rom 16:1–2 to the recipients of that letter, evidently because she was delivering it to them. Paul's reference to Phoebe uses three titles to describe her: *adelphē*, "sister"; *diakonos*, "deacon"; and *prostatis*, "patroness." The first term indicates that she was a Christian; the second and third denote various roles she had as a believer and each has inspired much discussion.

While some translations such as the RSV render *diakonos* as "deaconess," this is not an appropriate translation of the Greek. From the term Paul uses, Phoebe must be called a "deacon." For, to say Phoebe was a deaconess implies that Paul used the term *diakonissa*, which in fact is not known to have been used in 1st century C.E. Greek. Furthermore, it also suggests, in view of later deaconess movements, that Phoebe's role was subordinate to male deacons or that it primarily involved ministry to other women. But Paul's description of her implies no such restrictions. In his eyes she was a deacon in the same sense as he applied the term to himself (e.g., 1 Cor 3:5; 2 Cor 3:6; 6:4; 11:23) and to various co-workers (e.g., Apollos in 1 Cor 3:5; Timothy in 1 Thess 3:2). Since in these texts Paul portrayed himself and his co-workers as missionaries who preached and ministered within churches, the same role must be attributed to Phoebe. Apparently she was a ministerial leader in the church at Cenchreae. The possessive expression "deacon of the church" (16:1) makes it probable that, unlike Paul and some others, hers was a local function rather than an itinerant one.

In describing Phoebe as *prostatis* to himself and to many others (16:2), Paul uses the feminine form of a term not found in either the feminine or masculine elsewhere in the NT. While in wider Greek usage the masculine *prostatēs* definitely has the technical sense of a legal patron, it has been argued by Käsemann, for example, that in Phoebe's case the term "cannot in the context have the juridical sense of the masculine form, i.e., the leader or representative of fellowship," since women could not take on legal functions (1980: 411). Rather, in this scholar's view, "the idea is that of the personal care which Paul and others have received" at Phoebe's hands (1980: 411). Schüssler Fiorenza has assessed this interpretation as "an androcentric model of historical reconstruction [which] cannot imagine or conceptualize that women such as Phoebe could have had leadership equal to and sometimes even superior to men in early Christian beginnings" (1986: 425). Also, Jewett has argued that recently published data indicates that women actually did function in many instances in a legal role as a *prostatis* (1988: 149).

Paul's statement that Phoebe was a *prostatis*, i.e., patroness, to many as well as to himself suggests she was prosperous and thus assumably had a high social standing. Probably Phoebe's house was large enough to accommodate the Cenchreaen Christian gatherings. She would have been not only hostess but also a leader in her role as deacon. In Jewett's judgment, with respect to Phoebe as such a key member of the church of Cenchreae, specifically as benefactress, Paul would have had a "relatively subordinate social position as her client" (1988: 150).

Paul's commendation of Phoebe asks the Romans to "receive her in the Lord as befits the saints, and help her in whatever she may require from you" (16:2). This has invited some speculation concerning the purpose of Phoebe's trip to Rome (or Ephesus, according to those who defend that city as the destination of Romans 16). Several commentators have thought that perhaps business or family matters occasioned her travel, and thus she could also conveniently deliver Paul's letter. Recently Jewett has advanced the provocative theory that Phoebe actually went to Rome to persuade the church there to support Paul's planned evangelization of Spain (cf. Rom 15:24, 28). In his judgment Phoebe "had agreed to cooperate with Paul as the patroness [*prostatis*] of the Spanish mission" (1988: 151). A problem with the theory, however, is that when Paul refers to his Spanish plans and his desired support from the Roman church in Rom 15:24, he does not immediately mention Phoebe as one would expect were she such an integral link in his plans.

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FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

**PHOENICIA, HISTORY OF.** Phoenicia was the Greek name for the Syrian littoral north of Palestine. The name meant "dark red" and was applied first to the people and region renowned for dyes of this color, and then to some of the natural products that became associated with them in international trade. Phoenicia was neither a country nor a nation but a conglomerate of city-states that was distinguished from adjacent areas by its habitual outreach into the Mediterranean world and by its preferred dealings with Indo-Europeans and Greeks. Its history consists in the contribution of these individual cities and their dominions to the civilization and gradual maturation of the Mediterranean world.

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A. Sources
1. Judean
2. Phoenician
3. Egyptian
4. Greek
5. Assyrian and Babylonian
B. Chronology

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**A. Sources**

The Phoenician cities are known from their own records and from Egyptian, Greek, Assyrian, Babylonian, and Judean sources. Their own records are inscriptions and artifacts that attest their influence on art and culture, religion, politics, international trade, and commerce in the 1st millennium B.C. The main Egyptian sources are the Amarna letters and the mid-11th-century story of Wen-Amon. The Greek sources include references in Mycenaean texts but begin coherently with Homer and continue through Herodotus and later historians and in scattered epigraphic materials. The Assyrian and Babylonian sources are the intermittent records of subjugation and conquest in the annals and chronicles of the kings. The Judean sources include some 7th-century geographical references, a few inscriptions, a 6th-century encomium of Phoenician economic and cultural superiority, and some contemporary allusions to the grandeur of the past and to the gradual deterioration of Israelite-Phoenician relations.

**1. Judean.** The earliest biblical reference to the Phoenicians includes them in the world of the Greeks. In the 7th-century geography composed by P the Kittim (Gen 10:4) are listed as descendants of Japheth, children of Ionia, and brothers of Cyprus, Tarshish, and Rhodes (Westermann *Genesis* BKAT, 673–81). But they were, in fact, the Phoenician inhabitants of Kition in Cyprus, a city founded in Mycenaean times, resettled by the Phoenicians early in the 1st millennium and continuing as the center of Phoenician expansion in the Mediterranean until the 4th century B.C. (Karageorghis 1976). Jeremiah, later in the 7th century, still thought of the Kittim as inhabitants of the far W islands (Jer 2:10; 31:10). In early 6th-century letters from Arad (AI) they are mentioned as recipients of rations and seem to have been agents or mercenaries stationed in S Judah. Later in the 6th century Ezekiel included them in the Tyrian fleet (Ezek 27:6), the Dtr historian thought of them as pirates (Num 24:24), and 2 Isaiah described them as inhabitants of an island, trading partners with Sidon, and adventurers on the high seas (Isa 23:1, 12). Still they retained their mysterious character, and as late as Daniel and Maccabees the Kittim symbolized the power that lurked on the far shores of the Mediterranean (Dan 11:30; 1 Macc 1:1; 8:5).

The earliest biblical reference to particular Phoenician cities is in Ezekiel's lamentation for Tyre (Ezekiel 26–28; Zimmerli *Ezechiel* BKAT, 600–96). He describes an imagined capture and destruction of the city (Ezekiel 26), its effect on Mediterranean trade (Ezekiel 27), and its consequences for the Phoenician way of life (Ezekiel 28). The Phoenician cities are mentioned by name but are included indiscriminately with Greece, Cilicia, and Anatolia in a catalogue of the nations of the world.

Tyre is described as a fortified island city with mainland dominions and an interest in the overland trade routes (Ezek 26:1–6). The supposed destruction of the city by Nebuchadnezzar (Ezek 26:7–14) is portrayed in detail: the invasion, the capture of its mainland possessions, construction of siege mounds

and redoubts, attacks with battering rams on the walls and towers, the taking of the city, execution of its inhabitants, demolition of its pillars, plunder and total destruction—leaving Tyre a bare rock in the water, a place for drying nets. Tyre had been settled by seafarers (Ezek 26:17 *nôšebet miyyammîm*) and the repercussions of its sudden collapse were felt throughout the Mediterranean by the people and princes who enjoyed its renown and relied on its naval power (Ezek 26:15–18). But its destruction was by divine decree and Tyre had descended into the netherworld never to rise again (Ezek 26:19–21).

The effect of Tyre's symbolic demise on Mediterranean trade and economic stability is the topic of a lament (Ezekiel 27) that compares Tyre to a ship and describes how it was built and why it foundered (Ezek 27:1–7, 31–36), where its crew was hired and how they were stunned by its loss (Ezek 27:8–11, 25–30), where it loaded cargo and where it traded (Ezek 27:12–16, 20–24), and where it got the provisions it carried on its long voyages (Ezek 27:17–19). Provisions were gathered from its overland trade with Judah, Israel, and Damascus. Its cargo came from Ionia and Rhodes, Cilicia, Anatolia, and the Arameans of N Syria, and was traded to Arabia and N Mesopotamia. But its crew was Phoenician from Sidon, Arvad, Tyre, and Byblos; its troops were mercenaries from Persia, Lydia and Libya; its garrison was recruited from Arvad and her dependencies in the North. Tyre, in this portrayal, is a great cosmopolitan city, unrestricted in its foreign relations, the convener of the Mediterranean world.

The contrast that Ezekiel draws is between Tyre, lamented by the whole world, and Jerusalem whose destruction did not matter to anyone else. For Tyre, in particular, the fall of Jerusalem was an opportunity to trade with Judah's neighbors to the E ("So Jerusalem is broken, the gate to the nations has swung open to me, I will get my fill from her destruction" [Ezek 26:2]). Ezekiel eulogized Tyre's worldliness but castigated its insouciance and its sense that life goes on by depicting Tyre as a royal city that thinks it will live forever like a god (Ezek 28:1–5) but will die, he protests, and will not return from the dead (Ezek 28:6–10; cp. 26:19–21; 32:17–32; 37:1–14).

The Dtr historian, writing in the mid-6th century, was familiar with Tyre's preeminence in the Mediterranean world but was also interested in Phoenician geography and ethnography. The Phoenicians are Canaanites who live in the E and in the W, along the coast and in the Jordan valley (Gen 10:19; Num 13:29; Deut 1:8; 11:30; Josh 11:3; Judg 18:7, 28). They are called Sidonians (Gen 10:15; Judg 3:3; 10:11–12; 18:7; 1 Kgs 5:20; 11:1, 5, 33; 16:31; 2 Kgs 23:13). Their land is N of Philistia and S of Amurru, and includes both the littoral and the possessions of Byblos in Mt. Lebanon as far as Lebo Hamat in the interior (Deut 3:9; Josh 13:2–6). Some of their towns, such as ʿAkko and ʿAkzib, belonged theoretically to Asher (Judg 1:31), other towns such as ʿArqa, Siyannu, Arvad, and Ṣumur were N of Canaan in Amurru (Gen 10:17–18; Westermann *Genesis* BKAT, 694–99) but Phoenicia was not part of the land of Canaan that had been allotted to the tribes of Israel (Gen 10:15–19; 49:13; Josh 11:8; 19:28; 2 Sam 24:6–7).

Tyre is mentioned in the Dtr history only in connection with David and Solomon and the building of the temple. This history ascribes to Solomon the wealth, wisdom, and world renown that Ezekiel admired in the king of Tyre (1 Kgs 3:1–15; 5:1–14; Ezek 28:1–5). Solomon, like Ezekiel's king of Tyre, achieved world dominion (1 Kgs 5:1; 10:23–24; Ezek 26:17–18; 27:1–36) and acquired his wealth from international trade (1 Kgs 10:14–15; Ezek 28:1–5). They both had ships of Tarshish (1 Kgs 10:22; Ezek 27:12, 25), traded with Sheba (1 Kgs 10:1–13; Ezek 27:22) and all the countries from Cilicia and Anatolia to Egypt (1 Kgs 10:26–29; Ezek 27:7, 12–16), and sent their fleets on joint expeditions to Ophir (1 Kgs 9:26–28; 10:11, 22). For both, their grandeur and the richness of their foreign relations was ultimately their downfall (1 Kgs 11:1–3; Ezek 28:1–10).

The Dtr historian portrayed Solomon as a Phoenician king, made him the contemporary and friend of Hiram of Tyre, and gave them joint responsibility for building the temple. Israel exchanged ambassadors with Tyre and made a treaty (2 Sam 5:11–12; 1 Kgs 5:15–20, 26). The Tyrians, following the pattern described by Ezekiel, bartered their materials and expertise for wheat and oil (1 Kgs 5:21–25; Ezek 27:17), summoned the Byblians to help them with the timber and masonry (1 Kgs 5:27–32; Ezek 27:9), imported all the wood and gold and precious stones needed for the construction of the temple (1 Kgs 9:26–28; 10:11–22; Ezek 27:22; Lemaire 1977: 253–55), supplied the bronze for the temple vessels and

for the two pillars that stood before it (1 Kgs 7:13–47; Ezek 26:11; 27:13), and acquired the right to settle by the coast in return for their wares (1 Kgs 9:10–14; Ezek 27:3). The magnificence of the temple matched the splendor of its founder. Together they represented the wonder of new beginnings and the innocence of primordial times. The temple was the replica of the created order, a place like sky and earth where Yahweh might dwell (1 Kgs 8:12–13, 27–30), with pillars to sustain the heavens (1 Kgs 7:15–22; cp. Ps 75:4) and a bronze sea to contain the mighty waters (1 Kgs 7:23–26). The king, like God and Adam, had the knowledge of good and evil (1 Kgs 3:9; Gen 3:22) and, like Adam, was led astray by his wives to worship other gods (1 Kgs 11:1–3; Gen 3:8–13). He was like the king of Tyre in the book of Ezekiel who was created in the garden of Eden but sinned and defiled his temples and was removed from the mountain of God (Ezek 28:11–19).

This Tyrian interlude in the Dtr history makes the beginning of the Davidic dynasty coincide with the origin of right worship in the distant and idyllic past. But it differs from the usual Dtr interpretation of Israel's dealings with the Phoenicians and Sidonians. The Dtr historian included them among the nations left in the land to test Israel (Josh 13:2–6; Judg 3:3). They were mentioned with the Philistines in a list of Israel's oppressors (Judg 10:11–12). Their women lured Solomon into the worship of Astarte (1 Kgs 11:1, 5; 2 Kgs 23:13). The worship of Ba‹al was introduced into Israel in the early 9th century when Ahab married Jezebel the daughter of ›Ittôba‹al the "king of the Sidonians" (*mlk ṣdnm*, 1 Kgs 16:31; Katzenstein 1973: 129–192). This critical attitude toward the Sidonians and Phoenicians was governed by the Dtr interpretation of Israel's distinctiveness that required its separation from all the nations of the world. But Tyre's exemption from criticism was based on the Dtr reconstruction of history that reflected 2 distinct phases in Phoenician expansion. The inveterate conflict with the Phoenicians or Sidonians corresponds to the era of Sidonian expansion that began, as the Dtr writer affirmed, at the time of Israel's struggle for independence and that lasted, as the Dtr author suggested, almost until the fall of the Northern Kingdom. The following era of Tyrian supremacy that continued to the fall of Judah and beyond inspired Ezekiel's eulogy and lament and was the paradigm of prosperity and good relations that the Dtr historian used to describe the time of Solomon.

The works of Ezekiel and the Dtr historian were known to all the later biblical authors who wrote about Tyre or Sidon. The revision of the book of Amos, for instance, includes an oracle against Tyre (Amos 1:9–10) that is copied from its context (Amos 1:6–8) but also refers to the treaty between Hiram and Solomon recorded by the Dtr historian (Amos 1:9; 1 Kgs 5:26), and to the Tyrian slave trade and commerce with Judah's neighbors to the E that were exposed and condemned by Ezekiel (Amos 1:9; Ezek 26:2; 27:13). Joel considered the same topics, criticizing Tyre and Sidon for their slave trade with the Greeks and for dedicating in their temples the silver and gold they took from trade with Judah (Joel 4:4–8). Joel was also familiar with the Dtr geography, which associated Philistia with the Phoenician cities (Joel 4:4) and put Sheba at the ends of the earth (Joel 4:8; 1 Kgs 10; cf. Gen 10:7; Ezek 27:22). Ezekiel had connected Sidon with Arvad and the principalities of the N (Ezek 27:8; 32:30) but the revision of his book made Sidon an accomplice of Tyre in the economic repression of Judah (Ezek 28:20–26). The psalms reminisce about Tyre's grandeur and great wealth (Ps 45:13) and perpetuate the idea that Tyre belonged with Philistia among Israel's enemies on the seacoast (Ps 83:8; 87:4). Second Isaiah reviewed Ezekiel's lamentation on Tyre but included Sidon as an equal partner and predicted that the wealth of the two cities eventually would belong to the people of Yahweh (Isaiah 23). The book of Jeremiah mentioned Tyre and Sidon among the traditional enemies of Judah (Jer 25:22), observed in passing that Jerusalem was a negotiant in their trade with Judah's neighbors to the E (Jer 27:3), and condemned Philistia in the S as an accessory after the fact (Jer 47:4; cp. Zeph 2:5). Zechariah was familiar with the geography of the coast, condemned Philistia for its alignment with Tyre and Sidon, and rebuked Ionia for its participation in the slave trade (Zechariah 9). But at the end of the 6th century the Chronicler interpreted Solomon's dealings with Hiram of Tyre as trade relations with both Tyre and Sidon (1 Chr 22:4; cp. 1 Kgs 5:15–26), and these relations evidently had withstood the test of time and theological tradition and persisted through the era of the restoration to the building of the second Temple (Ezra 3:7; Neh 13:16).

The Tyrians and Sidonians were famous and successful merchants living in coastal Canaan (cf. Obad 20) and the geographical designation, consequently, acquired a commercial connotation. Hosea criticized Ephraim for its deceitfulness and dealings with the powerful nations of the world (Hos 12:1–3) and then illustrated his point by comparing Ephraim to a wealthy and arrogant Canaanite merchant with no sense of allegiance (Hos 12:8–9). In the mid-6th century the book of Zephaniah blamed the leading people of Jerusalem for the downfall of the city and included among them the merchants *(ʿam kĕnaʿan)* who made their money at the Fish Gate and in the marketplace (Zeph 1:11). But at the end of the century the book of Proverbs compared a good wife to a shrewd dealer in purple garments trading with the Phoenicians (*kĕnaʿănî*, Prov 31:24). The attitude of biblical writers to the Phoenicians of Tyre and Sidon reflected diverse historical situations but was dictated by theological theory and often conflicted with an implicit admiration for the relentless adventurers who had discovered the Mediterranean world and given the East a new role in the history of civilization.

**2. Phoenician.** The Phoenician discovery of the Mediterranean world proceeded initially from the mainland via Cyprus to N Syria, Cilicia, Anatolia, through the Aegean to Greece and W to Italy, North Africa, and Spain (Coldstream, *PhönWes*, 261–75; Riis, *PhönWes*, 237–60). It was primarily a Sidonian venture with some collaboration or competition from Byblos. A later series of expeditions was conducted mainly by Tyre and led through Philistia and Egypt, along the Libyan coast past Malta and North Africa to the Atlantic (Breglia 1955). Both directions of discovery are marked by inscriptions and artifacts that delineate the features of Phoenician culture and civilization and confirm the evidence of the biblical sources.

The northward expansion of the Phoenician cities was a reflex of the invasion of the Philistines and the other Sea Peoples. The earliest distinctive Phoenician pottery was a derivative of Cypro-Aegean fashions of the 11th century B.C. (Culican, *PhönWes*, 45–82). The earliest E Phoenician inscriptions are from Crete and Cyprus from the end of the 11th century and later (Cross 1979a: 105; 1980: 15–17). Inscriptions of the 9th and 8th centuries from Zinjirli and Karatepe attest the continuing coexistence of Phoenicians with the Danunian Sea People (*dnnym, KAI* 24.7; 26 A I 2, 3, 4 [etc.]). A 9th-century inscription from Nora in Sardinia shows that the Phoenicians knew the Sherden Sea People *(šrdn)* and had learned from them the navigation of the W seas (Cross 1972).

From the time of their earliest voyages the Phoenicians were in immediate contact with the Greek cities and emerging Greek civilization. The Greeks borrowed the alphabet from them and finally developed their own in the 9th century, but they knew the Phoenician scripts and scribal traditions of the 11th century and later (Cross 1979a: 105–11). Ninth-century ivories in the N Syrian style still betray an early Mycenaean influence (Winter 1976: 9–10). The Phoenicians had settled in Spain by the early 8th century B.C. (Aubet Semmler 1985) but their products were Greek and their business was the transport of Greek goods (Shefton 1982). One of the first Phoenician inscriptions from Carthage is on a gold pendant from the early 7th century and it is dedicated to Phoenician Astarte and her Greek associate Pygmalion (*KAI* 73).

Byblos was the most ancient and renowned of the Phoenician cities and maintained the strictest ties with its traditions. The earliest mainland inscriptions are from the 11th century, one a commercial agreement (McCarter and Coote 1973), two others with personal names illustrating familial (*ʾḥʾš*, "My brother has given") and cosmological (*ʿbdḥmn*, "Servant of [Baʿal] Ḥamōn") aspects of the local Phoenician religion (Cross and McCarter 1973). Royal inscriptions from the 10th century and again from the 5th manifest a similar concern, in the same language and style, for the long life and welfare of the king, and attest the constant devotion of the city to Baʿal the king *(bʿl, mlk)* and to the "Mistress of Byblos" (*bʿlt gbl* KAI 1–10; Bordreuil 1977). Two other royal inscriptions from the early 5th century (Cross 1979b; *KAI* 9) have lexical and ideological connections with contemporary texts from Sidon and suggest a change in Byblian foreign policy during the Persian wars (cp. Dunand 1969), but Byblian adherence to tradition is evident in a 1st-century offering to Baʿal that continues to petition for the long life and welfare of its donor (*KAI* 12).

Byblos and its dominions were distinguished from the other Phoenician cities by their language (Lane 1969), script (Peckham 1968: 42–63), politics, and belief, but they shared some religious traditions with

Israel. The kings of Byblos expected long life *(ʾrk ymm)* and blessing *(brk)* from their gods, things that the Dtr historian promised to Israel (e.g., Deut 6:2–3; 22:7) and, exceptionally, to Solomon (Deut 17:20; 1 Kgs 3:10–14). They and their subjects looked to the gods for life *(ḥwh)* and based this hope on their justice and observance of the laws *(ṣdq, mšpṭ, yšr)*, in substantial agreement with the correlations established by the Dtr historian between life, justice, and obedience to Yahweh (e.g., Deut 6:24–25; 8:1; 9:4–6; 30:15–20). From the 5th century onward, at Byblos, at Lapethos in Cyprus and at Pyrgi in Italy, kings were concerned with their physical appearance in the tomb, people were eager to make living likenesses of themselves before they died, and kings and commoners alike celebrated the annual death and resurrection of the gods. Hosea, Ezekiel, the Dtr history and 2 Isaiah were familiar with the rituals of death and resurrection (Hos 6:1–4; Ezek 28:1–10; 37:1–14; 1 Sam 28:3–19; 1 Kgs 18:20–29; Isa 14:12–21), but the principles of physical representation that they entailed were excluded by the biblical tradition (e.g., Deut 4:15–24).

Sidon was most active in international trade and established colonies all around the Mediterranean. Its earliest permanent settlement was at Kition in Cyprus in the wake of Mycenaean and Achaean colonists (Karageorghis 1976). From this seaport its power radiated NW across the island: the earliest Phoenician inscription from Cyprus, the Honeyman tomb text, is probably from one of its domains in the interior (Masson and Sznycer 1972: 13–20); another inscription just like it from the early 7th century was found at Chytroi to the NW (Masson and Sznycer 1972: 104–7); in the 5th century Kition extended its boundaries to include Idalion, and in the 4th century it took control of the kingdom of Tamassos (Peckham 1968: 18–20). But the settlers lived among Cypriots and Greeks, maintained their own traditions in symbiosis with the native population, and had little influence on the cultural or political history of the island (Moscati 1968: 103–10). Typically, the Sidonians in Cyprus were merchants and seafarers who exported Cypriot products rather than their own goods to the rest of the Mediterranean world (Coldstream 1979).

Sidon's Anatolian interests are represented by its settlement in the region of Zinjirli. It began at least in the early 9th century with the installation of a local Phoenician dynasty (*TSSI* 3: 30–41). At the end of the century it could still produce a literary Phoenician inscription (Fales 1979), but its king Kilamuwa had an Anatolian name. In the 8th century the whole region was Aramean, and the dynasty became a Phoenician-Aramean hybrid (*TSSI* 2: 60–93). The inscriptions record the difficulty the kings encountered in maintaining their authority and the Kilamuwa inscription in particular mentions internal conflicts between the natives and the Phoenician settlers and external pressures from the surrounding Danunians (*KAI* 24.5–8). The king makes no territorial claims, but describes the benefits that trade has brought to the region—the wealth, fine clothing, and good food. His description anticipates the fuller catalogue in Ezekiel's lamentation over Tyre by mentioning an excess of silver and gold (cf. Ezek 28:4) and the fine linen *(bṣ)* that Ezekiel says was imported from the Arameans (Ezek 27:16). It also makes the king the benefactor of the people, much as Yahweh was to Israel (cf. Deut 8:3–4; 10:18) and attributes to him the sort of fatherly role that the Dtr historian assigned to Yahweh (Deut 8:5; cf. Hos 11:1–4; Jer 3:4).

In the neighboring kingdom of Karatepe in Cilicia the inscription of Azitawada evinces a similar settlement pattern in the 8th century (*KAI* 26; *TSSI* 3: 41–64). Azitawada, as his father before him, was the ruler of Adana in the Cilician plains, the territory that had belonged to the Greek house of Mopsos and that he held as an ally of Urikki of Que, king of the Danunians. In his inscription he is accommodating to both indigeneous population groups, explaining how he enlarged the borders of the Danunians, and how he subdued the brigands that the house of Mopsos could not control. He was a foreigner, in an area traditionally aligned with Sidon, whose scribes wrote elegant and contrived Phoenician, but he had assimilated to the region, his name was Luwian, his subjects were natives, and his inscription was translated into Hieroglyphic Luwian. He was a merchant prince who claims to have secured the trade routes and rid the country of bandits. His region's exports were horses, weapons, and mercenaries; Ezekiel and the Dtr historian mentions such exports from this area (Ezek 27:10–11, 13–14; 1 Kgs 10:26–29). He was a king in the Sidonian tradition, attributing to himself qualities that the Dtr historian ascribed to Yahweh and the people or, exceptionally, to Solomon: he was wise and just (*ḥkm, ṣdq;* cf. Deut 4:6–8; 1 Kgs 5:9–14; Ezek 28:1–5), a father to kings (*ʾb;* cf. 2 Sam 7:14), the benefactor of his people (*śbʿ;* cf.

Deut 8:1–20; 10:18; 11:15), the enlarger of their land (*rḥb;* cf. Exod 34:24; Deut 12:20), the source of rest and tranquillity (*nwḥ,* cf. Deut 12:9), the inaugurator of the annual and seasonal festivals (*zbḥ ymm, bʿt ḥrš, bʿt qṣr;* cf. Exod 23:14–17; 34:18–22; Deut 16:1–17, 1 Kgs 9:25). He is representative of the Sidonian spirit of cooperation that brought cohesion, stability, and prosperity to the Mediterranean world.

The Phoenicians who traveled the Aegean to Greece and the West were mostly from Sidon, from Kition and its colonies in Cyprus, or from Arvad and other Sidonian satellites in N Syria (*KAI* 53–60; Röllig 1972). They traveled with foreign wares and adapted thoroughly to the culture of strange places, but they brought with them settlers and skilled artisans trained in the artistic traditions of their own cities (Moscati 1968: 42–81, 145–74). They arrived in Sardinia by the end of the 9th century (Cross 1972), in Italy and in Spain by the early 8th century (Buchner, *PhönWes,* 277–306; Niemeyer, *PhönWes,* 185–206; Schubart, *PhönWes,* 207–34). They maintained relations with their home cities and preserved the religious traditions of the mainland that are known from other Phoenician and from Hebrew sources. An 8th-century inscription from Spain was dedicated to the Astarte worshipped in Sidon (Cross 1971). A 7th-century text from Kition preserves a ritual in her honor that resembles the ritual of the nazirite vow (Num 6:1–20; Dupont-Sommer 1972). An early 5th-century inscription from the same place has details of a celebration in her honor that is also mentioned in contemporary biblical texts (*TSSI* 3: 123–31; Jer 7:16–34; 44:15–30). Fifth-century inscriptions from Sidon confirm her veneration as queen of heaven and tutelary goddess of the city and substantiate the Dtr contention that Astarte was the goddess of the Sidonians (*TSSI* 3: 101–18; 1 Kgs 11:5; 2 Kgs 23:13).

The Phoenicians of Tyre were influential in the S countries and voyaged later than the Sidonians to the western Mediterranean (Bunnens, *StudPhoen* I–II: 7–21). They had separate jurisdiction in Cyprus and founded a new city, Carthage, at Limassol on the SE coast (Lipiński, *StudPhoen* I–II: 209–34). In the latter part of the 8th century Cypriot Carthage was still governed by a viceroy and was under the protection of Baʿal Lebanon, the god of Carmel (*KAI* 31; 1 Kgs 18:20–40); in the 5th century it was an independent city with its own royal house (Masson and Sznycer 1972: 91–94). They founded another Carthage in North Africa from this base in Cyprus and an early 7th-century dedication to Astarte and Pygmalion still attests the Cyprian origin of the colony (Ferron 1958–59). There are ivories in the S Phoenician style from 8th and 7th-century sites in Cyprus, Palestine, North Africa, Etruria, and Spain, and exceptionally from Khorsabad and Arslan Tash (Winter 1976). In the 7th and 6th centuries Phoenicians from Tyre settled at Sarepta and ʿAkzib (Prausnitz, *PhönWes,* 34–44; Pritchard, *PhönWes,* 83–92; Peckham 1968: 130), with Judeans at ʾAzor and ʿArad (Peckham 1968: 125–27; Cross 1979c), in Egypt at Daphne and Abu-Simbel (*KAI* 48–52; Peckham 1968: 127–29), and in Malta (*KAI* 61–62; Ciasca, *PhönWes,* 133–54). In the 5th and 4th centuries they could still be located on the coast of Palestine at Shiqmona, Nebi Yunus and Bat Yam, with Edomites at Elath, and with Judeans in the colony at Elephantine (Peckham 1966; Cross 1968; Delavault and Lemaire 1976).

The Tyrians were more cosmopolitan than the Sidonians and in religious matters remarkably eclectic. Their artistic inspiration was Egyptian (Gubel, *StudPhoen* I–II: 23–52) and at Tyre until the end of the 1st millennium they worshipped Egyptian gods (Dunand and Duru 1962: 181–96). At Arslan Tash, if the texts are genuine (Teixidor 1983), they invoked indigeneous gods like ʿAtaʾ, a provincial antecedent of Atargatis (Pope 1970), and the genius Sasam, whom they identified as the son of a local god, or they worshipped their own chthonic gods like Baal the lord of the earth and Horon the lord of death, or they appealed to the great god Asshur of Assyria and included him in their pantheon with all the sons of El and the assembly of the holy gods (Cross and Saley 1970; Cross 1974). At Carthage they venerated Astarte's Greek consort Pygmalion, at Daphne they worshipped both Baʿal Saphon and the local pantheon (*wkl ʾl tḥpnḥs; KAI* 50.3), and elsewhere in Egypt they paid reverence to Harpocrates (*KAI* 52; Röllig 1969). On the mainland they had particular devotion to derivative gods like *Mlkʿštrt* and Tanit (Yadin 1970; *CMHE* 28–35) but persisted as well in the worship of ancient gods like El and Baalshamem. Tyrians in Malta in the 2d-century thought of Melqart or Heracles as their tutelary god *(bʿl ṣr; KAI* 47.1), and the god is mentioned in contemporary texts from Tyre (Bordreuil 1986a), their own names reveal them to be worshippers of the Egyptian Osiris.

**3. Egyptian.** The Egyptian sources mark the transition from Canaanite to Phoenician times in the coastal cities. The Amarna letters (EA) depict relations between Canaan and Egypt in the early 14th century and indicate the various political alignments of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos. The Report of Wen-Amon from the early 11th century (Albright 1975; Goedicke 1975) portrays the new regimes that prevailed in these cities after the Philistines had settled along the coast. Together they suggest continuity rather than great change (Sasson 1966) and anticipate the characteristic features of the principal Phoenician cities in the 1st millennium.

In the Amarna letters Sidon is mentioned mainly in complaints to the Pharaoh from the kings of Tyre and Byblos. The king of Sidon in one of his own letters agreed to give the Pharaoh all the information that he received about Amurru, but the contemporary king of Byblos regularly complained that Sidon was allied with Amurru and Arvad. In his other letter he mentioned problems with the local insurgents, but at the same time the king of Tyre protested that Sidon was interfering in his territory and restricting his essential supplies from the mainland. Tyre considered itself a great city (Akk *ālu rabītu*) and was effusive in its declarations of loyalty to Egypt. It sent ships to transport Egyptian troops and informed on Sidon and its allies in the N: it reported that the king of the Danunians had died but had been succeeded by his brother, that Ugarit had been partly destroyed by fire, that Amurru was encouraging rebellion, that Sidon and Arvad had gathered ships and chariots against Tyre. A cosmopolitan city, Tyre demonstrated its eclectic taste in religion by adopting the new Egyptian devotion to Aton and assimilating it to the local cult of Baalshamem. Byblos was equally loyal to Egypt and, as a buffer against Amurru, more dependent on her military aid. It was isolated from the other cities, under attack by Sidon, and rebuffed by Tyre when it offered assistance against the local insurgents. Byblian territory along the coast and dependent cities in the mountains and in the interior were gradually lost to the incessant attacks of Amurru. Byblos was bound by a tradition of good relations with Egypt. It was tenacious in its fidelity to religious tradition, acceding to the divine pretensions of the Pharaoh, but simultaneously invoking in all its correspondence with Egypt the protection of the Mistress of Byblos *(bʿlt gbl)*.

The Report of Wen-Amon gives the impressions of an emissary from Egypt, confirms the relative autonomy of Tyre, Sidon and Byblos, and alludes to their separate dealings with the Sea Peoples. Tyre was in alliance with the Tjekker of Dor. Sidon was conspicuous for its large fleet and had formed a syndicate with the Sea Peoples from Cilicia and Anatolia. Byblos was a small independent port that maintained friendly relations with Egypt but could not compete either with Sidon or with Dor and the Tyrians. Coastal Canaan was no longer an Egyptian province but a conglomerate of maritime powers on the verge of discovering a new world.

**4. Greek.** The Greek writings confirm or elaborate what is known from other sources and are often derivative. In Linear B texts the word "Phoenician" *(po-ni-ki-yo)* may mean purple or crimson. Homer sometimes mentions Phoenicians, but means the Sidonian merchants and craftsmen who had traveled N and W through the Aegean and were still renowned in his own time (Muhly 1970). Herodotus in his history of the Babylonian and Persian periods was more familiar with Tyre and almost ignored Sidon, although he knew the geography of Phoenicia and was aware that Phoenicians had sailed in search of Europe (3.44, 49; 5.58) before they settled in Egypt and along the Libyan coast (2.32, 112).

Josephus elaborated on the biblical text with information from other historians of the Hellenistic era and naturally ascribed to Tyre preeminence among the Phoenician cities (Katzenstein 1973). He embellished the biblical account of the building of the temple with a parallel account of the reign of Hiram and a chronology of Tyrian kings up to the founding of Carthage (*AgAp* 1.112–27; *Ant* 8.141–47). He retold the story of Ahab and Jezebel (*Ant* 8.316–24; 9.132–39) but used the Tyrian king-list to correct the Dtr historian (1 Kgs 16:31) and called Jezebel's father ʾIttôbaʿal king of the Tyrians, or king of the Tyrians and Sidonians, rather than simply king of the Sidonians. He recounted the fall of Samaria and related it to Shalmaneser V's invasion of Phoenicia in the reign of Elulaios (*Ant* 9.283–87). He elaborated on the destruction of the temple with an account of Nebuchadnezzar's contemporary siege of Tyre and another excerpt from the Tyrian king-list (*AgAp* 1.156–60). He followed the biblical precedent that situated Israel

in world history by magnifying the significance of its association with Tyre, but he neglected the other cities and was a partial witness to the history of Phoenicia.

Although Josephus duplicates the biblical narrative, his synchronisms and system of parallel accounts preserve items of interest for the history of Tyre. His Tyrian king-list is fairly accurate and has been corrected and completed by Phoenician and Assyrian sources (Cross 1972: 17; Katzenstein 1973: 349). His story of Hiram's religious reforms includes an oblique reference to the famous pillars of Tyre (*AgAp* 1.118) that are mentioned by Ezekiel (26:11) and Herodotus (2.44) and depicted on Assyrian reliefs (Barnett 1969). The invasion of Phoenicia in the time of Elulaios (ʾIluʾili) is also recorded in the Assyrian annals but is assigned by them to the reign of Sennacherib rather than Shalmaneser V (Pritchard *ANET* 287–88) and is described as an attack on Sidon rather than Tyre (Katzenstein 1973: 220–58). The Babylonian siege of Tyre lasted thirteen years (*Ant* 10.228), and the city's resistance, combined with the earlier Assyrian conquest of Sidon, seems to have inspired Ezekiel's eulogy of the island fastness and lamentation for the Mediterranean world (Ezekiel 27).

Herodotus had heard of early contacts between the Phoenicians and Greece. He knew of Phoenicians particularly as sailors and mercenaries in the service of Egypt and Persia. He recalled that Phoenicians in the time of Cadmus had brought the alphabet to Boeotia and Attica, where it was learned and adapted by Ionian residents (2.57–59). He recorded that Phoenicians in the service of Pharaoh Necho (610–595 B.C.) sailed around Africa from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, anticipating and partly duplicating Hanno's circumnavigation of the continent in the opposite direction (Harden 1962: 170–77). Among the exploits of Pharaoh Apries (589–570 B.C.) he included an expedition against Tyre and Sidon (2.161) that was meant to deter them from cooperating with the Babylonians in the siege of Jerusalem (Freedy and Redford 1970: 481–84). He knew that the Phoenician fleet gave the Persians naval supremacy (1.143) and he noted that they refused to obey Cambyses' orders to attack their own colony in North African Carthage (3.19; Elayi 1981). He observed that the Phoenician ships, and especially those of Sidon, were the best in the Persian navy and that their kings sailed with the fleet, notably Tetramnestos the son of Anysos of Sidon, Mattan the son of Hiram of Tyre, and Maharbaal the son of ʾAbîbaal of Arvad (7.96–98).

In the Persian and Hellenistic periods, the coastal cities were drawn progressively further into the Greek world and their political history is known almost exclusively from Greek literary and epigraphic sources (Bengston 1962; Peckham 1968; Katzenstein 1973; Elayi 1980; 1982; 1987). But in the 5th century, under Persian administration, they also acquired territory in Palestine and showed some interest in Judean affairs (Ezra 3:7; Neh 13:16; Barag 1966; Peckham 1968: 78–87; Müller 1971; Stern 1982a; 1982b). Sidon, in particular, seems to have profited from the exchange and its inscriptions from the middle of the century demonstrate familiarity with Hebrew literature and religious practice (Greenfield 1971: 258–65). A similar but more developed familiarity with biblical traditions is evident in the later work of Philo of Byblos (Attridge and Oden 1981) who synthesized the religious practice of the coastal cities in an eclectic system derived from Greek theogony and oriental, specifically biblical, cosmology. The speculation of the *Phoenician History* is in striking contrast to Lucian's descriptive account of practices in Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, and Hierapolis (Oden 1977) but shares with it, despite his use of Phoenician sources, a disparagement of native Semitic elements and a naive exaltation of their Greek equivalents.

**5. Assyrian and Babylonian.** Assyrian intervention on the Phoenician coast followed the era of Sidonian expansion to the N and W and coincided with the beginning of Tyrian predominance in the S states. This period of greatness lasted as long as Tyre could rely on Egyptian support but dwindled after the Babylonian siege of the city and ended with the Persian conquest of Egypt (525 B.C.).

Sidonian expansion N did not go unnoticed by the world powers. In the years just before the voyage of Wen-Amon, Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.) went to Mount Lebanon where he erected a stele and received tribute from Sidon and Byblos, then marched against Amurru where he received tribute from Arvad and sailed in an Arvadian ship (*ANET*, 275; Katzenstein 1973: 175). In the 9th century, Asshurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) made a similar expedition to Mount Lebanon and the seacoast, but he also listed the merchandise that he received as tribute and was the first to include Tyre among the tributary cities (*ANET*, 276). Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.) also mentioned Tyre among the coastal cities

that brought him tribute, but his campaigns were directed mainly against the Arameans and the N coalition on whom Sidon depended for trade (Pritchard *ANET* 276–81; Katzenstein 1973: 173–82). Hayanu (*ḥy*› [*KAI* 24.1]), the father of Kilamuwa, was among the rulers of northern Syria, Cilicia, and Anatolia defeated in his first campaign; at the battle of Qarqar (853 B.C.) his opponents included Arvad, ‹Arqa, and Siyannu, the Phoenician cities in Amurru mentioned by the Dtr historian (Gen 10:17–18), as well as Damascus, Arabia, and the other regions that Ezekiel included in his catalogue of Phoenician trade centers (Ezekiel 27).

From the early 8th century Palestine was included among the regions subject to Assyria (*ANET*, 281; Katzenstein 1973: 200) and in the second half of the century the Assyrian kings began their policy of total conquest. Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 B.C.) conquered ‹Arqa, Siyannu, and the northern coastal towns and incorporated them, and a few years later Arvad, into the Assyrian province of Ṣimirra (= Ṣumur [Gen 10:18]; Kessler 1975–76). This ended the era of Sidonian supremacy and allowed Tiglath-pileser to concentrate on Tyre and its Philistine allies. He received tribute from ›Ittôba‹al of Tyre before 738 B.C. (Levine 1972; Cogan 1973) and defeated Hiram of Tyre a few years later (734–732 B.C.). Although Philistia was defeated at the same time and eventually became the province of Dor, Tyre retained its independence and continued to pay tribute (Oded 1974). This contravened Assyrian policy in the West (Weippert 1982) and, with Sidon's isolation from its northern resources, it assured Tyre's supremacy in the E Mediterranean (Oded 1974). Tyre became the leading city of Phoenicia, and its kings, earlier entitled "King of the Tyrians" (*mlk ṣrm;* Bordreuil 1986b: 298–305) assumed the title "King of the Sidonians" (*mlk ṣdnm* [*KAI* 31.1]).

At the end of the 8th century ›Ilu›ili (Gk *Elulaios* Akk *Luli*) of Sidon attempted to restore the city's control of Kition in Cyprus and regain its former stature in Mediterranean affairs, but he was defeated by Sennacherib and (704–681 B.C.) escaped to Cyprus, where he was assassinated (Elayi 1985). He was succeeded by ›Ittôba‹al (Katzenstein 1973: 220–58). In the reign of Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) ‹Abdimilkut of Sidon made another attempt to escape Assyrian domination but he and his Cilician allies were defeated, the kings of Cyprus submitted to Assyria, and Sidon was destroyed (*ANET*, 290–91). Tyre remained the only naval power in the East, and the treaty with Esarhaddon that gave it access to harbors in Philistia and Phoenicia invoked all the gods of the coast including the seafaring Baals of Tyre, Eshmun of Sidon, and Melqart. The treaty gave Esarhaddon control of Mediterranean trade and restricted Tyre's local autonomy. Tyre rebelled, was besieged, captured, and put under Assyrian administration; Egypt, on which it had relied for support, was invaded and conquered (671 B.C.; Spalinger 1974). In its expansion southward Tyre cooperated with Phoenician kings in the coastal cities of Philistia, but all of these cities paid tribute to Ashurbanipal (668–633 B.C.) and were forced to accompany him on his first campaign against Egypt (*ANET*, 294). Tyre revolted again but was reconquered and incorporated into the Assyrian provincial system (Katzenstein 1973: 288–94). It may have prospered in the lull before the Babylonian invasions, but Tyre was besieged again by Nebuchadnezzar (605–562 B.C.) and its king, with the kings of Gaza and Ashdod, of Sidon and Arvad, was taken captive to Babylon (Katzenstein 1973: 319). When the Phoenician cities were restored and regained their power in the Persian period, the Mediterranean world they helped create had fallen to the emerging world powers.

**B. Chronology**

The king-lists of the principal Phoenician cities are reconstructed from Hebrew (*), Greek (+), Assyrian (-), Egyptian (=) and Phoenician sources (Albright 1947; Cross 1972: 17; Katzenstein 1973: 349; Mullen 1974). The dates are approximate and often conjectural.

*BYBLOS*

| | |
|---|---|
| = Zakarba‹al | 1050 |
| ›Aḥîrām | 1000 |
| ›Ittôba‹al | 975 |
| Yaḥîmilk | 950 |

| | |
|---|---|
| ›Abîba‹al | 930 |
| ›Elîba‹al | 920 |
| -Šipṭîba‹al I | 740 |
| -›Urîmilk I | 701 |
| -Milk›asap | 670 |
| Šipṭîba‹al II | 500 |
| ›Urîmilk II | 480 |
| Yîḥarba‹al | 460 |
| Yaḥawmilk | 440 |
| ›Elpa‹al | 420 |
| ‹Ozîba‹al | 400 |
| Zakarba‹al II | 380 |
| ›Addīrmilk | 360 |
| ‹Ayyin›el | 340 |

*TYRE*

| | |
|---|---|
| +›Abîba‹al | 1000 |
| *+Ḥîrām I | 980 |
| +Ba‹al‹azor I | 950 |
| +‹Abd‹aštart | 930 |
| +‹Aštart | 920 |
| +Dalay‹aštart | 900 |
| +‹Aštartrām | 890 |
| +Pilles | 880 |
| +›Ittôba‹al I | 880 |
| -+Ba‹al‹azor II | 850 |
| +Mattan I | 840 |
| +Pygmalion | 830 |
| -›Ittôba‹al II | 760 |
| -Ḥîrām II | 738 |
| -Mattan II | 734 |
| -Ba‹al I | 680 |
| +›Ittôba‹al III | 590 |
| +Ba‹al II | 575 |
| +Yakînba‹al | 565 |
| +Kalbay | 564 |
| +›Abîba‹al | 563 |
| +Mattan III | 562 |
| +Ba‹al‹azor III | 555 |
| +Maharba‹al | 554 |

| | |
|---|---|
| +Ḥîrām III | 551 |
| +Ḥîrām IV | 500 |
| +Mattan IV | 480 |
| +ʿOzîmilk | 350 |

*SIDON*

| | |
|---|---|
| *ʾIttôbaʿal I | 880 |
| -ʾIluʾili | 720 |
| -ʾIttôbaʿal II | 700 |
| -ʿAbdimilkut | 680 |
| +Anysos | 520 |
| +Tetramnestos | 500 |
| ʾEšmunʿazor II | 480 |
| Tabnît | 470 |
| ʾEšmunʿazor II | 465 |
| Yatonmilk | 450 |
| Bodʿaštart | 440 |
| Baʿalšillem I | 430 |
| ʿAbdʾešmun | 420 |
| Baʿnaʾ | 400 |
| Baʿalšillem II | 380 |
| +Straton I | 375 |
| +Mazaeus | 360 |
| +Tannit | 357 |
| +Evagoras | 678 |
| +Straton II | 343 |

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BRIAN PECKHAM

**PHOENICIAN LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (PHOENICIAN).

**PHOENICIAN RELIGION.** The eastern littoral of the Mediterranean sea S of the Amanus mountains and N of Mt. Carmel was occupied in historic times by people whose language and culture were sufficiently uniform in antiquity to be recognized as distinct. The land was called CANAAN by its inhabitants, *fnḫw* by Egyptians (see Vandersleyen 1987), *phoinikē* by Greeks. The name "Phoenicia" is properly applied to this area, and "Phoenician" to its inhabitants, from about 1200 B.C.E. onward. See PHOENICIA, HISTORY OF. The beliefs and activities of the ancient Phoenicians that can be designated "religion" in modern usage are of interest to readers of the Bible principally with respect to the religion of ancient Israel and Judah as depicted in the Hebrew canon. Less readily perceived is the contribution of Phoenician mythology to Jewish thought as set down in the Apocrypha of the Greek canon and in the writings known as Pseudepigrapha (on Phoenician traditions of secret writings, see Ribichini 1987b). Even more obscure is the degree to which elements of early Christian theology incorporated motifs associated with Phoenician religion (for an example, see HERAKLES).

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A. Sources
    1. Textual
    2. Artifactual
    3. Condition and Utility of Sources
B. Scope
    1. Geographical
    2. Historical
C. Cult
    1. Sacrifice
    2. Gifts
    3. Prayer
    4. Purity
D. Cult Sites
    1. Natural
    2. Constructed
E. Cult Personnel
    1. Priesthoods
    2. Other Functionaries
F. Festivals
    1. Seasonal Celebrations
    2. Sports
G. Revelatory Institutions
    1. Prophecy
    2. Other Mantic Activities
H. Divinities
    1. Phoenician Polytheism
    2. Dynamics of Pantheons
I. The Dead

## A. Sources

**1. Textual.** Literary and epigraphic texts are the written sources of information about Phoenician religion. Literary texts include the Hebrew Bible; portions of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; Greek texts by classical, Hellenistic, and Christian writers; and Latin works. Epigraphic texts include cuneiform texts in the Akkadian language and inscriptions in the Phoenician language; the form of Phoenician used at Carthage and elsewhere in the W Mediterranean is called Punic (Lat *Poenus*, "Phoenician"), and the form used after the fall of Carthage is known as Neo-Punic. See LANGUAGES (PHOENICIAN).

Evidence derived from the biblical traditions will be discussed separately. Among Greek writers, Homer provides no substantive information about Phoenician religion, though the Phoenicians figure in the verse epics attributed to him. Herodotus, whose history explores relations between Greek and Phoenician societies, nonetheless provides no sustained discussion of religious beliefs and practices among the latter. Works of the Greek historians Ephorus and Timaeus survive only in the fragments cited by other Greek writers. Details of the military and political history of Carthage, founded as a Phoenician colony in N Africa, were preserved with these fragments, chiefly in the *Library of History* compiled by Diodorus Siculus (Pearson 1984); but Phoenician and Punic religion is represented only episodically, and with tendentious hostility (Simonetti 1983).

The text of a treaty concluded in 215 B.C.E. between Hannibal of Carthage and Philip V of Macedon is preserved in the history written by Polybius (7.9). See HISTORIOGRAPHY (GRECO-ROMAN). It has been plausibly argued (most recently and thoroughly in Barré 1983) that the divine witnesses listed in the text of the treaty, in spite of their Greek names, are to be understood as their Phoenician or Punic "equivalents," and that the list represents the pantheon of Carthage at the time of Hannibal. (For a different perspective, see Huss 1986.) The historian Pausanias and the geographer Strabo preserve details of Phoenician religion as observed by Greeks.

A narrative description of religious practices of Phoenician derivation is found in the Greek work *Concerning the Syrian Goddess* attributed to Lucian of Samosata, a satirist who wrote in the 2d century C.E. (Oden 1977). The 4th-century Christian historiographer Eusebius presented Phoenician mythology as an example of the sort of nonsense from which his own church had liberated the theological intellect. Eusebius cited generous portions of a work entitled *Phoenician History*, said to be translated by PHILO OF BYBLOS from an older work in the Phoenician language compiled by Sanchuniaton (*Hist. Eccl.* 1.10.23–1.10.53; see Attridge and Oden 1981; Baumgarten 1981; Schiffmann 1986).

Among texts in the Latin language, the epitome or summary compiled by Justin from the (now lost) world history of Pompeius Trogus includes a section on the history of Carthage (chaps. 18 and 19 of Justin; the standard edition of the text is by Seel [1972]). The accurate historical details of Trogus' compilation can be traced to Timaeus; of Phoenician religion there is nothing of substance.

The principal epigraphic sources are those in cuneiform and others in the linear Phoenician alphabet. A vassal treaty imposed by the Neo-Assyrian ruler Esarhaddon on Baal, king of Tyre about 675 B.C.E. (*ANET*, 533–34) lists among its divine witnesses deities that must be Tyrian (on the list, Barré 1983: 45–50). See also BETHEL. Other documents in cuneiform provide incidental details pertinent to a reconstruction of Phoenician religion.

A small corpus of inscriptions in the Phoenician language has survived (CIS I 1–121; *KAI* 1–60; additional texts published in a variety of journals remain uncollected); a larger corpus of Punic and Neo-Punic inscriptions (CIS I 122–6068; *KAI* 61–173, 277) is comprised almost entirely of votive texts which repeat stereotyped formulas. Less than half a percent of the surviving corpus is non-dedicatory, and again these offer only glimpses of Phoenician religious thought and practice.

**2. Artifactual.** Architecture, sculpture, glyptics (including coins), and other craft products constitute a fragmentary record of the social manifestations of Phoenician religion. See LEBANON; PALESTINE, ARCHAEOLOGY OF.

**3. Condition and Utility of Sources.** With the exception of Phoenician inscriptions, all sources of information about the religion of Phoenicia are secondary. Any information derived from them must

become part of a modern narrative whose major components are deduction, inference, and speculation. The quality of the resulting reconstruction is inherently dependent on the organizing scheme according to which fragments of fact have been related to one another. Any reconstruction of Phoenician religion must necessarily be tentative.

**B. Scope**

**1. Geographical.** "Phoenicia" was spatially dispersed. A series of coastal cities and villages from Myriandos in Cilicia (modern Turkey) to Gaza were Phoenician in language and religion. Cyprus supported a Phoenician population in its E and S portion. Phoenician was written in W Cilicia, and Phoenicians settled on the Aegean islands, on the Italian peninsula, on Sardinia, in N Africa, in W Sicily, on other islands of the W Mediterranean, and extensively in Spain. See PHOENICIA, HISTORY OF.

**2. Historical.** While it has been argued (Garbini 1980) that the term "Phoenician" is appropriate to the Bronze Age culture of the E Mediterranean littoral, most scholars accept the chronological constraints for which Moscati (1968: xxii) has made a case, and reserve the word "Phoenician" for the Iron Age, i.e., the period following the invasions of "Sea Peoples," and later.

**C. Cult**

**1. Sacrifice.** The Phoenician words for sacrifice and related activity derive in large part from the common Semitic lexical stock (Fronzaroli 1965: 252–56) traceable to a very early period. From this and other evidence it can be deduced that sacrifice is a practice of great antiquity among Semitic-speaking societies. The procedures and perceived significance of particular sacrificial types, however, undoubtedly changed and varied over time.

Both faunal and floral sacrifices were made by Phoenicians. Mammalian victims were oxen, bulls, sheep, goats, and varieties of deer. Among birds, columbine species (doves and pigeons) seem to have been preferred as victims. Pools of sacred fish are mentioned by classical writers, but there is no evidence of piscatory sacrifice.

Faunal sacrifices necessitated the death and (in cases involving larger animals) partial consumption of the victim. Nothing is known about the method of dispatching the victim, although it is reasonable to suppose that a variety of procedures were employed. In certain categories of sacrifices all or part of the victim was incinerated on an altar. Other sacrifices may have involved suspending the victim from a sacred tree or post.

Floral sacrifices included offerings of cereal grains and plant derivatives such as oil. There is no evidence that floral offerings were consumed.

The most detailed documentary evidence concerning sacrifice of Phoenician derivation is late (after 350 B.C.E.) and Western. The Carthage tariffs (among which is included the Marseilles Tariff [*KAI* 69]) were temple documents regulating payments due priests for a variety of sacrifices and (in cases of faunal sacrifices) specifying the distribution of portions of the victim not destroyed in the sacrificial procedure. A limited continuity can be traced in the names of sacrifices found in Ugaritic ritual texts (see UGARITIC LITERATURE), biblical legislation (see SACRIFICE), and the Carthage tariffs (Guzzo Amadasi 1967: 169–82).

The most vivid biblical narrative concerning a sacrifice performed by Phoenicians is legendary and highly polemical (1 Kgs 18:20–40). It concerns a sacrificial contest staged by the Israelite prophet Elijah at Mt. Carmel, a site that, according to one writer, was "sacred above all mountains" to the Phoenicians and of restricted access (Iamb. *Vit. Pyth.* 3:15). The sacrifice is performed by "prophets of Baal" convened for the purpose by Elijah (1 Kgs 18:25); the victim is a bull, which is killed, butchered, and arranged in pieces on wood placed on an altar. Fire to consume the sacrifice is sought (unsuccessfully) from "Baal" in shouted invocations while the sacrificers dance around the altar and lacerate themselves (1 Kgs 18:26–28).

One of the goals of this story is to make Phoenician sacrifice appear ridiculous, and it is possible that in such a distorting context the details of sacrificial procedure are not accurately representative. But the implicit assumption of the narrative that identical sacrificial procedures are appropriate for both "Baal" and Yahweh may be an indication of a perceived common derivation of Israelite and Phoenician sacrifice.

The narrative of Jehu's bloody suppression of a Phoenician cult in Samaria (2 Kgs 10:18–27) indicates that the "great sacrifice" which Jehu convened consisted in part of holocausts (vv 24–25; Heb *ʿolôt*). Jehu himself, as king, may have performed the sacrifices (the pronominal reference of these sentences is ambiguous).

As a social institution, sacrifice in Phoenicia probably shared structural features with Israelite sacrifice. Presumably it operated in a system of male bonding and genealogical legitimation (Jay 1988) in which women were marginal participants (Winter 1983: 1–69). Phoenician and Punic texts commemorating sacrifices generally include a genealogy of the offerer which lists male ancestors; this is true in the case of women as well as men (Amadasi Guzzo 1988).

The Phoenician inscription from Karatepe in Anatolia (*ANET*, 653–55; *TSSI* 3: 41–64) claims for its author Azatiwata. Significant military and diplomatic achievements which culminate in the refoundation of the city bear his name. The climax of Azatiwata's narrative is the establishment of the cult of the god *bʿl krntryš* (the second half of the name is not Phoenician) with seasonal sacrifices of oxen and sheep (*KAI* 26 A ii 19–A iii 2). It is apparent from the benedictions which follow the narrative that not only Azatiwata himself but the entire city anticipated life, health, political prowess, reliable food supplies, and reproductive success to follow from their assiduous maintenance of the sacrificial cult.

Insofar as the sacrificial cult in Phoenician cities operated within a centralized palatine economy exploiting outlying villages for agricultural produce and redistributing goods and services within a stratified urban social structure, expectations such as those expressed in the Karatepe inscription may have been more than wishful thinking (Liverani 1974). In the Persian period the construction of cultic installations remains among the chief accomplishments of kings (*ANET*, 656 [Yehawmilk of Byblos]; *ANET*, 662 [Eshmunazar of Sidon]).

The inscribed base of a statue erected by Yatonbaal, a local official in the Ptolemaic administration of Cyprus (see Parmentier 1987), records the building of altars and the institution of daily sacrifices on behalf of the dedicator's immediate family in conjunction with monthly sacrifices for the reigning Ptolemy and dependents (*TSSI* 3: 133–41).

**2. Gifts.** In common with the practices of other Semitic cultures, Phoenician religion included offerings of objects specially dedicated to a deity. Agricultural and industrial products were equally presentable gifts. Carved work (such as the ivory casket dedicated to Astarte by a Phoenician woman [*TSSI* 3: 71–74]); metal objects (of which an elegant silver bowl found in 1876 at Praeneste, Italy, is a fine example [*TSSI* 3: 71]), sculpture, ceramics, and terra-cottas were all offered in dedication. Spoils of war were frequently dedicated, and the presentation of gifts in temples was an important element of interstate relations linking colonies (or former colonies) to their mother cities (Diod. 13.108.4; 17.41.8) and vassals to their suzerains.

Dedications were commonly made in fulfillment of a vow (Phoen *ndr*). Phoenician and Punic inscriptions on steles set up to record the fulfillment of a vow *(ndr)* by means of a gift (Phoen *mtt*, Pun *mtnt*) comprise more than 95 percent of the textual remains of these languages. The relative abundance of votive texts witnesses to the importance of vows and their fulfillment in Phoenician religion.

Certain categories of vows may have been fulfilled by the immolation of neonatal or prepubescent children of either sex. Evidence for human sacrifice as an institution of Phoenician religion is, however, limited and ambiguous. A few passages from the Hebrew Bible have been understood as referring to the sacrifice of children in connection with the cult of a divinity called Molech (a god whose very existence has been doubted; see Heider 1985). Archaeological evidence of human sacrifice among Levantine Phoenicians is lacking (a point stressed by Ribichini 1987a; 1988). Sites of Phoenician origin in the W Mediterranean have provided considerably more artifactual and osteological evidence, but the interpretation of these remains is controversial. Excavations of the topheth at Carthage have led certain archaeologists and historians to conclude that an institution of ritual infanticide was maintained for at least five centuries (ca. 700–200 B.C.E.) among the Carthaginians (Stager 1980; 1982; Stager and Wolff 1984; Lipiński 1982; 1988; Heider 1985; S. Brown 1987). Moscati (1987) has denied the existence of such an institution. Other scholars have remained agnostic on the subject (Benichou-Safar 1988). But an

analysis of the osteological remains from the *tophet* of Tharros in Sardinia, where controlled excavation and interpretation have been possible, indicates that neonatal and prepubescent humans probably were sacrificial victims (Fedele and Foster 1988).

Certain passages from Greek and Latin writers purport to describe the sacrifice of children as carried out at Carthage and other Punic sites. These are all highly polemical, histrionic, and perhaps interdependent. They thus invite proper scepticism in their interpretation (as Simonetti 1983 as shown).

**3. Prayer.** Prayer is intimately related to the taking and fulfillment of vows. Numerous Phoenician and Punic inscriptions make the association explicit. Most votive texts end with a formulaic statement that the divinity or divinities to whom the dedication has been made "heard the sound" of the voice of the dedicator. Presumably vows were most often made in the context of prayer, and the necessity of their fulfillment was communicated through revelation to the vower (biblical parallels have been drawn out by O'Brien 1987).

Phoenician and Punic inscriptions provide examples of prayerful dedication. Here can be seen truly touching examples of marital devotion (*KAI* 48) and filial piety (*KAI* 34). The benedictory section of the Karatepe inscription (*KAI* 26 A iii 2–11) has the characteristics of prayer in spite of its rhetorical origins and propagandistic purpose.

A Punic prayer is incorporated in a soliloquy spoken in Punic by the character Hanno at the beginning of the fifth act of the *Poenulus*, a play in Latin by the playwright Plautus (d. 184 B.C.E.). The Punic text is genuine but corrupt. The opening line can be translated "I invoke the gods and goddesses … of this city" (1. 930), but the remainder of the text is replete with difficulty (see Sznycer 1967; Krahmalkov 1970; 1988: 55–62). Also, the Carthaginian general Hannibal prayed for his troops before battle (Polyb. 3.44.13).

Maledictions are amply attested in Phoenician sources (Gevirtz 1961; *IDB* 1: 749–50). Blasphemy was attached to a famous Carthaginian commander: Himilco, returning in shame from defeat in Sicily, is said by Trogus to have accused his gods of perfidy before finally committing suicide (Justin 19.3.3 [Seel 1972: 166]).

**4. Purity.** Systems of sacrifice and ritual express conceptual analyses of the world in related taxonomies of purity and impurity, benefit, and danger (Douglas 1966). The conceptualization of purity in Phoenician religion and the rules according to which Phoenicians maintained ritual purity have been largely lost. Surviving details do not imply any particular system.

Classical writers mention Phoenician abstention from pork (Herodian 5.6.9; Porph. *Abst.* 1.14); archaeological confirmation has been inferred from the absence of pig bones from the earliest levels of Phoenician settlements in the W Mediterranean, even at sites where pig bones are found in pre-Phoenician levels (Whittaker 1974: 71).

Endogamy also knew exceptions among the Phoenicians. The notorious Jezebel was a daughter of the Phoenician Ethbaal, "king of the Sidonians" (1 Kgs 16:31), given in marriage to Ahab, king of Israel. Psalm 45 envisions such a royal wedding between an Israelite king and a Phoenician princess. Sallust (*Iug.* 78.4) says that Tyrians intermarried with Libyans at Lepcis Magna in N Africa. Intermarriage of Phoenicians with Judeans took place near Larnaca, Cyprus (ancient Kition) early in the Persian period, to judge from Judean names in the genealogies on Phoenician gravestones there (Hadjisavvas, Dupont-Sommer, and Lozachmeur 1984; Hadjisavvas 1986). Hamilcar, a 5th-century Carthaginian general (d. 480 B.C.E.), was the son of a Carthaginian father and a Syracusan Greek mother (Herod. 7.167).

A late and fragmentary Punic inscription (*KAI* 76) appears to be a calendar of purificatory rituals. The word *qdš* "holy" occurs three times, and there is mention of fruit, bread, incense, and (perhaps) naphtha. The text gives directions for the cultic manipulation of these items on specified days. Also associated with Carthage is a legend that a sacred oil-spring in a Carthaginian sanctuary would not flow except for persons who were ceremonially pure (Pseud. Arist. *Mir. Ausc.* 113).

The violation of a deity's prerogatives with respect to purity or custom might result in death, illness, or madness. A case of sacrilege is the subject of a recently discovered Akkadian letter from the king of Sidon to the king of Ugarit (Arnaud 1986–87: 189–90; the date appears to be ca. 1225 B.C.E.). Plague

resulting from sacrilege is a motif seized upon by Greek historians recounting Carthaginian military losses (e.g., Diod. 13.85–86). It is in the context of sacrilege, plague, and military defeat that narratives of human sacrifice are to be found (Diod. 13.86.3; 20.13.5–6).

**D. Cult Sites**

**1. Natural.** Any distinctive feature of the topography might be a sacred site among the Phoenicians, as among Mediterranean peoples generally. Caves, peaks, stone outcroppings, springs, rivers, and lakes were sacred, and frequently the sites of cults. Natural and cultivated groves of trees were centers of worship. The sacred grove and pool of Afqa at the source of the river Adonis (modern Nahr Ibrahim in Lebanon) was the most celebrated holy place in Phoenicia (Euseb. *Vita Const.* 3.55; Ribichini 1981: 159–65).

**2. Constructed.** Altars, chapels, images, and temples were constructed at sacred sites. See HIGH PLACE. The foundation or refurbishing of cultic installations is a recurring subject of Phoenician and Punic inscriptions (e.g., *KAI* 19; 277). Maintenance of temples was an obligation of kings in the E Phoenician cities; among colonies of Phoenicians in the W, such obligations might fall to private individuals (as did *leiturgia* among the Greeks). Private expenditures on cultic service could be lavishly rewarded (*KAI* 60).

The temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem, which was built for Solomon by Tyrian architects and laborers (1 Kings 5–6), was an elegant example of Phoenician temple design. See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM. A Phoenician temple of Astarte in Kition, Cyprus, datable to the 8th century B.C.E., provides a parallel.

**E. Cult Personnel**

**1. Priesthoods.** Two priesthoods, *khn* and *kmr*, existed among the Phoenicians. The former is the only class of priesthood recognized as legitimate in the Hebrew Bible, where it is restricted to men and, at least in the divided monarchy, not a royal prerogative. The Phoenicians, in contrast, admitted male *khnm* and female *khnt*, who might also be king and queen, or queen mother (*DISO*, 116). As in Israelite religion, Phoenician *khn* priests were organized in colleges presided over by a *rb khnm* "high priest."

The *kmr* priesthood is little known either in the Hebrew Bible (BDB, 485) or in Phoenicia (*DISO*, 122). Both in the Bible (2 Kgs 23:5) and at Carthage (*KAI* 76.6 [restored]), *kmr* priests are associated with the offering of incense in rituals of Tyrian origin. (Aramaic inscriptions mention *kmrt* "*kmr*-priestesses.")

**2. Other Functionaries.** The names of extra-priestly cultic offices are known, but little can be said about the specifics of these. The *ʿzr* (CIS I 6000bis.3) was probably a temple administrator; the *zbḥ* presided over bloody sacrifices. Specific to the cult of Melqart were the offices *mqm ʾlm* "waker of the god" and (probably) *mtrḥ ʿštrny*, variously interpreted (see Lipiński 1970). The record of expenditures of a Phoenician temple in Kition (*TSSI*, 123–31) lists payments to builders, assistants, bakers, and barbers. Another term listed there—*klbm* "dogs"—has been interpreted as a variety of male sex worker (*TWAT* 4: 163; Margalith 1983; Brunet 1985).

Among biblical scholars it has unfortunately become a truism that male and female sex workers were cultic functionaries in the religions of Canaan, and that considerable polemic was exerted against this practice by the classical prophets. The marriage of Hosea, for example, is regularly interpreted against the background of a fertility cult in which unrestricted sex is the religious obligation (or privilege) of certain women (Wolff *Hosea* Hermeneia; Andersen and Freedman *Hosea* AB). Partial illumination of the modern fascination with sacred prostitution is to be had from the sociology of biblical studies as a discipline (Schüssler Fiorenza 1988). Cross-cultural studies of the prostitution calumny itself and of the economics of ancient religions have raised new questions.

All of the classical accounts of ritual sex among Semites appear to derive from Herodotus (Oden 1987: 140–47). The words in all Semitic languages alleged to be designations of ritual sex workers are euphemistic and polyvalent. And the very existence of a "fertility cult" has never been convincingly demonstrated, although fertility, both human and agricultural, was certainly a concern of all ancient societies. Incidents of female prostitution in ancient Israel and elsewhere are perhaps better accounted for in terms of economic marginalization (see PROSTITUTION, CULTIC; van der Toorn 1989).

**F. Festivals**

**1. Seasonal Celebrations.** It is reasonable to assume that religious festivals marked the New Year, the vernal equinox, the summer solstice, and the autumnal equinox in Phoenicia, but evidence of festivals tied to the solar cycle is tenuous. Such evidence as is available suggests that seasonal festivals combined elements of agricultural and mythopoeic origin. A Tyrian celebration of the resurrection of the god Melqart may have coincided with the vernal equinox (Lipiński 1970). The festival of Adonis in Byblos, known from Greek sources, probably was held in early summer (Ribichini 1981: 150–51). Other festivals are known only as names. The *ym qbr ʾlm* lit. "day of the god's burial" is mentioned in the Phoenician inscription from Pyrgi in Italy (lines 8–9; see *TSSI* 3: 151–59). The phrase *zbḥ šmš* "sun sacrifices" designated a month, perhaps the month of the winter solstice (*TSSI* 3:156; cf. *KAI* 43.4).

**2. Sports.** Athletic contests and paramilitary maneuvers were part of the ritual activities of Phoenicians. The former has been linked to the origins of the Olympic games (Boutros 1981).

**G. Revelatory Institutions**

**1. Prophecy.** The Elijah narrative refers to "the four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal and the four hundred and fifty prophets of Asherah who eat at Jezebel's table" (1 Kgs 18:20). In this biblical narrative, the prophets of Baal perform the priestly function of animal sacrifice. Priests and prophets were bearers of religious tradition according to one source of Phoenician origin. The *Phoenician History* of Philo of Byblos relates that the first Phoenician hierophant, a certain Thabion, transmitted his allegorical interpretations of myths and of natural and cosmic phenomena "to the priests and to the prophets who led the rites" (Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 1.10.39 [Attridge and Oden 1981: 61]).

Traces of prophetic activities remain in the epigraphic record, as well. An Etruscan ruler declares in the Phoenician-Etruscan bilingual text he commissioned at Pyrgi in Italy that he built a sanctuary for Astarte because she requested it of him (*TSSI* 3: 157). Presumably the request was made through prophets or oracles. Responsibility for the erection of an Astarte shrine at Hammon, S of Tyre, is attributed jointly to the *mlʾk* (traditionally "angel") of the god Milk-Astarot (*KAI* 19.2) and the citizens of the city. It can be inferred from the rhetoric of the inscription that prophetic agency may have been involved in the decision to undertake the project.

**2. Other Mantic Activities.** In recounting the Carthaginian siege of Akragas in Sicily, Diodorus (13.86.2) alleges that soothsayers (Gk *manteis*) warned the Carthaginian general against dismantling Greek tombs for the siegeworks. The *Periplus* attributed to Hanno the Navigator, probably a Greek translation of a 5th-century Punic document, describes a fearful night passed by a shore crew on an island in a lake near the W African coast. Soothsayers (Gk *manteis*) commanded them to leave the dreadful place (line 77; Oikonomides 1977: 29).

**H. Divinities**

**1. Phoenician Polytheism.** The very concept of divinity in NW Semitic religion is fuzzy. Divinities achieve definition relatively: in relation to one another and in relation to human beings. The mutual relations of divinities are expressed in the schematic associations called pantheons. The organizing principles of pantheons are analogical. Human structures organizing power, generative and coercive, provide the lines of analogy. Thus divinities may associate in triadic nuclear families (father/mother/son); or as conjugal pairs; or as kin groups spanning several generations. Alternatively they rank in power strata like the population of a city-state. Minor groupings of deities are iconic and thereby mutable.

The pantheons of Phoenician city-states have been described as incorporating a divine triad consisting of a god and goddess with a divine male child begotten by them (Teixidor 1977: 35–39; van den Branden [1981: 36] extends the triad beyond the nuclear family of parents and child). But the triad is imagistic rather than structural (a point missed by van den Branden 1981, argued in essence by Xella 1981: 14–15). The iconography of Astarte, for example, includes erotic groupings of three female deities (Delcor 1986: 1080 and pl. 20). The motif of a dying-rising god, traditionally linked with the triadic arrangement of divine families, need not be coupled with triadism.

Paired deities are a more enduring element of Phoenician religion (Servais-Soyez 1986). The pair Elyon and Baalat have been associated with Byblos on the basis of combined epigraphic and literary evidence (Moscati 1968: 31–32). At Tyre, Astarte is coupled with Melqart (Herakles) in texts (Moscati 1968: 34–

35) and iconography (Delcor 1986: 1081). At Carthage the god Baal Hammon is paired with the goddess Tinnit from the early 5th century onward (CIS I 5510 is probably the earliest textual evidence).

The phylogeny of divine beings was expressed in theogonic myths. Apart from Ugaritic texts with theogonic interests (see CANAAN, RELIGION OF), the only extant Phoenician theogony is from the *Phoenician History* of PHILO OF BYBLOS (the detailed investigation of this text by Movers [1848] still repays close reading; the most extensive recent analysis is by Schiffmann 1986).

**2. Dynamics of Pantheons.** It is a commonplace that the ranking and grouping of divinities in pantheons mirrors the social and political relations of human society. The occupational specializations of urban society are likewise represented in the restricted ambit of any single deity. The pantheons of Phoenician cities were dynamic: new deities were assimilated or invested; old deities waxed or waned in prominence; some became senescent.

The dynamism of Phoenician polytheism accounts for the considerable discontinuity between Bronze Age and Iron Age pantheons of the same regions (noted by Xella 1981: 12–13). The historical development of Phoenician religion involved innovation, openness to elements of non-Phoenician origin, and periodic divestment of innovative elements (Garbini 1981). First-millennium Phoenician pantheons, for example, show the emergence of guardian deities, such as Shadrapa, Horon, Sid, and Bes, to a new prominence (Garbini 1981: 33–36). Two-element divine names are widely diffused in the 1st millennium: Milk-Astarot (see Pardee 1988 on this name), Tinnit-Astarot, and Baal Hammon are examples; "double-gods," e.g., Eshmun-Milqart, also show a renewed prominence in the late Iron Age.

## I. The Dead

On Phoenician cults of the dead, see DEAD, CULT OF THE.

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PHILIP C. SCHMITZ

**PHOENIX** (BIRD AND POEM). In the ancient world, the phoenix was a bird whose symbolic power proved international and durable. Although its long history, including occurrences in Egypt, Greece, and Rome, exhibits significant and interesting variety, several constant factors define the boundaries and establish the identity of the phoenix: bird of the sun, an immensely long life, the capacity for self-renewal or self-regeneration after its death, and a sign of the human soul and its destiny.

In Egypt, the phoenix is early (2500 B.C.E.) attested in the Heliopolitan mythology of Atum/Re. The creation account portrays the emergence of land and life from the primeval waters, with Atum a self-generating deity whose shape became definite as a mound or hill in the waters and whose spirit was a light sending the rays of the sun into the world from the temple in Heliopolis. In the very beginning, the Phoenix perched on the Benben stone, located in the temple of Atum, marking the origin of the inhabited world and the reign of Atum:

O Atum! When you came into being you rose up as a High Hill.
You shone as the Benben Stone in the temple of the phoenix in Helopolis
(*Pyramid Text* 600, in Rundle-Clark 37)

The self-emergent Atum and the self-emergent phoenix received the adoration befitting their status:

Hail to you, O Atum!
Hail to you, O Becoming One who came into being of himself!
You rose up in this your name of High Hill,
You came into being in this your name of "Becoming One."
(*Pyramid Text* 587, in Rundle-Clark 38)

Creating the world was not the only time when the phoenix was active, for the daily and monthly ritual were performed in the temple of the Benben stone, suggesting that important moments in social life were assimilated to the activity of Atum and the bird and noted in the liturgical calendar. The *Book of the Dead* 17 extends the influence of the phoenix to the journey of the soul from the underworld to the sun. As the bird was a manifestation of Atum at the beginning, so it aids the dead who return to Atum at the end. The pervasive character of the phoenix is underscored in the words of Atum:

The Word came into being.
All things were mine when I was alone.
I was Re in his manifestations:
I was the great one who came into being of himself … I was that great Phoenix who is in Heliopolis, who looks after the decision of all that is
(Rundle-Clark 79)

Yet another feature of the phoenix is seen in the ancient Egyptian view of time as cyclical and composed of segments of the day, the week of ten days, the year, and longer periods of 400 and 1,460 years. Since the bird was present when the world emerged from the waters, it initiated the cycles as well as the world; it also began each new period in the flux and flow of the world. The recurring appearance of the phoenix is a corollary of the meaning the bird occupied in ancient Egypt: the presence of Atum/Re and his word which became the destiny of the world and humans.

When we move from the Egyptian to the Greco-Roman world, we meet new developments in the symbol of the phoenix. The earliest reference is found in a fragment of Hesiod (ca. 700 B.C.E.), preserved in Plutarch (*De def. or.* 415), from which we learn that Hesiod thought that time is divided into periods or cycles which are the lives of nine ravens. Even in ancient times, Hesiod's statement was enigmatic, but van den Broek (76–97) has demonstrated that the life of the bird was 540 years and that it appeared at the end of one and the beginning of another historical cycle. Herodotus, in the 5th century B.C.E., gives an extensive description and interpretation based on pictures and Egyptian myths:

Another bird also is sacred; it is called the phoenix. I myself have never seen it, but only pictures of it; for the bird comes but seldom into Egypt, once in five hundred years, as the people of Heliopolis says. It is said that the phoenix comes when his father dies. If the picture truly shows his size and appearance, his plumage is partly golden but mostly red. He is most like an eagle in shape and bigness. The Egyptians tell a tale of this bird's devices which I do not believe. He comes, they say, from Arabia bringing his father to the Sun's temple enclosed in myrrh, and there buries him. His manner of bringing is this: first he moulds an egg of myrrh as heavy as he can carry, and when he has proved its weight by lifting it he then hollows out the egg and puts his father in it, covering over with more myrrh the hollow in which the body lies; so the egg being with his father in it of the same weight as before, the phoenix, after enclosing him, carries him to the temple of the Sun in Egypt. Such is the tale of what is done by this bird.
(Histories 2.73, trans. Godley 359–61)

Here we have considerable information which was to become standard for much Greek and Roman thought about the bird: its origin in Arabia and appearances in Heliopolis and its burial of its dead father in the temple of the Sun in Egypt. A fragment of the 4th century B.C.E. poet Antiphanes, preserved in Athenaeus (*Deipnosophists* 14.655) also connects the Greek phoenix with Egypt. Another fragment, from

the 2d-century-B.C.E. Hellenistic Jewish writer Ezekiel the Dramatist and preserved in Eusebius (*P.E.* 9.29.16), says that this bird, king of all birds, sang beautifully. And from a fragment of Aenesidemus, preserved by Diogenes Laerteius (9.79) we learn that the phoenix reproduces asexually, a theme that Christians will develop into a symbol for life after death. But the most complete account of the phoenix comes from a Roman senator, Manilius, who indicates that a new bird is reborn from the decaying remains of its own body, with each death-birth occurring every 540 years to mark political, social, and religious renewals (Pliny 10.4–5), with which Ovid (*Met.* 1.108–10 and 15.392–407) and Seneca (*Ep.* 42.1) agree. Tacitus provides an account with several characteristic themes belonging to the symbolism of the phoenix:

> … the bird known as the phoenix visited Egypt … I propose to state the points on which they [the tales] coincide, together with the larger number that are dubious … That the creature is sacred to the sun and distinguished from other birds by its head and the variegation of its plumage, is agreed by those who have depicted its form: as to its terms of years, the tradition varies. The generally received number is five hundred … phoenixes flew to … Heliopolis … When its sum of years is complete and death is drawing on, it builds a nest in its own country and sheds on it a procreative influence, from which springs a young one, whose first care on reaching maturity is to bury his sire … he lifts up his father's corpse, conveys him to the Altar of the Sun, and consigns him to the flames.
> (*Ann.* 6.28, trans. Jackson 201–3)

Several Christian texts contain copious references to the phoenix. Two invite discussion, for they demonstrate how Christians adopted and utilized a pagan symbol as a vehicle for expressing new religious content. The first is the 3d-century C.E. poem of Lactantius, *De ave phoenices.* Here we are told that the bird dwells in a far-off land from which the Sun sends its spring rays, a place higher than any known mountaintop and where vegetation is always green, water from a fresh spring ever sweet, and life is eternal. Indeed, the bird dwells in Paradise where the sun shines with eternal brightness as the place to which the soul ascends and where it is nourished by food reminiscent of the sacraments. Lactantius exhibits continuity between Christian and pagan culture, and thus shows that his conversion to Christianity did not prevent him from using a Greco-Roman symbol as a means to express Christian ideals and beliefs. The phoenix became a symbol of life after death, of "gaining eternal life by the boon of death" (trans. in Duff and Duff 665).

A Coptic Christian text dating to the first half of the 6th century C.E., the *Sermon on Maria*, is among the symbolically richest descriptions of the phoenix (van den Broek 33–47 for translation and discussion). According to this sermon, the bird appeared at crucial junctures in the divine efforts to redeem humans—at Abel's sacrifice, when God delivered the Israelites from Egypt, and for the tenth and last time, when the Virgin sacrificed in the temple at the birth of Jesus. In addition to mentioning the death and rebirth of the phoenix, the preacher alludes to the resurrection of Jesus and explicitly refers to the bird as a symbol of the general resurrection and of life after death.

The phoenix was an unusually powerful symbol in the ancient world. Because the myth moved across cultures, it could gain or lose a particular meaning. Whereas in Egypt it served as a manifestation of deity, in the Greco-Roman world it came to express a view of history as periodical and, in Christianity as well, as a symbol for existence in a paradisal state presaged by living as a Christian.

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**PHOENIX** (PLACE) [Gk *Phoinix* (Φοινιξ)]. A harbor of Crete near the W end of its S shore (Acts 27:12). The Greek designates both the date palm (from which the harbor name probably arose) and the

mythical bird of Egypt (see van den Broek [1972: 51–66] for the common origin of these). The harbor and nearby town were W of Fair Havens (Strabo 10.4.3; Ptolemy *Geog.* 3.17.3.) and offered a secure winter haven for the grain ship from Alexandria on which Paul was traveling to Rome (Acts 27). The deep harbor of modern Loutro E of Cape Mouros would fit the classical references but the description in Acts that the harbor faced SW and NW *(bleponta kata liba kai kata chōron)* has caused some debate since the Loutro harbor faces E. Three main theories exist: (1) Since Luke had not visited Phoenix and his knowledge of the discussion in vv 9–12 was secondhand, he mistakenly identified the orientation of the harbor; (2) the Gk phrase may mean "looking down the SW and NW wind" (Smith 1880: 87–89; 251–53) so that the harbor actually "looked NE and SE" as in the RSV; (3) a shallow open bay just to the W of Cape Mouros called locally Phineka was the harbor of Acts 27:12 not Loutro harbor. Ogilvie (1958: 308–14) argues that the classical references actually favor the E facing harbor of Cape Mouros which was deeper and well protected in Paul's day. He suggests earthquakes in the 6th century A.D. raised the ocean floor, closed an inlet facing NW, and caused the remaining SW inlet and W facing bay to be abandoned in favor of the E bay of Loutro.

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**PHRYGIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Phrygia* (Φρυγια)]. The land of the Phrygians, a territory of W central Asia Minor, between the N Aegean and the river Halys (modern Kizil Irmak).

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A. History of Phrygia
B. Phrygia in the Bible
C. Phrygia and Early Christianity

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**A. History of Phrygia**

**1. The Early Period.** The Phrygians migrated to Asia Minor in the 12th century B.C. Herodotus (6.45; 7.73) refers to an ethnic group in Thrace and Macedonia called *Brygoi* or *Briges* (Macedonian *b* replaces common Gk *ph*, as in Berenice/Pherenice). What is known of the Phrygian and Thracian languages indicates that they belong to the same Indo-European group, called Thraco-Phrygian. A legend recorded by Herodotus (2.2) makes the Phrygians the most ancient of all nations—a claim with no substance to it.

In Homer (*Il.* 2.862, etc.) the Phrygians are closely associated with the Trojans. They displaced the Hittites as the dominant power in central Asia Minor. Their kings bore the alternate dynastic names Midas and Gordios, the latter being linked with the name of the capital of Phrygia, Gordion (about 50 miles WSW of Ankara). The situation of Gordion, commanding the trade routes between the Hellespont and the Cilician gates, was symbolized in the Gordian knot: whoever untied it would control all Asia Minor.

The Phrygian kings were proverbial for their wealth, derived perhaps from gold mines and commemorated in the legend of Midas and the golden touch. Midas' name appears (in the form "Mita") in Assyrian records of 710 B.C. The power of Phrygia was broken by the Cimmerian invaders from the Russian steppes; during their invasion Midas, the last Phrygian king, committed suicide (693 B.C.).

When the Cimmerian invasion receded, Lydia, with its capital at Sardis, emerged as the leading Anatolian power, extending its dominion over Phrygia as far east as the Halys. From then on Phrygia was subject to one imperial power after another—to the Persians after Cyrus' overthrow of the Lydian Croesus in 546 B.C. and to the Macedonians after Alexander's conquest of Asia Minor in 333 B.C.

Under the Persian Empire Phrygia was divided into two satrapies, Greater Phrygia and Lesser or Hellespontine Phrygia, which were separated from each other by the Mysians, Bithynians, and other immigrants from Europe. With Hellespontine Phrygia may be associated the traditional Phrygian thalassocracy from 905 to 880 B.C. (Diod. Sic. 7.11; cf. Hom. *Il.* 24.545).

On his westward march against Greece in 480 B.C. (Hdt. 7.27) Xerxes traversed Phrygia, after crossing the Halys, until he reached the city of Celaenae (the later Apamea, modern Dinar in the Maeander valley). A Phrygian contingent marched in his army (Hdt. 7.73). Other Phrygian cities through which the army passed were Anaua and Colossae in the Lycus valley. On the Phrygian-Lydian border it came to Cydrara (Hdt. 7.30), later known as Hierapolis.

When Cyrus the younger led his army of Greeks east from Sardis in his bid to seize the Persian throne from his brother Artaxerxes II (401 B.C.), they crossed the Maeander from Lydia into Phrygia; then one day's march of 24 miles took them through Phrygia to Colossae, "a large and prosperous city." From there a three days' march of 60 miles took them to Celaenae, where Cyrus was joined by reinforcements from other parts of the Greek world. From there they advanced to Peltae (a two days' march of 30 miles) and then on to Potters' Market (a two days' march of 36 miles) and then again to Caster plain (a three days' march of 60 miles). Two days' march from there (30 miles) took them to Thymbrion, where there was a fountain named after Midas. Another two days' march of 30 miles took them to Tyriaion, from which a three days' march of 60 miles took them to "Iconium, the last city of Phrygia." On leaving Iconium they crossed from Phrygia into Lycaonia (Xen. *An.* 1.2.6–19).

**2. After Alexander.** Alexander the Great also passed through Phrygia on his way from the Granicus (which flows into the Sea of Marmara) to Issus in SW Cilicia (334–333 B.C.); it was at Gordion, the former Phrygian capital, that he is said to have ensured his mastery of Asia by "cutting the Gordian knot."

After Alexander's death (323 B.C.), Antigonus, his governor of Phrygia, was proclaimed king by his army; but Ptolemy and Seleucus, with Lysimachus of Thrace and Cassander of Macedonia, combined against him and killed him at the battle of Ipsus in central Phrygia (301 B.C.). Lysimachus then gained control of Asia Minor, but soon lost most of it, including Phrygia, to Seleucus.

Seleucus I is said to have granted citizenship to Jewish settlers in cities which he founded in "Asia and Lower Syria" (*Ant* 12.119); among these Antioch-near-Pisidia is probably to be included.

In 278/277 B.C. three tribes of migrant Celts or Galatians crossed the Hellespont into Asia Minor at the instance of the king of Bithynia, who hoped to use them as mercenaries against his enemies. For a generation and more the Galatians menaced their neighbors in Asia Minor, until a series of defeats at the hands of Attalus I, king of Pergamum, confined them within strict limits, in territory which had formerly been NE Phrygia (232 B.C.). This territory became the kingdom of Galatia, which expanded until by the reign of its last king, Amyntas, it bordered on Cappadocia to the E, Pamphylia to the S, and the Roman province of Asia (formerly the kingdom of Pergamum) to the W. When Amyntas fell in battle in 25 B.C., his expanded kingdom became the Roman province of Galatia.

When Antiochus III succeeded to the Seleucid throne in 221 B.C., he had to win back Lydia and Phrygia from his rebellious kinsman Achaeus, who seized those regions and had himself crowned king at Laodicea (220 B.C.). When Antiochus recovered those regions, he settled two thousand Jewish families from Babylonia in them to ensure their continued allegiance (*Ant* 12.149). The Jewish population flourished in the Lycus valley and other parts of Phrygia: in 62 B.C., for example, the annual half-shekel tax for the maintenance of the Jerusalem temple amounted to nearly 100 gold *librae* ("pounds") at Apamea and just over 20 at Laodicea, which points to a population of well over 50,000 male Jews between 20 and 60 years of age in the areas of which these cities were the centers (Cic. *Flac.* 68). An often-quoted Talmudic saying to the effect that "the baths and wines of Prugitha separated the ten tribes from their brethren" (*b. Šab.* 147b) has been thought to refer to the assimilationist tendencies of Phrygian Jews; but Prugitha may not be Phrygia.

In 204 B.C., during the Hannibalian war, the Romans sent a deputation to Pessinus in Phrygia to acquire, by the good offices of Attalus I of Pergamum, the black stone in which the ancient Anatolian mother goddess *(Mater Deum Magna Idaea)* was believed to reside (Livy 29.10); her cult—so unlike any traditional Roman cult—was from then on established in Rome. Other Phrygian divinities whose worship persisted into Roman times were the moon god Mēn, who had important cult centers at Pisidian Antioch (Mēn Askainos) and near Laodicea (Mēn Karou), and the nature god Sebazios (identified with Dionysus).

Later in the reign of Antiochus III the Romans compelled him to hand over southwestern Phrygia to their ally the king of Pergamum. (Attalus I of Pergamum had already annexed part of northwestern Phrygia, called thenceforth Phrygia Epiktētos, "Acquired Phrygia.") When in 133 B.C. the last king of Pergamum bequeathed his kingdom to the senate and people of Rome, it was reconstituted as the Roman province of Asia, which included a good part of Phrygian territory. Over a century later, when the Romans reconstituted the kingdom of Galatia in turn as an imperial province, the remainder of Phrygia came under their direct control.

Phrygia was thus divided between the provinces of Asia and Galatia, its western part being known as Asian Phrygia (Gal. *De aliment. facultat.* 1.13.10), and its E part probably as Galatic Phrygia (cf. Calder 1956). The territory between Emir Dağ and Sultan Dağ was called Phrygia Paroreios, "Phrygia near the mountain(s)"; the extreme SE part of Phrygia was called Phrygia-near-Pisidia (Strab. 12.8.13), having Pisidian Antioch as its chief city (cf. Acts 13:14).

In A.D. 295 the provincial system in central Asia Minor was reorganized: a new, enlarged province of Pisidia was created with Pisidian Antioch as its capital—a situation reflected in the later texts of Acts 13:14, which change "Pisidian Antioch," i.e., Antioch-near-Pisidia (Strab. 12.3.31, etc.), to "Antioch of Pisidia" (cf. KJV). At the same time Phrygia became a provincial title for the first time under the Roman Empire: two new provinces were called Phrygia Prima (Phrygia Pacatiana), to the W, with its capital at Laodicea (cf. the appended note to 1 Timothy, KJV), and Phrygia Secunda (Phrygia Salutaris), to the E, with its capital at Synnada.

The Phrygians were apparently an unwarlike people, subject for centuries to other races; hence perhaps the disparaging use of "Phrygian" (Gk *Phryx*) as a slave name (e.g., Ar. *Vesp.* 433); cf. the proverb "as timid as a Phrygian hare" quoted by Strabo (1.2.30).

In ancient Greek music the Phrygian scale (Pl. *Resp.* 3.399A; Arist. *Pol.* 4.3.4; 8.7.89; cf. Eur. *Or.* 1426; *Tro.* 545), commonly associated with the flute, was a mode of two tetrachords with a semitone in the middle of each and a whole tone between the two.

**B. Phrygia in the Bible**

**1. In the Greek OT.** There is no reference to Phrygia in the Hebrew Bible, although the Moschi (Assyrian *Muški*), who occupied part of the Phrygian territory, appear as "Meshech" in Gen 10:2 = 1 Chr 1:5; Ezek 27:13; 32:26; 38:2, 3; 39:1. In the Greek OT the only relevant instance is the mention of "Philip, by birth a Phrygian (Gk *Phryx*)," whom Antiochus IV appointed governor of Jerusalem in 168 B.C. (2 Macc 5:22).

**2. In the NT.** According to Acts 2:10, a contingent of Phrygian Jews was present in Jerusalem at the first Christian Pentecost; they are possibly mentioned because the evangelization of Phrygia is to be related later in the book.

Pisidian Antioch and Iconium, cities of Phrygia, were evangelized by Paul and Barnabas during their missionary tour of central Asia Minor (Acts 13:14–14:4). Pisidian Antioch lay in "Phrygia near Pisidia." While Iconium is referred to as a city of Lycaonia by Cicero (*Fam.* 15.4.2) and the elder Pliny (*HN* 5.25), Phrygian was spoken there from Xenophon's time to the end of the 2d century A.D., as inscriptions show (Calder 1911: 188–94). In A.D. 165 Hierax, an associate of Justin Martyr, when put on trial with him at Rome, tells the examining magistrate that he was "dragged away from Iconium in Phrygia" (*M. Just.* 4). Indeed, as late as 232 a Church council is described as being held at "Iconium, a place in Phrygia" (Cyprian *Ep.* 75.7). That Iconium was reckoned to be in Phrygia and not in Lycaonia is implied in Acts 14:6, where Paul and Barnabas are said to have fled from Iconium "to Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia."

In Acts 16:6 (RSV) Paul, with Silas and Timothy, is said to have gone "through the region of Phrygia and Galatia" on a westward journey through Asia Minor. The phrase is best translated "through the Phrygian and Galatic region" (Gk *dia tēs Phrygias kai Galatikēs chōras*). For the high probability that the genitive *Phrygias* is an adjective here and not a noun see Hemer (1976; 1977). The region traversed was that which was both Phrygian and Galatic, i.e., that conveniently called Phrygia Galatica (the part of Phrygia included in the province of Galatia).

When in Acts 18:23 Paul is described as going "from place to place through the region of Galatia and Phrygia" (Gk *tēn Galatikēn chōran kai Phrygian*), the wording is different and may denote the Galatic region of Lycaonia (in which Lystra and Derbe lay) together with Phrygia, both Galatic and Asian (Ramsay 1896).

The churches of Colossae, Laodicea, and Hierapolis, in the Lycus valley in the SW part of Asian Phrygia, were planted evidently by Epaphras during Paul's Ephesian ministry, A.D. 52–55 (Col 1:7; 4:12–13). The church of Laodicea is the only Phrygian one included in the seven churches of Asia addressed in Rev 1:11; 3:14–22.

**C. Phrygia and Early Christianity**

Phrygia was one of the most important centers of Christian life and activity in the generations following the apostolic age. This may have been partly due, but was by no means entirely due, to the immigration of outstanding Palestinian Christians in the later part of the 1st century, such as "John the disciple of the Lord" and Philip of Caesarea and his family. From Phrygia comes a greater concentration of Christian inscriptions in the 2d and 3d centuries than from any other place except Rome. Three main lines of Christian penetration have been traced: (1) up the Lycus and Maeander valleys and radiating out to Eumeneia and Akmonia, (2) southeastern Phrygia and Lycaonia, (3) NW Phrygia, especially the Tembris valley (Ramsay 1897: 511, 715).

Among outstanding Phrygian bishops were Papias and Claudius Apollinaris of Hierapolis and (toward the end of the 2d century) Abercius (Avircius) Marcellus of Hierapolis in Phrygia Salutaris. In Phrygia the Montanist movement arose in the middle of the 2d century; it was sometimes referred to as the Cataphrygian heresy. The 60 canons traditionally promulgated by the Council of Laodicea (ca. 363) were treated by later Church councils as a basis of canon law.

Phrygian Christianity suffered severely during the last imperial persecution. One Phrygian city, said to have been entirely Christian (possibly Eumeneia), was destroyed by fire with its inhabitants (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 8.11.1).

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**PHRYGIAN LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

**PHYGELUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Phygelos* (Φυγελος)]. Phygelus, along with Hermogenes, is named in 2 Tim 1:15 as being one of those from Asia who had "turned away" from Paul during his imprisonment in Rome. Unlike Hermogenes, who appears also in the apocryphal *Acts of Paul*, Phygelus is not known apart from his mention in 2 Timothy. On the basis of what can be pieced together about Hermogenes, it is reasonable to conjecture that he and Phygelus were at odds with Paul due to their understanding of the resurrection. See the fuller discussion and bibliography under HERMOGENES.

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**PHYLACTERIES** [Gk *phylaktērion* (φυλακτηριον)]. This term appears once in the NT in Matt 25:3, where Jesus is said to accuse the scribes and Pharisees of ostentatiousness for "they do all their deeds to

be seen by men; for they make their phylacteries broad and their fringes long." The Greek word passed to the Vulgate and entered English Bibles through the Geneva Bible, 1557. It is universally accepted that by "phylactery" Matthew meant the Aramaic word *tĕpillîn*, the name given in rabbinic sources to two black leather boxes containing scriptural passages which are worn by Jews on the forehead and left arm.

The Mishnah, *Šebu.* 3.8, 11, requires Jewish males thirteen years and older to wear *tĕpillîn* each day. Women are explicitly exempt from this religious obligation (*m. Ber.* 3.3). The basis for wearing phylacteries was derived by the rabbis from four biblical verses: Exod 13:9, 16; Deut 6:8; 11:18. These four verses require the Jew to put "these words" as "a sign upon your hand and a frontlet (Heb *ṭôṭāpōt*) between your eyes" (Exod 13:9 has *zikkārôn*, "memorial," instead of "frontlets"). Thus both the head and hand phylacteries contain four passages from Scripture which include these verses: Exod 13:1–10, 11–16; Deut 6:4–9; 11:13–21. The head phylactery worn on the head consists of four compartments, each containing one section of Scripture, while the hand phylactery has one compartment containing all four passages on one parchment. The boxes of the phylacteries must be exactly square, and both the boxes and the straps which hold them firm must be painted black. The head phylactery is imprinted twice with the Hebrew letter *šin:* once on the side which is to the left of the wearer, and once on the opposite side. The *šin* on the right has four rather than the usual three prongs, as a reminder of the four scriptural passages contained in the phylacteries (*b. Menaḥ.* 35a). Each box is sewn to a base of thick leather with twelve stitches, one for each of the twelve tribes of Israel (*b. Šabb.* 8b). The phylacteries are not worn at night, nor on festivals or the Sabbath (*b. Menaḥ.* 36a–b). The hand phylactery is donned first: the box is placed on the inner side of the upper arm (facing the heart) and the strap is wound seven times around the arm. The head phylactery is placed in the middle of the forehead, with the two ends of the strap hanging over the shoulders. The placing of each phylactery is accompanied by certain blessings and by the recitation of Hos 3:21–22. They are worn during the morning prayer and removed in the reverse order in which they were placed on the body.

While the classical Jewish commentators on the Bible take the verses in Exodus and Deuteronomy as literally commanding the wearing of the phylacteries (see, however, Samuel ben Meir on Exod 13:19), the rabbis of the Talmud were aware that the Bible gives absolutely no description of the phylacteries or the laws concerning them. These laws were understood as the classic example of a biblical precept whose details are elaborated only in the oral law (*m. Sanh.* 11:3), and almost all of the details of their construction are attributed to those oral laws which God purportedly taught Moses at Sinai (*b. Menaḥ.* 34b–37a). Given the tenuous relationship between the laws of phylacteries described in the Talmud and the alleged scriptural basis for them, it is far from apparent at exactly what point in the history of the Israelite religion phylacteries were introduced.

The first question is thus whether the "signs" and "frontlets" of Exodus and Deuteronomy were intended to describe objects in some way similar to phylacteries, or if they were figurative terms. Some interpreters have taken the Exodus passage literally, based on the facts that the word for "memorial" almost always has a literal reference and that Exodus 13 consists primarily of ritual injunctions which were obviously intended to be performed as commanded (*IDB* 3: 809). However, the referent of Exod 13:9, "it shall be for a sign unto you on your hand and for a memorial between your eyes," is the Feast of Unleavened Bread, and the "it" of Exod 13:16 which was to serve as a "sign" and "frontlet" is the dedication of the firstborn. Neither of these two ceremonies can be understood to be literally bound upon the body of the Israelite; rather, they are to serve as perpetual reminders of how God redeemed Israel from the hands of the Egyptians. The passage in Deuteronomy also must be read figuratively, because "these words" (Deut 6:6 and 11:8) must refer at least to Deuteronomy chaps. 5–11, if not to the entire book (Kennedy *HDB* 3: 871). Thus it would seem likely that originally the expressions "sign," "frontlet," and "memorial" were intended figuratively, as were other expressions in these same passages ("The Law of the Lord shall be in your mouth," Exod 13:9; "You shall place My words in your heart and in your soul," Deut 11:18).

One reason for supposing the literal intention of the passages in question is alleged evidence for a widespread custom among ANE religions of tattooing or branding various parts of the body with the

name of a deity, particularly the forehead and hands, as a prophylactic measure. Hints of such a practice can be found in the Bible, such as the sign *(ʿôt)* on Cain's forehead (Gen 4:15) which placed him under divine protection (see also Ezekiel's cross, Ezek 9:4, 6; cf. Rev 7:3; 14:1). Thus while arguing that the intention of the scriptural passages in question is figurative, it is important to note that the language chosen is borrowed from actual customs familiar to the author of these passages (*HDB* 3: 871).

At what date, then, did Jews begin to wear phylacteries and to interpret the passages from Scripture literally? Hirsch (*JEnc* 10: 26) claimed that phylacteries were used as early as the 4th century B.C.E., but there is no support for this view. Josephus (*Ant* 4.213) regards the phylacteries as dating from the time of Moses, though he makes this claim of all of the daily customs that he mentions which revolve around prayer, many of which are known to be later innovations. The LXX translates the word *ṭôṭāpōt* as *asaleuton*, "that which is fixed, immovable." This implies that in Egypt in the middle of the 3d century B.C.E. the institution of phylacteries was not yet known. Rather, the four scriptural passages were interpreted as meaning that the laws and rituals of Exodus 13 and Deuteronomy 6 and 11 should remain the unchanging subjects of one's thoughts. The earliest explicit reference to phylacteries in a literary work is the *Letter of Aristeas*, sec. 159, where only the phylactery of the hand is mentioned. Scholars differ as to the dating of this text. Most place it in the 2d century B.C.E. (Shutt *OTP* 2: 9–10), though some claim that parts of it, including secs. 128–71, date from the 1st century C.E. (Andrews *APOT* 2: 87). See also ARISTEAS, LETTER OF. It therefore seems prudent to attribute the introduction of the phylacteries to the period between 250 and 100 B.C.E.

Yet the literary evidence can only suggest the existence of some object worn on the head and the arm: it cannot tell us to what extent these objects were similar to the *tĕpillîn* as they are described in rabbinic sources. All statements as to the nature of phylacteries in pre-Mishnaic times were mere conjecture until the discovery forty years ago of the remains of phylacteries at the caves of Murabbaʿat, which were occupied by refugees at the time of the Bar Kokhba revolt (135 C.E.), and at the caves at Qumran. While the exact dating of the material from Qumran remains uncertain, all agree that it reflects the late Second Temple period, and thus provides us with evidence on the nature of phylacteries which predates the earliest material in the Mishnah by one if not two centuries (see *DJD* 2: 80–85).

Prior to 1967, the only fragments discovered came from the hand phylacteries, and while some of the boxes which housed the biblical passages were found, all the parchments were without their original containers. Then, on January 31, 1968, Y. Yadin acquired the only known capsule of head phylacteries, together with four parchments. Scientific examination revealed that three of the four scriptural passages were still in their original compartments (Yadin 1969: 9), thus providing new evidence for the manner in which the passages had been folded and tied. The form of the phylacteries, the material used for the parchment and the tying, all conform to the regulations given in the Talmud. Most surprisingly, the difference of opinion between two 12th-century Talmudists as to the proper order of arranging the four scriptural passages in the head compartments is reflected in the Qumran fragments. Thus we know that the dispute did not originate during the medieval period, as some scholars had previously thought, but rather reflected divergent traditions which go back at least to the 1st century.

Another stage in the development of phylacteries was revealed when it was discovered that the Qumran phylacteries contained the Decalog. According to *m. Tamid* 5:1, the Decalog was recited daily in the temple along with Deut 6:4–9 and 11:13–21. A statement in *y. Ber.* 3c implies that these same texts were also recited outside the temple. The custom of reciting the Decalog along with Deut 6:4–9 is reflected in the Nash Papyrus, a 2d-century-B.C.E. papyrus allegedly from the Fayyum region of Egypt. Therefore it appears that the Decalog was at one time part of the daily liturgy in both Palestine and Egypt (Vermes 1959: 69). According to both Palestinian and Babylonian traditions, the practice of daily recital of the Decalog was suspended because the sectarians claimed "these alone were given to Moses at Sinai" (*y. Ber.* 3c; *b. Ber.* 12a).

As early as 1927, Mann (291) claimed that pre-rabbinic *tĕpillîn* contained the Decalog. This would explain the comments of Jerome on Ezek 24:16 that the Babylonian magistrates who observe the law surround their heads with the Decalog written on leather. Mann also points out that *m. Sanh.* 11.3

expressly forbids the use of five rather than four passages in the phylacteries. Since *Sipre* to Deuteronomy, secs. 34–35, uses two exegetical interpretations to justify the exclusion of the Decalog from phylacteries, it seemed logical to Mann that the fifth forbidden passage is the Decalog. Mann's hypothesis was confirmed by the evidence at Qumran. Since those phylacteries found at Qumran contain the Decalog while those at Murabba‹at do not, it is clear that the Mishnaic reform mentioned above had taken effect by 135 C.E. Thus we see that while the physical elements of the phylacteries, i.e., the case, the parchment, the ties, etc., were already fixed by the 1st century, the final uniformity of the text was not established until the 2d century, and even then, two traditions remained as to the ordering of the four passages.

While the laws concerning phylacteries were fixed by the middle of the 2d century, it is not clear how widespread the custom of wearing phylacteries was in the first two centuries of the Common Era. The majority of those who wore phylacteries did not wear them all day; to do so was seen as a special act of piety (*b. Sukk.* 28a; *b. Ta‹an.* 20b). According to *b. Ber.* 47b and *b. Soṭa* 22a, the wearing of phylacteries was seen as one of the criteria distinguishing a *ḥābēr* (member of the rabbinic "society") from an *‹am hā›āreṣ* (one not observing rabbinic customs). Possibly the requirement of ritual purity while wearing phylacteries (*y. Ber.* 4c) prevented many from wearing them. A tannaitic statement found in the Babylonian Talmud suggests another reason why the masses did not embrace this custom. During the Hadrianic persecutions the wearing of phylacteries was banned on pain of death (*y. Ber.* 4c; *m. ‹Erub.* 10.1; *m. Meg.* 4.8). According to *b. Šabb.* 130b, because the people were not willing to martyr themselves for the wearing of phylacteries, this precept remained "weak in their hands" even after the persecution.

Most scholars assume that the origin of the custom of wearing phylacteries was connected with their use as amulets or charms. The Greek word *phylactērion* means "safeguard," "that which protects"; hence, an amulet. However since the term "phylactery" is never attested in Jewish sources even as a foreign word, this etymology (underlying the word's use in Matt 25:3) at best reflects the view of the Christian community in 70 to 90 C.E., and sheds no light on the origin of the institution. As mentioned above, the biblical verses undoubtedly adopted the language of contemporaneous magical and apotropaic charms.

The meaning of the MT's Heb *ṭôṭāpōt* is unclear. It probably should be vocalized as a singular noun, *ṭôṭepet.* Some scholars derive it from the root *ṭpp*, meaning "to tap or strike," "make an incision," with implicit reference to an actual sign or mark made in the flesh. Others prefer the root *ṭûp*, from Akk *ṭaṭâpu*, meaning "to encircle," "surround," thus "headband" for *ṭôṭepet* (BDB, 377). However, this does not fit the descriptive expression "between your eyes." Most scholars prefer to connect the word with *neṭipōt* (Judg 8:26; Isa 3:19) meaning "round jewel." This opinion is supported by *m. Šabb.* 6:1, where *ṭôṭāpōt* is used to describe a jewel worn by a woman on her forehead. Thus the word *ṭôṭāpōt* does not necessarily indicate a sign with magical properties. (See also the discussion in *TDOT* 5: 320, with additional bibliography.)

The derivation of the nonbiblical Hebrew word *tĕpillîn* is likewise unclear (see *TWAT* 6: 608–9). The singular *tĕpillâ* is identical with the Hebrew word for "prayer," but it may be a homonym, deriving not from *pll*, "to intercede," but from *plh*, "to separate, distinguish," indicating that which distinguishes the Jew from the non-Jew. The word *tĕpillîn* appears a number of times in lists with *qāmêa‹*, "an amulet" (*m. Miqw.* 10.2; *m. Kelim* 23.1; *m. Šabb.* 6.2), but no connection is suggested between them. While there is no evidence in rabbinic literature that phylacteries were ever regarded as amulets, it is possible that at the time they were first adopted, the masses regarded them as possessing magical properties similar to those of the *qāmêa‹*, which were also written on parchment by a professional scribe or exorcist and worn on one's body. Indeed, the very custom of wearing phylacteries might have emerged as a popular superstition, one which was then made normative by the leaders of the Jewish community, who stripped the symbol of its original magical overtones and infused it with a more "legitimate" religious significance. The choice of the term *tĕpillîn*, seen as the plural of "prayer," would thus be part of the rabbinic polemic to replace the original prophylactic nature of phylacteries with the liturgical nature of *tĕpillîn*.

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**PI-BESETH** (PLACE) [Heb *pî-beset* (פִּי־בֶסֶת)]. One of the Egyptian cities mentioned in Ezekiel's oracle of doom against Egypt (Ezek 30:17). The Hebrew represents Egyptian *Pr-b€ stt*, "house of Baste," which was rendered "Bubastis" in Greek. The city is associated with extensive ruins of Tel Basta on the SE limits of modern Zagazig in the E Delta, 39 miles NNE of Cairo. The ancient city lay on the right bank of the easternmost of the three major Nile branches, in the Delta. Undoubtedly of prehistoric foundation, Bubastis was originally a metropolis of the thirteenth township of Lower Egypt and came to prominence during the Old Kingdom due to its strategic location at the junction between the river route to the NE frontier and the land route through the Wâdī Tumilat into Sinai. Old Kingdom pharaohs built extensively at the site, and blocks have been found of Khufu and Khafre (Dyn. 4) (Naville 1891: pl. 32); both Tety (Dyn. 5) and Pepy I (Dyn. 6) built chapels there (Bietak 1975: 99 n. 365; Habachi 1957: 11–43). The Middle Kingdom kings lavished building projects on the site, refurbishing older buildings and adding new ones, including palaces (Gomaà 1987: 2–8, 215).

While the fate of the site under the Hyksos is unknown (although blocks of Khiyan and Apophis have been found there; Naville 1981: pl. 35), the 18th Dynasty renewed its interest in Bubastis, and the temples were rebuilt under Thutmose III and Amenhotep II (Urk. IV: 1443; Naville 1891: pl. 35). Thutmose IV left an important historical inscription at the site (ibid.), and Amenhotep III built a new temple (Habachi 1957: 102–7). After the vandalism attendant upon the Amarna heresy, Sety I restored inscriptions (cf. Naville 1891: pl. 35), and his son Rameses II contributed extensively to rebuilding an expansion of all structures and temples.

Bubastis enjoyed its greatest prosperity from about 900–711 B.C., when it was closely associated with the Libyan 22d and 23d dynasties, the latter in fact using it as a residence (Gomaà 1974: 126–37). It is from this period (ca. 850 B.C.) that the great festival hall of Osarkon II dates (Naville 1892). Bubastis, which under the Libyans had been the chief principality of the district Ranofer (stretching from the Nile to the NE frontier), was, at the end of the 23d Dynasty, made into the metropolis of a new nome, the Eighteenth of Lower Egypt (Helck 1974: 196). Though deprived of its political primacy, the city remained prosperous and favored, and one of the prominent cities of the kingdom (cf. Ezek 30:17). Herodotus describes its breathtaking temples in glowing terms (ii. 137–38), and claims that in his day the local festival was the largest in Egypt (ii. 67–69). Bubastis was the site of a decisive battle in the attempt of Artaxerxes III to recapture Egypt (343 B.C.; Diod. xvi. 49–51), but retained its prominence throughout Ptolemaic times (Strabo xvii, 1. 27; Sauneron 1957), and its cults continued to operate in the 3d century A.D. (Aelian xii. 29).

The principal deity at the site was the lioness goddess Bast, later associated with the cat (*KG*, 373 n. 3; te Velde 1982), a feline type of deity associated variously with Sekhmet, the Eye of Re (Habachi 1957: 118), Hathor, Isis, and others (*RÄR* 80–82). Bast's son was Miusis, the "fierce-eyed lion," and she herself was identified by the Greeks with Artemis.

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**PI-HAHIROTH** (PLACE) [Heb *pî haḥîrōt* (פִּי הַחִירֹת)]. A stopping place on the itinerary of the Israelites from Goshen to the wilderness (Exod 14:2, 9; Num 33:7–8). In Exod 14:2 the place is reached after "turning back" from Ethan, and in v 9 and Num 33:7 it is said to be "in front of" or E of Baal-zephon. Neither of these passages, however, is of much assistance in locating the place, and they seem to betray a flawed knowledge of delta geography. As transcribed the word resembles a Hebraized form of Akkadian origin, *Pi-hiriti*, "the mouth of the canal," which would be an appropriate toponym for the E edge of the heavily canalized E delta.

No Egyptian toponym of this form has yet been found, the closest approximation being *Pa-Kherta*, a town dedicated to the goddess Tefnut, somewhere on the E edge of the delta (El Arish naos, rev., 6: 5th–4th centuries B.C.), or (the variant of the letter) "the Pond of *Ta-Kherta*" (P. Dem. Cairo 31169 iii, no. 18: Ptolemaic). It is conceivable that these could be garblings of the earlier Akkadian geographical terms postulated above. Other candidates, such as Per-Hathor ("House [of the Goddess] Hathor"), between Tanis and Bubastis ("Hyksos" to post-Saite attestations), or Pa-Hiret (Ramesside), near Qantir, are disqualified for both linguistic and geographical reasons.

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**PIG.** See ZOOLOGY.

**PIGEON.** See ZOOLOGY.

**PILATE, ACTS OF.** An ancient and extended account of the trial, crucifixion, and resurrection of Jesus. The initial episode of the narrative, which is dependent in part upon the canonical Gospels, centers around the activities of Pontius Pilate during the trial. It is this episode that provides the inspiration for the title of the work.

In many medieval manuscripts a text that is known as "Christ's Descent into Hell" has been appended to the Acts. The two writings often were circulated together in this form under the title of the "Gospel of Nicodemus." The Descent itself is a report upon the activities and the ministry of Christ while in hell, after the crucifixion and before the resurrection. It embodies a purportedly firsthand account of Christ's activities, as they are told by the aged Symeon and his two sons.

A firm date for the original composition of the Acts cannot be established with certainty. The canonical Gospels already reveal a concern among the authors of late-1st-century Christianity for the participation of Pilate in the judgment and execution of Jesus. This general concern for Pilate's role was not resolved by the gospel accounts, however, as is evident from the reappearance of the Pilate theme in the 2d-century *Gospel of Peter.* See PETER, GOSPEL OF.

The first possible reference to the Acts comes through Justin Martyr, who twice makes a specific appeal to a writing that he calls the "Acts of Pontius Pilate" (*Apol.* 1.35, 48). He cites this document as evidence for his own interpretation of the passion episode, but, unfortunately, he does not quote directly from the text. This silence concerning the specific wording of the Acts may suggest either that Justin lacked any intimate familiarity with the writing or perhaps that he only presumed that such a text existed (*NTApocr.* 1: 444).

Though probably a separate document and therefore not a reference to our Acts, Tertullian (*Apol.* 5 and 21) knows of a tradition in which Pilate was believed to have sent letters to Tiberius that contained detailed accounts of the wonderful deeds which were performed by Jesus. Tertullian is convinced by the tone of this correspondence that Pilate himself could be regarded as a Christian based upon the strength of his personal conviction. Additional support for the tradition that is attested by Tertullian is offered by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.2.1–2). But Eusebius also records that a "forgery" of the Acts text itself was circulated during the reign of Daia Maximinus (ca. 311–12) with the intent of engendering animosity against the Christians (*Hist. Eccl.* 1.9.3; 9.5.1). Despite the attestation of Eusebius, it is impossible to know with certainty whether any extant copies of the Acts actually reflect a text that predated the late 3d

century. While it is possible that the forgery to which Eusebius refers was in fact a perversion of some earlier form of the Acts, the prevailing scholarly view is that the "Christian Acts" were written only subsequently to any such forgery and that they were considered in order to diffuse the effect of its damage.

Two basic editions of the Acts have been identified among the many copies of the text that are available. The older edition (Recension A), which is attested in Greek, Latin, Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, and Arabic translations, also appears as the basis of a 12th-century Greek manuscript which stands as the oldest copy of the Acts that is known to modern scholars. A second edition of the Acts (Recension B), which has been preserved only in Greek, reveals numerous alterations from the first edition. These obvious additions and expansions indicate that this edition is a secondary construction of the Acts. Included among the changes in Recension B are the introduction of additional biblical materials and the insertion of lamentations over Jesus by his mother, Mary Magdalene, and Joseph of Arimathaea. A pronounced concern for the mother of Jesus as *theotokos* suggests that the earliest form of this second and more recent edition probably should not be dated prior to the Council of Ephesus.

Many versions of the Acts contain a prologue that is attributed to a certain Ananias (Coptic: Aeneas; Latin: Emaus), who claims to have received the text in Hebrew and to have copied it into Greek during the 5th century (425). This prologue specifies that the passion of Christ occurred on the eighth day before the calends of April. Epiphanius (*Haer.* 50.1.5) observes that the heretical Quartodecimans claimed a knowledge of this date which was based upon information that could be found in the Acts. It therefore is probable that the Quartodecimans already had some form of the Acts, with this prologue attached, by the time of Epiphanius in the late 4th century.

The narrative of the Acts is ordered according to the passion sequence of Jesus as it is preserved within the canonical gospel record. The author, however, has added substantial detail to the accounts in order to complete the panorama of events. At the insistence of the Jewish authorities, Pilate summons Jesus for examination, but upon the entrance of Jesus, the Roman standards bow to the amazement of all those who are present (chap. 1). After testimony is offered by twelve men that he was not "born of fornication" (chap. 2), Jesus is examined and released to the will of the Jews, who assume the responsibility for his death (chaps. 3–4). Further testimony on behalf of Jesus then is offered by Nicodemus, by numerous persons whom Jesus healed (including the woman with the "issue of blood," who here is named Bernice [Latin text: Veronica]; Mark 5:25–34), and by another unspecified group of persons who witnessed the teachings and miracles that were performed during his ministry (chaps. 5–8). After the crucifixion and the burial by Joseph of Arimathaea (chaps. 9–11), a series of miracles and proofs of the resurrection are provided as evidence that the deeds of the Jewish authorities were undertaken in error (chaps. 12–16).

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**PILATE, PONTIUS.** See PONTIUS PILATE.

**PILDASH** (PERSON) [Heb *pildāš* (פִּלְדָּשׁ)]. The sixth son borne by Milcah to her husband Nahor, Abraham's brother (Gen 22:22). The name Pildash seems to be used here as a personal one. If it is also a tribal name, the location is unknown but is perhaps to be sought in N Arabia with other Nahorites. Some surmise that all the Aramaean tribes descended from Nahor and his twelve sons (vv 20–24). The Israelites knew that they were related to this other people, and links uniting the ancestors of Israel to other groups of people were always expressed genealogically (*EHI*, 212, 240). The etymology and meaning of the name are uncertain. The first of two leading candidates would have it originate from an animal term, *piddāš* (Ar *fuds*, "spider"). The second main view proposes a relationship to Ar *fandaš*, "to conquer," and a comparison with the Nabataean personal name *pndšw.* Moritz (1926: 93) supplies evidence for the

permissible interchange of the letters *l* and *n*—viz., in Nabataean *tntnw* parallels *tntlw.* A couple of other equally valid speculations could be, similar to the first, a connection with Ar *faddâš*, "shatterer" (from the base *fadaš*), and, similar to the second, one with *fandas*, "to run."

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**PILHA** (PERSON) [Heb *pilḥā*› (פִּלְחָא)]. A leader of the people and a signatory to the covenant established by Ezra (Neh 10:24). The name means "millstone," but nothing else is known about Pilha, who is mentioned only here.

FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**PILLAR OF FIRE AND CLOUD.** The theophany of cloud and glory that guided Israel during the wilderness journey. The phrase "pillar of fire and cloud" only occurs once (Exod 14:24), but there are a number of instances when the separate phrases "pillar of fire" (Exod 13:21, 22; Num 14:14; Neh 9:12, 19) and "pillar of cloud" (Exod 13:21, 22; 14:19; Num 14:14; Neh 9:12, 19; Ps 99:7) occur. Each phrase describes the same manifestation of divine presence.

The Exodus text does not introduce the theophany by description. The title itself became the description. When Israel left the bonds of Pharaoh, departing from Succoth (Tell el-Mashkutah), and reached the edge of the wilderness, the divine presence went before them as a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night (Exod 13:21). God's presence not only guided them, but protected them; for the cloud moved to the rear of the Israelite host when the Egyptians approached. The pillar of cloud also represented divine presence when Moses entered the tent of the Lord and conversed with God (Exod 33:7–9), again when the authority and leadership of Moses was confirmed after Aaron and Miriam murmured against him (Numbers 12:5 ff.), and a third time when Joshua was appointed successor to Moses (Deut 31:15).

God is often represented in the OT by fire and cloud. The symbol of the cloud both reveals and conceals the divine presence (Mendenhall 1973: 32–66). The cloud would indeed reveal truth but, at the same time, would limit that revelation. On the other hand, fire symbolized the power of the one leading them.

Any natural explanation of these phenomena seems to be strained. Some have suggested that a large fire on a pole was placed at the head of the host. Though this practice was common in festivals (1 Kgs 7:15) and military campaigns, it does not appear the case here. Others have proposed the cloud and fire to be the embers of an active volcano in the area. This theory is difficult to prove geologically.

The pillar of fire and cloud according to OT tradition represented God's miraculous provision and protection for the Hebrews during a time marked by many supernatural phenomena.

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**PILLARS, HALL OF** (PLACE) [Heb *›ûlām hā‹ammûdîm* (אוּלָם הָעַמּוּדִים)]. See JUDGMENT, HALL OF.

**PILTAI** (PERSON) [Heb *pilṭāy* (פִּלְטָי)]. The head of the priestly family of Moadiah in the time of the high priest Joiakim (Neh 12:17). The name is an abbreviated form (KB; cf. Pelatiah, Heb *pĕlaṭyāhû*, "Yahweh has saved").

NORA A. WILLIAMS

**PIN.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**PINE TREE.** See FLORA.

**PINNACLE.** See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

**PINON** (PERSON) [Heb *pînōn* (פִּינֹן)]. One of the persons mentioned among the eleven names in the list of Edomite "tribal chiefs" *(ʿallūpîm)* in Gen 36:40–43, an addition probably originating from the Priestly Source. The name also recurs in 1 Chr 1:51b–54, an addition which represents a shortened version of Gen 36:40–43. Although some of the names cannot be classified with any certainty, "Pinon" and "Mibzar" are likely place names. The original (?) place name was obviously understood as a tribal or a district name. The name Pinon/Punon (Num 33:42–43)—Greek *Phinan, Phinō, Phainō*—is identical with Arabic *Fênān* and probably with Egyptian *pwnw*, the mining colony Kh. Fênān (M.R. 197004) in the Wâdī ʿAraba. See also FEINAN, WADI.

ULRICH HÜBNER

**PIPE.** See MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

**PIRAM** (PERSON) [Heb *pirʿām* (פִּרְאָם)]. The Amorite king of Jarmuth at the time of Joshua, according to biblical tradition (Josh 10:3). His name, which occurs only once, appears to be a form of the Hebrew term *pereʾ*, "wild ass," with the ending *-ām.* A similar construction may be attested in the name Balaam (Heb *bilʿām = belaʿ* ["confusion," "slander"] + *-ām*). Piram joined with Adoni-zedek of Jerusalem, Hoham of Hebron, Debir of Eglon, and Japhni of Lachish to oppose Joshua and the Gibeonites. This coalition was defeated by Joshua and its five kings fled to the cave of Makkedah, from which Joshua took them and hanged them on five trees nearby.

D. G. SCHLEY

**PIRATHON** (PLACE) [Heb *pirʿātôn* (פִּרְעָתוֹן)]. Var. PHARATHON. PIRATHONITE. A town in the central hill country of Ephraim that was controlled by Amalekites prior to Israelite domination (Judg 12:15). It was the home of Abdon, the judge who led Israel for eight years (Judg 12:13–14), and of Benaiah, one of David's thirty mighty men (2 Sam 23:30; 1 Chr 11:31; 27:14). A location bearing the same name along with other sites in Judea was later reportedly fortified by the Seleucid general Bacchides ca. 160 B.C. as a means of controlling the rebellious forces of Jonathan and Simon Maccabeus (Josephus *Ant* 13.1.3 (§14–16); 1 Macc 9:50). The Pharathon (RSV var. of "Pirathon") reported by the author of Maccabees may not be the same as that attested earlier in the OT. Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB) contends that the author of Maccabees purposely attempted to compare the exploits of the Maccabees with the venerated heroes of the conquest under Joshua. The reference to Pharathon could then be a case where the name was used as an allusion to places that had been captured by the Jews in antiquity. Textual difficulties in the account of 1 Maccabees have caused some to believe that "Pharathon" was the second half of a compound name, Timnath-pharathon, rather than the name of separate fortified towns. Some doubt concerning the equation of the town in Ephraim mentioned in Judges and Samuel with that fortified by Bacchides has arisen because 1 Macc 9:50 and Josephus *Ant* 13.1.3 (§14–16) locate the town in Judea as opposed to Ephraim. Clearly the author of Maccabees understood Judea as Jewish-occupied territories, including land N of Jerusalem in the ancient tribal allotment of Ephraim. The sites of Bethel and Beth-horon which were listed along with Pharathon as being fortified by Bacchides were also located in the traditional territory of Ephraim.

The location of Pirathon is widely accepted as modern Farata (M.R. 165177), which is six miles SW of Shechem. Attempts to locate the site in the territory of Benjamin are based upon the mistaken identification of the judge Abdon with other Abdons, one who was a Benjaminite tribal chief (1 Chr 8:23) and another who was an ancestor of King Saul (1 Chr 8:30; 9:36).

ROBERT W. SMITH

**PISGAH** (PLACE) [Heb *pisgâ* (פִּסְגָּה)]. A mountain in the Abarim range of NW Moab, close to Mt. Nebo. The "mountains" in this region are actually narrow extensions of the Transjordanian tableland that has been deeply eroded by scarp streams, mostly running E-W. These plateau remnants tower above the

floor of the Jordan Rift valley, but they are no higher than the tableland to which the mountains are attached on the W.

Both Mt. Nebo and Mt. Pisgah are in this region (cf. Deut 34:1). Whereas Nebo is mentioned only twice in the Bible, Pisgah is named eight times, always with the definite article and always in combination with one of two terms that highlight features of the mountain. In four passages, "the top of Pisgah" occurs: (1) Num 21:20, where it is mentioned as a station on the Hebrew migration through Moab and as a peak "which looks down upon the desert"; (2) Num 23:14, where it is named as one of the peaks on which Balak made sacrifices in an effort to induce Balaam's curse on Israel; (3) Deut 3:27, where it is identified as a peak from which Moses viewed the promised land; and (4) Deut 34:1, where it is named as the point from which Moses again saw the territory which the Hebrews would occupy and on which Moses died.

In four OT passages, "the slopes of Pisgah" are named: (1) Deut 3:17, in which they are referred to as being E of the Salt Sea, one of the boundaries of Reuben and Gad; (2) Deut 4:49, in which they are named again as towering above the Sea of the Arabah, a boundary of Israel's conquests; (3) Josh 12:3, in which they are identified as a border of Sihon's kingdom; and (4) Josh 13:20, in which they are mentioned again as one of the borders of Sihon's realm and of the tribe of Reuben. Contrary to these RSV uses of the phrase "slopes of Pisgah," the KJV has "springs of Pisgah" in Deut 4:49 and "Ashdoth-pisgah" in Deut 3:17; Josh 12:3; 13:20.

Eusebius located Phasgo (Pisgah) along the way from Livias in the Arabah to Esbus on the tableland, in the same vicinity as Mt. Peor. Most interesting is Jerome's translation of "Fasge" (Pisgah) by the Lat *abscisum*, meaning "steep" or "broken off." This corresponds to the LXX's translation of Heb *pisgâ* with Gk *laxeuō.* Thus, LaSor (*ISBE* 3: 873) notes that the name Pisgah, which derives from Heb *pāsag* ("split," "cut off"), means "cleft." It is suggested that Pisgah's projection from the plateau had this appearance when viewed from the E.

Most scholars identify Mt. Nebo and Mt. Pisgah as the two peaks on Jebel Shayhan, with Pisgah (M.R. 218130) located ca. 1.5 miles W-NW of Nebo, beyond a small saddle. Jebel en-Nebu (2,739 feet above sea level) is located ca. 4 miles NW of Medeba, and Ras es-Siyagha (2,329 feet above sea level) is located ca. 5.5 miles NW of Medeba. Though this widely accepted location of Pisgah is slightly lower than Jebel en-Nebu, Siyagha's projection from the tableland affords magnificent views of the Rift valley and points beyond.

GERALD L. MATTINGLY

**PISHON** (PLACE) [Heb *pîšôn* (פִּישׁוֹן)]. The first of the four rivers into which the stream that springs from the Garden of Eden is divided (Gen 2:11). The Pishon surrounds the land of Havilah, where there is gold. Several proposals have been made to identify this country and its river. If, however, Havilah is to be equated with the large and old tribal federation of Ḫaulān in SW Arabia, the Pishon likewise is to be localized in that region. See HAVILAH (PLACE). A second biblical reference is found in Sir 24:25, where a parallel is drawn between wisdom, of which the divine law is full, and the plenteous waters of the Pishon river.

A. Sprenger (1875: 49) was the first one who compared the biblical *pîšôn* with the Wâdī Baiš in the SW of the Arabian peninsula. Al-Hamdānī (1884: 73) nevertheless writes that the Wâdī Baiš is fed from tributaries from the N of the land of Ḫaulān before it flows into the Red Sea. As was probable already in antiquity, in the 10th century the Wâdī Baiš, abounding in water, formed the N boundary of the densely populated and terraced mountainous region of Ḫaulān (and until 1934 it was the border between the kingdom of Yemen and Saudi Arabia). Moreover, it is quite possible that the names of the rivers Baiš and Bīša are contained in the name "Pishon," since both rise not far from each other in the mountains of ʿAsīr. However, while the Wâdī Baiš flows SW toward the coastal plain, the Wâdī Bīša flows N into the Wâdī Dawāsir, which discharges itself into the central Arabian desert. For another southern tributary of the Wâdī Dawāsir, al-Hamdānī (1884: 141) furthermore records the name Faišān. Since the Wâdī Baiš offers the best access to the upper course of the Wâdī Bīsa, the two valleys were possibly regarded to be one single river, ignoring the real geographic facts. Ptolemaios, too, fell into the same error when he

designated not only the small Wâdī Baiḍ to the N of Wâdī Baiš but also the Wâdī Bīša as *Baitios potamos* (*Geog.* 6.7.5).

However, one must admit that neither the name Baiš, Bīša, nor Faišān corresponds correctly to the Heb *pîšôn;* one would rather expect a form **Fīsān.* Sprenger (1875: 49) wanted to see in the ending *-ôn* the rendering of the Arabic nunation *-un* suffixed to the name *Baiš.* Hommel (1926: 564ff.) believed that the first element of the name was the Hebrew word *pī*, "mouth (of a river)." M. Görg (1977) derived the name from the Egyptian because the initial *pī-* corresponds to the Egyptian masculine article; according to him, *pîšôn* designates simply "the river," i.e., the Nile. The name Pishon has also been repeatedly combined with the Heb root *pūš*, "to jump, skip," and it is quite possible that the vocalization of the form *pîšôn* resulted from an assimilation to the name of the river mentioned in the following verse (Gen 2:13): Gihon.

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W. W. MÜLLER

**PISIDIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Pisidia* (Πισιδια)]. A mountainous area in the southernmost part of the Roman province of Galatia, bordered by Phrygia to the N, Lycaonia to the E, Pamphylia to the S, and Lycia to the W. Pisidia is mentioned twice in the Acts of the Apostles (13:14 and 14:24), where Paul passes through the area on his way to and from his mission in S Galatia.

Although the majority textual reading in Acts 13:14 is "Antioch of Pisidia" (Gk *Antiocheian tés Pisidias*, genitive case), "Pisidian Antioch" (Gk *Antiocheian tén Pisidian*, accusative case; supported by numerous manuscripts) is probably the best reading (Metzger *TCGNT*, 404–5; Hemer 1989: 228). In the first instance, the reading would suggest that Antioch was in Pisidia; in the second, "Pisidia" functions as an adjective, meaning "Antioch [of Phrygia] toward [sc. facing or near] Pisidia" (Strabo has the more complete phrase, 12.6.4; cf. Bruce *Galatians* NIGTC, 6, n. 17). At the time of Paul and earlier, only the latter would be correct. Thus the majority mss tradition reflects the situation following the reorganization of the E provinces under Diocletian when this Antioch was assigned to the extended province of Pisidia and made its capital (A.D. 295). This descriptive title served to distinguish it from the many other cities of the same name founded by the Seleucids throughout Asia Minor.

There were three possible routes for Paul as he journeyed from Perga, in Pamphylia near the coast, through Pisidia to Pisidian Antioch (Finegan 1981: 90). There was a Roman road that traversed the W side of the region. Another route would have been to go straight N up the Kestros river and past Lake Limnae (modern Egridir), following the SE shore to the Anthios valley and on to Pisidian Antioch (Broughton 1937: 131–33). It is possible that Paul would have chosen this second route, but it is more likely that he would have followed the Roman road to Side and from there traveled N along the E shore of Lake Beysehir. It would have involved a steep climb over very rugged mountains to the inner plateau of some 3,000 feet or more and a distance of at least 80 miles. The time required would have been about 6 days. It would have taken much longer if Ramsay is correct in his speculative suggestion (1920: 94–97; followed, apparently, by Finegan 1981: 90), on the basis of Gal 4:13, that Paul moved from the hot, mosquito-infested coastal region to recover from malaria.

It was not merely the rugged terrain of Pisidia that was treacherous, but its native people also had a fierce reputation. Alexander the Great had great difficulty in subduing Pisidia, and throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods the area is described as the home of marauding bandits. It has been frequently observed that the words of 2 Cor 11:26 ("on frequent journeys, in danger from rivers, in danger from robbers") would have been especially appropriate to his trip across Pisidia. To secure the region, Augustus had established a series of military colonies, including the garrisons of Lystra (Acts 14:8–21) and Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:14–50; 14:21) visited by Paul. The latter was the chief colony and the

center of the military administration of the region. An inscription indicates that P. Sulpicius Quirinius, mentioned in Luke 2:2 as governor of Syria in the year of Christ's birth, was an honorary magistrate of Antioch during the time of his campaign (ca. 8 B.C.) against the Homonades (Frend *ISBE* 3: 874).

Pisidia continued to be a part of the province of Galatia until A.D. 74, when the S part was assigned to the newly created province of Lycia-Pamphylia. The N part continued to be a part of Galatia until the end of the 3d century, when the province of Pisidia was formed and Antioch named the capital. The whole of the S part of the province of Galatia, including the region of the four cities visited by Paul (Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe [Acts 13 and 14], probably home of the churches addressed in Paul's letter to the Galatians), was co-opted into the new province. From this time onward it became technically correct to speak of "Antioch of Pisidia," though because of the close link of the city with the region, the designation may have been in use at an earlier period.

Like the N part of the province of Galatia, the interior of Pisidia was little affected by either Hellenic or Roman culture. The Roman presence was primarily military, and the countryside was largely rural. There are few evidences that Christianity made very deep inroads into Pisidia until it was legally recognized under Constantine. There is also little evidence for the presence of Jews, except at Antioch, which, as has been noted, was not strictly in Pisidia.

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W. WARD GASQUE

**PISPA** (PERSON) [Heb *pispâ* (פִּסְפָּה)]. A descendant of Asher, listed in 1 Chr 7:38. Pispa is recorded as the son of Jether, who perhaps is to be identified with Ithran (7:37). If this identification is correct, then Pispa stands within the last listed generation of Asher. Nothing is known of this figure: he is not mentioned elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, and none of his descendants are given. According to Johnson (1969: 64–66) and others, the Chronicler's unique genealogies may draw from military census lists, themselves arranged in genealogical form.

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JULIA M. O'BRIEN

**PISTACHIO.** See FLORA.

**PISTIS SOPHIA** (CODEX ASKEWIANUS). Coptic (Sahidic) parchment codex of 178 leaves inscribed in double columns on both sides. This codex contains gnostic treatises known by the title given in a later hand in the manuscript, *Pistis Sophia.* The original title, which appears at the end of books 2 and 3, appears to have been *Books of the Savior.* The provenance of this codex is unknown. It was acquired by a London doctor, named Askew, around 1772 and purchased by the British Museum in 1785. The first editions of the complete text and translations did not appear until the mid–19th century. The standard edition was published by C. Schmidt for the *Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* series in 1905 with a second edition in 1925; that edition was revised by W. Till in 1954 and 1959 (see this publication history in Schmidt 1981, the 4th edition edited by H. M. Schenke). It forms the basis for the text, notes, and English translation by V. MacDermot in the *Nag Hammadi Studies* series (Schmidt and MacDermot 1978). Modern editors have divided the codex into a continuous series of chapters.

In its present form, *Pistis Sophia* is divided into four books. Books 2 and 3 conclude with a title in the original hand. A later scribe separated books 1 and 2 by introducing a title, "The Second Book of the Pistis Sophia." Book 4 is clearly a different work from the earlier books. It contains a new setting, on Easter rather than after eleven years of instruction by the risen Jesus as in Book 1. The disciples are shown the zodiac as they stand in the "Midst." They receive revelations about the punishment of the evil

archons, who are bound by the zodiac in the regions of fate and the various punishments there. They are promised forgiveness and access to the divine mysteries by which they can escape judgment. These mysteries include magical words recited by Jesus and rituals of offering wine, water, and loaves while sacred words are pronounced (chap. 142).

Book 1 and Book 2 through chap. 82 are primarily concerned with the repentance of the fallen Sophia, Pistis Sophia. She is the mother of the gnostic seed. Chaps. 30–58 detail her wanderings in darkness and her lamentation. Jesus, acting in the power of light, serves as Savior to bring her out of chaos, and she sings hymns of gratitude to the "First Mystery" (chaps. 58–62). These hymns are then interpreted by the disciples with reference to the Sophia story (chaps. 63–82). The rest of Book 2 (chaps. 83–101) details the mysteries of various ranks and types of souls, including the origins of the passions which destroy the soul. It concludes with the promise that the person who discovers the truth of these mysteries will be equal to the "First One" (God), having gained knowledge (gnosis) of the Ineffable.

Book 3 elaborates on the standard conclusion of gnostic revelation dialogues, the command to the disciples to preach gnosis either to the world (as here) or to the elect. Humanity is to be summoned to renounce sin, to be saved from the various regions of punishment and become worthy of the mysteries (chap. 102). Dialogue between Jesus and the disciples concerning the mysteries of repentance and the punishments of those who do not receive them includes application of Matthew 10 to the gnostic missionary (chap. 107).

*Pistis Sophia* is a late compendium of gnostic lore complied from earlier writings. It contains Coptic versions of five *Odes of Solomon* and refers by name to the two *Books of Jeu* found in the Bruce Codex. Elaborate exposition of the Psalms, the hymns of Pistis Sophia, magical formulas, variants of the Sophia story, and various allusions to sacred formulas and ritual suggest that the work has drawn on extensive gnostic lore. Therefore most would suggest that it was composed sometime in the late 3d or early 4th century. For *Pistis Sophia*, gnosis is clearly an extensive body of esoteric Christian wisdom, not a dynamic system of speculation.

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PHEME PERKINS

**PIT.** See DEAD, ABODE OF THE.

**PITHOM** (PLACE) [Heb *pītōm* (פִּתֹם)]. One of the two storage cities built by the Hebrews while in Egypt (Exod 1:11) laboring under an oppressive pharaoh. The city also served as a fortress to help guard Egypt from invasion from the east.

The Hebrew *pītōm* has been shown to be a transcription of the Egyptian phrase *pr ʾitm* (see Redford 1963: 403). The Egyptian expression means "house of Atum." The word *pr* means "abode," "temple," or "house," while *ʾitm* is the name of the god Atum, personifying the sun. From Egyptian texts such as the Abu Simbel stele (*AEL* 2: 57–78), Papyrus Harris, and Wadjhoresne's inscription, it is evident that *pr ʾitm* was also used in reference to temple estates. From the end of the Saite period (that is, after 525 B.C.E.), the phrase appears to name a city.

The city is only once directly mentioned as "Pithom" in the Bible (Exod 1:11). However, some scholars suggest that Gen 46:28 may also refer to the same place. Although the MT reads "Goshen," the LXX reads *hērōōn polin*, which has been linked to Pithom through the equivalency of Atum to the god Ero. Moreover, the Bohairic Coptic Version reads "Pithom" in place of *hērōōn polin.*

The question which continues to linger concerning Pithom is: where is the location of the city? One may ascertain certain clues from the biblical account in Exod 1:11, such as (1) Pithom is probably located close to the city of Rameses, a city which is located in the Wâdī Tumilat, historically renowned as a route between Egypt and the East, and (2) Egyptian architecture should remain from the time of the Exodus in the LB Age. The evidence from archaeology is consequently of utmost significance in the identification of this site.

Excavations in Egypt have resulted in three major assessments of the archaeological evidence for the location of Pithom. The first location was proposed by Edouard Naville in 1888. After excavating Tell el-Maskhuta in the E delta, he concluded that the site was biblical Pithom. Alan Gardiner, later challenging Naville's theory in 1918, proposed another site at Tell el-Ratabah. Finally, in 1968 E. P. Uphill suggested a third location at the site of the ancient capital city Heliopolis (Egyptian Innu) just one mile north of Matariyeh.

Édouard Naville's proposal has received the most attention by subsequent scholars. See MASKHUTA, TELL EL-. After his archaeological expedition began in 1883, he reported his findings which led him to conclude that Tell el-Maskhuta ("mound of idols/images") was Pithom. First, he found the toponym *pr ›itm* used of this site, along with *ṯkw (t)* (identified also with Succoth). He argued that *pr ›itm* was the religious name given to the site, while *ṯkw (t)* was the civil name. Second, Naville concludes that the remains of the tell evidence a construction which was both a fortress and a storage building. Third, a Latin inscription found at the site mentions Ero (or Gk Hero), commonly associated with *hērōōn polis.* Hero is the Greek equivalent for Atum (see Gardiner 1918: 267–69), hence making *hērōōn polis* connected with *pr ›itm.* Finally, a parallel is drawn between bricks found at Tell el-Maskhuta without straw and the bricks of Exod 5:6–10, which were made by the Hebrews without straw.

Alan Gardiner disagreed with Naville's finds and conclusions. In particular, he translated one of the Latin markers differently, concluding that the message identified the present site (Tell el-Maskhuta) as nine miles away from Ero. Consequently, Tell el-Maskhuta could not be Pithom. A site identified as Tell el-Ratabah was his choice for the city of Pithom.

The third option appeared as E. Uphill, disagreeing with Naville, proposed the site of Heliopolis as Pithom. Uphill's approach posed the question of how the Egyptians would have understood *pr ›itm.* His assumption was that the Egyptians' understanding of *pr ›itm* would also be the Hebrew writer's understanding. He observed that contemporaries would view the phrase as designating the national shrine located at Heliopolis. In support of his view, Uphill observed that Sir Flinders Petrie discovered a temple, possibly for the god Atum, at Heliopolis. Gardiner objects to this proposal, as no definite proof exists that the temple was so dedicated (the temple has been typically viewed as dedicated to the diety *Rē‹-Harakhti*). However, Uphill points out that Innu was closely related to Atum. Hence the possibility of the temple for Atum cannot be ruled out absolutely.

An important addition to the three ideas proposed is the evidence given by John S. Holladay in 1983. Speaking on the ongoing excavations concerning the Wâdī Tumilat, he remarks that many statues of Rameses II have been discovered since Naville (1883) at Maskhuta, but the pottery and the habitation found are not pre–7th century.

With three different assessments of the archaeological evidence available, scholars find no unanimity in identifying the location of Pithom. While some scholars view Pithom as probably Tell el-Maskhuta, others view the tell as Succoth (*ṯkw (t).* While some see Tell el-Ratabah as probably Pithom, others claim that Tell el-Ratabah was the city Rameses. About the only existing consensus among scholars is that more archaeological evidence is needed to make a definite conclusion.

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TOM F. WEI

**PITHON** (PERSON) [Heb *pîtôn* (פִּיתוֹן)]. A Benjaminite, son of Micah, great-great-grandson of King Saul (1 Chr 8:35; 9:41). The etymology of the name is unclear, but it might be related to Hebrew *peten*, "an adder" (Noth *IPN*, 254). The section that lists Micah's children is segmented, listing four children; it is unclear why this segmented section appears in what is a generally linear genealogy. Pithon's line is not the main line, which derives instead from his brother Ahaz. The name appears in the two nearly identical genealogies of Saul's family in 1 Chr 8:33–40 and 1 Chr 9:39–44. This list is from the end of the First Temple period (Demsky 1971: 20), and was preserved by Benjaminite families that survived the Babylonian Exile (Williamson 1979: 356). The existence and preservation of the Saulide genealogy probably reflects the continued prominence of Saul's family, and perhaps even their hope that they would return to power (Ackroyd *Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah* TBC, 42; Flanagan 1982: 25). See MELECH.

On the repetition of the genealogy in 1 Chronicles 8 and 9, and its structure within the genealogies in Chronicles, see AHAZ.

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MARC Z. BRETTLER

**PLAGUES.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE; EGYPT, PLAGUES IN.

**PLANE TREE.** See FLORA.

**PLANK** [Heb *lûaḥ* (לוּחַ)]. A construction term designating the planking of a Tyrian ship (Ezek 27:2; cf. Acts 27:44). This Hebrew term is sometimes rendered "board," as in the tabernacle text of Exodus in reference to wooden (acacia) "boards" used for the altar (Exod 27:8; 38:7; cf. Cant 8:9). The Heb *ṣĕdērôt* is translated "planks" in the temple texts in 1 Kings, where it designates, together with "beams," the components of the cedar ceiling of the Jerusalem temple (1 Kgs 7:9). These words are part of a nuanced terminology for building materials with the distinctions among the various terms being difficult to ascertain.
CAROL MEYERS

**PLANTS.** See FLORA.

**PLATO: REPUBLIC 588B–589B** (NHC VI,5). This brief fragment is a very poor translation of a section from Plato's *Republic* (588B–589B) on the theme of justice. The poor quality of the translation reveals that the Coptic author had no knowledge of classical Greek nor of Plato's writings. The Coptic dialect of the fragment is Sahidic with Subachmimic influence. See LANGUAGES (COPTIC). The Greek original was most likely circulated in a school handbook of similar quotations because the fragment is either alluded to or cited by a number of ancient authors. In the context of the Nag Hammadi Library, the fragment is included in a codex containing several hermetic writings: *The Discourse on the Eighth and the Ninth* (NHC VI,*6*); *The Prayer of Thanksgiving* (NHC VI,*7*); *Asclepius* 21–29 (NHC VI,*8*). The belief among hermeticists that Hermes was the teacher of Plato best explains its inclusion among these particular texts. However, the fragment was not identified as a quotation from Plato for some twenty years after its discovery because of the distorted nature of the translation. Some scholars argue that the fragment

is not gnostic in any special sense, but that it was included in the Nag Hammadi Library because of its strong ethical appeal. Others argue, however, that the Coptic text has been consciously reworked by its author and is thus a true redaction and not simply a paraphrase or bad translation. A final point of view opts for a middle position, viz. the author is a bad translator who has interpreted the text in a gnostic direction but is not a true redactor. To date, there is no scholarly consensus on these various opinions.

In general, the text deals with the problem of justice in relation to three "images" within the individual: a many-headed beast, a lion, and an inner human. The just person tramples the beast and lion, the unjust or weak person does not. In a Platonic context, the three images relate to the tripartite nature of the soul: appetitive, spirited, rational. In a gnostic context, however, the three images would allude to the three races of humankind: hylics, psychics, pneumatics. Additional gnostic themes would be a probable allusion to the archontic creation of the world (49,4–50,19) as well as an implied reference to the eschatological choice the psychic race must make between a just life and one of archontic or "beastly" domination (50,4–51,23). Jackson (1985: 204–13) now cites logion 7 of *The Gospel of Thomas* (NHC II,*2*) as another example of gnostic usage of this Platonic parable and, in doing so, explores in detail numerous examples of leonine imagery in a variety of gnostic sources. In gnostic circles, the lion becomes a powerful symbol of sexual passion or the "beastly" dimension of human existence that the ascetic gnostic strives to subdue and control. If *Plato Rep.* has been consciously shaped with these various gnostic concerns in mind, then the Coptic author can be viewed as a probable Christian gnostic in touch with Sethian cosmogonic notions and Valentinian ideas of salvation. Otherwise, the gnostic affinities of the author, if any, cannot be determined.

The date of the Coptic translation is toward the middle of the 4th century C.E., or the approximate date of the copying of Codex VI. The Greek original can be dated in either the 2d or 3d century C.E. The locale cannot be determined, but Alexandria is a reasonable hypothesis because the author is clearly an Egyptian living in an eclectic milieu with only superficial Greek contacts (Poirer and Painchaud 1983: 122–23).

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**PLATONISM.** Platonism, as understood here, is to be distinguished from the philosophizing of Plato himself, although it is very largely a formalization of his teachings. Ever since the beginning of the last century (Schleiermacher), it has been customary to distinguish the philosophy of Plato's dialogues from the later Platonic tradition, and that procedure is a sound one. Platonism marks its rise from Plato, certainly, but it was a lively philosophic tradition in its own right, which developed in various ways over the 800 years or so which are the subject of this survey. Historically, Platonism may be regarded as progressing through four chief periods in ancient times: the Old Academy (347–267 B.C.E.), the "New" (Skeptical) Academy (267–ca. 80 B.C.E.), Middle Platonism (ca. 80 B.C.E.–250 C.E.), and Neoplatonism (ca. 250 B.C.E.).

**A. The Old Academy**

After Plato's death in 347 B.C.E., the school was taken over by his nephew Speusippus (ca. 407–339), an idiosyncratic thinker but not one who had much influence on later Platonism. Platonism as a formalized philosophical movement is best seen as beginning with his successor, Xenocrates (396–314). He put out a

comprehensive series of works covering all areas of philosophy (the three branches of which, physics, ethics, and logic, he is credited with being the first to distinguish formally). He is also probably responsible for the "official" edition of Plato's works. Xenocrates' successor, Polemon (ca. 350–267), was chiefly concerned with ethics (indeed, with practical morality), and seems to have been prepared to accept the ethical theories of Aristotle and Theophrastus back into the school, thus completing what later came to be seen as the Old Academic synthesis of Plato's doctrines.

The chief features of this are the following: (1) a strong distinction between two levels of reality, the intelligible world (God, and the Ideas—transcendent models, mathematical in form, of which the things of this world are images and constitute the contents of the Divine Mind), and the sense-perceptible world. In the former, all is eternal, unchanging, perfect. Its first principles are the Monad (which for Xenocrates is God, and an Intellect), and the Dyad, a principle of plurality, on which the Monad acts to produce first the Ideas and the World-Soul, and then the physical world; (2) a belief in the immortality of the soul (or at least of the rational part; what became of the irrational is less than clear), and in reincarnation (possibly into animals as well as other human bodies, though that is never quite settled in the tradition); (3) a moderately ascetic ethics, which had the aim of separating the soul as far as possible from the influences of the body (though Aristotelian ethics was generally accepted by the end of the period, as has been said); (4) in epistemology, a prejudice against the evidence of the senses, in favor of the processes of pure reason (*epistēmē, noēsis*); (5) in logic, an acceptance of the substance of Aristotle's great discoveries (though some traces of a more primitive "Old Academic" system of *diaeresis* ["division"], based more closely on Plato, can still be discerned). It is this system that constitutes the basis of the philosophical *koinē* with which Christianity was later confronted.

**B. The New Academy**

Before that, however, much was to happen. After Polemon, the headship of the school passed to Arcesilaus, who inaugurated a period of Skepticism, the so-called New Academy, where the academy, in opposition to the new dogmatism of the Stoics, returned to what Arcesilaus saw as its "Socratic" roots, the position of challenging all assumptions without necessarily asserting anything positive. Arcesilaus denied that there was any sure criterion of knowledge, and exercised himself largely in demolishing the claims of the Stoics in this area. About a century after his time, the school found another distinguished leader in Carneades (head ca. 160–128 B.C.E.), who appears to have entertained slightly more positive views in that he distinguished levels of "probability" in our perceptions, his highest level being in the nature of a Skeptical "answer" to the Stoic doctrine of certainty. Under a successor of his, Philo of Larissa, (fl. ca. 110–80 B.C.E.), the Skeptical position was undermined still further, leading to a return to dogmatism under Antiochus of Ascalon.

**C. Middle Platonism**

Antiochus, who established a Platonic school in Athens in the 70s B.C.E., was actually too much influenced by Stoic materialism to be the true founder of the later "Middle Platonic" synthesis of doctrine, but he turned the Platonic movement back from Skepticism to a belief in the possibility of certain knowledge, paving the way for further developments. He also gave the movement a view of its own history, which proved influential (though controversial), taking Aristotle and his followers back into the fold and designating the Stoics as the true heirs of the Old Academy, thus rejecting the New Academy as an aberration. Only with Eudorus of Alexandria (fl. ca. 25 B.C.E.), however, do we find a clear reinstatement of belief in a transcendent first principle, and the beginnings of a hierarchy of levels of being, together with an interest in Pythagoreanism and number theory, which are characteristic of the renewed Platonist movement.

In the generation after Eudorus, we find the same type of Middle Platonism represented by the Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria (ca. 30 B.C.E.–45 C.E.). For Philo, the (previously Stoic) concept of the Logos as the active, immanent aspect of God in the world, the unifying principle and transmitter of the Forms (seen as *logoi*), comes to be of central importance, as does a creative adaptation of the Pythagorean-Platonic dyad to the late Jewish concept of God's Wisdom (Sophia).

Both these developments, together with a pronounced dualism (belief in a disorderly, "evil" World Soul) are characteristic of Plutarch in the next century (ca. 45–120 C.E.). Plutarch, though not a great philosopher, is well known as an essayist and biographer. More obscure Platonists of the age are Albinus (fl. 150), author of a handbook of Platonism, the *Didaskalikos*, on the "Peripatetic" wing of the movement, and Atticus (fl. 175), who was hostile to Aristotle, maintaining a "purified" Platonism and agreeing with Plutarch on the creation of the world. A distinct movement within Middle Platonism is constituted by the Neo-Pythagoreans, notably Moderatus of Gades (fl. ca. 100), Nichomachus of Gerasa (fl. ca. 145), and Numenius, who even more than Plutarch is a strong dualist. He had considerable influence on Neoplatonism, through Plotinus and Porphyry, but they modified his dualism.

A number of basic themes of Middle Platonism should be given special mention, as they are of concern to Christianity.

1. A basic tenet of ethical theory was the so-called "end of goods," the *telos* or *summum bonum*, at which all rational activity should aim. Antiochus of Ascalon seems to be the first Platonist to formulate this as such. He was under Stoic influence and adopted the Stoic *telos* of "Life in agreement with Nature," though he attributed this back to the Old Academy and specifically to Polemon. When we turn to Alexandrian Platonism in the next generation, however, with Eudorus, we find the ideal of "Likeness to God" (taken from Plato's *Theaetetus*, 176a) propounded as the *telos*, and so it remained for the rest of antiquity. This ideal was taken in a "strong" sense—in Plotinus' striking phrase, "Our concern is not to be free of sin, but to be god (*Enn.* 1.2.6)." A certain degree of asceticism, though not necessarily of a world-negating type, is inseparable from Platonist ethics, ranging from Plutarch's genial Peripateticism to the dualistic pessimism of Numenius.

2. A subject of major concern in later Platonism, arising out of the challenge posed by Stoic determinism and thus not a concern for Plato himself (in its starker form, at least), is that of free will and necessity, and thus of God's providence. If one accepted, as Platonists generally did, the Stoic argument that nothing takes place without an antecedent cause, and indeed as the culmination of a chain of causes running back to the beginning of the world, it became difficult to maintain another tenet which Platonists held dear (and felt they had a text for in the myth of Plato's *Resp.* 10), the autonomy of the rational soul. It was also difficult to see how God's knowledge of the totality of causes was reconcilable with the concept of our free will, and thus of an element of contingency. These problems were wrestled with by Platonists (Albinus *Didask*, 26; Ps.-Plutarch *On Fate*; Plotinus *Enneads* 3.2–3 "On Providence") without any very satisfactory solutions and bequeathed by them to contemporary Christianity.

3. A further issue of concern to Christianity, on which there were differing views among the Platonists of the first two Christian centuries, was that of the creation of the world. The Greek philosophical tradition in general rejected the concept of creation from nothing, but creation of an ordered world *(kosmos)* from preexistent chaotic matter was a recognized possibility. Here, for Platonists, the interpretation of Plato's *Timaeus* (a dialogue of great significance throughout our period) becomes crucial. On the whole, from Speusippus and Xenocrates on, the tendency was to deny that the account of creation presented there (and therefore the Creator God, or Demiurge, who figures in it) was to be taken literally. The creation is an eternal process and the Demiurge is the incessantly active cosmic Mind. In later times, an elaborate list of senses in which the world could be said to be "created" was drawn up (the most favored being "dependent upon a cause outside itself"), but two influential Platonists of the 2d century C.E., Plutarch and Atticus, maintained the literal interpretation of the *Timaeus*, and held that the world was created from precosmic disorderly matter. Plutarch, at least, saw this matter animated by a disorderly, "evil" soul (which he saw described by Plato in *Laws* X), and thus introduced a strongly dualist element into Platonism, also shared by the Neo-Pythagorean Numenius, but decisively rejected by mainstream Platonism after Plotinus.

4. Of concern to Christians also, since it bears on the vexed question of the relation of the Father to the Son, and later, the mutual relations of all three persons of the Trinity, is the gradual development of a hierarchy of being, arising out of the ambiguity of the relationship between the Good of Plato's *Republic* and the Demiurge of the *Timaeus.* Eudorus postulated a supreme One above a pair of Monad and Dyad;

Plutarch seems to envisage a supreme God, a Logos, and an essentially irrational World Soul; Albinus, a supreme God, and a Mind and Soul of the World. On the Pythagorean wing, Moderatus postulated a sequence of three "Ones," derived from a metaphysical interpretation of the *Parmenides* and of a passage in the *Second Letter*, (312 E), while Numenius recognized a sequence of God the Father (the Good), Demiurge, and World Soul. Gradually a triadic sequence emerged, which became formalized (and further elaborated) in the philosophy of Plotinus and his successors.

**D. Neoplatonism**

This is a term coined in modern times to denote the type of Platonism inaugurated by Plotinus (204–70 C.E.) and continued by his successors Porphyry (ca. 232–305) and Iamblichus (ca. 245–320), and later by the Athenian and Alexandrian schools of the 5th and 6th centuries. The term has sometimes even been used to characterize the whole Platonist movement after Plato. Plotinus would have indignantly repudiated any such name. He saw himself (*Enn.* V I) as, if anything, restoring the true teachings of Plato after centuries of distortion. But, in fact, a number of new elements enter at this stage. Most notable is the demoting of Intellect *(nous)* from the position of first principle: Plotinus argued that the concept of Intellect involves a certain duality—of thinking element and object of thought—which the first principle should not include. His principle, the One, is therefore prior to Intellect, though Plotinus allows it a certain self-awareness. It produces by "overflowing," and thus all subsequent entities, Intellect, Soul, Nature, World, even Matter, are generated by a constant dynamic tension of procession and return (this latter process producing consciousness and self-definition in the entities concerned). Matter and Evil are simply negativities, the dark at the edges of the light radiated by the One. All other Neoplatonic elaborations (and, beginning with Iamblichus and continuing with Syrianus [d. 437 C.E.], Proclus [412–485], and Damascius [fl. 520], these became increasingly complex) stem from Plotinus' new vision of reality, though his successors' views were very different from his.

**E. Christian Platonism**

A word should be said of the phenomenon, which can be divided broadly into two phrases, that dependent on Philo and Middle Platonism, and that dependent on Neoplatonism. All Christian theology is dependent, to an extent at least, on contemporary Greek philosophy, primarily Platonism, but some Christian thinkers fall particularly strongly under Platonic influence, and properly merit the title of Christian Platonists.

Earlier Christian Platonism is represented, in a rudimentary way, by Justin Martyr (fl. ca. 150 C.E.), but in a developed form by the Alexandrians Clement (ca. 150–215) and Origen (ca. 176–254). Clement is overtly hospitable to Platonism, Origen covertly, though he is the more deeply influenced of the two. Doctrines that especially got him into trouble were his view of the Son as a Logos or Demiurge figure, his belief in a sequence of incarnations and worlds, and his denial of eternal punishment, all profoundly non-Christian ideas, arising from a creative interpretation of both Stoicism and Platonism.

In the next century, the Cappadocian Fathers, Basil of Caesarea (ca. 330–379 C.E.), Gregory of Nazianzus (329–ca. 390), and Gregory of Nyssa (d. 394), are influenced, despite their overt hostility, by the Platonism of Plotinus and Porphyry (though also, even more, by Origen) and later again, in the 6th century, the mysterious figure of "Dionysius the Areopagite" is deeply influenced by Proclus and Damascius. In the Latin West, Marius Victorinus (fl. 350 C.E.) is a thoroughgoing Platonist, deeply influenced by Porphyry, and of course Augustine is profoundly, though not slavishly, under the spell of Platonism. Later again, Boethius (490–525) shows he is knowledgeable about contemporary Platonism.

Platonism is thus the single greatest outside intellectual influence on Christianity in its formative stages. This influence continues through the Middle Ages (the School of Chartres) and the Renaissance (the Florentine Academy) to the Cambridge Platonists of the 17th century (chiefly More and Cudworth) and modern times, but that is beyond the scope of the present article. Unlike Aristotelianism, Platonism was fated always, despite its influence, to be in opposition to Christianity, since Platonism was always something more than a philosophical system; it was, like Christianity, a religion, and religions tend to brook no rivals.

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**PLEDGE.** See DEBTS.

**PLINY THE YOUNGER.** Born Publius Caecilius Secundus in A.D. 61 or 62, Pliny the Younger belonged to a prosperous landowning family of northern Italy. In Rome, he attended the lectures of the illustrious Quintilian, who had been appointed professor of Latin rhetoric by Vespasian. The most influential member of the family was his mother's brother, Gaius Plinius Secundus (Pliny the Elder), whose monumental *Naturalis Historia*, a type of ancient encyclopedia surviving in 37 books, was dedicated to Titus; he had served in the army with Titus and had been appointed by Vespasian to various senior equestrian posts, including the command of the fleet at Misenum, from where he sailed to observe and inspect the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius and perished in the fumes (August 29, 79). Under the terms of his will, his nephew inherited his property, was posthumously adopted, and thereby acquired the name Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus.

In Titus' reign, Pliny the Younger (as he now was) began a legal career, specializing in inheritance cases. He prospered under Domitian, holding a number of official posts, including the praetorship (93) and the prefecture of the military treasury (ca. 94–96). Later, however, he asserted that his life had been in danger at the time: "I stood amidst the flames of thunderbolts dropping all round me and there were certain clear indications that a like end was awaiting me" (*Ep.* 3.11.3). This was untrue, and, despite his friendship with members of the "Stoic Opposition," his political and legal career proceeded unhindered. With the accession of Nerva and Trajan (96 and 98), he continued to flourish, being appointed to a second treasury post (the prefecture of the treasury of Saturn) and then to a consulship (100). He maintained his legal work and was best known, early in Trajan's reign, for his defense of Julius Bassus and Varenus Rufus, two governors of Pontus-Bithynia. In 104, he accepted a senior position in Rome involving flood and drainage control and, in this period, was invited to join Trajan's cabinet on a number of occasions as a judicial adviser. Finally, ca. 110, he was appointed special commissioner to settle the financial and political problems of Pontus-Bithynia, when he died prematurely, about 51 years old.

Thanks to his letters and to four inscriptions, Pliny's is one of the best documented careers of the early empire. It was remarkable in many ways. The legal minimum age for the consulship was 42 and very few were appointed at that age; yet, with imperial favor, Pliny gained the honor at 39, while his consular colleague was almost 60 on his appointment. Again, it was almost unparalleled for an ex-consul to govern a province when he had not had similar experience at a lower level. Equally unusual was his appointment to a second treasury post. Thus he emerges as a highly competent administrator and lawyer, trusted by every regime. He was also extremely wealthy, investing most of his funds in property (*Ep.* 3.29.8), with a house in Rome on the Esquiline, another near Ostia, at least three on the shores of Lake Como, and a villa on his estates at Tifernum.

His fame, however, is based on his letters. Unlike those of Cicero, written a century and a half previously, Pliny's were intended for publication, carefully composed and subsequently edited. The first nine books, consisting of 247 personal letters, were published at intervals between ca. 100 and 109, while the tenth appeared posthumously and contained 121 official letters written during his term in Pontus-Bithynia. The former are polished essays, providing an elegant portrait of contemporary upper-class activities and attitudes both in the capital and elsewhere, particularly in northern Italy. The topics are varied: domestic and social issues (treatment of slaves, public entertainment), events in politics and the law courts, descriptions of a villa, scenery, interpretation of a dream, eulogies of famous writers (Silius Italicus and Martial), a murder, ghost stories, and letters of recommendation or advice. Some are addressed to literary friends such as Suetonius and Tacitus (perhaps the most famous is 6.16, written to Tacitus and describing the death of Pliny the Elder following the eruption of Vesuvius), others to young men undertaking a political career, others to people from the area of Lake Como, his birthplace, others to eminent senators (Arrius Antoninus, Vestricius Spurinna), generals (Sosius Senecio, Licinius Sura), and equestrians (Septicius Clarus, later Hadrian's Praetorian Prefect).

The tenth book is different. Written in a simpler and less mannered style, it is a unique record of a Roman province's administrative problems and the solutions proposed or implemented. Pliny is revealed as a thorough, painstaking administrator with an apparent tendency to refer to the emperor even the most mundane of problems. But Pliny's was not an ordinary province. Pontus-Bithynia faced a political and financial crisis, and it is impossible to assess the extent to which strict imperial guidelines limited Pliny's freedom of action. Trajan's replies are briefer and more concise, revealing his concern for consistency and equity. Of particular interest is Pliny's request to Trajan for guidance on the treatment of Christians (*Ep.* 10.96) and Trajan's reply (*Ep.* 10.97). Pliny had, so he told the emperor, executed those who had admitted that they were Christians but had freed any who denied the charge and who were prepared to sacrifice to the gods (and to an image of the emperor). Pliny's problem, however, was twofold: anonymous accusations and lapsed Christians. Trajan indignantly rejected the former as being "out of keeping with the spirit of the age" and, perhaps inconsistently, pardoned the latter "however suspect their past conduct (might have been)." What the letters do not make clear is precisely why those who confessed to being Christians were executed, a point still debated by scholars. However, they do provide crucial evidence on the problem of Christianity's legal status at the end of the 1st century and until the time of Decius' persecution (ca. 250). For further discussion see *ANRW* 2/2.

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**PLOW, PLOUGH.** See ZOOLOGY.

**PLUTARCH.** Greek biographer, essayist, Platonist, priest of Apollo, and Roman citizen (ca. A.D. 50–120). He was born into a well-to-do family of the Boeotian town of Chaeronea, located approximately eighty miles NW of Athens, during the reign of the Roman emperor Claudius. At the time of Nero's visit to Greece in 66/67, Plutarch was in Athens studying philosophy under Ammonius, then head of the Platonic Academy. After completing his studies he returned to Chaeronea, where he continued to live until his death in the time of Hadrian, taking a leading part in the public life of his city and directing a philosophical academy of his own.

What we know of Plutarch and his family is derived principally from his own writings, a very personal example of which is the *Consolatio ad uxorem* ("Consolation to my wife"), the letter he wrote to his wife, Timoxena, after the death of their two-year-old daughter. Timoxena also bore Plutarch four sons, only two of whom survived into manhood. Both she and her husband were at some time initiated into the Dionysiac mysteries. The experiences of Plutarch's own happy marriage are perhaps reflected in the *Conjugalia praecepta* ("Advice about marriage"), which he sent to a bride and groom, and in the respect for the moral and intellectual qualities of women he evinces in the *Mulierum virtutes* ("Courage of women"), the *Amatorius* ("Conversation about Eros"), and elsewhere.

Plutarch himself, his teacher Ammonius, his friends, and members of his family regularly appear as speakers in his dialogues, among which the nine books of *Quaestiones convivales* ("Table talk") constitute a mine of incidental information about the concerns and habits of Plutarch and his circle. As a man of wealth and political influence and of literary and philosophical prominence, Plutarch enjoyed the society of a large number of important individuals throughout the Greek world and in Rome, those in the latter category including the consulars L. Mestrius Florus, whose gens name, Mestrius, he bore as a Roman citizen and who was probably responsible for his receiving the citizenship, and Q. Sosius Senecio, to whom Plutarch dedicated the *Parallel Lives*, the *Quaestiones convivales* ("Table talk"), and an anti-Stoic essay on making progress in virtue. It may be, though the evidence is disputable, that Plutarch attained equestrian rank, was awarded consular dignities by Trajan, and was appointed procurator of Greece by Hadrian.

Plutarch's social and intellectual life as well as his diplomatic and religious duties took him abroad frequently. He was often in Athens, where he was honored with Athenian citizenship, and at Delphi, the oracular center near Chaeronea where he served for many years as priest of Apollo and the scene of his four theological dialogues. In addition, Plutarch traveled throughout the Greek mainland, to Alexandria in Egypt (his treatise on Isis and Osiris is an important source for our knowledge of Egyptian religion), probably to Asia Minor—and at least twice to Italy, where in Rome he was sought out as a teacher and delivered lectures, presumably in Greek.

Plutarch was a polymath and undoubtedly one of the most learned men of his day. His general education would have included the standard training in rhetoric, and mathematics was a significant component in his philosophical studies. He was, moreover, steeped in the literature of his Hellenic past, its poets as well as its prose writers, and his reading included virtually every genre. He also kept *hypomnēmata*, notebooks of a sort in which he recorded material suitable for incorporation into his own writings. Beyond this, there is every indication that he worked quickly and composed with ease. All of these factors are reflected in the large and varied corpus of his surviving works, fifty biographies and over seventy miscellaneous pieces traditionally grouped under the heading *Moralia*, and even in the mere titles of the many additional works listed in the so-called Lamprias Catalogue, an ancient compilation of 227 works attributed to Plutarch. Many of Plutarch's writings, including the *Lives*, appear to belong to a later part of his life, but their order of composition is generally impossible to determine. Plutarch's Greek is a literary Attic, his style learned yet relaxed, and his vocabulary, developed from the entire sweep of a literature extending seven centuries into the past, immense.

The *Moralia*, traditionally cited by Latin translations of their Greek titles, with rare exception take the form of essays, dialogues, and collections, although many of the essays were originally delivered as lectures; the dialogues frequently have the tone and purpose of essays, and their historicity appears to be generally limited to a reflection of the interests and conduct of Plutarch and his society. In total substance, the *Moralia* offer a survey of virtually every topic that was subjected to inquiry and discussion in classical antiquity. Extant treatises concern, among other subjects, ethics (*De cupiditate divitiarum* ["On love of wealth"]), psychology (*De tranquillitate animi* ["On peace of mind"]), medicine (*De tuenda sanitate praecepta* ["Advice about keeping well"]), politics (*Praecepta gerendae reipublicae* ["Advice about public life"]), religion (*De genio Socratis* ["On the sign of Socrates"], *De sera numinis vindicta* ["On the slowness of divine punishment"]), animal psychology (*De sollertia animalium* ["On the intelligence of animals"]), natural science (*De facie quae in orbe lunae apparet* ["On the face that appears in the orb of the moon"]), and literary criticism (*De Herodoti malignitate* ["On the malice of Herodotus"]). Rhetorical features permeate the *Moralia*, as does the influence of Aristotle and the Peripatetics the ethical and psychological treatises, which are usually popular and practical in purpose and approach. Nevertheless, Plutarch was fundamentally a Platonist, as is evident both in numerous treatises and from two technical works, the *Platonicae quaestiones* ("Platonic questions") and the commentary on a section of Plato's *Timaeus* entitled *De animae procreatione in Timaeo* ("On the creation of the soul in the *Timaeus*"); he was also firm in his opposition to the Epicureans (in *Adversus Colotem* ["Against Colotes"]) and the Stoics (in *De Stoicorum repugnantiis* ["On the contradictions of the Stoics"]), though he sometimes

treated the latter as *adversaires privilégiés.* (The titles of all the surviving *Moralia* are listed in both Latin and Greek at the beginning of each of the 15 *Moralia* volumes in the Loeb Classical Library.)

The extant *Lives* are of political and military personages and, with four exceptions, are "parallel" in that they are arranged in pairs consisting of a Greek and a Roman biography; the pairing is based on similarities of character and career, and all but four of the pairs are followed by a *syncrisis,* a short comparison, primarily ethical, in which Plutarch tends to emphasize the differences between the two individuals. Several of the *Lives* take us in varying degrees into the realm of myth and legend (most notably, those of the pairs Theseus and Romulus and Lycurgus and Numa, and that of Coriolanus, who is paired with the historical Alcibiades), but the large majority are of men who were fully historical (Pericles and Fabius Maximus, Nicias and Crassus, Alexander and Caesar). Plutarch is not, however, oblivious to a distinction between myth and history (*Theseus* 1), although he makes abundant use of anecdote and does not hesitate to include material he judges possibly apocryphal, especially when it is useful for illustrating character (*Solon* 27.1). While Plutarchan biography is grounded in Peripatetic ethics, it is, nevertheless, without precise literary antecedents. The evidence, moreover, is substantial that Plutarch himself, not some hypothetical intermediary, is mainly responsible for the collection and synthesis of the biographical and historical information on which each *Life* is based; nor did Plutarch's imperfect knowledge of Latin (*Demosthenes* 2) prevent him from making an ample use of Latin sources in the Roman *Lives.*

Plutarch insists that he is writing "lives," not "histories" (*Alexander* 1), and that he is doing so for the moral edification of himself as well as others (*Aemilius Paulus* 1). He has, therefore, chosen as his subjects personages whose life and character merit and inspire emulation, and whose moral failures are entirely attributable to humanity's incapacity for absolute virtue (*Cimon* 2); the only clear exception is the pair Demetrius and Antony, who serve expressly as negative examples and a foil to the subjects of the other *Lives* (*Demetrius* 1). But Plutarch the moralist and biographer is also Plutarch the storyteller, and the *Lives* contain many narrative passages which go beyond what is required merely for the illustration of character. The *Demosthenes-Cicero* gives full and exact expression to Plutarch's biographical concepts and purposes.

Plutarch's grand literary achievement is that the *Lives* and *Moralia* together constitute a synthesis and interpretation of the thought and events of all antecedent classical antiquity. In the Greek East, he continued to be read throughout later antiquity and the Middle Ages; and when Greek literature was restored to the West with the Renaissance, Plutarch came to occupy a central place in Western letters, particularly in France and England, which he held until the 19th century, when changing literary, historical, and educational values began their steady erosion of his influence and popularity. The last prominent literary figure to be significantly influenced by Plutarch was Emerson, but he was preceded by a host of major and minor authors that included Erasmus, Rabelais, Montaigne, Corneille, Rousseau, Shakespeare, Bacon, Dryden, and Schiller. Impetus was given to Plutarch's growing literary and educational influence by Jacques Amyot, who translated both the *Lives* (1559) and *Moralia* (1572) into French, and by Sir Thomas North, who rendered Amyot's version of the *Lives* into English (1579). It was principally through the agency of Amyot's translations that Plutarch had such a profound effect on Montaigne, and it was North's version of the *Lives* that Shakespeare used as the source for his Roman plays. Since World War II, there has been a resurgence of scholarly interest in Plutarch, which led to the establishment of the International Plutarch Society in 1983.

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**POCHERETH-HAZZEBAIM** (PERSON) [Heb *pōkeret haṣṣĕbāyîm* (פֹּכֶרֶת הַצְּבָיִים)]. Head of a family belonging to Solomon's servants who had returned from the Babylonian Exile (Ezra 2:57 [= Neh 7:59; 1 Esdr 5:34]). The list in Ezra-Nehemiah implies that this return took place immediately in response to Cyrus' declaration in 538 B.C.E. But 1 Esdras places this return in its more probable date at the time of King Darius (ca. 522).

Some have used 1 Kgs 9:20 to conclude that Solomon's servants were originally enslaved foreigners. Levine, however, suggests that the term denotes Israelite officials supervising foreigners (1963). In the postexilic era, when the family of Pochereth-hazzebaim appears, the term "servant" typically refers to officials. Like the temple servants (Nethinim), Solomon's servants are temple functionaries. They are members of the congregation of Israel and separated thereby from slaves (Ezra 2).

The feminine form of the name Pochereth-hazzebaim has been taken to refer to an occupation (cf. Qohelet, the so-called "Preacher" of Ecclesiastes). The name has been translated as "gazelle hunter" (e.g., Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 91) or "gazelle binder," since the word *ṣĕbāyim* can mean "gazelles." It is plausible, however, that the word here means "beauty" or "decorations," a usage frequently found in the singular in Ezekiel (20:6) and Daniel (11:45). Hence, the name could suggest a guild of temple functionaries, which Solomon's servants clearly were, whose specific task centered on beautification or decoration. The feminine form may also suggest that either the founder of the guild or its members were females. The designation of a clan by the name of its mother is attested in Ezra 2:61 (and the parallels in Nehemiah 7 and 1 Esdras) where the Barzillai family is specifically named after the wife because the man has taken her name. Possibly a similar process has shaped this professional guild or family of Solomon's servants. See Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* OTL.

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**POETRY, HEBREW.** See PSALMS, BOOK OF; PARALLELISM; BUDDE HYPOTHESIS.

**POLIS.** See CITIES (GRECO-ROMAN).

**POLITARCHS.** The politarchate was a senior, annual magistracy attested predominantly in cities of Macedonia after Roman intervention in the 2d century B.C. The geographical spread of attestations of the word "politarch" includes Egypt, Bithynia, the Bosporan Kingdom, Thrace, Illyria, and (in a dialectically distinct form) Thessaly, as well as Macedonia. Chronological witness to the office stretches from the late 3d century B.C. to the last quarter of the 3d century A.D. While they are best known from the reference to them at Thessalonike in Acts (17:6–8), most of our information about politarchs comes from documentary texts.

Much of the writing on this subject from the late 19th and early 20th centuries is now superseded. Dimitsas' edition of Macedonian inscriptions (1896) is still of some use, and is now accessible again as a reprint; but a considerable number of his texts either have been improved or are in need of reediting. Burton's article was a particular landmark for NT studies, and is still often referred to in modern discussion; but his research was published in 1898, and our knowledge of the subject has advanced considerably since then. The score of texts he examines as evidence for politarchs has more than tripled. Nevertheless, his article continues to provide the most accessible, complete (if not most reliable) version of some of the inscriptions. Ferguson's dissertation has only a couple of pages on politarchs (1913: 65–66), and hence contributes little. Greek scholars have continued to show an interest in this subject: reference should be made particularly to Pelekides (1934) and Kanatzoulis (1956). In fact, it is Schuler's 1960 article, which, although focusing upon the Macedonian evidence alone, has provided the benchmark for subsequent research because of his valuable tabulation of known inscriptions from there (note, however, that his no. 16 must now be deleted because it does not refer to a politarch; the latest version of this text is published as *IG* 10/2: 1.181). Schuler's list of politarchs is now superseded by Hatzopoulos (1984: 147–49), whose tabulation includes 50 items from Macedonia (49 inscriptions and the reference in the book of Acts). The tally in the present article is somewhat higher, reflecting both new discoveries and the decision to incorporate evidence from a broader geographical area. Since 1970, the number of significant contributions which focus on the office of politarch has increased markedly: Gschnitzer (PWSup 13: 483–500); Helly (1977); Koukouli-Chrysanthaki (1981); Hatzopoulos (1984); and Papazoglou (1986). Edson's publication of the *IG* volume (10/2) covering Thessalonike has made many of the texts far more accessible, although the *IG* volumes covering Beroia and certain other Macedonian cities are yet to appear.

By 1988 there were possibly as many as 64 known nonliterary references to the politarchate, all but one occurring in inscriptions. Over three quarters of them are from Macedonia, and nearly half of all the attestations are from Thessalonike alone. Literary attestation is rarer: apart from the two occurrences in Acts 17, Chrysostom mentions politarchs five times in allusions to the Acts incident (*PG* 60.263.26, 34; 60.677.41; 62.394.26; 62.395.35). The epitome to the 5th-century *Acts of Philip* mentions a politarch named Irōn (Lipsius and Bonnet 1903: 2.1. 46–50). The word occurs once in one of the works attributed to Macarius, the late 4th-century ascetic from Egypt. Finally, a politarch is referred to in the 7th-century *vita Cyri et Joannis* by Sophronios (*PG* 87.3401D). The only other mention in literary texts is much earlier: the 4th-century-B.C. writer Aeneas Tacticus uses the form *politarchos* (26.12).

The known documentary references to politarchs are listed in Table 1. Each item includes the provenance, date, details of the most accessible/reliable complete text, and, where appropriate, brief remarks. Not included in this list are texts with wording like *prōtos archōn*, although such terminology has been suggested as indicating politarchs in Macedonian inscriptions (Hatzopoulos 1984: 139). Very little information is known about no. 64.

Table 1
Documentary References to Politarchs

| NO. PROVENANCE | DATE | MOST ACCESSIBLE/RELIABLE TEXTS | REMARKS |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ILLYRIA* | | | |
| 1. Olympe | III B.C. fin. | *Historia* 35 (1986): 438 | Politarch and 4 others called *hoi synarchontes* |
| *MACEDONIA* | | | |
| 2. Amphipolis | 167 B.C. | Schuler 1960: 94–95 | 5 politarchs |
| 3. Amphipolis | Roman Period? | *SEG* 31.614 | 2 politarchs |
| 4. Amphipolis | Roman | *SEG* 27.248 | 3 (?) politarchs |

| | Period | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5. Apollonia in Mygdonia | I A.D. | unpublished | cf. Hatzopoulos 1984: 147, no. 4 |
| 6. Beroia | mid–II B.C. | *SEG* 28.261 | 140–120 b.c. (Helly 1977: 544, n. 32) |
| 7. Beroia | 40–50 A.D. | *SEG* 27.263 | 5 politarchs, if stem of participle is correctly restored |
| 8. Beroia | I A.D. | Kanatzoulis 1955: 20, n. 6 | 5 politarchs |
| 9. Community of the Battynaioi | 143/44 A.D. | *JHS* 33 (1913): 337–46, no. 17; re-ed. of lines 1–42 in *SEG* 30.568 | 1 politarch chosen annually |
| 10. Derriopos | 95 A.D. | Burton 1898: 615–18, no. 9 | 1 eponymous politarch and colleagues implied by *tōn peri NN politarchōn* |
| 11. Drymos | 69–79 A.D. | *SEG* 29.579 | 2 (?) politarchs (?)—verb stem almost entirely restored |
| 12. Edessa | 129/30 or 245/46 A.D. | Burton 1898: 614–18, no. 8 | 1 eponymous politarch and colleagues implied by *politarchōn tōn peri NN*; Hatzopoulos 1984: 149, no. 44, for reference to improvement to part of text |
| 13. Gortynna (?) | after 180 A.D. | *Spomenik* 98 (1941–48): no. 101 | *non vidi*; cf. Schuler 1960: 97, no. 25 |
| 14. Herakleia Lynkestis | II A.D. | Burton 1898: 618–19, no. 11 | Schuler 1960: 98, no. 30 |
| 15. Herakleia Lynkestis | II A.D. | G. Tomašević, *Herakleia*, vol. II (Bitola, 1965): 15–23 | non vidi; cf. Hatzopoulos 1984: 149, no. 48 |
| 16. Lete | 118 B.C. | *Syll.*³ 700 | politarchs responsible for introducing motion to *boulē* and for effecting its decisions |
| 17. Lete | 121/22 A.D. | *SEG* 1.276 | *apo politarchias* used to refer to former politarchs |
| 18. Lyke | II A.D. | *SEG* 24.489 | |
| 19. Parthicopolis (?) | 158 A.D. | *IGBulg.* 4: 2263 | 3 (?) politarchs; 1 eponymous and colleagues implied by *p. toῑ peri* NN |
| 20. Pella | I B.C. or I A.D. | *Pella*, vol. I (Athens, 1971): 144 | *non vidi*; Hatzopoulos 1984: 149, no. 39 |
| 21. Pella | 44/45 A.D. | Burton 1898: 611, no. 6 | 2 politarchs |
| 22. Serrai | n.d. | *SEG* 30.616 | [*hoi p*]*ol*[*it*]*ạrchoi* or [*ton p*]*ol*[*it*]*ạrchon* |
| 23. Styberra | imperial period | Burton 1898: 618, no. 10 | |
| 24. Thessalonike | before end II. B.C. | *IG* 10/2 1.27 | 5 politarchs |
| 25. Thessalonike | II or I B.C. | *IG* 10/2 1.28 | 2 politarchs |
| 26. Thessalonike | 39/38 B.C.? | *IG* 10/2 1.30 | 5 politarchs |
| 27. Thessalonike | 39/38 B.C.? | *IG* 10/2 1.50 | same 5 politarchs as in no. 26 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 28. Thessalonike | 39/38 B.C.? | *IG* 10/2 1.109 | same 5 politarchs as in no. 26 |
| 29. Thessalonike | 27 b.c.–14 A.D. | *IG* 10/2 1.31 | 5 politarchs |
| 30. Thessalonike | I B.C. or I A.D. | *IG* 10/2 1.86 | verb stem largely restored |
| 31. Thessalonike | I B.C. or I A.D. | *IG* 10/2 1.129 | 5 (?) politarchs (?)—verb entirely restored |
| 32. Thessalonike | ca. I A.D. | *IG* 10/2 1.848 | funerary epigram; *ptoliarchos*; I–II A.D.—Helly 1977: 537 |
| 33. Thessalonike | before end I A.D. | *IG* 10/2 1.32 | verb stem entirely restored |
| 34. Thessalonike | I–III A.D. | *IG* 10/2 1.128 | |
| 35. Thessalonike | 137–61 A.D. | *Makedonika* 9 (1969): 143–44, no. 45 | 3 politarhcs; *non vidi*; cf. BE (1970): 367 |
| 36. Thessalonike | March 16, 141 A.D. | *IG* 10/2 1.137 | 4 (?) politarchs |
| 37. Thessalonike | after 153/54 A.D. | *IG* 10/2 1.133 | 5 politarchs; first third of I A.D.—*RPh* 48 (1974): 208–15 |
| 38. Thessalonike | mid–II A.D. | *IG* 10/2 1.126 | 6 or 7 politarchs; 1–late II A.D.—*RPh* 48 (1974):208–10 |
| 39. Thessalonike | II A.D. | *IG* 10/2 1.226 | 5 (?) politarchs |
| 40. Thessalonike | end II A.D.. | *IG* 10/2 1.252 | adjectival stem mostly restored |
| 41. Thessalonike | II or II A.D. | *IG* 10/2 1.37 | |
| 42. Thessalonike | II or II A.D. | *IG* 10/2 1.228 | adjectival stem mostly restored |
| 43. Thessalonike | 200–40 A.D. | *IG* 10/2 1.201 | politarch referred to as *arxanta dis tēn prōtēn archēn* |
| 44. Thessalonike | shortly before 212 A.D. | *IG* 10/2 1.127 | 9 politarchs; verb entirely restored |
| 45. Thessalonike | 240/41 A.D. or slightly later | *IG* 10/2 1.214 | politarchate accorded as honorific title |
| 46. Thessalonike | 246/47 A.D. | *IG* 10/2 1.162 | |
| 47. Thessalonike | after 246/47 A.D. | *IG* 10/2 1.197 | |
| 48. Thessalonike | 248/49 A.D. | *IG* 10/2 1.163 | politarchate possibly accorded as honorific title |
| 49. Thessalonike | ca. mid–III A.D. | *IG* 10/2 1.199 | |
| 50. Thessalonike | III A.D. | *IG* 10/2 1.181 | politarchs described as *prōtarchēsanta* |
| 51. Thessalonike | undatable | *IG* 10/2 1.962 | |
| 52. Thessalonike | undatable | *CIG* 2.1967 | 7 politarchs; not in IG 10/2 1 |
| 53. unknown provenance within Macedonia | 136/37 or 137/38 A.D. | unpublished | letter of Hadrian to Macedonian *koinon*, One eponymous politarch and colleagues implied by *politarchountōn tōn peri NN* |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *THESSALY* | | | |
| 54. Krannon | III² B.C. | *SEG* 23/437 | 4 *ttoliarchoi*; cf. BE (1965) 216 |
| 55. Krannon | III² B.C. | *REA* 66 (1964): 314, n. 4 | 5 *ttoliarchoi*; most of verb stem restored by analog with *SEG* 23.437; re-ed. of *IG* 9/2. 459 |
| 56. Phalanna | III B.C. | *IG* 9/2. 1233 | 5 *ttoliarchoi* one of whom is chief politarch (*archittoli-archentos*) |
| *THRACE* | | | |
| 57. Philippopolis | Flavian | *IG Bulg.* 3: 1.913 | |
| 58. Philippopolis | Flavian | *IG Bulg.* 3: 1.1023 | most of noun stem restored |
| *BOSPORAN KINGDOM* | | | |
| 59. Pantikapaion | 276–79 A.D. | *CIRB* 36 | 1 politarch |
| 60. Phanagoreia | 179 A.D. | *CIRB* 1000 | |
| *BITHYNIA* | | | |
| 61. Kios | 109 A.D. | *Ath. Mitt.* 24 (1899): 415–21, no. 14 | |
| *EGYPT* | | | |
| 62. Leontopolis | I A.D. | *CPJ* III, App. I, inscr. 1530A | metrical epitaph |
| 63. Oxyrhynchos | ca. 1 A.D. | *P. Oxy.* 4.745 | private letter |
| *GREEK ISLANDS* | | | |
| 64. Paros | ? | ——— | cf. Burton 1898: 625–26 |

Until the 1970s, the dominant view of the politarchate—most clearly formulated by Schuler (1960)—was that it was introduced into Macedonia by the Romans, either after 167 B.C., when democratic institutions were imposed by L. Aemilius Paullus after the Third Macedonian War (171–168 B.C.), or after 146 B.C., when Macedonia was accorded provincial status. Certainly, the great bulk of attestations of politarchs from Macedonia belong to the 2d century B.C.–2d century A.D. Yet Schuler did not exclude absolutely the possibility of pre-Roman politarchs in Macedonia. Pointing to an inscription of 243/42 B.C., the last year of the reign of Antigonos II Gonatas, in which *archontes* are mentioned (*SEG* 12.373, line 32), he raises the possibility (1960: 93) that politarchs may have been among the magistrates alluded to in this more general term. Hatzopoulos, too, has suggested (1984: 139) that the politarchate is reflected in phraseology such as *prōtos archōn, prōtarchōn, and tēn arxas prōtēn archēn*, occurring in inscriptions from Thracian Philippopolis. Such terminology is indubitably attested once of a politarch at Thessalonike (see Table 1, no. 50). Acceptance of this argument leads to the consequential one (Hatzopoulos 1984: 144, n. 39) that the politarchate is attested in a larger number of Thracian cities than merely Philippopolis, where alone the actual word occurs (Table 1, nos. 57–58).

Contrary to Schuler, Gschnitzer (PWSup 13: 493) and Hatzopoulos (1984: 139) have more recently advanced different strands of the same argument which now place beyond doubt the pre-Roman institution of the politarchate. Studying the presence of the magistracy in separate regions (Table 1, no. 9 in Macedonia, nos. 57–58 in Thrace, respectively), they have demonstrated that the politarchate existed in the Roman period in areas which had been under the Antigonids but which were still not subsumed by the Romans before mid–2d century B.C. Papazoglou has clinched this with her argument (1986: 448) concerning the sole instance from Illyria (Table 1, no. 1), that the institution of the politarchate in this lone polis among the Illyrian cities can be accounted for only by an alliance or dependent state relationship having been established between Olympe and Macedonia under Philip V before the Second Macedonian War (200–197 B.C.). This most recently published of the attestations is thus also the earliest (3d century B.C. fin.). Another attestation (no. 3) originally was held to be pre-Roman, being dated to 179–171 B.C., during the reign of Perseus (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1981), but doubt has been raised

subsequently whether that stone may actually carry two separately inscribed texts of different date (Papazoglou 1986: 442–43, n. 19).

The fact that the politarchate can now be shown to predate 167 B.C. does not resolve the issue whether this office underwent changes of function over time. It would not be surprising if there were alterations; and some of these may well have been introduced by the Romans. Combining the evidence from the inscriptions, certain of the functions of the Macedonian politarchate in the Roman period emerge clearly. It was an annual magistracy (*ton kata etos geinomenon poleitarchēn*, Table 1, no. 9) which could be held more than once (no. 35). That politarchs had an administrative/executive function is attested by no. 16, where they are responsible for introducing motions to the *boulē*, and for effecting its decisions (nos. 9, 10). That politarchs possessed judicial authority is clearest from the incident at Thessalonike (Acts 17): they were responsible for maintaining the peace in their city (Gschnitzer, PWSup 13: 491). Although the magistrates at Beroia are not mentioned in the following section of Acts (17:10–14), the analogous situation there to what occurred at Thessalonike, together with the firm attestation of the politarchate at Beroia (Table 1, nos. 6–8), suggests that it may have been these officials who had to quell the disturbances in that city as well (*NDIEC* 2: 35).

There are only two certain instances of a community having a single politarch per year (Table 1, nos. 9, 59). Where the evidence is clear elsewhere, a collegial arrangement was used. Sometimes one of the politarchs in such a group is specified (or at least implied) as the eponymous magistrate by the phrase *politarchōn tōn peri* NN, *vel sim.* (nos. 10, 12, 19, 53; cf. *architoliarchentos* in no. 56). He may be inferred to have functioned as president of the council and of the citizen assembly. The number forming a college varied both from city to city and from time to time. Two Thessalonikan inscriptions of similar date (nos. 24 and 25) attest five and two politarchs respectively. The regular number of politarchs in the late 1st century B.C. was five (nos. 26–29). In the mid–2d century A.D. the size of the college appears to vary from three to perhaps seven (nos. 35–38). By the early 3d century A.D. their number had reached nine (no. 44). The three Amphipolitan inscriptions attest five, two, and perhaps three politarchs respectively (nos. 2–4). No convincing reason for such fluctuation can be suggested on the basis of the present evidence. To the extent that we can infer the size of the college in Illyria (no. 1), Thessaly (nos. 55–56), and Macedonian Beroia (nos. 7, 8), five is again the regular number.

This range of information leads to the legitimate inference that the politarchs were the chief magistrates in their cities. Yet it is possible that by about the mid-3d century the title was becoming merely honorific (nos. 45 and 48, though these two texts do not indicate such a change as certainly as has sometimes been supposed; cf. Schuler 1960: 99, n. 14; Gschnitzer, PWSup 13 489). Another reasonable conclusion to draw from the evidence is that the politarchs came from the wealthier families (Schuler 1960: 90, cf. 98, n. 9), who will also have comprised the social elite of their city.

Two caveats should be mentioned. First, it is not only within urban centers that politarchs exercise their position. Hammond and Griffith note (1972 1: 87) that in Table 1, no. 10, Derriopos is not a city but a district inhabited by the Derripes, and the politarchs of Derriopus are officials of the tribal state *hē polis tōn Derriopōn.* In this inscription the politarchs convene the *boulē* which decides to honor a Roman citizen. Again, in no. 9 we see the politarch convening the *ekklēsia* not of a city but of a tribal community in the SW Macedonian canton of Orestis (Hammond and Griffith 1972 1: 114–15). The resolution concerning a land dispute is passed by the politarch and citizens together.

The second qualification to be made is that most of our evidence relates to Macedonia; whether the functions of politarchs elsewhere were identical is unclear. There is a natural presumption in favor of a similar role in those regions which came under Macedonian influence (Table 1, nos. 1, 57–58). In the sole papyrological example (no. 63), however, it is quite uncertain what duties the politarch Theophilos performs, from the passing comment included in this private letter. In fact, this is our only instance from Egypt where the term may be used in a technical sense. The usage in the metrical epitaph for Abramos from Leontopolis (no. 62) is clearly more fluid, probably to indicate his leadership of two Jewish communities *(dissōn gar te topōn politarchōn autos eteimō).* The sole text from Bithynia which mentions a politarch (no. 61) similarly does not clarify the function for that city. Accordingly, the politarch at Kios

has been seen as both a minor official (Schuler 1960: 99, n. 21; Hatzopoulos 1984: 143, n. 20) and also as one holding a post similar to that of *censor/timētēs* (Vidman 1960: 70; Ameling 1984: 27–28, and n. 70).

This possibility of the term being employed for officials exercising different responsibilities in different locations leads to the question whether the Macedonian politarchs and the Thessalian politarchs are in fact to be identified. Generally, they have been differentiated (Schuler 1960: 92; Gschnitzer, PWSup 11: esp. 1112; PWSup 13:483–500); but Helly (1977) has shown that these and related terms are essentially the same. The difference is one of dialect. No. 32 in Table 1 may help to reinforce this conclusion: it is a metrical text from Thessalonike, but with the spelling *ptoliarchos*, one of the forms which occurs in the Thessalian inscriptions (for three Classical and Hellenistic literary verse occurrences of *poliarchos*—all nontechnical uses—see Gschnitzer, PWSup 11: 1112).

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**POLITICAL IDENTITY.** See NATIONALITY AND POLITICAL IDENTITY.

**POLYCARP** (PERSON). Bishop of Smyrna in Asia Minor, born ca. 70 C.E. and martyred in Smyrna ca. 156 C.E. Our sources for the life of Polycarp include Ignatius' letter to Polycarp, Irenaeus' *Adversus Haereses*, Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and most importantly, the anonymous *Martyrdom of Polycarp.* Irenaeus, quoted by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 5:20:6), states that Polycarp was a disciple of John the Apostle. Some scholars doubt the accuracy of this assertion, especially considering Eusebius' preoccupation with demonstrating apostolic succession. Neither Ignatius nor Polycarp himself mentions any connection with John. According to a scribal addition to the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (22:2), Irenaeus was a disciple of Polycarp.

Polycarp was the author of one extant writing, a letter to the Philippians. Harrison (1936) has argued persuasively that Polycarp's *Philippians* is actually two letters (1–12 and 13–14). Chief evidence for this theory is the presupposition in 1–12 that Ignatius of Antioch has already died (9:1), whereas in 13–14 Ignatius clearly is still living (13:2). Since Ignatius was martyred ca. 108–15, the two letters were probably written shortly after and shortly before this time.

Moral exhortation dominates Polycarp's *Philippians.* He exhorts the Philippians to the highest standards of personal morality in forgiveness (2:2–3), righteousness (3:1–2), avoidance of love of money (4:1, 3;

11:1–2), chastity (4:2), compassion (6:1), and endurance under persecution (8:2–9:2). The predominant theological emphasis of the letter is anti-Docetism (7:1; 8:1). Polycarp's writing is thoroughly infused with brief quotations and allusions to lst-century Christian writings, indicating his familiarity with Matthew, Acts, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, 1 and 2 Timothy, 1 Peter, 1 John, and 1 Clement. The thought and literary style of Polycarp's *Philippians* so closely resembles that of the Pastoral Epistles in the NT that von Campenhausen (1963) has even proposed Polycarp as the author of the Pastorals, although this hypothesis has not gained widespread scholarly acceptance.

The *Martyrdom of Polycarp* was written not long after the time of the event (ca. 156) and was known to Irenaeus around 180. It describes the events of Polycarp's martyrdom as follows. During a persecution at Smyrna he was found, arrested, and brought to the stadium by a police chief named Herod (6:1–2). When asked by the proconsul to "swear by the Genius of Caesar" (9:2), Polycarp replied, "For eighty-six years I have served [Christ], and he has done me no wrong. How can I blaspheme my king who saved me?" (9:3). He was soon afterward executed by burning, but when the flames would not consume his body, the executioner plunged a dagger into him. A mass of blood spurted forth from the wound, quenching the fire and amazing the crowd (16:1).

The *Martyrdom of Polycarp* holds a special place in Christian literature as the first example of the literary genre, acts of Christian martyrs. Scores of such acts of martyrs would be written in subsequent centuries. Although some of the miraculous elements in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* appear to be legendary (15:2; 16:1), the work claims to have been written by an eyewitness (15:1). See also POLYCARP, EPISTLE OF; POLYCARP, MARTYRDOM OF.

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**POLYCARP, EPISTLE OF.** The primary source of our knowledge of Polycarp of Smyrna (traditionally ca. A.D. 69–155) is a letter which he wrote to the Church at Philippi early in the 2d century. See also POLYCARP, MARTYRDOM OF. The letter is not a distinguished document from a literary or theological point of view, but it reveals a man who could be relied on for a sane and cautious approach to religious and administrative problems. The importance of the letter is enhanced by the fact that Polycarp's career intersected that of others who left a deeper impression on the early Church than Polycarp himself.

**A. Polycarp and Ignatius**

Of first importance in this regard is Ignatius of Antioch, who was allowed by his guards to meet with the Christians of Smyrna while en route to Rome and who subsequently dispatched two letters to the Smyrnaeans and their leader, Polycarp, from Troas (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.36). Polycarp was evidently stirred by the intense spirituality of his visitor from Antioch and proved to be his most enthusiastic advocate. In the end, he agreed to help organize the flow of representatives and congratulatory notes to Antioch requested by Ignatius (Ign. *Phld* 10; *Smyrn* 11; *Pol.* 7–8; Pol. *Phil.* 13.1). He also indicates that he had made a collection of Ignatius' letters at the request of the Philippians (*Phil.* 13.2), perhaps on the model of a corpus of Pauline letters.

Ignatius is mentioned again along with two other Christian martyrs in *Phil.* 9. These same "patterns of true love" are alluded to at the beginning of the letter in a statement that seems to presuppose their presence in Philippi not long before (*Phil.* 1.1). Polycarp's references to Ignatius do not, however, harmonize easily: in *Phil.* 9 our author seems to speak of Ignatius' martyrdom, presumably in Rome, as a past event, whereas in *Phil.* 13 he asks to be informed if the Philippians have learned "anything more

certain" about Ignatius and those with him. This apparent contradiction led P. N. Harrison (1936) to suggest that *Phil.* 13–14 (or 13 alone) was written as a covering letter for the Ignatian corpus soon after Ignatius had passed through Philippi, whereas *Phil.* 1–12 (or 1–12 + 14) was composed later (ca. 135 A.D.) to meet other problems. Among these, according to Harrison, was the desire to combat the Marcionite heresy implied by the polemics of *Phil.* 7 and by the identification there of the docetic opponent of the truth as "the firstborn of Satan" (*Phil.* 7.2). For according to Irenaeus, precisely this phrase was applied to Marcion by Polycarp during a famous encounter between them (*Adv. haer.* 3.3.4; Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.14.7). It remains very doubtful, however, that *Phil.* 7 has Marcion's teaching in view (Schoedel 1967: 23–26); and it is surely possible that Polycarp used the expression "firstborn of Satan" on more than one occasion or that the story reported by Irenaeus grew up around Polycarp's bon mot later. In any event, the allusion to the martyrs in *Phil.* 1, suggesting as it does a fresh memory of the martyrs, indicates that the divergence between *Phil.* 13–14 and *Phil.* 1–12 cannot be pressed. Either the two letters were close to one another in time, or there was in fact but one letter. To be sure, those who regard the references to Ignatius in Polycarp as interpolations point to a grammatical inconsistency in *Phil.* 1 that they take as evidence of the inauthenticity of the reference to the martyrs in that passage. There are indications, however, that the peculiarities of the text arise from an unusual manipulation of a standard transitional device (a "joy expression") often found at the beginning of the body of ancient letters (Schoedel 1987).

It should be noted that those who regard Polycarp's references to Ignatius as interpolations are primarily concerned to deny the authenticity of the letters of Ignatius (i.e., the "middle recension" generally considered authentic since the research of Zahn [1873] and Lightfoot [1885]). A form of the argument presented by Joly (1979: 17–37) has it that the interpolator built on an authentic reference to an otherwise unknown Ignatius in *Phil.* 9, added *Phil.* 13 to turn the communication into a covering letter for the Ignatian corpus, and inserted the allusion to the martyrs in *Phil.* 1 to set the stage for the new picture of Ignatius that was being created. Here, however, too much depends on the prior conviction that the middle recension of Ignatius is inauthentic; and again too much is probably made of the grammatical inconsistency in *Phil.* 1.

**B. Polycarp and Apostolic Tradition**

Our assessment of the place of Polycarp in the early church is further complicated by the fact that he was soon appealed to by Irenaeus (and Eusebius after him) as an important link in a line of orthodox tradition stretching back to the apostles, especially John. In one passage Irenaeus claims to have known Polycarp personally "in my early youth" (*Adv. haer.* 3.3.4; Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 4.14); and he goes on to make the following points about him: Polycarp visited Rome in the time of Anicetus, whose accession to the episcopal office took place perhaps no earlier than A.D. 155, and Polycarp opposed heresy there; Polycarp related a story about John, the disciple of the Lord, who "going to bathe at Ephesus and seeing Cerinthus within, rushed out of the bathhouse without bathing, saying, 'Let us flee lest the bathhouse fall down because Cerinthus the enemy of the truth is within' "; and when Polycarp encountered Marcion, he identified him as "the firstborn of Satan." In this connection, Irenaeus also refers to Polycarp's "very able" letter to the Philippians. But when he speaks elsewhere of Polycarp's letters in the plural (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.20.8), he was probably going on much less. In yet another passage, Irenaeus links Polycarp and Papias, calling the latter "the hearer of John, and a companion of Polycarp" (*Adv. haer.* 5.33.4). The importance of Polycarp to Irenaeus also emerges from a fragment of his letter to Florinus: "When I was still a boy," says Irenaeus, "I saw you [Florinus] in lower Asia in the company of Polycarp, faring brilliantly in the imperial court and endeavoring to secure his favor." Irenaeus also claims to have remembered what Polycarp did and said and "how he would tell of his intercourse with John and with the others who had seen the Lord" (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.20. 4–8). Finally, a letter of Polycrates of Ephesus (ca. A.D. 190) to Victor, bishop of Rome (A.D. 189–98), on the paschal controversy names Polycarp, among others, as preserving Quartodeciman practice from the time of the apostle John (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.24.2–7). Irenaeus also wrote to the Roman bishop on this matter, reminding him that when Polycarp visited

Anicetus in Rome, there was mutual respect in spite of disagreement on the date of the celebration of Easter (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.24.14–17).

In spite of all this, a link between Polycarp and John is not assured. Irenaeus was young when he heard Polycarp and may well have taken references to John the elder (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.3–7) as references to John the apostle. Polycarp himself certainly makes no appeal to having known any of the disciples of the Lord, and he does not claim to have been appointed by one of them over the Church in Smyrna. He does not even lay claim to the title of bishop. And although it was no doubt appropriate for Ignatius to refer to Polycarp as bishop in Smyrna (Ign. *Magn* 15; *Pol.* 6.1), it is also evident that the title meant more to Ignatius than to his host. Yet even Ignatius makes no use of the idea of apostolic succession in this connection. And when he writes against Docetism on Polycarp's behalf (Ign. *Smyrn.* 1–9), he never appeals to the special authority of John. A link between Polycarp and John, then, seems just about as unlikely as a link between Papias and John. In any event, Irenaeus evidently remembered very little of what Polycarp may have said concerning his mentor John. For it is significant that he presents the story of the encounter between the apostle and Cerinthus—a high point of his account of the bishop of Smyrna—as derived from others.

**C. Polycarp and the Philippians**

The authority that Polycarp exercised beyond the Smyrnaean Christian community can be judged by the task that he was asked to assume by the Philippians. They requested that he give his opinion on what should be done about the elder Valens and his wife in the Philippian congregation, who had misused funds of the Church. Polycarp's advice was to "bring them back as weak and erring members" (Pol. *Phil.* 11.4). The incident serves to illustrate the informal authority enjoyed by prestigious outsiders who could be trusted to give an unbiased judgment. The situation is comparable to that presupposed in *1 Clement*, which was written by a leader of the Roman Church in response to an appeal from Corinth to help deal with internal difficulties there.

Polycarp's references to the martyrs (*Phil.* 1; 9; 13), to Docetism (*Phil.* 7), and to Valens' love of money (*Phil.* 11) are embedded in a theology that emphasizes the preservation of the blessings of salvation (especially the resurrection) through a faith that bears fruit in sober living and a forgiving attitude (*Phil.* 1–2; 8; 10; 12) and that recognizes responsibilities articulated in tables of duties for wives, children, widows, deacons, young men, virgins, and elders (*Phil.* 4–6). Again, there is no mention of a bishop or bishops. Special attention to the Pauline theme of "righteousness" (*Phil.* 3) suggests that Polycarp was reacting to an exegesis of Romans and Galatians by gnosticizing enthusiasts for the apostle. Polycarp himself emphasizes the settled spiritual and ethical attitudes that the term implies. Similarly, he works with a moralized version of the eschatological outlook of the early Christian movement (Bovon-Thurneyson 1973). Indeed, the theology of the letter is so close to that of the Pastorals that von Campenhausen (1951) argued for Polycarp's authorship of them as well. The theory is not fully persuasive, but the affinities are striking.

Although the letter to the Philippians to all appearance consists of a collection of disconnected points, it is likely that Polycarp saw a relation between them (Meinhold PW 21/2: 1662–93; Schoedel 1967; Steinmetz 1972). Thus it may be said that Polycarp opposes Docetism and the misinterpretation of righteousness by appealing to the witness that martyrdom gives to a life of endurance and love and to the reality of the cross of Christ. And it seems that he deals with Valens' love of money as a symptom of hidden impulses at work in the congregation as a whole and that he deepens its significance for the Philippians by treating greed as the moral corollary of heresy.

**D. Polycarp and the New Testament**

An extraordinary feature of the letter is the extent to which Polycarp pieces together words, phrases, and sentences from the Christian literature of the 1st century to say what he does. There are strong echoes of Matthew along with hints of Luke. And there may also be dependence on Acts in one passage (*Phil.* 1.2). As regards Paul, language reminiscent especially of Romans, 1–2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and Ephesians is found. Similarities with the Pastorals may depend on the use of traditional themes in pagan and Christian moralists. At the same time, there is the possibility that 1 Tim 6:7, 10 was before Polycarp

in *Phil.* 4.1 and 2 Tim 4:10 in *Phil.* 9.2. There seem to be numerous clear reflections of 1 Peter in the letter. But the fact that Polycarp and the First Letter of John have anti-Docetic themes in common (*Phil.* 7) does not necessarily point to a literary relation between them. In view of the presumed connection between Polycarp and "John," it is striking that echoes of neither the gospel of John nor of the Apocalypse are to be found. On the other hand, Polycarp appears to have known *1 Clement* fairly well. And the allusions to Synoptic materials seem clearly to presuppose the use of written documents—perhaps atypically for the Apostolic Fathers (Koester 1957)—with the exception of a collection of items in *Phil.* 2.3 that apparently depends on *1 Clem.* 13.2 or on traditional materials somehow related to *1 Clem.* 13.2 (Hagner 1973: 279). None of the material discussed above seems to have been regarded as Scripture by Polycarp, though there is a problematic passage in *Phil.* 12.1. Yet Polycarp makes relatively little use of the OT and professes inferiority to the Philippians in the knowledge of Scripture (*Phil.* 12.1). Nevertheless, traces of language derived directly or indirectly from the Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Tobit, and other biblical books are found.

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**POLYCARP, MARTYRDOM OF.** The account of the martyrdom of Polycarp *(MPol)* is contained in a letter written by the Church in Smyrna to the Church in Philomelium (a small but reasonably important city in Phrygia) and beyond that "to all the communities of the holy and catholic church sojourning in every place." The conclusion indicates that a certain Marcion was responsible for the composition of the letter (*MPol* 20.1) and that a person named Evarestus served as scribe (*MPol* 20.2), although the text may also be taken to mean that Marcion was "the authoritative witness" and Evaristus the author (Dehandschutter 1979: 280). The connection between the epistolary framework and the account of the martyrdom is purely ad hoc, however, and does not justify the identification of a separate category for Christian martyria in epistolary form (Dehandschutter 1979: 157–89). Thus *MPol* is the first of the narrative martyria from the early Church.

The contents of the document may be outlined as follows: an introduction concerning "martyrdom in accord with the gospel" (*MPol* 1); an account of the martyrdom of those who preceded Polycarp (2–4), including especially the description of the courage of "the most noble Germanicus" in *MPol* 3 and the rueful reflections on Quintus the Phrygian in *MPol* 4 (who at first forced himself and some others to come forward and then lost his nerve); a lengthy recital of the martyrdom of Polycarp himself (5–18); and a conclusion (19–20). There follows a number of appendixes: a chronological note that may or may not be part of the original letter (*MPol* 21); a conclusion that echoes vocabulary and themes from the beginning of the letter and that also may or may not be part of the original letter (22.1); a note on the transmission of the manuscript of *MPol,* quite possibly reformulated by the same copyist who identifies himself in the last section (22.2); and the last section, a note by Pionius—probably a 4th-century writer masquerading as the 3d-century martyr Pionius—who explains the circumstances under which he copied *MPol* and who suggests that *MPol* was to be part of a collection of materials devoted to Polycarp (22.3). Also note that

the Moscow ms of *MPol* breaks off before the doxology at the end of *MPol* 21 and adds at that point its own elaborate version of *MPol* 22.2–3. The recital of Polycarp's martyrdom is the heart of the document and includes the following elements: Polycarp's preliminary withdrawal to safety (*MPol* 5); his arrest (6–8); his summary trial before the proconsul in the stadium (9–11); the martyrdom itself (12–18). The martyrdom itself recounts the reactions of the crowd (12–13), Polycarp's prayer of thanksgiving, modeled to a certain extent on early eucharistic materials (14), the burning of Polycarp (15–16), and the treatment of his remains (17–18).

The authenticity of the letter was proved to the satisfaction of most by Lightfoot. Skepticism on this point has not been entirely banished (Schwartz 1972), but far more significant has been the challenge of Grégoire and Orgels (1951) to the long-accepted dating of *MPol* and the questions raised by von Campenhausen (1957) about the integrity of the document. To understand the debate it is necessary to recall that *MPol* is known to us not only in an independent form from Greek mss and early versions but also from Eusebius' discussion of it (*Hist. Eccl.* 4.15). The historian represents *MPol* by quoting the address, paraphrasing *MPol* 1–6, and then returning to the text itself of *MPol* 7–19. To be more precise, he breaks off shortly after the beginning of *MPol* 19 (at the words "so that he is spoken of in every place even by the heathen"); and thus Eusebius either did not know the chronological note in *MPol* 21 or did not see fit to deal with it. Eusebius' paraphrase of *MPol* 1–6 is noteworthy for the absence of the theme of the imitation of Christ prominent in the mss of *MPol.* And his form of the text of *MPol* 7–19 stands out for its omission of the reference to the dove in *MPol* 16.1 which was said to fly from the wound inflicted on the martyr by the executioner.

The older scholarship is dominated by the date of A.D. February 23, 155, or A.D. February 22, 156, for the martyrdom of Polycarp. These suggestions rest on complex arguments brought to bear on the chronological note in *MPol* 21. The surprisingly late date of A.D. 177 for the martyrdom of Polycarp proposed by Grégoire and Orgels (1951) depends on regarding the chronological note in *MPol* 21 as a late addition to the text, offering a fresh analysis of the data provided by Eusebius, both in his Church history and his chronicle, and treating the discussion of Quintus in *MPol* 4 as a response to Montanism. The arguments against this interpretation of the evidence are strong, however, and it is likely that an earlier date should be preferred. Some have defended A.D. 167 (the date that Eusebius actually gives in his chronicle) or thereabouts (Marrou 1953; Brind'Amour 1980). Others have been willing to give greater credit to the chronological note in *MPol* 21 (partially supported by the reference to the Asiarch Philip in *MPol* 12.2) and to suggest a date of ca. A.D. 155–60 (Schoedel 1967: 58, 68, 78–79; Barnes 1967; 1968; Dehandschutter 1979: 191–219). This approach to the data supplied by the chronological note involves setting aside the mention of "a great Sabbath" (the day on which Polycarp was martyred) as helpful in being any more precise. The uncertainty about the meaning of this much-discussed expression is well illustrated by the effort of Rordorf (1980) to take it as a reference to a celebration of the pagan Terminalia that happened to coincide with a Sabbath. Rordorf notes that *MPol* pictures pagans and Jews as equally free to attend the festivities. Any earlier date for the martyrdom of Polycarp than those suggested above is ruled out by the fact that Polycarp is said by Irenaeus (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.24.16) to have visited Anicetus in Rome; for it is generally thought that Anicetus became bishop of Rome about A.D. 155 (perhaps A.D. 155 at the earliest).

Another approach to the problems presented by *MPol* has led to theories of interpolation. This line of argument was pursued most persuasively by von Campenhausen (1957). He called into question not only elements absent from Eusebius' paraphrase of *MPol* 1–6 (notably the theme of the imitation of Christ), but also certain materials already present in the text known to Eusebius. Among the latter are the discussion about Quintus in *MPol* 4, elements of the miraculous in the account, and the points in *MPol* 17–18 that seem to reflect a veneration of martyrs and a theological assessment of such veneration too highly developed for the 2d century. The chronological note in *MPol* 21 is regarded as a later addition, and the conclusion in *MPol* 22.1 is seen as the work of the same redactor who developed the theme of "martyrdom in accord with the gospel" (*MPol* 1.1) and who presumably drew out the parallels between the death of the martyrs and the passion of Jesus.

Von Campenhausen's view of the matter has been developed and refined by Conzelmann (1978), significantly modified by Schoedel (1967: 47–82), and now more or less abandoned by Barnard (1970), Dehandschutter (1979: 131–55), and Saxer (1982). A fundamental error of von Campenhausen was his failure to examine more carefully how Eusebius dealt with his sources. Moreover, most of the parallels drawn in *MPol* between the death of the martyrs and the passion of Jesus are, as Barnard observed, also found in Eusebius' report. And von Campenhausen's reasons for judging certain items as anachronistic were not always clear. But it is perhaps not yet certain that he was mistaken on every point, including especially the highly developed martyrological themes in *MPol* 17–18. In any event, one general result of recent criticism of *MPol* is the virtual elimination from scholarship of the notion that originally the letter would naturally have contained a more or less factual account devoid of elements of the miraculous and of explicit theological reflection. Indeed, we now have a theory of the textual transmission of *MPol* that calls into question any tendency to favor the evidence of Eusebius and that also sees no reason to follow him in eliminating the reference to the dove which is said to fly from the wound inflicted on Polycarp by the executioner in *MPol* 16.1 (Dehandschutter 1979: 27–129).

It has not proved easy to describe with clarity the idea of martyrdom that comes to expression in the letter. *MPol* naturally shares with postbiblical Judaism and early Christianity an emphasis on the importance of affirming a way of life in obedience to the will of God and of being committed to it, if need be, to the point of death. *MPol* also naturally shares with Judaism and early Christianity the confidence that God will reward those who endure to the end with a "crown of incorruption" (*MPol* 17.1). In the early Church, however, new horizons were opened up by the fact that the requirement of loyalty to the law was replaced by the experience of communion with Jesus Christ. In working out the implications of this difference, it is still useful to view the martyr as the antecedent of the saint in the later technical sense of the term. Thus in *MPol*, martyrs show themselves, by their endurance in suffering, to be people who are no longer human but already "angelic" (2.3), and the martyrdom of Polycarp is marked by a display of miracles (5.2; 9.1; 15.2; 16.1). Moreover, the faithful, who had treated Polycarp when alive with such reverence that they constantly sought to "touch his flesh" (13.2), also attempt to recover his body "to have fellowship with his holy flesh" (17.1). When that is denied them, they gather up his bones, set them in a "suitable" place (18.2), and plan to celebrate "the birthday of his martyrdom" on the anniversary of his death (18.3). Such acts seem to presuppose an established cultic pattern (Rordorf 1972); and though the careful distinction here between the "worship" due Christ and the "love" due martyrs (17.3) evidently reflects a developing debate concerning the veneration of martyrs, the author is prepared to come to terms with popular attitudes on this point (Saxer 1982: 992–99). Some scholars, however, deal with such elements in *MPol* merely as naive anticipations of later developments and stress the extent to which the annual celebration was intended, as *MPol* 18.3 itself says, "in memory of those who have already contested and for the training and preparation of those whose lot it will be." Dehandschutter (1982), for example, presents *MPol* as focused on obedience to the will of God (2.1; 7.1) and concerned about the salvation of "all the brethren" rather than of "oneself alone" (1.2). From this point of view, the rule to withdraw and not to thrust oneself forward for martyrdom (1.2; 4) not only reflects an awareness of the dangers of enthusiasm for institutional stability and social respectability, it also suggests that the theological center of *MPol* is to be found less in an emphasis on individual salvation and the achievement of a special sanctity than in a call to obey God and to attend to the Church's mission.

The problem of the theological outlook of *MPol* comes to a head in the interpretation of the theme of the "imitation of Christ" (1.1; 17.3; 19.1) and the assessment of the role of the parallels drawn between the martyr's lot and the passion of Christ. These features of *MPol* have been regarded as too highly developed for the 2d century by those who see them as setting the martyr apart from other Christians and establishing him as an independent focus for piety alongside of Christ (von Campenhausen 1957). More particularly, a distinction has been drawn between *Nachfolge* in the NT (a following after Christ in terms of obedience and faith) and *Nachahmung* in *MPol* (an imitation of Christ that implies an emphasis on the martyr's special sanctity). The imitation theme in *MPol*, however, is not carried through with great consistency and, in the opinion of many, is compatible with the treatment of Stephen in Acts 7 (Irenaeus,

*Adv. haer.* 3.12.10–13) or with James in Hegesippus (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.23.4–18). Thus it may be correct to say that *MPol* does not intend so much to imitate the passion as to show that Polycarp's behavior was in harmony with the will of God and in conformity with the gospel (Schoedel 1967: 51–82; Dehandschutter 1982).

The effort of Kretschmar (1972) to read *MPol* from a quite different angle against the background of a popular Christian Passover tradition and to see martyrdom as a quasi-Eucharistic event (*MPol* 14) is both highly suggestive and highly problematic.

The theology of *MPol* is clearly directed against a misunderstanding of martyrdom. A number of scholars have thought that Montanism, with its home in Phrygia and its special enthusiasm for martyrdom, is represented by Quintus (*MPol* 4). This interpretation is connected with the problems of dating and the possibility of interpolations outlined above. Another suggestion is that *MPol* represents a response to Gnosticism which in some forms opposed martyrdom and in other forms (notably in the *Apocryphon of James*) encouraged self-willed martyrdom (Dehandschutter 1982: 665–67). It seems more likely, however, that *MPol* is confronting difficulties that could arise in any Christian community from inordinate caution or excessive zeal in meeting hostile challenges from the social environment of the churches. Thus *MPol* provides a balanced outlook that would presumably have helped to preserve the stability of the group and to have made measured responses to outside pressure possible. At the same time, it seems likely that *MPol* was also taking into account an incipient tendency within the churches to honor the martyr too highly. For if the distinction between the worship of Christ and the love of martyrs in *MPol* 17.3 does not serve as evidence of interpolation, the author of the document is surely reacting against what he regarded as an exaggerated veneration of these figures.

The foundation for such an exaggerated veneration was likely to have been laid in the popular culture of the Greco-Roman world with the piety that surrounded heroes and their relics. Even Klauser (1974), who had contested such influence, withdrew his arguments for the purely Jewish roots of the Christian idea of martyrdom in a note appended to the reprinting of his much-cited essay on the subject. In this connection, it may be relevant to note that the cult of martyrs and the common cult of the dead are not sharply distinguished from each other (Saxer 1982: 995), and that consequently the normal treatment of the dead may have paved the way in some communities for more highly developed practices. Influences from Hellenism are also to be found, however, at another level in *MPol*. It may be recalled that Jewish ideas of martyrdom had an impact on Christianity in the 2d century and beyond, primarily through 2 Maccabees (6–7) and *4 Maccabees*, and that *4 Maccabees* in particular presents the Jewish martyrs as spiritual "athletes" who embody the traditional Greek virtues. Echoes of this literature are frequent in *MPol* (Baumeister 1980: 295–99), and this background partly accounts for the emphasis here on the spiritual qualities of those who contend for Christ in the arena. New dimensions are added to the conception of such qualities in the Christian context where there is the possibility of "becoming a partaker of Christ" (*MPol* 6.2; cf. Phil 3:10) and of being "no longer people but already angels" (*MPol* 2.3; cf. John 17). Such a heightening of the virtues of the martyr seems likely to be linked with a growing enthusiasm for miracles inspired by popular conceptions of the preternaturally endowed "divine man" (Baumeister 1980: 302–6). *MPol*, however, still stands at the beginning of this transformation of the martyr into a saint. The theology and spirituality of the document belong fundamentally to the world of postbiblical Judaism and NT Christianity.

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**POMEGRANATE.** See FLORA.

**POMPEY** (PERSON). Gnaeus Pompeius, later surnamed Magnus, or "Pompey the Great," is mentioned mainly in Plutarch's *Life* of Pompey, though he is frequently mentioned in other ancient sources, especially the contemporary speeches and letters of Cicero, and the relevant books of Appian's *Civil Wars* and Cassius Dio's *History of Rome.* Born in 106 B.C., Pompey developed his early career through abnormal military commands, first in the service of the dictator Sulla from 83–80, and subsequently as the senate's commander against Lepidus in Italy in 78 and the rebel Sertorius in Spain from 76–71. In 71 he assisted in mopping up the slave insurrection led by Spartacus, and in 70 pressured the senate into allowing him to become consul (with Crassus as his colleague), even though he was too young and had held none of the necessary prior magistracies. Then followed extensive commands to clear the Mediterranean of pirates in 67 and to complete the campaign against Mithridates in the east from 66–62.

Toward the end of this campaign (63), Pompey intervened in a civil war in Judea between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; his brief campaign against the latter culminated in a three-month siege of the temple in Jerusalem and its capture. Though he entered the holy of holies, Pompey did not take any temple treasure; he installed Hyrcanus as high priest and made Judea tributary to Rome, but did not annex the country, placing it instead under the supervision of the Roman governor of Syria. He returned to Rome soon after, taking Aristobulus and his children with him as hostages.

On returning to Italy, Pompey found that his opponents in the senate were able to refuse grants of land to reward his veterans and to block ratification of the massive reorganization which he had carried out in the east. This unexpected opposition led Pompey to form a private political alliance with Crassus and Caesar, known as the "First Triumvirate," to push through the legislation which each desired. To cement the alliance Pompey married Caesar's daughter Julia (all of Pompey's five marriages were made for political purposes).

In the following years, with Caesar away campaigning in Gaul, Pompey appeared to be losing political ground gradually: the senators were suspicious of him, and the people deserted their military hero for others. As Caesar's reputation increased with his victories, Pompey grew more jealous. The breach was widened by the death of Julia in childbirth in 54, and increased by the death of Crassus, fighting against the Parthians in 53. To regain his standing, Pompey aligned himself with the conservatives in the senate, who were happy to use him to quell the increasing political chaos and against the rising power of Caesar (whom they feared more). This alignment culminated in Pompey being made sole consul in 52, which made him now the acknowledged leader of the conservative senators.

Civil war now appeared inevitable. When Caesar invaded in 49, Pompey sacrificed the advantages he had in Italy by leaving for Greece. Though he outmaneuvered Caesar on a number of occasions in the subsequent campaign and had a numerical superiority, he lost the final battle at Pharsalus in August 48. Pompey fled to Egypt, but was murdered on landing by the local ruling dynasty. Pompey's sons and supporters carried on the republican cause, but they were eventually overcome by Caesar.

Pompey does not appear to have been cultured or affable; he had spent most of his life on military campaigns. These had given him enormous wealth, which was the basis of his great popularity and later political influence. His success as a general resulted more from his ability to organize and to ensure numerical superiority. He had a tendency to take over command of campaigns when the hard work had already been done by others, to abandon those who had previously helped him, and to change sides frequently to suit his own political purposes. He also tended not to make his wishes clear, leading to the view that he was not politically astute, but it may have been a deliberate policy to foment uncertainty, which he could then be called upon to sort out. Despite his abnormal and extensive military powers and commissions, Pompey was essentially a constitutionalist and never used them to take over the state.

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**PONTIUS PILATE** (PERSON) [Gk *Pontios Pilatos* (Ποντιος Πιλατος)]. The fifth Roman governor of Judea, during whose tenure Jesus of Nazareth was executed. Pilate is known primarily from Josephus and the Gospels. Philo reports in some detail an incident during Pilate's service in Judea, Tacitus mentions him in passing in connection with Christian origins, some of Pilate's coins have survived, and an inscription discovered in Caesarea Maritima in 1961 completes the primary evidence. This dossier is larger and more detailed than that of any other Roman governor of Judea, a circumstance which is probably to be explained by the special Christian interest in him. Such an interest explains not only the data in the Gospels and Tacitus' reference, but also the availability to Josephus, in Rome, of so much information about this governor. Nevertheless, we are totally in the dark about Pilate's life before and after his Judean governorship, and much remains unclear about that period as well.

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A. Chronology
B. Title and Responsibilities
C. Pilate and Rome
D. Pilate and the Jews
E. The Events of Pilate's Governorship
F. Aftermath and Afterlife

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**A. Chronology**

The year of Pilate's appointment to office is commonly given as 26 or 27 C.E. This results without difficulty from Josephus' statements that Pilate's predecessor, Valerius Gratus, was appointed after the death of Augustus (August of 14 C.E.) and served eleven years before being replaced by Pilate (*Ant* 18.2.2 §§33, 35). One should probably suppose that a few months passed, perhaps until the spring of 15 C.E., before Gratus was dispatched to Judea. Similarly, an appointment of Pilate in 26 or 27 C.E. is corroborated by Josephus' notice (*Ant* 18.4.2 §89) that Pilate served for ten years before being suspended from office shortly before the death of Tiberius, which came in March of 37 C.E.

Over against this usual dating of Pilate's term, to ca. 26–37 C.E., there has been some major argumentation about its beginning and some minor uncertainties about its end. The difficulties associated with the end of his term result from the data Josephus supplies in *Ant* 18.4.2–3 §§89–90, on the one hand, and in 18.5.3 §§122–24, on the other. According to §§89–90, after L. Vitellius, the Roman governor of Syria, suspended Pilate from office the latter hurried to Rome but arrived only after Tiberius died; Vitellius, in the meantime, went on to visit Jerusalem during a Passover festival. Given Tiberius' death in

mid-March of 37 C.E. and Passover in April, these data clearly indicate that Pilate was suspended from office ca. March of 37 C.E. However, in §§122–24 we read of a visit by Vitellius to Jerusalem during a Jewish festival, at which time news reached him of Tiberius' death. It seems most likely that this news would have reached Judea within a month, and that this account is therefore referring to Passover of 37 C.E. However, such a conclusion would seem to push the visit mentioned in §90 back to Passover of 36 C.E., but it seems most unlikely that Pilate, if suspended prior to April of 36 C.E. would not have reached Rome (to which he is said to have hurried; §89) until March of 37 C.E.

To resolve this conundrum, some would move the first visit (§90) to Tabernacles in the fall of 36 C.E. (Holzmeister 1932: 228–32) or even ignore Josephus' reference to a festival and place it between December of 36 C.E. and January of 37 C.E. (Smallwood 1954: 12–21). Others (Blinzler 1959: 180, n. 8) would move the second visit (§§122–24) back to Pentecost (ca. May–June) of 37 C.E., leaving the first one, as Josephus says, on Passover. It seems preferable, however, to assume with Otto (1913: 192–94, n. *) that both accounts in Josephus in fact refer to one and the same visit, during Passover of 37 C.E. The fact that each account focuses on different events reflects the fact that they are based on sources which were interested, respectively, in the high priesthood and in Herodian affairs (Schwartz 1981–82: 383–98). Thus, we may maintain the plain implication of §§89–90, namely that Pilate was suspended and sent to Rome ca. March of 37.

The issue concerning the beginning of his term is much more complicated. As we have noted, Josephus clearly states (*Ant* 18.2.2 §§33–35) that Pilate's predecessor (Gratus) was appointed after Augustus' death (14 C.E.) and served eleven years. It is odd, however, that these two, Gratus and Pilate, are the only governors of Judea for whom Josephus states the duration of their tenure (eleven and ten years, respectively). This oddity may become suspicious in light of a number of indications that Gratus' term was in fact much shorter, and Pilate's correspondingly longer. The following are the main indications that this was the case.

Josephus reports the end of Gratus' term and Pilate's appointment in his stead (*Ant* 19.2.2 §35) just before the founding of the city of Tiberias in ca. 19–21 C.E. (18.2.3 §§36–38), and the latter is followed by a long account of eastern events culminating (18.2.5 §§53–54) in Germanicus' mission to the East and his death there in 19 C.E. Only thereafter does Josephus begin his account of Pilate's term (18.3.1 §35). The implication is that the latter began ca. 19 C.E.

Similarly, Josephus interrupts his account of Pilate's term in Judea with an account of scandals concerned with Jews and Isis worshipers in Rome, which occurred, he says, "about the same time" (18.3.4–5 §§65–84); thereafter, he reverts to Pilate and Judea. The events in Rome are also recounted by Tacitus, who clearly dates them to 19 C.E. (*Ann.* 2.85). Here too, then, as in the preceding paragraph, the implication is that Pilate's term had begun by ca. 19 C.E.

All that Josephus recounts of Gratus' term as governor of Judea (18.2.2 §§33–35) is the removal and appointment of high priests. Gratus is said to have deposed one and appointed another, "not long thereafter" appointed a third, and "after a year" a fourth, who also served "for not more than a year" before he was replaced by a fifth, Joseph Caiaphas. At this point Josephus concludes his account of Gratus by saying that "having done these things Gratus returned to Rome." While Josephus goes on to say that Gratus had spent eleven years in Judea, the impression given by his narrative is of a term lasting more like four or five years.

According to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 1.9), anti-Christian *Acta Pilati* circulated in the early 4th century were obviously false since they were dated to 21 C.E., several years before Pilate was appointed, according to Josephus' chronological data. As Eisler (1931: 13–20) has argued, however, it is unlikely that falsifiers would have been so stupid as to have misdated Pilate, and it could well be that their copies of Josephus did not contain the data regarding his and Gratus' lengths of service.

It seems that coins were minted in Judea for 15, 16, 17, and 18 C.E., but thereafter only in 24 C.E. (Meshorer 1982: 177). An obvious explanation is that there was some administrative change in ca. 19 C.E., and such might well have been accompanied by a change of governors.

Moreover, while it is often argued, in this connection, that Josephus' account is in chronological disorder (and that little weight, therefore, may be ascribed to arguments from context and order), such a generalization should be applied with caution in any particular case. Furthermore, it seems that Josephus in fact ordered his material quite well. One need only realize that he generally brings events of marginal importance to his story (such as affairs in Parthia and in Rome) *after* the narration of events in Judea during the same period. This procedure at times results in Josephus placing such "marginal" events—which actually occurred *earlier* than the "main" events of a given period (e.g., term of a governor of Judea)—after his narration of the "main events," which actually occurred *later* (for a detailed analysis of *Ant* 18–20 which demonstrates Josephus' practice, see Schwartz 1982–83). In our case, Josephus' narrative seems to indicate the following: the fact that the account of the "main events" in *Ant* 18.2.2 (Judean governors and their administration of the province) is followed by accounts of "marginal events" in Galilee ca. 19–21 C.E. and in Parthia and Commagene ca. 2 B.C.E.–19 C.E. (i.e., before the beginning of Pilate's affairs) indicates that Josephus viewed the period before Pilate as one covering the years up to ca. 19 C.E. Similarly, the fact that Josephus narrates events in Rome in 19 C.E. after his central narrative on Pilate's affairs in Judea (18.3.4–5 §65–84), before returning to relate Pilate's final adventure, which led to his suspension from office (18.4.1–2 §§85–89), again indicates that Josephus viewed Pilate's term as one which began ca. 19 C.E.

That Pilate was appointed in that year is all the more likely in view of the fact that the years 17–19 C.E. saw Germanicus' mission to the East, a mission inspired, in part, by complaints from Syria and Judea over the tax burden (Tac. *Ann.* 2.42.5). It is not difficult to imagine Germanicus' efforts to appease the overburdened population including the replacement of Gratus with Pilate. In this connection we may note, finally, that Gratus' frequent firing and appointment of high priests contrasts sharply with Pilate's retention of Joseph Caiaphas, Gratus' last appointee, throughout his entire term. It may well be that Germanicus, as part of an attempt to assuage irate Judeans whose religious sensitivities had surely been wounded by Gratus' high-handed approach to their highest religious authority, denied Pilate the power to exercise further such control of the high priesthood.

**B. Title and Responsibilities**

While Josephus and Philo call Pilate *epitropos* (*JW* 2.9.2 §169; *Gaium* 299) and Tacitus uses its Latin equivalent, *procurator* (*Ann.* 15.44), various scholars early on suggested, on the basis of various comparable data from elsewhere in the empire, that pre-Claudian provincial governors were in fact known as "prefects," the later term "procurator" thus being anachronistic with regard to Pilate (Hirschfeld 1905: 382–85; Jones 1960: 115–25). Indeed, alongside *epitropos* Josephus uses *eparchos,* the Greek equivalent of "prefect," for several of Pilate's predecessors and successors (Lémonon 1981: 46–47), thus indicating that his usage of the latter for Pilate is probably not to be pressed. And the building inscription discovered in Caesarea in 1961 (Lémonon 1981: 23–32), which refers to him as "Pontius Pilatus Praefectus Iudaeae," would seem to settle the question. See Fig. PON.01. The NT uses only the nontechnical term *hēgemōn* (ruler) for him as for others, a usage paralleled in Josephus both with regard to Pilate (*Ant* 18.3.1 §55) and others (Lémonon 1981: 43–44). A similar popular insouciance concerning the fine points of titulary lies behind Luke's willingness (Acts 4: 26–27) to identify Pilate as an "archon" referred to in Ps 2:2 (LXX).

However, while "prefect" is a term with connotations more military than those of the administrative "procurator," it does not seem that this should guide our characterization of Pilate's responsibilities. While there certainly were troops at Pilate's disposal—auxiliary units of infantry and cavalry (*Ant* 18.4.2 §87)—they functioned more as police than as military forces. For more serious military endeavors responsibility rested with the legate of Syria, who had four legions at his disposal. In 37 C.E. we find one of those legates assisting Herod Antipas, and in 39–41 C.E. another was charged with enforcing Gaius' order to erect a statue in the temple of Jerusalem. But we hear of no involvement of the legate of Syria in Palestine during Pilate's tenure, a fact which might indicate that the period was generally quiet.

As governor of Judea, Pilate was responsible for all aspects of the Roman administration of the province. First of all, this meant he was at the head of its judicial system: note that when Josephus uses a shorthand phrase to indicate the governor's authority, that phrase is "with power even to execute" (*JW*

2.8.1 §117; in the parallel *Ant* 18.1.11 §2, he says simply "with full power"). The only details regarding Pilate as judge come from the NT with regard to the trial of Jesus. Pilate's other main responsibilities were fiscal: he was responsible for the collection of tributes and taxes, for the proper disbursement of funds for provincial needs, and for the forwarding to Rome of revenues and reports. However, we have no evidence regarding Pilate's activities in these fields, apart from his construction of an aqueduct—for which he is said to have used Jewish sacred monies (*Ant* 18.3.2 §2). Similarly, among the hundreds of Roman milestones testifying to Roman road building in Palestine, none so far indicates any such activity by Pilate. At best, one might note his coins (Meshorer 1982: 177–80) as evidence of care for the proper functioning of the marketplace.

**C. Pilate and Rome**

We have no information about any special background for Pilate's appointment to office. The governorship of Judea was not a very prestigious post and all of Pilate's predecessors in the position, as most of his successors as well, are otherwise unknown. While it has been speculated that Pilate may have had close ties to L. Aelius Seianus, the praetorian prefect who came to be the real ruler of Rome until his execution in 31 C.E. due to Tiberius' retirement to Capir, this hypothesis seems to lack any reasonable basis. Its main prop, Philo's claim that Seianus plotted against the Jews (*Gaium* 159–60), is unsupported and so difficult to square with the other known data that is better attributed to Philonian rhetoric, namely the need to have a dark backdrop against which Tiberius' benevolence to the Jews—which Philo presents before Gaius as an example—can shine out clearly (Hennig 1975: 160–79). On the other hand, John 19:12 need not mean that Pilate had specifically been awarded the title *philos tou kaisaros* ("friend of Caesar"). John's use of the title might only reflect his knowledge, or that of the Jews he "quotes," that such a title existed, a fact which they could have learned, for example, from the titulary of Agrippa I and II.

Pilate seems to have been given a free hand in governing his province. It is true, however, that on two occasions Pilate's Jewish subjects exerted pressure upon him by threatening to complain to Rome about him, and in one instance, we are told, they actually did so. But neither case appears to be historical. Namely, John 19:12 is part of that gospel's attempt (similar to that of other gospels) to portray a Pilate desirous of freeing Jesus; the Jewish threat to appeal to Caesar is therefore introduced in order to explain why the governor yielded to Jewish pressure. And Philo's claim (*Gaium* 301–5) that the Jews threatened to send an embassy to Tiberius, and in fact sent a letter which brought Tiberius' wrath down upon Pilate, is all only a part of this apologetic historian's attempt to portray Tiberius as beneficent to the Jews and therefore a proper model for Gaius. Only at the end of Pilate's governorship do we see imperial intervention, and it is interesting to note that this was in response to complaints not of Jews but rather of Samaritans (although some witnesses incongruously read "Jews" instead of "Samaritans" in *Ant* 18.4.2 §89). After Pilate had used violence to stop an armed demonstration by Samaritans near Mt. Gerizim, and had executed a number of their leaders, a Samaritan delegation complained to Vitellius, the legate of Syria. As we have already seen in our discussion of Pilate's chronology, Vitellius responded by suspending Pilate from office and sending him off to the emperor Tiberius (who died before Pilate arrived). This is a good example of the ambiguous relationship between the Roman governors of Judea and the legates of Syria: while the former were responsible to Rome and not to Antioch (for which reason Vitellius could neither remove Pilate from office nor appoint his successor), it was nevertheless clear that when a nearby representative of Rome was needed, Rome's senior official in the East and governor of the large province adjacent to Judea, headquartered at Antioch, was the natural address for both the governor of Judea and its population (Lémonon 1981: 59–71).

**D. Pilate and the Jews**

Apart from the Samaritan episode mentioned in the preceding paragraph, wherein everything but the unfortunate bloody end is unclear, all of the known episodes of Pilate's term of office concern his clashes with his Jewish subjects. The result is an impression of a very turbulent period characterized by hostility and violence between the governor and his subjects. Josephus created this impression by using *thorybos*, "tumult," as the leitmotiv of his pages on Pilate (*Ant* 18 §§58, 62, 65, 85, 88; Norden 1913: 638–44). Similarly, Philo generally describes Pilate's administration as one characterized by "his venality, his

violence, his thefts, his assaults, his abusive behavior, his frequent executions of untried prisoners, and his endless savage ferocity" (*Gaium* 302, trans. Smallwood 1954).

However, both of these Jewish historians should be taken here with more than a grain of salt. Philo's characterization of Pilate is part of his exaltation of Tiberius, and we may now add that it is so reminiscent of his general characterization of corrupt governors (*Flac* 105), even to the point of several cases of verbal identity, that it cannot be taken as being particularly applicable to Pilate (Schwartz 1987: 213–14). Josephus' implication that the word *ethorybei*, "outrage" (*Ant* 18.3.5 §65) properly characterizes the execution of Jesus and the scandal in Rome (18.3.5 §§81–84) is misleading. Neither event in fact seems to have been associated with a "tumult," although there has been much speculation about the original text of the *Testimonium Flavianum.* Moreover, the Roman affair had nothing to do with Pilate. Josephus' narrative thus leaves us with only two clashes between Pilate and the Jews: the issues of the military ensigns (18.3.1 §§55–59) and the aqueduct (18.3.2 §§60–62). Of these, only the latter (perhaps to be identified with the enigmatic episode mentioned in Luke 13:1) ended with bloodshed. This is not a bad record for a term as long as Pilate's; later governors, who served for much shorter periods, would do much worse. Similarly, we may recall here the fact that Pilate, as opposed to his predecessor, left the same high priest in office throughout his term, something which probably contributed to maintaining Jewish acceptance of Roman rule. And while it is true that some of Pilate's coins included Roman cultic symbols, we hear of no opposition on this ground. Indeed, only a few years after Pilate's suspension Agrippa I, a Jewish king, was minting coins showing human figures and cultic scenes potentially more abrasive to Jewish religious sensitivities than Pilate's (Burnett 1987: 35–37). Apparently most Jews, being practical with regard to Roman and Herodian rule, were willing to let Caesarea be Caesarea as long as Jerusalem—where Agrippa minted only aniconic coins (Burnett 1987: 25; Meshorer 1982: 57–60)—could remain Jerusalem. Just as Pilate learned this lesson through the episode of the military ensigns, he may well have applied it with regard to his coins as well.

Thus, the impression that Pilate's tenure was stormy is probably misleading. This impression, cultivated by Josephus, should be viewed as part of his general apologetic attempt to portray Roman governors as incompetent and cruel, thereby helping to explain the eventual rebellion against Rome. Pilate's tenure was probably one of continued underlying friction between governor and governed, now and then breaking out in brief incidents (note "the riot" of Mark 15:7), but not so much as to stop him from becoming, apparently, the longest-serving Roman governor of Judea. While Rome would be happy to seek a form of government for Judea which, after Pilate, would insert a Jewish, not Roman, middleman between Rome and the Jews, we need not assume that the grounds for the friction were to be found in the particular characteristics of Pilate's personality, policies, or administration. Rather, the friction was inherent in the very phenomenon of Roman rule in the land many Jews considered to be God's.

**E. The Events of Pilate's Governorship**

We read of several discrete incidents during Pilate's term of office, but in a few cases it is difficult to decide whether different references allude to the same events. Such is especially the case for two of the events mentioned in the NT: "the Galileans whose blood Pilate had mixed with their sacrifices" (Luke 13:1) and the "riot" (Mark 15:7; Luke 23:19). It may well be that these two references refer to the same event, and it may be that one or both of them allude to the event reported in *Ant* 18.3.2 §§60–62, but there still appears to be no way of proving or eliminating any of these possibilities.

This type of question can be considered, however, with regard to an incident described by Josephus (*JW* 2.9.2 §§169–74 and *Ant* 18.3.1 §§55–59) and one reported by Philo (*Gaium* 299–305). The incidents reported are strikingly similar: both report that Pilate introduced into Jerusalem items in honor of Tiberius which aroused Jewish protests on religious grounds; eventually, Pilate removed the offending items to Caesarea. So great is the similarity of the two accounts that it was formerly common to assume that both refer to the same event. Since the 19th century, however, it has become much more common to emphasize the differences between the two accounts. These are, especially, the fact that Philo refers to aniconic shields while Josephus refers to busts of Tiberius, and the fact that Josephus portrays Pilate backing down in the face of the Jews' obdurate willingness to suffer martyrdom rather than tolerate the iconic ensigns

while Philo describes how the Jews brought Tiberius into the picture, and it is only at his orders that Pilate removes the offending shields from Jerusalem.

It seems that the earlier view (that the two authors describe the same event) is to be preferred (Schwartz 1983). Both of the above-mentioned differences in Philo's account must be seen as part of his attempt to portray Tiberius as a role model for Gaius. Namely, such a motive explains not only the introduction of Tiberius into the story, but also the transformation of the offending object into something aniconic. This allows for a striking *argumentum a minori ad maius*, which Philo makes quite explicit (§306): if Tiberius was upset over the attempt to bring something aniconic into Jerusalem, how much the more so should Gaius refrain from bringing in a statue. And, similarly, if Tiberius defended the sanctity of Jerusalem, how much more should Gaius respect the sanctity of the very Holy of Holies of the temple. In any case, it is quite difficult to understand why the Jews protested Pilate's act if, as Philo claims, the shields were aniconic; for other cases of Philonic denials which patently contradict the rest of his story, see *Gaium* 261, *Flac* 27–28 (Schwartz 1987: 86–87, n. 37). As for the discrepancy between Philo's shields and Josephus' standards, note that in *Ant* 18.3.1 §§55–56 (as in 18.5.3 §121) Josephus refers to the offending objects as images *attached to* the military standards and not as the standards themselves. There is ample evidence for such attached images being embossed upon shields (Schwartz 1983: 33). It is thus easier to assume that the two historians are referring to the same event.

After reporting the incident associated with the military standards, Josephus, in both of his works, goes on to report that Pilate used Jewish sacred funds to construct an aqueduct and that he encountered Jewish opposition which his troops put down bloodily. While it may be that the Jewish protestors were upset by the use of sacred funds for secular purposes (Feldman, *Josephus IX* LCL, 46–47 N.B.), insufficient attention has been paid to Josephus' statement that the Jews' complaint had to do with "what was done regarding *the water*" (not "the money," *Ant* 18.3.2 §60). This being the case, and given the fact that one of the aqueducts which brought water to Jerusalem in the Roman period ran through a cemetery (a fact which aroused the opposition of some if not all Jews; Patrich 1982: 25–39), it may be that the issue was not so much the use of sacred funds as a lack of concern for the water's ritual purity. As for the precise identification of Pilate's aqueduct, the matter is complicated by the conflict between Josephus' works regarding its length: 400 furlongs according to *Jewish War*, but only 200 according to *Antiquities* (corresponding to approximately 46 and 23 miles, respectively; for the remnants of aqueducts to the S of Jerusalem and their possible attribution to Pilate, see Lémonon 1981: 168–70).

Apart from the clash with the Samaritans, about which little may be said with certainty except that it led directly to Pilate's suspension from office (*Ant* 18.4.1–2 §§85–89), the only other notable event was the trial and execution of Jesus of Nazareth. See TRIAL OF JESUS. Here we are concerned only with Pilate's role. Tacitus simply states that Pilate had Jesus executed (*Ann.* 15.44), and Josephus, in the *Testimonium Flavianum* as we have it (*Ant* 18.3.3 §§63–64), adds only that Pilate did so upon Jesus' being accused by prominent Jews. See also JOSEPHUS (PERSON). Neither historian tells us what charge(s), if any, was brought against Jesus. Nevertheless, the Gospels make it abundantly clear that the charge was one of rebellion, one which was eminently in the domain of the Roman prefect. As for the Gospels' claim that Pilate was in fact unconvinced of Jesus' guilt and was forced by the Jewish mob to execute Jesus against his own better judgment, this appears to be part of the apologetics of the early Church. The Gospels' portrayal of a Jesus who posed no threat to Roman order is to be classed along with Josephus' many portrayals of lst-century charismatics who were, it would seem, uninvolved in anything political but nevertheless executed by the Romans. They all reflect the situation of apologists for religious groups which had learned how to get along in the Roman Empire: by worshipping deities whose kingship was not of this world, and therefore did not compete with the emperor's kingship. Indeed, we may well believe Luke's report (23:12) that after Jesus' trial Pilate and Herod Antipas became friends, since only recently Herod too had executed someone very similar to Jesus, John the Baptist, whose teachings had won him popularity. We may assume that the reasoning Josephus gives for Antipas' move—"it would be much better to strike first and be rid of him before his (John's) work led to an uprising, than to wait for an upheaval, get involved in a difficult situation and see his mistake" (*Ant* 18.5.2 §118, trans. Feldman)—

was good enough for Pilate vis-à-vis Jesus; for a similar "nipping in the bud," see *JW* 2.13.4 §260. As for the "prior enmity" between Pilate and Antipas which Luke mentions, one may only speculate (Otto 1913: 182–83; Hoehner 1972: 175–83).

**F. Aftermath and Afterlife**

After Vitellius suspended Pilate from his post in the spring of 37, we hear of no governors in Judea until the appointment of Cuspius Fadus in ca. 44 C.E., after the death of Agrippa I (*Ant* 19.9.2 §363). Fadus was appointed, according to Josephus, in order to avoid the attachment of Judea to the province of Syria, whose governor at the time had been hostile to Agrippa. The obvious implication of this explanation is that the province of Judea had been abolished, so that the end of the Jewish monarchy would lead to the land being part of Syria. This makes sense only if Judea had been attached to Syria during the years 37–41, that is, between Pilate's suspension from office and Agrippa's enthronement as king of Judea; indeed, the same is implied not only by Philo's designation of Petronius, the Syrian legate in 39/40 C.E., as "the governor of *all* Syria" (*Gaium* 207), but also by other considerations as well (Schwartz 1987: 72–77). In other words, after Pilate was suspended Caligula seems to have annexed Judea temporarily to Syria, just as Tiberius had done a few years previously with regard to Philip's territories (*Ant* 18.4.6 §108). And just as the latter were passed on to Agrippa in 37 C.E. (*Ant* 18.6.10 §237), so too was he to be given Judea as well. The move probably reflects, apart from Caligula's friendship with Agrippa, a basic underlying dissatisfaction with the system of direct rule, which all too frequently resulted in friction between the governor and the governed. Thus, Pilate's term of service played an important role in paving the way for the establishment of the last attempt at Jewish rule of Judea under Roman auspices.

Virtually nothing is known about Pilate's personal later life. Claiming a basis in ancient historical sources, Eusebius reports that Pilate came to be afflicted with such calamities that he committed suicide in 39 C.E. (*Chron.*, Helm, 178; *Hist. Eccl.* 2.7.1). The reliability of this notice has been doubted (Lémonon 1981: 268), due to its lateness and due to a certain vacillation in the way in which Eusebius refers to his sources. Nevertheless, the insistence that the notice was transmitted by ancient historians should not be lightly dismissed. Moreover, Eusebius' claim represents such a pointed deviation from the thrust of prior Church tradition that it is reasonable to assume that he wrote of Pilate's suicide precisely because he had uncovered material to that effect. Of course, we have no reason to assume that Pilate's troubles were due to his execution of Jesus or to remorse over that act; the complaints which brought about his suspension from office could well have resulted in proceedings in Rome which became unbearable (Brunt 1961).

The general thrust of Church tradition about Pilate consisted of a continuation of the Gospels' tendency to exonerate Pilate and put all the onus for the death of Jesus upon the Jews. In various *Acta Pilati* and related early Christian literature we find the repeated emphasis that Pilate had recognized Jesus' innocence and that Jesus was in fact executed by the Jews; and from portraying Pilate as recognizing Jesus' innocence it was a short step to present Pilate actually recognizing Jesus' divinity as well. See PILATE, ACTS OF. Thus, already Tertullian (ca. 200) could state that Pilate was a believer in the truth of Christianity. This was a very necessary and functional procedure, given the threatened status of the missionary religion in the empire: its spokesmen had to be able to argue that the empire's representative who had actually had the closest contact with Jesus, far from considering him a criminal worthy of condemnation, in fact thought him innocent or even more. Thus, what Paul could not do to Agrippa (Acts 26:28), the Church in fact did do to Pilate (Lémonon 1981: 249–71). As Winter points out (1974: 88–89), it was only the Christianization of the empire which removed the need for such apologetics: "Constantine eventually became converted—and Pilate missed canonization." But not totally—in the Ethiopic and Coptic churches he is indeed counted among the saints (Volkoff 1969–70).

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**PONTUS** (PLACE) [Gk *Pontos* (Ποντος)]. The name of a kingdom which occupied much of the S seaboard of the Black Sea (Gk *Pontus*), after which it was named. Residents of this region are referred to in several NT passages (Acts 2:9; 18:2; 1 Pet 1:1). The S part of this region contained a series of mountain ranges running E–W which collectively constituted the Paryadres range. Two large river systems (Halys and Iris) ran N through the mountains and provided both water and routes for communication. The kingdom's large Iranian population constructed relatively few cities, in this resembling its S neighbor, Cappadocia. Settlement remained mainly rural throughout antiquity, the principal pursuit being the growing of widely varying crops, including grains, fruits, and nuts. Rich pasturelands and an ample supply of timber, metals, and salt added to the considerable wealth of Pontus.

Pontus displayed the typical Iranian pattern of a powerful nobility with rich estates, controlling society under the suzerainty of a monarch who normally descended from a single royal family. The Hellenistic practice of intermarriage with other dynasties also prevailed in Pontus; Seleucids, Cappadocians, and Ptolemies appeared prominently in various marriages. The ruling house of Pontus prided itself on descent from the Achaemenid Persian Darius the Great.

The dominant figure in Pontic history of the late 2d and early 1st centuries before Christ was Mithradates VI, known to the Greeks as Mithradates Eupator. Soon after his accession in 120 B.C., he revealed his ambitions by murdering his mother, Queen Laodice (a Seleucid), and then his brother. Early on he determined to expand his ancestral kingdom into an empire, gradually extending his power over the Black Sea coast, Colchis, and northward into the Crimea. Then he turned S and conquered Paphlagonia, Phrygia Major, Armenia Minor, and subsequently Cappadocia.

This led him toward conflict with Rome, which regarded Cappadocia as an essential constituent of its own nascent empire in Asia Minor. To prepare himself for the inevitable struggle, Mithradates sought alliance with Parthia and with Armenia, marrying his daughter to Tigranes the Great of Armenia.

The hereditary claims of Mithradates to portions of his new holdings did not offset in Roman eyes their treaties, especially with Paphlagonia and Cappadocia. Nicomedes III of Bithynia at first cooperated with Mithradates, but soon perceived his danger. After marrying Laodice, the daughter of Mithradates who had

entered the Cappadocian royal line, Nicomedes III boldly invaded Cappadocia himself. This failed, but Mithradates had to abandon plans to control Cappadocia through his sister, instead installing there his son as King Ariarathes IX.

The Cappadocians preferred to avoid rule by Pontus, however disguised, and appealed to Rome. The famous election of a new dynasty under Ariobarzanes I merely shifted the strategy of Mithradates to a series of invasions, expelling the new king five or six times in the following 30 years. This policy led Mithradates into three wars with Rome, precipitated in 89/88 B.C. by his slaughter of thousands of Romans then resident in Asia Minor and adjacent islands.

The dynastic policy of holding territory through the installation of relatives as rulers helped Mithradates during this long period of warfare. In this way, he held a considerable block of territory. His armies ranged throughout Asia Minor and parts of the Balkan peninsula, penetrating as far S as Athens. Control of these forces usually lay in the hands of close relatives of Mithradates.

Though regarded initially as a savior, Mithradates gradually lost favor among the Greeks. His measures seldom accorded with the aspirations of free cities; his Persian satrapal system entailed, rather, a governor for most cities, directly responsible to himself, and the Greek cities came to resent this. For example, Ephesus openly turned from support for him to an alliance with Rome.

As the years of warfare wore on, his commanders increasingly defected. The rise of a Pontic empire to take its place alongside those of Armenia, Parthia, and Rome began to lose momentum by 69 B.C., when Lucullus won a great victory for Rome at Tigranocerta. Tigranes retired to his own kingdom of Armenia, and Mithradates spent six largely fruitless years trying to hold his own empire together. At the end of his life, in 63 B.C., he succumbed to the treachery of a faithless son.

This man, Pharnaces II, now succeeded, but found it necessary to submit to Pompey. In return for recognition as king of Bosporus, he watched while Rome began to subdue Pontus and convert it into a province.

The mixture of royal precincts, temple estates, Greek states on the coast, and a rural hinterland made it difficult for Romans to organize. In any case, a large part of the former kingdom of Pontus lay outside the new province; these regions were held by neighboring kings.

About a dozen years after the death of Mithradates, Pharnaces II felt strong enough to begin recovering portions of the ancestral kingdom. The civil war between Pompey and Caesar seemed to him an opportunity to accelerate this movement, and he regained much of Pontus. The arrival of Caesar in 47, who "came, saw, and conquered" Pharnaces, ended this phase.

A branch of the family now took up rule in the Bosporus, and from it descended a long line of rulers there.

A son of Pharnaces II named Darius reigned in Pontus from 39 to 37 B.C., but this ended rule by the ancient royal line. In his arrangements for the East, Antony put forward several new kings, loyal to himself, including Archelaus of Cappadocia. He found as well a new king for Pontus.

Polemo I, the son of an aristocrat from the Greek city of Laodiceia on the Lycus in Asia Minor, proceeded to the rule of Pontus in 37. He bore no relation to any royal family in Asia Minor, so far as presently known. If that was his situation, Antony chose him to ensure that his loyalty would remain undivided.

Polemo served vigorously, soon gaining full control of Pontus and then assisting Antony against Parthia. He extended his control into Colchis and later into Armenia Minor.

At Actium, Polemo was represented by an army, but did not attend in person. At least by 26 B.C., he received the recognition of Augustus, and became a "friend and ally" of the Roman people. Polemo moved to reestablish the claims of Pontus to Bosporus, where he married its queen Dynamis, granddaughter of Mithradates Eupator.

The marriage may not have lasted: she is later recorded ruling apparently alone, and he eventually had another wife, Queen Pythodoris, probably a granddaughter of Marc Antony by an eastern woman (*ANRW* 2/7: 913–30). She, like Polemo, came from W Asia Minor, in her case the town of Tralles near the Maeander river, lying some 60 miles W of his ancestral town, Laodiceia.

From this marriage, Polemo had three children, one of whom later served as queen of Thrace and one as king of Armenia. His five grandchildren included another queen of Thrace and a king of Thrace, a king of Armenia Minor, a queen of Bosporus, and King Polemo II of Pontus.

Polemo met his death fighting in the Bosporus, perhaps about 8 B.C. Queen Pythodoris succeeded to the throne of Pontus, where her coins mount to "Year 60." Estimates of her regal span run as high as A.D. 35. She survived a second husband, King Archelaus of Cappadocia; he died in Rome in A.D. 17.

The last king of Pontus, Polemo II, the grandson of Pythodoris and Polemo I, came to the throne in A.D. 38, recognized by Caligula, with whom he had been "raised together." Polemo ruled during the demanding times when the Julio-Claudians sought to solve "the Armenian question" by force; under Nero, he occupied a portion of Armenia. He also ruled part of Cilicia.

Polemo attended an important meeting of allied kings held by Agrippa I, grandson of Herod the Great, in A.D. 44. Josephus (*Ant* 19 §338–42) records this assembly of six kings and notes that it alarmed the Roman governor of Syria.

Polemo's marriage to Julia Bernice of Judea, a great-granddaughter of Herod the Great, failed early. However, he apparently married a princess from Emesa who became Queen Julia Mamaea; a joint coinage with her calls him "Great King," possibly referring to his brief rule in a part of Armenia.

The Parthians took over Armenia in A.D. 66, but by then Polemo had lost Pontus. He was said to have abdicated voluntarily, about A.D. 63 (Suetonius, *Nero* 18). He apparently retained his responsibilities in Cilicia and issued coins there for several years more. One type can be dated to the reign of Galba in A.D. 68 (Sullivan 1979: 6–20).

Pontus earned its prominence in NT times. Two dynasties, the ancient house to which Mithradates Eupator belonged and the "Zenonid" house from which both Polemos arose, conferred stability on Pontus during the 1st century B.C. and most of the 1st century after. After 63, the land entered the Roman system of provinces. For centuries longer, ecclesiastical lists and the general Church councils continued to note some of its cities under the descriptive rubric, "Pontus Polemoniacus" (Jones 1971: Appendix IV, Table xxiii).

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**POOL OF SHELAH.** See SHELAH, POOL OF.

**POOL OF SILOAM.** See SILOAM, POOL OF.

**POOR, POVERTY.** This entry consists of two articles, one surveying how the subjects of poverty and poor people are treated in the Hebrew Bible, and the other surveying how these subjects are handled in the New Testament.

### *OLD TESTAMENT*

Poverty in the Hebrew Bible denotes (1) a lack of economic resources and material goods; and (2) political and legal powerlessness and oppression. Neither a social class nor a political party in ancient Israel, the poor constituted a diverse body of social actors: small farmers, day laborers, construction workers, beggars, debt slaves, village dwellers.

Various strands of the biblical text discuss the plight of the poor, offering diverging analyses of their situation. *Legal texts* regulate the treatment of the poor; in particular, the legal codes seek to ensure the social well-being of the poor through the redistribution of goods and food, and through the establishment of restrictions regarding slave ownership (i.e., the system of debt servitude) and the treatment of wage laborers. *Prophetic texts* concern themselves with the poor who are economically exploited by the large

landowners and ruling members of ancient Israelite society. The *wisdom tradition* divides over the question of poverty: Proverbs, in a somewhat condescending and possibly censorious tone, promotes the traditional wisdom view that poverty is the undesirable consequence of laziness, whereas Job, and to a lesser extent Ecclesiastes, understand poverty to be the result of political and economic exploitation. The *Psalms* display a rich language for poverty and many texts discuss God's concern for the poor at least in general terms. However, though much scholarly work has been devoted to characterizing the ideas of poverty found in the Psalter, it is difficult to determine to what extent the language has moved away from concrete cases of poverty to a more spiritualized level of worship discourse. Outside of these blocks of literature, the topic of poverty is treated only occasionally. The *narrative literature* of the Pentateuch is unconcerned with the issue; likewise, the Deuteronomistic History does not take up the topic. Ruth (3:10), Esther (9:22), and Daniel (4:24—Eng 27) only touch on poverty in an ancillary way. More significantly, the question of poverty emerges as an issue in the reforms of Nehemiah (5:1–13).

When investigating the meaning of these words, it is important to keep in mind that context and usage, *not* etymology, are decisive in determining the meaning of a word. While this observation may seem obvious, too many of the studies of the Hebrew terms for "poor," particularly of the vocabulary in the Psalms (e.g., Rahlfs 1892; Birkeland 1932), have mistakenly become enmeshed in a discussion of Hebrew verbal roots or the Semitic cognate background of the term, rather than on a word's actual usage. It is far more important to explicate the semantic field of these words as they actually appear in the biblical text (cf. Wittenberg 1986).

It is also important to note the distribution of the vocabulary throughout the Hebrew Bible: no one biblical writer or text uses all the Hebrew terms for "poor"/"poverty." In fact, the distribution reveals a selectivity on the part of the biblical authors: *rāš*, for example, is a wisdom word and not a prophetic word. This selectivity should also alert us to the fact that even when the various blocks of the biblical text make use of the same Hebrew term, the writers may not mean the same thing by that term: in Proverbs, for example, the *dal* is a lazy person; whereas for the prophets, the *dal* is an object of exploitation. By way of a contemporary illustration, we would say that a future historian investigating religious and political movements of the late 20th century would need to be aware that groups using the word "liberty" and groups using the word "liberation" diverge from one another in terms of their social analysis and often in terms of their sociological background. This is the case, even though the terms "liberty" and "liberation" share a common etymology. The same considerations apply where these political movements make use of the same term, such as "poor," since they mean radically different things by this word.

There are a number of Hebrew words for "poor"/"poverty": *ʾebyôn, dal, dallâ, maḥsôr, miskēn, miskĕnût, ʿānî, ʿănāwîm*, and *rāš*. (The reader may wish to note that these words are treated in Hebrew alphabetical order, with the exception of *raš*, which has been moved forward to highlight its connection with other wisdom words for "poor.")

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A. The Beggarly Poor: *ʾebyôn*
B. The Poor Peasant Farmer: dal
C. The Lazy Poor: *maḥsôr*
D. Poverty Is Better: *miskēn*
E. Political and Economic Inferiority: *rāš*
F. The Injustice of Oppression: *ʿānî*
G. A Political Movement of the Pious Poor?: *ʿănāwîm*
H. Conclusion

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**A. The Beggarly Poor: *ʾebyôn***

The term *ʾebyôn* ("economically or legally distressed; destitute; beggar") occurs 61 times in the Hebrew Bible.

**1. In the Prophetic Corpus.** The word appears 17 times in the prophetic literature, where it can connote (1) general physical insecurity and homelessness (Isa 14:30; 25:4; Amos 8:4); (2) hunger and

thirst (Isa 32:6–7; 41:7; Ezek 16:49); (3) mistreatment by the rulers of society and other evildoers (Isa 29:19; Jer 2:34; 20:13; Ezek 18:12; 22:29; Amos 4:1); (4) unfair handling of legal cases (Isa 32:7; Jer 5:28; 22:16; Amos 5:12); and (5) economic exploitation (Amos 2:6; 8:6). Humbert characterizes the occurrences of this term in the prophetic literature as "sporadic" (1952: 3). However, it seems more correct to suggest that *ʾebyôn* appears in a particular strain of the prophetic material, and, when used in tandem with *ʿānî* and *dal*, represents a stylized mode of expression for speaking of poverty (cf. van Leeuwen 1955: 16; see further under F.1 below). It is noteworthy that Micah chose not to use *ʾebyôn* or any of the other terms for "poor," even though his oracles addressed the subject of poverty in stark detail. (The divergence in word choice may lend additional support to Wolff's thesis that Micah stems from a rural background; 1978; 1981: 17–25).

**2. In the Psalms.** The word *ʾebyôn* appears 23 times in the Psalms, most often in Psalms of Lament. The situation of the *ʾebyôn* is described rather vaguely by such terms as "robbed" (Ps 35:10; Heb *gzl*) or "suffering" (107:41; Heb *ʿônî*). They are the victims of the "wicked" (Heb *rāšāʿ*), an otherwise undefined group (109:16). Only two psalms give more specific data. In one (Ps 37:14), the poor are depicted as the victims of the swords and bows of the wicked; perhaps the writer intends us to understand this concretely, though it is also possible that it is metaphorical for any kind of suffering. From the other text (Ps 132:15)—with its statement that God gives food to the *ʾebyôn*—we can infer that the poor are those who lack nourishment, a concrete understanding of the term that is consistent with the word's usage in the prophetic (see above) and legal materials (described below). The notion that God assists the poor *(ʾebyôn)* is expressed in a number of psalms: some portray God as the one who rescues the poor (Pss 35:10; 40:18—Eng 17; 69:34—Eng 33; 70:6—Eng 5; 72:12, 13; 109:31; 113:7; 140:13—Eng 12), while others are prayers calling on God to help the *ʾebyôn* (Pss 72:4; 82:4; 86:1; 109: 22).

Humbert maintains that since the Psalms were cultic texts, they were infused with royal ideology and governed by foreign influence (1952: 3). However, the high proportion of instances of *ʾebyôn* in the Psalter contrasts markedly with the rarity of the term in Proverbs and the complete absence of *ʾebyôn* in the narrative literature of the Pentateuch and Deuteronomistic History (DH)—texts that certainly reflect royal literary traditions. The Psalms' diverse vocabulary for poverty requires an explanation other than Humbert's view that they are imbued with royal ideology. The diverging vocabulary distribution between the Psalter and the narrative literature would seem to favor the view that the Psalms embody a variety of cultural influences, not simply royal tradition, and reflect a diverse set of ideas regarding matters of social justice, though with a less sharply defined agenda than the prophets.

**3. In Wisdom Texts.** The term *ʾebyôn* occurs in the wisdom texts of Proverbs (4 times) and Job (6 times). In Proverbs, the word only occurs once in all of the sentential literature of Proverbs 10–29, and there it is linked with the word *dal*; the text states that helping the *ʾebyôn* is one way to honor God (Prov 14:31). (When discussing poverty, Proverbs 10–29 typically uses *dal*, *maḥsôr*, and *rāš;* see below.) The other three occurrences of the term are found in chaps. 30–31 of Proverbs, and there it is always paired with *ʿānî*. In the words of Agur (Prov 30:1–33), it is said that there are some who devour the poor (Prov 30:14), though the precise meaning of this statement is not specified. In the sayings of Lemuel's mother, the hearer is enjoined to assist the poor (Prov 31:20) and speak out for them in their legal cases (Prov 31:9). The rarity of the term *ʾebyôn* in Proverbs is significant: it was definitely a prophetic (see above) and legal term (see below) and not the preferred word for Israel's "wise" to describe poverty (for wisdom terms, see *dal, maḥsôr, miskēn*, and *rāš* below).

In Job, the *ʾebyôn* are victims, whether of economic injustice (Job 24:4) or murder (Job 24:14). The book explores Job's relation to the poor, tracing Job's efforts to assist and defend them: he assisted them as a father would (Job 29:16); he grieved for them in their misfortune (Job 30:25); and he clothed them (Job 31:19). The book emphasizes these concrete deeds as the basis of Job's innocence before his friends (and to God). Job's actions match those of the God who saves the poor *(ʾebyôn)* from the strong (Heb *ḥāzāq*), a theme set out early in the book (5:15) and to which the book inexorably works as it seeks a solution to the problem of the suffering of the innocent.

The term *ʾebyôn* occurs more times in Job than it does in Proverbs, and while it is difficult to know precisely what significance to accord such a small sampling, this slightly larger number of instances in Job does seem to fit a curious distribution pattern for the words for "poor" in the Hebrew Bible: the terms for "poor" in Job (*ʾebyôn, dal, ʿānî*) are those also found in the prophetic writings, while the most distinctive wisdom words for "poor" *(maḥsôr, miskēn, rāš)* are conspicuously absent from Job. This gives the book of Job its "prophetic" character. Likewise, the book's defense of the poor and its concrete understanding of their situation mirrors the prophetic analysis of poverty (see Pleins 1987).

**4. In Historical Narratives.** It is striking that the term *ʾebyôn* is missing from the narrative materials of the DH and of the Pentateuch. Indeed, the overall scarcity of any of the terms for "poor" in these extensive bodies of narrative material is noteworthy, suggesting that ancient Israel's historians were reluctant to take up the topic of poverty (see further E.3 below). For the DH, this means a rejection (or at least an avoidance) of the prophetic contention that both Israel and Judah were destroyed in part because they mistreated the poor. This historian instead attributed the collapse of the kingdoms to the failure of kingship and to cultic abuses.

In the course of the DH, the word *ʾebyôn* occurs only in the Song of Hannah (1 Sam 2:8), a poetic text inserted into the larger block of narrative materials. This solitary appearance casts in sharp relief the historian's preference to avoid the topic of poverty. Clearly, the radical sentiments regarding poverty expressed in the Song of Hannah have little to do with the overall agenda of the Deuteronomistic Historian, who has selected the poetic text mainly because it enhanced the writer's support of the establishment of the rule of David through the agency of Samuel.

The only other occurrence of *ʾebyôn* in historical narratives is in the later text of Esther (9:22), where the term appears to refer to those to whom alms are given, that is, to beggars (cf. *BLe*, 500; Humbert 1952: 6). This reference lends support to the view that *ʾebyôn* refers to the beggarly poor.

**5. In the Legal Materials.** When *ʾebyôn* does appear in the Pentateuch, it occurs (9 times) only in restricted sections of the legal materials in Exodus and Deuteronomy (Exodus 23; Deuteronomy 15; 24). In Exodus, one is enjoined not to subvert the legal judgments made on behalf of the *ʾebyôn* (Exod 23:6); elsewhere they are permitted to eat the food that grows on land that has been left fallow (23:11). Humbert's observation that the legal material envisions the *ʾebyônîm* (plural) as those who are deprived of a proper diet (1952: 4–5; cf. Exod 23:11) is consistent with other instances of *ʾebyôn* in the Hebrew Bible (Isa 32:6–7, 41:7; Ezek 16:49; Ps 132:15). Deuteronomy 15 picks up on this latter Exodus text and expands on the topic of the fallow year by taking up the knotty issue of lending to the poor as the Sabbatical Year approaches, which is repeatedly encouraged throughout the passage (vv 4, 7, 9, 11). The term occurs only one other time in Deuteronomy, where it is legislated that poor laborers, whether natives or foreigners, must receive their wages (Deut 24:14). From these legal texts we obtain the picture that the *ʾebyôn* are landless wage laborers living on the edge of existence. Certainly this is consistent with the notion that this level of poverty includes begging as a way of life.

**6. Meaning, History, and Etymology.** There seems to be no evidence for the view that the term *ʾebyôn* has a religious connotation of patient, pious endurance amid misery as some have maintained (Kuschke 1939: 53; *GesB*, 4; van Leeuwen 1955: 16). The term simply points out severe economic deprivation. This condition may evoke the concern of God and the community, but the poverty of the *ʾebyôn* in and of itself is not considered a virtue or a way of life to be pursued for religious reasons.

On the basis of the use of *ʾebyôn* in Exodus 23 and in Amos, Humbert argues that the word came into play during the royal period; he further maintains that it did so under foreign influence, as evidenced by its appearance in such literature as the Psalms and the wisdom writings—texts which have "royal" connections (Humbert 1952: 3–4). However, it is terribly difficult to date the psalmic and wisdom materials; furthermore, the Covenant Code of Exodus 23 doubtless reflects premonarchic (not royal) legal traditions. Likewise, it is very difficult to agree with Humbert that the word *ʾebyôn* held a more important place in the time of the monarchy but fell into disuse in later periods (Humbert 1952: 3). The term is found throughout the Psalms—texts that are difficult to date, but which surely stem from both preexilic

and postexilic times. Finally, it is hard to know how to assess the possible effects of foreign influence on Israel's literature as mediated through monarchic institutions.

As an adjective, the word *ʾebyôn* has been commonly linked with and derived from the verb *ʾābâ*, "be willing, consent" (*BDB*, 2) and its Semitic counterparts (cf. Birkeland 1932: 21; *TDOT* 1: 27–41; *THAT* 1: 20–25; Kuschke 1939: 53; van Leeuwen 1955: 15; von Soden 1969). One problem with the linkage between *ʾebyôn* and *ʾābâ* is that many of the analyses tend to confuse English "want" in the popular and active sense of "to be willing" with "want" in the older and passive sense of "to be lacking something"; *ʾābâ* appears only to mean "to be willing; to desire" and not "to be in need" (von Soden 1969: 324). This interpretation finds support in the Old Aramaic Barrakab inscription from Zinjirli (THAT 1: 20; Barrakab line 14; KAI no. 216; cf. *TSSI* 2: 90), which reads: "And my brothers, the kings, desired [*htnʾbw*] all the richness of my house." Yet, this would argue in favor of linking *ʾebyôn* with the verb *yʾb/tʾb,* "long for," attested only in Psalm 119 and possibly representing Aramaic influence (Ps 119:40, 131, 174; cf. *THAT* 1: 21; Honeyman 1944: 81). This suggestion finds some support from *Leviticus Rabbah*, which states, "He is called *'ebyon'* because he longs [*mtʾb*] for everything" (*Lev. Rab.* 34:6, Soncino edition). On the whole, however, the precise relation between *ʾebyôn* and *ʾābâ* remains difficult to specify, and in any event does not clarify the meaning of *ʾebyôn.* The problems associated with the search for a Semitic background for *ʾebyôn* have led some to postulate an Egyptian origin for the term in the Coptic *EBIHN* "a poor, wretched person" (Crum 1939: 53; cf. *TDOT* 1: 28–29; Lambdin 1953: 146). However, since counterparts to *ʾebyôn* crop up in Ugaritic (*ʾabynt*; Aqhat I:17) and Amorite (von Soden 1969), there seems to be no need to seek a Coptic derivation for the term. Ward, in fact, suggests that the Coptic was borrowed from a Semitic original (1960: 32).

**B. The Poor Peasant Farmer: *dal***

The term *dal* ("poor; weak, inferior; lacking") is used 48 times in the Hebrew Bible, and half of these occur in prophetic and proverbial texts. In many cases it seems to allude to the plight of the beleaguered peasant farmer.

**1. In the Prophetic Corpus.** The term *dal* appears 12 times in the prophetic literature, less frequently than the words *ʾebyôn* or *ʿānî.* It can connote (1) unfair treatment in legal cases (Isa 10:2; 11:4); (2) unfair grain taxes paid to the large landowners (Amos 5:11); (3) abuses in the debt-slavery system (Amos 8:6); and (4) a lack of grazing land (Isa 14:30). Elsewhere, the term is used of those who suffer exploitation and oppression of an undefined character (Isa 26:6; Amos 2:7; 4:1). On two occasions God is depicted as the protector of the *dal* (Isa 25:4; Zeph 3:12). For Isaiah, God's liberation of the poor will lead to their trampling those who are in power (Isa 26:5–6). For Jeremiah, the *dal* stand in contrast to society's political and religious authorities (Jer 5:4–5; Heb *gĕdōlîm*). One text in Jeremiah explicitly defines *dal* as one "who has nothing" (Jer 39:10), meaning people who lack vineyards and fields. In the prophetic texts, therefore, the term *dal* depicts the politically and economically marginalized elements of society. The mention of severe grain taxes (Amos 5:11) and lack of sufficient grazing and farmland (Isa 14:30; Jer 39:10) suggests an agricultural background for this word—a background that is confirmed by uses of the word *dal* elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible (see below).

**2. In Narrative and Legal Texts.** The term *dal* appears only 5 times in the Pentateuch. It is found twice in legal contexts where the exhortation is made not to show favoritism toward persons, whether rich or poor, when making legal decisions (Exod 23:3; Lev 19:15). The word appears twice in ritual contexts, once where the *dal* is enjoined to pay the same census tax as the "rich" (Heb *ʿāšîr*), and once where the poor are permitted to bring less costly offerings because of their status as people of lesser means (Exod 30:15; Lev 14:21). It is difficult to know why in the one case the rich and poor are not distinguished, whereas in the other, the poor are treated according to their financial circumstances (cf. Lev 5:11; 12:8). It may be that the principle of not showing favoritism to the poor had its limits, or it may be that the *dal* was not the poorest of the poor, that is, a person entirely without property, but was someone of modest means who stood somewhat above the *ʾebyôn* on the social ladder (cf. *TDOT* 3: 219; Kennedy 1898: 84–86). Because of the agricultural nature of the passages (*TDOT* 3: 219), the texts may have in mind the "small farmer" (cf. the discussion on *dallâ* below). The only other occurrence of *dal* in the Pentateuch is in a

narrative context where the subject is not poverty but a description of the emaciated condition of the cows in Pharaoh's dreams (Gen 41:19). This most vividly captures something of the image that must have come to mind when an Israelite thought of the condition of the *dal*. Note that the distribution of the word *dal* follows the same pattern as other words for "poor" in the Pentateuch: it occurs almost exclusively in legal texts and is only rarely found in the narrative materials, and when found in the narrative materials, the terms are rarely used to discuss poverty per se.

The term appears incidentally three times in the DH, not surprisingly in contexts focusing on issues other than poverty. Twice the word is used to indicate the political weakness of one group in relation to another (Judg 6:15; 2 Sam 3:1), and once it is used to speak of Amnon's dejected and haggard appearance—the result of his frustrated sexual desires for Tamar (2 Sam 13:4). Thus, though rare in the DH, the use of the word in this narrative material gives us two layers of meaning that illuminate the notion of *dal* elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible: (1) political weakness; (2) physically worn out. However, none of the occurrences of the term *dal* in the DH carries with it the notion of "poverty," which does set its usage apart from usage elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. Finally, we may note that in the course of the DH, the word *dal* also turns up in a poetic context (1 Sam 2:8), the Song of Hannah (see A.4).

Elsewhere in the narrative texts, *dal* appears only in Ruth (3:10), where it stands opposite *ʿāšîr*, "rich," and means simply "poor": Boaz praises Ruth for not turning to younger men, whether poor or rich. Considering the agricultural context of the book of Ruth, it is perhaps no coincidence that the narrator chose to use a word for "poor" that applies to poor peasant farmers.

**3. In the Psalms.** Notably, the word *dal* is quite rare in the Psalter, occurring only 5 times in 4 psalms. Most of the occurrences concern God's care of the poor (Pss 72:13; 82:3, 4; 113:7), though the situations are largely left undefined. One text alludes to injustices in matters of law, for God calls on the divine assembly to judge the poor justly (Ps 82:3). While most of the texts concern God's attitude toward the *dal*, only one text deals with a person's relation to the poor, where a blessing is pronounced on those who are considerate toward them (Ps 41:2). The Psalms are thus even more vague about the *dal* than they are about the *ʾebyôn*, making it difficult to know how explicit these texts intend to be about physical poverty.

**4. In Wisdom Texts.** In contrast with these rather sporadic occurrences throughout the biblical corpus, the frequent use of *dal* in Proverbs (15 times) and in Job (16 times) suggests at least in part that this was a wisdom term. This is particularly the case for Proverbs: when one considers the statistics for those words for "poor"/"poverty" that Proverbs shares with other blocks of biblical material—namely *ʾebyôn*, *dal*, and *ʿānî*—the word *dal* is definitely the preferred proverbial word for expressing the wisdom tradition's understanding of poverty. The statistical difference between the frequent use of *dal* in Proverbs and its rare occurrence in the Psalms is thus primarily a synchronic matter of conscious word choice (reflecting diverging ideological perspectives) rather than a diachronic matter of the Psalms being later than Proverbs (when *dal* supposedly fell into disuse in the postexilic period, as Fabry [*TDOT* 3: 215] suggests; cf. Donald 1964: 29). The fact that *dal* appears 11 times in Sirach confirms the notion that *dal* is a favorite word of wisdom writers, even in very late periods.

In Proverbs, the term *dal*, like *maḥsôr* and *rāš* (see C. and E. below), is used only in chaps. 10–29, i.e. the sentential literature (contrast *ʾebyôn* above). This type of poverty is contrasted with wealth: it shatters the poor (10:15); it is a friendless circumstance (19:4); however, it may produce insight that the rich can fail to grasp (28:11). Charity toward the poor is elevated as a virtue of the wise person, though the motivation for such benevolence is to reap the rewards that come from having a reputation for magnanimity (19:17; 22:9; 29:9). Although the life of poverty is certainly no virtue to the proverbial writers, the pursuit of wealth should not involve mistreating the poor. Frequently wisdom warns of the dangers inherent in attempting to profit off the *dal* (14:31; 21:13; 22:16; 28:3, 8, 15).

In Job, the word *dal*, like *ʾebyôn*, becomes the measure of Job's innocence. However, unlike *ʾebyôn*, which is nearly always on the lips of Job, the word *dal* is almost always used by one of Job's accusers. This is appropriate if we consider that Job's friends are caricatures of wisdom teachers—the word *dal* is supposed to be on their lips. In the first instance (5:16), Eliphaz uses the term *dal* (along with *ʾebyôn*) to frame the book's challenge against Job concerning his treatment of the poor—a theme that is pursued in

greater detail after chap. 20. Zophar speaks of the *dal*, and in true proverbial fashion he notes that the wicked who profit off the poor will lose their wealth (Job 20:10, 19). Zophar's use of the word *dal* is the first use of a term for "poor" since Eliphaz's challenge in chap. 5; we should see in this a conscious effort on the writer's part to reassert the accusation against Job regarding his treatment of the poor. In so doing, the writer uses this word to mark a significant turning point in the discussion: from this chapter on, the treatment of the poor becomes a major motif in the book and for Job's friends it is a central issue in assessing Job's integrity. Twice Elihu mentions the *dal* and speaks of God's attitude toward the poor. On the one hand, God is impartial toward both poor and nobles (Heb *śārîm;* 34:19); on the other hand, God is said to strike down the wicked, and thus the cry of the poor comes to God (34:28; the statements of Elihu have notable counterparts in the Pentateuch, see above; cf. the later Sir 35:12–14, also in the wisdom tradition). All of these uses of *dal* in accusatory contexts render Job's own use of *dal* most poignant: he claims to have met the needs of the poor (31:16). In each occurrence, it is clear that the writer has in mind the very concrete suffering of the poor—suffering that is not experienced by the well-to-do. Unfortunately, the text does not seek to further specify the nature of the deprivation experienced by the *dal*.

**5. A Ugaritic Text.** The ancient and widespread concern for the *dal* is strikingly confirmed in the Keret Epic (14th century B.C.E.). In one passage, King Keret is denounced by his son Yassib, who accuses his father of failing to execute the duties of the royal office, blaming this failure on his father's weakness and illness. In the course of his diatribe, Yassib sustains his critique of the king by pointing out how the poor, specifically the *dl*, have been treated: "You do not banish the extortioners of the poor [*dl*]" (Gibson 1977: 102). Interestingly, this passage groups together the mistreatment of the *dl* with the failure to feed the orphan *(ytm)* and the widow *(ʿalmnt)*—a word grouping that directly parallels the biblical vocabulary concerning the disenfranchised (cf. Isa 10:2; Ps 82:3–4; Job 31:16–17).

**6. *dallâ*, pl. *dallôt*.** A related term, *dallâ*, occurs twice in 2 Kings and three times in Jeremiah. In all these passages, the term refers to a social grouping or class at the time of the Exile, a group generally thought to represent the lowest orders of society (2 Kgs 24:14; 25:12; Jer 40:7; 52:15, 16). The *dallat ʿam hāʾāreṣ*, "poor of the people of the land," *dallat/dallôt hāʾāreṣ*, "poor of the land," and the *dallôt hāʿām*, "poor of the people," are those who remained in Judah after the Babylonian invasion of 587 B.C.E. They are explicitly depicted as people who were forced to work for the Babylonian conquerors as agricultural laborers, suggesting that this phrase may refer to "poor farm laborers" (cf. CAD 3: 173). Curiously, the narrative in Jeremiah (39:10) diverges significantly from its counterpart in 2 Kings (25:12). Whereas in 2 Kings the Babylonian commander is said to force the *dallâ* to be vineyard workers and field laborers for the conqueror, the reading in Jeremiah is altered to produce a radically different picture: there the *dal* are not forced laborers, but simply people to whom vineyards and fields are given. It would seem that the writer of Jeremiah has toned down the depiction of the Babylonians to cast the conqueror in the best possible light—a view that is consistent with other sections of Jeremiah (e.g., chaps. 27 and 29). In any case, these passages link the terms *dallâ* and *dal* to agricultural vocations, and their usage in 2 Kings and Jeremiah lends support to the view developed in this section that these terms refer to poor peasant farmers.

### C. The Lazy Poor: *maḥsôr*

The word *maḥsôr* ("lack of, or need for, material goods") occurs 13 times in the Hebrew Bible, mainly in Proverbs. Its rarity throughout the rest of the Hebrew Bible would seem to mark off *maḥsôr* as a wisdom term.

**1. In Wisdom Texts.** Of the 8 occurrences in Proverbs, only one (6:11) is outside chaps. 10–29. Similarly, *dal* and *rāš* only occur in Proverbs 10–29. This vocabulary distribution serves to bind together chaps. 10–29 and isolate them from chaps. 1–9 and 30–31. Proverbs 1–9 is instruction that is largely unconcerned with the topic of poverty; chaps. 30–31 use a different terminology, namely the combination *ʿānî* and *ʾebyôn* (see A.3). In Proverbs, *maḥsôr* connotes (1) poverty that results from laziness (6:11; 14:23; 21:5; 24:34), and (2) poverty that results from excessive living (21:17). Since the ethic of Proverbs is the ethic of the bureaucratic elite (cf. Pleins 1987), the text tends to stress hard work and moderation.

As a result, the wise are terribly concerned about the dangers of laziness. And yet, the wisdom teachers do not completely denigrate those who are poor: generosity toward the poor is a virtue in the wisdom tradition, and the wise warn that a lack of generosity can lead one into poverty (11:24; 22:16; 24:34).

Significantly, the word does not appear at all in Job or Ecclesiastes. The absence of this term and several others from Job is one line of argument for separating the social agenda of Job from that of Proverbs.

**2. In Legal Texts.** The term appears only once in the Pentateuch in the legal materials of Deuteronomy, where the community is enjoined to lend to the poor what they lack in material goods *(maḥsôr)* as the Sabbatical Year approaches (Deut 15:8). The context implies concrete items, though they are not specified. The rarity of the term in the Pentateuch is one indication that the *maḥsôr* had particular importance in the wisdom sphere.

**3. In the Psalms.** The word *maḥsôr* appears only once in the Psalter, in a supposed Thanksgiving Hymn (Psalm 34). However, the particular verse in question (v 10) is part of a section that looks more like a Wisdom Psalm (viz. 34:9–15). The text states that those who fear God lack *(maḥsôr)* nothing, and by implication appears to mean they do not lack food (cf. 34:11), though this may be metaphorical.

**4. In Historical Narrative.** Elsewhere, the word is found only in Judges (3 times). One occurrence is in the story of the Danite spies (Judg 18:1–31), who investigate the town of Laish and find it a prosperous place like Sidon (cf. Judg 18:7), a town where nothing is lacking (*maḥsôr;* Judg 18:10). Clearly, material goods are meant here. Twice the term *maḥsôr* occurs in the story of the Levite's concubine (Judg 19:1–30). The Levite and his concubine report that they do not lack *(maḥsôr)* any necessary supplies, listing in their possession such items as animal fodder, bread, and wine (Judg 19:19). And in reply the Ephraimite man tells them that "all you need [*maḥsôr*] I will take care of" (Judg 19:20). In both cases, *maḥsôr* denotes a lack of material goods.

**D. Poverty Is Better: *miskēn***

The word *miskēn*, "poor," is a late Hebrew term for "poor," appearing only in the wisdom text of Ecclesiastes (4 times).

One text in Ecclesiastes (4:13) advises that it is better to be a poor *(miskēn)* youth than an old, foolish king who fails to heed warnings. The youth can rise out of the prison of poverty (Heb *bēt hāsûrîm*), but the king is in danger of collapsing into poverty *(rāš).* Another text (9:14–16), elevates the wisdom of a poor but wise man, who could have saved the town in time of siege if only the people would have heeded the poor man's advice. Such comparative statements about wisdom amid poverty are also found in Proverbs (19:1, 22; 28:6). While Ecclesiastes reflects the typical wisdom teaching on this point, the writer also acknowledges the systemic nature of poverty (see E.1 below).

A related term denoting scarcity of material goods, *miskĕnût*, appears once in Deuteronomy (8:9).

**E. Political and Economic Inferiority: *rāš***

The word *rāš* ("economically poor, of modest means; beggar, bum") occurs 22 times in the Hebrew Bible, mainly in wisdom texts, and should be viewed as a wisdom term (it does not appear at all in the Pentateuch or the prophetic writings); the word *rāš* refers to someone who is politically and economically inferior, frequently referring to someone who is lazy.

**1. In Wisdom Texts.** The majority of occurrences are in Proverbs (15 times), all restricted to the sentential literature of chaps. 10–29 (cf. the usage of *dal* and *maḥsôr* in this regard). In Proverbs, this term connotes (1) poverty that results from laziness (10:4); and (2) want that arises from disordered living (13:23). This type of poverty is seen to be a friendless condition (14:20; 19:7; 28:3). The wisdom analysis of the origins of poverty in personal laziness diverges radically from other streams of biblical tradition, such as the prophetic and legal, which see the problem of poverty in terms of social structures and power arrangements. The wisdom analysis is to be explained by the fact that sociologically it finds its home in the educational circles of the social elite of ancient Israel (see Pleins 1987). Thus the term *rāš* often stands in contrast to "rich" (Heb *ʿāšîr* in 13:8; 14:20; 18:23; 22:7; 28:6; verb *ʿāšār* in 10:4). In one of these texts (18:23), the word *rāš* would seem to be best translated as "beggar" or "bum," for the text depicts this person imploring the rich for assistance. Consistent with the proverbial philosophy, this type of poor

person is not to be mocked because God creates all people (17:5; 22:2; 28:27; 29:13). The term *rāš* is used on several occasions to teach that there are worse things than poverty, namely perverse speech and stupidity (19:1), lying (19:22), and evil deeds (28:6). Obviously, the use of this teaching device does not mean that the wise cultivated poverty as a virtue; rather, they drew on these proverbs to help their students grasp how one acts if one embodies wisdom. Wisdom is more than knowing how to respect wealth and poverty.

The word *rāš* is used twice in Ecclesiastes. One text (4:14) concerns the contrast between the poor but wise youth and an old, foolish king who does not heed warnings and collapses into poverty (see D. above). In another passage, the word *rāš* is used in the context of structural economic exploitation, a usage that is unusual for *rāš.* The writer says that one must not be surprised by the "exploitation of the poor [*rāš*]" in a province, for society is structured in such a way that those above exploit those who are below them on the social ladder (Eccl 5:7). Though the writer's sentiment is rather cynical about the situation of the poor, the author turns the meaning of the word *rāš* on its head by suggesting that *rāš* is *not* a poverty that results from laziness as the writers of Proverbs maintained; this inversion of categories moves Ecclesiastes in the direction of Job and the prophets, who also emphasize the structural origins of poverty.

The word *rāš* does not appear at all in Job; this lack is yet another factor that sets Job apart from Proverbs, even though both are generally regarded as wisdom texts (see C.1 above). That the book of Job avoids the term *rāš* strengthens the view we have argued for above that the book of Job is more akin to the prophetic materials in terms of language and social analysis than it is to the wisdom tradition, at least insofar as Proverbs is a typical representative of this tradition (a comparison with Egyptian wisdom materials shows Proverbs to be quite typical of the international wisdom tradition with regard to its understanding of poverty; see Pleins 1987).

**2. In the Psalms.** The word *rāš* appears only once in the Psalter, in a so-called prophetic oracle, where God calls on the divine assembly to bring about just legal decisions for the poor (Ps 82:3). This passage is rich in its use of terms for the "poor" (*dal, ʿānî, rāš, ʾebyôn*, and *yātôm* ["fatherless"] all occur in 82:3–4). All are victims of the ill-defined *rĕsāʿîm*, "wicked, guilty" (cf. Baudissin 1912: 216–17; Munch 1936: 19).

**3. In Historical Narrative.** Like the word *dal*, the word *rāš* is unusual among the words for "poor" in that it crops up at least a few times (4 times) in the course of the DH. The first instance concerns the rising figure of David in the court of Saul; David sees himself as an insignificant individual when compared to the importance of the ruling king, Saul (1 Sam 18:23). This use of *rāš* is comparable to DH's use of the term *dal:* the word is not used to bring up the topic of poverty; rather, it specifies political inferiority. The other uses of *rāš* in 2 Samuel all occur in the context of Nathan's parable addressed against the adulterous affair and murder perpetrated by King David. In the immediate context of the parable, the *rāš* is depicted as one who owns only one small sheep in contrast to the rich person who owns many flocks and herds (2 Sam 12:1–4). Clearly the term has a strong economic flavor to it, and the text tacitly recognizes the cruelty of the rich when they steal what little the poor possess. However, the purpose of the text is not to critique economic relations in the manner of the prophetic texts or the book of Job (the term *rāš* is not prophetic and is the wrong word to put in the mouth of a prophet); rather, the text seeks to make explicit the political miscalculations of King David. In this way, the Deuteronomistic writers are actually quite consistent in their use of *rāš* and *dal:* these words are used to stress political weakness and are not drawn on to analyze or critique the situation of the poor in their society. The topic of poverty is not on the agenda of DH.

**F. The Injustice of Oppression: *ʿānî***

The term *ʿānî* ("economically poor; oppressed, exploited; suffering") is the most common term in the Hebrew Bible for "poverty," occurring 80 times in the biblical corpus.

**1. In the Prophetic Literature.** The word *ʿānî* is the most prominent of the terms for "poor" in the prophetic literature, where it appears 25 times and connotes (1) economic oppression (Isa 3:15; Ezek 18:12; cf. Deut 24:12; Ezek 22:29; Amos 8:4); (2) unjust treatment in legal decisions (Isa 10:2); and (3)

victimization through deception (Isa 32:7). Concretely, the society's leaders are said to have robbed the poor of their possessions (Isa 3:14; cf. Second Isaiah below). In another case, Ezekiel actually transforms the story of the destruction of Sodom by applying an economic interpretation: Sodom was destroyed because it withheld food from the poor (Ezek 16:49; cf. Gen 18:16–19:29). For First Isaiah and Jeremiah, the liberator of the poor is the king (Isa 14:32; Jer 22:16). In other prophetic texts, Yahweh alone is portrayed as the champion of the oppressed (Hab 3:14; Zeph 3:12; cf. Second Isaiah below).

The term *ʿānî* is used in two characteristic ways in the prophetic literature. First, it is frequently paired with *ʾebyôn* (Isa 14:30–32; 32:7; 41:17; Jer 22:16; Ezek 18:12; 22:29; Amos 8:4), a grouping found frequently in the Psalms (15 times), and to a lesser extent in Proverbs 30–31 (3 times), Job (3 times), and Deuteronomy (2 times). The pair represents a somewhat stylized rhetorical device for speaking of poverty, and is the product of either prophetic or cultic influence, though which is difficult to determine. If the pair represents prophetic influence, this would lend further weight to the thesis that Job is adapting prophetic rhetoric. Secondly, on several occasions in the prophetic literature, the term *ʿānî* is linked with the word "people" (Heb *ʿam;* Isa 3:15; 10:2; 14:32; Zeph 3:12). Curiously, the only other uses of *ʿānî* with "people" occur in Exodus (22:24) and in two psalms (18; 72). The Exodus text represents premonarchic legal traditions and is probably the precursor to the other uses of *ʿānî* plus "people." This may put into context Micah's appeals on behalf of the "my people" (Mic 3:3, et al.), indicating that the prophet is in touch with ancient, possibly village, legal traditions. However, the Psalms use the combination of *ʿānî* and "people" in royal contexts (18:28; 72:12), which indicates a shift from a village to an urban context. It seems, therefore, appropriate that Isaiah, whose teachings are preoccupied with a royal ideology, should use this combination as well.

Perhaps the most significant use of *ʿānî* in the prophets occurs in Isaiah 40–66. The writer(s) of these chapters makes exclusive use of *ʿānî* in all but one passage, and even there *ʿānî* is combined with *ʾebyôn* (41:17). This nearly exclusive emphasis on *ʿānî* represents a deliberate word choice as the writer reshapes the prophetic notion of the "oppressed poor" to apply it to the sufferings of the exiles in Babylon. According to the earlier prophets, Israel and Judah were judged for their exploitation of others, i.e., for making others *ʿānî.* With Second Isaiah, the entire nation has endured divine judgment, and through its captivity in Babylon, Israel as a whole has become *ʿānî.* The prophet seeks to explain the implications of this new phase in the community's historical experience. To this end, the prophet develops two main themes around the term *ʿānî.* The first theme is that the wrath of God against Jerusalem is temporary (51:21; 54:11; cf. 48:9–10). The community will not remain in captivity forever as if abandoned by God. Judgment will give way to a new exodus and liberation (cf., e.g., 43:16–20; 63:9–13). The prophet's second theme is that the people should, therefore, continue to hope amid the debilitating circumstances of exile, standing firm in the face of the oppressor, namely Babylon (49:17; cf. 51:12–14, 22–23). Second Isaiah's view is that God takes note of and will assist the nation that has suffered political and economic oppression at the hands of one of the major political powers of the day. God is particularly concerned about this kind of suffering (66:2); and it would seem that the traditional translation of this text, that God looks to the "humble," seriously weakens the creative force of Second Isaiah's understanding of Israel as *ʿānî*, "politically oppressed."

This prophet's notion of *ʿānî,* while somewhat more abstract than previous prophetic usage, continues to contain concrete aspects. The *ʿānî* are those who search for water, but have none (41:17), though this may be a somewhat metaphorical statement concerning the general yearnings of the exiles for liberation. The *ʿānî* are also depicted as homeless (58:7), though this passage is more in the spirit of the earlier prophets since it seems to apply to a portion of the people and not the people as a whole. Admittedly, the prophet has expanded the concrete character of the term in most instances; nevertheless, the general and terribly concrete situation of political and economic oppression indelibly stamps Second Isaiah's concept of poverty. This is not a theology of humility in the more detached or spiritualized sense.

**2. In the Psalms.** The word *ʿānî* occurs 31 times in the Psalter (30 Kethib; 1 Qere) and represents the preferred term for "poor" among the cultic writers. The term appears most often in Psalms of Lament. As with the Major Prophets and Amos, the Psalms frequently pair up *ʾebyôn* and *ʿānî* (15 times; see A.1 and

F.1 above). The poets utilize the term *ʿānî* when characterizing God's relation to the poor: they call on God not to ignore or forget the *ʿānî* (9:13—Eng 12; 9:19; 10:12 [= 9:33]; 70:6—Eng 5; 74:19). In many cases, this is a self-reference to the one who sings the Psalms (25:16; 40:18—Eng 17; 69:30; 86:1; 88:16; 102:1; 109:22). It is God who rescues or provides for the *ʿānî* (12:6—Eng 5; 18:28; 22:25; 34:7; 35:10; 68:11; 82:3; 140:13—Eng 12).

Rarely do the Psalms give specific details about the sufferings of the *ʿānî*. The poor are depicted generally as being hounded and seized by the wicked and strong (10:2, 9; 14:6; 35:10; 37:14; 106:16) or being plundered (12:6—Eng 5). Most concretely, the *ʿānî* are homeless (25:16; Heb *yaḥîd*); murdered with bows and swords (37:14; unless this is metaphorical); and in physical pain (69:30).

Only one royal psalm expressly depicts the king to be the champion of the poor (Psalm 72). The poet calls on God to give the king the ability to judge justly (72:2), which translates into upholding the legal claims of the poor (72:4, 12). The rarity of the connection between the king and the poor in the Psalms would seem to indicate that the Psalms do not intend to work out a theology detailing the state's responsibilities toward the poor or one that challenges the rulers for their failure to face societal injustices; this contrasts sharply with the social burden of the prophets.

**3. In Wisdom Texts.** The word *ʿānî* finds frequent usage (16 times) throughout the wisdom literature, appearing 8 times in Proverbs, 7 times in Job, and once in Ecclesiastes.

In Proverbs, the word is scattered through the major blocks of the text. The term appears once in the instructional texts of Proverbs 1–9. This is unusual since none of the other words for poverty except *maḥsôr* (6:11) occur in this part of the book. The passage (3:34) relates the attitude of God who scorns the scoffer but favors the righteous and the *ʿānî*. In the sentential literature of Proverbs 10–22, the term *ʿānî* occurs four times. Three of these occurrences reflect themes that are developed in greater detail through the use of other words for "poor" in Proverbs: (1) showing favor to the *ʿānî* brings fortune to the giver (14:21); (2) the lot of the *ʿānî* is terrible (15:15); and (3) it is better to be among the poor than to share the plunder of the arrogant (16:19). The most unique use of *ʿānî* in the sentential literature occurs in a section that is known as the "Sayings of the Wise" (Prov 22:17–24:34), a text which has clear connections to the Egyptian instruction of Amenemope (Bryce 1979: chaps. 1–3). The writer exhorts the student not to rob the *dal* or "crush the afflicted [*ʿānî*] at the gate" (22:22). While it is true that the wise often oppose the abuse of the poor, this is the only text that speaks of the gate, i.e., the mistreatment of the poor in legal cases. The atypical nature of the text must be taken as a sign that there is legal or prophetic influence at work here, strongly suggesting that the wise exerted little direct influence on the direction of the legal system in ancient Israel. The only other points where the wisdom, prophetic, and legal traditions really meet concern false weights and measures (Prov 11:1; 16:11; 20:10, 23) and property lines (Prov 23:10–11). In any case, the Proverbial tradition lacks the comprehensive and rather concrete social justice vision for the *ʿānî* that we find in the legal and prophetic materials (contra Malchow 1982).

Chaps. 30–31 of Proverbs make use of the pair *ʾebyôn* and *ʿānî* (see A.1 and F.1 above)—one fact among several considerations that sets these chapters off from the rest of the text of Proverbs. All three occurrences in these chapters reveal an awareness of the concrete suffering of the *ʿānî* that is unique in Proverbs. The *ʿānî* are devoured by the power-holders of society (30:14). In chapter 31, King Lemuel is exhorted to defend the legal case of the *ʿānî* (31:9). The wise and capable wife shows her compassion by opening her hand to assist the *ʿānî* (31:20). The meaning of *ʿānî* that we gain from these texts is one of concrete suffering and exploitation, though it must be observed that the specific situations of the *ʿānî* are not detailed by the sages.

A comparison of the various terms for "poor" in the Psalms and Proverbs makes it clear that while both use the term *ʿānî*, the difference in the distribution of the terms reflects the differing social visions of the writers. On the one hand, for the psalmists, the term is of distinctive importance in the context of worship and liturgy. By contrast, the divergent social agenda of Proverbs is underscored by the fact that Proverbs proportionately uses the cultic/prophetic term *ʿānî* less and the wisdom-nuanced term *dal* more than the Psalter. To put this another way, the cultic social agenda, however ill-defined it may seem, did not exert great influence on wisdom views about poverty; likewise, whatever wisdom influence there may be in the

Psalms (especially the so-called "wisdom" Psalms), that influence did not extend to the shaping of the Psalter's understanding of the poor.

The book of Job again yields a vocabulary that diverges from Proverbs, a rhetorical feature that also serves to distance Job from the ideology of traditional wisdom thought. In the discussions between Job and his friends, it is only Job that uses the term *ʿānî*. The sufferings of the *ʿānî* are very concrete: they are forced into hiding (24:4); their children are seized as a pledge (24:9; cf. 2 Kgs 4:1–7); and they are murdered (24:14). Once again, the substance of Job's language is prophetic in character: he speaks quite concretely about the suffering of the *ʿānî*. Job's wise friends scrupulously avoid the term, as one would expect from the distribution in Proverbs. Job finds the solution to the question of suffering in his posture toward the poor: he rescued those who cried out (29:12). Curiously, the other uses of *ʿānî* in Job are on the lips of Elihu (who twice uses the term *dal*). This is rather anomalous and may lend support to the view that the Elihu chapters are a later addition to the text. In many ways, Elihu speaks like a psalmist, for he stresses God's action in coming to the aid of the *ʿānî* (34:28; 36:6, 15). Perhaps then we should see Elihu not as a "wisdom character" but as a representative of the cultic community.

For the writer of Ecclesiastes, the *ʿānî* find no benefit in this world, even when they may acquire the ability to manage their own affairs. Pondering the fact that God gives wealth only to deny its enjoyment (Eccl 6:1–7), the writer asks, "What advantage then has the wise man over the fool, what advantage has the pauper [*ʿānî*] who knows how to get on in life" (Eccl 6:8, *JPS*). The writer focuses on the negative side of the ancient wisdom view that the gods or fate bring both prosperity and misfortune (cf. Ptahhotep #10; Amenemope VII:1–6, XXI:15–16; Aksheshonq 12:3; 22:25; 26:8; 26:14; P. Insinger 7:18; 17:2; 28:4; 30:15).

**4. In Legal Texts.** The term *ʿānî* finds its way only into restricted sections of the Pentateuch 7 times: 5 times in the legal materials (Exodus 22; Deuteronomy 15; 24) and twice in the priestly writings of Leviticus. The legal texts are keyed to the Covenant Code's (Exodus 21–23) concern for lending to "my people," i.e., the *ʿānî* among the people. One cannot exact interest when lending to the poor. Statements concerning the *ʿānî* in Deuteronomy 15 and 24 simply represent a later commentary on the text in Exodus. Both chapters elaborate on lending to the poor. In one passage, provision is made to ensure that the poor continue to receive loans even as the time of loan suspension, the Sabbatical Year, approaches (15:11). In the other passage, lending is likewise the topic, but here the concern is to forbid the lender from keeping and sleeping in the garment a poor person has given in pledge (24:12). The use of the term *ʿānî* in this passage causes the editor to mention another law related to the *ʿānî*, in this case the poor laborer. Such laborers, whether foreigners or nationals, are not to be mistreated; they should receive their wages the same day (24:14–15). The priestly material on the *ʿānî* is likewise very concrete: these poor are reduced to gleaning the edges of harvest fields and vineyards for food (19:9–10; 23:22). The *ʿānî* is someone who has no real estate (cf. Rahlfs 1892: 74–75) and little to eat. All the legal and priestly texts clearly focus on the economic deprivation of the *ʿānî*, as do the prophetic texts. Yet, unlike the prophetic texts, the pentateuchal materials try to spell out the specifics of society's obligations toward those who are economically deprived.

**5. In Historical Narrative.** As with other terms for poverty, the word *ʿānî* does not appear in the narrative portions of the Pentateuch or the DH. In fact, the only appearance of the term in the DH is in the poetic text of 2 Samuel 22, which actually represents the transferral of a liturgical text (roughly parallel to Psalm 18) into the narrative material. The contrast between the overwhelming number of occurrences of this word throughout large tracts of the Hebrew Bible and its striking absence from the Pentateuchal narrative and DH shows us how relatively unimportant the issue of poverty was for Israel's early "historians." This has direct implications for our understanding of the contrast between the philosophies of history held by the prophets and by the "historians" (see further E.3 and H).

**6. Semitic Cognates.** Discussion of the word *ʿānî* cannot be entirely separated from a discussion of the related verbal form *ʿānâ*, often defined as "be bowed down, afflicted" (BDB, 776). The *Piʿel* or transitive form of the verb, which constitutes the bulk of the verb's occurrences (57 out of 80), has a very concrete sense, namely "to oppress, abuse, rape." In a major study of the terms for oppression in the Hebrew Bible,

Pons (1981: 103) concluded that *ʿānâ* "never has as its object something inanimate, but always persons, and, in particular, the body" (cf. *THAT* 6: 247–70; *TDNT* 6:885–915; contrast Delekat 1964). A vivid cognate example appears in the famous Moabite stele: "Omri, the king of Israel, oppressed [*wyʿnw*] Moab for a long time because Chemosh was angry with his land. Then his [Omri's] son [Ahab] succeeded him and he also said, 'I will oppress [*ʾʿnw*] Moab' " (lines 4–6; cf. *TSSI* 1: 74; *KAI* no. 181). As in biblical Hebrew, the Moabite text confirms that the verb denotes political oppression. A possibly related example occurs in the Baal Cycle (14th century B.C.E.). Tsumura (1982) suggests that the text reads: "Give up Baal, and I will *humble* [*ʿnn*] him/ Dagan's son, that I may dispossess his gold" (*KTU* 1.2:I:35; cf. *OTA* 1983: 246–47). This interpretation of the passage, while not certain, is possible, and the pairing of *ʿnn* with the rather concrete phrase "dispossess his gold" suggests that "to humble" must also be understood as some sort of concrete suffering or deprivation, not simply as personal humiliation.

The experience of poverty is brought out in a related Aramaic example from the text of Ahiqar (line 105): "I have tasted even the bitter medlar and have eaten *endives* but there is nothing more bitter than poverty [*ʿnwh*]" (Lindenberger 1983: 89). Another cognate occurs in biblical Aramaic, where Daniel (Belteshazzar) calls on Nebuchadnezzar to "do away with your sins through righteousness and [get rid of] your offenses by showing kindness to the poor [*ʿnyn*]" (Dan 4:24—Eng 27).

Some treat *ʿānî* and *ʿānāw* as products of the same root with no differentiation in meaning (Hupfeld 1867; van den Berghe 1962; Aartun 1971). Rahlfs derives them both from the same root meaning, "the lower position that a servant takes toward a master," but he suggests that *ʿānî* denotes the condition of suffering, whereas *ʿānāw* bears a more religious sense, that of humbling oneself before God (1892: 70, 73–80). Rahlfs' view has tended to dominate the discussion. Some argue that the two terms have separate origins, but not necessarily distinct meanings: Birkeland (1932: 19–20) held that *ʿānāw* may not have existed in early biblical Hebrew but entered at a later point under the influence of Aramaic, a position advocated by George (*DBSup* 7: 387). Birkeland denied the view that *ʿānāw* is more religious or that *ʿānî* is more secular in tone (1932: 15), though by this he meant that *ʿānî* at times may mean "humble" (Birkeland 1932: 16)—a view that is difficult to sustain in light of its usage throughout the biblical corpus.

**G. A Political Movement of the Pious Poor?: *ʿănāwîm***

The term *ʿănāwîm* ("poor; pious, humble[?]") is a plural form for a supposed singular *ʿānāw* and occurs 24 times in the Hebrew Bible. The word appears in the prophetic literature, in the Psalms, and in wisdom texts. Although this is not the most common word for "poor" in the Hebrew Bible, it is one of the most frequently discussed among scholars because many see in *ʿănāwîm* a merger between poverty and piety, possibly marking a political movement among the pious poor (see Lohfink 1986). A problematic singular form that appears in Num 12:3 is discussed below.

**1. In the Psalms.** The word *ʿănāwîm* appears 13 times in the Psalms, where it appears mainly in Psalms of Lament. As with the term *ʿānî*, the poets draw on *ʿănāwîm* to characterize God's relation to the poor. In the psalmists' vision, God actively relates to the *ʿănāwîm* by rescuing and guiding them, though precisely what this entails is difficult to determine from the texts (25:9; 34:3—Eng v 2; 69:33—Eng v 32; 76:10—Eng v 9; 147:6; 149:4). The poets observe that God does not forget the poor (9:13, 19—Eng vv 12, 18), and they call on God not to ignore the poor (10:12; 10:17—Eng v 16). As with the term *ʿānî*, few passages allude to the concrete circumstances of the *ʿănāwîm*, but what we do find is quite revealing. They lack food (22:27—Eng v 26); they are landless (37:11); and they are in pain (69:33—Eng v 32; cf. 69:30—Eng v 29). One text makes it clear that the opponents of the *ʿănāwîm* are the wicked (Heb *rĕšāʿîm;* 147:6), though again, as with so many of the Psalms texts, the precise sociological setting presupposed by "wicked" is difficult to determine. When we consider the usage of the term *ʿănāwîm* throughout the Psalms, it is striking to notice that this word matches *ʿānî* in its range of meaning and usage. This is one important piece of evidence for the theory pursued below that the term *ʿănāwîm*, is simply a plural form for *ʿānî*, and that the two actually should be treated together.

**2. In the Prophetic Corpus.** The word *ʿănāwîm* occurs in a few scattered places in the prophetic literature (7 times). The poor are victims of social injustice (Isa 32:7; Amos 2:7; 8:4). Several texts in

Isaiah lay emphasis on hope for the poor: they will find a just judge in a future king (11:4); they will rejoice before God when God topples the tyrants (29:19); and they are the exiles to whom the announcement of release is presented (61:1; on Second Isaiah see F.1 above). These texts all have a concrete socioeconomic or political flavor to them. This is less clear for Zephaniah, where the text treats the *ʿănāwîm* as those who follow God's laws and who seek *ʿănāwâ*, a word that in this context appears to mean "humility" (Zeph 2:3). This is the only passage in the entire Hebrew Bible where the term *ʿănāwîm* seems to have the less concrete meaning of "humble," although even here this is not altogether certain (see below).

**3. In Wisdom Texts.** The term *ʿănāwîm* occurs only 3 times in Proverbs and once in Job. The occurrences in Proverbs all represent the spoken form (Qere) for the written (Kethib) plural of *ʿānî* (3:34; 14:21; 16:19); as such, these are all discussed above under F.3. The only occurrence in Job is a Kethib form for the Qere plural for *ʿānî* and is likewise treated above.

**4. Semantic Meaning.** The word *ʿănāwîm* falls into the same general semantic field as other words for poverty, although there has been tremendous debate over the links between "poverty" and "humility" (another possible meaning of the term *ʿănāwîm*).

For Baudissin, the key issue is how the psalmists' more positive view of poverty (expressed in the *ʿănāwîm* passages) arose given the negative depiction of poverty in the rest of the Hebrew Bible, where poverty is an evil that has no inherent spiritual value and must be uprooted from the community of God (1912: 202, 209). Baudissin suggests that Israel's experience of the Exile brought about a reevaluation of the nature and value of poverty, and he credits Second Isaiah as the first to characterize Judah as God's "poor people" in a positive sense: through repeated invasions by the Babylonians, deportation, and plundered cities, Judah, as a nation, joined the ranks of the poor and came to understand the Exile as an act of humbling by God (1912: 211–12). Poverty and humility eventually dovetail as theological concepts: they are the precondition for experiencing the compassion of God, a more positive assessment of humble poverty that comes to fruition in the Psalms (Baudissin 1912: 213–14, 216).

Baudissin's view is open to several lines of criticism. His hypothesis rests in part on the probably faulty linguistic analysis that the word *ʿănāwîm*, "humble," came to color the meaning of *ʿānî*, which originally characterized the socioeconomic plight of one who is poor (Baudissin 1912: 195). Moreover, it is not clear that *ʿănāwîm* means "humble." Baudissin is correct in suspecting that Second Isaiah shifts prophetic thinking about poverty, but this development occurs along different lines than Baudissin outlines and involves the term *ʿānî* (see F.1 above).

Another issue in the interpretation of *ʿănāwîm* concerns the possible sociological background of the people who are characterized as *ʿănāwîm*. Loeb (1892) and Rahlfs (1892) held that especially in the Psalms they represented a party of the pious in ancient Israel. Munch (1936: 21), under the influence of Lurje's class analysis (1927), modified the notion of party from a spiritual movement to that of "the class of the oppressed," although Munch's analysis is, in part, dependent on a reassessment of the socioeconomic dimension of the term *ʿānî* and not on a reading of *ʿănāwîm* itself (Munch 1936: 26). Kittel (1914), Causse (1922; 1937), and Birkeland (1932) denied the party thesis, preferring instead to characterize the *ʿănāwîm* as a religious movement or tendency within the population (cf. van der Ploeg 1950: 237–40), though Birkeland was forced to revise his ideas in light of a reevaluation of the socioeconomic dimension behind the term *ʿānî* (1933: 317–20). A variant of this position goes back to Renan (1891: 37–50), who saw in the *ʿănāwîm* a religious movement of the preexilic period.

Bruppacher (1924) and van der Ploeg (1950) have sharply criticized the attempted link between "poverty" and "piety." In the first place, Bruppacher contends that there is no ideal of poverty in the Bible, nor is it the case that poverty is exalted (1924: xi). Secondly, he maintains that the evidence for a religious or political movement built around the pious poor is weak. In particular, he criticizes Loeb's view (1892: 147) that the poor of the Psalms are the pious Israelites of the postexilic period who had come together as "the party of the poor" (1924: xii, 89). Bruppacher denies the party thesis, contending that the biblical text provides no clear sociological picture for an organized movement of poor people in

ancient Israel; like the "wicked" of the Psalms, it is not certain who the "poor" of the Psalms actually are (1924: 90–91).

Van der Ploeg's critique (1950) seeks to separate the term *ʿănāwîm*, "religious humility," from the terms *ʿānî, ʾebyôn*, and *dal*, which mean "socioeconomic poverty." Working from the prophets, van der Ploeg maintains that the descriptions of the poor are so concrete that the poverty the prophets were concerned about was not some spiritual phenomenon; rather, it was social and economic oppression (1950: 244, 250). In the prophets and elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, there is no positive evaluation of poverty; the poor are "just" only insofar as they are the innocent victims of injustice, and poverty does not translate automatically into piety, even if God displays a special concern for the situation of the poor (1950: 245–46). Nowhere does the Hebrew Bible romanticize poverty; it is not a voluntary condition but the product of oppressive practices in society. Having disconnected poverty from a religious ideal such as humility, van der Ploeg then suggests that the term *ʿănāwîm* must refer to plain humility (a character trait) and must not be confused with the poverty of the *ʿānî* (a socioeconomic condition). Van der Ploeg understands *ʿănāwîm* as the general attitude of submission before God on the part of believers no matter what their social status or economic condition may be, and poverty does not necessarily predispose one to this virtue (1950: 263–65).

**5. *ʿānāw* and *ʿānî*.** Since the analyses of van der Ploeg and Baudissin hinge in part on a particular understanding of the relationship between *ʿānî* and *ʿānāw*, it is necessary to sort out the issues behind this linguistic debate.

The word *ʿānāw* occurs in its plural form *(ʿănāwîm)* in all but one (problematic) case (Num 12:3); consequently, there is some question whether or not the word is simply a variant plural form for *ʿānî*. It is difficult to know how to settle this debate: on the one hand, the LXX renders *ʿănāwîm* as *praΰs* (Gk "mild, soft, gentle, meek") in 9 of its 24 occurrences, whereas it renders *ʿānî* as *praΰs* in only 4 instances, preferring instead to render it in numerous instances by *ptōchós* (Gk "one who crouches or cringes; a beggar"; cf. Hands 1968: 62–76; Martin-Achard 1965: 355; van den Berghe 1962: 275). On the basis of this evidence, it would seem reasonable to suggest that some sort of differentiation in meaning between *ʿānî* and *ʿănāwîm* is warranted, and hence to maintain that these are indeed two different words (Rahlfs 1892: 56–60; contrast Birkeland 1932: 20).

However, in no case does the plural form *ʿănāwîm* occur side by side with the plural of *ʿānî* in such a way that would lead us to think that specific authors used these as two different words (cf. Delekat 1964: 45). The only exceptions are in the Psalms (9–10; 22; 25; 34; 37; 69), where *ʿăniyyîm* and *ʿănāwîm* are mixed, though because these texts do represent the exceptions, we must remain open to the possibility of scribal error in these instances (Birkeland 1932: 14–15; cf. Gillingham 1988–89: 17). Furthermore, many of the plurals represent Kethib (written) and Qere (spoken) variations in the scribal editorial tradition of the Hebrew text (on 5 occasions the term *ʿănāwîm* is used as the Qere for a Kethib *ʿăniyyîm:* Pss 9:13; 10:12; Prov 3:34; 14:21; 16:19; while *ʿăniyyîm* on 4 occasions is the Qere for a Kethib *ʿănāwîm:* Isa 32:7; Amos 8:4; Ps 9:19; Job 24:4; cf. Orlinsky and Weinberg 1983).

Those who argue that *ʿănāwîm* and *ʿānî* are different words would have to see in this state of affairs scribal confusion over the two words. However, it is much more likely (from our knowledge of ancient scribal practices) that the variation simply reflects the differences between historic spellings and spoken dialect. It is preferable to see in *ʿānî* (whether singular or plural) and *ʿānāw* (almost exclusively plural) linguistic variants of the same word. It may be the case that by the time of the LXX, the translators thought that *ʿănāwîm* and *ʿăniyyîm* carried different meanings (a distinction maintained in postbiblical Hebrew), but a comparison of their usage in the Hebrew Bible shows this is not the case. We may finally note that since the plural forms *ʿăniyyîm* and *ʿănāwîm* go back to at least the 8th-century prophets (Isaiah uses *ʿăniyyîm;* Amos uses *ʿănāwîm*), this Hebrew dialectical and spelling variant is quite old and should not be explained as a product of Aramaic influence, as Birkeland seeks to do (1932: 15–16, 19–20).

A problematic singular form *ʿānāw* occurs in Num 12:3. The word is commonly translated "humble," pointing to Moses as the most humble person in the world. Rashi sustains this interpretation in his commentary on Numbers when he says that *ʿānāw* means "humble" *(šāpāl)* and "patient" *(sabělān).* If

this is true, this would be one case where *ʿānî* and *ʿānāw* clearly diverge from one another as separate words. However, while the Kethib is *ʿānāw*, the Qere is the unusual *anyw*. Gray explains the *yōd* in the Qere as "a *mater lectionis* to indicate that the last syllable is to be pronounced as in *dĕbārāw"* (*Numbers* ICC, 124; cf. Rahlfs 1892: 95–100). If this is the case, the Qere is comparable to that for *stw* (Cant 2:11), which has a *yōd* inserted before the *waw* in the Qere to indicate that the word is to be read *sĕtāw* (cf. Rahlfs 1892: 98–99). This reading for *ʿānāw* is known from Qumran and later rabbinic writings, although curiously it does not appear at all in the Mishnah, which knows only *ʿānî* and *ʿăniyyîm* (Kandler 1957). While this analysis is possible, there are other equally plausible interpretations for this scribal notation (cf. Birkeland 1932: 18–20). The consonantal form of the Qere appears to combine both *ʿānî* and *ʿānāw*, perhaps to indicate scribal uncertainty over this word, or to note dialectical variation, or to indicate that *ʿānāw* is to be read as *ʿānî*. This latter suggestion is supported by the Samaritan Pentateuch, which may read *ʿānî* in Num 12:3 and not *ʿānāw* (cf. *THAT* 6: 259). In light of the ambiguity of this situation, it is quite possible that the *ʿānāw* in Num 12:3 should be treated as *ʿānî* and translated: "Moses had suffered more/was more oppressed than any other person in the world."

If *ʿănāwîm*, then, is nothing more than a plural form of *ʿānî*, the meaning of *ʿănāwîm* must be sought in conjunction with all the *ʿānî* texts. Three things will follow from this. (1) The term *ʿănāwîm* will be understood to denote concrete socioeconomic forms of poverty: it cannot be viewed as a condition that occurs by chance or by not being upright; rather, it is the product of oppression (Kuschke 1939: 48–51). (2) The religious connotation of "humbleness" will be rejected, although it will not be necessary to lay aside the biblical idea that God is concerned for the oppressed, and we can still see that the poor are depicted as those who do call on God in their oppression (cf. *THAT* 2: 345); in other words, the relation between God and the poor is a matter of justice, not based on piety (*THAT* 2: 352–55). (3) The statistics for word distribution will be combined, making *ʿānî*/*ʿănāwîm* the predominant word for poverty in the Hebrew Bible.

For another noteworthy discussion of the semantic meaning of *ʿănāwîm*, see Kraus 1986: 150–54. Other important discussions on poverty in the Psalms include Bolkestein 1939: 23–32; and Stamm 1955: 55–60.

**H. Conclusion**

This survey of the various terms for "poor" in the Hebrew Bible vindicates the context-oriented method outlined at the beginning of this article. Close attention to the precise usage and statistical distribution of these terms makes us aware of the diverging notions about poverty that infuse the biblical text. The classic discussions of the etymologies of the terms, while certainly important exercises, are generally unhelpful as guides to the meaning of these terms. Furthermore, the etymological approach fails to grapple with the diverging ideologies that exist in the text, and that are brought to the surface in a contextual analysis of the terms for "poor."

Some streams of the biblical tradition are clearly concerned about poverty, although their theologies and analyses of poverty differ radically. Nevertheless, the legal, prophetic, wisdom, and liturgical traditions all see poverty as a matter of grave significance to the community. The philosophies that drive these streams of tradition, in part, derive and explain their social visions in light of their confrontation with the realities of poverty in ancient Israelite society. Poverty is a decisive issue in the prophetic and legal traditions. It is in these traditions that we are brought face-to-face with the harsh living conditions of the poor: hunger and thirst, homelessness, economic exploitation, legal injustices, lack of sufficient farmland. All these form the web of poverty in ancient Israel. The prophets protest what they see to be the oppression of the poor at the hands of the society's rulers, while the legal tradents offer some limited provisions to ease the burdens of those who suffer in this situation. The liturgical tradition, as represented in the Psalms, presents a God who assists the poor in their distress, and the psalmists offer many prayers on their behalf. However, as we have seen, the Psalter's use of terms for the poor tends to be rather vague with regard to their specific circumstances, causing us to wonder if the text is more metaphorical in its use of the terms and therefore more spiritualized in its approach to the topic. The wisdom tradition offers divergent positions. Proverbs, in part by drawing on a different vocabulary for poverty, develops a markedly different view of poverty: to the wise, poverty is either the result of laziness or represents the judgment of

God. By contrast, the book of Job moves in the direction of the language and analysis of the prophets. In this book, the poor are victims of economic and legal injustices. Furthermore, poverty becomes one of the book's major issues: Job has to defend himself against the charge that he has exploited the poor. One of the arguments for his innocence is built around the fact that he has defended the cause of the poor.

One unexpected conclusion we have arrived at through this study is that the plight of the poor was not a vital issue for ancient Israel's "historians," material that in this article has been termed the "narrative literature." A notable lack of poverty language distances the pentateuchal and Deuteronomistic historical writers from the issues of socioeconomic injustice; one must press the text to have these chroniclers address the topic of oppression. It is true that the narratives about Solomon's use of forced labor (1 Kgs 5:27–32; 9:15–22; 12:1–17), the text of Samuel's critique of kingship (1 Samuel 8), and the story of Ahab's taking of Naboth's vineyard (1 Kings 21) are potentially useful for developing sociological perspectives on the treatment of the poor in ancient Israelite society; likewise, one may choose to read the Exodus events as God's intervention on behalf of the poor (cf. Gutiérrez 1973: 155, 157). But in each case, the language of poverty is not present, and it would seem that this is deliberately the case, for in the few cases these "historians" do make use of the words for "poor," these terms either take on different nuances or are used to discuss matters that have nothing to do with the situation of the poor. It would seem, then, that the writers of the pentateuchal and Deuteronomistic narratives are not concerned with a critique of poverty and injustice, even in the case of the Exodus text. An alternative analysis of these texts would argue that the writers of Exodus and Samuel–Kings are concerned with developing a critique of kingship and foreign domination, but not with an analysis of the structures of poverty in their society. This latter conclusion, though somewhat negative, reveals an important insight into the diverse character of social thought in the Hebrew Bible.

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J. DAVID PLEINS

## *NEW TESTAMENT*

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### A. Methodology

Despite much excellent work on countless individual texts (and even authors such as James and Luke), and innumerable general studies following the classical word-study methodology, we still lack a solid, thorough overview of NT teaching on the poor/poverty. The utter inadequacy of word-study approaches may be seen in the common omission of such theologically fundamental texts as Matt 25:31–46, where poverty is concretely described ("I was hungry … thirsty … naked") but without a general word for poor/poverty. Sweeping theological conclusions drawn from highly selective word studies have tended to be misleading. While much of homiletical value can be found in existing works, the common tendency to systematize (with forced ideological harmonization) makes clear the need for further interdisciplinary and integrative study. Continual disagreement about socioeconomic background, date, and authorship of many NT documents makes any effort at comprehensive overview tentative, but growing sensitivity to NT diversity, ideological pitfalls, and new anthropological perspectives are making possible considerable

advances on previous studies in an area that undoubtedly will involve much debate for years to come. In the Gospels, in addition to texts that refer explicitly to the poor, debate continues regarding the socioeconomic level of Jesus, his disciples, the author of each gospel, and the ecclesiastical situation addressed. Anthropological and feminist studies often broaden definitions and concerns to include groups socially weak, marginated, and despised: women, the sick and handicapped, tax collectors, sexual minorities, etc.

**B. Terminology**

Classic word-study approaches (*TDNT* 6:885–915; *NIDNTT* 2: 820–28) focused especially on *ptōchós* ("poor, oppressed," lit. "beggar"), by far the most common term for the utterly destitute in the NT (34 times). However, in ancient Greece the most common term was *pénēs*, describing one who has little and must live frugally (used only in 2 Cor 8:9 in the NT). Other terms include *penichrós* ("poor," Luke 21:2; cf. *hystérēmatos*, v 4, "want") and *endeḗs* ("needy," Acts 4:34). Terms for need and want tend to be neglected in vocabulary surveys (see *chreia* 49 times in the NT; Acts 2:45; 4:35; Phil 4:16, 19; Titus 3:14; 1 John 3:17). The words for "poor" cannot be "defined" exhaustively and statically, but generally designate persons and groups lacking (totally or in some degree) the necessitites of life: food, drink, clothing, shelter, health, land/employment, freedom, dignity and honor, etc. (cf. Job 24:1–12). While poverty may be concretely indicated by specific manifestations (hungry, thirsty, naked, homeless, unemployed, despised), the presence of specific manifestations cannot simply be equated with a socioeconomic condition of poverty (Peter became hungry, Acts 10:10). In addition, various texts speak of poor/poverty metaphorically (Rev 3:17), though in certain cases exegetes continue to debate whether the usage is literal or metaphorical (2 Cor 8:9; Stegemann 1984: 14–15).

Malina (1986: 156) has argued from anthropology that in biblical cultures (as in modern Latin America) economics, politics, and religion commonly are embedded in kinship institutions, with the result that "wealthy 'sonless' women whose husbands have died are referred to as 'poor widows.' " Poverty in such contexts refers to "the inadequacy of life without honor, with consequent social and personal inability to participate in the activities of the community, the inability to maintain self-respect as defined by community social standards." While this inclusion of dimensions of kinship and honor is helpful, the NT often is quite specific about the economic condition of "poor widows" (Luke 21:4–5) and those in need of healing (Hanks 1983: 111). The socioeconomic dimension of Pauline teaching on justification (as "good news to the poor") is best understood against the kind of background described by Malina (Rom 5:1–11; Hanks 1986a: 14–16), and the Pauline preoccupation with empowering the weak (2 Cor 12:9–10) is closely related to the Synoptic concern for healing the sick, empowering the poor, and accepting the marginated and "unclean" (Countryman 1988).

**C. Epistle of James**

James is the NT writing that stands closest to the OT prophets in its perspective on poverty and oppression (Hanks 1983: 45–50), not surprising if it be the earliest NT writing (45–50 A.D.?) and written by Jesus' brother (Davids, *James* NIGTC, 21–22; Maynard–Reid 1987: 8). The Jewish-Christian recipients are not for the most part destitute beggars (2:2), but neither are they wealthy (2:6; 5:1–6). As a minority group ("Diaspora," 1:1) they appear to consist mainly of small farmers and artisans—those who have little and must live frugally (Stegemann 1984: 40–41).

In addition to the term for the beggarly poor (4 times *ptōchós*, 2:2–5), related terms James employs include the "humble" (*tapeinós*, 1:9; cf. 4:6, 10); "orphans and widows" (1:27); "workers and harvesters … the just" (5:4, 6). The beggarly poor are characterized by shabby clothing (2:2); being naked or lacking in daily food (2:15–16); the weak, needy, and marginated also include women (2:15), sexual minorities (widows; the prostitute Rahab, 2:25), and the sick (5:14–15).

In continuity with the OT (Exodus paradigm; prophets) James never blames the victims (for sloth, vice, genetic inferiority, etc.); rather he focuses on oppression as the basic cause of poverty (cf. Luke 4:18–19; Hanks 1983: 38–39). The "affliction" *(thlipsis)* suffered by orphans and widows may refer explicitly to oppression (Hanks 1983: 47; Tamez 1989: 17).

The oppression of the poor and weak appears to function basically in three ways in James (Davids *James* NIGTC; Maynard-Reid 1987; Tamez 1989): (1) financial-legal mechanisms, especially against poor debtors (2:1–12); (2) greedy and boastful merchants (4:13–17; cf. "covet"); (3) wealthy landowners withholding wages, a common mechanism of oppression (5:4). The rich "oppress" (*katadynasteúo*, 2:6) James' recipients, dragging them to court. Such "injustice/oppression" *(adikía)* is basically what characterizes the entire worldly system (2:6; Pons 1971: 166; cf. 4:4; "trials," 1:2, 12).

James, like Jesus, seems not to know Paul's doctrine of the fall; rather he espouses a more typical Jewish doctrine of creation (3:9) and individual sin (1:13–15; everyone is "Adam"; *2 Bar.* 54:19). He appears to place little stress on evangelism as popularly defined. However, such limited categories may fail to recognize that the prophetic denunciation of oppression is an essential part of evangelism, conceived as the proclamation of good news—preferentially—to the poor (Luke 3:10–14; 4:18–19; 6:20–26; Hanks 1983: 109–19). James envisions a community of disciples whose new lifestyle (stressing above all a loving response to the destitute, weak, and marginated) embodies the "word" proclaimed in a "world" characterized by greed, domination, and oppression of the poor and weak (1:18, 21; 4:6; 5:19–20; Tamez 1989: 56–69).

James is concerned especially with the kinds of sins of the tongue that create a false sense of importance and security for the affluent, but which deny dignity, honor, and justice to the poor and weak (2:6–7). His understanding of justification (cf. "condemnation," 2:12–13; 3:8–9; 4:11–12; 5:6) dignifies the poor (Hanks 1986a: 14–16), focusing on the paired examples of Abraham, an immigrant (like James' recipients), and Rahab, the woman who showed hospitality to Israel's migrant ancestors. As elsewhere in the NT, becoming "doers of the word," the performance of "good works," involves above all responding in practical ways to the material needs of destitute brothers, sisters, and neighbors (1:22–25; 4:17; cf. "forgiveness" in 5:14–16). Failure to be a doer of the word in helping the poor, oppressed, and marginated is to become guilty of murdering the poor (5:6) and committing "adultery" with the world (4:4–6; cf. 1 John 3:17).

Although James commends the peaceful nonresistance of oppressed harvesters, he is not passive in the face of such injustice and oppression. Rather, he vigorously denounces the cruel oppression and violence that impoverish and kill (2:11; 3:8; 5:5–6). For his recipients he commends a wise response (cf. Q and wisdom; Adamson 1989: 363–90) of "militant patience" (Tamez 1989: 52–56; James 1:3–4, 19; 5:7–11), nonresistance (5:6), peace (4:17–18), and prayer (1:5–7; 5:13–17; Tamez 1989: 69–72). The Parousia hope continues to function vigorously as the focus of an expectation of direct divine intervention (5:7–9), which consummates the promise of a kingdom characterized by liberation, justice, peace, and love (1:12, "life"; 2:5, "kingdom"; Tamez 1989: 33–50).

Although closest to the OT, James already is at a distance from the earliest NT traditions about poverty (see D below): the Jewish Christians addressed are in exile (1:1), but are not itinerant prophets. They live in a settled community of "brothers" and "sisters" (2:6–7, 15; cf. 1:27; 2:25–26), but one which is racked with (class?) conflict (4:1–3). While James is one of the three NT authors explicitly said to be married (1 Cor 9:5; cf. Peter and Jude), his exaltation of a single woman and prostitute, and his neglect of specific family virtues and responsibilities, are closer to Q's ideal (see below) than to the teaching of some later NT writings (1 Peter, Deutero-Pauline letters and pastorals). See also HAUSTAFELN; HOUSEHOLD CODES. James prophetically denounces oppression and abuse of wealth, but does not advocate total abandonment of home, family, possessions, and trade.

**D. Gospel Source "Q"**

Scholarly studies suggest that the very earliest NT traditions, which are reflected in the Q source (non-Markan material common to Luke and Matthew), also provide us with the most radical presentation of NT teaching on the poor and poverty (Lührmann 1989: 70). Q materials reflect the teaching of charismatic itinerant prophets who still took the instruction of Jesus' mission discourse literally: homelessness (Luke 9:57–58 = Matt 8:19–20), and a radical separation from family (Luke 9:59–60 = Matt 8:21–22) and from property, possessions, and trade (Luke 10:2–12 = Matt 9:37–38; 10:7–16; Luke 12:33–34 = Matt 6:20–21; Luke 11:2–4 = Matt 6:9–14). This *Wanderradikalismus*, attributed by Gerd Thiessen to the Jesus

movement in general, is now more commonly understood to reflect the teaching of Jesus as preserved by the Q group. For the Q group, Jesus is viewed primarily as the prophet, and his homeless followers are also prophets (Lührmann 1989: 64, 71). The final redaction of Q is commonly dated around 60 A.D., while Mark, writing around 69 A.D., speaks not of homelessness as an inalterable condition of discipleship, but of settled communities of Christians who are incorporated into social structures (Mark 10:29–30; cf. Stegemann in Schottroff and Stegemann 1984: 158). In Q the priority attention given to the poor and evangelism of the poor is evident from the first beatitude (Luke 6:20 = Matt 5:3; cf. Luke 7:22 = Matt 11:55; Luke 4:18–19).

In the history of NT studies the apostle Paul repeatedly has been portrayed as a kind of "conservative" who betrayed Jesus' more radical teaching (on slavery, women, the poor, social outcasts, etc.). Surprisingly, however, Paul is "the only person really known to us from early Christianity who might be called a 'wandering radical' or a 'radical wanderer' " (Lührmann 1989: 70). Paul was a homeless prophet who wandered through the world without wife or family ties (1 Cor 9:5). Contrary to Jesus' mission instruction, Paul often earned his livelihood as a tentmaker (1 Cor 9:14–15). This need not be viewed, however, as "relativizing" Jesus' more radical teaching (pace Lührmann 1989: 70–71) but as an alternative expression of radical Christian freedom not so dependent upon the hospitality and donations—and ideological control—of established communities (1 Cor 9:1). For in fact, the homeless prophets portrayed in Q could only exist in dependence upon communities already existing or established by them. Paul, with his synagogue contacts and church planting, only applied to the gentile world the dialectic between homeless prophets and hospitable Palestinian Jewish communities implicit in Q's portrayal of the prophet Jesus and his homeless followers.

**E. Mark**

Mark employs *ptōchós* only five times in three contexts (10:21, the rich man; 12:42–43, the widow's mite; 14:5, 7, the anointing in Bethany), but a careful reading reveals abundant indirect references to poverty: the lifestyle of John the Baptist (1:6; 6:17, 27) and of Jesus (6:3; 11:12; 14:65; 15:15, 19; Pallares 1986: 176); the voluntary deprivations of the disciples (1:18, 20; 2:23–25; 6:8–9, 36–37; 9:41; 10:28–31); the socioeconomic level of the "crowds" (Myers 1988: 120) and their environment as reflected in Jesus' teaching (2:21, the use of old, mended clothes; 5:2–3, 5; 7:11–13; 8:1–2; 12:1–2).

Such evidence leads Stegemann (1984: 23) to conclude: "The movement within Judaism in Palestine associated with the name of Jesus was a movement *of the poor for the poor*." Jesus' identification as a "carpenter" (Mark 6:3) in an insignificant Galilean hamlet suggests the situation of a wage-earning day laborer: "Probably neither Jesus nor his first disciples were professed beggars, yet they shared the desperate situation of many of their fellow country folk—particularly in Galilee—barely avoiding utter poverty" (Stegemann 1984: 24; see Waetjen 1989: 10–11). Mark's gospel may be directed to a similarly poor church in Roman-occupied Syria (Waetjen 1989: 4, 15) at a time of persecution (A.D. 67–70) and before significant numbers of more affluent members were added. The paucity of explicit references to the beggarly poor *(ptōchós)* in Mark (5 times; cf. 10 times in Luke) is quite compatible with the indications of pervasive poverty (in the broader sense of the classical term *pénēs*). Numerous comments about water need not be expected from the fish that swim therein (pace Bammel in *TDNT* 6:903).

If tradition is correct in ascribing the gospel to the unmarried young rebel (from a well-to-do Jerusalem family) who agreed to share the deprivations and rigors of Paul's itinerant missionary lifestyle (Acts 12:13–14; 13:5, 13; 15:37–40; 2 Tim 4:11; 1 Pet 5:13), we can understand the proximity of his gospel to the Q source.

**F. Matthew**

Paradoxically, Matthew begins his account of Jesus' teaching with an apparent "spiritualizing" reference to the poor (5:3 = Luke 6:20); however, his version of Jesus' final discourse closes with what may be the most radical text on poverty in the NT (certainly, along with Luke 4:18–19 it has served as one of two pillar texts for liberation theology (Gutiérrez 1973: 254–65; Pikaza 1984). Probably, then, we should not understand Matt 5:3 as a species of Neoplatonic "spiritualizing" long dominant in church

tradition, but as a call to high-risk solidarity with poorer disciples at a time of persecution (Hanks 1986b; Pantelis 1989).

Despite the length of his gospel and his inclusion of five lengthy discourses of Jesus' teaching, Matthew contains no more explicit references to the poor *(ptōchós)* than Mark (5 times each). Three of Matthew's references (19:21; 26:9, 11) are taken from Mark (10:21; 14:5, 7); the other two (5:3; 11:5) are from Q (= Luke 6:20; 7:22). However, Matthew's option for the poor is also evident in the importance he attaches to almsgiving (6:1–4) and in his fierce denunciation of oppression (23:1–36; cf. Luke 6:24–26). In 25:31–46, writing in a conflictive situation, Matthew sets forth this option (good works) for the poor, weak, and oppressed as the *only* criterion for the final judgment—a truly radical conclusion (Miranda 1974: 118; *NIDNTT* 2: 826; Hanks 1986a: 18).

If "Matthew" was in fact the unmarried tax collector of tradition, his inclusion of sexual minorities in his genealogy is consistent with his praxis (9:9–11; cf. 19:11–12), the option he advocates not only for those poor economically, but also for despised, marginated classes (poor in terms of honor). His predominantly Jewish readership and the context of severe persecution may largely explain the necessity of his more subversive strategy (7:6).

**G. Luke–Acts**

Uncritical readings and word-study approaches easily established Luke's special concern for the beggarly poor (*ptōchós* 10 times plus *penichrós*, 21:2; cf. *ptōchós* 5 times each in Mark and Matthew); however, the total absence of these words in Acts has raised questions. Of the six uses of *ptōchós* in Luke which are not dependent on Mark or Q, five occur in the travel narrative of 9:51–19:27: 14:13, 21; 16:20, 22; 19:8. Also unique to Luke is 4:18, which stands as a programmatic introduction to Jesus' ministry (Ringe 1985; Hanks 1983: 97–119; cf. 6:20 = Matt 5:3).

Within Acts another problem posed is the relative concentration on the needs of the poor in the first half of the book: having all things in common (2:42–47; 4:32–37), with the poor described as those having "need" (*chreia*, 2:45; 4:35); the appointment of seven deacons to correct injustice in the church's ministry to Hellenistic widows; the exemplary ministries of Dorcas (9:36–43) and Cornelius (10:2, 4, 31) in providing alms, etc. (Moxnes 1988: 159–62). Such explicit concern for the poor, however, is almost totally lacking in the narrative of Paul's missionary travels in Acts 13–28. Paul is characterized as exemplary in his freedom from love of money (20:33–34), but his strategic gift to the poor saints in Jerusalem (which looms so important in his epistles) receives the barest mention in Acts (24:17). What recent studies have tended to overlook is the anthropological perspective, according to which the gentiles in Acts 13–28—although traditionally Israel's oppressors—were excluded and marginated from Jewish life and worship because of their uncleanness (Countryman 1988). Acts 13–28 may be criticized for concentrating too much on the quantitative aspect of church growth, but the kind and quality of community life had already been amply established in Luke and Acts 1–12, and the purpose in Acts 13–28 involves concentration on the miraculous incorporation of gentiles who are "cleansed by faith" without submission to circumcision and the law.

While older studies tended to view Luke as the "social radical" among the gospel writers, recent studies tend to view the Q source and/or Mark as reflecting more radical perspectives on the poor. Little attention has been paid to Luke's concern for the "immoral minorities" commonly marginated from society: tax collectors, prostitutes, etc. (7:2, 34, 37, 39; Hanks 1986a: 12; Countryman 1988: 66–74). Luke's heavy concentration on the economic dimension of the gospel (only partly reflected in word-study data; cf. 1:51–53; 3:10–14; 6:34–36; 9:58; 11:41; 12:33; 14:12–14, 33) is now commonly understood to respond to a situation of a relatively poor church (Caesaria/Antioch?) ca. A.D. 70–85 faced with an unprecedented influx of more affluent members and in danger of succumbing to the "love of money" characteristic of certain Pharisees (16:14; Moxnes 1988: 1–21). Luke addresses such an economically upwardly-mobile Christian community, drawing on an extensive store of Jesus' teaching appropriate to the crisis. W. Pilgrim (1981) analyzed Luke's teaching on wealth and poverty as involving three basic categories: (1) total renunciation of wealth; (2) warnings against the dangers of wealth; and (3) right use of wealth. Zaccheus' example ("I give half of my possessions to the poor," 19:8; cf. 3:10–14) is now commonly

viewed as Luke's preferred paradigm for the influx of recently converted "wealthy disciples" (a contradiction in terms for Q and Mark). Johnson (1977) argues that money in Luke often has a symbolic function linked to the acceptance or rejection of Jesus.

If the author of Luke–Acts is the traditional unmarried "beloved physician" and sometime companion of Paul in his apostolic deprivations, Luke's missionary praxis, culminating in his literary effort, undoubtedly has been correctly understood as an impressive testimony to solidarity with the poor, weak, and marginated—but perhaps a more moderate response than that epitomized by Jesus and his disciples according to Q and Mark.

**H. The Pauline Letters**

The seven unquestioned letters of Paul constitute documents that largely predate Q and the four Gospels. Paul's proximity to Jesus' praxis and teaching on poverty is best perceived by attention to the apostolic praxis as reflected in the "catalogs of affliction/oppression" in 1 Cor 4:10–13a; 2 Cor 4:8–10; 6:4b–10; 11:23b–29; 12:10; Rom 8:35; Phil 4:12 (Hodgson 1983).

Linguistically, all seven uses of the more explicit vocabulary for poor/poverty occur in the unquestioned Paulines. In Gal 2:10 "continuing to remember the destitute" *(ptōchós)* is viewed as a nonnegotiable element in Christian praxis common to both Petrine and Pauline circles; cf. the weak elements *(stoicheia)*, also metaphorically described as "beggarly" *(ptōchós)* in Gal 4:9. In 2 Cor 6:10 the apostle concludes the catalog of affliction, describing his own lifestyle as "poor [*ptōchós*] but enriching many; *having nothing*, and yet possessing all things." These seven "catalogs of affliction" might just as well be described as "catalogs of oppression" (Hanks 1983: 48–49). Concrete expressions of injustices suffered, with poverty and deprivation often consequent, dominate the lists.

The remaining four uses are to be found in Rom 15:26 *(ptōchós)* and 2 Corinthians 8–9, where Paul deals with the offering for the destitute among the saints in Jerusalem (Nickle 1966). The only NT use of *pénēs* (the more common word for "poor" in classical Greek) comes in 2 Cor 9:9 in the LXX-based citation of Ps 112:9 ("He scatters abroad, he gives to the poor; his justice endures forever"). Still greatly disputed is the interpretation of Paul's reference to the incarnational paradigm for the offering: "For you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for your sake he *became poor* (verb *ptōchéo*, only here in NT), so that you through his *poverty (ptōcheia)* might become rich." Commentaries commonly have suggested Neoplatonic and metaphorical interpretations, but cf. Stegemann (1984: 15) and many liberation theologians; also the reference to the "poverty" *(ptōcheia)* of the Macedonian churches (2 Cor 8:2).

Much recent study has focused on the socioeconomic level of the Pauline churches (Theissen 1982; Meeks 1983). Stegemann (1984: 31–38) speaks of a new consensus according to which most of the early Christian communities were made up predominantly of "the little people" *(pénēs)*, including neither the destitute *(ptōchós)* nor the wealthy. However, the interpretation of texts such as 1 Cor 1:26–29 (stressing lack of honor) continue to be disputed (Stegemann 1984: 35–36). Since more spacious houses and leadership for house churches tended to come from the more affluent and educated sectors, situations arose (1 Cor 11:17–32) in which a kind of conflict could flare up between some who became drunk (11:21) and others who "hungered" and "had nothing" (11:22)—even in the Lord's Supper. Theological elements so basic as the Eucharist ("*For* I received …, 1 Cor 11:23–33; cf. 11:17–22), variations in spiritual gifts (1 Corinthians 12; 14) and the urgency of agape love (chap. 13) are best understood in the context of the socioeconomic conflict or "class struggle" between more affluent and poorer members.

However, despite such conflicts and Paul's deprivations, a degree of accumulated wealth (capital) was to be expected in the house churches he founded: more affluent churches are expected to save up and share with poorer ones, and parents are expected to save for their children (2 Cor 12:14). Such provisions provide continuity with the teaching in the Deutero-Pauline letters.

**I. Deutero-Pauline Letters**

Since 2 Thessalonians, Colossians, and Ephesians generally occupy a place between the seven unquestioned Pauline letters and the Pastorals (both stylistically and theologically), we may ask whether specifically this is true regarding their perspective on poverty.

Despite questions about authorship and date, 2 Thessalonians has much in common with 1 Thessalonians in perspectives on poverty. Both stress the Church's experience of oppression in the form of persecution, which inevitably impoverished the artisan class and manual laborers addressed (Hanks 1983: 49; Meeks 1983: 64–65). In 2 Thessalonians particularly, distorted eschatological speculation, resulting in idleness, only augmented the problem (2:1–12; 3:3–12; cf. 1 Thess 4:13–5:11; 4:11–12 ("need," *chreia*). Paul's apocalyptic gospel, however, created viable community (Meeks 1983: 174) and instilled a more sober hope. Elitist Greek prejudices against manual labor were aggressively corrected by strong exhortation to work and by Church discipline (2 Thess 4:10, 14–15).

In Colossians no explicit language for poverty occurs. However, as in the unquestioned Paulines, oppression … and persecution directed against Paul and certain churches may be viewed as the basic cause of suffering, imprisonment, and poverty (*thlîpsis*, 1:24; cf. 4:10, 18; Hanks 1983: 47–50; *adikia*, 3:25, Hanks 1983: 128).

In the *Haustafeln* (Col 3:18–4:1), the inclusion of husbands, fathers, and lords (3:19, 21; 4:1) may indicate an upward penetration of the gospel in the social structure (cf. 1 Peter), but the priority given to women (3:15) and children (3:20), plus the more detailed treatment of slaves (3:22–25) suggests that the weaker and poorer classes continue to dominate in the Church membership. Noteworthy is the explicit stress on "justice" for slaves, in the explicit sense of equality *(isótēs)*, demanded of converted lords (4:1)—especially radical if lords and slaves together are regarded as "brothers" with equal rights (4:7, 9), and if the lords were formerly characterized by covetousness rationalized by idolatrous religion (3:5) and particularly oppressive practices (1:21; 3:8; 3:25 *adikéō*, 2 times).

Colossians places special emphasis on a false philosophical teaching (proto-Gnosticism?) that "robs" the church, and on the true "riches" and "treasures" (2:2–3) of Christ's wisdom (undoubtedly metaphorical language), which may reflect certain literal economic effects of the authentic good news to the poor, contrasted with rapacious itinerant philosophers (2:8). Proper teaching on the positive goodness of creation (1:15–17) would counteract oppressive ideological tendencies in proto-Gnosticism.

In addition to authentic wisdom (2:2–3), which may reflect traditional Hebrew concerns for universal literacy, immediate solutions for poverty may be indicated in the kind of evangelization that implants a hope for radical social change (1:5, 12–13), in agape-love solidarity with the saints of all social classes (1:4; 2:2, 13; 3:12–14), forgiveness that probably includes debts (3:13), and good works to meet the needs of the more destitute members (1:6, 10; 4:10; cf. 1:7, 25; 4:2).

Analysis of Ephesians reveals a perspective that is similar to Colossians, but not identical. Direct reference to poorer classes may be seen in the former unemployed "thieves" and the one having "need" (*chreia*, 4:28) who is to be aided by "sharing" *(metadidōmi)*. "Good works" directed to the needy are seen (as in Titus) as the immediate goal of "salvation" (2:8–10). Paul suffers imprisonment (3:1; 4:1; 6:20), a result of oppression-persecution (*thlîpsis*, 3:13), producing deprivation. Slaves (6:5–8) precede lords (6:9) in the *Haustafeln*, but husbands (5:25–33a) now receive more attention than wives (5:22–24, 33b). The concern in the *Haustafeln* to strengthen the family structure (which included household servants) may reflect not only a shift in evangelistic strategy (husbands, lords) but an adaptation to bureaucratic realities in the churches' ministry to the poor (cf. 1 Timothy 5). Evangelism is now directed aggressively toward the oppressive ruling classes ("boldness … ambassador") and not just to the little people (6:19–20). Hence prophetic denunciation of oppression and injustice ("darkness," 5:11), fervent intercession, and the practice of liberating justice (6:14; cf. Job 29:11–17; Isa 59:17) are advocated in the face of demonic structures of evil (6:1–18). Many perspectives similar to Colossians are repeated (love, inheritance, covetousness, God's universal Fatherhood, deacon ministry, forgiveness).

**J. The Pastoral Letters**

The focus of the Pastorals on the poor must take into account the socioeconomic status of the purported author (Paul), the recipients (Timothy and Titus) and the churches in Ephesus (1 Tim 1:3) and Crete (Tit 1:5) where they minister, as well as their explicit teaching about wealth and poverty.

Basically we find "Paul" in the same conflictive, oppressed, impoverished status of the apostle in the "tribulation lists" of 1–2 Corinthians and Romans. He who once persecuted the infant Church, even

supporting violence (1 Tim 1:13) is now the victim of continual persecution and oppression (2 Tim 1:12; 4:14–15), unjust imprisonment (2 Tim 1:15–18; 2:9–13; 3:10–12), deserted by friends and colleagues (2 Tim 4:9–12, 16), facing the death penalty (though innocent of all wrongdoing; 2 Tim 4:6–8, 17–18), fearful of entering into a cold winter without his cloak (2 Tim 4:13, 21). Both Timothy and Titus are expected to continue the conflictive, impoverished apostolic lifestyle (1 Tim 1:18; 6:12; 2 Tim 1:6–8; 2:3–6; 3:10–14; 4:5) as originally exemplified by Jesus in the gospel (Tit 2:11–14; 1 Tim 1:11–12; 2:5–6; 2 Tim 1:10–12; 3:8–10, 13), who similarly suffered oppression and violence (2:5–6; 3:11–12), yet loved even his oppressors and persecutors (1 Tim 1:13–14, 16; 3:16–17), and was vindicated by his resurrection (3:16–17).

Analysis of the Pastorals' controverted teaching ("bourgeois"? see below) to the churches in Ephesus and Crete should not be carried out in isolation from the above-mentioned elements of continuity with the Jesus of the Gospels and the Paul of the seven unquestioned Pauline letters. Significant elements of discontinuity are discernible, but many studies oversimplify or exaggerate them.

The lowly socioeconomic status of the churches in Ephesus is reflected in 1 Timothy, especially in the detailed instructions given to counteract ecclesiastical bureaucratic paternalism in the care for "real" (impoverished) widows (5:3–16) and the maintenance of social responsibility in the extended family; in the qualifications for deacons (and deaconesses? 3:8–13) who minister primarily to the poor; and in the instructions to slaves (household servants, 6:1–2; cf. Tit 2:9–10; note the omission of parallel instructions for slave owners; cf. Philemon).

Women of means are frequent converts, but exhorted to minimize socioeconomic differences by their simple dress style (1 Tim 2:9; cf. 1 Pet 3:3). The good works, so central in Titus (1:6; 2:7, 14; 3:1, 13–14; cf. 1 Tim 2:10; 5:25; 2 Tim 2:21), represent the chief aim of redemption (Tit 2:14) and the second great purpose of inspired Scripture (2 Tim 3:14–17; Hanks 1986a: 19). These are works particularly defined as undertaken on behalf of those who lack the essentials of life (Tit 3:14; cf. Matt 25:31–46; Miranda 1974: 18).

Often cited without reference to the above contexts and teaching are two texts in 1 Timothy commonly said to represent a bourgeois adjustment—or contradiction—of Jesus' radical teaching in Luke. The first, 6:6–10, counsels those like Timothy, who have only the bare necessities of existence, to be content and avoid the love of money ("a root of all kinds of evil," 6:10). The second, 6:17–19, instructs Timothy how to reform the lives of the rich. Whereas Jesus in Luke often called for total renunciation of wealth, the "Paul" of the Pastorals would have his emissary in Ephesus simply advocate generosity and good works. Undoubtedly a certain diversity of historical contexts and teaching is found here. However, the generosity and good works that would be demanded of the rich in an impoverished church undoubtedly would involve something far more stringent than in a modern affluent neighborhood—especially when backed up by the radical examples of Jesus and Paul (cf. Zaccheus under Luke). The "generosity" to be demanded "(*koinōnikós,*" 6:18) may involve a kind of solidarity or pooling of resources and sharing that really has no limits (cf. Acts 2; 4). Another factor is that the Jesus of Luke's gospel often confronts the unconverted rich directly (6:20–23), while in the Pastorals, "Paul" speaks to wealthy converts—and then only indirectly through his emissary ("command them …," 6:18).

Factors that produce poverty indicated in the Pastorals include especially persecution, oppression, and injustice (2 Tim 2:19; 1 Tim 1:19); idolatry and the false teaching of the pseudoprophets (2 Tim 2:16); and coveting (2 Tim 2:22; 3:6; 4:3; 1 Tim 3:3–8; 6:9; Tit 1:7–11; 2:12). As in the early Paulines, the consummation of God's kingdom in the Parousia stands as the ultimate solution, but is no longer expected to occur within Paul's lifetime (cf. 1 Tim 6:14; 2 Tim 4:8; Tit 2:13).

The evangelization of the world with the gospel remains (at least implicitly) as good news that gives special hope to the poor, as evidenced by the ready response of widows and slaves. Salvation is never limited to a Platonic heavenly sphere (2 Tim 4:18), but includes material relief in this life (2 Tim 4:18).

The church is the "pillar and ground of truth," particularly because it represents the new alternative community where God's just and loving purpose for all humanity begins to be realized. Prophetic denunciation of persecution and oppression may be seen in the remarks on Alexander the coppersmith (2

Tim 4:14; cf. 1 Tim 6:13), but the false teachers condemned held numerous tenets that would be detrimental especially to the poorer members (see food prohibitions, 1 Tim 4:3). Thus, even proper church government (so central a concern in 1 Timothy and Titus) becomes a means for ensuring that the churches, like their apostle, "remember the poor" (Gal 2:10). It might even be argued that historically, these most "conservative" epistles have contributed most to economic development and the liberation of oppressed classes in those countries which early extended the Calvinistic interpretation of their teaching on church government to the national political level (López Michelson 1947).

**K. 1–2 Peter, Jude**

1 Peter, probably a baptismal homily/tract proceeding from the Petrine circle (1:1; 5:12–13) in Rome (ca. 80 A.D.?), addresses churches in five provinces of Asia Minor (1:1; modern Turkey). Although the general technical terms for poor/poverty are absent, the relatively impoverished situation of the churches is clearly represented in various ways.

First, the Jewish and gentile believers are described as homeless, either "visiting strangers" (1:1), "resident aliens" (1:17), or both (2:11), sharing the Diaspora exile experience of non-Christian Jews in Asia Minor (1:1). Whether these terms be limited to a literal sense (Elliott 1981), or begin to include the (neo)Platonic cosmology explicit in the book of Hebrews, a large measure of socioeconomic content is increasingly recognized.

Second, the paradigmatic and major subgroup within the churches addressed is that of "household servants" (2:18–25) working in mainly non-Christian manors. The second major subgroup is that of the wives of unbelieving husbands in households whose economic means (2:2) obviously exceed those of the house servants. Recent converts include especially younger men of uncertain economic means (5:7).

Analysis of the causes for poverty may begin by studying the socioeconomic situation of the five provinces, of Diaspora Jews in the area (Elliott), and of gentile converts (largely former God-fearing proselytes) in the new sect. Particularly, the Diaspora experience of homeless aliens and separation from official Judaism resulted in frequent oppression and persecution (1:6; 2:12, 18–21; 3:14–17; 4:1, 12–19; 5:8–10).

The suffering and deprivations of uprooted "homeless" is countered in 1 Peter by incorporation into the new community of the church as the "household of God" (2:5; 4:17). In this new home (cf. "heaven" in the book of Hebrews), God is the gracious Father (1:2–3). The few affluent male converts (3:7; 2:13–17) are encouraged not to withdraw from public life, but to set examples as public benefactors (2:14; cf. Rom 13:3), a function which often included political and structural economic measures in times of scarcity and famine (Winter 1988a; 1988b). The proclamation of the gospel as "good news to the homeless" (1:12, 25; 2:9–10) thus imparted to uprooted recipients a sense of dignity and status (1:5, 9; 2:9–10). Tendencies toward unhealthy paternalism (see 1 Timothy 5) were thus vigorously counteracted.

The identification of imperial Rome with the name "Babylon" (5:13) suggests not only the resort to pseudonymity common in times of persecution (cf. book of Daniel), but also the kind of prophetic denunciation against oppressors elaborated in Revelation and James. 1 Peter is realistic in recognizing that such oppression may continue to occur even within the household of God (5:2–3), where all such behavior is subjected to divine judgment (4:17).

The newly baptized converts were born again to a living hope (1:3, 21) that included life in the new people of God, which was to be consummated at the Parousia (2:12; 4:13), seen as the ultimate solution to all persecution, homelessness, oppression, poverty, and suffering.

Although Jude purports to be the brother of James (1), his undisguised fury against false teachers (4–19) seems far removed from James' indignation against the rich who oppress the poor. Conceivably Jude attacks the kind of ideology that evolves to rationalize injustice, oppression, and indifference to the material needs of the poor, whose needs should be ministered to in the "love feasts" (12, "feed themselves"; cf. "coveting" in 16, 18). The "impiety" (*asébeia* 6 times 4, 15, 18), which appears to be the keynote of the epistle (Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter* WBC, 37) commonly translates the Heb *ḥamas* ("violence") in the LXX (Pons 1971: 166), and may be understood as reflecting the kind of violence the poor suffer at the hands of the wealthy and powerful. Even the sexual excesses Jude so vigorously

condemns (*asélgeia*, 4; cf. 8, 10) may also involve oppression and force against the weaker elements in society.

While Jude made no reference to the common cause of poverty signified by *adikia* (injustice, oppression), 2 Peter makes this concept basic to the epistle (2:9, 13, 15) and juxtaposes the injustice-oppression of the world (1:4; 2:20) with the justice of the kingdom of God and the promised new heavens and earth (1:1, 11, 13; 2:5, 7–8, 21; 3:13). As in Jer 22:16, "knowing God" involves doing justice (1:2, 8; 2:20–21; 3:18; Miranda 1974: 44–53). The use of *asébeia* strengthens the case for a reference to the violence commonly suffered by the poorer and weaker sectors of society (2:5; cf. *ḥamas* in Gen 6:11, 13). Traditional elitist Greek virtues (1:5b–6) are placed in a radical Christian framework, beginning with faith (1:5a) and culminating in the brotherly friendship and agape love that characteristically maintained the solidarity of the socioeconomically diverse Christian communities (1:7; cf. 18; 3:1, 8, 14–15, 17; cf. 2:13).

**L. Revelation**

Word-study approaches on poverty gave rather meager results for the book of Revelation. The poverty *(ptocheia)* of the church in Smyrna is attributed to the oppression-persecution proceeding from certain "Jews" (2:9; Hanks 1983: 48). The reference (3:17) to the "poor" *(ptochós)* Laodicean church, although metaphorical, has been found particularly helpful in delineating the literal sense: having "need" *(chreia)* = wretched, pitiable … blind and naked … shame. Rich and "poor" alike succumb to the idolatrous economic demands of the second beast in 13:16 (*ptochós*, parallel to small and great … free and slaves; cf. the denunciation of the slave traffic in the "bodies and souls of men," 18:13; "slaves and small," 19:18). Such skimpy linguistic data, coupled with the current popular escapist eschatological "interpretations," ill prepare us to understand why F. Engels in 1883 should select Revelation as the subject of his only article on a biblical book (Engels 1974).

However, recent Latin American studies (Stamm 1978; Foulkes 1989) and sociological approaches (Schüssler Fiorenza 1985b) make clear the truly radical character of apocalyptic and utopian genres, which commonly proceed from poor, oppressed, and persecuted groups (see the exiled author's description of his situation, 1:9). Stamm called attention to the severe denunciation of imperial oppression and obscene luxury, rationalized by idolatrous religious claims (1978, chaps. 13, 17–18). Schüssler Fiorenza writes: "To those who are poor, harassed, and persecuted, the promises to the 'victor' pledge the essentials of life for the eschatological future: food, clothing, house, citizenship, security, honor …" (1985b: 196; cf. 124–25).

The perspective on sexual minorities in Revelation is paradoxical. Prostitutes undoubtedly would have felt much more comfortable sitting at Jesus' feet by the Sea of Galilee than in the seven churches in Asia Minor, listening to John's description of imperial idolatry with all the lurid references to the "Great Harlot" (chaps. 17–18). On the other hand, the seer's declaration that sexual relations with woman are "defiling" (14:4) brought unspeakable joy for centuries of medieval monks, who delighted to see themselves as the "virgins" espoused to the Lamb (Boswell 1980: 216–18). Post-Reformation heterosexist Protestant exegesis commonly confesses the text to be one of the most "difficult" in the NT (Schüssler Fiorenza 1985b: 181–92; Countryman 1988: 137–38).

**M. Gospel and Letters of John**

The gospel and letters of John may appear singularly deficient in specific ethical content. Jesus reveals only that he is the Revealer and in another apparent tautology commands a love, which keeps his commandment, which is to "love one another." The four references to the ever-present beggarly poor (*ptōchós*, John 12:5–6, 8; 13:29) hardly are such as to inspire great concern (*TDNT* 6:907). Hence First World Johannine scholarship has focused on other areas, largely ignoring significant questions raised by Miranda (1977; see below) and a few other liberation theologians (Herzog 1972) and Third World exegetes. However, a growing minority of theologians interpret the Johannine writings as representing a unique, radical perspective. Just as they have opposed traditional "feudalizing" of the kingdom in the Synoptics, so they reject the "Platonizing" of (eternal) life in the Johannine writings.

John's prologue speaks of the Word become "flesh," which if not explicitly designating an option for a humanity that is "intrinsically poor" (Pixley and Boff 1986: 69), at least points to characteristic weakness (6:63), of which human poverty was a dominant expression. The homelessness and margination of the incarnate Word (1:11, 46; cf. 14:2–3) is another Johannine motif that expresses a painful dimension of poverty (Pixley and Boff 1986: 72–74; Fraijo 1985: 62). Mainline scholarship stresses persecution and excommunication as dominant formative experiences in the history of the Johannine communities, but has not commonly recognized the deadly economic deprivation and violence involved. As in the Synoptics, Jesus' healing miracles are usually directed toward the poor (e.g., John 9:8, "beggar") and the weak (5:1–13; 4:43–54), and the same is true for the provision miracles (2:1–11; 6:1–15). The forward placement of the temple cleansing (2:13–22, following the provision of wine for an obviously poor family) gives prominence to John's critique of the oppressive Jewish oligarchy, for "it is precisely in the limits of the Temple where Jesus opts for the marginated: the sick, poor, publicans, women, children, foreigners" (Zorrilla 1988: 71).

Above all, the Johannine substitution of (eternal) life for the Synoptic stress on the kingdom must be understood dialectically (Barrett 1972) and polemically in the context of excommunication, persecution, and violence. Traditional Platonizing interpretations of John radically distort the original meaning and seek to elude the painful "bite" of the polemic. The "abundant life" John offers (10:10) avoids extremes of nondialectical Pentecostal-charismatic "prosperity theology," but is not limited to a Platonically spiritualized (nonmaterial) realm (3 John 2). Miranda (1977) may have erred by succumbing to Bultmann's elimination of futuristic eschatology, but not in delineating the radical character of the Johannine perspective on the poor, justice, injustice/oppression (*adikia,* 1 John 1:9; 5:17), sacrificial love, and life.

In synthesis the gospel of John may be viewed as outlining the causes of poverty in the persecution, oppression, and violence suffered by the community; 1 John points explicitly to the poverty commonly resulting (1 John 2:17, "need"; cf. 3 John 5–8), and the appropriate response of agape love in the context of Christian communities characterized by *koinōnia* sharing. "John's love is love of the deprived, the poor, the needy" (Miranda 1977: 95). Despised and marginated sexual minorities are treated with concern and given special honor (4:1–42; cf. 8:1–11).

**N. Hebrews**

Paradoxically, Hebrews makes unprecedented use of the OT (particularly in the radical Exodus-Wilderness-Conquest traditions), yet also is commonly believed to represent an extreme in the NT writings in the degree of (neo)-Platonizing evident in its language and theology. In its perception of poverty and its causes, Hebrews is basically continuous with the Exodus paradigm. The question still debated is whether the solution is conceived of in (neo)Platonic terms: an Exodus-type escape, but to a spiritualized, nonmaterial heaven; or whether the eschatology of Hebrews is basically consistent with the apocalyptic-utopian perspective common to the rest of the NT. The author obviously represents an educational elite and addresses well-educated readers who seem more impoverished from persecution than originally poor (ca. 67–70 A.D.?). The two leading candidates, Apollos and Barnabas, each shared Paul's itinerant lifestyle (cf. 13:2–3 on hospitality and imprisonment).

The key passages are few but eloquent and significant for the NT teaching on the poor. The most explicit text climaxes the great faith chapter, countering the militarism and political triumphalism of 11:32–34a with reference to "others … of whom the world was not worthy," whose poverty (v 37, *hysteréōmenoi*) is exemplified in their lack of adequate clothing (37a), and accompanied by brutal violence (35, 37a), ridicule and torture (36a), and unjust imprisonment (36b). Such impoverished, brutalized souls, like the elect in James (2:5), are particularly rich in faith (Heb 11:39–40). Related but less explicit references to impoverished saints may be observed in the mention of new converts whose possessions were plundered (10:32–34), and of the poor Israelite slaves in Egypt (11:24–26; cf. Exodus). Women and sexual minorities receive special attention (Rahab 11:31; Melchizedek 7:3 with Isa 56:3–5), but family integrity is defended against some who despised marriage (13:4).

Since Hebrews begins by stressing that God spoke through the prophets (1:1), it is not surprising that the prophetic emphasis on oppression and persecution as the fundamental cause of poverty dominates (10:33; 11:25, 37; Hanks 1983: 38–39). Such oppression impoverishes not only the original targets of persecution and discrimination but those who demonstrate solidarity with them as well (10:33, *koinōnia;* 11:25; cf. Matt 5:3; 25:31–46).

Hebrews shares with the rest of the NT an emphasis on the Church's ministry as a provisional and partial solution to the suffering of the poor. The "meeting together" is for providing for material needs as well as for spiritual edification (10:24–25). The Church's present ministry may be viewed theologically as the internalization of God's just law in the new covenant (8:8–12, note *adikia*, "oppression," v. 12; cf. 6:10; 10:17; Jer 22:16) or externally in the good works to the needy, agape solidarity, and ministry (*diakonéō*) to the saints (6:10). Brotherly love (*philadelphia*) is to be manifest in hospitality to homeless visitors (13:2, itinerant prophets and evangelists like Apollos?); ministry to those unjustly suffering imprisonment (13:3, 23), physical solidarity with the "excommunicated" (13:12–13), good works and sacrificial sharing (*koinōnia;* 13:15–16, 21). A life free from "the love of money" is prerequisite to such sacrificial external measures (13:5).

More "structural" approaches to the elimination of oppression and poverty may be seen in the new covenant provision (which internalizes Torah as a whole, not just its reformist and merciful elements; cf. the Exodus-Wilderness-Conquest traditions in 3:1–4:11) and in the military-political triumphalism of 11:32–35 (all of which are past, not contemporary realities). While not so explicit as Luke in presenting the gospel as good news to the poor, Hebrews does stress evangelism involving an integral salvation-liberation.

A more (neo)Platonist reading of the book would lead us to perceive a conflict between the utopian apocalyptic of other NT writings (Revelation 20–22; 2 Pet 3:13). However, despite some tendentious English translations, it is possible to read even the apparently (neo)Platonic texts in ways more consistent with materialist Hebrew thought and other NT books. Above all, "Mount Zion, the Heavenly Jerusalem" (12:22–24; cf. 11:10, 16) need not be interpreted as a nonmaterial realm eternally removed from the earthly scene, but as "coming" in space as well as time (13:14), like the new Jerusalem of Revelation, which finally descends to earth to consummate the kingdom of God (Heb 12:26–28 "receive"; Matt 6:10). Whichever reading is correct (neo-Platonic or materialist Hebrew), the consummation of the kingdom of God is viewed as elsewhere in the NT as the final glorious solution to the sufferings of the poor and oppressed. Certainly the book's teaching on creation (1:1–14) and resurrection (11:35; 13:20) is more consistent with a materialist reading. Even if an intermediate state and heavenly sphere receive more development and emphasis here than in other NT books, this reading need not contradict an ultimate apocalyptic, earthly-material resolution. The portrayal of Moses' decisive option for the poor and oppressed (11:24–26) is the most vivid and explicit NT paradigm of this element so basic to contemporary liberation theologies (strangely ignored by Boff and Pixley 1989, the Eng trans. of Pixley and Boff 1986). Hebrews' educated, eloquent author undoubtedly identifies with that picture.

**O. Conclusion**

Just as the OT presents considerable diversity of perspectives regarding the poor/poverty (see the 8th-century prophets and Proverbs), so considerable diversity must be recognized in the NT. Attempts to synthesize and harmonize biblical teaching and to draw general theological conclusions tend not to pay sufficient attention to this diversity. Heavily ideological and propagandistic works exalting the "Christian virtues of capitalism"—or socialism/communism—abound, usually highly selective in their use of "control texts" and often lacking in careful exegesis.

Liberation theology, with its emphasis on the Exodus paradigm of oppression and liberation, has planted fundamental challenges to traditional neo-Platonic interpretation of the NT. Certain liberation theologians and exegetes have made extreme statements regarding the poor/poverty in the NT. However, their perception that some kind of "option for the poor" is represented in most if not all the NT literature (far transcending occasional references to the "beggar poor") marks a major advance in NT interpretation, as is now widely recognized (*ISBE* 3: 609–11, 905–8, 921–26; Sugden 1988; cf. Adie 1984). Socioeconomic

and anthropological studies of the NT continue to debate and refine theological perceptions of the various documents regarding the poor.

However, Third World liberation theologians have only begun to take into account feminist perspectives, and feminist theology itself often has been somewhat elitist in its concerns. The socioeconomic polarization of women in the NT (poor widows or wealthy converts) has received little attention in studies on poverty and wealth. And liberation theologians have scarcely even raised any questions about NT perspectives on despised sexual minorities and uncleanness (Countryman 1988). Medieval monks assumed the NT to represent the perspective of continent bachelors; Protestantism has tended to assume that everyone except Paul must have had a wife and children. The failure to challenge sexual and family ideological assumptions has been a glaring weakness in theological efforts to delineate NT perspectives on oppression and poverty (Greenberg 1988).

Basic continuity between OT and NT perspectives on poverty and oppression is evident. However, for analysis of the factors in oppression, evaluation of the experience of poverty, and understanding of authentic liberation and integral salvation, the NT makes contributions of fundamental importance to biblical theology. Contemporary theological use of these perceptions, of course, must involve careful recourse to hermeneutics. The fact that poverty basically was caused by oppression at the time of the Exodus or in the NT does not prove that such is the case today, nor that biblical paradigms of liberation for the poor can now be slavishly imitated.

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**POPLAR.** See FLORA.

**PORATHA** (PERSON) [Heb *pôrātā*› (**פּוֹרָתָא**)]. One of the ten sons of Haman (Esth 9:8). On problems surrounding this list of names, see ADALIA (PERSON). Poratha (LXX *pharadatha;* A *gagaphardatha*) perhaps renders the otherwise unattested Old Iranian name *Paru-raΘa, "having many chariots" (Zadok 1986: 109) or *Paurāta-, a short form of a name such as *Paurubāta (Hinz 1975: 191).

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**PORCH.** One of several words used to designate architectural spaces that are transitional between the closed interior of a building and the courtyards that are clearly external. Some of these spaces are roofed; others are open to the sky. RSV "porch" denotes the space in front of the Hall of Pillars of Solomon's palace (1 Kgs 7:6). The Hebrew *›ûlām* is elsewhere rendered "nave" or "vestibule," in reference to the forecourt of the temple. In the RSV, that feature is denoted by "porch" only in Ezek 8:16 (cf. Matt 26:71, where *pulōn* may mean the entrance to a courtyard). The term *›ûlām* is discussed in TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

CAROL MEYERS

**PORCIUS FESTUS** (PERSON). See FESTUS, PORCIUS.

**PORCUPINE.** See ZOOLOGY.

**PORTICO, SOLOMON'S.** See SOLOMON'S PORTICO.

**POSIDONIUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Posidōnios* (Ποσιδωνιος)]. One of three members of a delegation sent by Nicanor, according to 2 Macc 14:19, to work out the terms of a peace with Judas Maccabeus and his followers. This envoy, bearing a familiar Greek appellation, was named after Poseidon, the Greek god primarily of earthquake and water who in cult was viewed as the sea god. For the other members of the delegation, see THEODOTUS and MATTATHIAS.

JOHN KAMPEN

**POSTSTRUCTURAL ANALYSIS.** Structuralist studies, which have influenced literary criticism during the last twenty years, represent a rejection of two earlier, time-honored philosophical proposals about how it is that texts communicate their meanings to readers. They reject the view that texts are meaningful because they refer in a straightforward and simple way to the world we all inhabit. Language, it used to be supposed, is, or at least should be, a clear window on the world. Such a view of most language was always recognized as problematic, and a distinction was made between an "ideal" language which would exactly picture the world and other forms, like those of poetry and fiction, which were considered to be merely "emotive." But even in plain discourse, this picture theory of language is unhelpful. If I write that "I am sitting at a desk," the reader may have a picture of a desk, but not because "desk" has come to have a meaning for the reader from his or her observation of desks, but because "desk" is distinguished in the English language from "table," and other furniture, and the reader has learned how to make that distinction. We can easily imagine a language in which the distinction does not exist. Structuralism insists that words have a relational, rather than an essential, meaning. Each word fits into a complex pattern of binary oppositions, contraries, and contradictories, and it is this structure which gives it meaning.

Similarly, in literature, longer units of text are related to one another through binary oppositions like parallelism and inversion. Structuralism has therefore tended to treat languages and literatures as autonomous and has examined their internal structures. It has highlighted the distance between language about the world and the world itself, and has seen languages and literatures as cultural rather than natural phenomena.

Structuralism also rejects a second account of how texts become meaningful for readers. In our Western tradition, it is often assumed that texts convey meanings because the author intends a meaning and readers are able to look through the text into the mind of the author, who is conceived as a transcendent, disembodied, thinking self behind the text. Writing is thus understood as a kind of second-order speech, in which one person directly communicates his or her intention to another. In one-to-one conversation, however, the intention of the speaker is perceived by the recipient not only through the spoken utterance but also through the context. If I say "Please close the door," the listener is likely to understand my command in a context in which the door to the room is open, but to be puzzled if the only door visible is already closed. He or she may also understand my command to suggest that I am intending to go on and say something private, if, for example, I have just broken off my previous remarks. But if I have just shivered, he or she will think my intention is to exclude the draft. Again, if there is a noise in the corridor which makes communication difficult, the listener will suppose I am intending to muffle the noise. Moreover, if the recipient fails to understand, clarification can be requested. Even so, in present one-to-one conversation, misunderstanding is not always avoided. Communication depends on speaker and hearer sharing the same competence, and this cannot invariably be guaranteed. Nor are ambiguities in language and context always sufficiently recognized to ensure against misunderstanding. How much more problematic is the conception of meaning in terms of an author's intention when it is applied to texts, written, published, and read in quite different contexts, with the reader unable to cross-question the author to discover whether the supposed interpretation is the right one? Even when a writer and author share a common culture and language, and live at the same time, the reader can discover different plausible interpretations of the same text, and difficulties are increased when author and reader are separated by

time and language. Structuralism therefore abandons the search for the intentions of the author and acknowledges a text's multiplicity of possible meanings.

The work of the French philosopher Jacques Derrida (b. 1930) has focused and intensified structuralism's questioning of common-sense attitudes to meaning. His books and essays examine philosophical literature in the Western tradition, from Plato to the present day; his method has sometimes occasioned superficial misunderstandings, so it will be useful to begin by clearing these out of the way. Derrida's writings encapsulate a very careful reading of philosophical texts, drawing attention not only to the main lines of argument which they contain, but also to the metaphors in which the argument is expressed, and which, as it transpires, undermine the argument itself. This endeavor has sometimes been characterized as the triumph of literary criticism over philosophy, and has been taken to warrant a completely free interpretive game with texts, irrespective of subject matter, genre, or any rational constraints. That such an understanding is superficial will become clear by examining an example of Derrida's work.

Plato's *Phaedrus* contains a discussion by Socrates about the dangers of writing and the superiority of direct speech (LCL, 275b–78). Commentators on the *Phaedrus* have usually bypassed this section because they have found it peripheral to their main interest. Derrida not only insists on treating the text seriously in the sense of refusing to omit sections from consideration, but also draws out its implications for Plato's philosophy and for the Western philosophical tradition which has been influenced by it. Socrates is depicted as favoring speech over writing because in speech the speaker is present and able to authorize where, how, by whom, and to whom his philosophy is taught. Once philosophy is written down, the text seems to open its wisdom to anyone who has access to a copy at any time. It allows people to repeat what is written without understanding it. The preference for speech, in which the speaker is present, over writing, in which the speaker is absent, is what Derrida calls *logocentrism.* But in reading the *Phaedrus*, Derrida draws attention to two important contradictions (Derrida 1981). The first and most obvious is that Plato has written this account of Socrates' castigation of writing. The second is that when Socrates tries to indicate the superiority of speech, metaphors from writing are used to describe speech. For example, speech is the word written in the mind of the speaker (LCL, 276a) or is writing inscribed on the soul (278b). The binary opposition of speech/writing, which the *Phaedrus* explores, is undermined by this interplay between the two. *Deconstruction* is the name given to this detailed elucidation of a text, which takes account both of explicit oppositions and of the ways in which they dissolve into an exchange which can give precision or preference to neither.

Moreover, the supposed "presence" of the speaker in his or her speech is just as illusory as the writer's "presence" in writing. Speech is no more a spiritual reality than writing is. Speech is not innocent, not an unmediated expression of the self. As soon as sensations are transformed into utterances about human experiences, they become entangled in the web of differential terms and relations. Both speaking and writing are attempts to make the inchoate coherent, but their achievements are only partial, open-ended approximations, which are suggestive rather than definitive.

The same *logocentrism* is present in biblical texts. God's creative and self-authorizing word brings creation into being and inspires the law and the prophets. In Christianity there is a similar mistrust of writing ("the letter kills but the spirit makes alive" [2 Cor 3:6]; cf. 2 John 12) but the same contradiction: the Bible indicates the priority of speech over writing in a written text. And when speech's superiority is described, use is made of a metaphor from writing: "I will put my law within them, and I will write it upon their hearts" (Jer 31:31).

It is just this privileging of speech and presence as somehow more original, a view which is fundamental to Western perceptions, that Derrida calls into question. The relation cannot simply be inverted to make writing privileged, but the interplay of the two must acknowledge the absence of an authoritarian presence prescribing meaning. To capture this sense of the opaqueness of language, Derrida invents a new French word, *différance*, which both expresses the insights of structuralism, that meaning is relational rather than essential, and conveys the further insight that meaning is indefinitely deferred, never completely captured and defined by an utterance.

Not only Derrida, but many modern philosophers have argued that language does not give us a clear picture of the world. Language is rather an expression of cultural and institutional ways of life. Pragmatists have been content to accept that language is useful in affording communication within social systems, without searching for a metalanguage which would allow escape from this relativist prison. Such a stance involves a conservative attitude toward the institutions which give language its sense and significance. In biblical studies, too, we cannot always be unaware of cultural and institutional influences on religious language, even when presented in the form of commentaries on the Bible. Commentaries from the Middle Ages seem alien in their interests and concepts to people living in the 20th century, but even commentaries written by contemporaries in English betray their sectarian bias. Derrida offers no solution to this relativist dilemma, but he is neither content to ignore it, nor accept it.

We may not be able to escape from the limitations that language imposes on thought, but we can at least become aware of the limits and of the ways in which those limits are undermined by the very language which expresses them. *Deconstruction* questions not only the definitive meanings of texts, but the societies and institutions which validate their use.

One feature of Derrida's writings which has given rise to interpretations that take no account of the text's form or genre is the practice of setting one text alongside another so that each is illuminated (for example, texts by Plato and Mallarmé in "The Double Session," Derrida 1981). It is common for interpreters to confine their discussions of literature to a single book, or to the books of a single author, or to books within the same genre. But Derrida's concern encompasses a whole cultural tradition and its intertextual influences. While recognizing that some insights can be gained by restricting the range of examples, Derrida also explores the interrelatedness of texts from quite different genres to gain new insights. Specialization in universities and colleges often serves to obscure links between different areas of discourse. Biblical studies could be enriched by examining some of the connections.

For example, scholarly English commentaries on the NT resurrection narratives could usefully be read alongside John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689), chap. 27, to discern their mutual influences and blind spots. A commentary which marginalizes the accounts of the empty tomb by calling them late legends or secondary traditions allows an interpretation of resurrection in terms of the binary opposition of soul and body in John Locke's anthropology. On the other hand, Locke's dualism and individualism owes something to the problematic presentation of the gospels' stories. Moreover, "soul," which is privileged in Locke's account, is distinguished from "body" by regarding it as a kind of body: "one person in two distinct bodies" is like "one man in two distinct clothings." Locke's essay uses metaphors in spite of empiricism's suspicion of metaphorical language.

In one respect at least, biblical texts encourage their own deconstruction. As Schneidau has argued, "the biblical insistence on our understanding ourselves in relation to an historical past, rather than in terms of a static cosmic system, breaks with the tendencies of logocentrism and allows us to align Derrida and the Bible" (1982: 5). He quotes Derrida on the relation of history to writing and Judaism: "The painful folding of itself which permits history to reflect itself as it ciphers itself. This reflection is its beginning. The only thing that begins by reflecting itself is history. And this fold, this furrow, is the Jew. The Jew who elects writing which elects the Jew" (Schneidau 1982: 9). Derrida does not encourage us to ignore history in our readings of texts, but, on the contrary, to take our readings and our history all the more seriously by noticing that we have not arrived at a final meaning.

Since Derrida insists that meaning is always deferred, never finally closed, it is interesting that one of his essays should include readings of the Revelation of John, which concludes the NT. Derrida's essay "Of an Apocalyptic Tone Recently Adopted in Philosophy" (1982) takes its title from Kant's "Of an Overlordly Tone Recently Adopted in Philosophy" to explore both old and new apocalyptic predictions of the imminence of the end of philosophy, of Western culture, and of the world. Kant offered a truce to his opponents, to the mystagogues who predicted the imminent demise of philosophy because they thought they perceived the truth for which it was searching. Derrida seeks to comprehend this apocalyptic tone. He observes that the revelation is precisely a revelation of truth; the tone of apocalyptic is self-assured,

both in its conviction that the end is imminent and in its confidence in its own ability to reveal the truth about the end (Derrida 1982: 84–85).

But the Revelation is not an unmediated perception of the present and the future, nor is its delivery to the seven churches straightforward. There is rather a whole series of speakings, hearings, writings, and readings, as the opening verses of the book (Rev 1:1–3) show. Jesus indeed commands that John "write what you see, what is, and what is to take place hereafter" (1:19), and goes on to dictate letters to the angels of the seven churches. But this form soon gives way to descriptions of heavenly visions of a scroll written on both sides and sealed with seven seals (Rev 5:1); in the shift of images, seeing and hearing merge with reading. There are more confessions, more messages, more envoys to be dispatched, and a scroll to be eaten. The concluding words of Jesus in the book verify the dispatch of a messenger: "I, Jesus, have sent my angel to you with this testimony for the churches" (22:16); warnings are given against altering the words of the prophecy of the book (22:18–19). Derrida observes (1982: 87) that the imagistic structure of the Revelation—"dispatches [that] always refer to other dispatches without decidable destination"—is an image of writing itself.

Kant's essay lampooned mystagogues whose writings failed the criteria of rational philosophy. Derrida discovers that the opposition between philosopher and mystagogue, between rational philosophy and mystification, begins to dissolve on examination (1982: 88–89).

The Revelation has one other important lesson to teach those who suppose that the author owns the book's message or determines its meaning with any finality:

> It is said at the very end (22:10): Do not seal this: "Do not seal the words of the inspiration of this book …" "Do not seal," that is to say, do not close, but also do not sign (Derrida 1982: 95).

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MARGARET DAVIES

**POTIPHAR** (PERSON) [Heb *pôtîpar* (פּוֹתִיפַר)]. The name of the first master of Joseph (Gen 37:36; 39:1). The name belongs to a common Egyptian type attested from the 10th century B.C. through Roman times (although sporadic examples may be found in the 11th century B.C.), and means "He-whom- (the sun god)-Re-gives." Several examples of this very name occur, ranging from the 7th through the 3d centuries B.C. The similar name of Joseph's father-in-law, Potiphera, is closer to the Egyptian original. The Potiphar of Joseph's first employment in Egypt is described as "a eunuch of Pharaoh and the captain of the butchers (guard)" (Gen 39:1). The former designation is derived from an Assyrian title and only occurs in Egypt during the Persian domination (in the 5th century B.C.); the latter has no obvious Egyptian original.

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DONALD B. REDFORD

**POTIPHERA** (PERSON) [Heb *pôṭî pera‘* (פּוֹטִי פֶרַע)]. The father-in-law of Joseph. His daughter Asenath was given by Pharaoh as a wife to Joseph (Gen 41:45). Out of their marriage two children were born: Manasseh, the firstborn, and Ephraim (Gen 41:50–52; 46:20).

"Potiphera" is a longer version of the name Potiphar, borne by the captain of the guard who bought Joseph as a slave from the Midianites (or according to the Yahwist, from the Ishmaelites, cf. Gen 37:25–28). The name in Egyptian is *p€ - dıÙ-p€ Rʿ*, and it means "He whom Re [the sun god] has given." The LXX treats the two names as identical and transliterates both names as *Petephres.* Potiphera was a priest of On, a city NW of modern Cairo. The city was later renamed Heliopolis by the Greeks. On was the center of sun worship in ancient Egypt, and the temple of Re had become the most important place in the city as early as the 5th Dynasty. When the worship of the sun god came into greater prominence in early Egyptian history, the priests who ministered at the temple gained more power and prestige in Egyptian society (Wilson 1951: 88). The high priest of On was a very influential and important figure in Egyptian religious life. There is no way of knowing if Potiphera was the high priest or only one of the many priests who ministered at On. However, because the narrative presents Joseph as a prominent officer of Pharaoh, answerable only to him, it is highly probable that Potiphera was to be regarded in the story as the high priest of On (Ward 1957: 51). The name does not appear in Egyptian inscriptions until the middle of the 10th century B.C., during the 22d Dynasty. This may provide some indication of the time when the Joseph narratives were written.

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**POTSHERD GATE** (PLACE) [Heb *šaʿar haḥarsît* (שַׁעַר הַחַרְסִית)]. A gate of Jerusalem at the S tip of the City of David (Jer 19:2), adjoining the juncture of the Hinnom and Tyropoeon or Central valleys, which is considered by most (Avi-Yonah 1954: 245) to be identical to the Dung Gate of Neh 2:13; 3:13, 14; and 12:31. An alternate translation is Gate of Earthenware (*BDB,* 360) or Gate of Potters (Simons 1952: 230, n. 1), which is erroneously translated in the AV as the East Gate. The Potsherd Gate should be identified with the wall and gate found by Bliss and Dickie (1894–1897) in the Tyropoeon or Central valley (Bliss and Dickie 1898: 116–26). Jeremiah's illustrated sermon at this gate, where broken pottery was discarded, was situated adjacent to the Hinnom valley where Israelites were participating in pagan liturgies (Jer 19:4–5). The Dung Gate may also be translated "Gate of the Refuse Pile" (*BDB,* 1046), a great deal of which would have been broken and discarded pottery, particularly if (as suggested by Simons 1952: 230) the gate adjoined an installation for the manufacturing of pottery. It has been suggested that this may be related to the name Topheth (another name used for the Hinnom valley, Jer 19:6).

Nehemiah's inspection tour took him S from the Valley Gate past the Jackal's Well to the Dung Gate or the Potsherd Gate (of Jeremiah's time) just before he rounded the S tip of the City of David. This gate was repaired by Malchijah son of Rechab, the ruler of the district of Beth-haccherem, and is the first landmark noted in the dedicatory procession (Neh 12:31) that went S and counterclockwise from the Valley Gate.

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DALE C. LIID

**POTTER'S WHEEL.** Pottery was made and used throughout the ancient world. Special wheels for fashioning pottery came into use at an early period, and were used throughout Palestine and neighboring areas. The Hebrew word designating a potter's wheel, *ʾobnāyim,* occurs only once in the OT (Jer 18:3). The word's literal meaning, "pair of stones," is indicative of the configuration of the device itself.

From the MB I period (ca. 2000 B.C.) onward, pottery in Palestine was generally "thrown" on a fast wheel; i.e., it was made on a wheel spinning fast enough so that the centrifugal force formed the vessel, with the potter merely guiding the clay with his hands to attain the desired shape. Prior to the MB I period, pottery vessels were formed on a simple tournette. The Hebrew name for the potter's wheel may

derive from the fact that the earliest potter's wheel, the tournette, was no doubt comprised of a pair of stone disks.

Stone bearings from "fast" potters' wheels have been found in abundance in excavations in Palestine. Usually made of basalt, but occasionally of limestone, they consist of one or both of two components: a lower whorl with a cavity, or socket, in the center, and an upper whorl with a projection, or tenon, in the center. See Fig. POT.01. The two whorls fit together, with the tenon mating the socket. From the wear marks on such whorls, it is evident that the upper whorl (sometimes called a pivot) rotated on the lower whorl. In reality, these stone whorls are thrust bearings from a more elaborate apparatus made of wood. From archaeological evidence and ethnographic analogy it is possible to reconstruct the "fast" potter's wheel of ancient Palestine. Two types were in use, the single wheel and the double wheel.

In the single or simple wheel (also called a hand wheel), the lower bearing is secured in the ground or on a platform or bench. A wooden disk (called a flywheel, wheel head, table, or platform) is attached to the upper bearing and the assembly is placed on the lower bearing with the tenon inserted in the socket. The wooden disk is then rotated by hand by an assistant while the potter fashions his vessels. The tenon in the upper bearing acts to keep the wooden disk centered and running true. An 18th-Dynasty Egyptian potter is seen using such a single wheel. See Fig. POT.02. The lower portion of the potter's wheel (shown in Fig. POT.02 without the shaft or upper wheel) is, in effect, a single potter's wheel. In a LB IIA (14th century B.C.) potter's workshop at Hazor a platform or workbench made of fieldstones was found (Yadin et al. 1960: 101–3). On top of the platform was a complete thrust-bearing assembly. The bearing assembly undoubtedly belonged to a single-wheel type of potter's wheel since a double wheel would not have been placed on such a bench.

The second type of fast wheel is the double or compound wheel (also called a combined wheel, foot wheel or kick wheel). In this type a wooden disk (the flywheel) is attached to the upper bearing as with the simple wheel, but now a vertical shaft is attached to the center of the wooden disk. See Fig. POT.03. At the end of the shaft is a second, smaller, wooden disk (the wheel head, working platform or table) where the vessel is fashioned. The shaft is steadied by a horizontal wooden bar with a hole in it, through which the shaft passes. Since the potter can now rotate the wheel by kicking the lower disk with his foot, an assistant is no longer needed (Foster 1959: 104; Childe 1965: 201; Nicklin 1971: 35–38; Holthoer 1977: 31). In an early Iron I (12th century B.C.) potters' cave at Lachish, two shallow pits (Pits C and D; Tufnell et al. 1958: 91, 292, pl. 92) appear to be emplacements for double potters' wheels. Similarly, Pit H in Cave 37 at Megiddo (Iron II period, 9th–7th centuries B.C.), with a worn stone socket found *in situ* (Guy 1938: 80, fig. 84), was most likely an installation for a double potter's wheel.

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BRYANT G. WOOD

**POTTERY.** Pottery can be defined as utensils or other artifacts made of clay and hardened by fire. Ever since the 6th millennium B.C. pottery has played an important role in the material culture of the ANE. Palestine was not a country particularly rich in artistic forms of expression or literary accomplishments. Material remains from biblical times are generally common and ordinary during most periods, and even poor and fragmentary at times. But pottery is always found. This entry consists of two

articles pertinent to ancient Palestinian pottery. The first surveys the technology of producing pottery in ancient Palestine. The second surveys the role that pottery artifacts play in helping the archaeologist establish a chronological date for strata and other excavated artifacts.

## *POTTERY TECHNOLOGY IN ANCIENT PALESTINE*

The study of pottery technology of antiquity seeks to find an explanation for the observable features of excavated pottery. It is normal practice in archaeology to describe the shapes and other features of excavated pottery on the basis of visual examination. The aim of technological studies is to add another dimension to these studies. For instance, one can identify Neolithic pottery from the visual descriptions, but how this pottery was invented cannot be deduced; only a technological study can help in solving this problem. But there are also other questions which cannot be solved without the aid of technological research, as will be shown in this article.

One can only speak about the invention of pottery making from the moment the process of manufacture was repeated with success and became a regular feature of Neolithic culture. The fact that pottery making had become a routine demonstrates that the makers understood what was happening, and that the invention was not a chance discovery. The first potters had acquired certain kinds of knowledge before they achieved regular production. They could distinguish between clays and other soils, and they knew how to make clay mixtures which could be shaped into a bowl by exercising pressure on the inside of a clay ball, and counterpressure from the outside. They knew that the shape had to dry, and that during the drying process the bowl shape would shrink and crack unless special care was taken to prevent it. They also knew that during firing the temperature had to be high enough to create a dark red glow in the clay, and that this temperature had to be maintained for some time. They knew how to do this because the technology for lime burning had already been invented. There were even experiments with making "pottery" from lime. In the case of the Neolithic pottery from ancient Jericho, it has been demonstrated that the potters used kilns and not open fires for pot making.

Thus it can be shown that people in Neolithic times experimented with different earths because they were seeking a substitute for the stone bowls which took a great deal of effort to make. However, once they had succeeded in producing fired clay vessels and could repeat this process, they continued with the experiments, some of which are mentioned here. Since the beginning of the Neolithic period people had known that to make sun-dried bricks, one had to mix the clay with chopped straw or similar dry materials. This gave cohesion to the brick and prevented it from flaking during the drying period. Similarly one finds very fine organic matter in pottery, or rather, the holes it left after firing. The potters probably used animal dung, but they also experimented with other materials, and they discovered that it made a difference to the fired product whether one used quartz sand or lime sand, coarse or fine sand. They discovered that calcite would render a vessel more heat-shock resistant, and that "sand" made of fired clay such as pounded potsherds, which can be compared with our chamotte, had some distinct advantages when shaping pottery. They also invented the decoration of vessels with different clays which, after firing, would show up in different colors. Such clays were applied as a thin slip to the surface in certain patterns, and as some of these slips would tend to peel off after drying or firing, the potters would rub them into the surface, which resulted in so-called burnished pottery or pottery with a surface sheen.

It seems that there was not very much left to be discovered in later times, since the Neolithic potters had also experimented with turning the pot in the making. They even knew the advantages of firing pottery in a kiln instead of in open fires. The discoveries made during the Pottery Neolithic period have indeed dominated the world of potting in the Near East, except for some comparatively short periods, until this century. New inventions were, in chronological order: (1) the production of what comes very close to stoneware in the Chalcolithic period; (2) the use of a "kick wheel" in the MB Age (followed by the loss of this device during the LB Age); (3) its reintroduction sometime during the Iron Age; (4) the slow perfection of the use of the wheel in the period after the Exile, culminating in an unrivaled mastery of potting techniques in Roman times; and (5) the introduction of what had been invented long before, but had never been taken into regular production: the application of glazes to pottery, and the many ways of manipulating the effects of glazes and metal oxides to obtain the magnificent effects of Islamic glazed

wares. What could not have been invented was porcelain. Kaolin, which is the basic ingredient in the production of porcelain, is not found in any quantity anywhere in the entire area.

It is necessary to consider an aspect of pot making which is not generally understood. One common impression is that potters can make any shape when asked to do so. This is by no means true. The shapes potters can make depend largely on two aspects: the type of clay which the potter is accustomed to using, and the traditional knowledge accumulating over generations of potters who knew how to work that clay. Clays resemble wood in that different kinds must be used for different purposes. The traditional knowledge is often so attached to the special properties of the clay which the potter knows and uses, that he cannot imagine other shapes being made from it. The Neolithic potters have been depicted here as people who were very busy inventing and experimenting, as one does in a laboratory. The other side of the picture is, however, that traditional potters belong to that group of very conservative people who will not readily accept innovations and rationalizations in their crafts. And as far as they can, they work according to the traditional rules or "laws" passed down through the generations. After the Neolithic Age there were long periods in which little seemed to change in the potters' production. In Chalcolithic times there were some technical developments; one of them may have been that the very large storage jars were no longer fired in kilns but in open fires in which they became buried in hot ashes, preserving the heat for long hours and keeping oxygen out. The effect of this was that the iron and lime present in the local clay acted as fluxes, which caused vitrification or the development of a glassy phase in the clay at a comparatively low temperature. This produced a very hard ware, but this technique was abandoned in later times; the reason may have been that it took too much fuel. By the end of the Chalcolithic period, much of the natural forest had already been consumed by the village cultures.

Although the technical background remained the same during the first few millennia of potting, both in its production and in its means of decoration, different regions developed their own traditions and characteristics. While knowledge of the craft spread over the whole of the Near East and beyond, knowledge of the varied properties of the clays used also expanded, and potters who had to work with "difficult" clays were often forced to experiment anew with the raw materials. The rewards of their struggle can be seen in their results. Bronze Age potters in Cyprus produced beautifully shaped and decorated pottery which points to a far more advanced knowledge of potting than is found among their fellow craftsmen in Palestine. Clearly the reason for this difference is not that potters E of the Mediterranean were backward people, but that they did not have the right soils for making really fine ware, and consequently did not have the chance to develop better understanding and skill. The history of potting in the Bronze Age and Iron Age confirms this explanation.

Near the beginning of the Bronze Age the first walled settlements appeared, and with them probably pottery markets. The villages of the previous age may also have had such markets, but the tradition that families made their own pottery must already have existed. One might speculate that the inhabitants of the first towns were supplied with pottery partly by professional potters and partly by villagers. This is inferred, for instance, from study of the pottery excavated at EB Jericho. Small jugs and bowls were often made by hand, exactly as in the Neolithic. Embellishment often consisted of a dark red slip applied over the entire body, which was sometimes polished. Similarly one finds the use of a slow wheel which was turned by hand, besides the use of little woven mats on which a pot was built up and which could also be turned by hand. There were apparently professional potters working in the neighborhood, since the production of such classes as storage jars of the hole-mouth type required efficient mass production. One striking aspect of the pottery found at such sites is the care which was taken to make pleasant shapes, and to give them a strong and shiny color. Another striking feature is the occurrence of jars which had a whitewash applied to the surface, which was then decorated with red painted bands. This could only be done as long as firing temperatures were kept well below 825° C, the temperature at which lime turns into quicklime. Much of this pottery was fired in kilns with maximum temperatures of between 700° and 900° C. The firing method probably being practiced in this period was to fire quickly and briefly at probably over 900°C, so that the temperature in the lower levels of the kiln would be sufficient to produce fairly hard pottery, whereas in the upper part of the kiln the temperature would be enough to fire the pots but not

enough to make them really hard. Another aspect of kiln firing was that the relation between the influx of oxygen and the escape of hot gases from the kiln was not well balanced. The oxygen flow was often hampered, and as a result the colors of the pottery are often dull or—in technical terms—either neutral or reduced. It was only after the Exile that this aspect of kiln firing was mastered. Pottery in use in small villages was still produced by the families.

In the EB IV, the pottery acquired more uniformity of shape and technique. Much of the pottery had flat bases that were made on flat stone slabs that could be turned, and molds were used to make the walls of jars from two parts that were later fitted together. Due to this device walls could be made very thin. In the E parts of the country these potters did not use a wheel, and even the regularly shaped, flaring rims of storage jars were handmade.

In the MB Age pottery was made on a heavy and rapidly turning wheel. This brought with it other new developments. The fast wheel was in use in Mesopotamia from the 3d millennium B.C. When a fast wheel is used, pottery can be made with elegant profiles, but rather plastic clays must be used which may contain only very fine sand. The wheel creates centrifugal force in the clay on the wheel head by turning at 50 r.p.m. or more. It is rather difficult to attach other parts such as handles to the pots. Finished shapes must dry evenly and slowly to prevent cracking, and firing the pots requires much skill. This complex of new technology was almost certainly introduced from the N. It had some revolutionary results. The use of a fast wheel could speed up production tenfold or more, and slow methods of pot making soon disappeared. A uniformity in shapes developed, and geometrically painted decoration disappeared simultaneously because the production was linked to speed. Light or dark red firing slips were used to cover the entire surface of bowls and dippers, and it is only late in the period that potters again turned to painting decoration on their wares. This new technique of painting (with a red or "black" firing paint made of iron oxides mixed with fine clay slips) was successful because great care was taken that the body of the vessel was well covered with a clay slip that would be nearly white after firing, regardless of the atmosphere in the kiln, which through lack of oxygen could turn a red firing body into a dark gray. The thick slip would also reduce the chance of scum forming on the red paint. In potting in the Near East, scum has always spoiled the potters' attempts to use contrasting surface colors as decoration. Scum forms during kiln firing when there is excessive salt in the clay; it turns the surface color pale greenish yellow, which also affects the painted parts.

An additional problem in the production of painted pottery was that clays containing a large amount of lime (as do most clays in Palestine) will cause iron oxide paints to become volatile at temperatures above 925° C. White firing slips that did not contain iron or lime were ideal as a basis for decoration, but sources for such were probably rare. Some potters applied a white slip first, as a basis for a red slip, in order to create a good surface for a painted decoration.

During the LB there was a slow but distinct decline in every respect. At first production continued with many decorated pieces, but in LB II the problems seem to have begun. Less slip was used to cover the pot surface, which gave scum more chance to influence the decoration. Then the sand used as a filler, which sometimes consisted entirely of lime rock, was no longer sieved, so that coarse particles were introduced in the clay. This tended to break up the surface of the pot after it had been fired. The presence of coarse lime sand indicates that potters returned to the use of slow wheels and less plastic clays. Perhaps the return to simpler production methods was provoked by two aspects of daily life. The mass-produced thin-walled thrown pottery of the MB was fragile, and it became expensive, so it was replaced by pottery with much thicker walls which lasted longer. Since the production process no longer had to be carefully watched, the potters seem to have become careless. In LB IIb a low point was reached. The pots were very heavy and most had cracks in the bases, which the potters had to mend with lime or bitumen before the pots could be used. Decorations fell victim to the same lack of understanding of basic principles in potting, and practically disappeared by the end of the period. By the end of the 13th century the potters had begun to experiment again and find solutions to their problems.

The transition from the 13th to the 12th century B.C., or from the LB Age to the Iron Age, has attracted much attention, because the question is thought to be related to the appearance of the Israelites in Canaan.

When seen in this light, the question is: can pottery be used to indicate the presence of the Israelites? Unrealistically high expectations have been raised by earlier pottery studies. The question of what is exclusively Israelite pottery in the 12th and 11th centuries B.C. cannot be answered satisfactorily. Amiran thought that the Israelites took over the craft of potting from the Canaanites, and very soon developed the craft in their own way. If this were so, then pottery could indicate an Israelite presence. However, the end of the 13th century B.C. marks the absolute nadir of the craft, and there was not much to be learned from it; moreover, why should Israelites not have known how to make pottery? To take the problem out of the realm of pure speculation, we need more evidence about the technical development of the craft, and it is hard to obtain such evidence. What is clear, however, is that early in the 12th century B.C. potting was tackled in a fresh spirit of determination to overcome the problems of production, and this process was crowned with success. Since we know about the problems of decoration we do not expect developments in painted pottery, yet the potters invented a strong red slip which was applied to small items and burnished. Potters made better use of the raw materials, and coarse lime sand was no longer used. Potters from Jerusalem preferred to use fine quartz sand, even though it had to be brought from a considerable distance. Late in the 8th century B.C., after the Assyrians had taken Samaria and many people took refuge in or near Jerusalem, pottery production had to be greatly expanded. Lime sand replaced quartz sand; it was available in abundance locally, but it did not improve the quality of the product. The improvements consisted of the production of pottery that was lightweight in relation to its size; potters again made thin-walled pottery which was nevertheless not so fragile as that of the MB (less elegant but more shock resistant). Problems such as inferior bases to the pots no longer occurred.

What happened in the course of the Iron Age can be characterized as the rationalization of production. It was not a matter of mechanization, but a thoughtful development of means and methods of production, resulting in a useful and fairly cheap product, adapted to changing demands. Potters used a slow wheel which was probably hand operated. Small items such as drinking bowls, lamps, small plates, and small jugs were shaped from a cone of clay, which allowed the potter to make a number of pots one after the other. The upper part of the wall was made to the required thickness, but the lower part and the base were made rather thick because, as long as the clay was wet, a thin lower section could collapse under the weight of the upper part. When the rough shape was finished, the potter cut it loose from the clay cone with a string and put it aside to dry for a while. When the upper part (the thin part) was stiff enough, the unfinished shape was put back on the wheel upside down, and the potter scraped clay from the still-wet area to make the lower part and the base as thin as possible. At the same time he would give the base its required shape, such as a ring to stand on. To make larger pots such as storage kraters and water jars, the potter started by making a base and a small part of the wall. This then had to dry because from then on the potter added clay coils to build up the wall to the required height, while at the same time widening the shape. To prevent the wet shape from collapsing under its own weight, he tied string around the belly of the pot, which was removed when the shape had dried but left impressions in the clay wall. The potter scraped away as much surplus clay as possible from the inside near the base. The potters were aware of the need to give walls and base equal thickness. To make a rim shock-resistant it had to be thicker than the wall. The local clays were not sufficiently plastic to fold the top of the neck of a jar down, either to the inside or the outside, as can be done with plastic clays. Instead it had to be pressed down to the outside while the pot was rotated several times, as too much pressure would spoil the pot.

A fair degree of uniformity was largely due to the customers' behavior. Taking the cooking pot as an example, one can notice that in the beginning every potter had his own way of finishing the rim, making it somewhat longer or more flaring, or bending it down or up, and so forth. The customers noticed that rims with a certain profile resisted being struck by accident much better than rims with other profiles. Thus they became conscious of differences in quality, and when buying pots they began to look for the better-constructed ones. Slowly the potters followed this trend, and all began to give the same sturdy rim to their pots. On the other hand, cooking pots were not in daily use. They were probably only used on the occasion of religious festivals and at large family gatherings.

This can be demonstrated in the following way. A technological study of the pottery from Jerusalem in the 9th–6th centuries B.C. resulted in a fairly clear definition of the various classes of pottery, and a distinction could be made between some of the potters producing them. When production of the various classes was worked out statistically, it was found that cooking pots formed only a small part of total production during the 7th century B.C., roughly 5–8 percent. These were produced to replace broken ones—cooking pots had a short life. They were not only more vulnerable than most other shapes, but the base burnt through after some use. Masses of broken bases are always excavated together with fragments of other parts of the pottery, but bases of cooking pots are rare. They crumble away when burnt. If a cooking pot had been used every day, it would have lasted between four and six months. According to the percentages of broken pottery from the different classes, it appears that over the same period in which three cooking pots were broken in a family's daily life, nine rather strong deep storage bowls, twenty-seven small bowls used for drinking and eating, four storage jars, four plates, one lamp, four cylindrical storage jars, and one small jug were broken. This is far too much, and a more realistic estimate would start with the assumption that one cooking pot would last three years, in which case the average family would replace one deep storage bowl, three small bowls, one water jar, one plate, and one cylindrical jar in a year, but the lamp and the small jug would last for nine years. The cooking pot, the lamp and the (perfume?) jug were not for daily use but for festivals. When the sun went down people sat in the dark or enjoyed the moonlight, and they did not normally cook a meal. They baked their daily bread in a small bread oven, and if they had two meals a day, they ate their bread with thick milk probably prepared in several different ways, with cheese, olives, various fresh or dried herbs, dried fruits, and some honey if they could afford it. People ate and drank from small bowls, which represented more than 50 percent of the pottery in daily use through the Iron Age. Meat could be roasted in the bread oven, but it was certainly not part of the daily diet for the average family. The diet of the Israelite family must have changed during the Iron Age, since in the early days there were no real cooking pots, but only very wide and rather shallow frying pans without handles. When people in the 7th century used pots for cooking during festivals, they were probably boiling lentils or preparing special meals.

After the Exile, pottery production did not change until the country revived economically, and then we find a rationalized production. In Hellenistic and Roman times pottery was turned out in large quantities as a result of the throwing technique. The traditional clays were no longer used, being unsuitable for this technique. Pottery firms used fine plastic clays and mixed clays in order to adapt the properties to the shaping techniques. Mass production had become the only way to survive. Jars were thrown in two halves which were luted together, and the lower half was made upside down on the wheel, as were deep bowls and cooking pots. The percentages of cooking pots are not known for this period, but from finds at the Amman Citadel it can be concluded that people used them every day. The pottery became much lighter than it had been in the Iron Age; it had very thin walls and was seldom decorated. People who could afford to buy a good dinner service used terra sigillata or pottery of comparable quality, which was imported from overseas. There was no large-scale trade in fine pottery, such as that produced in Petra in New Testament times, but the potters at Qumran were very fine craftsmen who made high-quality utility wares, as did other potters in the country. This was the time in which, technically speaking, potters had reached the limits of what could be done with the local clays. Petra clays are of a totally different nature to those found in the mountainous areas of Palestine, and this is clearly shown in the products of the potters' workshop.

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## *POTTERY CHRONOLOGY OF PALESTINE*

Because pottery is almost always found in excavations from biblical sites in Palestine, and because pottery shapes and forms tended to change and develop over time, the historian, and particularly the archaeologist, turns to pottery remains for cultural and chronological information.

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**A. Importance of Pottery**

Pottery's importance as an artifact of antiquity is due in part to its durability. Once a clay object is fired at a high degree it will harden and although it will break, it will not decay or disappear. Except for those of stone, other ancient artifacts of wood, cloth, reed, or vegetable matter, or even metal, have a limited life span and disintegrate on exposure to air and humidity. Pottery does not disintegrate, but it breaks rather easily on impact and has to be replaced. Once the art of pottery making was mastered, clay vessels were cheap and easy to replace. Clay beds are plentiful in the Near East, and artisans learned to seek out the superior sources of clay. Pottery vessels became the main type of containers in most Near Eastern cultures. Yet the vessels were fragile and their life spans were probably a few years at the most. The broken pieces of pottery, i.e., potsherds, would be discarded, but since they do not disappear they remain as evidence of the ancient peoples who first made them.

A complementary factor has made pottery important as an interpreter of history. Pottery types—their variety in form and texture, style and decoration—developed differently in different places and cultures and changed over time. Standard types were developed according to the needs of a particular people, and there was general conformity in form and design, but over a period of time the needs and styles would change as vessels had to be replaced. Although styles were conservative by today's standards, materials, decorations, and particularly forms changed. For example, Cypriot bilbils and Attic black-figured wares are associated with particular times and places. Wherever they are found they imply manufacture, trade, and cultural exchange during a specific time in history. Neolithic pottery of the Jordan valley indicates contacts with Anatolia, Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. Even the common household wares have become known for their typical forms during a particular period and their changes of style over time. The symmetry and construction techniques of pottery manufacture make it possible to determine the whole form of vessels from "diagnostic" fragments—i.e., parts of vessels that are characteristic of a form such as typical rims, handles, bases, or decorated sherds. The occasional unbroken pot, the restorable vessels, and abundant potsherds found on Palestinian sites are thus invaluable when collected and studied in accordance with advanced archaeological techniques.

**B. As Chronological Indicators**

Pottery has had a particular historical importance in Palestine because of the lack of written material and rich architectural finds. Thus far the archival collections of tablets and texts known from Mesopotamia, Antolia, and Syria have yet to be found in Palestine and Transjordan. Monumental palaces, pyramids, and tombs have not been uncovered. Many times it has been the lowly potsherd that has revealed a story. The chronological factor reaches beyond dating the pottery for its own sake. Pottery has become the

chronological indicator for other artifacts, architecture, and cultural features. This is possible through two principles which go hand in hand: stratigraphy and typology.

The first to realize the potential of pottery dating in Palestine was Sir Flinders Petrie in his excavations at Tell el-Hesi in 1890. As he isolated individual layers of occupation he noted the distinctive pottery types, their disappearance after a time, and the appearance of new forms. He developed what became known as sequence dating, assigning numbers to types, noting the levels in which they first appeared (lower levels) and then disappeared or became infrequent (at a higher level). His division of pottery into groups, such as bowls, jars, jugs, and cooking pots, was the beginning of pottery typology in Palestine. By relating his typology to the stratigraphy he was able to develop a relative chronology. When he found pottery types he recognized from similar finds in Egyptian tombs which were datable by scarabs and inscriptions, he was able to introduce some absolute dates. Pottery was on the way to becoming Palestine's main chronological indicator.

The latest pottery dates the particular layer of earth or debris in which the pottery was found. Pottery can then be used to date the other finds found with it, artifacts which did not change in style as rapidly or for which typologies are not yet known. It becomes possible to date buildings, fortifications, and other cultural remains.

Petrie used the knowledge he gained at Tell el-Hesi in the following years as he excavated other sites, and his ideas were adopted by other Palestinian explorers. As archaeological methods developed, with emphasis on trained staff, detailed records, plans, photographs, and an understanding of the complex nature of the tell (the Reisner-Fisher method of the early 20th century), pottery took on corresponding significance. Ceramic chronology took a major step forward with the publication of W. F. Albright's excavations at Tell Beit Mirsim (1926–32) and his pottery studies from the EB through the Iron Age. By emphasizing the sorting and dating of the pottery which was found in a room, on a floor, or beside a wall, he distinguished building periods as comparative ceramic groups were assigned a particular stratum. In other words, the evidence of contemporary pottery types determined the stratum. It was the Wheeler-Kenyon method, developed principally in Palestine at Jericho (1952–58), that put emphasis on observable layers of debris and the use of vertical sections to examine, correlate, and record the layers of soil, particularly in relation to walls. Structures and artifacts, including pottery, are recorded in relation to the observed debris. Applications of these methods, along with modifications such as larger horizontal areas of excavation, more elaborate systems for saving and recording pottery, and wider ecological and environmental studies, are now generally used.

Because of comparative studies between sites excavated stratigraphically, it is now possible to date pottery within 50 to 100 years for many periods of Palestinian history. Although pottery dating is still the most helpful method for the Palestinian archaeologist, he must use it in coordination with more recently developed scientific methods. Radiocarbon, thermoluminescence, tree rings, magnetic measurements, must all be used, but as yet none of these are as refined and available as the ordinary potsherd. But the ceramic specialist is always open to new advancements in methods and scientific discovery.

**C. In Survey Work**

Pottery plays a significant role in archaeological surveys. When one desires to learn the history of a particular area, one unexplored or when more thorough or detailed information is desired about a previously explored area, an archaeological survey may be undertaken. Although methods may differ, the collection of artifacts found on the surface is the primary activity. From these finds, suggestions can be made as to the occupational history of a site or area. The most likely artifacts to be on the surface are stone tools or flints for pre-Chalcolithic sites, and pottery for sites occupied thereafter. Although there is always the possibility that the evidence may be lacking, in most cases sherds from every period of occupation have worked their way to the surface. The ability to date groups of diagnostic sherds means tentative conclusions can be reached concerning historical problems and the desirability of excavation and further study.

The ability to date sherds found on the surface has played a part in site identification ever since Petrie's work at the end of the 19th century. As knowledge and methods have improved, older identifications have

been many times revised. With new surveys, theories such as those of Nelson Glueck after his explorations in Transjordan and the Negeb have had to be reexamined.

**D. Other Clay Artifacts**

Although the principal efforts of the potter went toward manufacture of vessels, other clay artifacts are also found in excavations. Loom weights, sometimes of unbaked clay, and spindle whorls are common at some sites which seem to be dyeing and weaving centers. Clay figurines are unbaked in the EB. In the LB, they are made in molds. In the Iron Age they are partly formed by hand and partly in the mold. Ceramic animal figures and small pots, which may be toys, also appear.

Even broken pots were often reused in other ways. They were formed into lids or stoppers, or used as scrapers. Occasionally bowls were mended, as holes along broken edges testify. At Bethel a sherd was found with a piece of a drill through it, apparently broken off in attempting to mend the vessel.

Pottery occasionally provides written material. Sometimes vessels were impressed with seals or scratched with letters that marked ownership or destination. *LMLK* ("belonging to the king")–stamped handles are frequently found on Judean sites in Iron II. Rhodian jars were stamped for export. Records and messages were written on potsherds. These are known as ostraca and important historical evidence has been provided by such collections found at Samaria, Lachish, and Arad.

**E. As Cultural Artifacts**

Pottery's importance as a cultural artifact may first depend upon its date, that is the particular place and people with which it was associated. But along with its chronological value, pottery needs to be studied as a cultural artifact in its own right. Its style and decoration, its technique and care in making, its form and the possible use to which it was put—all can reveal something about its maker and the culture of those who used it. Its distribution over space and sources of manufacture tell something about the trade and economy of the ancient world. Complex economic, political, and social factors contribute to the movements of peoples, and the distribution of pottery is part of the evidence.

Renewed effort has been directed toward technical studies of pottery. See also the preceding article, POTTERY (TECHNOLOGY IN ANCIENT PALESTINE); POTTER'S WHEEL. Research concerning manufacturing methods and the kinds, sources, and qualities of clays indicate levels of skills, knowledge of environment, trade, and intergroup relations. Application of scientific techniques have served to determine clay composition and its sources. X-ray fluorescence spectrometry, neutron activation, and examination of thin sections under a petrologic microscope have helped to understand pottery manufacture and the raw materials.

Observations of modern potters disclose knowledge of clays and tempers, use of the wheel, and firing techniques that can be applied to the understanding of ancient cultures. Ethnological studies reveal information about the social setting of the makers and users. Pots and potters of a society are important vehicles for the understanding of that society.

**F. In Excavation, Study, and Publication**

It is obvious that the method of handling pottery on an excavation is very important. Every sherd must be collected, and the debris and locus from which it has come must be recorded. The usual method is to place each sherd in a bucket or container that is identified by locus. It is important that those that come from the same floor, room, or fill be kept in relation to each other so that the possibility of reconstructing vessels may be facilitated. As the sherds are brought in from the field they need to be carefully washed or dipped so that wash, paint, or ink is not removed. As soon as possible the ceramic specialist on the excavation will examine the pottery with the field supervisor of the area excavated so that tentative conclusions can be made as to date and the kind of debris being excavated. Incongruous results may send them back to the field to reexamine their work. A decision must be reached as to what sherds will be saved. If there are possibilities of reconstructing vessels everything is kept. Particularly important loci may demand that all pottery be saved. Some recent excavations have attempted to save every sherd, but on a large excavation sheer volume may make it impossible to handle all the material and storage itself may be impossible. In any case diagnostic sherds (rims, handles, bases, and decorated ware) will be labeled in indelible ink so that any individual piece may be identified. The sherds may be bagged or

boxed at this point, but hopefully not long after the conclusion of the fieldwork the field supervisor and ceramist who is responsible for the publication of the material will examine it again. The pottery then serves at least two important purposes. The sherds themselves will be used to date or corroborate the debris, constructions, and other finds from which the material came. This may take much comparative study, depending upon the familiarity of the material. Further, this pottery will also have a contribution to make to further ceramic studies and excavation, as it becomes a part of the total corpus of datable excavated pottery.

The publication of the pottery may include groups published by loci in order to show how particular areas and constructions are dated; it may include publication by type, as the dated pottery makes its contributions to archaeological data. Pottery may be published by photograph, but data is generally best presented visually by drawings in section and in profile. This takes a person skilled in drawing, and consistent methods must be followed in showing form and decoration. Plate layout must be meaningful and attractive. Ware descriptions should accompany each published sherd. The use of the Munsell Soil Color Charts is the usual standard to describe the hue, lightness value, and chroma of the ware. If further technical studies have been undertaken (see above), they will also be fully published.

**G. Biblical References**

The material remains of the Iron Age demonstrate the importance of pottery and the potter in Israelite society. However, specific biblical references are rather few. In the elaborate descriptions of the temple vessels and offerings, it is evident that the most luxurious and valuable vessels were of metals—bronze, gold, and silver (Exod 27:3; 37:24). However, clay pots were also used (Lev 14:5, 50; Num 5:17), perhaps so they could be destroyed if they became ritually unclean (Lev 6:28). In contrast, the Lord ordered Jeremiah to preserve his land deed in a clay jar (*kĕlî-ḥāreś;* Jer 32:14) a practice well known from Qumran and the caves of the Dead Sea. A piece of pottery, a potsherd *(ḥereś),* was used by Job to scrape his sores (Job 2:8).

Metaphoric use of clay vessels and their makers is the most usual reference to pottery in the Hebrew Bible. An ordinary household item and a necessary and flourishing industry was a natural way to express deeper truths for the biblical writers. The potter *(yôṣēr)* as maker of the pot *(ḥōmer)* is a metaphor for God, the creator of man (Isa 45:9; 64:7 [—Eng 64:8]; Job 10:9). Jeremiah used the figure of the potter *(yôṣēr)* reforming his imperfect objects of clay *(ḥōmer)* into other forms as what the Lord might do to Israel (Jer 18:1–6), and Jeremiah's breaking a clay jar symbolized the breaking up of the kingdom (Jeremiah 19). In Daniel's vision, the wild beast (Dan 2:31–45) had feet which were part iron and part clay (Aramaic *ḥesap*), symbolizing the empire as partly strong and partly weak.

Figurative and vivid uses of clay as a simile appear in the Psalms: "You will shatter them in pieces like a clay pot" (*kĕlî yôsēr,* Ps 2:9); "My throat is as dry as clay" (*ḥereś,* Ps 22:16—Eng22:15). In the poetry of Isaiah, "He tramples over rulers as if they were mud, like a potter *(yôsēr)* tramples clay *(ṭîṭ)"* (Isa 41:25), and in Proverbs (26:23) your fine talk covers what you really are like, "the fine glaze on a cheap clay pot *(ḥereś)."*

In the NT, Paul compares God's control to the potter's *(kerameus)* over the clay (*pelos;* Rom 9:20–21), and our treasure as being in "earthen vessels" *(ostrakinos skeuos),* i.e., power is of God, not our own (2 Cor 4:7).

The metaphoric use of clay in the Bible is perhaps the best commentary on the properties of clay and its use in antiquity: its form is at the mercy of the potter, in its hardened form it breaks easily, and the household pot is simple and ordinary.

**H. Characteristics by Period**

**1. Neolithic** (ca. 5500–4300 B.C.) Pottery is first known in Palestine toward the end of the Neolithic period. At Jericho, it was preceded by plastered floors and walls, vats and basins, clay figurines and plastered decorated skulls. Although the intermediate steps are not known, these activities could have led directly to the first use of fired pottery. Immediately new levels of civilization were possible: food could be cooked and preserved as never before. This was a major step toward a food-production economy.

The first pottery probably appeared about 5500 B.C. Handmade methods included forming "pinch pots" from a lump of clay held in one's hand, molding in or around a basket or stone vessel, slabs joined by slip (a more liquid clay), or building up by coils. Technical developments were rapid, as pottery from the Jordan valley shows evidence of firing in kilns to 800° C or higher. Various tempers were used before the end of the Neolithic period, including fine-ground pottery (grog). Decoration includes fine slips, and experiments were made with various methods of turning pottery. The usual forms include cuplike bowls, medium and large bowls with sloping or curved sides, and globular jars with flat bases. Rims are very simple, and handles may be simple loop handles, small pierced lugs, or incipient ledges. There are both fine and coarse wares. The coarse is very crude; it had considerable temper and was fired at a low temperature, making it soft and crumbly. The fine wares are of cleaner clay and considerably better fired. The finish is especially attractive; in cream and red-burnished slips a reserved portion is left in various patterns of zigzags, chevrons, or triangles. There are also decorations with incisions, and sometimes a combination of incisions and slip or paint.

At Jericho the Pottery Neolithic B people improved on the Pottery Neolithic A pottery: it is much better fired, the ware is thinner and contains less straw as temper. The forms include jar rims which are concave on the interior, and the loop handle is common. The red-on-cream slips of the earlier fine wares is succeeded by a deep red slip, sometimes burnished. Characteristic is a band of herringbone incisions, sometimes covered by a cream slip.

**2. Chalcolithic** (ca. 4300–3200 B.C.). The transition from Neolithic to Chalcolithic is not sudden but gradual, and it is not yet clear whether some cultures are transitional, contemporary, or continuous. The Yarmukian and Jericho Pottery Neolithic B are transitional and may fit best into the early part of the Chalcolithic period. In any case, the Ghassulian–Beer-sheba cultures are widespread by Late Chalcolithic times. Wares are more advanced—harder, thinner, and better fired. Pots are still handmade, but there is some evidence of a slow wheel or tournette. New varied forms include V-shaped bowls, goblets and chalices, churns, and cornets. Ear handles are common, sometimes in such excess that they must be merely decorative. Other forms of decoration include impressing, plastic, and paint. Large coil-made pithoi had elaborate ropelike clay bands, most likely in imitation of the rope which was necessary to hold them together as the pots were made. Holemouth jars (POT.04 (a)), which became so popular in the EB, began to appear. In addition to the household vessels the typical clay ossuaries of the Chalcolithic period should be mentioned; most were shaped like houses or animals, but jars were adapted also for this purpose.

**3. Early Bronze** (ca. 3200–2200 B.C.). The transition and degree of interruption between the Chalcolithic and EB ages has yet to be settled. Kenyon has called the early period of EB I the Proto-Urban period, beginning EB I with what others call EB IC. It was with the EB that the first correlations with Egypt were made, and the absolute chronology of the Bronze Age depends on correlation with predynastic and dynastic material of Egypt. Canaanite pottery found in Egyptian tombs and Egyptian artifacts found at EB sites in Palestine, along with local stratified Palestinian pottery, serve as the basis for EB chronology.

The periods of the EB Age are best delimited by the introduction of new pottery forms. Typical throughout the age is the ledge handle (POT.04 (h)). It apparently originated in Canaan, and from there spread N as far as Upper Galilee, and Canaanite jars with ledge handles have been found in Egyptian tombs. The plain (or duckbill) handle and indented ledge handles were probably the first. Typical of the N are red- and gray-burnished wares, including various kinds of teapots, small bowls with conical omphali, bowls with molded decorations or projecting knobs below the rim (POT.04 (b)), high loop-handled juglets, amphoriskoi, large jars, and wide-mouthed jars. In the S the typical decoration late in EB I is a painted ware called "line group," usually straight or wavy lines in groups crossed by diagonal lines. Plain bowls often have a row of impressed dots or slashes below the rim. Juglets, amphoriskoi, and bowls are common, but most of the N shapes are present and there was undoubtedly intermingling between the two regions. To these forms, which are best known from tombs, platters and hole-mouth cooking pots found at stratified sites should be added.

Most of these forms of EB I continue to appear in EB II. Platters become plentiful, and amphoriskoi, particularly with the "line group" decoration, are less common. Combing as a finishing makes its appearance. Most typical of EB II are the Abydos wares, called such because they were found in the Egyptian tombs at Abydos and this was the first Palestinian type pegged to Egyptian chronology. The most typical characteristic is a symmetrical oval-shaped jug with a loop handle, red-slipped and hard-baked to a metallic quality. Sometimes they have one or two degenerate loop handles on the side in addition to the regular loop handle, and a form with a stump base develops. There are also jugs with a brown- or red-painted decoration—rows of triangles filled with incisions and separated by bands. The jug forms and types also appear as juglets.

In EB III many of the EB II forms continue. Platters and bowls, some of them deep, continue with more elaborate rims developing. Wavy ledge handles on jars are common (POT.04 (i)). Pattern combing is characteristic on jars and bowls. The unique feature of EB III, however, is the introduction of KHIRBET KERAK WARE. Known first from Khirbet Kerak in Galilee, it seems to be introduced into Palestine from the N. The ware itself is brittle and poor and the pots are entirely handmade, showing no knowledge of the wheel. However, the vessel is covered with a heavy slip which is polished or burnished to a high gloss. The method of firing produces vessels partly black and partly red, witnessing to a sophisticated knowledge of smoke blackening. The usual Palestinian pot sits on a base as wide or almost as wide as its mouth and gently curves up to its rim. Khirbet Kerak vessels have small bases, sometimes appearing top-heavy, and the profile often curves up in an S-form. Most common are bowl forms, but there are also jugs, stands, and lids. New rim and handle types are introduced, and decoration includes incisions and reliefs, unlike any previously known Palestinian pottery.

Unique vessels sometimes found at EB sites are incense stands and kernoi (three or more small bowls or cups on a ring, probably also cultic in use). EB lamps are hardly more than shallow bowls with a slight pinch blackened by a burnt wick.

The next period sometimes is considered the final period of the EB and is known as EB IV (Dever). Others prefer an "Intermediate EB–MB" designation (Kenyon, Kochavi), emphasizing possible relations with the following period as well as the EB. It was formerly known as MB I (Albright), and this is still preferred by some (Amiran). The urban life of EB II–III as known from large sites in Palestine and Transjordan largely disappears, and in some respects the pottery of the final EB phase is similar to that of EB I. As a rule, types of pottery are very localized and attempts have been made to find many migrations or influences coming into the country and to set up chronological frameworks. It is likely, however, that changes are as much due to the breakup of the city-state system as to new peoples coming into the land, and many of the varied groups may be contemporary.

Wide bases and gently curving sides in jars, jugs, and bowls continue. A profiled rim is typical of many large bowls. Teapots are particularly common. Lamps are open bowls with four wide-pinched spouts (POT.06 (a)).

Toward the end of the period or in MB I, "caliciform" ware appears. Probably introduced from Syria, the typical decorations are incised wavy lines between straight lines below the rim of the vessel. The jars usually have handmade bodies with necks and rims finished on a wheel.

**4. Middle Bronze** (1900–1550 B.C.). In the MB, technical advancements from the widespread use of the potters' wheel resulted in improvements in form and decoration. A heavy and fast-turning wheel required a fine temper in the clays and additional care in drying and firing. There were new possibilities in delicate rim and base forms and pleasing shapes. The pottery and other material finds indicate a prosperous society with time for luxury items. Improvements in technology probably helped bring this about.

The MB is easily distinguished from the earlier periods, although the beginning of the technical improvements were already emerging. Similar types occur throughout the MB, but some distinctions can be made between MB I, II, and III. A deep red burnished slip is common in MB I, and there are also cream-slip burnished vessels. Painted decoration is found. In MB II, burnishing continues but many vessels are plain, and painted decoration is less often found. However, Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware, dark-burnished with white-filled punctured holes, is characteristic.

Open, rounded bowls had gently curved sides in MB I. The bases were flat or low disk, and a shallow ring base was beginning to appear (POT.04 (c)). In MB II the bowl walls are less rounded and sometimes almost straight. Platters or large shallow bowls with a plain, slightly inverted rim are common. Bases are higher, often with a ring, but a concave disk base is also characteristic. The carinated bowls (POT.04 (d)) are small and closed in MB I with both sharp and rounded carinations. In MB II–III, they are much more varied; they are often flared and vary the place and angle of the carination. The base is better formed and the trumpet base and chalice (POT.04 (f)) have made their appearance. White or pale-colored thin wares are popular. Occasionally attractive bowls with three handles as bases appear.

Cooking pots are of two types. The flat-based, straight-sided pot has a molded band with thumb impressions and a row of punctures or holes below the rim. In MB II–III, the predominant type is round-based with carinated sides, usually handleless, with the rim rolled or folded outward.

Jugs and juglets take many forms and MB II–III types are generally a continuation of the MB I. Dipper, pyriform, and cylindrical jugs and juglets begin in MB I and branch out into many variations. The double and triple handles are common. Narrow necks with small mouths and outturned rims are typical of both pyriform and cylindrical juglets. The button base on pyriform juglets appears in MB II. Variations with flat, concave, or pointed bases may be MB III variations of the typical form. Tell el-Yahudiyeh juglets with their dark clay and slip, and punctured design filled with white chalk, follow the development of the common pyriform juglets. Cylindrical juglets appear as early as MB I in the coastal region and Jezreel plain, but they appear infrequently in more central regions until late in MB II and then largely replace the pyriform juglet in MB III.

The classic MB II jar is ovoid in shape, tapering to a small flat base (POT.04 (j)). Two handles are smoothly attached on opposite sides at its widest girth, hardly interfering with the contour of the vessel. The neck is relatively short. Rims may be plain or profiled externally, internally, or both, with rounded, flattened, or tapered edges. Elaborate profiles seem to be more popular as the MB progresses. Bases may be slightly convex and also rounded. Four handles are found as well as two. Combed incised decoration and brownish-red-painted alternating wavy and straight lines over a white slip are also found.

Cypriot imports, so typical of the next period, began to be imported into Palestine in the MB. White-painted and white-slipped wares are found.

**5. Late Bronze** (ca. 1550–1200 B.C.). The LB is largely contemporary with the New Kingdom of Egypt, and during most of this period Canaan was dominated by Egypt. It is generally divided into LB I, II A, and II B. Most pottery forms are a direct development or degeneration of MB forms. There are many Mediterranean imports and local painted wares, but especially toward the end of the period the local ware becomes cruder and heavier. Analysis at Deir Alla in Jordan has shown that there was a return to the slow wheel and coil-made pottery. The area of this decline and its duration needs to be further tested.

Carinated bowls continued to be made, but by LB II the carination had become not much more than a ridge (POT.04 (e)). Concave disk bases are more usual than the ring base. By LB II the more usual open bowl has rounded or straight sides (POT.04 (k)). Chalices and decorated goblets are characteristic throughout LB.

Kraters are also characteristic LB forms. There are two handles, either vertical or horizontal. In LB II they are usually painted, and the metope style is the most popular. The rounded-body cooking pot continues the MB tradition, and the everted rounded rim continues into LB I. A triangular rim also develops and became the most common type in LB II. Late in the period (LB II B) an elongated triangle is typical.

A distinction can be made between the “Canaanite” jars (POT.04 (g)), used for export in the flourishing international exchange of the LB, and the decorated store jars for domestic consumption. The jar for export was heavier, with thicker walls, slanting from a pronounced shoulder, and a botton or stub base. The domestic jars were usually decorated (a custom begun in the MB) and had thinner walls, an oviod body and a round base (POT.05 (a)). Large pithoi are also known from N Canaan.

Jugs and juglets continue the ceramic tradition of the MB. Zones of painted metopes are common decorations. Biconical jugs, where the upper part of the vessel is about equal in height to the lower, have a

shoulder handle and the metope design on the upper part. Biconical craters are similar but have two shoulder handles. Juglets tend to lose their shoulders and their necks become shorter and wider. Dipper juglets are not as elongated as MB forms.

A new form in the LB is the pilgrim flask (POT.05 (f)). It differs from other closed vessels in that its lentoid form cannot be thrown on the wheel all at once, but must be thrown as two plates and molded together. Development is seen in the handle attachments, and by the Iron Age they are smaller.

At the beginning of the LB, lamps are not too different from those of the MB, which had slight single spouts (POT.06 (b)). In LB II they become larger with a pinch that almost meets, and a rim develops (POT.06 (c)). As sometimes in the MB, and later in the Iron Age, full-body female figurines, known commonly as "Astarte" plaques, are found with varying frequency at LB Palestinian sites. Their varied arm postures, hairstyles, and decoration show some affinities with curvaceous female representations of deities on Egyptian wall reliefs.

An important and characteristic part of the LB repertoire is the amount of painted and imported ware, found more often at this time than in any other period of antiquity in Palestine. Perhaps this accounts for the crudeness of much of the ordinary household pottery. Luxury items were made by specialists or imported.

The bichrome ware seems to be the result of a school of artisans working in the coastal area of Canaan. The wheel-made pottery is of high quality, of fine light-colored clay and well burnished before painting. The decoration is on the shoulder zone of the vessel in a frieze divided into patterned metopes enclosing ibex, birds, and fish. Vessel forms are those of the plain ware as well as some unique bichrome types. The "chocolate on white" ware is distinctive particularly because of its finish—a creamy-white-burnished slip on which the thick chocolate or reddish brown paint has been applied. The patterns are largely geometric. Both these wares appear at the end of MB III and flourish during LB I. In addition to these two wares, the palm tree and ibex motifs in a frieze, typically in metopes between triglyphs, occur on all kinds of closed vessels throughout the LB. Sometimes it appears to have disintegrated in LB II B specimens.

The typical imported wares, present in almost any LB Palestinian site or tomb, include Cypriot, Mycenaean, and some Egyptian wares. Well known of the Cypriot wares are the white-slipped "milk bowls" with "wishbone" handles and brown or reddish-brown ladder-painted designs (POT.05 (b)). The delicate patterns become more schematic in LB II. The other common Cypriot imports are jugs and juglets in Base Ring ware, known as "bilbils" (POT.05 (c, d)). They are of a well-fired clay, with a dark burnished slip, and are thin, hard metallic ware in appearance and resonance. Handmade, they may appear skewed in stance. Base Ring I is characterized by plastic decoration around its neck. Base Ring II is usually white-painted, and often more squat and considerably larger than Base Ring I. These vessels were imitated locally, and the local vessels can be easily recognized because they were wheel-made of poorer ware.

Mycenaean vessels of excellent workmanship are imported all over the E Mediterranean. They are wheel-made, and the glossy black paint of the design was also largely done by wheel. Typical forms are the pyxis, stirrup jar, and kylix. These were imported throughout the LB; they were also imitated locally, but lesser skill in craftmanship is evident.

**6. Iron Age I** (ca. 1200–918 B.C.). This is the time when the Israelites came into the land of Palestine and formed an independent kingdom under Saul, David, and Solomon. Iron Age II begins with the division into the N and S kingdoms and lasts until the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C. However, the assumed distinctions between Canaanite and Israelite pottery beginning around 1200 B.C. can no longer be made with the assurance once assumed, since the Israelites slowly took over the land and pockets of Canaanite culture remained.

Another element, the Philistines and Sea Peoples, also settled in the land during Iron I. Their pottery is more distinctive, and where it is found gives some indication of their settlement, influence, or trade. But again, conclusions must be drawn carefully.

Albright made his first division of Iron I on the appearance of this "Philistine" ware at Tell Beit Mirsim in the second period, about 1150 B.C., but pottery of the Sea Peoples is now known earlier at other sites.

Although the pottery was made locally, connections with the Aegean are obvious in the decorated Philistine ware. The black and red paint appears usually over a white slip, covering the upper and central zone of the vessel. The central zone is divided into metopes containing geometric patterns such as spirals or circles with crosses, or more characteristically, large-feathered birds. Some of the forms are also Mycenaean: kraters with tilted handles, stirrup jars, and pyxides. However, local forms are also introduced, most typically the "beer jug" (POT.05 (g)), as well as various jugs, juglets, and pilgrim flasks.

Local painted wares continued to some extent into Iron I, but often in a debased LB style. A bichrome style is introduced which may be of local Phoenician-Palestinian origin. The decoration is typically red and black with concentric circles on the sides of jugs or inside bowls.

No sharp division occurs between the pottery forms of the Iron and LB ages. Carinated bowls, decorated rounded bowls, and small bar handles develop from LB forms. In addition, irregular hand burnishing has its beginning in this period. The chalice (POT.05 (h)) reaches the height of its popularity in Iron I, whereas a low-footed vase or goblet is dying out. The krater continues earlier traditions in form and painted decoration. There are sometimes four or more handles, as well as the horizontal handles known from the earlier period. A typical Iron Age thickened rim develops.

The cooking pot continues the LB shape: relatively shallow and carinated body with rounded base, usually without handles. The triangular rim is elongated in various forms.

The first pithoi are largely transitional from the LB, but the body becomes more elliptical and the neck narrower and shorter. A ridge develops at the base of the neck, and Albright was first to recognize the "collar rim" store jar (POT.05 (e)). He identified this jar with the early Israelite settlers, but the history is probably much more complicated. Other Iron I store jars have ovoid bodies, and a painted jar with a spout appears. Amphoriskoi continue their Canaanite form. Typical jugs have globular bodies and trefoil mouths. Painted jugs and jugs with strainer spouts also appear. The popular juglet types are those with an ovoid body, trefoil mouth, and a slightly pointed base, and the small black-burnished juglet, more graceful and with a longer neck than in Iron II. In Iron I the upper handle attachment is below the rim. A "Cypro-Phoenician" imported juglet appears in the 11th century in black-on-red wares.

The lamps are relatively small with a flat base or larger with a rounded base (POT.06 (d)). Distinctive cultic vessels are frequently found in Iron I contexts, particularly incense burners and kernoi. Figurines and spouted animal bases also appear.

**7. Iron Age II** (ca. 918–587 B.C.). Iron II begins with the division into the N and S kingdoms and lasts until the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C. The pottery at present can generally be divided into an early and late phase. Tell Beit Mirsim A should now be recognized as belonging mainly to the early phase along with Lachish III, Beer-sheba II, Samaria, and other N sites. To the later period ending in the fall of the kingdom belong Lachish II, Ramet Rahel V, most of the Tell el-Ful and Beth-zur Iron II occupations, and En-gedi V. Also important during Iron II are the regional differences between the N and S, more apparent than earlier in the Iron Age. This probably reflects the political situation, the division of Solomon's kingdom into N (Israel) and S (Judah) entities.

The technical advances should also be recognized. Most pottery is wheel-made, and it is well fired. Many different forms and types are found, but large quantities of similar forms, often in varied sizes, indicate mass production. Every clan and family unit must have had their ceramic wares. Imported and painted pottery is not so common. Much of the local ware is slipped, often in red but in other colors also, and then burnished. This finish seems to be preferred over, or perhaps easier produced than, painted wares.

Improved workmanship is easily recognized in the bowls. Many are red-burnished. Irregular hand burnishing came in at the end of Iron I. By the latter part of Iron II the typical bowl has a thickened rim, is slightly carinated, and has a wheel-burnished reddish-brown slip on the interior and rim. It is made in a variety of sizes. There are also rounded, slightly flaring, and shallow platelike bowls, some plain-rimmed and some with different patterns of burnishing, but similar features are repeated over and over. A type of bowl found at many N sites with a high-quality red slip and burnish has been called Samaria ware.

The shallow Iron I cooking pot continues into Iron II, usually with a lower carination and a shorter triangular section in the rim. Later in Iron II the pot becomes more squat and rounded and has two handles, and the rim becomes ridged and appears in many variations. In the S a deep type appears with a rather high, narrow neck, often rilled, and two handles from the rim to the shoulder.

Storage jars with pronounced shoulders are typical. Ovoid jars with ridged necks and "sausage jars" (POT.06 (h)) are popular in the N. The ovoid jar with a wide rounded shoulder, tapering neck, and four handles is the type on which the *lmlk* ("belonging to the king") seal impressions have been found in the S. See STAMPS, ROYAL JAR HANDLE. Jar handles with personal stamps, a few with names found in the Bible, are found fairly frequently. A popular S form was the hole-mouth jar of two types: a rather small cylindrical and a large heavy, sometimes more rounded or barrel-shaped with sloping shoulders. Jars with three handles and a spout are found in both the N and the S. Amphoriskoi appear in both large and smaller variants, and a particular type with painted bands has been found in Jordan and suggests Assyrian influence.

Wide-mouthed jugs often with pinched lips continue Iron I types. Variants of jugs with strainer spouts also continue. The characteristic new form of Iron II is the well-made and often beautiful decanter (POT.05 (i)). There are some variations between the N and S forms. The dipper juglet is typically cylindrical with a plain rim and appears in a range of sizes. Likewise the black-burnished juglet is found, some very tiny in size, others up to ten cm or more in height. Its handle is now attached to the rim. The pilgrim flask continues to appear to the end of the Iron Age. The pyxis has almost completely disappeared. Imported Cypro-Phoenician ware is found in small quantities to the end of Iron II. Lamps have rounded or flat bases, sometimes with a wider lip and pronounced rim. Late in the Iron Age in the S a high-based lamp appears and continues into the next period (POT.06 (e)). Figurines with molded heads and handmade bodies are frequently found on Judean sites.

**8. Exilic and Persian** (ca. 587–332 B.C.). Iron II ends with the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C. and is followed by what is usually called the Persian period. Before the Persian occupation, though, there is the period of the Babylonian Exile, ca. 587–532 B.C., and at some sites, particularly in Judah, pottery types have been distinguished that belong to this period. Apparently small colonies of Israelites continued to live in towns outside Jerusalem.

Typical of this exilic period are heavy high-based lamps, rather deep round cooking pots with ridged rims which first appeared late in Iron II and are a development of Iron II shallow pots, elongated juglets, wide-mouthed jugs, and large bowls, still sometimes irregularly burnished but more often not. An impressed chevron design sometimes appears on the shoulders of high straight-rim kraters.

During the Persian period, 532–331 B.C., some differences have been distinguished between the pottery in the highlands and that of the coastal plain and Galilee. The coastal regions were more influenced by the E Mediterranean—Cyprus, the Aegean, Anatolia, and Egypt. However, most of the influences also reached inland as seen in the rich imported wares which have been found at Shechem, Samaria, and Jerusalem.

It is the imported Greek wares which were the first and the most easily recognized and often the determining chronological factor for this period. Though often fragmentary, imported black-figured ware of the late 6th century and early 5th, red-figured ware of the 5th, lecythoi of the 4th, and the black-glazed wares of the 4th have assisted in giving absolute dates to strata and in developing typologies for local wares.

Local wares are sometimes developments of Iron Age types and other times are influenced from the W. The shallow mortaria with wide thickened rims, sometimes with ribbed sides, and with flat, ring, or high-footed bases are characteristic. Typical particularly of coastal areas, as it was used for international trade in the Mediterranean world, is the flat-shouldered jar with cylindrical body tapering to a pointed base. Sometimes the handle is twisted and ugly or the rim and handles have thick black-painted lines. An amphora with "basket handles" (two loop handles attached horizontally and extending high above the rim) is characteristic in both Cyprus and Palestine (POT.06 (j)).

Rounded and elongated juglets have characteristic forms. Cooking pots tend to be deep with necks developing, predecessors of Hellenistic deep cooking pots. Lamps take a very characteristic form, with a wide rim and more flattened profile than in any other period. Molded and glazed imported lamps are also found and will soon be copied locally.

**9. Hellenistic** (ca. 332–63 B.C.). During the Hellenistic period, 332–63 B.C., influence from the E Mediterranean and the Greek world continues, but in many cases local attempts at imitation take the place of actual imports. Increased trade and contact point to similar pottery forms throughout the Hellenistic world. In Palestine Attic bowls are copied in form, and a poor paint or wash imitate the glazed wares. In time even the paint is omitted and round bowls with incurved rims and flat straight-sided bowls, descendants of "fish plates," are characteristic. The Attic fish plate (POT.06 (i)) had a depression in the center, sometimes stamped with a fish impression, and the oil could run down in the bottom of the dish. The pottery as a whole is hard-fired, but sometimes quite carelessly, and disfigured forms result.

Storage jars are elongated to bag-shaped with sloppily attached handles. Rims with undercuts develop into typical rounded rims, then are more flattened until an elongated flattened rim is typically late Hellenistic. Imported Rhodian jar fragments are easily recognized by their finely levigated orange or buff ware, high necks with rounded rims, stump bases, and angular handles with stamps. The inscriptions have been thoroughly studied and can be accurately dated. On one handle the name of the potter will be given and on the other, the priest in whose tenure of office the vessel was manufactured.

Wide-mouthed globular jugs with smoothly concave bases are characteristic. Flasks are varied and develop longer necks and become smaller as the Hellenistic period progresses. Cooking pots are deep with rather long necks and two strap handles from the rim to the shoulders. The ware is often quite thin. Late in the Hellenistic period there is also a shallow type with a ridge to accept a lid.

Except for a small folded lamp whose sides are folded over to meet (POT.06 (f)), lamps are now made in molds (POT.06 (g)). They are imitations of Greek forms, but the local ones are generally rather plain with a ridge or incised circle around the small oil hole and sometimes a small knob or vestigial handle. Ray, floral, and other motifs become common in the 1st century B.C.

A unique and characteristic Hellenistic form is the unguentarium. The early ones, sometimes known as "spindle bottles," are elongated at both ends and rather long and heavy. They become lighter and more delicate in the 1st century B.C. Later a pyriform juglet replaces them and this lives on into the Roman period.

Nabatean pottery first appears in the Hellenistic period and its typical forms and ware continue well into the Roman period. It is mainly found in S Transjordan, with its center at Petra, but there are also Nabatean sites in the Negeb and evidence of trade as far N as Damascus. This is the finest and most attractive pottery in the history of Palestine and Transjordan. It is red- or orange-colored, thin, hard-fired, and often beautifully decorated. The finest of clays and excellent firing techniques were used. Most forms are small compared with other Palestinian pottery: small bowls and plates, small jugs and cooking pots, juglets and unguentaria. Fine bowls and painted decorations developed sometime after 100 B.C. and for the next two centuries the painted ware is common. Initially the decoration is of a flowing, naturalistic style, executed in bright orange or light red paint with a delicate brush technique. Late in the 1st century B.C. another style appears—heavier and more formal, in a solid purplish-red pigment. This type seems to span the 1st century A.D. Other vessels are impressed, usually with rouletted designs. Jugs, juglets, and cooking pots are sometimes ribbed.

**10. Roman** (63 B.C.–324 A.D.). Terra sigillata, a red-glazed ware, is one of the best recognized wares of the Early Roman period. Besides the red glaze, rouletting on the interior or rim is common. Roman red wares of various kinds are imported from the W Mediterranean throughout the Roman period. Large amphorae with stamps in Greek and Latin continue to be found in Palestine as the containers for imports.

Local Early Roman forms are direct developments from Hellenistic wares. Rims on storage jars become long collars with a characteristic ridge below. A cylinder-type jar is known from Qumran. The concave base on Hellenistic jugs becomes sharper. Narrow-necked jugs are common. Pyriform juglets replace the fusiform unguentaria. Asymmetrical pot-bellied flasks develop exaggerated, twisted handles. Cooking

pots have shorter necks and flat, ribbonlike handles. Ribbing becomes more common and extensive ribbing is typical of the following Byzantine period. Small incurved rim bowls continue for some time. In Jerusalem thin-walled bowls with red, brown, or black stylized floral patterns have been found in recent excavations. At first they were called "Pseudo-Nabatean," but they are different in motif and ware.

The "Herodian" lamp is typified by its bow spout and plain body, made in a mold as all lamps are by this time. Many elaborately designed lamps are imported from Italy and other places to the W by the 2d century A.D. Besides floral designs, some have mythological scenes.

**11. Byzantine** (A.D. 324–630). The Byzantine period is beyond the scope of biblical times, but archaeology of this period, as well as of later Islamic and Crusader times, is receiving more attention in Palestine and Transjordan in relation to early Christianity as well as the history and culture of the land.

Pottery characteristics include pronounced ribbing on jugs, juglets, jars, and cooking pots. Decoration includes straight and wavy incised lines on jugs and bowls. "Frying pans" are shallow cooking pots sometimes with hollow handles. There are slipper and channel nozzle lamps, and "candlestick" lamps with six, seven, or eight branches around the spout and occasionally a cross or Greek inscription.

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**POUND.** See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**POVERTY.** See POOR, POVERTY.

**POWER, NT CONCEPT OF.** The message of salvation in the NT is a message of power: God raised Jesus from the dead. The cross-resurrection event not only demonstrated God's power over death, but also marked the defeat of the opposing sphere of power and its forces (Satan and his demons). Just as God delivered his people from bondage in Egypt "by his mighty right hand," the NT proclaims that he has now delivered his people from the bondage of death, the dominion of Satan, and the compelling influences of "sin" and "the flesh."

The most common word for power in the NT is *dynamis* (and its cognates), occurring some 375 times and used by every NT writer. Less common are the terms *ischus* and *kratos,* which are probably not to be distinguished sharply in meaning from *dynamis.* All three terms denote the inherent or derived ability to

accomplish a given end. The plural form of *dynamis* is used frequently in the NT to describe powerful supernatural acts such as healings or exorcisms, and is normally translated "miracle." The effectual exercise of power is indicated by the term *energeia* and its forms. It is only used of supernatural beings in the NT and is often used to describe God's manifestation of power in raising Christ from the dead. The term *exousia,* usually translated "authority," has primary reference to one's right to exercise power but implies an ability to exercise that right. The concept of power is also conveyed in many other terms and units of thought (grace, light, fullness, glory, word, spirit).

In the Judaism of the NT era, the OT idea of a powerful personal God involved in history was prominent. A future direct intervention of God in history to exercise judgment, overthrow evil, and bring salvation was integral to the Jewish hope. Just as God powerfully wrought deliverance in the past, the Qumran community envisioned a future triumph over "the children of darkness" (1QM 1:14; 6:6; 11:4, 9; 13:13–14). This victory would take place not only on the physical battlefield but, more importantly, in the heavens against the supernatural forces of evil. Throughout the Qumran documents, the manifestation of divine power is conceived of primarily in a salvation-historical sense (1QH 1:34; 4:28–29; 13:9; 14:13). Future deliverance was also expected to come through a divinely empowered Messiah as seen most clearly in the *Psalms of Solomon* (17:21–44): "Undergird him with strength to destroy the unrighteous rulers … and he will not weaken in his days, relying upon his God, for God made him powerful in the Holy Spirit" (vv 22, 37). God's saving events of the past, particularly the deliverance from Egypt, also become the basis for an expectation for military victory in the Maccabean wars (1 Macc 4:9–11; 3 Macc 2:6). Josephus' use of power terminology is almost exclusively tied to military activity. For Josephus, the Greek term *dynamis* has become a technical term for an "army" (e.g. *JW* 7 §252, 275).

In the 2 centuries leading up to the time of Christ, Judaism shows an increasing interest in supernatural power, especially the invisible realm of the angelic and demonic (see, for example, *Jubilees, 1–2 Enoch,* and *Testament of Solomon*). This appears to correspond to the heightened interest in divine power in the Greco-Roman religions. In Hellenistic religion, the gods were seen less as personalities and more as powerful beings needing propitiation or capable of manipulation. People sought divine power through invoking a deity (or a series of gods), by participating in the bloodbaths of a god (e.g. the *Taurabolium* of Cybele and Mithras), through being initiated into the mystery of a god, or by employing magical arts, which were well known to the masses of the Roman world. Asklepios could be praised because "every place has been penetrated by the saving power of the god" (*POxy.* 1381.215), especially for physical healing and rescue from dangers at sea. The moon god Mên received adulation for his power: "There is one great god in heaven, the heavenly Men, the great power *(dynamis)* of the invisible god" (see Moulton and Milligan 1930: 172). The magical texts of this period are filled with recipes for the attainment of supernatural power. *PGM* 4.1024–25 is representative of the request for power: "You who break apart rocks and change the names of gods, enter in, appear to me, lord, you who have in fire your power and strength." William Ramsay observed that "power" *(dynamis)* was one of the most common and characteristic terms in the language of pagan devotion (Moulton and Milligan 1930: 172).

In the Jewish writings of the Hellenistic era, the primary Greek term for power *(dynamis)* came to be used as a technical expression for angelic and demonic forces—perhaps due to the LXX expression "Lord of Hosts." These beings are seen as having widespread control over human existence and over all aspects of nature (*Jub.* 2:2). Philo comments: "The air He allotted to winged visible beings, and to other forces *(dynameis)* which cannot be perceived at all; these are the host of incorporeal spirits ordered according to differences in rank … We are told that some enter into mortal bodies … while others, endowed with a diviner constitution, have no regard for any earthly quarter, but exist on high next to the ethereal region itself" (*Plant.* 14). The Jewish literature of this period frequently depicts human existence as the battlefield between angels and demons, between God and Satan (*TDNT* 2:296).

When we approach the NT, the person of Christ surfaces as decisive in understanding the NT concept of power. According to the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus conducted his ministry on the basis of the divine power imparted to him through the Holy Spirit (Luke 4:14). After resisting the temptations of the devil (Luke 4:1–13), Jesus waged a powerful confrontation with the realm of Satan. The exorcism in the synagogue at

Capernaum led many to recognize the authority of Jesus over the dominion of Satan (Mark 1:21–28; Luke 4:31–36). It was necessary for Jesus to wage a powerful assault on the dominion of the "strong man" (Satan) in order for salvation to be procured (Mark 3:27; Luke 11:21–22). In the incident with the Gerasene demoniac, Mark indicates that no one had been strong enough to bind the man (Mark 5:4), yet Jesus displayed his power by driving out the entire legion of demons. Jesus' manifestation of divine power in exorcisms signifies that the salvation of God has finally come in the person of Jesus (Luke 11:20; Matt 12:28).

The miracles of Jesus, or his "works of power" *(dynameis),* are seen by the evangelists as an indication that God himself was at work (Acts 2:22). Mark, for instance, records that the healing of the paralytic demonstrates that Jesus is the Son of Man and, as such, has authority to forgive sins (Mark 2:1–12). These works of power should produce repentance and incite faith (Matt 11:20–23; 13:54, 58; Luke 10:13; Mark 6:2, 5).

The power of God was manifest in the life of the historical Jesus in the context of the weakness and limitation of his human flesh. As such, the example of his dependence upon the power of God through the spirit becomes paradigmatic for the Church. For Jesus, his access to divine power did not circumvent his need to suffer and die. The evangelists agree that Jesus was aware of his need to experience the passion in order for God's plan of salvation to be consummated. Jesus indicates that his followers could also expect to suffer, particularly as a result of their witness for him (Mark 13:9). At the same time, Jesus bestowed his power and authority on his followers (first on the Twelve: Mark 3:15; 6:7; Luke 9:1; Matt 10:1; then on the seventy-[two]: Luke 10:17–20, esp. v 19, probably prefiguring the mission of the Church in this context). This access to the power of God would assist Jesus' followers in their mission and in gaining victory over the influence of the realm of evil. Jesus realized that his earthly ministry was not the time for a glorious display of divine omnipotence, but he did anticipate exaltation (Luke 22:69) and a glorious and powerful return (Matt 24:30; 26:64; Mark 13:26; 14:62; Luke 21:27).

In comparison to the Synoptics, John emphasizes the world as under the authority of Satan, who is described as "the prince *(archon)* of this world" (John 12:31; 14:30; 16:11). Unbelievers belong to his realm; the devil is their "father" (8:42–47). Jesus, however, drives out the devil and condemns him (12:31; 16:11). The strongly dualistic flavor of John's gospel (above versus below; light versus darkness) highlights the human isolation from God's realm and thus an inability to enter the kingdom of God (8:21–24; cf. also 7:34, 36; 14:17); the Father, however, extends the power and authority for one to come to Christ (6:44, 65). Those who would enter the kingdom must exercise faith (1:12; 8:24). The Nicodemus account illustrates the powerful divine work enabling a person to enter the kingdom, a process summarized by the metaphor of rebirth (3:1–16; note the usage of the six occurrences of *dynamai*). In John's gospel, it is the Father who comes into prominence as the immediate source of Jesus' power (5:19, 27; 10:18; 17:2).

In the programmatic statement of the book of Acts, divine power through the agency of the spirit is promised to the disciples to enable them to give effective witness throughout the world about Christ (Acts 1:8). Luke summarizes the early manner of the apostles' preaching by stating, "With great power the apostles gave their testimony to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus" (Acts 4:33). He then further illustrates the fulfillment of this promise by giving an account of the establishment of the church throughout Palestine and the Mediterranean region. Throughout the book of Acts, Luke clearly interprets the rise of the church as a powerful work of the Holy Spirit (note the usage of the 70 occurrences of "spirit" in Acts).

For Paul, the apostle to the gentiles, the message of the gospel was the power of God (Rom 1:16; 1 Cor 1:18). The gospel encapsulated the message of the crucified Christ who was raised from the dead by the power of God (1 Cor 6:14; 15:43). This was a message of deliverance and salvation. God had acted through Christ to destroy the influence of the realm of Satan (Col 2:15) and the bondage of death, sin, flesh, and the law (Rom 5:12–8:39).

Paul conducted his ministry by the enabling power of God (Eph 3:7; Col 1:29). In spite of the fact that he was painfully aware of his inherent weaknesses by virtue of his humanity, his preaching was a demonstration of the power of the spirit (1 Cor 2:3–5; 1 Thess 1:5). Paul thus endeavored to insure that

the faith of his converts was based on the power of God rather than on human wisdom and rhetorical prowess. Paul believed that the limitations of human flesh provided an opportunity to display the enabling power of God (2 Cor 4:7). To the Corinthians, who entertained inflated notions about their access to the power of God, Paul stressed his own weakness and suffering in the carrying out of his ministry. In fact, he claimed that the Lord allowed a messenger of Satan to harass him in order that he might be even more cognizant of his weakness (2 Cor 12:7). Paul concludes, "I am content with weaknesses … for when I am weak, then I am strong" (2 Cor 12:10; 13:4). Nevertheless, Paul believed that by virtue of his union with the resurrected and exalted Lord, he was capable of doing great things (Phil 4:13). In doxological praise, he exclaims, "Now to him who by the power at work within us is able to do far more than all that we ask or think, to him be the glory …" (Eph 3:20).

Paul sought to gain an increasingly deeper awareness of the power of God (Phil 3:10). He also prayed earnestly that his converts might grow in their knowledge of God's power (Eph 1:15–23) and that they would be divinely strengthened in their innermost beings (Eph 3:14–19) for the purpose of resisting the "powers" of the devil (see PRINCIPALITIES AND POWERS) and for manifesting love in the life of the early Christian communities. Paul highlights the role of God's power as the ethical enablement for the Christian. Life by the spirit enables the Christian to eradicate vices and appropriate virtues, the foremost of which is love (Gal 5:13–26; Rom 8:13). Furthermore, Paul also stresses the need for dependence on the power of God for the fulfillment of the mission of the Church in the spread of the gospel (Rom 15:19; Eph 6:15–20).

Faith is the necessary human response to God in order for his power to be manifest. The writer of Hebrews, for example, stresses the pattern of the saints of the past who appropriated the power of God in difficult circumstances by exercising faith (Heb 11:11, 34; Rom 4:18–25). Faith is commonly expressed by God's people in the context of prayer. Paul models this to his congregations (Eph 3:14–19; cf. Eph 6:18–20).

The Apocalypse anticipates the coming of one like a son of man endued with power (Rev 1:16). Through him, God Almighty *(pantokrator)* will vanquish evil and reign by his power (Rev. 11:15–17; 12:10). This end-time triumph will entail the ultimate defeat of the dragon, Satan, and his powers (Rev 12:7–9). Both God and "the lamb" will receive eternal praise, with continual ascriptions of power and glory to their names (Rev 1:5–6; 4:11; 5:12–13; 7:12; 19:1).

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**PRAETOR.** See CITY AUTHORITIES.

**PRAETORIAN GUARD.** This is the name regularly applied to the substantial bodyguard maintained at Rome by the emperors. Under the Roman Republic a magistrate on campaign often formed a *cohors praetoria* ("headquarters" or "household" cohort) which was his combined staff and bodyguard. During the civil wars which brought the Republic to a close, various generals each formed more than a single cohort as the threats to their security became more severe. After the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra (31 B.C.), Octavian (soon to be the emperor Augustus) retained his own cohorts as a peacetime bodyguard. This was a force of nine cohorts, each probably 480 men strong. At first they had no single camp at Rome, but were billeted in private homes in small groups; some cohorts were outstationed in nearby towns. It is evident that Augustus wished to avoid flaunting republican tradition, which frowned on the presence of troops in the capital. No separate commander or commanders were appointed until 2 B.C.

when Augustus chose two prefects of equestrian status, with the title *praefectus praetorio* ("prefects for the headquarters").

The influence of the Praetorian Cohorts (or Praetorian Guard as they are generally known in English) grew under Tiberius, when their number was increased to 12, and they were concentrated in a newly built fortress on the eastern outskirts of Rome, named the *castra Praetoria.* Both developments can be ascribed to the initiative of L. Aelius Sejanus, sole prefect from 14 to 31 A.D. Sejanus' influence became even more preeminent after Tiberius went into virtual retirement on the island of Capri from A.D. 26 onward; the prefect controlled the flow of information to the emperor and access to him. The influence of some later prefects also (Afranius Burrus [A.D. 51–62] and Ofonius Tigellinus [A.D. 62–68]) was considerable.

During the civil wars of the Late Republic praetorian cohorts were recruited from among serving legionaries; they were thus a corps of elite, experienced troops. But Augustus and subsequent emperors drew recruits directly from the civil population. They served 16 years, in contrast to the 25 years expected of legionaries. Their splendid uniforms, much higher pay, and pampered lifestyle made them the envy of the legions, and while the latter came to be recruited increasingly from provincials, the Praetorians remained predominantly Italians. The guard thus provided an outlet for the military aspirations of Italians unwilling to contemplate long service far from home. Each cohort was commanded by a tribune, normally an ex–chief centurion of a legion; the cohort was divided into six centuries led by a centurion who was normally promoted from the ranks. The guard contained numerous specialists in artillery, surveying, and engineering who could be seconded to the armies on the frontiers.

During the Julio-Claudian age the Praetorians saw little active service, though several cohorts are likely to have accompanied Claudius to Britain in A.D. 43. Their chief duties were ceremonial: a guard for the emperor at his palace in Rome, and on state occasions. The Praetorians retained for ceremonial wear the military equipment of the Late Republic (e.g., the oval shield), which was no longer used by the legions.

In A.D. 69 Vitellius, briefly victorious in a period of civil war, added many of his own legionaries to the guard by way of reward, boosting its numbers to 16 cohorts of 1,000 men. But his successor, Vespasian, who made his son Titus prefect of the Guard to keep it under tight control, reduced the total of cohorts to nine. Some time later Domitian increased the strength to 10 cohorts, which became the standard total. The guard thus constituted a military force of some 10,000 men in Rome, a sort of "household division" equivalent in size to two legions. From the Flavian period of the later 1st century the cohorts frequently went on campaign with the emperor, as the latter was compelled actively to defend the empire's frontiers.

In the 2d century the guard had a lower profile in the face of strong political leadership. Often the prefect functioned as a senior military adviser to the emperors; at other times, by virtue of the prefect's increasingly important judicial role in the hearing of court cases, prominent lawyers were appointed.

In A.D. 193 the guard was bribed by the senator Didius Julianus, in a notorious auction for power, to support his brief tenure of the purple. Soon after, Septimius Severus disbanded the existing guard, which he replaced with legionaries from his own victorious armies. The guard continued thereafter to be recruited chiefly from serving legionaries so that it became again a *corps d'elite* to which ordinary soldiers could aspire. In October 312, after the battle of the Milvian Bridge, in which the Praetorians had fought for the emperor Maxentius, the guard was abolished by the victor, Constantine.

In about A.D. 65, when the apostle Paul, having appealed directly to Caesar, was brought to Rome, he was placed under house arrest, with a soldier to watch him (Acts 28:16). Often the Praetorians were entrusted with the guarding of such prisoners and the prefect might sit in judgment on them. Paul wrote to the Philippians, apparently from Rome, that he had made the gospel known not only in the praetorium but to the population at large (Phil 1:13). "Praetorium" was the term used at Rome to describe the emperor's military headquarters, to which the Praetorians were attached.

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LAWRENCE KEPPIE

**PRAETORIUM** [Gk *praitōrion* (πραιτωριον)]. The name given to the headquarters of the *praefectus praetorii*, a Roman official who resided as the supreme administrator and judge of a region. The praetorium was usually, but not necessarily, also the living quarters (Gk *oikia*) of the prefect or governor.

Several praetoriums are mentioned in the NT. Acts 23:25 refers to a praetorium in Caesarea Maritima, built by Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.), in which Paul was kept prisoner. No remains of this building have yet been discovered. If one dates Paul's letter to the Philippians to the time of this imprisonment, then this praetorium is also referred to in Phil 1:13. The Gospels refer to a praetorium in Jerusalem where Jesus was tried by Pontius Pilate (Matt 27:27; Mark 15:16; John 18:28, 33; 19:9). In Mark 15:16 it is also called a "palace" (Gk *aule*), suggesting an identification with an Herodian royal residence. Opinions about the location of this praetorium/royal residence differ, and several possible candidates have been considered.

One possible candidate has been the fortress Antonia, which stood on a rock escarpment in the NW corner of the Temple Mount. For a long time this was the most popular candidate for the Jerusalem praetorium (Vincent 1954; Finegan 1969: 156–62; van Elderen *ISBE* 3: 929; Mare 1987: 189) The current Via Dolorosa (the route along which Jesus is supposed to have carried the cross to Golgotha) begins at this site. Some earlier scholars (Vincent and Stéve 1954: 193–221; de Sion 1956) believed that the Antonia was a large fortress including in its inner court the pavement (thought to be the *Lithostroton* of John 19:13) found in the Ecce Homo Convent of Notre Dame de Sion. However, this position is no longer tenable (Benoit 1971): the pavement in question was evidently built over the Strouthion Pool, which had been kept open until the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 (*JW* 5 §467). After the 1985–86 excavations even the Sisters of Zion (proprietors of the site) abandoned the identification of this pavement with the *Lithostroton* of John's gospel. Furthermore, the historical sources, especially Josephus (*Ant* 15 §292), prove decisively that the Antonia was never used as a royal residence either by Herod or by his successors. Indeed, the traditions of the Antonia as Pilate's praetorium started only with the Crusaders late in the 12th century (see below; Baldi 1982: 588ff).

Another possible candidate is Herod's Upper Palace. In the year 23 B.C., around the middle of his reign, Herod the Great built a luxurious palace in the area of today's Citadel (near the Jaffa Gate) and the area to the S of it (Armenian Garden). He resided there with his many wives and children (*JW* 5 §§161–83; *Ant* 15 §318). Most modern scholars have so far held this site to be the most probable candidate for Pilate's praetorium (Mommert 1903; Dalman 1924: 355–63; Benoit 1952; Blinzler 1959: 173–76; Maier 1968: 215–40; Vanel *DBSup* 8: 513–54; Murphy-O'Connor 1986: 23). The main argument which speaks against this possibility is the complete lack of any Christian tradition regarding such a location (Bagatti 1973).

Earliest Christian tradition held that the praetorium of the Gospels stood somewhere on the W slope of the Tyropoeon valley, just opposite the SW corner of the temple enclosure (Pixner 1979: 57–72). The oldest pilgrim report, the Anonymous of Bordeaux in A.D. 333 (Baldi 1982: 583), described the remaining walls of the praetorium as situated somewhere toward the valley (i.e., facing the Tyropoeon). The ruins of the judgment house of Pilate were known to Bishop Cyrill of Jerusalem in A.D. 348 (Baldi 1982: 583), and in the first part of the 5th century it was (according to the old Armenian Lectionary) used as a station during the Good Friday procession (Renoux 1969–71).

Around A.D. 450 a church was built on the site (Wilkinson 1977: 58), which later was called Hagia Sophia, i.e., "Holy Wisdom," because Jesus as God's Wisdom stood there before a human judge (Baldi 1982: 585). This church is always mentioned in close proximity to the Nea (New) Church, the large Marian shrine built by Emperor Justinian (A.D. 483–565). Recent archaeology has identified the remains of this magnificent church in the S section of today's Jewish Quarter (Avigad 1983: 229–46). Following the itinerary described by an anonymous pilgrim of Piacenza in A.D. 580 (Baldi 1982: 584f) and the representation of the contemporary Mosaic Map of Madaba (Avi–Yonah 1954: 55; Donner and Cüppers 1977: 112f.) showing another church NE of the Nea, the approximate location of the Sophia Church can be established. This is the region where today stand both the ruins of the Crusader Church St. Mary of the Teutonic Knights and the Jewish Yeshiva Porat Joseph, next to the steps leading from the "Wailing Wall" to the Jewish Quarter. Indeed the ruins of an important Byzantine church were discovered beneath this

modern yeshiva (Vincent 1914: 429–36). All the vestiges of this church, however, were destroyed, but there is now a general agreement that the Byzantine praetorium must have been in this vicinity (Otto 1980: 152f.; Benoit 1984).

If early Christian tradition had remembered the correct site of Pilate's praetorium, the only palace that could have stood in this vicinity was the ancient royal palace built by the Hasmoneans. According to Josephus, the Hasmonean Palace was located "at the very edge of the Upper City" (*JW* 2 §344) and gave one a rooftop view of the sacrificial altar in the temple compound (*Ant* 20 §189ff.). This seems generally to fit the area where ancient Christian tradition located Pilate's praetorium (Pixner 1979: 78–85). Some scholars (Jaroś 1980; Riesner 1986; Pixner 1987; Kroll 1988: 335–49) believe that the magnificent ruins called "the Herodian Palatial Mansion," with its splendid mosaics similar to those in Masada (Avigad 1983: 95–120), could very well have been a part of the Hasmonean Palace that was rebuilt by Herod and renovated by Agrippa II (cf. *Ant* 20 §222). Unfortunately, its E wing (with the Sophia Church) and N section have completely disappeared.

From 37 to 23 B.C. Herod the Great used the Hasmonean Palace for administrative and judicial purposes (*JW* 1 §443; *Ant* 15 §229, 247f., 286). It probably continued to serve the same purpose after he moved (for safety reasons) to the new Upper Palace (see above), which was fortified by three mighty towers. In A.D. 6, when his son Archelaus was banished by imperial decree, the Roman prefects took over all the Herodian palaces and the Antonia fortress (cf. *JW* 2 §111; *Ant* 17 §344). After the untimely death of Agrippa I in A.D. 44, the Hasmonean Palace was not handed back to the subsequent Roman governors (*Ant* 20 §189f) but remained in the hands of the Hasmonean-Herodian family (Herod of Chalcis; Agrippa II), who from then on were put in charge of temple affairs (*Ant* 20 §16).

Closely related to the question of Pilate's praetorium is the itinerary of the Way of the Cross, whose end point has always remained the Golgotha rock (inside today's Church of the Holy Sepulchre). However, the starting point (the praetorium) has undergone curious alterations throughout the centuries. This can be seen from the different routes followed by the Good Friday processions of the Jerusalem Church recorded in the ancient liturgical lectionaries (Pixner 1979–80). From earliest times, this procession visited the different sites of the passion of Jesus, beginning at the Mount of Olives, passing through Gethsemane, and crossing the Kidron valley to the "House of the High Priest" (i.e., Caiaphas) on the E slope of Mt. Zion. It then continued by passing through a city gate to the "Palace of the Judge" (Praetorium of Pilate, later Church of Sophia), finally winding its way to Golgotha (Church of the Holy Sepulchre). On this last leg of the route (the original Via Dolorosa), Luke's gospel account of the carrying of the cross (23:26ff.v A.ff.) was read.

The Sophia Church and the neighboring Nea Church were destroyed during the Persian invasion in A.D. 614. After the subsequent Muslim conquest, permission to rebuild these churches was withheld; consequently a surrogate station for the Good Friday procession had to be found. A small church with its pavement just N of Mt. Zion's Hagia Sion Basilica temporarily served as a *Lithostroton* (Baldi 1982: 586f.). For some reason even the station of Caiaphas' house moved to this locale in the 9th century, according to Epiphanius Hagiopolita (Baldi 1982: 586). The Crusaders inherited this tradition, but since they felt uncomfortable with so many stations of the passion being situated on such an unlikely spot, they relocated Pilate's judgment house to the ruins of the Antonia (Baldi 1982: 588ff). Thus began the tradition of equating Pilate's praetorium with the Antonia Fortress, an idea that was adopted by the Franciscan friars and developed over the following centuries into the modern Via Dolorosa with its traditional fourteen stations.

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BARGIL (VIRGIL) PIXNER

**PRAYER IN EARLY JUDAISM.** The great hymnbook of the Second Temple was the Davidic Psalter, although it was not closed and defined before 70 C.E. Prior to that, the Psalter often contained additions, growing in some circles to 151 psalms, 153 psalms, and even 155 psalms, and with psalms later categorized as apocryphal within it (see 11QPsAp). It was not so much rivaled as complemented by other psalmbooks, like the Hodayoth (the Qumran Thanksgiving Hymns) in the late 2d century B.C.E. and the *Psalms of Solomon* in the late 1st century B.C.E., and by the hundreds of psalms and prayers used to illustrate the narratives in early Jewish literatures—the apocalypses, testaments, and expansions of the Hebrew Bible or Old Testament—and especially by the earliest statutory prayers used in the places of worship, notably the synagogue (Heinemann 1977).

The beginning and end of the day were celebrated by special prayers (see in addition to the old rabbinic liturgies the Qumran Daily Prayers = 4Q503). The end of the week was heralded by Sabbath services in the home, synagogue, temple, and other religious gatherings (e.g., the Qumran Angelic Liturgy). The year began, at Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur (see the rabbinic prayers and the Qumran Prayer for the Day of the Atonement Fragment = 1Q35b), with special prayers and psalms, and was divided by the great festivals—notably Passover *(Pesaḥ),* the Feast of Weeks (Pentecost), and the Feast of Booths (Sukkoth)—and their liturgies (which were often transferred from the temple to the synagogue [Safrai]). Jewish time was hence liturgical time; it is easy to understand such specific clarifications as "at the hour of prayer" (Acts 3:1). Foundational for Jewish prayer were the daily prayers in the home (esp. grace after meals) and the frequent spontaneous prayers of the individual.

During the Second Temple period the Hebrew Bible or OT evolved through a refined script—and an authoritative order, content, and form for each book—to a closed canon of books. See CANON. At the same time an equally important development was taking place: the basic themes in Jewish liturgy were being normalized (Hoffman 1979). While spontaneous prayers were preferred by some rabbis, set prayers with varying wording appeared in Judaism before the destruction of 70 C.E. (Heinemann 1977; Talmon 1978; Reif 1982).

Jewish prayers were not, like in many of the cultures contiguous with Palestine, pleas for material possessions or rewards, or magical manipulations of a deity who could be controlled by special deeds or words. The author of Daniel has Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego confess that even if God would not deliver them, he was their God (Dan 3:16–18). As is well known, Palestinian Jews resisted the Romans,

notably Pilate, and offered their lives in the refusal to compromise their law and liturgical customs (see Jos. *JW*). Even in the apocalypses, which tend to describe God's abode as far removed from the earth, the accent falls heavily on the claim that the angels, who link humans with God, receive the prayers of the faithful ones:

> And there was a great sound like thunder, and I said, "Lord, what is this sound?" And he said to me, "The Commander-in-Chief Michael is descending to receive the prayers of humans."

(*3 Bar.* 11:3–4; all translations are those of the author)

Jews lived out the conviction, expressed throughout early Jewish literature, that God does hear and answer prayers (*4 Ezra* 8:40). Note the 15th Blessing in the *Amidah* or *Tefilah (18 Benedictions)* according to the Palestinian (Cairo Geniza) Version:

> Hear, O Lord our God, the voice of our prayers,
> For you are a gracious and compassionate God.
> Blessed are you, O Lord, who hears prayer.

The author of *1 Enoch* 83–90, long before the destruction, prays to God, asking him "to sustain" the righteous and upright. This book of *Enoch* concludes with a dream in which the prayer is answered and fulfilled: "All the sheep were invited to that house (= the temple) but it could not contain all of them … I noticed that the house was large, wide, and exceedingly full" (*1 En.* 90:34–36). Paradigmatic for this constant theme is the Psalter itself, especially Psalm 116:

> I love the Lord
> for he hears my voice, my pleas;
> for he inclines his ear to me whenever I call.

(Ps 116:1)

Today the sources for the study of Jewish prayers before the cessation of sacrifices in the temple are abundant. Many of the Dead Sea Scrolls are hymns and prayers. The Apocrypha and pseudepigrapha are replete with prayers, both as collections, individual works, and poetic compositions to illustrate apocalypes, testaments, and narrative expansions of biblical stories (see MANASSEH, PRAYER OF, also *Pr. Jac.*, Pr. Jos., Pr. Mos.). The present state of research is preoccupied with textual and analytical studies; it is not possible yet to attempt a synthesis of the hundreds of early Jewish prayers. When that time comes sensitivity must be given to the variations among groups within early Judaism (ca. 250 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.). It can be said, however, that no other period in the history of Jewish liturgy is so important as the first two centuries C.E. See also FORGIVENESS (EARLY JUDAISM).

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**PRAYER OF AZARIAH.** See DANIEL, ADDITIONS TO.

**PRAYER, LORD'S.** See LORD'S PRAYER.

**PRAYERS, HELLENISTIC SYNAGOGAL.** The title "Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers" *(Hel. Syn. Pr.)* summarizes what scholars such as K. Kohler, W. Bousset, and E. R. Goodenough have concluded regarding certain prayers in the Greek language scattered throughout the Christian Apostolic Constitutions (*Apos. Con.*). Historians had for a long while known that the eight volumes of the *Apos. Con.* were a 4th-century compilation from a multitude of sources, including the 3d-century *Didascalia* (*Apos. Con.* volumes 1–6), the 2d-century *Didache* (*Apos. Con.* 7.1–32), the 3d-century *Apostolic Tradition* (dispersed throughout vol. 8), and the Clementine Liturgy of uncertain date (*Apos. Con.* 8.5–15). Kohler (1924), Bousset (1915), and Goodenough (1935) suggested that a prayer collection from the Greek synagogues of the Diaspora was a fifth source and stood behind the following prayers in the *Apos. Con.*:

| Kohler's List | Bousset's List | Goodenough's List |
|---|---|---|
| 7.26.3 | | 7.26.1–3 |
| 7.33 | 7.33 | 7.33 |
| 7.34 | 7.34 | 7.34 |
| 7.35 | 7.35 | 7.35 |
| 7.36 | 7.36 | 7.36 |
| 7.37 | 7.37 | 7.37 |
| 7.38 | 7.38 | 7.38 |
| | 7.39.2–4 | 7.39.2–4 |
| | 8.5.1–4 | 8.5.1–4 |
| | 8.6.5 | 8.6.5–8 |
| | 8.9.8f | 8.9.8f |
| | 8.12.6–27 | 8.12.6–27 |
| | 8.15.7–9 | 8.15.7–9 |
| | | 8.16.3 |
| | 8.37.1–4 | 8.37.1–4 |
| | 8.37.5–7 | 8.37.5–7 |
| | 8.38.4f | 8.38.4f |
| | 8.38.3f | 8.38.3f |
| | | 8.40.2–4 |
| | 8.41.4f | 8.41.2–5 |

A host of liturgical scholars, Church historians, and specialists in Talmudic-era Judaism have accepted this conclusion with only a few raising voices of dissent.

Such a conclusion yielded important results when applied to the study of Judaism and Christian origins. If the prayers are a good example of the liturgy of the Diaspora synagogues, then writers such as Philo are not isolated phenomena in Judaism and do not express an aberrational theology. Rather, Philo is a true representative of the theology and piety of non-Palestinian Jews generally, for the religious concepts of the prayers are virtually identical with Philo. The prayers then, it was believed, give us a glimpse into the typical Greek synagogue. Goodenough (1935) went so far as to divide all Judaism into normative and

mystic (i.e. Hellenistic) segments and to claim that the Jewish prayers embedded in the *Apos. Con.* were the "mystic liturgy."

A more probable view of the prayers, however, is that only some of them originate from a Jewish substratum and that even those bear the theological imprint of the 4th-century compiler/redactor of the *Apos. Con.* This compiler—who may or may not have been the semi-Arian Pseudo-Ignatius who interpolated the writings of Ignatius—was certainly profoundly influenced by "Alexandrian theology." A redactional analysis based on a comparison of the *Apos. Con.* with the existing sources reveals certain linguistic traits and theological tendencies with unmistakable similarities to Philo and Origen. Such traits and tendencies abound in the prayers of books 7–8.

The redactional analysis of the prayers leads to the conclusion that the methodology of many of the scholars working on these "Jewish" prayers was flawed. They based their identification of the prayers as Jewish on Jewish-sounding phrases or concepts found in the prayers. But many of these expressions appear to be redactional. One must then reject not only the theological analysis of the prayers since the analysis does not take note of redactional elements, but also the argument that the prayers are Jewish at all.

Only the argument of Kohler (1924) with respect to *Apos. Con.* 7.33–38 is valid. Kohler discovered that these six prayers correspond exactly to the first six of the Hebrew Seven Benedictions for Sabbaths and holidays. The prayers (minus the redactional elements) have many of the same themes as the Seven Benedictions and even some of the same wording. What is even more important is that the prayers are in the same order as the Seven Benedictions.

The first prayer (7.33) praises the God of the patriarchs, as does the first benediction. The second prayer (7.34) extols God's power and ends with a reference to God as the "reviver of the dead," as does the second benediction. The third prayer (7.35) concerns the hallowing of the name and the fourth (7.36) the hallowing of the Sabbath day, both of which correspond to the third and fourth benedictions. The fifth prayer (7.37) corresponds to the fifth benediction on temple service and the sixth prayer (7.38) is quite similar to the thanksgiving prayer of the sixth benediction. In addition, some of the prayers contain other portions of the Hebrew prayer book such as the *Kedûšâ* (7.35) and the *Nišmat* (7.38). Nothing in *Apos. Con.* 7.33–38 or following is reminiscent of the seventh benediction, the priests' blessing. Perhaps this omission is because the prayer was supposed to be recited only in the Hebrew language (*M. Soṭa* 7.2), and the prayers in the *Apos. Con.* are in Greek.

The Jewish prayers of *Apos. Con.* 7.33–38 are evidently the product of the Syrian synagogues. The *Apos. Con.* itself was compiled in Syria and most of its other sources originated in Syria. Also, Syrian Christianity always maintained close contacts with Judaism, which would facilitate the inclusion of a Jewish prayer collection into the *Apos. Con.*

The date of the form of the Seven Benedictions as found in the *Apos. Con.* 7.33–38 is probably between 150 C.E. and 300 C.E. The earliest possible date is when the form of the *Kedûšâ* as found in Apos. Con. 7.35 (a combination of Isa 6:30 and Ezek 3:12) first appeared. The latest date is a few years before the compilation of the *Apos. Con.*

No particular Jewish milieu is evident for the prayers except perhaps post-Jamnia Pharisaism. The prayers certainly betray no origin in mysticism, Samaritanism, or Essenism, contrary to what has been suggested. The prayers in the *Apos. Con.* without the redactional elements are very similar theologically to the Hebrew benedictions. For text see *OTP* 2:671–97.

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**PREEXISTENCE OF SOULS.** See SOULS, PREEXISTENCE OF.

**PREACHER, THE.** See ECCLESIASTES, BOOK OF.

**PREACHING.** To preach is to proclaim, to announce, to declare a word from God, to present publicly the good news, to deliver a religious discourse related directly or indirectly to a text of Scripture. Apart from a specific context, preaching is difficult to define. Even though preaching has long been significantly linked to the life and activity of both Jewish and Christian communities, it is so varied in content, mode, audience, and purpose that it resists the constraints of a dictionary, even a Bible dictionary.

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A. Preaching as Mode
1. Terminology in Hebrew Scriptures
2. Terminology in the NT
B. Preaching as Content
1. John the Baptist
2. Jesus
3. The Early Church
C. Preaching as Distinguished from Teaching

———

**A. Preaching as Mode**

In the histories of both synagogue and church, preaching as a mode of communication has ranged from an informal discussion called homily (from *homilein,* translated in the RSV as "talking," Luke 24:14, 15, and as "conversing," Acts 20:11) to a carefully constructed speech following the instructions of ancient rhetoric. The words which can be translated "preaching" in the biblical texts, however, do not yield much clear information on the mode or modes of communication.

**1. Terminology in Hebrew Scriptures.** The Hebrew Scriptures contain few clear references to that which we term "preaching." However, two activities seem clearly to fall in this category: prophetic proclamation and the teaching of Torah. The word *bašēr,* containing "joy" in its stem, refers to bringing or announcing good news or a message of joy, as in 2 Sam 4:10; Ps 40:9; Isa 40:9; 61:1. The other term meaning "to proclaim or to call," *qĕrā᾽* (Jer 11:6; Mic 3:5; Jonah 1:2; 3:2), can also be translated "to read aloud," as in the public reading of the Torah in Neh 8:8–9. In the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible these two words were rendered most often by *euangelizō* and *kērussō,* the two most common terms for preaching in the NT. See below. And finally, the NT refers to certain persons in the Hebrew Scriptures as preachers: Jonah (Luke 11:32), Noah (2 Pet 2:5), and Enoch (Jude 14, 15).

**2. Terminology in the NT.** In the NT, terms which refer to preaching are basically of two types.

**a. Terms Which by Definition Refer to Preaching.** These are primarily *kērussō,* meaning, first of all, "to announce or to proclaim publicly," a word used approximately sixty times (Mark 1:14; 1 Cor 1:23; Acts 10:42), and *euangelizō,* meaning "to announce good news" (Acts 5:42). The stem word *angellō,* from which we get "angel" or "messenger," appears in the NT with a variety of prefixes and in the RSV is variously translated: "to proclaim" (Acts 17:23); "to declare" (1 Pet 2:9); "to command" (Acts 17:30); "to preach" (Acts 5:42).

**b. Terms Which by Context Refer to Preaching.** These are words which do not intrinsically specify such activity but which by reason of context clearly indicate a public telling of the Christian message. There are many such terms. The more common among them are: "to cry out" (Acts 23:6; Rom 9:7); "to speak" (Rom 15:19; 2 Cor 2:12); "to talk" (Mark 2:2); "to make known" (Eph 6:19); "to prophesy" (1 Cor

14:1–4; 1 Pet 1:10); "to speak boldly" (Acts 13:46; 18:26); "to exhort" (Acts 2:40; 15:32); "to bear witness, to testify" (Acts 2:40; 20:24; John 1:15).

**B. Preaching as Content**

The NT employs a number of nouns to designate that which is preached. The most commonly used are *kērygma* (that which is proclaimed), Matt 12:41; Rom 16:25; 1 Cor 1:21; Titus 1:3; *euangelion* (the good news, the gospel), Matt 4:23; Mark 14:9; Acts 15:7; Rom 15:19; *logos* (the word), Acts 6:2; 1 Tim 5:17; *akoē* (report; that which is heard), John 12:38; Gal 3:2, 5; Rom 10:16. In each case, specificity as to content must be supplied by context.

**1. John the Baptist.** According to the Synoptics, John preached "a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins" (Mark 1:4; Luke 3:3). He called upon his listeners to prepare for the advent of one stronger than he who would come baptizing with the Holy Spirit (Mark 1:8) and with fire (Matt 3:11; Luke 3:16). Luke says John gave specific ethical instructions to those who came (3:10–14). None of the Synoptics indicate that John publicly pointed specifically to Jesus as the one who was to come. In John, however, that Jesus was the Son of God was divinely revealed to the Baptist (1:33–34), and therefore, his entire message was one of bearing witness to Jesus as the Christ (1:7, 15, 19, 30, 34).

**2. Jesus.** That which Jesus preached is variously called the gospel of God (Mark 1:14), the gospel of the kingdom (Matt 4:23) and the gospel of the kingdom of God (Luke 4:43). Mark summarizes Jesus' preaching as threefold: "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent, and believe in the gospel" (1:15). Luke's summary draws on Isa 61:1–2: good news to the poor, release to the captives, sight to the blind, liberty to the oppressed, and for all the year of God's favor (4:18–19). Although the continuities between the preaching of John and of Jesus are evident, it is also clear that in the person, work, and words of Jesus a new era begins. The reign of God has broken in and continues to do so. Scholars continue to debate Jesus' own expectations concerning the kingdom's coming: how soon, how completely, how radically. The debate is sustained by the fact that in the records of Jesus' preaching the kingdom of God is both present and future.

**3. The Early Church.** The tradition of preaching from the prophets, John the Baptist, and Jesus continued with the apostles (Acts 5:42). In addition, other persons shared in gospel proclamation (Acts 21:8; Eph 4:11); in fact, the whole Church at times became involved in forms of preaching (Acts 8:4). In its preaching the Church understood itself as continuing the message of Jesus, but there was one major difference: Jesus the messenger of the kingdom was now the central feature of the message itself. From the beginning, preaching seems to have been varied in both mode and content. The Epistle to the Hebrews, for example, is a sermon (13:22), representing a style of preaching (citing, interpreting, and applying a text) which later became popular and widespread. But it does not stand alone in the NT. Most investigators of early Christian preaching look to Acts and the epistles of Paul.

Acts contains a number of sermons and portions of sermons (2:14–36; 3:12–26; 13:16–41; 17:22–31), most of them delivered by Peter and Paul. One should keep in mind that all the preaching reported in Acts comes to us from Luke, whose own fingerprints are on the reports. In fact, Luke had earlier stated the content of the proclamation as "repentance and forgiveness of sins" (Luke 24:47), and the sermons in Acts convey those two themes regularly. While it may remain an open question as to how broadly representative of the whole Church Luke's sermon reports are, it has long been the practice of historians to draw upon Acts to provide summary sketches of early Christian preaching. The most influential of these digests is that of C. H. Dodd (1937), whose reading of Acts (and Paul, but sermons are fragmentary in the letters) rendered the following: prophecies are fulfilled and the new age is launched by the coming of Christ; Christ was born of the seed of David, died according to the Scriptures to deliver us from this present evil age, was buried, and rose on the third day according to the Scriptures; Christ is exalted at the right hand of God as Son of God and Lord of all; Christ will come again as Judge and Savior. In short, God has in Jesus Christ done the promised work of salvation and all persons are now invited to turn from their former ways and believe the good news. In the above summary, the expression "according to the Scriptures" should alert the reader of Acts to the clear differences in the preaching of the Church to those who knew and believed the Hebrew Scriptures (2:16–36; 3:12–26; 13:16–41) and the messages to

audiences totally unfamiliar with the Scriptures (14:8–17; 17:22–31). The points of contact with the listeners are quite different. Before moving to preaching as reflected in Paul's letters, it should be remembered that quite a number of NT scholars believe that the four Gospels are our primary sources for getting at the content of early Christian preaching. That these narratives represent Christian preaching is not a position in direct conflict with the preaching reflected in Acts. There is a difference in form, to be sure, but it is hardly reasonable to suppose that the Church's preaching would be silent about "all that Jesus began to do and teach until the day when he was taken up" (Acts 1:1–2).

That Paul understood his mission to be that of a preacher is quite clear from Paul himself: "For Christ did not send me to baptize but to preach the gospel" (1 Cor 1:17); "Woe to me if I do not preach the gospel!" (1 Cor 9:16). However, his letters, usually occupied with issues within the young congregations, do not offer the reader samples of his preaching. Instead there are reminders to the churches of what he preached when he was present with them. "Now I would remind you, brethren, in what terms I preached to you the gospel" (1 Cor 15:1). This statement is followed by a summary: Jesus died for our sins according to the Scriptures, was buried, was raised on the third day according to the Scriptures, and has appeared to his followers, including Paul (1 Cor 15: 3–8). Sometimes Paul was more brief: he preached Christ crucified (Gal 3:1). What is of special importance, however, is that Paul says his message was what he received, the tradition which had been given to him and which he passed along to the churches (1 Cor 15:3; 11:23). This says not only that Paul had predecessors but that there was strong continuity between his preaching and that done by others. Whatever the distances he experienced, and at other times helped create between himself and other apostles, Paul did not preach a new or different gospel. So strongly did Paul feel about his message that he called it a revelation of Jesus Christ (Gal 1:12) and pronounced anathema upon anyone offering a different gospel (Gal 1:8–9).

Much has been made of the scarcity of stories about and sayings of Jesus (such as we have in the Gospels) in the letters of Paul. Did he not know them? Did he not regard them as ingredient to the *kērygma?* Or is it simply the case that his letters, in form, purpose, and focus, did not provide the vehicle for such recitals? Whatever one's conclusion, the evidence is clear that the governing center of Paul's preaching was the death and resurrection of Christ. This was the basic paradigm both for his message and his lifestyle (Gal 6:14–17; 2 Cor 4:10–11). The Roman letter, Paul's most complete statement of his preaching, focuses not on Jesus' life or preaching but on his death and resurrection as the demonstration of God's righteous grace.

In those Christian communities in which Paul is the canon for preaching, there has been a tendency to treat the Gospel stories of Jesus as background to the passion, as prolegomena to the gospel, functioning homiletically as illustrative material for elaborating on the meaning of the death and resurrection. In the Roman Catholic Church and associated traditions, the gospel readings have provided the center for interpreting all other texts in the proclamation of the gospel. As one can see readily, this treatment of Paul's letters and the Gospels as distinctly different raises not only the question of content (what is the *kērygma?*) but also the question of the mode of preaching. This is to say, is preaching most properly narrative or direct address, recital or confrontation? The canon of the NT affirms both.

**C. Preaching as Distinguished from Teaching**

Given the difficulties in arriving at a specific and complete definition of preaching, both as mode and as content, some have sought clarity by distinguishing between preaching and teaching. C. H. Dodd (1937) again has been most influential in separating *kērygma* and *didache* (teaching). He argued his case from the NT, and there is to be found there textual support for his thesis. Matthew describes Jesus' ministry as threefold: teaching, preaching, and healing (9:35). Paul lists separately the gifts of prophecy and teaching (Rom 12:6–7; Eph 4:11). And in Acts 2, following the preaching which resulted in a large ingathering of converts, Luke says the new Christians attended to the apostles' teaching (2:42). There is a clear good sense to the arrangement that those who respond to the proclamation of the gospel be taught what it means to be a disciple among other disciples and in the world. Much of the NT consists of such instruction.

However, such a sharp distinction cannot be maintained on the basis of either biblical texts or careful thought. For example, the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5–7) is a body of teaching (5:2; 7:29) about

life and relationships in the kingdom, and yet the audience consisted not only of Jesus' disciples but also "the crowds" (5:1; 7:28). Documents describing synagogue activity of the period refer to preaching and teaching interchangeably. Israel gathered on occasions to be renewed and reconstituted by the recital of the Exodus, the narrative which created the community. It seems unreasonable to suppose that the early Christian Church, created by the proclamation of the gospel, did not gather again and again to be renewed and reconstituted by the preaching which first called it into being. In fact, many of the words cited above which in some contexts clearly refer to preaching are the same words ("speak," "say," "exhort," "state boldly," etc.) which elsewhere indicate instruction to Christians. Modes of communication do not always distinguish preaching and teaching, and neither does audience. As to content, preaching without instruction lacks substance; teaching without *kērygma* lacks identity.

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**PRECINCT.** See PARBAR.

**PREFECT.** See PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (ROMAN); PRAETORIUM; PROCURATOR.

**PREHISTORY.** Articles concerning the prehistory of selected regions and nations of the ANE will be found under the name of the region or nation. See especially ANATOLIA; ARABIA; EGYPT; IRAN; MESOPOTAMIA; PALESTINE, ARCHAEOLOGY OF; and SYRIA.

**PRESENCE, BREAD OF THE.** See BREAD OF THE PRESENCE.

**PRIDE.** See VIRTUE/VICE LISTS.

**PRIESTLY ("P") SOURCE.** The composite material of two schools of redactors, which reformulates the message of the Pentateuch according to a theology of monotheistic holiness and the importance of the cult. The Priestly Source, or "P," is distinguished by its use of particular terms and its theological perspective(s), both of which reflect a preexilic provenience.

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**A. The Text**

Scholarly consensus holds that the Priestly Source prevails throughout the Pentateuch and Joshua (see Driver 1913). The modifications which have subsequently been proposed have proven slight (see below). A greater challenge has been generated by the proposition that the P narrative (in Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers) is not an independent source but a redaction (e.g., Cross *CMHE* 293–325). The recognition that the purity texts are the products of two distinct schools, designated by the sigla P and H, helps to resolve this problem.

**B. P and H: Distinctions in Terminology and Style**

The vocabulary of the priestly writings is so markedly different from the other pentateuchal sources (JED) that introductions to the Bible or Pentateuch take pains to supply lists of their distinctive words and idioms (e.g., Driver 1913: 131–35). The problem with these lists is that they do not distinguish between P and H. The best way to gauge the differences between P and H is to identify words or idioms in one source that are consistently altered or synonymized in the other. This is precisely what I. Knohl has done in his study of the priestly texts. He enumerates 44 priestly terms, nine of which are worded differently in P and H (Knohl 1988: 97–99). This list can be supplemented by employing another criterion: terms carrying a precise meaning in P lose their precision in H. The study of the priestly style has also been immeasurably advanced by the finely honed investigation of M. Paran (1983), though—like his predecessor and probable pioneer (McEvenue 1971)—he unfortunately fails to distinguish between P and H. Paran singles out the following priestly literary devices: circular inclusions, poetic elements, refrains, and closing deviations (1983: 28–173). All these, however, are commonly shared by P and H. There exists another literary artifice that holds better promise of yielding a distinction between P and H—structure, in particular, the chiastic form, alternately called introversion (Kikawada 1974) or palistrophe (McEvenue 1971: 29, n. 18).

**C. The Priestly Theology**

**1. Polemic against Paganism and the Evisceration of the Demonic.** When it comes to theology, P and H mostly form a single continuum; H articulates and develops what is incipient and even latent in P.

The basic premises of pagan religion are (1) that its deities are themselves dependent on and influenced by a metadivine realm, (2) that this realm spawns a multitude of malevolent and benevolent entities, and (3) that if humans can tap into this realm they can acquire the magical power to coerce the gods to do their will (Kaufmann 1937–47 1: 297–350; 1960: 21–59). The priestly theology negates these premises. It posits the existence of one supreme God who contends neither with a higher realm nor with competing peers. The world of demons is abolished; there is no struggle with autonomous foes because there are none. With the demise of the demons, only one creature remains with "demonic" power—the human being. Endowed with free will, his power is greater than any attributed to him by pagan society. Not only can he defy God but, in priestly imagery, he can drive God out of his sanctuary. In this respect, humans have replaced the demons.

**a. Sanctuary Pollution and Purification.** The pagans secured the perpetual aid of a benevolent deity by building a temple residence in which the god was housed, fed, and worshiped in exchange for his protective care. Above all, his temple had to be inoculated by apotropaic rites—utilizing magic drawn from the metadivine realm—against incursions by malevolent forces from the supernal and infernal world. The priestly theologians make use of the same imagery, except that the demons are replaced by humans. Humans can drive God out of the sanctuary by polluting it with their moral and ritual sins. All that the priests can do is periodically purge the sanctuary of its impurities and influence the people to atone for their wrongs.

**b. Nondemonic Conception of Impurity.** This thoroughgoing evisceration of the demonic also transformed the concept of impurity. In Israel, impurity is harmless, retaining potency only with regard to sanctums. Laypersons—but not priests—may contract impurity with impunity; they must not, however,

delay their purificatory rites lest their impurity affect the sanctuary. The retention of impurity's dynamic (but not demonic) power in regard to sanctums serves a theological function. The sanctuary symbolizes the presence of God; impurity represents the wrongdoing of persons. If persons unremittingly pollute the sanctuary, they force God out of his sanctuary and out of their lives.

The priestly texts on scale disease (Leviticus 13–14) and chronic genital flows (Leviticus 15) give ample witness to the priestly polemic against the idea that physical impurity arises from the activity of demons who must be either exorcised or appeased. Purification is neither healing nor theurgy. The afflicted person undergoes purification only after being cured. Ablutions are wordless rites; they are unaccompanied by incantation or gesticulation—the quintessential ingredients in pagan healing rites. The Heb adjective used in Leviticus 13–15 (*ṭāhēr*) means "purified" not "cured," whereas the verb *rāpā᾽*, "cure," never appears in the ritual. A moldy garment or a fungous house (Lev 13:47–58; 14:33–53) does not reflect on the character of its owner, for he brings no sacrifice and performs no rite that might indicate his culpability. Even though the scale-diseased person does bring sacrifices for possible wrongdoing, the only determinable "wrong" is that his impurity has polluted the sanctuary. Especially noteworthy is the bird rite at the beginning of his purification process (Lev 14:4–7) which, in spite of its clear exorcistic origins, carries only a symbolic function in Israel. Above all, it seems likely that most, if not all, of the varieties of scale disease described in Leviticus 13 are not even contagious, supporting the conclusion that scale disease is only a part of a larger symbolic system (explained below).

Another example of how the priestly legists excised the demonic from impurity is the case of the person afflicted with chronic genital flux (Lev 15:1–15, 25–30). It is the discharge that contaminates, not the person. Hence, objects that are underneath him: bed, seat, saddle—but no other—are considered impure. In Mesopotamia, however, his table and cup transmit impurity. The difference is that in Israel the afflicted person does not contaminate by touch as long as he washes his hands. Consequently, he was not banished or isolated but allowed to remain at home. The same concessions were extended to the menstruant, who was otherwise universally ostracized. She, too, defiled only that which was beneath her. Touching such objects, however, incurred greater impurity than touching her directly (Lev 15:19b, 21–22). As illogical as it seems, it makes perfect sense when viewed from the larger perspective of the primary priestly objective to root out the prevalent notion that the menstruant is possessed by demonic powers.

**c. The Cult.** The parade example of the evisceration of the demonic from Israel's cult is provided by Azazel (Lev 16:10). Though Azazel seems to have been the name of a demon, the goat sent to him is not a sacrifice requiring slaughter and blood manipulation; nor does it have the effect of a sacrifice in providing purification, expiation, etc. The goat is simply the symbolic vehicle for dispatching Israel's sins to the wilderness (Lev 16:21–22). The analogous elimination rites in the pagan world stand in sharp contrast. The purification of the corpse-contaminated person with the lustral ashes of the red cow (Numbers 19) can also claim pride of place among Israel's victories over pagan beliefs. The hitherto demonic impurity of the corpse has been devitalized, first by denying its autonomous power to pollute the sanctuary and then by denying that the corpse-contaminated person must be banished from his community during his purificatory period (Milgrom 1976).

**2. A Gradual "Revolution."** Israel's battle against demonic beliefs was not won in one stroke. Scripture indicates that it was a gradual process. The cultic sphere attests a progressive reduction of contagious impurity in all three primary human sources: scale disease, pathological flux, and corpse contamination. The earliest priestly tradition calls for their banishment (Num 5:2–4) because the presence of God is coextensive with the entire camp, but later strata show that banishment is prescribed only for scale disease (Lev 13:46). The fact that genital flux and corpse contamination permit their bearers to remain at home indicates that the divine presence is now viewed as confined to the sanctuary. Henceforth in P, the only fear evoked by impurity is its potential impact on the sanctuary. The driving force behind this impurity reduction is Israel's monotheism. The baneful still inheres in things but it spreads only under special conditions, for example, carrion when consumed and genital discharges when contacted. But note that impurity springs to life resuming its virulent character only in regard to the sphere of the sacred, and that these impurities are not to be confused with evils.

**3. Holiness Contagion.** A similar gradation in the contagion of holiness is also exhibited in Scripture, but for different reasons. In the earliest traditions of the Bible, the sanctums communicate holiness to persons, the sanctuary's inner sanctums more powerfully so—directly by sight (if uncovered) and indirectly by touch (if covered), even when the contact is accidental. According to the early narratives this power can be deadly; note the stories about the ark (1 Sam 6:19; 2 Sam 6:6–7), Mt. Sinai (Exod 19:12–13), and the divine fire (Lev 10:1–2). In P a major change has occurred. This fatal power is restricted to the rare moment when the tabernacle is dismantled (Num 4:15, 20), but otherwise the sanctums can no longer infect persons, even by touch (Milgrom 1981). Clearly, this drastic reduction in the contagious power of the sanctums was not accepted by all priestly schools. Ezekiel holds out for the older view that sanctums (in his example, the priestly clothing, 44:19; 46:20) are contagious to persons (contrary to P).

The texts are silent concerning the motivation behind this priestly reform. Undoubtedly, the priests were disturbed by the superstitious fears of the fatal power of the sanctums that might keep the masses from the sanctuary (cf. Num 17:27–28). To the contrary, they taught the people that God's holiness stood for the forces of life, and only when approached in an unauthorized way (e.g., Lev 10:1–2) would it bring death. Contact with the sanctums would be fatal to the nonpriest who dared officiate with the sanctums (e.g., Num 16:35; 18:3) but not to the Israelites who worshipped God in their midst. There is also a more realistic, historically grounded reason that would have moved the priests in this direction—the anarchic institution of altar asylum. Precisely because the altar sanctified those who touched it, it thereby automatically gave them asylum regardless of whether they were murderers, bandits, or other assorted criminals. By taking the radical step of declaring that the sanctums, in particular the altar, were no longer contagious to persons, the priests ended, once and for all, the institution of altar asylum. In this matter they were undoubtedly abetted by the king and his bureaucracy, who earnestly wanted to terminate the veto power of the sanctuary over their jurisdiction (details in Milgrom 1981).

**4. A Symbolic System: Life verses Death.** Obviously, the ritual complexes of Leviticus 1–16 make sense only as aspects of a symbolic system. As noted, only a few types of scale disease (many clearly noncontagious) were declared impure. Yet, to judge by the plethora of Mesopotamian texts dealing with the diagnosis and treatment of virulent diseases, it is fair to assume that Israel knew them as well (see *Leviticus 1–16* AB, Introduction) but did not classify them as impure. The same situation obtains with genital discharges. Why are secretions from other orifices of the body not impure: mucus, perspiration, and, above all, urine and feces? This leads to a larger question: why are there only these three sources of impurity—corpse/carcass, scale disease, and genital discharges? There must be a comprehensive theory that can explain all of the cases. Moreover, since the phenomena declared impure are the precipitates of a filtering process initiated by the priests, the "filter" must be their invention. In other words, the impurity laws form a system governed by a priestly rationale.

This rationale comes to light once it is perceived that there is a common denominator to the three above-mentioned sources of impurity—death. Genital discharge from the male is semen; from the female, blood. They represent the life force and their loss represents death. The case of scale disease also becomes comprehensible with the realization that the priestly legists have not focused on disease per se but only upon the *appearance* of disease. Moldy fabrics and fungous houses (Lev 13:47–58; 14:35–53) are singled out not because they are struck with scale disease but because they give that appearance. So too the few varieties of scale disease afflicting the human body: their appearance is that of approaching death. When Miriam is stricken with scale disease, Moses prays: "Let her not be like a corpse" (Num 12:12; cf. also Job 16:13). The wasting of the body, the common characteristic of the highly visible, biblically impure scale disease, symbolizes the death process as much as the loss of blood and semen.

It is of no small significance that the dietary laws (Leviticus 11), which are contiguous to and form a continuum with the bodily impurities (chaps. 12–15), are also governed by criteria, such as cud chewing and split hooves, which are equally arbitrary and meaningless in themselves, but serve a larger, extrinsic purpose. This purpose can be deduced both from the explicit rationale of holiness (Lev 11:43–45) and the implicit assumption of relevant texts (Gen 9:4; Lev 17:3–5, 10–14), to wit: animal life is inviolable except for a few edible animals provided they are slaughtered properly (i.e., painlessly) and their blood (i.e., their

life) is drained and thereby returned to God (Milgrom 1963). To be sure, the rationale of holiness and the equation of blood and life are first fully articulated in H (Lev 11:43–45; 17:10–14), but they are already adumbrated in P (e.g., Gen 9:4).

Since impurity and holiness are antonyms, the identification of impurity with death must then mean that holiness stands for life. No wonder that reddish substances, the surrogates of blood, are among the ingredients of the purificatory rites for scale-diseased and corpse-contaminated persons (Lev 14:4; Num 19:6). They symbolize the victory of the forces of life over death. A further example: the blood of the purification offering symbolically purges the sanctuary by symbolically absorbing its impurities (see below)—another victory of life over death. Moreover, the priest is commanded to eat the flesh of the purification offering (Lev 6:19, 22; 10:17; Milgrom 1976), and the high priest dispatches the sanctuary's impurities together with the people's sins (Lev 16:21). In neither case is the priest affected. Again, holiness-life has triumphed over impurity-death. Impurity does not pollute the priest *as long as he serves God in His sanctuary.* Israel, too, as long as it serves God by obeying His commandments can overcome the forces of impurity-death.

Since the quintessential source of holiness resides with God, Israel is enjoined to control the occurrence of impurity lest it impinge on His realm (see below). The forces pitted against each other in a cosmic struggle are no longer the benevolent and the demonic deities who populate the mythologies of Israel's neighbors but the forces of life and death set loose by man himself through his obedience to or defiance of God's commandments. Despite all the changes that are manifested in the evolution of Israel's impurity laws, the objective remains the same: to sever impurity from the demonic and to reinterpret it as a symbolic system reminding Israel of the divine imperative to reject death and choose life.

**5. The Universal Blood Prohibition.** It would be well to point out that the blood prohibition is an index of P's concern for the welfare of humanity. In Leviticus, to be sure, all of P is directed to Israel. But one need only turn to the P stratum in Genesis to realize that it has not neglected the rest of humankind. P's blood prohibition in Genesis appears in the bipartite Noachian law which states that human society is viable only if it desists from the shedding of human blood and the ingestion of animal blood (Gen 9:4–6). Thus it declares its fundamental premise that human beings can curb their violent nature through ritual means, specifically, a dietary discipline that will necessarily drive home the point that all life (Heb *nepeš*), including animals, is inviolable, except—in the case of meat—when conceded by God (Milgrom 1963).

The P strand in Genesis also indicts the human race for its Heb *ḥāmās* ("violence," Gen 6:11). Since the Noachian law of Genesis 9 is the legal remedy for *ḥāmās* (Frymer-Kensky 1977), it probably denotes murder (as in Ezek 7:23), though in subsequent usage, especially under prophetic influence, it takes on a wide range of ethical violations (Haag *TDOT* 4: 478–86). Thus, the blood prohibition proves that P is of the opinion that a universal God imposed a basic ritual code upon humanity. Israel, on the other hand, bound by its covenantal relationship with the deity, is enjoined to follow a stricter code of conduct.

**6. Theological Distinctions between P and H.** One would expect a sharp cleavage separating the theology of P from the nonpriestly strands of the Pentateuch. However, it may come as a shock to realize that even the two priestly sources, P and H, sharply diverge on many theological fundamentals. The most important ideological distinction between P and H rests in their contrasting concepts of holiness. For P, spatial holiness is limited to the sanctuary; for H, it is coextensive with the promised land. Holiness of persons is restricted in P to priests and Nazirites (Num 6:5–8); H extends it to all Israel. This expansion follows logically from H's doctrine of spatial holiness: since the land is holy, all who reside in it are to keep it that way. Every adult Israelite is enjoined to attain holiness by observing the Lord's commandments, and even the Heb *gēr,* "resident alien," must heed the prohibitive commandments, for their violation pollutes the land (e.g., Lev 18:26).

P's doctrine of holiness is static; H's is dynamic. On the one hand, P constricts holiness to the sanctuary and its priests. P assiduously avoids the Heb term *qādôš,* "holy," even in describing the Levites (compare their induction rites, Num 8:5–22, with the priestly consecration, Leviticus 8). On the other hand, though H concedes that only priests are innately holy (Lev 21:7), it repeatedly calls upon Israel to strive for holiness. The dynamic quality of H's concept is highlighted by its resort to the same participial

construction Heb *měqaddēš,* "sanctifying," in describing the holiness of both the laity and the priesthood. Sanctification is an ongoing process for priests (Lev 21:8, 15, 23; 22:9, 16) as well as for all Israelites (Lev 21:8; 22:32). No different from the Israelites, the priests bear a holiness that expands or contracts in proportion to their adherence to God's commandments.

The converse doctrine of pollution also varies sharply: P holds that the sanctuary is polluted by Israel's moral and ritual violations (Lev 4:2) committed anywhere in the camp (but not outside), and that this pollution can and must be effaced by the violator's purification offering and, if committed deliberately, by the high priest's sacrifice and confession (Lev 16:3–22). H, however, concentrates on the polluting force of Israel's violation of the covenant (Lev 26:15), for example, incest (Lev 18; 20:11–24), idolatry (Lev 2:1–6), or depriving the land of its sabbatical rest (Lev 26:34–35). Pollution for H is nonritualistic, as shown by the metaphoric use of Heb *ṭāmēʾ* (e.g., Lev 18:21, 24; 19:31) and by the fact that the polluted land cannot be expiated by ritual, and, hence, the expulsion of its inhabitants is inexorable (Lev 18:24–29; 20:2).

**7. The Theology of Sacrifice.** The sacrificial system is intimately connected with the impurity system. Nonetheless, it possesses a distinctive theology (rather, theologies) of its own. No single theory embraces the entire complex of sacrifices (Milgrom 1976). All that can be said by way of generalization is that the sacrifices cover the gamut of the psychological, emotional, and religious needs of the people. We therefore seek the specific rationale that underlies *each* kind of sacrifice. Even with this limited aim in mind, the texts are not always helpful. However, hints gleaned from the terminology and the descriptions of the rites themselves will occasionally illumine our path. The comprehensive rationales for two sacrifices, the burnt and cereal offerings, remain unclear, whereas the three remaining sacrifices, the well-being, purification, and reparation offerings, can be satisfactorily explained.

**a. The Well-Being Offering.** The well-being offering is associated with the blood prohibition, although this connection was not present from the beginning. In the P stratum, the well-being offering is brought solely out of joyous motivations: thanksgiving, vow fulfillment, or spontaneous free will (Lev 7:11–17). The meat of the offering is shared by the offerer with his family and invited guests (1 Sam 1:4; 9:21–24). The development of H brought another dimension to this sacrifice. H's ban on nonsacrificial slaughter meant that all meat for the table had initially to be sanctified on the altar as a well-being offering (Lev 17:3–7). To be sure, the prohibition to ingest blood had existed before (Gen 9:4; cf. 1 Sam 14:32–35), implying that though man was conceded meat, its blood, which belongs to God, had to be drained. Now that the blood had to be dashed on the altar (Lev 3:2, 8, 13) it served an additional function—to ransom the life of the offerer for taking the life of the animal (17:11; Milgrom 1971). Thus the principle of the inviolability of life was sharpened by this new provision: killing an animal was equivalent to murder (Lev 17:3–4) unless expiated by the well-being offering.

**b. The Purification Offering.** The rationale for the purification offering has been alluded to above. The violation of a prohibitive commandment generates impurity and, if severe enough, pollutes the sanctuary from afar. This imagery portrays the priestly theodicy. It declares that while sin may not scar the face of the sinner it does scar the face of the sanctuary (Milgrom 1976). This image graphically illustrates the priestly version of the old doctrine of collective responsibility: when the evildoers are punished they bring down the righteous with them. However, those who perish with the wicked are not entirely blameless. They are inadvertent sinners, who by having allowed the wicked to flourish have also contributed to the pollution of the sanctuary. In particular, the high priest and the tribal chieftain, the leaders of the people, bring special sacrifices (Lev 4:9, 23) since their errors cause harm to their people. Thus, in the priestly scheme, the sanctuary is polluted (read: society is corrupted) by brazen sins (read: the rapacity of the leaders) and also by inadvertent sins (read: the acquiescence of the "silent majority"), with the result that God is driven out of his sanctuary (read: the nation is destroyed). In the theology of the purification offering, Israel is close to the beliefs of its neighbors and yet so far from them. Both hold that the sanctuary stands in need of constant purification lest it be abandoned by its resident god. But whereas the pagans hold that the source of impurity is demonic, Israel, having expunged the demonic, attributes impurity to the rebellious and inadvertent sins of man instead (details in Milgrom 1976).

**c. The Reparation Offering.** The reparation offering (Lev 5:14–26) seems at first glance to be restricted to offenses against the property of God, either his sanctums or name. It reflects, however, wider theological implications. The Heb noun *ʾāšām,* "reparation, reparation offering," is related to the Heb verb *ʾāšam,* "feel guilt," which predominates in this offering (Lev 5:17, 23, 28) and in the purification offering as well (Lev 4:13, 22, 27; 5:4, 5). This fact bears ethical consequences. Expiation by sacrifice depends on two factors: the remorse of the worshipper (verb *ʾāšam*) and the reparation (noun *ʾāšām*) he brings to both man and God to rectify his wrong. This sacrifice strikes even deeper ethical roots. If someone falsely denies under oath having defrauded his fellow, subsequently feels guilt and restores the embezzled property and pays a twenty percent fine, he is then eligible to request of his deity that his reparation offering serve to expiate his false oath (Lev 5:20–26). Here we see the priestly legists in action, bending the sacrificial rules in order to foster the growth of individual conscience. They permit sacrificial expiation for a deliberate crime against God (knowingly taking a false oath) provided the person repents before he is apprehended. Thus, they ordain that repentance converts an intentional sin into an unintentional one, thereby making it eligible for sacrificial expiation (details in Milgrom 1976).

**8. The Ethical Basis of the Priestly Theology.** It should already be clear that the priestly polemic against pagan practice was also informed by ethical postulates. The impurity system pits the forces of life against the forces of death, reaching an ethical summit in the blood prohibition. Not only is blood identified with life but it is also declared inviolable. If the unauthorized taking of animal life is equated to murder, how much more so is the illegal taking of human life. And if the long list of prohibited animals has as its aim the restriction of meat to three domestic quadrupeds, whose blood (according to H) must be offered up on the altar of the central sanctuary, what else could the compliant Israelite derive from this arduous discipline except that all life must be treated with reverence?

The reduction of sanctum contagion may have been motivated by the desire to wean Israel from the universally attested morbid fear of approaching the sanctums. But as indicated above, there coexisted the more practical goal of breaking the equally current belief that the sanctuary gave asylum even to the criminal. As noted above, the ethical current ran strong also in the rationale for the sacrifices. The purification offering taught the ecology of morality, that the sins of the individual adversely affect his society, even when committed inadvertently, and the reparation offering became the vehicle for an incipient doctrine of repentance. The ethical thrust of these two expiatory sacrifices can be shown to be evident in other respects as well. The priestly legists did not prescribe the purification offering just for cultic violations but extended the meaning of the term *miṣwâ* (Lev 4:2) to embrace the broader area of ethical violations. And the texts on the reparation offering make it absolutely clear that in matters of expiation man takes precedence over God; only after rectification has been made with man can it be sought with God (Lev 5:24b–25).

A leitmotiv of the sacrificial texts is their concern for the poor: everyone, regardless of means, should be able to bring an acceptable offering to the Lord. Thus, birds were added to the roster of burnt offerings (Lev 1:14–17), and the pericope on the cereal offering (Leviticus 2) was deliberately inserted after the burnt offering, implying that if a person could not afford birds he could bring a cereal offering. Indeed, this compassion for the poor is responsible for the prescribed sequence of the graduated purification offering: flock animal, bird, cereal (Lev 5:6–13). This concession of a cereal offering, however, was not allowed for severe impurity cases (Lev 12:8; 14:21–32; 15:14) because of the need for sacrificial blood to purge the contaminated altar.

The ethical impulse attains its zenith in the great Day of Purgation, Yom Kippur. What originally was only a rite to purge the sanctuary has been expanded to include a rite to purge the people. As mentioned above, the pagan notion of demonic impurity was eviscerated by insisting that the accumulated pollution of the sanctuary was caused by human sin. Moreover, another dimension was introduced that represented a more radical alteration. The scapegoat which initially eliminated the sanctuary's impurities now became the vehicle of purging their source—the human heart. Provided that the people purged themselves through rites of penitence (Lev 16:29; 23:27, 29; Num 29:7), the high priest would confess their released sins upon the head of the scapegoat and then dispatch it and its load of sins into the wilderness. Thus, an initial

widely attested purgation rite of the temple was broadened and transformed into an annual day for the collective catharsis of Israel. God would continue to reside with Israel because his temple and people were once again pure.

**D. Preexilic Provenience of the Priestly Source: Terminological Testimony**

**1. The Evidence.** This priestly work can be dated. There is ample evidence that its terminology is preexilic. Thus far the chief investigator of priestly terminology has been A. Hurvitz (1981; 1982; 1988). Using the book of Ezekiel as a standard against which to measure the life span of priestly terms, Hurvitz finds ten such terms that are absent from Ezekiel in contexts where one should expect to find them. Moreover, he and Paran (1983) adduce 22 P terms that are replaced by synonyms in Ezekiel and in postexilic books. Hurvitz's examples can be supplemented by the key terms of Israel's sociopolitical structure. This area is more decisive because these terms describe living institutions (details in Milgrom 1978; 1989). The terminology for the doctrine of repentance also exhibits this diachronic transformation. P clearly posits repentance not by the prophetic (and postbiblical) root *šwb* but by its unique verb *ʾāšam* (Milgrom 1976: 3–12).

**2. Refutation of Archaizing.** Only one argument carries some weight: P is guilty of archaizing. So writes Wellhausen, "It (P) tries hard to imitate the costume of the Mosaic period … to disguise its own" (*WPHI,* 9). In our day F. M. Cross echoes a similar view (*CMHE,* 322–23; cf. also Hoffman 1986). Hurvitz counters this argument by maintaining that archaizing is discernible only if "one can furnish positive evidence proving the existence of *late* linguistic elements in the same work" (1982: 163). That is, an author, particularly one represented by such an extensive corpus as the priestly writings, would surely betray himself by some anachronistic slip. Nonetheless, the possibility must be granted that the priestly redaction may have succeeded in concealing its true (late) period. Another control, however, is at hand that can vitiate the charge of anachronism. What if a term undergoes a change of meaning and there are ample attestations of this term in the early and late biblical literature so that the change can be accurately charted? Moreover, what if the new meaning is incompatible with, and even contradictory to, its predecessor so that it is inconceivable that both meanings could have existed simultaneously? The term *mišmeret* exemplifies the first case and *ʿăbōdâ* the second.

**a. The Evidence from *mišmeret*.** The Heb term *mišmeret* occurs 76 times in Scripture, chiefly in P. In connection with the tabernacle it means "guard duty" *and nothing else,* as observed by the medieval Jewish exegete Abrabanel (ca. 1437–1508) in his commentary on Num 3:5. When *mišmeret* is in construct with Yahweh, the context involves proscriptions and taboos so that "guarding" against the violation of the Lord's commandments is always meant (details in Milgrom 1970: 8–12). The evolution of *mišmeret* from "guard duty" to postbiblical "service unit" is barely detectable in Scripture. This later meaning is found only in Nehemiah (Neh 12:9, 24; 13:30; correcting Milgrom 1970: 12, n. 41) and Chronicles (1 Chr 25:8; Paran 1983: 205, n. 42). But it is not even adumbrated in any of P's 43 attestations (details in Milgrom 1970: 12–16).

**b. The Evidence from *ʿăbōdâ*.** The second Heb term, *ʿăbōdâ,* is of weightier import. In P it occurs some 70 times and it always denotes "physical labor" (Milgrom 1970: 60–82). However, in postexilic cultic texts (even when they cite pentateuchal passages) it means "cultic service" (Milgrom 1970: 82–87). These two meanings clearly contradict each other and therefore cannot coexist. Levites, on pain of death, are forbidden to officiate in the cult (Num 18:3b), and hence their *ʿăbōdâ* is confined to the job of physically removing the tabernacle. But in postexilic texts the contrary is true. Priests alone may perform *ʿăbōdâ* because this term now means "cultic service."

**3. Summary.** In sum, the terminological study of Ezekiel 44, supplemented by the studies of Hurvitz and Paran of the 22 Ezekielian passages adduced above, demonstrates that Ezekiel is the chronological watershed of Israel's cultic terminology. His book confirms the conclusions derived from P's central vocabulary in the area of cult (*mišmeret; ʿăbōdâ*), theology (absence of *šwb*), and sociopolitical institutions (Heb *ʿēdâ; maṭṭeh; ʾelep; nāśîʾ*) that P is a product of the preexilic age (cf. also Grintz 1974–75; Polzin 1976; Guenther 1977; Rendsburg 1980). Furthermore, not a single priestly term has been shown to be of postexilic coinage. Finally, the allegation that P is archaizing has proven baseless. No

postexilic writer could have used *ʿăbōdâ* in its earlier sense of "physical labor" when it flatly contradicted the meaning it had in his own time. His readers would have been confused, nay, shocked, to learn that "cultic service," exclusively the prerogative of priests and fatal to nonpriests, had been assigned to the Levites.

**E. Relative Proveniences of P and H**

H probably arose out of the socioeconomic crisis at the end of the 8th century (Knohl 1988: 179–93). Following a suggestion of M. Haran (*EncMiqr* 5: 1098; 1981) that H's interdiction of the Molech and the *ʾōb* and *yiddĕʿōnî* corresponds with the proliferation of these cults into the royal court during the second half of the 8th century, Knohl postulates that H must be a product of that period (1988: 178, 263, n. 19, 264, n. 22). Here Knohl has been anticipated by Eerdmans (1912: 101), who added to the Molech factor the occurrence of *ʾĕlîlim* both in H (Lev 19:4; 26:1) and profusely in First Isaiah (9 out of a total of 16 times: 2:8, 18, 21; 10:10, 11; 19:11; 31:7; see also Elliott-Binns 1955: 38; Feucht 1964: 166–67). Knohl differs from all of them in that he alone postulates the priority of P, whereas the others hold with the consensus that H is earlier than and is absorbed by P. According to Knohl, the new issues that concern H are idolatry, social injustice, the gap between ethics and the cult, and the *gēr* (1988: 176–77, 188–89). "HS's (the Holiness School) writings become clear against the background of the socio-economic polarization and the religious crisis that developed in that period. The crisis that led to the attacks by classical prophecy on the ritual and Temple institutions … HS expresses the attempt by priestly circles in Jerusalem to contend with the prophet's criticism. In reaction … HS created the broader concept of holiness that integrates morality and cult and drew up a comprehensive program for social rehabilitation formulated in social terms" (1988: x; cf. 178–87). The priestly answer to this crisis eventuated in the composition of the Holiness Code (1988: 173–76).

Since H also includes the redaction of P, this can only mean that P—not just its teachings but its very texts—was composed not later than the middle of the 8th century (ca. 750 B.C.E.). As for determining the provenience, the veritable Sitz im Leben of P, it is likely that P presumes the existence and the legitimacy of common slaughter. More accurately, P espouses a modified form of common slaughter, one evidenced in Saul's battle against the Philistines (1 Sam 14:31–35; details in *Leviticus 1–16* AB, Introduction).

Thus H is not the innovator of centralization; it has inherited P's explicit demand that all sacrifice take place at the tabernacle. H is after something else—the banning of common slaughter. It claims that "all suet is the Lord's" and therefore demands that all animal flesh should first be offered as a well-being offering. If H is to be associated with Hezekiah's reform (see above) which was operative solely in the land of Judah, then the edict of Leviticus 17, though idealistic, is still feasible. D's centralization, however, takes place under different historical circumstances. The expanded borders of Josiah's kingdom had made common slaughter an absolute necessity (Deut 12:15–16, 21–25). Even at the risk of chthonic worship, D ordains that "[the blood] shall be spilled on the ground like water" (Deut 12:16, 23). This prescription may reflect D's fear that the example of Saul's stone ultimately turning into an altar (1 Sam 14:35) might subvert D's centralization imperative by leading to the consecration of other slaughtering stones as altars.

**1. P and the Sanctuary at Shilo.** It is clear that P as well as H speaks of the tent of meeting as the only legitimate sanctuary. H clearly has the Jerusalem temple in mind, but for P, there are only two possibilities. Being anterior to H, P's reference could be the pre-Hezekian temple (Knohl 1988: 189–91). Or P may advert to an anterior institution—the sanctuary at Shiloh (Haran 1962; 1978: 175–204).

The intensive excavations at the site of Shiloh and the survey explorations thoroughout the central hill country have yielded valuable information concerning Shiloh's regional role during Iron Age I of the premonarchic period (Finkelstein 1985: 164–74; 1988). The pertinent results can be summarized as follows: At the beginning of Iron Age I (end of 12th century B.C.E.) there was a dramatic increase in the number of permanent settlements in the central hill country. In the tribal territories of Ephraim and Manasseh, 27 sites during the Late Bronze Age grew to 211 sites, nearly an eightfold increase. Most of the growth was registered in Ephraim (23 times, to 4.4 times in Manasseh), especially around Shiloh (22 sites within a 5 or 6 km radius). The Shiloh temple located in the heart of this population must have

served as the regional center for the entire area before it was destroyed in the middle of the 11th century. Expansion southward took place later, after the destruction of Shiloh. This meant that Shiloh probably was the first and only interregional, transtribal religious center before the Jerusalem temple. Other important sanctuaries, such as Benjaminite Bethel and Gilgal (of Samuel and Saul) could not have borne regional significance while the Shiloh sanctuary existed.

**2. The Shiloh Tradition Reworked.** The basic presuppositions of P fit the archaeological data of Shiloh to perfection. P prescribes a central sanctuary containing the tabernacle with its ark and other cultic paraphernalia. It also presupposes common slaughter at home (see above), so that households would journey to Shiloh only for the annual pilgrimage (1 Sam 1:3; 2:19) or festival (Judg 21:19). On the other hand, P does not claim that the tabernacle is the only legitimate sanctuary. There is neither admonition nor ban against worshiping at other altars—unlike H (Leviticus 19) and D (Deuteronomy 12). Though biblical scholarship registers other opinions regarding the provenience of P's tabernacle, the absence of any prohibition against multiple sanctuaries limits P's tabernacle to either the temple of Shiloh or that of Jerusalem before Hezekiah's edict of centralization (2 Kgs 18:4).

Both locations are possible. The sacrificial procedures attested in P probably had their origin at Shiloh. Some texts, like the thanksgiving offering pericope, were reworked by the Jerusalem priesthood so thoroughly that even where the seams are visible it is no longer possible to recover the original text. Others, like the cereal and well-being offerings, received interpolations or supplementary verses which when removed reveal the original text (details in *Leviticus 1–16* AB, Introduction). These additions are the work of subsequent generations of Jerusalem priests, but still from the time prior to Hezekiah. In substance these additions are not significant; they probably reflect the "in-house" adjustments of the priests regarding their sacrificial income as the one-family sanctuary gave way to the multifamily temple. It would take the momentous events at the end of the 8th century, which led to an infusion of refugees from north Israel and the prophetic rebuke concerning the social and economic injustices gripping the land, to provoke a major priestly response resulting in the creation of the radically new vistas and ideology of H (see Knohl 1988: 146–93).

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**PRIESTS.** See LEVITES AND PRIESTS.

**PRIMEVAL HISTORY.** A modern label that scholars have applied to Genesis 1–11 and to a particular type of narrative pattern reflected not only in Genesis 1–11 but in other ANE literary sources.

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A. Definitions
B. Patterns of Primeval History
    1. Narrative Pattern
    2. Genealogical Pattern

C. Purpose
D. Genesis 1–11
    1. Narrative Pattern
    2. Genealogical Pattern
E. Other "Primeval History" Patterns in the Bible
    1. Exodus 1–2
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F. Indo-European Literature
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    3. Classical Tradition

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**A. Definitions**

When a child asks, "Mommy, where did I come from?" the awareness of historical thought begins. When society asks us, "Who are you, anyway?" we begin to formulate history. We start to form a list of credentials, of memorable and significant events, including the definite point at which our historical accounting begins. One could start one's own history at this point, but ANE society seems to have demanded that history, whether personal or national, should begin rather with the very beginning of the world.

The problem with this requirement is that there were no human observers at the beginning of the world. But the people of the ANE knew that there must have been a more distant past lying behind the knowable past. To account for this, ancient historians had to posit the beginning of history, speculative both factually and philosophically. From that point on, going forward in time, they speculated about how the world in its fullness, including their untenable past and unknowable ancestors, came to be.

This speculative, often mythological history between the creation of the world up to the point when one's historical memory begins became well patterned and traditional in the ANE. This patterned portion of history is here termed "primeval history."

The primeval history is a long and well-established literary convention (Kikawada 1974) in the ancient world, first detected in the Sumerian literature of the 21st century B.C. and continuing through the Semitic literature in Akkadian and Hebrew down to classical and later Indo-European literature. One may consider it as an indication of the ANE people's awareness of what the modern geologist calls "deep time."

Accordingly, Genesis 1–11 is the primeval history of the Bible on the cosmological and world-historical levels. There are also many passages on the level of biography in the Bible, such as Exodus 1–2 and Matthew 1–3, that must be included in the literary category of primeval history (Kikawada and Quinn 1985).

**B. Patterns of Primeval History**

Since the "patterns of primeval history" are common to biblical and other literature, for convenience and clarity the two distinct patterns are described in terms of the Mesopotamian cuneiform literature. The first pattern is the *narrative pattern* of primeval history and it is derived from the Akkadian Epic of Atrahasis, the so-called Babylonian Flood Story (Lambert and Millard 1969). The second is the *genealogical pattern*, derived from the Sumerian genealogical material known as the Sumerian King List (Jacobsen 1939) and other Mesopotamian genealogical material. The common characteristic of the two is the great Flood standing at the end of the mythological or quasi-mythological epoch and ushering in the new, and more or less "factual," epoch. The great Flood is the epoch divider, signaling the end of the primeval history and anticipating the beginning of a new age.

**1. Narrative Pattern.** The Atrahasis Epic furnishes us with the basic narrative pattern of the primeval history (Laessøe 1956) in a five-story outline. The epic starts with the beginning of the world, when only the gods existed. The story tells us the reason why and the process by which the gods created human

beings. The next three stories are concerned with the very successful procreation and multiplication of the human population and the gods' attempt to exterminate the ever-increasing population in three stages. But the human beings are saved from extinction at each of the three attempts. The second stage has two steps; somehow the gods had to intensify the extermination effort, for the plan was not working well. In the third stage we find the great Flood story. The last story relates the postflood compromise among the gods concerning population control (Kilmer 1972). Thus, the topical outline of the primeval history narrative may be articulated as follows:

A. Creation: God's Work and Creation of mankind
B. First threat to Mankind: Overpopulation and Control by Plague
C. Second Threat: Overpopulation and Control by Drought
C'. Threat Intensified—Severer Means
D. Third Threat: Over population and Control by Flood
E. Resolution: Population Control

The historical time covered is from before the creation of mankind through the great Flood, to the post-Flood resolution regarding the increasing population. Note that there are only three narrative generations of expansion and diminution of the population, although these generations are of 1,200 years each. The predominant theme is how to deal with the ever-increasing population which even the great Flood could not resolve. The Atrahasis Epic resolves the problem by instituting "birth control" by means of the gods creating barrenness among women, demons to cause crib death, and three types of nuns to put some women out of procreation. The greatest variation among the specimens of primeval history discussed in this article is in the means of resolution to the problem of overpopulation.

The Sumerian forerunner to the Atrahasis pattern of primeval history may be obtained from the Sumerian Deluge story, but extreme caution must be applied since only 20 percent of the story is preserved. There is also a view that the Enki and Ninmah story plus the Sumerian Deluge may give us a more nearly complete pattern (Kilmer 1976). The Akkadian story of the Worm and Toothache intriguingly gives us the genealogical narrative of a worm that claims as its ancestry none other than the retired chief of the Mesopotamian pantheon, Anu himself, but this story lacks the great Flood. This may indicate either that the entire story is in the primeval historical context, or that it is from a separate tradition.

**2. Genealogical Pattern.** The Sumerian King List furnishes the basic genealogical pattern with seven to ten generations from the beginning to the great Flood, depending on how one counts them. The main characteristic of these antediluvian kings is their extreme longevity, such as King Alulim reigning for 280,000 years. This makes the antediluvian period, though consisting only of seven or ten generations, much longer than the postdiluvian period, comprised of many generations. The postdiluvian King Zambia, for instance, reigned only three years. The great Flood (Sum *AMARU,* Akk *abūbu*) thus bisects ancient world history, establishing a historiographic time axis with such expressions as "before the Flood" (Akk *lām abūbi,* cf. *lammabbûl,* Ps 29:10) and "after the Flood" (Akk *arki abūbi,* cf. Gen 9:28; 10:1, 32; 11:10), analogous to our convention of B.C. and A.D. divisions in world history and "antebellum" and "postbellum" in American history.

Although the Sumerian King List establishes the basic genealogical pattern of primeval history, perhaps more relevant to biblical studies is the Akkadian synchronic "List of Sages" (van Dijk 1962). The kings and sages (Akk *apkallu* for antediluvian and Akk *ummannu* for postdiluvian "sage") are listed side by side in this genealogy before the Flood as "[in the] time of Aialu the king, U'an was the sage *(apkallu)*" and after the Flood as "[during the reign of Gilgam]sh, Sinligunninni was the sage *(ummannu).*" In this list, the antediluvian period is accounted for in two genealogical lines, one line of kings and the other of sages. Also note that the kings are associated with cities according to the Sumerian King List, whereas the sages are linked to clever cultural inventions such as music, metallurgy, and the religious cult, and to "walking with god," especially in the light of the "List of Sages" and another list of sages known as "The Etiological Myth of the 'Seven Sages' " (Reiner 1961).

**C. Purpose**

The main purpose of the primeval history, be it in the form of narrative or genealogy, appears to be establishing one's first section of credentials, tracing back to the very beginning of the world. The primeval history, in a small neat package, is a formal introduction to a history or to a biography, adding to it the notion of "deep time." Once the primeval history became concisely patterned in both the narrative and genealogical tradition, it became a literary convention easily prefixed to any memory-based history, whether national or personal.

The great Flood became the primeval historical device to separate the two major epochs; it is the ANE epoch divider par excellence, lying between speculative history and memory-based history. Conversely, it may be considered as a bridge to fill in the gap between the two epochs. The great Flood is a very convenient literary device for the ancient historians; they need not claim any factual knowledge of earlier things, since symbolically the flood washed away all records. Thus, the great Flood signaled to the ancient reader that anything that had happened before it was speculative and mythological rather than factual and concrete.

**D. Genesis 1–11**

In the first eleven chapters of Genesis we have an example of a full primeval history, where the five-point-outline narrative and the double-line genealogical traditions (Wilson *GHBW*) are fused together into a single literary unit. The primeval history in turn constitutes the first and introductory cycle of the five cycles of the book of Genesis. Then, on a still larger scale, the book of Genesis constitutes the literary unit that introduces a five-book Torah (for a brief discussion, see below). Observe also that all three of the succeedingly larger units—the primeval history, the book of Genesis, and the Pentateuch—conclude with exactly the same motifs, among them the references to Abraham, to someone (Terah, Joseph, Moses) dying, and to the promised land still unreached.

**1. Narrative Pattern.** There are five major stories told in Genesis 1–11:

A. Creation, God's Work and Rest (1:1–2:3)
B. Adam and Eve, First Threat to Mankind (2:5–3:24)
C. Cain and Abel, Second Threat to Mankind (4:1–16)
C´. Threat Intensified—Lamech's Taunt (4:23–24)
D. The Great Flood, Third Threat, and Noah's Ark (6:1–9:29)
E. Tower of Babel, Population Control by Dispersion (11:1–9)

The narrative structure of Genesis 1–11 conforms to the five-point outline of the primeval history narrative of the Atrahasis Epic (cf. Millard 1967). The creation story is the cosmic introduction, majestically telling the story of divine work and rest in the uniquely Hebrew seven-day week. Then, three stories of the near extinction of newly created mankind follow. Adam is almost killed, but is allowed to live on and even to have children. Fifty percent of the following generation is eliminated when Abel is killed, but Cain lives on. Virtually everyone of Noah's generation is wiped off the earth, but the remaining ones repopulate the earth. Note that the sevenfold revenge instituted for Cain is echoed in Lamech's taunt but is intensified seventy times (C and C´). The story of dispersion as a resolution to the population problem concludes the primeval history.

While the form and themes of the Genesis 1–11 narrative parallel those of the Mesopotamian forerunners, the resolution of the population problem is diametrically opposed. The book of Genesis insists that the multiplication of people is a divine blessing and tries to accommodate it by dispersion of the population upon the face of the whole earth, whereas in the Babylonian epic, birth control measures are divinely instituted. This theological opposition may be accounted for by assuming two sociologically different communities; the Babylonian society was urban, confined to a limited space, and menaced by overpopulation, while the Hebrew society was more rural, welcoming population expansion. For the Hebrews, there was the whole earth to expand into, while the Babylonians locked themselves in the limited space of the walled city.

Certainly the themes of the biblical narrative are more complex than just the compounding stages of population expansion and diminution, although they are highlighted as the predominant theme of the primeval historical narrative. The biblical author, for instance, overlaid the narrative with the ethical

structure that makes it a complementary part of the larger scheme of the whole Torah. In the first story ethical perfection is declared: all things God created were "very good." From the following story on, people degenerate ethically, but God repeatedly tries to set them right by forgiving them. Despite repeated disobedience and rebellion in the three narrative generations (namely Adam, Cain, and Noah), mankind is allowed to exist and continues to propagate, as commanded in the blessing of the creation story, "Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth" (Gen 1:28). As though to implement this blessing, the fifth and last story (Gen 11:1–9) accommodates the expanding population in a distinctively Hebrew way. Note that this dispersion produces Abram in the genealogy that follows, and that Abram is the key link between the antediluvian primeval history and the postdiluvian patriarchal narrative (contra von Rad, *Genesis* OTL). Thus, the primeval history of the Bible concludes with the introduction of the first hero of the next epoch, Abram.

**2. Genealogical Pattern.** The genealogy (*tōlĕdôt*) links the five stories of Genesis 1–11 together and binds them to the rest of the book (contra Westermann, *Genesis* BKAT). Thus, there is a genealogy line corresponding to the story line described in the previous section. See Fig. PRI.01. The genealogy from Adam to Noah is either seven or ten generations deep (Wilson *GHBW*), but the narrative represents only three generations. Significantly, Genesis 4–5 preserves the antediluvian genealogy in double lines, briefly interrupted by Lamech's taunt. Note that Cain is associated with a city as in the Mesopotamian genealogy of kings, while Jabal, Jubal, Tubal-cain, and Enoch are attributed with cultural inventions and "walking with God," just as are the Mesopotamian sages. The preservation of both the king-type figure and the sage-type figure in Genesis 4–5 may reflect the ancient Mesopotamian synchronic list of sages and kings, and this may perhaps help explain the existence of two genealogies linking Adam to Noah (cf. Indian double genealogies of Manu).

Also note that the historiographic expression "after the Flood" is preserved in Gen 9:28; 10:1, 32; 11:10, indicating that the Flood is the epoch divider in the biblical tradition as it is in the Mesopotamian. In this context, *lammabbûl* of Psalm 29:10 may be seen contextually as an equivalent to "before the Flood," since this expression is paralleled to the cosmic time expression, "forever."

**E. Other "Primeval History" Patterns in the Bible**

Although there are many manifestations of the patterns of the primeval history in both the OT and NT, either directly conforming to them or obliquely alluding to them, the intent and purpose of these passages must be evaluated according to the position of each passage in its larger literary context. First, let us look at other biblical examples of the primeval history that preface the biography of Moses (Exodus 1–2) and Jesus (Matthew 1–3). Second, let us examine a few sample passages that make oblique reference to the primeval history.

**1. Exodus 1–2.** A type of primeval history is prefaced to the biography of Moses. The narrative outline of Exodus 1–3 is identical to Genesis 1–11:

A. Creation by Procreation—Genealogy Linking to Genesis
B. First Threat to Hebrew Population—Affliction with Heavy burdens
C. Second Threat—Tale of two Midwives
C´. Threat Intensified—Drowning of Children
D. Third Threat—"the Flood" and Moses' Ark
E. Resolution—"Exodus" into Midian

The predominant theme of population expansion and diminution is clearly present and the solution to the population problem here is identical to the nomadic solution of Genesis 11, that is, "dispersion" or a little "exodus," wherein Moses goes away from the center of activity into the wilderness of Midian, just as Abram leaves an urban center. Moses' murder of an Egyptian and relocation of himself to the wilderness may be analogous to the motif sequence of the Cain and Abel story.

Note some verbal allusions to the Genesis narrative, such as Moses' mother making for him the "ark" (Heb *tēbâ*) of bulrushes pitched with pitch and mortar (Exod 2:3; cf. Gen 6:14); Moses' mother "saw that he was good" (Exod 2:2; cf. Gen 1:4, etc.); the children of Israel became "fruitful" and abundant, and "multiplied" and became strong, and "the earth was filled with them" (Exod 1:7, 12, 20; cf. Gen 1:28).

Note also the rhetorical features such as those seen in the speech of Pharaoh, "Come, let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply …" (Exod 1:10), echoing the speech of YHWH in Gen 11:7 ("Come, let us go down …, lest they may not …"); and the way in which the two midwives are named, "the name of the one is Shiphrah and the name of the other is Puah" (Exod 1:15), echoes the way Lamech's wives are named in Gen 4:19.

While Exodus 1–2 parallels the Genesis 1–11 narrative, perhaps more striking parallels are found between it and the Atrahasis Epic, especially in regard to the two opposing divine forces working to destroy and to save the Hebrew population in Egypt. The primeval historical section of Moses' biography, however, upholds the blessing of Genesis 1:28, symbolically removing Moses from the urban center to the wilderness, anticipating the forthcoming event of the massive Exodus from Egypt. This, as well as the dispersion story of Gen 11:1–9, may be considered an example of anti-Babylonian, antiurban rhetoric from the extraurban point of view.

The genealogical element of the primeval history is concentrated in the beginning of the narrative and constitutes a story unit (A. Creation by Procreation). "Joseph was already in Egypt" (Exod 1:5) links this story unit to the book of Genesis; genealogically, Moses becomes linked to Adam. This genealogical line then is punctuated by Moses' own miniature Flood (D. Third Threat—"the Flood"). Thus, complete history from the beginning on is told on a biographical scale; one may state this as "biography recapitulates historiography."

**2. Matthew 1–3.** The same phenomenon is observable in Matthew's primeval history. "The book of 'Genesis' [Gk *Genesis*] of Jesus Christ" is how Matthew begins his gospel (1:1) and as such one may expect allusion to the book of Genesis. Matthew 1–3 certainly parallels not only Genesis 1–11 but also Exodus 1–2; thus, it is also a primeval historical biography. The following is the basic five-point outline:

A. "Creation" by Genealogy—Abraham to Jesus
B. Birth of Jesus
C. Three Wise Men
C′. Slaughter of the Innocents
D. Flight to Egypt and Return—a Little "Exodus"
E. Baptism and Dove—a Little "Flood"

The story of three wise men is consigned here as a foil story to the slaughter-of-the-innocents story, yielding C and C′ in the outline, primarily because (1) the principal character of the birth, slaughter, and flight stories is the divine agent who commands Joseph, whereas in the wise men story Herod is the one who commands and whose command was not heeded by the wise men, and (2) there are almost verbatim threefold repetitions of the introduction to the angelic speeches in the birth, slaughter, and flight stories, while the angel does not speak in the wise men story but compromises Herod's plan.

The birth story here fills B, and the story of the extermination of the undesirable population is now concentrated in C′. The "flood" and "exodus" now switch places; the flight into Egypt and return to Israel occupy D, while the miniature "flood" (reminiscent of Exodus 2) occupies E in the form of the baptism, the salvation out of water with the presence of a dove. Nonetheless, at the end of Matthew 3 Jesus is placed in the wilderness just as was Moses in Exodus 2.

The structure of the narrative as a whole thus places Jesus formally in the antediluvian primeval history like Noah and Moses, while the genealogy of A links Jesus to the first Hebrew of the postdiluvian history. Thereby, Matthew has recast the time span from creation to Jesus in the primeval historical form of narrative.

**3. Other Biblical Books.** Both the OT and NT are full of allusions to and reflections of the primeval historical outline and motifs. The following are some examples, and one might be reminded that this is still a fruitful field of future study. Aside from the basic organization of the Torah and of Genesis, which is similar to that of Genesis 1–11, the court history of David and Solomon is considered to parallel the narrative progression of the primeval history of Genesis as originally suggested by Walter Brueggemann (1968). The five-point outline of the parallel accounts is shown in Table 1.

| | *Genesis 1–11* | *2 Samuel–1 Kings* |
|---|---|---|

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A. | Creation—God saw everything very good: *ṭôb mĕ›ōd* | David saw Vathsheba very good *ṭôb mĕ›ōd* |
| B. | Adam and Eve—death threat and curse | David and Bathsheba—death threat and curse |
| C. | Cain and Abel—anger, murder exile | Amnon and Absalom—hate, murder, exile |
| D. | Noah and the Flood—new beginning for Noah | Rebellion of Absalom—new beginning for David |
| E. | Dispersion—Tower of Babel, name, city building, scattered people | Solomon—Dispersion, name, city building, scattered realm |

Hesse and Kikawada (1984) have shown that the book of Jonah reverses the topical progression of Genesis 1–11. That is, the book of Jonah ironically reverses the primeval history, ending up with the creation motif in order to interpret the Mosaic covenant in a new light. It begins with the "dispersion" story of Jonah, who is unwilling to go to Nineveh and so journeys away from Mesopotamia. The miniature "flood" story follows with many verbal echoes of the Noah story, then comes the "Cain and Abel" story of angry dialogue between YHWH and Jonah in which YHWH asks, "Does it do any good (*hêṭēb,* 4:4; cf. Gen 4:6–7) to be angry?" Also, the name Abel (*hablê šāw›*) is hidden in the conclusion of the hymn of thanksgiving (Jonah 2:8). A little "Adam and Eve" story is told next in the episode of the worm and the gourd tree under which a life-and-death conversation takes place. The sixth day of the "creation" story in which man and cattle were created is again alluded to at the very end of the Jonah book in the phrase "and much cattle." Note that the entire Jonah book is set in seven narrative days; three days in the fish's stomach, three days to go across the great city, and the seventh day just to sit and talk with God. In fact, the allusions to creation are abundant, not only in that Jonah "fears YHWH, the God of Heaven, who created the sea and the dry land," but all through the book when God creates, destroys, and manipulates natural phenomena at will as the creator.

**F. Indo-European Literature**

A trace of the ANE convention of the primeval history can be felt in the Old Iranian and Indian literature to the east and in the classical material to the west.

**1. Iranian Tradition.** The second book of the Vendidad (*Vidēvdāt*) includes a Zoroastrian version of the great Flood story, featuring Yima as the hero in a five-point outline with the predominant theme of overpopulation:

A. Introduction and Institution of First King Yima
B. Overpopulation and the First Expansion of Earth
C. Overpopulation and the Second Expansion of Earth
D. Overpopulation and the Third Expansion of Earth
E. Overpopulation and the Preparation for the Flood

Note that while retaining the basic five-point outline of the primeval history, this account makes the Flood story occupy the last position. However, Yima, the first man and the first king (Christensen 1943), lives through all the generations of overpopulation, interceding for his people as did Atrahasis. In the end, to save mankind and preserve the best of the creatures from the impending flood, Yima is instructed to build an elaborate structure for salvation. But it is not clear whether the Flood is something that happened in the past or that is going to happen in an eschatological future (cf. Gunkel 1895).

**2. Indian Tradition.** From India we can recover both the narrative and genealogical traditions that featured Manu Vaivasvata as the Flood hero. He is the seventh Manu according to the *Viṣṇu Purāna* genealogy (Thapar 1976) and the Flood hero according to the 9th-century-B.C. story of Manu and a Fish (O'Flaherty 1975). In the story of Manu and a Fish we have a one-man or one-fish "overpopulation" and Flood story. One day Manu saves a fish that rapidly grows big. He tries to accommodate it in succeedingly larger containers but finally he has to release it in the ocean. Some time later, the fish reappears to Manu, instructing him to tie a boat onto the horn growing on its head so that Manu can be towed to the highest mountain to save himself from the impending Flood.

The Indian genealogical material is more pertinent to the OT tradition than to Mesopotamian, for it preserves a compound pattern similar to the OT genealogy rather than to the simple linear genealogies of Mesopotamia. The genealogical material of the Purāna as summarized by Thapar and compared to a summary of the OT genealogy is depicted in Fig. PRI.02.

Observe the tripartite genealogical scheme: *A* is the primeval historical section in double lines of sages/kings; *B* is the branched genealogy section; and *C* returns to the linear genealogy. In both the Indian and the OT genealogies, *A* and *B* are demarcated by the great Flood and *B* and *C* are separated by the war—i.e., the Mahabharata War for the former and the war between YHWH and Pharaoh (cf. Exod 15:1–22) for the latter.

**3. Classical Tradition.** Beside Berossus' account of Babylonian history, we have the story of Deucalion and the flood, from which we can recover many elements of primeval history. The Latin tradition also preserves it in the story told by Ovid. The most striking example, however, is a brief scholiastic commentary on "the will of Zeus" (*Iliad* 1.5). In it we find a summary of a long-lost story whose outline is as follows:

A. Problem—burdened earth, overpopulation
B. First Threat—Zeus sends Theban War, many destroyed
C. Second Threat—Zeus plans to destroy people by thunderbolts or flood. Momos dissuades Zeus from this plan
D. Third Threat—Momos suggests that Thetis marry a mortal to create Achilles and that Zeus seduce Leda to create Helen of Troy. This results in the Trojan War
E. Resolution—many destroyed: earth's burden lightened

Although we may never know where and when the concept of the primeval history was conceived and developed, we find it earliest in Mesopotamian cuneiform literature, and traces of it in the OT and in the literature of India as well as Europe. Many other examples of this literary tradition may be hidden in other unexpected places.

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**PRINCE.** See PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (POSTEXILIC JUDEAN OFFICIALS).

**PRINCIPALITIES AND POWERS.** A common translation of the NT terms *archai* and *dynameis*, which are used primarily by Paul to designate angelic beings, both good and evil, but most commonly in reference to the realm of Satan. Several other terms are used in conjunction with these to denote supernatural beings: *exousiai* ("authorities"), *archōntes* ("rulers"), *thronoi* ("thrones"), *kyriotētes* ("lordships"), *kosmokratores* ("world rulers"), and *stoicheia* ("elemental spirits").

This collection of terms was not coined by the early Christians, but was probably taken from the reservoir of terminology in 1st-century-C.E. Jewish and pagan belief in reference to the angelic realm. The terms appear in the OT pseudepigrapha, particularly the apocalyptic writings (e.g., *2 En.* 20:1; *1 En.* 41:9; 61:10; cf. also *Testament of Levi* 3:8; *Testament of Solomon* 8:2; 18:2; 20:15). Many of the terms are also used in the syncretistic Greek Magical Papyri (PGM) to denote various supernatural beings (e.g., PGM I. 215; III. 35; IV. 1193, 1275, 1599, 2198–99; XXIIb. 2, 4, 7 [= the *Prayer of Jacob*]).

In Ephesians, where there are more references to the principalities and powers than any other epistle, they are regarded as evil and under the authority of the devil (Eph 6:12; 2:2). Consequently, believers are called to resist their influence by appropriating the power of God. The compelling influence of these evil powers has been broken by the Christ event. Christ has been exalted to the right hand of God, a position of authority far above every conceivable evil angelic being (Eph 1:20; cf. also 1 Pet 3:22). By virtue of their union with him, believers share in the authority of Christ over the powers (cf. Eph 2:6) and may thereby break the power of their control and influence (see Arnold 1989: chap. 3).

The powers are seen by Paul as a fundamental factor in the heretical teaching threatening the health of the Colossian church. Paul therefore stresses a cosmic christology (Col 1:15–20) affirming the superior position of Christ in relation to the powers. Christ is also asserted as the ruling "head" over the principalities and powers (Col 2:10). The cross is seen as the point of decisive defeat: "on that cross he discarded [or, disarmed] the cosmic powers and authorities like a garment; he made a public spectacle of them and led them as captives in his triumphal procession" (Col 2:15; NEB). The Colossian believers should therefore not submit themselves to the tenets of the heretical teaching, which were ultimately inspired by the "elemental spirits" (Col 2:8). In their solidarity with Christ's death, they should consider themselves immune to the influences of these evil spirits (Col 2:20).

Deeply aware of the influence of "the god of this age" (1 Cor 4:4), Paul sees demonic rulers (*archontes*) as ultimately responsible for the death of Christ (1 Cor 2:8; see Eph 2:2 for a similar use of *archon* as an evil spirit being). These powers did not understand the wisdom of God, who would use Christ's death for the actual defeat of the realm of evil and thereby procure salvation for his people. Divine deliverance was necessary since humanity was in bondage to the realm of Satan and his minions (Eph 2:2; Gal 4:3, 8). The resultant emergence of the Church, the body of Christ, testifies to the evil powers of the vast wisdom of God (1 Cor 2:6–7; Eph 3:10). Although defeated by the cross-resurrection event, the powers are still active (Eph 6:12; Gal 4:9). They are in the process of being abolished (1 Cor 2:6) and will finally be destroyed at the consummation (1 Cor 15:24). Because of the work of Christ and his superior power, Paul can comfort the Church by assuring its members that no evil angelic power can separate them from the love of God in Christ Jesus the Lord (Rom 8:38).

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**PRISCA** (PERSON) [Gk *Priska* (Πρισκα)]. Var. PRISCILLA. An important Christian missionary in the mid-1st century C.E., mentioned in 1 Cor 16:19, Rom 16:3–5, and 2 Tim 4:19. She is called by the diminutive "Priscilla" in Acts 18:2–3 (historically reliable traditions; Lüdemann 1987: 206, 209–10); and 18:18, 26.

Prisca was probably freeborn; epigraphical material indicates that ordinarily her name was not a slave name (Lampe *StadtrChr,* 151–52). She married Aquila, a tentmaker of Jewish origin. The couple were

among the first Christians in Rome who also belonged to the synagogues of the city. Together with her husband and others, Prisca spoke of Christianity in at least one of the Roman synagogues. This Christian proclamation led to tumultuous controversies among the Roman Jews, so that the administration of the emperor Claudius in 49 C.E. expelled from Rome the main quarrelers, including Prisca and Aquila.

The couple moved on to Corinth, where Paul first met and lodged with them and worked in Aquila's workshop (Acts 18:2–3). After more than a year and a half (Acts 18:11, 2; cf. Lüdemann 1987: 207; Lampe *StadtrChr,* 7–8), they moved to Ephesus, where they again were active as missionary co-workers of Paul and formed a church in their home (1 Cor 16:19; cf. 2 Tim 4:19; Acts 18:18). The couple "risked their necks" for Paul's life (Rom 16:4), probably during this stay in Ephesus, where Paul was exposed to serious dangers (1 Cor 15:32; 2 Cor 1:8–9). The historicity of the Ephesian episode about Apollos told in Acts 18:26 is very doubtful (Lüdemann 1987: 215–16); *parrēsiazesthai* is a Lukan word; and there is a tension between v 25 and v 26: Apollos already taught "accurately" about Jesus (v 25) *before* he was instructed "more accurately" by Prisca and Aquila (v 26). Luke, the advocate of the apostle Paul, suggests in v 26 that Prisca and Aquila turned Apollos into a staunch supporter of Pauline Christianity. Pre-Lukan tradition (cf. vv 24–25), however, knew only that Apollos once worked in Ephesus at the same time as Paul, Prisca, and Aquila (cf. also 1 Cor 16:12, 19) and that Apollos was a Christian pneumatic (cf. also the Apollos party in Corinth, 1 Cor 1:12, in the context of the Corinthian pneumatics and enthusiasts, e.g., 1 Corinthians 12–14). As such, Apollos was more likely a competitor of Paul (1 Cor 1:12; cf. 3:10b, 12–15) on whom the apostle could not at all impose his plans while he stayed in Ephesus (1 Cor 16:12). We do not know whether Prisca and Aquila at least housed Apollos in Ephesus (Acts 18:26; Weiser 1985: 508).

The couple has often been depicted as wealthy, with Prisca of even higher social status than Aquila since her name in most cases is placed before his (Rom 16:3; 2 Tim 4:19; Acts 18:18, 26; e.g., McNicol *HBD,* 823–24). But evidence points against the couple's wealth. For a discussion, see AQUILA. References to Prisca before Aquila more likely indicate that she was even more active in church life than her craftsman husband. The context, Rom 16:21–23, shows that socially respected persons were not necessarily named first (Gaius with his spacious dwelling and Erastus, the city treasurer, appear last). Paul esteemed a person's work for the church (Rom 16:3b, 4, 5a, 21), not the person's status in the pagan society (cf. Gal 3:28). Luke, on the other hand, mentioning Prisca first in Acts 18:18, 26, would probably have liked to report her elevated social status if he had known about it; he frequently pointed out the participation of distinguished women in Christianity (e.g., Luke 8:3; Acts 17:4, 12; cf. 17:34; 16:14).

Around 55 or 56 C.E. (after Claudius' death in 54 C.E. and between the writing of 1 Corinthians and Romans), the couple returned to Rome (Rom 16:3–5). This last move may have been strategically motivated: Prisca and Aquila were possibly sent as Paul's vanguard to Rome, where he wanted to establish a firm footing for his gospel before continuing to Spain. In Rome Prisca and Aquila again hosted a house-church. They were the first to receive greetings from Paul in Romans 16, where Paul praised them. Their prominence as Paul's co-workers was remembered by the later church; 2 Timothy used their names for its fictitious historical frame, at the beginning of a list of greetings (4:19). Church tradition of the 6th century claimed that the house-church of Prisca and Aquila was the basis of the later Roman "title"-church, "Prisca," on the Aventine. There is no proof for this connection or for any relation to the Roman catacomb "Priscilla" (Lampe *StadtrChr,* 11, 24–25).

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**PRISON.** In ancient Israel, mere imprisonment was not recognized as a formal punishment. When a convict was sentenced to prison (Ezra 7:26), he was to make good his offense by carrying out dull and heavy labor. The modern idea of a prison as a penitentiary, where criminals are to be reformed into decent

citizens, was foreign to ANE conceptions. For various other reasons, however, prisons played an important role in the penal system of the ancients.

Pending his case, a suspect could be held in temporary confinement. Thus, the Israelite woman's son guilty of blasphemy was put in custody (Heb *mišmār*), until a divine verdict was reached (Lev 24:10–12). A similar treatment was given to a violator of the Sabbath, until his death sentence was pronounced (Num 15:32–36). It should be noted that, in these two instances, final judication was reached through the consultation of the Lord. In this respect, the custody pending trial can be compared to the Mesopotamian practice of detaining convicts in a temple prison prior to the river ordeal, attested in the so-called Nungal Hymn. Not all cases of temporary detention were concluded by a divine verdict. Micaiah, the son of Imlah, was put in prison (*bêt hakkele*ʾ) to allow the authorities to verify his prophecy (1 Kgs 22:27; 2 Chr 18:26); and Joseph's objective in putting his brothers in custody (*mišmār*) was to pressure them to comply with his demand (Gen 42:17). In Old Babylonian letters from Mari, reference is sometimes made to a period of detention during which the king can make up his mind what to do with the wrongdoer (e.g., ARM VI 42: 8–10). Examples of temporary detention pending clarification of a case are also found in the NT (Acts 5:17–25; 16:23–24).

The need for cheap labor forces often led the authorities to create compounds where prisoners of war and political adversaries were put to work. These places are sometimes designated as "prisons," though the Latin term *ergastula* (i.e., places of enforced labor) might be more correct. The practice is exemplified in the treatment Samson received at the hands of the Philistines: they gouged out his eyes, bound him with bronze fetters (Heb *nĕḥuštayim*), and forced him to grind (*wayĕhî ṭōḥēn*) in "the house of the prisoners" (*bêt hāʾăsîrîm,* Judg 16:21). Jer 52:11 offers a parallel in the description of Zedekiah's fate: Nebuchadnezzar punished his rebellious vassal by blinding him, binding him with bronze fetters, and putting him into "the house of the mill" (LXX). The more fragmentary indications concerning the measures taken against Hoshea (2 Kgs 17:4), Manasseh (2 Chr 33:11), and Jehoiachin (2 Kgs 25:27; cf. Jer 52:31) do not exclude the possibility that they were submitted to analogous humiliations (cf. 2 Kgs 25:7 and Jer 39:7 with Jer 52:11; for the blinding of enslaved prisoners—a preventive against attempts to escape—see also 1 Sam 11:2; Isa 42:7; and Hdt. 4.2). The designation "house of the mill," preserved by the LXX in Jer 52:11, reflects the Akkadian term *bīt ararri,* "house of the miller, mill," mentioned in a number of cuneiform texts as a place of detention for either distrainees or persons under arrest pending their case. In fact, many of the Akkadian terms rendered somewhat indifferently as "prison," such as *ṣibittum* and *nupārum,* refer to "workshops" where forced labor was performed. According to Ps 107:10–16 the deported Israelites ended up in such a place; they had "hard labor" (ʿ*āmāl*) imposed on them, while they were bound with iron and locked behind doors of bronze with metal bars (see also Isa 42:7; Ps 105:17–18; Lam 5:13).

In some cases imprisonment was resorted to less for economic than for political reasons. The Aramaic Sefire inscriptions suggest that a high-ranking political rival was more likely to be imprisoned (ʾ*sr*) than to be killed (*KAI* 224.18). The treatment of several Israelite and Judean kings referred to above corroborates this impression (see also 1 Macc 14:2–3 for similar measures taken by Arsaces against Demetrius). Such a solution was not adopted on humanitarian grounds but because of fear of an outburst of popular indignation. That is why Herod preferred to send John the Baptist to jail instead of executing him (Matt 14:3–5). Similar considerations may have underlain the decision to incarcerate Jeremiah (Jer 37:15–16) and the seer Hanani (2 Chr 16:10). Conditions in the prison were such, however, that many a prisoner died of disease or malnutrition, as Mesopotamian ration lists show. Since food rations were meager (1 Kgs 22:27) and the treatment harsh, a prisoner (ʾ*āsîr*) might appropriately be counted among "those doomed to die" (Pss 79:11; 102:21). Considering these circumstances, imprisonment could be a convenient way of disposing of opponents; without incurring apparent bloodguilt, one simply made one's adversary "disappear" (cf. Gen 37:22–24; Jer 38:6–9).

Defaulting debtors were a specific category of prisoners, constrained to forced labor until their debt had been paid (Matt 18:28–30; Luke 12:58–59). The tasks imposed on them were similar to those performed by prisoners of war; judging from the cuneiform records, grinding and weaving were their main activities.

Oftentimes it was not the debtor himself, but his wife or children, who were taken by the creditor (2 Kgs 4:1; Isa 50:1; Neh 5:5). Isa 40:2 refers to this practice, using it as a metaphor for the situation of the deported Israelites: the Exile has been their involuntary service by which they had to pay off (*rṣh*) their guilt (*ʿāwôn*). Study of the Mesopotamian evidence makes it likely that the debtors and/or their families were not simply toiling in the home of their creditor, but in constructions that are called "prisons" (Akk *bīt kīli*) or "houses of servitude" (Akk *bīt kiššātim;* cf. Heb *bêt ʿăbādim*). Reduced to (temporary) slavery, they probably found themselves in the company of prisoners of war, together with whom they formed the group of people referred to as *ʾăsîrîm,* "detained persons" (cf. Akk *asīrū*).

Closely related to imprisonment because of guilt was the practice of forcing a debtor to pay by taking a distrainee. B. Porten and J. C. Greenfield see this custom reflected in pleas such as Isa 38:14, which they translate, "Oh Lord, I am being distrained; be Thou my guarantor" (cf. Ps 119:122). The distrainee served in fact as a hostage. Such a hostage could be kept in a "house of custody" (*bêt mišmār*) for other reasons as well (Gen 42:18–20).

In its simplest form the prison was a cave (Josh 10:16–18) or—more frequently—a "pit" (*bôr*), a usage reminiscent of a nomadic lifestyle (Gen 37:22–24; Jer 38:6–13; Zech 9:11; cf. ARM III 36:17–20, where an evildoer risks being thrown into a "pit" [*ḫirītum*]). This ancient form of imprisonment has survived in the Hebrew term *bêt habbôr* (or simply *bôr,* Gen 40:15; 41:14), designating various types of prisons (Exod 12:29; Jer 37:16). In Gen 40:15 the term *bôr* refers to the *bêt hassōhar,* "house of the enclosure" (LXX *ochyrōma,* "fortress") in which the *ʾăsîrîm* (Ketib: *ʾăsûrim*) of the pharaoh were kept. The biblical description corresponds to Egyptian practice as we know it from the hieroglyphic records: those who were condemned to detention and forced labor were relegated to a fortified building (often called *pr šnʿ*), supervised by one of pharaoh's officials. How general a term *bêt habbôr* came to be is apparent from Jer 37:15–16, where the four terms *bêt hāʾēsûr,* "house of the fetters," *bêt hakkeleʾ,* "house of detention," *bêt habbôr,* and *haḥănuyôt,* "the storerooms," are applied to one and the same place, viz., an ordinary dwelling house which had been turned into a prison.

The multiplicity of nonspecific terms suggests that in ancient Israel no special constructions were designed in which prisoners could be lodged. This situation compares well with the data furnished by Mesopotamian texts, according to which persons under arrest were occasionally confined for work in rather harmless places like the *nakkamtum,* "granary," or the *kalakkum,* "silo" (cf. the reference in Isa 42:22 to *ḥûrîm,* LXX *tamieia,* "storerooms," as a Babylonian place of detention). People could be detained in a palace "court of the guard" (*ḥăṣar hammaṭṭārâ,* Jer 32:2) equipped with a dungeon (*bôr,* Jer 38:6), in an annex of the temple (Jer 20:2) or in a private house. Other Hebrew terms, such as *masgēr* (cf. Aram *msgrt* in *KAI* 215.4, 8), "place of imprisonment," (*bêt*) *mišmār,* " (house of) custody," *bêt happĕquddōt* (Jer 52:11), *bêt hammahpeket,* "house of the stocks" (2 Chr 16:10), *kĕlûʾ,* and *kĕlîʾ,* remain too general for identification with specific buildings. More is known of the prisons mentioned in the NT (called *phylakē* or *desmōtērion*). They sometimes consisted of several cells (called *oikēmata,* Acts 12:7), the central one of which was considered the most secure and unpleasant (Acts 16:24).

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KAREL VAN DER TOORN

**PRISON, SPIRITS IN.** See SPIRITS IN PRISON.

**PROCESSIONS.** Ancient cultures throughout the world performed processions for any number of reasons: to avert disaster, to ensure the fertility of crops, to enthrone a king, to welcome a conquering ruler, to accompany a wedding or funeral, or to honor a deity. Religious processions, for the most part, fell into one of three categories: (1) the magic procession, a ritual meant to ensure a beneficial or prevent a harmful effect, (2) the offering procession, a presentation of gifts to the gods, and (3) the epiphany

procession, which featured the manifestation of a particular deity through the symbols or the image of that god, and which sometimes also included ritually reenacted myths of the deity.

Processions, a significant part of the cultus of ancient Israel, are depicted throughout the OT. The NT also has a few accounts of processions. In addition, the NT includes some passages where processional language is used figuratively. The processions portrayed in the Bible grew out of the ritual practices of the ANE culture and the Hellenized culture of the E Roman Empire. The present study will investigate the processions of the above-mentioned cultures insofar as they provide a context for understanding the processions in the Bible. (See Nussbaum *RAC*, 9: 908–1049; Bömer PW, 21: 1878–1974; Cross *CMHE*.)

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A. Processions in the ANE and Greco-Roman World
1. Processions in the ANE
2. Greek and Hellenistic Processions
3. The Roman Triumphal Procession
4. The Procession as a Literary Motif
B. Processions in the Bible
1. OT
2. NT

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**A. Processions in the ANE and Greco-Roman World**

**1. Processions in the ANE.** The majority of the processions in the ANE were epiphany processions which symbolically repeated and so reactualized the mythic actions of the gods. These epiphany processions usually occurred in the context of a religious festival. In fact, they represented the high point of the religious festivals in the ANE. One such procession, often compared to the Feast of Tabernacles procession and other rituals in the Hebrew Bible, was the procession which took place at the climax of the Babylonian *akîtu* festival. See AKITU; NEBO (DEITY).

The *akîtu* festival was a New Year Festival which reenacted the myth of creation. As such, it ritually reestablished the order of nature and society. The procession took place at the climax of the festival, featuring the king leading the statue of the god Marduk and the other major deities of the empire through Babylon to the *bit akîti* ("the temple of the *akîtu* festival"), which lay outside the city. The procession symbolized the victorious army of the gods who, together with Marduk, destroyed the forces of chaos prior to creation.

**2. Greek and Hellenistic Processions.** While epiphany processions dominated ANE cultic practices, offering processions were prominent in the classical Greek world. In Greece, as in the ANE, processions usually occurred in a larger ritual context as demonstrated by the fact that all of the great Greek processions were connected with festivals and, conversely, nearly every important festival contained a procession as part of its celebration. The close ties between the festivals and processions can be seen by the frequent use of the suffix *-phoria* in the festival names (e.g., Thesmophoria, Arrephoria, Oschophoria, Daphnephoria). This suffix is derived from the verb *pherein* ("to carry") signifying the bearing of specific offerings or cult objects in procession.

One of the most important processions in Athens was connected with the great Panathenaea, a festival held every four years. During this festival, a *peplos*, or robe, was paraded through the streets of Athens which the people of Athens presented, along with many other offerings, to Athena, the city's patroness. The Parthenon frieze, now in the British Museum, depicts this procession.

In the later Hellenistic culture and the Hellenized culture of the E portion of the Roman Empire, there was an increasing flexibility in the structure of religious processions. Although most of these processions were modeled after the processions of the classical Greek polis, there were, nevertheless, significant changes which resulted from various factors, such as the cultural influence of the East, the prosperity of the age, and the separation of the procession from the specific ritual function it had in the Greek city. Among the more important changes were: (1) processions coming into the hands of private cults or individuals who used them primarily for propagandistic purposes, (2) epiphany processions becoming the

dominant type of procession, and (3) processions often becoming more extravagant at the expense of their underlying religious meaning.

**3. The Roman Triumphal Procession.** Probably the most famous procession in Roman times was the Roman triumphal procession celebrated at Rome on the occasion of a victory over enemies of state. The Roman procession, the offspring of an ancient Etruscan ritual, was originally an epiphany procession, with the triumphant general appearing as the living image of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. By the time of the empire, however, the triumph was celebrated as an offering procession held to honor the gods in thanksgiving for the victory. The procession consisted of the entrance into the city of the Roman magistrates, the Senate, people carrying booty from the campaign, sacrificial bulls, and enemy captives (who were executed at the end of the ceremony), followed by the victorious general on a chariot leading his army.

**4. The Procession as a Literary Motif.** Given the importance of religious processions in Greco-Roman times, it is not surprising that the procession came to be used as a common literary motif. For example, the popular philosophers of the time condemned the procession for its extravagance and frivolity, and as a result, it became the metaphorical equivalent of the ostentatious ceremony devoid of content. Likewise, the triumphal procession was used figuratively in Latin literature and poetry. Seneca compares his dependence on his benefactor to the humiliating experience of being "led in triumph" (*Ben.* 2.11.1), whereas Ovid writes of love having vanquished and led him in a triumphal procession (*Am.* 1.2.27–30). On the other hand, religious writers, both Christian and non-Christian, used the image of the epiphany procession as a metaphor to compare the fact that the human person bears the image of God in the same way that the epiphany procession carries around the deity (*Ign. Eph.* 9.2; Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.59.2; *Midr. Ps* 17:8).

**B. Processions in the Bible**

**1. OT. a. Elements of OT Processions.** The elements of the ancient Israelite procession can be culled from various places in the OT. 2 Samuel 6 and 1 Kings 8 give specific accounts of cultic processions. The Psalms also contain numerous allusions to processions (Psalms 68; 47; 118). In addition to these passages, several etiological accounts of cultic processions from early OT times appear in Joshua 3–6. These passages demonstrate some of the most important elements of Israelite processions.

The focus of the Israelite procession was the ark. This is clearly evident in 2 Samuel 6, the most detailed processional account in the OT. Music also figured prominently in these processions. 2 Samuel 6 depicts musicians playing lyres (*knrwt*), harps (*nblym*), tambourines (*tpym*), systrums (*mnʿnʿym*), and cymbals (*ṣlṣlym*); whereas the procession in Ps 68:25–27 is accompanied by singers (*šrym*), musicians (*ngnym*), and young women playing tambourines (*twppwt*). 2 Sam 6:15 and Ps 47:6 also mention a "cry of homage" (*trwʿh*) performed by the people and the sounding of the ram's horn (*šwpr*).

Processions in Jerusalem entered the temple court through the Eastern gate, possibly on a highway (*mslwt*, Ps 84:6) built especially for these events. At the gate of the courtyard, prior to the entrance of the procession, an entrance liturgy was intoned. The liturgy consisted of a litany of questions and answers performed by those inside the courtyard and those in the procession (Psalms 15; 24; cf. Ps 118:19–20; Isa 26:1; 33:14–16).

As the above survey shows, certain details about processions in ancient Israel can be extracted from the biblical texts. Nevertheless, the origin, frequency, and significance of Israelite processions are disputed, primarily because of the uncertainty of the origin and significance of Israelite cultic practices. Two schools of thought, the Myth and Ritual school and the History of Redemption school, dominate the discussion.

The Myth and Ritual school traces its origin to Sigmund Mowinckel (1884–1965). From his analysis of the Psalms, Mowinckel speculated that the rituals of Israel dramatically reenacted a common ANE cosmogonic myth. Subsequent studies by students of the Myth and Ritual school have further developed Mowinckel's theory, filling out details by investigating similar festivals from surrounding cultures. They have emphasized the central role played by the Israelite king, positing him as Yahweh's representative who performed in the ritual and in history what Yahweh accomplished in the mythical and cosmic realm.

The History of Redemption school based its theory on form-critical investigation of early historical and covenant traditions. This school has interpreted the ritual practices of Israel as dramatically reenacting the significant events of Israel's history: the Exodus and Conquest.

Cross has attempted to synthesize these two viewpoints. In his studies on the background and function of Israelite ritual, Cross (1966; *CMHE*, 79–111) argues that "the apparently opposed views of the history of Israel's cultus prove to be complementary" (1966: 27). He contends that the cosmogonic elements in the cultus were from the earliest strata of Israelite history and experienced a revival in the cultus of the Monarchy, whereas the historical elements in the cultus originated at the time of the Israelite league.

**b. 2 Samuel 6.** Scholars have generally regarded the procession described in 2 Samuel 6 as part of the yearly celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles in ancient Israel despite the fact that they have disputed whether that festival was a celebration of cosmogonic events, of Israelite history, or of a combination of the two. Mowinckel (1962: 106–92) has claimed that the ancient autumn Feast of Tabernacles was originally a New Year Festival, a finding which would suggest that the Feast of Tabernacles shared many characteristics with the Canaanite and Babylonian New Year Festivals. Mowinckel further postulated that, as a New Year Festival, the Feast of Tabernacles featured as its primary event the enthronement of Yahweh. As in the Babylonian *akîtu* festival, one of the central elements of the autumnal Feast of Tabernacles was the procession. The Israelite procession featured the carrying of the ark, the symbol of Yahweh, to the temple, where Yahweh, having previously defeated the forces of chaos, was proclaimed king. Although Mowinckel saw this annual festal procession reflected in the description of the consecration festival of 2 Samuel 6, he also suggested that Psalm 132 is the "text" of this ritual procession (1962: 174).

Kraus (1965: 183–88) has agreed that an important Israelite ritual, culminating in a procession to the temple, occurred during the Feast of Tabernacles. Kraus has also connected this procession with that described in 2 Samuel 6 and, like Mowinckel, understood Psalm 132 to be "a selection of the ritual" (1965: 185). However, Kraus maintains that the procession to the temple was strictly a reenactment of historical events, specifically the arrival of the ark in the city chosen by Yahweh and the covenant with the Davidic dynasty.

Porter's work (1954) provides a compromise to these seemingly contrary positions. Porter suggests that the description of the procession and festival found in 2 Samuel 6 is the account of the festival which was celebrated at the enthronement of David in Jerusalem, while Psalm 132 reflects the cultic commemoration of that event in Israelite worship. According to Porter, the procession and festival depicted in 2 Samuel 6 were part of a Canaanite coronation rite introduced by David on the occasion of his accession to the throne in Jerusalem. As such, 2 Samuel 6 depicts the earthly exaltation of David which, in turn, reflects the cosmic exaltation of Yahweh. This coronation rite was later celebrated in the cultus, and it is the later celebration which is reflected in Psalm 132. The psalm recalls the historical hope of the perpetuation of the Davidic dynasty promised by Yahweh.

Miller and Roberts (1977) have challenged the assumption that 2 Samuel 6 is connected to the annual Feast of Tabernacles. Instead they have described 2 Samuel 6 as the account of a singular event, a procession celebrating the return of an exiled god to his city. They have cited as evidence parallels from Babylonian annals which describe Marduk's return, in procession, to the city of Babylon after an exile of eleven years.

More recently, McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB, 180–82) has suggested that 2 Samuel 6 is neither the account of a procession of the Feast of Tabernacles nor a depiction of the return of an exiled deity. Instead, he has proposed that this passage reflects a ceremony introducing a god into a new royal city.

**c. Processions of the Gilgal Sanctuary.** The acts of worship at the sanctuary of Gilgal, one of the most important sanctuaries in early OT times, apparently included several processions of the ark. The cultic legend of the crossing of the Jordan and of the entry into Canaan preserved in Joshua 3–4 bears all the marks of a ritual procession reenacting a significant event from Israelite history. In this account the ark led the procession (Josh 3:3) while the Israelite people followed at a specified distance (Josh 3:4). Kraus (1965: 159) has suggested that Psalm 114 is a hymn based on the cultic tradition of this passage.

Joshua 6 contains a report of the circumambulation of the ark with priests and trumpets (*šprwt*) around the city of Jericho. Since this passage reads more like an account of a cultic procession than a record of a military maneuver, it seems to be an etiological justification for the ritual practices of a later time, most likely a procession which ritually repeated Israel's conquest of the Canaanites.

**d. Processions in the Apocrypha.** There are several places in the Apocrypha which mention Hasmonean processions (1 Macc 13:5; 2 Macc 10:7). Additionally, 2 Macc 6:7 describes a Dionysus procession in which Antiochus Epiphanes forced the Jews to participate.

1 Macc 13:51 reports the triumphal entry of Simeon and the Jewish people into Jerusalem after enemy troops had been expelled from the Akra, the fortified citadel within the city. This procession featured musicians playing harps (*kinyrai*), cymbals (*kymbala*), and stringed instruments (*nablai*), while the people carried palm branches and sang hymns. 2 Macc 10:7 portrays a procession celebrating the purification of the temple. The latter procession is particularly interesting because it reflects both Jewish and Greek cultic practice, clearly demonstrating the flexibility of processions in the Hellenistic period. In this procession, the Jews carried branches, palm fronds, and *thyrsoi* or ivy-wreathed staffs. On the one hand, the Mishna reports that branches were carried in the Feast of Tabernacles procession (*Sukk.* 4:5). On the other hand, *thyrsoi* were well-known implements from the cult of Dionysus, ivy being sacred to that deity.

**2. NT. a. The Entry of Jesus into Jerusalem.** The most significant of the few processions depicted in the NT are the accounts of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (Matt 21:1–9; Mark 11:1–10; Luke 19:28–40; John 12:12–19). The Synoptic accounts portray an impromptu procession of Jesus and his followers entering the holy city, while John describes a large crowd of people from the city who have come out to meet Jesus and escort him into Jerusalem. All four evangelists portray Jesus as a royal figure. The mention of David in Matt 21:9 and Mark 11:10, Luke's insertion of *ho basileus* ("the king") into the quotation of Psalm 118, and John's addition of *ho basileus tou Israel* ("the king of Israel") to the quotation of the same psalm demonstrate that the procession represents the victorious entry of a king into his city. The leafy branches (*stibades*) in the Markan account and the palm branches (*ta baia ton phoinikon*) in the Johannine report are reminiscent of the foliage carried in the procession of the Feast of Tabernacles and the palm branches carried in the procession of Simeon into Jerusalem after Israel's enemies had been expelled from the Akra (1 Macc 13:51). See also HOSANNA. In the latter account, the Jews enter Jerusalem in procession in order to reclaim their city. Likewise, the evangelists portray Jesus as the messianic king who enters Jerusalem in the manner of a royal figure come to claim his city. The spreading of garments before Jesus in the Synoptic accounts calls to mind a similar incident reported in the OT at the acclamation of Jehu as king (2 Kgs 9:13). John's depiction of people coming out of Jerusalem to meet Jesus corresponds to Hellenistic convention. Rulers claiming sovereignty over a city were sometimes met outside the gates of that city by its citizens and escorted inside in procession.

**b. The Procession as a Literary Motif in the Pauline Literature.** While there are not many actual processions portrayed in the NT, there are several passages where the procession is employed figuratively. One passage, Col 2:15, uses the verb *thriambeuein*, a term associated with the Roman triumphal procession, to portray Christ leading the "principalities" (*archai*) and "powers" (*exousiai*) in procession. The verse shows Christ in the position of the triumphant general parading his defeated prisoners.

Language from Greco-Roman processions also appears in 2 Cor 2:14–6:13; 7:2–4 (Duff 1988). Throughout this section, Paul uses the motif of the procession to describe his apostolic ministry. The section begins in 2:14: "Thanks be to God, who in Christ always leads us in triumph (*thriambeuein*)." 2 Cor 2:14, like Col 2:15, allludes to the triumphal procession, as the use of *thriambeuein* clearly shows. However, Paul's meaning in 2 Cor 2:14 is disputed. Paul obviously describes himself as a participant in God's triumphal procession, but what exactly is his role? Some scholars would interpret 2 Cor 2:14 in the manner of Colossians. In this case Paul would be describing himself as a prisoner of war, defeated by God. Other scholars insist that this image is too harsh, and they would read the passage as comparing Paul to the soldiers in the victorious general's triumphant army. In 2 Cor 2:14b–16 Paul further describes himself as the "aroma" (*osme*) and "incense" (*euodia*) of Christ. This description recalls the fragrant substances that frequently accompanied epiphany processions in the ancient world. Paul depicts his

apostolic role in 2 Cor 4:10 with the verb *peripherein* ("to carry around"), a term often used to depict the bearing of cult objects or offering gifts in procession. He describes himself as "always carrying around (*peripherein*) the dying of Jesus" in his body. The self-description figuratively portrays Paul's missionary journeys as a cultic procession. Paul recognizes that his attempts to spread the gospel were not unlike the proselytizing efforts of the epiphany processions of the time. His self-characterization as "carrying around the dying of Jesus" calls to mind the display of cult objects or even the portrayal of scenes from the life of a deity in the epiphany processions of the Greco-Roman world. At the close of the section, in 2 Cor 6:13 and 7:2, Paul addresses the Corinthians directly: "Be wide open for us … Make room for us" (*platunthete kai hymeis … choresate hemas*). This language is reminiscent of the cry of the herald, the cultic official responsible for leading the procession. Apuleius, in his account of the Isis procession, illustrates the role of this official (Apul. *Met.* 273.13–14): "And there were many whose job it was to cry out, 'make the road clear for the sacred objects' " (*et pleriqui qui facilem sacris viam dari praedicarent*).

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**PROCHORUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Prochoros* (Προχορος)]. The name Prochorus, a rather uncommon Greek name at the time (Foakes Jackson and Lake 1933: 4, 66), occurs only in Acts 6:5, where Prochorus is one of seven gifted leaders "of good repute, full of the spirit and of wisdom" (Acts 6:3) who were chosen to look after the needs of the Hellenistic Jewish Christian widows who had been neglected in the "daily distribution" (Acts 6:1). Since all seven had Greek names and only one of them, Nicolaus, is explicitly called a proselyte, it is probable that the other six, including Parmenas, were either Jews born in the Diaspora or Palestinian Jews with Greek names (as would be the case with Jesus' disciples Andrew and Philip). The work of two of them, Stephen (Acts 6:8–8:2) and Philip (Acts 8:5–40; 21:8), makes it clear that the seven did not limit themselves to "serving tables" (Acts 6:2) but functioned for the Hellenists in the way that the Twelve did for the Hebrew Christians (see Simon 1958: 7).

While Prochorus is otherwise unknown in the Bible, tradition suggests that he was one of the Seventy (Luke 10:1; cf. Schermann 1907: 302–3), was the scribe to whom the Apostle John dictated the Fourth Gospel, became bishop of Nicomedia, and died a martyr at Antioch. A 5th-century work, the *Acts of John* (an orthodox work not to be confused with the earlier work of the same name by the gnostic Lucius) was written in his name (see Bruce *Acts* NICNT, 121). See JOHN, ACTS OF (BY PROCHORUS).

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**PROCONSUL.** See PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (ROMAN).

**PROCURATOR.** The title of a governor of equestrian rank for one of the lesser provinces of the Roman Empire, such as Judea, or a personal agent of the emperor. The Latin word *procurator* derives from the preposition *pro,* "on behalf of," and the verb *curo,* "to care for." A procurator is, then, one who acts to care for something on behalf of someone else. The only usage of the word in the 500-year period of the Roman Republic was as a technical juridical term signifying the legally authorized agent of an

individual charged with the conduct of business or the supervision of property on behalf of that individual. The term continued to have the same meaning throughout the imperial era and was generally so used. When applied to personal agents of the emperor, however, *procurator* could either indicate anyone acting on the emperor's business or signify a specific government officer whose service for the emperor warranted the official title of procurator (Jones 1960: 117–18).

Under the empire minor Roman provinces such as Judea, Thrace, Rhaetia, Noricum, and Mauretania were governed by officials designated procurators. These governors had risen through the military and civil service career ladder habituated by ambitious equestrians and, if successful in their procuratorial post, could anticipate advancement to one of the several prefectures which comprised the ultimate office for men of equestrian rank. The establishment of equestrian procuratorships has traditionally been linked to the inception of the principate with Augustus' division of the empire for administrative purposes into imperial and senatorial provinces (Pflaum 1950: 1–56, passim; Salmon 1968: 74–94). In light of recently discovered epigraphic evidence, that view is no longer tenable. A variety of inscriptions indicate that during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, the later procuratorial provinces were in fact administered by equestrians with the title of *praefectus.* Jones (1960: 117–25) not only calls attention to this information, but rightly notes the inconsistency of believing two emperors so meticulous in their observation of constitutional formalities to have bestowed on government officials titles which grew out of private administrative or household functions. Accordingly, prefect must be assumed to have been the proper title of equestrian provincial governors, at least until the reign of Claudius, when inscriptional evidence attests the usage in this context of the title procurator.

This is particularly significant in respect to Pontius Pilate and the governorship of Judea. Pilate has frequently been identified as procurator because of Tacitus' (*Ann.* 15.44) anachronistic use of the term when writing a century later, and because Josephus (*JW* 2.8.1; 9.2 §§117, 169) describes him as *epitropos,* the normal Greek rendering of the Latin *procurator.* Of course, Josephus is prone to identify the governors of Judea in a rather careless and imprecise fashion, sometimes designating the same individual by several different titles (Jones 1960: 119). Greater attention should be devoted to the more contemporary record of Philo (*Gaium*), who properly identifies Pilate as *praefectus Iudaeae,* and to the telling evidence of a recently unearthed inscription (*AE* 1963 no. 104) which demonstrates Pilate's official title to have been *praefectus Iudaeae.*

In addition to procuratorial governors possessing within their provinces full civil and criminal jurisdictional powers, there were other imperial officials as well as private agents of the emperor who bore the designation of procurator. In large and important provinces of the emperor, governed in his stead by imperial legates (*legati Augusti pro praetore*), procurators were assigned as the chief financial officer of the province, paralleling the role of quaestors in senatorial provinces and having similar authority to collect taxes and tribute and to pay troops (Dio Cass. 53.15.3; Strab. 3.167). Procurators sometimes were also found in provinces administered by the Senate, but their role in such instances was without public authority and served only to administer and oversee imperial properties in the capacity of personal agents of the emperor. Finally, the term *procurator* was applied to other personal representatives of the emperor, who were often commoners or even freedmen, with responsibility for directing business enterprises or managing an emperor's personal holdings in Italy or the provinces (Millar 1964: 180–87). The activities of specific individuals in any level imperial procuratorial post are the subject of a detailed three-volume study by H. G. Pflaum (1960). See also PRAETORIUM.

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**PROLOGUES, GOSPEL (ANTI-MARCION).** See ANTI-MARCION (GOSPEL) PROLOGUES.

**PRONOUNCEMENT STORY.** See APOPHTHEGM.

**PROPAGANDA.** Propaganda, i.e., the deliberate (albeit mostly dissimulated) spreading of ideas, information, rumors, etc. in order to support one's own political (or religious) cause, to acquire more proselytes, and in the last analysis to gain more power, has become a common practice in the modern world as a consequence of the availability of mass media (press, radio, television). It is being studied therefore especially with reference to the modern world (Katz 1954; Lasswell and Leites 1965; Gordon 1971; Domenach 1973) and in the frame of contemporary political language (Dovring 1959; Faye 1972; Klaus 1971; Robin 1973). Even though the common meaning as "forgery," "falsehood," or the like is certainly inaccurate, it is true that propaganda is more interested in effectiveness than in correctness, and its informations are biased as a result of unfair selection, cunning deformation, and subtle connotation. The "rate of truth" necessary for an effective propaganda (a patently false statement would be almost useless) is a function of the free circulation of ideas and information in the society. The most coarse propaganda is produced by totalitarian governments (and is mostly studied in the Nazi, Fascist, Communist cases); in capitalist societies, commercial propaganda (advertising) is most widespread (also in "hidden" forms).

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A. Propaganda in the Ancient World
B. Propaganda in the ANE
C. Propaganda in the OT

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**A. Propaganda in the Ancient World**

Propaganda is not limited to the contemporary world, however (Ellul 1976; Thomson 1977; Lasswell, Lerner, and Speier 1979). Since the constitution of complex political entities (based on a differentiation of socio-economic roles and rewards), the ruling elites have always pursued political consent and social cohesion by adding the instruments of persuasion to those of repression: in general, in order to confirm the actual rule, or in particular, in order to help the acceptance of new (possibly unpopular) legal or administrative measures or of irregular personal positions. Later on, since religions of universalistic extent have come into being (endowed with spreading power beyond their original communities), also a religious propaganda has become common practice (proselytism). Ancient propaganda is best studied with reference to the Roman world (Sordi 1974, 1975, 1976).

**B. Propaganda in the ANE**

The "despotic" states of the ANE (especially Egypt and Assyria) are a fertile field for political propaganda (Posener 1956; Williams 1964; Liverani 1973a; Finkelstein 1979; Oppenheim 1979). Sometimes propaganda is addressed to foreign states: cf. the explicit case of a letter sent by a middle-Assyrian king to the vassals of the Hittites after a victory over the Hittite king (Lackenbacher 1982); or the largely biased reconstruction of past relationships in the historical introduction to the Hittite treaties (Liverani 1973b); or the clear apologetic tone in the war declarations; or the pro-Babylonian reconstruction of events in the "Chronicle P" as contrasted to the pro-Assyrian one in the "Synchronistic History" (TCS 5: 50–59); or finally the elaborate piece of political propaganda that is the "Tukulti-Ninurta Epic" (Ebeling 1938; Machinist 1976, 1978).

More often the propaganda is directed to the inner subjects of the state. Usurpers are obviously in need of propagating apologetic texts in which they underscore their heroic behavior, or their justice, or their divine support—so counterbalancing the negative effect of an illegitimate seizure of power (Telipinu: Liverani 1977; Idrimi: Liverani 1974; Ḫattusilis: Archi 1971; Hoffner 1975; Assyrian kings: Tadmor 1983). But, more in general, the royal inscriptions can be viewed as pieces of propaganda and are in fact effective in spreading the political ideologies of the respective kingdoms, a task which becomes more necessary with kingdoms engaged in "imperialistic" expansion, like Egypt in the New Kingdom (Bleiberg

1985–86; Grimal 1986) and especially Assyria (Liverani 1979; Fales 1981; Garelli 1982). In their celebrative effort, the royal inscriptions reveal all the biased deformations typical of propaganda in all times: only the successes are reported, and never the losses or the defeats; "our" reasons are always good, while those of the enemies are wicked; the king who is author of the text constitutes the apex (in glory, bravery, power, justice, and the gods' favor) in the course of history for his own country and for the entire world. In Egypt the literary genre of the *Königsnovelle* becomes the stereotyped form of the royal self-celebration (Herrmann 1938; lastly Spalinger 1982; and see Herrmann 1953–54; Whybray 1968: 96–105 on its influence in the OT). The royal inscriptions displayed on the monumental buildings are not the only ones to convey messages of propaganda: royal hymns have the same purpose yet a different audience; prayers to the gods can contain pieces of political propaganda; and quite a number of "literary" or "historiographic" texts have the purpose of celebrating and propagating the ruling ideology.

Of course the written documents as such can be read only by a small minority in the populace—even though this is the minority engaged in public activities (scribes, administration and cult officials, members of the court). The texts keep in any case the most detailed formulations of the political ideology. More generic, but more widespread pieces of propaganda are also available: the royal titulary is a privileged carrier for propagandistic values; the periodic amnesties or debt remissions have the clear intent of captivating the popular favor; the public parades of troops or of foreign booty have a celebrative effect (cf. Aldred 1970); and the same holds true for the public reading of "letters to the god" reporting the king's victories (Oppenheim 1960). Even the names given to newly established settlements have generally a celebrative flavor; and the royal genealogies have in some cases been forged to attribute legitimacy and nobility to kings of doubtful origin. Besides the written, oral, and ceremonial propaganda, art and architecture can also convey similar effects. The monumental buildings (temple and royal palaces) in the capital city celebrate the king's power and his good relations with the divine sphere; in some cases the sculptured (or painted) decoration is such to underscore the power of the sovereign or to discourage the enemies' resistance (Egypt: Tefnin 1981; Assyria: Reade 1979; Winter 1981; Persia: Root 1979); even the different building materials, coming from distant regions, celebrate the worldwide spread of the king's fame.

**C. Propaganda in the OT**

If compared to the propagandistic apparatus of the Near Eastern empires, ancient Israel is noteworthy for the lack of an explicit propaganda. This is obvious for the nonmonarchic periods, especially when the society was ordered according to a "tribal" pattern and the political consent was based on a network of kinship relations. But this seems true also for the kingdoms of Israel and Judah (and especially for the most glorious reigns of David and Solomon): no royal inscriptions are extant from those kingdoms (in contrast to the contemporary Aramaic, Phoenician, and Neo-Hittite states in the same area; cf., e.g., Fales 1979); no iconic representations of the Israelite kingship are known (and the iconic representation is generally a depressed topic in ancient Israel); even the public buildings so far excavated are not conspicuous for their monumental features. It has been recently suggested that the lack of royal inscriptions (the most obvious channel for propaganda) is a result of their intentional destruction, connected with a (periodical?) rewriting of former history by the ruling political circles (Garbini 1986). This seems practically impossible. A more acceptable explanation should take into account the following elements: (1) no royal palaces have been archaeologically recovered so far (in Jerusalem or elsewhere); (2) Israel and Judah were relatively small (in wealth and power) in comparison to other Near Eastern kingdoms; (3) a peculiar "tribal" legacy survived all along their history; (4) an especially strong relation of dependence on the national god was established in the course of time.

Whereas no pieces of propaganda are extant from the archaeological record of ancient Israel, it cannot be denied that the OT as a whole can be considered as a huge propagandistic work and that many texts or passages constitutive of the OT (or embedded in it) display a more or less clear propagandistic purpose, both in the political and the religious field. The study of OT passages as "pieces of propaganda" has generally won a scarce success, however. This is understandable, since a negative connotation is always applied to the term, and we are as prompt to find out the elements of forgery or distortion in the others'

propaganda as we are unable to recognize similar features in the formulation of our own ideology. Even more, the appreciation of the OT as "divine word" (necessarily built up of "true" statements) has discouraged a similar approach, both in the Jewish and Christian circles and in the scientific world largely belonging to such religious environments. Yet the kind of literary and ideological analysis elaborated for the study of propaganda (and of political language in general) could also be applied to the study of some literary forms or specific passages in the OT, in order to point out the procedures employed in expressing the political and religious ideologies of the time (see esp. Whitelam 1984, with further bibliography).

The most obvious field of application is the prophetic corpus. An old proposal (Winckler 1903) to consider the prophets as political activists was generally criticized and discarded (e.g., Elliger 1935). In more recent times, even though the term "propaganda" is seldom used in its explicit form, some studies on the political aspects of the prophetic books do in fact contain pertinent observations (e.g., Kraus 1952; Gottwald 1964; Dietrich 1976). In particular the oracles "against the Nations" (and in general the "weal" and "woe" oracles) are obvious pieces of political propaganda, certainly composed in the frame of a multidirectional network of charges and countercharges, apologies, and celebrations, in the Syro-Palestinian world threatened by the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Egyptian empires but still engaged in internal struggles. The same holds true for the inner political debate in Israel and in Judah, especially facing the problem of the political strategy to be chosen toward Assyria and Babylon: the prophecies are clearly the form of the local political debate of the time. On the other side the famous case of the *rab-šāqēh* (2 Kgs 18:17–37) shows how the Assyrian propaganda was received by the Israelites (Cohen 1979; Machinist 1983; cf. more in general Cogan 1974; Childs 1967).

The royal propaganda toward the inner population may have left some trace in the "royal" Psalms: these have been mostly studied in their obvious religious relevance (as expression of "divine kingship"), yet an appreciation of them as political messages cannot simply be discarded. This focus applies even better to the prophecies intended to legitimize the king, like the Nathan prophecy (2 Samuel 7). Also some remains of "royal inscriptions" (or more properly of "royal apologies") are to be found in the historical books: the story of the rise and enthronization of David (1 Samuel 16–2 Samuel 4) contains obvious apologetic features (as expected in the case of a usurper) that can go back to materials propagated by the king himself or by his circle in order to support his legitimacy (Weiser 1966; McCarter 1980; Whitelam 1984). This is true also of the "Succession Narrative" (2 Samuel 9–20; 1 Kings 1–2) since Solomon's legitimacy was in need of some justification too (Whybray 1968: 50–55; Würthwein 1979). Another case has been studied from this point of view: the story of Joash (2 Kings 11–12) clearly goes back to an autobiographical inscription of the kind well known from the Idrimi statue and from related Hittite texts (Liverani 1974). Finally, a clear case of propagandistic forgery is to be seen in the episode of the old manuscript of the "Law" discovered in the temple in Josiah's times (2 Kgs 22:3–23:3): a stratagem commonly used in order to bestow the authoritativeness of time on a newly composed normative text. More cases could be singled out; and the large units in the historical texts can also be studied from the point of view of the propagandistic procedures employed in order to support the respective political or religious ideologies (a vein best represented by Smith 1971).

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**PROPHECY.** This article consists of four entries. The first is a discussion of prophecy and related phenomena in the ANE, with particular attention to the "prophetic" letters from the Mesopotamian site of Mari. The second is a survey of prophecy in Israel before the Exile. The third examines postexilic prophecy, and the fourth entry treats prophecy in the NT and early Christianity.

## *ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN PROPHECY*

The label "prophetic" has been applied to various texts and roles known from the ANE. The texts so described involve predictions, or apparent predictions, eschatology or apocalyptic, social or religious criticism, and commissioned messages from deities. The roles include those of ordinary priests (Egypt), technical diviners (Western Asia), and those who speak directly under orders from a deity. The comparative discussion of prophecy is guided by whichever particular definition of prophecy is used. For some, the prophet is the critic of society; for others, the prophet is the announcer of the future; for yet others, the prophet is the charismatically authorized messenger. Although necessarily referring to materials reflecting this wider range of definitions, this entry focuses on prophecy understood as inspired speech at the initiative of a divine power, speech which is clear in itself and commonly directed to a third party.

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A. Syria-Palestine
1. North Syria: Ebla and Emar
2. Ugarit
3. Phoenicia
4. Aram
5. Ammon

B. Anatolia

C. Mesopotamia
1. Uruk (Southern Babylonia)
2. Mari (Middle Euphrates)
3. Ishchali (East Tigris)
4. Assyria

D. Egypt


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### A. Syria-Palestine

**1. North Syria: Ebla and Emar.** The Ebla texts, dating to the middle of the 3d millennium B.C., have been cited as evidence of prophecy, but those claims have yet to be substantiated. From Emar (Meskene), on the Middle Euphrates, texts from ca. 1300 B.C. indicate an office with the Akkadian designations *anabbiʾātu* and *munabbiʾātu* associated with the goddess Išhara. The editor (Arnaud 1986: 118, 360, 375, 377, 403; cf. 386) translates this title of office "prophetesses," but nothing is indicated of the role; cf. Akk *munambû,* "wailer."

**2. Ugarit.** Among the Ugaritic texts there are announcements of future blessing that have been labeled "prophetic" (van Selms 1971) as well as references to technical divination that have been referred to as "prophecy," but there is no evidence as yet for a divinely commissioned messenger.

**3. Phoenicia.** The Bible has many references to prophets of the Phoenician god Baal (and even of Asherah), using for them the same Hebrew term, *nābîʾ,* used for Israelite prophets. The Baal prophets share ecstatic behavior with the Israelite prophets, but they are not identified as giving oracles. However, the Egyptian report of Wen-Amun (*ANET,* 25–29; *AEL* 2: 224–30) states that while Wen-Amun was in Byblos (ca. 1090 B.C.), one of the Phoenician prince's young attendants became ecstatic and delivered an oracle authenticating Wen-Amun's mission from the god Amun (*ANET* 26; *AEL* 2: 225). Primarily because of these references it was at one time argued that biblical prophecy derived from Canaanite (Phoenician) prophecy.

**4. Aram.** Noteworthy among the small corpus of Old Aramaic inscriptions is that of Zakkur, king of Hamath and Luash (ca. 800 B.C.). While besieged in one of his cities, Zakkur records that "I lifted up my hands to Baal-Sha[may]n and Baal-Shamay[n] answered me [and spoke] to me by means of visionaries *(ḥzyn)* and … *(ʿddn).* Baal-Shamayn [said] to me, 'Fear not, for I have made [you kin]g [and I will st]ay with you and rescue you'." The text does not indicate how the speakers received their message. Presumably this classic salvation oracle in response to the king's petition derived from prophetic inspiration; note the title *ḥzyn,* as with the Balaam text (below), parallel with *ḥôzeh,* "visionary," frequently used of biblical prophets.

**5. Ammon.** The plaster inscription from ca. 700 B.C., found at Tell Deir ʿAlla in 1967 refers to Balaam, son of Beor, a "visionary of the gods" *(ḥāzēh ʾilāhīn)* who saw a vision during the night and obtained a somewhat enigmatic revelation from a group of numinous beings *(šdyn).* This is reinforced by Num 24:4–5, in which Balaam, son of Beor, "hears the words of God, sees a vision of the Almighty *(maḥăzê šadday).*"

**B. Anatolia**

In 14th-century B.C. texts of King Mursilis II and of his uncle (?) Kantuzilis, who seek relief from plagues or more personal sufferings, there are inventories of means of divine communication. It is in these inventories—cf. 1 Sam 28:6 (dreams, lots, and prophets)—that references to inspired speakers occur. In addition to direct communication to the petitioner through a dream, the deity might use indirect communication through incubation, liver divination, an "inquirer-sibyl" (ENSI), or a so-called "Old Woman" (ŠU.GI); or—in the case of Mursilis II—a "man of god" *(šiuniyanza)* might " (come and) declare" the cause of suffering (Lebrun 1980: 113, 160, 209; Kammenhuber 1976: 16–17, 19–23). Although there is no further significant information about this "man of god," the Hittite texts are important as an attestation of the dispersion of such phenomena and as evidence for such activity in the latter part of the mid-2d millennium B.C.

**C. Mesopotamia**

A rich variety of texts comes from Mesopotamia, including Babylonia, Assyria, and the domain of the Mari texts, even though the Mari texts relate to an area reaching into NW Syria. Among the texts, a number have been published under the label " (Akkadian) prophecies" (Grayson 1975: 13–37; Hunger and Kaufman 1975), one of them being the "Uruk prophecy." These texts, though not of a uniform nature, essentially contain prophecies *ex eventu,* i.e., cast as predictions (e.g., "a king will arise …"), and are allied with the omen literature. The prophecies may even take the form of first person speeches of a deity (Marduk) or a divinized king (Shulgi). In some texts the wide-reaching time perspective is more reminiscent of apocalyptic (Hallo 1966; Kaufman 1977). Revelatory intermediaries are not involved.

**1. Uruk (Southern Babylonia).** A text from ca. 1850 B.C., distinct from the "Uruk prophecy" (above), reports a visit to an unnamed person by a deity who speaks directly to him concerning the future of Uruk and its ruler, whom the deity will appoint. The person responds to the deity and reports to the king "the words which Ishtar spoke to me" (*ANET,* 604). The text is not well enough preserved to indicate whether or not it is an example of inspired speaking.

**2. Mari (Middle Euphrates).** From the several thousand texts now published from Mari and dating to the first half of the 18th century B.C., there are many references to prophetic activity, using a variety of titles (*ANET,* 623–32; Huffmon 1970). Over a dozen deities are involved; and some eighteen prophets are named, apart from many others who are unnamed. Both male and female prophets are cited. For those with cultic titles, about four-fifths are male. Those without such titles are about evenly divided between men and women.

The small size of the corpus does not allow differentiation among the various titles in terms of specific roles, although there are some suggestive contrasts between those prophets with titles and those without them. This prophetic activity, regarded as marginal from the viewpoint of Mari court circles, doubtless to some extent reflects the Amorite cultural substratum. In keeping with that, the geographical range of references extends from Mari and nearby Terqa along the Euphrates (note Emar, above) to Aleppo in the west. The reference to Shamash of Sippar suggests activity even in Babylonia, although the reference may

be to the cult of Shamash of Sippar within the Mari region. With the 1988 publication of the first two parts of *Archives Royales de Mari, XXVI,* the corpus of Mari Letters expanded by almost 500 new letters, and the number of "prophetic" letters increased by more than 20 (to a total of about 50, depending on the criteria for selection). Additionally, almost all of the previously published "prophetic" texts were reedited, frequently with important new readings. (One of the reports was formerly interpreted as a metallurgical text!) With the greatly enlarged corpus of letters, not to mention possible integration with data from the thousands of economic and administrative texts, the picture of prophecy in the Mari archives is in the process of considerable adjustment. The editor's introductory discussion offers an important new beginning (Durand 1988: 377–412, 455–63).

**a. Prophets with Titles.** These persons are associated with particular deities, though at times they communicate requests from other deities as well. The frequent bestowal on them of garments and other items from the royal stores—and at times their requests for such items—point to their regularized, significant status, analogous to that of typical letter couriers.

**(1) *Āpilu/āpiltu*, "answerer."** An ordinary Akkadian form, this title for both men and women seems restricted to the Mari texts and lexical compilations. The title implies that the person provides an answer to an explicit or implicit inquiry, although the texts do not exemplify the process. The "answerer" is normally associated with a specific deity, though a unique letter from the *āpilu* of Shamash of Sippar conveys requests for Shamash, Addu of Aleppo, and Nergal of Hubshalum, while mentioning also Dagan of Terqa (Charpin and Durand 1985: 332–33). Two texts mention the receipt of royal rations, suggesting that the "answerer" had an official standing. One of the most important letters, sent from Aleppo, concerns the "answerer" of Addu, lord of Kallassu, who "reclaims the territory of Alahtum as property" (Lafont 1984; the passage was previously translated "is standing guard over the tent-shrine of Alahtum to [be] an estate" [Malamat 1980], illustrating the problems of translation). This same letter refers to "what the 'answerers' (pl.) have said." The writer adds that when he had been in Mari itself, he had sent on to the king "whatever word the 'answerer' (male) or the 'answerer' (female) would say." The "answerer" is thus someone who "came and spoke" or "got up (in the temple) and spoke," addressing a court official with a message for the king.

The new texts include even an *āpilu* of Marduk, in Babylon—presumably a Mari designation for a different Babylonian title or a Mari functionary acting for the god of Babylon—and such initiatives as demanding a skillful scribe to write down the news which the deity had sent for the king. (That letter itself is now published in full [Durand 1988: 417–19].) The "answerer" can travel about in the king's realm and apparently can provoke oracles.

**(2) *Assinnu*, "cult functionary."** Although in later texts this title refers to a member of the cultic staff of Ishtar, connected especially with singing—perhaps even a eunuch—the Mari occurrences are much earlier and their meaning is uncertain. The two *assinnu* attested are affiliated with Annunitum, a form of Ishtar. One of them speaks in a state of ecstasy. Another *assinnu* apparently resides in an abandoned and partly ruined sanctuary.

**(3) *Muḫḫû/muḫḫūtu*, "ecstatic."** Deriving from the Akkadian root meaning "to become ecstatic," this is the most common prophetic title at Mari. The range of behavior may involve self-wounding, as suggested by a text from Ugarit ("my brothers bathe with their own blood, like *maḫḫû* [pl.]"). "Ecstatics" are associated with the deities Nergal, Itur-Mer, Ninhursaga, Annunitum, and especially Dagan. One Mari text detailing the cult of Ishtar mentions that a *muḫḫû* "is not [ …] to become ecstatic" and hints at a connection of the *muḫḫû* with watered-down beer. Otherwise the Mari texts do not explicitly point to ecstatic behavior. Rather, the "ecstatic" "gets up/comes and speaks," sometimes in association with sacrifice. Also, it is an "ecstatic" who says "I will continue to answer *(atanappal),*" using a verb related to the title *āpilu.* Like the "answerer," the "ecstatic" occasionally receives garments from the royal stores (in five texts). One Mari "ecstatic," Irra-gamil, associated with Nergal, may even be the same person as Irra-gamil, servant of Nergal, known from a contemporary cylinder seal (Anbar 1976: 63). From Larsa in S Babylonia there are references to the female slave of the *maḫḫû.*

One report (partly restored) involves a person who becomes ecstatic, a person whose name is identified elsewhere as that of an "ecstatic" (Durand 1988: 398, 451–52). Such behavior for an "ecstatic" is otherwise specified only in the Ishtar Ritual Text from Mari. Also, a strikingly assertive "ecstatic" requests a lamb from the king, which he proceeds to eat raw—possibly reflecting an oath ceremony. He then assembles the elders at a city gate to hear his message and ends by requesting a garment, which he is provided (Durand 1988: 434–35).

**(4) *Nabû,* "diviner (?)."** This appears for the first time as a "prophetic" title in the Mari texts (Durand 1988: 444–45). A Mari functionary advises the king that he went to meet with a Hanaean leader. He then assembled the *nabû* (pl.) of the Hanaeans and had an omen taken on the king's behalf, putting a binary question to them and obtaining, apparently, a favorable answer. The new Mari title parallels the Hebrew *nābî,* but little is known of the function. It may be a question of conventional divination.

**(5) *Qam (m)ātum,* unclear title.** The reading *qabbātu (?),* "speaker (fem.)," an attractive interpretation confidently accepted by the major dictionaries in correction of the original editor's reading, *qamātum,* is no longer tenable. The reading *qam (m)ātum* is confirmed by collation and a further example—possibly two. Durand (1988: 396) suggests that the term refers to a prophetess with a characteristic hairstyle.

**b. Prophets without Titles.** Those without titles include a slight majority of women, one of whom was a high official at Mari. Also, a majority of the revelations derive from dreams—a means not yet attested for those prophets with titles; one revelation involves ecstasy. The locus of revelation is commonly a temple.

Also associated with untitled persons are some letters concerning divine revelations of unclear derivation (*ANET,* 629–30, 631). A divine word is sought through "a man and a woman," or Dagan speaks in some unspecified fashion. These texts may conceal prophetic activity, or forms of technical divination may be involved.

Dreams predominate among untitled prophets. In a well-known text the dreamer heard an administrative priest *(šangû)* speaking; in one of the new texts the dreamer reports the speech of two "ecstatics," apparently deceased. But generally the private persons report more directly.

**c. The Context of the Oracles.** A number of the texts provide information about the context of the message. The typical locus of revelation is a temple, either in reality or by dream visit. In some texts, the revelation by an "answerer" or an "ecstatic" seems to be a response to a sacrifice, whether favorable or unfavorable, but there is no clear example of a revelation in response to a petition of despair. One correspondent advises the king that " (when) I offered a sacrifice to Dagan for the life of my lord, the 'answerer' [masc.] of Dagan of Tuttul got up and spoke as follows, saying, 'O Babylon, … (here follows an oracle against Babylon).' " Another correspondent advises that the king's sacrifice has arrived and has been presented, apparently successfully, yet "the 'ecstatic' [masc.] got up before Dagan and spoke as follows: 'I (Dagan) am not given pure water to drink. Write to your lord so that he may give me pure water to drink.' " Most such oracles, however, do not specify cultic prompting.

Another text, referring to a female "ecstatic," suggests a sequence of messages: "O Zimri-Lim, do not go on a campaign. Stay in Mari and I will continue to answer."

The message is usually communicated to a royal official, but in two cases a temple administrator *(šangû),* who is not a cultic priest, serves as intermediary with the royal official. The *šangû* presumably had some jurisdiction over such temple activity. One letter even reports that a *šangû* himself had a revelatory dream.

A number of the oracles are public, even in the presence of the assembly of the elders. The connection of the oracles with times of political and personal (royal) crisis is even clearer with the publication of the additional texts. Also, the initiatives that the prophets can take—especially the "official" speakers—are striking.

**d. The Content of the Oracles.** Because of the nature of the Mari archives, the oracles deal almost exclusively with the king's affairs. Commonly the prophet communicates a message from a deity speaking in the first person, often referring to being "sent" by the deity. The message may begin with a formula such as "thus says [the deity X]." The content is generally an assurance to the king or a warning

to the king of dangers (and an assurance of divine assistance); but a number of messages deviate from this pattern.

A unique letter from an *āpilu* contains cultic requests from several deities and promises support for the king. In other cases the king is chided for not meeting the cultic expectations of the deity—failing to provide "pure water" or neglecting the funerary offering for a predecessor or ancestor. More serious charges come from Addu of Aleppo and Addu of Kallassu: the king, who owes his throne to the deity, has been inattentive in offerings and in recognition of the deity's claims—what Addu has given, Addu can take away. Moreover, the deity does not speak in terms of self-interest, for the king has a fundamental obligation to deal justly in his realm with all who appeal to him. An obedient king will be richly rewarded (Lafont 1984).

At least one oracle is directed to a different audience. The citizens of Terqa are warned through a young man's dream revelation from Dagan that they should not (re)build a certain house (temple?).

There is some sense of community among the "prophets." The proverb "Under the straw, water flows" is now attested in two messages by a *qam (m)ātum* and one by an "ecstatic." The oracles center on the king's person and his political affairs, but include some rather personal elements, such as the notice to the king that his newly born (?) daughter has died, just as predicted by an "ecstatic" while in a trance state. Cultic requests are prominent. A deity advises the king, through a woman (as summarized; title perhaps lost), that "I have been safeguarding you since your youth; and I have continually led you in good ways," so send me what I ask for.

**e. The Status of the Oracles.** The marginal character of these prophetic revelations is underscored by the frequency with which the king's correspondents either report on means of confirmation which they employed, including technical divination, or encourage the king to examine the matter by means of technical divination. Several letters specify that a portion of the prophet's hair and a piece from the fringe of the prophet's garment are being sent on to the king. These items surely were intended for use in a confirmation process involving technical divination, as confirmed by a contemporary text from Karana (Dalley, Walker, and Hawkins 1976: 64–65, pl. 19).

The new texts show the prophets as rather assertive at times; together with administrative texts, new texts indicate a significant personal status for the titled prophets. Yet the prophets continue to be one channel of divine communication among others, and their messages continue to be sent on either with supportive statements or with the recommendation to seek a means for confirmation.

**3. Ishchali (East Tigris).** A number of OB texts from Babylonia proper evidence the title *muḫḫûm/muḫḫūtum,* at times associated with specific deities, although there is no explicit indication of oracular activity. Recently published texts from Ishchali, however, may indicate prophetic practice. Two letters are addressed directly to the king by the goddess Kititum, a manifestation of Ishtar. The best-preserved letter contains a message with similarities to some of the Mari prophecies (Ellis 1987). Unfortunately, the means of transmission are not indicated. The text may report a message from an individual intermediary, as at Mari, or a message obtained in response to a technical divination process.

**4. Assyria.** Especially characteristic of the reigns of Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) and Ashurbanipal (668–627 B.C.) is their special interest in a wide variety of modes of communication with the divine powers, including prophetic-type speakers. Esarhaddon adjures vassals not to conceal anything they hear that is derogatory to the crown prince, including any word from "a proclaimer" *(raggimu),* "an ecstatic" *(maḫḫû),* or "a dream interpreter." The existence of prophetic revelations in particular may reflect the influence of Aramean culture (Tadmor 1982: 458), though none of the titles is Aramean in origin. Unlike the Mari texts, the NA texts do not point to a marginal status for the prophetic speakers. Again, the focus of activity is the royal court. Many of the prophets, at least, seem to be attached to the court.

Many of the texts, some of which have been known for almost a century, present special linguistic problems and have been inadequately published. Careful study must await new publication of these important texts.

**a. Prophets with Titles. (1) *Maḫḫû/maḫḫūtu*, "ecstatic."** This title, in this spelling, is known from the OAkk period on, and as a variant of Mari *muḫḫû/muḫḫūtu* (above) provides the only continuity with the

older titles. Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal make frequent reference to messages from "ecstatics." Though these messages are at times associated with dreams sent by Ishtar, no verbatim messages are reported. The "ecstatic," predominantly male in the NA period, has a role in some rituals. The character of the oracular activity of "ecstatics" remains basically unknown.

**(2)** ***Raggimu/raggimtu,*** **"proclaimer."** This title, which also occurs as a divine epithet, is first attested in a MA text—without specification of function. In the 7th century B.C. the "proclaimer" delivers prophetic messages—one text contains two series of three oracles each addressed to Esarhaddon, one series from Asshur, and one from Ishtar; another contains an oracle from Ninlil/Mullissu for Ashurbanipal (Strong 1894). Also, the "proclaimer" plays a role, whether by agreement or by presumption, in connection with the substitute king ritual. Another reference suggests that "proclaimers" might be active as a group. Presumably the "proclaimer" had status within the cult, though there is no specific information concerning this.

**(3)** ***Šabrû,*** **"revealer."** One lexical text identifies this title with that of the "proclaimer." To be separated from the homonym referring to an administrative officer, this title derives from Akk *barû,* "to see." The "revealer" has a message dream—apparently through incubation—from Ishtar and reports it to Ashurbanipal. The LÚ.KAL, who has a message dream from Sin intended for Ashurbanipal, closely parallels the "revealer" (*ANET,* 606; Oppenheim 1956: 249–50).

**(4)** ***Šēlūtu,*** **" (female) votary."** Literally "someone sent up (for a deity)," this title identifies one of the speakers in a long collection of individual oracles for Esarhaddon (*ANET,* 605), a woman presumably devoted by the king to the deity. The title is known from contemporary contracts recording dedications to Ninlil/Mullissu. As a "votary" given by the queen, one contract notes, no creditor or legal adversary can seize her, though she is married.

**b. Prophets without Titles.** Two major collections of individual oracles for Esarhaddon are identified as being from the mouth of so-and-so, from such and such a city—apart from the one oracle from a "votary." One speaker even appears in both collections (and, for that matter, uses some identical terminology, otherwise unknown). The absence of a title for all speakers but one in these two collections suggests the lack of an official position in the cult. These speakers, male and female in roughly equal proportion, are especially—but not exclusively—associated with Ishtar of Arbela.

**c. The Context of the Oracles.** Virtually all of the oracles can fit within the pattern indicated in the fullest record of the context of an oracle. A crisis situation—minor or major—prompts a complaint to or an inquiry of a deity, who responds with a message of reassurance. Communication of the oracle to the king (or queen mother) may be oral or written down, deposited in the temple, and presented to the king in connection with ritual acts. The fullest report says, "Now these rebels have incited against you, they have made you come out, they have surrounded you. You (Esarhaddon) opened your mouth. Now I, Ashur, have heard your distress cry. From the gate of heaven I soar down (?) … I will surely have fire consume them … I slaughtered your enemies. I filled the river with their blood. Let them see, let them praise me, for I am Ashur, lord of the gods. This is the greeting which is (placed?) before the (divine) statue. This is the sworn tablet of Ashur. It comes in before the king upon a … They sprinkle special oil, they make sacrifices, the incense burns, (and) they read out (the tablet) before the king" (Strong 1894: 637–39). At times the oracle is clearly received in a temple, sometimes specifically associated with sacrifices. On another occasion the setting is a political assembly.

One of the oracles seems to concern the occasion of a treaty ceremony: "Should you (pl.) go to your cities and your districts, eat food and forget these oaths, (then) when you drink from this water you will remember me (Ishtar) and keep this sworn agreement which I made concerning (your obligations to) Esarhaddon" (Strong 1894: 639–41).

Some of the oracles seem to be unsolicited, but there are many indications of a response to an inquiry. Those oracles by "proclaimers" (female) in connection with the substitute king ritual may reflect divine initiative. There is no reference to the speaker's being "sent" with the message, but a commissioning is at times implied.

**d. The Content of the Oracles.** The oracles are typically oracles of assurance for the political and succession concerns of the king, communicated directly, as it were, from the deity. "Fear not" is a common phrase, as in other ANE oracles of assurance. The oracles also emphasize the deity's power and reliability. The speakers rarely admonish the king; and if so, they use a mild form, such as saying that former utterances by the deity have been ignored.

The principal association of the prophets is with Ishtar or Arbela (and allied deities), though a number of other deities provide oracles.

**e. The Status of the Oracles.** The oracles are reported individually to the king, noted in the official annals, and collected into cumulative records. Sometimes the oracles are grouped by the deity involved. One collection appears to be oracles—perhaps even from two different deities—from a particular "proclaimer," but the concluding section is poorly preserved. There is also some evidence for the copying and transmission of oracle collections.

The (occasional) formality of the process of presentation and the attention to preservation point to the normalization of prophetic communication in the circles of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal.

## D. Egypt

The problem of definition is especially well illustrated by the Egyptian materials. "The Admonitions of Ipu-wer," a critique of the sociopolitical order, is labeled by some as prophetic in a biblical sense. Texts such as "The Prophecy of Neferti" are cast as foretelling a future deliverance for a country in a time of trouble, though written *ex eventu.* This sequence has been taken as a forerunner to the biblical prophets and their sense of a time of crisis that will give way to a messianic age. But these texts illustrate more a relationship with wisdom, drawing on the past to anticipate the future; Neferti is a lector priest and a "wise man of the East," not a charismatic prophet. A major order of priests, the *ḥmw nṯr* (literally, "servants of god"), were described by Hellenistic Greek commentators with the term *prophētēs* because of their role in reporting oracles. Accordingly, the scholarly literature abounds with references to these priests under the rendering prophets—even in the hierarchy of the "first prophet" (high priest) through "fourth prophet" of Amun in Karnak. In actuality there is very little known from Egypt that illustrates the prophet as an inspired speaker of divine oracles. Plutarch reports that Pamyle—foster parent of Osiris—heard a voice from the temple of Zeus (Amun) instructing Pamyle to announce that Osiris had been born (Ray 1981: 174). Generally, however, Egyptian oracles result from a form of manipulate divination, such as movements of a deity during a public procession.

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H. B. HUFFMON

## *PREEXILIC HEBREW PROPHECY*

A. Vocabulary for Prophets
B. General Ideas and Description of Prophets
C. Prophets in the Biblical Books
    1. Narrative Books: Torah
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H. Reception of the Prophets
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### A. Vocabulary for Prophets

The word "prophet" most frequently translates the Heb word *nābîʾ*. This word is probably not of Hebrew origin; the Akk *nabītu* seems the closest cognate, although the title *nabû,* "diviner" (?), is now attested at Mari. This probable loanword in Hebrew suggests that prophecy in Israel was not a phenomenon unrelated to ideas and practices outside Israel. Israelite prophecy can rather be understood as a concept and an activity that Israel shared with other cultures and peoples among whom the Israelites lived and experienced God.

Other words are also used by the biblical tradition to describe persons who acted in the way that Israel saw its prophets behave. One passage claims that in former times the prophet *(nābîʾ)* was known as a seer *(rōʾeh)* (1 Sam 9:9). Two other terms also are occasionally used for the role: man of God *(ʾîš [hā]ʾĕlōhîm)* and visionary *(hōzeh).*

### B. General Ideas and Description of Prophets

There seems to have been no standard prerequisite for a person to become a prophet in Israel. Divine inspiration was what made a person a prophet, and what caused the prophet to speak out, and what made others listen to the prophet as a legitimate spokesperson for the divine. For the early period, a favored conception is that "the spirit of the Lord" speaks through the individual (e.g., 1 Sam 10:10; 1 Kgs 22:24).

Later terminology preferred "the word of the Lord came to" the person (e.g., Jer 1:2, 4; Ezek 1:3). The general idea remains: the prophet is the one who can speak in the name of God.

Prophets came from all walks of life. Indeed, some seem to have had a wide variety of experience and a deep acquaintance with various aspects of life and work in Israel. They claim or are given backgrounds as varied as sheepherder, priest, agriculturalist, scribe. They spoke where and when they thought they would be effective. They spoke frequently, no doubt, in places where people most readily gathered—the marketplace, the temple, the city gates (cf. Jer 7:2). They may have spoken less formally in other places as well.

A distinction has sometimes been made that, for some interpreters, marks a dramatic development in the history of Israelite prophecy. Many of the early prophets speak only to individuals, especially kings or other officials, while other, later prophets address large groups of people—rhetorically, the whole nation or an entire city. No doubt this variation depends on who the prophet thinks is the appropriate recipient of a particular utterance, whether that message is a threat or something else.

**C. Prophets in the Biblical Books**

**1. Narrative Books: Torah.** Some biblical personages of the early periods are called prophets long before prophecy in the usual biblical sense appears in ancient Israel. Thus, Torah contains no prophets in the technical sense of the term, even though the term is given to some individuals anachronistically.

The first four books of the Bible do not offer the reader any figure that resembles a prophet such as Isaiah. Although Abraham is identified as a prophet by the source usually called E, Abraham does not function as the other prophets do. He does not address people in the name of God. In Exodus, Aaron, the brother of Moses, will act as a "prophet" in relation to Moses (Exod 7:1). But he never actually says "Thus says the Lord." Miriam, the sister of Moses, gets the title "prophetess," but she performs actions that exhibit a character that is more cultic than prophetic (Exod 15:20; Num 12:1–15). A passage deals with competition among those who would claim exclusive right to prophetic activity (Num 11:26–30), and Num 12:6 mentions the possibility of a prophet in Israel whose vision of and insight into the divine would be less than Moses'.

Deuteronomy (a purported address of Moses within the narrative) presupposes the existence of prophets in an institutional setting. Grounds are given for withholding belief in a given prophet, i.e., if the prophet tries to lead people away from Yahweh (Deut 13:2–6—Eng13: 1–5) and if what the prophet says does not come true (Deut 18:20–22). The text must have originated in a time when people wanted to hear the word of God but were troubled by the existence of numerous prophets, some of whom were in reality not sent from God. Moreover, it is Deuteronomy that identifies Moses as the great prophet sent from God, the model of one who is to come (Deut 18:15–19; 34:10).

Torah, then, gives the terms "prophet" and "prophetess" to individuals in the first four books by retrojection. The second section of the Hebrew canon, "Prophets," is divided into the Former Prophets and the Latter Prophets. The Former Prophets are the narrative books (Joshua through Kings) that follow the outlook of Deuteronomy (together called by modern scholars the Deuteronomistic History). The Latter Prophets comprise four books: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the book of the Twelve.

**2. Narrative Books: Former Prophets.** The first book of the Former Prophets (Joshua) does not use the term *nābîʾ*, but the second book (Judges) uses the feminine form, *nĕbîʾâ*. Deborah is called "prophetess" once in Judg 4:4. Just how the writer means the word in that setting is somewhat unclear. In that scene her work is described as that of a judge or ruler. In chap. 5, however, she is implored to "utter a song" (Judg 5:12).

Some scholars stress that Samuel is the beginning of the prophetic development in ancient Israel (Albright). The figure of Samuel certainly does present a prophetic facet of his being. He speaks in the name of God to oppose the idea of monarchy (1 Sam 8:7, 10) and then to proclaim Saul the divinely chosen king (1 Sam 10:24). But that figure also has several other facets as well. He is judge, priest, and leader of the group called "the sons of the prophets."

Nathan was a court prophet of David. He appears in the narrative only after David takes the city of Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:9). He may have been a native of this city, and hence have some non-Israelite prophetic heritage. Through him David is promised an eternal dynasty (2 Sam 7:13).

The prophetic groups, "the sons of the prophets," led lives of asceticism and probably partial seclusion. They function somewhat as intermediaries with the divine, and seem to use physical means, as the slashing of oneself and the chanting of songs, to produce an ecstatic trance (1 Kgs 20:35). They were sought out by individuals in special need.

Also connected with the sons of the prophets are the memorable figures of Elijah and Elisha. Elijah is called, on the one hand, to challenge the infidelity of the people and, on the other hand, to foment revolution both within and outside Israel (1 Kgs 19:15–16). Elisha, his successor, functions as a dramatic miracle worker (2 Kings 4–7).

The depictions of prophets within the Deuteronomistic History naturally are constructed according to the designs and purposes of the writers and for their purposes. Prophets in the narrative function in specific roles. They give legitimacy to a new dynasty (e.g., Nathan, 2 Sam 7:12; Elijah, 1 Kgs 19:16; and Ahijah, 1 Kgs 11:31). Moreover, they are sent successively by God to warn the people. Although for the Deuteronomists the kings are, in a special way, responsible for the infidelity of the people, nevertheless, the people themselves should heed the call of the prophets to repent. The disaster is announced, and the call is made, but there is no heeding. The prophets preach repentance in vain, and the two kingdoms fall.

This idea that the prophet's basic role is to preach repentance is a conception that often influences the interpretation of prophecy in general. Just how much this understanding of prophecy as the preaching of repentance should apply to the classical prophets has been a topic of debate.

Important too for the Deuteronomistic History is the efficacy of the predictions that prophets make in the name of God. Explicit emphasis on prediction of specific events and the fulfillment of those predictions recurs frequently in these books. On the general point of the future, the anthologies of prophetic sayings agree with these narrative books.

**3. Prophetic Anthologies: Latter Prophets.** The Hebrew canon places the anthologies of the prophets immediately after this extended narrative about the monarchy in Israel. The Latter Prophets are called "latter" simply because they are placed after the Former Prophets (the Deuteronomistic History). Other terms used for these books (and the prophets after whom they are named) are the "classical" or "canonical" prophets, and even, inappropriately, the "writing" prophets. The term "writing" is inappropriate because the preexilic prophets themselves did not write down the words they spoke. Prophets are speakers. (Perhaps Second Isaiah, in the Exile, is the prophet who began to use the written word as a prophetic medium.)

Because the preexilic prophets did not commit to writing what they had to say, the books of these prophets come to the reader today from many hands. It could have been that the first written collection of a prophet's words was made during the prophet's lifetime, but that is not the emphasis or the claim of the books themselves. Perhaps the death of the prophet was the stimulus for the first collections to be made (with the exception of Jer 36:2, 32). Then the process of editing, clarification, explanation, and expansion began. The process of the formation of the prophetic books was a long and complicated one. Much of that process remains unclear, even after much analysis.

In the most frequent terminology, the sequence of classical prophets begins with Amos, followed soon by Hosea, both of whom spoke in the northern kingdom in the 8th century. They are succeeded (with some overlap) by Micah and Isaiah, who both preached in Judah in the same century. The late 7th century claims Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Ezekiel.

**D. Language of the Prophets**

The language of the prophets is probably what most strikes a reader today. They spoke in poetry, and some of the poetry that the prophets created is virtually unmatched in world literature. On the other hand, some of the sayings are cryptic, or crabbed, or too tied to a particular setting for them to offer a clear meaning today. But sometimes even these passages contain striking images that can haunt the reader.

The prophets understand themselves to be inspired by God and to speak the word of God. The most common evidence of this conviction is the ever recurring "Thus says the Lord." This kind of messenger formula is found elsewhere in the ancient Near East on the lips of an emissary from one monarch to the court of another. This form and formula are examples in which the language that the prophets use often contained oral forms or speech patterns from daily or routine life.

There are abundant examples of other borrowings from varied kinds of activities with specific speech patterns. The judge's court is one area which offered many such forms that prophets used to convey their own message: the summons of the judge, the charge of the prosecutor, the claim of the defendant, or the lament of those who were denied justice. Songs and parables were also imitated by various prophets. Even the funeral service seems to have contributed a frequent form used by the prophets, the "Woe" oracle. It is sometimes claimed that no area of Israelite life was untouched by this borrowing of forms that appear in the prophetic books.

The preexilic prophets who preach a coming catastrophe sometimes can be found using a form, or parts of it, that has become standard in many analyses of prophetic speech, the "reproach and threat." The ideal form is "Because you have done this evil, therefore, thus says the Lord, disaster will come upon you." One finds many other terms to describe the two parts of the form: "invective," "reason," "accusation" for the "reproach," and "judgment," "sentence," "verdict" for the "threat." The analysis of this form shows that, regardless of the way in which the prophet receives the word of God, the prophet does contribute personal reflections and reasoning, which the prophet speaks before giving the divine decision of judgment.

**E. Psychological Considerations**

The actual state of a prophet when receiving the divine word has been the subject of much investigation and debate. Many scholars have found helpful comparisons with somewhat comparable phenomena from various other societies. Indeed, the choice of the society and the kind of comparison one makes will influence the outcome. Comparisons with the mystics of various traditions (Lindblom 1962), with the visionaries among the Native Americans (Overholt 1989), with intermediaries, ecstatic or possessed, of various cultures (Wilson 1980), and with many others have been made and have also been critiqued. All of these studies shed some light on the prophetic experience, but the reader is left to decide which are most appropriate and satisfying.

One remarkable thing is clear regarding the language and psychology of the prophets. The prophets share in the long literary tradition of Canaan, for the poetry that the prophets speak borrows much from the literary tradition found also in the Ugaritic poetry of half a millennium before the biblical prophets and only a few hundred miles to the north.

Not only did the Israelite prophets speak their words in the form of poetic parallelism, but they also used the same kind of word pairs that their Ugaritic predecessors had used. It is not clear how much a prophet would simply have "picked up" this tradition or how much the prophet actively set out to acquire it. The reality of the participation in the tradition is clear. A fairly recent proposal suggests that the poetry in the prophetic books is primary and the religious interpretation of it secondary (Auld 1980).

**F. Themes of the Preexilic Prophets**

**1. God.** The God whom the preexilic prophets experience is a God who demands certain actions from human beings. The 8th-century prophets appear with a disturbing message: Israel has not lived up to its calling. The prophets see basic moral laws broken or ignored. The prophets proclaim that the God who stands behind those laws will come to uphold those demands.

The first demand of the prophets was that the people worship only Yahweh. Although the preexilic prophets did not make theoretical statements about the existence or (non)existence of other gods, they did require the Israelites to worship only the God of Israel. The reality of God demands that Israel worship Yahweh. Moreover, the right worship of God requires of a person the right treatment of one's fellow human beings. The prophets do not tolerate worship of God that is not linked to proper behavior toward one's neighbor.

Rarely do the prophets identify the basis of God's claim of sole worship and just treatment of one's neighbor. Whether it was the election and protection of Israel or, as some say, a universal law within God's creation that the prophets relied on for their evaluations, God does demand proper actions. The universality of the moral claim is almost surprising. God judges Israel severely, but the prophets also view God as judging other nations as well (Amos 1–2). The moral sovereignty of God parallels the sovereign majesty of God. All humanity stands judged before God.

God has, however, revealed a special way of life to Israel. And that revelation must not be ignored. It is clear that God's position cannot be compromised. Although the prophets make no explicit claim that God was revealed to Israel, a moral revelation is the implicit presupposition in much of what the prophets said (Amos 3:7). The prophets do claim that God reveals the divine plans to the prophets. And the prophets invoke the traditions that were understood to have been revealed in the past about how humans are to behave.

In addition to the demands that God puts on human beings, the prophets also point to the love that God has for humanity and for Israel in particular. God's love extends to humans even in the face of unfaithfulness and of backsliding. The images that the prophets use for the love of God are themselves revealing. Parent, teacher, healer, counselor—these are some of the roles that the prophets give to God, roles that reveal the concern and passion God has for people.

A facile contrast is sometimes made between God's love and divine justice (often erroneously restricting the former to the NT and the latter to the OT). One might better say that God's justice is responsive, that is, that God's justice is an act of love rather than of vengeance. When things begin to get out of hand, when people's negligence goes so far that there is no expectation that things will improve, then God must step in to take action. God's delay in bringing the results of infidelity on the people cannot be extended indefinitely. The preexilic prophets are distinctive in speaking about a coming disaster for Israel, but there are also statements of God's regret about this future. For the prophets God could no longer delay the end.

One can ask whether the prophets took their own images for God in a literal sense. When they spoke of God as an unmoved judge, as a raging parent, as a plotting monarch, did the prophets think that God was completely and adequately represented by these images? We cannot know. But the Bible reader of today must realize the danger of taking literally these descriptions of the indescribable. The prophets used whatever images they thought appropriate for their society. Their statements remain part of the theology of 8th- and 7th-century Israel.

**2. Israel.** The unfaithfulness of the people is what struck and disturbed the classical prophets. The time of infidelity in which the prophets lived seems to some readers to be an expected development in Israel's history. The rise and history of prophecy in Israel virtually coincide with the history of the monarchy. It was the monarchy that allowed, perhaps encouraged, the so-called Canaanization of Israelite culture, both socially and religiously. The development of social and economic ranks or classes in Israel led to the oppression of the poor and the needy. The rich grew more wealthy, profiting from the labors and losses of the lower classes. The prophets decry this deterioration of Israel's soul.

The prophets feel the urge and conviction to speak out against this situation. When the prophets charge their audience with this infidelity, their speech is quite varied. They addressed various people on different occasions, so one expects variety in their collected sayings. The classical prophets usually addressed their words to people at large. It is noteworthy that they sometimes address or speak of the people in various linguistic forms. Sometimes they speak of the people in the grammatical form one would most expect, masculine plural. But Israel is also addressed as masculine singular. (Israel was the alternate name of the ancestor Jacob; and the name retained its masculine gender, not just because Jacob was male, but also because the names of people are masculine in biblical Hebrew.) Recent studies claim that the addressee or subject in the feminine singular is not Israel as such, but rather a city. When the people are addressed in the imagery proper to cities, images occur such as mother, wife, virgin, widow, sister, and harlot. When Israel as a people is addressed, those feminine images do not occur.

The message of the prophets varied also according to the time and the place of the speech, and the people involved. Preexilic prophecy can generally be depicted as prophecy of judgment. The prophets are the conscience of Israel, alerting it to the injustice and infidelity that each of the prophets sees.

On both accounts, the rights of God and the rights of their fellow human beings, Israel has to be judged as having failed in the eyes of God. Israel is seen by the preexilic prophets as unfaithful to the God who called them.

**3. The Relation between God and Israel.** As already stated, the preexilic prophets for the most part saw a deterioration in the relation between God and Israel. Israel no longer keeps the original faith they had in their God. (Alternatively, Ezekiel believes that Israel was wrongheaded from the start.) The relationship is coming to an end. The very end was in sight for some of the prophets. No more can God put up with the careless and faithless behavior of the people.

There is variation in the images that the prophets use for the end of this relationship. Amos speaks quite directly: "the end has come upon my people Israel" (Amos 8:2). Other images for the relation are used. God is called the parent of Israel (Hos 11:1), the shepherd (Ezek 34:1), the king (Isa 6:5). When the prophets speak of the relation between God and Jerusalem (and Samaria), the image is marital, and the act of separation is divorce (Jer 3:2; Ezek 16:8; Hos 2:4—Eng2:2).

One image for the relation between God and Israel that has caused continued controversy regarding its age is the metaphor of covenant. This image, taken from the political realm, has been claimed by some scholars as the major and defining image for the God-human relation in ancient Israel. Other scholars point out that the 8th-century prophets do not employ it. They claim that it is an image that gained popularity in later times. One must admit that covenant is sometimes lost in the vast sweep of images that the prophets use.

Whatever the image used, the preexilic prophets say that there is something gone wrong with the relationship. Israel has become a wayward son, a sinful people, a man who needs to flee, a society that is corrupted. Some later prophetic writers speak of the broken covenant, the field of dry bones, the relationship that cannot endure.

Along with all the images of punishment and finality, there are some statements of God's enduring love and of the chance that God might not carry out the threat. There are even images of hope and restoration. The son will be taken back, the sins will be forgiven, the man can stop running, the society will be cleansed. Are these too from the same prophets? This question, of course, deals with the formation of the prophetic books.

**4. The Future.** Critical scholars ask the question whether to understand the promises that the books of the preexilic prophets contain as actually coming from those prophets or from later speakers and writers. The question that is inevitable for some critical thinkers is whether promises of restoration actually belong side by side with threats. Can the same person see total disaster coming and see beyond it a bright future?

Amos says that the end has come for Israel, the capital is virtually fallen. Jeremiah is just as definitive about the end of his city and the hopelessness of the situation. Can these men turn around and predict a time of fulfillment for their audience?

Often scholars point out that the prophetic word differs from day to day and from time to time. Indeed, times do change the message. For example, Isaiah may have held the idea of Zion's inviolability; but Jeremiah, about a century later, flatly contradicts the concept. For some scholars, the promises and hopes were given in the time of the prophet for a different generation, and these sayings were preserved for them and understood only later.

Around the turn of the 20th century, there was a proposal that the alternation of woe and weal, of threat and promise, was part of the standard way of prophetic speech (Gressmann 1905). Certain scholars, especially those who stressed the oral transmission of the prophetic sayings, repeated this solution to the phenomenon of seeming contradictions.

For many scholars, newness is the salient reality of the prophetic vision. The prophets see that Israel has reached a new stage in its relation to God. A turning point, a critical one, is near at hand. The way that Israel had lived to the time of the prophet has led to a particular crisis. For the most part, the preexilic

prophets focus more on the immediate problems and the immediate future that Israel's infidelity would bring on. The hope that lay beyond that crisis has to be argued very carefully and forcefully to be persuasive.

**G. The Prophets' Relation to the Institutions of Israel**

**1. Monarchy.** Prophecy throughout the ANE was often connected with the kings and rulers. In Israel, the classical period of prophecy coincides with the time of the monarchy. There are court prophets in Israel at the very beginning of the monarchy, that is, with Saul and David. And after the secession of the North, one finds prophets of the kings of the independent kingdoms (1 Kgs 22:8; cf. 2 Kgs 20:1). Although prophecy continues after the demise of the active monarchy, nevertheless, the last large book of one prophet, namely Ezekiel, is named from a prophet who had lived under kings in Jerusalem.

The view of the monarchy that individual prophets took was, no doubt, influenced by a wide variety of things, many of which we cannot know. In general, however, Amos, Hosea, and Micah all take a dim view of the monarchy. Hosea even says that kingship was not something from God (Hos 8:4). Isaiah, the only 8th-century prophet who was a native of Jerusalem, does not speak against the kings. Indeed, it may be Isaiah, in his book, who depicts a bright future under a majestic monarch (Isa 9:5–6—Eng9:6–7; 11:1–9). The editors of the book of Amos speak of the restored tent of David (Amos 9:11).

In both Isaiah and Jeremiah, there are passages that suggest that these prophets were advisers to the kings in their times (Isa 7:1–17; Jer 21:10; 37:16–21). To see such passages as actual records of historical facts is, to the critical reader, not the most obvious way to read these passages. Actually in both cases these prophets oppose the king or his plans. By and large the prophets who worked for the kings of Israel and Judah were not the prophets whose words survive in our prophetic books.

Nevertheless, the prophetic tradition one finds in the edited books of the Bible continues to use the imagery of the book of Isaiah. The future king is part of the developing hope for the future. The Heb word *mašiaḥ* (Eng "Messiah") is never used for the future king. (The word is used for the reigning king and others who are actually anointed.) Nevertheless, the monarchy clearly furnishes ideas that messianic expectation in later times expanded and developed.

**2. Cultus.** There are passages in the preexilic prophets which suggest to some readers that the prophets advocated a religion that did away with the traditional religious practice, specifically Israel's festivals, sacrifices, and offerings. The prophets speak about the seeking of God in purity of heart. The prophets clearly have God say that none of what the people offer is pleasing or required (Amos 5:21–23; Isa 1:12–15). Indeed, 19th-century scholarship understood these statements as a total rejection of the sacrificial system and of any material things involved in worship.

The immediate response to this view would have to be that in the ancient world and in Israel in particular, no person could conceive of worship without external expression, that is, without the rituals and actions that traditionally accompany the worship of a community or that of an individual. No one, especially before the Exile, could say that God did not require the worship in the temple as that worship had been offered from Solomon on.

Many of the charges that the prophets in their times raise against the cultus denounce worship that has been influenced by Canaanite practice and belief. The Canaanite "high places" were things that the reforming kings found virtually indestructible. The remnants of foreign worship survive even the Exile. These popular forms of infidelity, both in worship and in unjust social practices, were the object of the prophets' indignation.

The prophets, when they have a moment of hope, look forward to a purified cultus, one which truly manifests a commitment and a continued faithfulness to the God who called Israel. The prophets condemn the worship offered by certain individuals and groups only because it is the worship of other gods and the worship of the Lord without relation to one's treatment of one's fellow human beings.

Occasional words of the prophets are directed against the priests (e.g., Hos 4:4–10). They charge the priests with negligence and insincerity (Ezek 22:26). The prophets suggest that the priests are leading the people astray, away from God, rather than toward God (Mic 3:11). This criticism of the cultic personnel

may be a different route to critiquing the cultus itself. But here again the words of the prophets are directed toward those priests who did stray from the path of priestly devotion and purity of life.

Moreover, these attacks on the priests are often accompanied by critiques of "the prophets." The prophets describe a society they see as corrupt, and they speak out against all forms of injustice and infidelity. The classical prophets often speak of priests and prophets in the same breath. The famous passage in Jer 18:18 speaks of the priest, the wise, and the prophet. All had their own roles to play in the society; all had their burdens to bear if the society failed.

**3. Wisdom.** In the past few decades, a most interesting development in the study of the prophets has been a focus on the relation of the prophets to the realm of wisdom. Israel's search for wisdom and the writing of its Wisdom Literature may have begun as early as the time of Solomon. If this is the case, prophecy and wisdom are parallel phenomena for the monarchic period. It would be unlikely if these parallel phenomena would not have some interrelation and interaction.

Isa 5:19–24 lashes out against those who have a pretended wisdom. Later, Isa 30:1–5 attacks those who plan things without consulting the wisdom of God. Isaiah seems to be attacking those whose profession is to treat and apply the traditional political wisdom.

There are indeed other passages in the prophets which manifest a more positive relationship. One finds some sayings that suggest a real wisdom background or origin (Isa 14:24–27; Jer 19:7–15). Although the prophets sometimes do seem to speak against the professional class of the wise, nevertheless, they share in their excellent use of language, an ability that normally requires training and practice. Often the same vocabulary is shared by the two groups.

Some scholars have proposed that the basis for the prophets' judgment against unjust practices was the teaching of the wise men, formulated and passed on from earlier generations. On the other hand, there is a proposal that there was no class of "the wise" in Israel. The people referred to by that term were simply the educated, the intellectually alert individuals. If this claim is true, the prophet's training would have been from and with such a group of educated people.

The difference between the wise man and the prophet remains, of course: the prophets speak the word of God, and wise men pass on the word they have received from their predecessors. The difference between the prophet and the wise man enriched life in the society of ancient Israel and our reading of the biblical books.

**H. Reception of the Prophets**

None of the canonical prophets seems comfortable with being called a *nābîʾ* (cf. Amos 7:14). None of the canonical prophets seems to have been a popular success in the sense of having a large following. All the preexilic prophets have rather harsh things to say, and it is not surprising that they did not immediately win the hearts of all.

That they do not call themselves *nābîʾ* or let others apply this term to them suggests that the term had connotations with which each of the prophets did not want to identify. Much scholarship claims that the word *nābîʾ* implies induced ecstacy, manic bizarreness, and irrational activity in general. Other studies have suggested that the professional aspect of prophecy is what Amos rejects in Amos 7:14. Yet another proposal is that the difference in terminology is mainly regional, Amos being from the South.

It is in the narratives about the prophets that a prophet is called *nābîʾ* without any hesitation. A recent scholarly tendency has been to say that the narratives come from a time after the historical prophet. In this view, the narratives are better understood as legends about the person for the purpose of enhancing or clarifying the figure rather than as manifestations of the personality of the prophet. Many scholars today are far more reluctant than those of a generation or two ago to write a biography or even a personality assessment of a given prophet.

There are indeed passages in which a prophet seems to express poetically the difficulty he has in speaking to the people and being heard by them. Isaiah is one example (Isa 8:16–18). But Jeremiah has a whole sequence of "laments" which have been interpreted as his inner soul emerging (Jer 12:1–6; 15:10–21; 17:14–18; 18:18–23; 20:7–13, 14–18). Yet even here, some scholarship attempts to read these as liturgical pieces or as evidence of inner-community strife. These interpretations suppose that the prophet

wanted to reveal the divine word rather than individual feeling, and that the prophet's tradition continued to grow after the life of the prophet.

A claim that appears in the NT, which seems perhaps odd to the reader of the OT, is that Jerusalem killed the prophets sent to it (Luke 13:34). The Deuteronomistic History does emphasize the stream of prophets who were sent to warn the people of Israel, and in response the people and their kings would not listen. But there is no biblical scene to which the author of Luke could be referring.

A report of the killing of prophets appears only once in the OT. In 1 Kgs 18:4, 13, Queen Jezebel, who had been acquired by King Ahab from outside Israel, kills the prophets of Yahweh. Although in the next chapter, Elijah attributes the slaughter to "the people of Israel" (1 Kgs 19:10, 14), the killing neither occurs in nor is done by Jerusalem. The killing of the prophets is a postbiblical tradition that develops for different reasons both within Judaism and within Christianity (Amaru 1983).

**I. The Study of the Prophets**

Although over the centuries certain readers of the Bible had noticed that particular sayings within the books of the prophets did not seem to come from the people to whom they were ascribed, it was mainly in the 19th century that certain scholars vigorously attempted to sort out the authentic from the inauthentic sayings within the books of the prophets. The position, popularized especially by Julius Wellhausen, regarding the relation of the prophets to the Pentateuch encouraged this particular kind of study of the prophets. The insight that the law came after the prophets allowed certain scholars to set out in new directions in the study of the prophets. This newfound approach analyzes the prophetic books on their own rather than as precursors of a new revelation or as the commentaries and expansions on the Pentateuch.

Since the study of the Pentateuch had shown that many hands had contributed to those books, similar methods could be applied to the prophets. The approach that tries to determine whether all the words attributed to a prophet actually come from that prophet utilizes the many different clues within the text itself and raises other considerations from outside as well. It could be pointed out that the question of authenticity of the sayings is not asked in order to "challenge" the Bible or the believer, but simply to determine the real theology, the real thinking, of a given prophet. To seek to establish that original prophetic content is not to deny or to reject the Bible as normative.

The effort to determine what were the authentic words of the prophet has engaged a great number of scholars. Various methods are used to decide whether a particular saying can rank as authentic. Whether it be on the bases of the language and vocabulary used, of the ideas expressed, or of the historical events alluded to, the critic pares away certain words, verses, and passages to arrive at the substance of the prophet's preaching or writing. German scholarship has excelled in seeking to identify the authentic words of the prophets. Mainly as a result of this kind of analysis of the prophetic books, one concludes that the preexilic prophets were truly prophets of doom. Careful analysis of the books allows one to see and appreciate the original thoughts and words of the prophets.

A reaction to this approach of dissecting the texts to find the original meaning inevitably arises. Such a critique underlines the difficulty in deciding objectively what are the words and sections that have to be judged as additions. One's own presuppositions can intrude and influence the judgment. A modern conception of how books come into being can impede one's understanding of the development of the biblical text. Moreover, one might better stress the oral origins of prophecy and the oral transmission of the prophet's words to show the reliability of the text. Certain scholars pointed out that our current prophetic books differ in their origin and contents. Two kinds of prophetic material exist: the *diwan*, a collection of diverse sayings of a single prophet, passed on without much variation, and the *liturgy*, a unified piece which originated in the cultic performance of a prophet. The liturgy is the more unified of the two, weaving a pattern of themes and developing, in its own style, a complex work. This approach was fostered among Scandinavian scholars (Engnell 1969). It has stressed the impossibility of really sorting out the authentic sayings from the additions.

A different approach to the prophets is to take the prophetic book basically as the tradition has given it to us. Only those passages which are obviously not from the prophet need be cut away from the authentic

words. The critic's task is to see how the words of the prophet reflect the situation in which the prophet existed. Archaeological research can be very helpful in understanding the message and even the style of the prophets in their own time and setting. This approach to the prophetic books, by and large, is pursued especially in the United States (King 1988).

More specific and distinctive approaches to the study of the prophets have arisen. The question of a prophet's relation to previous tradition returns in various ways. Gerhard von Rad's response is to show that each of the prophets speaks within one of the three election traditions of ancient Israel: those of Exodus, Zion, or David. The prophets see that Israel is entering a new stage of its history. Israel is encountering God on a new level. Yet that level always relates to the past. The prophet reinterprets the old election tradition and applies it (or them) to the new situation. The prophet's formulation of both judgment and promise depends on the specific tradition that prophet knows. Naturally the prophet's place of origin influences the election tradition out of which he speaks. Isaiah, e.g., was from Jerusalem and operated with the Zion and David traditions; Hosea, from the North, used the Exodus tradition.

Another approach which utilizes the places from which the prophet came and the particular ways of thought proper to that locality is the study of Wilson (1980). The Ephraimite prophetic tradition of the North differs from the Judean tradition of the South in matters of the vocabulary used for the prophet and his pronouncement, the manner of viewing the prophet, and the process of intermediation. Isaiah and Micah are the classical preexilic prophets in the Judean tradition (although Isaiah gets a Deuteronomic/Ephraimite depiction in the Deuteronomistic History); Hosea, of course, is Ephraimite. This sociological study underscores the importance of each prophet's support group, the specific segment of the society which encourages and sustains the prophet.

Sociology also offers David L. Petersen (1981) a particular approach to the prophets. Prophets come to a society that has certain kinds of expectations regarding the manner in which prophets should act and behave. Prophets can vary in the degree of involvement with which they play these roles. Their acceptance by the various segments of the society is indeed crucial. Some prophets operate with the support of the political or religious authorities and thus become central prophets, while other prophets receive the support only of the less powerful and outcast in the society, thus becoming peripheral prophets. The social dimension of Israelite prophecy continues to be one of the most lively areas of contemporary study on the prophets.

With regard to the prophetic writings, great emphasis has been given to the formation of the books of the prophets. Because the prophets themselves did not write, one must understand the words of the prophet as having been selected, edited, probably reinterpreted, and then expanded. The editorial remarks and expansions, once ignored by some scholars as inauthentic, are now analyzed to order to see the history of the book's growth. This growth of the prophetic books offers insights into the history of biblical religion from a new and different perspective.

Along with this interest in the formation of the books goes the attempt to analyze larger sections of the books as units rather than the smaller passages and individual sayings that had been passed on orally at some early stage. The editors of the books are increasingly given credit for intelligence, understanding, and organization in their work. The growth of the books is generally not seen as haphazard or unthinking.

The emphasis on the books as canonical sacred writings to be interpreted with the entire canon of the Bible has received a fresh proposal (Childs 1979). The only reasons these books have been preserved by the generations are the meanings that the whole books offer within the canon of the Bible. Critics of this approach suggest that this kind of analysis ignores all the advances of the historical-critical study of the prophetic books. The proponents of this method insist, however, that the approach does not deny any of those advances but simply puts them in the proper perspective. The debate on this approach has not yet concluded.

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JOHN J. SCHMITT

## *POSTEXILIC HEBREW PROPHECY*

The Babylonian Exile of the 6th century B.C.E. caused a sharp break in many of the traditions and institutions of ancient Israel. Its effect on the character of prophecy, however, was less marked than its social and political consequences; and there is a clear line of continuity linking Amos and Isaiah of Jerusalem with Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah, and Zechariah. Nevertheless, in time prophecy did gradually evolve into something very different from what had been known in preexilic Israel; and by the NT period the designation "prophet" applied to people in whom few of the characteristic features of the preexilic prophets are discernible. This change in turn had an effect on the way people in the Greco-Roman period perceived the preexilic prophets. At some point in the postexilic age, the idea began to develop that prophecy in the strict sense of the word had ceased from Israel, though certain groups, notably the Qumran community and the early Christians, held that it had recently revived. The interpretation of postexilic prophecy has many disputed areas, and in general it has not received as much scholarly attention as its preexilic counterpart. We shall examine five questions: the message of the postexilic prophets, their role and status in the community, the nature of prophetic experience after the Exile, the forms of prophetic literature, and the editing of prophetic books.

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A. The Message of the Postexilic Prophets
1. From Doom to Hope
2. Calls to Repentance
3. The Prophets and the Cult
4. Oracles about Foreign Nations
5. Eschatology
B. The Role of Prophecy in the Postexilic Age
C. Prophetic Experience
D. The Forms of Prophetic Literature
E. The Editing of Prophetic Books

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### A. The Message of the Postexilic Prophets

**1. From Doom to Hope.** The most obvious shift in the message of the prophets which begins with the Exile is the gradual loss of the sense that God was about to bring disaster on Israel and Judah. Scholars continue to disagree about the extent to which the preexilic prophets had seen hope beyond judgment, or had even thought that the judgment they predicted could be averted; but whether or not the preexilic message of judgment was total, there can be no doubt that it was an important part of the prophets'

teaching. Amos had said "The end has come upon my people Israel" (Amos 8:2); Hosea, "Compassion is hid from my eyes" (Hos 13:14); Isaiah, "His anger is not turned away, and his hand is stretched out still" (Isa 9:12, 17, 21). In Jeremiah, and in the early oracles of Ezekiel, we hear the same message of impending doom, foretelling the disaster of the Exile. But once the Babylonian invasion had happened and all false hopes of averting it had come to nothing, prophets began to look beyond disaster to more favorable divine purposes for Israel, "plans for welfare and not for evil, to give you a future and a hope" (Jer 29:11). This is already clear in some of the oracles collected in Jeremiah 30–33 (although many scholars believe these to be additions to the words of Jeremiah, they cannot be much later than the work of the prophet himself), in Ezekiel 36–39 and the early postexilic appendix to Ezekiel (Ezekiel 40–48), and above all in the oracles of Deutero-Isaiah (Isaiah 40–55).

But exilic and postexilic prophecy of blessing is continuous with the preexilic judgment prophecy that it gradually displaced; it does not represent the triumph of the facile, optimistic prophets condemned by Jeremiah, who said "Peace, peace" when there was no peace (Jer 6:14). The stories of Jeremiah's activities during the early years of the exile of Jehoiachin make it clear that Yahweh has not in any sense changed his mind about the fate of Judah; no speedy return of the exiles or simple restoration of the preexilic kingdom is to be looked for. In Jeremiah 28 we read how Jeremiah disputed with a prophet, Hananiah, who had said "Within two years I will bring back to this place all the vessels of the Lord's house" (28:3). Jeremiah rejected such optimism as a failure to see that the Babylonian conquest was not a temporary setback, but part of a consistent divine plan, and that far worse was to come before there could be any thought of a change in Judah's fortunes. As late as Deutero-Isaiah, who prophesied just before the return of the first people back to the land of Israel, there is no suggestion that the disaster of Exile had been against the will of Yahweh, or that the better times which were now coming marked a change of heart by Yahweh or invalidated the judgment prophecy that had gone before. On the contrary, the Exile was a vindication of the prophets who had predicted doom: "Your first fathers sinned, and your mediators transgressed against me; therefore I profaned the princes of the sanctuary, I delivered Jacob to utter destruction and Israel to reviling" (Isa 43:27–28). The possibility of a better future results from the fact that Yahweh has now exacted the punishment which earlier prophets had correctly maintained that he would insist on. There is thus, in postexilic prophecy, a strong sense of identity with the teaching of previous prophets.

Nevertheless, the belief that Yahweh's judgment had now been fully exacted and so had come to an end did gradually change the prophetic message into something substantially different from what it had been before. Already in Deutero-Isaiah we find the idea that the punishment imposed on Judah was measured and could in principle be paid in full, so that a time would come (and had now come, according to the prophet) when the nation would owe Yahweh no more suffering by way of payment: "her time of service is ended … for she has received from the Lord's hand double for all her sins" (Isa 40:2). This could easily lead to a belief that the Babylonians, Yahweh's instruments of punishment, had afflicted the Israelites *more* than they deserved and so stood under imminent judgment themselves. Such seems to be the perception both of Deutero-Isaiah (Isaiah 46–47) and of the early postexilic prophet Zechariah (see Zech 1:15: "while I was angry but a little they furthered the disaster").

Soon the notion took root that Yahweh had vented his full anger on his people in the past, in the Exile which was now over, and that there was no danger that he would ever have cause to do so again. After the Exile, oracles predicting judgment on Israel still appear fitfully, in Haggai's warnings that sin leads to drought and famine (Hag 1:6–11), in Malachi's insistence that blemished offerings lead to divine displeasure (Mal 1:6–2:9), or in Trito-Isaiah's condemnation of social injustices and pagan practices which lead God to blight social relations and bring national calamity (Isaiah 59). But increasingly divine judgment was thought to fall selectively on those elements in Israel which continued to deserve it, and the overwhelming sense of impending *national* calamity which had been so marked a feature in the preexilic prophets was lost. Eventually even the theme of selective judgment died away, and the role of the prophets came to be understood as one of comfort and consolation for Israel, and of judgment only on her enemies.

**2. Calls to Repentance.** The question of whether the preexilic prophets preached "repentance" (i.e., a change in social and political attitudes and actions) is a vexed one, and the answer to it affects our assessment of how far the postexilic prophetic message is novel. There is no doubt that Jeremiah urged his contemporaries to "repent," that is, to alter their attitude toward the Babylonian threat by capitulating rather than resisting, and that he urged them to reform the religious customs of the day—to move away from the syncretistic practices that had replaced a purer Yahwism. It is clear, however, that he did not expect such repentance to lead to a simple change in Yahweh's plans for Israel. There was no question of averting the disaster of the Exile, whatever the people did; and the course of action he most urgently wished the leaders of Judah to adopt was to come to terms with this reality, not to resist it. Their "repentance" would thus consist more in recognizing the justice and inevitability of the Babylonian invasion and victory, and in adjusting to the new state of affairs this would imply, than in reforming the national life so as to persuade Yahweh to alter the course of international events—the time when that might have been possible was already past. Similarly, after the major deportations of 597 and 586 his advice to the exiles (according to the account in Jeremiah 29) is to settle down and come to terms with the reality of life in the land of Exile and not to act as if it were merely a temporary aberration in Yahweh's designs for his people.

Jeremiah's calls to repent are thus in practice calls to embrace realism and to abandon false hopes. Much the same may be said of the early oracles of Ezekiel, whose aim seems to have been chiefly to dissuade his contemporaries in Exile from believing that there would be a speedy restoration, and to accept that they were responsible for the fate that had befallen them and for the disasters which were still in store for the city of Jerusalem (Ezekiel 18). In this early exilic period attention shifts from the earlier prophetic concern with social justice and religious purity to the question of how the community will react to the conditions of life under Babylonian domination. Calls to reform the national life, even if these had once been typical of prophets, cease to be appropriate, in view of the total lack of self-determination possible for a nation in Exile or living in the ruins of its land.

In the period of postexilic reconstruction, however, prophets appear much more as teachers whose role is to induce a change of heart and of conduct in the community now striving to repair its national and social life. Haggai in particular quite clearly sees his task as being to persuade the people to make an effort to rebuild the temple (1:4, 9), while Zechariah seems to combine a similar concern for restoring the nation's cultic life with an interest in questions of social justice that reminds us of Amos or Isaiah (see, for example, Zech 8:16–17). It is possible, of course, that passages of moral exhortation in the postexilic prophets owe something to the work of editors, but these passages are in keeping with the much more positive and constructive role of these later prophets as compared with the doom-laden words of their preexilic predecessors.

By NT times it was widely held that all the prophets had been essentially moral teachers, whose function had been to exhort rather than to foretell disaster. This idea seems to owe much to the early years after the Exile, when prophets such as Haggai and Zechariah had directed their efforts to improving the moral condition of the nation, at a time when it was no longer believed that national disaster was impending. Whereas preexilic prophets had been concerned to discern God's hand in contemporary international affairs, and to show Israel the signs of the times, postexilic prophets became directly involved in social and political questions, as respected, official teachers of morality. The tenor of the preexilic prophets' message (continued by Jeremiah and Ezekiel) is that the people should accept the justice of Yahweh's impending punishment for their sins; that of the postexilic prophets is that Yahweh seeks moral reformation and renewal, and will reward them with his favor.

**3. The Prophets and the Cult.** Anyone who comes to the postexilic prophets after reading their preexilic predecessors is immediately struck by how differently they react to the place of the cult in Israel's national life. Amos had condemned the religion of the sanctuaries (4:4–5; 5:4–5), and Jeremiah had dismissed the temple as a false focus of security for the nation (7:1–4). But Haggai and Zechariah regard rebuilding the temple as crucial to national reconstruction (Hag 1:4; Zech 4:8–10); the appendix to Ezekiel places cultic institutions at the center of national life (Ezekiel 40–44); Malachi rebukes the priests

for neglecting the detail of ritual ordinances (Mal 1:6–10); and in the work of the Chronicler prophets are consistently represented as concerned with the cultic life of the nation (cf. 2 Chr 13:8–11; 15:1–7). The reason for this may be that there had been a change in the prophetic message—perhaps a necessary change in view of the different conditions of life for the postexilic Jewish community, deprived of its political institutions and obliged to embrace distinctive ritual and cultic ordinances as an alternative focus for national life. Alternatively, it may simply mean that the postexilic prophets who are represented in the OT happen to be those who came from a cultic milieu, though in this respect they were not necessarily typical of postexilic prophecy in general. (This point will be discussed again below in relation to the question of the role of the prophet in postexilic society.) Only in Trito-Isaiah (Isa 66:1) do we find hints that not all postexilic prophets were enthusiastic supporters of the renewed temple cult.

Connections between prophets and cult may be reflected not only in the content of the prophetic message but also in the form of prophetic books, for it is after the Exile that these begin to show influence from literary forms whose natural home is public worship. Deutero-Isaiah makes extensive use of hymns, royal oracles probably taken from coronation or enthronement rituals, and cultic exhortations; indeed, it has sometimes been suggested that the whole collection is liturgical in origin, or at least that the prophet was a temple singer or poet by profession. If we follow the division of prophetic collections into *diwan* (collected oracles) and liturgy types (as proposed by Engnell 1969), it is noteworthy that the postexilic period contributes by far the most examples of the liturgy type to the prophetic corpus of the OT. Postexilic prophecy almost wholly lacks the antipathy to national cultic life which is so marked a feature of the teaching of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah. Perhaps this is because the cult had ceased to be a cause for complacent self-satisfaction, preventing the people from hearing the prophetic warning that sacrifices would not save a nation steeped in social injustice. Instead it had become the essential rallying point for renewal and reconstruction.

**4. Oracles about Foreign Nations.** Israelite prophets had probably uttered oracles about foreign nations from the earliest times, since prophets seem to have been retained by kings to foretell the downfall of their enemies—and perhaps to help bring it about, through what we might call magic. Amos (in chaps. 1–2) seems to presuppose that his audience was familiar with the custom of uttering oracles predicting the fall of Israel's enemies. However, one of the most radical changes effected by the preexilic classical prophets was to replace such prophecies, which foretold disaster for the nation's enemies, with condemnation of Israel itself. Thus by the time of Jeremiah, there was a strong tradition among the prophets of seeing Israel itself as the enemy whom Yahweh had cursed. But in either case, down to the early exilic period prophets evince little interest in the fate of foreign nations except as this bears on the fate of Israel. Other nations may be doomed because they are Israel's enemies, or they may be Yahweh's instruments to punish his sinful people. Sometimes both themes may appear: Isaiah 10 contains a number of oracles in which the eventual downfall of the Assyrians is prophesied after they have carried out their commission to punish Israel.

From Jeremiah onward, however, the interest of Israel's prophets widens to include the fate of foreign nations as a theme in its own right. In Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah, Haggai, and Zechariah the downfall of Babylon is the prelude to the eventual restoration of Israel to its land; and the old tradition of cursing the enemies of Israel reemerges in the form of oracles against Babylon: Isaiah 46–47 is the most extended example. The Babylonians are denounced for their arrogance (cf. Isaiah 10 on the Assyrians), and their speedy collapse is promised by Yahweh. Probably from the same period are the oracles in Jeremiah 50–51 against Babylon. The logical implication of this is that Yahweh has appointed the Persian king, Cyrus, as his agent of judgment on Babylon and hence of salvation for the Jews, and this results in one of the earliest examples of an oracle's promising divine blessing to a foreign king (Isa 45:1–7). Here Cyrus is actually described as Yahweh's "anointed one"—a title previously used only for the Davidic king. The generally favorable view of the Persians continues to be characteristic of postexilic prophecy, which contains no explicitly anti-Persian oracles.

But alongside the specific oracles of doom on Babylon and of blessing on Persia, the prophetic tradition from Deutero-Isaiah onward comes to contain vaguer oracles about "the nations," in which virulently

xenophobic sentiments alternate with an attitude which seems incipiently universalistic. Most of the prophetic books now contain a cycle of "oracles against the nations," in which (sometimes named, sometimes anonymous) nations are threatened with Yahweh's wrath. These oracles are notoriously difficult to date, but must in most cases derive from the Persian or Hellenistic age. At the same time, many prophetic books include oracles foretelling the "gathering in" of the nations to Jerusalem, and seem to envisage a future in which the barriers between Jew and gentile will break down and all mankind will come to acknowledge Yahweh as the one God. There is dispute about whether this is how we should understand passages in Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah which say that Yahweh will become known to the nations. They may rather be a promise that the nations (who have derided fallen Israel) will come to acknowledge the reality of Yahweh's power when he punishes them and restores his own people. But in Zechariah and Trito-Isaiah there can be little doubt that foreigners are regarded positively (cf. Zech 8:20–23; Isa 56:3–8), while Malachi seems to contrast the worship offered by gentiles favorably with the blemished offerings of Israelite priests (Mal 1:11–14). The book of Jonah—a legend about a prophet rather than a collection of prophetic oracles—seems designed to teach a similar message, perhaps in reaction against the exclusivism of some Judaism of the Second Temple period. Isaiah 19 concludes with five oracles of a strikingly universalistic tone, including the remarkable prophecy, "In that day Israel will be the third with Egypt and Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth, whom the Lord of hosts has blessed, saying, 'Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel my heritage' " (Isa 19:24–25).

**5. Eschatology.** It is sometimes said that postexilic prophecy became more "eschatological" than prophecy had been in the preexilic period. This may mean one of several things.

First, sometimes this is a convenient way of expressing the idea that the time scale of prophetic predictions became longer after the Exile. Instead of foretelling the immediate consequences of national sin, prophets now came to be interested in a longer sweep of history; and, in particular, they started to think that God has a detailed plan for the history of all the nations which he was working out in a more or less predetermined manner. The preexilic prophets give the impression that Yahweh reacts sharply and immediately to human conduct, but not that he has a grand design coming to fruition in preplanned stages. But already in Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah, and to an increasing extent in the thought of Trito-Isaiah, Zechariah, and the forerunners of apocalyptic—such as the authors of Isaiah 24–27 or Zechariah 9–14—history seems to form an orderly progression, with human volition playing a role clearly subordinate to the divine plan. When the prophets after the Exile are said to have "an eschatology," this is the aspect of their message that is often being referred to. Of course they also had an interest in what the immediate future held for Israel, but (as noted in the preceding section) the scope of their concern was perceptibly wider. It should be noted, however, that it is not until a few of the apocalyptic works of the NT period that the events foretold can be called "eschatological" in the full technical sense the term has in traditional Christian theology, where it implies an end to the whole world order and also refers to the fate of the individual after death.

Second, "eschatology" may also be used (as it frequently is by NT scholars) to point not so much to the long-term plan found in the thinking of postexilic prophecy as to the transcendent character of the divine action in history. This is another aspect of the tendency to determinism just noted: the prophets stress that what happens in human history is *divine* action, the coming to fruition of a divine purpose, accomplished through more than human means. God breaks into the progression of human history and takes control of it in a direct and uncompromising way, leaving little to human agents. This is certainly the impression created, for example, by Zechariah 14, where God stands in person on the Mount of Olives and causes it to be split in two, or in Isaiah 34, where he himself wields the sword that first destroys the heavenly hosts and then descends in judgment on Edom. The expectation of God's personal, decisive intervention in human history seems to be a feature of prophecy as it develops toward what we call apocalyptic. There are few parallels to this way of thinking in the preexilic prophets, for whom divine involvement in human affairs is more often expressed through the mediation of human agency.

Third, some scholars hold that the failure of prophetic predictions to materialize led to their being projected into the remote ("eschatological") future as a way of retaining their authority, when a simpler reaction would have been simply to conclude that they had been proved wrong. On this view, the postexilic prophets themselves did not hold any longer-term view of history than their predecessors; it was their disciples who, faced with the apparent failure of the prophets' predictions, reworked their oracles so as to make them refer to the very remote future. Thus they made it impossible that the prophecies would ever be falsified by events. On this interpretation, "eschatology" is thus not a development within the prophetic tradition, but an interpretative category applied to prophetic oracles by those who edited and reused them in later generations.

**B. The Role of Prophecy in the Postexilic Age**

We noted above that alongside collections of oracles, the postexilic prophetic books also contain many works which are closer to the "liturgy" type. This observation, combined with the evidence of the books of Chronicles, where "prophets" often appear in a liturgical role, may suggest that there was a significant shift after the Exile toward a closer alignment of the prophetic tradition with the institutions of the cult. Haggai and Zechariah might already be examples of this, with their concern for the reestablishment of temple worship among the returned exiles. Even Ezekiel, during the exilic period itself, shows many more points of contact with priestly circles than is the case with the preexilic prophets: the sins listed in chap. 18, for example, include a number of "cultic" offenses such as we do not find in Amos or Isaiah. Even if Ezekiel 40–48 is a postexilic addition, the perception of Ezekiel as a prophet deeply concerned with the ordering of worship may well be the reason why it was to his oracles that this appendix was added.

Late 19th-century scholarship was inclined to regard almost all postexilic prophecy as the product of cultic circles. This was thought to mark a decline in the institution of prophecy, from the high ethical concerns of the 8th and 7th centuries into an incipient "legalism" and obsession with ritual matters. On this view, prophecy in the sense the term has when applied to Amos, Hosea, or Isaiah more or less ceased to exist after the Exile; the term "prophet" *(nābîʾ)* came to be used as the title of one among the many different types of temple officials. Other terms certainly underwent similar shifts—"Levite," for example, ceased to mean any sort of priest and became the name for a temple singer.

In recent years, however, a more nuanced interpretation of these postexilic developments has been proposed by Hanson (1975), building on the work of Plöger (1968). Hanson argues that there are two distinct strands within postexilic prophetic writings. The first is indeed a drift toward the institutionalization of prophets as temple officials, whose function was to produce liturgical texts. Their "oracles" consisted only of exhortations to keep the Torah and be regular in worship, or of promises that God would bless the cultic community around the temple. Hanson sees this trend as beginning with Ezekiel, continuing in Haggai and Zechariah, and passing on into the Chronicler's understanding of prophets.

But in tension with this shift toward the cult, there was also a second, minority tradition which kept alive "authentic" prophecy, the inheritance of Amos and Isaiah. This prophetic movement had as its task to protest against the increasingly static and complacent institutions of Second Temple Judaism. Its best representative is Trito-Isaiah (Isaiah 56–66). Trito-Isaiah's opposition to rebuilding the temple (66:1) stands in continuity with the preexilic prophetic protest against the centrality of the temple, expressed most clearly by Jeremiah (see, for example, Jer 7:4, "Do not trust in these deceptive words: This is the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord"). According to Hanson, prophets such as Trito-Isaiah were not officials appointed by the Second Temple state but outsiders, just as the great preexilic prophets had been, denouncing the society of their day and attacking its cultic life as an empty show. This Isaiah 58 attacks solemn fasts in terms very similar to those used by the preexilic prophets to condemn feasts. The message here is that Yahweh hates fasting unaccompanied by social justice, and (by implication) will punish those who use such pentitential practices as a cover for an unreformed life. It contrasts with Zechariah's cheerful optimism that fasts will cease merely because (in the newly restored and forgiven Jerusalem, which is to enjoy God's blessing) they will no longer be appropriate (Zech 8:18–19). Trito-Isaiah is full of sharp condemnations of the corruption of cultic life (56:9–12; 57:1–13; 59:1–8;

65:1–12). It is hard to see him (or them, if the work is a collection of oracles by many hands) as any kind of temple official paid to maintain the institutional stability of the restored nation.

Hanson suggests that it is in this prophetic protest movement that the roots of apocalyptic are to be found, and that Trito-Isaiah represents "the dawn of apocalyptic." The insights of this movement continue in the works commonly called "proto-apocalyptic"—Isaiah 24–27, Joel, and Zechariah 9–14. Thus the "liturgy" type of prophecy by no means succeeded in completely displacing the old independent prophetic spirit, which continued to exist and to resist the tendency toward "establishment" attitudes in the Second Temple period. These independent prophets believed that Yahweh's hands were not tied by the institutional structures that had been established. Yahweh was still free to intervene dramatically in human affairs and, if he saw the need, to punish Israel as of old. To use the terms proposed by Plöger (1968), the postexilic *theocracy* succeeded in taming most prophets and reducing them to mere state officials—not unlike the "institutional prophets" whom Elijah, Micah, and Jeremiah had opposed; but there remained a loyal band of prophets who insisted that Yahweh's word to Israel included an *eschatology*—a message of doom on a disobedient people.

Hanson's theories have been widely accepted in OT scholarship, with the result that the picture of prophecy in postexilic times has become more subtle than it was at the end of the last century. There is no single model that will account for the role and function of "prophets" in the Second Temple period, as though all prophets were the same. Rather, we seem to have at least two radically different types. Some have asked whether there is really such a sharp distinction to be drawn between, for example, Trito-Isaiah and Zechariah; for Zechariah seems also to envisage the need for moral (not merely cultic) reform—Zech 7:1-7 criticizes fasting in much the same terms as Isaiah 58. Conversely, Isaiah 56–66 contain some oracles that seem perfectly well-disposed toward the restoration of Jerusalem and its cultus (the whole of Isaiah 60–62 belongs to this tradition). It has also been noted that the apocalyptic movement is by no means homogeneous and that not all apocalypses can be regarded as anti-"theocratic"; some indeed are entirely noneschatological. However, Hanson's work has been important in establishing that something akin to the preexilic tradition of noninstitutional, independent prophets did continue after the Exile. We should not be misled by the fact that many of those responsible for our finished OT tried to erase the traces of this movement by preserving rather few of its works, and by hijacking the term "prophet" for use as a technical term in describing the personnel of the temple. Enough remains in the OT to show that there were prophets who had no official role even after the Exile, and that these persisted in denouncing the hierarchy of temple and nation when they saw fit.

**C. Prophetic Experience**

The question of prophetic experience is an obscure one in every period of OT history. In the postexilic age the most noticeable development is a greater emphasis on the *spirit* of God as the motive force behind prophetic utterance. Ezekiel speaks of the spirit of Yahweh transporting him from place to place, and this seems intended to imply an "out-of-the-body" experience or perhaps even literal levitation (at one point he is picked up by a lock of his hair: see 3:12; 8:3; 11:1, 24). Trito-Isaiah contains a famous reference to the spirit of Yahweh as the inspiration behind his prophecy (Isa 61:1); and throughout Haggai and Zechariah there are repeated references to the spirit (Hag 1:14; 2:5; Zech 4:6; 7:12), though some scholars think that these are additions by the editors of the books, for whom it was important to stress the activity of the spirit in the restored community. Joel 3:1–2—Eng2:28–29 explicitly refers to the gift of prophecy as resulting from the pouring out of God's spirit, predicting that a time will come when this gift will be extended to all humankind.

As is well known, references to the spirit are very rare in the preexilic prophets, so that we have clear evidence here of a shift in understanding of the prophetic experience. It is not clear, however, whether this reflects any change in the experiences prophets actually had—whether, for example, the postexilic experience was more dramatic, or "ecstatic," or was in some sense a return to the uncontrolled, frenzied activity of the preclassical prophets whom we meet in the books of Samuel and Kings and upon whom the spirit of Yahweh "came mightily" (cf. 1 Sam 10:10), driving them to act in uncontrollable, dervishlike frenzy. While this is possible, it may be simply that the post-exilic community spoke more of the spirit as

the motive force behind prophecy as a way of emphasizing its divine origin, without meaning to imply that the psychological experience involved had changed significantly from preexilic times. It may be better to ask why the great classical preexilic prophets seem to *avoid* reference to the spirit of Yahweh, when both their predecessors and their successors seem to take it for granted that this is the best language to use in explanation of prophetic gifts.

A more significant shift may lie behind the greatly increased interest in visions and dreams in postexilic prophetic books. The passage from Joel just cited glosses the extension of prophetic gifts to all by saying, "Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall *dream dreams,* and your young men shall *see visions.*" If it is right to see significance in the insistence by preexilic prophets on hearing the word of Yahweh rather than on seeing visions or dreams, this change may well indicate an important new departure. Jeremiah once explicitly distinguishes true prophecy from seeing visions: "Let the prophet who has a dream tell the dream, but let him who has my word speak my word faithfully. What has straw in common with wheat? says the Lord" (Jer 23:28). This appears to imply that true revelations from Yahweh do not come in visions or dreams, though it is not clear what experience is concretely implied by "him who has my word." Does this refer to "audition," a supernatural but literal hearing of voices, or to some more subtle inner conviction that Yahweh has spoken in the heart? In any case, preexilic prophets are not uniformly opposed to visions: both Amos (7:1, 4, 7; 8:1; 9:1) and Isaiah (6:1) report visions which enshrine the word Yahweh is speaking to his people, and they show no embarrassment about this mode of revelation—unless these reports are the work of postexilic redactors.

At all events postexilic prophets and the collectors of the oracles seem to have regarded visions as the normal method by which God communicates with his messengers; and sometimes the visions in question are detailed and full of symbolism, a kind of pageant played out in front of the prophet's eyes, each incident within which has allegorical significance (see, for example, the vision reports in Zechariah 1–6). Amos' visions already contain a symbolic component. In that a commonplace object (a basket of summer fruit, a plumb line) is given a deeper meaning, often through wordplay (cf. also Jer 1:11–12). But in the postexilic period the visions become lengthier, and sometimes a whole drama is acted out in symbolic form, requiring interpretation (often by an angel) before its significance can be grasped by the prophet and communicated to his hearers. The earliest example of this is Ezekiel's vision of the coming fall of Jerusalem, recorded in Ezekiel 9. In later apocalyptic works such visions become deliberately obscure and riddling, so that it is quite impossible to understand them without the appended explanation. Such is the case, for instance, with the visions of Daniel, or (outside the Bible) of Enoch in the various books attributed to him.

A question which this often raises in the minds of students of apocalyptic, but one which is equally useful in studying the prophets, is whether in some cases the vision is not a "genuine" vision at all, but a literary convention deliberately and consciously adopted by the prophet. If so, then the "prophet" or apocalyptist is to be seen more as a writer than as a speaker. This question arises already with Ezekiel and Zechariah, for their allegorical visions seem to lack the immediacy and directness of the brief vision reports in Amos or Isaiah. There is no reason to rule out the possibility that some postexilic prophecy may have been communicated in writing, by the production of fly sheets which could be passed around among a literate religious group, rather than by the kind of public declamation that we associate with prophets like Isaiah or Jeremiah. In the case of apocalyptic works, it is virtually certain that this is how the works were appropriated by their intended audience. Of course the suggestion that some prophecy may have been literary from the beginning does not in itself detract from its inspiration; but it does imply that the prophet was a learned writer rather than a simple and perhaps illiterate spokesman for Yahweh. Since Hebrew culture seems to have lacked any conventional ways of describing literary inspiration, it may have seemed natural to account for such prophecies by attributing them to an origin in dreams and visions which had afterward to be written down—by contrast with the directness of the "word" of Yahweh which passed immediately through the prophet's mouth as he spoke to the people.

**D. The Forms of Prophetic Literature**

The postexilic period witnessed a breaking down of some of the distinctive forms of prophetic utterance. Oracles beginning "Thus says the Lord" or ending "oracle of Yahweh" continue to appear, but are less characteristic than they were in the books of the preexilic prophets. Sometimes these formulas seem to be scattered almost at random as a guarantee of prophetic authenticity, and have lost their original character of marking the beginnings and ends of distinct oracles. This is particularly marked in Haggai and Zechariah, where the phrase "says the Lord of hosts" appears more or less as a refrain (e.g., Hag 2:4–9; Zech 1:2–6, 14–17). Furthermore, what is introduced by such formulas is often not what we would recognize as an "oracle" in earlier prophetic writings. In Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah many of the oracles use liturgical forms, and this is part of a general drift toward the use of cultic forms by the prophets (as discussed above).

On the other hand, the postexilic prophets do not seem to follow their preexilic predecessors in using forms borrowed from other spheres of Israel's life with deliberately ironic or sarcastic effect. There is nothing like Amos' parodying of priestly *tôrôt* (e.g., 4:4–5) or his use of lament forms to suggest that Israel is already spiritually dead (e.g., 5:2). One has the impression that the forms of prophetic oracles are not taken directly from this or that everyday use, but are imitated from what is by now perceived to be "normal" prophetic style, without any awareness that originally each prophetic oracle had a distinct origin. It is as though postexilic prophets are producing imitations or pastiches of the existing prophetic collections, and whereas these are often jumbled because of the vagaries of transmission and editing, the imitations are jumbled because postexilic writers felt that this is how a prophetic book should look.

At the same time, some forms that scarcely occur at all in the preexilic prophets now come into prominence, notably the allegory, and the extended vision report (with its interpretation by an interpreting angel), which eventually becomes the form known as the apocalypse. There is also a profusion of oracles beginning "in that day" or "in the end of the days," which perhaps reflect the increasingly eschatological interest of these prophets. In general the developments are all consistent with the suggestion made in the preceding section, that prophecy gradually turned from a spoken into a written phenomenon, so that the forms used came increasingly to reflect leisurely literary composition rather than the needs of oral delivery, memorability, and immediate impact.

**E. The Editing of Prophetic Books**

This leads naturally into the next question: the editing of the prophetic books. A marked feature of the postexilic age is the growth of official or semiofficial versions of older writings, which gradually moved in the direction of becoming "Holy Scripture." Just as the Persian period saw the codification of the pentateuchal books to form the Torah, so at about the same time collections of prophetic oracles began to take on the character of sacred writings. At first perhaps these were revered by particular groups, but in due course they became part of the shared heritage of all Jews.

It is usually thought that the Exile itself provided the initial impetus toward the collection and codification of prophetic writings. For one thing, the event itself had vindicated the predictions of the preexilic prophets and so turned them from objects of scorn into venerable figures whom God himself had shown to be in the right; for another, the separation of so many Jews from their homeland made the preservation of the national literature imperative if Jewish culture and religion were to survive.

The process by which the prophetic books were compiled was almost infinitely complex, but it involved at least three separate elements. First, the authentic utterances of the prophets were arranged in order, sometimes chronologically (so far as the editors could guess at what this might be), sometimes thematically or on a catchword principle. Secondly, narratives about the prophet, which might or might not be of any historical value, were added. In the case of some prophets, such as Amos, very little such material was available, but with others, notably Jeremiah, it was very extensive. And thirdly, further oracles which had no original connection with the prophet in question were appended or worked into the earlier collection, until the ordinary reader could no longer discern the difference. With a book such as Isaiah this third stage probably contributed the greater part of the book. Indeed, from chap. 40 onward we have at least two collections which had probably existed in a semifinished form under who knows what name before they were added to Isaiah 1–39. Whether the editors intended to assert that the prophet

named in the book's superscription had in fact delivered all these oracles himself remains wholly uncertain. Later generations certainly took this to be implied. Some of the additional oracles may very well be genuinely prophetic, in the sense that they were originally delivered by people who would have claimed for themselves the same kind of inspiration as those in whose names the present books appear. But others may have always been essentially the work of scribes, composing what they took to be plausible "prophetic" utterances in an endeavor to update or revise existing oracles. And it seems clear that the same sort of process operated with all the prophetic books; the words of late postexilic prophets, once uttered and remembered, became subject to just the same procedures of redaction, addition, and embellishment that had by then already produced something like the present form of older books, such as Amos or Hosea. Only the beginnings of a distinct "canon" of Scripture eventually set limits to this kind of editorial work, and ensured that from then on comment and interpretation would have to take the form of acknowledged commentary rather than changes to the text of the prophetic books themselves.

How far the work of editors should itself be regarded as "prophetic" is largely a matter of our definitions. No doubt there were some for whom the work of interpretation entailed in the work of editing constituted a sharing in the inspiration of the prophet himself. Some people may have believed that Isaiah or Jeremiah himself continued to speak through the disciples who revised and collected his oracles—much as in later times the disciples of rabbis would give their own teaching but claim (and believe) that it was given "in the name" of their teacher, and of his teacher, and of the whole line of teachers in whose succession they stood.

Matters are complicated further when one remembers that, by the NT period, it was widely believed that the gift of authentic prophecy had died out in Israel—though its restoration, promised (it was felt) in Joel 3—Eng chap. 2, was eagerly hoped for. This belief could make claims to have received a *direct* divine revelation automatically suspect. The strange prediction in Zech 13:2–6, which regards "prophets," like idols and "unclean spirits," as a blight which Yahweh will remove from the land, may belong to a movement of thought in which any claim to be a prophet branded the claimant as an impostor. In such circumstances anyone who believed that God had spoken to him was obliged to dress his message up as the utterance of some ancient prophets, speaking in the time before "the spirit departed from Israel," as the Talmud expresses it. This is undoubtedly part of the reason for the pseudonymity of apocalyptic works; and it no doubt also explains some of the more improbable additions to the prophetic books, such as those which imply that Isaiah addressed the problems of the Babylonian or Persian periods, or that Zechariah was interested in the Greeks. There is, however, little evidence that prophecy did in fact die out, if by "prophecy" we mean the phenomenon of inspiration such as existed in the 8th century. Indeed, theories such as those of Hanson (discussed above) have made it seem probable that the postexilic age saw just as active a prophetic movement as the preexilic. But the forms of expression did change significantly, and postexilic prophets often expressed their oracles as additions to existing collections, or even as whole new works falsely attributed to figures from the past, rather than speaking in their own persons as earlier prophets had done.

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JOHN BARTON

## *EARLY CHRISTIAN PROPHECY*

The phenomenon in early Christianity of inspired speech in the name of God, the risen Jesus, or the Spirit. Prophecy and its effects are evident in the books of the NT and in other early Christian writings.

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### A. Terminology and Definitions

A glance at the entry on "prophecy" in the standard dictionary of ancient Greek (Liddell and Scott) will reveal that in the world into which Christianity was born the terms *prophet, prophecy, prophesy,* and *prophetic* did not function univocally, but were used with reference to a variety of figures and functions (cf. Fascher 1927). *Prophētēs* in Greek was a synonym for *hypophētēs.* Originally, both meant simply "spokesperson" or "announcer," but both were used in derivative and metaphorical senses. "Prophet" was used not only to mean "one who speaks for a god and interprets his will" to human beings, but also for the cultic official keepers of the oracle (at Branchidae), for members of the highest order of the priesthood (in Egypt), for herbalists and quack doctors, for the interpreters of the oracles of the *mantis* (Plato, *Ti.* 72a), and hence derivatively for poets as such (cf. Titus 1:12, of Epimenides), and then metaphorically for proclaimers in general, including the announcer at the games. On the other hand, "prophet" and related words represented only one set of terms used for the claim to communicate messages from the gods, with other designations such as "seer," *mantis,* and "sibyl" being used in related and overlapping ways.

In the light of this state of affairs, the 1973 Seminar on Early Christian Prophecy of the Society of Biblical Literature adopted a definition based on the common features of the use of the "prophet" word group in a number of early Christian sources. This definition has been widely received. The following adaptation of it expresses the understanding of prophecy assumed in this article: "The early Christian

prophet was an immediately-inspired spokesperson for God, the risen Jesus, or the Spirit who received intelligible oracles that he or she felt impelled to deliver to the Christian community or, representing the community, to the general public." Since the term "inspiration" is used in a variety of senses, "immediately-inspired" is used here to express the prophetic claim that what he or she says represents the present, immediate voice of the deity. This does not exclude the use of sources, traditions, or the prophet's own reflections, all of which may be involved in the delivery of what the prophet perceives as directly revealed from the deity. This article investigates the phenomenon of prophecy so defined, whether or not it is labeled as prophecy. Conversely, other uses of the "prophet" word group are not explored.

**B. Prophecy in the Hellenistic World**

**1. Gentile.** The Judeo-Christian tradition did not introduce prophecy into the Hellenistic world. The inspired spokesperson for the gods, the oracle giver, the ecstatic mouthpiece for the deity, frequently called "prophet," was a familiar figure to the Greco-Roman populace. Many gods could speak through their prophets, of whom Apollo was only one of the more active. There were many shrines where he could be consulted by means of the oracle, of which Delphi was only the most famous.

Prophecy was located within the broad spectrum of devices by which information from the world of the gods was transmitted. There was a tradition at least as old as Plato of distinguishing *artificiosa divinatio* and *naturalis divinatio.* The former refers to divination by technical means such as the interpretation of dreams and reading the will of the gods from the flight of the birds and the livers of sacrificed animals, while the latter refers to communication of a message from the gods by inspired speech received in trance, ecstasy, or vision (Aune 1983: 24, 349 n 9). Greek prophecy was not always ecstatic. The spectrum of prophetic experiences ranged from raging loss of consciousness to sober declaration of the message from the god. Plutarch describes (*De def. or.* 431d–438e) the Pythia at Delphi as inhaling the vapors from a fissure in the earth, becoming "inspired," and delivering unintelligible utterances that were then translated by the "prophets." In other descriptions, the Pythia became inspired by drinking from the sacred spring, and delivered oracles that were quite intelligible. Probably different practices occurred at different times and places, even in the history of one oracle center such as Delphi. Plato's description (*Ti.* 71–72) of the mantic behavior of the agents of revelation, and the translation of their utterances into intelligible speech by the prophets, has perhaps been too influential in the scholarly assessment of Greek prophecy. Generalizations about prophecy in the Greco-Roman world should be avoided, but in a context where early Christian prophecy is being explored, some features that were usually characteristic of Hellenistic prophecy should be noted: (1) Hellenistic prophecy could be the result of the spontaneous inspiration by the deity, but it was normally a response to inquiries in which human beings took the initiative and was subject to manipulation. (2) Prophecy was not a function of a particular religious group and was not directed to a group of insiders, but was a part of the general public cultural scene, available to any interested person. (3) Prophecy was generally directed to the needs and inquiries of individuals, revealing the will of the deity or future information concerning the personal lives of individuals. (4) Oracles were generally ambiguous. Heraclitus' remark with reference to the Delphic oracle is characteristic: *oute legei, oute kruptei, alla sēmainei* ("she neither reveals nor conceals, but signifies"). (5) Oracles were generally brief and expressed in metrical form. (6) Collections of oracles were made, and later generations interpreted them with reference to their own situation. While Christian prophecy resembled pagan prophecy on points #5 and #6, prophecy in the Church was in contrast to its pagan counterpart on points #1–#4.

**2. Jewish.** Some streams of rabbinic Jewish tradition held the view that prophecy had ceased in the time of Ezra and would not return until the eschatological age (e.g., *Song of Songs Rab.* 8.9–10; *Num. Rab.* 15.10; *b. Yoma* 9b, 21b; *t. Sota* 13.2; *ʾAbot* 1). This view was reinforced by the widespread influence of the later Protestant canon of Scripture, in which there was presumed to be a gap of 400 years from Malachi to John the Baptist. Hence the popular tradition of the "four-hundred silent years." Except for the case of John the Baptist, who was incorporated into the Christian stream of history, the NT presents only minimal and indirect evidence for contemporary Jewish prophecy (cf. John 11:51; Acts 13:6). There is massive evidence for 1st-century Jewish prophecy, however, from the Jewish sources themselves.

**a. Philo.** If Philo was aware of the tradition of the cessation of prophecy, he ignored it. Prophecy had been available to every good Israelite and was still available to "every worthy man" (*Heres* 259). Like other Hellenistic Jews (e.g., Wis Sol 7:27), Philo understood all the religious leaders in Israel's history in prophetic terms, and understood prophecy in Hellenistic terms, using the complete range of the vocabulary of Greek ecstatic experience to portray biblical prophets. Moses and Abraham were prophets, and the Pentateuch was a collection of oracles. Like Josephus, Philo never explicitly calls himself a prophet, but his extraordinarily frequent discussions and detailed descriptions of the prophetic experience strongly suggest that he was describing a contemporary phenomenon he had observed in the synagogue, indeed that he himself experienced a kind of inspiration akin to the prophetic (cf. e.g., *De mig. Abr.* 35; *De Cher.* 27; esp. *Heres* 259–60).

**b. Rabbis.** The rabbis, too, testify to the fact that the prophetic spirit was alive and well in the Judaism from which Christianity was born. The heavenly voice *(Bath Qol)* was heard even by those rabbis who believed that it could not take precedence over traditional Halakah. Though by no means a major element in rabbinic religious experience, a significant number of prophetic phenomena may be documented even among those rabbis where the dogma of the end of prophecy might be expected to have been most influential. We should not, therefore, be surprised to find an abundance of evidence for prophets and prophecy in those circles where the rabbinic dogma was less influential, namely among the Zealots, Essenes, and other apocalyptically oriented groups (though conspicuously absent among the Sadducees).

**c. Josephus.** Josephus claimed that during the 66–70 war he presented himself to the conquering Vespasian as a messenger sent from God to announce that Vespasian would be the new Roman emperor (*JW* 3.400–402). Without using the word, he thus claimed to be a prophet himself. The term "prophet" is used in several senses by Josephus, who used it to describe Zealot prophets and Essene seers, as well as folk prophets among the people, especially during the critical period of the war and siege of Jerusalem (66–70 C.E.). The result is that it is not always clear that he refers to persons characterized by the claim to be inspired spokespersons for God, as in the definition used here. It is equally clear, however, that he does describe such people, though for his own political purposes he often describes them as "false prophets." That the prophetic phenomenon was alive in 1st-century Judaism is illustrated in Josephus' account of Joshua (Jesus) ben Ananiah, an unlettered peasant who began in 62 constantly to repeat an oracle of doom against the city, and continued despite insults and torture to repeat his oracle until the last days of Jerusalem in 70, when he was killed by a Roman projectile (*JW* 6.300–309).

**d. Qumran.** Qumran illustrates the presence of prophecy in one Jewish fringe group, which believed that it lived in the last days, within which the gift of prophecy had been renewed. The Teacher of Righteousness did not use the word "prophet" of himself, but functioned as a prophet, speaking from the mouth of God (1QpHab 2:2–3), taught by God himself, who has poured out his spirit upon him (7:4–7). As in early Christianity, prophecy was related to the interpretation of Scripture and to the eschatological theology of the community.

**e. John the Baptist.** The first prophet described in the New Testament is John the Baptist, whose career was contemporary with, and in some respects like, that of Jesus: he was a popular charismatic figure who created eschatological excitement, was alienated from conventional culture, was critical of the established authorities and suffered death at their hands, and had a community of disciples that continued to revere him after his death, Matt 3:1–12 (= Mark 1:4–8; Luke 3:2–18); 11:2–19 (= Luke 7:18–35); 14:5 (= Mark 6:17–29; Luke 3:19–20); 17:10–13 (= Mark 9:11–13); John 1:19–36; Luke 1:5–80; Acts 19:1–7. As a result, the Christian tradition, which could not ignore him, was at pains to fit him into a Christian understanding of the founding events and to show his subordination to Jesus. This means that the portrait of the historical John cannot be read off the surface of the NT text, but must be disentangled from the later layers of Christian interpretation. One way some, but not all, early Christians came to terms with John was by interpreting him as Elijah, understood as the forerunner of the Messiah (Matt 17:9–13; but contrast John 1:21). It is thus difficult to determine, for example, if John's strange dress is historical reminiscence or the later effort to describe him as Elijah (compare Mark 1:6 and 2 Kgs 1:8). Luke in particular is intent on describing John as belonging to the prophets of Israel described in the Hebrew Bible (3:10–14,

peculiar to Luke). Still, it is clear that John was a prophet conscious of a direct call by God, who called for repentance on the basis of the eschatological judgment in the near future (Matt 3:7–12 = Luke 3:7–9). John's baptism could well be understood in the category of the symbolic actions of the prophets. He expected an eschatological "mighty one" who would execute the fiery baptism of God's judgment on those who had not received his baptism with water as the sign and seal of their repentance. John is thus pictured in the NT as belonging to the prophetic line of biblical prophets, but as "more than a prophet," i.e., the eschatological prophet who serves as the immediate forerunner and herald of the final act of God's saving history (Matt 11:9 = Luke 7:26).

**f. Jesus.** All four Gospels picture Jesus as a prophet. He is regarded as a prophet not only in the eyes of the people (Matt 16:14; 21:11; cf. 26:68; Mark 6:15; 8:28; 14:65; Luke 7:16; 9:8, 19; John 4:19; 9:17), but in one of the few sayings preserved in all four Gospels, he applies the proverb of the prophet rejected in his native land to himself (Matt 13:57; Mark 6:4; Luke 4:24; cf. 13:33; John 4:44). Moreover, Jesus is pictured as receiving a vision at the beginning of his ministry corresponding to a prophet's call (Matt 3:13–17; cf. Isa 6:1–10, and the role that 6:9–10 plays in the Gospels' accounts of Jesus' ministry; Mark 4:10–12 [= Matt 13:10–11 = Luke 8:10]). The spirit that he received in baptism would be understood in a Jewish context as the spirit that made one a prophet. Jesus is described as having apocalyptic visions of the fall of Satan (Luke 10:18) and even of delivering prolonged apocalyptic discourses, Mark 13:4–37 (= Matt 24:3–36 = Luke 21:7–36); Luke 17:21–37. For Luke especially, "prophet" is not a mistaken, preliminary, or minor category, but is one of his major categories of christological thought: Jesus is indeed the eschatological prophet promised in Scripture (Luke 24:19; Acts 3:22–23; 7:37; cf. Deut 18:15–18), who specifically identifies the Spirit that empowers him as the prophetic Spirit of Isa 61:1–2 (Luke 4:16–21). Jesus' authority is not the derived authority of the scribe, but the immediate authority of the inspired prophet (Matt 7:29).

Yet, if in the case of John the Baptist the historical figure of the prophet John is covered with layers of Christian interpretation, this is all the more true in the case of Jesus. Was the historical Jesus a prophet; or does "prophet," i.e., "eschatological prophet," the final messenger from God before the end, belong to the early layers of Christian interpretation of the significance of Jesus? Christian scholars of the most varied theological positions have generally agreed that the NT's picture of Jesus as prophet is historical bedrock. Conservative and evangelical Christians, while affirming the "higher" christological titles as more important, have, nonetheless, concurred in asserting that Jesus was also a prophet (Jeremias 1971). Liberal theologians, while considering other titles such as "Son of God" to be later church interpretation, have celebrated Jesus as the prophet of social justice (Rauschenbusch 1917; Enslin 1968). Rudolf Bultmann's agnosticism about the historical Jesus did not extend to his doubting that Jesus was a prophet, and his students who returned to the ("new") quest of the historical Jesus found "prophet" to be the key category (Bultmann 1958; Bornkamm 1960; Conzelmann 1969). Some recent American study of Mark (Mack 1988) and Q (Robinson 1987; Kloppenborg 1987) has argued that the prophetic picture of Jesus was a church construction, and that Jesus was more like a Cynic sage than a Jewish prophet, but the majority of scholarship would see two prophetic figures, John and Jesus, at the beginnings of the Christian movement.

### C. Prophecy Reflected in the Literature of Early Christianity

The following survey presents the documentation for the phenomenon of Christian prophecy from its origins to the middle of the 2d century, i.e., prior to the advent of the "New Prophecy" with Montanus.

**1. Paul.** The first reflection of Christian prophecy in Christian literature is 1 Thess 5:19–20, in which Paul appears as the advocate of the prophetic gift over against its detractors. Prophecy has appeared in the Thessalonian congregation, had created some sort of problem that caused some of the Thessalonians to reject it, and Paul promotes their acceptance of the phenomenon as a gift of the Spirit, but not without critical evaluation. The most extensive discussion of Christian prophecy in the NT is found in 1 Corinthians 12–14. As in 1 Thessalonians, the discussion has a polemical tone, again revealing Paul as an advocate of prophecy, this time over against an inappropriately high valuation of glossolalia. These prophecies were more than normal pastoral preaching; it was a matter of direct revelation (cf. 1 Cor

14:29–32). It is impossible to gain any idea of the content of the revelations of the Corinthian prophets, except that in contrast to glossolalia they were expressed in intelligible language, and in Paul's view were directed to the edification of the whole church rather than responses to the private inquiries of individuals. The brief reference to prophecy in Rom 12:3–8 is valuable in that it is not polemical. Rather, a fundamental assumption of Paul's comes to expression here, namely, that wherever there is a church the Holy Spirit is at work, and wherever the Spirit is to be found there is a principal manifestation of the Spirit, the gift of prophecy. Prophecy, in fact, is the only constant in Paul's "lists" of charismata (1 Cor 12:8–11, 28–30; 13:1–2; Rom 12:6–8). When Paul "ranks" spiritual gifts, prophecy appears second only to the apostolic office or, from another perspective, love.

Since Paul insists so adamantly on his apostleship and thus does not refer explicitly to himself as a prophet, it has often been overlooked that, when defined functionally as above, Paul is a prophet who does in fact implicitly claim to exercise the prophetic gift (1 Cor 13:2; 14:6, 37). Though reluctant to parade it, he has "visions and revelations of the Lord" (2 Cor 12:1–10). The many points of contact between Paul's own biographical statements and the prophets of the Hebrew Scripture document Paul's awareness of standing within the prophetic succession (cf., e.g., Gal 1:15–16; Jer 1:5; Isa 49:1). Scholars have identified numerous passages in Paul's epistles where he is incorporating his own prophetic revelations or the oracles of some other Christian prophet. Three that are commonly so identified are 1 Thess 4:15–17; Rom 11:25–26; and 1 Cor 15:51–52, while a larger number are identified more tentatively. Paul's epistles also contain a large number of prophetic forms and formulas, which he seems to use habitually and unconsciously even when he is not citing a prophetic oracle (Müller 1975).

Paul's prophetism was once understood as of a piece with Hellenistic prophecy generally (Reitzenstein 1927; Leisegang 1919). More recent study has indicated that Paul's understanding of prophecy was not simply a reflection of the prophetic phenomena experienced in his churches but stands in tension with them (cf. 1 Thess 5:19–20 and especially 1 Corinthians 12–14). While the line between "Greek" and "Jewish" understanding of prophecy should not be drawn too neatly, it is, nevertheless, the case that Paul's understanding of prophecy is shaped by his Scripture and Jewish tradition, as well as by the understanding of prophetism in early Jewish Christianity.

**2. Deutero-Paul.** It is striking that there is no reference at all to prophecy in Colossians, and that "spirit" occurs only twice, each time with reference to the human spirit. "Spiritual" in 1:9 and 3:16 does suggest insight and songs given by the spirit (not just "lively tunes"), but Colossians seems very reserved with reference to the Pauline enthusiasm for prophecy, and may already express a reaction.

Ephesians, on the other hand, looks back upon the first generation and considers prophets, along with apostles, to be a constituent element in the foundation of the Church (2:20; 3:5; 4:11). The great spiritual insight of the inclusiveness of the Church was given through the post-Easter Christian prophets (not the historical Jesus!). While it is clear that the author of Ephesians admires prophets, it is equally clear that they are no longer a living reality in his church.

Likewise in the Pastorals, prophecy is primarily a remembered phenomenon from the Pauline past, rather than a vital part of the Pastor's own church, in which not charisma but "regular" ordination at the hands of authorized officials designates people for leadership in the Church. There may still be some stirrings of the prophetic spirit manifest in the references in 1 Tim 1:18; 4:14 and 2 Tim 1:14, but if they refer to the time of the author, then the gift of prophecy is regarded with more than a bit of suspicion. The point seems to be that claims to charismatic endowment should lead to regular ordination, and in fact operates properly only with the legitimately ordained channels and in connection with the deposit of tradition *(hē parathēkē).* More likely these texts, like 1 Tim 4:1–5, belong to the fictive world of "Paul" in the first generation. As in Ephesians, prophecy seems to be admired from a safe distance.

**3. Q.** Our earliest source for Palestinian Christianity is the hypothetical document Q, which is often considered a witness to the prophetic nature of earliest Christianity. "Prophets" are mentioned in six pericopes of Q. Of these, four refer to the prophets of Hebrew Scripture (the convention of designating Q passages by their Lukan location is here followed): 6:23; 10:24; 11:47; 16:16. ("Prophesy" in the Q passage Matt 7:22 is a Matthean addition; "prophets" in the Q text Luke 13:28 is a Lukan addition.) The

way in which these texts are used indicates that for the Q community the prophets were considered the key leaders of ancient Israel. Two references point to prophets of the Q community's own time. In 7:26 John is called "more than a prophet," a designation that would include both John and Jesus as the twin messengers of transcendent Wisdom (cf. 7:33–35. In 11:49 the prophets of the Q community are included in this same line. The result is that for the Q community there was an unbroken succession of prophets from the times of Israel through John and Jesus to the Christian prophets of their own community. Rejection and persecution were the common lot of all (11:47–51). The Q document is replete with prophetic forms such as [*amēn*] *legō de hymin* ("[Amen] I say to you"). Whether some sayings of Christian prophets may be contained in Q as sayings of Jesus is discussed below.

**4. Mark.** Though he quotes their writings often, Mark specifically refers to OT prophets only twice (1:2; 7:6, both times to Isaiah), and makes two incidental references in connection with the understanding of Jesus as a prophet (6:16; 8:28). He never refers to John the Baptist or Jesus as a prophet (except for the implied self-identification by Jesus in 6:4). His only reference to prophets in the post-Easter time of the Church is 13:22, where they are considered false prophets, and are the Church's only opponents specifically named. Mark seems to be opposed to the prophetic phenomenon, which may indicate that Christian prophets who announced new sayings of the Lord were a problem in his church.

**5. Matthew.** The gospel of Matthew, on the other hand, seems to represent a church where prophecy is present and critically affirmed by the author, much as was the case with Paul and the Pauline churches. Unlike Paul, the author himself is not a prophet, but more of a scribal type (he seems to be describing himself in 13:52). His church may have been "founded" by the Q messengers (Luz 1985); he seems to stand in a later phase of the Christian prophecy manifest in the Q community. Matthew rephrases his Q source to read "the prophets *who were before you*" in 5:12, joining his own community to the prophetic community of Israel and Q. A saying peculiar to Matthew, 10:41, concludes his version of the "Missionary Discourse," indicating that Christian prophets were among the missionaries sent out by Matthew's church. In 7:15–23, general exhortations to the Christian community, in which neither the word nor idea of prophecy appears, have been altered to deal specifically with the problem posed by prophecy in the Matthean church. The passage makes clear that for Matthew the gift of prophecy did not guarantee that one was a true disciple; "doing the will of God" was the ultimate criterion.

**6. Luke-Acts.** Acts is the only NT document that purports to describe prophets in the earliest Church. Agabus stands out most clearly (11:27–30; 21:1–14) as one who is not only called "prophet" by Luke but fits the functional definition given here as well. Judas and Silas are prophets (15:32). Philip has four daughters who prophesy (21:9). Anonymous prophets proclaim their message by the Spirit, a term used interchangeably in such contexts with "Holy Spirit," "Spirit of the Lord," and "Spirit of Jesus," showing that it is the exalted Christ who is thought of as active in the prophetic event (16:6–7; 20:23; 21:4). A group of prophets and teachers at Antioch includes Barnabas and Paul (13:1–2). That Luke intends to include Barnabas among the prophets seems to be clear both from the grammar of this text and from 4:36; whether or not Paul is called a prophet in 13:1–2 is not absolutely clear. At the least, Paul is associated very closely with church prophets and is described by Luke as functioning as a prophet (9:3–6; 13:9–12; 16:6–9; 18:9–10; 22:6–21; 26:9–20; 27:23–24). In addition to this portrayal of particular individuals who manifest the prophetic gift, Luke understands that the Spirit has been poured out on the whole church, and this Spirit is preeminently the Spirit of Prophecy (2:17–18, 38; 4:31; 6:10; 16:6–7). This means that, though Luke does recognize certain persons in the Church who function consistently as prophets (whom he so designates), he does not draw a sharp line between prophets and nonprophets. For Luke, whoever in the church acts in the power of the Spirit is something of a prophet.

Luke is obviously interested in portraying the Church as the continuation of the OT people of God, which leads him to portray Christian prophets (as well as John the Baptist and Jesus) as similar to the prophets of his Bible. Agabus' binding himself with Paul's belt, for example, is reminiscent of the symbolic acts performed by Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah (Acts 21:10–14; cf. Isa 20:2–6; Ezekiel 4–5; Jer 13:1–11). This and other Lukan *tendenzen* make it difficult to extract the historical reality that lay behind Luke's theological portrayal. Prophets may have been much more active in the leadership of the earliest

Church, for example, than Luke's account indicates, for it emphasizes his own interests in ordered apostolic leadership. In this, Luke-Acts belongs with the Deutero-Pauline tradition discussed above. This means that in the gospel of Luke, where Jesus is portrayed in the garb of a biblical prophet, it is difficult to distinguish history from Luke's own theologizing. An exception may be provided by the outburst of prophetic phenomena in the Lukan Birth story (cf. Luke 1:35, 41–45, 67–79; 2:29–35), which may preserve memories and materials from early Christian prophets.

**7. John and the Johannine Tradition.** Only Jesus is called "prophet" in the gospel of John (4:19, 44; 9:17), and only Caiaphas is said to "prophesy" (11:51). Yet the function of Christian prophecy seems to be clearly evidenced in the Johannine church. Whether or not the author of Revelation is regarded as a member of the Johannine "school," the numerous points of contact between the gospel and the Apocalypse indicate interaction between the evangelist and Christian prophecy, since the Apocalypse obviously was written by a prophet. The letters, too, come from a circle that was familiar with the prophetic phenomenon and was beginning to experience some manifestations of it as problematic, without denying its validity per se (1 John 2:20, 27; 4:1–3). And since the "we" of 1 John cannot be separated from the "we" of the Fourth Gospel, we would expect a priori that the gospel would also originate from a circle in which the prophetic ministry was alive. The internal evidence of the gospel bears out this expectation. The Johannine portrayal of both the Paraclete and Jesus seems to be influenced by the author's perception of the ministry of Christian prophets in the Johannine church (cf. Boring 1978). On the night before Jesus' death, the disciples are promised that the Spirit will come in Jesus' name and speak with Jesus' authority, the Paraclete who will both keep alive the memory of Jesus and reveal new truth after Jesus' death (14:15–17, 25–26; 15:26–27; 16:8–11, 12–15). The functions of Christian prophets are here described.

**8. Revelation.** The Apocalypse is our most obvious, and most extensive, example of Christian prophecy among our earliest documents, being rivaled only by the later Hermas. Like Paul, the author does not specifically use *prophētēs* of himself, but nonetheless claims to write *prophēteia* (1:3; 19:20; 22:7, 10, 18–19) and to belong to a group of *prophētai* (22:9). the "book" (i.e., letter) is throughout the address of the risen Lord to his church through his immediately inspired spokesman. It is not only chapters 2–3 that are presented as the word of the exalted Lord, but the document as a whole. The subjective genitive of 1:1 embraces the whole document (cf. the series of quotations in 21:9, 15; 22:1, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12). Although the apocalyptic form of sealed scroll and interpreting angel is retained, it is subordinated to the understanding of revelation as Christian prophecy in which the risen Lord speaks through his prophet. Though saturated with apocalyptic content as well as apocalyptic forms, Revelation is thus, nonetheless, a thoroughly prophetic document. "Prophetic" and "apocalyptic" are not alternatives. Unlike the apocalyptists, John speaks in his own name the revelations he receives from the exalted Lord. That he uses traditional materials and stereotyped forms is no objection to the reality of his visionary experiences, for prophets customarily made use of traditional forms and materials to convey their messages received in various degrees of "ecstatic" experience.

**9. Didache.** The Manual of Church Order (*Didache* 6–15) comes from a Christian community that both honors prophecy and has come to experience it as a problem. This is the reason for the intense interest of the author(s) in prophecy, an interest that causes the instructions on prophets to be elaborated far beyond what is said about "apostles" and "teachers." These instructions do not seem to be all of a piece, indicating that they came into being from different hands over an extended period. For example, the prophet is considered to be above question when he speaks "in the Spirit," so that to challenge him is the unforgivable sin (11:7); and yet some things that he says are not to be tolerated, even if said "in the Spirit" (11:12). The criterion of true prophecy is whether he teaches according to the truth (11:1); but even that prophet who teaches according to the truth is a false prophet "if he does not practice what he teaches" (11:10). The *Didache* has been most influential in supporting the one-sided theory that early Christian prophets were itinerant "wanderers" rather than "settled" (Harnack 1910), but a close reading of the *Didache* indicates that its support for this purported characteristic of early Christian prophetism has been overemphasized.

**10. Ignatius.** The one instance in the Bishop of Antioch's letters that may refer to Christian prophets is not clear; it may refer to biblical prophets (*Phld.* 5:2). In any case, the reference is only incidental and provides no information. On the other hand, Ignatius speaks of himself as having "cried out" with a "great voice," the "voice of God," in which "the Spirit was speaking" (*Phld.* 7:1–2), in a context which suggests he thought of himself as speaking prophetically. The content of his oracle is an admonition to "give heed to the bishop, the presbyter, and the deacons," so Ignatius is somewhat like the Pastorals in that charisma serves primarily to reinforce church order through the developing regular channels.

**11. Odes of Solomon.** The prophetic spirit was thought to inspire not only oracles but hymns (cf. 1 Cor 14:15; Col 3:16; Eph 5:19; cf. the *Hodayot* from the prophetic Teacher of Qumran). The collection of forty-two hymns, all composed by the same author, seems to express the claim to prophetic inspiration. In some of them Christ speaks in the first person, as in Revelation. Particularly well-known is the concluding hymn, which expresses the prophetic self-consciousness in the words (42:6).

Then I arose and am with them,
and will speak by their mouths.

**12. Hermas.** The *Shepherd of Hermas* likewise emanates from within a structured ecclesiastical context, the Roman church in the first half of the 2d century, and is written by an author who never refers to himself as a prophet. Unless the "prophecy" of the author is only a literary device, the author is, nonetheless, a prophet by our definition, for the document repeatedly presents itself as the revelation of the Holy Spirit or Son of God to his church in the latter days (e.g., *Vis.* IV. 1.3; *Sim.* IX 1.1). The prophetic phenomenon seems still to be present in the author's church, where both "true" and "false" prophets can be observed and must be tested (*Man.* XI). There still seem to be some marks of genuine prophetic self-consciousness, e.g., the revelation of a second chance of repentance in view of the impending persecution and the imminent return of the Lord (*Vis.* III. 1.9). But even if the author does have some personal prophetic experiences, for the most part his writing is a tedious, labored, uninspired, and uninspiring work, formally in the prophetic category but written by one for whom prophecy is already a traditional phenomenon that may be stereotyped. In him, we hear the last faint echoes of the "old" prophecy. After him, references to prophecy in the Church are oriented to the "New Prophecy" of Montanism, either in affirmation or in repudiation.

**D. General Characteristics and Themes of Early Christian Prophecy**

**1. Extent, Uniformity, and Variety.** The survey above indicates that prophecy was not rare, episodic, or isolated, but was a widespread phenomenon in early Christianity that has left its traces in a variety of early Christian literature. Christian theology's emphasis on "the Prophets" (of the Hebrew Scripture) as those who predicted the days of Jesus and the Church has contributed to the fact that "prophecy" is frequently neglected as a major category for comprehending early Christianity and its own self-understanding. In fact, prophets and prophecy form a primary common denominator and line of continuity between the Hebrew Bible and the Christian Scripture. We have seen that there is considerable variety in the manifestations of prophecy in early Christianity. There are, nonetheless, enough common features to permit some general impressions, to which there are always exceptions.

**2. Prophets as Church Figures.** The context of prophecy is the worshipping congregation, to which prophets belong as constituent members. Although prophets, like others, on occasion travel from place to place, it is overdrawn to impose a doubtful interpretation of prophecy in the *Didache* on all our other sources, and picture itinerary as of the essence of Christian prophetism.

**3. Prophets as Religious Figures.** While Early Christianity generally believed that the Spirit was given to the body of believers as a whole, and not only to gifted individuals within it, prophecy was not an amorphous potentiality diffused throughout the Christian community. There was usually an identifiable group that functioned as prophets, who were recognized as such by the Church. Since the Spirit was given to the Church at large, however, the prophetic gift did not separate prophets from the Christian community. The Church as a whole, which also possessed the Spirit, was charged with critically evaluating the utterances of the prophets (Rev 2:2, 6, 14, 15, 20; 1 Corinthians 14). The prophets spoke with authority as they announced the unqualified word of the Lord, but it is also clear that they should

expect a deliberate, engaged response from the community. The prophets functioned in the gathered worship of the community, not in private séances or consultations. The burden of their message was the edification of the community, not the satisfaction of private curiosity.

**4. Prophets and Tradition.** Tradition and revelation are not alternatives. The reality of the revelatory experiences of the prophets did not mean that they were divorced from tradition. Their oracles could be expressed using words from Scripture or other Christian tradition as the vehicle of their message.

**5. Prophets and the Continuing Voice of Jesus.** Prophets could express their revelations in words of the historical Jesus, which they sometimes took up and re-presented in a modified form more relevant to the new situation. Many scholars believe that new sayings of Jesus were spoken by church prophets. These sayings were blended into the Church's tradition of Jesus' words and appear in the narrative framework of the Gospels as sayings of the earthly Jesus. Since to early Christianity the earthly Jesus and the heavenly Lord were one and the same person, prior to the fixation of the tradition in the writing of the Gospels no consistent distinction was made between sayings of the pre-Easter Jesus and post-Easter revelations through church prophets. Although the presence of such prophetic sayings in the gospels is generally acknowledged, whether particular sayings that originated as Christian prophecy can be identified with any degree of confidence is a disputed point among scholars (pro: Boring 1982; con: Aune 1983; Hill 1979).

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M. EUGENE BORING

**PROPHETS, LIVES OF THE.** A short Jewish writing, deriving probably from the 1st century C.E. Its opening words describe the work's content: "The names of the prophets, and where they are from, and where they died and how, and where they lie."

Although Syriac, Ethiopic, Latin, and Armenian versions are extant, these all appear to derive from Greek originals. The numerous Greek witnesses are generally sorted into four major recensions: long and short recensions attributed to Epiphanius, another ascribed to Dorotheus, and an anonymous recension. Of these the last appears to be the earliest and to preserve the best text. It is best represented by Codex Marchalianus (Cod. Vaticanus Gk. 2125, 6th century, Vatican Library), known by the siglum Q. The Greek manuscripts differ considerably in the order in which the canonical prophets are presented and in their choice of nonliterary prophets to be treated.

Because of provenance and subject matter it is often assumed that the document was written originally in a Semitic language: Syriac, Hebrew, or Aramaic. Torrey (1946) believed it possible to demonstrate that certain problems in the Greek text are due to the mistranslation of an underlying Hebrew writing. Klein, on the other hand, maintained that an Aramaic original was as possible as a Hebrew one (1937). Schermann (1907a), whose work on the document remains fundamental, postulated a Hebrew source, but insisted that the earliest Greek text was not simply a translation. It thus remains possible that, despite an origin in the folklore of Jewish Palestine, the work may have first assumed its present shape in Greek.

Some of the Greek mss are clearly Christian products, incorporating sections concerning John the Baptist, his father Zechariah, and other early figures referred to in the NT. Fortunately, the Q ms contains none of these obvious interpolations, but more subtle Christian alterations are suspected at a few points. A date after the emergence of Christianity is probable if 2:13 ("And this will be for you a sign of [the Lord's] coming, when all the gentiles worship a piece of wood") is taken as a Jewish expression of disgust at Christian superstition, but the words may just as well represent a Christian interpolation anticipating Jesus' Parousia, when the full number of gentiles have been converted. (References and quotations follow the translation of Hare *OTP* 2: 379–99.) Perhaps significant is the fact that there is no clear mention of the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. (a possible allusion may be found in the ambiguous language of 12:11); such an omission would be surprising in the opening passage concerning Isaiah's grave, which seems to assume that the readers can make a pilgrimage to the site. Moreover, it has been proposed that this same passage presupposes that the pool of Siloam is situated outside the walls of Jerusalem. This was no longer the case after Herod Agrippa added a new southern wall to the city's fortifications in 41–44 C.E. An early date is also suggested by the author's allusion to Elijah as "a Thesbite, from the land of Arabs" (21:1), since Nabatean control of this area ended in 106 C.E. Of still greater importance for the dating of the document is the fact that its interest in the graves of the prophets is paralleled by the erection of an impressive monument at David's tomb by Herod the Great (Jos. *Ant* 16.7.1 §182). We may suppose that this interest in venerating David's resting place spread to include other ancient worthies, as witnessed in the saying attributed to Jesus by Matt 23:29 ("Woe to you … for you build the tombs of the prophets and adorn the monuments of the righteous"; cf. Luke 11:47–48). Since there is no mention of newly constructed monuments in the *Lives*, it is even possible that its publication early in the 1st century was one of the factors encouraging the activity to which Jesus' saying alludes.

The author appears to have precise knowledge of Jerusalem. This inclined Torrey (1946) to the opinion that the author was a Jerusalemite Jew. Since both the Hebrew and Greek textual traditions of Scripture are reflected in the document, we can postulate that its author was a bilingual Jew living in Judea.

In Codex Q, twenty-three prophets are treated, in the following order: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Micah, Amos, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Nathan, Ahijah, Joad (the unnamed "man of God" of 1 Kings 13), Azariah, Elijah, Elisha, and Zechariah, son of Jehoiada. It is to be noted that the position of Daniel conforms with the sequence of the LXX, not with that of the MT, and that the order in which the Twelve are presented is likewise closer to that of the LXX.

The amount of space devoted to the various prophets varies greatly. Joel receives the least attention: "Joel was from the territory of Reuben, in the countryside of Bethomoron. He died in peace and was buried there." The major prophets and Daniel, however, are treated at considerable length through the incorporation of legendary traditions, many of which are known to us from other Jewish sources.

The sections devoted to Elijah and Elisha are also extended, but in these two cases the material is primarily a summary of "signs" attributed to the two prophets in the canon (1–2 Kings). This material is omitted by the Dorotheus recension, and is replaced by shorter additions in the two recensions attributed to Epiphanius. Torrey is therefore justified in regarding these passages of Codex Q as later additions (1946).

Of special interest is the fact that in all four recensions the sections dealing with Elijah and Elisha contain brief birth narratives. Respecting Elijah, for example, it is reported: "When he was to be born, his father Sobacha saw that men of shining white appearance were greeting him and wrapping him in fire, and they gave him flames of fire to eat. And he went and reported (this) in Jerusalem, and the oracle told him, 'Do not be afraid, for his dwelling will be light and his word judgment, and he will judge Israel.' " This is one of the earliest witnesses to the belief that Elijah has been assigned a judging role in the eschatological drama.

The document is not profoundly theological. It is a good example of "folk religion," replete as it is with legend and superstition. Interest in Jeremiah's grave, for example, is motivated by its effectiveness in healing snake bites: "And those who are God's faithful pray at the place to this very day, and taking the dust of the place they heal asps' bites" (2:4). In terms of the history of religion, the document provides evidence of the emerging practice of venerating the saints, which later became such a prominent feature of popular Christianity.

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**PROSELYTE** [Gk *proselytos* (προσελυτος)]. In antiquity the term "proselyte" was used only in the context of Judaism. In the LXX it translates Heb *gēr,* a word designating a resident alien or sojourner in the land. Later it became a technical term for a convert to Judaism, thus representing one aspect of the more general phenomenon of conversion in antiquity (the basic work on this subject remains Nock 1933). The term is used in Matt 23:15 and Acts 2:11 (—Eng 2:10); 6:5 and 13:43. The difficulties in determining this word's meaning include the relative paucity and frequent obscurity of the extant occurrences, and the lack of a thorough critical analysis. Not only do scholars today differ widely in their interpretation of the evidence, even the Jews of antiquity seem to have held a wide range of opinions regarding the proselyte (Cohen 1989: 14). To establish the background for the NT meaning of the term, here the most important Jewish (OT, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Philo, Josephus, rabbinic literature, and epigraphic evidence) and Greco-Roman sources concerning conversion to Judaism are presented.

In the Hebrew Bible the *gēr* was an alien who resided in the land, thereby lacking the protection and privileges associated with blood relationship and native birth. The term occurs most frequently in the Pentateuch. The Book of the Covenant portrays the *gēr* as standing in a special relationship to Yahweh (see Exod 20:10; 22:21; 23:9, 12). Even so, the *gēr's* status was not religious, but reflected the fact that the *gēr,* as an alien, was under the influence of the God, to whom the land belonged. While Deuteronomy includes the *gēr* in the observance of some religious rites and festivals (5:14; 16:11, 14; 29:11), when 31:12 explicitly states that the *gēr* must be present for the solemn reading of the law, the intent was to expose the *gēr* to the demands of the law, not to imply that he was a full-fledged member of the cultic community (*TDOT* 2: 455). In P nearly the same religious rights and duties apply to the *gēr* as to the full

citizen (Num 15:14–16). This inclusion of the *gēr* in the religious life of the nation arose from the people's sense of their own separateness, which demanded full differentiation from all foreigners. Since the people could not avoid contact with the *gērîm,* they had to provide a place for them in the religious community (*TDNT* 6:730). In the late strata of P, the *gēr* was fully integrated into the life of the community by circumcision and mode of life (*TDOT* 2: 447). In the prophetic literature the *gēr* is routinely associated with defenseless widows and orphans as those who are unjustly oppressed (Jer 7:6; 22:3; Ezek 22:7, 29; Zech 7:10; Mal 3:5) and is said to have a share with the tribes of Israel in the promised inheritance (Ezek 47:22–23).

The LXX translated Heb *gēr* with Gk *prosēlytos* 77 times, but only in those cases where the context suggested a religious meaning, employing the terms *xenos* and *paroikos* elsewhere. This narrowing of the definition was a result of the Jews' altered circumstances in the Diaspora. The translators of the LXX appropriated the OT concern for resident aliens on behalf of the gentiles who adopted the religion and customs of Judaism, thereby providing a biblical basis for a practical reality.

Proselytes play a minor role in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Achior the Ammonite believed firmly in God, was circumcised, and joined the house of Israel (Jdt 14:10). In *Joseph and Aseneth* the Egyptian Aseneth converted to Judaism in order to marry the patriarch Joseph.

While Philo did use the term proselyte for converts to Judaism (*Somn* II 273; *Spec Leg* I.51, 308), he seems to have preferred the more familiar term "alien" (*epēlus, epēlutes, epēlytos*). Philo asserted that converts had equal status with those who were Jews by birth. Moreover, because of their conversion they deserved special attention, having left country, family, friends, customs, tributes, and honors for the sake of the truth (*Spec Leg* I.51–53; 4.178; *Virt* 102–4, 219). He contrasted the virtues of the converts with the vices of those Jews by birth who had forsaken the faith (*Virt* 182; see *Praem* 152; *Spec Leg* I.51).

Josephus avoided using the term "proselyte." The closest he came was to call Fulvia, a Roman woman of high rank, a "convert to Judaism *[proselēlythuian tois loudaikois]*" (*Ant* 18.82). Normally he employed such phrases as those who "adopt our laws *[nomous eiselthein]*" (*Ag Ap* 2.123); those "aliens *[allophylous]*" who "elect to share" Jewish customs and who "desire to come and live under the same laws with us" (2.209–10); or those who "became converts to Judaism *[eis ta loudaiōn ethē ton bion metebalon]*" (20.17; see also 20.139). Even so, Josephus remains the foremost source for accounts of conversion to Judaism in the biblical period. The most extensive surviving account of a convert is that of Izates, king of Adiabene, who was instructed in the Jewish faith by a merchant named Ananias (*Ant* 20.17–95). Izates' mother, Helena, while sympathetic, warned that his subjects "would not tolerate the rule of a Jew over them." Ananias agreed with her, contending that Izates could "worship God without being circumcised." Another Jew, Eleazar, a Galilean with a reputation for strict adherence to the ancestral laws, told Izates that he "ought not merely to read the law but also, and even more, to do what is commanded in it." Izates took this advice and was circumcised. Later his brother, Monobazus, seeing that the king's pious worship of God "won the admiration of all men," likewise wished to convert to Judaism. Some members of the royal family subsequently supported the Jewish revolt against Rome (*JW* 2.520; 5.474).

In addition to accounts of conversion, Josephus also related that Jewish customs held some attraction for gentiles: "There is not one city, Greek or barbarian, nor a single nation, to which our custom of abstaining from work on the seventh day has not spread." Some also observed fasting, the lighting of lamps, and many of the dietary regulations. Moreover, the gentiles imitated "our unanimity, our liberal charities, our devoted labor in the crafts, our endurance under persecution on behalf of our laws" (2.281–83; see 2.179–80). The wealth of the Jewish temple was attributable to contributions from Jews and "those who worshipped God *[loudaiôn kai sebomenôn ton theon]*" (*Ant* 14.110). Nero's wife Poppaea, was "a worshipper of God *[theosebês]*" and pleaded on behalf of the Jews (*Ant* 20.195). The Jews in Antioch attracted "multitudes of Greeks" to their religious ceremonies (*JW* 7.45).

Because we lack a critical analysis of the rabbinic literature on the topic, it is difficult to state with any certainty the importance of this evidence for understanding conversion to Judaism in the biblical period. Schiffman presents a brief summary of the evidence drawn from the Tannaitic literature (1985: 19–39).

There conversion to Judaism entailed acceptance of the Torah, including an identification with the historic experience of the Jewish people. For males, circumcision was required as the ultimate sign of Jewish identity; the convert must be purified in a ritual bath; and the convert was to bring a sacrifice to the temple. The requirements of baptism and sacrifice are not attested before the end of the 1st century C.E. (Collins 1985: 171).

Kuhn has identified ten inscriptions referring to Jewish proselytes, including two from Jerusalem and eight (out of a total of 554 inscriptions referring to Jews) from Italy, a number he considers "surprisingly small" (*TDNT* 6:732–34). The Roman inscriptions come from the catacombs, where the proselytes were buried with the Jews, an indication that they were accepted as full members of the community.

Greco-Roman sources include scattered references to conversion to Judaism, many of which are openly hostile. Horace (65–8 B.C.E.) is often cited as the earliest attestator of Jewish proselytizing zeal, when he stated: "We [poets], like the Jews, will compel you to make one of our throng" (*Sat.* 1.4, 138–43). Nolland, however, attributes this statement to the realm of politics and personal advantage and not to that of the propagation of religious ideals (1979: 353). Epictetus (ca. 55–ca. 135 C.E.) contrasted those who observed some Jewish customs with those who were true converts: "Whenever we see a man halting between two faiths, we are in the habit of saying, 'He is not a Jew, he is only acting the part.' But when he adopts the attitude of mind of the man who has been baptized and has made his choice, then he both is a Jew in fact and is also called one" (cited in Arr., *Epict. Diss.* 2:19–20).

Tacitus (b. ca. 55 C.E.) considered those who were attracted to Judaism "the worst rascals," for they renounced their ancestral religions and sent contributions to Jerusalem. The Jews, he said, were extremely loyal toward one another, but toward everyone else they exhibited only hatred and enmity. They adopted circumcision to distinguish themselves from other peoples. Moreover, those who converted to their ways followed the same practices, so that the earliest lesson they received was "to despise the gods, to disown their country, and to regard their parents, children, and brothers as of little account" (*Hist.* 5.5). Juvenal (b. 67 C.E.), in a satire on the bad influence of parental vices, described a progressive attraction to Judaism from one generation to the next. The father, he said, observed the Sabbath. His offspring worshipped nothing but the clouds and the divinity of the heavens, and would no sooner eat swine's flesh than human. In time they were circumcised. Then they would give directions only to those who worshipped as they did, and would conduct none but the circumcised to the desired fountain. "For all which the father was to blame, who gave up every seventh day to idleness" (*Saturnae* 14.96–106). Cassius Dio (ca. 160–230 C.E.) observed that the title "Jews" applied both to those who are from Judea and "to all the rest of mankind, although of alien race, who affect their customs," a class which had increased "to a very great extent" (*Roman history* 37.17.1). Tiberius banished the Jews from Rome because they "were converting many of the natives to their ways" (57.18.5a). Those who "drifted into Jewish ways" were subject to the charge of atheism, which was punishable by death or at least by the confiscation of their property (67.14.2).

These references in Greco-Roman literature to conversion to Judaism are consistent with the unsympathetic attitude these sources display toward Judaism in general. Their hostility is confirmed by Philo's and Josephus' references to the difficulties converts encountered. Given this context, Millar states, the ability of the Jewish apologists to present Judaism as appealing depended on three factors. These authors focused on issues for which they could expect a sympathetic hearing, such as their conception of God, and they emphasized the role of Judaism in training for the conduct of life. Moreover, the Hellenistic world was receptive to new cult forms, especially those, like Judaism, which included a monotheistic element, emphasized the expiation of sins, and expected a happy afterlife (*HJP²* 3/1: 153–58).

To a certain extent the Jewish apologetic was clearly successful. Both Jewish and pagan sources attest that at least some Jewish practices gained wide acceptance in the Greco-Roman world. Cohen has identified a diversity of favorable responses to Judaism, ranging from admiration for some aspects of Judaism to conversion (1989: 15–30). Those gentiles who displayed some sympathy for Jewish religion without actually converting to Judaism are sometimes called "God-fearers." See DEVOUT. Determining the number of gentiles who converted remains problematic. Millar suggests that at one point (probably in the last centuries B.C.E.) their numbers may have been considerable, based on the "immense expansion of

Judaism" that seems to have taken place during that time. During the Roman period, he says, actual conversions to Judaism seem to have been less frequent than other less formal associations (*HJP²* 3/1: 171).

This evidence indicates that in the NT the term "proselyte" refers to gentiles who had converted to Judaism. Proselytes from Rome were present at Pentecost (Acts 2:11). Nicolaus, a proselyte of Antioch, was one of the seven deacons (6:5). "Devout proselytes *[tôn sebomenôn prosêlytôn]*" and Jews followed Paul and Barnabas out of the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia (13:43). The reference in Matt 23:15 to the scribes and Pharisees who "traverse sea and land to make a single proselyte" has frequently been taken to refer to the missionary zeal of the Jews in general and the Pharisees in particular. Little other evidence suggests that the Pharisees (or their descendants) were concerned with the conversion of the gentiles, except as a theoretical question. Alternately, if this saying originated with the evangelist writing after 70 C.E., rather than with Jesus speaking before 70, it would serve as an example of the Christian polemic against the nascent "normative" Judaism of the rabbis (see Wild 1985: 123). This passage is akin to the references to the "circumcision party" in Acts 11:2 and the Pauline Epistles (parallel also to Eleazar's approach to Izates of Adiabene): once a gentile became a Christian, some Jews and Jewish Christians would attempt to bring the convert into full conformity with the requirements of the law.

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## PROSTITUTION

[Heb *zĕnût* (זְנוּת), *zĕnûnîm* (זְנוּנִים), *taznût* (תַּזְנוּת)]. The practice of indiscriminate sexual relations in exchange for payment is attested throughout antiquity, as well as in the Bible. This entry consists of two articles that survey this practice. The first provides an overview to the phenomenon of prostitution as it is attested in the OT, as well as the metaphorical references to prostitution contained in the biblical text. The second focuses particularly on the question of whether and how extensively cultic (or sacred) prostitution was practiced in the ancient and biblical world.

### *OLD TESTAMENT*

Although the Hebrew root *znh* underlies all the major OT words for "prostitute" and "prostitution," derivations from the root also refer to premarital sex and to adultery (extramarital sex). The prostitute is called a *zônâ* or *ʾiššâ zônâ* but perhaps also a *qĕdēšâ.* Evidence for male prostitution is lacking (but see B below).

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A. The Prostitute in the OT

B. Cultic Prostitution in the OT

C. Prostitution as a Metaphor


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#### A. The Prostitute in the OT

The label *zônâ* is used for the professional prostitute who accepts payment for her services, but perhaps can also be applied simply to a woman who had sex before marriage (Lev 21:7, 14 and the opinion of R. Elazar in *b. Yebam.* 61b). Israelite society's attitude toward prostitution was decidedly negative; yet despite legislation intended to outlaw this institution (Lev 19:29; for Deut 23:18, see B below), the prostitute seems to have been tolerated. While priests were not allowed to marry prostitutes and their daughters were burned for plying this trade (Lev 21:7, 9, 14), these strict standards did not apply to the

lay Israelite. Prostitutes had access to the king for judgment (1 Kgs 3:16), and scholars find it worthy of mention that the Bible passes no moral judgment against Tamar, who posed as a prostitute (Genesis 38); Rahab (Joshua 2, 6); or Samson, who frequented a prostitute (Judg 16:1). Rahab in particular is cited as evidence of the Bible's ambivalent view of prostitutes, because it is she who shows exemplary wisdom and faith—so much so that in later tradition she is the progenitrix of great men (*b. Meg.* 14b; Matt 1:5).

On the other hand, this toleration is accompanied by a great degree of contempt. Bird (1974: 67) writes that the stories of Rahab and Tamar

> … also presuppose their low repute. In both accounts the harlot heroines are made to demonstrate in their words and actions faith, courage and love that would scarcely be expected of the average upright citizen and thus is all the more astonishing and compelling as the response of a harlot—that member of society from whom one would least expect religious and moral sensitivity.

Treating a girl as a prostitute was seen as a grave offense to family honor, one that justified, in the eyes of Simeon and Levi at least, death (Gen 34:31). The prostitution of one's wife was considered a horrible event on par with the death of one's children and the loss of one's patrimony (Amos 7:17). In 1 Kgs 22:38, the mention of harlots washing in the pool of Samaria where Ahab's bloody chariot was flushed out is no doubt intended as an insult to his dignity, similar to his blood being lapped by dogs. Having relations with prostitutes carried a stigma (Gen 38:23). While Lev 21:7, 14 presuppose that an Israelite would marry a former prostitute, Jer 3:3 suggests that prostitutes were a stubborn, unrepentant lot.

In Mesopotamia, prostitutes were also a tolerated, yet deprecated class of women (see the entry *ḫarīmtu*, "prostitute," CAD 6:101–2; having seven daughters become prostitutes is on par with having seven sons immolated "before Adad" [*AfO*, Beiheft 1 73 No. 8:7, NA]). The goddess Ishtar is compared to a "loving *ḫarīmtu,"* yet this is probably more of a negative reflection on Ishtar than an allusion to the exalted status of the prostitute (*Sumerisch-babylonisch Hymnen*, 106: 51). Their rights and restrictions are mentioned in law codes (Lipit Ishtar #27, *ANET*, 160; Middle Assyrian Law (henceforth MAL) #40, #49, #52, *ANET*, 183–85). This legal recognition stands in contrast with the *de jure* prohibition of prostitution in Israel, whatever the case *de facto.* Thus, Lev 19:29 prohibits the Israelite from selling his daughter into prostitution "lest the land be filled with depravity." This probably reflects the practice of selling one's children into debt slavery hinted at in Exod 21:7; 2 Kgs 4:1; and Code of Hammurabi (henceforth CH) #117 (*ANET*, 170). Deuteronomy's prohibition is more absolute: "No Israelite woman shall be a prostitute" (23:18; see B below).

Israel's greater intolerance of prostitution was probably influenced by several factors. First, paternity would be largely unknown with regard to the children of a prostitute (Jephthah in Judg 11:1 is an exception; for another, see the case in Lipit Ishtar #27, *ANET*, 160). MAL #49 (*ANET*, 184) probably reflects the normal situation in that the paternity of the harlot's children is unknown; and so they inherit from their mother: "If a prostitute dies, her children will receive a share like a brother together with the brothers of their mother." In both Israel and Mesopotamia, property and status were normally inherited patrilineally. Adoption, the transfer of the legal paternity of a child, was practiced in Mesopotamia, as evidenced by legal texts and wills (CH #185–87, *ANET*, 174; MAL #28, *ANET*, 182; for Nuzi, see Paradise 1972: 269–80). This did not seem to be the case in Israel, where we find almost no mention of the transfer of legal paternity outside of the family (Tigay, *EncJud* 2: 298–300; Moule, *IDB* 1, 48). Adoption is not mentioned in biblical law. A society which valued the patrilineal bloodline so highly would logically have a real abhorrence of children with no known paternity and of the mother who bred them. These offspring would have no proper inheritance and no patronym. Also, unknown paternity could lead to unwitting incest, another practice abhorred by YHWH (Leviticus 18, 20).

Second, Israel was to aspire to be a "holy nation," and this included a strict code of sexual morality. A comparison of the sexual ethics in biblical law with those reflected in Mesopotamian law codes reveals the absolute nature of the former. For example, Hittite law #200 (*ANET*, 197) absolves a man who had sexual relations with a horse or mule but not with a pig or bovine (#187, #199, *ANET*, 196), while Lev 18:23, 20:16 prohibit the Israelite from having carnal relations "with any beast." MAL #14 (*ANET*, 181) decrees punishment for an adulterer only if he was informed of the married status of the woman, while the

OT makes no such exception (Exod 20:14; Lev 18:20; 20:10; Deut 22:22). CH #154 (*ANET*, 172) imposes banishment for the man who has intercourse with his daughter, and death by fire for he who lies with his mother (#157). In Israel, the punishment for incest seems to be more uniformly severe. In Leviticus 20, execution (probably stoning), death by fire, *kārēt* (the imminent end of the family line according to traditional Jewish exegesis and Wold 1978), dying childless, and "bearing one's iniquity" (probably a reference to *kārēt*) are the sentences imposed upon those who commit incest. It is difficult to decide which is more severe, death by stoning or the end of one's line through divine intervention. Israel's God was highly intolerant of sexual relations outside of narrowly prescribed circumstances. The activities of a prostitute certainly fell outside of these limitations.

Third, the metaphor of apostasy as *zĕnût,* "harlotry," linked the breaking of the exclusive bond with YHWH, the Sinaitic covenant, with the rupture of the most exclusive bond known in Israelite society, marriage (Jer 2:20, 25; 3:1–13; Ezekiel 16; 23; Hosea 1–3). Apostasy, therefore, seemed all the more unacceptable because of its association with adultery and promiscuity. The process, however, may have been bidirectional in that sexual promiscuity may have seemed all the more heinous because of its kinship with religious infidelity. The title of the prostitute, *zônâ*, and her activities, *zĕnût* or *zĕnûnîm*, carried the cargo not only of sexual, but also of religious infidelity because of the currency of the expression *zānâ ʾaḥărêy ʾĕlōhîm ʾăḥērîm* (Exod 34:15–16; Deut 31:16; Judg 2:17; 8:33; 1 Chr 5:25). The use of this metaphor therefore may have served not only to make apostasy more repulsive but also prostitution, which came to symbolize infidelity and lack of discrimination in the religious sphere as well.

Possible allusions to the prostitute's distinctive garments or ornaments have been found in several OT texts. Gen 38:15 reports concerning Tamar that, "When Judah saw her, he took her for a harlot; for she had covered her face." While some see the veil alluded to here as the customary garb of a harlot, an alternative explanation is preferable: her situation suggested her vocation because a crossroads (v 14) is a traditional place for a harlot to sit (Jer 3:2; Ezek 16:25), and because Tamar's face was covered, Judah could not identify her as his daughter-in-law (so suggests Rashi and LXX's surplus at the end of the verse, "and he didn't recognize her"). MAL #40 (*ANET*, 183) prohibits the common harlot from wearing a veil. Jeremiah's allusion (3:3) to a prostitute's distinctive "forehead" (Heb *mēṣaḥ*) could suggest some peculiar ornament (Holladay *Jeremiah* Hermeneia, 115), yet it is more likely that an internal trait is intended. The forehead is the seat of obstinacy (Ezek 3:7; Isa 48:4), and *Tg. Neb.* translates here *ḥûṣpā,* "impudence." Prov 7:10 may allude to the distinctive dress of a prostitute (for the unusual term *šît,* see also Ps 73:6). In Hos 2:4, the prophet implores his straying wife to "put away her harlotry from her face and her adultery from between her breasts." While this could be a dramatic and graphic way of telling her to refrain from her promiscuity, a more literal meaning is also possible (Andersen and Freedman, *Hosea* AB, 224–25). Perhaps she wore some badge or adornment which suggested that she was a harlot. In v 5, the enraged husband threatens to strip his wife if she does not voluntarily remove these items, while v 15 mentions a nose ring and pendants. Alternatively, these adornments need not be the badges of prostitution, but rather the items that women customarily used to make themselves more attractive—cosmetics (2 Kgs 9:30; Jer 4:30) and jewelry (Isa 3:16–23).

The prostitute's fee was called *ʾetnan* (Deut 23:19; Isa 23:17–18; Ezek 16:31, 34, 41; Hos 9:1; Mic 1:7) and perhaps *ʾetnâ* (Hos 2:14; see Andersen and Freedman, 254). Ezek 16:33 uses the terms *nēdeh* and *nādān* for the gifts given to a prostitute. The use of these wages for sacrificial purposes was prohibited (Deut 23:19). Mic 1:7 may suggest that the *ʾetnan* was not an insignificant source of income for a temple (van der Toorn 1989: 193–201). Prov 6:26 seems to compare the meager price of a prostitute's serves (a loaf of bread) with the heavy cost of adultery—one's precious life. Prov 29:3, on the other hand, suggests that keeping company with prostitutes leads to poverty. Prostitutes were commonly encountered in public places such as highways (Gen 38:14; Jer 3:2; Ezek 16:25; Prov 7:11–12) or pilgrimage sites (Hos 4:14), yet Jer 5:7 condemns those Jerusalemites who go "trooping to a harlot's house." Isa 23:15–16 suggests that prostitutes commonly sang and played the harp.

The "foreign woman" *(ʾiššâ zārâ* or *nōkriyyâ)* of Proverbs 2; 5–7 is probably not a harlot but rather an adulteress (2:16–17, 6:29–35; 7:19). Prov 6:26 seems to contrast the prostitute and the adulteress, who is

also called an "alien" (*nōkriyyâ,* v 24). In Proverbs 7, the seductress appears in a harlot's garb (if that is the intent of *šît zônâ,* v 10) yet she does not receive wages as a harlot, but rather rewards her paramour with a feast (v 14). Only Prov 23:27 identifies the *nōkriyyâ* as a *zônâ,* but the LXX reads here *zārâ,* not *zônâ.*

**B. Cultic Prostitution in the OT**

It has long been assumed that the terms *qādēš/qĕdēšâ* allude to the practice of cultic prostitution in Israel, yet recent studies seriously question this widespread assumption. See also PROSTITUTION (CULTIC). The supposed role of the Mesopotamian *qadištu* as a cult prostitute has been thought to provide proof that her Hebrew counterpart, the *qĕdēšâ,* likewise had a sexual function in the cult. Yet the research of Gruber (1986: 133–48), Hooks (1985: 15–17), and Gwaltney (1964) gainsays this assumption. The *qadištu* assumed various cultic roles, yet none of these were sexual. Among other classes of female cultic functionaries, only the *kezertu* and perhaps the *ḫarīmtu* may have combined both cultic and sexual functions (Gallery 1980: 333–38; entry *ḫarīmtu,* CAD 6: 101–2). Further, the term *qdšm* at Ugarit signifies a class of male cult personnel, who are generally mentioned after the *khnm,* "priests." Any insinuation of sexual activity is lacking (Kinet 1977: 80; von Soden 1970: 329–30; Gruber 1983: 170–71). Extrabiblical sources, therefore, cannot be used as evidence for the sexual/cultic role of the *qādēš/qĕdēšâ,* nor does the LXX provide proof for the translation "cultic prostitute" (Dion 1981: 41–48).

In the OT, the assumption of sexual/cultic functions for these groups may result from the mistaken conflation of the discrete roles of these two groups, *qādēš* and *qĕdēšâ.* On the basis of Ugaritic texts and various passages in the books of Kings which refer to the *qādēš* (1 Kgs 14:24; 15:12; 22:47; 2 Kgs 23:7), it can be concluded that *qādēš/qĕdēšîm* refer to a priestly class rejected by orthodox Yahwists. The nature of their activities is not specified. In contrast, the feminine *qĕdēšâ* always appears as a synonym of *zônâ,* the common Hebrew word for prostitute (Genesis 38; Deut 23:18–19; Hos 4:14). This suggests a bifurcation of these two closely related words, *qādēš* and *qĕdēšâ,* masculine and feminine, as they seem to refer to two very different phenomena. This proposed distinction stands in opposition to the consensus of commentators that the collective noun *qādēš* refers to both the male and female members of the same class, *qĕdēšîm* and *qĕdēšôt* (e.g., Gray, *Kings* OTL, 311).

That these two homonymous nouns should refer to professions so different may be inferred from two biblical passages. 2 Kgs 23:7 could suggest that *qĕdēšîm* refers only to males since it reports that the women *(nāšîm)* present in the *bāttêy haqqĕdēšîm* were involved in weaving and nothing else. The second passage is Deut 23:18: "No Israelite woman shall be a *qĕdēšâ* nor shall any Israelite man be a *qādēš."* If the collective noun *qādēš* referred to both male and female cult prostitutes, then only one clause would be needed—*Lō› yihyeh qādēš mibbĕnê yisrā›ēl,* "No Israelite shall be a *qādēš";* this would be sufficient to prohibit all Israelites, male and female, from the act of sacred prostitution. The bipartite nature of the verse, with each half referring to gender, may suggest that the feminine and masculine nouns should be distinguished and could refer to two distinct classes of people, pagan or non-Yahwistic priests and common harlots. The Deuteronomist treated both of these classes in the same verse because both of these professions were seen as abhorrent to the pious writer and, more obviously, because of the similarity of the two words, *qādēš* and *qĕdēšâ.* Deut 23:18, accordingly, serves as a blanket prohibition against Israelite women becoming sexual mercenaries *in general,* and not specifically cult prostitutes.

When this verse is considered with its complement, v 19, the matter becomes more complicated because of *keleb,* "dog." While it can be suggested that there is no necessary connection between the two verses and that v 19 should not be used to explicate v 18 (or vice versa), the appearance of *qĕdēšâ* and *zônâ,* which are used together in Hos 4:14 and Genesis 38, makes this disjunction unlikely. Most commentators read v 18 and v 19 together as an attempt to limit prostitution, especially of the cultic sort, in Israel; and they understand *keleb,* "dog," as a reference to a male cultic prostitute so that *qādēš* is thereby provided with a synonym (e.g., Driver *Deuteronomy* ICC, 265; Mayes, *Deuteronomy* NCB, 320). This cultic interpretation of *keleb* is also based on an extra-Israelite inscription from the 4th century B.C.E. found at Kition. This inscription lists the expenses of a temple and its various personnel who receive stipends (*KAI* 2: 54–55; Cooke 1903: 65–70). While *klb* here could refer to a canine, a human referent is plausible

because of the widespread use of *klb* in the ANE as a term equivalent to "faithful servant" (see *kalbu*, CAD 8:72; the Lachish Ostraca, *ANET*, 322; and personal names in Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Hebrew). A *keleb* would therefore be a servant at the sanctuary whose activities are unclear. The terms *klb/klbm* are also found at Ugarit; while the singular clearly refers to a canine (*UT* 125: 2, 15; Krt: 123, 226), the referents of the plural are unclear (*UT* 305: 4; 329: 18). Some scholars have suggested that the "dogs" listed among those not allowed into messianic Jerusalem in Rev 22:15 are male cult prostitutes, but this interpretation is based on Deut 23:19 and the Kition inscription. The use of "dogs" elsewhere in the NT offers no support (Matt 7:6; 15:26; Phil 3:2). In any event, no extrabiblical proof speaks for the identification of *keleb* in Deut 23:19 as "male cult prostitute."

Other interpretations of Deut 23:19 are possible. First, the verse may actually refer to a canine. The Mishna adopts this interpretation: "What is the 'price of a dog' *(mĕḥîr keleb)*? When one says to his fellow: 'Take this lamb in exchange for this dog' " (*m. Tem.* 6:3). The lamb, which would otherwise be suitable for the altar, is prohibited in this case because it was acquired in exchange for a dog. This association is not surprising since dogs were used for herding in Israel's pastoral economy (Job 30:1; Isa 56:10–11). The exchange of a lamb for a "sheepdog" in the Mishna's example may therefore reflect everyday practice.

Deuteronomy's prohibition of the "price of a dog" should then be viewed against the background of the OT's attitude of disgust and contempt toward these animals: a dog returns to its own vomit (Prov 26:11) and eats the unclean (Exod 22:30), including human flesh (1 Kgs 14:11; 16:4; 21:23–24; 2 Kgs 9:10, 36; Jer 15:3). A "dead dog" is synonymous with a despised and worthless object (2 Sam 9:8; 16:9), and Job 30:1 may be an adaptation of a popular expression of contempt (Pope, *Job* AB, 193). It is therefore understandable why the "price of a dog" would have been prohibited from donation to the temple. The word *mĕḥîr* also suggests that a canine may be the intention of the verse since it refers to the price in exchange for an object rather than a "wage" (2 Sam 24:24; 1 Kgs 10:28; 21:2; Jer 15:13; Prov 27:26; Lam 5:4; in Isa 45:13; and Mic 3:11, it appears as a synonym of *šōḥad*, "bribe," yet this too would be inappropriate for a professional prostitute's fee). Canines and prostitutes are also linked in 1 Kgs 22:38, and here both serve to symbolize Ahab's final disgrace.

According to this approach, Deut 23:18 and v 19 are juxtaposed because they both mention prostitutes, the *qĕdēšâ* and *zônâ*. The *qādēš* in v 18 refers to pagan priests, and the *keleb* in v 19 refers literally to canines (although the association of these two in parallel may be intended to mock and disparage these non-Yahwistic cultic officials).

A second possible interpretation of Deut 23:19 is offered by Gruber (1983: 167–76; 1986: 133 n. 1). On the basis of the books of Kings and Ugaritic texts, he concludes that the *qādēš* had no connection with cultic sex, but rather, as suggested above, was an official in a pagan cult. Further, in the inscription from Kition, the "dogs" seem to be some sort of temple servants. Gruber thus concludes that *both* verses, 18 and 19, contain references to common prostitution and to a kind of pagan cultic official; thus, as in many other places in the Bible, a cultic prohibition and an ethical prohibition have been placed side by side. An A-B-A´-B´ pattern *(qĕdēšâ-qādēš-zônâ-keleb)* becomes apparent, with A/A´ containing synonymous terms for the common prostitute and B/B´ containing labels for unorthodox cultic officials.

These two interpretations of *keleb* offered above (literal canine and cultic servant) are important to the better understanding of Deut 23:18–19 because either allows us to see the traditional translation of *qādēš*, "cultic prostitute," as only one, and perhaps not the best, understanding of the text.

How then are we to explain the use of the title *qĕdēšâ,* which suggests a relationship to holiness, for the common prostitute? From the premodern exegetes, Naḥmanides explains the term as the result of the phenomenon in Hebrew that one word can have a certain meaning along with its opposite (commentary on Deut 23:18). Thus, she who separates herself from holiness, just as she who guards herself from defilement, can be labeled with the root *qdš.* Further, two passages in the Bible employ the root *qdš* in the sense "to separate," "set apart" (Josh 20:7; Jer 12:3); and perhaps the title *qĕdēšâ* is derived from this—the prostitute by virtue of her unmarried status and ill-repute is alienated from the community and so "set

apart." According to Snijders, the promiscuous woman in Proverbs is labeled *ʾiššâ zārâ,* a "foreign woman," for the same reason (1954: 96).

Gruber cites a linguistic analogue to the label "holy one" for a prostitute. He writes that the use of the same root for "prostitute" *(qĕdēšâ)* and "cultic functionary" *(qādēš)* is not surprising, since from *ḥrm,* a root synonymous with *qdš,* we have in Hebrew the noun *ḥerem,* "the ban," and the verb *lĕhaḥărîm,* "to ban, devote, consecrate" (Lev 27:28), but in Akkadian the term *ḫarīmtu* "prostitute." This can be explained by the fact that the root meaning of the term is "she who is set apart," whether for exaltation or degradation (Gruber 1986: 148).

Two passages other than Deut 23:18 mention the *qĕdēšâ,* and neither necessarily justifies the translation "cult prostitute." In Genesis 38, Judah encounters Tamar at a crossroads, not a temple or shrine, and takes her for a *zônâ,* common harlot (v 15). It is Judah's Canaanite friend, Hirah, who introduces the word *qĕdēšâ* in his query to the people of Timnah, and they reply with the same term (vv 21–22). The variation, therefore, may be based on their different ethnic backgrounds, since Hirah inquires of the harlot's whereabouts with a term that suggests her identity as he and the townsmen would know it, but with a term different from that used by Judah. On the other hand, if *zônâ* and *qĕdēšâ* are synonymous, the retort, "there has been no *qĕdēšâ* here" (v 22), makes little sense because Tamar did indeed pose as a harlot and the townsmen would have been aware of it. It can be argued, however, that Tamar offered herself not to any and every man but only to Judah, and that she stationed herself at a public place just long enough to catch his eye. That the men of Timnah did not take note of her is then understandable (Hooks 1985: 169). The Israelite audience would have been familiar with the equivalence of these two words and perhaps amused by the Canaanite's ascription of holiness to a sexual mercenary who sits at crossroads.

Hos 4:13–14 offers a cultic setting for the activities of the *qĕdēšâ,* with the mention of mountaintops, shade trees, incense, and sacrifice. Debatable, however, is the relationship of her activities to the cultic event, since the presence of prostitutes at a religious festival could be just one of the excesses such merrymaking would precipitate (van der Toorn 1989: 202). Ginsberg comments that "inviting prostitutes to the sacrificial banquets was a feature of the festivity rather than of the ritual" and that "the prophet's fulminations are aimed at the depravity of this dalliance not at its alleged rituality …" (*EncJud* 8: 1019; also Gruber 1986: 134, n. 5). This interpretation of the verse sees the presence of a harlot at a high place for a feast as natural as her modern counterpart's appearance at a Mardi Gras or saint's day. Further, Hos 4:13–14 can be compared to Deut 23:19, which bars the donation of a whore's wages to the temple: if a whore's wages are prohibited, how much more the whore herself!

**C. Prostitution as a Metaphor**

Prostitution is widely used in the OT as a metaphor for Israel's defection from its covenant god. In fact, "prostitution" (Heb *znh*) is the dominant term when apostasy is characterized as illicit sex. This is surprising, since "adultery" (Heb *nʾp*) is, strictly speaking, more suitable for the characterization of Israel's relations outside of its "marriage bond" (the covenant) than is *znh,* the legal term which applies also to premarital sex.

Several factors may account for this: (1) *znh* implies that the illicit activity is habitual or iterative since the participle *zônâ* describes the professional whore; (2) the motive, personal gain, is supplied; and this is exploited by the prophets who point to Israel's folly in her pursuit of material goods from "no-gods" (Hosea 2); (3) *znh* implies a multiplicity of partners, and this all the more ridicules Israel's indiscriminate choice of fetishes for worship (Jer 2:20, 28); (4) the participle *zônâ* suggests a treacherous and hardened woman (Jer 3:3), and the concrete image of the whore is well suited for the personification of Israel as a woman; and (5) the root *znh* refers to illicit sex only by females, and because Israel in the covenant relationship adopts the feminine role, it is more fitting that a verb used strictly for females play a central role (*nʾp,* on the other hand, refers to illicit sexual activity by both sexes—a *nōʾēp* is a man, whether single or married, who engages in sex with a married woman [Lev 20:10]). The root *znh,* while strictly speaking less appropriate for symbolizing Israel's covenant breaking, was therefore a more effective rhetorical tool.

Prostitution is used as a metaphor for subjects other than Israel's apostasy, and even foreign cities in the OT are labeled *zônôt.* In Isa 23:15–18, Tyre, the great commercial emporium, is likened to a whore and her profits called *ʾetnan,* "a harlot's hire." Because the issue here is not fidelity to any covenant, a probable motive is the prophet's negative view of commerce. Israel was chiefly an agricultural nation with only sporadic experience with far-flung trade (Reviv, *EncJud* 15: 1294). In Isa 23:8; Hos 12:8; Zech 14:21; Prov 31:24; and Job 40:30, traders are called "Canaanites" and the international trade mentioned in 1 Kgs 9:26–28; 22:49 seems to be the exception. This disapproving attitude toward international trade no doubt facilitated its comparison to prostitution, a decidedly negative pursuit. Further, prostitution, by itself a commercial act, is akin to commerce because of the indiscriminate attitude which the seller has toward his/her customers. Other forms of commerce as well as prostitution can therefore be labeled "promiscuous." These factors, in addition to the OT's poetic convention of treating cities as women, explain the prophet's use of a prostitute in the personification of Tyre.

In Nah 3:4–7, Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, is depicted as a whore who charms nations and leads them to their downfall. "Harlotries and enchantments," (v 4) i.e., seduction and love spells, are the devious means by which a woman could exercise power over men and, in the eyes of the wisdom teacher, lead them to destruction (Prov 2:16–19; 5:7–14; 6:24–36; 7:6–27). Nineveh's means of allurement could be a reference to its physical splendor (*tôbat ḥēn* in v 4) or military might.

According to Isa 1:21, Jerusalem, "the faithful city that was filled with justice," has become a harlot. The prophet's charge isn't based on the worship of other gods, but rather on immorality and injustice. The root *ʾmn* (v 21), which represents concepts such as faithfulness, trust, and stability, finds its antithesis in *znh.*

Prostitution is also used to represent political alliances with foreign nations. In several OT passages, political and military allies are called "lovers," and the image suggested is that of Judah as a woman married to YHWH but pursued by (and pursuing) lovers who ultimately disappoint her (Lam 1:2, 19; Jer 4:30–31; 22:20–23). While the reliance of Israel and Judah upon other nations was condemned by the prophets as an affront to YHWH (Isaiah 30–31; Jer 2:18, 36–37; Hos 5:13; 7:11–12; 12:2; 14:4), only Ezekiel specifically labeled this activity *zĕnût,* "harlotry" (16:26–29; chap. 23). In Ezekiel 23, however, the boundaries between political and religious apostasy are blurred since the prophet also focuses upon cultic transgressions, with the mention of idolatry (vv 7, 30), the sisters' "whoring" during the sojourn in Egypt (v 3; certainly not a reference to political alliances; cf. Ezek 20:7–8), and the repeated use of the verb *ṭmʾ,* "to defile," (vv 7, 13, 17), which is more suggestive of idolatry than political dealings. The prophet seems to suggest that Israel's foreign alliances brought about the worship of foreign gods. While strategic alliances, strictly speaking, may not have encouraged heterodoxy, royal marriages with foreign princesses for diplomatic purposes seem to have inspired apostasy on even a popular level (1 Kgs 16:31–32; 18:21–22; in the case of Solomon, only the king himself seems to have gone astray; 1 Kgs 11:1–10). Further, the cosmopolitan atmosphere in Jerusalem during the age of Assyrian hegemony seems to have inspired the worship of new gods (Cogan 1974: 91–96). These two factors, therefore, may supply the background of Ezekiel's association of political alliances and religious apostasy.

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ELAINE ADLER GOODFRIEND

## *CULTIC PROSTITUTION*

In OT commentaries and textbooks the existence of "cultic" or "sacred" prostitution in ancient Israel is frequently presented as a historical fact. On the basis of such texts as 1 Sam 2:22; 2 Kgs 23:7, 14; 2 Chr 15:16; Ezek 8:14; Hos 4:13; and others, it is assumed that in paganized Israelite cults, worshippers engaged in sexual intercourse with devotees of the various shrines, as a way to promote fecundity and fertility. Under the influence of Canaanite mythology, so the argument runs, many Israelites had come to see the processes of nature as the result of the relations between gods and goddesses. Divine intercourse would lead to abundant harvests and an increase of cattle. Cultic prostitution, performed by humans, was a form of imitative magic by which the gods could be moved to engage in similar activities, with all the ensuing beneficial results. Corollary to this view is the interpretation of the terms *qādēš* and *qĕdēšâ* as male and female "cult prostitute." Orthodox Yahwism combated these evils. Priests, prophets, and wise men alike denounced cultic prostitution as idolatry and utter foolishness. The fierceness of their reproval is all the more understandable when the heathen background of the sexual rites is taken into account.

In recent years, however, the widely accepted hypothesis of cultic prostitution has been seriously challenged. Various scholars have argued that the current view rests on unwarranted assumptions, doubtful anthropological premises, and very little evidence. At the same time the Ugaritic and Mesopotamian material, often referred to as evidence of cultic prostitution in neighboring civilizations, has been critically reevaluated and shown to be less unambiguous than it has often been assumed. These reasons call for a fresh look at the biblical material, to see to what extent prostitution in Israel may have been "cultic" or "sacred."

In order to dispel the possibility of terminological confusion, let us first define the content of the notion "cultic prostitution." When speaking of cultic prostitution, scholars normally refer to religiously legitimated intercourse with strangers in or in the vicinity of the sanctuary. It had a ritual character and was organized or at least condoned by the priesthood, as a means to increase fecundity and fertility. There is, however, another, more restricted way in which one can speak of cultic prostitution. We may use the term to call attention to the fact that the money or the goods which the prostitutes received went to the temple funds. A careful scrutiny of the evidence will show that the term "cultic prostitution" can be maintained only when used in the latter, limited sense. For the sake of clarity, however, it might be better to abandon the term altogether and to stick to circumscriptions such as "prostitution that was profitable to, and at times organized by, the temple and its administration."

An important argument of those who claim the existence of cultic prostitution in ancient Israel rests upon the various texts which picture debauchery as a corollary of communal rites. The OT contains indeed ample evidence of religious feasts that led to sexual excesses. The description of the cult of the golden calf, projected back into the misty times prior to the settlement in Canaan, can be considered as an archetype of the events (Exodus 32). During the celebrations "the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play" (Exod 32:6). The latter verb, *ṣaḥēq,* is an unmistakable euphemism for sexual activities, similar to the Akk *ṣiāḫu,* "to laugh," "to make merry." In all likelihood, the story reflects the preexilic practices in the N kingdom, where the Lord was worshipped in tauromorph form (1 Kgs 12:26–33). Despite the presence of the image of a young bull, however, nothing indicates that the participants in these Bacchanalia were consciously playing their part in a fertility cult. We must bear in mind that the Israelite festivals were among the rare occasions where one could eat to satiety and drink one's fill, with song and dance contributing to the festive mood. Under such circumstances one could easily lose one's sense of propriety and momentarily indulge in a type of behavior that would otherwise be deemed inadmissible. The same holds true of the cult of Baal-Peor (Numbers 25; 31:13–20; Ps 106:28–31) and the

cultic parties denounced by Hosea (Hos 4:13ff.; 9:10). The ban on transvestism, laid down in Deut 22:5, is also probably directed against such religious orgies, during which the customary distribution of roles was, by way of exception, suspended. One can imagine the licentious behavior to which this could lead.

It deserves to be emphasized that nothing warrants us to speak of cultically organized prostitution in connection with these instances of debauchery. Sexual libertinage was simply a frequent ingredient of the ANE festivals. A paragraph in the Middle Assyrian Law (tablet A, §55) deals with the case of a young woman who has been seized and violated "within the city or in the open country or at night in the street or in a storehouse or at a festival of the city." One is reminded of Judg 21:19–23, where the yearly feast of the Lord at Shiloh becomes an occasion for the Benjamites to take a wife by force. In both cases the relationship was perhaps established in a less brutal way than the texts affirm. According to the Babylonian Talmud, on Ab the 15th and on Yom Kippur, the Israelite girls dressed in white, danced in the vineyards, and invited the boys to make their choice (*b. Ta‹an.* 26b, cf. 31a). This tradition suggests that the affairs developed with the accord of both partners, the regulation of the Middle Assyrian Laws being merely a juridical construct to settle the ensuing situation of the girl. In all this, ANE man does not considerably differ from us. Sexual excesses were part of the expected ritualized behavior at festivals and belonged as such to the popular culture of the time. The same could be said of fraternity parties, New Year's parties, and the like in our own secular religion.

Besides the attestations to incidental sexual promiscuity at the occasion of festivals, however, the OT also mentions a specific category of people who are generally considered to have been the "professionals" of "cultic" prostitution in ancient Israel. These are the *qĕdēšîm*, a term frequently rendered as "cult prostitutes." Although the traditional understanding of this term has been challenged on the basis of the evidence concerning the Ugaritic *qdšm,* the parallelism between *qĕdēšâ* and *zônâ* in Genesis 38 and Deut 23:18–19 (—Eng 17–18) favors the idea that the *qĕdēšîm* engaged primarily in sexual activities. The Ugaritic *qdšm* seem to have consisted of all the nonpriestly temple personnel, who had been dedicated to a deity. They were free to marry and have children and could be released from their service by a royal decree. The situation of the Israelite *qĕdēšîm* may, to some extent, have been similar. Their functions need not be narrowed down to those of prostitutes; they may have performed a variety of menial tasks in the sanctuary as well. It cannot be denied, though, that during some periods they also functioned as prostitutes in the service of the temple. According to 2 Kgs 23:7, they had special rooms in the Jerusalem temple, a state of affairs intolerable to the zealous reformers, yet apparently accepted by the clergy in earlier times. Prostitutes operating as it were in the shadow of the temple, then, existed in ancient Israel. However, any links between the latter and a hypothetical fertility cult, it need hardly be said, belong to the domain of speculation. Prostitution as a source of profits for the temple?—yes; prostitution as an integrating part of fertility rituals?—no.

In a number of texts, the fulfillment of a vow appears to have been one of the motives for occasional prostitution. In ancient Israel the vow enjoyed great popularity, especially among women. A discreet indication of this popularity is found in the regulations concerning the Nazirite vow. The pertinent text, Numbers 6, specifies that members of both sexes are free to take this vow ("man or woman," Num 6:2). In a context which usually speaks only of men, this detail is striking indeed. Ordinary vows, too, were frequently resorted to by women. Childless wives were sometimes led to take a pledge by their desire for offspring, as 1 Sam 2:11 and Prov 31:2 show. At the time of fulfillment, however, difficulties could arise. Since women were financially dependent upon their husbands, the latter had to supply the means of payment. When a husband was unaware of his wife's religious pledge or did not agree with it, she found herself in a delicate situation. What was she to do when he refused to take responsibility for her actions? Was the vow to remain unfulfilled? Under such circumstances prostitution might seem to a woman the only solution left.

An illustration of such recourse to prostitution as a means to pay vows is given by Proverbs 7, where we find a portrait of the *nōkriyyâ,* the "strange" woman. She is described as a danger for the adolescent, whom she tries to persuade into accepting her erotic proposals: "Come, let us be satiated with love play till morning, let us delight ourselves with love" (Prov 7:18). In order to make the young man accept her

offer, she refers to the predicament she is in: "I must provide a sacrificial meal, today I am to fulfill my vows" (Prov 7:14). Nothing obliges us to say that the vows of the woman were vows of fertility. Apparently, the term of her engagement has expired and the promised offerings are due today. What can she do? Her husband, she explains, has gone on a long journey; he took the bag of money with him, and will not be home until the full moon (vv 19–20). These words are indeed meant to seduce her victim. Yet they are not mere reassurances, designed to allay the youngster's fear of an untimely intrusion by the husband. Nor is the detail of the "bag of money" simply an indication of the duration of the business trip. No, the woman implies that she does not have access to the money she needs in order to discharge her religious obligations. The only way out she can think of is prostitution. Of course, she is no common whore! Under normal circumstances she would not dream of doing such things. But necessity knows no law. This woman from outside is using her (fictitious?) situation as an excuse for her desire of sensual enjoyment. Yet her arguments presumably impress her potential companion. Of course, adultery is wrong, but do not the ends justify the means in this case? He would not be merely buying a pleasure, but contributing to a good cause.

There are various reasons to assume that situations such as the one hinted at in Proverbs 7 arose rather frequently in ancient Israel. One of the texts on which this assumption is based is Num 30:1–16. The issue raised in this chapter concerns the vows taken by women. Only the widow and the divorced woman are regarded as independent and must at all times abide by their vows. Unmarried daughters, betrothed girls, and married women, on the contrary, are all subject to the authority of a man, be it their father or their husband. In case they should take a vow, father or husband has a right to cancel it, though only within a period of twenty-four hours on their hearing of the woman's engagement. Apparently, specific circumstances called for these rules. It has been suggested that the female vows referred to implied the abstinence from marital intercourse; thus, the husband would be directly affected by the consequences of his wife's piety. The text, however, does not say this. Ordinarily, vows were paid in movable goods, and there is no reason to assume that this was different in the case of women. In her case, though, it was her father or husband who had to furnish the promised goods. Since the latter had a stake in the matter, he was entitled to a say as to the validity of the vow. A woman could have her reasons, however, to hide her vow from her husband. When the time of payment came, she had to find means of her own to discharge herself of her pledge. Unless she resorted to prostitution as a way to acquire the necessary means, she had to retract her promise, which was considered a very serious offense (Deut 23:22—Eng 21; Eccl 5:3). In certain sections of the population, prostitution under these circumstances may have seemed preferable, so long as the revenues were set apart for the temple treasury.

Other biblical texts, too, allude to the practice of paying vows with money acquired by prostitution. The clearest instance is found in Deut 23:18–19 (—Eng 17–18).

> There shall be no *qĕdēšâ* among the daughters of Israel,
> nor shall there be a *qādēš* among the sons of Israel.
> You shall not bring the hire of a harlot or the wages of a dog
> into the house of the Lord your God in payment for any vow:
> for both of these are an abomination to the Lord your God.

The verses show that, also among Israelites, the custom of paying vows by means of prostitution was a known phenomenon. Two distinct, yet connected practices are put in parallelism. The service of "consecrated persons" *(qĕdēšîm)* from Israelite extraction and the annex custom of paying vows with money acquired by prostitution are prohibited in the same breath. What the two have in common, it seems, is the recourse to prostitution as a way to make profits for the temple. The "harlot" *(zônâ)* parallels the *qĕdēšâ,* while the "dog" (*keleb,* a euphemism for the catamite) parallels the *qādēš.* Because of the destination of their income, their activities can be presented under the cloak of religion. The temple used the money it thus acquired, among other things, to pay for the production of divine images. Therefore Mic 1:7 can speak of Samaria's idols that have been gathered "from the hire of a harlot" (cf. also Isa 23:17–18). See also PROSTITUTION (OLD TESTAMENT).

The concept of prostitution as a means to pay vows was so well-known, that the Greek translators of Prov 19:13b had recourse to it in elucidating a passage that otherwise remained obscure to them. Whereas the Hebrew text speaks of a wife's quarreling that is likened to "a continual dripping of rain," the LXX talks about the unholy "votive gifts (*euchai*, the current translation of Heb *nědārîm*) from the hire of a hetaera." From a text-critical point of view the Masoretic Text is to be preferred, but the Greek rendering reveals the notoriety of the custom that interests us here. On the basis of these texts, we may conclude that the phenomenon of women—and, occasionally, men—prostituting themselves in order to obtain the money to fulfill their vows was known and to some extent accepted in broad layers of the Israelite society. Until the Deuteronomic reform it seems to have been tolerated by the official religion, which preferred the resulting votive gifts over an ethical rigorism.

Considering the available evidence, then, there is no need to postulate the existence of sacred prostitution in the service of a fertility cult. The witness of the OT certainly does not compel us to posit that the Israelites had recourse to such forms of sympathetic magic. The comparative material that is adduced to demonstrate a common ANE pattern of ritually staged copulation as a magical means to promote fertility is not as conclusive as is sometimes said. Prostitution whereby the income fell to the temple was definitely known, but its alleged magical connotation remains unproved.

Without going into a discussion of all the available ANE evidence, it will be useful to conclude this survey with a succinct analysis of the Mesopotamian data. Both the Sumerian and the Akkadian lexicon contain a number of words meaning "female prostitute." Generally, the attention of OT scholars has been monopolized by the *qadištu,* clearly cognate with Heb *qědēšâ.* The connection between the two terms is frequently said to go beyond the level of etymology; both would have been designations of the "cult prostitute." A survey of the texts in which *qadištu* occurs, however, shows that the term is frequently used, especially in the 1st millennium B.C.E., for a wet nurse or a midwife. One should therefore avoid narrowing down her activities to those of a prostitute. Nevertheless, the term does at times refer to a prostitute. Together with the *ḫarīmtu* and the *ištarītu*, the *qadištu* operated under the patronage of Ishtar, the goddess of love. There is no evidence, however, that such prostitution was ritual in the sense that it was part of a fertility cult. In Akkadian texts, the brothel can be called "the house of Ishtar," even though the entertainment offered there involved nothing particularly religious. Prostitution was a profane profession, unattractive perhaps, but on the whole not dishonorable. Also, the frequent connection of prostitutes with temples should not be interpreted as proof of the sacred character of their profession. Neo-Babylonian records from the Ishtar temple of Uruk show that the temple hired out certain members of its lower female personnel as concubines to private citizens. The relations between the hierodule and the man were conducted at the home of the latter, and nothing indicates that he had any higher designs than to have a pleasurable time. To the temple, prostitutes could be a source of income, but they were not cultic functionaries.

In a famous passage of the *Histories,* Herodotus tells us that every Babylonian woman had to prostitute herself, once in her life, to a stranger within the precincts of the Ishtar temple (1.199). Assyriologists disagree about the accuracy of this information. Supposing Herodotus was right, one cannot make him say that the women did so as part of a fertility rite. The only thing the "Father of History" tells us is that the piece of silver the woman received in payment belonged to the deity. This is precisely what we have found in the OT. We may even wonder whether Herodotus might not have mistaken the prostitution in payment of a vow for a general, once-in-a-lifetime duty. However that be may, the cuneiform evidence does not warrant the conclusion that the Mesopotamians practiced cultic prostitution in order to enhance the fertility of the soil or the flocks. The only instance one could quote to support the idea of a connection between sexual intercourse and fertility in nature is the so-called "sacred marriage." Evidence for this custom, however, is scarce and stems mainly from the late 3d millennium B.C.E. Also the term "prostitution" could hardly be applied to this.

In short, both the evidence from the OT and the Akkadian and Ugaritic data do not support the hypothesis of "cultic prostitution." Ancient Near Eastern civilizations were familiar with prostitutes

working in the service of the temple, as they were with the phenomenon of prostitution as a means to pay vows. In neither case, however, does there seem to have been a conscious connection with fertility rites.

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KAREL VAN DER TOORN

**PROTO-LUKE.** See LUKE-ACTS, BOOK OF.

**PROTREPTIC.** See PARENESIS AND PROTREPTIC.

**PROVERBS, BOOK OF.** The twentieth book of the OT in most English versions. The book is an anthology of admonitions and isolated sayings concerning wisdom and wise conduct.

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A. Title of the Book
B. Authorship
C. Date
D. Content
E. Function
F. Affinities with Other Biblical Literature
G. Canonization

———

**A. Title of the Book**

The Hebrew title for the book of Proverbs, *mišlê šĕlōmōh,* derives from the superscription in 10:1 (cf. also the longer form in 1:1 and 25:1). Variants to this title are *sēper ḥokmāh* and *mišlôt* (the latter derives from Eusebius and uses a plural form of *māšāl* otherwise unknown, the usual plural being *mĕšālîm*). The Septuagint (LXX) title is *paroimiae;* and the Vulgate has *proverbia,* from which comes the English title "Proverbs." In the Hebrew Bible *māšāl* designates a wide range of literary types—taunt, allegory, lament, simile, and so on—but its etymology implies likeness and, in the view of some interpreters, authoritative word (from *mšl,* "to rule"). The fundamental feature of the sayings within the book therefore seems to be "comparison." Brief proverbial sayings set one image over against another, making an explicit or implicit comparison. Not every isolated saying compares two things, however, and some sayings extend considerably beyond a single distich, in the process multiplying the number of likenesses under consideration.

**B. Authorship**

Although certain features of the book associate the name "Solomon" with discrete units, other names also occur in connection with specific sections of the book. Some textual units lack any name whatever. Furthermore, the superscriptions may derive from a time later than the actual composition of the sayings within a given collection. The book therefore takes the shape of an anthology, its individual components coming from various periods of Israel's history. At least two, and probably three, short sections (Nos. 3, 6, and 7 below) stem from non-Israelite sources, making the anthology truly international.

Superscriptions set off seven distinct collections from their present context.

1. 1:1–9:18 The Proverbs of Solomon, David's son, king of Israel.
2. 10:1–22:16 The Proverbs of Solomon.
3. 22:17–24:22 The Words of the Wise.
4. 24:23–34 These also belong to the Wise.

5. 25:1–29:27 These also are Proverbs of Solomon that the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, transcribed.
6. 30:1–14 The Words of Agur, son of Jakeh, the Massaite.
7. 31:1–9 The Words of Lemuel, king of Massa, with which his mother instructed him.

The last two brief collections have attracted miscellaneous sayings in the first instance and an alphabetic poem in the second.

8. 30:15–33 Numerical Sayings (except vv 20, 32–33).
9. 31:10–31 An Acrostic poem on a virtuous Woman.

Various signs of disunity within collections one and five, particularly arguments of style, content, and grammar, suggest that even further discrete units once existed (10:1–14:35; 15:1–22:16 and 25:1–27; 28:1–29:27).

In LXX the different location of material and additional sayings indicates conscious acknowledgment of foreign material and a desire to promote specific concepts. The Greek text gathers together the collections of foreign extraction, yielding the following sequence: 22:17–24:22; 30:1–14; 24:23–34; 30:15–33; 31:1–9; 25:1–29:27; 31:10–31. Much additional material in LXX appears toward the end of various collections (for example, 9:12, 18; 15:27, 29, 33; 16:1–9; 24:22; 27:24–27).

The occurrence of the same proverb in more than one larger entity gives further indication of multiple collections. For example, the same conclusion reinforces instruction about industry akin to the ant's and an object lesson concerning the effects of neglect on a vineyard (6:6–11; 24:30–34). Brief sayings occur more than once in identical form and in slightly altered language, and specific expressions appear in more than one literary context.

A satisfactory explanation has not surfaced for the prominence of Solomon's name in the book of Proverbs or for the implicit attribution of Ecclesiastes to him and explicit mention of him as author in Song of Songs and Wisdom of Solomon. Ordinary citizens venerated kings of the ancient Near East as patrons of wisdom if not actual possessors of extraordinary insight. The praise of Solomon for wisdom surpassing that of all other kings acknowledges this fact and is perhaps a product of his subjects' strong wish to be ruled by an astute monarch.

The tradition in 1 Kgs 5:8–14 (—Eng 4:29–34) that Solomon composed three thousand proverbs and one thousand and five songs actually summarizes their subject matter. One searches almost in vain within the book of Proverbs for sayings and songs about trees, beasts, birds, reptiles, and fish. Such encyclopedic lists have survived in Egypt and Mesopotamia, but biblical onomasticons have vanished if they ever existed. Given the tradition that Solomon's wisdom excelled that of everyone else in the Near East, it seems reasonable to assume that Israelite sages would have vigilantly preserved his noun lists.

Even those interpreters who think the tradition about Solomon's wisdom stems from his patronage of sages rather than from his actual authorship have difficulty explaining the divergence between the descriptions in 1 Kings 5 and the book of Proverbs. Some critics understand the reference in Kings as legend designed to legitimate a harsh regime that operated on the principle of might rather than justice. The apologia certainly depicts the young king as recipient of divine wisdom, which he promptly exemplifies in the judgment concerning the actual mother of a surviving infant, a story found in numerous cultures, and in his riddle contest with the Queen of Sheba. Whether such stories succeeded in counteracting the baneful effects of living memory remains unanswered, for this oppressive side of Solomon's reign was not totally suppressed in the biblical record. In this ancient apologia the climactic place of the references to Solomon's vast wealth may be instructive, for the belief that wise persons prospered became axiomatic at one time. As the wealthiest king in Israel's memory, Solomon must naturally have invited thoughts associating him with extraordinary wisdom. In all likelihood, the allusion to Hezekiah's men represents accurate recollection of a powerful and prosperous king of Judah whose patronage of sages allowed them to collect and transcribe earlier proverbial sayings. The ambiguous expression, men of Hezekiah, recalls the Masoretic Text of 1 Kgs 10:8, in which the Queen of Sheba expresses admiration for Solomon: "Happy are your men, happy these your servants who stand before you continually, hearing your wisdom."

The initial collection is preceded by an introductory paragraph similar to the one in the Instruction of Amenemopet. The biblical preface (1:2–6) concludes with a thematic statement (1:7); together they serve as an introduction to the first collection and possibly to the whole book. Technical vocabulary of the wise abounds here: wisdom, discipline, discerning words; perceptive discipline, i.e., correct, fair, and upright; prudence, knowledge, and perspicacity; teaching and steering; simile, enigma, words of the wise, and riddles. In addition, verbs emphasize the learning and teaching process: to know, to perceive, to receive, to give; to hear, to add, to obtain; to understand. Distinct groups of people are also mentioned: the simple, youth, the wise (singular and plural). The thematic statement, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning *(rēʾšît)* of knowledge; fools despise wisdom and instruction," grounds intellectual pursuits in religion. The word *rēʾšît* may extend beyond the temporal to the substantive, making piety the fundamental ingredient of all knowledge. The use of the Tetragrammaton, rare in Wisdom Literature such as Job and Ecclesiastes, is very much at home in Proverbs 1–9.

**C. Date**

Biblical wisdom is notoriously difficult to date, largely because of the timeless quality of its teachings. Sages endeavored to communicate insights that transcend space and time. Their teachings aimed at universal assent by any intelligent individual, Israelite or non-Israelite. Accordingly, the wise remained silent about the specifics of national history, choosing rather to dwell on things accessible to every human being. With Ben Sira a decisive shift took place, and Israel's sacred traditions entered the repertoire of professional teachers. In contrast to earlier Wisdom Literature, Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) can be dated with confidence to the decade between 190 and 180 B.C.E. See WISDOM OF BEN-SIRA.

Assigning relative chronology to the various collections in the book of Proverbs must therefore be done with considerable reservation. The previous tendency to date segments of the book on the basis of a form-critical judgment that brief sayings in distich or tristich form (sentences) antedate longer imperatives accompanied by warnings or exhortations (instructions) has collapsed because of Egyptian evidence. The discovery of Papyrus Insinger and the Demotic writings of Onkhsheshonqy demonstrated the existence in very late times of sentences, whereas instructions from the 3d millennium have survived. It appears that genre was more a matter of social setting than chronological period; in general, rural folk had a natural affinity for sentences, and members of the court preferred instructions.

Although the form-critical argument for the lateness of Proverbs 1–9 does not require an early date for this collection, other features do come into play, especially the role of *ḥokmāh,* whether merely an elaborate metaphor or an actual personification, and the heightened emphasis on piety, possibly even influenced by the Torah in its Deuteronomic form. In addition, the earlier literal use of *bĕnî,* "my son," and *ʾābîkā,* "your father," appears to have given way to technical nuances for student and teacher, just as *ḥākām,* "intelligent one," has taken on the sense of "professional sage." It follows that the present order of collections in the book of Proverbs does not reflect the chronology of the separate entities, and the clue from that other factors shaped the sequence seems valid for the Hebrew as well. Although conjectural at best, a plausible reconstruction of the various stages of development reads as follows. An ancient collection of family teaching (10:1–22:16) was enlarged by a body of knowledge with conceivably broader application (25:1–29:27), then supplemented by professional instruction, first in a collection that duplicates several instructions preserved elsewhere in an earlier Egyptian text (22:17–24:22) and later by a body of instructions in which Egyptian imagery is completely integrated (1:1–9:18). The miscellaneous collections in 24:23–34 and 30:15–33 may very well have preceded the last mentioned unit, possibly even antedating 22:17–24:22. The sayings of Agur (30:1–14) and instruction of Lemuel's mother (31:1–9) probably followed the larger collections temporally, despite stylistic features in Agur's remarks that echo Canaanite literature. Actually, numerical sayings were widespread in the ancient world; and Agur seems to cite Job and certainly quotes from Psalms and Deuteronomy. His sentiments resemble the words of Qoheleth (Ecclesiastes), who probably was active about the middle of the 3d century. The latest section in the book of Proverbs, 31:10–31, appears to draw its power from the personification of Wisdom but extols wives of flesh and blood.

An interesting case has been made for the present arrangement of the book as a creative reinterpretation of old wisdom for theological purposes. The essence of the argument is this. Chapters 1–24 have a framing device and cyclic composition, whereas 25–31 use an additive technique. Chapters 1–9 combine two elemental or core blocks (2–4, the personal acquisition of wisdom, and 5–7, ethical advice, mostly about sex). A speech in first person (1:20–33 and 8:1–36) and a framing ring (the prologue, 1:2–7, and the final contrasting "allegory" about wisdom and folly, 9:1–18) enclose the two kernel blocks. Chapter 10 serves as an entranceway into the following collection, and chap. 15 functions as a second theological focus. Verses 4–5 in chap. 10 offer the kernel saying on poverty and riches, and verses 1–8 constitute a minicomposition around older wisdom, infusing new meaning into earlier teaching. Within chaps. 10–15 only 14:7 uses the style of instruction, but in 16:1–22:16 it occurs frequently (16:3; 18:22; 19:18, 20, 27; 20:16; 22:6, 10). Instruction style therefore wraps itself around the central unit of proverbial wisdom, providing an effective transition to 22:17–24:22, where imperatives increase noticeably. Chapters 25–27 appear to be more empirical and general, whereas 28–29 contain a pronounced theological bent. A plait pattern is discernible in chap. 29, a linking of a verse with the one after its immediate sequel (1 and 3; 2 and 4; 7 and 9; 12 and 14; 15 and 17; 19 and 21; 20 and 22).

**D. Content**

*1:1–9:18.* This section purports to give parental advice to children. The chief literary device is that of a father (the "I") speaking to a son (the "you"), for the most part warning against rival discourse and thus reinforcing an ideology, the ethos of the family. Readers assume the role of sons who must choose between those values that preserve society and alternative actions that undercut family stability. Various dangers threaten young men, but two stand out here: the encouragement from young companions to unite in an endeavor to get rich quickly through criminal activity and the seductive invitation to sensual pleasure from illicit sources. In both instances the father manipulates the rival discourse, underscoring the dangers accompanying such misconduct. He even reinforces his own authority by appealing metaphorically to a higher level, the transcendental, on which God disciplines wayward children. Furthermore, the father confesses that he was once a child, in this way drawing adults into the discourse and uniting the generations. Occasionally, the father appeals to the authority of torah, a body of teaching that protects those who walk in its paths.

A mother's voice, although never audible, gives additional weight to the warnings against dangerous conduct. Because the principal threat to young men involves a specific kind of woman, the father's discourse receives an ally in feminine form. The voice of Wisdom comes to the assistance of the father, openly inviting young boys to share her feast and, like a prophet, sternly warning those who resist her advances. Together, the two encourage youth to direct their erotic impulses toward their own wives and to pursue knowledge with the same passion. In this context, metaphorical language functions to explore the mystery of eros, which has a dark side in addition to its luminous one. Woman represents access to ecstasy and agony; hence she offers pleasures that seem to justify any risk. That situation enables females whose ways are foreign to wreak havoc as harlots; and adulterous women disseminate their poison, prepared in attractive vials. The discourse acknowledges the power inherent in seductive speech, for it corresponds to secret desire in the hearts of those being addressed. Nevertheless, clear warnings accompany the verbal allure: follow her and die; she speaks folly, behaving unacceptably all the time.

The son's silence contrasts markedly with vocal appeals from various quarters. He faces a choice of allegiance, whether to contribute to consensus or to join the ranks of society's dissidents. He can resist his father's voice, learning how to do so from the very one who urges him to obey parental instruction. An Egyptian instruction, Anii, has a rare instance in which a son actually responds to his dad's teachings, insisting that the vigorous moral demands are beyond his capability although appropriate for the father, who counters such claims with weighty arguments. The son's silence in the book of Proverbs may have contributed to the climate in which the books of Job and Ecclesiastes give voice to rival discourse of a different kind. The call for all readers to adopt the position of a son subject to an authoritative father yields to outright challenge of traditional authority. On his part, the father adheres to belief that allegiance

precedes knowledge, so that habitual conduct eventually creates its own ethos in which such behavior becomes natural, like breathing.

Modern interpreters have divided 1:1–9:18 into ten speeches, but they differ on the precise delineation of each unit and the criteria for identifying distinct sections. Introductory formulas consisting of direct address ("my son") and of an appeal to hear or receive instruction suggest the following divisions: (1) 1:8–19; (2) 2:1–22; (3) 3:1–12; (4) 3:21–35; (5) 4:1–9; (6) 4:10–19; (7) 4:20–27; (8) 5:1–23; (9) 6:20–35; (10) 7:1–27. These units assert the personal authority of the teacher and understand wisdom as ordinary human capacity, in contrast to the two places in this larger collection where a personified Wisdom claims to possess godlike power to bestow life and riches.

*10:1–22:16.* The second collection in the book of Proverbs consists of brief observations about life that make their point in distich form. These two halves of a line balance one another synonymously, antithetically, or synthetically.

1. Condemnation is ready for scoffers,
   and floggings for the backs of fools (19:29).
2. The poor use entreaties,
   but the rich answer roughly (18:23).
3. The eyes of the Lord are in every place,
   keeping watch on the evil and the good (15:3).

Some observations begin with a particle of existence that functions merely to introduce an anomaly.

*There is* a way which seems right to a man,
but its end is the way to death (14:12).

Others judge one thing to be preferable to another.

*Better* is a dry morsel with quiet
than a house full of feasting with strife (17:1).

Still other observations make simple comparisons.

*Like* vinegar to the teeth, and smoke to the eyes,
so is the sluggard to those who send him (11:26).

Occasionally, a question expresses utter astonishment at incongruities.

*Why* should a fool have a price in his hand to buy wisdom,
when he has no mind? (17:16).

Because these sayings are complete in a single stich, the relationship to the larger context is uncertain. A few modern critics have posited thematic units, particularly in chaps. 10–15. For example, 11:3–8 introduces a topic (the just and the wicked), 11:9–14 [17] specifies the effects of conduct on neighbors and society in general, and 11:18–20 repeats the two themes. In verses 9–12, 14 the Hebrew letter *bet* occupies the initial position, although this phenomenon may be accidental. Similar repetition occurs in 15:13–14 (*lēb,* "heart") and in 16:27–29 (*ʾiš,* "person"). If the principle linking the individual sayings expresses intentional design, no one has discovered a clue to the structure, which gives the appearance of randomness.

The sayings in this collection lack the distinctive features of the instructions in 1:1–9:18, specifically imperatives and the direct address, "my son" (but see 19:27). The "sentences" capture a single facet of reality, stating the truth in a "matter-of-fact" way. Readers are expected to give their assent, for the observations derive from collective experience. Hence the sayings dispense with reinforcements of any kind; they thus resemble traditional sayings embedded within biblical narrative and oracular literature, e.g., "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge" (Jer 31:29; Ezek 18:2).

The observations constitute astute insights about human behavior, both the good and the bad; and they probe the inner spirit as well: the significance of a wink (16:30), the effectiveness of a bribe (17:8), the unpredictable manner in which generous persons acquire more wealth and stingy ones become poorer (11:24), the posturing of a buyer before and after a purchase (20:14), the necessity of looking beneath the surface of things (13:7), the power of speech to beget good or ill (15:1), the allure of gossip (18:8), the loneliness of the heart in its moments of grief or joy (14:10), the underlying sadness that laughter

obscures (14:13). A few proverbial sayings explore the limits imposed by the deity on human beings (16:9, 33; 19:21), even on kings (21:1). For the most part these sayings exude optimism (12:21; 13:9; 15:3), a confidence that the Lord holds the reins of the universe securely in hand.

*22:17–24:22.* The unusual feature of these instructions is their affinity with the earlier Egyptian Instruction of Amenemopet. That relationship has been shown as follows:

| PROVERBS | AMENEMOPET | SUBJECT |
|---|---|---|
| 22:17–18 | 3:9–11, 16 | Appeal to hear |
| 22:19 | 1:7 | Purpose of instruction |
| 22:20 | 27:7–8 | Thirty sayings |
| 22:21 | 1:5–6 | Learning a worthy response |
| 22:22 | 4:4–5 | Do not rob a wretch |
| 22:24 | 11:13–14 | Avoid friendship with violent people |
| 22:25 | 13:8–8 | Lest a trap ruin you |
| 22:28 | 7:12–13 | Do not remove landmarks |
| 22:29 | 27:16–17 | Skillful scribes will be courtiers |
| 23:1–3 | 23:13–18 | Eat cautiously before an official |
| 23:4–5 | 9:14–10:5 | Wealth flies away like and eagle/geese |
| 23:6–7 | 14:5–10 | Do not eat a stingy person's food |
| 23:8 | 14:17:18 | Vomiting results |
| 23:9 | 22:11–12 | Do not speak before just anyone |
| 23:10–11 | 7:12–15; 8:9–10 | Do not remove landmarks of widows |
| 24:11 | 11:6–7 | Rescue the condemned |

The principle of polygenesis may explain some similarities, for identical proverbial sayings occasionally emerge in cultures where no direct contact with one another has taken place. Nevertheless, the astonishing affinities in this instance indicate that the biblical author drew upon the earlier literary tradition or both authors used a common source. The reference to thirty (sayings) becomes understandable in light of the thirty chapters in Amenemopet.

The long rhetorical unit about the dangers associated with excessive drinking (23:29–35) also has a close parallel in Egypt, but nothing here seems to require a theory of dependence. The idea of the deity weighing the heart (24:12) has its closest analogue in Egyptian symbolism about a final judgment of human deeds. Furthermore, the frequent mention of kings and service at the court stands out in this larger unit, 22:17–24:22. Presumably, such notions corresponded to reality in Israel only briefly, although literary conventions persist long after the social conditions giving birth to them have vanished.

*24:23–34.* A miscellaneous collection overlapping with 6:6–11, this brief section witnesses to the value of justice in society, offers helpful advice on priorities when embarking on a major undertaking like building a house, and encourages nonretaliation for offenses. The overlap with 6:6–11 has a different introductory scenario, but both discuss the folly of laziness.

*25:1–29:27.* The essential meaning of *māšāl* as similitude comes to expression in this early collection, for an impressive number of sayings begin with the preposition of comparison, "like," whereas others achieve the same thing by juxtaposing competing images. The social setting of this collection has generated considerable speculation, one scholar proposing two distinct settings, the court for 25–27 and rural society for 28–29. Evidence hardly supports the thesis that the former unit served as a mirror for princes and the latter unit as advice to peasants. The opening section, 25:2–10, does reflect on the different functions of God and king, pausing to offer sound counsel about the means of securing royal authority and of finding one's appropriate niche in the councils of power. The remaining sayings apply broadly to Israelite society, without dwelling on peculiar concerns of the royal court. To be sure,

eloquence and accuracy in reporting facts apply to persons in the king's service, and courtiers profit from keeping a civil tongue. So do other people, who must learn self-discipline, the right time to act, the advantages of breaking free from the rule of lex talionis (an eye for an eye), the necessity of speaking at crucial times and the folly of doing so in some circumstances, the dangers of initiating violence, the advantage of intellectual discussion, and so on. The concluding section in 27:23–27 reverts to royal imagery, specifically wealth and a crown, but makes a sharp transition to the concerns of everyday sustenance.

The contrast between poor and rich surfaces again and again in chaps. 28–29, and the responsibility of a ruler to assure justice constitutes a society's deepest hope and harbors its greatest fear at the same time. Experience finds expression in the concession that a king's favor can be bought, so that pure justice rests with Yahweh alone. Nevertheless, the divine empowerment of poor people and their oppressors (29:13) has not escaped this astute observer of human experience.

*30:1–14*. Extraordinary disagreement characterizes scholars over the scope of this unit and its essential character, whether skeptical or pious. Some interpreters follow LXX's lead in viewing the teaching as humble piety, while others think Agur takes conventional wisdom to task. A strong argument can be made for understanding verses 1–14 as a coherent unit, either as a dialogue between two people or as a teacher citing popular views in order to refute them. More probably, a skeptic challenges traditional wisdom, questioning God's existence and feigning ignorance, although insisting that those who profess orthodox views should demonstrate their knowledge of the Creator. An interlocutor rebukes Agur for heterodoxy, quoting Scripture, and is in turn warned against adding to the teacher's words. A sublime prayer follows, one that by distinguishing social status may mount further attack on the privileged teacher who has forgotten God while basking in the lap of luxury. The concluding section has a transitional statement about servants and masters, one that functions with reference both to humans and to God, together with four incisive observations about types of people who are worse than honest skeptics like Agur: children who dishonor their parents, hypocrites, proud persons, and rapacious cutthroats.

This section demonstrates remarkable skill at rhetoric, utilizing double meanings and clanging symbols, the dashing of expectations. Promising prophetic revelation, it offers human words that are either Delphic gibberish or astonishing confession of practical, at least, atheism. Theophanic language evokes derision in a citation from God's speech in Job ("Surely you know"). The request to be spared poverty and riches demonstrates unusual perception about the role of sociological status in shaping one's religious views. This negative attitude toward wealth accords ill with the prevailing understanding of virtue and its rewards, but Israel's teachers seem to have had difficulty adopting a consistent attitude toward the poor.

*30:15–33*. Graded numerical sayings alternate with three observations that allude to the four types of persons in 30:11–14. Those who show disrespect for parents will suffer hideously (30:17); adulteresses eat and wipe their mouths without any awareness of offense, consequently remaining pure in their own eyes (30:20); proud individuals ought to refrain from boasting (30:32); and violent people should control their tempers (30:33). The numerical sayings isolate for scrutiny various categories that resemble one another: things that are never satisfied (Sheol, the barren womb, a thirsty ground, fire), movement that leaves no trace (an eagle in the sky, a serpent on a rock, a ship at sea, a young man and a maiden), intolerable circumstances (a king who once was a slave, a fool with a full stomach, a previously spurned woman who weds, a maid who succeeds her mistress), four small creatures able to adapt to circumstances (ants, badgers, locusts, and lizards), and four "prancing" (self-important?) creatures (a lion, a cock, a billy goat, and a king).

*31:1–9*. This instruction consists of a superscription (31:1), a queen mother's direct appeal to her son (31:2), and four "words" of advice. These admonitions concern relationships with women and excessive drinking. Lemuel's mother tells her royal son to provide strong drink for oppressed victims of society who need something to forget their misery. She also urges him to pay special attention to the matter of justice, becoming a powerful advocate for vulnerable members of society whose voice would otherwise go unheeded. The entire instruction makes effective use of rhetoric, combining terms of endearment, repetition, inclusion, suspension of subject matter, and double entendre.

*31:10–31*. The personification of Wisdom as a woman served to correct many sayings that emphasize women as temptresses and disrupters of harmony within households. Nevertheless, personified Folly neutralized this embodiment of discernment. Therefore another means of salvaging women's reputation was needed; the final poem endeavors to do just that. Its effectiveness suffers because of its orientation toward the good wife's contribution to her husband and children. Her worth seems to depend on how successfully she enhances his standing in the community. The description of their entrepreneurship suggests that Israelite women took an active role in business. The religious criterion for evaluating women (31:30) comes as something of an afterthought.

**E. Function**

During the earliest phases of Israelite society, power rested in elders, who perpetuated their singular authority through legal statute and traditional saying. Apodictic law compelled assent insofar as it voiced the will of respected figures whose wide experience, fairness, and good judgment set them apart from ordinary citizens as custodians of valuable lore. Similarly, proverbial sayings carried the weight of cumulative experience, hence embodied a way of life that was binding on everyone but persons who questioned the fundamental basis of society. These two, law and traditional saying, constitute ancient Israel's attempt to establish and maintain order in complex human relationships.

Although the locus of both law and aphorism reached beyond the privacy of a family's tent to the centers of daily deliberation, particularly the gates where important judicial decisions were rendered, the lofty position of parents in the early system of clans reinforced the authority of these literary forms. This domestic setting left its mark on proverbial teaching, which strengthened its own appeal to hearers by adopting the emotion-laden language of father to son. Older proverbial collections in the book of Proverbs dispensed with such specific designations of speaker and addressee, but ancient Near Eastern parallels from Egypt and Mesopotamia demonstrate the antiquity of this language, which eventually took on the technical sense of teacher (*ʾāb*, "father") and student (*bĕnî*, "my son") so prevalent in Proverbs 1–9.

These parental teachings emerged from persistent efforts to penetrate reality so as to order life for maximum success in achieving honor, wealth, health, and offspring. The notion of steering lay at the heart of such instruction, and an appreciable amount of self-discipline too. Optimism prevailed about the extent to which individuals controlled their own destiny. Virtue received its reward and vice, its punishment, with rare exceptions, which emphasized divine freedom. In due time, skepticism made its presence felt, particularly with regard to the impenetrability of the universe. In Egypt a noticeable increase in piety accompanied such pessimism, and the same may actually have occurred in Israel as well. Although an attitude of confident reverence pervades much of the proverbial literature, growing insecurity seems to have evoked opposite responses, skepticism and dogmatic assertions.

The introduction of monarchy in Israel brought about a definite shift in the power base, the center of authority moving from the heads of families to a chief of state. This change came slowly and after much resistance on the part of those who watched their status in the community dwindle year by year. Concentration of power in Jerusalem and international commerce hastened the emergence of a professional class of courtiers equipped to handle the complex affairs of state on behalf of royalty. Such learned figures graced the courts of Egypt and Mesopotamia from early times. Precisely when they first appeared in Israel remains a mystery; but they were firmly planted in the 8th century B.C.E., producing a tradition associating them with the court of King Hezekiah. Even David enjoyed the benefits of two counselors, Ahithopel and Hushai, whether in fact or as a piece of literary fiction.

One can easily imagine the responsibilities of such courtiers, despite the silence about their duties in Wisdom Literature. International diplomacy must have stood high on their agenda, and thus the mastery of various foreign languages. The educating of young princes may also have fallen to these courtiers, and perhaps, too, the entertaining of nobility with feats of eloquence like those in 1 Esdr 3:1–4:41. The courtiers probably kept records, both political and economic, and prepared propaganda for aspiring and fading regimes. Considerable attention would have gone to the training of young potential courtiers, hence to perpetuating their profession. In all likelihood instructional literature in the book of Proverbs belongs to

such "in-house" pedagogy. This scholarship for internal consumption may have encouraged the kinds of philosophical reflection that eventuated in the books of Job and Ecclesiastes.

The disappearance of monarchy in 587 B.C.E. and the drastic alteration of lifestyle, whether in Exile or in the Judean countryside, brought about a radically different job description for professional sages. The accompanying loss in perceived status further fueled fires of discontent, already exacerbated by historical circumstances involving the populace at large. Adversity propelled these learned teachers into strange alliances with the ruling priestly class, or alternatively with persons located on the fringes of society, at least in their conviction that justice had departed once and for all. This retreat in opposite directions suggests that wisdom may always have possessed distinct perspectives corresponding roughly to the differences in literary genre that have complicated all attempts to comprehend the phenomenon. However, the two different orientations, the experiential aphorism and the reflective probing, functioned in a complementary way, possibly to the very end. Their union in Sirach merely continues a trend set in motion by the authors of Job and Ecclesiastes.

The preceding account of professional sages in ancient Israel suggests that they possessed remarkable adaptability, a willingness to change with the times. A Hellenistic text, Wisdom of Solomon, shows how far the sages proceeded in their accommodation to new modes of thought. See SOLOMON, WISDOM OF. Such radical departures inevitably threatened to introduce a new entity altogether, making it difficult to determine the actual successors of the wise in later Judaism. Furthermore, this partial rendering of the development of the sapiential enterprise, like the biblical literature itself, maintains silence about onomasticons. One wonders why Israel's teachers did not compile comprehensive taxonomies of flora and fauna, among other things. Perhaps they did, and this particular feature of their intellectual achievement has vanished.

Changes in the meaning of *ḥokmāh* over the years suggest yet another means of tracing the development of the sapiential enterprise. Just as the adjective *ḥakam* and its plural assumed a technical sense in some instances (the sage or the wise), the noun *ḥokmāh* also acquired a rich nuance of astonishing magnitude. Foreign influence definitely played a part in this fascinating speculation about a personified figure who embodied the highest and noblest aspirations of the sages, but Israelite ideas laid the foundation itself. As a matter of fact, prophetic language dominates the initial appearance of *ḥokmōt* (Prov 1:20–33), specifically the image of pouring out the spirit, the description of stubborn refusal to hear, and the references to undesirable consequences of such action. The people refused to listen to the proclamation; they spurned the outstretched hand; Wisdom will mock them in their distress; when they call, she will not answer; unable to find her, they will eat the fruit of their way and gorge themselves on their own misconduct. This threatening posture approximates that of a prophet who speaks in God's name, the prophetic ego merging with the divine. These foolish individuals have not just ignored a human teacher; they have also treated God with contempt.

The plural *ḥokmōt* has caused considerable speculation, none of which satisfactorily explains the form: a plural of abstraction, an ancient Canaanite goddess, an orthographic mistake. Curiously, the next section to introduce this figure, Prov 8:1–36, uses two expressions in parallelism (*ḥokmāh* and *tĕbûnāh,* although referring to a single individual (cf. 7:4). Several links with the earlier text stand out—the place of instruction, the objects of the teaching, the allusions to "seeking and finding" and to fruit, both positive here. New ideas also surface: the extraordinary worth of Wisdom, surpassing the value of jewels; Wisdom's role in the manifest rule of the earth; the integral relationship between Wisdom and morality; and her presence with God at creation.

The latter complex of ideas concerning creation, echoing sentiments from Egypt, particularly the emphasis on her presence before the various creative deeds and the picture of Wisdom as a source of God's pleasure, describes a transcendent figure loftier by far than the earlier prophetic one. The result of God's first creative deed, she therefore preceded earth itself. Either as artisan or darling child, she witnessed the firmament taking shape and rejoiced constantly as Yahweh established order despite chaotic forces of the deep. A merging of egos occurs here too, as Wisdom assures those who find her that they will discover Yahweh's favor and therefore life itself.

The third passage about an extraordinary figure known as *ḥokmāh,* Prov 9:1–6, describes a building project on a smaller scale. She constructs a house, fashions its seven columns, and prepares a lavish banquet, enlisting the aid of servants to issue an invitation to townspeople. Just as Yahweh had to contend with the waters of the deep, Wisdom must reckon with a rival force who promises sensual pleasure. Given the powerful role of erotic imagination, sweet water and pleasant bread transform a simple meal into a sumptuous feast (Prov 9:13–18).

**F. Affinities with Other Biblical Literature**

Proverbial sayings occur in various contexts other than the book of Proverbs. Besides traditional sayings preserved in narratives and prophetic literature, one finds similes and aphorisms in Psalms that closely resemble those in Proverbs. For example, Ps 37:16 expresses the judgment that the meager possessions of virtuous people are better than the abundance of many wicked persons. Similarly, 37:21 states that a wicked individual borrows and cannot repay, but the righteous is generous and gives away. Verse 23 insists that God directs a person's steps, establishing the one who finds divine approval. Ps 94:8–11 uses rhetorical questions in composing a didactic essay on divine sovereignty that hears, sees, and chastens. The motto in Prov 1:7a occurs in Ps 111:10a ("The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom"); and the comparison of parental teaching with a lamp and light appears in Ps 119:105, here with reference to God's word. The sons of youth are likened to arrows in the hands of a warrior in Ps 127:4.

The use of *miṣwāh* and *tôrāh* in Proverbs raises the possibility that the Mosaic law lies behind the vocabulary about parental instruction. The use of these words with reference to paternal and maternal teaching in 6:20 suggests that they have the same referent in 6:23 ("For the commandment is a lamp and the teaching is a light, instruction and discipline are the way of life"). Nevertheless, an association with Deut 6:4–9; 11:18–20 seems likely, if unconscious. The Mosaic law may rest behind the language of Prov 28:4, 7, 9; and 29:18, particularly if this last verse also refers to prophecy, but all of these references may have in mind laws of the state.

Although Job and Ecclesiastes represent different genres within Wisdom Literature, they contain many proverbial sayings like those in the book of Proverbs. Perhaps Prov 30:4 alludes to God's mocking remark in Job 38:5 ("surely you know"). Sirach also has numerous proverbial sayings and didactic essays on individual themes, in both instances following in the footsteps of the unknown authors who composed the book of Proverbs. The popularity of such aphorisms is evidenced by their being embedded within devotional narratives such as Tobit (12:7–10).

**G. Canonization**

The sacred character of Proverbs seems never to have been in doubt, although remarks about its vivid description of a harlot in the act of seduction and about direct contradiction in 26:4–5 have survived in Jewish sources. Christian acceptance of the book seems not to have been contested, and its secular character did not pose any obstacle to considering the book canonical. In some circles, modern scholars have declared its contents pagan, but the criterion they use (proclamation of saving history) leaves much to be desired.

The Greek text has about 130 stichs more than the Hebrew, many of them highly Hellenized. Some haggadic tendencies intermingle with apparent mistakes. Other renderings may harmonize related texts in several different books, especially Psalms, Sirach, and Wisdom of Solomon.

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**PROVIDENCE.** The word "providence" derives from the Latin *providentia,* the noun from the verb *providere* "take thought for," "look ahead." The Greek equivalent is *pronoia,* from the verb *pronoeisthai,* having more or less the same meaning.

As a philosophical or religious concept, Providence denotes the care of God for his creatures, "God" standing for a personal, sentient first principle. The requirement that providence stem from a personal agent might seem absolute, but in fact, among the Greeks, the Stoic philosophers adopted the concept of *pronoia* to describe the rational ordering of the universe emanating from a first principle which they designated as *theos,* "God" but which they conceived of simply as the immanent active principle of the universe.

In early Greek thought, Zeus and the other gods are portrayed as exercising care for individual mortals, and in Zeus' case even in a general way for the world as a whole, but there was no overarching idea of divine providence as embracing all human activity, nor was the word *pronoia* used in this context, apart from one remarkable passage in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (684–85), where the chorus, speculating on the name of Helen of Troy, speak of "someone whom we do not see, guiding his tongue fortunately *(en tychâi)* to the mark with foresight of destiny *(pronoaisi tou peprômenou).*" Even here, though, *pronoia* is used for someone discerning the course of destiny rather than steering it.

In general, it might be said to be characteristic of early Greek thought, and of writers like Pindar and Herodotus in particular, to regard the gods as being just as likely to be envious of human success, and offended by human self-assertion, as to be benevolent. There is even an undercurrent of thought (represented, for instance, in the Prometheus myth and in the post-Homeric *Cypria*) that Zeus had plans to destroy humankind and start again with a less flawed race of creatures.

The first thinker to assert a systematic doctrine of divine providence is Plato, particularly in the *Timaeus* and in Book X of the *Laws.* In the *Timaeus* (29E), he makes an assertion which was to have great impact on later philosophy, and even on Christian theology, when he states that the Demiurge, the creator god presented in that dialogue, "was good, and in the good there subsists no envy ever about anything; being free of this, then, he wished that everything be so far as possible like unto himself." *Pronoia* is not mentioned here (though the concept is clearly implied, as the opposite of "envy"), but the word is used a

little later (at 30C and 44C), referring this latter time to the forethought of the planetary gods, the Demiurge's assistants.

Later, in *Laws* X, by way of proving the existence of the gods, Plato presents us (896Eff.) with a World Soul which guides the whole universe benevolently (though hampered to some extent in its operations by another soul of opposite tendency—possibly just the negative force of Matter, though many later Platonists, such as Plutarch, took this to be an Evil World Soul in the *Timaeus,* but it was portrayed in the *Laws* as a creation soul). In the *Timaeus,* soul is an instrument of the Demiurge; but in the *Laws,* soul has the executive function of the Demiurge himself and is described as a god, with each of the heavenly bodies being a god as well (899B).

Plato then proceeds to argue against what was later the Epicurean doctrine that the gods exist but exercise no care over human affairs (899D–905D), and in the process he produces all the arguments that would later be used to support the doctrine of divine providence. This is therefore a text of fundamental importance. Plato asserts that the divinity cares for things both small and great (901B) and that we are all the possessions of the gods (902B), in which they therefore have a proprietorial interest, but that we cannot expect our personal convenience always to be served by divine providence since we are only parts of a larger whole and Providence looks to the whole (903Bff.).

The Stoic philosophers inherited this view of divine providence, but adapted it to their own materialist philosophy, God becoming now the immanent mind or soul of the universe. The Stoic doctrine of Providence thus becomes confused with their doctrine of Fate, and disputes in fact arose in the school as to the proper relation between the two concepts. We have record of a dispute between Cleanthes and Chrysippus as to whether everything fated is also providential. Chrysippus held that it is; Cleanthes that it is not (*SVF* 2.933). It is not quite clear what Cleanthes had in mind, but his view may have been that divine providence does not concern itself with a certain level of details (side effects of chains of causation), which are, nonetheless, fated.

Such an argument has some importance for later Platonist and Aristotelian doctrine. Albinus (*Didaskalikos,* chap. 26) though talking here of Fate, rather than Providence, makes the distinction that all things are comprehended by Fate, but not all things are *fated,* which may well be the distinction that Cleanthes was trying to make. Pseudo-Plutarch, in his treatise *On Fate,* presents an elaborate scholastic system (572Fff.), according to which there are three levels of Providence, the highest of which—the "intellection" or "will" of the Supreme God—transcends the sphere of Fate and "encloses" it, while lower levels of providence are coordinate with, or even subordinate to, Fate. Both Albinus and Pseudo-Plutarch, however, seek to preserve within this overarching framework of providence and fate a place for free will.

On the other hand, the Aristotelian tradition (represented most conspicuously in the later period by Alexander of Aphrodisias in his treatise *On Fate*) tended to restrict the sphere of God's Providence to the supralunary realm, leaving our world to Fate and Chance, and thus acquired the reputation of abolishing Providence, which is not quite fair, though it is admittedly not a concept that Aristotle had much use for. The Aristotelian God thinks himself (as in *Metaph.* 12), and the universe relates to him rather than the other way around.

The greatest statement of the theory of Providence in the Hellenic tradition is the treatise of Plotinus *On Providence* (*Enn.* 3.2–3), composed in the latter half of the 3d century C.E. While basically accepting the Stoic theory of Fate and Providence, Plotinus seeks to justify the rationality and goodness of God in the face of the multifarious evil observable in the world. Like the Stoics, he regards free will as a subjective phenomenon and holds that true freedom consists in understanding the way of the world and assenting to it. His treatise is the finest attempt that we have at a comprehensive Hellenic theodicy.

Two other treatises on Providence, however, should not be neglected, though they do not rise to the heights of Plotinus. One is the two-part treatise of the Platonizing Jewish philosopher Philo of Alexandria (fl. ca. 25 C.E.). This work presents the Platonic, and especially Stoic, arguments for Providence, of which it constitutes a most useful exposition, but also comes closer to Christian thought in that Philo believes in a personal God, which is not the case with the Greeks. The second book of the treatise takes the form of a

dialogue with Philo's nephew Alexander, who presents Peripatetic and Skeptical arguments against Providence for refutation.

The essay of the Roman Stoic philosopher Seneca (4 B.C.E.–65 C.E.), commonly entitled *On Providence,* is really devoted to the more restricted question, "Why, if there is Providence, do some misfortunes befall good men?" and is a rhetorical elaboration of the theme that no evil can befall a good man. It does, however, touch briefly on most aspects of the topic of Providence in general, showing how closely enmeshed that concept is, for the Stoics, with Fate.

*Pronoia* is also an important concept in gnostic thought. The Father, in the *Tripartite Tractate* from the Nag Hammadi Corpus, is described as "the providence *[pronoia]* of those for whom He providentially cares" (66). Pronoia figures largely also in the *Apocryphon of John* (4–7), where it is identified with Barbelo, and in the treatise *On the Origin of the World* (108–11), where Pronoia is interestingly personified, and a lower Pronoia is envisaged, left by the Light-Adam in the heavens when he reascends to the Pleroma. In each, Pronoia is to be contrasted with Fate *(Heimarmene),* which is proper to the Demiurge and his realm.

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**PROVINCE.** See PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (ROMAN).

**PRUSA** (40°12´N; 29°04´E). The site of the city of Prusa is now occupied by the town of Bursa in NW Turkey. Prusa and its successor occupy a fine plateau site on the N slopes of Ulu Dag (in ancient times the Mysian Mt. Olympus), overlooking the coastal plain of the Sea of Marmarra. There are medicinal hot springs at Çekirge, near the town, which have been in use since classical times. No references to Prusa occur in the Bible.

The first systematic description of Prusa-Bursa was provided by Philippson in 1913. Earlier contributions had been made by von Moltke (1836), von Hammer, and Hommaire de Hell (1846). No systematic excavations have been carried out. However, Bursa was chosen as the site for one of Turkey's first museums, which was catalogued by Mendel (1909).

The ancient geographers (Strabo 12.504; Pliny *HN* 5.148) associate the foundation of Prusa with either Hannibal or a legendary King Prusias of the 6th century B.C. In fact Hannibal spent the last few years of his life in exile at the court of King Prusias I (ca. 235–183 B.C.) of Bithynia, who is commemorated on the city's coins as founder. Dörner (PW 23.1: 1071–86) considers that Prusias I probably founded the city with the advice and assistance of Hannibal, a view supported by the evidence of the fragments of Arrian, a Roman senator and historian from Nicomedia. A fragmentary inscription from Bursa contains a city decree of, apparently, 188 or 187 B.C.; this text mentions an *epistates,* or royal governor, indicating that Prusa was firmly under royal control at the start of its existence (Robert 1937: 229). During the wars between Mithridates of Pontus and Rome, which preceded the final annexation of Bithynia by Rome in 72 B.C., Prusa was occupied by Mithridates and besieged by the Romans.

The growing prosperity of the Roman Empire is reflected at Prusa by the resumption of local coinage under Nero (54–68). Under Trajan (98–117) Prusa became one of the assize towns of the province of Bithynia, where the Roman governor conducted judicial business during his tours through the province. Assize towns benefited from the regular influx of litigants, traders, and entertainers attracted by the presence of the governor; a vivid, if satirical picture of the animated scene is drawn by the orator Dio Chrysostom, "golden mouthed," who was a native of Prusa (*Or.* 35.15–17). Of interest to biblical scholars is the 5th-century bishop Synesius' report that Dio referred to the Essenes of Palestine in favorable terms. It would be unwise to assume any great significance in this reference for the history of Judaism or Christianity in Asia Minor. The traditions of popular Hellenistic philosophy on which Dio drew included a certain superficial taste for "barbarian" (i.e., non-Greek) wisdom. So we find Dio in his surviving

speeches referring favorably to Scythian morals, to the Brahmans and the Magi, and telling a philosophical myth with a Persian setting (*Or.* 35.22; 36.39–60; 49.7; 69.6).

A brilliant light is shed on the political life of Prusa during the time of Trajan by the political speeches of Dio of Prusa (ca. 40–after 110) and by some of the correspondence of Pliny and Trajan, when the former was governor of Bithynia (109–11; *Ep.* 10.17A, 17B, 23–24, 58, 70–71 deal with the affairs of Prusa). Like most Greek cities, Prusa enjoyed a measure of local autonomy under the supervision of the Roman authorities. Local government was largely in the hands of the wealthy civic aristocracy, who were expected to contribute liberally from their personal resources to public life. The evidence of inscriptions and of Dio and Pliny shows that Prusa's constitution followed the pattern set for Bithynia by the *lex Pompeia:* there was a city council, with (probably) a property qualification for membership, and a college of magistrates presided over by a chief magistrate (*protos archon;* Dörner PW 23.1: 1071–86; Sherwin-White 1966: 720; Ameling 1984). The speeches of Dio and the letters of Pliny illustrate the danger of civic ambitions leading to rash expenditure on prestige public projects. The evidence is presented and discussed by Jones (1978) and Sheppard (1984).

The hot springs were noted for the fact that the water required no cooling before being used for bathing. There was a cult of Asclepius, Hygieia ("Health"), and the Nymphs at the springs (Robert 1946: 93–102). Prusa was the home of two noted doctors of the Roman world: Asclepiades (1st century B.C.), who specialized in water and wine cures, and C. Calpurnius Asclepiades, active in the time of Trajan.

The prosperity of Roman Prusa was founded on the combination of the rich arable land and olive groves of the coastal plain with the timber resources of Ulu Dag. Peace and prosperity were, however, rudely shattered when Prusa was plundered by the Goths in 256. There is little evidence for the later history of Greco-Roman Prusa. A bishop is attested from 325 (until 1712). During the 5th century a number of Huns were settled in the area. In 1236 the city fell to Orhan Gazi, the second Sultan of the Ottoman dynasty, who made it his capital. Today the tombs and mosques of the early Ottoman sultans are the principal monuments of the town of Bursa.

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ANTHONY SHEPPARD

**PSALMS, BOOK OF.** The book of Psalms is unique in the Bible because it is a collection of literature of prayer, praise, and meditation. If the Bible's narrative materials relate what God has done and the prophetic literature reports what God has said, the Psalms present the response of the people to the acts and words of God. As a book of the people, the book of Psalms has been especially valued for both public worship and private devotion among Jews and Christians alike. It has also been the focal point of much scholarly research. For useful summaries of the major trends and positions in this research (and related bibliography), see Clements 1976: 76–98; and Hayes 1979: 139–43, 285–317.

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**A. The Name**

The English title "Psalms" is derived from the Greek *psalmoi,* "songs of praise," by way of the Latin *Liber Psalmorum,* "book of psalms." Among ancient Greek manuscripts of the OT, *psalmoi* appears in Codex Vaticanus as a title for the book. Codex Sinaiticus has no title, though "psalms of David" appears at the end. Codex Alexandrinus has as the title for the book *psalterion,* the name of a stringed instrument and the basis for the English "psalter"; *psalmoi* appears at the conclusion. The noun *psalmos* is found often in titles to the psalms, as in "psalm of David." The noun comes from the Greek verb *psallo* meaning "sing (to the accompaniment of a harp)" (BAGD, 899), as in the references to David in 1 Sam 16:16, 17, 23 or to the minstrel in 2 Kgs 3:15.

The NT refers to the three-part division of the Hebrew Bible, speaking of "the law of Moses and the prophets and psalms" (Luke 24:44), with "psalms" representing the as-yet incomplete third division; note also reference to the "Book of Psalms" in Luke 20:42.

The oldest Hebrew manuscripts do not have a title for the collection as a whole. The note at the end of Book II, Ps 72:20, says, "The prayers *[tĕpillôt]* of David, the son of Jesse, are ended," thus designating the foregoing psalms as "prayers." In rabbinic and later literature, the book is called *Sefer Tehillim,* "book of praises," or simply *Tillim.* The noun *tĕhillîm,* "praises," is derived from the Hebrew root *hll,* "praise." That root also appears in "hallelujah" ("praise Yah," or "Yahweh"), found only in the Psalter, always at the beginning or ending of psalms (104:35; 106:1, 48; 113:1, 9; 146–50, beginning and end of each; etc.).

The noun "praise" occurs often in the psalms: "He put a new song in my mouth, a song of praise *(tĕhillâ)* to our God" (40:3; also 22:25; 33:1; 34:1; 48:10, etc.). Psalm 145 is the only psalm to be designated a *tĕhillâ* in the title, translated "Song of Praise."

Of the 206 occurrences of *hll,* "praise," in the OT (146 verbal, 60 nominal), about two-thirds are in the psalms or in phrases taken from the psalms (*THAT,* 493). Because the collection of psalms contains so many expressions of praise to God, it became known as "praises" or "Tehillim."

The two names preserved in the Hebrew tradition, "prayers" *(tĕpillôt)* and "songs of praise" *(tĕhillîm)*, may be taken as representing two fundamental types of psalms: prayers in time of need, or laments, and songs of praise, or hymns.

**B. The Text**

**1. The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll.** Some 30 texts containing portions of the Psalter have been found at Qumran near the Dead Sea since the discovery of the scrolls there in 1947 (in Caves 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 11). Three psalm texts have been found at other sites (parts of Psalms 15 and 16 found S of En Gedi in 1960; parts of Psalms 81 through 85 and Psalm 150 at Masada between 1963 and 1965; Sanders 1967: 145–46). In addition, the caves have yielded four commentary texts containing portions of psalms.

The most dramatic find is the Psalms Scroll from Cave 11. Discovered in 1956, it was unrolled by James Sanders in 1961 and published by him in 1965 and 1967. Sanders dates the scroll to around A.D. 50. It is made of five sheets of leather sewn to a length of almost 13 feet and is presently 6 to 7 inches wide; originally its width was 9 or 10 inches, making it about the same width as the Isaiah Scroll from Cave 1. The scroll contains all or parts of 41 canonical psalms from Books IV and V of the Psalter, beginning with Psalm 101; as well as 2 Sam 23:1–7; four noncanonical psalms (151A, B; 154; 155; and Sir 51:13ff.); and four other nonbiblical works (Plea for Deliverance, Apostrophe to Zion, Hymn to the Creator, and David's Compositions; these are interspersed in the book at a variety of places).

The psalms appear to have been popular at Qumran. "There were undoubtedly more copies of psalms in the Qumran library than of any other biblical writing …" (Sanders 1967: 9). The text of the psalms recovered thus far, says Sanders, is in close agreement with the standard Ben Asher manuscripts (Leningradensis and the Aleppo Codex), with most of the variations matters of orthography. An exception is Psalm 145, in which every verse has a refrain, "Blessed be the Lord and blessed be his name for ever and ever." The superscription to 145 reads *tĕpillâ*, "prayer," instead of *tĕhillâ*, "song of praise" (RSV); the psalm also has a subscript reading "This is for a memorial …" (Sanders 1967: 64–67). The ordering of the psalms in this scroll differs from that of the MT (Sanders 1967: 10, 16).

**2. The Hebrew *Tehillim*** (Songs of Praise). The critical edition of the Hebrew text of Psalms found in *BHS* is based upon the MT as represented by Codex Leningradensis (B19A or L), dated in 1008 C.E. and identified in the colophon as a production of the Ben Asher family (Würthwein 1979: 168).

The basis for a new critical edition of the Hebrew Bible being prepared at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem is the Aleppo Codex, so named because though it was originally in Jerusalem, it was moved to Cairo and then to Aleppo in Syria. Again a Ben Asher manuscript, it is dated from the first half of the 10th century. The manuscript lacks Pss 15:1–25:2. For progress reports, see *Textus: Annual of the Hebrew University Bible Project;* the publication of Psalms has not yet appeared.

**3. The Greek Psalter.** The Greek OT or Septuagint (LXX) was produced by the Jewish community in Alexandria, Egypt, during the first half of the 3d century B.C. Intended for Hellenistic Jews, this translation was immediately accessible to Greek-speaking gentiles as well and eventually became the OT for the Christian movement. Because of the popularity of the psalms, there are many more Greek manuscripts of that book available than of any other Old Testament book (Rahlfs 1967: 61). As the LXX became more and more the Bible for Christians, it lost popularity in the Jewish community.

The convenient edition of Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, is based mainly on the three oldest major Greek manuscripts, all of which include both OT and NT. Codex Vaticanus (B) is a 4th-century manuscript; Pss 105:27–137:6 were lacking but were added in the 15th century. Codex Sinaiticus (S) is another 4th-century manuscript, containing the entire Psalter. Codex Alexandrinus (A) is a 5th-century manuscript, lacking Pss 49:20–79:11.

Each of these three includes Psalm 151, in which David celebrates victory over Goliath. While this psalm is not in the Hebrew Bible, it is among those noncanonical pieces included in the Dead Sea Psalms Scroll. All three manuscripts have a superscription identifying the psalm as an addition to the 150 canonical psalms: "This psalm is ascribed to David and is outside the number …" Codex S has a subscript reading "the 151 psalms of David." The subscript to A reads "the 150 psalms and one ascribed." B has no subscript.

The numbering of the psalms in the Greek OT differs from the Hebrew. The following table indicates the differences:

| *MT (also RSV)* | *LXX* |
|---|---|
| Psalms 1–8 | Psalms 1–8 |
| 9–10 | 9 |
| 11–113 | 10–112 |
| 114–15 | 113 |
| 116:1–9 | 114 |
| 116:10–19 | 115 |
| 117–46 | 116–45 |
| 147:1–11 | 146 |
| 147:12–20 | 147 |
| 148–50 | 148–50 |
| ——— | 151 |

As Christians transmitted the text of the Greek OT, a number of interpolations began to appear in the text. One example: in Rom 3:10–18, Paul uses parts of Ps 14:1–3 as well as Pss 5:9; 140:3; 10:7; and 36:1 to support his argument that all are sinners. In LXX Psalm 13 (Heb 14), manuscripts B and S insert precisely these quotations from other psalms in v 3. Thus, Christians enriched their Greek OT by adding this chain of quotations (see Rahlfs 1967: 30–32, for further examples).

**C. The Origin and Function of the Psalms**

The psalms originated in the midst of Israel's life and have continued to function in the lives of both Jews and Christians as a hymnbook for worship and a prayer book for devotion.

**1. The Psalms as Response.** Psalms 1 and 2 provide an introduction to the Psalter (see D below). The psalms that follow offer clues to the way in which the psalms originated.

These psalms are addressed to God, as is clear from reading the opening lines of Psalms 3–10: "O Lord …" (Psalm 3), "Answer me when I call, O God" (Psalm 4), "Give ear to my words, O Lord" (Psalm 5), etc. They address God in response to a crisis, such as being ill (Psalm 6) or being surrounded by enemies who may make false accusations (Psalms 3; 4; 5; 7; 9/10). The same crises brought on by illness (31; 32; 38; 39; 41; 51; 88; 102), enemies (17; 23; 26; 27; 57; 63), or the distress of sin (40; 51; 130) appear through the psalter. Such prayers in times of crisis are commonly called "laments," since one of the constant elements in these psalms is a complaint or lament, against God in "thou" form ("But thou, O Lord—how long?" 6:3), concerning oneself in "I" form ("… for I am languishing," 6:2), or concerning others in "they" form ("for there is no truth in their mouth …," 5:9). These first laments in the Psalter voice an individual's complaint and cry for help. The superscription to Psalm 102 describes the situation that gave rise to such prayers of the individual in times of crisis: "A prayer of one afflicted, when he is faint and pours out his complaint before the Lord" (see F.1 below).

The entire community may cry out for help: "Do thou, O Lord, protect us …" (Ps 12:7). The Community Laments (see F.1. below) provide clues to the situation giving rise to these prayers. The people may have experienced a defeat (44:9–16), or the temple and the city of Jerusalem have been devastated (74:4–8; 79:1), or they may be suffering at the hands of enemies (80:6; 12–13) or in exile in Babylon (137).

Psalms also arise out of good times, the psalmist responding to a situation of experiencing blessing. Psalm 8 celebrates God's work as Creator, addressing God with general words of praise, "O Lord, our Lord, how majestic is thy name in all the earth!" Such psalms are designated as "hymns." Psalm 30 expresses praise and thanks to God for a specific act, in this case for healing in answer to prayer (vv 1–3). Psalms of this type may be called Thanksgiving Psalms (see F.3 below).

Other psalms arose out of particular occasions. The Royal Psalms were composed for use in connection with events in the life of a king (see F.4 below). Several psalms were produced to suit liturgical needs, providing the script for a procession around the city (Psalm 48) or for the offering of sacrifices (Psalm 66; see F.6 below). More than two dozen "Wisdom Psalms" (see F.7 below) offer short observations growing out of life's experiences (Psalms 127, Psalms 128) or longer reflections on the great problems of life (Psalms 37, Psalms 73); or they may commend Torah (instruction) and its study (Psalms 1; Psalms 19; Psalms 119). The alphabetical acrostic psalms were built on the pattern of the Hebrew alphabet, probably both to facilitate memorization and also for the sheer delight of producing such a work (see E.4 below).

In sum, the psalms arose out of the midst of Israel's life in the presence of God, responding to good times and bad, providing words for the celebrations of the community, and offering guidance and reflection on the opportunities and problems of life.

**2. The Psalter as Worship Book.** Since the Psalter is not a manual providing directions for those leading worship but a collection of hymns, prayers, and poems for the people, the settings for these psalms in worship and other occasions must be inferred from the psalms themselves.

The hymns (see F.2 below) suggest congregational worship utilizing vocal and instrumental music and marked by exuberance and creativity (the "new song"; Ps 33:1–3). They often begin with a call to praise in the imperative plural, "Praise the Lord" (Heb "Hallelujah"; 33:1; 111:1; 113:1; 146–50), thus assuming the presence of a community. Ps 111:1 makes the congregational context for praise explicit: "Praise the Lord. I will give thanks to the Lord with my whole heart, in the company of the upright, in the congregation" (cf. 149:1; 150:1). The praise that takes place in connection with these psalms was lively, involving singing and shouting (33:3), dancing (149:3; 150:4), and the use of string, wind, and percussion instruments (33:1–3; 149:3; 150). The forms of worship change, with the community called to update its materials in a manner appropriate for new times (33:1; 96:1; 98:1; 149:1). Those engaged in praise may be standing in the temple (135:1–2), even for a service of worship at night (134). Praise came from different groups within the assembled congregation (135:19–20). The repeated refrain of Psalm 136 suggests a worship leading calling out or chanting the first part of each line and the congregation responding with "for his steadfast love endures forever." The rubric, "let Israel now say" (124:1; 129:1), again calls the gathered people to respond.

Some psalms were used as liturgies (see F.6 below), with actions accompanying the words of the psalm. Psalm 66 functioned in connection with the making of an offering (66:13–15). Psalms 48 and probably 132 were associated with processions; the latter would fit a reenactment of David's bringing the ark into the city (2 Samuel 6). Pss 24:7, 9 and 118:19–20 suggest a procession passing through the temple gates, with participants carrying branches (118:27). Ceremonial washings are suggested by 26:6 and perhaps 51:7 (cf. Num 19:18). Psalms 15 and 24 apparently functioned as entrance liturgies, the worshipper about to enter the temple area asking a question and a priest or temple official responding with the answer (15:1–5; 24:3–6; cf. Mic 6:6–8). Various attempts have been made to reconstruct liturgies and entire festivals on the basis of the psalms, but such reconstructions remain notoriously hypothetical.

The "Songs of Ascents" or "Pilgrimage Psalms" (120–34) seem to have been used as a collection especially designed for those "going up" (122:4; the root is the same as "ascents" in the titles) to Jerusalem for one of the regularly occurring festivals (Deut 16:16–17). They fit a broad pattern of anticipating the journey (122:1), setting out (121), joyful arrival (133), and concluding evening worship (134).

At one time the Community Laments (see F.1 below) functioned as part of community services of prayer and fasting, called the "fast" (*ṣôm;* Joel 1:14). These were gatherings convened at times of national emergency such as a military crisis (2 Chronicles 20) or natural disasters such as drought and famine or plague (Joel 1; cf. the listing in 1 Kgs 8:33–40). A picture of these services can be pieced together: the entire community was assembled, including the children and the newly married (Joel 1:14; 2:15–16; 2 Chr 20:13). The extremity of the emergency was demonstrated by the destruction of beauty: clothing was torn or removed (Joel 2:12; Isa 32:11), the hair was cut off, the people wept and mourned (Isa 15:2–3; 22:12), even gashed themselves (Hos 7:14), rolling in dust (Mic 1:10), putting on sackcloth, and rolling in

ashes (Jer 6:26). While these Community Lament psalms grew out of times of specific national need, their continued use indicates that they were appropriated and adapted for other sorts of situations.

The Individual Laments (see F.1. below) arose out of a variety of personal crises and must have continued to function in a great variety of life situations. Childless Hannah poured out her heart in the sanctuary at Shiloh; her prayers probably used the language of the individual laments. The priest says to Hannah, "Go in peace, and the God of Israel grant your petition …" which may account for the abrupt change of mood in many of the laments (1 Samuel 1; cf. the change from Ps 13:5 to Ps 13:6). Hezekiah's prayer from his sickbed suggests another obvious setting for these prayers (Isaiah 38; cf. the psalms associated with illness as listed above).

The book of *4 Maccabees*, written sometime between A.D. 20 and 54, concludes with a scene suggesting how the psalms were used in the setting of the family. In the last words of the mother who had lost her seven sons in persecution (2 Maccabees 7), she recalls her late husband, saying to her remaining children, "A happy man was he, who lived out his life with good children … while he was still with you, he taught you the law and prophets … He sang to you psalms of the psalmist David, who said, 'Many are the afflictions of the righteous' " (*4 Macc.* 18:9–10, 15).

Gerstenberger (1988) has suggested that there were a variety of occasions when family and friends came together and utilized the psalms. These would include not only the events of birth, marriage, and death, but also special gatherings at times of illness and sorrow and joy and thanksgiving. The laments, he suggests, were used at times of crisis in the circle of family and caring friends, under the direction of a ritual expert. Gerstenberger has compared these groups to contemporary group therapy movements under the direction of an expert in such processes. His work is a reminder that people's lives are lived not only as individuals or in congregations, but also in the world of the small group of family and friends.

Again, these occasional services cannot be reconstructed with certainty. But there is enough evidence in the OT to suggest that the prayers and songs of praise found in the Psalter were not confined to the sanctuary. The psalms came out of a variety of situations from the midst of the life of the people; it is reasonable to assume that they also functioned in a variety of life situations.

**3. The Psalter as Scripture.** The psalms are now in the form of a book, called the "Psalter" since the time of the Greek translations. Recent studies have demonstrated that this book has been carefully shaped and edited (see D below). That editing placed Psalm 1 at the beginning in order to suggest another way in which this collection is intended to function.

The first picture that appears in the Psalter is that of a tree, planted by a river, flourishing, yielding fruit (1:3). Used as a comparison, this is an image of a human life that is deeply rooted and marked by productivity, prosperity, and beauty. The reader asks: How could one attain to such a life? The answer is explicit: by meditating, both day and night, on the Torah of the Lord. The verb *hāgāh*, translated "meditate" (v 2), is also used for the growling of a lion as he enjoys his prey (Isa 31:4); the sense here is of the sound made as one studies the Lord's instruction in Scripture. This psalm thus suggests that the way to the kind of life symbolized by the tree involves delighting in and meditating upon Torah, here referring to the Lord's instruction that follows in the Psalter.

A second psalm with a concern for Torah—Psalm 19 (cf. v 7, translated "law")—also refers to meditation, asking that such reflecting and speaking be acceptable in the Lord's sight (19:14).

Finally, Psalm 119 offers a lengthy treatise which speaks of the Lord's Torah as a delight (v 92), of loving Torah (vv 97, 113, 163, 165), and of mediating (Heb *śîaḥ*, synonymous with *hāgāh* in 77:13—RSV 12) upon it all day (v 97). The psalm commends reflection upon God's precepts (v 15), statutes (vv 23, 48), works (v 27), and promises (v 148). It seems likely that the two Torah psalms, 1 and 119, once framed an early version of the Psalter (see D.2 below; see also Westermann 1981: 253). In any case, both suggest a particular use of the psalms of which they are a part. These ancient psalms of Israel are not only hymns and prayers to be sung and prayed at a place of public worship; they are also Scripture, designed to nurture the piety of the people in devotion and meditation.

**D. The Book and the Books**

The Psalter in its present form consists of 150 psalms divided into five books. Editorial work included the collecting and arranging of the individual psalms, the division into books, and the supplying of superscriptions or titles for 116 of the psalms.

**1. The Beginning and Ending.** The editors of the psalter placed Psalms 1 and 2 at the beginning as an introduction to the collection as a whole. These two psalms may be considered together: neither has a title; they are framed by the "blessed" formulas in 1:1 and 2:11 (the formula in 2:11 may be a contribution of the editor); and they are linked by the catchword *hāgāh*, translated "meditate" in 1:2 and "plot" in 2:1. In Acts 13:33, the 6th-century Greek Codex D as well as a number of other witnesses introduce Paul's citation of Ps 2:7 with "as also it is written in the first psalm," thus indicating either that Psalms 1 and 2 were considered as one psalm, or that there was a Psalter in existence in which the present Psalm 2 was the first psalm.

As noted above (C. 3), Psalm 1 functions as an invitation to meditate upon the psalms which follow. While Psalm 1 has its focus on the individual ("Blessed is the man …"), the focus of Psalm 2 is international because it speaks of the nations, their kings, and the Lord's anointed king on Mt. Zion in Jerusalem. Since a psalm like 137 assumes the Exile in Babylon, the final editing of the Psalter had to have taken place sometime after 587 B.C. With the time of the Monarchy past, Royal Psalms (see F.4 below) such as Psalm 2 were no longer applicable to an actual king; nevertheless, they were collected and continued to be used, providing the seedbed out of which grew the hope for a new anointed one (2:2), or in Hebrew, a "messiah."

These two introductory psalms thus suggest a reading of the Psalter for individual edification and also within an international context which included hope for a future king to take up rule from Mt. Zion.

After this introduction the Psalter begins with a series of five psalms of lament of the individual (3–7); the bulk of Book I (Psalms 1–41) consists of further Individual Laments. Moving toward the end of Book IV (Psalms 90–106), the sound of praise dominates with the Kingship of the Lord Psalms (93; 95–99) and in a series of hymns (103–6). With the beginning of Book V (Psalms 107–50) praise continues, up to Psalm 119 (109 is an exception); and the Psalter concludes with five psalms of praise, each framed with "Praise the Lord" ("Hallelujah"). Thus one can speak of a broad movement in the Psalter as a whole from lament to praise.

**2. The Five Books.** The Psalter is divided into five "Books" (Psalms 1–41; 42–72; 73–89; 90–106; 107–50). According to the Talmud, this is to correspond with the five part division of the Pentateuch: "Moses gave Israel the five books, and David gave Israel the five books of the Psalms" (*Midrash Tehillim* on Psalm 1). Each Book ends with a doxology, probably not an original part of the final psalm in each book, but an insertion made in the final editing (Pss 41:13; 72:20; 89:52; 106:48). Psalm 150 provides a concluding doxology for Book V and for the Psalter as a whole.

Book I is made up almost entirely of Psalms associated with David in the titles. Psalms 1 and 2 are introductory. Psalm 10 has no title because it is linked with Psalm 9 by a broken alphabetic acrostic pattern (see E.4 below). This leaves only Psalm 33, which, though not having a Davidic superscription, has clear links with Psalm 32: *BHS* indicates that some Heb mss join the two psalms; 32:11 and 33:1 are linked by "righteous" and "upright," and Psalm 33 may be regarded as carrying out the exhortation of 32:11 (Wilson 1985: 174–76). The majority of these are psalms of the individual; exceptions include 19 and 29, which are hymns; 24, which is a liturgy; and 12, which is a lament giving voice to the hurts of the community (v 7).

Within Book II Psalms 42–49 are identified with the "Sons of Korah," members of a musical guild (2 Chr 20:19; cf. also the Korah psalms 84–85; 87–88). Psalms 42–83 (extending into Book III) are called the "Elohistic Psalter" because of a preference for the divine name "Elohim" (RSV, "God") in contrast to "Yahweh." A comparison with psalms that have near duplicates elsewhere in the Psalter is instructive. Psalm 53 is almost identical with Psalm 14, but note the replacement of "Yahweh" in 14:2, 4, 7 by "Elohim" in 53:2, 4, 6. Psalm 40 (13–17) is almost the same as Psalm 70; the situation in comparing these two is more complicated. "Yahweh" of 40:13a, 16 is replaced by "Elohim" in 70:1a, 4; but "Yahweh" of 40:13b remains as "Yahweh" in 70:1b, while "Elohim" of 40:17b is replaced by "Yahweh" in 70:5b. In

general, however, Psalms 42–83 exhibit a marked preference for "Elohim," in comparison with the remainder of the Psalter. (In the 41 psalms of Book I, Yahweh appears about 275 times, Elohim 50 times. In the 42 psalms of the Elohistic Psalter, Yahweh occurs 43 times and Elohim just under 240 times. In Psalms 84–150, Yahweh again predominates.) The production of this "Elohistic Psalter" suggests an editor preparing a collection of psalms for use in the temple at a time when the name Yahweh was being used less frequently and was being replaced by the more general "Elohim." Book II ends with a collection of Davidic psalms (51–65; 68–70; 71 is untitled; as was the case with 33, *BHS* indicates that many Heb mss link it with the preceding psalm and that the LXX associates it with David). The note at the end of Psalm 72, "The prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended," indicates that a Davidic collection once ended at this point. This seems to be an editorial comment, since the title of Psalm 72 associates it with Solomon and since 72 comes to a definite ending in vv 18–19. The fact that Book II includes duplicates of psalms in Book I (cf. 53 and 14, 70 and 40:13–17) might suggest that these two books once had a separate existence. However, it is possible that 72:20 once referred to the contents of both Books I and II, where the majority of Davidic psalms (55 out of the 73 so titled) are concentrated.

Book III (73–89) contains only 17 psalms. Most of the Community Laments (see F.1 below) are gathered here; these include 74, 79, 80, 83, 85 (the others are Psalms 44 and probably 12). The majority of these psalms are associated with Asaph in the titles (73–83; 50 is the only other Asaph psalm), referring to a musician from the tribe of Levi who was appointed by David to provide music when the ark was brought to Jerusalem (1 Chr 6:39; 15:17–19; 16:4–6) and who was present at the dedication of Solomon's temple (2 Chr 5:12). Asaph's family was still active in music at the time of Josiah in the 7th century B.C. (2 Chr 35:15) and also at the time of Nehemiah and Ezra in the 5th century, furnishing trumpet players when the wall was rebuilt (Neh 12:35) and instrumental music when the foundation of the Second Temple was complete (Ezra 3:10).

Book IV (90–106) also consists of 17 psalms. Here are gathered 6 of the 7 psalms that declare Yahweh's kingship (93; 95–99). Other devices link psalms together: 103 and 104 both have "Bless the Lord, O my soul" at beginning and end; 105 and 106 both recite God's mighty acts in Israel's history, though with different emphases; and both begin with "O give thanks to the Lord" and end with "Praise the Lord." Principles of arrangement here are thus thematic grouping and similarity of beginnings and endings. Book IV ends with a series of hymns (103–6), the last one framed by "Praise the Lord" ("Hallelujah").

Book V (107–50) is the largest of the five books, with 44 psalms. Davidic psalms are grouped at the beginning (108–10) and toward the end (138–45). The unique Psalm 119, an acrostic with eight lines for each letter of the Hebrew alphabet, is included here. Linked to Psalm 1 with the Torah theme, it may have concluded an early form of the Psalter. Psalms 120–34 are a collection of "Songs of Ascent" (see C.2 above). Psalms 140–43 constitute a final series of Individual Laments. Book V concludes the Psalter with a series of five "Praise the Lord" or "Hallelujah" psalms, which may be viewed as carrying out the resolution of 146:21 (Wilson 1985: 193–94).

In conclusion, the locations of two types of psalms may be noted. Royal Psalms are scattered throughout the Psalter, especially at the beginning and ending of books. Psalm 2 introduces the whole Psalter and Book 1; Psalm 72 ends Book II; Book III ends with Psalm 89. At the time of the final composition of the Psalter, the monarchy had long been an institution of the past. These Royal Psalms, distributed throughout the Psalter, serve to keep alive the picture of the ideal king, or "anointed" (messiah; cf. 2:2; 45:7; see G.5 below).

Psalms framed with "Hallelujah" appear at strategic places. They may close a book (106) and the Psalter itself (146–50) or come at the conclusion of a collection of psalms (Psalm 100, after the Kingship of the Lord Psalms, 93 and 95–99; and Psalm 135, after 120–34). In several instances a psalm framed by "Praise the Lord" is followed by a psalm beginning "O give thanks" (106 and 107; 117 and 118; 135 and 136).

**3. The Titles.** One hundred and sixteen of the 150 psalms have superscriptions or titles in the Hebrew text, ranging from one word (98) to a lengthy comment (18). The 34 psalms that do not have titles are distributed as follows:

Book I: Psalms 1, 2, 10, and 33.
Book II: Psalms 43 and 71.
Book III: all have titles.
Book IV: Psalms 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 104, 105, and 106.
Book V: Psalms 107, 111–19, 135–137, and 146–50.

Psalms 10 and 43 do not have titles because they are linked to the preceding psalms either by an alphabetical acrostic pattern (10) or by a refrain (43). Psalms 33 and 71 may lack titles because they are thematically linked to the psalms preceding them. The first two psalms themselves function as something of a "superscription" to the entire Psalter. Psalms 111–13, 117, 135, 146–50 all begin with the imperative "Praise the Lord," which also may serve as a title. In sum almost all of the psalms in Books I–III are titled; the great majority of untitled psalms are found in Books IV (10 psalms) and V (18 psalms).

Much of the information in these titles consists of specialized musical terms which are no longer understood (for discussion, see Kraus 1988: 21–32). However, other types of information are also communicated.

The title for Psalm 6 may be taken as an example, indicating these various types of information.

(a) "To the choirmaster: with stringed instruments; according to The Sheminith." Here are *directions for musical performance, addressed to the musical director.* The phrase "to the choirmaster" (JPS, "for the leader") occurs in initial position in more than a third of the psalms. Associated with the notion of overseeing ("oversight," Ezra 3:8, 9), it is understood to refer to the director of the choir. Reference may be made to the instruments to be used: "with stringed instruments" (4, 6, 54, 55, 61, 67, 76; cf. 1 Sam 16:16, 23, where the related verb refers to playing with the hand). Other instruments are sometimes referred to: the RSV translates "for the flutes" in Psalm 5, but the Hebrew is not certain; and the expression, "according to The Sheminith" (Psalms 6, 12) means literally, "according to/on the eighth," possibly referring either to the eighth musical pattern or to an eight-string instrument.

Though the matter is debated, some of these musical directions may refer to melodies, such as "according to The Gittith" (8, 81, 84), "according to The Hind of the Dawn" (22), "according to Lillies" (45, 69, 80), "according to The Dove on Far-Off Terebinths" (56), "according to Mahalath" (53, 88), "according to Do Not Destroy" (57–59, 75). "According to Muth-labben" (9), "according to Alamoth" (46), and "according to Mahalath Leannoth" (88) are unexplained. Often the Greek translators did not understand these terms and simply transliterated them; this same approach is taken in many instances by the JPS translators.

Two technical terms appearing not in the titles but in the course of the psalms are also unexplained. The meaning of *higgaion* in 9:16 is unknown; it occurs in 19:14 with the sense "meditation" and in 92:3, translated "melody." Finally, the meaning of "selah," which occurs 71 times in 39 psalms (also in Hab 3:3, 9, 13) remains unexplained. The Greek, where it occurs 92 times, translates it as *diapsalma*, which means an instrumental interlude (see Kraus 1988: 27–29).

(b) "A psalm" indicates the *type of composition.* The Hebrew *mizmôr* was translated in the Greek Bible as *psalmos* and has thus given the name to the book. *Mizmôr* occurs a total of 57 times and only in psalm titles. In 36 instances it refers to a "psalm of David." Only in Psalm 98 does it stand alone.

Other types of compositions indicated in the psalm titles include the following: "Song" *(šîr)* occurs in 30 titles, 13 times with *mizmôr* (30, 48, etc.); the term may also be used of secular songs (Isa 23:16). In the title of Psalm 45 *šîr yĕdîdōt* means "love song." "A Song of Ascents" (lit. "for goings up") is the title for each of Psalms 120–34, most likely referring to the "going up" to Jerusalem for festivals (cf. 122:4), and thus suggesting a translation such as "Pilgrimage Psalm." "Song of Praise" translating *tĕhillâ* occurs in Psalm 145; the plural form provides the Hebrew title for the Psalter. It occurs only here as a title but within psalms at 22:25; 33:1; 34:1; etc. "Prayer" translating *tĕpillâ* is found in the titles of Psalms 17, 86, 90, 102, 142 (and Habakkuk 3); also in the plural form in 72:20.

Several terms are not understood and are thus left untranslated. *Miktām* occurs 6 times, always "of David" (16; 56–60). *Maskîl* occurs 13 times, always associated with a proper name and probably meaning "skilled or artistic piece" (cf. 2 Chr 30:22)—Psalms 32, 42, 44, 45, 52–55, 74, 78, 88, 89, 142; it occurs

once within a psalm, translated "psalm" (47:7). *Shiggaion* occurs in Psalm 7 and (in the plural) in the heading for Habakkuk 3.

(c) The title may also *associate the psalm with an individual or group,* in the case of Psalm 6, "of David." In these cases the Hebrew preposition *lĕ-* appears with the name; since that preposition can mean "to," "for," "of," or "belonging to," the sense of the title is not always clear. The preposition *lĕ* occurs in the expressions "to the choirmaster" (RSV) or "for the leader" (JPS) in 55 psalms, and in these cases it does not indicate authorship.

In the Hebrew text, 73 psalms include in the title, "*lĕ*David." In 13 instances (3, 7, 18, 34, 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 63, 142) the title associates the psalm with an event in David's life. In Psalm 18, the extended note identifies David as the author, "A Psalm of David, the servant of the Lord, who addressed the words of this song to the Lord …" Since all of these events are recorded in 1–2 Samuel, these notes appear to have been provided by someone searching for an appropriate setting for the psalm in the life of David as known from the biblical account, thereby attributing authorship to him.

The biblical tradition depicts David as a composer of psalms (2 Sam 1:17), as a musician (1 Sam 16:16–23; cf. Ps 151:2, "My hands made a harp, my fingers fashioned a lyre"), and as the "sweet singer of Israel" (2 Sam 23:1); since the 13 psalms associated biographically with David point to David as an author, it would seem that authorship is the intent of the expression in many cases. But because the meaning of the preposition is ambiguous, it is not possible to identify specific psalms with David as author. As the psalm tradition develops, the tendency is to ascribe more and more psalms to David; thus the LXX associates (Hebrew/RSV numbers) Psalms 33, 43, 71, 91, 93–99, 104, and 137 with David (though omitting mention of David in the titles of 122 and 124), for a total of 85 Davidic psalms. The Talmud thinks of him as the author of the psalms, just as Moses was author of the Pentateuch (*Midrash Tĕhillîm* on Ps 1:2). An insert near the end of the Dead Sea Psalms Scroll says:

> And David, the son of Jesse, was wise, and a light like the light of the sun, and literate, and discerning and perfect in all his ways before God and men. And the Lord gave him a discerning and enlightened spirit. And he wrote 3600 psalms; and songs to sing before the altar over the whole-burnt perpetual offering every day, for all the days of the year, 364; and for the offering of the Sabbaths, 52 songs; and for the offering of the New Moons and for all the Solemn Assemblies and for the Day of Atonement, 30 songs. And all the songs that he composed were 446, and songs for making music over the stricken, 4. And the total was 4050. All these he composed through prophecy which was given him from before the Most High (column xxvii, 2–11; Sanders 1967: 137)

Further individuals associated with psalms are Solomon (72 and 127), Heman (88), Ethan (89), Moses (90), and Jeduthun, one of David's musicians (39, 62, and 77; 1 Chr 25:1–2; 2 Chr 5:12).

(d) Other psalm titles include *suggestions for the use of the psalm.* In surveying these examples, it becomes apparent that the titles are part of the history of the interpretation and use of the psalms. The *content* of Psalm 30, for example, identifies it as suited for an individual giving thanks after experiencing healing; the *title*, however, suggests its use as "A Song at the dedication of the Temple." Psalms 38 and 70 are designated "for the memorial offering," Psalm 92 as "A Song for the Sabbath" (in the Gk translation, Psalm 24 is designated for Sunday, 94 for Wednesday, and 93 for Friday) and Psalm 100 "for the thank offering." The title to Psalm 60 includes the comment, "to be taught" (JPS; RSV, "for instruction"); cf. Deut 31:19; and 2 Sam 1:18).

In sum, while the psalm titles were not parts of the original psalms, they provide important clues to the history of the interpretation of the psalms and to their use in the lives of the people both individually and in the community.

**E. The Poetry of the Psalms**

The chief characteristic of Hebrew poetry in the Bible is balance or symmetry, commonly called parallelism. Biblical poetry is also marked by the use of repetition, a fondness for alphabetical acrostics, and the employment of metaphor and simile.

**1. Balance or Parallelism.** A line of Hebrew poetry is made up of two parts or cola (singular colon) which may be designated A and B. For example:

(A) When Israel went forth from Egypt,
(B) the house of Jacob from a people of strange language, (114:1)

In this example, "Israel" is balanced by "house of Jacob" and "Egypt" by "a people of strange language." Since the balancing words and phrases are synonymous and since the two cola parallel one another in meaning, this is called "synonymous parallelism." The book of Psalms, and indeed the entire Hebrew Bible, is full of this kind of synonymous parallelism (e.g., Pss 4:2–6; 8:4; 19:1–2; 24:1–3; etc.). See also PARALLELISM.

Parallelism or balancing may extend to more than two cola, with whole lines balancing one another:

(A + B) The precepts of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart;
(A' +B') the commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes (19:8; cf. vv 7, 9).

In the examples given, the ordering of the words in the balancing cola is the same. In Ps 114:1 "Israel … Egypt" is balanced by "house of Jacob … people of strange language." This order may be represented as A+B balanced by A´+B´. The order may also fall into a chiastic pattern, where A+B is balanced by B´+A´ (cf. "When the going gets tough, the tough get going"). For example:

(A + B) His mischief returns upon his own head,
(B' + A') and on his own plate his violence descends (7:16)
(A + B) Praise the Lord with the lyre,
(B' + A') with the ten-stringed harp make melody to him (my trans., 33:2; cf. also 137:5–6).

It is also possible that B may stand over against A, stating its opposite or standing in contrast to it. This is called antithetic parallelism:

(A) The wicked borrows, and cannot pay back,
(B) but the righteous is generous and gives;
(A) for those blessed by the Lord shall possess the land,
(B) but those cursed by him shall be cut off (37:21–22; cf. 1:6; 20:8; 32:10, etc.).

Antithetic parallelism is especially characteristic of proverbial literature (e.g., Prov 10:1–12; Eccl 8:4; 10:2, 12).

Kugel has suggested that the most general way to describe the relationship between A and B in examples such as these is the formula, "A is so, and what's more, B." He proposes a metaphor drawn from parliamentary procedure to understand the relationship between B and A; A is stated, and B then has an emphatic "seconding" character (1981: 51).

**2. Other Relationships between A and B.** The cola A and B may relate to one another in a number of other ways:

A makes a statement, B provides a reason:

(A) Blessed be the Lord!
(B) for he has heard the voice of my supplications (28:6).

A makes a statement: B balances with a question:

(A) For in death there is no remembrance of thee;
(B) in Sheol who can give thee praise? (6:5).

A asks a question; B gives an answer:

(A) How can a young man keep his way pure?
(B) By guarding it according to thy word (119:9).

A makes a statement; B balances with a quotation:

(A) I had said in my alarm
(B) "I am driven far from thy sight" (31:22).

A sets forth something "better than" B:

(A) Better is a little that the righteous has
(B) than the abundance of many wicked (37:16; cf. 118:8–9; 119:72; also Proverbs).

A varies; B repeats

(A) O give thanks to the Lord, for he is good,
(B) for his steadfast love endures forever.

(A) O give thanks to the God of gods,
(B) for his steadfast love endures forever. (136:1–2 and throughout).

A makes a statement with an abstract noun; B sharpens the focus with a concrete noun:

(A) Therefore the Lord has recompensed me according to my righteousness,
(B) according to the cleanness of my hands in his sight (18:24).

A states the whole; B balances with a part which stands for the whole (synecdoche):

(A) For thou dost deliver a humble people;
(B) but the haughty eyes thou dost bring down (18:27).

A and B name two terms which mark boundaries in order to designate a totality (merismus):

(A) The sun shall not smite you by day,
(B) nor the moon by night (121:6).

A may provide a simile, B balancing with reality:

(A) As a father pities his children,
(B) so the Lord pities those who fear him (103:13; cf. 103:11–12; 42:1).

**3. Repetition.** The psalms utilize a variety of forms of repetition. A psalm may begin with a repetition, for the sake of emphasis:

My God, my God, why has thou forsaken me? (22:1).

A repetition may conclude a psalm for the same reason:

Wait for the Lord;
be strong, and let your heart take courage;
yea, wait for the Lord! (27:14).

The same word may stand at the beginning of a succession of cola, again for the sake of emphasis:

Surely every man stands as a mere breath!
Surely man goes about as a shadow!
Surely for nought are they in turmoil … (39:5–6).

An entire colon may be emphasized through repetition:

My soul waits for the Lord
more than watchmen for the morning,
more than watchmen for the morning (130:6).

This emphasis may take the form of a refrain (42:5, 11; 43:5; 46:7, 11; 49:12, 49:20; 56:4, 11; 57:5, 11; 59:6, 14; 59:9, 17; 67:3, 5; 99:5, 9; 107:8, 15, 21, 31).

A thematically central expression may recur throughout a psalm, such as the sevenfold occurrence of "the voice of the Lord" in Psalm 29.

The same statement may begin and end the psalm, tying the whole together (the *inclusio*, or inclusion), as in Pss 8:1, 9; 118:1, 29; note also "Praise the Lord" in Psalms 106, 113, 117, 146–150; and how the "blessed" formula in 1:1 and 2:11 links these two psalms together as an introduction to the Psalter.

In Ps 118:2–4 (cf. also 135:19–20), an initial colon A grows longer with each repetition, while coupled with a B colon that remains constant:

(A) Let Israel say,
(B) "His steadfast love endures forever."
(A) Let the house of Aaron say,
(B) "His steadfast love endures forever."
(A) Let those who fear the Lord say,
(B) "His steadfast love endures forever."

In Ps 118:10–12, three A cola play upon the word"surround" and grow successively longer while the B colon again remains the same:

(A) All nations surrounded me;
(B) in the name of the Lord I cut them off!
(A) They surrounded me, surrounded me on every side;
(B) in the name of the Lord I cut them off!

(A) They surrounded me like bees, they blazed like a fire of thorns;
(B) in the name of the Lord I cut them off!

Note also the threefold repetition with variation of "the right hand of the Lord does valiantly/is exalted" (118:15–16).

Repetition may serve a liturgical purpose. The opening words of a psalm are sounded, followed by a call for the congregation to join in; and the initial words are stated again:

If it had not been the Lord who was on our side,
let Israel now say—
If it had not been the Lord who was on our side (124:1–2; cf. 129:1–2).

**4. Alphabetic Acrostics.** A number of psalms are constructed on an acrostic pattern, the initial letters of each line following the order of the Hebrew alphabet. The clearest examples are Psalms 25, 34, 111, 112, and 145. Psalms 9 and 10 together constitute a broken acrostic with some of the letters of the alphabet missing. Psalm 119 is unique, an acrostic with eight lines built on each of the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet, for a total of 176 lines. The acrostic form was probably chosen as an aid for memorization (cf. Prov 31:10–31, an alphabetical acrostic in praise of a good wife; in later Jewish tradition, recited by a husband to a wife), though it may also have been used out of pleasure at the challenge of preparing such a composition. See also ACROSTIC.

**5. Metaphors and Similes for God.** A *metaphor* lets one reality stand for another, as in "the Lord is my shepherd" (23:1). A *simile* is a comparison using "like" or "as," for example, "my heart is like wax" (22:14).

The Psalter is rich in metaphors for God. Most frequent are those that portray God as a place of refuge, shelter, or protection. "Rock" as metaphor for God appears 21 times, translating Heb *ṣûr* and *sela*ʿ. These are most often in expressions of trust in God. The word *miśgāb*, which has the root sense of "being high" or "inaccessible," occurs thirteen times, translated as "stronghold," "refuge," "defense," or "fortress." The word "fortress" also translates *mĕṣudâ*, always occurring with other metaphors (18:2; 31:2, 3; 71:3; 91:2; 114:2). "Refuge," *maḥseh*, which has the sense of shelter from storm and rain (Isa 4:6) or from the sun (Judg 9:15), is used as a metaphor for God eleven times in the Psalms. The Heb *māʿôz* is also translated as "refuge," "stronghold" (27:1; 31:2, 4; 37:39; 43:2; 52:7); the sense of "protection" is clear from the expression "*māʿôz* of my head" or "helmet" in Ps 60:7. God is named "hiding place," "cover," "shelter" (Heb *sēter*) in Pss 27:5; 31:20; 32:7; 61:4; 91:1; 119:114. The Lord is called a "dwelling place" (90:1), "habitation" (91:9), and "rock of refuge" (71:3), all translating *māʿôn*. The sense of *mānôs*, "refuge" (59:16; 142:4), is a place of escape. Related to these examples that portray the Lord as protection is the picture of the Lord as "shield" (3:3; 7:10; 18:2; 18:30, 35; 28:7; 33:20; 59:11; 84:11; 115:9, 10, 11; 119:114; 144:2), always in expressions of trust. The extraordinary number of such examples indicates that those praying these psalms were a people hurting, looking to their God for help.

God is portrayed as "king" in many psalms. The expressions "God reigns" and "the Lord reigns" occur as part of the Kingship of the Lord Psalms in 47:8; 93:1; 96:10; 97:1; 99:1; cf. 146:10. If one adds references to the Lord's throne (9:4, 7; 47:8; 89:14; 93:2; 103:19), it is apparent that "king" is a central metaphor for God in the psalms. God as "judge" also occurs many times.

A number of metaphors and similes appear less frequently. The Lord is "shepherd" for the individual (23:1; 119:176) or for the people as a whole (28:9; 80:1). The people may be portrayed as a "flock," implying the picture of shepherd for the Lord (74:1; 77:20; 78:52; 79:13; 95:7; 100:3). The Lord is a farmer caring for a vineyard (80:8–12) or feeding livestock (145:15–16). The Lord may be called "my portion," the sense being that the Lord is like a share or portion of land that one inherits (16:5; 73:26; 119:57; 142:5); closely related is the picture of the Lord as "my cup," i.e., my share (16:5). The Lord is a "sun" (84:11). The Lord as "father" occurs in 68:5; 89:26; and in the simile of 103:13. The Lord is a warrior (68:1–2, 11, 17, 21–23; 89:10) using nations as needed (60:7–8). The Lord may even be compared to a person awaking from a hangover (78:65).

The Songs of Ascent (120–34) are rich in imagery. The Lord is keeper and provider of shade (Psalm 121), builder and watchman (127:1), master and mistress (123:2), like a nursing mother (131:2), or like the mountains providing protection around Jerusalem (125:2).

In some instances the metaphor is implied by the action of the subject. The Lord is an archer (7:12–13; 18:14; 21:12; 38:2) firing lightning bolts as arrows (77:17; 144:6). The Lord is a bird whose wings provide protection (17:8; 36:7; 57:1; 61:4; 63:7; 91:4), a builder (102:25; 104:5), a host (23:5), a knitter (139:13), even a moth (39:11).

**6. Metaphors and Similes for People.** Much of the imagery for people comes from agricultural life. The person who delights in meditating on Scripture is like a tree, firmly rooted and productive (1:3). The righteous are like the palm or cedar, flourishing and productive even in old age (92:12–14). A family is blessed with a wife who is like a fruitful vine and children sprouting up like olive shoots around the table (128:3; in 127:4–5 children are called arrows in a quiver, affording protection to their parents). The psalmist trusting in God's love is "like a green olive tree" (52:8). Psalm 144 asks for God's blessing, including the wish that children "in their youth be like plants full grown" (144:12). The picture of God's people as a vine is developed in 80:8–13 (cf. 44:2).

The relationship of the individual to God may be described in terms of a sheep and a shepherd (23:1–4; 119:176); more frequently the whole people is described as a flock of sheep (28:9; 74:1; 77:20; 78:52; 79:13; 80:1; 95:7; 100:3) or even as sheep ready for slaughter (44:11, 22).

The fellowship of believers is as pleasant as an abundance of expensive perfume or the cooling morning dew (133).

The complaint section of the laments is rich in figurative language. The one suffering may use comparisons from animal life, calling himself a worm (22:6) or comparing his situation to a vulture of the wilderness, an owl of the waste places, or a lonely bird on the housetop (102:6–7). His longing for the Lord's deliverance is more than the longing of a night watchman for the morning (130:6); it is like the thirst of a person about to faint (63:1), of a deer yearning for flowing streams (42:1), or of a parched land needing water (143:6). The present situation of the people is like that of a dry creek in the Negeb (126:4). The psalmist describes his personal distress as being poured out like water, having a heart like wax, with his strength dried up like a potsherd (22:14–15). He is shriveled up like a dried out wineskin (119:83), broken like a pot (31:12), lonely as a person who is deaf and dumb (38:13–14). His life is passing away like a shadow that disappears at sundown, or it will vanish as quickly as a grasshopper that is shaken away (109:23). He may portray himself as drowning (69:1–2, 14–15; 88:7, 17). In several instances the psalmists lament the brevity of life, comparing people to grass or a flower (90:5–6; 102:11; 103:15–16, in a Thanksgiving Psalm); human life is a mere breath or a shadow (39:5–6; 102:11; 144:4), or a puff of smoke (102:3). The length of life is a mere handbreadth (39:5); a statement comparing the brevity of human life to that of the beasts becomes a repeated element in a Wisdom Psalm (49:12; 20). The Lord punishing the people made their days vanish like a breath (78:33), but their very impermanence was a ground for the Lord's mercy (78:39). The psalmist declares that he is not a permanent resident but a guest, a sojourner (39:12; 119:19).

Finally, we note the metaphors and similes that the psalmists use for the wicked person or the enemy. The wicked sprout up like grass (92:7; in contrast to the righteous who are like palm or cedar trees, 92:12–13). But they are in reality as impermanent as grass (37:2, 20), like chaff, dust, or the mire of the streets (1:4; 18:42). They are as transitory as a dream (73:20). They are like trappers, setting snares for the righteous (141:9; 142:3). They wear curses like clothing (109:18). Especially frequent is the comparison of the wicked to the lion (7:2; 10:9; 17:12; 22:13, 21; 35:17; 57:4). They may also be compared to bulls (22:12), dogs (22:16, 20; 59:6–7, 14–15), the wild ox (22:21), wild beasts (74:19), a boar (80:13), a serpent (58:4; 140:3), even bees or a blazing fire (118:12). Their tongue is like a razor (52:2) or a sword (64:3); their words are like arrows (64:3). One day they shall be shattered like a smashed rock (141:7).

The language in curses against the enemy is especially colorful: "May these lions have their teeth broken and be defanged" (58:6). "May they disappear, like water running away, like grass trodden down, like a snail disappearing into the slime, or a birth that is aborted" (58:6–8). "May they be as impermanent

as smoke or wax before a fire" (68:2), or "as grass on a roof" (129:6). "May they be blown away like whirling dust and chaff" (83:13). "Let them be like a forest consumed by a fire" (83:14–15), "like dung ground into the earth" (83:10). "May their name be blotted out of the book of the living" (69:28). "May dishonor and shame be their clothing" (109:29).

The variety and vividness of the imagery in the Psalter are evidence of the lively imagination that animates this poetry.

**F. Types of Psalms**

The psalms originated as Israel's response to the acts and words of God and, in fact, to what the psalmists saw as God's inaction and silence. As such, they reflect the polar experiences of human life: joy and sorrow. Joy brought before God is praise; sorrow is taken to the Lord in the form of the lament. With this, the fundamental themes running through the Psalter—praise and lament—are identified (Westermann 1981).

As literature that arose out of the varied situations of human life, the psalms are as varied as human experience itself and cannot all be neatly categorized. Nevertheless, those coming from similar situations have similar features and can be profitably considered as a group. Lines of classification cannot always be firmly drawn, for example, between a "lament" and a "psalm of trust." (In the categories below, a psalm number in parentheses indicates that the psalm only partially fits in that category.)

**1. Laments or Prayers** (Heb *tĕpillâ*). The Community Laments arose from times of national crisis. These include Psalms (12), 44, 60, 74, 79, 80, 83, 85, 90, 94, (108), 123, (129), and 137; five of these are gathered in Book III (73–89). The typical elements in the community lament include:

(a) the *address* (simply "O God" in 44:1; 80:1–2);
(b) the complaint in three forms, where the subject of the verb is "we" (44:22, 25), "they" (i.e., the enemy; 80:12b–13, 16a) or "thou" (i.e., God; 44:9–14; 80:4–6a; 12a);
(c) the request for help addressed to God (44:23, 26; 80:1a, 2b, 3, 7, 14–15, 17, 19);
(d) the affirmation of trust in God, which may take the form of recalling the Lord's Previous saving acts (44:1–7; 80:8–11);
(e) a vow to praise God when the crisis has passed (44:8; 80:18).

Specific psalms can be considered against the background of this pattern of typical elements: Psalm 79 develops the *request* at length (vv 6–12), while Psalm 74 extends the *they-complaint* (vv 4–8). The *affirmation of trust* is developed in 74:12–17; it can so dominate a psalm that the entire psalm can be considered a Community Psalm of Trust: 125, (126). Psalm 60 adds a divine oracle to the typical elements (vv 6–8).

The Individual Laments arise from a variety of situations of individual crisis. Included in this category are:

Book I: 3–7; 9–10; 13; (14); 17; 22; 25; 26; 28; 31; 35; (36); 38; (39); 40:11–17; 41;
Book II: 42–43; 51; (52); (53); 54–59; 61; 64; 69; 70; 71;
Book III: 77; 86; 88;
Book IV: 102;
Book V: 109; 120; 130; 140–43

Like the Communal Laments, the typical elements in the Individual Lament are:

(a) the *address* (13:1, "O Lord"; 22:1; "My God, my God");
(b) the *complaint* in three forms, with the subject "I" (13:2a; 22:2, 6, 14–15, 17a), "thou" (13:1; 22:1), or "they" (13:2c; 22:7–8, 12–13, 16, 17b–18);
(c) the *request for help* (13:3–4; 22:11, 19–21);
(d) the *affirmation of trust* (13:5; 22:3–5, 9–10);
(e) the *vow to praise God* when the crisis is past (13:6; 22:22–31).

When the *affirmation of trust* dominates, the psalm may be called an Individual Psalm of Trust: 11; 16; 23; 27; 62; 63; 131.

**2. Hymns or Songs of Praise** (Heb *tĕhillâ*). Included here are Psalms 8; 19:1–6; 29; 33; 47; 65; 66:1–12; 78; 93; 95–100; 103–6; 111; 113; 114; 117; 134; 135; 136; 145–50.

Many of these hymns begin with a *call to praise* in the imperative plural, summoning the assembled community to praise the Lord (33:1–3; 66:1–4; 100:1–3a; 105:1–6; 111:1; 113:1–3; 117:1; 135:1–3; 136:1a; 146–50). This imperative makes clear the congregational setting for these psalms. Following the call to praise (113:1–3; 117:1) are *reasons* for the praise (113:4–6; 117:2), which may include God's might and majesty (113:4–5) as well as God's mercy in caring for individual persons (113:6–9).

The theme of God's might as a reason for praise is developed in those psalms which place particular emphasis on the work of God the Creator (8; 19A; 104; 148; cf. 139) or on God's acts in history (78, 105, 106). A number of psalms celebrate God's work in both nature and history (8; 65; 66; 114; 135; 136; 146; 147).

Some psalms are dominated by the imperative call to praise. Psalms 146–50 are each framed with the plural imperative, "Praise the Lord!" The imperative to praise completely controls Psalms 148 and, especially, 150.

The hymns extolling the Kingship of the Lord ("Enthronement Psalms") describe the Lord as King (47; 93; 95–99); a number of these include the declaration, "The Lord reigns" (93:1; 96:10; 97:1; 99:1).

**3. Songs of Thanksgiving** (Heb *tôdâ*). Included here are Psalms 18; 30; 32; (34); 40:1–10; 66:13–20; 92; 116; 118; and 138. These psalms originated as a grateful response to God for a specific act of deliverance, such as healing from illness (30; 32; 116), which may be a physical manifestation of unforgiven sin (32), or deliverance from enemies (18; 92; 118; 138), or simply rescue from trouble (66:14). The title to Psalm 18 indicates how the origin of that particular psalm was understood at the time of the Psalter's editing: "A Psalm of David the servant of the Lord, who addressed the words of this song to the Lord on the day when the Lord delivered him from the hand of all his enemies, and from the hand of Saul."

These psalms assume the presence of the congregation, which is gathered either for worship (30:4–5; 34:5, 8, 9; 118:1–4, 24, 29) or for instruction (32:8–11; 34:11–14) and who hear the story of the deliverance (40:9–10; 66:16–19). There are hints indicating how these psalms were used in worship: 118:19–29 assumes a procession, while 66:13–15 and 116:12–19 point to a thank offering accompanying the psalm. In Psalm 138 the worshipper is in the outer court of the temple (v 2).

At the heart of these psalms is the *story of the deliverance*, summarized briefly, "O Lord my God, I cried to thee for help, and thou hast healed me" (30:2; cf. 18:3; 34:4, 6; 40:1–2; 66:19; 92:4; 116:1–2; 118:5; 138:3) and often expanded (18:4–19, 31–45; 30:6–11; 32:3–5; 66:16–19; 92:10–11; 116:3–4, 6–9, 16; 118:10–18).

A psalm of this type has been called a *tôdâ*, Hebrew for "thanksgiving" (116:17). The related verb, *yādāh*, occurs frequently in these psalms and is variously translated: 18:49 (RSV "extol"); 30:4 (RSV "give thanks"); 30:9 and 138:4 (RSV "praise"); 32:5 (RSV "confess"); 30:12; 92:1; 118:1, 19, 21, 28, 29; 138:1, 2, (all RSV "give thanks" or "thank," but JPS "praise"). Westermann has argued that the verb *yādāh* should be translated "praise" (cf. JPS) rather than "thank," and on that basis prefers to classify these psalms as "narrative praise of the individual" (1981: 25–30; 1989).

A number of psalms express the praise and thanks of the community or groups within the community for God's blessings or for specific acts of deliverance. These may be described as Community Thanksgiving Psalms (Crüsemann argues against such a category; 1969: 155–209). Psalm 67 expresses thanks for the blessing of a good harvest (vv 6–7). Psalm 75 gives thanks for "wondrous deeds" (v 1). Psalm 107 tells four stories of deliverance which are the basis for a refrain calling for thanksgiving (vv 4–9, 10–16, 17–22, 23–32). Psalm 124 again tells a story of deliverance, summarized in the doubled "we have escaped" of v 7. Psalm 136 begins with the triple imperative "O give thanks …" (vv 1–3) and continues by reciting God's mighty acts in creation (vv 4–9) and in history (vv 10–25) as a basis for the refrain of every verse, "for his steadfast love endures forever."

**4. Royal Psalms.** These are psalms composed for an event connected with the life of the king. Included are Psalms 2; 18; 20; 21; 45; 72; 89; 101; 110; 132; and 144:1–11. Psalm 45 was written for a royal wedding. Psalm 2 was intended for a king's coronation, a time when the vassal nations would be considering rebellion (vv 1–3). Psalm 18 is a royal thanksgiving, in which the king expresses gratitude for

a victory in battle (vv 6–19, 31–45). Psalm 20 is a prayer for the king's victory before battle; Psalm 21 gives thanks for answered prayers (vv 1–7) and promises future victories (vv 8–12). Psalm 72 is a prayer for the king, probably at the time of his coronation or at its anniversary. Psalm 89 is a lament, a prayer for deliverance from enemies. In Psalm 101 the king promises to rule with loyalty and justice. Psalm 110 again fits a coronation setting. Psalm 132 recalls the divine choice of the Davidic line (vv 11–12, 17–18) and of Zion (vv 13–16). In Ps 114:1–11 the king prays for victory.

These psalms originated during the period of the Monarchy and functioned during that period. After the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C., they took on another significance, projecting into the future a description of an ideal king to come (see G.5 below).

**5. Songs of Zion.** A number of psalms celebrate the Lord's choice of Mt. Zion in Jerusalem as the earthly center of the Lord's presence. These Songs of Zion (for this title, see 137:3) include 46, 48, 76, 84, 87, and 122 (cf. also 132:13). These psalms declare the Lord's presence in Jerusalem (46:7, 11), which is the city of God (46:4–5; 48:8; 76:2; 87:1–3), where beautiful Mt. Zion is located (48:1–3). Ps 48:12–14 suggest a procession around the city walls. Psalm 84 expresses the thoughts of one longing to visit the temple, where even the sparrows find refuge (vv 1–4; cf. v 10); Psalm 122 expresses the joy of a pilgrimage to the city and prays for the peace of Jerusalem.

**6. Liturgies.** Psalms designed for antiphonal dialogue or which associate liturgical action with the words of the psalm are called Liturgies. Here may be included Psalms 15, 24, 50, (68), 81, (82), 95, 115, 132. Psalm 15 appears to have functioned as a liturgy for entrance into the temple area, with the worshipper asking the question in v 1, "O Lord, who shall sojourn in thy tent?" and the priest responding with the answer in vv 2–5, "He who walks blamelessly, and does what is right …" Psalm 24 is similar, with the worshipper's question in v 3, "Who shall ascend the hill of the Lord?" and the answer in vv 4–6, "He who has clean hands and a pure heart …" Like Psalm 48, this psalm appears to be associated with a procession, probably including the ark. Those outside the temple area make the request, "Lift up your heads, O gates … that the King of glory may come in." Those inside respond with the question, "Who is this King of glory?" and the first group replies, "The Lord, strong and mighty …" (vv 7–8). The same exchange is then repeated in vv 9–10.

Three psalms include extensive words from the Lord delivered in liturgical settings. Psalm 50 assumes a ceremony renewing the covenant (vv 5, 16). After a description announcing God's presence, including a word from God delivered by a cultic official gathering the covenant people (v 5), there are further words from God calling for genuine prayer and thanksgiving, instead of a mechanical offering of sacrifices (vv 7–15, 16b–23). The ceremony must have included a recitation of the covenant requirements (as v 16 suggests). Ps 81:1–3 is suited to a worship setting on a "feast day." The main part of the psalm consists of words from the Lord delivered by the proper official, here reminding Israel what the Lord has done (vv 6–7, 10a), recalling their past disobedience (vv 11–12), and calling for new loyalty and obedience (vv 9, 13). Psalm 95 appears to be connected with a procession (vv 1–2) which culminates in bowing before the Lord (v 6). Once again, a divine word spoken by a cultic official calls for obedience (7b–11).

Psalm 68 refers to "solemn processions," described in vv 24–27, while Psalm 82 depicts a legal process where God pronounces judgment on the gods making up the "divine council."

Psalm 115 assumes a variety of voices. One voice (or group) asks the question in vv 1–2, and another answers with vv 3–8; three groups are exhorted and then respond in vv 9–11; the psalm concludes with a word of blessing (14–15) and praise (16–18).

Psalm 118 appears to have been connected with a ceremony entering into the temple area (vv 19–20, 26–27). Psalm 132 may have been used in connection with a procession reenacting David's bringing of the ark (v 8) to Jerusalem and thus celebrating the Lord's choice of David (v 11; cf. the Royal Psalms) and of Zion (v 13; cf. the Songs of Zion).

As one of the "Pilgrimage Psalms," Psalm 121 appears to have been used as a liturgy for travelers, with those going on a journey reciting vv 1–2 and those remaining at home speaking the words of encouragement and blessing in vv 3–8.

**7. Wisdom and Torah Psalms.** Included here are Psalms 37, 49, 73, 112, 127, 128, 133, and Psalms 1, 19, and 119. One does not hear the tones of either lament or praise in the Wisdom Psalms; for the most part, they are not even addressed to God. Rather, they offer reflections on the possibilities and the problems of life before God and advice on how best to live that life. In so doing, they are linked with the biblical Wisdom Literature (Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes). Wisdom Literature in the Bible is represented by two basic kinds of materials: the short saying (as found in Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus) and the longer, reflective essay or drama (Ecclesiastes, Job). Both types are represented in the psalms.

Psalms 127, 128, and 133 are each made up of short sayings, reflecting on such everyday themes as piety and daily work (127:1; 128:1–2), the balance between work and rest (127:2), and the blessings of life together as a family (127:3–5; 128) and as a community of believers (133).

Psalm 37 (an acrostic) presents the thoughts of an older person (v 25) to one who is discouraged because of the apparent triumphs of the wrongdoers. Psalm 73 deals with the same theme, now in the words of one who had almost lost faith because of the prosperity of the wicked (vv 2–13); this psalm concludes with words of trust and praise addressed to God (vv 21–28). Psalm 49 offers a meditation (v 3) on wealth and wisdom. Psalm 112 is again acrostic, reflecting on the blessings of those who fear the Lord and the emptiness of the lives of the wicked.

Closely related are the Torah Psalms, which focus on the importance of instruction or *tôrâ* (Psalms 1; 19; 119) in the life of piety. Psalm 1 introduces the entire Psalter by commending meditation on the teaching of the Lord as the way to the blessed life, here imaged by a tree, deeply rooted and prospering. Psalm 19 is likewise identified as a meditation (v 14). The first part is a hymnlike affirmation of God the Creator, and the second part revels in the desirability of the Lord's instruction (*tôrâ*, testimony, precepts, etc.), described as "sweeter than honey." The acrostic Psalm 119 is unique in the literature of the Bible. After the introduction (vv 1–3) it addresses the Lord, praying for insight into the wonders of the Lord's teaching (v 18). Again, it commends meditation and reflection on the Lord's works (v 27), statutes (v 48), promises (v 148), and instruction (*tôrâ*, vv 97–105). Such meditation is a joy (vv 97, 103) and furnishes direction for the walk of the believer, pictured as a sojourner on this earth (vv 1, 19, 35, 105), even as a sheep who has lost its way (v 176).

## G. Theological Themes

What do these psalms say about God, God and people, and God and the universe?

**1. "The Teaching of the Lord is His Delight."** Psalms 1 and 2 provide an introduction to the Psalter as a whole. Psalm 1 speaks of meditating on the "torah of the Lord." The Hebrew *hāgāh*, translated "meditate," denotes the contented growing of a lion anticipating a feast after prey has been captured (Isa 31:4), the cooing of a dove (Isa 38:14), or the rumbling of thunder (Job 37:2). The notion in Psalm 1 is the sound one of reading, studying, and pondering the instruction of the Lord as written down in Scripture; since the book of Psalms is being introduced, the reference is to reading and reflecting on the psalms. This sort of meditation takes place "day and night" (cf. 63:6). The modern equivalent would be to speak of "theological reflection" upon Scripture.

This reading and reflecting is described as a delight (Ps 1:2), using the same vocabulary as that employed to describe the delight of a lover with a beloved (Gen 34:19) or the preciousness of jewels (Isa 54:12). Other Torah Psalms also refer to the joy of the study of Scripture. Psalm 19 speaks of Torah, the Lord's written instruction, as "sweeter also than honey, and drippings of the honeycomb" (vv 7, 10). Psalm 119 says, "O, how I love thy Torah! It is my meditation all the day" (v 97). Luther catches the spirit of this delight in the study of Scripture in his comments on Psalm 1:

> It is the mode and nature of all who love, to chatter, sing, think, compose, and frolic freely about what they love and to enjoy hearing about it. Therefore this lover, this blessed man, has his love, the Law of God, always in his mouth, always in his heart and, if possible, always in his ear (*Luther's Works* 14: 297–98).

The person who takes such delight in the study of Scripture—here the Psalms—is compared to a sturdy and productive tree, planted by a river (1:3).

The images evoked by Psalm 2 are in sharp contrast. The first psalm suggests individual meditation on the teachings of the Lord; the second uses the same verb, *hāgāh*, in reference to the plotting and conspiring of nations against the Lord and the Lord's chosen king. This second psalm makes an abrupt move from the world of private individual meditation into that of public international intrigue. Psalm 2 suggests that the devout and delightful study described in Psalm 1 takes place in a world where "the nations so furiously rage together," where their armies dash one another to pieces like weapons of iron smashing clay pots (v 9). But this is also a world where the Lord is ruling through the Lord's anointed or messiah (v 2), and where the oppressed may find refuge with the Lord (2:12).

Taken together, these psalms set the tone and suggest the direction for reflection on the psalms that follow. Those who engage in such meditation will find joy in so doing, and will be well nourished and productive, like trees planted by the riverside. But this theological reflection is not done in isolation. It takes place in the context of a world where nations plot and engage in war, a world, nevertheless, ruled by the Lord and where those who are hurting can find refuge in God.

Consideration of these two introductory psalms suggests a procedure for organizing theological reflection on the psalms that follow. First, what theological themes are introduced in other psalms that speak of meditation on the Lord and the Lord's teaching (such as Psalms 19, 77 and 49)? What do the psalms say about God and the individual (Psalm 1)? Then, what do they say about God and God's people in the context of the nations of the world (Psalm 2)? What do the psalms say about the problems of those who are seeking refuge and who are suffering (2:12)? And finally, what about the Lord's anointed or messiah (Psalm 2)?

**2. "O Lord, My Rock and My Redeemer."** Psalm 19 offers the results of meditation (v 14) upon the work of God in creation (vv 1–6) and upon the revelation of God in torah or Scripture (vv 7–13). The one who has been considering these things concludes with a prayer naming the Lord, "my rock and my redeemer" (v 14). These two metaphors suggest two assertions about God that run throughout the Psalter, especially the psalms of lament, trust, and thanksgiving: God protects and provides security for the individual, and God delivers those who are hurting from situations of crisis.

The final line of Ps 2:12, "Blessed are all who take refuge in him," links with 1:1 but also points ahead to the psalms which follow. Those needing refuge are those who are experiencing crisis. The Psalter begins with a gathering of prayers of individuals in such times of crisis, so that the bulk of Book I consists of Individual Laments. Individual Laments continue through the Psalter so that they make up about one-third of the psalms, forming the backbone of the Psalter.

What do these laments (and the closely related Psalms of Trust) assert or assume about God? A good number of them portray God with pictures that denote security for a person in a situation of distress. The largest single group of metaphors and similes describing God are in this category (see E.5 above). The psalmist asserts that God is a rock, a place of safety and security (18:2, 31, 46; 19:14); or he may pray that God be such a place of security (31:2). In a number of instances, several similar figures are clustered together, describing God as rock, fortress, shield, horn of salvation, stronghold (18:2) or as refuge, rock of refuge, fortress, and rock (71:1–3). To be "set … high upon a rock" means to be in a place of security and hiding; it is God who provides such a place (27:5). Common to these variations on the theme of God as rock is the trustworthiness of God; in 91:2 God is addressed as refuge and fortress and then the statement is made, "my God in whom I trust." There are more metaphors and similes in this broad category than in any other, primarily because the Psalter contains such a large collection of prayers coming from individuals who are in a situation of crisis and who need a person to help and a place where they can find security.

The Psalms of Trust (see F.1 above) speak of the Lord with a variety of imagery. The Lord is the place where the hurting take refuge (11:1; 16:1; cf. 2:12). The Lord is a shepherd who guides and comforts his sheep or a gracious host who provides a banquet in the midst of danger (Psalm 23). The Lord is a rock, refuge, and fortress (62:2, 6–7), or like a mother providing peace and safety for a nursing child (Psalm 131). The Lord is even compared to a bird, under whose wings the faithful can find both security and joy (63:7).

These psalms assert that the Lord provides security, but they also describe the Lord as one who rescues from distress; in metaphorical language, the Lord is rock but also redeemer (19:14). The laments describe a variety of situations of distress: those praying may be ill (Psalms 61; 32; 102) or lonely (102:7), harassed by enemies making false accusations (3; 4; 5; 7) or plagued by sin (40; 51; 130; see C.1 above). The "request for help" sections of the individual laments pray for deliverance out of such situations. When deliverance comes, the psalms of praise and thanksgiving tell the congregation the story of what God has done (30:2; 34:4) and invite them to discover God's goodness (34:8) and to join in singing God's praises (30:4–5; see F.3 above for further references).

**3. "What God Is Great Like Our God?"** Psalm 77 also makes reference to meditating upon the deeds of the Lord or, in modern terms, to "theological reflection." In this instance the reflection is done during a time of great personal difficulty, so that the psalmist can even ask, "Has God forgotten to be gracious?" (v 9). In thinking about what God has done, this psalmist makes a number of assertions which are central to the theology of the Psalter. First, the God of Israel is incomparable: "What god is great like our God?" he asks (v 13). Second, this God has rescued the people of Israel from bondage in Egypt, leading them through the sea and through the wilderness (vv 15, 19–20). Finally, this God also has control over nature, turning back the sea, sending rain, thunder, lightning, and earthquake (vv 16–18). In other words, the psalmist speaks of God as unique, as acting in the history of nations, and also as active in the events of nature. These themes are played upon throughout the Psalter, especially in the hymns (see F.2 above).

The most explicit OT statements declaring the Lord to be the only God are found in Isaiah 40–44 (44:6–8; 45:5–7; etc.). A number of statements in the Kingship of the Lord Psalms, however, point in the same direction, declaring that the Lord is king over the whole earth (47:2, 7, 8; 95:3–5; 97:1–5; 99:2) and over heaven and earth (103:19–22), that other gods are mere idols (96:4–5), and the Lord will judge the whole earth (96:13; 98:9).

These hymns celebrate what the Lord has done in Israel's history, telling "to the coming generation the glorious deeds of the Lord, and his might" (78:4). They center on the events of the Exodus and leading through the wilderness (78; 105; 106; cf. also Psalms 75; 107; and 124, which give thanks for specific acts of deliverance). The Kingship of the Lord Psalms cited above assert that the Lord rules over all the nations and is active in their histories as well; note also other references to the Lord judging the nations, such as 7:8; 9:8, 19; 58:11; 82:8. Some of the hymns celebrate the Lord's mighty acts in both history and in nature, including God's work in creation (33; 65; 66; 114; 135; 136; 146; 147).

God's work in creation is the theme of another group of hymns. The psalmists are astonished at the universe, "the work of thy fingers" (8:3), calling the attention of the witness of the created order to the Creator (19:1–6), reveling in the wonders of this earth (104), marveling at the forming of an individual person (139:13–18), and calling upon everything that breathes to join in praise to God (148; 150). These hymns praise God not only for creating the world and the universe, but also for maintaining and blessing that world (e.g., Psalm 104; cf. also Psalms 65 and 67, giving thanks for a good harvest and for blessings).

**4. "Human Beings Are Like the Beasts That Perish."** Psalm 49 is another psalm explicitly offering the results of "theological reflection," this time identified as "the meditation of my heart" (v 3). This and other Wisdom Psalms deal with the great mysteries of life and death. These reflections are here offered to rich and poor alike (v 2). The writer of this psalm is being persecuted by certain persons who are wealthy (vv 5–6). Consideration of this situation leads to two conclusions. First, the wealthy cannot buy eternal life (vv 7–9) nor will they take their wealth with them after death (v 17); they will die, like all human beings, even those who are wise (vv 10, 18–19). Second comes a more comprehensive conclusion, repeated as a refrain: human beings cannot survive their splendor but are like the beasts that perish (vv 12, 20). There is, however, a word of hope: if humans cannot ransom themselves from death's power, God can and will do so (v 15).

Other wisdom psalms also reflect on life's mysteries. Psalm 37 is addressed from the perspective of age and experience (v 25) to those disturbed by the prosperity of the wicked (v 1). Such prosperity is only temporary (vv 10, 12–13, 17, 35–36), and the wicked will soon come to an end (vv 2, 9, 20, 38). In the meantime, those bothered by the inequalities of life should not worry but be patient (vv 1, 7, 8, 34) and

find their security with the Lord (vv 39–40). Psalm 73 also deals with the problem of the success of the wicked, telling in an autobiographical fashion of one who had almost slipped away from the community of the faithful because of that problem (vv 1–14; note vv 2, 13). The psalmist kept the problem to himself, though it wore away at him (vv 15–16). In his ordinary attendance at community worship (v 17), he gained perspective and understanding, even the assurance that he was still with God and would always be so (vv 23–26). Finally, the psalmist claims God as his refuge and promises to continue to tell of what God has done (v 28). Wisdom Psalms also comment on the blessings of life in the midst of the community of worshippers (Psalm 133) and of family (127; 128).

**5. "I Have Set My King on Zion."** The theme of the Lord's anointed or messiah is introduced early in the Psalter, with Ps 2:2. Forming a double-psalm introduction to the Psalter, Psalm 2 is closely linked to Psalm 1, which speaks about theological reflection or meditation.

Psalm 2 is the first of the Royal Psalms, scattered throughout the Psalter. During the time of the Monarchy, these psalms functioned in connection with events in the life of the king. They articulate some extravagant hopes for the monarch. He is described as the Lord's son (2:7) and firstborn (89:27), from the line of David (89:20–37; 132:11–12; 144:9–10). He will be victorious in battle (21:7–12; 132:18; 144:10–11) and rule the nations of the earth (2:7–9; 72:8–11). Psalm 72 prays that the king might rule with justice and righteousness (vv 1–4, 7), which means special concern for the poor (vv 12–14); that he might bring prosperity and peace (vv 3 and 7, both translating Heb *šālôm*); and that he might rule forever (v 5; cf. 45:6). Ps 110:1 describes the king ("my lord") as seated at the right hand of Yahweh, victorious over all enemies, also identifying him as a priest (v 4). Many of these psalms speak of the king as being "anointed" (45:7; 89:20) or as the "anointed" (2:2; 18:50; 20:6; 89:38, 51; 132:10, 17).

After 587 B.C., there were no more kings in Jerusalem; nevertheless, the extravagant hopes articulated in these psalms remained and were projected into the future, describing an ideal anointed one, a messiah, who would finally bring about righteousness, justice, and *šālôm.* In this way these Royal Psalms became the seedbed out of which grew Israel's messianic hope. The prophets picked up these messianic themes and developed them (Isa 9:1–7; 11:1–10; Jer 23:1–8; Micah 5:2–6; Zech 9:9–10); and the NT declares that these promises find their fulfillment in Jesus of Nazareth, naming him the anointed one or (from the Greek *Christos*) the Christ (Matt 16:13–20; Mark 8:27–30; Luke 9:18–22; etc.).

Thus, the book of Psalms sounds the major theological themes that run throughout the OT and carry over into the NT. Luther perhaps understood this when he wrote the following as the introduction to his translation of the Psalms in his German Bible:

> [The Psalter] might well be called a little Bible. In it is comprehended most beautifully and briefly everything that is in the entire Bible. It is really a fine enchiridion or handbook. In fact, I have a notion that the Holy Spirit wanted to take the trouble himself to compile a short Bible and book of examples of all Christendom or all saints, so that anyone who could not read the whole Bible would here have anyway almost an entire summary of it, comprised in one little book (*Luther's Works* 35:254).

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**PSALMS, SYRIAC (APOCRYPHAL).** The Syriac Apocryphal Psalms are found numbered consecutively from 151 to 155—subsequent to the canonical psalms—in a 12th-century Nestorian manuscript of the Psalter in Syriac. In all later Syriac mss where all five psalms appear together, these psalms are found in an order different from that of the oldest extant manuscript: 151 (also designated as Psalm I), 154 (II), 155 (III), 152 (IV), and 153 (V). These psalms are also found as filler material between parts one and two of *The Book of Discipline*, a theological treatise by Bishop Elijah, a Syrian church father who lived during the first half of the 10th century C.E. Three of these psalms (151, 154, and 155) are also found in the Psalms Scroll from Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs[a]). Additionally, Psalm 151 is found in Greek, Latin, Coptic, Arabic, Armenian, and Ethiopic versions.

Psalm 151 is found in Hebrew (11QPs[a]) as two separate psalms known as 151A and 151B. The Psalms Scroll is badly damaged where 151B is found, so that all that is left is the heading, half of verse 1, and a few letters of verse 2. The Greek and Syriac verses 6 and 7 seem to correspond in theme to the heading of 151B; however, Psalm 151B was probably much longer than these two Syriac and Greek verses indicate. Psalm 151 in the later versions is dependent on the Greek. The Greek is an obvious conflation and condensation of the Hebrew 151A and 151B, so that it portrays a drastic change in the text of the Hebrew. This change probably occurred in the Hebrew version.

Psalm 151A has undergone considerable controversy as to its translation and theology. Two verses of Hebrew 151A are absent from the Syriac and the Greek versions. Some scholars posit that these lines were intentionally edited from the original work because of Orphic influences. From this perspective the translation proclaims that the hills and the mountains do not witness to God, a nonbiblical statement. Other scholars view the psalm as being very biblical in style and theology. In this view, the psalm forms a chiasmus in structure and theme, which provides a key to its translation and interpretation. The disputed verses are thus read: "Do not the mountains bear witness to me," or "O, that the mountains would bear witness to me." It is an autobiographical psalm relating the praise of David after his election as king over Israel. The Greek and Syriac versions are not completely coherent. This psalm could be dated to the 6th century B.C.E., or earlier, on stylistic grounds; but it contains certain phrases which suggest a later date.

Psalm 152, an individual lament, and Psalm 153, a thanksgiving hymn, are both chiasmus, and relate the cries and thanks, respectively, of the psalmist upon the crisis of and deliverance from the threat of death. The psalms imitate the autobiographical style of Psalm 151A and deal heavily with the themes of death and rendering thanks. The psalms may have had Hebrew originals, but most likely, they were originally composed in Syriac imitating the Hebrew style. Therefore, they can be dated much later than Psalm 151A.

Psalm 154 could have been originally two independent psalms (a call to worship and a thanksgiving hymn) which were combined together by a redactor. If this is the case, a remarkable cohesiveness existed between the two psalms, enabling them to form a final psalm with a significant degree of internal integrity. Some scholars argue for the unity of the composition of Psalm 154. If this is the case, the author took great care to compose a psalm which easily could have been two individual psalms of integrity. It is possible that an editor composed a second psalm around or within a preexisting psalm. This alternative allows for the integrity of an individual smaller composition without relegating the unifying elements to chance. In this psalm, "Wisdom" is personified, and the faithful praise of God is exhorted. Although the psalm contains no elements unique to Qumran, several phrases and themes are congruent with Qumranic ideas. The psalm may be Proto-Essenian in origin. This psalm probably arose in the second quarter of the 2d century B.C.E.

Some scholars argue that Psalm 155 is the combination of two smaller psalms. Within the psalm is found an alphabetic acrostic from *he* to *pe.* According to this view, the original acrostic portion from ʾ*alep* to *he* was mutilated and then inserted into another psalm. Other scholars provide a convincing argument for a unified psalm and argue that the acrostic can be seen from ʾ*alep* to *he* with minor reconstructions of

the text, if one views the first stanza as containing shorter metrical units. The psalm contains three stanzas, which move from staccato cries for deliverance in the first stanza to the repentant desire of the psalmist to be taught God's ways in the second stanza. The third stanza is a thanksgiving praise to God for the deliverance sought in section one, and experienced in section two. The psalm is biblical in style and theology and is difficult to date. This psalm probably arose during the 2d century B.C.E.

These psalms and their presence within the Psalms Scroll (11QPs$^{a}$) have been significant for the discussion of the formation of the Psalter canon. Some scholars view the Qumran Psalms Scroll as evidence of the slow formation and canonization of the last third of the Psalter. Others see the scroll as an example of an early hymnbook or liturgical Psalter which existed apart from the history of the Psalter formation. The psalms are also significant for determining characteristics of late Jewish psalmody. During this period the breakdown in conventional psalm forms can be seen, and the use of borrowed biblical materials is evident. Traditional structuring devices were still in use, such as the alphabetic acrostic and chiasmus.

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**PSALTER.** See PSALMS, BOOK OF.

**PSEUDEPIGRAPHA, OT.** A modern collection of ancient writings that are essential reading for an understanding of early Judaism (ca. 250 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.) and of Christian origins. Many of these documents were compiled or composed by Jews, while others were written by Jews but eventually were expanded or rewritten by Christians. A few seem to have been composed by Christians who depended with varying degrees on pre-70 Jewish documents or oral traditions. Almost always the Pseudepigrapha are influenced by the so-called OT: many supply revelations reputed to have been received by persons prominent in the OT; others are rewritten versions or expansions of biblical narratives; some are psalms that are occasionally modeled on the Davidic Psalter; and a few are compositions shaped by Jewish Wisdom Literature. Although these writings were composed long after Abraham, Moses, David, Solomon, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Ezra, and other famous men, they were often intentionally but incorrectly (pseudepigraphically) attributed to one of them.

Copies of *Jubilees*, *1 Enoch*, and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. These fragments enable us for the first time to date these and related documents with some assurance. *Jubilees* and *1 Enoch* clearly predate 70 C.E. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in its Greek and Armenian recensions is clearly Christian, but early Semitic fragments of some testaments show that at least portions of this document are Jewish. Many Jewish documents in the Pseudepigrapha are linked in various ways with these writings or with the Dead Sea Scrolls. They now can be reliably dated to the period before the Roman destruction of the temple in 70 C.E.

Since 1970 there has been a renaissance of interest in and appreciation of the Pseudepigrapha. Since then collections and translations of the Pseudepigrapha have appeared in Danish, Japanese, Greek, modern Hebrew, Spanish, French, Italian, German, and English. The documents in the Pseudepigrapha which are Jewish and early are probably our main source for understanding and reconstructing the lives of Jews in Palestine and the Diaspora, especially before the destruction of 70.

It is not possible to define "Old Testament Pseudepigrapha." The modern collections represent a lack of consensus regarding the contents of this collection. Most scholars throughout the world are not concerned about this failure to define Pseudepigrapha. They do agree that some writings within the Pseudepigrapha are not pseudepigraphical, i.e., "falsely attributed" to another person. However, scholars agree that some writings in the OT and NT are pseudepigraphical, for example the Davidic Psalms, the Proverbs of

Solomon, and the letters incorrectly attributed to Paul, especially Hebrews, Colossians, and the Pastoral Epistles.

The Pseudepigrapha can be described if we think about the canonical OT, which was not closed when the pre-70 Jewish documents in it were composed. Many of the writings in the Pseudepigrapha were considered by Jews to be as inspired as the OT documents. Since many of them were full of prophecies, they were attributed to ancient biblical heroes such as Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, Solomon, Ezra, and others who lived before prophecy was considered by many Jews to have ended.

The oldest Jewish documents in the Pseudepigrapha date from about the 3d century B.C.E. Others date to the period from 70 to 200 C.E., the dates assigned to the destruction of Jerusalem and the compilation of the Mishna. The latest ones date from sometime after the 4th or 5th centuries.

It is not easy today to decide whether a document is originally Jewish or Christian. Many early Christians were Jews, and they interpreted scriptures and related documents in terms of their conversion, especially their beliefs in Jesus. Sometimes they even edited Jewish documents to specify how they were to be understood. The alterations are usually christological additions. Hence, it is unwise to exclude from the Pseudepigrapha a document that is Christian in its final form since it may be an edited form of an early Jewish work. The Christian documents, or sections of them, in the Pseudepigrapha usually date from approximately 100 to about 400 C.E., although Christians frequently continued to alter the texts whenever they copied them.

The most comprehensive edition of the Pseudepigrapha, *OTP*, contains 65 documents. The names of the documents in this collection (all of which have separate *ABD* entries) and their broadly conceived genres are as follows:

Apocalyptic Literature and Related Works

| | |
|---|---|
| *1 Enoch* | *Questions of Ezra* |
| *2 Enoch* | *Revelation of Ezra* |
| *3 Enoch* | *Apocalypse of Sedrach* |
| *Sibylline Oracles* | *2 Baruch* |
| *Treatise of Shem* | *3 Baruch* |
| *Apocryphon of Ezekiel* | *Apocalypse of Abraham* |
| *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* | *Apocalypse of Adam* |
| *The Fourth Book of Ezra* | *Apocalypse of Elijah* |
| *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* | *Apocalypse of Daniel* |
| *Vision of Ezra* | |

Testaments (Often with Apocalyptic Sections)

| | |
|---|---|
| *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* | *Testament of Moses* |
| *Testament of Job* | *Testament of Solomon* |
| *Testaments of the Three Patriarchs (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob)* | *Testament of Adam* |

Expansions of the OT and Legends

| | |
|---|---|
| *Letter of Aristeas* | *Ladder of Jacob* |
| *Jubilees* | *4 Baruch* |
| *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah* | *Jannes and Jambres* |
| *Joseph and Aseneth* | *History of the Rechabites* |
| *Life of Adam and Eve* | *Eldad and Modad* |
| *Pseudo-Philo* | *History of Joseph* |
| *Lives of the Prophets* | |

Wisdom and Philosophical Literature

| | |
|---|---|
| *Ahiqar* | *Pseudo-Phocylides* |
| *3 Maccabees* | *Syriac-Menander* |
| *4 Maccabees* | |

Prayers, Psalms, and Odes

| | |
|---|---|
| *More Psalms of David* | *Prayer of Joseph* |
| *Prayer of Manasseh* | *Prayer of Jacob* |
| *Psalms of Solomon* | *Odes of Solomon* |
| *Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers* | |

Fragments of Judeo-Hellenistic Works

| | |
|---|---|
| *Philo the Epic Poet* | *Theodotus* |
| *Orphica* | *Ezekiel the Tragedian* |
| *Fragments of Pseudo-Greek Poets* | *Aristobulus* |
| *Demetrius the Chronographer* | *Aristeas the Exegete* |
| *Eupolemus* | *Pseudo-Eupolemus* |
| *Cleodemus Malchus* | *Artapanus* |
| *Pseudo-Hecataeus* | |

The documents in the Pseudepigrapha that are Jewish and antedate the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E. are indispensable sources for perceiving the life and thought of early Jews in Palestine and elsewhere, especially in Alexandria. They show us not a monolithic, closed, and orthodox Judaism but a variegated, open, and cosmopolitan Judaism which was vibrantly alive and impregnated by the thoughts in all the contiguous cultures, notably Egypt, Persia, Syria, Greece, and Italy. In these writings, as in the Dead Sea Scrolls, we are introduced to the ideas, symbols, perceptions, fears, and dreams of pre-70 Jews. Since none of them can with assurance be assigned to Pharisees, Sadducees, Zealots, or Essenes, it is wise not to describe early Judaism in terms of four such sects; rather we must now think of many groups and numerous subgroups.

A good example of the influence of Wisdom thought on the apocalypses is found in the apocalypse attributed to Enoch:

> Then Wisdom went out to dwell with the children of the people,
> but she found no dwelling place.
> (So) Wisdom returned to her place
> and she settled permanently among the angels.
> Then Iniquity went out of her rooms,
> and found whom she did not expect.
> And she dwelt with them,
> like rain in a desert,
> like dew on a thirsty land (*1 Enoch* 42: 2–3; *OTP*).

This excerpt from the Pseudepigrapha discloses the pessimism about the present condition of the earth. The people reject Wisdom and willingly accept Iniquity, which are not concepts but hypostatic beings (hence the capitalization).

Another representative excerpt from the Pseudepigrapha is an account attributed to Enoch, who claims to have experienced a journey to the heavens:

> And those men took me from there, and they brought me up to the third heaven, and set me down there. Then I looked downward, and I saw paradise. And that place is inconceivably pleasant (*2 Enoch* 8:1; *OTP*).

An interest in esoterica pervades pseudepigraphic writing. Places, like paradise and the abode of the Rechabites, and persons, like Adam, Eve, and Melchizedek—all of which are mentioned in the OT with tantalizing brevity—are often described in the Pseudepigrapha. These accounts often reflect the power of folklore in early Judaism.

Like most early Jewish writings, the Jewish Pseudepigrapha rarely mention "the Messiah." Some passages, however, are highly significant for an assessment of this Jewish belief. One of the classic passages is found in the Pseudepigrapha:

> See, Lord, and raise up for them their king,
> the son of David, to rule over your servant Israel

in the time known to you, O God.
Undergird him with the strength to destroy the unrighteous rulers,
to purge Jerusalem from gentiles
who trample her to destruction …
And he will purge Jerusalem
(and make it) holy as it was even from the beginning.
…
There will be no unrighteousness among them in his days,
for all shall be holy,
and their king shall be the Lord Messiah (*Ps. Sol.* 17:21–32; *OTP*).

The Messiah shall not be a militant hero in the normal sense, for "he will not rely on horse and rider and bow …" The gentiles who are hated are those "who trample" down Jerusalem. The *Psalms of Solomon* were written in Jerusalem sometime in the second half of the 1st century B.C.E. They contain valuable insights into the social and economic problems facing many devout Jews.

The study of Christian origins has also been revolutionized thanks to the study and appreciation of the Pseudepigrapha and of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Not only synagogal, or rabbinic, Judaism, but also earliest Christianity (from 30 to at least 70 C.E.) was part of and eventually developed out of the complex "Judaisms" which made up early Judaism. What was seen as only the "background" of Christianity is now acknowledged to be part of the "foreground" of Christianity. In particular, many of Jesus' symbols and terms, like "Kingdom of God," "Son of Man," and "living water" are not to be attributed to the post-70 Church, as many distinguished specialists claimed; they are now found in pre-70 Jewish works in the Pseudepigrapha.

The Pseudepigrapha poses a perplexing problem for many readers: Why did the authors of these writings attribute them falsely to other persons? These authors did not attempt to deceive the reader. They, like the authors of the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the additions to Isaiah, attempted to write authoritatively in the name of an influential biblical person. Many religious Jews attributed their works to some biblical saint who lived before the cessation of prophecy and who had inspired them. Also, the principle of solidarity united early Jews with their predecessors who, in their eyes, had assuredly been guided by God himself. To place one's own name on a work was exceptional and ran against the tradition in the synagogue and temple: wisdom was the result of God's guidance and was often made possible through the devotion of a gifted teacher or rabbi. It is also conceivable that some of the apocalyptic writers had dreams or visions in which they experienced revelations given to Enoch, Abraham, Elijah, Ezra, Baruch, and others.

One Jewish apocalypse, Daniel is found in the OT; and one Christian apocalypse, Revelation, is in the NT. All the other early Jewish apocalypses are now placed in the Pseudepigrapha. OT specialists now observe scattered elements of apocalyptic thought in OT theology. The oldest apocalypse, however, is not Daniel, which is dated around 165 B.C.E., but *1 Enoch*, the earliest sections of which date from the 3d century B.C.E.

Jesus was influenced in some ways by apocalypticism. In particular his concept of the Kingdom of God, his contention that his own day was the end of time, and his belief that God was rapidly moving to act dynamically in the present were all shaped in some ways by Jewish apocalyptic thought. Many specialists on Paul now emphasize that he was profoundly shaped by Jewish apocalypticism. Christianity was shaped early by the visions and dreams of apocalypticism. Hence, we can grasp the significance of the Pseudepigrapha for NT research.

Finally, it is essential to state that the Pseudepigrapha is a *modern* collection. It is neither closed nor a canon. Many of the writings in it were, of course, as influential in Jewish circles (especially before the end of the Bar Kokhba revolt in 135 C.E.) and in Christian circles (especially before the Council at Nicea in 325 C.E.) as the writings later canonized. Many early Jews and many of the earliest Christians considered these documents infallible and full of divine revelation. For further information see *APOT*, JSHRZ, and *HJP*$^{2}$ 3/1 and 3/2.

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**PSEUDO-.** Falsely attributed names may be found under the second element of the name; for example: EUPOLEMUS, PSEUDO-; HEGESIPPUS, PSEUDO-; PHILO, PSEUDO-.

**PSEUDONYMITY AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHY.** Scholars employ the term "pseudonymity" to specify a fictitious name placed on a document, either originally by the author or during transmission by a copyist. The term derives from the Gk *pseudōnymous*, which means "under a false name." Similarly "pseudepigraphy" denotes the incorrect (i.e., false) attribution of authorship to famous persons. This term derives from two Greek words: *pseud*, "false," and *epigraphos*, "superscription." Emphasis must be placed on the fact that scholars judge only the titles to be "false"; the writings themselves can be invaluable.

In the 2d century C.E. Serapion employed *ta pseudepigrapha* (cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 6.12) to denote documents he considered falsely attributed to a NT author. Occasionally specialists use the same term to denote writings incorrectly attributed to nonbiblical authors such as Socrates, Pythagoras, and Philo of Alexandria; but more frequently they employ it to describe a large number of noncanonical texts that were improperly attributed, either originally or subsequently, to a person mentioned in the Bible or to an author of one of the biblical books. However, it is the case that some books in the OT are pseudepigraphical in the strict sense even though the term is not employed to describe them; for example, the Psalms were not composed by David, Proverbs was not created by Solomon, and Isaiah 40–66 was not written by the 8th-century prophet Isaiah. Many NT documents are also technically pseudepigraphical, including the gospels attributed to the apostles Matthew and John. For example, John 7:53–8:11 and chap. 21 are certainly not by the author of the rest of the gospel. Likewise several epistles traditionally ascribed to Paul, including Ephesians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus, and possibly 2 Thessalonians, are pseudepigraphical.

A large number of writings of early Judaism (ca. 250 B.C.E.–200 C.E.) are also pseudepigraphical, including most of the OT Pseudepigrapha and numerous Qumran Scrolls (cf. the *Prayer of Nabonidus* and the *Apocryphal Psalms* [11QPs$^{a}$]). During this formative period, for example, more than five significant collections of writings, many of them composite, were attributed to the antediluvian sage Enoch. In early Christianity, an abundance of writings were ascribed to OT figures like Solomon; the *Odes of Solomon* are a collection of hymns composed probably by a convert from Judaism to Christianity, perhaps in the early 2d century C.E., but attributed to the famous son of David. Other early Christian compositions were associated pseudepigraphically with Mary, Paul, Peter, and most of the leading characters in the NT, including Jesus. These works are collected into the NT Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

Thus "pseudepigraphy" covers a wide range of writings, extending from texts included in the canon, to those that may be closely tied to the Bible, to those that were generated by other ideological (usually social) concerns. Many of the latter texts postdate the establishment of Christianity as the religion of the Roman Empire and the closing of the canon of biblical books.

To clarify the use of "pseudepigraphy" as applied to books related to the Bible and antedating 325 C.E. and the Council of Nicea, it is helpful to observe seven interrelated literary categories: (1) works not by an

author but probably containing some of his own phrases or thoughts (the oldest psalms in the Psalter that may be in some ways Davidic, 2 Thessalonians, Ephesians, and perhaps Colossians); (2) documents by an author, perhaps a pupil, who was genuinely inspired by the person to whom the work is attributed (1 Peter, and perhaps James); (3) compositions influenced by earlier works by an author to whom they are connected (Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah) or assigned (1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus); (4) writings attributed to a person but deriving from later circles of schools of learned individuals (Lamentations, Proverbs, Wisdom of Solomon, *Psalms of Solomon*, *1 Enoch*, *2 Enoch*, *3 Enoch*, all the works in the Ezra cycle [viz., *4 Ezra*], Matthew, John, and virtually all the apocryphal gospels); (5) Christian writings attributed by their authors to an OT personality (*Testament of Adam, Odes of Solomon, Apocalypse of Elijah, Ascension of Isaiah*); (6) once anonymous works now incorrectly attributed to someone (Hebrews is sometimes falsely attributed to Paul); and (7) compositions that intentionally try to persuade the reader to think the author is someone famous (Psalms 151; 2 Peter [in a deceptive manner]). Such varieties of pseudepigraphy must be perceived. For many early Jews and Christians it was considered proper to attribute a thought or a document to someone who had inspired them; they employed no footnotes to hide the fact that almost all thoughts are derivative, especially when the source for a composition is God's words recorded in Scripture.

By at least 250 B.C.E. pseudepigraphy was the norm for writing in biblically inspired groups. While some of the intracanonical works are anonymous (the Pentateuch and the complex writings woven together in these books, Acts, Hebrews), many others are pseudonymous or incorrectly attributed to someone. Many of the Jewish works related to the Bible and placed within the Qumran Scrolls, the Apocrypha, and the Pseudepigrapha of the OT are attributed falsely to others for several reasons; for example, the reverence for biblical heroes and the creative thoughts their lives and traditions evoked in Jewish culture and within the individual author, the legendary accretion to biblical lore and the human need to fill in missing details in a cherished story (as in the *Genesis Apocryphon* and *Pseudo-Philo*), and especially the pervasive contention that prophecy had ceased (but cf. the *Pesher of Habakkuk* 7).

In a later period many works are attributed to outstanding people in the NT because of the reverence for them and the contention that the new revelation was only authoritative when linked with the first generation of Jesus' followers. Extracanonically, for example, numerous works were incorrectly attributed to Paul or claimed to contain authentic data about him, including *3 Corinthians*, the *Epistle to the Alexandrians*, the *Epistle to the Laodiceans*, the *Epistles of Paul and Seneca*, the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the *Vision of Paul*, the *Acts of Paul*, the *Martyrdom of Paul*, and the *Martyrdom of Peter and Paul.* Documents were also falsely attributed to Peter, namely, the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the *Gospel of Peter*, the *Preaching of Peter*, the *Acts of Peter*, the *Acts of Andrew and Peter*, and the *Martyrdom of Peter.* For the first time, however, perhaps beginning around the mid-2d century C.E., interest in Jesus' mother gave rise to many pseudepigrapha of Mary, notably the *Birth of Mary*, the *Gospel of the Birth of Mary*, the *Passing of Mary*, the *Questions of Mary*, the *Apocalypse of the Virgin*, the *Assumption of the Virgin*, and the *Coptic Lives of the Virgin*.

Early biblical exegesis in Christian circles frequently took the form of pseudepigraphy. Dogma, curiosity, apologetics, and especially the need to fill in gaps in the history of the drama of salvation gave rise to legends, storytelling, and pseudepigraphy; all of these forces need to be distinguished. Some of the pseudepigraphical works were produced by learned and gifted scholars; all of them are essential reading for a balanced view of the biblical world from 250 B.C.E., the probable time when the first works were composed in the name of Enoch, to 325 C.E., when the first Christian Council convened at Nicea.

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**PTOLEMAIS** (PLACE) [Gk *Ptolemaeis* (Πτολεμαεις)]. See ACCO (PLACE).

**PTOLEMY** (PERSON) [Gk *Ptolemaios* (Πτολεμαιος)]. A name of Macedonian origin (Gk *ptolemaios* "warlike") borne by the founder and, as a dynastic name, by all subsequent rulers of the line of Greek-speaking kings who ruled Egypt after the death of Alexander the Great (323 B.C.) until the country's annexation by Rome (30 B.C.). Hence the line is known as the Ptolemaic dynasty; the period of its rule is often referred to as the Ptolemaic period; and the kings are usually referred to as the Ptolemies. They are of biblical interest because the struggles of the earlier Ptolemies with the Seleucid kings of Syria for control of Palestine led them into close contact with the Jews, toward whom they were generally well-disposed. Moreover, their promotion of Alexandria as a center of literature and scholarship was to have a profound effect upon the development of scholarship and learning in the early Christian church because the Church Fathers in essence adopted the scholarly methods of the classical tradition while rejecting its pagan content.

Fifteen kings and many persons outside the Ptolemaic royal house bore this popular name. Only those most relevant to the study of the Bible are treated here.

**1.** *Ptolemy I Soter* ("savior") (323 [king from 305 B.C.]–282 B.C.). Born ca. 367/366 B.C., son of the Macedonian general Lagus (hence the alternative name Lagidae for members of the dynasty) and Arsinoe, perhaps a concubine of Philip II of Macedon. After a distinguished career as one of the generals of Alexander the Great, he became satrap of Egypt in 323 B.C. and consolidated his position by hijacking Alexander's body, en route to burial in Macedonia, and taking it to Egypt. In 319 B.C. he seized Jerusalem on the Sabbath (*Ant* 12.1.1 §§3–4) in a first unsuccessful attempt to annex Palestine and Coele-Syria. The Jews taken as prisoners of war on this occasion formed the nucleus of what was to become a large and important Jewish community in Alexandria, with its own citizen rights and quarter of the city (*JW* 2.18.7 §§487–88). See ALEXANDRIA. They were followed later in Ptolemy's reign by many others who came as free settlers or mercenaries (*AgAp* 1.22 §186; *Ant* 12.1.1 §§7–9; *Let. Aris.* 12–14).

Subsequent struggles for power among the Diadochi (successors to Alexander) found Ptolemy giving refuge to Seleucus when he fled Babylon in 315 B.C. (Dan 11:5 refers to Seleucus as "one of his princes") and allied with Ptolemy against Antigonus, whose forces he defeated at Gaza in 312 B.C. However, the tables were turned in 306 B.C., when the Egyptian fleet was routed by Antigonus off Salamis in Cyprus and Ptolemy's attempts to establish a presence outside Egypt were temporarily halted.

He declared himself king in 305/304 B.C. (the title Soter was acquired from his defense of the Rhodians in 306 B.C.). After Antigonus had been defeated and killed at Ipsus (301 B.C.), Ptolemy (although he had not been present) at last contrived to occupy Palestine and Coele-Syria (the cause of the five Syrian Wars between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids over the course of the 3d century B.C.). Later he got control also of Cyprus, the Aegean islands, and the S part of Asia Minor. In March/April 285 B.C. he took Ptolemy II, his son by his third wife Berenice, into co-regency with him (his eldest son Ptolemy Ceraunus, by his second wife Eurydice, having been excluded at the time of Ptolemy's remarriage). He died in the first half of 282 B.C.

Tenacious in pursuit of his political objectives, Ptolemy was also a skilled organizer (laying down the main features of the Ptolemaic government of Egypt) and a person of learning in his own right. The (now lost) account he wrote late in life of the campaigns of Alexander the Great, although not widely read later, was admired by Arrian, who used it as a source. It was he, too, who was responsible for founding the famous museum and library in Alexandria, after he moved the capital there from Memphis (ca. 313 B.C.),

and for establishing there the worship of Serapis, a Greek interpretation of Osiris, the patron god of Memphis in his incarnation as the Apis bull.

**2.** *Ptolemy II Philadelphus* ("sister-loving," 282–246 B.C.). Born in 308 B.C., son of Ptolemy I, with whom he was co-regent from 285 B.C., and Berenice. Married to Arsinoe I, daughter of Lysimachus (ca. 289/288 B.C.), he later divorced her and married (ca. 279–274 B.C.) his full sister Arsinoe II, whom he associated with him as co-ruler. Hence his title Philadelphus ("brother/sister-loving"), originally a cult title of Arsinoe but applied later also to Ptolemy himself.

Overseas, his initial conflict with Antiochus I of Syria, who was challenging for control of Asia Minor (280/279 B.C.), was followed by the First Syrian War (274–271 B.C.) over Palestine and Coele-Syria. Details are unclear except that Ptolemy retained control of these areas. The result was that the way was now open for the gradual exposure of the Jews to Greek ideas and institutions; Ptolemy was responsible for the foundation there of Philoteria on the Lake of Galilee, the Hellenization of Philadelphia on the site of Rabbath-Ammon (modern Amman) (Jerome, *Commentary on Ezek 25:1–7)*, and the renaming of Acre in Phoenicia as Ptolemais. His generous treatment of the Jews is also reflected in the tradition (generally and rightly rejected) in the fictitious *Letter of Aristeas* that it was he who initiated the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek (the LXX), seventy (Gk *septuaginta*, "seventy") scholars being dispatched from Jerusalem, for the purpose at Ptolemy's request. See also ARISTEAS, LETTER OF.

Ptolemy had less military success later in his reign; interference in the Chremonidean War (267–261 B.C.) between the Macedonians and Athens and Sparta may have led to an Egyptian naval defeat by the Macedonians (261 B.C.), while a challenge to Antiochus II soon after the latter's accession only resulted in Ptolemy's losing territory in Asia Minor (Second Syrian War, 260–253[?]B.C.).

Within Egypt, Ptolemy promoted the spread of Hellenization and increased the country's prosperity by establishing Greek settlements (cleruchies) and bringing new areas under cultivation, particularly in the Fayum; and it was he who established the Ptolemaic ruler cult (both he and Arsinoe were proclaimed gods in 272/271 B.C.). He is chiefly remembered, however, for his generous patronage of science and the arts. The most notable results were a renaissance in Greek literature, with the work of the poets Apollonius of Rhodes, Callimachus, and Theocritus and the establishment of Alexandria as the new cultural capital of the Greek world. Yet along with his generosity toward the arts and sciences (in which he appears to have had a genuine interest), Ptolemy combined a vulgar and sensual extravagance. He is just as noted for the many mistresses he kept, his love of ostentatious display, and the magnificence of the court he established (an expense which the evidence suggests was beginning to impoverish Egypt in the last years of his reign).

**3.** *Ptolemy III Euergetes I* ("benefactor") (246–222 B.C.). Born ca. 284 B.C., oldest son of Ptolemy II and his first wife Arsinoe I. His marriage to Berenice II, daughter of Magas of Cyrene, resulted in the unification of Cyrenaica and Egypt. His reign began with an invasion of Syria and its territories in reprisal for the murder of his sister Berenice, wife of Antiochus II (Third Syrian [or Laodicean] War, 246–241 B.C., alluded to in Dan 11:7–9). Although he is said to have advanced as far as Bactria, his success was to be shortlived when Seleucus II combined with his brother Antiochus Hierax to force him to come to terms. Ptolemy did, however, gain some territory in Asia Minor and Thrace. On his return to Egypt, he is said to have offered sacrifice in Jerusalem (*AgAp* 2.5 §48).

Ptolemy's return had been prompted by a native Egyptian uprising, the result of Ptolemy II's extravagance having been compounded by the economic strain of the Syrian War and a series of poor Nile floods. Over the next decade Ptolemy's policy of reconciliation, shown in concessions to the Egyptian priesthoods and a generous program of temple building and restoration (the Horus temple at Edfu, begun in 237 B.C., was his foundation), did much to restore the country's prosperity. In the 220s B.C. Ptolemy began to look overseas again, assisting Athens after her liberation from Macedon (228 B.C.) and financially supporting Cleomenes III of Sparta for a period against Aratus of Sicyon (ca. 225–222 B.C.). He died probably late in 222 B.C.

**4.** *Ptolemy IV Philopator* ("father-loving") (222–204 B.C.). Born after 240 B.C., oldest son of Ptolemy III and Berenice II. On his accession he was challenged by Antiochus the Great, (Fourth Syrian War, 221–

217 B.C.) who by the winter of 218/217 B.C. had taken control of the Ptolemaic possessions in Asia and had reached Ptolemais in Phoenicia. Assisted by 20,000 native Egyptian troops, Ptolemy defeated him decisively at Raphia in Gaza on 22 June 217 B.C. (Polyb. 5.51–87, and alluded to in Dan 11:11–12) and so regained control of Coele-Syria.

A highly colored story in 3 Maccabees 1–2 tells how after the battle Ptolemy was thrown to the ground in a fit when he attempted to enter the high temple in Jerusalem; another (3 Maccabees 3–7, even more lurid in its details) recounts how on his return he vented his rage on the Jews of Alexandria, only to be thwarted again by divine intervention. Although this appears to be the etiology for a local Jewish festival, it may be that some of the Jews' rights and privileges were curtailed under this king.

While Ptolemy failed to capitalize upon his victory at Raphia, the role which the Egyptians had played in the battle did much to reawaken their sense of national identity. A period of serious internal unrest followed, with Upper Egypt seceding and being ruled by Nubian kings from 207 B.C. to 187 B.C. There is no doubt that the situation was aggravated by Philopator's weak and self-indulgent nature, and his reign is rightly identified as marking the beginning of the dynasty's decline. Yet his character is perhaps blackened to excess by Polybius (5.34) and Plutarch (Cleom. 33).

**5.** *Ptolemy V Epiphanes* ("manifest" [as a god]) (204–180 B.C.). Born 210 B.C., only son of Ptolemy IV and his sister-wife Arsinoe III. He was only a child when he became king under the regency of his ministers Sosibius and Agathocles. Antiochus the Great seized the opportunity to attack Egypt and in the Fifth Syrian War (202–200[?] B.C.) managed to extend Seleucid domination to the Sinai. The Egyptians rallied temporarily, but they were finally defeated at Panium (200 B.C.) and lost control of Palestine as well as most of their possessions in Asia Minor and the Aegean. Under the peace settlement Ptolemy married (194 B.C.) Antiochus' daughter Cleopatra I, ostensibly with the revenues of Coele-Syria and Palestine as her dowry. In fact the Ptolemies were never again to regain permanent possession of these areas. The events of this period are alluded to in Dan 11:13–18.

Within Egypt itself, however, control of Upper Egypt was regained in 187/186 B.C.; and the last native revolt in the delta was put down in 184/183 B.C.

**6.** *Ptolemy VI Philometor* ("mother-loving") (180–145 B.C.). Born 186 B.C., elder son of Ptolemy V and Cleopatra I. As a child, he ruled under the regency of his mother until her death in 176 B.C. In 175/174 B.C. he married his sister Cleopatra II. When Egypt was invaded by Antiochus Epiphanes (170 B.C.; referred to in 1 Macc 1:17–19), both she and his younger brother Ptolemy VIII Physcon were associated with him as co-regents (170–164 B.C.).

After Antiochus was compelled by the Roman Senate to withdraw from Egypt in 168 B.C., a struggle for power broke out between the brothers. Philometor was expelled by Physcon late in 164 B.C. but on appeal to Rome was reinstated in 163 B.C., Physcon being granted Cyrene.

In the 160s B.C. Ptolemy attempted to regain a foothold in Asia by supporting the pro-Ptolemaic group in Jerusalem under the high priest Onias III against the Seleucid faction there; and when Onias IV fled to Egypt (162 B.C.), Ptolemy and Cleopatra granted him permission to build a replica of the high temple in Jerusalem at Leontopolis (*Ant* 13.3.1–3 §§62–73). Later, with the Syrians weakened by squabbles over the Seleucid succession, Ptolemy became more open in his attempts to reestablish Egyptian power in Asia. From 150 B.C. he supported the rival claimants Alexander Balas and Demetrius II in turn, marrying his daughter Cleopatra Thea first to one (*Ant* 13.4.1 §§80–82; 1 Macc 10:51–56), then the other (*Ant* 13.4.7 §§109–10). Invading Syria, he was hailed in Antioch as king of Asia as well as Egypt but (under the eye of Rome) wisely declined the latter title (*Ant* 13.4.7 §§111–15; a more hostile account is in 1 Macc 11:1–19). He died (145 B.C.) of wounds received fighting in support of Demetrius against the forces of Alexander Balas in the plain of Antioch.

The Jewish philosopher Aristobulus from Alexandria dedicated his work on the Pentateuch (now extant only in fragments) to this Ptolemy.

**7.** *Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator* ("new, father-loving") (145 B.C.). Born ca. 162/161 B.C., second son of Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II. Briefly associated in the kingship with his father in 145 B.C., he was

disposed of by his uncle Ptolemy VIII Physcon after the latter's return and marriage to Cleopatra II; he was "murdered in the arms of his mother at her wedding-feast" according to Justin (38.8.4).

**8.** *Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II Physcon* (145–116 B.C.). Born after 182 B.C., younger son of Ptolemy V and Cleopatra I, he was nicknamed Physcon ("pot-bellied") from his gross appearance. He was co-ruler with his brother Ptolemy VI and sister Cleopatra II in 170–164 B.C., sole ruler in 164/163 B.C. after expelling his brother, and king of Cyrene (163–145 B.C.) after Ptolemy VI's restoration. Returning to Egypt on the latter's death (145 B.C.), he married Cleopatra II and, having disposed of her son Ptolemy VII, had himself crowned sole ruler (144 B.C., although he continued to count his regnal years from 170 B.C.).

His marriage (142 B.C.) to his niece Cleopatra III, without divorcing Cleopatra II, led to a rift between them and eventually to a civil war (132/131 B.C.). First Ptolemy and then Cleopatra II were forced to flee Egypt; and although Ptolemy regained Alexandria early in 130 B.C., hostilities continued. To block Cleopatra's plan to make her son-in-law (the Seleucid Demetrius II) king of Egypt, Ptolemy supported the pretender Alexander Zabinas but in 126/125 B.C. switched his alliance to Antiochus VIII Grypus, to whom he married his daughter by Cleopatra III.

A reconciliation between Ptolemy and Cleopatra II was effected in 124 B.C.; and thereafter the three of them shared uneasily together in the rule, with Ptolemy bequeathing the kingdom to Cleopatra III and whichever of her two sons, Ptolemy IX and Ptolemy X, she should choose.

Physcon is said to have been hostile to the Jews, and Josephus (*AgAp* 2.5 §§50–55) tells against him the same lurid story of persecution which 3 Maccabees 3–7 attaches to Ptolemy IV. If he was (which is by no means certain; indeed the Greek translations of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) and Esther were both made in Egypt during his reign [Sir, prologue; Add Esth 11:1]), then it was on account of their political support for Cleopatra II, not on any religious grounds.

**9.** *Ptolemy IX Soter II Lathyrus* (116–107 B.C. and 88–81 B.C.). Born 143/142 B.C., elder son of Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra III, he was nicknamed Lathyrus ("chickpea") by the Alexandrians, who made him co-ruler with his mother (116 B.C.) against her wishes. He was twice temporarily replaced as king in favor of his brother Ptolemy X (late 110–early 109 B.C. and March–May 108 B.C.), and then he was expelled more permanently in 107 B.C. Fleeing to Cyprus, he was king there from 107 B.C. to 88 B.C.

An early attempt to retake Egypt (103 B.C.), during which he defeated the Jewish army under Alexander Jannaeus besieging Ptolemais (*Ant* 13.12.2–5 §§324–44), failed when Cleopatra's army advanced into Palestine against him. After his brother's expulsion and death (88 B.C.), the Alexandrians accepted him back as sole ruler, but the native Egyptians in Upper Egypt revolted against him (88–86 B.C.). Tragically, the revolt ended with the destruction of the ancient Egyptian capital of Thebes by Ptolemy's army.

**10.** *Ptolemy X Alexander I* (107–88 B.C.). Younger son of Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra III. Governor (114/113–110 B.C.) and then king of Cyprus (110–107 B.C.) during the first period of his brother's rule, he was twice recalled to reign jointly with Cleopatra III for short periods (see Ptolemy IX above) before Ptolemy IX's final expulsion in 107 B.C. He ruled jointly with Cleopatra III until her death or murder in 101 B.C. Shortly afterward he married his niece Cleopatra Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy IX, and associated her with him in the kingship. Expelled by the Alexandrians (88 B.C.), he died in a naval battle off Cyprus while attempting to recover Egypt.

**11.** *Ptolemy XI Alexander II* (80 B.C.). Born ca. 105 B.C., the son of Ptolemy X and an unknown first wife, he was sent to Cos for safety (103 B.C.) by his grandmother Cleopatra III. Captured by Mithridates (88 B.C.), he escaped to Sulla (84 B.C.) and lived under his protection in Rome until the death of Ptolemy X. Married to his stepmother Cleopatra Berenice and made joint ruler with her (80 B.C.) by Sulla, he murdered her nineteen days later and was killed in turn by the enraged Alexandrians. He was the last legitimate male successor of the Ptolemaic line.

**12.** *Ptolemy XII Auletes* (80–58 B.C. and 55–51 B.C.). Born 111–108 (?) B.C., the illegitimate son of Ptolemy IX by a concubine. Nicknamed Auletes ("the piper") by the Alexandrians for his devotion to the cult of Dionysus, he was raised to the throne by them after their murder of Ptolemy XI (80 B.C.). He was permitted by Rome to remain king, sending troops to help Pompey in the east (63 B.C.), but was driven

out by the Alexandrians (58 B.C.) after having been forced to cede Cyprus to the Romans. On appeal to Rome and the promise of 6000 talents, he was restored by Gabinius in 55 B.C. He was father of Ptolemy XIII, Ptolemy XIV, and Cleopatra VII, last of the Ptolemaic line.

**13.** *Ptolemy XIII* (51–47 B.C.). Born ca. 61 B.C., elder son of Ptolemy XII. Co-regent with his sister-wife Cleopatra VII until he attempted to expel her, he was defeated fighting against Cleopatra and Julius Caesar in the Alexandrine War and drowned in the Nile.

**14.** *Ptolemy XIV* (47–44 B.C.). Born ca. 59 B.C., younger son of Ptolemy XII. Made king of Cyprus by Julius Caesar (58 B.C.), after Ptolemy XIII's death he was married to Cleopatra and made co-ruler with her by Caesar but was murdered by her, probably in August 44 B.C.

**15.** *Ptolemy XV Caesarion* (44–30 August 30 B.C.). Born 47 B.C., son of Cleopatra VII by Julius Caesar (it is claimed). Hence his nickname Caesarion ("little Caesar"). Cleopatra made him co-ruler with her (44 B.C.), and in 34 B.C. he was declared "King of Kings." After the battle of Actium, he was put to death on Octavian's orders in 30 B.C.

**16.** The son of Dorymenes, one of the generals whom Antiochus Epiphanes dispatched to exterminate the Jews in 165 B.C. (1 Macc 3:38; 2 Macc 4:45; 6:8). Also known as (Ptolemy) MACRON, he took the lead in eventual peace-seeking efforts with the Jews; but these efforts were undermined; and he had to commit suicide (2 Macc 10:10–13).

**17.** Son-in-law of Simon Maccabeus, whom he murdered with two of Simon's sons, Mattathias and Judas, in February 135 or 134 B.C. (1 Macc 16:11–17; *Ant* 13.7.4 §§228).

**18.** The father of Lysimachus (the Jerusalem resident who translated Esther into Greek).

**19.** The son of the Levitical priest Dositheus. This Ptolemy, along with his father, brought Lysimachus' translation of Esther from Jerusalem to Egypt, most probably in 114 B.C. (Add Esth 11:1).

**20.** Ptolemy Mennaeus, king of the Ituraeans ca. 85–ca. 40 B.C. (*Ant* 13.5.2 §§392; and 14.13.3 §330; *JW* 1.13.1 §248).

**21.** Ptolemy, brother of the historian Nicholas of Damascus, and like him a trusted counselor of Herod the Great (*Ant* 17.9.4 §225; *JW* 2.2.3 §21).

**22.** Ptolemy, finance minister of Herod charged with his signet ring and will (*Ant* 17.8.2 §195 = *JW* 1.23.8 §667).

**23.** Ptolemy, perhaps of Ascalon, author of a lost biography of Herod (*HJP²* 1: 27–28).

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**PTOLEMY MACRON** (PERSON). See MACRON (PERSON).

**PUAH** (PERSON) [Heb *pû·â* (פּוּעָה), *pû·â* (פּוּאָה)]. Var. PUVAH. **1.** One of two named midwives of the Hebrews in Egypt (Exod 1:15). The midwives were ordered by the king of Egypt to kill all the male infants of the Hebrews at birth. An engaging question has to do with the ethnicity of the midwives. The ambiguous text of v 15 can be translated either "Hebrew midwives," or "midwives of the Hebrews"—a rendering which leaves unanswered whether they were Hebrew or Egyptian. Childs (*Exodus* OTL, 16) has enumerated some arguments on both sides. On the one hand, the names of the women are Hebrew or at least Semitic; and it is perhaps unlikely that Egyptians would have been accepted in this delicate task (but since they were slaves, the Israelites may have had no choice). On the other hand, Pharaoh probably could not have expected Hebrew women to betray in secret their own people in this way (yet Ackerman [1974–82: 86] submits that the king was depending on their demoralized position as slaves). The force of "the

midwives feared God" may be somewhat reduced if they were Israelite (though certainly far from all Hebrews feared God, and such an attitude was hardly restricted to the Hebrews).

Various explanations have been suggested for the reason why only two midwives are mentioned. Either these were the only two, the only two who disobeyed, or the only two whose names were remembered. The two may have been the head officials of the guild. However, perhaps this detail is attributable merely to the literary style of the narrative. Durham (*Exodus* WBC, 13) considers any speculation about the number of midwives and pregnant women as irrelevant. The point is the midwives' faith and its effects both for Israel and for themselves.

The name "Puah" (Heb *pû·â*) is probably cognate to Ug *pġt*, signifying " (young) girl," which occurs also as the name of the daughter of *dn·il*, *·aqht's* father. Albright (1954: 233) found "Puah" to be a good northwest-Semitic feminine name from the first half of the 2d millennium B.C.

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**2.** The second son of Issachar according to the genealogical list of Issachar's clans preserved by the Chronicler (1 Chr 7:1). In the parallel genealogies of Issachar in Gen 46:13 and Num 26:23 his name is listed as Puvah.

**3.** A man of the tribe of Issachar. He is mentioned in Judg 10:1 as the "son of Dodo" and the father of Tola, a man from Issachar and one of the minor judges of Israel. The relationship between Puah (Heb *pû·â*) and Tola is not very clear (McKenzie 1967: 119). In the genealogies of Issachar (Gen 46:13; Num 26:23) Tola is the son of Issachar and one of the leading clans of that tribe. He is also presented as the brother of Puah (1 Chr 7:1), also known as Puvah. The LXX renders the expression "son of Dodo" (Heb *ben dôdô*) as "the son of his uncle" and says that Tola was the son of Puah, "the son of his father's brother," that is, the son of Abimelech. It is possible that the relationship between Puah and Tola is one of political affiliation rather than a father-son relationship.

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**PUBLIUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Poplios* (Ποπλιος)]. A fairly common Roman praenomen (first or personal name), the Latin equivalent of the Gk *Poplios.* In Acts 28:7, 8 Publius is the chief man *(protōs)* on the island of Malta. Because it would have been unusual to call a governor by his praenomen, Ramsay (1905: 343) speculates that *Poplios* is actually the Greek form of the Latin surname *Popilius.* Foakes Jackson and Lake (1933, 4: 342), however, reject this view. Since Polybius (2d century B.C.E.) habitually called the great general Scipio *Poplios,* his Roman first name being Publius, the usage in Acts 28:7, 8 should not be considered unusual (cf. Polybius books 10–15 passim). The use of the first name therefore may reflect, according to Zahn (1921, 2: 846), the friendly relationship that had arisen among Publius, Paul, and Luke during their time together on Malta. Or it may reflect the common usage among the peasants around Publius' estate.

Zahn (2: 843) documents the fact that two inscriptions found on the island, one in Greek and one in Latin, demonstrate that the term "chief man" *(protōs)* in Acts 28:7 is an official title. Thus Publius was either the highest Roman official on the island or its chief native officer, serving under the governor of Sicily. As is the case with the "city authorities" *(politarchas)* of Thessalonica (Acts 17:6, 8), the author of Acts uses a governmental term that is appropriate to the location in question.

According to Acts 28, the ship on which Paul, his guards, and his fellow prisoners were traveling to Rome wrecked on the coast of the island of Malta near the estates *(chōria)* belonging to Publius. As the leading official of Malta, Publius would automatically be responsible for any Roman soldiers or prisoners who might arrive on the island. Acts 28:7, however, indicates that he went beyond the minimum when he

"entertained us hospitably" *(philophronōs)* for three days (no doubt more permanent arrangements were made thereafter). If the "us" includes all 276 passengers on the ship (Acts 27:37), Publius must have had extensive possessions. Quite possibly, however, the "us" may be limited to selected passengers (such as Paul, Luke, the ship's captain, and the centurion) in whom Publius took a personal interest. According to Acts 28:8, Paul rewarded his kindness by healing his father of fever and dysentery. Harnack (1908: 176–77) and Haenchen (1971: 714) disagree as to whether the exactness of the medical terms used in Acts 28:7–10 indicates that the author of Acts was a physician.

According to the church father Jerome, a man named Publius was the predecessor of Quadratus as the bishop of Athens and suffered martyrdom (*De vir. ill.* chap. 19). Although the martyrdom may have occurred during the lifetime of Publius, we cannot be certain that the two men were the same.

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JON PAULIEN

**PUDENS** (PERSON) [Gk *Poudēs* (Πουδης)]. A Christian mentioned before Linus and Claudia in 2 Tim 4:21, who along with them sent greetings to Timothy. Pudens apparently knew Timothy personally. Based on the assumption that the Pastorals were written in Rome (cf. 1:17), or are reflective of traditions from the Roman church, it has been supposed that Pudens lived in that city. It has also been theorized that he was the husband of Claudia, with Linus perhaps being their son, although this creates the problem of explaining why Pudens and Claudia are not mentioned together before Linus.

Some have thought that Pudens was Aulus Pudens, the soldier and husband of a British woman, Claudia Rufina, and friend of the Latin poet Martial referred to in Martial's *Epigrams* 4.13. This identification has been taken a step further, probably inspired by the hope of finding a link between Pauline Christianity and the British church—by those who equate Pudens with the person of the same name suggested by a fragmentary inscription at Chichester. That text has been interpreted as indicating that a certain Roman soldier, Pudens, donated the site for a temple to Neptune to the British king, Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, whose daughter, Claudia Rufina, he had married in Rome (*CIL* VII.17). While marriage to this British woman, Claudia Rufina, makes it quite likely that the Pudens of Martial and the Pudens of the Chichester inscription are the same person, the commonality of the names Pudens and Claudia argues strongly against extending the identification to the Pudens and Claudia of 2 Timothy. The same objection must also be advanced to any proposed link with Titus Claudius Pudens, husband of Claudia Quintilla. This couple lost an infant son who was memorialized on an inscription found on the road between Rome and Ostia (*CIL* VI.15,066). Finally, there is a theory which reasons that since some of the persons named Pudens were soldiers, then the Pudens of 2 Timothy must have held a similar occupation and was probably a prison guard in charge of Paul. But this is conjecture.

As for the ancient traditions surrounding Pudens mentioned in the *Acta Sanctorum*, e.g., that he was the son of Priscilla and that he was a Roman senator who extended hospitality to Peter, one is unable to determine where fact has been enveloped in legend.

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FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

**PUL** (PERSON) [Heb *pûl* (פּוּל)]. The king of Assyria who campaigned against Samaria during the reign of Menahem (ca. 745–738 B.C.; 2 Kgs 15:19; 1 Chr 5:26). From Assyrian texts we know that *pulu* was a nickname of the Assyrian king TIGLATH-PILESER III, who reigned from 744–727 B.C.

A. KIRK GRAYSON

**PUNIC LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (PHOENICIAN).

**PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES** (OT AND ANE). Analysis of ANE concepts of criminal offenses and their punishment as reflected in the cuneiform and biblical traditions of jurisprudence.

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**A. Background and Sources**

The societies of the ANE, with the possible exception of Egypt, shared a common legal tradition, which is nowhere more clearly marked than in the sphere of criminal law. In historical times this tradition finds expression in the legal sources written in cuneiform script, which may itself have been the vehicle for the spread of legal ideas.

The best known of these sources are the cuneiform law codes: Code of Ur-Nammu (CU)—Sumerian (21st century); Code of Lipit-ishtar (CL)—Sumerian (19th century); Code of Eshnunna (CE)—Akkadian (18th century); Code of Hammurabi (CH)—Akkadian (18th century); the Middle Assyrian Laws (MAL)—Akkadian (12th century); the Hittite Laws (HL)—Hittite (13th century).

Those law codes were not legislation in the modern sense. Although they may have had diverse secondary uses (such as political propaganda), initially they were scientific treatises, which described the law rather than prescribed it. The cuneiform scribal schools were the universities of the ANE; within their walls not only was the art of cuneiform writing taught, but scholarly research was pursued in areas such as medicine, mathematics, omens, and law.

The "scientific" method used to examine the law was as follows. A judgment in a legal case was taken, stripped of all extraneous detail so that only the bare precedent remained, and then cast into a hypothetical form, usually expressed by a casuistic style, e.g., "If a man rapes a woman who is betrothed but not yet

married …," followed by the judgment applicable in that case. The case was then elaborated by considering various alternatives—if the woman was married, if she was willing, if she was unwilling but unable to call for help—so that a multifaceted legal problem was constructed through which the principles of the law could be taught, albeit not explicitly. Eventually there came into being a canon of classic scholarly legal problems which could be drawn upon in order to draft a written law code. The law code itself would contain no more than a small proportion of the oral canon, generally recording only one or two aspects of selected classic legal problems (together with excerpts from unworked judgments and other legal sources such as royal edicts).

As cuneiform scribal schools spread through the ANE from Mesopotamia, the Mesopotamian scientific tradition in its oral as well as its written aspects was adopted in the local academies. Law codes were composed on the Mesopotamian model, in the same casuistic style, and drawing in part upon the canon of scholarly legal problems, in part on local judgments elaborated in the same way. In the sphere of criminal law, a particularly high proportion of the material comes from the common canon of scholarly problems, although it is not always evident at first because different aspects of the same multifaceted problems are incorporated in different codes. By combining the similar and not-so-similar provisions of the various codes, however, the original scholarly problem that lay behind them may sometimes be reconstructed. When this process is complete, the result is not always a monolithic, cuneiform law. Differences between the legal systems can be seen in the rulings on particular aspects of the same problem.

Although biblical Israel lay outside the sphere of cuneiform writing, its law was pervaded by the same tradition. Two law codes in the Pentateuch, the Covenant Code (Exod 21:1–22:19) and the Deuteronomic Code (principally Deut 21:15–22:29) draw from the same canon of scholarly problems as the cuneiform codes. A third source, the Priestly Code (the legal provisions scattered through Leviticus and Numbers) shares the same intellectual background but draws mainly on a tradition that is poorly preserved in the cuneiform sources. There appears to have been a scholarly literature on specifically priestly regulations which find some reflection in the biblical provisions on the same subject (e.g., Geller 1980); but the only extant example is *Šurpu* (Reiner 1958), a recitation of sins to be atoned for with the help of the priest. Some parallels have also been shown with Hittite instructions to temple officials (Milgrom 1976).

The Ten Commandments, which contain no sanctions, are a collection of moral principles rather than a law code. Nonetheless, the negative commandments refer to crimes for which punishments were imposed in the biblical legal system.

The position of biblical law within the cuneiform tradition provides the Pentateuch's sparse and obscure provisions with the necessary background for their elucidation and enables us to view the whole system which they represent. There are, however, significant differences between the biblical and cuneiform sources.

**1. Date.** The biblical codes are from the 1st millennium; the cuneiform codes from the 2d and 3d millennia. The legal tradition was very conservative, with the same rules recurring millennia apart; but there are signs that from the 8th century on an intellectual revolution began in the Eastern Mediterranean that was eventually to herald the world of classical antiquity and a complete change in the conception of law, especially criminal law. While the earliest of the biblical codes, the Covenant Code, which perhaps dates back as far as the turn of the millennium, is squarely in the old cuneiform tradition, the Deuteronomic Code from the 7th century and the Priestly Codes from either the same period or up to several centuries later show signs that new conceptions were beginning to affect that tradition.

**2. Ideology.** The cuneiform codes derive from royal jurisprudence and represent the voice of the establishment. The Deuteronomic and Priestly Codes are from circles not necessarily sympathetic to the king. Although based on the existing law, they are polemical tracts which advocate reforms. While it may be that the cuneiform codes show some tendency to idealize the law, as one might expect in an academic work, in the two biblical codes this tendency is blatant, with outright utopian measures such as the Sabbatical and jubilee years, which could never have been part of the law in practice. Criminal law in the societies of the ANE was essentially customary law which had existed from time immemorial. Innovations occurred through precedent where new circumstances arose or occasionally through

administrative orders issued by the ruler. The latter, however, were of marginal importance, effecting no fundamental change in the principles of the law. The Deuteronomic and Priestly codes, on the other hand, contain the first glimmerings of a new idea of criminal law that was eventually to become the norm in Talmudic jurisprudence.

**3. Context.** The biblical codes are not independent documents like the cuneiform codes but have undergone a process of editing and are inserted in a secondary context, a religious historiography. As a result, they are more heterogeneous and draw upon a variety of sources. To find the same context in the cuneiform material, it is necessary to consult diverse sources, the sum of which does not, however, add up to the same as the integrated biblical text. Furthermore, editing of the biblical text may have distorted the original meaning of the provisions (through devices such as *inclusio* and selectivity) in order to harmonize them with a particular religious perspective. On the other hand, the fact that, in contrast to the cuneiform codes, God, rather than a mortal king, is the purported author of the biblical codes should not overshadow his *function* as lawgiver. The biblical God is a divine king, whose legal role is the same as that of a mortal king except that he is the ideal king of justice, establishing equity and protecting the poor and oppressed—which is exactly how the kings of the cuneiform codes represented themselves.

The cuneiform codes provide us with a fragmentary view of the substantive law, partly because of restrictions in their length and partly because their casuistic style resulted in isolated examples. Documentary evidence of the criminal law in practice is scarce, being confined to reports of trials, which usually are concerned with the facts and the decision rather than with the legal rules at issue, and occasional references in letters.

Israelite literary tradition has yielded almost no documents of practice, but the nonlegal parts of the Bible contain numerous examples of the criminal law in practice. Of the narratives especially noteworthy are etiological stories establishing precedents such as the case of the wood gatherer on the Sabbath (Num 15:32–36) and the blasphemer (Lev 24:10–23) and juridical fables such as the woman of Tekoah (2 Sam 14:1–20) and the poor man's ewe lamb (2 Sam 12:1–14). While both types of account are fictional, they rely for their credibility on the contemporary audience's familiarity with the applicable law.

Prophetic and Wisdom Literature use familiar examples from everyday law to reinforce arguments on religious or moral issues; e.g., the punishment for adultery in the simile of marriage between God and his wayward people (Hos 2:5; Ezek 16:37–39) and in the admonitions of the book of Proverbs (e.g., 6:32–35).

The pentateuchal law codes do not always seem to be in accord with the law in practice as evidenced in other parts of the Bible. For example, the incest laws of Leviticus are stricter than those that the biblical account records elsewhere, in terms of forbidden degrees of relationship. Whether this reflects actual changes in the law or whether such changes are merely being advocated by the Priestly source is difficult to say. Caution must be exercised in comparing the two types of sources. The biblical codes, like their cuneiform counterparts, were not legislation in the modern sense. Their text was not interpreted by the courts as authoritative (except perhaps at the very end of the biblical period); and far from being comprehensive, it presented only a small fraction of the law and assumed knowledge of the rest. Where the text of a law code is silent, therefore, it cannot be taken as rejection of a rule found in a different source without further evidence.

## B. Theoretical Basis

In dealing with wrongful conduct leading to harm (other than by breach of an agreement), modern legal systems distinguish between *torts* and *crimes.* Torts are generally wrongs with a lower level of moral culpability, such as negligence, but the same act may be both a tort and a crime. A tort is conceived of purely as a personal wrong against the victim. The initiative for proceeding against the tort-feasor (guilty party) is solely in the hands of the victim, and the purpose of the court's intervention is to *compensate* the victim for any harm caused him. A crime, by contrast, is conceived of as a wrong to society, in which the harm to the particular victim is incidental—indeed, there may be no specific victim at all. The initiative is in the hands of the state, which may proceed irrespective of the victim's wishes; and the purpose is to *punish* the offender.

The ANE legal systems dealt with wrongs in a different manner. Three main categories can be discerned:

First, acts causing damage where the level of moral culpability is low, e.g., a wound inflicted in a fight where the victim is equally to blame, or negligence causing damage to a neighbor's crops by fire or flood. The initiative was in the hands of the victim, and the purpose of the court's intervention was to award compensation. This category is comparable to the modern law of torts.

Second, acts which carried a high level of moral culpability, such as incest or blasphemy, which were conceived of as bringing down divine wrath on the whole society in a form such as drought, plague, or military defeat. The link between the act and its retribution was understood as an intangible pollution by the offender of his environment. It was society through its official organs that took the initiative to protect itself by removing the pollution, usually by killing or exiling the offender, thereby appeasing divine anger. Any resemblance to modern criminal law is superficial; the analogy is rather to a contagious disease, since innocent persons who had been polluted by contact with the offender might be dealt with in the same way as the offender.

Third, acts which would constitute the principal examples of crimes in modern systems, such as homicide, rape, wounding, and theft (but also adultery). Such offenses gave rise in principle to a dual right for the victim or his family: to take revenge on the offender or his family, or to accept ransom in lieu of revenge. The initiative was therefore with the victim; and the role of the court was seen as setting a limit on the level of revenge, or in some cases, of ransom, in accordance with the seriousness of the case. Where physical punishments appear in the law codes for such offenses, they are in fact limits on revenge, and the hidden assumption is that ransom may be demanded in lieu of them. Where these payments are fixed, they are neither fines nor compensation but limits on the ransom that may be exacted, and the hidden assumption is that the right to revenge will revive if they are not paid. It must be emphasized, however, that the right to revenge was a *judicial* remedy exercisable through the courts, not a simple expression of blood feud. Uncontrolled revenge was considered the antithesis of legal order, as in the boast of Lamech (Gen 4:23–24), which typified the wicked, lawless society before the Flood.

The above three categories overlap considerably. For less serious cases in the third category, revenge may be limited to loss of freedom, which would also be the fate of a tort-feasor unable to pay the compensation demanded, while the most serious cases might also create some degree of pollution and thus involve society as a whole. For convenience, the second and third categories, which together cover the area regarded as criminal law today, will be discussed separately under the headings "Public Offenses" and "Private Offenses," although they have no real equivalent in modern systems. A further minor category of wrongs has been brought together under the heading "Offenses Against the Legal System."

**C. Public Offenses**

**1. Apostasy.** Although apostasy was not considered by its polytheistic neighbors, Israel was forbidden to have gods other than Yahweh or to worship images of them (Exod 20:2–5). One who sacrifices to another god is made *ḥrm* (Exod 22:19; see below), which entails the death penalty (Deut 17:2–7). If an entire city is implicated, its inhabitants are killed and the city with all its contents burned and reduced to rubble (Deut 13:13–18). Incitement to apostasy is also punishable by death (Deut 13:2–12). Giving one's offspring to Molech (if a god) creates pollution and carries the death penalty (Lev 20:2–3). Prosecution of apostasy is by the public authorities (Deut 13:15–16, cf. Lev 20:2) based on evidence from informants (Deut 13:9). Its theoretical basis is illustrated by the story of the people's apostasy to the Moabite gods (Num 25:1–9). Yahweh's anger is incurred; and the result is a plague—a typical consequence of pollution. The remedy is for Moses to have the leaders impaled, while the plague is actually stopped by the exemplary act of a zealot, Phinehas, in killing an apostate (cf. Ps 106:30).

**2. Blasphemy.** In MAL Tablet A 2 a woman who speaks blasphemy "shall bear her punishment; they shall not touch her husband, children, or daughters." The exact punishment is not stated, but King Assurbanipal (Weidner 1932: 184, 28) tells of two enemies "who spoke gross blasphemy against Assur, my god who created me: I ripped out their tongues and skinned them alive." The Akkadian term in both

sources is *šillatu*, the cognate of which is found in Dan 3:29, where Nebuchadnezzar decrees that anyone who speaks *šlh* against the god of the Jews will be dismembered and his house destroyed (Paul 1983).

In the biblical laws, two associated terms are used: "curse" *(qll)* and "slander the name" (*nqb ʾt/b-šm*). Cursing of God is prohibited (Exod 22:27—Eng22:28). Lev 24:15–16 states that one who curses God shall bear his punishment—i.e., his family shall not be touched, as in the Assyrian Laws—and that one who slanders the name is to be stoned.

The Levitical rule is purportedly based on an actual case where the offender slandered the name and cursed, and was accordingly executed (24:10–14, 23). The two actions, therefore, if not synonymous, have the same consequences in law (cf. 1 Kgs 21:13).

**3. Misappropriation of *ḥrm*.** In Mesopotamia, property that was reserved for a god or king might be placed under a taboo and was then known as *asakku*. To misappropriate it was to violate the taboo and incur a penalty, which apparently varied, but could be death if the circumstances warranted (Malamat 1966). A priestess who repeatedly steals the *asakku* is burned (Anbar 1974: 173), and a man who takes booty previously declared *asakku* is "not to be spared," but possibly has his death sentence commuted (ARM 5.72).

In the Bible the same institution is called *ḥrm*, but the term is used only of taboo property reserved for God. Reservation is achieved by total destruction, as in the case of the apostate city (Deut 13:13–16), and the same applies where the enemy is declared *ḥrm*. Consequently, taking enemy property as booty instead of destroying it amounts to misappropriation of *ḥrm*, a crime that will incur divine anger (1 Sam 15:1–33).

When Achan takes booty from Jericho, in spite of the city's having been declared *ḥrm* (Josh 6:17), divine anger manifests itself in military defeat for Israel (Josh 7:1–12). In punishment, Achan is to be stoned and burned, along with his family, livestock, and possessions, including specifically the *ḥrm* property taken by him and also the tent in which it had been concealed (Josh 7:22–25).

**4. Sorcery.** Sorcery was considered a public danger, and special procedures applied to its prosecution. According to the Edict of the Hittite king Telipinus (Hoffmann 1984: 54 §50), persons were expected to denounce members of their own family. Denunciation is to the king (Hoffmann, §50), who also interrogates the witnesses (MAL A 47). Sorcery is, therefore, the "judgment of the king" (HL 44).

Little is known of the practices that were forbidden. HL 170 mentions the killing of a snake while pronouncing a man's name. HL 44B declares the dumping on a man's land of residue from a purification ceremony to be sorcery, i.e., connected with the concept of pollution.

In the Bible, Exod 22:17—Eng22:18 states: "You shall not suffer a sorceress to live." The addressees are presumably a public body. The only type of forbidden sorcery explicitly mentioned is that of mediums calling up a spirit of the dead (*ʾwb* or *yd*ʿ*ny:* Lev 20:27). If Molech sacrifice is to the spirits of the dead, then its prohibition would belong in this category.

The role of the king is illustrated by the notice that Saul attempted to extirpate the mediums from the land (1 Sam 28:9). The practice incurs divine anger: one who consults a medium—typically a secret, collusive act not amenable to human justice (cf. 1 Sam 28:8–10)—is threatened with divine punishment (Lev 20:6).

**5. Violation of the Sabbath.** The biblical prohibition of work on the Sabbath (Exod 20:10; Deut 5:14) is not found elsewhere in the ANE. The penalty for infringement is death (Exod 31:14–15; 35:2). An etiological story defines gathering wood as forbidden work (Num 15:32–36). Jeremiah's appeal to the kings and inhabitants of Jerusalem to cease work on the Sabbath (Jer 17:19–27) suggests that the prohibition was not then enforced through the public authorities. Nehemiah does enforce it (Neh 13:15–22) but by administrative measures rather than direct sanctions.

**6. Incest.** HL 189–195A list a series of incestuous relationships classified as *hurkel*. No punishment is prescribed; but from another Hittite source, the Instructions to the Border Guard Commander (*ANET*, 211), we learn that *hurkel* was punished by death or banishment, according to local custom. Where the offender was banished, the town had to purify itself afterward. CH prescribes the same two alternatives according to type of incest: with a daughter—banishment (154); with a daughter-in-law—death (155); between mother and son after the father's death—death for both (157).

Lev 18:6–19 likewise contain a list of incestuous relationships, which it forbids and labels "abominations" *(tw‹bwt).* The offender is said to pollute himself (v 24), and failure to curb such pollution may lead to defeat and exile (v 28). Lev 20:11–21 include a further list with specific punishments, human and divine; see below.

The lists of prohibited relationships vary, even within the two levitical sources (cf. Deut 23:1; 27:20, 22–23); and none of them is comprehensive. Undoubtedly, relations with a daughter were prohibited, although this prohibition is missing from the biblical lists. All sources prohibit relations not only with blood relatives but also with certain relatives by marriage. In the latter case, the relation would already be adulterous, so that the incest prohibition perhaps refers either to widowhood (cf. CH 157) or to collusion with the husband; the point being that in spite of his acquiescence it is still an offense because it pollutes (see below). In three cases the biblical code prohibits relations that are licit elsewhere in the Bible: (1) marriage with a paternal half-sister (Lev 18:9; Deut 27:22; cf. Gen 20:12; 2 Sam 13:13); (2) marriage with two sisters (Lev 18:18; cf. Jabob's marriage to Leah and Rebekah); and (3) levirate marriage (Lev 18:16; 20:21, if not confined to the brother's lifetime), although it is enjoined as a duty by Deut 25:5. (Cf. HL 193, which specifically exempts the levirate as opposed to relations during the brother's lifetime [195A].)

**7. Bestiality.** HL 187–188 and 199 classify sexual relations between a man and a cow, sheep, pig, or dog as *hurkel.* They explicitly call for the death penalty but with a right in the king to grant pardon. Curiously, 200A exempts relations with a horse or mule, although in this case and where the offender is pardoned, he remains ritually impure. Lev 18:23 includes in the list of "abominations" intercourse by a man or woman with any animal, and Lev 20:15–16 prescribes the death penalty for both the offender and the animal.

**8. Homosexuality.** To "lie with a male the lying of a woman" is regarded as another "abomination" by Lev 18:22 and is punished with the death of both parties in Lev 20:13. In MAL 20, the same offense is punished with the offender himself being sodomized and castrated. It has been suggested (Daube 1986) that this curious punishment is based on a distinction between active and passive sodomy, the latter being the lot of the lower orders of society. Such a distinction finds no echo in the biblical law.

**D. Private Offenses**

**1. Homicide.** The basic principle was that the victim's family had a right to revenge through the death penalty or to ransom, at their choice. As the Edict of Telipinus, a Hittite king, puts it (Hoffmann 1984: 52 §49):

> A matter of blood is as follows. Whoever does blood, whatever the owner of the blood says:—If he says "Let him die!" he shall die. If he says "Let him pay ransom!" he shall pay ransom …

The "owner of the blood" is the closest male relative of the victim. He is known by the same name in Neo-Assyrian sources, and as the "owner of the life" in MAL B 2. The biblical equivalent is "redeemer of the blood" *(gw›l hdm)*, i.e., one who brings it back within the family, like redeemed family land; and it is slaying of the killer that achieves restoration. As a letter from the Babylonian king to the pharaoh (EA 8) puts it: "… the men who killed my subjects—kill them! Return their blood!" If not restored, the victim's blood may "cry out" from the ground (Gen 4:10).

By the same token, if the homicide is justified for some reason and therefore does not give a right to revenge, the blood can remain where it is. In Leviticus 20, it is said of the offender who commits a polluting act, and may therefore be killed without revenge as a measure of public safety, "his blood is on his head." Exod 22:1—Eng22:2 expresses the same idea even more strongly: the burglar killed while breaking in at night "has no blood."

**a. Aggravating Factors in Cuneiform Sources.** Telipinus' Edict presents the theoretical principle, which in practice was confined to aggravated homicide. In the cuneiform sources, three aggravating factors can be discerned:

**(1) Premeditation.** In the case referred to by the Babylonian king, where three men conspired to murder a fourth, a Mesopotamian court rules: "As men who have killed a man, they are not live men" (Jacobsen 1970). Where circumstances suggest lack of premeditation, CH 207 allows the killer to swear an oath to this effect and receive a much lighter penalty.

**(2) Gross Negligence or Recklessness.** CH 229 prescribes death for the negligent builder whose construction collapses on the house owner, killing him, as does CE 58 for the owner of a dangerous wall that collapses with fatal results, if the owner failed to repair it in spite of due warning. The family's right to revenge is against the offender himself, or as HL 43 puts it: "they shall receive that very man," in the case of one whose reckless behavior at a river crossing causes another to drown.

**(3) Threshold Offense.** Where the offender *unlawfully* distrains a member of the debtor's family (i.e., takes him into debt slavery) and causes his death through maltreatment, it is the distrainer himself who suffers death (CE 24). In normal circumstances the penalty for such an offense would be vicarious revenge, i.e., revenge against the equivalent member of the offender's family.

**b. Mitigating Factors in Cuneiform Sources.** Vicarious revenge was regarded as a mitigated punishment (cf. 2 Sam 12:13–14) of the offender. When there was a mitigating factor in homicide, the courts intervened to restrict revenge either by this means or by setting a limit on the ransom that might be demanded in lieu of it. Mitigating factors are:

**(1) Lack of Premeditation.** A classic scholarly problem concerns a fight, in which blame must be apportioned between both parties. If the death of one party ensues, HL 1 imposes a limited ransom, as does CH 207, but with the added proviso that the other party is to swear as to his lack of premeditation. Lack of premeditation (or of foreseeability of death) may lie behind HL 44A's allowing only vicarious revenge where death is the result of the victim's being pushed into a fire.

**(2) Negligence.** In the guarding of a goring ox or vicious dog, even when the owner has been warned of its propensity, negligence does not in the eyes of the cuneiform codes amount to aggravated homicide where the animal subsequently kills. Limited ransom is allowed, probably as an alternative vicarious revenge (CE 54, 56; CH 251).

**(3) Status of the Victim.** If it is the house owner's son who dies as a result of the builder's negligence (CH 230) or the debtor's son who is distrained and dies at the hands of a creditor (CH 116), then it is the offender's son upon whom revenge is exacted. If the offense is lesser, as in the case of the goring ox, and the victim is a son, limited ransom is allowed in lieu of vicarious revenge (CH 251).

The blow to a pregnant woman which causes a miscarriage is a classic scholarly problem. If it also causes her death and she is a daughter, the penalty will be vicarious revenge on the offender's daughter (CH 210), or limited ransom if the victim is from the poorer classes (CH 212—*muškēnum*). A fragmentary Sumerian code (Civil 1965: 4–5, lines iii 7′–8′) takes a more serious view, prescribing death for the offender himself.

The death of a slave invariably results in a low payment to the master. It is doubtful whether this is in lieu of revenge; it may be simple compensation, as with loss of property.

Causing the miscarriage of a fetus results in a small payment (CH 209; HL 17), which may be simple compensation. The fragmentary Sumerian code (Civil 1965: 4–5, lines iii 6′–7′) demands a much higher sum, which suggests that it is in lieu of revenge.

**c. Aggravating Factors in the Bible.** The same system of revenge and ransom, limited according to the circumstances, lies behind the biblical provisions but with important variations. Aggravating factors are:

**(1) Premeditation.** The killer who lay in wait for his victim is handed over to the redeemer of blood for revenge (Exod 21:14; Num 35:20–21; Deut 19:11–12). The victim's clan might demand that the killer be delivered up for this purpose (2 Sam 14:7). The victim's relatives would be entitled to ransom but in a case of deliberate murder might well insist on revenge. Thus the Gibeonites, whose people Saul had murdered (by waging war in breach of treaty), specifically forego their claim to ransom and demand Saul's sons, Saul being deceased (2 Sam 21:1–9).

In the case of Cain, the punishment imposed is exile, not death; but this turns out to be equally harsh, since Cain may then be killed by anyone without fear of retribution (Gen 4:11–14). Accordingly, God grants him protection and agrees to become his surrogate avenger (v 15). King David performs the same function in restraining revenge against the Tekoan woman's son (2 Sam 14:11) and acts as a surrogate avenger for Ish-bosheth (2 Sam 4:11).

**(2) Gross Negligence.** The scholarly problem of the goring ox is presented in Exod 21:28–32 in the same terms as in the cuneiform codes, but as aggravated rather than mitigated homicide. If the owner has previously been warned, revenge is against him in person, with no limit on ransom (v 30). Even if the victim is a subordinate member of the family, no vicarious revenge is allowed (v 31). Furthermore, the ox itself is to be stoned and not eaten (vv 28, 32), which may have been regarded as punishment of the animal.

**d. Mitigating Factors in the Bible. (1) Status of Victim.** If the victim of the goring ox is a slave, the negligent owner's liability is a low payment, as in the cuneiform provisions (Exod 21:32).

Where a member of the debtor's family dies as a direct result of abuse while in debt slavery, vicarious revenge is appropriate, as in CH 116. This is the import of *nqm ynqm* ("he shall surely be avenged") in Exod 21:20. Later sources polemicized against vicarious revenge (Lev 19:18; Deut 24:16), but it is not clear that it was actually abolished. Where the causal nexus between abuse and death cannot be conclusively established (Exod 21:21, "But if he survives a day or two …"), then only ransom is allowed, being limited to the amount of the debt (and thereby canceling it): "… he shall not be vicariously revenged, but it (the revenge) is his silver (the debt) (*lʾ yqm ky kspw hwʾ*)."

If a miscarriage is caused, the offender must pay unlimited ransom to the husband, but it is not clear if it is for his own life or in lieu of vicarious revenge (Exod 21:22). This is *not* the same scholarly problem as in the cuneiform codes and does *not* consider the death of the woman; it is concerned with the identity of the offender and considers the measure of punishment only incidentally (see below).

**(2) Lack of Premeditation.** Three pentateuchal sources on murder (Exod 21:12–14; Num 35:9–34; and Deut 19:1–6; cf. Jas 20:1–7) are based upon the same scholarly problem (not extant in the cuneiform codes). If A kills B and B's family members immediately take revenge without trial, they can claim on the apparent facts that theirs is justifiable homicide and should not in turn be avenged. If, however, A's act had been unpremeditated, killing him in revenge would be unjustified. But only A can testify to his own state of mind, and killing him without trial frustrates that possibility. Accordingly, A is given the protection of asylum pending trial, either at an altar (Exodus) or in designated cities of refuge (Numbers, Deuteronomy). Exodus and Deuteronomy do not state what happens if A's act is found by the court to have been unpremeditated—presumably it was treated as mitigated homicide. Numbers (P), in this event, converts the asylum into exile until the death of the high priest (35:25); and should A leave that place, he may be killed with impunity ("he has no blood") by the redeemer of blood (vv 26–27). Whether the same system applied in the other sources, or ever in practice, is unclear. Temporary asylum by grasping the altar, as in Exodus, is attested elsewhere (1 Kgs 1:50–53; 2:28); exile measured by the high priest's life is not (but cf. 1 Kgs 2:36–46).

The examples given of unpremeditated acts are of accidents: an accidental push, or the throwing of a weapon or stone without seeing the victim (Num 35:22–23), or the head of an ax flying off during use (Deut 19:5). Premeditated acts are those planned against an enemy (Exod 21:14; Num 35:20–21). The intermediate case of unintentional killing in a fight where blame might be apportioned is not discussed in the biblical codes; but if there were no witnesses, premeditation might be presumed (2 Sam 14:6).

**e. Homicide and Pollution.** Although it is a private offense, homicide also pollutes. According to a letter from the Hittite king (*KBo* 1.10 Rs. 19–20), if the brothers of the victim accept ransom, they purify the place of the homicide. Likewise in an Assyrian ransom agreement (Kwasman 1988: 393 No. 341), the offender must also wash away the blood. It is possible that a separate purification ritual was needed only when ransom was involved and that killing the offender in revenge was purification in itself. In 2 Samuel 21 Saul's crime leads to a divinely occasioned famine which ended only by David's allowing the Gibeonites to take revenge. The mode of execution is ritualistic: impaling Saul's sons "before Yahweh" (v 9).

The Priestly source takes an uncompromising stand on the issue of purification. Only revenge can purify the land (Num 35:33, cf. Gen 9:6); ransom is inadequate even for mitigated homicide (Num 35:31–32). On the other hand, exile for the latter offense appears to remove the pollution. Whether a purification ceremony was also necessary, as in the banishment of Hittite sexual offenders, is not made clear. Deut

21:1–9 record a ceremony to be performed when the victim's killer is unknown, which has been interpreted as a kind of purification ritual (cf. Deut 22:8).

**2. Personal Injury. a. In Cuneiform Sources.** This is dealt with in the cuneiform codes through the medium of three scholarly problems.

First, a list of injuries to various parts of the body is considered. Four codes contain such lists (CU; CE; CH; HL), which overlap to varying degrees. In declining order of frequency, the injuries are: eye, bone, hand, foot, tooth, nose, and ear. All appear to be serious, if not permanent—destruction of the eye, biting off of the nose. No mental element is mentioned, but it is probably intentional injury that is meant, not negligence or accident (Cardascia 1985). An anomalous member of the list (CE 42; CH 202–5) must be intentional: a slap in the face—suggesting that honor was as much at stake as physical integrity.

The Code of Hammurabi distinguishes between an *awīlum*—a member of the upper classes—and a *muškēnum*—a poor man, or perhaps simply an ordinary free citizen. CH 196–97 rule: "If an *awīlum* puts out the eye of the son of an *awīlum*, his eye shall be put out. Here is the famous *talio* (measure for measure), in brutally explicit language. But *talio* was simply part of the system of revenge and ransom. By this means the courts limited the level of revenge exactable, and there was always the possibility of ransom if the parties could come to terms. For the *muškēnum*, the ransom was fixed (CH 198). In CU, CE, and HL there are only fixed payments for the various injuries.

Second, a fight which leads to nonpermanent injury is discussed by CH 206 and HL 10. In both, the offender must pay the doctor's fee; and HL requires in addition that he nurse the victim, supply a man to work in his place until he is well, and pay him a small, fixed sum. These provisions are clearly compensatory in nature (suggesting that the offender was not solely to blame for the fight) and are analogous to damages in tort rather than to criminal punishment.

Third, a fight in which a woman intervenes by seizing a man's testicles is considered. According to MAL A 8 if she crushes one testicle, her finger is cut off; if she crushes both, her nipples (? text broken) are torn out. Merely laying hands on a man is punished by a payment and flogging (7).

**b. In the Bible.** The treatment of personal injury in the biblical codes is based on these same three problems.

Exod 21:24–25 contain a list: eye, tooth, hand, foot, plus three that are not in the cuneiform provisions: burning, wound, and blow. The context, however, is a scholarly problem not attested elsewhere. A pregnant woman has been caught up in a street brawl and injured by persons unknown (v 23: *ʾswn* = damage by persons unknown). In these circumstances, it is the duty of the local authority to pay (v 23, *ntth* "you shall pay") her compensation appropriate to her injury. In spite of its talionic phraseology, therefore ("eye for eye"), the list here refers to the principles of equitable ransom rather than to revenge. In Lev 24:19–20, on the other hand, the list unambiguously refers to retaliation: "A man who gives a blemish in his fellow: as he did, so shall be done to him—fracture for fracture, eye for eye, tooth for tooth. As he put a blemish on his fellow so shall it be put on him." The rule therefore regulates revenge as in CH. It does not explicitly exclude the alternative of ransom; but it is from the Priestly source, which is hostile to ransom (see above). Possibly considerations of purity are at issue, since the term used here for injury—"blemish" *(mwm)* is the technical term for physical defects that render a priest unfit to offer sacrifices (Lev 21:17–21).

Fixed ransom for injury is set by Exod 21:26 for the maltreated debt slave: "If a man strikes the eye of his slave, male or female, and destroys it, he shall let his slave go free for his eye." (v 27 the same for a tooth). As where the slave died, (v 21), ransom is fixed at the level of the debt owed. The debt is thus canceled and the slave thereby released.

In Exod 21:18–19 nonpermanent injury in a fight leads to tortious damages for loss of work and medical expenses. The offender is "clear" *(nqy)*—not of all liabilities, but of criminal culpability that would give a right to revenge.

Accordingly to Deut 25:11–12 if a wife intervenes in a fight by seizing the genitalia of her husband's opponent, her "hand" (Heb *kp*—female genitalia) is cut off. The facts lie between MAL A 7 and 8, but the punishment is harsher.

**3. Rape. a. In Cuneiform Sources.** This is considered by the cuneiform law codes in the context of a discussion of adultery. Two main aspects are treated: the status of the victim and her lack of consent.

The laws distinguished between a woman who is unattached, inchoately married, and married. According to MAL A 55, where an unattached girl is raped, her father may demand that the rapist marry her without right of divorce and with payment of a set bride money or demand the bride money without the marriage. If the rapist is married, his wife is to be assigned to the father for sexual abuse.

Where bride money has been paid for the girl, she is inchoately married, a status which aggravates the offense, making it punishable with death (CU 6; CE 26; CH 130). The purpose of this rule, the core of the scholarly problem, is to equate this case with that of a fully married woman, where the rapist's penalty is likewise death (MAL A 12, 23; HL 197). MAL A 12 relies for lack of consent on the fact that the woman was in the street on legitimate business and on testimony to her resistance to the rapist's attentions. HL 197 proposes a mechanical test: if the act took place in the city, consent is presumed; if in the country, it is not, and the offense is rape.

**b. In the Bible.** Of the biblical codes, only Deuteronomy discusses rape, preserving a fragment of the traditional scholarly problem. Rape of an unattached girl leads, as in MAL A 55, to forcible marriage with no divorce, and payment of a set bride money (22:28–29). (Cf. Genesis 34, where the rape of Dinah is regarded by the offender's family as meriting a similar response, but is met by Dinah's brothers with revenge beyond any normal legal limits. Likewise, Absalom's killing of Amnon in revenge for the rape of his sister Tamar was regarded as unjustified: 2 Samuel 13.) Rape of an inchoately married girl, on the other hand, is punishable with death (22:25). In this case, Deuteronomy relies on the same context for consent as HL 197—city or country—but provides it with a rationale, namely that in the city the girl's cries for help will be heard—and consent is therefore presumed if she does not cry out (22:24–27).

**4. Adultery.** Illicit sexual intercourse by a wife with a man other than her husband was adultery. The same act by a husband was not considered adultery, unless it was with a married woman. Adultery was an offense against the husband committed by the wife and her lover, but it was also a sin and subject to divine punishment. In Ugarit (Moran 1959) and Egypt (Rabinowitz 1959) it is referred to as the "Great Sin," and in the Bible as the "Great Evil" (Gen 39:9).

**a. In Cuneiform Sources.** Adultery is discussed in the cuneiform codes in a series of interrelated problems. The general principle is presented in MAL A 13:

> If the wife of a man has gone out from her house to a man where he lives and he has had intercourse with her knowing that she is a man's wife, both the man and the woman shall be killed.

This case is to be distinguished from the seduction of a man who is unaware of the woman's married status, where the man is not liable but the husband may punish his wife as he pleases (MAL A 14b and also CU 7).

If the husband catches the lovers *in flagranti delicto*, there are two possibilities. If he himself kills them on the spot, he is not liable for homicide (HL 197; probably also the meaning of CE 28 and MAL A 15a). If he chooses to bring them before the court, then the death penalty applies (CH 129; MAL A 15b), but according to HL 198, the king has the prerogative of sparing the culprits' lives.

In CH 142 if an inchoately married wife is found not to have kept her chastity during betrothal, it is treated as adultery, and she suffers the death penalty.

If a husband accuses his wife of adultery but has no direct evidence, she must take an oath in order to clear herself of liability (CH 131).

The penalties found in these codes represent regulation of revenge by the husband. Presumably the alternative of ransom existed, but no reference is known from the cuneiform sources. Adultery was regarded as a very grave offense, for which the husband was entitled to demand the death penalty. In his discretion, the husband could demand a lesser penalty, such as mutilation (MAL A 15b) or "treat his wife as he pleases" (14). Since punishment of the wife intersects with marriage law, it is probable that the latter discretion included the right simply to divorce the wife without paying the usual financial compensation (cf. CH 141).

On the other hand, adultery could not be regarded as an offense against the husband if he acquiesced in his wife's conduct, e.g., if he was suspected of sending her out for prostitution (MAL A 14).

Thus all the above provisions emphasize that punishment of the lover is dependent upon punishment of the wife. The husband is not allowed to claim a penalty for the lover while pardoning his wife's offense, and his killing of the lovers caught *in flagranti delicto* is permitted only on condition that he kills both (CH 129; MAL A 14–15, 22; HL 198). MAL A 15b also insists that the lover's penalty be mitigated in step with any mitigation by the husband of the penalty inflicted on his wife.

Where the adulterer goes undetected by the husband, the possibility of divine punishment is still to be reckoned with. Thus the gods will visit with sickness and premature death the man who secretly "entered his neighbor's house, had intercourse with his neighbor's wife" (*Šurpu* 2.47–48; 4.6 [Reiner 1958].

**b. In the Bible.** The biblical laws contain only fragments of the traditional scholarly problems but with supplementary details from narrative and prophetic passages.

The general principle is presented in Lev 20:10: "A man who commits adultery with a man's wife, who commits adultery with his neighbor's wife shall be killed—the adulterer and the adulteress" and in Deut 22:22: "If a man is discovered to have lain with a married woman, they shall both die: the man who sleeps with the woman and the woman. You shall eliminate evil from Israel."

The seduction of an unwitting man is the subject of three narratives in Genesis (12:10–20; chap. 20; 26:6–11) in which a foreign ruler has (or almost has) intercourse with a patriarch's wife, believing her to be his unmarried sister. The consequence is divine, but not human, punishment.

In Deut 22:20–21, where a wife is found not to have kept her chastity before marriage, she suffers death. It must be presumed that her offense took place during the period of inchoate marriage (cf. Exod 22:15–16 for the case of an unattached girl). Likewise in Gen 38:24, Tamar's unchastity is punishable with death because she was regarded as inchoately married to Shelah. Deut 22:24 extends the scope of the problem on rape of an inchoate wife to consensual intercourse, in which case both she and her lover are put to death.

If a husband accuses his wife without direct evidence, she must take an oath and undergo a ceremony of drinking bitter waters (which will have adverse physical effects if she is guilty) in order to clear herself (Num 5:11–31).

The basis of punishment is explicitly stated to be revenge by the husband, with the alternative right to ransom:

> … The fury of the husband will be passionate;
> He will show no pity on his day of vengeance.
> He will not have regard for any ransom;
> He will refuse your bribe, however great
> (Prov 6:32–35—JPSV).

Ransom was therefore unlimited, and in the discretion of the husband. In Gen 38:24, where the inchoate husband Shelah is still young, it is Tamar's father-in-law, Judah, who exercises this right. A kind of limited ransom is prescribed in Lev 19:20: "A man who lies carnally with a wife *(ʾšh)*, she being a slave pledged to the man (pointing *neḥrepet lĕʾîš*) … there shall be a proprietary claim *(bqrt).* They shall not be put to death because she was not freed." The husband cannot claim the death penalty, but he can reclaim his wife, thus canceling the debt, which thereby represents a limited ransom. The right of the husband to inflict a lesser penalty on his wife is referred to in prophetic passages which use adultery as a metaphor for the nation's apostasy (Hos 2:5, cf. Jer 13:26–27; Ezek 16:37–39). Apparently the wife is stripped naked and driven from the matrimonial home.

As in the cuneiform codes, punishment of the lover depended on the absence of acquiescence by the husband in his wife's adultery. Hence, Lev 20:10 and Deut 22:22 insist on both parties' being killed. The wording of the former law is significant: it is addressed to the lover alone, but adds "the adulterer and the adulteress," showing the former's death to be conditional upon the latter's. Collusion was a well-known factor, as seen in the deception practiced by Abraham and Isaac in representing their wives as their sisters. No human punishment is contemplated (not least because a ruler is implicated), but divine punishment is

still a possibility (Gen 12:17; 20:3, 17–18; 26:10). The inclusion of adulterous relationships in the incest categories of Leviticus 20, and the "giving of seed" to one's neighbor's wife in Lev 18:19, suggest collusion and therefore no punishment by the husband. But it remains a sin that will be visited by the divine punishment of childlessness (20:20–21). The context suggests that the Priestly source regarded adultery not merely as a personal sin but as polluting to some extent.

**5. Theft. a. In Cuneiform Sources.** This category was widely defined, covering fraudulent misappropriation whether by asportation, purchasing stolen property, or retaining lost property. In principle, the owner of the stolen property was entitled to the death penalty as revenge upon the thief, but in practice this was confined to aggravated cases. The courts imposed limited ransom for simple theft, either at a fixed sum or as a fixed multiple of the thing stolen. The severity of the penalty depended sometimes on the circumstances, e.g., a wife stealing from her husband was treated more severely (MAL A 3); the retainer of lost goods, more leniently (cf. HL 57–59, and 60–62). Mostly, it depended on the nature of the thing stolen:

**(1) Free persons**, i.e., kidnapping—death (CH 14) or a high ransom (HL 19B).

**(2) *Res sacra*** taken from a temple—death (CH 6; HL 126), but other temple or palace property—30-fold payment (CH 8).

**(3) Animals**—various multiples, depending on size (HL 59–65).

**(4) Other items**—various multiples or fixed sums (e.g., CH 254–55, 259–60; HL 121–28). Large sums might be in lieu of death (e.g., CH 256) or mutilation (CH 253; MAL A 5; HL 92), but the smaller sums may represent a simple debt, i.e., ransom of one's freedom.

Apart from simple theft, the cuneiform codes contain two scholarly problems. First, in the case of the owner versus the innocent purchaser of his stolen property, strict liability is imposed on the latter. He must return the goods and make a multiple payment. But the payment is lower than that for theft and probably represented a simple debt, which he could recoup from the thief if he found him (CH 9–12; HL 57–70). Second, in the case of the owner's killing an attempted burglar, if he is killed on the premises at night by the owner, there is no culpability for homicide (CE 12–13). If caught and brought to trial, he must make a very small payment—presumably a simple debt (CL 9; CE 12–13; HL 93).

**b. In the Bible.** Prov 6:30–31 say of the thief in general that he must pay sevenfold—all the wealth of his house. Elsewhere, the penalty varies according to the thing stolen:

**(1) Kidnapping**—death, for both the thief and "the one in whose possession he is found" (Exod 21:16).

**(2) *Res sacra***—Jacob agrees to the death penalty for whoever is found with Laban's stolen idols (Gen 31:30–32), but this has also been explained as aggravated theft due to the element of hot pursuit (Daube 1947: 236–45).

**(3) Bovines**—fivefold payment; ovines—fourfold (Exod 21:37—Eng 22:1).

The theft laws of the Covenant Code (Exod 21:37–22:3—Eng 22:1–22:4), combine simple theft with the two scholarly problems. The original thief, identified by his having sold or slaughtered the stolen animal, pays a four- or fivefold penalty, probably ransom for his life. The attempted burglar may be killed with impunity at night but otherwise faces slavery unless he can pay a negotiated ransom. (Unlike the cuneiform counterparts, no limit is imposed.) The innocent purchaser pays only a twofold penalty, probably a simple debt. The innocent finder must pay the same (Exod 22:8—Eng22:9).

The theft of Joseph's cup provides a rare example of Egyptian law in the Bible. Egyptian procedure allowed an accused to propose his own penalty as the consequences of his oath's (asserting his innocence) being false. The brothers declare that he with whom the cup is found shall die; but the Egyptian official deliberately misunderstands them, to prevent it from becoming Benjamin's death sentence (Gen 44:9–10).

**6. Treason.** A personal offense against the king, such as disloyalty expressed by deed or word (the latter often associated with blasphemy) is treason. The king was entitled to kill the traitor and confiscate his property (MAL B 3; cf. Wiseman 1953: No. 17). In a trial of conspirators against Rameses III of Egypt (*ANET*, 214–16), the penalties range through enforced suicide for the main protagonists, mutilation for subordinates, and a mere rebuke for an associate not directly involved.

In Exod 22:27—Eng22:28 it is forbidden to curse a prince (cf. 2 Sam 16:5–10) or blaspheme, and in 1 Kgs 21:10–16 Naboth is executed for "blessing" (euphemism for cursing) God and king, and his vineyard confiscated by the king. Apparently, his sons were also executed (2 Kgs 9:26).

**7. Against Parents.** Striking one's father is punished according to CH 195 with the loss of a hand, and in Exod 21:15 (father or mother) with death, as is cursing them (Exod 21:17; Lev 20:9; cf. Deut 27:16). All these rules presuppose that the parents' right of discipline is not arbitrary, but subject to legal limits. For a son who is uncontrollably insubordinate and dissolute, the parents may turn to the local court, which can order his public stoning (Deut 21:18–21). In a less extreme case partial or whole disinheritance may have been the practice (Gen 49:3–4; cf. CH 168–69).

**8. False Accusation.** This act was considered ideal for application of the talionic principle. The accuser bears the very penalty he sought for the accused (CL 17; CH 1–4; cf. CU 26). The principle is applied in a Sumerian document from Nippur, where a son falsely accuses his father, a priest, of cultic offenses (Roth 1984: 9–14). Accusations (by a third party) of adultery are an exception: CU 11 imposes a payment of twenty shekels (MAL A 18), flogging, a payment, and castration.

In Deut 19:16–21 the talionic principle is explicit: "life for life, eye for eye … you shall do to him as he schemed to do to his brother." But where a husband accuses his wife of premarital unchastity (which carries the death penalty), his punishment is flogging, a payment, and a bar on divorce (Deut 22:13–19).

**E. Offenses Against the Legal System**

**1. Abuse of Legal Authority.** Extraordinary intervention by the ruler, usually on the basis of a petition, was required in cases of abuse since the offender was part of the system and the victim from the weaker strata of society. In the Hittite Instructions to the Border Guard Commander, the latter acts as an itinerant ombudsman for such complaints (*ANET*, 211). The penalty is within the king's discretion and may be death (CH 34). The Bible has two technical terms for such abuses: *gzl*, where property was taken from the victim (e.g., Gen 21:25; Ps 69:5), and *ʿšq*, where he is denied his legal due (Deut 24:14–15). The penalty can be compensation and/or death, at the king's discretion (2 Sam 12:1–6). If the culprit voluntarily confesses, he must restore the property plus a fifth and bring a guilt-offering for sacrifice (Lev 5:21–26). A Hebrew ostracon from the 7th century B.C. (*ANET*, 568) may represent a petition regarding abuse of authority.

**2. Contempt of Court.** This is punished in Deut 17:8–13 by death (cf. HL 173).

**F. Methods of Punishment**

**1. In Cuneiform Sources.** The means by which the death penalty is to be executed is usually not specified. In CH, drowning is mentioned several times (108; 129; 133; 143; 155), burning twice (110; 157) and impalement once (153). MAL has impalement in one case (A 53), while HL mentions single cases of dismemberment by oxteams (166) and beheading (173). No rationale can be discerned behind the choice of method.

Mutilation is often used as a "mirroring" punishment, e.g., severing the hand that strikes (CH 195), the lip that steals a kiss (MAL A 9), and castration of an adulterer (MAL A 15). Note also stinging by bees for stealing a hive (HL 92) and throwing the looter of a burning house into that fire (CH 25). Severing an ear is a characteristic method for punishing slaves (CH 205; HL 95).

The talionic principle is behind most cases of mutilation, where the same injury is inflicted as that which was suffered. A judgment of king Rim-Sin of Larsa applies it to the death penalty: "Because he threw the servant into the oven, do you throw the slave into the furnace" (*BIN* 7.10). Only MAL applies it to sexual violation (A 20, 55). As the talionic principle is usually a limit on revenge, there is no reason to suppose that it was not carried out in practice if no ransom was given. Flogging is used once in CH (202—sixty strokes) and frequently in MAL (between twenty and one hundred), where it is often cumulated with other punishments.

**2. In the Bible.** Where the Bible specifies the method of execution, the most common is stoning: for apostasy (Lev 20:2; Deut 13:11; 17:5), blasphemy (Lev 24:14, 16, 23; 1 Sam 21:10), sorcery (Lev 20:27), sabbath violation (Num 15:35–36), misappropriating *ḥrm* (Josh 7:25), disobedient son (Deut 21:21), and adultery by an inchoate wife (Deut 22:21, 24; cf. Ezek 16:40; 23:47). It has been suggested that the

common element is treason against a superior (Finkelstein 1981: 26–29), but sabbath violation and sorcery fit this category with difficulty, and the male adulterer not at all. All but disobedience and adultery are public offenses. The Deuteronomist may have wished the latter to be so regarded also, but it is not clear why they should have been singled out. Stoning is carried out by the local community except for the Molech cult, where it is the duty of a body called *ʿam hāʾāreṣ* (Lev 20:2). For apostasy, the denouncers must initiate the stoning (Deut 13:10–11; 17:7).

Death is by fire for miscellaneous sexual offenses: incest with a woman and her mother (Lev 20:14), fornication by a priest's daughter (Lev 21:9), and Tamar's adultery (Gen 38:24–26). It is by the sword for an apostate city (Deut 13:15; cf. 1 Kgs 18:40) and is the preferred method of revenge for homicide (Num 35:9; cf. 2 Sam 3:27), for which impalement is also possible (2 Sam 21:9). Dismemberment and being devoured by beasts (Dan 2:5; 6:8) appear in a foreign setting.

Mutilation occurs as a "mirroring" punishment (Deut 25:11–12) and in application of the talionic principle (Lev 24:19–20), also of the corpse of an executed criminal (2 Sam 4:12). Flogging is prescribed once (Deut 22:18) but must have been common, as Deut 25:1–3 restricts it to forty strokes, without mention of a specific offense. For certain types of incest Leviticus imposes special punishments which may be divine rather than human. As punishment for intercourse with a sister (20:17), *karet* may refer to extirpation of the culprit's entire lineage (Wold 1979). Intercourse with an aunt by marriage or a sister-in-law makes the culprits *ʾryry*, usually interpreted as childless (20:19–21).

Hanging, imprisonment, and torture are not generally used as punishments in the ANE legal systems. Hanging is to expose the corpse after death by some other means (CH 21; Deut 21:22–3). Prison is for detention pending trial or for political reasons (e.g., Gen 40:1–22; Lev 24:12; Jer 32:2–3). Torture, such as flaying alive, was used by the Assyrians in warfare against recalcitrant vassals but not in a domestic context.

Of the penalties involving revenge, only death for murder appears to have been personally carried out by the avenger. MAL gives a husband the right to mutilate his wife but under the supervision of an official (A 58).

### G. Summary and Conclusions

A crime was conceived of in the ANE as a wrong against a person or a god for which the victim was entitled to revenge. The role of the court was confined to setting a limit on human revenge and to forestalling divine revenge on the society by adopting appropriate measures against the culprit. To determine the proper limit on revenge was the foremost task of Mesopotamian jurisprudence, whose learning was received into the surrounding systems, including that of biblical Israel.

The modern conception of crime as a wrong against society which is to be suppressed by impersonal punishment is derived ultimately from the jurisprudence of classical Greece. In postbiblical rabbinic jurisprudence, where Mesopotamian science gave way to Greek, the adoption of this new conception led in turn to a radical reinterpretation of the biblical texts. The later biblical codes do foreshadow this development with their characterization of certain wrongs against the person also as polluting sins against God. But they are still anchored in the conceptions of the ANE.

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RAYMOND WESTBROOK

**PUNITES** [Heb *pûnî* (**פּוּנִי**)]. Clan descended from Puvah, who was a son of Issachar (Num 26:23).

The term "Punites" is a gentilic adjective derived from the name "Puvah" used with the article as a collective name. The Sam. Pent., LXX, Syr, and Vg preserve different spellings of these names, which transliterated would be Puah and Puites. While these readings provide a closer correspondence between the names than Puvah and Punites of the MT, this does not mean that they are earlier or better readings (Barthélemy et al. 1979: 253).

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**PUNON** (PLACE) [Heb *pûnōn* (פּוּנֹן)]. A place in the Wadi ʿArabah (Num 33:42–43). The place is generally identified with Gk *Phainô*, the present *Faynân*, the center of copper mining and smelting activities in the Chalcolithic period, the EB Age, the Iron Age, and the late Roman and early Byzantine periods, as well as an Edomite (7th–5th centuries B.C.) and Roman-Byzantine town See also FEINAN, WADI.

Punon is primarily not the name of a settlement, but the name of a district. The name can be interpreted by Arabic *faynân*, "to have long, beautiful hair." Like "Sëir" (literally: "the hairy one"), Feinan refers to a region according to its vegetation: trees, grass, and reed. Typologically, the name may go back as far as to the 4th or 3d millennia B.C. (Knauf 1987). "Punon" derives from **Pônôn* (by dissimilation of the first *ô*), which in turn derives from **Pânân* (by the common "Canaanite" shift *â* > *ô*), which can be regarded as a dialectical variant of **Paynân.* Punon is not a scribal error for Pinon (Gen 36:41; 1 Chr 1:52; and a variant reading in Num 33:42–43; cf. Weippert 1971: 433–434); as early as in the 13th century B.C. Rameses II mentions *pwnw* (that is, **Pûnô* or **Pônô;* cf. for the loss of the final *n* the Gk name *Phainô*) as one of the regions inhabited by Shasu, "nomads" (Görg 1982).

The itinerary through the Wadi ʿArabah, on which Num 33:36–43 is based, may derive from the Persian period (Knauf 1988: 54). In analogy to the Edomite occupation at Buṣeirah, Ṭawîlân, and Tell el-Kheleifeh (Parr 1988: 49), the Edomite settlement at Feinân could have extended into the 5th century B.C.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**PURAH** (PERSON) [Heb *purâ* (פֻּרָה)]. Servant (Heb *naʿar*, "boy, lad") of Gideon who went with Gideon to spy on the Midianite camp (Judg 7:10–11). His function was probably that of shield and weapon bearer (cf. Judg 9:54; 1 Sam 14:1, 6; Boling *Judges* AB, 146). The meaning of his name is not certain. One suggestion is that it is related to the Ar *furrun*, "to be better, imposing." Another is that it is simply defectively written (i.e., the vowel letter omitted) for *pûrâ*, "winepress trough" (*HALAT*, 908). The LXX and Josephus vocalize the name as Gk *Phara*, with an *a* and not a *u*, possibly indicating the Heb root *prh*, "to be fruitful."

KIRK E. LOWERY

**PURIM** [Heb *pûrîm* (פּוּרִים)]. See ESTHER, BOOK OF.

**PURPLE.** The Hebrew and Greek terms underlying the rendering "purple" refer to hues ranging from red to dark purple. Because of this color range and a variety of blending and other techniques involved in the production of "purple" dye, it is necessary to take account of such related renderings as "crimson" (Isa 1:18) and "scarlet." Since it is impossible to attain certainty as to the precise hue that an ancient author had in mind in a particular text, any color specifications here made are merely proximate.

The Hebrew words translated as "purple" in the RSV are *ʾargāmān* (cognate to Aram *ʾargwān* [Dan 5:7, 16, 29; 2 Chr 2:6—Eng2:7]), *tôlaʿ* (only Lam 4:5; "crimson," Isa 1:18), and *tĕkēlet* (only Ezek 23:6; "blue" [fabric], 2 Chr 2:6—Eng2:7, 14; 3:14). The RSV reserves the translation equivalent "scarlet" for Heb *šānî* and "scarlet stuff" for the phrase *tôlaʿat šānî* (Exod 25:4, etc.; note Num 4:8, "scarlet").

The word *ʾargāmān* is common to Northwest Semitic (Aram *ʾargwān*, Ug *ʾarmn*) and East Semitic (Akk *argamannu*), and Heb *tŭkēlet* is cognate to Akk *takiltu*, frequently (with *tabarru*) designating blue-purple or violet-blue wool. The Greek equivalent of *ʾargāmān* is *porphyra* (Lat *purpura*, hence "purple");

the equivalents of *tĕkēlet* are *hyakinthos, hyakinthinos* (*phoinikoun* at Isa 1:18); the phrase *tôlaʿat šānî* is rendered by Gk *kokkinon.*

The sources of "purple" dyes included especially marine snails of the class Gastropoda, from which was extracted a rich pigment corresponding generally to Heb *ʾargāmān* (a red purple) and *tĕkēlet* (a violet purple). From the dried bodies of females of the scale insect called the kermes *(Kermes illicis)* was extracted kermesic acid, a bright red dye (cf. Heb *tôlaʿ*, "worm"). See also ZOOLOGY.

*Rubia tinctorum,* an herbaceous perennial, was the source of a cheaper imitation dye known as madder that found frequent use in Egypt and in the classical world (cf. Pliny *HN* 24.4; Dioskourides 4.46; Strabo 13.4.14 [630], described as competitor with kermes and sea purple; 12.8.16 [578], with special reference to the raven black hue of Laodicean and Colossian wool; Vitruvius 7.14.1–2). Other vegetable dyes in the red-purple color range included henna, alkanet, archil (orseille or litmus), and "dragon's blood" (which was derived from the rattan palm), woad, and indigo.

Displaying nuances of shade from blood red to blue black, with exposure to the sun a principal factor in alteration of the "primitive" hue, the most highly prized was sea purple, extracted from various genera and species of carnivorous marine snails, including *Murex brandaris* (Pliny: "pelagia," common at Tyre), which produced a deep blue violet, isolated by Friedländer (1909) as dibromindigo; *Murex trunculus* (Pliny: "purpura"; a shell common to the Mediterranean region), which supplied a scarlet red; *Helix ianthina*, productive of a violet dye; and *Purpura lapillus.* In Tarentum, Sicily, a hill called Monte Testaccio is composed of brandaris and trunculus shells. Dye produced from the *Murex brandaris* was colorfast and permitted washing of garments; Cicero (*Flac.* 29[70]), snidely notes that Decianus could look the peak of fashion with but one set of garments. Various shades were secured through blending and other processes, many of the details of which belong to the undivulged secrets of the ancient world; but some conception of resources used by imitators for production of cheaper grades can be derived from later recipes that are associated with Bolus of Mendes in the Leyden and Stockholm papyri (see Rostovtzeff 1953: 1225–26 and Ploss 1962: 37–39). The startling alterations in color that took place in dyeing processes induced alchemists to search for mutations in metals, a quest that led to forgeries under the name of Demokritos. That the ancient dyers did not gather the various species haphazardly is confirmed by the fact that numerous shell heaps can be identified in terms of a specific type of murex. Garments dyed with sea purple were termed *conchyliatae vestes* in Rome. Martial sarcastically alludes to a lingering odor in the dyed clothing of one of his targets (*Epigrams* 1.49.32; 2.16.3).

Nuzi texts indicate that purple dye (Akk *kinahhu*) was processed as early as 1500 B.C.E. So prized was sea purple dye for its commercial value that the Hebrew term *ʾargāmān* acquired the sense of "tribute" in both Ugaritic and Hittite. Hittite sources reveal that such payment was made in the form of purple garments for the king, queen, crown prince, and ministers of the court.

The Greek word *phoenix* (red purple) is perhaps cognate with the name Phoenicia. Massive accumulations of shells of the purple-producing murex have been found in the neighborhood of Tyre. The prestige of Tyre in production of the dye was noted by the grammarian Pollux (1.45), who relates a Tyrian legend about its discovery by Heracles. Pliny (*HN* 5.76) and Strabo (16.2.23) report on the city's prestigious reputation for the production of purple. According to 2 Chr 2:3, 7 Solomon asked Huram, king of Tyre, to send skilled workers in purple. An amazing statement in Ezek 27:7 suggests that Tyre had competitors in the purple-textile industry whose wares even graced some of her ships (cf. v 16), and Pausanias (3.21.6) reports that after the Phoenician the best shellfish for purple dye were to be found on the coast of Laconia: at Bulis half of the inhabitants, he states (10.37.3), were involved in the production of purple dye. There is no convincing evidence that purple was a status symbol in Egypt prior to the Greco-Roman period, when its use became widespread during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (283–246).

Apart from its brilliance when exposed to the sun, sea purple was highly prized for its colorfastness; and among the favored hues developed by dyers was the Tyrian shade of congealed blood (Homer's "blood of purple hue"), which at first sight appeared to be black but glistened in the light. According to Pliny the Elder, the most expensive quality of purple garment was Tyrian *dibapha*, "double-dipped," which at one

time cost 1000 denarii a pound (*HN* 9.137), apparently not an unreasonable sum; for it is estimated that 12,000 *Murex brandaris* would have been needed to produce 1.4 grams of crude dye (Friedländer 1909: 765–70, but details on probable shortcuts in the ancient technology are lacking). Martial (*Epigrams* 8.10) writes about a Tyrian cloak that sold for 10,000 sesterces. But the *amethystina* grade vied with Tyre's *dibapha* (cf. Martial *Epigrams* 2.57.2). In Aurelian's time the highest quality of purple dye was termed *blatta*, "oxblood." People of average means had to be content with imitations that were made from dyes derived from a variety of animals, minerals, or vegetables. From the text of Acts 16:14 it is not possible to determine that Lydia limited her sale to luxury items or to a specific clientele.

The prestige value of purple garments predates the Exodus. Ugaritic texts point to its importance in international relations as early as the 14th century. In the *Iliad* (8.221) Homer depicts Agamemnon in a purple cloak, and Hector's ashes are deposited in an urn that is covered with purple garments (24.796). According to the *Odyssey* (8.84), Penelope gave her husband a purple cloak when he left for Troy. The writer of Judges (8:26) assumes that the kings of Midian must have worn purple. Ezek 23:6 and 27:24 describe Assyrian governors and commanders as clothed in purple for their military operations. King Solomon's palanquin had a cushion of purple (Cant 3:10). King Belshazzar, frightened by a moving hand writing on his palace wall, promised to clothe in purple and at the same time to put third in command of the empire any one of his wise men who could read and interpret the writing (Dan 5:7). When Xerxes made Mordecai a courtier, he clothed him in purple (Esth 8:15 [LXX]; cf. 1 Macc 10:20, 62, 64; 11:57, of Jonathan's recognition by Alexander Balas, later Antiochus VI; and 14:41–44, of Simon honored by King Demetrius and the Jewish people). Plutarch records that the urn which contained the ashes of Demetrius the Great was "resplendent in its shroud of royal purple" (*Demetrios* 52.2). And Hellenistic monarchs followed the Persian and Macedonian practice of retaining an entourage of advisers whom they honored with distinctive purple garb. Livy appears to echo the custom in his use of the term *purpurati*, "wearers of purple" (see, e.g., 30.42.6). Josephus (*Ant* 14.173) notes that in 47 B.C. Herod wore purple.

Loss of status could be symbolized by stripping a disgraced person, such as Andronicus, one of King Antiochus' nobles (2 Macc 4.38), of his purple robe. Luke's story about the rich man and beggar Lazarus (16:19–31) contains the revealing touch that the former wore purple, and the evangelist dramatizes his loss of status by celebrating the ascent of Lazarus. On the other hand, soldiers make a mockery of Jesus' status by dressing him in purple (Mark 15:17; John 19:2; for which Matt 27:28 uses the term *kokkinē* [*chlamys*], suggesting a cheaper garment).

The popularity of purple extended far beyond royal courts. If the Masoretic Text is to be followed at Prov 13:21, a woman prized for virtue and wisdom clothes her entire household in purple. The Persian custom of wearing purple invaded Greece to such an extent that even philosophers such as Empedocles and the Sophists Hippias of Elis and Gorgias of Leontini adopted purple dress (Aelian, *VH* 12.32; Apuleius, *Flor.* 9). But it remained for Alexander to give the color "worldwide currency as a status symbol" (Reinhold 1970). Plutarch (*Eumenes* 8.7) relates that Alexander's secretary, Eumenes of Cardia, distributed purple felt hats and cloaks to his Macedonian bodyguard. Diogenes Laertius (8.47) reports that a long-haired boxer named Pythagoras wore a garment dyed "sea purple." In Italy the use of purple developed to such an extent from the 3d century on that it became available on the open market (cf. *P. Cairo Zenon* 59069.8.20; 59630.3; 59696.4, in reference to scarlet ribbons, *kokkinai tainiai;* somewhat later, *P. Tebt.* 112, cols. 6–13, 112 B.C.E.; 117.38–39, 99 B.C.E.; 120.3–4, in reference to two veils, *porphyroun* and *kokkinon*, 97 or 64 B.C.E.). A major factor in its spread was the repeal—over Cato's objections—in 195 B.C.E. of the Oppian Law, whose provisions included restriction of the use of purple (Livy 34.1–8). Inexpensive mineral and vegetable dyes (see, e.g., Pliny *HN* 16.77), contributed to the popularity of the color purple. From the time of Cicero, beginning with his *Sest.* (57), reference is occasionally made to "royal purple," but there is no imitation that the use of the color was restricted to royal personages, although Nero limited sale of the two highest grades, *amethystina* and *Tyria* (Suet. *Ner.* 32.3).

As a badge of wealth and luxury spending (cf. Prov 31:22) and because of its association in the popular consciousness with tyranny and decadence, purple became the target of social criticism that crossed

centuries and cultures. The comic poet Anaxandrides thought King Cotys' spreading of purple rugs in the Thracian capital for his daughter's wedding was a ridiculous luxury (Athenaios 4.131a). Cicero pilloried Verres for his extravagance in the use of purple (*Verr.* 2.2.72.716; 2.5.31.86, 137; 4.26.59). Lucretius referred to purple and gold in his assault on growing ambition for power and wealth (2.20–36, 51–52, 501 [of Meliboian purple from the coast of Thessaly]; 5.1423–29, 14.27–29; cf. Verg. *G.* 2.495). Affecting simplicity, Horace renounced the wearing of purple (*Carm.* 1.35.12; 2.18.8; 3.1.42). In numerous diatribes against conspicuous consumption by the rich and famous, Seneca decries the wearing of purple, the *color improbus* (see, e.g., *Ep.* 16.8; 76.31; 94.70; cf. Martial *Epigrams* 12.63.4–5; 14.133, 154). Similar garb is attributed in Rev 17:4 to the "great whore" (the ironical point being made that according to Roman law she ought to be wearing a toga, cf. Martial 2.39) and the "great city" (18:16), apparently in contrast to the white garments that are characteristic of God's people. It is of further interest that the whore sits on a "scarlet" beast (17:3). Plutarch (*Lykourgos* 13 = *Mor.* 997d) reminds his public that in the time of Lykourgos Sparta forbade the use of purple. From time to time politicians felt the public pulse. Polybius (10.26.1) observes that Philip of Macedon recognized the hazard in distancing himself from the populace through such apparel, and on a return to Argos after celebrating the Nemean games he laid it aside to "show that he did not consider himself better than the people." In related vein, Judas Maccabeus learned that the Roman Senate, 320 in number, disdained the wearing of purple (1 Macc 8:14–15). Threatened by mutiny of his mercenary troops, Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse, doffed his purple and went about garbed as an ordinary citizen (Diodoros of Sicily 20.34.3). But resistance waned in the public domain. So rampant was the desire for the color purple in the 2d century C.E. that people dreamed about purple (cf. Artem. *Oneirokritika* 1.77; 2.3.) Christian leaders joined Greco-Roman social critics in condemnation of enervating luxury. Clement of Alexandria (*Paidagogos* 2.10.108–9, 114–15), in apparent echo of Cicero's tirades in the Verrine Orations, castigated both men and women for their craze for purple robes and veils.

Apart from association of purple with tyranny, Aeschylus' censure of the conqueror of Troy for walking on a carpet dyed sea purple (*Ag.* 946; cf. 910, 957) relates to Agamemnon's guilt of hybris, whereby he invites his own doom. Alexander apparently took heed after his capture of Tyre, for he amazed Darius of Persia by appearing at the time only in white.

Ugaritic texts include the first extant reference to the use of purple in religious ceremony. In Greece, Sappho (66.8–9; 82.8; 87) views gifts of purple garments as a fitting tribute to deities. Artemis Brauronia was the recipient of a variety of such gifts dedicated by women after childbirth (see, e.g., *IG* $II^2$ 1514–18, 1521–25). Purple was featured in Israel's tabernacle (Exod 26:1, 31, 36; 27:16; 36:8). Images of foreign deities were frequently adorned with purple (Jer 10:9). In the *Epistle of Jeremiah* (v 71) idols are satirized for their wearing of rotting purple. Purple was prescribed for the liturgical vestments of Israel's priests (Exod 28:5–8; 39:1–5). The use of purple in sacerdotal garments during the post-Alexander period is documented by Plutarch (*Aratus* 53.4) and Athenaios (7.289c). Concerning a priest of Kybele named Bittaches, from Pessinus in Asia Minor, we are told that he came to Rome about 103 B.C.E. in a bizarre costume of many colors (Diodoros of Sicily 36.13; Plutarch *Marius* (17.5). According to the Dead Sea *War Scroll* (10M 7.10–11), purple was one of the colors in the liturgical battle garb of priests.

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**PUT** (PERSON) [Heb *pûṭ* (פּוּט)]. According to the genealogies in the Table of Nations (Gen 10:6) and 1 Chr 1:8, Put is the third son of Ham, son of Noah, and brother of Cush (Ethiopia), Mizraim (Egypt), and Canaan. He is the only one of these people without a record of the next generation in these genealogies. Five additional verses refer to Put, being the descendants of Noah's grandson. In each case, they are identified as warriors. Three times they are allies or supporters of Egypt, along with Cush and Lud in North Africa (Jer 46:9), and also Arabia, Cub, and Israel itself ("sons of the land of the covenant"; Ezek 30:5). Nah 3:8 points back to the conquest of Thebes in 668 B.C. This took place, in spite of the combined power of Ethiopia and Egypt, with the support of the men from Libya and Put. Put's soldiers also aided Tyre (Ezek 27:10) and Gog (38:5) but always in vain. The evidence of soldiers from Put in so many armies could indicate that the nation was a well-known source of mercenaries.

The identification of Put is debated. Somalia, Eg *pun.t*, has been suggested (see Westermann 1984: 511; Simons *GTTOT*, 75). The LXX and Vg of the Ezekiel passages, as well as Jer 46:9 (26:9 in the LXX), read Put as Libya. This corresponds to the Old Persian *putiya*, Babylonian *puṭa*, which in Eg was *T*ꜣ *Ṯmḥw*, Libya (*NBD*, 1003). This identification could cause difficulties in Nah 3:8 if that verse is read as listing two separate peoples, Put and Lub (Libya). Simons suggested that since Cush (Ethiopia) and Mizraim (Egypt) refer to the same people at this period, with Ethiopia dominating Egypt during the 25th Dyn. (ca. 716–664 B.C.), Put and Lub could also be identified. This is grammatically possible since each of the toponymic pairs is joined by the Heb conjunction "and," which can have an explicative function. This is not rare in the OT and would lead to a translation of "i.e." or "that is" (Baker 1980), which would solve the problem in Nahum.

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**PUTEOLI** (PLACE) [Gk *Potioloi* (Ποτιολοι)]. A city visited by Paul on his journey to Rome (Acts 28:13). Puteoli (modern Pozzuoli; 40°49′ N; 14°7′ E) was a port city of ancient Campania on the W coast of Italy located on the N shore of the Gulf of Naples. Puteoli was ringed by a series of volcanic hills, and the name of the city, meaning "sulfur springs," is derived from this geological situation. The volcanic dust (called *pozzolana* in modern Italian), which contributed to the sulfurous atmosphere, produced a cement that resisted seawater when mixed with lime.

The earliest Greek settlement in the W seas was established sometime before the middle of the 8th century on the island of Pithecusae, just N of the Bay of Naples. Pottery confirms that the first colonists

were from Chalcis and Eretria. It was not long before many of the settlers moved to a site on an acropolis on the opposite mainland where a native population had been importing Greek pottery. This new foundation was named Cumae after a city of the same name located on the E coast of Euboea. Although the Italian Cumae was a stronghold, the city had no harbor. Ships had to be hauled onto the sand below the acropolis. When trade began to prosper, the citizens of Cumae occupied the harbor just inside the promontory, establishing the town of Dicaearchia (later known as Puteoli) and, farther E, Naples (Strabo 5.4.5f.).

Puteoli was conquered by the Samnites in 421 B.C.E., but there is a paucity of evidence until Campania came under Roman control in ca. 334 B.C.E. The Romans garrisoned the town in 215 B.C.E. and renamed it Puteoli. The following year the Romans defeated Hannibal at Puteoli (Livy 24.7.10–12; 12.1–13.7). In 199 B.C.E. Puteoli received a Roman customs station and was made a Roman maritime colony in 194 B.C.E. Sulla or Augustus may have conferred further colonial status on Puteoli, and Nero and Vespasian certainly did so. Vespasian substantially enlarged the city's territory.

Trade flourished in Puteoli under the Romans, enhanced by a newly fortified harbor and connected with Rome by a series of roads (discussed below). The harbor was protected by a breakwater, the Augustan opus pilarum (115–16 m × 372 m), which carried 15 enormous masonry piers, with at least one triumphal arch, columns topped by statues, a lighthouse, and an architectural ship's prow at the end (Strabo 5.4.6). The remains are embedded in the modern breakwater. The emporium stretched for 1.25 miles along the shore to the W of the mole.

Puteoli was naturally divided into an upper and lower city. Among the remains in the lower city are the great macellum, formerly known as the temple (or baths) of Serapis, and the temple of Augustus. Other monuments of the lower town are depicted on glass vases and engravings produced in Puteoli. The upper town was residential and recreational. A small Augustan amphitheater and a great Flavian amphitheater were situated in upper Puteoli. The Flavian complex was the third largest amphitheater in Italy seating as many as 60,000 spectators. It was constructed at the expense of the citizens of Puteoli during the reign of Vespasian. The baths of Trajan (or Janus), which may have been the same complex as the so-called temple of Neptune (or Diana), were also situated in upper Puteoli. The city was plundered to supply building materials for the cathedrals of Salerno and Pisa.

Oriental goods from Egypt and Palestine and most importantly grain from Egypt were imported through Puteoli (Suetonius *Aug.* 98.1–10; Strabo 17.1.7; Seneca *Epistulae morales* 77.1f.). Export trade included oil, fine wine, glassware, early imperial terra sigillata, and probably Republican black (Campanian) pottery. Alexandria's close trade connections with Puteoli began at the end of the Second Punic War (201 B.C.E.) and lasted until the city's prominence was eclipsed in the 2d and 3d centuries C.E.

Puteoli's population of 65,000 was entrepreneurial and highly cosmopolitan. A number of oriental cults were found in the city including those of Serapis (105 B.C.E.), Cybele, Jupiter Dolichenus, Bellona, Dusares, I. O. M. Heliopolitanus, in addition to the usual Greco-Roman and imperial worship. Puteoli was also one of the earliest Italian cities to have a sizable Jewish population (Josephus *Ant* 17.328; 18.160; *CIL* 10.1893; 10.1971). There is also an intriguing tombstone of a Puteolian Jewish freedman named Acibas, who was an agent for his master's iron mines and vineyards (*CIL* 10.1931; *CII* 1.75).

There is epigraphical evidence for trade connections between the Greeks of Palestine and Puteoli (*CIL* 10.1746). Jewish merchants were also organized in a closely knit Mediterranean trade cooperative in which Jews from Puteoli and Alexandria played an integral role (cf. 3 Macc. 3:10). After the battle of Pydna and the decline of Rhodes (167 B.C.E.) a triangular trade developed between Alexandria, Delos, and Puteoli. The extent to which Jewish merchants were involved, specifically in the Alexandrian grain trade, cannot be determined, despite the allegations of Josephus (*AgAp* 2.64). There is evidence, however, that the Jewish alabarchs of Alexandria held credits in Puteoli during the reign of Tiberius (see Josephus *Ant* 18.159–60 for the incident between Agrippa I and the Alexandrian alabarch Alexander).

Sometime after Herod's death, a charlatan called Alexander appeared and deceived Jewish inhabitants of Crete and Puteoli of considerable funds. The imposter claimed to be the son of Herod and Mariamme the Hasmonean in order to finance his trip to Italy (Josephus *Ant* 17.327–28; *JW* 2.103–4). In 39/40 C.E.

the Jewish-Alexandrian delegation led by Philo met with Gaius (Caligula) in Puteoli about injustices they suffered in Egypt. It was in Puteoli that the delegation first learned of Gaius' command that a statue of himself was to be placed in the temple in Jerusalem (see Philo *Gaium* 184–348; Josephus *Ant* 18.261–309; and *JW* 2.184–203).

Commerce and travelers went from Puteoli to Naples and then to Capua, where the Via Appia (built ca. 312 B.C.E.) led to Rome, 132 miles away. The Via Latina was a heavily traveled alternative route which went from Casilinum (just outside Capua) to Rome. In order to ease the difficulties of travel on the pre-Sullan road between Puteoli and Naples, the Crypta Neapolitana, a tunnel 750 m in length, was constructed (see Seneca *Ep. Luc.* 57.1–2) and improved by Nerva and Trajan. Nero attempted to join Puteoli with the Tiber by means of a canal. In 95 C.E. Domitian constructed the Via Domitiana, a less costly alternative, which went along the Campanian coast from Puteoli to Sinuessa (modern Mondragone), where it joined the Via Appia.

When Paul's ship landed in Puteoli, he found Christians (probably Jewish converts) living in the city. He stayed with the converts seven days before journeying to Rome by way of Capua and the Via Appia (Acts 28:13–14). A similar journey to Rome is described in the apocryphal *Acts of Peter* 6 and seems to be implied in the *Acts of Paul.*

Although Claudius installed the port at Ostia, Puteoli continued to prosper through the 2d century C.E., followed by a gradual decline until the town was abandoned in the 6th century C.E. Puteoli, like other cities on the Bay of Naples, continued to be a favorite resort area; and the wealth is evident in the magnificence of the columbria, hypogea, and mausoleums in the region. In Christian times some tombs were reused for inhumations. Many of the villas in the region can still be seen, although some are now covered by the sea. Cicero had a villa in this region, as did Nero's mother, Agrippina the younger (see Tacitus *Ann.* 14.5; Seneca *Octavia*).

SCOTT T. CARROLL

**PUTHITE** [Heb *pûtî* (פּוּתִי)]. One of four families from Kiriath-jearim located on Judah's N border with Benjamin and Dan (1 Chr 2:53). This clan within the tribe of Judah is connected with Shobal, Hur, and Caleb. Shobal is credited with the formation of Kiriath-jearim, earlier called Kiriath-baal (Josh 15:60; 18:14). That the genealogy in 1 Chr 2:50–55 was associated with Ephrathah and the district to the N and SW is clear from the place names mentioned. The three regions connected with the sons of Hur were Kiriath-jearim, Bethlehem, and Beth-gader, plus the surrounding areas, some of which cannot be identified (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 16). At least vv 53–55 probably derive from a pre-Chronistic source (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 38, 42). Although a pair of David's mighty men belonged to the Ithrite family (2 Sam 23:38 = 1 Chr 11:40), there exists no further information about the Puthites or for that matter about the other two groups, the Mishraites and the Shumathites. The collective noun *pûtî* is a gentilic form of **pût.*

EDWIN C. HOSTETTER

**PUTI-EL** (PERSON) [Heb *pûṭî·ēl* (פּוּטִיאֵל)]. The father-in-law of Aaron's son Eleazar; hence also the maternal grandfather of Phinehas (Exod 6:25). Earlier scholars tended to connect the name with Syr *pûṭ*, "to scorn or deride." In such a case Puti-el would mean "scorned by God." Most moderns, however, consider it to have originated from Egyptian. Foreign names are attested for Israelites more than once in the OT. One finds, for example, the series of Egyptian names among members of the tribe of Levi. The associated *pwṭy·l* would be a hybrid form (Noth, *IPN*, 63), built on a pair of Egyptian words (p€ dy) plus the Hebrew *·el.* One may compare the names Poti-phar and Potiphera and their Egyptian equivalent *p€ -dy-p€ -R‹*, "the one whom Re has given" (Ranke 1935–77: 1.123; cf. Kornfeld 1978: 87–89). "Puti-el" would then signify "the one whom El has given." Since *pûṭ*, "scorn," does not appear elsewhere in Hebrew, and since many names in the Exodus account show Egyptian influence, the Egyptian etymology seems more likely.

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**PUVAH** (PERSON) [Heb *pūwwâ* (פֻּוָּה)]. Var. PUAH. PUNITES. The second of the four sons of Issachar (Gen 46:13). Puvah was the grandson of Jacob and Leah, and his name was included in the list of the seventy people who descended with Jacob and his family to Egypt (Gen 46:8–27). According to the second census list mentioned in the book of Numbers, Puvah became the eponymous ancestor of the Punites, one of the clans of Issachar (Num 26:23). However, at this point the Versions depart from the MT. The Sam. Pent., the LXX (Num 26:19 in the LXX), and other versions identify him as Puah (Heb *pu*ʿ*â*) and indicate that he became the ancestor of the Punites. In the genealogical list of the descendants of Issachar available to the Chronicler, which was based on the material found in Numbers 26, his name is also listed as Puah (1 Chr 7:1).
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**PYRRHUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Pyrros* (Πυρρος)]. The father of Sopater, who, according to Acts, was a companion of Paul on his final journey to Jerusalem (Acts 20:4).

The name is derived from the Greek word for fire *(pyr)* and means "fiery red." It is not found in some mss, and this led Ropes (1926: 191) to conjecture that it had arisen from a repetition with alteration of *patros* at the end of Sopater's name. Its deletion gives the mention of Sopater a certain symmetry with the other names in the list of Paul's companions, but the weight of textual evidence is for its inclusion.

The mention of personal names and family relationships probably reflects local or personal interest in these people at some stage in the development of a tradition (cf. Mark 15:21). But since this list is pre-Lukan, it cannot be assumed that these people were known by either the final author of Acts or his readers. See also SOPATER.

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**PYTHAGOREANISM.** A philosophical and religious movement founded by Pythagoras of Samos in S Italy in the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. Various claims have been made concerning Pythagorean influence on intertestamental Judaism and the NT, only a few of which can be substantiated by concrete evidence. After a brief description of the Pythagorean tradition, we will examine some of these claims in more detail.

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A. The Pythagorean Tradition
1. Early Pythagoreanism
2. The Hellenistic Period
3. Neopythagoreanism
B. Judaism and Early Christianity
1. Hellenistic and Palestinian Judaism
2. New Testament
3. Early Christianity
4. Conclusion

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**A. The Pythagorean Tradition**

The history of Pythagoreanism can be divided into three periods, namely, Early Pythagoreanism, the Hellenistic period, and Neopythagoreanism.

**1. Early Pythagoreanism.** Our most important sources for early Pythagoreanism are accounts by Aristotle, his student Aristoxenus, and the historian Timaeus of Tauromenium. Most of these accounts are only extant in texts from late antiquity, especially in the various biographies by Pythagoras that became

very popular in the imperial period. Most important of these texts are D.L. 8.1–50, Porphyry *The Life of Pythagoras*, and Iamblichus *On the Pythagorean Life.*

The most helpful and comprehensive recent discussions of early Pythagoreanism are those by Guthrie (1962), von Fritz (PW 47: 171–268), van der Waerden (PWSup; 1979), Burkert (1972; 1985: 296–304), and Kirk, Raven, and Schofield (1983).

**a. The Pythagorean Life.** The Pythagorean community was famous in later antiquity for its communal living and sharing. This did not apply equally to all members, however. A distinction was made between esoteric and exoteric members: the former shared totally in the Pythagorean life, while the latter kept less strict ritual and dietary observances and were less involved in the esoteric doctrines of the sect. A period of rigorous and extended probation was required before a candidate was accepted as a full member of the community. At that point he had to take a solemn oath not to reveal any of the Pythagorean doctrines.

The esoteric Pythagoreans dressed in white linen and followed a strict daily regimen which included prayer and meditation, physical exercises, discussions of their doctrines, and a common evening meal. They were forbidden to eat beans and certain kinds of meat. Great emphasis was laid on various purificatory rites, which included a daily bath.

**b. Pythagorean Doctrine.** Pythagoras himself did not leave any writings, and it is therefore difficult to ascertain which teachings originated with him. According to a testimony in Porph. *VP* 18 that probably can be attributed to Aristotle's student Dicaearchus, Pythagoras taught the immortality and the transmigration of the soul, the eternal cyclic recurrence of events, and the kinship of all living things.

Since Pythagorean doctrines were not committed to writing, oral tradition played an important role in the transmission of their teaching. Apart from anecdotes about the life of Pythagoras, teachings were transmitted in the form of *akousmata*, that is, orally transmitted maxims and sayings, also known as symbols because of their allegedly secret nature. The *akousmata* are mainly concerned with a ritual piety, and together they form a catechism that regulated every aspect of the Pythagorean's life (for a comprehensive list see Burkert 1972: 170–73; for discussion, 166–92). In both doctrine and ritual Pythagoreanism shared many characteristics with ORPHISM, and it may indeed be possible to speak of a Pythagorean variant of Orphism (Burkert 1972: 125–33).

**c. Pythagorean Science.** In keeping with the Presocratic interest in the basic substance of the universe, the Pythagoreans postulated number as the fundamental principle. The extent of their scientific discoveries and contributions is a matter of dispute; but we know that they studied mathematics, music, and astronomy (Burkert 1972: 299–482; van der Waerden 1979: 323–480).

Both ritualistic and scientific facets of the Pythagorean movement had as their ultimate goal to bring man into closer contact with God under the slogan *hepou theō*, "follow God."

**2. The Hellenistic Period.** We have very little evidence that Pythagoreanism continued after the time of Archytas of Tarentum (ca. 380 B.C.). It is quite probable, however, that there were individuals and perhaps even small groups throughout the Hellenistic period who considered themselves to be Pythagoreans and who preserved the Pythagorean dietary and ritual regulations (PW 47: 268–70; van der Waerden 1979: 269–71).

Be that as it may, during the Hellenistic period a spate of Pseudopythagorean writings made their appearance, most of them under the name of some ancient Pythagorean (Thesleff 1961; 1965). These writings cover a wide variety of subjects and are heavily influenced by Academic and/or Peripatetic doctrines. Most scholars date them at the very end of the Hellenistic period, that is, in the 1st century B.C. and later, although Thesleff (1961) has argued that some of them may be as early as the 4th century B.C. and that few, if any, are later than the 1st century B.C.

**3. Neopythagoreanism.** From the 1st century B.C. onward there was a revival of interest in Pythagoreanism. The polymath Nigidius Figulus (100–45 B.C.), the philosophers Quintus Sextius (fl. under Augustus), Sotion the younger of Alexandria (a teacher of Seneca), Moderatus of Gades (end of 1st century A.D.), Nicomachus of Gerasa (fl. ca. A.D. 100), Numenius of Apamea (fl. ca. A.D. 150), and the wandering prophet and miracle worker Apollonius of Tyana (1st century A.D.) all considered themselves Pythagoreans.

A subterranean basilica, richly decorated with frescoes depicting mythological scenes that symbolize the ascent of the soul, was discovered in 1917 near the Porta Maggiore in Rome; it probably formed the venue of a Roman Pythagorean sect during the reign of Claudius (Carcopino 1927). Further archaeological evidence for the existence of Pythagoreans during this period is furnished by an inscription from Asia Minor dating from the 1st century A.D. Apart from an epigram with a reference to Pythagoras, it also contains a relief depicting a two-way schema, with Virtue *(aretē)* on the right and Dissipation *(asōtia)* on the left (Brinkmann 1911).

The basic features of Neopythagoreanism were an interest in arithmology, a belief in the transmigration of souls, and an emphasis on the need for the purification of the soul, which was accomplished through ascetic and theurgic practices. The doctrine of "following God" had become synonymous with the Platonic ideal of *homoiōsis theō*, "becoming like God."

**B. Judaism and Early Christianity**

Various points of contact between Pythagoreanism, on the one hand, and Judaism and Christianity, on the other, have been suspected.

**1. Hellenistic and Palestinian Judaism.** Very definite evidence of dependence on Pythagoreanism is to be found in Hellenistic Judaism.

**a. Hellenistic Jewish Apologetics.** True to the tendency in the apologetic movement to claim the dependence of Greek philosophy on Mosaic Judaism, some Hellenistic Jewish authors asserted that Pythagoras got many of his doctrines from Judaism. As early as the 3d century B.C. Hermippus of Smyrna, a student of Callimachus, cited with approval a tradition that Pythagoras had "imitated Jewish and Thracian doctrines and transferred them to himself." He then referred to three doctrines with somewhat obscure meanings: "Do not pass a place where an ass has defecated," "abstain from waters causing thirst," and "abstain from all blasphemy" (Jos. *AgAp* 1.22 §§162–65; Jacobson 1976; Gorman 1983: 32–36). Later, in the 2d century B.C., Aristobulus (frags. 3 and 4) also cited this tradition.

The few hexameter verses by "Pythagoras" on the unique creator to be found in [Just.] *monarch.* 2 may be still another attempt by a Hellenistic Jew to claim Pythagoras for Jewish concerns.

In traditions used by Iamblichus (*VP* 7–14; 44) which may be associated with Neanthes, attempts were even made to establish geographical links between Pythagoras and Judaism: Pythagoras was depicted as a native of Sidon "who had lived the live of an anchorite and prophet, like Elijah, atop Mt. Carmel in Palestine" (Gorman 1983: 37–40). More importantly, however, dependence can be shown going in the other direction.

**b. Aristobulus.** The first Jewish "philosopher" in Alexandria, Aristobulus (2d century B.C.), made use of Pythagorean arithmological doctrines to explain the significance of the number 7 (frag. 5; Hengel 1974, 1: 163–69).

**c. Wisdom of Solomon.** The author of Wisdom may have been influenced by the writings on kingship attributed to the Pythagoreans Diotogenes, Ecphantus, and Sthenidas (texts in Thesleff 1965: 71–75, 79–84, 187–88), although their dates are uncertain (Thesleff 1961: 65–71). Concepts that occur in Wisdom, such as that of God as universal ruler who cares for all men, of the just man as an imitator of the divine ruler, of divine prudence and beneficence, closely parallel ideas expressed in the Pythagorean tracts (Reese 1970: 73–79).

**d. Philo.** Philo had a very positive evaluation of Pythagoreans, referring to them as "the most saintly company" (*Quod omn* 2). Although there are only a dozen explicit references to Pythagoras or Pythagoreans in his writings (*Quaes Gen* 1.17; 1.99; 3.16; 3.49; 4.8; *Leg all* 1.15; *Op* 100; *Quod omn* 2; *Provid* 1.22; 2.42; *Anim* 62; *Aet* 12), he made extensive use of Pythagorean arithmological doctrines in his exegesis. His lost work, *On Numbers*, was probably dependent on a Pythagorean source text (Moehring 1978).

**e. Essenes.** Of the Essenes, a Jewish sect which lived W of the Dead Sea and which is nowadays usually identified with the Qumran community, Josephus (*Ant* 15.10.4 §371) explicitly asserted that they "observed the way of life that Pythagoras had taught among the Greeks." A number of scholars, notably Lévy (1927: 264–93), have therefore attempted to demonstrate that the sect was extensively influenced by

Pythagoreanism. Since the discovery of theQumran material, there has been less enthusiasm for this hypothesis (Hengel 1974, 1: 245), although Dupont-Sommer has argued that the discovery has only strengthened the hypothesis. According to him the similarities between the Essene/Qumran community and the Pythagoreans can only be explained by direct influence. Some of these similarities are the following: (1) Both communities practiced a communal life with no private property; (2) both groups had a solemn oath of initiation, but prohibited the taking of oaths otherwise; (3) both groups wore white linen exclusively; (4) both practiced asceticism; (5) both seemed to have paid special honor to the sun; (6) the calendar used by the Qumran community probably originated with the Pythagoreans; and (7) there may be an indication in 1QS 10:4 that the sect made use of Pythagorean arithmology (Dupont-Sommer 1955: 86–91). Apart from Dupont-Sommer's last argument, which is indeed based on a scribal error (Hengel 1974, 1: 246), none of the similarities mentioned are necessarily of Pythagorean origin; and all may be attributed to Hellenistic influence in general (Hengel 1974, 1: 243–47). Josephus' statement should therefore be regarded as *interpretatio Graeca.* See also ESSENES.

**2. New Testament.** Despite Lévy's claim that the Gospels were decisively influenced by legends about Pythagoras' life and doctrines (1927: 295–339), no Pythagorean element can with certainty be discerned in the NT. There are, however, a few cases where Pythagorean influence cannot be excluded completely.

**a. Gospels.** Much of Jesus' teaching, especially in the Sermon on the Mount, on oaths, marriage, revenge, and prayer, has elements in common with Pythagorean doctrines (Lévy 1927: 310–20). It has been suggested (Schattenmann 1979: 216–19) that the sayings about removing any part of the body that causes one to stumble (Mark 9:45; Matt 5:29–30; 19:11–12) may be directly influenced by a Pythagorean saying: "Banish by all means and cut off by fire and sword and every contrivance, illness from the body, ignorance from the soul, extravagance from the stomach, strife from the city, discord from the home, and likewise, immoderation from all things" (Iambl. *VP* 34). Similarities between other gnomic sayings in the Gospels and Pythagorean symbols relating to dietary laws have been pointed out by Grant (1980: 308–9), although he is careful not conclude that this implies direct dependence on Pythagoreanism.

**b. Acts.** The early Christian community in Jerusalem described in Acts 2:44–45 and 4:32 approximates the Pythagorean ideal of common property and harmonious friendship, although these characteristics were shared by all political utopias of Greek philosophy and were thus not specifically Pythagorean.

**c. Colossians.** The philosophy against which the author of Colossians warned his readers (Col 2:8, 16–23) may be a brand of Pythagoreanism. Schweizer has argued that the world view and way of life taught by this philosophy agree in many respects with the doctrine of the *Pythagorean Memoirs* cited by Alexander Polyhistor (D.L. 8.24–33). There is the same emphasis on the importance of the elements of the world, on the worship of heroes/angels, on the flight from this world to the world above, on purification by abstaining from some kinds of food and by baptism, and on mystical visions (Schweizer *An die Kolosser* EKKNT, 103–4, 217–18; van der Waerden 1979: 86–87).

**d. "Haustafeln."** The "HAUSTAFELN" or lists of household duties in Col 3:18–4:1; Eph 5:22–6:9; and 1 Pet 2:18–3:7 show some similarities to the various Pseudopythagorean *oikonomika* attributed to Bryson, Callicratides, Perictione, and Plinthys, although they do not agree sufficiently for us to postulate a direct dependence (Balch 1977). See also HOUSEHOLD CODES.

**3. Early Christianity.** Pythagoreanism was very influential among Christians of Alexandria from the 2d century A.D. onward. Its arithmological, metaphysical and ascetic doctrines fascinated not only gnostic Christian sects, but also somewhat more orthodox Christians like Clement of Alexandria and Origen (Grant 1971). A collection of Pythagorean ethical sayings, Christianized and circulating as *The Sentences of Sextus*, remained popular right into the Middle Ages (Edwards and Wild 1981).

**4. Conclusion.** Although Pythagoreanism had no more than a tangential influence on Hellenistic Judaism and early Christianity, its piety and strict ethics made it attractive to some Jews and Christians. It also bore sufficient resemblance to these movements to be used as a model to describe groups such as the Essenes and the early Jerusalem church.

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**PYTHON** [Gk *pythōn* (πυθων)]. See SLAVE GIRL AT PHILIPPI.

# Q

**Q (GOSPEL SOURCE).** "Q" (the abbreviation for German *Quelle,* "source") is the name scholars have given to the hypothetical source that would account for the gospel material (not found in Mark) that Matthew and Luke have in common.

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A. Nature of Q
   1. Existence
   2. Language
   3. Unity
B. Theology of Q
C. Sitz im Leben
D. Conclusion

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**A. Nature of Q**

**1. Existence.** Within the terms of the Two-Source theory as the solution to the SYNOPTIC PROBLEM, the agreements between the three Synoptic Gospels are accounted for in two ways. In most of the passages where all three gospels are parallel (the "triple tradition"), Matthew and Luke depend on Mark's gospel. In other parts of the tradition where Matthew and Luke are parallel (the "double tradition"), the agreements between those two gospels are explained by their dependence on common source material. This material is usually known as "Q."

Some have tried to dispense with Q as part of a wholesale rejection of the Two-Source theory in favor of the Griesbach hypothesis (Farmer 1964; Dungan 1970); others have retained the theory of Markan priority but have questioned whether one needs to posit a lost source Q to explain Matthew's agreements with Luke: Luke's dependence on Matthew might be an adequate explanation (Farrer 1955; Goulder 1978). Nevertheless, the majority of scholars today would favor a form of the Q hypothesis, rejecting for a variety of reasons the theory of Luke's dependence on Matthew. See SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

For those who would accept some form of the Q hypothesis, the extent of the Q material is reasonably clear. This material covers all the double tradition; it also includes some passages where there is a Markan parallel (the Temptation narrative, the Beelzebul controversy, the parable of the mustard seed and others), so that Mark and Q must have overlapped in places.

Consideration of the Markan tradition in Matthew and Luke shows that at times the latter evangelists omitted material from their Markan source. It is clearly possible that the same has happened with Q: some passages available to both evangelists may have been omitted by one (or both) of Matthew and Luke. Speculation about Q material which is in neither Matthew nor Luke is clearly futile. However, several have argued that in various cases, some passages which occur only in Matthew or Luke might be Q material which the other evangelist has omitted (Schürmann). Nevertheless, such theories must remain slightly speculative. Further, they usually depend quite heavily on a prior understanding of Q as a whole into which the passage in question fits easily. Such additions to Q would then not significantly alter the character of Q as a whole (Vassiliadis 1978). Most are therefore content to work with a fairly minimal definition of Q, i.e., as material common to Matthew *and* Luke, before possibly expanding this with an occasional Sondergut passage. Thus a widely acceptable starting point for discussion of Q would include the following verses: Luke 3:7–9, 16f.; 4:1–13; 6:20–23, 27–49; 7:1–10, 18–35; 9:57–60; 10:2–16, 21–24; 11:2–4, 9–20, 23–26, 29–35, 39–52; 12:2–12, 22–31, 33f., 39–46, 51–53, 57–59; 13:18–21, 23–30, 34–35; 14:16–24, 26–27, 34–35; 15:4–7; 16:13, 16–18; 17:3–4, 6, 23–24, 26–30, 33–37; 18:14; 19:12–27; 22:28–30 with the Matthean parallels (clearly with debates about individual verses, especially in the longer sections). (It has become customary to refer to verses in Q by referring to their Lukan references

only; this is in no way intended to prejudge the issue of whether Matthew or Luke has preserved the Q version more accurately.)

**2. Language.** The problem of the original language of Q has been discussed frequently. Some have claimed that the verbal differences between Matthew and Luke in Q material can often be explained as due to variant translations of an Aramaic original. Hence Q must have been an Aramaic source. Perhaps the most famous example is Matt 23:26/Luke 11:41, where the difference between Matthew's "cleanse" and Luke's "give alms" has been explained as due to a slight misunderstanding/misreading of an original Aramaic *dakkau* (= "cleanse"), being mistakenly read as *zakkau* (= "give alms"). Appeals have also been made to the Semitic nature of much of Q's language (Bussmann 1929; Bussby 1954).

It is doubtful if more than a very few cases of variation between Matthew and Luke can be explained in this way. The Semitic nature of Q's Greek does not demand an Aramaic Vorlage: influence from is quite conceivable in a Greek-speaking Jewish-Christian milieu. Many of the alleged translation variants turn out to be simply cases of synonyms, and the differences between Matthew and Luke can often be explained just as well as due to the redactional activity of the evangelists (Kloppenborg 1987). For example, in Luke 11:41, Luke's "give alms" may well be LkR (Lukan redaction), reflecting Luke's concern for almsgiving. In other parts of the Q material, the verbal agreement between Matthew and Luke amounts to virtual verbal identity in Greek (Luke 3:7–9; 11:9–10 and pars.). In these instances the measure of verbal agreement seems to demand a common Greek source. Further, some features of Q's Greek can be shown to be characteristic of a source originally written in Greek and uncharacteristic of translation Greek (Turner 1969). This suggests that much of the Q material was available to Matthew and Luke in Greek form. This leads to the question of whether the Q material should be regarded as a single source.

**3. Unity.** Even among those who would deny that Luke knew Matthew and hence would affirm that Matthew and Luke depend on common source material, there has always been dispute as to whether it is appropriate to think of this material as a single source, Q. Some have argued that the Q material never existed as a unified source prior to its inclusion by Matthew and Luke. "Q" may simply represent a mass of oral traditions. (Jeremias; Wrege). Others have pointed to the fact that Q apparently contained no passion narrative. Is it then credible to think of a written source containing a mass of Jesus traditions but no account of the passion? Further, Q seems to lack any formal structure, starting apparently with a strong narrative element but petering out into a mass of unrelated sayings (Farrer 1955). There is also the problem of the measure of verbal agreement between Matthew and Luke. In some instances Matthew and Luke are almost identical in Greek (Luke 3:7–9 and par.); at other times the verbal agreement is minimal (Luke 14:16–24; 19:12–27 and pars.) (Rosché 1960). Hence Bussmann's theory of two sources, one Greek and one Aramaic.

These arguments are not conclusive. The measure of variation in verbal agreement between Matthew and Luke in Q passages has been shown to be statistically comparable to the measure of verbal agreement between these two gospels in Markan passages (Carlston and Norlin 1971). It may be that Q was available to the evangelists in slightly different forms (a $Q^{mt}$ and a $Q^{lk}$) as it is sometimes not easy to account for all the differences between the gospels as due to MattR or LkR. But it remains uncertain how far it is necessary to make such an appeal. The theory that Q represents a mass of oral traditions does not account for the common order in Q material, which can be discerned once Matthew's habit of collecting related material into his large teaching discourses is discounted (Taylor 1953, 1959). Such a common order demands a theory that Q at some stage existed in written form.

The argument based on the lack of a Passion Narrative in Q, and the apparent formlessness of Q, is also weak. Its strength depends on an a priori assumption of what "must" have stood in a source containing information about Jesus. Q clearly cannot have been a "gospel" of the same nature as the canonical gospels. But the discovery of the *Gospel of Thomas* has shown us that it was possible for some Christians to write a "gospel" with no passion narrative (Robinson 1971, 1986). Further, Kloppenborg (1987) has shown that the form of Q, as a collection of sayings together with some introductory narrative scenes, can

be paralleled in several sayings collections in antiquity. The genre of Q is thus not a problem for the theory of its existence.

None of the arguments against the existence of Q as a single source is fully convincing. It is thus best to assume that Q was a single source, available in Greek and probably in written form.

If this is the case, then the source Q is similar to the gospels themselves. It is thus not surprising that many have tried to study Q with techniques similar to those which have been applied to the gospels. In particular, there has been a significant trend in recent years to approach Q from the side of redaction criticism. This involves trying to interpret Q as a unified source in its own right and perhaps with its own distinctive theology. Many have therefore attempted to delineate a "Q theology" and to see what kind of social group of Christians, or "Q community," might have preserved this material and regarded it as significant.

**B. Theology of Q**

At this point the problem of the unity of Q arises once again, though in slightly different form. Many who would accept that it is appropriate to think of Q as a single written source, with a characteristic theology, would also argue that Q represents the end product of a quite complex tradition history. There may be various strata within Q so that the tradition may have undergone a complex history of expansion and adaptation. Some would claim to be able to identify a single redactional layer in Q (Lührmann 1969; Schenk 1981). Schulz (1972) distinguishes two main strata within Q, corresponding to two distinct stages in the history of the "Q community." Polag (1977), Jacobson (1978), Zeller (1982, 1984), Kloppenborg (1987), and Uro (1987) have all argued for at least three redactional strata in Q (though with little agreement in details). Schürmann (1968) postulates a four-stage growth in the tradition whereby individual sayings were expanded by secondary comments *(Kommentarworte)* which at a third stage were combined to form smaller collections before being incorporated into the larger blocks of Q at a final stage. Many have argued, for example, that the Temptation narrative is quite unlike the rest of Q and hence is probably a relative latecomer into the Q tradition.

It must, however, also be remembered that a division of a text into various strata (whether it be a simple twofold division into "tradition + redaction" or a more complex theory of strata) is not the only key which will unlock the secrets of a writer's theology. A decision to include a tradition, perhaps unaltered, may be just as positive an editorial action as an alteration into a tradition. One should not therefore write off much of the Q material as "merely" traditional and hence having nothing to contribute to Q's theology. One must also beware of making a writer too monochromatic, so that different types of material directed to different audiences, are ipso facto taken as indications of distinct strata within the history of the tradition. So, too, it is perhaps dangerous to assume too readily that we know precisely the way in which the tradition developed from individual sayings to larger complexes. One can sometimes identify ways in which Q material seems to have been redactionally modified, especially in some of the arrangement of the material (Lührmann 1969; Kloppenborg 1984). But the situation is clearly more complex than in the case of Matthew's and Luke's use of Mark since we do not have Q's traditions directly available to compare with Q: we do not even have Q itself directly available. Thus one must be prepared to allow that the substance of the Q material itself, and the choice of which traditions are included, can also help in the clarification of Q's theology (Hoffmann 1972).

A basic presupposition of much contemporary Q study is that the group of Christians who preserved the Q material did so because they believed that this material was still valid and relevant for their own day. The Jesus tradition was thus not a matter of teaching which had been given in the past but was no longer applicable. Rather, the teaching of Jesus was taken up and applied to the present. Further, the preachers of this tradition claimed that in their own preaching, the voice of the present Jesus was to be heard (Luke 10:16 par.). While a verse like Luke 12:10/Matt 12:32 might suggest some awareness of a distinction between the pre-Easter and post-Easter situations, the main bulk of the Q tradition is formulated with the assumption that Jesus' words are still valid. The contemporizing present, "I say to you," predominates as opposed to any historicizing tendencies (Boring 1982).

One theme which is universally recognized as characterizing much of the Q material is that of eschatological warning. A great deal of Q is concerned with this theme of imminent judgment, which may be catastrophic for those who are unprepared and do not "repent." Older views of Q had sought to explain Q as a kind of paraenetic manual, a supplement to fill out the kerygma of the death of Jesus, which was already presupposed (Manson 1949). Such a theory will not explain the note of warning and crisis which dominates so much of Q. Right at the start, this note of warning is sounded in the preaching of John the Baptist (Luke 3:7–9 par.); this continues through the teaching of Jesus in the Great Sermon, bracketed as it is by the eschatologically oriented beatitudes (Luke 6:20–23 par.) and the eschatological warnings against those who fail to obey Jesus' words (Luke 6:46–49 par.); the mission charge repeats the note of the imminence of the Kingdom (Luke 10:9 par.); and toward the end of Q there is the eschatological discourse warning of the End, which may come at any time (Lk. 17; 23ff. par.).

It is probable that Q is aware of a delay in the Parousia. The parables in Luke 12:39–40, 42–46; 19:12–27 par. seem to presuppose such a delay (Lührmann 1969; Schulz 1972). Nevertheless, the very form of Q suggests that Q has not given up the vivid expectation of the End which could come at any minute: the fact that Q includes this material implies that the Q Christians regarded it as still valid. Hence Q is dominated by a vivid hope for an imminent End (Hoffmann 1972).

Integrally related to the note of crisis in Q is the theme of polemic. Q is clearly not just a manual for newly converted Christians. Rather it reflects a situation where the Christian community feels itself to be threatened and to be suffering hostility. Lührmann has shown that the note of polemic against "this generation" dominates Q's arrangement of the material; e.g., in Luke 7:18–35 par., any possible hint of anti-Baptist polemic (Luke 7:18–28 par.) has been overlaid by further material setting Jesus and John the Baptist together against "this generation." So, too, the discourse against the scribes and Pharisees (Luke 11:37–52 par.) is broadened at the end to become an attack on "this generation" (Luke 11:49–51 par.).

In this polemic, use is often made of a model taken from a Deuteronomistic view of history. In this scheme, Israel's history is viewed as one of continual disobedience. God sends the prophets to Israel to call the nation to repent; the response is always negative, and the prophets suffer rejection and violence. As a result, God's wrath has been and will be experienced (Steck 1967). Such a scheme characterizes a significant part of the Q material (Steck 1967; Jacobson 1978; Kloppenborg 1987). Q Christians have evidently experienced rejection of the Christian message; and they interpret this rejection as part of the general violence inflicted on God's prophetic messengers by impenitent Israel (Luke 6:22–23; 11:49–51; 13:34f.). The prophetic self-understanding of the Q Christians may also be indicated by several formal similarities between much of the Q material and the prophetic literature in the OT (Sato 1988).

Another theme closely associated in Q with that of the suffering prophets is the theme of Wisdom *(Sophia).* Late Judaism spoke at times of Wisdom as an almost personified being in her own right, and there are also traditions of Wisdom's preaching being rejected by men (cf. Prov 1:20–33; 8:22–36; *1 Enoch* 42). In Q the two streams of tradition—that of rejected Wisdom and the Deuteronomic theme of the violent fate suffered by the prophets—coalesce so that Wisdom herself becomes the agent who sends out the prophets, all of whom suffer violence (Luke 11:49–51; 13:34f. pars.; and also 6:23; 7:31–35; 9:58). Within this pattern, Jesus appears as one (possibly the last) in the line of the suffering prophets. (Hence it is worth noting that Q does not ignore the death of Jesus. Little salvific significance is attributed to Jesus' death, but the latter *is* implicitly incorporated into a wider interpretative theological scheme.)

Several of Q's warnings of eschatological judgment are couched in terms of the coming of the "Son of Man." The whole question of the Son of Man sayings in Q and the broader question of Q's christology have aroused much discussion. Some have argued that "Son of Man" reveals Q's distinctive contribution to christological development within primitive Christianity (Tödt 1965; Edwards 1971). For example, Tödt claimed that the identification of Jesus with the figure of the Son of Man was due to the Q community. Jesus had spoken of the Son of Man as a figure other than himself. On the basis of the resurrection experience, Q achieved the "christological cognition" of identifying the coming Son of Man with Jesus himself and then undertook to continue the preaching of Jesus as still valid in the post-Easter period.

The place of "Son of Man" within Q's christology is much disputed. Tödt's theory that originally Jesus thought of the Son of Man as someone other than himself would be questioned by many today. More importantly here, many have questioned whether "Son of Man" reflects Q's own interests, or whether it was already part of Q's tradition and hence not relevant for Q's redaction and thus for Q's theology (Lührmann 1969; Schürmann). However, the Son of Man saying in Luke 11:30 may well be due to Q's redaction (Edwards 1971); and in any case, one cannot dismiss all traditional elements in Q as contributing nothing to Q's theology. It seems therefore best to regard "Son of Man" as a christological "title" of some importance for Q.

Its significance is more debated. It is often thought that "Son of Man" is primarily for Q a reference to Jesus in his capacity as a figure (as judge or advocate) of the end-time (cf. Luke 17:22–37 par.), and it is often pointed out that Q has no "suffering Son of Man" sayings similar to Mark 8:31. Certainly the "eschatological Son of Man" is very strongly represented in Q. However, there are a number of Q sayings referring to the present activity of Jesus as Son of Man (Luke 6:23; 7:34; 9:58; 12:10; and arguably 11:30). Although some have claimed that the use of the term here refers to Jesus as authoritative (Tödt 1965), or to Jesus as returning judge (Hoffmann 1972), it may be relevant that all of these sayings occur in contexts which imply rejection, hostility, and suffering. "Son of Man" is thus a term which seems to be closely linked in Q with these themes (together with the related themes of rejected Wisdom and the suffering prophets). It may be, therefore, that the theme of the "suffering Son of Man" is not so alien to Q as many have claimed (Tuckett 1982).

**C. Sitz im Leben**

What can be said about the situation of the Christians who preserved the Q material? It is probable that Q reflects a group of Jewish Christians with a fairly conservative attitude to the Jewish Law. It is in Q that we have one of the most conservative statements about the continuing validity of the Law (Luke 16:17 par.); and if, as seems likely, the Lukan context of this saying reflects the Q context, then Q deliberately places 16:17 after 16:16 in order to guard against a possible antinomian interpretation of the latter verse. Elsewhere in Q, the Law is presupposed as still valid and binding on the Christian. The polemic against the scribes and Pharisees in Luke 11:37–52 par. is directed only against their hypocrisy in not obeying the Law themselves. Luke 11:42d may well be a Q-redactional comment to insist that the Law must still be kept. If, as also seems likely, Luke 14:5 par. was part of Q, then Q reflects a sabbath controversy but, unlike Mark, has Jesus operating strictly within the Law to justify his behavior (the rescue of a *man* in a pit would be accepted by all as a legitimate breach of the sabbath law). Further, much of the argument in the woes against the scribes and Pharisees, especially the woes about purity and tithing, seems to operate within Pharisaic presuppositions (Schulz 1972). Given the fact that the Pharisees were probably a relatively small group within pre-70 Judaism, the virulence of the opposition here may indicate a rather close link between the Q Christians and the Pharisaic movement (if they were not close, then each group would probably have ignored the other).

Whether this is still the case at the stage of Q's redaction is not certain. Many have claimed that by the time of this stage, the polemic has sharpened and broadened in scope to be directed against "this generation," a term which refers to the whole Jewish people, not just one part such as the Pharisees (Lührmann 1969; Schürmann 1986). Lührmann has gone further and argued that the sharply polemical tone of Q's redaction means that Israel now only has the threat of judgment; for Q has embraced the gentile mission, and for the Jewish as a whole there is now no hope at all (Lührmann 1969; Kloppenborg 1987).

The meaning of the term "this generation," however, is not absolutely certain. Although some claim that it is a technical term for the nation Israel and lacks any temporal reference (Lührmann 1969), it seems hard to exclude all temporal sense from a saying such as Luke 11:31f., par. Thus others have argued that the term does retain a temporal significance, referring to the people of the final generation before the end (Hoffmann 1972; Schulz 1972). Further, it seems doubtful if one can identify "this generation" with the whole of Israel tout court. At the very least, the term must exclude the Q Christians who, as we have seen,

were probably Jewish Christians. It thus seems more likely that Q's polemic is directed against only a part of the Jewish community among which the Q community existed.

The problem of Q's attitude to gentiles and the gentile mission is also disputed. Q does have several sayings which seem to presuppose a friendly attitude to gentiles (Luke 7:1–10; 10:13–15; 11:31f.; 13:28f. pars.), though others have claimed that these refer only to the past or the future: there is nothing in relation to the present (Hoffmann 1972). Many too have argued that Q's rather strict attitude to the Law effectively excludes the possibility that Q had undertaken the gentile mission. (Schulz 1972; Wegner 1985).

These arguments are of varying weight. The relationship between the Law and the gentile mission should not be made too simplistic. A gentile mission is not ipso facto incompatible with a conservative attitude to the Law. Even Paul expected his gentile converts to observe considerable parts of the Law without any questioning. Nevertheless, it must be said that the presence of slighting references to gentiles, almost in passing (Matt 5:47 [Luke's parallel, referring to "sinners," is generally accepted as LkR]; Luke 12:30 par.), make it hard to believe that Q was engaged in a gentile mission. The natural language of Q seems to assume that "gentiles" are those who are outside the sphere of salvation. Thus the terms of reference seem to be wholly Israel-oriented (unless one can assign the slighting references to an earlier stratum in Q: so Kloppenborg—but then why have they been left unredacted by a later stage of Q?). Gentiles seem to be brought into the picture only to shame the Jewish hearers (Meyer 1970), though whether Q holds out any hope for that audience is not clear.

A much discussed feature of Q arises out of Q's version of the mission charge. Here the Q missionaries are told to take absolutely nothing for their journey, not even the basic necessities of life such as food or clothing. Elsewhere, too, Q sayings seem to presuppose an extremely radical break with past personal ties. The Q Christians are told that they must "hate" their own families (Luke 14:26 par.); they are told they must take up their cross (Luke 14:27 par.). They are not to worry about their daily needs (Luke 12:22–34 par.) since God will provide for them. They are to be the followers of the Son of Man, who has nowhere to lay his head; and they are to break with their past in such a radical way that they are not even to go home to bury a member of their own family (Luke 9:57–60 par.). These sayings have led to the plausible theory that behind Q lies a group of Christians who obeyed these instructions to the letter. Hence Q presupposes the existence of wandering prophets or charismatics who made a radical break with their own homes and went about preaching the message of the kingdom (Hoffmann 1972; Theissen 1979). However, the presence of sayings like Luke 10:2 par. may suggest that the final stage of Q also presupposes a group of settled Christians providing backup support for the wandering preachers (Zeller 1982, 1984).

The precise meaning of such a lifestyle depends heavily on the social situation in which such action takes place. Such renunciation could be a voluntary act, similar in kind to the renunciation practiced by Cynic preachers but taken to even more radical extremes (Hoffmann 1972). Schottroff has argued that the "renunciation" implied is simply a reflection of the general extreme poverty which all suffered at the time and Q's preaching is simply a message of how to come to terms with this. Nevertheless, such a theory will not explain all of Q. Q evidently expects other Christians to help the missionaries and provide material support for them: hence some material possessions are assumed. Other sayings only make sense on the same assumption (Luke 16:13; Matt 6:19–21). So too, the sayings about leaving family seem to imply a situation where the Q Christians are in a rather different social situation from that of their neighbors. The lifestyle implied here thus seems to be peculiar to the Christian. In part it is thus a voluntary decision to adopt such a lifestyle and the results are closely connected with the Christian commitment. It is not necessarily something which the Q Christian shares with all his/her contemporaries. This applies particularly in the case of the references to persecution in Q, which are frequently connected with the lifestyle of the wandering charismatics.

Q says much about persecution at a fairly general level. Many have deduced from this that the Q community was suffering very real persecution from its neighbors. At the more "theological" level, it is clear that the Q Christians regard the persecution which they are experiencing as a continuation of the

violence suffered by all the prophets in the past. Yet as the latter may be somewhat stylized (not all the prophets suffered violence), the same may be true of Q. Q has a great deal of polemic (against "this generation") for refusing to accept the message of the prophets past and present, but it is hard to infer that such refusal resulted in actual violence against the Q community. Luke 6:22–23 can be interpreted quite naturally as relating to verbal abuse, social ostracism, and perhaps polite indifference, but not necessarily to any physical violence. The precise meaning of the final woes against the scribes and Pharisees is debated, but a strong case can be made for the penultimate woe (against the tomb builders Luke 11:47–48 par.) being directed against those who simply ignore the present prophetic message and try to distance themselves from the past by building tombs for prophets whom "their fathers" killed: the actual violence belongs to the past alone (Steck 1967; contra Hoffmann 1972). If so, the same may also apply to the doom oracle in Luke 11:49–51, where again the period of physical violence seems to be limited to the OT era. Elsewhere in Q, there is violent polemic against apathy (Luke 17:22–37), strong words against waverers (Luke 11:23), against those who seek signs (Luke 11:29–32, but there is no indication that the sign seekers are being physically violent), against those who might give up their Christian allegiance (Luke 12:9—possibly reflecting a persecution situation, but the polemic is *not* directed against the persecutors themselves). Luke 16:16 is probably too vague for the reader to know precisely what is in mind. Only Luke 13:34–35 might imply physical violence in the present, though it is not clear how much is present and how much is past.

If could be that the Q community is *not* suffering a great deal in physical terms. No doubt the Christian message has evoked opposition, some verbal abuse, some polite indifference. So too the wandering preachers have evidently not always found a welcome and been provided with a home (Luke 10:10–11). From the Christian side this was no doubt seen as "persecution," and it has evidently led to a closing of the ranks and some quite violent denunciation of those outside. But such opposition may not have involved any great measure of physical violence.

**D. Conclusion**

Recent studies have shown how fruitful a redaction-critical approach to Q can be. At first sight such work may appear to be extremely hypothetical, being based on what some would argue is a very questionable presupposition (the very existence of Q as a single document). However, the very distinctiveness of the Q material as shown by recent redaction-critical studies of Q is in itself an indication that this material did exist as a separate entity at some stage in the development of the synoptic tradition. Theories about the theology of Q, if successful, may therefore provide further support for the hypothesis of the existence of Q. Q may also alert us to the great variety within primitive Christianity. It shows us a version of the Christian faith which is perhaps less cross centered than, say, Paul or Mark; but it is nonetheless real for that.

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C. M. TUCKETT

**QAʿAQIR, JEBEL** (M.R. 145103). A mountain (Arabic, "Mountain of the Cairns") situated on a ridge eight miles W of Hebron, near the modern village of Simiyeh, at an altitude of about 400 m. It is located just at the E edge of the Shephelah, where it borders upon the lower slopes of the central hills, in the inner reaches of the Wadi Lachish.

The one-period EB IV cemetery and settlement at Jebel Qaʿaqīr was discovered by tomb robbers in the summer of 1967 and thus came to the attention of archaeologists. It was excavated by W. G. Dever in 1967, 1968, and 1971, sponsored and funded by the Hebrew Union College in Jerusalem. The excavations revealed at least six different shaft-tomb cemeteries all around the base of the ridge near the valley floor. All belonged to the EB IV period, ca. 2300–2000 B.C., a largely nonsedentary interlude between the urban Early and Middle Bronze eras in Palestine. Cemetery B had been extensively robbed, but some 40 tombs were investigated and planned, and nearly 20 undisturbed tombs were excavated. Cemeteries C, D, E, and F produced another 20 tombs, but it is clear that dozens, probably hundreds, of others are present in the vicinity. The tombs were regularly laid out and spaced a few feet apart along several natural rock terraces down the slope, all oriented the same way. Typically, a round elliptical shaft, up to six feet deep, led to a round chamber, the doorway to which was blocked by a single large stone. Several tombs had shallow body shelves, lamp niches, graffiti, and other distinguishing features. Many tombs contained a single human burial; others two to four individuals. Most burials were accompanied by part of a sheep or goat carcass. In every case the burials were secondary, and the bones, even those of the animals, were

disarticulated and completely disarrayed. The 47 adult and 2 children's skeletons constitute an exceptionally large and well preserved sample for this period and reveal much about diet, disease, and longevity (Smith 1982). Although many tombs contained a pot or two and occasionally a copper weapon, more than half had no grave goods at all. The disproportionally large number of tombs, the decarnate bones, and the scant offerings all suggest that these are the remains of seminomadic pastoralists who migrated along a seasonal circuit and carried their dead with them for later burial at an ancestral burying ground (Dever 1980). The evidence from similar shaft tombs of numerous EB IV sites in Palestine points to the same conclusion. See JERICHO; DHAHR MIRZBÂNEH; BEER RESISIM.

Evidence of scattered domestic occupation on the nearly milelong S-shaped ridge above the cemeteries consisted only of a dozen or so enigmatic stone cairns (not burials); a rambling low boundary wall; a unique potter's kiln; a single dolmen of the "table top" variety; and a half-dozen or more caves used as shelters. One cave, G26, produced a nearly complete domestic assemblage of some 30 restorable pots, flint blades, and ground-stone implements (Dever 1981). Another, G23, was apparently a pottery dump, which yielded fragments of nearly 1,800 vessels, none restorable (Gitin 1975). The vast domestic ceramic repertoire from Jebel Qaʿaqīr fills out our corpus of EB IV pottery, which was based until recently on the somewhat atypical assemblages from tombs. It helps not only to define further Dever's "Family S" (= "Southern-sedentary"; 1980), but also gives us for the first time sufficient material on which to base an analysis of ceramic technology and decorative design (London 1985).

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WILLIAM G. DEVER

**QADES, TELL** (M.R. 200279). A site in upper Galilee located about 15 km N of Safed. The site comprises a tell at the W edge of the Kadesh Valley and a low hill overlooking the valley some 200 m to the E. It is to be identified with the Kedesh in Naphtali mentioned in both biblical and extrabiblical sources. See KEDESH.

**A. History of the Site**

The importance of this site in antiquity is attested both by the surface remains strewn over the site and by the numerous references to it in the historical sources. Kedesh was one of the main cities in Upper Galilee during the Canaanite and Israelite periods. The city is probably mentioned in Egyptian sources of the 2d millennium B.C.E. Kedesh is listed as one of the defeated Canaanite towns in Josh 12:22; as one of the levitical cities in Josh 21:32 and 1 Chr 6:61; and as a city of refuge in Josh 20:7. It is also mentioned as one of the strongholds of Naphtali legacy. The Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III conquered the city in 733/732 B.C.E. together with other Galilean cities which are listed in 2 Kings 15:29. Kedesh is mentioned in one of the Zenon papyri (*PZen. Col.:* 59004), as well as in the account of the battle between Jonathan the Hasmonean and the generals of Demetrius (1 Macc 11:53–73; see also *Ant* 13.154). Josephus (*JW* 4.104) relates that Titus' army set up camp at Kedesh during the campaign against Yohanan of Gush Halav, and that following the massacre of the Jews of Caesarea in 66 C.E., the latter avenged themselves by attacking many Gentile settlements, including *Kadasa (tōn) Tyrion,* "Kedesh (of) the Tyrians," i.e., Kedesh in the region of Tyre (*JW* 2.459). Kedesh was known as one of the strongholds of Tyre in the Galilee and was in constant conflict with the "Galileans" (*JW* 4.105).

According to both the epigraphical and archaeological evidence, Kedesh flourished during the 2d –3d centuries C.E. The town is mentioned also in later historical sources. Thus, Eusebius (*Onomast.* 116.10) note that Kedesh lay 20 miles from Tyre.

**B. Research of the Site**

Tell Qades—or Tel Kedesh—is one of the largest and most important tells in Upper Galilee (ca. 100 dunams); however, it has not yet been excavated, except for a rescue excavation carried out in the 1950s by Y. Aharoni. On the N part of the tell, on what may have been the ancient acropolis, stood an Arab village. The rescue excavation, the archaeological survey, and the surface remains scattered on the site indicate that the site was continuously occupied from the Bronze Age until the end of late antiquity.

A vast cemetery extends to the NE of the tell. The rock-hewn tombs are dated to various periods and have not yet been investigated systematically, except for a tomb of the MB Age and some from Roman times.

On the hill E of the tell are the remains of a well-preserved monumental temple, and W of this are remnants of mausoleums and decorated sarcophagi. Rock-hewn tombs were discovered at the N and NW fringes of the hill. During the 19th century the site was surveyed in varying detail by E. Renan, V. Guerin, and C. Wilson, and especially by C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener of the Survey of Palestine, whose work has been the main source of knowledge of the temple until recently. Since these 19th-century investigations, the site has been explored by only a few scholars, like F. Fenner, G. Dalman, and C. Watzinger. During 1976–77, A. Ovadiah, M. Fischer, and I. Roll made an extensive survey of the site, and in 1981 and 1983–84, they conducted three seasons of excavations.

**C. Description of the Temple Complex**

The architectural complex at Kedesh, located on the upper part of the S slope of the tell, includes a large *temenos* (sacred enclosure) with a monumental temple at its center. The *peribolos* enclosing the *temenos* is rectangular in plan and measures about 55 × 80 m; because of the topography of the area, its S wall also served as a retaining wall. The E facade of the *peribolos,* only partially preserved, was probably symmetrical in design and had a monumental entrance leading into the *temenos,* similar to the sacred complexes of Helios at Kasr Naus and Zeus at Hosn-Suleiman (Baetocaece) in Syria. The "baroque" characteristics of this design correspond well with the general trend of Roman architecture in the Orient. In view of the parallel walls of the *peribolos* and the temple, it is obvious that the two structures were an integrated architectural complex, although the temple did not stand in the exact center of the *temenos.* The wall of the *temenos,* which is not of uniform construction, stood exposed in a number of places.

The temple consists of a rectangular cella and a portico. See Fig. QAD.01. Its outer dimensions (without the portico) are 20.66 m × 22.63 m; its inner dimensions, 17.60 m × 20.04 m; and its overall length (including the portico), 31.25 m. Only the E facade of the cella remains standing and is preserved to a height of ca. 7.50 m, or 14 courses. Three carved and ornamented entrances pass through the facade: a central opening symmetrically flanked by two smaller ones. The neatly worked ashlars are laid according to the typical Roman dry-wall method, smoothly fitted to each other.

No evidence of columns was found inside the cella to suggest that this inner space was divided into aisles; nor were there traces of any piers against the N and S walls that might have supported the roof. This suggests that the roof, despite the considerable width of the hall (17.60 m), was supported by transverse wooden beams, which, in turn, carried a series of lighter timbers or cross-rafters intersecting and slotted into the transverse beams. It is also possible that in order to reduce the span of the beams, they rested on consoles fitted against the N and S walls of the temple. Similar techniques were probably used to support the roofs in several Roman temples in Syria, such as those at Kasr Naus, Hosn Niha, and Majdal Anjar. Many fragments of terra-cotta tiles were found, both of *solenes* and *kalypteres,* which obviously had been used to cover the roof of the cella.

A paved section of neatly fitted rectangular slabs was found in the E part of the hall, approximately on the same level as both the S entrance threshold and the pavement of the portico. There were also traces of the underpinnings of three steps leading down from the central entrance threshold to the floor of the cella.

An apse, measuring 5.60 m across, abutted the inner side of the W wall of the cella, opposite its central entrance. This was apparently designed to accommodate a statue or relief of the patron deity of the temple, a kind of *adyton,* such as those of the temples at Rahle, Burkush, and Palmyra. This apse was apparently a secondary addition to the temple.

The portico apparently had a hexastyle (six-column) facade, consisting of two groups of three columns each. Parts of the entablature, bases, and capitals also came to light, indicating that the temple probably stood about 12 m high.

To enter the cella the priest probably used the side entrances, which were more or less on the same level as the floor of the portico and the floor of the cella. The approach to the threshold of the central entrance, which was elevated ca. 1 m above the floor of the portico, was probably by a ramp, of which some remains were discovered.

A row of sockets in the threshold in the central entrance implies that it was blocked by a chancel screen which prevented the devotees from entering through it, although they could look inside and see the statue or the relief of the god.

**D. Architectural Decoration**

The Roman temple of Kedesh exhibits one of the richest collections of architectural features in Israel. Judging by the remains on the surface, and by the items discovered in the excavations, it was a Corinthian temple in the fullest sense.

The fragments of the entablature, the Corinthian capitals, along with the bases and pedestals indicate that the temple was part of a series of "baroque" sites which were built in the E within the framework of Imperial architecture of the 2d century C.E. The character of the architectural decoration, the arrangement of the different items, and their workmanship emphasize the high artistic quality of the temple.

About 10 m of the entablature can be reconstructed. Remaining fragments of the cornices have coffers and consoles, which have been common in the E since the Hellenistic period. They are made up of moldings typical of the Corinthian egg-and-dart *(ovolo),* coffers, consoles, and astragals motifs. Among other motifs decorating the entablature are a stringed musical instrument (cithara), a basis resting on a tripod, and a crescent with a star.

**E. Identification of the Temple Deity and Manner of Worship**

It has been suggested that the temple at Kedesh was dedicated to Helios. However, the epigraphical and iconographical data imply a different identification. These include (1) two Greek inscriptions, one of which was found close to the temple and the other in secondary use in the wall of the nearby village police station at Qadis; and (2) two eagles with outstretched wings, one carved on the lintel of the central doorway and the other on the lintel of the N doorway.

The Greek inscriptions refer to Baal-shamin, the "Holy God of the Sky," one of the main gods of the Syro-Phoenician region during the Roman period. This god is mentioned in inscriptions from Palmyra, Damascus, Hosn-Suleiman, and elsewhere. Three of the temples erected in his honor are well known: in Palmyra, in Dura-Europos, and in Seia in S Syria. The two eagles mentioned above support the identification of the deity as Baal-shamin.

To the N and the S of the two side openings of the cella are two kraters carved in stone, with narrow channels leading inside the building. These almost certainly served for libations of wine, oil, or the blood of sacrificed animals intended for the god, in return for which the worshiper received the blessing or oracle from the priest. Possibly the grooves were connected with a religious ceremony facilitating contacts between the world of the living and the world of the dead. The existence of mausoleums to the W of the temple complex and of tombs to the N strengthens this supposition. To the best of our knowledge, these libation channels are unique in the architecture of temples in the Roman world. Above the S krater is an apsidal niche with a sunken, carved relief of a human figure wearing a toga, holding a pear-shaped vessel with basketlike handles in the right hand and a spear in the left. The proximity of the figure to the krater and to the grooves suggests that it depicts the act of libation and symbolizes the worshiper.

**F. Summary**

The research at Kedesh so far has revealed a rich and elaborate architectural complex consisting of a *temenos* with a temple of the *prostylos hexastylos* type at its center. The architectural decoration is in the Corinthian style with "baroque" characteristics. Its layout and architectural motifs are typical of the decorative context in the Roman East, especially of the Syro-Phoenician region. The temple is the southernmost link in the chain of Roman temples in this region.

In addition to the types of architectural decoration, dated inscriptions discovered previously as well as those from the recent excavations provide evidence for dating the complex. Three Greek inscriptions are dated respectively to 117/18, 189/90, and 214/15 C.E. It may therefore be assumed that construction of the temple complex began around the beginning of the 2d century and continued in stages over a century or so.

Although it is still difficult to determine when the temple was abandoned, it appears that it was destroyed by an earthquake, possibly the one that struck the region on May 19, 363 C.E.

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A. OVADIAH
MOSHE FISCHER
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**QASHISH, TEL** (M.R. 160232). A site located at the foot of Mt. Carmel in the NW end of the valley of Jezreel. It contains ruins dating to the OT period.

**A. Location and Identification**

Tel Qashish is situated on the right bank of the Kishon river, in one of its meanders, so that it is protected by the river on two sides. Tel Yoqneam can clearly be seen 2 km to the S. The site is elongated, measuring 180 m × 60 m. It slopes steeply in all directions, except in the NE region, where the approach way and gate were located. The site measures some 10 dunams and is clearly divided into two parts, with the W half ca. 5 m higher than the E half. The reason for this is that while the earliest settlement (EB) extended over the entire surface of the mound, subsequent occupation (in the MB and LB, as well as in the Iron Age) was limited to the W part of the site. EB strata are therefore to be found immediately below the present surface in the E part of the site, while MB and LB strata are to be found right below the surface in the center and highest part of the site.

Tel Qashish dominates one of the fords of the Kishon. It also dominates the S exit of the narrow pass, connecting the plain of Acco and the valley of Jezreel. The strategic location, the accessibility of Bronze Age strata, the opportunity to study a small rural site and at the same time to investigate its relationship to a neighboring larger town (Tel Yoqneam) led to the choice of this site for excavation.

Aharoni (*LBHG*, 151) has suggested that the site be identified with "Helkath," no. 112 on the list of Canaanite sites conquered by Thutmosis III, neighboring Jokneam (n. 113 on that same list). Another possibility is to identify the site with Dabbasheth (meaning "camel's hump"), mentioned in the description of the border of the tribe of Zebulun, which "goes up westward, and on to Mareal, and touches Dabbasheth, then the river that is east of Jokneam" (Josh 19:11). Such an identification suits well the order of sites on the border, the immediate vicinity of Jokneam, as well as the general appearance of Tel Qashish (which resembles a crouching camel).

**B. The Excavations**

The excavation of Tel Qashish is part of a larger, regional archaeological research project—the Yoqneam Regional Project. See JOKNEAM; QIRI, TELL. Eight seasons of excavations have been conducted so far. Two areas are being investigated: "A" on the high part of the site, and "B" in the lower. Together, an area of about 1,100 square meters is being investigated (10 percent of the surface of the site). Fifteen levels of occupation have been noted, spanning EB I through the Persian period.

**1. Early Bronze Age.** With the exception of a few Neolithic flint tools, found on bedrock, the earliest occupation level of the site is attributed to EB I. The settlement extended beyond the limits of the tel itself, as evidenced by the large amount of pottery and flints scattered all over the area N of the site (some nearly 100 m away). Due to the limited size of the excavated area, only one complete dwelling and a few fragments of others are known so far, with two architectural phases clearly discernible. The houses are

small, with their corners rounded on the outside but with 90-degree angles on the inside. This method of constructing corners finds close parallels in the EB I levels of sites such as Megiddo and Byblos. Typical ceramic finds include bow-rimmed pithoi and grey burnished ware. Two cylinder seal impressions on jar fragments are noteworthy, one of which has two close parallels at other sites in the region (Megiddo and Tel-Shadud). In EB II, the site was fortified by a wall 2.5–3.0-m wide, surprisingly massive for a site of that order. The stones were laid in a herringbone fashion, a style also noted in the dwellings. Two major and several subphases of construction were discerned and attributed to EB II–III. The houses are well built, yet in spite of several constructional features common to several of them, no uniformity in plan was observed. Early Bronze Age houses were also excavated in area A. These are of a somewhat different nature than those situated near the fortification wall, even though they are of the same period; the houses there are somewhat larger, and no herringbone construction was observed. The ceramic finds are rather poor and monotonous, comprising mainly platters, cooking pots, and storage jars. In spite of the location of the site in a region where Khirbet Kerak Ware should be expected, the total absence of this ceramic family at Qashish is noteworthy. Cylinder seal impressions on storage jars are relatively common.

In the last phase of the Early Bronze Age settlement—within EB III—the fortification wall went out of use. Following a certain occupational gap, new houses were built, partly superimposed on the derelict fortification. Their standard of construction was inferior compared to that of the previous houses; the walls were built of small rough stones, and the plan consisted of a forecourt behind which was a room serving as living quarters.

**2. Middle Bronze Age.** Remains of the Middle Bronze Age are confined to the high part of the site and include a fortification system and dwellings. This fortified village may have been preceded by an unfortified phase (stratum X), which is hardly attested. The MB fortifications consist of a 2-m-wide wall, a rectangular tower built against this wall's inner face, and a small glacis of small stones and earth dumped against its outer face. Inside the wall a series of rooms and a courtyard were unearthed. These were built against the inner face of the fortification wall on one side and opened onto a paved alley on the other. Similar arrangements were noted at contemporary sites such as Gezer, Shechem, and Taanach. Three phases of a rather short duration were noted, the final being characterized by infant burials in jars, a phenomenon known from several contemporary sites, including neighboring Tel Yoqneam. Just as at Yoqneam, the transition between the MB and LB ages at Qashish (strata VIII–VII) was peaceful.

**3. The Late Bronze Age.** This settlement was unfortified, and only fragmentary house walls and a few ceramic assemblages have been found so far. Imported (Cypriote and Mycenaean) pottery is relatively scarce. The settlement suffered two destructions in the course of the period: once in the 14th century and again by the end of the 13th (marking the end of the Late Bronze Age).

**4. Iron Age.** The remains of the Iron Age settlement are even scantier than those of the previous period: it seems that a small settlement, confined to the higher part of the site, was established in Iron I. A round installation built of stone slabs, probably an oil press, is noteworthy. An exact parallel is known from contemporary Yoqneam. The ceramic assemblage includes collar-rim jars and several Philistine sherds. Remains of Iron II are extremely fragmentary, attesting to some occupation during this period.

**5. Persian Period.** The final phase of occupation is dated to the Persian period. An impressive building was excavated in the E section of the site. It appears to have been an isolated farmhouse built of extremely large stones, which were still clearly visible on the surface of the mound. A few coins, stray sherds, and glass fragments indicate some kind of activity at the site during the Hellenistic and Mamluk periods.

| *Stratum* | *Period* | |
|---|---|---|
| I | Persian | Isolated farmhouse |
| II | Iron III | Scanty remains |
| III A–B | Iron II | Scanty remains |
| IV A–B | Iron I | Farm and agricultural instalations |
| V | LB II A–B | Isolated tower, destruction by fire |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| VI | LB I B | Unfortified settlement, destruction by fire |
| VII A–B | LB I A | Unfortified settlement destruction by fire |
| VIII | LB II–III | Fragmentary paved areas, ash pockets |
| IX A–C | MB II | Fortified settlement |
| X | MB I–II | Occupational surface, sherds |
| XI | EB III | Unfortified settlement |
| XII | EB II–III | Fortified settlement |
| XIII | EB II–III | Fortified settlement |
| XIV | EB I | Unfortified settlement extending beyond site |
| XV | EB I | Unfortified settlement extending beyond site |
| — | Neolithic | Stray flint tools |

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AMNON BEN-TOR

**QASILE, TELL** (M.R. 130167). A site situated on the N bank of the Yarkon river, about 1 mile from the Mediterranean coast. Two Hebrew ostraca found on the surface of the mound led to systematic excavations of the site, which were carried out under the direction of B. Mazar (1949–51, 1956) and continued under the direction of A. Mazar (1971–74, 1982–84). The 4-acre site is located on a *kurkar* (sandstone) ridge overlooking the Yarkon river and the coastal plain. A permanent settlement was founded on the site in the mid-12th century B.C. The founders were probably Philistines, "Sea Peoples," who settled the S coastal plain of Palestine during the 12th century B.C. Tell Qasile was an important port town, since the Yarkon river was ideal for anchoring the small ships of that time. Seafaring and trade were thus basic factors in the economy of the settlers. Though the ancient name of Tell Qasile is unknown, it is one of the most important sites for studying the material culture of the Philistines during Iron Age I. Three successive occupation levels of the Philistine town were discovered (strata XII–X), covering a span of about 180 years (ca. 1150–980 B.C.). The town was finally conquered and burnt, probably during the conquest of the region by David. The transitions from stratum XII to XI and then from stratum XI to X appear to have been peaceful, and they mark a gradual growth and development of the town.

The buildings of stratum XII are built of mud bricks and are laid on the bedrock, without stone foundations. The two most important structures from this level are the temple and a public building. The temple is a small edifice containing one room, with benches along the walls and a raised platform. A large courtyard in front of the temple accommodated ritual ceremonies and sacrifices. The public building, situated S of the temple, contained a large hall, with benches along the walls and a free-standing hearth, recalling similar hearths in the Aegean and Anatolian worlds. In the following stratum (XI), the city was rebuilt, usually with stone structures. The temple was rebuilt on the remains of the previous one; it was somewhat larger, the entrance was at the NE corner, and a small chamber built inside the main structure served as a treasury, where a large collection of cult objects was found.

In stratum X, the temple was enlarged and redesigned. See Fig. QAS.01. An entrance chamber with a wide opening led to the main hall, the roof of which was supported by two cedar pillar with circular stone bases. Inside the main hall, benches skirted the walls, and a raised platform served as the "holy of holies" in the sanctuary; a narrow room at the back of the temple served as a treasury room. Stone walls surrounded the courtyard of this temple, in which auxiliary rooms and a sacrificial altar were constructed. In both stratum XI and stratum X, a small shrine was built to the W of the main temple. This was a small room with benches along the walls and a raised platform in one corner.

The finds in the successive temples at Tell Qasile are of particular importance, since they contain a unique collection of cult objects made of pottery, as well as of metal, alabaster, and ivory. Some of the cult objects are of particular importance as unique art objects from the period of the Judges. Both the plans of the temples and the shapes of the cult objects reflect a strong Canaanite influence on the local culture. Yet similarities to cultural phenomena in Cyprus, as well as in the Aegean world, point to the origin of the local population, though it can be conjectured that the Philistine newcomers were just the overlords of a local autochtonous population. This is corroborated by the nature of the rich pottery assemblages found in the sanctuary, which show a combination of characteristically Philistine traditions and traditions typical of the Canaanite culture.

A dwelling quarter excavated at the S part of the tell demonstrates the urban planning and the design of private dwellings during the 11th century B.C. See Fig. CIT.05. The houses are arranged in well-planned blocks; each house is square and contains a courtyard divided by a row of pillars. The rich finds in these houses illustrate the wealth of the population on the eve of the Israelite conquest. Imported pottery from Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Egypt implies trade connections.

The destruction of Tell Qasile during the time of David did not end the town. During the United Monarchy, the town was partially rebuilt (strata IX–VIII), though not as densely as in the previous period, and it probably served as a port town for Israel. The town was destroyed at the end of the 10th century B.C., perhaps during Shishak's invasion of the country. A gap in occupation lasted most of the Iron Age, and only in the late 7th century did a small settlement exist on the site, perhaps related to the Judean expansion to the coast during the time of Josiah.

During the Persian period, a large building at the top of the mound perhaps served as an administration building or a farmstead. A rock-cut square well supplied water to the site during this time. During the Hellenistic and Roman periods, there was a small settlement on the site. Isolated structures from the Byzantine period, particularly a large public bathhouse on the mound and a synagogue at the foot of the mound, are evidence for a small town which existed in the vicinity of the tell. An isolated estate, dated perhaps to the time of the Crusaders, was found on the top of the mound.

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**QATABANIAN LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

**QEDAH, TELL EL-** (M.R. 203269). A site, located in N Israel between the Sea of Galilee and the Huleh basin, which is certainly to be identified with biblical Hazor. Hazor is first mentioned as the major military power organizing the N coalition against the Israelites (Jos 11:1, 10) and is specifically described as standing on a "mound" (Heb *tēl;* Josh 11:13). The area was later ascribed to the territory of Naphtali (Josh 19:32, 36). The city's military strength is again described when Hazor was able to muster 900 chariots of iron in conflicts with Israel in the days of Deborah (Judges 4). Its strategic importance is further demonstrated when Solomon chose to fortify Hazor along with Jerusalem, Megiddo, and Gezer (1 Kgs 9:15). The environs of Hazor were later targets of a prophetic denunciation by Jeremiah (49:28–33). The name "Hazor" comes from the Hebrew *ḥāṣēr,* "enclosure," which aptly describes the site. Tell el-Qedah (Tell Waqqas) is an imposing mound, with a 180-acre Lower City of the Bronze Age and a 30-acre Upper City or acropolis at the S end, which dates to the Iron Age. It is strategically situated at the juncture of the E flanks of the Lebanon range and the W edge of the Jordan Valley (4 miles SW of the Huleh basin), on the N border of Palestine and astride the main route N to Syria and beyond. In the Neo-Assyrian annals documenting troop movements S into Palestine, Hazor is always named along with Abel Beth-Maacah and Dan as prominent fortresses on the N frontier.

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A. History of Investigations
B. Results of Excavations

1. Early Bronze Age
2. Middle Bronze Age
3. Late Bronze Age
4. Iron Age
5. Persian and Later Occupations

C. Other Sites Named Hazor

———

**A. History of Investigations**

The mound of Hazor was first investigated in 1928 by J. Garstang, although his soundings remain largely unpublished. It was then excavated in 1955–58 and 1968–72, in a major project carried out by Yigael Yadin and other prominent Israeli archaeologists. Yadin's principal excavation areas were A, B, BA, G, L, and M in the Upper City; and, in the Lower City, areas C, D, E, F, H, K, N, P, and 210. (The Lower City has its own local strata numbering sequence: 4 = XVII; 3 = XVI; 2 = XV; 1b = XIV; and 1a = XIII.)

**B. Results of Excavations**

**1. Early Bronze Age.** The site was first occupied in EB II–III (strata XXI–XIX; ca. 2900–2300 B.C.), followed by a break in the EB IV period (scant material of stratum XVIII; ca. 2300–2000 B.C.).

**2. Middle Bronze Age.** The beginnings of the urbanized city of the 2d millennium B.C. are already seen in the relatively few structures and tombs of MB I (stratum "Pre-XVII"; ca. 1900–1800/1750 B.C.). One tomb, found only in reconstruction work in 1971–72 in connection with the area L water tunnel, contained more than 150 vessels of this and the beginning of the next stratum.

During the MB II period (stratum XVII; ca. 1800/1750–1650 B.C.) there was a substantial buildup of domestic structures, accompanied by rock-cut cisterns (some with numerous scarabs), a system of underground tunnels (originally tombs?), and intramural jar burials, especially of infants. A large, but only partially cleared, mudbrick palace or citadel was found in area K. A jar inscribed with a personal name is the earliest-known Akkadian inscription found in Israel. Most significant are the area-K and multiple-entryway city gates, and the earliest city defenses in areas C, G, H, K, and P. The latter consisted of varying combinations of earthen embankments (the typical MB glacis), fosses, counterscarps, and massive stone and mud-brick ramparts. All these elements were superbly engineered and adapted to the topography and defense requirements of the differing areas of the 180-acre Lower City, which appears to have been entirely developed (local stratum 4). To this horizon belong the earliest-known references to Hazor in the literary sources—the Brussels Execration texts from Egypt (ca. 1825–1775 B.C.) and several references in the Mari texts (ca. 18th century). The Mari texts mention tin-trading caravans plying the routes between Upper Mesopotamia and Hazor (as well as Dan) in N Palestine. This is the period when true tin-bronze technology came into widespread use in Palestine, and Hazor must have played a significant role in the redistribution of the vital element of tin, which had to be imported. At Hazor itself, a fragment of a cuneiform tablet contains part of a Sumerian-Akkadian lexical text of the Mari period.

The zenith of the Lower City was reached in MB III (stratum XVI = local stratum 3; ca. 1650–1550 B.C.), when a population of ca. 15,000–20,000 would have made Hazor probably the largest Canaanite city-state in Palestine. The inhabitants of stratum XVI reused and augmented all of the above domestic features. The extensive rock-cut tunnels of the previous stratum were reused for storage, reservoirs, and even drainage channels. The underground cisterns were also reused (like Cistern 9012). Particularly significant was the reconstruction of the simple area-K gateway into a monumental three-entryway, towered city gate like those known from Shechem and Gezer, as well as prototypes found throughout Syria and Anatolia at this time. This gate was accompanied by a stretch of casemate city wall, one of the earliest known examples of this type of fortification in Palestine (see others at Ta‘anach and Shechem). The palace-citadel in area A continued. The first temples appeared in stratum XVI: in area A is a rectangular temple with basalt orthostats at the entrance; a double (or "bilobate") temple is in area F; and in area H is a bipartite temple (the later tripartite "orthostat" temple; below). Stratum XVI ended in a major destruction, as did most sites in Palestine at the end of the MB. These destructions were in

connection with Egyptian punitive raids following the expulsion of the Asiatic (or "Hyksos") princes at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th Dynasties (ca. 1540–1500 B.C.). An ephemeral post-destruction stratum, "post-XVI," consists mostly of burials and some transitional MB III/LB I pottery. It is probably to this horizon that we should attribute the reference to Hazor on the walls of the temple at Karnak, which lists the sites conquered by Thutmose III.

**3. Late Bronze Age.** The full developed LB I period witnessed the rebuilding of urban Hazor during the early part of the Egyptian New Kingdom (stratum XV; ca. 1500–1400 B.C.). The city gate in area K was reused, as apparently were some of the earlier city walls. The area-A rectangular temple was slightly altered and reused. The area-H bipartite temple from stratum XVI was reused in its basic form, but it was modified to include a forecourt that featured a stone offering table; a semicircular basin and drainpipe system for animal sacrifices; and a potter's workshop, which was found in situ with many ceramic miniature bowls (votives). Finds of particular significance included bronze figurines; a bronze plaque of a robed priest, which has almost exact Syro-Mesopotamian parallels (one of the finest art objects ever found in Bronze Age Palestine); and a liver model used in divination, which reads in Akkadian (in part): "Ishtar will eat the land; Nergal will …; the gods of the city will come back." A new temple was built in area F—a square, "mazelike" structure that has close parallels with the Mt. Gerizim temple at Shechem and with the Amman airport temple.

During the well-known "Amarna Age" in LB IIA, Hazor reached the peak of its recovery (stratum XIV; ca. 1400–1300 B.C.). One tomb contained large quantities of Mycenaean IIIA pottery imported from the Greek mainland. Some of the fortifications appear to have continued along with the temples. The area-H temple was converted from a bipartite into a tripartite structure, and most of the interior was lined with splendid basalt orthostats in the N Syrian style. The newly built "stelae temple" in area C was especially significant. It consisted of a semicircle of ten (?) small monoliths of dressed basalt, with a basalt statue of a seated king or deity. The center stele has a bas-relief depicting a pair of upraised palms, above which is a disk-within-a-crescent. These symbols are often associated with Baʿal Ḥarmmōn and the Phoenician goddess Tanit (Asherah of the Canaanite pantheon). Near the temple was found a potter's workshop for mass-producing votive vessels; a small, well-modeled terra-cotta cult mask; fine cylinder seals of Mitannian (or N Syrian) style; and a splendid silver-plated bronze cult-standard.

A partially cleared structure below the Iron Age "pillared building" (below) suggests an Amarna Age palace. Its ruins included basalt orthostats; stone columns and bases; a staircase; and the forepart of a magnificent basalt lioness. It is possible that these are remains of the palace of Abdi-Tirshi, a king of Hazor in the 14th century B.C., who is mentioned in the Amarna letters. Some idea of the importance of the city, as inferred from these letters, is the fact that he alone of the Palestinian princes styled himself "king." Abdi-Tirshi presumed to oversee other N cities, seized rival city-states, and connived with the lawless "Habiru" against the pharaoh. An Akkadian fragment from Hazor (unfortunately found out of context) probably belongs to this horizon and concerns litigation over a real-estate transaction, which was brought to the attention of the king of Hazor. Further textual evidence of the importance of Hazor in the LB II period is gained from its mention in topographical lists of Amenophis III (ca. 1400 B.C.), Seti I (ca. 1300 B.C.), and Ramesses II (ca. 13th century B.C.).

The final phase of the Late Bronze Age, LB IIB, is attested by stratum XIII (ca. 1300–1220 B.C.), when Hazor was clearly in decline. While the temples were mostly rebuilt, the area-H temple demonstrates the decline with its misaligned orthostats and generally poor alterations. This phase ended in a massive destruction of the entire Lower City, which was buried under several feet of debris and was never reoccupied. Yadin dated this conflagration to ca. 1250–1230 B.C. on the basis of the presence of Mycenaean IIIB pottery, which ceased to be imported from the Greek mainland by 1220 B.C. Yadin also attributed the destruction to the incoming Israelites under Joshua, who according to Josh 11:10 captured "Hazor … the head of all those kingdoms" and killed its king, Jabin. More recently, however, other scholars have pointed out that the destruction was probably too early to allow connection with Israelite invaders (if any) in Joshua's time. Among the most impressive remains from the stratum XIII destruction are those objects connected with the last phase of the area-H orthostat temple. These include basalt

offering tables, altars, and basins; a basalt seated figure of a king or deity; a terra-cotta temple model; ceramic votive vessels; cylinder seals; beads and other jewelry; terra-cotta zoomorphic figurines; a bronze bull (probably an El figurine); and bronze figurines representing other deities.

**4. Iron Age.** Following the massive destruction of the city, there was only a "squatter occupation," consisting mostly of huts and rubbish pits among the ruins (stratum XII; early 12th century B.C.). Yadin supposed this to be the early attempt at settlement by the Israelites after their capture of the city. The following phase (stratum XI; ca. 11th century B.C.) exhibits a more permanent settlement, although it has relatively few structures. A somewhat enigmatic installation was interpreted as a *bâmah,* or "high place." A hoard of bronzes in an associated votive jar included a lugged ax and a seated bronze El/Baal figure. Both, however, are typically LB in design and may be holdovers from earlier levels, and thus are not characteristically "Israelite."

Iron Age Hazor really began as an urban center with the Solomonic era (strata Xb–a; mid-late 10th century B.C.). The large Lower City was abandoned from this point on; the new settlement centered on the 30-acre Upper City. Particularly important for this period is a large citadel complex in area B and the casemate defensive wall and splendid four-entryway city gate, both of which were found in area A. The latter was compared by Yadin with the nearly identical walls and gates found at Megiddo and Gezer, thus confirming the historical footnote in 1 Kgs 9:15–17. Hazor, refortified by Solomon as part of his strongly centralized administrative system, probably served as the regional capital of the district.

The late 10th/early 9th centuries B.C. (strata IXb–a) are characterized by a decline, then a destruction about the time of the rise of the Omrides (ca. 875 B.C.; or perhaps associated with the raids of Ben-Hadad of Damascus in the early 9th century; cf. 2 Chr 16:4). During the Omride dynasty, Hazor (stratum VIII) was again a most impressive site. On the acropolis, the principal building was a multiroomed citadel, some 70 by 80 ft. constructed with thick walls and ashlar masonry. Several "Proto-Aeolic" (or palmette) capitals found in stratum VII probably originated here. In area G, solid walls were built over the casemates, but in area A the casemate city walls were reused, with the chambers often used as storerooms. In area A, a large three-room structure (the "pillared building"), with a double row of monolithic columns flanking the center aisle, probably served as a storehouse. The most dramatic change in stratum VIII was the construction of the monumental water system in area L. This consisted of a massive stepped shaft, some 50-ft square and about 100-ft deep, cut through the solid rock; from this vertical shaft branched a domed lateral gallery, which sloped downward for some 80 ft to reach a deep underground spring. The ground-level entrance was guarded by a sort of "gatehouse." This marvelously engineered water system, comparable in date and function to the one at Megiddo (and perhaps also at Gezer), was probably constructed in anticipation of the Assyrian advance.

During the late 9th century B.C. (stratum VII), the citadel, pillared storehouse, water system, and other features were reused. This stratum ends in a destruction, perhaps related to the Aramean incursions into the N of Israel ca. 810 B.C.

In the early 8th century (stratum VI), Hazor experienced a renaissance. The area-B citadel continued, but other public areas in the Upper City were converted to residences, workshops, and storage facilities. Near the citadel was a two-story house, with a well-preserved staircase, which may have belonged to an important official or an elite family. Another fine house produced an ostracon with the name "Makbiram" and a carved ivory panel. The destruction that ended stratum VI was probably caused by an earthquake in the time of Jeroboam II (ca. 786–746 B.C.).

Hazor, like all major sites in the N, was destroyed by the Assyrians (strata VB–a), in this case undoubtedly by Tiglath-pileser III in 732 B.C. (1 Kgs 15:29). The citadel, which had been reinforced by an added offsets-insets perimeter wall, was completely destroyed. Among the remains were several objects inscribed in Hebrew, including a storejar "belonging to Pekah, *semadar*" (a kind of wine); another vessel reading "belonging to Delayo"; a bowl inscribed *qodeš,* "holy"; an ivory *pyksis*-box; a carved stone ladle with an embossed hand; stone cosmetic palettes; Asherah figurines; and the skeleton of a partly consumed pig.

Stratum IV (late 8th century B.C.) represents the postdestruction period. It was a temporary, unfortified settlement, which Yadin thought was occupied by the returning Israelite survivors of the Assyrian destruction. The main feature excavated in stratum III was an Assyrian-period citadel. There is no 7th–6th century material that might provide a context for the references to Hazor in Jer 49:28–33.

**5. Persian and Later Occupations.** Hazor's final days are represented by scattered Persian finds of stratum II (ca. 4th century B.C.), among which were a large citadel on the acropolis, Persian coins, and imported Attic wares. A final, smaller citadel belongs to stratum I (3d –2d centuries B.C.) and may be associated with references in 1 Macc 11:47 to Jonathan's struggles against the Seleucid king, Demetrius II, on the "plain of Hazor." The abandoned site, despite its strategic location and formidable appearance, lay neglected until its rediscovery as biblical Hazor in 1875 in the proposed identification of J. L. Porter.

### C. Other Sites Named Hazor

Two other sites named Hazor are found in the Hebrew Bible. In Judah, Hazor-hadattah (so LXX, or "New Hazor"; Josh 15:23) may be located at el-Jebariyeh. In Benjamin, a Hazor (Neh 11:33) has been identified with Khirbet Hazzur, 4 miles NW of Jerusalem. See also HAZOR.

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**QEDEIS, AIN.** See HEZRON (PLACE).

**QEDISH, KHIRBET** (M.R. 202237). See KEDESH (PLACE).

**QERE.** See KETHIB AND QERE.

**QIRI, TELL** (M.R. 160227). A site about 4 km of Mt. Carmel, where the hill country tapers off into the Jezreel valley. The site contains artifacts dated to the biblical period.

### A. Location and Identification

Tell Qiri is situated within modern Kibbutz Ha-Zorea, 2 km S of Tell Yoqneam. It does not have the characteristic appearance of a tell, but instead consists of numerous occupation layers on the E slopes of Mt. Carmel that descend into the Shophet river (the site's water source). Wall fragments, tombs, potsherds, coins, etc., encountered during recent construction activities seem to indicate that the size of Tell Qiri was about 10–12 dunams, which fit well the pattern of other village sites in the region (Qashish, Reʿala, etc.). These chance finds indicate human activity at the site in almost all periods, from the Neolithic to present times. When excavations started in 1975, about one third of the site was still free of modern buildings; today, the entire site is covered by the houses of Kibbutz Ha-Zorea.

Qiri is the Arabic name of the site. So far no identification with an ancient or biblical place is possible, and it appears that Qiri was a rather insignificant rural site never mentioned in antiquity. Even though a substantial part of the population of the land lived in such small, rural sites, they remain almost unknown and outside the scope of most archaeological investigation. The opportunity to shed some light on this type of settlement provided the impetus for the excavation of the site.

### B. The Excavation

The excavation of Tell Qiri is part of a larger, regional archaeological research project—the Yoqneam Regional Project; cf. JOKNEAM; QASHISH, TEL. The site was excavated between 1975 and 1977 by a team from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, headed by Amnon Ben-Tor. This was the first site investigated in the regional project; excavation techniques and registration and ceramic typology principles developed and tested here were also applied to other sites excavated by the project. Even though sporadic finds indicate some kind of activity in Tell Qiri at almost every period, stratum numbers

were assigned only to those periods yielding architectural remains. The earliest settlement (stratum), which was reached in a very limited area, is Neolithic. Some walls, a stone silo, a substantial amount of pottery, and flint tools (axes, picks, chisels) were found. The pottery, which includes dark-face burnished ware, correlates well with other assemblages known from the region belonging to the transition from Late Neolithic to Chalcolithic, and dating to the second half of the 5th millennium B.C. Meager remains of houses of an unfortified Middle Bronze II village (stratum X) were encountered on the site's E slope (area E).

The main importance of Tell Qiri lies in the substantial accumulation of the Iron Age strata: four main strata (IX–VI/V), further subdivided into twelve subphases in an uninterrupted sequence, represent an unfortified Iron I–II village (12th–8th centuries B.C.). Gradual changes and development in house plans and ceramic typology can clearly be observed. Dwellings were built of mudbricks on stone foundations, the walls being 0.6-m thick. Since room dimensions never exceeded 2.5 m, the houses could be roofed without supporting pillars. Only once through the entire period—between strata VIII and VII (i.e., between Iron IB and IC)—was there a significant change in the orientation of the buildings. Apparently there was also no major break in the ethnic identity of the village's population during all that time. Botanical remains include olive, wheat, pomegranate, peas, and vetch. Sickle blades represent 45 percent of the lithic assemblage; 80 percent of the animal bones belong to sheep and goats, and 15 percent belong to cattle. Some hunting and fishing was also practiced, as indicated by various fish, gazelle, and fallow-deer bones. This repertoire of finds clearly indicates the rural character of the site, and this is reinforced by the large number of silos and agricultural installations uncovered.

An interesting group of finds includes 10th-century B.C. cooking pots, the rims of which were incised before firing with a sign similar to one of the Phoenician/Hebrew letters of the alphabet, a phenomenon characteristic of sites in the Jezreel Valley at that period (such as Megiddo, Tell Yoqneam, and Tell Qashish). So far, neither the incised signs nor their significance is understood.

A noteworthy ceramic assemblage was unearthed in a dwelling of stratum VIII (= 11th century B.C.), including an incense burner, a double libation vessel, a chalice, a cup and saucer, and a votive bowl. The cultic nature of this assemblage is reinforced by the apparent remains of sacrifices found there. A number of bones belonging to the right foreleg of sheep and goats clearly indicate the practice of sacrificing "the right thigh" (cf. Lev 7:32–33).

From the strata of the Persian period onwards, only fragmentary buildings and some pottery, glass, and coins were found. Some 20 rock-cut tombs of the Persian period were discovered uphill on the W part of the site; the dead were placed in the tombs with their heads pointing north, and the tombs were covered by flat stone slabs. The cemetery, as well as all other remains of strata IV–I, was severely damaged by modern building activities associated with the modern kibbutz.

| Stratum | Period | |
|---|---|---|
| I | Roman–Byzantine | Fragmentary walls, surface finds |
| II | Early Roman | Fragmentary walls, water installations |
| III | Hellenistic | Isolated building |
| IV | Persian | Houses, cemetery |
| V/VI A–C | Iron II | Public (?) building, house fragments |
| VII A–C | Iron IC | Rural settlement, agricultural installations |
| VIII A–C | Iron IB | Rural settlement, agricultural installations |
| IX A–C | Iron IA | Rural settlement, agricultural installations |
| X | Middle Bronze II–III | Rural settlement on E slope |
| XI | Late Neolithic | Rural settlement, agricultural installations |

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**QOHELET.** See ECCLESIASTES, BOOK OF.

**QOM, KHIRBET EL-.** See KOM, KHIRBET EL-.

**QOP.** The nineteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

**QOSEIMEH, AIN.** See KARKA.

**QUADRATUS.** Earliest known Christian apologist, who, according to Eusebius, addressed his work to the emperor Hadrian, presumably when he first visited Athens in A.D. 124–125. His date is known only from Eusebius' *Chronicle* and *Church History,* and the latter work contains the one known fragment of the apology. Eusebius had the whole work, but cited it only to indicate Quadratus' intelligence, "apostolic orthodoxy," and early date. The passage cited contrasts the genuine healings and raisings from the dead of "our Savior" with those of another person whose miracles were only in semblance or had temporary effects, or else with a "seeming" Savior who accomplished no permanent achievements. Quadratus said that those healed or raised from the dead lived on "for a considerable time" after the "departure" of the Savior. In consequence, "some of them survived even to our own day," that is, presumably up to the time of Quadratus' birth (*Hist. Eccl.* 4.3.1–2).

The context of his argument, regrettably not reported by Eusebius, could have lain in philosophical debates over men treated as gods because of fictitious miracles, or in debates over Christ's miracles, or in both at once. About half a century later, Irenaeus may have relied on Quadratus for his own discussions of miracles (*Haer.* 2.31.2 and 2.32.4), later copied by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 5. 7). Irenaeus claimed that in Christian churches there were those who "cure the sick by laying hands on them, and … the dead have been raised and remained with us for many years." It is not absolutely certain what time frames either Quadratus or Irenaeus had in view, for the latter spoke of the reign of Domitian, nearly a century earlier, as "not long ago but practically in our own generation" (*Haer.* 5.30.1; a passage known to Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 5. 8. 6).

Contemporary gnostics used the title "Savior" for their spiritual Jesus, but presumably Quadratus had in mind the more practical "salvation" provided by healings and raisings. In his time, the emperor Hadrian himself was often hailed as Savior, but the apologist would hardly have criticized to his face.

Attempts to identify Quadratus with others of the same name or to connect his work with other writings have not been successful. It is unlikely that Quadratus' apology enjoyed any success, for its theme is not repeated by the later apologists of the 2d century.

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**QUAIL.** See ZOOLOGY.

**QUART.** See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**QUARTER, SECOND** (PLACE). See SECOND QUARTER.

**QUARTUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Kouartos* (Κουαρτος)]. A Christian identified as the brother who sends greetings through Paul to the church at Rome (Rom 16:23). Mentioned after Tertius, the stenographer (v 22); Gaius, Paul's host (v 23); and Erastus, the city treasurer (v 23), Quartus (a Latin name meaning "fourth") is the last person cited by Paul in Romans 16 who sends greetings. The description, "the brother," given to Quartus is generally taken in the figurative sense to indicate membership in the Church, and is usually translated "our brother" (RSV, NEB), meaning "fellow Christian." This interpretation raises the question of why Quartus is singled out with a designation common to all the others in Romans 16. An alternative reading is to take "the brother" in the sense of physical relationship, meaning that

Quartus is the brother of the previously mentioned Tertius or Erastus. In support of a link between Tertius and Quartus is an implied connection of siblings based on the meaning of their Latin names: Tertius, the "third" born, Quartus, the "fourth" born (Bruce *Romans* TNTC, 266). The problem with this reading is that the mention of the names Gaius and Erastus between Tertius and Quartus weakens a possible association between the latter two. Also, if Quartus were "the brother in the flesh" of Erastus, the person mentioned immediately before him, the possessive pronoun *autou,* "his," would be expected. Because of these difficulties, it is better to take "the brother" in the sense of spiritual brotherhood. Perhaps Paul included this designation for Quartus because he exhibited the qualities of being a "fellow Christian" in an exemplary way.

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**QUEEN.** The English word "queen" is used to translate three Hebrew words in the OT: *malkâ, šēgal,* and *gĕbîrâ.* The term *malkâ,* the feminine form of *melek* (king), describes foreign queen regnants and consorts, e.g., the queens of Sheba (1 Kgs 10:1ff. = 2 Chr 9:1ff.) and of Persia (Vashti—Esth 1:9; and Esther—Esth 2:22). The term *šēgal* occurs only twice: in Neh 2:6 it refers to the wife of King Artaxerxes of Persia, while in Ps 45:9 it refers to a woman who (clothed) "in gold of Ophir" stands at the right hand of the king. The term *gĕbîrâ,* the feminine form of *gebîr* ("lord" or "master"), is used of a foreign queen (1 Kgs 11:19), but more often it designates the mother of a Judean or Israelite king (1 Kgs 15:13 = 2 Chr 15:16; 2 Kgs 10:13; Jer 13:18; 29:2).

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A. ANE Background
1. Egyptian Queens
2. Mesopotamian Queens
3. Hittite Queens
4. Foreign Queens in the Bible

B. Israel and Judah
1. Queen as Ruler
2. Queen as Wife
3. The Queen Mother


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**A. ANE Background**

**1. Egyptian Queens.** The 18th Dynasty (ca. 1570–1320 B.C.E.) represents a high point in the history of Egyptian queens. Queen Hatshepsut (wife of Thutmose II and stepmother of Thutmose III) assumed control upon her husband's death and undertook several building projects (e.g., the mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri; additions to the Temple at Karnak, etc.). Two other queens, Tiy (wife of Amenophis III) and Nefertiti (wife of Akhenaten), are given unusual prominence in both statuary and inscriptional remains.

**2. Mesopotamian Queens.** Information is scarce concerning the queens of Mesopotamia. At least one woman, Ku-baba, achieved the position of queen regnant. Originally a barmaid, she ruled Kish in the 3d millennium and is the only example of a ruling queen known. Other queens achieved prominence as consorts. Baranamtara (wife of Lugalanda) and Shag-Shag (wife of Urukagina) are mentioned in various temple records. Wives of the last rulers of Lagash (Early Dynastic period), they apparently functioned in a cultic capacity. In addition to these examples, two Neo-Assyrian queens—Sammuramat (wife of Shamshi-Adad V; mother of Adad-nirari III) and Zakutu (wife of Sennacherib; mother of Esarhaddon)—were active as queen mothers. Sammuramat served as queen regnant for her son, Adad-narari III, while Zakutu was probably influential in getting Esarhaddon, the youngest of Sennacherib's sons, appointed his father's heir.

The correspondence of the women at Mari (Old Babylonian period) provides readers with an unusual glimpse into the world of Šibtu, queen of Mari. Daughter of one king (Yarim-Lim of Yamḫad) and wife of another (Zimri-Lim of Mari), Šibtu exerted great influence on the royal court. Though the king retained

supreme authority, she often served as his deputy in his absence. As queen, it fell within her duties to oversee the palace, supervise court officials, engage in cultic affairs, and serve as the king's representative in both domestic and state matters. (Batto 1974: 8–21).

**3. Hittite Queens.** Hittite queens, titled *tawannannas*, occupied positions of great influence. A *tawannanna* served as regnant in the event of the king's death or as his deputy during his absence. She participated in a broad spectrum of activities—political, military, diplomatic—and could on occasion oppose the king. In addition, she had a special relationship with the sun-goddess and played an important role in the cult. One of the more notable *tawannannas* was Paduhepa, wife of Hattusilis III, who had her own seal for state affairs.

**4. Foreign Queens in the Bible.** Five foreign queens are mentioned in the Bible: the queen of Sheba (1 Kings 10); Taphenes of Egypt (1 Kgs 11:19–20); Vashti of Persia (Esther 1–2); Esther of Persia (Esther 2–10); and Candace of Ethiopia (Acts 8:27). Of these, only the queens of Sheba and Ethiopia are portrayed as sovereign rulers. The two Persian queens—Vashti and Esther—were consorts in whom little power resided. Each was dependent on her royal husband for her position at court.

**B. Israel and Judah**

**1. Queen as Ruler.** Neither Israel nor Judah accepted the idea of a female regnant. Only one woman—ATHALIAH of Judah (2 Kings 11)—aspired to and attained the throne. Wife to one king (Jehoram) and mother of another (Ahaziah), Athaliah seized the throne upon her reigning son's death. In spite of her gender, she amassed enough support to sustain a seven-year reign. She was finally killed in a temple-sponsored coup. See also JOASH.

**2. Queen as Wife. a. Diplomatic Marriage.** Royal marriages in Israel and Judah helped to establish alliances, strengthen treaties, neutralize potential enemies, and generally reinforce relationships between the parties involved. There are four accounts of an Israelite or Judean king marrying a foreign princess: (1) David's marriage to Maacah, daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur (2 Sam 3:3); (2) Solomon's marriage to "pharaoh's daughter" (1 Kgs 3:1); (3) Ahab's marriage to Jezebel, daughter of the king of Tyre (1 Kgs 16:31); and (4) Jehoram's marriage to Athaliah, offspring of the royal house of Israel (2 Kgs 8:18). A fifth possibility is Solomon's marriage to Naamah (1 Kgs 14:21). Although the MT simply describes Naamah as an "Ammonitess," in 1 Kgs 12:24 (LXX) she is called the "daughter of Ana, son of Naash, king of the children of Ammon." If this tradition is correct, Solomon married into the royal house of Ammon as well as the one of Egypt. Each of these wives represented an important diplomatic link between her own country and that of her husband's. Thus, Solomon's marriage to "pharaoh's daughter" was aimed at strengthening relations between Israel and Egypt. The same can be said of Ahab's marriage to Jezebel, which helped ally Israel with Phoenicia. Moreover, Jehoram's marriage to Athaliah may have been responsible for the end of years of hostilities between Judah and Israel. Marriages between royal houses could also give credibility to sovereign claims. David's marriage to Maacah, for example, probably proved helpful in his later bid for Geshur. Domestic policy was another determining factor in the selection of a king's wives. Royal marriages to commoners helped to ensure the allegiance of their powerful families. Since so little information is preserved about these marriages, it is difficult to determine which were politically significant. Information is also scarce about the composition of the king's harem vis à vis his political policies. Only one harem—Solomon's—is described in terms of its ethnic composition: according to 1 Kgs 11:1–2, it included women from Egypt, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Sidon, and Hatti, a wide range of locales which may reflect Solomon's diplomatic agenda, or simply attest to his eclectic taste in women.

**b. Royal Harems.** Although no technical term is used in Hebrew to designate the king's wives and concubines, there is ample evidence that such a body of women existed. The most notable is the report of Solomon's 700 wives and 300 concubines (1 Kgs 11:3). While these figures are probably exaggerated, it is quite possible that Solomon kept a large number of women in his harem. Nor was Solomon the only king to do so. Rehoboam reportedly had 18 wives and 60 concubines (2 Chr 11:21), while Abijah's wives numbered 14 (2 Chr 13:21). Other kings had harems which are not numbered: Saul (2 Sam 3:7; 12:8), David (2 Sam 3:2–5; 5:13; 11:27; 15:16; 16:21–22; 20:3), Ahab (1 Kgs 20:3–7), Jehoiachin (2 Kgs

24:15), Jehoram (2 Chr 21:14, 17), and Zedekiah (Jer 38:23). The royal harem did not exist without censure; numerous wives were thought to threaten a king's piety: "And he [the king] shall not multiply wives for himself, lest his heart turn away …" (Deut 17:17).

Was the king's harem politically significant? There is some evidence to suggest that the harem played a part in the succession process. Whoever possessed the former king's harem also possessed a key to his throne. This conclusion is implied in Abner's quarrel with Ishbaal (2 Sam 3:6–11), in Nathan's oracle to David (2 Sam 12:7–15), in Absalom's capture of Jerusalem (2 Sam 16:15–23), and in Adonijah's request for Abishag (1 Kgs 2:13–25). When Absalom revolted against his father David, David was forced to leave Jerusalem (2 Samuel 15). Upon Ahithophel's advice, Absalom publicly possessed the concubines David left behind (2 Sam 16:20–22). The two events—the possession of the city and the possession of the concubines—are equated with the seizure of David's throne. Twice, in the case of Abner/Ishbaal and Adonijah/Solomon, either the possession of or the desire to possess a former king's woman was interpreted as a bid for the throne. Even Yahweh, through the prophet Nathan, marked David as the future king by giving him Saul's wives (2 Sam 12:8). This function of the harem, however, seems to have been confined to the David/Solomon stories. Perhaps as Israel's succession policy became more defined, the political significance of the harem declined.

**c. Influence.** It is hard to determine the influence of the king's wife. Although many wives may have been active, information is preserved for only a few. Athaliah of Judah is mentioned briefly in the evaluation of her husband's reign. She is the reason he walked "in the ways of the house of Ahab" (2 Kgs 8:18). More is recorded about Jezebel of Israel. Jezebel is said to have caused the apostasy of her husband Ahab (1 Kgs 16:31), to have persecuted the prophets of Yahweh (1 Kings 18–19), and to have planned the judicial death of Naboth the Jezreelite (1 Kings 21).

As a member of the harem, the king's wife usually gained prominence upon her son's succession. Occasionally she was able to influence dynastic decisions. Although succession in the southern kingdom usually followed the principle of primogeniture (passing from father to the oldest son), two royal wives apparently circumvented convention. The most detailed account focuses upon Bathsheba's intervention on behalf of her son Solomon. Although Adonijah was David's oldest surviving son, Bathsheba convinced David to appoint Solomon as his successor (1 Kings 1). A more implicit instance of a wife's affecting the succession process is found in 2 Chr 11:21–22. While Abijah was not Rehoboam's oldest son, he was nevertheless designated king. Abijah's mother was Maacah, Rehoboam's "favorite" wife. Once again, it would appear, a royal wife stood behind the selection of a king.

**3. The Queen Mother.** Information concerning the king's mother is often—though not always—preserved in the introductory regnal formula of her son. Of the eighteen mothers who are named, fifteen are of Judean kings, two of Israelite kings, and one is from the period of the united monarchy. See the following table:

| | | | | MOTHER'S | REFERENCE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| KING/SON | MOTHER | FATHER | HOME | | |
| Solomon | Bathsheba | Eliam | ? | 2 Sam | 11:3 |
| | | | | | 12:24 |

ISRAEL

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jeroboam | Zeruah | | | 1 Kgs | 11:26 |
| Ahaziah | Jezebel | Ethbaal | Tyre | 1 Kgs | 16:31 |
| | | | | | 22:52 |
| Jehoram | Jezebel | Ethbaal | Tyre | 2 Kgs | 3:2 |
| | | | | | 9:22 |

JUDAH

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rehoboam | Naamah | ? | Ammon | 1 Kgs | 14:21 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Abijah | Maacah | Abishalom | ? | | 15:2 |
| Asa | Maacah | Abishalom | ? | | 15:10 |
| Jehoshaphat | Azubah | Shilhi | ? | | 22:42 |
| Jehoram | ? | ? | ? | —— | —— |
| Ahaziah | Athaliah | Omri/Ahab (?) | Israel | 2 Kgs | 8:26 |
| Joash | Zibiah | ? | Beersheba | | 12:1 |
| Amaziah | Jehoaddin | ? | Jerusalem | | 14:2 |
| Azariah | Jecoliah | ? | Jerusalem | | 15:2 |
| Jotham | Jerusha | Zadok | ? | | 15:33 |
| Ahaz | ? | ? | ? | —— | —— |
| Hezekiah | Abi | Zechariah | ? | | 18:2 |
| Manassah | Hephzibah | ? | ? | | 21:1 |
| Amon | Meshullemeth | Haruz | Jotbah | | 21:19 |
| Josiah | Jediah | Adaiah | Bozkath | | 22:1 |
| Jehoahaz | Hamutal | Jeremiah | Libnah | | 23:31 |
| Jehoiakim | Zebidah | Pedaiah | Rumah | | 23:36 |
| Jehoiachin | Nehushta | Elnathan | Jerusalem | | 24:8 |
| Zedekiah | Hamutal | Jeremiah | Libnah | | 24:18 |

The queen mothers come from a variety of locations: three are foreign (Jezebel, Naamah, Athaliah); five are from the provinces (Zibiah, Meshullemeth, Jedidah, Hamutal, Zebidah); three are from Jerusalem (Jehoaddin, Jecoliah Nehushta), and seven are named without any mention of their homes.

Did the mother of the king hold specific rank and powers? Since only two Israelite kings' mothers are mentioned, it is difficult to know if the position of "queen mother" existed in the northern kingdom. If it did, no information other than the accounts of Jezebel have survived. The same cannot be said about Judah. All but two Judean kings (Jehoram and Ahaz) have their mothers' names preserved. In at least one instance, the mother of a Judean king (Jehoiachin) possessed her own ceremonial attire and throne (Jer 13:18). Moreover, a Judean king's mother occupied a position from which she could be removed. Asa, for instance, found it necessary to depose his mother/grandmother (?) before he could carry out his cultic reforms (1 Kgs 15:11–13). Another mother, Athaliah, ordered the death of Davidic family members and was obeyed (2 Kgs 11:1). It is difficult to imagine this happening unless she possessed a strong power base.

If the position of queen mother existed in Judah, what was its origin and function? Molin (1954) argued that Judah was originally a matriarchal society which came under the influence of the Hittites. In this context, the queen mother functioned to ensure the succession of the male regent. Donner (1959) also acknowledged Hittite influence, but rejected positing a matriarchy in Judah. Rather than viewing the position of queen mother as an indicator of Judah's social structure, he identified it as part of Judah's political framework. A different approach was taken by Ahlström (1963), who located the position in the cult: as a representative of the goddess, the queen mother would participate in Jerusalem fertility rites. Rejecting the suggested social and cultic origins, Andreasen (1983) turned to the world of politics as the queen mother's original location. For Andreasen, the queen mother was a "lady counselor" whose role was reflected in the motif of "Lady Wisdom" in Proverbs.

**a. Influence.** The queen mother could and did exercise political and religious power. Her activities, however, were confined to domestic rather than international matters. Bathsheba, for example, mediated (unsuccessfully) between Adonijah and Solomon for the favors of Abishag (1 Kgs 2:13–25). According to the account, Bathsheba enjoyed access to her son's throne as well as a privileged position near it. Another queen mother—Jezebel—was active throughout the reigns of her two sons, Ahaziah and Jehoram (1 Kgs 22:52; 2 Kgs 9:22). Perhaps the most astonishing display of royal influence exercised by a queen mother is found in 2 Kings 11, in which Amaziah's mother, Athaliah, wielded enormous political power when

she ordered the massacre of the royal family. Considering the power vacuum which existed after Jehu's murder of Amaziah, Athaliah's move reflected great political acumen (2 Kgs 11:1).

The queen mother also influenced cultic affairs. Maacah supported the worship of Asherah and had a cult object erected in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 15:13). Jezebel actively promoted Baalism and the worship of Asherah, while persecuting the prophets of Yahweh (1 Kings 18–19). Finally, although there is no record of Athaliah supporting either Baal or Asherah, the temple of Baal was destroyed immediately after her death. This action suggests that the temple was protected by Athaliah and could not be eliminated while she was alive. But do these three instances imply the queen mother actually participated in cultic rites? At least two scholars—Ahlström and Terrien—think they do. According to Ahlström (1963), the queen mother was the king's consort in the *hieros gamos* ritual in Jerusalem. Terrien (1970), however, concludes that the position of queen mother was only one cultic element (along with male prostitution, sun rituals, the sacred snake, and chthonian forces) of an omphalos myth in Israelite religion.

**b. Literary Treatment.** Of all the Israelite and Judean queens named in the book of Kings, only four are given more than cursory mention: Bathsheba, Maacah, Jezebel, and Athaliah. Of these four, all but Bathsheba are portrayed in negative terms. Their characterization employs identifiable narrative elements and casts them into a character "type"—that of the "wicked queen/queen mother." This typecasting of queens warns the reader of the dangers of women in power.

When the stories of Jezebel and Athaliah are analyzed, six elements basic to their character emerge: these women are (1) non-Judean; (2) politically powerful; (3) aggressive; (4) connected with Asherah and/or Baal; (5) liabilities to their husbands and sons; and (6) responsible for the death of others. While elements (1), (4), and (5) are reminiscent of the "foreign woman" character type, the remaining elements each point to an important distinction. The "wicked queen/queen mother" differs from the "foreign woman" in the source of her power. Whereas the foreign woman relies on seductive wiles to achieve her ends, the wicked queen's power resides in her position; she commands rather than charms others into obedience. Maacah's account is much shorter, but contains three (perhaps four) of the "wicked queen/queen mother" elements: (1) she may be foreign (?); (2) she supports the worship of Asherah; (3) she has power and has to be deposed; and (4) she is a liability to her son.

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LINDA S. SCHEARING

**QUEEN OF HEAVEN** (DEITY) [Heb *měleket haššāmayim* (מְלֶכֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם)]. The epithet of an otherwise unidentified deity worshiped in Judah during the 7th and 6th centuries B.C.E., and possibly in earlier periods as well. The queen of heaven is mentioned only in the book of Jeremiah (7:18; 44:17, 18, 19, 25), where her cult is condemned as one of the defections of the populace of Judah from exclusive worship of the god Yahweh. According to the prophet, the divine wrath provoked by non-Yahwistic observances such as those popularly conducted on behalf of the queen of heaven culminated in the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem and the deportation of many of the city's inhabitants. After the Babylonian invasion, devotion to the queen of heaven persisted among Judean refugees residing in Upper Egypt ("the land of Pathros" [Jer 44:1]), including the cities of Migdol, Memphis, and Tahpanhes, where Jeremiah had been brought after the Exile, apparently against his will. The prophet publicly denounced

veneration of the queen of heaven (Jer 44:1–14, 24–30). The refusal of the Judeans to stop worshiping the queen of heaven is included as a cause of the calamity that befell Judah (Jer 44:20–23); and the transplanted cult of the goddess in Egypt became the subject of a prophetic oracle threatening the extermination of the Judean population resident in Egypt (Jer 44:24–29; cf. Jos. *Ant* 10 §180–82; Wiseman 1956: 94–95; on the political history of this period, see Spalinger 1977, especially pp. 240–41).

The first of the references to the queen of heaven occurs in the context of the "Temple Sermon" (Jer 7:7–15); the others in a third-person prose narrative about Jeremiah's prophetic activities in Egypt. The compositional history of these prose passages is disputed (see JEREMIAH, BOOK OF), but it is widely agreed to be Deuteronomistic in character if not origin.

The Masoretic vocalization of the epithet is *měleket haššāmayim,* the first element of which has been distorted as if it were the construct noun *měle (ʾ)ket* (from the root *lʾk* "to work") rather than *malkat* (from the base *malkā-*, "queen"). Indeed, the consonantal spelling *mlʾkt* is found in many mss of these verses. The distortion was probably introduced to avoid pronouncing the religiously offensive epithet of the goddess (see Gordon 1978–79). The LXX's *tę stratią tou ouranou,* "the stars of heaven," is evidence of further distortion (or interpretation) of the title, also evident in the Targum to Jer 7:18, which reads (in Aramaic) *kwkbt šmyʾ,* "the stars of heaven." These translations may be intended to avoid the abhorrent title, or they may preserve a midrashic interpretation of the epithet. But there is no doubt that the Hebrew text of Jer 7:18 and 44:17, 18, 19, and 25 originally read "queen of heaven" *(*malkat haššāmayim).* This interpretation of the epithet is supported by the Greek translations of Symmachus, Theodotian, and Aquila, and in Latin by the Vulgate (Ackerman 1989: 118 n. 2).

Considerable energy has been expended in attempts to ascertain the identity of the queen of heaven more precisely, but only the loosest consensus has emerged from these scholarly efforts. It has long been supposed that the title "queen of heaven" referred to the Mesopotamian goddess Ishtar (so, e.g., Kittel 1927: 86), and this view has frequently been assumed (Bright *Jeremiah* 56; Anderson 1975: 399; Held 1982: 76–77) and defended (Weinfeld 1972: 148–53). Associated with this identification of the queen of heaven is the premise that hers was one among other Mesopotamian cults that entered Israel and Judah as part of the official state religion of the Neo-Assyrian empire imposed after 722 B.C.E. This view gained general acceptance after Ostreicher advanced it in 1923, but reconsiderations of the evidence in its favor (McKay 1973; Cogan 1974) have significantly reduced scholarly confidence in its correctness. See PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN).

Diminution of emphasis on the Assyrian influence on Israelite religion has been matched by increasing attention to the Canaanite elements. The view that the queen of heaven is to be identified with the Canaanite goddess Ashtoreth, also known by the Greek name Astarte, is relatively recent (du Mesnil du Buisson 1970: 126–27; 1973: 56, 271) but widely accepted (Delcor 1982; Olyan 1987). Most recently it has been argued that the queen of heaven is "a syncretistic deity whose character incorporates aspects of West Semitic Astarte and East Semitic Ištar" (Ackerman 1989: 116–17).

Three activities are mentioned as part of the veneration of the queen of heaven: burning incense to her (if this is the proper interpretation of Heb *qattēr* [Jer 44:17, 18, 19, 23]; see INCENSE), pouring out libations to her (Jer 7:18 [implied]; 44:17, 18, 19 [2x]), and preparing cakes for her. This third activity is the strongest evidence that the cult is Mesopotamian in origin. The Hebrew word designating the cakes is *kawwānîm,* a loanword from Akk *kamānu,* designating a variety of sweetened cake (CAD 8: 110–11). The cakes called *kamānu* were used frequently in Mesopotamia as offerings to the goddess Ishtar (the evidence is discussed partially and from a primarily archaeological perspective by Rast [1977], more strictly philologically by Delcor [1982: 104–12]). Their Hebrew reflex is found only in Jeremiah (7:18; 44:19), where *kawwānîm* is a technical term associated with the cult of the queen of heaven.

The phonetic shape of Heb *kawwān-* is like that of Aramaic loanwords derived from Akkadian words with medial /m/ (e.g., Aram *nwrʾ* /nawrā (ʾ)/, from Akk *namāru* [Kaufman 1974: 143]; Aram *gwḥ,* borrowed into Mishnaic Heb as *kwk,* from Akk *kimaḫḫu* [O'Connor 1986: 218]). This linguistic fact might indicate that the cult was adopted directly from Mesopotamia by Arameans in Syria, and reached Judah through Aramean mediation.

The only extrabiblical reference to the queen of heaven in a Northwest Semitic text is in the greeting of one of the 6th-century B.C.E. papyrus letters written in Aramaic discovered at Hermopolis (BK 4.1). The letter in question was written by a Syrian residing at Ofi in Egypt to relatives in Syene, and mentions in its opening sentence temples of the god Bethel and the queen of heaven. Several instances of the divine name *ʿnt* (Anat) in compound names of deities and personal names from these and related Aramaic texts are considered by Porten (*ArchEleph*, 176–77; 1969: 120–21) to be evidence that the queen of heaven was the Canaanite goddess Anat. (Vincent made the same identification in 1937 [p. 635] on less secure grounds. It was also considered by Hvidberg-Hansen [1979, 1: 96].) The proposal has the merit of evidence, and it cannot be undermined by alternative etymological explanations of *ʿnt* in the onomastica (as attempted by Olyan 1987: 170).

In Judah, the cult of the queen of heaven was apparently a private observance that could involve entire families (Jer 7:18), but it is particularly associated with women, perhaps economically advantaged women (Jer 44:9, 15, 19, 20). The loyalty of women (and, apparently, their husbands) to this cult in the face of the prophet's denunciation is striking, and raises questions about the marginal status of women in the Yahwistic cultus affirmed in the Law and Prophets of the Hebrew Bible (see van der Toorn 1987: 33–42; 125–27 [cited *apud* van der Toorn 1989: 194 n. 4] and the observations of Ackerman [1989: 110, 117–18]).

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**QUEST FOR THE HISTORICAL JESUS.** See JESUS (QUEST FOR THE HISTORICAL).

**QUESTIONS OF BARTHOLOMEW.** See BARTHOLOMEW, GOSPEL OF (QUESTIONS)

**QUFIN, KHIRBET.** See MAARATH.

**QUINTUS MEMMIUS** (PERSON). See MEMMIUS, QUINTUS.

**QUIRINIUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Kyrēnaios* (Κυρηναιος)]. When P. Sulpicius Quirinius, who appears to have been born in the fifties B.C., died in A.D. 21, he was one of the most powerful men in Rome. He was noted for his long service as a soldier and his long-standing friendship with the emperor Tiberius (A.D. 14–37). He has also long been the subject of intense controversy. This controversy stems from Luke's statement that the birth of Christ took place while Quirinius was governor of Syria and Herod the Great was on the throne of Judea. The other evidence for Quirinius' career, some inscriptions from Syria (which are not to be confused with the acephelous text from Tibur which has wrongly been thought to provide details of his career), Tacitus' *Annales,* Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews,* and Strabo's *Geography,* reveal that Luke's statement must be incorrect: Herod died in 4 B.C., but Quirinius was governor of Syria in A.D. 6/7.

Luke wrote (2:1–2), "It happened in those days that a decree went out from Caesar Augustus that the whole world be registered for a tax, the decree first went out while Cyrenius was governor of Syria." Cyrenius is the Greek form of the name Quirinius (*PW* 4: 823), and the fact that he held a census during his term in office is confirmed by an inscription from Apamea (modern Aleppo) in Syria as well as by Josephus. Although it was already recognized in antiquity that there was a problem with Luke's chronology—Tertullian knew that Sentius Saturninus was governor of Syria at the end of Herod's life (*Adv. Marc.* 4.19)—a number of efforts have nevertheless been made by modern scholars to reconcile this statement with Luke's belief that Herod was still alive when the census was held. The most forceful argument has been that Quirinius must have been governor twice and that he must have held two censuses. It is based upon the contention that Quirinius is the officer mentioned on an inscription from Tibur which contains part of the career of a senator in the reign of Augustus.

This inscription does not, however, preserve the name of the man it commemorates, and, indeed, it preserves only part of the career. The surviving section runs, "… king, which he brought under the control of Caesar Augustus and the Roman people, the senate decreed two days of thanksgiving to the immortal gods because of the deeds which he had successfully accomplished; as proconsul he obtained the province of Asia and, serving *again* as a legate of the divine Augustus with pro-praetorian power he obtained the province of Syria and Phoenicia …" (*ILS* 918). The Latin text of the phrase, "… serving again *(iterum)* as legate …," is *legatus pr. pr. divi Augusti iterum Syriam et Phoenicen optinuit.* Many scholars have wanted to translate this as "serving as legate of the divine Augustus with pro-praetorian power he obtained the province of Syria and Phoenicia *again (iterum),*" taking *iterum* with *optinuit* rather than with the words which proceeded it. This has enabled them to claim that this official governed Syria twice, and that he thus must be Quirinius. Aside from an obvious circularity, the most serious objection to this argument is that this is not the proper way to read the Latin. In normal Latin *iterum* is understood with the words that precede it. There is no reason to translate it any other way here, and the phrase should be taken as a reference to the fact that the man in question had held more than one province as a legate of Augustus (Syme 1973: 592–93).

A great number of other arguments have been adduced at one time or another to reconcile Luke's narrative with the facts of Roman history. All of them fail to answer four other basic objections to the historicity of Luke's statement (*HJP²* 399–427). These are:

1. There is no other evidence for an empire-wide census in the reign of Augustus.
2. In a Roman census Joseph would not have been required to travel to Bethlehem, and he would not have been required to bring Mary with him.
3. A Roman census could not have been carried out in Herod's kingdom while Herod was alive.
4. Josephus refers to the census of Quirinius in A.D. 6/7 as something that was without precedent in the region.

In the face of these objections, it is impossible to defend Luke's dating of the Nativity. The easiest explanation for his error is that he wished to provide a synchronism between the birth of Christ and a

famous event and so picked upon the census of Quirinius, which caused a great stir throughout the region, as Josephus makes plain. See also CENSUS (ROMAN).

P. Sulpicius Quirinius was a man of considerable importance in the reigns of Augustus (31 B.C.–A.D. 14) and Tiberius. Indeed, Tacitus picked upon his career as a model for that of a *novus homo,* a man without distinguished ancestors in Roman political life, who moved into a position of great influence through his considerable abilities as a soldier and an administrator, and his even more considerable abilities as a courtier.

It may be deduced from the fact that Quirinius held the consulship in 12 B.C. that he must have been born in the early 50s B.C.; as a plebeian he could not have been consul before the age of 42. It is therefore possible that he served in the campaign which ended with Augustus' victory at Actium (31 B.C.), and it is very likely that he served with Augustus' armies in Spain during the following decade. He reached the praetorship by 15 B.C., and in the next year went out to govern the province consisting of Crete and Cyrene. This was not ordinarily an important appointment, but in this case it appears that there was serious trouble in the area. Quirinius distinguished himself by defeating a desert tribe, the Marmarici, which was raiding the area (*PW* 4: 824–27). It was about this same time, if not before, that he married into one of Rome's most distinguished families, the Appii Claudii. We do not know much about this marriage, other than that there were no children and that Quirinius was single again by A.D. 2. Nevertheless, it is clear that Quirinius was moving in very distinguished circles by this point in his life.

Quirinius was *consul ordinarius* in 12 B.C. This meant that he was in office at the beginning of the year, which was a sign of Augustus' particular favor. In the course of this year he must have played an important role in the ceremonies which marked Augustus' assumption of the office of *Pontifex maximus,* high priest of the state religion. In 6 B.C. serious troubles threatened the E part of the empire and the Augustan regime itself. The Parthians appeared to be preparing to go to war in Armenia, and when Augustus appointed his stepson Tiberius to the command, Tiberius opted to retire instead. An expedition could not be mounted for another four years, and in the meantime an experienced soldier was needed to keep an eye on developments in the area. Quirinius went out as governor of Pamphylia/Galatia, the province which bordered Armenia. He served with distinction in that area for at least six years. In 5/4 B.C., he conducted a series of campaigns against the Homonadenses, a tribe on the northern slopes of the Taurus, and was awarded the coveted *ornamenta triumphalia,* the "triumphal ornaments," which had replaced an actual triumph as the highest honor to which a senator could ordinarily aspire as a mark of military success (Levick 1967: 206–14; Syme 1973: 592). In A.D. 2, he was appointed chief adviser to Gaius Caesar, Augustus' grandson, who had been in nominal command of the east since 2 B.C.

Quirinius' appointment marked an important point in the dynastic politics of the reign, for he replaced Marcus Lollius, who had shown considerable hostility toward Tiberius, who was then living in virtual exile on Rhodes. Quirinius had always treated Tiberius with deference (Tac. *Ann.* 3.48), and it was in A.D. 2 that Tiberius' star began to rise once again. Augustus' other grandson, Lucius, had died in that year, and Tiberius was recalled to Rome. At this point, even though Tiberius was not yet restored to his former position, it was clear that he was once again an important factor in political life. When Gaius died after a long illness in A.D. 4, Tiberius emerged once again as the heir apparent, and Quirinius was one of his closest friends. It was at this time that Quirinius married Aemilia Lepida, a woman many years younger than he, who was the daughter of another of the great noble families at Rome and who had previously been betrothed to Lucius Caesar (Tac. *Ann.* 3.23). Even though the marriage was short-lived and unhappy, it was a clear mark of Quirinius' eminence.

Quirinius was therefore one of the most important men in Rome when he was appointed governor of Syria in A.D. 6 to oversee the annexation of the kingdom of Judea; Augustus had previously removed its ruler, Archelaus, a son of Herod the Great, in response to complaints by his subjects (Jos. *Ant* 18 §1–10). A revolt broke out as he seized the royal estates and auctioned them off, but this does not appear to have caused Quirinius great difficulty; he left the area under the administration of a *praefectus* who would be responsible to the governor of Syria in the future. It was also at this time (A.D. 6) that he conducted his census throughout Syria and the newly occupied territory.

The length of Quirinius' term as governor is not known for certain, though he must have returned to Rome by A.D. 12, the year in which Quintus Metellus Creticus is first attested in the province (it is not certain that he was Quirinius' direct successor). He appears to have continued to be a close associate of Tiberius, who became emperor after Augustus' death in A.D. 14. In A.D. 16 his young kinsman by marriage, Scribonius Libo Drusus, asked him to intercede with Tiberius on his behalf when he was charged with treason (Tac. *Ann.* 2.20). Quirinius refused and told him to take his request to the senate, a response which showed Drusus that he had no chance of acquittal since the response could be interpreted as coming from Tiberius himself. In A.D. 20, Quirinius' ex-wife, Aemilia Lepida, was brought to trial on the charges of poisoning, adultery, assailing the imperial house with magical practices, and claiming—falsely—to have had a child by Quirinius. Aemilia was exiled, though not before leading a demonstration of noble women at the theater in which Quirinius was roundly abused (Tac. *Ann.* 3.23). He died in the next year and was granted a public funeral: the last sign of Tiberius' enduring favor.

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**QUMRAN PESHARIM.** See PESHARIM, QUMRAN.

**QUMRAN, KHIRBET** (M.R. 193127). A settlement near the NW shore of the Dead Sea which was associated with the people who produced the Dead Sea Scrolls. Although noted in various explorations of the area around the Dead Sea since 1851 (de Vaux 1953: 89), Khirbet Qumran attracted the attention of archaeologists only because of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in caves in the nearby cliffs. See also DEAD SEA SCROLLS.

The area W of the N end of the Dead Sea is given a triangular shape by the convergence of the cliffs and the coast, which come together at Ras Feshkha. About 500 m N of Ras Feshkha, an aquifer surfaces, producing brackish springs, which today nourish reeds, brushwood, and tamarisks. Near the biggest spring, Ain Feshkha, are the ruins known as Khirbet Feshkha. Three km further N, the plain is cut by the Wadi Qumran, which drains the Buqeia, the great valley at the top of the cliffs. The ruins are located on the N bank of the wadi where it cuts through a marl terrace below the cliff, whence the name Khirbet Qumran, "the ruins at Qumran."

The first scrolls were found in early 1947 (de Vaux 1973: vii), but the area from which they came was pinpointed only at the end of January 1949. Official negligence is excused by the turmoil that preceded and followed the withdrawal of British forces in May 1948. But when Captain Philip Lippens, a United Nations Observer from Belgium, approached Major General Lash of the Arab Legion in January 1949, the response was immediate. With the approval of the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, troopers of the legion were sent to the probable area, and within two or three days Captain Akkash el Zebn had found the cave (Harding 1955: 6).

Cave 1 was excavated shortly afterwards by G. L. Harding and R. de Vaux. At that time a surface examination of the nearby ruins indicated no relation to the cave, but the developing controversy regarding the authenticity of the scrolls made it imperative to determine whether the ruins threw any light on the documents, and a thorough investigation was authorized. Responsibility for the excavation was given to de Vaux, who completed the project in five seasons: 1951 and 1953–56. The hiatus in 1952 is explained by the need to follow up new manuscript discoveries by the bedouin. From January 21 to March 3, de Vaux excavated the caves in the Wadi Murabbaat. During March 10–29, he directed a systematic search of the caves in the cliffs 4 km N and S of the Wadi Qumran. Finally, between September 22 and 29, he conducted a careful survey of the marl terrace on which the ruins stand. The last item in the program, the excavation of Khirbet Feshkha, was undertaken in 1958. During these years preliminary reports appeared regularly in *Revue Biblique,* but the closest to a final report that de Vaux produced was his 1959 Schweich Lectures at the British Academy in London. These appeared as

*L'archéologie et les manuscrits de la mer Morte* (1961). Just before his death in 1971, de Vaux completed a thorough revision of this book, which was published as *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1973).

Three km S of Ras Feshkha, R. De Langhe excavated Khirbet Mazin in December 1960 and January 1961 (Stutchbury and Nichol 1962). It appears to have been erected in the Roman period, and was reoccupied in the Byzantine period. There is no evidence that it was related to the installations at Qumran or Feshkha (de Vaux 1973: 88). Some 9 km further S at Ain el-Ghuweir, P. Bar-Adon in 1969 made the first Israeli contribution to the problem of Essene settlement on the coast of the Dead Sea. He brought to light a rectangular building (19.5 m × 43 m), and the pottery of the two levels of occupation showed similarities to that of Periods I and II at Qumran. Some 800 m to the N was a small cemetery. The mode of burial and tomb types were the same as those of the cemetery at Qumran (Bar-Adon 1977). The precise relationship of this settlement to Qumran is still undefined (de Vaux 1973: 89).

**A. The Caves**

Of the 270 caves, crevices, and holes examined in 1952, 40 contained material ranging from the Chalcolithic to the Arab periods, while 26 of the latter furnished pottery identical to that of Cave 1 (de Vaux 1973: 50–51). The suspicion that the bedouin had planted manuscripts in the caves was negated by the archaeologists' independent discovery of fragments in every cave in which the bedouin reported finds (Caves 1, 2, 4, 6, and 11). The archaeologists themselves discovered Caves 3, 5, and 7–10, which contained manuscript fragments of the same type (de Vaux 1973: 95–97). The pottery found in the scroll caves is of the same type as that found at Qumran (de Vaux 1973: 54), and in one case a manuscript fragment was found still attached to a piece of its linen wrapper and adhering to the neck of a jar (Harding 1955: 7). The scrolls, therefore, must have been placed in the caves when the 1st century A.D. pottery was in use and the settlement occupied. The conclusion that the documents belonged to the inhabitants of Khirbet Qumran is inescapable.

**B. Khirbet Qumran**

The stratigraphy of Khirbet Qumran revealed eight phases ranging from the 8th century B.C. to the Second Jewish Revolt (Table 1):

| | Qumran | Feshkha | Ain el-Ghuweir |
|---|---|---|---|
| ca. 700–600 B.C. | Israelite | | |
| ca. 150–100 B.C. | Ia | | |
| ca. 100–31 B.C. | Ib | I | I |
| ca. 4 B.C.–A.D. 68 | II | II | II |
| ca. A.D. 69–74 | III | | |
| ca. A.D. 74–132 | | III | |
| A.D. 132–35 | Second Revolt | | |

**1. Israelite Period.** The oldest structure at Qumran is a rectangular building. See Fig. QUM.01. A row of rooms bordered the courtyard on the E; there may have been others along the N and S walls. Outside the W wall, but protected by its own enclosure, was a round cistern fed by runoff from the terrace to the N. The pottery shows it to have been in use from the 8th century to the 6th century B.C., when it suffered a violent destruction that is naturally associated with the fall of the kingdom of Judah in 586 B.C. A wall in the plain running S to Ain Feshkha is also dated to this period.

There is general agreement that this structure must be one of the six cities in the wilderness mentioned in Josh 15:61–62. The majority of scholars identify it with Ir-hammelah, the "City of Salt," (references in de Vaux 1973: 91–94), but it has been suggested that the Iron Age buildings near Ain el-Ghuweir (Blake 1966: 565–66) should be identified with the "City of Salt," in which case Qumran would be Sekaka (Bar-Adon 1977: 22–23). This latter hypothesis, however, leaves out of account one of the three Iron Age sites in the Buqeia—Khirbet Abu Tabaq, Khirbet es-Samra, and Khirbet el-Maqari—which were explored by Cross and Milik (1956). These farming installations could have been set up by Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 17:12), but Uzziah (2 Chr 26:10) seems a more likely candidate.

**2. Period Ia.** Sometime in the 2d century B.C., Qumran was settled by a new group, whose identity is considered in the entry ESSENES. Two rectangular cisterns were dug beside the round cistern, which was brought back into service. Water intake was increased by the provision of two feeder channels that collected runoff from the terrace. The purpose of the small rooms around the cisterns is not clear, but the function of the two kilns in the SE corner is obvious. The pottery of this phase is virtually identical with that of the subsequent period (de Vaux 1973: 5). Hence, the date of the beginning of this settlement cannot be determined with any precision. But if the buildings of Period Ib were occupied from about 100 B.C., the beginning of Period Ia must be placed sometime in the second half of the 2d century B.C. (de Vaux 1973: 5), but exactly when is a matter of some debate (Laperrousaz 1978: 748–52). The number of occupants was small.

**3. Period Ib.** An influx of new occupants made a building program imperative, and it is in this phase that Qumran acquired what was to be virtually its definitive form. See Fig. QUM.02. The round cistern and the two adjoining ones were retained in service, but the water system was expanded by the addition of two ritual baths and four large new cisterns. The terrace catchment area was too small to fill all of these, so a dam was built across the Wadi Qumran in the cliffs. This directed winter flash floods into an aqueduct that fed the system. The main building block was dominated by a tower that had no entrance at ground level; in times of danger from nomadic mauraders it would have served as a refuge for some of the inhabitants and as a secure place to store essential foodstuffs. The tower was entered via a wooden bridge from the two-story building to the S. The upper floor of this building, which had collapsed into the room below, contained two inkwells plus a plastered table and bench (de Vaux 1973: 29). These suggest a scriptorium, and provide an important link with the manuscripts found in the nearby caves. The bench around the walls in an inner room on the ground floor suggests that the room was an assembly chamber.

The refectory was easy to identify. Not only was it linked to the water system to facilitate cleaning, but the adjoining room contained over a thousand vessels, plates, bowls, beakers, small jars, and jugs (de Vaux 1973: 12). Deposits of bones, carefully buried under potsherds in most of the open areas, indicate that some of the meals had a religious significance that has not yet been adequately explained. The bones also reveal something of the occupants' diet, which consisted of mutton, lamb, goat, beef, and veal (de Vaux 1973: 12–15). The rest of building was given over to a kitchen and workshops, one containing a corn mill. The best preserved of the workshops was the pottery in the SE corner, with its washing basin, storage pit, wheel position, and kilns. It was here that the distinctive pottery found in the ruins and caves was made (de Vaux 1973: 54).

The building contained very few rooms that might have served as living quarters, yet the cemetery indicates a sizable population, which has been estimated at about 200 (de Vaux 1973: 86). The area could certainly have sustained such numbers (de Vaux 1973: 84–86). The inhabitants lived in caves, in tents on the marl terrace, and in underground chambers carved into the marl (de Vaux 1973: 56–57).

The pottery of Period Ib can be dated only very roughly, to the end of the Hellenistic era. The coins, however, permit greater dating precision. According to de Vaux (1973: 18–19), the buildings were certainly occupied during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.) and possibly during that of John Hyrcanus (135–104 B.C.). They were destroyed by an earthquake and a fire, after which the site was abandoned for a generation. De Vaux (1973: 20–23) opted for the simplest hypothesis—the fire was caused by the earthquake—and identified the earthquake with that recorded for the year 31 B.C. by Josephus (*JW* 1.370–80). Others, however, claim that the earthquake merely gave the coup de grace to a building that had already been destroyed by enemy action, but they cannot agree on a date. Laperrousaz (1978: 760) placed it in the context of the struggle between Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II (67–63 B.C.), whereas Milik (1959: 94) preferred the Parthian invasion of 40 B.C. Neither of these authors has offered an explanation of why a settlement of no strategic importance and far from the war zone should have been the object of military action. Neither do they explain the absence of any destruction level at Khirbet Feshkha. Nonetheless, their hypotheses explain why Qumran was abandoned, whereas de Vaux's does not. Since the majority of the population lived and worked outside the edifice, which had not been badly

damaged, it would have been natural for them to rebuild the community center, were the earthquake the only catastrophe.

**4. Period II.** Continuity both in pottery types and in the function of rooms indicates that the site was reoccupied by the same group that had abandoned it (de Vaux 1973: 24). Rooms that were too badly damaged were left untouched or partially cleared and walled off, while others were brought back into use. The loss of space was compensated for by roofing over, or building in, what had previously been open spaces. The tower was reinforced with a sloping stone girdle. The silted-up decantation basin was abandoned, and the water channel extended to a new smaller decantation pool, which received the periodic flow from the aqueduct.

The beginning of this period is dated by de Vaux (1973: 33–36) to the early part of the reign of Archelaus (4 B.C.–A.D. 6) on the basis of a complex argument based on the coins. It ended in a violent destruction, which is dated to the third year (A.D. 68/69) of the First Revolt by the end of the coin series of this phase (de Vaux 1973: 36–37). The buildings at Qumran would have been visible from the N end of the Dead Sea, which Vespasian visited in the spring of A.D. 68 to test whether the unusually salty water would support bound nonswimmers (*JW* 4.477), and the tower might have suggested a military post. The claim of Laperrousaz (1978: 764–66) that Period II should be divided into two phases separated by another abandonment around A.D. 6 does not seem to rest on solid evidence.

**5. Period III.** Roman arrowheads found in the destruction level of Period II, and Roman coins discovered in the new occupation level, show that Qumran was occupied by a Roman garrison, presumably until Masada fell in A.D. 74 (de Vaux 1973: 41–44). During operations against this fortress and Machaerus, it was essential for the Romans to control traffic on the Dead Sea. Only the tower and the adjoining areas on the E and S were refurbished for use. The water channel from the aqueduct was modified to serve only the large cistern in the SE corner.

**6. Second Revolt.** Coins attest the occupation of Qumran by resistance elements during A.D. 132–35, but it must have been of short duration for no structures can be attributed to this level (de Vaux 1973: 45). If Milik (1960: 163–64) is correct in his interpretation of a letter found in the Wadi Murabbaat, the name of the site at this period was Mesad Hasidin, "Fortress of the Pious."

**7. Cemetery.** The main cemetery of Periods I and II is located 50 m E of the buildings and contains about 1,100 tombs, 26 of which were excavated by de Vaux (1973: 45–48). The bodies were placed with their heads to the S in a cavity under the E wall of a trench, which was 1.2 m to 2 m deep. The tombs in the well-planned section nearest the buildings all contained male bodies, but some of those located in the extension of the cemetery over the hillocks to the E contained bodies of women and a child. Small secondary cemeteries on the terrace N of the buildings and at the foot of the terrace S of the wadi contained about 15 and 30 tombs, respectively. These contained male, female, and infant bodies (de Vaux 1973: 57–58). Very few of the individuals buried in these three cemeteries had passed their fortieth year (de Vaux 1973: 47).

### C. Khirbet Feshkha

In terms of pottery and architectural style, the two main occupation levels correspond to Periods Ib and II at Qumran. The period of abandonment between the two phases, however, was marked by neither fire nor earthquake, whereas the end of this settlement was as violent as that of Qumran. Once again Laperrousaz (1978: 773–85) has disagreed with de Vaux's conclusions, and has equated Feshkha I and II with the two subdivisions he discerned in Qumran II, but his reasons are no more convincing. In contrast to Qumran, Feshkha was not reoccupied immediately after Period II, but parts of the ruins were reused in the late 1st century A.D. and early 2d century A.D., and again in the Byzantine period.

The central building, consisting of a series of rooms around a central courtyard, is of less importance for determining the function of Feshkha than the adjoining installations. The principle feature of the enclosure to the S is a long cobble-floored, roofed building which opens to the S; it would have been suitable for ripening dates (de Vaux 1973: 73). Palms were certainly cultivated in this area in antiquity, as the presence of their wood, leaves, and dates at Qumran and in its caves confirms (de Vaux 1973: 74).

The installation to the N is more complex. From a water-control box are run two channels separated by a paved area. The W channel first serves a large basin, and then skirts its edge to serve two smaller ones, whereas the E channel ends in a rectangular pool. All that can be said with certainty is that this complex served an industrial purpose. The initial suggestions that it was used for the preparation of leather or parchment are excluded by the complete absence of any traces of tannin or organic residue (de Vaux 1973: 78–82). Zeuner's hypothesis (1960) that it was a fish farm has encountered no such decisive objections, but in that case one would have expected the installation to have been designed differently. Despite this uncertainty, it is clear that Khirbet Feshkha was a dependency of Qumran, to whose industrial and agricultural needs it catered (de Vaux 1973: 84). The inhabitants also farmed in the Buqeia at the top of the cliffs, to which ancient paths lead from both Qumran and Feshkha.

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**QUOTATIONS OF OT IN NT.** See NEW TESTAMENT, OT QUOTATIONS IN.

**QURAYYA** (28°47′N; 36°00′E). An archaeological site *(Ar al-qurayayah)* in NW Saudi Arabia, not mentioned in the biblical texts but possibly associated with the Midianites, and perhaps to be identified with the Ostama of Ptolemy's *Geography.* It is situated ca. 63 km NW of Tabuk and 125 km SE of Aqaba, in a region of broken sandstone and shale hills, cut by innumerable wadis, fringing the W edge of the Tabuk basin. The configuration of the region is such that flash floods flowing eastwards from the Hejaz mountains into the basin during winter and early summer can be utilized for agricultural purposes before they are lost in the gravels, sands, and silts of the basin itself, and it is no doubt this advantageous setting in an otherwise inhospitable environment which enabled the site to be originally settled. It is also close to the main N–S route from Arabia to Palestine and Syria, the route followed by the Mecca pilgrims and by the Hejaz railway.

The existence of ruins at Qurayya was known to a number of early travelers in the region, such as Wallin in 1848 and Burton and Doughty in 1877, though none of them actually visited the site. The first-known European visitor was B. Moritz, in 1906, who recorded a dozen or so examples of Thamudic, Nabatean and Kufic graffiti and published them, with a good description of the ruins (which he referred to as Greje), two years later (Moritz 1908: 399–415). Alois Musil did not visit the site during his journey of 1910, but he was aware of it (as al-Krajje) and tentatively identified it with Ptolemy's Ostama (Musil 1926: 43, 312). In 1951 it was visited by H. St. J. Philby, whose account of the topography and the visible remains was thorough and accurate (Philby 1957: 171–84). The first sketch plans of the site and its

immediate surroundings were made in 1968 by a University of London archaeological survey team, who also published the first detailed analysis and interpretation of the remains (Parr, Harding, and Dayton 1970: 219–41). Since then Qurayya has been visited by members of the Saudi Arabian Antiquities Department who have added important details to the description (Ingraham, Johnson, Rihani, and Shatla 1981: 71–75). No accurately measured survey has ever been made, however; nor have proper excavations (apart from a few very minor soundings) been carried out. Knowledge of the site remains inadequate for anything but a superficial description and a tentative understanding of its chronology and its historical significance.

The Qurayya ruins, in their entirety, cover many $km^2$ and comprise a number of distinct though closely related parts. The most prominent feature is an isolated outcrop of gray-green shale siltstone, about 1 km long and 350 m broad at its widest point; it is oriented approximately E–W. The summit of the outcrop is steeply ridged, with its crest running along the long axis, and its highest point being some 50 m above the level of the broad wadi beds which surround it. It is protected on almost all sides by sheer cliffs, which justify Philby's designation of it as the Citadel Hill. Only at the SW corner is the rock face sufficiently low and broken to provide a means of access, and it was probably here that the original approach was located. The summit is divided into three roughly equal parts by two stone walls, stretching N–S from cliff to cliff. These are built of thin slabs of the local siltstone set in mud mortar and are about 1.40 m thick, surviving in places to a height of over 3 m. A distinctive feature of their construction is the way in which they are composed of separate unbonded sections, each about 3 or 4 m long, perhaps in order to localize any collapse resulting from an earthquake or hostile action. The W wall has a series of semicircular towers projecting from its W face, while there are traces of what may be gateways in approximately the middle of each wall. Other stone structures on the summit include several ruined square towers and what are probably masonry tombs. There can be no doubt that the Citadel Hill served as a fortified place of refuge for the inhabitants of the settlement below.

The ruins of this settlement cover an irregular area of ca. 400 m × 300 m on the level ground some 200 m from the NE foot of the citadel. The line of a surrounding wall is mostly buried beneath debris and windblown sand, but a few traces of its stone and mud-brick structure are visible. It appears to have been provided in places with projecting towers, and there may have been gateways on the N and S. Within the walled area there are considerable mounds of debris, reaching heights of ca. 8 m, and occasional stubs of walls, but there is little indication of the original layout, apart from the presence of a large flat area to the N which may have been an open marketplace.

Arising from the base of the citadel on its N and E sides are a number of long walls similar in general appearance to that which surrounds the settlement. One of them connects the settlement to the citadel, while the others enclose extensive areas of the adjacent flat wadi beds. Still other walls of similar construction can be traced over a wide area to the NE of the settlement, running in relatively straight lines across both wadi beds and the neighboring low hills and ridges, in some cases for distances of several kilometers. Throughout this area are remains of many small rectangular fields, their outlines marked by low single lines of rough stones. Double lines of stones are perhaps the remains of water channels serving the fields, and the remains of a few stone sluices are preserved. A much more substantial water channel, partly in the form of a wide ditch, runs in the direction of these fields from the site of a now-dry spring at the foot of the citadel. This complex of remains clearly suggests an agricultural system based on irrigation, which was protected by enclosure walls from damage by flood and wind and from hostile intrusion.

Finally to be noted are the ruins of three isolated buildings, two just outside the N and E sides of the enclosure wall of the settlement and the third about a km further N in the middle of the fields. They are built of ashlar sandstone masonry, an entirely different material from that employed for the other structures at the site; some of the blocks exhibit the diagonal tooling usually associated with Nabatean craftsmanship, while two of the buildings have among their ruins fragments of typical Nabatean capitals and column bases. The function of these buildings is obscure. Philby (1957) called the two closest to the settlement a nymphaeum and a palace, but there is nothing in their plans to support such a designation.

They are clearly of a different date from the rest of the ruins at Qurayya, and perhaps constitute a Nabatean way station on the Arabian caravan route.

With the exception of the three buildings mentioned above, the most striking feature of the Qurayya remains is their homogeneity, reflected in the almost identical style of construction of the walls on the citadel, around the settlement, and encircling the field systems. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that all of these features are more or less contemporary with one another, and are part of one basic design. To provide a date for this complex without a detailed survey and excavation is impossible, but the evidence of the pottery collected from the surface of the site provides some indication. A small proportion of this is of typical Romano-Nabatean ware; it is found particularly in the vicinities of the three isolated buildings described above. The majority of the pottery from the citadel, the settlement, and the fields, however, is very different. A number of types are represented, but only one of these is, with our present state of knowledge, sufficiently diagnostic to help with dating. This is a very distinctive painted ware decorated in various tones of black, brown, red, and yellow applied to a thick buff or cream slip; quite often a bichrome or polychrome effect is produced. The most frequent patterns are geometric (horizontal and vertical bands, triangles, cross-hatching, running broken spirals, etc.), but animal motifs (birds, bulls, and at least one camel) are also reported, and occasional human figures. That this painted ware (and no doubt some at least of the plain wares, which often resemble the painted ware in fabric and shape) was manufactured at the site is proved by the discovery at the N foot of the citadel of a number of ruined kilns, surrounded by spoiled and discarded sherds, some of which were painted. Petrographic analysis of the painted pottery has also indicated that the materials for its production must have derived from Qurayya or from an area of very similar geology (Rothenberg and Glass 1983; 101–13; Rothenberg 1988: 101), and it is possible that two caves cut into the face of the hill near the kilns were quarries for the extraction of claystone for use by the potters.

The dating of this distinctive pottery (for which the term "Qurayya Painted Ware" has been proposed) is still a matter for debate. (For the latest discussion, see Parr 1988). However, that it was in use as early as the 13th and 12th centuries B.C. has been proved by the discovery of identical sherds at a number of archaeological sites in modern Israel, especially at the important copper-mining center of Timna in the S Wadi Araba, where they were found in stratified contexts dated by inscribed Egyptian objects of Dynasties XIX and XX (Rothenberg 1988). This dating is supported by a comparative study of the decorative motifs, some of which—in particular the running spirals and birds—are very reminiscent of those on some LB ceramics from the Aegean and E Mediterranean (Parr, Harding, and Dayton 1970: 238). Other motifs—particularly a lotus design—suggest Egyptian parallels, and it is possible that the immediate source of inspiration for the pottery was Egyptian faience, much of which was found at Timna (Parr 1982: 129–30). Whether the Qurayya Painted Ware was also in production later than about the 11th century B.C. is uncertain; it has been suggested that it was still in vogue in N Arabia as late as the 7th century B.C. (Muhly 1984: 284), but the arguments are by no means convincing (Parr 1988). On present evidence it seems most likely that the pottery dates to the last few centuries of the 2d millennium, and in view of its profusion among the ruins of all parts of the Qurayya site it is reasonable to conclude that these ruins also date in their origin to this period.

As the result of recent archaeological surveys it is now known that this painted pottery is found not only at Qurayya and at Timna but also at a number of other localities in NW Arabia, including the oasis center of Tayma, on the main trade route to the S, and about a dozen sites in the lower reaches of several wadis leading down through the Hejaz mountains to the Red Sea coast near the mouth of the Gulf of Aqaba (Ingraham, Johnson, Rihani, and Shatla 1981: 74–75; Bawden 1983: 42–44). One such site is that of Mugha›ir Shu‹ayb (al-Bad‹), almost certainly the oasis known to the classical geographers as Madian and to medieval Arab writers as Midyan, names which derive from that of the biblical Midianites, with which this corner of the Arabian peninsula is traditionally associated (Musil 1926: 278–87). It was because of this association that the Qurayya Painted Ware, when originally reported, was designated "Midianite Ware" (Parr, Harding, and Dayton 1970: 240); and although the more neutral term is certainly now to be preferred, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the pottery and the people were, in some way, connected.

Regardless, the existence toward the end of the 2d millennium in NW Arabia of settlements of which at least one, Qurayya, is provided with such substantial defensive architecture as to merit the term "urban" requires explanation. In the present state of knowledge, this can be little more than guesswork, but further consideration of the distribution of the painted pottery leads to a reasonable hypothesis. The quantity of Egyptian objects at Timna has been reasonably taken to indicate that the copper mines there were operated under pharaonic control, while the presence of Qurayya Painted Ware at the site shows that its users—presumably workers from the Hejaz—were in contact with the Egyptians. The presence of the pottery at sites close to the Hejaz coast, little more than 150 km across the Red Sea from Egypt, and on routes leading E toward Qurayya and Tayma, is also suggestive of an Egyptian connection. Unlike Timna, however, neither Qurayya nor Tayma have produced evidence to associate them with copper working, and it is much more likely that they were involved with the trade in aromatics. Although it has recently been denied that the land route through Arabia to the incense-producing regions of the S was in use as early as this (Crone 1987: 13–15), there is in fact persuasive evidence that New Kingdom Egypt was obtaining some of its supplies from intermediaries in the NW of the peninsula. It is at least possible, therefore, that it was Egyptian economic involvement, perhaps for the sake of both copper and aromatics, which provided the stimulus toward sedentarization and the establishment of sites such as Qurayya; and it has further been argued that the inhabitants of the region belonged to that vague category of people known to the Egyptians as Shoshu, some of whom at least, according to the Egyptian sources, may have been sedentary (Parr 1988). Whether the inhabitants of Qurayya are also to be thought of as Midianites depends on how the biblical references to that people are interpreted and what view is taken of their territorial, political, and economic status in the 13th and 12th centuries B.C.

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**QUTIAN LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

# R

**RA** (DEITY). See RE (DEITY).

**RAAMAH** (PERSON) [Heb *raʿmâ* (רַעְמָה)*; raʿmā* (רַעְמָא)]. A son of Cush and father of Dedan and Sheba (Gen 10:7; 1 Chr 1:9) whose name occurs in the so-called "Table of Nations" (Genesis 10) as a tribal rather than personal name (Westermann 1984: 510–11). Raamah is also named along with Sheba as a commercial partner with Tyre (Ezek 27:22). The biblical contexts point to Arabia; more specifically, the list of delivered products in Ezekiel 27 (best aromatics, precious stones, and gold) suggests a location of Raamah in S Arabia, or at least within the reach of the ancient incense route. An identification which should be considered is *rgmtm* (probably vocalized Ragmatum), the ancient name of the capital of the oasis of Nagrān (*Naǧrān*) in what was then N Yemen, today situated in SW Saudi Arabia. Later on, the name of the oasis was also transferred to the town, and the name Ragmatum disappeared. Favoring the equation of biblical Raamah with *rgmtm* are the LXX renderings of the name (1 Chr 1:9; *regma;* Ezek 27:22, *ragma*), as well as a note in the Greek and Ethiopic versions of the *Martyrium of St. Arethas* telling that the meaning of the name of the town of Nagrān is in Hebrew "town of thunder," which can only be explained if one substitutes for Nagrān the name *Raʿmâ,* since in Aram *raʿmā* means "thunder" (cf. Müller 1969: 366, n. 103).

The earliest Old South Arabic reference to *rgmtm* is found in the Old Sabean inscription RES 3943, 4 from Mārib from the time around 500 B.C. This text is an account of the deeds of a ruler who, among others, destroyed Ragmatum, the town of the king of the Muhaʾmirum, as well as all the towns in the area surrounding Ragmatum and Nagrān. In the Minaean inscription M 247 (= RES 3022, 2 from Barāqiš [ca. 340/330 B.C.]), it is mentioned that the Sabeans attacked a Minaean caravan on the route between Maʿīn and Ragmatum. Another reference to this town is found on a bronze tablet from al-Uhdūd, the ruins of ancient Nagrān, which contains a dedication to ḎūSamāwī, the lord of a temple in *[r]gmtm*; furthermore, a reference to an inhabitant of the town *ḏr[g]mtm* occurs in the fragmentary text Ja 2132 from Qaryat al-Faw, about 280 km N of Nagrān on the trade route to the Persian Gulf (see Ryckmans 1980: 198, n. 4). In antiquity, Ragmatum in the oasis of Nagrān was an important station on the incense road, the main route of which came from Mārib in Saba and led from there to the N via Dedan until it reached the Mediterranean coast.

An identification of the biblical *raʿmâ* (or *regma*) with *regma* (or *regama*) *polis* in Ptolemy (*Geog.* 6.7.14) is impossible because that town must have been situated on the Persian Gulf. Likewise, the equation with the *rammanitai* in Strabo (*Geog.* 16.4.24) is out of question, because Raimānites are understood by this gentilic; the inhabitants of Nagrān are designated in the same chapter of Strabo as *negranai.* Already in the 18th century Niebuhr (1772: 248, 293) wanted to compare the biblical Raamah with the region around Ǧabal Raima, one of the numerous Yemenite places of that name.

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**RAAMIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *raʿamyâ* (רַעַמְיָה)]. An alternate form of REELAIAH.

**RAAMSES** (PLACE) [Heb *raʿamsēs* (רַעַמְסֵס)]. See RAMESES (PLACE).

**RABAH, WADI** (M.R. 144167). The name of one of the tributaries of the Yarkon river and of a site situated on its S bank, about 1 km E of Tell Ras el-ʿAin (M.R. 143168). Two Chalcolithic levels and mixed remains of the two Neolithic phases (Jericho IX and Yarmukian) have been identified there.

On the mound of Tell Ras el-ʿAin itself, no remains earlier than the EB were found; thus, it appears that the earlier Wadi Rabah site was abandoned sometime toward the end of the Chalcolithic period and that settlement resumed further W on virgin soil close to a spring, constituting the earliest settlement at Tell Ras el-ʿAin. For a discussion of the excavations on the mound of Ras el-ʿAin, see ANTIPATRIS. The Wadi Rabah site was excavated in November 1952. Stratum I was found to belong to the Ghassulian phase of the Chalcolithic, while stratum II belonged to a pre-Ghassulian phase.

Stratum II is significant in that its pottery is formally similar to that of Jericho VIII; however, there is a larger amount of slipped and decorated ware at Wadi Rabah than at Jericho VIII. Most of the Wadi Rabah pottery is burnished, whereas burnishing appears only on bowls at Jericho VIII, and there is no evidence of burnishing whatsoever at Tuleilat Ghassul, suggesting that the finds associated with Wadi Rabah level II not only antedate the Ghassulian culture of Palestine (which occurred ca. 3500 B.C.) but also that associated with Jericho VIII. In all these three phases of the Chalcolithic age—Rabah II, Jericho VIII, and Ghassulian—the pottery shows uninterrupted development. Finds similar to those of Wadi Rabah stratum II have been found in other excavations, such as those at ha-Bashan Street in Tel Aviv (*EAEHL* 4: 1161), at Lod (area B), in stratum IIIc of Tuleilat el-Batashi (area B), and at ʿEin el-Jarba. Based on radiocarbon dates of the Wadi Rabah stratum at ʿEin el-Jarba, it appears that the earliest possible limits for this culture is 4000 B.C. See BATASHI, TULEILAT EL-; JARBA, ʿEIN EL-; and LOD. The wide geographical horizon of this culture is reinforced by recent surveys in Galilee, where some sites demonstrate close affinities to the Wadi Rabah culture (Frankel and Gophna 1980).

Some of the pottery of these three Chalcolithic phases can be compared with Halafian ware (particularly the Halafian ware and its imitations occurring in strata XVI–XIX at Mersin in Cilicia), and a correlation can be established between the Middle Chalcolithic of Mersin and the Chalcolithic of Palestine (Kaplan 1960). Since, however, certain shapes and ornamentation characteristic of the Wadi Rabah ware were encountered only in Mersin XIX, the Wadi Rabah culture can be placed in the same horizon as that stratum; i.e., it is a Chalcolithic, not a Neolithic culture, even though no copper has been found among the Wadi Rabah repertoire of objects.

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JACOB KAPLAN

**RABBAH** (PLACE) [Heb *rabbâ* (רַבָּה)]. **1.** Also known as *rabbat bĕnê ʿammôn* (Rabbah of the children of Ammon), the city that served as the capital of the ancient Ammonite kingdom. The site is located on Citadel Hill (Jebel Qalʿah) in the middle of the modern city of Amman (M.R. 238151) on the N bank of the upper course of the *Nahr ez-Zerqa* (Wadi Zerqa; modern Wadi Amman), where powerful springs serve as the sources of the Jabbok river. See also AMMAN.

According to Deut 3:11, Rabbah is noted as the place where the "iron bedstead" of Og, last of the Rephaim and king of the Amorites at Bashan, was on display. It is possible that the iron bed was taken to Rabbah by the Ammonites as a trophy of their initial conquest, although Landes (*IDB* 1: 109) has suggested that it was preserved because of a special desire to show respect to the powers (human and divine) which controlled and possessed the land prior to the Ammonite emergence. At any rate, this passage shows that Rabbath-ammon was clearly already the capital of the Ammonites by the 13th century B.C.

A reference in Josh 13:25 describes Rabbah's geographical relationship to Aroer. Although some translations locate Aroer "east of Rabbah," a proper rendering should be "in front of [facing] Rabbah" (note the NIV reading of "near"). It would appear from this reference that Rabbah was clearly considered outside of the territory allotted to the Israelites.

The Ammonites were conquered by Israel, after provoking David to war by their humiliation of his messengers (2 Sam 11:1). The account of the siege (2 Sam 12:26–31) appears to provide a small clue to the actual physical layout of the Ammonite capital. Specifically, we are told in 2 Sam 12:26 that after fighting for some time against Rabbah, Joab was finally able to capture the *ʿîr hammĕlûkâ* ("royal city"). In verse 27, however, Joab informs David that it is the *ʿîr hammāyim* ("city of waters") which has been taken. The use of these two expressions has raised a long-standing question as to whether Joab was using two different names for the city of Rabbah *at large,* or was intending to describe two different locations *within* the city. Most recent commentators have apparently opted for the second interpretation, suggesting that the *ʿîr hammĕlûkâ* was a fortified royal citadel located on the top of the mound (acropolis), while the *ʿîr hammāyim* was a special fortification that guarded the city's water supply in the valley of the Jabbok. Although the two different expressions are attested in both the MT and the LXX, both Syr and Targ have changed the second expression *ʿîr hammāyim,* to *ʿîr hammĕlûkâ* in apparent support of the first interpretation. More recent critics have followed a similar approach, although Wellhausen (1871) preferred to alter the text so that *ʿîr hammāyim* was read in both verses. McCarter, on the other hand, argues that such emendation of the text is unjustified and unnecessary (*2 Samuel* AB, 310–12). He suggests that both verses refer to the same place, but that rather than referring to the entire city at large, both expressions refer to a citadel within the city which both served as the king's royal residence *and* guarded the city's water supply. If the fortified royal residence was located atop that portion of the tell which immediately overlooked the springs of the Jabbok, it could easily have doubled as a fortification for the city's water supply.

At any rate, after the city fell David placed the Ammonite crown on his head and subjected the people to forced labor (2 Sam 12:26–31; 2 Chr 20:1–3). It was during this siege that Uriah the Hittite was sent to his death (2 Sam 11:14–25). Later, when David was forced to seek refuge in Transjordan, Shobi, son of Nahash, from Rabbah, helped supply David (2 Sam 17:27–29).

It appears that Rabbah remained under Israelite suzerainty until the first half of the 9th century B.C., although it is not mentioned again until the mid-8th century B.C. (Amos 1:14). From this time until the fall of the S kingdom, Rabbah received numerous prophetic rebukes as the Ammonites tried to take advantage of Judah's increasing political difficulties (Jer 49:2; Ezek 21:25 [—Eng 21:20]; 25:5).

Rabbah-ammon became a Hellenistic city when Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–247 B.C.) rebuilt and renamed the city Philadelphia, although the original name continued to be used by both local officials and contemporary historians. It was later conquered in 218 B.C. by the Seleucid king Antiochus III ("the Great"), who penetrated the city through a water tunnel, the remains of which can still be seen.

Josephus reveals that during the time of Hyrcanus (135–107 B.C.) Rabbah-ammon was ruled by the tyrant Zenon Cotylas and later, by his son, Theodorus. Although Alexander Jannaeus laid siege to the city during this time, he was unable to take it.

In 63 B.C., the Roman general Pompey annexed Philadelphia to the Decapolis. It remained under Arab control until Herod defeated the city in 30 B.C. During the Jewish revolt, Rabbah-ammon joined the fight against the Zealots.

During the time of Trajan, Rabbah-ammon was included in the province of Arabia (A.D. 106). A new road from Elath to Damascus, which ran through Rabbah-ammon, created an economic boom for the city which increased its wealth and importance during the Byzantine period. During the 4th century A.D., it was listed by Ammianus Marcellinus as one of the great fortified cities of Coele-Syria. It eventually became the seat of a Christian bishopric, forming one of the nineteen sees of *Palaestina tertia.*

When the city was conquered by the Muslim Yezid in A.D. 635, it was renamed Amman and made the capital of the Balqa district. During the Crusader period, it was ruled by a Transjordanian prince named Ahamant. It appears that during the Mameluke period Rabbah-ammon was deserted, and remained so

until it was resettled by some Circassians in 1876. Amman became the capital of the Emirate of Transjordan in 1921, and today it is the capital of the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan.

The first modern excavation in Amman was conducted by an Italian team led by G. Guidi in 1927. R. Bartoccini took over as director in the years 1929–33. In 1955 G. L. Harding examined the Ammon Airport structure just after it was discovered. It was later excavated by J. B. Hennessy in 1966 and, again, by L. Geraty and L. Herr in 1976. In 1966 R. Dornemann conducted a sounding on the Citadel Hill (Jebel Qal‘ah). Additional work was done at the citadel by C. Bennett (1975; 1979). Jordanian archaeologists (e.g., F. Zayadine, and A. Hadidi) have recently made several important discoveries and conducted many important soundings and excavations at various sites in Amman.

Remains from the Paleolithic, Neolithic, and Chalcolithic periods have been reported from various locations in Amman. Dolmens are also said to have been scattered throughout the area, although none of these survive, the last having been destroyed in the early part of this century. See DOLMEN.

Occupation during the various periods of the EB (ca. 2900–2300 B.C.) is thus far represented only by unstratified pottery from Citadel Hill in Amman (Jebel Qal‘ah).

Middle Bronze I occupation is likewise supported only by sherd material so far, but remains from the MB II–III (ca. 1800–1550 B.C.) have been steadily accumulating. At least four MB II–III tombs have been reported from Amman: one on Jebel Jofeh el-Gharbi, SE of Citadel Hill; one on Jebel et Taj, ESE of Citadel Hill; and two on Citadel Hill, itself. The two tombs on Citadel Hill contained thirty-six scarabs (almost all from the 13th to 17th Egyptian dynasties) and six cylinder seals of types used between 1700 and 1200 B.C. Evidence for occupation of Citadel Hill, itself, comes from a probe conducted on the upper terrace, just N of the Hellenistic-Roman wall, in which a MB II glacis was revealed in association with two walls. Finally, it should be noted that the foundation deposit at the Amman Airport structure contained scarabs from the 17th to 13th centuries B.C., as well as four cylinder seals, two of which may date to MB II–III. Although these scarabs and seals were probably heirlooms and do not date the structure, itself, (which is clearly LB; see below), they do provide additional indirect evidence for MB II–III occupation.

The LB occupation on Citadel Hill is so far supported only by unstratified sherds. More intensive excavation will probably provide new information. The most important find of this period is the Amman Airport structure (Herr 1983a; 1983b). It is almost 15 m square in plan with outer walls 2 m thick. In addition to local pottery, a large quantity of imported Cypriot and Mycenaean ware was found, enabling archaeologists to date the structure to LB IIB (1300–1200 B.C.). Although the structure was initially interpreted as a temple, further excavation and analysis have led to the suggestion that the structure served as a “tower,” perhaps for the storage of funerary gifts. The discovery of a large number of burnt human bones as well as a large pile of slightly scorched rocks (which may have served as a pyre for cremation) lends support to the idea that the site served a funerary function. The increasing corpus of MB and LB finds around Amman has forced scholars to reevaluate Glueck’s hypothesis that central Transjordan essentially lacked any sedentary occupation during these periods.

Material from Iron I (1200–1000 B.C.) is limited to a tomb on Jebel Nuzha (initially assigned to LB IIB, but more likely represents the earliest Iron I phase; see Dornemann 1983: 31–34) and unstratified sherds from the 1969 sounding of Citadel Hill (Dornemann 1983: 106). The most important finds from Iron Age IB–IIA (10th–9th centuries B.C.) include a wall on Citadel Hill (possibly built by David after his recapture of the city) and the well-known Ammonite Citadel Inscription (dated between 875 and 825 B.C.). Finds from Iron IIB–C (8th–6th centuries B.C.), which are more abundant, include several statues of Ammonite kings—the crowns of which may resemble that which was captured by David (2 Sam 12:30); wall fragments on Citadel Hill from the 7th–6th centuries B.C.—possibly destroyed by the Assyrians; four double-faced stone heads of females, which may have served as ornamental capitals for royal buildings on Citadel Hill; the Siran Bottle Inscription—a 7th-century B.C. dedicatory inscription on a bronze bottle which mentions Amminadab, son of Hisalel, son of Amminadab, king of the Ammonites (this bottle was found at Tell Siran on the campus of the University of Jordan, in Amman); and several Iron IIB–C tombs. (For a more complete summary and bibliography of finds, see Dornemann 1983; Geraty and Willis 1986.)

There has been much discussion about a number of "megalithic towers" which have been assumed to have provided an outer "ring of defense" for Rabbah during the Iron Age. More recent analysis of these structures shows that they were not all contemporary (some date as late as the Roman period), nor did they all serve military functions. Indeed, many appear to have served as agricultural farmsteads and watchtowers.

Clearly, the archaeological evidence shows that during the latter part of the Iron IIB–C period ancient Amman was at the appex of its wealth and political power. This, undoubtedly, reflects the greater independence Amman enjoyed under Assyrian and Babylonian sovereignty as opposed to the greater oppression it experienced when dominated by Israel and Judah.

There is a paucity of archaeological remains for the Persian period, but material from the Hellenistic period has been found, including some walls on the lower terrace of Citadel Hill, various houses with plaster floors, painted pottery, Rhodian jar handles, coins, and an underground reservoir at the N end of the citadel. Two reliefs of gods from the 4th–3rd centuries B.C. were found in the forum area.

The most spectacular ruins, which can be seen on the surface on and around Citadel Hill, are from the Roman period. These remains include the well-known amphitheater, a colonnaded street, the nymphaeum, the odeum, an aqueduct, a bath, a temple complex, and several Roman tombs.

Byzantine and Arabic remains include two large houses on the citadel and a Byzantine church.

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**2.** A town situated in the N highlands of Judah (Josh 15:60), within the same district as Kiriath-baal/Kiriath-jearim. This settlement, whose name perhaps means "the great one" (fem.), is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The theory that this list was derived from an administrative roster compiled under the Judean monarchy (Alt 1925) has been widely accepted, although controversy continues over the precise makeup of the districts, the proper context of the town lists of Benjamin and Dan, and the period of the monarchy to which the original roster belongs (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 64–72). It is possible that this town is the same as Rubute of the Egyptian texts, although the difficulties of locating Rubute in the hill country, as Joshua 15 suggests for Rabbah, casts some doubt on this idea. In order to retain the identification of Rabbah with Rubute, Aharoni (*LBHG,* 299) argued that this district consisted of two fortresses guarding each end of the W approach to Jerusalem (M.R. 149137; cf. Rainey *ISBE* 4: 29). However, it seems unnecessarily arbitrary to assume that this district is unique, since all the other districts in this roster form reasonably compact geographical units. If this district is not unique, then we should look for Rabbah in the hill country close to Kiriath-baal/Kiriath-jearim. In this light, it seems best to admit that Rabbah of Judah remains to be identified.

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**RABBI** [Gk *rhabbi* (ῥαββι)]. Var. RABBONI. An honorific title found in the NT. The Hebrew word *rabbî* is transliterated just over a dozen times in the Greek text of the Gospels. In ten of these cases, the RSV retains the transliteration with the English equivalent "rabbi." In five other instances Gk *rhabbi* is

translated “master” (Matt 26:25, 49; Mark 9:5; 11:21; 14:45). In origin a title of authority, Heb *rabbî* became, by the 1st century C.E., a title as well as a mode of address.

**A. Literary and Epigraphic Background**

**1. Biblical and Extrabiblical Evidence.** In the OT the word *rab,* “big,” “great,” occurs only in construct with other nouns: *rab šāqeh,* “chief of officers” (2 Kgs 18:17 = Isa 36:2, etc.); *rab sārîs,* “chief of heads” (2 Kgs 18:17, Jer 39:3, 13; Dan 1:3); *rab māg,* “chief of princes” (Jer 39:3, 13); *rab tabbāḥîm,* “captain of the guard” (2 Kgs 25:8, etc.); Aram *rab ḥartummayyā,* “chief of magicians” (Dan 4:6, 5:1); *rab signîn,* “chief of prefects” (Dan 2:48); *rab ḥôbel,* “chief of sailors” (Jonah 1:6). In two other instances the title *rab* is not connected with a corps of officials (Jer 39:13; [41:1]; Esth 1:8). In extracanonical sources, both Aramaic and Phoenician, *rab* has the sense of “officer” or “chief,” and it appears most often in the construct form (*DISO,* s.v.). It is attested in the absolute in Jewish Aramaic texts from Qumran (e.g., 11QtgJob 19:3 [Job 29:4]; 25:1 [Job 34:24]).

**2. “Rabbi” as a Jewish Title in the First Centuries C.E.** The earliest evidence for “rabbi” as a title attached to a proper name (e.g., Rab Hana) occurs on Jerusalem ossuaries which apparently date from before 100 C.E. (*CIJ* 2: 249; 275–77; 277–79). The inscriptions which date from 100 C.E. to 400 C.E. stem largely from the cemeteries of Joppa and Beth-she‹arim (see the annotated list of inscriptions in Cohen 1981: 1–17). These inscriptions indicate that men entitled *rabbî* were probably wealthy, and that many were comfortable with the Greek language and with Greco-Roman artistic and architectural styles (see, e.g., Schwabe and Lifshitz 1973: no. 61). Overall, the inscriptions indicate that the title *rabbî* should be thought of as an honorific roughly equivalent to “sir,” with no explicit connection to either teaching or adjudication (much like the colloquial use of Gk *kyrios*). One problematic exception should be noted [Naveh 1978: no. 6]; the inscription cited at Mazar 1974: 46 should not be admitted as evidence.)

**B. *Rab* and *Rabbi* in Rabbinic Literature**

The use of the term *rab* as a title is not attested before roughly the 1st century C.E. In rabbinic literature, personages associated with the period before 70 C.E. are not referred to with a title (e.g., Hillel, Shammai), while those associated with the later periods are titled (e.g., Rabbi Aqiba, etc.). Of greatest relevance to the present discussion, however, is the absolute use of the term as well as its use as a mode of address (as in the NT). The discussion is based solely on the Mishna and the Tosepta, the two earliest rabbinic collections.

**1. “Rab” in the Absolute.** In the absolute, the term *rab* is used almost exclusively in two ways: to designate the master of a slave (e.g., *m. Pesaḥ.* 8.1–2; *m. Giṭ.* 4.4 = *m. ‹Ed.* 1.3; compare Gk *kyrios*) or to designate a teacher, the more relevant usage for present purposes. In one tradition about a figure associated with the period before 70 C.E. and in two pre-135 C.E. traditions, *rab* designates a link in the chain of authoritative teaching (*t. Pesaḥ.* 4.13–14; *m. Yad.* 4.3; *m. ‹Ed.* 8.7).

In traditions attributed to post-135 C.E. figures, obligations to a *rab* are explicitly filial (*m. Makk.* 2.2 with *t. B. Qam.* 9.11; *m. B. Meṣ.* 2.11 with *t. B. Meṣ.* 2.29–30 and *t. Hor.* 2.25; *m. Ker.* 6.9). Similarly, the social relations of a *rab* are the focus of other post-135 C.E. traditions, as well as of anonymous traditions (*m. ‹Erub.* 3.5; *m. Meg.* 4.5; *m. Ket.* 2.10; *t. Ber.* 5.7; *t. ‹Erub.* 4.1; 5.11; *t. Ket.* 3.3; *t. Sanh.* 3.8).

Two usages characteristic of the Tosepta deserve special mention. First, important biblical figures (Moses, Elijah, Elisha) are described in terms of the relationship of *rab* and disciple (*t. Sot.* 3.7; *t. ‹Ed.* 3.4). Second, the plural *rabbôtênû* is used for the collective body of sages, and seems to be characteristic of traditions about Usha (e.g., “*rabbôtênû* were counted [for a vote] in Usha …” [*m. Soṭa* 9.14; the only mishnaic tradition of this type]; *t. Ber* 2.11; *t. Dem.* 1.11; *t. Šeb.* 4.16, 21; *t. Ket.* 5.1; 7.11; *t. Kel. B. Meṣ.* 7.11; *t. ›Ohol.* 16.7; *t. Para* 5.1; *t. Nid.* 3.9; 4.7; 8.3). In this second case, the term *rabbôtênû* at the same time designates “our *teachers*” and members of an authoritative quorum.

**2. “Rabbi” as a Mode of Address.** A corrupt and apparently late tradition, which assumes that *rabbî* and *rabbān* designate teachers, distinguishes between these titles (or modes of address) on the basis of the success of disciples (*t. ‹Ed.* 3.4). Yet another anonymous tradition prescribes greeting the mourning king as *adônênû wĕrabbênû,* “our lord and master” (*t. Sanh.* 4.4), indicating that even in rabbinic literature the older (nontechnical) sense of the term was retained. The remaining examples of the term *rabbî* as a mode

of address are in direct discourse; nearly all are about figures associated with the period before 135 C.E. *Rabbî* is used as an address for a judge (*m. Ned.* 9.5; *m. B. Qam.* 8.6; *t. Yeb.* 14.10; *t. Giṭ.* 1.3; *t. Kel. B. Qam.* 1.2–3) and in legal disputes—presumably for the senior member of the dispute (*t. Kel. B. Qam.* 1.6; *t. Peʾa* 3.6). Given the earlier usage of the term, these instances are not inexplicable. In still other passages the figure addressed as *rabbî* is so called because he is a teacher (*m. Roš Haš.* 2.9; *t. Ber.* 4.16–18; *t. Maʿas. Š.* 5.16; *t. Ḥag.* 2.11; *t. Giṭ.* 1.3; *t. Zeb.* 2.17; *t. Neg.* 8.6). Finally, in two traditions about R. Gamaliel (II), held to have been the patriarch and one whom we might expect to be addressed as *rabbî* by analogy with a king or a judge, Gamaliel is addressed as *rabbênû* (or *rabbî*) by members of his circle and is challenged on the basis of laws which he *taught* them (*t. Ber.* 4.15; *t. Beṣ.* 2.12; cf. *m. Ber.* 2.5–7).

**C. "Rabbi" in the New Testament**

**1. Mark.** Mark uses *rhabbi* three times and *rabbouni* (*rabboni*) once (10:51); all four instances convey a sense of Jesus' particular greatness (Mark 9:5; 11:21 [Peter]; 14:45 [Judas]; 10:51 [Bartimaeus, who follows Jesus]). In three of the four instances, Jesus is called *rabbi* in response to a miraculous action on Jesus' part: the Transfiguration (9:5), the withering of the fig tree (11:21), and the healing of the blind (10:51). Bartimaeus' reference to Jesus as *rabbouni* is coupled with the address "son of David" (10:47, 48), suggesting that the term should be thought of as meaning "sir" or perhaps "lord," and not "teacher" (cf. 9:17, in which "teacher" is used in a case of healing). *Didaskalos,* "teacher," on the other hand, is used as a more general form of address by both disciples (4:38; 9:38; 10:35; 13:1) and nondisciples (9:17; 10:17, 20; 12:14, 19, 32).

**2. Matthew.** In Matthew the use of the appellation *rabbi* is polemical. The only person who addresses Jesus as *rabbi* is Judas (Matt 26:25, 49). The other two instances of the word *rabbi* occur in Matt 23:1–12. Although the Matthean material in 23:1–3 does imply some sort of public teaching (as *may* the Q material in v 4 directed in Luke 11:45–46 to lawyers), the immediate context of the address *rabbi* in 23:7 describes a group perceived to enjoy public recognition as well as the outward show of piety, men who wish to be called "sir." In 23:8 the connection between *rabbi* and teacher is made explicitly. Yet the parallelism in 23:9–10 (*patēr/patēr; kathegētēs/kathegētēs*) leads us to expect not *didaskalos,* "teacher," but *rabbi* in the second half of 23:8. This break in parallel structure protects Jesus from being referred to as *rabbi,* a term associated in Matthew with the hateful Pharisees. Moreover, if "teacher" is meant in 23:8, the theme is apparently repeated at 23:10, using the term *kathegētēs* for teacher. It is possible that the author of 23:1–12 has made use of materials in which *rabbi* meant "sir" (Matt 23:7–8), but that for the Evangelist the term had the direct (and negative) connotation of "teacher of the law." This observation may be connected with the development of the term *rab* in rabbinic literature.

**3. Luke.** *Rabbi* does not occur in Luke. A word needs to be said about the Lukan term *epistatēs,* however (Luke 5:5; 8:24, 45; 9:33, 49; 17:13). This term corresponds once to the Markan *rabbi* (Luke 9:33; Mark 9:5) and twice to *didaskalos* (Luke 8:24; Mark 4:38; Luke 9:49; Mark 9:38). With the exception of 17:13 the address is found only in the mouths of disciples. In LXX, *epistatēs* is used to translate *śārê missîm*, "taskmasters" (Exod 1:11 [RSV]), and elsewhere, *nāgîd,* "chief" (2 Chr 31:12 [RSV]), and apparently it covers some of the same semantic field as *rab* (see also LXX Exod 5:14; 1 Kings 5; 16; 2 Kgs 25:19; Jer 52:25; 2 Chr 2:2). Moreover, in Ptolemaic Egypt and elsewhere the title *epistatēs* designated certain kinds of officials. It is possible that the Lukan term *epistatēs* reflects (as it clearly seems to in Luke 9:33) sources which used the Heb/Aram *rabbî.*

**4. John.** In John, two disciples address Jesus as *rabbi* after hearing from John that he is the "the lamb of God" (1:36–38); one reports that they have "found the Messiah" (1:41). Nathanael, amazed by Jesus' supernatural vision, addresses Jesus as *rabbi,* son of God and king of Israel (1:49). Even in John 3:2, where Jesus is called "a teacher come from God" in addition to *rabbi,* the use of the term is explained on the basis of Jesus' ability to perform signs. (It should be noted, however, that in John 3:1–5 Jesus does act as a teacher of heavenly things.) When Mary Magdalene perceived Jesus to be a gardener, she called Jesus *kyrios,* "sir"; when she realized that he was indeed the risen Jesus (John 20:15), she called him *rabbouni.* This understanding should inform our reading of John 6:25, in which "the people" call Jesus *rabbi,* as well as of the remaining passages, in which a teacher is called *rabbi* by his disciples (3:26

[John]; 4:31; 9:2; 11:8). It is important to note, however, that in John *rabbi* and *rabbouni* are each glossed as *didaskalos,* "teacher" (John 1:38; 20:16, respectively); it seems to have taken on this meaning exclusively.

The precise connection between early Christian and early rabbinic traditions is unclear. As the term *rabbi* became an honorific title and a mode of deferential address in general, it was taken up by rabbinic literature in particular as a special designator for a teacher. This was accompanied in the Mishna and the Tosepta by the casting of primary figures of authority as "teachers." The semantic shift from "sir" to "teacher" that is reflected in rabbinic literature has left traces in those NT passages in which *rabbi,* used of Jesus because of his greatness, is overlaid with the predominant sense of "teacher."

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**RABBINIC HERMENEUTICS, EARLY.** See HERMENEUTICS, EARLY RABBINIC.

**RABBINIC LITERATURE AND THE NT.** The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and renewed study, since World War II, of the Jewish pseudepigraphic writings have given new impetus to the study of the NT in its Jewish setting (Saldarini fc.; Vermes 1983: 58–68.) W. D. Davies' studies on Paul and Palestinian Judaism (1955) provided an early model for using rabbinic sources. Most English-speaking NT scholars in the 1950s and 1960s depended on the sketch of normative Judaism worked out by G. F. Moore (1927–30) as a framework for their understanding of Judaism and the topical collection of rabbinic texts by P. Billerbeck as their source for rabbinic literature. The older German evaluations of Judaism as late, legalistic, and inferior to Christianity were less determinative but not entirely absent for the English-speaking world (Klein 1978). Although rabbinic literature dated from the 2d century and later, it was widely used to interpret the NT because it contained material which claimed to be by and about Jewish teachers of the 1st and 2d centuries and also because it presented a wealth of legal, exegetical, and cultural detail about Judaism lacking in the Pseudepigrapha and historical sources. Descriptions of diverse types of prerabbinic Judaism witnessed by the Dead Sea Scrolls and renewed study of the Pseudepigrapha have only gradually eroded the uncritical acceptance of the rabbinic reconstruction of the Second Temple period and provided a more variegated foundation for understanding the NT in its Palestinian context.

**A. Problems in the Use of Rabbinic Literature**

The use of rabbinic literature (Mishnah, Tosefta, Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds, midrashic collections, Targums, and mystical writings) as a resource for interpreting the NT has been questioned increasingly in recent years for several reasons. The vision of a coherent and continuous normative Judaism implied by the rabbinic sources and presented by Moore has been shown to be anachronistic for the 1st century. Prior to the destruction of the temple (70 C.E.), Judaism comprised many social groups, including the chief priest and Jerusalem notables, landowners, merchants, Pharisees and Essenes, peasants, and the economically displaced. Among them, many views of how Judaism should be lived and how it should adapt to or resist Hellenistic culture competed for recognition and ascendancy. Serious conflicts separated the governing class, who controlled the wealth and collected taxes for the Romans, from the majority of the people, who were loyal to local customs and the traditional Jewish way of life. The rabbinic way of life and thought had yet to be articulated and certainly was not dominant. The rabbinic sources retrojected their understanding of Jewish life and institutions onto Judaism as far back as Ezra in the 5th century, much as the Gospels retrojected problems and teachings of the early Church into

the story of the life of Jesus. Literary and redactional studies of rabbinic sources have shown the later biases of these works and the difficulty of isolating earlier sources and literary strata. Statements and stories attributed to named Jewish authorities, which were previously accepted as historical fact, must now be subjected to the same critical scrutiny applied to the stories and sayings of Jesus (Neusner).

NT scholars who have used rabbinic literature have often succumbed to "parallelomania," the associative linking of similar words, phrases, patterns, thoughts, or themes, in order to claim the influence or dependence of one text or tradition on another. Many of the earlier studies using rabbinic sources were based on isolated and superficial similarities in very dissimilar texts. Their argument for a relationship between the NT and rabbinic literature was based on the assumptions that the later traditions in rabbinic literature were unchanged from the 1st century, and that the fabric of Judaism was uniform enough for literary and theological details to be related to one another as if deriving from one context (for a review of NT studies using rabbinic literature, see Saldarini fc..). Such fragmentary and uncontrolled use of this complex literature must be replaced by a wholistic grasp of rabbinic life and thought which can then be compared with early Christianity (Sanders 1977: 12–24). The final documents and the traditions within them must be set within their historical, social, and religious contexts, using both literary analysis of the documents' social world and rhetorical goals and historical analysis of their political and social settings.

Rabbinic texts from later centuries have been habitually used as evidence for 1st-century Jewish institutions, leaders, and social structures. Since the rabbinic traditions reached their final forms from about 200 C.E. on, traditions must first be dated before being employed as historical evidence. No rabbinic document or set of traditions can be presumed to be early in its entirety; nor does a late historical reference in a large collection prove that all its traditions are late. The continuity and variations in Jewish and early Christian traditions must be traced by using dated texts and traditions which can be demonstrated by internal criteria to be early. The extensive and repeated redaction of rabbinic materials makes form-critical and redactional dating of texts extremely difficult.

The rabbinic view of earlier centuries is not historically reliable unless verified by 1st-century texts or the general pattern of the culture and empire. The social situation of Palestine in the 1st century was complex in the extreme. Any comparison of Judaism and Christianity must take into account the internal dynamics of the Jewish and Christian communities, their intricate relationships with each other, the divergent developments of both Christian theology and Jewish Talmudic literature, and the external pressure of the Roman Empire, all of which influenced the literature which has survived.

The Palestinian cultural context common to early Judaism and Christianity and the relative stability of traditional society make it probable that the two literatures share traditions, attitudes, and assumptions. However, later rabbinic outlooks and teachings must be separated from more fundamental, traditional, and widespread aspects of Judaism, some of which were foundational for the Jesus movement. The two possibilities of the rabbinic and Christian movements deriving materials from common sources, and of Christianity influencing Jewish literature, must be taken into account. The most likely common source for features of Judaism and Christianity is the Greco-Roman culture, within which both religions developed. For example, the rabbinic exegetical rules, attributed to Hillel, were known to Hellenistic scholars centuries earlier and were part of a common fund of knowledge available to all. Similarities and differences can only acquire significance and promote understanding when placed in a larger social, cultural, historical, and religious context.

**B. Problems in the Study of Rabbinic Literature**

The use of rabbinic literature in NT interpretation is impeded by a number of problems inherent to the study of rabbinic literature. Rabbinic literature often strikes the Western Christian reader as strange, a perception which has contributed to anti-Semitism. It is a closed, self-referential, elliptical body of literature which is understood only by those fully familiar with it. Fundamental cultural and theological presuppositions, such as a detailed knowledge of biblical law, are assumed. Discussions of legal and exegetical arguments and their solutions often begin without a statement of the biblical or Mishnaic problems to be discussed, because a prior detailed knowledge of the texts and problems is presumed. Legal, logical, and philosophical arguments and minutiae about matters far from traditional Christian or

modern concerns fill pages, while multiple, alternative interpretations of each word, phrase, opinion, and consequence are dialectically related to one another. Such discussions, especially prevalent in the Talmuds, take place in a timeless world of academic study and spiritual love for the Torah as God's relevation. The ultimate coherence and meaning of this world of discourse becomes evident only to those persons who enter into the dialogue and adopt the world as their own. Needless to say, such a literature resists both historical analysis and limited use as "background" for the NT. It must be studied on its own and then with the NT as part of the larger history of Judaism (Vermes 1983: 69–71).

Most rabbinic works are collections of earlier material, some of which are consistently and coherently edited with great sophistication (Mishnah, Babylonian Talmud); and others are more like loosely organized compendia (late midrashic collections). Traditions have been added and rearranged in multiple stages in accordance with the presuppositions, purposes, ethos, and interests of the community of scholars which produced rabbinic literature. The views of the final documents can sometimes be determined by literary analysis, but such documents are difficult to place in historical context. Many studies have attempted to determine which traditions are earlier and how they developed. Though some progress has been made in this area, widely differing results and methodological criteria indicate that this type of study is very hypothetical and subjective (see Saldarini 1977, and a review of studies on the Babylonian Talmud in Goodblatt 1979: 281–318). Few of the rabbinic traditions can be securely dated to the 1st century, a result pertinent for NT study.

Most rabbinic documents have yet to be subjected to sustained and extensive higher criticism which seeks to understand the original apart from its later interpretation (e.g., the Mishnah apart from the Talmuds) and the history of interpretation as a mirror of changing Jewish interests and circumstances. All rabbinic documents have received extensive traditional interpretations which treat them as one cultural whole extending over centuries, minutely examine wording and variations in formulation, and attempt to work out a consistent and coherent way of life and thought for the Jewish community. Such traditional interpretations can aid the scholar in understanding the subtleties of the texts and provide a range of possible interpretations, but many of the interpretations reflect the views and interests of later commentators rather than of the original authors.

Finally, few thoroughly scientific critical editions have established reliable texts that do justice to the long and complex manuscript tradition of rabbinic literature. Many passages in the printed editions are corrupt, so Talmudic scholars habitually make use of collections of variants and important manuscripts in precise scholarly studies. Sayings are attributed to various sages in different manuscripts, and blocks of similar or related material are often added or omitted in various manuscripts. Some manuscripts, especially of midrashic and mystical works, differ so greatly from one another as to be independent books rather than variants of one original text (e.g., the traditional Midrash Tanhuma and the Tanhuma manuscript published by Buber).

**C. Uses of Rabbinic Literature**

Despite the cautions voiced above and the late date of much of rabbinic literature, familiarity with it is helpful for the study of the NT. Rabbinic literature can be used along with other Jewish literature of the Hellenistic-Roman period, including the so-called Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Diaspora Greek works, to understand Jewish culture in its breadth and diversity within the Roman Empire. Both the NT and early Church history benefit from insertion into their larger contexts, Near Eastern, Jewish, and Roman. Many assumptions, traditions, practices, and concerns of Judaism either remained constant for centuries or underwent instructive changes already in antiquity. Realistic information concerning Jewish teachings and practices—combined with an empathetic grasp of their fundamental attitudes toward God and humans—will blunt the bias often produced by NT anti-Jewish polemics and will help cure anti-Semitic NT theology which has created the caricature of the spiritually dead and legalistic Jew living a decadent way of life in a proud and hypocritical relationship with God while rejecting the obvious signs that Jesus was Messiah. Firsthand knowledge of Judaism as a vital and growing faith and way of life makes clear both the attraction of Judaism in the 1st century and the clear alternative to it offered by Jesus and the early Christian missionaries. Finally, such knowledge provides a

stimulus and guidance for taking up the still-unanswered Christian theological problem of the place of Israel in God's plans after the coming of Jesus Christ.

Detailed studies of Jewish beliefs, traditions, and practices in the NT require a comprehensive overview of Judaism and its development in the Second Temple and early rabbinic periods (Vermes 1983: 72–73). Within that context, extended rabbinic commentaries on Scripture, in conjunction with the Qumran and other Jewish interpretative literature, can illuminate hermeneutical procedures used in the NT and can sometimes demonstrate the continuity of interpretative traditions. Though the elegant structure of Mishnaic and Talmudic law cannot be attributed to the 1st century, redactional studies of rabbinic sources and comparison with other sources can sometimes place certain laws and customs in the 1st century and add to the understanding of the Jewish community's inner life. Fundamental affirmations about God and humans which Christianity derived from Judaism, and which are assumed rather than articulated in 1st-century literature, often receive a fuller treatment in rabbinic literature. A comprehensive analysis of the development of Jewish traditions, including early NT traditions and later rabbinic literature, if done with sensitivity to historical development, will yield results which illuminate the Jewish substrate of the NT (Vermes 1983: 84–87) and also reveal, by contrast, the Greco-Roman contributions to NT literature as well.

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ANTHONY J. SALDARINI

**RABBIT.** See ZOOLOGY.

**RABBITH** (PLACE) [Heb*rabbît* (רַבִּית)]. A town belonging to the territory allotted to Issachar (Josh 19:20). In this sole reference to the name in the Bible, it is listed next to Kishion, which seems to be just S of Mt. Tabor (Kishion = M.R. 187229; Aharoni and Avi-Yonah *MBA,* 53). The LXX B and the Old Latin read the name as "Daberath," which is situated next to Kishion in another list of tribal holdings that were ceded from Issachar to the Levites (i.e., the Gershomites; Josh 21:28; cf. 1 Chr 6:57 [—Eng 6:72]). Daberath is also located near Mt. Tabor, approximately 2 miles NW of Kishion (M.R. 184233; Aharoni and Avi-Yonah *MBA,* 53). Tribal possession of Daberath seems to have been unclear, since it is also allocated to Zebulun (Josh 19:12).

The identification of Daberath with Rabbith is geographically possible, though several critical alterations to the text would need to be accepted. The more difficult reading in this instance appears to be the MT, and an as yet unidentified site of this name in this area is not at all out of the question.

DAVID W. BAKER

**RABBONI.** See RABBI.

**RABMAG** [Heb*rab-māg* (רַב־מָג)]. The title of Nergal-sharezer, who was present at Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Jerusalem in 587 B.C. (Jer 39:3, 13). The rabmag (Bab. *rab mugi*) was a high-ranking official in Babylonia.

A. KIRK GRAYSON

**RABSARIS** [Heb*rab-sārîs* (רַב־סָרִיס)]. The rabsaris (Akk *rab-ša-rēši*) was a high-ranking Assyrian official; the word in Assyrian means literally "chief eunuch." Eunuchs formed a most important part of the Assyrian bureaucracy and were numerous. The rabsaris, together with the rabshakeh and the tartan, played a major role in the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib (2 Kgs 18:17). (For further information about officials in the Assyrian administration, see ASSYRIA; see also Tadmor in *WLSGF*, 279–85.) The rabsaris was also the title of a high-ranking official in the Babylonian army, and he, together with the rabmag, played a leading part in the siege of Jerusalem (587 B.C.) by Nebuchadnezzar II (Jer 39:3, 13).
A. KIRK GRAYSON

**RABSHAKEH** [Heb *rab-šaqēh* (רַב־שָׁקֵה)]. The title of a high-ranking Assyrian official; the word literally means "chief cupbearer." As a leading Assyrian military officer, the rabshakeh played a prominent role, together with the rabsaris and the tartan, in the siege of Jerusalem led by Sennacherib (2 Kings 18–19 = Isaiah 36–37). Regarding the various high-ranking officers in the Assyrian administration, see ASSYRIA; see also Tadmor in *WLSGF*, 279–85.
A. KIRK GRAYSON

**RACA.** An expression of reproach used as an example by Jesus in one of his teachings (Matt 5:22). The RSV translates this term as "insult." In Matt 5:22a "raca" (Gk *rhaka*) is basically parallel in meaning to *mōre* (Fool!) in v 22b, and is thus a term of abuse or contempt. The key difference is that while the second of these is a Greek word, the first is not. It seems in fact to be the emphatic state of Aram *r (y)qˀ*, meaning "empty," and hence "worthless," "good for nothing." As a term of contempt, it is found in the Talmud and Midrash, e.g., *b. Ber.* 22b, "… she said to him, Numskull! (= *ryqˀ*) …;" and *Eccl. Rab.* to 9:15, "Woe to you, worthless fellows (*rqyyˀ*), tomorrow the Flood is coming …" (that is, these are the men of the flood generation). The word was first noticed as a Semitism by John Lightfoot (1684), who gave a series of examples from Talmudic and Midrashic literature. The context in Matt 5:22 supports the identification of "raca" as a Semitism, in that it refers in turn to the person who is wrathful with his fellow, calls him "Numskull" (*raqāˀ*) or "fool," as worthy of "the judgment," "the Sanhedrin," or "the Gehenna of fire." The use of "raca" in Matt 5:22, without any following explanation or translation in Greek, was held by Jeremias to indicate that Matthew's audience could cope with some Aramaic.
MAX WILCOX

**RACAL** (PLACE) [Heb *rākāl* (רָכָל)]. One of the cities listed as places to which David sent spoil following the destruction of the band of Amalekites who had destroyed Ziklag (1 Sam 30:29). The location of Racal is unknown (*IDB* 4:4). The LXX, however, has "Carmel" at this point (McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 434), and this reading is to be preferred. Carmel is the town where David met Nabal, who was shearing his sheep and married Nabal's wife, Abigail, upon Nabal's death. Carmel is located about 7 miles S of Hebron (modern Tell el-Kirmil, M.R. 162092; McCarter, 436).
JEFFRIES M. HAMILTON

**RACHEL** (PERSON) [Heb*rāḥēl* (רָחֵל)]. Second and favorite wife of Jacob, mother of Joseph and Benjamin, younger daughter of Laban (Rebekah's brother), and sister of Leah (Jacob's first wife). Thus, Rachel and Leah are also first cousins to Jacob, since their father (Laban) and Jacob's mother (Rebekah) are brother and sister. On the father's side, they are second cousins once removed, since Abraham and Nahor are brothers. See Fig. RAC.01.

The story of Rachel is a story of unparalleled love and devotion in the biblical narrative. On Rebekah's suggestion, Abraham sends his son Jacob to Paddan-aram (Haran) to her father Bethuel's house to procure one of the daughters of Laban as his bride (Gen 27:46–28:5). Jacob departs precipitately on this journey because he had incurred his elder brother Esau's murderous hatred for securing the birthright of

primogeniture for himself through deception (Genesis 27). However, God reinforces Jacob's blessing in a dream-vision at Bethel, in which God promises to Jacob,

> The land on which you lie I will give to you and to your descendants; and your descendants shall be like the dust of the earth … and by you … shall all the families of the earth bless themselves (Gen 28:14).

Rachel then appears to Jacob at a well, and here begins Jacob's personal story of deep emotional attachment and love for her. Jacob initiates all the action: he single-handedly rolls away the heavy stone to water Laban's flock, he kisses Rachel, and he weeps, overcome with emotion (Gen 29:9–11). Only then does he introduce himself to Rachel as her father's kinsman (v 12). Rachel remains passively observant until then, and finally runs to tell her father, Laban. The narrative is swift and pointed. The symbolic action of Jacob rolling away the stone at the well is thematically indicative of the numerous obstacles that he must later overcome to obtain the woman he loves (seven years of servitude culminating in the substitution of Leah as first wife, then seven additional years of labor for Rachel). A further obstacle to Rachel's position as wife is her failure to have children for many years. Ironically, she dies at the birth of her second child, leaving Jacob bereft and in sorrow, a sorrow which remains with Jacob, deeply affecting his special relationship with the two sons she bore, and a sorrow which is echoed in later biblical references (Jer 31:15 = Matt 2:18). No other woman is so loved in the Bible.

Jacob's encounter with Rachel at the well (Gen 29:1–12) has some crucial points of difference to an earlier and similar scene of Rebekah's encounter at the well (Genesis 24) There, the betrothal negotiations are between the servant of Abraham (who is not named), as surrogate for Isaac, and Bethuel's household. The emissary bears choice gifts from his master, the patriarch Abraham. His camels kneel at the well outside the city of Nahor in princely fashion. Rebekah approaches and becomes the center of activity as she speaks and gives drink first to the servant and then to the camels. The life-giving water as a fertility symbol is an appropriate introduction to the subsequent betrothal negotiations, which resemble a formal "treaty" between families. Rebekah is sent to her new home with blessings of fertility, and she is received there by Isaac with love. The narrative is formal, repetitious, and oracular, and the impression is that the marriage is preordained by the deity and that it will proceed smoothly. See REBEKAH. By contrast, the well in Genesis 29 is located out in the fields, and it provides a focal point for the pastoral activity against which all of Jacob's life unfolds. Jacob is the poor stranger, his own emissary, a refugee from his brother Esau's wrath, bearing no rich gifts, only his walking staff. He is the initiator of activity when he rolls away the heavy stone by himself to water Laban's flock. Rachel, the younger daughter, is the shepherd who looks after the flock, but she is passive until after Jacob's initial outburst of action culminating in the kiss and his revelation as kinsman. The abrupt betrothal negotiations (vv 18–19) are made directly by the principals themselves and are directed by emotion and sentiment rather than the official decorum of a "family treaty." Jacob readily agrees to seven years of servitude for her, and has, it seems, already served one month for nothing. From the outset the impression is given that the marriage will be less conventional than others because it begins on a note of passion. Jacob's unparalleled love for Rachel is described in very powerful terms: "Jacob loved Rachel; and he said [to her father Laban], 'I will serve you seven years for your younger daughter Rachel' … So Jacob served seven years for Rachel, and they seemed to him but a few days because of the love he had for her" (Gen 29:18–20). This love remained undiminished even by her death, when it was transferred to her children, Joseph and Benjamin. Such a description of love is exceptional in the Bible (e.g., Jacob and Rachel's kiss is the only explicit biblical scene of a man kissing a woman); outside the Song of Songs not much is made of love between men and women.

Rachel's beauty is a prevailing motif in the competition between the two sisters. We are not told of her beauty until we meet both daughters of Laban, first the elder, Leah, who is only described as having "weak" or "dull" eyes (which is presumably a flaw) or "tender eyes" (which seems a much more appealing description):the exact meaning of the Hebrew *rakkōt* (29:17) is not clear. By contrast, Rachel is both beautiful and lovely (Heb *yĕpat-tō᾽ar wîpat mar᾽eh*), which might seem redundant but is perhaps intended to be an emphatic in aspects of both beauty and character.

After Jacob has labored the agreed-upon seven years, Laban prepares a wedding feast for Rachel. The last-minute substitution of Leah for Rachel is ambiguously interwoven with the prerogative of the elder

versus the younger daughter and is contrasted not only in terms of primogeniture but also in terms of appearance, just as Jacob and Esau are similarly contrasted in terms of primogeniture and appearance (Gen 27:11). There is symmetrical "poetic justice" in Laban's deception of Jacob in substituting the veiled Leah for her sister Rachel in the blindness of the night (Gen 29:23), just as earlier Jacob had stolen his blind father's blessing while in disguise as he substituted himself for his brother Esau. Jacob's cry of woe (Gen 29:25) echoes Esau's earlier cry (27:34, 38).

Jacob does receive Rachel to wife at the end of the week of marriage festivities with Leah (Gen 29:27), after which he serves another seven years for Rachel, a total of fourteen years' service for her. We must suppose that both Leah and Rachel were willing parties to the deception, and that Rachel had demanded legitimate compensation for being willing to let Leah precede her in marriage to Jacob. Perhaps she had compassion for her older sister who might otherwise have remained without a husband. But in the bargaining, she would then have insisted that the second wedding not be postponed until the second bridal price was paid. Normally, this was paid to the father of the woman, but since Jacob was penniless, he had to pay in services, the equivalent of seven years' hard labor for a wife. A dowry, however, was paid to the bride by her father and would be hers to control. Later, Rachel and Leah would complain that their father had kept their respective dowries for himself (Gen 31:15–16), which is perhaps a reason for Rachel stealing Laban's household gods (Gen 31:19).

Jacob's greater love for Rachel (Gen 29:30) seems to heighten the competitive mood between the two sisters as they each vie for Jacob's attention and the begetting of children from him. Rachel's barrenness and her desire for children recall other biblical stories, chiefly that of Sarah, who was regarded with contempt by Hagar as soon as Hagar became pregnant with Ishmael (Gen 16:4). Leah had borne four sons to Jacob (Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah) before Rachel's envy finally erupts in a confrontation with Jacob. Now, her jealousy and anger burst forth at Jacob in the impulsive and violent outcry (Rachel's first recorded speech in the Bible): "Give me children, or I shall die!" (Gen 30:1). The demand "give" (*hābâ*) is explosive, and the sense of dying expresses imminence (lit. "I am dead"). Rachel, the barren wife, asks not for one child but for children (plural). Jacob's retort is a rebuke of her anger: "Am I in the place of God, who has withheld from you the fruit of the womb?" (Gen 30:2). The brief exchange of words is extremely effective in conveying Rachel's desperation and Jacob's rebuke, her anger and his controlled response. Rachel's practical solution of offering her maidservant Bilhah to be her surrogate in obtaining sons is intended to build her up. There is a double play on words here, since the verbs meaning "to build up" can also be construed literally as "having sons" (cf. Isa 49:17, where we have a similar allusion on *bōnîm,* which means "builders," and *bānîm,* which means "sons"). Rachel names the children thus conceived, and in the meanings of the names which she gives to the two sons (Dan and Naphtali) she voices her sense of contentment, comfort, and triumph ("God has judged me, and has also heard my voice and given me a son"; and "With mighty wrestlings I have wrestled with my sister, and have prevailed"; Gen 30:6–8).

Leah has borne Jacob six sons and a daughter (Dinah), and her maid Zilpah has borne Jacob two sons (Gad and Asher). Only then does God bless Rachel, the beloved of Jacob, with her first child, whom she names with the expressed wish for a second son: "And she called his name Joseph, saying 'May the Lord add to me another son' " (Gen 30:24). The situation is much the same with Elkanah and his two wives: Peninnah was unloved but bore many children, while Hannah was beloved but barren for many years (1 Samuel 1).

After Joseph's birth, and upon Jacob's decision to leave Laban's household, we see defiance in Rachel's demeanor. In stealing and withholding the household gods (Heb *tĕrāpîm*) from her domineering father, she becomes the unintended object of Jacob's curse: "Any one with whom you find your gods shall not live" (Gen 31:32).

Rachel dies on the journey after giving birth to her second son, whom she names Benoni ("son of my sorrow") but whom Jacob renames Benjamin ("son of the right hand"). He is Jacob's youngest and last child, the object of his great and most tender affection.

Just as Jacob had singled out Rachel for the special love in his life, so he singled her out in death by placing a commemorative pillar on her grave (Gen 35:20) to mark her tomb, where she became revered as mother and matriarch. Actually, there seem to have been two locations for the tomb of Rachel in the folk tradition, one around Bethlehem still known in Saul's day (1 Sam 10:2), and another further N in Benjamin territory. See RACHEL; EPHRAIM (PLACE); see also MARJAMAH, KHIRBET EL- and DHAHR MIRZBANEH. In the NT, Matt 2:16–18 refers to Rachel weeping for her children in connection with Herod's slaying of the infants after Jesus' birth, a reference back to Jer 31:15.

The favorite status and envy engendered by Jacob's special love for Rachel is passed down to the children and becomes evident in the children's interactions with each other. It manifests itself in the hatred of the brothers against Joseph, which is also aggravated, however, by Joseph's dreams of predominance and supremacy over his older brothers (Genesis 37). There is a psychological resonance here to Laban's treachery in substituting Leah for Rachel. In selling Joseph to the Ishmaelites on their way to Egypt (Gen 37:28), the brothers establish their superiority over him, and they punish not only Joseph, but also their father. Additional treachery is perpetrated by Reuben, the firstborn son, who usurped his father's authority in laying with Bilhah, Rachel's maid and conjugal surrogate, soon after Rachel's death, a fact not lost upon Joseph who was still a boy (Thomas Mann elaborates on this narrative in his superb trilogy *Joseph und seine Brüder*). When the ten brothers go down to Egypt as the "sons of Israel" to be emissaries for their patriarchal father, they are called "Joseph's brothers" upon their arrival, a test of the kinship bond to their brother which they tried to deny by selling Joseph into slavery. The designation of Benjamin as "Joseph's brother" has a different impact both emotionally and genealogically, because Benjamin is Joseph's only full brother, the only other one of Rachel's children. Jacob expresses his sorrow poignantly in his own words: "My son shall not go down with you, for his brother is dead, and he only is left. If harm should befall him on the journey … you would bring down my grey hairs with sorrow to Sheol" (Gen 42:38). "He only is left," says Jacob, omitting the words "from Rachel," as though only the sons of Rachel count as true sons.

Traditio-historical research into the twelve-tribe system of early Israel led M. Noth and others to postulate that Rachel and Leah were originally "eponymous ancestors" for groups of seminomadic tribes that, at various different times and in various different "waves," settled down in the area that would eventually become Israel (see Weippert 1971: 5–46, esp. 42–46). The "Rachel tribes" —Joseph (Ephraim and Manasseh) and Benjamin—were thus believed by some to have been the final wave of nomads, containing peoples whose traditions included a sojourn in Egypt, the crossing of the Jordan river, the destruction of Jericho and Ai, and the defeat of a coalition of kings near Gibeon, traditions that would later be embraced by all twelve Israelite tribes and find literary expression in the narratives of Exodus and Joshua 1–10. However, more recent study of Israelite origins has tended to reject the notions of seminomadic migrations and to question the merits of applying traditio-historical methods to the question of Israel's origins. See AMPHICTYONY.

In the blessings in Genesis 49, the blessing of Joseph (vv 15–16) is the longest of all the blessings. Yet for all the glory which will accrue to Rachel's firstborn son Joseph, the Davidic kings of Israel will come not from him but from Judah, the fourth son of her sister Leah (although Saul, the first king, was from the tribe of Benjamin).

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ASTRID BILLES BECK

**RACHEL'S TOMB** (PLACE) [Heb *qĕburat rāḥēl* (קְבֻרַת רָחֵל)]. Burial place of the Benjaminite matriarch, Rachel, located in the territory of Benjamin S of Bethel and N of Ephrathah in the vicinity of

Ramah (Gen 35:19–20; 48:7; 1 Sam 10:2; Jer 31:15). There are two irreconcilable biblical locations for Rachel's tomb: Bethlehem and Benjamin. Modern scholars are in almost unanimous agreement that she is not buried at Bethlehem. Within the territory of Benjamin, Ramah (M.R. 172140) and Kiriath-jearim (M.R. 159135; see JAAR) are most often suggested by those who attempt to be more specific. See also EPHRAIM (PLACE).

The legends of Genesis record an ancient tradition that Rachel died giving birth to Benjamin during Jacob's journey S from Bethel. This tradition locates the place of her death a short distance N of Ephrathah—a region inhabited by the Judahite clan of the same name located at the N border of Judah. The territory of this clan extended to the E from Kiriath-jearim, which was on the N border, and to the S below Bethlehem. After Rachel was buried, Jacob proceeded into the territory of Judah and camped just beyond Migdal-eder, according to the redacted sources of Gen 35:16–29. Micah 4:8 and *Šeqal.* 7:4 (rabbinic text) seem to identify this place with the Ophel near Zion (but still well N of Bethlehem). Finally, Jacob continues his journey—we assume through Bethlehem—to his S destination of Hebron. The itinerary following the matriarch's burial may not be historical, but it must have been a geographically reasonable one to the redactor. The editorial glosses identifying Ephrathah with Bethlehem represent a tradition from a much later era when the territory of the clan and its most famous village of Bethlehem were assumed to be identical. These glosses are inaccurate with regard to the era of the matriarches and patriarches, but they account for the erroneous tradition which located Rachel's tomb at the N outskirts of Judahite Bethlehem.

Matthew (2:18) appropriated this late Jewish tradition and certainly played a role in focusing attention in the Common Era on a bogus spot. Fourth-century Christian Eusebius mentions a tomb near Bethlehem, as does the 10th-century *Jewish Guide to Jerusalem.* The 12th-century rabbi Benjamin of Tudela and latter pilgrims describe a pyramid of twelve stones, and it was probably in the same century that the Crusaders built a dome supported by four pillars over the monument. In the 18th century, Muslims enclosed the structure, and in 1841 Sir Moses Montefiore added a vestibule. However, the topographical incongruity created by the Genesis glossator was so glaring that omitted Gen 35:21 and made Jacob arrive at Migdal-eder in v 16, as would have been required by a S-moving Jacob were Rachel to be buried at Bethlehem, which she is not (see Tsevat 1962: 109). The Genesis itinerary would also appear to rule out Kiriath-jearim to the W.

The tradition represented in 1 Sam 10:1–6 is consistent with the preglossated legends of Genesis. There, Rachel is buried S of Bethel near the road to Migdal-eder, Bethlehem, and Hebron, but still within the Benjaminite territory, i.e., still some distance N of the old Ephrathite clan territory. The geography of this story is as follows. Saul leaves his home in Benjaminite Gibeah (Josh 18:25; 1 Sam 9:1; 10:5, 10, 26; 11:4; 15:34; 22:6; 23:19), which is S of the Benjaminite Ramah near the N–S route from Bethel to Jerusalem, in order to look for his lost donkeys in the Ephraimite hill country N of Benjamin. He ends up at the Zuphite Ramah, which is the home of Samuel in Ephraim, i.e., Ramathaim, the "two-hilled" Ramah (1 Sam 1:1, 19; 2:11; 7:17; 8:4; 9:5; 25:1; 28:3). Then, from this latter Ephraimite Ramah, which is NW of Benjamin, he returns home to Gibeah. (Some wish to translate Gibeah in 10:5 and 10:10 literally as "hill," but it is clear from the context that everybody knows Saul and from v 26 that he has returned home. There is really no conflict in this part of the narrative, and certainly "Gibeah" was built on or near a "hill.") On his return journey, Saul passes Rachel's tomb, *bĕṣelṣah* (v 2), and finally the Oak of Tabor, which must be S of and near the road to Bethel (v 3). But can we be more specific about these latter two references?

In 1 Sam 10:2, it is said that Rachel's tomb is "in the territory of Benjamin" (RSV). We already know that. But Heb *bigĕbûl* can also be translated as "at the boundary of." We already know, too, that Rachel's tomb is near the Ephrathite border. We are left with the *crux interpretum—bĕṣelṣaḥ.* This is almost certainly not a *nomen proprium loci* (RSV, "at Zelzah"). No such place is known in Hebrew, and on the analogy of the other two signs one would expect a modifying phrase rather than a third proper noun: the locus of the sign to be received by Saul is specifically "beside [Heb *ʿim*] Rachel's tomb at the boundary of Benjamin" (cf. Driver *NHT,* 78–79). The Greek witnesses are varied and do little more than attest to the

Hebrew letters ṣlḥ, "rush," and hence the proleptic wordplay on v 6; or with R. Yose (2nd century C.E., *Midr.* Sam. 14, cited by Tsevat 1962: 111; see Zimolong 1938) and Vg, they redivide the letters (*bĕṣēl ṣaḥ*) to get the curious "at dazzling shade," which they interpreted as "noon." The most appropriate reading seems to be *bĕṣēl ṣĕḥīaḥ* (Hertzberg *Samuel OTL,* 77; haplography), "in the shade of a shiny rock." Genesis relates that Jacob marked Rachel's tomb with a large sepulchral stone," which is there to this day" (35:20) and which likely would have been smooth and shiny after generations of anointing pilgrims (cf. even modern holy spots). This unusual word for rock would have been chosen for reasons of paronomasia to enhance the mysterious nature of the sign as well as to foreshadow the culmination of the third sign when the spirit rushes [*ṣlḥ*] on Saul (v 6). Supporting this pun and forming the connection between signs one and three is the curious employment of *ḥlp* (v 3), not normally used of human transit but more appropriate to the rushing of God or wind, to continue the wordplay in sign two. Finally, if one observes the parallel structure of the three signs, they all state a specific location, with two qualifications, followed by a mysterious activity: Rachel's tomb, at the boundary of Benjamin, in the shade of a shiny rock … (v 2); from there, and a bit further, at the Oak of Tabor … (v 3); Gibeah, of God (a surprising qualification which occurs only here), where there is a Philistine garrison … (v 5). Thus, we have learned nothing more than, but also nothing that is inconsistent with, the traditions of Genesis. Rachel's tomb is in the territory of Benjamin, near the boundary, and is marked by a monumental stone. Again, Kiriath-jearim is all but excluded from Saul's journey since, while it is on the Benjaminite border, it is decidedly S of a path from Ramathaim to Gibeah, especially in light of his following activity near Bethel, N of Gibeah.

Before reaching Gibeah, Saul passes the Oak/Terebinth of Tabor (see Trever *IDB* 3: 575). Have we any clues to its location? It is true that sacred trees were common in ancient Israel, but the author of the story assumes the audience will recognize this well-known reference. Some Greek and Latin witnesses read simply the "choice" tree, illustrating confusion surrounding the name "Tabor." The editorial addition in Judg 4:5 mentions the Palm/Post of Deborah (Heb *tōmer dĕbôrâ*) in the context of the great Deborah legend focused at Mt. Tabor (Heb *tābôr*); furthermore, a second parenthetical (verse 11) introduces the notorious Oak/Terebinth in Zaananim as a counterpart to Deborah's Palm/Post and paralleled to Mt. Tabor in the following v 12 (Boling *Judges* AB, 96–97). It is highly probable that phonetic similarity, literary parallelism, and geographic confusion have combined to yield two names for the same sacred tree, the Deborah/Tabor tree (*BDB:* 18b). Gen 35:8 mentions the Oak of Deborah is immediately preceding the story about Rachel's tomb, and the narrator employs the definite article "with a title understood and recognized by everyone": the Oak—"the well-known oak which was there" (*GKC,* §126d). That this verse sits loosely in its context has often been noted, and that the tomb of Rebekah's nurse would mark a memorable spot is highly dubious. It is much more probable that Gen 35:8 is a variant etiology for the judgment tree of Deborah/Tabor mentioned above (Vawter 1977: 363). Not only do these names converge on one tree, but the geographical references do so as well. At the tree, Saul meets three men "going up to Bethel" (1 Sam 10:3) and then proceeds to Gibeah (S of Bethel). Deborah is buried "beneath Bethel" (Gen 35:8) just before Rachel dies while journeying from Bethel S to Ephrathah. Deborah's tree is located "between Ramah and Bethel" (Judg 4:5). The latter note is secondary and geographically confused, but almost surely the original tradition meant the Ramah S of Bethel just N of Gibeah (Martin *Judges* CBC, 55–56). Hence, it seems probable that the traditions surrounding a sacred tree of Deborah/Tabor between Ramah and Bethel were focused on the vicinity of Rachel's tomb, where the story of 1 Samuel 10 takes place. An alternate name for the holy place was Oak of Weeping (Heb *bākût;* Gen 35:8), the probable setting of the etiology for the Place of Weepers (Heb *bōkīm;* Judg 2:1–5), which LXX locates near Bethel (Boling [*Judges* AB, 63] correctly notes that *hammāqôm,* v 5, is used in its technical sense to denote a sacred place).

This is the background for Jer 31:15:

> Hark! In Ramah is heard lamentation,
> bitter weeping [*bĕkî tamrûrîm*],
> Rachel weeping [*mĕbakkâ*] for her children.

There is no convincing reason not to translate Ramah as a *nomen proprium loci* as the LXX tradition of Jeremiah, a variant recension from the MT, also attests. Rachel is in synonymous parallelism with Ramah, just S of Bethel and just N of Gibeah, from which height she can peer into Ephraim and weep from her tomb for the exiled northern tribes (vv 15–22; cf. Bright *Jeremiah* AB, 275–87). The poet's use of the word *tamrûrîm* to modify the weeping could be an intentional paronomasiac recall of Deborah's renowned tree (*tōmer,* Judg 4:5; *tābôr,* 1 Sam 10:3; cf. *dĕbôrâ*) to create a triple parallelism. At any rate, the topography is consistent with Saul's rushed journey past Rachel's tombstone in Benjamin, Deborah's oak near Bethel, and on to Gibeah. Hos 5:8 parallels Gibeah, Ramah, and Bethel (Beth-aven; see Amos 5:5), and Isa 10:29 pairs Ramah and "Gibeah of Saul." Near Ramah was the Oak of Weeping (Gen 35:8) and the Weeper's Place (Judg 2:5). Only a few miles S was the border of ancient Ephrathah. In this vicinity, Rachel is most likely buried.

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LAMONTTE M. LUKER

**RADDAI** (PERSON) [Heb *radday* (רַדַּי)]. One of Jesse's sons and an older brother of David (1 Chr 2:14). Raddai is listed as the fifth son of Jesse, and David is listed as the seventh and presumably the last. In 1 Sam 16:10, 12, David is designated as the eighth and youngest son. In 1 Samuel 16, Raddai does not appear; only Eliab, Abinadab, and Shammah are named. 1 Chr 27:18 refers to one Elihu, another brother of David. The meaning of the name Raddai is not clear. It is possibly related to the Hebrew root *rdd,* "beat out," or *rdh,* "have dominion, rule," but certainty is not possible.

JAMES M. KENNEDY

**RAGES** (PLACE) [Gk *Rhagoi* (Ῥαγοι)]. Var. RAGAE. A city in NE Media of Persia and the home of Gabael, to whom Tobit entrusted his money (Tob 4:1, 20; 5:5; 6:10—Eng v 12; 9:2). Located 5 miles SE of modern-day Teheran, Rages is identified with the ruins of the city of Rai (35°35´N, 51°27´E; Olmstead 1948:30). The city is located on a plain which extends from a point one hundred miles NE of the ancient capital of Ecbatana to the mountains of Elburz. Thus located, Rages also gives its name to the region around the Elburz mountains, which is called Ragae (*Rhagau*) in the book of Judith (Jdt 1:5, 15). There, we are told, Arphaxad, an otherwise unknown king of the Medes, was killed in battle. The king, however, is probably a fictional creation, and the reference to Ragae, only symbolic (Moore *Judith* AB, 124, 128–29; Craven 1983: 79–80). Nonetheless, Rages was among the oldest of settlements in Iran and of strategic importance, playing a significant role in the history of Media, the rule of Alexander, and that of his successors (Wikgren *IDB* 4: 5).

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FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**RAGUEL** (ANGEL). According to that part of *1 Enoch* known as the Book of the Watchers (*1 Enoch* 1–36), Raguel is one of the six (Ethiopic mss; seven, according to the Greek ms) archangels. He is identified as "Raguel, one of the holy angels, who takes vengeance on the world and on the lights" (*1 En.* 20: 4; Knibb 1984). In *1 Enoch* 21–36, Enoch is accompanied by various angels (Uriel, Raphael, Raguel, and Michael) who interpret what he sees on his journey around the world. At the end of the earth in the W, Enoch sees a burning fire which is interpreted by Raguel as "the fire of all the lights of heaven" (*1 En.* 23: 4; Knibb 1984). Milik (1976: 219–20) derives the name of Raguel from Aram *raʿû ʾēl* ("shepherd of God") and argues that Raguel was not in charge of punishing stars but was rather their caretaker who

supplied them with fire from the reservoir at the W end of the world. The motif of vengeance would have arisen from mistranslation in Greek and Ethiopic.

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CAROL A. NEWSOM

**RAGUEL** (PERSON) [Gk *Rhagouēl* (Ῥαγουηλ)]. The father of Tobias' wife, Sarah, and the husband of Edna (Tob 3:7; *passim*). Raguel is described as having written a marriage contract giving his daughter to Tobias in marriage (7:14), but also as having dug the young man's grave on their wedding night (8:9ff.). When Tobias survived the encounter with the demon Asmodeus, Raguel blessed God's name and gave the couple half of his possessions (8:20–21).

FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**RAHAB** (DRAGON) [Heb *rahab* (רַהַב)]. The name of a mythological sea serpent or dragon, lit. "boisterous one," referred to a number of times in the OT (Ps 87:4; 89:11—Eng 89:10; Job 9:13; 26:12; Isa 30:7; 51:9). The name of this monster has not hitherto been discovered in any extrabiblical text. In the OT, Rahab functions similarly to Leviathan, an originally Canaanite chaos monster, but whether these are to be identified or are separate monsters in origin is not entirely clear.

Rahab appears in two different contexts in the OT. On the one hand, it appears as a sea monster defeated at the time of creation (Ps 89:11—Eng 89:10; Job 9:13; 26:12), and on the other as a metaphorical name for Egypt (Ps 87:4; Isa 30:7). In Isa 51:9 the two usages may be fused.

Ps 89:10–11—Eng 89:9–10 declares to Yahweh, "You rule the surging of the sea: when its waves rise, you still them. You did crush Rahab with a mortal blow, you did scatter your enemies with your mighty arm." The following (vv 12–13—Eng 11–12) clearly spell out the creation context of this conflict, so that it is necessary to reject the view of those scholars who see here an allusion to the Exodus or, as some would maintain, to both Exodus and creation. The references to God's conflict with Rahab in both Job 9:13 and 26:12 also appear to be set in creation contexts. Job 26:12–13 reads: "By his power he stilled the sea; by his understanding he smote Rahab. By his wind the heavens were made fair; his hand pierced the twisting serpent (*nāhāš bārīaḥ*)." This expression "twisting serpent" is a term used elsewhere of Leviathan (Isa 27:1 and similarly *bṯn brḥ* in *KTU* 1.5.I.1 = *CTA* 5.1.1), which may indicate that Rahab is being equated with Leviathan. In Job 9:13–14, Job declares: "God will not turn back his anger; beneath him bowed the helpers of Rahab. How then can I answer him, choosing my words with him?" The sentiment here is rather similar to that at the end of the book of Job, where Job is humbled before Yahweh in the wake of the second divine speech in which it is implied that he (Job) cannot overcome the chaos monsters Leviathan and Behemoth, which Yahweh did overcome (cf. Job 40–42:6). As for "the helpers of Rahab," these must be other chaos monsters associated with Rahab. One may compare Tiamat's allies, referred to as "her helpers" in Enuma Elish (4: 107).

That Rahab serves as a name for Egypt is explicit in Isa 30:7, where the prophet declares: "For Egypt's help is worthless and empty, therefore I have called her 'the silenced Rahab.' " The translation "the silenced Rahab" is achieved by reading *rahab hammošbāt* for the meaningless MT *rahab hēm šābet,* which seems the most satisfactory emendation (cf. Isa 14:4). Rahab also clearly functions as the name of a country in Ps 87:4: "I reckon Rahab and Babylon as those that know me; behold Philistia and Tyre with Ethiopia—'this one was born there.' " Egypt is the most likely referent for Rahab here, paralleling Isa 30:7. That the defeated sea dragon Rahab should serve as a metaphor for Egypt is understandable when one recalls the oppressive role which Egypt played with regard to Israel before the Exodus and the location of the heart of the Exodus deliverance at the sea (Exodus 14–15). Compare the allusion to pharaoh as a dragon in Ezek 29:3–5 and 32:2–8 (reading *tannîn ,* "dragon," for MT *tannîm,* "jackals").

Isa 51:9–11 is a famous passage, which reads: "Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord, awake as in days of old, the generations of long ago. Was it not you who hewed Rahab in pieces, who pierced the dragon? Was it not you who dried up the sea, the waters of the great deep, who made the

depths of the sea a way for the redeemed to pass over? So the ransomed of the Lord will return and come to Zion with singing, everlasting joy shall be on their heads; they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away." Verse 10b certainly refers to the Exodus, and v 11 to the new Exodus, the return of the exiles from Babylon. The reference in v 9 to the defeat of Rahab could refer to the chaos monster at the time of creation, to Egypt at the time of the Exodus, or to a fusion of both.

Finally, it should be noted that Gunkel (*Die Psalmen* HKAT) believed that Rahab is mentioned in the plural in Ps 40:5—Eng 40:4, but it is much more likely that *rĕhābîm* there simply refers to proud or arrogant men. See also DRAGON AND SEA, GOD'S CONFLICT WITH.

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JOHN DAY

**RAHAB** (PERSON) [Heb *rāḥāb* (רָחָב)]. The story of Rahab is told in the first part of Joshua 2 and the latter part of Joshua 6. In its present context, this narrative is embedded in the account of the Israelite conquest of Jericho. Rahab is introduced as a "harlot" (Hebrew *zônâ*) in Josh 2:1 (so also 6:17, 25; in 2:3 and 6:23, only the name Rahab appears). Two spies, dispatched from Shittim by Joshua, enter her house. She hides them from the ruler of Jericho, thus saving their lives. She acknowledges the power of the Lord and extracts from the spies the promise that she and her family will be saved when the Israelites overwhelm her city. She is told to hang a scarlet cord from her window as a sign that her household is to be spared. Several verses in chap. 6 relate that Joshua kept this agreement. At the time of Jericho's conquest, Rahab and her family, alone of the city's inhabitants, are spared. They were taken outside of the camp. A final note (6:25) records that "she dwelt in Israel to this day."

Rahab's name comes from a root meaning "to be wide or broad." It appears to be the shortened form of a theophoric name (cf., for example, Rehabiah, 1 Chr 23:17; 24:21). The exact nature of Rahab's occupation has been the subject of considerable controversy. Most interpretators now see her as a "secular" prostitute without any cultic or sacred connections. Not only is this in keeping with the biblical description, but there was a Hebrew term (*qĕdēšâ*) available to the author had he wanted to highlight her status as a "sacred" prostitute. The use of the term "innkeeper" in certain Jewish traditions may be seen as an attempt to improve upon her professional standing, but that is not necessarily the case.

The story as it stands contains no indication of what motivated Rahab to risk her life on behalf of the Israelite spies. We are probably meant to connect this action with her affirmation of Yahweh's power. That affirmation, found in Josh 2:8–11 and thoroughly Deuteronomistic in language and theology, is widely regarded as a late element in what otherwise seems to be fairly early material. In a pre-Deuteronomistic stage, Rahab and her family may have been identified with that segment of the Jericho population that opposed the royal establishment and could be expected to respond positively to the invading Israelites.

The survival of Rahab and her family "to this day" suggests that there is an etiological element in the origin and subsequent development of this story. Perhaps, a well-defined group of her descendants could be singled out for some time among the Israelites. That group would obviously have a large stake in preserving Rahab's exploits.

Other elements can also be detected in the diverse traditions that have gone into this account. For example, the narrative concerning Rahab has been identified as one of several spy stories that the OT contains. Moreover, Rahab's role must be seen in light of the type of warfare Israel was waging. It was holy war, under divine command. Rahab's statement was as much an affirmation to Israel as to herself: with God on their side, the Israelites could not fail to be victorious. For her assistance, the absolute ban (*ḥērem*) on Jericho could be waived.

According to some, the essence of the Rahab story is contained in chap. 2, while the verses in chap. 6 form a not wholly consistent afterthought. It is noted, for example, that her house, although "built into the city wall" (2:15), somehow still stood after the walls fell (see 6:22). However, the entire Rahab narrative exhibits many unexpected features—not the least of which is the aid provided by the prostitute herself—

and the dramatic and humorous effect of the story taken as a whole survives (and perhaps even thrives on) architectural and other incongruities.

The relatively few verses devoted to Rahab in the OT stimulated an amazingly rich exegetical tradition in both Judaism and Christianity. She was widely depicted as a proselyte or convert to the monotheistic faith of Israel. In Judaism, she could then be portrayed as one of the most pious converts—a worthy wife of Joshua and the ancestor of prophets.

A parallel, but distinctly Christian development, is found in Matt 1:5 where a Rahab is identified as the wife of Salmon and the mother of Boaz. This accords to Rahab a prominent position in the genealogy of "Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham." Inasmuch as Matthew does not specifically link "his" Rahab with the harlot of the book of Joshua, and while the Greek text of Matthew preserves a distinctive spelling of the proper name (*rachab, raab* elsewhere), it is possible that this is another Rahab. However, the appearance and identity of three other women from the OT (Tamar, Ruth, and the wife of Uriah [i.e., Bath-sheba]) in the genealogy of Jesus make it virtually certain that we are dealing with only one Rahab in both Testaments. This is clearly the case in the other two NT references to "Rahab the harlot": Heb 11:31, where Rahab's survival is credited to her faith, and Jas 2:25, in which Rahab exemplifies the dictum that "man is justified by works and not by faith alone" (so v 24).

The role Rahab plays in Jewish and Christian exegetical traditions (many other examples could be cited) is larger than that attributed to her in the OT itself. This is not to say that she is an unimportant figure in the Bible; by her actions, she both preserved her own family and epitomized the sort of faith that the Israelites themselves would have to display to preserve the land and heritage God had promised them. For further discussion, see *DBSup* 5: 1065–92.

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LEONARD J. GREENSPOON

**RAHAM** (PERSON) [Heb *raḥam* (רַחַם)]. The son of Shema and the father of Jorkeam (1 Chr 2:44).

Raham, a Calebite and a descendant of Judah, is listed among Caleb's progeny by an unnamed spouse (vv 42–45). Within the genealogy of vv 42–50a, the men are often considered to have been the "fathers" of cities rather than of individuals. The name "Raham" may refer to either an individual, or a city, or both. Jorkeam should perhaps be read here as Jokdeam, a city whose location is unknown (Josh 15:56). Shema was the name of another Judahite city of unknown location (Josh 15:26). And other groups associated with Raham in his line of descent occupied such centers as Hebron, Mareshah, and Ziph. Although "Raham" is not a shortened name with respect to form, a deity is possibly semantically implied in the nature of the name—thus, " (God has shown) compassion" or " (the deity has taken) pity" (*TPNAH,* 168–69). Primarily, this would have signified that the divinity had again remembered a person who was in distress, in order to help him or her. The name has also been taken, differently, to equal Heb *rāḥām* and Ar *raḥam,* "carrion-vulture" or "Egyptian vulture" (*Neophron percnopterus*). Certainly, animal terms were commonly used for personal names in Semitic (Nöldeke 1904: 86).

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**RAHEL, RAMAT.** See RAMAT RAHEL.

**RAIN.** While the giving or withholding of rain is generally seen in the Bible as a sign of God's favor or disfavor, in the OT (Jer 3:3; Hos 6:3; Joel 2:23; Job 29:23—cf. also Jas 5:7 in the NT) the terminology "early/autumn" rain or the "latter/spring" —or in one case "later/spring" (Deut 11:14)—rain appears. The significance of this terminology lies in the fact that for an agricultural society, it is not just the presence or absence of rain that is important, but its timing as well. Thus, Jeremiah says: "Let us fear the LORD our

God, who gives the rain in its season, the autumn rain and the spring rain, and keeps for us the weeks appointed for the harvest" (5:24).

The "early/autumn" rain (*yôreh*) and the "latter/spring" rain (*malqôš,* from the Heb *lqs*, "crops sown late"), are rains which fall in the two transitional periods that mark the beginning and the end of the rainy, winter season in Palestine. The first appreciable rains normally arrive in Palestine in mid-October to early November, with the last significant rains falling in the first half of April. About 70 percent of the rainfall, however, falls from November to February, with January typically being the wettest and coldest month. See PALESTINE, CLIMATE OF.

The early and latter rains are accentuated in the OT because of their critical agricultural role: the early rains preparing the ground for plowing and sowing at the end of the dry season, and the latter rains providing the last bit of moisture which aids the maturation of cereal grains. The critical nature of the timing of these two rains is reflected theologically in the fact that they are seen as one of YHWH's rewards to his people in return for their faithfulness to the covenant: "I will give the rain for your land in its season, the early and the later rain, that you may gather in your grain and your wine and your oil" (Deut 11:14).

FRANK S. FRICK

**RAISINS.** See FLORA.

**RAKEM** (PERSON) [Heb *rāqem* (רָקֶם)]. The Manassite son of Sheresh and brother of Ulam (1 Chr 7:16). He is mentioned only in the genealogy for Manasseh in the MT of 1 Chr 7:14–19 (the LXX omits him from the passage). The name itself is the pausal form of "Rekem," which occurs in 1 Chr 2:43–44 as the name for the Calebite son of Hebron; in Num 31:8 and Josh 13:21 for a Midianite king; and in Josh 18:27 for a town in Benjamin.

M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**RAKKATH** (PLACE) [Heb *raqqat* (רַקַּת)]. One of the fortified towns in Naphtali listed in the book of Joshua (Josh 19:35). It is part of an older town list which has been incorporated into the book of Joshua. The Mishnah and the Talmud locate the site of Rakkath beneath modern Tiberias (M.R. 201242), on the Sea of Galilee, but modern scholarship places it somewhere to the N of Tiberias (Tiberias itself was not settled earlier than the Roman period). One suggestion for the site of Rakkath has been Tell Eqlatiyeh, 1.5 miles N of Tiberias, a small site which has EB, MB, and LB remains. W. F. Albright (1926) has suggested that perhaps the Israelite town was situated beneath the Roman village at the foot of the hill, near the spring called Ain el-Fuliyeh. Another suggestion for the location of the site has been Tell Raqqat (M.R. 199245), which is 24 km N of Tiberias, on the shore of the Sea of Galilee. The exact location of Rakkath remains uncertain.

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SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**RAKKON** (PLACE) [Heb *raqqôn* (רַקּוֹן)]. A village of Dan, which appears in a fragment of a boundary description in the book of Joshua (Josh 19:46). Rakkon must be, according to its descriptions, on or near the river Yarkon, somewhere near the Mediterranean Sea. The place name is omitted by the LXX, suggesting that the word may be a partial dittography of the preceding "waters of the Yarkon" (*mê-hayyarqôn*). If Rakkon is an actual geographical location, it might be identified with Tell er-Reqqeit, which is 1.6 miles N of the mouth of the Nahar el-Auja. Z. Kallai, in fact, suggests that it actually is a river, not a village (translating the phrase as "the waters of Yarkon and the Rakkon") and identifies it as Nahar el-Barideh (*HGB,* 370). The place, whether a village or a river, is certainly meant to be in the area of present-day Jaffa. The exact location of Rakkon is, however, still uncertain.

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SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**RAM** (PERSON) [Heb *rām* (רָם)]. A personal name whose meaning is not clear, but it is apparently related to the Hebrew root *rûm* and so possibly means "exalted." To speculate, it possibly is a hypocoristicon of a longer name with a theophoric element (*rmyhw?*).

1. A descendant of Jacob through the line of Judah and an ancestor of David (1 Chr 2:9, 10; Ruth 4:19). He is listed as a brother of Jerahmeel and Caleb. According to Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 87) the reference to Ram in 1 Chr 2:9, 10, is suspicious for two reasons: first, the Bible elsewhere knows of no Judean family of Ram coordinate with Jerahmeel and Caleb; second, unlike the cases of Jerahmeel in vv 25–33 and Caleb in vv 42–50, the descendants of Ram are not given in families and cities. The Chronicler possibly added Ram because of the influence of Ruth 4:19. On the other hand, Myers sees no connection between 1 Chr 2:9, 10, and Ruth 4:19. He suggests that both lists go back to a common temple source (*1 Chronicles* AB, 13, 14). At Ruth 4:19, some LXX mss read Arran or Aram. In Matt 1:3, 4, this Ram is listed in the genealogy of Jesus (cf. Arni in Luke 3:33).

2. A son of Jerahmeel and descendant of Jacob (1 Chr 2:25, 27). In the present form of the genealogies of 1 Chronicles 2, he is the uncle of Ram in no. 1 above.

3. The family to which Elihu belongs (Job 32:3). Any identification with the Ram of either 1 Chr 2:9, 10, or Ruth 4:9 is speculative. Nothing in the text of Job necessarily points to an identification. Some LXX manuscripts read Aram instead of Ram.

JAMES M. KENNEDY

**RAM** (SHEEP). See ZOOLOGY; SHEEP, SHEPHERD.

**RAMAH** (PLACE) [Heb *rāmâ* (רָמָה)]. Var. RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM. The word means "height" and was a common place name for elevated towns and villages in biblical times.

1. A town in Benjamin (Josh 18:25), usually identified with modern er-Ram (M.R. 172140), situated 7 km N of Jerusalem, though some plausibly suggest Ramallah (M.R. 170146), 12 km N of Jerusalem. Ramah figures prominently in Benjaminite stories relating to the period before the rise of the monarchy in Israel. The village sat on a low hill astride the Palestinian watershed highway extending N from Jerusalem into the hill country of Ephraim. The earliest notices concerning Ramah seem to relate to its position along this highway.

Judg 4:5 notes that the prophetess Deborah used to sit beneath a palm tree somewhere between Ramah and Bethel (Beitin), which lay in Ephraimite territory 8 km to the N. Later in the book of Judges, a Levite couple traveling N from Bethlehem considered stopping for the night at Ramah (19:13), but instead tragically chose another route leading to Gibeah and a subsequent rape-murder.

The narratives relating Samuel's role in establishing the Israelite monarchy locate the great prophet's birthplace, residence, and burial site at Ramah. Some confusion exists, however, as to whether a site separate from Ramah of Benjamin is implied in these stories.

The Hebrew text of 1 Sam 1:1 identifies Samuel's father, Elkanah, as hailing from "Ramathaim-zophim" in the hill country of Ephraim. If the references to "Ramah" which follow in the Samuel stories (cf. 1 Sam 1:19) are short forms of the proper name Ramathaim ("two heights"), then Samuel's home may have existed somewhere in the tribal territory of Ephraim; indeed, a site in Samaria called Ramathaim is mentioned in 1 Macc 11:34. Eusebius' *Onomasticon* identifies the latter site with the Arimathea of NT times (Matt 27:57; John 19:38) and places the village at Remphis (M.R. 151159), 14 km NE of Lod (*NHI,* 378–80). Others have sought Ramathaim at Beit Rima (M.R. 159160), 21 km NE of Lod.

It is more likely, however, that Ramah of Benjamin (er-Ram) was Samuel's home. 1 Sam 1:1 should probably be emended to read that Elkanah was "from Ramah, a Zuphite from the hill country of Ephraim." The territory of Zuph appears to have been adjacent to the land of Benjamin (1 Sam 9:4–5); Ramah, near the border with Ephraim, may therefore have been inhabited by Zuphi tribesmen. Moreover, Samuel's home at Ramah is closely associated with sites within a rather small area in Benjamin: Bethel,

Gilgal, and Mizpah (1 Sam 7:16); Rachel's tomb at Zelzah (1 Sam 10:2), which is associated with Ramah in Jer 31:15; and Gibeah (1 Sam 10:10; 19:18; 20:1). The stories concerning the relationship between Samuel and Saul thus arise from a very limited geographical area within Benjamin. These two figures seem to have lived a rather short distance from each other at Ramah (er-Ram) and Gibeah (Jaba), respectively.

Elkanah and Hannah resided in Ramah (1 Sam 1:19) while young Samuel remained at Shiloh in Eli's service (2:11). After leading the Israelites to temporary victory over the Philistines, Samuel based himself in Ramah while traveling as a judge on a yearly circuit to Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah (7:16–17). It was to Ramah that the elders of Israel traveled to demand that Samuel appoint a king over them (8:4). Apparently in the same city, Samuel eventually anointed young Saul as prince over Israel, and sent the lad on a mysterious mission to nearby Gibeah (10:1–16). After Saul's brief successes against his enemies, an ill-fated attack on the Amelekites reportedly caused Samuel to reject the king and return in mourning to Ramah (15:34).

Shortly thereafter, Samuel's home at Ramah provided a temporary refuge for the newly anointed David as he fled the danger of Saul's court at nearby Gibeah (19:18–24). The mention in this narrative of an area of Ramah called the Naioth, where the pursuing Saul and his men inadvertently fell into prophetic frenzy, might indicate that there existed in the village a special compound or dwelling place for a band of prophetic disciples of the charismatic Samuel. David reportedly fled the Naioth in Ramah in order to rejoin Jonathan before beginning his temporary career as a renegade (20:1). Samuel's role in the remaining David stories then fades rapidly: two notices of his death and burial at Ramah (25:1; 28:3) bring his earthly mission to a conclusion.

Ramah was left inside Judah very near to the N border with Israel after the division of the kingdom. Shortly after 900 B.C., King Baasha of Israel invaded Judah and fortified Ramah, thereby threatening to cut off or control N access to Jerusalem (1 Kgs 15:17; 2 Chr 16:1). King Asa of Judah reportedly responded by bribing Ben-hadad of Damascus to attack Israel's N territory, forcing Baasha to abandon his occupation of Ramah. Asa then dismantled the Ramah outpost and used its stones and timbers to fortify Geba (Jaba) and Mizpah (Tell en-Nasbeh), sites along the two routes leading into the kingdom of Judah from Israel (1 Kgs 15:21–22; 2 Chr 16:5–6).

In the late 8th century B.C., invasion once again threatened Ramah. The Israelite prophet Hosea sounded a war alarm for the Benjaminite towns of Gibeah, Ramah, and Beth-aven (5:8). Probably shortly thereafter, the Judean prophet Isaiah described panic in Ramah and Gibeah as the invader advanced into the area through the nearby Geba Pass (10:29). Both prophetic oracles probably relate to the Syro-Ephraimite invasion of Judah (cf. 2 Kgs 16:5; 2 Chr 28:5–15; and Isa 7:5–7) around 734 B.C. (Arnold 1987:237–59).

Following the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., Ramah seems to have served as a staging point for Jewish groups leaving for exile into Babylon (Jer 40:1). The prophet Jeremiah, taken to Ramah in chains by the Babylonian captain Nebuzaradan, seems to have been freed there at the last minute. Perhaps the sadness of seeing his comrades' exilic departure from Ramah inspired the prophet's oracle in 31:15, which associates the exiles' lamentations with those of Rachel, whose tomb existed nearby at Zelzah (1 Sam 10:2; cf. Gen 35:16–20 and Matt 2:18).

After the Exile, Ramah is mentioned along with Geba in apparent Persian census lists (Ezra 2:26; Neh 7:30; 1 Esdr 5:20). The town also appears in a postexilic list of Benjaminite villages (Neh 11:33) and in a list of Benjaminite towns, now set in the context of the book of Joshua (18:25).

2. A village near the N border of Asher, in the vicinity of Tyre (Josh 19:29). Any identification with modern sites is hypothetical. One commonly accepted candidate is Ramieh (M.R. 180280), 17 km E of Rosh Ha-Niqra. Some have suggested that the town is in fact identical with the Ramah of Naphtali mentioned in Josh 19:36, but in view of the former's association with Tyre, this proposal is unlikely.

3. A fortified village in Naphtali (Josh 19:36), presently sought at modern er-Rameh (M.R. 187259), 12 km SW of Safed.

4. A village in the Negeb desert in the tribal territory of Simeon (Josh 19:8). This text also identifies Ramah of the Negeb by an alternate name, Baalath-beer. In an account describing David's sharing of Amalekite booty with his Judean tribesmen, 1 Sam 30:27 lists a Ramah of the Negeb, undoubtedly the same site, among the favored cities. Neither biblical account gives specific enough geographical information to provide a modern location for the site; however, Aharoni (*LBHG*, 261, 441) suggests identifying it with Horvat ʿUzza (M.R. 165068).

5. Ramah also occurs as a shortened form of the name for the Transjordanian site of RAMOTH-GILEAD (2 Kgs 8:28–29; 2 Chr 22:5–6).

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**RAMAT EL-KHALIL** (M.R. 160107). This site, associated with the biblical Mamre and with the Jewish Bothnah or Beth Ilanim, is located 2 miles N of Hebron. Many scholars believe this is where Josephus located Abraham's terebinth (*Ant* 1.183; cf. Gen 13:18). See also MAMRE. Other scholars locate Mamre either within Hebron or on the Namra hill N of Hebron.

In the postbiblical period, a multitude of Jewish captives were sold into slavery at Mamre after the Bar Kokhba revolt, but the place was always a thriving market in the Roman and Byzantine periods. Constantine ordered the pagan altar of Mamre to be destroyed and to be replaced by a church, which still existed in the 6th century but was in ruins by the 10th century (see also *EAEHL* 3: 776–78; *DBSup* 5: 753–58).

The enclosure of Ramat el-Khalil was first discovered by H. von Schubertine in 1827; excavations were undertaken in 1926–28 by A. E. Mader. The enclosure, or temenos, covers an area of 7/8 of an acre. Although built by Hadrian, it was preceded by two towers outside the N enclosure. These evidently belonged to a temenos of the 9th–7th centuries B.C.E., i.e., during the Judean monarchy. This enclosure was superseded by a Hasmonean pavement probably to be attributed to Hyrcanus I (128 B.C.E.). Remains of a Herodian temenos wall were found along the later S wall; it was composed of huge blocks and supported by external piers, but seems never to have been completed. The later Hadrianic wall contained reused masonry of the early Roman period, and the area so enclosed contained at its E end a shrine apparently dedicated to Hermes and Dionysus.

The Constantinian church, the oldest-known building of its type in Judea, occupied the eastern third of the temenos. It was a "broad house" basilica, oriented E–W, consisting of a nave and an apse flanked by aisles; small sacristies abutted on the N and S of these (see *EAEHL*, 778). The building was entered by a narthex along the W front of the church. An altar marking Abraham's terebinth stood in the atrium, and his well, found in the SW corner, yielded numerous coins of Constantine's time. Other coins found in the area (1, 331 in number) ranged from the Hasmonean to the Crusader periods, although coins from the periods of Vespasian to Hadrian were conspicuously absent. A later repair of the church took place, possibly the work of the patriarch Modestus after the Persian invasion of 614.

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SHIMON APPLEBAUM

**RAMAT MATRED** (M.R. 118020). A series of prehistoric sites on an extensive windswept plateau some 650 m above sea level in the Central Negeb Highlands, bounded on the N and W by a steep escarpment. Drained to the E by Nahal Avdat, a tributary of Nahal Zin, the plateau filled during the Pleistocene with a mantle of aeolian loess sediments. Vegetation on the plateau is sparse, and there are no perennial sources of water today. Prehistoric research in the region was initiated by T. Noy (Yizraeli) in 1964. In 1979 A. N. Goring-Morris and I. Gilead conducted a systematic survey and excavations in the area.

Occasional scatters of Late Acheulian hand axes were recovered from the S and W edges of the plateau, eroding from the basal loess. These indicate that loess accumulation began at the end of the Lower Paleolithic.

Levalloisian cores and flakes were also found at the margins of the plateau, and at the raised W corner a dense scatter, Ramat Matred VI, was noted on the surface, representing a Mousterian occupation.

Upper Paleolithic occupation of the area is well documented. Ramat Matred I is a large surface site of ca. 150 $m^2$, located at the N edge of the plateau. The abundant lithic tool assemblage was dominated by burins, especially carinated dihedral types. This flake-oriented assemblage may be assigned to the Levantine Aurignacian culture. Ramat Matred IV, Har Lavan IV, and Har Lavan V are smaller in situ occupations, which were occupied later than Ramat Matred I, but while loess continued to accumulate. The lithic assemblages are blade oriented, and the tools are dominated by retouched bladelets, dihedral burins, and scrapers, which can be assigned to the later stages of the Ahmarian tradition.

Epipaleolithic occupations were confined exclusively to the N corner of the plateau, with two adjacent Mushabian occurrences—one, Ramat Matred II, was large (ca. 150 $m^2$), while the other, Ramat Matred III, was small (ca. 50 $m^2$). The only other Epipaleolithic assemblage was a Late Ramonian scatter, designated Har Lavan II. Characteristic microliths dominate the tool assemblages.

Neolithic exploitation of the area comprised a site complex of three scatters, Ramat Matred V, VI, and VIII, located at the S end of the plateau. These can be assigned to the PPN B, the lithic assemblages including arrowheads, borers, and massive denticulates. Many burnt stones littered the sites.

All of the sites investigated are open-air camps with no architectural remains. Although no organic materials have been preserved, the composition of the lithic assemblages and the specific site locations (exposed, providing extensive panoramas across the plateau) imply that hunting was probably a major seasonal (summer?) activity.

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NIGEL GORING-MORRIS

**RAMAT RAHEL** (M.R. 170127). An important archaeological site located on a prominent hill almost midway between the Old City of Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

**A. Identification**

Initially B. Maisler (Mazar 1935) proposed to identify the site with biblical Netophah (2 Sam 23:28). However, a paucity of material from the time of David prompted Y. Aharoni (1978) to suggest that the site was Beth-haccherem (Neh 3:14; Jer 6:1). Two lines of evidence support Aharoni's identification: (1) Jer 6:1 and Jos 15:59 (LXX only) suggest that Beth-haccherem was a fortified site, S of Jerusalem, and (2) Neh 3:14 indicates that Beth-haccherem was an administrative center during the Persian period. Abundant finds from Ramat Rahel date to this period and indicate that the site could have served such a function.

Avi-Yonah, on the other hand, felt that none of these texts, nor the finds at Ramat Rahel, demanded that the site be equated with Beth-haccherem and continued to maintain that the latter place was best identified with ʿAin Karim, ca. 6.5 km W of Jerusalem (1977: 20, 21). Avi-Yonah preferred to retain Maisler's identification of Ramat Rahel with Netophah, although he offered no compelling reason.

Recently, both G. Barkai and D. Tushingham have independently suggested that Ramat Rahel be identified with the elusive *mmšt,* known from the *lmlk* seal impressions. First, it seems clear that all the names on the *lmlk* seal impressions represent administrative centers of some sort which were involved with the distribution of the *lmlk* jars and/or their contents. It is known that during the Persian period the province of Judah was divided into five districts (*pelakim*). At least three of these five districts were

subdivided into two halves, including the Jerusalem district (Neh 3:9, 12). It is probable that these divisions reflect earlier administrative districts. Both the location and archaeology of Ramat Rahel make it an ideal candidate for the administrative center for the S half of the Jerusalem district (Avi-Yonah 1977: 20). The reason that *mmšt* is not known from the Bible may simply be that the *lmlk* jar handles, on which the name appears, come from the time of Hezekiah (see below), and none of the biblical city lists date from that period (Franz 1984: 19).

**B. Archaeology**

The initial work at Ramat Rahel was conducted by B. Maisler (Mazar) and M. Stekelis. This excavation was limited to a Jewish rock-cut tomb from the Second Temple period which had been discovered S of the mound in 1931.

The first excavations on the mound, itself, were begun in the summer of 1954 under the direction of Y. Aharoni. Additional excavations were conducted from 1959 through 1962 for a total of five seasons. In 1984 an additional season was conducted by G. Barkai.

Aharoni dated the earliest occupational phase he found to the late 8th/early 7th centuries B.C. Finds from this level (Stratum V–B) included the foundations of a casemate wall (which Aharoni described as part of an "Early Citadel"), the remains of a private house, and 145 *lmlk* jar handles, mostly of the two-winged type. Most of the pottery from this phase came from a fill used to level the ground for the construction of the citadel of Stratum V-A (see below) and was dated to the 8th–7th centuries B.C. Since Aharoni's excavation, G. Barkay has uncovered a phase in which the pottery was idential to Lachish Stratum III (late 8th century B.C.). This would suggest that Aharoni's Stratum V-B may have been *preceded* by an earlier phase which was terminated in the late 8th century B.C., possibly during Sennacherib's 701 B.C. campaign. An occupation during this period makes sense in view of the fact that so many *lmlk* jar handles, now known to date to the time of Hezekiah, were found on the site.

During the next occupational phase (Stratum V-A) a citadel again dominated the site. It was surrounded by a massive outer wall (the "Outer Citadel") 3–4 m thick. Important architectural elements include ashlars, several Proto-Aeolic capitals, crenellation stones, and balustrades, similar to ones depicted in the "lady-in-the-window" ivories. All of these elements would be expected in an important administrative center or palace. Aharoni believed that this citadel was constructed by King Jehoiakim and destroyed during the time of King Jehoiachin (early 6th century B.C.). However, the architectural elements, which are similar to those found at Samaria, would suggest a construction time closer to the fall of that kingdom—perhaps the builders were even refugees from the N. The presence of Assyrian "palace ware" in this stratum also argues for an earlier date in the 7th century B.C., perhaps during the reign of Manasseh, who was known to be an Assyrian vassal. The "Elyaqim steward of Yokhin" seal found in this stratum, and thought by Aharoni to belong to the steward of King Jehoiachin, has now been redated to the late 8th century B.C., removing one of the main arguments for dating this level to the late 7th/earlier 6th centuries B.C.

Stratum IV-B contained remains from the Persian-Hellenistic periods. Most notable were numerous stamped jar handles of various classes, including *Yršlm* (Jerusalem), *Haʿir* (the City), *Yhd* and *Yhwd* (Judah), and *Phw* (Pahva, the title of the governor). Other seals portrayed animals or rosettes. Most of the seals probably date from the 4th century B.C. Although the building remains were poorly preserved, the abundance of seals suggests that Ramat Rahel continued as a subdistrict administrative center.

The Herodian period (Stratum IV-A) was represented by a number of houses with small rooms, workshops, burial caves, and a columbarium. It has recently been suggested that the numerous cisterns which Aharoni reported were actually Jewish ritual baths (*miqwâ*).

After a two-hundred-year abandonment, the site was occupied by the Tenth Roman Legion (Stratum III), indicated by the presence of tiles with the legion's stamp, *LEG (io) X FR (etensis).* A typical Roman villa, a bathhouse, and various cisterns were recovered from this period.

The site continued to be occupied into the Byzantine period (Stratum II). About A.D. 450, a church, a monastery, and other buildings, collectively known as the Church of the Kathisma, were built on the site. The name is derived from the Gk *kathisma* (seat) and refers to the nearby Well of the Seat (Bir Qadismu),

the traditional resting place of Mary, the mother of Jesus, on her way to Bethlehem. The final phase of occupation was during the Early Arab period (Stratum I), during which only a few poorly constructed buildings covered the site.

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RANDALL W. YOUNKER

**RAMATH-LEHI** (PLACE) [Heb *râmat leḥî* (רָמַת לֶחְי)]. An unknown location, mentioned only once in connection with Samson's courageous crushing of many Philistines with an extemporaneous weapon, the jawbone of a dead donkey (Judg 15:17). After singing of his victory with this unique weapon, Samson cast away the "jawbone" (Heb *leḥî*) and named the site *râmat leḥî.* The Vg renders the phrase *elevatio Maxillae,* "lifting of the jawbone"; the LXX *anairesis siagonos* suggests the same meaning, even though it is not definitive; modern translations render "Jawbone Heights" or "Hill of the Jawbone." Some commentators viewed the connection between the "throwing" of the jawbone and the name Ramath-Lehi as incorrect etymology, since there is no connection between *râmat*—derived from the stem *rwm,* "elevate" —and *wayyašlēk,* "he cast away (the jawbone)." However, the verb *wayyašlēk* is identical in meaning with the stem *rmh,* which also means "throw" (cf. Exod 15:1, 21), and this philological explication matches the described event. Indeed, the Targum to Judg 15:17 renders *wayyašlēk* with the biblical Aramaic work *urĕmā›* (cf. Dan 3:24; 6:17, 25), a sense identical to the biblical *rāmāh,* thus supporting the theory that the word *rmt* is derived not from *rwm* but from *rmh,* meaning "casting away." However, the Masoretes preserved the *rwm* tradition through the diacritical marks, suggesting instead that the idea of elevation was intended. See LEHI.

The extraordinary weapon, the jawbone (known to cause fatality), is also mentioned in Islamic tradition where a heathen is killed with a jawbone (Ar *laḥy* = Heb *leḥî*), albeit that of a camel.

*Râmat Leḥi* parallels exactly the Gk name *Onou-gnathon* ("the ass's jaw"), mentioned by Strabo (*Geog.* 8.5.1–2) as "a low lying peninsula … which has a harbor" N of the island of Cythera. In this regard it is interesting to note that the phrase "donkey's jaw" is found among two seemingly different groups associated with various forms of the name "Dan." Samson descends from the tribe of Dan (cf. Judg 13:2; 15:20), and the Greeks were known as *Danaans* (*Iliad* 2:484–86; cf. Gordon 1969: 287–88). The name thus has an E Mediterranean heritage and developed among communities with a maritime tradition (Judg 5:17; *Iliad* 2) during parallel heroic periods.

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MEIR LUBETSKI

**RAMATH-MIZPEH** (PLACE) [Heb *rāmat* (רָמַת)*hammizpeh* (הַמִּזְפֶּה)]. A border point east of the Jordan River for the land of Jazer, which Moses gave to the families of Gad (Josh 13:26). The exact location is unknown, although Noth (1938) and Gese (1968: 64) guessed that it is *Khirbet eṣ-ṣire* (.5 km NNW of *wadi eṣ-ṣir*), and Kuschke (1965) proposed that it is *Khirbet el-qar'a* (approximately 2.5 km NW of *na‹ur;* M.R. 228142). Wüst (1975: 120–32) was doubtful, and Rowley (1970: 119, 159) speculated that this name is actually a variant upon the Mizpah of Judg 10:17; 11:11, 34; and Hos 5:1 (*Khirbet Jel‹ad*).

Noth suggested that the three place names of Heshbon, Ramath-Mizpeh, and Betonim constitute a N–S boundary line between Reuben and Gad, which was added secondarily to the text. Mittmann (1970: 235–42) dismissed Noth's view as speculative. In a complex literary study, Wüst (1975: 120–32) concluded

that in Josh 13:26, Heshbon and Betonim are additions to the report, which is intended to support the larger territorial claims of Gad.

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PAUL NIMRAH FRANKLYN

**RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM** (PLACE) [Heb *rāmātayim ṣôpîm* (רָמָתַיִם צוֹפִים)]. See RAMAH.

**RAMATHITE** [Heb *rāmātî* (רָמָתִי)]. The gentilic identification of Shimei, one of twelve stewards of royal property appointed by David (1 Chr 27:27). His specific charge was oversight of the vineyards. The term is not used elsewhere, and thus it is not known which, if any, of several towns named Ramah might have been his original home.

RICHARD W. NYSSE

**RAMESES** (PLACE) [Heb *raʿamsēs* (רַעַמְסֵס)]. Var. RAAMSES. The region of Egypt in which Joseph settled his father and brothers (Gen 47:11), and the name of one of the Egyptian store cities (presumably in the same region) subsequently built by the Hebrew slaves (Exod 1:11). As such, Rameses figures as the starting point for the Exodus trek out of Egypt and into the promised land (Exod 12:37; Num 33:3, 5). According to the book of Judith, when Nebuchadnezzar made war against Arpaxad, he summoned military assistance from various places throughout his empire, including "Tahpanes and Raamses and the whole land of Goshen" (Jdt 1:9).

The biblical city of Rameses/Raamses should be equated with Egyptian Piramesse, the great delta residence of pharaohs of the 19th and 20th Dyns. It is only recently that the location of Piramesse has been clearly established at Khatana-Qantir in the NE delta on the E bank of the Pelusaic arm of the Nile. Earlier attempts to locate Piramesse at Tanis or in the region of Bubastis must be rejected, despite apparent support from biblical evidence. The problems faced by biblical scholars in trying to pinpoint the location of Rameses stem from the nature of the destruction of Piramesse after the New Kingdom, when rulers of the 21st and 22d Dyns. plundered Piramesse for building materials to be reused in constructing edifices at their residences in Tanis and Bubastis. The wholesale deportation of temple blocks, colossal statues, obelisks, and steles from Piramesse was of such magnitude that very little of the grandiose Ramesside temples and palace survives in situ at Qantir. So impressive were the monolithic remains that were transported to Tanis and Bubastis from Qantir that in the Late Period, when there was a conscious attempt to glorify Egypt's past, the Egyptians created anew independent cults to the gods of Rameses at Tanis and Bubastis, quite unaware where Piramesse once lay. As a result, postexilic Jewish scholars in Egypt, seeking to localize events of the Exodus, were mislead about the location of Piramesse in assuming that the newly created cults of the gods of Rameses at Tanis and Bubastis could serve to identify the site of the Ramesside capital.

The ancient Egyptian designation of Piramesse in its full form was "The Domain of Ramesses-meramon, great in victories," containing the name of Ramesses II, whose imprint on the development of this large city as a residential capital is unmistakable. He was, however, not the first king to build in this area. In the neighborhood of Qantir there was already considerable building activity in the Middle Kingdom. At the beginning of the Hyksos Period, Avaris at Tell ed-Daba, just S of Qantir, came into prominence as the Hyksos capital. Here, the cult of Seth, an Egyptian god associated with foreigners and adopted by the Hyksos invaders as equivalent to their own god Baal, thrived and continued into the Ramesside Period, when his temple was rebuilt and magnified. Avaris, itself, became incorporated as a

part of greater Piramesse. The Ramesside rulers were especially devoted to the cult of Seth, and the Four-Hundred-Year Stele from Ramesses II's reign commemorates the anniversary of the establishment of Seth's cult by the Hyksos.

Although at Qantir there is evidence of building activity by Horemheb and by Ramesses II's father, Sety I, who was responsible for locating the royal residence there, it was Ramesses II who contributed most to the planning and expansion of this vast urban area, which was oriented according to the cardinal points and sprawled over 10 $km^2$. This was the residential capital where the Ramesside pharaoh normally resided; thus, the palace complex at the core of the city was extensively supplemented by all manner of administrative quarters, and official residences surrounded the palace inner city. The palace area even included a royal zoological garden, as shown by lion and elephant bones found there.

Piramesse was strategically situated, providing excellent defense against possible invasions through the narrow land pass between the Pelusaic branch of the Nile and the Bahr el-Baqar drainage-overflow lakes, and it was an ideal spot for mustering the troops to launch a campaign into Palestine, being relatively close to the beginning of the military road into Asia. To the E of the palace area where extensive military barracks, and some distance to the S was a basin-harbor with easy access to the Mediterranean and to parts of Egypt further S.

In its buildings, Piramesse rivaled Thebes and Memphis. Large temples with huge statues and obelisks were dedicated to the major state gods: Amon, Ptah, Re, and Seth, as well as to Asiatic deities like Astarte, who possessed a temple in the military quarter. The four divisions of the Egyptian army were placed under the protection of these four state gods. Although practically nothing survives of the buildings at Qantir, Egyptian papyri provide glowing descriptions of the city and its monumental temples. It was a place, we are told, to which inhabitants of the rest of Egypt came willingly to take up residence, and where all manner of peoples plied their crafts and occupations. Various waterways and lakes intersected the city, providing some relief to the concentration of settlement. The countryside around Piramesse was noted for its good fishing and agricultural productivity, especially in the vineyards, leading to the designation of Piramesse as the "Sustenance of Egypt."

Of significance to biblical scholars is the statement in Papyrus Leiden 348 that Apiru, a term some scholars equate with "Hebrew," were employed in "hauling stones to the great pylon" of one of Piramesse's temples. There must have been a cosmopolitan air about this city, largely resulting from the presence of foreign mercenaries quartered there. Their weapons and parade grounds have recently been discovered by an expedition of the Pelizaeus Museum.

At Piramesse, the cult of the deified king was much in evidence, particularly in the form of colossal statues of the king, several of which were the object of popular veneration. There is frequent reference to the Amon of Ramesses, Ptah of Ramesses, and others, perhaps expressive of a close personal relationship between the king and the gods. These special forms of the state gods seem to have possessed sanctuaries intended for the king's personal devotion.

The demise of Piramesse at the end of the 20th Dyn. was possibly associated with the silting up of the Pelusaic arm of the Nile, necessitating the transfer of the royal residence to Tanis in the 21st Dyn., when there was also a reaction against the god Seth, who had been so favored at Piramesse. Seth's name and figure were frequently expunged from the monuments prior to their eventual removal to other delta sites. See *LÄ* 5: 128–46.

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**RAMESSES II.** King of Egypt from 1279 to 1212 B.C., who is considered by many scholars to be the unnamed pharaoh of the Exodus (Exodus 5–15). If so, then his father, Sety I (1291–1279 B.C.), would have been the pharaoh of the oppression (Exod 1:8–2:23).

Ramesses (or Ramses) II was born into a family of military background. His grandfather, Ramesses I, had been a general and vizier under King Horemheb, who, lacking an heir to the throne, appointed Ramesses I as his successor in a move designed to ensure that the supreme leadership remained in the hands of men trained as warriors. Ramesses I's son, Sety I, was well versed in the art of warfare when he came to the throne after his father's brief reign, and it is probable that Sety I's eldest son, Ramesses II, had already been born during the reign of Horemheb. Ramesses II claimed that during his father's reign he was appointed commander in chief of the army at the early age of ten years. While recent research has shown that Ramesses II's princely participation in the early Asiatic wars of Sety I is highly questionable (Murnane 1985: 168–70), he did acquire military experience in some minor warfare in Nubia in the second half of Sety I's reign.

Eventually Sety I appointed his son as coregent. During this brief coregency, lasting two years or less, building projects were carried out in the names of both co-rulers. The elegant raised relief that characterized the interior decoration of temples under Sety I was continued during the coregency, but shortly after Sety I's death, Ramesses II decided to have new temples decorated almost entirely in incised relief. Although this alteration in the technique of carving permitted a more rapid completion of a monument and might be regarded as a lowering of artistic standards, numerous reliefs in the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak underwent recutting from raised to incised relief, so that one cannot conclude that the sole reason for the alteration in style was the desire to finish the monument as quickly as possible. The first several years of Ramesses II's sole rule were marked by extensive building activities both at Thebes and at the delta capital named Piramesse (or simply Rameses).

Ramesses II has often been maligned as a usurper of his predecessors' monuments. While it is true that he did not hesitate to replace a previous king's names with his own on temple walls and statuary, nonetheless there was a prodigious amount of building carried out by Ramesses II throughout Egypt and Nubia. Hardly a site exists in the Nile valley that does not preserve some trace of his activity as a builder and enlarger of temples, so that the modern epithet "the Great" is not entirely misapplied to this pharaoh. Indeed, later kings emulated Ramesses II and his long reign of sixty-seven years. The extraordinary amount of building that characterized his reign reflected a healthy economy that prevailed not only because of the productivity of the land and its natural resources, such as gold, but also because of Egyptian dominance in Nubia and a considerable portion of W Asia.

With regard to the Asiatic empire, the major problem faced by the Egyptians in the early 13th century B.C. was the strong Hittite presence in Syria. Sety I's submission of Kadesh, the vital center on the Orontes river, had only been temporary. Instead of launching a major offensive against the Hittites at the start of his reign, as earlier pharaohs were wont to do in their first year, Ramesses II spent his first several years making preparations for a decisive encounter with the Hittites. Thus, his first campaign of victory occurred in Year 4, when a victory stele was set up on the Nahr el-Kalb on the Lebanese coast after he had secured a strong foothold on the Asiatic littoral, a preliminary to the major event of the following year, the famous Battle of Kadesh. Increasing the number of divisions of the Egyptian army from three to four, Ramesses II led the forces overland on an arduous month's march through Palestine toward Kadesh, where the Hittites had amassed a great coalition of chariotry and infantry. En route, Ramesses II was gullibly deceived by false information provided by two bedouin spies (sent by the Hittites) into believing that the Hittite king Muwatallis was too afraid to come S to Kadesh. Because the Egyptian divisions were drawn out in a long line of file at the time Ramesses II reached Kadesh, it was relatively easy for the Hittites in a surprise attack to break into the leading divisions and effectively cut the pharaoh off from the rest of the army. However, during the battle a force of Egyptian troops from the coastal area to the W suddenly arrived, and their prompt action, as well as Ramesses II's own personal valor and skill at shooting from the chariot, saved him from utter defeat. While doubt has usually been cast upon the veracity of Ramesses II's self-serving account of his heroic performance isolated in the midst of the enemy host, it must be remembered that the Hittite king was relying on the effectiveness of a coalition of troops of diverse origins, and it is just possible that a skilled warrior like Ramesses II could, from his chariot, fire upon the commanders of the coalition at close range, creating panic among the enemy

chariotry. Ramesses II's prayer to the god Amon in the midst of battle is believable for its imploring of divine aid in a tight situation. On the following day, a more normal battle took place with indecisive results, for while the Egyptians had superior chariotry after the event of the preceding day, the Hittites had more infantry at their disposal. A stalemate prompted both parties to accept a temporary truce.

Although the much publicized Egyptian accounts of the Battle of Kadesh on the walls of several temples, including the famous rock-out temple of Abu Simbel in Nubia, give the impression that the battle was an Egyptian victory, in actuality the Egyptians gained nothing permanent and Kadesh remained in the Hittite sphere. The reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh represent a significant advance in narrative art, with large detailed panoramic scenes portraying the details of the battle in progress. The long texts accompanying the scenes serve to convey what could not be depicted, as, for example, the emotions of the pharaoh in the midst of combat.

During the following decade Ramesses II made several attempts to break the Hittite domination of Syria, occasionally gaining a temporary hold over such places as Tunip and Dapur. With the Hittites facing internal problems and threats from both W Anatolia and Assyria, the time became ripe for them to enter into a formal accord with Egypt. In Year 21, a lengthy treaty was drawn up in Akkadian with copies in Egyptian. It is noted for its cosmopolitan qualities, especially in giving recognition to the gods of both lands as guarantors of the accord, whose terms involved a peace binding unto eternity and included reaffirmation of two former treaties, a common alliance against outside attack and possible internal rebellion, and the extradition of fugitives, who were to be treated humanely (*ANET,* 199–203). In that age of international diplomacy, members of the royal families, including Ramesses II's mother and his wife, exchanged letters of greetings.

Thirteen years later, this peace was further cemented by Ramesses II's marriage to a Hittite princess. This event was treated in Egypt as though Ramesses II's power forced the Hittites into surrender, but lack of rainfall in Anatolia and incipient troubles with the Sea Peoples may have been important factors in this diplomatic marriage, for the Hittite king is made to say, "Our lord Seth (that is, the Egyptian storm god) is angry with us. The sky does not give water before us, and every foreign country is at war fighting us." Later, under King Merenptah, Ramesses II's son and successor, grain was actually sent from Egypt to the Hittites in time of famine.

For Egypt, the second half of Ramesses II's reign was a sort of *pax Aegyptiaca.* The indications are that Egypt maintained a relatively firm control over its Asiatic provinces, where Egyptian garrisons saw to the continued delivery of yearly dues from vassal principalities. A literary text, known as Papyrus Anastasi I, written for a military scribe, demonstrates considerable familiarity with the topography of areas in Syro-Palestine, and there is little doubt that forceful action would have been taken by Egypt to quell insurrection. At home, the king was concerned for the welfare of the Egyptian population, boasting of how well he provided for his artisans and laborers. It is not surprising then that Ramesses II's treatment as a god was accentuated, for he was regarded as the earthly manifestation of the sun-god. For popular worship, there were large statues of the king before which people might address their prayers. Since in theory the king was the sole officiant in the ritual, Ramesses II was even occasionally depicted making offerings to his own image. Beginning with his 13th year, and periodically thereafter, he celebrated a long series of jubilees, with ceremonies designed to reaffirm his vitality as pharaoh.

Ramesses II had a tremendously large number of offspring (45 sons and 40 daughters at least) by his several wives. Prince Khaemwase, who predeceased him, acquired a considerable reputation as a scholar and antiquarian, seeing to the restoration of ancient monuments. Although in the first half of his reign Ramesses II carefully exercised his power of royal appointment of clergy and officials, toward the end of his reign the seeds of inheritance of office are discernible, especially in the Theban priesthood. The rise of powerful families holding important civil and ecclesiastical positions would eventually impinge upon the centrality of royal authority, and the economic strength of the Amon temple at Karnak would come to rival royal wealth. Indeed, the very length of Ramesses II's reign and the size of his family inevitably contributed to problems in the succession of rulers in the second half of the 19th Dyn.

Ramesses II is commonly associated with events of the Exodus and often regarded as the pharaoh of the oppression. Given the fact that already in Year 5 of his son and successor Merenptah, the Israelites are mentioned in a context that indicates their presence in Palestine, it is unlikely that Merenptah was the pharaoh of the Exodus. Since the city of Rameses was already in existence under Sety I, there is the possibility that he was the pharaoh of the oppression and that Ramesses II was ruling when the Exodus occurred, sometime after his Year 15 (Kitchen 1982: 70–71). If, however, the Exodus account contains vague memories of the expulsion of the Hyksos at the beginning of the 18th Dyn., Ramesses II's involvement may have been rather peripheral, perhaps limited to the departure from Egypt of a small group of Apiru Asiatics, who somehow contributed to the collective experience of the Hebrews.

The mummy of Ramesses II, discovered at Thebes, is that of a red-haired octogenarian, who died a natural death at his delta residence, where his body was mummified.

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EDWARD F. WENTE

**RAMIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ramyâ* (רַמְיָה)]. A descendant of Parosh and one of the returned exiles who was required by Ezra to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:25 = 1 Esdr 9:26). According to M. Noth, the name Ramiah means "Yahweh is exalted" (*IPN,* 145). Ramiah was a member of a family that returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:3; Neh 7:8). For further discussion, see BEDEIAH.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

**RAMOTH** (PLACE) [Heb *rāʾmôt* (רָאמוֹת)]. A town of the tribe of Issachar, reportedly granted to the sons of Gershom (1 Chr 6:58—Eng 6:73). The city listed at the same point in the parallel levitical town register in Josh 21:29 is called Jarmuth (*yarmût*); the LXX supports "Ramoth" as the probable original reading. Ramoth is also probably identical with Remeth (*remet*) of Issachar (Josh 19:21).

The location of Ramoth is purely a matter of conjecture. W. F. Albright suggested Kokab el-Hawa, the Crusader castle Belvoir (M.R. 199221), 11 km N of Beth-shean (1926: 231). Its lofty position (over 300 m above sea level) may relate to the possible meaning of Ramoth, "heights."

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**RAMOTH-GILEAD** (PLACE) [Heb *rāmōt gilʿād* (רָמֹת גִּלְעָד)]. A fortress-city of Gilead located in the E portion of Gad's tribal territory. Ramoth-gilead is first mentioned in the Bible (Deut 4:43) as a city in Transjordan which Moses set aside for the tribe of Gad as a place of refuge for perpetrators of unintentional homicide (see also Num 35:6–15 for P legislation regarding cities of refuge). In Joshua 20, the Lord commands Joshua to carry out Moses' legislation, including the establishment of Ramoth in Gilead for Gad (Josh 20:8). Though set in the Wandering/Conquest period, the provision for cities to which perpetrators could flee to escape blood revenge from angry relatives of the victim probably reflects a sophisticated innovation of the monarchical period. The Davidic-Solomonic period might provide the earliest such setting for this role.

Ramoth-gilead also appears in the list of forty-eight cities granted to the Levites by Joshua after the Conquest, and is specifically mentioned again as a city of refuge (Josh 21:38 = 1 Chr 6:65 [—Eng 6:80]). The provision for Levitical cities, though set in the premonarchical period, is also widely regarded by scholars as an administrative act of the Davidic or Solomonic reigns (*ARI,* 121–25; Mazar 1960) or even a much later government. Ramoth-gilead's roles as both a Levitical city and a city of refuge are possibly traceable to the same administrative fiat. It is noteworthy that when Solomon reportedly divided his

kingdom into twelve local districts (1 Kgs 4:7–19), Ramoth-gilead housed Ben-geber, the governor of Gilead and Bashan (1 Kgs 4:13), indicating the importance of the city during that regime.

After the division of the kingdom in the late 10th century, Israel inherited the tribal territories of the N Transjordan, including Gad and its chief city, Ramoth-gilead. A period of military struggles with Damascus followed (1 Kgs 15:20); Josephus (*Ant* 8.14.1) suggests that the city became a point of contention between Syria and Israel, probably during the mid-9th century. The campaign of Ben-hadad of Syria (1 Kgs 20) may have captured Ramoth-gilead from Israel; certainly 1 Kgs 22 presumes that the city lay in Aramean hands. The intriguing account describes how the king of Israel (Ahab? cf. 22:20) implored Jehoshaphat of Judah to join him in an expedition to recover Ramoth-gilead from Aram (22:3). Though the court prophets encouraged such an attack, Micaiah, son of Imlah, prophesied a resounding defeat at the city (22:15–17); the march went on nevertheless. The attempt failed, and the king of Israel died in his chariot.

Twelve years later (ca. 840), Jehoram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah reportedly attempted to retake Ramoth-gilead from Ben-hadad's Syrian successor Hazael (2 Kgs 8:28–29). The attack may have succeeded (cf. 9:14), though the Arameans wounded Jehoram in the attempt. While the king of Israel lay wounded at Jezreel, the prophet Elisha dispatched a messenger to the Israelite army at Ramoth-gilead to anoint an Israelite military commander, Jehu, as the new king (9:1–13). This action amounted to a fundamentalist coup d'état, because Jehu returned from Ramoth to exterminate the rest of the liberal Omrides, members of the Judean royal family, and most of the Baal prophets (2 Kgs 9–10). Apparently, the Yahwistic revolt so weakened Israel that Hazael of Aram succeeded in capturing from it the entire Transjordan, including the disputed Ramoth-gilead (2 Kgs 10:32–33). Though not all these prophetically inspired accounts can be taken at face value (see Miller 1966), there is no reason to doubt that Israel and Syria struggled over Ramoth-gilead itself during this period. It is possible that Amos referred to battles in or around the city a century later when he accused Damascus of war crimes: "They threshed Gilead under threshing-sledges spiked with iron" (Amos 1:3).

The modern identification of Ramoth-gilead is hampered by the relative topographical ambiguity of the OT texts. "Gilead" probably refers to an area in modern Jordan S of the Yarmuk River and N of the Jabbok, but there are many ruins in this area. Albright, following Dalman, proposed Tell el Ḥusn (M.R. 232210), some 16 km SW of Ramtha (1929: 11). But N. Glueck later suggested Tell Ramith (M.R. 244210), 7 km S of Ramtha near the modern frontier with Syria (1943: 11–12), and this identification won scholarly approval in view of Ramith's etymological connections with "Ramoth," its commanding location as a "height" over the surrounding plain, and its Iron Age pottery.

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**RAMPART.** See FORTIFICATIONS (LEVANT).

**RAMSES** (PERSON). See RAMESSES II.

**RAPE.** See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES (OT AND ANE).

**RAPHA** (PERSON) [Heb *rāpā*ʾ (רָפָא)]. The fifth son of Benjamin in 1 Chr 8:2. He is not mentioned in the list of Benjamin's sons in Gen 46:21, where Naaman is the fifth.

DAVID SALTER WILLIAMS

**RAPHAEL** (ANGEL) [Gk *Raphaēl* (Ραφαηλ)]. The angel dispatched to restore Tobit's sight and to free Sarah from the dominance of the evil spirit, Asmodeus (Tob 3:17). His name is a play on words, meaning "God heals" (Zimmerman 1958: 66; Lamparter 1972: 108, n. 6). His role in the narrative underlines the writer's belief in both God's transcendence and his involvement in the life of Israel (Zimmerman 1958: 27–28; Nickelsburg 1981: 34). He acts as God's emissary, but is charged with the

responsibility of caring for the faithful. In fact, so central to the plot of the book is this angelic intermediary that some scholars have described Tobit as an "extended angelophany" (Nickelsburg 1981: 40, n. 41). Raphael is also described in the book of *1 Enoch* as the second in the hierarchy of the angels (20:3) and, specifically, as the one who bound Azazel and cast him into a pit (10:4). Together, both books reflect the impact of Iranian beliefs upon those of Judaism. The emergence of an angelic hierarchy, the view of angels as servants of men as well as God, and the assignment of names determined by function provide evidence of that influence (Gaster *IDB* 1: 132–34). The interest of both writers in the angelic establishes that the gap between the OT and NT on such matters is not as great as it would appear (Metzger 1957: 38; cf. *IDB* 4: 12).

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FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**RAPHAH** (PERSON) [Heb *rāpâ* (רָפָה)]. Var. REPHAIAH. Son of Binea, a descendant of King Saul from the tribe of Benjamin, according to the genealogy of 1 Chr 8:37. The name is an abbreviated form of names such as Rephael, "God has healed" (1 Chr 26:7), and Rephaiah, "YH (WH) has healed," which is a common biblical name in postexilic sources (e.g., 1 Chr 3:21), although the name Rephayahu (*rpyhw*) is attested to in the preexilic bulla corpus (Avigad 1986:78; Shiloh 1986:29). The element *rpʾ,* "to heal," is common in biblical names of all periods (Noth *IPN,* 179). The genealogy parallel to 1 Chr 8:37 in 9:43 gives Raphah's name in the form Rephaiah (*rĕpāyāh*); most LXX manuscripts read this longer form in 8:37 as well. The usual shortened form is Rapha (*rāpāʾ*), which is attested to in the Bible (e.g., 1 Chr 8:2), in the Samaria ostraca, and on a preexilic bulla (Avigad 1986:49), but it is not unusual for a final *ʾalep* to interchange with a final *he* in personal names (Fowler *TPNAH,* 165). Thus, neither the form Rapha of 8:37 nor Rephaiah of 9:43 should be seen as preferable. Raphah's name appears in the section of genealogy (v 37b) using the term *bĕnô,* "his son," in contrast to the preceding section (vv 36–37a), which uses the verbal form *hôlîd,* "begot"; it is therefore possible that they come from different sources and might have been mechanically combined, in which case Raphah is not actually the "son" or "descendant" of Binea. This genealogy is from the end of the First Temple period (Demsky 1971: 20) and was preserved by Benjaminite families that survived the Babylonian Exile (Williamson 1979: 356). The existence and preservation of the Saulide genealogy probably reflect the continued prominence of Saul's family, and perhaps even their hope that they would return to power (Ackroyd *Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah* TBC, 42; Flanagan *PWCJS* 8: 25). See MELECH. On the repetition of the genealogy in 1 Chronicles 8 and 9, and its structure within the genealogies in Chronicles, see AHAZ.

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MARC Z. BRETTLER

**RAPHAIM** (PERSON) [Gk *Rhapain* (Ῥαπαιν)]. A name given as part of the genealogy of Judith (Jdt 8:1). It should be noted that the Gk text reads Raphain. If this reading is correct, then the name occurs nowhere else in the biblical text. It is often emended, as in RSV, to Raphaim (this follows the Vulgate), or to Rephaiah. If the emendation to Rephaiah is correct, then it is most likely that the author of Judith had in mind the occurrence of the name in 1 Chr 4:42. There, Rephaiah is a leader of the tribe of Simeon, which is, according to the author, the tribe of Judith. The purpose of the genealogy in the book of Judith is to prove the purity of Judith's Jewish descent and to give the story verisimilitude.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**RAPHIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Rhaphia* (Ῥαφια)]. The site of the battle between Ptolemy IV Philopater and Antiochus III (*3 Macc.* 1:1; 217 B.C.; see *CAH* 7/22/8: 728–31). It is associated with modern Tel Rafah (M.R. 077079), a city located about 20 miles SW of Gaza and 30 miles N of the Wadi el-ʿArish. This site was important throughout antiquity because of its strategic location on the frontier between Palestine and Egypt. It served as a border station on the main military road which ran from Egypt to Palestine. This road, called the "Way of Horus" by the Egyptians, the "Way of the Land of the Philistines" in the OT (Exod 13:17), and the "Way of the Sea" by the Romans, was the most direct route linking Asia and Egypt and was thus used throughout history for the movement of armies (see *LBHG,* 41–49; Gardiner 1920).

Although Raphia is not mentioned in the OT, there is ample evidence that it dates back to that period. The name is found in both Mesopotamian and Egyptian sources. A Neo-Assyrian annal of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) claims that "Hanno, King of Gaza and also Sib'e, the *Turtan* of Egypt set out from Rapihu against me to deliver a decisive battle. I defeated them …" (*ANET,* 285). Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) also passed through Raphia on his way to Egypt: "I removed my camp from Musru and marched directly towards Meluhha (i.e., Egypt)—a distance of 30 double-hours from the town of Apku which is in the region of Samaria as far as the town Rapihu (in) the region adjacent to the 'Brook of Egypt' …" (*ANET,* 292).

In Egyptian texts, Raphia is found in the Papyrus Anastasi, a satirical letter dating to the time of Seti I (1294–1279 B.C.). The name (spelled *r-p-h*) is mentioned following *n-h-s* and preceding Gaza (*ANET,* 478; Gardiner 1920: 103). In another list of toponyms from the same period, Raphia follows Hazor (*LBHG,* 166). Ramesses II (1279–1213 B.C.) mentions *r-p-h* in a geographical list preceding Sharu[hen] (Tell el-Farʿah; *ANET,* 292), while in a geographical list from the time of the pharaoh Shishak I (945–924 B.C.), *r-p-h* is associated with Laban (*LBHG,* 290; for a complete listing of Raphia occurrences in Egyptian texts and corresponding bibliography, see *CTAED,* 161–62).

Raphia is next attested in the literature of Hellenistic times. Polybius mentions Raphia as the site of the battle between Ptolemy IV and Antiochus III in 217 B.C. (*Histories* 5.80). Strabo the Geographer, while describing the region, states: "After Gaza one comes to Rhaphia, where a battle was fought between Ptolemaeus the Fourth and Antiochus the Great" (*Geog.* 16.2.31). In the writings of Josephus, Josephus relates how Alexander Jannaeus captured and destroyed Raphia in 97 B.C. (*Ant* 14.5.3) and how it was rebuilt by Gabinius in 55 B.C. (*Ant* 14.5.3; *JW* 1.8.4). Later, Titus passed through Raphia on his way from Nicopolis in Egypt to Jerusalem (70 A.D.; *JW* 4.11.5).

The Talmud (*t. Šeb.* 4.10) mentions the name Raphiah deHagra "Raphia of the wall" as a name of a province located on the border between Egypt and Palestine (*GP* 1: 308–10). For further discussion, see also *IDB* 4: 13; *ISBE* 4: 46; *LÄ* 5: 147–48.

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BRIAN E. KECK

**RAPHON** (PLACE) [Gk *Rhaphōn* (Ῥαφων)]. A city in Gilead on the banks of a tributary of the Yarmuk River. It is identified with er-Rafeh, 13 km NE of Sheikh Saʿad (Karnaim). It may be the city *nw-r-p-i* in the list of Canaanite cities of Thutmose III.

The Maccabean Revolt met with early success, including the recapture of the temple in 164 B.C., which led to gentile reprisals. Many Jews in Gilead fled to a stronghold at the city of Dathema and sent to Judas for help (1 Macc 5:10), while Jews in other cities were attacked by the gentile citizens (5:26–27). Judas embarked on a highly successful campaign to liberate all of them. The campaign reached its climax when the Ammonite military commander, Timothy, gathered a huge army opposite Raphon (5:37–39), and Judas crossed the wadi swollen with spring rains (Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 303) to attack and defeat him (5:43). Timothy's army retreated to the Temple of Ashtoreth at Karnaim (5:43–44), which Judas captured and burned. Meanwhile, according to 2 Macc 12:24, the retreating Timothy was captured by two

Jewish brothers, Dositheus and Sosipater. He persuaded them to free him, thereby avoiding death at Karnaim.
PAUL L. REDDITT

**RAPHU** (PERSON) [Heb *rāpû* (רָפוּא)]. A man from the tribe of Benjamin, known only through association with his son Palti (Num 13:9). Palti was one of the twelve tribal representatives who left Kadesh to spy out the land of Canaan.
TERRY L. BRENSINGER

**RAPTURE.** See REVELATION, BOOK OF; PAROUSIA.

**RAQQA, KHIRBET ER-.** See JOKDEAM.

**RAS ABU TABAT** (PLACE). See TABBATH.

**RAS ET-TAHUNA** (M.R. 170147). See ZEMARAIM.

**RAS SHAMRA** (PLACE). See UGARIT.

**RASSIS** (PLACE) [Gk *Rhassis* (Ῥασσις)]. A site mentioned in the book of Judith as one of the scenes of Holofernes' victories (Jdt 2:23). The name occurs only here in the Bible. The author seems to locate the site somewhere in the region of Cilicia, given the context of the passage. The OL text and the Vg give the name as Tharsis (Lat *Tharsis*), leading some to suggest that Rassis is a corruption of the name Tarsus. However, it is much more likely that the Latin is a corruption from the unknown "Rassis" toward the easily identified "Tarsus." Others suggest an identification with a "Rossos" mentioned by Strabo (14.5.19; 16.2.8) and Ptolemy (*Geog.* 5.14). Stummer (1947) thinks this is the most likely identification, and believes it refers to Mt. Rossus (modern Arsus), which was the site of the Battle of Issus in 333 B.C.E. This is possible; the name may have been known to the author of Judith and used to give his story verisimilitude. This identification would also partly depend on the date assigned to the book of Judith; that is, whether or not the author would have been aware of the Battle of Issus.

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**RAT.** See ZOOLOGY.

**RATHAMIN** (PLACE) [Gk *Rhathamin* (Ῥαθαμιν)]. An administrative district ceded to Maccabean control by Demetrius Nicator of Syria ca. 148 B.C. (1 Macc 11:34). The three "nomes" of Aphairema, Lydda, and Rathamin had formerly been a part of the larger district of Samaria, although their population was largely Jewish. Rathamin, like the other "nomes" associated with it, bordered Judea and had already come effectively under the control of the Maccabees. Demetrius formally annexed Rathamin and other territories to Judea and made further concessions in an attempt to retain Jewish allegiance. This treaty was reported in a letter of Demetrius to Lasthenes concerning affairs in the S portion of the Seleucid empire.

Rathamin is clearly included as one of the three nomes mentioned in the record of Demetrius' earlier attempt to sway Maccabean allegiance from his rival Alexander (1 Macc 10:30, 38). Later, in peace time, Demetrius broke his promises, and his rival Tryphon, in the name of his child-king Antiochus, granted Jonathan Maccabeus control over "the four nomes," which would have included Rathamin (1 Macc 11:57). Josephus uses the toponym Ramatha in his description of these events (*Ant* 13.14.9; cf. LXX ASV Rhamathaim). The change of spelling in early mss may represent a change to a sound more aesthetically pleasing to the Hellenistic ear.

The district of Rathamin is widely accepted as the district surrounding the home of Samuel. This region in the hill country of Ephraim lay along the N approach to Judea. The location is also known as Arimathea (M.R. 151159) and was the hometown of Joseph, one of Jesus' followers (Matt 27:57; John 19:38). The etymological root of this name is Ramah, which refers to a high place. This location is only 11 km N of Modein, the home of the Maccabees. No excavations of the site are reported in current summaries of

archaeological activities. According to Avi-Yonah's cartography, the region of Rathamin included ca. 140 square miles and stretched from the foothills near Arimathea in the W to Bethel in the E.
ROBERT W. SMITH

**RAVEN.** See ZOOLOGY.

**RAZIS** (PERSON) [Gk *Rhazis* (Ῥαζις)]. One of the elders from Jerusalem who in 2 Macc 14:37–46 is said to commit suicide rather than permit Nicanor to arrest him and use him as an example to the Jews in Judea. While most major translations (RSV, NEB, JB) for the sake of clarity insert the name Razis into the story two or more times, the Gk mss only mention it once at the very beginning (v 37). The mss vary considerably in the spelling of the name, raising questions about its origin. While most commentators accept its Semitic origin, Grimm thinks the Syriac *Ragaš* may preserve the original name (1853: 199). Abel accepts Grimm's other proposal, *Razy,* and argues that it is probably of Persian background (1949: 467), while Goldstein sees the influence of Isa 14: 16–18 on *Razy* (*2 Maccabees* AB, 492).

Our knowledge concerning Razis is confined to this account. He is described as one of the *presbyterōn* (elders) from Jerusalem with a good reputation and a love for his fellow citizens. Most commentators think that he must have been among a group of elders assembled by Judas after the revolt (Habicht 1976: 275). While the extent of their power cannot be ascertained (Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 491–92), the use of the title is rather common in 1 and 2 Maccabees. This text also informs us that earlier in the time of *amixia* (separation), risking body and soul Razis had incurred the judgment of Judaism, an apparent reference to the prohibitions under Antiochus IV described in 2 Macc 6:1–6 and elsewhere.

The story of Razis is an independent unit in 2 Maccabees with a limited connection to its surrounding literary context. While in the sequence of events in 2 Maccabees the Razis incident seems to have occurred in the temple, many believe the references in the story are to the courtyard of a house (Grimm 1853: 200; Abel 1949: 469). Since this account seems to stand as an independent literary unit in 2 Maccabees 14, it is very difficult to determine the precise setting.

While the story of Razis is an obvious case of suicide, its parallels with the martyrdoms described in 2 Macc 6:10–7:42 (Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 491) provide some justification for those who regard this story of noble resistance to foreign exploitation as a martyrdom (Schiffman in *HBC* 914).

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JOHN KAMPEN

**RE** (DEITY). The Egyptian sun-god; a cosmic deity of the greatest importance in the expression and development of Egyptian religious thought. Although the ideogram for the sun—a circle with a central dot—is found in the late Predynastic period (ca. 3000 B.C.), scholars have no solid evidence upon which to date the introduction or development of solar worship in Egypt. What can be determined, however, is that by the end of the Archaic period (ca. 2700 B.C.), the worship of Re was solidly entrenched in mainline Egyptian religion, since the name of Re has been found as a constituent of human names at that time, as was the title "Son of Re," which was to be used in the full titulary of pharaohs from the Old Kingdom through the Roman period.

Re's primary cult center was the city of *Iwnw* (Heliopolis), situated at the apex of the delta, where he was worshipped in the form of a hawk-headed human, and where his most sacred icon—the conically shaped benben stone—was long an object of veneration (Bonnet in *RÄR,* 626). It is from this city that the priests of Re are believed to have developed the highly complex speculative system which influenced much of Egyptian culture, from religious belief and ritual practice to religious and secular literature (Barucq and Daumas 1980: 115; Assmann 1969), and even to architecture, this last providing some of the most stereotypical images of ancient Egypt—the pyramid, obelisk, and sun temple (David 1980: 36).

The three most significant qualities of the sun-god are apparent from his earliest occurrences in the Old Kingdom. Re is a creator god, he is the divine king, and he is the paradigm for the cycle of birth-life-death-rebirth. The sun-god's aspect as a creator god is best described in the Instruction to King Merikare:

"Mankind, god's cattle, is well tended. He created the sky and the earth for their sake … He made breath for their noses to live … He shines in the sky for their sake. He made plants and cattle for them, fowl and fish to feed them … He makes daylight for their sake" (Volten 1945: 131; *ANET*, 417).

In this regard, the sun-god is also the dominant creator in many of the various priest-developed cosmogonic systems, such as that of Heliopolis, where Atum-Re generates the first male-female pair through masturbation; Hermopolis, where Re arises from the cosmic egg on the Island of Flames (Brandon 1963: 14); and Edfu, where Re is connected with the origin of sacred places (Reymond 1969: 33).

Perhaps Re's most important characteristic is that he is the king of the gods. This is his most common depiction in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts. Re crosses the sky in his great boat which is crewed by the gods who perform various scribal and personal functions, inspecting various districts of his realm, making regal pronouncements (Anthes 1958: 77–89). All of this is so transparently a borrowing of the earthly actions of the pharaoh that, lacking substantial descriptions of pharaonic activities of state during the Old Kingdom, descriptions of Re can be used to supplement our general understanding of royal activities (Firchow 1957: 34–42). We even have one text where Re's royal prerogatives are so unqualified that he is able to call for the destruction of mankind (Piankoff 1955: 26).

As mentioned earlier, one of the standard elements of the pharaoh's titulary was his "Son of Re" name. Some scholars speculated that this was an indication that the primary position of the pharaoh in the Egyptian pantheon was compromised by the rising power of Re and his priesthood during later Old Kingdom times (David 1980: 60). That this Re-king connection was taken seriously throughout the rest of pharaonic history is confirmed by the fact that almost every pharaoh from Dynasty 4 through Dynasty 30, the last native Egyptian dynasty, selected a royal name which was a compound using Re; for example, Khafre, Menkaure, Sahure, Meryre, Kheperkare, Menkheperre, and Usermaatre. Indeed, to the Egyptians, the "Son of Re" title was quite literal, as the Westcar Papyrus relates how the initial kings of the 5th Dynasty were the offspring of the wife of a priest of Re and the sun-god himself (*AEL* 1: 215).

The third major characteristic of Re is that he is the god of resurrection: the paradigm of the birth-life-death-rebirth cycle. The sun is the most dominant of all celestial phenomena, and its daily rising and setting led the Egyptians to regard it as being born each morning and dying each sunset. Connected with this is the vision of the sun sailing across the day sky along the body of the sky-goddess Nut, being swallowed by her at sunset, and traveling through her body by boat at night, to be born again in the morning (Westendorf 1966).

The most commonly held theory is that an afterlife and the otherworld were royal prerogatives in the earlier periods. The best description of this is rendered in the Pyramid Texts, which are thought to represent beliefs originally prepared for and pertaining to pharaohs and the royal bloodline. After death, and through the performance of certain rituals, the pharaoh either became identified with Re or became a member of his official entourage and was, therefore, pulled into the sun's cycle of daily rebirth.

Standard scholarship holds that even in the Pyramid Texts, however, we can detect more "popular" afterlife expressions revolving around the god Osiris, who begins to usurp or at least share in some of Re's prerogatives (Breasted 1933: 109). This process became more pronounced during the First Intermediate Period, when the power of the pharaoh waned substantially and the afterlife became accessible to everyone. This is a very debatable interpretation which is based on the lack of nonroyal funerary literature from the older periods. Even so, the solar influence remained strong in later funerary literature—for example, the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead—and was the primary inspiration behind the numerous highly pictorial "books" of the New Kingdom and later, such as the Book of the Day, the Book of the Night, the Book of Gates, the Book of Caverns, and the Book of What Is in the Underworld (Piankoff 1957). All of these texts have as their leitmotiv the inexorable movement of the sun-god through the otherworld, culminating with his rebirth.

Re's influence on the general Egyptian pantheon was profound. As early as the 2d Dynasty, with the occurrence of Re-Horakhty, Re was such a fundamental aspect of the Egyptian religious perspective that he became closely linked with numerous other deities to form new gods, e.g., Re-Atum, Re-Horakhty,

Amon-Re, Khepre-Re, and Re-Osiris. Re was easily the most frequently occurring god in these syncretistic associations (Hornung 1982: 86), and one text, the Litany of Re, contains 75 examples of alternate and compound names of Re, many of which are the names of other gods, under which Re's power was manifest (Piankoff 1964: 22 ff.).

This syncretistic technique of Egyptian religious thinkers, particularly as it applied to Re, was responsible for expanding and enriching the character of many originally nonsolar divinities, to the point where, in the New Kingdom, the Egyptian pantheon had a substantially solar flavor.

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FRANK T. MIOSI


**READER RESPONSE THEORY.** A development within literary studies which focuses on the relationship between text and receiver.

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A. Definition
B. Background and Formative Influences
C. Basic Concepts
    1. The Implied and Other Readers
    2. Gaps and the Indeterminacy of the Text
    3. The Wandering Viewpoint
    4. Criticism
D. Reader Response Theory and Biblical Literature
    1. Audience Criticism
    2. New Developments


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**A. Definition**

The communication process by means of texts can be described in terms of the basic relationships between sender, message, and receiver. Historical studies as a general rule tend to concentrate on the relationship between sender and message, structural studies on the text itself, and Reader Response Theory (hereafter RRT) on the interaction between text and receiver(s). Although the approach developed by RRT has its origins in the field of general literary studies, it is becoming increasingly prominent in the interpretation of biblical material.

**B. Background and Formative Influences**

The interest in reception forms part of a much wider movement toward pragmatics, i.e., the study of the effect of language in use. While syntax has to do with the structure of and the relationship between the different elements of the text, and semantics deals with the meaning of the text, pragmatics is interested in language in action and the effects that can be achieved by language. Because language functions on various levels and in a variety of contexts, pragmatics covers a broad spectrum of investigation. It does not proceed from a unified or universally accepted theory, but draws its inspiration and concepts from

diverse methods and traditions. RRT, as a smaller segment within the wider field of pragmatics, reflects the same multifaceted background, and a number of influences can be traced in its development.

In terms of origins, a distinction can be made between RRT and reception theory. The former is a concept prevalent in North America; the latter was developed in a European context. RRT is an umbrella term which brings together literary critics from diverse backgrounds. The common denominator is their opposition to the New Critical emphasis on the "text itself"; that is, on the autonomous status of the text as text, and the concentration on the ways in which the text interacts with readers. In RRT, there is no coordinated attempt to develop a uniform methodological approach; in fact, one of the strengths of RRT claimed by its adherents is that it can accommodate a variety of techniques and methods. Reception theory, on the other hand, is a much more coherent movement, most prominently represented by the so-called School of Constance, with Robert Jauss and Wolfgang Iser as its principal exponents. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, their work was seminal for the exchange of ideas at the biannual colloquia held at the University of Constance in the Federal Republic of Germany. The results of those discussions were eventually published in the series *Poetik und Hermeneutik.*

The rise of reception theory or the "aesthetics of reception" (Jauss) was preceded by four other related developments. First, studies in the sociology of literature emphasized that not only is the production of a work of art or the value of its inherent qualities worthy of investigation, but also, and especially, is its effect on society. Similar ideas came from a second quarter, that of philosophical hermeneutics, where Gadamer developed his concept of the "effective history" (*Wirkungsgeschichte*) of a text. In this concept, an individual does not exhaust the meaning potential of a text, but his or her interpretation is relativized and complemented by other readings of the text. In fact, these different readings form a history of their own which will influence the predisposition of the individual reader even before he or she actually encounters the text—whether the reader is aware of this influence or not. The concept of "effective history" prepared the way for the third influence, namely the idea of writing a history of literature in terms of the reception of texts. Jauss, the major exponent of this concept, understands such an undertaking to be the prerequisite for an "aesthetics of reception." The aim is to provide some explanation for the success or failure of certain texts during certain periods in history, and in doing so to establish a basis for the evaluation of texts. A fourth and very powerful influence came from the ideas of the Prague structuralists. In developing and revising certain concepts of Russian formalism, they maintained a clear distinction between the text as stable structure and the realization of that structure by the reader. They believed that by seeing the work of art as a complex sign which mediated between the artist and the receiver, the social dimension of reception became prominent. This line of thought was taken up and explored further by the School of Constance. From quite a different angle, reception was also influenced by insights deriving from speech act theory. Here, too, the focus was on the effect achieved by language usage.

In its turn, concepts developed by reception theory proved to be fruitful for many other related areas of research, including the following most prominent ones. Theoretical studies have been complemented by a vast amount of empirical work in which the actual reception of texts by various types of readers is monitored under controlled conditions. This has developed into a specialized field of research. Sociology of knowledge has emphasized the historical relativity of knowledge; that is, the effect which the position of the observer—the observer's place in history and in the social network—has on the observer's perception of reality. Critical hermeneutics gave rise to the development of "materialistic" readings of texts, where both production and reception are understood in terms of the interaction of socioeconomic forces. Psychological studies of the reading process have made use of reception insights, while communication theory as a whole has benefited from this interchange. In the earlier stages of development, the work of Iser represented the only significant link between RRT and reception theory. However, as a result of the ongoing exchange of ideas, the different schools and traditions can no longer be separated so easily.

**C. Basic Concepts**

**1. The Implied and Other Readers.** Pivotal for all types of reception theory or RRT is the role of the reader. The basic assumption is that every text presupposes a specific reader, whether this is a concrete

person or only a hypothetical receiver. This reader influences the way in which the text is structured and framed, and the author of the text assumes that the reader has the ability required to decode and understand what is written.

The reader or readers may be explicitly identified, even addressed by name (for example, Theophilus in Luke 1:3), or their presence may be only assumed. In the course of time a wide variety of readers has been listed, but it was only with the introduction of Wolfgang Iser's concept of the "implied reader" that the reader became an important feature of the methodology for the interpretation of texts. Iser intended this "reader" to serve as a theoretical construct, to account for the presence of the reader in the text without having to deal with the additional complications posed by a real reader. The "implied reader" was devised as a counterpart to the concept of the "implied author." The reason for these distinctions was the recognition that whoever the real author of a literary text might be, the text itself is written from a specific point of view and addressed to a specific reader who shares a certain minimum amount of knowledge with the author, if any communication is to take place via the text.

However, the implied author and the implied reader are not the only participants. Within the text itself, a further set may be introduced in the form of a narrator and an addressee. For example, in the gospel of Mark, the author presupposes that his readers will have a reading knowledge of Greek and will understand references to tax collectors, the book of Isaiah, the Pharisees, and so forth. But within his story he introduces Jesus as a narrator of parables, with Jesus' disciples as audience. On still a further level of embedding, the owner of the vineyard communicates with his servants, who form yet another audience (Mark 12).

Because of this complexity of textual structures, it is important to distinguish between the various receivers. Some are present only "inside" the text—not as real readers, but as possible roles which the real reader might adopt. Examples are the so-called mock reader whose role the real reader is invited to assume, if only temporarily; the addressee who is often explicitly identified; the implied reader who is in possession of the minimum qualities necessary to make sense of the text; and the ideal or model reader who has the competence to follow all the nuances and to realize the potential of the text to its fullest. On the other hand, some readers are clearly "outside" the text. These are real readers like the first or original readers of a text, the past readers who constitute the history of the reception of the text, the composite or communal reader who has accumulated the critical experience of a specific community or of previous generations, or the present reader of the text.

In the long run, however, it becomes problematic to keep intratextual and extratextual readers neatly separated. The "implied reader," as such, illustrates the problem. Although originally conceived as a means of accounting for the presence of the reader without having to deal with a real reader, the implied reader does become the point of entrance for the real reader by representing the stance which the latter attempts to adopt. Iser is therefore forced to define the implied reader both as a textual structure (*Textstruktur*) and as a structured act *Aktstruktur*). This dual definition of the concept of the implied reader enables Iser to move to and fro from text to reader, but it has also given rise to the criticism that he can do so only because the relationship between these two aspects remains vague. A clearer understanding of the interaction between the real and the implied reader remains one of the areas in RRT that needs further methodological refinement.

**2. Gaps and the Indeterminacy of the Text.** Exponents of RRT point out that clues are offered to the reader on various levels of the text. These can come in the form of linguistic indicators, like second-person pronouns, vocative forms, and direct commands. On the rhetorical level, rhetorical questions or other strategies can be used to elicit sympathy or arouse aversion. In the world created by the text, a specific value system can be introduced, offering the reader new possibilities for self-understanding. In Gal 3:28, the "status" of the believer is redefined in contrast to existing norms of the social system. Petersen (1985) has shown how kinship relations play an important role in the symbolic universe developed in the letter to Philemon. Whether the actual reader accepts the role(s) offered by the text is a matter of the appropriation of the text.

Despite these indicators which guide the reader in a certain direction, RRT insists that indeterminacy is a basic characteristic of the literary text. What is revealed in the text is at the same time accompanied by what remains concealed. It is this dialectic between what is explicit and what is implicit, between the known and the unknown, which sets the reading process in motion. According to Iser, the text contains certain deliberate "gaps" or "open spaces." These structured blanks spur the reader to action and entice the reader to supply the missing information in order to make sense of what is said. In this way, the text requires an input from the reader and makes the reader co-responsible for the creation of the text as meaningful communication.

**3. The Wandering Viewpoint.** The introduction of readers other than the present reader is one way in which the mediating potential of the text comes to the surface. Instead of confronting the reader with only one possible role, the text offers a variety of options. The reader can therefore be present in the text in more than one way. This is what Iser means by the so-called "wandering viewpoint" of the reader. Various textual perspectives are open to the reader—that of the narrator, the characters, the plot, and the implied reader. In moving backwards and forwards between these perspectives, the reader will find that different segments of the text are brought into the foreground, while others become marginal. In presenting these different options to the reader, the text is in fact mediating between the reader's position and where the text would like the reader to be.

**4. Criticism.** Criticism of both the theory and practice of RRT comes from two opposing quarters. Some maintain that the method destabilizes the text, ignores its constraints, and opens up the gates for all forms of subjectivism. Others object (especially from a deconstructionist perspective) that RRT is not prepared to accept the consequences of its own position. Having recognized the creative input of the reader, it stops halfway by still insisting that the text exercise a decisive control over the reader. RRT proponents have tried to counter this by distinguishing between two stages of reading—the first recognizing the text as a closed system of signs (text-immanent), the second taking the reader's sign system into account (text-transcendent). Even so, the paradox between the constraints of the text and the freedom of the reader remains a methodological challenge.

**D. Reader Response Theory and Biblical Literature**

Because of the persuasive nature of biblical literature, which presupposes a response from its readers, RRT is of special significance for this type of material. Even before reader reception became a focal point in literary theory, biblical scholars had already addressed many of the issues raised by RRT, even if this did not form part of an overall methodological system. The work already done may be conveniently discussed under the heading "audience criticism" (D.1.). However, recent developments in general literary theory have brought the problems of reception in biblical texts sharply into focus (see section D.2.).

**1. Audience Criticism.** The question of who the addressees of the various books of the Bible are has always been an important theme in biblical interpretation. Most classical introductions to biblical literature include a standard section on the intended receivers of a prophetic book, a gospel, or a letter. The underlying assumption is that this material is dialogical in nature, and an adequate understanding of the text is therefore dependent on having sufficient information about the circumstances and viewpoints of the receiving party.

It is therefore not surprising that various forms of *audience criticism* have been practiced by biblical scholars. This term was first used in a biblical context by Baird in his study on the Corinthian Church (1969), but as in the case of RRT, it is a concept which has its origin in general literary studies and which in essence is a synonym for RRT (cf. Suleiman 1980: 6).

In the study of biblical literature, a variety of methods, ranging from form criticism to sociological analyses, have been employed to obtain information regarding audiences. A classic example is the case of Paul's opponents, where studies by Schmithals, Wilckens, and Georgi on the Corinthian situation continued along some avenues opened up by the historical-religious work of Bousset and Reitzenstein, and even reached back to the work of F. C. Baur. Techniques employed in this process include the gathering of data from direct and indirect historical references; the use of references based on rhetorical,

epistolographic, or sociological grounds; and the application of mirror readings—that is, assuming that the adversaries' viewpoint is the opposite of what is stated in the polemical sections of the writings.

Studies of a sociological nature, exemplified by the work of Theissen, Kee, Malherbe, Scroggs, and others, have further stimulated the investigation of audiences. Many independent studies of individual books have been made, for example John (Brown 1979), Mark (Kee 1977), Hebrews (Jewett 1981), and 1 Peter (Elliot 1981).

**2. New Developments.** Audience criticism discussed so far remains by and large part of a historical undertaking. The aim has been to obtain reliable data about the real receivers and their circumstances as an aid to a better understanding of the texts. The frequent lack of such data and other methodological problems have led recent researchers to employ RRT primarily as a literary technique. Examples are the work of Crossan (1980) and Du Plessis (1985) on the parables, Culpepper (1983) and Staley (1985) on John, Fowler (1981) on Mark, Petersen (1985) on Philemon, Wuellner (1977) on Romans, and McKnight (1985) on general theory. The text is understood as a literary entity in the first place, with strict adherence to intratextual categories. The focus, inter alia, is on the reader as textual construct and on the world or symbolic universe created by the text. Both narrative and nonnarrative material have been analyzed in this way—the latter analyzation resulting in an interest in rhetorical strategies. The importance of historical issues is not denied, but a literary approach is preferred as the primary means of gaining an understanding of the text. With the growing interest in RRT and its application on biblical material, the challenge remains to clarify the referential potential of these texts and their relationship to extratextual reality.

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BERNARD C. LATEGAN

**READINGS, CONFLATED.** See CONFLATE READINGS IN THE OT.

**REAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *rĕʿāyâ* (רְאָיָה)]. The name given to three men in the Hebrew Bible.

**1.** A Judahite, the second generation removed from Judah. He was the son of Shobal and the father of Jahath (1 Chr 4:2).

**2.** A Reubenite, of the family of Joel. He was the son of Micah and the father of Baal (1 Chr 5:5).

**3.** The name of a family of temple servants who returned to Palestine with Zerubbabel shortly after 538 B.C.E., the end of the Babylonian Exile. The name appears in Ezra 2:47 in the phrase "the sons of Reaiah" (Gk *Reēa*), where the temple servants are distinguished from the people of Israel, the priests, and the Levites. The parallel passage (Neh 7:50) also lists "the sons of Reaiah" (Gk *Raaia/Raea*), as does the later parallel 1 Esdr 5:31 (Gk *Iairos*).

STEVEN R. SWANSON

**REAPING.** See HARVESTS, HARVESTING; AGRICULTURE.

**REBA** (PERSON) [Heb *rebaʿ* (רֶבַע)]. A Midianite king (Num 31:8; Josh 13:21). Historically, the five Midianite kings or chiefs in Numbers 31, also mentioned in Joshua 13, are difficult to date and locate. Albright (1970) assumed that the Midianite war described in Numbers 31 antedated the domestication of the camel (an observation which would now lead into the 3d millennium B.C.; Knauf 1988: 9–10). Knauf suggested interpreting these five "kings" as a list of place names that form an itinerary through N Arabia and S Transjordan in the Persian period (Knauf 1988: 166–67). As a personal name, Reba has parallels in Hadramitic, Lihyanite, Safaitic, and classical Arabic *Rabîʿ* and *Rubaiʿ* (Knauf 1988: 90), i.e., from the 5th century B.C. onwards. For Reba as a place name, Râbiġ, a port city of the Ḥijâz, and, more likely, Naqb Rubâʿî, the main access to Petra from Wadi ʿArabah, provide possible identifications.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**REBEKAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ribqâ* (רִבְקָה)]. Var. REBECCA. Wife of Isaac, mother of the twins Esau and Jacob, daughter of Bethuel (Abraham's nephew), and sister of Laban (Gen 22:23). She is thus also Isaac's cousin once removed, since her grandfather Nahor was Abraham's brother. See Fig. REB.01.

Older etymologies derive the name from the root *rbq,* "to tie fast" (cf. the Heb *ribqâ,* "a looped cord for tying young animals"). It may also constitute a wordplay on the Heb *baqar,* "cattle" (note the metathesis of the *reš*), thus making it analogous to other names in the patriarchal narratives, such as Rachel ("ewe"), or Leah ("cow"), and Zilpah ("short-nosed animal").

The story of Rebekah, beautifully narrated in high literary style, forms the conclusion of the Abraham saga. In his old age, Abraham decides that Isaac, the bearer of Yahweh's promise, should not intermarry with the daughters of the Canaanites (Gen 24:3). This act of securing a bride for Isaac is Abraham's last deed, which is carried out by his most trusted servant. While the servant is not named in this chapter, it is often suggested that he is Eliezer of Damascus, named as Abraham's majordomo in chap. 15. It is noteworthy that the betrothal is to take place by proxy, since Isaac never leaves home. Abraham won't allow Isaac out of his sight, as it were, for several reasons: the lateness of his birth after years of promise, coupled with the strange story of his near-sacrifice (chap. 22). In addition, Abraham has just buried Sarah, his wife, in the cave of the field of Machpelah and is mourning her death. Abraham's reluctance to send Isaac himself on the journey back to the Mesopotamian homeland (24:8–10) is an interesting contrast to Rebekah's later treatment of Jacob: she only too willingly parts with her favorite son and is actually eager to send him back to her homeland because of Esau's anger over the stolen blessing (27:41–45).

Abraham's servant arrives outside the city of Nahor with his retinue of ten camels, laden with choice gifts for the future bride. It is a princely scene that awaits the maiden as she approaches the well at evening time. Rebekah is beautiful but not passive. She becomes the focal point of purposeful activity.

She addresses the servant, draws water, fills her jar, gives drink, draws water for the camels (Gen 24:16–20). She gives consent and determines that she will go with Abraham's servant without delay (Gen 24:58). In later years, she will again become the focal point of purposeful activity in securing the paternal blessing for her favorite son, Jacob. She manipulates the action, devises the plan to fool Isaac, and prepares the savory food. She is the most clever and authoritative of the matriarchs, and yet she epitomizes womanly beauty and virtue, in her conduct (her virginity, her actions at the well), in her energetic speech, in her thoughtful courtesy, and in her self-assurance.

The story assumes that Rebekah has been appointed by the Lord to be Isaac's wife, since events seemingly unfold according to divine providence (Gen 24:11–21, 50–51). Even though Rebekah has never met Isaac, she agrees to the marriage because, in a sense, they are not strangers: both are aware of common family ties and history. The betrothal scene (vv 34–51) is elaborately described in ceremonial language as a formal treaty between two branches of the Terah clan. The bestowal of gifts upon the future bride (v 53) is rendered in detail, and negotiations are couched in diplomatic language (vv 49, 54–58). Laban, keenly conscious of his sister's newfound favor, blessings, and gifts, takes sudden cognizance of her (Gen 24:30–31) as he will also later note that Jacob's herds have multiplied by divine providence and blessing (Gen 30:27–36). Her farewell from her father's household is accompanied by a shower of blessings: "Our sister, be the mother of thousands of ten thousands; and may your descendants possess the gate of those who hate them" (Gen 24:60). The symbolism of the doubling of fertility motifs in the farewell blessing and the offering of life-giving water at the well is intentional. Upon her arrival at her future husband's dwelling place (vv 63–64), their first encounter is poignantly rendered and leaves a powerful visual impression on the reader.

> And Isaac went out to meditate in the field in the evening; and he lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold there were camels coming. And Rebekah lifted up her eyes, and when she saw Isaac, she alighted from the camel.

It concludes (v 67) with the statement:

> Then Isaac brought her into the tent, and took Rebekah, and she became his wife; and he loved her. So Isaac was comforted after his mother's death.

Rebekah is barren for the first 20 years of her marriage, and it is only after Isaac's intercessory prayer to God that she conceives (25:21). Barrenness, although exceptional, is a recurrent element in biblical birth stories, and the Bible concentrates on these exceptions. Frequently, barrenness and a son born in advanced age are viewed as proof of divine purpose, such as in the cases of Sarah (mother of Isaac), Rachel (mother of Joseph and Benjamin), the unnamed mother of Samson, Hannah (mother of Samuel), and Elizabeth (mother of John the Baptist). In each case, the offspring is destined to fulfill a special role in the history of Israel. In the case of Rebekah, Yahweh indicates a special purpose concerning the destiny of the two boys who struggle within her: "And the Lord said to her, 'Two nations are in your womb, and two peoples, born of you, will be divided, the one will be stronger than the other, the greater the lesser will serve' " (Gen 25:23). This is purposely ambiguous, like the Delphic oracle, and it sets the stage for discord not only between the boys who are to become the eponymous ancestors of two nations, but also between the nations themselves, for Esau is also called Edom and is considered the forefather of the Edomites (Gen 36:8–9), while Jacob is renamed Israel and becomes the forefather of the Israelites (Gen 35:10–12). In point of fact, the prophecy is not fulfilled in the lifetime of either Jacob or Esau, although most scholars think the reference is to the subsequent history of the two peoples, Edom and Israel. Rifts in the family unity are foreshadowed in the womb and are borne out in the selling of the birthright and the stealing of the blessing. The result is that Esau, the father's favorite son, is deprived of his status as firstborn and principal heir. Jacob, who is called "the supplanter," obtains the patriarchal blessing from his aged and blind father, Isaac. It is Rebekah who takes the initial and decisive action by instructing Jacob in deceiving his father, her husband, for in spite of such deception she wants the blessing for her favored son. However, this action is foreshadowed by Esau's abrupt selling of his birthright to his twin brother for a portion of pottage (Gen 25:30–33), and it can be interpreted to demonstrate that Esau is not fit to fulfill divine destiny as the one through whom God's promise to Abraham will move toward fulfillment. The

bestowing of the blessing is formulated in legalistic terms and is intended to be a binding pact (Gen 27:28–29). Esau's agonized cry is mitigated by the separate "blessing" which Isaac pronounces upon him (Gen 27:39–40), but which results in his homicidal hatred of Jacob (Gen 27:41), causing the latter to seek refuge among Rebekah's kindred, with her brother Laban, in Haran. Here we have a schematic repetition in Rebekah's charge to seek a wife for Jacob from among her own kindred, just as Abraham had charged his servant to seek a wife for Isaac among his kindred. See RACHEL.

There is no mention that Jacob ever saw his mother again after his sojourn in Haran; rather, he found comfort with Rachel just as Isaac had found comfort with Rebekah. Nor is there mention of Rebekah's death, although Gen 49:31 reports her burial in the family cave at Machpelah, together with Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Jacob (but not Esau), and Leah. She is revered as the second of the four great matriarchs of the patriarchal age. In the NT, Paul refers to Rebekah to demonstrate God's divine elective purpose and grace, mercy, and compassion (Rom 9:10–11).

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ASTRID BILLES BECK

**RECAH** (PLACE) [Heb *rēkâ* (רֵכָה)]. An as yet unidentified place mentioned in 1 Chr 4:12. Some suggest that Recah should be read Rechab with LXX B, which would ostensibly provide linkage with 1 Chr 2:55.

DAVID SALTER WILLIAMS

**RECHAB** (PERSON) [Heb *rēkāb* (רֵכָב)]. RECHABITE. Name belonging to two individuals in the Hebrew Bible.

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A. Biblical Evidence
B. "Nomadic Ideal" and Guilds
C. Rechabite Discipline and Metallurgy
D. Genealogical Lists in Chronicles

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**A. Biblical Evidence**

Biblical references concerning Rechab and the Rechabites are quite limited. There are two individuals named Rechab in the Bible. One of these is Rechab, a Benjaminite, son of Rimmon, who together with his brother, Baanah, was a leader of a raiding band under Saul's son Ishbosheth. Following the death of Abner, Rechab and Baanah killed Ishbosheth and brought his head to David, from whom they expected a reward. Instead, David had them both executed (2 Sam 4:1–3, 5–12). The other biblical Rechab appears either as the father or ancestor of one Jehonadab (Heb *yehônādāb;* or Jonadab [Heb *yônādāb*] in Jeremiah) ben Rechab in 2 Kgs 10:15–17, where he allies himself with Jehu's coup. It is apparently this latter Rechab who became the patriarch of a group who called themselves Rechabites, a group which came to Jerusalem to escape Nebuchadnezzar's invasion and are mentioned in relation to Jeremiah in Jeremiah 35.

Rechabites also appear in genealogical lists in 1 Chronicles. In 1 Chr 2:55, the "house of Rechab" (Heb *bêt-rēkāb*) is associated with the Kenites: "These are the Kenites (or smiths) who came from Hammath, the father of the house of Rechab." In 1 Chronicles 4, which is more than a genealogy in the strict sense of the word, in a part of a list of the sons of Caleb and Ephrathah, who apparently lived in the region between Bethlehem and Hebron, there is the following notice: "Chelub (or Caleb), the brother of Shuhah, was the father of Mehir, who was the father of Eshton. Eshton was the father of Bethrapha, Paseah, and Tehinnah, the father of Ir-nahash. These are the men of Rechab" (reading Rechab with the LXX

Vaticanus and the Lucianic text instead of Recah, Heb *rēkâ;* 1 Chr 4:11–12). Here, the Rechabites appear in a list which refers to the founders of various guilds whose names were associated with localities where they pursued their trade.

It is in Jeremiah that the unique discipline of the Rechabites is described. Here, Jeremiah brings the entire "house of the Rechabites" into a single chamber of the temple in order to use them as a test case in obedience. In response to an offer of wine from Jeremiah, they respond: "We will drink no wine, for Jonadab (= Jehonadab), the son of Rechab, our father, commanded us, 'You shall not drink wine, neither you nor your sons for ever; you shall not build a house; you shall not sow seed; you shall not plant or have a vineyard; but you shall live in tents all your days, that you may live many days in the land where you sojourn' " (Jer 35:6–7). The Rechabites are then used by Jeremiah as an example of a people which has remained faithful to commandments, in contrast to the people of Israel.

**B. "Nomadic Ideal" and Guilds**

Because of their peculiar discipline, the Rechabites have often been described as a puritanical, clanlike association which lived a nomadic existence in celebration of a supposed "nomadic ideal" and as a religiously motivated protest against the prevailing way of life in the cities of the divided monarchy. The labeling of the Rechabites as nomads has rested on several assumptions, based on their unique regimen: (1) that abstention from intoxicants is a distinctive trait of a nomadic society; (2) that tent dwelling necessarily suggests nomadism; and (3) that the disdaining of agriculture is a sure sign of nomadism. It is, however, questionable whether these cultural traits can justifiably be interpreted as characteristics peculiar to nomadic groups. The same traits can also fit the description of the way of life of an itinerant guild of craftsmen, probably here a guild of metalworkers involved in the making of chariots and other weaponry.

In the introduction of the group's patriarch, Jehonadab ben Rechab in 2 Kings 10, there is no indication whatsoever that he represented a supposed "nomadic ideal," or even that he lived a nomadic existence. The fact that Jehu met Jehonadab somewhere between Samaria and Jezreel can hardly be used as evidence for the existence of an otherwise unmentioned group of Rechabites. Jehonadab's name (Jonadab in Jer 35) combines a variant of the divine name Yahweh with the triliteral Hebrew root *n-d-b.* The noun *nādîb,* formed on this root, is used in the Bible to denote a member of the ruling class, an administrator or head of a prominent family—in short, a person of position, a member of the urban nobility. All biblical names containing this root belong to such persons, and there is no apparent reason for considering Jehonadab to be an exception (cf. Amminadab [Exod 6:23; 24:19; 28:1]); Nadab, son of Jeroboam [1 Kgs 14:20; 15:25]; Nadab, king of Israel [1 Kgs 15:25]; Nedabiah [1 Chr 3:18]; Abinadab [1 Sam 31:2]; and Ahinadab [1 Kings 4:14]).

There is no way of determining whether the designation of Jehonadab as *ben rēkāb* refers to a actual father-son appellation, or whether *ben* should be understood here in one of the other ways in which it is commonly used in the Bible. It could, for example, mean simply a descendant of Rechab. The designation *ben,* like the Akkadian terms *māru* and *aplu,* could also mean that the person in question is a member of a certain occupational group or guild. Guilds followed the model of the family system from which they originated. The heads of such guilds were given the familial designation "father," while the apprentices were called "sons" (Mendelsohn 1940: 18–19). Prophetic guilds are sometimes designated this way in the Bible (cf. Amos 7:14; 2 Kgs 2:3, 5, 15). In the economic and administrative texts from Late Bronze Ugarit, there is a group in the royal service called *ḥrš-mrkbt,* "chariot makers or wainwrights" (Rainey 1962: 167), and the designation *ben rēkāb* may indicate that Jehonadab was a member of such an occupational group.

One further possibility is to understand *ben rēkāb* as suggesting that Jehonadab was a native of a place called Rechab, which in turn may have derived its name from that of a clan. If Rechab is to be understood as a place name, it could be Beth-marcaboth (Josh 19:5; 1 Chr 4:31), which according to Cohen derived its name from the fact that Solomon selected it as a suitable location for the manufacture and storage of chariots (*IDB* 3: 220; cf. 2 Chr 9:25).

**C. Rechabite Discipline and Metallurgy**

In his comprehensive study of *Metallurgy in Antiquity* (1964: 64–68), Forbes makes several observations about the smith in antiquity which are pertinent to an assessment of the Rechabite discipline. In a preindustrial society, the smith had to be familiar with many technical procedures, the knowledge of which was handed down and guarded jealously from one generation to the next. When the smith was among agriculturalists, there was emphasis on the guild form of organization, which implied initiation into the technical traditions of the craft, and which in turn retained traits of the original clan organization. Metallurgists in antiquity, as a rule, formed proud endogamous lines of families with lengthy genealogies, which could account for the staying power of the biblical Rechabites, who apparently maintained their discipline at least from the 9th to the 6th centuries B.C. While the smith was characteristically a social outcast among nomads and pastoralists, his social status among agriculturalists was just as typically an honored one.

The nature of his work prevented the smith from establishing a permanent domicile or from engaging in agriculture. Smiths would stay in one general locale from a few months up to several years, or until the supply of ore and/or fuel at that place was exhausted. Whereas other craftsmen might engage in part-time agricultural work, the smith's work required such skill and long practice that he could not farm. The Rechabite discipline might thus be seen as one appropriate to smiths.

The Rechabites' avoidance of intoxicants has often been interpreted as a survival of the nomad's contempt for unnatural fermented beverages. It is, however, questionable whether this is a trait of nomads (Albright 1963: 11–12). Like other measures which were designed to guard the secrets of the trade, such as living apart from urban centers, so too might abstention from intoxicants be yet another safeguard to prevent "loose lips" from "sinking ships." It might also be observed that in the perilous times of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion, the Rechabites, who have commonly been characterized as "antiurban nomads," fled to the "hated" city for protection. If they had been nomadic pastoralists, it seems unlikely that they would have fled to the city rather than move to the desert fringe with their flocks, where they might escape the enemy attack which would focus on the urban centers.

**D. Genealogical Lists in Chronicles**

The supposition that the Rechabites were a guild of metallurgical craftsmen is also supported by genealogical references in 1 Chronicles 2 and 4. 1 Chronicles 4 is part of a preexilic Judahite list which provides elements missing from the list in 1 Chronicles 2. In the genealogy which can be reconstructed by combining information from these two chapters, the sons of various clans (or members of guilds) are mentioned along with the names of their respective settlements in such a way that one clansman becomes the "father" of a site (cf. *LBHG,* 225–26) In the branch of the list which records the sons of Caleb and Ephrathah, the "men of Rechab" are associated with an Ir-nahash [Heb *ʿîr nāhāš*], which can be translated either as "the city of Nahash," "the city of copper," or even "the city of smiths or craftsmen," which Myers identifies with Khirbet Nahas, a site at the northern end of the Arabah (1 Chronicles *AB,* 26).

Besides this mention of an Ir-nahash with which the men of Rechab are associated, 1 Chronicles 4 also contains several other references which associate Rechabites with other craftsmen such as Joab, a Kenazite, who is called "the father of Ge-harashim," (i.e., "valley of craftsmen," 4:14); "the families of the house of linen workers at Beth Ashbea" (4:21); and "the potters and inhabitants of Netaim and Gederah," who "dwelt with the king for his work" (4:23).

In 1 Chr 2:55, there is the following notice connected with the sons of Hur who lived in the vicinity of Bethlehem and the northeastern Shephelah around the valley of Elah: "… the families (or guilds) of the Sepherites (i.e., inhabitants of Kiriath-Sepher) who dwelt in Jabez: the Tirathites (cf. 1 Chr 4:16), the Shimeathites (cf. 1 Chr 4:17), and the Sucathites (cf. 1 Chr 4:18). These are the Kenites (or 'smiths') who came from Hammath, the father of Beth-rechab." The significance of this verse is that here the name Rechab, or to be specific, Beth-Rechab, "the house of Rechab," is connected with a given location and with a branch of the Kenites, who as early as the 13th century appear to have made their livelihood as metal craftsmen and may well have introduced metallurgical technical skills to the Israelites. Forbes suggests that the Kenites were a group of ironsmiths who came out of the Hittite empire when it was

destroyed, and he observes that "the despise in which these 'townsmen' were held by … nomads is well expressed in the story of the shepherds and the daughter of Reuel the Kenite" (1964: 98).

It does not appear that the Rechabites can be adduced in evidence of the existence of a "nomadic ideal" in ancient Israel. The lifestyle of the Rechabites does not have to be seen as an idealization of desert life. The nonagricultural mode of life of the Rechabites can just as well be seen as an occupational pattern, not a religiously motivated way of life.

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**RECHABITES, HISTORY OF.** This apocryphon is extant in numerous languages, including Ethiopic, Syriac, and Greek. A 12th-century Syr manuscript in the British Library (BM Add. 12174) may well accurately indicate the transmission of this document: "The History of the Blessed Ones, the Sons of the Rechabites … It was Translated from Hebrew into Greek and from Greek into Syriac by the Hands of the Reverend Mar Jacob of Edessa" (fols. 209r–210v).

A holy man, named Zosimus in chapters that appear to be later additions, for forty years prays to God to show him the abode of the Blessed Ones, the Rechabites, who departed from Jerusalem in the time of Jeremiah (Jeremiah 35). His prayer is answered, and with the assistance of an angel, an animal, and two trees he succeeds in crossing over land and sea to the island of the Blessed Ones who recount to him their history.

Despite noting that the Jewish work apparently underlines the extant Greek text, M. R. James (1893), who brought the work to the attention of modern scholars, concluded that the document is Christian and dates from the 6th century C.E. In its present Greek form, the document is clearly Christian; vv 12:9a–13:5c mention the virginal conception of the Word and Lent. Chap. 16:1b–8 is also clearly Christian, as are chaps. 19–23, but the latter are found only in the Greek version. Although it is clear that the document in its present form is Christian, the origin of the work is far from certain. It may be a Christian reworking of Jewish traditions or legends; but most specialists rightly see behind the Christian version an original, and partly preserved, Jewish apocryphon, which is an exegetical expansion of Jeremiah 35 (*OTP* 2: 444–45). If this conclusion is valid, the *History of the Rechabites* contains portions of an otherwise lost Jewish document; it is then similar to the *Ascension of Isaiah*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, 4 Ezra*, and the *Hellenistic Synagogal Prayers.*

It may well be that 3–15 are originally Jewish. Obviously they are heavily influenced by Jewish traditions. It is conceivable that the original Jewish document, without the redactional and Christian alterations, antedates the 2d century C.E. This apocryphon shows links with numerous non-Jewish cultures, including Roman, Greek, Syrian, Persian, and Egyptian (Charlesworth 1986). The Greek version frequently contains the name of Zosimus in chaps. 3–16; each of these occurrences, except for 7:11, are conspicuously absent in the Syr version (which appears to be earlier and more reliable). Even if the name Zosimus is original, an interest in him is replaced by a preoccupation with the Rechabites in chaps. 7–9 in all versions. These chapters, the core of the document, are an expanded exegesis of Jeremiah 35 and were probably composed by a Jew. Particularly noteworthy are the words the Rechabites write on tablets of stone: "We are called sons of Rechab, we are from you; and behold we departed from your world to this place in which we (are) today. For in the time when Jeremiah, the prophet, announced and prophesied the ravaging and devastation (of) Jerusalem, because of the sins of the sons of Israel, then behold shortly (thereafter) the destroyer came to slay them … we lamented with a great lamentation … he (God) accepted our petitions, and turned back his fierce anger … King Josiah died and another king ruled after

him … we answered him, 'We are from your people, and from the city of Jerusalem. We are sons of Jonadab the son of Rechab.' … The king raged against us and charged (that) all of us be imprisoned in prison … and angels of God … appeared to us. They led all of us out of prison … brought us to this place (in) which you (now) see (us) …" Here we confront interesting traditions often paralleled in early Jewish traditions and documents like the *Lost Tribes.*

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**RECORDER.** See SCRIBES.

**RED HEIFER.** See HEIFER, RED.

**RED SEA** (PLACE) [Heb *yam šp* (יַם שׁוּף)]. This NW arm of the Indian Ocean, ranging in width from 100 to 175 miles, separates the African continent from the Arabian peninsula and is the reputed body of water through which the Hebrew slaves, led by Moses, escaped from Egypt (book of Exodus). At its northernmost end it splits into two gulfs. The Gulf of Suez, whose width ranges between 20 and 30 miles, separates the Sinai peninsula from Egypt (and Africa) to the W. The Gulf of Aqabah, ranging 10–20 miles in width, separates the Sinai peninsula from the Hijaz (and Arabia) to the E. This entry will focus on two separate aspects of the Red Sea: (1) its appearance in the OT in connection with Israelite traditions about the Exodus from Egypt; and (2) its history of commercial exploitation in antiquity (see Fig. RED.01).

***OLD TESTAMENT***

The term *yam sûp,* usually translated "Red Sea," occurs over 20 times in the Hebrew Bible. It has traditionally been linked to at least three geographical locations: the Gulf of Aqabah, the Gulf of Suez, and the body of water associated with the Exodus crossing. The precise location of the latter—whether sea, lake, or marsh—has been especially problematic for biblical scholars and Egyptologists, both of whom have appealed to extrabiblical evidence (both Canaanite and Egyptian) in support of their positions.

In order to understand more clearly the various issues associated with locating the sea of the Exodus, it is important to examine first those texts that mention *yam sûp* within a context not directly related to the crossing. It should be noted at the outset that certainty of identification is not always possible; thus, some passages must remain ambiguous.

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A. Gulf of Aqabah
B. Gulf of Suez
C. The Sea of the Exodus
    1. Character of the Exodus Event (Exodus 13–15)
    2. Other Texts
D. Origin and Meaning of Hebrew *Sûp*
    1. Scholarly Views
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E. *Yam Sûp* and Mythology
F. Location of the Sea of the Exodus
    1. Raamses
    2. Baal-Zephon
    3. Migdol
    4. Pi-hahiroth

G. Conclusion

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**A. Gulf of Aqabah**

More than a half dozen passages seem to identify *yam sûp* with the Gulf of Aqabah (Exod 23:31; Num 14:25; 21:4; Deut 1:40; 2:1; Judg 11:16[?]; 1 Kgs 9:26; Jer 49:21). Scholars generally agree that the *yam sûp* of 1 Kgs 9:26 refers to the Gulf of Aqabah. Here the sea is said to be "in the land of Edom" and marks the southernmost border of the territory under Solomon. In the same fashion, the idealized description of the land in Exod 23:31, intended to reflect the Solomonic period, sets its southernmost boundary at the *yam sûp* (cf. 2 Chr 8:17 ["the sea" ]), which makes sense only as the Gulf of Aqabah (e.g., Simons *GTTOT*, 96, 237; Noth *Exodus* OTL, 193; Childs *Exodus* OTL, 193–94; Davies 1979: 112; Aharoni *LBHG*, 277). With the exception of Jer 49:21, the remaining five passages all relate to the period following the Exodus from Egypt, when the Israelites were instructed by Yahweh to proceed E by way of the *yam sûp* in order to avoid confrontation with the inhabitants of S Canaan and the Transjordan. Judges 11:16 is less clear in this regard, and a case can be made for either of the other two options, i.e., the Gulf of Suez or the Exodus crossing (Davies 1979: 82–83). However, since the immediate context of this episode (11:12–22) concerns Israel's bypassing of Edom and Moab, the Gulf of Aqabah may better suit the geographical situation (de Vaux *EHI*, 377 [tentative]; Bietak in *LÄ* 5: 630). In his oracle against Edom, the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 49:7–22 ) asserts that, at their destruction, the cry of its inhabitants shall be heard as far away as the *yam sûp*. The most logical choice here (geographically speaking) would be the Gulf of Aqabah (e.g., Noth 1947: 188; de Vaux *EHI*, 377; Bietak in *LÄ* 5: 630; Sarna 1986: 107). The translation "Sea of Reeds" in this verse (even if that should be the original meaning of the phrase) and its identification with the sea of the Exodus (e.g., Bright *Jeremiah* 331; followed by Thompson *Jeremiah* NICOT, 719, 722, and Caroll *Jeremiah* OTL, 805) is thus not necessary. Bright's apparent assumption that *yam sûp* must in all cases refer to the "Sea of Reeds," i.e., the sea of the Exodus, lacks textual support in the light of passages such as 1 Kgs 9:26 examined above (unless of course one contends that the Gulf of Aqabah was the site of the Exodus event, as was done, for example, by earlier scholars; see Davies 1979: 70, 112 for references). Sayce (1894: 257–59) concluded that all occurrences of *yam sûp* referred to the Gulf of Aqabah, to be distinguished from references to "the sea," which he interpreted as the sea of the Exodus.

**B. Gulf of Suez**

A few passages (Exod 10:19; 13:18; Num 33:10–11) seem to refer to the Gulf of Suez, although the identification of *yam sûp* in these passages has been a matter of some debate among biblical scholars (general discussion in Simons *GTTOT*, 77–78, 234–64; Davies 1979; and de Vaux *EHI*, 376–81). In Exod 10:12–19, the plague of locusts is brought into the country by an east wind and subsequently removed from it by a strong west wind that had been "turned" (Heb *hāpak*) by Yahweh for that purpose (for interpretations of Heb *rûaḥ-yām*, lit. "wind of the sea," see Simons *GTTOT*, 238; Cassuto 1967: 128; Har-El 1983; Anati 1986: 187). Since the narrator wishes the reader to understand that "not a single locust was left in all the country of Egypt," he probably has in mind a suitably large body of water that borders the country. Thus, the internal logic of the narrative (assuming of course that the writer was concerned with such matters; the question of historicity is irrelevant) may favor either the Gulf of Suez (e.g., Snaith 1965: 396; Hubbard in *ISBE* 4: 59) or even the Mediterranean (note Gardiner 1922: 211, who, for other reasons, identified this *yam sûp* as Lake Menzalah). Cassuto (1967: 129) suggested that this verse "may be a preparatory allusion" to what is later said of Pharaoh and his army in Exod 14:28b ("… not so much as one of them remained") and thus could refer to the sea of the Exodus; although he admitted that the parallelism would be valid regardless of which sea is meant (note also Bietak 1975:136, who argues for the sea of the Exodus). Although Simons (*GTTOT*, 238) inclines toward the Red Sea as a possibility, he wisely concludes that the passage as it stands is too vague to support any specific theory on the location of *yam sûp*.

In Exod 13:17–19, traditionally assigned to the E source (e.g., Noth *HPT*, 204, and *Exodus* OTL, 106–8; Childs *Exodus* OTL, 218–21; de Vaux *EHI*, 376–78), the narrator offers an explanation as to why the

fleeing Israelites did not take the expected (and most direct) route into Palestine, the "Ways of Horus" in Egyptian texts (see Gardiner 1920; Oren in Rainey 1987: 69–119). While it is true that the Egyptian presence in this area would have been deterrent enough (assuming a 13th-century date for the event), the later writer/redactor instead cites the Philistine threat, a more familiar motif within Israel's early history and one to which his readers could relate. (One may question whether he was even aware of Egyptian presence in this area during this earlier period.) In order to avoid such confrontation, the people are led by Yahweh "around by the Way of the Wilderness (that leads to?) the *yam sûp*" (13:18a). Precisely how *yam sûp* is to be understood here in relation to the "Way of the Wilderness" (Heb *derek hammidbār*) is a problem (see, e.g., Childs *Exodus* OTL, 217). The syntactical apposition of the former phrase has led some to conclude that it is a later addition, possibly for geographical clarification (e.g., Noth 1947: 187; Simons *GTTOT*, 236, 241–42; de Vaux *EHI*, 377). If so, could this addition have been influenced by the similar phraseology in those texts cited above, i.e., Num 14:25, Deut 1:40, and Judg 11:16? The rather vague nature (geographically speaking) of this passage—in contrast, for example, to the P source in 14:1–4—and the lack of any mention of this *yam sûp* as the one crossed by the Israelites would allow the location of *yam sûp* to be at the Gulf of Aqabah or the Gulf of Suez (e.g., Simons *GTTOT*, 242; Snaith 1965: 396; de Vaux *EHI*, 377–78). Walsh's translation (1977) "*Yam Sup* Road" may capture the intended sense here, i.e., that the Israelites took the way named for its ultimate destination. Considering the importance of both gulfs in antiquity, this route could have been named for either one. If one follows the more traditional view of a southern route out of Egypt (e.g., Beit-Arieh 1988), which proceeded along the eastern coast of the Gulf of Suez, then the latter body of water would be the more likely choice. However, this identification depends more upon one's view of the route in general and especially the location of Mt. Sinai (for which there are numerous proposals; see Anati 1986: 161–80; Beit-Arieh 1988: 36–37, for the options).

The list of stations preserved in Numbers 33 is generally considered a late text, attributed to P (Cross *CMHE*, 308–9; Budd *Numbers* WBC, 350–53) or in part a post-JEP redaction (e.g., Noth *Numbers* OTL, 242–46). However, all agree that the creator of this list or itinerary as we now have it made use of another document that included place names not found in the traditional pentateuchal sources. The relevance of this other earlier source to P's placement of *yam sûp* (vv 10–11) *after* the Israelites' passage "through the midst of the sea" (v 8)—thus implying that the sea of the Exodus is not the *yam sûp*—has been debated. Noth (*Numbers*, 243–44) considered the mention of the passage through the sea in v 8 a later addition and the placement of *yam sûp* in v 10 after Elim "an erroneous inference" based on a "misunderstanding" of Exod 15:27b, where the Israelites "came to Elim" and "encamped there by the water." Cross (*CMHE*, 309) has also raised the possibility of corruption in Num 33:10, based on P's omission of *yam sûp* in Exod 16:1. Others, however (e.g., Budd *Numbers*, 253–54; Batto 1983: 28–29), accept vv 10–11 as a valuable independent witness (predating P) attesting to the distinction between the sea of the Exodus and the *yam sûp* later reached by the Israelites. If this is the case, then the most likely location of *yam sûp* according to this itinerary would be the Gulf of Suez. Ezion-Geber and the land of Edom, which would indicate the Gulf of Aqabah, are cited only later in v 36. According to Batto (1983:29–30), P has deliberately telescoped these two sites in Numbers 33 (the "sea" and the "sea of *sûp*") into one in the Exodus narrative (Exod 14:2 ["the sea"] and 15:22 [the "sea of *sûp*"]), and thus intentionally located the crossing at the Red Sea. (Note also the independent source critical analysis of these narratives by Walsh [1977: 32–33], who reaches similar conclusions concerning the late location of the miracle crossing at the Red Sea [Suez]).

**C. The Sea of the Exodus**

In a number of passages (Exod 15:4, 22; Deut 11:4; Josh 2:10; 4:23; 24:6–7; Pss 106:7–12, 22; 136:13–15; Neh 9:9–11) *yam sûp* refers to the sea of the Exodus. With the exception of Exod 15:4, the location of the sea crossing at the *yam sûp* in the above passages is thought to represent a later tradition (e.g., de Vaux *EHI*, 377). To be sure, not all have accepted an early date (i.e., pre-10th century) for the "Song of the Sea" in Exod 15:1–18 (e.g., Noth *Exodus*, 123–26; see discussion in Childs *Exodus*, 243–48, and Kloos 1986:130–35), but even with a 10th-century date (e.g., Day 1985:100), the poem may contain the earliest textual witness to the *yam sûp* as the sea of the Exodus.

**1. Character of the Exodus Event (Exodus 13–15).** Much of the debate over what happened at the "crossing" of the sea and the location of the event centers upon the accounts, both narrative and poetic, preserved in Exodus 13–15. In spite of disagreement over the assignment and extent of sources (particularly the role of E and P), scholars have generally recognized the composite nature of Exodus 13–14 and isolated two basic versions within the chapters (discussion in Hay 1964: 398–99; Noth *Exodus,* 102–20; Childs *Exodus,* 215–24; de Vaux *EHI,* 381–88; Ottosson in *TWAT* 5: 797–800). (The dispute over details in this analysis need not imply that the enterprise *as a whole* is faulty or that it should be abandoned, as does Hubbard in *ISBE* 4: 59.)

According to the account normally attributed to J (following the summary of Childs), Yahweh is the main actor: he leads Israel by a pillar of cloud and fire (13:21–22); when the people catch sight of the pursuing Egyptians and cry out to Yahweh, they are instructed by Moses to "stand firm" and "be still" because Yahweh will fight for them (14:5b–6, 10b*a*, 11–14); the pillar of cloud then moves behind the Israelites, cutting off Egyptian pursuit (14:19b). During the night, Yahweh drives back the sea with a strong E wind that blows all night (v 21a*b*); in the morning, the pillar of cloud/fire (= Yahweh) hinders the movement of the Egyptians who, in their panic, flee into the sea as the waters return to their normal course; Yahweh literally "shakes off" (Heb *nāʿar*) the Egyptians into the sea (24–25b, 27b). The Israelites see the dead Egyptians on the seashore and affirm their faith in Yahweh and his servant Moses (30–31). The important element of this account is the passitivity of the Israelites; they are simply witnesses to Yahweh's victory over the Egyptians. No mention is made of their crossing the sea.

The P (E) version, on the other hand, emphasizes the role of Moses; the people are active participants, and precise (for the ancient writer, but difficult for the modern interpreter) geographical locations are provided in the text (e.g., 13:20; 14:1–4, 9b). Yahweh hardens the heart of pharaoh so that the latter might pursue the Israelites, and thus obtain glory (vv 4, 8); at the approach of the Egyptian army, Moses raises his staff over the sea and the waters divide as walls on either side, allowing the people to pass through on dry ground (vv 15–19a, 21b, 22–23). When the Egyptians attempt pursuit, the waters return under Moses' staff and the enemy is engulfed (25a, 26–27a, 28–29). (Certain passages in this account may also point to an actual military encounter; see Hay 1964 for discussion.)

Scholars have long noted the virtual absence of *yam sûp* in this Exodus narrative as a designation for the sea where the deliverance of Yahweh occurred; instead, the writers refer only to "the sea" (Heb *hayyām;* 14:2, 9, 16, 21–23, 26–29). Similarly, Exodus 15 prefers "the sea" to *yam sûp* (vv 1, 4a, 8, 21). As a result, many view the few references to *yam sûp* (= Red Sea) as later additions—attempts to find a body of water suitable (in proportion) to the magnitude of Yahweh's glorious act (such as the Gulf of Suez or Aqabah). A grand miracle deserves a grand setting. However, the mention of *yam sûp* in Exod 15:4—within what many consider to be one of the oldest poems in the Hebrew Bible—is problematic for this view. The parallel position of *yām* and *yam sûp* would seem to indicate that the two are identical. While some view this *yam sûp* as a later Deuteronomistic addition (e.g., Norin 1977: 94), others (e.g., Snaith 1965; Batto 1983; Ahlström 1986) propose another reading (*sôp* instead of *sûp*) in keeping with the mythological language of the poem (see below for discussion).

**2. Other Texts.** Unlike the account of P presented above, Exodus 15:1–12 lacks any explicit mention of the splitting of the sea or of the Israelites passing through on dry ground (e.g., Cross *CMHE,* 131–32). The poem's relationship to the J account is problematic and largely depends upon the date assigned to the former (see, e.g., Cross *CMHE,* 121–25, and Childs 1970: 411–12 for opposing views and further bibliography). The later prose tradition of the Exodus event tends (with some exceptions) to emphasize these motifs (the splitting of the sea and the Israelite passage through it). Josh 2:10 recounts the drying up of the waters of *yam sûp,* but does not explicitly mention the crossing. The preceding verse (v 9) clearly reflects Exod 15:14–15, but this portion of the Exodus poem relates to the conquest, not the defeat of the Egyptians. Josh 4:24 likens the crossing of the Jordan unto the earlier passage through the *yam sûp.* The close parallels between the two events have produced arguments that the details of the Exodus crossing have been influenced by the Jordan tradition (cf. also, e.g., Pss 66:6; 114:3, 5; Coats 1967: 261; Childs 1970: 414–15; see discussion in de Vaux *EHI,* 384–88). In the speech of Joshua to the tribes of Israel

gathered at Shechem (Joshua 24), neither the drying up nor the crossing of the *yam sûp* are mentioned. Verses 6–7 echo for the most part J 's version of events (and some portions of E), and the parallel placement of *yam* ("sea") and *yām sûp* may point to a conscious imitation of Exod 15:4. Other passages containing *yam sûp* (Neh 9:9–11; Pss 106:9–12, 22; 136:13–15) generally reflect the tradition of P (but note Neh 9:11b and Exod 15:5).

**D. Origin and Meaning of Hebrew *Sûp***

**1. Scholarly Views.** Particularly since the 19th century, scholars have discussed and debated the meaning of Heb *sûp* (as used in the name *yam sûp*) in the hope that the word's origin may shed light upon the location of the sea miracle. The rendering *eruthra thalassa* could encompass not only our English "Red Sea" (the narrow body of water dividing the NE coast of Africa from the Arabian peninsula) but also the Indian Ocean as a whole, including the Persian Gulf (LSJM 693). The LXX translators apparently intended the term to apply to the two gulfs (Aqabah and Suez) of the Red Sea. This translation is in turn reflected in the Vulgate's *Mare Rubrum,* whence we derive our Red Sea. Earlier exegetes and commentators, both Jewish and Christian, offered varying explanations for the word. Jerome (*Ep.*78.9; see Labourt 1954: 62–63) resolved the difficulty in Num 33:8, 10–11, by positing two meanings for *sûp:* "red" (Lat *rubrum*) and "rush/bulrush" (Lat *scirpus*). (The latter meaning is attested for *sûp* in Exod 2:3, 5, and Isa 19:6.) Thus, "the sea" (*hayyām*) of v 8—although it lacked *sûp*—indicated, according to Jerome, the "Red Sea," i.e., the sea of the Exodus, while *yam sûp* of 10–11 denoted a "marsh/swamp (*palus*) or lake (*lacus*) where sedge (*carectum*) and rushes (*iuncus*) were plentiful." The famous medieval Jewish commentator Rashi (A.D. 1040–1105) explained the *yam sûp* of Exod 13:18 as a "marsh (Heb *ʾăgam*) wherein reeds (*kānîm*) grow," while his near-contemporary Ibn-Ezra (A.D. 1089–1164) interpreted this same *yam sûp* as the name of a place (*hûʾ šēm mākôm*), derived from the fact that reeds grow around it (cf. Deut 1:1 and LXX$^{B}$ *ziph* in Judg 11:16 [a variant reading which appears to understand Heb *sûp* as a proper name]). All three scholars based their exegesis on other occurrences of *sûp* apart from its use with *yām;* thus, the interpretation of *yam sûp* as "Sea of Reeds" predates later appeals to Egyptian evidence (although this does not imply that this interpretation must be the correct one, only that it has a very long history).

The majority of biblical scholars favor the view that Heb *sûp* is a loanword from Egyptian *ṯwf (j)* "papyrus (-plant)" (Gauthier 2: 43, 139; *AEO* 2, 201*–202*; Lesko 1982–89, 4: 107; see discussion of Egyptian texts in Ward 1974: 339–43). This position is often traced to the 19th-century Egyptologist Heinrich Brugsch's lecture *L'Exodus et les monuments égyptiens,* delivered in London in 1874 (e.g., Cazelles 1955: 323; Batto 1983: 29; see Brugsch 1881). However, a close reading of this lecture reveals that Brugsch in fact believed Eg *ṯwf* was borrowed by the Egyptians from Hebrew *sûp* (Brugsch 1881: 372–73, 376). For him, the meaning of Heb *sûp* as "weeds, reeds, rushes, papyrus-plant" was clear without reference to Eg *ṯwf* (376). Instead, *sûp* was a *translation* of another Egyptian word, *idḥ (w),*"marshes (of the Delta)" (*WbÄS* 1: 155; Lesko 1982–89, 1: 64):

> "… this word [Heb *sûp*], I say, contains simply the translation of the Egyptian *Athu* [*idḥ (w)*], which signifies the same as the Hebrew Souph … and was applied as a general term to denote all the marshes and lagoons of Lower Egypt … The Egyptians, on their part, knew so well the meaning of the Hebrew word [*sûp*], that they frequently adopted the foreign name of Souph, instead of the word *Athu* in their own tongue …" (Brugsch 1881: 376).

In a later extended discussion of the question of *yam sûp* and its location, Brugsch (1879: 890–919) further developed his view that the "lakes or marshes of the N Delta" were indicated in Eg texts by both *idḥ (w)* (a "purely Egyptian word") and *ṯwf (j)* ("of Semitic origin") and that the Heb *sûp* represented "the exact translation" of Eg *idḥ (w)* (pp. 906–7). While he did propose translating *yam sûp* as *lac de papyrus,* the origin of the term was for him Semitic, not Egyptian.

In his additions and notes for the second English edition of the lecture (1881) Brugsch cited with approval the conclusion of Schleiden (in his *Die Landenge von Suez*) that the *yam sûp* of Exodus 14 was a "later interpolation" and reiterated his position that "the sea" (Heb *hayyām*) of the Exodus narratives

referred to the Mediterranean, particularly Lake Sirbonis (1881: 394–97, 429–30; a position later developed by Eissfeldt 1932).

Others maintained that Heb *sûp* was a loanword from Eg *ṯwf* (e.g., Erman 1892: 122; *BDB* [1st ed., 1907], 693; Gardiner 1918: 186; Naville 1924: 34; Albright 1918: 254; 1934: 35; Lambdin 1953: 153). However, not all have accepted this view (e.g., Simons *GTTOT*, 78, 240). Like Brugsch, some have defended movement in the opposite direction, i.e., Semitic *sp* was borrowed by the Egyptians (e.g., Müller 1893: 101 [modified his view in 1903: 4022–23]; Helck 1971: 525; Wright 1979: 60), while others (Copisarow 1962 and Ward 1974) have posited an earlier Hebrew or Canaanite *sp* (Copisarow: **s[o]p*, "end," with origins in the "patriarchal vernacular"; Ward: biconsonantal Semitic **sp*, "reach, arrive"), whence the various Egyptian and Hebrew meanings ultimately derive. (Ward's article is the more credible of the two and avoids the somewhat naive approach to Israel's early history displayed by Copisarow.) Ward in particular has questioned the validity of Eg *t/č* as Heb *s* in *ṯwf* > *sûp*, contending that Eg *ṯ* was normally reflected as *z* in Semitic (1974: 346–47), but the equation *ṯ* = *s* has been defended by Rainey (1982) with various examples, although he does not mention Heb *sûp*.

**2. Egyptian *Ṯwf*.** In a number of Egyptian texts, Eg *ṯwf* is found with the definite article *p€* . Of particular interest in this regard are a number of model letters (late 13th century B.C.E.), the first of which is an encomium on Pi-Ramesses-mri-Amun ("House-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amun"), the Delta residence of the Ramesside period (generally equated with the "Raamses" of the biblical text; see discussion below). The texts cited most often are as follows:

*Papyrus Anastasi III.2, 11–12* (Gardiner 1918: 185–86; 1937: 22, lines 13–14; translations in Caminos 1954: 74, 79, and Uphill 1968–69: 15–18). In his description of the natural wonders of the Delta residence of Ramesses II (Per-Ramesses, probably Tell el-Dabʿa—Qantir), the scribe asserts that "the papyrus-marshes (*p€ -ṯwf[j]*) come to it (the residence) with papyrus reeds (*mnḥw*), the Waters of Horus with rushes (*jsw*)." When taken in context, this passage must be viewed against the numerous references throughout the text to various bodies of water (ponds, lakes, marshes, etc.) and the aquatic plants/marine life that thrive in such habitats. While the writer does not hesitate elsewhere to use the determinatives characteristic of lakes, rivers, seas, etc. (see Gardiner *EG*, Sign-list N 35–36), he avoids these determinatives in the various terms for reeds, rushes, marshes, etc., where one finds either the herb or papyrus determinative (or both, as with *p€ -ṯwf;* Gardiner *EG*, Sign-list M 2, 15–16).

*Papyrus Anastasi IV.15, 6* (Gardiner 1937: 51, line 16; translation in Caminos 1954: 200, 210). In this letter, which lists in general detail the numerous supplies necessary for pharaoh's arrival (e.g., various types of breads, oils, fish, etc.), the recipient is instructed to obtain "*qnj*-birds of the papyrus marshes *p€ -ṯwf[j]*)." Here *ṯwf* carries the herb determinative plus the sign denoting a specific place, whether village, town, or city, etc. (Gardiner *EG*, Sign-List O 49), again in contrast to the various waters mentioned in the lines that immediately follow (Gardiner 1937: 52, lines 1–5).

*Papyrus Sallier I.4, 9* (Gardiner 1937: 81; translation in Caminos 1954: 307). In his report concerning the upkeep of the royal residence, the scribe states that the pharaoh's chariot teams (*ḫtrw*) are well taken care of and are fed only with the best grass (*jsw*?) from the *p€ -ṯwf*. Here, the term is followed with both the herb and papyrus determinatives, plus the place sign mentioned above.

It is not possible to isolate all occurrences of *p€ -ṯwf* in Egyptian texts to one specific area in the Delta; rather, different passages point to varying locations. The use of the city or town determinative may indicate that the scribe had a particular marshy area in mind whose identification and placement were directly relative to the city or town under discussion, e.g., the marshes of or near city X or city Y, etc. Thus, as Ward (1974: 342–43) has shown, *p€ -ṯwf* "was a general word for 'marshes' wherever these might occur, a specific marshy area being indicated only when *p€ čwf* is located at or near a particular place." Indeed, other occurrences of the term indicate that it was not restricted to the NE Delta area (Ward 1974:342), although its placement in the *Onomastica* (*AEO* 2, nos. 417–19) between Tanis (*Ḏʿnt)* and Sile (*Ṯ€ rw*) may point—at least in this instance—in this direction (but note Ward 1974: 341, n. 6). Uphill (1968–69: 18), however, has questioned the validity of using such idealized descriptions as geographic guides. In his comments on the first of the above cited texts (Anastasi III.2, 11–12), he remarks, "Any of

these items [papyrus marshes, reeds, orchards, etc.] could have been found almost anywhere in the Delta, west as well as east, and are not therefore safe to be used as guides without further details … this is a poetical description, and the writer has extended his field far and wide to include all the products that were brought to Per Ramesses or were to be found in the great estates attached to it." In general, the attempt to establish detailed geography based on determinatives is a precarious one, since Egyptian scribes were not always consistent in their employment of these signs.

Even if one accepts Heb *sûp* as a loanword from Eg *ṯwf,* this need not imply that the word must in all respects reflect the precise usage—geographical or otherwise—of the original. Indeed, given the sometimes unpredictable nature of loanwords, it would be unwise to assume such. The question of *yam sûp = p€ -ṯwf* must be kept separate from *sûp = ṯwf.* While the occurrences of *sûp* alone in passages such as Exod 2:3, 5 contextually allow the meaning "reeds" or the like, *yam sûp,* as a proper name, contains no inherent clue as to its (nongeographical) meaning. Proper names may carry a literal meaning that is totally unrelated to their point of reference.

**E. *Yam Sûp* and Mythology**

In a note on the name *yam sûp,* J. A. Montgomery (1938) expressed dissatisfaction with the then-accepted translation "Sea of Sedge," and called attention to the one passage (1 Kgs 9:26) where the LXX departs from its usual rendering of Red Sea and reads instead *tēs eschatēs thalassēs* "the uttermost sea" or "the sea at the furthermost region," apparently reading *sôp* instead of *sûp.* This translation, which Montgomery referred to as the *Ultimum Mare,* was, he thought, well suited to the Red Sea proper, which, as an arm of the Indian Ocean, could be seen as the *Ultimum Mare* (1938:131).

As already discussed, Copisarow (1962) rejected the Egyptian derivation of *sûp,* citing passages within the Bible and later versions (e.g., *Tg. Onq.*) which he believed pointed to *yam sôp* as the "End or Border Sea" (1962: 8–11). The *sôp* question assumed new dimensions with the article of Snaith (1965), who introduced the mythological element in his examination of the Song of the Sea in Exodus 15. According to Snaith, terms such as "deeps" (Heb *tehōmōt*) and "depths" (Heb *meṣôlōt*) in v 5 indicated a destruction or annihilation within the mythological primeval sea/chaos known from other biblical texts as having been subdued by Yahweh (e.g., Isa 51:9–11). Thus, the *yam sôp* of v 4 signified the "sea at the end of the land" … "that distant scarcely known sea away to the south, of which no man knew the boundary" (1965:398), which, in mythological terms, represented total destruction or annihilation (in this case for pharoah and his army). Snaith contended that the crossing of "the sea" tradition was later "interwoven with the great Creation-myth" and its *yam sôp* (1965: 398), and he identified the earlier "sea" of the Exodus narratives with the Mediterranean.

The most eloquent spokesman for this interpretation of *yam sûp* has been B. F. Batto (1983), who, like Snaith and others, believes that the presence of *yam sûp* in Exodus 13–15 is the result of the latest redaction, a conscious attempt "to historicize and localize the sea miracle at the Red Sea" (1983: 30). The one exception in the Song of the Sea (Exod 15:4b), which Batto acceps as "one of the most ancient pieces in the Hebrew Bible," is treated as mythological due to its parallel position with *yām,* a word used in other biblical passages (e.g., Ps 74:12–15; Isa 51:9–10) with reference to Yahweh's battle with the sea-dragon/chaos at creation, the so-called *Chaoskampfmythos* (see discussion in Cross *CMHE,* 112–44; Day 1985: 96–100; Kloos 1986:139–57; and note especially Eakin 1967, who explained the water-separation motif as a reflection of Baal's combat with Yam in Canaanite mythology). Thus, for Batto, "traditional mythical language is used to express the belief that the emergence of Israel as a people during the exodus was due to a creative act by Yahweh equal to that of the original creation of the cosmos itself" (1983: 35). To support his reading of *yam sôp* in Exodus 15, Batto cites the problematic *sûp* of Jonah 2:6 (traditionally rendered as "seaweeds" or the like), where the overall mythological context of the psalm (evident in terms such as the "deep" and the "abyss") makes the reading *sôp* more likely (1983: 32–34; note also his comparison with Psalm 18, esp. vv 4–5). Batto concluded that all references to *yam sûp* fit into either one of two categories: the geographical/historical Red Sea (whether Aqaba or Suez), or the mythological Sea of Extinction or Nonexistence (1983: 35). Thus, he concludes, the existence of a second

historical body of water—in addition to the well-known Red Sea—often referred to as the "Reed Sea" is without foundation.

While some have accepted the mythological understanding of *yam sûp,* at least in Exodus 15 (e.g., Eakin 1967; Ahlström 1977: 287; 1986: 49 ["Sea of Destruction"]; de Vaux *EHI,* 377), others have been less than receptive (note especially the critique of Kloos 1986: 153–57). But as scholars have long been aware, one need not assume that the Exodus was either "myth" or "history," as though the two were incompatible, although the precise relationship between these troublesome concepts in the narration of the Exodus—whether "historicized" myth or "mythologized" history—has been a much-discussed topic (see Kloos 1986: 158–214 for summary).

Still others have sought to explain the crossing of the sea in terms of Egyptian mythology (e.g., Towers 1959; Wright 1979; Wifall 1980). According to Towers, the passage through the "sea of reeds" echoes the mythical lake of reeds (Eg *ŝ j€ rw*) of the Pyramid Texts. He further contends that this term has survived, albeit corruptly, as *ša (i)ri* in the Coptic (Bohairic) version's *phyom n ša (i)ri* for Heb *yam sûp* (1959: 150–52). However, leaving aside the questionable interpretation of *ša (i)ri* (q.v. Brugsch 1879: 909–12 and Černý 1976: 251 for differing interpretations), the rather large chronological gap between the 3d millennium B.C.E. Pyramid Texts and a later (ca. 4th century C.E.) Coptic version of the Scriptures raises a number of methodological problems, not the least of which is the question of access, especially in the light of recent studies on literacy in ancient Egypt. For example, Towers must assume that the writer "was conversant with the theological terminology of ancient Egypt" (1959:151), but he offers no explanation as to how (where or when?) the biblical writer may have obtained this information. While he did acknowledge (in a footnote) the parallel *sḫt j€ rw* "Field of Reeds" (1959: 151, n. 6), he ignored its occurrences in later Underworld texts such as the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead (for the latter, see Allen 1974: 6, 13, 65, 74, 87, *passim*; illustrations in Faulkner 1985: 105, 110–11; and discussion of Leclant in *LÄ* 1: 1156–60). Despite the attempts of Towers and Wright, the overall context of *š/sḫt j€ rw* within Egyptian mortuary texts is totally lacking in the imagery or symbolism of the biblical account of the Exodus. The issue of Israel's "passing over" the sea as purification (taken largely from Paul's interpretation in the NT) is not present in those passages mentioning *yam sûp,* and the significance of water as a purifying element is so common that one hesitates to trace its origin here to Egyptian mythology. One might also inquire as to why, in this instance, the biblical writer chose Egyptian over (more easily explained) Canaanite symbolism. Did he have reason to believe that his non-Egyptian readers (or listeners) would correctly perceive the veiled Egyptian reference behind *yam sûp*?

Wifall (1980: 329) escorts the reader through a rather convoluted series of equations in order to demonstrate that lying behind the term *yam sûp* is the biblical concept of Sheol (analyzed as *š el* "Lake of El," which he connects with the mythological "Lake of Reeds" and the geographical "Lake of Horus" [Eg *š Ḥr*]): "Thus, as the geographical *yam sûp* and *Shi-Hor* and the mythological or theological 'lake' and 'field of reeds' and 'Sheol' all seem to be interrelated, so also, perhaps, are the terms *Shi-Hor* and 'Sheol.' " The parallels cited by Wifall concerning the Israelite and Egyptian views of death and afterlife are unfortunately too general to be of any serious use in tracing the influence of particular ideas. Like Towers, he draws attention to what appears to be possible parallels, but he lacks the methodological means to differentiate between broad similarities, which may be common to the ANE as a whole, and specific ideas or motifs that would indicate influence in one direction. While the possibility cannot be ruled out completely, there is no evidence that would identify the *yam sûp* of the Exodus specifically with the Egyptian Lake/Waters of Horus of the NE Delta (for its location, see discussion in Gardiner 1918: 251–52; 1924:93; Bietak 1975: 129–32 and his article in *LÄ* 5: 623–26; see also Kloos 152–53 for further discussion of Towers and Wifall).

**F. Location of the Sea of the Exodus**

For over a century, biblical scholars and Egyptologists have been obsessed with the quest of identifying this body of water; virtually every possible site within or near the Delta—and some beyond it, e.g., the Gulf of Aqabah—has at one time or another been proposed as the setting for the grand miracle. The most commonly cited objection to one of the two gulfs of the Red Sea has been the lack of reedy vegetation

near these large bodies of salt water (as opposed to the freshwater marshes of the Delta), a necessary element for the *yam sûp* = "*Reed* Sea" position (e.g., Brugsch 1881: 430; Gardiner 1922: 212; Bietak in *LÄ* 5: 630; Anati 1986: 187; Sarna 1986: 107). Those who favor a location within or E of the Delta tend to isolate the area extending N from the tip of the Gulf of Suez up to the coastal site of ancient Pelesium (Tell el-Farama) as the most likely region for the event. Candidates (both past and present) for the sea have included the Gulf of Suez or the Gulf of Aqabah (the older traditional view, see Davies 1979:70, 112, for references); the Bitter Lakes region (e.g., Davies 1979: 82; Kitchen in *NBD*, 1014; Har-El 1977: 72–73; note also Butzer in *LÄ* 1: 824–25); the Ballah Lakes (e.g., Bietak 1981; 1987; Wilson 1985: 131); Lake Menzalah (Gardiner 1922; Goedicke [as presented by Shanks 1981]); and the Mediterranean/Lake Sirbonis (Sabkhet el Bardawil) (e.g., Brugsch, Eissfeldt, Herrmann, Aharoni *LBHG*, Oren 1981, and Anati 1986). Yet the fact that *yam sûp* clearly refers to the Gulf of Aqabah in at least one case (1 Kgs 9:26) demonstrates that the origin or etymology of the term may be irrelevant to its geographical application. Indeed, context and usage are often much more reliable indicators of a word's meaning, and the older obsession with etymology as the determining factor has largely been abandoned by modern scholars. While some (e.g., Kitchen *NBD*, 1014; Sarna 1986: 107–8) see no problem with the multiple reference of *yam sûp* (i.e., as simultaneously designating the two gulfs, the lakes within the NE Delta region, or even the Mediterranean), others (e.g., Simons *GTTOT*, 237–38; Davies 1979: 74) view such a solution as too ambiguous and thus reject the traditional "sea of reeds" interpretation.

Fortunately, the biblical account does provide the interpreter with a rather precise description of the sea's location in Exod 14:2, where the people of Israel are instructed to "turn back and encamp in front of Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, in front of Baal-zephon; you shall encamp over against it, by the sea." Unfortunately, none of the sites mentioned in this text can be identified with certainty, and the various theories concerning their placement are to a great extent determined by one's own view of the general route taken by the fleeing Israelites out of Egypt, whether northern, central, or southern (see Wilson 1985: 154–55 and Beit-Arieh 1988: 37 for the options). The best that one can do is to outline the different proposals for the above-mentioned sites (Pi-hahiroth, Migdol, and Baal-zephon), including also the biblical Raamses, the apparent starting point of the journey. See also EXODUS, THE.

**1. Raamses** (Exod 1:11; Num 33:5). This biblical name is usually interpreted (with a few notable exceptions; see Redford 1963; 1987; Goedicke [Shanks 1981]; and Oren 1981) as the Egyptian *Piramesses*, the Delta capital of the Ramesside period, generally located at Tell el-Dab‹a—Qantir on the ancient Pelusiac branch of the Nile (Uphill 1968–69; Bietak 1975: 179–220; 1981; and his article in *LÄ* 5: 128–46; for earlier views concerning the Delta residence, see esp. the articles of Naville and Gardiner; a detailed review of the relevant Egyptian texts may be found in Gardiner 1918). See also RAMESES (PLACE).

**2. Baal-Zephon** (Exod 14:2; Num 33:7). Attempts to locate this site center upon Egyptian cities where the Canaanite deity of this name was worshiped and thus could have been referred to by the name of the deity. In a highly influential monograph, Eissfeldt (1932) equated Baal-zephon with the later Zeus Kasios and his temple at the Egyptian Mt. Casios, which he placed at *Moḥammedîyeh* on the W edge of Lake Sirbonis (Sabkhet el-Bardawil) facing the Mediterranean, ca. 15 km E of Pelusium. While generally agreeing with Eissfeldt, Cazelles (1955:333) placed Mt. Casios at *Râs Kasrûn*, ca. 40 km E of *Moḥammedîyeh* between Lake Sirbonis and the Mediterranean (see also Herrmann 1973: 60–64; Aharoni *LBHG*, 196–97; Anati 1986: 186–87; and Redford 1987: 143–44, who favor the Eissfeldt-Cazelles view). (See esp. Simons *GTTOT*, 237–39, 249–50, for criticism of Eissfeldt's theory.) Either site could point to Lake Sirbonis (or even the Mediterranean) as the *yam sûp* of the biblical account, but this N location is rejected by many because the biblical text specifically states that the Israelites did not leave Egypt via this region (Exod 13:17). This objection raises the larger issue of two biblical traditions, a N route (the Elohist) and a S/SE route (the Yahwist). Some have explained these as two different exodoi (e.g., the tribes of Leah followed by the tribes of Rachel; de Vaux *EHI*, 380–81), while others (e.g., Cazelles 1955: 358–61) have raised the possibility that the N route (through later redaction) has been influenced by or constitutes a later reflection of the well-known tradition of the expulsion of the Hyksos (see also Gardiner

1922: 204; Redford 1987: 148–51). This N location of Baal-zephon poses serious problems for advocates of a S crossing somewhere between the Gulf of Suez and the Bitter Lakes, which, according to some, were physically connected in antiquity (e.g., Finegan 1963: 86; Hubbard *ISBE* 4: 60; Wilson 1985: 131; see Albright 1948: 15–16; Simons *GTTOT*, 247–48; and Davies 1979: 73–74 for discussion and further references; regarding canals in the Delta in the 1st millennium, see Bietak 1975; Butzer in *LÄ* 3: 312–13; Shea 1977; Holladay 1982: 1–3.) This led Davies (1979: 116) to conclude that Baal-zephon was not "an original part of the itinerary" and thus could not be used to reconstruct the earliest route of the Israelites.

Others (following esp. Aimé-Giron 1940; Albright 1948: 15–16; 1950) locate Baal-zephon at Taḥpanḥes (Tell Defenneh [Daphnae]), W of Sile on the S edge of Lake Menzalah (e.g., Bietak 1987: 167; Goedicke [Shanks 1981: 46]). This identification is based on a Phoenician letter (6th century B.C.E.), which mentions "Baal-zephon and all the gods of Taḥpanḥes." According to Bietak, the Ballah Lakes, SE of Tell Defenneh—which he identified with the *p€ -ṯwf* of Egyptian texts (1975: 136–39 and maps 23, 45) and Heb *yam sûp* (1975: 217; 1981: 280; 1987: 167)—provided the setting for the sea miracle. Goedicke isolates Tell Hazzob, just S of Tell Defenneh and W of the above Lakes, as the elevated site from which the fleeing Israelites witnessed the destruction of the Egyptian army, due to a massive tidal wave that flooded the low-lying area (following presentation of Shanks 1981 and Wilson 1985). Textual evidence also exists for the worship of Baal-zephon at Memphis (Pap. Sallier IV verso, 1, 6; Gardiner 1937: 89, line 7; Albright 1950: 6–8; Caminos 1954: 333, 337–38). Still others have located the site just N of the Gulf of Suez (e.g., Montet 1968: 49; Finegan 1963). See also BAAL-ZEPHON.

**3. Migdol** (Exod 14:2; Num 33:7; Jer 44:1). This name occurs a number of times in Egyptian texts, often in compound place names designating forts along the overland route to Palestine. A demotic geographical papyrus (Cairo 31169, iii.20–23) lists four such Migdols, the first of which stands alone (Gardiner 1920:108; Redford 1987:143, 154) and was identified by Gardiner as Tell el-Heir (the Magdolo of classical sources), ca. 12 km S of Pelusium (his earlier choice for the Delta residence, which he later abandoned for Tanis; see *AEO* 202*; note also Redford 1987:143, 153–54). This identification has been used to support a N route for the Exodus, with Lake Sirbonis as the *yam sûp* (e.g., Aharoni *LBHG*, 196–97).

Probably the most widely cited passage mentioning Migdol—and one used to support the early stages of the biblical journey from biblical Raamses (e.g., de Vaux *EHI*, 378, 380; Hubbard *ISBE* 4:60)—is Papyrus Anastasi V.19, 2–20.6 (Gardiner 1937: 66–67; translations in Gardiner 1920:109; Caminos 1954: 254–58; *ANET*, 259). This late-13th-century B.C.E. text concerns the pursuit of two escaped slaves and their eventual passage through or around the Migdol (Eg *mktr*, "stronghold, fortification") of Sety I. In addition, their pursuer stops at *ṯkw* (Tell el-Maskhuta of the Wadi Tumilat region, a frequent candidate for biblical Pithom or Sukkoth) and another "fort" (Eg *ḫtm*, often incorrectly equated with Heb *ʾētam;* e.g., Finegan 1963: 84; Montet 1968: 62). But, as Gardiner (1924: 90) and Caminos (1954: 257–58) have noted, this text is difficult and geographically obscure, and thus is of limited use (if any) in identifying the relative placement of these biblical sites. Oren's own archaeological work in the region confirms the identification of Tell el-Heir with the classical Magdolo (1984: 34–35), but he denies that this site was the Migdol of the Exodus, since no evidence of New Kingdom occupation was found. Unlike Redford (1987), Oren and others are not open to the possibility that the biblical writers drew their geographical knowledge from a later period (e.g., the 7th or 6th century B.C.E.), and thus they automatically exclude from consideration any site lacking evidence of a 12th- or 13th-century B.C.E. occupation (the traditional time period associated with the Exodus event).

Others point out that Migdol, the common Semitic word for "tower" or "fortress" (borrowed into Eg as *mktr*), could easily apply to any number of New Kingdom forts along the overland passage to S Palestine (assuming, contra Gardiner and others, that the biblical author was not referring to the Migdol of the prophets), and thus its precise location cannot be established (but note Goedicke [Shanks 1981], who equates both biblical Etham and Migdol with the Egyptian border fortress at *ṯ€ rw* (classical Sile, Tell Abu-Seifeh) on the N edge of the Ballah Lakes. See also MIGDOL.

**4. Pi-hahiroth** (Exod 14:2, 9; Num 33:7). This place name is especially problematic, and no satisfactory site for it has been proposed, although a location in the E Delta is assumed. The name is interpreted in various ways by the one of which may point to a variant underlying Hebrew text (Exod 14:2, 9; see discussion of Lambdin in *IDB* 3: 810–11). While some (Albright 1948:16, de Vaux *EHI*, 379) have proposed a type of folk etymology of the Hebrew (e.g., "the mouth of the canals"), others have sought appropriate Egyptian equivalents, e.g., *Pr-Ḥtḥrt*, "House of Hathor," mentioned in Pap. Anastasi III.3,3 and the Nikotris Adoption Stela, somewhere between Tanis and Bubastis (Gardiner 1918: 186; 1922: 213; Caminos 1954: 74, 80; Montet 1968: 64). Another suggestion has been *p€ -ḥ€ -rti*, a place name in the Wadi El-Arish Naos, apparently interpreted as "Place of the Widow" (Redford 1987: 142, 153, for further possibilities; see also the general discussion of Egyptian derivations in Cazalles 1955: 350–52). See also PI-HAHIROTH.

**G. Conclusion**

Over the past decade or so, some Egyptologists (e.g., Redford and Bietak) have drawn attention to the question of the biblical writers' geographical sources (note in this regard the earlier comments of Noth 1947 on Eissfeldt's citation of classical sources). According to Redford (1987), the attempt to localize the site of the Exodus in the biblical narrative has drawn heavily from later tradition and represents, for the most part, the writers'/redactors' own knowledge of Egyptian geography as they understood it: "… whoever was responsible for the topographic material which now informs the stories of the Sojourn and the Exodus, be it P or even J, the configuration of the eastern Delta known to them was essentially that of the 26th Dynasty [664–525 B.C.E.] and the early Persian period" (1987: 144). While Bietak is admittedly less pessimistic with regard to the Exodus/Numbers account, he does, however, point to the later attempts of the versions (e.g., and Targum Neofiti), Psalm 78, and the traditions preserved in Manetho, which derived their geographical knowledge from secondary cults of Ramesses at Tanis and Bubastis: "They depended in their search for localization on the Egyptian contemporary opinion" (1987: 164).

Neither scholar, however, is totally pessimistic with regard to a historical event behind the Exodus account. Although Bietak questions the geographical veracity of later texts, he apparently accepts the basic outline of the Exodus account and, based on his own work in the Delta, contends that the Ballah Lakes (as the *p€ -ṯwf* of Egyptian texts, 1975: 136–39; 1981: 280; 1987: 167) provided the most likely means of Israelite passage out of Egypt. Redford, on the other hand, traces the ultimate inspiration for the biblical account to the tradition of the occupation/expulsion of the Hyksos (1987: 148–51; for this tradition, see Redford 1970). See also HYKSOS. While the parallels between these two traditions have long been noted (e.g., Gardiner 1922, clarified in 1924), Redford's own exilic/postexilic date for the final version of the biblical account (geographical additions/clarifications at the hands of a later redactor) takes into account the later development and pervasiveness of the Hyksos tradition in the 1st millennium.

As the above evidence illustrates, no consensus has yet emerged on the location of the sea of the Exodus, although the majority opt for an E Delta location. If one contends that *yam sûp* must refer *only* to one of the gulfs of the Red Sea proper, either Aqabah or Suez (e.g., Simons *GTTOT*, 238), then—assuming a Delta site for the crossing—its presence in Exodus 13–14 would constitute a later attempt to connect the miracle at "the sea" with a suitably large body of water such as the Gulf of Suez; while the more frequent references to "the sea" would reflect the earliest tradition (with possible mythological overtones in Exod 15:4). In this case, the question of *yam sûp* as Eg *p€ -ṯwf* becomes largely irrelevant, since the biblical writers/redactors did not themselves locate the crossing in the Delta. The now nearly canonical term "Reed Sea" derives ultimately from the modern interpreter's inability to reconcile the geographical problems inherent in the biblical account. Likewise the ancient redactors, perceiving the difficulties within the text, provided geographical roadmaps for their contemporary readers.

On the other hand, if Heb *sûp* and Eg *ṯwf* continue to be correlated, respectively, with *yam sûp* and *p€ -ṯwf* as a specific body of water—the "Sea of Reeds"—in the E Delta of Egypt, then the geographically ambiguous nature of *yam sûp* will no doubt occasion further scholarly discussion, and, to be sure, the onomastic quest will continue.

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## *RED SEA TRADE*

The Red Sea has been used as a source of food and maritime transportation since prehistoric times despite the lack of a coastline having good natural harbors and anchorages and the existence of enervating prevailing northerly winds N of 20° N latitude. This has been attested by the discovery of numerous lithic tools (Montenat 1986: 239–55; Prickett 1979: 280–92), a predynastic burial (Murray and Derry 1923: 129–31) along the Red Sea coast of Egypt and lithic tools along the Saudi Arabian Red Sea coast at various points, the existence of numerous prehistoric petroglyphs in the Wadi Hammamat (*LÄ* 6: 1099–1113), dipinti and graffiti elsewhere in the Eastern Desert (Winkler 1938: 18–41; Redford and Redford 1989) and other prehistoric sites (Sodmein Cave), between the Nile and the Red Sea coast (Prickett 1979: 292–93).

In historical times, interest in the Red Sea littoral initially was primarily commercial in nature. Since the desert bordered the entire littoral, few people actually resided on the coast in sizable concentrations except for commercial maritime purposes. Literary sources attest the earliest known exploitation of the Red Sea for commercial purposes in the Egyptian Old Kingdom period (*AESH*, 136; Murray 1950: 14). Literary sources (*AESH*, 137), epigraphic evidence (Tregenza 1958: 181), and archaeological excavation of a Middle Kingdom port at the Red Sea terminus of the Wadi Gawasis (Sayed 1978: 69–71) and of a galena mine at Gebel Zeit (Castel et al. 1984: 45–57) attest activity along the coast at that time. This continued into the Egyptian New Kingdom (Empire) period and was made famous by the expedition sent by the pharaoh Hatshepsut to Punt (*AESH*, 270–71), the precise location of which has been greatly debated. Details of this journey are depicted on Hatshepsut's funerary temple at Deir el-Bahri near Thebes.

Commercial interest persisted in the late pharaonic period (*AESH*, 254; Schweinfurth 1885: *passim*) under Necho II (610–595 B.C.) and after the Achaemenid Persian conquest of Egypt in 525 B.C. under Cambyses (530–521 B.C.) and his successors, especially Darius I (521–486 B.C.). The Ptolemaic dynasty (323–30 B.C.) in Egypt under Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283/282–246 B.C.) and his successors continued and expanded this maritime commerce in the Red Sea and beyond into the Indian Ocean (Thapar 1987:15–19) by the construction of a number of ports and trade stations on the W coast of the Red Sea to the Bab el-Mandeb (entrance to the Indian Ocean) and, perhaps, beyond (Murray 1967:24–33; Scullard 1974:129, fig. 13; Strabo 16.4.7ff.; Pliny *HN* 6.34.170–75). However, Ptolemaic interest in the Red Sea was primarily military (the acquisition of war elephants and gold for the army); commercial considerations were, in the early Ptolemaic period at least, secondary.

The annexation of Egypt by Rome in 30 B.C. brought Rome for the first time into direct contact with the Red Sea. The nature, volume, intensity, and diversity of Roman commerce was different from and greater than that of the Ptolemies (cf. Desanges *ANRW* 2/10/1: 3–43). Roman trade in the Red Sea was motivated

by commercial and political interests, not, primarily, by military considerations. Most of the ports the Romans used on the Red Sea had been built earlier either by the Ptolemies or by the Nabateans. Apparently these were subsequently repaired and enlarged (Sidebotham 1986: 48–57)—and one, Leukos Limen on the Egyptian coast, was founded *de novo*—by the Romans (Whitcomb and Johnson 1979; 1982a; 1982b). Egyptian emporia included (1) Clysma-Arsinoë-Qolzoum (near modern Suez; Bruyère 1966: *passim*); (2) Myos Hormos (Diodorus Siculus 3.39.1–2; Strabo 2.5.12; 16.4.5; 16.4.24; 17.1.45; *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 1; 19; Pliny *HN* 6.33.168; Tait 1930: 108–25; Ptol. *Geog.* 4.5.8; Sidebotham 1986: 50–51); (3) Philoteras (Ptol. *Geog.* 4.5.8; Murray 1925: 142; Meredith 1953: 101–3); (4) Leukos Limen (Sidebotham 1986: *s.v.* index "Leukos Limen"); (5) Nechesia (Ptol. *Geog.* 4.5.8; Murray 1925: 142–43; Meredith 1953: 103); and (6) the largest and most important, Berenice (Strabo 17.1.45; *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 1; 19; 21; Pliny *HN* 6.26.103; Tait 1930: 108–25; Ptol. *Geog.* 4.5.8; Murray 1925: 143; Meredith 1957: 56–70; Murray 1968: 49–53; Sidebotham 1986: *s.v.* index "Berenice"). There was a late Roman/Byzantine military installation at Abu Sha‘ar, an area long considered (inaccurately) to have been the location of Myos Hormos (Sidebotham 1989a). Trans-desert routes marked with forts, towers, and cairns joined these ports to various emporia on the Nile, such as Edfu (Apollonopolis Magna) in the Ptolemaic period (Bagnall 1976: 35) and Qift (Coptos), Denderah (Tentyris), and Antinoe/Antinoopolis in Roman times (Bernand 1984: *passim*; Bingen 1984: 359–70; Sidebotham 1986: 48–71; Sidebotham 1989c; Sidebotham et al. fc.; Zitterkopf and Sidebotham 1989).

Present scholarship suggests that the economic instability, political chaos, and military turmoil of the 3d century A.D. led to a decline or cessation of this Red Sea commerce. However, literary evidence (*Codex Theodosianus* 12.12.2; Philostorgius *h.e.* 3.4–6; cf. Dihle 1989: 461–68; Procopius *History of the Wars* 1.19.1; 1.19.24–26; 1.20.4; 1.20.9; 1.20.12; 2.3.40; Cosmas Indicopleustes, *top.* I and II; Theophanes *chron.* 6123; cf. Johnson and West 1949: 137–51; cf. Letsios 1988: *passim*) and a growing body of archaeological evidence (Zitterkopf and Sidebotham 1989; Sidebotham 1989b: 222–23) indicate a revival of diplomatic and commercial contacts in the 4th through 6th/early 7th centuries (though this renaissance does not seem to have had the same intensity as activity in the late 1st century B.C.–2d century A.D.).

Red Sea commerce was so important to Egypt that at least as early as the Middle Kingdom period a canal was dug linking the Nile to the Red Sea. Its existence is attested both by ancient writers (Hdt. 2.158–59; 4.39; 4.42; Arist. *Mete.* 1.14.352b25; Agatharchides in Diod. Sic. 1.33.7–12; Strabo 17.1.25–26; Pliny *HN* 6.33.165–66; Ptol. *Geog.* 4.5) and by archaeological evidence (Sidebotham 1986: 67–68, 146, 176). Later rulers—including Necho II, Darius I, Ptolemy II, and Trajan (ruled A.D. 98–117)—were all credited with digging such a canal, and, according to the 9th-century Arab writer al-Maqrizi (Sidebotham 1986: 68), this canal continued to be used in the 9th century. It cannot be determined when it fell out of use or what its exact course was, but remains can still be seen (Redmount 1986: 20).

Less is known about how other regional powers exploited the Red Sea. Solomon's commercial contacts with the Queen of Sheba (Saba) in SW Arabia (Yemen) in the 10th century B.C. are well known (1 Kgs 10:10; Isa 60:6); yet the precise locations of his port of Ezion-Geber and its counterpart in Saba on the Yemeni coast still elude scholars. See EZION-GEBER.

One of the Ptolemaic monarchs (either Ptolemy II or III) is said to have joined the city of Miletus (in Asia Minor) in founding a colony on the Red Sea coast at Ampelone (Pliny *HN* 6.32.158–59; Tarn 1929: 21–22). This city, undoubtedly established for commercial purposes, has never been located. Perhaps it was the site of the later Nabatean/Roman port of Leuke Kome mentioned in the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (19) as a Red Sea port important enough to warrant stationing there a *hekatontarches* (centurion) and a garrison of unknown nationality. A *paralemptes* collected a 25 percent *ad valorem* customs tax on merchandise imported there (*Periplus Maris Erythraei* 19). Research now suggests that Leuke Kome was located in the Kuraybah-'Aynunah region of NW Saudi Arabia near the Strait of Tiran (Ingraham et al. 1981: 76–77; Kirwan n.d.: 55–61; Sidebotham 1986: 120–26). The nearby island of Iotabe may have superseded Leuke Kome as a customs post later in the Roman/Byzantine period (Abel 1938: 510–33; Letsios 1989: 530; Procopius *History of the Wars* 1.19.3).

Other ports existed along the Red Sea coasts in antiquity, though the dates of their foundation and abandonment are unknown. There was an important port at Aila, near Aqaba (Procopius *History of the Wars* 1.19.3; 1.19.20; 1.19.24), the Islamic section of which is now under excavation (cf. Whitcomb 1988: *passim*; Whitcomb 1989). There were other ports in Sinai (possibly Tor; Murray 1950: 136–38; cf. Gatier 1989: 499–523) and on the African coast (Adulis; Casson 1984: 199–210; Procopius *History of the Wars* 1.20.4) and, undoubtedly, on the Saudi Arabian, Yemeni, and Sudanese Red Sea coasts. The present state of archaeological research has yet to reveal much on pre-Islamic ports in these regions (cf. Crone 1987: *passim*).

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**REDACTION CRITICISM**.This entry surveys the method of "redaction criticism" as it is applied to the Old and New Testaments.

## *OLD TESTAMENT*

Redaction criticism is a method of biblical study which examines the intentions of the editors or *redactors* who compiled the biblical texts out of earlier source materials. It thus presupposes the results of source and form criticism, and builds upon them.

### A. History and Development

Marxsen in his study of Mark's gospel (1st German ed., 1956) appears to have been the first to use the *term* "redaction criticism," but redaction-critical analysis of OT texts is considerably older than this. The discovery of "redactors" in the OT belongs to classical source criticism, as a side effect of the analysis. Once it became clear that the Pentateuch, for example, was compiled from several disparate sources, it followed that someone must have compiled it. But to most source critics of the 19th and early 20th centuries, redactors were not seen as creative editors, still less as literary artists. Redactional *additions* to the text were naturally identified as part of the process of literary analysis, but the redactional *arrangement* of the text was seldom the subject of much interest. This point is sometimes made by saying that redaction was seen in older scholarship as a matter of "scissors and paste." In fact, the picture is less uniform than this suggests. Although the redaction criticism of the Pentateuch attracted much less interest than the study of its original sources, with regard to some other books there has always been more concern among biblical scholars for the finished form of the text and hence for the principles on which it must have been assembled. Even in the 19th century it was common to read Job and Chronicles, for example, from what can now be called a "redaction-critical" point of view.

It was in the years after the Second World War that redaction criticism began to appeal widely to OT scholars. This appeal sometimes resulted from a sense of weariness at traditional source and form criticism, and was part of a desire to move away from what was increasingly thought to be an excessive tendency to fragment the text instead of to read it as it stood. The sense of a renewed respect for the text in its finished shape, and hence for the editors who had worked it into this shape, was often combined with a theological commitment to the Bible in its canonical form (sometimes under the influence of Barthian theology). Gerhard von Rad pioneered this new approach to the OT in a series of articles and books (esp.*PHOE*). In his work on Genesis (*Genesis* OTL), von Rad sought to show that the Yahwist in particular should be seen as a highly creative religious and literary genius, who utterly transformed the materials he used. Beyond that, von Rad even hinted at a possible reading of the Pentateuch as a whole which would attribute a comparable importance to the *final* redactor(s) of the entire work—citing with interest (though not complete approval) a remark of Franz Rosenzweig's to the effect that "R" (see below) ought to be rendered *rabbenu* (in Hebrew, "our Master"), because it is to the redactor that we owe the Bible as it now lies before us (von Rad *Genesis*, 40–42). This may at least serve as a memorable pointer to the renewed respect in which redactors are now held by biblical scholars.

After von Rad, Martin Noth also contributed important works on the redaction of the "Deuteronomistic History" (Joshua-2 Kings) and the work of the Chronicler (Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah; see *NDH*, NCH, and *HPT*). Both of these scholars referred to their own work as "traditio-historical." Nowadays, however, this term is more commonly reserved for their contribution to the history of Israel's religious and historical traditions, and the more literary side of their interests would be called redaction criticism.

In Noth's work one can see both the strengths and the weaknesses of redaction criticism. Its strength lies in its minute attention to details of the text, which might strike more casual readers as trivial—small link-passages, tiny changes in wording; and its success lies in explaining puzzling features, such as the sequence in which incidents are related. Noth's work represents what in literary studies is sometimes called a "close reading" of the text, where the reader constantly asks why the particular words or phrases

have been chosen in preference to others, and where it is assumed that the authors (or editors) of texts always had a reason for the choices they made. The characteristic weakness of Noth's method is the reverse side of this: a tendency to exaggerate the importance of small details and to foreclose the possibility that some features of the biblical text may be the result of accident or inadvertence. Redaction criticism easily lays itself open to the charge of reading too much significance into the text. Some biblical books may in fact owe much to "scissors and paste" techniques of composition. Though readers should be open to the possibility of finding meaning and theological insight in the way material has been arranged or altered during redaction, they should also not forget that we know very little about the anonymous editors of the OT, and that we do not have the raw materials with which they worked. Redaction critics normally have to reconstruct the redactor's sources from the text as it now stands, and then discover why the redactor changed these (hypothetical) sources to produce the present form. It can easily be seen that it is impossible to check the accuracy of this whole reconstruction against any external controls. This is why the redactional study of Chronicles has always been easier than (and antedates by far) the redaction criticism of the rest of the OT, because we do possess most of the sources with which the redactors of Chronicles worked—namely, the books of Samuel and Kings. Where such external points of reference are lacking, redaction criticism is inevitably rather speculative.

To some extent redaction criticism has been overtaken in the 1980s by newer movements such as canonical criticism and structuralism, which share its interest in the "final form" of biblical texts but are less concerned to derive this from the deliberate intention of one or more redactors and more concerned to read the text as an entity in itself. The "canonical" approach does, however, ask questions about the intentions of the communities responsible for the present form and compass of the entire OT, and so may be said to represent a kind of redaction criticism of the canon as a whole. Thanks to the work of B. S. Childs (e.g., *IOTS*) and others, questions are now asked not only about the significance of the way individual books are arranged but also about the arrangement of whole sections of the OT, such as the Torah (Pentateuch) or the Prophets, and even about the overall organization of the canon. There are still a number of books of the OT, however, which have not been extensively studied by more conventional redaction criticism, and it is therefore probable that the method will continue to be practiced despite these newer approaches.

The history and practice of OT redaction criticism may be studied with the aid of Perrin (1970), Wharton (*IDBSup*, 729–32) and Barton (1984).

**B. The Elements of Redaction-Critical Analysis**

Strictly speaking, it makes sense to practice redaction criticism only when it is certain that a book is composite in character. For the majority of OT texts, this assumption is fully justified: for example, the Pentateuch and most of the prophetic books are certainly the result of a long process of editing or redaction. Where a text seems to have been composed freely by a single writer, criticism seeks to discover the intentions of this writer, who is an "author" in something like the modern sense of the word, rather than a redactor. Nevertheless, in practice the distinction may be hard to maintain. For example, Ecclesiastes (Qoheleth) has probably undergone several stages of redaction, but the intentions of an original author still shine throughout the whole book; some of the Psalms seem to be freely composed lyrics with no prehistory as a collection of older fragments; and some narrative books (e.g., Ruth, Jonah) probably had a single author from the beginning. Conversely, some of the biblical editors have reshaped the material at their disposal so freely that we might call *them* "authors" rather than mere redactors. For example, the "J" material in Genesis is said by von Rad (see above) to represent such a thoroughgoing reworking of its underlying source materials that "the Yahwist" should no longer be called a redactor at all, but an author, an original writer. See YAHWIST ("J") SOURCE. However, much of the OT is more than a mere assemblage of unrevised fragments, but less than a complete reshaping of old materials into a completely coherent new whole, and it is precisely in relation to such texts that redaction criticism is an appropriate critical tool.

**1. Link Passages and the Siglum "R.**" Source-critical analysis frequently reveals the existence of short passages, individual sentences, or even individual words that cannot be assigned to any of the main

sources of a particular passage (J, E, D, or P), but must be assumed to have come into being as part of the process of editing. For example, in Exodus 3:14–15 there are two versions of God's words to Moses at the burning bush: "Say this to the people of Israel, 'I AM has sent me to you,' " and "Say this to the people of Israel, 'The LORD, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, has sent me to you.' " So that these appear to be successive, rather than alternative, words of God, they are linked by v 15a: "God also said to Moses …," which was not required by either of the original sayings but is needed once they are juxtaposed. Material like this can be ascribed to the redactor, and represents an attempt (sometimes not a very successful attempt) to make the text read smoothly, integrating the original separate sources into a smooth narrative. Source critics use the letter "R" to designate this kind of redactional material.

Sometimes a redactional addition can be identified by the way it integrates into a wider biblical framework a section, for example of narrative, that had an independent existence but in its present context appears to contradict or be inconsistent with something else in the text. For instance, in Genesis 26 there is a story about Isaac and Rebekah at the court of the Philistine king, Abimelech. This story is clearly a version of the same incident related twice of Abraham and Sarah (see Gen 12:10–20 and Genesis 20). Whoever wove together the sources that make up the book of Genesis appears to have realized that the reader might be disturbed if such similar incidents were related without explanation, and accordingly began the story as follows: "Now there was a famine in the land, *besides the former famine that was in the days of Abraham*" (26:1). These words were not required so long as the story formed an independent unit, but they became necessary once it was placed in a continuous narrative containing also the earlier, suspiciously similar story or stories. The effect of the insertion is to make the narrative flow more smoothly than it would otherwise do—though, again, the redactor has been only partially successful, for most readers will feel that the chapter still reads rather awkwardly and will soon suspect that it is in origin an alternative version of one of the other similar incidents, and not genuinely a fresh occurrence.

**2. Interpretative Additions.** In the examples just discussed, the redactional elements have a minimal function: they merely avoid an awkward break in the text. But redactional additions, even of a few words, can have a profound effect on the meaning of the passage in which they stand. Thus, both Hosea and Ecclesiastes end with what seems to be a proverbial saying. In Hos 14:10—Eng 14:9: "Whoever is wise, let him understand these things; whoever is discerning, let him know them; for the ways of the Lord are right, and the upright walk in them, but transgressors stumble in them." And in Eccl 12:13–14: "The end of the matter: all has been heard. Fear God, and keep his commandments: for this is the whole duty of man. For God will bring every deed into judgment, with every secret thing, whether good or evil." It may be argued that both sayings have an important retrospective effect on the whole book to which they form the conclusion. They tell the reader that the foregoing words (the sayings of Qoheleth; the prophecies of Hosea) are to be read as wise advice on how to please God, and that anyone who does not will suffer punishment. In both cases these redactional additions do not merely serve to shape the book into a finished whole, but they have an *interpretative* function as well. They tell the reader how to understand the book. The redactional addition to Ecclesiastes makes the overall effect of the book much less skeptical and unorthodox than it would otherwise seem, while the addition to Hosea converts a collection of prophecies into a kind of "wisdom" book of generalized advice.

**3. Explicit Insertions.** So far we have considered types of redactional addition in which there is no question of the redactor addressing the reader in person, but in which the additional material is integrated into the text as though it were original. The OT also contains passages, especially in the narrative books, in which the narrator turns from his source to face the reader directly. For example, twice in the historical books from Joshua through 2 Kings there are summaries of a section of the story that is being told, with comments on its significance from a theological point of view: Judg 2:6–23 and 2 Kgs 17:7–41. Here the compiler of the history offers comments of his own on the story he is telling—for example, "This was so, because the people of Israel had sinned against the LORD their God" (2 Kgs 17:7).

In a similar way, the editors of the prophetic books added headings and indications of the occasions and dates when particular oracles were delivered: e.g., "The words of Jeremiah, the son of Hilkiah … to

whom the word of the LORD came in the days of Josiah, the son of Amon, king of Judah, in the thirteenth year of his reign" (Jer 1:1). The way in which this is done can sometimes help us to reconstruct the stages by which a book came into its present form. Thus, for instance, the book of Isaiah has *two* redactional "headings," in 1:1 ("The vision of Isaiah the son of Amoz, which he saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem") and in 2:1 ("The word which Isaiah the son of Amoz saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem"). This makes it probable that there was once an edition of Isaiah which began with 2:1, to which chapter 1 was subsequently added, with the result that a fresh heading was needed for the whole book. Here redaction criticism contributes to source criticism and helps it in its task of literary analysis.

**4. Changes to the Original Source Material.** Ancient editors often had great respect for the material they were assembling and changed very little in it. That is why there are so many inconsistencies in the biblical text. Indeed, it is this that makes it possible for us to reconstruct the sources with which the editors worked, for if they had successfully eliminated all the inconsistencies between the sources, we would not be able to distinguish the sources anyway. The very possibility of source criticism depends on the fact that the redactors so often left alternative versions of incidents unreconciled. Nevertheless, this respect for the original sources did not mean that the redactors *never* changed their raw materials. As well as introducing link passages, marginal comments, and headings, biblical redactors often also make substantial alterations to the documents which they incorporated into their work. In prophetic books, for example, it is common to find comments updating the original prophetic oracles (e.g., Isa 16:13–14), and it is probable that the desire to apply the prophet's words to the editor's own situation led to frequent changes in the wording of the original oracles, though this is often hard to prove. The mixture of an extreme respect for an old text and a great freedom in reshaping it to contemporary needs and ideas is one of the most puzzling features of the growth of the Bible for a modern reader, who is used to quite different conventions about the treatment of historical sources. Redaction criticism seeks to clarify how ancient editors went about their work.

**5. The Arrangement of the Text.** Besides adding new material, the redactors of biblical books also *arranged* existing material into the order in which we now find it. This invisible contribution is probably more important than the individual longer or shorter passages to which we can attach the siglum "R." The effects of arranging older material can be quite varied and may be regarded as forming a sliding scale.

At one end of the scale stands redactional work of a purely *anthological* character. For much of the book of Proverbs, for example, there does not appear to be much significance in the order in which old sayings have been arranged. In the Psalter, there is evidence that some psalms have been grouped together by theme (for instance, Psalms 145–50 form a continuous sequence of psalms of praise) or by form (Psalms 103 and 104 both begin "Bless the Lord, O my soul"); but in many places the order appears random, and in any case the meaning of the individual psalms is not affected by their juxtaposition with each other.

In many prophetic books, there is an element of anthological arrangement, but it is often possible to detect a definite intention in it. For instance, it has been suggested that in placing the particular oracles that form Isaiah 1 at the head of the whole book (see above), the final redactor was providing a short compendium of salient themes from the book as a whole: judgment, mercy, the election of Zion, the remnant, Yahweh's attitude toward sacrifice, and hatred of social injustice (see Jones 1955).

A still more deliberate interpretative intention can be seen in the redaction of the Pentateuch, where material from a wide range of sources, often originally inconsistent with each other, has been arranged so as to tell a single, coherent story running from the creation of the world down to the death of Moses. One may, indeed, speak of many stages in the redaction of the Pentateuch, at each of which such interpretative arrangement must have occurred. Before the four (or more) major sources were combined, each source was itself composed from a variety of older units of tradition. If, as many traditio-historical studies maintain, the stories of the patriarchs (for example) were originally separate stories about unrelated heroes, each used as the cult legend of a particular sanctuary, then the editor we call "J" was already a creative writer who integrated them into a single narrative framework and made each relate to all the others.

Finally, a book such as Judges manifests a highly schematized arrangement of its basic source material where one can scarcely doubt that a redactor is responsible for most of the effect the book now makes on the reader. The stories about various (originally purely local) tribal heroes are arranged schematically, so that each illustrates the same pattern: the Israelites sin, are subjugated by their enemies, cry to God, and are saved by the intervention of a "judge," after which they enjoy a period of "rest" lasting twenty, forty, or eighty years. Indeed, redaction criticism of the other historical books suggests that the same redactor may also have worked on the material in all the books from Joshua to 2 Kings, even though evidence for schematic arrangement is somewhat less marked elsewhere than it is in Judges.

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JOHN BARTON

## *NEW TESTAMENT*

Redaction criticism is the study of NT texts that concentrates on the unique theological emphases that the writers place upon the materials they used, their specific purposes in writing their works, and the *Sitz im Leben* out of which they wrote. The term is a translation of the German *Redaktionsgeschichte*, which has also been translated "redaction history." Another German term sometimes used to describe this method of study is *Kompositionsgeschichte* or "composition criticism."

### A. Origin of the Discipline

Although some scholars had in the past sought to investigate the NT writings from the aspect of their use of various sources, redaction criticism came to the forefront in the mid-1950s with the publication of two major works. The first was Hans Conzelmann's *Die Mitte der Zeit* (*The Theology of St. Luke*), which appeared in 1954, and the second was Willi Marxsen's *Der Evangelist Markus* (*Mark the Evangelist*), which appeared in 1956. Conzelmann argued that Luke, in writing his gospel, superimposed over the traditions a "salvation history" scheme in which history was divided into three distinct stages: the period of Israel, the period of Jesus (the "middle" of time), and the period of the Church. He believed that, in so doing, Luke sought to solve the problem of the delay of the Parousia by placing a greater emphasis on realized eschatology. Conzelmann's thesis, which was warmly received at first, has received some telling criticisms, but the interest he generated in the study of how the Evangelists used the gospel traditions was lasting. Marxsen's major contribution lies in his discussion of the relationship of form and redaction criticism. Whereas the form critics spoke of two *Sitz im Leben*s (that of the historical Jesus and that of the early Church), Marxsen pointed out that there existed a third *Sitz im Leben* as well, and this was the situation in life of the Evangelists themselves. In contrast to the interests of form criticism, which were primarily sociological in orientation and sought to discover everything possible about the *Sitz im Leben* of the early Church during the oral period, Conzelmann and Marxsen focused upon the Evangelists and their individual contributions to their works. Whereas form criticism ignored the Evangelists and minimized their contribution in the writing of the gospels, Marxsen pointed out that the Evangelists were not simply collectors or editors of the traditions; they were, on the contrary, theologians. As a result, their works were not to be viewed simply as "Jesus-material collections" but as gospels, and they should be investigated from the perspective of these individual writers. It should not be assumed that before Conzelmann and Marxsen no one had emphasized the theological contribution of the Evangelists to the gospel tradition. Men like W. Wrede, E. Lohmeyer, R. H. Lightfoot, J. M. Robinson, and G. Bornkamm

had alluded to this earlier, but it was with the works of Conzelmann and Marxsen that redaction criticism came into its own, and the decades following their works saw this new discipline dominate gospel studies.

**B. The Method of Redaction Criticism**

Since redaction criticism is primarily interested in investigating how authors used their sources and their unique theological contribution to their sources, it is not surprising that most redaction critical studies of the NT texts have involved the gospels. Whereas at times sources can be discerned in the NT epistles (e.g., Col 1:15–20; Phil 2:6–11; Rom 1:3–4, etc.) or Acts (e.g., the "we sections"), the clearest use of sources is found in the gospels and in particular in the Synoptic Gospels. It is understandable, therefore, that the majority of redaction critical investigations have involved the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, for behind them lie both written and oral sources of the dominical tradition.

Most redaction critics assume in their investigation of the Synoptic Gospels that Matthew and Luke in composing their gospels used both Mark (or something very much like our present Mark) and a common source or sources which can be designated as Q. The results of most such investigations have tended to support this "solution" of the Synoptic Problem. On the other hand, redactional studies based upon other suggestions of how Matthew, Mark, and Luke are related have tended to be far less successful. Assuming the use of "Mark" by the other two Evangelists, the simplest way of proceeding in the investigation of a Matthean or Lukan redaction criticism is to investigate how they used their source, Mark. Here a synopsis of the gospels is most helpful. By a careful comparison of the additions, the modifications, and the omissions of their Markan source we can detect the theological interests and concerns of Matthew and Luke. Besides investigating the material in the triple tradition, we can also investigate the common material of Matthew and Luke that is not found in Mark and observe the differences we find in the double tradition. By the use of literary and form criticism, we can often determine which of the two traditions is more primitive, i.e., more original, and thus ascertain how the other Evangelist has used the tradition and what this reveals concerning the particular theological emphasis which he seeks to make.

Concerning Mark and the unique material in Matthew and Luke ("M" and "L"), redactional investigation is more difficult, for whereas in the triple and double traditions we either possess their source (Mark) or can reconstruct it (Q) with a reasonable degree of certainty, in the case of Mark, M, and L we have much more difficulty in reconstructing what their sources were like. In the latter instances, we must first—by form critical analysis—attempt to reconstruct what the sources used in these instances were like. This is more difficult, but it is not impossible. With regard to Mark, it would appear that the best areas of investigation for perceiving his redactional emphases are the seams (the "cement" Mark uses to join together different traditions); the explanatory and theological insertions found at various times in the texts (these are often introduced by a *gar,* "for"); the summaries (these are not simply traditions which Mark used but summaries he constructed using various traditional materials); various modifications of individual pericopes and sayings; the selection of the material included; the arrangement of the material; the introduction; and the typical vocabulary of the Evangelist. If we possess the original conclusion of Mark, and if we knew which materials Mark chose not to include in his gospel, this would also be helpful in the investigation of a Mark redaction criticism; but the debate as to the ending of Mark is far from settled, and it is impossible to know what materials Mark possessed but chose to omit. Many of the areas mentioned above are also helpful in the investigation of the M and L materials.

**C. The Practice of Redaction Criticism**

An example of how a comparison of the triple tradition can lead to insights into the theological emphases of an Evangelist can be found in Luke 4:14. After the baptism and temptation accounts, we read in Matthew and Mark that upon the arrest of John the Baptist, Jesus returned to Galilee. Luke alone, however, states, "And Jesus returned in the power of the Spirit into Galilee …" In comparing the accounts, it becomes clear by this addition to the narrative that Luke wants to emphasize the role of the Spirit in the ministry of Jesus (and, of course, in Acts, in the ministry of the disciples of Jesus). We find similar allusions to the Spirit's ministry in Luke 5:17, where Luke adds to his Markan source the words "and the power of the Lord was with him to heal" (note the connection of the Spirit with "power" in Acts 1:8; 10:38), and in 4:1, where Luke adds to his Markan and Q sources that Jesus, "full of the Holy Spirit,"

proceeded into the wilderness to be tempted. By carefully observing how Luke handled his sources, it becomes clear that the coming of the Spirit upon Jesus and the disciples and the power to heal associated with this are important Lukan emphases.

In a similar way, when one compares Matt 8:16–17 and 12:15–21 with their parallels in Mark and Luke, and when one compares Matt 13:34–35 with its Markan parallel, it becomes clear that Matthew gives to his source a particular theological emphasis. This is clear in that Mark and Luke never have the expression "This was to fulfill what was spoken by the prophet …" When we compare similar Matthean insertions into his Markan source in Matt 13:14–15; 21:4–5; and 26:54, as well as the frequent occurrence of this theme in the M material (1:22–23; 2:15, 17–18, 23; 4:14–16; 27:9–10) it becomes clear that this is an important theological emphasis on the part of the Evangelist. This is seen most clearly, however, when we compare the occurrences of this emphasis in the material of the triple tradition and note that this emphasis is lacking in Mark and Luke.

With regard to Mark, one of the clearest examples of his redactional activity is found in Mark 8:31–10:45. Assuming the form-critical presupposition that the material in this part of Mark originally circulated as isolated units and that it was Mark who arranged it in its present form, we find a threefold recurring pattern. In this pattern we find a passion prediction on the part of Jesus (8:31; 9:30–32; 10:32–34), followed by an error of some sort by one or more of the disciples (8:32–33; 9:33–34; 10:35–41), which is in turn followed by a collection of teachings on the meaning of discipleship (8:34–9:1; 9:35–10:31; 10:42–45). We also can note the presence of a typically Markan vocabulary throughout this section. It seems quite clear that Mark has arranged this section in order to demonstrate that discipleship involves crossbearing. Even if the situation which caused Mark to emphasize this theme as strongly as he does is uncertain, the emphasis is nonetheless quite clear.

**D. The Limitations of Redaction Criticism**

The goals and aims of redaction criticism must always be kept in mind. They are in fact quite limited. Redaction criticism is not concerned with the total theology of the biblical writers. A Markan redaction criticism is not concerned with all that Mark believed about God, the authority of the OT, the canon, eschatology, angels, etc. Rather, it is concerned with Mark's unique theological contribution to the gospel traditions he used and his ultimate purpose in writing his gospel. As a result of this emphasis upon the unique element of the Evangelists' writings, there has resulted a strong interest in the "diversity" of the Gospels and a corresponding loss of interest in their "unity." If one mistakenly equates these unique theological emphases with the theology of the Evangelists, this problem is further aggravated. Seen in their totality, the theology of the Evangelists possesses a great unity. This is witnessed to by the fact that the early Church incorporated the Evangelists' work side by side into their canon. Placed alongside such works as the Quran, the Vedas, the Tipitaka, the Sayings of Confucius, and the Avesta, the Gospels have a tremendous unity. The aim of redaction criticism—which seeks to understand the unique contribution of each Evangelist to the gospel traditions and the *Sitz im Leben* out of which they wrote—is clearly focused upon the "diversity" of these works. The legitimacy of such investigation is undeniable, but it is clearly erroneous to assume that the redactional emphases of the individual Evangelists represent their total theology or to lose sight of their "unity."

**E. The Value of Redaction Criticism**

Redaction criticism has brought a number of important insights into the study of the NT texts. With regard to the gospels, these insights have shown us that the Evangelists were not mere collectors of the traditions but interpreters of them. As a result, the gospels can and should be studied as wholes in light of the situation of each author. This does not mean that the study of the gospels for the purpose of learning about the *Sitz im Leben* of Jesus or the early Church is illegitimate. It means rather that any study of the gospels is incomplete if it does not take into consideration the unique theological contributions of the Evangelists. Only if redaction criticism is included in the study of the gospels will we be dealing with the total history of the gospel traditions. Another contribution of redaction criticism is that it focuses the attention of the exegete upon the actual meaning of the text. Whereas form criticism and the quest for the historical Jesus used the gospels as sources for their investigations, redaction criticism is concerned with

what each author sought to teach and proclaim by his writings. Redaction criticism is therefore concerned with investigating the final canonical product for its own sake, and not simply as a means of gaining historical information about the historical Jesus or the early Church. Redaction criticism sees the meaning of the present canonical text as the final goal of its investigation.

Another value of redaction criticism that can be mentioned is the hermeneutical insight that is gained from such an investigation. By observing how the Evangelists used their sources, we are assisted both in interpreting difficult texts and in grasping their significance for today. An example of the former is seen in Luke 14:26, where Jesus states that to follow him one must "hate" his father, mother, wife, children, brothers, and sisters. By observing the parallel in Matt 10:37, we understand that the Evangelist knew that "hating" was an idiomatic expression for "loving less." Thus, his redactional work enables us to understand better what Luke 14:26 means. With regard to the application of biblical texts, we might refer here to the famous "exception clause" found in Matt 5:32 and 19:9. It is clear that the Matthean sources (Mark and Q) lacked this exception clause. This is also true of the Pauline version of the saying in 1 Cor 7:10–11. By his addition of this exception clause, Matthew reveals that he did not understand Jesus' teaching on divorce as a legal prescription to cover all circumstances but rather as an example of Jesus' use of overstatement. This Matthew clarified for his readers by his addition of the exception clause. How one evaluates this interpretative comment will, of course, vary, but by his redactional activity Matthew reveals his interpretation of this dominical teaching for his reader.

The final contribution of redaction criticism which will be mentioned involves the Synoptic Problem. In seeking to understand the literary relationship which exists between Matthew, Mark, and Luke, redaction criticism has demonstrated that the redactional work of Matthew and Luke can be easily understood if both Evangelists used Mark as their source. On the other hand, the redactional work of Mark and Luke cannot be understood on the basis of their having used Matthew. One of the strongest arguments today for the priority of Mark lies in the success of redactional critical studies based upon this presupposition. Future discussion of the Synoptic Problem will no doubt involve more such redactional investigation.

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ROBERT H. STEIN

**REDEMPTION.** This entry examines how the notion of redemption is articulated in OT and NT texts.

## *OLD TESTAMENT*

The word "redemption" is the accepted translation of the literal derivative of two Heb roots, *gʾl* and *pdh.* In context, it may have particular nuances. It is also a prophetic, eschatological concept. In the Hebrew Bible, God's interrelationship with nature, humanity, and especially Israel is expressed in metaphors drawn from observable natural and social phenomena (including politics, family, law, etc.). For example, the God-Israel relationship is variously depicted as analogous to that of a king-subject, of a father-son, of a husband-wife, etc. Likewise, the theological dimension of the redeemer-redeemed relationship is also built upon a social and legal foundation.

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A. Literal Meaning: Sociolegal Redemption
   1. Land and Houses
   2. Indentured Servants
   3. Cultic Offerings
   4. The Firstborn
   5. The Wife of a Deceased Relative—*gʾl*
   6. The Owner of a Goring Ox
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   9. Summary
B. Metaphorical Meaning: The God-Israel Relationship
   1. Redeeming Individuals or Groups from Adversity
   2. Redeeming Israel from Slavery in Egypt
   3. Future Redemption from Destruction and/or Exile
   4. Conclusions
C. Conceptual Meaning: The Eschatological Age of Redemption
   1. Characteristics of the Age
   2. Role of Repentance


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### A. Literal Meaning: Sociolegal Redemption

In sociolegal contexts, redemption generally refers to the rescue of an individual from a difficult obligation by means of a monetary payment.

**1. Land and Houses.** Physical property such as land and houses could also be reclaimed through monetary payment. The Israelites were considered tenants on God's land, with the right to produce. Therefore, transfer of property always reverted to the original tenant or his heirs at the jubilee (Lev 25:8–23). If an impoverished Israelite (termed "brother" in Leviticus 25) was forced to sell his land to raise cash, his near redeemer (i.e., kinsman) was supposed to redeem it (v 25, Heb *gʾl*). If the Israelite did not have a redeemer, but had subsequently gained enough wealth, then of course he himself could redeem it (vv 26–27); otherwise, the land would automatically return to him at the jubilee year (v 28). In contrast, Eshnunna #39 states that a man only had the right to redeem his house when the purchaser wished to sell it.

A house in a walled city was not considered "land." If not redeemed within a year, it became the buyer's permanent property (vv 29–30). However, houses outside of walled cities were considered to be redeemable as fields (v 31). Only houses in Levitical cities were always redeemable by the Levites (vv 32–33). Levites were never permitted to sell their land to non-Levites (v 34).

By implication, perhaps, one could sell land in perpetuity to one's own relative. Accordingly, Jeremiah, a priest (and therefore, a Levite), was able to buy the fields of his first cousin Hanamel in the extended family territory of Anathoth (Jer 32:6–15). Jeremiah had the right of redeemer and heir (vv 7–8; cf. Ezek 11:15). Similarly, Boaz was one of Naomi's relatives and redeemers (Ruth 2:20); however, a nearer redeemer-kinsman existed whose claim therefore took precedence over his (3:12–13). Only when that redeemer surrendered his right was Boaz permitted to buy Naomi's land (4:1–9).

It is interesting that if a person was defrauded and then died, the criminal would be required to pay the *ʾāšām* ("guilt") penalty to the *gōʾēl* of the deceased. If there was no redeemer, then the penalty would be paid to the sanctuary (Num 5:8).

**2. Indentured Servants.** Also, persons could be rescued from servitude by a monetary payment. An impoverished Israelite (again, "brother") who was forced to sell himself into indentured servitude to a resident alien had the same rights of redemption (*gʾl*) as existed with relationship to land. Indentured servitude was not slavery—the resident alien was not allowed to oppress the indentured Israelite (v 53). Israelites could not serve in perpetuity since they were ultimately God's servants whom He had removed from Egypt (v 55). Verses 48–49 indicate that the obligation of redeemer devolved upon the nearest relative.

In the case of a daughter sold to an Israelite as a maidservant/concubine, her master had to permit her to be redeemed (Heb *pdh*) if he was not pleased with her (Exod 21:8; cf. Lev 19:20; for a somewhat similar situation, cf. Hammurabi #119). In Ps 49:8 (—Eng 49:7) notes the refusal of a man to redeem (*pdh*) his brother; perhaps a lamentable reference to those who had the financial means (vv 7, 11, 12) but not the moral inclination to ransom their relatives from servitude.

**3. Cultic Offerings.** A cultic offering could be reclaimed by substituting a monetary payment. The offering of an unclean animal (Lev 27:9–13, 27), a house (vv 14–15), a field (vv 16–25), and a tithe of the land (vv 30–31) was redeemable by the owner at full monetary value plus 20 percent. Perhaps the case of Jonathan, who was unaware that he was disobeying his father's oath (1 Sam 14:27), is similar. The people redeemed (*pdh*) him (i.e., rescued him) from the death penalty (v 45). In Leviticus 27, redemption (i.e., substitution) of a tithe of animals (vv 32–33) or of a banned object or person was forbidden (vv 28–29).

**4. The Firstborn.** In commemoration of the tenth plague, all firstborn were sanctified, subject to being sacrificed to God (Exod 13:15). However, under prescribed circumstances, substitutions could be made. Firstborn asses (as unclean animals) were to be redeemed (*pdh*) by sheep (13:13; 34:20; Num 18:15), but the firstborn of unclean animals could not be redeemed (Num 18:17). At the age of one month, all firstborn male Israelites were to be redeemed (*pdh*) by five shekels (vv 15–16; cf. 3:46–51), apparently by the father (Exod 13:13, 15).

**5. The Wife of a Deceased Relative—*gʾl*.** In an incident with similarities to the law of levirate marriage (Deut 25:5–10) and related to the redemption of land, the book of Ruth assumes that a near kinsman-redeemer was supposed "to raise up the name of the deceased upon his property" by legally acquiring "the wife of the deceased" (Ruth 4:5, 10, with Deut 25:5–6) and siring children who would inherit the property of the deceased. When the near kinsman refused, he signaled this by removing his sandal (Ruth 4:7–8 with Deut 25:9). However, it may also be that the episode in Ruth is connected to the case in Exod 21:8 (*pdh*) of the daughter sold as a maidservant/concubine. In both Exod 21:7–8 and Ruth 3:9 the term *ʾmh* is used. Thus, when Boaz called Ruth "my daughter" in 3:10–11, he may have been saying that "I am adopting you as my daughter, and I will redeem you as one redeems his daughter from servitude." Another perhaps more remote possibility is that Boaz may have been protecting the widow Ruth in consonance with the law in Deut 24:17–18, which emphasizes God's redemption (*pdh*) of Israel from Egypt (see below).

**6. The Owner of a Goring Ox.** When an ox with a reputation for goring killed a person, its owner was subject to the death penalty. However, the owner was permitted to redeem (*pdh*) himself from the death penalty if a "ransom (*kpr*) is laid upon him" to be given to the deceased's next of kin (Exod 21:29–30). This law may be related to that of the "blood redeemer" below.

**7. The Blood Redeemer.** The blood redeemer (*gōʾēl haddām*) was the closest male relative of a murdered person, as is indicated by the stories of Gideon's killing of his brothers' slayers (Judg 8:18–21; cf. 1 Kgs 16:11); of Joab's killing of Abner, his brother's slayer (2 Sam 3:27); and of Absalom's killing of Amnon, his sister's rapist (2 Sam 13:28–29). In her parable of Absalom's act, the wise woman of Tekoa specifically used the term "blood redeemer" (Heb *gōʾēl haddām;* 2 Sam 14:11). The case of Absalom is important, since it illustrates broadened parameters of the blood redeemer, who avenged not just murder but severe harm (in this case, rape) inflicted upon a close relative.

In the case of a homicide (Num 35:12–28; Deut 19:4–6, 11–13; Joshua 20; 2 Sam 14:11), the victim's blood redeemer was responsible for putting to death the person who had committed premeditated murder (Num 35:19); the murderer was handed over to the blood redeemer by the elders of his city (Deut 19:12). The accidental murderer found safety in the designated cities of refuge (Num 35:12–15, 22–25; Josh 20:4–6). However, if the blood redeemer killed the accidental murderer before he could reach a city of refuge, or after the accidental murderer had left the city of refuge prior to the death of the high priest, the blood redeemer was guiltless (Num 35:26–28; Deut 19:5–6). In contrast, the Middle Assyrian Laws (A10, B2) proclaimed that the "owner of the life" (parallel to the biblical "blood redeemer") could take compensation in lieu of execution.

**8. Ransom.** Although not strictly understood as redemption, the Heb root *kpr* ("ransom") is equated to *pdh* in Exod 21:29–30 (see above); thus, "redemption" and "ransom" are not unrelated concepts. The severity and extreme economic cost of ransom, which would at least on occasion be the ransom for a life, is attested by Prov 13:8, "The ransom of a man's life (*kpr npš*) is his wealth" (*EncMiqr* 4: 231–33; cf. Hammurabi #32). The inability to ransom life from the death penalty is reflected in the laws of (a) the murderer, "Do not take ransom for the life of the murderer" (Num 35:31); (b) the blood redeemer, "Do not take ransom from him who has fled to his city of refuge" (v 32); and (c) in the wisdom statement on the husband's reaction to his wife's adulterer, "He will not accept any ransom" (Prov 6:35, see vv 32–34). Of course, there is no ransom which can avert God's decree (Ps 49:8–9—note the connection to *pdh;* Job 36:18), although God can redeem from death (Job 33:24). "Ransom" is paralleled to judicial bribery (*šḥd*) in 1 Sam 12:8 and Amos 5:12. It may be to the latter text that Prov 21:18 relates, "the wicked is the ransom for the righteous." The purpose of the half-shekel ransom given by each adult Israelite in Exod 30:12 was to save their lives from a divinely sent plague (cf. the plague caused by David's census in 2 Samuel 24).

**9. Summary.** The *gō'ēl* ("redeemer") was always the nearest adult male relative, responsible for the economic well-being of his kin, inasmuch as the latter lacked sufficient means to redeem his own property. As blood redeemer, the *gō'ēl* avenged murder and, by extension, all severe harm inflicted upon a relative. The passages in Exod 21:8 and Ps 49:8, and the redemption of the firstborn son in Exod 13:13, 15, all indicate that *pdh* is also used primarily in reference to a near male relative (usually the father), or to one's redemption of one's own property (such as firstborn unclean animals). The one exception is the case of Jonathan, who was redeemed from the death penalty by the people. However, it may be argued that the relationship of a people to their prince-leader is here modeled on the familial context. Unlike *g'l*, which can take an inanimate object, the object of *pdh* is always an animal or human (*TDNT* 4:328–35). Concerning ransom (*kpr*), one usually paid it to rescue oneself from an extreme penalty.

**B. Metaphorical Meaning: The God-Israel Relationship**

**1. Redeeming Individuals or Groups from Adversity.** The concept that God was the ultimate redeemer-rescuer of the individual and of the collective body from adversity was deeply entrenched in Israelite thought already during the preexilic period. Jacob's blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen 48:16) provides a good illustration in its reference to "the angel who redeemed (*gō'ēl*) me from all evil" (cf. Isa 29:22, "The Lord who redeemed [*pdh*] Abraham"). God redeems (*pdh*) from unspecified "troubles" (Heb *ṣrh*, 2 Sam 4:9; 1 Kgs 1:29; Ps 25:22).

Specifically, people prayed to God concerning redemption from (a) enemies (*pdh*: Ps 31:5–6 [—Eng 4–5]; 44:27 [—Eng 26]; cf. v 11 [—Eng 10]; 55:19 [—Eng 18]; *g'l* parallel with *pdh*: 69:19; *g'l*: 107:2; Job 19:25); (b) the wicked (*pdh*: Ps 26:11; cf. vv 4–10; 34:22–23 [—Eng 21–22]); (c) oppressors (*pdh*: Jer 15:21; Ps 119:134; Job 6:23); (d) death (*pdh*: Ps 49:16 [—Eng 15]; Job 5:20; 33:28; cf. v 24, where *kpr* is paralleled probably to the root *pdh*; *g'l*: Ps 103:4); and (e) punishment for sin (*pdh*: Ps 130:7–8).

Furthermore, God redeems (*g'l*) by prosecuting (Heb *ryb*) enemies (Ps 119:154; Lam 3:58) and those who would steal land and orphans' fields (Prov 23:10–11). Similarly, in Psalm 72, the ideal king, appointed by God and recipient of divine righteousness (vv 1–2), will redeem (*g'l*) the lives of the poor and needy for their oppressors (vv 12–14; cf. Deut 24:17–18; see below).

**2. Redeeming Israel from Slavery in Egypt.** The archetypical act of divine redemption was God's saving of Israel from Egyptian bondage. In Exodus, God redeems (*gʾl*) the Israelites from the suffering of Egypt and saves (*nṣl*) them from slavery (6:6) in order to make them His people (v 7) and to bring them to the promised land. In the Song of the Sea, the redeemed (*gʾl*) people are led to God's pasture (Exod 15:13).

In Deuteronomy, *pdh* is always used to indicate redemption from Egypt. The context of 7:8, 9:26, and 13:6 is opposition to idolatry. In 15:5, 21:8, and 24:18, the rescue from Egypt is mentioned in contrast to inhumane behavior. Deut 9:26 and 21:8 are parts of petitions to God to forgive the people, while the other four occurrences are motivations for obedience to the associated laws.

Outside of Exodus, the only place in which *gʾl* is used in reference to the redemption from Egypt is in Psalms. Ps 74:2 ("Remember your community which you acquired long ago, the tribe of your inheritance which you redeemed, Mount Zion, where you dwell") is a call for God to defeat Israel's destroyers as in days of old. Verse 2 probably hearkens back to Exod 15:13, 16–17. Ps 77:16 ("you redeemed your people by your arm") is in the midst of a passage recounting God's mighty acts (vv 12–21). Psalm 78 is a history from Egypt to David; in v 35 God, the *gōʾēl*, is paralleled to "rock," and in v 42, God is said to have redeemed (*pdh*) Israel from Egypt, described as the "enemy." Finally, Ps 106:10, again part of a history, parallels *gʾl* with "save" (*yšʿ*) and refers to the Egyptians as "hating" and "enemy."

Aside from Ps 78:42, *pdh* in the Psalms refers to redemption from Egypt only in Ps 111:9 where it parallels the covenant. *Pdh* in 2 Sam 7:23 (= 1 Chr 17:21) is Deuteronomistic. Mic 6:4 reminds Israel of the redemption from slavery as part of a rebuke; *pdh* is paralleled to *ʿlh*, God's "bringing up" Israel out of Egypt. Finally, in Neh 1:10, Nehemiah mentions the redemption from Egypt in order to beseech God's mercies to permit the return to Zion (vv 4–12); the verse emphasizes Israel as God's people and "servant."

**3. Future Redemption from Destruction and/or Exile.** The beliefs that God had redeemed Israel from Egypt, and that God had redeemed and would continue to redeem the individual and the group from present distress, were succeeded by the faith that God would redeem Israel from exile at the "end of days." All eight eschatological uses of *pdh* and, with the exception of Ps 107:2, all twenty-eight such uses of *gʾl* (24 of which appear in later portions of Isaiah) occur in prophecy (as is the case with the one such use of *kpr*).

The earliest prophetic intimation of eschatological usages of *pdh* and *gʾl* occur in Hosea. In Hos 7:13, *pdh* indicates God's readiness to redeem the northern Israelites from the destruction that awaits them due to their idolatry (vv 1, 4). Similarly, in Hos 13:14, God would redeem (*pdh* paralleling *gʾl*) Ephraim from death, except for the obstinacy of Ephraim's idolatry (vv 1, 2, 9, 12). In Isa 1:27, the redemption (*pdh*) of Zion from its sinful state will take place through justice and righteousness, i.e., the death of the sinners (v 28; cf. Prov 21:18) and the institution of a just leadership (v 26). The eschatological use of *gʾl* as "return from exile" first appears in Mic 4:10. *Pdh* and *gʾl* are used together in this sense in Jer 31:11 (from one of Jeremiah's prophecies of redemption to Judah). However, Jer 50:34, in which *gʾl* appears, is inauthentic and late exilic (Unterman 1987: 149). The first half of v 34 is nearly identical to Prov 23:11, pointing perhaps to the roots of God's redemption of Israel here in God's care for the unprotected in society.

The exilic and postexilic portions of Isaiah, focusing as they do on the concept of redemption, house the vast majority of the eschatological usages of *gʾl* and *pdh,* and the one such occurrence of *kpr* (43:3, in reference to the redemption of Israel from Egypt). In truth, Isaiah 34–35 and 40–66 draw upon many different themes and images which attached themselves to *gʾl* and *pdh* (and to the general concept of redemption) over the course of time. Some of these elements, such as creation and Israel as God's servant, are distinctive to this collection (Stuhlmueller 1970). These themes and images interweave, overlap, and defy separation—sure testimony to the ability of the author's mind to contain simultaneously a multitude of related images concerning the idea of redemption. Thus, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to isolate in this material specific sociolegal roots for the various usages of both *gʾl* (35:9; 41:14; 43:1, 14; 44:6, 22–24; 47:4; 48:17, 20; 49:7, 26; 51:10; 52:3, 9; 54:5, 8; 59:20; 60:16; 62:12; 63:4, 9, 16) and *pdh* (35:10 = 51:11; 50:2).

Some of these themes and images which play significant roles and occur with some frequency are (a) God/parent–Israel/child (Isa 43:1, 6; 44:24; 49:15; 63:16; 64:7; 66:9, 13); (b) God/master–Israel/servant (41:14; 43:10; 44:21; 48:20; 49:3, 5); (c) God/husband–Israel/wife (50:1; 54:5–8; 62:5); (d) God as a furious, vengeful warrior (often with *nqm*) on behalf of Israel (34:1–8; 40:10; 42:13–15; 49:25–26; 51:9; 59:16–20; 62:1–5; 66:15–16); (e) Israel as God's chosen (*bḥr;* 41:8–9; 43:10; 44:1–2; 48:10; 49:7); (f) the new Exodus (35; 40:3; 42:16; 43:2–3, 16, 19; 48:21; 49:9–12; 51:10–11; 52:12); (g) God's saving Israel (primarily, *ys‹*; 35:4; 43:3, 11, 12, 13; 44:17; 45:8, 15, 17, 21, 22; 46:13; 47:3; 49:8, 25, 26; 50:2; 51:5, 6, 8; 52:7, 10; 59:1, 11, 16, 17; 60:16, 18; 62:1, 11; 63:1, 5, 8, 9); (h) God caring for His poor and needy people (41:17; 49:13; 51:21; 54:11; 58:7; 66:2); (i) God comforting (*nḥm*) Israel (40:1; 49:13; 51:3, 12, 19; 52:9; 54:11; 61:2; 66:13), having mercy (*rḥm*) upon them (49:10, 15; 54:7, 8, 10; 60:10; 63:7, 15), and loving (*›hb*) them (41:8; 43:4; 63:9); and (j) God prosecuting (*ryb*) Israel's enemies (41:11, 21; 49:25; 50:8; 51:22) and helping (*‹zr*) Israel (41:10, 13, 14; 44:2; 49:8; 50:7, 9), so that Israel need not fear (*l› tyr›*; 35:4; 41:10, 13, 14; 43:1, 5; 44:2; 51:7; 54:4, 14).

The latest prophetic eschatological use of *pdh* is in Zech 10:8—return from Exile. The same meaning appears in Ps 107:2.

**4. Conclusions.** As time passed, the usages of the roots *g›l* and *pdh* as verbs and objects (in reference to the Israelites) became theologically synonymous, so that *g›l* and *pdh* are parallels in Hos 13:14; Isa 35:9–10 (cf. 51:10–11); Jer 31:11; and Ps 69:19. These parallels indicate that lines of distinction between the meanings of the two roots had become blurred in the thinking about God's relationship with Israel. Yet, certain facets of the social and legal roots remained.

(1) The *gō›ēl* was still always the nearest adult male kinsman with the right and the ability of redemption. Thus, God as *gō›ēl* at the very least points to God's close relationship to Israel, probably as father (Isa 63:16) or husband (Isa 54:5–8).

(2) It should be remembered that the enslavement of Israel by Egypt and other oppressions are not comparable to the indentured servitude of Leviticus 25 (vv 3, 53; cf. Deut 15:12–15). In the case of the indentured servant, the redeemer has no animosity toward the temporary master of his kinsman, but rather has the duty to pay off his kinsman's debt or hire (Israel's redemption "without money" from unnecessary enslavement in Isa 52:3 may be in conscious opposition to the circumstances of Leviticus 25; cf. Isa 50:1). Thus, the conditions of Leviticus 25 are not mirrored in the concept of redemption from Exile.

(3) It seems obvious that the divine redemption from Egyptian slavery in order to bring Israel to Canaan became the model for the return from the Babylonian Exile (Jer 16:14–15 = 23:7–8). The most plausible sociolegal root for God's redemption of Israel, whether from Egyptian slavery, Babylonian Exile, or anonymous oppressors and enemies, is the law of the blood redeemer. The *gō›ēl haddām* comes with a sword (Num 35:19, 21) and fury (Deut 19:6) to avenge his beloved relative, a portrait which is similar to the depiction of God as the redeeming, vengeful warrior in Isaiah (e.g., 49:25–26; 51:9–11; 59:16–20).

(4) All sociolegal cases of *g›l*, with the exception of cultic offerings, concern an impoverished Israelite (Leviticus 25) or one who is severely abused (requiring the intervention of the *gō›ēl haddām*). It is a logical step to include all the deprived members of society. Thus, it is not surprising that God is portrayed as the redeemer of the oppressed, the widow, the stranger, and the poor (Deut 24:17–18; Ps 72:12–14; Prov 23:10–11).

(5) Ultimately, the association of God's redemption with rescue and mercy gives the individual hope that God will redeem one from punishment for sin (Hos 7:13; Isa 44:22; Ps 130:7–8), and even from death (Hos 13:14; Ps 49:16; 103:4; Job 5:20; 33:28).

**C. Conceptual Meaning: The Eschatological Age of Redemption**

**1. Characteristics of the Age.** The Hebrew prophets understood destruction and exile as divine punishment for Israel's obstinate, rebellious sins. However, God's love for Israel would eventually compel Him to bring about the age of redemption, which included certain minimal components (cf. *EncMiqr* 2: 388–91): (a) the entire people would be gathered from all the lands of exile in a new exodus which would return them to the land of Israel (e.g., Jer 30:3); (b) once in the promised land, the people would enjoy miraculous agricultural harvests (e.g., Amos 9:13) and increased flocks (e.g., Jer 31:28); (c)

the people would dwell securely (e.g., Amos 9:15; Ezek 37:25) and would increase (e.g., Jer 31:27); (d) the Davidic monarchy would be restored (e.g., Amos 9:11; Ezek 37:24) and under just rulers (e.g., Isa 11:1–5; Jer 23:4–5); (e) the cult and priesthood would be reconstituted (Jer 33:18; Zech 3); and (f) all Israel would obey God's Torah—an exilic idea (Jer 31:34; Ezek 36:27).

**2. Role of Repentance.** Lev 26:40–41 (a confession), Deut 4:29–31, and Deut 30:1–10 all presuppose repentance as a condition for redemption. However, the prophets differed on the significance of Israel's repentance in the redemption process (Unterman 1987).

Amos, the first prophet to predict national destruction and exile, regarded redemption in the context that the sinners would die, leaving a righteous remnant (9:8–10). In this scheme of redemption, repentance is superfluous. Hosea, however, vacillated between prophesying a redemption dependent upon repentance (3:5; 14:2–9) and one that was not (2:16–25; 11:8–11). Sometimes Hosea seems to have felt that Israel did not deserve the benefits of God's love unless it repented, and sometimes it seems that God's love simply overwhelmed His senses. Hosea, more so than Amos, was the first prophet to live on the edge of national disaster. Thus, the need to relate repentance and redemption was more critical with him than with Amos, especially since, unlike Amos, Hosea conceived of no innocent remnant. With no prophetic models to follow, and given the tempestuous times in which he lived and how they must have played upon his psyche, it is not surprising that Hosea's views of the redemptive process fluctuated. It appears that First Isaiah viewed repentance as a prerequisite for redemption (Milgrom 1964: 169).

Jeremiah's thoughts on the relationship of repentance to redemption progress through three stages. First, during Josiah's reign, the young Jeremiah believed that Israel's repentance and God's mercy were the determining conditions for redemption (3:6–13; 3:19–4:2; 31:2–9, 15–22). Second, between 597 and 587 B.C.E., in prophecies of redemption to the Jehoiachin exiles, a subtle shift occurred as the element of divine mercy outweighed that of human repentance (24:4–7; 29:10–14). Jeremiah had begun to despair of the people's ability to return to God of their own accord. Finally, at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, the aged prophet abandoned the principle of free will and the attendant demand for repentance. On the basis of his tragic experience, yet consumed by his belief in God's eternal love of Israel, Jeremiah concluded that redemption would be solely the work of God, as permanent as creation itself (31:27–37; 32:37–41; 33:1–26; 50:17–20).

Ezekiel never prophesied that repentance was the determinant of national redemption. In 11:17–20 (date 592? cf. 8:1), God promises repentance as part of the redemptive process, reminiscent of Jeremiah's second stage. In later prophecies (chaps. 36–37), much like his model Jeremiah, Ezekiel did not mention repentance. Rather, he said that God would redeem Israel for His name's sake (36:21–23).

The only clear call for repentance in exilic Isaiah is in 44:22c, which is mitigated by the surrounding verses. The main theme in Isaiah 40–54 is unconditional redemption due to God's mercies. The call to repentance in 55:6–7 may refer to individual, not national, redemption, or it may be spurred by the immediacy of the return under Cyrus. In chaps. 56–66, postexilic Isaiah clearly states that God will redeem the repentant (59:20; see also 56:1–2; 58:1–14; 59:9–13; 64:4–6). It appears that the return to the land, presumed in Isaiah 56–66, rejuvenated the old preexilic concept of obedience to God in order to ensure national success.

If Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Isaiah 40–66 are taken as forming a continuous line from the latter part of the 7th century B.C.E. to the latter part of the 6th, a pattern emerges. As long as destruction had not overtaken Judah, prophecies of redemption still contained the precondition of repentance (dovetailing with the standard prophetic calls for repentance to avoid divine punishment). However, once Jerusalem has been destroyed and the full Exile is under way, redemption is seen as totally dependent upon God's beneficence. It appears that the effect of the cruelty of destruction and the harshness of exile served in large measure to wipe out the need for repentance (e.g., Jer 30:5–17; Isa 47:6). The manifestation of the punishment is a motivation for divine forgiveness and purification of the people. In the exilic situation, the very demand to repent in order to effect national redemption might have been more than the people could have borne.

With the Persian defeat of Babylon and the advent of the actual restoration to the land, the requirement of repentance begins to reappear. Finally, with the people again in their homeland, the demand to return to God regains its preexilic prominence.

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## *NEW TESTAMENT*

In the NT, the notion of redemption carries two meanings. First, it is regarded as the work of God in delivering His people from spiritual bondage unto Himself, usually said to be at the expense of Christ's death. Second, it is also associated with the eschatological deliverance and resurrection of God's people at the Parousia of Christ.

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A. Terminology of Redemption
B. Conceptual Background
C. Redemption and Salvation
D. Eschatological Redemption
E. "Redeem the Time"
F. The Doctrine of Redemption in History

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### A. Terminology of Redemption

There are two word groups which are commonly used to speak of redemption in the NT. Warfield has done a close study of the vocabulary involved (1929: 328–41). It is not possible to assign any particular word to the domain of one author; both word groups are popularly used throughout the literature.

*Agorazō* is the common word for "to buy" (see Matt 13:44); "to buy" or "to redeem" may also denote the act of redemption (1 Cor 6:20). The compounded form *exagorazō* was taken by Chrysostom with its full etymological force—"to buy away from." This has been taken to unwarranted lengths by those who define the verb, itself, as "to buy out of the agora, never to return." Its etymological roots seem not to have affected its meaning, although in context "redeem" usually implies that God redeems people away from something (Morris 1965: 40).

The other word group, popular in the LXX, is represented by *lytroō* ("to redeem," Titus 2:14; always in the middle or passive in the NT). Its cognates are *lytron* ("ransom," only in Mark 10:45 = Matt 20:28), *antilytron* ("ransom," only in 1 Tim 2:6), *lytrōsis* ("redemption," Heb 9:12), and the popular NT word *apolytrōsis* ("redemption," Rom 3:24). In his commentary on Romans (col. 531), Chrysostom wished to invest *apolytrōsis* with an intensive force based on the compounding of *apo* ("away from") with *lytrōsis.* This led him to conclude that the "redemption of the body" in Rom 8:23 was not merely *lytrōsis*,but being redeemed never to return to the original captivity. The actual use in the NT does not indicate that *apolytrōsis* in itself is an intensive form.

In the OT, redemption normally implies redeeming at a price, although there are exceptions (Marshall 1974: 153 n.1; Murray 1955: 41–42). At times it means generally "to deliver." Leon Morris, therefore, goes a bit too far when he says that OT redemption always comes at a price, even if it is merely the cost of Yahweh's power (Morris 1964: 24). There is no price of redemption in Isa 52:3—"You were sold for nothing, and you shall be redeemed (*lytroō*) without money." The NT writers often used the rare word *apolytrōsis*,which in extant literature almost always signified "obtaining release by payment of ransom" (Morris 1964: 41); an exception is Dan 4:34 LXX.

### B. Conceptual Background

The language of redemption was, for the original readers of the NT, familiar and evocative.

The LXX undoubtedly has the weightiest influence on the NT concept of redemption (Warfield 1929: 341–52). *Apolytrōsis*,which is used ten times in the NT, is used only in Dan 4:34 to mean "release." But *lytron* was payment which served as a substitute for a person's life (*TDNT* 4:329). The cognate verb *lytroō* translated the two Hebrew verbs for redemption, *gā'al* and *pādâ.* The firstborn was to be redeemed from God by sacrifice (Exod 13:11–16). Family property which had been sold could be redeemed by a near relative (Lev 25:25–34), as could people sold into bondage (Lev 24:47–55). In Exod 15:13, *lytroō* denotes the epitome of God's redemptive work was in the Exodus—"Thou hast led in thy steadfast love the people whom thou hast redeemed" (see also Exod 6:6; Deut 9:26; Neh 1:10). As Warfield notes, "Here there is at least no emphasis placed on the deliverance being in mode a ransoming. The stress is thrown rather on the power exerted in it and the mind is focused on the mightiness of the transaction" (1929: 345). It is "redemption by price and power" (Murray 1955: 78).

The Jews also foresaw that God would redeem them in the future. Isa 52:3 speaks of liberation by the mighty power of God; such hopes also find expression in Luke 24:21—"But we had hoped that he was the one to redeem Israel."

David Hill has suggested that martyr theology has directly affected Paul's theology (1967: 41–48). In *4 Macc.* 17:21, it is speculated that the Jewish martyrs acted as a "ransom" for the whole nation and thus brought about divine deliverance. But this parallel is too remote to serve as the matrix of the whole NT doctrine.

On the other hand, the social background of slave redemption provides a useful key to understanding the NT imagery. The practice of manumission—buying slaves in order to give them their freedom—was extremely widespread. Deissmann (1927: 318–20) went further to locate redemption in the practice of sacral manumission—the emancipation of slaves by a deity. He maintained that Paul drew from that background to contextualize redemption for a Hellenistic audience. A slave would save his earnings and remit to the temple the price of his freedom. The slave owner would then take the slave to that temple, whereupon the "god" would redeem the slave and give him his freedom (although it should be noted that the NT vocabulary of redemption never appears in such transactions; see Lyonnet and Sabourin 1970: 108). The freedman was then the "slave" or devotee of the god. In the record of the transaction the slave was said to have been bought "with a price" (cf. 1 Cor 6:20; 7:23) and given "liberty" (Gal 5:13). Many times, warnings and penalties were attached to the record in the event that the slave was brought again into bondage (Gal 2:4; 5:1).

Deissmann's approach has been criticized by Lyonnet and Sabourin (1970: 107), who claim that the differences between redemption and manumission are more striking than the similarities. We may conclude that if divine manumission was the particular background for some of Paul's teaching on redemption (notably in 1 Corinthians 7), then modifications have been made: God's role in the purchase is active, not symbolic; the "slave" has nothing to contribute to his release; the attachment of the freedman to God is real. Crawford's caution on rooting the NT picture strictly in sacral manumission is against "attempting to trace in the work of Christ an exact conformity to everything that is done in human acts of redemption" (1954: 62).

It is clear that the NT writers used imagery both from the Exodus and from the redemption of slaves (Lyonnet and Sabourin 1970: 110–12). Exodus imagery predominates in Col 1:14; 1 Pet 1:18–19; and Rev 5:9 and 14:3–4. On the other hand, the picture of the redemption of slaves underlies 1 Cor 6:20; 7:23; and Gal 4:5.

This is not to say that there are two or more kinds of redemption in the NT; but the authors were free to choose from two images of liberation to describe the saving action of God in Christ.

**C. Redemption and Salvation**

Morris (1965) rightly perceives that "redemption" was much more narrowly defined in the 1st century than it is today. While moderns may speak of redemption as a metaphor for the entire saving act, the NT writers used it precisely in the context of well-known social customs.

The first reference to the redemption of the cross is also the most controversial: "For the Son of man also came … to give his life as a ransom (*lytron*) for many" (Mark 10:45 = Matt 20:28). The

commentaries attest the difficulties that NT scholars have had in attributing this saying to Jesus: it is omitted in the Lukan account, it contains a *hapax legomenon,* it may be based on the *antilytron* saying in 1 Tim 2:6, and it attributes atoning merit to Jesus' death. Marshall (1974: 168–69), on the other hand, cites several arguments to demonstrate its primitive origin, and perhaps its authenticity.

Paul's understanding of the death of Christ as redemption seems to come closest to the custom of manumission. The old man was a slave to a number of masters: sin (Rom 7:14; Titus 2:14), the Law (Gal 3:13; 4:1–7), death (Rom 8:21, 23), false gods (Gal 4:8–9), and Satan's kingdom (Col 1:13; also Heb 2:14–15). Under these deceitful masters, most slaves believed themselves to be truly free—in reality they walked within a limited circle of behavior, which in 1 Pet 1:18 is called "the futile ways inherited from your fathers."

The bare fact of Christ's instrumentality in redemption is brought up in 1 Cor 1:30: "Christ Jesus, whom God made our … redemption" and in Titus 2:14: "who gave himself for us to redeem us from all iniquity" (see also *Ep. Barn.* 14: 8). Normally, the cross is central to soteriological redemption. Thus, in Rom 3:24 Paul states that "they are justified by his grace as a gift, through the redemption (*apolytrōsis*) which is in Christ Jesus." While this redemption is not explicitly either "deliverance" or "ransom through Christ's blood," the context shows that justification is made possible through his substitutionary death.

The connection between redemption and the blood of Christ is developed in Colossians, Ephesians, and other non-Pauline literature. Col 1:14 says that the past liberation from the dominion of darkness is "redemption," which in part means "the forgiveness of sins." According to its parallel in Eph 1:7, "In him we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of trespasses." Col 1:14 does not contain the phrase "through his blood"; Eph 1:7 is best regarded as its expansion. Colossians certainly regards redemption as taking place in Christ's death, God "making peace by the blood of his cross" (Col 1:20).

According to the author of Hebrews, Christ "entered once for all into the Holy Place, taking … his own blood, thus securing an eternal redemption" (*lytrōsis;* Heb 9:12). The new covenant means release from legalism and sin: "… a death has occurred which redeems (*apolytrōsis*) them from the transgressions under the first covenant" (Heb 9:15). In 1 Pet 1:18–19, it is indicated that redemption is bought with the blood of Christ, who is compared to the Paschal lamb. Revelation also bases redemption in the blood of the Lamb (Rev 5:9; 14:3–4).

If the blood of Christ is the price of redemption, then to whom was the price paid? While the NT does not dwell on the details, it is implicit that Christ offered himself to God to atone for sin. According to Heb 9:12, Christ's work is typified by the priest, who takes the blood of atonement into the Holy Place. Rom 5:10 shows that it is God who must have sacrifice in order to allow people into his fellowship (Marshall 1974: 156). Modern abhorrence of the concept of divine wrath and reconciliation should not allow us to be blind to the NT understanding of Christ's death as atonement.

There are other passages which teach redemption but do not have either of the two word groups for redemption: Acts 20:28—"the church of the Lord which he obtained with his blood" (see also Gal 1:4; 2:20).

In the gospel, the slave is redeemed to serve another master. While Deissmann (1927) has pointed out that sacral manumission bound the freedman only in a loose allegiance to his god, the NT teaches that bondage to God is quite real and exists at one and the same time with Christian liberty (see Rom 6:18).

Bondage to God is more than service; Christian leaders are referred to not only as *diakonoi* but also as *douloi,* a word to which Deissmann (1927: 319) insists we give its full force. Note Paul's insistence on this point in 1 Cor 6:19–20: "You are not your own; you were bought (*agorazō*) with a price. So glorify God in your body."

Paul naturally has an interest in redemption from bondage to the Law, and this is why he tells the Galatians, "For freedom Christ has set us free; stand fast therefore, and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery" (Gal 5:1). But legalism is not the only threat to emancipation: "for you were called to freedom, brethren; only do not use your freedom as an opportunity for the flesh" (Gal 5:13).

Turning away from the freedom of redemption may lead one to false doctrine and abominable moral apostasy. 2 Peter says that Christians "may escape from the corruption that is in the world" (1:4); it

describes the false prophets who are "even denying the Master who bought (*agorazō*) them, bringing upon themselves swift destruction" (2:1).

Paul can also describe redemption as adoption. In Gal 4:1–7 he uses *exagorazō* and demonstrates that God has freed us from slavery to be adopted as full-grown children, and thus as heirs. Meanwhile, Revelation describes the redeemed as being freed to participate in God's royal priesthood: "for thou wast slain and by thy blood didst ransom men for God … and hast made them a kingdom and priests to our God, and they shall reign on earth" (Rev 5:9–10; also Rev 14:3–4).

**D. Eschatological Redemption**

The Jews often used *lytroō* to speak of the eschatological deliverance by God or the Messiah. In human history, Israel was delivered from servitude by human instruments; in the future, the people will be delivered by God alone, and undergo servitude no longer (*TDNT* 4:349–51). This thought appears several times in the NT, and once again the idea of a ransom price does not seem to be present. The final deliverance is analogous to the Exodus from Egypt, which was carried out without payment but through the power of God. Luke, in particular, favors this facet of redemption: "for he has visited and redeemed (*lytrōsis*) his people" (Luke 1:68). The same word appears in Luke 2:38, when Anna speaks "to all who were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem."

Only the Lukan version of Jesus' eschatological message shows a continuity with Jewish convention, in Luke 21:28: "look up and raise your heads, because your redemption (*apolytrōsis*) is drawing near."

Since Deissmann (1927) approached the NT doctrine through its Hellenistic background, he did not appreciate that there is an eschatological aspect of redemption. This side appears most clearly in Eph 4:30: "And do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God, in whom you were sealed for the day of redemption" (cf. Eph 1:13–14; see also *2 Clem* 17:4). Paul relates this eschatological redemption first to creation in Rom 8:21: "because the creation itself will be set free from its bondage to decay." This liberation will take place at the resurrection, otherwise known as "the redemption (*apolytrōsis* of our bodies" (Rom 8:23) and the "revealing of the sons of God" (Rom 8:19). Here, redemption seems to have the meaning of deliverance from mortal decay rather than of God paying a price to ransom our bodies.

**E. "Redeem the Time"**

Both Col 4:5 and Eph 5:16 contain the exhortation to redeem the time, using *exagorazō* to describe how Christians should live in this evil age. The opposite of redeeming time seems to be wasting time or letting all the good opportunities go to the devil. The RSV rendering, "making the most of the time," captures the sense of these verses.

**F. The Doctrine of Redemption in History**

One of the more extreme of ancient theological ideas is that God redeemed his people by paying Satan for their release. Advanced by Irenaeus and developed by Origen, the theory was that the devil possessed the human race by right, but was deceived by taking Christ as a ransom; Christ arose from the dead, thus redeeming the lost and escaping Satan's grasp (Lyonnet and Sabourin 1970: 207–11). This "Ransom to Satan" idea was enormously popular for centuries, but in the 11th century Anselm successfully laid it to rest in his *Cur Deus Homo.* Christian orthodoxy since Anselm has generally held to some form of satisfaction theory of the atonement.

Liberal theology has rejected the idea of Christ's death as a payment for sin (Warfield 1929: 358–61). Redemption becomes deliverance from cosmic alienation (Carré 1914: 100–167) or, in some cases, the redemption of societal structures (Barton 1934: 139–40).

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**REED.** See FLORA.

**REELAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *rĕ‹ēlāyâ* (רְעֵלָיָה)]. Var.RAAMIAH; REELIAH;RESAIAH. One of the leaders of the group of returnees from Babylonian Exile who is listed along with Zerubbabel in Ezra 2:2 (= Neh 7:7 = 1 Esdr 5:8). One name has apparently been dropped from the Ezra list, for those in Nehemiah and 1 Esdras include twelve leaders in what is probably a symbolic representation of all Israel. The form of the name in Neh 7:7 is Raamiah (Heb *ra‹amyâ*), and in 1 Esdr 5:8 it is Resaiah (Gk *Rhēsaias*). The form Reeliah (RSV, 1 Esdr 5:8; Gk *Rheelias*) apparently originates out of confusion between forms of the name Bigvai in various mss of 1 Esdr 2:2 (including *boroliou* and *rheeliou*) and the reading *rheelias* for Reelaiah in the LXX of Ezra 2:2. For discussion concerning the list in Ezra 2, see AKKUB.
CHANEY R. BERGDALL

**REFUGE, CITIES OF.** Six cities are set aside within Israel as Cities of Refuge (Heb *‹ārê mīqlāṭ*). These are places of sanctuary or asylum where a person who unintentionally kills someone may reside, without fear of blood revenge, until a trial can be held. These cities are discussed in Exod 21:13; Num 35:9–15; Deut 4:41–43; 19:1–13; Joshua 20; and 1 Chronicles 6.

The idea of asylum is not unique to the Hebrew tradition. Several ancient peoples, in the ancient Near East and elsewhere, had the idea that fugitives could gain sanctuary by proceeding to or fleeing to certain designated places. Often these places were cultic centers. In the Hebrew Bible we see this tradition in 1 Kgs 1:50–53 where Adonijah, fearing Solomon, seeks sanctuary by holding on to the horns of the altar. In this instance, Solomon observes the idea of sanctuary and allows Adonijah to remain alive, at least for a while (see 1 Kgs 2:23–24). However, in another instance (1 Kgs 2:28–34), Solomon ignores the idea of sanctuary and has Joab, a supporter of Adonijah, killed, even though Joab is clinging to the horns of the altar.

The legislation for the designation of Cities of Refuge is found in Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. In Exod 21:12–14, which is part of the Covenant Code and thus probably reflects an early tradition, a distinction is made between intentional and unintentional murder. The perpetrator of an intentional murder shall be dealt with immediately, but the person who kills accidentally, or at least without intention, shall have a place to flee. This distinction is continued in Num 35:9–15. Here, the cities are specifically called Cities of Refuge *‹ārê mīqlāṭ* (Num 35:11). They are to be places where the unintentional murderer may wait until he can stand for judgment before the community (Num 35:12), without fear from an avenger (see Gen 9:5–6; Num 35:16–21, esp. v 19). In addition, the passage specifies that there will be six Cities of Refuge (Num 35:13), three of which shall be E of the Jordan River and three W of the Jordan (Num 35:14), and that these cities shall be available for the people of Israel, for sojourners and for those who dwell in their (Israel's) midst (Num 35:16).

The passages in Deuteronomy continue the same legislative perspective, with the added specification of particular cities as Cities of Refuge. In Deut 4:41–43, the cities E of the Jordan are mentioned. These are Bezer for the Reubenites, Ramoth in Gilead for the Gadites, and Golan in Bashan for the Manassites (Deut 4:43).

Deut 19:1–13 is concerned with the cities W of the Jordan. While they are not named, three cities are to be set up once the land of Canaan is possessed. This passage also provides an illustration and further specification of the usage of the Cities of Refuge. The example is the accidental slaying of someone with an ax (Deut 19:5). The Cities of Refuge are to be used to prevent the shedding of innocent blood (Deut 19:10), trying to avoid an instance where an "avenger of blood" slays someone who kills unintentionally

(Deut 19:6). Furthermore, should someone who hates and then kills intentionally seek asylum in a City of Refuge, the elders of the city are to hand that person over to the "avenger of blood" for execution.

Another explanation of the idea of sanctuary and the actual listing of the Cities of Refuge are found in Joshua 20. Here, after a reference to the prior discussion of Cities of Refuge with Moses, Yahweh explains the idea of Cities of Refuge to Joshua. In addition to repeating the general theory of sanctuary, a procedure for admission to a City of Refuge is mentioned in Joshua 20:4. The killer must explain his case to the elders of the city in the gate of the city. Also, there is an obscure comment that the slayer may return home after a trial or after the high priest has died (Josh 20:6). The reasons behind this amnesty after the death of the high priest are not fully understood.

After this discussion of asylum in general, Joshua sets up the Cities of Refuge themselves (Josh 20:7–9). Kedesh in Galilee, Shechem in Ephraim, and Kiriath-arba (Hebron) in Judah are the three cities W of the Jordan (Josh 20:7). They go with the three cities E of the Jordan—Bezer, Ramoth-Gilead, and Golan (Josh 20:8)—which are also mentioned in Deut 4:43. These cities are for the people of Israel as well as for the sojourner (Josh 20:9).

The Cities of Refuge are also listed among the Levitical Cities in Joshua 21 and 1 Chronicles 6. In the list of Levitical Cities in Joshua 21, all of the Cities of Refuge are mentioned as Levitical Cities (Josh 21:13, 21, 27, 32, 36, 38), and all but one are also specifically designated as Cities of Refuge. This lone exception is that of Bezer; it is listed among the Levitical Cities, but not as a City of Refuge (Josh 21:36). In 1 Chronicles 6, all the Cities of Refuge are also listed as Levitical Cities (1 Chr 6:42, 52, 56, 57, 63, 65—Eng 6:57, 67, 71, 72, 78, 80); however, unlike the list in Joshua 21, only two cities are identified as Cities of Refuge—Hebron (1 Chr 6:42—Eng 6:57) and Shechem (1 Chr 6:52—Eng 6:67). It is thus obvious that some connection was perceived between the Levitical Cities and the Cities of Refuge. Perhaps the Levites were to administer the Cities of Refuge as part of their overall responsibility for the Levitical Cities.

In attempts to date the lists of Cities of Refuge, this connection with the Levitical Cities has often been exploited, and similar arguments for dating have been offered. However, while there is considerable debate over whether the Levitical Cities are historical or utopian, such a debate rarely surfaces in discussing the Cities of Refuge. They are generally seen as historical, reflecting an actual tradition in ancient Israel. It follows then that if the lists represent actual practice, their historical context must be a period when all of the Cities of Refuge fell within the boundaries of ancient Israel. Thus, the dating of the Cities of Refuge is generally argued to be in one of three periods: during the monarchial period of David and Solomon; during the 8th-century expansion of Jeroboam II (2 Kgs 14:23–29); or during the 7th-century reforms of Josiah, when he restored the nation (2 Kgs 23:1–25). However, given the antiquity of the practice of asylum, the long tradition of asylum in ancient Israel, and questions about the arguments which place the city lists in the 8th and 7th centuries, the most likely time period for the origination of the lists is the United Monarchy (10th century). How much earlier the practice of asylum operated is impossible to ascertain.

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JOHN R. SPENCER

**REGEM** (PERSON) [Heb *regem* (רֶגֶם)]. One of the six sons of Jahdai (1 Chr 2:47). See JAHDAI.

Jahdai was evidently the head of a Calebite family, but the relationship of him and his offspring to Caleb

is not actually given. Regem and his brothers should perhaps be included with Caleb's descendants through his concubine Ephah (v 46) on the basis of the overall form of the unit and the occurrence of the name Ephah also among Jahdai's children (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 41). Caleb's line in vv 42–50a is followed through a wife and two concubines, which means that from the writer's point of view it consisted of a main stem with two branches (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 15). Some of the names in this unit are those of cities known from the lists of cities allotted to Judah in Joshua 15. The town Beth-pelet of Josh 15:27 may be related to Regem's brother Pelet. The attempt to see in the name Regem the meaning "friend" (namely, of God) seems to be not well founded, relying almost solely on a possible (but if so, rare) significance of the Arabic word *rajm*.

EDWIN C. HOSTETTER

**REGEM-MELECH** (PERSON) [Heb *regem melek* (רֶגֶם מֶלֶךְ)]. One of two leaders of a delegation that inquired at the rebuilt temple about the continuation of fasting in the fifth month (Zech 7:2). This fast is widely interpreted by scholars to be a commemoration of the destruction of the temple and Jerusalem by the Babylonians.

*Melek* (melech) is Hebrew for "king." The name Regem is found in 1 Chr 2:47. Other names using "melech," including compounds, occur in the OT; e.g., Ebed-melech (Jer 38:7); Nathan-melech (2 Kgs 23:11); Abimelech (Judg 8:31); and Elimelech (Ruth 1:2).

Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai Zechariah 1–8* AB, 383–84) argue that Regem-melech's part in leading the delegation indicates his high status in the community at Bethel, whence the delegation came, but they deny that he had any royal connections. They find the evidence insufficient to determine whether or not he was an exile returned from Babylon.

Some have questioned whether the name "Regem-melech" is the correct reading for the Hebrew text here. Thomas (*Zechariah 1–8* IB, 1082) and others suggest that the preferred reading—based on the Peshitta—is not a name but a title, "the Rabmag (i.e., the chief officer) of the king" (*rab māg hammelek*). See RABMAG. If this reading is adopted, the title must refer to Sharezer, who is then characterized as a high royal official (see Ackroyd 1968: 209). Since Sharezer's name is Babylonian, such a reading would contribute to the possibility that the delegation was of Babylonian rather than Palestinian origin, although this depends principally on other factors in the verse. See SHAREZER.

Nevertheless, Rudolph (*Haggai Zechariah Malachi* KAT, 138–39) and Meyers and Meyers (*Haggai Zechariah 1–8* AB, 383) correctly argue, albeit along different lines, that the MT (i.e., the name Regem-melech) is the better reading here.

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**REGENERATION.** The final stage of creation when God's purposes are fully realized. Regeneration signifies a renovation of all visible things.

**A. Extrabiblical Usage**

Individual, national, and cosmic regeneration are found in extrabiblical sources. Two examples are Cicero's return from exile (*Att.* 6.6) and Plutarch's writing of "the dismemberment of Osiris and his revivification." Here, regeneration is the "divinity's" return to life (*De Is. et Os.* 35).

The Stoics used the concept to denote cosmic regeneration following the cyclic cosmic conflagration. Philo uses the concept of regeneration to tell about the restoration of Abel after the birth of Seth (*Post* 36) and about renewal after the flood (*Vita Mos* I 11.65). Josephus speaks of "the recovery and rebirth of their native land" in reference to the Jewish return from Babylonian Exile (*Ant* 11.3.9), and Philo speaks of "the conflagration and rebirth of the world" (*Aet* 3.9). Philo also speaks of rebirth following death (*Cher* 32.114).

The Greek mystery religions view the concept of regeneration as the initiate's sharing in "the renewing power of their deity" (Guhrt *NIDNTT* 1: 184). For as the fertility cults became mystery religions, focusing more on the individual, regeneration came to designate salvation through initiation (Robinson *IDB* 1: 25).

**B. OT Insights**

Though the word *palingenesia* does not occur in the LXX, the concept of regeneration is central to the OT, as circumcision of the heart (Deut 30:6; cf. "changed heart" in 1 Sam 10:9; "pure heart" in Ps 51:10), in Ezekiel's restoration of dead bones (Ezek 37:1–14; cf. Nuelsen *ISBE* 4: 68, 69), and in God's promise to raise Israel from spiritual death (Jer 24:7; Ezek 11:19; 36:26–27) and to return the people from captivity (Ezek 36:24, 25; Mic 4:6, 7; cf. Keil and Delitzsch 1986: 119, 123). This restoration motif is found in the promise of a new covenant (Jer 31:31–34; Ezek 34:25), a new Jerusalem (Zech 14:10ff., 16), and a new heaven and earth (Isa 65:17). It would seem that regeneration is both personal and national in the OT. Nuelsen sees it as eschatological in the earlier portions, becoming personal only after the captivity and Diaspora (*ISBE* 4: 68).

Yet, there is evidence of personal responsibility from Israel's inception. On Passover night of the Exodus from Egypt, each household had to apply the blood on the doorpost and lintel to protect their firstborn from the destroying angel (Exod 12:12, 13). The subsequent tabernacle/temple sin offerings included those for individuals (Leviticus 1–7) as well as those for the nation (evening and morning, 2 Chr 2:4; 13:11; and the day of atonement, Leviticus 16). Personal accountability for sin is seen from the beginning (Gen 3:1–19), and classically in David's plea for renewal (Ps 51:10). It seems that the need for individual regeneration in the OT is given within the context of the need for national regeneration.

**C. NT Insights**

The noun "regeneration" (Gk *palingenesia,* from *palin,* "new," and *genesis,* "origin, birth") occurs only twice in the NT (Matt 19:28; Titus 3:5). Matthew speaks of "*en tę̄ palingenesią*" or "in the regeneration." This is a synonym for the Gk word *basileia*, or "kingdom." Literally, it means, in the coming kingdom, after the *parousia,* "at the renewal of all things." The regeneration is the new heaven and new earth (Isa 65:17–25; 2 Pet 3:13; Rev 21:1). "Behold, I make all things new" (Rev 21:5, RSV). Here, regeneration is eschatological.

Titus 3:5 speaks of salvation through the washing of rebirth or renewal by the Holy Spirit. In this instance, regeneration is rebirth/renewal by the Spirit, equivalent to a "new creation" (2 Cor 5:17) or a "new" self (Eph 4:22, 23; cf. Col 3:9, 10). Here, regeneration is existential.

Though these two different aspects of regeneration are given in Matt 19:28 and Titus 3:5, they present individual renewal as but a part of cosmic renewal—the regenerated person is not at the goal but moves toward the goal (cf. Guhrt *NIDNTT* 1: 186). Both terms "new birth" and "new creation" evoke an image of regeneration. Creation of new life or a new world are acts of God. These are acts beyond humanity's capability. Regeneration is the work of God.

The classical definition of regeneration is found in the Johannine pericope—Christ's discourse with Nicodemus (John 3:1–21). Just as proselytes entering Judaism were considered "re-born," so Nicodemus, although a Jewish leader, had to be "re-born" to enter Christ's kingdom. Born "again" (Gk *anōthen,* John 3:3; cf. John 3:31; 19:11, 23) means not only "anew" but also "from above." Nicodemus' birth as a Jew did not count (cf. Ps 87:5, 6): "Neither circumcision nor uncircumcision means anything; what counts is a new creation" (Gal 6:15).

The new-birth discourse (John 3) includes comment on Christ's birth (John 3:13–16). Christ was born of the Spirit (Matt 1:20)—so must be others (John 3:5). Although no one can be born of the Spirit as was Christ (He was *monogenēs*,"one of a kind"; John 1:14, 18; 3:16, 18; 1 John 4:9), yet in the Nicodemus discourse, there is a parallel between these two births—of Christ and of others—by the Spirit. Both are from above (John 3:7, 17), and both are necessary for salvation to take place (John 3:3, 16). For just as Christ entered the world through the Spirit to become the Savior, so each person must be born again to enter heaven and be saved (John 3:3).

To be born again (John 3:3) and to become childlike (Matt 18:3; Mark 10:15) are parallel preconditions for entrance into the Kingdom of God. Being childlike includes receiving and believing in Christ (John 1:12, 13; cf. 3:16). This is effected "through the living and enduring word of God" (1 Pet 1:23). Regeneration is then through the Spirit and through the Word (cf. 2 Pet 1:21). The function of both (Spirit

and Word) is to lead individuals to Christ (John 14:26, 15:26; John 5:39; cf. Luke 24:27). These persons are made a "new creation" (2 Cor 5:17) and are referred to as "created in Christ Jesus" (Eph 2:10).

This Christ-centered function of the Spirit finds him in the NT with a new title—"the Spirit of Christ" (Rom 8:9; 1 Pet 1:11; cf. Gal 4:6; Phil 1:19). Regeneration is not a separate work of the Spirit added to the salvific work of Christ; it is the subjective actualization of Christ's work. That actualization includes the dying and rising with Christ (Rom 6:3–14; 1 Cor 15:20–23; Col 3:1), so that the regenerated are spoken of as begotten by Christ's resurrection (1 Pet 1:3, 21).

In summary, as the concept of regeneration passed from Stoicism into Judaism it was "filled with a new religious content" (Büschsel *TDNT* 1:688). The new meaning had to do with messianic and christological hopes for a final restoration. Renewal was not just a rebirth (return) within a reincarnational cycle, but a historical *telos* at the *eschaton,* with even a "firstfruits" (Rom 8:23) or "deposit" (2 Cor 1:22; 5:5; Eph 1:14) of it in the present. So, regeneration, on the one hand, is the future new eternal life coming into present experience (John 3:36). On the other hand, this existential experience (Titus 3:5) reaches out to its eschatological completion in the coming cosmic renewal (Matt 19:28).

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**REHABIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *rĕḥabyāh (û)* (רְחַבְיָהוּ)]. Grandson of Moses and father of Isshiah according to 1 Chronicles 23–26, which outlines David's organization of the Levites. Rehabiah is described as *rō›š* in 1 Chr 23:17. This designated him as a clan leader with respect to levitical duties. His son, Isshiah, is the object of the same term in 1 Chr 24:21. In the larger context, the Levites are grouped according to the families of the three sons of Levi: Gershom, Kohath, and Merari. Rehabiah belonged to the family of Kohath. Kohath's son, Amram, was the father of Aaron and Moses. Moses was the father of Eliezer. Eliezer was the father of Rehabiah. Rehabiah was the grandfather of Shelomoth who, with his brothers, was responsible for the temple treasury kept for maintenance (1 Chr 26:25–26). The duties of Rehabiah and his family are not spelled out in 23:17, although it seems likely that the general responsibilities fell under the heading "charge of the work in the house of the LORD" (23:4). Some specific responsibilities given to this group are listed in 23:28–32: cleaning, assisting with the shewbread, assisting with grain offerings, praying twice daily as well as during burnt offerings, and caring for the temple and the tent of meeting.

It seems unlikely that the name *rĕḥabyāh,* or *rĕḥabyāhû* in its older form, would bear a direct relationship to the office involved. The most likely root of the name—from *rāḥab*, "to be or grow wide"—could be associated with Rehabiah's "many sons," but without further support this association is unconvincing. It is better to consider Rehabiah as a proper name rather than an appellative. It carries the causitive sense of the *Hip‹il*, "Yahweh increases," or "enlarges," although not *Hip‹il* in form (*IPN*, 193).

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**REHOB** (PERSON) [Heb *rĕḥōb* (רְחֹב)*; rĕḥôb* (רְחוֹב)]. **1.** The father of Hadadezer, king of Zobah (2 Sam 8:3, 12). However, it is possible that Rehob here is actually a place name, and that the Heb *ben-rĕḥōb* identifies Hadadezer as a native of the town of Rehob, being translated loosely as "the Rehobite."

In 2 Sam 10:6–8, the Ammonites hire Syrian mercenaries from Zobah and Rehob/Beth-rehob, suggesting that there may have been a preexisting connection between these two cities; indeed, Malamat (1963: 2–3) suggests that Hadadezer first ruled in Beth-rehob and subsequently incorporated Zobah into his domain (just as the Judean David subsequently incorporated Israel). See also BETH-REHOB.

**2.** One of the Levites who set his seal on the covenant, pledging to walk in God's law (Neh 10:12—Eng 10:11). Rehob and the others mentioned in this verse are not listed in the LXX.

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**REHOB** (PLACE) [Heb *rĕḥōb* (רְחֹב)*; rĕḥôb* (רְחוֹב)]. Var.BETH-REHOB. The place name Rehob appears seven times in the OT. At least two separate places, both in Galilee, shared this name. The name "Rehob" also appears in Egyptian documents, suggesting the possibility that in the Galilee-Jezreel region there may have been as many as three (or even four) places by that name (see *CTAED*, 163–65).

1. A town in the extreme N of Canaan, near the entrance to Hamath (Num 13:21). It was probably the same as Beth-rehob (cf. 2 Sam 10:6, 8). See BETH-REHOB.

2. The fourth city in Asher assigned to the Levites (Josh 21:31 = 1 Chr 6:60 [—Eng 6:75]), but at the time of the conquest Asher was unable to drive out its inhabitants (Judg 1:31). The problem of locating Rehob is compounded by the fact that it is also mentioned *twice* in connection with the border of the tribe of Asher (Josh 19:28, 30). The first citation (v 28) implies that Rehob was in the N of Asher (associated with Cabul, Ebron, Hammon, Kanah, and Sidon), while the latter (v 30) suggests a location in the plain of Accho ("Ummah," *ʿmh*, is probably a corruption of "Accho," *ʿkh*; cf. and Judg 1:31). This has raised the possibility that there may have been two places named Rehob in Asher.

On that assumption, Aharoni (*LBHG*, 162) associated the N Rehob with *rḥb* (no. 87) in Thutmosis III's list (*ANET*, 243), and identified it with Tell el-Balaṭ (M.R. 177280), 10 miles E of Rosh Haniqra and inside the modern border of Lebanon. However, it could also be identified with Tell er-Raḥb (M.R. 180275), 4 miles SE of Tell el-Balaṭ and inside the modern border of Israel (*CTAED*, 164). Because the two sites are almost 20 miles W of the valley of Huleh, neither should be associated with the Rehob/Beth-rehob of Num 13:21 and 2 Sam 10:6–8 (#1 above).

The S Rehob is apparently mentioned in the second group of Execration Texts (*ʾrḥbm*, no. 14); its location in the plain of Accho is supported by its listing after Aphek (no. 9), Achshaph (no. 11), and Mashaal (no. 13). However, because it is also listed immediately before cities further E—Hazor (no. 15), Kedesh (no. 16), and Ijon (no. 18)—Alt (*KlSchr* 3: 166) and Albright (1941: 33) equated this *ʾrḥbm* with Raḥabu (no. 17) in Shishak's list (*ANET*, 243), a town located S of Beth-shean and identified with Tell eṣ-Ṣarem (M.R. 197207; *CTAED*, 164–65; *MBA*, no. 120). Thus, it is unclear whether the *ʾrḥbm* of the Execration Texts refers to a Rehob in the territory of Asher or to yet another one near Beth-shean, although the Raḥabu in Shishak's list is clearly not in the territory of Asher and is apparently not mentioned in the OT.

A topographical list of Ramesses II mentions a Raḥabu in connection with Dor (Mazar 1963), reinforcing a S location for Rehob in the plain of Accho. Thus, the *ʾrḥbm* of the Execration Texts (see above) should probably be identified with the Raḥabu in this Ramesses II text, not with the one in the Shishak text (*CTAED*, 163). Kallai (*HGB*, *362–66) has suggested identifying it with Kh. Dauk, 8 km SE of Accho, a site settled from the MB to the Iron II periods, and again during the Hellenistic period. Most scholars, however, have followed Albright (1921–22: 22–27) and have identified Rehob with Tell el-Bir el-Gharbi (or Tell Birwe; M.R. 166256), located near the edge of the coastal plain of Accho next to the foothills of Galilee. The site had been visited by early-19th-century biblical geographers, including E. Robinson (1841: 88). There have been many surveys and small excavations at the site, and pottery from MB, Iron I–II, Persian, and Hellenistic periods has been recovered.

In summary, it remains unclear whether there were one or two towns named Rehob in Asher, although the biblical and Egyptian records perhaps favor one Rehob located in the Accho plain. Although Tell el-

Bir el-Gharbi cannot be identified absolutely with the Rehob listed in connection with the border of Asher (Josh 19:28, 30; cf. Judg 1:31) and with the Levitical cities of Asher (Josh 21:31 = 1 Chr 6:60 [—Eng 6:75]), the evidence in support of this association is strong (Peterson 1977: 56–65).

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RAMI ARAV

## REHOBOAM (PERSON) [Heb *rĕḥab·ām* (רְחַבְעָם)]. The son of Solomon and Naamah, an

Ammonite (1 Kgs 14:21, 31), who succeeded his father to the throne in Jerusalem but failed to win the support of the N Israelites (who formed their own separate nation). Rehoboam ruled the S kingdom of Judah, consisting of the tribe of Judah and the contested territory of Benjamin. His counterpart in the N kingdom of Israel was Jeroboam I.

The chronology of Rehoboam's reign is somewhat uncertain. The claim of a 17-year rule (1 Kgs 14:21; 2 Chr 12:13) is difficult to reconcile with other chronological notations about the early monarchic period. Albright (1945) dated his reign to 922–915 B.C.E., but Thiele (1984) has argued that the full 17 years can be placed in the years 931/30–913. Several other chronological systems have been worked out which also allow for a 17-year reign. Hayes and Hooker, for example, date Rehoboam's reign to 926–910 B.C.E. (1988: 16–20).

### A. Sources

The Deuteronomistic Historian (DH) presents the primary account of Rehoboam's reign in 1 Kgs 12:1–24 and 14:21–31. The Chronicler provides a parallel, and somewhat expanded, version in 2 Chronicles 10–12. Each of these accounts is based on sources which contained reliable historical data. The Kings account is drawn, in part, from the annals of the kings of Judah (1 Kgs 14:29), while the latter cites the chronicles of the prophet Shemaiah and Iddo the seer (2 Chr 12:15). Other unnamed sources were perhaps used as well, but it is clear that each biblical historian has stamped his own ideology on the accounts he rendered.

### B. The Schism

The dissolution of the United Monarchy began before Solomon's death. The Arameans and the Edomites, both of whom had been conquered by David, successfully rebelled against Solomonic rule (1 Kgs 11:14–25). The N Israelites, unhappy over Solomon's oppressive policies, attempted a rebellion which Solomon was able to crush. Solomon tried to kill the leader of the revolt, Jeroboam ben Nebat, who fled to Egypt where Pharaoh Shishak gave him asylum (1 Kgs 11:26–28, 40). After Solomon's death, Jeroboam returned to become king over the N Israelites, who rejected the rule of Rehoboam.

According to 1 Kgs 12:1–20 (cf. 2 Chr 10:1–19), the rejection of Rehoboam's claim to sovereignty over the N tribes occurred at a gathering of Israelite leaders in Shechem. Both accounts state that Rehoboam had gone to Shechem for all Israel to make him king. What this indicates about the nature of kingship in the early monarchic period is not clear. Alt (1951: 4–9) maintained that the N Israelites had a charismatic notion of kingship which made them reluctant to follow a principle of dynastic succession when Solomon died (see also Donner, *IJH*, 383–84), and Soggin (1984: 193) proposed that strong democratic tendencies existed in the N to which Rehoboam attempted to answer. But Miller has suggested that Rehoboam's appearance in Shechem may simply have been due to urgent political problems which the new king faced in the N (*HAIJ*, 229–30).

The N Israelites offered to submit to Rehoboam's rule on the condition that he remove the "heavy yoke"—taxation and forced labor—which Solomon had placed upon them. Rehoboam consulted groups of elder and younger advisers (*zĕqēnîm* and *yĕlādîm*), who gave him vastly different counsel. The elders

counseled him to offer significant concessions in order to show his intention to serve the people—the language has been compared to royal grants of exemption from taxation and corvée offered to important and sacred cities by various Neo-Assyrian kings (Weinfeld 1982). The younger advisers, however, suggested that he show strength and threaten to increase the burdens which Solomon had placed upon them. When Rehoboam announced that he would pursue the course advised by his younger counselors, the N Israelites broke away from his rule and elevated Jeroboam ben Nebat to kingship over them.

Malamat's proposal (1963) that Rehoboam's two sets of advisers at Shechem point to the existence of "formal bodies of official standing in the kingdom," somewhat parallel to the "bicameral" assembly in the Sumerian epic *Gilgamesh and Agga,* may stretch the evidence, as Evans has cautioned (1966). The two groups of advisers may simply represent a difference of opinion within a single circle of advisers (Evans 1966). It would be natural for the elders (*zĕqēnîm*), who are said to have "stood before Solomon," and the young men (*yĕlādîm*), who are said to have grown up with Rehoboam and "stood before him," to give contradictory advice simply because of the differences in age, experience, and therefore perspective.

In any case, Rehoboam chose to follow the advice given by the younger counselors. The N Israelites responded by declaring their freedom from the rule of Davidic kings. Their cry of independence (1 Kgs 12:16; 2 Chr 10:16) echoed the words of the Benjaminite Sheba, son of Bichri (2 Sam 20:1), who had led an unsuccessful N Israelite revolt against David. Thus the N Israelites, from David's time on, sought opportunities to free themselves from Davidic rule, particularly when policies emanating from Jerusalem became especially burdensome (as they had under Solomon). Apart from the onerous demands of inequitable taxation and forced labor, Solomon's offer of twenty villages in the land of Galilee to Hiram, king of Tyre, to satisfy his indebtedness to the Phoenician king for materials used in the construction of the temple and royal palace in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 9:11), undoubtedly alienated the northerners all the more and precipitated the rebellion (Halpern 1974). Solomon may have used some of these materials for the repair of S fortresses, given the potential for trouble from Pharaoh Shishak, who had come to power in Egypt.

Rehoboam sent Adoram, the commander of the labor forces, to put down the rebellion. The N Israelites displayed their determination by stoning Adoram to death, and Rehoboam hastily returned to Jerusalem. According to 1 Kgs 12:21–24 (cf. 2 Chr 11:1–4), a Judahite prophet, Shemaiah, counseled Rehoboam not to attempt to recapture control of the N, on the grounds that the schism was Yahweh's will. This tradition further claims that the tribe of Benjamin supported Rehoboam along with the tribe of Judah. But the reference to continual warfare between Rehoboam and Jeroboam (1 Kgs 14:30; 15:6; 2 Chr 12:15) no doubt pertains to frequent fighting along their shared border a short distance N of Jerusalem. At stake in these skirmishes was control of the territory of Benjamin.

**C. Shishak's Invasion**

Shishak, the founder of the 22d Lybian dynasty in Egypt, brought an end to the friendly relations Solomon had once enjoyed with Egypt. This pharaoh displayed hostility toward Solomon by supporting the Edomite and N Israelite rebellions mentioned in 1 Kgs 11:14–25 and 11:26–28, 40. And then, in the fifth year of Rehoboam's reign, Shishak invaded Judah and Israel (1 Kgs 14:25; cf. 2 Chr 12:2). According to Mazar, this campaign was undertaken "to enhance the prestige of his monarchy" and "to enrich his kingdom with spoils" taken from the cities in the path of invasion (1957: 57).

The account in 1 Kgs 14:25–28 mentions only Shishak's attack on Jerusalem. It states that he took the treasures of the temple and the palace and seized the gold shields made by Solomon. The more expansive account in 2 Chr 12:2–12, which is amplified by a prophecy of Shemaiah's, attributes the invasion to Rehoboam's disloyalty to Yahweh. This account claims that Shishak, supported by innumerable troops of Libyans and Nubians, captured the fortified cities of Judah before attacking Jerusalem. The Shemaiah prophecy attributes the sparing of Jerusalem from destruction to the submission of Rehoboam and his officers to Yahweh. Nonetheless, the account allows that Shishak escaped with the spoils mentioned in 1 Kings 14.

Fortunately, the sparse biblical information about these events is augmented by Shishak's hieroglyphic inscription found on the S entrance to the Temple of Amon at Karnak, listing the places he had conquered

(*ANET*, 263–64; also 242–43). Mazar (1957) recognized that when the first four lines of place names are read boustrophedon (i.e., the first line should be read left to right; the second line right to left; the third line left to right, etc.), the route of the campaign can be reconstructed. The line of march went from Gaza, to Gezer, to Aijalon, to Beth-horon, and to Gibeon, as Shishak's troops passed N of Jerusalem. From Gibeon, the invading forces moved to Migdal (identification uncertain), then Zemaraim in the S Ephraimite mountains. The troops then proceeded to the Jordan Valley and crossed the Jordan River, where they marched on Adam, Succoth, Penuel, and Mahanaim. They then turned back toward the Jordan and attacked Hapharaim (identification uncertain) before crossing the Jordan and proceeding to Tirzah (reading uncertain). The Egyptian army then turned N and marched on Reḥob, Beth-shean, Shunem, Taanach, and Megiddo before returning to Philistia by the Via Maris.

Curiously, this part of the list does not mention any places in Judah and shows that Shishak's campaign was waged against the cities of the N kingdom of Israel. Mazar suggests that "the rich areas of the Kingdom of Israel were the main object of the expedition" and conjectures that "Shishak intended also to punish Israel, perhaps because after seizing power Jeroboam refused to admit the suzerainty of the Pharaoh, contrary to what he had consented during his revolt and the days he had spent in Egypt" (1957: 62–63).

The second part of the list, actually much longer than the first section, names sites, forts, regions, and families in the Negeb vicinity. Among the sites are Ezem and Arad. Many of the names are difficult to identify, but several names of regions are composed of the Egyptian determinative *pa* (in place of the Heb *ha*-) plus, in some cases, *ḥgr* or *ḥqr* (= fort) and various family or clan names known from the genealogical lists in Chronicles—such as Shuhah (1 Chr 4:11), Hanan and Tilon (1 Chr 4:20), and Peleth (1 Chr 2:33). This concentration of names in the region of the Negeb probably means that Shishak sent a phalanx of his army into this area to protect the troops who were conducting the main campaign into the N from a surprise attack by nomadic or seminomadic tribes from the S desert region (Mazar 1957: 64–66); or perhaps Shishak sought to distract Rehoboam as the main troops advanced N of Jerusalem (Gray *Kings* OTL, 344–45).

**D. Rehoboam's Fortresses**

The Chronicler supplies a list of 15 towns in Judah and Benjamin (2 Chr 11:5–10; no mention is made of this in the DH) whose defenses were strengthened by Rehoboam. Shishak's campaign probably explains why Rehoboam made the fortifications, although the Chronicler's narrative sequence places Rehoboam's building activity in these towns *before* the account of Shishak's invasion. The list mentions Bethlehem, Etam, Tekoa, Beth-zur, Soco, Adullam, Gath, Mareshah, Ziph, Adoraim, Lachish, Azekah, Zorah, Aijalon, and Hebron. Aharoni observed that these locations "form a logical and continuous line for the defence of [Rehoboam's] kingdom from the West, the South, and the East, with additional forts located at the important road junctions" (*LBHG*, 330). He noted, however, that the southernmost fortifications—at Lachish, Mareshah, Adoraim, Hebron, and Ziph—left the S Shephelah, the Negeb, and even much of the S hill country outside the line of defense. This either means that these regions were taken from Judah by Shishak or that Rehoboam had other fortifications in S Judah which did not need repair at this time and are thus not mentioned in this list.

The Levitical cities in Judah, many of them located in the S hill country, were probably part of Rehoboam's defense system. Many scholars have argued that these cities (cf. the lists in Joshua 21 and 1 Chronicles 6) were established during the period of David and Solomon, and fortified by them, to serve as administrative centers to enforce royal policies and to keep the kingdom secure, especially in regions annexed by David. The cities probably served as cultic centers as well. Rehoboam would have used these strongholds that lay within Judah's borders in addition to the 15 fortresses mentioned in 2 Chr 11:5–10, making for a stronger defense system in the southernmost parts of Judah.

**E. Religious Practices**

The DH charges that the people of Judah engaged in much religious apostasy during Rehoboam's reign (1 Kgs 14:22–24). The accusations that the people built shrines (*bāmôth*), sacred pillars, and sacred poles, and that cult prostitutes were in the land, are typical of the DH style and polemic and thus must be

dismissed or taken with extreme caution. The Chronicler omits these charges, but to explain Shishak's invasion includes a more general accusation that Rehoboam forsook the *tôrāh* of Yahweh (2 Chr 12:1). Perhaps the only hard historical data pertaining to religion under Rehoboam are in the Chronicler's report that priests and Levites came to Judah from the kingdom of Israel when Jeroboam dismissed them and appointed non-Levitic priests (2 Chr 11:13–17). These developments would make sense, assuming that the Levites were administrative and cultic state officials, appointed by David and Solomon, who remained loyal to Rehoboam.

**F. Rehoboam's Family and Administration**

The Chronicler claims that Rehoboam had 18 wives (only Mahalath and Maacah are named) and 60 concubines and was the father of 28 sons and 60 daughters (2 Chr 11:18–21). The Chronicler further states that Rehoboam appointed Abijah, a son by Maacah, chief (*nāgîd*) among his brothers and designated him as his successor. Rehoboam also assigned his sons to take charge of the fortified towns and granted them generous provisions (2 Chr 11:22–23). When Rehoboam died, he was succeeded by his son Abijah.

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**REHOBOTH** (PLACE) [Heb *rĕḥōbôt* (רְחֹבוֹת)]. The name of three places mentioned in the OT.

Literally, the name means "plazas"; as a toponym it means "spacious place" (Borée 1968: 48–49; 49, n. 5).

**1.** A well in the Negeb, dug by Isaac (Gen 26:22). The location is mentioned within a narrative sequence that could serve as a paradigm for the relationship between agriculturalists and pastoralists, or nomads and the state, in the 2d and 1st millennia B.C. (Matthews 1986: 123–24). Since Robinson and Smith proposed an identification of the site (1841: 289–91), this well has generally been located in Wadi Ruḥaybeh, SW of Beersheba.

**2.** Rehoboth-Ir, a "place" in Assyria, between Nineveh and Calah (Gen 10:11). The name seems to be based on a mistranslation of Assyrian *rebīt Ninua* ("the streets, or quarters, of Nineveh"; e.g., in Esarhaddon's Nineveh A inscription, III 38; cf. *AHW,* 964). See REHOBOTH-IR.

**3.** Rehoboth ha-Nahar (RSV "Rehoboth on the Euphrates"), the hometown of the Edomite "king" Shaul (Gen 36:37; 1 Chr 1:48). See SHAUL. The identification of this Rehoboth depends on the interpretation and dating of the "Edomite King List" (Gen 36:31–39). Assuming that this list refers to Edom at the end of the 2d millennium B.C., Zwickel (1985) identifies Rehoboth Nahar with Râs er-Riḥâb (M.R. 208038), overlooking Wadi al-Ḥasâ from the South. Knauf (1987), deriving the "Edomite King List" from the 5th century B.C., interprets Rehoboth ha-Nahar as the designation of a landscape, not a town, and suggests the catchment area of Wadi al-Ghuwayr for an identification. Lemaire (1988) maintains that the "Edomite King List" actually is a list of Aramean kings from the 11th century B.C. This assumption would place Rehoboth ha-Nahar in Syria or Lebanon. In this case, it could well have been the capital of the state of Beth-Rehob. See also REHOB (PLACE).

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**REHOBOTH-IR** (PLACE) [Heb *rĕḥōbōt ʿîr* (רְחֹבֹת עִיר)]. The name of a city mentioned in Gen 10:11. The name is a Hebrew phrase meaning "city squares" (the same phrase appears in Lam 2:12). The Yahwistic fragment of the Table of Nations seems to include it in the kingdom of Nimrod, although the translation of the first clause of Gen 10:11 is very unclear. Perhaps the best understanding (although syntactically awkward) is "From that land (Shinar, v 10) he (Nimrod) went to Assyria." (Cf. the RSV; for similar constructions of the verb *yaṣaʾ*,"to go out," with the accusative in the sense of entering a place, see Gen 27:3 and Jer 14:18.) If this interpretation is correct, then Nimrod is to be understood as the builder of Rehoboth-Ir.

The name Rehoboth-Ir is unknown from cuneiform sources. It is probable that it referred originally not to a separate city but rather to some district or attribute of Nineveh. One possibility is that it is an interpretive translation of *rêbīt Ninua,* "Nineveh square," a suburb on the NE side of Nineveh (Cassuto *Genesis* 2: 203). However, the correct reading may be *talbit Ninua,* in which case the comparison must be dropped (Sasson 1983: 96). Alternatively, Rehoboth-Ir may be an epithet describing Nineveh as a city of broad streets. E. A. Speiser (*Genesis* AB, 68) compares it to a similar phrase found in the Gilgamesh epic, *Uruk rêbītu,* "Uruk of the spacious markets." T. Jacobsen (*IDB* 4: 31) has compared it to the cognate Assyrian phrase *rêbīt āli,*"open spaces in a city," used to mean "unbuilt areas on the periphery of Nineveh." J. M. Sasson (1983) proposes that it is a superlative construction meaning roughly "broadest city" (cf. Jonah 3:3; 4:11). In any case, it is generally agreed that Rehoboth-Ir was not a city but rather some appellative or area of Nineveh. At some point in the transmission of the traditions about Nimrod, this descriptive term was misunderstood as a city name itself. See RESEN.

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**REHUM** (PERSON) [Heb *rĕḥûm* (רְחוּם)]. Var. NEHUM. The name of several different persons mentioned in the OT.

1. One of the leaders of the group of returnees from Babylonian Exile who is listed along with Zerubbabel in Ezra 2:2 = Neh 7:7 (where the form is Nehum) = 1 Esdr 5:8. One name has apparently been dropped from the Ezra list, because those in Nehemiah and 1 Esdras include twelve leaders in what is probably a symbolic representation of all Israel. For further discussion concerning the list in Ezra 2, see AKKUB.

2. A Persian civil official (Heb *bĕʿēl ṭĕʿēm* = commander, commissioner) of the province "Beyond the River" who, along with Shimshai and others in Samaria, wrote to Artaxerxes I regarding the Jews' repair of the walls of Jerusalem. When authorized by a return letter to stop the building activity, they did so by force (Ezra 4:8–23 = 1 Esdr 2:16–30). This episode is out of chronological order with the other events of Ezra 4–6. It is inserted there in an apparent summary of incidents in which persons opposed the rebuilding efforts of the Jews.

3. A Levite who assisted Nehemiah in rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem (Neh 3:17). That the list of builders in Nehemiah 3 is a partial one is evident from the references to "second" portions in 3:11, 19, 20, and 30 without previous notations of corresponding first portions (compare 3:4 and 21; 3:5 and 27). There is widespread agreement that the list came from independent archives, perhaps in the temple, and was incorporated into the Nehemiah memoirs by Nehemiah himself or by some other editor. (See Batten *Ezra and Nehemiah* ICC, 206–7; Clines *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 149; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 199–202.)

4. Head of a clan whose leader affixed the family name to the covenant document of Nehemiah in Neh 10:26—Eng 10:25. Many do not regard the list and covenant of Nehemiah 10 as belonging originally in this context. Williamson (ibid., 325–30) surveys various views about the origins of this list. He concludes that it was compiled from other lists in Ezra and Nehemiah in order to be attached to the terms of an agreement drawn up by Nehemiah following his reforms of Nehemiah 13. This document was then kept in the temple archives until it was inserted into its present position. (See also Clines, 199–200; Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 174–75; Jepsen 1954: 87–106.)

5. An alternate form of Harim. See HARIM #3.

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**REI** (PERSON) [Heb *rēʿî* (רֵעִי)]. Mentioned with Shimei and others who did not support Adonijah's claim to David's throne (1 Kgs 1:8). The lack of a title or patronym for either Shimei or Rei is unusual. It is possible that the text is corrupt. Lucian reads "Shimei, and his friends, David's mighty men"; Josephus explains the text as "Shimei, the friend of David" (*Ant* 7.14.4). Little is known of the structure of the court in the time of David, but "friend" may have been a title for an official whose role was that of counselor of the king (cf. 2 Sam 15:37; 16:16). See Jones *Kings* NCBC; Gray *Kings* OTL; and DeVries *1 Kings* WBC.

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**REKEM** (PERSON) [Heb *reqem* (רֶקֶם)]. The name of three persons in the OT. In all three cases it can be argued that the "persons" were actually places, paralleled by the toponym Rekem in Josh 18:27. See REKEM (PLACE).

1. A "king" of Midian (Num 31:8; Josh 13:21). The names of the five "Midianite kings" in these passages seem to have been taken from an itinerary that led through S Transjordan and NW Arabia and that was composed in the Persian period. See also EVI; HUR; REBA; SUR. Both in the Targum and the Peshitta, Reqem/Rqem renders Kadesh-barnea, which was identified with Petra since, at least, the 1st century B.C. (possibly as early as by the time Gen 14:7 was composed; Knauf 1989: 46, n. 212). *Raqmu (in Nabatean, *rqmw*) was the indigenous name of Petra. Josephus (*Ant* 6.7.1 §161) derives the place name from the Midianite king's name. It is more likely, however, that *Raqam or *Raqm, "the striped one," is a genuine place name, although it does occur as a personal name in Thadmudic and Arabic (it is, however, rarely attested; Knauf 1988: 89 and n. 409). Nor was Petra the only place called Raq (a)m (Knauf 1988: 166 and n. 705).

2. A "son" of Hebron (1 Chr 2:43). In 1 Chr 2:43–44, Rekem is the brother of Tappuah, Shema, and Korah; the son of Hebron, the nephew of Ziph, and the grandson of Mareshah. All of the names of his relatives are also places (Shema recalls *as-Samûʿ*,the present name of Eshtemoa; the abridged form without the *t*-infix may well have originated in the postexilic period), with the only exception being Korah, who was an Idumean clan (a son of Esau [Gen 36:5], and a son of Eliphaz [Gen 36:16]; for Idumean clans among the "sons of Caleb," see MANAHATHITES). Whereas this leaves the possibility open that Rekem was another Idumean family or clan in postexilic S Judea, an interpretation as a place name finds more contextual support.

3. The "grandson" of Gilead and Maachah, both of which are geographical names (1 Chr 7:16; cf. 1 Chr 19:6). The name of his father, Peresh "Fissure," is attested as both a personal and a place name. Because place names frequently lead to the names of clans, and vice versa, and because there is not any external evidence, it cannot be decided whether this Rekem was a Gileadite clan, or a town, or both.

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**REKEM** (PLACE) [Heb *reqem* (רֶקֶם)]. A settlement in Benjamin (Josh 18:27). The exact location remains unknown, though the list in which it appears (vv 25–28) generally contains places located in the W half of the territory. Rekem is also the ancient name for Petra. This site is actually never named Rekem in the Bible, though it is possible that the name was somehow associated with the Midianite prince so named in Josh 13:21. See REKEM (PERSON).
ELMER H. DYCK

**RELEASE, YEAR OF.** See JUBILEE, YEAR OF; SABBATICAL YEAR.

**RELIGIO LICITA.** A term conveniently coined by Tertullian to designate a religion officially sanctioned by the Roman state. Throughout the Roman world there flourished a rich cultural and ethnic pluralism, and there naturally flourished, alongside this pluralism, an equally rich diversity in cultic practices (often localized in adherence). Roman religion throughout its long history was itself remarkably assimilative and adaptive (and hence showed astonishing powers of survival), and from time to time it might formally absorb by ceremonies of *evocatio,* or by official incorporation into ritual calendars and pageants, the rites and rituals of other nations (cf. Min. Fel. *Oct.* 6.1–3; North 1976: 1–12; 1979: 85–102). But by and large, the Romans were content, with passive acquiescence, to leave others to their own indigenous cultic activities so long as they did not disturb the established boundaries and controls within imperial society, and so long as they did not impinge on imperial policy and security. But there, however, the limits of toleration for the Romans were severely set (Garnsey 1984: 1–27): if in their perception the established social or political order was threatened, the guardians of that social and political order could show themselves fearsomely jealous for the gods of their empire (e.g., Tac. *Ann.* 2.85 [Isis devotees], 14.30 [Druids]; cf. Livy 39.8–19 [Bacchanalians in 186 B.C.])—though what constituted "the gods of the Empire" was an extremely porous list of divinities.

In the case of the Jews, it is clear that religious and ethnic privileges were hard won as *concessions* and needed constant vigilance—as well as polemic—and repetition if they were not to be eroded in practice (Rajak 1984: 107–23): the series of rescripts and edicts as recorded by Philo and Josephus (Philo *Gaium* 309–20, Joseph. *Ant* 14 §185–264, 301–23; 16 §160–73; 19 §280–91) are basically the results of Jewish initiative and efforts to secure for particular cities or provinces the simple rights to pursue without harassment their ancestral laws and customs—and to have, in their perception, what other subject nations enjoyed. (These concessions included the right not to have to appear in court on the Sabbath, to collect and despatch the temple tax, and to congregate and perform the customary ceremonies on the Sabbath and other feast days.) But social friction was inevitable with adherents of a monotheistic religion which could not be assimilated into or be accommodated within the prevailing pluralist religious system. Nevertheless, the Romans fully appreciated the strength of the bond which linked a people to its ancestral cultic traditions and customs, and so, under pressure from Jewish activists who were protecting their coreligionists against social and religious discrimination, the Romans found themselves politically obliged to make formal religious concessions to Jews. Judaism thus became a *religio licita* (= an authorized religion), to use Tertullian's coinage (*Apol.* 21.1). Most nations had no need of such legal sanction in order to maintain their religious observances.

Christians, however, right from their earliest penetration into the Greco-Roman world, found themselves liable to fall foul of official authorities, whether these were local city magistrates or imperial functionaries: charges of magic, of disturbing the peace, suspicion of subversion, or disorder could be leveled at Christian minority groups, some of whom might be given to secret meetings marked by prophetic enthusiasm, who might in millenarian expectation of the Parousia opt out of the routine duties of civic life, or whose vocally expressed views might grate on pagan sensitivities and traditions or outrage Jewish sects and practices. By the time historical evidence from non-Christian sources is specific (e.g.,

Tac. *Ann.* 15.44 [on events of A.D. 64, written early in the 2d century A.D.], Pliny *Ep.* 10.96, 97 [written ca. A.D. 110]), Christians had already come to belong to a group liable to sporadic and local punishment simply for their general Christian allegiance, based ultimately on the criminal charges that might cohere to their name but which need not be proved in any particular case (de Ste Croix 1963: 6–38; 1964: 28–33). Christians, now including many gentiles, had neither the ancestral traditions nor the racial integrity to which Jews themselves might effectively appeal. The result was (as Tertullian wryly makes much of in his *Apol.* 2.10–18) that Christians might, paradoxically, escape punishment simply by abjuring their present religious adherence—actions of their Christian past were thereby rendered, illogically, irrelevant. No specific legislation against Christianity as such can be established until the time of the emperor Valerian (A.D. 257; Barnes 1968: 32–50), but there is nonetheless ample evidence of rescripts and edicts issued by emperors and provincial governors dealing with particular inquiries or individual provinces (Ulpian could gather such imperial rescripts together in the early 3d century; Lactant. *Div. Inst.* 5.11.19 [listing penalties inflicted upon Christians]).

The tactic in much apologetic Christian writing in the 2d and 3d centuries was therefore to seek tolerant treatment for Christianity similar to that granted other philosophical *sectae,* with emphasis placed on the philosophical pedigree of many of the issues it dealt with and endeavouring to clear the Christian communities of the criminal odium which had come to hover over their religious practices. In effect, in many parts of the Roman Empire Christians enjoyed lengthy periods of that laissez-faire which Rome allowed other cults and alien religious traditions. But unlike those other cults, monotheistic Christianity (like Judaism) laid universal claim to the truth and an exclusive access to the divine (the corollary being rejection of all other gods and all other religious traditions). The orders of the emperor Decius (A.D. 250) for all inhabitants of the Empire to make sacrifice to the gods brought into public view widespread civil disobedience on the part of many Christians (Clarke 1984: 21–39); thus, they could not be left as tolerable religious deviants. The emperor Valerian (A.D. 257–58) followed with more specific attempts to suppress Christian assemblies and clerical leaders, but his capture and death prompted his son Gallienus to rescind those orders and to release sequestered Church properties (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 7.13). The effect was to go some way toward decriminalizing Christianity and giving it a quasi-legitimate existence which it had not enjoyed previously.

But it was not until after the bloody persecutions in the first quarter of the 4th century that Christianity won anything like a formally recognized right to coexist, first with the edict of the dying Galerius (A.D. 311: Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 34; Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 8.17), then with the issuing of the so-called Edict of Milan (A.D. 313: Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 48; Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 10.5.2–14), and finally after the eventual defeat of Licinius in the east (A.D. 324: Eus. *Vita. C.* 2.56). At long last Christianity had become in fact a *religio licita,* an authorized religion.

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**RELIGION.** Articles relevant to the study of religion and religions in the biblical world include CANAAN, RELIGION OF; EGYPTIAN RELIGION; HITTITE RELIGION; MEMPHITE THEOLOGY; MYSTERY RELIGIONS; PHOENICIAN RELIGION; ROMAN RELIGION; SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION OF—as well as CHRISTIANITY; JUDAISM; and THEOLOGY.

**REMALIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *rĕmalyāhû* (רְמַלְיָהוּ)]. Father of Pekah, who was the next to last king of Israel, ca. 736–731 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 15:25). The name appears seven times in 2 Kgs 15:25–16:5 and once each in Isa 7:1 and 2 Chr 28:6 in the phrase "Pekah the son of Remaliah." In Isa 7:4, 5, 9, and 8:6 Pekah is referred to only by the patronym "the son of Remaliah," apparently with derogatory intent. The Bible gives us no other information about Remaliah himself. Pekah, and hence Remaliah, was apparently a native of Gilead (2 Kgs 15:25; Naʾaman 1986: 77–79). See PEKAH. No satisfactory meaning for the first element of Remaliah's name has been found (*IPN*, 257), since the verbal root *rml* does not appear in Hebrew. Two old Hebrew seals contain a name which has been read by some as *rmlyhw* (Diringer 1927: 178–79, 217). However, Diringer (Crowfoot et al. 1957: 21) has argued strongly in favor of reading these seals as *dmlyhw*. One possible explanation of the name depends on a different form of the name than we have in theMT. In the Qumran scroll 1QIsa[a], three passages spell the name *rwmlyh* (Isa 7:1, 5, 9). Since the LXX appears to back up the Qumran text by transliterating the name in these same passages as *Romelia* or *Romeliou,* Beegle (1951: 28) has understood the first element of the name to be derived from the verb *rwm* plus a predicative *la.* Hence, the name would mean "May Yahweh verily be exalted."

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**REMEMBER, REMEMBRANCE.** The Scriptures provide no theoretical account of memory, no reflections concerning the nature or psychology or functions of remembering, nothing to compare, for example, with Aristotle's *De Memoria.* J. Pedersen's interesting attempt to construct such a theoretical account of memory based on the so-called "primitive" psychology of the Hebrews (*PI* 1: 99–139) has been rejected by J. Barr (1961: 30–33, *et passim*) and criticized by B. Childs (1962: 17–30).

There may be no theory of memory, but there surely is remembering; indeed, the Scriptures are full of references to memory and remembrance. And it is clear that it will not do to define memory as "the preservation of perception" (Pl. *Phlb.* 34a) or "the permanence of an image regarded as the copy of the thing it images" (Arist. *Mem.* 451a). Such definitions do not do justice to the scriptural usage of Heb *zākar*, Gk *mimnēiskomai,* and their cognates by confining memory to things of the past. In Scripture, things in the present (e.g., Col 4:18)—and even in the future (e.g., Eccl 11:8; Heb 11:22)—can be "remembered." More importantly, such definitions distort the scriptural usage by construing memory as the neutral apprehension of images. In Scripture, however, memory is typically constitutive of identity and determinative of conduct.

**A. God Remembers**

In great hymns of faith Israel gave praise to God, and a fundamental reason for that praise was that God remembers "his covenant" (Ps 105:8 = 1 Chr 16:15; Ps 106:45; 111:5; also Luke 1:72). The covenant is presupposed when God is said to remember "his steadfast love and faithfulness" (Ps 98:3; cf. 136:23), "his promise" (Ps 105:42), or "his mercy" (Luke 1:54). The covenant is not just something from the past, and remembering it is not merely the neutral apprehension of an image from the past. In the covenant and in remembering the covenant, God establishes an identity and is faithful to it, determines a cause, and acts in accordance with it.

Psalm 105:8 stands at the opening of a long recital of the "wonderful works" which God has done, but it gives this significance to that past: God remembers his covenant "forever" and "for a thousand generations." God's remembering determines conduct and not only the great deeds of the past but also God's works of judgment and mercy in the present and future. That God has remembered the people stands in parallel to the claim that God "will bless" them (Ps 115:12).

God's remembrance of covenant finds its way from the hymns into narrative and especially into the covenantal history of the Priestly narrative, where again and again it is observed that God "remembers" covenant (Gen 9:15, 16; Exod 2:24; 6:5; Lev 26:42 [3×], 45; cf. also Gen 8:1; 19:29).

If the hymns celebrate God's remembering, the laments—and other prayers—plead for it (Ps 25:6; 74:2, 18, 22; 106:4; 119:49; 137:7; also Exod 32:13; Jer 14:21; Lam 5:1; Hab 3:2; Neh 1:8; with respect to the king, cf. Pss 20:3; 89:47, 50; 132:1; 2 Chr 6:42; note also the prayers of Samson, Judg 16:28; of Hannah, 1 Sam 1:11; of Hezekiah, 2 Kgs 20:3 = Isa 38:3). Often the covenant provides the basis for the appeal (e.g., Jer 14:21; Ps 25:6). Sometimes the appeal is simply to the creatureliness and mortality of people (Ps 89:47; Job 7:7; 10:9; 14:13; cf. Pss 8:4; 78:39). Sometimes the appeal is to merit (Ps 132:1; 2 Kgs 20:3 = Isa 38:3; Jer 18:20; Neh 5:19; 6:14; 13:14, 22, 29, 31), but sometimes the plea is simply an appeal to the sheer grace of God, as in the petition that God *not* remember sins, that is, forgive them (Pss 25:7; 79:8; also Isa 64:9).

The prophetic oracles of judgment take this tradition and turn it against the people: God "will remember their iniquity"; that is, punish them (Jer 14:10; Hos 7:2; 8:13; 9:9). The oracles of salvation, however, turn the tradition around again to announce God's mercy on the other side of judgment and repentance (Isa 43:25; Jer 31:20). The astonishing promise of Jer 31:31–34 of a new covenant in which "God will remember their sin no more" is, according to the author of Hebrews, fulfilled in the ministry of Christ (Heb 8:12; 10:17).

**B. People Remember**

The verb "remember" often has a human subject, and when it does, it can take a wide variety of objects. But whatever the object, memory remains related to the formation of identity and the determination of conduct. David "remembers" Abigail by wooing and marrying her (1 Sam 25:31); he does not "remember" that Shemei was his adversary when he spares his life although he is fully aware of the past (2 Sam 19:19). When the men of Shechem remember that Abimelech is their kinsmen, they are "inclined to follow him" (Judg 9:2, 3). Even Joseph's memory of his dreams (Gen 42:9) is not merely recollection: God's guidance forms him and his conduct.

The most frequent object of human remembering in the OT, however, is God (Deut 8:18; Judg 8:34; Ps 22:7; 42:6; 63:6; 77:3; 78:35; Eccl 12:1; Isa 57:11; 64:5; Jer 51:50; Ezek 6:9; Jonah 2:7; Zech 10:9), including God's works (Deut 5:15; 7:18; 8:2; 9:7; 15:5; 16:3, 12; 24:9, 18, 22; 32:7; Pss 77:11; 78:42; 105:5; 143:5; Ezek 16:22, 43, 61, 63; Mic 6:5) and (less frequently) God's law (Num 15:39, 40; Pss 103:18; 119:52; Mal 4:4; cf. Exod 13:3; 20:8).

Both worship and tradition served this memory. Through the great festivals with their rituals and songs, the people participated in both establishing and remembering the meaningful history of Israel and thus understood themselves better in the light of that meaningful past. Memory provided community and continuity. The Passover, for example, which Israel was to "remember" (that is, observe, Exod 13:3), was itself a "remembrance" (Heb *zikkārôn*, Exod 12:14) of God's deliverance of them from Egypt. By ritual and celebration subsequent generations made that story their own (cf. the Passover Haggadah; *m. Pesaḥ.* 10:4–6). Similarly, the Feast of Unleavened Bread was observed to "remember" the Exodus (Exod 13:8–10; Deut 16:3; consider also the Feast of Booths, Lev 23:43). New Year's Day is also described as a memorial (Heb *zikkārôn;* Lev 23:24), presumably of God's creative activity and sovereignty. Later commemorative festivals might also be mentioned: Purim (cf. Esth 9:28) and Hanukkah (1 Macc 4:52, 59). Even the wearing of phylacteries (Deut 6:8; 11:18; Exod 13:9) and tassels (Num 15:39) served as a memory of God's works and law. Thus Israel "remembered" the Lord. (At the same time, of course, the cultic ceremonies and prayers served to bring the people to God's remembrance.)

The cult was an important context for remembering, but there were others: notably, the instruction of children (Deut 6:20–25; Josh 4:4–7). For the Deuteronomist, memory assumed a special and central importance; the reform depended upon it. There was no greater danger to identity and community than forgetfulness (e.g., Deut 8:11, 19). The remedy for forgetfulness was to tell the old stories, to rehearse the traditions of God's election and grace, to remember. And remembering was never merely "recollecting"; it had the shape of obedience, of covenant faithfulness (8:1, 2; consider also the stereotyped formula in

5:15; 15:15; 16:12; 24:18, 22). The point was not some cultic actualization of the past, already then remote, not some mysterious reliving of it, some of which was painful, but continuity with it, covenant identity and fidelity in a new situation, the reformation of Judah's cult and community.

In the cycles of apostasy, affliction, repentance, and deliverance which the Deuteronomistic Historian used to interpret Israel's history and to call exiles to return, the failure to remember could be used as the equivalent of apostasy (Judg 8:34). The failure to remember was not mere absentmindedness; it was covenant unfaithfulness, the failure to fulfill the obligations of the covenant. Other texts, too, explained God's judgment as being due to Israel's forgetfulness (e.g., Isa 17:10; Jer 3:21; 13:25; 18:15; Ezek 22:12; 23:35; Hos 2:13; 4:6; Pss 78:42; 106:7; Neh 9:17).

Again, however, the prophets finally turned the words of judgment around—but none quite so completely around as Deutero-Isaiah. Alongside the expected admonition "Remember the former things of old" (Isa 46:8) Deutero-Isaiah put the quite astonishing "remember not the former things" (43:18). The eschatological perspective of the prophet looked to a future sovereignty of God over Israel and the cosmos that would completely overshadow the past and provide a new identity, a new community, and a new creation. This "new thing" (Isa 43:19) would stand in both continuity and discontinuity with Israel's memory, and it was done, according to the NT, in Jesus the Christ (e.g. Rev 21:4, 6).

A "new thing" it may have been, confounding as well as fulfilling memories and expectations, but the resurrection of Jesus (or the conviction that he was raised) prompted believers to remember Jesus in tradition and worship.

The tradition of Jesus' words and deeds was by no means merely objective recollection of historical data, and the gospels which gave the oral tradition literary expression were hardly simply retrospective historical accounts. Both were highly interpretive. It was, after all, a living Lord who was remembered, and living communities selected and shaped the tradition even while they received it. When Justin Martyr calls the gospels "memoires," (Gk *apomnemonēumata; Dial* 103:8), one may object against the denotation of an ancient literary form which contained episodes from the lives of famous men and against the connotation of a retrospective historical account; but one at least must appreciate the continuity of the gospels with the Church's memory of Jesus (cf. also Papias in Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.39.15; Luke 1:1–4). At the empty tomb, according to Luke, the disciples were told to "remember" (Luke 24:6, 8), and for the first time they understood (cf. John 2:22; 12:16; 16:4). In John's gospel it is said that the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit, will "bring to your remembrance all that I have said to you" (John 14:26). John's gospel may rework the tradition more than the other gospels, but none of them provides either a recollection of the "life of Jesus" or a timeless existentialist revelation; each gospel is a "remembrance," a literary commemoration of the risen Lord, which situated the lives of their readers in relation to the Christ, forging an identity, a community, and continuity, forming character, and determining conduct.

The epistles, too, served the memory of the Church. Paul explicitly says he writes to the Romans "by way of reminder" (Rom 15:15; Gk *hos epanaminēskōn hymae;* cf. 2 Pet 3:1). The epistles bear the tradition and ask readers to remember it (e.g., 1 Cor 15:1; Rev 3:3). They ask their readers to remember their own conversion (e.g., Eph 2:11, 13) and the ministry of their leaders (e.g., Acts 20:31; Heb 13:7). The later epistles, particularly, are intent upon preserving the tradition (e.g., 2 Tim 2:8, 14; Jude 5; 2 Pet 1:12, 13; 3:1). This "early Catholic" development was based on an understanding of the importance of memory from the beginning and was nurtured by the conviction that Christian identity and community had been put at risk within the congregations. Even here, "remember Jesus Christ, risen from the dead, descended from David, as preached in my gospel" (2 Tim 2:8) is not merely a call to preserve historical data, but a call to identity and community, to fitting thoughts and deeds (cf. Phil 2:6–11).

The epistles frequently remind their readers of the worship of the community (e.g., the hymns of Phil 2:6–11 and Col 1:9–15), and especially of baptism (e.g., Rom 6:1–11; 1 Cor 1:12–13; 12:13; Gal 3:27–28; Eph 2:1–7). It is little wonder, for worship was itself remembrance, and baptism in the name of Jesus and "into his death" (Rom 6:3) established identity, initiated one into a community of common memory, and required fitting conduct. Baptism was remembrance—not merely historical recollection—of the death and resurrection of Christ.

The Lord's Supper is explicitly said to be done "in remembrance" (Gk *anamnēsis*) of Jesus the Christ (1 Cor 11:24, 25; Luke 22:19). Jeremias (1966: 237–55) has argued (partly on the basis of Acts 10:4) that "in remembrance of me" should be translated as "that God may remember me" and should be understood as an eschatological petition for the Parousia. But Jeremias' argument begins with a minimal account of remembering as mere recollection and proceeds by way of a false dilemma between a reference to *either* the past or the future. When believers gathered around this table, they remembered the past, to be sure; they remembered the stories of the suffering and death of the risen Lord—but not merely as a historical recollection. In remembering that past, they owned the stories as their stories (including the story of Peter's "remembering," Mark 14:72). This remembering involved a "pleading guilty" to the death of Jesus but also a sharing in that death and in the new covenant (with its forgiveness) which Christ established. This remembering was constitutive of identity and community and determined conduct in the present. It is said that when the rich humiliate the poor, when community is broken (1 Cor 11:22), then "it is not the Lord's supper that you eat" (v 20), it is an "unworthy manner (v 27), and it is not truly "remembrance." Moreover, precisely because the people composed a community of memory, they were a community of hope, for they remembered the Lord's death as an eschatological event and proclaimed it "until he comes" (v 26). To remember Jesus was to hope for God's cosmic sovereignty—and to plead for God's remembrance, for God to act with covenant faithfulness. So Jeremias' affirmations can finally be accepted, but by way of a different argument, without denying what he denied.

Representatives of various liturgical traditions can agree on seeing *anamnēsis* as the fundamental characteristic of the celebration of the Eucharist. *Anamnēsis* neither prohibits nor requires understanding the sacrament as an "actualization" of the sacrifice of Christ, but it will protest against and protect against any diminishing of the sufficiency of the one death of Christ. *Anamnēsis* will welcome understanding the sacrament as a liturgical "memorial," but it will reject any account which reduces memory to recollection. Remembering remains constitutive of identity and community and determinative for character and conduct.

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ALLEN VERHEY

**REMETH** (PLACE) [Heb *remet* (רֶמֶת)]. A border town in the territory of Issachar (Josh 19:21). Most modern scholars would see Remeth (note LXX$^{A}$ *Ramath*) as identical with Ramoth in 1 Chr 6:58—Eng v 73 and Jarmuth (LXX *Remmath*) in Josh 21:29, variants of the name of a levitical town in the territory of Issachar. If this identification is correct (for an opposing viewpoint, see W. F. Albright 1926), it is possible to tentatively identify the site of Remeth as Kokab el-Hawa (M.R. 199221), which is an elevated region W of the Jordan River, E of Megiddo, and NW of Beth-shean, the site of the Crusader castle Belvoir. Woudstra (*Joshua* NICOT) notes that in a stele of Pharaoh Seti I, mention is made of an attack by the Habiru from a Mt. Yarmuta, possibly the same location as Jarmuth.

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SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**REMNANT.** What is left of a community after it undergoes a catastrophe. The major Heb terms are derivatives of *šʾr, ytr, plṭ*, and *śrd;* the major Gk terms, *leimma, hypoleimma, loipos,* and *kataloipos.*

**A. Hebrew Bible**

The concept is used most often with reference to Israel/Judah, although sometimes also to other peoples (Josh 12:4; 2 Sam 21:2; Isa 14:30; 17:3; Amos 1:8; 9:12; Zech 9:7), to humankind as a whole (Zech 14:16), or to all living creatures (Gen 7:1–5). It often has a negative connotation: the catastrophe undergone by the community is so great that only an insignificant remnant survives, or none at all (2 Kgs 21:13–15; Isa 17:4–6; Jer 8:3; Ezek 15:1–8; Amos 3:12; 5:3; 9:1–4). In many instances, however, the connotation is positive: despite the greatness of the catastrophe, a remnant survives as the basis for renewed community life (Gen 8:15–19; 45:7; 1 Kgs 19:18; Isa 1:25–26; 28:5–6; Jer 23:3–4; Joel 2:32; Obad 17; Mic 2:12; 4:6–7; Zeph 3:11–13). Because the catastrophe is understood to be an act of divine judgment, the survival of a viable remnant is, correspondingly, an act of divine mercy (Jer 23:3–4; 31:7–9; Amos 5:14–15; Mic 4:6–7). While some passages suggest that a remnant survives despite the fact that all are worthy of destruction (Jeremiah 5, esp. vv 10, 18; Mic 7:18–20), in other places the survivors are described as those who were righteous and faithful (1 Kgs 19:18; Zeph 2:3; 3:12–13). In any case, the catastrophe purges the community of its impurities, and the remnant is called to exemplary life as the people of Yahweh (Ezra 9:13–14; Isa 1:25–26; 4:2–4; 10:20). Thus, the appointment and rescue of the remnant, making possible the continuation of the life of the community, may be viewed as themselves constituting the saving activity of Yahweh (Gen 45:7; Ezra 9:7–9; Isa 1:9). Attention may, however, shift to the future, with the remnant still to be the recipient of new and greater acts of salvation (Isa 11:10–16; 28:5–6; Jer 23:3; 31:7–9; Mic 2:12–13; 4:6–7; 5:7–8; 7:18–20; Zeph 2:7, 9).

Although most often associated with the latter prophets, the concept appears (as already indicated) in some narrative passages as well. It is a motif in Genesis, e.g., the flood story (6:5–8:22), in which the flood is the means of divine judgment on human wickedness, to "blot out … man and beast and creeping things and birds of the air" (6:7). The destruction is not to be total, however; Noah, "a righteous man" (6:9; cf. 7:1), is appointed, along with his household, to preserve representative animals from destruction (6:18–21; 7:1–5). After the flood, they become the agents for the repopulation of the earth (8:15–19; 9:1–7).

In the Joseph story (Genesis 37–50), the catastrophe is a famine. It is the descendants of Abraham and Sarah who are threatened, and it is Joseph, a member of that family, who is appointed as preserver. The famine is not said to be the means of divine judgment; nor is Joseph depicted as especially righteous (although his rescue of his brothers in their time of need contrasts favorably with their earlier treatment of him). But when he reveals himself to them, he articulates the divine purpose: "God sent me before you to preserve for you a remnant on earth, and to keep alive for you many survivors" (45:7).

A further narrative instance of the concept is from the Elijah cycle (1 Kings 17–2 Kings 2). Elijah, having fled to Mt. Horeb, complains to Yahweh that "the people of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thy altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I, even I only, am left; and they seek my life, to take it away" (1 Kgs 19:10, 14). Yahweh's reply is to send Elijah to anoint those who are to bring the catastrophe, but he also announces his intention to "leave seven thousand in Israel, all the knees that have not bowed to Baal, and every mouth that has not kissed him" (19:18). In this case, the agents of divine judgment are human (two kings and a prophet), and the survivors are those who have been faithful to Yahweh.

Another narrative reference to a remnant appears at the close of Hezekiah's plea to Isaiah to pray for Jerusalem's deliverance from Sennacherib's attack: "… therefore lift up your prayer for the remnant that is left" (2 Kgs 19:4 = Isa 37:4). Isaiah's response on this occasion is reassuring. Quite the opposite is the later prophetic word provoked by the situation under Manasseh: "… I will cast off the remnant of my heritage, and give them into the hand of their enemies …" (2 Kgs 21:14).

The Chronicler views the returned exiles of the Persian period as a remnant left by Yahweh's favor, in spite of sins that merited total destruction. Should they again break the commandments, they would have to expect that even the remnant would be consumed (Ezra 9:8, 13–15).

Among the latter prophets, Amos contains several allusions to the concept. For the most part, these are threatening: all that will remain of Israel are a few artifacts (3:12); only a tenth of the population will survive (5:3); those who escape the initial onslaught will be hunted down one by one (9:1–4). But there is

also the possibility that, if Israel changes its ways, "it may be that the Lord, the God of hosts, will be gracious to the remnant of Joseph" (5:14–15; cf. the later gloss, 9:8c).

The references in the book of Micah to a restored remnant of Israel are generally ascribed to postexilic editing. They will be gathered like sheep, and the lame and afflicted will receive special care (2:12–13; 4:6–7); Yahweh's anger will give way to forgiveness, compassion, and love (7:18–20). The remnant will be among the nations like dew and like a lion; that is, as both blessing and curse (5:7–8).

The call of Isaiah of Jerusalem refers to a destruction that is virtually total (Isa 6:11–13), but his son is named Shearjashub ("a remnant will return"). That may well be intended as an expression of doom ("only a remnant"; cf. 10:20–22; 30:15–17); certainly those who oppose Yahweh (including Samaria) will be reduced to a handful of survivors (16:14; 17:1–6; 21:16–17). In other oracles attributed to Isaiah, however, the survival of a few is ascribed to Yahweh's grace (1:9). The destruction is to serve a purifying purpose (1:25–26; 4:2–4). Those who have been scattered will be gathered again (11:10–16) and blessed by Yahweh (28:5–6).

Zephaniah announces a day of Yahweh's wrath, but holds forth the possibility that the humble and obedient, who seek righteousness and humility, may escape (2:3). When the "proudly exultant ones" are removed, there will be left "a people humble and lowly. They shall seek refuge in the name of the Lord, those who are left in Israel; they shall do no wrong and utter no lies, nor shall there be found in their mouth a deceitful tongue. For they shall pasture and lie down, and none shall make them afraid" (3:11–13).

Jeremiah professes to find no one in Jerusalem "who does justice and seeks truth," for the sake of whom the city can be pardoned (5:1–6; 6:9). While some will survive the coming destruction, they will find existence intolerable (8:3). Yet the day will come when Yahweh will gather the remnant of his flock from all the countries where he has driven them, and will provide shepherds for them in their own land (23:1–8); the call will go out, "Proclaim, give praise, and say, 'The Lord has saved his people, the remnant of Israel' " (31:7).

In Haggai and Zechariah, "the remnant of the people" is used as a name for those who have returned from Exile (Hag 1:12, 14; 2:2; Zech 8:6, 11, 12).

**B. New Testament**

The most explicit NT reference to the remnant is in Romans 9–11. Paul's indebtedness to the Hebrew Bible for the concept is attested by his quotation of such passages as Isa 10:22; 1:9; and 1 Kgs 19:18 (cf. Rom 9:27, 29; 11:4). As he struggles with the fact that most of his fellow-Jews have not accepted his gospel, he observes that "not all who are descended from Israel belong to Israel" (9:6b), and that "it is not the children of the flesh who are the children of God, but the children of the promise are reckoned as descendants" (9:8). Those Jews who accept his gospel constitute the remnant. They and the gentiles who believe have been chosen, not by their own will or exertion, but in divine sovereignty and mercy, as were Israel's first ancestors to whom the promise was given (9:6–33). This does not mean, however, that Israel has been deprived of its heritage (9:4–5) or rejected by God (11:1–2a). Even those who have been excluded for a time will eventually be included (11:11–32). Thus, the existence of the remnant is a temporary phenomenon, to be superseded when God's work is complete.

Allusions to the remnant occur in the Synoptic Gospels. Thus, John the Baptist warns of a judgment coming upon the descendants of Abraham that will leave only the trees that bear good fruit, and will gather the wheat into the granary while the chaff will be burned (Matt 3:7–10 = Luke 3:7–9). Jesus speaks of a wide gate and an easy way that leads many to destruction, while only a few find the narrow gate and take the hard way that leads to life (Matt 7:13–14; cf. Luke 13:23–24). He also tells a parable of a field in which a man sows good seed, after which an enemy secretly sows weeds; both wheat and weeds grow together until the harvest, but then the separation will be made (Matt 13:24–30). When asked about his teaching in parables, Jesus distinguishes between those to whom "it has been given to know the secret of the kingdom of God" and the others for whom parables are intended (Mark 4:10–12 = Matt 13:10–17 = Luke 8:9–10). A proverb, "For many are called, but few are chosen," is ascribed to him (Matt 22:14).

The book of Revelation describes the situation in the churches to which it is addressed in terms that sometimes reflect the concept of remnant (2:24; 3:4). Its portrayal of the destruction to accompany the end time involves a remnant that will survive (11:13; 12:17).

**C. Origin of the Concept**

No consensus has emerged concerning the origin of the concept of a remnant. It has been held that the motif emerged in the context of eschatology derived from Babylonian mythology and cults. Another view is that the concept has its origins in the civil or political sphere; and, more specifically, that it derives from the Assyrian policy of total warfare, reflected in royal inscriptions boasting of successful military campaigns. A third outlook holds that the remnant idea arose out of existential concern over threats to human survival and the desire to secure life and existence in the face of death.

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LESTER V. MEYER

**REPENTANCE.** The notion of repentance follows from the notion of sin. It suggests that sin is an act or attitude which can be corrected by some change in the person.

**A. Old Testament**

The basic Hebrew word which is used to express this change is *šwb,* the root of which means simply "to turn." It is a particularly instructive word because it reflects the notion of journeying and pilgrimage, which exemplifies in a very fundamental sense the attitude and relationship between Yahweh and Israel (Deut 26:5–11).

The idea of walking in the way of the Lord is a common metaphor in the Hebrew Bible (Ps 1:1). And in a variety of contexts the way of Israel is contrasted with the way of Canaan, the way of the Lord with the way of evildoers, the way of the righteous with the way of sinners. Israel's religious calendar, too, is built on the core of pilgrim feasts: Passover, Booths, and Pentecost all have pilgrim contexts. It is this notion of walking and journeying, then, that illumines the meaning of *šwb* (or the less common *nḥm;* Exod 13:17). The relationship with Yahweh is envisioned as an ongoing journey requiring constant attention and vigilance, and a sense of purpose. To deviate from the way is, at the same time, to lose sight of the objective.

Three classical passages illustrate this sense of repentance-returning: Amos 4:6–13; Hos 5:15–6:5; Jer 3:12–24.

In Amos the prophetic vision of the coming destruction finds powerful expression. His prophecy cuts through the appearances of prosperity and illumines the hypocrisy and idolatry of self-love. The passage in chap. 4 rehearses the chastisements, punishments, and signs that Yahweh has visited upon Israel. Despite this "parental" admonition, "you did not return (*šwb*) to me." This phrase becomes a refrain in the passage. The general tone of Amos is pessimistic and the repentance which is required seems remote. In these passages the emphasis is on "Israel," the people. The dire call "Prepare to meet your God" is directed to the nation which "did not return."

In Hosea the great metaphor of the faithless wife is the key to understanding the sense of repentance (Hosea 2–3). Faithless Israel has become a prostitute and abandoned the relationship with the Lord, forgotten the love God showed, and been ungrateful for the Lord's gifts of plenty and prosperity. But the Lord does not (as in Amos) let go. "I will woo her. I will go with her into the wilderness and comfort her: there I will restore her vineyards … and there she will answer as in her youth" (Hos 2:14–15). There is in Hosea a real sense of the possibility of repentance. "Come, let us return to the Lord; for he has torn us and will heal us. He has struck us and he will bind up our wounds; after two days he will revive us; on the third day he will restore us, that in his presence we may live" (Hos 6:1–2). Following this consolation, the prophet goes on to enumerate the qualities of repentance: humility and knowledge of the Lord (Hos 6:3–

4). And further in chap. 12 he cites "loyalty and justice" (Hos 12:6). Over and over it is the care of the poor, the quality of justice, and the dedication to the Torah that exemplify true repentance.

So in Hosea, while the references are to Israel (2:4–4), the repentance which is required is more personal, more individual than the call to repentance in Amos.

Finally in Jeremiah the prophet's call for a "new heart" provides the context of repentance. In chap. 3 Jeremiah proclaims, "Come back to me, apostate Israel, says the Lord, I will no longer frown on you. For my love is unfailing, says the Lord, I will not be angry for ever" (Jer 3:12). The condemnations of Israel and the apostasy which will bring disaster on the people are offset constantly by the appeal to renewal. "I remember the unfailing devotion of your youth, the love of your bridal days when you followed me in the wilderness, through a land unknown" (Jer 2:2). And the renewal which is required is also specified. "If you will banish your loathsome idols from my sight, and stray no more; if you swear by the life of the Lord in truth, in justice, and uprightness, then shall the nations pray to be blessed like you (Jer 4:1–2).

But one theme that Jeremiah develops more fully than his predecessors is the idea of gleaning out of Israel a faithful few (Jer 6:9). And this faithful remnant may yet survive the disaster if they acknowledge their wrongdoing, confess their rebellion and their promiscuous traffic with foreign gods (Jer 3:13). In this group of confessors, repentant and renewed, the future hope lies because these the Lord loved: "With everlasting Love have I loved you, therefore I have continued my faithfulness to you" (Jer 31:3).

This can only take place, however, when the Lord "will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah." This new covenant will not be external to the faithful, nor a "thing" to be done; rather, the Lord "will write it upon their hearts." The renewed covenant and the renewed heart are essential elements of the future. From the very beginning, the Lord both winnowed and called. And to that call those who heard and repented responded and so became "like a watered garden" (Jer 31:12).

Again in Jeremiah, there is a growing sense of a distinction between the fate of the whole people and the fate of the faithful. So the repentance of the faithful few restores Israel even though the many perish.

It seems clear from the prophetic writings that repentance is eschatological. The final punishment of faithless Israel is withheld. The sword is stayed, the final light is not extinguished, the possibility of repentance remains because the Lord is faithful and full of love and refuses to abandon the covenant (Childs 1986: 226).

Repentance in the prophets, then, is an act of the heart. It is more than mere words. It is defined by clear actions that lead to justice, mercy, and fidelity. But repentance was also a cultic act. It is a liturgical function in Israel. There are a number of passages which point to the liturgical act of repentance (Isa 63:7–64:12; Hos 6:1–3; 7:14; 14:1–3; Joel 2:15–18). These cultic expressions apparently included acts such as rending garments, throwing ashes, wearing coarse garments, and as in the liturgy of the *yôm hakkippurîm,* symbolic acts (Leviticus 16). These cultic acts attest to a widespread belief in both the necessity and the possibility of repentance and forgiveness. Though the prophets often excoriate such rituals because they are performed without a change of heart (Jeremiah 7), they are important indicators of the faith of Israel in the continuous mercy of Yahweh.

Finally, one should note the many references in the Psalms to repentance and forgiveness. Two psalms in particular, Psalm 51 and Psalm 130, express most poignantly the elements of true repentance and its place in the religion of Israel:

> If you, Lord, keep count of sins
> Who, O Lord, could hold up his head.
> But in you is forgiveness
> And therefore you are revered (Ps 130:3–4).
> Create a pure heart in me, O God,
> And give me a new and steadfast spirit …
> My sacrifice, O God, is a broken spirit,
> A wounded heart you will not despise (Ps 51:10, 17).

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JOSEPH P. HEALEY

**B. New Testament**

The primary Gk term rendered "repentance" in English translations of the NT (*metanoia*) is found 24 times, and its verbal form "to repent" (*metanoeō*) is used another 34 times. In addition, another important word which is sometimes translated "repent" (*metamelomai*) occurs six times. The generally recognized core idea of these words is a "change of mind" (*NIDNTT* 1: 356–57), although *metamelomai* also carries the nuance of "regret" or "remorse" (*TDNT* 4:628–29). The English rendering has perhaps been colored by the Latin background of concepts like penance and penitence.

**1. OT Background.** In the LXX both *metanoia/metanoeō* and *metamelomai* translate the Heb *nāḥam* a total of 35 times, again emphasizing the elements of a change of thinking and regret. It has been commonly held that the NT concept of "repentance" follows the meaning of the frequent Heb verb *šûb* (*TDNT* 8:989; *NIDNTT* 1: 357). However, such a view cannot be sustained from LXX usage because *šûb,* which is used over 1,050 times, is always translated by *epistrophō* ("to turn, be converted") and its kindred terminology (*TDNT* 8:726–29; *NIDNTT* 1: 354). Thus, any possible shift in meaning took place during the Intertestamental Period, perhaps under Hellenistic influence (*TDNT* 4:989), though such a conclusion lacks fully persuasive proof (Wilkin 1985).

**2. NT Usage.** The noun *metanoia* and its related verb *metanoeō* occur 26 times in the gospels, though not at all in John. They are found eleven times in Acts, five times in the Pauline epistles, three times in Hebrews, once in 2 Peter, and twelve times in Revelation. The minority term *metamelomai* is encountered three times in Matthew, twice in 2 Corinthians, and once in Hebrews.

In the gospels, John the Baptist burst onto the scene in Israel "preaching a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins" (Mark 1:4; Luke 3:3). His urgent message was "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is near" (Matt 3:2). Those who came to be baptized by John were warned, "Produce fruit in keeping with repentance" (Luke 3:8). Here the basic flavor of intellectual change in *metanoia* is evident. It is also clear that behavioral "fruit" (i.e., a changed life) is expected to flow from repentance (Turner 1975: 63–64).

In his early ministry, Jesus' own message was expressed in similar ways. Like the Baptizer, he proclaimed, "Repent, for the kingdom … is near" (Matt 4:17). His mission focused on calling "sinners to repentance" (Luke 5:32). What that meant is clarified in Mark 1:15: "Repent and believe the good news." Any conception of repenting (*metanoeō*) not wedded to faith in the gospel falls short of the full biblical message.

On the other hand, the proclamation of Jesus (Jeremias 1971: 152–58) and his apostles sometimes utilized the idea of *metanoia* to include faith (Mark 6:12). In a real sense, "Repentance and faith are two sides of the same coin" (*IDB* 4:34). The issue could be sharpened to "repent" or "perish" (Luke 13:3, 5), "repent" or go to "hell" and "torment" after death (Luke 16:23, 28, 30). For those sinners who do repent, however, there is "joy in heaven" (Luke 15:7, 10). Thus, it can be concluded that, in the gospels, *metanoia* stands for the entire response bringing about eternal life, including faith when it is not stated. Accordingly, the Great Commission statement which concludes Luke's gospel reads, "Repentance and forgiveness of sins will be preached in his name to all nations" (24:47).

At the human level, sincere repentance (*metanoeō*) for interpersonal sin demands forgiveness, according to Christ (Luke 17:3–4). Surprisingly, John's gospel contains no reference to repentance in either dimension, the idea apparently being included in John's concept of faith (*IDB* 4: 34).

The three uses of *metamelomai* in the gospels are instructive. In Matt 21:29, 32, it is similar, but not equivalent, to *metanoeō.* In Matt 27:3 the "remorse" of Judas does not have "the power to overcome the destructive operation of sin" (*TDNT* 4:628). This example "makes it clear that *metamelomai* and *metanoeō* do not have identical meanings in the NT" (*NIDNTT* 1: 356).

Virtually echoing John the Baptist, Peter's sermon at Pentecost in Acts urged, "Repent and be baptized … so that your sins may be forgiven" (Acts 2:38). Further usage links repentance not only with forgiveness (5:31) but also with "faith in our Lord Jesus" (20:21) and with "life," as a result of repentance (11:18). In Acts 17:30–31 Paul on the Areopagus states God's command for "all people everywhere to repent" or be justly judged. Parallel to the phenomena in the gospels (*NIDNTT* 1: 359), repentance in Acts may be complementary to faith (20:21) or include faith (17:30) and leads to forgiveness of sins (2:38; 5:31) and eternal life (11:18).

Two other passages bring *epistrephō* alongside *metanoeō* in noteworthy ways. Acts 3:19 records Peter's offer to Israel: "Repent … and turn to God, so that your sins may be wiped out." Paul's explanation of his apostolic commission to Agrippa in Acts 26:18 clarifies this turning (*epistrephō*): "from darkness to light," from Satan's power to God to receive forgiveness of sins. The apostle's obedience to that commission meant that he preached that his hearers "should repent and turn to God and prove their repentance by their deeds" (Acts 26:20). Here again is the expectation that the one who changes his mind (*metanoeō*) about the gospel and turns (*epistrephō*) to the Lord will display a "converted" lifestyle (cf. Luke 3:8).

The Pauline literature rarely uses the terms for repentance, and the Johannine epistles not at all. For Paul, like John, repentance is included in faith (*IDB* 4: 34). Besides several standard uses (Rom 2:4; 2 Cor 12:21; 2 Tim 2:25), Paul strongly contrasts *metanoeō* and *metamelomai* in 2 Cor 7:8–10 (*TDNT* 4:629).

The writer of Hebrews refers to the God who "will not change his mind" (7:21) and Esau, who could not achieve repentance (12:17). He also speaks of foundational initial repentance (6:1) and the utter impossibility of returning to the point of first repentance (6:6). Peter describes the patient God, who desires "everyone to come to repentance" (2 Pet 3:9), apparently including forgiveness and salvation (See 1 Tim 2:4). Again the basic idea of a change of mind is demonstrated in the epistles.

The letters to the churches in the Roman province of Asia in the book of Revelation contain eight uses of "repent" (2:5 [twice], 16, 21 [twice], 22; 3:3, 19). The glorified Christ's command to repent was directed at a lukewarm church in Laodicea (3:19), but also at the great church at Ephesus (2:5), which had "forsaken its first love" (2:4). All these sinful churches needed to change their minds and bring forth the fruit of repentance (Luke 3:8; Acts 26:20), turning again to Christ.

Sadly, the last mentions of "repent" (*metanoeō*) in the NT picture an unrepentant mass of humankind as God's climactic wrath is poured out on the earth (Rev 9:20, 21; 16:9, 11). Instead of turning to the Lord in repentant faith through his longstanding patience (2 Pet 3:9) or to escape his righteous judgment, these sinners continued with their abominable acts (9:20, 21) and cursed God instead of glorifying him (16:9, 11).

In conclusion it can be said that repentance in the NT is always anchored in a change of thinking (*metanoia*), although the psychological and emotional aspects sometimes color or expand the concept (especially the usage of *metamelomai*) (*ISBE* 4: 136–37). Repentance must not be separated from its flip side of faith (Mark 1:15; Acts 20:21), or from the realization that it sometimes stands for the package of human response to the good news of Jesus Christ (2 Pet 3:9; cf. Acts 2:38). True repentance, whether by an unbeliever or a believer (Acts 26:18, 20; Luke 17:3–4), receives the gracious forgiveness that God continually offers all humankind in Christ (Luke 24:47).

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A. BOYD LUTER, JR.

**REPHAEL** (PERSON) [Heb *rĕpā᾽ēl* (רְפָאֵל)]. Named as the second son of Shemaiah, first son of Obed-edom, Rephael (whose name means "God has healed") is listed among the gatekeepers at the

temple in Jerusalem (1 Chr 26:7). The list in which his name occurs (1 Chr 26:4–8) appears to be the contribution of a reviser of the Chronicler's organization of the gatekeepers (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 169–70; Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 173).
J. S. ROGERS

**REPHAH** (PERSON) [Heb *repaḥ* (רֶפַח)]. A descendant of Ephraim (1 Chr 7:25). The only other listing of the Ephraimite clan is in Num 26:35–36, but it has no Rephah. The Ephraimite list in 1 Chronicles 7 is a unit that is interrupted in v 21b and resumed in vv 25–27. The antecedent of "his son" before Rephah is unclear. Perhaps the Resheph that follows is partial dittography of Rephah (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 115). There is a repetition of names in vv 20–21 and 25–27 and perhaps some variations in spelling. Hogg (1900–1901: 149–50) argues that the names in vv 25–27 beginning with Rephah are variations or misreadings of the three sons of Ephraim found in Num 26:35–36.

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M. STEPHEN DAVIS

**REPHAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *rĕpāyâ* (רְפָיָה)]. The name Rephaiah is held by five persons in the Hebrew Bible. The name may mean "Yahweh has healed."

1. In 1 Chr 3:21 Rephaiah is listed as the son of Jeshaiah the son of Hananiah according to the MT. The genealogy in 1 Chr 3:16–24 lists the postexilic descendants of the Davidic line. The MT as it now stands is corrupt in the second half of v 21. If we follow the text as it is, then there is no connection between the first half of the verse and the second and consequently the last recorded descendant of Zerubbabel is Jeshaiah. If we delete the phrase "sons of" and read instead "and," then the list represents further sons of Hananiah. A final possibility would be to change the phrase in the MT "sons of" to "his son" with partial support of the versions. Scholars are in disagreement concerning these possibilities. The solution which is chosen affects how scholars date the work of the Chronicler.

2. Rephaiah was also the name of a chief of the Simeonites, who with a band of five hundred men went to Mt. Seir and destroyed a settlement of Amalekites. The group then settled there. This occurred during the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah (727–698 B.C.).

3. In 1 Chr 7:2 Rephaiah is named as the son of Tola the eldest son of Issachar. He is described as a mighty warrior (Heb *gibbôr ḥayil*).

4. Rephaiah is given as the name of a descendant of Saul of the tribe of Benjamin in 1 Chr 9:43. He is the son of Binea and the father of Eleasah. The list of Saul's descendants in 1 Chronicles 9 is probably adapted from chap. 8 and is intended as an introduction to chaps. 10 and following. Note the variations from that list, for example, the spelling of the name Rephaiah in 1 Chr 8:37 is Raphah.

5. In Neh 3:9 Rephaiah the son of Hur is listed as ruler of half the district of Jerusalem (Heb *śar ḥăṣî pelek yĕrûšālām*). The context in the text is the reconstruction of the walls of Jerusalem under the direction of Nehemiah. There were five administrative units in the Persian "province" of Jehud. The other districts with their rulers are listed in Neh 3:12, 14–18. The intent in this text in listing the rulers of these districts may have been to show the strong support for the rebuilding of the walls within the community.
RUSSELL FULLER

**REPHAIM** [Heb *rĕpāʾîm* (רְפָאִים)]. A term in the Hebrew Bible whose uses fall generally into two categories: (1) descriptions of the dead in the underworld, or (2) references to a group or nation of giants or warriors.

**A. The Rephaim as the Dead**

In the OT the Rephaim are frequently described as dead humans who dwell in the underworld. Ps 88:11—Eng 88:10 sets the Rephaim (RSV "shades") in parallelism with "the dead" (*mētîm*), asking if God's love is declared in the grave and if God's wondrous acts are known in "the darkness" and "the land of forgetfulness" (vv 12–13—Eng 11–12). The psalmist implores God not to consign him to death and the

grave as well as to the underworld where the dead go after life. The same parallelism between the Rephaim ("shades") and the dead occurs in Isa 26:14, 19. Fifth-century Phoenician inscriptions likewise attest to the Rephaim as those whom the living join in dying (*KAI* 13:7–8; 14:8). A Punic-Latin bilingual text renders "the divine Rephaim" with the Lat "the sacred shades," that is, the dead (*KAI* 177: 1; Horwitz 1979: 41; L'Heureux 1979: 112–27; Cooper 1981: 460–67).

References to the Rephaim in the book of Proverbs also indicate that they are the dead dwelling in the netherworld. In Prov 2:18 the house of folly leads (or, sinks down) to death and to the Rephaim. The foolish man does not know that the Rephaim (RSV "dead") are in the underworld, according to Prov 9:18. Prov 21:16 characterizes the Rephaim as a "congregation" or "assembly" (*qāhāl*).

Further specification of the abode of the dead Rephaim comes from Job 26:5. In this verse the extent of God's power reaches down beneath the waters of the oceans, down to the abode of the Rephaim. There in the underworld the Rephaim (RSV "shades") tremble at God's might. (The final passage of the Ugaritic Baal cycle, *CTA* 6.6.46–52, also juxtaposes the sea with the Rephaim in the netherworld).

Unlike the references to the Rephaim in Psalm 88, references in the book of Proverbs, Job 26, and Isa 14:9 describe the Rephaim as dead kings. This latter passage is a genuine reminiscence of the Rephaim as a line of deceased monarchs. When the Lord relegates the king of Babylon to the netherworld, the netherworld and its inhabitants respond in the following way to the latter's arrival:

> Sheol beneath is stirred up
> to meet you when you come,
> it rouses the Rephaim to greet you,
> it raises from their thrones
> all the kings of the nations.

Unlike any other biblical text, this passage preserves vestiges of a 2d-millennium understanding of the Rephaim. For, while other biblical passages as well as the Phoenician inscriptions and the Punic-Latin bilingual know the Rephaim only as the dead in a general sense, the concept of the Rephaim in Isa 14:9 is similar to the Ugaritic notion of the Rephaim as the ancestral line of dead heroes and kings.

2 Chr 16:12 may contain yet another reference to the dead Rephaim. This passage faults the ailing king Asa for consulting "doctors" (*rōpĕʾîm*). It has been proposed (Jastrow 1909: 49 n. 23) that Asa did not consult "doctors" but the Rephaim, perhaps much as Saul asked the witch of Endor to consult the dead (1 Samuel 28). It is difficult to criticize Asa for seeking medical aid unless the help was sought from theologically dangerous sources, such as the dead Rephaim.

**B. The Rephaim as Giants**

The Rephaim are also described in the OT as a people. In Gen 14:5, Chedorlaomer and his cohorts smite the Rephaim in Ashtaroth-karnaim along with peoples called Zuzim and Emim. According to Deut 2:10, the Emim had once lived in Moab. They were as tall as the Anakim, who were giants (Num 13:33). According to Deut 2:11, they were also known as the Rephaim, but the Moabites called them Emim. Deut 2:20 relates that the territory of Ammon, like that of Moab, was known as the land of the Rephaim, but that the Ammonites called them Zamzummim. From the perspective of Deuteronomy, the Rephaim were a legendary race of giants existing in the distant past. See also REPHAIM, VALLEY OF. Unlike Gen 14:5, which describes the Rephaim, Zuzim, and Emim as distinct peoples, Deuteronomy understands them as different names for the same people.

Gen 15:20 lists the Rephaim with various "ethnic" groups which inhabited the areas between the Nile and the Euphrates. Because the term Rephaim lacks the formal grammatical indicator for a people in biblical Hebrew, the Rephaim were likely not an actual nation or people, but a loosely defined group used to fill out this list. (One may compare Josh 5:1 or Num 13:29, where the Rephaim are omitted [Rosenberg 1980: 204].) The Genesis and Deuteronomy 2 passages transformed old traditions about the Rephaim from legendary giants into a people comparable to other nations. In Deuteronomy, the Rephaim serve part of a further theological purpose. In describing the dispossession of the Rephaim by Moab and Ammon, the Horites by Seir, and the Avvim by Caphtor, Israel's dispossession of the Canaanites is shown to be no less moral (Rosenberg 1980: 208).

Other passages in Deuteronomy and Joshua also have a vague view of the Rephaim. Deut 3:11, 13 as well as Josh 12:4 and 13:12 recall Og of Bashan as a remnant of the Rephaim. All of these passages describe the Rephaim as some type of group or nation living in the distant past.

The Rephaim as a line of warriors is apparently preserved in the epithet "the Raphites" (*hārāpâ;* RSV "giants") found in 2 Sam 21:16, 18, 20 and 1 Chr 20:4, 6, 8 (L'Heureux 1976: 83–85). This expression may have derived from an eponymous ancestor named Rapah or the like (cf. Talmon 1983: 237–41). An Ugaritic text (RS 24.252 = *KTU* 1.108) describes a figure named Rapaʾu (Ug *rpʾu*,the vocalization of which is based on the biblical Hebrew *hārāpâ*). This personage has the same address as Og. Both figures are said to dwell in Ashtarot and Edrei (assuming that the Ugaritic words *ʿṯtrt* and *hdrʿy* are place names). Judging from this Ugaritic evidence and Deuteronomy 3, the biblical traditions regarding the Rephaim may have originated in the area of NE Transjordan.

**C. Conclusions**

How one reconciles these different views of the Rephaim in the OT has been the subject of much scholarly discussion. Fortunately the Ugaritic texts as well as the later biblical and Phoenician texts clarify the process which led to different presentations of the Rephaim in the Bible. In 2d-millennium Ugarit, the Rephaim were the line of dead kings and heroes, as the Ugaritic text, RS 34.126 = *KTU* 1.161 indicates (Pitard 1979; Bordreuil and Pardee 1982; Levine and de Tarragon 1984). Generally this precise understanding of the Rephaim was lost in the course of the 1st millennium (see Horwitz 1979: 41–43). While Isa 14:9 preserves the older understanding of the Rephaim, in other occurrences the older concept of the Rephaim was fractured, bifurcating into various descriptions of the Rephaim. The Rephaim as a line or group of heroes and monarchs at Ugarit corresponds to the biblical view of them as a people or nation. As heroes and monarchs, the Rephaim survived in the Bible as giants or warriors. The royal aspect of the Rephaim is most evident in Isa 14:9. The Ugaritic view of the Rephaim as a dead group has broadened in the biblical texts describing the Rephaim as the dead in general.

The NT also preserves a reference to the Ugaritic god Rapaʾu. In his defense speech before the Sanhedrin in Acts 7, Stephen contrasts the fidelity of Abraham, Joseph, and Moses with the infidelity of their fellow Israelites. As an example of the latter's unfaithfulness, Stephen cites in Acts 7:43 a version of Amos 5:26:

> And you took up the tent of Moloch,
> and the star of the god Rephan,
> the figures which you made to worship;
> and I will remove you beyond Babylon.

The gods Moloch and Rephan are lacking in the Hebrew text of Amos 5:26, and extant in only a few mss of the LXX of the same verse. The deity Moloch was known in Israel and perhaps in Punic Carthage as the god to whom children were sacrificed in fire. This god is also attested in texts from Ugarit. The name Rephan in Acts 7:43 varies a great deal in NT mss. The origin of the name has been attributed to two scribal errors, since the name of the deity in question in the Hebrew text of Amos 5:26 is Kaiwan (*kywn*). In this case, the Greek form Rephan is assumed to have resulted from the mistaking of Hebrew *kap* for *reš* and the transliteration of Hebrew *waw* by Greek *phi.* With the recent discovery of the Ugaritic god Rapaʾu, it has been suggested as an alternative that Rephan is a vestige of this Ugaritic deity (Pope 1977: 170). Accordingly, Stephen's citation of Rephan with Moloch as examples of Israelite idolatry captures the flavor of Canaanite paganism which the Israelites were said to have enjoyed and the Israelite prophets so zealously condemned.

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MARK S. SMITH

**REPHAIM, VALLEY OF** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿēmeq rĕpāʾîm* (עֵמֶק רְפָאִים)]. A valley, extending SW of Jerusalem, whose N portion formed part of the boundary between Benjamin and Judah (Josh 15:8; 18:16). It is also the scene of one of the famous exploits performed by the mighty three among the Champions of David (2 Sam 23:13; 1 Chr 11:15). This exploit happened during a major thrust by the Philistines against David at Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:18; 1 Chr 14:9). Whether by military or literary design, the Philistines gathered in the Valley of the Rephaim in preparation for attacking Jerusalem. Militarily the Philistines had cut off access to David's base of strength to the S and to the agricultural productivity of the valley. However, certain literary concerns may have led to the location of the battle.

In the LXX, the valley is called (1) "Valley of the Rephaim (Gk *Raphaim*)" (2 Sam 23:13); (2) "Valley of the *Titans* (Gk *Titanōn*)" (2 Sam 5:18); (3) "Valley of the Giants (Gk *gigantōn*)" (1 Chr 11:15; 14:9). This reflects a tradition in which "Rephaim" is the equivalent of "Giants." It may have been a matter of deliberate choice that the text has the descendants of giants (cf. Hesiod *Theog.* 132–60, 207–10), the Philistines (2 Samuel 15–22), outwitted by the mighty three (2 Sam 23:13–17 = 1 Chr 11:15–19) and ultimately defeated by David's army in the "Valley of the Giants" (2 Sam 5:17–25 = 1 Chr 14:8–17). This tradition of the giants may also have been logical outgrowth of the Ugaritic understanding of Rephaim as the dead royal ancestors. See REPHAIM.

Finally the biblical record (Isa 17:5) also describes the valley as a place of fertile farming. Though the metaphor is one of famine, the implication is left that the valley was a place of rich agriculture. The valley's ancient agricultural productivity has recently been examined quite thoroughly by the Ein Yael Project.

The project involves archaeological survey, excavation, experimentation, research, and reconstruction of ancient agricultural technology. Geographically, the Ein Yael Project is situated in the outskirts of Jerusalem in the Rephaim Valley. As part of the Judean Hills, the Mediterranean climate of this region consists of a short rainy season followed by a long dry summer. Due to the lack of water available during most of the year, inhabitants of the area settled near permanent natural water sources (such as Jerusalem, situated near the Gihon spring) or were forced to develop artificial water supplies. Two artificial methods of water collection are observed at ancient sites in the Rephaim Valley. One system involves the cutting and plastering of a cistern which collects and retains water during the rainy season. The second system involves the cutting of a cave and tunnel into the hillside. Rainwater seeps through the hills and collects in the cave during winter months and flows out through the tunnel during dry seasons. Both systems can adequately supply a small population with water throughout the year.

Serving as the border between Israel and Jordan until 1967, the area of the Rephaim Valley has remained, thus far, free from modern development. This lack of development has allowed for a more extensive study of archaeological remains in the area when compared to other regions. Using topographical maps or aerial photography, one can clearly distinguish the remains of ancient farms as well as the roads which connected each unit and provided access to Jerusalem. The farms consist of distinct terraced units divided by boundary walls, giving each farm its unique shape and defined territory. Outside the agricultural units subterranean tombs, lime kilns for the production of plaster, wine and oil presses are found. Stone quarries from which the rocks were hewn are also recognizable in the vicinity. While it is

difficult to date each stone quarry to the time of use, the quarries were undoubtedly used in the construction of the buildings, roads, terraces, boundary walls, and tunnels at these ancient farms.

A major development in the advance of ancient agricultural units in hilly terrain such as the Rephaim Valley is the terrace system of farming. A terrace is an artificial construction used to create a field for farming. Terraces are especially important in hilly areas where erosion of the soil can be problematic. In the Judean Hills, ancient farmers constructed terraces by building a stone wall and filling the space behind it with stones and soil. The terrace system also allows for the retention of moisture throughout the year while the soil is replenished with minerals through the decay of plants. Nutrients provided by plant decay allow the same terrace units to be used for long periods.

Terraces were first used at the beginning of the Bronze Age at sites located near water sources. While the idea of terrace agriculture was known in the EB period, the use of terracing was limited to the spring areas in the valleys, which was sufficient for the limited agricultural needs of a small population. Extensive terracing actually began in the Israelite period as the population increased and continued through the Byzantine period in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. From the Israelite period onward, the terraced farms in the Rephaim Valley provided Jerusalem with much of its food supply.

The Ein Yael Project—named for a farm in the Rephaim Valley exhibiting remains from the Israelite, Roman, Byzantine, and Ammayad periods—includes an examination and study of agriculture as it developed during the various archaeological periods represented in the valley. Each farming unit in the area depicts a history of occupation exemplifying the varying change in technology over time. Excavation at the site of er Ras, for example, shows that the site was occupied in the Bronze Age (2000–1600 B.C.) before the first terraces were constructed there. The site was later reoccupied in the 8th century B.C. and was rebuilt in the typical size and with installations common to farms of the First Temple period. During this period, the farm at er Ras consisted of four and one-half acres of terraced farmland bordered by stone walls. The site, connected to other agricultural units by a network of paths, exhibits a four-room house and a winepress. The farm at er Ras continued to be used in the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods and until 1948, when the area was used as an orchard.

The site at er Ras represents three stages of agricultural development: the first stage of agricultural occupation without terracing in the 2d millennium B.C., the construction of an organized farm unit in the First Temple period, and the reoccupation of the site in subsequent periods through the utilization and reparation of existing terraces and installations.

Aside from the mere excavation and identification of ancient farming units, the Ein Yael Project involves experimentation with raw materials used by ancient inhabitants of the area. Materials to be studied include clay, stone, textiles, and metals. Experimentation is also to be conducted in actual farming practices with the hope that the farm at Ein Yael will be restored and crops will be cultivated in accordance with original technologies.

Connecting biblical descriptions of ancient agriculture to specific farms excavated is difficult. The Bible mentions the organization of the family in several contexts: *bēt ʾab, mišpāḥâ,* and *śĕdê hāʿîr* to name three. While these biblical terms undoubtedly relate to some of the agricultural units found in the Rephaim Valley, we cannot specify which term applies to which farm until further research in ancient agriculture is conducted. The ultimate goal of the project at Ein Yael is a combination of knowledge gained from written sources with knowledge acquired from archaeological excavation and practical experimentation. Only through the study of all three of these aspects can one fully understand the nature of life in ancient times.

GERSHON EDELSTEIN

**REPHAN** (DEITY) [Gk *Rhaiphan* (Ῥαιφαν)]. A deity whom Stephen claimed that Israel worshipped in the wilderness (Acts 7:43). Greek texts of the OT preserve a variety of transliterations for the name of a deity which appears in the Hebrew text of Amos 5:26 as *kiyyûn* (consonantal text *kywn*). This Greek tradition is the source for the name Rephan in Acts 7:43 where Amos 5:26 is quoted. A common confusion in the text of the OT between the letters *kap* and *reš* accounts for the confusion in the initial

letter, and the Greek letter *phi* points to a pronunciation of the Hebrew *waw* as consonant. Although the final vowel is consistently represented in Greek as *alpha,* there is no agreement as to the first vowel, the following forms being attested in Acts and Amos: *rompha (n), rempha (m/n), raiphan, rephan, raphan.* Since there is no deity known who bears such a name, the Hebrew text should be given priority over the Greek transliterations. The Hebrew consonants in Amos 5:26 correspond to an Akkadian name for the planet Saturn, which was recognized as a deity. See SAKKUTH AND KAIWAN.

SAMUEL A. MEIER

**REPHIDIM** (PLACE) [Heb *rĕpîdîm* (רְפִידִים)]. A station of the Exodus located between the Wilderness of Sin and the Wilderness of Sinai (Exod 17:1, 8; 19:2; Num 33:14, 15). Dophkah and Alush are also mentioned as encampments between the Wilderness of Sin and Rephidim (Num 33:12–14). The location of Rephidim is unknown and dependent upon the identification of Mt. Sinai. Various proposals have been made following a northern route of the Exodus placing Mt. Sinai and thus Rephidim in the Negeb Highlands, N Sinai, or the land of Midian. (For a summary of these views, see Beit Arieh 1988.) Those opting for a southern Exodus route locate Rephidim in the vicinity of Jebul Musa close to the S tip of the peninsula. Wadi Feiran has been traditionally identified as the location of Rephidim dating back to Byzantine times (Perevolotsky and Finkelstein 1985) but Wadi Refayid has also been suggested and was preferred by Abel (*GP* 2: 435).

Three significant events occur while Israel is situated at Rephidim. The Israelites complain of being in a place where "there was no water for the people to drink" so Moses is instructed to provide water by smiting the rock. Rephidim became known as Massah, "testing," and Meribah, "contention," because Israel determined to test the Lord to see if he was among them or not (Exod 17:1–7). The term Massah is used several other times in warnings to Israel not to prove the Lord as they did at Rephidim (Deut 6:16; 9:22; 33:8). Meribah also refers to an incident near Kadesh-barnea involving a challenge to Moses to provide water (Num 20:13, 24; 27:14; Deut 32:51; Ps 81:7). See MASSAH AND MERIBAH.

At Rephidim Israel, led by Joshua (who is mentioned here for the first time), fought Amalek and only prevailed when Moses, assisted by Aaron and Hur, was able to keep his hands and rod raised (Exod 17:8–16). Afterward Moses built an altar to commemorate the victory. From its position in the narrative, the account of Jethro's instruction to appoint judges to relieve the heavy burden on Moses was given at Rephidim (Exodus 18), although some scholars argue that this took place at Mt. Sinai (see Exod 18:5).

A tradition of the sages connected the name Rephidim to the verb *rph* meaning to "relax, weaken, dishearten," because Israel "cast off the commandments of the Torah" and because of this an enemy (Amalek) rose up against them (Vilnay 1978: 341).

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**REPOUSSÉ.** See JEWELRY.

**REPTILE.** See ZOOLOGY.

**RESAIAH** (PERSON) [Gk *Rēsaiou* (Ρησαιου)]. An alternate form of REELAIAH.

**RESEN** (PLACE) [Heb *resen* (רֶסֶן)]. A town mentioned in Gen 10:11. The Yahwistic fragment of the Table of Nations seems to include it in the kingdom of Nimrod, although the translation of the first clause of Gen 10:11 is very unclear. See REHOBOTH-IR.

No city Resen is known from the cuneiform sources. It is probable that the name referred originally not to a separate city but to a construction work within the city of Nineveh. Some have identified it with Akkadian *risnu,* understood to mean something like "irrigation system" (Lipinski 1966: 85–86). Another possibility is that Resen is derived from Akkadian *rēš ēni,* "fountainhead" or the like (Speiser *Genesis*

68). Again, the original reference would have been to some kind of waterworks found within the city. If either interpretation is correct, at some point in the transmission of the traditions about Nimrod this descriptive term was misunderstood as a city name itself. See REHOBOTH-IR. It is still possible, however unlikely, that the allusion is to an as yet unknown Assyrian town (cf. Sasson 1983: 95 and n. 3).

The final clause of Gen 10:12, "that is the great city," is ambiguous. It could describe Resen (cf. the punctuation of the RSV) or Nineveh, but it more likely refers to the nearest antecedent, Calah. At the time of the Yahwist (ca. 10th century B.C.E.) Calah was more important than Nineveh and thus merited special mention (Speiser *Genesis* AB, 68).

The LXX reads *Dasem* for *resen.* The latter form is the original. In the tradition behind the LXX *reš* has been confused with *dalet* (the two letters are almost identical in all periods) and the *nun* was misheard as a *mem.* Neither Hebrew nor Akkadian suggests a contextually appropriate meaning for *Dasem.*

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**RESH** [Heb *reš* (רֵשׁ)]. The twentieth letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

**RESHEPH** (DEITY) [Heb *rešep* (רֶשֶׁף)]. The god Resheph is attested in documents and personal names from the middle of the 3d millennium B.C.E. to the end of the 1st century B.C.E. The deity is first attested in Syria among the documents of Ebla. Here Resheph is accorded a quarter of the city with a gate named after him (Matthiae 1979: 566); this demonstrates that the deity was already held in high regard.

In the 2d millennium B.C.E. worship of Resheph can be shown to have expanded through Syria-Palestine and into Egypt. It is from Egypt that most of the mythological information concerning Resheph has survived. Amenophis II appears to have introduced the god to Egypt and to have seen himself as adopted by the god (Grdseloff 1942: 2). During the 19th and 20th Dynasties several steles and literary references appear with Resheph. In these Egyptian sources Resheph is a god of war who will lead them to victory. In Egyptian magical inscriptions Resheph appears as a healing deity. The Egyptians picture the god associated with the gazelle, an animal with somewhat ambiguous connotations (Simpson 1953: 88). Resheph always remained a minor Egyptian deity and was not assimilated into the pantheon as were some Syro-Palestinian deities.

In the tablets from Ugarit, Resheph appears as a major deity in the cult ritual texts; however, the mythological narratives provide almost no information on the god. Resheph appears twice in the Kirta Legend, first as the cause of the king's fifth son's death (*KTU* 1.14.i.18–19) and then as a divine guest at the banquet Kirta holds for the gods (*KTU* 1.15.ii.6). Fragmented texts have suggested that Resheph might have been a gatekeeper for the sun deity (Virolleaud 1951: 25–26) and that he may have aided Baal in his battle with Yam (Day 1979: 354), though both are tenuous. The parallel Ug and Akk god lists found at Ugarit pair Resheph with Nergal, usually taken to be the Mesopotamian god of the netherworld, though whether that is the reason for the association of the deities may be debated (Nougayrol 1968: 57). Recently, using the artifacts from Kition on Cyprus, particularly a statue of a deity standing upon an ingot (Karageorghis 1982: 103, fig. 77), Dalley has posited that Resheph was the West Semitic name given to Nergal as the patron deity of metalworking (1987: 62, 65).

Resheph is attested in the 1st millennium B.C.E. in Syrian, Phoenician, and Judean texts; the last known inscription dedicated to the deity is dated 6 B.C.E. and was found at Palmyra (Teixidor 1979: 111). A series of related terms appear with the god. The Karatepe inscription (*KAI* 26.A.ii.10) refers to *rsp ṣprm,* which has been variously translated as "of the birds," "he-goats," or "stag" (O'Callaghan 1950: 360; Simpson 1953: 88). The use of *ḥṣ* with Resheph has been attested at Ugarit and on Cyprus (*KAI* 32.3–4; Fulco 1976: 49); this term has been taken to mean "arrow," "luck," and "outside street" (Irwy 1961: 31; Caquot and Masson 1968: 302), though "arrow" would fit nicely with Resheph as metalworker. Terms taken as divine names (*mkl* and *miqrt,* not to mention Apollo on Cyprus) and places (*gn*) often appear

with Resheph, and it has been suggested that all such terms refer to locations which revered the god (Dahood 1981: 47).

The sources do not provide much information about the character of the deity. The inscriptions of Zinjirli and Karatepe listed Resheph among the deities who had placed the ruler on his throne and now sustain him; this only means the god was important. It has been suggested that the connection made between Resheph and Apollo on Cyprus (*KAI* 41: 3–4) shows he was a solar deity with responsibilities for justice and law (Conrad 1971: 161–63). Albright (*ARI,* 27) argued that Resheph had to have been a god of the underworld, pestilence, and death; this has become the majority position. The Ugaritic connection with Nergal would seem to confirm this, though it is important to remember the metalworking aspect of the deity as well. The Egyptian vision of a warrior god would fit well with both chthonic and metalworking aspects. The extension of Albright's thesis to see a cult of the dead under the care of Resheph, however, is based on speculation and no data (Spronk 1986: 140, 157, 261); neither at Ebla (Matthiae 1979: 566) nor at Byblos (Gese 1970: 46) is there a temple conclusively dedicated to Resheph upon which such a theory would have to be based (Ribichini 1988: 107).

The biblical references to Resheph have long been taken to be common nouns rather than divine allusions. This may be true in Job 5:7, though, if this is to be taken as "sparks," a clear relation with metalworking may be discerned. However, the poem in Hab 3:5 clearly presents Resheph as an attendant on the God of Judah in a theophanic procession. The context does not define the sphere of the deity, which may, given the rest of the passage, reflect a warrior deity as found in the Egyptian sources or simply describe an attendant deity, such as a smith.

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**RESHEPH** (PERSON) [Heb *rešep* (רֶשֶׁף)]. A descendant of Ephraim (1 Chr 7:25). The MT portrays Resheph, along with Rephah, as the sons of Beriah, a son of Ephraim. However, several other Hebrew mss read *bnw,* "his son," after Resheph and so indicate that he is Rephah's offspring (see RSV). The list in which Resheph's name occurs (1 Chr 7:20–29) is curious and difficult to disentangle. It appears to portray Ephraim as living through seven generations of his offspring, finally to see the eighth killed by the

men of Gath. The MT next mentions the birth of Beriah, whose name embodies the misfortune of the death of the eighth generation. The genealogist is possibly listing Ephraim's descendants as brothers and not offering a chronologically descending list. The pronoun "his" in vv 20 and 21 possibly refers to Ephraim and not to the immediately antecedent name. Whatever the textual or chronological problems, the material in 1 Chr 7:20–29 intends to situate the descendants of Joseph firmly in the territory N of but also including Bethel.

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**RESURRECTION.** This entry consists of two articles. The first surveys the development and articulation of ideas concerning the resurrection of the dead as these are reflected in the OT. The second surveys the development and articulation of these ideas in early Judaism and in the NT.

## *OLD TESTAMENT*

There is little mention of "resurrection" in the OT; this notion does not appear except in texts that are rare, obscure with regard to their precise meaning, and late. On the whole, resurrection—which could simply express Israel's restoration—concerns the dead in only one or two passages, and only Dan 12:2–3, within the apocalyptic context of the 2d century B.C., clearly proclaims that the dead will be snatched from death to experience either "eternal life" or "eternal damnation." Later on the gospel was articulated in a Jewish milieu in which the reality of the resurrection was still debated, notably between the more traditionalist Sadducees, who argued against it, and the Pharisees, the ardent propagators of newer views (cf. Mark 12:18–27 = Matt 22:23–33; Luke 20:27–38; Acts 23:6–9) who would end up imposing their viewpoint after the Jewish Wars against Rome. According to the Mishnah (*Sanh.* 10.1a), denial of the resurrection excludes one from the world to come (see further *DBSup* 10: 481–84, with bibliography).

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A. Life and Death According to the OT
B. Some Exceptions to the Common Lot
C. Resurrection-Healings
D. Resurrection-Restorations of the People of God
    1. Restoration of Israel
    2. Restoration of Judah
    3. A Special Case
E. Resurrection of the Dead
    1. Isa 26:19
    2. Dan 12:1–3
F. Conclusion

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### A. Life and Death According to the OT

When one reads the OT, one fact is striking: that Israel is attached to life—to this life—and in no way dreams of a marvelous life hereafter. Israel considers the world into which she has been placed as the handiwork of her God, and human existence is a divine gift. The Israelite wishes to see his days prolonged in the manner of the patriarchs (Gen 15:15; 35:29), at the heart of the country entrusted to his people (Deut 30:20). Life, the greatest of gifts (Job 2:4; Qoh 9:4), implies piety, success, fecundity, happiness, and peace, under the protection of Israel's God, as Psalm 128, for example, indicates.

Death is associated with everything that comes to disturb this harmony: a setback, injustice, sterility, war, sickness, misery; it can be introduced prematurely into the destiny of individuals who, as the psalms show, then call upon YHWH, ask his intervention, plead their cause which—in their eyes—is identical with that of their God, cry out and lament, or, once their cry has been heard, make their exclamations of joy and their thanksgivings heard (Psalms 6; 13; 22; 30; 32; 38; 88; 130; etc.). Israel's Psalter simultaneously speaks of the importance and the beauty of a life lived in communion with God and his people and of the threatening and hateful character of death, which signifies a rupture of those bonds which united the believer to YHWH, even calling that rupture "excommunication" (Pss 6:6; 86:6, 8, 11–

13, 19), and of the contagious joy of someone who is rescued from death's power (Pss 22:22b–24; 30:2–4; 116:1–4).

In general, the human person of the OT thought about death in less dramatic fashion and with a balanced realism: it was self-evident that a creature died, for it was of the "flesh," that is, it was fragile, mortal; the creature possessed within itself no spark of anything divine and destined for immortality (Qoh 12:7: at death the divine breath returned to God, who had loaned it; Ps 104:29–30). However, for death not to be an occasion of scandal and for it not to appear as an unacceptable occurrence, three conditions had to be fulfilled, as far as the Israelite was concerned. First, death had to come at the end of a long and rich existence (Gen 15:15; Job 42:17) and not precociously, "in the middle of one's days" (Ps 102:25; Isa 38:10). Then, the deceased had to leave behind descendants or at least a son (cf. the promises made to the patriarchs: Genesis 15; 17; 18); from this conviction, we can understand the problem posed by a wife's sterility (Genesis 29–30; 1 Sam 1), the special mourning occasioned by the death of an only son (Amos 8:10; Jer 6:26; etc.) and the necessity of mitigating the absence of a descendant by the establishment of the levirate law (Genesis 38; Deut 25:5–10). Finally, funeral rites, especially the burial of the corpse, had to be scrupulously observed (2 Sam 1:11–27; 3:31; Jer 16:1–9; Ezek 24:15–17); woe to the one who was deprived of sepulture (2 Kgs 9:16; Jer 8:1–3; Isa 14:19)! Divine punishment against a guilty person was manifested precisely through a shortened life, the lack of progeny, and a corpse abandoned to wild beasts.

Israel shared with other human groups a representation of the world of the dead, which it generally called Sheol (attested 66 times in the OT, especially in the Psalms [16x] and the book of Isaiah [10x]); Sheol consisted of a vast underground region, dark and dusty ("to return to the dust" means to die [Gen 3:19; Pss 90:3; 104:29] and the "dwellers of the dust" are none other than the dead [Dan 12:2; Job 20:11]). What characterized Sheol was that it was peopled by shades (Heb *reápaµ<éÆm*) whose existence—which shares nothing in common with the life that had been led formerly—unfolds without purpose and without communication. The dead are the "forgotten ones" (Ps 88:13; Qoh 3:19–21; 9:5–10); they have no contact with the world of the living and still less with the living God (Pss 6:6; 30:10; 88:6–12).

The world of the dead was a "country of no return" (Job 7:9–10; 16:22), a prison with its own portals and guards (Isa 38:10; Qoh 9:10; etc.); normally one never left it, and although some texts (generally of a sapiential type) affirm YHWH's hold over Sheol (Job 12:2; 26:6; Prov 15:11; Amos 9:2–3), the God of Israel, in general, did not intervene—even on behalf of his own—in this gloomy and pitiful territory, which nonetheless had not yet become a place of judgment and punishment, as hell would become in Christian texts, but rather was the place which awaited the living (Job 30:23).

**B. Some Exceptions to the Common Lot**

Here and there the OT mentioned the particular lot of individuals who had escaped death not by a resurrection but as the consequence of "translation." First of all, there was the case of the patriarch Enoch (Gen 5:24), whose piety ("he walked with God") brought in its wake an exceptional destiny (a late text, attributed to the Priestly Writer). Another is the prophet Elijah, whose ministry was brought to completion in the same way (2 Kgs 2:1–15). The theme of the transfer of a human creature into the heavenly realms was well known in antiquity; the technical term used in this regard was the Heb verb *lāqaḥ*, which is found in Isa 53:8 where it can have this meaning only with difficulty, as well as in Pss 49:16 and 73:24 where one cannot rule out that it refers to the "transfer/ascension" of a faithful person (see further, *DBSup* 10: 466–68). This theme may perhaps be found also in Hellenistic Judaism, as well as in the book of Wisdom (Wis 2:22–24; 3:1–9; 4:7–11).

**C. Resurrection-Healings**

Three texts in the books of Kings (1 Kgs 17:17–24; 2 Kgs 4:31–37; 13:20–21) narrate salvific interventions performed by Elijah and Elisha. These were as much instances of resurrections as they were miraculous healings; they served to authenticate the prophetic ministry and to make evident YHWH's power over death: in this way, they confirmed the declarations that one can read in Deut 32:39 and 1 Sam 2:6 about the uncontested sovereignty of the God of Israel (and not of Baal) over the fate of human beings. In the texts from Kings, nowhere is there any mention of a definitive victory over death; the

resurrection effected by the prophet consisted in the restoration to health of a patient, and this was characterized by the reintegration of the breath of life into a child's body (1 Kgs 17:21–22; 2 Kgs 4:34–35; cf. also Ps 23:3).

**D. Resurrection-Restorations of the People of God**

Some other passages in the OT, through the image of a resurrection, evoke the restoration, hoped for or foretold, of the people of God, following a difficult period or even a national disaster. These well-known and easily datable texts are found in Hos 6:1–3 and Ezek 37:1–14. Some exegetes add to these texts those of Isa 53:10–12 and Isa 26:16, but the bearing of these latter units is still debated.

**1. Restoration of Israel.** Hosea 6:1–3 is a text contemporaneous with the Syro-Ephraimitic War, about 735 B.C.E., in which Northern Israel imprudently became engaged after being pushed to do so by Damascus. The declaration made by the prophet presupposed that his compatriots had endured certain setbacks. The subject matter of these verses constituted a kind of song of repentance in which they expressed their desire to return to YHWH, since they were certain of his help (v 1); they were already envisaging their removal and restoration to normalcy, through the support of their God (v 2). Verse 3 takes up the same schema: it is an exhortation based on the conviction that YHWH would not delay acting in their favor.

The continuation of the chapter shows that Hosea rejected this prayer, however nice it might appear to be (vv 4–6). The prophet denounced a superficial and presumptuous attitude; he condemned the levity of the Israelites, the inconsistency of their piety, and the lack of deference in their outlook toward their God. They treated YHWH as if his pardon would be automatically granted after a few sacrifices which ought to have satisfied him. Hosea said "No" to such hypocritical worship (v 4); he recalled the divine demands (v 6) and invited Israel to be more serious (v 5).

A careful examination of Hos 6:1–3 reveals that the Ephraimites were impregnated with a Canaanite religiosity that was foreign to the Yahwistic tradition; they were making of YHWH a god in the likeness of Baal, which texts from Ugarit allow us to understand better. Several more or less explicit allusions to the theme of the death and resurrection of the deity, whose destiny regularly followed the course of the seasons, are recoverable in the statement reported by Hosea: the formula "in two days, on the third day" could pick up on a naturalistic kind of mythology, unless it meant nothing more than simply "in a little time, after a short delay" (1 Cor 5:4 perhaps implicitly refers to this text; Tertullian was the first to make good use of it [*Ad Marcionem* 4.42.1–2]; a Targum gave it an eschatological meaning); as if by chance, the dawn (*šaḥar*) and the dew (*ṭal*), accompanied by rain, played a not unimportant role at Ugarit. It seems as if Hosea's interlocutors expressed themselves as if they were worshippers of the forces of nature, thereby giving the prophet one more reason to condemn, along with their prayers and their offerings, their hope.

We should note that the idea of resurrection was already attested in Israel in the 8th century, but that then it was scarcely distinguishable either from healing or from salvation of a political kind. It had to do with the fate of N Israel within its history and not at all to do with the final condition of human beings. Its origin, most likely Canaanite, and its ties to agrarian fertility cults rendered this idea suspect to the faithful adorers of YHWH (*DBSup* 10: 444–45).

**2. Restoration of Judah.** Ezek 37:1–14 is equally concerned with the restoration of the people of YHWH shortly after the tragic events which had preceded, accompanied, and followed the taking of Jerusalem and which marked the downfall of the kingdom of Judah in 587 B.C. To a nation bruised and quasi-moribund, the prophet foretold a resurrection which consisted concretely in the reconstitution of the "house of Israel." Ezekiel's message is composed of a vision (vv 1–10), which acts as a symbolic prophecy and is similar to those which we come across elsewhere (Ezek 12:1; 21:23–27); his vision is followed by an explanation or, better, by a proclamation (vv 11–14; vv 12–13 form a complementary oracle announcing to the deportees the end of the Exile).

Here Ezekiel promises his brothers, rendered hopeless by the misfortunes of Judah (v 11), a renewal as extraordinary as it was unexpected (vv 1, 10, 11, 14): out of bones from which all life has disappeared, God's spirit creates an immense army! This is not an instance of a resurrection, as later Jewish (Pharisaic)

and Christian traditions would envision it, but rather a case of Ezekiel, unlike Hosea's contemporaries, describing an event which he had witnessed in his vision, grounded not in a naturalistic kind of mysticism but in the traditional Yahwistic teaching as this stands out in bold relief from Gen 2:7 on (Isa 42:5; Ps 104:29–30; Job 33:4). As was the case with man's creation, so the resurrection would take place in two stages: the scattered bones are first brought back together and then flesh and skin are added to the skeletons to form bodies, which lack only the breath of life (vv 7–8; cf. Gen 2:7a); then, at the summons of the "spirit" or of "the breath," the dead rise up, like an acted-out parable, to testify to the renovation of Israel (vv 9, 10, and 14).

To give his answer to the dread events of 587, Ezekiel in this fashion appropriated the notion of resurrection, but did so within a perspective which fully conformed to the YHWH cult (cf. *DBSup* 10: 445–47).

**3. A Special Case.** Isa 53:10–12 poses difficult problems and there is no clear evidence that this text can be numbered among those which testify in favor of faith in the resurrection (*DBSup* 10: 447–48).

The servant mentioned in Isa 52:13–53:12 is not with any certitude a human individual, whether of the past, the future, or the present; he might represent Israel in its totality, and the Fourth Servant Song in this case would recount the paradoxical destiny of the people of YHWH, condemned to experience the worst humiliations, restraint, and a condition equivalent to death, only to be, in the end, glorified by its God and hailed by the whole of humanity as the one which bore the faults of the multitudes (the pagans) and secured their salvation. In this communitarian perspective, then, the issue is one neither of death nor of resurrection.

If, however, the referent in this text is an individual, some member of the people of Israel who suffers for others and notably for his brothers, the expressions employed in Isaiah 53 do not automatically imply that the servant is to be put to death, and his final victory (evoked in vv 10–12) does not demand that he be snatched from death. The essence of the message in this chapter consists not in the special lot that awaits the servant after his suffering, but in the fact that God's plan is realized through him and that this is recognized as such.

The author of Isaiah 53 thus does not explicitly proclaim the resurrection of the witness of YHWH; instead, he declares that through the destiny of this individual, and contrary to every expectation, the divine design comes to a successful completion. One finds allusions to the Fourth Servant Song in Jewish texts as diverse as Dan 12:2–4 and Wis 2:12–20.

**E. Resurrection of the Dead**

Two passages deserve to be mentioned in this paragraph, because they envisage a resurrection of the dead that really is a liberation from death. This is clearly the case with Dan 12:1–3, though the meaning of Isa 26:19 remains a debated instance. One should note that these texts belong to the latest levels of the OT tradition (the end of the Persian period, according to some commentators [Isa 26:19]; the 2d century B.C. [Dan 12:2–3]) and reflect milieus influenced to a greater or lesser degree by apocalypticism.

**1. Isa 26:19** is part of a larger unit (Isaiah 24–27) that is complex, postexilic, and characterized as the "Great Apocalypse," the interpretation of which is very difficult. Various exegetes even think that this verse is a late gloss without relationship to its immediate context (Kaiser and Lohse 1977) or else an independent proclamation replying to Isa 26:14 (J. Vermeylen). H. Wildberger (*Jesaiah* BKAT), on the other hand, locates this "Apocalypse" in the 5th century B.C. and sees in Isa 26:19 an oracle of salvation that follows up on the lament of the people articulated in vv 7–18 (discussion and bibliography in *DBSup* 10: 448–52).

Isa 26:19 raises many difficulties; as it is, the Hebrew text possesses little clarity and the versions are divergent. Its author expressed either a vow or a promise (if this verse can be understood as a reply to v 14); thus he either desired or foretold the return to life of the "dead-of-YHWH," an occasion for joy and praise.

Some would call attention to allusions in this brief passage to the "dew," already evoked in Hos 6:1–3, which was a Canaanite motif; with the thunder and the rain it was a pledge of renewal, and so we should not be surprised to find it linked in the rabbinic tradition with the theme of the resurrection of the dead

(*Hagiga* 12b). For some specialists, the issue under question, here again, is that of a national restoration after a painful period for the Jewish community during the time of the decline of the Persian period, whereas the majority of critics consider that Isa 26:19 announced a real resurrection of the dead. However, this was not a universal resurrection, but one accorded only to the "dead of YHWH" (cf. v 19, "your dead ones" and dblquote my corpse" understood as "my corpses"; "their corpses" in the Syriac version and in the Targum). Resurrection is promised to those who had died (the martyrs) for the sake of the name of the God of Israel and whom YHWH reclaimed as his own. The resurrection evoked in this passage, when situated in the "Great Apocalypse," was promised not to humanity in general but to those believers who, in an era of troubles and persecutions, had been faithful even to the point of giving their lives for YHWH's cause. This perspective is close to the points of view found in Jewish apocalyptic.

**2. Dan 12:1–3** is the one text that precisely points to apocalyptic milieus which came to be expressed at the time of the crisis provoked by the attitude of Antiochus Epiphanes toward Jews opposed to the Hellenization of Jerusalem and of the customs heretofore in effect. Religious persecution was unleashed against the *ḥăsîdîm* (or "Faithful Ones")—from whom the Pharisaic party evolved—in 167 B.C. Dan 12:1–3 can be dated with some precision as part of a complex, a type of historical retrospective (Dan 11:1–45) which antedated by a short time the death of the Seleucid sovereign (in 164 B.C.).

After having evoked the past, the author of the conclusion to the book of Daniel, beginning with 12:1, envisaged the future. In v 1, he foretold a time of anguish that would surpass in horror anything one could have imagined, but simultaneously he promised divine protection to the faithful Yahwists. Then he treated, in vv 2–3, the fate of the dead and in particular that of those who had fallen in the course of the persecutions. No more than was the case in Isa 26:19 do we have here an event that concerns the whole of humanity; the resurrection, as Daniel foresaw it, was a limited one (v 2, with its use of the partitive *min*, suggests the interpretation "many of …" rather than "all of …"); it addressed the concrete situation wherein two parties were set against each other within the Jewish community, the partisans of Antiochus and their opponents. The first group was bound for "eternal shame" and the second group was to receive "eternal life" (v 2b); divine justice was thereby vindicated, since retribution, though long delayed, would have become possible "at that time" (v 1), through the resurrection. Several questions remain unanswered: the identity of the ones "punished" (v 2b) remains unclear, if one can believe the exegetes whose opinion on this point remains divergent: are we dealing with great sinners or with renegade Jews or perhaps with pagans hostile to Israel? Questions are also asked whether the condemned will come back to life (v 2a), then to experience an unending opprobrium (v 2b), or whether, in the end, the resurrection concerns only the "just ones."

Verse 3 brings in a new element, for it looks to a certain category of Jews, namely the "wise," whose attitude—that is, their martyrdom—led their brothers to follow the right path and who are called to glory. Here the author alludes to Isaiah 53, to which he gives a communitarian interpretation (cf. also Dan 11:33–34), making use, moreover, of astral symbolism; it is difficult to say whether this should be taken literally or not (see Cavallin 1974; for an opposing viewpoint, Grelot 1971). It seems clear, though, that the resurrection, as it is envisaged here, does not consist simply in a return to the earthly conditions of the past (*DBSup* 10: 452–58).

We draw attention to the fact that the theme of the resurrection asserted itself in the Jewish milieus at the very moment when apocalyptic views were developing in answer to the distress being undergone by faithful Jews. By the victory over death, as this was understood in the 2d century B.C., justice was rendered to the Yahwistic faithful, and those who gave their lives in YHWH's name could thereafter participate in that new age which the God of Israel was preparing for his own. As E. Renan wrote long ago, "the blood of the martyrs was the veritable creator of belief in a second life" (*DBSup* 10: 457). What counted in the eyes of the biblical authors, in the last days of OT times, was not at all the immortality of the soul or even the salvation of the individual, but the possibility that the "dead of YHWH" (Isa 26:19) or the *rabbîm*, that is, "the many," once they had been instructed in justice by their teachers (Dan 12:2–3), would experience, along with those who had been saved in the hour of torment, the triumph of their God and the glory of the age to come.

**F. Conclusion**

Texts relating to resurrection in the OT are rare and dissimilar; they come from different horizons and we cannot simply examine them in chronological order to retrace the history of this theme in the mind of Israel. Known before the Exile, since it was attested in Hosea's time in the 8th century—and there within a Canaanite context—the return to life of the dead did not really come to the fore until the 2d century B.C.E., in the days of the Maccabean crisis, and from within those quarters deeply attached to the Yahwistic tradition among the hard-pressed *ḥăsîdîm,* who awaited their salvation in their God's final intervention "on the last day."

Between Hosea and Daniel, the resurrection idea cropped up here and there, but chiefly to point toward the political renewal of the people of Israel (Ezekiel).

As was the case with the OT texts themselves, precise vocabulary in the OT which pointed to the resurrection was limited; such terminology was shaped by the ideas that Israel had fashioned about the condition of those who had died. At a person's death, the breath or spirit of life departed; it had to return later on if there was to be any renewal of life (1 Kgs 17:21–22). The dead lie sleeping in their tombs; at the moment of resurrection, they will rise up again (Heb *qûm:* 2 Kgs 13:21; Isa 26:14, 19; Job 14:12 [Ezek 37:10 uses a different verb]). The dead are sleeping now; they will be awakened (2 Kgs 4:31; Isa 26:19; Job 14:12; Dan 12:2) and, finally, they will come back to life (1 Kgs 17:22; 2 Kgs 13:21; Isa 26:14, 19; Ezek 37:3, 5–6, 9–10, 14; Job 14:14 [cf. also Dan 12:2 and, in the Talmud, the rabbinical expression *teḥiyyat hammētîm,* "the resurrection of the dead," which is attested 41 times]).

If the problem of the Israelite's survival beyond his or her earthly existence was scarcely asked about in Israel over the centuries, this was due in the first instance to the traditional anthropological conceptions by the people of YHWH: the human being was composed of body and soul (or breath [Gen 2:7–8]), that formed the organic unity indispensable for life; the person was not constituted of a perishable element (the flesh) and of an immaterial reality endowed with immortality (the soul). Life ceased at that very moment when the breath loaned by God was taken back (Ps 104:29–30; Qoh 12:7) and the body, henceforth inanimate, was destined to return to the earth (Gen 3:19; Ps 90:3). The existence of the shades in Sheol, mentioned many times, noticeably in the psalms, was the total opposite of life—a kind of "nonlife"—out of which no positive element could arise. For Israel there could be no victory over death except that of a state of existence which called for a complete renewal of the human being. The resurrection of the dead, that is, of the body, is etched within the logic of OT concepts.

Secondly, and this might be the chief issue, death which at times signified the total rupture between the dead and the world of the living and, above all, YHWH (cf. the psalms referred to above) had its sting attenuated when the deceased left behind a son or when his body was buried in the tomb of his ancestors. For the Israelite survived in his or her descendants, and they were kept in contact with their own through burial rites which were celebrated in the midst of YHWH's land; the individual Israelite without question died, but Israel was perpetuated and at the same time a certain continuity with the missing ones was assured.

Little by little, under the pressure of the tragic events that the people of YHWH experienced (the disappearance of the northern kingdom in the 8th century; the fall of Jerusalem and the end of the Judean state in the 6th century; the Exile and the difficult and precarious reconstitution of a Jewish community around Jerusalem under the Persians), the condition of the individual in the midst of a national and religious community came to assume the preponderant place and, from this time forward, questions were asked about the fate of the faithful one and in particular of the ultimate future state reserved for him or her. The problem became especially acute during the crises that the Jewish people lived through under the declining Persian Empire and during the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; factions among the people of God were set against each other with passion, with the object of seizing power in Jerusalem, and persecutions raged against those who wished to remain faithful to the law of their God. The Yahwistic cause seemed a lost one, and the martyrs to have died in vain; the prophecy of the resurrection of the dead then allowed people to address the challenge brought on by the circumstances they endured. With the resurrection doctrine, the last word remained with the God of Israel and, with him, on the lips of the faithful.

Resurrection, which constitutes the determining backdrop of the NT's gospel, was the fruit of Jewish resistance to the Hellenistic world.

We have mentioned that the notion of resurrection is a foreign body within the OT; it was the result of external influences that came into play in various ways over the course of the history of the people of YHWH. Upon examination, the extent of the contribution from outside Israel, without being denied, needs to be qualified, and one could say that, when some Jews declared that the dead (of their God) would revive, they did so by basing their arguments on Yahwistic principles. The Canaanite or Near Eastern world could have furnished Israel, in this sphere as in others, with themes and a language; but a return to life, conceived in a quasi-automatic fashion and lived out within the framework of an agrarian ritual, was rejected by Yahwism (Hosea) and could not be given free play until it had been subjected to a rigorous purification process (Ezekiel). Much later on, Persian teachings may have served as stimulants to the Jewish visions of the afterlife, but the Persians reckoned the resurrection as but one element in the re-creation of the universe, while the OT texts (Isaiah 26; Daniel 12) envisaged it as an event that concerned all faithful Jews; the universalism of some of these texts contrasts with the particularism, or rather, the pietism of other texts.

It is in the Yahwistic tradition itself that are to be found the roots of faith in the resurrection: the OT proclaimed YHWH's power, one which no force could hold in check; God masters death as God masters life (1 Sam 2:6; Deut 32:39; cf. also a late annotation in Isa 25:8a). God has created and thus can re-create (2 Maccabees 7).

God's justice, affirmed everywhere in the OT, sooner or later had to become manifest, and the resurrection allowed this very thing to happen, as we have seen. Finally, the victory over death, that in the first instance concerned the faithful Yahwists, gave Israel's God an occasion to demonstrate his *ḥesed*, "faithfulness, loyalty, solidarity," toward his own and, in this way, to answer the question already raised by the psalmists about the definitive future of those bonds which actually united YHWH to his *ḥāsîd* (Psalms 6; 16; 22; etc.). Thus, belief in the resurrection of the dead is based on YHWH's power, on his justice, and on his love, as these have been revealed in the course of the history of Israel; in the 2d century B.C.E., at the high point of the Maccabean crisis, the *ḥăsîdîm* drew out the ultimate consequences from the experiences that Israel had lived through over centuries.

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## *EARLY JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY*

Resurrection is the eschatological act by which God the judge raises the dead in order to recompense them for their deeds. In the long history of Jewish speculation, the manner of judgment varies:

resurrection of the body; revivification of the soul or spirit; eternal life or assumption to heaven immediately upon death or shortly thereafter. In some cases, eternal life or immortality are the present possession of the righteous, while the wicked are thought to be already in the realm of death. Resurrection and its equivalents function variously as recompense for the lack of divine justice in this world, as reward and punishment for one's deeds, or, in special cases, to exalt and glorify the persecuted leaders of the community. NT beliefs about resurrection and its equivalents reflect the variety of their Jewish counterparts, but differ from them uniformly in their christological orientation.

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A. Resurrection in Early Judaism
1. Early Developments
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**A. Resurrection in Early Judaism**

**1. Early Developments.** Belief in a substantial, meaningful existence after death is a relatively late development in the history of Israelite religion. The usual view expressed in the biblical books is that, upon death, one's shade descends to Sheol, where one remains forever, cut off from God's presence.

Other elements in Israelite religious thought stand in tension with this viewpoint. As creator, God is the Lord of life, who effects and nourishes a covenantal relationship with God's people. As judge, God rewards the faithful and punishes those who rebel against the covenantal commandments. As the Almighty, God can effect what divine justice requires. The tension arises when premature death frustrates this justice.

The origins of resurrection belief are obscure. Authors of the exilic period employ the language of death and resurrection or exaltation as a metaphor for Israel's revival and return from Exile. Although dead in captivity, the people will arise from their Babylonian graves (Ezekiel 37). Kings and nations will view the exaltation of Yahweh's suffering servant (Isa 52:13–53:12). It is doubtful that this metaphorical usage presupposes Jewish speculation on the possibility of substantive life in spite of physical death, but both passages (and Isaiah 65–66) are later used to support such a belief.

At a time and in circumstances that we cannot presently determine, a religious breakthrough occurs. Jews begin to assert that physical death does not nullify God's justice or abrogate the covenantal relationship for individuals. Early texts are ambiguous. Psalms 16, 49, and 73 may point in this direction, but their date and circumstances are unknown. The Isaianic apocalypse (Isaiah 24–27) appears to be the earliest text that envisions a real resurrection of the righteous. God will overcome death forever. The shades of the righteous will arise from Sheol, while their oppressive overlords will remain there (Isa 25:6–8; 26:14–19). Scholars debate this text's precise time and circumstances of origin.

**2. Persecution, Oppression, and God's Justice.** All of the texts mentioned above deal with the disjunction between human experience and a belief in divine justice. Settings of persecution or oppression trigger further speculation about postmortem recompense.

**a. *1 Enoch* 22–27.** Chaps. 20–36 of *1 Enoch* (3d century B.C.E.) recount Enoch's journeys through the cosmos. Far to the west, he sees a great mountain with three huge chasms that contain "all the souls of the sons of men," sorted and separated for the purpose of judgment (chap. 22). Dominating the scene is the spirit of Abel, the prototype of the innocent who are persecuted. He accuses Cain "and his descendants" until they are obliterated from the human race. Abel's prominence indicates that violent death and the lack of divine judgment against the perpetrators of this crime are fundamental concerns of this author (cf.

chaps. 6–11). The motif of judgment governs the descriptions of the three chasms. In the first of these, the spirits of all the righteous are refreshed by a bright fountain of water. In the second chasm, unspecified sinners already experience the torment to which they will be subjected during their eternal confinement in this place. In the third chasm, the spirits of persons who have been murdered plead for divine vengeance. For these "companions of the lawless," their violent death was ample recompense for their wicked deeds, and so they do not experience the torment of those in the second chasm, nor will they be raised for judgment (22:13).

According to chap. 22, recompense is experienced by the "souls" or the "spirits" or the "souls of the spirits" immediately after death. Nonetheless, the author anticipates a resurrection of some of the dead. Verse 13 suggests that the sinners in the second chasm will be raised for judgment. Almost certainly the righteous in the first chasm will rise to the blessed new life in the new Jerusalem described in chap. 25.

After viewing the realm of the dead, Enoch is carried to the mountain of God (chaps. 24–25) where he sees the tree of life which "will be transplanted to the holy place," where "its fruit will be given to the righteous and the pious … and its fragrances will permeate their bones," as they "live a long life upon the earth" as their fathers had, free from "torments and plagues and suffering" (25:4–6). In Jerusalem, Enoch views the holy mountain, as well as the valley of Hinnom, where the blasphemers will suffer forever in the presence of the righteous (chaps. 26–27).

*1 Enoch* 24–27 is directly or indirectly dependent on Isaiah 65–66 with its descriptions of the New Jerusalem and the blessed and fabulously long life of the righteous and the everlasting punishment of the sinners which will take place there (cf. esp. Isa 65:17–25; 66:14, 24). Different from Third Isaiah, *1 Enoch* 22–27 anticipates a resurrection that will enable some of the righteous and wicked dead to participate in the blessings and curses that result from the great judgment. Reference to the "bones" of the righteous (25:6) indicates a resurrection to some kind of bodily life. The bodily or nonbodily state of those punished in the valley of Hinnom is not specified.

**b. *1 Enoch* 92–105.** Enoch's "Epistle" (2d century B.C.E.) expounds the implications of Enoch's eschatological visions. Injustice pervades the author's world. The rich and powerful prosper as they oppress the righteous poor, who suffer in spite of their righteousness and piety. The repeated announcement of the coming day of judgment anticipates the adjudication of these circumstances.

The treatment of the problem and its solution reaches its climax in 102:4–104:8, a disputation about postmortem reward and punishment. To "the souls" of the righteous and pious who grieve in Sheol, the author promises that they will "come to life" and receive the reward that their fleshly bodies missed (102:4–103:4). As for the sinners who claim that there is no judgment after death, and act accordingly—their souls will descend to the flaming torture of Sheol (103:5–8). In a pastiche of phrases from Deuteronomy, Enoch quotes the complaint of the righteous and pious that they have received the curses of the covenant (103:9–15). His refutation asserts that their cries for justice have been heard by their angelic patrons, who plead their case before God. Their names are written in the heavenly register. Judgment will come, and the righteous will ascend to heaven and to great joy in the presence of the angels (104:1–6).

**c. Daniel 12:1–3** Writing between 167 and 165 B.C.E. to encourage pious Jews during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, the author of Daniel 10–12 composed an apocalypse which describes the events of Israel's history from "Darius the Mede" to Antiochus (11:2–45). When the persecution reaches its climax, the divine Judge will intervene, and the persecutor will be destroyed (11:45). The recitation of past history gives way to a brief description of the judgment (12:1–3) that will adjudicate the injustices just recounted. Michael, Israel's angelic patron and defender, will arise. The book that contains the names of the citizens of people who will be delivered will be opened. Those still alive will be rescued from God's wrath. Then "many of those who sleep in the land of dust will awake, some to everlasting life, and some to everlasting contempt." This is not a universal resurrection; only some of the dead will awake. The author has in mind at least the principal characters in the Antiochan persecution. The righteous whose pious behavior has led to their death will be vindicated. Those who apostasized to save their lives will be raised to suffer the divine punishment they escaped in their lifetime. The author probably also expects that other especially righteous and wicked Israelites will be raised for judgment.

Like *1 Enoch* 24–27, the language of Dan 12:2 recalls Isaiah 65–66. "Everlasting life" is the long life referred to in Isa 65:20–22 (cf. *1 En.* 25:6). "Everlasting contempt" is the fate of the rebels whose bodies will suffer outside Jerusalem (in the valley of Hinnom) according to Isa 66:24 (cf. *1 En.* 27:2–3). The resurrection implicit in *1 Enoch* is explicit in Dan 12:2. The problem of the suffering and persecuted righteous emerges in acute form as the catalyst for resurrection as vindication. The righteous dead, whom Enoch saw refreshed by a bright fountain of water in the realm of the dead, are sleeping in Sheol, the murky "land of dust," according to Dan 12:2. The allusion to Isa 66:14 ("contempt") may indicate that Daniel thinks of a bodily resurrection (cf. *1 En.* 25:4–6), but the brevity of the Danielic passage is elusive.

According to Dan 12:3, the wise teachers of the community, who have encouraged many to follow the path of righteousness, will receive special honor by being gloriously exalted among the stars, the angelic host. Here the author draws on a traditional exposition of the last song of the servant of Yahweh (Isa 52:13–53:12; see below under Wisdom 1–6).

**d. *Jubilees 23:11–31.*** Written perhaps a year or two before the book of Daniel, as a comment on Abraham's age (Gen 25:7–8), these verses describe the bloody struggle between pious Jews and Hellenizers which culminates in the merciless intervention of the Syrian government. The people's sin has greatly shortened their life spans, but when they return to God's commandments, their life spans will increase to the fabulous length of the first patriarchs (vv 27–28). Again the language of Isaiah 65 informs a description of the end time (cf. esp. 65:20–22). As for the righteous who have died during evil times, "their bones will rest in the earth, and their spirits will have much joy …" (v 31). Different from *1 Enoch* 22; 24–25, *Jubilees* contrasts the bones that rest from bodily pain and agony with the spirits that have ascended to the joyous presence of God. The author seems not to envision a future, bodily resurrection; however, vv 30–31 may allude to the righteous viewing the curses that the wicked suffer in the valley of Hinnom.

**e. 2 Maccabees 7**. This legend about the martyrdom of seven young men and their mother, set in the Antiochan persecution, dates in its present form to the end of the 2d century B.C.E. Central to the story is a conflict of authority and the protagonists' response to it. Pitted against one another are Antiochus Epiphanes, who commands the Jews to eat swine's flesh, and the God of Israel, whose law forbids this. The protagonists choose to disobey the king and obey their God. Condemned to death in a human court, they await vindication in the supreme court of the king of the universe, who will restore the life and limbs that Antiochus has destroyed (vv 9, 11). Bodily resurrection is the counterpart to bodily destruction; vindication is in kind.

To explicate his view of resurrection, this author employs three images from Second Isaiah which originally referred to Israel's return from Exile. (1) The youths are the suffering and vindicated servants of Yahweh. Through their speeches, they are God's spokesmen before the king. They suffer because of this prophetic office, and for this reason they will be vindicated (cf. Isa 50:7–9). (2) God's power as creator, who first gave them life, is the basis of their hope that God will redeem them in the resurrection to a new life (vv 22–23, 27–29). (3) The youths' mother is a personification of Mother Zion, who anticipates the return of her sons, now dispersed in death (v 9).

If the brothers are to be vindicated for their obedience, Antiochus must suffer for his rebellion (vv 14, 17, 19). His judgment is vividly described in chap. 9. The warning that he will have no resurrection to life (7:14) means either that his violent death eliminates the necessity of a postmortem punishment, or that he will be permanently confined to eternal torment immediately after his death.

**f. *4 Maccabees.*** In this writing from the first half of the 1st century C.E., the stories in 2 Maccabees 6–7 have been transposed into the key of Greek philosophy. In his transformation of the story about the youths and their mother (chaps. 8–17), this author changes the story's eschatology. Future resurrection of the body is replaced by immortality and an eternal life that begins at the moment of death (7:3; 9:22; 13:17; 14:5–6; 15:3; 16:13, 25; 17:12, 18–19). God's creative power is the reason for obedience to the Torah (11:5; 13:13) rather than the guarantee of a resurrection. Eternal life is God's reward for obedience, not the vindicative restoration of the bodies that the martyrs have lost.

**g. Wisdom of Solomon 1–6.** Written around the turn of the era, Wisdom 1–6 is a disputation on immortality (cf. *1 Enoch* 102–104). The author exhorts kings and rulers to act righteously because the divine judge will hold them accountable for their deeds. By contrast, the rich and mighty comment on the shortness of life and the finality of death (chap. 2). Since death is annihilation, one should enjoy life, even at the expense of others (2:1–11). The special target of abuse is the righteous man who claims to be God's "son" or "servant" and preaches against their "sins." They conspire to bring him to trial and kill him (2:12–20), thus refuting his claims. But the wicked act on a false premise. Death is not the end. The death of the righteous one is an illusion, for "the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God" (3:1–9). The wicked discover this after their death (4:16–5:23), when the exalted righteous one confronts them as judge in the heavenly court. They acknowledge that he stands among the "sons of God" (the angels) and admit that his indictment of their sins was justified. Now they are condemned to the annihilation they had believed in, while the righteous receive the eternal life they had awaited.

In recounting the case of the righteous one, the author of Wisdom 1–6 draws on a type of story found in Genesis 37–45, Ahikar, Esther, and Daniel 3 and 6. See PASSION NARRATIVES. Here, however, the protagonist is exalted and vindicated in the heavenly courtroom, and rewards and punishments are eternal and transcend physical death. The scene of the righteous one's heavenly exaltation has been shaped by Isa 52:13–53:12. As in Second Isaiah (and Genesis 37–45 and Daniel 3 and 6), the protagonist is a spokesman of God. Although his vocation leads to human condemnation, God vindicates him by exalting him to a high position that befits his original status. This Isaianic tradition stands behind Dan 12:3 (see above). In Wisdom 1–6, the case of the persecuted and exalted righteous one is a paradigm for God's judgment of all people, who will be rewarded or punished for their deeds (see esp. 3:10–4:15).

Wisdom 1–6 indicates a belief in immortality, which is not an inherent property of the soul, but God's gift to the righteous. "Death" belongs to the wicked and immortality to the righteous already during their life on earth (see esp. 1:12–16).

**3. Reward and Punishment.** As postmortem recompense comes to be a fixed topic, it is discussed without particular concern about whether God has rewarded or punished one during one's lifetime.

**a. The *Psalms of Solomon.*** God's righteous judgment is a repeated theme in this collection of psalms which dates from the 1st century B.C.E. *Pss. Sol.* 3, 13, 14, 15 focus on postmortem recompense. The righteous "will rise to eternal life," while the fate of the sinners is "eternal destruction." Such reward and punishment are dispensed not as compensation for the injustices of this life, but as reward and punishment for piety and sin—apart from one's lot in life. The authors do not indicate whether they anticipate a bodily resurrection or the reviving of one's spirit or soul.

**b. *2 Baruch.*** Writing in the wake of the destruction of Jerusalem (ca. 100 C.E.), the writer of this apocalypse ponders God's justice and the validity of God's promises. The evils he has experienced are explained by a dualism between the present corrupt age and the incorruptible age to come after God's judgment (21:12–26; 30:2–5; 49–51). He discusses the resurrection in this context (chaps. 49–51). The souls of the dead, presently gathered in the "treasuries" of Sheol (21:23; 30:2–5), will be raised in their original form so that the living may recognize them. Thereafter, the righteous will be freed from the limitations of this age and transformed into glory like the stars and the angels, with whom they will inhabit paradise in the age to come. The wicked will waste away and depart to eternal torment. The heavenly glory that Daniel anticipated for the wise teachers is here the property of all the righteous.

**c. *4 Ezra 7.*** This writer also writes in response to the destruction of Jersualem. Like his colleague in *2 Baruch*, he discusses postmortem reward and punishment for one's deeds. His focus is on the souls' fate (vv 75–101) as they proceed to the dwellings they will occupy until the resurrection (cf. *1 Enoch* 22). In this universal event of judgment, humanity will enter the glory of paradise and torture of Gehenna, here construed in cosmic proportions rather than as a valley in Jerusalem (vv 26–42).

**4. The Presence of Eternal Life and the Two Ways. a. The Qumran Hymn Scroll 3:19–23; 11:3–14.** The authors of these hymns give thanks to God for having brought them from death to life. The world outside the sectarian community is described as Sheol. Entrance into the community is construed as resurrection into the realm of eternal life and the presence of the angels. What "traditional" eschatology

ascribes to the end time is said to be the present possession of the member of the sect. Although evil will not be eliminated until the consummation, a major eschatological event has occurred.

**b. The Qumran Rule of the Community 3:13–4:26.** Right and wrong actions and their rewards and punishments are discussed according to the organizing principle of the two ways. One's conduct is a journey along the way(s) of light or of darkness, guided by the good or evil angel. Lists of good and evil deeds are given, together with lists of the rewards and punishments dispensed in this life and, mainly, afterward.

The Qumran hymns and the *Rule of the Community* do not specify whether the authors anticipated a resurrection. Several facts are noteworthy, however. The Scrolls rarely refer to physical death. Their radicalization of resurrection language mitigates the importance of a future consummation of the fullness of eternal life. The imagery of the ways stresses continuity between present situation and future recompense. This usage seems most consonant with the idea that at physical death one passes directly to eternal life—even if the world is still subject to a final judgment. On the other hand, the uniform orientation of the graves at Qumran could attest a belief in resurrection.

**c. Other Texts.** Several non-Qumranic texts espouse views similar to those just discussed. According to *Joseph and Aseneth* (1st century C.E.?), when Aseneth repented of her idolatry, Michael the archangel conferred on her the gifts of immortality and eternal life (chaps. 15–16). In Wisdom 1–6 immortality is also conferred during one's lifetime. In the *Testament of Abraham* 11–12 Rec. A; 8–9 Rec. B and the *Testament of Asher* 6, a theology of the two ways is the vehicle for a belief in final recompense immediately after death.

**5. Josephus on the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes.** Flavius Josephus twice discusses the beliefs that these groups held regarding postmortem recompense (*JW* 2.8.11,14 §§154, 163, 165; *Ant* 18.1.3–5 §§14, 16, 18). According to him, the Essenes espoused something like immortality of the soul, and the Pharisees resurrection of the body, while the Sadducees did not believe in any postmortem rewards and punishments. Similar views are attributed to the Pharisees and Sadducees in Acts 23:6–8 and Mark 12:18–23.

Of the texts discussed above, only the Qumran Scrolls are widely identified with one of these groups (the Essenes). Josephus' attribution of a belief in immortality could fit the Qumran Scrolls, as well as the book of *Jubilees*, which appears to have been composed in circles ancestral to Qumran. The rich opponents of the author of the "Epistle" of *1 Enoch* 92–105 are not identifiably Sadducean. However, behind the author's polemical rhetoric may be the "conservative" view that prosperity reflects piety and requires no postmortem recompense.

**B. Resurrection in Early Christianity**

**1. Foci and Emphases.** Jewish beliefs about resurrection, immortality, and eternal life are presupposed throughout the NT, and these early Christian formulations also mirror the variety in Judaism, as this pertains to the functions, time, scope, and mode of postmortem recompense. The major factor that transforms these beliefs, however, is the Church's universal conviction that God has begun the eschatological process by raising the crucified Jesus from the dead. Every writing of the NT presumes Jesus' resurrection, and the topic of postmortem recompense is rarely treated without reference or allusion to it.

Jesus' resurrection is understood from two perspectives. First, it is God's vindication of the persecuted man Jesus. It makes sense of the humiliation, tragedy, and scandal of the crucifixion. Secondly, the resurrection of Jesus has broader implications, as an act of salvation for humanity and the cosmos. It facilitates Jesus' exaltation as Lord and Judge and promises resurrection and eternal life to all the faithful.

**2. Texts and Authors. a. Early Creeds and Hymns.** The major NT interpretations of Jesus' resurrection are evident already in the earliest strata of the texts—credal formulas, hymns (or hymn fragments), and other traditions embedded in Paul's epistles. The paradigm of persecution and vindication is basic. Condemned in a human court, the crucified Jesus is vindicated when God raises him from the dead. This emphasis on the resurrection as God's means of reversing the evil of the crucifixion appears in the formulaic "the God [*or* him] who raised him [*or* the Lord Jesus] from the dead" (Rom 4:24; 8:11; Gal

1:1; Eph 1:20; Col 2:12; 1 Pet 1:21; cf. Rom 10:9). The expression is likely a reformulation of the OT formula "The God who brought up Israel out of Egypt" (cf. Heb 13:20 and Isa 63:11). The God of the Exodus has been redefined as the God of the resurrection. Thus, the resurrection is not a private act that simply vindicates Jesus, but a new redemptive act with universal import. Following the familiar pattern, vindication is evident in exaltation. That this exaltation exceeds the conception in Wisdom 5 is shown by the frequent occurrence of the title "Lord" and the stem *pist-,* "believe," and the verb *homologein,* "confess." Jesus' resurrection and exaltation constitute a saving event for those who confess and believe in them.

In the traditional hymn in Phil 2:6–11, the pattern of humiliation and exaltation is extended by prefixing the motif of incarnation. Jesus, the servant of Isaiah 52–53, is the incarnation of a heavenly being (possibly Wisdom), and the self-emptying (*or* pouring out) of Isa 53:12 is applied to the first stage of humiliation, that is, to incarnation, rather than death. Although the hymn makes no reference to Jesus' being "raised," resurrection's frequent function as exaltation is central, and the anticipated universal confession of Jesus as "Lord" reflects the traditional formula in Rom 10:9 (cf. 1 Cor 12:3).

Resurrection is defined as exaltation also in Rom 1:3–4. Jesus is designated "Son of God with power by the resurrection of the dead." A careful parallelism contrasts Jesus' divine sonship with his exalted but human status as Davidic Messiah. His death, as in many of the texts cited above, is not cited as an event of positive, saving significance.

Such a positive evaluation of Jesus' death is, however, not lacking in early formulations. In Rom 4:24, the pattern and the language of Isaiah 52–53 are embodied in the double expression "delivered for our transgressions, raised for our justification" which interprets the crucifixion and resurrection as two facets of one saving act. A similar formulation occurs in 1 Cor 15:3–4, where the dying and resurrected Jesus is identified as "Christ" (cf. also 1 Thess 4:14, "believe, died, rose").

**b. The Document "Q."** It is necessary to qualify the frequent assertion that the "Q" we can recover from Matthew and Luke had no cross/resurrection kerygma. Although Q evidently had no passion narrative or death/resurrection formulas (an assertion from silence), its christology presumed the pattern. The document preserved the words of Wisdom's spokesman, by definition in this period the persecuted and vindicated righteous one, who stood in the line of Abel and the prophets (Matt 23:34–35; Luke 11:49–51). At some point in the history of the document, Jesus was also identified as the coming Son of Man, whose future judicial status would be the result of the exaltative function of his resurrection. Thus the authority of the logia was tied retrospectively to the one who was crucified for his prophetic mission and prospectively to the exalted one who would judge or witness concerning those who confessed and denied him (Matt 10:32; Luke 12:8).

**c. The Apostle Paul.** The death and resurrection/exaltation of Jesus are the foundation of Paul's theology, as is evident from his citation of the aforementioned formulas, creeds, and hymns. The first corollary of Paul's resurrection belief is his expectation of an imminent parousia, which sets the keynote for 1 Thessalonians (1:10, etc.) and 1 Corinthians (1:7–8) and is referred or alluded to in Philippians (3:20), 2 Corinthians (5:10), and Romans (2:16). As the latter three passages indicate, the future double function of the exalted one is as savior and as judge of human deeds. Although Paul's favorite term for the exalted Jesus is "Lord," in some texts Paul appears to have imposed this title on Son of Man traditions. See SON OF MAN.

The second corollary of Paul's resurrection belief is his conviction that the Spirit of the risen Jesus presently resides in the Church and enables and prompts right conduct. One means of making this point is the literary form and imagery of the two ways (Gal 5:16–6:8; Romans 6–8). According to Galatians 5–6, these ways are the life according to the flesh and the life according to the spirit. Flesh and Spirit are characterized by catalogues of right and wrong deeds, and the two principals war against one another like the two spirits at Qumran. The punishment and reward of one's conduct will be corruption or eternal life. In Romans 6 Paul identifies baptism as the means to the eternal life made possible in Jesus' resurrection. The Law cannot facilitate such life (*pace* Jewish covenantal theology) because it has been disabled by Sin (the functional equivalent of the evil spirit), which holds human flesh captive (Romans 7). God has

resolved the impasse created by this internal battle by sending his Son. Through his incarnation and death, sin is condemned, and through his resurrection his Spirit makes eternal life possible for those who walk according to that Spirit (Romans 8). In 1 Corinthians 15, although he has cited his expectation of the Parousia, Paul cools the Spirit-oriented ardor of some by contrasting one's present fleshly body with the spiritual body that will be a possibility only at the Parousia, which still awaits the final conquering of death.

The third corollary of Jesus' resurrection is the final resurrection of all Christians. Precisely when Paul began to expound this connection is not clear. In both 1 Thess 4:14 and 1 Cor 15:12–19, he argues from traditions about *Jesus'* death and resurrection to the conclusion that *all* will be raised. This suggests that his early preaching in these congregations was oriented around the Parousia. When Christians, who had been given the Spirit and "life" through baptism, began to die, Paul cited the resurrection as God's way of facilitating the continuation of eternal life. Paul's ideas about the state of Christians between death and the Parousia are unclear. In Phil 1:21–25 he speaks of being "with Christ." In 2 Cor 4:16–5:10 he describes the Christian's gradual transformation through the Spirit. He hopes for the Parousia, so that his present body can be "overclothed" with a glorious body, but he seems to anticipate the possibility of death, at which time he would be "naked" (without a body), yet "with the Lord." In both 1 Cor 15:35–57 and Phil 3:21, Paul christologizes Jewish traditions about the eschatological body. Whether one is resurrected or transformed before death, one's body will have the glory of the risen Lord rather than angelic splendor (Dan 12:3; *2 Baruch* 51).

**d. The Deutero-Pauline Literature.** The resurrection theologies of these texts vary. In 2 Thess 2:8, the Lord will appear as the eschatological messianic antagonist of the Lawless One. Both Colossians and Ephesians stress the present exaltation of Christ. For the latter, Christians already occupy the heavenly realms (2:5–6; cf. the Qumran Hymns), and the Parousia is nowhere evident (contrast 1:22 with 1 Cor 15:25–28), even if sin and temptation are a present reality (6:10–17; cf. 1QH 3). The Pastoral Epistles stress the eschatological character of Jesus' appearing, quoting tradition (1 Tim 3:16; 2 Tim 1:10). Yet they warn against the heresy that the resurrection has already happened (2 Tim 2:18), and they await the Parousia (1 Tim 6:14; 2 Tim 4:8).

**e. The Gospel According to Mark.** The traditional story of the persecution and vindication of the righteous one probably governed one form of a pre-Markan passion narrative. See PASSION NARRATIVES. The genre still shapes much of the material in Mark 11–16 and is prepared for in the three passion/resurrection predictions, which express the pattern in language drawn from the Isaianic servant songs (8:31; 9:31; 10:33–34, 45). In context, the story of the discovery of the empty tomb (16:1–8) is part of a larger unit (15:40–16:8) which is linked to the centurion's confession. Through the presence of a common set of characters, it attests the death, burial, and resurrection of Jesus (cf. the same elements in 1 Cor 15:3–4). The centurion present at the cross certifies Jesus' death so that Joseph can bury him. The women who see the burial become witnesses of the empty tomb. The young man gives voice to the women's confusion and articulates the fulfillment of the three predictions: "You seek Jesus the Nazarene, who was crucified. He has been raised; he is not here." He then announces a Galilean appearance that Mark will not narrate. The abrupt ending to the story, however, has an equally strange counterpart in 9:2–13. On a mountain in Galilee, after the first passion/resurrection prediction, before Jesus' journey to Jerusalem, the three disciples see Jesus in transcendent glory and are admonished not to speak of the incident until "the son of man is raised from the dead." Mark appears to have displaced an account of the Galilean appearance to which the young man alludes in 16:7. The result of Jesus' resurrection will be his exaltation as Son of Man. As such he will confront his accusers as judge (14:62), and he will gather his chosen ones (13:26–27)—probably an allusion to the resurrection of the dead. This latter is mentioned explicitly only in 12:18–27, which (different from Paul) retains the Jewish idea of an angelic (rather than Christlike) body. In good Jewish fashion, Jesus asserts in 10:17–22 that "eternal life" will be a result of one's obedience to the Torah.

**f. The Gospel According to Matthew.** In 28:1–10, Matthew combines Mark 16:1–8 with another story about the empty tomb which appears to be independently attested in the *Gospel of Peter* 35–44, which

plays up miraculous elements that Matthew has dampened. Perhaps related to this account is the piece of tradition in Matt 27:51–54, which associates Jesus' coming resurrection with the resurrection of "the holy ones." The little epiphany story in 28:11–15 underscores the commission in 28:7 and may epitomize the tradition in John 20:11–18. The story of the guard at the tomb (27:62–66; 28:11–15), also paralleled in the *Gospel of Peter,* gives final expression to Matthew's emphasis on Jewish unbelief in his own time. The Jewish leaders, concerned that the disciples would fabricate a claim that Jesus rose from the dead, concocted their own lie when they were confronted with evidence of the resurrection. The gospel closes with a scene in which Jesus, already invested with the authority of the exalted Son of Man (cf. 26:64; Dan 7:14), commissions the eleven. As God's exalted vice-regent, the risen Jesus assumes the commissioning role that is normally ascribed to God in Israelite tradition. The content of the prophetlike commissioning is that the apostles instruct and baptize the nations according to the authoritative instructions that are epitomized in the gospel. Those who heed their words will belong to the community which the risen Christ identifies as "my Church" (16:18). As in the earlier creeds, salvation is defined christologically. Developing traditions already in Mark, Matthew envisions the Son of Man's future role as the judge who will dispense eternal life and destruction (25:31–46; 13:24–29, 36–43).

**g. Luke-Acts.** According to Luke, Jesus is the son of David, born as the Christ and exalted to messianic glory through the suffering that is vindicated in the resurrection. Luke emphasizes this pattern in three insertions in the traditions in 24:7, 26, 46, which reprise and vindicate Mark's three predictions, tying the suffering and resurrection to Scripture (twice by the Greek verb *dei,* "it was necessary"). Like Matthew, Luke elaborates Mark's final chapter by additional stories. Different from Mark 16:7 and Matt 28:16–20, and like John, the appearances are connected with Jerusalem rather than Galilee. The story of the Emmaus disciples has eucharistic overtones (vv 30–31), with the reference to Jesus' body and blood replaced by the disciples' recognition of the presence of the risen Christ. The account of Jesus' appearance in Jerusalem (vv 36–53) allows Jesus to commission his disciples to preach to all nations in his name, as in Matt 28:16–20. Different from Matthew's account, Luke interpolates his pattern of suffering and resurrection and creates or transmits apologetic motifs that emphasize Jesus' bodily resurrection (vv 37–43). Both this story and that of the Emmaus disciples narrate the resurrection appearances in analogy to angelophanies (sudden appearances and disappearances), but the final story breaks with the genre, attributing to Jesus bodily form and functions elsewhere denied to angels in human form. The crucified Jesus must be shown to have risen from the dead. The pierced hands and feet attest the identity of the risen one with the crucified one (cf. 2 Maccabees 7). For Luke the risen Christ has authority to commission apostles. His status as exalted Son of Man is imminent (cf. 22:69 and Stephen's vision in Acts 7:56).

Luke's views on the resurrection of the dead and the intermediate state are not clear. However, he does describe Lazarus enjoying eternal life and the rich man suffering torment immediately after death (16:19–31), and the dying thief will be with Jesus "today" in paradise (23:43). Luke's version of the controversy story in 20:27–40 combines resurrection language with the expression "live to God," used elsewhere of immortality and in two contexts (cf. v 38 with *4 Macc.* 7:19; 16:25; Hermas *Mand.* 1:2; 2:6; 3:5, etc.).

Acts 1:6–11 recounts Jesus' final resurrection appearance to the apostles (but cf. Luke 24:36–51, and esp. v 50). After forty days of instruction, he ascends on the cloud on which he will return as Son of Man (21:27). The apostles return to Jerusalem as witnesses to his resurrection and the forgiveness that is available through repentance and faith in the name of the risen Christ. Repentance is required because the Jewish leaders in particular are guilty of having rejected Jesus. This is emphasized especially in the early chapters of Acts, which are punctuated with formulas that contrast Jesus' persecution by the Jewish leaders and God's vindication of him through the resurrection and exaltation (2:22–24; 3:13–16, 19; 4:10–12; 5:30–31; 10:38–40; cf. 3:27–32, 38). These formulations are epitomized in 2:36. The form and wording of this passage closely parallel 7:35, where the Israelites' rejection of Moses and God's vindication of him are paradigmatic of the kind of rejection and vindication that climax in the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus and in the persecution of Stephen and his vindicative vision of the exalted Son of Man. In the case of Saul of Tarsus, rejection and vindication take place in Saul's persecution of the

Church and the vision of the exalted One which convinces Saul that Jesus is Son of God (cf. esp. Acts 9:20–21 and Wis 5:1–5). In keeping with gospel traditions and Acts 1, this vision functions as a prophetic commissioning. Three times Saul returns to this vision to emphasize the centrality of the resurrection (23:6–8; 24:21; 26:5–8). Twice he ties the future resurrection to (Jesus') judgment of all humanity (17:31; 24:15).

**h. The Gospel According to John.** One of the most striking features of this gospel is its tension between future and realized eschatology. The latter predominates and pervades in the author's references to resurrection and eternal life. In the case of Jesus, his death is really his departure, the return of the Logos to the Father who sent him. The moment of his death is the time of his glorification (13:31–32); his being lifted up on the cross is his exaltation (3:14; 12:32). Similarly, those who believe in Jesus "will never die" (11:25–26). Death in the Johannine sense is not a possibility for the believer, who by virtue of faith "*has* eternal life and does not come into judgment, but has passed from death to life" (5:24; cf. 3:18; 3:36; 6:47). This radicalization of eschatology is tied to Jesus' function as the revealer who brings life (1:4 and *passim*, also in the many life-related metaphors, e.g., bread and water) and is dramatized in the raising of Lazarus (see esp. 11:25 and compare the story with 5:25). John's realized eschatology is a christologized version of the theologies found in 1QH 3 and 11 (one has been raised) and the Wisdom of Solomon (the righteous one who has immortality only seems to die when he is taken to heaven).

Two sets of Johannine texts stand in tension with the author's realized eschatology. The farewell discourses notwithstanding, the traditional resurrection stories in chaps. 20 and 21 describe Jesus returning from the dead before his departure to heaven (cf. 20:17 and contrast 20:27). Whatever their precise relationship to their synoptic parallels (Luke 24 and Luke 5; Matt 14:22–33; 16:16–19), John 20:19–23 and 21:1–19 recount the foundational apostolic commissionings typical of most other postresurrection appearance stories. In tension with the texts that posit the presence of judgment and eternal life for believers are other texts that speak of a future resurrection and universal judgment on the basis of deeds, over which Jesus will preside (6:39, 40, 44, 54; 5:27–29). See SON OF MAN. Hypotheses of sources, redaction, and recension best explain the origin of most of these tensions.

**i. The Epistle to the Hebrews.** As in Phil 2:6–11 and the Fourth Gospel, the christology of Hebrews is governed by a combination of the motif of descending and reascending Wisdom and the pattern of suffering and vindication/exaltation (Heb 1:1–3; 5:5–7). Typical of the latter pattern and in keeping with his dualistic world view, the author applies none of the traditional verbs for resurrection to Jesus (see 13:20; but cf. 6:2 of the general resurrection). Departing from the pattern in a related pair of his own emphases, he sees Jesus' death not as persecution but as obedient sacrifice for sin, and he interprets Jesus' messianic exaltation primarily as his installation to the function of heavenly high priest, following the cue of the oft-quoted Ps 110:1, 4 (cf. also Paul in Rom 8:34).

**j. The Book of Revelation.** The NT apocalypse begins with a commissioning vision of the resurrected Christ (chaps. 1–3). Presumed throughout the book is not only Jesus' resurrection, but his exaltation as Son of Man, Messiah, and perhaps servant of the Lord. The endurance of the persecuted martyrs is vindicated in their exaltation and reign with Christ (20:4–6). Descriptions of the battle between Michael and Satan, the latter's overthrow, and the great judgment (12:7–9; 20:1–3, 7–15) draw on Jewish judgment and resurrection traditions (*1 Enoch* 10; Daniel 7; 12:1–3), while chaps. 21–22 combine traditional interpretations of Second and Third Isaiah (esp. chap. 65) with descriptions of the heavenly Jerusalem rooted in Ezekiel 40–48. The locus of final salvation is the heavenly Jerusalem come to earth.

**3. Historical Problems.** The early Church's resurrection faith involves a host of unresolved historical problems which we can only sample here. The first problem concerns the experienced mode of Jesus' resurrection. Stories about the empty tomb presume a bodily resurrection or a bodily assumption to heaven. Earlier traditions about postresurrection appearances are ambiguous. Although in their present form most of these stories posit a bodily presence almost without exception, elements in the stories strain against such an interpretation: Jesus materializes and disappears suddenly; he is mistaken as a mysterious stranger or a gardener; he is thought to be a spirit or ghost; the disciples disbelieve. This suggests an apologetic tendency in the tradition which objectified Jesus' presence by emphasizing bodily features or

functions (or, later, by citing neutral or antagonistic witnesses). The tendency may have been a corrective to stories that were originally narrated in the tradition of angelophanies or divine epiphanies and that may have presumed that the exalted Christ appeared from heaven. This viewpoint is amply documented in 2d-century gnostic sources (Robinson 1982).

A second problem is the place, witnesses, and order of the appearances. The earliest list in 1 Cor 15:5–7 is duplicated nowhere. An appearance to James is not documented in any of the canonical gospels. Only Luke mentions the primary, singular appearance to Peter (24:34), although the tradition seems to be reflected in a number of stories set in the historical ministry of Jesus. The appearances are set variously in Galilee (at the sea or on a mountain) and Jerusalem, with Matthew (except for the brief 28:9–10), Mark, Luke, and the original author of John opting for one tradition or the other. Only an uncritical inclusivism can harmonize these disparate traditions.

Finally, there remains the mystery of the genesis of the NT resurrection faith. The earliest credal and hymnic testimonies to this faith simply assert the traditional pattern of suffering, humiliation, persecution, death—vindication, exaltation. However, it is unlikely that belief in Jesus' resurrection or exaltation arose simply as a reasoned application of the pattern to the tragedy of his crucifixion. Different from all the Jewish texts are the primitive assertions of the universal significance of Jesus' exaltation, which is also implicit, and sometimes explicit in the commissioning functions described in the appearance stories. In the earliest available evidence, Jesus' resurrection means his unique exaltation to status and functions hitherto not ascribed to a historical person. As far back as we can go, belief in Jesus' resurrection is the foundation for the Church's speculations and claims about his unique status and role.

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GEORGE W. E. NICKELSBURG

**RESURRECTION, TREATISE ON THE** (NHC I,*4*). The central teaching of the *Treatise on the Resurrection* (NHC I,*4*) from the Nag Hammadi Library is that "already you (the Elect) have the resurrection" (49,15–16) if you have experienced proleptically death and Christ's resurrection. Such teaching is remarkably similar to that of Hymenaeus and Philetus denounced in 2 Tim 2:18: "that the resurrection is past already." Echoing NT language, couched in a framework of Valentinian gnostic ideas, and revealing the influence of Middle Platonic concepts, the *Treat. Res.* is an important, late 2d-century witness to heterodox development of a key eschatological doctrine outside the mainstream of Great Church teaching.

*Treat. Res.* occupies only eight pages, 262 lines of text, in Codex I, one of the best-preserved codices in the NHC collection. It is written in Subachmimic, a subdialect of the Coptic language of S Egypt. Its title, found only at the end (50,17–18), seems a composite of statements found in 44,6 ("concerning the resurrection") and 44,11–12 ("let us discuss the matter") and is descriptive of the content of the document.

Though one major study identifies its literary form with the "animated classroom lecture" exhibited in Epictetus' discourses as preserved by Arrian (Layton 1979: 101), most commentators maintain *Treat. Res.* is a didactic letter in which questions raised by a pupil, Rheginos, are answered by an anonymous master (Malinine et al. 1963: 146; Schenke 1968: 125; Krause 1971: 85; Haardt 1969: 1; Peel 1974: 17ff.). Still disputed is whether it is a genuine, personal letter lacking a *praescriptio* (cf. the *Letter of Ptolemy to Flora*), or whether it is a pseudo-epistle whose form was adopted for didactic purposes. Arguments that *Treat. Res.* is either the result of joining two, originally independent letters (Martin 1971: 293ff.) or of a gnosticizing redaction "of an orthodox Christian text" (Dehandschutter 1973: 110) are unconvincing.

Three principal spheres of influence are reflected in the author's teaching. First, Christian belief is manifest in the central conviction that the "Lord, the Savior, Jesus Christ" (43,37; 48,8–10) is the basis of resurrection experience and the ultimate teacher. By raising himself, Christ opened the "way of immortality" (45,14–39), an event in which all believers participate proleptically (45,24–28). Both "Gospel" (48,6–11 = Mark 9:2–8) and "Apostle" (45,24–28 = Rom 8:17 and Eph 2:5–6) attest this truth. Second, the author's Valentinian gnostic background is found in his cosmology, e.g., ideas of a preexistent "Pleroma" of the Elect and "emanations" which fell into a state of "deficiency" when the world was created (46,38–47,1; 45,11–13; 46,35–38; 49,4–5). Third, Middle Platonic ideas are found in the distinction between the heavenly world of immutable realities and this corruptible and changing sphere (48,20–27), in the notion of the preexistence of souls (46,38–47,1; 47,4–6; 49,30–36), and in the exhortation of "practicing" for dying (49,28–33).

Since the Elect have already died and risen to heaven with Christ (49,25–28), the author exhorts the reader to dispel doubt through faith, avoid divisive opinion, and thereby gain certitude about already having the resurrection. Though inevitable, after biological death comes ascension (45,36–38) of one's invisible, inward "members" covered by a new, spiritual "flesh" (47,4–8). Continuity of identity will prevail, as the appearance of Elijah and Moses at Christ's transfiguration attests (48,3–11). This is the "spiritual resurrection" that destroys the "psychic" and "fleshly" forms (45,39–46,2).

Though its place of origin cannot be determined, the text's affinities with later Valentinian, Middle Platonic, late Stoic ideas, as well as with characteristic Christian debates about the resurrection all point toward the late 2d century as its probable time of composition.

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MALCOLM L. PEEL

**REU** (PERSON) [Heb *rĕʿû* (רְעוּ)]. Son of Peleg when Peleg was thirty, father of Serug at thirty-two, Reu lived 239 years (Gen 11:18–21). Unlike many of the figures associated with Abram's immediate family line, Reu cannot be identified with any geographic name in N Mesopotamia (Cassuto 1964: 252; Thompson 1974: 306). The name has the consonants *rʿw,* which may reflect W Semitic *rʿh,* which itself can mean "to pasture," "to associate with," and "to be content." As a noun this expression could mean "shepherd," "friend," and "one who is pleasing" (or adjectival "pleasing"). This element may be compounded with a divine name to describe a characteristic of the deity, or in the case of "friend" to describe the name bearer as "friend of God." See also REUEL. Attestations of this root also appear in extrabiblical Hebrew (*IPN,* 257), Amorite (Gelb et al. 1980: 29, 343), Punic (Benz 1972: 409–10), and possibly in Aramaic names of the 1st millennium B.C. appearing in Akkadian transcription (Zadok 1977: 87, 290). Akkadian personal names with these elements are found in many periods (Clay 1912: 194;

Tallqvist 1914: 305, 306; Stamm 1939: 189, 214, 223). Thus the element comprising the name Reu appears in personal names of Semitic origin from a wide variety of times and places.

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RICHARD S. HESS

**REUBEN** (PERSON) [Heb *rĕ‹ûbēn* (רְאוּבֵן)]. REUBENITE. Firstborn son of Jacob and Leah (Gen 29:31–32; 49:3) and eponymous ancestor of the tribe of Reuben. A number of meanings for the name have been suggested from Arabic, such as "substitute (for another child)" (from Ar *r‹b,* "to restore") or "chief" (Ar *ra‹bān*). However the most commonly accepted meaning is "behold a son"—the reaction in Hebrew to the birth of a male child (Nicol 1980: 536, n. 2). The symbolic explanations for the name in Gen 29:32 are related to the circumstances surrounding Reuben's birth—" (Yahweh) has seen my (Leah's) distress" (*ra‹ā bĕ‹onyî*) and "now, my husband will love me" (*[ye‹ĕha]banî*). Both of these statements refer to Leah's relationship with Jacob and his preference for her sister Rachel (Strus 1978: 62–63).

It was Reuben who collected mandrakes (possibly an aphrodisiac) and gave them to Leah (Gen 30:14ff.). When Rachel demanded the mandrakes, Leah traded them for a night with Jacob, thus leading to the birth of her fifth son, Issachar (also explaining his name "I have hired you," Gen 30:16). After Rachel's death, Reuben had sexual relations with Bilhah, her slave and his father's concubine (Gen 35:22). Using 2 Samuel 16:20–22, in which Absalom takes possession of his father David's ten concubines as a parallel situation, some have seen in this act an attempt on Reuben's part to usurp his father's power and authority. Others have suggested that Reuben's intent was to force Jacob to return to Leah's tent by "spoiling" Bilhah, the last link to Rachel (Unterman *HBD,* 866), and to humiliate his father, which introduced an element of justice into the story (Nicol 1980). Whatever the reason, it was this act which led to Reuben's loss of favor and his birthright to descendants of Joseph and Judah (Gen 49:4; 1 Chr 5:1). In the Joseph story (Gen 37; 42:37), however, Reuben's character was portrayed in a more favorable light and his original position as firstborn was underscored by the role that he played in attempting to save Joseph when the other brothers wanted to kill him and by his offer of his two sons to Jacob as surety for the return of Benjamin from Egypt.

The tribe of Reuben was descended from Reuben through his four sons, Hanoch, Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi (Exod 6:14). The territory assigned to them after the conquest was in the Transjordan, roughly S of Gad/Gilead and N of the Arnon River with the Dead Sea on the W and the Ammonites to the E (Josh 13:15–23). As pastoralists, they and the Gadites coveted this land and were promised it by Moses in return for their assistance in the conquest of Canaan (Numbers 32). There is also some evidence for the existence of a portion of the tribe W of the Jordan (Josh 15:16; 18:17) (Elliger *IDB* 4: 53).

Along with Gad and Manasseh, the Reubenites were accused by the tribes W of the Jordan of setting up an altar for worship in their own territory (Joshua 22). The W tribes were placated and war averted when their Transjordanian brethren swore that this altar was not for cultic use but was a model of the real altar in Canaan symbolizing that the Transjordanian tribes had the right to sacrifice there. Cross (1988: 57), however, sees the story as evidence for "an important and traditional cult and shrine" existing in Reuben's territory.

The subsequent history of the tribe is difficult to construct. In the Song of Deborah (Judg 5:15–16), Reuben was chastised for remaining with its flocks instead of assisting in the conflict with Sisera. In 1

Chr 5:10, 19, however, it was seen as fighting with Gad and Manasseh against the Hagrites in the time of Saul.

There are those who interpret 1 Chr 5:1–10, 26 as indicating that Reuben retained its tribal identity until the deportation of Transjordanian Israelites by Tiglath-pileser III in 732 B.C. Others think that soon after Saul the tribe was absorbed by Gad and Moab. Support for this latter view is derived from new evidence attesting to Ammonite oppressive attacks on the Reubenites and Gadites early in Saul's reign as well as from the fact that in David's census (2 Sam 24:5–6) only Gad is mentioned in the area N of the Arnon (Cross 1988: 48). Also, in the 9th century B.C. Mesha inscription, Gad is described as always having dwelt in that area, but there is no reference to Reuben. Memory of the tribe was retained in Ezek 48:6–7, 31, where it received its portion in the resettlement, and in Rev 7:5, where out of the 144,000 sealed from the tribes of Israel 12,000 were from Reuben.

Scholars assume that the tribe of Reuben must at one time have been extremely important from its eponymous ancestor being Jacob's firstborn and its position of primacy within the various biblical genealogical lists (Cross 1988). The biblical explanation for its weakness and disappearance—Moses' blessing "Let Reuben live and not die" (Deut 33:6)—may be seen either in Reuben's sexual relations with Bilhah or possibly the rebellion against Moses (Numbers 16) instigated by Dathan and Abiram, members of the Reubenite tribe (Unterman *HBD,* 867).

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GARY H. OLLER

**REUEL** (PERSON) [Heb *rĕʿūʾēl* (רְעוּאֵל)]. Var. DEUEL. The name of various tribes and persons in the OT. Outside the OT, the name occurs in Edomite (Tell el-Kheleifeh Ostracon 6043, 1). Names consisting of *rʿw-* or *rʿy-* and a theophorous element are attested throughout NW Semitic and ancient Arabic (Weippert 1971: 249; Knauf 1988). The name means "The Friend of God" or "God is Friend"; *ʾēl* in personal names does not necessarily refer to the God El (Knauf 1989: 38, n. 170).

1. A son of Esau (Gen 36:4, 10, 13, 17; 1 Chr 1:35, 37). If the list of Gen 36:10–14 reflects the structure of the Edomite tribal system in the 7th century B.C. (Knauf 1989: 10, n. 45; 61–63), Reuel was one of the three major Edomite tribes and had four subtribes (Gen 36:13). The remaining references to this tribe are derived from this entry (Weippert 1971: 437–46). Of Reuel's subtribes, Shammah is attested in Egyptian topographical lists from the 14th century B.C. (*TRE* 9: 292); Zerah probably inhabited the vicinity of Udhruḥ (M.R. 207971), a village, town, and fortress site in S Jordan, located 9 km E of Petra and occupied from the 7th century B.C. through the Ottoman period (Killick 1987). See also ZERAH.

2. The name of Moses' father-in-law (Exod 2:18; Num 10:29). According to another tradition, Jethro was the father of Moses' Midianite wife (Exod 3:1; 4:18 [Jether]; 18:1f., 5f., 12). In the most ancient tradition, Moses' father-in-law seems to have been without a name. He is called Jethro first by the Yahwist (J), and then Reuel by the Jehovist (JE) (Knauf 1988). In Num 10:29, Reuel is the father of Hobab, the eponymous ancestor of a Kenite clan that settled in the Negeb among the tribe of Judah (Mittmann 1977). This clan may well have belonged to the Edomite tribe Reuel before it migrated to the other side of Wadi Arabah. Therefore, Reuel as Moses' relative is possibly identical with the Edomite tribe (cf. also Albright 1963).

3. The father of Eliasaph, the Gadite tribal leader (Num 2:14; according to the Samaritan and Greek textual tradition). The historical background of the list in Numbers 2 is difficult to ascertain (Kellermann 1970: 155–59). The RSV, following the MT of Num 2:14 reads DEUEL. Barr (1968: 23–25) argues that this form is original; however, the root *dʿw,* "to call," seems to be restricted to S Arabian and Arabic.

4. A Benjaminite family among the inhabitants of Jerusalem (1 Chr 9:8).

5. In Gen 25:3, the adds Reuel to the "sons of Keturah." It is possible that the authors of the knew of an Arabian tribe of this name. It is more likely, however, that they simply wanted to list Moses' father-in-law in their Arabian genealogies in order to emphasize his prominence.

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**REUMAH** (PERSON) [Heb *rĕ›ûmâ* (רְאוּמָה)]. The concubine of Abraham's brother Nahor and the mother of four sons—Tebah, Gaham, Tahash, and Maacah (Gen 22:24). These four were perhaps the eponymous ancestors of Aramean tribes located both N and S of Damascus and related secondarily to the Israelites. Westermann (1985: 367) has drawn attention to the parallel with the Israelite tribes in the division of the names of Nahor's sons: eight were born of the full wife (wives in Jacob's case) and four of the secondary one (again Jacob had two). "Reumah" was evidently a common girl's name, whose meaning nonetheless remains uncertain. Barth (1909: 5) tentatively advocated "Darling," linking it with Akk *râmu* (cf. Ar *ra›ima*), "to love." Building on this idea, Coote (1971: 206–7) saw in "Reumah" a shortened form from something like *ra›ūmat-›ili*, "Beloved of El." In a Palmyrene text *r›wm›* shows up as a masculine name and has been compared to the identically spelled Syr word meaning "foster son" and to the Gk name *rhomeos* (Cantineau; Starcky; and Teixidor 1930–65: 6.14).

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**REVELATION, BOOK OF.** The last book in the NT canon, also known as the Apocalypse of John. The book of Revelation professes to be a record of the prophetic visions given by Jesus to John, who was in exile on the island of Patmos.

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———

**A. Title**

The oldest textual witness to the opening of the book of Revelation (Codex Sinaiticus) gives "Revelation of John" (*apokalypsis iōannou*) as its title. This title is also found in Codex Alexandrinus (5th century), the best witness, along with Codex Ephraemi (also 5th century), to the text of this work. Other mss contain the titles, "Revelation of John, the one who speaks about God" (*apokalypsis iōannou tou theologou*); "Revelation of Saint John, the one who speaks about God" (*apokalypsis tou hagiou iōannou tou theologou*); "Revelation of John, the one who speaks about God, [the] evangelist" (*apokalypsis iōannou tou theologou kai euaggelistou*); and "The Revelation of the Apostle John, the Evangelist (*hē apokalypsis tou apostolou iōannou kai euaggelistou*). The work may have already been known by the title "Revelation of John" (*apokalypsis iōannou*) in the 2d century. The Muratorian Canon (ca. 200 C.E.) states, "We receive also the apocalyptic works, only [those] of John and Peter" (*scripta apocalypse[s] etiam johanis et petri tantum recipimus;* text cited by Charles *Revelation* ICC, 1:5). In the 2d century, however, the work may simply have been known as "Revelation" (*apokalypsis;* Swete 1909: 1).

It is likely that the work at first had no separate title and that the opening words aroused the appropriate expectations in the audience by designating the nature of its content: "A revelation of Jesus Christ" (*apokalypsis Iēsou Christou*). The meaning is "a revelation given by Jesus Christ," as the following words show ("that God gave to him [Jesus Christ] to show to his servants"). This is the first time that the Greek word "revelation" (*apokalypsis*) was used to describe a written work or even an explicitly visionary experience (Smith 1983: 14, 18). When the book was copied onto scrolls, a brief title was added at the end of the work, probably "Revelation of John" (*apokalypsis Iōannou*). When the work began to be copied on booklike codices with pages, this title was placed at the beginning (Aune 1987a: 226). In the course of transmission, the older, brief title was expanded in various ways.

**B. Place in the Canon**

The book of Revelation eventually came to be the last book in the NT. It was in use in Asia and in the West in the 2d century (Swete 1909: cviii). According to Andreas, the archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia (who wrote a commentary on Revelation, either around 515 or 620 C.E.; Bousset *Die Offenbarung Johannis* MeyerK, 63, 65), Papias knew and commented on the book of Revelation (Swete 1909: cviii). Papias flourished in the first half of the 2d century. Irenaeus knew and used the work as a sacred text (*haer.* 5.30). Justin used the book to support the belief in the resurrection and the thousand years in a restored Jerusalem, citing it along with Isaiah and a gospel saying (*dial.* 81). The Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne cites Rev 22:11 as Scripture (1.58). Although the events described occurred in 177, this portion of the work may have been added ca. 250 C.E. (Musurillo 1972: xxii and 80.12–14).

The first major figure to challenge the authoritative status of the book of Revelation was Marcion, presumably because of its strong ties to the Jewish Scriptures. Another challenge came from an extreme anti-Montanist group (the "Alogi"), apparently because it, along with the gospel of John, was a favorite text of the Montanists. Taking an anti-Montanist stand, Gaius of Rome (early 3d century), insinuated that the book was written by a certain Cerinthus, not by John the Apostle. This controversy did not seriously affect the acceptance and popularity of Revelation.

In the second half of the 3d century, however, the canonical status of the book was substantially threatened in the course of a conflict over the manner of fulfillment of the promises of the Scriptures. One group, reacting to the allegorical interpretation of Origen and his successors, insisted that the promises would be fulfilled in an earthly reign of Christ. This position was opposed by Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria and follower of Origen. He did not directly challenge the inspiration of the book or its claim to

have been written by someone named John, but argued that the gospel attributed to John the apostle and the book of Revelation could not have been written by the same person (Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 7.24–25).

The result of Dionysius' work was that the canonical authority of Revelation was greatly weakened in the East. Eusebius did not argue in favor of the book's status as a genuine part of the NT. He simply reported that it was considered genuine by some and spurious by others. Cyril of Jerusalem (also 4th century) omitted Revelation from his list of books in the NT (*catech.* 4.36; cf. 15.13). The Council of Laodicea in Phrygia, held in the mid-4th century, also omitted Revelation from its list of the books of the NT (canon 60; the authenticity of this canon is disputed). Athanasius included Revelation in his list of the books of the NT (*ep. fest.* 39), and Gregory of Nazianzus cited it (*or.* 42.9). Gregory's cousin, Amphilochius of Iconium (ca. 380 C.E.), however, noted that, although some accept the Revelation of John, most call it spurious. The Apostolic Canons, composed in the East in Greek in the 4th century, also omit Revelation from the canon of the NT (canon 85). John Chrysostom, of Antioch and Constantinople (fl. 380), does not cite Revelation. Theodore and Theodoret, also of Antioch, do not cite it.

Athanasius' inclusion of Revelation in his list of books of the NT reestablished it as part of the canon recognized in Egypt (Cyril of Alexandria, for example, accepted it). In Asia Minor it was accepted not only by Gregory of Nazianzus but also by his fellow Cappadocians and contemporaries, Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa (so Bousset ibid., 30; but see Swete 1909: cxvi, and Kümmel 1975: 498–99). Epiphanius of Salamis on Cyprus, also of the 4th century, accepted Revelation as canonical.

The book of Revelation was definitively rejected by the Eastern Syrian Church. It was not included in the early Syriac translation of the NT, the Peshitta (Swete 1909: cxvi; Bousset, 26). Ephraem (4th century), Junilius (6th century), and the Nestorians all ignore the book. The Western Syrian Monophysites, however, authorized a new Syriac translation of the NT. It was authorized in 508 by Philoxenus and thus has been known as the Philoxenian version. It was revised in 616 by Thomas of Harkel (Heraclea). The Philoxenian version apparently survives only in the revised form and is now called the Harklean version. This version included Revelation. John of Damascus (fl. early 8th century), who wrote in Greek and admired the Cappadocian fathers, accepted Revelation as Scripture (Bousset, 30). The Peshitta is preserved and revered by the modern Syriac Church in a form lacking the book of Revelation. This version is used by both the Monophysites and the Nestorians (Aland and Aland 1987: 190–93). The older Armenian version, dependent on the Peshitta, lacked Revelation (Bousset, 30). The later Armenian version, dependent on Greek mss, includes Revelation (Aland and Aland 1987: 201).

In spite of the criticisms of Gaius and Dionysius, the support for Revelation in the West never flagged. The oldest complete commentary on Revelation was written in Latin by Victorinus of Pettau (d. ca. 304). Eventually the work was accepted as canonical in the East, but it was a slow process. The Trullan Synod (or Quinisextine [Fifth-Sixth] Council) held by Eastern bishops in 692 affirmed the Laodicean canon that omits Revelation, but they also drew up a list including it (Swete 1909: cxviii; Kümmel 1975: 499). The Byzantine list of canonical scriptures called the Stichometry of Nicephorus (ca. 810 C.E.) omits Revelation. The oldest surviving commentary in Greek was written either by Oecumenius or Andreas (see above). The archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Arethas, wrote the third surviving Greek commentary ca. 900 C.E. These commentaries apparently won greater recognition for Revelation in the East. In the 10th and 11th centuries Revelation began to be included once again in Greek mss of the NT (Kümmel 1975: 499).

**C. Summary of Contents**

Revelation opens with a prologue in the third person (1:1–3). It refers to the book as a revelation (*apokalypsis*) that was given through God's angel (or messenger; *angelos*) to his servant (*doulos*) John (v 1). The (content of the) book is also called "the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ" (v 2). It is also called "words of prophecy" (*tous logous tēs prophēteias*), and a blessing is pronounced on the one who reads it (aloud in a communal setting) and on those who keep the things written in it (v 3). The prologue ends with the pronouncement, "for the time is near" (*ho gar kairos engus*).

The rest of the book (1:4–22:21) has the framework of an ancient letter. This part of the work is in the first person, except for occasional speeches, that seem to be reports of auditions but are unattributed (e.g.,

22:12–13). Following the prologue is an epistolary prescript (1:4–7), consisting of a salutation, greeting, and doxology. The salutation is from "John" to "the seven congregations (*ekklēsiais*) that are in Asia" (v 4a). The greeting is a wish for grace and peace upon the addressees from God and Christ (vv 4b–5a). The doxology is addressed to Christ (vv 5b–6). Corresponding to the prescript is an epistolary concluding blessing (22:21). It requests that the grace of Christ be with all the addressees. Attached to the epistolary prescript are two prophetic sayings (1:7 and 8).

The body of this unusual letter (1:9–22:5) consists of the report of a single, but highly segmented, visionary experience. Following this account is a kind of epilogue (22:6–20). The epilogue corresponds formally to the two prophetic sayings placed after the prescript and before the report proper. In part it continues the report ("And he said to me," 22:6). In part it reprises the prologue. The reference to the sending of God's angel or messenger *angelos*) to show his servants what must happen soon (22:6) recalls the similar statement in 1:1. The blessing on the one who keeps the words of the prophecy of this book (22:7) recalls 1:3. The narrator's allusion to himself as "John" in 22:8 recalls the prescript (1:4) and the opening of the report (1:9). What he goes on to say in 22:8–9 recalls an incident in the report (19:10). There are other connections between 22:6–9 and 19:9–10. The rest of the epilogue contains various prophetic sayings with links to other parts of the work.

The report of the visionary experience is segmented into two formally different parts. The first is an epiphany of the risen Christ in the form of one like a son of man (1:9–3:22). This visionary experience takes place on earth. The manlike figure commands John to record his visionary experience in a book and to send it to the seven congregations. The focus of this first formally distinct part is a series of prophetic messages to the seven congregations that Christ dictates to John (2:1–3:22). The second main part (4:1–22:5) begins like a heavenly journey or ascent (4:1–2). But this formal introduction is not carried through with remarks about John's journeying from place to place in the heavenly world. Such remarks are typical of the widespread literary form of the heavenly journey. At times John seems to be in heaven. For example, he speaks with one of the twenty-four elders (5:5; 7:13–17). At other times, his vantage point seems to be on earth. For example, the mighty angel of chap. 10 seems to come down to John from heaven. John takes the little scroll from the angel while the angel has one foot on the land and one on the sea. The seer's position and vantage point also seem to be earthly in chap. 12. The implication is the same in 18:1, 19:11, and 20:1. The opening of chap. 4 seems deliberately to evoke the tradition of heavenly ascents, but the author did not seem concerned to make such a journey a structuring principle of the work.

The visionary experience recorded in 4:1–22:5 is itself highly segmented. The plan of this portion of the work will be discussed in the next section. It contains a vision of the heavenly court (chaps. 4–5) that introduces several series of symbolic visions.

**D. Plan of the Book**

A fundamental issue in discerning the plan of the book of Revelation is how to explain the numerous parallel passages and repetitions within it. The book itself suggests that the number seven is an ordering principle by presenting seven messages, seven seals, seven trumpets, and seven bowls. The parallels between the trumpets and bowls are especially close and seem repetitious. Some commentators have explained the repetition as the result of the use of sources. Others have seen the repetition as part of the author's literary design. The literary design has been seen as describing a linear sequence of events within history, including the past, present, and future. Another theory is that the same historical and eschatological events are described several times from different points of view.

**1. The Recapitulation Theory.** The theory that the book of Revelation describes the same events several times from different points of view is an old and venerable interpretive strategy. This position was taken by Victorinus of Pettau, the author of the oldest surviving commentary (d. ca. 304). He stated that both the trumpets and the bowls predict the eschatological punishment of unbelievers (Haussleiter 1916: 84, line 14–86, line 7). This approach was adopted by Tyconius in his lost, but heavily cited, commentary and by Augustine. It dominated the interpretation of the book for centuries.

**2. The Source-Critical Theory.** The recapitulation theory endured as the primary solution to the problem of the structure of the work until the fruitfulness of source-critical studies of the Pentateuch and

Synoptic Gospels led some critics to apply the method to Revelation. The first such analysis was Daniel Völter's study that appeared in 1882 (Bousset, 128–30). The extreme form of this approach is the theory that the author of Revelation was primarily an editor who simply compiled and superficially edited a number of written sources. Friedrich Spitta's study is an example of this extreme source-critical analysis (Bousset, 135–36). He argued that the seals, trumpets, and bowls each reflect a source based on a sevenfold series.

In the 20th century, the source-critical approach has been adopted by M. E. Boismard, J. M. Ford, and U. B. Müller. Boismard used the repetitions in the work to distinguish two sources, one written under Nero and the other somewhat later (Boismard 1949). Müller used differences in messianic ideas to distinguish sources in Revelation from the minimal editorial work of the author. He found Jewish sources in chaps. 12, 14, 19, and 20, that depicted a national Messiah or Son of Man who would judge or do battle against the powers of the world. To the editor he ascribed the passages expressing a messianism focusing on the redemptive Lamb (Müller 1972). Ford hypothesized that chaps. 4–11 constitute a source consisting of the prophecies of John the Baptist and chaps. 12–22 represent another, later source originating from the disciples of the Baptist. Chaps. 1–3 and several verses in chap. 22 were added by a Jewish Christian. The phrases that mention Jesus throughout the work are taken as interpolations (Ford *Revelation* AB).

**3. Literary Unity and a Linear Design.** The source-critical studies of the 19th century definitively established that the author of Revelation did use sources. But the discernible sources are few and of limited scope. The theories that argued for extensive sources and reconstructed them were heavily criticized because of the overall unity of style in the book (Bousset, 126; Charles *Revelation* ICC, 1: lxxxviii–lxxxix). Most exegetes following Bousset have taken the position that the repetitions and parallel passages in Revelation are due to the literary design of the author. The recapitulation theory was not revived immediately, however, because it had been used in the attempt to demonstrate that the book prophesied history from the time of its composition to the time of the interpreter (see below). R. H. Charles argued that the literary design of Revelation describes a linear sequence of events (Charles, 1: xxii–xxiii). In this sequence, most of the events are in strict chronological order. There are significant exceptions, however. Chap. 12 does not continue the prophecies of the future associated with the seven trumpets but reverts to the past in order to prepare for the events related in chap. 13. Three "proleptic" visions interrupt the orderly unfolding of events to encourage the audience by reference to the more distant future (7:9–17; 10:1–11:13; chap. 14). The adequacy of this theory was called into question, not only by the need to posit these significant exceptions, but also by the related thesis that the text had been disordered by the activity of an editor after the work left the hand of the author (Charles, 1: xxii–xxiii; l–lv; lix).

**4. The Revival of the Recapitulation Theory.** As Bousset had already indicated, interpretation of the book of Revelation cannot do entirely without the recapitulation theory (121). The failure of the attempt to interpret the literary design of the work as a linear sequence of events led to the scholarly attempt to retrieve the recapitulation theory for historical-critical interpretation. The first such attempt was that of Günther Bornkamm. His starting point was to ask what portion of the book reveals the contents of the scroll with the seven seals that is introduced in chap. 5. He argued that chaps. 6:1–8:1 could not be an account of the revelation of its contents, since the scroll could not be read until the seventh seal was opened (8:1). He also rejected the theory that chaps. 6:1–11:19 reveal the contents of the scroll. His reasoning was that the unfolding of events connected with the seven trumpets does not exhaust the revelation of the scroll, because of the close parallel structure between 8:2–14:20 and 15:1–19:21. According to his interpretation, the former passage describes the same series of events as the latter, but in a mysterious, fragmentary, and proleptic manner. Because of the relationship between these two passages, he concluded that the revelation of the scroll with seven seals continues from 8:2 to 22:6 (Bornkamm 1937). For a retrieval of the recapitulation theory that leads to a different understanding of the plan of Revelation, see Yarbro Collins 1976: 32–44.

**5. Structural and Thematic Theories.** E. Schüssler Fiorenza discerned a pattern of inclusion or symmetry in the book of Revelation. The first (A 1:1–8) and the last (A´ 22:10–21) units are related to

one another as promise and fulfillment. The second (B 1:9–3:22) and sixth (B´ 19:11–22:9) units correspond because they each have an "inaugural" vision of Christ (1:12–20 and 19:11–16). The third (C 4:1–9:21; 11:15–19) and the fifth (C´ 15:1, 5–19:10) units are related to each other because both evolve out of the scroll with seven seals. The fourth unit (D 10:1–15:4) is the center and climax of the book (Schüssler Fiorenza 1985: 170–75).

C. H. Giblin, building on the work of U. Vanni, argued that the thematic correlations of divine judgment and divine testimony in chaps. 16–22 are articulated in a literary structure of correlated narratives and correlated disclosures (Giblin 1974). The correlated narratives are the seventh bowl (16:17–21) and the elimination of all eschatological adversaries (19:11–21:8). The first describes the negative aspect of divine judgment, i.e., wrath against Babylon. The second is the fulfilled aspect of divine judgment that entails a new creation. The correlated angelic disclosures are the explanation of Babylon (17:1–19:10) and the discourse on the New Jerusalem (21:9–22:6, perhaps extending even further toward the end of the book).

**6. A Text-linguistic Approach.** David Hellholm has applied methods of text linguistics current in Germany to the structure of the book of Revelation (1986). The analysis has two complementary aspects. The first is the determination of the hierarchy of levels of communication. These levels are of two types, those external to the text and those internal to the text. The external type is between the author and the audience or between a character within the text and the audience. The internal type is between characters in the text. The other aspect is the division of the text into hierarchical text sequences. A shift from one text sequence to another is marked by a change in "world," by indications of or changes in time, by indications of or changes in place, changes in the grouping of characters, reintroduction of a character, or by the use of adverbs or conjunctions.

In the book of Revelation, Hellholm discerned six levels of communication. The lowest level is that between the author and the general Christian audience (Rev 1:1–3 and 22:18–19). The second level is between the author and the more specific group of seven congregations. The third is between otherworldly mediators and the author (e.g., the risen Christ in chaps. 1–3). The fourth is between the "heavenly scroll" and the author (6:1–22:5). The fifth is between the otherworldly mediators and the author within the heavenly scroll. The highest level is communication between God and the author within the heavenly scroll, including the command to write (21:5–8; Hellholm 1986: 43–44). This "highest" level of communication may also be referred to, in text-linguistic terms, as the level of most profound embedment.

Hellholm's preliminary delimitation of the hierarchically ranked text sequences in Revelation indicates that the title (*apokalypsis Iōannou*) is the lowest-ranked text sequence (the double nil grade). The prologue (1:1–3) is the next lowest (the nil grade). On the first grade, he places the epistolary prescript (1:4–8), the visionary part (1:9–22:5), the epilogue (22:6–20), and the epistolary postscript (22:21). The following passages are placed on the second grade: the address (1:4b–5), the doxology (1:5c–6), motto in the form of a prophetic saying (1:7), God's self-predication (1:8), the revelation without an otherworldly journey (1:9–3:22), revelation with an otherworldly journey (4:1–22:5), attestation of the book (22:6–7) including Christ's statement of the book's motto ("Behold, I am coming soon" in v 7a), verification of the seer (22:8–9), paraenesis (22:10–15), Christ's statement of the revelatory transmission (22:16), prophetic saying (22:17), Christ's canonization formula (22:18–19), Christ's final citation of the motto and a prophetic cultic response (22:20). There are nine grades altogether.

The most striking result of this analysis is that the level of communication most profoundly embedded (the speech of God in 21:5–8) also occurs on the highest grade of the hierarchy of text sequences. According to Hellholm, the reason for this hierarchic embedment is the authorization of the message (1986: 45).

**7. Outline.** The first key to the plan of the visions of the book of Revelation is the fact that they are, to a great extent, organized in series of seven (Yarbro Collins 1976: 13–16). The second major principle of composition is the technique of interlocking. For example, the seven messages (2:1–3:22) have a dual function in the first major section of the work (chaps. 1–3). On the one hand, they are the logical continuation of the epistolary introduction (1:4–6). They fulfill the literary expectations aroused by the

prescript. On the other hand, the messages are part of the account of the epiphanic vision of Christ that begins in 1:9. The seven messages thus contain the personal addresses and remarks that the epistolary prescript leads the audience to expect. At the same time, they are part of a visionary account.

The device of interlocking is used again in the transition from the seven seals to the seven trumpets, this time doubly so. The fact that the appearance of seven angels with seven trumpets is one of the effects of the unsealing of the seventh seal interlocks the entire series of the trumpets with that of the seals. The vision of the angel with the golden censer (8:3–5) also interlocks the seals and the trumpets. It alludes back to the fifth seal ("the altar" is mentioned both in 6:9 and in 8:3) and repeats its action (the praying of the saints) under a different image. At the same time, it foreshadows the trumpets in that the casting of fire on the earth prefigures the catastrophes associated with the trumpets.

The trumpets are not linked to what follows in as clear and firm a manner as the trumpets themselves are linked to the seals. The following series of visions is foreshadowed, however, by the abrupt introduction of the beast from the abyss in 11:7. The audience is not informed about the nature of this beast until chap. 13. Although there is foreshadowing, the compositional techniques seem to indicate a division between 11:19 and 12:1. The unnumbered series of visions beginning in 12:1, however, is again firmly interlocked with what follows, the series of the seven bowls. The last vision of the unnumbered series, the portrayal of the faithful in heaven (15:2–4), is inserted within the introduction to the seven bowls (15:1, 5–8).

The series of the seven bowls (chap. 16) is interlocked with the unnumbered series of visions that closes the visionary report (19:11–21:8) by the parallelism between the explanatory revelations that follow each of these series. The seventh bowl is directly followed by a brief report of the fall of Babylon (16:19). The nature of Babylon and its fall is elucidated in the following vision interpreted by one of the seven angels who had the bowls (chap. 17). The revelations of 18:1–19:10 elaborate on this theme. Similarly, the last vision (21:1–8) of the series that begins in 19:11 includes a brief mention of the new Jerusalem (21:2). The nature of the holy city is then elucidated in a visionary tour of the city led by one of the angels who had the seven bowls (21:9–22:5). The introductions to the two explanatory visions are virtually identical (*mutatis mutandis*). The visions are also linked by antithetical parallelism. Both involve symbolic women, but one is a harlot clothed in scarlet and the other is the pure bride of the Lamb (cf. 21:9 with 19:8).

A final structuring device to be mentioned is the use of two scrolls. The scroll with the seven seals (5:1) characterizes the first half of the book (chaps. 1–11) as mysterious and veiled. A second scroll is introduced in chap. 10 in a way that suggests that it is parallel to the scroll of chap. 5. The angel who appears to the seer in chap. 10 is coordinated with the angel in chap. 5 who asks, "Who is worthy to open the scroll and to break its seals?" (5:2). The latter is called "a mighty angel" (*aggelon ischyron*). The angel of chap. 10 is introduced as "another mighty angel" (*allon aggelon ischyron;* 10:1). A further indication that chap. 10 is meant to be parallel to chap. 5 is the fact that both visions involve a heavenly writing. In both cases the scroll is at first in the hand of a heavenly being. In 5:1 the scroll is in the hand of the deity. In 10:2, 8 the scroll is in the hand of the angel. There also seems to be a deliberate contrast made between the "sealed scroll" (*biblion ... katesphragismenon*) of 5:1 and the "opened scroll" (*biblion to ēneōgmenon*) of 10:8. The scroll is removed from the hand of the heavenly being in similar ways. In chap. 5 the action of the Lamb is described: "And he went and took [the scroll] from the right hand of him who was sitting on the throne. And when he had taken the scroll …" (5:7–8). In chap. 10 the description of the action of the seer is similar: "And I went to the angel … And I took the little scroll from the hand of the angel … and when I had eaten it …" (10:9–10).

The open scroll of chap. 10 foreshadows the second half of the work and characterizes it as less enigmatic than the first. The fact that it foreshadows 12:1–22:5 is clear in the commission given the seer by the angel, "You must again prophesy about many peoples and nations and tongues and kings" (10:11). The allusion to many kings does not fit what immediately follows (11:1–13), but does describe the content of chaps. 13 and 17. Chaps. 10 and 11:1–13 are accounts of visions that have been inserted between the sixth and the seventh trumpets. Chap. 10 foreshadows 12:1–22:5 by introducing a new heavenly book to characterize that unit and by the command to prophesy about many kings. Chap. 11:1–

13 foreshadows 12:1–22:5 by abruptly introducing the character of "the beast from the abyss" who plays a prominent role in chaps. 13, 17, and 19.

The hypothesis that the open scroll characterizes the series of visions beginning in 12:1 is supported by the parallel commissions that John receives from Christ in chap. 1 and from the mighty angel in chap. 10. In the epiphany of Christ in chap. 1, John is told to write what he sees in a scroll and to send it to the seven congregations (1:11). The commission is resumed in 1:19 when he is told to write "what he saw and what is and what is about to take place hereafter." The last clause of this commission is repeated in 4:1. The seer is shown an open door in heaven and he hears the same voice that he heard in the first vision, saying, "Come up here, and I will show you what must take place hereafter." The resumption of the commission of 1:19 in 4:1 shows that the seer was ordered to communicate not just the seven messages but the vision that begins in 4:1 as well. In the vision of the mighty angel in chap. 10, the seer is commissioned a second time. In vv 8–9 he is told to take the little scroll from the mighty angel and to eat it. His compliance is described in v 10. The eating of the scroll here is a symbolic action that expresses in a concrete way the idea that the message communicated by the prophet does not originate with himself but has a divine origin. A similar symbolic action is related in Ezek 2:8–3:3. The commission to prophesy follows the symbolic action in Ezek 3:4–11. So also in Rev 10:11, a command to prophesy follows the eating of the scroll. The image whereby the angel gives the seer a scroll to eat implies that the angel conveys to the seer the message he is to communicate. The wording of the commission in v 11 indicates that the message is embodied in 12:1–22:5. Chaps. 1 and 10 are thus parallel because they each describe the appearance of a revealing figure who commissions the seer to communicate what is about to be revealed to him. They each involve the idea of the reception of revelation in written form. The wording of the commission in 10:11 implies that the first commission is about to be fulfilled and that a new one is being issued: "You must *again* prophesy about many peoples and nations and tongues and kings."

The overall plan of the book of Revelation indicated by the discussion above is as follows:

Prologue 1:1–3
- Epistolary prescript 1:4–6
- Prophetic sayings 1:7–8
  - Visionary report 1:9–22:5
    - Epiphany of the risen Christ 1:9–3:22
      - The seven messages 2:1–3:22
    - Visions in the spirit 4:1–22:5
      - The scroll with seven seals 6:1–11:19
        - The seven trumpets 8:2–11:19
      - The open scroll 12:1–25:5 (cf. 10:1–11)
        - The seven bowls 15:1–16:20
          - Vision of Babylon 17:1–19:10
        - The last things 19:11–21:8
          - Vision of Jerusalem 21:9–22:5
- Prophetic sayings 22:6–20
- Epistolary concluding blessing 22:21

**E. Text**

The textual history of the book of Revelation differs significantly from that of the rest of the NT. The reason for this difference is the fact that the canonicity of the book was contested in the East (see above). In the 26th edition of *Novum Testamentum Graece*, edited by Kurt Aland et al., and referred to as the Nestle-Aland text, certain "constant witnesses" are cited for each canonical book. These are the mss whose importance is so great that their readings are collated for every variant. The most significant are cited explicitly for every variant when they are extant for a passage. Others are cited explicitly only when they differ from the reading of the majority. Because of its differing textual history, the "constant witnesses" for Revelation are different from those of the other books. All available papyri are included among the "constant witnesses" for all books of the NT. In Revelation, not only are all extant papyri

included, but also all surviving uncials. In the cases of other books, so many uncials containing those works are available that only a selection can and need be cited. In the case of Revelation, they are so few that all may be cited. Some minuscule mss are also included among the "constant witnesses" for Revelation.

The "constant witnesses" for Revelation in Nestle-Aland[26] include the following papyri: $p^{18}$ (3d–4th century), $p^{24}$ (4th century), $p^{43}$ (6th–7th century), $p^{47}$ (3d century), and $p^{85}$ (4th–5th century). Since all of these mss are fragments, each represents only a small portion of the work. The following are the uncials: Codex Sinaiticus (4th century), Codex Alexandrinus (5th century), Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus (5th century), 025 (9th century), 046 (10th century), 051 (10th century), 052 (10th century), 0163 (5th century), 0169 (4th century), 0207 (4th century), and 0229 (8th century). Of these only Codex Sinaiticus, Codex Alexandrinus, and 046 are complete. Codex 025 is nearly complete. It is lacking portions of chaps. 16, 17, 19, 20, and 22. Codexes 052, 0163, 0169, 0207, and 0229 are fragments. The minuscules are 1006 (11th century), 1611 (12th century), 1841 (9th–10th century), 1854 (11th century), 2030 (12th century), 2050 (copied in 1107 C.E.), 2053 (13th century), 2062 (13th century), 2329 (10th century), 2344 (11th century), 2351 (10th–11th century), and 2377 (14th century). Several of these mss are lacking large portions of the work.

The earliest witnesses are $p^{47}$ and Codex Sinaiticus, but they are inferior attestations to the text of Revelation in comparison with Codex Alexandrinus and Codex Ephraemi. The latter codexes are of secondary value for other books of the NT but are very valuable for Revelation. Another unusual aspect of the textual history of Revelation is that the majority text-type falls into two groups. Group A consists of a large number of mss that agree with the text of the commentary by Andreas of Caesarea. Group K is constituted by a comparably large number of mss that are of the strictly Koine type. Codex 025 agrees with Group A; Codex 046 with Group K. The minuscules 2053, 2062, and 2344 are related to Codex Alexandrinus and Codex Ephraemi.

There are no ms lectionaries attesting to the text of Revelation, since it was not included in the Greek lectionary system. The Ethiopic version of Revelation is dependent on the text-type represented by Alexandrinus and Ephraemi, with subsequent influence of the Coptic and Arabic versions. Unlike other parts of the NT, the book of Revelation was not translated into Old Church Slavonic until the 12th century (Aland and Aland 1987: 160, 205, 208). For more information on the textual transmission of the book of Revelation, see the detailed study of Josef Schmid (1955–56). See also TEXTUAL CRITICISM (NT).

**F. Authorship**

Only the general geographical region in which Revelation was composed is a matter of consensus. The date and the identity of the author have been matters of dispute.

**1. Date.** The earliest external evidence for the date of the book of Revelation is the statement of Irenaeus that it was seen at the end of the reign of Domitian (*haer.* 5.30.3). Domitian was emperor from 81 to 96, so this witness implies a date ca. 95–96. The wording leaves open the possibility that the work was written somewhat later than the occasion of the visionary experience on which it was based. It is questionable, however, that Irenaeus made such a distinction. Victorinus of Pettau states that John was banished (*damnatus*) by Domitian to a mine or quarry (*metallum*) on the island of Patmos, where he saw the revelation (*in Apoc.* 10:11). In another passage, he explicitly says that the work was written during the time of Domitian (*in Apoc.* 17:10). Eusebius cites Irenaeus and follows him on the date of Revelation. Jerome states that John was banished (*relegatus*) by Domitian to the island of Patmos, where he wrote Revelation (*De Vir. Ill.* 9).

Epiphanius (4th century) states that John prophesied and was on the island of Patmos during the reign of Claudius (41–54 C.E.; *Adv. Haeres.* 51.12,33; Charles, 1. xcii). The source of Epiphanius' opinion is unknown. But, as a date for the work as it now stands, the reign of Claudius is excluded by the internal evidence (see below). The title prefixed to both of the Syriac versions and the 11th-century archbishop of Bulgaria, Theophylact (*praef. in ioann*), attest to a date under Nero (54–68 C.E.). This dating is probably an erroneous inference from the internal evidence. There are allusions to Nero in the book, but that does not mean that it was written during his reign. In another work, Theophylact implies that Revelation was

written under Trajan (98–117 C.E.; *com. in Matt.* 20: 22). The dating to the time of Trajan may be an inference from Irenaeus' remark that John lived in Ephesus until the time of Trajan (*haer.* 2.22.5).

The most significant internal evidence for the date of Revelation is to be found in its references to the destruction of a city called Babylon (14:8; 16:19; 17:5; 18:2, 10, 21). It is highly unlikely that the author of Revelation would have been interested in the conquest of the historical Babylon by the Persians in the 6th century B.C.E. or in the occasions on which it was sacked during the period of the wars among the successors of Alexander. It is even less likely that the author hoped for the destruction of a fortified town called Babylon at the head of the delta of Egypt that was the headquarters of a Roman legion during the early empire. The text itself makes clear that the name is not to be taken as a literal denotation. In chap. 17 this city is revealed to John in a vision as a woman. The name "Babylon" is written on her forehead and the audience is told that this name is a mystery (*mystērion*; 17:5). Later the angel who has shown John this vision offers to explain the "mystery" of the woman (v 7). The explanation that follows makes clear that the woman represents the city of Rome. The seven heads of the beast on which she sits are explained as seven hills (*orē;* v 9). Rome as "the city of the seven hills" was a common expression in classical writings. Further, the woman is interpreted as "the great city that holds rule (*basileia*) over the kings of the earth" (v 18). The politically dominant city in the Mediterranean world in John's time was of course Rome.

It is important to note that "Babylon" was not the only symbolic name a Christian of this time familiar with Jewish tradition might choose to designate the city of Rome. "Egypt," "Kittim," and "Edom" appear along with "Babylon" in Jewish sources as symbolic names for Rome. "Kittim" is the most common name in the Qumran literature. "Edom" is the most common in the rabbinic literature (Hunzinger 1965). Most of the occurrences of "Babylon" as a symbolic name for Rome in Jewish literature occur in works with a strong interest in eschatology: the apocalypse of Ezra (*4 Ezra* = 2 Esdras 3–14), the Syriac apocalypse of Baruch (*2 Bar.*) and the fifth book of the *Sibylline Oracles.* In each occurrence, the context makes clear the reason for the choice of this particular symbolic name: Rome's forces, like those of Babylon of an earlier time, have destroyed Jerusalem and the temple (*4 Ezra* 3:1–2, 28–31; *2 Bar.* 10:1–3; 11:1; 67:7; *Sib. Or.* 5:143, 159). Thus, the author of Revelation uses the name "Babylon" for Rome, not only to symbolize the great power, wealth, arrogance, or decadence of the city, but to allude to the events of 70 C.E. The use of this symbolic name is thus an important indication of the date of Revelation. It implies that the work was written after the destruction of the temple by Titus, that is, after 70 C.E.

A passage that seems to offer important internal evidence for the date of Revelation is 17:9–10. Besides the interpretation of the seven heads of the beast upon which the woman rides as seven hills, another interpretation is offered. They are also seven kings (*basileis*). The text then hints at who the seven kings are and at the apparent time of writing: "five have fallen, one is, the other has not yet come, but when he comes, he must remain a short time." The date known from external evidence may be used to solve this riddle, or this riddle may be used to determine the date. If we follow Irenaeus' dating and use it to solve the riddle, then the "one" who "is" must be Domitian. The five who have fallen would be the five emperors immediately preceding Domitian, namely, Galba, Otho, Vitellius, Vespasian, and Titus. The one who has not yet come must be Nerva, who indeed "remained," i.e., ruled, for only a short time (96–98 C.E.). This is the solution of Victorinus (*comm. in apoc.* 17:10). There are two problems with this solution. How did the author know that Nerva would remain a short time? Was this genuine prophecy? Or was it eschatological dogma that happened to be historically accurate? Or was Revelation actually written during the time of Trajan (98–117 C.E.), so that the author was giving the impression of having written during Domitian's reign, but actually wrote under Trajan and thus knew that Nerva had ruled only a short time? Or one could argue that the vision occurred under Domitian but was written down or edited under Trajan. The second problem is that v 11 says that "the beast who was, and is not, is both (the) eighth (king) and one of the seven and he goes to perdition." Victorinus takes this eighth king to be Nero, as do most modern commentators. But if the seven are identified as above, Nero is not one of them. Victorinus "solves" this discrepancy by interpreting "the beast is of the seven" to mean "before those kings Nero reigned."

If one starts with the riddle, appropriate premises are that the kings are Roman rulers and that one should start counting from the beginning of the empire and count consecutively. Contemporary literature indicates that writers of this time, when counting Roman emperors, began with Julius Caesar (Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*; *Sib. Or.* 5: 12–51; *4 Ezra* 11–12). Thus, the five who have fallen would be Julius, Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius Caligula, and Claudius. The "one" who "is" would be Nero and the one who has not yet come would be Galba. As we have seen, the work as a whole could not have been written before 70 C.E. A further problem is that "the beast," who is Nero or Nero redivivus, at the time of writing "is not," i.e., is dead.

The solution that best explains the evidence is that the first part of the riddle ("they are also seven kings; five have fallen, one is, the other has not yet come" and possibly also the part stating "and when he comes he must remain a short time") is an older tradition, incorporated and reinterpreted by the author of Revelation. The older tradition may have been formulated in the time of Nero. It is impossible to determine with certainty how the author of Revelation understood the five kings, but it is very likely that Nero was one of them. The second part of the riddle ("and the beast who was and is not, he also is [the] eighth and one of the seven and he goes to perdition") was composed by the author and alludes to the return of Nero as eschatological adversary.

Another passage that seems to provide reliable internal evidence for the date of Revelation is 11:1–2. As we have seen, this vision is part of an interlude in the seven trumpets. John is given a reed like a rod and told to "rise and measure the temple of God and the altar and those worshipping in it." He is told not to measure the courtyard outside the temple, "because it was given to the gentiles, and they will trample the holy city for forty-two months." This passage seems to imply that the earthly, historical temple was still standing at the time Revelation was written. Before source criticism was applied to Revelation, i.e., before 1882, this passage was used to date the entire work before 70 C.E. In the 20th century, J. A. T. Robinson revived the argument that Revelation as a whole was written before 70 (1976: 238–42). Robinson took Rev 11:1–13 as a unity and interpreted the measuring of the temple as a command that the temple be purified. He saw this command as part of the call to repentance issued by the two witnesses whose activity is described in 11:3–13. Robinson argued that vv 1–13 as a unit could not have been composed after 70, since only a tenth of Jerusalem falls after the ascension of the witnesses (v 13) and that destruction occurs because of an earthquake, not an enemy attack.

Contrary to Robinson's premise, 11:1–13 was probably not composed freely by the author of Revelation as a unit. The connection between vv 1–2 and 3–13 is loose and external. The only link is that both are set in Jerusalem. The same period of time is mentioned in different forms in each, but this repetition is an editorial seam. The first unit (vv 1–2) focuses on the temple. The second (vv 3–13) does not mention the temple at all. It is likely that two separate sources stand behind this section. Verses 1–2 seem to be based on a prophetic oracle that circulated in Jerusalem during the war against Rome, before the temple was destroyed. This oracle has been adapted by the author of Revelation in such a way that the earthly temple represents the heavenly temple that cannot be destroyed by Rome.

The most reliable external evidence of the date of Revelation is the testimony of Irenaeus. The clearest internal evidence indicates a date after 70 C.E. Since the internal evidence does not point to a precise date, it seems best to accept Irenaeus' statement and to date the book to ca. 95–96. For a more detailed discussion of the evidence and scholarship on the date, see Yarbro Collins 1984: 54–83.

**2. Place.** The consensus is that the book of Revelation was composed somewhere in the general region of the W coast of Asia Minor. Some assume that it was composed on the island of Patmos. Others think it more likely that it was written in Ephesus. The text itself says that the revelation contained in it was received on the island of Patmos (1:9). The work is addressed to the Christian congregations in seven cities of W Asia Minor, Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea (1:4, 11). All seven of these cities belonged to the Roman province of Asia in the 1st century C.E.

The likelihood of the work being written on Patmos is linked to the question of why John went there. The text says that he was there "on account of the word of God and the testimony of Jesus" (1:9). A few commentators take this to mean that he went there to proclaim the gospel. This explanation is not

impossible, but it is odd that an early Christian missionary would have chosen such a remote and sparsely populated place. The language of Revelation counts against this hypothesis. The Greek preposition translated "on account of" (*dia*) usually designates the cause of an effect in Revelation; it is never used elsewhere in the book to indicate the purpose or goal. Many commentators take seriously some aspects of comments by Victorinus and other early Christian writers and conclude that John was deported to Patmos by the Roman governor of Asia. (In addition to the ancient writers cited in the discussion of the date above, see Hippolytus, *antichr.* 36.) The odd thing about this hypothesis is that most condemned early Christians were executed, not deported. A further problem is that there is no evidence, besides Revelation, that Patmos was used as a place of deportation at this time. The general practice, however, is well attested in non-Christian sources and there is evidence that islands near Patmos were so used. For a more detailed discussion of John's sojourn on Patmos, see Yarbro Collins 1984: 102–4. If John had been sent to Patmos by the Roman governor and was confined there, the use of the letter form to circulate his account of the revelation he had received on the island would readily be intelligible. Confinement, however, is not the only likely explanation for the use of the written medium or the letter form. The classic prophetic oracles had been collected and written down. The written medium is self-consciously chosen and typical of apocalyptic texts in early Judaism. Note in this connection the command issued by the risen Christ to John to write down the revelation. The letter form had been established by Paul as a mode of communication by early Christian leaders.

**3. Identity of the Author.** The external evidence will be reviewed first. As noted above, the earliest writer known to have been familiar with the book of Revelation was Papias. In the early part of the 2d century, he was bishop of Hierapolis, a city not far from one of the cities to which Revelation was addressed, Laodicea. No clear statement from Papias, however, has been handed down concerning the identity of the author. Justin says that Revelation was written by "John, one of the apostles of Christ" (or "of the messiah"; *heis tōn apostolōn tou christou; dial.* 81). Irenaeus is the first writer to attribute the book of Revelation and the gospel of John to the same author (compare *haer.* 3.11.1 with 4.20.11). He calls this author "John, the disciple of the Lord." That his use of the term "disciple" (*mathētēs, discipulus*) does not exclude the idea that the author was an apostle is shown by his reference to this disciple and "the other apostles" in another passage (*haer.* 2.22.5). Just prior to the latter passage, Irenaeus states that this John was conversant with some elders in Ephesus and remained among them until the times of Trajan. Hippolytus identified John, the author of Revelation, with "blessed John, apostle and disciple of the Lord" (*antichr.* 36). Origen identified the author of Revelation with John, the son of Zebedee (*Jo.* 1.14). It is clear that he considers the author of the gospel of John and the author of Revelation to be the same person; he calls this person "apostle," "evangelist," and "prophet" (*Jo.* 2.4; see also a fragment from the fifth book of Origen's commentary on the gospel of John and its citation in Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 6.25). Dionysius of Alexandria, after Origen's death, argued that Revelation and the gospel of John could not have been written by the same person (see above).

Turning to the internal evidence, one notes that the author refers to himself as "John," but not in such a way as to point clearly to John the son of Zebedee or to the anonymous beloved disciple in the gospel of John. The name John (Gk *Iōannēs;* Heb *Yohanan*) was common among Jews from the Exile onward and among the early Christians (Swete 1909: clxxv). The author of Revelation never refers to himself as an apostle or disciple of the Lord. In the vision of the new Jerusalem, the twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb are seen inscribed on the twelve foundations of the wall around the city (21:14). The implication is that the Church in the author's time prefigures the new Jerusalem or that it is the earthly counterpart of the heavenly Jerusalem. The interpretation of the foundations of the wall of the city as the twelve apostles is characteristic of a time in which the age of the apostles is past. It is unlikely that a living apostle would speak in such a way. Rev 21:14 has more in common with the post-Pauline Eph 2:20 than with Paul's own remarks in 1 Cor 3:10–15. The conclusion that best fits the evidence is that the author of Revelation is a man named John who is otherwise unknown to us (for a more detailed discussion, see Yarbro Collins 1984: 25–34).

The historical quest for the identity of the author of Revelation has yielded primarily negative results. A more fruitful line of research has been the attempt to discern the social identity of the author. Considerable research has been done on the relation of the author and his work to the phenomenon of early Christian prophecy (Nikolainen 1968; Hill 1971–72; Müller 1976; Schüssler Fiorenza 1985: 133–56; Aune 1981; Yarbro Collins 1984: 34–49). Most scholars who have written on early Christian prophecy have distinguished community, congregational, or church prophets from wandering prophets. The primary evidence for community prophets is 1 Corinthians 11 and 14. The primary evidence for wandering prophets is the *Didache.* The community prophets are thought of as permanent, settled members of a particular Christian congregation. Wandering prophets are generally defined as translocal leaders, who traveled from place to place, proclaiming their teaching or the revelations they had received. This is a useful distinction but should not be pressed too far, given the great mobility of persons, especially of the nonrural population, that characterized the early empire. At least two types of wandering or itinerant Christian prophets may be distinguished: (1) the prophet who traveled to a particular place to execute a divine commission (Agabus in Acts 11:27–30 and 21:10–14; Hermas in *The Shepherd of Hermas*); (2) prophets whose wandering was an enactment of the ascetic values of homelessness, lack of family ties, and the rejection of wealth and possessions (*Did.* 11–13; prophets of the community reflected in the Synoptic Sayings source [Q]; Peregrinus in Lucian's *The Passing of Peregrinus* [Aune 1981: 18–19, 29]).

John never actually referred to himself as a prophet in Revelation, but he implied that he was one by describing his work as a "prophecy" (*prophēteia;* 1:3; 22:7, 10, 18, 19). Some have argued that the prologue (1:1–3) and the "canonical formula" or curse (22:18–19) were added to the work after it left John's hands. Even if they were, 22:7 and 10 still stand to make this point. Further, John came very close to identifying himself as a prophet when he attributed the following words to the revealing angel, "I am your fellow servant, and the fellow servant of your brothers the prophets" (22:9).

Some have seen the reference to "your brothers the prophets" as evidence for a prophetic circle, school, or guild in one or more of the seven cities. This conclusion goes beyond the evidence. The reference to prophets here is very general, as elsewhere in Revelation, and does not necessarily imply a group of prophets gathered around John. The term "brothers" implies coreligionists, i.e., other Christian prophets (cf. 19:10). This is slim evidence, however, for the hypothesis of a prophetic school led by John.

John was probably not a settled community prophet. His acquaintance with the seven Christian communities in the Roman province of Asia suggests that he was a translocal leader. His rivals, the false apostles who visited Ephesus (2:2), "Jezebel," who evidently was recognized by some Christians as a prophet (2:20), and "Balaam" (2:14), appear to have been translocal leaders also. There is no evidence that John traveled to the seven cities because of a divine commission. Some argue that he went to Patmos by divine order to receive a revelation there, but this theory goes beyond the text. Of the types of known prophet, John fits best the type whose wandering expressed the values of homelessness and the rejection of wealth. The ascetic values associated with that type are expressed in the text of Revelation indirectly (Yarbro Collins 1984: 111–40).

John presented himself indirectly as a prophet. He does not seem to have made a sharp distinction between Israelite and Christian prophets (10:7; 11:3–13; 16:6; 22:6). His self-presentation and the account of the revelation he received are shaped by the records and traditions of the classical prophets of Israel. The evidence suggests that John was a wandering prophet who was familiar with all seven communities because he had visited and instructed each of them. If one of the cities was his primary residence or center of operations, we have no reliable way of determining which of them it was.

**G. Literary Character**

The terms in Greek meaning "to reveal" (*apokalyptein*) and "revelation" (*apokalypsis*) were probably in common use in the last two or three centuries B.C.E. to refer to the revealing of secrets (Smith 1983: 9–14). Human beings had long attempted to secure guidance from the divine world for personal and public affairs. Eventually, the terms came to be used of heavenly revelations that had to do with cosmic secrets, hidden realities in the present, and with the future. In Luke the verb "reveal" is used to describe the

manifestation of the Son of Man to the world in the future (Luke 17:30). Analogously, Paul uses the noun for the manifestation of Christ at the time of his return at the end (1 Cor 1:7). The noun is also used by Paul for a revelatory religious experience (e.g., 2 Cor 12:1).

In Rev 1:1 the noun "revelation" (*apokalypsis*) probably refers collectively to the secrets that Christ has revealed to John (cf. 1 Cor 14:6). In other words, it refers to the content of the book with connotations of a particular kind of revelatory experience. The term in Rev 1:1 is not yet a literary designation or definition of genre, although its use here gave rise to that meaning and use. The situation regarding the opening of Revelation is analogous to the use of "good news" (*euaggelion*) in Mark 1:1. "Good news" in Mark 1:1 was apparently intended as a description of the content of the work: the events associated with Jesus. But the use of the term at the beginning of Mark contributed to the eventual use of "good news" or "gospel" as a literary term.

The 2d-century *Shepherd of Hermas* uses the verb "reveal" (*apokalyptō*) for a religious experience involving the granting of the ability to read a heavenly book (*Herm. Vis.* 2.2.1). The noun "revelation" (*apokalypsis*) is used to describe a vision in which a heavenly being reveals the meaning of another vision (*Herm. Vis.* 2.4.1). The work itself as a whole is not described as an apocalypse, either in the text or in the title, except that Codex Sinaiticus (4th century) gives "The Fifth Revelation" (*apokalypsis ē*) as the title of what is labeled as "The Fifth Vision" (*horasis ē*) in other mss. Like the risen Christ in Revelation, the heavenly shepherd who appears in this fifth vision commands the seer to write down what he is about to reveal to him (commands or mandates and parables or similitudes).

According to Eusebius, Clement of Alexandria considered a "revelation (*apocalypsis*) of Peter" to be canonical (*Hist. Eccl.* 6.14). The work is probably the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Peter,* preserved in fragments in Greek and entirely in Ethiopic. It contains a description of the places of punishment and a vision of paradise. It is probably the same work that is mentioned in the canonical list known as the Muratonian Canon (see above). Although it is not known how the work designated or described itself or whether it had a title, it is at least clear that the Christians who used it called it a "revelation" (*apokalypsis*). This usage may have been inspired by the opening or title of the book of Revelation. It may, however, have been due in part to a growing interest in the Greco-Roman world in the phenomenon of revelation as a religious experience and a literary form.

Such a growing interest may be reflected in the shift in vocabulary from the Old Greek translation of Daniel to the later translation attributed to a certain Theodotion. In a number of passages the verb "reveal" (*apokalyptō*) is used in the latter, whereas different verbs are used in the former (cf. the two translations of Dan 2:19, 22, 28, 29, 30, 47; 10:1; 11:35). For apparently independent pagan use of the terminology in the 3d and 4th centuries, see Smith 1983: 18.

A Greek work attributed to Baruch (*3 Bar*.) has two superscriptions in the two surviving Greek mss. The first designates the work as " (the) narrative (*diēgēsis*) and revelation (*apokalypsis*) of Baruch." The second simply as " (the) revelation (*apokalypsis*) of Baruch." Although the work was apparently originally Jewish and composed ca. 200 C.E., it was transmitted and edited by Christians. Thus the superscriptions may well be due to Christian hands.

The codices found at Nag Hammadi in 1945 contain five works preserved in Coptic that are designated as "revelations" or apocalypses in their titles. One of these, the *Apocalypse of Adam* (NHC V,*5*), has no explicitly Christian characteristics. It contains no clear indications of date, but may be as early as the 1st or 2d century C.E. This work is a revelation given to Adam by three heavenly beings that he narrates to his son Seth. The other four works are clearly Christian. *The Apocalypse of Paul* (NHC V,*2*) is dated to the 2d century. It describes Paul's ascent to heaven and his journey from the third to the tenth heavens. Following the *Apocalypse of Paul* in Codex V are two works, both of which are entitled "The Apocalypse of James" (NHC V,*3, 4*). These works are also relatively early. *The (First) Apocalypse of James* describes the revelation received by James the Just from the risen Lord. *The (Second) Apocalypse of James* describes revelation given by Christ to James after the resurrection and also the death of James by stoning. *The (Coptic) Apocalypse of Peter* (NHC VII,*3*) was probably written in the 3d century. It is an account of a revelation seen by the apostle Peter that is explained by Jesus.

There are many later Christian works that are designated "revelations" in their titles (see Yarbro Collins 1979 and Himmelfarb 1983). This brief survey of the use of the verb "reveal" (*apokalyptō*) and the noun "revelation" (*apokalypsis*) shows how the literary character of the book of Revelation was perceived in antiquity.

In modern times, scholars have defined a genre "apocalypse," the starting point of which is the book of Revelation. The name of the genre comes from the title and opening word of the book. The scope of the genre likewise has been defined as those ancient works resembling Revelation. These writings include at least the following Jewish works: *1 Enoch,* Daniel, *4 Ezra, 2 Baruch,* the *Apocalypse of Abraham, 2 Enoch,* and *3 Baruch.* The corpus of Christian apocalypses includes those discussed above as well as the *Ascension of Isaiah,* the (apocryphal Latin) *Apocalypse of Paul* and other, mostly later, works. A number of Greco-Roman, rabbinic, and Persian works resemble these in form and content (Attridge 1979; Saldarini 1979; Collins 1979).

There has been a great deal of debate on what the central characteristics of this genre are. Some scholars emphasize eschatological content and its relation to a social situation of crisis or revolution. Others argue that the term applies to any revelatory text. Others see certain themes as the key, such as theodicy or national restoration. Still others emphasize formal features like pseudonymity or symbolic visions. In the 1970s and 1980s, attempts have been made to define the genre in terms of form and content (Collins, ed. 1979) and in terms of form, content, and function (Yarbro Collins 1986). See also the proceedings of the international conference on apocalypticism held in Uppsala in 1979 (Hellholm 1983).

As noted above, besides its apocalyptic character, the book of Revelation also has affinities with prophecy (Aune 1983) and with early Christian letters.

Revelation has been compared to Greco-Roman drama (Bowman 1955a; 1955b). The most significant insight resulting from such a comparison is that the hymns and acclamations in the book function in a way similar to the choral odes in Greek tragedy.

**H. Relation to Other Ancient Literature**

A major breakthrough in the scholarly study of Revelation was the recognition of the source and character of its images and narrative patterns. These were not composed freely by the author to comment on the current situation; in other words, they are not primarily allegories invented to comment on current affairs. Further, these images and narrative patterns were not simply borrowed from the "Old Testament" and cannot be understood fully in terms of such borrowing. They can be understood appropriately and in depth only in the context of ANE and Greco-Roman myth. This insight was the contribution of the history-of-religions school to the study of Revelation (Gunkel 1895; Bousset). The approach was sometimes taken to an extreme, with the result that almost all historical allusions were denied (Lohmeyer *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* HNT). But, complemented by other methods, it has become an essential interpretive approach to the work (Charles *Revelation* ICC; Caird *Revelation* HNTC; see also Yarbro Collins 1976).

Gunkel showed that the portions of the Hebrew Bible on which Revelation was dependent ought to be understood in comparison with ancient Mesopotamian mythic literature. He also demonstrated that the mythic elements in Revelation were not fossils but expressions of a living mythic mentality. When examples of Northwest Semitic (Canaanite) mythic literature were discovered at Ugarit, later scholars showed that these provided a more immediate context for the Hebrew Bible (*CMHE*; Hanson 1973; 1975) and for Revelation (Yarbro Collins 1976). The clearest use of Greco-Roman mythic traditions is in the description of the woman clothed with the sun (related to traditions about Isis) and the narrative plot in which the woman about to bear a child is threatened by a serpentine monster (related to the story of Leto's threatened bearing of Apollo) in chap. 12 (Yarbro Collins 1976: 57–85). Other Greco-Roman traditions have influenced the image of Jesus as the morning star in 22:16 (Yarbro Collins 1977a: 379–80), the use of the four elements in chap. 16 (Betz 1966; Yarbro Collins 1977a: 367–79), and the attribution to Jesus of the keys of death and Hades in 1:18 (Aune 1987b: 484–89).

Since the book of Revelation is contemporary with, or perhaps somewhat earlier than, *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch,* one cannot expect to find allusions to them in Revelation. They have much in common with

Revelation in form and content (apocalyptic and eschatological motifs). With regard to canonical Jewish literature, it is well known that Revelation does not cite these older works but uses images and themes from them in a new literary creation. The books of Daniel (Beale 1984) and Ezekiel (Vanhoye 1962) are used extensively in this manner. The book of Revelation is not literarily dependent on any texts from Qumran. Its use of holy war imagery has some affinities with that of the War Scroll (Yarbro Collins 1977b). The description of the new Jerusalem in Revelation 21 is analogous to the description of the eschatological Jerusalem in the fragmentary new Jerusalem text from Qumran (cf. Ezekiel 40–48 and *4 Ezra* 9:26–10:59). The commentary by J. M. Ford (*Revelation* AB) suggests many parallels between Revelation and various documents from Qumran.

The anti-Roman attitude and the use of the motif of Nero's return are shared by Revelation with books 4 and 5 of the *Sibylline Oracles* (Collins 1983).

**I. Theological Perspective and Social Setting**

God is described near the opening of Revelation as he "who is and who was and who is to come" (1:4). This description is a concrete way of expressing what later theologians would call the eternity of God. The first prophetic saying of the book contains God's self-revelation as "The Alpha and the Omega" and the "Almighty" (1:8). The "Alpha/Omega" epithet expresses metaphorically not only God's eternity but also the notions that God is the source of all things and encompasses all things. The epithet "Almighty," of course, alludes to God's omnipotence. The vision of chap. 4, building on older visions, indirectly presents God as King, enthroned in heaven and surrounded by counselors (the twenty-four elders). The song of the four living creatures emphasizes God's holiness (4:8; cf. Isa 6:3). The song of the twenty-four elders emphasizes God's activity as Creator. In the final series of visions God appears as Judge (20:11–15) and as Creator of the new heaven and earth (21:1, 5). The deepest and most important aspect of the new age symbolized by the new Jerusalem is the dwelling of God with humanity (21:2–4, 6–8). At the beginning and end of the work, it is emphasized that God communicates with humanity through Christ, angels, and the prophets in general and through this book in particular (1:1–3; 22:6–7).

The christology of the book of Revelation is expressed in images, not in philosophical concepts. Like most of the other writings of the NT, Revelation's most basic affirmation is that Jesus is the Christ, i.e., the Messiah (1:1, 2, 5). Jesus is also called "the faithful witness" (1:5). This epithet has two levels of meaning. First, Jesus has communicated faithfully to John the revelation given to him by God (1:1–2; 22:16, 18). Second, Jesus' remembered behavior during his arrest, trial, and execution undoubtedly functioned as a model for the audience who were threatened by persecution (cf. 1:5 with 2:13; 6:9; 12:11; 20:4). Jesus' role in the present, from the point of view of the author, is that, as the firstborn of the dead, he rules the kings of the earth (1:5). The work of Jesus in the past is referred to in the doxology of 1:5b–6. He has freed those who believe in him from their sins by his blood. This affirmation is similar to the summary of the gospel in 1 Cor 15:3 and to Matthew's version of the words of Jesus spoken over the cup at the Last Supper (Matt 26:27–28). The work of Jesus is not yet complete. He is expected to appear in the future as judge or warrior (1:7; 19:11–21).

In the first vision recounted in the book, Christ appears to John as "one like a son of man" (1:13). In terms of form and content, Rev. 1:9–3:22 seems to have been modeled on Dan 10:2–12:4. Both passages describe the epiphany of a heavenly being to a human visionary. In both, the seer identifies himself by name and gives the time and place of the experience. In both texts, the visionary says that he looked and then gives a description of the heavenly being. Following the description, both passages relate that the seer is overwhelmed by the apparition and falls to the ground senseless. The heavenly being then comforts or strengthens the seer. After this exchange, the heavenly being conveys to the seer a long verbal revelation which is associated with a book. In Daniel this book is the heavenly book of truth (10:21); in Revelation it is the book which John is to write (1:11, 19). Significant similarities occur in the descriptions of the heavenly revealer figures. Both are girded with gold; both have eyes of fire; both have lower limbs that appear like metal. Both their faces shine like light.

These similarities suggest that the risen Christ is portrayed in Revelation 1 as an angelic figure. This hypothesis is supported by the angelic character of the "one like a son of man" in Daniel 7:13, to whom

allusion is made in Rev 1:13. It is likely that the author of Revelation understood the human figure in Dan 7:13 as an angel. The revealing angel of Daniel 10 is also said to be in human form (v 5). If the author of Revelation identified the "one like a son of man" in Daniel 7 with the revealing angel of Daniel 10, this identification would explain why elements from Dan 7:13 and Dan 10:5–6 are conflated in the description of the heavenly being of Rev 1:12–16.

A striking characteristic of the description of Christ as son of man in Revelation 1 is that it also includes an attribute of the "one that was ancient of days" in Dan 7:9. Like the ancient of days, the son of man has hair like (white) wool (Rev 1:14). How one explains the juxtaposition of the attributes of these two figures has important implications for one's understanding of the christology of Revelation. One possibility is that the author of Revelation understood both the "one ancient of days" and the "one like a son of man" to be manifestations of God. There is evidence that some rabbis read the passage in this way (*Mek. R. Sim. b. Yohai* bashalah 15; see Segal 1977: 35). Such an understanding may imply a christology analogous to the prologue of the gospel of John. The preexistent Christ is a divine being alongside God and apparently equivalent to God in nature. The designation of Christ as "the beginning of God's creation" (Rev 3:14) suggests that the author of Revelation considered Christ to have been preexistent in relation to the human Jesus. Alternatively, the understanding may be that neither the "one ancient of days" nor the "one like a son of man" is identical with God. The transcendent God is beyond the senses and thus the only truly and fully divine being. All the manifestations of God described in the Jewish Bible are to be identified with an angelic being. For the author of Revelation, this being is Christ. The human Jesus could be identified with this high or principal angel in the same way that Enoch was identified with the preexistent Son of Man in the *Similitudes of Enoch.* Given the apparent description of God in Revelation 4 and of the Lamb in God's presence in chap. 5, the former possibility is more likely.

Another issue in the christology of Revelation is whether the image of Christ as Divine Warrior in chap. 19 is transformed by the image of the suffering Lamb in chap. 5 or whether, on the contrary, the image of the suffering Lamb is transformed by that of the Divine Warrior. The character of the book as a whole, as well as the context of the image of the Lamb in chap. 5, suggests that the latter is the case. The death of Christ is affirmed, as we have seen, as the event that freed believers from their sins (1:5b). In chap. 5, the image of the "lamb, standing as if slain" is immediately transformed by the description of the animal as having seven horns (v 6). As is well known, the horn is a biblical and postbiblical image of military might and the horned ram is an image for great military leaders and for a warrior-messiah in the *Dream Visions of Enoch* (*1 Enoch* 85–90). The impression that the older Christian image of the sacrificial Lamb is being reinterpreted in Revelation is supported by the introduction of the figure as the "Lion of the tribe of Judah" (5:5).

This militant christology must be seen in light of the social setting of the book. Several aspects of the work imply that the author perceived a social-theological crisis and was responding to it. One important aspect of this crisis was conflict with the Jews of the synagogues of the province of Asia. The message to Smyrna refers to the Jews of that city as "those who say that they are Jews and are not, but are a synagogue of Satan" (2:9). The context implies that Jewish hostility to local Christians has led the former to accuse the latter before the authorities. These accusations are expected to lead to arrest and interrogation (2:10). Since new religions were frowned upon and the Jewish way of life was approved, rejection by the synagogue meant legal insecurity for local Christians. Similar conflict is reflected in the message to the Philadelphians (3:9).

In the messages to Pergamum and Thyatira, the addressees are warned against eating meat sacrificed to idols and "playing the harlot" (*porneusai*)."Playing the harlot" may be interpreted as idolatry. The two warnings together may refer to social occasions on which food offered to the Greco-Roman gods was consumed and prayers offered to them. Alternatively, *porneusai* may refer to marriages forbidden by the Jewish law. The similarities between these warnings and the "apostolic decree" of Acts 15 support this possibility. In either case the underlying issue seems to be the relations of Christians with gentiles. According to the first interpretation of *porneusai,* the issue would be how much and what kind of socializing was possible. This issue was important for those with non-Christian gentile relatives and for

those who belonged to non-Christian voluntary associations. If the second interpretation of *porneusai* is correct, the issue would involve not only socializing but the question whether newly converted Christians should divorce their non-Christian spouses (cf. 1 Cor 7:12–16).

Social tensions resulting from different degrees of wealth and different attitudes toward wealth are reflected in the book of Revelation. The Christians of Laodicea are criticized for relying on their wealth (3:17–18). The Roman Empire is criticized for being a source of wealth, most clearly in chap. 18. There is evidence of tension between rich and poor in Asia Minor at the time Revelation was written (Yarbro Collins 1984: 94–97).

In addition to the tensions between these social groups, Revelation reflects particular events that were traumatic for the author of Revelation and those who shared his point of view. The Jewish War with Rome and the destruction of the temple was a traumatic event, as the use of the name "Babylon" for Rome shows. That Nero's police action against Christians in Rome was perceived in a similar way is indicated by the use of Nero redivivus as the eschatological adversary. We may infer that the enthusiastic performance of the imperial cult in the province of Asia was deeply offensive from the antithetic parallel drawn between worship of God and worship of "the beast." Finally, the death of Antipas and the exile of John, the author of the book of Revelation, were events that emphasized the threatened situation of the Christian communities in the province.

The theology and christology of the book of Revelation are shaped by these elements of crisis and trauma. A new set of expectations had arisen as a result of faith in Jesus as the Messiah and belief that the kingdom of God had been established. If the risen Jesus was enthroned as the ruler of the kings of the earth, the followers of Jesus should share in that rule and glory. The events just described, however, frustrated those expectations. It was the tension between John's vision of the kingdom of God and his social situation that led him to write his apocalypse. The tension is overcome by a revelation of the true, though hidden, state of affairs. God and Jesus do reign in spite of appearances and the Roman Empire is a rule of chaos, not a golden age. It is also overcome by a revelation of the future. In the end, the unjust earthly powers will be judged and the faithful will be rewarded.

**J. History and Methods of Interpretation**

Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria in the 3d century, wrote that some had set the book of Revelation aside, pronouncing it senseless and without reason. He himself refused to set it aside, because many brothers and sisters valued it highly. But he felt that its subject exceeded his capacity, saying:

> For, though I do not understand, yet I suspect that some deeper sense is enveloped in the words, and these I do not measure and judge by my private reason; but allowing more to faith, I have regarded them as too lofty to be comprehended by me, and those things which I do not understand, I do not reject, but I wonder the more that I cannot comprehend (quoted by Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 7.25).

Few interpreters of Revelation have been so modest. Most have felt that they had the key that could unlock its mysteries. For some the key is divine inspiration, analogous to that received by John. For others it is a theory of interpretation or a scholarly method. Yet others believe that their social situation or life experience, which is like that of the original audience, alone makes a sympathetic reading possible (for example, only the oppressed can understand Revelation).

The first great controversy over the book of Revelation was how to interpret the visions involving the binding of Satan for a thousand years and the reigning of the participants in the first resurrection for a thousand years with Christ (20:1–6). Most Christian writers of the 2d century, like Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, read Revelation as prophetic history; that is, as prediction of events in the future. They thus expected an earthly reign of Christ to follow his second coming. Some writers pictured this millennium as a time of eating, drinking, marrying, and producing children. Such views were criticized as overly "sensual" by other Christian writers. By the end of the 2d century, an alternative reading developed, that is usually called "spiritual" or "allegorical." This new reading interpreted Revelation's images as referring to events within history; thus, it may be called an "immanent" reading, as opposed to the older "imminent" reading (McGinn 1987). According to this reading, the binding of Satan had taken place already as a result of Jesus' life and death. The thousand-year reign is the history of the Church.

Augustine of Hippo adopted the immanent or spiritual reading and his authority led to its dominance for seven hundred years. This reading did not eliminate the element of prophecy from Revelation entirely, but it discouraged seeing current events as signs of the end. Revelation was used primarily as a resource for moral teaching against vice and error in the Church.

Prophetic and apocalyptic experiences and concerns, however, never died out and became prominent again in the 12th century. Joachim of Fiore developed a new interpretation that he said was given to him by divine inspiration. Joachim was the first to read the book as a revelation of the entire world-historical process, past, present, and future. World history consisted of three states or ages: the first state was the time of the Law, whose author was God. The second state was the age of the Gospel, brought by the Son. The third state was to come in the near future. It would follow the defeat of the Antichrist and was to be the culmination of history that would involve the reformed and purified monastic Church. This was to be the age of freedom, granted by the Holy Spirit. Thus, the thousand years, although not taken literally, was once again interpreted as a prophecy of a future perfect age.

Martin Luther maintained the old interpretation of the millennium that understood it as the time of the Church within this world and history. But he suggested that other parts of Revelation correlated with events of world history and that some prophesied events of his own time. For example, he identified the papacy with the Antichrist.

The radical Puritan strain in England led to the modern revival of truly millenarian readings of Revelation. Such readings became popular in the 17th century. The expectation of a literal return of Christ to earth to bind Satan and to reign with the saints was revived by Puritan academics in the context of scholastic, if not scholarly, readings.

In the 18th century, the postmillennial view was introduced by Daniel Whitby and others. This position held that the binding of Satan referred to the turning point toward a more just and humane society, one about to occur in their own time. At the end of this new and better age, Christ would return. This perspective had an influence on the first great American commentator, Jonathan Edwards. The term "premillennial" is used to refer to the dogma that Christ will return to earth before the reign of a thousand years. The term "postmillennial" refers to the doctrine that Christ will return after the thousand years. The term "amillennial" is used to refer to those theological traditions that do not take the reign of a thousand years literally.

At the end of the 18th century, historical-critical readings became dominant. These studies raised questions about the sources and traditions used in the book. This approach located the book of Revelation in the time in which it was written. Some images were interpreted as allusions to events in the immediate past and present of the author and the rest to the eschatological future.

The historical-critical approach has evoked two major reactions. One is the aesthetic literary mode of interpretation, that emphasizes the qualities of Revelation that characterize it as a work of art and of the imagination. The other is the fundamentalist approach that insists on the literal truth of Revelation's images, usually as predictions of future events.

The basic issues of interpretation, that still exercise commentators and readers today, are (1) whether the structure of the book is linear, recapitulative, or thematic; (2) how the images and narrative patterns relate to history; and (3) what the goal of interpretation is: whether one should discover and approve only one or multiple meanings and whether one should attempt to discern the author's intention or the reader's response.

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**REVOLT, MACCABEAN.** See MACCABEAN REVOLT.

**REZEPH** (PLACE) [Heb *reṣep* (רֶצֶף)]. A town described as having been destroyed by the Assyrians.

When Hezekiah rebelled against Assyria (2 Kgs 18:1–7), the king of Assyria, Sennacherib, responded with force. Jerusalem was surrounded (18:17) and the Rabshakeh addressed the people and asked if any of

the national gods had delivered their countries from the Assyrians. He then listed Hamath, Arpad, Separvaim, Hena, Ivvah, and Samaria (vv 33–34). A similar follow-up message (19:9–11) added Rezeph to the list. Presumably Rezeph had been destroyed by the Assyrians, along with the other sites; these therefore served to symbolize Assyrian invincibility and to imply that any resistance by the Hebrews would prove futile (a parallel passage appears in Isa 37:12 where Gk versions have several variants—Rapheth, Raphes, Rapheis).

The placement of the name among the other cities suggests that Rezeph was in the area of the Balikh and Khabur rivers, northern tributaries of the Euphrates. Snaith (*IB* 3: 299) notes there are many places called Rezeph (*Ra-sa-ap-pa*), but this one was the Assyrian provincial capital, on the road from Harran to Palmyra, and that it was S of the Euphrates at modern Rezzafeh (35°38´N; 38°43´E). It is also described as E of Tipsah, NE of Hamath (Ptolemy 5.15), and as an important caravan city on the route from Damascus to Raqqa on the Euphrates. Rezeph appears in an Assyrian geographical list (2 R 53, 37a), preceded by Arrapha (Arrapachitis, modern Kirkuk) and Halahhu (Halah), and followed by Tamnunu. The Eponym Canons list as prefects Ninip-kibsi-usur for 839 B.C., Uras-eres for 804–775, Sin-shallimanni 747, and Bel-emuranni 737, whose names appear to be Assyrian, but a man named Abda'u or Abda'i, perhaps a native who served later, is mentioned in a list of officials (K. 9921). Records also indicate that Yahutu was *šanû* (deputy governor?) of Rezeph in 673. References to such information in the Assyrian geographical lists imply that Rezeph was a significant trading center (Pinches *ISBE* [1939 ed.] 4: 2588).

The site was conquered by the Assyrians at least by 839 (Shalmanezer III, 858–824 B.C.), though there is some debate about exactly when it was conquered and when it was incorporated into the Assyrian Empire. Some say Sennacherib conquered Rezeph. Since Assyrian victims often rebelled, it would not be surprising if it were conquered in several campaigns, including that mentioned in 2 Kgs 18:33–34 and 19:11–13. However, 2 Kgs 19:12 explicitly has the king saying that his *fathers* conquered these sites.

Others identify Rezeph on the basis of commercial documents as between Tille and Isana between Jebel Sinjar and the Tigris River, 70 miles W of Nineveh (Gray *1 & 2 Kings* OTL, 687–88; Simons *GTTOT*, 367, 441).

HENRY O. THOMPSON

**REZIN** (PERSON) [Heb *rĕṣin* (רְצִין)]. The name of two individuals in the Hebrew Bible.

**1.** An Aramean king (RSV: "king of Syria") involved in the Syro-Ephraimite coalition against Judah (2 Kgs 15:37; 16:5, 9). The Masoretic pronunciation of the name is incorrect. The name is attested in Akkadian in the forms *ra-ḫi-a-nu* and *ra-qi-a-nu.* This shows that the second consonant of MT *rṣyn* is Proto-Semitic *ḏ,* and that the *yod* is consonantal. Thus the name was pronounced *raḏyān* in Aramaic (probably written *rqyn*) in the 8th century B.C.E. The name is a hypochoristic (shortened form) and probably means " (The god) is pleased."

Rezin was the last king of Aram-Damascus before it was incorporated into the Assyrian Empire in 732 B.C.E. Rezin is known from biblical and Assyrian sources. He was quite probably a usurper to the throne of Aram, since his hometown is given as Hadara rather than Damascus in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III. The date of his rise to power is not known (there being no information preserved about Aram-Damascus for the period between 773 and 738 B.C.E.). Rezin is, however, listed among a number of Syro-Palestinian kings who rendered tribute to Tiglath-pileser III in 738. An Assyrian stela found in Iran contains a slightly different tribute list that may represent the political situation of Syria-Palestine a year or so earlier than the dated list just mentioned, and it too names Rezin as king of Aram.

Rezin is best known as the leader of an anti-Assyrian coalition which probably developed between 737 and 735, while Tiglath-pileser was involved in affairs on the other side of his empire. Tyre, Philistia and Israel (among others) appear to have joined the coalition, but Judah refused to take part. 2 Kgs 15:37 suggests that even at the end of Jotham's reign Rezin and his ally Pekah of Israel were attempting to force Judah to join the coalition. Shortly after Jotham's death (ca. 735/734), Rezin and Pekah invaded Judah and besieged Jerusalem in an attempt to overthrow the new king Ahaz and install an anti-Assyrian king (one "son of Tabe-el" according to Isa 7:6) who would join the coalition (2 Kgs 16:5–9). This conflict is

often called the Syro-Ephraimite War and is the background to the events described in Isaiah 7–8. (The statement in 2 Kgs 16:6 that Rezin captured Elath at this time and settled it with Arameans is highly unlikely. This verse probably referred originally to an Edomite takeover of Elath, but through scribal error [*d* and *r* are very similar in Hebrew] the name Edom was changed to Aram. The explicit identification of the king as Rezin probably occurred only after the earlier corruption took place.) The siege of Jerusalem was broken when the Assyrian army returned to S Syria at that time. Although 2 Kgs 16:7–9 suggests that Tiglath-pileser attacked the anti-Assyrian coalition in response to a bribe from Ahaz, it is probable that the Assyrian king already planned to recapture this area at this time.

Tiglath-pileser spent the year 734 B.C.E. in a campaign along the Mediterranean coast, subduing the rebellious Philistine cities, particularly Gaza. In 733 and 732 he turned his attention to Israel and Aram-Damascus. The attack on Aram and its destruction are described in the rather fragmentary annals of Tiglath-pileser, which state that 591 towns of the land were captured and destroyed. Details of the capture of Damascus and the end of Rezin are not preserved in the annals, but 2 Kgs 16:9 states (rather laconically), "the king of Assyria marched against Damascus, and took it, carrying its people captive to Kir, but Rezin he killed" (2 Kgs 16:9). This was the end of Damascus as the capital of an independent state. Aram was incorporated into the Assyrian Empire and divided into a number of provinces.

Recently Hayes and Irvine (1987: 34–46) have argued for a somewhat different reconstruction of Rezin's reign and his relationship to Israel. They have suggested that Rezin may have been on the throne as early as the 750s and that he recreated an Aramean empire in S Syria and Palestine (similar to that of Hazael a century earlier), annexing all of Israel except the central hill country and dominating Philistia and Transjordan. They argue that Pekah was a "stooge" of Rezin's and probably ruled the E parts of Israelite territory under Rezin's authority as a rival to Menahem. While their reconstruction is generally plausible, note should be made that the evidence for it is extremely slim and that the biblical passages adduced as evidence can be interpreted (often more plausibly) in different ways.

**2.** Name of one of the families of the temple personnel known as the Nethinim. The sons of Rezin are listed as part of the returnees from the Exile in Ezra 2:48 and Neh 7:50.

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**REZON** (PERSON) [Heb *rĕzôn* (רְזוֹן)]. An Aramean ruler who appears in 1 Kgs 11:23–25 as an adversary of Solomon. Nothing is known of him besides what is found in this brief passage. Rezon is said to have been an officer of Hadadezer, king of Zobah, who abandoned his position, presumably soon after Hadadezer was defeated by David (2 Samuel 8, 10). Sometime during the reign of Solomon, Rezon gathered a band of malcontents as an army, seized Damascus, which had been under Israelite control, and proclaimed himself king there. There is no evidence that Solomon was able to oppose Rezon's actions, and Rezon thereby became the first in a line of powerful rulers of the kingdom of Aram-Damascus.

It is not possible to date Rezon's rebellion in Damascus with any certainty. While the context of 1 Kings 11 suggests that it occurred late in Solomon's reign, 11:25 states that Rezon "was an adversary all the days of Solomon." This latter statement probably should not be pressed so far as to argue that Damascus withdrew from Israelite control early in Solomon's reign. But it does suggest that Rezon's actions took place well before Solomon's death, and it signals that there was a weakening of the Israelite empire during, and not just after Solomon's reign.

Several scholars over the past century have suggested that Rezon is to be identified with Hezion, the grandfather of Ben-Hadad I of 1 Kgs 15:18. In fact there is no evidence to support this identification (cf. Pitard 1987: 100–4), and the proposal should be dropped.

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**RHEGIUM** (PLACE) [Gk *Rhēgion* (Ῥηγιον)]. The modern city of Reggio di Calabria, located along the SW coast of the "toe" of Italy (38°06′N; 15°39′E) opposite the Sicilian city of Messina. The Strait of Messina, which separates Sicily and Italy, is only ca. 7 miles wide near Rhegium. During his voyage to Rome, Paul stopped at this city after traveling from Syracuse. He and the others on the ship waited one day at Rhegium for a S wind which allowed them to tack N to the city of Puteoli (Acts 28:13).

The Alexandrian ship which carried Paul to Rhegium had a carved figure of the heads of the "Twin Gods" (Acts 28:11). Rhegium, as found on coins of the city, was noted for the worship of the Dioscuri or the "Twin Gods," namely Castor and Polydeuces or Pollux, who were the "Sons of Zeus" and patron deities of sailors. Rhegium is near two infamous sailing hazards which may have fostered this devotion to the "Twin Gods." These hazards were located just to the N of Rhegium at either side of the Strait of Messina and were identified in Greek mythology with two sisters, Scylla and Charybdis. The dangerous whirlpool of Charybdis was located on the Sicily side of the Strait of Messina while the threatening rock of Scylla was on the Italian side.

The etymology of the name of the city is unclear. Some ancient sources, using the idea that Sicily was separated from Italy by an earthquake, trace it to the Greek term *rhegnymi,* "to split or rend" (Aesch., Fragment 230), while other ancient authors suggest that the city had royal origins. Hence the name is from the Latin term for "royal," *regium* (Strabo 6.258). Many modern scholars believe that the name of the city predated Greek occupation, so they favor the latter interpretation.

Greek colonists from Chalcis founded Rhegium in ca. 720 B.C. (Strabo *Geog.* 6.1.6). Rhegium grew in power during the 5th century (Hdt. 7.165), but its geographical position left it vulnerable to attack. Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse destroyed the city in 387 B.C. and he sold many of the inhabitants into slavery (Diod. 14.106ff). Rhegium was partly rebuilt by Dionysius the Younger, who was tyrant of Syracuse from 367 to 343 B.C.

When Pyrrhus attacked Italy in 280 B.C., the inhabitants of Rhegium feared both him and the sea power of the Carthaginians. Rhegium, therefore, requested that a Roman garrison be stationed in the city for protection. The troops soon arrived from Campania under the leadership of Decius, but they quickly realized that the wealth of the city could be easily obtained. The troops, taking advantage of their situation, murdered the men and enslaved the women of Rhegium and thereby made the city their own. The conquering troops were punished by the armies of Rome and the city was returned to the few remaining citizens in 271 B.C. (Polyb. 1.7).

The city, thenceforth, became an ally of Rome and remained loyal to this alliance during the Punic Wars, even when Hannibal nearly captured the city (Polyb. 9.7). In 91 B.C. an earthquake destroyed part of the city and its power waned. Caesar Augustus settled some of the veterans of his army at Rhegium in the early 1st century A.D. The city then became known as Rhegium Julium and its population increased.
JOHN D. WINELAND

**RHEIMS VERSION.** See VERSIONS, CATHOLIC; VERSIONS, ENGLISH (PRE–1960).

**RHESA** (PERSON) [Gk *Rhēsa* (Ῥησα)]. The father of Joanan and son of Zerubbabel, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:27). D omits Rhesa, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. The name Rhesa occurs nowhere else in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, and falls within a list of seventeen otherwise unknown descendants of David's son Nathan (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 500). Three suggestions have been made regarding reference to Rhesa in the genealogy. First, it could be a personal name (cf. 1 Chr 7:39 with Gk *rasia*), although this son of Zerubbabel is otherwise unknown (Marshall *Luke* NIGTC, 163). Second, in light of the similarity of Rhesa to the Aramaic title *rē›šā›*, meaning "prince," Plummer (*Luke* ICC, 103–4; following Hervey 1853: 111–14, the apparent originator of this theory; cf. Abel 1974: 209) speculates that Zerubbabel, because he was head of the tribe of Judah during the return from captivity in Babylon, was designated as "Prince [Rhesa] of the captivity." But "Zerubbabel Rhesa" or "Zerubbabel the Prince" was mistaken by an earlier copyist of a pre-Lukan version of the genealogy for "Zerubbabel begat Rhesa." Third, Fitzmyer (*Luke* 1–9 AB, 500; following,

e.g., Jeremias 1969: 296), believing the word order of the Lukan text does not support Plummer's analysis (but cf. Marshall *Luke* NIGTC, 163, who claims that Plummer's proposal would argue for the genealogy originally being in reverse order), proposes that Rhesa is to be taken with the preceding name, Joanan, thus "Prince Joanan, son of Zerubbabel," referring to Hananiah, son of Zerubbabel in 1 Chr 3:19. This raises the question of the relation of Luke's genealogy to the genealogy in 1 Chronicles (see esp. Jeremias 1969: 295–96).

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**RHETORIC AND RHETORICAL CRITICISM.** Rhetoric is the art of composition by which language is made descriptive, interpretive, or persuasive. Related to it is oratory, the art of effective public speaking. The study of rhetoric is a classical discipline that goes back to Aristotle, and insights from the study of rhetoric have been applied to the biblical text. This methodological approach is called "rhetorical criticism." This entry consists of three articles. The first surveys the subject of rhetoric and oratory in the Greco-Roman world; the second examines OT rhetorical criticism; and the third examines rhetoric in the NT and NT rhetorical criticism.

## *RHETORIC AND ORATORY IN THE GRECO-ROMAN WORLD*

### A. Greece

Among the Greeks, the expression *rhētorikē technē* (Lat *ars rhetorica*) refers to the theory and practice of "speaking well." The significance of speech was appreciated as early as Homer (9th–8th century B.C.E.). The heroes of his epics often use figures of speech, arrangement, and style to argue and persuade. Kennedy (1980: 9–15) refers to this type of rhetoric as "natural" or "preconceptual," i.e., an unselfconscious use of rhetorical technique. A "conceptualized" rhetoric (Kennedy 1980: 15–17)—or a self-conscious use of technique—is traditionally connected with the 5th century B.C.E. teachers, Tisias and Corax of Syracuse, who wrote handbooks on forensic or judicial oratory for the purpose of helping ordinary citizens argue cases in the law courts of Sicily. It was another Sicilian, however, Gorgias of Leontini, who is credited with introducing the art of rhetoric to Athens in 427 B.C.E. with great success. Gorgias was particularly noted for his florid, emotional style (the so-called "Gorgianic style") with its skillful use of the rhythms, parallelisms, and other figures of poetry. In contrast, his contemporary, Isocrates, emphasized a "pure" rhetoric unencumbered by poetic embellishment. Isocrates, although not a great speaker, was an influential teacher. He was the first to open a school of rhetoric and successfully instruct others in the art. As a result, the study of rhetoric, in both its oral and written forms, soon became the basis of all Greek, and later, Roman education.

A critical reaction to the rhetorical art is most evident in the writings of Plato, notably in the *Gorgias* and *Phaedrus.* In these dialogues, Plato specifically attacks that kind of sophistic oratory or extreme relativism (identified with the Sophists in general) which has no fixed moral purpose but only the goal of winning an argument through any persuasive means. Plato equates this type of rhetoric with deceit and flattery and contrasts it with dialectic, which is concerned with knowledge and universal truths. Plato did admit the value of a "philosophical" rhetoric in the *Phaedrus,* but did not develop this idea in any detail. This task was left to Aristotle, whose *Rhetoric* became an influential source for later developments of the art. In particular, Aristotle developed a practical theory of rhetoric that dealt with the relation of rhetoric to philosophy, the role of the audience, and a general discussion of arrangement and style. His most important contributions included distinguishing three types of rhetoric (judicial, epideictic, deliberative); three modes of persuasion (*logos, ethos, pathos*); and his theory of the rhetorical *topoi* ("topics" or "lines of argument"). The "five parts" of rhetoric (invention, arrangement, style, memory, delivery)—implicit in Aristotle as well as such 4th-century handbooks as the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*—would be developed in greater technical detail during the Hellenistic period, notably in the writings of the 2d-century rhetor, Hermagoras. The later Hellenistic period also saw the development of a florid and artificial oratory

("Asianism") reminiscent of Gorgias as well as a renewed hostility between teachers of rhetoric and philosophy. The gains would be made among the rhetoricians, and rhetoric would emerge in Rome as the sine qua non of Roman education.

**B. Rome**

By the beginning of the 1st century B.C.E., rhetoric and oratory were firmly established in Rome as the primary means by which to advance in public life (judicial oratory was especially emphasized). It was at this time that Cicero wrote his *De Inventione*, the first (and most influential) of his seven books on the techniques of rhetoric. He also composed and delivered numerous speeches (58 are extant). Although clearly dependent on traditional theory and practice, Cicero's mastery of the art made him Rome's greatest orator and most influential writer on rhetorical technique. Cicero's main innovation in terms of technique was his concept of the orator's "three duties": to instruct (*docere*), to delight (*delectare*), to move (*movere*). Each "duty" was connected with an appropriate "style": the "plain" or unadorned style was most suited for instruction and demonstrating proof; the "grand" or lofty style was most useful for stirring up or moving the sublime emotions; the "intermediate" or moderate style was most effective in giving simple pleasure and delight. *Ethos* or character was also stressed by Cicero. May argues (1988: 1–12; 162–69 and *passim*) that this mode of persuasion played a far more significant role in Roman than Greek oratory because of traditional Roman respect for an individual's authority (*auctoritas*), reputation (*existimatio*), honor (*dignitas*), and achievements (*res gestae*). This is particularly evident in Cicero's many speeches. Cicero is also credited with thoroughly integrating the art of rhetoric into the classical *paideia* or "liberal arts": for Cicero, the orator must be a person of wide learning as well as persuasive speech.

Cicero's writings on rhetoric and his own expertise as an orator represent the high-water mark of Roman rhetoric. In the subsequent period of the Empire there is a general decline in oratory, with the noted exception of the late 1st-century teacher and rhetor, Quintilian. His *Institutio Oratoria* is the longest and most complete technical treatise on rhetoric to survive from Antiquity. Its importance lies in its detailed account of how rhetorical training is to be incorporated into every stage of education—from the speech lessons of childhood, to the later mastery of grammar, diction, composition, and enunciation, to the systematic training in adulthood of all the specific techniques and theories of rhetoric under the guidance of a skilled rhetor. The goal of education is to become a "great orator," understood by Quintilian as a "good man" of strong character. Quintilian's treatise was to influence especially the development of rhetoric in the Middle Ages and its later revival in the Renaissance.

During the 2d century, the decline of oratory is most evident in the new importance given to "declamation," a type of school or practice exercise dealing with historical or pseudo-historical themes (e.g., should Caesar cross the Rubicon?) and fictive legal cases (e.g., should a son sue his father?)—or, in the new terminology, *suasoria* and *controversia*. These practice exercises often became so unrealistic and farfetched that they ceased to have any practical purpose and degenerated into mere theatrics and public entertainment. New forms of deliberative oratory are also developed at this time; e.g., formal speeches given on the occasion of festivals, birthdays, marriages, and funerals. A revival of "Asianism" is also characteristic of the period as is the "pure" style of the "Atticists." The orators of the Second Sophistic (as illustrated in Philostratus' *Vita Sophistarum*) are especially identified with these 2d-century developments.

**C. Influence on the New Testament**

The influence of Greco-Roman rhetoric on the writings in the NT is becoming more widely acknowledged today than in the past, particularly concerning Paul's letters. Galatians, for example, has been analyzed by Betz (1975: 353–79; *Galatians* Hermeneia, 14–25) as an "apologetic letter" which incorporates rhetorical devices familiar to forensic oratory: Paul functions as the defendant, the addressee or the "Galatians" play the role of the jury, and Paul's opponents are the accusers. The structure of the Letter incorporates the standard "parts" of a speech: *exordium* (introduction), *narratio* (statement of facts), *propositio* (main points to be made), *probatio* (proof), and *peroratio* (conclusion). The same pattern of organization is also evident in 2 Corinthians 8 and 9 (Betz, *2 Corinthians 8–9* Hermeneia, 38–

41; 88–90). The shorter epistle to Philemon, as analyzed by Church (1978: 17–33), is an example of deliberative rhetoric—divided into *exordium, probatio,* and *peroratio*—and with specific appeals to *ethos* and *pathos.* In the case of Romans, Wuellner (1976: 330–51) argues that this epistle is best understood as an example of epideictic rhetoric with a special appeal to the "*pathos* of love."

Elsewhere in the NT, there is evidence for other examples of rhetorical use, although not strictly in the classical sense. Jesus' preaching in the gospels, for example, is modeled on Jewish traditions of speech: the object is to persuade through divine authority rather than modes of rational proof. The "missionary sermons" in Acts are similar to OT "covenant speeches," and thus are examples of "natural" or preconceptual rhetoric (Kennedy 1980: 120–32). The emphasis here is on warning, repentance, and judgment, not *ethos, pathos,* and *logos.* The so-called "Areopagus Speech" attributed to Paul in Acts 17:22–31 has sometimes been analyzed in classical rhetorical terms, but is again best understood in terms of Jewish speech traditions.

**D. Later Christian Developments**

The tradition of Greek rhetoric is most apparent in the writings of the 4th-century Cappadocian Fathers—Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, and Basil of Caesarea. All three received excellent Greek educations and were well acquainted with the sophistic rhetoric of the period. Their panegyrical orations in particular display a sophisticated use of rhetorical devices, structure, figures of speech, and argumentation. It was Augustine, however—in his *De Doctrina Christiana*—who developed an explicit theory of Christian rhetoric in the Latin tradition, influenced by Cicero. Augustine, for example, accepts Cicero's concept of the orator's three "duties" and their relation to the three "styles." He also underscores the character or *ethos* of the orator as more important than any gifts of style or technique. But the *De Doctrina Christiana* is not simply a reworking of pagan theories and categories but an appropriation of these rhetorical methods with a specific Christian goal in mind; e.g., the Christian orator must confine his subject matter to scriptural themes, he must be concerned with truth and not argument for argument's sake, he must defend the faith, etc. As Kennedy notes (1980: 146), no less than five of the Latin Church Fathers (Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, Augustine) were "professional rhetoricians before they became Christians." Add to this list the number of Greek Church Fathers who were schooled in rhetoric and the "art of persuasion" becomes a significant element in understanding the Christian literature of Antiquity. Recent studies in discourse theory, reader-response criticism, structural linguistics, and the "New Rhetoric" are certain to bring this discussion to new levels of understanding as demonstrated, e.g., by Plank's analysis of 1 Cor 4:9–13 in terms of Paul's "rhetoric of irony" (1987: 33–69). For further discussion see PWSup 7: 1039–1138.

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RUTH MAJERCIK

# *OT RHETORICAL CRITICISM*

Although the study of rhetoric is a classical discipline that goes back to Aristotle (*Rhetoric*) and includes works by Cicero (*De Oratore*) and Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria*), as a contemporary methodology for the study of the Hebrew Bible rhetorical criticism is relatively recent, having first been introduced by James Muilenburg in his 1968 Presidential Address to the Society of Biblical Literature, entitled "Form Criticism and Beyond" (1969: 1–18). The following description of rhetorical criticism will begin with an examination of the work of Muilenburg. The second section will examine the rise of the "Muilenburg School" of rhetorical criticism in the United States during the 1970s and early 1980s. Finally, the essay will conclude by examining recent discussions of rhetorical criticism.

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A. James Muilenburg
    1. As a Form Critic
    2. As a Rhetorical Critic
B. The "Muilenburg School"
    1. Similarity to Muilenburg
    2. Contrast to Muilenburg
        a. Extrinsic versus Intrinsic
        b. Diachronic versus Synchronic
        c. Form and Content
        d. Comparison to ANE Literature
C. Classical Rhetoric and Rhetorical Criticism

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## A. James Muilenburg

In his tribute to James Muilenburg, Bernhard Anderson (1974: xii–xiv) cautions the reader that "rhetorical criticism could easily be misunderstood if it is not seen in the context of [Muilenburg's] whole scholarly career." In order to avoid misunderstanding, Anderson suggested that form criticism and the Biblical Theology movement, the latter with its emphasis on the "historical character of revelation," had to be seen as important influences in Muilenburg's formulation of rhetorical criticism.

**1. As a Form Critic.** Anderson's caution is most certainly correct. Form criticism plays such a central role in Muilenburg's programmatic statement on rhetorical criticism that he concludes the article "Form Criticism and Beyond" by underscoring how he considered rhetorical criticism to be only a supplement to form criticism (1969: 15). He praised the work of form critics like Gunkel for advances in comparative methodology, which freed biblical literature from the parochialism of the critic's presuppositions; for uncovering the wide range of *Gattungen* (forms) within the Hebrew Bible; and most importantly, for allowing the critic to interrelate biblical literature more closely into the cultural milieu of Israel, which classic source criticism had not been able to do. Thus, Muilenburg praises Gunkel as someone unsurpassed in his ability to "portray the cast and temper of the minds of the biblical narrators and poets … [as well as] the ordinary Israelite to whom their words were addressed" (1969: 2).

However, in spite of his praise for Gunkel, Muilenburg was troubled by the legacy of form criticism. He concluded that two problems undercut the goals of form-critical methodology. First, there was a growing tendency to study only similarity in *Gattungen*, with the result that the particularity of the text under study gave way in order to emphasize "pure" forms in biblical literature. Second, because of the movement toward studying "pure" *Gattungen*, form critics were also beginning to read biblical literature intrinsically, which resulted in an "aversion to biographical or psychological interpretations … (and a certain) resistance to historical commentary" (1969: 4–5). These two problems, according to Muilenburg, went hand in glove. An overemphasis on similarity in the study of *Gattungen* created an abstraction for the reader so that the uniqueness of the individual text was not sufficiently included in interpretation. The result of such abstraction was that the integral relation between form and content was severed, which not

only obscured "the thought and intention of the writer or speaker" but, even more seriously, produced a "skepticism of all attempts to read a pericope in its historical context" (1969: 6).

**2. As a Rhetorical Critic.** Rhetorical criticism was Muilenburg's response to the way in which particular biblical texts were being severed from their historical context by form criticism. The starting point for rhetorical criticism was the conclusion that most *Gattungen* in the Hebrew Bible are not "pure" but imitations. In view of this conclusion, Muilenburg argued that although each text has to be studied against the backdrop of a "pure" *Gattung,* it should not be reduced to it. This shift in study to the unique features in a given text goes to the heart of rhetorical criticism as it was conceived by Muilenburg, for it gives rise to the study of stylistics of composition in Hebrew prose and poetry (1969: 7–8).

Muilenburg conceived of rhetorical criticism as having two foci: it sought to describe the structure and boundaries of a literary unit and the devices which provide shape and emphasis within a given text. In determining the boundaries of a text, Muilenburg underscored the importance of repetitive motifs and *inclusio;* while the inner structure and movement of a text ("the warp and woof out of which the literary fabric is woven") could be brought to light by studying a variety of literary devices, which included ancient Near Eastern formal modes of speech, techniques of narrative composition, bicola/tricola, strophes, the function of particles (Heb *kî, hinnēh, lākēn*), and repetition.

Muilenburg's treatment of Jer 3:1–4:4 illustrates how he conceived of rhetorical criticism as a method which accentuated the unique features of a given text, even while acknowledging the form-critical background from which a text may have evolved (1969: 5, 9–10). After eliminating the narrative portions of this unit in order to focus exclusively on the poetry, Muilenburg began his interpretation by noting the results of past form-critical research, in which the quest for the smallest literary unit as an instance of a "pure" *Gattung* supported a reading of the poetic units in Jer 3:1–4:4 as being independent of each other. Rhetorical criticism allowed Muilenburg to go beyond the results of form criticism by arguing that none of the poetic units in Jer 3:1–4:4 were "pure" *Gattungen.* Rather they were imitations, which were meant to function as parts of a larger whole. A central criterion for Muilenburg's conclusion concerning the unity of Jer 3:1–4:4 was the *inclusio* of the Heb verb *šûb,* "return," in Jer 3:1 and 4:1a, which marked the boundaries of the larger literary unit. In Jer 3:1 the word occurred in a legal formulation, followed by an indictment:

> If a man sends his wife away,
> and she goes from him,
> and becomes another man's wife,
> will she *return* to him [with correct text]?
> Would not that land
> be utterly polluted:
> But you have played the harlot with many lovers,
> and would you *return* to me?

And in Jer 4:1a the word *šûb,* "return," is repeated in a conditional covenant:

> If you do *return,* O Israel, Yahweh's Word!
> to me you should *return.*

With the boundaries of the poem in place, a closer study of parallelism, repetitive motifs, and the distribution of particles provided Muilenburg with the criteria to describe internal structure. Furthermore, Muilenburg argued that the poetic units in Jer 3:1–4:4 were imitations of a variety of *Gattungen.* In particular, he concluded that the form-critical background was the lawsuit, but that the text also contained elements of a confessional lament and conditional covenant.

The attention to detail within a given text that was required in rhetorical criticism provided the basis for Muilenburg to conclude that there is an inextricable relationship between form and content in the study of any biblical text. In fact, he even went a step further to argue that the two are really one (1969: 5). Muilenburg does not elaborate on this point in his article and consequently two interpretations are possible. One interpretation is that by form Muilenburg means the present structure of a text, in which case content would be the meaning of the text, conceived as author's intent. A second interpretation

would focus more on Muilenburg's assessment of form criticism. Form in this case would be the "pure" *Gattung* which provides the backdrop for any given text, while content would be the unique details within a particular text, which provide an avenue to the thought of the author. In either case, the interrelationship of form and content was Muilenburg's way of rescuing biblical literature from its increasing detachment from any historical context at the hands of form critics, who were abstracting every text into "pure" *Gattungen* and thus obscuring the thought and intention of the writer. Muilenburg's response to this was that "prophets do not speak *in abstracto,* but concretely" (1969: 6). Rhetorical criticism was his way of formulating a canon, namely that "a responsible and proper articulation of words in their linguistic patterns and in their precise formulations will reveal to us the texture and fabric of the writer's thought, not only what it is that he thinks, but as he thinks it" (1969: 7).

**B. The "Muilenburg School"**

The term "Muilenburg School" is being used very loosely to refer to a variety of articles and books that were written primarily (but not exclusively) by students of Muilenburg throughout the 1970s and early 1980s. These writings tend to make reference to Muilenburg's article "Form Criticism and Beyond" as a springboard for further discussion of rhetoric or rhetorical criticism in the Hebrew Bible. The methodology of the "Muilenburg School" will be described through a series of comparisons and contrasts to the work of Muilenburg. These writings are, however, quite diverse and thus they require a degree of generalization.

**1. Similarity to Muilenburg.** Three points of similarity to the work of Muilenburg frequently appear in the writings of the "Muilenburg School" as being essential features of rhetorical criticism. First, is the affirmation that every text is both typical and unique, and that rhetorical criticism is concerned with the unique features within a given text (Trible 1978: 9; Melugin 1979: 91). Second, is the presupposition that form and content must be interrelated in the interpretation of any text (Greenwood 1970: 419; Trible 1978: 9). Third, there is general agreement with Muilenburg's conclusion that rhetorical criticism has two foci, namely, to determine the boundaries of larger literary units and to describe rhetorical devices which unify particular texts (Kessler 1974: 25–26; Kuntz 1982: 141). Thus, the "Muilenburg School" is in agreement with Muilenburg's original proposal that rhetorical criticism should be the study of stylistics of composition in Hebrew prose and poetry, and that a study of stylistics will underscore the unity of biblical texts.

**2. Contrast to Muilenburg.** The 1970s ushered in significant hermeneutical changes that are central to the rhetorical criticism of the "Muilenburg School," but which contrast sharply to Muilenburg's original work. The end result of the changing intellectual climate of this decade is that the "Muilenburg School" detaches rhetorical criticism from its original place within form criticism, where it had functioned as a means to counter the intrinsic interpretations of "pure" *Gattungen,* and it was moved, instead, under the umbrella of literary criticism, conceived more specifically as "new criticism," where all literature by definition was interpreted intrinsically (Brooks 1974: 568). This major hermeneutical shift gives rise to a whole series of comparisons with Muilenburg's original conception of rhetorical criticism.

**a. Extrinsic versus Intrinsic.** The "Muilenburg School" rejects any claims that the interpreter could uncover an author's intention, and that a hermeneutic based on author's intent could provide a basis for interpretation. Consequently, in contrast to Muilenburg's conception of rhetorical criticism as an extrinsic method which would "reveal [to the interpreter] the texture and fabric of the writer's thought …," Trible, for example, concludes that "intrinsic reading is … one hallmark of rhetorical methodology." With this starting point, rhetorical criticism must now be seen as a method which "concentrates primarily on the text rather than on extrinsic factors such as historical background … authorial intention, sociological setting, or theological motivation and result" (1978: 8–9).

**b. Diachronic versus Synchronic.** Muilenburg's application of rhetorical criticism took place in the larger context of form criticism. Thus, even though he was concerned with stylistics of larger literary units, rhetorical criticism had a diachronic aspect to it, since a study of stylistics illustrated how particular texts were imitations of "pure" *Gattungen.* Jer 3:1–4:4 provides illustration. Muilenburg had no problem with simply removing the narrative sections of Jer 3:1–4:4 so that he could study the poetic units, which

were then evaluated against the backdrop of "pure" *Gattungen.* But, by shifting rhetorical criticism away from form criticism and placing it under literary criticism, the "Muilenburg School" abandons the tradition-historical aspect of Muilenburg's work, so that rhetorical criticism becomes a method which only examines the present or final form of biblical texts (cf. the work of Brevard Childs on canonical criticism, *IOTS* ). Thus, for example, in his definition of rhetorical criticism, Kessler argues that the method should be limited to "an exclusively … synchronic preoccupation of the text" (1974: 35).

**c. Form and Content.** The interrelation of form and content is central to rhetorical criticism. Yet the emphasis on intrinsic and synchronic interpretations of biblical texts within the "Muilenburg School" gives rise to a different understanding of form and content from that which Muilenburg had originally proposed. First, it should be noted that the potential ambiguity of this statement by Muilenburg is eliminated by the "Muilenburg School," since form can only mean the present structure of the text and not "pure" *Gattungen.*

A more serious point of contrast arises with the understanding of content. Content may have begun with the configuration of unique details within a given text for Muilenburg, but it ultimately leads to an author's intent. Content, therefore, yielded a singular meaning for Muilenburg. That is no longer true for the "Muilenburg School." Content is not author's intent, but only the unique configuration of details that an interpreter would impose on a text. The result of this hermeneutical stance is that a singular meaning can no longer be the goal of interpretation, since "application … may result in multiple interpretations of a particular passage" (Trible 1978: 11). At the same time, however, interpretation for the "Muilenburg School" is not absolutely relative. Thus, Trible, for example, would argue that "the text, as form and content, limits constructions of itself and does, in fact, stand as a potential witness against all readings" (1978: 1). But such an interpretation of form and content has little to do with Muilenburg's quest to recover the historical past through an author's intent.

**d. Comparison to ANE Literature.** Muilenburg emphasized the important role of comparative analysis of ANE forms of speech as an important aspect of rhetorical criticism. He singled out this aspect of Gunkel's work as having freed biblical literature from the parochialism of the critics' presuppositions, and he suggested that it should also be established as a central tool for studying Hebrew rhetoric (1969: 1, 3–4, 8). Although this call for comparative methodology was echoed in one of the earliest articles on rhetorical criticism (Greenwood 1970: 424–25), comparison has not been a central feature of the "Muilenburg School." Rather, rhetorical criticism has evolved into a method which focuses on "close readings" of singular texts, which are usually studied in isolation.

Nevertheless, in spite of these very basic hermeneutical contrasts that have been outlined, it is important to underscore again that the central point of continuity between the rhetorical criticism of Muilenburg and the "Muilenburg School" is the common concern to study stylistics of Hebrew prose and poetry.

**C. Classical Rhetoric and Rhetorical Criticism**

Although the most recent discussions that call for a change in rhetorical criticism are taking place in NT studies, they must be included in this essay because these discussions engage the work of Muilenburg and will certainly make their way into the study of the Hebrew Bible. Recent discussion of rhetorical criticism has sought to expand the scope of the method beyond a descriptive study of stylistics, in order to probe the persuasive power of texts to influence action or practice. George A. Kennedy provides illustration when he writes: "The identification of rhetoric with style … represents a limitation and to some extent a distortion of the discipline of rhetoric …" He then goes on to define rhetoric as "that quality in discourse by which a speaker or writer seeks to accomplish his purpose" (1984: 1). Thus rhetorical criticism, according to Kennedy, is not a descriptive study of style in which a text is viewed intrinsically; rather it is a more historical method, in which texts are studied "from the point of view of the author's or editor's intent, the unified results, and how it would be perceived by an audience or near contemporaries" (1984: 4–5).

The issues motivating this redefinition of rhetorical criticism are both historical and hermeneutical.

The historical reason for the emphasis on persuasion in a definition of rhetorical criticism (rather than simply description) arises from the influence of classical rhetoric, where argumentation for the purpose of

influencing action was central (Kennedy 1984). In some respects the influence of classical rhetoric in NT studies fulfills the call for comparative literature that was present in Muilenburg's original proposal for rhetorical criticism, but not pursued by the "Muilenburg School." How such a comparison would apply to ancient Near Eastern literature in general and the Hebrew Bible in particular is yet to be seen.

The hermeneutical reasons are more complex, yet they, too, arise in part from the study of classical rhetoric. In particular, the emphasis on persuasion in the construction of a text raises two hermeneutical questions that are becoming central to recent discussion of rhetorical criticism: First, how is experience organized and presented in a text? Second, how does this organization of the text precondition certain attitudes toward the world and other people in both the writer and the reader? (See Kennedy 1984: 1–38; Wuellner 1987: 448–54.)

When these questions are incorporated into a definition of rhetorical criticism, then texts can no longer be viewed as isolated objects of study in which stylistic features are described. Rather, they are placed back within their historical context, in order to see how "cultural preconceptions" inevitably influence the writers and the readers (Kennedy 1984: 5; Wuellner 1987: 453). The aim of the rhetorical critic, with this more expanded view of the inherent interrelationship of text and world, is to describe the ideology that is embedded in the text (also described as the "argumentative or rhetorical situation" [Kennedy 1984: 34–36]), in order to see how its very construction has preconditioned experience for both the writer and the reader.

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THOMAS B. DOZEMAN


## *NT RHETORIC AND RHETORICAL CRITICISM*

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A. Rhetoric and the Aim of Rhetorical Criticism
B. The History of Interest in Biblical Rhetoric
C. The Revival of Rhetorical Criticism
D. Contemporary Focus on NT Rhetoric


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### A. Rhetoric and the Aim of Rhetorical Criticism

For Hyde and Smith (1979: 354), "the showing of understanding by interpretation, such that meaning is made known, is rhetoric in the purest sense." Rhetorical critics, rhetors themselves, attempt to interpret and recreate the past rhetorical phenomena by showing their meaning for the critics' own cultural situations. The rhetorical critics must be cognizant of the rhetors' and their own hermeneutical situations, the parameters of rationality of both their cultures, and the actual and potential consciousness and receptivity in both audience situations in order to make understandable the rhetorical phenomena under investigation.

From a literary perspective, Corbett (1969: xxii–xxviii) sees rhetoric as the art of making judicious choices from among available resources and according to certain norms such as subject matter, genre,

occasion, purpose, author, and audience (the principal norm). Rhetorical (or pragmatic) criticism considers a work of art chiefly as a means to an end, as a vehicle of communication and interaction between the author and the audience, and investigates the use of traditional devices to produce an effect in an audience. It is an internal criticism that focuses on the rhetoric of the text itself, but also works outward to considerations of author, audience, and their interrelationships. The critics can detect some idea of the author, real and implied, from the text's rhetorical strategies. The critics can also derive information about the ideal and real reader from the dispositions and desired effects of the work on the reader (implied reader) and from those elements of the work which are capable of producing an effect on certain kinds of audiences. While rhetorical criticism can unfold the communication of aesthetic imagination, it works best where the literary work "has designs on" the audience. While some critics may use versions of classical rhetorical categories (Frye, Booth, Perelman, Winterowd) they will all consider, largely synchronically, the whole piece in an overview: the author, the particular and general circumstances, the literary medium, the particular stance, the individual use of the form, the style, the diction and rhetorical figures, the compositional ratios, and the effectiveness of the communication of meaning.

Adhering closely to classical rhetoric and Aristotle's definition of rhetoric as "the art of discovering the best possible means of persuasion in regard to any subject whatever," Conley (1983: 23–24) notes that rhetoric locates or constitutes the issues, supplies the means for setting out arguments and conclusions, and shows the way toward resolution. A rhetorical hermeneutic is a disciplined sensitivity to the significance of language and the connections between thoughts, an awareness of the originality which uncovers new "facts" by a combination of concepts and terms and by transforming those facts into strategies of argumentation (*topoi*) or relating them to commonplaces, a study of connections among theses and between them and problems of life and action. The rhetorical devices and procedures which carry the argument forward give the critics access to the strategy of the author's text. Thus, rhetorical criticism is a synchronic study of literary texts and their strategies of communication and persuasion. Like "new criticism," rhetorical criticism concentrates on the given text without delving into its sources, historical origins and transmission, or authorship. For Wuellner (1985: 1–2) rhetorical criticism, unlike literary criticism with its focus on content and design, considers the text's language as a social reality by which the author communicates and influences others. It also aims to establish the context of the work, not the historical critics' setting and genre but the complex of conventions and norms which express and shape the author's and audience's attitudes toward their conceptual and social worlds.

**B. The History of Interest in Biblical Rhetoric**

Alexandria, a center of classical learning, can be considered the founding center of biblical criticism. Philo, who reflects the city's interpretive traditions, sometimes employs fanciful allegorizing, but also considers grammar, rhetoric, etymology, numerology, and other rhetorical techniques.

From Paul on, the allegorical method exerted a pull on Christian interpretation away from a literal reading, which was both a classical and a Jewish interpretive option. Thus, despite Irenaeus' alarm over gnostic allegorical interpretations of Scripture which distorted the text and interpreted out of context and which led him to stress the historical and literal reality of the OT, he still recognized an admixture of OT figures and types of the new covenant and ultimately relied not on a literal-rhetorical method but on the authoritative interpretations of the "rule of faith" (*regula fidei*). Origen, who sometimes found the spiritual meaning in the literal text, advanced the allegorical method, as did his successor Clement.

In the interpretation of the Antioch school, the arbitrary "Platonic" allegorizing of Alexandria gave way to philological, grammatical, literal, "Aristotelian" interests. The Antiochenes' literal sense included the whole meaning of the author, his metaphors and figures, exposition (*theoria*), and grammatical construction and words, along with a spiritual sense achieved through limited typological interpretation. The school lost influence with Theodore of Mopsuestia's condemnation as a heretic, the loss of Antiochene manuscripts and the greater suitability of Alexandrian interpretations to the emotional needs and world outlook of later centuries.

Among the Latin exegetes some, like Jerome, himself a rhetorician and philologist, regarded classical studies as a propaedeutic to the study of the Bible. Inconsistent with his comments on style, clarity,

literary genre, and rhetorical form were his allegorical, typological, and moral interpretations even of historical books. Unfortunately, a preoccupation with erudite but curious detail and the decline in knowledge of classical languages and philology eventually left the allegorical method as the only accessible mode of interpretation.

The last major proponent of literal, rhetorical reading was the classically trained Augustine. His *De Doctrina Christiana* prescribed all the "arts," including rhetorical norms, for exegesis. He advocated the literal sense (*locutio propria*) over the allegorical or figurative (*locutio figurata*), but he also applied a spiritual reading (*lectio spiritualis*) to the literal to arrive at the intent of the author.

Smalley (1983: 41–42) finds that medieval exegetes, already inclined toward the moral and spiritual meaning of the texts, tended to discover these through allegorical exegesis, which led to the loss of the literal reading. Consequently, with exceptions like the early school of St. Victor, the widely practiced moral (tropological), figurative (allegorical), and mystical (anagogical) interpretations prevailed over the literary-rhetorically informed literal and historical readings. A more literal and rational interpretive tradition, albeit methodologically deficient, among Jewish scholars like Rashi and Maimonides provided insights into the OT for some of the 12th-century Victorines and 13th-century friars. As the spiritual and moralizing interpretations declined into exaggeration, these Dominican and Franciscan friars, like Bonaventure, Albert the Great, and Thomas Aquinas, advanced attention to the literal sense and the intent of the sacred authors.

Not until the Renaissance, however, did interpretation according to the literal and historical sense become possible again. Erasmus typifies the Renaissance humanist equipped by classical learning to deal with the text critical, rhetorical, and literary questions. Unlike Erasmus, the Reformation biblical interpreters largely dropped the allegorical and anagogical interpretations, retained but reevaluated the tropological sense and typological analysis, and applied the humanists' rediscovered classical rhetoric to reach the original meaning of the texts. Counter-Reformation biblicists also focused on the literal/historical sense, which sometimes uses figurative language, but retained the possibility of the three traditional spiritual senses where the text requires them. The Augustinian insight of finding the spiritual meaning in the literal reading turned them all to grammar and rhetoric for the rules for a proper textual understanding.

In the 18th century, a realistic sensibility and the Deist challenge to the evidence for revelation led, as Frei (1974: 130–36) explains, to interest in what actually happened and how the accounts achieved their current shape. Tentative efforts at formal analysis on aesthetic grounds, such as Bishop Lowth's *De sacra poesi Hebraeorum* (1753), did not establish a critical alternative to the prevailing historical concerns, and the 19th and 20th centuries saw the development and dominance of the historical critical methodology.

**C. The Revival of Rhetorical Criticism**

Rhetorical criticism, whose antecedents reach to the origins of biblical study, has only recently regained its place in biblical scholarship. Contributing to its long disuse was the inapplicability of classical critical canons, an assumption for the OT and, if applied, leading to a conclusion of unfavorable literary comparisons for the NT (e.g., the gospels were folk tales to Dibelius, the Pauline Epistles were like nonliterary correspondence to Deissmann). Then, too, classical rhetorical principles no longer necessarily guide the craft of today's writers and literary critics. Moreover, in the post-Enlightenment biblical critical agenda the literary and rhetorical aspects of biblical texts were studied to answer questions of information external to the texts themselves. Finally, the sacred character of the Bible largely discouraged analysis according to secular critical methods.

Frei (1974: 135–36) observes that historical critics look to what the narrative refers to or to the reconstructed historical context outside the text which explains it. Practitioners of the newer methodologies, whether literary, structuralist, or rhetorical, seek the meaning that is found in the text, the narrative structure or sequence. They explicate what Wilder (1971: xxii) calls the "inseparable relation of form and content in all texts." In short, what is said cannot be separated from how it is said, whether in writing or in oral speech.

Rhetorical analyses were carried out in the past (cf. J. Weiss' study of Pauline rhetoric in the 1897 Festschrift for B. Weiss and Cadbury's Lukan studies in the 1920s) but historical criticism's successful results maintained its predominance. Muilenburg's influential assessment of the gains and deficiencies of the then methodologically dominant OT form criticism ended with his proposal of attention to the rhetoric of the biblical writings as a complement to historical criticism. Rhetorical criticism's attention to the texts themselves and to the authors' patterns of words and motifs, to their style, and to the linguistic and rhetorical phenomena they employ would balance form criticism's focus on the typical, both in genre and setting. Nor was the literary focus to obscure attention to the orality behind the texts. His methodological outline specifies: (1) definition of the limits or scope of the literary unit; (2) recognition of the structure of the composition and the configuration of its component parts.

Similarly, the classicist Kennedy proposes to examine the NT text "from the point of view of the author's or editor's intent, the unified results, and how it would be perceived by an audience of near contemporaries." He draws heavily upon classical rhetoric, convinced that rhetoric is "a universal phenomenon which is conditioned by basic workings of the human mind and heart and by the nature of all human society." His brief five-step method specifies: (1) Determination of the rhetorical unit as complete in itself or part of a larger unit. (2) Definition of the rhetorical situation, i.e., the persons, events, objects, and relations, often a single "problem," which call for and in part determine the rhetor's response. Included here is attention to the basic issue (*stasis*), i.e., whether a matter of fact, definition, quality, or jurisdiction, and to the species of discourse, i.e., judicial or forensic to effect judgment about the past, deliberative or political to urge a future action, epideictic or ceremonial praise or blame which seeks to affect a present evaluation or to persuade decision. (3) Consideration of the arrangement of the material, its subdivisions, the persuasive effects of the parts, and their cohesion in meeting the rhetorical situation, noting assumptions, topics, formal features (e.g., enthymemes), and rhetorical strategy, i.e., to convince by character (*ēthos*) and reasoned argument (*logos*) or to persuade by emotion (*pathos*). Classical conventions of speech writing and epistolography and the oral character of NT and classical works affect rhetorical analysis. (4) Consideration of devices of style and their rhetorical function. (5) Overview and evaluation of the impact of the entire unit and its details upon the rhetorical situation.

**D. Contemporary Focus on NT Rhetoric**

NT critics were quick to follow Wilder's groundbreaking theoretical observations on NT rhetoric with studies like Beardslee's on the methodology of NT literary and rhetorical criticism, Via's on the parables, Funk's on the Pauline letters, and Talbert's on the paradigmatic structure of Luke-Acts. Robbins and Patton find that many NT critics (TeSelle, Perrin, Tannehill, Trible, Crossan, Talbert, Funk) apply the theoretical developments of contemporary literary critics and philosophers of language and literature (Black, Brooks, Burke, Frye, Krieger, Langer, Ong, Richards, Wheelwright) to the analyses of the rhetoric of NT literature. Sternberg, for the OT, and Rhoads and Michie, for the NT, employ a mixed literary-rhetorical study relating rhetorical features to other narrative elements to describe the narrative's impact on the reader, ancient or modern. Fowler employs a similar literary-rhetorical methodology in his study of Mark's Messianic Secret. These studies demonstrate the relation of biblical literature to general world literature, thereby securing a place for biblical critics among their secular peers, and they make immediate the impact of the biblical texts on contemporary readers.

Pursuing contemporary questions of audience reaction and social background but with more attention to the classical milieu, Robbins follows Mark's transformations of rhetorical forms to discover the sociorhetorical pattern of the disciple-gathering teacher, common to the Greco-Roman world. Kennedy's treatments, a mixture of thorough analyses and scattered labeling, of rhetorical units from the gospels, Acts, and the Pauline letters find mixed success and even disagreement (with Betz on Galatians and Lahurd on Matthew). More helpful are Dibelius' discussion of the rhetoric and form of the speeches in Acts and more recent studies like those of Wills, Black, and Fiore on the interplay of Greek rhetoric, Jewish and Christian sermons, and NT literature. For the Thessalonian correspondence, Malherbe has delineated the rhetorical situation and Paul's response and Betz's use of Socratic traditions has illuminated Paul's apologetic rhetoric in 2 Corinthians. Church's analysis of Philemon carefully

demonstrates the use of deliberative rhetoric. Stowers' study of the classical diatribe clarifies misconceptions of that rhetorical feature in the Pauline letters and establishes it in its literary and instructional context. His introduction to Greco-Roman letter writing updates the work of Doty and White on epistolary form and provides rhetorical critics with a description of classical epistolography to complement the standard discussions of literary and oral rhetoric. Wuellner's studies of Pauline rhetoric demonstrate how the method ought to identify not only rhetorical elements and structure but also their function in the flow of argumentation, how the method can shed light on the function of the epistolary elements identified by form critics, and how misleading a consideration of content (the Law) can be if it is not related to rhetorical aim (epideictic in Romans but forensic in Galatians). The rhetorical criticism based on the principles of classical rhetoric has a historical perspective and thus directly complements traditional historical criticism.

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**RHO.** The seventeenth letter of the Greek alphabet.

**RHODA** (PERSON) [Gk *Rhodē* (Ῥοδη)]. The servant girl of Mary (mother of John Mark) mentioned only in Acts 12:12–17. Hers is not a proper name, but a nickname, a diminutive of the word for rosebud, meaning little rose. Such nicknames were common for household servants (Haenchen 1971: 385). She is called a *paidiskē*,which literally means "little girl" but in the NT is always used of someone of servant class (cf. Matt 26:69; Mark 14:66, 69; Luke 22:56; Acts 16:16; and especially John 18:17).

Rhoda is portrayed as a household servant in charge of (among other things) answering the courtyard gate that opens on to the street. Luke's presentation suggests that Rhoda was a Christian taking part in a prayer meeting when Peter arrived at the house of Mary, mother of John Mark. Rhoda goes to the courtyard entrance, recognizes Peter's voice, and in her excitement returns to the meeting without opening the gate. However, when she announces Peter's presence at the door, she is declared to be "out of her mind." This may reflect prejudice against a woman's, particularly a female servant's, word of witness.

Nevertheless, as Luke tells the story, Rhoda is vindicated by her persistence in claiming Peter's presence. Thus Luke presents Rhoda as an example to his audience that the testimony of a woman, even a female servant, can be trustworthy. He may be intentionally countering tendencies to devalue the word of a woman by showing that even a servant girl like Rhoda can be trusted.

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BEN WITHERINGTON, III

**RHODES** (PLACE) [Gk *Rhodos* (Ῥοδος)]. An island 45 miles long and 22 miles wide located in the SE Aegean Sea between Crete and Asia Minor. The capital of the island, also named Rhodes, was a port city on the NE shore of the island. According to Pindar (*Ol.* 7.54–76), the island emerged out of the sea and was a portion of the sun god Apollo (Helios), whose cult continued there throughout antiquity. Three noteworthy ancient foundations were Ialysos, Kameiros, and Lindos, named in honor of the three grandsons of Helios and the nymph Rhodos, daughter of Aphrodite. (For the ancient legends pertaining to Rhodes, see especially Pind. *Ol.* 7; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.2; Diod. Sic. 5.55–59; Strabo 14.2.6–8; and Ath. 8.360d–61c).

Mt. Atabyrion (1,233 m), once forested with cypress and conifers used for shipbuilding, was a landmark for ancient mariners. Zeus Atabyrios was worshipped on the summit where parts of a walled precinct, which may have been an ancient temple, have survived. A number of dedications to the god have survived, including small bronze bulls. The name of the mountain appears to be the Greek form of the Semitic Tabor.

The island played an influential economic and political role in antiquity and supported a large population. Harbors on the island's E coast were of strategic importance, controlling entry to the Aegean Sea. A number of classical sources (Polybius, Diodorus, Strabo, Dio Chrysostom, and Aristides) extol the achievements of Rhodes in politics, economics, and culture. The island was also ideally situated as a meeting point for the sea routes which converged from the Greek peninsula and islands, from Palestine and Cypress, and from Asia Minor. Considerable quantities of grain, fruit and vegetables, olives, honey, wine, and crafted wares were exported from the island.

A Minoan colony was planted at Ialysos, controlling the entry to the Aegean, around 1600 B.C.E. and flourished until ca. 1425 B.C.E. Evidence for trade with the coastal cities of Syria-Palestine, including Ugarit, exists from the 16th century B.C.E. By 1450 B.C.E. a Mycenean enclave was established which apparently flourished alongside the Minoan foundation. By 1425 B.C.E. the Minoan colonists had abandoned Rhodes, marking a permanent decline in the Cretan thalassocracy in the E Mediterranean. At the time of the fall there is evidence for an acceleration of Greek influence on the island.

The Mycenean settlers on Rhodes traded primarily with the coastal regions of Asia Minor and the Levant, although there is evidence of their ware farther afield. Strong fortifications on Rhodes protected the caravan terminus region. Apparently the Myceneans on Rhodes remained independent of the Myceneans on Knossos, opening new routes for trade and piracy and ultimately supplanting Crete's control of the S Aegean.

From the reign of the Hittite kings Muwatallis and his grandson Tudkhaliyas IV (ca. 1250 B.C.E.), correspondences mention the kingdom of the Ahhiyawa, Hittite for either Achaiwa or Ageiwa. Achaians and Argives are almost interchangeable in Homer for the Greek tribes fighting against Troy. One of the headquarters for the Ahhiyawa was probably Rhodes. These E Myceneans joined forces with the Sea Peoples against Pharaoh Merneptah in his 5th year (1233 B.C.E.). They were ultimately defeated in two large-scale battles at the end of the Bronze Age, the first during the reign of Rameses III (ca. 1187), commemorated on the reliefs from Medinet Habu and the second at the hand of the Hittite king Šuppiluliumas II (ca. 1180) off the coast of Cyprus.

The Myceneans of Rhodes were later listed in Homer's Achean Catalogue. Continuity on Rhodes between the 12th-century Mycenean wares and the proto-geometric wares of the Dark Ages strongly suggests that the Mycenean settlers were not displaced by the Dorian invasions at the close of the Bronze Age. During the ensuing Dark Ages, the island continued to develop as a commercial center, and carved Phoenician and Syrian ivories found on the island illustrate that trade continued with the E.

By 650 B.C.E. Rhodes had completely outstripped Crete for primacy in the E Mediterranean and was second only to Corinth in the W. Rhodian terracotta are found throughout the Greek world after 610 B.C.E. Trade enriched the island as it enjoyed an intermediary position between Egypt and Ionia, and Rhodes planted important and widespread colonies on Sicily, the Adriatic coast of Italy, and the Balearic islands.

From the latter part of the 6th century to the early years of the 5th century B.C.E. Rhodes was under Persian control. After the Persian wars, Rhodes joined the Delian League, further enhancing the island's commercial connections. In 408 B.C.E., Kameiros, Ialysos, and Lindos founded a federal capital on a man-made harbor, naming the city Rhodes. Trade through the newly established portside capital brought great wealth and political power.

The most pronounced symbol of Rhodes' economic and political success was the famous Colossus of Rhodes. The statue portrayed Apollo (Helios), the sun god, and was considered to be one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. The 90-foot-high bronze statue was built between 304 and 292 B.C.E. to commemorate a victory over Demetrius (sarcastically called Poliorcetes, "the sacker of cities") in 304/3, who was unable to sack the capital (Diodoros 20.81–88, 91–100). The Byzantine Philo provides details on the construction of the giant monument. The Colossus did not bestride the harbor mouth, nor was it built on the end of a mole, but rather was probably erected in the center of town. The statue was broken off at the knees by an earthquake in 227/6 B.C.E. and was completely demolished by Arabs in 653 C.E.

The winged Nike of Samothrace was another famous monument dedicated by the citizens of Rhodes to commemorate a victory in 190 B.C.E. over Antiochus III. The statue, which now resides at the Louvre, was reconstructed by Karl Lehman (d. 1960). Other victory prows, not nearly as splendorous, have been excavated on the island.

Rhodes reached a pinnacle of power during the Hellenistic period, subsidizing political and economic activities in other Greek regions. Its preeminence was directly dependent on its relationship with Egypt. As a cultural center during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, Rhodes was the home of the epic poet Apollonius (author of *Argonautica*), a sculptural school which produced the *Laocoön*, and the philosophical schools of Panaetius and Poseidonius. After the Battle of Pydna in 167 B.C.E., Rome

undermined Rhodes' economic advantage by declaring Delos a free harbor. The island was further subjugated by Crassus in 43 B.C.E., although it remained a popular resort center throughout the Roman imperial period.

The Hellenistic city of Rhodes had a temple of Aphrodite just W of the harbor and a shrine of Dionysos. On or near the acropolis were at least three more temples, a stadium, and a gymnasium with a theaterlike lecture hall. Toward the N are foundations of the temple of Zeus and Athena and some distance farther S is the Temenos of Pythian Apollo.

The city, renowned by ancients for its beauty, was planned by the famous architect Hippodamus of Miletus, who created a harmonious effect which impressed later writers (Aristides 43.6; Lucian *Am.* 8). The extant remains from Rhodes, however, are comparatively meager. The island suffered disastrous earthquakes in 345 and 515 C.E., and the city was eventually ransacked and fortified by the medieval Knights of St. John.

Rhodes is mentioned several times by Josephus in connection with Herod the Great's travels. On a winter journey Herod passed Rhodes on his way to the Italian port of Brundisium in order to intercede with the Romans on his brother's behalf (*Ant* 14.370–78; and *JW* 1.277–81). After the Battle of Actium in 30 B.C.E. Herod traveled to Rhodes and humbled himself before Octavian, who ratified Herod's kingship over Judea and bestowed further honors upon him. Herod later sailed along the W coast of Asia Minor by way of Rhodes to meet Agrippa, Augustus' chief lieutenant at Sinope in 14 B.C.E. (*Ant* 16.16–26). For his own repute in Rhodes, Herod rebuilt the temple of the Pythian Apollo and made grants to the inhabitants for shipbuilding, probably to enhance the Judean economy.

Rhodes is mentioned among the peoples and nations who traded with Tyre, in a passage describing Tyre's wealth (Ezek 27:15). The RSV and the NEB, following a textual variation (LXX *huoi Rhodiōn* and the Peshitta *bny rdn*), translate the passage "the sons of Rhodes." However, the AV, following the MT and the Vg, translates the passage "the sons of Dedan." If the prophet is listing the peoples from W to E, which seems likely, Rhodes occurs in its proper position in v 15 and Dedan in v 20, as found in the RSV and NEB.

The Roman consul sent a letter in 142 B.C.E. to the city of Rhodes concerning relations between Rome and the Maccabean state, providing the earliest extant testimony for Jewish inhabitants on the island (1 Macc 15:23). Jewish maritime trade probably existed between Alexandrian and Rhodian Jews prior to 142 B.C.E., despite the silence of Hellenistic epigraphic sources. Apollonius Molon (1st century B.C.E.) and Posidonius of Apamea (135–51 B.C.E.) each settled in Rhodes and wrote anti-Jewish works (see Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* 9.19.1–3; and Josephus *AgAp* 2.16, 79–80, 89, 91–96, 145, 148, 236, 255, 258, and 295). Both supplied material for Apion's later attack on the Jews (*AgAp* 2.79).

There is an interesting report of a Jewish *grammaticus* named Diogenus who taught every Sabbath in Rhodes between 6 B.C.E. and 2 C.E. (Suetonius *Vit. Tib.* 32.2). There are also several Jewish inscriptions from the imperial period that bear further evidence of a Jewish community in Rhodes (*IG* 12.1, no. 11; and 12.1, no. 593).

Rhodes is mentioned as one of Paul's stops on his way to Jerusalem (Acts 21:1). Paul may have attempted to convert the Rhodian Jews to Christianity on his journey. According to tradition, Paul landed on an inlet to the S of the main harbor at Lindos.

SCOTT T. CARROLL

**RHODOCUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Rhodokos* (Ῥοδοκος)]. Described in 2 Macc 13:21 as a traitor among the Jewish forces who gave Antiochus V Eupator information during the siege of Beth-zur. He is not mentioned in the parallel account of these events in 1 Maccabees. The name, unattested elsewhere in Jewish sources, may be of Iranian origin (Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 466). This collaborationist was sought out, caught and *katekleisthē* (imprisoned). The latter term may be a euphemism for killing him (Abel 1949: 455).

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JOHN KAMPEN

**RIBAI** (PERSON) [Heb *rîbay* (רִיבַי)]. Mentioned only in 2 Sam 23:29 (= 1 Chr 11:31, where LXX has *Ribai*) as the father of Ithai, one of "the Thirty," David's corps of military elite (*gibbōrim*). See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS . Ribai was from Gibeah of the Benjamites, the famous "Gibeah of Saul" (1 Sam 11:4), modern Tell el-Ful (M.R. 172136), approximately 3.5 miles N of Jerusalem. "Ribai," shortened from the verbal name form, probably means "May Yahweh plead the case (of the name giver)."

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DAVID L. THOMPSON

**RIBLAH** (PLACE) [Heb *riblâ* (רִבְלָה)]. A city "in the land of Hamath" in Syria (2 Kgs 23:33; 25:21; Jer 39:5; 52:9, 27). Riblah is located 11 km S of Kadesh, between Kadesh and Arnaim (*ANET,* 256) on the E bank of the Orontes River. The ruins of Riblah are located near a modern village, Ribleh, ca. 58 km NE of Baalbek (34°N, 36°12´E), in a wide plain suitable for a large military campsite.

Rameses II records that his troops passed the vicinities of Kadesh, Shabtuna, and Arnaim. The Battle of Kadesh between Rameses (19th Dynasty) and the Hittite king Muwatallis was fought there in the beginning of the 13th century B.C. Shabtuna, between Kadesh and Arnaim, may be identified with Riblah. If the name Riblah is etymologically related to the Aramaic word ʾ*arbēlā*ʾ "sieve," Riblah may mean "shaken (city)." The shapes of *reš* and *dalet* of the Old Aramaic script from 8th century B.C. to 3d century B.C. are more similar than the *reš* and *dalet* of the Aramaic-Hebrew square script of the MT. Probably for this reason some of the Jews started to call this city Diblah, euphonious to *dĕbēlâ,* "pressed fig cake," the meaning of which is related to Diblathaim in Moab (Num 33:46). Diblah may also be related to a Babylonian word *diblu* (or *dublu*), "foundation platform."

The Riblah of Syria was used as headquarters by Pharaoh Neco II in his military expedition to the N after the battles at Megiddo and Kadesh S of Lake Ḥoms. He killed Josiah in 609 B.C. at Megiddo. Jehoahaz was put on the throne by popular demand, although he was not the eldest son of Josiah. Neco probably feared Jehoahaz' desire for revenge against him for the death of his father. He also feared that Jehoahaz might follow his father's anti-Egyptian policies. Therefore, Neco summoned him to Riblah after a reign of three months "so that he might not reign in Jerusalem." Later he took Jehoahaz with him to Egypt and placed his brother on the throne (2 Kgs 23:33, 34).

Riblah also became the headquarters of Nebuchadnezzar during his third expedition against Jerusalem in 588–586 B.C. After two years of siege, the last king of Judah, Zedekiah, escaped from Jerusalem but was captured near Jericho and brought to Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah. His sons were killed in his presence, his eyes were plucked out, and he was deported to Babylon in chains where he remained a prisoner until the day of his death (2 Kgs 25:1–7; Jer 52:1–11).

If Lebo-Hamath (or the Entrance to Hamath) is located S of Riblah, "Shepham of Riblah" (Num 34:11), which is S of Lebo-Hamath, cannot be identified with the Riblah in Syria. "Hamath" designates both the city of Hamath and the territorial land of Hamath which included the area of the Orontes Valley. So the geographical name "Entrance to Hamath" indicates the area of the source of the Orontes River, not necessarily a city. Likewise, "Shepham of Riblah" (Num 34:11), which is better than the translation "Shepham to Riblah," should be differentiated from the "Riblah of Hamath" and the other Shepham in Gad (1 Chr 5:12). This "Shepham of Riblah" is yet an unidentified point on the NE boundary of the land of Israel. See also *MBA,* map nos. 34, 44, 148, 159, 163; and *EncJud* 14: 151–52.

YOSHITAKA KOBAYASHI

**RIDDLES.** In the ancient world riddles concealed valuable information from the unworthy while divulging important facts to those deserving them. That simultaneous clue and trap resulted from cipher language, imagery that functioned on two levels, the ordinary meaning and a special sense recognized only by perceptive persons. Often the hidden meaning enabled groups to detect outsiders, who had no idea what the cipher communicated to those who possessed secret data. In other circumstances, less

threatening, riddles enlivened ordinary discourse, particularly at weddings, banquets, and intellectual gatherings.

One of the oldest riddles describes the academy as follows: "One whose eyes are closed enters it; one whose eyes have been opened departs from it." This Sumerian riddle uses "eyes" in two senses, ordinary sight and seeing as the equivalent of understanding. Similarly, "opened" and "closed" refer to a literal as well as a symbolic reality. The trap operates on the literal level, tempting the riddlee to offer one of two answers, possibly three: sleep, life, and sex. Astute students who recognize that eyes mirror the soul advance a step further toward solving the riddle. Knowledge acquired through experience opens eyes previously closed by prejudice, inaccurate information, and ignorance.

According to Num 12:6–8, the deity regularly communicated with prophets by means of veiled speech, either visions or dreams, whereas Moses enjoyed preferred status. With him Yahweh spoke mouth to mouth, clearly, and not in riddles (*bĕḥîdōt*). This early tradition implies that Israel's seers and prophets had to interpret their enigmatic visions and oracles in the light of the faith by which they lived. Enigma thus belonged to the essence of prophecy, in this ancient writer's view. One thinks immediately of Amos' visions of ordinary things such as a basket of summer fruit that conveyed to him quite a chilling message of finality, or of Jeremiah's vision of an almond branch that reminded him of Yahweh's watchful eye that overlooks no villainy.

The introduction to the initial collection in the book of Proverbs, and perhaps to the whole book, concludes the goal of instruction with these words: "to understand a proverb (*māšāl*) and a figure (*mĕlîṣâ*), the words of the wise and their riddles (*ḥîdōtām*, 1:6)." The 2d-century teacher, Jesus ben Sira, also emphasizes the hidden meanings and obscurities of parables as the fundamental preoccupation of professional scribes (Sir 39:1–3). Despite such conscious stress on the importance of riddles to the sages, none has survived in the corpus of biblical wisdom literature.

Given the explosive character of riddles, their disappearance occasions less astonishment. They may have persisted as disintegrated riddles, requiring modern interpreters to reconstruct their original form. Numerical proverbial sayings naturally tempt contemporary scholars to seek illumination from riddles, for in many instances one can readily rephrase the sayings in riddle form. Two examples suffice, Prov 30:18–19 and 30:20. The first alludes to movement that leaves no trace; the cipher "way" (*derek*) refers to motion and, in the punch line, dominance. The second example continues the imagery but adds two other cipher words, "mouth" (*pîhā*) and "eats" (*ʾākĕlâ*). Behind this imagery lies the mythic notion of woman as devourer in the sexual act and a widespread understanding of oral sex, easily documented from Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Greek sources.

Other disintegrated riddles seem to exist throughout the book of Proverbs and Song of Songs. The reference to one's wife as a cistern (= well) and to sperm as streams of water (Prov 5:15–16) can easily be formulated as a riddle. So can the description of a virgin lover as a locked garden and a sealed fountain (Cant 4:12). Other proverbial sayings that possess this ready transferability include the following, among others: Prov 5:15–23; 6:23–24; 16:15; 20:27; 23:27, 29–35; 25:2–3, and 27:20.

Two psalms may preserve riddles, now partially transformed into an unrecognizable form. The description of the sun as a bridegroom on a journey from east to west, and the characterization of day and night as mute messengers could have existed at one time in riddle form. Similarly, Psalm 49 may derive its power from two riddles, one about the resemblance between human beings and animals and the other about the wise person who claims victory over death. Affinities with the pessimistic sayings of Agur in Prov 30:1–4 suggest that a riddle lurks behind the "human revelation" of the sage's ignorance.

Within Israel's narrative literature, riddles play a prominent role in the account of King Solomon (1 Kgs 10:1–5; 2 Chr 9:1–4). The Queen of Sheba came to Jerusalem, so the story goes, to test Solomon with difficult questions (*bĕḥîdôt*). He told her (*wayyagged*) the requisite answers to all her queries, so that nothing was hidden (*neʿlām*) from him that he did not tell her (*higgîd*). Josephus mentions riddle contests between King Hiram of Tyre and Solomon (*Ant* 8.5.3). In neither of these accounts does a single riddle appear, but a Hebrew manuscript compiled in the 15th century associates nineteen "riddles" with the visit of the Queen of Sheba, the first four of which appear in the Midrash to Proverbs. Of the nineteen, only

three qualify as riddles by using ciphers. The first refers to the womb, the ten orifices of humans, and the navel ("There is an enclosure with ten doors; when one is open nine are shut, when nine are open one is shut"). The second alludes to a ship that has been constructed out of a tree ("There is something which when living does not move, yet when its head is cut off it moves"). The third points to Jonah's experience in the belly of a huge fish ("The dead lived, the grave moves, and the dead prays: what is that?"). In these three riddles the cipher words are "doors," "head," "grave," and "dead."

The only complete riddles in the Hebrew Bible occur in the Samson narrative, only one of which is actually designated a riddle. During wedding festivities Samson poses a riddle to his thirty companions: "Food came from the eater; sweetness came from strength" (Judg 14:14). In all probability, the riddle antedates its present context and referred to vomit and sperm; both answers served to ensnare unwary Philistines. Samson adapts the riddle to his private experience, specifically the gathering of honey from the carcass of a lion which the young warrior had earlier slain. Unable to solve the riddle, and wishing to escape the consequences of their failure, the companions threaten Samson's beautiful wife repeatedly until she entices him to surrender his well-guarded secret. Equipped with this ill-gotten information, the men give their answer in the form of a question: "What is sweeter than honey? What is stronger than a lion?" and evoke his response: "If you had not plowed with my heifer, you would not have found out my riddle" (Judg 14:18). The Philistines' answer may itself conceal an earlier riddle about love, the emotion that seemed as strong as death (Cant 8:6), and Samson's sharp retort uses the ciphers "plow" and "heifer," erotic imagery that was well known in the ANE.

This story provides valuable information about the vocabulary connected with the act of riddling: *māṣā*ʾ for discovering the solution, *pātāḥ* for opening the riddle, *nāgad* in the *Hiphʿil* for posing the riddle. The account in 1 Kgs 10:1–5 suggests that the latter verb also functioned to describe the process of informing the riddler of the correct answer. The two Hebrew words for riddle, *ḥîdâ* and *mĕlîṣâ,* push the symbolic sense of *māšāl* further still. The two Greek words for riddle, *enigma* and *griphos,* capture the twofold nature of riddles, their mysterious clue and hidden trap.

Other biblical texts may contain former riddles. Two examples indicate the possibilities awaiting persistent inquirers. The obscure story of a divine messenger who divulges its name to Samson's father alludes to Yahweh's awesome deeds and demonstrates Manoah's worth when he offers a *minḥâ* sacrifice in addition to the specified burnt offering, thus suggesting a pun on his own name (Manoah and *minḥâ,* Judg 13:18–19). The book of Ecclesiastes preserves a striking observation that "a living dog is better than a dead lion" (9:4). In light of the widespread use of dog for loathsome people such as male prostitutes and lion for royalty, one can offer a sociological interpretation of this saying. It may have been used by a woman to justify remarriage to someone whose social status was decidedly inferior to that of her previous husband.

Two related forms in the ancient world occur also in the Hebrew Bible and in the Septuagint (LXX). The first, difficult questions, has survived in the books of Proverbs and Job. "Can a man carry fire in his bosom and his clothes not be burned? Or can one walk on hot coals and his feet not be scorched?" (Prov 6:27–28). "Can papyrus grow where there is no marsh? Can reeds flourish where there is no water?" (Job 8:11). Sir 1:2–3 has a slightly different form: "The sands of the seas, the drops of rain, and the days of eternity—who can count them? The height of heaven, the breadth of the earth, the abyss, and wisdom—who can search them out?"

The second related form, impossible tasks, became immensely popular in some circles where the deity's mysterious works received emphasis. The poetic exploration of the problem of evil in 2 Esdras uses this form effectively. "Count up for me those who have not yet come, and gather for me the scattered raindrops, and make the withered flowers bloom again for me" (5:36). "Show me the picture of a voice" (5:37). "Go, weigh for me the weight of fire, or measure for me a measure of wind, or call back for me the day that is past" (4:5). Likewise, the wisdom sayings of Ahiqar (see *OTP* 2:494–507) employ this particular literary device. "Build me a castle in the sky" (5:2). "Sew up for me this broken millstone" (7:20). "Twine me five cables from the sand of the river" (7:17). "If waters should stand up without earth, sparrows fly without wings, ravens become white as snow, the bitter become sweet as honey, then may

the fool become wise" (2:62). One can compare Job 11:12 ("But a stupid man will get understanding, when a wild ass's colt is born a man") and Ovid's "Then will the stag fly."

Paradoxical proverbs in Mesopotamia and in Egypt achieved the same result (e.g., see Gordon 1959). Sumerian texts yield the following: "Do not heap up a mountain in the mountains." "Do not cut off the neck of that which has had its neck cut off." "Make the distant side the nearer side." "From 3600 oxen there is no dung." "A scribe without a hand, a singer without a throat." An Egyptian existential proverb attributed to Ptahhotep (see *ANET*, p. 414) refers to "dying while alive every day."

Pseudo-catechisms emerged in Jewish and Christian instruction. These riddlelike questions introduced a playful element into education. "Who was the oldest man on earth, yet he died before his father? Methuselah." "Who was both father and grandfather to two of his children? Lot." "When was the world its narrowest? In Noah's day." Such questions focus on a few unusual circumstances in the Hebrew Bible, especially those surrounding Noah, Lot, Adam and Eve, Jonah, and Elijah.

A third related form, contest literature, has yielded the exquisite discussion in 1 Esdr 3:1–4:41 of what is strongest. The three answers—wine, the king, and women—are supplemented by a fourth, (the Lord of) truth. The Greco-Roman world also explored the strongest things in the world, and riddles were sometimes presented to guests at a party on condition that anyone failing to solve the riddle had to drink salted wine.

Riddles could even dispense with words altogether. Such symbolic or narrative riddles describe actions that convey a particular message to the observant eye. This type of riddle enabled persons to communicate politically dangerous messages without fear of exposure. For example, a young ruler asked his father for advice about improving the government; the father walked into his garden and uprooted older plants, transplanting young ones in their place; *Gen. Rab.* 67 gives a variant of this enacted riddle.

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JAMES L. CRENSHAW

**RIDGE OF JUDEA** (PLACE) [Gk *ho priōn tēs Iodaias* (ὁ πριων της Ἰοδαιας)]. A toponymic designation in the tale of Judith (Jdt 3:9). It was one of the places where Holofernes, Nebuchadnezzar's general, encamped during his invasion of the countries of the West after they had disobeyed Nebuchadnezzar's call to arms against Arphaxad, king of Media. According to the story, Holofernes encamped S of the Plain of Esdraelon, near Dothan (M.R. 172202), between Scythopolis (Beth-shan, M.R. 197212) and Geba. Two towns are possible for the location of Geba, one being 6 km NE of Samaria (M.R. 171192), the other 6 km NE of Dor (M.R. 146228), the former more directly aligned with Dothan and Scythopolis.

Dothan is identified as "fronting the great ridge of Judea" (*tou prionos tou megalou tēs Ioudaias*). Such a description puts this land feature in the hills of N Samaria, and therefore it should not be confused with the hill country of Judah in the S. Thus, the name appears to be a misnomer, and the toponym remains obscure. Some have suggested that the reference is to the Esdraelon Valley. According to this position, the original Hebrew version mentioned "the plain (*mîšôr*) of Judea"; however, the Greek version misread the Heb *mîšôr* as *māśśôr* ("a saw"), thus translating the word by the Gk *priōn,* meaning "jagged row" or "saw." This suggestion has been questioned on the basis that elsewhere the Esdraelon is described only as a "valley" (Heb *ʿemeq*), not a "plain" (*mîšôr*; see Moore *Judith* AB, 143).

While it has been argued that the fictional genre of the book of Judith might preclude certain geographical accuracies, on the contrary, the nationalistic nature of the tale might, indeed, encourage its realistic setting. However, the difficulty of the ancient versions (e.g., the Vg 3: 14 omits this toponym) impedes any certain identification.

JOHN KUTSKO

**RIGHT, RIGHT HAND.** As in English, the right hand is used in Hebrew to indicate the opposite of the left (Jonah 4:11; Dan 12:7). It quite often is used as a direction, to the right of the person (2 Sam 16:6; 1 Kgs 22:19). When used as a reference to a compass point, right was the direction S, the direction of the right hand when facing E to gain one's orientation (1 Sam 23:19, 24). See also SOUTH.

The Heb *yāmîn,* "right," is paralleled by cognates in several other Semitic languages including Akkadian, Aramaic, and Arabic. The term is also found in Hebrew inscriptions, notably the Siloam Tunnel inscription.

Since right-handedness is most common, one would expect references to the strongest hand and the most skillful hand to refer to the right hand, and such is precisely the case. It is the right hand which holds the arrow, while the left holds the bow (Ezek 39:3). The right hand also apparently played the lyre while the left hand held it (Ps 137:5). The right hand of Yahweh was that which delivered Israel, shattering the enemy (Exod 15:6). Yahweh's right hand gains mighty victories for his people (Pss 20:7—Eng v 6; 44:4—Eng v 3; 98:1). By contrast, not once is Yahweh's left hand mentioned. An unusual phrase, *ʾiṭṭēr yad yāmîn,* literally, "bound of right hand," refers to left-handed warriors. Halpern has argued that the phrase does not refer to those born left-handed, and whose right hands were weaker or less dexterous, but to ones whose right hand had been bound, forcing them to become left-handed or ambidextrous, and, therefore, more skilled as a warrior (Halpern 1988:41). To have Yahweh at one's right hand virtually assured victory, for it implied that Yahweh was supplying the might for the confrontation: "The Lord is at your right hand; he will shatter kings on the day of his wrath" (Ps 110:5).

Furthermore, the right hand was the hand of special blessing. When Jacob was about to bless his grandchildren, Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasseh, Joseph placed the older Manasseh at his grandfather's right hand. Jacob crossed his hands to place the right hand on Ephraim. When Joseph protested, Jacob continued anyway, giving the favored position and the better blessing to the younger Ephraim (Gen 48:13–20).

In a related usage, the position of honor is regularly at the host's right hand. To be at Yahweh's right hand is to be in the position of highest honor (Ps 110:1). Often in the NT (as well as in the well-known formula of the Apostles' Creed), that position is reserved for the resurrected Jesus (Col 3:1, cf. Heb 8:1; 12:2).

The name Benjamin, literally "son of the right hand," may well indicate the special importance or blessing of this child—the second son of the favored wife, and youngest child of Jacob. The name may indicate something like "specially favored."

Only occasonially does right as a direction have a moral connotation. The author of Ecclesiastes does say: "A wise man's heart inclines him toward the right, but a fool's heart toward the left" (10:2). More often the right way is depicted as the straight and narrow, from which one is not to deviate either to the right or to the left (Deut 5:32; 17:11, 20).

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JOEL F. DRINKARD, JR.

**RIGHTEOUSNESS.** This entry consists of four articles surveying the concept of righteousness in the OT, in early Judaism, in the non-Jewish Greco-Roman world, and in the NT

## *OLD TESTAMENT*

The RSV renders the Hebrew *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* by a variety of words: acquittal, deliverance, honest evidence (Prov 12:17), integrity (Job 31:6), judgment, justice, prosperity, right, righteousness (most common), righteous deeds, righteous help, salvation, saving help, victory, vindication. The JB often translates the Hebrew as "integrity," especially in Isaiah 40–66 and the Psalms. These various renderings endeavor to compass the constellation of nuances that the Hebrew conveys, particularly when in parallelism with other words or when in the context of different word groups.

The meaning of words that derive from the root *ṣdq* cannot be determined *a priori.* There is no basic *ṣdq* notion that must always be present with the three radicals *ṣ-d-q.* The OT texts must not be read through the eyes of the Reformation controversies about "righteousness" and "justification," or even through Paul's letters to the Romans and Galatians. The OT writers were not aware of the problems of the Church of the 1st or 16th centuries. The words and phrases, "righteousness," "justification," "he … whose sin is covered … to whom the Lord imputes no iniquity" (RSV Ps 32:1–2; cf. JB, NEB, NIV, AB), evoke theological associations which must be laid aside when dealing with the Heb terms *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ.*

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### A. Cognate Background of *ṣdq*

The root *ṣdq* is West Semitic in origin and is well attested in this language group:

**1. Akkadian.** The CAD has only one entry for *ṣaduq* and describes the word as an adjective meaning "right," "just." Abdu-hepa of Jerusalem (14th century B.C.) writes to the king of Egypt, "See, my Lord, I am right (*ṣa-du-uq*) about the people of GN" Abdu-hepa is acting as he should in the king's interest.

**2. Amorite.** The word *ṣaduq* occurs as a component of a number of Amorite names in which it is probably a theophorous element; *ṣidq* is rendered "justice," "rightness" by Huffmon (*APNM,* 256–57), who notes that the root is common Semitic, except Akkadian.

**3. Old South Arabic.** The verb *ṣdq* means "to grant, concede, fulfill an obligation, keep faith with (?)"; the noun means "right, due, truth, reality (?)"; the adjective means "proper, appropriate," with the nuances of "happy and fortunate" (Meyer 1966: 229; *DOSA,* 416–18).

**4. Ugaritic.** The word *ṣdq* is found in a number of proper names in the Ras Shamra texts (*UT,* 472–73). In the KRT text *ṣdqh* is an abstract noun in parallelism with *yšrh* (Fisher 1972: 320); Gray (1965: 132, n. 7) renders the words as "legitimate wife" (wife of *ṣdqh*), as does Gordon (1949: 67). The king of Ugarit is described as *bʿl ṣdq* (Gray 1966: 175–76), which may mean "legitimate king" or perhaps "lord of order," i.e., the one who brings right order or prosperity into life by giving the rain. Further information is found in Fisher (1981: 132, 203, 406–10).

**5. Northwest Semitic Inscriptions.** The word *ṣdq* occurs in a number of Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions the text of which, with German translation and comments, may be found in the three Donner-Röllig (*KAI*) volumes; there is an English translation of some of these in *ANET* (499–505, 653–62). The words *ṣdq* and *yšr* occur together in the 10th-century Yeḥimilk inscription from Byblos describing "a righteous king and an upright king" (*ANET,* 499; *KAI* 1: 1; 2: 6); Swetnam (1965: 32) argues for "legitimate" instead of "righteous," Herrmann (1958: 22) for "lawful" referring to Jer 23:5, *smḥ ṣdq,* "a righteous, lawful branch." The Jeremiah phrase is found in the Phoenician Lapēthos inscription (*KAI* 1: 10; 2: 60–61) from Cyprus, 3d century B.C. Cooke (1903: 82) proposes "legitimate offspring"; Swetnam (1965: 29–31) "rightful scion"; *KAI* "legitimer Spross." In a bilingual inscription from Karatepe (8th century B.C.), Azitwadda narrates his good deeds and says that "every king considered me his father because of my righteousness (*bṣdqy*) and my wisdom and the kindness of my heart" (*ANET,* 499–500); likewise *KAI* (1: 5; 2: 36); Swetnam (1965: 34) renders "because of my rightfulness" (i.e., legitimacy).

The substantive *ṣdq* occurs five times in the Zinçirli inscriptions (8th century), preceded each time by the preposition *b,* twice without suffix, twice with the suffix of 1st sing., once with the suffix of 3d masc. sing. *KAI* (1: 40–41; 2: 224, 233, 237) renders it as "loyalty," i.e., to the Assyrian overlord. Swetnam (1965: 34–36), following Euler (1938: 278–79), disagrees with the rendering "loyalty" in the Panammuwa and Barrākib inscriptions (Zinçirli) and argues strongly for "legitimate succession," as it is a question of legitimate succession from father to son. In the Barrākib inscription the incumbent says that he was seated on the throne "because of the righteousness of my father (*bṣdq ʾby*) and my own righteousness (*bṣdqy*) …" (*ANET,* 501).

On a 7th-century B.C. Aramaic tomb inscription from Nērāb, 7 km E of Aleppo, Agbar, priest of Sahr, has had inscribed "because of my righteousness (*bṣdqty*) before him, he gave me a good name and prolonged my days" (*ANET,* 505; *KAI* 1: 45; 2: 276). The word *ṣdqh* appears with the definite article, *ṣdqtʾ,* in a 5th–4th-century inscription from Tēmā in Arabia. *KAI* renders it "present of allegiance," "Loyalitätsgeschenk" (1: 46; 2: 79–80), Cooke (1903: 196) by "a grant," Jean and Hoftijzer (*DISO,* 243) list as meanings "merit or desert." A 5th-century Phoenician inscription commemorating the foundation of a temple near Sidon records that the king *BDʿŠTRT* and *bn ṣdq* were its founders; *KAI* (1: 3; 2: 25) renders the latter by "heir," "son, who is legitimate heir," referring to Jer 23:5; 33:15. There is also attestation of a West-Semitic god, *ṣedeq* (Rosenberg 1965). Thus, *ṣdq,* in West Semitic apart from Hebrew, covers a range of meanings: proper conduct, order, righteousness, legitimacy of succession, loyalty, favor, concession, grant.

**B. Range and Meaning of Terms**

Words deriving from the root *ṣdq* occur 523 times in the OT: verbal forms 41 times, the nouns *ṣedeq* 119 times, and *ṣĕdāqâ* 157 times, the adjective-substantive *ṣaddîq* 206 times. Well over half of the occurrences of the nouns are in the Psalms, the poetic sections of the Prophets, and the regular verse of

Proverbs. Some scholars make a distinction between *ṣedeq* and *ṣĕdāqâ.* Jepsen (1965: 79, 81), for example, maintains that *ṣedeq* means right order; it is concerned "with a situation that in fact is as it ought or must be"; *ṣedeq* is "an action directed toward the right order of the community and accordingly to its well-being"; *ṣĕdāqâ* is used of human well-being or right behavior; it is that which puts one in order before God. God's *ṣĕdāqâ* is aimed at order in his creation and at leading his community to its goal; it is his salvific will in action. Schmid (1968: 67, 179) follows Jepsen: "*ṣdq* and *ṣdqh* are to be distinguished: *ṣdq* concerns proper order, *ṣdqh* means the proper order of the world, willed by Yahweh, which brings prosperity, *ṣdqh* its appropriate, proper, prosperous state." Others, like Fahlgren (1932), see no essential difference between the two and treat them without distinction. The latter view is favored here. The note of Watson (1980: 335) is pertinent in this context: "I would like to point out that it is not always advisable to draw theological conclusions on the basis of a particular word, differentiating, for example, between *ṣedeq* and *ṣĕdēqâ* [sic], both basically meaning 'justice.' They can have different connotations, but there are texts (e.g., Ps 72:3) where choice has been dictated by poetic convention."

Scholars discern a wide range of meanings, emphases, and directions in biblical *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ*: health of soul, links in a covenant, loyal activity (Pedersen 1926: 336–77); community loyalty (Fahlgren 1932); order, fitting into order, salvific order (Procksch 1950: 568–77); prosperity, saving gift (Cazelles 1951); community loyalty (Koch 1953; 1961; *THAT* 2: 507–30); Yahweh's acts, his loyalty to the covenant, relationship (*ROTT,* 370–83, 392–95); justice (Dünner 1963); a judicial and soteriological process of judging, acquitting, and saving (Justesen 1964); world order (Schmid 1968; 1984); order put into effect by Yahweh, Yahweh's saving action that puts this order into effect (Reventlow 1971); divine covenant activity and conduct that befits the covenant (Ziesler 1972); Yahweh's action toward Israel, toward the individual in distress, his saving action in the future (Crüsemann 1976); legal order, proper order in the community, saving and liberating order (*TRE* 12: 404–11). Many of these scholars underscore the notion of saving action toward the people of Israel and the helpless individual—the poor, the oppressed, the widow, the orphan.

**C. Legal Uses and Nuances**

**1. The Verb.** The verb is used predominantly in a forensic sense. The discussion here considers the various Heb verbal stems.

**a. Qal.** The stative verb expresses how someone stands before the law or God. Judah says of Tamar: "She is more righteous than I" (Gen 38:26); i.e., the law is on Tamar's side (cf. Ezek 36:52). Eliphaz asks Job: "Can a mortal be righteous before (OR more than) God?" (4:17; cf. 9:2, 15, 20; 10:15; 15:14; 25:4; 34:5); Elihu uses the verb in the same sense (33:12; 35:7); and a psalmist declares: "for no one living is righteous before you" (143:2). God challenges Job: "Will you then quash my judgment? condemn me that you may be right?" (40:8). One may render the two passages in the exchange between Job and Zophar: "Shall the glib one be acquitted?" (11:2) and "See now, I set forth my case, I know I shall be acquitted" (13:18), and the objection of Eliphaz: "What good to Shaddai if you are just?" (22:3; Pope *Job* AB, 80, 93, 148).

One psalmist declares that "the ordinances of Yahweh are true, and righteous altogether" (Ps 19:10—Eng v 9); another acknowledges that he has sinned against God, and him alone, "so that you are justified in your sentence" (Ps 51:6—Eng v 4). The forensic sense is clear in the *rîb*-passages in Deutero-Isaiah (43:9, 26), and in the summary verse: "In Yahweh all the offspring of Israel shall triumph (be justified) and glory" (45:25).

**b. Hiṣ̌il.** The *Hiṣ̌il,* causative, is used primarily in the sense of acquit, justify, declare right, vindicate. Those who judge in Israel acquit and vindicate (Exod 23:7; Deut 25:1; 2 Sam 15:4). The one who does the reverse of this, who "justifies the wicked and condemns the righteous," is an abomination to the Lord (Prov 17:15 = Isa 5:23). Solomon calls on God to vindicate the just (1 Kgs 8:32 = 2 Chr 6:23), and the psalmist asks God to "give justice to the weak and fatherless, maintain the right of the afflicted and destitute" (Ps 82:3). The Lord "who vindicates me is near" (Isa 50:8). There are three passages where the forensic sense is weak, if not absent: Job says to Bildad: "Far be it from me to declare you right" (Job 27:5); "my servant, righteous, will bring righteousness to many" (Isa 53:11); "those who turn many to

righteousness" (Dan 12:3). There is another possible use of the verb in the *Hip*ʿ*il*: "to defend (lit., and the meekness of) right" (Ps 45:5—Eng v 4) corresponds to MT, *wĕ* ʿ*anwah ṣedeq*; with no emendations but with a redistribution of the consonants, one may read *wĕ* ʿ*ānāw haṣdēq,* "defend the poor," with a *Hip*ʿ*il* imperative of the verb (Dahood *Psalms 1* AB, 272).

**c. Pi**ʿ**el.** The *Pi*ʿ*el* inf. occurs twice in Job, once when Elihu is angry with Job because he "held himself righteous rather (more righteous) than God," (32:2), and again when he calls on Job "to show off your righteousness" (33:32). Ezekiel says that Jerusalem has committed so many abominations that "you have made your sisters appear righteous" (16:51, 52). The Lord said to Jeremiah: "The *nepeš* (life) of faithless Israel is more righteous than false Judah" (3:11).

**d. Nip**ʿ**al.** Daniel speaks of the sanctuary that shall be restored to its rightful place, *wĕniṣdāq qōdeš* (8:14); i.e., proper liturgical order will be restored.

**e. Hitpa**ʿ**el.** When the brothers of Joseph are discovered to have the money they paid for the corn in their sacks, Judah replies on their behalf: "How shall we justify ourselves?" (Gen 44:16).

**2. Nouns in the Pentateuch.** The comparatively few uses of *ṣedeq* and *ṣĕdēqâ* are predominantly legal. The word *ṣedeq* occurs 7 times in Leviticus and Deuteronomy in a juridical sense. The judge shall be impartial in giving judgment; he shall judge *bĕṣedeq* (Lev 19:15), according to what is laid down, without regard to persons (cf. Deut 1:16; 16:18, 20; for remaining uses of *ṣedeq*, see below).

The word *ṣĕdāqâ* is found only in Deuteronomy and Genesis. In the short confession of faith (Deut 6:20–25), the children ask their father about "the testimonies and the statutes and the ordinances which the Lord our God has commanded you" (v 20). The father replies that Yahweh, who led his people from Egypt, gave the commands "for our good" (v 24); i.e., by such ordered conduct, we will be doing what is proper, *ṣĕdāqâ.* In Deuteronomy 9, the people are addressed as having already taken possession of the land. But the possession is the result of Yahweh's action, not theirs; it is not because of their own *ṣĕdāqâ* (vv 4, 5, 6) that they are there, but because of Yahweh's action.

In Gen 18:18–19, Yahweh reflects whether he should reveal to Abraham what he is to do to Sodom and Gomorrah: "I have chosen (known) him, that he may charge his children and his household after him to keep the way of the Lord by doing *ṣĕdāqâ* and *mišpāṭ*." The way of the Lord is the following of his ordinances and commands, and this is *ṣĕdāqâ* and *mišpāṭ*.In the episode of the spotted sheep and goats, Jacob says to Laban: "My *ṣĕdāqâ* will answer for me later" (Gen 30:33). Jacob's honesty or proper conduct will be his vindication.

The accepted interpretation of Gen 15:6 is that Abraham believed in Yahweh and he (Yahweh) attributed it (the act of believing) to him (Abraham) [as] *ṣĕdāqâ.* Following von Rad's important essay (*PHOE,* 130–35), many have seen the *background* to this famous verse in the liturgy of the temple. The priest declares the worshipper righteous "who conducts himself properly with reference to an existing communal relationship, who, therefore, does justice to the claims which the communal relationship makes on him … Man is righteous so long as he affirms the regulations of this communal relationship established by God, say, the covenant and the commandments." The Abraham episode is, of course, not within the realm of cult; "it is transferred to the realm of God's free and personal relationship to Abraham" (von Rad *Genesis* OTL, 185). According to von Rad, the author of Gen 15:6 has Yahweh, not a temple official, priest or Levite, make the pronouncement. And Yahweh pronounces Abraham to have fulfilled righteousness, to share righteousness, *ṣĕdāqâ,* not by an act or a work, ritual or otherwise, but by faith. Von Rad understands the verse less as a polemic than as a revolutionary statement. Faith sets one right with God, and it is God who reckons this internal act to Abraham as *ṣĕdāqâ.*

The MT of Gen 15:6 reads: "And Abraham went on believing (*GKC,* 112e, [a][*a*]) in Yahweh and he [who?] reckoned it [what?] to him [to whom?] *ṣĕdāqâ.*" The LXX reads: "And Abraham believed in God, and it was reckoned (*elogisthē,* aor. pass.) to him unto righteousness (*eis dikaiosynēn*). Paul (Rom 4:3; Gal 3:6) and James (2:23) repeat this rendering. However, the text is readily patient of another interpretation: "Abraham went on believing in Yahweh, and he (Abraham) reckoned it (the promise of son and descendants) to him (Yahweh) (as: no prep. in MT) fidelity (*ṣĕdāqâ*)," i.e., Yahweh, who had promised myriads of descendants to Abraham (12:1–3), has, despite appearances to the contrary (15:2–3),

remained faithful to himself (15:4–5) (Gaston 1980; Oeming 1983). When Phinehas rose up and interposed and the plague was stayed (Ps 106:30–31), this action was reckoned (*Nip‹al,* pass.) to him *liṣdāqâ.* Phinehas was considered to have done the proper thing.

**3. Other Uses.** Isa 5:23 heaps "woe" on judges who "acquit (*maṣdîqê,* lit., acquitters of) the guilty for a bribe and reject the right of the just (*ṣidqat ṣaddîqîm*; the case of, the just cause of, the just)." For *ṣĕdāqâ* as claim or right, cf. 2 Sam 19:28–29—Eng 19:27–28; Neh 2:20; see below.

The word *ṣedeq* is used adjectivally, governed by a noun in the construct state, and often in the sense of legitimate. Priests are to offer *zibḥê ṣedeq,* legitimate sacrifices, i.e., sacrifices according to the liturgical order (Ps 4:6[5]; 51:21[19]; cf. Deut 33:19). The tradesman must have just balances, *mo›znê ṣedeq,* i.e., scales that do not cheat, but weigh as they ought (Lev 19:36; Deut 25:15). In fact, everything dealing with weights and measures must be *ṣedeq* (Lev 19:36; Ezek 45:10). Yahweh's ordinances for one's life are *mišpāṭê ṣedeq,* proper, legitimate ordinances (Ps 119:7, 62, 75). In a royal psalm of thanksgiving the king praises God for his *ḥesed* (loyalty, steadfast love, Ps 118:15). Yahweh, who has stood by him in his distress, is his *yĕšu‹â* (saving action, v 14); the *ṣaddîqîm* (the just) extoll Yahweh's *yĕšu‹â.* The king cries out: "Open to me the *ša‹ărê ṣedeq*" (the gates of righteousness, v 19) "for this is the gate of Yahweh" (v 20). The king will enter the city, or temple, to the place where Yahweh's order is found. The psalm is framed by Yahweh's *ḥesed* (vv 1, 29), which leads to his *yĕšu‹â;* his steadfast love embraces his saving action and order. (Could *malkî ṣedeq,* Melchizedek of Ps 110:5, mean "legitimate king," rather than be a proper name? [Dahood *Psalms III* AB, 117]; cf. the Aramaic inscriptions above.) Yahweh leads the psalmist along *ma‹gĕlê ṣedeq,* paths of proper, legitimate, order (Ps 23:3[2]). In the blessings of Moses, Gad is said to have executed the *ṣidqat Yahweh* and his *mišpāṭîm* (Deut 33:21), i.e., Yahweh's prescribed order (some understand this in a martial context, Yahweh's prescriptions for war). Other uses of *ṣedeq* governed by the construct noun, *‹îr haṣṣedeq* (a city where order dwells, Isa 1:26), *yo‹dê ṣedeq* (those who experience Yahweh's saving action, Isa 51:7), *›êlê ṣedeq* (oaks of righteousness, Isa 61:3), are considered below.

**D. Proper Order, Proper Comportment**

The word *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* is used frequently in coordination with or in parallelism with *mišpāṭ* (order, ordinance, judgment, a regular way of doing something). The combination *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* and *mišpāṭ* is in essence a hendiadys describing that proper order in the life of the people that is put there and willed by God.

**1. 8th-Century Prophecy.** In Isaiah 1–39 *ṣedeq* occurs 9 times, 3 times in conjunction with or parallel to *mišpāṭ* (1:21; 16:5; 32:1). Zion was once a faithful city, full of *mišpāṭ* and the dwelling place of *ṣedeq* (1:21); now murderers lodge there; i.e., there was a time when proper order, Yahweh's order, reigned; but no more. When Yahweh acts in the future, it will be the faithful city once more and an *‹îr haṣṣedeq,* "city of righteousness" (1:26), where Yahweh's order reigns (1:26), with the social disorders of vv 21–23 abolished. When Yahweh's reign finally prevails in Zion, chap. 16, and its oppressors are no more,

> then a throne will be established in *ḥesed* (steadfast love),
> and on it will sit in *›emet* (fidelity) in the tent of David
> one who judges and seeks *mišpāṭ,*
> who is quick to do *ṣedeq* (16:5).

Proper order will reign through Yahweh's ideal king. In this ideal time

> Behold, a king will reign *lĕṣedeq,*
> and princes will rule *lĕmišpāṭ* (32:1).

The preposition *l* is rendered "by," as often in Ugaritic and Hebrew. The king rules by a *ṣedeq-mišpāṭ* which is not his own, but Yahweh's (cf. Ps 72:1–3). The shoot from the stump of Jesse, upon whom the Spirit shall rest (11:1–2), shall judge the poor *bĕṣedeq* and decide *bĕmîšôr* (by equity) on the oppressed of the land (11:4). Proper order will be restored, and each will have his due. *Ṣedeq* shall be the girdle of his waist, *›ĕmûnâ* (fidelity) the girdle of his loins (11:4).

In the late *Apocalypse of Isaiah* (chap. 26), the righteous nation, *goy ṣaddîq,* which keeps faith, is to enter through the gates. When Yahweh's judgments, *mišpāṭîm,* are upon the earth, the inhabitants learn *ṣedeq* from his gracious action, but the wicked never learn *ṣedeq* (vv 9–10).

The word *ṣĕdāqâ* occurs 12 times in Isaiah 1–39, 8 times in conjunction with or parallel to *mišpāṭ* (1:27; 5:7, 16; 9:6[7]; 28:17; 32:16, 17; 33:5). Zion shall be an *ʿîr haṣṣedeq* (1:26, see above) because of Yahweh's action. She shall be redeemed by *mišpāṭ,* and those who repent in her by *ṣĕdāqâ,* i.e., by proper order and conduct resulting from God's action (1:27). In the song of the vineyard (5:1–7) Yahweh looked for *mišpaṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ,* loyal and proper conduct, but found only *miśpāḥ,* bloodshed (?), and *ṣĕʿāqâ,* a cry (v 7). There was disorder, not order. The glory of God is found in *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ,* in proper order (5:16). The ideal king will rule and administer his kingdom with *mišpaṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ* (9:6[7]), i.e., according to God's proper order. The foundations of Zion are to be laid with *mišpāṭ* as the line and *ṣĕdāqâ* as the plummet (28:17). Zion is to be founded on proper order.

When the Spirit is poured from on high, then *mišpāṭ* will dwell in the wilderness and *ṣĕdāqâ* in the fruitful field (32:15); God's proper order comes with the Spirit. The effects of Yahweh's action, *ṣĕdāqâ* will be *šālôm,* prosperity, everlasting security, and trust (vv 16b–17a). All will find security (v 18). Yahweh on high answers his people's prayer (33:2); from his throne he will fill Zion with *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ* (v 5), his blessed order;

> and he will be the stability of your times,
> abundance of salvation, wisdom, and knowledge;
> the fear of the Lord is his treasure (33:6).

(Several passages in Isaiah 1–39 in which *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* occur are regarded by many scholars as coming from hands later than the 8th century [1:27; 5:16; 10:22; 26:9, 10; 32:1, 16, 19; 33:5]. However, they are considered here with the other Isaian passages. Chaps. 32–33 are very close in time, spirit, and language to Deutero-Isaiah, and other sections [26:9, 10] reflect much later expectations.)

In Hosea, Yahweh takes the initiative so as to bring Israel back to him. He will remove the Baals, i.e., false worship (2:19[17]), make a covenant (v 20[18]), and abolish disorder. "I will betrothe you to me *bĕṣedeq û-bĕmišpāṭ û-bĕḥesed û-bĕraḥămîm … û-bĕʿĕmûnâ*" (vv 21–22[19–20]). Yahweh will act toward Israel according to his proper, loyal, merciful, and constant way of acting, and Israel, experiencing his steadfast love, will respond with *ṣedeq* and *mišpāṭ.* Later, Yahweh calls on his people to "sow for yourselves *liṣdāqâ* (*l-* means "by means of"), reap the fruit of *ḥesed,*" i.e., conduct yourselves toward Yahweh as he conducts himself toward you, "that he may come and rain *ṣedeq* upon you" (Hos 10:12).

Amos attacks those who oppress the just one, *ṣaddîq* (2:6; 5:12). The house of Israel is perverse; it has turned the process of justice, proper order, upside down: "it turns *mišpāṭ* to wormwood, throws *ṣĕdāqâ* to earth" (5:7; cf. 6:12). Yahweh does not want a mere formalized ritual (5:21–23); he wants proper order in every area of life; and so

> let *mišpāṭ* roll on like the waves, *ṣĕdāqâ* like an everlasting stream (5:24; cf. Isa 48:18).

Micah calls on the people to look back and experience Yahweh's saving acts in history, *ṣĕdāqôt* (6:5). Yahweh's demand on Israel in response is simple—to do *mišpāṭ,* i.e., to observe proper order, to be constant in *ḥesed,* and to comport oneself humbly (6:8).

**2. 7th-Century Prophecy.** Zephaniah calls the people to hold an assembly: "Seek Yahweh, all you humble of the land, who do his *mišpāṭ,* seek *ṣedeq,* seek *ʿănāwâ* (humility)" (2:3). The people are to do what is proper in lowly submission before Yahweh.

Jeremiah calls all who enter at the gates of the city, from the king down, to do *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ* (22:3), i.e., to right the wrong done to the oppressed and to give justice to the alien, the fatherless, and the widow. The builder, for example, must not misuse his workmen; he must dispense justice (22:13–17). If he does not act with *ṣedeq* and *mišpāṭ,* then what profit to him? (v 13). His father(s) did act properly and took care of the poor and the needy (v 15b).

Yahweh will raise up a *ṣemaḥ ṣaddîq* (a legitimate branch; cf. above), a *ṣemaḥ ṣĕdāqâ* (33:15, same meaning), who will execute *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ.* This legitimate branch will be the instrument of Yahweh's order in such a way that Jerusalem will be called *ṣidqēnû* (our righteousness, 33:16), the place

where Yahweh's proper order is established. Where Yahweh is, there is proper, world order (Schmid 1968: 87–88).

The people must put aside false gods and idols (4:1); they must take their oath, *be›ĕmet, bĕmišpāṭ, biṣdāqâ,* in such a way that their conduct really conforms to proper order. Then the nations shall glory in Yahweh. The wise, the mighty, and the rich are not to glory in what they have, but rather in this, that they know and experience that "I am Yahweh, doing *ḥesed, mišpāṭ, ṣĕdāqâ*" (9:23[24]). Yahweh is a God who acts true to himself and preserves proper order in the world. When Yahweh restores the fortunes of his people, they shall sing: "the Lord bless you, abode of *ṣedeq,* holy mountain" (31:33). The holy mountain is the place where Yahweh's *ṣedeq* (saving order) dwells. The enemies of Israel say that they are not guilty of the destruction of Jerusalem (50:7); it is the people who are guilty; they have sinned against Yahweh, their abode of *ṣedeq* (cf. Job 8:6).

**3. Psalms.** The words *ṣedeq* and *ṣĕdāqâ* occur 49 and 34 times respectively in the Psalms, for the most part in the context of God's saving action, though often enough compassing proper order and comportment. The psalmist asks God to judge him according to his (the psalmist's) *ṣedeq* and *tōm* (innocence, integrity, freedom from fault), i.e., according to the way in which he has acted (Ps 7:9[8]). Yahweh is a just judge (v 10[9]) who gives judgment in favor of the psalmist, who in turn thanks Yahweh for acting according to his (Yahweh's) *ṣedeq*. God loves *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ* (Pss 33:5; 99:4), i.e., proper order among his people. Those who do *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ* are blessed (Ps 106:3). Psalm 72 is a prayer for blessing on the king. Yahweh is asked to endow the king with his (Yahweh's) *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ* so that he (the king) may be able to judge the people with *ṣedeq* and *mišpāṭ;* i.e., proper order comes from Yahweh through the king (cf. Isa 32:1). As a consequence, the mountains will bring forth *šālôm* (prosperity) and the hills *ṣĕdāqâ* (cf. Isa 32:16–17). Yahweh endows the king with the power to act as he ought, and so the king guarantees God's order, namely *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ.* The psalmist makes explicit what constitutes God's order—deliverance of the needy and poor, freedom from oppression and violence (vv 4, 12–14). To come to the aid of these people is to act *beṣedeq* and to restore *ṣĕdāqâ.* Yahweh also acts *biṣdāqâ* (e.g., Isa 5:16; 96[7]; Ps 119:40; 143:11; Zech 8:8).

The word *ṣedeq* occurs 8 times in the psalm on God's law (Ps 119:7, 62, 75, 138, 142, 144, 164, 172). The psalmist praises the ordinances, *mišpāṭîm,* of Yahweh's *ṣedeq* (vv 7, 62, 164); Yahweh's ordinances, testimonies, and commandments are *ṣedeq* (vv 75, 144, 172); Yahweh has commanded *ṣedeq* (v 138); the psalmist reflects that "your *ṣĕdāqâ* is *ṣedeq* forever (*lĕ‹ôlām,* or, O Eternal One), your *tôrâ* (law, instruction) is *›emet* (truth)" (v 142). Yahweh's saving action *is* divine order, his teaching *is* truth. The whole context of the psalm is proper order in accordance with the prescriptions of Yahweh's law. The one who conducts himself *tamim,* blamelessly, and carries out *ṣedeq,* that which is proper, may sojourn in Yahweh's tent and may dwell on his holy hill (Ps 15:2). The priests are to be clothed with *ṣedeq* (Ps 132:9); i.e., they must comport themselves according to proper liturgical and moral order. Psalm 24 is a liturgical psalm put into a cosmic setting. Yahweh, who has founded the cosmos, will pass judgment on the one who approaches his holy place. He who is the source of cosmic order has also given order to the formal worship of his people. If the worshipper is not guilty of any disorder that would disqualify him from the temple, he will receive *bĕrākâ* (blessing) and *ṣĕdāqâ* (saving grace?) from his saving God (lit., the God of his salvation, v 5). Psalm 118 is a royal hymn of thanksgiving. The king praises Yahweh for his *ḥesed* (vv 1–5); Yahweh has stood by him in his distress; Yahweh is his *yĕšû‹â.* The king will enter the city, or temple, walking through the gates of *ṣedeq* to the place where Yahweh's order is found (v 19). The psalm is framed by Yahweh's *ḥesed* (vv 1, 29); i.e., Yahweh's steadfast love embraces his saving action and his order.

The psalmist often speaks of "my *ṣedeq.*" Psalm 4 is a prayer of one in distress or perhaps a prayer for rain (Dahood *Psalms III* AB, 23). God who is invoked is a God of *ṣidqî* (v 2[1]), God of "my justice" or "my just God," he who restores order; if a prayer for rain, then God who restores the natural order; it is he, not the nature gods of Canaan, who gives rain and fertility. God is called on to act. In an individual lament, the psalmist prays for deliverance from his enemies because of "my *ṣedeq*" and "my *tōm*" (Ps

7:9[8]); i.e., he claims that he is innocent of any breach of proper or liturgical order before God. A plea of the innocent is framed by the inclusio, *ṣedeq* (Ps 17:1, 15):

Hear, Yahweh, my *ṣedeq,* attend to my cry
Give ear to my prayer, destroy deceitful lips.
Let my *mišpāṭ* shine (come from) before you,
may your eyes gaze upon my *mêšārîm* (equity, integrity).

The psalmist is conscious of his right conduct as he cries to God. He sings in conclusion:

I, *bĕṣedeq,* shall gaze upon your face,
*bĕhāqîṣ,* shall be sated with your *tĕmûnâ* (presence, form, being).

Moses alone was allowed to see Yahweh's *tĕmûnâ* (Num 12:8); *hāqîṣ* is the *Hipʿil* inf. of *qîṣ,* to arise, awake; (cf. Isa 26:19 and Dan 12:2, to arise from the sleep of death). He will see God's face in God's vindicating or saving action which awakens him from death. Again, Yahweh has rewarded the singer "according to my *ṣedeq,*" has repaid him according to *bor yāday,* "the innocence of my hand" (18:21[20]). The psalmist has walked in accordance with God's order (words repeated in v 25[24]; cf. 2 Sam 22:21, 25). The psalmist prays that Yahweh will defend "my *mišpāṭ* and my *dîn*" (his just cause and judicial process, Ps 9:5[4]) as he (Yahweh) sits upon the throne *šopēṭ ṣedeq,* dispensing as judge what is proper. Yahweh is the one who gives judgment as it should be given.

Yahweh "rules the world *bĕṣedeq* and judges the people *bĕmêšārîm*" (equity, Ps 9:9[8]). He judges as is proper, according to the order that he has established. The people acknowledge their rebellious acts and approach the temple with confidence (Psalm 65). They petition the God of their salvation to show his wondrous deeds *bĕṣedeq* (v 6[5]). Then follows a series of participles which describe Yahweh as the one who orders and maintains the order of the universe. Yahweh gives order and saves; *bĕṣedeq* describes both actions. He is the creator of the universe (Ps 96:5); hence he is king (v 10). He will judge the peoples *bĕmêšārîm* (with equity), and govern in fidelity to the order he has set up, *bĕṣedeq* and *beʾĕmûnâ,* (v 13).

Yahweh is the restorer of social order who will redress the affliction of the widow, the stranger, the fatherless (Ps 94:6) and will do this through those who are imbued with and respect his *tôrâ* (v 12). The crucial v 15 is difficult, but seems to mean that justice will return to the judicial tribunal; *ṣedeq* and *mišpāṭ* are in the verse, but not in parallelism. Dahood proposes:

But the tribunal (*ʿad*) of justice (*ṣedeq*) will restore equity (*mišpāṭ*),
and with it all upright hearts (*Psalms II* AB, 345).

In any case, *ṣedeq* is in the context of proper order in society.

**4. Isaiah 40–66.** Only once in Deutero-Isaiah (chaps. 40–55) does *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* denote proper conduct or order. Israel's comportment through the centuries has not been according to *ʾemet* and *ṣĕdāqâ* (48:1a–b). If only Israel had listened to Yahweh's commandments her *šālôm* (welfare) would have been like a river and her *ṣĕdāqâ* (prosperity) like the waves of the sea (48:18).

The oracles, accusations, and laments of Isaiah 56–66 complain that Israel has not followed the path of *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* and *mišpāṭ.* The people are called on to observe *mišpāṭ* and do *ṣĕdāqâ* (56:1a), i.e., to conduct themselves as is proper because Yahweh's *yĕšûʿâ* and *ṣĕdāqâ,* his saving action, is about to be revealed (56:1b). The *mišpāṭ-ṣĕdāqâ* in v 1a is the people's order; the *yĕšûʿâ-ṣĕdāqâ* in v 1b is Yahweh's action which is salvific and restores his proper order. A series of accusations (57:2–10) concerns cultic aberrations, misguided acts that were thought to set the people in a right relationship with God: "I will tell of your *ṣĕdāqâ* and *maʿăśayik*" (57:12), i.e., your acts of supposed worship which you think make you "just" before God. The people seek Yahweh daily and delight in his ways; they follow the prescribed ritual, like a nation which in fact really did *ṣĕdāqâ* and *mišpāṭ* (58:2b), what is proper. They ask for "ordinances of conduct," *mišpĕṭê ṣedeq* (cf. Ps 119:7, 62, 75). They fast ritually and perform ritual penance, thinking that thus all should go well with them. But mere ritual without concern for the social order is a violation of proper order, of Yahweh's order; it is not *ṣĕdāqâ* and *mišpāṭ* (58:3–7). If, however, the people of Israel do what they should, following the order that Yahweh requires (vv 6–7),

then shall your light break forth like the dawn,
and your healing shall spring up speedily;

your *ṣedeq* shall go before you,
the *kābôd* (glory) of Yahweh shall be your rear guard (v 8).

Their proper conduct, *ṣedeq,* will be as Yahweh's *ṣedeq,* and will reflect his glory.

A catalogue of the people's sins follows (59:1–8). They look for salvation and God's favor anywhere but in the right area, which is the following of God's proper order, *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ.* This is the reason why God's saving action, *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ* (cf. 56:1b), is far off. Yahweh is not incapable of hearing; the sins of the people are the barrier to his presence (59:2–3); there is no one to speak *bĕṣedeq* (v 4a), no one to recall the community to loyalty to Yahweh (v 4a is usually understood in a legal sense, "no one goes to law honestly," RSV). The people hoped for *mišpāṭ* and *yĕšû‹â* (v 11b), but it is not there. Why? Because of their many sins (vv 12–13). They lament that *mišpāṭ* is turned back and that *ṣĕdāqâ* is far off (v 14). Why is it so? Because *›ĕmet* (truth, loyalty) has fallen in the public squares and *nĕkoḥâ* (equity) is no more. Yahweh was displeased that there was no more *›ĕmet* and *mišpāṭ* (v 15), i.e., no loyalty to his ordinances. There was no one to set the situation right, so Yahweh himself had to intervene. Then his own arm brought salvation (verb *yš‹*), his own *ṣĕdāqâ* (saving action) sustained him (v 16). Like a leader going out to battle, Yahweh clothed himself with the breastplate of *ṣĕdāqâ* and the helmet of *yĕšû‹â* (v 17); he clothed himself too with "vengeance" and "fury." There is always the double aspect of Yahweh's saving intervention—judgment for those who remain firm in opposition (v 18), salvation for those "who turn from transgression" (v 20).

**5. Ezekiel, Malachi, Joel.** The words *ṣedeq* and *ṣĕdāqâ* occur almost exclusively in the context of personal responsibility in Ezekiel and are restricted virtually to passages of hortatory repetition (3:16–21; 18; 33). The leaders of Jerusalem are urged to do (*‹āsāh*) *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ* (18:5, 19, 22, 27; 33:14, 16, 19; 45:9), i.e., to act as they ought in accordance with Yahweh's precepts and ordinances from ritual observance to care for the poor and needy (chap. 18). This constitutes a person's *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ.* Were Noah, Daniel, and Job living in the midst of this sinful people, they would deliver their own lives by their own *ṣĕdāqâ,* proper conduct (14:14, 20). Ezekiel destroys the traditional proverb: "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge" (18:1–4; cf. Jer 31:29–30). The refrain *ṣĕdāqâ* throughout chap. 18 vv 5, 19, 20, 22, 24, 26, 27) describes that proper conduct which is each one's personal responsibility; a catalogue of acts lists what the righteous one does (vv 6–9a); this constitutes his *ṣĕdāqâ.* The phrase "to do (observe) *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ*" belongs to the royal ideology; it is the king who, in the first place, must preserve proper order; he does this by virtue of God's *ṣedeq, ṣĕdāqâ,* and *mišpāṭ* (Ps 72:1–3; Isa 32:1). But anyone who does this is *ṣaddîq.* The word *ṣĕdāqâ* carries the same tones and echoes throughout chap. 33 (vv 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19). The deeds of the *ṣaddîq* are *ṣĕdāqôt* (pl.) (3:20; 18:14; 33:13).

Malachi, God's messenger, will refine the people until they present their offerings *biṣdāqâ,* as is proper (3:3). Joel cries out: "Be glad, O sons of Zion, and rejoice in the Lord your God because Yahweh *liṣdāqâ,* in accordance with the order that he has established, has given the appropriate rains at their proper time."

**6. Joshua–2 Kings.** The word *ṣedeq* is not found in the former prophets; *ṣĕdāqâ* only 11 times. When David spares Saul's life at Ziph, he says to the king: "The Lord rewards every man for his *ṣĕdāqâ* and *›ĕmûnâ;* for the Lord gave you into my hand today, and I would not put forth my hand against the Lord's anointed" (Sam 26:13). David had acted properly. When Mephibosheth meets David on his return from his flight before Absalom, he acknowledges that the king has made a place for him at the royal table: "What futher *ṣĕdāqâ* have I that I should complain to the king" (2 Sam 19:28–29[27–28]). David has observed all propriety so that Mephibosheth has no just claim (for *ṣĕdāqâ* as claim, cf. Neh 2:20; also Isa 5:23, see above). The word *ṣĕdāqâ* in 2 Sam 22:21, 25, is a repetition of Ps 18:21, 25 [20, 24]. David ruled over Israel *‹ośeh* (doing) *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ* (2 Sam 8:15; cf. 1 Chr 18:14). He ruled as king by virtue of *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ* which came from God (1 Kgs 10:9; Ps 72:1–3; Isa 32:1). When Yahweh asks Solomon what he should give him, Solomon replies that Yahweh showed *ḥesed* (steadfast love) to David because he had conducted himself *bĕ›emet, biṣdāqâ, bĕyišrâ,* i.e., loyally, as he ought. At the dedication of the temple Solomon prays that the just be justified according to his *ṣĕdāqâ* (1 Kgs 8:22). If the just man conducts himself according to Yahweh's order, that will justify him. The Queen of Sheba remarks that

Solomon's God made him king in love for Israel so that he might do *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ* (1 Kgs 10:9; 2 Chr 9:8), i.e., observe and communicate through his observance Yahweh's order. According to the Chronicler, Solomon requires that the righteous be judged according to his *ṣĕdāqâ* (his proper conduct) (2 Chr 6:23).

Nehemiah said to the governors of the province beyond the river: "It is the God of heaven who will make us prosper, and we, his servants, shall arise and build; but for you, you have no portion, no *ṣĕdāqâ,* no memorial in Jerusalem" (Neh 2:20). Only true Israelites can stake a claim there.

**7. Job, Proverbs, Qoheleth.** The verb *ṣdq* is used predominantly in a forensic sense in Job (see above). The nouns *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* move between proper conduct and proper order with legal nuances. Job replies to Eliphaz: "Turn, I pray, let no wrong be done; turn, now, my vindication (*ṣidqî*) is at stake" (or "relent, for my cause is just," AB 6: 29). Job claims: "I put on (my) *ṣedeq* and it clothed me, my *mišpāṭ* was like a robe and a turban" (29:14; cf. Isa 61:10–11). If Job is weighed in a balance of *ṣedeq;* if he is tried according to proper procedure, his integrity will be vindicated (31:6). Bildad asks: "Does God pervert *mišpāṭ,* does Šaddai pervert *ṣedeq*?" (8:3). The implication is that God does not interfere with proper order. Bildad objects that, if Job were pure and upright, God would be on his side and give him *nĕwat ṣidqekā,* a dwelling place or pasture that he deserves because of his conduct (8:3; for the phrase, cf. Jer 3:23; 50:7). Job maintains that he has not sinned; but if that is the case, asks Elihu, does his present state represent his *mišpāṭ* and *ṣedeq* before God? (35:2). Because God observes proper order, Job's state must be the result of his nonobservance of it. Elihu asserts: "… to my maker I will give *ṣedeq*" (36:3); he will vindicate God by showing that God observes proper order in punishing Job for his transgressions. Job maintains his claim that he has observed proper order, *ṣĕdāqâ* (27:6; cf. 29:14; 31:6). Elihu speaks of *ṣĕdāqâ* twice in the context of human conduct (33:26; 35:8); he observes too that God will not violate *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ* (37:23).

In Proverbs, *ṣedeq* (9 times) and *ṣĕdāqâ* (18 times), and in Qoheleth, *ṣedeq* (3 times), the idea of proper order predominates. The sayings in Proverbs are directed to knowing wisdom and instruction, to perceiving words of insight, to receiving instruction in discernment and *ṣedeq, mišpāṭ, mêšārîm* (1:2–3). The wise man teaches the proper way to act and how to perceive what constitutes proper order. Yahweh gives *ḥokmâ* (wisdom) and *da*ʿ*at* (knowledge); he guards the paths of *mišpāṭ* (justice, 2:6–8). If you follow Yahweh's way, says the writer, you will come to an insight into *ṣedeq* and *mišpāṭ* (2:9), i.e., you will understand what proper order is. Wisdom herself speaks in chap. 8: all the words of my mouth are *bĕṣedeq,* proper order itself (v 8); by me kings rule and decree *ṣedeq,* my proper order (v 15); by me princes and nobles give judgment (Heb uncertain) in *ṣedeq,* as they ought (v 16); riches and honor are with me, enduring wealth and *ṣĕdāqâ* (prosperity, v 18); I walk in the path of *ṣĕdāqâ,* in the midst of the way of *mišpāṭ,* i.e., as is proper (v 20). A legal proverb says that he who speaks *ʾĕmûnâ* declares *ṣedeq* (12:17), i.e., to speak the truth is to observe proper order. A king's throne is based on *ṣĕdāqâ,* proper order (16:12); lips of *ṣedeq,* i.e., one who speaks what is proper, are a joy to the king (16:13). When the wicked are removed from the presence of the king, this throne is based on *ṣedeq* (25:5). In the words of Lemuel, judging *ṣedeq* means passing just judgment on the poor and needy (31:9). All will go well with the one who comports himself with *ṣĕdāqâ,* according to proper order (11:4, 5, 6, 28, 29; 13:6); *ṣĕdāqâ* guarantees life (12:28; 21:21), prosperity to a nation (14:34), and to the old (16:31); *ṣĕdāqâ* is acceptable to Yahweh (15:9), and he who does *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ* is more acceptable to Yahweh than sacrifice (21:3).

Qoheleth has seen *mišpāṭ* and *ṣedeq,* proper order, overturned (3:16; 5:7[8]). He has even seen the righteous man perishing in his *ṣedeq,* as he does what is right (7:15); the *ṣaddîq,* though he observes proper order, perishes like the rest.

**8. Daniel.** Daniel confesses to Yahweh that the people have sinned and not listened to the prophets (9:3–6). Yahweh has kept the covenant and shown *ḥesed,* steadfast love; the people have not: "To thee, O Lord, belongs *ṣĕdāqâ,* but to us confusion of face" (v 7). Yahweh has fulfilled his part, but the people have not fulfilled theirs. Gabriel announces to Daniel that the people have been granted seventy weeks to put an end to sin and transgression and to bring about *ṣedeq ʿolāmîm,* lasting order (9:24).

**9. *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ + mišpāṭ.*** The word pair *ṣedeq* or *ṣĕdāqâ* + *mišpāṭ* occurs in parallelism, in coordinate relationship, and in the phrase to do (*ʿāśâ*) or to observe (*šāmār*) *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* and *mišpāṭ.* The pair is a hendiadys and designates the order in Israelite society which God wills and transmits through the king to the people who are required to respond to God's action by living according to that order. The king is the trustee or guarantor of the order.

*ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* and *mišpāṭ* are the foundation of Yahweh's throne (Pss 85:15[14]; 97:2). His rule is proper order and he sustains it through the throne (i.e., the king). The ideal king will establish lasting peace upon the throne of David and over his kingdom and uphold it *bĕ-mišpāṭ û-biṣdāqâ* (Isa 9:6[7]). Because the throne is based on *ṣĕdāqâ,* the doing of evil is an abomination to kings (Prov 16:12; 25:5). The base of the throne of the Egyptian king takes the form of the sign *m€ ʿ.t,* a hieroglyph standing for justice, order, proper divine order, which can only be rendered in Hebrew by *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ.* By the 19th and 20th Dynasties the throne base, because of its form, was understood as justice, right order (Brunner 1958; Schmid 1968: 61). Much Israelite throne ritual was dependent either directly, or indirectly through Canaanite tradition, on Egypt (cf. 1 Kgs 10:18–20).

**E. God's *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ*: Saving Action.**

God's *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* is very often his saving action on behalf of his people, especially in the Psalms and Isaiah 40–66.

**1. Psalms. a. God's *ṣedeq.*** (Ps 7:9–10[8–9]; cf. above). The heavens proclaim God's *ṣedeq* (Pss 50:6; 97:6), i.e., his action on behalf of his *ḥăsîdîm,* who are bound to him by the obligations that they have assumed in a solemn sacrificial rite (50:5). Yahweh reigns (97:1); he comes in a theophany (vv 2–5) and protects his people (v 10); it is this action that reveals his glory (*kābôd,* parallel to *ṣedeq,* v 6). Yahweh comes to the help of the afflicted and lamenting psalmist who calls for exultant joy from those who desire his (the psalmist's) *ṣedeq,* i.e., his sharing in the effect of God's saving action (35:27). This meaning derives from the second part of the verse, where the community is called to praise God and to say: "Great is Yahweh, who delights in the *šālôm* (welfare, prosperity) of his servant."

The psalmist prays: "Vindicate me, Yahweh, my God, according to your *ṣedeq*" (35:24). The context is Yahweh's *yĕšûʿâ* (saving action, vv 3, 8); he asks Yahweh to be faithful to himself; because Yahweh is faithful, i.e., acts according to his *ṣedeq,* the psalmist will proclaim this *ṣedeq,* which will be the *tĕhillâ* (praise) of Yahweh: "my tongue shall tell of your *ṣedeq,* of your *tĕhillâ* all day long" (v 28).

The psalmist announces *ṣedeq* in the assembly of the people:

I have told the glad news of (your) *ṣedeq* in the great congregation;
lo, I have not restrained my lips, as you know, Yahweh;
I have not hid your *ṣĕdāqâ* within my heart,
I have spoken of your *ʾĕmûnâ* (faithfulness) and your *tĕšûʿâ* (salvation);
I have not concealed your *ḥesed* (steadfast love) and your *ʾĕmet* (loyalty) from the great congregation.
Do not, Yahweh, withhold your *raḥămîm* (compassion) from me,
let your *ḥesed* and your *ʾĕmet* ever preserve me (40:10–12[9–11]).

God's action has many facets which are described by a variety of words whose meanings are not identical but reinforce each other. Yahweh's *ṣedeq* in these psalms is his action that saves and restores order, thus demonstrating his fidelity.

**b. God's *ṣĕdāqâ.*** Of the 34 occurrences of *ṣĕdāqâ* in the Psalms, 29 refer to God's *ṣĕdāqâ.*

**(1) Psalms of Individual Lament.** Yahweh's *ṣĕdāqâ* characterizes the Psalms of individual lament. Though the psalmist is surrounded by evildoers, he is sure that they will not harm him because Yahweh is there with his *ṣĕdāqâ.* He will enter God's house and worship among the God-fearers, relying on Yahweh's *ḥesed* (5:7[6]). He prays that Yahweh will lead him by means of, *bĕ,* his (Yahweh's) *ṣĕdāqâ* (v 9[8]); in paraphrase: "by means of your saving action, that action which preserves proper order, make your way (the observance of your *mišpāṭîm,* instructions) level before me; i.e., remove the obstacles that the wicked may put there to prevent proper order." *ṣĕdāqâ* is that action of Yahweh which effects this.

Psalm 22 alternates between distress and trust, between prayer for deliverance and praise of God for his intervention. The final prayer for deliverance is that the psalmist may praise God in the midst of the *qāhāl*

(assembly, congregation, v 23[22]). Yahweh has remained faithful (v 25[24]); all will acknowledge him as king, and all will bow before him (vv 29–30[28–29]). The psalmist's descendants are to tell of God forever; they are to recount his *ṣĕdāqâ,* his saving action of deliverance, to a people yet unborn, because he has acted, *kî ʿāśâ* (v 32[31]). It is this that the psalmist is to proclaim in the assembly (vv 23, 26[22, 25]). Yahweh's *ṣĕdāqâ* is invoked or praised or declared (Pss 31:2[1]; 51:16[14]; 69:28[27]). The desolate man asks for Yahweh's visible, tangible action:

Is your *ḥesed* (steadfast love) declared in the grave,
your *ʾĕmûnâ* (fidelity) in Abaddon?
Is your *peleʾ* (wondrous, miraculous act) made known in Darkness,
your *ṣĕdāqâ* in the land of Forgetfulness? (88:12–13[11–12]).

A group of words describes God's action seen from various overlapping viewpoints.

In Psalm 71 the psalmist laments and prays for deliverance, recalling Yahweh's *ṣĕdāqâ* 5 times (vv 2, 15, 16, 19, 24). Each time the *ṣĕdāqâ* is God's saving action; twice it is in parallelism with a form of the word "save," *yšʿ,* with the verb *hôšîēnî* (save me, v 2), and with the noun *tĕšuʿâ* (saving action, v 15). Yahweh's *ṣĕdāqâ* is without limit; it reaches to the heavens (v 19, cf. Ps 36:6–7[5–6]).

**(2) Psalms with Cosmic Dimension.** The cosmic dimension permeates Psalm 33. It is a hymn of praise of Yahweh, the creator:

For the word of Yahweh is *yāšār* (upright),
his every deed is *bĕʾĕmûnâ* (fidelity itself),
he loves *mišpāṭ* (justice) and *ṣĕdāqâ,* his *ḥesed* (steadfast love) fills the earth.
By the word of Yahweh were the heavens created,
by the breath of his mouth all their host (vv 4–6).

God's word is act; he is faithful to his created order. Once more, *ṣĕdāqâ* is found amidst a complex of words which describe God in act.

**(3) Psalms of the Kingship of Yahweh.** Psalms 98, 99, and 145 celebrate the kingship of Yahweh. He is praised because he

has done *niplāʾôt* (wonders), his right hand *hôšîʿāh* (has saved).
Yahweh has made known his *yēšaʿ* (salvation),
in the eyes of the nation he has revealed his *ṣĕdāqâ.*
He has remembered his *ḥesed* (steadfast love) and his *ʾĕmûnâ* to the house of Israel (98:1–3).

The same word group describes Yahweh's action and its effects as in Ps 88:12–13[11–12]. Yahweh, the mighty king, "is a lover of *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ*" (99:4).

Psalm 145 celebrates Yahweh and his kingship. All will praise Yahweh's actions:

They shall pour forth the memory of your *ṭôb* (bounty),
and shall sing aloud your *ṣĕdāqâ.*
Yahweh is *ḥannûn* (gracious) and *raḥum* (merciful), …
Yahweh's *ṭôb* (bounty) is to all, his *raḥămîm* (pl. merciful acts) are to all his creation (145:7–9).

Yahweh acts true to himself; he is a gracious God who brings prosperity. (For Psalm 24, see above).

**(4) Royal Psalms.** These psalms also sing of Yahweh's saving action, his loyalty and fidelity, his steadfast love in act. Psalm 40 is a royal psalm of thanksgiving. Yahweh has raised the psalmist from the pit of desolation, from the miry bog (v 3[2]). The psalmist then tells of Yahweh's *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* in the assembly of the people (vv 10–11[9–10]). Yahweh's throne is based on *ṣedeq* and *mišpāṭ* and preceded by *ḥesed* and *ʾĕmet.* The people, therefore, will experience Yahweh's radiance and walk in his light, and so rejoice in his *šēm* (name, glory), and exult in his *ṣĕdāqâ;* his *ṣĕdāqâ,* i.e., his intervention, the order that comes from it, and hence his glory, shall be their praise:

*ṣedeq* and *mišpāṭ* are the foundations of your throne,
*ḥesed* and *ʾĕmet* go before you;
blessed are the people who know the festal shout,
who walk, Yahweh, in the light of your countenance,
who rejoice in your *šēm* (name) all day,

and exult in your *ṣĕdāqâ* (89:15–17[14–16]).

The *ṣĕdāqâ* of v 17[16] reinforces the *ṣedeq* of v 15[14]. *Šēm* and *ṣĕdāqâ* occur together again in the same word-field in Psalm 143. The king prays to Yahweh to hear him "in your *ʾĕmûna*," to answer in "your *ṣĕdāqâ,*" and concludes:

for the sake of your *šēm* (name), Yahweh, give me life,
in your *ṣĕdāqâ,* deliver me from strife,
in your *ḥesed,* destroy my foes (143:11–12).

**(5) Wisdom Psalms and Hymns.** Psalm 36 contains both wisdom and hymnic elements. The psalmist describes the machinations of the wicked (vv 2–5[1–4]), but over against this,

your *ḥesed,* Yahweh, is from the heavens,
your *ʾĕmûnâ* to the clouds;
your *ṣĕdāqâ* like the towering mountains,
your *mišpāṭ* like the great deep;
man and beast you save (*hôšîaʿ*), Yahweh,
how precious is your *ḥesed,* God (vv 6–7[5–6]).

Yahweh is the source of life and light (vv 9–10[8–9]). The psalmist then prays:

extend your *ḥesed* to those who know you,
your *ṣĕdāqâ* to the upright of heart (v 11[10]).

Yahweh is again acting; his steadfast love and his saving action are different aspects of one and the same action directed to one end.

Psalm 103 is a hymn of praise with elements of individual thanksgiving. A series of active participles (vv 3–6) describe Yahweh in act, moving to a climax: "Yahweh *ʿośeh* (the one effecting) *ṣedāqôt* and *mišpāṭim* for the oppressed" (v 6). Yahweh restores order to the underdogs by his saving actions, pl. of *ṣĕdāqâ.* Yahweh, who "knows our frame, who remembers we are dust" (v 14), is eternal; hence his action is from eternity: "the *ḥesed* of Yahweh is from eternity, and unto eternity … his *ṣĕdāqâ* to his children" (v 17). His timeless action, *ṣĕdāqâ,* is underscored again in Pss 111:3; 112:3, 9.

The pious Israelite, meditating on Yahweh's law, muses:

I have longed for your precepts,
By your *ṣĕdāqâ* give me life,
Let your *ḥesed* come to me, Yahweh,
your *tĕšûâ* according to your promise (119:40–41).

Later he reflects: "your *ṣĕdāqâ* is *ṣedeq* for ever (*lĕʿôlām,* or O Eternal One), your *tôrâ* is *ʾĕmet*" (119:142). Yahweh's saving action *is* divine order, his teaching *is* truth.

**2. Isaiah 40–55.** Yahweh, the God of Israel and the lord of history, has called Cyrus (44:28; 45:1) to victory so that Israel may return home in a second exodus (41:2). He has raised up a savior, *ṣedeq,* from the east; the abstract noun, "saving action," is used for the concrete, "savior," a common device in Canaanite and Hebrew poetry *ṣedeq* may also be read as the subject of the second colon, "he whom victory accompanies at every step," or as an adverbial accusative with the first colon, "who has raised up from the east [in his] saving purpose"). The context is salvific; Yahweh acts on behalf of his people. The salvific context continues; Yahweh will remain faithful to Israel "my servant," and uphold his people with his saving right hand, lit. "with the right hand of my *ṣedeq*" (41:10).

Yahweh the creator (42:5; 45:11–12) has called both his servant (42:6) and Cyrus (45:13) *bĕṣedeq,* in his saving purpose. Yahweh, "because of his *ṣedeq,*" was pleased to magnify his *tôrâ*; *ṣedeq* takes on nuances of *ḥesed* and fidelity (42:21). *Ṣedeq,* God's saving action, is to drop down from the clouds; *yēšaʿ,* salvation, is to blossom from the earth, and *ṣĕdāqâ,* prosperity, the result of Yahweh's saving action, is to bud (45:8). Creation, saving action, and prosperity are linked. The prosperity follows on Yahweh's saving action through Cyrus; Yahweh can effect this marvelous response in nature in his ultimate intervention because he is the creator (a polemic against the nature gods of Canaan may lie in the background). Yahweh the creator is not found in pre-creation chaos, *tohû* (45:18–19; cf. Gen 1:2); he is found in the

order and stability that comes from his creative word: "I, Yahweh, speaking order (*ṣedeq*), declaring what is proper (*mêšārîm*)."

Each of the three stanzas 51:1–3, 4–6, 7–8, begins with a rousing imperative. The theme is "deliverance" (RSV) or "saving action." *Ṣedeq* is used 3 times (vv 1, 5, 7) and *ṣĕdāqâ* twice (vv 6, 8). The words are parallel to Yahweh himself (v 1a), to *yēša‘* and *yĕšû‘â* (vv 5a, 6c, 8b), and to *tôrâ* (v 7a). The context is salvific; *ṣedeq* and *ṣĕdāqâ* describe God in act toward his people. The word group is extended by *mišpāṭ*, parallel to *tôrâ* (v 4b). Verse 7a speaks of "you who know righteousness (*yod‘ê ṣedeq*) … in whose heart is my law (*tôrâ*), fear not the reproach of men" (RSV), i.e., you who have experienced God's saving action and have grasped his teaching with all your being (Whitley 1972). The word *ṣĕdāqâ* occurs twice in 54:14, 17 (cf. 51:6, 8 above). Yahweh assures Jerusalem that "you shall be established in *ṣĕdāqâ*." The city is to be restored *by* his saving action, a promise made in the context of well-being or prosperity (*šālôm,* v 13b). The promise of blessing and the promise of salvation are correlative; they are to introduce a new era. Any attack on Zion must fail because Yahweh has created (*bārā’,* twice in v 16) the forgers of weapons and those who seek to destroy. But the citizens of Jerusalem are to enjoy the fruits of Yahweh's saving action because "their *ṣĕdāqâ* is from me" (v 17b). The word *ṣĕdāqâ* has gone out from Yahweh's mouth, a word that will not return (45:23a), and that does not return until it has accomplished its purpose (Isa 55:10–11). It *is* saving action, it *will* effect proper order. Yahweh's *ṣĕdāqâ,* deliverance (RSV), is his saving action which will restore Israel and adorn her (46:12–13, twice). (For Yahweh's saving action in Isaiah 32–33, see above.)

**3. Isaiah 56–66.** In chap. 62 the prophet assures Zion of salvation through Yahweh's intervention. Then, Jerusalem's *ṣedeq* will shine forth like a light and her *yĕšû‘â* will blaze like a torch (v 1); nations will see her *ṣedeq* and kings her *kābôd* (v 2). Because Yahweh will intervene, Jerusalem in her *ṣedeq* will reflect Yahweh's *ṣedeq* and *kābôd* (cf. 58:8). Chap. 60 describes Zion in glory after Yahweh has effected his definitive saving action in the city. Zion shall no longer be under foriegn rule; her foremen shall be *šālôm* (peace, prosperity) and her taskmasters *ṣĕdāqâ* (the fruits of Yahweh's action, v 17). Yahweh has countered the harsh oppression; the walls and the gates, now rebuilt, assure *yĕšû‘â* (salvation) and *tĕhillâ* (praise, v 18). The theme continues in chap. 61. Yahweh has clothed Zion with *yesa‘* and *ṣĕdāqâ* (v 10). He had already put on these "weapons" to save her (59:17). He will cause the effects of his actions, *ṣĕdāqâ* and *tĕhillâ,* to spring from the earth (v 11; cf. 45:8).

The colorful warrior who intervenes in chap. 63 identifies himself with Yahweh: "It is I who speak: by (my) *ṣĕdāqâ* (saving intervention) mighty to bring salvation (*lĕhôšia‘*)" (v 1). The oaks of righteousness, *’êlê ṣedeq*, 61:3, may well mean the oaks of the Just One, reading *ṣaddîq* for *ṣedeq* (Rosenberg 1965; Scullion 1971: 345).

It is not easy to determine the meaning of *ṣedeq* in 64:4a[5a] and of *ṣĕdāqâ* in v 5a (6a; pl. with suffix of 1st s.). The passage is part of a communal lament (63:7–64:11[12]). Yahweh has been called on to intervene (63:19b–64:2[64:1–3]). Then: "never have people heard, never has ear perceived, never has eye seen, any God but you (who) act toward those who hope in him" (v 3[4]). Yahweh struck those who were "doing *ṣedeq*" —carrying out the ritual formally, but still sinning (v 4b[5b]). What no one has heard of (v 3[4]) is of a God who punishes those who fulfill formally his ritual instructions (v 3[4]). The pl. *ṣĕdāqôt* (v 5[6]) refers to those external observances by which a sinful people sought to justify itself.

**4. Hosea, Micah, Isaiah 1–39.** The words *ṣedeq* and *ṣĕdāqâ* occur in Hosea and Micah in the context of saving action. God's intervention effects proper order (Hos 2:21–22[19–20]; 10:12; Mic 6:5, 8; see above). In the lament of chap. 7, Micah acknowledges that he is a sinner; but Yahweh will plead his cause; he will bring him to the light where he (Micah) will see Yahweh's *ṣĕdāqâ,* saving action (7:9).

Only a remnant of Israel will survive (Isa 10:22), even though her numbers are as the sand of the sea; "destruction is decreed, overflowing with righteousness" (RSV; *šotep ṣĕdāqâ*; or "making *ṣĕdāqâ* overflow"). It is *ṣĕdāqâ* to the full; God's action has a punitive as well as a salvific side. Though punishing Israel, God will ultimately preserve it.

**5. Jeremiah, Zechariah, Malachi.** The oracle against Babylon in Jeremiah 51 tells of Yahweh's deliverance of his people. He has brought forth, or caused to shine out, "our *ṣĕdāqâ*" (v 10). He has acted

and saved his people; therefore "let us tell in Zion the work, *ma‹ăśeh,* of Yahweh, our God" (v 10). It is God, the savior, deliverer, and vindicator, at work.

Zechariah takes up an old covenant formula when he speaks of Yahweh's saving action: "I will bring them to dwell in the midst of Jerusalem, and they shall be my people and I will be their God *bĕ›emet* and *biṣdāqâ*" (8:8). Yahweh will show that he is true to himself in his saving action.

According to Malachi, the "sun of righteousness," *šemeš ṣĕdāqâ,* will rise with healing wings on those who fear the name of Yahweh (3:20[4:2]). From 2500 B.C.E. through to the late Roman Empire, the winged sun disc, representing the sun as a god, was well known in the ANE. It provided warmth, light, fertility, and general well-being. But it is Yahweh who shines on his people and gives them prosperity.

**F. Plural of *ṣĕdāqâ***

The word *ṣedeq* does not occur in the pl. in the OT; *ṣĕdāqôt,* the pl. of *ṣĕdāqâ,* occurs 15 times, designating either the victorious, triumphal, and saving acts of God in favor of his people, or the acts of the people in real or alleged conformity with God's order. Deborah sings of the triumphs of Yahweh after the battle of Kishon (Judg 5:11, twice). Samuel reminds the people of "all the saving deeds (*ṣĕdāqôt*) of the Lord which he performed for you and your fathers" (1 Sam 12:7). "Only in Yahweh … are saving acts (*ṣĕdāqôt*) and strength (*‹oz*)" (Isa 45:24; cf. Mic 6:5; Ps 103:6; Dan 9:16). Yahweh has effected saving acts in our favor (lit. our righteous acts, Jer 51:10); the *ṣĕdāqôt* are the work (*ma‹ăsēh*) of Yahweh our God. Yahweh is the just one who loves *ṣĕdāqôt,* i.e., acts in accordance with his *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ* (Ps 11:7; for Yahweh as a lover of *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ,* cf. Pss 33:7; 99:4). *Ṣĕdāqôt* are the acts of the upright, parallel to *mĕšārîm* (proper acts, Isa 33:15; cf. Ezek 3:20; 18:14; 33:13; Dan 9:18). For Isa 64:5[6], *ṣĕdāqôt* as the external observance of a deluded and sinful people that seeks to justify itself, see above.

**G. Parallels and Word-fields**

In the Psalms *ṣĕdāqâ* is in parallelism with *tōm* (innocence), *mišpāṭ* (ordinance, right conduct, justice), *tĕhillâ* (praise), *kābôd* (glory), *mĕšārîm* (equity), *›ĕmet* and *›ĕmûnâ* (truth, fidelity), *ḥesed* (steadfast love, loyalty), *hāqîṣ* (to wake up); *ṣedeq* with *bĕrākâ* (blessing), *šālôm* (peace, prosperity, well-being), *tĕšû‹â* and *yĕšû‹â* (salvation, saving action), *pele›* (a wonder), *šēm* (name), *ṭôb* (good, prosperity, [in certain context, rain?]). *Ṣedeq* and *ṣĕdāqâ* are not identical with these words; rather the parallels complement and intensify each other or their meanings overlap or both. They describe a realitù—the multi-faceted action of Yahweh and its correlative multifaceted effects on the life and land of his people and their response. These 16 words, and others, are often used in groups, creating a word-field, over two or more verses, describing the same reality: Pss 33:5, *ṣĕdāqâ, mišpāṭ, yāšār* (upright[ness]), *›ĕmûnâ;* 36:1, 11, *ṣĕdāqâ, mišpāṭ, ḥesed, ›ĕmûnâ*; 40:10–12[9–11], *ṣedeq, ṣĕdāqâ, ›ĕmûnâ, tĕšû‹â, ›emet* (2x), *raḥămîm* (compassion), *ḥesed;* 72:1–3, *mišpāṭ* and *ṣĕdāqâ, ṣedeq* and *mišpāṭ, šālôm* and *ṣĕdāqâ;* 85:10–14[9–13], *yēša‹, kābôd, ḥesed, ›ĕmet* (2x), *ṣedeq* (3x), *šālôm, ṭôb, yĕbûl* (produce), *yśm* (v 14[13] beauty?). These parallels and vast word-fields are used in other books of the OT, especially in Isaiah 40–66 with the additional parallels *ma‹ăśeh* (deeds) Isa 57:12; *tôrâ* Isa 51:1; *yēša‹* Isa 45:8; cf. Hos 2:21[19–20].

**H. The Just or Righteous One (Heb *s\addéÆq*)**

The *ṣaddîq* is the just or righteous one, mentioned so often in Proverbs and in the Psalms. Neither of these two books says what makes one *ṣaddîq*, nor is one exhorted to be *ṣaddîq*. The *ṣaddîq*, the person's conduct and the state resulting from it, is constantly contrasted with the wicked by means of antithetic parallelism. This is especially so in Proverbs 10–15, where the *ṣaddîq* is named 39 times. Virtually every one of the 13 examples in chap. 10 are of this kind (vv 3, 6, 7, 11, 16, 20, 24, 25, 28, 30, 32, with a slight variation in vv 21, 31).

In the Psalms, the righteous (sing. or pl.) will prosper (e.g., 72:7; 92:13[12]), be exalted (e.g., 75:11[10]); the righteous are called to rejoice and cry out, confident in Yahweh's saving action (e.g., 64:10; 68:3); they are contrasted with the wicked (e.g., 1:5, 6; 13[12]). However, the *ṣaddîq*, like the wicked, will return to the dust (Qoh 3:16–22).

Yahweh is *ṣaddîq* (e.g., 11:7; 112:4; 116:5; 119:137; 129:4; 145:17). The ideal king to come is described as *ṣaddîq* and *nôšā‹* (*Nip‹al* part. Zech 8:8), "his cause won, his victory gained" (NEB), "triumphant and victorious" (RSV). The nuance of saving action, so prominent with *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* in the

Psalms and Isaiah 40–66, is evident. The *ṣaddîq* elsewhere is the one who is innocent (e.g., Gen 18:22–32), or the one without fault who stands before the court and merits acquittal (e.g., Deut 16:19; 25:1). He is the one who acts on his own responsibility and is guiltless before God (Ezekiel 18). The statutes and ordinances of Israel are *ṣaddîq* (Deut 4:8).

**I. Current Research**

An outline of scholarly interpretation of *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* since the 1920s has been given under B above. Reventlow (1971), Ziesler (1972), Reumann (1982), and Mogensen (1984) have synthesized the history of research. Important contributions to the study have been made by Schmid (1968), Reventlow (1971), Crüsemann (1976), and Scharbert (*TRE* 12: 404–11). See also *RAC* 10: 234–360.

Schmid (1968: 166) considers *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* under the heading of "world order." *Ṣdq* touches order in six areas: (1) law, (2) wisdom, (3) nature, (4) cult, (5) kingship, and (6) war. "The word is constant, the idea, the understanding of the word, is variable. What is 'right', 'in order', does not derive from an inherent 'meaning' of the word, but from the theology of each particular author. It is not the word, with all that is implied in the history of its usage, that defines what order is; rather the word, more or less in accord with its past, is always given new conceptual dimensions so as to formulate what the author wants to express by 'order' " (1968: 169–70). This might be reformulated: the word receives its new conceptual dimensions from its juxtaposition to, its parallelism with, its setting within the context of, other words or groups of words which together describe the reality of God's action and its effects. To say that *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* looks to cosmic order or to order in nature also requires some modification. It is rather that the creator God, the prime orderer, is the one who restores order in society, who demands proper order in worship, and who acts in his restoring, saving way to effect this. The creator God admits the ritually pure into the temple (Ps 24:1–2, 3–6); he effects ultimate well-being and prosperity (Is 45:8). It is Yahweh, who made the earth and created, *bārāʾ, ʾādām* (the human in general) upon it, who also roused Cyrus *bĕṣedeq,* in his saving purpose, (Isa 45:12–13). Yahweh demands and effects order, he is savior and restorer because, as creator, he is the source of order. Schmid writes: "One can say then with a certain simplification: the interpretation of *ṣdq* as 'conformity to a norm' is clearly close to the original meaning and usage of *ṣdq;* the translation, 'community loyalty', however, embraces better the concrete application by the OT in a great number of cases. A survey of the history of scholarship clarifies the basic problem of OT language which comes nicely into focus in the case of 'righteousness': a distinction must be made between the original Canaanite idea and its usage in the OT" (1968: 185–86). But, though the word, or rather *ṣdq,* is West Semitic, we know virtually nothing about "the original Canaanite idea." To speak merely of *ṣdq,* however, comes dangerously close to imposing a "*ṣdq*-Begriff" (concept, notion) on uses of the words deriving from the root, though Schmid does not do this. There is much of value in Schmid's approach, in particular in his emphasis on Yahweh in action, exercising *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ,* and on the individual responding by following Yahweh's order. However it seems too systematic to lay *ṣdq* on a six-point Procrustean bed. Better to say that Yahweh's *ṣdq* touches all areas of life.

Reventlow gives a comprehensive account of the discussion of justification in the OT among scholars in the German-speaking regions and of its ramifications into the NT and systematic theology. He too looks to the divine action: "Justification is centred around *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ,* around something related to the order of the world. But one must bear in mind at the same time that the Old Testament as a whole attests to a divine action that bursts through this order, alters it, renews it" (1971: 37).

Crüsemann (1976) notes that most studies in recent decades have dealt with the meaning and translation of *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ;* attention to "Yahweh's *ṣedeq*" has been a by-product. For Crüsemann, Yahweh's *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* describes an action of God, but an action that varies in the course of Israel's history:

(1) in the premonarchical period, *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* describes the military success given by Yahweh to Israel;

(2) in the monarchy, Israel calls *ṣĕdāqâ* (a) the actualization of the normal state of *ṣedeq* in cult, or (b) the rescue of an individual in distress;

(3) in the exilic period, *ṣĕdāqâ* is God's saving action in the future.

That Yahweh's *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* is an action that saves and restores, commands assent. But one must be cautious in assigning such a definitive and restricted meaning to the word(s) in the premonarchical period; there are at most two examples (Judg 5:11; Deut 33:20–21) in both of which the pl., *ṣĕdāqôt,* is used. The meanings assigned to *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* in the monarchical period are correct, but too restrictive; Amos, for example, envisages a broader social *ṣĕdāqâ* (5:7, 24); and the Psalms, while often the prayer of one in distress, reach beyond the individual (e.g., Pss 22:32[31]; 50:6; 97:6; 99:4; 103:7[6]; 145:7). Further, the Psalms are notoriously difficult to date, and they contain elements both old and new. Crüsemann's positive contribution is in the area of Yahweh's *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* as action. But his systematization is too linear and restrictive.

Scharbert has emphasized the aspect of "saving action," particularly in the Psalms, where "Yahweh's righteousness is praised as a saving intervention on behalf of the pious over against persecutors and exploiters, or on behalf of Israel against its enemies" (*TRE* 12: 410). He also makes the important observation: "It is to be noted that the OT regards legal decisions primarily as liberating decisions in favour of the oppressed, exploited, unjustly accused, and less as sentences pronounced on the justly accused. This is important for making any judgment about the righteousness of God" (*TRE* 12: 408).

**J. Summary and Conclusion**

It is not sufficient merely to determine the meaning of *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* in isolation and propose an adequate translation in each case. The question arises: whose *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ?* If God's *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ,* then the context, especially in the Psalms and Isaiah 40–66 (cf. E above), is usually God's saving action, directed to the *šālôm* (well-being, prosperity) of the people, where the words are found in word-fields or in parallelism (cf. G above). If Israel's or the person's *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ,* then the words are often in parallelism with *mišpāṭ* (e.g., Pss 37:6; 72:2; 106:2; Isa 1:27; 28:17; 56:1), in coordination with *mišpāṭ* (e.g., Deut 16:18; Pss 72:1; 99:4; Isa 5:16; 33:5; 58:2), or the object of the verbs *ʿāśāh* (to do) and *šāmār* (to observe) *mišpāṭ* and *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* (e.g., Gen 18:19; Deut 33:11; 2 Sam 8:15). This hendiadys describes the conduct of the people in response to Yahweh's saving action, which itself is described by *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* transmitted through the king who is the custodian of God's *mišpāṭ* and *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* (e.g., Ps 72:1–3; Isa 32:1). The meaning of the word-pair is proper comportment in every area of life, social and cultic (see D above). *Ṣĕdāqâ,* standing by itself, describes God's action (Deut 6:25) and the people's reaction (Deut 6:25; 9:4, 5, 6); *ṣedeq* by itself means conduct according to what is proper, according to law (Deut 16:29). *Ṣĕdāqâ* also means claim or right (1 Sam 19:28; Neh 2:20), while *ṣedeq* used adjectivally describes what ought to be following what is laid down.

The *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* of the community and the individual is comportment according to God's order in every area of life, in just and proper social order (justice to the helpless, the poor, the oppressed, the widow, the orphan, the resident alien), in legal procedure, in the ritual of worship, all effected by God's *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ.*

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## *EARLY JUDAISM*

The concept of "righteousness" played an important role in the emerging Judaism of the centuries before and at the start of the Common Era, though that role has been variously interpreted (Sanders 1977: xi–xiv, 1–12, 233–38). The concept rests on meanings developed in the Hebrew Scriptures for the root *ṣdq* (see previous article). The applications in Jewish sources—in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek—have an importance of their own, as developments within Judaism and for understanding early Christian usage. At times Jewish documents in Greek may exhibit connections with pagan thought of the day (see next article).

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A. General Picture
B. Specific Sources and Problems
1. In the LXX
2. Jewish Writings (in Greek)
3. Dead Sea Scrolls
4. Rabbinic Literature
5. The "Righteousness of God"
6. Exegetical Debate

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### A. General Picture

Terms from *ṣdq* and their Greek translation, usually as *dik*-words, are frequent in the literary remains from Jewish sources in the centuries before and at the beginning of the Common Era. It is possible to combine these together, as Cronbach has done for the period 200 B.C.–A.D. 100, to obtain the following picture of how "righteous (ness)" was spoken of with regard to human beings, above all pious Israelites, and with regard to God (*IDB* 4: 85–91). In this composite, righteousness is identified on the one hand with a host of traits such as mercy, beneficence, and gentleness, and with the absence of avarice or wrongdoing on the other; the righteous person is especially given to prayer (2 Esdr 7:41–42[111–12]; *1 En.* 47:1–2; 97:1, 3, 5, on earth and in heaven; 39:5–7) and almsgiving (Dan 4:27[24], RSV righteousness; NEB charity, for Aramaic *ṣiděqâ;* Sir 3:14, RSV kindness; Heb *ṣědāqâ,* Gk *eleēmosynē*).

Righteousness is especially looked for in judges. There can, however, be a sense of vindictiveness about justice, even the justice that God works, above all eschatologically (2 Macc 12:40–41; *Ps. Sol.* 4:8).

God's righteousness in this composite description is seen as being "forever" in both judgment (Tob 3:2) and in mercy (2 Esdr 8:36; "to those who have no store of good works"), in turning away God's "anger and wrath" (Dan 9:16). Such righteousness extends especially to Israel (2 Macc 1:25); sometimes the covenant with Abram is mentioned (2 Macc 1:2; *Jub.* 22:15). Upright individuals in the past, from Enoch on, are named, and the righteous will be delivered at the final judgment (2 Esdr 9:13; 7:33–35) into a city "full of all good things," inherited after they endure many sorts of difficulties, including persecution, in this life (7:7–18). "Some authors are persuaded that God alone possesses righteousness" (Cronbach *IDB* 4: 89; cf. Sir 18:2; 2 Esdr 8:32), and so there is in certain texts no appeal to human righteousness (Dan 9:18). It is recognized in some passages (*IDB* 4: 87) that "human righteousness has God as its source (Bar 5:9; *Jub.* 16:26)." To know God is "complete righteousness" (Wis 15:3). Divine justice punishes the unrighteous (Wis 1:8; 12:13, not unjustly; as God had the Egyptians, chaps. 17 and 19, in contrast to the Israelites, chap. 18, though "the experience of death touched also the righteous" during their rebellion in the wilderness, 18:20).

Hence it is important that righteousness be taught, as Enoch (*1 En.* 13:10; 14:1), Abraham (*Jub.* 20:2), and others did. According to Dan 12:3, the wise (cf. 11:33) "who turn many to righteousness" (Isa 53:11) will receive an especial glory (cf. Wis 3:1, 7, on the righteous, who are in the hands of God). The *Psalms of Solomon,* particularly 3 and 9, emphasize how the righteous live—knowing salvation comes from God (3:5–6) and that they stumble (3:5) and sin (3:7–8; 9:6–7), yet that God's righteousness is proven right (3:5; 9:2)—in contrast to sinners (3:9–12). This contrast can also be applied to Israel's enemies (*Ps. Sol.* 17:22) as well as to parties and groups within Judaism; e.g., the "ungodly" of Wis 1:16 who oppose "the righteous man" (2:10, 12, 18).

From this picture of righteousness in Jewish circles, it must be added, there was sometimes dissent (Cronbach *IDB* 4: 91). Alternative opinions are to be seen in the long-standing view that in this "vain life" the righteous often perish in their righteousness, while the wicked prolong life in their evildoing; the conclusion: "be not righteous overmuch" (Eccl 7:15–16; cf. 8:14); "one fate comes to the righteous and the wicked" (9:2). The argument of the Sadducees, who denied a hereafter, surfaces in *1 Enoch*: the righteous die and gain nothing by their deeds; together with sinners, they are equal from now on, neither will see light again (*1 En.* 102:6–8; Wis 2:1–5; Eccl 2:14–16; 3:19–21). At the other extreme is the Jewish author who has one of the LXX translators tell the Egyptian king, Ptolemy II, that he could live harmoniously with all constituencies by "taking justice as your guide, … God granting you sound reasoning" (*Let. Aris.* 267); the passage expresses a less supernaturalistic view (*IDB* 4: 87–88) or at least one that accords with Greek ideas of justice.

**B. Specific Sources and Problems**

Greater precision in some ways can be attained by examining Jewish sources by categories. These include the LXX, Greek and Hebrew writings of the Intertestamental period, including Philo, Josephus, and the Dead Sea Scrolls, and rabbinic materials (Ziesler 1972: 52–127; Sanders 1977: 33–418 for Palestinian Judaism).

**1. In the LXX** (Ziesler 1972: 52–69). A variety of translators over a number of years sought to put the Hebrew writings (which not all the translators always fully understood) into Greek for use in Diaspora synagogues and possible perusal by Greek inquirers. In general, *ṣdq* words are rendered by those from *dikaioun* in Greek (which indeed has the same range of meanings [Watson 1960]), but on occasion *eleēmosynē* (9 times); *eleos* (3 times), "mercy, pity"; *eusebein,* "be pious"; and various words for judgment (*krisis, krima*) are also employed. On the other hand, *dikaiosynē* is also at times used for *ʾĕmet,* "faithfulness, truth"; *ḥesed,* "kindness, mercy"; and *mišpāṭ,* "judgment, justice" (Hill 1967: 104–9; Ziesler 1972: 59–66). Dodd concluded that the Greek translation narrowed down the broader senses of the Hebrew to a more constricted meaning in Greek of "justice" and impoverished the several aspects of the Hebrew *ṣdq* by polarizing it into now *dikaiosynē,* now *eleēmosynē.* Descamps found that use of the Greek *dikaiosynē* as the noun for *ṣĕdāqâ* distorted its sense in the direction of "distributive justice" ("to each, his

own"). Ziesler (1972: 67–69) doubts these findings, giving the LXX translators higher grades on the ground that they sense the covenantal setting.

More recently Olley's investigation, admittedly limited to Isaiah passages, rejects both Dodd's view on "polarization" and the notion that the translators saw covenantal associations, but allows that Greek connotations of justice did enter in. LXX use of *dikaioun* in a positive sense, to "acquit, vindicate, restore to a right relationship," extends the Greek forensic meaning with a personal object, to "do to a person what is necessary to correct an … injustice." The classical "forensic sense" continues, with the picture of a judge in mind, but it must be remembered that the role of the judge (and king and God) in Israel—to vindicate the oppressed—was greater than what is often thought of as a "law-court metaphor" (cf. Olley 1979: 12–14, 63–64, 111–17, 125–26; 1980: 71–73). Unlike investigators who believe a *dikaioun* word in the LXX "has the same meaning as MT" Hebrew (p. 12), Olley reaches the conclusion that LXX Isaiah (a book of immense importance for early Christians, who especially cited Isaiah in its Greek form) failed to convey the Hebraic sense of *ṣidqôt-YHWH* as "salvific"; instead, the Greek sense in *dikaiosynē* as "justice" adhered: God "is 'just' and acts according to 'justice' to bring about a state of 'justice' " (Olley 1979: 126–27). This assumes a meaning in Greek of "justice," not Isaiah's "saving righteousness."

If *dikaioun*-terms in the LXX lose this aspect of the Hebrew *ṣdq, adikos* gains more of a religious connotation from the MT associations (Schrenk *TDNT* 1:150–51, 158). The verb *adikein* comes to mean "to sin against God" as a rendering of *ḥāṭā*ʾ (2 Sam 24:17), *māʿal* (2 Chr 26:16, RSV Uzziah "was false to the Lord"), or *ʿāwâ* (Jer 3:21, RSV "perverted").

It is possible that connection of *dik*-terms with faith/faithfulness (*pistis*) in Greek, found in some OT texts (see B.6 below), was abetted in Hellenistic-Jewish literature by Greek linkage of these word-fields (Dobbeler 1987: 114–16).

**2. Jewish Writings (in Greek).** Ziesler (1972: 73–85) surveys the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha and concludes that the verb here remains "almost entirely forensic," the noun and adjective "almost entirely ethical" (a pattern Ziesler seeks then to trace into the NT); righteousness is seen in relation to God, often in legal and covenant-keeping terms, though human righteousness is viewed as nonlegal (p. 85). The analysis of Sanders (1977: 329–418, of Sirach, *1 Enoch, Jubilees, Psalms of Solomon,* and *4 Ezra* [RSV 2 Esdras]) affirms the covenantal emphasis (pp. 332, 341, 361 in 33, 362, 367, 404), in a pattern where "salvation depends on election," but to maintain that state it is necessary then to be righteous, i.e., to continue in "loyalty and obedience to God and his covenant" (pp. 362, 389, 408). In 2 Esdras, however, this covenantal nomism collapses into "legalistic perfectionism" or "works-righteousness" (pp. 409, 418): sin so dominates, according to this document, that even an everlasting covenant (2 Esdr 3:15) and the law cannot preserve nations; only individuals (3:35–36) and then only the few (7:47, 51, 60; 8:1) who are perfectly righteous (7:89) will be found for the world/age to come.

Philo of Alexandria uses *dik*-terms in accord with their Greek, not any Hebraic, sense. The forensic side is absent, the emphasis heavily ethical. Josephus is not theological in his usage (Ziesler 1972: 105–11; Schrenk *TDNT* 2:183, 193–95, 211–12). But *adikos* takes on a sense of "unjust" with respect to God such as it rarely had in Greek sources (Schrenk *TDNT* 1:151; Josephus *Ant* 8.10.2 §251 parallel with *asebēs,* scorning the worship of God; 10.5.2 §83 Jehoiakim "was *adikos* and an evildoer by nature and neither reverent [*hosios*] toward God nor kind [*epieikēs*] toward human beings"; 20.2.4 §44 "being guilty [*adikōn*] in the greatest degree against the laws and through these toward God").

The theme of the righteous sufferer can be traced in a variety of writings from this period (Ruppert 1972; Kleinknecht 1984: 85–163). Especially noteworthy is the diptych in Wis 2:12–20 and 5:1–7, where the enemies of the one who is *dikaios* lie in wait for "God's son," to test his gentleness (*epieikeia,* 2:19) by death. But the righteous person, who looks to God for deliverance, finds "unexpected salvation" (5:2, *paradoxō tēs sōtērias*), contrary to the plots of those on whom "the light of righteousness" did not shine (5:6), whose "norm for righteousness" (*nomos tēs dikaiosynēs,* 2:11) was their own strength. The contrast in Wisdom of SolomonSolomon between the righteous and the ungodly (*dikaioi, asebeis,* 3:1, 10) is also found in martyrdom texts (e.g., *4 Maccabees*). Philo dramatizes it in a way reminiscent of early Greek references to *dikē* when he describes how Flaccus, the anti-Jewish prefect in Egypt (appointed about A.D.

32), is overthrown by God: justice (*dikē*), the "defender of the wronged," opposed him (*Flacc* 104), until he was butchered by assassins, *dikē* willing that his wounds be equal to the number of Jews he had illegally put to death (189)—"an indubitable proof (*pistis*) of the fact that the nation of Jews has not been deprived of God's help" (191).

**3. Dead Sea Scrolls** (Hill 1967: 110–15; Ziesler 1972: 85–94, 102–3; Sanders 1977: 239–328, esp. 305–12; Przybylski 1980: 13–38). The Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) present an apocalyptic covenant community of great strictness within Judaism, yet a group deeply conscious of God's grace and election. The sense both of human sin and nothingness compared with God and of God's righteousness appears particularly in the thanksgiving hymns (1QH 1.16; 4.29–31, "there is no *ṣĕdāqâ* with human beings, … to God Most High [belong] all deeds [*ma*ʿ*ăsē*] of righteousness"; 12.30–31; 1QS 1.21–2.4; 10.23). There is constant talk in the scrolls of God's grace (e.g., 1QH 11.30–31, "cleanse me by your righteousness, as I have hoped … for your grace [*h\esed*]"), compassion, goodness, and mercy (1QH 1.29–32; 4.36). A number of interpreters have taken *mišpāṭ,* particularly in 1QS 11.5 and 12, to mean "justification" (Grundmann 1968; Ziesler 1972: 102–3), so that one experiences renewal of moral life and can stand in the judgment. The claim is that Paul's teaching is here anticipated (Stuhlmacher 1965: 148–53, 166; Koch *THAT* 2: 530). But more recent treatments take *mišpāṭ* as "judgment," point to the absence of any reference to "faith" (for Qumran treatment of Hab 2:4, see B.6.b below), and blunt such seeming parallels (Sanders 1977: 308–9: *mišpāṭ* and *ṣidqaṭ* ʾ*ēl* at 1QS 11.12 are "synonymous parallelism," but mercy [*raḥamîm, ḥasâdîm,* 11.13] and goodness [*tôb,* 11.14] are also aligned with *mišpāṭ* and related terms; Fitzmyer 1982: 363). Yet it is in the DSS that there appear the closest approximations anywhere in Jewish literature to many items in Paul.

Przybylski differentiates the treatment in different Qumran documents (cf. also Stuhlmacher 1965: 154–65). In general there is a trend to distinguish *ṣĕdāqâ* as "God's saving, gracious activity" (CD 20.20; 1QS 1.21; 10.23, 25; 11.3, 5, 6, 12, 14 [bis]) and *ṣedeq* as the norm for human conduct (CD 20.27–33; 1QS 1.13; 3.1; 4.4), though *ṣedeq* can also refer to God's saving actions (1QS 10.11–12; 1QH 11.2–3, 12, 18; 1QM 18.8) and *ṣĕdāqâ* to human conduct (1QH 4.30; 7.14, 17). The terms occur especially in 1QS and 1QH (where OT influence is strong). God is "my righteousness" (1QS 10.11), to God belongs *ṣĕdāqâ* (1QH 17.20). Chiefly in the *Damascus Document* does *ṣedeq* play "a vital role," as a technical or popular term for "everything that is right in the sight of God," God's righteous norm, as set forth by the Teacher of Righteousness (CD 35–36).

The Teacher of Righteousness in Qumran texts can be seen to stand "in the sequence of the suffering righteous of the Psalter" and in the footsteps of Jeremiah (Ruppert 1972a: 126–27; cf. 1QH 2–8, esp. 5). The one who prays in the *hôdāyôt* is oppressed by enemies (2.20–30) but looks to God for salvation and peace (15.14–17). Similar to this is 1QS 3.20–25, contrasting the children of righteousness (*bĕnê ṣedeq*) with the children of falsehood.

**4. Rabbinic Literature** (Hill 1967: 115–20). Early rabbinic writings use *ṣdq* (Aram *zakâ*) in a great variety of ways. Ziesler (1972: 112–27) finds the forensic sense in the verb; elsewhere the ethical predominates. Sanders (1977: 33–238, esp. 198–205, who confines his material to the Tannaim or teachers of the first two centuries A.D.; also Przybylski 1980: 39–76) sees a pattern: the "righteous man" is one who obeys the law in order to preserve (not earn) one's place within the covenant. Often *ṣĕdāqâ* means charity—alms, in a human action, or God's charity or mercy toward humanity.

Finkel takes *ṣdq* in Judaism, with both a forensic and an ethical meaning, to be a bridge between interpersonal and intrapersonal areas; that is, among human beings, in a social order (as justice, peace); and within a person (as the starting point toward altruistic kindness). Passages such as Deut 16:20 ("Justice [*ṣedeq*] and only justice, you shall follow") were applied in juridical strife to encourage peaceful compromise (*b. Sanh.* 32b), and almsgiving was institutionalized in the community as a way "leading many to righteousness" (Dan 12:3; *b. B. Bat.* 8b). In the command of Exod 18:20 to make Israel "know the way in which they must walk and what they must do," "the way" was interpreted as the ethical deeds of *ḥesed* and "what they must do" as works beyond the letter of the law (*Mek.* Yitro. Amalek #2;

Montefiore and Loewe 1938: 505). The righteous person (*ḥasîd*), such as Ḥanina ben Dosa, was marked by fear before God and love to God.

That righteousness had both judicial and ethical aspects carried over to the transpersonal picture of God as the Righteous One (on God as *ṣaddîq*, see Przybylski 1980: 42–43). Rabbinic thought associated the quality of ordering and judging (*middāt haddîn*) with the biblical name "Elohim," and the quality of mercy (*raḥamîm*) with "YHWH" (*Exod. Rab.* on Exod 3:14). The first aspect suggested God's immanence and a teaching about rewards and punishments, especially for those faithful even to the point of martyrdom who professed God's righteousness. Job exemplified proper fear toward God. Trust in God's mercy was exemplified by Abram (Gen 15:6), who then practiced "the way of the Lord by doing righteousness [*ṣĕdāqâ*] and justice [*mišpāṭ*]" (Gen 18:19); here *ṣĕdāqâ* was taken at times to mean "charity" (*Yal.* 82 on 18:19; *Gen. Rab.* 49 on 18:19). Such passages could in turn lead to a rabbinic type of *imitatio Dei*, walking "in all God's ways" (Deut 10:12), "a God merciful and gracious" (Exod 34:6); … as God is called 'righteous' [*ṣaddîq*] and loves righteous deeds [*ṣĕdāqôt,* Ps 11:7], so shall you also be righteous …" (*Sipre Deut* 49). Again, Abraham was regarded as the ideal *ṣaddîq*, for whom, indeed, the world was created (*Sipre Deut* 38 on 11:10, 47 on 11:21; *Gen. Rab.* 35 on 9:12). In a debate over the basic form to which the Torah could be reduced, Hab 2:4 was cited as the single form on which all 613 commands can rest: "the righteous shall live by his faith" (*b. Mak.* 24a); thus "the individual *tsaddiq* is a man of faith" (Przybylski 1980: 44).

The judgment aspect of *ṣdq* looms behind rabbinic teaching, so that even the righteous must stand before God the judge (*Pirqe ʾAbot* 4.29; rabbinic comments on Deut 32:4, Zeph 3:5, and Exod 9:27, cited in Przybylski 1980: 42–43). In one passage (*Mek. Exod.* 23:7) a human court case where a guilty party is declared righteous appears in parallel with God's court, though it is not concluded that God so acts (Ziesler 1972: 116–17; Przybylski 1980: 49). Clearly forensic, this emphasis was, however, not merely one of merits and rewards (Str-B 1: 251–52 on Matt 5:20, *dikaiosynē tou nomou*; cf. Odeberg 1964: 30–39, Montefiore and Loewe 1938: 218–22), for one was often instructed to do what is commanded without any thought of reward (*Pirqe ʾAbot* 1.3; *ʿAbod. Zar.* 19a; *ʾAbot R. Nat.* 5, citing Antigonus of Sakho, "[Be] like servants who serve the master not on condition of receiving a reward"). God's judgment could also serve to distinguish among the (7) types of "Pharisees" (Sanders 1977: 61, n. 12; 129, n. 12, gives reasons for thinking that these *pĕrûšîm* were later ascetics or "heretics," not pre-70 Pharisees) enumerated in *b. Soṭa* 22b; *j. Ber.* 9.14b; *j. Soṭa* 5.20c (summary in Montefiore and Loewe 1938: 487–89), including "book-keeping" and reward-oriented types, and the God-fearing and God-loving Pharisees (Job and Abraham, respectively; on "levels of imperfection" in the righteous, cf. Przybylski 1980: 44–46). Even the "perfectly righteous" (*ṣaddîq gāmûr*) is not without minor transgression. Opinions varied on whether gentiles could be righteous; the law served as criterion for righteousness (Przybylski 1980: 48–49, 51–52).

The ideal *ṣaddîq* (Finkel *TRE* 12: 413–14), then, is a rare person who is both loyal servant and loving son (*b. Ber.* 34b; *m. Taʿan* 3.8), exemplified in Onias the rainmaker (about 80 B.C.; *m. Taʿan* 38) or Ḥanina ben Dosa (first generation of Tannaites, ca. A.D. 10–80; *b. Soṭa* 49a). This righteous practitioner of *ḥesed*, prayer, and struggle with the "evil impulse" may, in imitation of God, do works of healing (*Deut. Rab.* 10.3), even awakenings from the dead (*b. Pesaḥ* 68a). Such a person was regarded as living on after death (*b. Ber.* 18b), rewarded with a personal resurrection (*b. Taʿan* 7b). The death of the righteous, especially as a martyr, expiates sin (*b. Moʿed Qaṭ.* 28a, of Miriam's death after the reference to the red heifer in Num 19:1–20:1; Montefiore and Loewe 1938: 225–32; cf. Vermes 1973: 9, 65–82; for later Jewish use, see Jacobs *EncJud* 14: 180–83 [cf. *EncJud* 16: 961] and Mach 1957).

Przybylski (1980: 76) insists that *ṣdq-language* in the Tannaitic literature pertains not to soteriology but to behavior. The *ṣaddîq* follows the norm of righteousness (*ṣedeq*), God's will presented in the covenant laws; righteousness has to do with remaining in the covenant. It is "demand upon men rather than the salvific gift of God for man." To this extent, *ṣĕdāqâ* comes primarily to denote almsgiving, while *ṣedeq* more broadly refers to "all aspects of teaching which are normative for man's conduct" (Przybylski 1980: 75; Stuhlmacher 1965: 181–82). "By living according to the intent and content of righteousness [*ṣedeq*]—

and almsgiving [*ṣĕdāqâ*] is included in this—the righteous one [*ṣaddîq*] in effect not only does righteousness [*ṣedeq*] but also shows that he has righteousness [*ṣedeq*]" (Przybylski 1980: 76, cf. 52–66 and 66–74 on the two nouns).

**6. Exegetical Debate.** Within Judaism disagreement arose over two OT texts which would become important in NT discussions of righteousness.

**a. Gen 15:6** (Heidland 1936). This passage is possibly chiastic, not a parallelism:

And he [Abram] believed Yahweh,
and he [Yahweh] reckoned it [his faith] to him as righteousness.

Therefore, it is unlikely to have once meant "Abram reckoned it [the promises of son and descendants] to him [Yahweh] as righteousness" in a "covenantal reading" (so Gaston 1980). (Verses 1–6 and 7–21 are separate units, and though the latter has been taken as covenantal because of v 18, *kārat bĕrît* likely means "give solemn assurance or an oath" [Westermann 1985: 212–31)]. The effect in this interpretation would be to shift from Abram's subjective believing as righteousness to a view stressing God's objective righteousness. This alternative interpretation where Abram is the subject of 6b seems to appear first in Nachmanides (13th cent.). By rendering 6b with a verb in the passive voice, "it was reckoned to him [Abram] (by God)," LXX (and so NT) and *Tg. Neof.* "rule out an understanding which would attribute the righteousness to God" (Gaston 1980: 42). Of course, God is righteous (Neh 9:8) and acts in righteousness to deliver the descendants of Abraham, God's friend (Isa 41:8–13; 51:1–8), but "Abraham was certainly considered in early Judaism to be the very model of righteousness" (Gaston 1980: 51; Hahn 1971: 94–97). "Abraham believed God and he was held to be righteous" (Philo *Leg All* 3.228; *Heres* 94–95; *Virt* 216), "well-pleasing in righteousness all the days of his life" (*Jub.* 23:10).

Gen 15:6 refers to a response by Abraham to God's call, promise, and election of him (12:1–3; 15:1, 5; Isa 41:8; 51:2). Exactly what Abraham's response was and the salvation that God granted varies considerably enough in texts from Jewish and early Christian sources that one cannot speak of a single tradition of interpretation. See Fig. RIG.01. That Abraham "believed" could be taken to refer to a single event like his hospitality in Gen 18:1–15 (so *1 Clem* 10:6–7) or the offering of Isaac as a sacrifice in Genesis 22 (Jas 2:21) or to a series of events throughout his life (*Jub.* 17:15–18). God's response in terms of righteousness was sometimes identified with the covenant (Sir 44:19–21) or friendship for Abraham with God (*Jub.* 19:8–9, "in the heavenly tablets"; *1 Clem* 9:4–10:2) or even the gift of the Spirit (*Mek.* 40b, on Exod 14:31, tractate *Bešallaḥ* 7:135–41). Participation by Abraham's descendants in the salvation this patriarch enjoyed was the framework for later understandings (Dobbeler 1987: 116–25).

Foremost among "the deeds (*erga*) of the fathers" recited in 1 Macc 2:52 was that "Abraham was found faithful (*pistos*) when tested, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness." To be faithful was here a deed or "work" (Sir 44:19–22, reflecting Genesis 12, 15, 17, 22). Abraham's faithfulness was seen by Philo as his greatest virtue (*Abr* 270, 273: "God, marvelling at the man for his faith in God, repaid him with faithfulness, namely by confirming with an oath the gifts pledged …"; *Jub.* 17:17–18; 18:14–16; 23:10). In particular Abraham's believing or faith was seen exemplified in his willingness to sacrifice Isaac upon Yahweh's command (Genesis 22): "When he was tested, he was found faithful" (Sir 44:20; cf. *4 Macc.* 16:19–20; Jdt 8:28). Of Abraham's ten trials (*Pirqe ʾAbot* 5.4; *Jub.* 19:8–9), this was the greatest one (*Midr. Gen. Rab.* 56). An exegetical tradition which thus related Gen 15:6 with Genesis 22 ran through a variety of Jewish texts and appears in Christian writings such as James 2; Heb 11:17; and *1 Clem* 10 (with Genesis 18, "justification by faith and hospitality"; see Dibelius *James* Hermeneia, 168–74). Abraham was also seen as the father of proselytes (*Tanḥuma b. Lekleka* 32a). A much more speculative view is that Abraham was a hero figure for "Hellenistic reformers" among Jews, who early in the 2d century B.C. wished to transform Jerusalem into a Greek city (*polis*) (Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 139; Hengel 1974, 1: 277–80, citing Bickermann 1979: 38–42, and Tcherikover 1959: 152–74).

Gen 15:6 is combined with Hab 2:4 in one passage about how Israel "believed in the Lord and in his servant Moses" (*Mek. Exod.* 14:31, tractate *Bešallaḥ* 7:124–64). "As a reward for the faith with which Israel believed in God [at the sea, Exod 14:31], the Holy Spirit rested upon them …" This refrain is also connected with the occasion when Abraham believed the Lord (Gen 15:6) and the statement that "the

righteous shall live by his faith" (Hab 2:4). Through use of Ps 118:20 (the righteous shall enter through the gate of the Lord) and Isa 26:2 (the righteous nation that keeps faith will enter the open gate), believers and the righteous are identified. Faith thus characterizes the righteous person (*Bešallaḥ* 7:144–47) and is recompensed by God through salvatory gifts like the Spirit (Dobbeler 1987: 129–30; cf. also *Exod. Rab.* 23 [85a]).

**b. Hab 2:4.** Textually, this passage has had a more varied history of interpretation than Gen 15:6. The MT likely means that, in contrast to the person whose soul is not "upright" (*yāšrâ*), "the righteous shall live by his faith" (RSV); that is, the *ṣaddîq* in Judah will survive in coming crisis by fidelity (*ʾĕmûnâ*; RSV note, "faithfulness") to Yahweh. That is to construe "by his faith" with "shall live," rather than with "the righteous." Others would take *beʾĕmûnātô* with its masculine suffix, "by his faithfulness," as referring to vision (masc.) from God in vv 2–3, the "witness" (reading in v 3 *ʿwd* and *wypḥ* for *ʿôd* and *weyāpēaḥ*) from God that does not lie; then 4b means "by God's faithfulness" (Janzen 1980; Fitzmyer *Luke* AB, 236–38). (This has the effect of removing a reference to Judah's faithfulness in favor of one to God's fidelity.)

The LXX mss reflect both interpretations. Regularly the personal pronoun *mou,* "of me, my," is added, but at different points. In Sinaiticus, B, Q, and W, *ho de dikaios ek pisteōs mou zēsetai,* would mean, "The righteous one because of my fidelity shall live." The reading in A and C, *ho de dikaios mou ek pisteōs zēsetai,* would mean, "My righteous one because of fidelity shall live." (The corrector in W omits *mou* after *pisteōs,* in conformity with MT.) The text in the larger number of mss, while open to taking *ek pisteōs mou* with either *ho de dikaios* ("the person who is righteous because of my fidelity") or with *zēsetai* ("… shall live because of my fidelity"), may in its word order incline to the former, but it is not *ho de dikaios ho ek pisteōs mou* (attributive position for the prep. phrase), and so remains patent to either interpretation. The variant in A and C connects the righteous person more closely with Yahweh ("my righteous one") and is open to connecting "because of fidelity" with either the subject or the verb. The addition of the *mou* depends on confusion of *yōd* and *waw* as suffix with the noun for "faith/fidelity," as also happened with "soul" (*npš*) in 4a (MT his soul; LXX my soul; cf. Fitzmyer *Luke* AB, 239–40). Inclusion of *mou* makes it clearer than in the MT that God speaks here; when attached to *pisteōs, mou* suggests God's fidelity (to covenant), an interpretative line not found for Hab 2:4 elsewhere in early Judaism (Dobbeler 1987: 126–27).

There are also witnesses to other Greek translations of 2:4. One is closer to the MT, in the fragments of the Minor Prophets scroll found at Naḥal Ḥever. It is possible to translate 8ḤevXIIgr, col. 12, "[The right]eous person with his faith/fidelity will live." Aquila had, "And a righteous person in his faith/fidelity will live," and Symmachus, "[But] the righteous person by his own faith/faithfulness will live" (cf. Vg *iustus autem in fide sua vivet*).

The Commentary on Habbakuk (1QpHab 7.5–8.3) presents a Qumran interpretation about the end-time, a prolonged period when the community's "men of truth (*ʾemet*) who do torah" do not grow slack in the service of the truth. While those not upright will not be graciously accepted (*rṣy*; cf. LXX *eudokei*) "at their judgments" (2:4a), the comment on 2:4b (missing here) is, "Its interpretation (*pišrô*) concerns all who do the torah in the house of Judah whom God will deliver from the house of judgment because of their struggle and their fidelity (*ʾemunātām*) to the Teacher of Righteousness." Some have seen here faith in the person of the community's Righteous Teacher; this would be analogous to faith in Moses as faith in God (*Mek. Exod.* 14:31). However, reference to the Righteous Teacher's role as Torah expositor is more likely (Braun 1966, vol. 1: 170–71; vol. 2: 169, 171–72; G. Jeremias 1963: 142–46; Fitzmyer 1981: 242; Grundmann 1968: 97–99 and n. 16; Strobel 1961: 173–202). If "justification by grace" is involved here, it is in order to keep the whole law; " 'sola gratia' corresponds to a 'sola lege' " (Lohse 1973: 218).

The Targum paraphrases 2:4b, "The righteous ones on account of their rectitude (truth, *qûšeṭhôn*) remain alive." The rabbinic story has already been cited above (sec. B.4) where Hab 2:4b is made the most succinct summary of all commands, prized even above Isa 56:1 ("keep justice and do righteousness"), Mic 6:8 ("do justice …"), and Amos 5:4 ("seek me and live"). (If from the time of R. Simlai, late 3d century A.D., the story could have a polemical note against Christian use of 2:4: its demand

for faith is minimal compared with one that encompasses all 613 Mosaic commands.) *Midr. Qoh.* 3.19 (17b) explains 2:4b to mean the righteous person will live through his "handwork" (*ʾûmmānût,* "workmanship, device(s)," for *ʾĕmûnâ* = faith, fidelity; understood as fulfilling the commandments), as God the Righteous One lives through his handwork, as in Exod 12:29 (Str-B 3: 542–44). Dobbeler (1987: 127) sees an effort to understand Hab 2:4b in terms of ongoing, total lifetime response in the believer, as opposed to faith as response in a particular situation, in the Targum's interpretation as rectitude, or Qumran's fidelity to the expositions by the Teacher of Righteousness, or as fulfilling the commands (*Midr. Qoh*).

Although these understandings of Hab 2:4 generally suggest that the righteous show themselves righteous through fidelity to God and as such share in the consequence of doing right, namely, life (Wilckens *Romans* EKKNT, 89), a variety of wordings and therefore interpretations of 2:4 existed, among which early Christian writers might choose.

The bibliography for this article is found at the end of this entry.

JOHN REUMANN

### *GRECO-ROMAN WORLD*

The course of development for righteousness terminology—words from the root *dik (ai)-* in Greek (and, in turn, those from *justus* in Latin)—is important not only because the Hebrew terms had in the LXX been put into existing Hellenistic vocabulary which the NT authors would use, but also because audiences that heard or read NT documents may have perceived terms like *dikaiosynē* in Hellenistic ways (cf., for Romans, the references in Stuhlmacher 1986: 92, n. 18; Danker 1982: 347). Moreover, subsequent understandings of righteousness/justice in the NT have sometimes been shaped by Greco-Roman (legal) senses.

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A. Early References
B. Plato
C. Aristotle
D. Stoicism
E. Righteousness and Faith

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#### A. Early References

Just as a West Semitic deity *ṣdq* (cf. Egyptian Maat) may lie behind OT use (Gen 14:18; Josh 10:1; *THAT* 2: 509–10), so the figure of Dikē or "Justice" (cf. Acts 28:4), though rarely possessing any cult, served in literature and art to inform Zeus of evils which humans do (*Op.* 248–64) and to punish injustice (Paus. 5.18.2). Hesiod's emphasis on Dikē has, indeed, been compared with the theme of righteousness in Amos the prophet (5:25; 6:12), but the latter's thought is rooted in religion in a way that Hesiod's world of princes and rural citizens is not (Nilsson 1941: 589). Yet Dikē appears also in the Greek tragedians (Nilsson 1941: 714; *RAC* 10: 245–48; Olley 1979: 33–34). The eye of Dikē was said to watch the two ways in Hades, the ways of the righteous and the unjust (Kock frag 246). The scales as symbol of Justice developed relatively late and were probably of Egyptian origin; *Dikaiosynē* with scales appears on Alexandrian coins of the time of Claudius, and on Roman coins as an attribute of *Aequitas,* equality/fairness/justice personified (Nilsson 1941: 341, n. 1).

From *dikē* (etymology disputed; perhaps "instruct, give direction, establish," *NIDNTT* 3: 353; Schrenk *TDNT* 2:179–80) one can trace in stages the development of the adjective *dikaios*; then, after Homer and Hesiod, the noun *dikaiosynē;* and, in the 5th century B.C., the verb. Schrenk (*TDNT*) and Hill (1967: 98–102) so arrange the data. The verb, as a form ending in *-oō,* ought to mean "cause to be/make *dikaios,*" as happens with adjectives involving a physical sense (*typhloō* = make blind); but those involving a (moral) value judgment, as here, mean "declare (just/righteous)"; cf. *axioō,* "deem worthy" (BDF 148[4]). Hence, "in classical Greek" *dikaioun* "never has exactly" the sense "to make right (eous)" (Hill 1967: 101), but cf. BAGD *dikaioō* 3c, meaning "make free or pure," pass. "be set free," in the LXX; Acts 13:38; 1 Cor 6:11; Rom 6:7; and a noteworthy passage in Corpus Hermeticorum 13.9, where an initiate in a mystery

cult experiences rebirth and deification: "This step, child, is the tribunal [or basis] of *dikaiosynē,* [for] behold how[, without a trial,] she has driven out *adikia*; we have been made righteous (or pure) (*edikaiōthēmen* = we have been made *dikaiosynē;* cf. 13.8 as a parallel: knowledge [*gnōsis*] of God came to us … ignorance was driven out," and 13.9, "we were deified [reading etheōthēmen]"), O child, *adikia* departing." According to Scott (1924–36, vol. 2: 387–88), the justice of God is involved and the writer passes from the law-court sense of "*pronounce* just" to the cultic sense of the reborn person being "*made* just"; but the writer likely had read Romans or talked to Christians. Less likely is Schrenk's suggestion (*TDNT* 2:212) that 13.9 is directed against a Jewish-Christian concept of forensic righteousness (on the passage, cf. Grese 1979: 55, 124–26; and John 3:18–19). In classical Greek, *dikaioun* with an impersonal object means "deem it right" (Hdt 1.89) and with a personal object "treat justly, do justice to," usually in the sense of "condemn, punish" (Hdt 1.100, "punish for each offense [*adikēmoi*]").

The earliest Greek use of *dik*-terms in the 8th to 5th centuries B.C. pictures Dikē as a divine principle of "right" in law and society. What is *dikaion* is related to being *hosios* ("approved, lawful, religious") toward the gods and *eusebēs* ("pious, reverent") toward other human beings (*RAC* 10: 240–41, though cf. Danker 1982: 343: "as a rule of thumb, *eusebeia* suggests a vertical relationship, *dikaiosynē* a horizontal one"). Solon of Athens in the 6th century "demythologized" Dikē of any divinity (Hill 1967: 99); now denoting universal law in the cosmos, the term came to refer to "right" in political life and human conduct. Theognis of Megera said that "every virtue (*aretē*) exists collectively (or in sum) in *dikaiosynē*" (147). A sense of equality (*isonomia*), in rights, politically, among colleagues and friends, was often related to it (Danker 1982: 346). Fairness or equity (*epieikeia*) was another concept associated with this emerging view of justice, which became one of the four cardinal virtues, along with prudence or practical wisdom (*phronēsis*), temperance or moderation (*sōphrosynē*), and courage (*andreia*) (cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 610; Dihle 1968). Only at times was there a religious side, e.g., in connection with rewards and punishments for the soul after death (Egyptian influence?) or concerns with how the gods punish for acts contrary to their norms (*RAC* 10: 243–45). By and large, the idea of Dikē's rule, cosmically, over gods and humans took the shape of laws for family, natural and social orders, and norms for justice (*dikaiosynē*) developed in the political and ethical realms.

**B. Plato**

*The Republic* (1–4) made *dikaiosynē* the basic virtue for Plato's ideal state, the key for ordering society and educating citizens, the foundation of the *polis.* In the face of varying definitions—that "it is *dikaion* to render to each what is due," benefit to friends or harm to enemies (*Resp.* 1.331e); or that it is "the interest of the stronger" (1.338c–e); or "a mean or compromise between what is best … and the worst" (2.359a)—the dialogue moves toward a definition of justice as the excellence or virtue (*aretē*) of the soul (*psychē*) (353d) that helps realize the other virtues. For the city-state, *dikaiosynē* means "that each does his own tasks and is not officious [or meddlesome]" (433a), so that harmony results among the three classes of legislators, warriors, and business people. *Adikia* is meddling or interchange among these classes (434bc). All this is analogous to the harmonious working together of parts in the individual's soul (441c–444e). *Dikaiosynē* is thus "both a having and a doing what is one's own and belongs to oneself" (433e), a quality of soul (*Grg.* 447, 509b–d), "piety" (*Prt.* 330b–333e). To a degree, sanction is provided by rewards or prizes of victory in this life or after death by the gods for the just person (10.612c) and the opposite for the unjust (613b; tenfold retribution [*dikē*], according to the tale of Er, who returned from seeing how *dikaioi* and *adikoi* in the other world were sent by judges heavenward or downward respectively, 614b–615c). Justice for Plato thus involved conformity with a state's laws (*Cri.* 49b), so as to produce the harmonious life (Olley 1979: 22–24; *RAC* 10: 255–58). Ziesler's comparison of Platonic *dikaiosynē* as "activity within the society proper to a man" with "covenantal behaviour" in the OT is admittedly forced (1972).

**C. Aristotle**

Aristotle dealt with justice in a lost work, *Peri dikaiosynēs,* in Book 3 of his *Politics,* and in Book 5 of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (= *Eudemian Ethics* 5, exact authorship and relation disputed). Justice is contrasted with injustice (*Eth. Nic.* 5.1.1, 1129a): the unjust person is "a law-breaker," unfair, claiming more than his share, while the *dikaios* person conforms to law or custom and is fair (5.1.8, 1129a 17–19).

In a general sense, "just" = lawful (*nomimos*), "unjust" = contrary to law (*paranomos*). Things are "just" which produce happiness (*eudaimonia*) in the political community (*koinōnia*), commanding virtues and forbidding wickedness (5.1.13, 1129b). Justice is, then, "perfect (*teleia*) virtue" but one displayed toward other people (5.1.15, 1129b). Besides this general sense there is also a particular meaning (*katameros*). Justice in this special sense is subdivided into (a) "distributive" justice (*dianemētikon,* from *dianemein,* to distribute honor, wealth, or other goods in the community, equally or unequally) and (b) "corrective" (*diorthōtikon*) justice. The latter is broken down into (b1) voluntary and (b2) involuntary transactions; e.g., voluntary actions like buying and selling, and involuntary actions like theft, adultery, or false witness (5.2.12–13, 1130b–31a). Distributive justice is a mean, that which is equal (*to ison*), between the extremes of "more" and "less"; it involves shares for equal persons, unequal shares for nonequals (as determined by some standard such as birth, wealth, or virtue) (5.3.1–8, 1131a). For corrective justice the virtues or merits of each person do not enter in, but only the damage done or loss, determined before a judge (*dikastēs*) who personifies the right (*dikaion*) and "mediates" (in the middle, *meson*) the issue. (An etymology is proposed whereby *dikaion* means *dicha* ["in half"] since the *dikastēs* or judge is said to be a *dichastēs,* one who divides in half [5.4.7–9, 1131b].) The Pythagorean definition that *to dikaion* is simply reciprocity (*antipeponthos*) is rejected (5.5.1, 1132b 21–23). Instead, just conduct (*dikaiopragia*) "is a mean between doing injustice (*adikein*) and suffering injustice (*adikeisthai*)" (5.5.17, 1133b 31; cf. 5.7.7, 1135a 9–13, where *dikaiōma,* as righting an injustice, is distinguished from *dikaiopragma,* "just conduct"; Olley [1979: 31] observes that Aristotle reserves the verb *dikaioun* for correcting unjust acts, not for "doing justice"). Justice (the abstract noun *dikaiosynē*) involves observing the mean; it is the quality "in accord with which the *dikaios* person is said to be disposed by deliberate choice to what is *dikaios,*" so that distribution to others is done in a fair way (5.5.17, 1134a 1–7). While what is just can apply to the domestic realm, between master and slave or father and child (5.6.8–9, 1134b 8–19), its application is developed especially for the political realm, between "free and equal persons" in society, especially through law (5.6.4–7, 1134a; 5.7, 1134b 20–1135a 15).

In the [pseudo-]Aristotelian *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* these terms reflect more popular usage. Here Schrenk (*TDNT* 1:157, 161) claims *adikein* means "to do wrong in the sense of transgression," comparing *Rh. Al.* 1427a 36–37, "to act wrongly (*adikein*) is peculiar to wicked persons (*ponērōn*)"; see also 1427a 30, *adikia* is "with forethought to do something wrong," and 1427a 12–15: when making accusation, one should not let a person say he/she has "made a mistake" (*exhamartanein*). But, given the context here of rhetorical devices, one should not strain for ties to a biblical sense of sin (Olley 1979: 31–32). *Dikaion* in the sense of custom (*ethos*)—e.g., honoring parents or doing good to friends—is stressed, as in Plato *Resp* 1 331c–e, 334b.

**D. Stoicism**

While the Platonic and Aristotelian senses were later influential at many points, especially in patristic and medieval exegesis of righteousness in the NT as "justice" (*dikaiosynē* as *iustitia distributiva*; Stuhlmacher 1965: 11–18; McGrath 1986, vol. 1), the overall picture presented by teachers in the Stoic school probably carried greater popular influence in the Hellenistic and NT worlds. Zeus/nature/fate/necessity—"God" in Stoic syncretism—was occasionally equated with Dikē (Philodemus, *de pietate* 11, ed. von Arnim, cited by page and line, *SVF* 2.315.10). Dihle (*RAC* 10: 266) argues that Chrysippus in the 3d century B.C. took up again the old notion of *Dikaiosynē* as a (virgin) goddess watching in heaven (Aulus Gellius 14.4.1; Menander *Sent.* 179 M). This world soul permeated the universe, so that what is *dikaioun* was given by nature (Porphyry *Abst.* 3.19; *SVF* 1.48.37–49.1 [Zeno]; Plutarch *de Stoic. repugn.* 9, 1035c; *SVF* 3.80.33–38 [Chrysippus]) and through law and reason (Cicero *Nat. D.* 1.36; *SVF* 1.42.35–37 [Zeno]; Diogenes Laertius 7.128; *SVF* 3.76.4–6 [Chrysippus]). It serves as norm (*kanon*) for gods and humans (Marcianus *Instit.* 1.1.11,25 [ed. Mommsen]; *SVF* 3.77.37). Everyone could therefore have knowledge of this virtue, stemming, as it does, from the world order, within the self (Cicero *Leg.* 1.10.28; *SVF* 3.84.12–14). Thus people knew what is enjoined about justice for society. As the virtue concerned with distributing things, *dikaiosynē*—which already in Aristotle had been brought into connection with friendship (*Eth. Nic.* 8.9–12, 1159b 25–1162a 33)—was divided into

goodness (*chrēstotēs*), good fellowship (*eukoinōnēsia*), and an accommodating disposition (*eusynallaxia*), which are explained as being disposed toward kindness, fairness in sharing, and blamelessly dealing with the neighbor (Stobaeus *Ecl.* 2.60,9W; *SVF* 3.64. 15–25, 41–43). It could also be expanded to include *hosiotēs* or piety in the sense of observing divine law (Lat *pietas*).

In subsequent syncretism, justice came often to be united closely with piety and also with philanthropy (Dihle 1968). By the latter was intended benevolence toward other human beings. From Hesiod on (*Op.* 213–37), one hears, "Listen to *Dikē.* … The better path is … towards *ta dikaia*"; those who do not go aside from what is right and who do true justice [*ithydikeis*] are commended; their fields will flourish and earth yield them fruit. There was a tradition in Greek religious thought that from the gods come seeds not only of wheat and barley but also of justice (Aelius Aristides, *Panathenaic Oration* 45) and that the earth "teaches *dikaiosynē;* for the more she is served, the more good things she gives in return" (Xenophon, *Oec.* 5.12). Such a tradition about human righteousness or benevolence and its fruit (Danker 1982: 343–48) perhaps, along with Prov 3:9–10 (LXX), stands behind Paul's use of *dikaiosynē* in 2 Cor 9:10 (Betz *2 Corinthians 8–9* Hermeneia, 115). See RIGHTEOUSNESS (NEW TESTAMENT), F.3.b. In most cases the distributive aspect was stressed in Hellenistic texts; Diogenes Laertius (5.1.2): "*dikaiosynē* is a virtue of soul which distributes in accord with merit."

As rulers and state officials took over what had previously been the civic duties of the average citizen, *dikaiosynē* was no longer the great societal virtue. In Athens, friendship, courtesy, and willingness to aid others, even enemies, came to the fore (Plutarch *Praec. ger.* 3 [799C–D]; Philo *Virt.* 109–15, on the laws in Deuteronomy). But under ruler-cults, justice became a common term among the virtues attributed to the ruler (Dio Chrysostom *Or.* 3.39), as also in lists of virtues attributed to a deity (*dikaiosynē,* of Isis, Plutarch *Is. et Os.* 2 [352B]). Grandjean (1975) has particularly drawn attention to the goddess Isis and *dikaiosynē.* The aretalogy found in Cyme, Asia Minor, dating to the 1st or 2d century A.D., has her speak repeatedly of how she maintains justice: "I have made *to dikaion* strong …, stronger than gold and silver … I have handed over the person who plots unrighteously …, I established penalties for those who do injustices …, I honor those who justly avenge, with me the right prevails …" (lines 16, 26, 34–38). In the *Kore Kosmou* (Stobaeus *Ecl.* 1.49.44; Scott 1924–36, vol. 1: 490–93; vol. 3: 552–53) Isis speaks of herself and Osiris as "helpers of the world in its need of all things," who appointed courts of law and "filled the universe with good order and righteousness (*dikaiosynē*)." Solmsen (1979: 57–59) points to "a cult of Isis *Dikaiosynē,* the name of Isis coupled with a personification of Justice," to be explained by the much older Egyptian concept of Maat (Schmid). See also *SIG* 1131 (Delos) and *IG* 3.203 for inscriptions about Isis *Dikaiosynē.* The literary figure of *Dikē* earlier perhaps helped prepare the way for combining "Justice" with Isis Maat. It may be added that there was expectation that the justice of the cosmos would also be brought to expression in human life. The terms are rare in inscriptions and papyri, however, and, when used, refer to legal matters (Olley 1979: 39–40).

*Dik*-words thus covered a number of things in Greco-Roman use (term-by-term summary most recently in Olley 1979: 40–43). But the OT sense of God's vindicating righteousness was not among them. There is substance to the view that *hē dikaiosynē tou theou* might suggest to the Greco-Roman world God's judgment against it or, from Hellenistic Jewish use, "God's demanding and standard-setting judicial holiness" (Stuhlmacher 1986: 92 n. 18). Use in Roman law was common, especially for distributive justice and fairness (*aequitas*) (*RAC* 10: 280–89).

**E. Righteousness and Faith**

Reflecting the research by Dihle (1968; *RAC* 10: 238–50), Dobbeler (1987: 102–14) has developed the relation of the word groups *dikē*/*dikaios*/*dikaiosynē* with *pisteuein*/*pistis* ("to believe; faith") in Greek texts as background for Jewish and early Christian usage. Basic are the assumptions that natural right (*physikon dikaion,* what is right as produced by nature, universally) and conventional right (*nomikon dikaion,* resting on law, adopted by a society) intertwine (*Eth. Nic.* 5.7.1, 1134b), i.e., the cosmic and the juridical-moralistic aspects are inseparable (*RAC* 10: 249); and that *dikaiosynē* is the highest virtue, the one with social character, because it deals with others and the community (5.1.15, 1129b). Further, that righteousness includes retribution and equality (see above, and Dobbeler 1987: 104), as well as piety

(*eusebeia*/*hosiotēs,* holiness; Epict. 3.26.32: Heracles was "purifier of injustice and lawlessness, and introducer of righteousness and piety [*dikaiosynēs kai hosiotētos*]"); and finally that what is *dikaion* came to be expressed socially in terms of *epieikeia* (equitableness, reasonableness; *Eth. Nic.* 5.10.1–8, 1137a 31–1138a 3), friendship (*philia*; *Eth. Nic.* 8, 1155a–1163b), and what more and more took the place of *dikaiosynē* in the Hellenistic world, *philanthrōpia* or benevolence toward humanity (Philo described Abraham as *eusebēs* and *philanthrōpos,* i.e., as exhibiting *hosiotēs* toward God and *dikaiosynē* toward human beings, *Abr.* 208).

In Greek texts "righteousness" and "faith" appear in expanded forms of the "two-virtues rule" (*hosios, dikaios*), as in the epitaph of Gorgias (Dihle 1968: 14, n. 21): solemn (*semnoi*) toward the gods with regard to what is *dikaion,* reverent (*hosioi*) toward parents with regard to care (*therapeia*), just (*dikaioi*) toward fellow citizens with regard to equality (*ison*), pious (*eusebeis*) toward friends with regard to fidelity (*pistis*). To be *dikaios* is a sign of faithfulness (Isocrates 3.57.64). *Pistis* and *dikē* endure (Marcus Aurelius 5.33.3; Epict. 3.14.13, *dikaiosynē*). The context for this linking of *pistis* and righteousness was true *philia* (*Eth. Nic.* 8); "indeed, the element of friendliness seems to be characteristic of those who are just in its highest form" (8.1.4, 1155a 28–29). "There is no firm friendship without *pistis*" (*Eth. Nic.* 7.2.40, 1237b 13). For friendship it is necessary "to believe and be believed" (*pisteuein de kai pisteuesthai,* Xen. *Sym.* 8.18). Numerous texts suggest that *philia* is something including righteousness/justice and fidelity/believing in relations between humans, even if what occurs remains imperfect (Dobbeler 1987: 108–11).

In Greek juridical texts *pisteuein tǭ dikaiǭ* was a regular formula meaning "to rely on, trust in what is right, a lawful claim" about one's case or the court system hearing the case. So Demosthenes (*Or.* 44.4), "If we did not believe, we would not have come to you [judges]." The phrase "to believe nothing to be unjust" (*mēden adikein*) was also used. There could also be a polemical note against the other party and the suggestion that the court not favor the rich over the poor (Dem *Or.* 44.3–4). Andocides (1.2) stressed in one case how he and his client had come not under necessity but "trusting especially in *to dikaion*" and in the judges "to make known *ta dikaia* and not be unjustly overlooked," but "rather to be delivered (*sōzein*) justly in accord with your laws."

The bibliography for this article is found at the end of this entry.

JOHN REUMANN

## *NEW TESTAMENT*

This article will survey the concept of "righteousness" as it is presented in the various texts that comprise the canonical New Testament.

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**A. Introduction**

Derived from Old English *riht,* meaning "right," the noun "righteousness" has come to mean (1) a quality or state of being righteous, upright, in the right, or just; (2) that which is rightful; and (3) that which is in conformity with a standard or in a state of acceptability to God. Although the Latin *rectus,* "straight, right" (cf. *regere,* "to guide, lead, rule"), may be compared with the Anglo-Saxon terms, another Latin root has provided a second family of words in English that intertwines with "righteousness" vocabulary (especially in the KJV and related Bible translations): *justus,* meaning "just, upright," from *jus* ("right, law"). Its related words include *justitia* or "justice," and the verb *justificare* (cf. *facere,* "to make" [*justus*]; passive *fieri,* "be made" [just]), "to justify, be proven just, to vindicate."

Thus those translating biblical or other passages from the Hebrew root *ṣdq* or the Greek *dikaioun* could employ either "just, justice/justification, justify" from the Latin, or "right, righteous (ness)," and the Anglo-Saxon verb "rightwise (n)." Although some commentators, to express the continuity, e.g., in Paul's thought, have recently restored to using the Eng "rightwise" (K. Grobel in translating Bultmann *BTNT,* 253, n. *), this verb, once popular in Middle English, had already been set aside in favor of "justify" in Tyndale's 1535 translation. One cannot, however, accurately treat in English the biblical terms involved without resort to both "righteousness" and "justice/justification." At times, especially in the NT, "righteousness/justification" becomes a more comprehensive rendering. Other languages do not exhibit such a dichotomy; cf. German *recht, Gerechtigkeit, Rechtfertigung, rechtfertigen;* French *juste, justice, justification, justifier;* similarly Spanish.

In the Greek NT, words from the root *dik (ai)-* occur 233 times and those from *adikein* (with an *alpha* privative, meaning "[to be] unjust, [do] wrong") occur 69 times, for a data base of some 300 verses. The Bible sometimes pairs and contrasts "righteousness and unrighteous" (*dikaios* and *adikos;* Matt 5:45; Acts 24:15; 1 Pet 3:18), as classical literature had done (Schrenk *TDNT* 1:149–51). Behind all these words looms *dikē,* a noun that denotes justice (Homer, *Il.* 16.388, in a Hesiodic passage), judgment, or exposition of the law (*Il.* 18.508); as a mythological personification, it denotes the virgin daughter of Zeus who effects just punishment (Hesiod, *Op.* 256–64). The term can also mean "satisfaction" (*Op.* 712) and "punishment" (Josephus *JW* 7.11.3 §450), as in Acts 28:4 when the Maltese natives, thinking Paul to be a

murderer because a viper bit him after he escaped from shipwreck, exclaimed, "Justice (*Dikē*) has not allowed him to live" (cf. also 2 Thess 1:9 and Jude 7).

Greek life was shaped by notions about what is right (*dikaios*). The root yielded the nouns *dikaiosynē,* righteousness, justice, the business of a judge"; *dikaiōma*,"just requirement, act of justice or justification"; and *dikaiōsis*,"setting right, justification, vindication, acquittal." It also yielded the verb *dikaioun,* "set right, deem just, condemn, hold guiltless, justify"; and the adverb *dikaiōs*,"justly, rightly." Related to the verb *adikein,* with its negative prefix, were the nouns *adikia,* "injustice, wrong-doing"; *adikēma*,"wrong done; injury"; the adjective *adikōs*,"unrighteous, unjust"; and the adverb *adikos,* "without right, unjustly." There was often a connection with order and law and a note of judgment implied, clearly in *dikastēs*, a judge, or in a word found only in Jewish sources *dikaiokrisis,* "just judgment" (Rom 2:5).

All these words appear in the LXX except possibly *dikaiokrisia* (*TDNT* 2:24; Wilckens *Romans* EKKNT, 125–26). For their spread in the NT books, see Fig. RIG.02. About 46% of the NT occurrences appear in the Pauline corpus (which comprises some 22% of the NT). The Gospels and Acts, which make up 60% of the pages of the Greek NT, contain only 29% of the references; the rest of the NT (Hebrews through Revelation, 17% of the NT) contains about 24% of the passages with such vocabulary. One explanation is that terms like *dikaiosynē* are less likely to appear in narratives than in treatments of doctrine and ethics. The gospels of Mark and John especially lack such terms. Romans contains the most examples, twice as many per page as other letters with relatively high frequency of *dik*-vocabulary, e.g., Galatians, Philippians or James.

For *ṣdq* and its derivatives in the Hebrew Scriptures, see the preceding article on RIGHTEOUSNESS (OLD TESTAMENT), where the wide range of RSV renderings is also indicated. In the KJV, "righteousness" was employed far more than "justice" as a rendering, although terms from the Latin root occur especially in Proverbs, Job, and Isaiah. RSV seems to use the verb "justify" less than KJV, but "justice" more.

The importance of the Latin *justus* and related words for English translations has been indicated above. The Rheims NT translation of 1582, based on the Latin, sometimes influenced the KJV in the direction of justice-language; e.g., Rom 2:13 in Tyndale and Geneva Bible (1562) is "… righteous … justified," but in Rheims and KJV it is "… just … justified." On the other hand, the KJV often resisted the Latinisms of the Rheims version, especially in its phrase "the justice of God" (Rom 1:17; 3:5, 21, etc.), which has been common in Roman Catholic translations down to NAB Revised NT (1987). But the Latin influence on how *dikaiosynē-terms* were understood in Paul's day and by his congregations could also have been a factor in the 1st century.

In addition to these linguistic influences, in dealing with "righteousness" one must also be aware of the long history of interpretation that *dikai*-terminology has had since NT times, particularly in the West (overstressed by Stendahl; cf. Reumann 1982: ##213, 216; 1985: 632–35) and by no means simply since the Reformation (see Wilckens *Romans* EKKNT, 223–33; McGrath 1986). Several of the recent monographs on righteousness either deal with or have been written in light of ecumenical issues and discussions about righteousness/justification (Ziesler 1972: 1–14, 168–71, 212; Reumann and Lazareth 1967; Reumann 1982).

There have been innumerable attempts to explain most of the biblical references through a single master concept, such as "conformity to a norm," e.g., the law (*TDNT* 2:174–78); a forensic or law-court setting, where a person is acquitted or vindicated; hence the theme of innocence or not being guilty; the "relationship" approach, above all for Israel the relation to God through the covenant (Ziesler 1972: 36–43). See also previous article on RIGHTEOUSNESS (OLD TESTAMENT), sections C and I, where note is taken of recent research emphasizing "world order," divine actions in that order, and specifically what God does as "saving action." But no single theme has carried the day. In recent NT interpretation there seems a tendency, perhaps not always perceived, to stress grace at the expense of faith with regard to justification, to emphasize God's objective work in Christ over against a subjective appropriation by believers of the results of God's acts in Christ (see below). All such factors and tendencies must be kept in mind when assessing what is, by any reading, a major biblical theme: righteousness/justification.

**B. Hebrew Scriptures and Other Backgrounds**

The inheritance for NT writers from the OT was enormous in bulk and rich in variety and sense. The terms for righteousness (*ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ*) repeatedly express first a forensic, legal sense concerning how one stands before the *tôrâ* or God, or how God acquits, vindicates, or declares people right. Verbs as action words express this more frequently than do nouns. Secondly, especially in the Prophets, the terms—often combined in a hendiadys with *mišpāṭ*,"right, order, justice, judgment"—are used to express proper order, Yahweh's order connected with the reign that is divinely instituted in Israel or the world. From God's just or right reign derives, further, a constant call for right conduct, proper comportment on the part of God's people in accord with what is just. To what extent a cosmic sense of order/kingdom/law/wisdom/nature lies behind this, not only in Israel but in the ANE generally, especially Egypt (Schmid 1968; 1984; Reumann 1982: ##32, 44), remains in dispute (Fitzmyer 1982: ##361, 381).

Thirdly, *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* as God's "saving action on behalf of his people" comes to the fore, particularly in the Psalms and the Prophets. Indeed, this saving action by God in the context of divine world rule provides the setting for references to proper comportment. One can, with regard to God's acts of deliverance as victory, speak of God's fidelity to Israel (Ps 98:1–3; Isa 41:10), to the covenant (Ps 89:2–3, 5, 8, 19–37, but cf. vv 39, 49), ultimately to the world God created (Ps 33:4–12; 145:6–9; 24:1–2, 5; Isa 45:1–3, 12–13); and to God's own self or name (Pss 35:24; 89:15–17 [—Eng vv 14–16]; 143:11–12; Isa 42:21). As is well known, in Isaiah 40–55 and 56–66 "righteousness" (*ṣedeq;* RSV "deliverance") often comes to parallel "salvation" (*yēša*ʿ) (Isa 51:5, 6; cf. vv 1, 7; 46:12–13; cf. 45:23–25; 56:1; RSV "deliverance"; 61:10; 63:1c; RSV "vindication"). Hence the plural (literally "righteousness") means "victorious, triumphal, and saving acts of God in favor of his people, or the acts of the people in … conformity with God's order" (e.g., Judg 5:11; RSV "triumphs"; 1 Sam 12:7).

God speaks "what is right" (*ṣedeq;* RSV "the truth") and "declares what is just" (Isa 45:19 NEB). Yahweh is the God who "works vindication (*ṣĕdāqôt*) and justice (*mišpāṭim*) for all who are oppressed" (Ps 103:6)—an observation of obvious importance for all theologies of liberation; cf. Scharbert (*TRE* 12: 410), who, concerning God's righteousness, notes that "the OT considers no one completely guiltless and knows always that God in his righteousness does not hold himself to the same rules as a human judge, so that one cannot with God distinguish in the strict sense between *justitia vindicativa* and *distributiva,* and that even human 'righteousness' in the sense of piety is always finally grace given by God." Such a view of God, who works from grace in the name of righteousness, upsets existing notions of what is right, and it will echo in the messages of Jesus and Paul.

One can analyze *ṣedeq-ṣĕdāqâ* references in the OT as applying to (1) Yahweh and (2) Israel and the individual (Hill 1967: 86–98) or to human activity or behavior and to God's activity (Ziesler 1972: 23–32; cf. *TRE* 12: 405–10). However, such analyses must not lose sight of the interrelatedness of the two. Human righteousness for Israel was rooted in God's righteousness, conceived either as gracious saving activity or as a gracious revelation of what is right. God's righteousness must not be seen as a punitive justice, because it also involves God's saving acts. The just or righteous person (*ṣaddîq*),on whom there is great emphasis especially in Psalms and Proverbs, is not to be isolated from Yahweh as righteous. While later and elsewhere one may be able to speak of relations of human beings with each other as a "secular" or "civil" concept of righteousness/justice and of relations with God as "religious," von Rad has argued that Yahweh's righteousness was "a continuous event directed towards Israel and was consequently a subject of proclamation," indeed "understood in an oddly spatial way, as something like a sphere, or power-charged area, into which men were incorporated and thereby empowered to do special deeds" (*ROTT* 1: 375–76).

The varied senses of the words from *ṣdq* may, in light of such an understanding, be traced out in various situations and types of literature in Israel's long history (*THAT* 2: 512–30; Reumann 1982: ##37–40), noting that, as justice in the world receded for the remnant of Israel, the apocalyptic hope for a righteousness to be revealed from God grew, as did attention to what righteousness and being just meant in a changing world after the return from exile, in the Persian and Greek eras.

The OT terms with which *ṣedeq* and *ṣĕdāqâ* were used, so as to create word-fields, must also be noted, especially the words, "justice" (*mišpāṭ;* Weinfeld 1985, who traces the expression to the realm of social policy; cf. Zech 7:9–10), "truth" and "fidelity" (*ʾĕmet, ʾĕmûnâ*), "steadfast love" (*ḥesed;* NT "grace"), "blessing" (*bĕrākâ*), and "peace" (*šālôm*). Though righteousness is widely spoken of as "a covenant concept" (*IDB* 4: 81–82; Hill 1967: 85–86; Ziesler 1972: 38–39, more precisely, "… originally forensic …, it has become a covenant word"), it is difficult to find passages that mention *ṣdq* and covenant in the same breath. Genesis 15 provides the most significant example: "Abram believed the Lord, and he reckoned it to him as righteousness" (v 6); "on that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram" (v 18). Generally the connection has been assumed from a more general "biblical theology" of the OT; such a connection remains tenable largely if one begins with covenant as the theme, and it may be undermined either if righteousness indeed has roots in the ANE concept of "order" or if "covenant" is a theological construct that emerged only late in the 7th century B.C. (Perlitt 1969). See COVENANT. The understanding of righteousness/justice could also change as *ṣdq* and other terms in its word-field were discussed in Judaism and put into Greek in the three centuries or so before NT times.

A particular emphasis, of importance for NT usage, involves the righteous person (*ṣaddîq*) who suffers. This motif of the *passio iusti* for the OT and intertestamental literature has been examined by Ruppert (1972a; 1973), particularly with reference to Jesus (1972b), and by Kleinknecht (1984) in terms of tradition history for the OT and Jewish literature, with particular reference to Paul. The data (Ruppert) are in Kleinknecht's "diachronic sketch" traced back to cultic use, as by Stuhlmacher (1965: 131); the relation of the person who prays to Yahweh has been disturbed by oppression (of enemies), and the appeal is for a demonstration of Yahweh's *ṣĕdāqâ* (Kleinknecht 1984: 32–33; cf. Pss 7:9; 14:5–7; 24:4–5; 31:2). The prophets developed this tradition, both before the Exile (Kleinknecht, 33–41; especially by Jeremiah), during, and after it (pp. 42–84). Note "the servant," God's righteous one, who "through his suffering" (reading *bĕrāʿātô*) "will justify many" (*yaṣdîq*,"work righteousness for many"), "and their guilt he shall bear" (Isa 53:11 NAB); or the emergence of a tradition about the violent fate of prophets in Israel (see first in Neh 9:26 and developed in the Deuteronomistic history; cf. 2 Kgs 17:7–20). The righteous sufferer also appears in the wisdom tradition (Job) and in prayers (Lamentations 3), especially psalms reflecting the thanksgiving ceremony or *tôdâ* (Pss 22:25–26; 32:11; 40:10, "I have told the good news of deliverance [*ṣedeq*]"; Psalms 50, esp. vv 6, 14, 23; 64:10–11 [—Eng 9–10]).

A striking reading of the OT evidence is presented by Walsh (1987: esp. 171–73), who invokes the theories on Israel's origins by Mendenhall and Gottwald. In contrast to a Canaanite view of gods, king, and justice (*mišpāṭ*),where *ṣedeq* meant security and abundance, "Elohistic Israel" (coalitions of *ʿapiru* in Canaan) developed a tribal sense of *ṣedeq* as "justice." These marginal outsiders combined with the "refugee slaves from Egypt, proclaiming the good news of Yahweh" (Walsh 1987: 47), to form "Yahwistic Israel." Thereby "the story of deliverance from Pharaoh … became the story of deliverance from the power of the Canaanite kings" (p. 47). The Sinai covenant spelled out Yahweh's judgments (*mišpāṭim*) for regulating life justly. The "peasants' revolt" that toppled Canaanite kings can be seen as "acts of *ṣedeq* effected by Yahweh on behalf of, and through, his peasantry" (p. 63; Judg 5:11). So God effects vindication (*nāqām;* Mendenhall 1973: 25–31; 69–104; 194–97). This clash of two different concepts of *ṣedeq*—"bread" versus justice—can be traced through Israel's history. The monarchy threatened to revert to "the Canaanite ideology of kingship" (Walsh 1987: 97) but was checked frequently by prophetic reproof of injustice (pp. 105–9) and later by the Deuteronomistic theology of history, where doing what is right in Yahweh's sight becomes the criterion, and where God acts to vindicate the divine *ṣedeq* and *mišpāṭ* (p. 130). The theme of justice and judgment, revolving around *ṣedeq, mišpāṭ,*and *nāqām*,can be traced forward into the NT, where it is the cross that causes a "sea change" in understanding.

Schulte (1972) in a source critical analysis of J has argued that justice/righteousness (*Gerechtigkeit*) was the theme of the Yahwist about 900 B.C. The OT material was, of course, mediated through developments and interpretations in emerging Judaism. See RIGHTEOUSNESS (EARLY JUDAISM). At times Jewish

and Christian usages were influenced by concepts in classical Greek, Hellenistic, and Latin thought. See RIGHTEOUSNESS (GRECO-ROMAN WORLD).

**C. Jesus**

**1. Overview.** Judging from the statistical importance and material significance of *ṣdq-terms* in the OT and emerging Judaism, one might expect that Jesus of Nazareth, who stressed the imminence of God's kingdom, would emphasize the concept of righteousness. However, the number of *dik*-words in the four gospels is quite limited. See Fig. RIG.02. The verb occurs only 7 times (twice in Matthew, 5 times in Luke), the noun *dikaiosynē* occurs 10 times (especially in Matthew, once in Luke, and twice in John); *dikē* does not occur at all. The adjective *dikaios* is more common (33 times). Luke also has once each the noun *dikaiōma* (1:6) and the adverb *dikaiōs* (23:41). The verb *adikein* appears only twice in (Matthew and Luke), the noun *adikia* 5 times (4 in Luke, once in John), and the adjective *adikos* also 5 times (4 in Luke, once in Matthew). These statistics become even less impressive when parallel passages are deducted and distinction is made between narrative (which may come from the evangelist) and sayings of Jesus (and even here the wording may not reflect actual sayings of the historical Jesus).

Statistically, therefore, one cannot assert that "righteousness" was a major theme for the historical Jesus, if such an assertion is based on the canonical gospels (and the noncanonical gospels do not change this picture). Like other concepts such as " 'covenant' relationship," which we might expect to be prominent, based on OT data and modern treatments of the Hebrew Scriptures (*IDB* 4: 80, 84–85, 91–93; cf. Ziesler 1972: 38–39, 131–33) or words like "gospel," which are prominent in Christianity after Easter (Fitzmyer 1982: #367), "righteousness" is a term sparsely used in the gospels. It is difficult to force the few references that may come from Jesus' own statements into a "forensic/ethical" pattern (Ziesler 1972: 128, 136: the verb = "vindicate" or has a declaratory sense; as to the noun, "righteousness is always a way of life"). In general, Jesus material will associate the terms with judgment, less commonly, if at all, with saving righteousness. The idea that God is righteous, though to be assumed from the OT picture of God, is rarely stated (cf. John 17:25).

**2. The Jewish World of the Gospels.** A number of references in narratives do describe righteous persons very much in the sense of the *ṣaddîq* in OT and Judaism. Thus Zechariah and Elizabeth were *dikaioi* before God, "walking blameless in all the commands and statutes (*dikaiōmasin*) of the Lord" (Luke 1:6; cf. Gen 26:5; Num 36:13; Deut 4:40); the point is stressed by Luke possibly to avoid the impression that their childlessness was due to any wickedness on their part (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 323). Similarly Simeon was "upright and devout" (2:25, *dikaios kai eulabēs;* later, Joseph of Arimathea is described as a Council member who was "just and good" [*agathos kai dikaios*], 23:50). The hope of such people was to live "in holiness and righteousness" (*en hosiotēti kai dikaiosynē*, a pairing common in Greek thought) before God (Luke 1:75). Luke portrays John the Baptist in 1:17 as an Elijah figure who will "turn the disobedient to the wisdom of the righteous" (*apeitheis en phronēsi dikaiōn*). While the verse incorporates Mal 4:5–6, about Elijah, the phrase cited would not be without appeal to Greek as well as Jewish readers; cf. *4 Macc.* 1:16–18, where *phronēsis* and *dikaiosynē*, along with courage and moderation/self-control (the four cardinal virtues), are listed as forms of *sophia*, which, in turn, results from education in the law.

In Matthew, Joseph is described as "a just man" (1:19) when he resolves to divorce Mary quietly and not shame her upon learning of her pregnancy; he is upright because he obeys the law (contrast Judah and David in 1:3, 6, who were not righteous in relations with Tamar and Bathsheba). The passage is complicated, however, by other interpretations that Joseph acted out of mercy, to avoid the punishment of stoning commanded for the woman and her lover (Deut 22:23–27), or that Joseph was showing awe before God's plan of salvation (Brown *John* AB, 125–28).

Herod, it is said, knew John the Baptist to be "holy and righteous" (Mark 6:20). Abel (Gen 4:8) is spoken of as "innocent" (*dikaios*), as is the blood shed by martyrs (*dikaion*, RSV "righteous," Matt 23:35). The centurion, according to Luke 23:47, confessed the dying Jesus to be *dikaios* (RSV "innocent"), as had Pilate's wife (Matt 27:19). Even the confession at Luke 23:47 could fit the "Jesus

level" of meaning, though at a later time *dikaios* might have taken on the further sense of the "Righteous One" (Fitzmyer *Luke 10–24* AB, 1520).

**3. Sayings of Jesus.** Some of Jesus' statements would fit very well with an audience marked by such OT-Jewish piety. He talks of "the just and the unjust" (*dikaious kai adikous,* in parallel with "the evil and the good") on whom God sends rain and sun (Matt 5:45; the verse may also reflect the sense of equality found in Greek thought about justice, and may be "a commonplace throughout the whole of antiquity" on "the cosmic fatherhood of God"; Betz 1985: 120). The parable about the Lost Sheep contrasts the repentant sinner with "the righteous who do not have need of repentance" (Luke 15:7). The parable of the Sheep and the Goats, whatever its origins, speaks of those on the right (*ek dexiōn*) as "the righteous" (*dikaioi,* 25:37, 46). Reference to "the resurrection of the just" (*dikaiōn,* Luke 14:14) is within the realm of Jewish apocalyptic expectations (beginning with Dan 12:2–3), as is Matt 13:43 ("the righteous will shine like the sun") and 13:49 (the angels separate the evil from the righteous).

Such sayings on the lips of Jesus criticize hypocritical pretensions to righteousness. "Woe to" those who "appear to people righteous outwardly but inwardly are full of iniquity" (*anomia,* lit., "lawlessness"; Matt 23:28); this is paralleled by a woe against scribes and Pharisees who "build tombs for the prophets and adorn the monuments of the righteous" (23:29) but who in their own day continue to murder prophets (who are by implication "righteous" or "innocent"; 23:34–35). Related are narrative references to people who claim to be righteous but do not behave thus (Luke 18:9, despising others; 20:20, pretending to be sincere).

Luke reports a number of phrases, sometimes Semitic in tone, that use *adikos/adikia.* In chap. 16 there is "the dishonest steward" (v 8, *oikonomon tēs adikias,* guilty of "official unfaithfulness" [*TDNT* 1:157]); "unrighteous mammon" (v 9, *mamōna tēs adikias;* v 11, *adikǭ mamǭna*); and a statement that the person "who is *adikos* in the least matter is *adikos* with much"; here "dishonest" is contrasted with being "faithful" (*pistos,* or "trustworthy," 10a). The term also comes up in Jesus' parable of the Pharisee who gives thanks that he is not like others, "extortioners, unjust (*adikoi*), adulterers" (18:11). The term here is general, unless a reference to the Ten Commandments (Exod 20:14–15; Deut 5:17–18) is seen, in which case the term may have the sense of "deceivers" or "cheats" (cf. Lev 19:13, LXX *ouk adikēseis ton plēsion;* 1 Cor 6:9). In a contiguous parable in Luke, also about prayer but linked in the present text with the question of who will be found faithful when the Son of Man comes (18:8, 14b), there is reference to an "unjust judge" (18:6, *ho kritēs tēs adikias*), who "neither feared God nor cared about other human beings."

**a. Judgment.** Only Luke reports a criticism by Jesus (16:15) of the Pharisees who loved money and scoffed at the principle "God *or* Mammon" (16:13). "You are the ones who (try to) justify (or "vindicate," *dikaiountes*) yourselves in the sight of human beings, but God knows your hearts, because what is exalted among humans is an abomination in the sight of God." The *hoti* clause ("because") sounds like proverbial wisdom (cf. Prov 16:5; 1 Sam 16:7). Their public almsgiving (cf. Matt 6:1–3) masks avarice (Mark 12:38–40 par). The saying threatens judgment on such public-reward-seeking Pharisees. While the statement itself might be traced back to Jesus as an isolated logion, Luke is fond of using *dikaioun* in this sense (cf. 10:29 and 7:24–28).

The note of judgment seen in these passages appears elsewhere in Jesus' message, using *dik*-vocabulary. At 13:27 the Lukan version of a Q statement (about the many who will not be saved once the door is closed) has the householder/*kyrios* saying, "Depart from me, all you workers of iniquity (*ergatai adikias*)." The parallel, Matt 7:23, has, "you who work lawlessness" (*anomian*). The words reflect Ps 6:9 (—Eng 8), where the context is that of a sufferer, whose petition Yahweh has heard, directing his enemies to turn away. Matthew is closer to the LXX. While Luke may have inserted a favorite term, *adikia,* Greek mss of the Psalter elsewhere parallel or use the two words as variants (e.g., 7:14 [LXX 15]). Matthew 12:37 (M) deals with "the day of judgment" (v 36). Then persons, including persecutors who attribute Jesus' deeds to Beelzebub (vv 24, 34), will be either individually justified ("you" sing., *dikaiōthēsẹ̄*) or condemned (*katatikasthēsẹ̄*) by their words. Cf. John 16:8–11, where sin, righteousness (*dikaiosynē*), and

judgment (*krisis*) are grouped together; judgment by Jesus (John 5:30) or others (7:24) is to be just. On the mood of bliss for the righteous sufferers and woes for sinners hereafter, cf. *1 Enoch* 96–105.

Of course, there are some verses that reflect "everyday use" of the terms. The verb *adikein* at Matt 20:13 means " (not) to wrong" a person, and at Luke 10:19 " (not) to hurt" someone, though the context here is that Satan "will not hurt you in any way." At Matt 20:4 the adjective *dikaion* means simply "that which is right or just."

**b. Matthean Emphasis?** Though some of the sayings above could go back to the historical Jesus, many of them belong to the thought of the later Church or of a specific evangelist. A test area has often been the 7 examples of "righteousness" in Matthew. All these instances of *dikaiosynē* occur in sayings by Jesus, but they are either unique to Matthew (3:15; 5:10, 20; 6:1; 21:32; M source or redactor) or are shared with Luke (Q) but have the word *dikaiosynē* only in the Matthean version (5:6; 6:33), where it may be redactional. However, several of the sayings could have come from Jesus. Matt 6:1 is very typical of the special sense for *ṣĕdāqâ* and therefore *dikaiosynē* that developed in Judaism: "Beware of practicing your piety (*dikaiosynē;* cf. 5:20) in the presence of other people." The specific example of piety immediately in mind is "almsgiving" (vv 2–5): public ostentation is contrasted with secret giving. The thematic verse at 5:20—that the righteousness of Jesus' followers must exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees in order for them to enter the kingdom of heaven—could also fit an OT emphasis, continued in Judaism, on *dikaiosynē* as ethical response to God in terms of God's will for what is right. The imperative in 6:33, "Seek first the kingdom and the righteousness of him [God]," with the promise, "and all these things shall be yours as well," parallels *dikaiosynē* with Jesus' central message of the kingdom. If the kingdom is God's reign that breaks in by divine action, then God's righteousness here would be a vindicating, saving work of God. But righteousness at 6:33 is better taken as the evangelist's addition (Guelich 1982: 345–57, 371–72) and will be treated below.

The threefold reference to a "righteous man" (RSV) in Matt 10:41b parallels a triple reference to a prophet in 10:41a, the whole being attached to a parallelism in 10:40 that reflects or combines a Q logion (= Luke 10:16) and a Markan statement (9:37 = Luke 9:48 and Matt 18:5). The Matthean context is the close of the address as the Twelve are sent forth to preach and heal, and so the reference is to receiving Jesus' personal emissaries (10:40–41): "The person who receives you receives me, and the person who receives me receives the One who sent me. The person who receives a prophet in the name of a prophet will receive a prophet's reward, and the person who receives a righteous man in the name of a righteous man will receive a righteous man's reward." The phrase "in the name of" means "aware that" or "because he is a (prophet)." The reward the prophet (gen. of origin) gives would be proclamation of God's message, and the reward from a righteous person would then be instruction in understanding that message (Hill [1965; 1967: 137–38] thinks *dikaioi* a quasi-technical term in Matthew's church for "teachers"; cf. 13:17, where "prophets and righteous persons" [*dikaioi* is not in the parallel at Luke 10:24] are said to have longed to see and hear Jesus' day, and 23:29, in light of Dan 12:3 and Qumran, "the Teacher of Righteousness"). The *dikaios* reference could, however, be to "pious, God-fearing upright people of the OT " (Ziesler 1972: 138), or it has been argued that here we have titles for Jesus, in parallel to "me," namely the Prophet (cf. Deut 18:15) and the Righteous One or Messiah (Albright and Mann, *Matthew* AB, 133–34). The last two interpretations of the verse could go back to the historical Jesus. But 10:41 is more likely redactoral (Gundry 1982: 202).

**c. Three Passages.** The most significant references in what Jesus said are likely (1) Mark 2:17 (and parallels), (2) a Q saying about wisdom, and (3) the parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector. The first passage reads: "I did not come to call righteous persons but sinners" (2:17 = Matt 9:13; Luke 5:32 adds "to repentance"). The contrast here between sinners and righteous has been noted above, as at Luke 15:7 (cf. Matt 5:45; 13:49). With regard to the historical Jesus, the reference could have been ironic or could have implied "righteous by the standards of the law, but I have come to call those they despise"; cf. the context (Mark 2:15–17), where scribes and Pharisees scorn Jesus' eating with tax collectors and sinners. The term may even be in response to the self-understanding of the Pharisees, that they were righteous compared with such people (cf. Reumann 1982: #224).

The Q statement (Matt 11:19 = Luke 7:35) in its Lukan form may be attributed to Jesus: "Wisdom is justified (*edikaiōthē*, gnomic aor) by all her children." The context is the response of "this generation" (7:31) to John the Baptist and Jesus. The former in his austerity, the latter in his gregariousness with tax collectors and sinners, are both rejected by the "lawyers and Pharisees." Yet *Sophia* (God) is vindicated and shown right by both John and Jesus and all in a long line of envoys; cf. Wisdom of Solomon 9–11 on how *Sophia,* who sits by God's throne (9:2–4), has punished the *adikoi* (10:3, cf. 20 *asebeis;* 11:20, pursued by *Dikē*) and rescued the *dikaioi* (10:4, 5, 6, 10, 13, 20; 11:14) (Schulz 1972: 386; Schüssler Fiorenza 1984: 132; cf. Luke 11:49–51 [Q], Wisdom sends prophets, whom Israel persecutes and kills, and 13:34–35 [= Matt 23:37–39] as a wisdom lament [Kloppenborg 1987: 139–47, 227–29: a Deuteronomistic concept of history]).

The parable of the Pharisee and tax collector (Luke 18:9–14) tells, in a somewhat overdrawn way, of a Pharisee who in his deeds exceeds the law's requirements and feels far superior to the *adikoi* (vv 11b–12), and of a tax collector whose prayer as a sinner is simply to throw himself on God's mercy. This latter person, Jesus concludes, "went down to his house justified (*dedikaiōmenos*) rather than the other" (v 14). There is considerable agreement (Reumann 1982: ##50, 247) that the parable is Jesus' own, not a Lukanized Paulinism. It provides another example of Jesus' "defense of his attitude toward Pharisees and toll-collectors in contemporary Palestinian society," a critique of Pharisaic "pursuit of uprightness or righteousness … by boasting or even by self-confident activity" (Fitzmyer *Luke 10–24* AB, 1184); we glimpse "Jesus' own attitude" that one is "justified" (declared/made upright) before God "by a contrite recognition of one's own sinfulness" and expression of it before God (pp. 1185, 1188). For *dikaioun* in this sense in Jewish texts, cf. $1QS^{b}$etc. 4.22 and 2 Esdr 12:7 (to be "accounted righteous" [*iustificatus sum*] is paralleled in a prayer with "find favor" in God's sight); and also note the spirit of Ps 51:1–17. A forensic context is provided by the preceding parable in 18:2–5 (6) about the unrighteous judge (*ho kritēs tēs adikias*) who finally heeds the widow's pleas for vindication (vv 3, 5, *ekdikein*), and by the likely later, allegorical addition in vv 7–8: God will "make vindication" (*ekdikēsis*, vv 7, 8; cf. 21:22, "days of vengeance," from Hos 9:7).

**d. Summary.** The Synoptic Gospels reflect the Jewish world of Jesus' day with regard to righteousness (Hill 1967: 139). He spoke of the just and the unjust (Matt 5:45) or righteous and sinners (Semiticizing expressions with *adikia* are found especially in Luke). In the style of his day he urged his followers to greater righteousness (Matt 5:20) and spoke of it in terms of piety (Matt 6:1), e.g., almsgiving. Yet Jesus' message about God's kingdom was especially addressed to "sinners" (Mark 2:17 and parallels), and he criticized in no uncertain terms those striving to justify themselves outwardly, hypocritically, and in a way derogatory toward those they termed *adikoi* Matt 23:28–35; Luke 16:15). He reserved praise for sinners who threw themselves on God's mercy; such are vindicated (Luke 18:14). In traditional terms Jesus could speak of the resurrection of the righteous (Luke 14:14; Matt 13:47), but the emphasis was even more on the judgment (Luke 13:27; Matt 12:37), particularly of those who persecute God's prophets and righteous ones (Matt 10:41).

Jesus likely saw John the Baptist and himself in this succession of persecuted prophets (Luke 7:35), but it is nowhere clearly stated that Jesus viewed himself as "the Righteous One" (see above on Matt 10:41). A picture in pre-Christian Jewish sources of a suffering and then exalted Righteous One (Schweizer 1960: 22–31) is a problematical mixture of motifs (Ruppert 1972b: 43–44; see also pp. 44–71 for the possible case that Jesus saw himself as a suffering prophet [like the righteous figure in Wis 5:1–7] who looked to God for vindication, even after a martyr death). That Jesus looked upon his impending death as salvific depends on whether, or how much of, the "ransom saying" (Mark 10:45) or the "passion predictions" (like Mark 8:31) are attributed to the historical Jesus (cf., e.g., Kleinknecht 1984: 167–77). There are only a few possible references using *dik*-terminology that allude to God's righteousness as a gift (Matt 6:33) and to God's justifying (better: vindicating) sinners (Luke 18:14, cf. vv 5 and 8).

**4. Extending the Theme.** Although many conclude that "righteousness really does not characterize what is new in Jesus' proclamation" (Dihle *RAC* 10: 306), some exegetes, looking ahead to the prominence of the theme in Paul, hold it "likely that Jesus' messianic life of righteousness provided the

extent and direction for his community's reflection on this theological concept" (Stuhlmacher 1986: 30). Jungel argued that Jesus' message, especially in the parables, concerned the kingdom of God and its presence as God's grace. Like the righteousness of God in Paul, it has eschatological character: Jesus looked forward to the imminent kingdom, Paul looked back to the eschaton brought "to expression as the revelation of God's righteousness in Jesus' death and resurrection" (Jungel 1962: 282). Both, however, viewed the law basically as the love command (Mark 12:28–31 and parallels; Rom 13:8–10) and gave faith a significant place (for Jesus, in miracle stories where faith is awakened, e.g., Mark 5:34; cf. also Lührmann 1975). It may be that "divine rule" and "right" inevitably go together, as from time immemorial in ancient religion (*Dikē*, Maat), and so "kingdom of God" and righteousness intertwine (Reventlow 1971: 114–15). But gospel passages do not support such a connection.

Different from Jungel's existential hermeneutic is Baird's (1963) stress on "justice" in the teaching of Jesus. The focus is not, however, on righteousness (*ṣdq*, pp. 44–45) but on judgment (*mišpāṭ*, pp. 42–44, 58–62), in terms of equity, love, and wrath. In the crisis that Jesus' coming brings, the righteous and sinners are separated (pp. 185–87). Here Jesus emerges as Judge incarnate. Walsh (1987: 148–49) would understand Jesus against a background of "*ṣedeq* and the belief in Yahweh's *mišpāṭ* found in the Scriptures." Stuhlmacher argues that Jesus brought "a new understanding" of God's righteousness and of righteousness before God (1986: 32). This came by his words and deeds, above all through forgiving sins and inviting sinners to table fellowship. Both Jesus' call to a life of love and his readiness to die a death that is "vicarious life-giving" (Mark 10:45) are involved. But even Stuhlmacher admits it is not until after Easter that Jesus was understood as "personification of God's saving righteousness."

**D. Expounding Jesus' Cross**

**1. Post-Easter Reflection.** Reflection on the passion and death of Jesus in light of the assertion that "God has raised him from the dead" (1 Thess 1:10; Gal 1:1; cf. 1 Cor 15:4) led to an understanding of the meaning of the crucifixion in terms at times of righteousness/justification. See also JUSTIFICATION. These early traditions took the form especially of creedal formulae or slogans, sometimes hymnic, to be confessed about the work and person of Jesus the Christ. The starting point here may have been the title "the Just (or Righteous) One," *ho dikaios* (cf. Acts 3:14; 7:52; 22:14; 1 Pet 3:18; 1 John 2:1), applied to Jesus, in contrast to the *adikoi* or unrighteous (1 Pet 3:18; cf. Rom 5:6–7, *hyper asebōn*), to whom he had ministered in life and benefited in death. Jesus also came to be spoken of as "our righteousness (*dikaiosynē*)" (1 Cor 1:30), and verbs from *dikaioun* were employed to tell how he had "vindicated" (1 Tim 3:16) or "justified" (1 Cor 6:11; Rom 3:24) believers, so that one could speak of our "justification" (Rom 4:25) or even our becoming "God's righteousness" in Christ (2 Cor 5:21). OT texts like Gen 15:6 and Hab 2:4 played no direct part, but *ṣdq* as "saving righteousness" and OT cultic concepts did.

**2. Background.** Williams (1975), focusing on Rom 3:24–26, would trace this understanding of Jesus' death as "saving event" back to Hellenized Christianity, i.e., a congregation of Hellenized Jews and Gentiles (p. 253). He assumes a concept of martyrdom where death purifies the people and the land, a concept mediated through *4 Maccabees* (1:11; 6:28–39; 17:21–22), a document he dates to ca. A.D. 35–40 in Antioch (pp. 183–202; 253). At issue is whether this concept in *4 Maccabees* of atoning, vicarious death can be explained sufficiently from OT and Jewish backgrounds, notably Isaiah 53 and 2 Macc 7:37–38 (*OTP* 2: 539), or whether it shows Greek influence, as is suggested by references in *4 Maccabees* to "divine justice" (*dikē;* 4:21; 8:22; 9:9; 18:22; cf. 8:14; 9:15; 12:12), therefore requiring Greek-Hellenistic ideas as the catalyst, such as "propitiatory sacrifice à la Iphigenia" (cf. Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulus* 1383–84; 1553–55, the willing sacrifice, to placate the wrath of the goddess Artemis, noting *4 Macc.* 6:28, where the martyr's punishment "suffices" for the people). Most would trace the formulations to Jewish Christianity, relying on OT themes as developed in Judaism (Schweizer 1960: 32–41; Ruppert; Thyen 1970; Stuhlmacher 1965, but cf. 185–88, and 1986: 58–60, 63–65: perhaps a heritage from the circle around Stephen, Acts 7–8). Walsh (1987: 150) finds here a "sea change in the understanding of … *ṣedeq …* "

**3. Seven Examples from the Epistles.** Now embedded in NT letters, these "atonement formulas" or, better, *homologiae* about the meaning of Jesus' death exhibit some variety not only in the range of application for righteousness terms but probably also in backgrounds (Reumann 1982: ##60–75).

(1) 1 Pet 3:18, "Christ once for all (*hapax*) suffered (variant, "died") for (*peri*) sins, the Righteous One on behalf of those who are unrighteous (*dikaios hyper adikōn*)," could have been part of a longer hymn embracing Christ's manifestation (1:20), passion (cf. 2:22–24 = Isa 53:4, 5, 9, 12), death, and exaltation (3:19, 22); it was, in this case, akin to the next example.

(2) 1 Tim 3:16 includes as line 2 of a six-line hymn, likely of Hellenistic-Jewish Christian origin, the statement that Christ, "manifested in the flesh," was "vindicated (*edikaiōthē*) in the spirit." If the first line refers to incarnation, the second could reflect Jesus' baptism (cf. Matt 3:15 where the voice from heaven and the Spirit confirm that he fulfills "all righteousness"). But the hymn may begin with the resurrection. Then, in line 2, Jesus is presented as in the right, as the Justified One, exalted by God.

(3) 1 Cor 1:30 employs the noun *dikaiosynē* as one of several titles for Christ, "who became 'wisdom' for us from God, both 'righteousness' and 'sanctification, ' and 'redemption' (*apolytrōsis*)." The last three terms may be formulaic, used by Paul to lay a foundation for the discussion of wisdom that follows. "Christ crucified" (1:23) is "righteousness (from God)" for us. Schnelle (1983: 44–46) sees here "the righteousness marking the community, which has its basis in Jesus Christ," righteousness through baptism.

(4) 1 Cor 6:11 associates Christ as righteousness and sanctification clearly with baptism: "you were washed, you were sanctified, you were justified (*edikaiōthēte*) in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God." The words would have been spoken over baptized persons as a call to their new existence in Christ (cf. 1 Thess 5:5; Gal 3:26–28; 4:6–7; Rom 8:14–15). In particular, forgiveness of past sins is involved. That "you were justified" (aorist tense) is the climax of the formulation: a single act, declared/made righteous, and (with v 9) called to an ethical life of God's kingdom different from the unrighteous (Schnelle 1983: 38–44).

(5) 2 Cor 5:21, "The One who did not know sin [the sinless Christ], (God) made sin on our behalf, in order that we might become God's righteousness in him," is disputed as to origins. That 5:19–21 is a pre-Pauline hymn (Käsemann 1971a: 52–55) or that at least 5:21 is Jewish-Christian tradition (Kertelge 1967: 99–107; Stuhlmacher 1965: 74–78) has been denied in favor of Paul's own authorship (Hofius 1980a; 1980b; Fitzmyer 1982: #373). Furnish (*2 Corinthians* AB, 351) terms it "a Pauline re-working of traditional, probably Jewish-Christian theological notions." That Christ was "made sin" has been taken to refer either to the sin offering of Lev 4:21 (the bull is the sin offering [*hamartia*] for the assembly) (Wilckens *Romans* EKKNT, 1: 240; Stuhlmacher 1986: 58–60), or to Isa 53:10 (the servant as "an offering for sin") (Hofius 1980a). But the phrase has also been taken to mean no more than that Christ identified with sinful humanity (Furnish). It is possible that vv 18–21 were a "preformed credo," with redaction by Paul in vv 19b and 20c, with v 20 referring to Christ as "sin offering" (Martin *2 Corinthians* WBC, 138–51). In any case, "God's righteousness" is the dominant conclusion. Verse 21 assumes Christ as righteousness (1 Cor 1:30). The goal is that "we in him are righteousness," partaking of the new reality in Christ as new creatures (5:17), through baptism (Schnelle 1983: 47–50).

(6) Rom 3:24–26 (widely held to be a non-Pauline, Jewish-Christian assertion about the meaning of Jesus' death as expiatory) remains debated regarding its perimeters. Käsemann's 1961 proposal (cf. his *Romans* HNT, 95–99), as refined in subsequent discussion (cf. Reumann 1966; 1982: ##70–72; Williams 1975: 5–24), regarded vv 24–26a as (hymnic) tradition:

> [24]Being declared righteous (*dikaioumenoi*) as a gift (*dōrean*, which some assign to Paul along with "by his [God's] grace") through the redemption (*apolytrōseōs*) which is in Christ Jesus, [25]whom God put forward as an expiation (*hilastērion*) in his blood, for a demonstration of his [God's] righteousness, because of the passing over (better: with a view to remission) of former sins, [26a]in the forbearance of God.

Possibly employed in an annual reflection on Jesus' death using Day of Atonement terminology (*hilastērion* = Heb *kappōret*), perhaps used at the Lord's Supper or baptism, the formulation spoke of

Jesus' blood demonstrating God's righteousness even as sins are forgiven (v 25) and people being justified/redeemed (24). Williams (1975:19–56) would include in the formula in v 24 both *dōrean* and "by his grace"; in v 25 "by faith" (understood as Jesus' own faith), as well as in 26c the words *dikaion* and *dikaiounta ton ek pisteōs Iēsou*, i.e., God is "just/righteous and justifies/rightwises the person who shares Jesus' own faith or Jesus-faith." Further, he would understand *dikaioumenoi* in v 24 to refer adjectivally to "all persons" in v 23; in this way the whole formulation pertains to Gentiles. Williams' analysis thus includes in the pre-Pauline text, as most do not, the term "faith," both that of Jesus and that of all who share in it. Pluta (1969: 111) would also include "through faith" in the formula, which expressed "God's justifying fidelity to the New Testament *kappōret* Jesus Christ in the eucharist."

The analysis of Lohse (1955; 1973) has been particularly persuasive to some that v 24 is not part of the formula which Paul cites (so also Wilckens *Romans* EKKNT, 1: 183–84): only *apolytrōsis* in 24 is taken as tradition (cf. 1 Cor 1:30); the quotation then begins, as often, with a relative pronoun in v 25, "whom" (*hon*), not (as can occur) with the participle "being justified" in 24. (If *dikaioumenoi* is included, a subject such as "we" or "you" plus a main verb must be assumed in the original hymn or liturgy; perhaps, "because we are being justified, we await [cf. Rom 8:23] or have [cf. Col 1:14; Eph 1:7] redemption.") Attributing v 24 basically to Paul is supported also by Stuhlmacher (1986: 96) and Schnelle (1983: 67–72), for example.

Still debated also is the sense of *hilastērion* in v 25. Is it the "mercy seat" or ark in the OT (*kappōret*, on the Day of Atonement; Leviticus 16) or "expiatory sacrifice" (Lohse 1955: 152; 1973), stressing *4 Macc.* 17:21–22? (On the OT root *kpr*, see Janowski 1982; in favor of the view that Jesus here is equated with the *kappōret*, the lid of the ark as place of meeting, see Stuhlmacher 1986: 100–3.) Given these difficulties, Schnelle (1983: 70) settles for "means of expiation" as the sense (so also Wolter 1978: 21).

At the least, 3:25–26a associates God's righteousness with forgiveness through Jesus' death. If v 24 is included, justification/redemption is explicitly asserted. If Williams is correct, faith (on the part of Jesus and those justified) was a part of the formula.

(7) Rom 4:25 is less debated as a (Hellenistic-)Jewish Christian formulation. It refers to Jesus, "who was put to death for (*dia*, on account of) our trespasses, and was raised for (*dia*, with the goal of) our justification (*dikaiōsin*)." Jesus' death and resurrection mean sins forgiven and justification/rightwising (cf. Isa 53:11–12 as possible background). The past christological event grounds these soteriological consequences that occur "for us" (*hēmōn*, "our," at the end of each line) in baptism (Schnelle 1983: 72–74). To trace 4:25 (or 3:25) to Jesus via the saying at Mark 9:31 and passion/Lord's Supper material (among others, Popkes 1967: 263–66; cf. Kleinknecht 1984: 187) remains less than convincing to most critics. The connection in 4:25 of Jesus' resurrection with justification, otherwise unparalleled, can be traced thematically in terms of "acquittal by resurrection" and life for believers (Barth 1971: 20; Barth and Fletcher 1964).

**4. Significance.** The cumulative weight of these texts is to provide a starting point for NT use of righteousness/justification in Christology and soteriology (Reumann 1982: #76). Their appearance in Jewish (-Hellenistic) Christianity is not surprising, given the emphasis on *ṣdq* and the *passio iusti* in the OT and in certain strands of Judaism; but it must also be post-Easter, given the paucity of such terms on Jesus' part. Yet some of the concepts would not have been strange to the Greek world, and from there they had already penetrated Hellenistic Judaism (*4 Maccabees*). The formulations must be early enough—in the thirties or forties—to function as familiar, common tradition in Pauline communities, above all in Rome where the apostle had not labored when he wrote Romans; they were also pervasive enough to appear more broadly than in Paul's own letters (1 Peter; cf. 1 Timothy; "the Just One" in Acts). Thus these formulations can be termed part of early "apostolic Christianity," and they demonstrate that righteousness/justification was not merely a theme Paul picked up in a controversy with opponents in Galatia. The chief line of development will be, however, in Paul's theology, as this Jewish apostle writes to congregations of Jewish and Gentile Christians (see below). These righteousness/justification formulas stressed, among other things, the forgiveness of sins, redemption for the unrighteous, sanctification, and the Spirit, through the death (seen in martyr and cultic terms) and resurrection-vindication of the

Righteous One, Jesus, all granted via baptism; however, faith is not mentioned in the formulas themselves (except on Williams' reading on Rom 3:23–26), though justification by faith can be claimed as a commonly held conviction of early Jewish Christianity. See JUSTIFICATION. The ethical demand for righteous living is not explicitly stated in these pre-Pauline statements. Indeed, the starting point for Christian development of righteousness/justification as a theme (Dihle *RAC* 10: 307–13) is not the final judgment and the law's demand for righteousness but Jesus' death and vindication by God.

**E. Synoptic Gospels, Acts, Johannine Corpus**

While Jesus' passion, death, and resurrection shape the canonical gospels, the evangelists remain true to the fact that Jesus had employed *ṣdq* terminology only sparingly (see above). Most of the examples in the four gospels and Acts reflect OT-Jewish usages. In some cases *dik*-words are used in quite routine ways, without theological significance. Most examples discussed above occur only in one gospel.

**1. Q Source.** In Q (the sayings material common to Matthew and Luke) the sole example is the statement (in its Lukan form, 7:35; Matt 11:19 shows Matthean rewriting), "Wisdom is justified by her children." As indicated above, Q presented this picture as a statement of how the prophets, sent as representatives of God's own wisdom, are rejected; yet wisdom is vindicated by them, eschatologically. In Q, Jesus, as wisdom's messenger, becomes subordinated to a Son of Man Christology, standing, like his death, in the service of a proclamation of judgment on Israel (Hoffmann 1972: 180–90, 196–98; Kloppenborg 1987: 110–12, 115–17, 166–70).

**2. Mark.** Mark employs *dikaios* once in a positive sense to characterize John the Baptist as "just and holy" (in the evangelist's description of what Herod thought about him, 6:20) and once in the triple tradition logion (2:17b = Matt 9:13 = Luke 5:32), "I did not come to call righteous persons (*dikaious*) but sinners." This stands parallel with 17a, "Those who are well do not need a physician but those who are ill." Jesus' invitation is for sinners in need of forgiveness, not those self-content in their own rectitude; i.e., he calls tax collectors like Levi, not Pharisees (2:13–16).

**3. Matthew.** Matthew has a special interest in righteousness (see above for sayings material, narrative, and descriptive references; all except 20:13, "I do you no injustice," are treated in canonical order in Reumann 1982: ##226–43). The cumulative emphasis on righteous (and unrighteous) persons (1:19; 5:45; 13:17, 43, 49; 23:28, 29, 35; 25:37, 46; 27:19) and on what is right (20:4), as well as the sevenfold use of *dikaiosynē*, makes verses from Q and Mark stand out even more in Matthew's context.

Thus at 9:13 the Markan saying of 2:17 is repeated verbatim, though introduced by a connecting word, "*For* I did not come to call righteous persons but sinners." The context is still the call of a tax collector to follow Jesus (9:9–11, here named Matthew, not Levi), but the proverbial statement that preceded 17b in Mark, namely, "Those who are well do not need a physician but those who are ill" (17a = Matt 9:12), takes on added significance in light of the immense collection of miracle stories in chaps. 8–9, about Jesus as healer, who fulfills Isa 53:4 in the way "he took our infirmities and bore our diseases" (8:17). Between what were parallel sayings in Mark (2:17a and b), Matthew has placed an OT citation on Jesus' lips (Matt 9:13a), introduced by a rabbinic exhortation, "Go and learn what it means [in Hos 6:6, where God says], 'I desire mercy and not sacrifice.' " (Matthew repeats this quotation at 12:7; the shift in wording from LXX "mercy *more than* sacrifice" suggests a rejection of temple sacrifices.) The key word "mercy" then explains why Jesus calls "sinners."

The Q saying (Luke 7:35) about wisdom being justified by her children (emissaries like John the Baptist and Jesus) becomes in Matthew 11:19 part of a framework, with 11:2, around material concerning the Baptizer: John heard in prison about "the *works* of Christ" (11:2), and the closing then reads, "Wisdom is justified by her *works*" (11:19). In this way Matthew's version shifts the reference from "all the children" of wisdom, including John, to the miracles ("works") which Jesus as the Christ performs, presented in chaps. 8–9. This is part of Matthew's identification of wisdom as God's plan for salvation (Meier 1980: 124) or even with Jesus himself (cf. 23:34 with Luke 11:49; and 11:28–29 with wisdom's invitation in Sir 51:23–27).

In 10:41, about receiving "a righteous man" (see above), if there is a reference to Jesus as the "Righteous One" this is much more likely on the evangelist's level of meaning than on that of the historical Jesus (cf. 27:19).

The judgment theme mentioned above for the gospels and Jesus in general is, as is well known, especially emphatic in Matthew (cf. 12:37, being justified or condemned at the judgment depends on one's words; 12:7, if opponents of Jesus had known what Hos 6:6 means, they "would not have condemned the guiltless"). (What RSV translates as "justice" at 23:23 and 12:20 [=Isa 42:3] is another Greek word, *krisis.*)

The seven verses where *dikaiosynē* occurs on the lips of Jesus are the prime expression of the righteousness theme in Matthew. While 6:1 might, among others, be authentically from the Jesus level, the claim that all are redactoral or in verses composed by Matthew (e.g., Reumann 1982) finds considerable support (Gundry 1982; Luz *Matthew* EKKNT, 154). That does not mean, however, that the meaning in every passage need be the same. Numerous exegetes do take all of them to mean righteous human actions or relationships, a demand upon disciples to do their just duty (so Luz; Syreeni 1987: 207–11). Others find a varied meaning, sometimes for a divine gift or power, or they see both "God's actions with respect to men and the human actions that spring from God's" (gift and task), perhaps in a covenant setting (Schweizer 1975: 54–55). There is some agreement on the following analysis (Reumann 1982, where earlier literature is cited; Meier 1980: 38; Gundry 1982; Guelich 1982).

The concept of *dikaiosynē* (in the sense of obedient response to Jesus in terms of just and upright conduct) looms over much of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount as the central theme. So 5:20, "Unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven," stands over the antitheses of 5:21–48. "Beware of practicing your piety (*dikaiosynē*) before others" (6:1) is the theme for 6:1–18, about almsgiving, prayer, and fasting. While, as in Hebrew, the term at 6:1 could denote almsgiving, it probably has a broader meaning of righteousness before God. The sense in 5:20 and 6:1 is clearly that of human actions, for it is "your righteousness" that is spoken of. Matt 5:10 probably has the same meaning: "Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake," i.e., for their righteous conduct. Syreeni, who stresses the sense of demand throughout Matthew (cf. Przybylski), nonetheless speaks of a "defective, transitional conception of covenantal nomism" (1987:218) in Matthew compared with Tannaitic Judaism (Sanders), for while there has been a break with the Jewish variety, "a new Christian form of covenantal nomism has not (yet?) been conceptualized" (p. 212).

Matt 5:6, however, where the noun *dikaiosynē* is inserted as the object of "hunger" along with the verb "thirst" (contrast Luke 6:21), to yield "Blessed are those who hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be satisfied," may mean "right conduct on God's side"; not human activity but divine exercise of justice, leading to eschatological vindication of the poor, meek, persecuted disciples (Gundry 1982: 70). This soteriological sense is especially likely if, behind the beautitudes at 5:3, 4, and 5 one sees, respectively, Isa 61:1 (good tidings for the afflicted [Heb *ʿănāwîm*, the poor]); 61:2 (all who mourn); and 61:7 (in your land a double portion). Similarly, Isa 61:6 (you shall eat the wealth of the nations) may lie behind Matt 5:6 (the hungry being satisfied). Then Isa 61:10 (where righteousness from God parallels salvation) might even suggest that Matt 5:10 has the further sense of those persecuted for their relationship with God, 5:3 and 10 thus forming an *inclusio* around the 8 second-person beatitudes (Guelich 1982: 84–88, 93, 102–3, 115–18).

The final example in the Sermon on the Mount literally reads, "Seek first the kingdom and the righteousness of him [God], and all these things will be added to you" (Matt 6:33; cf. Luke 12:31, "Seek his kingdom, and these things will be added to you"). The form is an imperative. But usually in Matthew the kingdom is God-given, eschatologically. This is the only instance in Matthew of "*God's* righteousness." And the verse closes with a promise. Hence, this verse also may, like 5:6, refer to the right conduct of God in giving the kingdom and righteousness (Gundry 1982: 118–19) or to "eschatological vindication or salvation by God" as well as "the life lived in keeping with the will of the Father," gift and demand (Guelich 1982: 346–47, 371–72). Involved would be the "imperatival indicative" so characteristic of Matthew (Strecker 1962).

When Jesus urged John to baptize him, "For thus it is fitting for us to fulfill all righteousness" (3:15), we have another example of doing what is right yet also fulfilling the plan of God (Meier 1980: 27: God's "saving activity"). With its reference to "us" (referring to John the Baptist and Jesus), the verse forms a sort of large *inclusio* with 21:35: "John came to you in the way of righteousness." While this could mean demanding an upright life or living in a righteous way, the phrase "way of righteousness" could also have a salvation-history sense (Meier 1980: 241–42): the course of God's plan that culminates in the Baptist and Jesus, who in Matthew often appear in tandem (cf. 3:2 and 4:17).

In summary, Matthew's references to righteousness yield a certain emphasis on God's eschatological gift of salvation (5:6; 6:33), with a definite stress on the response of disciples in terms of righteous living (5:10, 20; 6:1). Two other references (3:15; 21:32) could incorporate both senses (each of which has OT roots), but these may also reflect Matthean salvation history.

**4. Luke-Acts.** The books of Luke and Acts may be considered together in order to grasp the totality of the Lukan picture. The 53 examples of *dik*-terminology in the two books make this the second biggest grouping of such words in the NT (after Paul). Words from *adikein* also occur with relative frequency in both volumes. See Fig. RIG.02. All examples in Luke's gospel have been noted above except for 12:57 ("Why do you not judge for yourselves what is right?" cf. Acts 4:19). References to righteous people appear with some frequency in Luke 1–2, much as in Matthew. In L material in chap. 16 and 18:6 and 11 *adikos/adikia* appear, the noun often used in the genitive adjectivally ("steward of injustice").

Many of these same uses appear in Acts: "reward of wickedness" (*adikias,* 1:18); "bond of iniquity" (8:23); "resurrection of both just and unjust" (24:15; cf. Luke 14:14); *adikein* at 7:24, 26, 27 (to "wrong" someone) and 25:10, 11 (do wrong); *ekdikēsis* at 7:24 ("avenge"). Cornelius is termed "an upright and God-fearing" centurion (10:22); such a person who "does righteousness" (*ergazomenos dikaiosynēs*) is acceptable to God (10:35, i.e., who lives a devout life and gives alms). In contrast Elymas is an "enemy of all righteousness" (13:10). God's final judgment will occur "in righteousness" (17:31; cf. Pss 9:4; 96:13; 98:9). The ethics and eschatology that Paul is said to argue before Felix and Drusilla, "justice (*dikaiosynē*), self-control, and the coming judgment" (24:25), seem in the first two topics a nod to Greco-Roman understanding (cf. *Aristeas* 278).

Usually it is claimed that Luke-Acts touches on righteousness/justification in a theologically significant way only in the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican (Luke 18:9–14) and in a single verse at Acts 13:38 during Paul's sermon at Pisidian Antioch. One is cautioned against reading the first as more than "generic" roots for Paul's doctrine of justification by faith (Fitzmyer *Luke 10–24* AB, 1185), and the Acts passage is sharply contrasted with Paul's own view as presenting but "partial justification," which is equated with forgiveness of sins (13:38) and occurs "*also* by faith" along with the law (Vielhauer 1966: 41–42).

Luke writes at the intersection of both knowledge about Jesus and awareness of Paul. He is true to the Jesus tradition with its relatively minor emphasis on righteousness/justification (see above, on the Jesus level of meaning for Luke 18:9–14). He probably did not know Paul's letters or appreciate how significant *dikaiosynē* was for the apostle. But his limited references must be read not only in light of a situation (ca. 80–95) that was quite different from Paul's day, but also with respect to the themes of Lukan theology; and with a literary, narrative awareness of Luke's approach. Among the significant theological aspects are a Lukan emphasis on the forgiveness of sins (*aphesis hamartiōn*, Luke 1:77; 3:3; 24:47; Acts 2:38; 5:31; 10:43; 13:38; 26:18; cf. 4:18 "release … liberty"; Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 223–24) and a sense of the Jewish law (and prophets) as divine prophecies but no longer a theological problem (Vielhauer 1966: 37–43). Further, Jesus dies as an innocent righteous sufferer (cf. the use of "the Righteous One" in Acts 3:14; 7:52; 22:14; the centurion's words at Luke 23:47; contrast Luke 23:41; Schweizer 1960: 32–41), indeed akin to the martyrdom (cf. 23:34 and 46 with Acts 7:60 and 59) of a Hellenistic *sophos* or wisdom figure (Karris 1985: 23–46; God's prophet of justice, who called for righteousness especially in the sense of almsgiving). There is no association of Jesus' death with expiating sin (Mark 10:45 is omitted; Acts 8:32–33 leaves out of the Isaiah quote 53:6 and 8d; only Acts 20:29 is a counterbalance). But there is no need for this connection, for God has always been forgiving

(Luke as "the gospel of great pardons," 7:36–50; 15; 19:1–10; cf. God's grace/graciousness as a theme). Yet "faith" is prominent (e.g., Acts 13:38–39), often along with repentance (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 235–39). Finally, it must be realized that the author of Luke-Acts, stressing such themes a generation after Paul, cannot (by the very genre of these two books) very well *discuss* doctrines: instead, he must teach by means of stories (Schweizer *Luke* NTD).

Thus it is in a ministry by Jesus programmatically described as forgiveness/release from sins (4:18) and exemplified in 5:20–24, that he declares, "I have not come (perfect tense) to call righteous persons but sinners *to repentance*" (5:32). As Levi's conversion (5:27–29) illustrates, this period is "the Lord's acceptable year" (4:19 = Isa 61:2a; cf. Lev 25:10 LXX *eniautos apheseōs*, RSV "a jubilee"). The Pharisees and scribes grumble at the way Jesus eats and drinks with tax collectors and sinners (7:30). The unit 7:29–35, abounding in *dik*-forms, contrasts how "all the people and the tax collectors 'justified God' (*edikaiōsan*, recognized God's justice or accepted divine righteousness) by having been baptized with John's baptism," but the Pharisees and tax collectors rejected God's plan and John's baptism (7:29–30). Whether through John or through Jesus "the friend of tax collectors and sinners" (7:34), "wisdom was justified (*edikaiōthē*, vindicated) by all her children." Simon the Pharisee cannot grasp how a sinful "woman of the city" could be forgiven and saved by faith (7:36–50). The grumbling of opponents continues (15:2; 19:7) in connection with the saving of the lost emphasized both in parables (15:3–32) and in the Zacchaeus narrative (19:1–10). The contrast between "the righteous" and tax collector-sinners is most vividly exemplified in Jesus' story about prayers at the Temple, between "those who trusted in themselves that they were righteous (*dikaioi*)" (18:9) and the sinner who goes home vindicated (*dedikaiōmenos*, 18:14, "justified"). So Jesus is portrayed releasing persons from sins and responding to criticism about this reversal of "righteous" and "sinners" (cf. Tannehill 1986: 37, 65–66, 103–9, 186–87).

In Acts the Lukan version of early Christian and Pauline righteousness that saves through Christ's death cannot be presented as a doctrinal proposition (because of the genre) or in Paul's terms, given Luke's distance from the conflict over whether the law of Moses is the means of salvation, his sense of a distant parousia and future judgment, and his view of Jesus' death. The Pauline word-field of cross and justification is not to be expected. But in the "Council" debate at Jerusalem Peter (not Paul) states what was seemingly a general early Christian position, "We (Jews) believe that we shall be saved (*sōzein*, as also in later Pauline letters, not *dikaioun*) through the grace of the Lord Jesus," as will Gentiles (15:11; cf. Menoud 1978).

It is in the sermon in Acts 13:16–41 that Luke's narrative version of righteousness/justification directly appears. The conclusion, "forgiveness of sins is being proclaimed through this (Jesus) to you" (13:38), is typical of the Lukan kerygma. Somewhat Pauline is v 39: "by him everyone who believes is freed (*dikaioutai*) from everything from which you could not be freed (*dikaiōthēnai*) by the law of Moses." The connection is with Jesus' resurrection (v 37), not his death. Vielhauer has overstressed contrasts with Paul's letters and fails to see Luke's view in its own terms as a later position on Jesus and "rightwising." Faith, to justify or free, appears here together with sin(s) and law. It is Jesus Christ who is proclaiming (cf. 26:22–23) through Paul that all are freed or justified before God from everything that separates from God, not by law but by believing (Weiser 1985: 328, 336–37).

**5. Johannine Literature.** Together with the six examples of *dik*-terms in the gospel of John may be considered the related and relatively more frequent references in 1 John (11; none in 2 and 3 John), and even the 21 instances in the book of Revelation. In broad terms the Fourth Gospel's one significant passage speaks of Jesus' vindication; 1 John speaks of Jesus the Righteous One who expiates sin and of "doing righteousness" as the proper response; and Revelation speaks of God as just, judging evildoers (Reumann 1982: ##254–65).

In the gospel of John, God is addressed as righteous (17:25). Jesus' judgment is just (5:30), and there is "no falsehood (*adikia*, dishonesty) in him" (7:18). He urges opponents to judge "with just judgment" (7:24, *tēn dikaian krisin*). This language is typical of OT usages and in chap. 7 becomes forensic and polemical. Such a law-court setting also appears in 16:8–11, where *dikaiosynē* occurs twice, in one of the Paraclete sayings in the Upper Room discourse. After departing, Jesus promises to send the Paraclete,

who "will convince/convict (*elegxei*) the world concerning sin and concerning righteousness and concerning judgment:

concerning sin (*hamartia*), because (or that) they do not believe in me;
concerning righteousness, because (or that) I go to the Father, and you will see me no more;
and concerning judgment, because (or that) the ruler of this world is judged" (vv 9–11).

The forensic language, including *Paraklētos*—which can mean legal advocate but here seems to be an accuser more than a helper or comforter—suggests a cosmic trial scene, appropriate to the Fourth Gospel's emphasis on judgment. The attempt to take the three nouns in vv 9, 10, and 11 to mean verdicts of guilt or innocence (*dikaiosynē*), in any case a judgment (Lindars 1970), does not fit either the context or John's understanding of what "the world" is (Carson 1979: 556–57). The Paraclete will show the unbelieving world to be wrong both about sin (the opponents' failure to believe in Jesus, 8:21–24, 45–46) and about judgment (for the ruler of this world is already cast out, 12:31–32). It is possible to take the reference to righteousness as referring to Christ's righteousness (Ziesler 1972: 131; Stenger 1979). Carson would take it ironically, of the world's assumed righteousness (1979: 558–60; cf. Rom 10:3; Phil 3:6–9; Matt 5:20). But the statement that Jesus is going to the Father suggests that vindication is meant, when the Righteous One (1 John 2:1) is "justified in the presence of his opponents" (Schnackenburg *John* HTKNT 3: 131, who feels that Jesus' righteousness is a fuller theme in John than this unique occurrence of *dikaiosynē* suggests). The disciples will see Jesus no more (v 10c), but they and the Paraclete will make this threefold witness.

In 1 John, God is (as in John 17:25) described as faithful and righteous (1:9), One who "will forgive our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness (*adikia*)." Likewise Jesus is righteous (2:1, 29; 3:7), in whom there is no sin (*hamartia,* 3:5; a term that 5:17 equates with wrongdoing [*adikia*]; cf. John 7:18). This threefold description of Jesus as the Righteous One is closely connected with expiation and forgiveness of sins (2:2; 3:5). Those who believe in Jesus are also termed righteous (3:7) and are characterized as "doing righteousness" (*dikaiosynē,* 2:29; 3:7, 10). Such a person is one who has been begotten/born of God (2:29; *dikaiosynē* is the consequence of being God's child, not the condition for it). See also 3:12, where Abel's deeds were righteous but Cain's were evil (cf. Brown *Epistles of John* AB, 209–10, 383–84).

The book of Revelation shares this pattern in that God (16:5) and God's judgments are described as just (15:3; 16:7; 19:2); Christ is said to judge in righteousness (19:11); and the Christian, described as righteous and holy (22:11), is encouraged to "do righteousness" (22:11), in contrast to the evildoer [*ho adikōn*] who does evil. Hence the holy God's judgments (*dikaiōmata*) have been revealed (15:4). Iniquities (*adikēmata*) are remembered (18:5), but "the righteous deeds (*dikaiōmata*) of the saints" are compared with the fine linen of the Bride (19:8). In the apocalyptic imagery there are several references to hurting or harming (*adikein*) the earth (7:2–3; 9:4, 10, 19; cf. 6:6) or God's witnesses (2:11; 11:5). That God avenges (*ekdikein*) is stated at 6:10 and 19:2.

**F. Paul**

**1. Linguistic Overview.** Some 45% of all *dik*-words in the NT occur in the Pauline corpus. Since only 21 (including *ekdikēsis*) occur in letters assigned to Paul late in his career or to other writers in the Pauline school (Colossians, Ephesians, 2 Thessalonians, the Pastoral Epistles, which will be treated separately in section G below), the bulk of the examples are in clearly genuine letters, over half occurring in Romans. A passage-by-passage analysis of all verses with *dik*-terms (Reumann 1982: ##77–162) reveals that the letters other than Romans and Galatians (which has 14 examples in its 6 chaps.) are by no means devoid of the them. In general, Pauline usage exhibits OT-Jewish roots and picks up post-Easter formulas of (Hellenistic-)Jewish Christianity which expounded the meaning of Jesus' death (see above). The lines of development are christological and soteriological, as well as eschatological and ethical.

To add to the picture all the *adikein* references means a further reflection of OT-Jewish usage. For there is the familiar contrast not only of the unrighteous (pagans—a theological, not an ethnic judgment [Dabelstein 1981]) with the saints/those sanctified and justified (1 Cor 6:1, 9, cf. 11) but also of human *adikia* with the truth (Rom 1:18, 29 [RSV wickedness]; 2:8; 1 Cor 13:6) and with God's righteousness (Rom 3:5; 6:13). One does not expect God to be unjust *(adikos),* though the theodicy question is raised at

Rom 3:5 and 9:14. The verb can mean "do wrong" (1 Cor 6:8; 2 Cor 7:2, 12; Gal 4:12) and "suffer wrong" (1 Cor 6:7; 2 Cor 7:12). Once Paul uses the noun ironically (2 Cor 2:13; cf. *TDNT* 1:151–52, 155–56, 160–61).

To bring in another related term: vengeance (*ekdikēsis*, Rom 12:19 = Deut 32:35; 1 Thess 4:6) belongs to God, not to human beings (Rom 12:19). But an earthly ruler is "God's servant, an avenger for (divine) wrath against the evildoer" (Rom 13:4). In the church community, disobedience is to be punished (*ekdikēsai;* 2 Cor 10:6), and the noun can mean punishment produced by godly grief (2 Cor 7:11; cf. *TDNT* 2:444–46).

**2. Underlying Factors.** Behind Paul's many references to righteousness/justification are several factors. It is necessary to appreciate these in order to understand his emphases on righteousness/justification.

**a. Creedal and Hymnic Formulas.** The creedal and hymnic formulas inherited from earlier "apostolic," especially Jewish, Christianity were one such underlying factor. Six of the 7 examples of such formulas cited above appear in Pauline letters, chiefly 1 and 2 Corinthians and Romans. Not Paul's own invention, "justification by faith is part of a Jewish-Christian theology" (Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 114, 115, 119). These earlier formulas exhibit a variety of backgrounds, especially in OT cult and sacrifice (2 Cor 5:21; Rom 3:25; 4:25), and reflect a variety of settings for use in congregational life, including baptism (1 Cor 6:11), hymns or creeds employed at worship (1 Tim 3:16 and others), and christological identity (1 Cor 1:30, "for us"). Some elements in the understanding of *dikaiosynē* in these (Hellenistic-)Jewish Christian texts would have been familiar to Paul's audiences through the synagogue; others (like cultic sacrifice) would have had some parallels in Greco-Roman life. If "covenant fidelity" was involved in any of these formulas, that would have been an alien theme to pagan ears and would have required clear explanation. The nuances that Paul's hearers would have brought to "righteousness/justice" language must also be kept in mind, including connections between *dikaiosynē* and faith (Dobbeler 1987: 102–14).

Therefore, much of what becomes the clearly articulated "Pauline doctrine of righteousness/justification" in Galatians, Philippians, and Romans must be accounted part of the inheritance Paul took over from earlier Christians, who created formulas about Jesus Christ and righteousness.

**b. "God's Righteousness**" (*dikaiosynē theou*). This phrase, which occurs in some of the pre-Pauline formulas (2 Cor 5:21; Rom 3:25, cf. v 26 "his righteousness"; 1 Cor 1:30, *apo theou dikaiosynē*), has, as a supposedly technical term in OT and Jewish apocalyptic literature, been taken as the starting point for Pauline development (Käsemann 1969; Stuhlmacher 1965; Reumann 1982: ##93, 133 [summary]). But reactions to this proposed background for the phrase—which occurs in Paul also at Rom 1:17; 3:5, 21, 22; 10:3; Phil 3:9, as well as in Matt 6:33, Jas 1:20, and 2 Pet 1:1, and possibly 2 Cor 9:8—have denied that the single OT reference (Deut 33:21, a verse Paul never cites) is the origin of Paul's usage (Lohse 1973:213–14) or that the Qumran data (1QH 4.30–32; 7.28; 17.20; 1QS 10.11–12; 11.2–3, 5, 9–12) are persuasive for fixing the Pauline sense (Lohse 1973: 214–17). The further contentions by Käsemann and pupils about *dikaiosynē theou*—that it means God's power or might (in terms of divine faithfulness to the covenant) and that it takes on a cosmic side (of God's loyalty to the whole creation)—must be taken with caution (Lohse 1973: 222–27). Although this corrective to an individualistic sense of justification should be welcomed, the phrase "righteousness of God" cannot be treated as a fixed apocalyptic phrase, or in isolation from other *dik*-terms in Paul. The genitive *theou,* though most likely one of "authorship"—righteousness that proceeds or goes forth from God (cf. Phil 3:9)—probably varies in sense, at times presenting an attribute or quality of God (subjective genitive, Rom 3:5) and also "righteousness before God" (objective genitive, cf. Rom 1:17; 2 Cor 5:21; cf. also Reumann 1982: #119; Cranfield *Romans* ICC, 95–99; and Wilckens *Romans* EKKNT 1: 86, 91–92, 202–33, who, like Lohse 1955: 227, stresses that in passages such as Rom 1:17, 3:21–26, and Phil 3:9–10, righteousness from God is also righteousness by faith).

**c. Apocalyptic Context.** A key for grasping Paul's understanding of righteousness is the apocalyptic context in which he wrote. But the concept of Pauline apocalypticism needs definition. Albert Schweitzer

(1931) employed eschatology of an apocalyptic sort to construct a logical (but mystical, though non-Hellenistic) Pauline theology. More recently Beker (1980) has made the apocalyptic language of Judaism, interacting with the resurrection of Jesus, the explanation for the coherent theme in Paul, an apocalyptic world view that unites the present triumph and lordship of Christ with the future triumph of God. The "apocalyptic dimension" of righteousness, as "both God's gift of salvation and his power that will encompass his whole creation," provides the basis for "Paul's hermeneutic of the lordship of Christ." The "symbol of righteousness" thus "constitutes the linguistic home of Paul's conversion experience because it was the language in which he received the Christophany and by means of which he broke with the Pharisaic life" and "righteousness under the Torah," though it is not Paul's only hermeneutic or master symbol (Beker 1980: 260–64).

But Paul wrote letters, not apocalypses, even though he incorporates parts of apocalyptic scenarios (1 Thess 4:15–17; 1 Cor 15:23–28) and writes of God's righteousness being "revealed" (*apokalyptetai*, Rom 1:17). He does use apocalyptic motifs, both from Christian tradition and probably directly from his own Judaism, but these he can then interpret through the themes of righteousness/justification (and reconciliation); cf. deliverance from "the wrath to come" in 1 Thess 1:9–10; 5:9, and then Rom 5:9–10; 8:31–39 (Schade 1981:47–49). Paul's eschatology does not begin with the future parousia but builds toward it, for Christ who justifies already reigns (Schade, 91–104, with regard to 1 Cor 15:20–28). Thus Paul's apocalyptic eschatology is of both the present and the future type, and he preserves "an irreducible tension between the 'already' and the 'not yet, ' which is generally absent from apocalyptic theology" (Keck 1984: 240). With regard to righteousness/justification, this means that we should sometimes expect to find "present realization" emphasized (Rom 3:24–28; 5:1), and sometimes its future aspect emphasized (Rom 5:9–10, "justification by faith as anticipation, as prolepsis," Keck 1984: 240; cf. Reumann 1982: ##141, 142, 147, 173). Indeed, one should probably regard as "apocalyptic" not only Käsemann's "cosmological interpretation" of righteousness/justification but also the interpretation of it in individual, anthropological terms: this is "forensic-eschatological" (Bultmann *BTNT* 1: 273–79).

**d. The Pauline "Core.**" Phrases sometimes applied to Paul's notion of righteousness/justification label it the "essence of salvation" (*BTNT* 1: 271), the center of Pauline theology (Reumann 1982: ##192–216), or at least one of its "dominant perspectives" (Fitzmyer 1967: 79, 94–97; contrast 1982: ##403–7). Such prominence has likewise often been disputed, most commonly in preference for mysticisim (A. Schweitzer 1931: "in Christ") or salvation history (Stendahl 1963, but compare 1976: 23–40, 129–32, and Via 1971). Beker has spoken of the "coherent center" in Paul in a multiplicity of ways: as apocalyptic thought (1980: 15–16), the resurrection (p. 171), the lordship of Christ (p. 260), and the triumph of God (p. 355). While all such judgments may be influenced by later theological developments (or reactions to them), and while the quest for such a "center" reflects a desire for coherence amid contingent situations in Paul's varied letters, there is a case for arguing not only that righteousness/justification constitutes Paul's "proper" or "functional" Christology (Bultmann 1933: 262; Lührmann 1976; cf. Käsemann *Romans* HNT, 24; 1971b: 70–76), but also that it represents the center of Pauline soteriology. It rests on the extensive OT roots and pre-Pauline usage of the theme, on Paul's development of aspects of righteousness/justification, on its statistical frequence in a variety of applications, and on preponderance in Philippians, Galatians, and Romans. The endeavor of Sanders (1977: 434–42, 470–72, 543–52) to make "eschatological participation" central in Paul reflects nicely the apostle's eschatological emphasis and rests on a preference for "participatory" rather than "juristic" categories (even though Paul works with the latter and does not make such a distinction, p. 502). Admittedly, however, "righteousness by faith and participation in Christ ultimately amount to the same thing" (p. 506; cf. Reumann 1982: ##217–22, 408).

**e. Baptism.** The occasion for actualizing righteousness/justification in the lives of believers was baptism. This was true already in pre-Pauline praxis, as 1 Cor 6:11 shows (the aorist passive *edikaiōthēte* indicates the single event of baptism). The sequence in 6:11, "washed, sanctified, justified," may be found also in 1 Cor 1:30 in reverse: Christ is for us "righteousness, sanctification, and redemption" (Hahn 1976: 107–8; cf. Col 1:14; Eph 1:7, 14). Hymnic references with *dik*-terms may reflect at 1 Tim 3:16 Jesus'

baptism and at 1 Pet 3:18 (above, a possible *Sitz im leben* at baptism (cf. vv 20–21, "saved through water"). The view of baptism which Paul thus inherited likely maintained that a person was freed from sins through God's power to make righteous, which was connected with Jesus' death and resurrection and which was now available through baptism (1 Cor 6:11; Romans 6; Schnelle 1983: 101). In Hellenistic Christianity, notions that one was by baptism buried and raised with Christ through divine power may show mystery cult influence (Lohse 1965: 233–35).

Paul's particular contribution to baptism, in connection with his understanding of God's righteousness, lay in his emphasis on faith as the means for appropriating the salvatory event in Christ, rather than through transmission of a divine power or life force. To be baptized meant dying to sin's dominion and living obediently "in Christ," i.e., in Christ's body, the community of believers (Lohse 1965: 237–38). In this way baptism links righteousness/justification to ecclesiology. It is baptism which makes present for each individual the justifying righteousness of Jesus' death on the cross as a gift precisely for that person, thus preventing mere vague generalizing. But Paul's proclamation (cf. 1 Cor 10:1–13) also attacked magical interpretations of baptism as a guarantee of security. The use of *edikaiōsen* at Rom 8:30, "those whom God called he also justified … and glorified," probably also stems from baptismal tradition, as is suggested by the " 'image' of [God's] son" (v 29), which like "the glory," had been lost (3:23) and is now restored in Christ (cf. 2 Cor 3:18; 4:6; Käsemann *Romans* HNT, 245).

In later writings of the Pauline school (see below), righteousness/justification continued to be associated with baptism (Titus 3:4–7; Eph 4:24; 2:4–10, here with *sōzein*, "save," replacing *dikaioun*). But generally there was no overt connection made with "faith" (esp. in contrast to "law"), though "grace" and "forgiveness of sins" became more prominent (Hahn 1976: 95–104).

That Paul was himself baptized with a baptism involving the (pre-Pauline) understanding sketched above (cf. Rom 6:3; 1 Cor 12:13; Acts 9:18; Lohse 1965: 230–31) suggests that righteousness actualized in the lives of those joined to Christ was a factor in his Christianity from the outset. It is to be assumed in his message—but in varied reflections, not as a uniform and as yet fully developed doctrine (Schnelle 1983: 100–1)—before it becomes a topic of controversy in Galatians as to how one is justified/rightwised. Paul's identification of "righteousness by divine grace" with "righteousness by faith" represented a step beyond the earlier tradition. In some ways the post-Pauline usage was a return to the pre-Pauline view of baptism as a "washing" or rebirth (cf. 1 Cor 6:11; Titus 3:5–6; Hahn 1976: 104–5).

**f. The Church (Community).** Through baptism, the Christian community becomes apparent as the locus for the life of those justified/rightwised. To be washed/sanctified/justified places one in a group differentiated from the unrighteous (*adikoi*, 1 Cor 6:9–11). For even if some of the "justified saints" still do wrong (*adikeite*, 6:8), those now righteous are not to go on in their wrongdoing (6:7; Rom 6:1–2; Dahl 1977: 103–4). While Paul speaks of those in the Church of God as saints (holy ones, *hagioi*), elect and called (1 Cor 1:2) into the body of Christ, he never applies *dikaioi* ("righteous ones") to them, though he once employs the term for doers of the law who will be justified (= righteous before God, Rom 2:13; Reumann 1982: #124). Is this omission of *dikaioi* for Christians attributable to Paul's view that "no one is righteous" (Rom 3:10), that persons can be reckoned righteous by faith only through God's saving *dikaiosynē* (3:21–26) and thus justified (5:1, 9), and that this is not completed until the final judgment? Does this explain Rom 5:19, which states that by Christ's obedience "the many will be established as righteous (*dikaioi katastathēsontai*)" (cf. Gal 5:5; Käsemann *Romans* HNT, 157–58; Kuss 1957–78: 239)? Or does Paul's preference for the singular *dikaios* stem from the influence of OT citations (Gen 15:6 and Hab 2:4), as at Gal 3:11; Rom 1:17; and 3:26? The favored term is "believer(s)" (*pisteuōn, -ontes*, 1 Thess 1:7; Gal 3:22; Rom 1:16; 3:22).

An ecclesiology derived from righteousness/justification in Paul (Klaiber) has christology as its basis ("Christ our righteousness," 1 Cor 1:30) and baptism as the step that brings each individual into the corporate body of Christ. Baptism and faith, as complementary sides of the reception of salvation, bring one into a social, egalitarian community (Gal 3:25–29) where all have received the Spirit (1 Cor 12:12–13; Gal 3:1–5; Klaiber 1982: 182–90). This corporate realm or community of the Spirit is the place where

believers live out their existence in Christ, with "life because of righteousness" (Rom 8:10; cf. Klaiber, 106–12).

At the heart of Paul's thought is the justification of the ungodly (*asebēs*), which corresponds to the "creation of the church *ex nihilo*" by faith (Klaiber, 121; Romans 4, esp. vv 5, 9, 12, 16, 17, 23–24). Since this new community consists of Jews and gentiles justified by and through their faith (Rom 3:30), in which both groups regard Abraham as prototype (Rom 4:16; Gal 3:6–9), the phrases "seed of Abraham" (Gal 3:29; Rom 4:13, 16, 18) and *hyioi Abraam,* "sons (and daughters) of Abraham" (Gal 3:7) become significant (Klaiber, 29–30). This line of thought is carried further in chap. 5: those justified (*dikaiōthentes*) have peace with God and stand in grace and in the hope of sharing God's glory, even while suffering (5:1–3). The phrases "while still sinners … now justified by Christ's blood" and "while enemies … reconciled" (5:9–10) indicate the paradoxical contrast of "in the past" and "now" (while also pointing to future deliverance, "we shall be saved"). Also apparent is the universal significance of Christ's death for the entire world (cf. 2 Cor 5:19), a note sounded more fully in 5:12–21 ("for all persons") in terms of Christ's act of righteousness (*dikaiōma*) leading to "acquittal and life" (*dikaiōsis zōēs*) for all (5:18). "We" in this chapter suggests the corporate group of those justified, but the reign of grace "through righteousness to eternal life" (5:21) brings the Church into connection with the world.

There was, on the one hand, a sense of division from, or rejection of, the world in the concept of baptism as separation from those unrighteous who will not inherit God's kingdom (1 Cor 6:9–11). But Paul's development of Christ's act of righteousness in contrast to Adam's trespass, on the other hand, held out a far larger hope, ecclesiologically and cosmically, for the reign of grace through righteousness (Rom 5:16–21; 11:15). In the societal realm, the Church embodied justification and reconciliation by inclusion of Jew and Gentile, male and female, slave and free (Gal 3:28), for God's righteousness had broken down the barriers preventing access to God as well as the barriers separating human beings from one another (Klaiber, 122). Thus "the Pauline … doctrine of justification has a clear social relevance; it implies an understanding of what Christian community is, and it provides guidelines to show the members of that community how they ought to relate to one another" (Dahl 1977: 108). Such application precedes the polemical use of the theme in Galatians and can be said to find ecclesiological expression even where the concept does not appear in express words (Dahl, 110; Klaiber, 192). On this view, all offices of leadership and all ministries in the church community stand under the gospel as the experience of righteousness/justification in Christ, as do the gifts of the Spirit, grace for ministering, and concepts of what is right (*dikaion;* Recht, norms in community; members as instruments of righteousness, Rom 6:13–19)—all stand under Christ's lordship and ultimate judgment, in freedom but with responsibility to others (Klaiber, 195–97). In such a way the justification of the ungodly is said to shape ecclesiology.

**g. Soteriology and Ethics.** The two chief concerns of Pauline passages using "righteousness" terminology are soteriology and ethics (cf. the frequent distinction between God's righteousness and human righteousness [Ziesler 1972: 32–36, 162–63, 212] or between the "forensic" and the "moral" uses). Soteriological and ethical examples of *dik*-vocabulary will constantly be noted below. Paul, of course, also had other ways of expressing his gospel of salvation besides righteousness/justification (Reumann 1982: ##192–216), though these themes interrelate.

His ethic likewise included a variety of emphases, some forms of which, strikingly, do *not* use or only rarely employ terms from *dikaioun.* Such language never occurs, for example, in *Haustafeln* or in virtue lists but does appear in vice lists: Rom 1:29 (*adikia;* cf. 1:32, God's just decree, *dikaiōma*); 1 Cor 6:9 (*adikoi*); possibly Gal 5:22–23, if "fruit of the Spirit" there can be equated with "fruit of righteousness" (Phil 1:11, on which, see below), but even then righteousness is the "umbrella" or "source" term, not one virtue among many; note also Phil 4:8 (*dikaios* in a Stoic listing) and Rom 14:17 (righteousness, peace, and joy, possibly ethical, in a pre-Pauline statement). It is to be emphasized that "for Paul ethics is not a matter of paraenesis for the justified but rather the justification of the ungodly transforms the ethical situation of the doer with respect to the obligatory good [in the law, e.g.] and its ground [God], and with respect to the doer himself and his fellows [the community]"; the "righteousness of God apart from the law altogether" is what frees the believer to act freely (Keck 1976: 209; cf. pp. 206–7; cf. Haufe 1957).

It is now clear that the origins for Paul's extensive use of righteousness terms are not to be sought in a single cause (such as conflict with Judaizers), nor need one choose between the either/or of antithetical use of rabbinic terminology by Paul versus OT (LXX) usage. Rather, influential roles were played by pre-Pauline formulas, OT exegesis by Paul (of Gen 15:6; Hab 2:4; or Ps 143 [LXX 142:2], at Gal 2:16 and Rom 3:20), Paul's own religious experience (Philippians 3), disputes with "Judaizers" (Galatians, see below), possible Qumran influences (which at the least show how varied were contemporary Jewish views, in addition to those known from rabbinic sources), and even Greco-Roman conceptions of righteousness (as synonymous with *eusebeia/hosiotēs;* Rom 1:18, ungodliness [*asebeia*]; Dihle *RAC* 10:313). Given this many influences and the wide variety of situations addressed in Paul's letters, one should not expect in his writings a monolithic single sense for righteousness/justification. Paul's refinement of this doctrine which he "held in common with others" was to stress faith, not simply Christ, grace, and baptism; he used specific OT texts so as to exclude works of the Law as a condition and to include all, Jews and Gentiles, under his theology-grounding theme (cf. Dahl 1977: 96–97, 108).

**3. Paul's Letters Generally.** Apart from the three letters by Paul that especially deal with righteousness/justification (Galatians, Philippians, Romans), the other four unquestionably assigned to him by modern scholarship (1 Thessalonians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Philemon) only occasionally employ *dik*-terms. 1 Thessalonians, that initial experiment in Christian communication by letter between apostle and struggling community, and then 1 and 2 Corinthians (or the fragments of several letters embedded in them; see Reumann 1982: ##86–88, 97, 107, 113 for possible significance of such theories for the topic) are too oriented respectively to specific situations in Thessalonica and Corinth to call for any massive development of the theme of righteousness (but cf. Fung 1980). Philemon is too brief and concerned with the problem of the slave Onesimus to allow such references. As a practice in all his letters, Paul employs the noun *dikaiosynē* in preference to the adjective *dikaios,* and the noun in particular senses, not just the adjectivally derived ones of "being upright" and "doing right" (Wilckens *Romans* EKKNT 1: 209).

**a. Pre-Pauline Formulas.** Pre-Pauline statements about righteousness are incorporated into significant passages of 1 and 2 Corinthians. In 1 Corinthians the christological sense is found at 1:30, of Christ as *dikaiosynē* for us, and in 6:11, "You were justified." The Corinthians were likely already familiar with both aspects, and the references served as basis for discussion of what was under dispute: Christ as God's wisdom (1:17–3:23) and (in chap. 6) the community's relation to the ungodly (*adikoi,* 6:9, in a set tradition cataloging those who will not enter the kingdom of God).

In 2 Cor 5:21, perhaps the heart of chaps. 1–9, there occurs the earliest of 10 Pauline references to "God's righteousness" (once in Philippians, 8 times in Romans). It deals not only with the basis for appeals concerning reconciliation with God (5:20–6:10) and with the Pauline apostolate (6:11–7:3), but also with the Corinthians' participation in the collection project (chaps. 8 and 9; Furnish *2 Corinthians* AB, 348–49). In its immediate context, this "soteriological credo" with which Paul works (v 21 about rightwising) is expanded not only by use of "new creation" (5:17) and "reconciliation" language (5:18–20) but also by reference to "salvation" (6:2). "Cosmic reconciliation" in vv 18–21 is grounded in Jesus' death for all (vv 14–15), and the mechanics of how the formulation in v 21 is to be explained include identification of God with humankind "through Christ" (18, cf. 19), as "representative" figure ("one … for all," 14, 15), with an "interchange" or transference (so that Christ becomes "sin[-offering]" and we become "the righteousness of God," v 21). The reconciliation that results is the message, the content of ministry, and the ground and content of appeal (Martin *2 Corinthians* WBC, 141–51). If in v 19 "not counting (*logizomenos,* reckoning, as in Rom 4:3–12) their trespasses against them" is taken as an insertion by Paul into traditional material (Martin, 139, 142, 145, 154), then there is a reminiscence of OT verses about righteousness/justification (Gen 15:6; Ps 32:2, as at Rom 4:3, 8). Further, Paul has there introduced a "framework of justification," and this "idiom of justification" clarifies how, in reconciliation, " 'righteousness' is God both setting men and women right with himself and justifying himself" (Martin, 149, cf. 139–40).

In the contents of 2 Corinthians as a whole, the description of Christians as "the righteousness of God" (5:21) may be further reflected at 6:14: "What partnership have righteousness and lawlessness?"

Whatever the origins of 6:14–7:1 (and the tendency in the commentaries by Furnish [383] and Martin [195] is to see a non-Pauline, perhaps Essene, composition used by the apostle), in the redacted letter this first of five antitheses—which parallel *dikaiosynē* with light, Christ, the person who is faithful (*pistos*) or a believer, and the temple of God (6:14–16), all of which "we," the community, are—seems to have a practical ethical sense. The case for seeing here "God's gracious gift of acquittal" or justification depends on reading in other aspects of *dikaiosynē* from 11:15 and Romans (cf. Martin, 198).

**b. OT Background.** An OT background for righteousness may thus appear in 2 Cor 5:19. It could also have appeared, but does not, at 1 Thess 5:8. There Paul reflects Isa 59:17 about God putting on "righteousness as a breastplate, and a helmet of salvation on his head." But while the two items of armor are kept, a triad of qualities which have been mentioned at 1 Thess 1:3—faith, love, and hope—are inserted with reference to Christians: "put on the breastplate of faith and love and for a helmet the hope of salvation." God's righteousness in Isaiah becomes in 1 Thess 5:8 the Christians' faith and love. Indeed, at 1 Thess 1:3 it was the Thessalonians' "work of faith (*ergon tēs pisteōs*) and labor of love" that was mentioned. This sense, of "a deed rising from faith," is "studiously avoided" in Paul's later letters, "when the problem of the Judaizers has surfaced," and *pistis* is never again so connected with *ergon* (which came then to imply "deeds of the law," Rom 3:28), but is connected rather with righteousness from God (Fitzmyer 1982: #377).

2 Cor 9:9 is an explicit quotation from Ps 112:9 [LXX Ps 111:9] about the person whose "righteousness abides for ever." In the original Hebrew and LXX, this is a reference to the benevolence or almsgiving of the righteous person (112:6). It may be cited here to characterize how Paul hopes the people in Achaia (9:2) will respond abundantly to the "good work" (9:8) of the collection for the saints in Jerusalem. Use of *dikaiosynē* in this way would also appeal to the Greco-Roman audience in Corinth and Achaia, for it could suggest "equality," a basis for appeal that Paul has used at 8:13 (*isoteμs*), "your abundance at the present time supplies their wants, so that [someday] their abundance may supply your want, that there may be equality"; cf. Lührmann *TRE* 12: 417). But v 10 presents God as the subject. If God is also the subject of v 9 (so H. D. Betz *Corinthians 8–9* Hermeneia, 111; Martin *2 Corinthians* WBC, 291; cf. Furnish *2 Corinthians* AB, 448–49), then we have a second reference to "God's righteousness" in 2 Corinthians, and a well-documented Hellenistic theme of "God the provider" is in view (Betz, 112–13). Furthermore, 9:10 uses a phrase (here italicized) from Hos 10:12 LXX, God "will multiply your seed and increase *the harvest of your righteousness*" (or "fruits of righteousness," *genēmata tēs dikaiosynēs hymōn*). Again the OT sense can be paralleled in Greek thought: "the earth willingly teaches righteousness to those able to learn, for to those who serve her better she yields more good things" (Xen *Oec.* 5.12). In context the "produce" would be an abundant collection for Jerusalem. In this "agricultural argument," Paul here employs "God's righteousness" in v 9 to provide the basis for the "human righteousness" of the Corinthians in v 10 "by establishing its economic basis" (Betz, 114). Others have seen in God's righteousness in v 9 a forensic sense so that "Paul is building on God's justifying action," and the response of the Corinthians is a token of their "right relationship to God" (Martin, 291); or "their charitable act is a part of that larger righteousness of God by which they themselves live and in which they shall remain forever" (Furnish, 449, noting that Hos 10:12 LXX reads "sow for yourselves righteousness, gather in the fruit of life," paralleling *dikaiosynē* and "life").

**c. Righteousness as Salvation.** This notion is indicated in certain of these passages (cf. above on 2 Cor 5:21–6:2; 2 Cor 9:9 in some interpretations; and, less likely, 6:14), based upon Christ (1 Cor 1:30) as righteousness and redemption. In the midrash on Exod 34:29–35 found in 2 Corinthians 3—possibly a sermon Paul gave in synagogues—the *a minori ad maius* contrasts include the ministry (RSV "dispensation") of death, condemnation, and what fades away versus the ministry of the Spirit, righteousness, and what is permanent (3:7–11; Martin, 58–59). This superior "ministry of righteousness" (3:9, subjective genitive, "based on *dikaiosynē*"), embodied here in Paul and colleagues (3:6), offers, according to various interpretations, God's power against death and condemnation, entry into new creaturehood, God's whole intervention in Jesus and its benefits, and forensic righteousness in human lives (Reumann 1982: ##92–94; Martin, 63). Noteworthy are the coordination of righteousness with Spirit

(3:8, 17–18) in contrast with Sinai and law (in terms of "old covenant"; *nomos* never occurs in 2 Corinthians), and the connection with apostolic office. Paul's "conception of apostleship is closely tied to his conception of the gospel, at the center of which is Christ's death, interpreted as an act of justification"; in this chapter "Paul's commitment to the idea that justification comes as a gift is fundamental to the argument, and sometimes rises to the surface (e.g., 3:3, 6, 7, 9)" (Furnish, 229, 228). Related is the designation of the opponents in 2 Cor 11:15: they disguise themselves as "ministers of righteousness." This likely reflects their claim to moral rectitude and status as "apostles of Christ" (v 13) and of "Righteousness" (perhaps God or Christ; it is too speculative to try to reconstruct their distinctive teaching, if any, on justification). Paul, with primeval and apocalyptic overtones (the serpent and Eve, Satan as angel of light, vv 3, 14; Kleinknecht 1984: 292–93), rejects these "false apostles."

The phrase at 2 Cor 6:7, "with the weapons of righteousness for the right hand and for the left," depicts the mission of God's true servants in military terms (cf. 1 Thess 5:8, above). 2 Cor 6:4–10, possibly from a source, uses rhetoric familiar to Stoics and the Greek world (v 6, virtues catalogue; 4b–5, list of tribulations) but also akin to Jewish apocalyptic thought (cf. *2 En.* 66:6, virtues and afflictions in which "the righteous" walk). For "weapons of righteousness," appeal has been made to the Cynic philosopher's "weapons of the gods" (Furnish, 346) and to Qumran apocalypticism (battle standards inscribed "Truth of God," "Righteousness of God" [*ʾēl ṣedeq*], and "Right Hand of God," 1QM 4.6–7; Kleinknecht, 264–65, who also [p. 268] sees here the "righteous sufferer" fighting in God's battle). The righteousness phrase at 6:7 marks a turn from 18 items introduced by the Greek preposition *en,* most of them forms of suffering or character traits, to means (now introduced by *dia*) for God's servants to endure in their paradoxical existence (vv 7–10). While a sense of moral strength may adhere to *dikaiosynē* in v 7 (Ziesler 1972: 161), the translation "weapons that God's righteousness has provided" (Furnish, 346) is supported by connection with the Holy Spirit (v 6) and "the word of truth" and "the power of God" (i.e., the gospel) in 7a (cf. Martin, 178–79); this equips the minister for what follows (7b–10). The passage is at least partially autobiographical of Paul.

**d. Ecclesiological Applications of Righteousness.** These have already been touched on through references in these passages to the apostolic ministry and, through the use of "we" at points, to the community (2 Cor 3:9; cf. vv 6, 12, 18; 6:7; 6:14, cf. 16; contrast 11:15).

**e. Apocalyptic Tones.** At times such tones can be heard (cf. above, on 2 Cor 11:15 and 6:7; also 5:20–6:2, "now is the day of salvation," present eschatology). Paul's passing remark in 1 Cor 4:4, "I am not aware of anything against myself, but I am not thereby acquitted (*dedikaiōmai*)" —made in the context of a discussion of apostolic ministry—relates justification (v 4) with future judgment (v 5), when God, not human consciences, will pronounce acquittal and commendation.

**f. Autobiographical References.** Paul's references to himself can be seen in 1 Cor 4:1–4 ("I"), in 1 Thess 2:10 (our conduct toward you believers was "holy, righteous, and blameless [*hosiōs kai dikaiōs kai amemptōs*]," a natural combination in the first two adverbs for a Greco-Roman audience), and in 2 Cor 5:20; 6:3–10 (cf. 1 Cor 4:9–16), 11–13; 7:2–4.

**g. Ethical Aspects.** The ethical aspects of *dik*-vocabulary stand out most in these letters. 1 Thess 2:10 claims that Paul's own life among converts was "holy and righteous" (*hosiōs kai dikaiōs*, a traditional combination in Greco-Roman morality). He describes the community as "righteousness" in contrast to unbelievers (2 Cor 6:14). "The unrighteous" (*adikoi*) is a term for those outside the Church (1 Cor 6:1; cf. 5:12–13), not as a moral judgment (as if their courts lacked justice) but as a contrast with "believers" who are righteous. Yet *adikoi* can also be the key term in a list of those who practice vices that exclude one from the kingdom (1 Cor 6:9). The verb *adikein* is used by Paul in the sense of "do wrong" (1 Cor 6:8; 2 Cor 7:12), "wrong" someone (2 Cor 7:2; Phlm 18), and in the passive "suffer wrong" (1 Cor 6:7; 2 Cor 7:12). The noun *adikia* can also be employed in the sense of a wrong committed (1 Cor 13:16; 2 Cor 12:13, ironically, "Forgive me this wrong!"). The adverb *dikaiōs* is once used in paraenesis, "Sober up, rightly" (1 Cor 15:34) or "as you ought" (BAGD). The sense of "benevolence" for *dikaiosynē* (2 Cor 9:9–10, RSV note) has been discussed above. Use of *isotēs*, "equality," at 2 Cor 8:13–14 may also reflect the Greek sense of *dikaiosynē*, though it scarcely suffices (Dihle *RAC* 10: 235); Lührmann (*TRE* 12: 418)

would see the *isotēs* theme reflected chiefly in references to "no distinction" between Jews and gentiles (i.e., all are sinners, Rom 3:22; 10:12).

**4. Philippians.** This epistle is significant for its firsthand description of Paul's personal experience with two kinds of righteousness, that of his own, based on law, and that from God (*tēn ek theou dikaiosynēn*), "which is through faith in Christ" (*dia pisteōs Christou,* 3:9 RSV). The context in chap. 3 is warning against "evil-workers" who are "enemies" of the cross of Christ" (3:2, 18–19). Yet the content is not simply polemical but rather an assertion of true identity for the community in Christ now (3:3) and at the coming of the Savior Jesus Christ (3:20–21). Within the *inclusio* framed by 3:2 ("look out") and 4:1 ("therefore … stand firm"), Paul does not employ OT scriptural proof (as in Galatians and Romans) but autobiographical narrative ("I," 3:4–14). This apology presents first his life as a zealous Pharisee (vv 4–6): Saul of Tarsus was "blameless (*amemptos*) as to righteousness under the law (*dikaiosynēn tēn en nomō*, 3:6)." But in a great reversal of values he learned to consider all as loss in comparison with being found in Christ (vv 7–11).

Within this *narratio*, the proposition espoused in vv 9–11 is presented through a doubly chiastic structure (Reumann 1982: ##110–11) that (1) contrasts "my own righteousness based on law" with that from God through faith (v 9), and (2) relates knowing the power of Christ's sufferings and resurrection to Paul's own baptismal experience ("becoming like him in his death"; cf. 1 Cor 6:11; 12:3; Rom 6:4) and to his hope to "attain the resurrection from the dead" (Phil 3:12). It is possible that the background for Paul's use of righteousness in Philippians 3 lies in Jewish proselyte baptism and the *ger ṣaddîq* (or "righteous proselyte") who accepts the covenant, circumcision, and obedience to all the law (Sanders 1977: 200, n. 96, 206), as in the Thirteenth Benediction (in contrast to the Twelfth), as developed by Jewish agitators threatening Philippi (Schenk 1984: 302–3). More debatable is the assertion that ascent of the convert into the heavenly world is involved—compare "resurrection" (3:10 *anastasis, exanastasis*) and "upward call" (3:14) with 1QH 3.19–22; 11.11; 15.17 and *Joseph and Aseneth* 15.4–5 (Schenk, 303–5).

Righteousness/justification in Philippians 3 includes both gift ("from God," v 9) and power (v 10), though Paul makes clear he has not obtained "perfection" or resurrection (3:12–16); hence he directs the implication of his experience in Christ into ethical channels (vv 15–17; 4:1). The passage is emphatic that faith is the way one receives this righteousness from God: "through faith in Christ" (v 9, RSV); it is "righteousness from God that depends on faith to know Christ" (3:9, *dikaiosynēn epi tę̄ pistei*), an "unambiguous instance … of a justification 'pronounced' on the basis of the believer's faith" (Cosgrove 1987: 667, n. 34). Although Paul speaks here in first person singular, there is reflection of the corporate aspect of being "in Christ" through address to the brothers and sisters (3:13, 17; 4:1) and use of we/us (vv 15–16, 20 "our commonwealth").

The ethical side of this righteousness/justification is to be seen in 1:10–11, the prayer that the Philippians "may approve what is excellent (*ta diapheronta*) and may be pure and blameless (*aproskoptoi*) for the day of Christ, filled with the fruits of righteousness which come through Jesus Christ (*karpon dikaiosynēs ton dia Iēsou Christou*) …" The fruit (sing.) is ethical, the genitive one either of origin (Ziesler 1972: 151; cf. Prov 11:30; Amos 6:12) or of authorship; indeed "of righteousness" may be equated with "through Jesus Christ" (Schenk, 121–23). Reference to "the day of Christ" suggests the forensic tone of the last judgment. More concretely, 4:8 includes "things righteous" in its list of six virtues, all characteristic of Hellenistic popular morality: "whatever is true, honorable, just (*dikaia*), pure (*hagna*), lovely, gracious, if there is any excellence (*aretē*), any praiseworthiness, continue to take these things into account." But the term are subordinated not to *aretē* as chief virtue (as they would be in Greek thought) but rather to eschatology (4:5, "the Lord is at hand"), the promise of God's peace (vv 7, 9b), magnaminity to all (v 5a NEB), and Paul's own teaching and example as norm (v 9a; cf. the narrative of 3:4–17). Phil 1:7 uses "it is right (*dikaion*)" in the sense of what is proper and just, although it does so in an "I" section (vv 7–9a), "right for me" in Paul's partner-relation with the Philippians in the gospel.

**5. Galatians.** Some see justification by faith as the predominant theme (Brinsmead 1982: 200–202; Walsh 1987: 156–64; Fung *Galatians* NICNT, 315–20), reflecting the controversy over how righteousness/justification comes about (2:21)—whether by Christ's death and through faith, or in the

sphere of law, through "works." It also reflects the controversy over *who* is justified, persons of faith (3:7) or those who perform all things that are in the law, including circumcision (3:10–14; 5:2–4; 6:13–15). At issue for Paul is "the truth of the gospel" (2:5, 14), the proclamation about Christ crucified (1:4, 16; 2:20; 3:1) and about "the faith" (1:23), with which his own status as an apostle or messenger sent by Christ is intertwined (1:1, 15–17, 19; 2:7, 9). In the polemics Paul rebukes Cephas (Peter) for breaking table fellowship with Gentile Christians at Antioch (2:11–14), appealing to the Galatians to stand firm in the freedom they received (5:1, 13) and to live and walk in the Spirit (5:16, 25) that was granted when they responded to Paul's gospel proclamation and were baptized (1:6, 11; 3:1–5, 23–29; 4:8–9, 13, 15). Righteousness/justification is no new topic for those involved in the discussion. After all, "justification by faith is part of a Jewish-Christian theology" (Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 114–15, 119) which Paul shared with Peter and other Jewish Christians (2:15–16) and with the Galatians (3:2, 24–29; Fung *Galatians* NICNT, 112–13, 126–27). But how does it now apply to Gentiles, in the face of demands by other missionaries that the Galatians add to faith "works of the law"?

Paul's *propositio* comes in 2:15–21 as part of his address to Peter at Antioch (NIV; Fung)—or more likely an extension of it (RSV; NEB). For the first time in his extant letters Paul fleshes out what "we (Jewish Christians) know" as the gospel, doing so in *dik*-terms: "a person is not rightwised/justified (*dikaioutai*) on the basis of (*ex*) works of law but only (cf. NEB) through faith in Jesus Christ (*dia pisteōs Iēsou Christou*)" (v 16a). This negative, then positive, statement is reiterated twice more. "We too have come to believe in Jesus Christ (*episteusamen* + *eis* + accusative, which Fung [*Galatians* NICNT, 138, n. 30] thinks may be a Christian coinage) in order that we might be rightwised/justified on the basis of faith in Christ (*ex pisteōs Christou*) and not on the basis of works of the law" (v 16b). The final assertion (16c) uses as scriptural proof wording from Ps 143 (LXX 142):2 (italicized here): "for by works of the law *no* human being (*sarx*) will be rightwised/justified." In this movement from general principle to "our" experience to OT support, it is unlikely that v 16a represents Christian "covenantal nomism" about Jesus as Messiah where only certain laws like circumcision are rejected (so Dunn 1983; contrast Fung *Galatians* NICNT, 116 n. 23). Instead, the implications of OT-Jewish ideas about righteousness and judgment, as reworked in light of Jewish-Christian formulas about Jesus' death and righteousness, are here being applied with regard to Gentiles (Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 116–17). Paul insists that for all, Gentiles included, the soteriological medium is Christ, not law (Cosgrove 1987:661, 664; "the law and the doing of the law are impotent to produce righteousness," 662; cf. 3:11). The particular demands raised by the opponents in Galatia, with regard to observances the law calls for, causes Paul to stress faith (Reumann 1982: #100).

In 2:17–18 Paul defends his position against the charge that such a view of righteousness encourages sinning: "if we, while seeking to be rightwised/justified 'in Christ, ' be found, even we ourselves, to be 'sinners' [in the Jewish sense, v 15, of those not observing the law], has Christ then (as opponents charge) become 'an abettor of sin'?" This cannot be, Paul replies. The premise about "gentiles/sinners" is false. The phrase "in Christ" (v 17, *en Christō*) "introduces the corporate, communal side of righteousness/justification (Betz *Galatians*, 119–20), the new sphere of life for believers. The issue of table fellowship (2:11–14) also shows the social context and issue of church unity. Verses 19–20 bring in the positive point that justification (by God's grace, v 21a) means life. Verse 21 reiterates that *dikaiosynē* (righteousness/justification) results not from law but from Christ's death. In vv 19–20 the result of justification as life is presented autobiographically ("I," though also applicable to all believers), with reference to baptism as background ("died," "crucified with Christ," "I live"; Brinsmead 1982: 73–75, 141, 157, who sees circumcision as a "sacrament" of the opponents, pp. 139–61; Schnelle 1983: 54–56; cf. 3:26–28; more cautiously, Kertelge 1967: 242) or as the principle by which Paul interpreted baptism in Rom 6 (Betz *Galatians*, 123).

Galatians 3, as a *probatio*, presents confirmations of the new status of the justified believers in Galatia. The results of the gospel Paul proclaimed about Christ crucified, about righteousness, and about faith (3:1, 2, 22–25) include the gift of the Spirit (inconceivable without the declaration of "justified," Williams 1987a), divine working of miracles (3:2–5), fulfillment of the covenant promise to Abraham (3:15–18),

and status as sons and daughters, heirs and heiresses, "in Christ" (3:25–29). One particular proof is scriptural, from the OT story of Abraham (3:6–14, 16–18, 29). Use of Gen 15:6 by Paul in 3:6 was likely necessitated by his opponents' citation of it. That Abraham "believed God and it was reckoned to him as righteousness" was variously interpreted in Judaism. See RIGHTEOUSNESS (EARLY JUDAISM), and Fig. RIG.01. Those who in Galatia stressed works of the law and circumcision (3:10; 5:2; 6:13) possibly combined Abraham's faith with his deeds (Betz *Galatians,* 139, 141) or viewed his faith in 15:6 as "a meritorious work" (Fung, 135). Paul instead makes "Abraham who had faith" (3:9, *tō̧ pistō̧ Abraam*) the prototype of all persons of faith (*hoi ek pisteōs,* 3:6, 9), Gentiles also being included in God's blessing on him (3:8, 14).

The negative proposition of 2:16, repeated in 3:11, is contrasted with an OT citation (italicized below) from Hab 2:4, another verse with a varied history of interpretation in Judaism: "No one is justified before God by the law (or "in the sphere of the law," Cosgrove 1987: 662), for '*the person who is righteous by faith shall live.*' " Paul's interpretation, which differs from the several in Judaism and Heb 10:38–39, is marked by his view of faith, *ek pisteōs* (vv 7, 8, 9, contrast 10 *ex ergōn nomou*), which he has defined in 2:16c as "believe in Jesus Christ." Gal 3:24 repeats that "Christ came in order that we might be justified *ex pisteōs,*" in contrast hypothetically to righteousness by law which could bring life (3:21, contrary-to-fact condition). The manner in which Paul employs the Abraham material gives a salvation-history sweep to the gospel that the OT Scriptures proclaimed (3:8) concerning righteousness and faith (Fung, 153, 319–20).

The single use of *adikein* in 4:12 ("you did me no wrong") adds nothing significant on righteousness, but 5:4–5 does. With reference to those in Galatia "trying to get justified/rightwised [conative present, cf. 2:17] in the realm of law," Paul says, "you have become severed from Christ, you have fallen from the sphere of grace" (5:4). In contrast, "we (the believing community) are awaiting (an eschatological term; Phil 3:20; Rom 8:19, 25), by the Spirit (Gal 3:2, 3, 5, 14; 4:6), on the basis of faith (*ek pisteōs;* 2:16; 3:2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 22, 24; cf. 3:14, 26), the hope of righteousness." Out of half a dozen interpretations for *elpida dikaiosynēs* here (cf. Fung, 224–28, who prefers "the hope to which the justification of believers points them forward"; cf. Ziesler 1972:179–80), a future-eschatological aspect of justification is most likely (Reumann 1982: ##104, 147, cf. 398; Cosgrove 1987: 653–54, 669–70) when those things that God has declared will be fully realized, for righteousness is not at the believer's disposal.

That Paul's gospel of righteousness as salvation has implications for ethical actions is readily apparent in Galatians (5:6–6:10; Haufe 1957), but *dik*-vocabulary is not involved in the ethical sections of this letter.

**6. Romans.** Paul's epistle to the Romans presents the righteousness of God (1:17; 3:5, 21, 22, 25, 26; 10:3; Williams 1980) as coherent center of a letter in which Paul may reflect on experiences in Greece and Asia Minor, some knowledge of the situation in Rome, and possibly the state of Christianity in Jerusalem. This centrality of righteousness/justification is particularly apparent when eschatological aspects of the phrase are kept in mind (with Beker), and it is regarded as "a code-term for the consistent vision of the salvific triumph of God" (Soards 1985:108–9). The genitive in *dikaiosynē tou theou* is best taken as one of authorship (cf. Phil 3:9), which shades at times into a subjective genitive, "righteousness as an attribute of God" (3:5), and which functions in other passages so as to provide for human beings a righteousness/justification that holds up at the final judgment (3:22, 24; 10:3; cf. 5:19; 3:20). It is at times spoken of as a "faith righteousness" (*ek* or *dia pisteōs*) apart from works for those who believe (1:17; 3:21, 22; 10:4, 6, e.g.; Wilckens *Romans* EKKNT 1: 204–5). The concept is not simply individualistic (Bultmann 1964, though it addresses individuals [Grässer 1984: 231–33]). It has a corporate, if not cosmic, side (Käsemann 1969), although its depiction as "power," especially as "God's power as Creator" (Stuhlmacher), can be overdone (Lohse 1973: 223–26; cf. Stuhlmacher 1986: 91–92, n. 16, 108–9, nn. 60, 63). In spite of the paucity of covenant references in Paul, the understanding persists of "righteousness in covenantal terms" (*IDB* 4:91–99; P. Achtemeier 1985:61–66, "rectitude by trust"). Danker (1972) has sought to show commercial "contract language" in Romans (3:5, God's fidelity to "contractual obligations"; 4:3–5, "put down [righteousness] to one's account").

One can view "the righteousness of God" (8 of the 9 or 10 occurrences of *dikaiosynē theou* in Paul occur in Romans), especially the four examples in 3:21–26, as the basis for the entire letter, or at least for 1:16–5:21 (Wilckens 1: 119–208). Or it has been argued that a chain of phrases, creedal in nature, shapes chaps. 5–8 (Fuchs 1949: 115–18):

[We believe in] Jesus our Lord,
who was put to death for our trespasses
  and was raised again for our justification (4:24–25),
who is at the right hand of God,
  and who intercedes for us (8:34cd),
  through whom we have access to God (5:1–2).

A clear guide is the use of pre-Pauline formulas, likely known at Rome. The formula at 3:24–26 and the phrase *dikaiosynē theou* in the formula at 2 Cor 5:21—as developed in Romans (Wilckens 1: 207–8) and leading to the use of the phrase at 3:5 in the sense of God's own righteousness—account for the outline that emerges: theme (1:16–17); Gentiles and Jews alike under God's wrath (1:18–3:20; "our *adikia* serves to show God's *dikaiosynē*," 3:5); the righteousness of God (*dikaiosynē*) as justification of the ungodly, through faith (3:21–5:21); the effects thereof (chaps. 6–8), especially for Israel (chaps. 9–11) and in believers' lives (12:1–15:13).

The theme of Romans is stated as the gospel in terms of "God's righteousness" and "righteousness by faith" (1:16–17). This gospel about God's Son, and for which Paul is set apart (1:1–3, 9) and which he is eager to preach in Rome (1:15–16a),

is the power of God for salvation to everyone who has faith, both to the Jew first and to the Gentile.
[17]For the righteousness of God (*dikaiosynē theou*) is being revealed in it (*en autō apokalyptetai*) through faith for faith (*ek pisteos eis pistin*). As it is written, "The person who through faith (*ek pisteōs*) is righteous (*dikaios*) shall live" (Rom 1:16b–17).

Apocalyptic eschatology, scriptural fulfillment, universal concern for all people, God's power at work to save, the gospel's content as God's *dikaiosynē*, and the triple emphasis on faith are apparent. Insofar as the gospel is "about God's Son" (1:3–4, 9), "the doctrine of justification" here becomes "the specifically Pauline understanding of Christology" (Käsemann *Romans* HNT, 24). The sense of the genitive "of God" (1:17) remains to be defined by later references, but the salvific sense of God's righteousness as "gospel" is clear. The words *ek pisteōs* in v 17a derive from the same phrase in v 17b (= Hab 2:4, the only example of the phrase in the LXX); in v 17b it goes with *dikaios* (RSV; NEB "justified through faith"; contrast KJV "live by faith"). These words, together with *eis pistin*, have been taken to mean growth in faith; "from the faithfulness of God to the faithfulness of believers"; the obedient faith of believers (Gal 3:2; Rom 3:22) which leads to proclamation of God's righteousness to the world (Rom 1:5; Wilckens 1: 88, 205: reception and address); or as a hendiadys for the sphere of faith (TEV: "faith alone, from beginning to end"; cf. Corsani, [1984], whose evidence suggests an eventual contrast to law and works [4:16; 9:32; 10:5–6]).

Is a part of this gospel also "the wrath of God" which, according to 1:18, "is being revealed (*apokalyptetai*) from heaven against all ungodliness and human wickedness (*adikia*)"? Some find a single process here, either in light of OT oracles about salvation and judgment (Herold 1973) or by understanding *en autō* again in v 18 ("in it," i.e., when the gospel is proclaimed; Wilckens 1: 102). But *gar* in 1:18 can be claimed to begin a new section, and the phrase "from heaven" is to be taken as a contrast: divine wrath is revealed not in the gospel proclamation about Christ but by God's apocalyptic actions apart from Christ (Käsemann *Romans* HNT, 35; Schade 1981: 47–48).

A number of *dik*-words are employed in Paul's indictment in 1:18–3:20 of both Gentiles and Jews as sinners before God. A distinction is made between "God's *dikaiokrisia*, 'righteous/just judgment' (2:5), which affects the wicked" and God's "*dikaiosynē*, by which he justifies the sinner" (Fitzmyer 1982: #389). Note *adikia* at 1:18 ("wickedness by persons who by their wickedness suppress the truth"); 1:29 ("filled with all manner of wickedness"); 2:8 (those who "obey wickedness"); and 3:5 ("our wickedness"). Twice the relatively rare word *dikaiōma* is used, for "God's decree" for Gentiles (1:32) and

for "the precepts of the law" for Jews (2:26). Both adjective and verb occur at 2:13: "not those who hear the law (are) righteous (*dikaioi*) but the doers of the law will be justified/rightwised (*dikaiōthēsontai*)." But Paul's conclusion, enunciated from Scripture (Ps 14:3; cf. Eccl 7:20), is that before God "no one is righteous (*dikaios*), no, not one" (3:10); "no human being will be justified in God's sight" (Ps 143:2, LXX 142:2), Paul adding "by works of the law, since through the law comes knowledge of sin" but not salvation (3:20). The law is thus declared impotent to produce salvation (Cosgrove 1987: 664; cf. 7:7–8; 8:3). Words like *adikia, apistia,* and *ethnē* (2:14, 24) represents a theological judgment that includes Jew as well as non-Jew under sin (3:9; Dabelstein 1981).

In 3:1–9 Paul asserts the particular dilemma he sees for the Jew in the face of God's righteousness and righteous judgment. The passage is cast in dialogue form with questions a Jewish opponent might raise and that were likely posed against Paul in Christian circles:

Jewish faithlessness does not nullify the faithfulness of God (v 3);
our wickedness (*adikia*) serves to show the *dikaiosynē* of God (v 5);
through my falsehood God's truth abounds (v 7);
do evil that good may come (v 8).

Paul dismisses the last item as a slanderous charge (cf. 6:1–2); the condemnation of such people "is just" (*endikon*). In v 5 "the justice of God" denotes an attribute, that God keeps faith to promises made; "covenant fidelity or loyalty" on God's part is thus the common recent interpretation, even if *diathēkē* is not mentioned here (but cf. 9:4; 11:27). Yet the problem is that "the Jew" described in chap. 2 has "broken covenant" by being unfaithful and guilty of wickedness (3:3, 5). Paul's emphasis is, "Let God be true, though every one is false" (3:4), citing Ps 51:4 (LXX 50:6) in 3:5:

That thou [God] mayest be justified (*dikaiōthęs*) in thy words,
and prevail when thou art judged.

Paul's theodicy maintains that God is not unjust (*adikos*) in inflicting wrath on us (v 5), for God will judge the world. The solution is to point to God's *dikaiosynē* as saving righteousness (3:21–26), manifested in the cross of Christ as expiation for sins, establishing God as just and one who justifies even the ungodly who believe.

The heart of the argument is 3:21–31, built around the formula quoted at 3:24–26a, as redacted by Paul: God put forward Jesus as a means of expiation, thereby exhibiting God's righteousness as salvific, remitting sins; thereby people are declared righteous as a gift, through the redemption in Christ Jesus. This righteousness of God is now eschatologically manifested apart from works of the law, although attested in Scripture by both law and prophets (3:21, 28). It is a God-kind of righteousness, available through faith in Jesus Christ, for all who believe in Jesus (3:22; 25 *dia pisteōs;* 26 *ton ek pisteōs Iēsou;* 27 *dia nomou pisteōs;* 28 *pistei;* 30 *ek pisteōs, dia tēs pisteōs;* 31 *dia tēs pisteōs*), everyone, Jew and Gentile alike (3:22–23, 29–30). "Faith" is thus taken up in a massive way for the first time since 1:16–17 (cf. 3:2–3). God has demonstrated his righteousness in this present time, i.e., "he is righteous (*dikaion*) even in (cf. Blackman 1968) rightwising (*dikaiounta*) the person who lives by faith (*ek pisteōs*, Hab 2:4 = 1:17) in Jesus" (3:26). The One God will from now on justify circumcised and uncircumcised by faith (3:30). This momentous paragraph—which uses *dikaiosynē* 4 times, *dikaioun* 4 times, and *dikaios* once—stresses God's action in Christ's death. This saving righteousness is christologically oriented and is received by faith (*pistis, pisteuein* 9 times; see below for further interpretations). It is "righteousness by faith" for sinners before God the Righteous One (Wilckens 1: 199–202).

Does not this view of God as "justifying the ungodly" (4:5) wreck all usual expectations and norms, including that of "covenantal nomism" (cf. Exod 23:7 LXX, *ou dikaiōseis ton asebē;* RSV "I will not acquit the wicked")? Paul turns to Scripture (and in this way upholds the law, 3:31) to support his case that "to the person who does not do works but who believes in the One who justifies the ungodly, his faith is reckoned for righteousness" (4:5). The case of Abraham is cited from Gen 15:6: it is not that he was justified by works (4:2), "but Abraham believed, and it was reckoned to him *eis dikaiosynēn*" (4:3) while he was still uncircumcised, before "works of the law." Abraham exemplifies "righteousness without works" (4:6). His faith was reckoned to him for righteousness (4:5, 9), by God's grace (*kata charin,* v 4;

Heidland 1936: 118–28; *TDNT* 4:290–92). In Abraham's life, circumcision was a later "sign or seal of the righteousness which he had by faith," so that he was father of all "who thus have righteousness reckoned to them" (v 11). "The righteousness of faith" (*dikaiosynē pisteōs*) comes via God's promise, not law (v 13). The point of this parade example is reiterated: Abraham, in all vicissitudes over a promised heir, never weakened in faith but was strengthened in faith (4:19–21); "hence it was reckoned to him for righteousness" (4:22), words written for us "who believe in the God who raised our Lord Jesus from the dead" (4:24). The unit is climaxed by use of the pre-Pauline formula at 4:25 about Jesus "put to death for our transgressions and raised for our justification (*dikaiōsin*)."

In chaps. 5–8 (Reumann 1982: ##142–54) Paul goes on to discuss what the experience of God's saving righteousness as faith-righteousness means in terms of the future and the new life under the Spirit for those rightwised/judgment. *Dik*-terms are as frequent in chaps. 5, 6, (7), 8 as in 3:21–4:25. Because Christians have been justified by faith-righteousness (5:1) through God's rightwising by means of Christ's death (5:9; Christ died for the unrighteous; cf. vv 6–7), believers have peace with God and the hope of future glory (5:1–2). This "eschatological dimension of justification by faith" (Wolter 1978) lets them live amid afflictions, bolstered by the Spirit as representative of God's love. In contrast to Adam, trespass, sin, law, and judgment, Christ means acquittal (*dikaiōma*, 5:16) and life (v 18, *eis dikaiōsin zōēs*), the free gift of righteousness/justification (v 17), through Christ's act of righteousness (*dikaiōma*, 18), so that (v 19) "many" (potentially "all" who believe; cf. vv 18, 12; 11:32) will be established as *dikaioi* (at the judgment; cf. Käsemann *Romans* HNT, 157–58; "will become" [Wilckens 2: 328]; RSV "will be made righteous"). Thus grace reigns, through *dikaiosynē*, resulting in the life of the age to come for them (v 21).

Chaps. 6–8 move logically to "living out the righteousness of God" (Bryne 1981) by those acquitted or "freed (*dedikaiōtai*) from sin" (6:7), who are now (6:18) "slaves to Righteousness" (i.e., of God; Cranfield *Romans* ICC, 322; cf. 8:33, "the God who justifies"). Once " 'free' with regard to righteousness" (6:20, not bound by, devoid of, it) and instruments of *adikia* (6:13), they are now "weapons of and for God's righteousness/justice" (6:13), obedient to *dikaiosynē* (v 16), which results in consecration or sanctification (v 19) as the daily task of living out justification (Käsemann *Romans,* 183). Justification, sanctification, and salvation represent "three effects of the Christ-event," each with "a past, present, and future aspect" (Fitzmyer 1982: #398; contrast Donfried 1976). The contextual setting in Romans 6 for the discussion of ethical aspects of *dikaiosynē* in social life is baptism as means of entry into the Church (6:3–14; Wilckens *Romans* 1: 233; 2: 5–42). The law, though important to save (8:3), remains *dikaios* in its commandments (7:12), and its just requirement (*dikaiōma*, 8:4) is to be fulfilled among Christians, under the Spirit, in terms of love. For "your spirits are alive because of righteousness" (8:10, RSV) or, literally, "the Spirit (means) life (cf. v 6; 10:5) on account of justification" (cf. Wilckens *Romans* EKKNT 2: 132–33). Of all the terms which Paul incorporates in the lyric outburst of 8:29–30 (about those whom God foreknew, predestined, called, justified, and glorified), it is the verb *dikaioun* which covers everything from "call" to final glory and which Paul has discussed the most in Romans. But those vindicated in the judgment will be those conformed to the image of Christ, his cross and suffering (Cosgrove 1987: 667–69).

In Romans 9–11 and its horizon of salvation history Paul returns to the problem of Israel already posed in 3:1–9, in light of the experience of righteousness/justification for all those who believe. The problem is taken up especially in 9:30–10:21 (Müller 1964). Does God's choice, among Abraham's descendants, of Isaac, not Esau, or now of Gentiles, along with some Jews, mean "injustice (*adikia*) on God's part" (9:14)? No, for everything depends on God's mercy (9:16). One may label 9:1–23 a "justification of God" or theodicy (Piper 1983), though *dik*-terms are not used. As in Phil 3:9, two kinds of righteousness are then contrasted, that "from faith" and that involving law, as if based on works (9:32), to which Israel did not attain, though Gentiles did take hold of faith-righteousness (9:30).

Rom 10:3–4 reiterates the contrast: Israel's people, because ignorant of *tēn tou theou dikaiosynēn* and seeking to establish their own righteousness, did not submit themselves (cf. 6:13, 18) to the righteousness of God; Christ, "the end of the law" (in the sense of its temporal end or goal or both), means righteousness (Kertelge 1967: 97–98) for everyone who believes. Thus 10:5–13 contrasts righteousness based on law (*ek nomou*)—about which Moses writes that the person who obeys the law will live by this

righteousness (Lev 18:5; cf. Gal 3:12; Rom 2:13)—and righteousness based on faith (*ek pisteōs*), which says, in words reminiscent of Deut 30:11–14, that if you believe God raised Jesus as Lord, you are justified (*pisteuetai eis dikaiosynēn*) and saved. The attempt to make "but" (*de*) in v 5 a connective, so that the two kinds of righteousness are equivalent (Badenas 1985), extends the meaning of *telos* in v 4 as goal only by ignoring Galatians as evidence for Paul's view and for the works/faith contrast here. (On the textual history of 10:5, see Lindemann (1982), who prefers the reading in Nestle-Aland, 26th ed.; cf. KJV, NEB: "For Moses writes of the righteousness which comes from law: 'The person who does these things [which the law demands] will live by them' "; "legal righteousness" [NEB] in v 5 and righteousness-by-faith [vv 6–8] are being contrasted scripturally. Dunn (1988) sees continuity as well as discontinuity in Paul's use of the OT here.

Although 12:1–15:13 provides specific paraenesis for those righteous by faith (cf. Cranfield *Romans* ICC, 592–94, 824), *dik*-terms are few. Rom 14:17 may reflect early (baptismal, catechetical) tradition: the kingdom of God is not food and drink (cf. vv 13–16, on Christian freedom) but righteousness (given in Christ, 3:21–26), which leads to peace (5:1) and joy (5:11), all in the Holy Spirit (see above on 8:4, cf. 8:2). The admonition in 12:19, "Do not avenge (*ekdikountes*) yourselves" but give way to (God's) wrath, rests on Deut 32:35 where God says, "Vengeance (*ekdikēsis*) is mine," which appears here in what is a Christian prophetic application (Käsemann *Romans*, 349; cf. 13:4, in a unit reflecting the political philosophy of the Jewish Diaspora: a ruler is God's servant, an avenger [*ekdikos*] or agent for wrath against the evildoer; Käsemann, 354, 358). Williams (1980: 285–89) suggests that 15:7–13 supports the sense of *dikaiosynē theou* as "God's fidelity to the promise(s) to Abraham" which he finds throughout Romans: Christ is a servant from the Jews to confirm the promises to the fathers for the sake of God's truth (15:8–9), i.e., confirming the fidelity/truthfulness/righteousness of God presented in 3:1–7. Haufe (1957) can speak of "the ethical 'doctrine of justification' in Paul" on the basis of an overall theological analysis, not via use of righteousness/justification language in the ethical sections.

**7. "The Faith of Jesus Christ.**" The Gk phrase *pistis Iēsou Christou,* which is prominent in such passages about righteousness as Gal 2:16, 20; Rom 3:22, cf. v 26; Phil 3:9, has traditionally been interpreted as "faith *in* Jesus Christ" (*objective* genitive), as generally above; so, e.g., Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 117; Cranfield *Romans* ICC, 203; Fung *Galatians* NICNT, 114–15. Periodically, however, in a number of recent treatments, the genitive has been taken as *subjective*, "Jesus Christ's faith" but with varying nuances. See JUSTIFICATION; FAITH (OF CHRIST). According to some, it is the faith Jesus exercised historically and now exercises, but including genitives of authorship, origin, and object (Valloton 1960). Taylor (1966) argued that Galatians reflects the Roman legal device of *fidei commissum*: God the testator has given an inheritance to Abraham and to Christ and ultimately to the Gentiles; Christ's faith shows his reliability as trustee (rejected by Hays 1983: 213–18). According to Johnson (1982), this refers to Jesus' obedience, especially his faithful death (but Rom 5:18–21 uses *hypakoē*, not *pistis*, of Jesus). Sometimes both Jesus' faithfulness and human trust/faith in his death and resurrection are included in the phrase.

While grammatically either an objective or a subjective genitive is possible, Hultgren (1980) has reasserted arguments for "faith *in* Christ." In Phil 3:9, alongside *dia pisteōs Christou,* the phrase *epi tē pistei* provides an "unambiguous instance" of "justification 'pronounced' on the basis of the believer's faith" (Williams 1987b: 667, n. 34). Gal 2:16 explains *pistis Iēsou Christou* by "we have believed in (*eis*) Jesus Christ." Similarly at Rom 3:22, "all who believe" is added. Paul never says, "Jesus Christ believed …" Theologically, the subjective genitive serves in most of its interpretations to make faith, as well as righteousness, a gift (Thüsing and Rahner 1980: 147–50). Williams (1987b) extends this so that "the faith of Jesus himself" (*pistis Christou*) becomes the way which Christ pioneered that which believers take as their own (*pistis*).

**8. The "Pattern of Religion.**" In Paul's seven acknowledged letters there appears to be a pattern of religion that Sanders (1977) has described as "eschatological participation" in Christ. But this amounts to what Paul himself called "righteousness by faith" (p. 506), true righteousness expressed in participationalist categories. This Pauline pattern was *"an essentially different type of religiousness from*

*any found in Palestinian Jewish literature"* (p. 543, italics in original). In particular, "righteousness terminology" has to do here with "transfer," how one gets into the (Christian) community, not with "maintenance of status," how one *stays* in (p. 544). But Paul's view, Sanders argues, was not sustained, and Christianity became a new form of what Judaism was: "covenantal nomism" (p. 552). This reading of the evidence indicates a uniqueness in Paul's use of *dikaiosynē* and also points to its post-NT fate.

**G. Later Pauline Letters**

*Dik*-vocabulary continues in most of the other Pauline documents, but sometimes with changes that augur the widespread loss in the Church Fathers of Paul's distinctive eschatological "righteousness of God" and "justification by faith."

**1. 2 Thessalonians** (Reumann 1982: #84). This epistle speaks typically of God's righteous judgment (1:5, *dikaias kriseōs*), i.e., when it is right (*dikaios,* 1:6) that God " 'inflict vengeance (*ekdikēsin*) upon those who do not know God' (cf. Isa 66:15 LXX; Jer 10:25) and on 'those who do not obey' (cf. Isa 66:4) the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ" (1:8). Their punishment (*dikē*, penalty) is described in 1:9. Similar imagery occurs in the parousia passage (2:1–12): Satan will come "with all deceit of wickedness" (2:10, *adikias* is a genitive of origin); but all will be condemned "who did not believe the truth but took pleasure in *adikia*" (2:12). God, gospel, and truth are thus contrasted with Satan and *adikia*.

**2. Colossians.** In the epistle the vocabulary of righteousness occurs only in the *Haustafeln* section on slaves and masters. The former (and perhaps the latter too) are admonished: "The wrongdoer (*adikōn*) will be paid back for the wrong he/she has done (*ēdikēsen*)" (3:25). Masters are told (4:1), "Grant what is right (*to dikaion*) and equity (*isotēta*, fairness) to your slaves." The language reflects popular Greek moral philosophy.

**3. Ephesians.** Paul's distinctive themes are preserved far better in Ephesians, but at the loss of the verb "to justify/rightwise"; in the slogan-like statements in the hymnic 2:4–10, the verb *sōzein*, "save," is substituted ("by grace you are saved," 2:5; "by grace you are saved through faith," 2:8). Both verbs are in the perfect tense, reflecting the tendency in Ephesians away from future judgment and toward present salvation in the Church. This outlook frees *dikaiosynē* for use in the area of ethics (Lührmann *TRE* 12: 418): "this is right" (*dikaios;* 6:1); "all that is good and right (*dikaiosynē*) and true" (5:9); "the breastplate of righteousness" (6:14); and "the new person created after the likeness of God in true righteousness and holiness" (*en dikaiosynę̄ kai hosiotēti tēs alētheias*, 4:24, a combination common in Greek ethics). But 4:24 may also reflect baptismal language and thus also the righteousness and holiness given at that "new creation" (cf. 1 Cor 6:11); as may 5:9, an ethical exhortation to the baptized as children of light (cf. 5:8, 14). Eph 6:14 has been taken to refer to *dikaiosynē* as one of the four cardinal virtues or to "being clothed with righteousness" (Isa 59:17; cf. Reumann 1982: ##167–73).

**4. Pastoral Epistles.** These epistles preserve Paul's sense of justification as a past experience (Titus 3:7) connected with the Christ-event (1 Tim 3:16) and actualized for Christians in baptism with the gift of the Spirit (Titus 3:4–7). As in Ephesians, "saved by grace" or mercy is emphasized (Titus 3:7; 2:11), indeed in antithesis to our deeds (Titus 3:5; 2 Tim 1:9), but it is no longer necessary to say "deeds of the law." "Faith" continues in a Pauline sense (1 Tim 1:16; 2 Tim 1:12), not as *pistis Iēsou Christou* but "*pistis* which is 'in Christ Jesus' " (1 Tim 3:13; 1:14; 2 Tim 1:13), as "what is believed," i.e., the faith of the Church (1 Tim 3:9; 4:1). Righteousness is at times connected with the day of the Lord and judgment (2 Tim 4:8). Above all there is emphasis on Christians' living righteously between their baptism-justification and Christ's future appearance (Titus 2:12–14; 1 Tim 6:11; 2 Tim 2:22; 3:16). Terms from *adikein* are much rarer in the Pastoral Epistles than in the other Pauline letters. Only *adikia* is found: "Let every one who names the name of the Lord depart from iniquity" (2 Tim 2:19; cf. Sir 53:3; *T. Dan.* 6.10).

Basic are the earlier hymns and hymnic passages incorporated in the Pastorals. For 1 Tim 3:16, Christ "was vindicated (*edikaiōthē*) in the spirit." Titus 3:3–7 describes how God our Savior "saved us (cf. Eph 2:4–10), not because of deeds done by us in righteousness" (an LXX phrase; obedient performance of what God commands does not save), but by God's mercy, through baptism, where the Spirit is "poured upon us through Jesus Christ … that, having been justified (*dikaiōthentes;* cf. Rom 5:1) by That One's grace, we might become heirs in hope of eternal life." See further 2 Tim 1:9–10; Titus 2:11–14 (God's

grace has appeared, training us to renounce irreligion [*asebeian*] and "to live sober, upright, and godly [lives; *dikaiōs kai eusebōs*] in the world"; and the last line in the possible baptismal hymn at 2 Tim 2:13, "If we are faithless, That One remains faithful, for he cannot deny himself" (cf. Rom 3:2–4).

Baptismal paraenesis, perhaps Jewish Christian, from occasions when such hymns are sung, may thus lie behind some of the admonitions, as at Titus 2:12 (live righteously), 1 Tim 6:11 ("Pursue righteousness, godliness [*eusebeian*], faith, love, steadfastness, gentleness" [LXX language; cf. Isa 51:1, RSV "deliverance"; Rom 9:30–31]), and 2 Tim 2:22. While open to many interpretations, 2 Tim 3:16, on one of the purposes of Scripture as "training in righteousness" (*paideian tēn en dikaiosynę̄*), "suggests that baptismal instruction (in doctrine and/or ethics) accompanied the gift of righteousness (Titus 3:7). Clearly ethical is Titus 1:8 (the bishop must be "upright"). The statement about "law" (*nomos*) at 1 Tim 1:8–9 is striking: it is "good, if one uses it lawfully," for "it is not laid down for a just person (*dikaiǭ*) "but for lawless and disobedient people, the ungodly (*asebesi*) and sinners, those ungodly (*anosiois*) and godless …" The principle that "law is not for the sake of the just or good" reiterates a Pauline theme in Greco-Roman terms (Quinn 1982: #434). The eschatological "crown of righteousness" (2 Tim 4:8) which the "righteous Judge" will award at the day of the Lord may mean a crown that consists of righteousness as God's gift or a crown for an upright life (Quinn, #437).

Hellenistic vocabulary associated with righteousness appears at 1 Tim 2:8 (lift holy [*hosious*] hands in prayer); Titus 1:8 (*hosios,* after *dikaios,* as a quality of character); and in the host of references to *eusebeia,* which may accompany or replace *dikaiosynē* at times in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim 2:2; 3:16; 4:7, 8; 5:4 [verb]; 6:3, 5, 6, 11; 2 Tim 3:5; 3:12 [adverb]; Titus 1:1).

The developments in the Pastoral Epistles have been variously explained (Luz 1976: 367–68, 376–82; Reumann 1982: ##188–91). Most likely involved were the change in eschatological perspective and new deeds as the church settled down in the Hellenistic world.

**H. Other New Testament Writings**

**1. 1 Peter.** Written to Christians under persecution, this letter shares many features common to early Christian thought in general and to Paul's letters, though not the verb *dikaioun.* A hymnic, creedlike passage refers in 3:18 to Christ who "once for all died (or suffered) for sins, the Righteous One for the unrighteous" (*dikaios hyper adikōn*). Another verse, 2:24, also possibly from hymn fragments in 2:21–25, tells how "Christ suffered for you" and "*bore our sins himself* in his body on the tree, in order that we might die to sins and live to righteousness (*tē dikaiosynę̄,* "*zēsomen*); by whose *stripes we are healed*" (italicized words from Isa 53:4, 12). The context, like so much in 1 Peter, is baptismal (cf. Rom 6:10–11, 18–20). Here, "live to righteousness" suggests either a baptismal gift or what is right in God's sight or both soteriology and ethics. The same passage speaks of Christ giving over (himself, his cause) to God, "the One who judges justly" (*dikaiōs,* 2:23). "The eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous" (*dikaious,* 3:12 = Ps 34:17), here interpreted as the Christians, who may "suffer for righteousness' sake" (3:14; cf. Matt 5:10–11). In the latter phrase, *dikaiosynē* can suggest "for God or Christ's sake" (cf. 2:19–21; 3:15; 4:16) but more likely means "for doing what is right" (3:13, literally, "zealous for the good"). The judgment looms over all, both God's household and those who do not obey the gospel of God (4:17); "if the righteous (*dikaios*) is scarcely saved, where will the impious (*asebēs*) and sinner appear?" (4:18 = Prov 11:31). Christian household servants may suffer unjustly (*adikōs,* 2:19). Nonetheless, emperor and governors are affirmed, "who are sent by him for punishment (*ekdikēsin*) of evildoers and praise of those who do good" (2:14).

**2. James.** Like Paul and Matt 6:33, the epistle of James refers specifically to *dikaiosynē theou* (1:20, RSV "the anger of man does not work the righteousness of God"). But the sense is "the righteousness which God demands" (Ziesler 1972: 135), doing justice (before God); contrast "work/commit sin" (2:9). It is not apocalyptic, covenant fidelity (so Stuhlmacher 1965: 192–93). The usage is OT-Jewish, not via Paul. An isolated wisdom saying at 3:18 speaks of "the harvest of righteousness," i.e., that comes from righteous conduct or consists in righteousness. References to the righteous person (*dikaios*) who prays (5:16) and is condemned and killed (5:6) also reflect OT-Jewish tradition ("the righteous sufferer" theme). The description in 3:6 of the tongue as "an unrighteous world" (*ho kosmos tēs adikias*) remains obscure.

The famous diatribe in 2:14–26 argues against righteousness by faith in favor of justification by works, though Paul's "works of the law" are not mentioned. Involved here are understandings different from those of Paul about works, *pistis,* and even God (2:19). The author of James has also adopted a different exegetical tradition regarding Gen 15:6 (Jas 2:23), which is here combined with Genesis 22 (Jas 2:21; see Fig. RIG.01). Here, he writes, Abraham "was justified by works, by offering up Isaac upon the altar, was he not?" (v 21). In this way faith is seen to be completed by works, so that 15:6 was fulfilled: "it (Abraham's works; or faith and this deed) was reckoned to him as righteousness" (2:23). Hence the conclusion, "A person is justified by works and not by faith alone" (2:24). A further example is given about Rahab (Joshua 2), as developed in Jewish tradition: "the harlot was justified by works, in that she received the Israelite messengers (spies) and sent them on their way" (2:25). The epistle of James may be arguing against a version of Paul's teaching as developed by pupils of his, and may even represent an attempt to defend Paul's own views by stressing that faith inevitably includes obedience and "fruit" from righteousness (Phil 1:11; so Reumann 1982: ## 266–83; 413–14). Laws (*James* HNTC, 4, 16–19, 36–38, 128–34) holds that "law" in James is unlikely "the Jewish Torah in its entirety"; the writer represents a form of Christianity independent of Paul, of a "God-fearer" variety, and opposes quietism which relies on a (misused) slogan about "faith alone." (See Scaer 1983 for the view that James writes as "apostle of faith," prior to Paul in use of Gen 15:6.)

**3. Hebrews.** With its emphasis on Christ's sacrificial death "once for all" (*ephapax*) and exhortations to lethargic Christians, the epistle to the Hebrews employs *dik*-terms more times than any other General Epistle, though it never employs the verb *dikaioun* (see Fig. RIG.02). If Hebrews can be described as "a word of exhortation" (*logos tēs paraklēseōs,* 13:22), it also calls for skill in "the word of righteousness" (5:13, *logou dikaiosynēs*), i.e., teachings about Christ and faith as well as moral imperatives for life (Reumann 1982: #286 on varied interpretations). Some specific references to "righteous (ness)" come directly out of the OT: 1:9, God's son "loved justice" (*dikaiosynēn,* Ps 45:7, of Israel's king, now applied to Christ); 8:12, under the new covenant, God will be merciful toward iniquities (*adikias;* Jer 31:34); 10:30, God says, "Vengeance (*ekdikēsis*) is mine" (Deut 32:35); and 10:37–38 (where Hab 2:3–4 plus Isa 26:20 [LXX] is quoted). The OT text is here christologized, for it is not "the vision" (2:3) but "the Coming One" (Jesus at the parousia; Heb 10:37, cf. 9:28) who "shall not tarry." This eschatology undergirds the main point, an appeal to those (literally "we") of faith to "live by faith" (Hab 2:4 = 10:38, cf. v 39).

Such a connection between every "righteous one" (*dikaios*) of God and "faith" (*pistis*) sets the stage for the parade of examples of those who, in Israel's past history, lived by faith (chap. 11). Abel (v 4) is specifically said to have "received approval as righteous" (*dikaios,* an interpretation of Gen 4:4, variously taken to refer to his conduct or belief [*Tg. Neof.*; discussion in Reumann 1982: ##290–91]). Noah (v 7) is described as having become "an heir of the righteousness which comes by faith" (*tēs kata pistin dikaiosynēs;* that Noah was righteous is explicitly stated in Gen 6:9). The phrasing in 11:7 is not Pauline. Oddly, Abraham (vv 8–19) is not connected with righteousness, and only in the general summary at v 33 (they "enforced justice" [RSV, *eirgasanto dikaiosynēn* = Heb *ʿāsâ ṣĕdāqâ*]) does a *dik*-word appear in Hebrews 11. The concept of *pistis* in Heb 11:1 remains debated: Luther and RSV see here a reference to a subjective phenomenon, "the *assurance* of things hoped for, the *conviction* of things not seen," while others see a reference to a more objective phenomenon, "the *reality* of goods hoped for, the *proof* of things not seen" (Fitzmyer 1982: #416; contrast Thompson 1982 and O. Betz 1987).

Other references in Hebrews clearly reflect the OT-Jewish tradition. God is not unjust (*adikos,* 6:10). The name Melchizedek is said to mean "king of righteousness" (7:2, *ṣdq*). There were "regulations" (*dikaiōmata*) under the first covenant (9:1, 10), which could not "perfect" worshippers. But now, through Christ, in spite of persecution and the need for discipline, there is a promised yield, "the peaceable fruit of righteousness" (12:11). Among the eschatological expectations at Mt. Zion (12:22–24), with Jesus the mediator of a new covenant, is an intriguing reference to "spirits of just men made perfect" (12:23 RSV, *pneumasi dikaiōn teteleiōmenōn*). If read as referring to the pious of the OT, the phrase could suggest the "perfectly righteous" (*gĕmûrîm ṣaddîqîm*) of rabbinic thought here interpreted apocalyptically. See

RIGHTEOUSNESS (EARLY JUDAISM). But since the OT persons of faith were not to be perfected "apart from us" (i.e., the Christians), the reference could be to deceased Christians perfected through Christ's passion (2:10; 5:9), a part of "the assembly of those firstborn enrolled in heaven" (12:23). Hebrews thus achieves a way of using righteousness terminology, against an OT background, different from any other sort of NT Christianity.

**4. Jude and 2 Peter.** Jude refers once (v 7) to "punishment (*dikēn*) of eternal fire" on Sodom and Gomorrah, but 2 Peter contains a dozen examples of *dik*-root terms (Reumann 1982: ## 306–14). The phrase "righteousness of God," noted in Paul, Jas 1:20, and Matt 6:33, occurs with a new variation at 2 Peter 1:1, in the address to "those who have obtained a faith of equal standing (*isotimon*) with ours in the righteousness of our God and Savior Jesus Christ *dikaiosynē tou theou hēmōn kai sōtēros Iēsou Christou*)." While this may mean God's justice or fairness (Käsemann 1964: 173), it is here "the righteousness of … *Christ.*" The biblical (or Hellenistic) concept may thus be recast more christocentrically. The document further presents "the way of righteousness" (2:21) or truth (2:2) in which walked such figures as Noah, who "heralded *dikaiosynēs* (the righteousness God wills, 2:5)," and righteous Lot, who "was vexed in his righteous soul" (2:7–8). But "the Lord knows how to rescue the godly (*eusebeis*) … and to keep the unrighteous (*adikous*) under punishment until the day of judgment" (2:9). Sinners who love "gain (or reward) for wrongdoing" (*adikias,* 2:15) "suffer wrong (*adikoumenoi*) for their wrongdoing" (2:13). God's promise for those who live in holy, godly ways includes "new heavens and a new earth (Isa 65:17; 66:22), in which righteousness dwells" (3:13), a messianic vision of justice. Note also the frequent use of *eusebeia* for "godliness" (1:3, 6, 7; 3:11, with "holy" conduct).

## I. After the NT

Amid all its variety in the canonical writings, righteousness/justification achieved its greatest importance in quite early (Hellenistic-)Jewish Christian formulas about the meaning of the Christ event (see D above) and then in the letters of Paul (see F above), who developed the meaning of *dikaiosynē (tou theou)* and of being rightwised/justified to new heights by his use of the Hebrew Scriptures and their sense of God's saving righteousness, now seen in Christ. There were also significant applications of the terminology in Matthew, James, the Pauline school, 1 John, 1 and 2 Peter, and Hebrews (resumé in Reumann 1982: ##336–46, chart #335). Few NT topics exhibit such vitality and widespread linkage with the OT.

The subsequent history of *dik*-terms in Christianity is characterized by (1) loss of the Hebraic sense of *ṣdq* and replacement by the Greco-Roman sense of "distributive justice" and impartiality or equanimity (*aequitas*) and (2) the fortunes of the Pauline doctrine of righteousness/justification. Change in eschatology, as well as loss of OT perspective, meant that the early and Pauline understandings could not be fully sustained. The Apostolic Fathers, for example, preserved some of the sense both of God's redeeming righteousness (*1 Clem.* 32.4; *Barn.* 13.7 and, with future reference, 4.10; *Ign. Rom.* 5.1; *Phld.* 8.2) and of ethical demand (*1 Clem.* 48.4; 31.2; 10.7; and 12.1 [faith and hospitality]; *Barn.* 1.2, 4; 4.11; 5.4; 20.2). Typical of the dominant mixture is *2 Clem.* 19.3, "Let us therefore do righteousness in order that we may be saved at the end" (Reumann and Lazareth 1967: 88–93).

Yet Paul's sense did not totally disappear in the Greek fathers, especially when they commented on Paul. Origen called Christ *autodikaiosynē*, "Himself righteousness" (PG 14. 212B), and Chrysostom on Rom 3:26 spoke of Christ as "the proof of God's righteousness" in that "he makes others who are rotting away in sin suddenly righteous" (PG 59.9 485D). The "gift" character of God's righteousness was widely recognized (Stuhlmacher 1965: 15–16, 18), but, as in fathers like Theodore of Mopsuestia (ca. 350–428), it was held that one makes one's own the righteousness God gives by work and imitation (Reumann 1985: 635). Benz (1951: 291) has claimed that "the East accepted the Paul of the Corinthian Letters, while the West accepted the Paul of the Letter to the Romans." In any case, Augustine and Luther, among others, championed Paul on righteousness/justification. A modern OT theology like von Rad's (*ROTT* 1: 370–83, 392–95) and a NT one like Bultmann's (*BTNT,* 270–85) show why any biblical theology must focus upon *ṣdq/dikaiosynē.*

For the history of righteousness after the NT, see Subilia 1976; Reumann 1985: 632–35, with bibliography in the notes and in 1982: 9, n. 11. For justification, see McGrath 1986 and (after the Council of Trent) Ziesler 1972: 1–16. For *dikaiosynē theou* specifically, Stuhlmacher 1965: 11–73; Müller 1964: 5–27.

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JOHN REUMANN

**RIGHTEOUSNESS, TEACHER OF.** See TEACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.

**RIMMON** (DEITY) [Heb *rimmôn* (רִמּוֹן)]. The name of the Syrian god in whose temple (*bêt*) Naaman the Syrian general goes to worship (2 Kgs 5:18). The text suggests that Naaman, now cured of leprosy and a staunch devotee of Yahweh, is under some compulsion to accompany the Syrian king in worshipping the Syria deity. For this, he begs forgiveness from Yahweh. See HADADRIMMON.

**RIMMON** (PERSON) [Heb *rimmôn* (רִמּוֹן)]. Benjaminite, the father of Baanah and Rechab, the assassins of Ishbosheth (2 Sam 4:2, 5, 9). The identification of his home city Beeroth remains uncertain. It had been one of the Hivite towns which joined the Gibeonites in allying themselves with Israel (Josh 9:17) and was reckoned as part of Benjamin (Josh 18:25; 2 Sam 4:2). Speculation that the murder of Saul's son was somehow a result of his father's atrocity against the Gibeonites (2 Sam 21:2) is undercut by the biblical text's own hints at motivation (2 Sam 4:1, 8–10) and its careful identification of Rimmon as an Israelite.
RICHARD D. NELSON

**RIMMON** (PLACE) [Heb *rimmôn* (רִמּוֹן)]. Var. EN-RIMMON; RIMMONO; RIMMON-PEREZ. A common place name in ancient Israelite territory.

**1.** En-rimmon ("pomegranate spring"), a town originally ascribed to the tribal territory of Simeon (Josh 19:7; 1 Chr 4:32), eventually composed part of the Negeb district of Judah (cf. Josh 15:32, where the MT mistakenly distinguishes "Ain" from "Rimmon"). In postexilic times, Jews reportedly settled in En-rimmon and other villages in S Judah (Neh 11:29). The town is mentioned in Zech 14:10, a late apocalyptic oracle promising the exaltation of Jerusalem over the land of Judah. The phrase stating that Judah will be leveled "from Geba to Rimmon southward" seems to imply that Geba and Rimmon were then considered to be the N and S extremes of Judah, respectively.

Eusebius' *Onomasticon* located a town called Erimmon 16 Roman miles S of Eleutheropolis. Since a site named Khirbet Umm er-Rammamin (16 km NE of Beer-sheba) now exists in this vicinity, a number of scholars identified this tell with En-rimmon (e.g., Abel, *GP* 3: 318). Recent excavations, however, have shown that er-Rammamin was not occupied during the biblical period (Kloner 1983: 71). It is quite possible, however, that the toponym "Rimmon" may have shifted to er-Rammamin from nearby Tel Halif, 1 km to the N (Borowski 1988). This site exhibits substantial remains from biblical times (Iron Ages I–II and the Persian period), is in close proximity to two fine springs (hence, the name "Ain"), and has produced a pomegranate-shaped ceramic bowl. Thus, Tel Halif (M.R. 137087) now seems the most promising candidate for the location of En-rimmon.

**2.** The N village of Rimmon assigned to the patrimony of Zebulun (Josh 19:13. The MT term "Rimmon Hammethoar" is not a place name but should rather be read "… Rimmon, and bends toward …"). The village seems to have been proclaimed one of the Levitical cities, though the MT of Josh 21:35 reads "Dimnah," an otherwise unknown toponym. Since other manuscripts read "Remmon," it is likely that the Hebrew letter *reš* was once mistakenly written as a *dalet* during textual copying. This idea is supported by

the fact that 1 Chr 6:62 (—Eng 6:77), part of a document virtually identical to the Levitical cities list, mentions "Rimmono" as a town of Zebulun. The biblical site is usually identified with modern Rummanah (M.R. 179243), 9 km N of Nazareth.

**3.** Rimmon-perez. A camping site of the wandering Exodus tribes, located somewhere between Rithmah and Libnah (Num 33:19–20). The modern site is unknown, but seems to lie in the vicinity of the Negeb or the Sinai deserts.

**4.** The Rock of Rimmon (Heb *sela‘ harimmōn*—"pomegranate rock"), an outcropping of rock or a cave in the vicinity of Gibeah. After the ambush and massacre of Benjaminite Gibeah by Israelite soldiers, 600 surviving Benjaminite warriors reportedly fled into the desert and found refuge at the Rock of Rimmon (Judg 20:45–47). Four months later, the Israelite tribes successfully reconciled themselves to the exiled Benjaminites by sending messengers to the Rock of Rimmon, where they offered their brother tribesmen women captured during raids on Jabesh-gilead and Shiloh (Judg 21:13).

Generations later, during the Hebrew revolt against the Philistines, Saul and 600 of his men retreated to Gibeah of Benjamin (1 Sam 13:15) and at some stage of the battle camped "on the outskirts of Gibeah under the Rimmon, which is in Migron" (1 Sam 14:2). Most interpreters translate the verse to mean that Saul and his force camped under a pomegranate tree, but this is unlikely for logistical as well as security reasons. It is more likely that the verse refers to the same inaccessible "Pomegranate Rock" near Gibeah as is mentioned in Judges. The fact that each story mentions 600 endangered soldiers finding refuge at Rimmon suggests that the same folklore motif, attached to this geographical feature, has found its way into both stories.

Most commentators identify the Rock of Rimmon with the village of Rammūn, 9 km NE of Jaba‘. In view of the close proximity of the Rock of Rimmon to Gibeah implied in each biblical story, a location much nearer to Jaba‘ (see GIBEAH) than Rammun would seem necessary. Rawnsley (1879: 119) proposed that the "pomegranate tree" might have stood near the el-Jaia cave in the Wadi es-Ṣwenīt, 2 km E of Jaba‘. It is more likely that the cave itself, some 30 m high, pitted on the inside with hundreds of small caves and holes and thus resembling a split pomegranate, is the Rock of Rimmon. Its defensible position in the Wadi es-Swenīt (see MIGRON) and its huge size make it an ideal refuge for embattled warriors.

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**RIMMON, HORVAT** (M.R. 137086). Known in Arabic as Kh. Umm er-Ramamin, this site in the S Shephelah has been identified with RIMMON mentioned in Josh 15:32; 19:7; 1 Chr 4:32; Neh 11:29. The biblical site is actually Tel-Halif, about one-half mile N of Horvat Rimmon. The present site was first settled in the 2d century B.C.E. and the new settlement took over the name from the tell. Eusebius (Klosterman 1904: 88, line 17; 146, line 25) mentions "Erimmon" as a large Jewish village 16 miles S of Beit Govrin (Eleutheropolis). In the Latin translation, Hieronymus defined its location more precisely in the Darome (i.e., S Judea): the distance of 16 miles ascribed by Eusebius is actually that between Eleutheropolis and Rimmon, 26 km along the ancient road between these two settlements. The name of the site Rimmon is also mentioned by various Jewish sources and sages.

The archaeological results of the excavation correspond to the ancient writings. Excavations on behalf of the Israel Department of Antiquities during 1978–81 revealed a settlement of 7 strata and a synagogue containing 3 principal strata. Remains of the earliest synagogue were fragmentary and comprised patches of a plaster floor dated numismatically to the middle of the 3d century C.E. The size and plan of the building were not clear, but the many decorated architectural fragments found smashed and scattered over the site probably originated from this building.

In the second half of the 4th century, a new synagogue was built. It was rectangular in plan and measured 13.5 m N–S by 9.5 m E–W. This synagogue reused the W wall of the earlier building, but new

walls were built along the N, S and E sides. A rectangular *bema* adjoined the N wall which faced Jerusalem. The floor of the synagogue was a layer of plaster laid upon a foundation of small field stones. In some areas this plaster covering was studded with small yellowish pebbles giving a granular effect. This same granular plaster was also found on the walls. The entrance to the building was probably from the S and we can assume the existence of some sort of fore court or narthex adjoining the entrance.

At a later date, sometime at the end of the 5th century or beginning of the 6th century, the synagogue was repaired and the enclosing walls of the complex strengthened. Ten pillar bases were inserted into the floor, dividing the hall into a central nave and two side aisles; the foundation trenches were carefully repaired to match the floor. This synagogue was in use for about 100 years, during which time the space along the W side of the hall became a dump or, perhaps, a storage area for broken and discarded objects no longer used in the synagogue, as well as for objects intended for future use. These pieces included several fragments of different candelabra, jewelry and personal artifacts. Buried among these finds were two small pottery jars containing (respectively) 12 and 35 gold coins which spanned a period from the 4th century to the beginning of the 6th century. Hidden in a wall in the S half of the same area, a third hoard was found containing coins contemporary with the others. Scattered all over the floor were hundreds of bronze coins having fallen, no doubt, from their original hiding places.

Around the year 600 C.E., the synagogue was repaired and brought to the final form we see today. The same architectural plan was retained but the floor of both the synagogue hall and narthex was paved with rectangular slabs of stone. These slabs were laid in straight rows in a N–S direction. This symmetry was broken in the center of the floor where the stones were laid to form a square carpet. Five 6-petaled rosettes were engraved on these stones. Above the rosettes and facing Jerusalem to the N, a seven branched candelabrum (menorah) was incised. This synagogue was abandoned some time at the end of the 7th century C.E.

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AMOS KLONER

**RIMMON-PEREZ** (PLACE) [Heb *rīmmōn pāreṣ* (רִמּוֹן פָּרֶץ)]. See RIMMON.

**RIMMONO** (PLACE) [Heb *rîmmônô* (רִימּוֹנוֹ)]. See RIMMON; DIMNAH.

**RING** [Heb *ṭaba‘at* (טַבַּעַת)]. A term used most frequently in the tabernacle texts of Exodus in reference to small circular fittings used in various furnishings of the Tabernacle. The movable appurtenances were carried by poles inserted into "rings" attached to the ark (Exod 25:12, 14, 15; 37:3, 5), the golden table (Exod 25:26, 27; 37:13, 14), the golden incense altar (Exod 30:4), and the altar of burnt offering (Exod 38:5, 7). The rings of the ark and the table were gold, in keeping with those golden cultic objects used inside the Tabernacle; and the altar rings were apparently bronze, the material used for the courtyard objects. Also the wooden bars, overlaid with gold, that served as the frames for the Tabernacle were fitted with gold rings for the poles used to carry the frames (Exod 26:29; 36:34). See also TABERNACLE for a discussion of these frames and rings.

The fabrication of the ephod and the breastplate, two special items of the high priestly garb and so made of the most costly materials and highest levels of workmanship, involved the use of gold rings (Exod 28:23, 24, 26, 27, 28; 39:16, 17, 19, 20, 21). The rings were part of the intricate way these two items were joined.

The materials collected to use in making the Tabernacle included signet rings (Exod 35:22), as did an offering made after the defeat of the Midianites (Num 31:50). A similar use involves the earrings collected by Aaron for making the golden calves (Exod 32:2, 3; cf. Gen 35:4). Rings were clearly a luxury

item (cf. Esth 1:6; Isa 3:21; Jas 2:2); and signet rings also involved legal or economic transactions (Gen 41:42; Esth 3:10; 8:2, 8, 10). See also JEWELRY.
CAROL MEYERS

**RINNAH** (PERSON) [Heb *rinnâ* (רִנָּה)]. A son of Shimon and a member of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr 4:20). Myers states that the list in which Rinnah's name occurs (1 Chr 4:16–20) is preexilic (*1 Chronicles* AB, 29). This is because of the presence of place names such as Ziph and Eshtemoa which are not included the province of Judah in Nehemiah's time. In 1 Chronicles 4, the Chronicler is not concerned to delineate an exact genealogical line from Judah for the listed names. This larger genealogy is an historical detour because it suddenly takes the reader back into the historical period prior to the end of the genealogy of David in chap. 3.
JAMES M. KENNEDY

**RIPHATH** (PERSON) [Heb *rîpat* (רִיפַת)]. "Son" of Gomer, and "brother" of Ashkenaz and Togarmah (Gen 10:3). The occurrence of this name in 1 Chr 1:6 as *dîpat*, as attested in a majority of Hebrew manuscripts, reflects a scribal error in distinguishing the similar consonants *dalet* and *reš.* The LXX and Vulgate, however, confirm the reading as *rîpat.* Neither the meaning nor the geographical location of this name have been determined. Josephus (*Ant* 1.126) identifies Riphath with Paphlagonia (Franxman 1979: 105–6). Although there is no evidence for this, the identification with a region in Asia Minor, not unlike that proposed by Josephus, is suggested by Riphath's association with Ashkenaz, who may be identified with the Scythians (Yamauchi 1982: 63), and with Togarmah, who may be identified with the Assyrian Til-garimmu on the border of Tabal (Westermann 1984: 506).

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RICHARD S. HESS

**RISSAH** (PLACE) [Heb *rissâ* (רִסָּה)]. One of the camping sites for the Israelites as they journeyed through the wilderness (Num 33:21, 22); Rissah is part of a list of sites used by the Priestly writer. The location of most of these sites is unknown. It is possible that Rissah is to be identified with the Rasa mentioned in the Peutinger Tables, placed 32 miles NNW of Aila, between Aqabah and Gypsaria. Abel (*GP* 2: 214) identifies Rissah with Kuntilet el-Gerafi, between Qseimé and Aqabah, NW of the mountain Rueisset el-Negin. However, any identification of the site of Rissah is entirely speculative.
SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**RITHMAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ritmâ* (רִתְמָה)]. One of the camping sites of the Israelites as they journeyed through the wilderness (Num 33:18, 19); Rithmah is part of a list of sites used by the Priestly writer. The location of most of these sites is unknown. Abel (*GP* 2: 214) places Rithmah in an area 30 miles W of the gulf of Aqabah, but its exact location remains uncertain. Gray (*Numbers* ICC) notes that Rithmah is part of a class of names derived from plants, and may be related to the Heb *rōtem*, "broom plant."
SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**RIZIA** (PERSON) [Heb *riṣyā* (רִצְיָא)]. A descendant of Asher, named in the genealogy of 1 Chr 7:39. Missing in Syriac, this figure appears neither in the parallel genealogies of Asher in Genesis 46 and Numbers 26 nor elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. Since his father Ulla stands detached from the preceding names in the genealogy, scholars have suggested that Ulla may be a textual corruption of Shua, Shual, Amal or Ara.

While such unique names are often considered as fabrications of the Chronicler, Johnson (1969: 64–66) suggests that they are derived from military census lists, themselves drawn up in genealogical fashion.

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**RIZPAH** (PERSON) [Heb *riṣpâ* (רִצְפָּה)]. The daughter of Aiah and concubine of Saul ben Kish, first king of Israel. She bore Saul two sons, Armoni and Mephibaal (Mephibosheth). Nothing is known of her life during Saul's reign. During Eshbaal's brief reign, she became the focus of Abner's unsuccessful attempt to depose his inexperienced nephew and rule Israel in his stead (2 Sam 3:7). By having sexual relations with the former king's concubine, Abner tried to lay claim to the throne by virtue of his possession of the royal harem. During the early years of David's joint reign over Israel and Judah, Rizpah's two sons were ritually executed along with the five sons of Merab, Saul's eldest daughter, in an effort to end a three-year famine that had been plaguing the land (2 Sam 21:1–14). See ARMONI. Rizpah is reported to have kept a vigil over the seven dead bodies, keeping away birds and animals of prey until rain fell and ended the drought—from mid-April until October or November. David then is said to have had the bones of the seven victims gathered up, and to have had them buried along with the exhumed bones of Saul and Jonathan, who had been buried in Jabesh-gilead, in the family ancestral tomb located in Benjamin at Zela.

DIANA V. EDELMAN

**ROADS AND HIGHWAYS.** This entry consists of two articles that survey the ancient road systems that ran through Palestine and that connected Palestine to the larger world of the ANE. The first article covers the pre-Roman period, while the second covers the road system of the Roman period. See also LIMES, ROMAN.

### *PRE-ROMAN ROADS AND HIGHWAYS*

Prior to the advent of Roman technology and political inclinations, it is difficult to differentiate precisely between roads and highways. In Roman terms, of course, "road" denoted the course of local or regional travel, which tended to follow the natural configuration of terrain; which designated a route of communication that normally was not cleared, engineered, or maintained; and which was not specifically constructed to include the conveyance of vehicular traffic and often was incapable of handling vehicles. On the other hand, "highway" denoted the course of travel on an international scale, which traversed terrain of all sorts, which signified a route of communication that was deliberately opened, constructed, and maintained; and which was capable of sustaining traffic of any kind.

Now while some of these points of differentiation were present already in the pre-Roman world, roads and highways cannot so easily be dichotomized before the Romans. Certainly, in addition to countless tracks, paths, and local/regional roads, the ANE possessed transportation arteries capable of conveying travelers over hundreds, even thousands, of miles. Texts from every major section of the Near East attest to the reality and ubiquity of international travel, just as textual and archaeological records of foreign commodities exhumed at numerous ANE sites suggest that international travel was quite extensive. Nevertheless, the same term in a given language may be used to signify an entire range of transportation options, from international arteries to local tracks and winding paths (e.g., Akk *girru, ḫarrānu, urḫu;* Heb *derek, ʾōraḥ;* Gk *hodos*), and the clearing, paving and maintaining of roads is only sparsely attested in the ancient world, and often these references pertain to roads within or in the immediate environs of a particular city.

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A. How Ancient Roads and Highways Can Be Reconstructed Today
B. Where Principal Ancient Highways Were Located
1. Great Trunk Road
2. King's Highway
3. Assyrian-Hittite Road

4. Persian Royal Road

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**A. How Ancient Roads and Highways Can Be Reconstructed Today**

In view of the fact that even a remnant of a paved road or highway connecting ANE towns is practically unknown before the Roman era, and that no map of roads or highways across the Fertile Crescent is attested prior to the Roman period, one may legitimately question whether communication systems from the earliest biblical epochs can be reconstructed at all with any degree of confidence. Though there are extremely diverse and complex issues inherent in responding to this question in any comprehensive manner, scholars who have attempted to trace out ancient highways tend to follow a combination of four lines of evidence. These include (1) geographical determinism, (2) literary documentation, (3) archaeological attestation, and (4) Roman milestones.

By "geographical determinism," scholars mean to suggest that in the ANE, there were certain largely unchanging physiographic and/or hydrologic factors which determined—except where temporarily or partially contravened by geopolitics or in isolated cases of unlawful movement—that routes followed by caravans, migrants, or armies remained relatively unaltered throughout extended periods of time. In general, it would appear that the lowland areas offered the least hindrance to human movement and the most scope for the development of trade networks or the deployment of troops. By contrast, deeply incised canyons cut by sometimes raging rivers were an impediment to travel to be avoided in all periods or, if unavoidable, to be forded at places offering a minimum of difficulty. The quagmire of disease-infested swamps, the sterility and blazing heat offered by desert zones, or the badlands of congealed lava were formidable obstacles to be shunned at any cost. Densely forested mountain slopes, oftentimes with twisting gorges, were consistently navigated at passes, however narrow or hazardous those passes might have been; alternatively, where mountain ridges could be straddled for great distances without the interruption of gorges or valleys, they tended to be employed for travel in all periods. The need to commute between copious sources of fresh water was a prerequisite for travel during all epochs. Accordingly, even though we do not possess an ancient map of the Near East, the location of main roads at least can be logically inferred with a high degree of probability, especially when the principle of geographic determinism is augmented by other lines of evidence.

Literary documentation often enables a scholar to delineate a highway with greater specificity. This documentation may derive from the Bible; the Apocrypha; extrabiblical ancient sources (Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Greek, Roman); classical writers (e.g., Herodotus, Ptolemy, Eusebius, Strabo, Josephus, Pliny the Elder); early Christian itineraries (e.g., the Pilgrim of Bordeaux, Egeria, Theodosius, Antonius Martyr, Arculf, Bede the Venerable, Willibald); Arab geographers (e.g., Ibn Khurdadbih, Yaqubi, Istakhri, Ibn Haukal, Mukaddasi, Nasir-i-Khusrau, Idrisi, Yakut, Abulfeda, Ibn Battuta); Crusader and post-Crusader writings (e.g., Saewulf, Daniel the Abbot, Fetellus, Peter the Deacon, John of Wurzburg, Theoderich, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, Jacob de Vitry, Burchard of Mt. Zion, Marino Sanuto, Rabbi Eshtori Haparhi, Rabbi Menahem, Ludolph Von Suchem, John Poloner, Felix Fabri); and early modern to modern pioneers or geographers (e.g., Quaresmio, van Kootwijck, Seetzen, Burchardt, Robinsons, Niebuhr, Smith, Thomsen, Ritter, Tobler, Conder, Abel, Musil, Dalman, Albright, Glueck). Some of these literary sources attempt to survey a portion of land or an itinerary route using both distance and direction; these sources may cite in the equivalent of miles or hours/time the distance between two or more known points in a way that can be reconstructed only by presupposing a particular intermediate course (e.g., Old Babylonian itinerary texts; Old Assyrian caravan and *dātum* ["caravan tax"] texts; Hittite itinerary texts; Neo-Assyrian royal annals; Herodotus' or Xenophon's descriptions of the Persian Royal Road; Greek and Roman itineraries; Eusebius's *Onomasticon*). At times these sources may describe a route in terms of intervening natural terrain (e.g., along a certain bank of a given river; near a canyon, ford, tar pit, or oasis; adjacent to a named canal, island, or mountain) or a noteworthy point of interest along the way. Towns along a route may be described as forming part of a certain district or as being contiguous to a given province, sharing common grazing lands, sending communications via fire signals, or coming simultaneously under the control of a certain king.

Approximate distances between towns, together with a presumed route, may be inferred from texts which speak of a king or a courier taking his daily rations at point A on one day, at point B on the next, at point C on the third day, and so on. An army or caravan may be given a prescribed number of days' rations in order to undertake a particular journey, or a specific trip is said to have been completed in an expressed number of days. As a group, these sources were not composed for the purpose of enabling someone to trace out absolutely ascertainable highways. They are extremely wide-ranging sources; the geographical details they provide are many, varied and occasionally mistaken; and they do not offer the same degree of detail for all regions within the ANE. Still, the cumulative value of these sources is critical, because they often supply precise details upon which a road or highway can be plausibly reconstructed, or they will give a nuance that can be gainfully employed when combined with other lines of evidence.

In addition to geographical determinism and literary documentation, archaeological attestation can help reconstruct ancient roads and highways. Identifying an archaeological site as a result of unambiguous data exhumed from the ground makes possible a more precise understanding of literary texts which mention the place, and provides a fixed geographical point. For example, because Laish/Dan (Tel Dan) was positively identified from an inscription excavated at the site, greater specificity is automatically conferred upon journeys like those of Abraham (Genesis 14), Ben-hadad I (1 Kings 15; 2 Chronicles 16), and upon texts detailing the itinerary of tin traders which mention this place as a stop along the route (other Canaanite towns identified by this means are somewhat limited [e.g., Arad, Beth-shan, Gezer, Gibeon, Lachish, Taanach], but the phenomenon is rather common in Syro-Mesopotamia). Even where the ancient name of a town is unknown, archaeological remains can bespeak the type of occupation the site may have experienced, which once again could be helpful in reconstructing routes. A palace unearthed on a site, for instance, may allow the inference that a royal or provincial capital was involved (e.g., Tell Brak in the Habur triangle), whereas a small but nevertheless heavily fortified site may suggest a garrison or fortress town (e.g., Tell Barri and Tell Majdal in E Syria). A discernible sequence of a similar type of site, such as the string of New Kingdom Egyptian forts discovered SW of Gaza (Gardiner 1920: 99–116; Oren 1982–83: 20–24; 1984: 7–44; cf. bas reliefs of Seti I [*ANEP*, 106]), may enable one to trace out the probable regional course of a roadway. On a wider scale, archaeology may disclose settlement patterns during particular periods. For example, many MB Age sites within Canaan were adjacent to established transportation arteries, whereas this does not appear to have been the case for EB Age settlements. Similarly, a cluster of MB Age settlements aligned the banks of the Upper Habur River in Syria, whereas no such concentration is known immediately before or after this era. This kind of information is useful if settlement patterns can be linked to causes of movement to the area. For example, should movement to these Middle Bronze sites be ascribable to migrations and should emigration location(s) be known, this might presuppose certain routes which were capable of sustaining domesticated animals with pasturage and migrants with food, while at the same time virtually eliminating other routes. There were, of course, many possible climatological or sociological factors that produced migrations in antiquity, but the point remains that people and animals had to eat off the land as they moved. Or second, should movement to these sites be archaeologically linked to trade—possibly as a result of recovered objects that were foreign to the region (e.g., Egyptian scarabs; cylinder seals in Canaan) or of trading commodities that were not native to the entire ANE (e.g., tin; amber; cloves; cinnamon; spikenard; silk; cotton)—different criteria for reconstructing highways would then obtain. The geographical source of these objects or commodities, and the date(s) for the passage from one point to another, could suggest who was involved, where markets and intermediate *entrepôt* were located, and therefore, what the possible routes were. And where such trade was carried on for extended periods, somewhat fixed commodity routes can be traced (e.g., Baltic amber route from Europe; silk route from SE Asia; spice route from W Saudi Arabia). Often this kind of archaeological evidence can be nuanced by literary documentation, as in the case of tin itinerary texts which spell out itinerary stations across the Fertile Crescent in the MB Age. Thirdly, should movement to these sites be linked archaeologically to military invasion (e.g., discovery of a monumental victory stele, or of a destruction layer that can be synchronized with an earthen rampart constructed against the exterior of a city wall), yet a third set of criteria might be

implied. The demands of military strategy, troop maintenance, and material procurement were such that some areas would be nearly immune to any army. Archaeology most recently has been helpful to scholars who are on a quest to trace out ancient roads and highways by providing aerial photographs that can detect rudiments or even short segments of roadways that have not become completely obliterated.

A fourth line of evidence for reconstructing ancient roads and highways is Roman milestones, though erecting guideposts along roadways predates the Roman period (Olmstead 1964: 271, 334, 555–56; Jer 31:21). For Roman milestones in Canaan, see Thomsen (1917), Avi-Yonah (1936), Goodchild (1948–49), Dar and Applebaum (1973), Isaac and Roll (1976, 1982) and Roll (1983); for Roman milestones in Asia Minor, consult French (1981–88). To date, between 450 and 500 milestones have been found in modern Israel, of which about 120 bear inscriptions. These date as early as A.D. 69 (Vespasian), though specimens dating as early as A.D. 56 are known from modern Lebanon, and early reports of road repairs are recorded on milestones recovered from Jordan. These milestones precisely mark the location of Roman highways, which frequently followed the course of much earlier roads and highways. Locations and inscriptions of milestones give evidence that certain towns were linked in the same sequence as recorded in earlier literature. For example, some 25 milestones representing 20 different mile-stations have been discovered along a stretch of the Roman coastal highway between Syrian Antioch and Ptolemais (OT Acco). Inasmuch as some of the same towns located along that highway were said to have been visited by Shalmaneser III on the return from his campaign in Israel (841 B.C.)—a campaign in which the Israelite monarch Jehu was required to pay tribute (*LAR* 1: 243)—the milestones enable one to discern the road employed by the Assyrian monarch. In this case, the correct route of his campaign was confirmed by the discovery of Shalmaneser's victory monument carved into a cliff alongside the mouth of the Dog River (Nahr el-Kalb), just S of Byblos (cf. Astour 1971: 383–89). Similarly, these same milestones enable one to configure the opening phases of Sennacherib's famous 3d campaign (701 B.C.), in which the Assyrian boasts that he "shut up Hezekiah in Jerusalem like a bird in a cage" (*ANET*, 287). Likewise these stones permit one to trace out the course through N Canaan taken by Ramses II, Tiglath-pileser III, Esarhaddon, Alexander the Great, Cestius Gallus, Vespasian, and the Pilgrim of Bordeaux.

**B. Where Principal Ancient Highways Were Located**

For studies on the location of ancient roads of Babylonia and Assyria, see Sachau (1882), Musil (1927), Stein (1940), Lewy (1952), Goetze (1953; 1964), Jacobsen (1958), Leemans (1960), Hallo (1964), Oppenheim (1970), and Sarianidi (1971); for roads of Syria, consult Dussaud (1927), van Liere and Lauffray (1954–55), Moortgat (1959), Kessler (1980), and Beitzel (1990); for roads of Egypt, refer to Brugsch (1879), Simons (1937), Helck (1971), and Murnane (1985); for roads of Canaan, see Dalman (1916), *WHAB*, Forbes (1965: 131–92), *LBHG*, 43–63, Boraas (*HBD*, 1086–91), and Dorsey (1990); and for roads of Asia Minor, consult Anderson (1897), Gelb (1935), Woodbury (1941), Garstang (1943), Goetze (1957), Calder and Bean (1958), Birmingham (1961), Starr (1963), Mellaart (1968), and Winfield (1977).

**1. Great Trunk Road.** What was unquestionably the most important highway in the ANE is sometimes referred to as the Great Trunk Road; it passed from Egypt to Babylonia and to frontiers beyond, and vitally linked every part of the Fertile Crescent in all periods. See Fig. ROA.01. This highway began at Memphis (Noph), near the base of the Nile delta, and passed the Egyptian towns of Ra῾amses (Tell ed-Dab῾a) and Sile (Tell Abu Seifeh?) before arriving at Gaza. Gaza was a fortified emplacement on the edge of Canaan that was an important Egyptian provincial capital and that sometimes served as a launching pad for Egyptian campaigns through Palestine and Syria. This southwestern-most sector of the highway was of paramount importance to Egyptian security: It was called the "way of Horus" in Egyptian literature (e.g., Sinuhe; Merikare; Papyrus Anastasi I, *ANET*, 21, 416, 478, respectively). In the Bible this segment of the road was known as the "way to the land of the Philistines" (Exod 13:17).

From Gaza the highway stretched to Aphek/Antipatris, located at the springs of the Yarkon River; the effusion of these springs constituted a serious obstacle to movement, forcing most traffic to its inland (E) side. See Fig. ROA.02. Continuing in a northward direction and skirting the menacing sand dunes and seasonal marsh of the Sharon plain, the roadway was inevitably confronted by the barrier of Mt. Carmel.

Several passes through Mt. Carmel afforded passage from the Sharon plain to the Jezreel Valley on the N. The shortest of these passes, known today as the Aruna pass (Nahal ʿIron), was the one most frequently used. The N end of this pass, where it opened into the Jezreel Valley, was dominated by the instalation city of Megiddo. This passageway was of major importance in every historical period without exception; it is not an exaggeration to assert that it was one of the most militarily strategic points in all the SW Fertile Crescent.

At Megiddo, the highway broke into at least three branches. One branch led to the Mediterranean Sea at Acco, and then ran northward along the Sea as far as Syrian Antioch (i.e., the highway of the milestones cited above). A second option from Megiddo turned eastward, following the contour of the N flanks of the Mt. Carmel and Mt. Gilboa ranges, before arriving at the strongly garrisoned city of Beth-shan, across the mouth of the Yarmuk River. This section of the highway most likely ran along the edge of the Jezreel Valley during the dry season, but took to the higher ground to avoid the marshiness during the winter months. But at Beth-shan, the highway veered N and proceeded up the Jordan River valley for about 15 miles, before it came to the S end of the Sea of Galilee. It then extended northward along the W shore of the sea as far as Chinnereth/Gennesaret, near Capernaum. (By the NT era, many travelers would have crossed the Jordan River just N of Beth-shan, and made their way across the Yarmuk River valley and the Golan plateau before arriving at Damascus.) A third option from Megiddo stretched diagonally across the Jezreel Valley on a line created by a volcanic causeway. The highway passed between Mt. Moreh and the hills of Nazareth and skirted Mt. Tabor's SE perimeter, before beginning a northward trek as far as the Horns of Hattin. From there, the road veered eastward, traversed the Arbel Pass with its sheer cliffs, finally bursting onto the plain along the NW shore of the Sea of Galilee, where it joined the highway from Beth-shan. This third option may have seen limited usage throughout the rainy seasons of the OT era and, in any event, it underwent a slightly circuitous modification in the Roman period; this branch is not pictured on the Peutinger map, the sole surviving specimen of a road map from the Roman era. See next article.

At Chinnereth/Gennesaret, the highway proceeded up the W flank of the Rosh Pinna dam, a volcanic blockage responsible for creating the Huleh swampland, and approached the preeminent fortress city of Hazor, which guarded Canaan's northernmost sectors. One of the largest tells in all of Canaan, Hazor appears to have served as a provincial capital during the Late Bronze Age; the city figures prominently in Egyptian literature of the period, in the tablets from Tell el-Amarna, and in the Bible (Josh 11:10). From Hazor, the highway turned NE in the direction of Damascus, hugging the outliers of the Anti-lebanon range and attempting to avoid the basaltic land surface of the upper Golan and the Hauran. From Damascus, the road continued its northward trek along the E slopes of the Anti-Lebanon as far as the city of Qatna, from which the highway essentially followed the course of the Orontes River as far as Hamath, where it set off on a N course, passing Ebla and arriving at Aleppo. There the roadway curved sharply to the E and ran to the city of Imar/Emar, located along the W bank of the Euphrates River. The highway then followed the Euphrates River flood plain to a point just N of Babylon, where the river could more easily be forded. Continuing southward through Babylonia, the highway trekked past Uruk and Ur, before finally arriving at the head of the Persian Gulf.

**2. King's Highway.** Another road that intersected Bible lands was known in the OT as the King's Highway (Num 20:17; 21:22; cf. *CAD* H: 108a *ḫarrān šarri*] for how this expression can be applied to a number of Mesopotamian roads) and outside the Bible as the Sultan's Highway or Trajan's Highway (Via Nova Traiana). It was the Emperor Trajan who converted this route from a road into a bona fide highway in the 2d century A.D. The highway stretched from the head of the Red Sea near Ezion-geber and essentially rode the watershed of Edom and Moab, passing the cities of Bozrah, Kir-hareseth, Dibon and Heshbon, before coming to Amman. See Figs. ROA.01 and ROA.02. It made its way from Amman across the Gilead and Bashan plateaus to Damascus, where it joined the Great Trunk Road.

**3. Assyrian-Hittite Road.** A highway to carry Assyrian economic and military interests into Asia Minor is known from the early 2d millennium B.C. From any of the cities which alternately served as the Assyrian capital, the highway most likely swept westward as far as the Wadi Tharthar. From there, it

essentially followed the contour of the wadi as far as the S edge of the mountain (Jebel) Sinjar, where the highway veered W and went to the Habur River. Following the northwestward course of that river valley past Tell Halaf to a place near modern Samsat, where the Euphrates River was easily crossed, the highway then cut through a major pass in the Taurus mountain range, passed through the Elbistan plain, staying fairly well clear of the headwaters of the Ceyhan River, and eventually came to the strategic Hittite city of Kanish. See Fig. ROA.01. From Kanish, the highway proceeded across the central Anatolian plateau, past the cities of Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch in Pisidia, before ending in the direction of the Aegean Sea. Along its descent to the Aegean, the highway intersected Laodicea, Philadelphia, Sardis, and Pergamum. From Pergamum the roadway ran parallel with the Aegean coastline as far as the city of Troy, which was situated on the threshold of Europe.

**4. Persian Royal Road.** Herodotus (5.52–54) describes a route which he calls the "Royal Road" (cf. *CAD* G: 90b [*girri šarri*] for a similar expression in Akk); his delineation does not always contain sufficient or precise detail as to enable one to trace out a specific course, and in at least one place his account is completely garbled. Nevertheless, he speaks of a road that ultimately linked the cities of Sardis (W Asia Minor) and Susa (Persia), one that was joined by a network of hostelries and some 111 intermediate stages (for Assyrian evidence of such stages, see Eph'al 1986: 104, a road that stretched about 1, 500 miles and took almost three months to traverse on foot, though the distance could be covered by the rapid courier system in only nine days (Herodotus 8.98; cf. Esth 3:13–15; 8:10, 13–14). From Sardis, with its connection to the Aegean Sea and points W, the road ran through the provinces of Lydia and Phrygia as far as the Halys River where, the historian notes, there was a strong fortress. See Fig. ROA.01. This segment, therefore, is likely to have passed near to Gordium and modern Ankara, before traversing Cappadocia by a loop and arriving at the Euphrates River at modern Malatya. Crossing the Euphrates at the direct ford there, the road then navigated two high passes within the Taurus mountain range and proceeded southeasterly to the city of Diyarbekir, where the Tigris could more easily be ferried. Once on the E side of the Tigris, the road more or less followed the course of that river valley, being hemmed in by the adjacent mountain ranges, past a few other streams which feed the Tigris, as far as the vicinity of Nineveh. Taking advantage there of receding mountains and an extended steppe land to the E, which is really a continuation of the Mesopotamian plain, the road set off on a SE course in the direction of Arbela, crossing the Upper Zab (called the "Tigris" by Herodotus) along the way. Continuing along the W outliers of the Zagros mountains, the roadway passed the city of Arrapha (modern Kirkuk), crossed the Diyala ("Gyndes" of Herodotus) and Kerkha ("Choaspes" of Herodotus) Rivers, and eventually came to the important city of Susa, situated on the W bank of the Karun River.

Xenophon (*Anabasis* 1.1–10; cf. *Cyropaedia* 8.6.17–18) gives the important S branch of this road, which fairly closely followed the course of the westernmost sector of the earlier Assyrian-Hittite road past the cities of Antioch in Pisidia and Iconium, as far as Derbe. From this city, however, the Persian roadway continued eastward and navigated the mighty Taurus range through the slender Cilician Gates, proceeding S past Tarsus and around to Syrian Antioch. The road turned sharply at Antioch, and advanced E to Aleppo, where it joined the Great Trunk Road and ran to points E.

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## *ROMAN ROADS*

Roman roads were constructed for the use of the military organization in the provinces. The economic benefits which may have resulted from their existence were a by-product rather than a primary aim in their construction. This must be kept in mind when assessing the pattern of the roads in any province. Naturally, various factors determined the course of the roads anywhere. These include the topography, the geography of settlement (itself dependent on natural geography), geopolitical factors within the province and in the larger area, and the means of transportation and level of technology.

Apart from the remains of pavement and the milestones frequently referred to below, the following sources provide relevant information about the Roman road system in Judea, the Negeb, and Arabia: (1) the Peutinger Map (for which see: *Tabula Peutingeriana, Codex Vindobonensis 324, Vollständiqe*

*Faksimile-Ausqabe im Originalformat* [Graz 1976]); (2) various ancient itineraries, including (a) the *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* (Parthey and Pinder 1840; Cuntz 1929), and (b) that of Theophanes, a member of the staff of the *praefectus Aegypti* who traveled to Antioch (ca. 320; Roberts 1952; Rees 1968), and (3) certain Christian itineraries, including (a) that of the traveler from Bordeaux (Cuntz 1929), (b) that connected with the obituary of St. Paula (Jerome, *ep.* 108), and (c) that of Theodosius (Geyer 1965: 113–25).

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A. History of Research
B. The Road Network
    1. Roads in Judea
    2. Roads in the Negeb
    3. Roads in Arabia
C. The Development of the System
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**A. History of Research**

During the last century, the surveys carried out by Conder and Kitchener on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund resulted in a comprehensive and detailed conception of the network of Roman roads in Palestine. The publications and maps of the British *Survey of Western Palestine* still serve as a source of information for current research, particularly since many of the features which were then recorded no longer exist. As interest in the subject increased, the French scholars Clermont-Ganneau, Germer-Durand, Sejourné, and later Vincent and Abel extended the research to the milestones along the roads and deciphered and published many inscriptions mainly in the periodicals *Echos d'Orient* and *Revue Biblique.* These activities formed the basis of an understanding of the chronological development of the system.

Further fieldwork was carried out by German scholars, Schumacher, Dalman, Kuhl, and Alt. P. Thomsen (1917) assembled all the existing information on roads and milestones in the Roman provinces of Syria, Arabia, and Judea. From the 1930s until the 1960s, Avi-Yonah continued publishing new milestone inscriptions and summarizing the available evidence in various publications and maps (in *QDAP* and *IEJ*). From the 1950s onward comprehensive studies of specific roads were undertaken and published: the Legio-Sepphoris road by Hecker, the Jerusalem-Jericho road by Beauvery and Wilkinson, the Antipatris-Caesarea road by Dar and Applebaum. The studies of Aharoni, Rothenberg, Harel, and Meshel have contributed to the understanding of the Roman road network in the Negeb. Since 1970 the Israel Milestone Committee has been active in the field, affiliated with the International Curatorium of the *Corpus Miliariorum.* The committee carries out a systematic survey of all the extant remains related to the road system and prepares the inscriptions for publication in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum,* vol. xvii.

**B. The Road Network**

The road system of Palestine was an integrated system of N–S and E–W routes. Where these intersected there were important junctions which developed into towns such as Caesarea Philippi, Diocaesarea, Scythopolis, Caesarea, Neapolis, Antipatris, Diospolis, Nicopolis, Eleutheropolis, Hebron, Jericho, and the legionary base at Legio. One of the main junctions naturally was Jerusalem, which became the center of the system W of the Jordan because of its political and, hence, military importance, serving as it did as legionary headquarters for two centuries (Kuhl 1928). The system in the Negeb consisted of three routes which ran roughly parallel, following the curving coastline of the Mediterranean and fanning out as they progressed southward. Four other routes running diagonally from NW to SE merged with the former roads and with the system in Transjordan to the E. The natural focus of three of the diagonal roads was the great port city of Gaza. The cities of Berosaba, Elusa, Nessana, Oboda, and Mampsis lay at the nodal points of the network in the Negeb.

**1. Roads in Judea.** In its fully developed form the road system in Palestine consisted of four N–S arteries intersected by a series of E–W roads. See Fig. ROA.03. The N–S arteries include the following:

(1) The coast road from Antioch in Syria to Ptolemais/Acco (Goodchild 1948). From there, via the coastal towns of Caesarea–Apollonia–Jaffa, it continued to Jamnia–Ascalon–Gaza and, finally, to Alexandria in Egypt (Alt 1954).

(2) The Caesarea–Antipatris road (Dar and Applebaum 1973) which continued to Diospolis–Eleutheropolis with branches leading to the Hebron area and to Berosaba.

(3) The road along the watershed: Diocaesarea–Legio (for this section, see Hecker 1961)–Neapolis–Jerusalem–Hebron, with branches heading toward Berosaba and Mampsis (Dalman 1925; Sejourné 1895).

(4) The road through the Jordan valley from Caesarea Philippi, probably along the E bank of the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee, to Scythopolis and thence to Neapolis or, alternatively, to Jerusalem via Jericho (Beauvery 1957; Wilkinson 1975).

The series of E–W roads that intersected those arteries include the following:

(1) Tyre–Caesarea Philippi–Damascus (in Syria).

(2) Ptolemais–Diocaesarea–Tiberias (Roll 1986) and from there to Gadara and the Roman provincial capital of Bostra in Arabia. It crossed the river Jordan over a bridge with ten arches (Irby and Mangles 1844: 90 ff.).

(3) Caesarea–Legio–Scythopolis (Isaac and Roll 1982). It continued to Pella and Gerasa in Arabia.

(4) Caesarea–Sebaste–Neapolis–Coreae (Ilan and Damati 1974–75: 43–53) and from there to Philadelphia on the *Via Nova Traiana.*

(5) Jaffa–Neapolis (Roll and Ayalon 1986).

(6) Diospolis–Neapolis (Roll and Ayalon 1986).

(7) Antipatris–Gophna–Jericho. At Gophna this road crossed the main Neapolis–Jerusalem road.

(8) Jaffa–Diospolis–Beth Horon–Jerusalem–Jericho, and from there to Esbus on the *Via Nova Traiana.* For the Beth Horon road, see Oelgarte 1918.

(9) Diospolis–Nicopolis–Jerusalem (Abel 1925).

(10) Ascalon–Eleutheropolis–Jerusalem (Alt 1929; Kallai 1969).

(11) Gaza–Eleutheropolis, and from there to the mountains S of Hebron.

**2. Roads in the Negeb.** The road system in the Negeb consisted essentially of (a) four roads generally running NW–SE, and (b) three other roads which ran NE–SW. See Fig. ROA.03.

**a. The NW–SE Roads.** The four roads running through the Negeb generally from NW to SE include the following:

(1) Gaza–Aila (Arabic: Darb el-Ghaza). It ran S to Quseima, where it turned SE toward Kuntila. It approached Aila either via Ras en-Naqb and the ascent W of Aila or via Ma‹aleh Shaharut and Yotvetah (Meshel 1981).

(2) Gaza–Elusa–Oboda–Petra (Negev 1966; Meshel and Tsafrir 1974–75). This was originally a Nabataean road which continued to be used in the Roman period (Cohen 1982).

(3) Gaza–Moabitis. Passing by Berosaba and Mampsis it reached Charakmoba (Kerak) and Rabbatmoba on the Trajanic road (see B.3; Negev 1969).

(4) The road from Jerusalem to S Transjordan: Jerusalem–Hebron–Mampsis–Tamara (Hazevah), descending to the Arabah in two stages by elaborate stepped ascents (Ma‹aleh Deragot and the Scorpion Pass; Harel 1959). From Tamara the route headed for Aila, with branches heading toward the copper mines at Feinan and Petra (Aharoni 1954; 1963; cf. however, Rothenberg 1967: 109–171; Applebaum 1971: 211–23).

**b. The NE–SW Roads.** Three roads ran followed this general course: (1) the continuation of the coast road: Ascalon–Gaza–Rhinocorura; (2) the route from Hebron to Sinai: Hebron–Berosaba–Elusa–Nessana; and (3) Mampsis–Oboda–Quseima, crossing the southernmost cultivated area of the Negeb.

**3. Roads in Arabia.** The caravan routes of the Nabatean kingdom formed the initial basis for the Roman highway system in Arabia. This system was reinforced and enlarged after the annexation of the region in A.D. 106. Over 300 inscribed milestones in Arabia (Bauzou fc.) signify the existence of a

complex transportation lattice that was an integral part of the E road system that connected Judea and adjacent territories.

The main artery was the *Via Nova Traiana* constructed between A.D. 111–114 under the emperor Trajan. It connected the capital of the new province of Arabia located at Bostra in S Syria with the port of Aila (Aqaba) on the Red Sea, a distance of 350 km. For much of this distance it presumably followed the old "King's Highway" (Num 20:17) on the Transjordanian plateau from Petra to Charachmoab (Kerak), Rabbathmoba (Rabba), Dibon, Madaba, Esbous, and Philadelphia (Amman) on its way to the N. In the S, the road ran from Petra through Sadaqa and Humayma to Aqaba (Graf 1990). Until A.D. 181, Petra served as the *caput viae* or central point for marking distances; afterwards, it was replaced by the capital city at Bostra (Bauzou 1988). See Fig. ROA.03.

Petra was a major nexus for a number of other routes. The *Darb ar-Rasif* ran along the edge of the al-Sher‹a escarpment overlooking the Wadi Arabah to the W and past a number of old Nabatean caravanserai on its way to Petra. This road was not paved, but marked by two stone walls still visible between Kh. al-Sa‹ud and Qana, an important spring located on the edge of the escarpment above Humayma. It is without milestones, but appears to have been in use during the Roman period. At least two other routes are marked by milestones between Sadaqa and Petra, one of which must have constituted a segment of the Trajanic road (Graf 1989). Nabataean settlements align all of these routes. Petra was also connected by a number of old E–W Nabataean caravan routes to Gaza on the Mediterranean and the Sinai and the Nile Delta in Egypt (Zayadine 1985).

In the N, the cities of the Decapolis were also interconnected with the Judaean-Arabian road system. Here Gerasa (Jerash) was the major nexus, with branches leading from it to Adraha (Der‹a) in the N, Pella to the NW, and Philadelphia in the S (Mittmann 1970: 133–63). The route running from Ptolemais (Akko) across the lower Galilee was connected via Tiberias with the E–W road running to Gadara (Umm Qeis), Capitolias (Beit Ras), Adraha (Der‹a), and Bostra, the capital of Arabia (Bauzou 1985). Pella could be reached from Caesarea by the road via Legio and Scythopolis (Isaac and Roll 1982). These routes are best known from the Peutinger Map, which displays the Roman road system of the Antonine period. Philadelphia (Amman) was connected by an E–W route to Neapolis, Caesarea Maritima, and from Esbus a road stretched to Jericho and Jerusalem. In the NE, Bostra, which served as headquarters of the *Legio III Cyrenaica*, was the major crossroads upon which five highways from all directions converged.

The central sector of Moab was also connected with several E–W routes that led to and around the Dead Sea to the W. The Peutinger Map shows a road leading from Rabbathmoba (Rabba) via Zoara to Thamara (Hazeva) at the SW area of the Dead Sea. The so-called "ascent of Luhith" (Isa 15:7) that led up the Jordanian rift to the plateau (Mittmann 1982) could make part of this road.

The S terminus of the Trajanic road was connected with an E–W route between Aila (Aqaba) and Clysma on the Suez. It is known in later sources as the Darb al-Hajj, but may also be identified with "the way to Mount Seir" (Deut 1:2). No traces of the Roman road have been discovered, but it is known from the Peutinger Map (Mayerson 1981). A desert route extended from Aila towards Hejaz and S Arabia.

The important oasis of Azraq was the nexus of several routes even farther to the E. It appears to have been connected to Bostra via a route that ran S from Salkhad to Imtan and Deir el-Kahf, and by two other roads via Umm el-Qottein and via Qasr al-Hallabat (Kennedy 1982: 137–97). It has been assumed that Azraq was also connected with the *strata Diocletiana*, a road connecting Palmyra and Damascus, but there is no evidence it extended as far S as Azraq (Bauzou fc..). A recently discovered milestone at Azraq does suggest that Azraq was connected with a route that ran deep into the desert depression of the Wadi Sirhan at least as far as Dumah (modern al-Jauf), where Roman military activity in the Severan era is known (Speidel 1987).

A N–S road running to the E and parallel to the *Via Nova* has also been proposed on the basis of random finds of milestones beginning S of Lejjun and running on a line toward Jurf al-Darwish and Udhruh (Thomsen 1917: 57–59). Since these finds were made in conjunction with nearby castella and legionary camps, they suggest this route was a military road that ran along the desert fringe that probably was established during the Tetrarchy.

Although these routes were the main arteries of the *provincia Arabia,* numerous other subsidiary routes also existed. Most of these were for local and regional traffic.

**C. The Development of the System**

The chronological development of the system can be traced insofar as it is reflected by the discovery of dated milestones. Two provisos must be made. First, roads may have been constructed without accompanying placement of inscribed milestones. The problems cannot be discussed fully, and it will be assumed here that the full organization of a Roman road, physically and administratively, is marked by the earliest series of milestones. Second, it cannot always be assumed that specimens of the earliest series have survived. In what follows, emphasis will be laid on obvious patterns which seem to characterize general developments.

No milestones dated before the reign of Claudius have been found anywhere in the E provinces beyond Anatolia. This is also true for Judea.

**1. The Time of Claudius-Nero.** Veterans of four legions were settled in a new colony in Ptolemais-Acco, in Syria but bordering on Judea. Next the coast road from Antioch to Ptolemais was constructed and marked with milestones "from Antioch to the new Colony of Ptolemais." These are dated A.D. 56. This was the first Roman road marked by milestones in Syria. It was a project apparently undertaken for security reasons: under Claudius there were dangerous troubles between Jews and Samaritans which were investigated on the spot by Ummidius Quadratus, governor of Syria (*WHJP* 1: 458–60, 462ff.; Isaac 1990: 322).

**2. A.D. 69.** In A.D. 69, M. Ulpius Traianus, commander of the legion X Fretensis is mentioned on a milestone of the Scythopolis–Legio road (Isaac and Roll 1976). As explained elsewhere, the construction of this road, part of a major strategic route, facilitated communication between the legionary winter quarters at Caesarea and Scythopolis. It appears that the road probably continued to Pella and Gerasa, since milestones of A.D. 112 discovered between these cities mention restoration of the road (Thomsen 1917: nos. 215, 216, 218a, 220; Mittmann 1970: 157 f.). The road was built in a period when the Romans were not actively pursuing the war in Judea due to the civil war being fought elsewhere. The army remaining in Judea therefore had nothing else to do and were kept busy on this road project. So far this milestone has remained a unique specimen. This itself is exceptional, since most milestones in Judea belong to a series represented by more than one text. There are no further traces of road construction related to the years of the First Jewish Revolt. As noted below, there are literary references to the activities of legionary road builders, but these must be distinguished from the systematic activity in peacetime which resulted in the placement of milestones.

**3. The Flavians, Trajan.** There are no milestones of these years (A.D. 72–117) in Judea. This is remarkable, for there are Flavian milestones in Cappadocia and Syria, and in Arabia, Trajan constructed his major road from the N to the S of the new province (see B.3 above). It was often assumed that the First Jewish Revolt was followed by substantial work of this nature. There is no evidence of this, and it may be concluded that Flavian interests focused on the more important province of Syria while the reign of Trajan was marked by activity in the new province of Arabia.

Following the annexation of the new province of Arabia, one legion was stationed at Bostra in the extreme N of the province and a road was constructed from Bostra to the Red Sea. The construction of the road is recorded on milestones of 111 and 114. All milestones known by 1917 are listed in Thomsen 1917: 1 ff., Map 1. For information on the construction of the road to be derived from the milestones, see Pekry 1968: 140–42.

The text emphasizes the connection between the annexation and the construction of the road. The milestones date the completion of the project, not its beginning, and it may be assumed that the construction began immediately after the annexation in 106. A well-known papyrus of March, 107, refers to soldiers cutting building stones not far from Petra (P. Mich. 465–66; text, translation and discussion also in *ANRW* 2/8: 691 f.). This shows that the army was constructing something, probably the road, at the time.

**4. Hadrian.** In Judea at least twelve roads were first marked by milestones from this period, all dated to 120 and 129/130, well before the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba Revolt. No milestones have been discovered which date to the years of the revolt. The series of 129/130 is contemporary with the emperor's visit to Judea. This shows increased Roman activity in the province. The garrison was doubled and, according to Cassius Dio, the decision was taken to found the Roman colony of Aelia Capitolina at Jerusalem. In Arabia at least one new road was constructed under Hadrian in 120: a road from Gerasa via Adraa to Bostra (the section Gerasa–Adraa [Der'a] has been explored by Mittmann 1964: 113 ff.). The section Adraa–Bostra has not so far produced any milestones but only a building inscription recording the construction of a bridge at at-Tayyibeh, dated 163/4 (Bauzou 1985: 151, and map, fig. 1). There is no doubt that the section Adraa–Bostra was part of the road already in Hadrian's time, for the milestones count the distance from Bostra. A road from Caesarea on the coast to Scythopolis and probably onward to Gerasa had already been built in 69 (see C.2 above). The section Gerasa–Scythopolis was repaired in 112 and the section from Scythopolis westward in 129. This provided the legion in Bostra with organized access into the Decapolis. Under Hadrian a legion was based at Legio-Caparcotna, and roads were built to provide an organized link with the legion at Bostra.

**5. A.D. 162.** This is by far the most extensive series attested in Judea, so far numbering 31 milestones. In Arabia two milestones were set up with identical texts. It has been suggested that there was a connection with the Parthian campaign of Lucius Verus which started in the winter of 161/2. This does not contradict what has been said above: no milestones were set up during times of war inside the province. However these matters are interpreted, there are two complementary facts to be considered about the milestones of A.D. 162: first, an extraordinarily large number of stones in the region dated to this year; and second, milestones of Marcus Aurelius are extremely rare elsewhere. Another such series found in several provinces reflects preparations for Severus Alexander's Persian campaign, in 231–33.

**6. Septimius Severus.** Milestones of several years during his reign have been found in Judea. There is some evidence that the inscriptions were produced by the citizens of the towns in the neighborhood where they are found. A study of the coast road in Syria has shown that there was a change of organization in 198 (Goodchild 1948). In Arabia there is evidence that the army first moved into the NE desert in the reign of Severus, occupying positions at Uweinid and Azraq and building a road from Azraq to the north (ca. 200–202; Kennedy 1980).

As observed in previous publications, the chronology of the milestone-texts suggests that they are related to events outside of the province of Judea. Apart from the series of 162 there are series which coincide with imperial visits to the area (129/130 and 198). Some series are mere declarations of loyalty, such as that of Perinax or the stones dated to 324–26. There was a short period when milestones were produced as a matter of routine instead of special initiative, from 198 until the death of Caracalla.

There are no milestone inscriptions in Judea later than the reign of Constantine. In Arabia a few inscriptions proclaiming support for Julian the Apostate are the latest in date.

Finally, there are hardly any milestones in the settled area of Judea of the Tetrarchs and their successors. This coincides with the demilitarization of the province in this period. In Syria and Arabia, where the army was not withdrawn but reorganized, there are many inscriptions (Isaac 1990: 162ff.). The Roman road system was originally developed by the army for its own use. It was later maintained for the army by the local population. This road system continued to serve the local population and other armies in later periods, and it was not substantially restored or expanded until the 20th century.

**D. Wartime Construction**

As observed, there are no milestone inscriptions in Judea clearly related to the major wars between Rome and the Jews in the 1st and 2d century. That certainly reflects the fact that this sort of organization did not belong to wartime activities. Of general interest, however, are two passages in Josephus' *Jewish War* which describe the activities of legionary pioneers who prepared the way in advance of the regular troops on the march (*JW* 3.6.2 §118; 3.7.3 §141).

**E. General Characteristics of Judean Roads**

In the plains and valleys, roads followed an alignment as straight as possible, familiar from aerial photographs all over the empire. However, when possible the engineers avoided laying out a road through densely wooded lands or marsh-lands. In mountainous areas a route over the watershed or halfway up the slope was preferred to the narrow valleys or river-beds: both for security reasons and because the roads are harder to maintain in low lying terrain which tends to be flooded in winter (representative examples of sections across roads may be found in Roll and Ayalon 1986: 125–29). Passes and ascents were constructed with great care, and were often provided with steps built or cut into the bedrock (notably in the case of roads leading up to Jerusalem). Bridges were constructed where needed.

Milestones were found along the major roads, organized for the use of the army and traveling officials. It goes without saying that there were numerous other roads and some of these have been explored, but only the presence of milestones is unequivocal proof that we are faced with a public highway. They were ideally placed at distances of one Roman mile (i.e., 1482 meters = 4862 ft), but in practice distances appear to vary. In Judea the distances are measured from the main towns, usually from the center. It is to be noted that both in Judea and in Arabia far more milestones have been found in the settled area than in the desert.

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**ROBE.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**ROCK OF ESCAPE** (PLACE) [Heb *sela‘ hammaḥlĕqôt* (סֶלַע הַמַּחְלְקוֹת)]. A place in the wilderness of Maon where David escaped from Saul (1 Sam 23:28), often associated with Wadi el-Malaqi (Gold *IDB* 2: 126; Lee *ISBE* 2: 130). Apparently the site featured an unusual rock or cliff foundation. The major discussion about the site, however, concerns the etymology of the Hebrew term *ḥālaq*, its meaning in this passage (Lee *ISBE* 2: 130; Klein *1 Samuel* WBC, 232; BDB, 325), and its relationship to the physical features of the site. Some of the major translations include "Rock of Divisions," "Rock of Slipperinesses," or "Rock of Escape." While the debate concerning the etymology of the term continues, the passage may reflect a popular etymology of that day (Klein *1 Samuel* WBC, 232). Perhaps the context of the passage reflects some hint concerning the intent of the writer. Saul, in pursuit of David and his men, was on one side of the mountain and David on the other (1 Sam 23:26), the setting being perhaps that of a formation with two parallel cliffs so situated that David's escape seemed impossible. However, while Saul was closing in on David, his mission was interrupted by a Philistine raid (v 27) which allowed David to escape.

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**ROCK OF ETAM.** See ETAM, ROCK OF.

**RODANIM** [Heb *rôdānîm* (רוֹדָנִים)]. Var. DODANIM. The Rodanim were said to be one of "the sons of Javan," along with "Elishah, Tarshish and Kittim" in 1 Chr 1:7. Were this the only reference to these people, scholars would identify the location with the island of Rhodes. The difficulty arises when one consults Gen 10:4 where the fourth son of Javan is said to be Dodanim. However, even here the Sam. Pent., and some mss of the MT read Rodanim. It is easy to see how the confusion arose, since Heb *reš* and *dalet* are easily confused. The combined textual evidence for 1 Chr 1:7 is overwhelmingly in favor of Rodanim (with only the Syr Peshitta reading *dûdanîm,* in an obvious harmonistic attempt with Gen 10:4; the Targum to 1 Chr 1:7 does read *wdrdny‘*, which looks like a compromise solution of incorporating both readings). So what is the preferred reading? The *lectio difficilior* would favor reading Dodanim for Gen 10:4 and Rodanim for 1 Chr 1:7. However, the principle of the more difficult reading is only valid for

intentional errors, such as scribal harmonizations and the like. The accidental substitution of a *dalet* for a *reš* would not be taken into account by the *lectio difficilior.* The most likely external referent for the biblical passages is the island of Rhodes. Some recent attempts to identify them with the *dnn* peoples of various inscriptions of the ANE are marred by the simple fact that the spelling does not correspond to what we would expect from comparative Semitics. Neiman (1973: 121) and Berger (1982: 60) have proposed that we identify the Dodanim with the Greek city Dadona, but this is too obscure to carry much weight. In conclusion, we would read Rodanim for both 1 Chr 1:7 and Gen 10:4, with Rhodes as the referent. The danger of taking "son of" too literally in both the table of nations in Genesis 10 and 1 Chronicles 1 must be pointed out. Both "sonship" and "brotherhood" were terms which could be used very loosely to refer to broader relationships than kinship, such as members of a common treaty (cf. Wenham *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 215; Ross 1980: 344–46). Hence the biblical authors, in listing Rodanim as a "son of" Javan, were describing their perception of some kind of cultural relationship between the Greeks and the inhabitants of Rhodes, in this instance perhaps based on kinship, but not necessarily so.

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**RODENTS.** See ZOOLOGY.

**ROEBUCK.** See ZOOLOGY.

**ROGELIM** (PLACE) [Heb *rōgĕlîm* (רֹגְלִים)]. A town in Transjordan from which Barzillai came to escort the restored king David to the Jordan River (2 Sam 19:31). Rogelim means "treaders," i.e., fullers, people who cleaned, bleached, or dyed wool or cloth, and who may also have traded in textiles. This could indicate Rogelim's local industry, but does not help to locate the site. Judging by the goods the three men (i.e., Shobi, Machir, and Barzillai; 2 Sam 17:27) brought to David, Barzillai was probably wealthy. Since no royalty is implied, his wealth may have come from the local industry or agriculture, suggesting that Rogelim was a fertile area. The food brought to David suggests farmland. The phrase "came down" suggests that Rogelim was in the hills. If one assumes that Barzillai was a Gileadite living in Gilead, Rogelim could have been in that area. Lodebar (2 Sam 17:27) is usually seen as being in Gilead, and Rabbah (2 Sam 17:27; assuming it was the capital city of the Ammonites) was not far away. One might assume, however, that all three men were within some reasonable distance from Mahanaim where David had taken refuge.

Gilead itself has a variety of geographical meanings—Bashan N of the Yarmuk, Transjordan S of the Yarmuk, the area S of the Jabbok, the area between the Yarmuk and Jabbok. Abel (*GP* 2: 437) suggested Rogelim was Tell Barsina on the S side of Wadi er-Rujeileh in E Gilead (M.R. 223215). The site is ca. 5.5 miles SW of Irbid, and ca. 0.5 miles N of Mahanaim. Abel inferred this identification from the similarity of the name, Barsina, with the name Barzillai, and the similarity of the name of the wadi (i.e., er-Rujeileh) with Rogelim.

However, Glueck (1951: 176–77) found no evidence at Barsina of settlement before the Roman period. He instead proposed to identify Rogelim with Zaharet Soq'ah, which was a strong Iron Age I fortress.

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**ROHGAH** (PERSON) [Heb *rohgâ* (רָהֻגָּה)]. A descendant of Asher listed in 1 Chr 7:34. He is named as the son of Shamer, who perhaps is to be identified with Shomer (7:32). Rohgah does not appear elsewhere in Scripture and is attributed with no offspring. The verse in which this name appears bears several textual problems. First, the consonantal text gives the name as *rwhgh*—perhaps to be pronounced

*rôhăgâ*—while the Masoretes have vocalized it as *rohgâ.* Second, the MT reads "Ahi and Rohgah," but subsequent translators have divided the consonants of this phrase differently, to read "… his brother, and Rohgah."

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**ROMAMTI-EZER** (PERSON) [Heb *rōmamtî ʿezer* (רֹמַמְתִּי עֶזֶר)]. One of the fourteen sons of Heman who were appointed to prophesy with musical instruments under the direction of their father and the king (1 Chr 25:4). Romamti-ezer received the twenty-fourth lot cast to determine duties (1 Chr 25:31).

Scholars have long suggested that the final nine names in 1 Chr 25:4 can be read as a liturgical prayer. For instance, *rōmamtî* is the first person sing. *Poʿlel* perf. form of the verb *rûm.* Reading *ʿezer* as the direct object and considering the conjunction attached to *rōmamtî,* one could translate the name Romamti-ezer as "I will exalt [my] helper." It would form part of the third line of the liturgical prayer as reconstructed by scholars. For a reconstruction and translation of the prayer, a summary of interpretative possibilities, and bibliography, see ELIATHAH.

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**ROMAN ARMY.** Roman control of Greater Syria (including Judea) lasted for seven centuries, being founded largely on the powerful and effective forces she established in the region. The character, organization, size, and distribution of those forces developed and changed over that long period. The army left by Pompey the Great in his new province of Syria in 63 B.C. was rather different from that of Septimius Severus ca. A.D. 200 and very different from that stationed in the region on the eve of the Islamic invasion and the Battle of the Yarmuk in A.D. 636. The dynamics of change derived from the political and social evolution of the Roman Empire, from developments in military technology, tactics and strategy, and the altered perception of the role of the forces in the region.

The elements of the Roman army with which the inhabitants of the region would have been most familiar were the Legions and the Auxilia; sailors of the Fleet were normally only found along the coast. In addition, for more than a century and half after Pompey, the troops of various client states in the region also had a role to play and were prominent in their own regions or more widely in times of war.

The change in the Roman army from the 1st century B.C. to the 2d A.D. may be summarized in three broad phases of overlapping development. For a generation after Pompey, Roman control was assured by the establishment of a number of Legions in the area which could call upon the armies of allied states in time of rebellion or external war. The next period saw the addition of large numbers of supplementary troops (the Auxilia) serving permanently alongside the Legions and in Roman pay. Finally, progressively from the end of the 1st century B.C. onwards, the various allied states were eliminated, their territory (and armies) brought under direct Roman control. The annexation in A.D. 106 of the last of these allied states, the kingdom of the Nabateans, left military control entirely in the hands of Legions and Auxilia.

In general, the central forces were those permanently based in Greater Syria. From time to time, however, reinforcements were drafted from other provinces; from Cappadocia and Egypt in particular, but also from as distant as the provinces of Africa and Europe.

The subject may now be considered in two parts: the character and organization of the Roman army in general, then the army in the Near East with special reference to the NT period.

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A. Late Republic and Early Empire
1. Legions
2. Auxilia
3. Fleets
4. Forces in Rome
5. Allied Armies
B. The Roman Army in the East
1. Background Developments

2. The Role of the Army
3. The Military Background to the NT
4. The Roman Army in the Bible

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**A. Late Republic and Early Empire**

**1. Legions.** The military success of the Roman Republic had been founded on the effectiveness of her citizen armies, equipped as heavy infantry and organized into legions. The precise numerical strength of the full legion in the Late Republic is disputed, round numbers of 5,000 and 6,000 being found in the literature, but most scholars prefer the former.

During the Republic, by law, all male Roman citizens between the ages of 17 and 46 were liable to be called upon to serve for periods not normally exceeding six years at any one time. Most recruits were conscripted in rotation but increasingly in the 1st century B.C. generals could count on volunteers to form at least a significant nucleus of an army. Troops were required both to provide regular garrisons in distant provinces and to fight in wars. They were equipped by the state but the cost was deducted from their pay. At discharge, men would return to their farmsteads or could hope their general would persuade the Senate to reward them with a grant of land in Italy. The numbers of men under arms varied considerably as circumstances required in the last fifty years of the Republic (80–30 B.C.) but was seldom less than twenty legions.

The end of the Republic brought a change. Augustus, the first emperor, sought to create military institutions better suited to what had become a great Mediterranean-wide power and no longer a small city state. A fully professional, long-service, army was formed, recruited largely from volunteers and gauged more closely to Rome's long-term requirements than had been the case previously. More than half of the legions in service during the civil wars of 44–30 B.C. were disbanded by Augustus and a further three were destroyed in a disaster in Germany in A.D. 9. By the close of Augustus' reign (A.D. 14), there were twenty-five. This number rose to twenty-eight by the end of the century, to thirty in the early 2d century and thirty-three by ca. A.D. 200.

The Republican practice of giving legions numbers and distinctive epithets reflecting characteristics (*VI Ferrata*, "Ironclad"), former service (*IX Hispana*), the emperor under whom they were formed (*III Augusta*) continued in the empire. Increasingly, too, many individual legions remained in the same province—if, indeed, not in the same fortress—over long periods of time (e.g. *Legio III Augusta* was based in the province of Africa from ca. 30 B.C. for at least four centuries and *VI Victrix* was based at York in Britain for three centuries). From the outset, all of these legions were permanently based in the provinces, usually in one of the frontier provinces; not until the end of the 2d century A.D. was one (*II Parthica*) stationed in Italy itself.

Recruits in the imperial period still had to be Roman citizens, but a growing number of replacements in the legions were drawn from provincial sources. Some of these came from the growing numbers of Italians who had settled abroad on their own initiative or in the many colonies established by Julius Caesar and Augustus. Others—after the time of Claudius (A.D. 41–54) in particular—were recruited from the sons of provincial auxiliary soldiers. Still others, especially in the East where there were relatively few Italian settlers, were recruited from natives who were enfranchised to make them eligible. By the end of the 2d century, there were relatively few legionaries of Italian origin. Legions began recruiting within their own region. As a result, the major legionary groupings—Britain, the Rhine, the Danube, the East, Egypt and Africa—took on regional characteristics.

Conditions of service were relatively good. Recruits signed on for a long period—initially sixteen years but soon increased to twenty then twenty-five—but in return received regular pay, periodic bonuses, and a discharge bounty. For most soldiers, everyday service conditions and prospects were far superior to those generally available outside the army. In service, the legionary soldier was usually accommodated in permanent forts (but cf. below) whose timber barracks gave way in the later 1st century A.D. to stone-built ones; forts not only provided basic amenities but even bath houses. Medical care was provided, the soldier was fed well and regularly, and clothing and equipment was charged to him but provided by the state.

Outside his military base, the legionary's spending power made him a person of some importance. Moreover, part of his pay and bonuses was compulsorily saved for him which, together with his discharge gratuity, provided the means for him to settle comfortably. Legal privileges and tax exemptions for the veteran gave added status and provided an additional impetus to would-be recruits. A serious disincentive to enlistment was that the state forbid marriage for a serving soldier. The theory, presumably, was that by obliging soldiers to live and work together without any recognized external ties, their esprit de corps and mobility were enhanced. Despite the ban, the state accepted that many soldiers would father children and some would establish families whose status could be legitimized after discharge.

The effectiveness of the Roman legions was due to various factors. As heirs to centuries of steady success their morale was high, but systematic training and harsh discipline played a vital part. Prospective recruits were first screened for suitability—legal status as well as stature and general health. There were regular training sessions with various weapons, parade ground maneuvers, and route marches. Equipment included mail (later segmented plate) armor, a helmet, short sword, dagger, spear(s), and a large curved rectangular shield (replacing an earlier oval one).

The legion itself was internally flexible and efficient on the battlefield. Each probably consisted of ten cohorts of 480. These in turn were divided into six centuries of 80 men (not the 100 implied in the name), subdivided into small units, *contubernia,* of eight men, who roomed and messed together. There were in addition some 120 mounted men attached as scouts and despatch riders for a total of ca. 4,920. Later in the 1st century A.D. the first cohort was reduced to five centuries but each now of double strength (160), giving a paper strength of 5,240.

The handful of most-senior officers were relatively inexperienced. The commander or legate, was an aristocrat, a member of the Roman Senate (except in Egypt, where only equestrian prefects were appointed), most commonly in his thirties and usually appointed for three years. He would probably have seen some previous military service, but at least a decade before and not necessarily for much longer than six months to a year. Subordinate to him were six tribunes, one of whom was of senatorial family, the other five from equestrian families. The latter were commonly in their early thirties, had already gained some experience from the command of an auxiliary regiment for three years and could remain another three years as legionary tribunes. The senatorial tribunes could serve for as little as six months.

The real professionals of the legion were the centurions, sixty of them, one for each century. Most centurions were promoted from the ranks; others came in as direct appointments from the equestrian order or transferred from the elite units in Rome. Promotion over a long career could take a man from junior centurion, *hastatus posterior,* of the tenth cohort to first centurion of the first cohort, *primus pilus.* There was no fixed period of service for a man once he reached the centurionate—he could stay till he died. *Primipilares,* however, served only a year at that rank before proceeding perhaps to be camp prefect (*praefectus castrorum*) (third in command after the legate and senatorial tribune), commanding one of the prestigious cohorts of troops in Rome itself (below), or beginning on an equestrian career with the possibility of governing a small province or even entering the Senate.

The attractions of the army are well illustrated, especially for the officers. Apart from the career prospects, it was financially very advantageous. The first stage in promotion took a man to *sesquiplicarius,* which earned him pay and a half, and next came the *duplicarius* or double pay. The financial attraction of the centurionate, however, was that the pay was probably some 16 times that of the basic legionary salary. In short, a centurion had both considerable military and social status and wealth. Finally, of course, men could move between units, especially if promotion was involved or a reinforcement draft required in an emergency.

**2. Auxilia.** When the armies of the Roman Republic were called upon to fight outside Italy from the late 3d century B.C. onwards, they came into contact with peoples whose military traditions were rather different from their own. Rather than develop forces to counter the light infantry, mounted troops, archers, and slingers of their new opponents, they preferred rather to employ some of these new peoples as mercenaries. The practice became more common when the mass extension of Roman citizenship in the 80s B.C. integrated many former Italian allies into the legions; it accelerated during the last decades of the

Republic, especially the civil wars, with some provincial units remaining in existence for long periods and seeing distant service. Major developments came with Augustus who continued to enroll short-service bodies of auxiliaries under their own tribal leaders, but also many others recruited from among subject provincials as part of the permanent establishment.

The organization of these auxiliary troops differed in some significant respects from that of the legions. The size of each unit was small: cavalry were grouped as *alae* and infantry as *cohortes.* The exact strength of the various types of regiments differed, but all were initially defined loosely as "quingenary," i.e., approximately 500 strong; from the time of Nero onwards a few large military, "thousand strong," regiments appear. Internal organization involved dividing cavalry into sixteen squadrons (*turmae*) of thirty, each commanded by a decurion assisted by NCOs; among the infantry, cohorts were divided as in the legions into six centuries of eighty men each. An innovation was the creation of mixed regiments, *cohortes equitatae,* whose strength was probably made up of 480 infantry in six centuries and 120 mounted men in four squadrons. Auxiliaries were paid less than legionaries, perhaps less than half for an auxiliary infantryman. On the other hand, auxiliary cavalry were better paid, perhaps as much as a legionary. Pay, food, clothing, accommodation, and the improved conditions of everyday life such as the regimental bath buildings available to auxiliaries too, were attractive to those whose warlike instincts needed an alternative outlet after the incorporation of their homeland into a Roman province. Even more attractive was the prospect of Roman citizenship. In the middle of the 1st century, probably under Claudius (A.D. 41–54), the previously occasional practice of rewarding deserving auxiliaries with Roman citizenship was made standard. This usually occurred after about twenty-five years, although service continued indefinitely. By the end of the 1st century A.D., however, the term of service had been fixed at twenty-five years with an automatic grant of honorable discharge together with Roman citizenship for the soldier and, retrospectively, any family he had acquired illegally. There was no gratuity, but the attractions of obtaining Roman citizenship for themselves and their descendants was considerable.

Auxiliary regiments were recruited from throughout the empire. Some such as the Cretan and Syrian archers, Numidian and Gallic cavalry, Balearic slingers, and Raetian spearmen brought prized fighting techniques; most provided simply useful and cheap manpower. Initially, they retained their distinctive equipment and weapons; in time, most infantry and cavalry at least were equipped in a common fashion. More specialized units—archers, slingers, *dromedarii,* and heavy cavalry—inevitably retained a distinctive character. Like legions, auxiliary regiments were given numbers and names, the latter often describing their ethnic origin, particular expertise, or former service; e.g., *Ala I Gallorum, Cohors I Hemesenorum Milliaria Sagittariorum Equitata,* and *Ala I Thracum Mauretana.* Regiments often served at a distance from their homeland; indeed, their loyalty was more assured if they did so. However, through local recruitment to fill vacancies, many such units gradually lost their original ethnic character. Unlike legions, whose personnel after Augustus' time were largely volunteers, auxiliary regiments would often have consisted originally of pressed men and thereafter received drafts of recruits which included some of the same. Like legionaries, auxiliary troops had opportunities for promotion and transfer.

Alongside these permanent formations, Augustus and his immediate successors also made use of regiments brought to their service for fixed periods by native chiefs. Various Gallic regiments in particular served in this way as did units recruited by German chiefs beyond the frontier. With the assimilation of most such warlike elements, this practice died out within the empire but continued beyond the frontiers, not just with German mercenaries but with Thracians and Moors and even with the retainers of Parthian refugees.

With the exception of those units which fought under their own tribal leaders, auxiliary regiments were commanded by Roman officers from Italy or the provinces. Initially, a wide range of men took command, from legionary centurions to the younger sons of senators. By the latter half of the 1st century A.D., however, there was a regular hierarchy of posts for the equestrian class with a sequence of posts as tribunes of cohorts or prefects of cavalry regiments. Such men not only held two or three of these posts but each for as long as three years at a time. As with senatorial officers and generals who were appointed

because of who they were, these equestrian officers were not necessarily able, but they did at least gain much more experience of military affairs than senatorial amateurs.

As regards numbers, there is the testimony of Tacitus that such units were both more vulnerable than legions and constantly being formed or disbanded as required. He reports (under the year A.D. 23), however, that their overall strength was about that of the legions, i.e. ca. 125,000, about 250 regiments. Cheaper to maintain and easier to recruit from a much bigger manpower pool, their numbers rose more rapidly than those for the legions. In the mid-2d century there were approximately ninety cavalry regiments (seven of them military) and 300 cohorts (forty of them military and the total equally divided between purely infantry units [*peditata*] and mixed infantry and cavalry [*equitata*]).

Auxiliary units were distributed widely, mainly in the frontier provinces but also in those provinces without legions (e.g., Mauretania). In the Augustan period and for a short time thereafter, some were brigaded along with legions in the same fortresses. Gradually, as legions moved into individual fortresses, auxiliary units were split off too, a few, however, into multiple regiment forts. Their smaller size made it easier to move them, and although some units stayed in particular provinces for several generations, there was far more movement among them.

In peacetime, auxiliaries probably carried out most of the day-to-day patrolling and policing. In time of war, they were no less prominent than the legions, even shouldering the brunt of fighting in battles.

**3. Fleets.** Under the Republic, fleets had been built as required in time of war or to check piracy. Augustus established permanent fleets, first in Gaul at Forum Julii (Fréjus), then moved to Italy to two great bases at Ravenna and Misenum, which had some 10,000 men each. Subsequently, smaller fleets were created on the English Channel, the Rhine and Danube, the Black Sea, the Levantine coast, at Alexandria, and on the Red Sea. Detachments were certainly outposted to other ports.

Recruits came from noncitizen sources. Like auxiliaries, they were granted citizenship after discharge (finally set at 26 years), and generally enjoyed very similar terms of service. Commanders were drawn from the equestrian order.

With little evidence of piracy after the close of the Republic, the function of these fleets seems mainly to have been to police the seas and convoy transports of grain or troops.

**4. Forces in Rome.** Under the Republic there had been no troops quartered in Rome. Augustus, however, formed the Praetorian Guard of nine cohorts, each probably ca. 1,000 strong. It was subsequently increased to twelve cohorts and briefly to sixteen before settling at ten in the later 1st century. Finally, at the end of the 2d century, the size of each of the ten cohorts was increased to, probably, 1,600. Initially only three cohorts were based in Rome, but from A.D. 23 all were quartered there in a specially built camp, the *Castra Praetoria*.

Service was highly coveted. Recruitment was restricted not just to Roman citizens but to those from Italy and the older colonies and provinces such as Gallia Narbonensis and Macedonia. Pay was initially twice that of legionaries and later apparently 3 times; service was for twelve (later sixteen) years. Conditions in Rome were highly attractive and men went to war only under the emperor or one of his immediate family. Praetorians could be promoted to centurionates in legions and their tribunes were an elite, too, drawn from former chief centurions of the legions who had progressed up through the tribunates available in the other forces in Rome and who might go on to an equestrian career. The force as a whole was commanded by one, sometimes a pair, of Praetorian Prefects, men who had reached the pinnacle of an equestrian career and enjoyed the trust of the emperor in the sensitive task of providing for his general security. Cohorts took turns at guarding the palace but in practice close protection was provided by the German Bodyguards of Augustus and, later, the provincial troops of the Special Mounted Forces (*Equites Singulares Augusti*) (1,000 men), also based in Rome.

The three Urban Cohorts formed by Augustus were charged with policing the capital. Several others were subsequently formed, and individual cohorts were outposted to Ostia and Puteoli in Italy, and later to Carthage and Lyons. Their strength was initially cohorts of 500 or 1,000—certainly it became 1,000 and, in the late 2d century, probably, 1,500–1,600. Recruits were Roman citizens, serving twenty years,

Tribunes commanded cohorts and were responsible to the emminent senator who had been appointed prefect of the city.

Seven cohorts (3,500, perhaps 7,000 men from the outset) of paramilitary fire fighters, the *Vigiles*, recruited from freedmen and serving for periods of six years, were distributed around the city.

**5. Allied Armies.** From the Late Republic onwards, various petty rulers were recognized by Rome both within the directly administered territories of provinces and around the periphery of the empire as a whole. In time of war, they could be called upon, or expected as a token of friendship, to provide troops at their own expense for the duration of campaigns in their own vicinity. For the period under discussion, the most numerous and best attested of these rulers and their armies are in the East and they may conveniently be discussed now in that context.

Administering the armed forces was a major undertaking. The imperial bureaucracy in Rome oversaw the appointment of provincial governors and the commanders of legions and auxiliary units, and determined their distribution. Troops had to be paid and provision made both for extraordinary payments on state occasions and for gratuities and the regular issuing of discharge diplomas to auxiliaries. Within the provinces the governors oversaw recruitment, inspected troops, and were involved in their payment and discharge. The best known account is that of Hadrian's governor Arrian, who, during his governorship of Cappadocia, carried out an inspection by sea of the coastal forts and garrisons along the Black Sea coast of his province.

Every unit generated a great deal of paperwork ranging from the rosters showing the daily duties of each individual to pay records. Many such documents have survived, especially among the papyri of Egypt, but the largest and most informative single group are the records of the *Cohors XX Palmyrenorum* discovered at their base of Dura Europos on the Middle Euphrates. The language of such documents is Latin, and that was the language of the army as a whole. Nevertheless, most troops were not native Latin speakers. In the East, many legionaries were Greek- rather than Latin-speaking, while auxiliaries everywhere spoke their own tongue—Celtic, German, Thracian, and Aramaic. After 25 years service, even non-Latin speakers will have acquired a considerable familiarity with Latin. The other avenue for Romanization of the non-Italian element was through religion. In practice, Italians and Westerners in general adopted many native deities, not least the mystery cults of the East. Nevertheless, religion was an important element in everyday military routine and it involved for everyone some acquaintance with the old gods of the Classical Pantheon.

The appearance of Roman troops and their campaign practices are known partly from descriptions in the pages of such writers as Polybius, Caesar, and Josephus. A great deal of information, however, is derived from the discovery of pieces of equipment and from artistic representations. Figured tombstones can be useful but relief sculpture is especially valuable, not least the famous representations of campaigning armies of the 2d century A.D. which may be seen on the triumphal arches of the emperors Augustus, Titus, Marcus Aurelius, and Septimius Severus and on the celebrated columns of Trajan (98–117) and Marcus Aurelius (161–80).

**B. The Roman Army in the East**

**1. Background Developments.** In 133 B.C., the king of Pergamum in W Asia Minor, bequeathed his realm to Rome. From this gift, Rome created her first province beyond the Aegean—the province of Asia (129 B.C.). During the subsequent century, Roman armies campaigned throughout Anatolia as far as the Caucasus Mountains, then down through Mesopotamia, Syria, and into Egypt. By 30 B.C. much of this region had been brought under Roman control, the political geography of which was a scattering of provinces among and beyond which lay the territories of a number of petty rulers allied to Rome and largely dependent on her support and goodwill. In the same period, the more urbanized and peaceful provinces such as Asia and Bithynia, were demilitarized. A few troops remained, but mainly to assist and protect the governors and their senior officials. The main concentrations of troops moved eastwards, to Galatia, Syria, and Egypt. Major changes followed in the 1st century A.D. as most allied states of Asia Minor and Greater Syria were eliminated, their territory absorbed into an existing or newly created province. Galatia lost its legionary forces at an early stage, but Cappadocia, a new military province, was

created on the Turkish Euphrates instead; Syria remained the most-important military province in the entire East, but around it appeared new provinces—Judea in A.D. 6 (renamed Syria Palaestina in the early 2d century A.D.), and Arabia in 106. Provincial boundaries were varied occasionally, and at the end of the 2d century Syria itself was split into two smaller provinces, Syria Coele and Phoenice, and two new provinces were created in northern Mesopotamia, Osrhoene and Mesopotamia.

**2. The Role of the Army.** Troops were allocated to specific provinces to provide security. The emphasis within that broad definition varied according to local conditions and over time with changing circumstances. Initially, a new region had to be garrisoned to deter rebellion. Later, the size of force would depend on the extent to which the population had to be policed and it had its resources protected from banditry or external threat. In Syria, the large populations of a few great cities certainly represented potential difficulties. Where there were large Jewish elements in the urban population, there was an additional problem arising from the hostility between the "Greek" and Jewish communities. Notable flashpoints in the East were Alexandria and Antioch, but all of the cities of the Phoenician coast from Sidon to Ascalon had such troubles. In the Jewish homelands, deep-seated religious sensitivities and a rapid disillusionment with the realities of Roman rule, made the entire region unsettled. Especially sensitive and requiring close supervision were the occasions of the great festivals of Passover and Pentecost which brought huge numbers of visitors from all over the empire and beyond. Banditry—endemic to the region (see Luke 10:30 and Acts 21:38), could have political overtones and interacted with religious problems to create frequent unrest. In the absence of special forces of police or a regular militia, the task of containing banditry fell to the regular troops of the Roman army or the forces of allied rulers. See BANDITRY. Localized insurrections also were common and there were fierce and bloody rebellions in A.D. 66–70 and 132–35. The numbers and distribution of troops tells the story.

In NE Syria, Rome faced the only other great power on her frontiers, the Parthian Empire. Wars were in fact infrequent, but there was often tension and each was capable of inflicting great harm on the other. Whereas the early province of Syria was allocated only two legions, Augustus greatly increased the army of the E frontier. Syria was now assigned four legions (ca. 20,000 men) and an unknown number of auxiliary regiments. All were now seasoned professional soldiers. After the annexation of Cappodocia in A.D. 18, the dispute between Rome and Parthia over the kingdom of Media (lying between the new province and Parthian Media) became more acute and forced the stationing of an even larger army on the Upper Euphrates.

Many troops would have been stationed around Antioch, and there were detachments—perhaps only temporarily—in various other cities. Apamaea (the Hellenistic military base), Tyre, and Damascus are mentioned, and unrest or insurrection led to Jerusalem being garrisoned by Roman legionaries on various occasions during the generation between Pompey and the victory of Augustus.

Until the late 2d century A.D., the army seems to have consisted of 3 legions, 8 cavalry regiments, and 19 or 20 infantry regiments. The overall total of about 30,000 men was probably little different from the Augustan period, although the proportion of auxiliaries may have been greater.

By this time, most allied states were made into new provinces. Much of the former Herodian territories was transformed into the province of Judea and allowed a garrison of auxiliary troops largely formed out of the army of Herod and his sons. After the First Jewish Revolt (66–71), a legion was established in Jerusalem. After the Second Jewish Revolt (132–35), Hadrian placed a second legion in the Vale of Jezreel. The army in the province in the later 2d century was some 17,000. Finally, in A.D. 106, the Nabatean kingdom was annexed and became the core of the province of Arabia with a legion; the total garrison was probably about 8,000–10,000.

By the death of Hadrian (A.D. 138), there was only one legion more than under Augustus—nine now, but the distribution reflected an altering strategy and preoccupations. The three legions in Egypt under Augustus had been reduced to one, giving a total of ca. 13,000 legionaries and auxiliaries there in the early 2d century; Galatia no longer had a legionary garrison. The East from Aegean to Egypt had some 90,000 troops, but most were now in frontier provinces. The striking exception was Judea/Syria Palaestina with no frontier but a huge garrison.

Local recruitment had gradually orientalized the legions. In the 2d century, the units which dominate the army lists for the eastern provinces are those recruited in Asia Minor (Phrygians, Galatians, and Paphlagonians) and Greater Syria itself (from Chalcis, Damascus, Palmyra, Arabia Petrea, and the cities of Judea/Palaestina). There seem to have been major recruitment drives in the Syrian region at the time of Nero's wars in Armenia and later in connection with the suppression of the Jewish revolt. Until the First Jewish Revolt, Jews were exempted from conscription, but the practice changed after that time.

In the early Julio-Claudian period the legions were concentrated in N Syria. By the 2d century, they were strung out from north to south and largely along the eastern periphery of the provinces—Satala, Melitene, Samosata, Cyrrhus, Raphanaea, and Bostra; the anomaly is Judea, with legions at Caparcotna and Jerusalem. Few auxiliary units can be located, but if Judea is any guide, in the 1st century many were placed in the towns of the region and a few strongpoints.

Unlike the western provinces, the military camps of the East are difficult to find. Troops were often quartered in the many towns of the region and were billeted directly on households. That was unwelcome and unsatisfactory and the solution was either to construct a camp next to a town or take over an entire quarter. Examples of both practices can be seen at Bostra where the early 2d century legionary fortress was established on the N side of the city, and at Dura Europos, where the late 2d century camp was developed inside a walled off part of the town. The proximity of soldier and civilian would be a mixed blessing. Undisciplined behavior and petty tyrannies by soldiers are a common refrain in ancient documents in general. On the other hand, soldiers brought useful spending power from their regular pay and occasional bonuses. After retirement, relatively few soldiers in the East were established in formal military colonies. Caesar and Augustus founded several in Asia Minor, but in Syria there were only three. Berytus (Beirut) and Heliopolis (Baalbek) were apparently refounded by Augustus after the civil wars. Claudius founded Ptolemais (Akko) in ca. A.D. 53/4. Later, Vespasian made Caesarea a colony but without the introduction of veterans.

**3. The Military Background to the NT.** In the general absence of community-based forces in the Roman Empire, soldiers were used to maintain law and order. The consequences were predictable. Much petty disorder went unchecked; military intervention, when it came, was heavy handed and often bloody. Inevitably, soldiers were treated warily, with fear, distrust and dislike. Ancient sources in general depict the soldier as despotic. In Syria, and most particularly in Judea, there was an additional factor. Because Jews were long exempted from military service to Rome, they had no family links and few shared values with the troops in the province (but cf. below). The parable of how one should react when pressed to carry a pack for a mile (Matt 5:41) symbolizes the common perception of the petty tyrannies of the military.

The situation was more difficult still in Judea. The Hasmonaean rulers of the region had employed native Jewish troops extensively. Herod the Great had likewise used many Jewish recruits in the civil war in which he had overthrown his Hasmonean rival, Antigonus; his final success, however, was built in part on foreign mercenaries and—not for the last time, on Roman troops. The war was long and bloody, and Herod was subsequently ruthless in consolidating his position. Between 37–30 B.C. his position was underpinned by a legion Antony based at Jerusalem; however, this was withdrawn by Octavian when Roman forces were reassigned in the East.

The elite units in Herod's own pay were foreign mercenaries. Already during the Antonian phase he had recruited non-Jewish troops in Judea as well as Ituraean forces from Mt. Lebanon. Then, in 30 B.C., Octavian made him a gift of 400 Gauls, till recently employed by Cleopatra (Jos. *Ant* 15 §217; *JW* 1 §397). Such western troops were evidently prized; a generation later, Gallic, German, and Thracian regiments were the principal guards at his funeral (Jos. *Ant* 17 §198). Within his kingdom, he was able to enroll troops from among his fellow Idumeans, from Samaria and Trachonitis, and from among the "Greek" inhabitants of his cities. There were Jewish troops too, though the best known were not indigenous but the 500 archers who had fled from Babylonia with their chief Zamaris and his family shortly before Herod's death (*Ant* 17 §24). The size of his royal army is not clear: certainly several thousand in addition to military colonists acting as reservists.

Like other allied rulers before and after him, Herod seems to have modeled his forces in part at least on Roman military practices. Units seem to be cohort sized (500), and some of his senior officers—the tribune Volumnius, and the cavalry and infantry commanders, Gratus and Rufus—bear Roman names. The loyalty of these troops was further guaranteed by his generous land grants to them, many being established in colonies to secure themselves and the neighborhood. The largest and best known was Samaria, renamed Sebaste in honor of the Emperor Augustus, to which were allocated 6,000 colonists, many of them veterans. Others were located at Gaba (known as "City of the Horsemen") east of Mt. Carmel, and at Heshbon, beyond the Dead Sea in Perea. Farther afield, at least 2,000 Idumeans were settled in their home territory. Three thousand were settled in Trachonitis and were destroyed in a rebellion in 10–9 B.C.; their successors, the Babylonians of Zamaris, were established as colonists at Bathyra in Batanea.

As well as these secure islands of military colonists, Herod established fortresses to watch over the population. In Jerusalem it was the Antonia fortress and a citadel in the upper city; east of Jerusalem and in the Jordan Valley were strongholds at Cyprus, Herodium, Hyrcania, and Alexandrium; on either side of the Dead Sea were his fortress palaces at Masada and at Machaerus on the borders of the Nabatean kingdom. There were probably other detachments based in his new city of Caesarea and in Idumea, where the likely forts and fortresses were at Arad, Malatha, and Oresa. See HERODIAN ARMY.

After Herod's death in 4 B.C., there were uprisings in his kingdom, and his army split in its loyalties over the succession of his sons, whom the non-Jewish troops—including 3,000 Sebastenians (from Samaria-Sebaste)—supported. In response, Augustus had a Roman legion from Syria installed in Jerusalem. However, when the rebellion flared up more fiercely, this legion was itself besieged by the rebels and had to be rescued by the return of Quinctilius Varus, the governor of Syria, with much of his provincial army. Just as Herod himself had supplied troops in ca. 25 B.C. to support a Roman campaign into the Arabian peninsula and had gone with a fleet to join a Roman campaign to the Bosporus in 14, Varus now called upon the forces of the various allied rulers in the region to support him in Judea. However, the troops sent by the Nabatean king were more intent on revenging age-old enmities and were soon sent away. The uprising spread from Jerusalem into the Perea, Idumea, and Galilee and required the combined efforts of the loyal Herodian troops and Varus's army. Much of Jerusalem was damaged or destroyed, the city of Sepphoris and numerous towns and villages, especially in Galilee, were sacked. The legion was retained in Jerusalem, probably until the return of Archelaus.

Because of these events, the installation of Herod's sons in various parts of his kingdom was even more dependent on non-Jewish mercenaries. Prominent in Josephus's account of the uprisings of 4 B.C. are the Sebastenians and Trachonite archers; curiously, the European mercenaries are never mentioned again.

Within ten years, the tetrarch Archelaus, who had obtained Judea, Samaria and Idumea, had been removed by Augustus and his territories formed into a province under a prefect. These governors had no legionaries at their direct disposal but relied instead on the Caesarean and Sebastenian regiments formed by Herod. These troops are not actually mentioned under either Archelaus (4 B.C.–A.D. 6), the Prefects (A.D. 6–41), or Herod Agrippa I (A.D. 41–4) when he briefly recovered his grandfather's kingdom. However, at Herod's death in 4 B.C. Josephus reports that Herod's cavalry and infantry commanders, Rufus and Gratus, supported the Romans with "3,000 Sebastenians." They are almost certainly the predecessors of "the regiment of Caesarean cavalry (500 men) and five regiments of Sebastenian infantry (2,500 men)" stationed at Caesarea in 44 (*Ant* 19 §356–66).

With the creation of a province in A.D. 6, the royal forces were apparently incorporated into the Roman army as auxiliaries. The major force consisted of 3,000 cavalry and infantry originally raised in Sebaste and Caesarea, named now (if not already under their romanophile Herodian masters) *Ala I Sebastenorum* and *Cohortes I–V Sebastenorum*.

The prefects of Judea also removed the seat of government to Caesarea, where at least some of the Sebastenian regiments are later attested. It is at Caesarea too that the *Cohors (II?) Italica* was to be found ca. A.D. 40. An unnamed cohort was based in Jerusalem and the various strongholds probably retained

their Herodian garrisons. Extra troops were certainly brought to Jerusalem during the great religious festivals.

The troubles of Judea under these prefects became progressively more severe. Unrest and uprisings caused by provocative action by the governors, required military action. The major forces in Syria, however, were little in evidence. In 37, Vitellius advanced through Galilee on his way to Arabia Petrea. Not until 40, however, when the Emperor Gaius ordered his own statues set up in the Temple at Jerusalem, did troops from Syria intervene in the province of Judea directly.

Virtually nothing can be said of the forces of Herod's other sons in their respective segments of the former kingdom. Since Philip's tetrarchy included the difficult lands beyond the Sea of Galilee, he presumably needed to maintain his father's military arrangements. He died in 37, and his forces would have been briefly under Roman control until given to Herod Agrippa I. Herod Antipas rebuilt and fortified Sepphoris in his Galilean lands and founded and fortified Betharamphtha/Julias in the Perea. That he maintained the frontier fortress at Machaerus and had an army is revealed by the events surrounding the flight of his Nabatean wife and Antipas' defeat in battle by her father. The event provoked a Roman invasion of Arabia Petrea—apparently through Galilee, though it was called off when news arrived of the death of the Emperor Tiberius (A.D. 37). Antipas himself, was deposed in 39.

Herod Agrippa I inherited first the recently annexed territories of Philip (37), then those of Antipas (39), and finally (41) the province of Judea itself. Since he certainly took over the Sebastenian regiments which had been "Roman" for a generation, there is no reason to doubt that he also acquired the forces of his uncles in their former tetrarchies. With a royal army restored, he soon appointed his own commander and was proceeding to refortify Jerusalem when instructed by the suspicious governor of Syria to desist. With Agrippa's death in 44, the new Roman governors, now called procurators, to whom the entire kingdom passed, would have taken charge of the royal forces, converting them into formal auxiliary regiments of the Roman army. Explicit evidence is given in the case of the Caesarean and Sebastenian regiments at Caesarea who, despite the Emperor Claudius' anger at their behavior, were allowed to remain in the province.

The procurators, provocative and violent, used their forces ruthlessly to put down all opposition. A striking feature of both governors and their troops is the extent to which they were anti-Jewish. The procurator Cumanus, for example, took the part of the Samaritans though they appear to have been the aggressors; his successor, Felix, supported the Greeks of Caesarea against their Jewish fellow citizens. Two major affronts to Jewish sensibilities were provoked by soldiers; one when a soldier on duty during Passover exposed himself to the crowds and later when one publicly destroyed a Torah. The regiments are not named, but they were plainly non-Jewish.

The loss of life in disturbances and riots in the cities was considerable and the countryside became ever more lawless. In a deteriorating situation, the governors of Syria had to intervene more frequently both to restore order and curb the procurators. Cassius Longinus went to Jerusalem with troops from Syria in 45/6; in ca. 52 Ummidius Quadratus had to end the Jewish-Samaritan fighting; finally, in 66 there was Cestius Gallus's intervention with a legion and his subsequent disastrous retreat from Jerusalem. The planting of a new Roman colony with legionary veterans at Ptolemais, on the very edge of the Judean province, was another sign of growing concern. It was in this context that the Apostle Paul's imprisonment at Caesarea took place.

The outbreak of the First Revolt in 66 was the occasion of major and protracted intervention by Roman forces. In describing events, Josephus reveals the military arrangements in the province at that moment. In addition to forces at Jerusalem and Caesarea, there were, as might have been inferred, garrisons in Herod the Great's fortresses at Cypros, Masada, and Machaerus. Otherwise unknown are the regiment of cavalry and one of infantry at Ascalon, derived perhaps from forces Salome may have had when the city was given to her after Herod's death.

Immense forces were mustered by Rome to suppress the Revolt. Josephus provides the clearest descriptions. In 67 Vespasian mustered an army at Ptolemais: *Legio X Fretensis* from Syria and *V Macedonica* and *XV Apollinaris* which had been transferred to the East only a few years earlier during

Nero's eastern war, from Moesia and Pannonia respectively. The auxiliary units included the Sebastenians from Caesarea, one regiment of cavalry and five of infantry. In addition there were five *alae* and eighteen cohorts from Syria. None are named, but one is otherwise known to have been the *Ala Gaetulorum.* Ten of the cohorts are said to have been "milliary." The neighboring allied kings were there in strength; Antiochus of Commagene, Sohaemus of Emesa, and Herod Agrippa II each provided 2,000 archers and 1,000 cavalry; Malchus, the Nabatean king, sent 5,000 infantry (mainly archers) and 1,000 cavalry. Apparently some 50,000 in total; Josephus says 60,000. In 70, when Titus took command, his forces had been depleted by detachments drawn off by Vespasian to wage his civil wars in the West, but were then augmented by an additional legion, *XII Fulminata* (which had been devastated in Cestius Gallus's retreat in 66), and by further troops from Syria and Egypt. No total is given.

After the war, the province was raised in status and given a major garrison. Henceforth the governors were senators and a Syrian legion, *X Fretensis,* was based in the ruins of Jerusalem, though with a probable detachment at Caesarea. Eight hundred legionary veterans were established as colonists at Emmaus, near Jerusalem. The Sebastenian regiments whose behavior had done so much to cause the revolt, were placed. Most information comes from discharge diplomas, but the earliest is for 86, and names only two *alae* and four cohorts. The two *alae* suggest the composition of the new garrison. The *Ala Gaetulorum,* is known to have fought in the war, presumably now retained; the *Ala I Thracum Mauretana* is thought to have arrived after the war in exchange for the *Ala Sebastenorum* which subsequently appears in Mauretania. Other regiments arrived in later years and some left to go to Egypt or Arabia (created in 106), suggesting a certain amount of mobility. The ethnic character of the new troops is unclear. Spanish and Thracian regiments dominate in the later 1st century, but the 2d century saw many more eastern regiments: Phrygians, Galatians, Damascenes, and Nabateans, and even a regiment of Sebastenians again. Many of the western regiments are likely to have lost their original ethnic character before arriving in Judea/Palaestina, but that is less likely to have been the case with the oriental units. The total is not known, but is unlikely to have been less than the 3,000 Sebastenians removed from the province.

There was a major change in Hadrian's reign (117–135). The status of the province was raised with ex-consuls as governors and a second legion installed. This permanent addition was a Syrian legion, *VI Ferrata,* established at Caparcotna near Megiddo. Initially, however, it may have been preceded by a new legion, *II Traiana*.

The Second Revolt (132–35) again saw huge additional forces drafted in. The garrison of what was now called Syria Palaestina remained at two legions after the war, though the numbers of auxiliary units may have increased. Discharge diplomas of 139 and 186 list three *alae* and twelve cohorts (ca. 7,000 men) and two *alae* and seven cohorts (ca. 5,500 men) respectively. The overall total in the 2d century may have been some 17,000 troops. Units are attested at various times at Hebron, En-Gedi, and Haifa, and possibly at Emmaus and Sebaste.

Beyond the Jordan were further troops. First, with the creation in 53 of a kingdom for Herod Agrippa II over Trachonitis, Batanea, and Gaulanitis (further cities and lands were added later), Judea lost some territory and the king reestablished a royal army. Inscriptions give some clues as to the character of that army, in particular its officers—though plainly native to the region, some the descendants of the Babylonian colonists, often bore Roman names (e.g. Modius Aequus, T. Mucius Clemens, and Lucius Oboulnius). It is tempting to regard this as a consequence of these regiments having been incorporated into the Roman auxilia in 37 and between 44–53. During the First Revolt, Herod Agrippa II contributed 3,000 men, the equivalent of six regiments. Most Hellenistic cities beyond the Jordan were part of Syria, and one at least—Gerasa—had *Ala I Augusta Thracum* in garrison for a time after the First Revolt. After 106, Gerasa and some of these other Hellenistic cities, became part of Arabia, which received a garrison of a legion, *III Cyrenaica,* and several thousand auxiliaries; some transferred from Judea, which apparently received two regiments of the Nabatean royal army (*Cohortes IV* and *IV Petraeorum*), attested on a discharge diploma of 139.

**4. The Roman Army in the Bible.** The presence and activities of the Roman army are mentioned or implied frequently in the NT. The adoption of the term "legion" to explain large numbers reflects this

awareness; thus the man whose name is Legion, from all the devils which possessed him (Luke 8:30), and the observation of Jesus concerning his Father sending a dozen legions of angels to save him (Matt 26:53). Of course, some of the references are to the troops of allied rulers. The Massacre of the Innocents (Matt 2:16), would have been the work of Herod's royal troops—perhaps from Jerusalem or Herodium. Later, Herod Antipas sent a soldier of his guard to behead John the Baptist (Matt 6:27), and it is again Herod's soldiers who mistreated Jesus in Jerusalem after Pilate discovered he was a Galilean and handed him over to the tetrarch's jurisdiction (Luke 23:11). Later, it was the soldiers of Herod Agrippa I who arrested and put Peter under guard in Jerusalem (Acts 12:4). Interestingly, the Herodian soldiers were organized into watches of four men, modelled presumably on a Roman *contubernium* of eight men. We may envisage that when Herod Agrippa II entered the Roman province—as he did when making his courtesy call on the procurator Porcius Felix at Caesarea in ca. 52 (Acts 15:13), he came attended by troops. An interesting royal soldier is the centurion at Capernaum who sought Jesus' aid to cure his servant/son; he is described as being a friend of the Jews and of having built the community's synagogue (Luke 23:11; cf. Matt 8:5–13, John 4:46–53). His rank, centurion (*hekatontarchos*), further illustrates the Roman model of these forces of the allied rulers. In Jerusalem itself were to be found the Temple Guards. They appear at Gethsemane (John 18:3, 12) and were presumably the force behind Paul's persecution of the early Church (Acts 8:1–3).

It is largely the regular army of the Roman governors which is mentioned in the Gospels and in Acts. The references are at their vaguest in the account of the arrest and crucifixion of Jesus, improve with Peter's ministry in his homeland and are most informative with Paul. Pilate's soldiers flog and mock Jesus in the court of the governor's headquarters (Matt 27:26–37 = Mark 15:21), subsequently crucified him, one of them stabbing him with a spear (Matt 27:35 = Mark 15:24 = Luke 23:36–47 = John 19:17) and later put a guard over the tomb (Matt 27:62–66; 28:11–15). The location of the flogging is said to be the *praetorium* (Mark 15:16) which was probably the Antonia fortress near the Temple Mount, rather than the Herodian palace in the SW of the city, where the procurators probably took up residence when in Jerusalem. See PRAETORIUM. Pilate's force is described as a cohort (*speires*), all of which was called together to witness the punishment (Mark 15:16 = Matt 27:27). The only individual identified is an unnamed centurion in charge of the crucifixion (Matt 27:54 = Mark 15:39 = Luke 23:47).

A single passage dealing with the ministry of Peter is useful. "At Caesarea there was a man named Cornelius, a centurion in the Italian cohort, as it was called" (Acts 10). Two *Cohortes Italicae* are attested, but both rather later. This passage gives the earliest reference (A.D. 40) to what is probably the *Cohors II Italica voluntariorum civium Romanorum* and locates it at Caesarea. In the second half of the century—perhaps after the Jewish Revolt—it was part of the Syrian army. In 40 it was evidently part of the prefectural army. The titles suggest that in origin at least it was composed of Roman citizens who were in some sense "Italian"; the only other known soldiers of the regiment are, however, Semites from Philadelphia (Amman). Cornelius himself is described in terms which make it clear that he was not Jewish but was probably one of those Gentiles attached to Jewish communities who were not proselytes but "God-fearers" (*theosebeis*), Reminiscent, in fact, of the centurion whose servant Jesus had cured at Capernaum. Because Josephus regularly depicts the troops in the province displaying a general insensitivity towards the Jewish religion, indeed, often an open partiality for the non-Jew, the accounts of these two officers provide useful counterbalance. Just as interesting, he has servants, a family, and a home in Caesarea—illustrating how the ban on marriage was widely ignored. Given the apparent origin, the regiment is unlikely to have been inherited from Herod and Archelaus, but, rather, to have been introduced by the prefects of Judea, and as such is evidence that the provincial garrison under the prefects was more than just the former royal troops.

Paul's rescue from a mob in Jerusalem ca. 58 and his subsequent imprisonment and transfer to Rome brought him into close association with the Roman army. In Jerusalem he was rescued by the intervention of the tribune (chiliarch) of the cohort in the city and taken to its barracks (Acts 21:31–23:23). The tribune, Claudius Lysias, astonished to discover that Paul is a Roman citizen by birth, admits that he had had to purchase his citizenship. The obvious inference is that the tribune was a provincial, perhaps an

easterner (he speaks Greek), commanding an auxiliary regiment. Paul was subsequently escorted to Caesarea by troops of the Jerusalem garrison. Acts gives their number as 200 infantry, 70 cavalry, and 200 dexiolabois. The meaning of the last is not known; "spearmen" or "light-armed" are guesses. The numbers are interesting, however. The infantry stayed with Paul only as far as Antipatris and he may not have known their exact numbers; the cavalry were with him as far as Caesarea, and the figure may be precise or very close. The overall number is striking, representing the equivalent of an entire cohort. The implication is that Lysias had a force at his disposal which was mixed infantry and cavalry and that he had more than just a single cohort. A possible explanation is that because of the crowds in Jerusalem for Pentecost, the normal modest garrison was reinforced to cope with the turmoil and possible disturbances.

After his long imprisonment at Caesarea, Paul was handed over to Julius, a centurion of the *Cohors Augusta* (*speires Sebastes*), who, together with some other soldiers, escorted him on his sea journey to Rome. Julius is plainly a Roman and his unit is attested serving in the Syrian Hauran in the 80s in the army of Herod Agrippa II. It would seem that the procurator, Porcius Felix, who was then entertaining Herod Agrippa II and his sister Berenice at Caesarea, agreed to send Paul to Rome under escort of some of the king's troops, evidently a very Romanized unit, perhaps with Roman officers. In Rome, these troops will have been housed in the Castra Peregrina. Though uncommon, such exciting journeys to the capital for provincial troops occurred from time to time. For Judea, for example, Josephus twice reports the Syrian governor Quinctilius Varus (7/6–4 B.C.) sending prisoners to Rome who would have required escorts (*Ant* 17 §303 and *JW* 2 §77, 83). The same would have been true when a later governor, Quadratus (48–52), sent a number of high-ranking prisoners to Rome.

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**ROMAN CHRISTIANITY.** See CHRISTIANITY (CHRISTIANITY IN ROME).

**ROMAN COLONIES (JUDEA).** Roman colonies (*Coloniae civium Romanorum*) were founded as early as the 4th century B.C. Originally they were modest settlements consisting of some 300 families sent to settle in various places in Italy. They remained part of the Roman state, and the settlers retained their citizenship. In the 2d century large colonies of Roman citizens were founded with a population of 2,000 to 5,000 settlers, usually in newly conquered territory. Although still part of the Roman state, they were

organized as cities with their own local authorities. In the Gracchan age (163–121 B.C.) and thereafter, Roman colonies were often established outside Italy so as to provide the city proletariat or veteran soldiers with land. The greatest number of veteran colonies were founded in various provinces in the age of Caesar and Augustus. These were planted either on unoccupied sites or imposed on existing cities. The last veteran colonies were founded in the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117–38). In the mid-1st century a related development took its inception, namely, granting the status of *colonia civium Romanorum* to provincial communities without settlement by Roman veterans. The most important consequence of this was that Roman citizenship was conferred on part of the citizens of such a community—those who had fulfilled certain civic offices in the colony. In the E provinces, grants of colonial status are attested from the second half of the 1st century through the 3d. Acquiring the rank of a *colonia* also considerably enhanced the prestige of a town. The grant might include additional privileges such as the *ius Italicum,* which provided for the same rights as colonies in Italy, including exemption from direct taxation of land or persons.

**A. Berytus and Heliopolis**

Veterans were settled at Berytus (Beirut) in 14 B.C. by Agrippa, although epigraphic evidence may suggest an earlier date (after Actium and before 27; *CIL* III 14165.6). The legal status of Heliopolis (Baalbek) is a matter of controversy. Either it was founded as a separate colony by Augustus (27 B.C.–A.D. 14), or it was part of the territory of Berytus until the reign of Septimius (A.D. 193–211), when it is on record as a separate colony (references and discussion by Rey-Coquais *IGLS* 6.34, n. 9; and 1978: 51). The Romans were faced with banditry based in the mountains and along the coast, and it has been argued that it was the task of the veterans to suppress it. However, it was quite difficult to solve such problems. While the settlement of retired soldiers in the fertile plain would guarantee a loyal and reliable presence there, military forces would have to operate in the mountains in order to fight within the bandits' own territory and in order to keep the roads safe. This included the difficult road through the mountains which linked Berytus with the Beqaʿ valley.

A famous inscription originally set up at Berytus honors an equestrian officer who was dispatched by the governor of Syria at the beginning of the 1st century to destroy a fortress of Ituraeans in the mountains of Lebanon (*CIL* III 6687; *ILS* 2683; Gabba 1958: 52–61, Pl. 3). The officer, it may be noted, later became *quaestor, aedilis, duumvir,* and *pontifex* of the colony. Berytus served as base of operations just as the colony of Ptolemais-Acco did in 67. In 4 B.C., Berytus provided Varus, on his way to Judea, with 1,500 infantry troops (*JW* 2.5.1 §67; *Ant* 17.10.9 §287). These were local citizens who formed a militia (there is also evidence of such militias from other towns). In 66, such units from several Syrian cities joined the forces of Cestius Gallus when he marched against the Jews (*JW* 2.18.9 §502, 506). They were very poor fighters. Inscriptions also testify to the presence of soldiers on active service at Heliopolis. The epigraphic material clearly shows the social and cultural impact of the veteran settlement in both centers and in their territory far into the 3d century. Veterans were settled in and around cities and in the Beqaʿ valley, but not in the mountains. These became crown land, as apparent from numerous Hadrianic inscriptions referring to imperial forests (fully published and discussed in *IGLS* 8.3).

One has the impression that urban and rural development was a slow process. Dated inscriptions are not found in substantial numbers before the second half of the 1st century A.D., almost a century after the foundation. The road system in the region is marked by milestones of the 2d century. Whatever the status of Heliopolis before Septimius Severus, it was taken over by veterans in the time of Augustus. It is therefore of interest to see what the inscriptions from Heliopolis tell us of the urban development of this town and its vicinity (*IGLS,* vol. 6). Here, too, evidence is lacking of an immediate or early development following the settlement of veterans. The earliest imperial texts from the area date to the second half of the 1st century A.D. On the other hand, we are informed that Herod of Judea built exedras, porticos, temples, and forums in Berytus and Tyre (*JW* 1.21.11 §422) Agrippa I built an extraordinarily expensive and beautiful theater at Berytus, where he also built an amphitheater at great expense, as well as baths and porticos. He donated public spectacles and provided great numbers of gladiators for the amphitheater (*Ant* 19.7.5 §335–37). Agrippa II built (another?) expensive theater at Berytus. He donated annual public

spectacles costing thousands of drachmas. He gave grain and distributed olive oil to the citizens and adorned the whole city with statues and replicas of ancient sculptures (*Ant* 20.9.4 §211). Epigraphical confirmation has been found in the form of an inscription which records the restoration by Berenice and Agrippa II of a building erected by Herod the Great (Cagnat 1928: 157–67; cf. *ANRW* 2: 135–63; pl. ii.5).

Public inscriptions set up by the town are in Latin, as would be expected in a Roman veteran colony, even in the East. There is less published material from Berytus than from Heliopolis, but even there inscriptions are in Latin (e.g., Lauffray 1944–45: 13–80, esp. 60; 67f.; 77). There are very few in Greek and none date earlier than the 4th century (*IGLS* 6: nos. 2740, 2827ff., 2830ff.). Inscriptions set up by private individuals tend to be in Latin as well. It is clearly significant that Latin is used by civilians in the surrounding territory (*IGLS* 6: 2894, 2904, 2908ff., 2925, 2955).

There are many inscriptions which show that citizens of the colony combined army careers with local office. Some of them reached very high positions, including membership in the Roman Senate (*IGLS* 6: 2781, 2786ff., 2793–2795). Many citizens of the colony have names which reflect long-standing citizenship (*IGLS* 6: 2714: L. Antonius Silo; 2716: L. Julius Severus; 2781: L. Antonius Naso). On the whole purely Latin names are far more frequent than Greek, Semitic, or mixed names, and this is true for the inscriptions from the town itself as well as for those from the territory.

It is clear that the impact of the settlement of legionary veterans was quite remarkable for its long-lasting intensity. The existence of a distinguished school of Roman law at Berytus has always been seen as an indication of the Latin character of this town. Epigraphical evidence proves that the effects of the settlement of veterans on the social and cultural life of both Berytus and Heliopolis, both in the towns and the surrounding territory, lasted at least until the 4th century.

**B. Ptolemais (Acco)**

A Roman colony was established at Ptolemais (Acco) in Syria-Phoenicia following serious trouble between Jews and Samaritans in the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41–54; *HJP²* 1: 458–60, 462). An investigation was carried out on the spot by the governor of Syria, and the prefect of Judea was dismissed ca. A.D. 52. Veterans of the four Syrian legions were settled in a new colony at Ptolemais between 51/2 and 54. The last precolonial coin-issue of Ptolemais dates from A.D. 51/2 (Kadman 1961: nos. 86–90; Seyrig 1962: 39; note the founder's coins with *vexilla* [military ensigns] Kadman 1961: no. 92). The foundation by Claudius is mentioned by Pliny (*HN* 5.17.75): "*Colonia Claudi Caesaris Ptolemais, quae quondam Acco* …" A new road was constructed from Antioch in Syria to the colony. Milestones of A.D. 56 record the construction of a road "*ab Antiochea ad novam coloniam Ptolemaida*" (Goodchild 1948: 91–123, esp. 126). Together, these items prove the date of the foundation of the veteran colony.

Admittedly, the connection between the troubles in Judea and these measures has not been proven (Josephus does not mention the foundation of the colony); however, the chronological sequence indicates a causal connection. Ptolemais lay just N and W of the boundary of Judea and was situated between the sea and the hills of Lower Galilee which were occupied by Jews. It had the last good harbor N of Caesarea and was the last major town to be passed when traveling from Syria to Judea along the coastal road. Ulpian (*Dig.* 15.1.3) describes it as lying between Palaestina and Syria. "*Ptolemaeensium enim colonia, quae inter Phoenicen et Palaestinam sita est, nihil praeter nomen coloniae habet.*" The last part of this sentence suggests that the colony had no additional financial privileges such as the *ius Italicum* (see above), or the exemptions from taxation enjoyed by Caesarea and Aelia Capitolina. Perhaps it received *ius Italicum* in the reign of Elagabalus (A.D. 218–222), for city coins of his reign show Marsyas (Kadman 1961: no. 163), but this cannot be taken as proof of such a grant.

The town proved useful in A.D. 67, when it served as Vespasian's base of operations. It was precisely such a function which a veteran colony could fulfill. Only after the complete subjugation of Galilee did Vespasian move his headquarters to Caesarea (*JW* 3.2.4 §29; 4.2 §64; 9.1 §409). The veterans at Ptolemais could not possibly fight the rebellious Jews, but they could provide the Roman army with a reliable base. The establishment of a veteran colony at Ptolemais clearly must be distinguished from the granting of privileges, also under Claudius, to several towns including Tiberias, which received the name "Claudiopolis."

The foundation of the colony involved both drastic reorganization of the territory and land grants to veterans. The land, whether bought or confiscated, was taken from its original possessors, and the infusion of veterans entailed the imposition of a new local leadership. Unlike the mere grant of a new name, it was a project to the disadvantage of the existing population. Otherwise, little is known of this city. There are not many inscriptions, but the few that have been found fit the pattern established at Heliopolis. 1946: 85, n. 2). Families of distinction may have lived in the city, since it produced at least one distinguished person: the consul Flavius Boethus, governor of Palestine (A.D. 162–66), known from the works of Galen as a scholar and philosopher with an interest in medicine (Smallwood 1981: 552).

**C. Vespasian's Organization of Judea**

"About the same time Caesar sent instructions to Bassus and Laberius Maximus, the procurator, to dispose of all Jewish land. For he founded there no city of his own while keeping their territory, but only to eight hundred veterans did he assign a place for settlement called Emmaus …" (*JW* 7.6.6 §216 as translated and interpreted by Isaac 1984: 44–50). In this passage, often misunderstood, Josephus wants to emphasize that Vespasian gave instructions to sell all confiscated land in Judea. No Jewish land was granted to foreign settlers, because he did not establish a new Flavian city (i.e., a veteran colony) to replace Jerusalem. Josephus explicitly mentions the modest settlement at Emmaus (Luke 24) as an exception. The site can be identified without doubt with modern Moza. It must be emphasized that this was not a settlement with the status of a *polis*, let alone of a Roman colony. It does not appear in the lists of Roman colonies in the *digest* and did not issue coinage. It is today in one of the most fertile and pleasant valleys around Jerusalem, well watered with ample farm land and situated on the main road from the coastal plain to the city. Even this veteran settlement—it was too small to receive the status of a colony—has left an imprint. The village still bore the name "Qolonia" in the 19th century and the tombstone of a girl with a Roman name was found on the spot, inscribed in Latin (Landau 1967: 369).

Caesarea received colonial status from Vespasian, but it is clear that this was not accompanied by the settlement of veterans in the town (Isaac 1980–81: 39–43). It was a reward for support in the Jewish War and probably commemorated the fact that in Caesarea Vespasian was first proclaimed emperor by his own troops—hence the name of the colony: *Colonia Prima Flavia Caesarea.* The grant of colonial status had a profound impact. It meant that all citizens of the town received Roman citizenship; tax privileges were granted as well, as appears from two passages in the *digest* (Paulus *Dig.* L 15.8.7; Ulp. *Dig.* L 15.1). This, then, was the first "titular" colony established in the E part of the empire.

Another Roman colony which must be discussed here is Aelia Capitolina at Jerusalem, founded in the reign of Hadrian, an act which, according to Cassius Dio, was the cause of the Bar Kokhba Revolt. It is true that veterans of the legion X Fretensis settled in this colony, but the town remained at the same time the headquarters of the legion. It would therefore be futile to claim that veterans who settled there guarded the region, since a proper legion had its base there. The nature of the colony is intriguing. After 70 Jerusalem became a legionary base. Hadrian refounded the city as a Roman colony, and this led to an anomaly: the existence of both an army base and a Roman colony in the immediate proximity. It has been shown that veteran colonies were normally founded at, or alongside, the site of a legionary base only *after* the legion had moved on elsewhere, leaving the military site vacant (Mann 1983: 60–63). What little evidence there is indicates that the citizens of Aelia Capitolina were veterans of the legion X Fretensis. This may be concluded from colonial coinage with *vexilla* and the emblems of the legion (Kadman 1956: nos. 1 [*vexillum*]; 5 [eagle on shaft]; 6 [boar]). The small number of inscriptions of the period suggests the same (see below). Hadrian, therefore, created an anomalous situation.

It is not clear whether Hadrian did anything to build up Aelia as a city, but the establishment of a veteran colony had advantages from a Roman point of view. It would induce discharged soldiers of the legion to settle there, especially since it enjoyed the same exemption from taxation as Caesarea (Ulp. *Dig.* L 15.1.6; Paulus, *dig.* L 15.8.7). The veterans and their descendants would be a focus of loyalty in the middle of Judea, and the latter might, like the citizens of Caesarea, provide the provincial army with recruits.

There are not many inscriptions from Aelia Capitolina, but it is worth observing that all 16 inscriptions datable to the period from the destruction in 70 until Constantine are in Latin. These include two military inscriptions set up before Hadrian (*AE* 1978: 825; *CIL* III: 13587), a number of honorary inscriptions for emperors (*CIL* III: 116 [6639]), one inscription for a legionary legate (*CIL* III: 6641 [12006a]), a few tombstones of veterans (*CIL* III: 14155.3; *AE* 1939: 157; Iliffe 1932: 123, no. 4), and, most significant, tombstones of civilians inscribed not in Greek but in Latin with Roman names (Thomsen 1922: no. 179; *CIL* III: 14155.4; Thomsen 1941: no. 182a). While the Byzantine inscriptions (far greater in number) are written in Greek, the pattern formed by the pre-Constantinian inscriptions reminds one of that observed in the material from Heliopolis. Aelia Capitolina apparently showed the characteristics of a veteran colony in the East. Its citizens spoke Latin and preferred to be identified with Rome rather than with the Hellenized Orient. The legion was still in Jerusalem in the mid-3d century, as is shown by a city-coin Herennius Etruscus with emblems of the legion (Hill 1914: 100, no. 104). Eusebius (ca. 260–340) mentions the legion as based at Aela on the Red Sea in his time (*Onomast.* 6, 17–20).

**D. Septimius Severus**

Severus changed the status of many places in the area, often as a reward or punishment for attitudes during the civil war with Niger (*Dig.* L 15, 1 and 8). In Syria-Palaestina Beth Guvrin and Lydda received city status and became, respectively, Eleutheropolis and Diospolis (for city coinage of Eleutheropolis; see Spijkerman 1972: 369–84; for Diospolis, see Hill 1914: 141, nos. 1f.; Rosenberger 1975–77: 2.28–31; 3.80: more than 10 types from Septimius Severus to Elagabalus). Because of the lack of archaeological and epigraphical material from these towns, they cannot be discussed, profitably but there is no reason to assume that more than a change in legal status was involved. Sebaste received the status of a Roman colony (Paulus, *Dig.* L 15.8.7) between 201 and 211, as apparent from the colonial coinage, probably in 201/2 (Hill 1914: xxxix, 80, nos. 12 f.; the latest precolonial coinage dates to 201/2). Nearby Neapolis was temporarily deprived of city status because of its support of Niger in 194. It is possible that there was a connection between the temporary punishment of one city and the enhancement of its neighbor.

At this time Sebaste was splendidly rebuilt. To this period belong the temple in its later form, the forum, colonnades, a basilica, a columned street, the theater, and the stadium. It has been assumed that there was a connection between the grant of colonial status and a subsequent building program. However, the excavators of Sebaste have concluded that several elements of the program were perhaps already in existence, that is to say that they preceded the change in status. The buildings are not dated by any inscriptions. It is quite possible that the prosperity of the citizens of Sebaste gave them the means to carry out a substantial building program for themselves. It is more likely that these circumstances contributed to the decision to grant colonial status than that the latter was accompanied by imperial munificence of which there is no record.

An inscribed architrave block from the basilica mentions *strategoi*, the common Greek term for the *duoviri* (two-person criminal courts) of a Roman colony (Reisner, et al. 1924: 250, no. 7 and Pl. 59c). One military inscription from the area of the temple has been assigned to the Severan period, though it is not clear on what grounds (ibid., p. 20 no. 30).

Severus organized the new province of Mesopotamia. Several cities there received colonial status from this emperor or his successors, including Singara, Rhesaina, Nisibis, and Carrhae. Nothing is known beyond the fact of the grants themselves. Rhesaina may have been the base of the legion III Parthica, because the name of the legion appears on its coins. This colony would then have been organized after the pattern of Aelia Capitolina, being a town with colonial status where a legion was based. The other legionary base, Singara, where the legion I Parthica was stationed, received colonial status at an uncertain date.

Under Severus, Caracalla, and Elagabalus, the status of many cities in the eastern provinces was changed, but there is no evidence that this involved more than formal or administrative measures (Kindler in *INJ* 1982–83: 79–87; Jones 1971). In Judea, for instance, both Emmaus and Herod's foundation of Antipatris received city status from Elagabalus (on Emmaus, see Jones 1971: 279 and n. 72; *HJP²* 1: 512–

13n; for coins from Antipatris, all from the reign of Elagabal, see Hill 1914: xv.11; Meshorer 1985: nos. 149–52).

In Syria the cities of Sidon, Tyre, Damascus, Laodicea, Emesa, and Palmyra received colonial rank or additional privileges, as recorded in *Dig.* L 15.1.1; 8.7 and on the coinage Hill 1914: 182, 238, 258, 269, 286). The *Digest* explains that in some cases measures were taken by Septimus Severus to reward or punish cities for their role during the war with his rival Niger.

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BENJAMIN ISAAC

**ROMAN EMPIRE.** The final overthrow of the Roman Republic and the inauguration of the Roman Empire, in which power was concentrated in one man, was a process, not a single event, but the culminating event was the victory of Julius Caesar's adopted son, Octavian, over his chief rival for power, Marcus Antonius (Mark Antony), at the Battle of Actium (31 B.C.). Antony fled with his ally Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, to her capital Alexandria, where the following year both committed suicide, and Octavian reorganized Egypt as a Roman province. Moving carefully to avoid alienating Roman upper-class opinion by making his supreme autocratic power too obvious, Octavian restored the outward forms of the Republic, which had virtually ceased to function according to the rule of law over the previous 30 years, but took for himself the title of *princeps,* or 'first citizen', and the name Augustus, which had solemn religious overtones. As a result, the regime which he established (he still had 45 years to live after Actium, and so had time to build strong foundations), and which survived into the 3d century after Christ, was commonly known as the Principate. Augustus himself and his immediate successors did not commonly use the title *imperator,* "emperor," but all adopted the name Augustus, which thus became equivalent to a title.

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A. Sources for the History of the Roman Empire
B. Growth and Extent
C. Government

D. Roman and Non-Roman: Citizenship and Law
E. Role of Provincial Governors
F. Social Inequalities

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**A. Sources for the History of the Roman Empire**

For the death throes of the Republic, we have relatively full contemporary sources, particularly in the letters and speeches of Marcus Tullius Cicero, who was however put to death by Octavian and Antony (42 B.C.). Accounts of the next 12 years, until the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra, must be treated with suspicion, as likely to reflect Octavian's propaganda. Thereafter, until his own death in A.D. 14, our sources are uneven, and again one must be aware of possible distortion. We have a year-by-year history by Cassius Dio for most of Augustus' reign, written long after the event in the early 3d century. Suetonius in the 2d century wrote biographies of Julius Caesar, Augustus, and the next 10 emperors, that of Augustus being the longest. The poets of the period, especially Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, testify to the intellectual life of the period and to the climate of opinion at Rome. Augustus himself left his own version of his achievements (the *Res Gestae*, cf. Brunt and Moore 1967) to be set up in front of his mausoleum in Rome, with copies in the principal cities of the empire. But Augustus remains an enigmatic figure, and there are many insoluble problems in the history of his reign, especially chronological. We often cannot ascribe precise dates to his actions or legislation, and the inner workings of dynastic policy and intrigue have fascinated modern scholars (cf. Syme 1939), particularly because Augustus' control of such things ensures that we can never know for sure.

With Augustus' death begins the greatest of Latin historical works, the *Annals* of Tacitus, which continues, with gaps where our manuscripts are defective, to the death of Nero (A.D. 68). Tacitus' *Histories* cover the earlier part of the civil war which followed, but end in 69. Thereafter we lack any good narrative source to serve as a guide, though Cassius Dio survives in an abridged version down to his own day, and we still have Suetonius down to A.D. 96. The continuation of Suetonius, covering the 2d- and 3d-century emperors and known as the *Augustan History* (published in the Penguin translation series as *Lives of the Later Caesars*), is however a late-4th-century historical fiction.

On the other hand, epigraphic evidence (evidence from inscriptions, mostly on stone) becomes increasingly copious until the 3d century, when the breakdown of public order causes a sudden and dramatic collapse of the epigraphic habit (MacMullen 1982). Common types of inscriptions include epitaphs, dedications, building inscriptions, decrees, speeches by the emperor, commemorations of public events, and other official documents. The desert climate of Syria, the Negeb, and above all Egypt has also preserved records, such as personal letters and financial archives, as well as official records, on papyrus. All of this material gives us an insight into the daily life of the empire, and the epitaphs and papyri in particular let us glimpse the lives and concerns of ordinary people, who are not much represented in the literary sources (Jones and Milns 1984). Most surviving writers were senators of their hangers-on, whose view of affairs tends to be upper-class and centered on Rome, although in the 2d century occurs a revival of Greek literature, still upper-class, but based in Greece and Asia Minor rather than in Italy.

Christian writings form a separate category. The NT works show us the underside of Roman administration. We see Roman judicial procedures and punishments from the point of view of those subject to them, not from that of the Roman magistrates who administered them (Sherwin-White 1963). The early Christians, like Jewish writers of the period, are invaluable for insights into many facets, casually revealed, of social and economic life; scholars have become increasingly aware of their value to the historian of the Roman Empire, quite distinct from their value for theology or for the history of the early Church or of Judaism.

So far we have dealt only with verbal sources. Art and archaeology have their own contribution to make. Art historians have shown how sculpture and architecture embody the values of the governing classes. The coinage displays official portraiture and imperial propaganda. Excavation has brought to light buried towns, not only famous sites like Pompeii and Herculaneum, buried in an eruption of Mt. Vesuvius and thus preserved in a time capsule (A.D. 79; cf. Grant 1971), but many other small towns throughout the

empire. Much of the center of Rome itself has been laid bare, though some major ancient sites like Alexandria remain inaccessible beneath modern cities. Archaeologists have also excavated country villas, harbor installations, aqueducts, army camps, and many other sites, including cemeteries, both pagan and Christian. In assessing archaeological evidence, however, the scholar needs to be aware of the cultural and financial constraints which make the archaeological record very uneven (Wells 1984: 46–50). What we know may not reflect what once was there, so much as what chance has brought to light or modern political or other interests have chosen to look for.

**B. Growth and Extent**

After defeating his chief rival, Mark Antony, in 31 B.C., the future emperor Augustus set to work to reorganize the empire so successfully that, when he died 45 years later (A.D. 14), power passed smoothly to his designated successor, the emperor Tiberius, and the Augustan settlement in its essentials survived well into the 3d century, when it collapsed in civil war that pitted the garrison of one frontier province against another in the interest of rival claimants, weakening both the frontier defenses and the economy. Neither the frontiers nor the economy ever fully recovered, although the emperor Diocletian, having fought his way to the top in 284, restored order; divided the empire into E and W halves; and inaugurated a more openly despotic form of rule. His work was continued by Constantine, the first Christian emperor (306–37, at first in partnership, but sole ruler from 324 onwards), who established Constantinople, the ancient Byzantium, as the E capital. The W Empire could not survive the German pressure on the frontiers and by the end of the 5th century had been carved up into Germanic kingdoms; the E Empire survived until 1453, when the Turks captured Byzantium.

Augustus, said the historian Tacitus a century later, left the empire fenced about by the ocean and far-off rivers (*Ann.* 1.9). He completed the conquest of Spain, which the Romans had begun over two centuries earlier, and made the Atlantic, the English Channel, and the North Sea Rome's boundary in the West, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Netherlands coast. The invasion of Britain was not begun until nearly 30 years after his death. Across central and eastern Europe, the Rhine and Danube formed a frontier between Rome and the German tribes, although the Roman sphere of influence and often the Roman legions operated beyond them. Asia Minor (modern Turkey) and Syria were Roman up to the river Euphrates, which represented the boundary with the Parthian empire to the East (Millar 1981). Syria was the base for Rome's control of the area, and the governor of Syria was the most powerful Roman general and administrator in the East. Judea, which Augustus had chosen to govern through a client king, Herod, became a province after Herod's death. In any case, client kingdoms were de facto part of the Empire, though with a different juridical status (Braund 1984).

Egypt was made a province after Actium, and Augustus and his successors kept it under close personal supervision, partly because Egypt and the province of Africa (roughly modern Tunisia) were the granary of Rome, without whose wheat the city of Rome itself would have starved. The whole North African coast was under Roman control, and the desert tribes of the Sahara were no threat. The city of Carthage, once Rome's great rival until wiped off the map in 146 B.C., was refounded, and soon rivaled Antioch in Syria and Alexandria in Egypt as the second city of the empire after Rome. The population of Rome was around 1,000,000 in Augustus' day, and perhaps more later; Alexandria, Carthage, and Antioch are commonly estimated to have held between 300,000 and 600,000. It is notoriously difficult to be sure.

The Mediterranean was a Roman lake (*mare nostrum,* they called it, "our sea"), piracy had been suppressed, the tribes beyond the frontier did not come to pose a serious threat until the empire was weakened by civil war and anarchy in the 3d century. In all this time, nowhere but in the East did the Roman Empire face another organized power of similar magnitude, and there the Parthians were constantly weakened by dynastic rivalry. The empire seemed to contemporaries very secure, and the gods willed it so. Horace, Augustus' poet laureate, told the Romans, "Because you are servants of the gods, you rule on earth" (*Carm.* 3.6.5); his friend Virgil stressed Rome's divine mission to rule, "to build civilization upon a foundation of peace, to spare the conquered and destroy proud aggressors" (*Aen.* 6.852–853, trans. R. D. Williams).

By the time when Christ was born, soon after the middle of Augustus' reign, a traveler could go from Jerusalem to Lisbon on the Atlantic, or from the upper Nile to the English Channel, without leaving the empire. Travel was slow (Wells 1984: 150–53), but he needed no passport—a purseful of Roman coins was acceptable anywhere. There was one system of law (different, however, for Roman citizens and noncitizens), and in the towns, at least, and in his dealings with the Roman administration, the traveler needed only two languages: Latin in the West and Greek in the East, where it had been the *lingua franca* since the conquests of Alexander the Great three centuries before. Local languages of course survived: Aramaic and other Semitic tongues in the East, Coptic in Egypt, Punic (also a Semitic language), and Berber in North Africa, Celtic in Western Europe (MacMullen 1966b; Millar 1968). The upper classes in these areas would be bilingual, if not trilingual or multilingual, and the peasants might speak only their own native tongue. Christian bishops, like Irenaeus of Lyon in Gaul and Augustine of Hippo in Africa, make it clear that they needed Celtic or Punic if they were to reach all of their flock.

Not only local languages, however, but many local customs persisted, especially in religion, where local deities continued to be worshipped, often superficially Hellenized or Romanized. The towns and cities, however, and the propertied classes in general for the most part embraced Roman rule, Roman law, Roman nomenclature, Roman architecture and a Roman style of life (Stambaugh 1988). The great line of social cleavage was between rich and poor, not on nationalistic lines. We hear virtually nothing of nationalistic protests against the occupying, colonialist power, such as we are familiar with in the 20th century. The main exception was the Jews, whose fiercely monotheistic religion could not accommodate pagan worship, including the worship of the emperor, which rapidly became almost universal, and whose sense of national and cultural identity made Judea notoriously difficult for the Romans to understand or to govern effectively (Smallwood 1981).

**C. Government**

The emperor was an autocrat whose word was law and whose relationship with his subjects was highly personalized (Millar 1977). This was obvious to political observers even in Augustus' day, however much he might strive to veil his autocracy in traditional constitutional forms, and by the early 3d century the lawyer Ulpian can state it simply as a legal principle: "What has pleased the emperor has the force of law" (Wells 1984: 232). In normal times, an emperor nominated his successor, and no emperor ever passed over his son, if he had one, though an adoptive son, previously a nephew or stepson, might take precedence of a son by blood. In the first two centuries, the dynastic principle was broken only three times: once on the death of Nero, when civil war and the so-called Year of the Four Emperors (69) ensued; once on the murder of Domitian (96), who left no heir; and again on that of Commodus (193), which led to civil war once again.

Below the emperor was the Senate, which served as his Council of State and increasingly as the organ whereby he caused law to be made. It also acquired important judicial functions (Talbert 1984). By the end of the Republic, it was composed primarily of ex-magistrates, and Augustus systematized the senatorial career (*cursus honorum*) in such a way that 20 men annually were elected quaestor, usually about the age of 25, and thereby entered the Senate. Then they might become aedile or tribune, and at about 30, they could stand for the praetorship (normally twelve posts a year). Quaestors were mostly concerned with financial matters, aediles with municipal administration, praetors with judicial affairs. Ex-praetors might hold various posts, especially in the provinces, including governorships of smaller provinces and appointments in command of a legion.

At the age of 42, or much sooner for those specially favored by the emperor, a man might aspire to the consulship. The two consuls who took office each year on 1 January were the nominal heads of state, and the consulship was eagerly sought, even down into the later empire, when it had become a mere title of honor largely devoid of power. It ennobled one's family: broadly speaking, the descendant of a consul was a *nobilis,* and a man without consular ancestors in the male line, like Cicero or indeed Augustus, was known scornfully as a "new man" (*novus homo*). The consuls gave their name to the year in the official calendar, so that 44 B.C. was dated "in the consulship of Gaius Julius Caesar and Marcus Antonius." If a consul died in office or resigned, a suffect consul (*consul suffectus*) was appointed to complete his term.

Suffect consulships were considered less distinguished, but from 5 B.C. onwards it became standard for the consuls of the year to resign halfway through and let suffects take their place in order to increase the supply of ex-consuls for the specifically consular posts in the public service, like the governorships of major provinces and, as the empire went on, an increasing number of administrative jobs at Rome, which were reserved for men of consular rank.

Praetors and consuls possessed *imperium,* as did ex-magistrates holding a special appointment, such as the governorship of a province, which they were considered to hold as a substitute for a praetor or consul (*pro praetore* or *pro consule*). *Imperium* is an untranslatable term signifying the right to command in war, to administer the laws, and to inflict the death penalty (subject to a Roman citizen's right of appeal, originally to the people, later to the emperor). The *imperium* of propraetors and proconsuls was normally restricted to the province to which they were appointed. (A province, *provincia,* originally meant a defined sphere of action, not necessarily geographical, as we might say in English, "the interpretation of the law is the province of the courts"; but by the end of the Republic, it normally meant a specific territory such as the province of Asia or of Gallia Narbonensis, i.e., Provence and Languedoc.) In the Late Republic, it occurred that one proconsul might have his *imperium* defined as greater (*maius*) than another's, so that it was clear who prevailed in case of disagreement.

**D. Roman and Non-Roman: Citizenship and Law**

Roman law was one of the greatest achievements of Roman civilization, with enormous impact on the legal systems of all countries of W Europe and the Americas, and of other countries and international bodies influenced by them (Crook 1967; Watson 1970). The written record goes back to the Twelve Tables (ca. 450 B.C.), a primitive code for a relatively primitive, largely agricultural society. The body of law then developed through legislation and through magisterial edict. The praetor, i.e., the annually elected magistrate responsible for administering the law, used to publish the principles whereby he intended to be guided during his year of office, and his edict thus came to have the force of law. During the Late Republic the judicial system evolved into one where cases were settled not so much by the sheer forensic brilliance of the rival advocates, as by appeal to precedent and to the interpretations of learned jurists. Under the Empire, and particularly in the 2d and early 3d centuries, the law attracted some of the most able minds in the Roman world, by no means confined to Italy: Salvius Julianus, whom the emperor Hadrian (117–38) commissioned to edit the praetor's edicts, came from Pupput, modern Hammamet, in Tunisia, and Berytus (Beirut) was one of the most famous Roman law schools from the 3d century onwards. By this time, the emperor had become recognized as the ultimate fount of law, but the rules of law prevailed in the courts, and the apogee of Roman law was its codification by the emperor Justinian in 6th-century Byzantium.

Most modern legal systems are territorial and, at least in principle, egalitarian; that is to say, everyone is subject to the law of the place where he or she happens to be, and the law is meant to be the same for everybody. In contrast, Roman law was a law based on personal status, which, as it were, you carried around with you. So there was one law for Roman citizens and a different law for noncitizens, both in criminal and in civil cases, and persons were explicitly awarded different treatment according to their social status (Garnsey 1970). Slaves had no rights in law at all. This can all be exemplified in a famous letter written by the younger Pliny, governor of Bithynia and Pontus in NW Asia Minor about 110, to the emperor Trajan, in which he describes action taken against local Christians who had been denounced to him, action which the emperor approves (*Ep.* 10.96–97). Those of the accused who refused to abjure their religion were summarily executed if they were not citizens, but citizens were remanded for trial in Rome. Two slave women were routinely tortured in the course of the investigation. Pliny admits that he finds the Christians innocent of any crime, except that of being Christians and refusing to worship the gods, including the emperor. The privilege accorded to the citizens and based on a specific law which went back to Augustus (Sherwin-White 1963: 57–70) recalls Paul's successful appeal from arbitrary punishment and from the jurisdiction of the governor of Judea to the emperor in Rome some two generations earlier (Acts 25:11).

The distinction between citizen and noncitizen was gradually whittled down during the 2d century and abolished early in the 3d by the Constitutio Antoniniana, to be replaced by a more-rigid distinction than before between the wealthier classes (*honestiores*) and the rest (*humiliores*). In the early Empire, however, citizenship was important not only because of the right of appeal which it conferred in criminal cases, but because of the status of the citizen in private law. Only children of a valid marriage between two citizens were born citizens, all others normally taking the status of the mother. Citizens came under the provisions of Roman law in all matters concerning personal status, inheritance, property ownership, and business contracts. Citizenship might for various reasons be conferred on those not born with it, such as service to the state or to some individual Roman governor. Paul was a citizen by birth, so that one of his ancestors must have been granted citizenship, perhaps as a large contractor supplying the Roman army in Syria with tents. Sons of legionaries, who could not legally marry, were often granted citizenship on enlistment into the legions themselves (Campbell 1978). Service in auxiliary regiments was rewarded with citizenship on discharge. Many cities had a status which conferred Roman citizenship on municipal magistrates. Slaves formally manumitted by Roman citizens also received citizenship ipso facto. A register of citizens was kept, but Paul's case suggests that it was not usual for citizens to carry documentary proof of citizenship with them.

**E. Role of Provincial Governors**

Under the Empire, certain provinces were assigned to the emperor, who governed them through deputies, mostly men of consular or praetorian rank, holding the title of *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, appointed by the emperor for as long as he chose and responsible only to him. Other provinces, of which the most important were Africa and Asia, continued to have proconsuls or propraetors appointed by the Senate for a one-year term. The emperor however always had *imperium maius*, so that he could overrule a senatorial governor at will. The more-important provinces, whether imperial or senatorial, were usually governed by ex-consuls, those of secondary importance by ex-praetors. The governor was also commander-in-chief of any troops stationed in the province. Commanding a Roman legion was normally a job for a senator, but some of the emperors' lesser provinces, which had troops to maintain public order, but not a whole legion, fell into a third category, where the governor was not a senator, but of equestrian rank, with the title of prefect in the early 1st century but procurator later. Syria, for instance, the key to the E frontier, was an imperial province whose legate was always a trusted and experienced soldier. Judea, until Vespasian reorganized the legionary dispositions in the East, had merely an equestrian prefect or procurator, since the forces under him did not amount to a legion, so that he might have to call for help from the legate of Syria and his legions if Judea got out of hand. Egypt was also equestrian, but a special case, because alone of the equestrian provinces in the early Empire it had a legionary garrison; senators were even debarred from entering the country without the emperor's permission.

Except in the great military commands, such as Syria and the provinces along the Rhine and Danube frontier, a governor was more concerned with financial and judicial questions than with military affairs (Garnsey 1968; Burton 1975). He had to maintain public order, but this was not normally a major problem—Judea was exceptionally turbulent. On the other hand, he often had very little force at his disposal; hence the need to step in and suppress disturbances ruthlessly, before they could get out of hand, without too much concern for asking who started the disturbance. The Christians often suffered as disturbers of the peace, not because they started disturbances themselves, but because their enemies did, and a governor might think it prudent to suppress the disturbance by suppressing the cause of it, i.e., the Christians. We see this in what happened to Paul in Jerusalem and in Pliny's treatment of the Christians, referred to above. The governor had the right of *coercitio*—the right to order anyone to stop what he was doing even if there was no specific law against it—if he judged it likely to cause a breach of the peace. Only Roman citizens were exempt from summary punishment and even execution at the governor's discretion for disobeying such an order.

**F. Social Inequalities**

Not even in theory did the Romans regard all men as equal (to say nothing of the women). Apart from the distinction between citizens and noncitizens already alluded to, birth and wealth counted for a great

deal (MacMullen 1974). By the 2d century, the distinction between the propertied classes (*honestiores*) and the rest (*humiliores*) was enshrined in law and recognized by a different scale of punishments for each. This distinction essentially replaced that between citizen and noncitizen after the Constitutio Antoniniana in 212 conferred citizenship on virtually all free inhabitants of the empire. There was a property qualification for office, from membership of the most-insignificant municipal councils up to the Senate itself. The senatorial qualification was set by Augustus at 1,000,000 sesterces, but this was habitually exceeded. The younger Pliny, about whose finances we are reasonably well informed (Duncan-Jones 1965), did not consider himself rich (*Ep.* 2.4), but is estimated to have been worth over 20,000,000. The two largest private fortunes that we hear of are set, in round figures, at 400,000,000.

Membership of the equestrian order, below the Senate, required a capital of 400,000 sesterces, and many men qualified. The cities of Gades (Cadiz) and Patavium (Padua), for instance, each had 500 knights in Augustus' day (Strabo 3.169, 5.213). Also under Augustus (8 B.C.), we hear of a freedman who in his will, despite losses in the civil wars, left 60,000,000, plus 4,116 slaves, 3,600 pairs of oxen, and 257,000 head of other cattle (Pliny, *HN* 33.135). Compare this with the pay of an ordinary legionary, fixed by Augustus at 900 sesterces a year, or the daily wage of a laborer: St. Matthew gives the wage of the laborers in a vineyard as 1 denarius a day, which is 4 sesterces (Matt 20:1), and this may be exaggerated, since a passage in the Babylonian Talmud, for instance, implies that Rabbi Hillel made only half that as a woodcutter in King Herod's day (Wells 1984: 202–5).

The safest investment was land, and probably most rich men, like the younger Pliny, derived most of their income from their estates. Trade was generally looked down on, and senators were prohibited from engaging in it, but even senators participated vicariously by financing others, especially their own slaves and freedmen (D'Arms 1981; Pleket 1983). Freedmen who made their fortunes tended to emulate their social betters by investing in land, as did the fictional Trimalchio (Petron. *Sat.* 76). Only in Italy were slaves used extensively in agriculture, but everywhere they were an accepted part of life, employed not only for the most menial tasks, but for many of what for us are honorable professions, like teaching, accounting, or medicine. Household slaves could usually count on getting their freedom in middle life, and slaves whom their masters hired out or set up in business would expect to buy their freedom out of their savings (Bradley 1984). Once free, since slavery was not based on color, there was nothing to distinguish the ex-slave from the freeborn man or woman.

The urban poor and the peasantry often had a harder life and less chance of bettering themselves than the better sort of slave did. Conditions in the slums of a big city like Rome outdid those in Victorian London, and the 2d-century physician Galen writes vividly of the malnutrition and distress which he had seen in the countryside in time of famine (de Ste. Croix 1981: 14). The magistrates, from the emperor down, combined savagely to repress dissent. Crucifixion, torture, and condemnation to the mines or to the wild beasts in the arena were routine punishments for those who threatened the established order, whether recalcitrant slaves, poor men turned to brigandage, or those deemed subversive, like the Christians (MacMullen 1966a; Hopkins 1983; Wells 1984: 262–78). The Roman order and prosperity were based ultimately on organized terror.

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**ROMAN IMPERIAL CULT.** The Roman imperial cult may be defined as the offering of divine honors to a living or dead emperor. With antecedents in Egypt, Persia, and Greece, the ruler cult developed further in the Republic (Taylor 1931: 35–57), especially under Julius Caesar (Weinstock 1971), and in the time of Augustus (Taylor 1931: 142–246). Beginning with Tiberius, emperor worship played a major role in the origin and spread of Christianity (Jones in *ANRW* 2/23/2: 1023–54).

*Tiberius.* Tiberius resisted all honors offered to himself (Rostovtzeff 1930) and his mother, Livia (Grether 1946). In 25 C.E. he refused to permit the province of Farther Spain to build a temple in his name, declaring in a famous speech to the Senate: "I am a mortal, and divine honors belong only to Augustus, the real savior of mankind" (Tacitus *Ann.* 4.37–38; Étienne 1958: 420). Suetonius (*Tib.* 26.1) referred to an edict issued by Tiberius which forbade other forms of deification, including swearing allegiance and the erection of statues. Nevertheless, the title *divus* appeared on a denarius of Tiberius and a papyrus from 37 C.E. called him "son of the god" (Cuss 1974: 139).

*Caligula.* Gaius, nicknamed Caligula because of the "little boots" he wore as a boy, proposed that Tiberius be deified, but the Senate refused, citing strained relations during his last years. Convinced of his own divinity, Caligula demanded that he be worshiped. He believed he was the incarnation of Jupiter, and appeared in the dress of other gods and goddesses. Temples were erected in his honor at Miletus and Rome (Dio Cass. 59.11.12 and 28.1–2). Following his sister Drusilla's death in 38 C.E., Caligula had her deified, aided by a senator who swore under oath that he had seen her apotheosis, or ascent into heaven (Dio Cass. 59.11.3).

When Alexandrian Greeks ordered images of Caligula set up in the synagogues of that city, a delegation of Jews led in 39 C.E. by Philo complained to the emperor. Philo noted that while Jews could not worship Caligula, many of them did regard him as "savior and benefactor" (*Legatio* 75–114 and 349–67; Price 1984b: 184, 209). That same year, Caligula further offended Jewish monotheistic attitudes by ordering Syrian legate Petronius to erect a huge bronze statue of himself in the Jerusalem temple. Fortunately, Petronius' delaying tactics and the intercession the following year of Jewish king Agrippa caused the emperor to abandon the project (Smallwood 1957).

Caligula was not deified following his assassination by officers of the imperial guard—in fact, only the intervention of his successor and uncle, Claudius, prevented the Senate from declaring him "an enemy of the state."

*Claudius.* Like Tiberius, Claudius generally refused divine honors, but, in a famous letter to Alexandria in 41 C.E. (Barrett 1989: 47–50), while claiming that the establishment of priests and temples is "a prerogative to the gods alone," he did permit the erection of statues to himself and his family throughout

the city. In his introduction to this letter, the Egyptian prefect urged reading it in order to appreciate "the majesty of our god Caesar" (Charlesworth 1925). Despite Claudius' stance in the Alexandrian letter with regard to temples, one was erected in his honor in Britain following a Roman victory there (Tacitus *Ann.* 14.31). In addition, there is evidence of Claudius' being called "lord" (Cuss 1974: 59) and "savior of the world" (Scramuzza 1940).

*Nero.* Nero had Claudius deified, the first emperor to be so honored since Augustus; but the influential philosopher Seneca, in a clever satire called the *Apocolocyntosis,* ridiculed the idea of Claudius as a god (Altman 1938). From 65 C.E. on, Nero was depicted on coins as "god," and as "Apollo the Lyre Player," and wearing the radiate crown of a deified emperor (Charlesworth 1950). In 55 C.E. the Senate set up a statue of Nero in the temple of Mars Ultor (Tacitus *Ann.* 13.8.1)—the first time since Caesar that an emperor had been directly associated with a god in Rome. In 65 C.E. he rejected a proposed temple to "the divine Nero," citing the tradition that only dead emperors were divine, but he did erect in his place a hundred-foot bronze statue of himself as the sun with a star-shaped crown.

The imperial acclamations by which Nero was greeted had divine overtones, e.g., "Our Apollo … by thyself we swear" and "O Divine Voice! Blessed are they that hear you!" (Dio Cass. 62.20.5 and 63.20.5). In a Boeotian inscription from 67 C.E. Nero was called "lord of the whole world" (Deissmann 1927: 354), further evidence that "lord" was a prominent title in the imperial cult (Jones 1974: 85). When the king of Armenia greeted Nero in 66 C.E. as "master" and "god," the emperor agreed that he was indeed close to divinity (Dio Cass. 63.14). Before he committed suicide, Nero had been declared "an enemy of the state" by the Senate. He was never consecrated, although he did deify his wife Poppaea and their infant daughter.

*Vespasian.* Nero's successor, Vespasian, generally refused divine honors, although on his deathbed in 79 C.E. he joked: "I suppose I am becoming a god" (Suet. *Vesp.* 23.4). He had earlier dedicated a temple to Claudius (Suet. *Vesp.* 9.1) and was regularly called "lord" (Cuss 1974: 61) and "savior" (Scott 1936: 21). Vespasian's son and successor, Titus, had him consecrated, and a temple to the deified Vespasian was erected in Rome.

*Titus.* Titus was hailed as "savior of the world" (Deissmann 1927: 364) and was consecrated by his brother, Domitian, who succeeded him. As deifying members of the imperial family was becoming a common practice, Titus consecrated his sister Domitilla (Scott 1936: 45–48).

*Domitian.* Domitian insisted on being recognized as a divine *deus praesens,* an important term in emperor worship (Cuss 1974: 139). Coins show him seated on a throne as "father of the gods" (Abaecherli 1935), and a huge marble statue of himself in Ephesus became the focal point of the imperial cult throughout Asia Minor.

Domitian insisted on being addressed, by letter or in person, as "our lord and god" (Suet. *Dom.* 13; Scott 1936: 88–112) and all who refused were punished. That his persecution extended to Christians is clearly reflected in the book of Revelation (Scherrer 1984). Emperor deification, including offerings of incense, prayers, and vows, was now obligatory and used as a means to identify followers of the Christ. After his death in 96 C.E., statues of Domitian were destroyed by angry senators and he was declared "an enemy of the state." Many of his official decisions were rescinded by his successor, Nerva.

*Trajan.* Trajan became emperor in 98 C.E. and had his predecessor consecrated. Generally, he rejected divine honors, but he did allow a temple to be erected in his name at Pergamum, and after 100 C.E. his name began to be linked with that of Jupiter. In the year 112 C.E. Christians in Bithynia and Pontus were investigated by the Roman legate Pliny the Younger. In a famous letter to Trajan (10.96) Pliny wrote (Scott 1932):

> This is the course that I have adopted in the case of those brought before me as Christians. I ask them if they are Christians. If they admit it I repeat the question a second and a third time, threatening capital punishment; if they persist I sentence them to death … All who denied that they were or had been Christians I considered should be discharged, because they called upon the gods at my dictation and did reverence, with incense and wine, to your image which I had ordered to be brought forward for this purpose.

Trajan then offered this reply (10.97; Bickerman 1968):

> You have taken the right line, my dear Pliny, in examining the cases of those denounced to you as Christians, for no hard and fast rule can be laid down, of universal application. They are not to be sought out; if they are informed against, and the charge is proved, they are to be punished, with this reservation—that if anyone denies that he is a Christian, and actually proves it, that is by worshiping our gods, he shall be pardoned as a result of his recantation, however suspect he may have been with respect to the past (Bettenson 1947: 5–7).

When Trajan died in 117 C.E., his apotheosis was attested in several traditions, and he was deified by his successor, Hadrian.

*Hadrian.* Hadrian was frequently identified with the Olympian Zeus and permitted the erection of temples and statues in his honor (Raubitschek 1945). The easy deification of his twenty-year-old Bithynian lover, Antinous, who had drowned in the Nile in 130 C.E., was a scandal for both Jews and Christians. Coins depict Hadrian's apotheosis and that of his empress Sabina who preceded him in death.

*Antoninus Pius.* Under Hadrian's successor, Antoninus Pius, the demand to offer sacrifice before the emperor's statue had become a test of Christian loyalty to the state. Noncompliance led to the death penalty, as it did in the case of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, who, having refused to say "Caesar is lord" and offer incense to Antoninus' image, was sentenced to death by burning (156–57 C.E.; Barnes 1967). Following his death in 161 C.E. Antoninus Pius was consecrated by the Senate and his successor, Stoic philosopher Marcus Aurelius, and coins depicted his apotheosis and that of his empress, Faustina (Mattingly 1948).

*Marcus Aurelius.* Under Marcus Christians were executed at the Festival of the Three Gauls. A special ruling of the Senate allowed imperial cult priests to use "condemned prisoners" in the arena instead of the more expensive gladiators (Oliver and Palmer 1955). Marcus had no sympathy for Christians. They were brave, but blindly obstinate (*Meditations* 11.3). In 178 C.E. the Platonist philosopher Celsus, in his "True Doctrine," criticized Christians for refusing to offer "due honors," including sacrifice to the emperor, especially since "whatever you receive in this life you receive from him" (Origen *Cel.* 8.55–67). Among the Christian statements of defense was that of Tatian who, in his "Address to the Greeks," ridiculed Hadrian's deification of his lover Antinous and declared that, while he will give human kings human honor, he will worship God alone. Marcus was succeeded by his son, Commodus, who deified his father and struck coins depicting his apotheosis.

*Commodus.* Commodus, degenerate like Caligula, Nero, and Domitian before him, demanded divine honors (Oliver 1950). He received acclamations and a large gold statue was erected in his honor (Dio Cass. 73.15.3 and 74.2.3). During Commodus' first year (180 C.E.) twelve Christians in Africa refused to swear a loyalty oath to him and were beheaded (Cuss 1974: 61). A few years later, Roman senator Apollonius declared himself a Christian, refused to swear an oath to "our lord Commodus the emperor" or to offer sacrifice to his image, and consequently was sentenced to death by beheading. Commodus died in 192 C.E. and was condemned by the Senate. He was, however, later consecrated by Septimius Severus.

*Septimius Severus.* Severus accepted the divine title "lord" and married Julia Domna, daughter of the Sun priest at Emesa, thereby bringing the empress into the imperial cult. She was deified following her death in 217 C.E. Tertullian, in his "Apology" (197 C.E.), argued that Christians need not offer sacrifice to the emperor who is only human. They could swear by his health or safety, but if he is ever referred to as "lord," there must be no implication of his divinity. Hippolytus of Rome, in his "Commentary on Daniel," claimed Christians suffered the death penalty for refusing to worship the gods (4.51). Men were burned and their bodies thrown to beasts, children were killed, and women were treated with shame.

*Decius.* In 249 C.E., Decius restored the worship of consecrated emperors and demanded offerings and oaths in his honor. The following year he issued an edict which resulted in the first general persecution of Christians since everyone in the empire was required to offer sacrifice to the gods and to obtain a certificate from a local commissioner confirming same (Clarke 1969).

*Valerian.* The persecution of Decius was revived by Valerian who, in 257 C.E., issued an edict ordering Christian bishops, presbyters, and deacons to offer sacrifice to the gods. The following fall Cyprian refused to do so and was beheaded (*Acta proconsularia* 3–4).

*Diocletian.* Diocletian came to the throne in 284 C.E. and attempted to revive the imperial cult by claiming special protection from Jupiter and demanding that he be called "lord and god." According to both Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 8.7–13) and Lactantius (*De mort. persec.* 15.4–5) all Christians who refused to sacrifice to the gods were sentenced to death or hard labor in the mines.

*Constantine.* During the time of Constantine, Christianity became the only recognized state religion and enjoyed protection by imperial favor. Christians now comprised half the empire's population and were no longer required to bow to its emperor. Instead, he bowed to their Christ.

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**ROMAN JUDAISM.** See JUDAISM (IN ROME).

**ROMAN RELIGION.** This article focuses upon the beliefs and practices concerning the supernatural and its place in human destiny found among the ancient inhabitants of the city of Rome, and later in the regions of Europe, N Africa, and W Asia under Roman domination.

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A. Religion as a Structural Element of Culture
1. The "Bearers" of Roman Religion
2. The State: Priesthoods
3. Personal Religion
4. Household and Family Religious Observances
B. Elements of Roman Religion
1. Concepts of God
2. The Gods and Their Cults
3. Cult Images and Temples
4. Acts of Worship, Ritual Procedures, Festivals
5. Oversight of Cultic Activity and Religious Policy
6. Mythology
7. Structures of Roman Polytheism: Calendar, Systems, Theology
C. System and History

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## A. Religion as a Structural Element of Culture

**1. The "Bearers" of Roman Religion.** A sociological approach to the question of cults and cultic activity might well be organized around the highly practical division found in Festus (284 L), between public and private worship. Public acts of worship (*sacra religionesque publicae,* Cic. *de har. resp.* 14) included not only those performed in the name of the *populus* by magistrates and state priests but also those carried out by local associations, e.g., the *montani* or *pagani,* as part of the total community. Private worship took place in the name of *familiae, gentes* (extended families or clans), and corporations.

Scholars have given relatively little attention to the *gens,* in contrast to the *familia* and the state, as a religious community. Despite this, one should not underestimate the role of the *gens,* especially during the early republic and toward its end. The history of the *gens,* worship, and burial rights are what drew the individual *gens* together, as Cicero explained: "It means much to share in common the same family traditions, the same forms of domestic worship, and the same ancestral tombs" (*de off.* 1.17 §55 [LCL]). *Gens*-oriented special cults are known for, e.g., the *Nautii* (Minerva), die *Potitii* and *Pinarii* (Hercules), the *gens Aurelia (Sol),* and *gens Claudia* (Saturn). Other cults linked the name of the *gens* to a minor deity: the *gens Ancharia* venerated a goddess *Ancharia; Numeria* was honored by the *gens Numeria; Hostia* or *Hostilina* by the *gens Hostilia;* a certain *Domitius* by the *gens Domitia.* As early as 1935, Carl Koch pointed out that Jupiter was the only figure in the Roman pantheon of gods "for whom one can with near certainty say that no *gens*-oriented cult existed" (Koch 1935: 24). The rapprochement between the *gens*-related Italic *Veiovis* cult and the "roman Jupiter" toward the end of the Roman republic probably served to give voice to new claims, the claims of the *Julia* family.

Roman experts on sacred law seem to have distinguished between those public cults in which the community was represented by magistrates and priests and those in which all citizens participated: Antistius Labeo says (Festus 235 L), "Public cults are those which all citizens celebrate, and are not attributed to a particular family: *Fornacalia, Parilia, Laralia, Porca praecidanea.*" The examples given here include both those in which the general populace was represented only in a definite, organized manner (e.g., the *Fornacalia* within the framework of the curial structure) and those in which the citizens participated directly (e.g., the *Parilia*). In the latter case, in the *atrium Vestae* "means of purification" (*suffimenta*) were distributed to all citizens—a *communio sacrorum* in a very material sense. The excerpt

from Festus omits mention of the type of ceremony that seems regularly to have encouraged participation by "all" citizens, e.g., the *supplicationes* applied by the Sibylline books are propitiatory rites. It is emphasized by Augustus in his summary account, for example, that "… all the citizens … have unanimously and continuously offered prayers at all the *pulvinaria* for my health" (*Mon. Ancyranum* 9.2 = Brunt and Moore 1967: 23).

Alongside the large number of religion-oriented groupings to which a Roman belonged by obligation of birth (e.g., *familia, curia*), function (e.g., *miles: religio castrensis*), or home (e.g., *pagus: paganalia; compitum: compitalia*), there were only a few that one could join by choice. Among the latter the *collegia* were most important. These were cult societies (Waltzing 1895–1900) which the *socii cultores* could enter as if entering an "association." The *lex collegii* established the duties and financial contributions expected of members, prescribed the cultic activity, and structured the conduct of members' meetings. Many Greek and oriental cults appear to have established themselves at Rome initially in the juridical form of the cult association. After the affair of the *Bacchanalia,* the Senate repeatedly intervened to control the freedom to organize such associations. Toward the end of the Republic, the *collegia funeraticia* (funerary societies) seem to constitute a special case among the cultic associations. These were self-help organizations of the poor and slaves who, in line with family cults (Gladigow 1985: 126ff.) took as their task the burial of deceased members and the religious observances at their graves.

**2. The State: Priesthoods.** Priests were the mainstay of the state cult of the Romans. Either as individual priests or as members of priestly *collegia* or *sodalitates* they carried out the liturgy or, in certain instances, advised and assisted magistrates in their liturgical duties (e.g. as augurs or haruspices). The ancient system of Roman religion, oriented toward liturgy and priesthood, can be divided into three areas: "ritual, auspices, and the third additional division consisting of all such prophetic warnings as the interpreters of the Sibyl or the soothsayers have derived from portents and prodigies" (Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3.5 [LCL]). Specific groups of priests corresponded to this part of the Roman state religion: "provisions for priests omit no legitimate type of worship. For some are appointed to win the favour of the gods by presiding over the regular sacrifices; others to interpret prophecies of the soothsayers … But the highest and most important authority in the State is that of the *augurs,* to whom is accorded great influence" (Cic. *de leg.* 2.30 [LCL]). In the Augustan period the term *quattuor sacerdotum amplissima collegia* (i.e., the four significant priesthoods), which virtually comprehended the Roman cult structure, developed. These four were the *pontifices,* the *augures,* the *quindecemviri sacris faciundis* (used from the Sullan period onward; previously the *decemviri,* or *duoviri*), and the *septemviri epulones* (formerly *tresviri*).

With the exception of the *virgines Vestales,* all priestly offices could be held for life and were exempt from military service (*vacatio militiae*). The office of *Rex sacrorum* was considered incompatible with the magistracy; otherwise there was no fundamental prohibition against holding both priestly and magistrate's offices. This meant that no specific priestly class developed at Rome and the political realization of religious ideas could be achieved to a certain degree through the personal union of magistracy and priestly office. Priestly positions were never incorporated in the fixed cycle of offices (*cursus honorum*), although a clear tendency to begin the cycle with a priestly office is visible (*ANRW* 2/16/3: 2328–31). If this was not possible, a priestly office was assumed after having entered the magistracy.

Priests were appointed partly through direct appointment (*captio* of the Vestals by the *Pontifex maximus*), partly through cooptation and, after the end of the 3d century B.C., through limited popular vote. Holding several priestly offices was possible, yet in the republican period this was uncommon: that Caesar was simultaneously *Pontifex maximus* and *augur* was unusual for the Late Republic. The later Empire, especially the 4th century of the Christian era, saw massive accumulation of priestly offices.

Among the great *collegia* the *collegium pontificum* surpassed all others in importance. It consisted of the *pontifices* (9–16 positions), the *Rex sacrorum* (or *Rex sacrificulus*), the *flamines* (3 *flamines maiores,* 12 *flamines minores*), and the *virgines vestales* (6 positions with the *vestalis maxima* at their head). Responsibility for discipline and power of punishment for the entire priestly college rested with the *pontifex maximus* but the old priestly regulations placed the *Rex sacrorum* and the *flamines maiores (Dialis, Martialis, Quirinalis)* ahead of him in rank (*dignatio*). After Augustus assumed the office of

*Pontifex maximus* in 12 B.C., it remained firmly attached to the emperor's office. A *promagister* then took charge of the regular administration of the college of priests.

The *collegium augurum* ranked only slightly lower than the priestly college (*ANRW* 2/16/3: 2146–312). Like the priests, the number of augurs grew from 9 to 15 and finally to 16 under Caesar. The augurs played an important role in the self-understanding of the Romans, who considered themselves to be the most religious of all people (*religiosissimi mortales*, Sall. *Cat.* 12.3; cf. Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2.3.8). As guardians of technical matters (*disciplinam tenere*) and interpreters of the entire divination system (in the form of *decreta* and *responsa*), they were closely linked to the magistrates and to all state ceremonies that had to be carried out *auspicato* with augury. As *interpretes Iovis Optumi maxumi* "interpreters of Jupiter the Best and Greatest" (Cic. *de leg.* 2.20) the institution of the augurs constituted the interface between the Roman Jupiter and the Roman state.

**3. Personal Religion.** Scholars have too-quickly classified Roman religion as the paradigm for a cultic religion, "the 'mere cult acts' view of Roman Religion" (Phillips 1984: 292). This has led them to neglect the limited sources that ascribe individual attitudes, experiences, or even "belief" to the Romans. W. Ward Fowler (1922), who tried to counteract the conventional view, remained isolated and without resonance. Because intimate scenes like the one mentioned by Plautus (*Aulularia*, 24), in which a girl worshipped the *Lar familiaris* out of a sort of heartfelt need (and was rewarded for her devotion) do not fit the conventional portrayal of Roman religion, they have never been set forth in an integrated manner. The meditations that P. Cornelius Scipio regularly carried out, alone in retreat in the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter (Liv. 26.19.5; Gellius 6.1.6), fit this category (Seguin 1974). However so does the well-attested custom of honoring a sacred image by touching one's hand to one's lips (*adorandi gratia manum labris admovere*) not only in a temple but even when passing by a temple (*ANRW* 2/16/1: 579–80). These are scarcely forms of veneration required by proper liturgical practice; rather they are acts of personal religiosity that developed as expressions of religious needs alongside the generally obligatory *sacra privata* and *sacra publica.* A Roman man or woman might also sit in quiet prayer at the feet of a sacred image, remain there for a long time, and tell his or her problems to the deity (as is done in Propertius 2.28.46).

**4. Household and Family Religious Observances.** The most broadly institutionalized forms of personal religiosity were the household cult (*sacra domestica*) and the family cult (*sacra familiaris*). Domestic gods were the typical "traveling deities" that accompanied people as their living situations changed. In the "founding myth" of Roman religion, Aeneas took, from among all the Trojan deities, only "his" *di penates* with him to Lavinium. Cicero attractively explained the significance of the house for the practice of Roman religion in *De domo sua* in the following way: "Within its circle are the altars, the hearths, the household gods, religion, observances, ritual; it is a sanctuary so holy in the eyes of all, that it were sacrilege to tear an owner therefrom" (109). As part of their daily lives individual Romans practiced and experienced their religion *in the house* (Wissowa 1912: 33–34). Nilsson (1951: 3.285) with a certain appropriateness, described "the domestic religion" as "the most Roman of all cults of the Roman Religion."

At the center of the household religion were the *di penates*, a collective name for all deities honored in the house; the *lar familiaris* (since the Augustan reform, the *lares familiares*), taken from rural settings; the deities connected to the *penus* and hearth of the house; and the *genius* of the *pater familias.* In a Roman house the *lares* and *genius* were normally honored in an *Aedicula (lararium).* Especially the *lares* were incorporated into a form of daily piety observed by all members of the household, they were remembered with small offerings from the table, were involved in family celebrations, and the *bulla* of the eldest son, who put on the *toga praetexta*, was deposited with the *lares.* The consistent separation of household and public cult (Kaser 1955: 51ff.) was blurred by an innovation of Augustus, which ordained that the genius of the emperor be venerated between the two *lares* in the *compita Larum.*

The family cult was also the natural point of departure for the veneration of the dead and of graves (Cumont 1965; Toynbee 1971). At the end of the year, during the *Parentalia* (13–21 February) the dead of the household were collectively honored as *divi parentum* (later *di parentes*). Food, salt, and wine were

carried to the graves, which were decorated with flowers and wreaths. It is noteworthy that the Romans never transformed the cult of the *di parentes* into a cult of divine ancestors of the clan. A family's self-portrayal took place at the *pompa funebris,* in which the portrait masks of the ancestors were carried. The close linkage of the cult of the dead with the *familia* seems to have obviated a need for differentiated conceptions of the hereafter among the Romans (Gladigow 1985).

**B. Elements of Roman Religion**

**1. Concepts of God.** Based on a special type of Roman gods H. Usener (1896) attempted to set out a theory about the origins of concepts of god. He introduced into the study of the history of religions the terms "momentary gods" (*Augenblickgötter*) and "special gods" (*Sondergötter*). To illustrate the category of "special gods" he used such Roman deities as the *Vervactor* (who was responsible for the first breaking of the soil), the *Raparator* (responsible for the second plowing), all the way to the *Conditor* (responsible for storing the grain). Of Usener's terms only that of the "special god" has survived, often being used synonymously with "functional god," although precisely Usener's examples from Roman religion show that these "special gods" were not "functional gods." What characterized the Roman "special gods" is that they were related to stages in a process, not to logical functions. This may reveal a fundamental property of Roman religiosity: divine activity, for the Romans, was recognizable in specific points in time, in concrete historical actions (Latte 1926–27; Altheim 1937). The deities "revealed" themselves not in time-transcending ontology but through their activity in particular, concrete situations. The institutionalized contact Romans had with their gods took corresponding form: taking place at specific points in time, reacting, keeping a certain distance. For this reason the Roman "special gods" can hardly be interpreted as survivals of an imperfect, undeveloped stage of human conceptions of deity; rather they should be viewed more as distancing and systematizing priestly constructs at the edge of a fully developed and functioning polytheism.

Roman reports of the manifestations of gods, e.g., reports of the appearance of *Aius Locutius* (Liv. 5.32.6; 5.50.6; 5.52.11), shed light on, it seems, a specific model for reacting: one does not try quickly to identify what one has heard (in this instance) with a specific god and relate it to what one knows by means of an epithet; rather, one permits it to stand in its singularity: *Aius Locutius.*

**2. The Gods and Their Cults.** At the center of the Roman pantheon stood Jupiter, the god of the celestial brightness and at the same time the god who legitimated all important political acts through the auspices and who, under the dual name *auspicium imperiumque* stood behind the power of magisterial lordship. A series of epithets connected him to hills and hilltop cults (*Iuppiter Fagutalis* [on the *mons Oppius*]; *Iuppiter Viminalis, Iuppiter Elicius* [Aventine], *Iuppiter Feretrius* [Capitoline], etc.). To him the Ides, on which it was bright day and night, were dedicated; the dedication days for several of his temples occurred on the Ides (*Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, Iuppiter Victor, Iuppiter invictus*). Celestial events and weather occurrences were connected to Jupiter the god of heaven—the epithets name and swear by him as *Iuppiter Fulgur, Lapis, Summanus, Tonans, Elicius,* as well as *Pluvialis* or *Serenus.* As is often the case, the god of heaven was also linked to the control of oaths, contracts, and legal affairs (Petazzoni 1956). As city- and state-god, *Iuppiter Capitolinus* attracted a number of functions to himself (Fears 1981): the sacrifices required of the consuls upon entering office were directed to him as was the first sacrifice a Roman made when he donned the *toga virilis* (toga of manhood). The *ludi Romani* were devoted to him and the triumphal parade of a victorious general led to *Iuppiter Capitolinus.* In the 3d century a number of temples that describe Jupiter as god of battles were vowed and built to Jupiter: *Iuppiter Victor, Stator,* perhaps also *Propugnator.*

In Rome, in comparison to Jupiter in his role as the central state deity, those deities which otherwise in Latin culture would carry similar political-military characteristics were clearly subordinate—especially *Quirinus* but also Mars. Participants in the liturgies remained aware of Mars as god of war, but the auspices of war themselves proceeded from *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* and focused the war upon him. Although Mars was responsible for the area *extra pomerium,* the materially significant cultic and legal activities were oriented toward Jupiter: the fact-finding process was understood as undertaken under authority of Jupiter, and even the *ver sacrum,* which was devoted to Mars by the Italic tribes, was

promised to Jupiter by the Romans in 217 B.C. (carried out in 195 B.C., but because of a mistake repeated in 194 B.C.).

Of the female deities Juno enjoyed the greatest veneration. Her image stood at first in the left cell of the temple of the Capitoline triad; on the other side of the statue of Jupiter was an image of Minerva. Juno (*Iuno Iugalis, Pronuba, Domiduca, Cinxia, Unxia, Fluvionia, Lucina*) probably developed from a female deity in this grouping to a city goddess and eventually to *Iuno Regina* (*ANRW* 2/17/1: 168 ff.). Minerva took a different route: from what was probably a Sabine goddess who early on was portrayed iconographically as a city goddess, she became the patroness of artisans (*artifices, fabri; ANRW* 2/17/1: 203–32).

Unlike Jupiter, *Vesta,* through her function as *Vesta populi Romani Quiritium,* became a deity who secured the existence of the state (*ANRW* 2/17/1: 276–99). The fire in the visible part of the *aedes Vestae* (temple of Vesta), tended by the vestal virgins, and that in the innermost part of the pledge of Roman rule (*fatale pignus imperii Romani*) guaranteed—insofar as they were maintained and properly dealt with—the continued existence of Rome. Just as the auspices linked Jupiter to political activity, so Vesta was brought into contact with the entire sacrificial process by means of the *mola salsa* (see B.7 below).

*Ianus* (Janus) seems to have been an ancient god of high rank. Like Jupiter, Mars, *Quirinus,* Neptune, and *Liber,* he was addressed as *pater* (father). In Roman liturgy all that remained were the rules that he should be named first, even before Jupiter, when several deities were addressed, and that the *Rex sacrorum,* the highest ranking priest in the Roman hierarchy, should be his sacrificial priest. In Rome, *Ianus* was connected especially with archways; the *Ianus Geminus* or *Quirinus* between the Forum and the *Argiletum* received the most attention: in time of war the gates were opened; in peacetime they remained closed.

Among the Greek gods one of the first to be taken up by Romans was Apollo (Gagé 1955). When the temple to Apollo located on the *prata Flaminia* but outside the *Pomerium* was constructed is not known; in 431 B.C. it was replaced at the same location by a temple promised in 433 B.C. to Apollo and *Latona* in the wake of a plague. At first Apollo was worshipped as *Apollo medicus.* Only in the 2d century did his character change in the direction of the delphic deity. This process reached a conclusion in 28 B.C. with the construction by Augustus of the temple to Apollo on the Palatine hill. The newly assembled collection of Sibylline books, which had been kept in the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, were now preserved beneath the image of Apollo.

Greek deities were taken up in Rome from the 5th century B.C. onward as the result of alliances, emergencies, and propitiations of portents. The ancient liturgical and temple religion of Rome was fueled not by conversion and revelation or by triumphant arrival of a god and devout confession, but lived from the transferrence of cult observances in and following emergency situations: plagues, defeats, threats of war, propitiation of portents and omens. A temple was even built on the basis of an aedilistic penalty process. We offer here only a few examples of this specifically Roman form of a sturdily empirical approach to the gods: *Castor* and *Pollux* received a temple in the Roman Forum after the battle at Lake Regillus in 484 B.C. After consulting the Sibylline books, *Ceres* was promised a temple in 496 B.C., together with the *Liber Pater* (erected 493). Mercury was given a temple, outside the *Pomerium,* which had been the place of worship for a *collegium mercatorum* (Combet Farnoux 1980). The oldest datable temple to Venus can be traced to a judgment with monetary penalty handed down against adulterous matrons in 295 B.C. In 293 B.C. the Sibylline books recommended, in the wake of a plague, that the *Aesculapius* cult be brought to Rome; his temple was consecrated in 291 B.C. Hercules, who was first worshipped in the context of a *gens*-oriented cult, was taken under state religious oversight in 312 B.C. and received a temple in 218 B.C. on the basis of instructions from the Sibylline books. In 205 B.C., during the second Punic war, the Sibylline books recommended that the cult of the *Mater deum Magna Idaea* (*ANRW* 2/17/3: 1500–35) be accepted at Rome; she received her temple on the Palatine hill in 191 B.C. In the religious history of Roman warfare *Fortuna* played a special role: as *Fortuna publica populi Romani, Fortuna Equestris, Fortuna huiusce diei,* or *Fortuna Redux,* she received numerous temple dedications as the result of wartime perils or successes.

**3. Cult Images and Temples.** Only a temple, or at least a sacred image, of the deity could ensure the lasting presence of a god in a city—in the view of Romans and of the ancient world in general. Varro's report that the Romans worshipped the gods without images for 170 years after the founding of the city (fr. 18; *ANRW* 2/16/1: 80–103) probably is best explained as an idealization of Roman origins and can be applied concretely to the appearance of Etruscan terra cotta images on the Capitoline hill. The thesis that early Roman religion was basically aniconic is as unlikely as the parallel thesis that the Romans initially practiced no animal sacrifices. However, it is incontestable that there were some Roman gods that lacked images, even after the historical record begins. Within the historic period a religious image, in some instances a nonanthropomorphic object of worship, was an essential part of a temple (*ANRW* 2/16/1: 568 ff.; general information in *ANRW* 2/17/2: 1032–1199).

The central rites of the temple service, provisioning, showing hospitality, and worshipping all were oriented toward the sacred image in the cult niche or *cella.* The animal sacrifices carried out on an altar in front of the temple (as in Greece) also were directed toward the sacred image inside (Vitruvius 4.9) and as a rule, were probably performed with the doors of the temple standing open.

After the 3d century B.C., a temple building (*aedes*) constructed on a *templum,* erected and maintained for the sake of the state and provisioned and guarded by an *aedituus,* became the dominant form (*ANRW* 2/16/1: 574 ff.). The acceptance of Greek deities on the basis of instructions from the Sibylline books appears to have made a temple into one of the prerequisites for approbation of a cult.

**4. Acts of Worship, Ritual Procedures, Festivals.** As with nearly all pre-Christian religions, the main element of Roman worship was the sacrifice: *rem divinam facere* "to attend to divine matters" was practically synonymous with "to sacrifice." The actions surrounding the sacrifice, complex in themselves, also involved the most diverse intentions (Gladigow 1984): a gift to the deity "to placate with a gift the wrath of the gods" is the way Cicero described the goal of sacrifice in *de leg.* 2.22); feeding the deity with anything from a portion of the plant and animal sacrifice to a regular meal (Cato *de agr.* 83.131); propitiation (*piaculi gratia*); purification (*lustratio*). Cereal, material, or votive offerings involved relatively little ceremony. In contrast, a properly performed animal sacrifice was a complex ritual with a precisely established sequence of actions that could extend from the purification of the participants and the examination of the sacrificial animal (*probatio hostiae*) through approximately two dozen steps leading up to the *profanare,* the consumption of the meat by the participants in the ritual.

These formal requirements of animal sacrifice and the necessary technical skills soon placed this activity in the hands of specialists. In addition to the priests or lords of the sacrifice there were *victimarii* who, as public servants (*apparitores*) for the state cult, formed their own college. Among the *victimarii* was the *popa,* who stunned the animal, and the *cultrarius,* who opened the jugular vein. *Camilli,* usually eldest sons in the case of private sacrifices, assisted generally. At state sacrifices, flute players were generally present; they also formed a *collegium* (*CIL* VI 2191).

The behavior of the animal immediately before the sacrifice and during the killing was of particular significance as an omen, which provided another reason to entrust the work to specialists. Mistakes and *omina* during the sacrifice could jeopardize achieving the goal of the sacrifice or bring forth negative prognostications. When the animal had been properly (*rite*) killed, its body was opened and an examination of the health of its organs (*extispicium*) carried out. If this examination yielded negative results (*hostia sine litatione caesa*), the entire ritual had to be repeated until a favorable omen was received (Liv. 41.15.4).

Although a sacrifice was an element in nearly all complex rituals, the accentuation and "message" of the ritual shifted with increasing complexity. In the case of the *lectisternia,* a ritual introduced upon the instructions of the Sibyllines, the hospitality and table fellowship of the gods was primary. In the *supplicationes* the fact that the entire populace was called upon to sacrifice in all temples played a growing role. The supplications already had absorbed a processional element, which was also characteristic of the border cults in the form of processions around the fields (*ambarvalia lustratio pagi, amburbium*). Complex rituals like the *Lupercalia* or the *Equus October* integrated nearly all ritual elements in to a composite whole, in which the elements of drama and competition and genuine theatrical

productions took center stage. The public games (*Ludi Romani, plebei, Florales, Apollinares, Ceriales, Megalenses*) were rituals that had been expanded in time and content. Their significance as entertainment should not be played off against their religious meaning. At the center of the *Ludi Romani*, the most important Roman games, were the *pompa circensis*—the procession of the images of the deities on *tensa* into the *Circus*—and the games and contests that took place there "before the eyes of the gods." The high degree of religious significance attached to the *Ludi Romani* and *plebei* is indicated by the fact that the rule of *instauratio* applied to them; i.e., in the event of a mistake in the ceremony, the entire process had to be repeated. Livy reports that on one occasion, "the Roman Games in their entirety were repeated three times, the Plebeian Games five times" (38.35.6).

**5. Oversight of Cultic Activity and Religious Policy.** The Roman state did not interfere in either family or *gens*-oriented religion. However the censors as well as the priests were formally responsible to see that the family cults continued (Cic *de leg.* 2.9.22). Few actual reports of state penalties for neglect of religious responsibilities are known; the most prominent penalty was that which Cato carried out against L. Veturius, ejecting him from the equestrian order. Another, indirect, way to control family rites lay in the priestly implementation of inheritance law. The priests were concerned in cases of *adoptio* and *adrogatio* as well as in the regulation of inheritances that the family cult not die out "so that the memory of them not die out at the death of the father" Cic. *de leg.* 2.19.48).

Overall one can say that legal penalties against Romans who did not participate in *sacra popularia* were unknown in the Roman republic (Mommsen 1899: 567ff.). A report by Dio Cassius (51.19) that nonparticipation in the liturgy for the birthday celebration of the consecrated Caesar was punishable with a monetary fine and the death penalty is unique. Only in the year 249 A.D. was a single, general obligation to religious observance put into effect and enforced—by Decius. In this instance, each Roman citizen was required to sacrifice "to the gods"; the performance of this act was to be certified by a *libellus* (certificate).

The Romans not only established institutionally an openness toward "new" deities that was typical of polytheistic religions, but they also connected it in a characteristic way with the divination and propitiatory system of Roman religion. This was carried out institutionally, under supervision of the Senate, by the *duoviri*, later by the *decemviri*, and finally by the *quindecemviri sacris faciundis* and the *Libri Sibyllini* (Sibylline books). According to a legend of the 2d century B.C. *Tarquinius Superbus*, on the advice of the augurs, bought Greek ritual books offered to him by an old woman (according to Varrio [Lact. *inst.* 1.6.10]; Dion. Hal. 4.62; Gellius 1.19; Gagé 1955). These *libri Sibyllini* were kept in chambers under the temple of Capitoline Jupiter until 83 B.C.; a new collection assembled in 76 B.C. to replace the old books, which had been burned, was placed by Augustus in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill in 12 B.C. Only the *viri sacris faciundis* were permitted access to these religious books and then only after approval from the Senate in the wake of a special portent which could not be expiated or appeared not to be capable of expiation (procuration) by the *patrius ritus.* This carefully controlled system (announcing of a portent, a Senate decision, the expert opinion of the *viri sacris faciundis*, and another Senate decision) gave rise to a large number of innovations in Roman religion.

Thus the plague of 399 B.C. was expiated, on advice of the *duoviri sacris faciundis* through a *lectisternium* (reclining feast) for Apollo and *Latona*, Hercules and Diana, Mercury and Neptune. The very ancient custom of entertaining the gods publicly in this way became an established cult form following the *graecus ritus* (Greek rite). These *lectisternia* were repeated in 364, 349, and 326 B.C., and one additional time, for the same reason. In 293 B.C. the cult of *Aesculapius* was brought to Rome, again because of an epidemic and on advice of the Sibylline books. After the defeat at Lake Trasimene, Venus and Ceres appear for the first time in a *lectisternium* commanded by the Sibylline books in 217 B.C. Likewise as the result of consulting the Sibylline books the *Mater Magna* of Pessinus was received in a festive arrival in Rome in 204 B.C. Because of the incest of the Vestals in 114 B.C. a temple to *Venus Verticordia* was established in Rome as a propitiatory measure. The influence of the Sibylline books on the development of Roman religion was considerable, but one should not overlook the fact that these *libri fatales* (Liv. 5.14.4; Cancik 1983: 562 ff.), kept under lock and key, could only affect religious policy by

way of the Senate's decision to consult them, interpretation, expert opinion (*responsum*), and a second decision by the Senate. They are a pattern for a religious institution that channeled and clarified anxieties to bring about a religious and political propitiation (Gladigow 1979).

Restrictive measures against cults were not absent from Roman religion. In the most diverse forms and for various reasons limits were placed on the *Mater magna, Bacchus,* and *Isis* cults. Measures taken ranged from prohibition of refinancing and penalties carried out through inheritance law to complete proscription (Vermaseren 1981).

**6. Mythology.** Only after Wissowa (1912) clearly distinguished Roman from Greek elements in Roman religion was it apparent that Roman religion had no mythology comparable to that of the Greeks, no genealogies of gods, no sexual liaisons of gods, and no offspring of the gods. All evidence indicates that the repression of mythology was a conception of Roman religious policy, a theological program of the leading priesthoods. This, at least, was the way Greek contemporaries viewed it (Dionys. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 2.19); they admired the basis of Roman religion for that reason (Polybius 6.56). The conditions under which this process of "demythologizing" of the Roman pantheon took place can best be illustrated by the deity that stood in the center of the Roman state cult: *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus.* Through a religiously and politically motivated process of creation the cult of the Roman Jupiter, and with it the cults of the other state deities, was separated from the world of Italic and Greek mythology. Jupiter's cult belonged to the all-encompassing sphere of the state and society, which was kept separate from all other possible links to *gens*-oriented special cults and the privileges and expectations that grew out of them (Koch 1937). The "arena of revelation" for Roman state deities was not a prehistory, not a mythological history predating Rome, but rather the common, obligatory Roman history or the meaningful events of the present.

**7. Structures of Roman Polytheism: Calendar, Systems, Theology.** The general absence of a Roman mythology—a mythology that would hand down and set forth plausibly a set of inner relationships within the Roman pantheon—meant that other constructive institutions within Roman religion had to carry more weight. The temporal ordering of worship through the calendar was an important aspect of priestly "systematic theology" (Sabbatucci 1988), alongside the spatial organization of religion—temples within or outside of the *pomerium;* within the city at a central, even elevated site (Capitoline, Palatine, Aventine hills); or in a peripheral location. Superimposed on these systems were laws that governed the financing of temples used for worship (state cults took place *publico sumptu* [at public expense], which is why the Senate was very cautious in making *dedicationes*), regulations governing the use of temples (e.g., women were excluded from the worship of Hercules at the *ara maxima* and from the Silvanus cult; men were excluded from the cult of the *Bona Dea*), and rules governing the cooperation and assistances of the priesthoods. In addition to these structuring elements of Roman state religion a very concrete form of "implicit theology" is found in the rituals and ritual instructions, especially in the structure of complex rituals. Thus *Vesta,* the *Vesta*-religion, was linked by the *mola salsa* to all those cultic acts that involved animal sacrifices, i.e., the majority of cultic acts. *Mola salsa* was produced from spelt and brine (*muries*) by the Vestal Virgins in May and was also distributed to the populace three times during the year. This "material systematizing" of the *Vesta* cult corresponded to the ritual prescription that, at all sacrifices, *Vesta* should be named last—and thus with special honor, like *Ianus*'s place at the head of the list—in the series of deities addressed. Similar material cross-referencing is visible in the ashes of the calves slaughtered in the *Fordicidia,* which preserved by the Vestals and distributed at the *Parilia,* formed the bean straw and the blood of the *equus October.*

Non-genealogical connections between the deities were achieved through processions, which linked temples (and gods), e.g., in the procession of 207 B.C. (Liv. 27.37.11; Cancik 1986: 255–56) the temple of Apollo at the *Porta Carmentalis* was linked to the temple of *Juno Regina* on the Aventine hill. *Lectisternia,* ritual entertainments, joined gods and goddesses in a (primarily) public cult act according to Greek models. Apollo and *Latona,* Hercules and Diana, Mecury and Neptune appeared together in a propitiatory ritual mandated by the Sibylline books in 399 B.C.; the same rite with the same conjunction of deities was to be repeated four times. In 217 B.C., as Hannibal stood before Rome, a *lectisternium* with twelve deities was held at the behest of the Sibylline books. It brought together according to the Greek

pattern six pairs of gods (Jupiter-Juno, Neptune-Minerva, Mars-Venus, Apollo-Diana, Vulcan-Vesta, and Mercury-Ceres) who later found a place as *Consentes dei* in a portico of the Forum.

Probably the theologically most significant grouping of Roman deities was found in the so-called Capitoline triad of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. Here, in a religious and political statement that seems to have had neither Greek nor Etruscan nor Roman prototypes (Radke 1987: 226 ff.), representatives of the Latin and Sabine components of Roman state-building were joined to Jupiter toward the end of the 6th century B.C. The three were found a suitable architectonic setting in a temple with three *cellae* but, as far as the sources reveal, did not received any common worship. As the Roman ideal of the state grew in self-confidence, the Capitoline triad was pushed to the side as *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* became the integrating center of Roman self-understanding; the two goddesses were gradually given functions separate from the triad.

The triad Ceres, Liber, and Libera provided competition for the Capitoline group in a time of political tension within Rome. At the *secessio plebis in montem sacrum,* the new triad of gods with their temple outside the *pomerium* on the Aventine hill became a political center for the *plebs,* whose temple officials (*aediles*) delivered the point of departure for the plebeian special magistracy of the aedileship.

Alongside these institutionalized results of systematizing, theological conceptions and programs a rich system of documentation, above all by augurs and priests, secured the tradition and professionalism of the interpretations. The archive of the priests was of greatest significance for the general religion (Rohde 1936). It preserved formulas (*carmina*), instructions and documents (*leges*), and ceremonial directions for the entire *ius sacrum.* The records were precise and pragmatic and seem not to have hesitated to regulate the financing of individual cultic acts. Numa, at least, left to the *Pontifex* documents that not only regulated the rites but also their financing (Liv. 1.20.6). From the 2d century B.C. there was an abundance of Roman writings, largely under Greek influence, on the gods, the cult, the sacred laws, and the prehistory of Roman religion. This genre of writings reaches its height in M. Terentius Varro, whose *antiquitates rerum divinarum,* dedicated to the *Pontifex* C. Iulius Caesar, document both the end of the religion of the Roman republic and the restorative themes of the Principate era.

**C. System and History**

In Roman religion one can trace the development and structuring of a polytheistic system under changing territorial, social, and political conditions. Channeled into *vota, leges templorum, decreta,* and *responsa* and exhibited paradigmatically in historiography, empiricism was incorporated into the religious system. A definite phase of the territorial development of early Rome became part of the ritual of the *Septimontium:* with processions to the *Palatium (Germalus), Velia, Fagutal, Sucusa, Cermalus, Oppius, Cispius* (the names vary in the sources) hills, the status of Rome before the "City of the Four Regions" was recalled. Another phase, the conflicts with the Latin cities, can be detected, for example, in the status of the *Feriae Latinae* with their complicated ceremonial, or, of lesser significance, in the *commune Latinorum templum* of Diana on the Aventine hill.

Up to the end of the republic, both city-building and territorial expansion as well as class tensions remained within Roman religion's range of adaptability and responsiveness. The framework for this adaptability seems to have been the fact that the Romans considered themselves the "most religious of mortals," or, as Cicero put it, *religione ... multo superiores* "with respect to religious observance … for superior" (*de nat. deor.* 2.3.8), when compared with others. Based on this fundamental understanding, empiricism entered Roman religion and did so completely in accord with Roman self-interpretation, something rarely seen in other cultures. Threats, defeats, victories, anomalies of nature, and social conflict were explicit causes for intervention in the traditional status of the cult. Under state regulation, the Romans took up "alien gods" and "experimented" with new forms of worship (e.g. *supplicationes, lectisternia, ludi*), when the occasion arose. The "mythological poverty" of Roman religion did not deprive Roman polytheism of any of its flexibility. Dealing with auspices and portents provided for a steady and clearly conceived interpenetration of state and religious activity, which admitted a wide spectrum of alternatives and innovations.

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**ROMAN TEMPLES.** See TEMPLES AND SANCTUARIES (GRECO-ROMAN).

**ROMANS, EPISTLE TO THE.** The sixth book in the present ordering of works in the canon of the NT.

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A. The Author and Name of the Epistle
B. The Place of Romans
    1. In the Christian Church
    2. In the NT Canon
    3. In the Career of Paul
C. The Text of Romans
D. The Epistolary Form and Occasion of Romans
E. The Argument of Romans
    1. Rom 1:16–17
    2. Rom 1:18–3:20
    3. Rom 3:21–4:25
    4. Rom 5:1–8:39
    5. Rom 9:1–11:36
    6. Rom 12:1–15:13
F. The Literary Character and Style of Romans
G. The Relation of Romans to Other Ancient Literature
H. Some "Problem" Texts of Romans Reconsidered
    1. Rom 1:26–27
    2. Rom 13:1–7
    3. Rom 16:1–7

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### A. The Author and Name of the Epistle

This epistle identifies its author as "Paul … [the] apostle" (1:1). Although a few persons in past centuries have questioned the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Romans, no one in recent years has successfully challenged the epistle's authenticity. Not only do all agree that the apostle Paul was the actual author of this magnificent letter that bears his name, but this epistle is used as the standard against which the authenticity of other epistles attributed to Paul is measured.

As is the case with all of the Pauline Epistles, this work derives its canonical name from the recipients of the letter and not from the name of its author. According to 1:7a, the apostle Paul addressed this epistle to "all God's beloved in Rome" (NRSV). Although some ancient mss omit the phrase "in Rome" in 1:7, the weight of the ms evidence favors the inclusion of this specific place indicator. The omission of the phrase "in Rome" is probably a later attempt to enhance the universal appeal of this epistle.

### B. The Place of Romans

It is difficult to overestimate the significance of the Epistle to the Romans. Coming at a crucial point in the career of the apostle Paul, Romans represents the longest extant Pauline epistle and the most complete exposition of the Pauline gospel. Moreover, this lengthy epistle currently occupies a prominent place in

the canon of the NT and has had a profound and lasting impact on the Christian faith. It is little wonder, then, that Romans has received more scholarly attention than any other Pauline epistle.

**1. In the Christian Church.** Paul's Epistle to the Romans has been first and foremost in the lives of many Christians. The first words that Augustine of Hippo read, after hearing a child next door say, "Pick it up, read it," were from Romans (i.e., 13:13). As a result of this incident, Augustine was immediately converted to the Christian faith (*Confessions* 8.12) and went on to become the most influential theologian of the next millennium. The first NT lectures that Martin Luther gave, after becoming a doctor of theology at the University of Wittenberg, were on the Epistle to the Romans (1515–16). The outcome of Luther's struggle to understand this epistle was the Protestant Reformation, which had a dramatic impact not only on the Christian church but also on all of Western civilization. And the first major writing in the prolific career of the Swiss theologian Karl Barth was a commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Romans (1918) whose impact was like the falling of "a bomb on the playground of the theologians" (Karl Adams). This commentary represented a break with the prevailing schools of theological thought and inaugurated a new era of theological investigation in the 20th century. In a very real sense, then, Romans has been a source of inspiration and reform since its composition. In the early Church, during the Middle Ages, and on into modern times, Romans has left its indelible mark.

The Epistle to the Romans has also contributed significantly to the history of Christian doctrine. Almost every influential Christian thinker has dealt with Romans. Origen, Thomas Aquinas, and Philip Melanchthon, to mention only a few, wrote noteworthy commentaries on Romans. And numerous theological notions have been derived solely or in part from Romans. Augustine acquired his idea of original sin from Romans 5, Luther gained his understanding of justification by faith alone from Romans 3–4, John Calvin obtained his doctrine of double predestination from Romans 9–11, John Wesley got his distinctive teaching on sanctification from Romans 6 and 8, and Karl Barth learned of the importance of the righteousness of God from Romans 1 and 2. In short, this epistle has exerted a powerful influence on all branches of the Christian Church, and its impact on the lives and thought of prominent Christian thinkers through the years has been second, perhaps, only to the canonical gospels.

**2. In the NT Canon.** In the current arrangement of NT books, Romans follows immediately after the four gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John) and Acts. In its present position, therefore, Romans is the first epistle in the NT as well as the first of thirteen epistles in the NT ascribed to the apostle Paul. Because the present ordering of the Pauline Epistles is based roughly on the length of the writings—from the longest to the shortest, first those addressed to churches (Romans to 2 Thessalonians), then those addressed to individuals (1 Timothy to Philemon)—the position of Romans in the canon indicates to the reader that Romans is Paul's longest extant epistle to a church.

But Romans has not always occupied this prominent position, for the order of the epistles within the Pauline corpus has varied throughout the ages. Romans was the fourth of ten Pauline Epistles in the mid-2d century canon of Marcion, and Romans is listed last among the letters of Paul in the Muratorian canon of ca. A.D. 200. In fact, Romans does not appear in canon lists in its present position at the head of the Pauline corpus until the 4th century and later.

But even after it assumed its position of preeminence among the letters of Paul, Romans, contrary to the present English order, was not the sixth book of the NT nor did it follow Acts. In the 4th-century uncial ms cod. Sinaiticus (and also in the 6th-century ms cod. Fuldensis) Romans comes immediately after the four gospels and before Acts, an order that was followed in the Greek NT of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible printed in 1514.

In almost all Greek mss of the NT, however, the seven Catholic Epistles (James; 1 and 2 Peter; 1, 2, and 3 John; and Jude) follow Acts and precede the Pauline Epistles. In these mss, therefore, Romans is the thirteenth book of the NT, and it follows the epistle of Jude. This placement of Romans and the rest of the Pauline corpus may have been due in part to Paul's view that he was "the least of the apostles" (1 Cor 15:9), whereas the Catholic Epistles were associated with the so-called "pillars" of the apostolate (Gal 2:9). But the fact that Paul's writings were addressed to specific churches and persons may also have made them less appealing than the more general address of the Catholic Epistles.

In its present position as the first Pauline work in the NT, Romans serves as an introduction to Pauline thought. Moreover, because of its present position following Acts, the detailed treatment of the missionary career of Paul in the second half of Acts serves as an introduction to the Pauline corpus. In the current arrangement, therefore, Acts ends with Paul in Rome (Acts 28:16–31), then follows the Apostle Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

**3. In the Career of Paul.** Romans also occupies a significant place in the career of the apostle Paul, for it was written relatively late in the life of Paul. At the time of writing Paul admits that he has completed his mission to the eastern Mediterranean world, having "fully proclaimed" the gospel of Christ "from Jerusalem and as far round as Illyricum" (15:19 NRSV). Paul then informs the Romans that he is heading to Jerusalem with aid for less fortunate believers in that region (15:25).

A relative chronology of the Pauline Epistles can be constructed by means of references in Paul's genuine epistles to the Jerusalem collection. This collection was inaugurated at the apostolic council described in Galatians 2, when Paul agrees to "remember the poor" (Gal 2:10). The collection was introduced to the Corinthians in 1 Cor 16:1–4, where Paul provides directions for collecting money. Then in 2 Corinthians 8-9 (esp. 8:6, 10; 9:1) Paul exhorts the Corinthians to complete what they have begun. When Paul writes Romans, he is ready to travel to Jerusalem with what has been collected among the gentile believers in Macedonia and Achaia (Rom 15:25–26). Prior to the time of writing Romans, therefore, Paul had already written Galatians, and 1 and 2 Corinthians, in addition to 1 Thessalonians (believed to be Paul's earliest extant epistle), and perhaps Philippians as well.

Moreover, Romans is heavily indebted to those epistles that have gone before. As G. Bornkamm (1963: 2–14) has rightly pointed out, a number of topics that are present in Paul's earlier epistles surface in Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Among those topics are justification by faith and not by works of the law (Galatians 3–5; Philippians 3; Romans 1–4); the fatherhood of Abraham (Galatians 3; Romans 4); Adam as the head of the old order of humanity and Christ the head of a new order (1 Cor 15:21–22, 45–49; Rom 5:12–19); the church as Christ's body composed of diverse elements (1 Corinthians 12; Rom 12:4–8); the need to exercise personal freedoms with consideration for the consciences of others (1 Corinthians 8–10; Romans 14–15)—to name only a few. But in Romans, Paul does not merely reiterate these ideas; rather he reformulates and refines them. Romans, therefore, evidences a greater theological maturity than the other Pauline Epistles.

Although we do not know this from Paul's own writings, the visit to Jerusalem that Paul announces in Rom 15:25 results in his being taken into custody briefly in Jerusalem (Acts 21:27–23:30) before being transferred to Caesarea, where Paul remained in prison for no less than two years (23:31–26:32). Having appealed to Caesar (Acts 25:11) Paul is then conducted to Rome (Acts 27:1–28:16), where he remains in custody for two years (Acts 28:17–31) until his execution ca. A.D. 62, a few years before the Neronian persecutions of A.D. 65–68. With this chronology in mind, Romans was written at the height of Paul's apostolic career, ca. A.D. 55–57.

Paul probably wrote this epistle from the city of Corinth. In 2 Cor 1:16, Paul tells the Corinthians that he intends to depart from Corinth for Judea once the gentile offering is complete. Then, at the time that Paul announces to the Romans his impending trip "to Jerusalem with aid for the saints" (Rom 15:25), the collection is complete, and the Roman province of Achaia (whose capital is Corinth) is named as a prominent contributor (Rom 15:26). Moreover, if chap. 16 is accepted as part of the original epistle (see discussion below), then Paul's commendation to the Romans of the deacon Phoebe from Cenchreae (16:1–2), which is the eastern seaport of Corinth, is another reason for believing that this epistle originated in Corinth.

It would appear most likely that Paul composed his Epistle to the Romans during his final three-month stay in Corinth (see Acts 20:2–3) not long before his departure for Jerusalem. The Epistle to the Romans, therefore, is the apostle's last epistle as a free man, and coming at this late stage in his life, Romans represents Paul's mature thought.

**C. The Text of Romans**

Fragments of the Epistle to the Romans are preserved in a number of ancient Greek papyri. The earliest and most complete is $p^{46}$, one of the Chester Beatty biblical papyri from about the year A.D. 200, which contains portions of Romans 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16. The complete text of Romans is preserved in the earliest uncial mss that belong to the best ancient text-type (Alexandrian), including the 4th-century codex Sinaiticus, the 4th-century codex Vaticanus (B), and the 5th-century codex Alexandrinus (A), to name only a few.

Although scholars are in agreement that the apostle authored this epistle, there has been much discussion in recent years over exactly what Paul wrote to the Romans and what, if anything, has been added to his work. In other words, while accepting the essential authenticity of Romans, many have questioned the integrity of the epistle.

Several scholars in recent years have argued unsuccessfully that the Epistle to the Romans is actually composed of two or more writings, and its composite nature is the result of post-Pauline redactional activity. Schmittals (1975) perceives in Romans two distinct letters written to Rome at different times, along with some Pauline material not originally addressed to Rome and some later non-Pauline material. Scroggs thinks that Romans is composed of "two self-contained and completely different homilies" (1976: 274). O'Neill (*Romans* PNTC, 11) asserts that the original Epistle to the Romans suffered corruption through the incorporation of brief marginal glosses into the text at an early date and longer editorial sections that were added to supplement the epistle. Nevertheless, none of these scholarly views has been widely accepted.

Another challenge to the integrity of Romans was mounted by Bultmann (1947: 197–202). Because Rom 2:1, 2:16, 6:17b, 7:25b and 8:1, 10:17, and 13:5 appear to disrupt the logic of Paul's argument, Bultmann identified these verses as glosses, or brief marginal notes, that have found their way into the text of Romans. But not everyone has been persuaded by Bultmann's judgment on all of these verses.

The most extensive discussions regarding the integrity of Romans, however, have centered on three somewhat related textual problems. The first problem was mentioned in section A above, namely, the absence in some ancient mss of "in Rome" in 1:7, and the omission in others of the phrase "who are in Rome" in 1:15. Codex Boernerianus (G), a Greek mss with a Latin interlinear version, deletes the name of Rome in both verses. But textual critics agree that neither of these omissions represents earlier readings of the text. Rather these variants are best understood as deliberate attempts by later scribes to eliminate the specificity of the epistle and thereby make its contents more generally applicable.

The chief textual difficulties, however, concern the termination of Romans. At this point the textual history of the epistle is quite complicated. One significant textual problem is the doxology, which many of the best Greek mss (Sinaiticus, B) print at Romans 16:25–27. Other mss include the doxology after 14:23 (L, ms 044), one important witness ($p^{46}$) places the doxology after 15:33, a few have it at the end of chap. 14 and then again at the end of chap. 16 (A, P), and some mss omit the doxology altogether (G).

The variability in the placement of the doxology, coupled with its distinctive stylistic and theological features, have led most scholars to conclude that these verses were not a part of the apostle Paul's original Epistle to the Romans. But whether the doxology is a fragment from another Pauline work that was added later or simply a non-Pauline insertion cannot be determined conclusively.

The problem of the doxology, however, is related to another textual difficulty in the termination of the epistle. Serious questions about the authenticity and integrity of the rest of chap. 16, as well as chap. 15, have been raised. Evidently, by the 2d century the epistle existed in a 14-chapter version, a 15-chapter version, and a 16-chapter version.

Although the 14-chapter version is not preserved in any extant ms, there is indirect evidence to support its existence. According to Origen (*comm. in Rom.* 7, 453), Marcion used a 14-chapter version of Romans in the 2d century. Moreover, this shortened form of Romans is attested to indirectly in the ms tradition by the varying placement of the concluding doxology. Because of its character and tone, this doxology must have stood at the end of the letter. For this reason, the presence of the doxology after 14:23 in a few mss (L, ms 044, Origen) is indirect testimony to the existence of a short version of Romans, even though those witnesses in their present form contain chaps. 15 and 16.

But although the textual evidence suggests that the 14-chapter version of Romans is early, this version was probably not original. The deletion of chaps. 15–16 may be related in some mss to the practice of omitting the specific addresses in Rom 1:7 and 1:15. The desire to eliminate the specificity of Romans and thereby gain for this work a more universal appeal may also have been the motive behind the elimination of chaps. 15–16, which contain Paul's future travel plans and greetings to individuals.

The original form of the letter, in any case, must have been either the 15-chapter or 16-chapter version. But here the ms evidence is not sufficient to determine conclusively which version is original.

Until relatively recently, the 15-chapter version was conjectured purely on the basis of internal arguments. By Paul's own admission he has never visited Rome (1:10; 15:22), but in Rom 16:3–15 twenty-six persons are greeted by name. Would Paul have known so many people in a place that he had not visited? Moreover, Paul is not in the habit of greeting addressees by name. Paul usually communicates only a general and collective greeting, so would he have greeted specific individuals and groups even if he knew so many?

Finally, some of those on the list are associated more closely with the eastern Church than with the western Church. Prisca and Aquila, who are greeted in Rom 16:3–4a, were in Ephesus (1 Cor 16:8, 19) at the time of the writing of 1 Corinthians. Andronicus and Junia(s) who are greeted in Rom 16:7 Paul describes as having been "in prison with me," most likely at Ephesus. Epaenetus, who is greeted in Rom 16:5b, is called "the first convert in Asia," the capital of which is Ephesus.

Such internal evidence for the 15-chapter version of Romans as the original form of the epistle has also found some external, textual evidence since the discovery in 1935 of the Chester Beatty papyrus of the Pauline letters ($p^{46}$). This oldest extant mss of the Pauline corpus (from the early 3d century) contains the doxology between 15:33 and 16:1, and from this mss, therefore, one can infer the existence of a tradition that concluded Romans with chap. 15. See CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI.

Manson (1948), who accepts the 15-chapter version as original explains the existence of the present 16-chapter version by assuming that Paul made two copies of the epistle. While the 15-chapter version was sent to Rome, the 16-chapter version was addressed to a church other than Rome, most likely to the church at Ephesus. Nevertheless, although the 15-chapter version is no doubt ancient, the question remains about whether this version is the oldest tradition.

Prompted by the careful textual study of Gamble (1977; and the insight of Donfried 1970), however, the tide of scholarly opinion is shifting to a renewed appreciation of the integrity of the 16-chapter version of Romans (minus 16:25–27). Gamble's comparison of the style and structure of Pauline epistolary conclusions has shown that all of the elements of chap. 16 are typical of Paul's conclusions. Moreover, without chap. 16 the 15-chapter version lacks a proper epistolary conclusion. In other words, if chap. 16 is not original, then the original ending has either been lost or displaced.

Finally, Gamble has shown that some of the unusual features of chap. 16 can only be understood if chap. 16 was addressed to Rome. One of the most prominent unusual features is the list of explicit greetings to individuals and groups which comprise most of the chapter (16:3–15). But the presence of twenty-six names in chap. 16 does not prove that this chapter is not original. Because Paul had not visited Rome, it was to his advantage to mention the names of those Roman believers who he knew from churches elsewhere. Moreover, Paul describes these persons in laudatory terms, which enhances their position in the community and reflects positively on Paul's status in the church. In this way, Paul presents himself as one who was not unknown to the church at Rome.

This textual difficulty regarding the termination of the epistle, it should be noted, has significant interpretive significance. If the 15-chapter version is the original form of the epistle, then there is no reason to believe that Paul had any accurate information about the church at Rome. If, however, the 16-chapter version is original, then Paul must have known something about the church at Rome through his contact with members of the Roman church elsewhere in the Roman empire.

Although a detailed description of the textual history of the Epistle to the Romans is not within the scope of this article, one additional textual matter is worthy of note, namely, the unusual textual problem found in Romans 5:1. Here the ms evidence strongly favors the subjunctive "let us have" (*echōmen* in

Sinaiticus*, A, B*, C, D, Vg, cop$^{bo}$). The internal evidence, however, supports the less well-attested indicative "we have" (*echomen* in Sinaiticus$^{a}$, B$^{3}$, P, cop$^{sa}$), because other verses in this passage (see 5:2, 9–11) offer evidence of an indicative context, and the immediate concern of these verses is clearly with description rather than with exhortation. Because the *o* and *ō* were virtually indistinguishable in pronunciation during the Hellenistic age, the original indicative *echomen* may have been mistakenly understood as the subjunctive *echōmen* at an early stage of dictation, and the repeated use of this text in preaching may also have encouraged a hortatory understanding of the verb. For contextual reasons the indicative (*echomen*) is the preferred reading in 5:1, but the textual evidence for this variant is such that the subjunctive reading has had and continues to have its proponents.

**D. Epistolary Form and Occasion of Romans**

The uniqueness of the Epistle to the Romans cannot be overlooked. Romans is the only extant epistle written by Paul to a church that Paul did not found. In fact, Paul wrote this epistle to a community that he had never even visited (Rom 1:10f.). Unlike 1 Corinthians, therefore, Romans is not a response to specific questions addressed to Paul by the community. Unlike Galatians, Romans is not a reaction to heretical teaching. And unlike the other Pauline epistles, the body of Romans does not exhibit an obvious "occasional" character. Paul confines his personal remarks largely to the beginning (1:1–15) and the ending of the epistle (15:14–16:23), and the occasional character of "the frame" of the letter appears to have little effect on the central section of Romans (1:16–15:13). The very structure of this epistle, therefore, helps to explain the tendency down through the years to understand Romans as a theological treatise or as "a compendium of the Christian religion" (Philip Melanchthon, *Loci Communes Theologici*), which contains pure, "objective" doctrine (so Nygren 1949:4–9) untainted by historical circumstances.

Nevertheless, the current scholarly consensus is that Romans is like the Pauline epistles in that it is an actual letter. Although Romans is Paul's longest and most systematic work, it is still an epistle, not a manifesto, or a treatise, or a position paper. As such, Romans exhibits an obvious epistolary form. First comes the salutation (1:1–7) that identifies both the author (1:1–6) and the recipients of the letter (1:7a) and includes the apostle's characteristic greeting ("Grace … and peace …" [1:7b]). Then, after the thanksgiving (1:8–15) comes the body of the letter (1:16–11:36), which is followed by the paraenetic or hortatory section (12:1–15:13). Finally, Paul relates his travel plans (15:14–33), then he closes with greetings (16:1–16) and a benediction (16:20).

In addition to the epistolary form, however, Romans also has an epistolary occasion. But the question debated by modern scholars is whether the occasion for Paul's Epistle to the Romans is to be found in the situation in Rome or in the life of the apostle Paul. Many scholars, including C. H. Dodd (*Romans* MNTC), T. W. Manson (1948), Nygren (1949), G. Bornkamm (1963), J. Jervell (1971), and C. E. B. Cranfield (*Epistle to the Romans* ICC), argue that Romans was prompted primarily by Paul's own situation in life—his impending journey to Jerusalem, his future visit to Rome, and his eventual mission to Spain. It is not uncommon for these scholars to accept the 15-chapter version of Romans as original. After all, they argue, if chap. 16 was not a part of the original epistle, then we have no evidence that Paul knew much about this community that he had never visited (Rom 1:10). What he did know about was his own situation in life, and that is what prompted his writing to the Romans.

Other scholars, including K. P. Donfried (1970, 1974), P. Minear (1971), J. C. Beker (1980, 1989), and R. Jewett (1986), to name only a few, argue that although Paul had not yet visited Rome (Rom 1:10; 15:23), he did in fact know something about that community. Accepting the 16-chapter version of Romans as the original form of the epistle, these scholars note then Paul apparently had many friends and acquaintances in Rome (some twenty-six, to be exact) who could have informed him of the community situation.

But how would Paul have met these Romans Christians, if he had not visited their city? According to the 1st century historian Suetonius in his *Lives of the Caesars*, the Roman Emperor Claudius in A.D. 49 "expelled from Rome the Jews who were constantly stirring up a tumult under the leadership of *Chrestus*" (*Claud.* 25.4). As a result of Claudius' edict of A.D. 49 some of the Jewish-Christians were expelled from

Rome. According to Acts 18:2, Prisca (Priscilla in Acts) and Aquila were among those expelled who Paul met elsewhere.

The fact that good cases can be made for both of these two scholarly views may indicate that each side has an element of the truth. In other words, it could very well be that in addressing the needs of the Roman community Paul finds that his present and future situation in life has applicability to the situation at Rome.

But what was the situation at Rome? Here one must piece together bits of information from the epistle itself. Because Paul directly addresses both gentiles (1:13, 11:13) and those of Jewish background (2:17, 3:9), the Christian community must have been a mixed congregation. Most likely, Jewish Christians founded the church at Rome, and some of these same Jewish Christians, like Priscilla and Aquila (Acts 18:2), may have been expelled from Rome by the Emperor Claudius in A.D. 49. When the ban was lifted after Claudius' death in A.D. 54, many of the exiled Jewish Christians may have returned to Rome. But these returning exiles may have been surprised to find that the small group of gentile Christians that had remained in Rome had grown considerably during their absence. Without a doubt friction between the returning Jewish Christians and the resident gentile Christians must have resulted.

In 15:15 Paul admits that "on some points I have written to you rather boldly by way of reminder …" (NRSV). Problems of coexistence with Jewish Christians may have arisen in this largely gentile congregation: the gentile Christians were now in the majority and may have been all too willing to overlook the contribution of the Jewish Christian community. In chap. 14, Paul counsels the gentile Christians to be more tolerant of Jewish believers and their distinctive religious practices (14:3, 5–6, 14). One reason that Paul writes Romans, therefore, is to counsel the church on Jewish-gentile relations in the hopes of establishing the one church of Jews and gentiles. But this does not explain fully Paul's reason for writing this particular letter to this Christian community.

Paul goes on in chap. 15 to say that he has completed his work in the East (15:19), and now he wants to move on to Spain (15:23–24). Rome would be an ideal point of transit (if not headquarters) for his Spanish mission (15:24). Since Paul has not yet visited Rome (15:22), another reason that Paul writes this letter is to introduce himself to the Roman Christians. But the Romans may have already heard about Paul and his law-free gospel (see Rom 3:8), so Paul takes this opportunity to explain his gospel more fully and also to respond to possible objections to it. Although this is another important reason for writing, it is not a sufficient explanation for Paul's writing this letter to the Roman community.

On several occasions in Romans, Paul has stated that he is an apostle whose ministry is directed to the gentiles (1:5, 13, 14; 11:13; 15:16, 18). Because of the large gentile population in the community at Rome, Paul has often longed to visit the imperial city (1:10–15). To date, however, Paul has not paid such a visit (1:13; 15:22), evidently because his mission has involved proclaiming the good news "not where Christ has already been named, so that I do not build on someone else's foundation" (15:20). Since Rome already has an established Christian community, Paul has viewed other areas of the E Mediterranean world as higher priorities. But now that he has finished his work in the East (15:19b) and wants to move on to Spain (15:24a, 28), Paul intends to visit Rome (15:24b).

But Paul again will be delayed, for at the time of writing he is preparing to go to Jerusalem to deliver the gentile collection (15:25). Paul, "an apostle to the gentiles" (11:13), feels compelled to explain to the Romans his reason for doing this, lest they be offended by his decision to go "to the Jew first" in Jerusalem, and only after that "to the Greek" in Rome and beyond. A third reason, then, that Paul writes Romans is to apologize for his further delay in visiting Rome.

Finally, Paul asks the Romans to participate by means of their active intercession in the offering that he is about to deliver: "join me in earnest prayer to God on my behalf …" (15:30b NRSV). Paul is concerned about the possibility of persecution, so he asks the Romans to pray "that I may be rescued from the unbelievers in Judea …" (15:31a NRSV). Paul is also concerned about the acceptability of the offering, so Paul asks them to pray "that my ministry to Jerusalem may be acceptable to the saints …" (15:31b NRSV). Therefore, a fourth and final reason that Paul writes Romans is to appeal for prayer support.

In short, no single reason accounts for the writing of Romans. Several factors converge, including the situation in Paul's life at the present time and also the situation in Rome. Although Paul does not reveal the factors that prompted his writing until chap. 15, these several factors have in fact influenced the length, scope, and duration of Paul's argument in the first 14 chaps.

**E. The Argument of Romans**

Although scholars concur that Romans contains the apostle's longest and most systematic argument (1:16–11:36), there has been much discussion about the structure of the argument in this important Pauline epistle. Part of the problem stems from the fact that Romans 1–4 differ considerably from Romans 6–8. The discussion in chaps. 1–4 is carried out primarily in the third person, while the discussion in chaps. 6–8 is in the first and second person. Moreover, in chaps. 1–4 Paul repeatedly refers to the Jews (1:16, 2:9, 10, 17, 28, 29; 3:1, 9, 29) and the gentiles (1:5, 13; 2:14, 24; 3:29; 4:17, 18), but in chaps. 6–8 all such references are absent. And finally, there exist significant lexical differences. Terms prominent in chaps. 1–4 (such as "faith" [*pistis*] and "wrath" [*orgē*]) are lacking in chaps. 6–8 where new terms (such as "life" [*zōē*] and "spirit" [*pneuma*]) predominate.

As a result of these and other differences, most scholars perceive two phases of Paul's argument in Romans 1–8. Traditionally, 5:21 was understood as the conclusion of the initial phase of the argument and 6:1 as the beginning of a new phase (so Sanday and Headlam *Romans* ICC, and most Protestant commentaries from the 16th through the 19th centuries; recently, Wilckens *An die Römer* EKK).

But N. Dahl (1951: 37–48) argues persuasively that the theme of chap. 6 is to be found in the verses that immediately precede in 5:20–21. Therefore, contrary to the traditional understanding of the structure of the epistle, a new phase of Paul's argument does not begin at 6:1. Furthermore, by printing a synopsis of Rom 5:1–11 and 8:1–39 Dahl shows that "chapter 8 contains a fuller development of the themes which are briefly stated in 5:1–11" (ibid., 39), and this fact also argues in favor of connecting chap. 5 with chaps. 6–8. For these reasons, Dahl sees 5:1 as the beginning of a discussion that extends through chap. 8, a conclusion that supported the work of some previous commentators (notably Barth 1933; Dodd; and Nygren 1949) and has been supported by others since (so, e.g., Cranfield; Käsemann 1980; Meyer in *HBC* 1130–67; and Beker 1989).

Another problem in the structure of Romans, however, is a result of the obvious break between the climactic conclusion of chap. 8 and the somber note sounded at the beginning of chap. 9. This raises the question of how chaps. 9–11 are related to chaps. 1–8. Are chaps. 1–8 "the main argument" of the epistle (Sanday and Headlam, 225) to which are appended chaps. 9–11? Or do chaps. 1–8 serve merely as an introduction to the climactic discussion of chaps. 9–11 (Baur 1876: 315; Stendahl 1976: 28–29)? While many contemporary scholars are unwilling to call chaps. 9–11 the "climax" of Romans, most would be even less willing to call these chaps. an "appendix." In these chaps., Paul responds to the questions first posed in Rom 3:1–4 and then answered with a brief "By no means!" The subsequent discussion in chaps. 9–11 shows that Paul's notion of grace, which was the subject of chaps. 3–4, does not invalidate God's promises to Israel. As a result, the discussion in chaps. 9–11 is hardly an afterthought.

These are some of the questions that continue to plague scholars who acknowledge the systematic form of the argument in Romans but who account for this form in different ways. Nevertheless, all agree that the central argument in Romans is without parallel in biblical literature. For that reason, a brief overview of the argument of Romans 1:16–11:36 and its practical application that follows in 12:1–15:13 is in order.

**1. Rom 1:16–17.** The central argument of the epistle begins with a thematic statement (1:16–17) that picks up on the notion of proclamation from v 15, where Paul has expressed his "eagerness to proclaim the gospel to you also who are in Rome" (NRSV). The theme is introduced by the assertion, "For I am not ashamed of the gospel; it is the power of God for salvation to everyone who has faith, to the Jew first and also to the Greek" (1:16 NRSV). Here Paul acknowledges the salvation-historical priority of the Jews in his remark "to the Jew first," but he also refutes Jewish exclusivism when he adds, "and also to the Greek." The relationship between Jew and Greek in salvation history will be unfolded in greater detail in Romans 9–11.

Paul goes on to say, "For in it the righteousness of God is revealed through faith for faith; as it is written, 'The one who is righteous through faith shall live' " (1:17). That is to say, the gospel reveals exactly how God justifies or puts people right with himself: it is through faith from beginning to end. The OT quote from Hab 2:4 supports this notion that the one who is put right with God by faith shall live.

Romans 1–8 elaborate on the Hab 2:4 quote of Rom 1:17. Chaps. 1–4 treat being put right with God "through faith." This section climaxes in 3:21–30, and the climax is then supported by the example of Abraham in chap. 4. Chaps. 5–8, on the other hand, treat Christian existence in light of God's act of justification. Here Paul considers the life that should be led by one who is righteous through faith.

**2. Rom 1:18–3:20.** In the first part of the argument in chaps. 1–4, Paul portrays the human dilemma by demonstrating that both Greek and Jew deserve divine condemnation and punishment when judged on the basis of their "works." Paul begins the argument with an indictment of the gentiles (1:18–32). Although Paul does not explicitly identify this group in these verses, the references to idolatry in 1:23, 25, indicate that the gentiles are intended. Paul states that through the creation God has clearly revealed himself to the gentiles as omnipotent and divine Creator (1:18–20). But the gentiles, "though they knew God" (1:21a), did not give God the reverence and thanksgiving due him (1:21b). Instead, they became idolaters (1:21a–23), the result of which was all manner of sordid behavior that violates the divine will (1:24–31) and makes them worthy of divine condemnation (1:32).

In the next section Paul addresses an unspecified "you" (2:1a), although this is identical to the direct address of 2:17 where "a Jew" is named. In any event, the "you" who self-righteously passes judgment on behavior described in 1:24–31 is guilty of self-condemnation, "because you, the judge, are doing the very same things" (2:1c). In other words, the addressee in 2:1–5 stands in the same condemnable position before God as the one judged does in the eyes of the addressee.

But Paul goes on to argue that no one escapes God's impartial and just judgment (2:6–11). God will repay every person for what he or she has done (2:6). People will get exactly what they deserve, either reward (2:7) or punishment (2:8). God judges everyone ("the Jew first and also the Greek," 2:9, 10) alike, "For God shows no partiality" (2:11).

But because God judges "according to each one's deeds" (2:6), the Jew is as deserving of divine condemnation as is the gentile (2:12–29). God revealed his will for his people through the law. Yet mere possession of that law (2:12–24) is not enough to save Jews, because it is only "doers of the law who will be justified" (2:13b). Moreover, mere circumcision (2:25–29) is insufficient unless "you obey the law" (2:25). The failure of Jews to live up to the requirements of the law (2:17–24) annuls their circumcision (2:25) and is grounds for their condemnation. In fact, when redefined in terms of "deeds," traditional Jewish "advantages" are opened up to gentiles, who by keeping the law (2:14–16) can have the benefits of circumcision attributed to them (2:26).

But if the Jew is no better off than the gentile, what benefit is there to being one of God's chosen persons? Of course, the Jew has certain "advantages" over the Greek (3:1), such as possession of "the oracles of God" (3:2). But in light of God's impartial judgment, the Jew is no better off than the Greek (3:9a). The Jew and the Greek are "under the power of sin" (3:9b), and Scripture itself supports Paul's point (3:10–18). Being under the power of sin, therefore, people are unable to put themselves right with God "by works of the law" (3:20).

In 1:18–3:20 Paul has described the impartiality that characterizes all of God's judgments. God is absolutely just and will judge everyone by what they do. God will reward those who do good and punish all who sin, regardless of their ethnic background. But Paul had also demonstrated the universality of sin and the universal inability to be put right with God by means of what one does. The result is the human predicament: being under the power of sin, people are powerless to put themselves right with a just God, and therefore, they are worthy of condemnation and death.

**3. Rom 3:21–4:25.** In the second part of the argument in chaps. 1–4, Paul presents God's response to the human predicament and begins to discuss the implications of that response. First comes the divine solution to the human predicament (3:21–26); Paul states that God has now revealed the way of being put right with him. It has nothing to do with (works of) the law (= "apart from law," 3:21a), which becomes

the topic of 3:22–30. Nevertheless, this way "is attested by the law and the prophets" [ = the Scriptures] (3:21b), the topic of 3:31–4:25.

Since no one is able ("all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God," 3:23), God puts people right with himself (3:22a). God puts right with himself all who believe [in Jesus Christ] (3:22b). But being put right with God is not earned; it is merely "by his grace as a gift" (3:24a). Being put right with God was achieved through Jesus Christ, whom God offered up as a sacrifice for human sin (3:25–26a). As a result, God is both just (= "righteous") and the justifier of "the one who has faith in Jesus" (3:25b–26). By judging sin (through the death of Christ) but forgiving the sinner (through faith in Christ), God is shown to be both just and merciful.

Paul then begins to detail the consequences of the divine solution (3:27–30). In the first place, human boasting is excluded (3:27a), for human achievement is denied. God alone puts people right with himself (see 3:22). Persons merely accept by faith what God has done in Christ (3:27b). That is to say, it is through faith in what God has done, not by doing works of the law, that one is put right with God (3:28).

But if a person is put right with God only through faith (3:28b), then, Paul concludes, there can be no distinction between Jew and Greek. God is the God of Jews and Greeks alike (3:29), and God accepts both Jew and Greek on the same basis: through faith (3:30).

Citing the example of Abraham in Rom 4:1–25, Paul demonstrates that being put right with God through faith "apart from (works of) the law" (3:21a) is the clear testimony of "the law and the prophets" (3:21b). Paul's view, then, "upholds the law" (3:30).

In Rom 4:1–15 Paul uses the example of Abraham in Gen 15:6 to prove that divine approval is a gift and is not dependent on circumcision or obedience to the law. Abraham did not earn God's favor. It was granted to him as a gift, and a gift that must be earned is no gift (4:2–8). Moreover, God's acceptance of Abraham came prior to any mention of circumcision, and therefore divine approval cannot be dependent on circumcision and cannot be limited to those who are circumcised (4:9–12). Neither was the promise made to Abraham dependent on obedience to the law, which came much later (4:13–15). Therefore, from the earliest of time people have been put right with God by means of God's grace through their faith!

Paul then goes on to show in Rom 4:16–25 that Abraham's faith is a type of Christian faith. Abraham is "the father of all of us" (4:16), not only of the Jews, because Christian believers share with Abraham a common faith. Abraham believed in a God "who gives life to the dead and calls into existence the things that do not exist" (4:17 NRSV), so he believed that God would keep his promise to make him the father of many nations (4:17, 18), even though Abraham's body "was [already] as good as dead" (4:19 NRSV). Abraham believed in this God (4:20–21), and for this reason was accepted by God as righteous (4:22). Likewise, Christians are accepted as righteous, because they believe in a God who raises the dead, Jesus Christ the Lord (4:23–24).

According to Romans 1–4, both Jew and Greek are confined under sin and both are liberated and united by faith in Jesus Christ. Because distinctions between Jew and gentile are overcome by God's act in Christ, the discussion of Christian life in chaps. 5–8 omits mention of Jews and gentiles. Not until chaps. 9–11 does Paul return to the topic of Jewish-gentile relations.

**4. Rom 5:1–8:39.** This new life presupposes God's act of justification by grace as a gift (5:1a, which recalls the conclusion reached in 3:28). This act, achieved by God giving up his own son on behalf of those who were "weak" (5:6), "sinners" (5:8), and "enemies [of God]" (5:10), "proves his love for us" (5:8). The result of God's act in Christ, which is received by faith, is "peace with God" (5:1), "freedom from the wrath [of God]" (5:9), and "hope of sharing the glory of God" (5:2).

In 5:12–21 Paul compares Christ with Adam. Adam is the head of the old creation, which has been in bondage to sin and death since Adam's act of disobedience. Christ by contrast inaugurates a new reign of God's grace which "leads to justification and life for all" (5:18) as a result of Christ's act of obedience [unto death] (5:19).

Paul concludes chap. 5 with two radical assertions, the first about the law ("But law came in, with the result that the trespass multiplied …" 5:20a) and the second about sin ("… but where sin increased, grace

abounded all the more …" 5:20b). These two statements prompt the discussion of chaps. 6 and 7. In Rom 6:1–7:6 Paul treats the problem of sin, while in Rom 7:7–25 Paul considers the law.

In response to the assertion of 5:20b that grace abounds where sin increases the question naturally arises, "Should we continue in sin in order that grace may abound?" (6:1). Paul responds with an emphatic, "By no means!" then goes on to explain that believers are no longer controlled by sin, because they have "died to sin" (6:2). Through baptism believers have been united with Christ in his death (6:3–5) so that they are no longer enslaved to sin (6:6). Therefore, having been united with Christ in his death, believers "will certainly be united with Christ in a resurrection like his" (6:5) at a future time.

Paul then uses two analogies in 6:15–7:6 to demonstrate that sin and the law have no power over ones who have been "baptized into [Christ's] death." In the slavery illustration of 6:15–23 Paul asserts that a slave is bound to a single master for life. Death, however, discharges one from servitude to one master and thereby allows one to be enslaved to another. The point is that believers, who were at one time "slaves of sin" (6:17), through baptism have "been set free from sin" (6:18) and have now become "enslaved to God" (6:22a), the result of which is sanctification and ultimately eternal life (6:22b).

In the marriage illustration of 7:1–6 Paul notes that the wife is legally bound to one husband for life. With death, however, she is "discharged from the law" (7:2) and may legally marry another. Similarly, believers have "died to the law" (7:4) through baptism into Christ with the result that "now we are discharged from the law" (7:6).

Paul then turns in 7:7–25 to explain the radical claim about the law that he made in 5:20a. Although "law came in, with the result that the trespass multiplied" (5:20a), Paul asserts that the law is not sin (7:7, 12). Rather the law makes obvious the power of sin which manifests itself in "trespass" and "transgression." Sin uses the good law to take advantage of the weak flesh. The function of the law, then, is to drive people to the point of seeing that there is no way out except through the gift of God's grace in Christ (7:24–25).

Having completed in chaps. 6 and 7 his further explanation of the radical comments in 5:20, Paul returns in chap. 8 to the discussion begun in chap. 5 concerning new life. Here Paul characterizes that new life as "life in the Spirit" (8:9). At present, believers live "in the Spirit," if they are controlled by the indwelling of the Spirit of God. According to Paul, "all who are led by the Spirit of God are children of God" (8:14), and as children are "heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ" (8:17), provided that we suffer with him so that we will be glorified with him.

But Paul goes on to show that possession of the Spirit has a twofold function. In the first place, the Spirit makes believers aware that at present they are not what they should be. Present life is characterized by suffering (8:18), weakness (8:26), and decay since Adam's fall (see Gen 3:17). Believers are not above the world order, but rather identify with the rest of creation as they "groan inwardly" (8:22–25). Furthermore, the Spirit intercedes on their behalf, because their prayers are not adequate (8:27).

But possession of the Spirit also assures believers that they have a future. The Spirit is the "first fruits" or down payment of future redemption (8:23) as adopted children of God. When believers themselves (lit., "our bodies" in 8:24) are conformed to the image of God's son (through the resurrection of the dead and the transformation of the living, which will occur at the parousia), then they shall be brethren of the firstborn son (8:29).

The concluding doxology in 8:31–39 serves as a summary of the entire argument in chaps. 1–8. Here Paul asserts that "God is for us." The "us" refers to "the justified," who are "called," who are God's elect (8:33). If God is for this group of "chosen" people, then nothing can be against them. Since God went to great lengths to justify believers, God will not now indict them. And because Christ suffered, died, and intercedes on behalf of believers, he will not condemn them.

Nothing, then, can separate God's chosen ones from his love, absolutely nothing! Or is there something? Can lack of faith on the part of God's chosen ones separate them from the love of God? This one possible exception is the topic of chaps. 9–11.

**5. Rom 9:1–11:36.** The solemn oath in 9:1–5 stands in stark contrast to the end of chap. 8 where Paul ponders whether anything is able to separate God's chosen people from God's love in Christ (8:35–39). In

chaps. 9–11 Paul ponders the one "exception" that threatens to undermine his confidence, namely, the faithlessness of God's chosen people. Paul expresses deep sorrow in these opening verses going so far as to say, "I could wish that I myself were accursed and cut off from Christ for the sake of my own people, my kindred according to the flesh" (9:3 NRSV), because of Israel's unbelief in Christ.

But Paul's sorrow in 9:1–5 is prompted not only by personal sorrow for the unbelieving members of his own race but also by a grave theological consideration, namely, God's faithfulness in the face of Israel's faithlessness. After all, God made promises to his chosen people Israel in the past. In light of Israel's unbelief in Christ, will God now turn his back on Israel and turn to the gentiles instead (as Paul's mission might suggest)? If this is the case, then hasn't God welshed on his (unconditional) promises to Israel? And if he has welshed on his promises to Israel, what is to prevent him from welshing on his promises to Christian believers at some time in the future? Thus, Jewish unbelief is of concern for gentile believers.

Paul begins by arguing that the present unbelieving state of most Jews does not mean that God's promise has lapsed. Paul reconsiders some important OT events, only to discover that human unbelief is unable to thwart the saving purposes of an all-powerful God. The present situation, where many gentiles are included in the people of God and many Jews are excluded, is in accordance with God's revelation in Scripture, Paul says. According to Hosea (2:25; 1:10), gentiles would be called "children of the living God" (Rom 9:25–26), whereas Isaiah (10:22; 1:9) states that only a remnant of Jews will be saved (Rom 9:27–29).

But even though most of Israel suffers from hardness of heart in the present, God continues to reach out to his chosen people. He has made being put right with God (10:6) a simple matter of faith in the resurrection of Jesus Christ and confession of his lordship (10:9). Moreover, he has brought the message of faith near to the Jews (10:8) through the apostles' preaching of Christ (10:15). But even though "not all have obeyed the good news" (10:16), God continues to reach out to Israel to bring about its obedience: "All day long I have held out my hands to a disobedient and contrary people" (10:21).

To the question, "Has God rejected his people?" Paul gives a negative answer (11:1). Paul then goes on to show that the rejection of Israel by God is partial (11:1–10), temporary (11:11–27), and has had a deeper purpose (11:28–36).

Paul points to his own Christian existence as proof that the Jewish people as a whole have not been rejected. Contrary to what many think, there is a remnant of Jews that will be saved. According to 11:7 Israel is composed of "the elect" and "the rest." Surely the elect will be saved (9:27). The real issue is the destiny of "the rest," who are hardened in unbelief (11:8–10).

Next Paul argues that the rejection of Israel is a temporary condition (11:11–24). He begins by asking, "… have they stumbled so as to fall" (11:11a). Here the "they" refers to "the [unbelieving] rest" of 11:7, "stumbled" alludes to Jews' rejection of Jesus (see 9:32f), and "fall" means to fall from grace eternally. In short, when the Jews rejected Jesus, was it God's intention to cut them off forever?

Paul's response to the question of 11:11a is an emphatic "By no means!" God turned Israel's stumbling into good. It brought salvation to the gentiles, which in turn will "make Israel jealous" (see Rom 10:19 = Deut 32:21). Therefore, God's promise of salvation has not been taken from the Jews and given to the gentiles. The order of events has merely been reversed: to the gentiles first and also to the Jews.

This fact informs Paul's missionary method. In spite of Israel's unbelief, God can reach the Jew via the gentiles and the jealousy that the gentiles' acceptance of the gospel will cause. Therefore, Paul's mission to the gentiles does not overlook Israel; it is at present the most direct way to get at the Jews.

Paul believes that his mission to the gentiles will have an impact on some of the unbelieving Jews (11:14). Note that the rejection of the Jews by God brought about the preaching of the gospel to the gentiles, which resulted in the reconciliation of the world (11:15). If this tragic event (Israel's rejection by God) brought such good results (gentiles' acceptance by God), what will happen when the Jews are accepted (11:15)? God has rejected unbelieving Israel in the present, but has not cast off Israel forever.

Paul then appeals to the metaphor of the olive tree (11:17–24). Here "some of the branches" (11:17a) refers to "the rest," that is, unbelieving Jews (11:7), while "you, a wild olive shoot" (11:17b) agrees with the direct address of 11:13 and must, therefore, refer to a believing gentile. This metaphor illustrates

several points. In the first place, the ingrafting of gentile Christians is something unexpected, unnatural. Gentile Christians are at best "honorary Jews" (so Stendahl 1976: 37) who have become such by adoption. The practical result of this perspective is that gentile Christians must not "boast over the [natural] branches" (11:18), for the gentiles are dependent on the Jews. The gentiles must "not become proud, but stand in awe" (11:20), for God who did not spare the natural branches will surely not spare the wild branches, if they do not continue in their faith. Moreover, God can easily restore the natural branches, if they do not persist in their unbelief (11:23).

In 11:25–32 Paul reveals an eschatological mystery (11:25). The hardening of Israel is limited in extent ("a hardening has come upon part of Israel") and in duration ("until the full number of the Gentiles has come in") (11:25b NRSV). The result is that in the future "all Israel will be saved" (11:26a NRSV). And when will Israel be saved? According to the OT, which Paul cites in 11:26b–27, it will not take place until "Out of Zion will come the Deliverer" (Isa 59:20–21), that is, at the parousia of Christ. At that point Christ "will banish ungodliness from Jacob" (Isa 27:9), which Paul interprets to mean all unbelief on the part of "the rest" of Israel.

In response to the question implied in 9:6a, then, God *is* faithful! God will not take back from his people the gifts of his grace (listed in 9:4f) and their call to salvation (11:29). God's obvious intention is to save all Israel (11:26). Just as the gentiles, who were once disobedient, now have obtained mercy through the disobedience of the Jews (11:30), so too "the rest" of the Jews are now disobedient in order that God may have mercy on all (11:32), both Jew and Greek.

Paul concludes Romans 9–11, and also the whole of Romans 1–11, with a final hymn of praise (11:33–36). Here he states that God's ways of dealing with humankind are miraculous, far surpassing human understanding (11:33–34). Furthermore, no one holds God in his debt. What is received from God is not merited; how God acts is purely according to his will (11:35). Finally, God is creator and sustainer of all, Jews as well as Greeks, and therefore to God alone belongs all glory (11:36).

**6. Rom 12:1–15:13.** Following the lengthy theological argument in chaps. 1–11 comes the paraenetic section of the epistle which begins in 12:1. Having the paraenesis follow the body of the epistle is not unusual in Paul's writings (see also 1 Thessalonians 3–4 and Galatians 5–6). But this arrangement seems especially appropriate in Romans, for it shows that the saving work of God, which is described in chaps. 1–11, is not dependent on obedience to the injunctions of chaps. 12–15. One does not obey in order to earn God's favor. Rather obedience is the result of gratitude for all that God has already done and will continue to do in Christ for those who believe (understanding the *oun,* "therefore," of 12:1 to refer to all that has gone before).

This paraenetic section falls naturally into two distinct sections. While the first section (12:1–13:14) contains many general injunctions that seem unrelated to particular problems in Rome (but see the discussion of 13:1–7 below), the injunctions of the second section (14:1–15:13) are occasioned by and directed at the specific situation in Rome.

The exhortations of Romans 12–13 begin in 12:3 and end in 13:7. Life within the body of Christ is the subject of the first half of this section (12:3–14 [16a]), whereas relationships with those outside the Church are considered in the second half (12:15 [16b]–13:7). These exhortations are framed by an introductory appeal in 12:1–2, which urges Christians to offer themselves wholly and unreservedly to God as a proper service of worship, and by concluding appeals in 13:8–14, which summarize what has preceded and underscore eschatological urgency.

The present structure of 12:1–13:14 shows that the Christian's present life is radically qualified by the imminence of the New Age (13:11–14). Nevertheless, Paul does not conclude that Christians no longer have any responsibilities in the present age. In fact, according to Paul, life in Christ places special moral requirements on the believer. Gifts with which individuals are endowed (12:3–8) are to be used in the service of God, being the means whereby the believer's faith is enacted in love. As in 1 Corinthians 12, Paul in Romans 12 follows his description of spiritual gifts with an appeal to "let love be genuine" (12:9a). Then in Rom 13:8–10 the love command reappears in the summary appeal of the whole section.

In Rom 14:1–15:13, Paul considers the tensions that are present within the believing community between the "weak" and the "strong." In this section Paul describes those whom he calls "weak in faith" (14:1) as ones who "eat only vegetables" (14:2b NRSV) and also "judge one day to be better than another" (14:5a). The "strong," although not mentioned as such until 15:1, are surely those who "believe in eating anything" (14:2a NRSV) and "judge all days to be alike" (14:5b). While they are never identified as such, the "weak" may refer to overly scrupulous Jewish-Christians, who because of their background, consider diet and festal observance matters of significant religious concern. The very fact that Paul has to council the so-called "strong" not to "despise those who abstain" and the so-called "weak" not to "pass judgment on those who eat" (14:3) reveals the tension between these two parties in the Roman community.

But Paul states that "God has welcomed" (14:1) members of both groups into the fellowship and all are advised to "Welcome one another, therefore, just as Christ has welcomed you" (15:7 NRSV). Unity in the community, however, does not require uniformity of behavior (see 14:3, 5–6). But believers must be "fully convinced in their own minds" (14:5b) that what they do is done "in honor of the Lord" (14:6–9), knowing that one day they will have to account for their actions before God (14:10b, 12).

Believers must recognize that their responsibility to fellow believers does not simply involve tolerating the different practices of others. One's own behavior must not injure or alienate others (14:13–23), even if that means giving up some personal rights, such as eating meat or drinking wine (14:21). If believers are more concerned with pleasing others than with pleasing themselves (15:1–2), then those from different backgrounds in Rome can "live in harmony with one another" (15:5) and thereby "with one voice glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" (15:6).

Ultimately, then, this is the purpose of God's act in Christ: to unite Jew and gentile in the praise of God (15:7–13). And that ultimate purpose explains why Paul writes to the Romans (15:14–17), why Paul wants to go on to Spain via Rome (15:18–24, 28–29), why Paul is about to go to Jerusalem with the gentile offering (15:25–27), and why Paul is concerned about the acceptability of his service for Jerusalem (15:30–31).

**F. Literary Character and Style of Romans**

The longest of the undisputed Pauline Epistles exhibits a remarkably varied literary character and style. In this 7,094–word epistle Paul uses a relatively large 1,068–word vocabulary, which betrays the author's familiarity with Greek thought as well as his extensive knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures in their Greek translation (the LXX).

Besides using a varied vocabulary in Romans, Paul employs a wide variety of literary conventions, wider than in any of his other extant writings. Long ago Augustine noted (in *On Christian Doctrine* 4.7) the Apostle's use in Romans 5:3–5 (see also 8:29–30 and 10:14–15) of the rhetorical device known as *climax*. Elsewhere Paul also reveals a familiarity with other ancient rhetorical devices, such as *chiasmus*, a form of parallelism that inverts the order of the elements in the second half of the literary unit (hence, the ABB'A' pattern; see 1:17–18; 2:6–11; 6:3; 11:22; 11:33–36).

The *diatribe* is another important rhetorical device employed by Paul in Romans. In his doctoral dissertation, Bultmann (1910) pointed out the influence of the diatribe on Paul's Epistle to the Romans. But recent studies, particularly by Stowers (1981), have clarified and deepened our knowledge of the subject.

According to recent research the diatribe is actually a form of discourse that was used by teachers in certain philosophical schools to correct students and to refute their objections to the subject being taught. The diatribe, therefore, captures the earnest give-and-take between a pupil and a teacher. With this in mind, one can see that Paul employs the diatribe in Romans when he addresses an imaginary interlocutor (2:1–5; 2:17–24; 9:19–21; 11:17–24; 14:4, 10) and when he responds to objections and false conclusions (3:1–9; 3:31–4:2a; 6:1–3, 15–16; 7:7, 13–14; 9:14–15, 19–20; 11:1–3, 11, 19–20). Paul's conspicuous use of the diatribe in Romans may also indicate something about the original addressees of this epistle. Paul may have known (or at least thought it to be true) that the Romans were a sophisticated, well-educated congregation which would be familiar with this literary device.

In Romans, the longest sustained argument of any extant epistle, Paul skillfully unites the various topics taken up in this lengthy epistle into a single argument. On several occasions, Paul draws together the thought of a longer, more-involved discussion by means of a brief summarizing comment (see 6:11; 7:12; 15:5–6). At other times, the Apostle connects discrete portions of his argument by delaying such summarizing comments until after the next thought-unit has begun. An obvious example of this type of *delayed conclusion* is found in 3:22b–23, where the comment, "For there is no distinction, since all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God," summarizes the discussion of 3:9–20 after a new thought has begun in 3:21 (see also 10:17).

But Paul is also careful to distinguish major sections of the epistle. Thus in 4:25 Paul cites a liturgical fragment to punctuate the discussion begun in 3:21. In 8:31–39 Paul utilizes a hymnlike passage to bring to a close the whole discussion that began in chap. 1 (understanding *tauta,* "these things," in 8:31 as a reference to all that has preceded, at least since 3:21). In 11:33–36 Paul cites a doxological passage to end the discussion of chaps. 9–11, and in 15:13 a blessing serves to round off the previous discussion. In smaller thought-units in Romans, Paul often employs the literary device known as *inclusion.* Here a word or phrase at the beginning of a thought-unit is repeated at the end as a way of concluding the unit (for example, see the phrase "through our Lord Jesus Christ" in 5:11, which recalls 5:1 and rounds out the discussion in 5:1–11).

As a result of these punctuating devices, Romans contains some rather abrupt transitions and sudden changes of mood. But rather than interpreting these abrupt transitions as the result of some post-Pauline redactional activity (so Schmittals 1975; O'Neill *Romans* PNTC; and Scroggs 1976) they are better explained as deliberate attempts to demarcate the various sections of the letter and are not evidence of the composite nature of the epistle. To those who first heard this epistle read aloud these abrupt changes were needed to enable the auditors to distinguish one thought-unit from the next.

Some of the literary style and character of Romans, however, cannot be attributed to the apostle Paul, for there is much tradition cited by Paul in this epistle. In the first place, Paul repeatedly cites the LXX. Romans contains so many quotations from the Greek Bible (some 65 in all) that Martin Luther thought that Paul's intent in writing this epistle was to compose "an introduction to the entire Old Testament" (1522 Preface to Romans).

But in Romans Paul also includes much pre-Pauline and even pre-Christian tradition. For example, Paul cites early creedal fragments (1:3b–4; 4:25), an early Christian hymn (11:33–36), an early Jewish-Christian liturgical statement (3:25), a baptismal tradition (6:4–5), a faith formula and confession (10:9), along with echoes of Christ-sayings (12:14, 17; 13:7; 14:13, 14). Some of the pre-Pauline paraenetic materials, such as the vice list in 1:29–31 and the imperative cluster in 12:9–13, may be pre-Christian. But Paul did not merely cite these traditions. He interpreted what he inherited by adding words and phrases in order to fit the occasion and his audience. The Epistle to the Romans, therefore, is not solely the product of Pauline originality.

All in all, the epistle that has as its theme "the power" of the gospel (1:16) is written in a style that is appropriate for the message. This epistle is forceful, but not angry like Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. Moreover, Romans is argumentative, but not contentious like Paul's Corinthian correspondence. But as is the case in the other Pauline writings, the literary character of Romans is also influenced by the audience that Paul addresses. The more sophisticated and more erudite style of Romans, in comparison to the other Pauline epistles, suggests that the community which Paul addresses is unlike his own congregations. Therefore, Paul wrote this epistle in a manner that he thought would enlighten and also persuade believers in Rome.

**G. The Relation of Romans to Other Ancient Literature**

Before World War I, Adolf Deissmann published his ground-breaking work (1910). Whereas previous scholars had compared NT works to the literature of Plato, Demosthenes, and other authors of classical antiquity, Deissmann endeavored to compare the literature of the NT with the plethora of nonliterary papyri that had been uncovered of late in Egypt. On the basis of this comparison, Deissmann distinguished between "letters" (*Briefe*), which were private, unliterary, and clearly occasional

communications, and "epistles" (*Episteln*), which have the outer form of a letter but are actually artful literary products intended for public consumption and written for posterity. According to Deissmann, the writings of the apostle Paul were real letters and not literary epistles (1926: 9–12).

Not all scholars are satisfied with Deissmann's absolute distinction between the letter and the epistle, particularly as it applies to Romans. Although most admit that Romans is occasional in nature, this work is not a casual correspondence written hurriedly and haphazardly. Neither is this work a private, informal communication. On the contrary, Romans is a well-thought-out, authoritative communication that is intended to serve as a substitute for Paul's personal presence (Rom 15:25–27).

The enduring contribution of Deissmann, however, was his awareness of the need to compare the NT writings with the wide variety of Hellenistic literature. This careful comparison has continued to be a vital part of Romans research in recent years, the thought being that the discovery of the rhetorical genre to which Romans belongs may provide some clue about Paul's intention in writing Romans. And a clearer sense of the rhetoric in Romans sheds valuable light on the structure of the argument.

Basing his work on the research of M. L. Stirewalt (1977: 175–206), K. P. Donfried suggests that Romans evidences the characteristics of the "letter-essay" (1977: 143–48). Stirewalt examines fifteen ancient Greek documents that he classified as "letter-essays," because the more personal epistolary features of these writings seem to be giving way to the more impersonal features that characterize an essay. These writings often function as a summary of earlier work, and they seem to assume a third party (not only "I" and "thou," but also "they"). The summary character and the public nature of Romans suggest that this writing may also exhibit characteristics of the "letter-essay," Donfried asserts.

S. Stowers (1986: 114) classifies Romans as a "protreptic letter," a type of letter which is modeled on the protreptic speech that goes back to the Sophists. Protreptic works usually urge one to adopt a new way of life, and to do so they sometimes include a refutation of objections. In Romans, Paul introduces his gospel and himself as an authoritative teacher to the Roman Christians. Moreover, in Romans, Paul answers objections to his gospel and reproaches those who, through arrogance or pretentiousness, will not accept his gospel. All of these features, argues Stowers, are typical of the protreptic letter.

Other scholars have considered the whole of the Epistle to the Romans in relation to ancient Hellenistic literature by means of rhetorical criticism. After determining the conventional parts of a rhetorical composition through a careful examination of the contents of ancient rhetorical handbooks, these scholars (notably W. Wuellner 1976: 152–74; G. Kennedy 1984: 152–54; and R. Jewett 1986: 382–89) then analyze Romans in terms of its rhetoric of argumentation.

Although there is no scholarly consensus at the present time, further comparisons of Romans with other ancient Hellenistic literature is assured. And although this type of scholarly research is still in its infancy, such analysis promises to shed new light on the perennial problems of the author's intent, the structure of the argument, and the climax of the epistle.

**H. Some "Problem" Texts of Romans Reconsidered**

Several passages in Romans, which down through the years have had a deleterious effect on the social, political, and moral realms, have received special scholarly attention in recent years. Three texts in particular have been the subject of considerable study: Rom 1:26–27, which deals with the subject of homosexuality; Rom 13:1–7, which concerns the Christian's responsibility to the state; and Rom 16:1–7, which provides valuable testimony about the role women played in the first generation of the Christian Church.

**1. Rom 1:26–27.** In the course of indicting gentile unbelievers in 1:18–31, Paul refers to women who "exchanged natural intercourse for unnatural" (1:26 NRSV) and men who "giving up natural intercourse with women, were consumed with passion for one another." (1:27 NRSV). Rom 1:27 is the clearest statement in the NT regarding the issue of homosexual behavior between consenting adult males, and Rom 1:26 is the only biblical text that addresses the particular issue of homosexual behavior between consenting females. Because of their clarity, these verses have served as a biblical warrant for singling out homosexual behavior as the grossest of sins and for discriminating against those who engage in such behavior.

Greater awareness of the historical context and a greater appreciation of the literary context of Paul's remarks in Rom 1:26–27, however, have forced a reconsideration of these verses. True, homosexual behavior between consenting adult males was a capital offense in ancient Israel (Lev 18:22; 20:13), but so were such "heinous" crimes as consulting a medium or wizard (Lev 20:6), cursing your father or mother (Lev 20:9), and engaging in sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman (Lev 18:19; 20:18).

Apparently, homosexual behavior among consenting males was quite rare among Israelites. Nowhere in the historical literature is this practice mentioned. More importantly, prophetic denunciations of Israel's sins do not include homosexual behavior. The result is that among Jews, homosexual behavior was perceived as a "gentile" phenomenon and practice.

Although homosexual love (usually in the form of pederasty, the love of an older man for a younger) enjoyed a relatively prominent place in ancient Greek social life beginning in the 6th century B.C., homosexuality was viewed differently in the world of the 1st century A.D. To be sure, it was still practiced among some segments of society, but moral philosophers were beginning to question its merit. Homosexuality was viewed as grossly self-indulgent, essentially exploitative, and an expression of absolutely insatiable lust. The same desire that drove men to female prostitutes could, unless kept under control, drive men to seduce other men. Homosexuality was also seen as a violation of the natural order. Since heterosexual intercourse was necessary for procreation, this was "natural," whereas sex between same-sexed partners was "unnatural."

It is vital to note that Paul's presuppositions about homosexuality in Romans 1 are similar to those of his contemporaries. Paul's choice of the active verbs "exchanged" (1:26) and "giving up" (1:27) assumes that homosexuality is an activity freely chosen. Paul's use of the phrase "consumed with passion" (1:27) reveals the belief that homosexual behavior is associated with insatiable lust and unbridled passion. And Paul's remarks concerning the giving up of "natural [heterosexual] intercourse" (1:26, 27) in favor of "unnatural" (1:26) understand homosexuality as a violation of the natural order.

It is also important to note that Paul describes homosexuality as the consequence of idolatry. In 1:18–23 Paul indicates that the source of gentile "ungodliness and wickedness" is their failure to give honor and thanks to God, who has revealed himself to all through the creation. "So they are without excuse" (1:20b). Rather than worshipping the Creator, they worship the creation instead (1:23, 25). And their fundamental confusion regarding the true entity of God ("they exchanged the truth about God for a lie and worshiped and served the creature rather than the Creator …" 1:25) results in a basic confusion about their own sexual identity ("they exchanged natural intercourse for unnatural," 1:26). Homosexual conduct (and the other vices catalogued in 1:29–31) is due to the sin of idolatry.

But Paul's description of the gentile world in Romans 1 is not original. As the striking parallels with the Wisdom of Solomon (chaps. 11–15) indicate, Paul is heavily indebted to the traditional Hellenistic Jewish picture of gentile sinners. Homosexual behavior, which was believed to be a typically gentile practice, is understood as a consequence of their refusal to let God be God.

But Paul's argument does not conclude with the description of the gentile world. At 2:1, Paul's indictment of the gentiles' behavior turns to "the man" (the Jewish boaster of 2:17?) who self-righteously judges that behavior. The one passing judgment is not innocent, because no one is guiltless, when judged purely on the basis of what one does before an impartial and just God (2:1–11).

While Paul obviously accepts the description of the gentiles in Romans 1, this is not the point of the initial chapter of Romans. Paul's description of the gentiles is intended to provoke self-righteous Jewish pride, so that Paul can destroy it in chap. 2 by showing them that they sin against the law. Paul is simply leading up to the point that "all people, both Jews and Greeks, are under the power of sin" (3:9b), so that he can introduce the topic of the reality and power of God's redemptive grace for all (3:21–8:39).

Even within Romans 1, homosexuality is perceived not as one of the "sins" of the gentiles, but as one of the consequences of their root sin of refusing to let God be their God. Therefore, homosexuality cannot be singled out in this chapter, for Paul says that those who do such things (1:32a), or they that approve of others doing them (1:32b), or they that pass judgment on those who do them (2:1) are all worthy of condemnation. In other words, "all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God" (3:23).

**2. Rom 13:1–7.** The Apostle Paul's admonition to "be subject to the governing authorities" (13:1a) on the grounds that "those authorities that exist have been instituted by God" (13:1c) has caused much needless suffering and much misery even in the 20th century. This passage seems to lend support to any existing government, regardless of how tyrannical or how corrupt, and any governmental policy, however repressive or unjust. This passage has been invoked by Christians to put down revolt, support war, and justify genocide. In fact, many Christians in Hitler's Germany appealed to this text as the decisive biblical warrant for obedience to the Nazi regime. And it has been regret over the Church's alignment with the Nazi regime that has forced a reconsideration of these verses, particularly by German biblical scholars.

Again, a careful reading of the text along with an awareness of the historical context is essential for understanding this problem passage. It must be noted that Paul does not say "obey" or "disobey" governing authorities. He instead speaks of "being subject" (13:1, 5), which can include disobedience.

In Rom 13:1–2, Paul states that the authority of the governing authorities has been granted them by God. Here Paul is indebted to Hellenistic Judaism, which understood that earthly rulers had no authority except what God had given them (see Prov 8:15–16; 24:21; 1 Pet 2:17). But authority was not a license to do whatever one wanted. Tradition also held that earthly rulers were accountable to God for their own actions and were liable to God's judgment (see, for example, Wis 6:1–11).

In Rom 13:3–4, Paul argues that earthly rulers function as servants of God to employ the authority granted them for the common good. According to Paul governing authorities are "God's servants" and not divine representatives. Their authority is recognized, for it is given by God, and their rightful task is to serve. The proper function of governing authorities is to assure the welfare of society by punishing those who do wrong and by supporting those who work for what is good.

In Rom 13:5, Paul advances a third point by repeating the opening admonition to "be subject" not only for fear of punishment but also "for the sake of conscience." Up to this point Paul has argued for being subject to governing authorities, because they are God's servants for the maintenance of law and order. Now he says one must be subject "for the sake of conscience." This refers to the capacity to reflect critically upon what is appropriate given the realities of existence. Therefore, Paul argues that if one thinks carefully and reasonably about it, subjection to the authorities will commend itself as a wise and prudent course. This passage sums up the argument to this point, but the conclusion and real point of the paragraph comes in 13:6–7.

In Rom 13:6–7, Paul states exactly how one should comply with the demands of the governing authorities: by paying taxes. Everything in 13:1–5 has been leading up to the topic of "taxes" in 13:6–7. But the way that the admonition is worded suggests that Paul has a specific issue in mind.

Rom 13:7 is an admonition, which uses two different words (*phoros* = "taxes" in the NRSV, and *telos* = "revenue" in the NRSV) to refer to taxes due, in contrast to 13:6, which is a statement that mentions only "taxes" (*phoros*). Moreover, the admonition in 13:7 stresses the need to render "to all what is due them" (NRSV).

What Paul apparently refers to in v 6 is direct taxes, which were collected by government officials. The reference to "revenue" in 13:7 is probably a reference to indirect taxes (such as harbor fees, import and export duties), which were collected by Roman citizens known for their exploitation the public. The Roman historian Tacitus (*Ann.* 13.50) says that public displeasure with the corrupt practices of these citizen collectors of "revenues" reached a climax in A.D. 58. As a result of the widespread discontent, Nero almost abolished these taxes, but instead he simply reformed the system.

Paul's letter to Rome was written in ca. A.D. 55–57, while public pressure was building against abuses of revenue collectors. If the Roman church included some well-to-do people, then these would be ones most affected by revenue abuses. If this is true, then Paul is urging Roman believers to continue paying the direct tax (13:6) and also the controversial indirect tax (13:7). Paul urges the paying of whatever taxes are levied. This will prevent punishment for tax evasion, which is a reasonable thing to do as a sign of respect for law and order.

Rom 13:1–7, therefore, was originally directed to a specific situation in Rome during the mid-50s. When these words were composed, several years before Paul's own death at the hands of the Romans and

before the Neronian persecutions of the 60s, Paul must have been fairly confident that the Roman government would be just. Nevertheless, Paul's thought about the governing authorities in these verses is not original; he was indebted to the Hellenistic Jewish tradition that he inherited. But Paul uses that tradition to address a specific situation in Rome, because Paul did not believe that Roman Christians should become embroiled in the tax issue. For that reason, the point of the discussion is the concluding admonition: "Pay to all what is due them" (13:7).

**3. Rom 16:1–7.** The problem with this passage is that it has for so long been overlooked. After all, on the surface these verses appear to be little more than commendations and greetings, material that is hardly worthy of any scholarly scrutiny. Nevertheless, in recent years this passage has been found to contribute some important pieces to a larger puzzle about the role(s) of women in the first generation of the Christian movement.

In Rom 16:1–2 Paul recommends to the Romans (assuming that chap. 16 is a part of the original letter to Rome; see the discussion in section C, above) a woman named Phoebe from the port city of Corinth. Note that she is identified as a *diakonos,* and although at this time "deacon" is not the formal office that it becomes at a later stage in the early Church, the woman Phoebe must have been a prominent figure in the church at Corinth. Moreover, the fact that Paul recommends to the recipients of his letter a woman who comes from the place where Paul wrote Romans suggests that Phoebe probably delivered Paul's letter to the Romans, not an insignificant task.

In Rom 16:3–4, Paul greets Prisca and Aquila, a woman and her husband. According to Acts 18, after this man and his wife (called Priscilla in Acts) were expelled from Rome by the Emperor Claudius, they met Paul in Corinth (Acts 18:1–3). Acts also states that this husband-wife team later "expounded to [Apollos] the way of God more accurately" (Acts 18:26). In Rom 16:3, Paul, contrary to ancient practice, greets Prisca before Aquila, which may indicate that Prisca was the leader of the team. In any event, Paul calls both Prisca and Aquila *synergoi* ("fellow workers"), a title reserved for important leaders (for example, Apollos, 1 Cor 3:9; Titus, 2 Cor 8:23; Timothy, 1 Thess 3:2).

In Rom 16:7, Paul greets two apostles who Paul describes as "prominent among the apostles, and they were in Christ before I was" (NRSV). One of these apostles is a man, Andronicus. But the other apostle, who was an apostle before Paul himself, may be a woman and the spouse of Andronicus. Most English translations merely transliterate the Greek text and render *Ioudian* as "Junias," a male name that is otherwise unattested in antiquity. But the name in the Greek text is in the accusative case, because it is the direct object of the sentence. That same name in the nominative (subject) case could be "Junia," which was the Greek version of a common Roman name for a woman. If "Junia" is the correct name in this verse, and this reading is gaining wider acceptance (so the REB and NRSV), then here is evidence that women were apostles at a very early stage in the Christian movement.

These few verses testify, therefore, that Paul knew of women in positions of leadership in the early Church and that he acknowledged their authority. These verses also reveal that the practice in the first generation of the Church's existence differed from the practice of the later Church, which is reflected in 1 Tim 2:11–3:13. Apparently, in Paul's day women were not denied the right "to teach or have authority over men …" (1 Tim 2:12). In Paul's churches, those who led were the ones most-gifted spiritually (see 1 Cor 12:4–11, where Paul's remarks do not bar anyone from participation in the various offices listed). As a result, women had access to prominent roles of leadership in the earliest generation of the Church. Paul's own testimony suggests that in reality women were among his closest associates in ministry and that women were among the most prominent leaders in the early Church.

Rom 16:1–7, therefore, lend additional support for understanding 1 Cor 14:33b–36 as a non-Pauline insertion and for recognizing Paul's remark that "there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal 3:28b) as most expressive of Paul's attitude toward women.

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**ROME** (PLACE) [Gk *Rhōmaios* (Ῥωμαιος)*, Rhōmē* (Ῥωμη)]. ROMANS. The Italian city-state (Lat *Roma*) which by the 2d century B.C. ruled an empire encompassing the Mediterranean basin and much of its hinterland. References to Rome occur throughout the book of 1 Maccabees and the NT, especially the book of Acts. See also ROMANS, EPISTLE TO THE.

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A. Archaic Rome
B. Republican Rome
C. Late Republican Rome
D. The Empire
E. The Late Empire

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### A. Archaic Rome

The foundation of Rome is obscured by legend and the lack of adequate archaeological material to form substantive hypotheses. Tradition accepts the 753 B.C. founding date proposed by the 1st-century B.C. antiquarian, M. Terentius Varro, and links Rome's origin with the legend of its eponymous founder, Romulus (Bloch 1960: 11–92; Alfoldi 1965: 101–76). That Rome began as a small pastoral, agricultural settlement of Latins at a ford across central Italy's most important river, the Tiber, seems clear enough. Legends of early conflict with a neighboring village of another early Italic people, the Sabines, are also

relatively well confirmed by archaeological evidence (Scott 1929: 21–69; Poucet 1967: 5–136). The synoecism of Latin and Sabine villages produced the town, *Roma quadrata,* ruled by kings. The social system there developed was strongly patriarchal and organized on the basis of families and clans, with their headmen forming an advisory council to the kings, known as the Senate. All Roman citizens, *Quirites,* comprised an assembly called the *Comitia Curiata,* as much a religious body as a civic council. The governmental and societal structure of the monarchical period is best elucidated in the works of Palmer (1970: 67–287) and de Francisci (1959: 25–624).

The transformation of Rome from rustic village to city proper must be credited to Etruscans who seized the Tiber crossing around 600 B.C. and proceeded to drain the marshy land between Rome's hills, pave extensive areas, build a city wall, and construct large brick, stone, and masonry public buildings and private edifices. Territorial expansion was effected by its Etruscan rulers and Rome developed into the leading city-state of central Italy. In addition to Rome's physical development as a city, the formulation of its legal and religious systems must in large part be attributed to Etruscans. Etruscan influence continued long past the termination of the Etruscan monarchy as many of the leading men of Rome's new republican government were nobles of Etruscan origin (Alfoldi 1965: 176–419; Scullard 1967: 243–84; Ogilvie 1976: 9–124).

**B. Republican Rome**

Traditionally established in the year 509 B.C., the Roman Republic, in Latin *res publica* signifying simply "government" or "public thing," was in essence an oligarchy of nobles whose rule continued with little interruption for almost five centuries. After resolving a long protracted struggle between patrician aristocrats and plebeian commoners by temporarily opening in 366 B.C. the ruling oligarchy to the wealthiest and most influential plebeians, an internally unified Rome was able to turn its attention to the rest of the peninsula (Heurgon 1973: 156–221; Raaflaub 1986: 1–377). In rapid succession, Latium, Campania, Umbria, Etruria, and finally an ever resistant Samnium fell to Rome through treaty of alliance or military conquest, and a unified Italian peninsula was prepared to face the growing power in the western Mediterranean of Phoenician Carthage (Salmon 1982: 1–90; Sherwin-White, 3–133).

Rome's conflict with Carthage spanned a century and was resolved in three bitterly contested Punic wars (I, 264–241 B.C.; II, 218–201 B.C.; III, 149–146 B.C.). The system of alliances and citizenship grades established by Rome for its Italian subjects and allies weathered the test of Carthaginian invasion and Hannibal's efforts to foment rebellion. Italian unity and extensive manpower resources overcame Carthage, and at the beginning of the 2d century B.C., Rome possessed an empire in the W Mediterranean including Spain, NW Africa, S Gaul (France), and the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica (Scullard 1980: 146–239; Toynbee 1965: 247–82, 505–55).

For administrative purposes these territories were organized into provinces governed by senatorial proconsuls and propraetors, whose responsibilities entailed the maintenance of peace and order, the adjudication of disputes, and the supervision of tax revenue collection (Stevenson 1939: 1–93; Badian 1972: 11–118). This pattern of provincial administration prevailed as the primary mode of organizing Roman territory, including expansive regions acquired by Rome in the E Mediterranean. Some areas were organized into provinces, but others were governed in Rome's behalf by local dynasts who became client kings ultimately subject to Rome's Senate (Badian 1958: 55–115).

Questions related to Rome's involvement in E Mediterranean affairs and gradual domination of the region are complex. Imperial versus economic concerns as cause for Roman expansion continue to be debated (Hatzfeld 1919: 17–50, 192–382; Harris 1979: 54–131). Gruen's recent work (1984) offers a thorough treatment of the Roman conquest of Hellenistic monarchies, providing much useful information on political motivation and the effect exerted by philhellenism initially as a motivating factor and later as a determinant of Roman cultural and societal development. In addition to his discussion of Hellenistic influences on the Near East, Peters (1970) provides an excellent outline not only of Roman conquest and subsequent provincial organization, but also of the Roman cultural impact upon the region.

With the acquisition of the greater part of the Mediterranean and its hinterland, wealth flowed to Rome from its provinces and subject peoples. A cosmopolitan city developed that began to rival even

Alexandria as an economic and mercantile center. From throughout Italy individual Romans and Italians, many exposed to the luxuries of the East through soldiering in the campaigns that had brought the area under Rome's dominion, sold farms and property to move to the capital and partake in the "good life" which slowly deteriorated the old-fashioned upright mode of life earlier Romans had practiced and honored as *mos maiorum.* By the mid-2d century B.C., Rome was a city with serious problems that would ultimately prove detrimental to its entire empire (Alfoldy 1988: 29–65). In addition to crime and lawlessness, a new landless proletariat comprised of those who had used up personal fortunes in pursuit of pleasure, constituted for Rome's ruling senatorial order the necessity of a public welfare system to provide for the ever-increasing indigent and unemployed, who without their small farms to work and untrained for other tasks, were unemployable. Indeed, for survival the mob had recourse only to its citizen rights and sold to politicians in exchange for support of social programs or other favors, their one commodity of value: votes and political support. Such goods of trade were welcome to the ruling elite who had not only enriched themselves as a result of overseas conquests and private land acquisition at home, but who had developed among one another intense political rivalries for office, power, and influence (Brunt 1971: 1–73).

**C. Late Republican Rome**

The nobility's battles for prestige and political preeminence were initially waged in three arenas, the Senate, the electoral and legislative assemblies, and perhaps most importantly in a reorganized court system whose complex structure lent itself more to the manipulation of political factions than to the determination of justice. Here many political careers began and ended as the false accusation was developed as a potent political weapon, while the skilled orator plied the legal trade first as attacker or defender of senatorial nobles, and finally as participant in both the senatorial order and its political combinations (Gruen 1968: 8–278).

During the last century of the Roman Republic, political factions were many and varied. Whether a particular senatorial faction supported increased rights and largesse for the commons and sought to obtain these through legislative means within the popular assembly, or instead opposed the extension of such privileges through obstructing the people's institutions and protecting closed senatorial prerogative, determined inclusion among the broad categories of people's supporters, *populares,* or supporters of the aristocracy, *optimates* (Taylor 1949: 1–70). All segments of Rome's citizen body, whether residents of the city proper or citizens living throughout Italy, took greater interest in public affairs and played a more direct and active role in the politics of the time. Heightened political awareness produced strident demands among particular parts of the population. The urban poor clamored for more government supports; Italian allies claimed citizen rights; soldiers insisted upon mustering out benefits; equestrian businessmen sought a more extensive role in determining fiscal policy, etc. Roman society of the 1st century B.C. was segmented into special interest groups whose dictates threatened to destroy the entire community and nearly did (Alfoldy 1988: 65–93; Brunt 1971: 74–156; Beard and Crawford 1985: 1–87).

Military reform abolished induced military service on the part of land-owning citizens, instituting instead a professional army in which could serve anyone for whom the pay might be sufficient. Soldiers' allegiance underwent transferral from the state to individual commanders who were careful to maintain their troops' loyalty with rewards of money and booty (Gabba 1976: 1–69). Natural results of these changes were greater military involvement in the political arena and the ultimate resort to force as a mode of political determination. Consequently, three civil wars were fought in the last century B.C. to settle political problems or disputes. The first, the so-called Social War or "war of the allies," saw the defeat of a segment of Italian allies (Lat *socii*) who seceded when repeated petition for full Roman citizen rights went unheeded, but were in defeat ultimately granted citizenship as soon as the necessity of politically incorporating the whole of Italy was realized at Rome. The other two conflicts were fought over control of the Roman political system and rule of the Roman world by rival politicians and their followings: Marius versus Sulla in the 80s B.C. and Caesar against Pompey and a few senatorial oligarchs in the 40s (Gabba 1976: 70–130; Taylor 1949: 71–255). The complex historical problems of the era are best analyzed and elucidated in Gruen's thorough treatment of 1st century B.C. politics (1974: 1–596).

The city itself witnessed tremendous growth during the period, both in terms of population increase and in physical structure. Politically motivated government construction projects resulted in a record number of new public buildings and temples. Dudley (1967) and Coarelli (1974) provide the most complete physical description of the city for this period of the late Republic as well as for that of the early empire which accounted for even greater expansion and construction.

**D. The Empire**

Caesar's military triumphs not only added much of W Europe to Rome's empire and brought to an end the political conflicts and wars of rivalry between *optimates* and *populares,* but more importantly produced a political stability which coincided with Caesar's governance of Rome as *dictator perpetuus*—king in all but name. His reign was a benevolent sort of monarchy that oversaw much needed reform in many spheres, but assassins' knives cut it short and hurled the state once more into political chaos (Gelzer 1968: 102–335).

Leaders of the conspirators, Caesarian political lieutenants, and Caesar's posthumously adopted son and heir, Octavian Caesar, either struggled to succeed to Caesar's power or to protect themselves from those who attempted to do so. After several civil wars the protracted military and political struggle came to an end with the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra by Octavian who remained sole claimant to his father's authority. Hailed as deliverer and restorer of peace and order by a Senate now filled with his own supporters, Octavian established a new government with monarchical powers cloaked in traditional constitutional trappings. In return for sharing power with a grateful Senate happy to oversee peaceful non-military provinces while the *princeps* or emperor retained control of frontier provinces with their troop concentrations, Octavian was rewarded with the title Imperator Augustus Caesar, and received lifetime powers of governance as well as semidivine honors. The empire was thus established and by literary, religious, and artistic propaganda was quickly legitimized and made attractive to Rome's citizens. The much heralded *pax Augusta* did, in fact, provide for an empire at peace for the first time in over a century. Political stability gave rise to economic prosperity, while efficient government in Italy and the provinces won for Augustus the approval of his subjects. Population increased, new cities were established and old cities expanded. In no place was there such a change as in Rome itself where the emperor's building projects transformed the urban area into a beautiful city of marble buildings, monuments, and temples. On a less-extravagant scale the same process occurred not only throughout Italy but also in the provinces where leading citizens were granted Roman citizen rights and romanization was begun in earnest (Syme 1939: 1–568; Jones 1970: 1–189; Taylor 1939: 100–246; Firth 1902: 1–366; Millar and Segal 1984: 1–219).

Through a complicated process of intermarriage among his descendants and his step-descendants, Augustus provided for a succession designed to remain within the family of the Julians and the Claudians. His immediate four successors—the Julio-Claudian emperors Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero—were, except perhaps for Claudius, poor administrators more concerned with personal indulgence than the improvement of Rome or its empire. However, save for political unrest in the capital, and that largely between several of these emperors and more independent segments of the senatorial class, the empire continued in an expansion cycle characterized by peace and prosperity, so well had Augustus set the proper course. As a result of Nero's excesses and tyrannies revolution came at last. From this civil war emerged a new dynasty, the Flavians, who would rule almost until the beginning of the 2d century A.D. They in turn were succeeded by five emperors elected by the Senate upon their predecessor's recommendation of high moral character and competence to govern. Because such criteria were applied to the designation of new emperors during most of the 2d century, the empire prospered (Garzetti 1974: 3–861; Salmon 1944: 1–366; M. Rostovtzeff 1926: 38–124).

In the opening lines of his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* the renowned Gibbon praises the Roman Empire during the era of the 2d century as at the height of its civilization.

> … the Empire of Rome comprehended the fairest part of the earth, and the most civilized portion of mankind. The frontiers of that extensive monarchy were guarded by ancient renown and disciplined valour. The gentle, but powerful, influence of laws and manners had gradually cemented the union of

> the provinces. Their peaceful inhabitants enjoyed and abused the advantages of wealth and luxury. The image of a free constitution was preserved with decent reverence. The Roman senate appeared to possess the sovereign authority, and devolved on the emperors all the executive powers of government. During a happy period of more than four score years, the public administration was conducted by the virtue and abilities of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines.

Gibbon's eloquent prose is only slightly exaggerative. Rather, it is a fairly accurate description of a period of growth during which Britain, Dacia, and the Mesopotamian region were acquired and organized into provinces. The extent of Roman territory would never be greater. The frontier was protected by efficient legions, assisted by local auxiliary troops which functioned to garrison the now fortified borders (*limites*) of the Empire (Luttwak 1976: 7–126). Population growth, thriving industry, and widespread trade insured economic expansion which stimulated urbanization. Not only Italy, but most provinces of the empire were occupied by residents who lived in towns and cities and practiced an urban lifestyle (Rostovtzeff 1926: 125–343; Garnsey and Saller 1987: 43–162; Alfoldy 1988: 94–157). Governmental forms changed little, the emperor continued to rule with supreme authority, though, as previously noted, the 2d century witnessed the rule of emperors who observed constitutional forms and were assisted in their governance by the upper classes of society, the Senate and the equestrian order, members of which occupied high office and filled the roles of provincial governors. Administrative organization was still not too complex. Except for a few equestrian civil servants, most bureaucratic functions were performed by freedmen or slaves of the emperors for whom private and public affairs were frequently mixed (Millar 1977: 59–363; Talbert 1984: 163–493).

Yet despite the material prosperity of the period, individual dissatisfaction with stale Greco-Roman religious forms and increasingly pedantic philosophic discourse questioned traditional ethical and metaphysical systems, embracing instead new salvation-oriented religions arising in eastern sections of the empire or beyond. Mithraism and Christianity were the most popular of the cults that offered a personal religion, and their spread and acceptance, sometimes peacefully but frequently not, occasioned societal changes whose full effect upon the empire would not be realized for a century and a half. It was the chaos of the 3d century A.D. soon to follow, which witnessed the incredible increase of these religions and allowed for the sweeping changes of the 4th century (Ferguson 1970: 88–274; Mattingly 1954: 5–95).

**E. The Late Empire**

Military and governmental stability was provided Rome by early rulers of the Severan dynasty, but economic woes as well as political, religious, and social dissonance produced strains in the fabric of the empire. Weaknesses and oddities of the last Severan emperors contributed to societal deterioration which by the third decade of this turbulent 3d century A.D. had so declined that the empire was nearly destroyed in a few short years (MacMullen 1966: 163–268; Alfoldy 1988: 157–85). During the fifty years from the death of Severus Alexander in 235 until the accession of Diocletian in 284, twenty men ruled as emperor at Rome, while others ruled elsewhere either as pretenders to the imperial throne or as local dynasts over parts of the empire which had segmented into several separate realms. Civil wars more continuous and intense than those that had gone before devastated population, wealth, and resources. In the East a resurgent Parthia deprived Rome of territories and along the European *limites* the long restrained press of semicivilized humanity poured across borders denuded of legions utilized elsewhere in battle with forces of rival claimants to Rome's once considerable power. To Aurelian and a handful of his successors, all soldier emperors from Illyria, goes credit for reacquiring most of Roman territory (Rostovtzeff 1926: 344–449; Brauer 1975: 3–267; MacMullen 1976: 48–214).

Under the last of these, Diocletian, stability was reestablished and there emerged a new transformed society, more the precursor of the Middle Ages than emulator of classical antiquity. Military reform ended reliance on standing frontier garrisons as the primary defense structure of a realm whose population was too small to support any but the new mobile field armies that accompanied Diocletian and his colleague emperors, each administering a quarter of the empire. The term tetrarchy aptly describes the reformed government that managed a hierarchical system of smaller administrative units, the dioceses and provinces. The balanced and efficient organization of Diocletian gave new life to the empire but

functioned less effectively under successors whose rivalries were responsible for initiating Christian persecutions as an aspect of the politics of oppressing or currying favor of a group that had grown to comprise so large a portion of the population. After a decade of civil war a proponent of Christian rights and recipient of Christian support, Constantine, gained supreme power and provided Rome, once more, with but a single ruler (Williams 1985: 24–230; MacMullen 1987: 1–184; Lot 1961: 5–54; Luttwak 1976: 127–94; Jones 1964: 21–76). Many of Diocletian's military and administrative reforms were continued by Constantine in his centralization of authority under a court which accompanied the emperor, wherever he might journey. The reformed mobile army had reestablished the prowess of Roman arms and continued to assist the frontier militia in maintaining the integrity of Roman borders. Administration and society in the era of the late empire is most fully and effectively described in Jones' masterwork *The Later Roman Empire* (1964: 77–1024). Economic problems of inflation and unemployment resulted in price controls and job restrictions which produced hereditary occupation castes and discouraged change of residence. More persons became engaged in farming and individuals became tied to particular parcels of land. Urban society declined and country life flourished in the agricultural economy. Local aristocrats commanded country militias and provided immediate protection to residents against frontier incursions until such time that the emperor's armies could arrive. The seeds of medieval feudalism were thus sown (Lot 1961: 55–127; Claster 1982: 9–57). A repercussion of the struggles between pagan and Christian that characterized the era of Constantine's heirs was the decline of educational institutions and with them the extirpation of classical culture (Smith 1976: 21–144; Lot 1961: 128–87; Dodds 1965: 1–138; Laistner 1951: 1–74). It is perhaps fitting that Constantine had established a new capital for this increasingly Christian empire. The name of Rome's empire remained, but Rome no longer ruled. Rome came to be but another city in the empire of Constantine and his successors, the Senate but a town council. Any authority Rome would possess in the new era ironically derived from the very Christianity which was perhaps ultimately responsible for damaging the preeminent position Rome had occupied in the Mediterranean world for six centuries before Constantine. Moreover, for the first time in over a thousand years Rome had ceased to govern itself, and rather was governed first from Constantinople, later from Mediolanum (Milan) or other seats of the divided empire in the West (MacMullen 1987: 139–240; Lot 1961: 187–309; Smith 1976: 120–250). See also ROMAN EMPIRE.

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**ROME, CHRISTIAN MONUMENTS AT.** In Romans 16:4, the apostle Paul refers to a housechurch in Rome, the first of many Christian remains in Rome. One may assume the presence of several other such housechurch congregations (v 15). According to Roman tradition there were twenty-five of these private dwellings (*tituli*) which eventually became the basilicas of Rome. Archaeological studies show there are no extant churches of Rome which unquestionably evolved from a private dwelling of the 1st century, though many of the title churches have incorporated in their structures pre-Constantinian edifices such as a bath (Sta. Pudentiana) or even a Mithraeum (S. Clemente). SS. Giovanni e Paolo may constitute an exception. The foundation of that building incorporates a 1st-century shop complex. One particular room was used by an early Christian community prior to the 4th century. The second and third stories of the shop complex became a meeting hall early in the 4th century. Though not developed from an apparent domicile, SS. Giovanni e Paolo did maintain a continuity of worship from a single room to the present-day basilica.

The earliest extant constructed church in Rome was S. Crisogono in the Trastevere. At approximately A.D. 300, the Christians of that area built a hall 33.8 m long and 19.8 m wide. That first hall lacked furniture, *confessio,* and divisions for laity and clergy. About the end of the 4th century, an apse was constructed, a *confessio* added in front of the apse, and an incipient choir screen inserted, which served as a divider. Within the city proper the first constructed church was S. Giovanni in Laterano. This five-aisled building was started about 313 by Constantine.

Parallel developments occurred with burial edifices. Outside the walls of the city, the Christians of Rome developed an extensive network of catacombs for burial purposes. Often a catacomb developed around a nucleus of special dead. The first monument to appear in such a nucleus was the *martyrium* (e.g., the martyrium for SS. Cassius and Florentius in Bonn). Such a development can be seen at the catacombs associated with Sta. Agnese and S. Lorenzo. Parallel developments occurred at S. Sebastiano and St.

Peter's, but the presence of a *martyrium* cannot be ascertained. At these extramural sites, Christians ate meals (*refrigeria*) celebrating the death of the martyr, the special dead and their own family dead. In about the year 240 in the catacomb at S. Sebastiano, they constructed over the original nucleus a larger structure (*triclia*) for eating with the dead. Eventually several such nuclei were honored by large covered cemeteries (*coemeteria subteglata*). Built by Constantine after 313, these edifices were quite long (as much as 100 m), circular at one end with a clerestory supported by an interior columnar structure. All had attached mausolea. Six such structures are discernible: Sta. Agnese, S. Lorenzo, S. Sebastiano, SS. Pietro e Marcellino, St. Peter's, and Tor de'Schiavi. A circular imperial mausoleum attached to Sta. Agnese has survived as Sta. Constanza. SS. Pietro e Marcellino and Tor de'Schiavi, both likely imperial burial sites, exist only as ruins. Sta. Agnese and S. Lorenzo have suffered the same fate, but surviving churches in honor of the saints were built adjacent to the *coemeteria subteglata.* S. Sebastiano still remains while St. Peter's has been greatly altered on its original site.

The site on Via Appia known to us as S. Sebastiano was frequented by early and medieval Christians because it related to the apostles Peter and Paul. Historically there is no known association with the two. The site, a sand pit called the *katakumbas,* first was used by non-Christians until about 200. Only then did Christian symbols appear in the earliest mausolea. By the mid-3d century the *triclia* appeared above the pit and its now Christian mausolea. According to the many graffiti inscribed on the walls of the *triclia,* frequent prayers of petition for family members were made to the apostles Paul and Peter. At some time before the building of St. Peter's, there existed on the Via Appia a site that functioned as the *martyrium* of Peter and Paul. Constantine perpetuated the function of the site by building on it a great *coemeterium subteglatum.* Later the cult of St. Sebastian was transferred to the complex. During the Middle Ages, pilgrims continued to visit it as the location associated with the two apostles. At the same time two separate locations developed in honor of the two apostles. For Paul, it was a great church on Via Ostiense, S. Paulo fuori la Mura, which originated with Constantine. For Peter, it was the Vatican site.

Constantine built St. Peter's over a non-Christian cemetery near the circus of Nero. There is practically no evidence of cultic practices at this site. One family (in mausoleum M) became Christian. The unique green and gold mosaic of Christ Helios decorates their mausoleum. Despite the apparent lack of veneration for Peter, the Vatican has a long association with that apostle. In the poor section of the Vatican necropolis (Campo P), some Christians built a retaining wall (the Red Wall) in about 160. At the time of construction, the wall included a niche which marks a remembrance of Peter. An aedicula was built into the niche by 200 (Eusebius, EH, II, 25: 6, 7). In about the year 250, supporting walls were built into the aedicula. In the N wall (wall g), the excavators found a marble box, and on the north side of the same wall they uncovered a number of Christian graffiti. Nothing about the burials in Campo P or the graffiti on wall g indicate the presence of a martyrium, and there is practically no reference to Peter. Later investigators found a set of bones elsewhere in St. Peter's. The Vatican displays these bones as those of Peter which, it is claimed, were originally found in the marble box of wall g. Constantine encased the aedicula, covered the necropolis and built the five-aisled St. Peter's over the entire complex. The transept allowed worshipers greater access to the aedicula. The present St. Peter's continues that focus on the original aedicula.

Near the end of the 4th century, remains of the special dead were moved into the city and placed in a *confessio* underneath the altar. In this way the practices of the cemetery cult were combined with the traditions of the housechurches and meeting halls. The churches that resulted from this merger were constructed like the *coemeteria subteglata* (e.g., Sta. Sabina) or like St. Peter's and S. Giovanni in Laterano.

The Christians at Rome developed from the original burial nuclei massive networks of catacombs. There are approximately sixty miles of catacombs with about 500,000 burials. They dug the catacombs in a volcanic rock called tufa. The burials consisted of narrow shelves dug out of catacomb tunnels or galleries. Each was covered with a series of plates, often marble. Usually the plates were inscribed with at least minimal epitaphic data and often early Christian symbols such as an anchor, a tree, a dove, a fish, a lamb, a Good Shepherd, an *orante* (praying figure), a branch, a ship, or a cup. Intermittently Christian

families cut out a larger burial space called a *cubiculum.* These were decorated with frescoes, especially the space directly over the grave, that is, the *arcosolium.* In Roman Christian art, OT scenes, such as the Jonah cycle, Noah in the Ark, Daniel among the Lions, Susanna and the Elders, and the Three Young Men in the Fiery Furnace, depict deliverance from extenuating circumstances. NT scenes, such as the resurrection of Lazarus and various healing stories, show Jesus as a young wonder worker. This portrayal of Jesus lasted through the Constantinian period until replaced in the 5th century by an older, bearded, majestic type. Several areas of the catacombs are of special value. The Capella Greca in Sta. Priscilla contains the oldest known Christian fresco art (ca. 200). The Crypt of the Popes in S. Callixtus houses the final resting place of six bishops of Rome from the 2d and 3d centuries. More important there are the six early *cubicula* called the Sacrament Chapels. In them are early fresco paintings, especially several related to the agape meal (*refrigerium*) celebrated with the dead. In the same catacomb of S. Callixtus, the double chamber of Lucina contains significant early Christian art. A section of Sta. Domitilla purports to originate as a burial plot of the Flavian family. The hypogeum and gallery contain early examples of fresco art.

The symbolic art of the catacombs shifted to illustrative art after Constantine. Maria Maggiore contains not only an apsidial mosaic honoring Mary, the mother of God, but also extensive mosaics illustrating the OT. Sarcophagi of Rome parallel the catacombs. The sarcophagus of Sta. Maria Antiqua, in the Capitoline, offers Christian pictorial representations as early as the Capella Greca. Not all the catacombs represent mainline Christianity. The newly discovered catacombs on via Latina and the Hypogeum of Aurelii, show, by their selection of artistic subjects, a faith at variance with the rest of Christian Rome. Jewish catacombs have been discovered particularly under the Villa Torlonia (via Nomentana).

The official center of Roman Christianity, S. Giovanni in Laterno, was built by Constantine in the 4th century, ironically and quite significantly, over the barracks of Equites Singulares. Adjacent to this great five-aisled edifice Constantine built an octagonal building used by the bishop of Rome as a baptistry. See also ART AND ARCHITECTURE (EARLY CHRISTIAN).

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**ROME, EARLY CHRISTIAN ATTITUDES TO.** Direct references to Rome are rare in the NT. The authority structures directly encountered by most provincials would be local rather than Roman, although bolstered and supported by Rome in differing degrees. Many commentators assume without question that these would have been seen by provincials simply as extensions of Roman power, but perceptions could vary: while some in the provinces saw Rome as the oppressing power, others identified the empire, and more particularly the emperor, as a protector against more present local exploitation (Millar 1977: 466–67). These complexities must be borne in mind if a serious understanding of Christian attitudes is to be reached.

Methodologically, our problem is that we have no direct access to the "attitudes" of the early Christians, only to their texts. The prime unit of investigation must therefore be the text itself, even though its precise date and historical setting may not be known, and it may be a composite incorporating traditions from many periods. It is the surface narrative itself, not its prehistory, which both forms and reflects the attitudes of the church (Aland 1979: 164–65).

A. Jewish Attitudes
B. The Gospels
C. Acts
D. The Pauline Epistles
E. Other NT Epistles
F. Revelation
G. Conclusion

## A. Jewish Attitudes

The Jewish people had a long experience of life under foreign empires, and the OT already contains a range of texts reflecting a variety of attitudes to the phenomenon. Daniel, Esther, and Nehemiah all provide examples of Diaspora characters who choose to collaborate with the regime in which they find themselves, rising in one way or another to positions of eminence (cf. Tert. *De Idol.* 17). Their stories also show the limits of collaboration: Nehemiah and Esther exploit their closeness to the throne to win concessions for their people, while Daniel and his companions face martyrdom rather than compromise their private religious principles. The book of Daniel also contains the classic expression of theoretical reservations about the world empires in the apocalyptic visions of chaps. 7–12. Only the kingdom of God is eternal (4:3). The empires of the world will meet their fate at the hands of "one like a son of man" (7:13), or of a "stone cut without hands" (2:44–45).

Martyrdom may be described as "passive resistance" (Schaefke 1979: 461–62), apocalyptic perhaps as "theoretical resistance"; but there is no trace in these Diaspora texts of any active resistance to the domination of the world empires. For that we have to turn to the land of Israel and to the literature of the Maccabean period, which produced not only martyrs (2, *4 Macc.*) but also freedom fighters willing and able to take up arms in the cause of independence (1, *2 Macc*). The distinction here between the Diaspora and the Land is fundamental: clearly the presence of foreign authority within the Land, coupled with the loss of political independence, raises different ideological problems from those of the individual or community living outside it. It is not surprising, then, that we continue to find a wide spectrum of attitudes in the Roman period: the fanatical opposition of the "Zealots" to the Roman occupation of Palestine, whose rise Josephus charts throughout the 1st century A.D., stands in contrast with the prevailing attitude of Diaspora Judaism, which saw Rome positively as a protective power (*m. Abot* 3:2, cf. Smallwood 1976: 134–43, 235–50, 356–57) or simply advocated a policy of quietism (*m. Abot* 1:10, 2:3; cf. Loewe 1940: 4–37). Even within Palestine there was room for a wide variety of ideological stances in the pre-70 period (Goodman 1987: ch. 4; Stemberger 1979).

## B. The Gospels

The pivotal event of the Gospel story (and the one best attested by non-Christian sources) is Jesus' crucifixion by a Roman governor. This immediately raises two different kinds of questions about Christian attitudes: (a) what were its causes? Does Jesus' message inevitably involve conflict with Rome? and (b) what were its results? Did the church perceive Rome as a natural enemy after this cataclysmic event?

The second is easier to answer. All the Gospel narratives, while agreeing that Pontius Pilate was responsible for the order to crucify Jesus, concur in laying the real blame at the feet of the Jewish authorities (Matt 27:1–2, 20; Mark 15:1–11; Luke 23:1–5, 13–25; John 18:38–40; 19:12–16). Thus the Roman governor, in this prototypical martyr-story (cf. 1 Tim 6:13) figures not as the persecutor but as a weak, vacillating (Matt 27:15–24), and basically unwilling tyrant, and the victim's own compatriots are portrayed as the real culprits (Matt 27:25). We must conclude, then, that at the time the Gospels were put into writing, the churches did not wish to pin the blame for Jesus' death on Rome. Despite the manner of Jesus' death, the reader of the Gospels would not assume that Rome was the natural enemy of the Christian movement.

The first question is more challenging. Does the reader of the Gospels gain the impression that following Jesus would inevitably involve conflict with Rome? The problem is that the Gospel message itself allows divergent conclusions to be drawn. Jesus' preaching of the "kingdom of God" (Mark 1:15) echoes the language of Daniel and therefore carries an implicit challenge to all human authority systems, including that of Rome. Moreover the identification of the kingdom with the relief of poverty and hunger (Luke 6:20–21) suggests to modern ears a critique of the Roman tax system which was placing an intolerable burden, at least in Judea, on an already overstrained peasant economy (Rajak 1983: 119–26; Goodman 1987: 60)—although the connection between poverty and Rome is never made explicitly in the text. So the reader is not surprised when both Jesus' supporters (John 6:15; Acts 1:6) and his enemies (Luke 23:2; John 19:12) interpret his mission as a challenge to Rome. Even after the resurrection the disciples' hope of "restoring the kingdom to Israel" is not negated, only postponed (Acts 1:7). Jesus himself, however, is throughout reluctant to accept the title "king" (Mark 15:2), and stresses the radical difference between God's kingdom and the kingdoms of the world (Mark 10:35–45; John 18:36).

Attitudes to more explicitly Roman manifestations are equally ambivalent. Possibly the most striking Gospel comment on the Roman occupation comes in the "Legion" story of Mark 5:1–20. Theissen (1983: 255) argues that Jesus' victory over the demons may be seen as a symbolic victory over the forces of occupation whose name they carry, with the denouement of the story triumphantly symbolizing the expulsion of the "legion" from the country. But elsewhere in the Gospels the tokens of occupation are treated as a much less urgent problem than the spiritual revival of Israel. The centurion of Matt 8:5–13 is simply a foil to Jesus' unbelieving compatriots. Pilate's Galilean massacre (Luke 13:1–3) is treated as a natural disaster calling for theological, not political comment (cf. 13:4–5). In Matt 5:43–48, Jesus goes further: the command to "love one's enemies" must presumably include the Romans, and the instruction to "go the second mile" (5:41) clearly envisages that the demands of an occupying force must not only be met, but be voluntarily bettered. And there is a similar ambiguity about the question of Roman taxes (Mark 12:13–17). Jesus' reply is presented as purposely enigmatic, a wily answer to a question designed to trap. Justin (*I Apol.* 17) quotes it in order to defend the church against a charge of disloyalty, and many commentators see it as an acknowledgment of the authority of the state "and therefore of the obligation to pay taxes" (Taylor *ad loc.*). But there were clearly those who believed that Jesus forbade the payment of Roman taxes (Luke 23:2), and it is possible to read the passage both as a rejection of the Roman occupation (Belo 1981: 224) and as an ironic pointer to the fact that those who choose to stay "in the world" and participate in its economic system will find it impossible to fulfill their duties both to God and to the system (Wengst 1987: 58–61). What does seem clear is that the problem is not Jesus', but his questioners': by leaving their homes and employment, Jesus and his followers have effectively placed themselves outside the writ of any taxation system (Matt 17:25–26). In many ways it is this radical ideology of withdrawal from the world that is most characteristic of subsequent Christian attitudes.

**C. Acts**

The narrative of Acts, like that of the Gospels, has a paradoxical stance towards Rome. The book ends with its hero being transported to Rome under a centurion's guard to be tried before Caesar (Acts 27:1), but Paul is portrayed throughout as politically innocent. Attempts to denounce his preaching as contrary to Roman law fail at the tribunal (18:13–15); his final incarceration in Caesarea is for his own protection (23:10, 23–30), and even if its prolongation owes something to the venality of Festus (24:26), Paul's final appeal to Caesar is his own choice, based both on the wish to avoid a trial in Jerusalem and on a belief in a divine vocation (23:11). Caesar here functions not as persecutor but as protector against a more immediate threat; for the author of Acts the problems of the church are caused not by Rome but by "the Jews" (17:5, 13; 18:12; 21:27) or by local troublemakers (16:19; 19:23).

This positive picture of Paul's relationship with Rome should not be dismissed too lightly; it corresponds well with other evidence on the experience of empire in the provinces (Price; Millar; Sherwin-White) and, *mutatis mutandis*, with the Jewish experience of Rome as protector against local hostility (Smallwood). In literary terms the position of Luke's Paul may be compared with that of Daniel in Dan 6:10–15 (cf. 3:8): local denunciation of a religious minority before an impartial higher authority is

a common pattern whose persistence into the second century is attested both by Pliny (*Ep.* 10: 96–97) and Melito (*ap.* Eus. *Hist Eccl* 4/26: 5–11). But there is also a certain detachment in Paul's attitude to Rome which could be described as a cynical readiness to manipulate the resources of the empire for the furtherance of private religious aims. Paul travels the empire as an "outsider," content to be embroiled in the anonymous world of the streets until it suits him to call on the authorities for protection: his Roman citizenship carries no sense of responsibility, but functions as a "joker" which he exploits only when it suits him to do so (16: 37; 22: 25). Similarly the "appeal to Caesar" is employed as a stratagem for the spread of the Gospel, and the insistence on the political innocence of Christianity falls well short of active support for the institutions of the empire.

**D. The Pauline Epistles**

The predominant impression in the Pauline epistles is of a profound lack of interest in either local or imperial politics. The empire and its institutions are hardly mentioned except as metaphors for the religious life (2 Cor 2:14; 2 Tim 2:3–4), and the statement that "our citizenship is in heaven" (Phil 3:20) implies a total disengagement from the authority structures of the Christian's place of residence (Aland 1979: 186–95). This may in part have arisen naturally out of the actual political status of the early Christians; traveling artisans or merchants like Lydia (Acts 16:14) and Priscilla and Aquila (Acts 18:1–3) were often de facto disfranchised, with little political stake in their place of residence. But it must also be linked with a powerful *impulse towards withdrawal* from pagan society, including its law courts (1 Cor 6:1–6) and its social occasions (as evidenced by the problem of "food offered to idols" discussed in 1 Corinthians 8 and Romans 14). The Pauline letter corpus is full of "the language of separation" (Meeks 1983: 94), and Paul's warning against total withdrawal from "the world" (1 Cor 5:10) indicates that such a withdrawal was not inconceivable.

Positive opposition to Rome is harder to document from the Pauline letters. Paul acknowledges that he has been "beaten with rods" as well as receiving "forty stripes save one" (2 Cor 11:24–25): in other words, he has been punished by Roman authorities as well as by synagogue officials. Rome thus stands alongside "the Jews" and Aretas as hindrances to the Gospel, but is not singled out in the list as of any particular significance. In Philemon and Philippians Paul appears as "a prisoner for the Lord's sake" (Phlm 1, 9; Phil 1:7, 13–18), probably but not certainly in Rome; wherever its location, this imprisonment could hardly have taken place without Roman involvement in some way. But what exactly Paul had done to merit either beating or imprisonment is never explained: Paul regards himself as potentially under the death sentence (Phil 2:17), and his imprisonment is "for Christ" (1:13), but it is not clear in what sense, if at all, the two are connected. What is striking again is the lack of overt interest in the exercise of Roman authority as such: the threatened execution is regarded as a way of honoring Christ (1:20), and the imprisonment merely as an opportunity for "the defense of the Gospel" (1:16).

It is in the apocalyptic and eschatological sections of the letters that we come closest to a comprehensive estimate of the role of Rome in God's cosmic plan. The "fashion of this world" is passing away (1 Cor 7:31), and with it the "rulers of this age" who "crucified the Lord of glory" (1 Cor. 2:6–8). Christ's final return in early Christian apocalyptic literature heralds the "subjection" of "all things" to him (Phil 3:21), including the "principalities and powers"; whatever the intended reference of this phrase, it must include in some way the "powers" of the Roman empire. In Paul himself this view is most clearly expressed in 1 Thessalonians. Persecution is a normal experience for the Christian communities (3:3; cf. 2:2, 14–15), and their response is to wait in quietness for the imminent revelation of God's wrath (1:10; 2:16) at the "Day of the Lord" (5:2). The attitude of the persecuted church may thus be described as passive resistance, involving a readiness to accept martyrdom, combined with theoretical opposition to the persecuting powers which are under the wrath of God. There seems to be no distinction between Roman and local persecutors here, and no explicit attack on the institution of empire as such; however, some commentators have seen an ironic rejection of the "Pax" slogans of the empire in 5:3 (Wengst 1987: 77).

There may be a more specific allusion to Rome in 2 Thess 2:3–12. This vividly apocalyptic passage, like the Synoptic apocalypses, concentrates on warning rather than denunciation: the church is not to be "quickly shaken in mind" (2:2), and the "mystery of lawlessness" is at present being restrained (2:6–7). If

the "restrainer" is the empire itself (as argued by many interpreters since Tert. *De Resurr. Carn.* 24), it is clear that active resistance to the empire, even if it were a practical possibility, would not be in the interests of the Gospel (Bruce *Thessalonians* WBC, 159–78, 187–88; Trilling *2 Thessalonians* EKKNT, 94–105). On this reading, 2 Thessalonians is consistent with Paul's most explicit statement on the Christian's attitude to authority in Romans 13:1–7. Here the Christian is firmly enjoined to "be subject to the governing authorities" (13:1) which are "instituted by God" (13:4, 6). In a context where "the day is at hand" (13:12), these instructions must be taken as part of the Christian's duty to behave "becomingly" (13:13): good civic conduct, including the payment of taxes (13:3, 6), is simply a part of this wider duty (13:8–10). Conversely, Paul has no conception of a state which may actually *enjoin* "bad conduct" on its citizens (13:3). Paul does not envisage the later Roman practice of requiring Christians to perform a pagan sacrifice as a test of loyalty (Pliny *Ep.* 10:96), nor does he anticipate the dilemmas faced by later Christians over military service. Like many of his Jewish contemporaries, Paul may have experienced persecution (12:14) only as a local phenomenon, and so might well see the wider and more impartial authority of the empire as a protection rather than a threat. On the history of interpretation of this passage, see Wilckens *Romans 12–16* EKKNT, 43–66.

**E. Other NT Epistles**

We find a similar combination of themes in the non-Pauline epistles. The impulse to withdrawal from pagan society and its institutions is expressed strongly in the "sojourner" imagery of Hebrews. The heroes of the catalogue of faith in Hebrews 11, like Abraham, are "strangers and exiles on the earth" who "desire a better country, that is, a heavenly one" (Heb 11:13–16); of them, and by implication of the persecuted Christians who follow their example, "the world is not worthy" (11:38). Persecution and the "hostility of sinners" (12:3) are to be accepted as the norm, but the focus is on the disciplinary action of God (12:5–11) rather than on the motives of the persecuting agencies. There may be a hint of civil disobedience in the praise for Moses' parents (11:23; Wengst 141), and Moses' withdrawal from Egyptian society is treated as exemplary (11:24–25); but in general the Christian is to "strive for peace with all men" (12:14).

Similarly in 1 Peter: the Christians are "aliens and exiles" (2:11), set apart by God's election from the society in which they live (2:9); Rome is referred to under the apocalyptic code name "Babylon" (5:13), and persecution is an imminent possibility (4:12). The author is only concerned that none of his flock should justly incur criminal charges (4:15); if they "suffer as a Christian" (4:16) they are to rejoice at the privilege of sharing Christ's sufferings (4:13). Yet the Christian's attitude to authority is to be one of respectful submission (2:13–17). The emperor is not merely to be prayed for, as in rabbinic teaching and in 1 Tim 2:1–2 (cf. *1 Clem.* 61), but actually to be "honored" (2:17). It is interesting to compare this with Pliny *Ep.* 10:96; the evidence of 1 Peter suggests that it may well have been the sacrifice to the gods, not the reverence shown to the emperor, that was the sticking point for these Bithynian Christians (Price 1984: 221). As in Hebrews, the persecution faced by the church is regarded as God's judgment, a sign of the end and a token of the much more severe judgment which awaits unbelievers (4:17–19); it is not treated as evidence of the corruption of the political system which produced it. The church's only response is to "seek peace" and keep a low profile (3:8–17).

**F. Revelation**

Apocalyptic thought, whether Jewish or Christian, does not necessarily entail resistance to the world empires in the practicalities of daily life: it can coexist with collaboration (as in Daniel) or with a counsel of peaceful submission (as in Romans 13). In the book of Revelation, however, the NT's most full-blooded apocalyptic is combined with radical opposition to the empire and all it stands for. Rome for this author is a "great harlot" (17:1) whose name is "Babylon, the great city," i.e., the last of the four world empires of OT history (14:8; 16:19; 17:5; 18:2, 10, 21); in a clear echo of Daniel's visions, the city is also a "beast rising out of the sea, with horns and seven heads" (13:1; cf. 17:3, 7). The precise interpretation of the heads, the horns and other details is disputed, but the description of "the great city which has dominion over all the kings of the earth" (17:18) and the "seven hills on which the woman is seated" (17:9) make the reference to Rome clear.

The beast's authority derives from Satan (13:2, 4; cf. 12:9), but it is "allowed to exercise authority" for a limited period only (13:5). It is widely accepted that the "beast from the land" of chap. 13 refers to the provincial authorities in Asia and their encouragement of the imperial cult (Price 1984: 197); clearly for this author at least the cult was no empty political gesture. But it would be wrong to read John's polemic merely as an attack on one particular excess; it is the empire itself that he sees as demonic, not an individual emperor or policy. There is no indication that he wished to advocate any action against the empire other than the passive resistance of martyrdom. Yet the language he uses is unusually combative: the great city is to be repaid double for her misdeeds (18:6), and the martyrs in heaven are said to have "conquered" the beast and its image (15:2; cf. 2:7, 11, etc.). Although the battle is ultimately fought out in the cosmic realm, there may be a suggestion that human enemies of Rome could play a part in its downfall if 16:12 refers to the Parthian threat on the E frontiers.

John sets out his vision in terms of a series of fundamental oppositions. There is no opportunity for compromise: the saints are called to endure (14:12), to be "faithful unto death" (2:10), and also to separate themselves from the great city (18:4). Since it is impossible to buy or sell without the mark of the beast (13:16–17), this separation must include a withdrawal from the economic life of the empire (cf. the identification of the empire's interests with those of her "merchants and seafarers" 18:11–20). John's tough stance on the issue of "food offered to idols" (2:14, 20) is probably linked with this issue (Schüssler Fiorenza 1984: 195–96). Yet it is clear from the opening letters that not all Christians thought as John did. As Schüssler Fiorenza suggests, there may be a correlation here between theological attitudes and socioeconomic status; "the two communities that deserve Christ's praise and receive no censure are obviously poor and without power. Those communities that receive censure are rich, complacent, and do not experience any harassment" (Schüssler Fiorenza 1984: 196).

**G. Conclusion**

Early Christian attitudes to Rome thus show as wide a diversity as their Jewish counterparts. The apocalyptic strain of theoretical resistance runs right through the NT from Jesus' preaching of the kingdom of God, with its radical opposition to all human authority structures, to the visions of the book of Revelation. But this theological stance does not necessarily entail active resistance to the empire; allusions to overt political or military activism are virtually unknown in the NT (the puzzling Luke 23:38 is unique). The passive resistance of the martyr is prominent in Revelation, where the apocalyptic enemy of the faithful is clearly identified as Rome. But in 1 Peter even martyrdom is to be avoided as far as possible by law-abiding and submissive behavior (2:13–17; 3:13–17), and in Acts where martyrdom is welcomed (4:19–20; 5:29), it is the priestly authorities of Jerusalem, not the Romans, who figure as the persecutors. Paul's mission is presented throughout Acts as politically harmless to Rome, and the progress of the Gospel is assisted rather than hindered by the timely exploitation of Roman institutions (16:37–39; 18:12–17; 21:31–22:29; 23:11–24:12). If one attitude can be said to predominate in these documents it is not martyrdom so much as radical withdrawal from the political life of the Empire, which is fundamental both in the Gospels and in the Pauline epistles. It is this which must provide the context for understanding the NT recommendation of submission to authority.

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LOVEDAY C. A. ALEXANDER

**ROSETTES.** See JEWELRY.

**ROSH** (PERSON) [Heb *rō‹š* (רֹאשׁ)]. Seventh son or grandson of Benjamin (Gen 46:21). The Genesis genealogy is comprehensive including grandsons as if sons. The LXX lists Rosh as a son of Bela and thus Benjamin’s grandson. The Genesis list is also obscure, for the genealogies of Num 26:38–39 and 1 Chron 8:1–5 do not list Rosh. The Numbers text records just five sons of Benjamin; the remainder (five in the Genesis account) become grandsons. The LXX credits Benjamin with three sons and seven grandsons. Parallel passages also seem to suggest that the names, “Ehi” and “Rosh” (Gen 46:21), could be read and understood as one name “Ahiram” (Num 36:39; 1 Chron 8:4; Speiser *Genesis* AB, 343). Rosh means “head” or “chief.”
JOEL C. SLAYTON

**ROYAL JAR HANDLE STAMPS.** See STAMPS, ROYAL JAR HANDLE.

**ROYAL ROAD.** See KING’S HIGHWAY.

**RUFUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Rhouphos* (Ῥουφος)]. **1.** A Roman Christian who together with his mother received greetings from Paul (Rom 16:13). Paul called him “elect in the Lord” (cf. Acts 9:15). He probably was freeborn: the epigraphical material indicates that the name “Rufus” was not ordinarily a slave name (see Lampe *StadtrChr*, 151–52). Rufus, with his mother, had immigrated to Rome from the East of the Roman empire. Paul called Rufus’ mother “also mine,” which may mean that she had housed the apostle one or several times in the East. Rufus was probably a gentile Christian. See NEREUS.

**2.** The brother of Alexander and son of Simon of Cyrene (Mark 15:21). The brothers were Christians and known by Mark’s community if not members of it. For the later evangelists, the brothers’ names were not worthy of note (Matt 27:32 and Luke 23:26 omit them).

It is possible that Paul and Mark refer to the same Rufus, especially if Mark was written in Rome. But one wonders why Paul did not also mention the “famous” father in Rom 16:13. Also, Rufus in Rom 16:13 was probably a gentile Christian while Mark’s Rufus was a son of Cyrenian Jews. For further discussion, see Cranfield, *Romans* ICC.
PETER LAMPE

**RUJM EL-HIRI** (M.R. 225257). During the archaeological survey of 1967–68 in the central parts of the S Golan Heights, an outstanding and unique ancient structure was discovered, the Rujm el-Hiri (Kochavi 1972: 277–78). See Fig. RUJ.01. This monument is one of the most enigmatic and disputed subjects of the archaeology of Israel. There is no agreement as to its function or its construction date because of the near total absence of artifacts in its immediate vicinity (Gutman and Drucks 1969). Nevertheless, closer scrutiny might indicate at least a partial answer to the questions that have arisen around this magnificent structure.

**A. Description**

The Rujm el-Hiri is situated ca. 16 km E of the N shore of the lake of Galilee, and is 515 m above sea level. It consists of a series of concentric circles surrounding a central tumulus (cairn). See Fig. RUJ.01. Its overall diameter varies between 150 m and 155 m. The central tumulus is composed of a core ca. 8 m across, and an enclosing mantle forming a truncated cone of ca. 25 m across at the bottom, and preserved to a height of ca. 10 m. It is built with relatively small stones collected from the surface and from a nearby basalt flow.

This tumulus is encompassed by a semicircular row of medium-sized orthostates, preserved only on the N and the W side. These orthostates form the retaining wall for a low platform around the tumulus, called here wall 5 (as counted from the outside) for convenience. Parallel to wall 5 runs another semicircular wall no. 4 which is 1.2–1.5 m thick. Its two faces can be followed with some difficulty only due to the

large amount of fallen stones that cover the site. Whether these two walls were originally full circles cannot be ascertained before excavation.

The next wall, no. 3, is 1.8–2 m thick and forms nearly a full circle. It bulges out in the S and runs under a large heap of fallen stones in the SE; its continuation to the E was probably disturbed by later building activities. However, wall no. 2 forms a closed circle without any perceivable openings or later disturbances. Its thickness is quite consistently 2.6 m all around except in the S where it thickens to 3 m. This wall is connected with wall 3 by two radial walls, one in the NW and the other in the SW. Other radial walls can be seen but their relation to the original pattern remains to be clarified; they could be later additions when the site was used as a cattle pen in recent periods.

All these walls are built with medium-sized basalt stones and seem to form a structural unit.

The outermost wall, no. 1, is the most distinctive feature of the Rujm el-Hiri. It is carefully constructed, its thickness being remarkably consistent on all sides, 3.2–3.3 m. Its state of preservation is excellent, in some places up to 2 m in height with 5 or 6 rows of medium-sized to large stones. Some of these stones are true megaliths with sizes 2.5–3 m length, weighing 20 or more tons. The megaliths are found mostly in the E section of wall 1. In the NE and the SE, the line of the wall turns and forms radial walls approaching wall 2. This results in some sort of openings, 29 m and 26 m wide respectively. Both openings are blocked by a mass of large boulders without any clear construction lines. The amount of these boulders seems to indicate that they represent the remains of some structures which were originally higher than the other walls.

Near both openings, and partially blocking them, are fragments of smaller walls. They are rather insubstantial and their relation to the main wall is not clear (called “additions” on Fig. RUJ.01).

**B. Discussion**

The architectural development of the complex suggests two possibilities. The first is that an older, but seemingly perfect circle underlies the construction as described above. The so-called “additions” could be the remains of this older structure, especially when studied from certain aerial photographs.

The other possibility is that the central tumulus and its circular walls 5 to 2 represent the primary stage. For the time being this seems to be the more convincing theory—a monumental funerary complex which was turned into a sanctuary or ceremonial center with the erection of wall 1. Whether this occurred simultaneously or it entailed a time lapse has yet to be determined. The opening in the NE seems to indicate an orientation towards the summer solstice (azimuth 61°42´9") of no great precision. When a higher precision was felt to be necessary, the wall “additions” were installed, correcting wall 1. The same wall leads to a point in the E where two large stones indicate the equinoxes. The SE opening, whether it was used for observing celestial phenomena (e.g., midsummer moon rise or the appearance of Sirius), or whether it pointed to some other objects (e.g., a sacred grove or another monument which has disappeared) seems to be a moot point. It is noteworthy, however, that the two radial walls connecting walls 2 and 3 form rather exact back sights to these openings. There is no noticeable indication of the winter solstice (azimuth 118°17´1").

It is possible that these two openings formed spaces where rituals might have taken place. The only artifacts found were broken flint tools from these open spaces. Perhaps the mass of fallen stones are the remains of elevated altars.

A fairly secure assumption is that the Rujm el-Hiri is oriented towards the summer solstice and the equinoxes. This is a consistent feature of many examples of ANE and Mediterranean sacral architecture. Like other Bronze Age temples, the site also seems to have served, among other things, as a rough timekeeping device.

If we accept the central tumulus as the primary element of the complex, we cannnot dissociate it from the other tumuli and dolmens which cover extensive parts, not only of the Golan, but other areas of the Levant, too. There exists a considerable difference in opinion about their date with an increasing evidence for a MB I date (Epstein 1972; 1973; 1975; Bahat 1972). However, an earlier date, even EB I, cannot categorically be excluded (Yassine 1985).

Undoubtedly, these monuments including Rujm el-Hiri represent the most tangible remains of pastoral cultures on the edge of the desert during most of the 3d and even the 2d millennium B.C.E. Another aspect not to be neglected is the close resemblance of the Rujm el-Hiri, in conception and construction, to certain N African funeral complexes, e.g., those near Djanet in Algeria or in the Nejd in Saudi Arabia. Their date of construction is equally disputed, but a growing number of students assume a date in the 2d millennium as most probable. It is to be hoped that the future excavation of the Rujm el-Hiri will throw more light on the builders of this monument and their relation to other Near Eastern cultures, and will contribute to another aspect of sacral architecture of Israel.

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MATTANYAH ZOHAR

**RULE OF THE COMMUNITY.** See COMMUNITY, RULE OF THE (1QS).

**RULERS OF THE SYNAGOGUE** [Gk *archisynagōgos* (ἀρχισυναγωγος)]. A title of honor for one of several synagogue officials attested in ancient Jewish, Christian, and pagan literary sources and in inscriptions. "Ruler of the synagogue" is the most common Jewish title associated with the synagogue in antiquity. Other titles include "ruler" (*archōn*), "elder" (*presbyteros*), "mother of the synagogue (*mater synagogae*), and "father of the synagogue" (*pater synagogae*).

Although we have no catalogue of the functions of the "ruler of the synagogue," his or her duties seem to have spanned a range of practical and spiritual leadership roles. The "ruler of the synagogue" chose Torah readers and prayer leaders, invited others to preach, contributed to the building and restoration of the synagogue, and represented the congregation to the outside world. Several inscriptions cite women as "rulers of the synagogue." Children are occasionally called "rulers of the synagogue," which may mean the title was sometimes hereditary.

The sources show no consensus on the practice of selecting an *archisynagōgos.* Some "rulers of the synagogue" were appointed, some elected, and some inherited the office. Some served for one or more terms, while some held the office for life. Certain synagogues had more than one ruler.

The earliest literary evidence for the title comes from the NT. Mark 5:22 and Luke 8:49 tell of the *archisynagōgos* Jairus, whose daughter is healed by Jesus. Luke 8:41 calls him an *archōn tēs synagōgēs* while Matt 9:18, 23 read only *archōn.* However, Roman inscriptions show that *archisynagōgos* and *archōn* were distinct offices, though they could be held by the same person. Other NT references show the "ruler of the synagogue" as regulating worship or acting as representative of the congregation to outside authorities (Luke 13:14; Acts 13:15; 18:8, 17).

Assuming the Hebrew term *rʾš hknst* is equivalent to *archisynagōgos,* we find the earliest Jewish references in the Mishnah (*m. Yoma* 7:1; *m. Soṭa* 7:7, 8). The ruler (or head) of the synagogue is accorded honor in connection with the reading of the Torah. One head is mentioned by name in *t. Ter.* 2:13. The *rʾs hknst* should abstain from reading from the Torah unless no one else is able, according to *t. Meg.* 4:21. Later rabbinic references support the notion that the *rʾs hknst* held a position of esteem as leader of an assembly.

Patristic remarks also portray the *archisynagōgos* as a leader (Just. *Dial.* 137; Epiph. *Pan.* 30.18.2; Pall. *V.Chrys.* 15). Pagan examples show that outsiders were familiar with the term *archisynagōgos* as designating a leader of the Jews (Vopiscus *Life* of Saturnius 8; S.H.A. 3.399). Detractors of Alexander Severus ridiculed him by calling him "the Syrian *archisynagōgos*" (Lampridius, *Life* of Alexander Severus 28, S.H.A. 2.234–35). In the 4th century, laws transmitted in the Theodosian Code suggest that

the *archisynagōgos* was one of the leaders who represented the Jewish community (*Cod. Theod.* 16.8.4, 13, 14).

In addition to numerous literary references, over thirty inscriptions from disparate locales, dating from before 70 C.E. and on into the Byzantine era, employ the title *archisynagōgos.*

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CLAUDIA J. SETZER

**RUMAH** (PLACE) [Heb *rûmâ* (רוּמָה)]. The town of Zebidah, the mother of Jehoiakim, one of the last kings of Judah (2 Kgs 23:36). Rumah is also mentioned by Josephus as the home of two brave Galileans who attacked the Tenth Roman Legion (*JW* 3.7.21). This mention allows us to place Rumah in Galilee, which is evidence of the ties established by Josiah, the father of Jehoiakim, with N Israel. The exact location of the town has not yet been identified. Some scholars would identify Rumah with Arumah, mentioned in Judg 9:41 as the place of residence of Abimelech after he fled Shechem. Aharoni (*LBHG,* 349–50) posits that this Arumah is Khirbet er-Rumeh. (M.R. 177243), by the S border of Battof, to the N of Sepphoris. This place is called Arumah in the annals of Tiglath-pileser III (*ANET,* 283). Cogan and Tadmor (*2 Kings* AB, 305) agree with this as a possible location for Rumah, but also suggest Rumah in the Netophah Valley. The MT of Josh 15:52 has the name Rumah as part of the inheritance of the tribe of Judah, but most of the other witnesses, including the OG, read Dumah. The reading of the MT appears to be an error caused by the confusion of *dalet* and *reš,* a confusion which occurs frequently both in paleo-Hebrew and in the square script.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**RUTH, BOOK OF.** The story of Ruth and Naomi is a tale of human kindness and devotion transcending the limits of national- or self-interest. It is the book of the OT which has long been cited as a perfect example of the art of telling a story.

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A. Summary of Plot
B. Composition
C. Date
D. Author
E. Text and Versions
F. Literary-Exegetical Interpretation
    1. Genre
    2. External Design
    3. Internal Structure and Interpretation
    4. Theology
G. Legal Allusions
H. Purpose
I. Canon
    1. Placement
    2. Meanings

———

**A. Summary of Plot**

In the days of the judges a family from Bethlehem journeys to Moab because of famine. There the father Elimelech dies, and the two sons, Mahlon and Chilion, take Moabite wives, Ruth and Orpah. After ten years the sons also die, leaving no offspring. Their mother Naomi is bereft. Hearing of food in her native land, she decides to return. When the daughters-in-law resolve to accompany her, Naomi bids them stay. Orpah consents but Ruth clings to Naomi. In Bethlehem the two women seek food. Ruth gleans in the fields of a wealthy man named Boaz who belongs to the extended family of Elimelech. His kindness

prompts Naomi to conceive a plan for securing Ruth a home. Obeying her mother-in-law, Ruth goes to the threshing floor at night and asks Boaz to marry her. Though willing, he must first determine if a nearer relative wishes to assume responsibility. The unnamed man refuses, and so Boaz marries Ruth. She bears a son, Obed. A blessing to his grandmother Naomi, Obed continues the family line to become the grandfather of David.

**B. Composition**

Despite the unity of plot, a few scholars have proposed compositional histories for the book. Utilizing criteria of meter, parallelism, and vocabulary, Myers identifies a poetic nucleus underlying the present text (cf. De Moor 1984). The nucleus bespeaks an oral poem handed down for centuries before the appearance of the prose narrative. Glanzman suggests three stages of development: an old poetic tale of Canaanite origin; a preexilic Hebraized version; and the postexilic final draft. Brenner maintains that the book is composed of two oral tales, one about Naomi and the other about Ruth. Originally independent, these stories shared a geographical and social milieu as well as the theme of the reversal of female fortune. Such compositional theories have not won general acceptance. Most exegetes affirm the unity of the book, though the genealogy at the end (4:18–22) remains a problem as to whether it is an appendix or part of the original story (see McCarthy 1985).

**C. Date**

Critics diverge widely on the date. Earlier scholars posited an exilic or postexilic time based on alleged Aramaisms, the remoteness of customs (cf. 4:7), discrepancies with the Deuteronomic law, and the theme of universalism over against nationalism. With modified criteria, some contemporary scholars retain this dating. Many others, however, argue for a preexilic composition between the 10th and 7th centuries B.C.E. They detect linguistic features, classical prose, legal and theological perspectives that fit these earlier periods (see Campbell *Ruth AB* and Hals 1969). Still other critics, such as Sasson (1979), find the date altogether elusive.

**D. Author**

Though Jewish tradition assigned Ruth to the prophet Samuel, scholarship has remained properly silent on the subject. The author is unknown. Nevertheless, commentators have assumed a male gender for the storyteller, an assumption not unchallenged. Subject matter, the dominance of women characters, and point of view suggest a female presence in shaping the narrative (cf. Campbell *Ruth* AB, Brenner 1983).

**E. Text and Versions**

The Hebrew text has been relatively well preserved. Though variants exist, including those attested in four Qumran manuscripts, they offer few difficulties for interpretation. In general, Gk manuscripts conform to the Hebrew. An incomplete OL text may suggest a different lineage from the known Gk tradition, but the evidence is scant. Differences between Hebrew texts and the Vulgate (e.g., 2:7, 14; 3:15; 4:5) may also indicate another lineage or only show the freedom Jerome exercised in translation. The Peshitta is yet freer. (For discussion of the text and versions, see the commentaries of Campbell *Ruth* AB, and Sasson 1979.)

**F. Literary-Exegetical Interpretation**

**1. Genre.** Most form critics call Ruth a *novella.* Closely related is the category of short story, connoting a brief fictional narrative of conscious craftship. With a beginning, middle, and end the plot moves through various scenes to climax and resolution. Words and actions reveal the characters. Sasson (1979) relates Ruth to the folktale as delineated in Russian formalism. Other designations include comedy, saga, romance, and idyll. They all impose modern genres on an ancient story.

**2. External Design.** A symmetrical design structures the book (Bertman). Three sections in the first half (chapters 1 and 2) match, in reverse order, three in the second (chapters 3 and 4). The first section is the family history (1:1–5). The second, surrounded by the travels of the women (1:6–7 and 1:22), concerns kinship ties (1:8–18) and reports a meeting between the women of Bethlehem and Naomi (1:19–21). The third, after the introduction of Boaz (2:1), contains five elements:

(1) Ruth receives Naomi's permission to glean in the fields (2:2).

(2) Ruth goes to the fields (2:3).

(3) Boaz seeks the identity of Ruth (2:4–7).
(4) Boaz requests that Ruth stay, deems her worthy of blessing, and gives her food. He also orders his men to cooperate (2:8–17).
(5) Returning to Naomi, Ruth reports the meeting and receives counsel (2:18–23).

The second half of the book opens with five analogous elements:
(1) Naomi sends Ruth to the threshing floor (3:1–5).
(2) Ruth goes to the threshing floor (3:6).
(3) Boaz seeks the identity of Ruth (3:7–9).
(4) Boaz deems Ruth worthy of blessing, requests that she stay, and gives her food. He also protects her from other men (3:10–15).
(5) Returning to Naomi, Ruth reports the meeting and receives counsel (3:16–18).

The next section corresponds to section two of the first half. It concerns kinship ties (4:1–13) and reports a meeting between the women of Bethlehem and Naomi (4:14–17). The genealogy of the closing section (4:18–22) returns in theme to the family history at the beginning. Symmetrical design secures the unity of the story, gives balance and rhythm, highlights important motifs, and suggests the richness and complexity of form, content, and meaning.

**3. Internal Structure and Interpretation.** Sections one and two in the first half constitute scene 1, with an introduction (1:1–7), body (1:8–21), and conclusion (1:22). Throughout, certain motifs prevail. The catchword "return" (*šûb*) occurs 12 times along with the synonyms "go," "come," and "go forth." The struggle between life and death appears on various levels: food and famine, Moab and Judah, Elimelech and Naomi, Mahlon and Ruth, Chilion and Orpah, barrenness and fullness, the names Naomi (Pleasant) and Mara (Bitter). Opening narration presents the characters. The males never speak; after they die, the females talk. Naomi orders Ruth and Orpah to return home. Her words mirror the overall symmetry while emphasizing the themes of kinship and loyalty (1:8–9a):

A Go, return ***each of you to her mother's house***
B *May the Lord be loyal to you*
C as you have dealt with the dead and me.
B' *The Lord grant that you may find a home,*
A' ***each of you in the house of her husband***.

Though the young women protest, Naomi insists until Orpah agrees (1:9b–14b). The exchanges among them are enclosed by the words "kissing," "lifting up the voice," and "weeping." Outside this unit lies the extraordinary decision of Ruth (1:14c). She pledges allegiance to Naomi even beyond death (1:16–17). Yet when the two women arrive in Bethlehem (1:19–22), Naomi fails to acknowledge Ruth's presence. Instead, through a chiastic arrangement of the words "Shaddai" and "Yahweh," she convicts the deity of afflicting her (1:20–21). At the close of the scene, the narration counters her sentiments in several ways (1:22). It never calls Naomi "Mara." It observes that Naomi has not returned empty because "Ruth the Moabite her daughter-in-law is with her." And it notes that the women have arrived at the beginning of the barley harvest, a sign of life.

Like the first scene, the second has a narrated introduction (2:1) and conclusion (2:23) surrounding the dialogue (2:2–22). This scene constitutes the third section of the symmetrical design and reflects in its parts patterns of the whole. Three catchwords occur: the verb "glean," (*lqṭ*), the adjective "Moabite," and the phrase, "find favor (*māṣā᾽ ḥēn*) in the eyes of." In presenting Boaz, the storyteller gives another sign of life, a male in the family of Elimelech who will endure. Action begins when Naomi grants Ruth permission to seek food. Though Boaz appears to dominate in the ensuing meeting with Ruth, subtleties of language and style indicate that his tremendous power is subservient to the women's story. First, Boaz has not invited Ruth to glean in his fields. She came by choice and chance—perhaps a sign of divine providence (2:3). Second, when Boaz asks the identity of Ruth's owner (2:5), a question that fits his culture, he learns that Ruth does not fit the culture. She has no male lord. Third, though Ruth's first words to Boaz are appropriately deferential (2:10), the reader knows that her deference results from her daring. Boaz is responding to her initiative. Fourth, in seeking a blessing for Ruth, Boaz unwittingly implicates

himself. He wishes that her payment be full from Yahweh "under whose wings you have come to seek refuge" (2:12). In time, Ruth will require him to make good on these words. Meanwhile, she reports to Naomi (2:18–22). Their conversation builds on incongruities, each woman having both more and less information than the other. When Ruth finally names Boaz (2:19a), Naomi discloses the kinship: "The man is a relative of *ours,* one of *our* redeemers" (2:20). Thus Naomi reaches out to include Ruth in the family. The old woman also embraces the gift of food. But again the narration counters her by referring to Ruth as "the Moabite" (2:21) and hinting at the return of famine with the "end of the barley and wheat harvest" (2:23).

Corresponding to scene 2, scene 3 begins the latter half of the book (3:1–18). Its catchwords are "threshing floor" (*gōren*), "lie down" (*škb*), and "redemption" (*gʿl*). From the beginning (3:1–5) the characters speak. Naomi initiates a bold, even scandalous, plan to secure Ruth a home. She is to visit the threshing floor when Boaz is sleeping, find his place, uncover his "feet," and lie down. Sexual overtones are clear, even though the extent of intimacy is uncertain. Then, says Naomi, "He will tell you what to do." Ruth agrees to the plan (3:4–5).

This second meeting between Ruth and Boaz constitutes the body of the scene (3:6–15). In contrast to the first encounter, it is private, held indoors at night. Nuances in language and style yield a wealth of meanings. Ruth finds Boaz "at the end of the heap of grain" (3:7). The phrase suggests an accessible area away from the other sleepers—perhaps another sign of the blessed chance (cf. 2:3b) that guides Ruth. When Boaz discovers Ruth lying beside him, he does not ask this time to whom she belongs (cf. 2:5) but rather her personal identity. In answering, Ruth changes the proposed script. Instead of Boaz telling her what to do (cf. 3:5), she tells him. "Spread your wing over your maidservant for you are a redeemer" (3:9c). Once again, she, not he, is in charge. By a play on the word "wing," Ruth asks Boaz to make good on his prayer for her blessing (cf. 2:12). His response is gracious, promising to do "all" that Ruth asks (3:11), even as Ruth has agreed to do "all" that Naomi asked (3:5). Boaz, a "man of worth" (2:1), calls Ruth a "woman of worth" (3:11). Thereupon he introduces information that disturbs the progress of the narrative and heightens suspense. A nearer redeemer must be consulted. In reassuring Ruth, Boaz's speech (3:13) mirrors the symmetry of the story:

A ***Remain this night and in the morning***

B if he will do *the redeemer's part,* well and good; let him redeem;

B' but if he is not willing to do *the redeemer's part* for you, then, as Yahweh lives, I will redeem you.

A' ***Lie down until morning***.

At the conclusion Ruth reports to Naomi (3:16–18). Her language is guarded, and subtleties persist. Though Naomi asks how Ruth has fared, the answer focuses on "all" that Boaz has done (cf. 3:5, 11) and on food. Ruth says nothing about her own bold speech and action. Naomi, who began the day by plotting a dangerous mission, now closes it by counseling a patient wait. Unlike the endings of scenes 1 and 2, the narration does not counter her words. This tension ceases; the story moves toward resolution.

Yet a different tension emerges in scene 4 (4:1–13). Corresponding to the theme of kinship ties in 1:8–18, it presents a point of view alien to the dynamics of the story. The catchwords "gate" (*šʿr*), "redeem" (*gʿl*), and "buy" (*qnh*) mark the tone. At the gate of the city, where business and legal transactions occur, men gather—the elders, Boaz, and the nearer redeemer whom Boaz addresses as "Mr. So-and-so." Boaz presents the case, again giving new information. In a symmetrical structure he claims Naomi wishes to sell land that belonged to Elimelech and Mr. So-and-so has the responsibility of redemption (4:3). Tension mounts when the unnamed man agrees to the purchase, for he becomes the rival of Boaz. Only then does Boaz present the expected issue, albeit with an unexpected motive. The buying of the land entails the "buying" of Ruth "to restore the name of the dead to his inheritance" (4:5; see Sasson 1979 for a review of the issues implied in this key verse). Upon hearing of this obligation, the nearer redeemer changes his mind. The arrangement would impair his own inheritance for the sake of Elimelech's line. Thus the way opens for Boaz to marry Ruth. But the direction of the narrative has shifted. In scene 1 kinship ties altered radically when Ruth broke with family, country, and faith to commit herself to Naomi rather than to the search for a husband. Now, in the corresponding part of scene 4, kinship ties bind

conventionally when restoration for dead males, rather than justice for living females, becomes the motive. Structural symmetry yields semantic dissonance.

Resolution of the women's plight through traditional channels of patriarchy exacerbates tension again. The birth of a son to Ruth (4:13) does not alleviate the problem, but the concluding episode does restore the female perspective. The women of Bethlehem reappear. They call the child a "restorer of life" to Naomi, not a restorer "of the name of the dead to his inheritance," and they exalt Ruth his mother above the ideal number of natural sons (4:15b). When their words converge upon Naomi, she embraces the grandchild. The widow of emptiness is fulfilled. Further, in naming the child Obed, the females of Bethlehem declare, "A son has been born to Naomi!" and not "An inheritor has been born for Elimelech!" Repeatedly, they reinterpret the perspective of the male gathering. As these women spoke for the whole town in scene 1, so now they render its final message in scene 4. Structural symmetry yields semantic harmony.

Poetic analysis finds three conclusions to Ruth, each with its own function (see Berlin 1983). First is the birth of the male child (4:14–16). It completes the events of the story, compensating for the death of the sons at the beginning. Second is the reference to Obed as "the father of David" (4:17). It serves as a coda, moving the time frame into history to forge a link between future and past generations. Third is the genealogy (4:18–22). It provides a larger context for the small family of Elimelech with whom the story began (1:1–5). Yet the androcentric orientation of these endings contrasts strikingly with the distaff life of the story. Such tension opens the narrative to further interpretation.

**4. Theology.** God never speaks in Ruth or performs miracles, but the story abounds in sacred language and activity. Some commentators uncover the hidden God directing human events (Hals 1969, Campbell *Ruth* AB). Others suggest that human speech and action itself manifests the deity (Trible 1978). Whatever the nuance, the book undercuts dichotomies between the divine and the human and between faith and works.

In the narrated introduction God appears to give food (1:6). This assertion begs the question of who sent the famine (1:2) and so presages the storyteller's perspective throughout. God is the author of life. Accordingly, the deaths of Elimelech, Mahlon, and Chilion are not attributed to the divine (1:1–5), but the birth of Obed is Yahweh's gift (4:13). Contrary to this view sounds Naomi's voice in scene 1. She claims that Yahweh might learn faithfulness from Orpah and Ruth (1:9). She also avers that the Lord's hand has gone forth against her (1:13) and the Almighty has afflicted her with great calamity (1:20–21). For Naomi, Yahweh brings death, not life. Posing the problem of theodicy, her complaints shatter any pat correlation of reward and punishment. The issue resolves as Naomi moves from being a victim to becoming an agent of change and a recipient of blessing. After granting Ruth permission to glean and seeing the successful outcome, Naomi invokes divine blessing upon Boaz, appealing this time to the faithfulness of Yahweh who "has not forsaken the living or the dead" (2:19–20). This altered perspective leads her to propose the plan at the threshing floor and then to advise patience. Eventually she is blessed with the birth of her grandchild. Out of Naomi's pilgrimage comes a theology of providence. God gives life.

The words *ḥesed* and *bārûk/bĕrûkāh* are central. *Ḥesed* connotes faithfulness in action and attitude. *Bārûk* bestows the God-given blessing of life upon another. *Ḥesed* appears alone near the beginning of the story and *bārûk* alone near the end. In the middle they occur together twice. Naomi sees Orpah and Ruth as models of *ḥesed* in their devotion to her and her family (1:8). When she blesses (*bārûk*) the man who took notice of Ruth (2:19), she blesses (*bārûk*) Boaz by Yahweh and cites divine *ḥesed* (2:20). Later when Boaz invokes blessing (*bĕrûkāh*) by Yahweh upon Ruth, he commends her for a second act of *ḥesed* in seeking an heir for Naomi (3:10; cf. 2:12). At last, the women of Bethlehem bless (*bārûk*) Yahweh for goodness to Naomi (4:14).

Even where these words do not occur, their meanings are implicit. Thus a theology of chance emerges. By chance Ruth comes to the field of Boaz (2:3). There she receives the blessing of grain through the faithfulness of Boaz. By chance Boaz lies down at the end of the heap of grain (3:7). The position is the blessing of accessibility for Ruth who dares to request the faithfulness due her. By chance Mr. So-and-so

appears at the city gate (4:1) so that Boaz can faithfully settle the issue of redemption to effect blessing upon the widows. Within human luck, then, lies divine intentionality. A faithful God blesses through a faithful people.

Among the book's characters, women predominate. They embody a remnant theology in contrast to patriarchal perspectives. Scene 1 presents Naomi and Ruth all alone; they make their own decisions. This portrayal continues in scene 2, even though the appearance of Boaz complicates the situation. The power of the scene is not, however, transferred to him. The women prevail in their struggle for physical survival. Similarly, in scene 3 they summon an Israelite man to responsibility and thereby secure their cultural survival. At its beginning, scene 4 reverts to a traditional mode when males decide the future of the widows. At the end, the females of Bethlehem reinterpret the occasion. The newborn child symbolizes a new beginning with men. Overall, the book of Ruth shows females working out their own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God who works in them (cf. Philippians 2:12).

**G. Legal Allusions**

Three references in chapter 4 evoke comparisons with Pentateuchal laws: the role of the redeemer with laws of redemption (Lev 25:25 and 27:9–33); the right of a widow to inherit her husband's property with the silence of the recorded law (cf. Num 27:1–11); and the remarriage of a childless widow with the law of the levirate (Deut 25:5–10). To reconcile these texts is difficult, though many scholars have tried. One view holds that Ruth belongs to a period after the codification of the law and so reflects modifications of it. A converse proposal maintains that the book precedes the formulation of the law and so reflects its antecedents. Both positions stress the legal credibility of the narrative. (For discussion, see Rowley 1965 and Thompson 1968.) A related approach, not tied to dating, suggests that Ruth demonstrates policy rather than techniques; it appeals to underlying legal principles rather than specific formulations (Campbell *Ruth* AB). Still another perspective finds in the story a metalegal attitude whereby the spirit rather than the letter of the law prevails (Levine 1983).

**H. Purpose**

Attempts to specify a single purpose falter in light of the book's richness and complexity. Many levels of meaning intertwine—social, political, religious, and aesthetic. A representative list includes: to maintain Israelite customs, inculcate legal duties, integrate law and daily life, legitimate David and his monarchy, tell a good story, encourage proselytes, promote universalism over against nationalism, elevate the virtues of friendship and loyalty, glorify family ties, preserve women's traditions, and witness to God at work. Two approaches, however, are best avoided: to interpret the book as protest literature and to relate its purpose to one specific historical setting. Neither in tone nor content is it polemical, and the date is uncertain.

**I. Canon**

By the beginning of the 2d century C.E., the canonical status of Ruth was assured (see *Meg.* 7a). Less certain is its place within the canon.

**1. Placement.** In the Hebrew Bible Ruth appears among the Writings, though its precise location varies. According to the Babylonian Talmud (*B. Bat.* 14b), it comes first, to be followed by the Psalms. This order may be chronological. Set in the days of the judges, Ruth antedates the purported contexts of the other Writings. Ending with the genealogy of David, it prepares the way for the Psalms, most of which are attributed to him.

Another tradition places Ruth within the Megilloth. As one of five festival scrolls, it is read on the Feast of Weeks or Shabuoth (Pentecost) in celebration of the harvest. Two versions of this location exist: (1) a *liturgical* order that puts Ruth second, after the Song of Songs, which is read on Passover, and before Lamentations (ninth of Ab), Ecclesiastes (Succoth), and Esther (Purim); (2) a *chronological* order that has Ruth first, followed by Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, and Esther. In the latter arrangement Ruth follows Proverbs.

The ordering of the Greek Bible differs. There Ruth comes after Judges and before Samuel. Factors influencing this location include the juridical setting of the story (1:1), the genealogy that prepares for the coming of David (4:18–22), and the ancient ascription of authorship to Samuel.

**2. Meanings.** Many scholars view canon as a theological issue whereby a single book is interpreted within the whole of scripture. In this light, Ruth elicits numerous observations. When placed after Judges, it contrasts strikingly with the terror story of the unnamed concubine, a tale from which God is absent (Judges 19–21). Ruth shows that in the days of the judges not every man did what was right in his own eyes (cf. Judg 21:25). Some males lived by *ḥesed* and treated females accordingly. Moreover, divine providence guided the affairs of daily life. While contrasted to the concubine narrative, Ruth complements Hannah's story at the beginning of Samuel (1 Sam 1:1–2:21). Also set in the days of the judges, this account continues the theme of providence. Yahweh remembers Hannah and gives her a son. If Ruth is more to Naomi than seven sons (4:15), Elkanah is more to Hannah than ten (1 Sam 1:8). Both stories honor women. This emphasis occurs again in the order that puts Ruth immediately after Proverbs. The latter concludes with an acrostic poem that exalts an *ʾēšêt ḥayil*, a woman of worth (31:10–31). The same phrase describes Ruth (3:11) and so places this Moabite in a larger Israelite tradition about women.

Other allusions firmly anchor the narrative to past and future memories. Ruth's decision to follow Naomi recalls Abraham's departure from his country, clan, and father's house to go to an unknown land (Gen 12:1–3). Boaz's words to Ruth confirm the analogy (2:11). Foreigners populate the story of Israel. Among them are the ancient mothers of Rachel, Leah, and Tamar with whom the elders of Bethlehem compare Ruth (4:11–12). Though these names yield fragments for a female genealogical tradition, the reference to Tamar exalts the house of her son Perez. The genealogy at the close (4:18–22) returns to the male line. It traces descendants of Perez through nine generations culminating with Obed, Jesse, and David. Related to the long genealogy of 1 Chronicles 2, this conclusion enlarges the context. Divine activity in the story of Naomi and Ruth belongs to a sacred history that establishes the nation Israel (cf. Merrill 1985).

Finally, in the canonical conversation between the Hebrew scriptures and the NT, genealogies again expand interpretations of Ruth. Though the male line in Luke alludes only to the ending of the book (Luke 3:31–33), the version in Matthew includes the women Tamar and Ruth (Matt 1:3–6).

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PHYLLIS TRIBLE

# S

**SABANNUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Sabannys* (Σαβαννυς)]. The Greek reading for Binnui (RSV) in 1 Esdr 8:62—Eng v 63. See BINNUI.

**SABAOTH** [Heb *ṣābāʾôt* (צְבָאוֹת)]. See HOSTS, LORD OF.

**SABBAIAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Sabbaias* (Σαββαιας)]. One of the sons of Annan who returned with Ezra (1 Esdr 9:32). He was one of the Israelites who had married foreign wives and had to put them away with their children in accordance with Ezra's reform. He is possibly the same person as Shemaiah, who is identified as one of the sons of Harim in Ezra 10:31.
JIN HEE HAN

**SABBATH** [Heb *šabbāt* (שַׁבָּת)]. The word "sabbath" designates in the Bible the weekly seventh day of festal rest which is a day of abstention from secular work that follows each six-day working week.

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**A. Sabbath Terminology**

The discussion of the terminology of the sabbath is in many ways interrelated with the quest for extrabiblical sabbath origins. It will be helpful, however, to describe the terminological evidence for the sabbath in both the OT and NT.

**1. Hebrew Terminology.** The Heb noun *šabbāt,* "sabbath," occurs 111 times in the OT. Concentrations of usage are in the Pentateuch with 47 times (Exodus 15 times; Leviticus 25 times; Numbers 4 times; Deuteronomy 3 times), the prophetic literature with 32 times (Ezekiel 15 times; Isaiah 8 times; Jeremiah 7 times; Amos and Hosea 1 time each), and the historical books with 30 times (Nehemiah 14 times; 1–2 Chronicles 10 times; 2 Kings 6 times). It appears one time each in Ps 92:1 and Lam 2:6. The noun *šabbātôn,* "sabbath feast," seems to be a derivative of the noun *šabbāt* (GKC §240) and appears eleven times. It is used by itself in Exod 16:23; 31:15; Lev 23:24, 39 in the sense of "sabbath feast" and in Lev 25:6 for "the sabbath of the land," i.e., the sabbatical year. The combination *šabbāt šabbātôn,* "sabbath of complete/solemn rest," appears for the seventh day (Exod 32:5; Lev 23:3), the annual Day of Atonement (Lev 16:31; 23:32), the annual Feast of Trumpets (Lev 23:24) and the sabbatical year (Lev 25:4).

The relationship between the noun *šabbāt* and the Heb verb *šābat,* "to stop, cease, keep (sabbath)" in the *Qal,* "to disappear, be brought to a stop" in the *Nip*ʿ*al,* "to put to an end, bring to a stop" in the *Hip*ʿ*il,* remains disputed. Scholars have argued that the noun derives from the verb (for example, *AncIsr,* 475–76; *RGG* [3] 5:1259) or that the verb derives from the noun (for example, North 1955:185–87; KB, 496). While there is no conclusive answer, it seems certain that the noun *šabbāt* cannot be derived from the Akk term *šab/pattu (m)* (see B.1 below). A possible connection of *šabbāt* with the number "seven" has been left open (Hehn 1907, 1909; North *NCE* 12:780). In this case the Akk feminine form *sibbitîm,* "seventh," may be considered as an ancestor of the Heb noun *šabbāt,* "sabbath," also a feminine form, which, if the relationship holds, may have originally meant "the seventh [day]." On this supposition "the seventh day" in Gen 2:2–3 would receive further light.

**2. Greek Terminology.** The Gk neuter noun *sábbaton,* "sabbath," (Mark 2:27–28; 6:2; Matt 12:8; Luke 6:5, etc.) translates the Heb noun *šabbāt.* It corresponds generally to Gk pre-NT usage. Whether the Gk noun *sábbaton* derives from the Aram *šabbāh* by means of the emphatic form *šabbetâ* or is a spontaneous creation seems to be immaterial (Pelletier 1972:441 n. 2).

The NT has 67 usages of the term *sábbaton* (Synoptics 43 times; John 13 times; the remaining usages appear in Acts and in a few letters). In some usages the plural form (Matt 28:1; Mark 16:2; Luke 24:1; John 20:1, 19; Acts 20:27) or the singular (Luke 18:12; Mark 16:9; 1 Cor 16:2) refers to "week"; otherwise the meaning is always the seventh day of the week, the sabbath.

**B. Modern Research on Sabbath Origins**

At the end of the 19th century appear the first modern attempts to find the origin of the sabbath outside of the OT. This modern quest for extrabiblical religio-historical sabbath origins was conditioned by the extensive redating of materials in Pentateuchal criticism and the discovery of texts from ancient Babylon.

**1. Babylonian Origins.** Various hypotheses and theories of Babylonian sabbath origins were put forth some years ago. It was suggested first that the Hebrew noun *šabbāt* and the Akk term *šab/pattu (m),* which were at first thought to be identical, meant approximately the same thing, i.e., "day of rest" (so Lotz 1938). The Akk term was brought into connection with *ûmê lemnûti,* "evil (taboo) days" of the Assyrian calendar, which appeared in approximately seven-day sequences. This hypothesis had to be abandoned when it became apparent that *šab/pattu (m)* was the 15th day of the month, the full moon day, and was never applied to taboo days. In the course of time it also became evident that the *ûmê lemnûti* are the 1st, 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st (added later) and 28th days of the month without fitting into a true weekly cycle. The 19th day was the most important day, but never fits into a seven-day schema.

The Akk term *šab/pattu (m)* cannot be etymologically related to the Heb term *šabbāt* and the latter cannot be directly derived from the Akk term. The Heb term has its middle consonant (radical) doubled, whereas the Akk term has its last consonant (radical) doubled. Comparative Semitic linguistics cannot adequately account for connections between the two terms because of the differing doubling of letters.

Beginning in 1905, J. Meinhold argued that the OT sabbath was originally a monthly full-moon day and as such was borrowed by Israel from ancient Babylon. His hypothesis has found sporadic support. It is

recently defended by G. Robinson (1988) who argues that the sequence of "new moon—sabbath" in preexilic sabbath texts (Amos 8:4–7; Hos 2:11–15—Eng 2:9–13; Isa 1:10–14; 2 Kgs 4:22–23) shows that the sabbath after the monthly "new moon" is a monthly "full moon" day just as the sequence in Babylonian texts has *arḫum-šapattu,* "new moon–full moon." In postexilic times the monthly (full moon) sabbath is said to have been transformed into the weekly sabbath. However, this alleged parallel has serious problems: (1) The sequence in all currently known Babylonian (and Sumerian) texts is *arḫum-sebutu-šapattu,* "1st (new moon), 7th, and 15th (full moon) days," which is totally unaccounted for in the OT. (2) The 8th-century text of Hos 2:13—Eng 2:11 (cf. Amos 8:5; Isa 1:13) manifests the sequence of "feasts–new moons–sabbaths," three festal celebrations in the order of increasing frequency of "yearly (feasts), monthly (new moons), and weekly (sabbaths)" celebrations. The sequence also appears in reversed form of decreasing frequency of "weekly (sabbaths), monthly (new moons), and yearly (feasts)" celebrations (Ezek 46:1, 3, 9; 1 Chr 23:31; 2 Chr 2:3—Eng 2:4; 31:3; cf. Ezra 3:5). Both sequences are unknown outside of Israel. (3) New moon and sabbath continue to stand next to each other in later and particularly postexilic texts (Ezek 45:17; 46:1; Neh 10:33; cf. 1 Chr 23:31; 2 Chr 2:3—Eng 2:4) where *šabbāt* refers clearly to the seventh day of the week. (4) The respective contextual settings are so distinct that they cannot be related to each other (Hasel 1988:37–64; Kutsch 1986:71–77). Furthermore, there is no compelling evidence in the OT for an alleged transfer from a preexilic monthly sabbath to an exilic/postexilic weekly sabbath.

Other Babylonian hypotheses hold that an early Semitic pentecontad calendar was used, based on the *ḫamuštu (m)* unit of Babylon, meaning "fifty days" ("pentecontad") as first suggested. The sabbath is said to have been the 50th day of such a period (Morgenstern 1947:1–136; *IDB* 4:135–41) or an alleged last day of a reconstructed Babylonian seven-day week (H. and J. Lewy 1942:1–152) or one-fifth of a month of a sexagesimal calendar system (Tur-Sinai 1951:1, 14–24). These menological hypotheses have not received much support in scholarly circles, because (1) there is no clear evidence for a pentacontad calendar, and (2) *ḫamuštu (m)* is typically a five-day period and does not stand for fifty or six days respectively.

**2. Kenite Origin.** The Kenite hypothesis holds that the Israelites adopted the seventh-day Sabbath through Moses in the Sinai region from metal-working nomads known as the Kenites. The sabbath was supposedly Saturn-day of the nomadic Kenites (Eerdmans 1925:79–83; Rowley 1951:81–118). There is no documentary evidence in support of this hypothesis, and the biblical texts cited in its favor (Exod 35:3; Num 15:32; Amos 5:26) are highly disputed in their precise meaning. Accordingly this hypothesis has had only few followers and is hardly supported today.

**3. Arabic Origin.** D. Nielsen (1904:52–88) suggested that the sabbath originates through the linguistic link with the Akk *šabattu* which is supposedly derived from the Ar verb *tabat,* "sit," a word used for the four monthly phases where the moon "sat." Ancient Arabs worshipped the moon on the four days of the "sitting" of the moon each month, and thus provided the background for the seven-day intervals which in Israel were turned into weekly cycles. This lunar hypothesis has the same difficulties as the ones mentioned previously. The Akk term *šap/battu (m)* is never used for a seven-day cycle or for the four monthly stages of the moon and thus cannot provide a link. The lunar month has 29 days, but weekly sabbath cycles never harmonize or coincide with the phases of the moon. It is not surprising that this hypothesis has not attracted any supporters.

**4. Ugaritic Origin.** Texts from ancient Ugarit (Ras Shamra) have divisions of "seven years" in the Danel cycle and "seven days" in the *Krt* legend. These days have to do with a festival week and it is maintained that "it is only a short step to the assumption that the origin of the seven-day week was the festival week, which was carried over … from the cultic festival and from the cultic week to the reckoning of time as a whole" (Kraus 1966:87). There is no direct or indirect evidence in support of this connection. Some scholars build on the supposition that there was a universal "seven" structure on the basis of which the origin of the sabbath is to be explained (Negretti 1972, and earlier, Hehn 1907:59–61, 115–20).

**5. Sociological Origins.** Several scholars have suggested a variety of sociological contexts out of which the seventh-day sabbath is said to have evolved. H. Webster (1916:188–92, 101–23) sees the sabbath rooted in "special days" or "rest days" of primitive agriculturalists. Some suggest that the sabbath had its beginning in the "market days" (Jenni 1956:7–16). However, there is no evidence for a seven-day cycle of market days from the ancient Near East or anywhere else. The development from a market day to a regularly recurring cycle of weekly sabbath celebration remains likewise unaccounted for.

In spite of the extensive efforts of more than a century of study into extra-Israelite sabbath origins, it is still shrouded in mystery. No hypothesis whether astrological, menological, sociological, etymological, or cultic commands the respect of a scholarly consensus. Each hypothesis or combination of hypotheses has insurmountable problems. The quest for the origin of the sabbath outside of the OT cannot be pronounced to have been successful. It is, therefore, not surprising that this quest has been pushed into the background of studies on the sabbath in recent years.

**C. Sabbath in the OT**

The sabbath appears in a variety of texts in OT literature and in varied contexts of historical and theological import.

**1. Pentateuch.** The Pentateuch has been considered traditionally to contain the earliest references to the sabbath in the OT. Historical-critical redating of many Pentateuchal strata and traditions has called this into question for many modern scholars. However, there is no unanimity of scholarly opinion on matters of dating and caution remains in order. Also new methods of research throw new light on old questions.

**a. Narrative Texts.** There are two narratives in which the sabbath plays a prominent role. The creation account of Gen 1:1–2:4a climaxes in the creation sabbath (2:1–3). This pregnant passage reveals that God had finished his creative activity in six days after which he "rested" *(šābat)* on the "seventh day," i.e., ceased from his creative activity (v 2). The "seventh day" means the sabbath even though the noun *šabbāt* is not used. The phonetic linkage between *šābat* and *šabbāt* is generally perceived to indicate sabbath-rest. This seems supported by other typical sabbath terminology which Gen 2:1–3 has in common with the fourth commandment of the Decalogue: "seventh day" (vv 2–3; Exod 20:10), "bless" (Heb *bārak,* v 3; Exod 20:11), "sanctify/make holy" (Heb *qiddaš [Pi῾el],* v 3; Exod 20:11; cf. 31:14), "make" (Heb *῾āśāh,* vv 2–3; Exod 20:9–10; cf. 31:14–15), and "work" (Heb *melā᾽kāh,* v 3; Exod 20:9–10; cf. 31:14–15). The "seventh day" sabbath is "blessed" as no other day and thereby imbued with a power unique to this day. God made this day "holy" by separating it from all other days. Rest-day holiness is something God bestowed onto the seventh day. God manifested himself in refraining from work and in rest as the divine Exemplar for humankind. The sequence of "six working-days" and a "seventh [sabbath] rest-day" indicates universally that every human being is to engage in an *imitatio Dei,* "imitation of God," by resting on the "seventh day." "Man" *(᾽ādām),* made in the *imago Dei,* "image of God," (Gen 1:26–28) is invited to follow the Exemplar in an *imitatio Dei,* participating in God's rest by enjoying the divine gift of freedom from the labors of human existence and thus acknowledging God as his Creator.

Exodus 16 reveals "that through a miraculous rhythm in the provision of the manna Israel was both shown the keeping of the sabbath rest on each seventh day and was obliged to keep this divine ordinance" (Noth *Exodus* OTL, 132). The noun "sabbath" (*šabbāt*), the expression "sabbath feast" (*šabbātôn*), the explicit identification of sabbath as "seventh day," the "sixth day" as preparation for the sabbath, the idea of "rest" on the sabbath for human beings, the notion of the sabbath as a feast and not a day burdened with fasting, and the sabbath being based on YHWH's "commandments and laws" appear in Exod 16:22–30 for the first time. In Noth's view this is "presumably the oldest Old Testament passage about the sabbath" (*Exodus* OTL, 136). For Childs "the existence of the sabbath is assumed for the writer" (*Exodus* OTL, 290). The idea that sabbath keeping is part of "laws and commandments" (v 28) has led Buber to say that the sabbath "is not introduced for the first time even in the wilderness of Sin, where the manna is found. Here, too, it is proclaimed as something which is already in existence" (1958:80). The nature ("holy"), function ("sabbath feast"), and purpose ("rest") of the sabbath reveals religious, social, and humanitarian significance already in this wilderness setting.

**b. Legal Texts.** The fourth commandment of the Decalogue (Exod 20:8–11; Deut 5:12–15) is dated late in form-critical and traditio-historical study and is reconstructed into a supposedly short early (Mosaic?) commandment which was formulated either positively according to some scholars or negatively according to others. However, no scholarly consensus has emerged from these endeavors (Meesters 1966:84–111; Negretti 1972:173–224; Robinson 1988:143–54). The Mesopotamian tradition of old ANE law codes reveals that long and short laws can stand next to each other (*ANET*, 160–61, 162–63, 166–77) without necessarily involving a long development of either. Later Hittite laws (14th century B.C.) manifest that a later version of a law can be shorter or longer than the original version (Hasel 1982a: 28–29).

The sabbath commandment has a literary structure shared in common in the versions of Exod (siglum E) and Deut (siglum D): A–Introduction (E, v 8; D, v 12), B–Command (E, v 9; D, v 13), C–Motivation (E, v 10a; D, v 14a), B1–Command (E, v 10b; D, v 14b), C1–Motivation (E, v 11a; D, vv 14 c–15), D–Conclusion (E, v 11b; D, v 15b). It reveals that aside from the minor changes between the two versions the most noticeable change in wording appears only in the C1–Motivation. In Exod 20:11a the C1–Motivation grounds the sabbath in YHWH's creation (Gen 2:2–3), whereas in Deut 5:14c–15a it is grounded in the redemptive Exodus experience. The soteriological and freedom-from-slavery emphasis in Deut 5:14c–15a and the creation freedom-from-labor emphasis in Exod 20:11a indicate that one is dependent on the other and that both are humanitarian in essence. Man is to rest on the seventh day because YHWH, as rest-providing Creator, sets an example of rest for human beings and because YHWH, as liberating Redeemer, sets an example of rest from slavery so that all are able to rest (Exod 5:5). Thus the covenant community is called upon to "remember/observe" (both infinitive absolutes functioning as strong imperatives). The command to "remember" points to the origin of the sabbath prior to Mt. Sinai, an obligation (cf. Exod 16:28) going back to the beginning (Childs *Exodus* OTL, 416), and Deuteronomy uses an equivalent expression in the term "observe."

The Book of the Covenant (Exod 20:22–23:33) contains various covenant statutes and ordinances and among them an ordinance of sabbath rest on the "seventh day" (23:12) similar to Deut 5:14. The sabbath commandment of Exod 34:21 indicates that sabbath celebration shall not be interrupted even in times of plowing and harvest. The instruction for sabbath keeping in Exod 31:12–17 reiterates most of the known aspects of the sabbath. However, several major thoughts appear here for the first time: (a) "Whoever does any work on the sabbath shall be put to death" (v 14), (b) sabbath observance is a "perpetual covenant" (v 16), and (c) the sabbath is a "sign between me and you" (v 13). The death penalty is enjoined upon a member of the covenant community for sabbath disobedience (cf. Exod 35:2b; Num 15:32–36). There is no indication that such punishment should be inflicted outside of the realm of ancient Israel. As the Noahic covenant has a "sign" (Gen 9:13, 17) in the rainbow and the Abrahamic covenant has a "sign" (Gen 17:11) in circumcision, so the Sinai covenant has a "sign" in the sabbath. Its "sign" signification is *commemorative* of God as Creator and Redeemer where the sabbath-keeping community confesses its continuing relationship to its covenant Lord; it is also *prospective* in signification in that it is a "sign" of the covenant history moving forward to its appointed goal; it is at the same time a "sign" signifying the believer's *present* posture vis-á-vis God with physical, mental, and spiritual renewal taking place in each sabbath celebration.

**2. Prophetical Writings.** The weekly sabbath appears in Amos, the oldest of the classical prophets. Amos 8:5 affirms the knowledge of the seventh-day sabbath in the N Kingdom (Israel). Greedy merchants could hardly wait for the sabbath to end, presumably at sundown, on which the sabbath began and ended as any other day (Gen 1:5, 8, 13, etc.; Lev 23:32; Ps 55:18—Eng 17; Neh 13:19). The sabbath is a day on which no business activities took place. The social-humanitarian aspect is present in the idea of rest, and the moral aspect manifests itself in the control of avarice and greed by refraining from commercial interests.

The widely discussed sequence of "new moon and sabbath" in Amos 8:5; Hos 2:13—Eng 2:11; and Isa 1:13, which are universally accepted 8th century sabbath passages, have been understood to occur "at equal intervals" and "that we have here an institution parallel to the Babylonian *šab/pattú* with monthly occurrence" (Robinson 1988:55, cf. pp. 59–60; see above on the alleged Babylonian parallel). The full

sequence in Hos 2:13—Eng 2:11 is "feasts *(ḥag)*, new moons *(ḥōdeš)* and sabbaths *(šabbāt)*" followed by an appositional phrase "and all her appointed festivals *(môʿēd)*." The term "feasts *(ḥag)*" stands in the OT only for the annual feasts, the designation "new moons *(ḥōdeš)*" is a monthly celebration, and "sabbaths *(šabbāt)*" are accordingly weekly celebrations. The sequence is clearly one of an increasing number of celebrations in the order from least frequent to most frequent, i.e., yearly–monthly–weekly, celebrations (Hasel 1988:38–45). Evidently the sabbath was celebrated weekly as a day of rest in both the Northern (Amos 8:5; Hos 2:13—Eng 2:11) and the Southern kingdoms (Isa 1:13; cf. 66:23) in the 8th century B.C. Isa 1:13 even indicates that the seventh-day sabbath institution was one of both rest and worship and could be abused, if it regressed into formal ritualism when emptied of a true relationship with God.

Later sections of the book of Isaiah contain pregnant sabbath passages (Isa 56:1–8; 58:13–14; 66:23). The sabbath belongs to YHWH (56:4), sabbath-keeping means holding fast "my covenant" (v 6; cf. Lev 26:42, 45), Israelite and non-Israelite sabbath-keepers receive divine blessings (Isa 56:2, 6).

Isa 58:13–14 is a most profound OT sabbath passage not to be separated from its context in this chapter. Three prohibitive injunctions protect the believer from having human and secular affairs diminish the sabbath, because the sabbath is a day of "delight" *(ʿonēg)* and enjoyment on which humans are set free to experience liberation from everyday pursuits. The sabbath is not a legalistic, ritualistic, and burdensome institution, but one that creates "delight" in all spheres of human existence. The sabbath-keeper will be the recipient of such superb divine promises as being fed with the heritage of Jacob and riding on the heights of the earth. Isa 66:23 has the context of the new creation, in which universally "all flesh" will worship YHWH "from sabbath to sabbath."

Jeremiah's prose sermon about the sabbath (17:19–27) keeps sabbath-breaking and sabbath-keeping within the confines of the covenant and the instruction given to the "forefathers" (v 22). The sabbath is a day of rest on which no commercial enterprises are to be enacted. The idea that sabbath-keeping is the condition for the survival of Jerusalem (and Judah) is rooted in the notion of obedience to the covenant stipulations contained in the Decalogue, the breach of which had profoundest concern for Jeremiah (7:8–10; cf. Lam 2:6).

The book of Ezekiel has a high concentration of references to the sabbath (20:12–24; 22:8–26; 23:38; 44:24; 45:17; 46:1–4, 12). The sabbath belongs to YHWH (20:12–13, 20–21, 24; 22:26; 23:38; 44:24) and is a covenant "sign" (20:12, 20) between YHWH and his people. Its profanation is cited among infractions of God's law (20:13, 16, 21, 24, 26; cf. 22:8–26; 23:38). The exile did not come because of sabbath profanation. The latter is but an external sign for covenant breaking, a key theme in Ezekiel, of which the sabbath is the "sign." The sabbath is to be "sanctified/hallowed" (20:20; 44:24; cf. Gen 2:3; Exod 20:8, 11). The sabbath "may well have become a touchstone of loyalty to YHWH from the time of the assimilatory reforms of Manasseh onward" (Greenberg *Ezekiel 1–20* AB, 367) and therefore is singled out by Ezekiel (and Jeremiah, as also in the later parts of the book of Isaiah) as a special sign of faithfulness to the covenant God.

**3. Historical Writings.** 2 Kgs 4:22–23 indicates that there was no travel restriction for visiting a man of God on "the new moon or sabbath." The sequence of the two festivals is here also one of increasing frequency of celebration. The new moon arrived monthly and the sabbath weekly. This text may be safely dated to the 9th century B.C. and gives evidence of knowledge of the seventh-day sabbath in the Northern kingdom at that time.

In 2 Kgs 11:4–12 (= 2 Chr 23:4–11) the sabbath is the day of the week on which the ruling monarch was overthrown, presumably since he visited the temple for religious purposes. 2 Kgs 16:17–18 mentions the removal of a structure "for the sabbath" in the time of Ahaz (735–715 B.C.).

The sabbath has a variety of connections in the work of the Chronicler (1 Chr 9:32; 23:31; 2 Chr 2:4; 8:13; 31:3; 36:21) with reference to temple, land, covenant, rest, redemption, and restitution.

Sabbath observance was lax in the time of Nehemiah. The sabbath was "profaned" (Neh 13:17–18) and there was need to bring the sabbath back to its rightful place (9:6–37; 10:31–34; 13:15–22) as a day of rest, worship, and enjoyment from sunset Friday to sunset Saturday (13:19).

**D. Sabbath in Extrabiblical Texts**

There are various archaeological discoveries that have been linked directly or indirectly to the sabbath in biblical times.

**1. Sabbath Attacks on Ancient Israel.** Sennacherib's letter written on his Judean campaign in 701 B.C. refers to his capture of Lachish on Hezekiah's "seventh time" (*ina 7-šu,* lit. "in his 7th (time)," Na›aman 1974:26). Shea (1988:178) has suggested that Hezekiah's "seventh time" refers to the sabbath, the day when its defenders rested and the Assyrians captured Lachish. If this suggestion is correct, this cuneiform text from Sennacherib "becomes the earliest extrabiblical reference to the Sabbath" (Shea 1988:179; cf. Shea 1989:22–23). It corresponds to such passages as Amos 8:4; Hos 2:11—Eng 13; and Isa 1:13 where the weekly sabbath is also depicted as a day of rest.

The publication of the Chronicles of the Babylonian Kings by Wiseman in 1956 provided the date for the capture of Jerusalem "on the second day of the month of Adar" (Wiseman 1956:72–73), i.e., March 16, 597. The day was a sabbath (Johns 1963:483–84). Also the day for the first assault against Jerusalem on January 15, 588, is again a sabbath, based on the synchronism of the biblical date (2 Kgs 25:1; Jer 52:4; Ezek 24:1–2) with the Babylonian records. Again the fall of Jerusalem on the 9th day of the 4th month of Zedekiah's 11th year (Jer 52:5–8) is calculated to fall on a sabbath (Johns 1963:485). Based on these calculations, it appears that the military strategy of the Assyrians and Neo-Babylonians utilized the seventh-day sabbath rest of the Israelites to accomplish their military-political goals.

This strategy was again used later by the Seleucids at the beginning of the Maccabean period when Jews were attacked on the sabbath but refused to resist on this day (Josephus *Ant* 12.6.2; 1 Macc 2:33–38).

**2. Yabneh-Yam Ostracon.** The so-called Yabneh-Yam (Meṣad Ḥashavyahu) ostracon, discovered in 1960 by J. Naveh and dated to about 625 B.C., contains in lines 5–6 the Heb phrase *lpny šbt,* "before sabbath" (Cross 1962:45 n. 45; Albright *ANET,* 568; Delekat 1970:455; Lemaire 1977:261). Some scholars have emended *šbt* into *šbty* and vocalized it as *šibtî,* "I stopped" (Robinson 1988:91), but there is no reason to emend the text of the ostracon. The term *šbt* seems contextually best rendered "sabbath" (Shea 1989:22). In this case, the Yabneh-Yam ostracon provides extrabiblical evidence for a seventh-day sabbath in preexilic times, the time of the reign of Josiah of Judah.

**3. Aramaic Ostraca and Papyri.** The Aram Elephantine ostraca, dated to the 5th century B.C., contain four ostraca which refer to the sabbath. A certain Jedaniah who was imprisoned makes reference to "the [d]ay of the sabbath" ([*y*]*wm šbh CAP* 44); a Uriah refers to a shipment which needs to take place before "the day of the sabbath" (*ywm šbh CAP* 186); another ostracon refers to someone who will arrive at "the eve (of the sabbath) [‹*rwbh*])" (*CAP* 204); and the fourth ostracon is addressed to a woman urging, "Meet the boat tomorrow on sabbath *(šbh)* lest they [vegetables] get lost/spoiled" (Porten 1969:116; cf. Dupont-Sommer 1949:31). These brief remarks in private letters seem to indicate that the sabbath as special day was important to the Jewish community at Elephantine in Upper Egypt.

The personal name Shabbethai, meaning "born on the sabbath," appears a number of times in the Elephantine ostraca as it does in the OT (Ezek 10:15; Neh 8:7; 11:16). Porten (1969:117) believes that in some instances in Elephantine this name is used also by non-Jews, indicating that they had apparently adopted sabbath observance.

An Aram papyrus from Saqqâra (not later than 5th-4th century B.C.) mentions the words *šbt›* and *šbt,* which may refer to the "sabbath" or perhaps be interpreted as the personal name Shabbatai (Segal 1983:95). In either case it seems to give evidence for the sabbath at Saqqâra in Egypt.

The Aram name *šbty,* "Shabbatai," appears on a sarcophagus in Assuan, Upper Egypt, presumably belonging to a non-Jew (Kornfeld 1967:9–16).

**E. Sabbath in Intertestamental Literature**

The development of the sabbath in intertestamental times shows variance in observance and reveals significant intensifications.

**1. Qumran Literature.** The recent publication of the Shabbath Songs (4QShirShabb), a fragmentary liturgical composition from Qumran in thirteen sections, one for each of the first thirteen sabbaths of the year, describes the heavenly priesthood of angels serving in the heavenly sanctuary each sabbath, supposedly corresponding to sabbath worship on earth (cf. *Jub.* 2:30). 4Q403 1 i 30 is translated by

Newsom, "Song of the sacrifice of the seventh Sabbath on the sixteenth of the month" (1985:211), followed by a call to praise addressed to angels.

The Damascus Document (CD), dated to ca. 100 B.C., enjoins strict sabbath observance (VI, 18), but does not call for the death penalty for sabbath profanation (XII, 3–4). A long section outlines appropriate sabbath observance (X, 14–XII, 5). Sabbath prohibitions include such things as walking further than 1,000 cubits (X, 21), eating that which is prepared on the sabbath (X 22), drinking outside of the camp (X 23), drawing water up into any vessel (XI 2), voluntary fasting (XI 4–5), opening of a sealed vessel (XI 9), wearing of perfume (XI 9–10), lifting of stone or dust at home (XI 10b–11a), aiding a beast in birthing (XI 13a), lifting an animal that has fallen into a pit (XI 13–14), lifting a person that has fallen into a place full of water (XI 16–17), and having sexual relations in the city of the sanctuary (XII 1). These rigid demands are more or less like the sabbath *halakhah* of normative Judaism outside of the Qumran community (cf. Kimbrough 1966:498–99).

The Temple Scroll (11QTemple), dated not later than the third quarter of the 2d century B.C., makes it clear how the Qumran community took the famous expression "on the morrow after the sabbath" (Lev 23:10–11; cf. 23:15–16), which has caused the so-called Pentecost controversy that divided Jewish sects in pre-NT times and ever since. The rabbis and normative Judaism took "sabbath" in this context to mean Passover. The Sadducees, the Samaritans, and other sects took it to mean a regular seventh-day sabbath. The Temple Scroll changes Lev 23:15–16 to read, "And you shall count seven full sabbaths from the day you brought the sheaf of the wave offering; you shall count to the morrow after the seventh sabbath, counting fifty days" (11QTemple 18, 11–12). Based on the 364-day and 52-week solar Qumran (-Jubilees) calendar and beginning the year on Wednesday Nisan 1 (March/April), the Temple Scroll takes the "sabbath" under dispute as the first sabbath after the entire Feast of Unleavened Bread, which is dated to the 25th of the 1st month so that the "morrow of the seventh sabbath" was the 15th of the 3rd month, a Sunday, the 50th day after Pentecost (Yadin 1983:2.76). In this way these festivals always fall on a Sunday, the day after the seventh seventh-day sabbath of the year (Maier 1985:71–73).

**2. Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical Literature.** The author of *Jubilees* (ca. 150 B.C.) has the sabbath fall regularly on the seventh day of each week according to its calendar of 364 days. In *Jub.* 2:17–33 the sabbath is depicted as a specially holy day to be observed only by Israelites and not made for any other people (*Jub.* 2:30). The author strongly maintains the death penalty for any transgression of the sabbath (*Jub.* 2:25–27). The list of sabbath *halakhah* in *Jub.* 50:6–13 corresponds in many aspects with the ones in the Damascus Document (see E.1 above). The following section is typical, "And (as for) any man who does work on it [sabbath], or who goes on a journey, or who plows a field either at home or any (other) place, or who kindles a fire, or who rides an animal, or who travels the sea in a boat, and any man who slaughters or kills anything, … or who fasts or who makes war on the day of the sabbath, let the man … die so that the children of Israel keep the sabbath …" (*Jub.* 50:12–13, trans. Wintermute, *OTP* 2:142).

Fragment 5 of the work of Aristobulus (ca. middle of 2d century B.C.) explains the sabbath in relationship to cosmic orders, also linking the sabbath to wisdom (Frag. 5.9–10) and the sevenfold structures of all things (Frag. 5.12). This work is an attempt to bring the sabbath into relationship with Hellenistic thought similar to that of Philo.

**3. Historical Literature.** In earlier times Israelite enemies captured Jerusalem on the sabbath (see D.1 above). In *Jub.* 50:13 fighting is still prohibited on the sabbath. Ptolomy I Soter (323–283/82 B.C.) took Jerusalem on a sabbath unopposed and ruled it harshly (Joseph. *Ant* 12.1.1). Apollonius, a commander of an army corps of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, in 168 B.C. "waited until the holy sabbath day" to "rush into the city with his armed men and killed great numbers of people" (2 Macc 5:25–26), because Jews did not fight on the sabbath. Sabbath attacks continued (1 Macc 2:38), and Mattathias and his followers decided that they needed to defend themselves on the sabbath (vv 39–41) in order to avoid annihilation. According to Josephus this practice continued (*Ant* 12.6.2). By the time the Romans engaged in war against the Jews, the latter would even attack viciously on sabbath (Joseph. *JW* 2.17.10; 18.1).

**4. Rabbinic Literature.** Rabbinic literature is filled with sabbath regulations and detailed instructions that go far beyond anything found elsewhere in Jewish literature. The most extensive regulations are

gathered together in the Mishnah (*Šabb.* 7.2; *Beṣa* 5.2; and in *ʿErubin,* cf. *TDNT* 7:12–14). Many of these instructions are aimed at protecting the sabbath from profanation. In cases of emergency, however, particularly as regards threats to life, one could flee on sabbath (*Tanḥ.* 245a), act as a midwife on sabbath (*Šabb.* 18.3) to preserve life, and put out a fire on sabbath (*Šabb.* 16.1–7). These are exceptions and sabbath sacredness is to be maintained in cases of doubt (*Tanḥ.* 38b). The rabbis followed the thought that the sabbath was made for the Jews and not for anyone else (*Midr.* Exod. 31.12 [109b]; *Exod. Rab.* 25.11; *Deut. Rab.* 1.21). A Gentile who keeps the sabbath, according to Rabbi Simeon b. Laqish (mid 3d century A.D.), "deserves death" (*Sanh.* 58b). Sabbath-keeping and Jewish identity were one concept in normative Judaism.

**F. Sabbath in the New Testament**

The sabbath appears in the teachings of Jesus, in his conflicts with religious leaders, and in the later NT church.

**1. Gospels.** Jesus, at the beginning of his ministry in Galilee, "went to the synagogue, as his custom was, on the sabbath day" (Luke 4:16). The phrase "as his custom was" indicates that Jesus continued to worship on the sabbath. He remained a faithful disciple of OT scripture following his established custom of attending the synagogue each sabbath (cf. Mark 1:21, 29; 3:1; Luke 4:44; 13:10; etc.).

The four Gospels record among eight sabbath incidents six controversies in which Jesus "rejected the rabbinic sabbath *halakah*" (Jeremias 1973:201), i.e., two are recorded in the three synoptics (Matt 12:1–8 = Mark 2:23–28 = Luke 6:1–5; Matt 12:9–14 = Mark 3:1–6 = Luke 6:6–11), one is recorded in two synoptics (Mark 1:21–28 = Luke 4:31–37) and the remainder are found in Mark (1:29–31), Luke (13:10–17; 14:1–6) and John (5:1–18; 9:1–41) only. The authenticity of these pericopes seems well established (Rordorf 1968:54–74; Lohse *TDNT* 7:21–30; Goppelt 1981:94). Only Jesus' inaugural sabbath sermon in Nazareth (Luke 4:16–30) and the healing of Peter's mother-in-law on the sabbath (Mark 1:29–31) are outside of explicit controversy contexts. All except two (Luke 4:16–30; Mark 2:23–28) of the nine sabbath pericopes involve sabbath miracles.

After Jesus had started to preach in the synagogue in Capernaum a man with an unclean spirit interrupted him. Jesus drove the unclean spirit out of this demon-possessed man (Mark 1:21–28 = Luke 4:31–37). Subsequently, Jesus healed Peter's mother-in-law from a fever on the sabbath (Mark 1:29–31). Jesus continued to preach in the Galilean synagogues presumably on the sabbath and cast out demons (v 39).

At times Jesus is interpreted to have abrogated or suspended the sabbath commandment on the basis of the controversies brought about by sabbath healings and other acts. Careful analysis of the respective passages does not seem to give credence to this interpretation. The action of plucking ears of grain on the sabbath by the disciples is particularly important in this matter. Jesus makes a foundational pronouncement at that time in a chiastically structured statement of antithetic parallelism: "The sabbath was made for man and not man for the sabbath" (Mark 2:27). The disciples' act of plucking grain infringed against the rabbinic *halakhah* of minute casuistry in which it was forbidden to reap, thresh, winnow, and grind on the sabbath (*Šabb.* 7.2). Here again rabbinic sabbath *halakhah* is rejected, as in other sabbath conflicts. Jesus reforms the sabbath and restores it to its rightful place as designed in creation, where the sabbath is made for all mankind and not specifically for Israel, as claimed by normative Judaism (cf. *Jub.* 2:19–20, see D.3). The subsequent logion, "The Son of Man is Lord even of the sabbath" (Mark 2:28; Matt 12:8; Luke 6:5), indicates that man-made sabbath *halakhah* does not rule the sabbath, but that the Son of Man, not man, is Lord of the sabbath. It was God's will at creation that the sabbath have the purpose of serving mankind for rest and bring blessing. The Son of Man as Lord determines the true meaning of the sabbath. The sabbath activities of Jesus are neither hurtful provocations nor mere protests against rabbinic legal restrictions, but are part of Jesus' essential proclamation of the inbreaking of the kingdom of God in which man is taught the original meaning of the sabbath as the recurring weekly proleptic "day of the Lord" in which God manifests his healing and saving rulership over man.

The seven miraculous sabbath healings of Jesus indicate once again that Jesus restores the sabbath to be a benefit for humankind against any distortions of human religious and/or cultic traditions. The healing of the man with the withered hand (Mark 3:1–6 = Matt 12:9–14 = Luke 6:6–11) brought about another confrontation with Pharisees and scribes, because healing on the sabbath was only permitted in case of danger to life (*m. Yoma* 8.6) which obviously was not the case here (cf. Luke 14:1–6) or elsewhere in sabbath healings (John 5:1–18; 9:1–41). Jesus maintained here as always, against the rabbinic position, that "it is lawful to do good on the sabbath" (Matt 12:12).

In his eschatological discourse (Matthew 24), Jesus urged his followers to pray that their flight "may not be in winter or on the sabbath" (Matt 24:20; Mark 13:18 omits "on the sabbath"). Jesus anticipated that his followers would continue to regard the sabbath as holy in the future. His request for them was that they be spared from having to flee on the sabbath, but he presupposes that they would flee if they had to. Lohse maintains, "Mt. 24:20 offers an example of the keeping of the Sabbath by Jewish Christians" (*TDNT* 7:29). A society governed by many rabbinic sabbath laws would make it rather difficult for Christians to flee on the sabbath.

In short, Jesus declared himself Lord of the sabbath. He consistently rejected man-made sabbath *halakhah.* He freed the sabbath from human restrictions and encumbrances and restored it by showing its universal import for all men so that every person can be the beneficiary of the divine intentions and true purposes of sabbath rest and joy. Carson has concluded, "There is no hint anywhere in the ministry of Jesus that the first day of the week is to take the character of the Sabbath and replace it" (1982:85).

**2. Acts.** Aside from two casual references to the sabbath (Acts 1:12; 15:21), the sabbath is mentioned in connection with the establishment of churches in Pisidian Antioch (13:13–52), Philippi (16:11–15), Thessalonica (17:1–9), and Corinth (18:1–4). The Western text includes Ephesus (18:19). Paul, as Jesus before him, went to the synagogue on sabbath "as his custom was" (Acts 17:2; cf. 24:14; 28:17). There is silence on the subject of sabbath abolition at the Jerusalem Conference (15:1–29). There is also no evidence for the abrogation of the sabbath after the Jerusalem Council in the apostolic age or by apostolic authority in the early church (Turner 1982:135–37). Early Jewish and non-Jewish Christians continued to worship on the seventh day as far as the evidence in the book of Acts is concerned.

The single reference to "the first day of the week" in Acts 20:7–12, when Christian believers broke bread in a farewell meeting at the imminent departure of Paul is debated in its meaning. Some scholars suggest that Roman reckoning is used so that "the first day of the week" means Sunday night (Rordorf 1968:200–2; Turner 1982:128–33) and other scholars suggest that Jewish reckoning is used and in that case it means Saturday night (Bacchiocchi 1977:101–11; Mosna 1969:14–17). This passage hardly supports Sunday-keeping on the part of the apostolic church, since this was an occasional farewell meeting lasting till after midnight (v 7) and the breaking of the bread is hardly the Lord's Supper.

**3. Letters.** The meaning of the term "sabbath" in Col 2:16 is controversial. Among the major suggestions are those that take it to refer to the seventh-day sabbath which is thought to be done away with; ceremonial sabbaths of the Jewish cultic year; some Jewish aspect of the sabbath without denying true sabbath-keeping; perverted sabbath-keeping in honor of the elemental spirits of the universe; weekdays that were designated to be sabbaths; or sabbath sacrifices prescribed in Num 28:9–10. Within the context of the Galatian Judaizing heresy, "sabbath" seems to refer to something other than wholesome weekly sabbath-keeping as the majority opinion holds.

Hebrews 4:9 states, "There remains therefore a Sabbath rest for the people of God." The words "sabbath rest" translate the Gk noun *sabbatismos,* a unique word in the NT. This term appears also in Plutarch (*Superst.* 3 [*Moralia* 166a]) for sabbath observance, and in four post-canonical Christian writings which are not dependent on Heb 4:9 (Justin *Dial.* 23:3; Epiph. *Panar. haer.* 30, 2.2; Martyrdom of Peter and Paul, chap. 1; *Const. Apost.* 2.36.2) for seventh-day "sabbath celebration" (Hofius 1970:103–5). The author of Hebrews affirms in Heb 4:3–11, through the joining of quotations from Gen 2:2 and Ps 95:7, that the promised "sabbath rest" still anticipates a complete realization "for the people of God" in the eschatological end-time which had been inaugurated with the appearance of Jesus (1:1–3). "Sabbath rest" within this context is not equated with a future, post-eschaton sabbath celebration in the heavenly

sanctuary; it is likewise not experienced in the rest that comes in death. The experience of "sabbath rest" points to a *present* "rest" *(katapausis)* reality in which those "who have believed are entering" (4:3) and it points to a *future* "rest" reality (4:11). Physical sabbath-keeping on the part of the new covenant believer as affirmed by "sabbath rest" epitomizes cessation from "works" (4:10) in commemoration of God's rest at creation (4:4 = Gen 2:2) and manifests faith in the salvation provided by Christ. Heb 4:3–11 affirms that physical "sabbath rest" *(sabbatismos)* is the weekly outward manifestation of the inner experience of spiritual rest *(katapausis)* in which the final eschatological rest is proleptically experienced already "today" (4:7). Thus "sabbath rest" combines in itself creation-commemoration, salvation-experience, and eschaton-anticipation as the community of faith moves toward the final consummation of total restoration and rest.

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**SABBATH SACRIFICE, SONGS OF THE** (4QShirShabb). See SONGS OF THE SABBATH SACRIFICE.

**SABBATICAL YEAR.** The term applied to the seventh year in Israel, in which a variety of significant religious and civil events took place.

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A. Definitions
B. Fallow Year for the Land
C. Release of Debts or Pledges
D. Release of Slaves
E. Historical Evidence
F. Theological and Ethical Significance

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**A. Definitions**

Strictly speaking, the term "sabbatical year" is only found in Lev 25:2–7, where the expressions "sabbath of rest" and "sabbath to Yahweh" are applied to the seventh year, as the year in which the land is to be left fallow. However this law in Leviticus is clearly an expansion of the simpler and earlier fallow law of Exod 23:10f., and there are other laws concerning what was to take place in that year. Deut 15:1–3 is concerned with the release of debts (or of pledges for debt) in the seventh year. Exod 21:1–6 and the parallel Deut 15:12–18 prescribe the release of Hebrew slaves after seven years. Furthermore, Deut 31:10–13 specifies this year as the time when the whole law was to be read to the whole community. According to Lev 25:8ff., the seventh sabbatical year either was, or was followed by, the year of jubilee in which any land which had been sold was returned to the original owner and any Israelites who had entered slavery as a result of poverty or debt were released to return to their patrimony.

The question of extrabiblical parallels to Israelite sabbatical cycles (both the weekly sabbath and the sabbatical year) is problematic. Attempts to find direct parallels for either in the Babylonian calendars have not been successful. On the other hand, the existence of a seven-year cycle of nature is found in the Ugaritic texts (Gordon 1953). Its purpose was connected with the victory of Baal over Mot, and was to ensure agricultural prosperity. So while it is probably mistaken to think that Israel simply took over their sabbatical institutions from outside (particularly for the weekly sabbath), there are some parallels (particularly for the seventh year) which indicate the close association of religious belief and agricultural practices—an association that is common in all human societies. Certainly we can say that in Israel, as was the case in so many areas of life where it exhibited similarities with the customs of its contemporaries, the theological rationale and the historicizing of the motivation for sabbatical institutions were unique.

Leaving aside the matter of the reading of the law to the whole community in the seventh year, three major aspects of the sabbatical year can be distinguished: legislation concerning land, debt, and slaves. It is thus clearly a primarily socioeconomic institution. The fact that it receives such heavy religious significance as well simply underlines how central was the economic dimension to the faith of Israel. We

shall return to this in the paragraphs below on theological and ethical significance. For the sake of clarity, it will be best to deal with each of these three aspects of the year separately.

**B. Fallow Year for the Land**

**1. Exodus 23:10f.** This law allows six years of normal agriculture, but in the seventh there was to be no plowing. Whatever grew by itself was treated as common, available to the poor and wild animals. The law applied to vines and olives as well as crops. Coming in the Book of the Covenant (Exodus 21–23), this is the earliest of the OT laws concerning the seventh year and may well reflect very ancient and pre-Israelite custom. Though the text of the law itself does not contain any religious rationale or theological motivation, its inclusion within the Book of the Covenant certainly gives it the same overall orientation as the rest of the law within that corpus. It is seen as part of Israel's wider obligations to Yahweh himself within the framework of their covenant relationship to him. Whatever the precise redactional history of the Book of the Covenant, the laws which were included in it, or its constituent sections, by their incorporation as laws of *Israel,* took on the distinctive religious perspective of all Israel's law and life.

While the religious aspect of the law may be implicit, then (especially in view of the deep religious significance of anything to do with the land and agriculture), the humanitarian or social aspect is quite explicit: The fallow year was to be for the benefit of the poor, meaning specifically those without land of their own. In the seventh year the natural produce of the land was common and free. The humanitarian motive for the law fits it in with its surrounding context: the preceding laws concern judicial integrity and fair treatment of foreigners; the following law prescribes weekly rest for the benefit of the slave and domestic animals.

It may be questioned whether a fallow year once in seven years would be of much real benefit to the poor. What did they eat in the other six years? For this reason, some scholars reckon that this earliest form of the law was not prescribing a universal fallow over the whole land of Israel in a single sabbatical year for all. Rather the law meant that individual farmers must operate their own fallow year on their land, as and when they cultivated it, or in some kind of rotation. While it is certainly possible that this was the meaning of the law in its earliest formulation, the question of how the poor survived for six years need not arise when this sabbatical law is set in the context of other laws concerning assistance for the landless poor (see Mason 1987). There was the annual right of gleaning, in the fields, vineyards, and olive groves (Lev 19:9f; 23:22; Deut 24:19–22). And there was the triennial tithe which was to be stored and used for distribution to the poor, and was expected to suffice for their "satisfaction," presumably for the intervening two years (Deut 14:28f.). These laws, of course, are in later legal collections than the Book of the Covenant, but it is very probable that they witness to early practices in Israel concerning benefit rights for the landless poor, of which the fallow year was one.

**2. Leviticus 25:2–7**. When this text is carefully compared with Exod 23:10f., the number of verbal parallels shows that it is obviously dependent on it, and an expansion of it. Several points emerge from the comparison.

Whether or not the law in Exodus was intended as a universal fallow or a seven-year rotation for individual farms, the Leviticus formulation clearly intends a single universal year. "Your land" (Exod 23:10) has become, repeatedly, "the land." The sabbatical year is here more clearly linked to the theology of the land itself.

Two additional phrases, not used in Exodus, intensify the religious aspect of the year: *šabbat šabbātôn* and *šabbat layhwh* (twice). However, it is improbable that this is introducing for the first time a religious rationale. Rather it is making explicit what was always understood. "This sacramental reason … might well be the more original one … in point of content" (Noth, *Leviticus* OTL). For this reason it is unnecessary to see the religious addition in the text itself as evidence for a late date.

The humanitarian dimension is somewhat modified. Whereas the Exodus law specified the poor in a general sense as the beneficiaries of the fallow year, Leviticus homes in on the domestic world of the slaves, hired workers and resident alien workers (25:6). These would have had primary access to the produce of the fallow ground in the households to which they belonged, without ruling out other groups

of landless people. The humanitarian concern for the poor is in any case expressed by other laws within the same legal corpus—i.e., the gleaning rights in Lev 19:9f., and 23:22.

The combination of the religious and the humanitarian can also be seen by comparing the Leviticus law with the immediate context of its Exodus predecessor. In describing the seventh year as a "sabbath to Yahweh," Leviticus is linking it to the sabbath-day law which, in Exod 23:12, immediately follows the fallow-year law. In the decalogue the sabbath day is explicitly referred to as a "sabbath to Yahweh" (Exod 20:10). Thus the seventh year is interpreted in the same way as the seventh day. The land is to enjoy rest after six years of being worked. Interestingly, however, in the Book-of-the-Covenant formulation of the weekly sabbath (just as in its formulation of the seventh year fallow), the religious or theological rationale is taken for granted and it is the humanitarian motivation that is explicit: "so that your ox and donkey may rest and the slave born in your household, and the alien as well, may be refreshed." The same classes of beneficiary are listed in the sabbatical year law in Leviticus (25:6f.), including even the last—the *gēr,* i.e., the non-Israelite, residential laborer. While the sabbatical institutions of Israel were at one level symbolic of their special relationship with Yahweh (the sabbath was a covenant sign), they were not exclusive or narrow in the benefit they gave. The landless alien is included along with the landless Israelite in weekly sabbath rest, septennial access to the fallow produce, as well as his express entitlement to the annual gleaning and the triennial tithe.

**C. Release of Debts or Pledges**

The opening sentence of the law of release in Deut 15:1–3 undoubtedly picks up the phrasing of the fallow year law in Exodus: "you shall make a release" *(šĕmiṭṭâ);* "you shall release it (i.e., the land)," using the same root verb, in Exod 23:11. In fact, some scholars suggest that the opening sentence of the law in Deuteronomy was an ancient formula in Israel prescribing precisely the fallow year—which Deuteronomy has then expanded in vv 2f. into a law concerning debt. It seems best, therefore, to treat this as a law primarily concerned with debt, i.e., agrarian debt related to the use of the land, rather than linking it with the laws concerning the release of slaves.

If the Deuteronomic *šĕmiṭṭâ* presupposes, then, the fallow year law of the Book of the Covenant, the question arises as to its relation to the sabbatical year law of Leviticus. The common critical source division, of course, assigns Leviticus 25 to the "Holiness Code," or the Priestly compilation (H or P), much later than Deuteronomy. However, it is generally agreed that the sociological date of origin of a law or institution may be quite unrelated to the date of its inclusion in a literary compilation, so that the traditional documentary classification of texts cannot really provide an answer to the question of historical precedence among the laws. (Weinfeld 1972 cites the sabbatical and *šĕmiṭṭâ* laws as examples of his contention that some of the laws in P are earlier than those in Deuteronomy.)

On two grounds it seems arguable that the Deuteronomic *šĕmiṭṭâ* law is the latest of the three. First, the verbal parallels are much closer between Leviticus and Exodus. Secondly, and more important, it is easy to suppose that the Deuteronomic law has simply presupposed the existence of the seventh year fallow, as prescribed in Exodus and Leviticus, but it is very difficult to explain why Leviticus should have omitted reference to the release of debts in the seventh year if the Deuteronomic law had already been in existence. Leviticus 25 is throughout concerned with economic arrangements, including problems of debt and poverty, so that the omission of a sabbatical debt release, if it had existed, would be baffling. It seems to make much better sense to see Deuteronomy as expanding the scope of the original fallow-year law so that it is not only a year when the land is released, but also when humans are released from the burden of debt. And certainly for Deuteronomy, the seventh year is universal (as in Leviticus), and has the same sacred significance (it is "to Yahweh," as in Lev 25:2, 4). But it has recaptured and intensified the humanitarian aspect of the original law.

Several exegetical difficulties face us when we try to ascertain precisely what the *šĕmiṭṭâ* law actually prescribed. These cannot be treated in detail here, but it is a well-argued view (see Horst 1930; North 1954; Weil 1938; Wright 1984) that the law commands the release of *pledges* given for debt, not simply the debt itself. Verse 2 reads *šāmôṭ kol-baʿal maššēh yāḏô ʾăšer yaššeh bĕrēʿēhû.* Taking *maššeh* as the pledge given in security for a loan, this can be translated, "Every owner of a pledge within his power

*(yādô)* shall release what has been pledged to him by his neighbor." A person in debt would offer a pledge to his creditor. This might be some valuable possession, but more likely was a part of his land, or even a dependent person (child, slave), who would be put at the disposal of the creditor. Probably this pledge would function not merely as a security until the debt was paid, but would actually serve to repay it in what is known as an "antichretic" arrangement. That is, the produce of the pledged land, or the labor of the human pledge, would belong to the creditor and serve to pay off the debt. What this law prescribes, then, is that in the seventh year, all such pledged land or persons should be released by the creditor from his control, and returned to the debtor.

Lev 25:25ff. and Neh 5:3–5 show the kind of circumstances in view, and also make it clear that the pledging of dependent *persons* was the last extremity for a debtor, preceded by several stages in which *land* (or vineyards, etc.) would have been mortgaged first. In any period of seven years there would be many more people who had surrendered parts of their landed property to secure loans than had yet begun to hand over children or slaves as pledges. So the *šĕmiṭṭâ* law can be seen as aimed primarily at the release of *land* pledges for agrarian loans. It should not therefore be confused with the laws concerning the release of "Hebrew" slaves, who were sociologically in a quite different category.

The wording of the law leaves open the question of whether it prescribes a complete cancellation of the debt, or a one-year suspension of repayment. Either could be textually justified. Jewish exegesis and practice has always assumed that the law required complete cancellation of debts in the seventh year. As Wacholder (*IDBSup,* 762–63) points out, this would have meant that in Israel loans were never to be treated as business or profit-making transactions, but exclusively a temporary form of assistance to the needy. Hence, in later, developed forms of financial arrangements, ways were found to avoid the sabbatical cancellation in the fixing of loans. Such radical legislation would not be impossible, in the context of the radical nature of other Israelite practices and ideals—such as its astonishing laws concerning slaves (astonishing in the context of established ANE customs). But several considerations point to the possibility that the original law intended a suspension rather than a cancellation.

The wording of the second half of v 2 is literally "He (i.e., the creditor) shall not *press* his neighbor, his brother, for Yahweh's *šĕmiṭṭâ* has been proclaimed." It could be said that this implies that there was to be no pressing for repayments for the duration of the *šĕmiṭṭâ* itself. That is, the creditor was required to do two things: not to press for any repayments on the loan in that year; to release any pledges back to the debtor, which would mean that the debtor would have the use of his land and the labor of his family or workers—even in a reduced form, since it was a fallow year. Since repayments were probably linked to harvests, this would mean the creditor would receive nothing after whatever was repaid in the sixth year, until the autumn of the eighth year. Thus the impact of a one-year suspension of repayment should not be minimized, either as a relief to the debtor, or as a surrender by the creditor.

A suspension rather than a cancellation would also enable the law to fit more easily with the jubilee arrangements. Of course, as has been pointed out, the relationship between the laws in different sections of the Pentateuch is problematical, and complete harmonization may always elude us. However, it is obvious at least that if all debts were totally cancelled every seven years, and all mortgaged lands returned to debtors, there seems to be little point in a special year of jubilee apparently with the same intention. If, however, the seventh year was a suspension of repayment combined with release of pledged land for that year, the fiftieth year was a year of complete freedom (*dĕrôr*—a word not used in the *šĕmiṭṭâ* context), for families who in the course of two or three generations—even with the assistance of sabbatical and redemption procedures—had been unable to avoid the final consequences of poverty and debt. It was a fresh start, not a temporary respite.

In the end, however, one has to accept the uncertainty and acknowledge that either cancellation or suspension could have been the intention of the law. Either way, it is clear from the law itself and reinforced in the "preaching" which characteristically follows it (4–11), that its dominant motif is humanitarian concern for the impoverished. And this concern has been extended now not only to the landless poor (as in the original fallow), but also to land*owners* threatened by burdens of poverty and debt.

**D. Release of Slaves**

The laws pertaining to the release of slaves (Exod 21:2–6; Deut 15:12–18) are not, strictly speaking, concerned with the sabbatical year, because they prescribe that slaves were to be freed after six years of service from the time of their purchase or acquisition, not necessarily in a universal seventh year. Some scholars have argued that the freeing took place in the sabbatical year. It has been suggested that they had to be freed in order to attend the great reading of the law in the year of *šĕmiṭṭâ,* as prescribed in Deut 31:10ff. But in view of the explicit inclusion of slaves in the other great cultic occasions of Israel's life, this seems unnecessary. And the natural reading of the law in both Exodus and Deuteronomy is that the slave was to be offered his freedom after six years of service, regardless of what year it was. Nevertheless, the principle of the law—six years of work, then freedom—is clearly "sabbatical," and it may therefore be appropriately included along with the other septennial requirements.

The beneficiary of the law was the "Hebrew" slave. It is widely (though not universally) agreed among scholars that the term "Hebrew" is in some way related to the various forms of *ʿapiru* found in many ANE documents, where it apparently has a social rather than an ethnic meaning. That is, the term is not simply equivalent to Israelite, but denotes a class of people in ancient society. They appear to have been landless, and in some cases "stateless," surviving by selling their services, sometimes as mercenary soldiers or as laborers. They were therefore a dependent class, potentially troublesome, as some extrabiblical texts show, but also vulnerable to exploitation. See also HEBREW; HABIRU, HAPIRU.

The Book of the Covenant sets a limit to that potential exploitation by giving the Hebrew slave the option of freedom after six years of service to one employer. If he took it, he joined the ranks of the *ḥopšîm* (Exod 21:2b; Deut. 15:12b), a term also found throughout the ANE to describe a class of people, technically and legally free, but still without land, and therefore needing to hire themselves out as laborers, or settle as tenant farmers. For the Hebrew slave, therefore, release after six years was probably more a change of employment than any significant rise in social status. Not surprisingly, therefore, this may not have been an attractive option. So the law allows for the fact that some Hebrew slaves may prefer to remain in the permanent service of benevolent landowners.

The Deuteronomic development of the law (Deut 15:12–18) is characteristic of its humanitarian ethos. It extends the benefit of the law explicitly to female slaves (who were excluded in the Exodus legislation), and it tries to encourage slaves to take the option of freedom by requiring the owner to provide a substantial endowment of livestock, grain, and wine to the departing slave. Presumably this was not merely a parting gift, but an attempt to help him become economically viable.

Recognizing that the law of seventh-year release applied to Hebrew slaves helps us to understand the significant difference between this pair of laws and the jubilee law concerning release in the fiftieth year. The apparent discrepancy is not to be solved by literary critical manipulation of the texts, nor by arguing that Leviticus is a repeal or a modification of the earlier law. Rather it can be seen that the two laws are directed at two quite distinct groups in society: on the one hand the *landless* "Hebrews," for whom slavery was the only way of life; and on the other hand, Israelite *landowners,* who for various reasons had had to mortgage part or all of their land, but who still retained legal title to it, and could return to it in jubilee (see Ellison 1973; Wright 1984).

**E. Historical Evidence**

There is no direct reference to a sabbatical year being observed in the OT period itself, but there is plenty of evidence to affirm that it was an ancient institution, and not, as has been thought, a postexilic invention. Deut 31:10 prescribes the reading of the law at the end of the *šĕmiṭṭâ* year. Jer 34:8–16 reports a freeing of Hebrew slaves, which was subsequently revoked. Since this happened in a time of national emergency (the siege of Jerusalem, when all available manpower was needed) it was probably not an actual sabbatical year; but the account shows clearly that the institution, though neglected, was known. Lev 26:34f., 43 includes among its reasons for the exile of Israel their neglect of the land-sabbaths—i.e., the sabbatical years. The predictions that the exile would last seventy years (Jer 25:12; 29:10; cf. Dan 9:2), also seem to presuppose the use of sabbatical cycles. Finally, the terms of the solemn agreement initiated by Nehemiah, with the priests, Levites, and people, included the keeping of the sabbatical year.

In Neh 10:32b (—Eng 31b) they undertake to "leave" (the produce, cf. BHS) of the seventh year, and "pledges of the hand" (same phrase as in Deut 15:2). Their promise thus encompasses both the fallow law of Exodus and the *šĕmiṭṭâ* law of Deuteronomy, showing that this is a restoration, not the invention, of sabbatical requirements.

In the post–Old Testament and early Christian eras, there are some explicit references to sabbatical years. These occur in the Maccabean period (163/2 B.C.), at the time of the murder of John Hyrcanus' father (135/4 B.C.), in the reign of Agrippa I (A.D. 41/2), and in the second year of Nero (A.D. 55/6). For these and further details, see Wacholder (1973), who argues that "the sabbatical year remained a living institution in Palestine until the period of the Crusades."

**F. Theological and Ethical Significance**

In conclusion we may pick out several themes which have been touched on in the above analysis.

**1. God's Lordship over Time and History.** Israel's sabbatical concept in its different manifestations is related to their view of time as having been created by God and therefore, in a sense, "owned" by him. The seventh day, and the seventh year, being alike "holy to Yahweh," symbolized God's claim on all time, from a creation perspective. But Israel's concept of time was dominated by its awareness of history, and that in turn was shaped by its experience of redemption in history. Thus it is the historical redemption from Egypt which forms the motivation for the weekly sabbath in the Deuteronomic decalogue (Deut 5:15). By its sheer proximity the Exodus dominates the Book of the Covenant, and it is also explicitly used as motivation in the immediate context of the fallow year law (Exod 23:9). The *šĕmiṭṭâ* law and the Hebrew-slave release in Deuteronomy 15 are both commanded on the basis of God's historical generosity in Exodus and the gift of the land. The same motif is present in the sabbatical arrangements of Lev 25:38, 42, 55. As was the case with several other festivals and practices in Israel, whatever extra- or pre-Israelite roots there may have been, the sabbatical institutions of Israel were unique to them in terms of their historicized theological rationale.

**2. God's Ownership of the Land.** "The land is mine and you are my guests and tenants" (Lev 25:23) is the principle at the heart of the economic arrangements of Leviticus 25. The land was a fundamental part of Israel's faith: included within the promise to Abraham; the explicit objective of the Exodus from Egypt; the focus of the major historical traditions of Israel from Joshua to David. It was the land of divine promise and gift, but also a land still divinely owned. Thus everything to do with the division, tenure, and use of the land was ethically significant because it fell within the mainstream of Israel's covenant relationship with Yahweh. The sabbatical year, therefore, was one among many dimensions of a total economic system that was intended to reflect not only the sovereignty of Yahweh, but also his moral demands (see Wright 1983:chaps. 3 and 4).

**3. Humanitarian Ethics.** The moral aspect of the institution has already been seen clearly. We noted that whatever religious or sacral meaning attached to fallow years or septennial cycles outside Israel, and even allowing for the implicit religious significance within Israel, the dominant motivation or explanation of the sabbatical arrangements was humanitarian. As in other areas of Israel's life and customs, one fulfilled one's duty to God by practical care for fellow humans—particularly in care for the poor, the vulnerable, and the alien, for they were God's special concern. Much sociological analysis of ancient Israel has demonstrated that not only in principle but also in reality their economic system was geared to the needs of the lowest in society, with the immediate goal of giving maximum assistance to the poor, and the ultimate ideal that there should be no poor (Deuteronomy 15). The sabbatical year fits within this overall framework of ethical objectives.

**4. Eschatological Hope.** The combination of a sense of time and history with an awareness of ultimate ideals generated a future orientated perspective. At the very least the sabbatical year and the jubilee gave the poorer section of Israelite society something to look forward to—a hope, in a purely economic sense. But beyond that, concepts like rest, release, and (from the jubilee) return and restoration could easily fit metaphorically into the vocabulary of the hoped-for new age of God's unhindered blessing on a perfectly obedient people. Thus we find that future hope in the prophets sometimes draws allusively from the sabbatical milieu (e.g., Isaiah 35, 58, 61).

It is possible that the ministry of John the Baptist coincided deliberately with a sabbatical year (see Wacholder 1975), which would fit both with the radical ethical challenge of his call to repentance and also with the messianic implications of his mission which were traditionally high in sabbatical years. Sabbatical and jubilary influence on the teaching of Jesus is seen in the "Nazareth manifesto" of Luke 4:16–20 and also in his explicit teaching on actual remission of debts (see Sloan 1977). Luke's interest in the eschatology of sabbatical texts is probably reflected in his descriptions of the way the early church in Acts, under the control of the eschatological spirit, voluntarily solved the problem of poverty in itself. His observation in Acts 5:34 that "there was not a needy person among them" is almost certainly an echo of the virtually identical LXX wording of Deut 15:4, which expressed the hope and ideal that underlay the sabbatical law. Finally, Hebrews 4 uses the concept of sabbatical rest (which derives from the sabbatical year, not just the weekly sabbath, since the context has to do with rest in the land particularly), as an eschatological picture of the heritage of God's people that yet awaits those who will enter it by faith and obedience.

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**SABEANS.** There are three references to "Sabeans" in the OT; in each passage the name may refer to a different group of people. In the book of Isaiah, the Sabeans (Heb *sĕbā·îm*) are identified as a tall race of people (45:14), which probably refers to an African people which Josephus (*Ant* 2.10.2) locates in Nubia (modern Ethiopia; cf. Isa 43:3). See SEBA.

In Joel 3:8, the Sabeans (Heb *šĕbā·î*) are identified as a far-off nation to whom the Judeans will sell peoples captured from Tyre, Sidon, and Philistia. The reference here is probably to the inhabitants of the S Arabian kingdom of Sheba (modern Yemen). See SHEBA (PERSON); SHEBA, QUEEN OF. It is possible that there is some historical connection between the S Arabian Sabeans and the African Sabeans, the latter originating as a trade colony of the former sometime before the 6th century B.C. See SEBA.

In the book of Job, Sabeans (Heb *šĕbā·*) steal Job's oxen and asses and kill some of his servants (1:14–15). The peoples here are a N Arabian group in the vicinity of Tema (Job 6:19), an oasis city which is often associated with Dedan (Isa 21:13–14; Jer 25:23; cf. Gen 10:7 and 25:3). Pope (*Job* AB 13) suggests

that these N Arabian Sabeans are probably the *Saba* mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II, that memory of them may be preserved in the toponym Wadi esh-Shaba in the vicinity of Medina (200 miles S of Tema), and that these Sabeans should be viewed as distinct from the S Arabian and African Sabeans. However, it is possible that a Sabean presence in the vicinity of Tema and Dedan in N Arabia attests to the expansion of the S Arabian Sabeans N along the major trade route shortly after the middle of the 8th century B.C. See also TEMA; DEDAN.

GARY A. HERION

**SABTAH** (PERSON) [Heb *sabtâ* (סַבְתָּה); *sabtā*› (סַבְתָּא); śabtā› (שַׂבְתָּא)]. A son of Cush (Gen 10:7; 1 Chr 1:9) and hence the name of a tribe or place located somewhere in South (in Gen 10:7 several mss) Arabia or Ethiopia. The attempts to identify the biblical name either with the Ethiopian harbor *Sabat* (Ptolemaios, *Geog.* 4,7.8) or with *Saba* (Strabo, *Geog.* 16,4.8) respectively or even with *Sabai* (Strabo, *Geog.* 16,4.10) at the coast of the Red Sea (see, e.g., Gesenius 1883:566) or with the place *Ḏū s-Sabta*› at the shore of the Persian Gulf (Glaser 1890:252–53) are not convincing.

Tuch (1871:176) was the first to propose identifying it with the capital of Ḥaḍramaut (see HAZARMAVETH), whose name appears in classical sources as *Sabata* (Strabo, *Geog.* 16,4.2 according to Eratosthenes), *Sabbatha* (variant *Sabatha;* Ptolemaios, *Geog.* 6,7.38), *Sabbatha* (variant *Saubatha; Periplus maris Erythraei* 27), and *Sabota* (Pliny, *HN* 6,155; 12,52). In the Old S Arabian inscriptions the name of that town is attested in the form *šbwt,* Shabwat. It has been argued that for phonetic reasons Shabwat cannot be combined with the biblical *sabtāh,* since one would expect in the corresponding Heb form the consonantal sequence *śbwt.* However, it should be mentioned that there are in fact mss variants (of Gen 10:7) with an initial *ś* in Hebrew; furthermore, the forms of the LXX (Gk *Sabatha; Sabata*) are identical with the names by which the capital of Ḥiḍramaut is designated in the above-mentioned classical sources.

Shabwat is located at the E border of the desert Ramlat as-Sab'atayn on a hill at the mouth of the Wadi ‹Aṭf, the lower course of the Wadi ‹Irma. Already in the middle of the 2d millennium B.C. a settlement existed there, and its inhabitants practiced agriculture dependent upon seasonal irrigation by flash floods. In spite of its geographical position in the utmost W part of Ḥaḍramaut, Shabwat became the capital of that ancient kingdom and was, according to the testimony of the classical authors, a center of the incense trade. The frequent mention of Shabwat in Ḥaḍramitic inscriptions found outside of the capital (*hgrhn šbwt;* e.g., RES 4912,1; Khor Rori 1,2; etc.) as well as in Sabean texts reporting on military campaigns (*hgrn šbwt;* e.g., Iryānī 13 §10; Fakhry 75,3; etc.) give evidence to the importance of the town. Beginning in the 5th century A.D. the town began to decay, and the Arabic geographers of the Middle Ages knew on the ruins of the former metropolis only an insignificant place still called Shabwa, a name which has survived to this day. At any rate, the reference to Shabwat (i.e. Sabtah) in the table of nations (Genesis 10) seems to point to an active traffic on the incense road already in the 7th century B.C.

Another less-plausible explanation for Sabtah is the assumption of an old writing error for *sbkh,* i.e., for *Shabako* or *Shabaka* (Gk *Sabakōs*), the name of the first ruler of the 25th ("Ethiopian") Dynasty of Egypt, who reigned about 715–702 and who, like his successor Shebitku (see SABTECA), is supposed to be mentioned among the sons of Cush (see Astour 1965:422–25; Yurko 1980:221–40).

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W. W. MÜLLER

**SABTECA** (PERSON) [Heb *sabtĕkā*› (סַבְתְּכָא)*; sabtĕkâ* (סַבְתְּכָה)]. The youngest son of Cush (Gen 10:7; 1 Chr 1:9) and hence the name of a tribe or place located somewhere in S Arabia or Ethiopia. The peculiar enumeration of the five sons of Cush as "Seba and X and Sabtah and Y and *Sabteca,*" however, gives rise to doubts about the correct transmission of the form of the last name in the MT. Bochart (1674:246) had identified Sabteca with *Samydakē* (Ptolemaios, *Geog.* 6.8.7), a town in Carmania, the present province of Kerman in SE Iran, not far from the mouth of the coastal river Samydakos. For that reason he was even inclined to change the vocalization of the Heb form of the name *Sabtheca* to *Sabithace.* This equation was accepted by other scholars in spite of the fact that it is highly improbable to search for sons of Cush from the table of nations on the NE side of the Persian Gulf.

In connection with the biblical name Sabteca, von Wissmann and Höfner (1953:109) mention two places named Shabaka and Shubaika in the region of al-Ḥāḍina in Ḥaḍramaut, a journey of two days to the S of the ancient capital Shabwat (see SABTAH), at the W slope of the plateau of the Djōl. These localities are situated on the ancient trade route coming SE from the harbor QanaÕ via Maifa‹at and Ḥabbān and then continuing from here N to Shabwat. The names Shabaka and Shubaika are still unattested in the Old S Arabian inscriptions, and the area of these two places has not yet been investigated by archaeologists. It cannot, however, be entirely excluded that Shabaka might be related to Sabteca, all the more since the form of the name in the LXX, *Sabakatha,* corresponds exactly to an ancient *šbkt,* Shabakat. Philby (1939:338–39) has described the settlements Shubaika and Shabaka as consisting of fort-dwellings scattered among trees; Shabaka belongs to the Ahl Ḥumaiyir which is a diminutive form of Ḥimyar.

Already Glaser (1890:331) had written that the name of the Ethiopian Pharaoh Shabataka reminds one immediately of the Sabteca in the book of the Genesis. In fact, that biblical name has been compared to Shebitku or Shabataka (Gk *Sebichōs*), the name of the second ruler of the 25th ("Ethiopian") Dynasty of Egypt, who reigned about 702–690 B.C. and who, like his predecessor Shabaka (see SABTAH), perhaps because of his Cushitic name, is supposed to be mentioned among the sons of Cush (see Astour 1965:422–25; Yurko 1980:221–40). During the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib in 701 B.C., Shebitku was Pharaoh of Egypt to whom the Bible (2 Kgs 18:21; Isa 36:6) refers (his name, however, is not given). As a contemporary of Hezekiah, on the contrary, Shebitku's brother and successor Taharqo or Taharka (Heb *tirhāqâ*) is mentioned by name as "king of Cush" (2 Kgs 19:9; Isa 37:9), who at that time was commander of the Egyptian army in Palestine fighting against the Assyrians.

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W. W. MÜLLER

**SACHAR** (PERSON) [Heb *śākār* (שָׂכָר)]. **1.** According to 1 Chr 11:35 Sachar the Hararite was the father of Ahiam, one of David's mighty men. In the parallel at 2 Sam 23:33 he is called Sharar the Hararite. It is difficult to decide which of the two forms is the more original; the likelihood of confusion of the letters *kap* and *reš* is very great, but it is not possible to tell in which direction the confusion might have gone. It is worth noting that the textual tradition in 1 Chronicles is much more unified than that of 2 Samuel 23 here. In 1 Chr 11:35 Gk B, along with a few mss, reads *achar* while the vast majority of Gk mss have *sachar.* In 2 Sam 23:33 several Heb mss have *šrd* instead of *šrr* while in Gk we find *arad* (A), *sacharō* (Lucianic mss), *arai* (B), *saraia* (MN). For Heb *hărārî* at 1 Chr 11:35, Gk ms S has *sararei,* but the others follow the Hebrew. At 2 Sam 23:33, for Heb *›arārî* the majority of Gk mss have *arathuritēs,* with the variants *arareitēs* (A) and *saraoureitēs* (B).

**2.** At 1 Chr 26:4 Sachar is mentioned as one of the gatekeepers of the temple. He is listed as the fourth son of Obed-edom. 1 Chr 26:15 tells us that in the casting of lots for the assignment of watches in the service of the house of the Lord, the S side fell to Obed-edom, and to his sons the storehouse.
STEPHEN PISANO

**SACHIA** (PERSON) [Heb *śākĕyâ* (שָׂכְיָה)]. A Benjaminite, whose father was Shaharaim and mother was Hodesh (1 Chr 8:10). The only occurrence of this name is in a Chronicler's list of Benjaminites. Many mss, supported by the LXX and Targums, read the more common *šibĕyâ* ("captivity" or "captive"). The same root is found in the dubious *śĕkîyâ* (ships?) in Isa 2:16.
TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**SACKCLOTH.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**SACRAL KINGSHIP.** An expression used by contemporary scholars to bring into focus the different aspects of the relationship "God–King–People" as it underlies the different monarchic systems of the ANE. "Sacral kingship" is not a biblical term, and its two elements would, at best, have ambiguous equivalents in the ANE. The word "sacred" (from a W Semitic base *qudš-*) had different values at the beginning and the end of the period during which the Hebrew Bible was composed. "Kingship" (Heb *malkût*) had roughly the same meaning in Israel as among the "other nations" when the Israelite monarchy was established (1 Sam 8:5, 20), but under the impact of the prophets its religious connotations changed (Hos 8:4; 13:10–11).

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A. Ancient Near East
1. Mesopotamia
2. Egypt
B. Monarchic Israel
C. The Desacralization of Sacral Kingship in the Bible
1. In the Narratives
2. By the Prophets

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**A. Ancient Near East**

With the development of sedentary civilization in the ANE, trade networks complexified and urbanization fostered social stratification. Kin-based social organizations were no longer fully effective for meeting the increasingly complex demands of urban and political development. Leadership passed on to certain officials responsible for military, economic, and civil administration. The invention of writing at the end of the 4th millennium B.C. gave rise to texts in which can be found the various titles of political leaders. The precise meanings of terms designating civil and political authorities are not always known.

**1. Mesopotamia.** The head of a Sumerian city in the first half of the 2d millennium B.C. bore the title *ensi.* The Sumerian word can be roughly translated "lord" (CAD 7:262–65); often, in relation to a god, it can refer to some sort of a *sangû,* "priest" (CAD 7:263b). Apparently the *ensi* was in charge of the land of the god of the city (Seux 1965). In addition to the *ensi* there was a set of notables, counselors, and sometimes a general assembly (Akk *puḫru*), although there is no indication that lesser dignitaries had the power to vote; they seemed to have gathered to approve the decisions of the "director" (Garelli 1974:182). In the absence of a system of suffrage, it seems inappropriate to speak of "primitive democracy"; Sumerian society was "democratic" only in the most general sense.

The strength and shrewdness of the *ensi* led him to be called a *lugal,* or "great man" (cf. 1 Sam 10:23). According to the Sumerian King List (*ANET,* 265), Etana, a member of the postdiluvian Kish dynasty, reigned as *lugal;* also, a *lugal* named Lugalzaggizi, king of Uruk, established an empire extending from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean Sea.

The Semitic equivalent of Sum *ensi* was *šarru.* At Mari, for example (which was under West Semitic influence), the term was applied not only to the rulers of Mari itself but also to various tribal heads (Anbar

1986). In time, the East Semitic *šarru* would be identified with the West Semitic *malku* (Heb *melek*), but earlier (e.g., at Ebla) there is a lexicographic problem. Even if *malku* (Sum *en*) was not a dynastic "king" but rather appointed for a limited time, he nevertheless ruled as a king (Gregoire 1981:385), and it was the *lugal* (Akk *šarru*) who acted as an official (cf. Heb *śar;* Charpin and Durand 1986). The word *mlk* prevailed at Ugarit and Phoenicia, and is attested as well in Aramaic and Hebrew documents. Even in Mesopotamia, the word *malku* was used not only for foreign kings but also for the kings of Assyria and Babylonia (CAD 10:168a), even though it seems to have been associated more with giving counsel and advice than with military activity; indeed, a *māliku* was a counselor (CAD 10:162b).

In mesopotamian cities a ruler might also be a priest. Rulers bearing the Akk titles *išakku* (Sum *ensi*), *šarru* (Sum *lugal*), and *malku* could receive the Sumerian title of priestly office *sangû.* A priest-king was "pure" or "sacred" (Akk *ellu*) and "august" (Akk *ṣiru;* Seux 1967:287; van Driel 1969:80; *AHW* 1163b; *RLA* 6:169). As such, he was not a cult specialist but rather a possessor of special gifts from the national and dynastic god. From the god he received scepter, crown, throne, and royal staff (*RLA* 6:167). He also received his name *(nibitu)* from the gods. He might be said to have been created by them, or even fashioned by them in the womb of his mother (Labat 1939:58). He is not only the "servant" of a divinity (Seux 1967:360–62), but also "vicar" (*išakku,* very often), messenger, and even "son" of a divinity (*RLA* 6:170). (These expressions have no precise dogmatic significance; anyone might be said to be a "son" of a god, and the title seems to have become obsolete in the 1st millennium B.C.)

The names of kings of the Akkad dynasty (ca. 2300 B.C.), of the Ur III dynasty, and of some members of the 1st dynasty of Babylon prior to Hammurabi are written in cuneiform with the divine determinative. In plastic representations, kings are sometimes depicted wearing the horned helmet, a symbol of deity. But there were many types of gods in the polytheistic world of Mesopotamia, and the practice of divine determination of royal names disappeared during the 2d millennium B.C. In Ebla, in the Hittite empire, and in the Ugaritic kingdom kings were not deified until after their deaths (Archi 1986:215; Gurney in Hooke 1958:115; del Olmo 1987:48–50; Xella 1981:288–91; *KTU* 1:113).

According to what we know about Babylonian cultural influence in the West Semitic area during the 2d millennium B.C., it is not surprising that Ugaritic and Canaanite kingship also exhibited a sacral character. The king, who was "just and fair," participated not only in administrative affairs but also in cultic rites (*DBSup* 9:1335). Tabnit, king of Sidon, and his father are said to have been "priests of Ashtart" (*KAI* 13:1–2).

**2. Egypt.** Canaan and Israel were confronted with another type of sacral kingship, that of pharaonic Egypt. Etymologically, "Pharaoh" (Eg *Pr-ᶜ3*) was an administrative title meaning "great house," the palace where the king (Eg *neswt*) of Upper and Lower Egypt lived. In Egyptian texts, "pharaoh" is not used metonymically of the king before the 1st millennium B.C. The king of Egypt possessed additional names which revealed his relationship with the gods. He is one of the two deities (of Upper and Lower Egypt), the living Horus, the son of Re, and priest in all temples of the country. With respect to Egypt, we can speak not only of sacral kingship but of divine kingship (Frankfort 1948). The teaching of Sehetep-ib-Re (*ANET,* 431) is one of the most eloquent and concise statements on the topic. In Egypt, concepts of the divine were rich and complex (Posener 1960), and any simplistic schematization of divine kingship is vitiated by the evidence. In addition, the relative cultural influence of Mesopotamia and Egypt on Israel is impossible to measure in any comparative sense.

**B. Monarchic Israel**

Kingship was established in Israel ostensibly according to the pattern found in other nations (1 Sam 8:5–20). The king was the military chief and primary decision maker *(špṭ),* enjoying the benefits of the "way of the king" enumerated in 1 Sam 8:10–17 (Mendelsohn 1965). But what can we say about the "sacral" character of the Saul-David-Solomon monarchy?

The institution of human (i.e., political) kingship was understood to have been granted by Yahweh, the god of Israel, who himself had previously been considered Israel's "king" (see Judg 8:22–23), but the prophetic and Deuteronomic redactors of these traditions were not fully favorable toward the institution of kingship. Paying great attention to the fidelity of the biblical authors in the premonarchic Israelite

tradition, a number of scholars have denied the "sacral," much less the "divine," character of the Israelite monarchy (Irwin in Frankfort 1948:337–44; de Fraine 1954; Bernhardt 1961). Others hold that Israelite kingship was sacral in character from the beginning of the monarchy (Mowinckel 1922; 1956; Hooke 1933; Bentzen 1955; Johnson 1955; for complete bibliography, see Cazelles 1984:1065–66). See also KING AND KINGSHIP. Hooke became gradually more cautious (compare 1958 with 1933), and de Vaux insisted that the data requires a more-balanced resolution of the problem (*AncIsr* 1:175), concluding that "the king, consecrated by anointment and adopted by YHWH, is a sacred personality and consequently entitled to religious office" (p. 174). The two issues that are important for us to consider are (1) the role the king played in the religious cult according to the historical narratives, and (2) the prophetic and Deuteronomistic response to this role.

The king is the "anointed of the God of Jacob" (2 Sam 23:1) or the one "anointed" by Yahweh. On this concept, see CHRIST; KING AND KINGSHIP. In the ancient Orient, unction is a sign of dependency: an emancipated slave toward his master, a bride toward her father-in-law, a Syrian prince toward the Pharaoh (EA 51:5–6; cf. Cazelles 1978:68–71 and notes). The king is "elected" *(bḥr)* by the national God (1 Sam 16:9; cf. 9:15ff.; Ps 78:70). Solomon is called *Jedidiah*, "beloved of YHWH" (2 Sam 12:25), just as Naram-sin was the beloved of Sin, and Rameses II the beloved of Amon. The king is the servant of the national God (2 Sam 7:19; cf. v 5; Pss 18:1—Eng title; 36:1—Eng title; 89:4—Eng v 3; Zech 3:8) as had been the kings of Mesopotamia (Seux 1967:360–63), the Pharaoh (Eg *hm.f:* his servant), King Keret in Ugarit (*KTU* 1.14 III 49 = *ANET,* 144, line 153), and Azitawadda in Karatepe (*ANET,* 653).

Infrequently in the historical books (2 Sam 7:14), but more clearly in the Psalms (2:7; 89:27–28—Eng vv 26–27; cf. Ps 110:3), the king is considered to be "the son" of God. The Bible, however, has no developed concept of theogamy (as in Egypt; Brunner 1964), nor allusion to suckling by goddesses (as in Ugarit), or fashioning in the womb of the mother (as in Mesopotamia). In the texts of Psalms 2 and 110 the divine sonship of the king is expressed in a context of rites of royal investiture (110:1) and accession (Heb *hayyôm* "today" [Ps 2:7]). This type of sonship has been called an "adoptive" sonship (de Boer 1955); in other words, it is not by birth but by accession to kingship that the king shares the duties of the national God as savior and ruler. He sits at the divine "right hand" (Ps 110:1). He is endowed with supernatural power: not the symbolic crowns as in Egypt (even if he was crowned: 2 Sam 1:10; 2 Kgs 11:21; Jer 13:18) but the Spirit *(ruaḥ)* of YHWH, either directly bestowed (1 Sam 11:6, 14; 2 Sam 23:2) or obtained by the mediation of prophets (1 Sam 10:10; 16:13). Unction in the ancient Orient was a gift of health and strength; *ruaḥ* is life (in a Ugaritic text) and wonderful strength (Samson in Judg 14:6, 19; 15:4).

Although the biblical authors appear to have understood intimations of divine sonship as evidence of a king's legitimacy, it is possible that earlier in the monarchy the official ideology of the royal court construed the metaphor more literally. Pss 2:7 (in its syntax) and 110:3 (in the text itself) disclose a recasting of older sentences. The Anointed of YHWH is a consecrated man. People are forbidden to touch him (1 Sam 24:7, 11; 26:9, 11, 23; 2 Sam 1:14, 16). A woman of Tekoa regards him as a *mal›ak* ("messenger," but also "angel") of God (2 Sam 14:17–20). He was recognized as possessing "divine wisdom" (1 Kgs 3:28), and very probably was himself called *›elohîm* ("God") in Ps 45:7–8—Eng vv 6–7 (on this passage, see KING AND KINGSHIP). In Prov 16:10 the sentence given by the king is called an "oracle" (Heb *qesem*). In Lam 4:20 the anointed of YHWH (as in Egypt) is said to be "the breath of life" of the people protected under his shadow. When he is crowned and receives the scepter he receives a new name, and in Isa 9:5 one of those names is *›el gibbôr,* "God hero."

Elected by the national God, the king is mediator between God and his people. He must pray for the people and their welfare (1 Kings 8) and offer holocausts and sacrifices *(šelâmîm)* so as to protect the country from plagues whenever the people (1 Sam 14:33), he himself (2 Sam 24:25), or any of his predecessors (2 Sam 21:14) have sinned. Even if he does not perform the slaughtering himself, he is nevertheless the one who commissions it. This was the role of, for example, Saul at Gilgal (1 Sam 13:9–10), David at Jerusalem after the transfer of the Ark to the new capital (2 Sam 6:13, 18), and Solomon after his accession (1 Kgs 8:5, 62–64) and at the three great feasts of the year (1 Kgs 9:25). He "mounts

the steps" of the altar (1 Kgs 12:33; 2 Kgs 16:12), and he blesses the people in the name of the Lord after the installation of the ark (2 Sam 6:18) and the dedication of the Temple (1 Kgs 8:56). David danced before YHWH during the transfer of the ark (2 Sam 6:14).

Like the Pharaoh, an Israelite king builds temples (2 Sam 7:2–3; 1 Kings 6), changes the cultic rules (2 Kgs 16:12–18; cf. 1 Kgs 12:31–33), selects priests (Heb *kōhănîm*) for the cultic service (2 Sam 8:18; 1 Kgs 12:31) and is able to remove them (1 Kgs 2:27). According to Ps 110:4, a king's enthronement invested him not only as king but also as priest (Heb *kōhēn;* priestly titles were likewise given to the kings of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Phoenicia). Although Psalm 110:4 mentions only a royal priesthood ("after the order of Melchizedek") and not the specific levitical priesthood (as defined in the Pentateuch), the Israelite kings' activities with respect to religious and cultic affairs justify the assumption that they legitimately bore the title "priest." Some scholars (even those who would date Psalm 110 late) still regard the psalm to be more "royal" than "messianic."

**C. The Desacralization of Sacred Kingship in Israel**

**1. In the Narratives.** 1 Samuel 8–10 recounts opposition to an Israelite kingship patterned after that of other nations. It is possible that Saul's opponents (1 Sam 10:27) are more politically than religiously motivated. The privileges of the king are described in 8:10–18 as an arbitrary oppression of the people. The bestowal of the divine spirit on Saul produces manifestations similar to those found among the ecstatic prophets (1 Sam 10:10–13).

The long narrative of David's succession is intended to demythologize the king's succession, especially with regard to the sexual potency of the king (1 Kgs 1:1–4; 2 Sam 16:21–22), the value of the king's political wisdom (2 Sam 13:3; 14:2; 15:35; 20:16), and his ability to practice justice (2 Sam 15:3–4). Even the praise of Solomonic wisdom in matters pertaining to judgment, politics, and sacred architecture conclude (1 Kings 11) with sharp criticism.

**2. By the Prophets.** In biblical narrative are found prophetic interventions against the king: Nathan against David's adultery (2 Samuel 12), Gad against his census (2 Samuel 24), Ahijah of Shiloh against Solomon (1 Kings 11) and afterwards against Jeroboam (1 Kings 14), Shemaiah against Rehoboam's war with Israel (1 Kgs 12:24). The Elijah-Elisha cycles (1 Kings 17–2 Kings 2), even when they retain old features reflecting the sacrosanct quality of kings (1 Kgs 18:46), criticize the decisions made by the kings. The kings are condemned for being unfaithful to YHWH, the national God, and for travesties of justice (e.g., Naboth in 1 Kings 21). In short, kings do not save Israel; the word of YHWH is given to (and by) the *prophets*, who are the only reliable counselors of the kings.

As far as Hosea is concerned, there is no sacral kingship in N Israel. The kings are victims of the court (7:3–7). The Israelites "set up kings without my consent" (8:4). They say: "We have no king because we didn't revere YHWH; but even if we had a king, what could he do for us?" (10:3). And comes the word of God: "Where is your king that he may save you? Where are your rulers in all your towns of whom you said: 'Give me a king and princes'? So in my anger I gave you a king, and in my wrath I took him away" (13:10–11). At the same time, in Bethel, Amos had condemned the "house of Jeroboam" (7:9, 11).

In Judah, the S kingdom, the prophets Micah and Isaiah are less critical of kingship as an institution, largely because of their faith in the election of the house of David, a Bethlehemite and thus a southerner (Mic 5:1; Isa 9:6). But these prophets show no special recognition of the sacral character of kingship. Micah does not apply the title "king" to the ruler coming from Bethlehem. In the text as it stands, Isaiah criticizes the unfaithfulness of Ahaz (Isa 7:13) and the reluctance of Hezekiah to correct the injustices committed by the judges (10:1–4); he also criticizes the stubbornness of the king's "sages" (29:14). A century later Jeremiah not only condemned the sages (Jer 8:8–9) and the government in Jerusalem, as had Micah (Jer 26:17–19; cf. Mic 3:9–12), but also the kings who didn't change (as Hezekiah had done; Jer 22:10–30). The name "YHWH our justice" (23:6) will be no more given to the king but to the city (Jer 33:16).

The Deuteronomic movement further diminished regard for the sacral character of kingship. The law of the king in Deut 17:17–20 subordinates the king, "a brother" (vv 15, 20), to the Law; as such, he is himself subject to the Levites and the prophets. In the Deuteronomistic history (esp. 1–2 Kings) the king

is never called "Messiah." In fact, the Davidic promises are made to a "prince" (Heb *nāsî;* Ezek 34:34; 37:25; cf. Ezra 1:8). From the time of Ezekiel on, the "prince" is distinguished from the "priest," and only the latter retains a sacral character.

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HENRI CAZELLES

**SACRED MARRIAGE.** The term "sacred marriage" is a translation of the Gk term *hieros gamos,* which originally referred to the marriage between Zeus and Hera. It is nowadays applied to marriage or sexual union between a god and a goddess, in ancient or primitive religions, an act which is usually connected with some form of fertility cult. The present discussion will include the phenomenon of sacred marriage in ancient Mesopotamian religions, and the question of whether or not it was consummated between a god and a goddess, or between a human pair representing a god and a goddess, having some form of relation to the cult.

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A. The Sacred Marriage Rite in Sumerian Religion
1. Sources
2. Origins
3. The Nature and History of the Ritual

4. Frequency and Purpose of the Ritual
5. Vestiges of the Cult of Dumuzi in the Post-Sumerian Period
B. The Sacred Marriage Rite in Babylonian and Assyrian Religion
1. Nature and Origins
2. Allusions to the Sacred Marriage in the 2d Millennium B.C.E.
3. Allusions to the Sacred Marriage in the 1st Millennium B.C.E.
C. Other Fertility Cults in the Ancient Near East

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**A. The Sacred Marriage Rite in Sumerian Religion (ca. 2700–1800 B.C.E.)**

**1. Sources.** The sacred marriage rite in Sumerian religion and mythology almost exclusively revolves around the goddess Inanna (Akk *Ištar;* Semitic *ʿAṯtar;* Heb *ʿAštōret*) and her divine spouse Dumuzi (Akk *Duʾūzu;* Heb *Tammūz*). Information as to the relationship between these two deities is furnished mainly by three groups of literary sources: (1) cultic love-songs and royal hymns, describing the love, courtship, and marriage between Dumuzi and Inanna; (2) Sumerian (and some Akkadian) mythological compositions, describing Dumuzi's rejection by Inanna, his death and descent to the netherworld; and (3) dirges and laments bewailing Dumuzi's tragic death. For the reconstruction of the sacred marriage rite, it is the love-songs and the royal hymns which provide the most pertinent information (Sefati 1985).

**2. Origins.** Direct evidence for the sacred marriage in Sumer can be found only in the Ur III and Old Babylonian (OB) literary texts. Sumerian epic literature, however, attributes statements concerning the performance of the sacred marriage rite with Inanna, already to Enmerkar, the second king of the First Dynasty of Erech (Berlin 1979:40, 58). Furthermore, the god Dumuzi, who is the central male figure in the sacred marriage rite, seems to be either the deified shepherd-king Dumuzi who, according to the Sumerian King List, ruled over Bad-Tibira, in the Early Dynastic (ED) period, or the deified fisherman, his namesake, who ruled over Erech three generations after Enmerkar (or perhaps a mixture of these two ancient royal figures; cf. Heimpel 1972:290–91). Hence, it is quite possible that the sacred marriage rite originated in ED (or even prehistoric) Uruk, where it was customary for the priestly-king ( EN) to marry the city-goddess, Inanna, the Sumerian goddess of love and fertility. However, it is not clear whether the sacred marriage, in this early period, was consummated only symbolically or, as in later periods, was performed carnally with a priestess representing the goddess (Falkenstein 1954:41–45; Kramer 1969a: 57–62; *RLA* 4:257–58). Later, in Sumerian mythology, Dumuzi was identified with the god Amaushumgalanna, becoming a fertility god, conceived as the power of growth in vegetation and animal life (cf. Jacobsen 1970:74–82), and his human origin was forgotten (or ignored). However, several facts still attest to his origin: throughout the history of Sumerian religion, Dumuzi appears as a passive, minor deity, a shepherd-king always inferior to his mate, Inanna, who chose him to be her husband. Furthermore, all the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur and the Isin Dynasty impersonate him in the sacred marriage rite. Finally, in contrast to his central role in the literary sources related to the sacred marriage, his actual worship in Sumerian cult was rather limited; and by the late 2d millennium, his role in the sacred marriage rite was altogether forgotten (see below). His female counterpart, Inanna/Ishtar, on the other hand, not only kept her prominent position in the Mesopotamian pantheon but, toward the 1st millennium, was even promoted to the status of the divine consort of An, the heaven god, in Uruk; whereas in Babylon she became the mistress of the chief god, Marduk, with her cult having spread to many important Mesopotamian religious centers.

**3. The Nature and History of the Ritual.** In the Ur III and Early OB periods (ca. 2100–1800 B.C.E.), the performance of the sacred marriage was a royal prerogative: throughout these periods, the king used to represent Dumuzi/Amaushumgalanna in the sacred marriage rite. To the king's central role in this rite attest not only the numerous references in the royal inscriptions and royal hymns to him as the "beloved spouse of Inanna" (Hallo 1957:140–41; Römer 1965:147–48; Klein 1981:49 n. 112); but also a number of royal hymns, devoted wholly or partly to the description of the sacred marriage ceremony (see below). Furthermore, some Dumuzi laments list the Ur III and Isin kings as Dumuzi figures, beside other deities of Inanna's circle (Jacobsen 1975:67, 90–93).

The identity of the female partner in the sacred marriage rite is still a mystery, although it is generally assumed that she was a priestess (cf. Bottéro 1983:215). The possible candidates could be the NU-GIG (hierodule), the LUKUR (concubine, *RLA* 4:256), the NIN-DINGIR ("the divine lady," Hallo 1987:49), or the EN (high priestess, Frayne 1985:12–22). Since the female partner in the sacred marriage rite is consistently referred to as the goddess Inanna, it is not impossible that the goddess in the sacred marriage rite was represented merely by her statue, and the whole ceremony was performed only symbolically. According to the Old and Neo-Sumerian Lagash inscriptions, this particular form of sacred marriage was not celebrated in Lagash. Hence, it may be assumed that the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur, and most probably Shulgi himself (ca. 2094–2047 B.C.E.), borrowed this cultic practice directly from the Uruk tradition, among other religious and political ideas and institutions. The Ur III kings apparently celebrated their sacred marriage with Inanna in Uruk, the original cult center of the goddess. This follows from a Shulgi hymn, describing the pilgrimage of the king to Inanna of Uruk, perhaps on the occasion of his coronation. Inanna, upon seeing Shulgi dressed in his ceremonial priestly garment and carrying with him sacrificial animals, utters a sumptuous love song, in which she recalls or anticipates the physical pleasures of her sacred union with the king, and subsequently blesses him (lit. "decrees his fate"). In her blessing, she promises him support in battle and administration, and declares him suitable for all prerogatives of kingship (cf. van Dijk 1954:83–88; Klein 1981:124–66). In another Shulgi hymn, Inanna complains about the total absence of vegetation, whereupon Shulgi invites her to his fields, gardens, and orchards, to fructify them in some way (cf. Kramer 1969b: 18–23). Another Ur III king who is the subject of three love-dialogues (Sum BAL-BAL-E) is Shusin, the grandson of Shulgi (*ANET,* 496; Kramer 1969a: 92–95). Although the female protagonists in these love songs are LUKUR-priestesses, according to their subscripts these hymns are dedicated to the goddesses Inanna and Baba of Lagash. Hence, no doubt, these hymns were sung in the sacred marriage rite. As to the kings of the Isin Dynasty, these seem to have celebrated the sacred marriage in their capital with a priestess representing the city-goddess Ninisinna, whom they identified with Inanna. This follows from a royal hymn, which gives a detailed description of the sacred union between king Iddindagan (ca. 1974–1954 B.C.E.) and Inanna-Ninisinna on New Year's day. The New Year celebrations in Isin, according to this hymn, involved the following major events: various priests and cultic personnel pass before Inanna and pay homage to her; the cult-places and the roofs are purified; incense is burned, and animal and food offerings are presented there (probably at night, when the goddess is visible as the Venus star); a bed is set up for the goddess and she bathes for the ritual; the king goes to the goddess and they unite on the bed. After the sacred union the people enter the Egalmaḫ temple with their incense and food offerings, and the ceremony ends with a joyful banquet, sponsored by the king in honor of the goddess (Römer 1965:128–49; Reisman 1973:185–97). The only other Isin king who is referred to in a fertility prayer, dedicated to Inanna, is Ishmedagan (ca. 1953–1935 B.C.E.). In this prayer, Inanna is asked to bless the stalls and sheepfolds with fertility and abundance for the sake of the king, as well as to grant the king, her spouse, a long life. A duplicate of this prayer substitutes the name of Dumuzi-Amaushumgalanna for Ishmedagan, which shows that the same hymn could be used in connection with a number of kings who represented Dumuzi in the sacred marriage (Römer 1965:21–22; Hallo 1966:244–45). In another royal hymn, dedicated to an anonymous king, Ninshubur, Inanna's maiden, leads the royal bridegroom to Inanna's bosom and he requests the goddess to bless him with long life, a stable kingship, and fertility for his land (Kramer 1963:501–3; 1969a: 81–84; *ANET,* 640–41). From these and other Dumuzi-Inanna love songs, we can reconstruct an approximate procedure for the Neo-Sumerian sacred marriage rite: priests and other cultic personnel (such as, e.g., transvestites and musicians) pass and do homage before Inanna, and offerings and gifts for the (later) banquet are brought. A (canopied) dais is erected for the goddess in the temple (more specifically in the *giparu,* an ancient storehouse, which later became the residence of the high priestess), and a bed, covered with halfa grass and other greenery is set up for her therein. Inanna then bathes and anoints herself. The king, impersonating Dumuzi/Amaushumgalanna, is led to her dais or chamber, carrying with him customary marriage gifts (NÍG-MU$^{10}$-ÚS-SÁ). Inanna opens the door for him, he enters, and the holy nuptials take place. Thereafter, the goddess decrees a good fate for the king and the land. The ceremony ends with a

banquet, wherein the king and the goddess sit together, and the goddess is celebrated in hymns accompanied with sacred music.

**4. Frequency and Purpose of the Ritual.** Earlier it was generally held that the sacred marriage was celebrated in Sumer annually, during the New Year festival, and its primary purpose was to guarantee abundance and fertility in nature and human society for the coming year. According to this hypothesis, the divine pair itself became the power of fertility in nature, and the sexual union between them was believed to have produced new life and prosperity everywhere (cf. Labat 1939:163–65, 247–49; Frankfort 1948:286–99; Kramer 1969a: 49–84). This hypothesis has been recently questioned on the grounds that, apart from the Inanna-Iddindagan hymn from Isin, no source mentions New Year's eve as the date of the ritual, and the blessings put in the mouth of the goddess in the various sources include not only the fertility theme, but also the themes of long life and a firm reign for the royal bridegroom. Accordingly, some scholars assume that the main purpose of the sacred marriage rite was the legitimation and deification of the Sumerian king, and hence the ritual took place usually on the day of his coronation (*RLA* 4:256–57). Still another opinion holds that at least on the real (if not the symbolic) level, the sacred marriage in its classical phase served to engender the crown prince, who thereby was assured of divine parentage (J. Klein in Durand, ed. 1987:97–106). According to a recent hypothesis, the sacred marriage was consummated between the king, in his role as an EN-priest, and an EN-priestess of Inanna, both of whom impersonated the divine couple of the Sumerian city. The occasion for the celebration of the ritual, according to this opinion, was the installation of the priestess in her office, and its main purpose was the promotion of fertility (Frayne 1985:12–22). In conclusion, it should be pointed out that the overwhelming stress and main concern, both of the Dumuzi-Inanna love songs and the Dumuzi laments, is the theme of fertility. Accordingly, the main purpose of the sacred marriage rite in Sumerian religion must have been to assure fertility for the land. Since the only date ever alluded to in the literary texts dealing with this ritual is New Year's day, it is this date on which this ritual most probably took place.

**5. Vestiges of the Cult of Dumuzi in the Post-Sumerian Period.** Up to the OB period, Dumuzi had two temples where he was worshipped as a minor deity: one in Girsu and another in Bad-tibira. Surprisingly, there is no indication that the sacred marriage rite was practiced in any of these two cultic centers. The sources point only to Uruk and Isin, as the loci, where this rite was performed. After the OB period (i.e., from ca. 1800 B.C.E. to 100 C.E.) the Dumuzi-Inanna sacred marriage rite was apparently abandoned, and Dumuzi lost the character of the young bridegroom and god of fertility, in parallel to the decline of the institution of divine kingship. From now on, Dumuzi is only Inanna's tragic husband, killed and carried down to the netherworld by its "bailiffs," as a substitute for the goddess (for this motif, see the epilogue of "Ishtar's Descent to the Netherworld"; *ANET:* 52–57). Whereas Dumuzi's official cult fell into oblivion, his death continued to be mourned annually in the fourth month (i.e., the month of Du›ūzu/Tammuz), or in the fifth month, throughout the 2d and 1st millennia. The absence of any temples of Dumuzi in this period, as well as Ezekiel's reference to the "women bewailing Tammuz" in the Temple (Ezek 8:14), suggest that in the late periods the mourning of Dumuzi/Tammuz was an unofficial, popular cult practiced mainly by women and perhaps also by GALA-cantors (Kutscher 1990:41–44).

**B. The Sacred Marriage Rite in Babylonian and Assyrian Religion (ca. 1800 B.C.E.–100 C.E.)**

**1. Nature and Origins.** Parallel to the Dumuzi-Inanna type of sacred marriage, there seems to have existed another type of sacred marriage in Sumer, namely one which was conceived as having taken place between deities only, and did not involve human protagonists. This type of ritual seems to have been practiced already in the cult of Lagash, since its ruler, Gudea (ca. 2143–2124 B.C.E.), refers in his inscriptions to customary "marriage gifts" (NÍG-MU$^{10}$-ÚS-SÁ), presented on "New Year's day during the Festival of Baba," (Stat E 5:1–6:4; G 5:5–6:19; cf. Lambert and Tournay 1952:82–83). Similarly, the Ḫendursanga Hymn praises Nindara of Lagash for presenting the "marriage gifts" to his wife Nanshe "every New Moon and New Year's day" in her temple (cf. Edzard and Wilcke 1976:144–47). This type of sacred marriage was presumably performed in a symbolical way, such as, e.g., by bringing the god's statue into the "bedchamber" of the goddess. It was probably practiced in other cultic centers also, from times immemorial, ever since the gods were thought of as anthropomorphic figures, and its purpose was

likewise to secure prosperity and fertility for the land during the ensuing year. It is this type of sacred marriage that survived and continued to be practiced after the Isin-Larsa period, when the Dumuzi-Inanna type of sacred marriage was totally abandoned.

**2. Allusions to the Sacred Marriage in the 2d Millennium B.C.E.** The only source explicitly dealing with the sacred marriage (Akk *ḫašādu*) in the OB period, is a divine love-song from the time of Abiešuḫ, king of Babylon (ca. 1711–1684 B.C.E.). It contains a love dialogue between Nanaya of Babylon/Uruk and her lover, Mu'ati (a divine figure of the Tammuz type), in which Nanaya is requested to bless king Abiešuḫ with a long life. The poem also quotes the actual blessing, which the goddess granted the king and his city, Babylon (Lambert 1966:12–41). An entirely different source which also seems to be related to the sacred marriage, is a Middle Babylonian ritual text from Emar (modern Meskene, a recently excavated Syrian city), which describes the consecration of an *entu* priestess to the storm god, Ishkur. During the ceremony, the priestess is given a bridal hairdo and lies down on a bed, which indicates that we are dealing here with her marriage to the deity (Arnaud 1986:1.100–101; 1986:3.326–27). This unique ritual, attested in a West Semitic milieu, recalls the relationship of the *entu*-priestess of Ur to the moon god Nanna, during the Old and Neo-Sumerian periods.

**3. Allusions to the Sacred Marriage in the 1st Millennium B.C.E.** There is a Neo-Assyrian catalogue, from the beginning of the 1st millennium, furnishing the incipits of about 275 Sumerian and Akkadian love songs, divided into a number of groups, with each group provided with a generic subscript. Two groups of these incipits, subsumed under the generic terms *rē'î rē'î* ("My Shepherd, My Shepherd") and *māruma rā'imni* ("The Little One, Our Lover"), are explicitly concerned with love between Ishtar and "the shepherd" Dumuzi. However, it is not clear what purpose these Akkadian songs served, and hitherto only one of them, entitled "Come in, Shepherd, Ishtar's Lover!" was found inscribed on a tablet, dated approximately to the Middle Babylonian period. In this poem, which resembles the earlier Sumerian Dumuzi-Inanna songs, Ishtar invites Dumuzi to spend the night with her in her parents' house, and later she visits Dumuzi in his sheepfold (Black 1983; cf. Loretz 1964:191–203). Sporadic references to actual practices of sacred marriage within the temple cult in this period can be found mainly in ritual texts and texts of historical nature. These references, however, are usually laconic and quite obscure. There are direct and indirect references in Neo-Assyrian texts to a periodical sacred marriage between Nabu (the tutelary deity of Borsippa) and his spouse Tashmetu, on the third day of Addaru. There is also a liturgical calendar, which describes how Nabu, "in status of a bridegroom (Akk *ša ḫadaššūtu*)," was led to Nanaya of Babylon, his divine mistress, in order to perform with her a six-day sacred-marriage ritual. As to the sacred marriage between Marduk and Ṣarpanitu, Ashurbanipal, king of Ashur, tells in one of his inscriptions that during his restoration of Babylon he fashioned a luxurious bed for Bel and Beltiya, "to perform (their) marriage and make love," and that this bed was set up in the Kaḫilisu, the residence of Ṣarpanitu (Matsushima 1988:99–100). From another text describing the material and the size of this bed we learn that, during the sacred marriage, the goddess was expected to intercede for the king, her protégé, before her husband, and the divine couple was expected to bless the king with long life and firm kingship (Matsushima 1988:107–108). A most peculiar source, connected only indirectly with the sacred marriage rite, is a late ritual-tablet of Ishtar of Babylon, containing a liturgical "Love Song," which was used in the context of "rites against a rival mistress" (Akk *qinayyātu;* cf. Lambert 1975a). It contains a discourse between Marduk, his wife Ṣarpanitu, and his mistress-lover Ishtar of Babylon, with whom Marduk makes love and betrays his "lawful" wife (cf. Edzard 1987). Finally, there are ritual texts from Uruk, from the Seleucid period (Thureau-Dangin 1921:61–125) which describe, among others, the New Year festival *(akitu)* during the first eleven days of Tishre. These texts indicate that the "sacred marriage rites" (Akk *parṣē ḫašādu*), whose main protagonists were Anu and his wife Antum, were an integral part of the *Akitu*/New Year festival of Tishre (for further details as to the sacred marriage rite according to Akkadian sources, see Matsushima 1985; 1987; 1988).

**C. Other Fertility Cults in the Ancient Near East**

Some students of religion and anthropology believe that there was a common fertility cult in the ANE which included (1) the worship of a Great Mother goddess, who was the personification of fertility, and

(2) the worship of a young god, her spouse, who was believed to have died and resurrected, embodying the yearly growth of vegetation, which whithers away in the summer and reappears again in the winter or in springtime. These mythological beliefs and cultic practices were assumed to have been shared by all peoples of the ANE, with local variations of minor importance, and traces of them were deemed to be found in the Bible. According to this theory, the dying god Dumuzi/Tammuz, who is lamented by his spouse Inanna/Ishtar, and semiannually resurrects, is to be identified with the Syrian Adonis, the Egyptian Osiris, and the Ugaritic Baal (cf. Pope in *IDB* 2:265). Recent scholarship, however, based on a more sound philological approach and a more careful methodology, rejects these identifications as superficial and misleading. It is becoming evident that the ancient cultures and religions do not follow a common pattern, as it was formerly assumed, but greatly differ from each other. In any case, it is not clear whether the Mesopotamian Ishtar can be characterized as a "mother goddess"; and since the Dumuzi/Inanna type of fertility cult was abandoned after 1800 B.C.E., this cult could not have exerted any significant influence on Western or biblical religion. Accordingly, careful distinction should be drawn between Mesopotamian fertility cult on the one hand, and seemingly similar cultic phenomena in other ANE cultures (cf. *RLA* 4:253–55).

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JACOB KLEIN

**SACRED MEALS (GRECO-ROMAN).** See MEAL CUSTOMS (GRECO-ROMAN SACRED MEALS).

**SACRED STONE.** The "sacred stone which fell from the sky" (Acts 19:35) was an object of worship in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. The Greek is one word, *diopetēs,* lit. "fallen from the sky," and the meaning of the passage is therefore somewhat obscure. It probably refers to a meteorite to which the Ephesian worshippers of Artemis attached significance and which they worshipped in their temple.

Although no ancient source mentions such a meteor in the Artemis temple at Ephesus (Munck *Acts* AB, 196), meteorites were often venerated by the Greeks and Romans. A meteorite which had been brought to Rome from Pessinus was worshipped as a symbol of the Great Mother, Cybele (Lake and Cadbury 1979:250), and a meteorite called the Palladium was venerated at Troy (ibid.). Meteorites are attested as part of the Artemis cult itself, as one was present in the temple of Artemis at Tauris (Eur. *IT* 87, 1384).

The reference in Acts 19 is in the speech of the "town clerk" of Ephesus in his calming of a crowd which threatens to riot against Paul. The clerk argues that Paul is not offending Artemis when he denounces images "made with hands" (Acts 19:26). As a meteorite, the Artemis sacred stone was not man-made, but could claim superhuman workmanship (Williams *Acts* BHNTC, 224). In addition, the meteor need not have been viewed as an *image* of Artemis; the meteorite in the temple of Cybele at Rome was actually a quite small stone (Gk *baitylos;* Lake and Cadbury 1979:250).

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ROBERT D. MILLER II

**SACRIFICE AND SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS.** This entry consists of two articles: the first surveys the Israelite practices of sacrificial offerings as outlined in the OT, and the second focuses upon how those sacrificial practices were understood and adapted in the NT writings.

## *OLD TESTAMENT*

The main biblical references to cultic sacrifice are found in the Priestly (P) section of the Pentateuch, especially in Leviticus and Numbers. This cultic practice was also the subject of harsh prophetic critique.

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## A. The Problem of Sacrifice

**1. General Concerns.** The concept of sacrifice is at the root of both Christian and Jewish tradition. Though neither religion practices animal sacrifice any longer, the legacy of those practices perdures. Yet this legacy is not always so easy to understand, for the two traditions have been both attracted to and repelled by the image of slain animals being offered up within the sacred precincts of the holy temple. There is perhaps no better reflection of this ambiguity than the work of M. Maimonides (1135–1204). On the one hand, Maimonides was an assiduous systematizer of every detail of the sacrificial system as it was reflected in Jewish tradition. In his *Mishneh Torah,* Maimonides organized all the legal decisions that had accumulated rather haphazardly about sacrifice in biblical and rabbinic literature. No other compiler of Jewish law gave sacrifice this type of attention. Yet in his *Guide for the Perplexed,* Maimonides speaks discursively about the sacrificial system, nearly condemning it. In his evaluation he cites the standard prophetic critique of sacrificial worship (1 Sam 15:22; Isa 1:11; Jer 7:22–23) and says that sacrificial worship was never God's primary desire for humankind (Twersky 1972:332–34). The laws were given to Moses because the people needed them to counteract the attractions of contemporary paganism.

Scholars have long been perplexed over this double-mindedness on the part of Maimonides. Yet his perplexity strikes at the very root of what most modern readers of the Bible at least implicitly believe about the sacrificial system. On the one hand there is the feeling of responsibility toward the sacrificial material in the Bible—it must be organized, systematized, and understood—yet on the other hand there is the constant uncertainty as to its true religious significance. This uncertainty was very nicely summarized by Origen in a remark he made in a homily on the book of Numbers (*Homilia* 27). He noted that if you took a person whom you wished to instruct in the fundamentals of piety and faith and proceeded to instruct him in the laws of sacrifice, he would turn away from such teaching and react as one "who refuses food that is not fitting *(et tanquam non sibi aptum cibum recusat).*" Sacrificial practice remains a foreign and obtrusive element to the present-day interpreter. This problem is compounded by the fact that sacrificial practice constitutes a good portion of the Torah, the first five books of the Bible. Even more telling is its redactional placement; it is at the very heart of the Sinaitic legislation (Leviticus 1–9 *et passim*). Unlike other oddities of the biblical narrative that can be avoided because of their infrequency, the large corpus of sacrificial lore demands the interpreter's attention.

For many students of the Bible, the motif of sacrifice finds religious value in its symbolic role: the act of animal sacrifice is understood to reflect *the bond* between God and humanity. But such a general observation of symbolic value fails to satisfy. One wishes to know more concretely why *animal* sacrifice? Could not the bond between humankind and God be represented in another ritual form?

**2. Social Science Explanations.** The mystery of sacrificial practice also troubled early anthropologists and prompted the opening of a whole new era of comparative research. The problem with the earliest theorists is that they often desired to account for this particular cultic practice, and religion in general, in severely reductionistic, evolutionary models. Indeed, a strong undercurrent in the thinking of one such theorist, Sir Edward Tylor (1871), was to expose the false premises of all theological thought in his exploration of social evolution. Tylor claimed that sacrifice was "a gift made to a deity as if he were a man" (1871, 2:375). Thus, Tylor reduced all sacrifice to a primitive formula of self-aggrandizement, *do ut des* ("I give so that you will give in turn"). This ritual process was devoid of moral value in its original

setting because for Tylor all religions developed from a very primitive animism that viewed the spiritual world as indifferent to morality. Only at a far later stage did a more moral and spiritual meaning surface. On a similar level is the theory of Frazier (1890) that all sacrifice arose out of a ritual of slaying a "divine king." His ritual murder was thought to aid the crops. Frazier believed that this magical impulse was only at a later date spiritualized, and substitutes for the divine king were developed.

One other thinker we might include in this group is Robertson Smith (1889). His work can be distinguished from that of Tylor and Frazier on the grounds that Smith saw the religious impulse behind sacrifice in positive terms. For Smith, sacrifice began as an act of slaying the totemic animal that represented both the tribe and its god. The tribe's consumption of the flesh of this animal provided a means of experiencing a communion between the god and the tribe; thus the life of the community was sustained. The primary goal of the sacrifice was communal and mystical: it enhanced the feeling of unity among the tribe and provided a moment of communion between the tribal folk and their god. Only far later in the development of human culture, under the influence of the state, did sacrifice come to be thought of as a gift to a god. Smith's theory, like those of Tylor and Frazier, is an evolutionary one. Like other anthropologists from the late 19th century, Smith believed that religious sacrifice could be broken down to one original impulse from which all later permutations could be traced.

The gift theory of Tylor was subject to radical revision at the hands of Hubert and Mauss in their famous essay (1899). This work continues to command considerable respect among anthropological theorists and constitutes the starting point for all modern discussion of the problem. Hubert and Mauss argued against the crudely mechanistic theory of Tylor *(do ut des).* On the one hand they agreed with Tylor in seeing sacrifice as a form of a gift to the deity. Yet, on the other hand, they argued that sacrificial victims fashioned a link between the profane and sacral worlds. The animal becomes a mediating vehicle because it partakes of both realms: its body belongs to the physical world whereas its life belongs to the spiritual realm. This mediator, the sacrificial victim, became identified with the sacrificer (Hubert and Mauss' term for the individual who makes the sacrifice) during the moment of consecration. As Valeri notes (1985:65), "the gift ceases to be a commodity, a mere utilitarian object; *it is the subject in an objective form.*" Certainly one of the strengths of the work of Hubert and Mauss is their emphasis on the *entirety* of the sacrificial rite. The process begins with rituals which sacralize the time, place, and officiants. Then the victim is killed and consumed. Finally rituals of desacralization must be carried out to ensure an undisturbed entry to the profane world.

One problem with the gift theory is that it fails to account for the asymmetry of the sacrificial process. How is it that the human being can give so little (a single animal) and receive so much (the promise of divine blessing in its many varied forms)? Here one is greatly aided by recent anthropological theories of gift giving: the gods establish their superiority by giving more than they receive. But there is another level of meaning here as well. There is a degree of equality in the exchange because "the value of the thing given is inversely proportional to that of the giver. In other words, for a god, giving much is giving little; for man, giving little is giving much. Hence man's small gift to the god is as valuable as god's big gift to man, but at the same time this equivalence of the gifts signifies and establishes the nonequivalence of the givers, of god and man. It is in this way that reciprocity can coexist with hierarchy and that the sacrificial exchange can represent the gods' superiority over men" (Valeri 1985:66).

**3. Social Science and Biblical Scholarship.** Our survey of anthropological scholarship has to be severely curtailed for the purposes of this essay, but the reader should know that much work still remains to be done here by the biblical scholar. We have only surveyed those theories which have directly affected past biblical research. More recent conceptualizations have not been discussed (e.g., Girard 1977; Burkert 1983; Valeri 1985). By and large, biblical scholarship has not kept up with the theoretical work of recent anthropology. The handbooks on biblical sacrifice generally do one of two things: they either dismiss all or most of previous research as not applicable to the special case of the Bible or take up an evolutionary model such as that of Tylor or Frazier and apply the lower forms to Israel's ANE neighbors and the higher forms to Israel. The second strategy is especially dangerous. Such apologetic tendencies, besides being historically suspicious, are of marginal value theologically. The presumption of such thought seems to be

that the biblical cult is odd on its own terms, and only in comparison to a clearly inferior *Vorlage* can any theological value be extracted.

One prominent evolutionary model that has been popular in biblical handbooks is the motif of sacrifice as food for the gods. God is portrayed in this model as an anthropomorphic being who requires daily sustenance like any human being. Against this primitive mode of religious thought, some scholars have chosen to juxtapose the more evolved form of religion found in the Bible:

> If I am hungry, will I not tell you?
> For the earth and what fills it are mine.
> Do I eat the flesh of bulls,
> the blood of goats do I drink?
> Sacrifice to God praise!
> Fulfill, to the Most High, your vows! (Ps 50:12–14)

To be sure, this psalm explicitly says that YHWH needs no food. But before quickly concluding that the Bible's account of sacrifice is on a higher evolutionary level, one must account for the enormous amount of evidence that portrays Israelite sacrifice as food for YHWH. Countless texts from every period describe YHWH's sacrifices as food. The altar itself is called "the table of YHWH." The sacrifices can be called "YHWH's food." The aroma of the burnt offerings is said to be "a sweet savor to YHWH." All of this is dismissed by some biblical scholars as ancient relics of Israel's pagan past. No account of the fact is made that these terms and phrases are *freely* introduced into *all genres* (cultic and epic narratives, psalms, and more) of Israel's literature in all periods.

The boldness of such an argument is clear. While one can point to a few isolated poetic texts that speak of YHWH's freedom from human needs such as food, one must dismiss dozens of other texts from a variety of genres as unrepresentative, or as relics from an archaic past. Moreover, even the presumption that all non-Israelite conceptualizations of sacrifice uniformly presumed that the gods required food needs to be rethought. Tigay's work on the development of the Gilgamesh Epic has provided damaging evidence for the simplistic comparisons made by some biblical scholars (1982:224–28, 293–96). The late Assyrian reworking of this epic shows a decided tendency to downplay, if not altogether delete, all references to the gods' need for food. What are we to make of this shift? Is this late text representative of a new Mesopotamian perspective on sacrificial rites? If so, what do we make of all the subsequent Mesopotamian material (like the Neo-Assyrian and Babylonian ritual texts) wherein sacrifices are still described as food for the gods? Are these subsequent descriptions simply ancient relics? The most we can say with any certainty is that in Mesopotamia certain literate groups inveighed against an overly anthropomorphic characterization of the deity. *Mutatis mutandis* for the biblical material. The likelihood that this immediately became a generalizable philosophical principle in either civilization is very remote.

It would be preferable to see sacrifice as a *multivalent entity.* Various explanations of its function could coexist, and what a given writer enunciates is also affected by the literary needs and genre of the writer in question. Even in the rabbinic period the notion that the deity consumed sacrifices could find a literary setting in spite of the rabbinic tendency to avoid anthropomorphism. There exist halakic discussions which explicitly compare human consumption of the sacrificial fare to that of the deity (*Mekhilta of R. Ishmael ad* Exod 23:15). What this type of material demonstrates is that even the Rabbis of the Tannaitic era could say both that sacrifice was food for God and that God needed no food. *Mutatis mutandis* for the biblical Israelites and the Babylonians. The crucial variable is not an evolutionary development from magical, prelogical thinking to a more spiritual and ethical form of religion, but rather the literary genre in which a particular concept was found (myth, hymn, liturgical formula, etc.). Each of these linguistic forms or language games, to use the terminology of Wittgenstein, had its own particular ideology of sacrifice. This *multivalency* need much more attention than has been hitherto provided. Too much theoretical discussion of sacrifice is dependent on the assumption that sacrifice can be reduced to one essential concept. In the course of the present essay, we will attempt to develop further this notion of multiple levels of explanation.

**4. Biblical Sacrifice as Cultic Realia or Textual Phenomenon.** All treatments of sacrifice by biblical scholars have focused on the historical *realia* of the cultus. The dominant question concerns just what happened in the temple when animals were slain and what did it mean to the particular practitioners. This research paradigm involves two distinct but interrelated programs of investigation. First would be the construction of a history of Israel's cultic worship from its origins in the patriarchal period to its conclusion in the beginning of the Second Temple period under Ezra and Nehemiah. Having established this historical grid, the various data from the P source and from other ritual materials scattered throughout the former and latter prophets (especially Ezekiel 40–48) are then placed in their proper temporal setting. This method has produced significant results in terms of assessing the function of biblical sacrifice in ancient Israelite culture. But the cost of this methodology has been that the role of sacrifice in the final form of the biblical text, or the canonical function of the material, has received scant (one could say almost no) attention. The effects of this are manifold. As one enters the Second Temple era, sacrifice becomes as much a textual enterprise as one of actual practice; the study of the sacrificial system begins to develop a level of significance independent, though not inseparable, from cultic practice. Evidence of this approach to sacrifice as a textual phenomenon is already present, *in nuce,* in some pieces of what has come to be called "inner biblical exegesis" (Toeg 1974; Fishbane 1985). It becomes a full-blown reality in such documents as *Jubilees* and the Temple Scroll, not to mention the fifth division of the Mishnah, "sacred (offerings)." All of these sources seek to reconstruct a model of sacrifice that is not simply reflective of actual practice, but results from learned exegesis of the Bible in its final canonical form. This creation of an ideal, exegetical model of sacrifice we prefer to label "the scripturalization of the cult" and it will be discussed below (section F).

**B. Sacrifice and Offering: Some Basic Distinctions**

Thomas Aquinas defined the distinction between offering and sacrifice as one of "genus" and "species." Offering constitutes the more general category of gift or oblation, while sacrifice is a specialization of this category which entails a more specific means of delivery to the deity. For Aquinas, the act which separated sacrifice from offering was "immolation." In Latin, *immolare* does not mean "to destroy" as its English cognate would suggest, but "to sprinkle with sacrificial meal." For Aquinas, though, what constitutes "immolation" varies with the substance being offered: whereas an animal may be killed, liquids are poured out and foodstuffs such as grains and fruits are burnt (Turner 1977:190). As Turner observes: "In Scholastic terminology, oblation can be taken as the matter, immolation as the form of sacrifice."

This is a useful typology for biblical sacrifice as well, though one should note that such a distinction is not explicitly made in the biblical vocabulary. The Bible does have two basic terms for offering: *minḥâ* (in the non-P materials) which means simply "gift," and *qôrbān* (in P) which implies something "brought near" (namely, to the altar). These words are generic terms which include every type of sacrifice or oblation. There is no single term which defines how, or in what manner, an offering becomes a "sacrifice." The basic term for sacrifice in the Bible is *zābaḥ,* which means "to slaughter." In Phoenician this root develops the broader sense "to prepare food" in general, but nowhere does it become a generic term for sacrifice. Because blood sacrifice was such an important category in Israelite religion, this term for animal slaughter assumed the technical meaning of sacrifice.

The root *zbḥ* also appears in the Hebrew word for altar, *mizbēaḥ.* Although the term literally means "the place of slaughter," it functions in the OT to designate the spot where each sacrifice is formally offered. It is at this spot that animals are slaughtered, liquids are poured out, and grains are burned. Indeed, we might define sacrifice in the Bible as those oblations which are burned (wholly or partially) at the altar *(mizbēaḥ).* These would include the burnt offering *(ʿôlâ),* the "peace offering" *(šĕlāmîm),* and the grain offering *(minḥâ),* as well as the purification *(ḥaṭṭāʾt)* and reparation offerings *(ʾāšām).* Other types of sacred donations, though brought to the sanctuary and even sometimes presented at the altar, are not burned in any way at the altar and so are not sacrifices. These would include the tithe *(maʿăśēr),* firstfruits *(bikkûrîm),* the wave-offering *(tĕnûpâ),* and the heave-offering *(tĕrûmâ).* In general, those offerings we

have designated sacrifices are of higher sanctity ("most holy") than the more general category of offerings ("holy").

**C. Development of Terminology**

Every modern study of biblical sacrifice begins with an attempt to define the development and usage of various biblical terms for sacrifice. Indeed, the problems of definition can be so acute in respect to certain terms that many studies begin and end with nothing more than a purely philological discussion. Though the particular problem of definition of individual sacrifices is a difficult one, the more general problem of understanding their distribution in the Bible is also not easy to understand.

**1. The Problem of P.** Ever since the beginning of critical biblical studies scholars have noted the uniqueness of the sacrificial terminology of the P source as compared with the rest of the OT. We could summarize the distinctiveness of P's sacrificial vocabulary along 3 axes: (1) P has an immense technical vocabulary that vastly exceeds the other narrative sources; (2) much of P's vocabulary—indeed vocabulary that is central to the P system—is either absent from the rest of the Bible or used in a very different fashion; and (3) P's sacrificial vocabulary is heavily weighted toward rituals of atonement. Wellhausen *(WPHI)* used these data to derive very distinctive, if not pejorative results about the value of the P code in general. First, for Wellhausen, the vast technical vocabulary of P reflects the "externalization" of the cult. For P, a product of the Exile, sacrifice is no longer a *spontaneous* act of individual piety as it was in JE, but rather a *prescribed* ritual of the community (*WPHI,* 103). Second, the fact that these prescribed rituals and their distinctive vocabulary appear nowhere in the preexilic narrative and historical sources was one of Wellhausen's strongest arguments that P was a late product of the postexilic period. Finally, P's emphasis on rituals of atonement, in a manner that is unprecedented in earlier biblical narrative, indicated to Wellhausen the heavy sense of guilt Jews of the early Second Temple period felt and the tremendous efforts that were made to purge the community of its sin.

Each element of Wellhausen's system has come under attack. Dussaud (1941), on the basis of comparing Phoenician cultic tariffs from the early 1st millennium, demonstrated that an elaborate list of technical sacrificial vocabulary was not sufficient grounds for labeling the Priestly system as late or unique in the ancient world. Such lists were present among Israel's nearest neighbors. Weinfeld has carried this argument even further, noting that Wellhausen was "unaware of the existence of ordered, institutionalized cultic centers in the great cultural centers of the ancient Near East. All cult was based on ceremonial precision" (1983:96). As to the problem of P's "unique" interest in rituals of atonement, Thompson's (1963) study showed that atonement is also an operative sacrificial category outside of P. Even more important is Weinfeld's demonstration that the great cultural centers of the ancient world (1983:105–6) had appropriate terminology for sacrifices of purification and atonement. These types of sacrifice were an accepted norm for ancient ritual, and thus P's interest in them is hardly extraordinary. The fact that only P records these sacrifices tells us more about P's interest than P's date. We might add that Weinfeld's point can be strengthened by noting how the technical cultic vocabulary of Ugaritic is distributed among its various literary genres. Here, too, as Tarragon (1980) and Anderson (1987) have noted, the technical sacrificial terminology of the sacrificial texts is quite variant from the terminology of the epic and mythic materials. Not only do the meanings of various sacrificial terms vary from one genre to another, but each genre has its own unique terminology. Just as P's vocabulary stands out in relation to J, E, and D, so also the Ugaritic sacrificial tariffs stand out from the Baal myth or the epic of King Kirta. The differences cannot be explained on purely historical grounds; the nature and genre of the text in question is an equally if not more important conditioning factor.

**2. The Development of Cultic Vocabulary.** The development of cultic terminology in the Bible must be seen in a broader perspective than simply the distinctions between P and non-P usage. To be properly appreciated it must be seen in its overall NW Semitic (or Canaanite) context, that is, in relation to Israel's closest cultural relations (Ugarit, Phoenicia, Aramea, Ammon, and Moab). To illustrate how Israel's cultic terminology is related to these contiguous cultures, we will trace the development of the cultic term *minḥâ*.

The Heb word *minḥâ* has two very different meanings in the OT. On the one hand it can refer to the specific "cereal offering" (so the P source, so Leviticus 2) or it can simply mean "gift," including even noncultic donations. In Phoenician, the term only appears in cultic tariffs, and like the usage in P refers to the cereal offering. At Ugarit the specialization proceeded in another direction. The term occurs at least three times in economic texts referring to some type of secular payment (*CTA* 14.1; KTU 4.91; and in the Ras Hani materials).

In the past, it has been typical to explain the different levels of meaning for *minḥâ* in the Bible in historical terms. The specialization of the term in the P source (cereal offering) is seen as a postexilic development. Inherent in this view is an implicit Wellhausenian bias: because P is a postexilic document, its technical terminology reflects postexilic origin. This view has a number of problems, the most severe being the widespread usage of the term *minḥâ* meaning "cereal offering" in the preexilic period in both Phoenicia and Israel (*AncIsr* 2:430). In other words, it seems safe to say that the meaning "gift" and "cereal offering" could coexist.

How can we account for these variant meanings existing side by side? It is well known in anthropology that societies which possess religious specialists also have very technical explanations of ritual and mythic motifs. These learned explanations are often very different from those of the nonspecialist. In cultures where these specialists are able to write, the extensive recording of temple revenues further contributes to the development of elaborate classification schemes (Goody 1977:74–111). These classification schemes were necessary for temple revenues and expenditures being accounted for. This ability to classify allowed for more precise conceptual and lexical boundaries and gave much greater visibility to categories of items. Though these classification schemes were very important for the development of a sophisticated social structure, they were not generally relevant to the daily affairs of the common citizen.

How is this relevant for *minḥâ?* For the common Israelite, the term *minḥâ* meant a "gift," most often a gift given to the temple. Because the economic base of Israelite society was dependent on grain, the *minḥâ* payment given to the temple was usually grain. This basic datum was further refined by priestly specialists. A typical Judean farmer need not be specific regarding these matters; he simply contributed a tenth of whatever it was he produced. But the priests—who had to deal with a variety of agricultural and pastoral gifts and revenues—needed a more elaborate taxonomy so to order their experience. No doubt a large impetus for this ordering came from temple lists and tariffs (Levine 1963; 1965). In order to deal meaningfully with the income of the temple, a precise lexicon of cultic contributions had to be in place. This would explain the need to specialize further a term like *minḥâ* from "a gift" (which was most often grain) to "a cereal offering."

The development of a specialized meaning for *minḥâ* should be seen as both an inner-Israelite and broad NW Semitic phenomenon. In its early proto-NW Semitic form, the root had the broad generic connotation of "gift." During the Iron Age, or perhaps a bit earlier, the cultic specialists in Phoenicia and Israel used this word to express the most basic cultic offering, the cereal offering. But this specialization was uneven: its earlier generic usage survived even into postexilic literature in Israel. While in Ugarit, already in the Bronze Age, the prose material showed a limitation of meaning to a secular economic sense.

The specialization of meaning for cultic terms has important ramifications. In any one particular dialect the terms for sacrifice can become quite specific and technical. As a result of this learned procedure of classification which occurs within the cult the priestly vocabulary becomes quite idiosyncratic. This idiosyncratic and complex classification system is paradigmatic of all mature cultic centers in the ancient world. It does not reflect a crudely materialistic view of the cult; rather it reflects the attempt of each and every cultic center to provide order and meaning to the wide variety of gifts and offerings which it receives. The special usages of any one cult center cannot be predicted on the basis of the archaic meanings of the pertinent cultic terms. The specialization of *minḥâ* from "gift" to "cereal offering" is paradigmatic of this.

In summary, we can say that the P code's interest in classifying the broad array of sacrificial donations made to the temple does not reflect a crudely materialistic view of the cult as Wellhausen and von Rad

(*ROTT* 1:259–60) believed. Instead it represents the maturation and individuation of the biblical cult. Each cultic center in the ANE developed its own very intricate system of sacrificial categories and terminology. In the realm of Canaanite culture, what separates each center from the other is the *unique configuration* of the various sacrificial offerings. Thus the development of the Priestly vocabulary is part of a larger movement to develop a specialized and unique cultic identity that one sees in other cultic centers in the Iron Age.

**D. Sacrifice in P**

**1. The Animals.** As a general rule, the sacrifices can be broken down into two categories in regard to which animals were used: those sacrifices which specifically required a particular animal for each and every sacrificial occasion, and those which required a range of different animals depending on the social standing or economic status of the individual offerer. In the former class we can place the burnt offering, the peace offering, and the reparation offering, while in the latter class we would place the two forms of purification offering.

It would not be accurate to say that the requirements for the burnt offering, peace offering, and reparation offering were rigidly fixed; there was room for variability, but the variability was not similar to that reserved for the purification offering. For the burnt offering one had to offer a male animal from the herd or flock, or a bird (turtledove or pigeon). The peace offering could be either a male or female from the herd or flock. The reparation offering was always a ram, except for the Nazirite who became impure, who had to bring a lamb. The reparation offering was also unique in that most of the time this sacrificial requirement could be converted into an equivalent in silver. In contrast to these requirements, the laws for the purification offering in Lev 4:1–23 conform strictly to the *social standing* of the offerer. The priest, community, ruler, and individual had their own requirements that could not be varied. The additional situations for the purification offering listed in Lev 5:1–13 articulate a separate system altogether. In this material, the requirements for the purification offering are graded in accord with the *economic standing* of the offerer.

The animals used for sacrifices were domestic animals. Even though there were wild animals that were fit for consumption according to the laws of *kašrut* (e.g., the hart, gazelle, roebuck, wild goat, ibex, antelope, and mountain sheep; Deut 14:5) these animals were never used for sacrifices. What was fit for game was evidently not suitable for the altar.

**2. The Technique of Sacrifice.** Before beginning our formal discussion it is worth noting that since the P code made the setting of the Sinaitic revelation the primal location of Israel's cultic commandments, all of the sacrificial law was given in reference to the tent of meeting or tabernacle that was erected there (Exodus 35–49). In the eyes of the P source, all this material was thought to be equally applicable to the domain of the temple.

The sacrificial act consisted of six basic steps which can be divided into two groups: those which were performed by the layperson who offered the animal and those which were restricted to the priests. Laypersons were responsible for (1) bringing the animal to the sanctuary, (2) laying hands on the animal, and (3) slaughtering the animal (included cutting up the animal and washing or cleaning the insides, see Lev 1:6, 9). The priests were responsible for (4) tossing the blood, (5) burning the animal (or part of the animal), and (6) disposing of the remains. The first three actions of the layperson took place at the opening of the tent of meeting, a spot where the laypeople could also witness the Lord's "consumption" of the sacrifice (Lev 9:23–24). The fact that the laypeople were responsible for actions 1–3 can be seen from the diction of Leviticus 1. Those actions which the layperson was to perform, the P writer identifies with the third person singular: "he shall lay his hand …" (Lev 1:4). Those actions which the priest was to perform are rendered: "and Aaron's sons, the priests, shall present the blood …" (Lev 1:5). The meaning of the hand-laying rite, which is so basic to understanding the process of atonement in the expiatory sacrifices, has long been obscure to scholars. It has recently been suggested that the rite of hand-laying merely signified that the animal belonged to the owner (Wright 1986). This theory pertains to the generally prescribed law of laying *one hand* on the animal. The exceptional act of laying on *two hands* on

the day of atonement must be explained differently. In this case, the act of laying on hands identified a particular animal as the recipient of the ritual action.

The actions which only the priest could perform (tossing blood and burning the animal) were actions which had to occur at the altar. Because only the priests were given access to this location, the responsibility naturally was theirs. Blood manipulation varied from sacrifice to sacrifice. With the burnt, reparation, and peace offerings, the blood was tossed around the altar. In contrast to these, the purification offering required that the blood be first daubed on the horns of the altar and then the rest poured out at the base of the altar in the case of a ruler or commoner. For the priest or the entire congregation the blood was first sprinkled seven times before the veil of the sanctuary and then put on the horns of the inner incense altar. The remainder was poured out at the base of the outer altar. In certain cases the priests were also required to eat the sacrifice (cereal offering and reparation offering).

Disposal rites were different for each sacrifice. The burnt offering, of course, had no disposal rite: the entire sacrifice was burned on the altar. For the other sacrifices, disposal rites varied, seemingly in accord with sanctity. Thus the peace offering, which was of lesser sanctity ("holy"), could be eaten for two days and burned only on the third, whereas the purification sacrifice ("most holy") had to be eaten on the same day (Wright 1987). Special laws (Lev 7:16–18) of disposal also pertained to utensils used in preparing expiatory sacrifices (Lev 7:28). On the disposal rites in general, see Wright (1987).

**3. Literary Genres in P. a. General Matters.** The P source has brought together a variety of materials into its sacrificial program from different time periods and perhaps even variant sacred sites. Scholars often argue that because certain of these sources can be shown to be preexilic, the P source as a whole can be safely anchored in the preexilic period. See PRIESTLY ("P") SOURCE. One should not be so quick to reach such a solution. The date of the final redaction of the P source is an issue independent of the date of its constituent materials.

Scholars have noted the variety of materials that are found within the P source. The most basic source division, which all are agreed upon, is that between the Holiness Code (Leviticus 17–26) and the rest of P. It has been generally assumed that H is earlier than P, but recently Knohl (1988) has offered weighty arguments for presuming the reverse. Within the P source itself there is further evidence of different layers of source material. One may wish to compare the classic doublet regarding the purification offerings in Leviticus 4 and Num 15:22–31 (see below); other doublets can also be found. One stream of scholarship has taken the evidence of the doublets as a starting point for reconstructing the complex tradition history of the OT sacrificial materials (Rendtorff 1967; Elliger, *Leviticus* HAT). Although this method worked very well in narrative sources of the Pentateuch and has achieved a rather high degree of consensus, the same cannot be said for the sacrificial material. There simply is not enough data within these sources or in extrabiblical sources to reconstruct with any certainty the question of literary history. In proof of this, one need simply to compare the vastly different reconstructions found in the work of Elliger, Rendtorff, and Noth (*Leviticus* OTL). Perhaps the most convincing treatment of the tradition history of the P source and its variant sources is that of Knohl.

Another method of analyzing the sacrificial material in P has been employed by J. Milgrom. Working from the assumption that the source material of P cannot be reconstructed, and that the material presents itself, on the whole, as a complete system, Milgrom has opted to interpret OT sacrifice on the basis of the final redactional form of the P source. Thus, when Milgrom investigates the meaning of the purification or reparation sacrifices, he does not ask which treatment of it in the Bible is earliest, nor does he look for inconsistencies or contradictions as signs of literary seams in a particular pericope. Rather, Milgrom assumes that the P material as a unit has sufficient integrity to be treated as a whole. Thus, the meaning of the purification or reparation offering, for example, can only be grasped when each pericope is read and explained as though it was part of a complete system.

Milgrom's method has achieved some remarkable results, especially in regard to the purification and reparation offerings. His work is especially helpful to those working in Second Temple sources because his emphasis on how the P material presents itself in its final redactional shape provides a smooth

transition to the type of interpretation one finds in Second Temple sources. Others, though, have been critical of Milgrom's perspective on the grounds that it is not sufficiently historical in its outlook.

The 1988 study of I. Knohl has called into question some of Milgrom's assumptions about the homogeneity of the P material. As mentioned above, Knohl dates H earlier than P. But just as important, Knohl finds new evidence for the H source outside of Leviticus 19–26. He argues that H material can be readily identified and contains an understanding of sacrifice that is quite different from P. If Knohl is correct (and he marshals a good deal of evidence in support of his thesis), many of the integrative readings of Milgrom will have to be rethought.

In summary, one can say that the sacrificial matter in P is approached in very different ways and that no consensus has emerged as to what the most appropriate method might be. Readers of this literature must be careful to note what the operative assumptions are of a particular interpreter before assessing his particular understanding.

**b. Descriptive and Prescriptive Ritual Texts.** Although the exact stratification of P's source material remains a matter of debate, significant work has been done on the variant *Sitze im Leben* of some of this material. One scholar, B. Levine, has distinguished himself as an especially sensitive interpreter of OT sacrificial ritual against the ANE environment. He advanced the thesis, which has since been widely accepted, that sacrificial instruction could be broken down into one of two types: the descriptive and the prescriptive (1965). Working from sacrificial material found in Mesopotamia, Ugarit, and the Bible, Levine argued that descriptive texts describe what transpired at a specific cultic occasion. As a result these texts exist in a narrative format. Prescriptive texts, on the other hand, do not describe an actual ritual; rather they legislate what must be brought for a certain ritual. In the biblical material good examples of prescriptive texts can be found in Numbers 7; 28–29, while Leviticus 8–9 is descriptive in nature. Levine argued that behind the narrative of Numbers 7 was an actual archival record of cultic offerings which, "in its simplest terms, is an account of sanctuary income resembling numerous similar accounts from Mesopotamia" (1965:317); whereas the origins of Leviticus 8–9 were actual reports of ritual occasions that were "subsequently adapted into narrative accounts" (1965:324).

A. F. Rainey (1970) took Levine's results one step further and noted that such a form-critical distinction could account for the different order of sacrifices found in OT ritual texts. Rainey notes that the order of sacrifices in Leviticus 8–9 is different from Numbers 7; 28–29. The former includes a progression from the purification offering to burnt offering while in the latter the reverse order is found. Rainey argues that the proper administrative procedure is that found in the descriptive texts. Rainey's thesis finds resounding support in the narrative regarding the leper: "And on the eighth day he shall take two male lambs without blemish, and one ewe lamb a year old without blemish, and a cereal offering …" (Lev 14:10). Because the burnt offering must be a male animal (Lev 1:10), whereas the purification offering for the individual is a female (Lev 4:32), the order of this *prescriptive* text is: burnt offering and then purification offering. But when the actual performance of the ritual is *described*, a different order is found: the purification offering is offered before the burnt offering (Lev 14:19–20). A similar contrast can be found between the *descriptive* list of sacrifices that the Nazir was to furnish (Num 6:14–15) and the *prescriptive* text which describes their execution (Num 6:16–17).

The results of this form critical distinction between descriptive and prescriptive lists is also important for understanding the meaning of OT sacrifice. The purification sacrifice is first because it prepares the way for full sacrificial communion: it deals fully with any tinge of sin that may separate the divine presence from the worshipper. Once the rite of purification had been completed, the burnt offering, which was an offering given over totally to God, could be offered. Only then could peace offerings be given wherein the people at large would rejoice before their Lord (Deuteronomy 12).

**c. Redaction of Sacrificial Material in P.** When one first looks at the P source in its entirety, the laws of sacrifice seem to be ordered in a rather haphazard way. Beginning in Exodus 25 and continuing to the end of Numbers the sacrificial laws of P are interwoven among the various narrative materials of J and E. It is difficult, especially in Numbers, to understand what was the editorial function of this structure. Yet there are clear signs of editorial design within this larger framework. One might note the structure of

Exodus 25–Leviticus 9. Exodus 25–40 is the narrative which describes the delivery of the architectural plans for the tabernacle to Moses (Exodus 25–31) and the subsequent execution of those plans (Exodus 35–40). This particular section comes to a climax with the appearance of the divine presence ("glory of the Lord") in the Tabernacle (Exod 40:34–38). After the tabernacle has been revealed, the laws of sacrifice are laid out in a very general way (Leviticus 1–7). Concluding this section is the narrative of the ordination of Aaron and the ceremony of the eighth day (Leviticus 8–9). This final section concludes with the first appearance of the Lord to the entire gathered throng of Israelites:

> Moses and Aaron then went inside the Tent of Meeting. When they came out, they blessed the people; and the Presence of the Lord appeared to all the people. Fire came forth from before the Lord and consumed the burnt offering and the fat parts of the altar. And all the people saw, and shouted, and fell on their faces" (Lev 9:23–24).

The importance of this narrative has been underestimated by biblical scholars. In many respects it reflects the very center of the P document. Whereas prior to the revelation at Mt. Sinai, God had appeared to his chosen only sporadically, now this divine presence could be routinized and made available on a regular basis: "An altar of earth you shall make for me and sacrifice on it your burnt offerings and your peace offerings, your sheep and your oxen; *in every place where I cause my name to be remembered I will come to you and bless you*" (Exod 20:24).

The climax of the P narrative in the completion of the worship rites commanded at Mt. Sinai contrasts rather sharply with the climax of the epic narratives of the Pentateuch. In the Israelite epic, the climax of the narrative is found outside the Pentateuch in the settlement traditions. Whereas JE was interested in highlighting the role of the settlement, P chose to subordinate this theme to the inauguration of a regular, routinized temple-service in the desert. The inauguration of the priesthood and the sacrificial altar, and as a consequence, the appearance of the "glory of the Lord" (Lev 9:23) to all Israel constituted the very heart of Israel's relation to its God. It was here that the drama of Israel's relationship to God was consummated. So important was this moment of "consummation" that rabbinic midrash retold this moment using sexual imagery (*Sifra ad* Lev 9:23).

In summary one can say that the Torah has both *general rules* for the performance of individual sacrifices and *particular applications* for the individual sacrifices or sets of sacrifices. General rules for all of the sacrificial types are primarily found in one location, Leviticus 1–7. These general rules tell everything one needs to know about *how* to administer the burnt offering. It tells one where to bring the animal, how to lay on hands, where to kill it, how to handle its blood, how to prepare the altar, and what to burn on the altar. The section closes with the statement: "This is the law of the burnt offering, of the cereal offering, of the purification offering, of the reparation offering, of the consecration offering, and of the peace offering which the Lord commanded Moses on Mt. Sinai" (Lev 7:37–38).

In its present canonical shape, the laws of Leviticus 1–7 are viewed as the basic rules for how each sacrifice is to be performed. One must be careful to note though that these rules, on their own, are very artificial and do not constitute a complete system of sacrificial ritual. Leviticus 1–7 takes up each sacrificial type individually and treats it as an isolated entity. It is only rarely that an Israelite offered only a burnt offering or cereal offering. It was not the individual offering on its own terms that had meaning, but its particular combination within a given ritual. Thus the rest of the laws of sacrifice in the Pentateuch can be viewed as the specific ritual application of the rather abstract and general rules of Leviticus 1–7 (excluding the doublets to Leviticus 1–7, such as Num 15:22–31 and Num 5:5–8). The specific applications of the general rules of Leviticus 1–7 can be grouped into three categories: (a) foundational sequences (ordination of priests and Levites [Leviticus 8–9, Numbers 8], dedication of the tabernacle [Numbers 7]); (b) festival laws and the *tāmīd*, "daily burnt offering" (Leviticus 16; 23; Numbers 28–29); and (c) specific rituals pertaining to the life cycle of the individual: childbirth (Leviticus 12), "leprosy" (Leviticus 13–14), vows of the Nazir (Numbers 6), impurity from discharge (Lev 15:13–15), corpse defilement (Numbers 19), and so forth.

**4. The Basic Types of Animal Sacrifice. a. Burnt Offering *(ʿôlâ).*** The Heb term for "burnt offering" is *ʿôlâ*, literally, "an offering of ascent" or "an ascending offering" (Levine 1974:6). The noun is used

with its cognate verbal root *haʿăleh ʿôlâ,* "to make ascend an *ʿôlâ.*" It is not difficult to guess why this name is appropriate for this particular offering. The *ʿôlâ* sacrifice was one which was entirely burnt on the altar and so its smoke—or better, its scent—was directed toward the heavenly realm, wherein the deity was thought to have "inhaled" it. The *ʿôlâ* was generally offered along with accompanying cereal and drink offerings (Num 15:1–10). In Ugarit this sacrificial type was called *šrp,* that is " (totally) burnt."

The sacrifice was a widely used one in ancient Israel. Indeed the phrase "burnt offerings and peace offerings" (e.g. Exodus 20:24) could be used as a merism for the entire sacrificial system (Levine 1974:21). Once in the book of Ezra, the term *ʿôlâ* describes both the purification and the burnt offerings that were offered by the returning exiles (8:35). Levine has argued that the *ʿôlâ* sacrifice should be understood as one which attracted the deity's attention and invoked the deity's presence for a particular ritual occasion. Such a theory would nicely explain the usage of the *ʿôlâ* for the purposes of divination when the deity's response to an urgent plea was desired, as in the case of Balaam's oracles (Numbers 21–24), or the usage of the *ʿôlâ* by Elijah as a means of testing which prophetic group truly "had YHWH's attention" so to speak (1 Kings 18). It would also explain the usage of the *ʿôlâ* as a term for child sacrifice, which was thought in some circles to show one's consummate devotion to the deity (2 Kgs 3:26–27) and hence worthiness of divine assistance. Milgrom has argued that the *ʿôlâ* was the earliest form of atonement sacrifice in the biblical materials (*EncBib* 7:243). Job 1:5 is good evidence of this: "Job would rise early in the morning and offer burnt offerings according to the number of (his sons) for he said: 'It may be that my sons have sinned and cursed God in their hearts.' " The atoning function of the *ʿôlâ* survives vestigially in the P source itself. Although P generally holds that only the purification and reparation offerings deal with sin, in Lev 1:4 it is said that the burnt offering "shall make atonement" for the offerer. We say this is a vestigial usage because nowhere else does P spell out how this atonement would work. All subsequent discussion of atonement revolves around the purification and reparation offerings. In Milgrom's view, the development of these specialized offerings brought about a restructuring of the role of the more general *ʿôlâ.* One must be careful, though, not to presume that this restructuring of the system and refinement of the typology of atoning sacrifices was late simply because they do not appear in preexilic sources. They probably did exist, but nonpriestly sources took no interest in the more exacting taxonomy of the priestly system.

Another level of meaning present in the *ʿôlâ* is that of a gift to the deity. Of course the gift is not just any type of gift but a gift that the deity consumes, a "soothing odor." The consumable gift was thought to be in many respects the food of the deity. Just as the temple was conceived to be the deity's home, complete with furniture and other appurtenances, so this divine home had its hearth, the altar. The daily sacrifices for the deity are described in Exod 29:38–42 (cf. Num 28:3–8 and Ezek 46:13–15). These sacrifices took place both in the morning and the evening and consisted of the *ʿôlâ* (lamb) along with a cereal and drink offering. It was called the *tamid* offering in rabbinic sources because scripture says it was to be offered "continually *(tāmīd)* … throughout your generations" (Exod 29:42). It is no accident that Exod 29:42 continues to require the sacrifice "at the door of the tent of meeting before the Lord, where I will meet you, to speak there to you." This *tāmīd* sacrifice was symbolic not only of the deity's meal, but by extension, of the deity's presence among the people. No greater cultic calamity could be imagined than the loss of this sacrifice, since it symbolized the severing of the divine-human relationship (Dan 8:11).

**b. Peace Offering *(šĕlāmîm).*** The translation and interpretation of this sacrifice has bothered scholars for many years. It seems clear that at least three terms can refer to this sacrifice: *zebaḥ, zibḥê-šĕlāmîm,* and *šĕlāmîm.* This history of the development of these terms has been treated by Rendtorff (1967). The *šĕlāmîm* seems to be a special type of an earlier *zebaḥ* sacrifice. One should not infer that *zebaḥ,* "slain sacrifice," refers to any slain sacrificial animal. In spite of its name, which is quite general, this sacrifice designation often occurs in the pair *zebaḥ* and *ʿôlâ.* In this type of usage there can be no doubt that *zebaḥ* refers specifically to the *šĕlāmîm* offering.

The sacrifice has commonly been translated as "peace offering" but this is certainly an unhappy rendering. It tells us precious little about the nature of the sacrifice. Just what is peaceful about this sacrificial rite? Some say the peace refers to a harmonious relationship between humanity and God. R.

Smith went even further and said it symbolized a communion between them (1889). Others have argued that the peacefulness refers to a covenantal pact, either between God and humanity or simply between different peoples. Of course the lexical root of the term *šĕlāmîm (šlm)* does mean "peace," and in certain cases nouns formed from this root in Hebrew and Akkadian refer to covenantal relations. Yet each one of these attempts to locate the function of the *šĕlāmîm* in terms of etymology has not been persuasive. In the case of the *šĕlāmîm,* Gray's dictum that usage is a more important determinant of meaning than etymology is certainly true (1925:1–20).

**(1) Types.** In the P source the *šĕlāmîm* sacrifice is broken down into three subtypes (Lev 7:11–18): the *tôdâ* or "thanksgiving" sacrifice, the *neder,* "vowed sacrifice," and the *nĕdābâ,* "freewill offering." All of these sacrifices played a very important role in the life of the individual. Besides constituting the basic form of sacrifice brought on feast days (1 Sam 1:3–4; Deut 12:11–12), the *šĕlāmîm* also played an important role in the ritual of lamentation and thanksgiving that is so prominent in the Psalms. Very similar to the *šĕlāmîm* are the *pesaḥ,* "passover," and *millû᾽îm,* "ordination" sacrifices. Although the *pesaḥ* sacrifice is prepared in a different manner (it is roasted and not boiled according to Exod 12:9), it is a sacrifice that all Israel must consume. The *millû᾽îm* sacrifice is prepared almost exactly like the *šĕlāmîm,* the significant difference being that the blood is applied to the ear, thumb, and toe of the Aaronid priest (Exod 29:19–34).

The *pesaḥ, millû᾽îm,* and *tôdâ* sacrifices were all to be eaten on the very day they were offered, unlike the other *šĕlāmîm* types. This is certainly due to the fact that the former rites are all obligatory ones. The fact that their flesh must be consumed within one day points to a higher level of sanctity. The other *šĕlāmîm* rites were not obligatory and so the prescriptions for consumption and disposal of the remains were more lax.

**(2) Usage.** One negative conclusion that emerges from even a cursory look at the *šĕlāmîm* material in the Bible is that the sacrifice had nothing to do with atonement. Though the fat and certain other organs of the sacrifice were burnt on the altar as a "pleasing odor" and the blood was sprinkled on the altar, nowhere do we hear of these acts as atoning for any sin. It seems that the peace offering, in this exceptional circumstance, was nothing more than an accepted manner for slaughtering any animal that was to be used for human consumption (Lev 17:1–7) in the P system.

The role of human consumption constitutes the primary level of meaning for this sacrifice and helps to explain why the *᾽ôlâ* and the *šĕlāmîm* are routinely paired in biblical (and Ugaritic) ritual. The *᾽ôlâ* was the sacrifice that constituted the basic nourishment for the deity, while the *šĕlāmîm* in turn nourished the people. This was recognized by the rabbis (see the discussion of the *Mekhilta* cited in A.3 above), who explicitly compared these two offerings on exactly this point. Indeed so formative was the notion of celebratory eating to the *šĕlāmîm* that the rabbis even labeled one application of the *šĕlāmîm* sacrifice the "celebration sacrifice" *(šalmê-śimḥâ).*

The celebrative role of the *šĕlāmîm* is certainly its most prominent feature. If we define the *šĕlāmîm* as a celebrative sacrifice we not only can explain its presence in the rituals of thanksgiving and fulfillment of vows but we can also understand its role on feast days. In many texts in the Bible the command "to celebrate" *(liśmōaḥ)* can only refer to the obligation to consume the *šĕlāmîm*. So prominent is this association that the rabbis themselves say: " 'celebration' means nothing other than consuming the flesh (of the *šĕlāmîm*)." Rabbinic materials also further subdivided the *šĕlāmîm* to include both the *ḥăgîgâ* sacrifice, the sacrifice that all Israelite males were obligated to consume during the three pilgrimage festivals, and the *śimḥâ* sacrifice *(šalmê-śimḥâ)* which all Israelites, male and female, were to consume therein (*Sifre* 138).

Because the *šĕlāmîm* were emblematic of moments of joy or celebration, the *šĕlāmîm* could be, in certain circumstances, banned for days of public mourning. This appears to be the logic of Isa 22:12–14. Isaiah reports that the Lord had called for public mourning, yet Israel was slaying her fatlings and rejoicing. Such a practice does not seem to have been uniform in Israel, for on other occasions *šĕlāmîm* were offered at times of public mourning. In regard to these latter examples, though, one should note that

the *šĕlāmîm* were offered in conjunction with the burnt offering and, as Milgrom (*EncBib* 7:244) has demonstrated, it was the *ʿôlâ* that held the primary role in these rites.

**c. Purification Offering *(ḥaṭṭāʾt).*** Lev 4:1–5:13, Num 15:22–31, *et passim* refer to this offering. The traditional translation of this term has been "sin offering." This translation, followed by the LXX, is based on etymological considerations. The Hebrew root *ḥṭʾ* means "to miss the mark, to sin." Yet as Milgrom (1983a: 67) and others have noted, the term would better be understood as referring to the process of purification. This seems clear from the verb used in conjunction with *ḥaṭṭāʾt, lĕ-ḥaṭṭēʾ*. This verbal form is best understood as a *Piʿel* privative which conveys the sense of "cleansing, purging," or purifying an object. Even more important is the fact that the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* offering oftentimes is used in situations that have no relation to sin. For example, consider the cases of the parturient (Leviticus 12), the person suffering from a discharge (Leviticus 15), the Nazirite who completes a vow of abstinence (Numbers 6), or the installation of a new altar (Leviticus 8). In each of these cases, the act of sacrifice serves to purge or purify something rather than to remove sin. This is not only logically reasonable, but the biblical text explicitly says this is the function of the sacrifice. For example, in the case of the parturient instead of the ritual closing with a formula of forgiveness we read: "and the priest shall perform purgation for her *(kippēr)* and she shall be clean" (Lev 12:8). The rabbis also noted this: "The sacrifices [the parturient] brought, are nevertheless, for the purpose of permitting her to partake of consecrated food and are not expiatory" (*Ker.* 26a).

**(1) Purification and atonement.** The purificatory function of the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* challenges us to reconsider the role of the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* in rituals that seem to have an atoning function. Can these rituals also be understood in a purificatory sense? Milgrom has argued the affirmative on the basis of the atonement rituals found in Leviticus 4:1–5:13 and Leviticus 16. Milgrom pays particular attention to the role of blood manipulation in each of the rituals described here, for it is the blood itself which acts as the purging agent. In light of this fact, it is significant to note that the blood is never placed upon the individual. If the individual himself was being cleansed, one would expect the blood to be placed on him or her. Instead, the blood is placed on various cultic appurtenances. Even more telling is the variability of this blood ritual with respect to the status of the sinner. Leviticus 4 makes very careful distinctions between the status of various classes of people. The inadvertent sins of the priest and community as a whole are more serious than the sins of the individual, be he a commoner or a ruler. Most serious of all are the advertent offenses of any kind. In each of these cases, as the seriousness of the sin becomes more pronounced, the blood is brought closer to the very inner sanctum of the holy of holies. Thus the blood used for the commoner is placed on the altar of the burnt offering *outside the sanctuary* per se (Lev 4:30). The blood used for the sin of the priest or of the community as a whole is placed *within the sanctuary* itself, sprinkled on the veil separating the holy of holies from the outer chamber and placed on the incense altar. Finally, the blood of the purification offering on Yom Kippur, which atones for advertent sins (so would seem the sense of *pešaʿ* in Lev 16:16), is sprinkled "in front of the mercy seat" within the holy of holies itself (Lev 16:14).

Milgrom has argued that this sequence of the graded usage of blood in respect to the grid of the sacred shrine shows that what is being purged is not the sin from the sinner, but the effects of sin, i.e. cultic impurity, from the sanctums within the sanctuary. Since the blood is understood to be a purging agent, one would expect the sinner to receive this material if the primary intention of the ritual were to eliminate his/her sinful condition. Such an understanding would accord well with what is said about the purificatory role of the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* blood in the case of those suffering from discharge: "Thus you shall keep the people of Israel separate from their uncleanness lest they die in their uncleanness by defiling my tabernacle that is in their midst" (Lev 15:31, cf. Num 19:13). Impurity, conceived in this fashion, becomes "a physical substance, an aerial miasma which possessed magnetic attraction for the realm of the sacred" (Milgrom 1983a: 77). The purification offering is designed to remove this maleficent material from the sanctuary itself. If the impurity is allowed to accumulate, the deity will be forced to leave the sanctuary. This understanding of the process of atonement is quite distinct from previous theories (Gese 1981; Janowski 1982) which hold that the process is primarily concerned with removing sin from the sinner. Whereas the

latter stress the role of substitutionary death in the atoning process, Milgrom stresses the role of purification.

Stated in this general way, Milgrom's argument is very persuasive. Things become more difficult when Milgrom attempts to argue that the purification offering has no role whatsoever in removing human sin. Indeed scripture itself says that the purification rite is performed so that the sinner may be forgiven (Lev 4:20, 26, 31). Yet Milgrom contends that the forgiveness is not for the sinful act per se but rather for the *consequence* of the act, the contamination of the sanctuary. How then is the actual act of the individual sinner forgiven? Milgrom argues that the forgiveness of the original sin itself is accomplished by a feeling of remorse. This feeling is indicated in the biblical text by the use of the verb *ʾāšēm* (Lev 4:13, 22, 27), which Milgrom translates "to *feel* guilty." But there are problems. If such an important atoning function is present in the act of feeling remorse, why is this term absent in Num 15:22–31? Or why is it absent in the case of the priest (Lev 4:1–12)? This situation is complex and does not offer any easy solution. Certainly Milgrom's work is an important contribution, but loose ends still abound.

**(2) The Performance of the Purification Offering.** The purification offering varies across four classes of individuals: priest, congregation, ruler, and individual. (Lev 5:1–13 constitutes a special case which we will not have room to discuss.) Not only does the act of blood manipulation vary over these four classes, but so do other elements of the ritual. The four classes can actually be reduced to two groups: (1) priest and congregation, and (2) ruler and individual.

The performance of the purification offering has six discrete steps: (1) the animal is brought to the tent of meeting; (2) the offerer lays on hands; (3) the animal is slain; (4) the blood rites are performed; (5) the animal's remains are disposed by burning or are eaten; and (6) a forgiveness formula is cited which formally closes the atonement process. Within this schema there are two elements which serve to highlight and distinguish the offerings of the priest/congregation from those of the prince/individual. First, the blood and disposal rites are performed differently depending on whether one is handling the animals of the priest/congregation or the prince/individual. For the priest/congregation the blood is brought into the sanctuary and sprinkled seven times on the veil that stands in front of the holy of holies and then is daubed on the horns of the incense altar (Lev 4:5–7a; 16–18a). The remainder of the blood is poured out at the base of the altar reserved for the burnt offering which is outside the tent proper (Lev 4:7b; 18b). The fat of the bull as well as certain organs are burned at the altar of the burnt offering (Lev 4:8–10; 19–20); the remainder of the animal, including its edible flesh, is burned outside the camp (Lev 4:11–12; 21). For the prince/individual, the rite is quite different. The blood is applied to the horns of the outer altar and then poured at its base (Lev 4:25; 30). The fat is burned on the altar, but the remainder, that is, the edible flesh, is eaten by the priests (cf. Lev 6:17–23—Eng 6:24–30). It is difficult to know how to interpret the act of eating the meat. Is this an act of disposal parallel to the burning of the bull, or is the consumption simply a perquisite of the priesthood?

This asymmetry has been noted by Levine, who uses these data to reconstruct two originally separate offerings that lie behind our present text. The rite of the priest/congregation, he believes, is a "purification rite intended to safeguard the sanctuary and its ministering priesthood from contamination" (1974:103). The other rite is similar to the peace offering and originally had nothing to do with the process of purification; rather, its function was "to expiate certain of the offenses of the 'people,' of Israelites, individually, and even of their *nĕsîʾîm*, the tribal chiefs." A later redactor artificially fused two independent pieces of tradition. Levine's hypothesis is quite different from the theory of Milgrom. Though several aspects of Levine's hypothetical reconstruction are weak and have been correctly criticized by Milgrom, his basic description of the problematic posed by the present form of the text holds and has not been adequately addressed by Milgrom's own integrative reading.

**(3) Order.** The purification offering is generally brought in conjunction with other sacrifices. It is always the first sacrifice to be offered when it is offered in conjunction with other sacrifices such as the *ʿôlâ* and the *ʾāšēm*. The reasons are quite obvious: the purification offering cleanses the sacred appurtenances so that they are able to receive the subsequent sacrifices. In some lists the purification offering is listed after the *ʿôlâ* (Numbers 28–29). This is not an exception to the general rule. Rather this

phenomenon results from the particular literary genre of the sacrificial list. Descriptive lists often put the purification offering in the second position, whereas prescriptive lists which describe the actual order always put the purification offering first (see D.3.b above).

**d. Reparation Offering *(ʾāšam).*** This offering has generally been translated "guilt offering." This translation was predicated on etymological considerations; the root *ʾāšēm* can often mean "to be, feel guilty." Yet as Milgrom has shown (1976), though feelings of guilt are integral to the atonement process, the basic feature of the sacrifice is its function as a means of reparation. Unlike other sacrifices which one "offers" *(hiqrîb),* the *ʾāšām* can "be payed" *(šillēm, hēšîb).* Also, unlike other sacrifices, the *ʾāšām* can be converted into a monetary equivalent and simply paid.

Of all the offerings in the P system, the *ʾāšām* is the most difficult to understand. Indeed some scholars have claimed that even the P school no longer appreciated the distinctiveness between the *ʾāšām* and the *ḥaṭṭāʾt.* Almost every imaginable historical reconstruction for the relationship of the reparation offering and the purification offering has been posed. Needless to say, no overwhelming consensus has emerged.

The most detailed recent study of the reparation offering is that of Milgrom (1976). In many respects his work represents a major advance over previous studies. He offers a persuasive hypothesis as to how the reparation and purification offerings should be differentiated, but one should be aware that his proposal cannot account for every single example in the P source. Before presenting his theory, those conditions which call for the reparation sacrifice should be listed: (1) the act of misappropriating or misusing an item of sacred value (Lev 5:14–16); (2) sinning inadvertently and not knowing it (Lev 5:17–19); (3) swearing falsely in regard to damages done to another person (Lev 5:20–26—Eng 6:1–7); (4) the rite of purification of the leper; (5) the rite of renewing the vow of the Nazirite who has become unclean (Num 6:10–12); (6) having sexual relations with a slave who has been betrothed to another man (Lev 19:20–21).

Milgrom sees a thread of continuity between cases 1, 3, and 5. In each case something sacred to the deity has been violated. The first case is most obvious; it explicitly says the person has misused a sacred item. As Milgrom observes, this text is very similar in function to the problem of desanctifying an animal that is unfit for sacrifice which is discussed in Lev 27:9–13. Lev 27:9–13 charges a penalty for this desanctification, a penalty equaling the value of the animal plus one-fifth. Milgrom believes that it is not coincidental that Lev 5:14–16 charges the same penalty for misusing a sacred item. In both cases we are dealing with a situation where an item's sacred status has been profaned. Lev 25:9–13 stipulates the *charge* imposed for the *right* to do this, whereas Lev 5:14–16 stipulates the *penalty* imposed for the *crime*. The case of swearing falsely can also be grouped here because a false vow necessarily entails a misuse of the divine name which was originally invoked by the person in question. Indeed as Milgrom demonstrates, violation of vows and desecration of sacred items are treated as parallel phenomena in ANE legal materials. Finally, the case of the Nazirite who has become unclean also represents a case in which a sacred item has been sullied. In this case it is the Nazir himself who had become like a priest himself and hence "holy to the Lord" (Num 6:8). As Milgrom shows, the example of the Nazir has a formal parallel with the case of land dedicated to the sanctuary (Leviticus 27). Both are a result of a vow; both are for a limited period of time; but most importantly both vows can be prematurely terminated and have similar penalties for doing so. Whereas the Nazir brings an *ʾāšām,* the donor of the land must provide the equivalent of the entire value of the land plus an additional 20 percent (in other words, the equivalent of the *ʾāšām*).

The example of the leper and the betrothed slave girl are the most difficult for Milgrom's theory. Neither are said to have violated a sacred item in any way. Milgrom tries to explain the case of the leper on the grounds that elsewhere in the ANE and in the Bible leprosy is often the result of a serious sin against the sancta of a particular deity. On these grounds Milgrom suggests that the leper must bring an *ʾāšām* because he *suspects* he may have so offended the deity. The slave girl cannot be accounted for in this theory (Schwartz 1986).

The case of a person sinning and not knowing it also provides some problems. The text in question (Lev 5:17–19) is so similar in wording to the material in Leviticus 4 that some scholars have suggested that this material is a doublet of the purification rite that has been misplaced by the P editor. Milgrom presumes

that the P source knew what it was doing when it put this narrative here. The crucial feature that separates Lev 5:17–19 from the purification offering in Leviticus 4 is that the individual in question sins and *does not know it.* Leviticus 4, on the other hand, deals with cases where inadvertent sin is later realized or made known to the offender. Lev 5:17–19, then, appears to presume a case wherein an individual suffers from either a guilty conscience or, perhaps like Job, suffers the effects of divine retribution but cannot pinpoint the cause. In the ANE there are many cultic and ritual materials that deal with this exact problem. In each case, when an individual felt the effects of some divine chastisement, the presumption was that the individual had offended the deity in some way. On the basis of this comparative model Milgrom suggests that Lev 5:17–19 functions in the very same way. In this regard its redactional placement after Lev 5:14–16 is quite understandable: whereas vv 14–16 dealt with a known infraction against sancta, vv 17–19 deal with a supposed or alleged infraction.

In summary, one could say that the basic distinction between the purification and reparation offerings is that the purification offering deals with the issue of impurity while the reparation offering deals with profanation of sacred items. Though not every example in the P source can be explained this way, the overwhelming majority can.

**E. Prophetic Critique**

It has been common for Christian scholars of the past to denigrate the entire enterprise of biblical sacrifice. One scholar went so far as to describe the system as a means of "self-help." This obvious importation of an Augustinian-Lutheran reading of a Pauline soteriology into the OT is unacceptable to biblical critics of the most recent past (Stendahl 1963). In any event, there can be no doubt as to why Christian treatments of biblical sacrifice spend as much time as they do on the issue of the OT prophetic critique of the sacrificial system: it calls into question one of the fundamental tenets of Mosaic law. For Christian interpreters, these prophetic criticisms suggest that routine observance of the law in all its particularity is not as important as a more general stance of obedience toward one's God. If one can thus find a foothold in the OT itself for questioning the validity and perhaps timelessness of OT law, then the Pauline imperative that law was only given as a temporary measure (Galatians 3) will not seem so out of line with the OT itself.

Perhaps it was just this type of thinking that prompted Milgrom to read at least one prophetic critique in a very different manner (cf. other examples such as 1 Sam 15:22–23; Isa 1:11–14; Amos 5:21–23; Micah 6:6–9). Milgrom contends that the prophetic critique, at least in Jeremiah, is not a radical questioning of the cult's very foundation (1983a: 119–21). Milgrom's hypothesis is all the more intriguing when one realizes that the particular text in Jeremiah which he addresses is perhaps the most thoroughgoing cultic critique in the Bible:

> Thus says the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: "Add your burnt offerings to your sacrifices, and eat the flesh. For in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, I did not speak to your fathers or command them concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices. But this command I gave them, 'Obey my voice, and I will be your God …' " (Jer 7:21–23).

The text appears to call into question the very foundation on which the sacrificial system rests: the Mosaic legislation. Weinfeld argued (1976) that this prophetic text was a "slap in the face of the Priestly Code." It seemed to overturn the priestly notion that all cultic laws had been part of Mosaic law. Weinfeld also notes that this text was adopted by Maimonides as a proof of the secondary importance of sacrificial practice in the first place. Milgrom, though, reads the text quite differently. He notes that Jeremiah's rebuke only specifies the burnt offering and the peace offering (here called *zebaḥ*). In the P code, these two sacrifices only occur together in the context of voluntary offerings of the individual. The *zebaḥ* never occurs in any cultic calendar of public sacrifice; it is not a statutory offering. The primary staple of the fixed temple cultus was the *tāmīd.* In regard to this offering, Milgrom argues, Jeremiah has nothing to say. "Rather he turns to the people and urges them to renounce their individual offerings because their ritual piety is vitiated by their immoral behavior" (1983a: 274).

One problem with Milgrom's argument, besides its being an argument from silence, is the context of Jeremiah 7 itself. Jeremiah's indictment of the cultus in vv 21–23 occurs within Jeremiah's temple

sermon which itself seeks to undermine the grounding of the mythic nature of the temple. Hyperbole against the sacrificial cultus is just what one would expect here. Another problem is Milgrom's attempt to overspecialize the meanings of *ʿôlâ* and *zebaḥ* in this prophetic context. There is no evidence that Jeremiah is dependent on an overly specialized priestly sense here. Rather, the pair *ʿôlâ* and *zebaḥ* are better understood as a merism, a cliche indicating the sacrificial cultus in general. Levine has shown how this pair functions in exactly this way (1974:21).

In summary, one should not mistake the prophetic critique of the cult for systematic theology. Prophetic discourse occurs in a highly charged atmosphere. It is a mixture of hyperbole, exalted rhetoric, and even polemic. A more balanced view of the prophet's criticism of the cult can be found in the work of A. Davidson (1904). He argues that the Bible contains two models for dealing with human sin. The most prominent would be that of the P code. In P, sins are forgiven through a system of sacrificial atonement. The sins envisioned to fall within this framework are those acts of disobedience which are committed within the context of a larger covenantal bond. The prophets, on the other hand, are concerned with sins of a vastly different nature: sins that represent advertent, gross rebellion against the very fabric of the covenant charter. So heinous are these deeds, that the whole covenant framework is called into question. It is not a question of rejecting P, but rather finding oneself in such a radically new context that P's norms are no longer believed to apply.

A. Toeg (1974) and B. Childs (1986) have recently argued that this "prophetic" understanding of human sin is also to be found in the P code itself. Both scholars point to Leviticus 26, a chapter that lists the curses and blessing that will accrue to Israel depending on her response to the covenant. This chapter moves beyond the concerns of purification and atonement found in Leviticus 1–25. Israel's wanton disobedience, which is foreshadowed here, calls for measures of divine punishment that cannot be altered by the sphere of the cult. The language of judgment found in Leviticus 26, especially the threat to terminate the cultic order itself, is very close to prophetic thought. Toeg goes further and even claims that in one sacrificial law found in P, Num 15:22–31, one also can find evidence of a quasiprophetic critique. In this text, the P writer indicates that not only will all advertent sins be unforgivable in terms of any cultic procedures, but the penalty will also be severe, banishment from the community. The threat of banishment is very close conceptually to the prophetic warning of exile. But perhaps more striking is the P writer's extension of this penalty to *all who sin* in this fashion. Elsewhere in the P code this penalty is used very sparingly and only for the most heinous of sins. Here, however, any advertent sinner is to be banished. Toeg argues that this text, which presents itself as simply another religious law, ought to be understood as a form of prophetic rhetoric, this time employed by the P writer to exhort his community to obedience. Fishbane (1985) has picked up Toeg's argument and has provided additional support for the homiletic nature of this text and its role in a context of preaching rather than strict legal enforcement.

Whether the specific points of Toeg's and Fishbane's theories are accurate need not detain us here. What is important to note is that within the P code itself there are allusions to the type of criticism of the cult that one finds within the prophetic materials. This evidence, in and of itself, should call into question any overly rigid typological distinctions which would isolate priestly concepts of the cult from those of the prophets. The difference has to do with emphasis and rhetorical purpose rather than with outright contradictory evaluations of Israel's spiritual heritage.

**F. The Scripturalization of the Cult**

**1. Biblical Sacrifice in the Second Temple Period.** The Israelite sacrificial system has a long and far more expansive existence outside of its brief textual witness in the books of Leviticus and Numbers. It receives extensive attention in pseudepigraphical books that originate in Palestine (*Jubilees*, Temple Scroll) and in Hellenistic sources both within and without Palestine (Josephus, Philo). Of course its most extensive development is to be found in the rabbinic literature beginning with the foundational statement, the Mishnah, the contemporaneous supplementary material of the Tosefta, and culminating in the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds, the massive rabbinic commentaries on the Mishnah. Biblical scholars have tended to react to this material in one of two ways. In certain instances the material is conjectured to reflect actual practice in the Second Temple that is then claimed to have certain lines of

continuity with First Temple practice (so Milgrom). On the other hand, many scholars have cast aspersions on the utility of this material for the biblical scholar. In this perspective, these Second Temple sources are understood as operating in a world that is sharply distinguished from the biblical one with very few clearly reconstructible lines of continuity. Furthermore, this attitude toward Second Temple writings precludes their having any bearing on biblical exegesis per se; they are understood to have meaning only in relation to the history of Second Temple thought. In other words—to exaggerate a bit for the purpose of clarity—Philo's writings on the biblical sacrificial system can teach us a lot about Philo and Alexandrian Judaism, but precious little about biblical sacrifice. Similarly, the Temple Scroll can teach us a lot about the sect at Qumran and its sectarian outlook, but very little about the nature of biblical sacrifice.

On the one hand, there is no doubt that such a statement contains a good bit of truth. There is a wide gap between Hellenistic philosophical circles in Alexandria and the ritual of blood sacrifice practiced in Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem. Yet the emphasis on the realia of blood sacrifice within the temple of Solomon as the sole determinant of what constitutes biblical sacrifice is a bit odd and tendentious. Behind this emphasis is the mistaken notion that biblical sacrifice is, in its truest form, the historically reconstructed entity of critical scholarship and archaeology. One may construe the matter in a very different manner altogether. Perhaps what is *biblical* about biblical sacrifice is not only the historical *realia* presumed by the texts, but also the interpretation of sacrifice in the *present canonical form of the texts themselves.* After all, it is this canonical form which presented itself to the earliest interpreters of the Bible.

But there is more at stake here than simply taking care to note the final canonical form and its impact on early biblical interpreters. As is becoming increasingly self-evident, the boundary that separates the postbiblical from the biblical period is becoming increasingly hard to draw (Fishbane). The transition from what constitutes the "biblical" to the "postbiblical" period is an extended and, to a degree, overlapping one (VanderKam 1984). In other words, the sharp distinction made by Stendahl (*IDB* 1:418–32) between what a text *meant* (in the biblical period, by its original author) and what it *means* (to subsequent interpreters) must be blunted on purely historical grounds.

OT scholars are increasingly familiar with the fact that as scripture is being redacted and set in its final form, there is already significant interpretative work being done by the compilers of that literature. Both at the level of gross organization of the antecedent tradition into biblical books and at the more refined level of textual transmission, important hermeneutical shaping of the biblical tradition is taking place. Materials have ceased to be malleable oral traditions, or even written traditions that can be discarded or reworked at will; instead what is evolving are fixed written corpora that are interpreted by a variety of techniques ranging from such simple means as framing them between introductory or concluding formulae (Fishbane 1985) to full scale proto-midrashim (Toeg 1974). In between these poles we might place the phenomena of ascribing various literary works such as the Psalms or the Wisdom material to various biblical figures. What this tells us is that attention to the methods of early exegesis may give us insights into the very methods used by the compilers of the canon.

The interchange between the final composition of the Bible and its early interpretation is becoming increasingly well known for narrative and poetic material. It has not been so readily recognized in the sacrificial material. One obvious reflex of this movement has been the expansion of the Deuteronomistic History by the hand of the Chronicler so as to reflect priestly sacrificial concepts that were absent in the Deuteronomistic History. Sometimes these expansions are unmarked and only noticeable by comparing the Chronicler's expansions with similar material in P. Other times, the expansions are formally marked by the formula "as it is written in the Torah of Moses." More subtle forms of exegetical harmonization can be found in such texts as the Chronicler's treatment of the manner by which the passover sacrifices should be prepared. In this text, the Chronicler says Israel should eat this sacrifice "cooked in water" (2 Chr 35:13). This odd text is translated "roasted in fire" in the JPSV. But what it reflects is the uneasy disjunction between the commandments found in Exod 12:8 and Deut 16:7. The former requires roasting, the latter boiling. What is important to note for our purposes is not simply that the Chronicler has

harmonized two conflicting traditions, but the manner in which he appropriates this sacrificial law. No longer are we dealing simply with the realm of temple realia (the Chronicler is not reading back Second Temple practice into his First Temple text) but the *inner-biblical, exegetical formulation of a cultic ideal.* The exegesis is being performed on materials that no longer function as simple prescriptions for the cult. These materials are viewed at a second level of remove from the cultic realia. They have now become contradictory sacrificial prescriptions which must be rectified by exegetical artifice.

**2. Example: The Interpretation of the Purification Offering in Second Temple Jewish Sources.** A good example of the "scripturalization of the cult" can be seen through the exegetical development of the purification offering in the P code. This general description of this offering exists in two different places in P (Leviticus 4 and Num 15:22–31), and thus constitutes a classic example of what literary critics have labeled a doublet. Leviticus 4 describes the purification offering in terms of four different social groups (priest, congregation, prince, and individual); Numbers 15 in terms of two (congregation, individual). The most important difference is that Leviticus 4 requires that the congregation bring a bull for its purification offering while Numbers 15 requires a calf for the purification offering and a bull for a burnt offering. Conventional scholarship has attempted to see one of these texts as historically primary and the other as a secondary development. Toeg (1974) has correctly criticized this methodology. Though such methods have been used with considerable success in the narrative portions of the Bible where the data for comparative historical analysis can be quite abundant, they often fail in the cultic material precisely because of a paucity of comparative data. In the particular example of the purification offering, Toeg offers an ingenious solution to the problem of the relationship of the two texts which has in turn been picked up and somewhat expanded by Fishbane. Instead of seeing one as reflecting a later *historical* practice than the other, he suggests that the text of Num 15:22–31 is a systematic *exegetical reworking* of Leviticus 4. No longer are we speaking of *development of cultic practice* but rather of *learned reflection on a developing canon of textual material.*

Toeg's argument is predicated on the assumption that the author of Numbers 15 recognized a problem with the formulation of Leviticus 4. In this text—which is a general rule for the purification offering—the congregation is required to bring a bull (4:13–21). Yet, if one looks at all the other examples of how this general rule is applied, one notes that in every case, the congregation brings a goat. Toeg argues that this would have struck the author of Num 15:22–31 as odd. As a result, this writer assumed that the biblical text of Leviticus 4 was an abbreviated one which had to be filled out by a skilled interpreter. Toeg believes that the law of Leviticus 4, which commands the congregation to bring "a bull as a purification offering," was understood to really mean "a bull [for a burnt offering and a goat] for a purification offering." As Toeg shows, such exegetical "expansions" are very common in both midrash halakah and in some of the versions, such as the Samaritan Pentateuch. If Toeg is correct, Num 15:22–31 constitutes an inner-biblical example of this well-attested postbiblical phenomenon. Perhaps more important for the purposes of our argument is how the author of this piece of inner-biblical exegesis has understood the laws of sacrifice. No longer is sacrifice simply a matter of what takes place in the temple; it is also a matter of recovering what a *textual* law requires. And this manner of recovery is not that of observing what happens in an actual ritual of the temple but rather of interpreting what appears to be a problematic biblical text.

Though the treatments of Toeg and Fishbane are significant in their own right, and do provide witness to an early example of the "scripturalization of the cult," they do not address the question of how the data of the canon present themselves to the earliest readers of the Bible. The question we should address is: just how does canonical shaping effect the interpretation of the purification offering? Though Toeg may be correct that Num 15:22–31 constituted an inner biblical interpretation of Leviticus 4, for the readers of the Torah in its final form the two texts would have provided an exegetical problem. They would have assumed that the Torah was a seamless whole and taken the canonical shape of the Torah seriously. Rather than speak abstractly, let us look at how the rabbis and the Temple Scroll (TS) resolved this problem. By reconstructing how the TS read this text and comparing it to rabbinic exegesis we will see how the laws of biblical sacrifice were viewed in their final canonical form.

The basic problem regarding the purification offering, as stated above, is that the Bible contains two sets of general rules regarding its performance: Leviticus 4 and Num 15:22–31. Moreover, these general rules are contradictory about what the congregation must bring: bull or goat. In addition to these two general rules, there are over a dozen examples of particular applications of the rite. When one presents the data this way, the issues facing the early interpreter of scripture are quite clear: one of the general rules had to be shifted into the category of specific application. No halakic system could allow two contradictory sets of general rules to stand. What is the congregation to bring as its purification offering, a bull (Leviticus 4) or a he-goat (Numbers 15)? This is no small matter for a covenantal religion centered on the keeping of commandments.

For the rabbis the choice is very easy to discern. They chose to understand Num 15:22–31 as a specific application. Num 15:22–31 was understood to refer to the sin of idolatry (*m. Hor.* 2:6). Thus the danger of having two sets of general prescriptions was defused. One should note that this exegetical decision is a very prominent feature in the Mishnaic system of sacrificial atonement. It is not a matter of its being found in just a few *halakhoth.* Indeed, the entire tractate of *Horayot* depends on this exegetical decision, as do whole sections of other tractates.

The TS, on the other hand, has understood Leviticus 4 as a special application of the purification offering and Numbers 15 as the general rule (Anderson fc.). Two features of the TS make this clear. First, on the basis of a midrashic reading of Num 15:24b the author of the TS concluded that each purification offering must include a cereal and a drink offering. This exegesis of Num 15:24b was then applied to every application of the purification offering in the TS. Second, the TS understood the peculiar detail of Lev 4:14 which required that the congregation bring a bull as a special application that pertained to the rite of ordination. This fact can be proven by the manner in which the TS expresses the laws with respect to the ordination sacrifices of the priest and congregation. In both cases the TS expresses its laws of ordination on the basis of the distinctive diction of Lev 4:2–12 (the case of the priest) and 4:13–21 (the congregation). One may ask why the day of ordination was chosen as a particular application of the ritual found in Lev 4:1–21. Perhaps because of the unusual summary statement of Lev 7:37:

> This is the law of the burnt offering, of the cereal offering, of the purification offering, of the reparation offering, of the consecration, and of the peace offerings.

This verse summarizes what has just been itemized in detail over Lev 1:1–7:36. However, the careful reader will note that no mention of *the consecration offering* is found in the previous seven chapters. To be sure, there is a brief mention of how Aaron and his sons are to perform the cereal offering at the ordination rite, but no mention of how the animals in particular are to be treated. This textual anomaly has been explained as being due to a faulty transmission of the text. Again, one must note that though this explanation may be fine historically, it does not do justice to the meaning of the text in its final canonical form. For one canonical reader, the author of the TS, this tiny clue in Lev 7:37 pointed to the existence of an ordination rite hidden somewhere in Lev 1:1–7:36. Only with considerable exegetical skill could this rite be discovered.

**3. The Sacrificial System in Canonical Perspective.** It should be emphasized that what the TS has done is very closely paralleled in the rabbinic materials. The only difference is that the rabbinic sources understood the relationship of Leviticus 4 to Numbers 15 in a contrary fashion; for the rabbis Numbers 15 was the special application (for the sin of idolatry) while Leviticus 4 was the general rule (so the mishnaic tractate *Horayot*). What is common to both of these sources is the attempt to solve a puzzle left in the canonical shaping of the sacrificial material. The type of exegesis that is practiced by the author of the TS and the rabbis might be labeled *holistic* in the sense that these authors use the entire textual tradition of the Sinaitic revelation as the basis for constructing an exegetical system. Though modern critical scholarship has noted many of the irregularities that caught the eye of the author of the TS, its method of understanding those irregularities is quite different. The differences in detail which arise in the Torah's presentation of the purification offering are attributed to variant historical levels of the tradition, artificial fusings of disparate sacrificial lore, and even occasionally faulty transmission of the biblical text. This method of analysis presumes that the present state of the text is not the starting point for analysis, rather

that the earlier hypothetically reconstructed levels of the tradition constitutes the most valid entry point for the biblical scholar to begin his or her work.

A more appropriate model of exegesis that would allow the biblical scholar to move from the biblical text to a document like the TS or the mishnaic tractate *Horayot* must presume a mode of analysis that understands the Torah as a systemic whole. Perhaps the closest analogy to the type of exegesis would be the model of canonical exegesis advocated by Childs *(IOTS)* and others. Childs' own formulation of the task of biblical exegesis demands that the reader take seriously the final canonical form of the text as a way of recovering what the earliest shapers of the Bible intended. We would argue that the mode of analysis that Childs' presupposes, which seeks to understand the text in categories that are not purely historical, is the best starting point for understanding the conceptual horizon of early exegetes like the author of the TS. It is not a fact that the author of the TS was paying particular attention to the process of canonical shaping as much as he was working within the constraints of the canonical product. What modern scholars dismiss as textual accidents of omission are details of highest significance to early readers of the Bible.

It is most important to note the legacy of biblical sacrifice in its final canonical form. There is a certain tension in this form which must be appreciated. On the one hand, we can see as a result of historical criticism that the canonical shapers were selective in regard to what they put in the text. At no time in Israel's cultic history did this book as a collective whole function as a priest's manual. Or, to put it another way, the canonical shapers did not choose one particular historical expression of Israel's cultic experience as normative. In a very real sense this selectivity demonstrates that the cultic material of the Torah is "one step removed from the actual historical activity of the cult" (Childs 1986:160). But, on the other hand, these statutes are presented, in their final literary or canonical form, as *perpetual laws that cannot be periodized.* We could summarize this dilemma in the following manner: biblical sacrifice in its final canonical form consisted of disparate and fragmentary cultic materials which were presented en masse as a perpetual coherent system. Nowhere can this be better illustrated than in the example of Leviticus 4 and Num 15:22–31. Here we have materials that are one step removed from the cult and thus make any systematic historical reconstruction very difficult. Witness the many varied and often self-contradictory solutions of modern scholarship regarding their historical priority, none of which can claim an overwhelming consensus. Yet for the earliest readers of the Bible, this text presents itself as a perpetual statute, not a law that can be historically cordoned off into a particular epoch of history, nor a law that simply represents a mode of demonstrating covenantal obedience. Rather, this is a commandment that calls for actualization in the present. For the reader of the Bible in the Second Temple period the question had a particular edge: just which animal does the congregation bring for a purification offering? The author of the TS provided one answer, the rabbis another. As is true for the material on the purification offerings, so also for the other sacrifices. Removed historically on the one hand, yet commanding on the other—this is the legacy of biblical sacrifice in its final canonical form.

**4. Biblical Sacrifice in Jewish and Christian Tradition.** It has recently been argued that most of the Mishnah's treatment of the sacrificial system is a response to the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E. The ideological and exegetical superstructure of the tractate on sacred offerings has been explained as an attempt to recreate the world of the *destroyed* temple. No doubt there is much truth to such a suggestion. Indeed the exegetical reconstruction of the temple in the Mishnah was so successful that one can find the rabbis, in the context of interpreting the text, speaking of the sacrificial cultus as if it were still in operation (Bregman 1978). This "as if" quality of rabbinic speech continues to influence readers of rabbinic literature until the present day. As the anthropologist S. Heilman notes, the textual details of the temple cultus are still discussed in the present tense in contemporary Talmudic study groups *(haburoth).* Moreover, the discussion is not limited to rote citation of divergent textual traditions or rabbinic opinions, but rather the whole sacrificial complex is, in part, composed afresh (Heilman 1984:65) by each *haburah.* He writes: "As we reviewed each move the ancient priests would make in their ritual preparation of the sacrifices, I could begin to see all that rush of activity a bit more clearly. It was evident my partners [in the *haburah*] around the table were walking into the page and onto the Temple Mount with all the

assurance of old hands. When they came to a discussion of the sprinkling of blood on the altar and wondered aloud whether or not the priest bent his wrist in that act, it took only a quick look back into their own memory to see precisely how the ritual was carried out. But this memory was of course not theirs in origin; it was a memory acquired from the text. Their many years of review had allowed them to construct that ancient Temple and altar in their minds and people it with priests and worshippers" (p. 62). In the circle of these *haburoth* the transformation of biblical sacrifice from temple-practice to exegetical artifice is complete. The cultus has been "scripturalized."

The movement by the rabbis to transform the sacrificial system from that of a physical reality into an exegetical reality was enormously successful. But one must question whether this project is to be understood *solely* as a reaction to the events of 70 C.E. If the data we have compiled from the TS reflect a more general phenomenon of the pre-70 period era, then we can safely assume that the exegetical refashioning of the sacrificial system was already well underway in the pre-70 period. For Christians, this refashioning of the cultic system led to the denigration of much of the particularities of the books of Leviticus and Numbers. Not only were the details of Leviticus understood to be tedious, but the very fact that Jesus had predicted the actual destruction of the temple (Matt 24:1–3) seemed to call for a depreciation of the intrinsic value of the sacrificial cult. Indeed in the Byzantine city of Jerusalem the entire area of Temple Mount was left in a very conspicuous state of destruction as a physical sign and symbol of the fall of the first covenant. The sacrificial material of the OT had value only insofar as it pointed allegorically or typologically to the atoning death of Jesus of Nazareth and the new covenant his resurrection occasioned. Even OT materials that had little or no relation to the process of atonement, like the Passover rite, were made to conform to this Christological pattern (cf. 1 Cor 5:7).

For Jews, though, the cultic details of Leviticus and Numbers and the sometimes conflicting and incomplete laws found therein became the subject of intensive exegetical study. The final shaping of the Torah had put the diverse and, at times, fragmentary cultic materials of the First Temple period into a unitary framework: they now comprised the complete Torah which the Lord delivered to Moses at Mt. Sinai. The tension that resulted from the presentation of this fragmentary and diverse material as a complete revelation provided the impetus for subsequent interpreters creatively to refashion this Torah through carefully derived exegetical principles. Such is the legacy of biblical sacrifice in its canonical form; all the rest is commentary.

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GARY A. ANDERSON

## *NEW TESTAMENT*

When the NT was in the process of formation, any religion without the practice of sacrifice would have been almost inconceivable. As far as Judaism is concerned, the sacrifices described by the law continued to be offered daily in Jerusalem right up to the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70. Following that event the rabbis continued to discuss the sacrificial system as prescribed by the Torah and in fact laid even greater emphasis upon it (cf., e.g., *Zebaḥ*). In the gentile world the practice of sacrifice continued into late antiquity (cf. Rudhardt and Reverdin 1981). On the other hand, signs of a reaction against the practice began to appear. There was precedent for this in the OT with the prophetic critique of the cultus (e.g., Amos 5:21–27) and in the metaphorical use of sacrificial terms for interior religious dispositions (Ps 50:23; 51:19). There are further examples of this in postbiblical Judaism, e.g., Philo of Alexandria and the Qumran sect. Philo was a Diaspora Jew with no direct contact with the temple cult. He interpreted the OT references to sacrifice in allegorical terms and took them to refer to inward processes of the soul (cf. *Vita Mos* 2.106–8). As a result of its historical circumstances the Qumran sect found it impossible to take part in temple worship even though in principle they would have liked to have done so. They found a way out of their dilemma by interpreting their whole communal life, their very existence, their organization, and their prayer life in cultic terms (cf. 1QS 8:5–10; Klinzing 1971:50–166). In any case the centralizing of worship in Jerusalem made it increasingly necessary, even before the debacle of A.D. 70, for those living outside the holy city to worship in the synagogue. Here holiness in everyday life provided a substitute for the sacrificial system. In Greek philosophy since pre-Socratic times there had been a strong tradition advocating a more appropriate view of God and humanity. This led to a polemic against blood sacrifice which reached its climax in the hermetic literature, with its fundamental antagonism toward the cultus (cf. *Ascl.* 41). We find the same thing in Porphyry (Ferguson 1980:1152–65).

Such was the world into which Christianity was born. In general it may be said that Christianity succeeded in bringing the problem of sacrifice into association with the Christ event and working it out from that perspective. To be specific, the following questions arise in connection with the various levels of historical tradition and the respective documents: What was the Christians' attitude to the sacrificial practices of Judaism and pagan religion? Are the death of Jesus on the cross and, in close connection with it, the Lord's Supper, interpreted in sacrificial terms? In what way was sacrificial imagery employed as a metaphor for the Christian life?

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**A. Jesus and the Synoptic Tradition**

**1. Attitude to Sacrifice.** There is surprisingly little about the actual performance of sacrifices in the Jesus tradition. We are never told that Jesus took an active part in them. In the infancy narratives (Luke 1:8–11; 2:22–24) temple sacrifice is mentioned merely as part of the necessary background. There is one authentic Jesus saying which is relevant, viz. Matt 5:23. Here the practice of sacrifice is taken for granted. The same is true in Mark 1:44 and Luke 17:15; cf. 13:1. On textual grounds Mark 9:49 is to be regarded as secondary and so may be left out of the account. There is no trace of any direct polemic against sacrifice. At the same time, however, Jesus does expect the worshipper, if necessary, to stop what he is doing in the middle of a sacrifice in order to seek reconciliation with a neighbor. Here we have a paradoxical and provocative perspective. Jesus takes up the requirements of OT liturgy and Jewish admonitions about approaching sacrifice in the proper frame of mind and enhances them in a significant way (Kertelge 1983:349–51). The redactional insertion of the prophet's critique of the cultus (Hos 6:6) in Matt 9:13 and 12:7 is along the same lines. Mark 12:33 (cf. 1 Sam 15:22) gives a similar precedence to the love commandment over burnt offerings *(holokautōmata)* and other sacrifices *(thysiai).* The same point is made indirectly in Luke 10:25–37 with the two figures of the priest and Levite in vv 31 and 32 (cf. also Mark 7:9–13; 12:41–44). Jesus introduces an unmistakably new emphasis in the cleansing of the temple (Mark 11:15–19), as he does with the difficult saying about the temple's destruction (Mark 14:58 par). In an act of prophetic symbolism Jesus shows explicitly that the temple is first and foremost a place not for the sacrificial cultus—which is so easily open to corruption—but for prayer to God (cf. Isa 56:7). In line with the apocalyptic hope for a new temple in the end time Jesus sets before his people the prospect of a complete renewal of worship in the kingdom of God. Such things as the forgiveness of sins

(Mark 2:5) and festive table fellowship (Mark 2:15), which in Judaism had sacrificial associations, Jesus transforms, with supreme messianic authority, into profane occasions of everyday life.

**2. Suffering and Death.** It can hardly be denied that Jesus had a premonition of his impending suffering and death. The question is, What categories did he use to interpret these events? And which of them belong to the pre- or post-Easter strata of the tradition? (Gubler 1977:206–334; Hengel 1981:65–75). Sacrificial images should not be given too much prominence in a one-sided way. Nor should they be entirely eliminated. After all, it was customary in Judaism to use such terms for the deaths of human beings. The innocent death of the Servant of God on behalf of the many, i.e., the nations of the world (Isa 53:12), was regarded as a sin offering (Isa 53:10; cf. 53:6f; *T. Ben.* 3:8 may have undergone Christian reworking). The martyrdom of the Maccabees was believed to be a means of atonement for the sins of the people (*4 Macc.* 6:29; cf. 2 Macc 7:37). This means that the Jews considered the vicarious surrender of life to have sacrificial significance. This was partly, though by no means entirely, a result of Hellenistic influence. True, the personal dimension remains primary; the ritual allusion is added more by way of illustration. In any case, this opens up the way as far as it goes for the interpretation of Jesus' death as a fulfillment of the OT sacrifices and their atoning effect. Of course it is difficult to prove how much of this goes back to the historical Jesus himself. We cannot be sure whether he used Isaiah 53 as Mark 10:45 suggests. This logion probably has its *Sitz im Leben* in the eucharistic tradition and must be judged accordingly.

**3. The Last Supper.** In the eucharistic tradition we find a great variety of motifs concentrated in a remarkably small space. The following elements may be mentioned as suggesting a sacrificial interpretation (cf. Cooke 1960:15–38; Aalen 1963:147–52). (a) In our texts the Lord's Supper is set in the framework of the Passover. Now, in Judaism the Passover was interpreted as a sacrifice because of the killing of the lambs in the temple and the shedding of blood which accompanied it. (b) The cup-word in Mark 14:24 includes the phrase "the blood of the covenant which was shed …" This is an allusion to the covenant sacrifice and to the sacrificial meal in which it culminated (Exod 24:1–10). (c) In the same cup-word the phrase "for the many *(hyper)*" is a reminiscence of Isa 53:12. Here we have a connecting link with the martyrological interpretation of the Servant Song. Matt 26:28 makes the specific point that its purpose was "the forgiveness of sins," an idea associated in Judaism with the sin offering. (d) Various attempts have been made to classify the Lord's Supper as a *tōdā meal,* another type of OT sacrifice. But this suggestion cannot be taken as proven (cf. Klauck 1986:17f.). We must reject the thesis that "body" and "blood" in the words of interpretation were technical terms associated with sacrifice, referring to the division of the sacrificial animal into its component parts (Klauck 1986:305–61). Rather, the word "body" stands for the entire person of the speaker, while "blood" points to his violent end.

The expansion of the eucharistic words with sacrificial notions is the result of a theological development which was as rapid as it was intensive. The source of it seems to lie in the gestures and words which Jesus used at his farewell meal to interpret his death as a voluntary act of self-giving. After Easter all this could be brought out and made explicit with the help of sacrificial terms derived from Jewish martyrology and covenant theology. It was an attempt to express the uniqueness of Jesus' death and its universal validity, and to show how it was the ultimate fulfillment of the ancient sacrificial cultus. The rending of the temple veil in Mark 15:38 points in the same direction. The death of Jesus opens up access for all to the holy of holies which only the high priest hitherto could enter once a year on the Day of Atonement.

**B. The Primitive Christian Community**

In Acts 2:46, 3:1, and 5:42 we see the early Jerusalem community regularly attending the temple. But they only went there for the times of prayer, thus agreeing with the cleansing of the temple in Mark 11:17 ("house of prayer"). Whether they occasionally took part in the daily sacrifices is not entirely clear. From Acts 2:46 we gather that the breaking of bread in private homes replaced the temple sacrifices. This rite formed a nucleus from which distinctive Christian forms of worship were developed (Hahn 1983:69–71). The canonical texts do not make it clear whether the strict Jewish Christians associated with James took a more favorable view of sacrificial practice or whether such an attitude developed over the course of time. The apocryphal evidence is equally vague. It is typical that the Hellenists, Diaspora Jews who had already

drifted away from temple worship, were critical of the temple itself and the sacrificial cult, as can be seen from Stephen's speech (Acts 7:41–43, 48–49). It is obvious that in circles such as these the view prevailed that Christ's death had an exclusive saving significance. This was realized through the resurrection and the descent of the Holy Spirit. Hence the earlier cult became superfluous. The development of the eucharistic tradition and the concomitant formation of creedal statements belong to this phase. We can trace these developments in the older formulae of the epistolary literature.

**C. Paul**

**1. Attitude to Sacrifice.** As a result of his origins and the sphere of his missionary activity Paul was on the one hand familiar with the temple sacrifices of Judaism. On the other hand he found himself face-to-face with the sacrificial cults of paganism (cf. the telling description in Acts 14:11–15).

**a. Jewish.** In arguing for his right as an apostle to receive financial support Paul refers in 1 Cor 9:13 to the privilege of the priests to have a share in the sacrifices (cf. Lev 6:9 etc.). In 10:18 he speaks of the table fellowship in which "Israel according to the flesh" became partners in the sacrifice. It is an open question whether Paul is simply giving an objective description or whether he is continuing the polemical invective of 10:7—the golden calf, Exod 32:6—as an instance of idolatry. In Acts 22:17 Paul visits the temple only for prayer, whereas in 21:26 he offers a sacrifice to discharge the dues for four Nazarites (cf. Num 6:13–21). The reliability of this piece of information has often been questioned. It becomes more plausible when we take Paul's missionary policy enunciated in 1 Cor 19:20 seriously.

**b. Pagan.** Paul discusses the sacrificial practices of paganism in a debate about meat sacrificed to idols in Corinth (cf. Acts 15:29). For Christians, participating in a sacrifice or worshipping in a pagan temple (1 Cor 8:10) is strictly prohibited. Paul believes that pagan sacrifices are offered not to God but to demons (10:20) as was already the case in the OT (cf. Deut 32:17). He is familiar with the technical details of sacrifice as we can see when he refers in 10:21 to the cup of libation and to the table which was a special feature of the *theoxenia* (a banquet given to the gods) and of the cult of the dead (Klauck 1986:264–71).

**2. Christological Use.** It would be wrong to suppose that everything Paul has to say about atonement (e.g., Gal 2:20; 1 Cor 15:3; 2 Cor 5:14–15; Rom 5:8–9; 8:3, 32) has sacrificial implications. But the idea of atonement, with its related images (e.g., ransom and reconciliation), includes the metaphor of sacrifice (Hengel 1981:34–54). When Paul says Christ was offered as our paschal lamb (1 Cor 5:7) he is borrowing from early tradition. In this instance the death of Jesus has already affected Christian perspective on Jewish ritual and has accentuated already latent ideas of sacrifice and atonement. In Jewish thought the killing of the lamb, though a necessary preliminary to the Passover meal, had no intrinsic significance of its own (Schmitz 1910:51, 161). When Paul says in 2 Cor 5:21 that "he made him to be sin who knew no sin," this is best taken as an allusion to the OT sin offering (*hamartia*, e.g., LXX Lev 4:8, 20–21). Such sacrifices are now overshadowed by the death of Christ (Lyonnet and Sabourin 1970:187–289). In Rom 3:25 Paul cites a fragment of tradition which probably comes from the Hellenistic circle in Jerusalem. It shows their critical attitude to the temple and was probably connected with the Lord's Supper (Gubler 1977:224–30). The focal points in it are "place of atonement" *(hilastērion)* and "in his blood." The LXX uses *hilastērion* to translate *kappōreth.* This is the golden plate on the ark of the covenant in the holy of holies, which the high priest sprinkles with the blood of the animal sacrificed as a sin offering on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:14–16; cf. *4 Macc.* 17:22). The final stage of the atonement ritual takes place concealed within the innermost shrine of the temple, one of a series of sacrifices performed on that occasion. Now, however, the atonement has taken place on Golgotha for all to see. The Deutero-Pauline saying in Eph 5:2 makes the same point. Here we have a formula which speaks of Christ's self-surrender ("he gave himself for us"), expanded with sacrificial language from the OT: "as a fragrant offering and a sacrifice to God" (cf. Ps 40:7; Num 15:24, etc.). The context here is parenetic. It is an appeal to Christians, bidding them to show the same kind of love to one another (Hahn 1983:75–76).

**3. The Lord's Supper.** The Lord's Supper appears to be connected with sacrifice in 1 Cor 10:14–22, where Paul places the two entities side by side and draws a comparison between them (Fiebig 1911:272–73). But Paul is not thinking of *thysia,* the actual performance of a sacrifice, but of *koinonia,* the fellowship which is formed by participation in the common meal and which forms the climax of the

sacrifice. The Christ community created by the Lord's Supper is exclusive in character and rules out any further participation in pagan sacrifices (Klauck 1986:284–85). In 1 Cor 11:27 sacral terminology is used in connection with the eucharistic tradition (Aalen 1963:143–46). Again, in the explanation given at 11:30 Paul uses the idea of taboo, which comes from the sacrificial cultus. Such ideas are certainly not dominant in the text taken as a whole. It is arguable that, for Paul, Jesus' self-offering on the cross becomes a present reality in the Lord's Supper (cf. 1 Cor 11:26), but in no way can it be said that the Church itself offers any sacrifice in the supper except perhaps in a metaphorical or ethical sense.

**4. Metaphorical (Ethical) Use.** There is ample evidence for a metaphorical or ethical use of sacrificial language. Such terms describe concrete Christian behavior exhibited in everyday life in the world or in the missionary activity of the apostle himself (Klauck 1989:349–56).

Temple imagery is used to describe the community in 1 Cor 3:16–17 and the individual in 6:19 (cf. 2 Cor 6:16; Eph 2:19–22; 1 Pet 2:5–6; Klinzing 1971:167–96). In Phil 4:18 Paul gives a symbolic meaning to the material gifts provided by the Philippians: they are a "fragrant offering" (cf. Gen 8:21, etc.) and an "acceptable sacrifice" (Rom 15:31). The cultic language in 12:1 is colored much more by the Hellenistic milieu. The closest parallels to *logikē latreia* ("reasonable service") are to be found in *Corp. Herm.* 1.31; 13.18. Yet in one respect Paul does transcend the Hellenistic critique of the cultus with its spiritualizing tendency (Seidensticker 1954:17–43, 256–63). He can charge the Romans to offer their own bodies *(sōmata)* as a living sacrifice. Here Paul rises to new heights of existential relevance and ethical responsibility. In this connection we may also add 1 Pet 2:5. Here the community is pictured as a priestly body which offers spiritual sacrifices *(pneumatikas thysias)* in a life consistent with its faith (cf. 1:15).

In 2 Cor 2:14–16 Paul borrows two sacrificial terms, "savior" and "aroma," and applies them to the preaching of the gospel. The content of the gospel is Christ, with the apostle as his personal representative. In Rom 15:16 Paul calls himself a "liturgist" or "priest" of Christ Jesus. He is performing a "priestly sacrifice" *(hierogounta)* and making the gentiles into an "acceptable sacrifice" by converting them. In Phil 2:17 the two trains of thought converge. Alongside "sacrifice" *(thysia)* and cultic service *(liturgia),* Paul introduces the image of "drink offering" (*spendomai;* cf. 2 Tim 4:6). He pictures his own life, which he is likely to lose (cf. Rom 8:36), as a libation accompanying the main sacrifice, which is the Philippians' faith. See APOSTLE.

In conclusion let us mention the term *aparchē,* which is derived from the offering of the firstfruits and is applied by Paul in several different ways. He uses it for Christ (1 Cor 15:20, 23), for the Holy Spirit (Rom 8:23), for Israel (Rom 11:16), and for the first converts to be baptized in a particular city (1 Cor 16:15; Rom 16:5).

**D. The Johannine Writings**

**1. The Gospel of John.** According to the gospel of John Jesus travels several times to Jerusalem in order to celebrate the principal Jewish feasts (2:13; 5:1; 7:14; 10:22–23; cf. 12:1, 12, 20). He suffers death on the cross on the day before the Passover (18:28; 19:14, 31) at the same hour the lambs were being slaughtered for the Passover meal in the forecourt of the temple. How far this rests on historical reminiscence we need not now inquire. The gospel's intention is to say that Jesus invests the Jewish lamb cult with entirely new content. He gives himself (3:16; cf. Horvarth 1979:74–77) as the Passover lamb of the new covenant (cf. 19:36) for *(hyper)* his own (10:15; cf. 13:1) and for the life of the world (6:51; cf. 11:50, 52; 18:14). John 6:51 serves as a bridge to the tradition of the Lord's Supper. The Johannine redaction carries this further in the eucharistic discourse of 6:52–58, which is remarkable for its brutal language about "flesh" and "blood" and "chewing" *(trōgein)* the flesh. Whether this language is sacrificial in origin (Betz 1964:180–81) is open to question. According to 1:29 (cf. 1:36) the Baptist calls Jesus the "Lamb who takes away the sin of the world" (cf. also 1 Pet 1:19). But the matrix of this concept was more likely the Servant of Yahweh of Isa 53:7, even though further connotations (paschal lamb; the lamb of the daily Tamid-sacrifices) cannot be excluded. The saying about Jesus consecrating himself in 17:19 should most likely be connected with the activity of the high priest on the Day of Atonement (Schmitz 1910:256–57). The theological basis for the new evaluation of the Jewish sacrificial cult is laid down by the Evangelist in 4:20–24. Earthly places of cultic worship lose their significance when the eschatological

hour dawns. The need is for a new form of worship "in spirit and in truth." The *pneuma*, i.e., the reality of God, makes the renewal of worship possible. Jesus Christ is an essential factor in such worship for he is the One in whom God's *truth* is personally revealed. Such worship of God in the spirit is not therefore to be construed as a purely spiritual affair which only takes place in the human psyche. Rather, it is located in the worship of the Johannine community.

**2. 1 John.** In 1 John 1:7 we read that the "blood of Jesus" cleanses us from all sin. This assumes that blood has an atoning effect (Lev 17:11) brought about by the sprinkling of the blood of the sacrificial animal on the horns of the altar or suchlike manipulations. Later on in 2:2 (cf. 4:10) we read that Jesus, our advocate in heaven (2:1) is in person the atonement *(hilasmos)* for our sins. Atonement according to the OT is accomplished through bloody sacrifice. In Lev 25:9 the great day of reconciliation is called the "Day of Atonement" (LXX: *hilasmou*). 1 John applies the terms of sacrifice strictly to Jesus. They serve to explain 3:16: He gave his "life for us *(hyper)*." The conclusion drawn from this is that we must therefore do the same for our brothers and sisters. The Christians' existence is incorporated into the self-giving of the Lord. The concept of sacrifice can also be applied to the Christian life, although 1 John does not make this point directly.

**3. Revelation.** The heavenly sanctuary the seer speaks of is modeled after the temple at Jerusalem. The heavenly ritual is patterned on the liturgy of the temple. This provides a starting point for the development of many points of contact with the sacrificial cults. We will select only the most important ones.

The preeminent christological title is the "Lamb" (28 times). There are several references to "the blood of the Lamb" and also to the fact that this lamb was slaughtered (e.g., 5:6, 9, 12; 13:8). The lamb figures in early Judaism as a sacrificial animal par excellence. It serves as a sacrificial element in the daily Tamid. Alongside of this the Passover rites and Isa 53:7 may also be influential. In any case the author uses the Lamb as a code word for the crucified and exalted Lord, who is now enthroned in heaven but bears the signs of his sacrificial death upon his person (Wenschkewitz 1932:149–52).

Revelation reflects the persecution which provides the immediate context of the work. In 7:14 the author speaks of those who have washed their robes and made them white in "the blood of the Lamb," and in 12:11 of those who have conquered "through the blood of the Lamb." The reference here is to the Christian martyrs who have given up their lives for the sake of their beliefs. In 6:9 their fate is interpreted theologically in sacramental terms. The souls of those who were "slain" for the word of God are under the altar in the heavenly sanctuary. They are the firstfruits *(aparchē)* who were redeemed for God and for the Lamb (14:4).

In the OT the incense offering is by no means unimportant (e.g., Lev 16:13). In Rev 8:3–4 it is transferred from the temple cult on earth to the heavenly liturgy. In Rev 5:8 the incense offering acquires a metaphorical meaning symbolizing the prayers of the saints (Daly 1978:64–69, 301–3).

**E. The Letter to the Hebrews**

Of all the writings in the NT the Letter to the Hebrews provides the most systematic treatment of the sacrificial cultus of the OT. But it does so not for its own sake but because it wants to make a theological statement for mainly parenetic purposes. Christians who are unsure of themselves and are unduly impressed by certain Jewish rites (cf. 9:9–10; 12:16; 13:9) are told that they enjoy in full (4:14; 8:1; 13:10) what was only partially available in the worship of the old covenant. The paradox of this work is that it uses a thoroughly cultic language to make a deeply uncultic statement. In sacramental terms it announces the end of all sacrifice (10:18). The author succeeds in using the thought forms of apocalyptic and Platonism (8:5; 9:23; 10:1) to describe the permanent effect of the Christ event—how it fulfills and transcends all previous sacrifices.

**1. High Priest and Sacrifice.** Christ stands at the center of the argument as the One who is both priest (2:17) and victim (9:14). The author is relatively free in his handling of his OT sources. He uses as his archetype not the temple but the tabernacle in the wilderness (9:1–5). The ritual he has in mind is the liturgy of the great Day of Atonement (9:7). But the covenant sacrifice of Exod 24:3–8 also figures in the discussion (9:18–20; cf. 12:18-21; 13:20), and elsewhere he even mentions the daily sacrifice (7:27; 10:11). The main purpose of all sacrifice was to make atonement for one's own and other people's sins

(5:1–3), which is accomplished by the shedding of blood (9:22). But the effects were only temporary (10:1–4, 11). Jesus, the sinless One (7:26), however, offered himself as a victim on the cross and was raised to the right hand of God (12:2). Thus he removed the burden of sin from humanity once and for all (7:27; 9:12, 26, 28; 10:10) by a single sacrifice (10:12, 14) and opened up access to God for them for all time (1:3; 4:16; 10:19). One aspect of this self-sacrifice is the obedience to God which he showed during his earthly life and suffering (5:7–8; cf. 10:9–10). Now he is continuing his priestly work by making intercession in heaven (7:25; 9:24). As we can see from 13:11–12, his death on the cross was basically a noncultic affair despite all the cultic terms employed in 13:11–12. The unclean cadavers of the animals sacrificed on the Day of Atonement were burnt outside the city gates, their blood having already been used in the atonement rites of the temple (Lev 16:27). In this noncultic place Jesus shed his redeeming and atoning blood for all (2:9).

**2. The Christian Life.** In the parenetic part of the letter (from 10:19 onward) the meaning of this theology of sacrifice for the Christian life of the recipients is set forth. Now that the sacrifice of Christ has freed them from their sins (10:22) they are henceforth enabled and obligated to hold fast to the confession (10:23), to show brotherly love to one another, and to join in the assembly (10:24–25). They must guard against lapsing into sin a second time—if they do so there can be no atoning sacrifice (10:26)—and they must stand firm in suffering (10:32–39; cf. 12:1–11). As the cultic community of the new covenant which takes part in the heavenly liturgy (12:18–24), God finally honors them for their faith and for the gratitude they show in their lives (12:28). The shameful death of Jesus in that unholy place (13:13) should inspire them to face hostility outside of existing religious conventions. Their ongoing sacrifice according to 13:15 consists of prayer and the confession of faith, which the author calls "the fruit of the lips" (cf. Ps 50:14, 23; 1QS 9:26; 10:6, 8, 14, 22). As stated in 13:16, to do good and to maintain fellowship *(koinōnia)* is the only sacrifice pleasing to God. It is a matter of scholarly discussion as to whether these injunctions might be susceptible in part at least to a sacramental interpretation, in other words whether they allude to the celebration of the eucharist (Betz 1964:144–66). But this is highly questionable since there are no clear indications of that in the text. The expression "blood of the covenant" in 9:20 (cf. 10:29; 13:20) could just as well come directly from the OT, thus bypassing the eucharistic tradition entirely. The term "altar" *(thysiastērion)* in 13:10 serves as a summary description of Christ's saving work as a whole and should not be interpreted in isolation as a reference to the Lord's Supper. It would seem that the primary focus of the community's worship was the Word. The expositor should not be led astray by the sacrificial language.

**3. The Binding of Isaac.** One of the heroes of the faith cited in Heb 11:17–19 was Abraham, who was ready to sacrifice his only son at God's behest (Gen 22:1–18; cf. esp. v 9 quoted again at Jas 2:21, with a possible allusion in Rom 8:32). Isaac plays a central role in the Jewish Haggadah. He willingly accepts a sacrificial death, and in fact the sacrifice is regarded as actually accomplished. It has the effect of atonement for Israel (Gubler 1977:336–75; Daly 1978:175–86). The main evidence for this belief is to be found in the Palestinian Targums. But in view of the late date of their written form we have here a major chronological problem. It may be that it was only after the destruction of the temple that the sacrifice of Isaac came to be interpreted as an archetype of the Tamid-offering and its atoning function (Davies and Chilton 1978). We should therefore be cautious. Heb 11:17–19 shows no sign that this interpretation of the sacrifice of Isaac had already been developed.

**F. Conclusion**

It is impossible to do justice to the NT evidence if it is judged in the light of a general concept of sacrifice as a phenomenon in the history of religion. Otherwise the novelty and originality of the Christian appropriation of the concept would be decidedly shortchanged. Equally, the favorite notion that sacrifice was "spiritualized" (Wenschkewitz 1932:6–10) does not really fit the bill. It would be better to speak of its being "christologized" and "pneumatized." Jesus' saving death gives an entirely new meaning to sacrifice as a consequence of his resurrection and the sending of the Holy Spirit. He opened up a new dimension of reality. As a result sacrifice is reduced to its personal core from which ethical consequences can be drawn for Christian faith and life.

Here is the unbroken thread in the early Church's understanding of sacrifice (Daly 1978:311–508). We can see this, for instance, in the use of sacrificial language in connection with martyrdom (*Ign. Rom.* 2.2; 4.2; Young 1979:223–33). There is a parallel development in the application of sacrificial language to the new worship of the Christian community. The liturgy comes to be increasingly interpreted in the categories of the OT cultus (*1 Clem.* 40–45). This has an important effect on the understanding of the eucharist (cf. *Did.* 14.1–2), although to begin with it was only the prayer of thanksgiving plus the material gifts of charity that were regarded as the Church's offering. This tendency is enhanced from another angle. The absence of real sacrifices in the ancient sense led to accusations that the early Christians had no cultus of their own and were therefore atheists. The apologists replied by seeing the "pure offering" of Mal 1:11 as a reference to the eucharist. It was the sacrifice of the new covenant (Just. *Dial* 41.1–3; 117.1–3; cf. also Iren. *Haer.* 4.17.5; 4.18.4–5). Much of this development is perfectly understandable from a historical point of view (Young 1979:239–84), but it has only a limited justification in the NT.

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**SADDLE.** See ZOOLOGY.

**SADDUCEES** [Gk *Saddoukaios* (Σαδδουκαιος)]. One of the major groups constituting Palestinian Judaism in the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods.

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A. Sources
B. Name
C. Beliefs and Doctrines
D. Social Status
E. History


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**A. Sources**

Contemporary references to the Sadducees are found in Josephus, the NT, and in the rabbinic corpus. Josephus first mentions the Sadducees as the second of the schools of thought (Gk *haireseis*) among the

Jews of his day (*JW* 2 §119; 164–65; *Ant* 13 §171). The chronologically earliest appearance of them is in connection with events at the time of John Hyrcanus (135–104 B.C.E.; *Ant* 13 §293, 297). Their doctrine differed from Pharisaic teaching (*Ant* 13 §297–98) and was of great antiquity (*Ant* 18 §11); it primarily concerned personal immortality (which they denied: *Ant* 18 §16), determinism (which they rejected: 13 §173), and the validity of tradition (which they ignored, though inconsistently: 18 §17). Sadducees appear infrequently as a contemporary group with much the same doctrines in the NT (Matt 3:7; 16:1, 6, 11, 12; 22:23, 34; Mark 12:18; Luke 20:27; Acts 4:1; 15:17; 23:6–8).

Mention of the Sadducees in rabbinic literature is rather more abundant in the Mishnah (e.g., *m. ʿErub.* 6.1; *Mak.* 1.6; *Yad.* 3.7; 4.6, 7; *Nid.* 4.2; 5.2, 3; *Para* 3.7, 8), the Babylonian Talmud (e.g., *ʿErub.* 68a; *Yoma* 2b, 4a, 19b; *Ḥag.* 16b, 23a; *B. Bat.* 115b; *Sanh.* 33b, 52b; *Mak.* 8b; *Hor.* 4a–b; *Zebaḥ.* 65a; *Nid.* 33b), the Palestinian Talmud (*B. Bat.* 8.1), and in the Tannaitic Midrashim (*Sipra* 81b; *Sipre* Num. 112; *Sipre* Deut. 190). In many instances the word "Sadducees" in later rabbinic texts proves to be ambiguous, the intended reference in some contexts being to "heretics" and "gentiles" (i.e., Christians) in avoidance of medieval censors.

It is clear that anyone wishing to study the Sadducees faces a major obstacle, for all of the extant information about this sect must be culled from documents written by people who were not members of the sect and who often opposed them.

**B. Name**

Some of the Church Fathers (e.g., Epiphanius [*Haer.* 1.14] and Jerome [*Comm. in Matt.* 22:23]) thought that the term was derived from the adjective "righteous," *ṣaddîq*. However, modern scholarship connects it with the name Zadok, *ṣādôq.* Although a story in *ʾAbot R. Nat.* A.5 states that the term "Sadducees" derives from Zadok, a disciple of Antigonus of Soco (who is said to have flourished early 2d century B.C.E.), current scholarly opinion connects the term to the name of Zadok, the high priest at the time of David (1 Sam 8:17 and 15:24) and of Solomon (1 Kgs 1:34 and 1 Chr 12:29). Stern (1976:561, 567) states that from the beginning of the Persian period until the wake of the Maccabean revolt, the priestly house of Zadok, descended from Joshua son of Yehozadak, controlled the high priesthood in Jerusalem. Thus, Mansoor (*EncJud* 14:62) claims that the term "Sadducees" refers to "anyone who is a sympathizer with the Zadokites." Kohler stated that "in the course of time" the term became "a party name applied to all the aristocratic circles connected with the high priests by marriage and other social relations" (*JEnc* 10:630–33). However, as we shall see, the actual connection between the Sadducees and the priests is unclear.

**C. Beliefs and Doctrines**

Josephus identifies the Sadducees as one of the major varieties of Judaism which came into existence during the Maccabean period. In *JW* 2 §162 he refers to the Sadducees' rejection of the concept of fate and their acceptance of the idea of man's free will. He implies that they held these ideas so that God could not be held responsible for evil. Furthermore, the Sadducees did not believe that the soul continued to exist after death or that people suffered punishments or received rewards after they died. In *Ant* 13 §293 Josephus refers to only the Sadducees' belief in free will, and in *Ant* 18 §16–17 he refers to their claim that the soul perished along with the body at death. The most striking feature about these lists is that no single belief appears in all of them. When Josephus enumerated the Sadducees' doctrines not one element of their system of beliefs so impressed Josephus or his source(s) that it immediately came to mind when he set down his descriptions of their concepts.

The NT considers the Sadducees' rejection of resurrection as their primary characteristic, for the issue of resurrection was of central importance to the early Church. *Abot R. Nat.* A.5 claims that Zadok's followers broke away from Antigonus of Soco over the issue of resurrection; therefore, the evidence suggests that the Sadducees were known for their rejection of the idea of resurrection.

Josephus consistently emphasizes the opposition between the Sadducees and the Pharisees. In *Ant* 13 §297 we first encounter the Sadducees' rejection of the Pharisaic law "not recorded in the Laws of Moses," and in *Ant* 18 §17 Josephus says that the Sadducees observed nothing apart from the Law. Thus, the claim that the Sadducees considered valid only those regulations and traditions written down in the Law appears just twice, and only in the latter books of the *Antiquities.* The NT does not draw a consistent

picture of the opposition between the Sadducees and the Pharisees. In Acts 23:6–8 the Sadducees sit in the council along with the Pharisees. The gospel of Mark does not place the Sadducees in opposition to the Pharisees, and Matthew often places them together, as if they were two similar groups. Only in Acts do we find the two groups disagreeing; however, here the disagreement centers only on the issue of resurrection. One gains the impression from reading the Gospels that their authors did not have a clear idea of the differences between the Pharisees and the Sadducees. To the Christian writers, they merely represented two leadership groups within the Jewish community, and their disagreements over issues, with the exception of resurrection, were either unknown or of little importance.

In the rabbinic material we find the most extensive discussions about the differences between the Sadducees and the Pharisees. The earliest rabbinic texts in which these discussions appear are the Mishnah and the Tosefta (Lightstone 1971:206–17; Rivkin 1969/70:205–49). The Mishnah, edited ca. 220 C.E. (Neusner 1981), contains several passages in which the Sadducees disagree with the Pharisees; in most of these texts, the two groups dispute over matters of purity: *Yad.* 4.6, whether or not Scripture renders the hands unclean; whether or not the bones of an ass or the high priest are clean; *Yad.* 4.7, whether or not certain types of water are unclean; *Para* 3.7, the importance of the setting of the sun in rendering one clean; *Nid.* 4.2, the state of cleanness of Sadducean women. The Sadducees and Pharisees also disagree about matters of civil law: *Yad.* 3.7, whether or not a slave's master is responsible for the damage caused by the slave; *Mak.* 1.6, whether or not a false witness is executed only when the one against whom he testified is executed. Lastly, *ʿErub.* 6.1 discusses a matter of Sabbath law and suggests that the Sadducees held their own views concerning the establishment of the Sabbath limit. Similarly, in the Tosefta, a document edited ca. 250 C.E., the major issue between the Sadducees and the other Jews is purity; the other topics found in the Mishnah do not even appear in the Tosefta in the context of a reference to the Sadducees. *T. Para* 3.8 reflects *m. Para* 3.7; *t. Nid.* 5.2 is the same as *m. Nid.* 4.2; *t. Nid.* 5.3 states, as does *m. Nid.* 4.2, that the Sadducean women do not follow their own laws concerning menstrual purity. The Tosefta informs us that all Sadducean women followed the rulings of sages on this matter. One woman did not consult a sage, and she died soon after her failure to check with a sage. *T. Ḥag.* 3.35 presents the Sadducees and the Pharisees disagreeing about the purity of the menorah in the temple.

We find three references to the differences between the Sadducees and the Pharisees in three early midrashic collections. *Sipre* Num. 112, a midrash on the book of Numbers which was edited some time in the latter half of the 3d century C.E., interprets Num 15:31, "for he despised the word of YHWH," as a reference to the Sadducees. This is our earliest reference in the rabbinic texts to the view that the Sadducees did not follow the Word of God as interpreted by the rabbis/Pharisees. *Sipre* Deut. 190, part of a midrash on the book of Deuteronomy which appears to have been edited sometime in the 3d or 4th century C.E., contains a story about a Sadducean high priest who did not burn the incense on the Day of Atonement in accordance with the rules of the sages; compare this passage with *Sipra* 81a.

The Babylonian Talmud contains a number of references to the Sadducees; however, the censorship which this document has undergone makes some of these references suspect, for the word "Sadducees" often replaced reference to "gentiles" or "heretics" (Le Moyne 1972:97–99).

*B. ʿErub.* 68b is the Amoraic discussion of *m. ʿErub.* 6.1. In *b. Yoma* 19b we find a version of the *Sipre* and *Sipra* story about the Sadducean high priest who offered incense on the Day of Atonement. In this version we learn that the Sadducees were afraid of the Pharisees and that the former generally followed the rulings of the latter. We are further told that the high priest who offered the incense in a manner different from the way in which the Pharisees ruled soon died. *B. Nid.* 33b, which is the Amoraic discussion of *m. Nid.* 4.2, informs us that if the attitude of a Sadducean woman is unknown, she is considered to have followed the rules concerning her menstrual period to which all other Israelite women adhere, that is, the Pharisaic/rabbinic injunctions. These are clearly examples of rabbinic propaganda, attempts to make everyone into a Pharisee. The Gemara contains a version of *t. Nid.* 5.3; however, the version in the former pits the Sadducees against the Pharisees rather than against the "sages" as we find in the Tosefta. The Sadducean view concerning the importance of the sun's setting in matters of cleanness is

discussed in *b. Yoma* 2b, *b. Ḥag.* 23a, and *b. Zebaḥ* 21a. In *b. Yoma* 4a the Sadducees are excluded from the "students of the sages" and the "students of Moses." This is probably a reference to the fact that the Sadducees, who did not follow the Pharisaic/rabbinic traditions, were seen as rejecting the complete revelation given to and transmitted by Moses. *B. Ḥag.* 16b and *b. Mak.* 8b refer to the matter of the execution of false witnesses. In *b. B. Bat.* 115b we learn that the Sadducees and the Pharisees differed concerning a daughter's right of inheritance in certain circumstances. In *b. Sand.* 52b, R. Joseph, a third generation Babylonian Amora, refers to a Sadducean court; however, Joseph lived after the Tannaitic period and in a land which probably had not seen a Sadducee. From *b. Menaḥ.* 65a we learn that the Sadducees believed that individuals, and not the community, should pay for the daily offering. *B. Hor.* 4a and *b. Sanh.* 33b discuss a court which incorrectly ruled according to Sadducean law, a suspect reference, given the date of the collection in which they appear.

When we review the rabbinic evidence, we discover that the basic issue separating the Sadducees and Pharisees/rabbis was purity. This is not surprising, given the importance of the idea of purity in the Judaism of this period (Smith 1960/61:7; Neusner 1973). Curiously, virtually no one, with the exception of Lightstone, points to the purity laws as a major area of disagreement between the Pharisees and the Sadducees. Rather, scholars such as Bowker (1973:18), Sandmel (1969:39), Guttmann (1970:127), Mansoor (*EncJud* 14:621), Meyer (*TDNT* 7:63), and Le Moyne (1972:378–79) argue that the essential element of Sadducean belief was their rejection of the oral law and their literalist interpretations of the Bible. While there are a few references in Josephus and the later rabbinic texts to support this claim, this disagreement must be put into its proper perspective. Both Josephus and the rabbis/Pharisees had something to gain by claiming that they had the correct interpretation of revelation, that those who disagreed with them or rejected their ideas were incorrect, and that everyone followed the Pharisaic/rabbinic teachings anyway. Furthermore, if Judaism around the turn of the era was based on interpreting God's revelation to Moses, it stands to reason that each group would have its own set of interpretations which it favored, while rejecting those of the other groups. Lastly, it is unlikely that any group in the 1st century would have claimed that they were not in fact offering the "literal," or correct, interpretation of the Mosaic revelation. Each group would claim that it alone was faithful to the Law and that it taught only things contained in the Law. To claim that the Sadducees rejected the Pharisees' "oral law" is merely to state that Pharisees were not Sadducees (Blenkinsopp 1981:1).

**D. Social Status**

Josephus offers us limited information concerning the Sadducees' social status. In the context of his description of the split between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees (*Ant* 13 §297), Josephus states that the Sadducees did not have the support of the masses; they enjoyed only the "confidence of the wealthy." In *Ant* 18 §17 only a few men of the "highest standing" know the Sadducean doctrines; however, we also discover that the Sadducees follow Pharisaic teachings. This "sociological information" appears only in these two contexts, and it is clearly connected with Josephus' attempt to prove that one cannot rule Palestine without the Pharisees (Smith 1956:75–76). In *ʾAbot R. Nat.* A.5 we read that the Boethusians and/or the Sadducees used silver and gold vessels, "not because they were ostentatious, but because it was the Pharisaic tradition to afflict themselves in this world, hoping to receive a reward in the world-to-come." The *b.* version of *ʾAbot* contains a shorter version of this story and omits the reference to the gold and silver vessels. Thus, the evidence for the patrician nature of the Sadducees is based on Josephus' polemical passages and a text in one version of *ʾAbot* which points to the Sadducees' acting as rich people for theological reasons. Ignoring the polemical side of Josephus' description and the curious nature of *ʾAbot's* description, Mansoor (*EncJud* 14:621), Jeremias (1977:230), Le Moyne (1972:349), and Baron (1952:35) argue that the Sadducees were the Palestinian aristocracy.

In *Ant* 18 §16–17 Josephus states that the Sadducees considered it a virtue to dispute with their teachers. In *Ant* 20 §163 he tells us the Sadducees were "boorish," and in *Ant* 20 §199 he describes them as "more heartless" than other Jews.

In *Ant* 20 §199 Josephus tells us that *one* high priest, Ananus, was a Sadducee. While the NT sometimes pictures the Sadducees' working in concert with the high priest (Acts 4:1–4; 15:17–18), it does not equate

the priests and the Sadducees. Similarly, the rabbinic texts speak of Sadducean priests, especially in the discussions of how one is to burn the incense on the Day of Atonement, but the rabbis also believed that there were Pharisees who were priests and identified many of the early rabbis, such as Ishmael and Tarfon, as priests. Therefore, none of our texts allow us to claim that all priests were Sadducees or that all Sadducees were connected to the priesthood. For this reason, we must look with suspicion when Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 57), Sundberg (*IDB* 4:160–61), Baumbach (1973:208), and Jeremias (1977:230) see a close relationship between the Sadducees and the priesthood.

The problem of the hellenization of Jewish groups during this period is difficult. The complexity of this situation is reflected in the scholarly discussion of the hellenization of the Sadducees. Mansoor (*EncJud* 14:622), Baron (1952:236), and Farmer (1956:189) suggest that the Sadducees were highly hellenized, while Sundberg (*IDB* 4:162) claims that the Pharisees were as hellenized as the Sadducees. Meyer (*TDNT* 7:44), Zeitlin (1961:125–26), and Sundberg (*IDB* 4:162) have argued that the Sadducees were the most nationalistic of the Jewish population. Baron (1952:36) seems to believe that the Sadducees were at the same time the most hellenized and the most nationalistic of the Palestinian Jews, without seeing any contradiction between the two positions. The problem is that our sources simply do not give us any information with which we could decide on the hellenization of the Sadducees or their political and nationalistic views.

**E. History**

Just as we cannot draw a clear picture of the political, theological, or nationalistic views of the Sadducees, we are also unable to clearly delineate the history of the group. Mansoor (*EncJud* 14:620) argues that the sect originated ca. 200 B.C.E., while Sundberg (*IDB* 4:160–61; cf. Baumbach 1973:240) places its origin "not long before the reorganization of Judaism under Maccabean leadership." Le Moyne (1972:331) merely states that in the 1st century B.C.E. "the Sadducees constituted a complete group inserted into Jewish life." Jeremias (1977:243), Bowker (1973:10), Davies (1967:19), Meyer (*TDNT* 7:31), and Sandmel (1969:58) tie the end of the Sadducees in with the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. This view rests on the assumed close relationship between the Sadducees and the priesthood; however, we have seen that that relationship is far from firmly grounded in our sources. Sundberg (*IDB* 4:161–62) argues that the end of the Sadducees did not come about simply with the destruction of the temple, for the Jews anticipated the rebuilding of the temple; "probably," he writes, "the Sadducees, concentrated about Jerusalem and being implicated in the war, suffered heavily with the fall of the city." Eppstein's suggestion (1966:213–23) that the end of the Sadducees is related to the Pharisaic doctrines concerning the waters of the Red Heifer is based on a naive reading of the rabbinic texts. Virtually all we know about the history of the Sadducees is that Josephus first mentions them in the Maccabean period at the same time that he first discusses the Pharisees and the Essenes. Furthermore, with the Pharisaic/rabbinic rise to power after 70 C.E., the Sadducees play a small role in the Jewish documents which have come down to us from that period.

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**ṢADE.** The eighteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

**SAFAITIC INSCRIPTIONS.** See INSCRIPTIONS, SAFAITIC.

**SAFAITIC LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

**SAFFRON.** See PERFUMES AND SPICES; FLORA.

**SAFI** (M.R. 195147). A large EB and Byzantine period cemetery site in the Ghor es-Safi, S of the Dead Sea. The location of a town connected with the cemetery remains uncertain. The name "Safi" was assigned to the site in lieu of a traditional local name. The cemetery is located on the slopes of a descending series of limestone foothills, between 300 and 330 m below sea level, at the SE edge of the Wadi el-Hesa delta on its SE edge. The visible ruins of a medieval sugar mill, Tawahin es-Sukkar, mark the N and lowest limits of the cemetery area just above the valley floor.

Safi must be viewed in the context of the Ghor es-Safi region which today is the largest, best-watered, and most extensively farmed area in the SE Ghor area (Harlan 1981:157–59). There is evidence for a wetter climate during the Late Chalcolithic–Early Bronze ages and the Byzantine period (Neev and Emery 1967) which must have made the region even more attractive during these periods. Despite these features the area is comparatively poor in archaeological remains.

During the 19th century, a series of explorers (Irby and Mangles in 1823; De Saulcy in 1853; Tristam in 1865; Hayne in 1873; Tristam in 1873; Klein in 1880; Kitchener in 1884; Hart in 1885; Hill in 1896) visited the Safi area. Most noted the low tell area of Sheikh Isa (500 m NW of the Safi cemetery), the ruins of the sugar mills of Tawahin es-Sukkar, and recorded vivid descriptions of the flora and fauna of the region. Kitchener also describes a large walled site with a tower and scattered *nawamis* called Kh. Labrush, located 500–600 m SE of Tawahin es-Sukkar high above the Wadi Hesa (1884:216). In 1924 a survey team led by Albright (1924) explored the Safi region and carried out soundings at Kh. Sheikh Isa. Subsequent published surveys in the area include Frank's (1934), Glueck's (1935), and Rast and Schaub's (1974). More recent unpublished surveys have been carried out by McCreery in 1979, King in 1982, and Macdonald in 1987.

The Ghor es-Safi appears to have been most extensively utilized in the EB I, Roman, Byzantine, Early and Late Arabic periods. The first evidence for an early history of the area came from a tomb group from Safi published by Frank (1934:204). This group was recognized by Glueck as belonging to the early phases of the EB (1935:8). Amiran has also published EB IB pots from the Safi region (1969:49; photos 44, 45). The source of these artifacts was further determined by the survey of Rast and Schaub, which recorded an extensive area of EB and Byzantine tombs on the slopes of Safi (1974:9–11, 15–17). Iron Age, Late Roman, and Byzantine sherds were also found. Some wall foundations were noted during the survey on one of the upper plateaus of the site, but subsequent visits have been unable to confirm the presence of a town site in this area, which has been considerably disturbed by recent trenching and the construction of a town site on the upper plateau regions. Sauer has mentioned the recovery of intact MB vessels at Safi (1982:207). The site of Sheikh Isa was described by Albright as belonging to the Byzantine and early Arabic periods, mostly to the latter. Most recently MacDonald has identified the site of Labrush, called Umm Tawabin, as a large Nabatean fort dating from the last decades of the 1st century B.C. to the mid 2d century A.D. Tawahin es-Sukkar is probably the last surviving remnant of the medieval "Zugar" which is mentioned frequently by Arabic geographers as a commercial center for sugar, dates, and indigo.

It seems unlikely that the scarcity of earlier archaeological remains in the Wadi el-Hesa delta region is due to major changes in the water levels. Donahue (Donahue and Beynon 1988) has suggested the possibility of severe down-cutting near the mouth of the Wadi Hesa since the EB, but this is difficult to maintain since the EB I tombs are at approximately the same level as the present wadi mouth. Klein (1982:90–93) has also argued that there was a dramatic rise in the Dead Sea level during the 1st century B.C. to 330 m below sea level or to the very edge of the N limits of the cemetery, but archaeological remains have survived below that level in other areas of the Dead Sea.

The discovery of the cemetery at Safi, contemporary with other EB cities (Bab edh-Dhraʿ, Numeira, Feifeh, and Khanazir) in the SE Ghor has renewed discussion about the location and identity of the Cities of the Plains (Gen 13:12; 19:29). The region of the Ghor es-Safi has been favored by many scholars (Albright, Aharoni, Abel, Lagrange, Harland, Glueck, Howard) as the location of the biblical site of Zoar (Gen 13:10; 14:2, 8; 19:22, 23, 30; Deut 34:3; Isa 15:5; Jer 48:4 (LXX), 34). Arguments in favor of this location have been drawn from the global geographical indications of the biblical texts and the strong Byzantine tradition culminating in the placement of Zoar at the S end of the Dead Sea on the Madeba Map. Other scholars (Mallon, Powers) have argued for a N location using the same texts and a late Byzantine tradition that places Byzantine Segor (Zoar) within site of Mt. Nebo. Noth, tracing the Lot traditions, also favors a N location (*HPT,* 151–54). Recently Shea has attempted to trace the geographical routes of the Ebla texts and has argued for Adamah as a site in the Safi region (1983:608–10). Although the cemetery site at Safi remains the only candidate for early presence in the area and the original existence of a town site nearby seems likely (on the analogy of the other EB sites in this region) the identification of this site with the Zoar of the Genesis texts remains uncertain.

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R. THOMAS SCHAUB

**SAFIYEH, WADI ES-.** See ZEPHATHAH.

**SAFUT, TELL** (M.R. 229160). A site named after the modern village W of the tell, it has been identified by Mallon as ancient NOBAH of Judg 8:11 (:Nabai), which is not to be confused with Nobah (:Naboth) of Num 32:42 (cf. de Vaux *EHI* 590).

**A. Location and Topography**

Tell (es-) Safut is located on the edge of the modern Amman-Jerash highway, 1.5 km N of Suweileh, at the point where the road enters the 5-km-wide × 10-km-long BAQʿAH VALLEY, which the tell overlooks from the S. Covering 17.73 dunams, the tell rises 300 m above the valley floor to a fairly flat oval top which is oriented E-NE by W-SW and measures approximately 18 × 70 m. At 927 m above sea level, it is 200 m lower than the Suweileh hills behind it.

Tell Safut guarded one of the principal roads leading from the interior of Gilead through the valley toward Rabbath-ammon (modern Amman), which it undoubtedly served at key moments in Amman's history. Ottosson (1969:188) connects Tell es-Safut with the Kings' Highway in a way that also suggests that Nobah of Judg 8:11 corresponds with Safut.

**B. History of Exploration**

First reported in 1877 as one of four important regional sites near Amman, in 1881 it was placed by R. Meyer on the Map of the American Palestine Exploration Society. Tell Safut was surveyed by N. Glueck and R. de Vaux in the 1930s.

A 1950s cut into the tell by road-building bulldozers led Ma‹ayeh (1960a: 114; 1960b: 228) to report finding an MB glacis, a report which Sauer (1986:6) simply accepts; Dornemann (1983:19) calls the finding "highly likely," but Landes (1961:67) is clearly uncertain. Ottosson (1969:188), on the other hand, goes so far as to call it a Hyksos fortification, "probably not unique for southern Gilead." However, a further sectioning of the area shows the alleged glacis to be sterile and nothing more than a natural geological formation.

**C. Current Excavations**

In 1982, a cooperative effort between the Department of Antiquities and Seton Hall University, with assistance from ACOR, undertook the first of (currently) four seasons.

Three definite stages were adopted in the strategy. The first (in 1982) required exposing sufficient architecture to help persuade authorities to preserve as much of the tell as possible. A close examination of the general configuration of the acropolis and its corresponding perimeter defense wall indicated that the tell was not as severely damaged as had at first appeared. In the second stage (in 1982 and 1983), three probes were cut to bedrock or virgin soil to determine the range of occupation. The lowest strata in each case yielded only LB sherds. In stage three (1985, 1987), horizontal exposure, which sought clarification of successive historical phases, disclosed that the latest significant occupation was during the Iron IIC/Persian period, with traces of a Late Byzantine presence on the very top of the tell.

**D. History of the Settlement**

**1. The Middle Bronze Age.** An MB presence cannot be denied on the basis of the pottery, but neither can it be posited conclusively.

**2. The Late Bronze Age.** A major perimeter defense wall attests that Transjordan, at least in this region, was heavily enough occupied by a sedentary society in the LB Age to require protection with a substantial perimeter defense wall. Inside the city was probably a sanctuary in which was found a bronze figurine deity (see Fig. SAF.01), a footed bowl or chalice, and a large amount (over 600 $cm^3$) of charred two-row barley. The seated figurine is unique in that it is clearly smiling and its crown is flat. Both forearms are extended and wrapped in gold, as are the hands; one is open, the other is closed—neither holds anything. The crown boasts a motif not unlike a seashell, a conch, or perhaps a feather. The eye sockets were probably inlaid. The nose and left arm are enlarged by thick erosion. Two bronze pegs protruding from the seat and feet suggest that the figurine was attached to a chair or throne of some other material. Whether this figurine is a S Gilead form of the Canaanite Baal, an Ammonite deity, or simply the tutelary god of Safut remains an open question.

**3. Iron Age I.** To date, a comparatively light Iron Age I occupation is evident from both ceramic and architectural finds.

**4. Iron Age II.** Occupation in Iron Age II is attested in every square. Most pottery types represent 8th–6th century forms, with some almost certainly from the Persian period. The Late Iron Age population overflowed the earlier LB boundaries, enclosing an area easily ten times the size of the LB settlement.

By the end of the 8th century, several rooms on the S exposure were enclosed in a 1 m thick Iron IIB casemate wall which was subsequently buttressed by a dirt-filled battered wall of glacis. One of the casemate rooms contained a destruction layer sealing an excellent collection of Iron IIC pottery. Finds included figurine heads, pilgrim flasks, Assyrian bottles, a miniature ceramic horse, and a series of cooking pots smashed in situ. From elsewhere on the tell came a late Assyrian seal and a late Babylonian seal.

**5. Late Byzantine.** A population decrease in the Late Byzantine period is evident in that associated architecture is found only on the very summit. Classical and Islamic evidence from nearby shows that protection of the region shifted from the tell to other sites.

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DONALD H. WIMMER


**SAHAB** (M.R. 245142). A site in a high plateau (873 m above sea level) 12 km SE of Amman and ca. 15 km W of the E Jordanian desert. It was probably one of the last major settlements on the road to Saudi Arabia and was possibly the largest pre-Roman site on the borders of the E Jordanian desert. It is situated on the present and ancient road to the desert castles of the early Islamic period.

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A. Geography
B. Exploration
C. Preliminary Survey Results
D. Excavations at Tell Sahab


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**A. Geography**

The tell occupies an area of about 500 dunums, the highest point of the mound being some 22 m above the W plains. Its location affords the benefits of being a transitional zone between the highlands and the desert, thus producing a pleasant combination of varying climate and good agricultural conditions. Geologically, the hilly area consists of Mesozoic limestone with chert, while the plains are of Cenozoic sediments. Rainfall is within the 200–300 mm isohyet, making dry farming possible and extensive land use viable. Natural water resources have been supplemented by rock-cut cisterns over the entire survey area.

These agreeable conditions were attested by the long occupation of both the site and the surrounding region. The 1983 survey results show settlement from the Paleolithic, while the tell has occupation from the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods (5th–4th millennia B.C.) to the late Iron Age (ca. 600 B.C.). After the 6th century B.C. the site was apparently abandoned until the 11th to 13th centuries A.D.

The modern town of Sahab is built on the ancient tell and has spread from there to the surrounding area, thus destroying major parts of the ancient settlement. However, much of this modern development has been responsible for revealing earlier occupational material; such activity discovered the tomb which led to the first season of excavations.

The mild environmental conditions combined with the archaeological evidence of steady occupation within this region indicates Sahab's probable importance over a long period of time. While one might, therefore, expect references to the site in historical records, to date no identifications have been made.

**B. Exploration**

Surveys around this area have only recently been undertaken and until 1972 little was known about the archaeology of the area. A few sites were visited in the region and reported in *Die Provincia Arabia,* Band

2, by R. E. Brunow and A. von Domaszewski at the turn of the century. Otherwise the area was known only through occasional tomb finds reported to the authorities.

The first of these was reported in 1929 and published later by W. F. Albright (1932). The second was excavated and findings published by G. L. Harding in 1948. Both tombs were dated by the authors to the Iron II period (i.e., 9th–7th centuries B.C.). Two other tombs have been officially excavated; one by R. Dajani in 1968 (1970) and the other soon to be published by M. Ibrahim. Apart from these, no attention was given to the tell of Sahab until an MB tomb was accidentally discovered in 1972. The Jordanian Department of Antiquities excavated and recorded the tomb which initiated further investigations and a 6-month rescue operation. The Sahab excavations have been directed by M. Ibrahim.

A survey was carried out in 1983 to determine the occupational history and settlement patterns of this area on the fringes of the E desert, and to establish the position of Sahab within its environment. The survey area was 15 × 13 km, with Sahab in the center of the W border of the region.

**C. Preliminary Survey Results**

The survey identified many sites from different stages of the Paleolithic (almost half of the 131 recorded), and also showed that the area was continuously occupied throughout the Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Umayyad periods.

Neolithic and Chalcolithic settlements with material similar to the evidence from Sahab were identified at Tell es Suwwan (25), Salbud (27), Wadi el Qattar (104) and Hweytan Abu Snesle West (125). Eight pre-Pottery Neolithic sites were identified, twelve from the MB period (el-Qattar being the largest), and five from the LB but none with as extensive an occupation as Sahab. The only tell site within the area apart from Sahab is el-Rajib (SS 83 91). The Iron Age is well represented with 45 sites recorded, many of which were fortified and were possibly watchtowers. Most of these were located on hilltops and may possibly have been part of a defense system for the town of Sahab.

**D. Excavations at Tell Sahab**

To date, the Sahab excavations have identified six main periods of settlement. The earliest evidence dates from Late Neolithic–Early Chalcolithic, with some EB. A continuous occupation exists throughout the MB, LB, and Iron II period, at the end of which there appears to be a period of abandonment of town occupation.

During the 1983 survey several other Neolithic/Chalcolithic settlements around Sahab were located, but Sahab was the largest of these and probably represents a typical large village farming community from the 5th–4th millennia B.C. The large number of storage facilities discovered both inside and outside domestic structures suggests a period of extensive agriculture. Some of these courtyard storage pits were huge, spanning 4 m in diameter. The presence of such large storage pits suggests anticipated long periods of agricultural yield. One particular occupational unit, in area E, implies a large family occupation—it consists of several rooms, mostly of unhewn stone, surrounding a courtyard in which storage pits were cut into virgin soil. These contained large amounts of seed, and were lined with small stones. The extensive occupation of Sahab is also evident by the combination of cave and rock shelters with rectangular domestic structures which were used for habitation. This simultaneous combination of housing at Sahab is fairly logical given the climatic range of the area. Cave shelters were excavated over the entire area. In area A, a cave was found with a pebble-and-plaster floor and ash deposits. Area B had a large cave complex subdivided by well-built stone walls and hard-packed floors. It seems clear that these cave dwellers coexisted alongside the occupants of the constructed domestic structures described above. Many of the caves had several occupation surfaces, the uppermost of which date from the EB. Most of the caves were reused as tombs in the MB (1800–1600 B.C.), LB (1400–1300 B.C.) and early Iron I (ca. 1200 B.C.) periods.

Toward the end of the 4th millennium B.C. there is a suggestion of seasonal settlement. In area E above the Neolithic/Chalcolithic levels several fragmentary walls were discovered without any clear architectural plan. In the cave sites occupational floors above the earlier levels yielded pottery similar to area E. Related to this phase were two burial jars containing human skeletons, a continuation of the Ghassulian burial tradition, and in area E was a reused pit containing 7–9 animal burials.

Evidence of the EB at Sahab is witnessed by the presence of some sherds in the uppermost levels of caves and by a number of sherds in area B, though so far there are no associated structures.

The MB evidence derives from two caves used for burials in areas A and B. Area G II, near the center of the site, yielded part of the MT fortifications connected to a typical MB glacis rampart; however, the excavation area has been too limited for more definite information. In area H III, a massive MB wall was excavated. Unfortunately the distance between this and the MB rampart is covered by modern housing and thus impossible to explore.

The fortified site, possibly indicating a move from the large-scale agricultural community to a smaller fortified settlement, was probably the closest of the MB II fortified settlements to the E desert.

In 1968 a rich LB-Iron Age tomb was discovered (Dajani 1970), but no other LB tombs have been found. The major evidence for LB occupation comes from a partially uncovered 13th-century building and the town wall. The LB town, the interior part of which is largely unexplored because of modern construction, appears to have covered an area of about 20 dunums; thus it was a town much larger than the MB fortification limits.

In area E, a large public building was discovered under an accumulation of Iron Age and modern structures. Four walls appear to be associated with this building, the largest of which continues for more than 17 m in an E–W direction. Associated with this is an almost square, towerlike structure on the E end of the exposed length of the wall.

The major excavated portion of the town wall is in the W part of the LB settlement (areas G II, III, IV) where nearly 75 m of wall has been exposed. Soundings in the S and SE (H III and IV), in the E (H II), and in the N (H II and BO19) allow some reconstruction of the course of the town wall. The complete enclosure seems to have been symmetrical and oval in shape, along a N–S axis. The wall remains are largely foundations sunk in a deep trench lined on both sides with large and medium stones.

The pottery associated with the wall includes imports and imitations of Mycenaean vessels as well as local ware. Examples of bichrome simple and carinated bowls, jugs, kraters, goblets, and pyxides imply that the site, along with other central Jordanian sites, had ties with Cyprus and the Mediterranean, as did sites in coastal Syria and those W of the Jordan.

The LB town had an apparently long occupation, from the 15th to 13th centuries B.C. The earlier date is based on a seal impression found on an LB storage jar handle discovered in the foundation trench of the town wall. The scene on the seal is typical of the period of Thutmose III and depicts a combination of three signs, possibly a cryptogram of the god-name Amon.

Sahab's unbroken occupation from the beginning of the MB to the late Iron II, with massive fortifications during most, if not all, of these major periods, strengthens the inference that it was recognized as an important regional center.

As is common in Palestine and Jordan the transition from LB to the beginning of the Iron Age is still unclear. In this respect Sahab resembles other major tell sites, such as Amman, Tabaqat Fahil, Tell Deir Alla, and Tell Irbid. The evidence shows no occupational gap, but a general cultural continuity in terms of burial practices; there are, however, gradual changes in the pottery and metalwork.

The site was heavily occupied during both Iron Ages I and II. Tombs from both periods have been found, as well as clear occupational and architectural material. On the W and N faces, the Iron Age material extends beyond the LB town; though the walled town during the Iron II became smaller, it was better planned.

Domestic architecture has been identified from Iron I, but the evidence is fragmentary. A clear picture of the Iron I settlement is hard to form. The area A structure had two architectural phases, though the purpose of the building is yet uncertain. The plastered room in area A had a large number of collared-rim storage jars. Some of these 12th-century jars bear seal impressions. One example, found on the rims of two jars, shows an animal with long horns followed by a human figure with raised hands. Another seal, repeated three times on a single jar, depicts two seated animals, an ibex on the top, with a lioness below.

Separating Iron Age I from Iron II is some evidence of destruction on the site. Apparently, scattered houses were built after the destruction of the major Iron I town, as indicated by the material from area D and some trial trenches on the E slope.

The excavations in the Iron Age II period have revealed a complex series of rooms with multiple architectural phases. Several of these rooms contained large amounts of stone mortars and pestles, complete and broken pottery vessels, and large amounts of seed. The largest and most interesting of these rooms was the rectangular "pillared-room" from area B.

This room, measuring 7.5 × 4 m, had two entrances in the SW corner of the room. Inside were four stone pillar bases set into a plastered floor running the central length of the room. The center of the floor contained a circular fireplace constructed of stones and mud. Finds from this area included a number of basalt and limestone tools, half a steatite scarab, a large number of loom weights (conical and round), and weights in at least three units. There are at least two adjoining rooms on the W side that form one unit, which in turn is separated from another unit by a corridor.

Another, smaller "pillared-room" was excavated in area G II. The function of these buildings is not certain but they may have had some industrial purpose, e.g., a textile workshop. Parallels are common in Palestine such as those found in Tell Bir es-Sabʿ, Ain Shems, Tell Beit Mirsim, Tell el-Farah (N), Tell el-Qidah, and Tell el-Mutasallim. In Jordan similar rooms are found at Tell es-Saʿidiyeh, Tell Deir Alla, Tell el-Khalifah, and Tawilan.

The pottery from area B is typical of the Iron II period, especially in the Amman region. The types include ovoid storage jars with two handles and thickened overlapped rims, bowls and platters with red and black highly burnished slip and band slips inside and outside, and profile-rimmed bowls with shallow disc bases.

The small finds, the pottery, and the stone implements are typical of the 8th–7th centuries B.C., and confirm the prosperity of the site during the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. They also indicate close contacts with Palestine and Syria. After the 7th and 6th centuries B.C., Sahab appears to have been abandoned until the 11th to 13th centuries A.D.

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MOAWIYAH M. IBRAHIM


**SAʿIDIYEH, TELL ES-** (M.R. 204186). Most plausibly identified as ancient ZARETHAN (Josh 3:16; 1 Kgs 4:12; 1 Kgs 7:14; and possibly 1 Kgs 11:26 and 2 Chr 4:17), Tell es-Saʿidiyeh lies in the central Jordan Valley, 1.8 km E of the Jordan river, on the S side of the Wadi Kufrinjeh. The two elements of the site comprise an upper tell to the E, rising to a height of some 40 m above present plain level, and covering an area of about 10,350 $m^2$ at its summit, and a low, benchlike mound to the W, measuring approximately 90 × 40 m, and about 20 m lower than the upper tell.

In 1943, the site was visited by N. Glueck during his survey of E Palestine. His surface collections indicated a long history of occupation from EB I–II to Iron Age II, with extensions into the Roman and Byzantine periods (Glueck 1951:290–95). To the W of the low mound, and separated from it by a gap of about 40m, Glueck identified an additional site with sherds not only of EB I–II, but also of the

Chalcolithic period (1951:293). It was this low mound, described as "Tell es-Sa'idiyeh el-Tahta," which was investigated in 1953 by H. de Contenson. In a number of small soundings, a very thin occupation deposit was revealed, associated with pottery and lithics of the Middle Chalcolithic period (de Contenson 1960:49–56).

Large-scale systematic excavations were undertaken at the main double mound between 1964 and 1967 directed by J. B. Pritchard, and have resumed since 1985 under J. N. Tubb.

The earliest remains reached by the end of the 1987 season were of the EB Age. In area DD, on the SW side of the low mound (see Fig. SAI.01), two superimposed occupation phases of EB II have been found, both characterized by well-constructed and carefully planned buildings of mudbrick on stone foundations. In the lower phase, stratum L3, part of a pebble street has been uncovered with entrances into two houses. The most completely excavated of these has a small semicircular courtyard giving access to a long narrow rectangular room with a row of roof supports along its central axis, and five large store jars sunk into the beaten earth floor. In stratum L2, many of the walls of the previous phase were reused as foundations, but a radical change in plan took place which involved a 90 degree shift in orientation. Part of a multiroom complex has been excavated, including a quite elaborate stepped entranceway. Stratum L2 ended in a destruction, which sealed a rich and varied corpus of pottery and other finds. The pottery, in particular, shows evidence of a distinctively local and yet innovative tradition, characterized by red-on-cream "ribbon painted" wares and thin-walled, highly burnished fine wares. Noteworthy is the presence in the assemblage of four-spouted lamps, types more usually associated with the much later EB IV period.

No evidence has been found of defensive walls at any point on the lower tell; the impression is that the EB II was a period of relative stability in this area. This view is enhanced by the discovery in the region W of the site of a series of small contemporary undefended settlements—single housing units or farmsteads.

With the destruction of stratum L2, habitation on the lower tell ended. During the 13th century B.C., its entire area became an extensive cemetery. The graves cut into the substantial silt layer which covered the EB ruins, and disturbed some of the ruins as well. The cemetery, which can be related to contemporary occupation on the upper tell (see below, stratum XII), seems to have been used intensively over a period of little more than 150 years (ca. 1300–1150 B.C.). By the close of the 1987 season, 285 graves had been excavated, 45 by Pritchard on the N side (now published as Pritchard 1980), and most of the remainder in Tubb's area BB toward the center of the mound. The graves exhibit a bewildering variety of construction types, practices, burial customs, and grave goods. Some are simple subrectangular or oval pits, often incorporating elements of the preexisting EB architecture—foundation stones or even mudbrick. Others consist of neatly dug rectangular trenches, lined and roofed with mudbrick slabs. In addition, there are mudbrick tombs, often built in rows, which were intended to be partially visible aboveground.

Numerous infant jar burials have been found; the jars had been broken off at the shoulder to allow for insertion of the deceased. The most important type of burial, however, was the so-called "double-pithos" type, in which the deceased was interred in a coffin composed of two extremely large store-jars, of which the necks had been removed; these were then joined shoulder-to-shoulder. The double-pithos "coffin" was set into a grave large enough to allow offerings to be deposited around, as well as inside the pithoi. This type of burial, extremely rare elsewhere in Palestine, clearly anticipates the slightly later anthropoid coffins well known from sites such as Beth-shan and Deir el-Balah. A somewhat poorer expression of the same practice was encountered in a number of the pit graves, where the deceased had been covered with sherds of store jars, and in two cases, the deceased's head had been inserted inside complete vessels.

Generally, the burial practice was single and primary. Only a few clear examples of secondary burial have been recorded, but a third type of practice, which may be described as "derived secondary," is quite common. As a result of the continuous reuse of the same cemetery area, earlier burials were frequently disturbed by later interments, and, to show some degree of repect, some of the major remains (e.g., the skull and perhaps two of the long bones) were collected, and were either reburied in a small circular pit, or were carefully placed within the later grave.

Considerable variation has been found with regard to the disposition of the deceased, but most commonly the individual was extended on his or her back. In many instances the legs were crossed and the hands had been brought together to meet at the pelvis. In several cases a bronze bowl had been placed over the face or genitals, and from textiles preserved by the corrosion products of the metal, it is clear that the bodies had been wrapped or bound. In all cases where this textile has been analyzed, it has been found to be Egyptian linen.

The cemetery has produced a rich assemblage of grave goods. In addition to pottery, many of the burials contained bronze vessels, tools and weapons of both bronze and iron, ivory and bone ornaments, alabaster vessels, seals, scarabs and amulets, and items of personal adornment including a varied collection of beads of different styles and materials. Many imported objects have been found, principally from Egypt and the Aegean, and many of the bronzes in particular show strong Aegean influence. Among the bronzes have been found two three-piece sets consisting of bowl, strainer, and juglet, and on the basis of an illustration on an ivory box from Tell Far‘a, these have been interpreted as wine sets. See Fig. SAI.02.

The great variety of burial types and practices within the Sa‘idiyeh cemetery suggests a mixed population during the 13th–12th centuries B.C., and certain features, most notably the double-pithos burials, the large number of bronzes—many of Aegean type—the practice of binding the deceased in linen, and the very high proportion of imitation Mycenaean wares within the pottery repertoire, may imply the presence of a Sea Peoples element within the community.

The use of the cemetery appears to have ended around the middle of the 12th century B.C., coinciding with a major destruction of the settlement on the upper tell. Stratum XII in area AA (see Fig. SAI.01) shows a tightly packed complex of houses, streets, and stepped passageways which had been subjected to an intense conflagration. Large numbers of complete pottery vessels were recovered from the rooms, and many of these conform closely to types found in the latest graves of the cemetery. It is nevertheless clear that the destruction had been anticipated. Very few luxury items were found, and some rooms had been emptied completely. In addition, most of the external doorways had been blocked from the outside with large stones, suggesting a carefully planned departure of the residents.

Architecturally, stratum XII is of interest because the generally substantial mudbrick walls had been built without foundation trenches; instead they had been laid on a superbly prepared construction surface of pisee. Further, the external walls had been built as pairs with a channel of about 15 cm width between them, perhaps as a precaution against earthquake damage, or more likely to provide a system of drainage.

Remains of the city wall of stratum XII have been excavated in area EE on the W slope of the upper tell. This consisted of a massive casemate defensive wall, constructed of mudbrick on a foundation of pisee, which was laid over an earlier, apparently solid wall. The casemates were filled with brick rubble, producing a formidable defensive structure which was in excess of 13 m thick.

Belonging also to stratum XII, at least in its latest phase, was an impressive water system. Built on the N side of the tell, it consisted of a stone-built staircase, contained within substantial walls, cut into the slope. The upper part of the staircase had along its central axis a mudbrick wall, suggesting that it had been roofed over to provide a means of concealment from the outside. At the base of the tell, the steps turned 90 degrees to the E, and continued down at a somewhat steeper inclination, reaching water at a depth of approximately 6 m below present plain level. The water, from an underground spring, was fed into the system by means of a conduit in the S containing wall, and there was probably an overflow through the N wall to prevent stagnation. The system was enclosed by the joining of the side walls to form a semicircular pool, and within the curve a platform had been placed to provide access to the E end of the system at times of high water level.

Following the destruction of stratum XII, there appears to have been an ephemeral phase of squatter occupation (stratum XIB). Both in the ruins of the houses in area AA, and also in the burned-out casemates of the city wall in area EE, remains of beaten earth floors and hearths have been found. Whether this phase represents the temporary occupation of the attackers or the return of the refugee population is unknown, but it is unlikely to have lasted very long. It was followed by a major leveling of the site which involved in area AA the importation of a large quantity of fill. This became, in stratum XI

A, the foundation of a small bipartite temple. Constructed of rather narrow but substantially founded walls, it measured 7.9 × 4.7 m. The slightly offset entrance on the S side gave access to a roughly square antechamber which in turn led to a much smaller rear sanctuary. This room had a low bench against its N wall, and a small semicircular niche, at the base of which was set a circular, perfectly flat stone, presumably to serve as the base for a cultic installation. In front of the niche was found a burned area containing the bones of sheep and gazelle, and immediately in front of this was a basalt incense burner.

Almost certainly related to this building, there was found in area EE, deeply cut into the remains of the casemate wall, a large rectangular, plaster-lined bin which contained two additional basalt incense burners, a pottery trough, and a large square basalt altar. All of these items appear to have been broken in antiquity, and it seems likely that the bin was a type of *favissa.*

Stratum XIA, on the basis of the small quantities of pottery recovered, should be dated to the late 11th century B.C. There is no evidence to suggest that the stratum was destroyed, and it must be assumed that the temple simply fell out of use. In stratum X, which followed without any break, the function of the area had clearly changed, and was no longer religious in nature. The temple was leveled to within one course of its foundations, and above it was laid a large open courtyard composed of rough cobbles. This courtyard extended over the entire excavated area without any associated walls, but at irregular intervals several shallow, stone-lined depressions were constructed. Roughly rectangular, with a circularity at one end, these depressions were associated with a horizon of decayed animal manure. The large quantities of pig bones found in this stratum suggests that the area had been given over to the keeping of pigs, the depressions being best interpreted as types of pens.

No evidence for stratum X nor of strata IX or VIII, was found in area EE. Apparently the settlement shrank during these phases. Certainly there was no evidence for defensive walls belonging to these strata.

Elsewhere on the tell, in stratum IX, which followed X without a break, remains of a large but insubstantially constructed building were found, together with an adjacent courtyard. Two subphases were recognized, the upper IXA yielded evidence that it had been abandoned. The mudbrick walls were heavily eroded, and the whole stratum was covered by a layer of natural silt. Stratum IX is dated to the early 9th century B.C.

Following the abandonment of stratum IXA, which may have lasted for no more than 20 years, the area examined in the excavation appears to have become a dump for an industrial process. Stratum VIII was characterized by a dense layer, up to 40 cm thick, of finely divided ashy material containing bands of brown, blue, pink, black, and predominantly white. The nature of the industry has not yet been established, but the presence of copper slag in the deposit suggests some metalworking.

Strata VII–IV have been examined in a much larger exposure than the earlier levels. Stratum VII, divided into two subphases (VIIA the later) represents the city of the late 9th–early 8th centuries B.C. The excavated plan of some 12 building units shows clusters of dwellings separated by pebble-paved streets. Although rather irregularly constructed, the houses appear to have been carefully planned with provision for drainage. On the N side of the mound, evidence has been found of a city wall of mudbrick, about 3.5 m wide, and separated from the settlement by a stone-paved walkway. Perhaps following a short gap in occupation, stratum VI was built on a new plan. The houses in this phase, dated 790–750 B.C., were more regular and slightly larger, but generally followed the same pattern as those of the previous stratum.

Stratum V, dated 750–730 B.C., is characterized by regular and uniform planning. Houses were larger, neatly constructed, and carefully laid out on a grid of intersecting streets. A block of 12 houses has been excavated, all showing identical plans with a single doorway opening from the street into a large front room which was divided into two parts by a row of columns or roof supports. On one side of these columns the room was paved with large stones, and on the other side, which was left unpaved, there was an entrance into a smaller back room which had a floor of beaten earth. The houses in the block were arranged as two rows of six, placed back to back. Despite the extreme regularity of the plan, there is nothing to suggest that the building represents anything more than purely domestic occupation, and its construction in this form testifies to an effective city plan in the Iron Age.

Stratum V was destroyed toward the middle of the 8th century B.C. Within the excavated area, stratum IV, which followed, was devoid of buildings. Instead it consisted of a floor surface into which 98 circular pits and two rectangular mudbrick lined bins had been cut. A number of postholes dug into the surface suggest that temporary coverings had been erected from time to time, and a number of circular ovens indicate that baking also took place. From botanical remains recovered from the pits, it would seem probable that the area was for storing grain.

No stratigraphic relationship exists between strata IV and III, the latter having been investigated in a different area of the tell, some 20 m farther E, on the highest point of the mound—the so-called "acropolis." A massively constructed square building stood on the acropolis. It consisted of seven rooms built around a paved courtyard with a drain and tower at the SE corner. Dating to the Persian period, it contained a limestone incense burner decorated with geometric designs, a horse and a human figure, and bearing the inscription *lzkwr*, "belonging to Zakkur."

Over this building was constructed in stratum II a rectangular building, 21.2 × 13.3 m. The substantial nature of the external walls, approximately 90 cm in width, suggests that it was probably a type of fortress. An unusual feature of the construction was the placement of a layer of reeds between the foundation course and the mudbrick superstructure. This building, which should be dated to the Hellenistic period (4th–2d century B.C.) was destroyed by fire.

The latest building remains on the upper tell (stratum I) are foundations for a rectangular building, 9.25 × 10.40 m, best interpreted as a watchtower. Together with two plastered cisterns, these remains belong to the Roman period. The latest remains on the entire site, however, are to be found on the N side of the lower tell. Here was built, during the 7th–8th century A.D., a large rectangular enclosure, 40 × 30 m, with a block building, 18 × 5.0 m set in the SW corner. The enclosure had a number of partitions, and was entered through an extremely large gateway. It seems likely that this building was a type of khan, a staging post for caravans passing W from Ajlun across the Jordan River.

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JONATHAN N. TUBB

## SAKKUTH AND KAIWAN (DEITIES)

[Heb *sikkût* (סִכּוּת) and *kiyyûn* (כִּיּוּן)]. A name and epithet, respectively, of the planet Saturn (Amos 5:26). Because Saturn was the most distant of the planets known to the ancients, and hence the planet was the slowest and steadiest movement across the sky, it was described in Mesopotamia by the adjective *kayamānu,* meaning "the steady one." Learned speculation enhanced Saturn's connection with stability, justice, and truth such that it even became identified with the Sun, who was perceived to have the same qualities in Mesopotamian tradition (Parpola 1983:343). Since Akkadian *m* may appear as *w* in loanwords into Hebrew, the Akkadian consonants *kymn* would appear in Hebrew as *kywn,* as in fact occurs in Amos 5:26. Frequent references to *kywn* when the planets are invoked in Aramaic and Mandaean texts in the 1st millennium A.D. (Obermann 1940) affirms the longevity, popularity, and cross-cultural transfer of this title for Saturn.

The pronunciation of the Sumerian logogram SAG.KUD as *sakkud* in Akkadian has been confirmed (Hallo 1977:15), permitting its appearance as a loan into Hebrew as *sakkût.* But since there is no cuneiform evidence to connect this name with Saturn (Borger 1988), the possible occurrence of both name and epithet in Amos 5:26 is at best hypothetical. 2 Kgs 17:30 is equally problematic in this regard.

Although Amos 5:26 may therefore make a double reference to the planet Saturn worshipped as a deity under its Mesopotamian names, such a reading is not without its problems. The Hebrew actually reads *sikkût* and *kiyyûn,* and Gevirtz has demonstrated that these unexpected vowels cannot be explained (as is commonly attempted) from the influence of the vowels of *šiqqûṣ,* "detestable thing." Equally respectable

alternative interpretations result when the possibility of different vowels is considered, especially the evidence of early texts that do not interpret the consonants *skt* as a divine name at all but instead translate the word as a singular common noun, "tent of, tabernacle of," *sukkat* (LXX, Acts 7:43, Vg; Damascus Rule 7.14–19 provides a plural form but explains it as singular). A similar problem with uncertain vocalization is encountered with the name Kaiwan. See REPHAN.

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SAMUEL A. MEIER

**SALA** (PERSON) [Gk *Sala* (Σαλα)]. See SALMON.

**SALAMIEL** (PERSON) [Gk *Salamiēl* (Σαλαμιηλ)]. A personal name given as part of the genealogy of Judith (Jdt 8:1). The name is almost certainly to be identified with Shelumiel (Heb *šĕlumî᾽ēl*) the son of Zurishaddai, the descendant of Simeon, who was a leader of the tribe of Simeon during the time of Moses (Num 1:6; 2:12; 7:36, 41; 10:19). The purpose of the genealogy is to provide proof of the purity of Judith's Jewish descent, and to give the story verisimilitude.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**SALAMIS** (PLACE) [Gk *Salamis* (Σαλαμις)]. An important commercial city on the E shore of the island of Cyprus (35°10´N; 33°55´E). It is often confused with a Greek island of the same name, which is near Athens. Even though Paphos was the capital in the NT era, Salamis was still arguably the most important city. Josephus (*Ant* 13.284–87) as well as Acts 13:5 seem to indicate a large Jewish population, with several synagogues, dating perhaps to pre-Roman times.

Salamis was the 1st stop on the initial missionary journey of Paul, who went there with Barnabas (who was from Cyprus; Acts 4:26) and John Mark (perhaps also a Cypriot; Col. 4:10). From Salamis, the missionaries traveled overland to the Roman administrative capital, Paphos, at the other end of the island. The so-called *Acts of Barnabas* (22–23) allege that the eponymous missionary was later martyred in Salamis by a mob encouraged by Jews visiting from Syria.

In retaliation for a Jewish-led rebellion of the island during the reign of Hadrian, Trajan in A.D. 117 dealt severely with Salamis and many Greek Cypriotes were killed. Following this, Jews were forbidden to set foot on the island (Dio Cassius 68.32.2). After an earthquake in the reign of Constantine, the city was rebuilt by Constantius II and renamed Constantia. This new city became capital of Cyprus in the 4th century only to be decimated by an invasion in A.D. 647, and has remained abandoned since that time. Parts of the city wall and the ancient harbor, a number of public buildings, and a Roman villa have been recovered through the excavations at the site of Salamis/Constantia, about 3 miles N of the modern port of Famagusta.

CONRAD GEMPF

**SALATHIEL** (PERSON) [Lat *Salathihel*]. See SHEALTIEL.

**SALECAH** (PLACE) [Heb *salkâ* (סַלְכָה)]. A town reportedly captured from Og, king of Bashan (Deut 3:10), as part of territory given by Moses to the tribes of Gad and Reuben (Josh 12:5). Salecah is apparently an outer limit ("all of Bashan as far as Salecah") for the 60 cities of Bashan. As the southeasternmost point, it is given equal weight with Mt. Hermon at the NE tip of the region of Bashan (Josh 13:11 and 1 Chr 5:11). Thus it is suggested by the Deuteronomistic Historian, through a genealogy and a deed recorded during the days of King Josiah or perhaps Jotham, that Selecah may ideally represent the farthest reach S and E of the Israelite expansion in Transjordan. Kallai (*HGB*, 486, 491) concludes that this outer limit, Salecah, refers to the actual expansion of territories during the reign of David, which were

restored in the 8th century B.C.E. through a partnership between Jotham and Jeroboam II against the Ammonites. The modern location is usually identified as Salkhad (M.R. 311212), at the top of an imposing basalt cone, though this link is probably only due to phonetic similarity in the names.
PAUL NIMRAH FRANKLYN

**SALEM** (PLACE) [Heb *šālēm* (שָׁלֵם)]. The city of Melchizedek in Gen 14:18. Psalm 76:3—Eng 76:2 uses "Salem" in parallelism with "Zion," thus equating it with Jerusalem. The *Genesis Apocryphon* from Qumran (1QapGen 22:13) glosses *šlm* with *hyʾ rwšlm*, "that is, Jerusalem," and *Tg. Onq.*, Tg. Neof., and *Tg. Ps.-J.* render it outright by *yrwšlm,* "Jerusalem." This is certainly a correct tradition in view of the role of Melchizedek as the symbolic archetype of the high priests of Jerusalem in the Hellenistic and Hasmonean ages who combined sacerdotal and secular authority. The author of Genesis 14, who modified most of the place names he mentioned in order to give them an antiquarian sound, took the second half of **Yerûšālēm* (the actual form of the name before the Masoretes revocalized it). Whatever the original semantics of the city name may have been, the element *šālēm* could be construed as meaning "peaceful," alluding to the messianic "prince of peace" in Isa 9:5—Eng 9:6.

There were attempts, since antiquity, to separate Salem from Jerusalem. Eusebius (*Onomast.* no. 152) equated Salem with Salumias, a village 8 Roman miles (ca. 12 km) S of Scythopolis. Jerome adhered for a time to that location. Another identification proceeds from the translation of Gen 33:18 in LXX, Vg, and Syr as "and Jacob came to Salem, a city of Shechem." Hence the suggestions that Salem was the old name of Shechem itself (Landersdorfer 1925), or that it corresponds to the modern village Sālīm (M.R. 181179), ca. 5 km E of Balaṭa (ancient Shechem; Dhorme 1956:45; Milik 1972:137; cf. *GP*, 2:441–42). The grammar of the sentence is awkward no matter how it is understood, but the translation, "And Jacob came safely to the city of Shechem," as in RSV and other modern versions, makes better sense. Shechem bore its historical name as early as the time of the Egyptian 12th Dynasty.

Both villages proposed as sites of Salem were too insignificant to have been depicted as a royal temple city. In particular, the one near Shechem is not attested in ancient sources; the "valley Salem" in the assemblage of disparate place names in Jdt 4:4 is borrowed from Genesis 14, along with Choba in the same verse and Arioch in Jdt 1:6. The name *Sālīm* is frequent in Arabic anthroponymy and toponymy. The position of Salem on Abram's return route from Damascene to the Hebron area, and the proximity to it of the Valley of Shaveh also apeak in favor of its identity with Jerusalem.

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MICHAEL C. ASTOUR

**SALIM** (PLACE) [Gk *Salim* (Σαλιμ)]. A town near Aenon where John the Baptist preached repentance during the latter half of his ministry and baptized converts since there was a copious supply of water (John 3:23). Salim appears to have been located W of the Jordan River (John 3:26; 1:28; 10:40).

The identification of this site is further assisted by its association with Aenon, which means "place of springs." The number of major spring sites along the W side of the Rift Valley is limited. Three of these locations have been identified as the Aenon near Salim.

Eusebius *(Onomast.*) and Jerome *(De situ et nom. loc. heb. 165)* in the 4th century locate the site 8 Roman miles S of Scythopolis (Beth-shan, M.R. 197212) near the Jordan River. The Medeba Map affirms this tradition by locating springs in that region. Modern advocates of this position point to Tell Sheikh Salim as retaining the ancient name and also to Umm el-Umdan (M.R. 199199).

W. F. Albright (1924:193) and others have argued for a site which retains the name "Salim," located 4 km away from springs named Ainun in the Wadi Farah. This site in ancient Samaria is rejected by some scholars as it is argued that John the Baptist would have avoided the area.

A proposed S site of Salim in Judea is located 10 km NE of Jerusalem in the Wadi Saleim near an important water source.

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ROBERT W. SMITH

**SALLAI** (PERSON) [Heb *sallay* (סַלַּי)]. **1.** A Benjaminite and provincial leader who agreed to settle in Jerusalem (Neh 11:8). Used in this way, the name (along with Gabbai) occurs only here. The differences between this list and its parallel in 1 Chronicles 9 suggest that there is no direct literary relationship between them (contra Kellermann 1966 and Mowinckel 1964:146–47). Some, however, have conjectured that both writers were dependent upon common archival materials (Schneider in *HSAT*, 42–43; Brockington 1969:187; cf. Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 185). This singular reference to Sallai and other factors have also prompted some scholars to argue that the text is corrupt and should read *gbwry ḥyl,* meaning "mighty men of valor." Sallai, it is argued, was then supplied, either because it was a variant of Sallu *(slw›),* mentioned in v 7, or because of the rhyming effect achieved with the name "Gabbai" (Brockington 1969:189–90; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 343). Less likely is the suggestion that together Gabbai and Sallai constitute a rare instance of a double name (cf. Batten *Ezra, Nehemiah* ICC, 268–69). Notwithstanding the widespread support for an emendation of the text, others continue to argue that the text should read as it stands (Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 184).

**2.** The name of a levitical household (*IDB* 4:166) or the head of one (Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 198) in the days of Joiakim (Neh 12:20). The name appears again in a parallel list as Sallai *(sly)* in 12:7 and the difference may be due to a corruption of the text (Brockington 1969:189–90; cf. *IDB* 4:166). Others regard the two names as variants of one another (Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 198).

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FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**SALLU** (PERSON) [Heb *sallû›* (סַלּוּא), *sallu›* (סַלֻּא), *sallû* (סַלּוּ)]. **1.** A Benjaminite and provincial leader who agreed to settle in Jerusalem (Neh 11:7). Sallu's line is referred to in Nehemiah 11 and 1 Chronicles 9 (v 7). The differences between the two lists suggest that there is no direct literary relationship between them (contra Kellermann 1966 and Mowinckel 1964:146–47). Some, however, have conjectured that both writers were dependent upon common archival materials (Schneider in *HSAT* 2:42–43; Brockington 1969:187; cf. Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 185). The meaning of the name is obscure. Tracing it to the Arabic root, *sala›a,* some scholars believe the name means " (God) has restored" (Dahlberg in *IDB* 4:166).

**2.** One of the twenty-two priests (Brockington 1969:197–98) or families of priests (Myers, 196), who returned to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel (Neh 12:7). The name appears again in a parallel list as Sallai *(sly)* in Neh 12:20; the difference may be due to a corruption of the text (Brockington 1969:189–90); cf. Dahlberg in *IDB* 4:166). Others regard the two names as variants of one another (Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 198).

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FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**SALMON** (PERSON) [Heb *śalmôn* (שַׂלְמוֹן)]. Var. SALMA; SALA. The name of two persons in the Bible. The name possibly means "mantel"; see Noth *IPN*, 232.

**1.** The father of Boaz, the husband of Ruth, and the son of Nahshon, tracing the line of David (Ruth 4:21). He appears again in Chronicles (1 Chr 2:11) and in both NT genealogies of Jesus Christ (Matt 1:4–5; Luke 3:32 [Gk *salmōn*]. His name is spelled *śalmâh* (with a final *he* instead of *-ôn*) in Ruth 4:20. In each case, a few LXX or Hebrew manuscripts support the opposite variant. This final *he* is a vowel letter which was used in the text to represent *ā* before the full Masoretic vocalization system was developed in the Middle Ages. The variant spelling *śalmā*ʾ uses the final *ʾalep* to represent the same sound. The presence of variant spellings has suggested differing traditions to scholars (Campbell *Ruth* AB, 172; Myers *I Chronicles* AB, 13–14).

**2.** Founder of Bethlehem, whose descendents settled that general region (1 Chr 2:54–55; Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 23). He was the son of Hur (1 Chr 2:50), eldest son of Caleb (not one of the twelve spies of Numbers 13; Myers, 14).

KIRK E. LOWERY

**SALMONE** (PLACE) [Gk *Salmōnē* (Σαλμωνη)]. A promontory on the easternmost point of the island of Crete (35°19´N; 26°18´E), the modern Cape Sidero where once stood a temple to Athena. Paul, guarded by Julius the centurion, and other prisoners boarded a large Alexandrian grain ship at Myra which was bound for Rome. The ship reached Cnidus with difficulty and strong winds forced it to seek protection by sailing to the lee side of the island of Crete. When the vessel sailed to the S of Crete it passed by the Salmone (Acts 27:7) and made its way to the port of Fairhavens. The pilot and the owner of the ship decided to bypass Fairhavens and set sail for the port of Phoenix, where they intended to spend the winter. The ship, however, was forced off of its course by a wind of hurricane force called Euroquiloa, or "northeaster," and it was later shipwrecked near the island of Malta.

JOHN D. WINELAND

**SALOME** (PERSON) [Gk *Salōmē* (Σαλωμη)]. **1.** One of Jesus' female followers in Galilee who traveled with him to Jerusalem and witnessed his death and the events that followed (Mark 15:40; 16:1). It is possible that she was the mother of the Zebedees (Matt 27:56). If so, then Matthew tells us that she was ambitious for her sons and sought for Jesus to give them the chief seats on either side of him when he came into his kingdom (20:20–28).

**2.** The daughter of Herodias who beguiled Herod Antipas with her dancing (Mark 6:14–29; Matt 14:1–12). She is identified by Josephus as Salome, the daughter of Herodias and Herod Philip (*Ant* 18.136). To confuse matters further, Josephus also tells us that Salome first married another Philip who was also a son of Herod (the Great?), and later Aristobolus, yet another Herodian relative. See HEROD PHILIP. Salome's dance is said by the gospel writers to have led to John the Baptist's beheading. In the gospels she is depicted as a young woman who is totally compliant with her mother's wishes. She passes on her mother's request for John the Baptist's head to her stepfather. Indeed, in the Markan account, it is Salome herself who adds the grotesque touch of requesting the head *on a platter*. The NT says nothing about her later life.

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BEN WITHERINGTON, III

**SALT SEA** (PLACE) [Heb *yām* (יָם) *hammelaḥ* (הַמֶּלַח)]. One of the designations of the DEAD SEA, due to its high content of salts (25 percent, the highest salinity in the world). This name occurs in Gen 14:3 (identified with the valley of Siddim); Num 34:3, 12; Deut 3:17; Josh 3:16; 12:3 (in this and the previous two passages, gloss to sea of the Arabah); Josh 15:2, 5; 18:19.

MICHAEL C. ASTOUR

**SALT, CITY OF.** See CITY OF SALT.

**SALT, VALLEY OF** (PLACE) [Heb *gê‹* (גֵּיא) *hamelaḥ* (הַמֶּלַח)]. Two Israelite battles, each from a different period of Israel's history, were won in this valley against the Edomites. The first occurred during the time of David under the command of his lieutenant Abishai (2 Sam 8:13). The second was conducted ca. 200 years later by King Amaziah and opened the way for him to reconquer a large part of Edom (2 Kgs 14:7; 2 Chr 25:11). Opinions are varied on the location of this valley. Some prefer to identify it with the Wadi el-Milḥ (Arabic "salt") E of Beer-sheba, because of the similarity of names and because of its location on a natural frontier of Canaan. However, since Israel was clearly the aggressor in these two campaigns, it seems more likely that the battle occurred closer to Edomite territory. Therefore, other scholars have preferred to identify the valley with the salt-encrusted lowlands of es-Sebkah, S of the Dead Sea, although this area seems unsuitable for military activity. B. Mazar (see Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings* AB, 155 n. 7) has suggested that the Valley of Salt is identical with *gê‹ ḥărāšîm,* the "Valley of Craftsmen" (cf. 1 Chr 4:13–14).

RANDALL W. YOUNKER

**SALU** (PERSON) [Heb *sālû‹* (סָלוּא)]. The head of a family of the tribe of Simeon (Num 25:14). Salu's son, Zimri, placed the very life of Israel in jeopardy by cohabiting with a Midianite woman and thereby bringing about a plague. Zimri, the son of Salu, was therefore killed in order to save Israel from the plague (Num 25:6–9). A name similar to Salu but belonging to a Benjaminite named Sallu is found in the later books of the OT. See SALLU. The transliteration of the Simeonite Salu is identical in one instance to that of the Benjaminite Sallu. Salu appears in the as Gk *salō,* as does Sallu in 1 Chr 9:7. For the author of 1 Maccabees, Zimri, son of Salu (Gk *salōm*), represented those Jews whom Mattathias the Hasmonean killed, owing to their disobedience to the Law. 1 Macc 2:26 clearly demonstrates the author's dependence upon the rather than the MT by referring to the Simeonite Salom.

MICHAEL E. HARDWICK

**SALVATION.** Even if it does not always use a formally salvific terminology, the Bible introduces on practically every page the theme of salvation (or its absence). To express the comprehensive nature of salvation, the OT and NT employ a rich variety of terms with different nuances according to their contexts. To organize the material, particular attention will be paid to the recipients, agents, nature, and mediation of salvation.

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A. The Hebrew Bible/OT
  1. The Recipients
  2. The Agents of Salvation
  3. The Nature of Salvation
  4. The Mediation of Salvation
B. The NT
  1. The Recipients
  2. The Agents of Salvation
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  4. The Mediation of Salvation
C. Issues of Interpretation
  1. Salvation-History
  2. The Kingdom of God
  3. Covenant


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**A. The Hebrew Bible/OT**

Hebrew words for salvation include *nāṣal* ("deliver"), *pālaṭ* ("bring to safety"), *pādāh* (var. *pāda‹,* "redeem") and *mālaṭ* ("deliver"). Two major salvific terms are *gā›al* ("redeem," "buy back," "restore,"

"vindicate," or "deliver") and *yāša‘* ("save," "help in time of distress," "rescue," "deliver," or "set free"). The LXX translates *yāša‘* as *sōzō* ("save") 138 times.

**1. The Recipients.** Personal, group, and national needs indicate those who need to be saved and why they need to be saved.

**a. Personal Needs.** Individuals find help and deliverance in the face of very specific problems. Barren women receive the gift of a son (Judges 13; 1 Sam 1:1–2:11). Jacob seeks and receives the blessing from his father (Gen 27:1–29).

The Psalms pray for deliverance from wicked people (Ps 12:1; 43:1; 86:16), victory for the king (Ps 20:9), and deliverance from personal enemies (Psalms 7, 109). The Psalms also offer thanksgiving when the individual is delivered from trouble (Psalm 34), from dangers in battle (Psalm 18), and from death (Ps 86:13).

**b. Groups.** The Abraham cycle and the patriarchal narratives present gtory of the great flood (Gen 6:5–9:19) portrays a situation of general perversion and consequent destruction from which God saves a just man (Noah) and his family; they form a holy remnant from which the entire human race will be regenerated.roups of people who receive saving blessings. In Genesis 37–50 Joseph's family escapes starvation and Joseph is reconciled with his brothers. The story of the great flood (Gen 6:5–9:19) portrays a situation of general perversion and consequent destruction from which God saves just a man (Noah) and his family; they form a holy remnant from which the entire humans race will be regenerated.

It is above all the whole people of Israel who receive salvation. The Israelites in Egypt are poor slaves (Exod 1:11, 13, 16; 2:23–25; 5:1–21; 20:2) who are threatened with genocide (Exod 1:8–22). It is especially through the miraculous deliverance at the sea (Exod 14:1–15:21) that God brings the people out of Egypt (Judg 6:8–9; 1 Sam 10:18; Isa 63:7–14; Hos 11:1; 13:4). The cult of the Passover preserves the memory of the Israelites being delivered from their heavily armed persecutors through the crossing of dangerous waters (Exod 12:1–28).

The Scriptures also enshrine the conviction that God has continued to save Israel from other peoples (1 Sam 11:13; 14:23, 39; 2 Sam 8:14). The Psalms pray that God will continue to deliver his people (Pss 28:8–9; 60:5; 108:6). The Lord of history will save Israel from famine and death (Ps 33:19).

Through Deborah and Barak, God delivers the Israelites from the Canaanite oppression of Jabin and Sisera (Judges 4–5). The cycle of stories from the northern kingdom about the prophets Elijah and Elisha show God's power at work in a salvific way (1 Kings 17–2 Kings 10).

Postexilic literature (Esther, Tobit, and Judith) presents the Israelites as a minority in a Diaspora situation. God intervenes to save this oppressed people.

At times God's salvation seems restricted to a holy remnant (Isa 7:3–4; 10:20–23). Other prophetic voices attest to the Lord's steadfast love for the people as a whole and desire to renew the saving covenant with Israel (Hos 2:14–23).

Both preexilic (Amos 1–2; Isaiah 13–23) and exilic prophecy (Jeremish 46–51; Ezekiel 25–32) contain oracles against foreign cities and nations. Yet such negative utterances imply the Lord's concern with these peoples. Through that comic caricature of a prophet, Jonah, God's message (Jonah 3:1–10) brings the people of Nineveh to repentance. What seems a prophecy of doom ("yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown") is not a final rejection but a last call to conversion. Significantly, Jonah is sent to warn the Ninevites about the consequences of their sins, but not to call on them to accept the faith of Israel. It is moral conversion that the prophet has to proclaim, not a change of religion.

The sense that divine salvation is for all people turns up in Isaiah and Second Isaiah, even though this universalism takes a centralist form. The gentile nations must turn toward Jerusalem, as center, to find salvation (Isa 2:1–4; 49:6, 22–23; 60:1–14). The Hebrew Scriptures frequently denounce pagans and their idolatry, yet even preexilic prophecy maintains a certain universalism in God's saving activity (Amos 9:7). Add, too, the holy pagans like Melchizedek (Gen 14:18–22; Ps 110:4), the queen of Sheba (1 Kings 10), Ruth, and Job, who enjoy God's friendship and favor. Finally, through its covenant theme the flood story affirms God's good will toward every living creature on the face of the earth (Gen 9:1–19).

**2. The Agents of Salvation.** Self-salvation is not a typically biblical perspective. Deliverance comes through others. Some texts (Psalms 77 and 78) emphasize divine action with virtually no mention of human actors. Other texts (Exodus 1 and 4; Psalm 105) highlight human actors. Reconciling divine and human action was not a biblical problem.

**a. Human Deliverers.** The just man Abraham intercedes for the people of Sodom (Gen 18:16–33). Through him Israel and all humanity will be blessed by God (Gen 12:1–3; 15:1–6; 17:1–8; 22:15–18). A political leader and mystic, Moses delivers Israel from the Egyptian oppression, interprets God's saving activity, and mediates the Sinai covenant (Exodus). The book of Judges recognizes the salvific role of various "judges" (Judg 2:16) such as Othniel (Judg 3:9), Ehud (Judg 3:15), Shamgar (Judg 3:31), Gideon (Judg 8:22; 9:17), and Samson (Judg 13:5). David saves Israel (2 Sam 3:18; 9:19); kings have the task of saving the people (Hos 13:10) and of defending the helpless (Ps 72:4). The everlasting dynasty promised to David will make him an agent of salvation for his people (2 Samuel 7; Psalm 89; Ezek 37:24–25). In the four Servant Songs of Second Isaiah (Isa 42:1–4; 49:1–6; 50:4–11; 52:13–53:12), the servant—whether understood as a representative individual, the entire people, or both—will restore justice and light to the nations, so that God's "salvation may reach to the end of the earth" (Isa 49:6).

**b. God the Savior.** Whether or not human deliverers are portrayed, God's role is preeminent. It is the divine warrior—not Moses primarily—who saves the people at the sea (Exod 15:1–21). Judges and kings have the task of delivering the Israelites. Yet the Scriptures acknowledge that God took the initiative in raising up these deliverers for the people (Judg 2:16, 18; 3:9, 15). It is God who saved and saves both individuals (2 Sam 12:7; 22:18, 44, 49; Pss 25:5; 27:1) and the nation as a whole (Exod 6:6; Deut 7:8; 13:5; 32:15; 33:29; Isa 41:14; 43:14; 44:24; Psalm 78; 1 Macc 4:30). Hence the Psalms pray for deliverance (Pss 69, 77, 79, 80) and praise the Lord as the God who has kept and will keep Jerusalem safe (Psalms 46, 48, 76, 87).

The names of Joshua (Num 13:8, 16) and others make them living witnesses to the saving power of God, Israel's faithful protector. The Lord heals the people like a doctor (Exod 15:26; Num 21:4). He feeds them in the desert (Exodus 16) and miraculously supplies them with water (Exod 15:22–25; 17:1–7). "The Day of the Lord" is above all a day when the Lord works some striking deed of salvation in favor of Israel.

**3. The Nature of Salvation.** There is a strong emphasis on the this-wordly nature of salvation. Material and national prosperity is prominent. Yet it would be false to contrast an OT, very earthly salvation with a NT, spiritual and thoroughly other-worldly salvation. Even a brief examination of the language of "peace," "blessing," "life," "law," "justice," and "promise" would seriously modify any such sharp contrast.

**a. The Earthly Dimension.** Salvation involves being delivered from slavery (Deut 24:18), separation from one's family, and the threat of death. It means victory in battle, the freedom to marry, the gift of descendants, a long life, and the protection needed to enjoy one's rightful patrimony. The final blessing attributed to Moses before his death sums up Israel's sense of being a uniquely favored nation, saved by God to live freely in a fertile land of its own (Deut 33:28–29). The oracles of Balaam celebrate God's saving acts and purposes for the people delivered from actual or threatening oppression at the hands of Egypt or other nations (Num 22:41–24:25).

In Isaiah's terms, salvation means Israel enjoying earthly peace with other peoples (Isa 2:1–5). The messianic king will not only rule with wisdom and justice, but will also restore a proper harmony with nature (Isa 11:1–9).

**b. The Spiritual Dimension.** One cannot overlook the spiritual, other-worldly elements involved in the making of the Sinai covenant, the giving of the law, the building of Solomon's temple, the role of ideal kings, and much else in Israel's history. The redemption and restoration of Israel (Isa 43:14–44:5) after the Babylonian Captivity illustrate strikingly the spiritual aspect of salvation.

Like a valley of dry bones, the people will be raised to life, brought back from Exile, and given a new beginning (Ezek 37:1–14). God will cleanse the people from their sins, to give them a new heart and spirit (Ezek 36:22–32). Jerusalem will be rebuilt, and the temple and the land will be restored (Ezekiel 40–48).

These visions of a salvific future go beyond the merely political and social to involve a new religious relationship with God. They hold out the hope of enjoying the Lord's intimate presence in the temple, and as renewed people freely living again with God in their own country (Jer 31:17).

To depict the fidelity and intensity of that divine love, which the people should once again experience, Second Isaiah uses the most powerful images available; the Lord loves his people like a spouse or a mother (Isa 49:14–16; 54:1–8; Hos 2:14–23; 11:1–9).

**c. Future Salvation.** As many Psalms testify, the Israelites experienced God's salvific power in situations that regularly recurred, such as pilgrimages to Jerusalem and worship in the temple. Yet the same people were also called to await and accept new and extraordinary interventions from God.

Amos expected Israel's present existence to end through some new divine action (Amos 7:1–9; 8:1–2). Hosea proclaimed a renewal which would let the people experience a fresh start (Hos 2:6–7, 14–15; 3:4–5). Isaiah announced the coming of a new Davidic king (Isa 9:2–7; 11:1–10), Jeremiah a new covenant (Jer 31:31–34), Ezekiel a new life for the people (Ezek 37:1–14), and Second Isaiah a new exodus as God comes to restore the people (Isa 40:1–11).

These prophetic expectations assume more and more an eschatological dimension (Isa 43:5–44:5; Psalms 46, 76; Zechariah 14). In the book of Joel a catastrophic locust plague leads the prophet not only to call the people to repentance (1:2–2:27) but also to speak of the judgments and blessings to come at the end (2:28–3:21). In the last days, "all who call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved" (Joel 2:32). Eventually the expectations of future salvation takes the form of apocalyptic hopes for the resurrection of the dead and a new life with God in a transformed world (Isa 26:19; 65:17–25; 66:22; Dan 12:1–3).

**4. The Mediation of Salvation.** Over and over again the Hebrew Scriptures testify to the conviction that God's saving self-communication was mediated through events that the people experienced, interpreted, remembered, and reenacted. Various episodes effected salvation, above all the Exodus from Egypt. Several covenants, in particular the Sinai covenant, promised salvation. It is worth highlighting certain points about the means, signs, places, and conditions of human deliverance.

**a. The Means of Salvation.** At crucial stages in the Exodus story, theophanies reveal God's saving presence (Exodus 3, 19, 33). There is a strong earthly dimension to divine deliverance, yet the means for saving the people are not to be reduced to saving on an ordinary military level (Hos 1:7; 1 Macc 3:18–19). Through a providential plague Jerusalem and Judah are saved from Sennacherib (Isa 37:33–37). As creator and lord of history, God controls the destinies of the nations whose deliverance is not to be found in armies, great heroes, and war horses (Ps 33:10–19). Salvation comes through the gift of wisdom (Prov 1:20–2:22; 8:1–36; Wis 8:2–9:18). It is mediated through a new covenant to be written in the human heart (Jer 31:31–34; Ezek 11:19).

**b. Signs and Places.** Visible signs and places are repeatedly understood to convey the promise and power of divine salvation. The signs often take a "living" form, like the rainbow in the story of the universal covenant after the Flood (Gen 9:12–17), the three visitors who appear to Abraham at the noontime siesta (Genesis 18), the child in the Immanuel sign (Isa 7:10–17), and the food which is provided day by day in the wilderness.

At times it is in the fields and countryside that God mediates help or promises deliverance. Thus the Lord appears to Abraham by the oaks of Mamre, an ancient sacred place slightly north of Hebron (Gen 18:1). Gideon is visited by the angel of the Lord under the oak of Ophrat (Judg 6:11). In the days before the monarchy, the shrine of Shiloh is a place where God hears prayers, grants saving blessings, and calls the prophet Samuel (1 Samuel 3).

But it is above all the temple in Jerusalem which from the time of David was seen as the place par excellence for receiving God's help and blessing. After the Babylonian Captivity the prophet Haggai, assisted by Zechariah, encourages the building of the new temple, the place where God will give full and final prosperity (Hag 1:1–2:9).

**c. The Conditions for Salvation.** On the human side, certain conditions are required. God responds to those who exhibit a trusting faith (Ps 22:4). He delivers those who fear him and hope in his steadfast love (Ps 33:18–19).

In particular, those who care for the poor, the stranger, and the weak will not lose God's covenanted protection (Exod 22:20–27). The law of holiness brings not only cultic requirements but also ethical obligations toward such defenseless people as strangers (Lev 19:33). The Deuteronomic Code stresses the people's responsibility toward the legally helpless, the object of God's special concern: "He executes justice for the fatherless and the widow, and loves the sojourner, giving him food and clothing. Love the sojourner therefore; for you were sojourners in the land of Egypt" (Deut 10:18–19). Echoing a ceremony of covenant renewal, Deuteronomy presents salvation as a choice of divine blessing rather than divine judgment, a choice of the way which promises to bring life, peace, and freedom: "Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse: the blessing, if you obey the commandments of the Lord your God … and the curse, if you do not obey the commandments of the Lord your God" (Deut 11:26–28; 28:1–68; 30:15–20).

In a classic passage Micah sums up the appropriate human response to God's offer and gift of salvation: "What does the Lord require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God?" (Mic 6:8).

**B. The NT**

The NT uses the very *sǭzō* ("save," "keep from harm," "rescue," "heal," or "liberate") 106 times, and its compound *diasǭzō* 9 times. The corresponding nouns *sōtēria* ("salvation"), *sōtēr* ("savior") and *sōtērion* ("salvation") turn up 45, 24, and 4 times respectively. We find the very *ruomai* ("rescue") 15 times in the NT, which also uses many other terms ("freedom," "justification," "life," "reconciliation," "redemption," "resurrection," and "rule of God") to express salvation.

**1. The Recipients. a. Personal Needs.** At times, "save" involves some individual being delivered from physical danger. Thus Paul is rescued from various perils, including shipwreck, on his way to Rome (Acts 23:24; 27:20, 31, 34, 43, 44; 28:1, 4). God "delivered" Paul from an unspecified danger in the province of Asia (2 Cor 1:10). The ark meant that Noah and his family "were brought to safety through the water" (1 Pet 3:20). In this context "save" carries baptismal overtones as well (1 Pet 3:21).

According to the Synoptic Gospels, sin (Luke 15:18), sickness (Luke 8:48; 17:19), deformity (Mark 3:4; Luke 18:42), demonic possession (Mark 1:34), the threat of death (Mat 14:30), the power of wealth (Mark 10:25–26 par.; Luke 19:1–10), and the constant and pervasive domination of "evil" or "the evil one" (Matt 6:13 par.) put people in need of deliverance. Elizabeth's problem is very specific: her infertility (Luke 1:7, 18, 25). The gift of a son leads her husband Zechariah to make his prophetic prayer of thanksgiving for God's saving interventions (Luke 1:67–79).

The Synoptics report Peter (Matt 14:30) and the core group of disciples (Matt 8:25 par.) crying out to be "saved" from drowning. In both cases the stories symbolize for the hearers and readers of the gospels various problems (that go beyond mere physical danger) and a corresponding salvation which they can receive from the risen Lord. Likewise "save" in the context of Jesus' crucifixion (Mark 15:30–31 par.) is used in the sense of "rescue from death," yet the overtones suggest much more than mere deliverance from physical death (Matt 27:49; John 12:27; Heb 5:7).

**b. Collective Needs.** Like the Hebrew Scriptures, the NT highlights the general rather than the individual needs that make people candidates for salvation. Where Mark 10:45 par. does not specify from what "the many" will be rescued, other passages make clear the common need to be delivered from the power of sin (Matt 1:21; Mark 1:5 par.; Acts 2:38; 3:19, 26; 10:43) and death (Luke 1:79).

"All have sinned," Paul writes, "and fall short of the glory of God" (Rom 3:23). Sin and death are personified forces which enslave Jews and gentiles alike (Rom 5:12–7:25). Cosmic powers hold human beings in bondage (Gal 4:3, 9; Col 2:8, 20; 1 Cor 15:24). In a sense, those under God's good and holy law need to be delivered from it, as they resist it, break it, or use it in a misguided attempt to justify themselves (Rom 5:20, 10:4; 1 Cor 15:56; Gal 3:10–25). In a classic passage, Hebrews sums up the condition (from which Jesus delivered us) as a bondage to sin, the devil, death, and the fear of death (Heb 2:14–18).

Luke uses Isaiah to portray our presalvation state as that of poverty, captivity, blindness, and oppression (Luke 4:18). Elsewhere this common state is called that of being "strangers to the covenants of promise,

having no hope and without God in the world" (Eph 2:12). It is the condition of those who live "in darkness and the shadow of death" (Luke 1:79; Col 1:13).

**2. The Agents of Salvation. a. Human Deliverers.** In a variety of ways human beings serve as agents of salvation. Through an encounter with the risen Lord (1 Cor 9:1; 15:8) which he describes as "a revelation of Jesus Christ" (Gal 1:12), Paul knows that he has been called to proclaim God's Son "among the Gentiles" (Gal 1:16). He is "eager" to visit Rome and preach "the Gospel" which is "the power of God for salvation to everyone who has faith" (Rom 1:15–16; 1 Cor 1:18; 15:1–2). Paul's missionary activity helps to bring about salvation (Rom 11:14). He lists the spiritual gifts which Christians "appointed" by God use in the saving service of others (1 Cor 12:28).

From the wider group of his disciples Jesus appoints "twelve" to preach and cast out demons (Mark 3:13–19 par.). They are sent out to preach, heal, and deliver people from diabolic powers (Mark 6:7–13 par.). In the post-resurrection situation "the eleven disciples" receive a missionary mandate to "make disciples of all nations" by bringing them baptism and the teaching of Jesus (Matt 28:16–20).

Acts describes the beginnings of the Church in Jerusalem and its outward movement which eventually brings Paul to Rome (Acts 28:15–31). Through Peter and others, people receive salvation in the form of conversion, the forgiveness of sins, baptism, and the gift of the Spirit (Acts 2:38; 3:18–19; 5:31–32; 10:43–48).

**b. God the Savior.** The NT applies the term "Savior" to God 8 times (for example, Luke 1:47; 1 Tim 1:1) and to Jesus 16 times (for example, Luke 2:11, John 4:42; Acts 13:23; Phil 3:20). No one else is called "savior." It is the same with *ruomai* ("to rescue" or "deliver"): when the agent of deliverance is named, it is always God (for example, Matt 27:43; 2 Cor 1:10; Col 1:13; 2 Pet 2:7) or Jesus (1 Thess 1:10).

Mary's son is to be called "Jesus" ("God is salvation"), because he will save "his people from their sins" (Matt 1:21). Luke makes it clear that the true bringer of peace and salvation is not the emperor Augustus but only "Christ the Lord" (Luke 2:1, 10–11). It is exclusively in the name of Jesus that salvation comes (Acts 2:38; 5:31): "there is salvation in no one else, for there is no other name under heaven given among men by which we must be saved" (Acts 4:12).

Through the crucified and risen Jesus comes the "forgiveness of sins" (Acts 13:38). Acts makes the universal and absolute claim that all, both Jews and gentiles, are to be "saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus" (Acts 15:11).

The Pastoral Epistles are rich in the explicit vocabulary of salvation, speaking both of "God our Savior who desires all men to be saved" (1 Tim 2:3–4; Titus 2:11) and "Christ Jesus" who "came into the world to save sinners" (1 Tim 1:15). When "the goodness and loving kindness of God our Savior appeared, he saved us … through Jesus Christ our Savior" (Titus 3:4, 6). The alignment of "God" and "Jesus" as Savior reaches its climax in the phrase about the object of "our blessed hope," which can be translated as either "the appearing of the glory of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ" or "the appearing of the great God and our Savior Jesus Christ" (Titus 2:13).

**3. The Nature of Salvation.** The Synoptic Gospels present salvation in terms of "entering" the kingdom of God (Mark 10:23–26 par.), "accepting" it like a child (Mark 10:15 par.), or "sitting at table" in God's kingdom (Luke 13:23–30 par.). Let us see what this entails.

**a. The Earthly Dimension.** Unlike the OT, the motif of a political oppression (from which Christians and others wish to be delivered) turns up comparatively rarely (Luke 13:1–5; Acts 12:1–17; Rev 16:17–19:3).

Luke and Acts reflect some "national" expectations of salvation. The hymn of Zechariah draws on OT traditions to speak of God's fidelity to the covenant in saving his people from their enemies (Luke 1:68–79). Cleopas and his companion on the Emmaus road express a similar hope for national salvation to come through Jesus (Luke 24:21). The disciples' question in Acts 1:6 ("Lord, will you at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?") seems to reflect a similar nationalistic interpretation of salvation. In these last two cases Jesus himself corrects an inadequate view of salvation (Luke 24:25–27; Acts 1:7–8).

At the same time, Jesus' message of repentance calls on the financially secure to care for the poor, the maimed, the lame, and the blind (Luke 14:12–14). The judgment to come encourages "all the nations" to attend now to the earthly needs of the hungry, strangers, the naked, the sick, and prisoners (Matt 25:31–46). The present experience of salvation leads Zacchaeus to give half of his goods to the poor (Luke 19:8–10). Jesus invites a rich man to sell his possessions and give the proceeds to the poor (Mark 10:21–22). Before Jesus begins his ministry, John the Baptist preaches a message of justice and aid for the needy (Luke 3:10–14). After Jesus ascends into heaven, Jerusalem Christians share their wealth and take care of the poor (Acts 4:32–5:11). In short, the NT version of salvation includes a practical concern here and now for needy people (Rom 12:8; 1 Cor 13:3; Heb 13:16; 1 John 3:17; Jas 1:27; 2:14–17).

**b. The Spiritual Dimension.** In the Synoptic Gospels, through his words, deeds, and presence Jesus proclaims "the rule of God" and "the kingdom of heaven," which are reverent circumlocutions for divine salvation. He is "Emmanuel, which means 'God with us' " (Matt 1:23), who calls people to change their way of life, believe in the good news, and enjoy a new relationship with God (Mark 1:15).

Jesus' miracles not only physically heal men and women but also symbolize what he ultimately wants to do—namely, bring salvation to their whole person. He tells Bartimaeus, "Your faith has made you well" (Mark 10:52; see 5:34; Matt 9:22, Luke 7:50; 8:48). A paralytic is healed, but the assurance "Your sins are forgiven" shows that the cure is spiritual as well as bodily (Mark 2:1–12).

Jesus' preaching, teaching, and healing (Matt 4:23, 9:35) initiated the final saving intervention of God (Matt 12:28), that was expressed in particular through the divine concern to forgive sinful men and women. Jesus proclaimed God's compassion to those who were marginalized by respectable people: "I came not to call righteous, but sinners" (Mark 2:17 par.). Tax collectors and other close collaborators with the occupying Roman army, women of bad reputation, tanners and those whose occupations made them ritually unclean, socially powerless and disadvantaged people, lepers, and others whom religion and society had left in some depressed condition found Jesus promising them happiness: "Blessed are you poor, for yours is the kingdom of God" (Luke 6:20). Some people were scandalized when Jesus set out to communicate the divine compassion by dining with sinners and so taking them into God's company. These critics derided him as "a glutton and a drunkard, a friend of tax collectors and sinners" (Matt 11:19). Through the parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15:11–32) Jesus defended his conduct in receiving and forgiving those who had been "dead" and "lost" through sin. His visit to a chief tax collector meant that "salvation" had come to that house (Luke 19:9).

Unlike the Synoptic Gospels, Acts does not so much use the image of God's rule to express the present reality of salvation. It speaks directly of being "saved": the day Pentecost fulfills the promise, "whoever calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved" (Acts 2:21; 15:1, 11). Through conversion and baptism in the name of the crucified and risen Jesus, people are saved through the forgiveness of sins and the gift of the Spirit (Acts 2:38; 3:18–19; 5:31–32; 10:43ff.). Healings effected in the name of Jesus manifest the present reality of salvation (Acts 3:6; 4:9–10).

In a rich variety of ways Paul's letters speak of what "the day of the salvation" (2 Cor 6:2) or "the gospel" of salvation (Eph 1:13) means. It brings a new freedom from sin (Rom 6:1–23), from the law (Rom 7:4; Gal 2:15–21), from death (Rom 6:21), and from the cosmic powers (Gal 4:8–10; Col 2:16–23). Salvation means life "in Christ" (Rom 8:1; 16:7; 1 Cor 15:22), the gift of the Holy Spirit (Rom 5:5; 8:9, 11), "peace with God" (Rom 5:1), "justification" (Rom 4:25), being a "new creation" (2 Cor 5:17), and enjoying "reconciliation" (Rom 5:10–11; 2 Cor 5:18 + 20) and existence as "adopted" sons and daughters of God (Gal 4:4–7).

For John, salvation characteristically means being "born again" (John 3:3–6) to become "children of God" (John 1:12) who through the Holy Spirit share in the life of Christ. Here *zōē* (used 36 times in John's gospel) goes beyond mere *bios*, or biological existence, to mean life that will never end.

**c. Future Salvation.** We have just sampled major ways in which the NT witnesses to and describes the present experience of salvation. At the same time, it indicates that at best, human beings experience only a fragmentary anticipation of the full and final salvation to come from God.

The Synoptics record Jesus' promise of eschatological salvation: "Whoever loses his life for my sake and the gospel will save it" (Mark 8:35; 10:29–30). Those who persevere under persecution and suffering "will be saved" (Mark 13:13). An eschatological discourse on the coming of the Son of Man lists various signs of the end and adds: "When these things begin to take place, look up and raise your heads, because your redemption is drawing near" (Luke 21:28).

In the main Pauline Epistles the futurity of salvation is especially prominent. Apropos of the final destiny of Israel, Paul passes from a negative quotation from Isaiah ("Though the number of the sons of Israel be as the sand of the sea, only a remnant of them will be saved" [Rom 9:27]) to maintain, on the authority of the same prophet, that "all Israel will be saved" (Rom 11:26). In his own case Paul is sure that sufferings will bring his "deliverance" (Phil 1:19). He tells the Philippians to look to the future: "Our commonwealth is in heaven, and from it we await a Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ" (Phil 3:20). He exhorts the Thessalonians to put on "for a helmet the hope of salvation. For God has not destined us for wrath, but to obtain salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Thess 5:8–9; see also 1 Thess 1:10); the Romans are encouraged "to wake from sleep," since "salvation is nearer to us than when we first believed" (Rom 13:11). This coming salvation will mean sharing in Christ's glory (Rom 8:17; 1 Cor 15:49–57; Phil 3:20–21). It will free from corruption the whole of creation; even in hoping for this fullness of redemption, believers already experience something of that full salvation (Rom 8:18–24).

The future vision is reflected in Hebrews. Through suffering, Christ became "the pioneer" of human salvation (Heb 2:10). It is at his second coming that he will "save those who are eagerly waiting for him" (Heb 9:28). In its own way the letter of James shares this eschatological version of salvation (Jas 4:12; 2 Tim 4:18). Only once (Jas 5:15) does *sǭzō* refer to a present experience of salvation. 1 Peter comforts believers with the hope that they are "guarded through faith for a salvation ready to be revealed in the last time" (1 Pet 1:5). The NT ends with the vision of that consummation of salvation when the Lord Jesus comes and God makes all things new (Rev 21:1–22:5).

**4. The Mediation of Salvation.** The classical NT statement on the universal mediation of salvation declares: "There is one God, and there is one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself as a ransom for all" (1 Tim 2:5–6). Let us see some details.

**a. The Means of Salvation.** Paul clearly appreciates the role of God's free and loving initiative in effecting human salvation: "God shows his love for us in what while we were yet sinners Christ died for us … if while we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more, now that we are reconciled, shall we be saved by his life" (Rom 5:8–10). John is equally clear about this divine initiative: "God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, that whoever believes in him should not perish but have eternal life. For God sent his Son into the world, not to condemn the world, but that the world might be saved through him" (John 3:16–17). Paul, too, speaks of Christ being "sent" to bring salvation (Rom 8:1–4; Gal 4:4–5). The Synoptic Gospels express the climactic and salvific intervention of God by speaking of the kingdom of God being "at hand" (Mark 1:15), "coming" (Mark 11:10; Matt 6:10 par.; Luke 17:20), or "appearing" (Luke 19:11).

Christ's obedience brought him to crucifixion, resurrection, and exaltation (Phil 2:8–9; Heb 5:8). Through dying and rising he won the victory over "the principalities and powers" (Col 2:12–15). Being thus "made perfect he became the source of eternal salvation to all who obey him" (Heb 5:9). Christ's obedience brought "the free gift of righteousness" and "life for all men" (Rom 5:17–21). He "was put to death for our trespasses and raised for our justification" (Rom 4:25; see 1 Pet 1:18–19).

Through his blood Christ expiated human sin (Rom 3:25) and established a new covenant (Mark 14:24; 1 Cor 11:25). In a range of high-priestly categories, Hebrews presents the sacrificial and saving deed of Christ (Heb 8:1–10:18). Through his offering made once and for all (Heb 10:11–12), he entered into the heavenly sanctuary (Heb 9:11–12:24), and remains forever the living way into that sanctuary and to God (Heb 10:19–22).

**b. Signs and Places.** In Luke's infancy narrative an angel of the Lord announces the birth of "a Savior who is Christ the Lord" (Luke 2:10–11) and adds: "This will be a sign for you: you will find a babe wrapped in swaddling cloths and lying in a manger" (Luke 2:12). Later in the same gospel Jonah's

successful preaching (the sign of Jonah) which saved the Ninevites is contrasted with the failure of "this generation" to repent and be saved when faced with the preaching and "greater" sign of salvation: the Son of Man's presence (Luke 11:29–30, 32). In Matthew, "the sign of Jonah" is understood to refer also to the "three days and three nights the Son of man will spend in the heart of the earth" between his death and resurrection (Matt 12:38–41; 16:1–4).

Mark's eschatological discourse about the signs of the end opens with Jesus announcing the destruction of the temple buildings and four disciples asking him, "when will this be, and what will be the sign when all these things are to be accomplished?" (Mark 13:3–4). In Matthew's version the question about the sign becomes more personal: "When will this be, and what will be the sign of your coming and of the close of the age?" (Matt 24:3). Luke writes of the cosmic "signs" (Luke 21:11, 25) that will accompany the glorious and redemptive coming of the Son of Man (Luke 21:27–28).

Right from the story of the marriage in Cana, John calls Jesus' miraculous deeds "signs" (John 2:11). The gospel reaches its conclusion by explaining its saving purpose in presenting various signs worked by Jesus: "These [signs] are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing you may have life in his name" (John 20:30). Paul (2 Cor 12:12) and Acts (5:12; 6:8; 14:3) designate as "signs" the miraculous deeds that effectively accompanied the spread of the saving message.

As with these visible signs, many places reveal and mediate salvation in the NT. In Luke's infancy narrative shepherds are "out in the field" when "the glory of the Lord" shines around them and an angel announces the birth of "a Savior" (Luke 2:8–11). That gospel of salvation moves from the sign of a baby in a manger (2:12) to the ambiguous sign of an open and empty tomb which the words of Jesus and two angels interpret in terms of the new life of resurrection (24:1–9). The same gospel begins and ends with the temple, the place par excellence of prayer and divine blessing (1:8–23; 24:52–53). At the same time, whereas Luke's gospel reaches its climax in the neighborhood of Jerusalem when Jesus is "taken up" and enters into his glory (Luke 9:51; 24:26, 50–51; Acts 1:2, 6–11), the salvific geography of Acts eventually takes Paul from Jerusalem to Rome (Acts 21:15–28:16), where the book ends with him "preaching the kingdom of God and teaching about the Lord Jesus Christ quite openly and unhindered" (Acts 28:31).

In Mark's gospel it is at the place of the skull (15:22 par.) that Jesus "gives his life as a ransom for many" (10:45). The fact that "Jesus suffered outside the gate in order to sanctify the people through his own blood" becomes the basis for an exhortation that relativizes the salvific significance of Jerusalem: "Therefore let us go forth to him outside the camp, and bear the abuse he endured. For here we have no lasting city, but we seek the city which is to come" (Heb 13:12–14). The NT closes with the vision of "the holy city, new Jerusalem" where God's people will enjoy a new life forever (Rev 21:2–22:19).

Jesus' dialogue with the Samaritan woman likewise relativizes the importance of sacred places, even Jerusalem (John 4:20–24). John's gospel climaxes with a search for the presence of Jesus (John 20:2, 13, 15). The risen Lord is to be found in the worshipping community (Matt 18:20; 1 Cor 12:3) and in the presence of suffering humanity (Matt 25:35–40). Even the whole cosmos becomes the place of reconciliation through Christ who died on the cross and became "the first-born from the dead" (Col 1:18–20).

**c. The Conditions for Salvation.** Through God's "own purpose and grace" and not by virtue of their "works," human beings are "saved and called with a holy calling" (2 Tim 1:9). This calling leads them to be saved through repentance (Acts 2:38), the "regeneration" of baptism and "renewal in the Holy Spirit" (Titus 3:5; see 1 Pet 3:21). Often the NT sums up the conditions for salvation by speaking of the need to be "justified" through faith (Rom 1:16–17; 3:21–26) or "saved" through faith (Eph 2:5–8; Acts 16:31). At times this salvation through faith rests on a knowledge of the Scriptures (2 Tim 3:14–15).

The gift of salvation is understood to put the baptized under an obligation to live in holiness and persevere in their struggles with suffering (1 Pet 4:1, 13–14). They are to "work out" their salvation (Phil 2:12) and "strive to enter" God's "sabbath rest" (Heb 4:9–11). They should see the delay of the Parousia "as salvation" (2 Pet 3:15), since they thus have time for improvement (2 Pet 3:14–18), as they wait for "new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness dwells" (2 Pet 3:13).

**C. Issues of Interpretation**

A number of important biblical themes are intertwined with that of salvation. Research and debate on those other themes affect, to a greater or lesser extent, the interpretation of what the Bible says about salvation. To illustrate this briefly I want to recall some points in the 20th-century discussion of salvation-history, kingdom, and covenant.

**1. Salvation-History.** In his two-volume *Old Testament Theology* (1962–65), G. von Rad presents the story of Israel's salvation-history as first confessed in ancient creeds like those of Deut 26:5–9 and Josh 24:2–13 and then expanded in various ways. This history of salvation is a story of ever-increasing expectations as divine promises point to future fulfillments. While many prefer von Rad's overall interpretation to that of R. Bultmann (who dismisses OT history as a history of failure and miscarriage), they find serious problems in von Rad's version of salvation-history. He appears, for instance, to separate the "facts" of salvation-history from the actual events of public history.

For O. Cullmann, in *Christ and Time* (German original, 1946), and *Salvation in History* (German original, 1965), the reality of external historical events is central to salvation-history. God's saving acts in history reach their climax in Jesus Christ. Hence Luke's scheme of salvation-history, which presents Christ as the center of time, is no aberration, but the heart of NT theology. Critics believe that Cullmann has not sufficiently clarified the relationship of salvation-history to ordinary history. They have other objections to his scheme of saving history: they point, for instance, to the fact that the wisdom books and other sections of the Bible are not always clearly oriented to a historical way of thinking.

In his two-volume *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (1948–53), R. Bultmann does not present salvation in terms of the external facts of past history (not even that of Jesus) but as the authentic existence to which the proclamation of the cross calls me and which puts an end to my old world, with its sin and false securities. The salvation event is the eschatological "now" that challenges me to the decision of faith and the chance of a new life "beyond" the world. E. Käsemann and many others have criticized Bultmann for neglecting the theological significance of the Jesus of history, the genuinely futurist eschatology of Paul, and the public and cosmic nature of salvation expressed by the NT.

This brief look at von Rad, Cullmann, and Bultmann can serve to illustrate a crucial issue. Any interpretation of the biblical account of salvation will be deeply affected by the view one holds of history, time, and the historical mediation of salvation.

**2. The Kingdom of God.** Turning away from contemporary presentations of Jesus as a supreme teacher of ethics, J. Weiss (1863–1914) proposed a different key for the reading of the gospels: Jesus proclaimed the kingdom of God as imminent—a view that A. Schweitzer popularized and developed. In *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (1968) Schweitzer portrayed Jesus as the disappointed herald of a divine consummation which did not come.

The enduring contribution made by Weiss and Schweitzer was to establish the common consensus that eschatology is not peripheral but central to a correct understanding of the kingdom of God in Jesus' teaching. But what did Jesus mean by the kingdom? Against Schweitzer, C. H. Dodd maintained a realized eschatology: for Jesus the kingdom was not some eschatological climax approaching in the immediate future, but had already come. The emphasis was on a kingdom of God that was accessible here and now. In the aftermath of Schweitzer and Dodd, many scholars have argued for a mediating interpretation of Jesus' preaching of the kingdom: an inaugurated eschatology in which the promised kingdom had already come but was not yet fully operative. This scheme of "already" but "not yet" proposed that Jesus allowed for some interval between his death and the final consummation of the kingdom.

There have been these and other changes in the interpretation of what the kingdom of God meant in Jesus' own preaching and for the evangelists. All such shifts and debates about the kingdom obviously influence any understanding of what the NT indicates about the salvation offered by God through Jesus Christ.

**3. Covenant.** There are three major approaches to salvation which are interconnected but distinct: salvation as (a) deliverance from evil, (b) ritual purification from sin, and (c) the formation of a new relationship with God. W. Eichrodt serves to illustrate this point. In his three-volume *Theology of the Old*

*Testament* (German original, 1933–39), Eichrodt argued for an underlying unity in the OT. Its central theme he found in the divine covenant with Israel and God's desire to establish a covenantal fellowship with all peoples. Whatever we hold about particular details in Eichrodt's argument, his thesis would encourage us to approach salvation in terms of salvation as a new covenant-relationship with God.

Besides the issues of salvation-history, kingdom of God, and covenant, many other areas of research can modify what we understand the Bible to say about salvation. These would include: the OT messianic expectations; the saving function of the message of the prophets; the contribution of wisdom literature; the nature and value of apocalyptic; beliefs about the afterlife; the social environment of Israel and emerging Christianity; Jesus' understanding of his identity, role, and imminent death; his resurrection, exaltation, and the coming of the Holy Spirit; the nature of justification by faith; the effect on early Christians of the delay in God's final manifestation. Beyond question, the interpretation of biblical salvation is radically influenced by one's view of the relationship between the OT and the NT. For those of Jewish faith the Hebrew Bible constitutes the complete scriptural account that shapes their understanding of the nature of salvation.

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**SAMARIA** (PLACE) [Heb *šōmrôn* (שֹׁמְרוֹן)]. The place name "Samaria" has a twofold sense. First, it refers to the capital city of the N kingdom of Israel, from the time of its construction by Omri in the early 9th century B.C. (1 Kgs 16:23–24) to its conquest by the Assyrians in the late 8th century (probably 721 B.C.; attributed to Shalmaneser V in 2 Kgs 17:1–6, but to Sargon II in Assyrian records). This city has been identified with the ruins of Sebastiya (M.R. 168187).

Second, after the destruction of the city the name "Samaria" (Assyrian *Samerina*) was applied to the larger district in which the city had been situated, following the Assyrian practice of naming a province after its capital or principal city. The natural borders of this region were defined by the valleys of Jezreel and Aijalon on the N and S respectively, by the coast to the W, and by the Jordan river valley on the E. In pre-Assyrian times this region and its population had been referred to after the old Israelite territorial/tribal name Ephraim (in Hosea 36 times and Isaiah 12 times; cf. Jer 31:5–6). Sometimes the name Ephraim was reserved only for the hill country of S Samaria, while the hill country of N Samaria was called Manasseh. Later, however, the area was repopulated by heterogeneous populations from

throughout the Assyrian empire, whom the Judeans of Jerusalem generally regarded with contempt. See SAMARITANS.

This entry consists of four articles that treat the history and archaeology of Samaria. The first focuses exclusively on the history and archaeology of the city itself, while the second focuses on important ostraca that were discovered during the excavations of the city. The third article focuses on archaeological survey work that has been done within the larger region, while the fourth focuses on papyri that have been discovered in this region. See also EPHRAIM (PERSON) and DALIYEH, WADI ED-.

## *SAMARIA THE CITY*

A. Biblical Overview
B. Name, Topography, Location
C. History of Excavation
D. History during the Israelite Period
E. History during the Assyrian-Hellenistic Periods
F. History during the Roman-Byzantine Periods

### A. Biblical Overview

References to Samaria in biblical writings relating to the Israelite kingdom are to the city and not the district, with only a few exceptions—e.g., "cities of Samaria" in 1 Kgs 13:32 (an anachronism inasmuch as the city of Samaria had not yet been built and named); 1 Kgs 21:1 (where Ahab is called "king of Samaria" [read "king in Samaria"]); and perhaps also 2 Chr 22:9 (where Ahaziah is said to have been "captured while hiding in Samaria"; the earlier account in 2 Kgs 9:27–29 had stated that he was wounded at the ascent of Gur near Ibleam and died in Megiddo). The MT reference to "mountains of Samaria" in Amos 3:9 should be read "mountain of Samaria" along with the LXX.

The Assyrians did not completely destroy Samaria, although a large part of it was burned. It was rebuilt and became an administrative center which appears to have maintained hegemony over much of the Judean territory during the Babylonian and early Persian periods. With the coming of the Macedonians in 332 B.C., and after the suppression of a local uprising, Samaria was rebuilt as a Greek city. This city was destroyed by the Jewish ruler John Hyrcanus in 108/107 B.C. and later rebuilt by Herod the Great, ca. 30 B.C. Herod renamed the city Sebaste (Gk *Sebasté*), in honor of Caesar Augustus (Gk *Sebastós* = Lat *Augustus*). After the rebuilding and renaming of the city, Samaria was used as a name only for the region, a usage which is seen in the NT. Samaria continued to be known as Sebaste throughout the period of Roman and Byzantine rule. The name survives in the modern Arab village of Sebastiyeh.

The gentilic "Samaritans" (Heb *šomĕrōnîm*) is not used in the Hebrew Bible for residents of the city of Samaria. The term appears only in 2 Kgs 17:29, where it is used for the people of mixed ethnic and religious background who were settled in the region by the Assyrians. This designation is used by Josephus (Gk *Samaritai*) not only for these colonists but also, and primarily, for a people of the region of the Hellenistic and Roman periods who constituted a distinct religious community based at Mt. Gerizim and Shechem (whom he regarded as descendants of the Assyrian colonists). It was the members of this religious community who are the "Samaritans" of the NT—a people who at that time had no relationship with the pagan city of Sebaste. The contemporary, surviving Samaritan community explains the origin of its name as deriving neither from the city nor the district, but from the Heb *šōmĕrîm* [Sam Heb = *šāmĕrîm*], "observers, keepers" (i.e., of the Torah).

### B. Name, Topography, Location

The Deuteronomistic Historians utilized a local folk etymology to explain the naming of Samaria. Omri is said to have purchased the "hill of Samaria" from a man named Shemer for two talents of silver: "and he fortified the hill, and called the name of the city which he built, Samaria, after the name of Shemer, the owner of the hill" (1 Kgs 16:24). The name is more readily explained, however, as "watch-mountain," from the root *šmr* (to watch, guard, observe) and from the topography. Samaria was built on a hill rising over 300 feet above the valleys on the N, W, and S, with a commanding vista of a long sloping ridge to

the E (of which the hill was the summit). It was strategically located (M.R. 168187) near the crossroads of the major N-S, E-W highways—leading to Shechem and the Jordan valley on the E, the coastal plain on the W, Megiddo and the Jezreel valley on the N, and Jerusalem on the S.

The site was thus one of considerable military and commercial advantage, although it had a limited water supply. It was more easily defended than the earlier capital at TIRZAH (modern Tell el-Far‘ah), which was especially vulnerable on its W approach. Tirzah, for example, was taken by Omri in the brief (one-week) military infighting that followed Zimri’s assassination of Baasha (1 Kgs 16:15–18). Samaria, on the other hand, was able to withstand a siege of three years prior to its conquest by the Assyrians (2 Kgs 17:5).

**C. History of Excavation**

There were major archaeological campaigns in 1908–10, under the direction of G. Schumacher (1908) and G. A. Reisner and C. S. Fisher (1909–10), and from 1931–35 under the direction of J. W. Crowfoot, E. L. Sukenik, and with major publication responsibilities by K. M. Kenyon and G. M. Crowfoot. Minor campaigns were undertaken in 1965–67, directed by F. Zayadine, and in 1968 by J. B. Hennessy.

The initial campaign excavated the W portion of the acropolis, where royal buidings and a casemate wall of the Israelite period were uncovered. See Fig. CIT.06. Three building phases were distinguished: a palace was attributed to the time of Omri; the casemate wall and a storehouse to the time of Jehu; and buildings on the W of the casemate wall to the time of Jeroboam II. [But see below on the clarification of building phases and the attribution of constructions to kings, based on the campaigns of the 1930s.] Also excavated on the acropolis were Hellenistic remains, including round towers and a wall, mistakenly attributed to the Israelite and Babylonian periods respectively, and the remains of an Augustan temple built by Herod. In the area to the W of the summit, a city wall of the Roman period and a gate were uncovered, and, on the E, a theater, a basilica, a forum, and a stadium. Of epigraphic significance was the discovery in 1910 of 63 ostraca (plus 44 additional illegible sherds), uncovered in a building to the W of the palace (the so-called “Ostraca House”). A number of ivory objects were also found. An even larger number of ivories were uncovered during the excavations of the 1930s. See SAMARIA (OSTRACA) below.

The campaigns of the 1930s extended the areas excavated in the first expedition, including the royal buildings of the Israelite period on the acropolis and the round towers of the Hellenistic period. A third, extremely well-preserved Hellenistic tower was excavated on the NE of the acropolis. This tower has been called “the most impressive remnant from the Hellenistic period to have survived in Israel.” A colonnaded Roman street to the S of the acropolis was cleared and, on the N, the remains of a Roman temple dedicated to Kore were discovered. Some EB I pottery was also found, attesting to an earlier, pre-Israelite settlement. Also, pottery found in the fill of buildings identified by K. Kenyon as belonging to *Periods I–II* of the Israelite period, the times of Omri and Ahab, has been identified by some (W. F. Albright, G. E. Wright, Y. Aharoni, R. Amiram, and N. Avigad) as being of a type from the 10th to early 9th centuries. This suggests that a small settlement had already existed on the hill of Samaria before Omri built his capital there, although Kenyon maintained that the site was unoccupied from EB I to the time of Omri.

The campaign of 1965–67 was initiated to provide better access to the acropolis and viewing of the theater and colonnaded street for visitors. It was discovered that the market area of the colonnaded street remained commercially active in the Byzantine period, but was destroyed in the early-to-mid 6th century (either during the suppression by Justinian of a local revolt in 529, or by an earthquake in 551). The 1968 excavations concentrated on the residential section (including a rock-cut water system) to the N-NW of the summit. This area was found to have been developed only during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, suggesting a concentration during the earlier Israelite period nearer to the citadel on the E and S of the hill, and closer to the original, natural water supply.

The stratigraphy of Samaria is complicated by the fact that the builders usually recycled the stones of earlier structures and cut their foundation trenches down to bedrock, resulting in foundations of buildings of different periods located side by side, rather than superimposed on one another. Kenyon established a

stratigraphy of nine building phases and pottery periods for pre-Hellenistic Samaria, of which the first six were from the time of the Israelite monarchy. Differences of opinion exist, however, on the attribution of construction activities to specific rulers and on the relationship between the building periods and the ceramic phases (see Wright 1959). As already noted, some have interpreted the pottery of Kenyon's *Period I* as belonging to a time earlier than the buidings of *Period I.* Non-correlations between the pottery and buildings of other periods have also been suggested (notably, *Periods II–IV*). The pottery of Israelite Samaria was of high quality, especially the red burnished vessels popularly known as "Samarian ware."

For purposes of standard reference, Kenyon's six building/ceramic phases of the Israelite period were as follows: *Period I,* the time of Omri (inner wall of acropolis and palace); *Period II,* time of Ahab (casemate wall and east gate); *Period III,* time of Jehu and his successors (repair of casemate wall and earlier buildings, new buildings); *Period IV,* time of Jeroboam II and his successors (repair of casemate wall and alteration of earlier buildings, new buildings); *Periods V–VI,* time of Assyrian hegemony and destruction of the city (alterations to existing buildings, burned layer). The building phases of post-Israelite Samaria were: *Period VII,* time of Assyrian administration; *Period VIII,* time of Babylonian rule; *Period IX,* time of provincial status within the Persian Empire.

The masonry of Samaria of the Israelite period was of extremely high quality. Foundation stones were laid in rock-cut trenches in rows of headers with upper courses of headers and stretchers (two headers alternating with one stretcher). The ashlars for the courses set below ground level were cut with marginal drafts on three sides and irregular bosses. The stones for the upper courses were dressed smooth. They were laid without mortar and dressed on the site for precise setting in their courses. This style is characteristic of Phoenician masonry. The influence of Phoenician design on the Israelite architects is not surprising, considering the observations of the biblical historians on Phoenician cultural influence in the N kingdom in the mid 9th century (e.g., 1 Kgs 16:29–34). See *EAEHL* 4:1032–50; *IDBSup,* 771–72.

The design of some of the ivory plaques, inlays, and toilet articles found in Samaria, especially those in high relief, also indicate Phoenician and other Syrian influence. The ivories of this type are similar to 9th century ivories discovered at Arslan Tash and are attributed to the time of Ahab (cf. 1 Kgs 22:39, on the ivory houses which Ahab built). The largest of these ivories was found in situ with a jar-inscription which enabled dating to the 9th century. Other ivories, those in low relief with gold foil and glass and stone inlays, are characterized by Egyptian motifs. These are similar in design to ivories found at Nimrud, which have been dated to the 8th century (cf. Amos 3:15; 6:4, on the "houses of ivory" and "beds of ivory" of Samaria during the reign of Jeroboam II). The ivories found at Arslan Tash and Nimrud were probably of Syrian, Phoenician, and Israelite origin, plundered by the Assyrians in the western campaigns. See IVORY.

**D. History during the Israelite Period**

The selection and development of Samaria as the capital of the N Israelite kingdom by Omri invites comparison with the action of David in establishing Jerusalem as the capital of the united monarchy, over a century and a quarter earlier. Each move represented a venture, the adoption of a new base of operation for the monarchy, and each selection involved a place not previously associated with the nation and its history. In each case the move was associated with the building of a fortress and palace and resulted in the strengthening of the king's rule and the stability of the ruling house (but lasting a much shorter time in Omri's case). A significant difference between the two moves was that Jerusalem was a city of some antiquity (the city wall had been built ca. 1800 B.C.) and Samaria was a place with no urban history (even if settlements had existed there earlier). This meant that Omri would have to create those civil and cultic institutions necessary for a capital city.

But first Omri needed a city. He had come to power following the death of king Baasha by besting his rival Zimri, Baasha's assassin, who had established himself in the (then) capital, Tirzah. When it became evident that Omri had taken the city, Zimri set fire to the citadel "and burned the king's house over him with fire, and he died" (1 Kgs 16:15–18). Omri thus inherited a burned capital city, an inauspicious beginning for a monarch. Nor was his reign secure politically. There followed a civil war of four years in which it was necessary to suppress yet another claimant of the throne, Tibni the son of Ginath (1 Kgs

16:21–23). In the excavations at Tirzah (Tell el-Far‘ah) by the École Biblique of Jerusalem, R. de Vaux uncovered two distinct phases of occupation of the 10th–8th centuries, each of which ended with a destruction: the first was a city of the 10th century, destroyed in the early 9th century, evidently by Zimri, and the second a city of the 8th century, destroyed by the Assyrians. Between these two clearly distinguished levels, and set in the debris of the 10th-century city, were walls of unfinished buildings. De Vaux proposed that these belonged to the uncompleted work of Omri, who abandoned the rebuilding of Tirzah to establish his new capital at Samaria. According to the Bible, Omri reigned six years in Tirzah before he moved the capital to Samaria (1 Kgs 16:23).

Unlike David and Jerusalem, the establishment of Samaria by Omri was not associated with an attempt to relate the new capital to Israel’s historic cultic traditions (in the case of David, the ark of Yahweh and the tent sanctuary). Nor does the biblical record indicate that Omri patronized the Yahwistic cult centers of Bethel and Dan, as the Israelite kings had before him. In fact, the Deuteronomistic Historians offer very little information about Omri. But we are given some information on the cultic situation during the reign of Omri’s son Ahab, which may have been a continuation of his father’s policy. According to 1 Kgs 16:32, Ahab “erected an altar for Baal in the house of Baal, which he built in Samaria.” This was seen as part of the general apostate character of the king following his marriage to the Phoenician princess Jezebel, a worshipper of the Sidonian Baal. It is Jezebel who is said to have been the patron of the functionaries of the Baal cult (1 Kgs 18:19). Ahab is otherwise represented as a Yahwist (1 Kgs 21:28–29; 22:1–8), or as a disloyal Yahwist who had “forsaken the commandments of Yahweh and followed the Baals” (1 Kgs 18:18). Nonetheless, the cult of Baal was officially established in Samaria during the time of Ahab, if not earlier, under Omri. The temple of Baal remained active in Samaria throughout the reigns of Ahab’s two sons, Ahaziah and Joram, until it was desecrated and converted into a public latrine by Jehu, in the purge of baalism which accompanied his ascent to the throne (2 Kgs 10:18–27).

Although the story of the rise and fall of the Baal cult during the reign of the house of Omri begins and ends with the temple of Baal in Samaria (1 Kgs 16:29–2 Kgs 10:27), much of the principal action of the story takes place elsewhere—notably on Mt. Carmel (1 Kgs 18:19–45; 2 Kgs 2:25; 4:25) and in Jezreel (1 Kgs 18:45–46; 21:1–29; 2 Kgs 8:28–10:11). Jezreel is represented as a second capital of the kingdom of Israel in this story (see 1 Kgs 21:1, “Now Naboth the Jezreelite had a vineyard in Jezreel, beside the palace of Ahab king of Samaria”). A. Alt argued that the two capitals were the result of the deliberate policy of Omri and Ahab in establishing Samaria as a capital city after the Canaanite city-state model: Samaria was to be the capital of the city-state, the site of the (Canaanite) temple of Baal, with Jezreel being a traditional Israelite capital, with a Yahwistic cult on nearby Mt. Carmel. This opinion was recently reversed by Y. Yadin, who argued that the temple of Baal in Samaria was actually in Jezreel, i.e., in the district of, not the city of, Samaria: Jezreel and Mt. Carmel were the centers of Jezebel’s baalistic campaigns, not the centers of traditional Israelite cultic and political traditions. Yadin cited what he believed to be a parallel phenomenon in the case of Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel who seized the throne in Jerusalem at the time of Jehu’s coup in Israel (2 Kgs 11:1–20). According to Yadin, Athaliah established a baalistic center at Ramat Rahel, while allowing the sanctuary of Yahweh to remain in Jerusalem. Yadin’s argument is not, however, very convincing, and of the two positions, that of Alt appears to be a better model for understanding the development of Samaria as the new capital under Omri and Ahab.

Nothing remained of the temple of Baal in Samaria at the time of the writing of the Deuteronomistic History, nor was a temple uncovered in the excavations. What were discovered from the time of Omri and Ahab (Kenyon’s building *Periods I–II*) were fragments and foundation trenches of a royal quarter with a palace and a defense system of two walls, a casemate wall (a double wall with cross-walls and fill between) and an inner wall. The inner wall (ca. 5 feet broad) encompassed an area of ca. 5,840 feet E–W and 292 feet N–S. The much stronger casemate wall, not all of which was uncovered, extended the secured area by ca. 54 feet to the N and 98 feet to the W. The casemate wall on the N side was ca. 32 feet across, with an exterior face 6 feet thick, an interior face 3 feet thick, and a filled space between of ca. 23 feet. It was less broad on the W side (ca. 16 feet) and on the S and SE, where for topographical reasons it

became a single wall set up against the inner wall. The inner wall was originally attributed to Omri and the casemate wall to Ahab, but it seems more likely (following Avigad) that Omri would not have occupied his new capital until after the stronger fortification had been completed.

A pool ca. 33 × 16.5 feet was found within the casemate wall at the NW corner. This would have been "the pool of Samaria" mentioned in 1 Kgs 22:37–38, in the story of Ahab's death in battle at Ramoth-gilead and the return of his body and chariot to Samaria: "So the king died, and was brought to Samaria; and they buried the king in Samaria. And they washed the chariot by the pool of Samaria, and the dogs licked up his blood, and the harlots washed themselves in it, according to the word of the Lord which he had spoken." Also uncovered, on the middle terrace level of the summit, about 500 feet to the E of the casemate wall, were remains of a building, tower, and wall which were probably part of a gate system. This has been attributed to Ahab (building *Period II*), and would have been the "gate of Samaria" which was the site of the grain market during the time of Joram (2 Kgs 7:1) and the "threshing floor at the entrance of the gate of Samaria," where kings Ahab and Jehoshaphat received counsel for war from the Yahwistic prophets (1 Kgs 22:10). All in all, the city was extremely well fortified and was able to withstand two sieges mounted by the Syrians, one in the time of Ahab (1 Kgs 20:1) and the other during the reign of Joram (2 Kgs 6:24). In fact, the city was not taken by a besieging army until the time of the Assyrian conquest in 721 B.C.

There is evidence of some destruction in the royal quarter during building *Period III,* which may have resulted from Jehu's coup d'état, or from some natural situation such as accidental fire or earthquake. But the time of Jehu was one in which earlier buidings and the casemate wall were repaired and new buildings were constructed. These appear to have been modest in comparison to the repairs and new constructions of building *Period IV,* the time of Jeroboam II.

The reign of Jeroboam II (ca. 786–746 B.C.) would have to be considered the time of Samaria's greatest prosperity, due to the influx of wealth from the Israelite king's hegemony over neighboring lands, including Syria (2 Kgs 14:23–29). A picture-window of the cultural history of Samaria of this time is given in the oracles of the prophet Amos, who carefully noted the signs of power and affluence he saw there: strongholds, defenses (3:10–11), couches, beds (3:12; 6:4), winter houses, summer houses, houses of ivory, great houses (3:15; 6:11), wine (4:1; 5:12; 6:6), houses of hewn stone, vineyards (5:11–12, 17), beds of ivory, choice meats, musical instruments, drinking bowls, and fine oils (6:4–6). These impressed him, but negatively. What caught his eye especially was the indolence and spiritual insensitivity of Samaria's nobility and their oppression of the poor (3:9–12; 4:1–3; 5:11–12; 6:1–7; 8:4–6).

During the reign of Jeroboam II, the temples of Dan and Bethel were the Yahwistic shrines of the N kingdom, notably Bethel (Amos 7:13, "for it is the king's sanctuary, and it is a temple of the kingdom"). The "calf of Samaria" of Hos 8:5–6 ("I have spurned your calf, O Samaria / The calf of Samaria shall be broken to pieces [or, go up in flames]") is a reference to one of the bull calves set up by Jeroboam I in the sanctuaries of Bethel and Dan (1 Kgs 12:28–30). The particular referent is to the calf of the temple of Bethel, as is evident from a parallel oracle in Hos 10:5, "the inhabitants of Samaria tremble for the calf [following Gk and Syr; Heb reads "calves"] of Beth-aven." Beth-aven is clearly a contemptuous surrogate for Bethel. The incorporation of calf iconography into the Bethel cult paralleled Canaanite iconography, in which El was venerated as a bull calf and the storm god Hadad was sometimes depicted riding on the back of a bull. In this connection, reference should be made to a proper name found on one of the Samaria ostraca (Ostracon 41), which appears to read Egelyau, "Calf of Yahweh," or "Yahweh is Calf."

That Bethel (so too Gilgal) was the site of pilgrimage by the nobles of Samaria is seen also in the juxtapositioning of the oracles of Amos 4:1–3 and 4:4–5, the former heaping contempt on the rich women "in the mountain of Samaria" and the latter urging them (in ironic speech) to "come to Bethel, and transgress; to Gilgal, and multiply transgression." A parallel oracle in Amos 5:4–5 (cf. also 8:14) suggests that there was a pilgrimage route for the people of Samaria connecting the sanctuaries of Bethel, Gilgal, and Beer-sheba: "Seek me and live; but do not seek Bethel, and do not enter into Gilgal or cross over to Beer-sheba; for Gilgal shall surely go into exile, and Bethel shall come to nought."

The royal patronage of the historic Yahwistic sanctuaries of Bethel, Dan, and Gilgal does not preclude the possibility of pagan cults in Samaria during the time of Jeroboam II. Amos rebuked those who took oaths by a goddess of Samaria (8:14, "Ashimah of Samaria"), although he did not indicate that her veneration included a temple. That pagan worship characterized Samaria in the time after Jeroboam II, shortly before its destruction, is indicated in Micah 1:6–7: "Therefore I will make Samaria a heap in the open country, a place for planting vineyards; and I will pour down her stones into the valley, and uncover her foundations. All her images shall be beaten to pieces, … and all her idols I will lay waste." The idolatry of Samaria and its subsequent destruction were cited by Isaiah as a warning for the people of Jerusalem: "Shall I not do to Jerusalem and her idols as I have done to Samaria and her images?" (10:11).

The power and prestige of Samaria declined rapidly following the death of Jeroboam II, as the nation not only lost the tribute of neighboring vassals, but became itself a vassal of the Assyrians (building *Periods V–VI*). King Menahem paid a heavy tribute to Tiglath-pileser III rather than risk a siege of his city (2 Kgs 15:17–22; Assyrian Annals). An ill-fated alliance of Samaria with Damascus against Tiglath-pileser during the reign of Pekah, with an unsuccessful military campaign against Jerusalem (2 Kgs 16:1–9; Isa 7:1–8:4), resulted in the loss of a considerable amount of Israelite territory to the Assyrians and a deportation of the population (2 Kgs 15:29–31). Samaria appears to have been spared at that time only because of the assassination of Pekah by Hoshea, whom Tiglath-pileser claimed as a confederate/puppet ("they overthrew their king Pekah and I placed Hoshea as king over them"). But with the death of Tiglath-pileser, Hoshea rebelled against the new Assyrian monarch Shalmaneser V—i.e., he refused to pay tribute and sought to forge a counteralliance with Egypt (2 Kgs 17:1–6). Assyria responded and Samaria is said to have withstood a siege of three years after the capture and imprisonment of the king. But the city was finally taken by the Assyrians, in spite of its strong defences, either by Shalmaneser V in 722 or Sargon II in 721.

**E. History during the Assyrian-Hellenistic Periods**

Of the conquest of Samaria, Sargon wrote: "I besieged and conquered Samaria, led away as booty 27,290 inhabitants of it, I formed from among them a contingent of 50 chariots and made remaining inhabitants assume their social positions. I installed over them an officer of mine and imposed upon them the tribute of the former king." He also boasted, "I conquered and sacked … Samaria, and all Israel [literally, Omri-Land]." Of the rebuilding of Samaria, Sargon wrote: "The town I rebuilt better than it was before and settled therein people from countries which I myself had conquered. I placed an officer of mine as governor over them and imposed upon them tribute as is customary for Assyrian citizens." The reports of deportation and settlement of foreign peoples correspond generally with the biblical history (2 Kgs 17:6, 24). It is also known, from recent excavations in the upper city of Jerusalem, that the Judean capital expanded considerably in the late 8th century (perhaps to four times its previous size), evidently due to the influx of refugees from Samaria and the territories annexed by Assyria.

The excavations of Samaria reveal few remains from the Assyrian and Babylonian periods *(Periods VII–VIII).* Material objects uncovered include a portion of an Assyrian stele attributed to Sargon II and a fragment of a Babylonian cuneiform tablet with the name of the local governor, Avi-ahi. Among the scanty remains of the Persian period *(Period IX)* were found remnants of a throne which had belonged to one of the governors.

Knowledge of the political status of Samaria during the early Persian period is derived primarily from what is reported of the power and activities of Samaria's governors in the Jewish accounts of the Judean restoration (i.e., in the biblical books of Ezra and Nehemiah). From these it is learned that the development of Judah as a functional entity within the Persian province "Beyond-the-River" was severely restricted by Judah's neighbors until the time of Nehemiah, who came to Jerusalem as governor in the 20th year of the reign of Artaxerxes (445/444 B.C.). Even then the rebuilding of Jerusalem's wall was resisted (unsuccessfully) by Sanballat, governor of Samaria, and Tobiah and Geshem, his Ammonite and Arab confederates (Neh 4:1–23). In his memoirs, Nehemiah refers to the oppressive policies of the governors who were before him (Neh 5:14–15). A. Alt argued that the governors of reference could not have been Nehemiah's Jewish predecessors, Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel, but would have been the

governors of Samaria who had exercised hegemony over Judah prior to Nehemiah's appointment. Alt further maintained that Samaria had exercised hegemony over Judah from the time of the collapse of the Jewish state following the destruction of Jerusalem, most particularly after the assassination of the puppet governor Gedaliah and the failure to establish an effective administrative center at Mizpah (582 B.C., see Jer 40:1–41:3). Recent epigraphic discoveries (seal impressions and bullae of the Persian period which appear to bear the names of Judean governors before the time of Nehemiah) may necessitate the modification of Alt's position, but his assessment of Samaritan authority over Judah in the early Persian period appears to be valid. It should be noted also that when the Jewish colonists of Elephantine sought permission to rebuild their sanctuary (which had been destroyed in the 14th year of Darius II, 410 B.C.), they wrote not only to Bagohi, governor of Judah, but also to Delaiah and Shelemiah the sons of Sanballat, who had succeeded their father as (co-) governors of Samaria.

Other governors of the family of Sanballat down to the beginning of the Hellenistic period are known from the papyri of Wâdī Dâliyah and Josephus (*Ant* 11. 304–47), from which it may be surmised that there were two subsequent governors who also bore the name Sanballat. It was the last of these (Sanballat III) who was governor at the time of Alexander's conquest of the region. He was probably the last of this illustrious family to govern in Samaria. During (or shortly after) his administration, a revolt against Macedonian rule broke out. The revolt was quashed by the general Perdiccas and Samaria was rebuilt as a Greek city. At the time of the revolt, some of the Samaritan nobility fled to the wilderness of Wâdī Dâliyah, where they perished. The remainder of the disenfranchised citizenry of Samaria appear to have taken up residence in nearby Shechem, which was rebuilt at this time. It was also at this time that a "Samaritan" temple was built on Mt. Gerizim, above Shechem. This was not a temple of the Hellenistic city of Samaria, but of the Yahwists of the Samaritan district (based at Shechem) who desired a sanctuary of their own.

It is to the Hellenistic city of Samaria that the massive towers excavated in the first and second campaigns belong. In addition, a new wall (with insets and towers, enclosing an area of ca. 750 × 400 feet) was built following the fortification lines of the old Israelite casemate wall, and perhaps also a second wall on the lower terrace. This extensive wall is now attributed to the 2d century B.C., sometime after Samaria had been taken by the Seleucid king Antiochus the Great, ca. 198 B.C. (*Ant* 12. 133)—it had previously been a city with municipal rights under Ptolemaic rule. The need for a new wall to secure the city was occasioned by the rising power of the Maccabees and the Hasmonean rulers who succeeded them. It was a legitimate concern. The wall was destroyed and the city was taken by John Hyrcanus and his sons Aristobulus and Antigonus in 108/107 B.C., after a siege of one year. This was part of Hyrcanus' campaign to take the Hellenistic cities (Strato's Tower, Samaria, and Scythopolis) which blocked his control of the territory between Judea and the Galilee. (He had previously subdued the "Samaritans" of Shechem by destroying their city and their sanctuary on Gerizim in 128 B.C.) According to Josephus, the fortifications of Samaria were so undermined by tunneling that their collapse and subsequent destruction by erosion "removed all signs of its ever having been a city" (*Ant* 13. 280–81; cf. *JW* 1. 64–66, where Aristobulus and Antigonus are credited with having "confined its people within the walls, captured the town, razed it to the ground, and reduced the inhabitants to slavery").

The city Hyrcanus destroyed included a temple of Serapis-Isis, remnants of which were found in the fill beneath the Roman temple of Kore. In addition to architectural discoveries, small finds from the Hellenistic period at Samaria have been especially rich, including coins, inscriptions, sculpture, pottery, and stamped jar handles—all of which attest to the commercial prosperity of the city at this time.

**F. History during the Roman-Byzantine Periods**

Samaria was among those Greek cities wrested from Jewish control by Pompey (63 B.C.). It was rebuilt in 57–55 B.C. by Gabinius, after whom the city was renamed, and given independent status under the proconsul of Syria (*Ant* 14. 74–76, 86–88). The city was further repaired by Herod, ca. 37 B.C. (*Ant* 14. 284), who used it as a base in his campaigns against Antigonus Mattathias. It was rebuilt on a grand scale by Herod after it was ceded to him by the emperor Augustus, ca. 30 B.C. (*Ant* 15. 217, 292–98; *JW* 1. 403). Herod renamed the city Sebaste (Gk *Sebastḗ*), in honor of his imperial patron (Gk *Sebastós* = Lat

*Augustus; Sebasté* = Lat *Augusta*, used as an honorific title, sometimes of military legions; the port of Caesarea was named *Sebastós*, i.e., the port city of Augustus, see *Ant* 17. 87 and *JW* 1. 613).

Josephus relates that Herod surrounded Sebaste with a strong wall (strengthening also its outer walls) and built in the center a sacred area with a massive temple consecrated to Augustus. He then repopulated the city with six thousand colonists, to whom he gave apportionments of the rich farmland round-about. Save for the dimensions of the wall (a circumference of 20 stades, about 2 miles), Josephus does not offer many details about the city—except to note that the Augustan temple "in size and beauty was among the most renowned," and that the city itself, although smaller than the previous city at the site, "did not fall short of that of the most renowned cities."

The excavations at Sebaste reveal that it was indeed a splendid city, although most of the impressive remains visible today belong to the time of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193–211), when the city was known as Lucia Septimia Sebaste. Also excavated were remnants of the city of the time of Gabinius, to whom the street grid and the design of the forum are attributed. The wall of which Josephus wrote (not all of which was uncovered) enclosed an area with a diameter of ca. 1/2 mile E–W and 1/2 mile N–S. The city gate was on the W, where two round towers were found dating to Herod's time (ca. 46 feet across and preserved to a height of ca. 33 feet). Remnants of the Augustan temple built by Herod (and later modified by Septimius Severus) have been uncovered, including a monumental staircase leading to an altar on a 14-feet-high platform (with an area of ca. 272 × 236 feet), a fragment of a statue of Augustus, and sacristy buildings. See Fig. SAM.01. The temple itself had a base of ca. 79 × 115 feet. In addition to the imperial shrine, the cult of Kore was also represented in Sebaste. Her temple (base of ca. 118 × 51 feet; octagonal altar with dedicatory inscription; sacred precinct of ca. 275 × 147 feet) stood to the N of the Augusteum. Her cult was associated also with the stadium (statue and dedicatory inscription to the goddess). Statues of Apollo, Dionysus, and Hercules were found in addition to those of Augustus and Kore. Both the Augustan and Kore temple complexes were damaged when Sebaste was burned by Jewish insurgents during the first revolt against Rome, A.D. 66. These and other structures were rebuilt and expanded by Septimius Severus in the late 2d–early 3d centuries (the height of Sebaste's prosperity). Remains of this later period include the west gate, the reconstructed stadium (ca. 755 × 197 feet), the colonnaded street (2,625 feet long, 41 feet wide, with ca. 600 surviving columns, 18 feet high), the forum (ca. 420 × 238 feet), a theater (external diameter of ca. 213 feet), a basilica (ca. 223 × 107 feet), tombs, and an aqueduct.

Sebaste is not referred to at all in the NT, at least not by name. References to Samaria are to the district only and not to the city of that former name. Some hold that "the city of Samaria" visited by the evangelist Philip was Sebaste, i.e., "the (principal) city of Samaria" (Acts 8:5; KJV), and that Simon Magus (Acts 8:9–13) may have been a functionary of the cult of Kore. However, the reading "a city of Samaria" is preferred (so most modern translations).

Sebaste became a bishopric during the Byzantine period and a site of Christian pilgrimage. The latter phenomenon was due to the identification of local tombs as the burial places of John the Baptist and the prophets Elisha and Obadiah (identified/confused with the associate of the prophet Elijah, 1 Kgs 18:3–16). Pilgrims also venerated two nearby caves as the places where Obadiah hid the Yahwistic prophets during the time of Ahab and Jezebel (1 Kgs 18:4). A tradition later developed (by the 6th century) that John the Baptist had been beheaded in Sebaste (*contra* Josephus, *Ant* 18. 119, who located the incident at the fortress of Machaerus).

The bishops of Sebaste were present at the major ecumenical councils of Nicea, Constantinople, and Chalcedon and at the Synod of Jerusalem. But the classical pagan tradition of the city was not easily extirpated. During the time of Julian II ("the Apostate," A.D. 361–363), the pagans of Sebaste desecrated the tombs and relics of the saints (Philost. *h. e.* 7. 4–80; Rufinus, *Eccl Hist* 2. 28–1034). The restored holy places were seen by Egeria and Paula and Jerome in the late 4th century. Jerome mentions strange, appalling religious rites in front of the tombs, which may have been vestiges of pre-Christian pagan customs.

The suppression of paganism following the death of Julian appears to have resulted in architectural changes in the city, including the eradication of the old temples and the conversion of the Roman basilica

on the E of the summit into a cathedral church. A church of John the Baptist was built in the 5th century, on the E side of the city, over the alleged tomb. Five capitals which had probably belonged to this church were found in the remains of a Crusader cathedral church of the 12th century. Also, remnants of another 5th-century basilica church were found to the S of the summit, in the excavation of a medieval monastery marking the site where Herodias received the head of John the Baptist (Matt 14:3–12; Mark 6:17–29).

Sebaste declined rapidly in the 6th century, probably as the result of an earthquake in 551. As previously noted, the market area of the colonnaded street was destroyed at this time and not rebuilt. The reduced city came under Muslim Arab control in the following century, ca. 634. When the Christian pilgrim Willibald visited Sebaste in 726, he referred to it as a village.

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## *SAMARIA OSTRACA*

The Samaria Ostraca were discovered by G. A. Reisner in 1910 in the excavation of Samaria, capital of the ancient N kingdom of Israel. They comprise the earliest corpus of ancient Hebrew writing extant today, consisting of 66 pen-and-ink inscriptions on potsherds which record delivery of quality wine and fine oil to the capital city during the 9th, 10th, and 15th years of the king who was, in all probability, Jeroboam II (786–746 B.C.E.). Reisner published a few of his many photographs of the ostraca along with 63 hand-drawn facsimiles (1924, 2:pl. 55; 1:239–43). There are also about 40 unpublished fragments, listed by register number (1924:246), including a few whole pieces which are fairly legible. All are part of the collection of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul.

Studies of the ostraca have been continuous since the Reisner, Fisher, and Lyon publication of 1924. Significant early works are Noth (1927; *IPN*; and 1932), Albright (1931), Diringer (1934), Maisler [Mazar] (1948), Moscati (1951), and Birnbaum (1954–57). Renewed interest in the ostraca followed Yadin (1959), Cross (1961), and *LBHG.* Extensive studies of the ostraca since that time by Rainey, Kaufman, and Lemaire are included in the bibliography below. Bibliography down to 1968 may be found in Gibson (*TSSI* 1), Teixidor (1967–81), and Lawton (1984).

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A. Importance of the Ostraca

B. Samples of the Text

C. Archaeological Data

1. Locus of the Ostraca
2. Pottery Typology

D. Paleography
E. Hieratic Year Number
F. Function of the Ostraca
G. Place Names and Personal Names

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**A. Importance of the Ostraca**

In brief, the ostraca are important for the following reasons: They contribute to the development of a relative typology of early Hebrew scripts. They provide a reasonably accurate absolute date on other than paleographical grounds, namely their locus in the fill of the foundations and floors of a building complex which was used for a considerable time prior to the destruction of the city, and also because a number of the ostraca bear the Egyptian hieratic numerals which indicate the 15th year. Moreover, many samples of letters of the alphabet written by a number of scribes increase our knowledge of how the letters were formed. The ostraca shed light on administrative record keeping. They provide the geographical location of clan districts within the tribal area of Manasseh. They give us new place names and personal names. They suggest a possible sociological distinction between persons whose names are formed with a Baal element and those whose names are Yahwistic or non-Baalistic. Orthographically, the ostraca indicate contracted diphthongs which, along with some other variations, reflect a dialectical difference from the Hebrew of Judah at that time (Cross and Freedman 1952:48–49). Three main issues have been debated recently: the date of the ostraca, whether the ostraca belong to one reign or two, and whether the significant person whose name is preceded by the letter *lamed* (*l*-man) was a tax collector, or an owner and sender, or a recipient of the product.

**B. Samples of the Text**

The ostraca may be classified in two groups for the recognition of similarities and differences between ostraca of different years. Only selected ostraca are presented here.

**1. Type 1.** Three examples of this include the following:

(a) No. 4 (as reconstructed from duplicates 5–7)

*bšt · htšʿt · mq* In the ninth year from Qosoh
*ṣh · lgdyn · nbl* to (credit of) Gaddiyaw, a jar
*yn · yšn ·* of old wine.

(b) No. 1

*bšt · hʿśrt · lšm* in the tenth year to (credit of)
*ryw · mbʾrym · nbl* [ · *yn* · ] Shemaryaw from Beerayim, a jar of
*yšn ·* old [wine.]
*grʿ · ʾlysʿ* · II Gera Elyasha 2
*ʿzʾ · q*[*d*]*b*[*?*] · I Azza Qadbesh (Lemaire 1973: 83) 1
*ʾlbʾ* [ · ] [I] Eliba 1
*bʿlʾ · ʾlyš*[ʿ · ] [I] Baala Elyasha [1]
*ydʿyw* [ · ] [I] Yadayaw [1]

(c) No. 13

*bšt · hʿśrt · mʾbʿ* In the ninth year from Abiezer
*zr · lšmryw · nbl ·* to (credit of) Shemaryaw, a jar of
*yn yšn · lʾṣḥr · mtwl* old wine to (credit of) Etshar from Tawil

**2. Type 2.** Note the following:

No. 22

*bšt · XV mḥ* In the 15th year from Heleq

*lq · lʾśʾ · ʾh* to (credit of) Asa

*mlk ·* Ahimelek.

*ḥlṣ · mḥṣrt* Heles from Haserot

**3. Comparison.** These two most common types shown above (1 a-c and 2) may be compared graphically as follows:

| 1. | 2. |
|---|---|
| year (ninth or tenth) | year (15th) |
| from a town (or clan district in Nos. 3 and 13) | from a clan district |
| (credited) to a person with a single name | (credited) to a person with two names |
| commodity (not named in No. 2) | commodity not named |
| secondary personal names (Nos. 1 & 2) | secondary personal names (one name plus town or two name and no town) |

Types 1 (b and c) manifest all of the characteristics of type 2 but in a less strict form. Aharoni (*LBHG*, 366) and Lemaire (1977:80) argue that the difference between types 1 and 2 suggests that they belong to different reigns.

**C. Archaeological Data**

**1. Locus of the Ostraca.** The commonly held view that the ostraca were found in the surface destruction debris on the floor of the Ostraca House, which was demolished with the fall of the city in 722/721 B.C.E., stems from Reisner's published report in which he states that the ostraca were found on the "living floor" of the courtyard. He goes on to report, however, that they were found in "the lowest part of the debris of occupation." Beneath the identified top surface of the floor, the ostraca were found in packed layers of dirt 20 to 40 cm. thick (1924:63, 223, 401). In his field diary he states that a number of the ostraca were found in dirty yellow debris that lay below the black surface debris. (Reisner, unpublished: 593). Clearly, ostraca dating only a few years apart could not find their way into widely varying depths of so-called occupational debris. The ostraca were, then, part of the makeup fill of the foundation walls and floor, and must be considered to be as old or older than the building to which later structural modifications were made including different kinds of doors and additional walls (Reisner 1924:116; Kaufman 1982:231–33). In several of the room and corridor areas where the ostraca were unearthed, both 9th- and/or 10th-, and 15th-year ostraca were found together as if, before being thrown out, they were in a common cache. With the possible exception of the jar label (no. 63), bearing a number probably between 12 and 14, no years other than 9th, 10th, and 15th are reported among the ostraca (Kaufman 1966:140; Lemaire 1977:37).

**2. Pottery Typology.** Pottery evidence is ambiguous due to the difficulty of dating the bowls and jars of Pottery Period IV accurately (Holladay 1966:69; 1976:Chart 2:269). It is clear, nevertheless, that at least one period of pottery existed between that of the ostraca and the fall of Samaria (Kaufman 1982:233). K. Kenyon and G. Crowfoot examined the ostraca in Istanbul, and concluded that most of them were written on Period IV pottery. Kenyon stated that none were later; Crowfoot believed that a few also resembled pottery of Period V. In their view both periods lay within the first half of the 8th century (Crowfoot et al. 1957:203, 470). At any rate, Period VI contains water decanters which do not appear in Reisner's levels associated with the ostraca, and a few samples of inscribed Period VI pottery from the Joint Expedition (Crowfoot et al. 1957:2, 470), bear a script which is clearly later typologically than that of the Samaria Ostraca. The evidence would indicate that the ostraca are no later than the penultimate pottery period before the destruction of the city, and this fits with the evidence that they were part of the fill of a substantial building project.

**D. Paleography**

The script of the Samaria Ostraca is a broad sampling of early cursive writing by skilled scribes using cut reed pens and ink. They wrote fairly rapidly with broad and thin strokes. A number of letters bear reflexes or tics which result from the readiness of the hand to proceed to the next horizontal of a letter or to the next letter itself. An intriguing question for which there is no ready answer is what the relationship might have been between this scribal tradition and that of the scribes of Egyptian hieratic writing. The technique is similar, and the Samaria scribes, who used the hieratic numerals, may well have been influenced by Egyptian scribal style even if indirectly through international relations with Egypt or Phoenicia. Incidentally, all of the letters of the alphabet are present on the ostraca with the exception of the letter *ṭeṭ*.

In typological development, the script of the ostraca is considerably later than that of the Mesha Inscription (ca. 840 B.C.E.). Between Mesha and the Samaria Ostraca in time are the ivory plaque found in Nimrud (probably taken there from Israel by the Assyrians) (Millard 1962:45) and the inscriptions from Kuntillet ʿAjrud (Meshel 1978:figs. 10–12). On the other hand, the script of the Samaria Ostraca is clearly earlier typologically than that of the several ostraca discovered at Samaria by the Joint Expedition inscribed on pottery from Period VI and dated by S. Birnbaum to the third quarter of the 8th century (Crowfoot et al. 1957:2, 24). Detailed description of the characteristics of individual letters and comparison with their counterparts in several other inscriptions has been done by Kaufman (1966:4–100; 1982:238).

The alphabet of the Samaria Ostraca shows some variety within the corpus, as we might expect from the number of scribes, but these variations are within the limits dictated by the formal shapes of the letters. See Fig. SAM.02. Special attention is drawn to the reflexes or tics on the horizontals of the letters *ʾalep, zayin, yod, samek,* and *ṣade.* Qop is uniformly written with a closed circular head. The so-called "S-headed" open *qop* should be excised from all charts of the Samaria Ostraca. Reisner may have been influenced in seeing this form because he read the combined letters *pe* and *reš* in ostracon no. 16a as *qop.*

Defending the two-reign theory, Y. Aharoni (*LBHG*, 366) and A. Lemaire (1977:80) date the 9th- and 10th-year ostraca to the reign of Joash (801–786 B.C.) and the 15th-year ostraca to the reign of Jeroboam II (786–746 B.C.). By this theory, the two groups of ostraca are separated by 21 years. Apart from the question of why the ostraca would have been kept for so long in close proximity as indicated by their being scattered together in the fill, the paleographical data does not appear to demand two periods, nor does the change in form of the notation on the 15th-year ostraca demand a different king as an explanation.

The paleographical argument against the two-reign theory is the fact that the characteristics described as advanced in the 15th-year ostraca are found as well in the 9th- and 10th-year ostraca. These would include the reflexed *ʾalep,* the two-horizontal *ḥet,* and the *lamed* with an angular hook. Other letters singled out in support of the two periods are *waw* and *qop.* Lemaire (1973:44–54; 1977:41) interprets some examples of *waw* as having been written with a single continuous stroke of the pen, a style which would fit better in the second half of the 7th century as in the Mesad Hashavyahu letter. The so-called "S-headed" *qop* which Lemaire cites as advanced is found in Reisner's inexact hand-drawn facsimiles of 15th-year ostraca nos. 22–24 and 26, but not 27 (1924, 1:240). It appears to be indefensible as a form as stated above, and even Reisner's published photograph of no. 22 (1924:2 pl. 55e5) does not substantiate the form, although the closed circular head will break open, being written with two strokes, in roughly another generation at Samaria as is shown by the script of the ostraca of the Joint Expedition (Crowfoot et al. 1957:14; pl. 1).

**E. Hieratic Year Number**

In concert with the paleographical and archaeological data, the year number 15 on many of the ostraca demands a reign of at least that many years, and the period of Jeroboam II seems right. Reisner had no doubt that the numerals were hieratic ten and five (undated: 13; 1924:1. 229–30). Yadin's series of numbers from 1–9 enabled him to claim that the figures in question were five and four (1961:9–25). The result for a while was that the 15th-year ostraca became 9th, and the whole corpus was assigned to the reign of Menahem (746–736 B.C.). Soon, however, interest in hieratic numerals in the Arad inscriptions

(Aharoni 1966:17) and on weights (Scott 1965:137) and fractional weights (Kaufman 1967:39–41) demonstrated that the numerals were to be read at face value.

**F. Function of the Ostraca**

The ostraca functioned in an accounting system, perhaps as temporary records. They were written in Samaria, since sherds broken from a common bowl or jar bear different place names, and the same scribal hand on ostraca such as 17a, 17b, 19, and 21 records different personal and place names (Yadin 1962:65; Kaufman 1966:155). Therefore they are not waybills from the source of the product. Some ostraca bear identical notations (16a and 16b, 17a and 17b and 4–7). Each would appear to record a separate jar of oil or wine. All 9th-year ostraca and three of the 10th record wine. All of the oil notations are written on thin gray jar sherds of Reisner's type I-3, and all but one of the wine notations are written on reddish bowl sherds of type I-14 (1924:1. 232–38). None of the 15th-year ostraca are written on the hard gray ware; most are written on bowl sherds, and half of these are of the I-14 type. Since the 15th-year ostraca mention no product, the pattern suggests that the unnamed product may have been wine.

The main issue in determining the function of the ostraca is the role of the men whose names are preceded by the preposition *lamed.* Its range of meanings, "to," "belonging to," "for," or even "to be credited to," are explained in three ways: (1) the *l*-men were tax officials to whom tax in kind was delivered (Shea 1977:26); (2) the *l*-men were owners or important officials who sent the commodity to the royal city as tax in kind (Yadin 1959:186; Cross 1975:10; Kaufman 1966:159; 1982:236–37); (3) the *l*-men were important officials who received the commodity from lands given to them by the crown, they being resident in Samaria "eating at the king's table," but providing their own subsistence from their land (Rainey 1962:62; 1967:32–41; 1979:91–94; Lemaire 1977:76; Aharoni *LBHG,* 322). According to the third theory, the ostraca would be directives, written at the royal storehouse in Samaria, assigning the commodity to the *l*-man who lived in the city.

The *l*-man can be associated with as many as four towns or three clan districts. No two *l*-men are related to the same town. Other persons without *lamed* are associated with only one *l*-man and one town, although several of these secondary men can be related to the same *l*-man and the same town as in ostraca nos. 1 and 2. The non-*l*-man would appear to work for the *l*-man, and is taken to be a tenant or servant responsible for delivery.

Rainey's theory (3) is based both on a land grant system operative in Ugarit in the Bronze Age in which the *lamed* refers to recipients of goods, and on biblical references (1 Sam 8:14; 22:7; 2 Sam 9:7–13). Rainey's Ugaritic references are directives ordering the giving of something, a tithe, tribute, or grain, to a person or persons. Whether the function of these texts is precisely parallel to that of the Samaria Ostraca is open to question. The latter contain no wordings that would indicate that they were directives.

Another hypothesis set forth recently in support of the second theory is as follows: Inscribed jars bearing personal and place names and content were not uncommon in Egypt and Israel (Lemaire 1977:68, 135; Avigad 1972:3). If jars of wine or oil delivered to Samaria bore inscriptions, as has been suggested by Yadin (1959:186) and by the presence of ostraca nos. 61–63, which are partial jar labels (unlike the other ostraca inscribed on prebroken sherds) the data contained on the label might have been the primary source of information used for writing the ostracon for a given transaction. The scribe at Samaria might not have needed any other data than the deliverer's name, which appears on the 15th-year ostraca at the end, often discontinuous with the rest of the notation by half a line. If that were the case, the scribe would be crediting the delivery to the owner whose name appeared on the jar. The *lamed* of ownership would become the *lamed* of "to the credit of," and the *l*-man would be a sender (Kaufman 1982:237). While the identity of the *l*-men has not been ascertained indisputably, we should expect evidence that the palace in the time of Jeroboam II was taxing its subjects, probably in kind, for the maintenance of high living noted for its lavish use of wine and fine cosmetic oil (Amos 6:6; Diringer 1934:38).

**G. Place Names and Personal Names**

The place names provide valuable geographical data. Town names corresponding with modern village names serve to locate clan divisions such as Asriel and Heleq. While Reisner had not recognized the name Asriel on ostraca nos. 42 and 48, new photographs confirm that reading by Albright (1931:249) and Cross

(1962:36). The town name Yashub now locates Asriel in the S part of Manasseh. Similarly, Reisner's town *sq* on ostraca nos. 16a and 29, is to be read as *spr* (Sepher), and its identification with Saffarin, W of Samaria locates the clan Shemida (Cross 1961:14; Michaud 1958:58). Albright believed that the town name *ttl* on ostraca nos. 13 and 21 was to be identified with modern Till (1931:250). This is supported by a new reading of the place name as *twl* (Kaufman 1966:136). Another probable reading is *gt pr›n* (Gat Paran) for Reisner's *›ztpr›n* on ostracon no. 14 (Michaud 1958:57; Kaufman 1966:136). The reading, *b›rym,* on ostracon no. 1, is preferable to Mazar's *p›rym* (1948:129).

The towns of the ostraca lie in a cluster around the city of Samaria at a distance of 4 to 8 miles, except for Yashub, at 12 miles, and Gat Paran, at 10. With the exception of Shechem they belong to the tribal area of Manasseh. None are from N Manasseh, which may have extended to the Esdraelon Valley. None are from Ephraim. The ostraca do not appear to represent nationwide taxation but rather convenient local sources of wine and oil. For distributional patterns see map-chart (Kaufman 1982:236). See also HEPHER (PLACE).

Personal names on the ostraca reflect the piety of the namers in keeping with the biblical practice. Albright's calculation (*ARI,* 160–61) that the ratio of Baal names to Yahwistic or non-Baal names in the ostraca is 7:11 appears now to have some sociological implication: only one *l*-man has a Baal name, while all of the rest of the Baal names belong to secondary men who work for the *l*-men. While Baalism was a force to be dealt with in the 8th century, the owners and senders of the wine and oil appear on the whole to be Yahwistic or at least non-Baalistic as far as their names are an indication. Recent photographs provide new readings for some of the personal names published by Reisner in the following ostraca: (1) *gr‹,* (9) *›dn‹m,* (13) *›ṣḥr,* (42) *›dnyw,* (50) *l› ryw,* (57) *‹bd›yw,* (58) *pdyw* (Kaufman 1966:141–44). The personal names on the ostraca have been examined by Noth (*IPN*), Diringer (1934), Lemaire (1977:47–55), and Lawton (1984:332–46).

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IVAN T. KAUFMAN

## *ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE REGION*

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A. Borders
B. Roads
C. Archaeological Periods
1. Early Bronze Age
2. Middle Bronze Age
3. Late Bronze Age
4. Iron Age I and II
5. Persian Period
6. Hellenistic Period
7. Roman Period

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### A. Borders

Samaria's N border extends W from the Gilboa mountains along the juncture of the mountains and the Plain of Jezreel, and from there to the mountains of Um el-Fahm and Nahal ʿEiron (Zertal 1986:12–15; Karmon 1980:349–60). Its E border extends along the escarpment of the hills leading down to the Jordan Valley. Its W border is along the junction connecting the foothills and the Sharon Plain. Its S border is somewhat controversial, but most researchers consider it to be in the region of Mt. Baal-hazor, along the streams of ʿAuja and Shiloh, which are tributaries of the Yarkon River (Ziv 1983:10–27).

The area of Samaria is estimated to be some 2250 km$^2$, and is rectangular in shape, having sides 50 km long and 45 km wide. The city of Nablus lies at its center. Geographers divide the district into three main units: Central Samaria, W Samaria, and E Samaria.

Central Samaria includes the area N of the Qalqilya-ʿAzun-Nablus road. This region on the slope of the mountains readily lends itself to agriculture, and is thickly settled. The Nablus Mountains, with some of the highest peaks in Samaria, are in this area: Jebel Hureish (764 m above sea level), Mt. Ebal (940 m above sea level), and Mt. Gerizim (881 m above sea level).

The Nablus Mountains region is surrounded by valleys that have attracted man since ancient times: the Dothan Valley, the Jaba Valley, the valleys of Nahal Shekhem, ʿAskar, Farʿah, Tubas, and Bezeq (Zababida). The Sanur valley lies at their center. The area of the valleys is some 15 percent of the total area of the region.

W Samaria consists of offshoots of mountain ranges extending from E to W and descending toward the Sharon Plain. South of Tulkarm they are composed of hard dolomite limestone, which creates a stony, dissected landscape.

From N of Tulkarm to Nahal ʿEiron the landscape is less rugged, consisting of chalk hills compatible to settlement. It ranges 100–500 m above sea level.

E Samaria consists of mountain ranges extending S-SW from the anticline of Farʿah. In this area the landscape consists of alternate ridges and valleys: Ras Jadir (712 m above sea level) and the Bukeia Valley; Jebel Tamun (539 m above sea level) and the Tirzah Valley; Jebel Kabir (792 m above sea level) and the Beit Dagan Valley.

Several of the peaks in the E are more than 900 m above sea level. Because of the limited rainfall in E Samaria (an average of 200 to 400 mm per annum), there have been no permanent settlements at any time throughout history.

Modern archaeological and geographical research contains studies in which Samaria is divided in a more detailed and discriminating manner than in this three-region division. A. Zertal divides the N part of Samaria, the hill country of Manasseh, into 23 geographic units, in accordance with landscape and geomorphological considerations (1986:12–15). I. Finkelstein divides S Samaria, the hill country of Ephraim, into six landscape units, each of which, in his opinion, is an independent geographic and settlement region (1986b: 117–19).

For the most part, Samaria has a Mediterranean climate. The average annual rainfall is from 550 to 700 mm, dependent on the altitude of any particular locality. Dew is plentiful in the mountains. In E Samaria there are various types of desert lithosols.

**B. Roads**

Two main historical routes extend the length of Samaria: the way through the slopes of the mountains in Central Samaria, and the way that follows the foot of the mountains, parts of which coincide with the well-known Via Maris, in the W. In the Classical periods, there were additional parallel routes, which were located between the two mentioned above (Dar 1981:376–82).

More than a dozen historical roads crossing the width of Samaria have been discovered. The most important passes through Nahal Shechem and Wadi Farʿah and connects the coastal plain, the slopes of the mountains, and the Jordan Rift. The city of Nablus, which is situated at the juncture of the two branches of this road, attained its important status because of its strategic command of the route.

Other roads across Samaria pass through the beds of wadis, and some pass over mountain ranges that rise from W to E.

The archaeological research conducted in the area has proved that Samaria's road network preceded the Roman-Byzantine period, and that parts of it were appropriated into the Roman system, which also set up milestones along them (Zertal 1986:183–94; Dar 1986:126–41).

**C. Archaeological Periods**

During the last 20 years, Samaria has been the object of intensive field research, which has revealed the character of the settlement distribution in the region. More than 1,000 archaeological sites are known in Samaria. The foundations for the renewed research were laid by the Emergency Survey of 1967 and 1968 conducted by groups led by Z. Kallai, R. Gophna, and Y. Porat (Gophna and Porat 1972:196–202). Y. Porat conducted a supplementary survey of the region, but it was not published. The surveys have revealed that ruins are typical of Samaria, and are usually situated on top of domes or at the tips of spurs. Tels are also prevalent, and as a rule they are situated near the internal valleys of the region.

**1. Early Bronze Age.** Some 80 sites of the EB were surveyed, and ceramics from periods I and II were discovered. In addition, strata of settlements of this period were unearthed in the well-known excavated sites of Tel el-Farʿah (Tirzah), Samaria-Sebaste, and Tel Dothan.

Most of the sites are situated in the internal valleys, near conveniently available sources of water. They may have hewed out catch basins in the chalk rock, which holds water well. The mountain settlers preferred the soft rendzina soils, which are easier to cultivate. Not many archaeological sites were found in the stony terra rosa areas. In some W Samarian sites, evidence of EB agricultural activity was discovered. The researchers believe that Mediterranean viniculture and olive growing began developing during this period (Gophna 1982:105). Study of the settlement pattern in the mountains of Samaria during the Bronze Age reveals central fortified sites (cities) and subsidiary unwalled villages spread out among

them. The fortified settlements may have controlled the agricultural and pasture lands in their surrounding areas.

In the mountains of Nablus and in Wadi Far‘ah, A. Zertal has explored six fortified enclosures dating from EB I and II. They are remarkable for their location and their command of the region.

Some 15 sites dating from the EB IV were explored. Some of them were walled settlements such as Bir Hassan, on the outskirts of the Dothan Valley, and Bab a-Naqb in Wadi Far‘ah. In Nablus, as well, evidence of settlement from this period was found. Black ceramics dating from the EB IV, of the type found by N. Glueck on the E side of the Jordan, were found in several sites in the mountains of Samaria.

It is customary to think of this period as a combination of local and newly arrived populations. The settlements are small and spread out, and they were not long-lived (Gophna 1982:122–23).

**2. Middle Bronze Age.** The Emergency Survey of 1967 and 1968 revealed for the first time the wide distribution of sites from the MB in Samaria (Gophna and Porat 1972:197–98). Today we know of some 170 sites in Samaria; 120 of them are in the area of Manasseh in the N, and about 50 are in the less settled area of Ephraim in the S (Zertal 1986:175–79; Finkelstein 1986b: 169).

Seventy percent of the MB settlement sites were established on virgin soil, especially in the 18th century B.C. Researchers noted the following characteristics of these sites: (1) most were on the edges of the inner valleys; (2) they depended on sources of flowing water; (3) most of the settlements were small and unwalled, and were originally established in this period; and (4) in difficult-to-settle regions, such as the desert frontier and the NW portion of Samaria, there were almost no settlements. The residents of Samaria began during this period to clear the forests in Samaria, to hew cisterns and seal them against seepage, and to develop advanced mountain agriculture based on orchards, field crops, and cattle.

In the internal valleys, fortified cities (e.g., SHECHEM, which became a center for its surrounding rural settlements) began to emerge. Each fortified mound became a center for 10–20 rural settlements (Zertal 1986:197). Only in Iron Age II and in the Persian period were there more sites in Samaria than there were in the MB. According to Zertal’s calculations, the population was less than 50,000 (Zertal 1986:214).

**3. Late Bronze Age.** There was a sharp decrease in the number of settlements in Samaria during the LB. Only 36 sites were surveyed, indicating that there were 70 percent fewer settlements than there had been in the MB. In the area of Manasseh, the reduction in the number of settlements was not as sharp as in the land of Ephraim (Finkelstein 1986b: 169; Zertal 1986:201–10). Settlements concentrated on the larger central mounds of Samaria. Their reduced number may have been a result of the military campaigns of the pharaohs of the 18th Dynasty against the land of Shechem or, possibly, of temporarily diminished water sources.

According to Zertal’s calculations, 80 percent of the cultivated lands in the region of Manasseh were abandoned, and the woodlands expanded again. In contrast to the sharp reduction in the number of unwalled settlements at that time, Shechem became the capital of a principality ruled by Bani Lebaya. The principality of Shechem, which is well known from the documents of el-Amarna, ruled most of Samaria under the patronage of the New Kingdom in Egypt.

**4. Iron Age I and II.** During the Iron Age I, the process of the Israelite settlement in Samaria took place. Small rural de novo settlements began to appear. Today we know of ca. 200 settlement sites in the mountains of Samaria, indicating a large-scale settlement process, which is attributed to the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. These settlement sites shared many common geographical and archaeological characteristics: most were small unwalled settlements whose area was from 2–4 dunams which relied upon rainwater collected in hewed cisterns. They were established in stony mountain areas, all the way to the frontier of Samaria. A small number of settlements were established on ruins of settlements and mounts from the MB or LB periods. Ceramic storejars with distinguishing collared rims, trench silos dug into the ground, and four-room houses are considered characteristic of the Israelite settlement in the mountains of Samaria. On the basis of various considerations, archaeologists have concluded that the process of Israelite settlement in the mountain regions took place during the last half of the 13th and the beginning of the 12th centuries B.C.

On the basis of extensive surveys and excavations carried out by Finkelstein and Zertal at ʿIZBET SARTA and SHILOH (Finkelstein 1986a and 1986b) and at Mount EBAL (Zertal 1986:225–75), several proposals concerning the settlement process in the mountains of Samaria were suggested; settlement was not uniform throughout the region. See also SEILUN, KHIRBET. Some sites show a continuity from the LB to the Israelite settlement. Additionally, the settlement pattern tends to shift from E to W into the areas that are void of crowded Canaanitic settlement, thus indicating that there was coexistence between the Canaanitic and Israelite populations.

Researchers propose the following sequence in the development of the settlement economy: from a pasture economy on the edge of the desert, to a pasture-and-field crops economy in the internal valleys, to, finally, a plantation economy in the mountains.

The site excavated by A. Zertal on Mount Ebal, above Nablus, is an interesting find dating from the settlement period (Zertal 1986:224–74; 1986–87). Zertal has identified a large two-layered ritual site dating from the period of 1250–1150 B.C. He also found bones of kosher animals and ceramic and archaeological evidence that admirably establish the date of the site.

Most of the sites established in Iron Age I continued to exist into Iron Age II, when many new settlements were also established. The total number of Samarian mountain settlements yielding pottery from Iron Age II is ca. 320. This process of accelerated settlement continued from the period of the kingdom until the Assyrian conquest of Samaria.

In Iron Age II, even marginal agricultural areas at the edge of the desert were settled. Also, various branches of agriculture were developed and many technical innovations introduced during that period. D. Eitam has identified W Samarian settlements whose populations supported themselves by producing olive oil (Eitam 1987:16–36). Kh. Jemeʿin, a walled rural settlement dating from Iron Age II, operated a communal olive press, a wine press, and a wine cellar (Dar 1986:13–73). In Iron Age II, for the first time in Samaria, farmhouses of the type prevalent particularly in the W of the region made their appearance. A single-period farmhouse of this type was explored in Qoren Liqrana, 2 km E of Kafr Tult. The dimensions of the farmhouse were 27.10 × 29.30 m, and it was built of stone (Dar 1986:2). It included an internal quadrangular tower and an external round tower. It is possible that the farmhouse served as a center for an extended family, which was normal in Iron Age II and lasted into Roman times. To the best of our knowledge, these farmhouses are the most ancient that have been found in the E Mediterranean region.

The first archaeological indications of solutions for the security problems of Samaria in Iron Age II were found during a survey of W Samaria. Approximately a dozen enclosures and strongholds were located. They formed a defensive line on the slopes of the mountains of Samaria and defended the main passes from the coastal plain to the center of the mountains. These enclosures and strongholds included Tel Qaʿada and Shufa near Tulkarm; the enclosures of Beit Lid, which defended the approach to Shechem and Samaria; Kur, Qarnei Shomron, the stronghold of Nahal Qanah, Haris, and Qarawat Bani Hassan (Dar 1986:213–17). It is probable that in E Samaria, there was a defense and stronghold network similar to that explored in W Samaria.

**5. Persian Period.** The history of the mountains of Samaria during the Persian period has not yet been fully understood, but archaeological surveys have found ceramic evidence at ca. 300 sites of widespread Persian influence. Despite the political changes in Samaria from the end of the Iron Age and into the Persian period, many sites show a continuity, and apparently the population did not decline.

The major settlements of Samaria, (e.g., Shechem and the city of Samaria) have yielded archaeological finds from this period (Stern 1973:31–34), but the evidence is scanty. Only a few excavations at Persian sites have been carried out in the countryside of Samaria, and the general picture is not yet clear. At Qedumim decorated pottery was found in a cistern, in addition to imported Attic pottery from Greece (Magen 1982). The excavator believes that the settlement is situated on a previously Samaritan site. Remnants from the Persian period were found in agricultural towers near Qarnei Shomron, in SW Samaria, and at Um Rihan in NW Samaria (Dar 1986:108).

The distribution of the Persian period farms in the mountains of Samaria is an interesting phenomenon. In two regions, more than 20 farmhouses dating from Iron Age II and the beginning of the Persian period

were explored. A large concentration was found in SW Samaria between Nahal Qanah in the N and Nahal Natuf in the S (Finkelstein 1981:331–48), and a smaller concentration was found in the region of Um Rihan in NW Samaria (Dar, Safrai, and Tepper 1986:105–14). The distribution of the farmhouses indicated agricultural activity on marginal and stony lands in the Persian period and before it. Some of these farms were established in Iron Age II, but continued to be active in the Persian and Hellenistic periods.

It should be noted that the enclosures and military strongholds from Iron Age II, which were investigated in W Samaria, continued into the Persian period. Ceramic evidence from that period was found in Tel Qa‹ada, in Shufa, in the enclosures of the Beit Lid region, in Kur, and in Qarnei Shomron.

The Persian authorities of Samaria may have reactivated part of the defense line of their predecessors. The well-known documents of Wadi Daliyeh have indicated security problems at the end of the Persian period, and the recent discovery of an Aramaic economic document in the caves of Ketef Yeriho have added to our knowledge. It contains a list of money borrowers, all of whose names are Jewish (Eshel 1988:18–23). It is attributed to the years 300–335 B.C., and may relate to the rebellions against Artaxerxes III, which took place at that time in Palestine. See DALIYEH, WADI ED-.

**6. Hellenistic Period.** As many sites can be attributed to the Hellenistic period in Samaria as to the Persian period. However, complete data on the latest investigations have not yet been published.

In the principal settlements of Samaria, such as Shechem and the city of Samaria, substantial finds from the Hellenistic period were discovered, but little excavation has taken place in the rest of the region. A fortified city from the Hellenistic period was recently excavated on Mt. Gerizim, and covers ca. 300 dunams (Magen 1986:91–101). A defense wall, a gate, and a stronghold measuring 23 × 25 m were among the finds. The splendor and the high quality of the construction of the dwellings are striking. They were evidently built according to a uniform plan, which consisted of a stone-paved courtyard surrounded by rooms. The two-story houses had toilets and bathrooms, and their walls were well-plastered. In light of the unearthed ceramics and coins, the excavator proposed that the city was built at the beginning of the 2d century B.C. and was destroyed during the military conquests of John Hyrcanus.

We lack sufficient data on the city's founders and its inhabitants in the Hellenistic period. The residents were probably members of the Samaritan community who separated themselves from their fellow Jews in Jerusalem, and consequently suffered from the Hasmonean conquests. However, another plausible assumption is that the settlement on Mt. Gerizim was part of the Ptolemaic or the Seleucid settlement in the region, and that its conquest by John Hyrcanus was part of the Hasmonean rulers' activities against the foreign population in the mountains of Samaria.

During the Hellenistic period, widespread settlement activity took place, and its distinguishing feature was field towers, hundreds of which have been surveyed in both N and S Samaria. A typical field tower is a small stone structure whose dimensions average approximately 4 × 4 m. These towers were used in the processing of agricultural produce, especially in grape growing and wine production. In many instances the tower is situated in an enclosed agricultural area, probably the estate of the farmer who operated it (Dar 1986:88–125). Some of the towers were built in the Hellenistic period, and in the opinion of S. Applebaum, they are evidence of the Hasmonean dynasty's settlement project in Samaria (Applebaum 1986:257–69). There is also a possibility that parts of the settlement areas in W Samaria were property of the king in the Hellenistic period and that they became Kings Mountain Country from the Hasmonean period and thereafter.

The fortifications network of W Samaria, which was put into operation in Iron Age II and continued to operate in the Persian period, was not entirely abandoned in the Hellenistic period. In most of the enclosures, Hellenistic ceramics were found in quantities that testify to continued activity. The outstanding site is the acropolis of Kh. Firdusi, N. of Qarawat Bani Hassan (Dar 1986:218–21). An investigation was carried out there on a fortified area covering approximately 35 dunams, leading to the discovery of a wall, a fortified tower, and large storage areas reminiscent of Hellenistic Pergamum and Herodian Masada.

**7. Roman Period.** Several hundred sites from the Roman and Byzantine periods were explored in Samaria. The line of archaeological differentiation between these two periods is not yet clearly drawn, so the distinction between them is primarily historical. This was a peak period of settlement in the region, from the point of view of the number of settlements, and evidently the number of residents also peaked at that time. All the marginal stony lands, including those on Samaria's desert frontier, were settled and cultivated by the local population, which included indigenous elements of Samaritans and Jews who were joined by settlers of pagan origin. The Hellenistic and Roman governments first seized important settlements such as Shechem and Samaria-Sebaste, but subsequently they spread their rule to the rural settlements.

In Shechem-Neapolis, excavations revealed important parts of the Roman city, including the theater, the hippodrome, the amphitheater, a section of the street of the cardo, and the stairs leading to the temple of Zeus-Jupiter, which was located at er-Ras on Mt. Gerizim. An approximately 3-m-thick section of the city's wall was also discovered.

In addition, a mosaic floor of a citizen's luxurious dwelling from the 3d century A.D. and a number of magnificent mausolea were found at the foot of Mt. Ebal.

The theater was found at the foot of Mt. Gerizim, and part of it is built into the side of the mountain. It is one of the largest theaters in W Palestine, with a diameter of approximately 110 m (Magen 1984:269–77). The orchestra is colorfully tiled, and along the row of stone seats belonging to the community's dignitaries, are engraved the names of the families for whom the seats were reserved. Parts of statues of dolphins and of women were found among the ruins. The theater was probably built in the 2d century A.D.

Between Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Ebal, where Roman Neapolis once stood, parts of the hippodrome were unearthed. It is approximately 320 m long and 80 m wide. In the E part of the hippodrome, a section of the amphitheater, elliptical and with dimensions of some 80 × 100 m, was unearthed. Magen estimates that it could seat 10,000 spectators.

In the center of the Casbah of Shechem part of the Roman cardo was discovered. Underneath it is an impressive sewage canal. Several mausolea were discovered at the foot of Mt. Ebal. The names of the buried are carved on some of the sarcophagi; they were Jews or Samaritan citizens of the polis (Damati 1973:118–20). In the W part of the city, another magnificent mausoleum was found. It has three complete burial caves (Magen 1987:72–91). The agricultural area of the polis was investigated by Z. Safrai, who detected systematically arranged plots of land on the mountains surrounding the city (Safrai 1986:83–126). He found that the average size of the plots was about 13 to 17 dunams, and believes that they belonged to the settlers of the Roman polis of Neapolis. The archaeological findings of Samaria-Sebaste have been well-known for some time, and no new excavations that changed the picture have been carried out there.

A. Zertal carried out excavations in NW Samaria at Kh. al-Hammam and discovered a siege defense system from the early Roman period (Zertal 1981:112–18). The system includes a dike, camps, and a rampart. A branch of the Roman Caesarea-Ginei (Jenin) road passes near the site. Archaeological evidence from the time of the First Temple through the Early Roman Period (1st and 2d centuries A.D.) was discovered at Kh. el-Hammam. Zertal identifies this site as Arruboth of the Bible, and Narbatha of the time of the Second Temple, the place to which the Jews of Caesarea fled when the rebellion against Rome broke out (in 66 A.D.). This sophisticated siege defense system is attributed to the campaign of the Roman Governor Cestius Gallus, who hastened to suppress the rebels in Judea.

Extensive field studies of the rural landscape of Samaria in the Roman period have been carried out. In addition, a number of excavations were made in villages and towns of the region. The population of the region was mostly rural, and lived in clusters of villages or in towns of unstable size. The archaeological difference between a village and a town is strictly physical. A village has a small number of houses and families, whereas in a town, the built-up area covers approximately 20 to 40 dunams. On the other hand, the social differences between town and village are considerable.

A rural Samaritan settlement was excavated in Qedumim, but its total area was not investigated. It contained two fine olive presses, stone dwellings, and ritual purification baths. Also discovered were iron

agricultural tools including a plowshare, and axe, and chisels (Magen 1982). The village of Qedumim, whose origins are in the Persian period, was destroyed in the Samaritan insurrection against the Byzantines in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D.

Kh. Buraq is a medium-sized town whose well-preserved condition enables measurement of its developed area (some 25 dunams), its crafts area, and its overall agricultural area. This settlement had some 60 or 70 houses with courtyards and a population of 1,000 to 1,500 (Dar 1986:51–76). The overall agricultural area of Kh. Buraq is estimated to be 1,800 dunams, and each family theoretically held about 25 dunams on the average. In the agricultural area, some 70 field towers, corresponding to the number of houses in the settlement, were investigated. The agricultural installations of the village indicate that its residents made their living from vineyards, from olive orchards for the production of olive oil, from grains, from flocks, and from crafts such as hewing stones. In the Roman period, the residents of Buraq produced more than they needed for their own consumption, and sent large quantities of wine and oil to market. With the proceeds they could afford a higher standard of living, as indicated by the material finds in their settlement.

Um Rihan is a large town whose built-up area covers approximately 36 to 40 dunams. Similar to its sister settlement, Kh. Buraq, it is almost completely preserved. The town had some 100 houses (Dar, Safrai, and Tepper 1986). A well-made network of narrow streets linked the parts of the town. This network served, among other things, to collect runoff water into hewn cisterns. The houses are built of hewn stone, and have cellars and upper levels.

The town was defended by a network of watch- and lookout towers, and the outside walls of houses were arranged to form an enclosing line around the settlement. The remnants of a Roman bath house and the Latin inscription of a public building were found, along with 8–9 oil presses, and a considerable number of wine presses. Some 100 field towers were surveyed—and some of them were excavated—in the agricultural area of Um Rihan. Reconstruction of the economic basis of the town in the Roman period shows that olive oil, wine, cereals, sheep, and livestock were the mainstays of its agricultural economy. Evidence of local iron-tempering and glass-blowing was also found in the excavations. It is estimated that the town had 3,000–3,500 residents—Jews or Samaritans who abandoned it after the revolts of the 5th century A.D.

Farmhouses which had originated in Iron Age II were still prevalent in the Roman period. One, in N Samaria, was still intact. The farm, called Qasr e-Lejah, is located on a stony spur E of Um Rihan (Dar 1986:10–12; Dar, Safrai, and Tepper 1986:109–13). It measures 26.5 × 36.0 m, and contains a tower in which the master lived, living quarters for the workers, storehouses, and a fine olive press. Surrounding the farm are cisterns for winepresses, which are carved into the rock. The finds indicate that olive oil and wine were among its basic agricultural products. Evidently its owner was well-to-do, and perhaps was close to the Hellenistic-Roman authorities.

In the Roman period the number of field towers reached its peak, but it was then that they also lost their important position in the agricultural system. More than 1,200 towers were surveyed in Samaria, and from them, we learn of developed plantation agriculture, especially viniculture and wine production (Dar 1986:88–125). The towers were widespread in Samaria in the early Hellenistic and Roman periods, and they served as centers of the agricultural estates of the farmers of the region. Evidently, in wake of the events of the Jews' rebellions against Rome, they lost this function in the 2d century A.D. The field towers did not disappear from the landscape of Samaria in the Late Roman and Byzantine periods, but their use and importance in the agriculture of the region diminished, and they became ordinary field structures.

In the Roman period, the road network in Samaria attains its widest scope and distribution. The network, some of which existed in the earlier biblical periods, encompassed all of Samaria, linking its settlements, and linking the farmer to his fields. Until the Roman period, the road network was organic and adapted to the settlement distribution of the region. A rural road network that served the agro-economic needs of the villagers was detected in Samaria. Thus, for example, 18 roads from the center of the village Qarawat Bani Hassan were found, with a total length of about 35 km (Dar 1986:126–46).

In addition to the rural roads, a network of roads connected settlements, irrespective of size. An enormous amount of work went into constructing the roads system, which included quarrying, making the shoulders, and hewing water cisterns for the use of travelers and animals.

Evidently in the Roman period, the main ancient routes became Roman Kings Highways, and milestones were set up along them. In W Samaria, I. Roll and E. Ayalon found Roman roads that connected the polis cities on the coastal plain with the polis cities in the hill country (Roll and Ayalon 1986:113–34). Other surveys have discovered milestones along the routes connecting Sebaste and Appolonia; Neapolis and Joppa; Neapolis and Apollonia; Neapolis and Lod; and Gophna and Antipatris.

The rural and state road network of Samaria is an indication of organized administration, of social and economic openness, and of extensive commerce.

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SHIMON DAR

TRANS. MENACHEM EREZ


## *PAPYRI*

The Samaria papyri are a group of fragmentary remains of legal papyri once belonging to wealthy patricians of Samaria. In the early spring of 1962, Taʿâmireh Bedouin came upon them in a cave in the Wâdī ed-Dâliyeh (about 14 km N of Jericho, on the W rim of the Jordan rift), along with the bones of their owners—men, women, and children. See also DALIYEH, WADI ED-.

F. M. Cross suggests a likely explanation. After an abortive revolt in 331 B.C.E., Samaritans fleeing Alexander's forces hid in these caves with their title deeds in hand. But Alexander's forces found them out and built a fire at the mouth of the cave to suffocate them. There the papyri and skeletons remained undisturbed for nearly 23 centuries.

The earliest dated papyrus comes from sometime between the 30th and 39th year of Artaxerxes II (Mnemon), therefore between 375 and 365 B.C.E. The latest is from 335 B.C.E. in the reign of Darius III

(Codomannus). Most of the papyri were probably written during the reign of Artaxerxes III (Ochus; 358–337 B.C.E.). Whenever the place of execution is extant on the papyrus, it is "Samaria."

There are 18 fragments large enough to call "papyri," and about 9 other pieces of some size. Various types of deeds are represented among the papyri, but by far the most prevalent type is the slave sale. The first 9 papyri—all deeds of slave sale—can be reconstructed rather fully despite their fragmentary character because they adhere so closely to a common formula. There is less hope for reconstructing those papyri that fall into other categories. For instance, there are two documents that look like pledges of a slave in exchange for a loan, a sale of a house, a sale of living quarters or storerooms in a house, a sale or antichretic pledge of a vineyard, manumission or release of a pledged slave, a receipt for a payment associated somehow with a pledge, and one small fragment that looks like a judicial settlement by oath.

The Samaria papyri afford the paleographer rare and valuable examples of 4th-century Aramaic script, filling in the gap between the better documented Aramaic scripts of the 5th and 3rd centuries. The documents are written in a conservative form of Official Aramaic—the standard Aramaic used by scribes in the Persian period (from Darius I to Darius III) to draft documents of an official nature (e.g., legal documents and administrative correspondence). The language shows very little Persian influence. Otherwise, it is essentially indistinguishable from the Aramaic of the 5th-century Arsames correspondence and Elephantine legal papyri.

The greatest importance of the Samaria papyri lies in their contribution to the history of law. The formulary for selling slaves exemplified in the Samaria papyri seems to derive in its basic structure from the formulary used for the sale of movables in the late Neo-Babylonian period (from the time of Darius I on). Aramaic scribes appear to have adopted this basic structure and then freely modified it, in part by drawing on formulas from other types of late Neo-Babylonian documents and in part by assimilating it to their own native legal traditions. A comparison between the law of the Samaria papyri and cuneiform law contributes to a growing awareness of an extensive and ongoing symbiosis between Aramean and Babylonian scribal traditions throughout the Persian and Hellenistic periods. Further, the evidence of the Samaria papyri both clarifies and expands our picture of the role of Aramaic scribes as creative intermediaries of cultural traditions throughout the ANE.

The Syria papyri also give us a peephole on the political and social life of 4th-century Samaria. For instance, we learn that Samaria was then a city within the Persian province of the same name administered by a governor and prefect. Several names of governors and prefects are attested in the papyri, including one Sanballat. The vast majority of sellers, buyers, and slaves alike bear Yahwistic names. Further, the slaves sold become slaves for life, directly violating the regulations of Lev 25:39–47.

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DOUGLAS M. GROPP


**SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.** The Samaritan Pentateuch (Sam. Pent.) is the Samaritan version of the first five books of the Hebrew Bible, which constitute the entire canon of the Samaritan community. The renewed interest in the Sam. Pent. by biblical scholars has focused on its importance as a

source for the history and origins of this community, which still exists at Nablus and at Ḥolon; as a valuable textual witness to an early recension of the Hebrew Bible and to the antiquity of the text preserved in the MT; and as empirical evidence of a documentary hypothesis for the composition of literatures in the ANE.

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A. History of Investigation
B. History of the Samaritan Pentateuch
    1. Prehistory of the Sectarian Recension
    2. Origination as a Sectarian Recension
    3. History of the Sectarian Recension
C. Character of the Samaritan Pentateuch
D. Value of the Samaritan Pentateuch

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**A. History of Investigation**

The history of research into the Sam. Pent. can be grouped into five periods: early Jewish and patristic writers; J. Morinus to G. Gesenius; Gesenius to P. Kahle; Kahle to P. Skehan and F. M. Cross; and the present state of the study.

Whereas patristic writers accepted the Sam. Pent. as a viable text, early rabbis did not because it was written not in Aramaic script but in paleo-Hebrew. However, this early period is obscure, and little is known of the use and value of the Sam. Pent. outside the Samaritan community.

It was not until the 17th century that a rediscovery of the Sam. Pent. by European scholars led to a renewed interest in the text and its tradition. In 1616 Pietro della Valle acquired a complete codex of the Sam. Pent. and forwarded it to Europe. In 1631 J. Morinus pronounced the new codex infinitely superior to the MT, and published its text in the Paris Polyglot of 1645. B. Walton corrected that edition in the London Polyglot of 1657, to which Cassellus appended in vol. 6 the famous collation of 6,000 variants between the MT and Sam. Pent., 1,900 of which agreed with LXX.

In the period from Morinus to Gesenius theological bias informed attitudes toward the Sam. Pent. Roman Catholics, wanting to embarrass Protestants, who had recently replaced the authority of the Church with the original Scriptures, preferred the Sam. Pent. and found support in its ancient script. Morinus also observed that the two translations authorized by the Roman Catholic Church, the Vg and LXX, often agreed with the Sam. Pent.

Gesenius' classic study in 1815 of the Sam. Pent.'s origin and age, and of its character and critical value, dominated the field for the next century. He thought the Samaritan sect and its text began when Alexander the Great allowed the Samaritans to build their temple on Mt. Gerizim. Consequently, Samaritan priests introduced sectarian readings into the Jewish text they received. Concerning the agreement between the Sam. Pent. and LXX, Gesenius (1815:14) drew the conclusion: "The Alexandrian translation and the Sam. Pent. came from Judean codices which were similar to each other." He refers to this common source as "*the Alexandrino-Samaritanus* recension," in contrast to the Judean recension, which obtained authority among the Jews. The Alexandrino-Samaritan recension, he argued, was a vulgar text, received by the Jews in Alexander and by the Samaritans in Palestine, who further simplified and popularized the text by correcting its difficulties and adding glosses and conjectural emendations. The Jews of Jerusalem, by contrast, Gesenius argued, "because of their piety … tried to preserve the ancient text unchanged though it was harder to understand, more obscure, and not completely free from defects" (1815:14). According to him both the history and character of the Sam. Pent. unite in their testimony that it has no critical value. Gesenius was followed with slight modifications by Z. Frankel, S. Kohn, and J. Nutt. While A. Geiger held the same view toward the Sam. Pent. as Gesenius, he introduced much new material, recognized that most variants antedate the Samaritans, and was more critical of the MT. Although Gesenius' work is a masterful tour de force, it is often arbitrary.

In 1915 Kahle inclined scholars to look more favorably toward the Sam. Pent. with his theory that the Sam. Pent. was very old, the LXX was derived from many old translations and standardized by the

Church, and the MT was a late creation from older sources. Therefore, even though Kahle conceded that the Sam. Pent. was a vulgar text, because of its antiquity he asserted it must preserve many more genuine readings than the four allowed by Gesenius. Kahle also judged that the text was much older than the time of the schism. He argued for the early character of the "pre-Samaritan text" based on the agreement of the Sam. Pent. with the book of *Jubilees*, the book of *1 Enoch*, the *Assumption of Moses*, the LXX, and the NT. J. E. H. Thomson, out of a desire to refute the documentary hypothesis, dated the Sam. Pent. to the age of Ahab, and M. Gaster, taking an uncritical attitude toward the Sam. Pent., accepted as genuine even Gesenius's "most desperate" sectarian readings. J. Hempel in 1934 accepted Kahle's reconstructed history of the recensions of the Pentateuch, but after carefully collating, comparing, and weighing texts having Samaritan readings against the MT, he concluded that the MT was a much better text than the Sam. Pent. R. H. Pfeiffer, B. Roberts, F. G. Kenyon (1975) and F. F. Bruce, ignored Gesenius and, following Kahle, stressed its antiquity and implied authority, especially where it agrees with LXX. O. Eissfeldt, A. Weiser, and E. Würthwein, though following Kahle, are more cautious, and B. Roberts (1969; cf. 1951:188) became more cautious after the discovery of the Qumran literature (QL).

The discovery of the QL enabled scholars to view the Sam. Pent. more clearly in its textual and historical horizons. In 1955 P. Skehan announced that 4QpaleoExod$^{m}$ (Q$^{m}$) belonged to the Samaritan recension with its paleo-Hebrew script, full orthography, and lengthy repetitions. In 1959 he noted that this recension, which stood behind the Sam. Pent., lacked the "sectarian readings" of the Sam. Pent. from which it derived.

In 1964 R. Hanson dated Q$^{m}$ on paleographic grounds to 225–175 B.C., which antedates the existence of the Qumran community (ca. 150 B.C.–A.D. 68). However, on the same grounds, M. McLean (1982) revised its date from 100 to 25 B.C. J. Sanderson (1986:308) essentially confirmed Skehan's study but found that "all of the characteristics of that 'sectarian' expansion about Gerizim had their precedent in those shared expansions." Note, however, that Q$^{m}$ itself does not have room for the Sam. Pent.'s inclusion about the altar on Gerizim as part of the Decalogue. She (1986:189) also found "very little evidence … to support the notion of a relationship between the Sam. Pent. and the LXX, whether or not Q$^{m}$ is included," but she did not interact with the evidence presented in Waltke's unpublished dissertation (1965) which suggested such a relationship. Finally, on text critical grounds Sanderson suggested that Q$^{m}$ "represents a somewhat earlier stage in the development of the tradition than Sam. Pent. " (189).

Following W. F. Albright (1955:27–33), from 1956 on F. M. Cross revised Kahle's notion of the development of the Torah text by his theory of three local texts, each developing naturally in isolation from the other. According to this model, the LXX originated in Egypt, proto–Sam. Pent. in Palestine, and proto-MT in Babylon. According to Cross, the Sam. Pent. diverged as a sectarian recension ca. 100 B.C., and proto-MT became the standard text of the rabbis ca. A.D. 100. In 1965 Waltke sought (1) to establish on the basis of Gerleman's earlier study (1948) that the proto–Samaritan text-type reached back at least to the time of the Chronicler; (2) to reestablish on the basis of later research Gesenius' classifications of the Sam. Pent.'s secondary readings; and (3) to suggest on the basis of collating Exodus 1–10 in the Sam. Pent., LXX, and MT that proto-MT influenced proto–Sam. Pent. at a later stage before its adaptation by the Samaritan sectarians.

In 1975 Talmon rejected both limiting the number of text-types to three and, more importantly, the notion of an Urtext from which others diverged. In his view the text was known from the beginning in a variety of forms. In 1978 Albrektson rejected the theory that the rabbis consciously produced a standard text; instead, he argued, the MT emerged as the standard text because it was the text of the Pharisees who supplanted other religious groups. From 1980 on, E. Tov has argued in the direction pioneered by Talmon against both the notions of an Urtext and of grouping QL mss into fixed text-types. Instead, he (1981:247) argued, they relate to each other "in an intricate web of agreements, differences and exclusive readings," although he does grant that Q$^{m}$ is close to the Sam. Pent. (1982:22–23). Even though Cross' theory of local texts may have to be modified, QL confirms the internal evidence of the Sam. Pent.'s readings that the text-type of the MT is older than the Sam. Pent.

**B. History of the Samaritan Pentateuch**

The history of the text can be analyzed as consisting of three phases: its prehistory, its origination as a sectarian recension, and its later history.

**1. Prehistory of the Sectarian Recension.** The prehistory of the Sam. Pent. can be surmised from the relatively direct evidence of QL and from the indirect evidence of early Jewish literature, NT, LXX, the book of *Jubilees,* and the canonical book of Chronicles. Geiger (1876:67) recognized that the variant readings of the Sam. Pent. derive from a nonsectarian recension.

**a. Sam. Pent. and QL.** An important group of relatively early texts unearthed at Qumran is the one characterized by harmonistic expansions and linguistic simplifications like those found in the Sam. Pent. These texts include one in paleo-Hebrew script, 4QpaleoExod$^{m}$ (Sanderson 1986); others in Aramaic square script, 4Q158, 4QTestim (Allegro 1956; Skehan 1957); and unpublished texts, 4QNum$^{b}$ (Cross 1961:186; 1963 newsletter), 4Q364, and 4QDeut.$^{n}$ Scholars refer to these texts, which themselves show a complex pattern of agreements and disagreements with one another and with known recensions, as proto-Samaritan because it was the type of text which the Samaritan sectarians adapted by slight alterations for their Torah. Sanderson (1986:308) draws the conclusion that "the Samaritans used a biblical text that is a very natural descendant of texts that other groups also used at that time," including "sectarian" readings. Furthermore, the Sam. Pent. "appears to represent a very close collateral line of the Sam. Pent. textual family and/or a slightly later representative than Q$^{m}$." By collating the Sam. Pent. with the MT, LXX, and the fragment of 4QTestim containing the extended interpolations from Deut 5:28–29 and 18:18–19 (= Sam. Pent. Exod 20:21b), Waltke (1965:218–24) found that the Sam. Pent. stood closer in its orthography and linguistic tradition to the MT than 4QTestim. The second fragment containing Num 24:15–17 cannot be identified uniquely with any text-type, and its third fragment, containing Deut 33:8–11, shows definite affinities with the earliest form of the LXX (Skehan 1957:435). According to K. Matthews (1986:198–99), although 11QPaleoLev is written in paleo-Hebrew script, it does not fit the pattern of such scrolls in 4Q, for it is not characterized by "Samaritan" readings.

**b. Sam. Pent. and NT.** Speakers in the NT depended on a text-type similar to the Sam. Pent. in several passages. Stephen's statement that Abraham went to Canaan *after* the death of Terah (Acts 7:4), comports with the chronology in the Sam. Pent. that Terah died at 145 (cf. Gen 11:26; 12:4) and not with the statement in the MT that he died at 205 (Gen 11:32), 60 years after Abraham left. In 7:5 Stephen quotes Deut 2:5b using the word *klēronomia,* whose Hebrew equivalent *yršh* appears only in the Sam. Pent., but not in the MT or LXX. In that same sermon (7:32) Stephen quotes from the Sam. Pent. of Exod 3:6 and not from the LXX or MT. In v 37 he unexpectedly interpolates a passage from Deut 18:15 in a way similar to the Sam. Pent. Finally, the writer of Hebrews (9:3) probably locates with the Sam. Pent. against the MT and LXX the golden altar of incense behind the veil of the holy of holies. These agreements between the NT and the Sam. Pent. are best explained as the use of the proto-Samaritan text-type in some NT literature (Pummer 1976:441–43).

**c. Sam. Pent. and LXX.** We already observed that according to Cassellus, the Sam. Pent. agrees with the LXX against the MT in 1,900 readings, and that according to Gesenius this is best explained as a dependence upon an earlier common recension. Waltke's (1965:226–56) collation of the first ten chaps. of Exodus led him to agree with Gesenius that the Sam. Pent. and the LXX stem from an earlier common tradition, and with Wiener (1911:217) that the Sam. Pent. is nevertheless more closely related to the MT. He found no contact between the MT and LXX. These conclusions, however, must be reevaluated in the light of Tov's criticisms (1981:267–71) and Sanderson's findings to the contrary. Sanderson (1986:189) found that the LXX shows "itself to be much further removed from the other three witnesses than any of them is from each other." However, Cross found the contacts of 4QNum with LXX "striking" (1961:138–39). If they ultimately stem from an early, yet secondary source, as we suggest, the closer agreement of the Sam. Pent. with the MT than with some earlier mss of QL may be due to the influence of proto-MT on that collateral line of text from which the Sam. Pent. derives. Proto-MT may have been adopted by the Pharisees as early as 175 B.C., allowing time for its influence on the proto-Samaritan text-type before the emergence of the sectarian recension at 100 B.C.

**d. Sam. Pent. and the Book of Jubilees.** The book of *Jubilees* was dated by R. H. Charles between 135 and 105 B.C.E. (1917:xxix–xxx), but by Zeitlin (1939:3–8), with Albright's approval (*FSAC*, 346–47), "in the early time of the Second Jewish Commonwealth in the pre-Hellenistic period." According to Charles' statistics (1917:xxxiii–xxxix) it has affinities with the Sam. Pent. and even more striking affinity with the LXX against the MT. In sum, its affinities are similar to those of 4QNum, suggesting once again that the earlier proto-Samaritan text-type had more affinity with the LXX and less with the MT than the Sam. Pent.

**e. Sam. Pent. and The Book of Chronicles.** The similarities between Chronicles and the LXX, and QL of Samuel in contrast to MT of Samuel put beyond reasonable doubt that the Chronicler did not revise his sources but relied on sources already differing from the MT (cf. Gerleman 1948:34; Cross 1964:293). Gerleman (1948:9) found that the genealogies and lists of names in 1 Chronicles 1–9 "show greater resemblance to the Samaritan Pentateuch than to the Massoretic." Elsewhere he wrote: "It is … not only in morphological and syntactical details that the textual tradition of the Chronicler shows affinity with the Samaritan Pentateuch. The resemblance extends also to the actual composition, the arrangement of the material, the form of the narrative" (1948:21). Finally, he observed that the correspondence pertains to the LXX as well: "We have seen that the texts from which the lists of names in 1 Chronicles 1–9 have been taken show remarkable correspondence not only with Samaritanus, but also with the Septuagint" (28). If Gerleman's analysis is valid, one finds in the light of QL and other Jewish literature strong evidence for positing a very early, though already modernized, recension from which the LXX and proto–Sam. Pent. independently developed.

**f. Conclusion.** Collateral lines of the text-type known as proto-Samaritan, characterized by widespread glosses, expansions from parallel passages, modernizations, and smoothings spanned the time of the Chronicler to the 1st century of the Christian era. Some lines of this text-type show affinity with the LXX probably because of an earlier common source. Shortly before the creation of the Sam. Pent. as a sectarian recension (ca. 100 B.C.), a collateral line of proto-Samaritan texts was probably influenced by the developing proto-MT.

**2. Origination as a Sectarian Recension.** In 1968 J. Purvis, following the lead of W. F. Albright (*FSAC*, 346 n. 12), chiefly on grounds of script, orthography, and text-type, demonstrated that the Samaritan text diverged as a sectarian recension in the Hasmonean era (ca. 100 B.C.E.). "A comparison of archetypal forms of the Samaritan letters with the late history of Paleo-Hebrew writing indicates that the Samaritan script began to diverge from Paleo-Hebrew as it was used among the Jews at a comparatively late date (late Hasmonean and early Roman times)" (Purvis *IDBSup*, 774). At this time also internal *matres lectionis* were at their height as attested in the oldest evidence of the Sam. Pent., and its text-type reflects a developed stage of Cross' Palestinian (= proto-Samaritan) recension. Cross, who supervised Purvis' thesis, agrees (1969:65). Other scholars, such as M. Smith (1971:182–92), R. J. Coggins (1975), R. Pummer (1976–1977), and F. Dexinger (1981) reached similar conclusions about the origin of the Samaritans. Coggins (1969) and B. Roberts (1969) found Purvis' arguments about script and orthography more convincing than his argument about text-type, whereas J. Macdonald (1970) was more persuaded by the last argument than the first two. In sum, the Sam. Pent. probably originated ca. 100 B.C. However, we need not necessarily conclude with Purvis and others that the Samaritan sect began at this time. Ben-Ḥayyim (1971:225) justly asks "whether one can really come to … the time of the formation of the Samaritan sect according to the orthographic form and the script of its Holy Writ. Can the Jewish version of the Torah with its square script testify as to the time of the crystallization of Judaism? Does the existence of the Dead Sea Scrolls, with the differences in the writing even in the Torah, teach us the opposite of the supposition of the author [Purvis]?"

**3. History of the Sectarian Recension.** The text of the Sam. Pent. is found in three kinds of sources: manuscripts of the Hebrew text, translations, and Samaritan literature. The manuscripts give direct evidence of the Sam. Pent.'s text but they are medieval. The other sources, although secondhand, indirectly bear witness to the Samaritan text during the first millennium, and, more importantly, interpret obscure passages in the Sam. Pent.

**a. Manuscripts.** The manuscript purchased by P. della Valle was written in A.D. 1345/46 and is the basis of the polyglots and Blayney (1790). It is Codex B, a reliable ms, in von Gall's critical, eclectic text (1918). His eclectic text, however, is based on questionable canons of criticisms (such as preference for defective orthography), and it contains errors, relies too heavily on the MT, and lacks important sources such as the ʾAbishaʿ Scroll. Hempel (1934:256) justly urges caution in its use. Von Gall's best ms in Exodus is *E* (A.D. 1219).

Samaritan manuscripts are dated by their cryptograms and/or by scribal techniques as identified by R. Gottheil (1906), E. Robertson (1938), and S. Talmon (1963). By collating manuscripts extending from the 13th to 16th centuries, Waltke (1965:42–64) documented that the Sam. Pent. is a uniform tradition drifting away from the MT through scribal error. Kahle (1915:402–3) earlier reached the same conclusion.

The sacrosanct text preserved by the Samaritans as the palladium of their religion is the *Sefer ʾAbishaʿ* scroll. According to its cryptogram, labeled as "a planned deception" by E. Robertson (1962:235), it was written by ʾAbishaʿ, son of Phineas, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron … in the 13th year after the Israelites ruled the land of Canaan in its borders round about." F. Pérez Castro (1959) distinguished nine hands in its composition and dates the oldest portion to A.D. 1149. This manuscript is the basis for the edition of the Sam. Pent. edited by Ṣadaqa (1961–65); they supplemented it with a manuscript written by Abu al-Barakat, a scribe of the 12th to 13th centuries.

L. F. Giron-Blanc (1976) offered the text of codex Add. 1846 University Library Cambridge (A.D. 1100) and variants from fifteen unpublished manuscripts. Oral readings of the Sam. Pent. by contemporary Samaritans have been made by several, especially Ben-Ḥayyim.

Although Samaritan scribes were not as careful as the Massoretes, they preserved a uniform text. Von Gall (1918:lxviii) questioned whether all the manuscripts go back to one archetype, but Kahle (1915:402–3), who is famous for his theory that vulgar texts precede a standardized *textus receptus*, on the basis of manuscripts and translations drew the conclusion that "the Samaritan Pentateuch at 200 A.D. could not have read essentially otherwise."

**b. Translations.** The Samaritans translated their Torah into Greek, Aramaic, and Arabic. These translations, although lacking complete critical editions of their often corrupt texts, prove that the Sam. Pent. survived as a uniform tradition from the earliest period. Their main value, however, is not in restoring the original text of the Sam. Pent. but in interpreting some of its unusual readings.

The Greek translation is known as *Samareitikon* from Origen's reference to it in his Hexapla. Its only extant form is found in the Giessen fragments preserving the text of Deuteronomy 24–29, including the Samaritan sectarian readings in Deut 27:4, 12. Glaue and Rahlfs questionably argued that though the Giessen fragments do not overlap with Origen's *Samareitikon* readings, both share an affinity with the Samaritan Targum, and therefore belong to the same translation. On firmer ground they claimed that though it is independent and more accurate than the LXX, nevertheless the Samaritan translator used the LXX. It contains three readings that agree with MT against the medieval Samaritan manuscripts.

The Samaritan Targums *(Sam. Tg.)* are written, according to G. Dalman, in a dialect of West Aramaic. Its readings, which never gained recognition because of its misunderstanding of the Hebrew language and text, became debased in the hands of scribes ignorant of Aramaic (J. Montgomery 1907:271). P. della Valle brought the first manuscript of the *(Sam. Tg.)* to Europe. This text, published in the Paris and London polyglots and by Brüll (1873–76), according to Kahle, is "the worst known ms of the Samaritan Targum" (1959:53; cf. Kohn 1865:24–30). A. Tal in his critical three-volume edition juxtaposes ms Or 75623 of the British Museum on the right-hand page and ms 3 of the Shechem Synagogue on the left because these two manuscripts represent two stages of development in the history of Samaritan Aramaic, two different linguistic strata; only in a few cases do they reflect changed exegesis (1980–83:1.vi). Kahle (1898), followed by L. Goldberg (1935), validated that the various manuscripts represent a number of independent translations from the end of the 1st millennium B.C. to the 11th century A.D. The *Vorlage* of *(Sam. Tg.)* is the same as that represented by the extant manuscripts of the Sam. Pent. L. Goldberg showed that *Tg. Onq.* secondarily influenced the *Sam. Tg.*, and Kahle (1959:191–95) dated this influence to between A.D. 800 and 1000.

Kahle in 1904 contended that the Samaritans in the 10th century first used the Arabic version of the Pentateuch prepared for the Jews by Sa‹adia Gaon (ca. A.D. 1000), and shortly thereafter began to adapt this text to the Sam. Pent. About the middle of the 13th century, Abu Sa‹id revised the translation(s), producing a text that became the recognized version for the Samaritans. Abu Sa‹id's *Vorlage* agreed with various codices and translations. Moreover, it can be demonstrated that he himself does not always adhere faithfully to his *Vorlage* for theological reasons and due to his own negligence and inconsistency. A partial, critical edition of it with extensive notes in Hebrew is given by H. Shehadeh (1977).

**c. Quotations of Samaritan Pentateuch in Samaritan Literature.** Quotations attesting the Samaritan text at an early period can be found in Samaritan inscriptions, the Samaritan Chronicles, the Samaritan liturgy, Samaritan commentaries, and other religious treaties. For further discussion, see Stenhouse 1989 and Tal 1989. A comparison of these sources with Samaritan manuscripts, the MT, and LXX yield the following conclusions about the text after A.D. 200: (1) the Sam. Pent. was transmitted as a uniform tradition; (2) the earlier text had a much higher percentage of *plene* readings; (3) the earlier text stood closer to the MT but gradually drifted away from it through scribal errors; (4) similar variants are found in all stages of the text; (5) the uniform tradition is not influenced by either the MT or LXX.

**C. Character of the Samaritan Pentateuch**

Essentially following Gesenius, secondary variant readings of the Sam. Pent. can be classified into eight groups (see also Waltke 1965).

**1.** *The Samaritan text has been corrupted by scribal errors.* All traditions have suffered in the hands of scribes. Several errors are peculiar to the Sam. Pent. (a) Confusion of gutturals; e.g., *›dwrm* in the Sam. Pent., *hdwrm* in MT (Gen 10:27). In the light of the Sam. Pent.'s prehistory, the widespread confusion of gutturals in the text is not surprising for, as Goshen-Gottstein (1958:107) says: "the system of four separate laryngeal and pharyngal phones has collapsed in QS [= QL], probably under the impact of Aramaic—direct or indirect." (b) Confusion of labials; e.g., in Gen 31:40, the Sam. Pent. unintelligibly reads *ḥrp* "harvest-time, autumn" for *ḥrb* "scorching heat" (MT; LXX). (c) Confusion of dentals; e.g., in Exod 37:22 the masc. *›ḥd* modifies the fem. *mqšh,* in the Sam. Pent. instead of *›ḥt* in MT. (d) Confusion of palatals; e.g., in Gen 14:23 MT reads *śrwk* "thong, sandal" from the root *śrk* "twist," whereas the Sam. Pent. reads *śrwg* whose root is unattested. (e) Confusion of *d* and *r;* e.g., *ś/šm›bd* in the Sam. Pent., versus *šm›br* in MT and *symbor* in LXX (Gen 14:2). (f) Confusion of the letters *›alep, he, waw, yod;* e.g., *ga›oh ga›a* in MT, but *gwy g›h* in Sam. Pent. (Exod 15:1).

**2.** *The Samaritan text preserves a linguistic tradition which differs from the linguistic tradition preserved by the Tiberian grammarians.* It is beyond the scope of this article to write a grammar of Samaritan Hebrew though several observations are in order. Before the discovery of the QL, Gesenius (1815:26) though the Sam. Pent. reflected "the norms of an unlearned and inaccurate grammar," Kahle thought it represented a relatively older tradition than the MT (1921:230–39; 1947:97), and Sperber (1939:153–247) followed by R. H. Pfeiffer (1941:103; cf. D. W. Thomas 1951:240) thought it represented a North Israelite dialect. In the light of the QL, Ben-Ḥayyim (1957–62:3.vii) drew the conclusion that Samaritan Hebrew "generally represents a later stage of development than that denoted in the Tiberian vocalization. However, this does not mean that no elements older than those of the Tiberian Hebrew, esp. in morphology, are not to be found in it. Preservation of ancient elements in a later stage is a well-known phenomenon in the history of languages."

**3.** *The Samaritan text has been modernized by replacing archaic Hebrew philology with a later tradition.* Ben-Ḥayyim observed and demonstrated that "on the whole the Samaritan tradition … is closer to Mishnaic Hebrew than is the Tiberian [= MT] tradition" (1965:208). In orthography the Sam. Pent. systematically alters the *he* for final *ō,* a feature of early Hebrew orthography (Cross and Freedman 1952:69), to the later *waw* (cf. Gen 9:21; 49:11; Exod 22:26). The internal *matres lectionis yod* and *waw* are used more extensively than in the MT, and it even employs *›alep* as an internal *mater.* In morphology the earlier short form of the prefix conjugation with *waw*-relative is often replaced in Sam. Pent. with the long form of the prefix conjugation, probably under the influence of Aramaic, which lacks the distinction. Sperber cites many examples of this phenomenon (1939:187, 193), but he is not always careful to

distinguish an inner Sam. Pent. variant from an original variant (cf. *Hipʿil* of 3d weak verbs in Gen 31:42; Num 16:10; 31:50, and of inclusion of its final *he* in Gen. 41:22; Deut 3:1; 10:3). The Sam. Pent. also frequently introduces "pseudo-cohortative" forms, an archaizing practice in late Hebrew writing (Gerleman 1948:15), whereas the MT rarely has this form (cf. Exod 6:5; Deut 2:13; 3:4; 10:2, 3). The earlier *waw*-relative with the suffix conjugation is sometimes replaced by the Sam. Pent. (Moran 1961:64–65) with the normal prefix conjugation. The Sam. Pent. systematically replaces the earlier inf. absol. (Moran 1961:61) found in the MT with finite verb forms, imperatives, and adverbs (A. Kropat 1909:23; Gerleman 1948:18; cf. Gen 8:3, 5, 7; Num 15:35; 25:17; Deut 31:26). The inf. constr. after a particle is replaced with a finite tense constr. (cf. Gen 46:30; Num 3:13; 9:15 and Deut 12:30). The rare and early indefinite pronouns are replaced with later and more customary forms (e.g., *zû* in Exod 15:16 with *zh,* and *nḥnw* with *ʾnḥnw* in Gen 42:11; Exod 16:7, 8; Num 32:32). The earlier enclitic *mem* construction (H. Hummel 1957) is replaced with the construct form (cf. Deut 33:11). Even as Chronicles has a tendency to use *Hipʿil* for both *Qal* and *Piʿel* in Samuel-Kings (Kropat 1909:14), so also the Sam. Pent. sometimes prefers *Hipʿil* (cf. *Hipʿil* for *Qal* in Gen 22:23; Deut 20:8, and for *Piʿel* in Num 33:52). A Geiger (1876:58) says the Sam. Pent. "treats *he* locale rather roughly." Both the textual evidence and the Jewish ridicule of the Samaritan exegetes indicate Samaritan ignorance of this archaic suffix, well-established already in Ugaritic (cf. Gen 37:24; Exod 10:19). The Samaritan text-type is clearly modernized relative to the MT.

**4.** *The Sam. Pent. presents an exegetically and linguistically more straightforward text than the MT by removing grammatical difficulties, and replacing rare constructions with more frequently occurring constructions.* The Sam. Pent. has a more consistent orthography than the MT. Talmon (1951:147) observed: "But whilst the MT might use the same word in the same sentence once in *plene* and once in defective spelling, S is more consistent and harmonizes such instances as, for example in Gen. 1:14, 15, 16; 7:2; 8:20." The Sam. Pent. replaces the asyndetic constructions of the MT with the smoother syndetic constructions (cf. Gerleman 1948:10–12). The Sam. Pent. corrects discrepancies in syntax by correcting verb or attribute to agree with the customary gender of the noun (cf. Gen 13:6; 49:15, 20), or with the number of the subject (cf. Gen 10:25; 30:42; 46:27; Exod 4:29; Num 9:6), or with other verbs (Exod 39:3; Lev 14:42; 19:27; Num 13:2; 21:32). Lack of syntactical agreement is a feature of early Canaanite (Moran 1950:60–61). The Sam. Pent. tends, with the Chronicler (Gesenius 1815:28 and Kropat 1909:9–10), to discard the collective form in favor of plurals. Talmon (1951:147–48) noted: "Collective nouns are treated somewhat haphazardly by the Massoretes. The number of verbs and adjectives connected with them is flexible and apparently influenced by the context. S, on the other hand, strives to establish a more consistent treatment and, in most cases, deliberately chooses between given possibilities. Once accepted, a definite number will be used predominantly in connection with the collective noun concerned." The Sam. Pent. replaces passive constructions with active constructions (cf. Gen 10:1; Exod 27:7; Num 3:16; 28:17; Lev 4:35; 6:23; 11:13; 25:34), rare forms with more customary forms (e.g., with inf. constr. of *tertiae infirmae* verbs *ʿswt* is substituted for *ʿsh* in Gen 50:20; with *Pe-waw* verbs *yld* replaces *wld* in Gen 11:30), and rare and lively expressions with customary and prosaic expressions. Geiger (1876:58) observed: "For him [the scribe of Sam. Pent.] the lively expressions are no longer fitting, and so he chooses the more sober, and seemingly more regular expressions" (cf. Gen 7:2; 17:17; 21:28; Exod 25:20).

**5.** *The text of the Samaritan tradition has been supplemented and clarified by the insertion of additions and interpolations of glosses from parallel passages.*

*Small additions have been added to the text of SP to achieve greater clarity.* Clarifying smaller additions include: subjects (cf. Gen 2:24; 21:33; 29:23; Exod 2:16; 15:25); appositives (cf. Gen 26:5; 38:13; 48:7); various nouns (cf. Gen 48:14; Exod 15:22 [Blayney 1790]; Lev 5:24; Num 23:26), various prepositions (cf. Gen 48:5; Exod 2:14; 12:28 [Blayney], 43), the particle *ʾt* (cf. Gen 44:26; Exod 2:9; Lev 4:17; Num 22:41 [Blayney]; Deut 2:2), and various other particles (cf. Gen 2:12, 19; Exod 18:21; 21:8; 29:33).

*The Samaritan text has been harmonized and supplemented by parallel passages.* An outstanding characteristic of the "Samaritan" tradition, stretching back to at least the time of the Chronicler, is its predilection for duplicates and supplementations of the text with the aid of parallel passages.

Sometimes the Sam. Pent. has harmonized and supplemented one passage by another with little alteration of the text. Concerning this class of variant readings see the detailed discussion in Gesenius (1815:45). Geiger (1876:59) notes that the Sam. Pent. also changes the borders in Gen 10:19 exactly as it alters the text of Deut 34:1–3 from Gen 15:18 (cf. Exod 23:31). The latter is the only case where the Sam. Pent. has been reduced.

Other times the Sam. Pent. expanded the text by larger interpolations. In Genesis, Geiger (1876:59) notes that the Sam. Pent. added to the text of Gen 30:36 from 31:11–13 (that an angel appeared to Jacob in a dream revealing his portion in Laban's herds), and to Gen 42:16 using the text of 44:22 (that Benjamin could not leave his father). "A large harvest of these examples," says Gesenius (1815:45), "is offered in Exodus where you have interpolations either from the same book or from Deuteronomy"; see 6:9 (cf. 14:12); 7:18 (cf. vv 16–18); 7:29 (cf. vv 26–28); 8:1 (cf. v 1); 8:19 (cf. 16:19); 9:5 (cf. vv 1–5); 9:19; 10:2; 11:3 (cf. 4:22, 23); 18:25 (cf. Deut 1:9–18); 20:17 (cf. Deut 27:2, 5–7); 20:21 (cf. Deut 5:26, 28; 18:18–22; 5:27, 28). In some of these passages the narrative is filled out by the repetition of God's speeches to Moses for Aaron, indicating that they were delivered as commanded, or that the delivery corresponded to God's speech. Additions to the decalogue deserve separate treatment. Similar additions to Numbers, paralleling Deuteronomy 1–3, are also found: Deut 1:6–8 preceding Num 10:11; Deut 1:20–23 preceding Num 13:11; Deut 1:27–33 following Num 13:33; Deut 1:42 preceding Num 14:41; Deut 2:2–6 following Num 20:13*b;* Deut 2:9 following Num 21:11; Deut 2:17–19 following Num 21:12; Deut 2:24–29, 31 following Num 21:20 and included in 21:21–23; Deut 3:21–22 following Num 27:23; Deut 3:24–28 following Num 20:13. Likewise, Deut 2:8 and 10:6–7 are based respectively on Num 20:17–18 and Num 33:31–38*a*.

J. Tigay astutely observes that the hand of a redactor is at work in these interpolations to achieve a smooth text. For example, in the interpolations of Deut 1:9–18 in Samaritan Exod 18:21–27, Tigay (1975:334–35) notes that the redactor-scribe "preserves the version of Deuteronomy and drops that of Exodus," and changes persons from first to second or to third where necessary "as suits the narrative context of its new home in the Samaritan Exodus." He recognizes the same editorial activity in Samaritan Exod 20:18–26 with its interpolations from Deuteronomy 18 and 5, and in Samaritan Exod 20:17ff. with its additions from Deuteronomy 27.

**6.** *The Sam. Pent. has been corrected to remove historical difficulties and objectionable passages.* In Gen 50:23 the Sam. Pent. changes the phrase *ʿl brky ywsp,* "upon the knees of Joseph," to *bymy ywsp,* "in the days of Joseph," because it seemed improper that Joseph's grandchildren should be born upon his knees. In Deut 25:11 MT's *mbšyw,* "his private parts," is changed to *bśrw,* "his flesh," because it seemed too obscene to mention that in a fight a woman would grab a man's private parts. In Deut 28:30 *šgl* was deemed too vulgar for public use and so changed to *yškbn* in *Qere* and the Sam. Pent. It is beyond the scope of this article to debate the issue of original text with reference to the well-known differences in pentateuchal recensions concerning the genealogical tables of Genesis 5 and 11:10–26, as well as the addition of "in the land of Canaan" in Exod 12:40. Regarding the former, Cross (1969:86) notes that recalculated chronologies are one of the special characteristics that are found in texts that "develop over a long span of time in geographical isolation." Regarding the latter it is noteworthy that the LXX reads "in the land of Egypt and in the land of Canaan," whereas the Sam. Pent. reverses them, "in the land of Canaan and in the land of Egypt," a well-known inconsistency with glosses. König (*HDB* extra volume, 70) noted that the MT of Exod 12:40 existed in Ezekiel's times because the 390 plus 40 years in Ezek 4:5–6 is "nothing else than a reflection of the 430 years of the Egyptian bondage of Egypt."

**7.** *The Samaritan text has been interpreted as well as clarified by small changes.* The Sam. Pent.'s tendentious exegesis, like its other changes, have the one purpose of bringing the text closer to the people. This tendency, which was present among exegetes during the Sam. Pent.'s formative period, found complete expression in the later Midrashic literature. For a detailed discussion of one example of this kind

of variant, see Gesenius' observations concerning Gen 22:2, where the MT reads *hmryh* but the Sam. Pent. reads *hmwr›h* (1815:30–31).

**8.** *The Samaritan text has been adapted to Samaritan theology. It is evident, for example, that the Sam. Pent. has been adapted to defend the honor of God.* It avoids any suggestion of polytheism; e.g., the plural predicates with *›ĕlōhîm* in the MT (Gen 20:13; 31:53; 35:7; Exod 22:8) are changed to the singular. It also avoids anthropomorphisms; e.g., "my own people" for "my first-born son" (Exod 4:22), "breath from you" for "breath of your nostrils" (Exod 15:8), and "he forgave" for "he repented" (Deut 32:6). Similarly, the Sam. Pent. transcendentalizes the concept of God; e.g., wherever in the MT God is said to deal directly with man without a mediator, or to descend to earth, the Sam. Pent. substitutes the angel of God (cf. Num 22:20; 23:4, 5, 16).

*Secondly, the Sam. Pent. has been adapted to defend the honor of Moses and other great persons of antiquity.* In Gen 49:7, in order not to allow a curse to fall upon the most holy men, Levi and Simeon, in place of *›rwr ›pm,* "their anger is cursed," the Sam. Pent. reads *›dyr ›pm,* which, according to *Sam. Tg.* and Abu-Sa›id means, "their anger is beautiful." In Deut 34:10 instead of "there arose not again a prophet like Moses in Israel," the Sam. Pent. reads "there will not arise again …"

*Thirdly, the Sam. Pent. preserves legal differences from MT.* Geiger (1857:467; 1866:527–73) and Heller (1923:203–8) pointed out many differences between the Samaritan interpretation of the law; occasionally these differences influence the text. For example, whereas any kind of work is prohibited in many biblical passages on holy days and sabbath days, the Bible allows an exception on passover, which disallows work "save that which every man must eat, that only may be done by you" (Exod 12:16). But the parallel passage in Deut 16:8 lacks this exception in the MT. The LXX resolves the problem by inserting the addition from Exod 12:16, and the Sam. Pent. resolves it by changing *kl ml›kh* "all work" to *kl ml›kt ‹bdh,* "any kind of servile work."

*Lastly, the Samaritan text has been adapted to defend Mt. Gerizim as the cultic center of YHWH.* The Samaritan creed is: "My faith is in Thee, Yhwh; and in Moses, son of Amram, thy servant; and in thy Holy Law; and in Mount Gerizim Bethel; and in the Day of Vengeance and Recompense" (Montgomery 1907:207). Only the point about faith in Mt. Gerizim distinguishes them from other Jewish sects such as the Sadducees and the Qaraites. The last Halaka of the Talmudic tractate, *Masseket Kutim,* reads: "When shall we [Jews] take them [the Samaritans] back? When they renounce Mount Gerizim and confess Jerusalem." This difference explains why they restricted their canon to the Torah, which according to the MT was theologically neutral in this matter, and rejected the Prophets and Writings, both of which celebrate Jerusalem/Zion. By Occam's razor, all other explanations for their limited canon, such as that the Torah had not as yet become canonical by the time of the Samaritan schism, can be rejected as unnecessary.

In part, the Samaritan controversy with the Jews involves the interpretation of text, such as the identification of Salem in Genesis 14, of Moriah in Gen 22:2, and of Luza in Gen 28:19. Sometimes, however, the text has been altered. In Deut 11:30 the Sam. Pent. reads "opposite Shechem" after *mwr›*. More significant differences in the text, some of which antedated the Samaritans, favor their theology. Following Exod 20:17, as part of the Decalogue, Sam. Pent. includes a lengthy passage composed from Deut 11:29–30 and 27:2b–3a, 4–7, commanding the Israelites to build an altar on Mt. Gerizim. In Exod 20:24 the Sam. Pent. reads "in *the* place where I *have caused* my name to be remembered," as opposed to the MT, "in *every* place where *I will cause* my name to be remembered." Similarly, Deut 27:2–7 is found after Deut 5:21, also as part of the Ten Commandments, as well as in twenty other passages (Deut 12:5, 11, 14, 18, 21, 26; 14:23–25; 15:20; 16:2, 6–7, 11, 15–16; 17:8, 10; 18:6; 26:2; 31:11). In Lev 26:31 "your sanctuaries" takes the place of "your sanctuary." Finally, in Deut 27:4, whereas the MT prescribes building an altar on Mt. Ebal, the Sam. Pent. dictates Mt. Gerizim. The effect of these differences is that the Sam. Pent.'s Torah prescribes only one sanctuary and altar in the land, Mt. Gerizim, and elevates that law to the status of the Ten Commandments. Pummer (1987:3), citing Coggins, Kippenberg, and Dexinger, says: "the Samaritans in all probability, like other groups, began to adapt certain passages in the Pentateuch to their particular theology." The Sam. Pent.'s additions to the Decalogue have all the

earmarks of interpolated glosses, and their interpretation of the first commandment as part of the introduction is strained. The general character of the Sam. Pent. and MT inspires more confidence in the latter with reference to these theologically biased readings.

**D. Value of the Samaritan Pentateuch**

The Sam. Pent. is of little value for establishing original readings. Out of eighty-five readings where Sanderson thought she could assign preferable readings involving the MT, LXX, Sam. Pent., and $Q^m$, she found no variants where the Sam. Pent. uniquely or even with LXX preserves the preferable reading (1986:85, 88). She found two preferable readings where the Sam. Pent. agreed with $Q^m$, "both representing small errors on the part of MT" (1986:58), and four preferable readings where the Sam. Pent., LXX, and $Q^m$ agreed, revealing errors or lapses on the part of MT (1986:75). The chief textual value of the Sam. Pent. is its indirect witness that MT is "a superb, disciplined text" (Cross 1964:271).

The Sam. Pent. is of greater interest for literary criticism. First, as Tigay (1975) noted, the supplemented proto-Samaritan texts and Sam. Pent. give indirect empirical evidence for the documentary hypothesis. More accurately, it validates a documentary hypothesis. The phenomenon of sewing formerly independent documents into a new, unified whole can be observed from the Gilgamesh Epic through Tatian's *Diatasseron.* Before his very eyes the critic can observe the redactor at work splicing texts together. The resulting work is not a "crazy patchwork" of sources, as once thought, but a unified whole. Second, and this has not been previously noted, the modernized Sam. Pent. along with early Jewish sources suggests that the Pentateuch was begun to be modernized before the time of the Chronicler, entailing that the archaic text-type of the Pentateuch preserved in MT must be much older.

The Sam. Pent. is also of interest for canonical criticism, because alongside QL it bears witness to texts being adapted to meet the needs of the living community. We are not suggesting, however, that sectarian differences merely represent varying ideologies of equal worth. Rather, we suggest, one should guard against absolutizing confessions and relativizing truth.

The Sam. Pent. has intrinsic value for the study of religion in general and for the understanding of the Hebrew Bible and its interpretation in early pre-rabbinic Judaism in particular. Its preservation as a uniform tradition makes it especially valuable in this respect.

Finally, as noted by Pummer (1987), the Sam. Pent. assisted the Samaritans in preserving themselves as a unified community for over two millennia. In this respect it is of indirect value and interest to sociologists and anthropologists. For further discussion of these issues, see SAMARITANS.

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**SAMARITANS** [Heb *haššōmĕrōnîm* (הַשֹּׁמְרֹנִים)]. The people who dwelt in Samaria, particularly in the tribal regions of Manasseh and Ephraim, and who have maintained a unique identity to the present. Subsequently the form of Israelite religion that developed in the area centered around Mt. Gerizim.

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**A. Introduction**

**1. Problems.** The Samaritans are not easily brought into sharp focus. Sources are often contradictory, sketchy, or nonexistent. It is problematic how distinct the Samaritans are from the Jews of different periods, what constitutes the basic distinguishing focus, or how much interaction existed between the Samaritans and other sects based on the Mosaic Pentateuch. The geographic origin of the people called Samaritans has been seen in Mesopotamia and both N and S Palestine, raising the question whether their basic characterization is geographical, ethnic, or doctrinal.

**2. Name.** As a cultural designation of a particular people the term Samaritan *(haššōmĕrōnîm)* appears biblically only in 2 Kgs 17:29 where it is associated with idolators. The Samaritan Chronicle seems to accept usage of that term as a designation of the inhabitants of the city of Samaria. The Samaritans derive their name not from this geographical designation, but rather from the term *šāmĕrîm*, "keeper [of the law]" (Coggins 1975:10–12).

**B. Origins**

**1. Samaritan Version.** The Samaritans have insisted that they are direct descendants of the N Israelite tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, who survived the destruction of the N kingdom of Israel by the Assyrians in 722 B.C.E. The inscription of Sargon II records the deportation of a relatively small proportion of the Israelites (27,290, according to the annals [ANET, 284–85]), so it is quite possible that a sizable population remained that could identify themselves as Israelites, the term that the Samaritans prefer for themselves.

Samaritan theology of history would place the basic schism at the time Eli moved the sanctuary from Shechem to Shiloh, establishing both an illegitimate priesthood and place of worship. From the time of Moses until that move was the Era of Divine Favor. With that move began the Era of Disfavor, which would exist until the coming of the Taheb or savior (Macdonald 1964:15–21).

**2. Old Testament Version.** Jewish accounts, characterized by 2 Kings 17 and Josephus (*Ant* 9.277–91) claim that the Samaritans are descendants of colonists brought into the region of Samaria by the Assyrians from other lands they had conquered, including Cuthah, and thus the Jewish designation of Samaritans as Cutheans (*Ant* 9.290). The Jews have argued that the veneer of Israelite religion displayed by the Samaritans is the result of instruction by an Israelite priest repatriated from Assyria after the colonists had been attacked by lions sent by God (2 Kgs 17:25–26).

**C. History**

**1. Persian Period.** Ezra 4, the earliest source of information on relations between Jews and Samaritans during this period, reports opposition by the Samaritans to both the building of the temple (4:4–5, 24) and

the building of the walls (4:17–23) of Jerusalem. Since Haggai and Zechariah are silent on any Samaritan obstruction to the temple and Ezra 4:7–23 seems to be an intrusion reflecting the troubles during Nehemiah's time, it is likely that the city wall was the real issue and the earliest breach between the two communities was expressed in political rather than religious terms. The Tobiads of Transjordan, who also claimed descent from Israelite tribes, had close ties with the Samaritans during this period (Spiro 1951) and likely joined them in their opposition to the building of the city walls. The identity of the opposition is not obvious and various identifications have been made (Coggins 1975:65–68).

The 5th century B.C.E. Elephantine papyri include letters requesting help to build a temple from both the Samaritan and Jewish priests (*CAP*, 30), implying an already existing schism. Indeed the Samaritan Chronicle of Abu'l Fath claims that Zerubbabel and Sanballat, subsequent leaders of the Jewish and Samaritan communities, were already feuding about the appropriate location of the restored temple while still in Babylon (Stenhouse 1985:89–95). The Persian king, "Surdi," likely Darius spelled backward, ruled in favor of Sanballat and sent him home to Mt. Gerizim with funds to construct the altar and by implication the temple.

Josephus agrees that Sanballat, whom he calls a "Cuthean," was appointed as a political leader by Darius and subsequently promised a temple to his son-in-law, Manasseh, son of a Jewish high priest who had murdered his brother and married a Samaritan woman. In Josephus' account, Manasseh renounces Darius and transfers his loyalty to Alexander the Great, who supports the building of the Samaritan temple.

The accounts pose several serious questions. The first is chronological: how to account for Sanballat's apparent longevity if he ruled from the time of Darius to that of Alexander the Great? A second question is the issue of the Samaritan temple. Was there such a structure and, if so, when was it built? Lastly, what was the origin of the Samaritan priesthood?

There are basically three possible explanations for Sanballat's apparent long tenure. Some argue that Josephus incorrectly brought the event down to the period of Alexander (Montgomery 1907:68), while some say that the Alexandrian dating is correct and Josephus was incorrect in associating Sanballat with the temple (see list in Purvis 1968:11). A compromise allows that on the basis of papponymy there could have been two different Sanballat's involved (Wright 1965:170ff.).

Some scholars believe that the Samaritan temple was built in 388 B.C.E., during the Persian period (Spiro 1951:312). The basis is the 260 years that constitute the Samaritan "Era of Favor," supposedly the time from the entry into Canaan until the days of Eli when the sanctuary disappeared on account of the sin of Eli (MacDonald 1969:115–18). It is assumed that the Samaritans projected their own experienced era of favor, the life-span of their temple, onto the ancient story. We know their sanctuary was destroyed in 128 B.C.E. (Josephus *Ant* 13.254–56); 260 years earlier would be 388.

Most scholars accept Josephus' implicit Hellenistic date late in the 4th century, mainly on the basis of Josephus alone. The archaeological evidence is minimal. There was a resettlement of Shechem at that time (Wright 1965:167ff.). Robert Bull had some expectation that Building B at Ras el Tin would prove to be the Samaritan temple (Bull 1967:393), but in the light of Magin's more recent excavations reported by R. Pummer (1989:169–74) that hope now seems unlikely and the remains of the temple still elude us. Perhaps there never was a temple on the scale implied by Josephus, but rather a more modest tabernacle. In the postexilic period, Samaritans probably had neither the political nor financial need for a temple.

The turmoil that led to the resettlement of Shechem may also account for the nucleus of the Samaritan priesthood, if not the Samaritan people themselves. Fossum speculates that as the N shrine at Bethel was desolated, priests may have migrated from that site to Shechem and the designation of Mt. Gerizim as Bethel may be a vestige of that move (Fossum 1985:41).

The chronicles of Abu'l Fath concur that relations between Samaritans and Jews worsened throughout the Persian period (Stenhouse 1985:81), and this emerging schism benefited the Persians by diminishing the likelihood of any broadly based Palestinian rebellion.

**2. Hellenistic Period.** The arrival of Alexander the Great polarized the political loyalties of Samaritans and Jews, at least temporarily, because the Samaritans initially gave support to Alexander by contributing

8,000 Samaritan troops to his Egyptian campaign. While Alexander was in Egypt, the Samaritans revolted and killed their newly appointed governor, Andromachus. In retaliation, Alexander destroyed the city of Samaria and established a garrison of 600 troops there. Many of the Samaritans fled to ancient Shechem at the base of the mountain, and this became their chief religious center. The city they rebuilt at Shechem in 331 B.C.E. survived for more than 200 years, until it was destroyed by the Jewish king John Hyrcanus in 107 B.C.E. (Wright 1965:172).

By contrast, the Jews remained loyal to Persia and did not support the Greeks. In time, the Samaritans, sobered by Alexander's destruction of Samaria and subsequent conflicts between Ptolemies and Seleucids, shared Jewish wariness of the Greeks. However, the issue of Jerusalem versus Mt. Gerizim became a major factor separating Samaritans from Jews.

The latter site may or may not have included a temple. The rather limited documentary and archaeological evidence is ambiguous. The primary source is Josephus, whose stories related to the Samaritan temple suspiciously duplicate his own and other familiar stories of temple building (Anderson 1989). Samaritan sources seldom mention a temple or provide specific information about one. Archaeological remains are at best suggestive (see above); no local tradition corroborates it, and the Samaritan chronicles are vague (Montgomery 1907:36). Their focus was the place rather than the structure, and the structure was likely quite modest.

Descriptions of Samaritan response to the reign of the Seleucid tyrant Antiochus IV (175–164 B.C.E.) are varied. 2 Macc 6:2 implies that the Samaritans unwillingly renamed their sanctuary Zeus Xenios. But Josephus claims they quite willingly renamed it Zeus Hellenios (*Ant* 12.257–64). The more resistant Jews were unhappy with the Samaritan position, as is evident in Jewish polemics of the time: Sir 50:26 and portions of the LXX version of Joshua.

John Hyrcanus, Jewish governor and high priest, focused and expressed the deepest Jewish bitterness toward the Samaritans, and inspired by such anti-Samaritan stories as Genesis 34 (recalled in *Jubilees* 30; Judith 9; and *Testament of Levi* 5–7), destroyed the Samaritan sanctuary in 128 B.C.E. Shechem was also destroyed, and during the next decade most Samaritans drifted back to Samaria, leaving behind only a residual community at the foot of Gerizim.

**3. Roman Period.** In NT times Samaritans struggled with their own schisms and shared practices and beliefs with a variety of Jewish groups. Simon Magus (Acts 8:9ff.) was the leader of an unorthodox, possibly gnostic-influenced Samaritan group that continued to play a role in Samaritan history, and was particularly visible in the 4th century (with the movement of Dusis) and 14th century C.E. (through the writings of the Samaritan chronicler Abu'l Fath). The Dositheans, whom some of the Church Fathers associated with Simon Magus, were more likely an alternate contemporary sect, perhaps in part derived from the Sadducees. For further discussion, see Fossum 1985:45–55; 1989.

The Qumran community evidences some beliefs and practices shared with the Samaritans. Both sects were exclusive and used the imagery, "sons of light," to affirm their special chosen status. Both were critical of the Jerusalem Temple, though for quite different reasons, and they shared a unique emphasis on Deut 18:18 in their messianic expectations. Each group had a Nazarite movement and a purification ritual using the ashes of a red heifer. Each used a complex calendar combining both solar and lunar designations, perhaps going back to Zadokite reckoning, although the Samaritan calendar was influenced by later Byzantine and Islamic calendars as well. Neither group celebrated Purim or Hanukkah. Some Qumran texts, particularly 4QEx $^{\alpha}$ (Skehan 1955:182–87; currently designated as 4QpaleoExod$^{m}$, see Sanderson 1986:11), preserve a "Samaritan" text type leading some to conclude that these two groups had unique ties. However, most critics assume that these texts demonstrate the fluidity of texts at this period and not necessarily any special affinity between these two sects.

According to Acts 8, Samaria was one of the first missionary fields for the disciples, and there has been considerable discussion of the role of the Samaritans in the formulation and orientation of parts of the NT. The most concentrated debates focus on the gospel of John (Bowman 1958 and Purvis 1975), Stephen's speech in Acts (Spiro 1967 and Lowy 1977), and the Epistles to the Hebrews. Bowman contends that John consciously addresses a Samaritan audience. Attention to the Samaritan woman in chap. 4, reference

to "other sheep" in 10:16, and the use of Samaritan imagery such as "light" and "word" is cited as evidence. Spiro argues that the speech in Acts 7:22ff. reveals Stephen's Samaritan origin since he, like the Samaritans, challenges the Jerusalem Temple and priesthood, refers to the key Samaritan biblical verse, Deut 18:18, and when he quotes from the OT cites a recension akin to the Samaritan text. Lowy, however, argues that there was sufficient variety of text among all groups to account for such idiosyncratic readings.

Less convincing is the thesis that the Epistle to the Hebrews was addressed to Samaritan Christians. "Hebrews" would have been a tactful term with which to address the Samaritans (the title they preferred for themselves, see Josephus *Ant* 11.344), and the focus on the tabernacle rather than the Jerusalem Temple, the list of the faithful in Heb 11:32–40 (all of whom would be acceptable to Samaritans), and the strong argument for the superiority of Jesus over Moses are all relevant issues.

Whether or not they were recipients of NT writings, the Samaritans were often part of the NT story. Usually they were objects of scorn rather than serious obstacles to the NT mission, much the same role they had played in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. John 4:9 simply states that the Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans. Jesus himself instructed the Twelve not to enter any town of the Samaritans, but rather to go only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matt 10:5–6; cf. John 4). On other occasions, Jesus used that very antipathy to shame his hearers in the stories of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:29–37) and the Ten Lepers (Luke 17:11–19).

In the next few centuries the gospels were influential in shaping Samaritan thinking: sometimes in opposition, as in the strong Samaritan affirmation of monotheism in response to the developing Christian Trinity; other times expanding upon the Christian conceptualizations of Moses.

Samaritan fortunes initially improved under Roman rule. Pompey (63 B.C.E.) ended the Jewish persecution of Samaritans, and Herod the Great 37–4 B.C.E. carried out an extensive building program in Samaria. Samaritans were emboldened to harass Jews, notably during the period from 6–9 C.E., when they created disturbances at the Jewish Passover, and in 52 when they slaughtered Jewish pilgrims at En-gannim in the border town of Galilee. These actions earned a series of reprisals from both Jews and Romans. As a result of one such action, the Samaritans were successful in having Pontius Pilate deposed, but generally they paid dearly. Samaritans fleeing Roman oppression under Vespasian gathered by the thousands at Mt. Gerizim and held the Romans at bay for a month before their water ran out and more than 10,000 men were slaughtered.

Hadrian, the Roman emperor from 117 to 138 C.E. usurped the Samaritan holy place and constructed a large temple to Zeus Hypsisto (Bull 1967; 1968). Features of that temple are preserved on coins dating to between 138 and 253 C.E. (Bull 1968:58–60). The metal doors he used in his new temple purportedly were taken from the ruined Jerusalem Temple. Centuries later they were to adorn two Samaritan synagogues before being taken off by the Ottoman Turks.

Early in the Christian era, waning Roman control facilitated a flowering of Samaritan theology and hymnody represented in the work of Marqah, Baba, and the hymn writer Amram Darrah. Generally scholars have followed Montgomery (1907:294) in placing these figures in the 4th century; however Crown (1986:104) and Stenhouse (1988:246–53) argue effectively for a 3d century date. Marqah's son, Nana, and Amram Darrah contributed richly to the growing liturgical tradition. The Samaritans had been strongly influenced by Judaism and continued to be, but as Christianity grew in strength and influence, it, too, played a role in the growing heterodoxy of Samaritan thought.

The Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch was widely available: there is evidence that the scribes of Codex Alexandrinus made some use of a copy; Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, Epiphanius and Cyril of Jerusalem among other Church Fathers referred to it; Jerome used it in his translation of the Vulgate; and the Talmud reflects awareness of it, if only in a generally critical sense.

Synagogues were built in the vicinity of Nablus and in such remote places as Rome, Thessalonica and possibly Delos, and under the leadership of Baba the apparently Dosithean influenced laity party gained in power over against the priests, perhaps as a compromise to strengthen the Samaritan community in the

face of adversity. Marble remnants of Samaritan synagogues preserved with the few surviving Samaritan inscriptions (for example at Imwas), suggest reasonable prosperity within the community.

**4. Byzantine Period.** Under Byzantine domination the Samaritans experienced three centuries of severe repression. The primary community remained anchored to Nablus, the town at the foot of Mt. Gerizim, throughout the Byzantine period, despite an uninterrupted Diaspora responding to the frequent military operations in Palestine. The almost continuous presence of a place of worship at Gerizim until 484 C.E. offered a primary focus for the community through the upheavals and it is estimated that half a million Samaritans remained in Palestine. When they did leave Palestine, they tended to convert to Christianity and become assimilated into the local culture. Nevertheless, there was a Samaritan Diaspora estimated at 150,000 that maintained its religious identification with communities in such key centers as Cairo, Rome, Constantinople, and Thessalonica (remains of Samaritan synagogues have been found in the latter two cities).

They became targets of Byzantine wrath on two major counts: their theology, which the Christian Byzantines felt was influenced by gnosticism, and their claim to such holy places as Jacob's well and Joseph's tomb. Unlike the Romans, the Byzantines more frequently distinguished between Jew and Samaritan and treated the latter much more harshly. When the Samaritans rebelled against repressive legislation, particularly in 526 and 529, they were decimated by Byzantine forces.

**5. Middle Ages.** The increased political turmoil encouraged migration to other Middle Eastern centers. Communities developed at Aleppo, Tyre, Caesarea, Ascalon, Gaza, Damascus and Cairo. In 636, all of these cities came under Muslim rule. The Samaritans were not badly treated and assimilated the Arabic language and Muslim ideas. The Pentateuch probably was translated into Arabic in the 11th century, with its classic formulation attributed to Abu'l Said in the 13th century. By the time of the advent of Islam, the Samaritans were too diminished to significantly influence the Muslims, although some motifs, like depictions of the day of judgment that appear in the *Memar Markah,* have notable parallels in the Quran. The Samaritans were affected very explicitly by Islam: *Elah,* a close parallel to *Allah,* became a preferred term for God; they began using part of the Muslim creed, "There is no God, but God"; and they introduced prayers and other statements with the Muslim form, "In the name of God."

In 1099 the Crusaders arrived and left their mark by converting the Samaritan synagogue at Nablus into a church, the tower of which still survives. When the Muslims returned to power in 1244, they made the building into a mosque, and in subsequent centuries the Samaritans had varying degrees of access to their central city.

The 14th century witnessed a new surge of theological and literary activity growing out of a reconciliation among several Samaritan sects, particularly the priestly-centered orthodox and the more lay-oriented Dositheans. The revered Abisha Scroll of the Pentateuch was discovered in 1355. Much of the manuscript dates from prior centuries, but it is likely that some portions were written in the 14th century to restore and link ancient fragments. In the same year, Abu'l Fath drew from several previous sources to write in colloquial Arabic a history of the Samaritans commissioned by the high priest Phineas. Another work, *Joshua,* an historical commentary with parallels to the biblical book, was also completed in this century. From this accumulated base of authority, the priests maintained control but were more open to heterodoxy (Crown 1967).

In response to a series of hardships during the following century, the Samaritans migrated among the major cities of the Diaspora, reaching a peak in the years 1474–85, during which they copied and exchanged a substantial number of Pentateuchs. The end of the 15th century witnessed some building restoration in Nablus.

Muslim oppression drove Jews, Christians, and Samaritans into quite congenial relations at this time. Jews and Samaritans accepted each other's authority in local communities. Samaritans in Cairo accepted the authority of the Jewish rabbi and Jews in the region of Nablus accepted the authority of the Samaritan high priest. Samaritans were in direct relationship with Christians, as well. For example, in 1497 the sale of a Pentateuch (von Gall 1914–18 vol. 2) was witnessed by two Christians.

**6. Modern Period.** The 16th century set the stage for a continuous diminution of the Samaritans and the unrelated birth of Samaritan studies in Europe. The invasion of the Ottoman Turks early in the 16th century led to greater oppression of the Samaritans provoking many Diaspora Samaritans to return to Nablus. The high priest at Nablus was exiled to Damascus, where the Samaritan leaders came into contact with the Jewish community. The Samaritan scholar Abraham ha-Qabasi wrote a book, *Sayr al Qalb,* containing a second list of the 613 precepts (the number of Pentateuchal commandments based on the numerical value of the word "Torah"), undoubtedly influenced by Jewish scholarship. This was one of the treasures brought back to Nablus in 1538 when the author returned with the high priest. Within a century, the Samaritan community at Damascus had disappeared and the demise of the Egyptian community was not far behind. A mid-16th-century traveller notes that Nablus was *the* city of the Samaritans and that they were located nowhere else in the world. Persecution of non-Muslims continued throughout the century.

Concurrently, European scholars became aware of the Samaritans and their literature. In 1537 Guillaume Postel acquired a Samaritan grammar and included comments on it and the Samaritans in his work *Ce Traite des douze langues,* published the following year. It was the first western information published on the Samaritans since Jerome's prologue to the book of Kings (de Robert 1988; 15–21). By the latter half of the 16th century Joseph Scaliger, a self-taught Semitist, had begun a correspondence with the Samaritan communities at Nablus and Egypt in an attempt to secure a copy of their Pentateuch. In 1584 he did receive some materials including a copy of the Samaritan *Joshua* which had been written in 1362–63 by Abd-el Ghani. He also received letters, some of which arrived after his death, but no copy of the Pentateuch was sent. The Samaritans may have been reluctant to entrust their sacred text to outsiders, although some speculate they were holding out for money or perhaps a text was sent and lost at sea.

The opportunity for Westerners to study the Pentateuch had to await the early 17th century, when Pietro della Valle did find a Pentateuch (von Gall's Codex B, dated 1345/46 C.E.) in Damascus. It arrived in Paris in 1623, where it was studied and published by Jean Morin. Morin remained at the center of all discussion of the Sam. Pent. for three decades, from the arrival of the della Valle codex through its publication in the Paris polyglot of 1645 until the rather incomplete catalogue of Samaritan texts that he published in 1657.

After the publication of the Walton or London polyglot of 1657, a flurry of interest in the Sam. Pent. sent emissaries to the Middle East in search of more copies. Because the Samaritan text seemed to support the Roman Catholic–favored LXX version of the OT against the MT which Jews and Protestants considered the "original" text, an extensive polemical literature developed between Roman Catholics and Protestants. No thorough, systematic examination and comparison of the text was accomplished.

Within a year of the receipt of Codex B in Paris, others began to appear in the British Isles, solicited mainly by Archbishop Usher in his quest for accurate dating of biblical events. He received a total of six pentateuchal manuscripts dating the next decade, of which von Gall's N, dated 1362/63 C.E. is the most easily identifiable.

The Samaritans for their part became confused about the European interest and concluded that a community of Samaritans were living in Europe, particularly in England. A few Englishmen encouraged this delusion as a strategy to elicit more Samaritan writings and as a tool for proselytizing.

When the priestly line of Aaron came to an end in 1623–24, the Samaritans sent two letters to their "brethren" in England hoping to reinstitute the line. Samaritans have given particular importance to the priest, Phineas, who is assumed to be the grandson of Aaron. Since the *Taheb,* or Messiah, was expected to descend from this line, it was urgent that the line not be broken. In practice, the priesthood resorted to the Levitical family.

French scholars used the same deception for similar ends. A fascinating sidelight to the story of French Samaritans is the evidence that there may have been some such presence. Two Arabic Samaritan Pentateuchs completed in 1685 were copied from a text brought to Paris by Capucin "rabbis" in 1684 (Anderson 1978:45).

During the 19th century, European scholars were intrigued with the possible links between the Samaritans and the Karaites, an antirabbinical sect of Judaism that emerged late in the 1st millennium C.E.

Both groups used complex calendars that required specialists to establish the feast days for a particular year, and even the formula for some feasts, like Pentecost, differed from orthodox Judaism. In response to direct questioning the Samaritans affirmed their distinctiveness (de Sacy 1831:52–63). Many of their mutual practices can be traced back to Zadokite traditions at Qumran and may help establish the family tree of a particular style of Judaism.

During the 19th century the Samaritans were denied access to their sacred Mount, their literary efforts had long since dwindled, and in the early 20th century their total population was less than 200. That number has more than doubled with the community equally divided between Nablus and Holon, a suburb of Tel Aviv.

Historical tensions between Rabbinic Judaism and Samaritanism are minimal. Both are heirs of traditions and festivals authorized in the Pentateuch. Samaritans were legally considered a form of Jew during much of the history of occupation in Palestine, and often Samaritan and Jew recognized each other's authorities. Yet Samaritans do not consider themselves Jews and this distinction can be noted in both religious and social practices. They do not celebrate Purim or Hanukkah or the four minor fasts that are rooted elsewhere in Jewish tradition. They are reluctant to marry Jews; although, as a modern expediency, Samaritan men may marry Jewish women. For their part, Jews still have reservations about Samaritans and will not allow Samaritan burials in the Jewish cemetery at Tel Aviv.

**D. Literature**

**1. Pentateuch.** Only the Torah is canonized and it is read and revered in all services of worship. The unique artifact of the Samaritan community is the Abisha Scroll, a copy of the Pentateuch, housed in the synagogue at Nablus and attributed to Abisha, the great grandson of Aaron, the brother of Moses. It signifies both the scope and reverence accorded to Samaritan scripture.

About 150 pentateuchal manuscripts survive, some in a fragmentary state. They date from about the 9th century C.E. to the present century, with the largest production coming from the 14th and 15th centuries. The Sam. Pent. evolved somewhat independently from Judaism beginning or following the Hasmonean period (142–53 B.C.E.), although all text types remained quite flexible for at least a couple of centuries as evidenced by the discoveries at Qumran. Samaritan texts reflect awareness of later Jewish versions as well. The major points of explicit and intentional difference between the Samaritan and Jewish Torah relate to the Samaritan concern to establish the priority of Mt. Gerizim, witnessed most dramatically in the addition of the commandment to build an altar at the site (added to Exod 20:17) and the reading of "Gerizim" for "Ebal" at Deut 27:4.

While most of the pentateuchal manuscripts are written in Hebrew, it is not uncommon for Aramaic or Arabic or both to appear in adjoining columns, and there are exclusive Arabic and Aramaic texts.

Attempts have been made to cluster pentateuchal manuscripts into families of texts with sufficient common characteristics to indicate geographical, chronological, or scribal relationship (Anderson 1988). Punctuation, for example, is more likely influenced by geography, while the time period has more effect on the text choices. The majority of manuscripts come from four primary centers: Damascus, Egypt, Shechem, and Zarephath. For further discussion, see SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

**2. Targum.** The *Sam. Tg.* (a paraphrase of the biblical text in the vernacular Aramaic often found in a column paralleling the Hebrew text) offers remarkable parallels to the *Tg. Onq.*. A. Tal has done significant study of the *Sam. Tg.* in several works, including the editing of a critical edition (1980–83).

**3. Memar Marqah.** This work, "Sayings of Marqah," a series of sermons expressing Samaritan theological beliefs, is attributed to the 3d or 4th century theologian Marqah, but examination of the language betrays several periods of Aramaic linguistic style, and the work was obviously enriched over the centuries. It is divided into six parts. The first five parts expand on biblical stories and develop homilies on biblical verses. The last section is a midrash on the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, though essays on only twelve letters remain. (For a summary of these sections, see Tal 1989:462–65.) Marqah is the most highly venerated of all nonbiblical personages by the Samaritans, and in later tradition he is described as a priest. Macdonald (1963:xvii–xix) notes the assimilation of Christian concepts in Marqah, particularly the attribution to Moses of traits John uses to describe Jesus.

**4. Liturgical Works.** The earliest part of the liturgy is called the Defter, a collection of Marqah's compositions, hymns composed by his father, Amram Darah, and by his son, Nanah. With subsequent additions, it constitutes the prayer book of the Samaritan community (Tal 1989:450–62). More than one hundred liturgical manuscripts appear in catalogues of various Samaritan collections. They cover a wide range of festivals (Sabbaths, Passover, Unleavened Bread—separated from Passover by the Samaritans—Weeks, Booths, and Atonement) and special occasions such as circumcision, marriage, and burials. Much of every service is devoted to hymns, the longest of which are usually acrostics in which each succeeding verse or stanza begins with the subsequent letter of the Hebrew alphabet. Cowley has written the standard treatment of the liturgy (1909).

**5. Asatir.** In Islamic times a wide diversity of literature developed. *Al-Asatir* ("Stories") of Moses, an Aramaic work of about the 11th or 12th century C.E., preserves ancient traditional stories paralleled in the OT pseudepigrapha. E. Robertson (1938–62:2. xxxi–xxxii) describes it as a haggadic supplement to the Pentateuch. It was held in high regard by the Samaritans, since they assumed it had been written by Moses. A translation and modern commentary has been published by Z. Ben-Hayyim (1943–44).

**6. Joshua.** The Samaritan *Book of Joshua,* quite independent of the OT book, was written in Arabic and contains legendary material describing the period from Joshua until the 4th century C.E. Crown (1967) has suggested that the Dosithean sect of the Samaritans had a book of Joshua that is no longer extant, but which may have been included in some part in this extant work during the reconciliation of priestly and lay movements in the late Middle Ages.

**7. Chronicles.** In Islamic times a wide diversity of literature developed. Chief among them was a series of Chronicles. *Ha-Tolidah* ("Genealogy") was composed in Hebrew in 1346 and contains genealogical lists to the time of the entry into Canaan. Another chronicle, The Shalshalah ("Chain"), is a genealogy of the high priests from Adam to the present, begun by Eleazar ben Phineas and brought up to date by Jacob ben Harun in the 20th century C.E. The *Kitab al-Taʾrikh* ("Annals"), the "great chronicle" composed by Abu'l-Fath in the 14th century is an account from Adam to Muhammad (Stenhouse 1985). For further discussion, see Stenhouse 1989.

**8. Chronicle II.** Another Chronicle, which Gaster referred to as a continuation of Abu'l Fath, has been described by Macdonald (1969) and Cohen (1981). Apparently originating in the 14th century C.E., it seems to draw on several Jewish writings, possibly even a pre-MT, various Samaritan priestly sources, and the chronicles of Abu'l Fath to create material which is in part parallel to the biblical books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, 2 Chronicles, and Psalms. It is quite critical of several biblical heroes, including David, Solomon, and Elijah.

**E. Beliefs and Practices**

The Samaritan creed has been succinctly stated in letters from the Samaritans to inquiring Western scholars (Montgomery 1907:207):"We say: My faith is in Thee, YHWH; and in Moses son of Amram, Thy servant, and in the Holy Law; and in Mount Gerizim Bethel and in the Day of Vengeance and Recompense."

**1. Monotheism.** The Samaritan concept of God has shaped itself in the direction of the rigorous monotheism of Islam rather than the dispersal suggested by the Christian Trinity or the emanations of Gnosticism. They borrow the Muslim slogan, "There is no God, but God" for use in their services and writings. *El* or *Elah* is most commonly used for God (akin to Islamic Allah). The tetragrammaton, YHWH, is in regular use. Samaritans, like Jews, avoid making images and are even reluctant to apply the anthropomorphic concept of "Father" to God, whom they see as the ineffable and incorporeal creator and sustainer who has entered into unique covenant with Israel.

**2. Torah.** Torah, the Law of God, emanates from the divine fire as part of the covenant. Its verses are carved in stone to decorate synagogues, inscribed on amulets for personal protection, and carefully copied by hand on parchment or good paper. Wealthy families owned beautifully hand-printed copies which were passed down through many generations and now reside in the collections of such institutions as the Bibliothèque Nationale, the British Museum, the John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester, and Michigan State University. The practical and legal aspect of Torah has been emphasized to define the

location of the altar and the services to be performed there, elevating its interpreters, the priests, to unique authority.

**3. Moses.** Moses as mediator of the Torah deserves adoration as the third focus of Samaritan faith. Blessings are offered "in the name of Moses the faithful," the last and most exalted of the prophets. Little is made of his death, but his birth is exalted in a treatise, *Molad Mosheh.* He is depicted as a preexistent primordial light who came to illuminate the world. The restorer who will come as the agent of God will be one like Moses.

**4. Mt. Gerizim.** The Samaritan version of Moses commanding the building of an altar on Mt. Gerizim (Deut 27:4) is probably earlier than the MT citation of Mt. Ebal. On the other hand, the Samaritans themselves presumably inserted the commandment in the Decalogue (after Ex 20:14 and Deut 5:18) ordering the building of an altar for sacrifice on Mt. Gerizim. It is, in their view, the navel of the world where Abel built the first altar, and where God told Abraham to sacrifice Isaac. The *Memar Marqah* enumerates thirteen honorific names for the mountain. Tradition calls it the oldest and highest mountain in the world, and its peak survived the flood in the time of Noah. Here the Samaritans have built a series of altars and sanctuaries at three major sacred spots and continue to celebrate their festivals. The mutually exclusive claims of Gerizim and Jerusalem define a very tangible distinctive difference between Jew and Samaritan, though some caution against overstating its significance (Purvis 1986:88 and Coggins 1975:113).

**5. Day of Vengeance and Recompense.** The eschatology of the Samaritans is not unlike that of other heirs of the Israelite tradition. A coming Day of the Lord will be ushered in by a Messiah and characterized by a long period of peace and security before the final end. The Samaritan periodization of the history of salvation includes an Age of Disfavor preceding Moses, an Age of Grace lasting 260 years after Moses, a second Age of Disfavor initiated by the evil priest, Eli, and the New Age of Grace to be initiated by the Messiah. The designation of the Messiah as *Taheb,* a cryptic term, whose role is to be modeled after Deut 18:18, is also unique to the Samaritans.

**6. Festivals.** The calendar by which the feasts are determined originated with the Jewish calendar. However, it has become so complex through influence of Byzantine and Arab usages that only the priest can calculate the appropriate feast days for any given year. On the Day of Simmuth, 60 days before Passover, each member of the community pays a half shekel and receives the calendar in which the priest has calculated the festivals for the next six months. During the year, the Samaritans celebrate Passover, the Feast of Unleavened Bread, The Feast of Weeks, the Feast of the Seventh Month, Yom Kippur, the Feast of Booths, and "the eighty days of solemn assembly." The Festival of Unleavened Bread, the Feast of Weeks, and the Feast of Booths are celebrated on Mt. Gerizim. Although Passover is distinct from the Feast of Unleavened Bread, the Samaritans remain on the mountain through the days of each.

Regular services of Sabbath are celebrated in the synagogue. On the Day of Atonement, the main festival of the synagogue, the law is read and the Abisha Scroll is displayed for adoration. All services use extensive readings from the Torah, hymns, and prayers.

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**SAMEK.** The fifteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

**SAMGAR-NEBO** (PERSON) [Heb *samgar-nĕbô* (סַמְגַּר־נְבוֹ)]. One of the Babylonian military officers who (along with Nergal-sharezer, Sarsechim the Rabsaris, and Nergal-sharezer the Rabmag) was charged with the disposition of the city of Jerusalem after it had been captured by the Babylonians in 587 B.C. (Jer 39:3). Some perplexities occur in the passage (39:1–13) containing the names of these (and other) officers: the LXX presents a garbled version of the first three vv (LXX Jer 46:1–3), omits vv 4–15, and then resumes the narrative in Jer 52:4–16.

The name of the ranking Babylonian officer, Nabuzaradan, "the captain of the guard," appears four times in the passage and itself presents no difficulties. He functioned as the liaison between King Nebuchadnezzar and the Babylonian forces in Jerusalem, supervising the deportation of Judeans to Babylon, apportioning Judean lands to the indigent, and carrying out royal orders concerning the prophet Jeremiah (39:9–14). However, there are numerous problems associated with the other four Babylonian officers listed in 39:3. Apparently this same group is referred to again in v 13, but there only two officers are mentioned: Nebushazban the Rabsaris (not mentioned in 39:3) and Nergal-sharezer the Rabmag (a name which also occurs twice in 39:3; is it possible that all three occurrences of the name Nergal-sharezer refer to one and the same individual?).

The names Nebu-shazban, Nabu-zaradan, and Nergal-sharezer are all theophoric with a divine name in the initial position. The names Samgar-nebo and Sarsechim are different, however, in that they do not begin with a theophoric element (the god Nebo/Nabû appears in the final position in Samgar-nebo's name). A major problem has been that despite the thousands of Babylonian names known to us, none exhibit any affinity to the Samgar- element in Samgar-nebo's name. A dramatic breakthrough transpired

when E. Ungar (1930:36, 290) pointed out an entry in the court- and state-calendar of Nebuchadnezzar mentioning the name Nergal-šarri-uṣur (Neriglissar) prince of Sin-magir. The name was immediately recognized to be that of Nebuchadnezzar's son-in-law and eventual successor. The province of Sin-magir was identified as being located N of Babylon, an area that was well-known as early as the Isin dynasty (ca. 2100 B.C.). Nergal-šarri-uṣur was identified with Nergal-sharezer in Jer 39:3, and it was suggested (Bewer 1925) that the first name in v 3 should be read "Nergal-sharezer [prince] of Sin-magir, the Rabmag." Bright (*Jeremiah* AB, 243), following Rudolph (*Jeremia* HAT, 208) and appealing to v 13, reconstructs v 3 to read "Nergal-sharezer, lord of Sin-magir, the Rab-mag; Nabushazban the Rab-saris." Thus, the first element in the name Samgar-nebo is seen to contain an actual reference to the province of Sin-magir (Akk *simmāgir*), while the theophoric element and the next name *(nbwśrskym)*—which may be a corruption of *nĕbûšazbān śar sāsîs,* "Nabushazban the Sar[variant of Rab]-saris"—as well as the second reference to Nergal-sharezer, are essentially deleted. Another approach is to read *nbwśrskym* as another proper name, Nebusarsekin. Of course, all proposed emendations can be rejected in toto, and one can hope that future discoveries will help to clarify the serious difficulties that remain in Jer 39:3.

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**SAMLAH** (PERSON) [Heb *śamlâ* (שַׂמְלָה)]. The sixth ruler mentioned in the Edomite king list, Gen 36:31–39 (v 36; also 1 Chr 1:47). Opinions vary concerning the date of this list. Suggestions range from the 11th century B.C. (Weippert 1982:155) through the 8th to 6th centuries B.C. (Bennett 1983:16) to the 6th/5th centuries B.C. (Knauf 1985). Scholars tend to agree, however, that the succession scheme of this list is artificial, and that, in all likelihood, the rulers mentioned were contemporaries (Bartlett 1972:27; Weippert 1982:155). The name has parallels in ancient N Arabian epigraphy, in classical and contemporary Arabic. It may signify "cloak" (Arabic *šamlah*). If the consonants alone are taken into account, the name can also be derived from **Śām›allāh,* "The God has placed" (Knauf 1985:248). Because of the form *›al-* for the definite article, Samlah would then represent one of the earliest attestations for Nabateans in Edom. Samlah's place or region of origin, Masrekah, cannot be identified.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**SAMMUNIYEH, KHIRBET.** See SHIMRON (PLACE).

**SAMOS** (PLACE) [Gk *Samos* (Σαμος)]. One of the most important islands of the Aegean, located one mile from the W shore of Asia Minor (modern Turkey) SW of Ephesus and NW of Miletus (37°45′N; 26°49′E). Samos is a mountainous island, hence its name, which means "height" or "mountain"; it is 14 miles in width and 27 miles long.

Samos is mentioned in 1 Macc 15:23 as one of the recipients of a letter sent by the Roman consul Lucius. The passage in 1 Maccabees records a letter, which instructed rulers of various regions to treat the Jews with favor. This request was prompted by the gift of a shield made from 1,000 minas (1 mina equals about 1.25 pounds) of gold which the Jewish ambassadors brought to the Roman ruler. The inclusion of Samos on this list attests to its large population of Jews during the 2d century B.C.

Paul, after visiting Macedonia, traveled to Troas and then went cross-country to Assos. There he joined his companions on the ship and sailed S to Chios and Samos, eventually traveling on to Jerusalem. It was common for ships to overnight at convenient harbors and set sail early in the morning to take advantage of favorable morning winds. The ship carrying Paul during his third missionary journey may have "touched

at" Samos and anchored there overnight (as in the RSV), or perhaps the vessel "came near" to the island and set anchor at the nearby promontory of Trogylium (Acts 20:15). The confusion comes from variant textual evidence, but the earliest manuscripts omit the phrase "and having remained in Trogylium" (cf. KJV). This phrase may have been added to the later texts as gloss to explain the Greek word *paraballo,* which technically means "to touch land" and therefore does not require the ship to make an actual landing.

Samos was inhabited in the Early Bronze Age by the Late Mycenaeans. The Ionians established settlements on the island during the early Iron Age. Samos was a great naval power and established several colonies throughout the Mediterranean, including Dicaearchia (Puteoli) in Italy, and Zanucle (Messana) in Sicily. During the 6th century B.C., the island was ruled by tyrants, of which the most powerful was Polycrates, whose death is recorded by Herodotus (3.39ff.). Samos participated in the Ionian rebellion and joined the Athenian League after the Greeks defeated the Persian fleet at the Battle of Mycale, which was fought in the narrow strait that separates Samos from Ionia (Hdt. 9.100ff.). Samos was a loyal ally of Athens for many years.

During the First Mithridates War, Samos joined the rebellion against Rome and at the conclusion of that uprising in 84 B.C., Rome joined the island to the province of Asia.

Samos became prosperous due to the benefits of Cicero, and through its one-time residents, Antony and Cleopatra. Later, Augustus made the island a free state (Dio Cassius 54.9; Pliny *HN* 5.37). Both Herod and Marcus Agrippa visited the island and gave many gifts to the inhabitants (Josephus *Ant* 16.2.2; *JW* 1.21.11).

Samos, the chief cultural center for Ionia, was the home of the famous moralist Aesop and the philosopher Pythagoras. Samos also had the largest temple of its day (built in 569 B.C.)—an Ionic style building which was dedicated to Hera (Hdt. 3.60; Paus. 7.4). This temple was located in the capital city of the island, which was also known as Samos.

JOHN D. WINELAND

**SAMOTHRACE** (PLACE) [Gk *Samothrąkē* (Σαμοθρᾳκη)]. A small island located in the NE Aegean Sea (40°27´N; 25°32´E). It lies approximately 20 miles S of Thrace (Samos of Thrace, or the Thracian Samos) on a sea route between Macedonia and the Hellespont (Dardanelles) in Asia Minor. The name Samos, meaning "height" or "mountain," reflects its mountainous topography. With a summit more than one mile above sea level, Samothrace represents the highest point on all of the Aegean Islands. It is in view of the Trojan coast and represents the most conspicuous landmark for ships on the sea route. In the *Iliad* (13.12), Homer called Samothrace Poseidon's island, because Poseidon surveyed the plains of Troy from the top of its mountains.

Few people lived on the island before the 7th century B.C. During Greek and Roman history, Samothrace remained relatively insignificant, probably due to its rugged coastline and lack of a satisfactory harbor. In 190 B.C., Samothrace became independent after the Romans defeated Antiochus the Great at Magnesia (1 Macc 15:23). The island later came under Roman rule in 133 B.C., though Romans permitted autonomy on Samothrace after 19 B.C.

Although unsuitable as a trade center, ships would anchor on the N shore of Samothrace near a town by the same name. The mountains provided a relatively safe place to shelter ships at night from SE winds, and ancient sailors preferred to anchor overnight when convenient or possible. The mountains also made it possible to locate Samothrace easily from sea. Consequently, the N shore of the island became an anchorage for many ships.

After receiving the vision of a man beckoning to him from Macedonia, Paul left Troas in order to set sail for Europe across the Aegean Sea (Acts 16:9–10). With the benefit of good wind conditions, Paul sailed as far as Samothrace on the first of a two-day voyage (Acts 16:11). The ship undoubtedly anchored on the N shore of the island before continuing to Neapolis, the port of Philippi (Acts 16:12). There is no record of Paul going ashore at Samothrace, though some speculate that he did during a later voyage E which took several days longer to complete (Acts 20:6).

In the ancient world, Samothrace was best known as a center for the worship of the pre-Greek deities known as the Cabiri. The Cabiri were twin fertility gods, possibly of Phrygian or Phoenician origin. The gods were supposed to protect people in danger, particularly at sea. Many sailors revered them as navigational guides and protectors. Thus, Samothrace became a center of worship for this mystery cult, which involved an initiation ritual to secure the favor of the gods for this life and the next. Philip of Macedon and Olympias his wife, the parents of Alexander the Great, became initiates on the island. The popularity of the Cabiri rivaled the cults of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis, which represented the principal religious mysteries of ancient Greece. Upon receiving financial support from Macedonian and Egyptian kings, the people of Samothrace built magnificent buildings and monuments to their gods.

Beginning in the 19th century, archaeologists excavated a number of buildings, including a sanctuary for the gods and the largest round classical building before Hadrian's pantheon in Rome. In the Nike Fountain was found the *Winged Victory,* also called *Nike of Samothrace,* a statue probably built to commemorate a naval victory by the Rhodians in ca. 190 B.C. Today the statue is displayed prominently in the Louvre and considered one of the greatest Greek sculptures.

DONALD A. D. THORSEN

**SAMPSAMES** (PLACE) [Gk *Sampsamēs* (Σαμψαμης)]. One of the cities in the area of Asia Minor to which the Roman consul Lucius wrote a letter in support of the interests of the Hasmonean kingdom under Simon (1 Macc 15:23). The name Sampsames is unknown and probably corrupt (unfamiliar names lead to scribal confusion; most of the geographical names in chap. 15 are otherwise unknown). It might perhaps be identified with Samsun (41°17´N; 36°22´E), a port city on the Black Sea in modern Turkey. Samsun is built on the ancient Hellenistic city of Amisus, a trading port of the independent kingdom of Pontus. It was a large and wealthy city, and therefore possibly able to influence foreign policy as regarded the fledgling Hasmonean kingdom over against the disintegrating Seleucid empire. Another possible identification might be the city of Samosata (37°31´N; 38°30´E), to the N of Edessa, again part of the kingdom of Pontus. However, the location of Sampsames has not yet been satisfactorily identified.

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**SAMRA, KHIRBET ES-** (M.R. 221086). The Arabic name means "The Black Ruin," as does the site's less common name, Kh. es-Sauda. A third name is sometimes used: Qala‘at es-Samra, "The Black Castle." This site should not be confused with Kh. es-Samra in Judah (M.R. 187125). See SECACAH. The site is in fact built of black basalt, which gives the area a somber look. The ruin was often visited by those who were following the Roman road *(Via Nova Trajana).* M. Germer-Durand (1902) identified it with Hatita, mentioned on the *Tabula Peutingeriana,* and H. C. Butler (1904) identified it with Gadda, listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (where Hatita is also referred to as Aditha). The distances between the sites, compared with the Roman miles written on the *Tabula Peutingeriana,* favor Hatita, while a Greek inscription recently found near the site features the Greek form *Adeitha*.

The basalt outcrop on which Samra is situated stands 15 m above the bend of a little wadi. The site measures only 200 × 250 m. Without springs and enjoying only a light rainfall, it was habitable because of the construction of large cisterns, aqueducts, and birkeh (pools), one of which, 1 km from the site, measures 50 × 50 m. Owing to the scarcity of water and the poverty of the soil, agriculture was neither prosperous nor sufficient. The economy had to rely upon other factors. The remains, which have been seriously damaged by robbery, present a close network of structures relatively well organized. The École Biblique et Archéologique de Jérusalem has excavated there since 1981 under the direction of J.-B. Humbert.

This site, which could not subsist on agriculture, obtained its livelihood as a staging post on the caravan route linking the Red Sea with the rich cities of Syria (Palmyra). In addition, its position on the edge of the desert made it a junction between the Decapolis and routes passing up the Wadi Sirhan to Arabia. At first a Nabatean post halfway between Philadelphia (Amman) and Bostra, Samra became a strategic point

on the great road which the Romans built after annexing the province in A.D. 106 and was eventually integrated into the *limes Arabicus.* Under Diocletian (ca. 300) the Nabatean guard post was replaced with a fortress. Measuring 60 × 60 m, it has towers at each corner and in the center of each side. The main gate on the E side was flanked by two towers and permitted the passage of vehicles. The building was restored under Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian (Latin inscription ca. A.D. 375), but was abandoned in the Byzantine period and given over to domestic use. Eventually, the little town was surrounded by a wall.

It is difficult to know how the town which grew up around the fort became Christian. The seven churches excavated could have been built under Justinian or just after his reign (A.D. 565), when Bostra and its district were undergoing extensive redevelopment. The mosaic floors were laid when the buildings were being reconstructed, which the inscriptions date ca. 630/640. This is, of course, when Islam was sweeping through the region. The mosaics were defaced by iconoclasts, but it is noteworthy that the sanctuaries remained in use almost until the end of the Ummayad period (750).

The special interest of Samra lies, however, in its cemetery. Cemeteries from this period are rare (Umm el-Jimal, Kerak) and Samra is the only one to yield monuments written in Syro-Palestinian. These testify to the existence of a community speaking this language, which is Palestinian in origin and written in a script derived from the Syrian Estrangelo of Mesopotamia. The translation of the Bible into Syro-Palestinian was made by Christians of the Chalcedonian faith who firmly opposed the Monophysites of Syria. The cemetery was first non-Christian and had gravestones in Greek (notable is one for a veteran of the Roman army at the end of the 4th century). It then became overwhelmingly Christian, as indicated by more than 600 rough stones and simple slabs which have been found engraved with crosses of various styles. About 100 stones bear the name of the deceased in Greek or Syro-Palestinian. The list of names is extremely varied: there are those of the local (pagan) stock with Nabatean, Palmyrene, and Arab names; there are names which show acquaintance with the Old and New Testaments, and there are a few Latin names. That these varied cultures should be found in such an association may be explained by the need for soldiers, merchants, and missionaries to use the main route from inland Syria to Aqaba.

After destructions caused by repeated earthquakes and the ravages of plague throughout the 8th century, Samra was completely abandoned before 800.

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JEAN-BAPTISTE HUMBERT

**SAMSON** (PERSON) [Heb *šimšôn* (שִׁמְשׁוֹן)]. A warrior-deliverer whose personal vendetta against the Philistines, resulting from sexual encounters, cost him sight and life (Judges 13–16).

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A. Introduction
B. Literary Components of the Narrative
C. Motifs
D. Rhetorical Features
E. Function of the Story
F. Postcanonical Readings of the Story

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**A. Introduction**

Judges 13–16 records the story of Samson, a *šōpeṭ* (warrior-deliverer) from the tribe of Dan. Samson's heroic exploits approximate a private vendetta against the Philistines, arising from his amorous adventures with three women. The narrative, however, interprets these incidents as motivated by a religious factor, God's desire to vex the uncircumcised neighbors of the Danite clan. Samson's erotic liaisons with foreign women led to his enslavement and eventual death by his own hands.

The name Samson appears to be a diminutive form of *šemeš* (sun), hence "little sun." Various features of the story suggest a connection at some stage with solar worship: e.g., *Šamaš* the sun god; the city Beth-

shemesh (lit. "house/temple of the sun [god]"); the blinding of Samson, analogous to a solar eclipse; the similarity between Delilah's name and the Hebrew word for night *(laylâ).* The prominence of fire in the episodes further strengthens the hypothesis of solar mythology, as does the incident of the foxes, which recalls a ritual for preventing mildew reported to have taken place during the Roman festival of Cerealia.

The present form of the story resembles a saga, which recounts the amazing deeds of a single individual, exploits that greatly affected the course of events for the Danites. Its component parts, although unrelated, mesh nicely, largely the result of the overarching Deuteronomistic framework and two themes: Samson's inability to guard the secret of his strength and his failure to keep the Nazirite vow, imposed on him by divine mediation and reinforced by his mother, throw into focus the Deuteronomistic conviction that disobedience brings certain retaliation from on high (see, e.g., Boling *Judges* AB, 252f.).

The narrative draws on literary conventions that find expression in various parts of the canon. Its motifs appear also in the Torah, Prophets, Writings, and the Deuterocanon. Moreover, the story weaves an intricate tapestry from separate strands of Hebrew rhetoric. Familiar themes, motifs, and rhetoric unit in a suspense-filled tale about squandered potential. The mighty Samson fell victim to his own fascination for foreign women; his plight provided a lesson very much needed in Israelite society, which harbored exclusive ideas about pure religion.

Christian interpretation of this story quickly recognized some startling similarities between Samson and Jesus, despite significant differences. Resemblances between Samson and Heracles also occasioned comment. In the 17th century John Milton reinterpreted the Samson narrative as an epic psychological and spiritual struggle against primal evil. Artists, musicians, and poets testify to the emotive power of the biblical story about Samson, and the movie industry has exploited is sexual features.

**B. Literary Components of the Narrative**

The Samson narrative features prayers, etiologies, victory songs, riddles, heroic deeds, a birth story, and a recognition account. Elements such as these originated in oral tradition and circulated for a considerable time before being incorporated into the Deuteronomistic rendering of Israel's early existence. At least one item in the account, the riddles, may antedate inclusion in the story of Samson's wager on the occasion of his wedding at Timnah.

Three prayers rise to heaven in the raucous story, one generated by Manoah, Samson's father, and the other two by the warrior-judge in dire circumstances. Although the divine messenger gave clear and specific instructions to Samson's mother about her diet prior to his birth and about the intended life-style for her son, Manoah entreats the deity to return and instruct both parents on the rearing of their child. "O Lord, let the man of God whom you sent come again to us and teach us what we ought to do for the boy who will be born" (13:8). The verb that describes Manoah's actions belongs in cultic contexts. No such language escapes Samson's lips, nor does the narrator introduce the vocabulary of the cult when describing the fervent requests of a weakened fighter. An exceedingly thirsty Samson calls on the Lord as follows: "You have given this great victory into the power of your servant, but now I am about to die with thirst, and I shall fall into the grasp of the uncircumcised" (15:18). Samson's penultimate words address the Lord in a similar manner: "O Lord God, remember me, I pray, and strengthen me just this time, O God, that I may avenge myself a vengeance from the Philistines for one of my two eyes" (16:28). The narrative emphasizes the deity's readiness to answer prayer, even prayer inspired by selfish motives.

Samson's initial prayer occurs in the context of two topographical etiologies. One explains the origin of the name Partridge Spring (En-hakkore), the other identifies the locale in which Samson used an unconventional weapon against some Philistines (Ramath-lehi). In all probability, the name "Spring of the Caller" is secondary, and the original sense of calling had nothing to do with humans or prayer. The usual formula for an etiology occurs here: "Therefore its name was called … which is at … until this day" (15:19). This formula does not appear with the other etiology in the Samson narrative. In this instance certain features of the hill probably resembled the jawbone of an ass (15:17).

Two victory songs stand in juxtaposition, one celebrating the slaughter of Samson's enemies and the other praising the god Dagon for delivering Samson into the hands of the Philistines. After slaying a thousand enemies Samson announces—he does not sing (*ʿanah* or *šir*) like Miriam and Moses—that

"With the jawbone of the ass, ass upon asses, with the jawbone of the ass, I have slain a thousand men" (15:16). Nine words suffice for Samson (actually five, since the word for "ass" occurs four times and "jawbone" twice). The Philistine victory song excels in repetition of a single sound, the first person plural ending *-ēnû* punctuating the joyous shout eight times. "*Our* god has given into *our* control Samson *our* enemy … *Our* god has given *our* enemy into *our* grasp, and the ravager of *our* land, who has killed many *of us*" (16:23b, 24b).

Samson's song breathes the spirit of braggadocio, whereas the Philistine song acknowledges a higher power as vanquisher. The Israelite hero attributes the victory to himself, despite his innate strength and a handy weapon. The Philistines obtained their foe through bribery and deceit, but in a solemn assembly they acknowledge divine assistance.

Samson's victory over a young lion and subsequent discovery of honey in its carcass provided private information that he used to formulate a six-word riddle on the occasion of his wedding to the beautiful Timnite woman: "Food came from the eater; sweetness came from strength" (14:14). Four cipher words furnish a clue for opening the riddle: food, eater, sweetness, strength. Only one word lacks initial *m*, the twice-used verb *yāṣā*ʾ. The Philistine's response, acquired through threat of death from Samson's bride, takes riddle form: "What is sweeter than honey, and what is stronger than a lion?" (14:18a). Like Samson's riddle, this one has only six words, five of which begin with the letter *m*. The only exception derives from his riddle (*ʿaz*, strength). The parallelism in Samson's riddle is synonymous, but the response has ascending parallelism. Samson's closing retort includes a riddle-like accusation: "Had you not plowed with my heifer, you would not have found out my riddle" (14:18b). The metaphor of plowing, widely used for sexual experience in the ANE, seems here to have a more general sense of exploiting someone's vulnerability.

Riddles often have several answers, and Samson's may actually have antedated its incorporation in the Samson narrative (Gunkel 1913). It could have described an erotic relationship between "eater" and the "eaten," sweetness and strength, with reference to both sexes as eater, strong, and eaten. Alternatively, the riddle could allude to soldiers' gorging themselves on delicacies at the wedding until they vomit.

The heart of the story consists of five heroic exploits perpetrated on the Philistines, the first one resulting from the lost wager. Bristling from the thought that his bride has betrayed his trust, Samson kills thirty hapless citizens from Ashkelon and removes the clothes from their corpses to pay his wager (14:19).

Later in a fit of rage over being denied admission to see his bride, who has been given to his best man, Samson catches three hundred foxes, ties their tails together, sets them on fire, and turns the frightened animals loose in the grainfields of the Philistines (15:4–5).

One grievance leads to another, steadily escalating in magnitude. The aggrieved Philistines pursue Samson, whose flight into the land of Judah endangers this tribe and prompts them to bind him for his pursuers. Snapping the ropes, he grabs an ass's jawbone and kills a thousand of his pursuers (15:9–17).

Seeking respite from his hostile engagements, he visits a prostitute for a different kind of game. Somehow, news of his whereabouts reaches the citizens of Gaza, who stealthily surround her house and lie in wait, anticipating the emergence of an exhausted Samson after a full night of loveplay. Their intended victim departs unexpectedly, tearing down the door to the city and ripping up its posts, depositing door and posts near Hebron far away in the hill-country (16:1–3).

His final heroic exploit wipes out more than three thousand mocking Philistines, but Samson also dies in the process. Called to make sport at a celebration honoring Dagon, Samson invokes divine remembrance in order to heap revenge on the people who had put out his eyes. Then he pulls down the two columns supporting the weight of the sacred edifice, filled with jubilant worshippers (16:23–30).

Only two of these exploits (14:19; 15:14) are attributed to the power of the spirit, and they involve the killing of Philistines. The final episode (16:28) *implies* special power external to Samson, the gift of prayer. It follows that only two episodes, those involving foxes and Gaza's gate, accord with the understanding of Samson's strength as a permanent possession dependent on keeping the Nazirite vow.

Such a view of his strength resides in the story of his unusual birth. An angel appears to Samson's barren mother and informs her that she will give birth to a wondrous son (13:3–5). Both she and the son must abstain from strong drink, according to the divine messenger, and the boy will be a Nazirite from birth.

This birth announcement stands alongside a recognition story in which the messenger conceals its identity until Manoah demonstrates worthiness. The return of the messenger, a response to prayer, implies divine acceptance of the childless couple. The angel's subtle hint as to its true identity evokes mystery, recalling a divine epithet about the one who does wonders (13:19). Manoah perceives the secret, offers an appropriate sacrifice, and cowers in terror as the visitor departs in the flame. A perceptive wife, however, calms her husband's fears. Her intuition tells her what Manoah must learn through question and answer.

**C. Motifs**

Several motifs occur in the Samson narrative: a barren wife who gives birth; a helpless hero in the power of a woman; a quest for the deity's name; a hero's death wish; loss of charisma; and terror in the presence of theophany. The author varies the motifs, selecting only individual elements that contribute to the total purpose of the story. A religious ethos permeates most of these subplots.

Like her predecessor Sarah, Manoah's wife received a divine visitor who communicated news of a forthcoming birth. Unlike Sarah, she was still capable of giving birth, hence her response was thoughtful silence rather than disbelieving laughter. Sarah's husband repeatedly asked for a son, whom God had already promised, but no such request from either Manoah or his wife surfaces in this story. Missing also is any allusion to mockery of the barren woman by a rival wife, which occurs elsewhere in tales about Rachel and Hannah. Neither of these women learned of her pregnancy from a divine messenger, although Hannah heard from the priest Eli that God had responded favorably to her fervent request for a son. The NT accounts of Elizabeth and Mary alter the components of the motif radically, particularly the latter, which involves an unmarried woman. Manoah's wife alone received two visits from an angel.

The story about a mighty hero falling helpless before a designing woman takes place in several biblical narratives. The Canaanite warrior, Sisera, succumbed to the treacherous hands of Jael, wife of Heber the Kenite (Judges 4–5). Another foreigner, Haman, paid at Esther's hands for plotting to eradicate the Jewish population in Persian captivity (Esther) and Holofernes lost his head to the lovely but merciless Judith (Judith). In all these instances the women feigned friendship or love, and the hero let down his guard and forfeited his life. Lust dominated in the episode involving Holofernes and possibly in the story of Haman, although both he and Sisera had less cause to abandon suspicion. In Samson's case, tearful imploring led him to reveal vital information that set into motion his conflicts with the Philistines and eventually led to his capture and eventual death. Delilah's teasing adds a new dimension to this motif.

Because knowledge of a deity's name was thought to convey power over that god in the ancient world, such information was guarded closely. At times a hostile deity begrudgingly provided a name to a persistent combatant, and at other times a willing deity nevertheless was evasive. Jacob used his own changed name (Israel) to conclude that he had striven with God, hence the deity's essence is striving and the place is Peniel. Moses received enough hints in the name "I am who I am" to conclude that the use of the Tetragrammaton, YHWH, was being avoided. Manoah gained vital knowledge about "one who does wonders," a clue that came amid faltering syntax but that resulted in a worthy counter-clue that echoed Manoah's own name (v 19, *minḥâ;* "cereal offering").

The death wishes of Elijah, Jonah, Tobit, and Sarah (Tobias' future wife) came when they found themselves in miserable circumstances, like Samson's captive existence without sight. All of them, including Samson (16:30), requested death from God, and three of them chose to live longer after listening to divine arguments. Jonah sat and waited for Nineveh to disintegrate before his eyes, and the story leaves him there. Both Tobit and Sarah obtained vindication for the loss of sight and honor. Neither Elijah nor Samson enjoyed public exoneration. The prophet anointed a successor and journeyed into the heavens, borne on a fiery chariot, according to tradition. Samson fell under the debris of a crowded temple.

Pro-Davidic circles interpreted Saul's collapse as loss of charisma, despite similarities with David's own fall from favor. In this account, the hero betrayed his high calling, prompting God to withdraw the blessing that accompanied his special vocation. That departure of favor opened the door to adversity, which stalked Saul until his enemies destroyed Israel's first king. Samson, too, turned his back on the Nazirite profession, treating it lightly when gathering honey from the carcass of a lion and when selecting the jawbone of an ass as a weapon. His behavior at the wedding may also have involved use of strong drink, but that is not explicitly stated. Clearly, he toyed with cutting his hair until it became reality (16:6–19). At that point loss of charisma took place, for Yahweh's spirit departed, at least temporarily (vv 20–22).

Whenever the deity manifested itself in the OT, humans naturally reacted with appropriate dread. Jacob expressed astonishment over seeing God and surviving; Moses stood in awe, barefoot and stammering; and Isaiah experienced *mysterium tremendum et fascinans.* Notably, Samson felt no such terror before anyone. His father and mother knew terror before God's emissary, having to muster their confidence in the presence of a perceived danger from a holy one.

**D. Rhetorical Features**

The Samson narrative uses many different kinds of rhetorical devices: anticipation and repetition, retardation and restraint, assonance, contrast, double entendre, humor, hyperbole, dialogue and monologue, suspense. The narrator looked forward to coming attractions and glanced backward at what had already taken place; slackened the pace of the story and heightened suspense; invoked laughter and tears, both from the sublime and the ridiculous; painted contrasting pictures; achieve intimacy by dialogue and distance by monologue.

The story opens in the context of Israel's surrender to the power of the Philistines and an envisioned emancipation as a result of Samson's actions. The identity of the divine visitor is intuited and subsequently disclosed, and Delilah's gradual mastery of her lover anticipates the departure of the spirit of the Lord. Even a sparse reference to the renewed growth of Samson's hair promises ill for the uncircumcised. Normally, anticipation serves to hasten the flow of the narrative while repetition serves to slow it down. The angel's instructions to Manoah's wife occur twice, the second time on her lips and with significant variation (as in Eve's report on the initial divine prohibition in Gen 3:3). Often the repetition consists of a refrain or a formula, although slight changes occur from time to time. The episode with Delilah contains several repetends concerning the source of Samson's strength and the way to conquer him, the consequences of such victory over him, the proximity of the Philistines in another room and the announcement that they were attacking him, the reiteration that the source of his strength still remains unknown, and the declaration that Samson told her all his mind. The language of enticement, vexing, and ignorance spans the whole story.

Several observations function to slow down the story to a crawl or to relieve tension at crucial junctures: the narrator's comment that Manoah did not know the identity of the angel (13:16), the remark that Samson's parents did not recognize Yahweh's hand in Samson's fascination with the Timnite beauty (14:4), the reminder that young men used to celebrate differently during weddings (14:10), and the identification of two sites in the story as currently locatable (15:17, 19). The pace is virtually suspended in air by the twice-mentioned report that Manoah and his wife watched the angel vanish in fire.

Wordplays abound in the story: e.g., puns on the Hebrew word for "ass"; clever plays on sibilants *(wayya‹as šam šimšon mišteh);* frequent initial *mem*s; and puns on "thirst" and "find" *(wayyimṣa›; wayyiṣma›; baṣṣama›).* "Philistines" and "I shall fall" *(pilištîm; wĕnapaltî)* as well as rare rhymes indicate that the narrator appreciated the niceties of language.

Contrast contributes to the delineation of character. Pairings such as love and hate, friend and foe, strength and weakness, knowledge and ignorance, joy and sorrow fill the narrative. The verbs *yārad* (to go down) and *‹ālāh* (to go up) feature prominently in the story, giving the words symbolic weight. As the flame and angel ascend to heaven, Manoah and his wife fall to the ground. The transcendent and the merely human are thereby effectively distinguished.

Certain expressions in the narrative are filled with implication for the future. For example, the word *yaḥel* (to begin) occurs four times in crucial contexts, each time with a different infinitival object: Samson will begin to deliver Israel (13:5), the divine spirit began to stir the lad (13:25), Delilah began to afflict her lover (16:19), and his hair began to grow back (16:22). Only the second and third activities referred to by the verb *yaḥel* actually come to completion: the lad was certainly stirred up, and Delilah afflicted Samson mightily. The first and last activities do not reach successful conclusion, i.e., Samson does not deliver Israel from the Philistines and his hair does not grow back to full length.

Identifying humor in ancient texts proves difficult, but some features of the Samson narrative must surely have evoked raucous laughter. Samson's method of starting a fire (15:4) and his postcoital activity (16:3) fall into this category, as does, perhaps, the side trip to visit the carcass of a lion while on his way to marry the Timnite woman (14:8).

The story has hyperbole from start to finish. Exaggeration of numbers, distances, and deeds takes place, for anything can happen in legends. The heightening of numbers (thirty Ashkelonites, three hundred foxes, a thousand Philistines, three thousand Judahites, three thousand-plus Philistines) lends suspense, turning Samson into a hero of magnificent proportions and thus magnifying even more his eventual fall to a woman.

Lively dialogue provides balance for the violent activity reported in the story. The conversation, always brief and to the point, offers characterization and brings readers more directly into the movement of the story. A woman talks to an angel, a man to his wife, parents to their son, lover to lover, enemy to enemy, Judahite to Danite, Samson to God, a prisoner to his youthful servant. In the story monologue inevitably aborts. Samson expressed his intention to visit his bride, to get one final revenge and quit, and to shake off his ropes and go out as usual. Similarly, the Gazites uttered a collective monologue ("At the crack of dawn we will kill him") that failed to materialize.

The episode with Delilah is full of suspense, whether by use of the refrain ("The Philistines are upon you, Samson") or by the gradual disclosure of Samson's vital secret. The allusion to the beginning of the regrowth of Samson's hair creates eager expectation, a suspense-creator that the narrator for some reason failed to follow up.

**E. Function of the Story**

The powerful story about a secret betrayed and a vow ignored addressed a difficult problem in Israelite society: the attraction to foreign women. Early proverbs in Egypt and in Israel attest to the desirability of foreigners, whose ways were different and whose sexual appeal was great. The Samson narrative juxtaposes an ideal Israelite wife (and mother) with three foreign women: the beautiful Timnite represents an erotic attachment based on physical attraction, the harlot illustrates a detached type of sexual relief; and Delilah depicts the dangers of unreciprocated love. Samson's inability to emerge unscathed from such liaisons stood as a warning for lesser beings. The message could scarcely be missed: if the mighty Samson could not manage relationships with foreign women how could ordinary Israelites succeed in such ventures? The attraction of exogamy persisted as late as the Exile, making the Samson story timely long after its original composition.

**F. Postcanonical Readings of the Story**

Josephus (*Ant* 5.8) embellished the account by commenting on the beauty of Manoah's wife and introducing the theme of jealousy. This Jewish historian also toned down Samson's waywardness by having him stay at an inn in Gaza. The early Church described Samson as a saint, despite his pride, immoral conduct, and suicide. Resemblances with Christ occurred to some interpreters: both had wondrous births; both freed Israel; both defeated a lion (in Jesus' case, Satan); the spirit departed from both; each struggled alone and succumbed to foes as a result of a bribe; both were bound; both broke down gates (Jesus destroyed the gates of hell); both achieved victory in death.

Milton's *Samson Agonistes*, an autobiographical epic treatment of primal temptation, transforms the hero into a thinker. Milton freely adapts the plot, having Manoah and Delilah confront the enslaved Samson, introducing a champion of the Philistines, Harapha, and adding a chorus and public messenger. Samson defends God's justice and grieves over the dishonor he brought to the Lord. Manoah questions

answered prayer, which had reversed the role of father and son, making the old father look after his son, but he will gladly hand over his possessions to obtain his son's release. Delilah tries various ploys to get Samson back, defending her actions as (1) natural feminine curiosity and weakness; (2) an attempt to keep him at home; (3) love for State and God; and (4) love for Samson. Harapha, no match for Samson, accuses him of murder, theft, and betrayal of country. In Milton's eyes, Samson suffers faithfully in a battle with Dagon, achieving catharsis. Samson symbolizes everyone's struggle against sin and ultimate victory; his defeat was only a temporary tragedy of spiritual suffering resulting from failure in a high calling.

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JAMES L. CRENSHAW

**SAMSON, WIFE OF.** Samson's determination to marry a Philistine woman from Timnah is surprising in view of his mission—to deliver Israel from Philistine oppression (13:5). Samson's parents object (14:1–3), but unknown to Samson or his parents, it is all part of the divine plan (14:4). The fact that the Danite Samson can marry a Philistine suggests that the Israelites and Philistines managed to live side by side in the Shephelah with some measure of harmony; his parents' objection to the marriage and its disastrous consequences (Judges 14–15) illustrate the extent of hostilities between the two peoples.

The Bible does not record the woman's name. The story of Samson and the Timnite (14:1–15:8) is modeled on the account of Samson and Delilah (16:4–22). In both accounts the Philistines rely on a woman's help to discover Samson's secret: in 16:4–22 the source of his great strength; in 14:15–18 the answer to his riddle. Whereas they bribe Delilah (16:5), they threaten the Timnite (14:15). Both women wear down Samson's resistance by harassing him (14:17; 16:16); the Timnite relies on tears whereas Delilah uses words. Both use love to cajole Samson into revealing his secret (14:16; 16:15).

When Samson, having been outwitted by the Philistines, angrily returns to his father's house, his father-in-law apparently takes it as a sign that Samson has renounced any claim to his daughter, and the Timnite becomes the best man's wife. Thus when Samson reappears, the woman is denied to him (15:1–2). Reprisals and counter-reprisals in chap. 15 allow Samson to wreak more havoc among the Philistines, thereby fulfilling God's purpose (14:4). The Timnite is a victim of their hostility. The threat she sought to avert by revealing the answer to Samson's riddle comes to pass: the Philistines "burned her and her father with fire" (15:6).

J. CHERYL EXUM

**SAMU◦, ES-.** See ESHTEMOA (PLACE).

**SAMUEL** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕmû◦ēl* (שְׁמוּאֵל)]. The Hebrew Bible portrays Samuel in a variety of roles: priest, prophet, judge, and "seer." Moreover, at a critical juncture in the history of the Israelite people, Samuel appears very instrumental in the establishment of the monarchy. In the words of one writer, "all the great predicates which Israel had to bestow in the period before the growth of the

monarchy have been heaped on this man—and in spite of this, or more accurately, because of this, it is difficult to classify the historical Samuel." (Möhlenbrink 1940–41:65; cf. Weiser 1962:93–94).

**A. Historical Studies**

The first block of material relating to Samuel (1 Samuel 1–3) portrays him as an aspiring priest (note 1 Chronicles 6 connects his lineage with Levi; 1 Samuel 1 with Ephraim), serving under Eli at the sanctuary of Shiloh (1 Sam 2:11, 18; 3:1). Later passages in 1 Samuel report his performing sacrificial functions often associated with priests (7:9; 9:13; 10:8; 16:1–5). The stories of young Samuel are commonly classified as legend or idyll, and Samuel's associations with the priesthood have been widely questioned (Press 1938:222–23; Wildberger 1957:462; Cody 1969:72–80; for a different view, see Willis 1972). The biblical text never applies the label "priest" to Samuel. At the time of Samuel, the offering of sacrifices did not require that one be a priest (*AncIsr*, 355). After the ark of the covenant was captured and the shrine of Shiloh apparently destroyed by the Philistines (cf. 1 Samuel 4) there is no report that Samuel sought to rebuild Shiloh or restore the ark of the covenant to a prominent position in Israelite cultic life, or that he moved to the sanctuary at Nob, as did other priests from Shiloh (cf. 1 Sam 14:3; 22:11–12). It is quite conceivable that, at a time when levitic ancestry was not a prerequisite for priestly service (*AncIsr*, 361–62), Samuel was apprenticing for the priesthood, but the calling of the Lord turned him to other forms of ministry. Later Israelites, assuming a priestly role for Samuel, assigned to him a levitic ancestry (1 Chr 6:7–13; contrast the lineage in 1 Sam 1:1).

1 Sam 9:5–14, 18–21 refers to Samuel as a *seer*, one who has the gift of clairvoyance (note also 1 Chr 9:22; 26:28; 29:29). The prevailing historical-critical position is that a folktale about Saul meeting an anonymous local seer was at some point reworked to identify the seer with Samuel and to insert the account of his anointing of Saul as prince (Bardtke 1968:301–2; Mayes 1978:13–14, 17–18; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 26, 186; for a different analysis of this pericope see Robertson 1944:180–83; Willis 1972:49).

1 Sam 3:20 explicitly labels Samuel a prophet. This is the epithet which later tradition commonly used for him (2 Chr 35:18; 1 Esdr 1:20; Sir 46:13–20). According to 1 Sam 8:10–18, 10:17–19, and 15:1–2, Samuel delivers messages from the Lord, even employing the prophetic formula, "Thus says Yahweh," (10:18; 15:2). In 7:8–9 and 12:23 he exercises the prophetic function of intercession (cf. Jer 7:16; 27:18; *3 En.* 48A: 5). 1 Sam 9:1–10:16 and 16:1–13 cast Samuel in the role of king-designator in a fashion similar to Ahijah and Elijah (1 Kgs 11:29–39; 19:15–17; cf. 2 Kgs 9:1–12). As Saul begins to fall out of favor with God, Samuel announces God's words of judgment to the king (13:13–14; 15:17–19, 22–23). Even in the séance scene in 1 Samuel 28, Samuel acts as a prophet, announcing doom upon the ill-fated king (Beuken 1978). A number of recent works have suggested that the mantle of prophecy was cast upon Samuel by later handlers of the tradition. Prior to the composition of the final (Deuteronomistic) version of 1 Samuel, it is hypothesized, there was an edition prepared by prophetic circles, which developed the character of Samuel into a figure who speaks and behaves like the prophets of a later era (Fohrer 1968:223–25; Birch 1976:140–47; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 18–23).

The role with which the greatest number of scholars associate the historical Samuel is that of *judge.* 1 Sam 7:15 declares that "Samuel judged Israel all the days of his life," an expression akin to that used of the so-called "minor judges" who are mentioned briefly in the book of Judges (10:1–5; 12:7–15) and whose activity is usually assumed to have been primarily judicial. This aspect of Samuel's "judgeship" is credited by a number of commentators as rooted in historical fact (Hertzberg *1 and 2 Samuel* OTL, 67; Bardtke 1968:294; Willis 1972:50–53; *BHI*, 186). The language in 1 Sam 7:13–14 about the subduing of enemies and peace in the land is reminiscent of statements made in connection with the accomplishments of the "major judges" such as Ehud, Gideon, and Jephthah (Judg 3:30; 8:28; 11:33), whose fame rests on military exploits. 1 Sam 12:11 mentions Samuel in the same breath with Jerubbaal, Barak, and Jephthah, whom the Lord raised up as deliverers for Israel's sake. The fact that 1 Sam 9:16 and chaps. 13–14 contradict the statement of 7:13–14 that the Philistine threat was subdued at this time makes the report of Samuel's military activity dubious. Scholarly consensus considers the portrayal of Samuel as a military

deliverer to be a late fiction created by the Deuteronomistic editors (*NDH*, 55; McKenzie 1962:14; Mayes 1978:8).

Since virtually all of the accounts surrounding the establishment of Saul's kingship assign Samuel an instrumental role, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that he was a major figure in the transition to monarchy, but scholars are divided over where in these accounts genuine historical recollections are to be found.

Although 1 Sam 8:1–5 is often adjudged to contain reliable information (Wildberger 1957:457; Weiser 1962:29–33; Mayes 1978:11), many critics believe that the description of Samuel's activity in the rest of chap. 8 reflects later generations' unhappy experiences with the Israelite kingship (McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 161–62; Van Seters 1983:251–52). Some, however, do attribute the speech (vv 10–18) to Samuel, who feared the imitation of exploitative governmental practices common among Canaanite kings and a jeopardizing of Yahweh's kingship, as well as encroachment on his own prerogatives (Mendelsohn 1956; Bardtke 1968:294–95; Halpern 1981:186, 216–24).

As noted above, the references to Samuel in 9:1–10:16 are widely thought to have been inserted at a secondary stage of the tradition by prophetic editors. Some have suggested that the foreign origin of the anointing ritual, with its magical connotations, makes it unlikely that Samuel would have utilized the practice (Bardtke 1968:302; cf. Weiser 1962:52–57).

Several traditions of varying historical value seem to have been combined in 10:17–27. There is no reference elsewhere in the OT to choosing a king by lot, which is an unlikely way to select a king (Wildberger 1957:455; McKenzie 1962:11; Weiser 1962:65). It seems more reasonable that Saul was identified via an oracle from God specifying the tallest man to be the divine nominee. Although 10:25 is often attributed (with reference to Deut 17:14–20) to later redactors, a fairly widespread interpretation is that this refers to a constitutional document spelling out royal regulations negotiated by Samuel with the popular assembly (Halpern 1981:222–35; Ishida 1977:45–46, 53; cf. McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 193–94). The prophetic oracle in vv 18–19 is usually regarded as an addition by prophetic or Deuteronomistic editors (Birch 1976:47–51).

Most scholars agree that chap. 11 has substantial historical value, but that the references to Samuel in vv 7, 12–14 are secondary additions (Irwin 1941:113–14, 129; Birch 1976:54–56; Mayes *IJH*, 325). Chap. 12 is generally conceded to be a composition of the Deuteronomistic writers of the 7th or 6th centuries (Fohrer 1968:225; Mayes 1978:10–11; Van Seters 1983:258).

With regard to the two accounts which relate Saul's rejection by Samuel (13:7 b–15; 15:1–35), the usual conclusion is that the present stories are revisions of traditions originally sympathetic to Saul, seeking to explain two historical phenomena: Saul's failure to establish a dynasty and the final rupture between the king and Samuel (Press 1938: 209–10). Prophetic circles responsible for the present shape of the stories were seeking to enhance the concept of prophetic authority vis-à-vis the king (Birch 1976: 74–85, 95–108; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 230, 269–71; Mayes *IJH*, 330).

The parlous times following the events related in 1 Samuel 4 called for a figure whose authority was recognized on a relatively wide front within the league of Israelite tribes to assist them in making the transition to a new system of governance, while not abandoning the sacral traditions. At a time when "offices" such as priest, prophet, and judge were not precisely and finally defined, Samuel apparently engaged in activities which tradition eventually associated with one or another of these roles. Subsequent generations very reasonably enhanced the portrait of Samuel with features common to these various functionaries (cf. Weiser 1962: 9–16; Willis 1972: 41).

**B. Literary Studies**

In contrast to historical-critical and traditio-historical studies, which attempt to distinguish the diverse sources underlying 1 Samuel and the different social and historical situations which produced these sources and their redactions, literary critics of the Bible attempt to read the final text as a single coherent narrative. These scholars perform a "close reading" of the narrative, carefully scrutinizing narratalogical features of the text—features such as plot arrangement, quoted speech, repetition of key words, parallels

of situations, contrasts, and ambiguity—which may assist the reader in construing the character of the dramatis personae (cf. Alter 1981; Sternberg 1985).

The contrast achieved, in 1 Samuel 2, by juxtaposing references to Samuel's growth and faithful service with reports of the wickedness of Eli's sons—separated by some historical critics into separate narrative cycles—prompts an understanding of Samuel as a worthier holder of the priestly office than the family of Eli (Willis 1979: 208n; Eslinger 1985: 119–20, 127–28). This impression is fortified further in chap. 3 by several literary devices, such as the contrast of Samuel sleeping in the temple of Yahweh, while Eli sleeps "in his own place" (Fishbane 1982: 195–200). The opposing parallelism between 3:1 and 3:20 conveys the great significance of Samuel's activity (Simon 1981: 122). The remark in 3:19 recalls the motif from Deut 18:15–22 of the prophet like Moses whose word comes true (Miscall 1986: 44–45).

Instead of taking the absence of Samuel from 1 Samuel 4–6 as an indication that these chapters originated in a different socio-historical situation than the Samuel material, the literary critics read this as a deliberate authorial technique to help characterize Samuel. The nonmention of Samuel in connection with the events which proved so tragic for Israel is a narrative device to represent the difficulties which the nation experiences without the presence of Samuel (Willis 1979: 212; Polzin 1989: 58–60). This is underscored by the marvelous success which Israel enjoys vis-à-vis the Philistines as soon as Samuel reenters the narrative in 1 Samuel 7.

The chapters surrounding the inauguration of the monarchy (1 Samuel 8–12) may be read as an account of a very human and ambivalent Samuel who is pressed into service as a kingmaker against his will. Out of loyalty to the kingship of God (1 Sam 10:18–19; 12:12) Samuel resists the move to human kingship, but finally yields to the instruction of God (8:7, 9, 22; 9:16–17) and makes Saul king. When God repents of making Saul king, Samuel again exhibits ambivalence: he shows sympathy for the king (1 Sam 15:11, 35; 16:1) and, instead of delivering a frontal accusation, gives Saul a chance to supply an explanation for his disobedience (15:19). Exemplifying his own declaration that a human may repent though God will not (15:29), Samuel yields to the importuning of the repentant Saul (15:31) and continues to grieve (16:1) over the fallen king (Sternberg 1985:503–15).

In contrast to the aforementioned examples, other readers have discovered in the narrative clues which suggest that Samuel is to be construed as imperceptive, insensitive, self-seeking, and manipulative. (This usually accompanies interpretations of Saul as a more heroic figure than has traditionally been the case and of God in rather unflattering terms: see especially Gunn 1980 and Eslinger 1985; Polzin 1989).

1 Samuel 2 and 3 predispose the reader to expect that Samuel will be the "faithful priest" for whom God will build a "sure/faithful house" (2:35), but this turns out to be a feint on the author's part. Why did Samuel not turn out to be the promised priest? Perhaps the explanation lies in 8:1–3, which relates what Buber (1967: 76) refers to as "the delinquency of Samuel." The wickedness of Samuel's sons recalls the motif of Eli's evil sons. From that earlier experience Samuel should have learned of the dangers of filial corruption. Like Eli, Samuel hears of his sons' wickedness from others, but the narrator makes no mention that Samuel sought to rebuke his sons (contrast 2:23–25); in 12:2, he blithely ignore their wickedness.

In various ways the narrator appears to raise doubts about Samuel's prophetic credentials. Does 1 Samuel 3 depict a Samuel who goes to the priest Eli repeatedly because he is a humble and devoted servant of the elderly clergyman (Simon 1981:125), or is the repeated trip to Eli a reflection of Samuel's dullness and lack of perception (Polzin 1989:49–51)? Although in 1 Samuel 9 Samuel is called a "seer," it is only after he *hears* God's instruction (vv 15–17) that he comprehends who this Saul is: even when he "sees" Saul (v 17) he does not really see, until the Lord speaks. Samuel's affirmation about God's nonrepentance in 15:29 seems to place him in direct contradiction to both the narrator (15:35) and the Lord (15:11). In the scene of David's anointment, Samuel blunders and needs God's correction (16:6–7; see also Alter 1981:149; Sternberg 1985:94–97; Polzin 1989:95, 140, 153–55).

Analysis of the rhetoric in Samuel's speeches in 1 Sam 8:10–18 and 12:1–17 reveals him to be petulant, truculent, and ungracious (Good 1981:65). The speeches depict Samuel manipulating the audience through a one-sided description of kingship (8:11–17), threats (8:18), and meteorological pyrotechnics

(12:16–18). He is selective in what he recalls of the facts and in what he reveals of God's will: no mention in 8:10–18 of the Lord's principal objection to kingship (on theocratic grounds) nor of the Lord's willingness, in spite of this, to grant the people a king (cf. 8:7–9); no recognition in either speech of the wickedness of Samuel's sons, a basic motivating factor in the people's request for a king (cf. 8:3–5; see also Gunn 1980:64; Preston 1982:33–34; Eslinger 1985:386).

Even in the closing scene in which Samuel appears, the story of his being summoned from the realm of the dead by the witch of Endor (1 Samuel 28), he is made to appear cold and insensitive in contrast to the tender hospitality which the witch extends to the desperate king Saul (Preston 1982:36).

An imaginative retelling of the Samuel material, much in the fashion of the writings of Josephus, is found in *Pseudo-Philo* 50–59, 64 (Harrington *OTP* 2:364–73, 376–77).

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GEORGE W. RAMSEY

**SAMUEL, BOOK OF 1–2.** This entry consists of two articles. The first examines the critical problems associated with the text, composition, and content of 1–2 Samuel, while the second article focuses on the narrative and theological aspects of the text.

### *TEXT, COMPOSITION, AND CONTENT*

The books of Samuel, two of the Former Prophets, are named either for the prophetic figure who dominates chaps. 1–3 and 7–15 of 1 Samuel, or because 1 Chr 29:29–30 credits the seer with recording the acts of David. The text, considered one of the most disturbed in the Hebrew Bible, was initially a single story. The division into the eighth and ninth books in the MT, but ninth and tenth in English, derives from the LXX, where Samuel and Kings each have two parts that together comprise the four "Books of Kingdoms" *(basileiōn A-D).* The apportionment may have been introduced because of the

length of the manuscript and the desire to conclude a first unit with the account of Saul's death. Although the separation detached the figure Samuel from episodes in 2 Samuel, the tradition continued in Latin versions and in the 15th and 16th centuries C.E. began to make its way into the Hebrew text where it influenced the Jewish canon, first in hand-copied manuscripts (1448) and then through printed editions. The first Rabbinic Bible, the "Bomberg Bible" published by Daniel Bomberg in Venice in 1516–17, accepted the division, and it was retained when the Second Rabbinic Bible was published in 1524–25.

Textual and source critics expend considerable effort in trying to recover an elusive "original" text of Samuel. Any attempt to summarize their contributions or that of other scholars who study the composition or content of the books must be sketchy and correspondingly arbitrary. The descriptions can only identify major currents and turning points that have brought scholarship to its present state. In the case of composition and content, the choices affect not only impressions regarding the tradition of scholarship, but also an understanding of the Bible itself. Assertions about the book's composition and content are controlled in part by the questions asked, methods and approaches taken, and theories projected by researchers. The stance represented in this article assumes that 1–2 Samuel are religiously motivated cultural artifacts that originated and have been transmitted by human agents in physical space and historical time. It presumes also that the books reflect early attitudes about the social world(s) of Yahwists, Israelites, and others who lived relatively customary lives in the E Mediterranean basin sometime between the beginning of the Iron Age I (ca. 1200 B.C.E.) and the beginning of the Common Era.

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A. Text Tradition
B. Composition
1. Early Approaches
2. Early 20th Century Criticism
3. Recent Criticism
C. Content
1. Presuppositions
2. Overview
3. Principal Cycles
4. Unity of the Cycles

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## A. Text Tradition

In the last century, critics such as Thenius (*Samuels* KEHAT), Wellhausen (1871), Driver (1890, *NHT*), and others sought to emend the MT and recover a Hebrew original by relying heavily on the ancient versions, especially the LXX. Imbued with the evolutionist, diffusionist, and comparativist enthusiasms of their day and lacking early Hebrew manuscripts, they were attracted by the fullness and antiquity of the Greek and other versions. In them, they sought their own and the Bible's origins. A more accurate original Hebrew text could be restored, it was hoped, that would reflect a pristine religion against which later developments might be judged. The versions examined by comparative methods offered grounds for improved readings, but new primary data were needed before certainty about the Hebrew text tradition could be attained. By the time Driver's notes were revised in 1912, knowledge of Hebrew orthography, philology, and idiom, and of Palestinian topography had increased greatly, as had familiarity with characteristics of the versions and text families. Kittel's *Biblia Hebrica*, Kautzch's revision of Gesenius' grammar, and the lexicon of Brown, Driver, and Briggs had been published. These stood together with an expanding list of critical commentaries as witnesses to the growing interest and confidence in the details of biblical scholarship and comparative methods.

Although certainty about the relationship between the LXX and the MT remained in doubt during this century (de Boer 1938, 1949), the LXX remains an indispensable source for the text of Samuel. New confidence in the version was restored following the discovery of three Hebrew Samuel manuscripts in Cave IV at Qumran (4QSam $^{a,b,c}$) in the 1950s. The fullest, 4QSam$^{a}$, written in the first half of the 1st

century, ca. 50–25 B.C.E. (McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 6), holds the greatest promise for textual criticism. The fragmentary 4QSam$^{c}$ preserves only portions of 1 Samuel 25 and 2 Samuel 14–15, but also dates from the early 1st century B.C.E. The second principal manuscript, 4QSam$^{b}$, dates from the late 3d century B.C.E. but witnesses only to portions of 1 Samuel (Cross 1961; Ulrich 1978:10).

Comparisons with the QL first seemed to confirm the proximity of an early Hebrew tradition to the *Vorlage* of the LXX. Later, however, critics surmised that the QL stands closer to the Lucianic manuscripts (LXX$^{L}$) than to the Codex Vaticanus (LXX$^{B}$). This suggests that the Lucianic tradition, which draws on the OG, represents a move toward a Palestinian Hebrew text tradition represented by the QL. Today, at least eleven early witnesses to Samuel (besides the fragmentary 4QSam$^{c}$) must be weighed in the search for primitive traditions. In addition to the 4QSam$^{a,b}$ and LXX$^{L,B}$ they are Codex Alexandrinus (LXX $^{A}$), the MT, the OL, *Tg. Jon.* (Jewish Aramaic version), Syr Peshitta, Vg, and Josephus *Ant*.

The delay in publishing the QL diminished its expected impact. Bible translators have been able to use the material occasionally, and for Samuel, McCarter's commentary and Ulrich's study are particularly valuable contributions. As a result of these publications, however limited, critics now tend to accept fuller versions of stories where several forms exist. For example, the expansive description of Nahash's disfiguring of peoples from the eastern tribes (4QSam$^{a}$, 1 Sam 10:27 b–11:1), previously known only through Josephus *Ant* (6.68–71), is no longer considered secondary (McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 199). Implicit in such choices, however, is a lingering evolutionary hope for an "original" Samuel.

**B. Composition**

During the 20th century, continental, British, and American scholarship continued to seek original meanings of Samuel texts by separating portions of the books according to literary units. Individual sections were divided according to authorship, form, source, redactor, or other phenomena that had left their mark in the text. As philological, archaeological, historical, and comparative skills improved, many forms of biblical criticism developed. Many were modeled on textual criticism and archaeology and sometimes were described as excavative methods. They were used in order to identify discrete textual units and to trace the trajectories through which they had passed on their way to becoming the Hebrew canon. The approaches became virtual "subspecialties" within biblical studies. Paradoxically, however, they inspired doubt as well as confidence: doubt because the methods tended to fragment the text and suggest a religious evolution that challenged the historical certainties of the 19th century; certainty because the methods presumed to resolve contradictions and obscurities in the texts.

Critical scholarship held its own, but studies on 1–2 Samuel were influenced and overshadowed by contemporary discussions of other portions of the Hebrew canon, particularly the Pentateuch. Full and independent attention was given to Samuel only after many of the issues raised in those units had been argued. The tendency to treat the Pentateuch, especially Genesis, first, and Samuel later affected the way the composition of the books was examined and described. Interest in Samuel increased gradually and eventually independently as history was abandoned in Genesis studies and thought to survive in Samuel, but no sharp division marks clearly defined chronological phases in Samuel criticism. Several fundamental hypotheses were proposed at the beginning of the ventures, and until recently much of the subsequent discussion was refining or reacting to earlier expositions. Nevertheless, two phenomena deserve mention. The first is the important study of Leonhard Rost (1982), first published in 1926. Although itself derivative, the work was exceptionally influential, especially after the 1960s, when works by von Rad (*PHOE*, 166–205) and Weiser (1948) that were based on it became available in both German and English. The second is the increasing role that archaeology played in biblical studies, especially Samuel studies, in the postwar era. Then, Iron Age archaeologists and biblical specialists showed renewed interest in the Davidic and Solomonic eras because they assumed that the texts were solidly historical, and comparative philological studies advanced, especially under the influence of the Ras Shamra texts, in ways that provided greater access to the culture of Syro-Palestine.

**1. Early Approaches.** Repetitions, doublets, contradictions, breaks, and uneven seams in the narrative led critics as early as Eichhorn (1780–83) to abandon the synagogue tradition of a unified text in order to

look for parallel traditions within and outside Samuel that linked seemingly isolated literary units. Thenius followed this direction in his commentary on Samuel (*Samuels* KEHAT), but it was Wellhausen's revision of Bleek's introduction (1878) that laid the groundwork on which many later Samuel studies were built. Wellhausen developed the first elaborate multisource explanation of parallel strands. He identified 2 Samuel 9–20 and 1 Kings 1–2 as distinctive, and, without returning to the synagogue tradition, he credited the section with critical literary unity and historical accuracy. But Kittel (1892) and others argued somewhat contrarily that similarities between Samuel and other materials were due to a common background of thought and that Samuel, including the succession story, should be investigated in its own right. It would be for Rost eventually to reconcile these two positions, but the bases for his analysis of the succession narrative were already in place.

**2. Early 20th Century Criticism.** Much of the debate during the first half of the 20th century centered around three questions inherited from the century before: Were the books compiled from repetitious narrative strands or independent literary blocks? What was the relationship between the Samuel traditions, on the one hand, and the Pentateuch, Deuteronomistic History (DH), and their sources on the other? Did the authors of Samuel write history?

**a. End of the Quest for Parallel Literary Strands.** Contemporary pentateuchal criticism led many early 20th century scholars to continue the search for extensions of the sources J and E in Samuel and for Samuel parallels in the books of Joshua and Judges. Budde (*Samuel* KHC) divided the narrative into parallel strands J and E, but in Samuel these were substantially redacted by the Deuteronomist. Thus, he proposed that a pre-Deuteronomic Samuel was redacted first by the Deuteronomist who introduced Deuteronomic views and excised sections that were objectionable. Eventually, the excluded sections were reintroduced by other editors who misplaced them, thereby confusing the original order.

Alternative documentary and fragmentary hypotheses followed (Gressmann 1921, Caspari *Samuelbücher*). Each assumed an integral original story, inferred compilation over time, and credited repetitious sections of the books to early writers and later redactors, such as Elohists, who introduced redundant and inconsistent sections. Owing to the evolutionary presuppositions of the day, the later materials were usually described as "additions" and thought to be historically less reliable than earlier sources. This approach continues until today, but the search for literary strands that extend beyond the books of Samuel reached its zenith when Eissfeldt (1931) proposed three parallel sources (I, II, and III) as continuations of presumed Heptateuchal traditions L, J, and E.

**b. Rost's Succession Narrative (SN).** The quest for parallels abated gradually. In his 1926 work, Rost expanded Kittel's proposal *contra* various documentary and fragmentary hypotheses, but he did so by examining a unit Wellhausen had already delineated, 2 Samuel 9–20 and 1 Kings 1–2. On the basis of style, themes, literary devices, and, to a lesser extent, content, he presumed to identify not only the narrative's limits but also its relationship to other sections of Samuel, including 2 Samuel 7 (the Dynastic Oracle) and 2 Sam 6:16, 20–23 (that signals the end of Saul's line). The SN was, Rost argued, the longest unit in Samuel and the work of a single writer close to the events who may have written the early account from experience. He insisted that the writer, who was more author than compiler, used literary techniques such as foreshadowing to weave an integral account of Solomon's succession to the throne. The compiler of Samuel, on the other hand, arranged preexisting sources, including literary units, sequentially and not in parallel.

The study had enormous influence on Samuel studies and, although now seriously out of date, still stands as a starting point for investigations of the SN and other sections of 1 and 2 Samuel. The thesis or portions of it gradually made their way into introductions and interpretative studies. Weiser (1948) argued for a pre-Deuteronomistic compilation of Samuel that reflected the theological viewpoint of prophetic circles and the Elohist (but earlier than E) and that was assembled from heterogeneous literary compositions. These independent fundamental units—the ark narrative, the story of Saul's rise, and the SN—were brought together with others from disparate sources by an awakening national consciousness inspired by David's successes. The consciousness and Samuel tradition continued together so that the Deuteronomistic revisers who inherited them saw little to emend or change. Weiser's insistence, against

Noth, on the earlier pre-Deuteronomic layer has been more widely accepted (Birch 1976) than his claim for Deuteronomic unity (Cross 1967; Würthwein 1974; Veijola 1975; Langlemet 1976).

Von Rad (*PHOE,* 166–205) focused attention on the SN as history writing. By insisting that the document was nearly contemporary to the events it described, he inferred both an early date, perhaps Solomonic, and a high degree of historical accuracy. These and other factors led him to interpret the narrative as theological history that demonstrates how the deity intervenes in human affairs. See also COURT NARRATIVE (2 SAMUEL 9–1 KINGS 2).

**c. Noth's Deuteronomistic History.** The relation of the Samuel traditions to materials beyond the books of Samuel took another turn when Noth (*NDH*) proposed that the narrative, Deuteronomy through 2 Kings, was a unified history produced by a single compiler during the Exile. This was to deny an earlier unified Samuel stratum and to reopen questions regarding early Israel's historical consciousness. Responses were predictably varied. Those who continued to argue for the existence of literary strands recognized an exilic or postexilic Deuteronomistic redactor but denied that the individual was a purposeful historian (see Hölscher 1952; Eissfeldt 1947). Others accepted the fundamental hypothesis of a DH but saw it as a work by more than one person and believed that it had passed through two or more redactions before, during, or after the Exile (Pfeiffer 1948; Carlson 1964; Cross 1967; Dietrich 1972; Veijola 1975). The discussions tended to cut Samuel free from its early monarchic moorings and to allow sections to be examined apart from the SN. See DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY.

**3. Recent Criticism.** During the 1970s and 1980s, the composition of Samuel was linked to other historical, literary, archaeological, and sociological realia. Interpreters continued to rely upon the standard critical methods of the preceding decades, but these gradually gave way to or were used in conjunction with new approaches and forms of analysis borrowed from disciplines outside biblical studies. Earlier concerns for isolating units and tracing compilation and redaction processes were displaced by interest in thematic and final form readings of the canonical text and in the social worlds that yielded and were envisaged in the texts. The shifts were accompanied by surges of interest in orality, narrative, literacy, monarchy, ecology, canon, and other elements of the ancient social environment that demanded 1–2 Samuel and their contexts be reexamined even though no consensus about their date and interpretation could be expected. The prominence of Jerusalem and centralization in the stories, the presence of extended narrative units, and the long history of scholarship that blurred distinctions between literary and historical criticism made Samuel an important testing ground for new hypotheses about the literature and its setting. After several generations of preoccupation with details and particulars, scholarship began to emphasize holistic settings and texts.

**a. Transition from Traditional Approaches.** The standard forms of criticism endured and were used to examine the composition of Samuel, but the sections placed under scrutiny became longer and were often chosen because of thematic unity. In this, the influence of Rost can be seen again. Sections of Samuel that deal with specific themes such as the ark (Campbell 1975), the rise of Saul in 1 Samuel 7–15 (Birch 1976), and David in 1 Samuel 15–2 Samuel 5 (Gronbaek 1971) were treated, but much of the work was still done on the SN or portions of it. Studies on individual character roles (Conroy 1978) and themes (Brueggemann 1972) were typical ways of defining units of composition and bringing differing historical, literary, and religious questions to them. See following article on Narrative and Theology.

On the basis of theme and literary structure, Flanagan (1972) challenged the unity of Rost's SN by suggesting that it contained an earlier Court History that did not include 1 Kings 1–2 and portions of 2 Samuel 11–12. Although the study seemed to move against the thrust toward analyzing longer literary units, it had originally been part of a treatment of the entire 1–2 Samuel. Moreover, it opened the path leading to a totally Davidic Samuel, as suggested by the canonical division of the books, and toward treating the entire Samuel corpus, including the so-called appendices in 2 Samuel 21–24, as an integral composition (Flanagan 1988:236–72). With the Solomonic succession theme removed, the focus of the books shifted to the legitimation of Jerusalem and tensions between Saul and David that are amply described in the narrative (Flanagan 1979).

A number of investigations followed Rost's definition of the SN but sought different readings (Whybray 1968; Clements 1976; Fokkelman 1981). Gunn's study (1978), however, was transitional and managed to encompass, on the one hand, the excavative and literary approaches and, on the other hand, fragmenting and holistic interests. Although offered as a study on the SN, not only did it extricate the narrative from the exclusive realm of history writing that Rost and many since had prided themselves in demonstrating, but it also treated the unit as a section in a larger integral whole and pointed away from the 19th century preference to isolate "original" units as a first step toward interpretation. Gunn achieved his ends by insisting on one of Rost's own observations, namely, the difficulty in determining an absolute thematic beginning for the SN. Rost had noted connections with 2 Samuel 6–7 particularly. On the same grounds, Gunn strengthened these and other associations, argued that an early date for the SN was not ensured, and suggested that its purpose might be entertainment.

**b. Return of the Biblical Guild.** For Gunn and the discipline, the work was not radical, but it signaled development. Its timing and the fact that he had recently founded a journal and press (1976) devoted to innovative approaches to biblical scholarship marked it as a turning point in Samuel studies. Many works with a similar approach followed shortly, some published under Gunn's editorship and others appearing in *Semeia*, an American journal for experimental approaches to biblical studies begun in 1974.

Gottwald's monumental study on Yahwist tribalism (1979) centered on materials in Joshua and Judges, but affected studies on the composition of Samuel enormously. While writing the volume, the author co-chaired a social world research group within several learned societies. By linking the endeavors—a forum for deliberation and a published statement that reflected the discussions—he applied the model being explored in *Semeia*. Again, the work's impact derived not from the fact that it was radical, which it was, but because it built on a hypothesis proposed by Mendenhall nearly two decades before and because a cross-section of biblical specialists was prepared to accept its sociological approach and conclusions. The work restated issues that Mendenhall had raised and that had been pondered ever since, and the biblical guild had already begun to reflect on the book's problems and advantages. Indeed, Gottwald relied heavily upon traditional source criticism and only secondarily applied a Marxist critique to conclusions drawn from those approaches. By eroding the historical tribal roots of centralization in Israel in the books of Joshua and Judges, however, Gottwald forced reevaluation of the stories of Saul and David which had now lost their presumed beginning. The reasons, modes, and structures of Samuel's composition were threatened.

The pathways toward new literary and social world studies widened when Gunn inaugurated a monograph series devoted to areas of research in a second press he founded in 1980 (Almond). One series nurtured ahistorical literary critical approaches while the other hastened the advance of comparative historical social world studies. Both evoked scholarship that moved beyond the standard source criticisms. Because the editors of each simultaneously chaired research seminars in learned societies, the research and publication model was applied again. By happenstance, the series provided outlets for the research presented in the seminars so that the two approaches were quickly defined and legitimated.

Rejoining scholarship to the crafts of communication reunited orality and literacy, this time in the service of biblical scholarship. Now, individuals were forced to engage peers' review at every step of the research and communication process. The sociology of biblical knowledge was altered substantially, and as a consequence, the temporal lag between proposal and consent was lessened. Plurality and simultaneity of hypotheses and interpretations became the hallmarks of scholarship on Samuel. These displaced the uniformity and consecutiveness of 19th and early 20th century scholarship just as Darwin's treelike variability had displaced Spencer's chainlike progressivism as an explanatory model for change. Scholars represented and could choose among options, and they could no longer trace their intellectual pedigree by listing a series of prominent, but mostly dead, mentoring or institutional ancestors. Because of the rapid and intense sharing of ideas across disciplines and at every level in scholarship, it became increasingly difficult to trace scholarly traditions by citing a few authors' names or dominating theories. Consensus regarding the composition and meaning of Samuel that had been gradually evolving suddenly devolved, and differing sets of questions and priorities moved to the fore.

In the classical sense, the *opus magnum* on Samuel during this period was still McCarter's two-volume Anchor Bible commentary. Its size and attention to detail guaranteed it prominence in the continuing discourse on Samuel. Drawing upon traditional archaeological and philological approaches developed within the Albright school, the author introduced readings derived from the QL and offered cautious interpretations that continued to see the texts as primarily historical and compiled over time.

**c. Influences from Other Disciplines.** Biblical studies in general and Samuel studies in particular continued to adopt insights and approaches from literary studies, comparative sociology, and archaeology. These had affected the critical understanding of the composition of Samuel along three trajectories. One branch led increasingly toward literary studies and away from history, and historical and source critical interests. The other continued to lead toward critical historical and archaeological interests, but this branch subdivided according to methods and approaches. One offshoot continued to perceive Samuel as historical, compiled over time from earlier smaller literary sources, and literally representative of a physical world that could be confirmed by successful archaeology. The other offshoot shared the first's concern for history, archaeology, and traditional forms of criticism but was less confident in its ability to discover literal or detailed historical referents to match episodes and characters in the biblical text. Instead, those who shared these views accepted wider use of heuristic models—iconic, sociological, and statistical—as aids for understanding the social world in the Samuel text and the early Iron Age that the texts purport to reflect. For this as for the literary branch, the social sciences offered the greatest hope for new understandings. The difference separating the first and third group, however, was interest in history and the confidence placed in texts as a means for reaching the past.

Because of their preference for holistic and final form readings, literary and canon critics of this era showed little concern for the composition of Samuel, at least as the issue was previously defined. Historical critics—those who relied on traditional methods as well as those who followed social world approaches—continued to examine the date and setting of individual units, accept the existence of earlier and later sections, and propose groups or circles as "authors."

**C. Content**

To discuss the content of Samuel is to choose among the levels of signification in the richly multivalent text and to select one of the approaches outlined above. The orientation here is toward social world criticism and the information the books hold regarding the human ecology in ancient Israel during Iron Age I. The exposition is limited by data within the books, i.e., 1 Samuel 1–2 Samuel 24, and for the most part does not exploit relevant but external information from archaeological or comparative studies that would be weighed in a different mode of analysis. Similar restraint excludes comparisons with Psalms 132 and 89, other portions of the DH, and 1 Chronicles.

**1. Presuppositions. a. Extent of the Narrative.** This summary presumes that 1–2 Samuel represents the views of Jerusalemite writers who, among other things, seek to reconcile and integrate a spectrum of attitudes and beliefs that spread among diverse peoples. Differences and contradictions in the stories have ecological, political, social, economic, and religious bases. By their existence, the texts signal continuing hope for social unity grounded in belief. The unifying force of Yahwist religion is central to the stories. Tensions among factions and perspectives that can be felt, for the most part, follow from contemporary differences rather than successive revisions of the texts. Hence, 1–2 Samuel, although formed from separate traditions, cycles, and stories, is a unified account that captures the urgency of the compilers' time, whether it is a pre-Deuteronomic or Deuteronomic era. From its beginning, the text is complete more or less as it now stands. The completeness extends throughout 1–2 Samuel and includes the so-called appendices in 2 Samuel 21–24, but does not include the material now in 1 Kings 1–2 that Rost makes part of the SN.

**b. Social Structure in the Stories.** Many commentators continue to envisage the centralizing processes that lead to Davidic kingship and full statehood. In fact, they presume that the books describe and promote this development. Social world critics, however, argue against this historical interpretation of monarchy in favor of chieftaincy (Flanagan 1981; Frick 1985). In this summary, the role of a paramount tribal chief is assumed as the image of leadership that suits Saul and David because it offers greater

potential for understanding the narrative and its parts. A tribal ethos controls the character roles and plots that fill the narratives' drama.

**2. Overview.** Three distinct but overlapping cycles of stories unfold in 1–2 Samuel: (1) a Samuel cycle (1 Samuel 1–25); (2) a Saul cycle (1 Samuel 9–2 Samuel 2); and (3) a David cycle (1 Samuel 10–2 Samuel 24). Interlaced ark, Jerusalem, and house themes run through the stories giving them continuity and vibrance. Thematic advances and fulfillments alternate with reversals and displacements. The story unfolds so that Saul (1 Samuel 7–15), then Jerusalem (2 Samuel 6), then David (2 Samuel 7), then David and Jerusalem, i.e., Davidic Jerusalem (2 Samuel 20, 24) are legitimated. In the process, however, the ark, which looms as the sign of the deity's presence in the beginning of the books (1 Samuel 4–6), recedes and is displaced by David who carries out the deity's will in the absence of the ark (2 Samuel 24). The pressure toward high centralization heard in requests for a king (1 Samuel 7–10), plans to build a temple (2 Samuel 7), and a census that would provide for taxation and conscription (2 Samuel 24) are juxtaposed with scenes showing resistance to the centralizing processes. Statements about the dangers of centralizing (1 Samuel 8), denial of the temple plans (2 Samuel 8), and the plague sent in punishment for the census (2 Samuel 24) signal socio- and religio-political displeasure with plans and maneuvers leading toward Jerusalemite power.

The stories are also economic. They illustrate a world reconciling ideals and beliefs with material realities. By linking religion and resources in a check and balance relationship, overcentralizing is resisted and centralized chieftaincy legitimated. Statehood with its temples, taxes, *corveé,* and militia drains away surplus and essential resources so that a subsistence economy such as that in Iron Age Syro-Palestine is depleted. Excesses would lead to exploitation and social stratification that victimize peoples, to religious and economic imbalance, and to politico-economic schizophrenia that would inspire religious schism. In Samuel, such maladaptation is avoided by having David be leader in Jerusalem, but forcing him to lead without the symbolic and technological advantages of kingship.

Genealogies and lists of family members and officers provide an outline for the books. The patronage networks and real and fictive kinship relationships typical of segmented societies can be seen in the materials (1 Sam 14:49–51; 2 Sam 2:2–3; 3:2–5; 5:13–16; 8:15–18; 20:23–26). The fluidity of the genealogies and lists, i.e., the manner in which names change and move about, also indicates on one plane that rural and independent tribal roles are giving way to urbanized and administrative bureaucracies. Although a number of factors no doubt contributed to the changes, the genealogical patterns suggest a sociopolitical metamorphosis. The decreasing concern for wives' and mothers' patronymics (compare 2 Samuel 2–3 and 3:2–5 with 5:13–16, 8:15–18, and 20:23–26) reflect interests that are turning increasingly from politics based on marriage and affiliation to administrative concerns for consolidation and succession. But the process is not complete, as comparisons with ethnographies of societies with a chieftaincy indicate (Flanagan 1988:325–341).

On another plane, David's journey is charted from his position as member of Saul's house, to northern outcast, to southern fugitive warrior and overlord, and finally to centralist leader of two tribal moieties in Jerusalem. The momentum toward centralizing leadership controls the genealogies and lists, but in order to grasp the individual and communal human drama in the stories, that thrust must be measured against the religious restraints visible elsewhere in the narratives.

**3. Principal Cycles.** The complexity and richness of the stories make every person and episode important for appreciating the narrative in its entirety or parts. The role and status of outsiders, whether women or men, cannot be ignored. Abigail (1 Samuel 25), Michal (2 Samuel 6), Tamar (2 Samuel 13), the woman from Tekoa (2 Samuel 14), and wives (cf. genealogies) for instance, are essential to the storyline, as are Samuel's sons (1 Samuel 8), the crippled Mephiboseth (2 Samuel 9), and others. Nevertheless, in another era and genre, the account might be classified as "Great Person" stories because of the way the course follows decisions and actions of the principal figures, Samuel, Saul, and David.

**a. Samuel Cycle.** The figure Samuel dominates the opening chapters of 1 Samuel and sets the stage for the drama that continues through 2 Samuel 24. Only at the end of the second book are the problems outlined at the beginning resolved. Samuel, who portrays at least four social roles in the narratives (priest,

judge, prophet, and seer [McKenzie 1962]), looms as a representative of a charismatic, prophetic tradition that values the deity's immediacy and spontaneity in human affairs. Samuel's responsibilities as one who articulates the deity's will, discerns and anoints preferred leaders, and awakens religious consciences are loosely interwoven with stories of the ark. Samuel's inexplicable birth and early years are reported (1 Samuel 1–3), only to be interrupted by the religio-political tragedy symbolized by the Philistines' capturing of the ark (chaps. 2–4), before his life as chief-maker is taken up again (chap. 7).

Samuel's apparent ambiguous and indecisive responses to the northern crisis reflect differing opinions and modes of social organization among the Yahwists (chaps. 7–15). A portion of the stories' participants and audience resists a segmented ethos in which problems are solved and order maintained by competition among equals. And yet, according to the storyline, that system is being threatened by marauders and warriors from the outside—the Philistines—who promise to dominate the peoples and their land. In light of this, the story portrays the Yahwists as being simultaneously pushed by the Philistines and pulled by survival instincts toward leadership which is organized as a centralized monopoly of force, and it credits the story's ultimate monopolizer, David, with the slaying of a symbolic enemy giant, Goliath (1 Samuel 17–18).

Stripped of Western and modern evolutionary presuppositions and political preferences, the stories portray Samuel and the Philistines in contrasting but complementary roles. Both are mediators who absorb social hostility and thereby allow the divided Yahwists to transfer their frustrations out of their midst and into other realms. In the case of Samuel, the transfer is toward a holy man who is not socially, politically, or economically a member of any party. Like "marginal" religious figures and shrines in other societies, his paradoxical involvement/non-involvement roles allow him to adjudicate and resolve conflicts that otherwise would destroy the community.

In the case of the Philistines, the transfer of responsibility is accomplished by having an enemy to blame, one who is portrayed negatively as a motley band of outsiders, disturbers, and aggressors. A closer examination of the group's role, however, reveals similarity with mediators in other societies. Mediating individuals and groups are often craft specialists and traders whose services are essential to their neighbors. Their skills are especially important where ecologically diverse groups interact. Marginal and transitional areas that are populated simultaneously by pastoralists and cultivators, nomads and sedentaries, are typical examples. But the mediators are looked down upon socially and despised personally by the very people who depend on them. In spite of this, they, like the Philistines, often yield great power and enjoy considerable status as overlords of expansive holdings. Future leaders for the warring factions who consider them as mutual enemies are sometimes chosen from their midst (Flanagan 1988:300–304).

In Samuel, the mediation of the most holy Samuel and least holy Philistines is inadequate. In the end, only one person can provide the needed service: David whom Samuel has chosen and who will serve Saul, the Philistines, and Judah.

**b. Saul Cycle.** But before the problems would pass, the community had to suffer Saul's phobias and incompetence (1 Samuel 9–31). Although the narrative portrays matters sequentially, and therefore presents Saul as a Yahwist attempt to resolve the difficulties, in the story his inadequacies compounded the troubles. The reader has the impression that Saul's regime is ended almost as it begins. In their hindsight perspective, the compilers include several traditions of Saul's emergence (1 Samuel 9–11). Quickly his role is recognized as transitional and his fate tragic (13:7–15; chap. 15). As a result, the destiny of Saul's family and David's involvement with it is as important as the consequences that befall Saul personally. The legitimacy of David, an outsider/insider, over against Saul's house is a fundamental theme in the Samuel narrative. David becomes a member of the inner circle, befriends Saul's son Jonathan, and marries Saul's daughter Michal. The inclusion with the royal house will be essential when David seeks legitimacy as leader of the northern tribes (2 Samuel 5–6). Then his former affiliation with Saul, institutionalized by political marriage, gains him acceptance through optative affiliation. This is a tribal practice whereby the husband of a daughter succeeds vicariously in lieu of the daughter/wife when the father has no legitimate male heirs (Flanagan 1981:55, 57). The situation describes Saul's because

elsewhere in Samuel, virtually all his male heirs in the first and second generation, except for the crippled Meribaal, are killed (1 Samuel 31; 2 Samuel 21). The presumption would be that the grandfather/chief's lineage would continue *via* offspring from the ruling daughter and her husband. But Michal's childlessness prevents this and makes it possible for the line to pass to the house of David (2 Sam 6:23).

Saul's animosity also serves the interests of David. In terms of the story, the suspicions are unfounded and unprovoked (1 Samuel 19–20). David is victimized and pursued by Saul and consequently is forced to seek refuge with the Philistines (chaps. 21–27) and to build a personal power base among the Judahites (1 Samuel 30–31; 2 Samuel 2). Again the strategy is typical. A losing contender for succession withdraws to a remote marginal region and begins again to weave a fabric of alliances that will satisfy his immediate urge to lead, even if the followers are fewer, and stand him in good stead in the next campaign for paramountcy. On the surface, however, because of Saul's paranoia David appears innocent of culpability and intrigue and is fully justified in his rather passive rise to power.

Regardless of the independent meaning of the Saul stories, together as a cycle within the Samuel narrative they depict the worsening conditions of the Yahwists. Samuel's initial judgment must be reversed, Saul's actions are misguided, and Philistine power, the indirect cause for Saul's election, continues to grow. The Yahwists obviously need new blood and fresh leadership. The stage is set for the shepherd David to begin his ascent from pasture to palace.

Modern interpreters' propensity for seeing continuity and ignoring the discontinuities in the stories has obscured an important distinction that the ancients would have recognized. It is the separate socio-political systems in the N and S, i.e., in Israel and Judah. Saul appears only as leader of a northern confederation of tribes. The Samuel stories indicate clearly that a separate southern confederation is led by David before he leads all Israel. He seeks refuge in the S, the house of Judah act independently in electing him (2 Sam 2:4), and he exercises leadership in Judah while Saul's son, Ishbaal, leads a separate confederation (2 Samuel 3–4). There are signs of continuing hostility dividing Saul's and David's houses (2 Sam 3:1). As in the Samuel cycle, divisiveness threatens the Yahwists and poises David to be the solution.

**c. David Cycle.** Although the David cycle reaches into Samuel's and Saul's careers, readers have a sense of relief and anticipation when the hero is finally on his own in 2 Samuel. His first years were lived on the run and in the shadow of Israel's two biggest problems, Saul and the Philistines. With the former's demise and the latter's blessing, he is free to unite the Yahwists first by becoming paramount chief in Hebron, an ancient Yahwist city (chap. 2), then by succeeding the incompetent Ishbaal, leader of the N (chap. 4), and finally by combining centers of religious and political alliance in Jerusalem (chap. 5).

The relocation is accomplished by a ritual marking the final displacement of Saul's house and the transfer of legitimacy to David personally (but not his house) in Jerusalem (2 Samuel 6). The scene depicts a rite of passage, a primary social act that both symbolizes and enacts the transfer (Flanagan 1983). Role reversals typical of such rites are manifested: David dances nude before the ark, Michal looks down on and chastises him, the lowly hold him in esteem while the royalty despise him. The popular and divine bases for his leadership are at one, and only his predecessor's family and their allies are at odds.

The relocation of the ark also marks another step in the displacement of the sacred symbol. Its value as a unifying force for the N tribes and sign of the deity's presence among them is now affixed to the new capital and leadership. Placing the ark in the custody of David recalls and revives its traditional religious, political, military, and social power while suggesting David's authority over both the people and their traditions. Structurally, however, the arrangement cannot last. It can only be a phase in the course of events that ultimately will require David to submit his leadership to divine control. In the view proposed in this summary, the submission, accomplished in 2 Samuel 21–24, is part of the storyline of the David cycle, whereas the Solomonic succession scene in 1 Kings 1–2 is not. Accordingly, the appendices in chaps. 21–24 demonstrate that Yahweh will be custodian of David, not David of Yahweh.

The route to this fuller transformation is cluttered with trials and tribulations for David. It leads through the court story (chaps. 9–20) and the appendices (chaps. 21–24). After establishing himself and the sacred chest in Jerusalem (chap. 6) and arranging for the house arrest of Meribaal, the only surviving Saulide and

potential contender (chap. 9), difficulties erupt within his own house. First Ammon, then Absalom demonstrate their ineptitude, the former by risking his life for a passing moment of pleasure with his sister (chap. 13), the latter by attempting premortem succession, capturing the royal harem, and pursuing his father during his flight into exile (chaps. 13–18). The rebellion of one and the deaths of two sons and successors reveal David's tenuous hold on leadership. As in other tribal societies, his ascendancy marks only a pause in the continuing struggle among competitors for paramountcy.

David's return to his house in Jerusalem (20:3) witnesses to the deity's favor and moves the story toward David's full submission. At David's request the ark is left in Jerusalem during his exile (15:24–29), as are ten concubines in the harem (15:16). Ironically, David sets up a concubine-test for Absalom (16:20–23) and an ark-test for Yahweh (15:25–26). Will custody over the royal harem be the sign of David's political authority as it is in other ANE societies, or will David's forced departure but willful leaving of the ark and his return to Jerusalem, again without the ark's companionship, be the sign of his political and religious legitimacy? The court story unfolds to show that the ancient customs and their symbols are displaced. David returns according to Yahweh's will, and the ark is not mentioned.

Further tests, however, are still ahead (chaps. 21–24). David's paramountcy must be submitted to the deity. This is accomplished by a ritualistic, as it were, cosmic duel in which a census and plague are set off against each other as instruments in the hands of a combating human and God. David proclaims a census—according to the story, at divine urging—that in ancient practice provides the basis for taxation and conscription. The maneuver bespeaks the motives of a would-be king, in this case a person who seeks to advance his leadership to another level of bureaucracy and control. The divine response is a plague, a direct attack on the economic base that could support the taxes and conscription. The information from David's census is immediately eradicated and its value depleted. David loses and submits. He buys an altar place and offers sacrifices. Yahweh remains the sole ultimate authority in Jerusalem.

**4. Unity of the Cycles.** Examined as a continuous but self-contained story without the additions in 1 Kings 1–2 that Rost attached to his SN, the contents of Samuel are a story of David, his rise, and his survival. This image is linked to others in the Hebrew Scriptures by the story of David's covenant, i.e., the dynastic oracle in 2 Samuel 7. As it stands, the deity's election of David's house anticipates the court story as well as Solomon's ascendancy in 1 Kings 1–2, and with minor editing, it legitimates the construction of a temple. The pro-temple revision stands in opposition to the anti-centralizing thrust of the narrative exposed here. In terms of the structure of the story as it now stands in the DH, the divine election of David's house over that of Saul is ritually confirmed in chap. 6 and finalized and further sanctified in chap. 7. In terms of the structure of the David myth, however, readers would expect the oracle later in the cycle, perhaps in conjunction with the purchase of the temple site in 2 Samuel 24. Then, for the first time the possibility of a Davidic dynasty is a serious but paradoxical issue. Saul's forces and the ark's power are suppressed; with two sons already dead, David's own lineage is becoming threatened; and divine assurance for Jerusalem—a major theme of the myth—is needed and welcomed. It seems probable that the oracle was once the final assertion in the religious myth in 1–2 Samuel, and that the episode moves ahead in the cycle when the stories are integrated with others in order to make David and the stories the center of later religio-political claims.

On many planes, the narratives are simultaneously the story of the emergence of Jerusalem as the place of Yahweh's presence, the story of Israel's affiliation with Judah, the story of a nomadic cult object settling in a sedentary urban center, and the story of a religion's adaptive ability in the face of economic and political necessity. The list could be much longer, and one of the contributions of recent critical scholarship has been to increase its length by exposing the rich polyvalence of this classical text.

By opening onto multiple meanings in the story, the new criticisms have challenged modern scholars' ability to describe the "content" of the text. The challenge, in effect, denies the goal of earlier criticisms insofar as they are directed toward the authentic "original" statements and events of the past. Instead, the newer literary and social world critics agree that the stories' mutability testifies to their enduring meaning and power and that these are first sought in the texts rather than in the tracing of their parts. The texts witness to the cosmologies and beliefs that are ancient Israel's.

The shifts in understanding the Samuel texts, their composition, and their content draw attention to the question of their historicity. No unanimous consent can be expected, but the self-consciousness that modern critics bring to the question are made explicit in ways that the source criticisms begun in the 19th century ignored. Literary critics state the limits of their interests and hypotheses and are clear when these do not include questions of history. Social world critics, on the other hand, express continuing concern for the past and the means whereby it is examined and understood, but they also are aware of the limits that the partiality of information, passage of time, and accidents of discovery place on their endeavors. Many assume that the texts of Samuel do not correspond statement for statement in one to one relationships with historical referents that existed in Iron Age I or later. Instead, the words woven into stories reflect and depict ancient social worlds that can be known generally by drawing together literary and archaeological information and illuminating that information, its congruences, and its contradictions by comparative materials found in ancient and modern societies, especially those where similar ecologies and social systems can be expected.

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JAMES W. FLANAGAN

## *NARRATIVE AND THEOLOGY*

As a unified whole, the corpus of 1 and 2 Samuel figures significantly in the narrative presentation of Israel's memory and faith. This narrative complex, which encompasses Joshua through 2 Kings, is central in the canon as well as in the study of Israel's history and theology. Moreover, the received form of 1 and 2 Samuel reflects specific narrative concerns such as the juxtaposition of human power and divine authority, and frames these with theological intentionality and literary ingenuity. Finally, a survey of the narrative elements of the books brings into focus how the literary form accomplishes the narrative intent.

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A. Literary Context
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### A. Literary Context

**1. In the Canon.** Canonically, these books are reckoned as part of the "Former Prophets" in combination with the books of Joshua, Judges, and 1 and 2 Kings. They are peculiarly linked to 1 and 2 Kings and in the LXX, these four books are named 1, 2, 3, and 4 Kingdoms, suggesting that the real subject matter of the literature is the monarchy. While our more familiar designation "Samuel" relates this literature to the person of Samuel, who looms so large as "kingmaker," the connection to 1 and 2 Kings correctly reflects the overriding theme of the literature, namely Israel's venture toward and experimentation with monarchy.

The general canonical grouping, "Former Prophets," serves notice that this literature is not to be regarded as "historical" in the sense that it simply narrates "what happened." The word "Prophet" indicates that this literature expresses a peculiar view of the ongoing historical process, one which is open to and shaped by the rule of God through the (usually verbal) interventions of God's authorized speakers. That is, prophetic speech is not incidental to this view of history, but is constitutive to the meaning and course of historical experience. As we shall see, in much of 2 Samuel this direct intervention is subdued, but even there it is the active engagement of Yahweh, the God of Israel, which decisively influences the outcome of events.

**2. In Critical Scholarship.** Under the influence of Martin Noth (1981), the canonical corpus, "Former Prophets," has come to be regarded as "the Deuteronomistic History." That is, the literature of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings is reckoned on this hypothesis to be one sustained historical-theological effort (Fretheim 1983:97–133). It is named "Deuteronomistic" because the theological presuppositions and impetus for the perspective of the literature derives from the book and tradition of Deuteronomy. This corpus in its present form, according to scholarly consensus, is dated sometime around the destruction of 587 B.C.E. and the Exile, though scholars are divided on a more precise dating. Cross (*CMHE*, 274–89) has proposed two editions of the material, before and after 587, and Smend (1971:494–509), Veijola (1977), and Dietrich (1972) have attempted a more refined distinction between three layers of the material. In its present form, this entire literature is a reflection upon (not a report of) Israel's historical experience as that experience relates both to the actual demands of historical realism and as it relates to the dominant theological claims of Israel's covenantal tradition. Indeed, it is a major achievement of this

literature to hold together in a coherent way the demands of historical realism and the claims of the covenant traditions, so that they are perceived as intimately and integrally related to each other.

The literature of 1 and 2 Samuel seems less directly involved in the Deuteronomistic program than the rest of that larger corpus. Nonetheless it cannot be understood apart from that larger enterprise. In its present articulation, the narrative data concerning Samuel, Saul, and David is offered for reflection at the end of the monarchal period, when this great ambition of Israel had come to a sorry end. The narrative uses older materials of many kinds in the service of this reflection. At the same time, scholars are agreed that this "end-time" utilization has not severely distorted the earlier memories, nor has it muted the courage and vitality of the earlier period reflected in the material itself. In the literature of 1 and 2 Samuel (more than anywhere else in the Deuteronomistic corpus) the claims and intentionality of the earlier material have been respected on their own terms. Interpretation, then, must take into account both the early intentionality and the later reflective utilization of that early intentionality. One need not choose between the two, as they come together in this carefully and artistically crafted presentation.

**B. The Literature in its Full and Final Form**

The canonical nomenclature of "Former Prophets" and the critical consensus concerning "Deuteronomistic History" require us to begin our analysis by asking about the shape of the literature of 1 and 2 Samuel in its full and final form. To begin in this way is to acknowledge an important shift in scholarly approach. The long-standing critical practice has been to analyze the sources and traditions which have gone into the making of the corpus (see *IDBSup*, 777–81; *IDB* 4:202–9; for the more recent analysis of layers of sources in Dtr, see McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 14–17 and *2 Samuel* AB, 4–8). Both the older source analysis and the newer fragmentation of sources in Dtr share a concern to start with the lesser units. Our approach is to begin at the other end with the completed form of the text. This approach is reflective of the developing direction of scholarly procedure.

**1. Historical Transformation.** It is helpful to see what Israel accomplished in the course of this literature by considering the condition of Israel at the beginning and at the end of the corpus. That is, we inquire about the historical transformation wrought through this literature. Preceding this corpus, in Judges 17–21, Israel reflects a loose tribal organization in which "there was no king in Israel; every man did what was right in his own eyes" (Judg 17:6; cf. 18:1; 19:1; 21:25). That is, there was no viable, reliable social order and no legitimated public structure of governance. The result, as characterized in these materials, was a chaotic, barbaric social practice and a correspondingly doubtful religion which is presented as image-generating and idolatrous (Judges 17–18). That is where the book of Samuel opens. (The placement of the book of Ruth at this point in our English Bible is a departure from the Jewish order of books which is assumed in this and parallel analyses.)

At the other end of our literature, when 2 Samuel ends and we move from 2 Samuel 24 to 1 Kings 1–2, we are confronted with a situation completely contrasted with that of Judges 17–21. Now, at the end of David's life, the narrative 1 Kings 1–2 focuses on the question of succession to the throne and the rivalry of David's sons, Adonijah and Solomon. By this time the dynastic principle has been fully established and is unquestioned, at least in the circles adhering to this literature. Now the social issue is not chaos and barbarism, but bureaucratic ruthlessness and rival claims to legitimacy.

The books of Samuel are the narrative rendering of Israel's move from tribal chaos and barbarism to monarchic legitimacy and bureaucratic ruthlessness. The historical achievement of Israel in the course of this decisive and irreversible transition is a remarkable one and should not be underestimated. Israel has been in the process of building public structures of legitimacy and institutions of accountability and order. While the narrative tends to focus on personalities, this larger public agenda is crucial.

**2. Narrative Concerns.** With reference to this historical transformation, we may identify three dimensions of narrative concern in the books of Samuel.

**a. Social Analysis.** The basic course of development in this literature generally reflects the course of events. To be sure, the literature is cast imaginatively with considerable legendary accretion. However, that legendary propensity is not accidental but instead represents sophisticated artistic ability. What might be missed because of this particular narrative quality is the historical realism, the political finesse and the

capacity for critical and sober assessment that is present in the text. Not only is the alien principle of monarchy introduced into Israel through a series of deep conflicts, but additionally there is a shift in economics, so that a community of economic marginality begins to move toward affluence and an accumulation of surplus wealth which requires new social forms. The debate over the temple in 2 Sam 7:1–7, which parallels the debate over monarchy in 1 Samuel 7–12, indicates an awareness of how radically the shifted political and economic realities impinge upon theological notions and liturgic practices. The narrative shows a discernment of the interrelatedness of economic-political and theological-liturgic matters, and it is this interrelatedness that embodies the practice of social criticism.

**b. Legendary Imagination.** Historical realism in this corpus is mediated through literature that exercises the freedom of artistic legend concerning the major personalities. The literature is focused in turn on the persons of Samuel, Saul, and finally David. We are unable to and uninterested in sorting out every factual element, but there can be little doubt that the birth story of Samuel, the call narrative of Samuel, David's triumph over Goliath, and many other narratives take important liberties of imagination in the presentation and portrayal of the main characters. This literary freedom is no cause for suspicion, nor are we mandated to purge the material so that we might get to "the facts," for the only facts available to us are mediated in these imaginative forms, and the very engagement of this imagination is crucial to the facts which are mediated to us. The narrative intends that we experience the historical memory in this freighted imaginative mode. We are required to recognize exactly the kind of literature this is, and to see that "the facts" are precisely these inventive, imaginative portrayals without which this literature would lose its power, its significance, and its interest for us. This is not scientific-factual, scholastic literature, but it is nevertheless exactingly artistic literature of a quite sophisticated kind. It understands that the narrated historical transformation of Israel is to be understood as wrought precisely through these "larger-than-life" characters. Without the formidable persons, the move from Judges 17–21 to 1 Kings 1–2 would never have been accomplished.

**c. Involvement of God.** The literature then partakes of legendary imagination and of discerning social analysis. A third factor is perhaps most decisive, with particular reference to the term "Former Prophets." This literature is intensely theonomous. It understands that ultimately the historical process is not shaped by political-economic factors, nor by inventive personalities, but by the purposes and governance of Yahweh, which may operate visibly or unnoticed. The literature is committed to this perception of reality and neither apologizes for it nor explains it. The modern reader is not free to regard this central motive as an intrusion or an embarrassment. Yahweh is a central character in the narrative, a quite expected presence in the drama, and a proper agent of historical events. Insofar as this factor is a problem for interpretation, it must be remembered that it is not a problem for the narrative or the narrators, but only for modern "scientific" interpreters.

**3. Frame of the Narrative.** We may notice how the literature is framed. At the outset, in 1 Samuel 1, the presenting problem (as so often for Israel) is the matter of barrenness. The narrative method of dealing with this crisis is that Hannah makes a vow and speaks a prayer (1:11). The issue is resolved in vv 19–20, when a son is born and identified in the narrative by the formula, "Yahweh remembered her" (cf. Gen 30:22). The son, Samuel, is identified with the beginning of Israel's new historical process. In vv 21–28 the reference to Yahweh as history-maker is clear: Elkanah awaits Yahweh keeping his word (v 23); Hannah credits Yahweh with the gift of a son (v 27); the narrative ends with the worship of Yahweh (v 28). The historical drama and the legend of personalities is here overridden by the decisive power of Yahweh to cause a beginning for barren Hannah, for hopeless Elkanah, for oppressed Israel. Consequently, this new history is underway.

The issues are framed similarly at the end of the corpus in 2 Samuel 24. This chapter offers a remarkable statement concerning the relation between David, the well-established king, and Yahweh, who actually governs. The substance of the narrative consists in the prayer of David and a response from Yahweh. Twice David confesses sin (vv 10, 17), and once he pleads for Yahweh's mercy (v 14). The answer which then completes the Samuel corpus (v 25) is that Yahweh heeded the supplication and lifted the curse. The situations of Hannah and David, at the beginning and end of this literature, are very

different, but the dramatic moment is the same. In both there is petition and in both there is a transformative divine response:

> The Lord remembered her (1 Sam 1:19).
>
> The Lord heeded the supplication for the land (2 Sam 24:25).

The two framing narratives take into account the course of events and the cruciality of major personalities, but they attest to the confiction that finally it is Yahweh's remembering and heeding which shapes Israel's life. It is Yahweh's attentive engagement which moves Israel from chaotic, barbaric social practice (Judges 17–21) to a legitimated monarchic structure (1 Kings 1–2). The narrative of 1 and 2 Samuel traces the ways in which this move is made, albeit with fits and starts of human anguish, historical uncertainty, and moral ambiguity. While the narrative celebrates the achievement, it does so without obscuring the problematic of the achievement.

In assessing the theological tenor of the canonical form of 1 and 2 Samuel, Childs (*IOTS*, 263–80) has placed particular emphasis upon the two poems of the Song of Hannah (1 Sam 2:1–10) and David's psalm of praise (2 Sam 22:2–51). Again, the placement of these two poems as a second level of envelopes (inside the two narratives ending in prayer) cannot be accidental. Both are undoubtedly independent poems which have been intentionally placed where they are. 1 Sam 2:1–10 relies on a poetic tradition reflected in Psalm 113; 2 Sam 22:2–51 also utilizes a liturgic tradition, as is reflected in Psalm 18. The Song of Hannah ostensibly celebrates Samuel's birth, but in fact the poetry lauds the readiness of Yahweh to perform transformative acts in the public life of Israel. Childs (*IOTS*, 273) regards the poem as "an interpretive key for this history which is, above all, to be understood from a theocentric perspective." If, as seems clear, the narrative traces the fall of Saul and the rise of David (cf. 1 Sam 18:7; 21:11; 24:17, 20; 25:28; 26:25; 28:17; 2 Sam 3:1), then the affirmation that God "brings low and exalts" (1 Sam 2:7) asserts Yahweh's irresistible sovereignty and anticipates David's emergence and dominion in the literature. Likewise, 2 Samuel 22 is a recital of the ways in which David's remarkable achievements are to be referred to the power of Yahweh. This psalm is a well-crafted combination of reference to Yahweh's sovereignty and deep appreciation of the activity of David as the bearer of Israel's history on its way from chaos to order.

Carlson (1964) has offered a very different attempt to understand the present shape of the literature. While he has focused exclusively on 2 Samuel, it is not difficult or unreasonable to extrapolate how his analysis might comprehend 1 Samuel as well. He sees 2 Samuel as juxtaposing "David under the blessing" (2 Samuel 2–5) and "David under the curse" (9–24). Under this rubric, part of 1 Samuel would likely be a longer narrative statement of David under blessing, because in that literature, everything that happens to David moves toward his final triumph.

In Carlson's analysis, 2 Samuel 11–12 is singled out as the pivotal passage wherein the mood, direction, and intentionality of David's narrative is inverted. From that point forward, David's family and throne are under assault, and each episode develops further the dimension of the tragic which is countered only by Yahweh's resilient promise which is still operative. Humphreys (1982; 1985) has characterized the Saul narrative in 1 Samuel as "tragic," but that tragic quality does not touch the character of David until the latter part of the narrative. Such a delay in the articulation of the tragic no doubt serves the narrative intention of the text.

By a very different route, Alter arrives at a judgment about the David material that is oddly parallel to that of Carlson:

> Indeed one of the most striking aspects of the entire David story is that until his career reaches its crucial breaking point with his murder-by-proxy of Uriah after his adultery with Bathsheba, almost all of his speeches are in public situations and can be read as politically motivated. It is only after the death of the child born of his union with Bathsheba that the personal voice of a shaken David begins to emerge (1981:119).

Alter is interested in literary, not theological questions, but as Carlson identified 2 Samuel 11–12 as the point of transition from blessing to curse, so Alter identifies that text as the move from a public to a

personal David, and we may say, from a triumphal to an anguished David, from an opaque to a transparent David.

Through all these different analyses with attention to literary and theological issues, we may conclude that the Samuel corpus is composed with great literary finesse and with theological intentionality. It is aimed at presenting the character of David as the bearer of Israel's historical possibility and as the vehicle for God's purposes in Israel. This entire literary, theological assertion about Israel's possibility and God's purposes hinged on the narrative events of 2 Samuel 11–12 (see Brueggemann 1985:chap. 3).

**C. Survey of the Narrative Elements**

Wide scholarly consensus holds that the present books of Samuel have been formed by joining together independent literary pieces which in and of themselves are important literary achievements. Alter, who asks a very different set of questions than is usual among biblical scholars, dissents from this view, "… . the evidence for a unified imaginative conception of the whole David story seems to me persuasive" (1981:119 n. 1). However, Alter's view is against the consensus, and in any case "a unified imaginative conception" does not necessarily preclude earlier independent elements. On the whole, most scholarly analysis has been preoccupied with efforts to identify and/or reconstruct those earlier pieces. The most that can be said with confidence is that this literature, which now moves from poem (1 Sam 2:1–10) to poem (2 Sam 22:2–51), from the prayer of Hannah (1 Samuel 1) to the prayer of David (2 Samuel 24), is formed as it stands by a long traditioning process working with extant materials. That long process is not completely visible to us, but with the aid of a rough scholarly consensus, we may identify several narrative elements.

**1. 1 Sam 1:1–4:1a.** The early Samuel materials of 1 Sam 1:1–4:1a present the historical problem of Israel in crisis. These materials, drawn from a variety of sources, focus on the birth, authorization, and establishment of Samuel as a key leader in premonarchic Israel. The centrality of the Song of Hannah assures one that the narrative does not have an excessive interest in the person or personality of Samuel. It is clear that the person of Samuel is early placed in the service of the liberation of Israel from historical oppression. Thus Samuel is of interest as he is included in the anticipation of Israel's social well-being under the new organization of life wrought by David.

**2. 1 Sam 4:1b–7:2.** The second element of the text is 4:1 b–7:2 (with a conjectured continuation in 2 Samuel 6). This narrative reflects the situation of a vulnerable tribal organization, though the narrative is stunningly silent on the leadership role of Samuel. The central subject here is the ark of the covenant which is taken as a rallying symbol of the tribal confederation and as a mark of God's powerful, effective presence. Scholars have concluded that this narrative at one time circulated independently. In terms of the overall move from chaotic tribal organization to an ordered monarchy, this narrative serves (congruent with Judges 17–21) to indicate that the old organization and the old modes of trust in Yahweh were not adequate for the Philistine threat. Indeed, the books of Samuel make sense only if one recognizes that there is a social, political, and therefore theological issue about the adequacy of old forms of public life. The capture of the ark is not only a religious failure, but it also bespeaks an organizational and institutional crisis which is present throughout this literature.

Miller and Roberts (1977) have seen that the Ark Narrative is shaped, not unlike the Plague Narrative of Exodus 5–11, as a battle between the gods which culminates in the triumph of Yahweh over rival gods and their images. Thus the debacle of the image of Dagon is a liturgic, narrative assertion of the power of Yahweh. That is, the repeated retelling of this narrative functioned in ancient Israel as a paradigmatic statement concerning the sovereignty of Yahweh vis-à-vis all other religious claims. The "Ark Narrative" (as this piece is named) no doubt is quite distinct, but when it is juxtaposed with 1 Samuel 1–3, and particularly the Song of Hannah, the combined narrative asserts the power of Yahweh to govern the history of Israel in irresistible ways. It is probable that the Ark Narrative, because of its ties to the tribal order, also attests to the validity of leadership embodied in Samuel as the last of the judges. Samuel, however, is not mentioned by name in the narrative, which means that enhancement of Samuel's leadership here is at best only by inference. The more important point is that Yahweh is the real governor of the historical process. The same point is made in the Succession Narrative (cf. 2 Sam 11:27; 12:24;

17:14) in a very different mode. Israel here sees its narrative history, an implementation of the powerful themes of the Song of Hannah.

**3. 1 Sam 7:3–15:35.** The emergence of monarchy is the theme of 1 Sam 7:3–15:35, which is particularly linked to the person of Saul. There is no doubt that this narrative is the result of an intensive redactional process, but the exact features of this are impossible to determine. While the story is cast around the disputed leadership of Samuel and the emergence of Saul, the real debate does not concern personalities. Rather, it concerns the relationship between the faith of the community and public forms of power and how the trust Israel has in Yahweh should be implemented in institutional forms.

The narrative discloses to us opinions which believe not only that monarchy is required to cope with historical threats, but that monarchy is a gift from Yahweh to Israel for the securing of the community. A counter opinion, more forcefully expressed, argues that monarchy is a departure from faith in Yahweh even as it is a departure from the old tribal organization. Both opinions are expressed in this complicated narration of chaps. 7–15. It is a truism of scholarship that the narrative contains two sources reflecting two strongly held political opinions which judge the institution of monarchy positively and negatively. Scholarship moreover has held that the pro-kingship source is from the period itself, whereas the anti-kingship sources are later, reflecting disillusionment with the tyranny of Solomon.

It seems more probable that the two opinions were in fact alive at the same time. The two opinions reflect a genuine dispute and a genuine probe of a serious issue upon which the theological answers were not yet clear. As Mendelsohn (1956) has shown, Israel could appeal to models of tyrannical kingship very early in its existence. The debate was not an artificial or simply pragmatic one. Instead, the issue turned (as it frequently does) on the concrete institutional form that is to be given to zealous faith.

The two voices in the text need to be assessed not only as serious theological offers, but also in terms of sociopolitical reality. It is common to say that kingship arose in response to the external threat of the Philistines. But Gottwald (1983) has suggested an alternative. As economic prosperity developed in Israel and some group(s) came to be affluent, Israelites in the community developed an accumulation of wealth (surplus value) that needed to be defended and legitimated. The institution of monarchy emerged, on this reading, to defend and maintain the social inequity in Israel. From the outset (on this reading), monarchy was sponsored by and in the interest of the affluent, dominant class. As the monarchy defended such a disproportion, so monarchy was accompanied within one generation by the temple which served to legitimate the economic monopoly which might earlier have received a harsh critique, but now is given religious sanction. Thus the debate about kingship is not an isolated theological question about the will of Yahweh, but the debate contains within it a covert discussion of social power, social theory, social organization. It is a debate about egalitarianism and social inequity in institutionalized forms. The yearning "to be like the nations" (1 Sam 8:5, 20) is a yearning to abandon the radical egalitarian social vision of covenantal, tribal Israel (as portrayed in Joshua-Judges) and to embrace the economics and politics of surplus that other cultures practiced and other religions legitimated. The dispute thus is for the heart of Israel, but with a keen awareness that Israel's heart is not far distant from its treasure. (Notice the embodiment of this shift as it is portrayed in Solomon, with reference to his heart from 1 Kings 3:9, 12 to 11:4.) As the narrative now presents the monarchy issue, 1 Samuel 12 is a sober rejection of monarchy by a voice not disinterested, and 1 Sam 13:8–15 and 15:1–35 are strongly critical voices against monarchy. The precise intent of these latter narratives, however, is unclear. It appears in 13:14; 15:10, 35 that what is rejected is not the institution and principle of monarchy, but only Saul as the appointee.

Gunn (1978) and Humphreys (1978) have shown that the Saul narrative is a portrayal of tragedy, marked by ambiguity, darkness, and fate. It may be that the tragic character of Saul in this narrative is a portrayal from the perspective of Davidic interests. That is, Saul's fate is the counter-theme of David's success and so the Saul portrayal is not disinterested. But it is also plausible, as Gunn and Humphreys suggest, that taken on its own terms and without reference to David, the great artistic achievement of the narrative is to see and articulate that Saul's public life was indeed a tragedy, the end of which is not found in sin and judgment, but in a hidden, irrevocable destiny that is beyond understanding. What is offered then, is not an imposed philosophy of history, but simply a discerning study of how the historical process

has worked in this one case. It is indeed true that the sword devours one and now another (2 Sam 11:25). Saul is indeed devoured by the historical process in an inexplicable, inscrutable way.

The analyses of Humphreys and Gunn, contrasted, e.g., with those of Birch (1976) and Campbell (1975), reflect an important shift in scholarly perspective away from technical to artistic sensitivity. The newer scholarship is not so much interested in source analysis and dissection of the material, as it is in an attempt to grasp the artistic construction that is offered when the narrative is taken as a whole. When so viewed, Saul is the character in the drama who is sacrificed around the inescapable public question of faith and power. The narrative does not linger over Saul, but recognizes that the issue of faith and power is on its way to a new resolution at the severe cost of Saul's person, reputation, and destiny.

**4. 1 Sam 16–2 Sam 5:10.** The central character of the books of Samuel does not appear until 1 Sam 16:1. It is as though the literature has withheld this character as long as possible, in an intentional attempt to enhance the drama. It is generally held that with the appearance of David in 1 Sam 16:1–13, we have a new piece of literature, referred to as "The Narrative of the Rise of David," which extends through 2 Sam 5:10 (though Gunn [1978] divides the material differently).

This material is marked by (1) a narrative quality that allows for playfulness and a kind of naïveté which likely is quite artistically crafted, (2) intense redactional activity so that there is some evidence of traditions which are often repetitious and occasionally contradictory, and (3) an intense fascination with David that is celebrative and uncritical. The combination of narrative mode and the celebrative presentation of David suggests that this material is free from (and perhaps prior to) the disputes concerning monarchy. This material presents the emergence of the institution of monarchy under David as an unmitigated good.

The narrative moves from an idyllic picture of the shepherd boy (1 Sam 16:1–13) to the establishment of the shepherd (king) over Israel (2 Sam 5:3). The central subject of the narrative is the conflict between Saul and David, which of course comes to an end in 1 Samuel 31 with the death of Saul. (It is clear from 2 Sam 9:3 that David and the literature continue to be haunted by the Saul legacy and cannot put its reality and danger to rest.) The break in the narrative between 1 and 2 Samuel is organized around Saul's death and is marked by the exquisite poem of lament in 2 Sam 1:19–27.

Jobling (1978:4–25) and Humphreys (1978; 1980) have shown that notwithstanding all the redactional activity and the fact that old narratives have been secondarily employed, there is indeed an intentional literary design to the construction of the whole. The story line concerns the unhindered advance of David and the corresponding demise of Saul. The intent of the story line and the artistic skill of literary design are matched by the theological intentionality of the story, for it is clear that David's heroic buoyancy is held in close relation to the purposes of Yahweh. This theological affirmation of David is evident in the initial transitional episode of 1 Sam 16:1–13 and is reaffirmed in the concluding formula of 2 Sam 5:10: "And David became greater and greater, for the Lord, the God of hosts, was with him." The formula perhaps appeals to the old slogans of holy war ("I am with you,") and is the basis of the claim of Immanuel ("God with us,"), a programmatic claim of the Davidic dynasty (see also 1 Sam 25:28). The narrative is able to discern and articulate in a seemingly unreflective mode the powerful and resilient purpose of Yahweh, so that the very shape of the narrative makes the assertion of God's will for this dynasty. As the narrative presents it, the person of David overrides the misgivings and disputes of 1 Samuel 7–15. Those issues simply are not present to a Davidic purview of reality.

**5. 2 Sam 5:11–8:18.** The materials in 2 Sam 5:11–8:18 clearly reflect a very different literary tone, a different set of sociological presuppositions, and a different theological sensitivity. This literature may indeed be a miscellaneous collection of materials lodged between the two great narratives of "The Rise" (1 Sam 16:1–2 Sam 5:10) and "The Succession" (2 Samuel 9–20). Within this section there is surely a different mode of literature, largely lacking the free narrative style of "The Rise" and being much more preoccupied with technical data concerning lists of officers, indices of victories and logs of battles. The material also contains a narrative about the ark (2 Samuel 6) which has been reckoned to be a continuation of 1 Sam 4:1–7:1. Finally, there is the formidable oracle of legitimacy in 2 Samuel 7, which has no parallel elsewhere in this literature.

The entire unit breathes the air of an established, legitimated royal apparatus, having the tone of ideology, propaganda, and justification for the state. In that regard it is clear that the uncritical enthusiasm and amazement of the tale of "The Rise" have been displaced and overcome by a self-assured and seemingly self-serving order. What had been amazing in prospect is self-serving in reality. As the social reality changes, so the literary form changes with it.

The "in between" chapters are conventionally regarded as miscellaneous. However, Flanagan (*WLSGF*, 361–72) has shrewdly observed that there is a possible three-tiered structure of older materials:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Transfer of Ark (6:1–20) | Dynastic Oracle (7:1–29) |
| Philistine War (5:17–25) | | Battles of the Empire (8:1–14) |
| Children of David (5:13–16) | | Officers of David (8:15–18) |

Such an analysis not only suggests a quite intentional arrangement, but Flanagan proposes that the order of materials in this way makes a statement of social and theological transition from tribe to state, from Saul to David, indicating that the "social, political, economic, and religious center of Israel's world had shifted" (*WLSGF*, 369). That shift was the work of David, but the text is uncompromising in its conclusion that the work wrought by David is in fact the work of Yahweh, who wills the change in Israel's life. Such a juxtaposition of David and Yahweh cannot fail to legitimate the entire enterprise.

**6. 2 Samuel 9–10.** In 2 Samuel 9–20 (1 Kings 1–2), we consider the second major collection, which stands architecturally over against the long narrative of "The Rise." This narrative has been designated by scholarship as "The Succession Narrative" because it seems to concern the crisis of identifying the successor to David on the throne (1 Kgs 1:20). But that designation is at most a scholarly convention. Given the complex nature of the book, a simple structural design of the Samuel material is not feasible. However, 1 Sam 16:1–2 Sam 5:10 can be viewed as the "Rise" to power (ascent), 2 Sam 5:11–8:18 the "Establishment" of power (plateau), and 2 Samuel 8–9 the "Succession" of power (descent). These three literary blocks concerning David are cast in very different modes, make very different theological assertions, and reflect very different sociological realities and experiences.

The Succession Narrative is divided into five episodes: 2 Samuel 9–10, 11–12, 13–14, 15–19 (20), and 1 Kings 1–2. Scholars have recognized that this is a distinctive mode of literature not met elsewhere in Samuel, rarely elsewhere in the OT or in the ANE. It is a self-conscious literature that focuses upon human agents as history-makers and presents God in subdued and indirect ways. This theological perspective, which reflects a new historical self-consciousness, is matched by a literary style especially marked by its artistic style and sensitivity. Various analyses by Gunn (1978), Conroy (1978), Alter (1981), Ridout (1971), and Fokkelman (1981) have illuminated the artistry of the unit.

It is generally recognized that 2 Samuel 11–12 is the key element in the narrative. In this episode David breaks the Torah, violates Uriah and Bathsheba, and is denounced by Nathan the prophet. Although David repents and is rescued from death, the dynasty of David is placed perpetually under the threat of the sword (2 Sam 12:10). With consummate skill, this vague threat works its way through the narrative, until in the concluding episode, Solomon assumes his father's throne through the use of the sword, which works havoc. Note the repeated use of Heb *pāgaʿ*, "strike down" (1 Kgs 2:29, 31, 34, 46; cf. v 9). Thus, it seems plausible that the governing episode of 2 Samuel 11–12 and the concluding events of 1 Kings 1–2 are held together by this common reference to the sword.

What emerges is a very different disclosure of David, a personal account of the interiority, ambiguity, and pathos of the man that is absent in the early narrative sections. This narrative characterizes the struggle of David to hold together personal reality and public office. Gunn has seen how this portrayal of David, without any didactic effort, functions as a mirror and disclosure of the same brokenness that is present in all of human life.

The narrative celebrates and focuses on David in a most remarkable way, as von Rad (*PHOE,* 176–204) has noted. Nonetheless, even here the narrative shows clearly that David is not an independent, free agent. Even David's life is encompassed in the rule of Yahweh, who is both faithful and demanding.

**7. 2 Samuel 21–24.** Finally, 2 Samuel 21–24 is commonly reckoned as a miscellaneous collection of old materials inserted in the Succession Narrative before the concluding episode of 1 Kings 1–2. This material is much more like the narrative style of "The Rise," but we cannot assign it to any particular corpus of material. Two comments must suffice. First, it is generally recognized that these chapters of miscellaneous notes have a structure of two narratives, two lists, and two poems, a sequence in parallel to what Flanagan has found in 2 Sam 5:11–8:18 (McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 18). One may at least conclude that this unit is not without some intentionality.

Second, as suggested above, that these materials may function for canonical purposes so that the concluding episode of 2 Samuel 24 may be a counterpart of 1 Samuel 1, even as 2 Samuel 22 is a poem in relation to the Song of Hannah in 1 Samuel 2. These "appendices" evidence a much less sophisticated reading of historical reality. They affirm in more direct fashion that Yahweh's governance is overriding, even of David's capacity. The whole of Samuel in the service of David is to legitimate and enhance the monarchy. Yet it is noteworthy that in 2 Samuel 24 as in 2 Samuel 11–22, the narrative articulates a theological Yahwistic foil to rapacious royal power. Moreover, David as a king is not free from Yahweh and Yahweh's Torah. Thus the ambiguity so painfully articulated in 1 Samuel 7–15 persists here. In the end even the chosen and much-celebrated David stands rebuked and under judgment. The narrative seems not to know how (or chooses not) to resolve this issue, but calls the reader to participate in this ambiguity which characterizes Israel's relation with Yahweh.

**D. Some Important Texts**

It may be helpful to identify and comment briefly on texts in Samuel which are structurally important for a sense of the whole, both literarily and theologically. Though the identification of such texts requires an interpretive judgment, the judgments made here reflect a general interpretive consensus.

**1. 1 Sam 2:1–10.** This hymn likely dates to the 10th century, i.e., to the time of David. It asserts some of the governing themes of the Samuel corpus, namely the inversion of the historical process through the activity or governance of Yahweh. The poem is reflective of the hymnic pattern of Israel's liturgy, which sings about the distinctiveness of Yahweh known in Yahweh's powerful transformative interventions.

In its present setting, this poem functions to signal the destiny of Israel as it will be presented in the ensuing narrative of Samuel. At the beginning of the narrative, in the face of the Philistines, the Israelites are the low (v 7), the poor (v 8), but the course of Davidic history is one of exalting, lifting, raising up (vv 7–8). Thus the older independent hymn has been made a fundamental element in the larger account.

**2. 1 Sam 8:11–17.** This text is bounded in the narrative (vv 5, 20) with a yearning to be "like the nations." It is the urging of the narrative (even in 2 Samuel 11–12, 24) that Israel, even under a king, is not and cannot be like the nations. In these verses the narrative presents a sober and realistic analysis of the way of kings. According to Gottwald's model (1979), Israel in the tribal period is a radical social experiment in organizing social power in egalitarian ways. This text discerningly asserts that to embrace monarchy is to embrace the very exploitative, rapacious power of a legitimated state from which Moses and Joshua had emancipated Israel.

The characterization of monarchy in this text may be reflective of Solomon, but also of neighboring kings of the period before Solomon. This characterization is dominated by the Heb verb *lāqaḥ,* "take." Israel has seen and knows that the primary social function of legitimated central power is "to take," to develop concentrations of wealth and power at the expense of some for the benefit of others. The text is important because it makes clear that Israel's theory of public life is deeply opposed to the conventional systems available, and that for Israel justice issues are paramount religious and social matters.

**3. 1 Sam 12:1–25.** This valedictory oration by Samuel provides a general theoretical statement about history from the perspective of the old tribal organization and from Israel's old covenantal tradition. As such, it is consistent with 8:11–17. This text is most unambiguous in regarding monarchy as a violation of

the will of Yahweh. While the passage is highly stylized, it no doubt reflects an old and deep conviction in Israel.

In terms of literary structure this passage is important because it marks the culmination of a view and practice of history best known in the book of Judges. Thus some scholars propose that Samuel follows the pattern of the old judges and that 1 Samuel 1–12 is in fact an extension of the literature known in the book of Judges. While 1 Samuel 13–15 provides a transition toward David, in terms of dramatic power the literature moves directly from the verdict of chapter 12 to the appearance of David in 16:1–13. The emergence of David has the literary effect of rendering the old dispute irrelevant. All of that is forgotten in the face of Israel's fascination with David.

**4. 1 Sam 16:1–13.** This passage may not be as important structurally as others cited. Yet there is no doubt that it marks a decisive shift of the flow of historical power from Saul to David. What is perhaps most interesting and important is the "innocent" quality of the narrative in which Yahweh is a direct, unexplained voice who participates in and governs the events of the narrative. No doubt the purpose of the narrative is to legitimate David by means of presenting David as a direct, divine choice. David is chosen by no human agent or process, only by the voice of God. Yet it is clear that such a narrative would not persuade anyone not already committed to the cause of David. This narrative has a legitimating function and is effective because it claims David's authority, in the most naive and direct way possible, as an act of simple designation by Yahweh, without pleading, justification, or explanation. This is the voice for "true believers."

**5. 2 Sam 7:1–17.** This is the hinge point between "The Rise" and "The Succession," or as Carlson (1964) has it, between blessing and curse. The chapter begins with a dispute concerning "presence," (vv 1–6), in the form of a discussion of "tent" and "temple." But the heart of the chapter is vv 7–17 which is a decree of Yahweh in the mouth of Nathan, giving divine legitimacy to the Davidic dynasty. This chapter is decisive for all of biblical faith in shifting both the political and theological ground of Israel's life with God.

The most remarkable move made is in vv 14–16, whereby Yahweh is now fully, firmly, unconditionally, and perpetually committed to the Davidic line. Clearly the unconditional terms were not everywhere embraced (cf. Ps 132:12), and it is obvious that in history the promise was not kept in the face of disobedience (cf. Jer 22:18–20). But in this moment the hazards of Israel's disobedience is fully overcome, and for the first time the God of Israel is unreservedly committed to a specific historical arrangement. While we may rightly regard such a claim as ideology or propaganda, the decree was in fact accepted in the Bible as a genuine disclosure. That God should be so committed to an historical arrangement reflects the scandal of particularity in biblical faith. That sort of theological thinking in terms of the historical concreteness of God adumbrated in this text becomes the source for theological messianism in both Judaism and Christianity.

**6. 2 Samuel 11–12.** This remarkable narrative achievement is one of the most exquisite in the Bible. The narrative does not present a full-bodied theological proposition as most of the other texts we have cited. Rather, with a very different mode of disclosure and a different set of epistemological assumptions, this narrative made its own case for the inscrutable governance of Yahweh. It asserts that David, the embodiment of Israel's new social power and new monarchic history, is not adequately committed to the Torah and perhaps does not fully understand the claims of the massive decree of 2 Sam 7:1–17. The narrative traces in an artistic and well-paced manner the several attempts at cover-up by David, until the voice of the prophet is sounded. The move from artistic delight in chapter 11 to theological clarity in chapter 12 is unmistakable, a move not unlike that from Genesis 2 to Genesis 3. The possibilities facing this powerful, gifted man are resolved in terms of prophetic judgment and covenantal curse.

This text is important because it marks a transition in the portrayal of David and seems to set in motion the destructive events that accompany the transition in power. From this moment on, the monarchy is a scarred social reality in Israel and will continue to be so, until its end.

**7. 2 Sam 22:2–51.** This poem has already been mentioned in relation to the canonical position of 1 Sam 2:1–10. This Davidic hymn of praise belongs to the general, familiar liturgic corpus of royal songs as

attested by Psalm 18 in the Psalter. The Psalm refers the king's success and well-being completely to the fidelity and power of Yahweh, and claims nothing for the king himself.

The placement of the Psalm in this narrative gives it a quite specific function. While David in both "The Rise" and "The Succession" takes a great deal of initiative and is the key agent, this Psalm acknowledges precisely that the reality of history is found in Yahweh's action. It is as though this Psalm is now used to acknowledge the theonomous cast of life, even of royal life, as it is anticipated in 1 Sam 2:1–10.

If one traces the contours of the entire story of Samuel through this set of texts (1 Sam 2:1–10; 8:11–17; 12:1–25; 16:1–13; 2 Sam 7:1–17; 11–12; 22), one sees that the juxtaposition of human power and divine authority is the pervasive issue.

The books of Samuel are Israel's subtle effort to resolve this question in a theologically sensitive fashion that neither concedes too much nor claims too much. History is known to be an arena of human freedom and responsibility, of divine authority and governance. David in his restlessness and fidelity is the carrier of that troublesome settlement which never stays finally settled.

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**SANBALLAT** (PERSON) [Heb *,sanballaṭ* (סַנְבַלַּט)]. An individual whose name means "Sin (the moon-god) gives life" (cf. Akk *sin-uballiṭ*). He is mentioned in Neh 2:10, 19; 3:33—Eng 4:1; 4:1—Eng 4:7; 6:1, 2, 5, 12, 14; and 13:28 as the leading figure in the opposition which Nehemiah encountered in his rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, and in the Aramaic documents from Elephantine as the "governor of Samaria" (*paḥat šmryn;* cf. *CAP,* 30:29). There are also references to a Sanballat in the Samaria Papyri

from Wadi ed-Daliyeh and in Josephus *Ant* 11, though the precise relationship of these to the character in Nehemiah is disputed (see below).

Nothing is known for certain of his origins and background. Because of his foreign name, it is generally believed that he was a descendant of one of the settlers whom the Assyrians deported to Samaria after the fall of the northern kingdom of Israel in 721 B.C. (cf. 2 Kgs 17:24–41; Ezra 4:2, 10; see most recently Zadok 1985:569–70). While this is not at all unlikely, it must nevertheless be remembered that it was by no means unusual for Jews (and therefore presumably descendants of the inhabitants of the old N kingdom also) to adopt Babylonian names at this time (e.g., Zerubbabel). At any rate, he gave his sons Yahwistic names (Delaiah and Shelemiah; *CAP*, 30.29), suggesting that he regarded himself as an adherent of the Israelite cult.

Instead of giving Sanballat a title, Nehemiah regularly calls him "the Horonite," again a designation of uncertain significance. Among the main proposals are (1) that he came from, or was a resident of, either upper or lower Beth-horon (Josh 16:3, 5), some five miles N of Jerusalem. Because of its strategic position, Zadok has maintained that it is not unreasonable to assume that this might have been an administrative center near the SW border of the province of Samaria, and he further points to parallels for designating hostile rulers in this manner. The absence of *bêt* from the designation is no problem in view of the analogy with *happalṭî*, "the Paltite" (2 Sam 23:26), generally assumed to come from *bêt peleṭ*, "the house of Pelet" (Josh 15:27). It has been argued against this view that we expect some term of abuse here to parallel that for "Tobiah the Ammonite," and to explain why Nehemiah preferred this designation to that of "governor of Samaria." Both points carry some weight, but they are not sufficiently conclusive to eliminate this possibility. It remains the most probable explanation, and is certainly the most widely held view; cf. Torrey 1928; Rudolph *Esra und Nehemia* HAT; and Rowley 1963b: 246. (2) In response to the difficulties just mentioned, other scholars (most recently Kellermann 1967:167) link the name with Horonaim in Moab (cf. Isa 15:5; Jer 48:3). This would make Sanballat a Moabite, just as Tobiah was an Ammonite, consequently excluding both from "the assembly of God"; cf. Neh 13:1–3 with Deut 23:4–7—vv 3–6. Nehemiah's action in 13:28 also implies that Sanballat was of foreign origin, although for Nehemiah that might have applied to any non-Judahite and especially to the possible descendant of an originally foreign settler. While this proposal has obvious attractions, it fails to explain why Sanballat was not simply called "the Moabite." Would contemporary readers have readily understood the allusion? In addition, Zadok objects that we should expect retention of the *m* suffix in a gentilic. (3) Other less plausible suggestions include revocalizing to *heḥārānî* and so linking Sanballat with Harran in Mesopotamia, a center for the worship of the god Sin (Feigin 1926–27 and Galling *Chronik, Esra, Nehemia* ATD), associating him with Hawan, E of Galilee (Kraeling *BMAP*, 107–8) or even that he was a devotee of the god Horon (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 183).

It would seem from the use of the description "the Horonite" that Sanballat was the first in his family to act as governor of Samaria, it being known now that he was followed in this office by his direct descendants through four generations until the start of the Hellenistic rule (see below). It is possible, therefore, that his appointment reflects part of an administrative "shake-up" in the W of the Persian Empire. This would have been due to an attempt by the Persians to reassert their control of the region after some fifteen years of turbulence, starting with the Egyptian revolt, which lasted for several years from 460 B.C. on, and continuing with the revolt of the W satrapies under the leadership of Megabyzos in ca. 449 B.C. (cf. Williamson fc.) From the Persian point of view, Nehemiah's appointment a few years later (445 B.C.) may reflect part of the same policy.

At any rate, by the time Nehemiah arrived in Jerusalem Sanballat was clearly the dominant partner in a loose federation of neighboring provincial leaders (cf. especially Neh 4:1—Eng v 7). In the light of Nehemiah's highly partisan account of events, we can only speculate as to the motives for Sanballat's determined, but ultimately unsuccessful, opposition to Nehemiah's mission. In an influential article, Alt (1934 = *KlSchr* 2:316–37) argued that until this time Judah was included within the province of Samaria and that his opposition was thus due to pique at the diminution in his sphere of influence. While this theory still has eminent adherents, it has attracted increasing criticism in recent years in view of a

reexamination of the biblical data and fresh epigraphical data (for a survey and evaluation, cf. Williamson 1988) so that it becomes necessary to propose alternative reasons. One attractive speculation is that following the debacle of the Jews' slightly earlier attempt to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem (recounted out of its chronological setting in Ezra 4:8–23, on which cf. Rowley 1963a) Judah was placed temporarily under the supervision of Samaria, with Tobiah (on this view a subordinate of Sanballat) acting as a caretaker administrator in Jerusalem until such time as Artaxerxes could find a reliable replacement. This would at least explain why Tobiah had close ties with some of the population in Jerusalem (Neh 6:17–19; 13:4–9). If this were the case Sanballat may have regarded Nehemiah's appointment as a personal slight.

Broader commercial and political considerations no doubt also played a part and may have been used by Sanballat to justify his opposition to Nehemiah among his associates if not to the imperial court itself. It seems certain that between the landed classes and those who had not returned from exile of both provinces there was a good deal of trade and social interaction (see, for example, Neh 5:8; 6:17–19; 13:4–9, 15–28), while if our earlier speculation about Tobiah is correct there would also have been excellent relations between Judah and the neighboring provinces. All this, Sanballat would have reasonably supposed, would have been very much to the liking of the imperial authorities. Nehemiah's policy of pursuing a rigid isolation of Judah from all outsiders, typified by his rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem, would have been regarded as detrimental to the stability of the region, and it would not have been difficult even to represent it as treasonable (cf. Neh 2:19; 6:6–7). In such circumstances Sanballat's personal opposition to Nehemiah may readily be understood.

We have little other information about Sanballat the Horonite except that by the year 408 B.C. he was still in office but had delegated effective power to his two sons, Delaiah and Shelemiah, presumably because of his advanced age (cf. *CAP*, 30:29). Finds of papyri and seals from the Wadi ed-Daliyeh, however, have revealed more information about his descendants, who continued to hold the office of governor, and at least one who was also called Sanballat. According to Cross (1966:204), they show that a Sanballat (II) became governor sometime early in the 4th century B.C.E., and that he was therefore probably the son of Delaiah and so the grandson of Sanballat the Horonite. They further refer to a *yšʿyhw* (or *ydʿyhw;* the name is damaged and therefore the precise reconstruction is hypothetical) and a Hananiah, both sons of Sanballat II and both governors after him. Because Josephus refers to a Sanballat at the start of Hellenistic rule, and because the practice of papponymy (naming a child after his paternal grandfather) was not uncommon at this period, Cross further suggests that Hananiah may have been succeeded by a Sanballat III.

While nothing is known of these men, the reconstruction is of considerable significance because of the light it may shed on the account in Josephus *Ant* 11.306–12 concerning the founding of the Samaritan temple. According to this source, Manasseh, a brother of the Jerusalem high priest Jaddua, was married to Nikaso, a daughter of Sanballat. When "the elders of Jerusalem" obliged Manasseh to leave Jerusalem rather than divorce his wife, he found consolation in that his father-in-law had a temple built for him on Mt. Gerizim. All this took place at the time of Darius before the advance of Alexander the Great.

There is a somewhat similar account of this in Neh 13:28, which states, "Now one of the sons of Jehoiada, son of Eliashib, the high priest, was a son-in-law of Sanballat the Horonite, so I (Nehemiah) banished him from my presence." Many earlier scholars thought that the coincidence between these two accounts was too great for them both to be true and therefore concluded that Josephus had fabricated his account from the incident in Nehemiah and dated it a century later. Cross, however, has suggested that the probability that there was a Sanballat III in Samaria puts the issue in a new light and that it is therefore no longer reasonable to doubt the essential accuracy of Josephus' account. We should reckon with the possibility of repeated intermarriage between the leading families of Jerusalem and Samaria (1966:202–5; 1975:5–6).

In assessing this proposal, several points need to be remembered. First, the fact that the Samaria Papyri show that there was a Sanballat II as governor may make plausible the suggestion that there was also a Sanballat III at the end of the Persian period. Nevertheless, this remains conjectural, the only direct evidence for it being the account in Josephus, and concerning the latter many other problems still remain.

Secondly, therefore, with regard to Josephus it must be remembered that he clearly made the impossible identification of the Sanballat of his account with the enemy of Nehemiah (cf. *Ant* 11.302). Thirdly, we also now know that Josephus was confused about the chronology of the last century of Persian rule and so reduced the period by two whole generations (cf. Williamson 1977); it is therefore likely that he regarded his account as an alternative version of Neh 13:28, and this is reinforced by the fact that he omitted a parallel reference at the point where the story should appear in his retelling of the career of Nehemiah (cf. *Ant* 11.182). Finally, there are many internal incoherences in Josephus' story when taken as a whole. These have been frequently rehearsed (e.g., by Rowley 1963b and Mowinckel 1964:104–18), and the recent discoveries and discussions have done nothing to remove them. It is clear that the narrative of Josephus cannot simply be accepted at face value (cf. Grabbe 1987), and the most probable view remains that which sees in Josephus a garbled variant of Neh 13:28, even if he himself derived it from some other source, subsequently lost to us (cf. Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 401).

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H. G. M. WILLIAMSON

**SANCTUARIES.** See TEMPLES AND SANCTUARIES.

**SANHEDRIN.** The sanhedrin in Jerusalem, as it appears in the gospels, Josephus, and rabbinic literature, has been understood alternately as the high priests' political council, the highest legislative body in Jewish Palestine, the supreme judicial court, the grand jury for important cases, the council of the Pharisaic school, and the final court of appeals in deciding halakic questions. Even the number of assemblies properly called "the sanhedrin" has been debated.

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A. Introduction
B. Meanings of "Sanhedrin"
C. Josephus
D. New Testament
E. Origin and Development
F. Rabbinic Literature
G. Leadership Bodies in Palestine
H. Theories
I. Synthesis


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**A. Introduction**

The confusion concerning the number and character of the sanhedrin(s) is related to uncertainty about the structure and leadership of 1st century Jewish society in Palestine. The biblical Hebrew terms for

leadership groups (*sôd; ʿêdâ*), and the later Hebrew term *bêt dîn,* give no clear indication of the composition, jurisdiction, or powers of the assemblies so designated. Likewise, the Greek political terminology adopted as words for Jewish governing bodies, especially *boulē, gerousia, symboulion, synedria,* and *synedrion* (all translated "council" in RSV), is general and imprecisely used.

Most theories of the sanhedrin have been developed with seriously flawed methods or assumptions. Many scholars have made uncritical use of the sources, especially rabbinic literature, treating every statement as historically reliable, with the result that very diverse and often irreconcilable sources have been harmonized to produce hypothetical and improbable legislative and judicial bodies. The various sanhedrins and other bodies mentioned in the texts must be understood as part of the whole political and social structure of Palestinian Judaism, set within a larger Hellenistic or Roman empire.

Jewish leadership underwent many organizational changes in response to the imperatives of outside powers and the changing balance of power within. The membership, leadership, powers, and functions of the Jerusalem Sanhedrin and other councils, regional assemblies, and courts varied with the strength of external rulers, such as the Romans, and with internal leaders, such as Alexander Jannaeus and Herod. Consequently, neither the sanhedrin nor any other institution can be treated as unchanging and continuous.

The theory of two sanhedrins, one political, led by the high priest and concerned with secular matters, and the other religious, dominated by the Pharisees and concerned with halakic matters, is based on a modern and artificial separation of religion and state, on an unhistorical retrojection of the 2d- and 3d-century rabbinic academies and courts on the Second Temple sanhedrin, and on an exaggeration of the Pharisees' role and power in Jewish society. Religion was so thoroughly embedded in political society that any ruling body had to deal with political, religious, legislative, and judicial issues. The laws which governed Jewish society derived from the Bible as interpreted through later laws and custom. Ritual, civil, and criminal law, moral imperative and social mores were inextricably intertwined. The struggle to control or influence this Jewish way of life fills the pages of all the sources. It is likely that there were many assemblies and councils attached to various Jewish groups, but only one supreme council in Jerusalem, made up of the most powerful and influential leaders at any given time.

**B. Meanings of "Sanhedrin"**

The Greek word *synedrion,* "sanhedrin," literally a "sitting down with," is widely attested in Greek literature, Ptolemaic Egypt, and elsewhere. It is one of a number of general words for meetings and assemblies. It is used of the meetings of city councils, the Areopagus council in Athens, meetings of representatives of allied cities, the assembly of the Roman senate, and meetings of high officials. In later Hellenistic Greek, *synedrion* denotes various kinds of law courts and this is the sense given the term in the NT and Mishnah (*HJP²* 2:205). In the Roman period it was used of provincial assemblies (Kennard 1962), a usage which also fits Josephus and the NT. Finally, it is used for the councils of smaller, less official groups such as private associations and boards of trade (Hoenig 1953:3–11; Mantel *IDBSup,* 784).

**C. Josephus**

Josephus uses the term "sanhedrin" in its several meanings, but only when writing of the Roman period. The five districts into which the Roman governor Gabinius divided Palestine in 57 B.C.E. are called sanhedrins in the *Antiquities* (14.5.4 §91), but synods in the *Jewish War* (1.8.5 §170), an indication that the terms were not technical and fixed. These sanhedrins were regional assemblies of traditional leaders whose primary responsibility was tax collection and civil order in their districts (Kennard 1962). The many councils of family, friends, and officials summoned by Herod to settle disputes within his family (e.g., *JW* 1.27.1 §537) are called sanhedrins. These ad hoc bodies both advised Herod and rendered judgment concerning his adversaries' culpability (subject to his approval). "Sanhedrin" is used for other ad hoc meetings of advisors, such as Titus' meeting with his officers during the siege of Jerusalem (*JW* 6.4.3 §243) and Josephus' strategy sessions with his friends in Galilee (*Life* §368). It is also used for meetings of permanent bodies, such as the Roman senate (*JW* 2.2.4 §25). It is not certain that the council of leaders in Jerusalem, headed by the high priest Hyrcanus, which put Herod on trial (*Ant* 14.9.3 §167 ff.) and the group of Jerusalem leaders directing the initial stages of the war against Rome (*Life* §62) were

a permanent assembly of Jewish leaders. They may have been ad hoc gatherings for specific purposes. A sanhedrin (nature not specified) was convened in Jerusalem by Agrippa II, at the request of the Levites, to grant them permission to wear linen robes like those of the priests (*Ant* 20.9.6 §216–17).

The evidence from Josephus shows that the term "sanhedrin" did not refer exclusively to a fixed assembly of the highest Jewish leaders in Jerusalem, nor does it reveal the nature of that body unequivocally. "Sanhedrin" was used in a variety of nontechnical senses to refer to legislative, judicial, and advisory bodies assembled by rulers. Josephus may refer to the sanhedrin under Hyrcanus as a permanently organized judicial body, but it is not clear that the sanhedrin which directed the early stages of the war against Rome was that same permanent body. When the Levites wished to wear linen robes, they requested that Agrippa convene *a* sanhedrin, not *the* sanhedrin. It is very probable that the leading citizens of Jerusalem, priests and nonpriests, had a permanent city council which had power or influence over Judea and the rest of Palestine, depending on political circumstances. Josephus does not give the technical name for this body consistently, nor does he describe its membership or powers, perhaps because they varied greatly over time. Most probably the powerful social leaders at any time were members of it. The functions of this council most probably covered whatever was important to society, including legislative, judicial, temple, and civil matters.

The highest council or senate of a Hellenistic-Roman city was often called the *boulē,* and some scholars have tried to separate the Jerusalem political *boulē* from the Pharisaic sanhedrin (or in the case of Rivkin, vice versa). However, Josephus' use of the term *boulē* is as varied as his use of sanhedrin. He uses it often for the Roman senate (*Ant* 18–19) and in its related meanings of "plan, policy." He uses it occasionally for the supreme council of cities and peoples, for example, Tiberias' council of 600 (*JW* 2.21.10 §639–41), Antioch's city council (*JW* 7.5.2 §107) and the Samaritans' supreme council (*Ant* 18.4.8 §88). He also speaks occasionally of a council in Jerusalem: the chief priests and council (*JW* 2.15.6 §331), the priests with the powerful citizens and the council (*JW* 2.16.2 §336), the secretary of the council (*JW* 5.13.1 §532), and leaders, council, and people of Jerusalem (addressed in a letter by Claudius) (*Ant* 20.1.2 §11). Since the council is usually mentioned alongside the leading citizens, such as the chief priests, it seems to refer to a body larger than and advisory to the rulers. However, Josephus does not use the term with a specific technical meaning nor does he relate it to sanhedrin. (The use of *koinon* for city and provincial assemblies is relevant here also.) In general, *boulē* refers to a permanent governing body in a city which meets regularly. Since Jerusalem was not a Hellenistic city in the technical sense (Tcherikover 1964), the Jerusalem *boulē* or sanhedrin was not an independent governing body, but probably a variable assembly (or series of assemblies) of leading citizens, subject to the wishes of those in power and the needs of the society at different periods and called by different names by Josephus and the other sources.

**D. New Testament**

The Greek term *synedrion* has a general and specific use in the NT. In its general meaning it refers to local courts or councils which keep order and administer punishment (Matt 5:22; 10:17; Mark 13:9). Most often sanhedrin refers to the supreme council in Jerusalem which acts as a judicial court, as the political link to the Roman governor, and as the guardian of public order. The high priest presided over this sanhedrin, and its members included the chief priests, elders, scribes, and other members, presumably leading citizens (Mark 15:1). The Pharisees are not active in Jerusalem in the Synoptic Gospels nor, according to the primitive passion accounts, are they members of the sanhedrin. (John's claim that the Pharisees along with the chief priests summoned the sanhedrin [11:47] is historically unreliable because John turns all Jesus' non-priestly adversaries into Pharisees. Luke puts Pharisees in the sanhedrin in Acts.) In Mark and Matthew the sanhedrin condemns Jesus to death (Mark 14:64; Matt 26:66), but then must approach the Roman governor to have Jesus executed. In Luke no formal condemnation is made before the governor is approached (22:71). John attributes a political role and motive to the sanhedrin, which fears that Jesus will cause unrest and stimulate the Romans to destroy the nation (11:48–50). Luke, a gentile Christian, describes the sanhedrin as if it were a typical Hellenistic-Roman city council: "The elders-council [*presbyterion*] of the people gathered together, both chief priests and scribes, and led him away to their sanhedrin" (22:66). The chief priests and scribes made up the council of elders, and they

plus other citizens made up the sanhedrin or larger assembly. Note that Luke refers to it as "their," not "the" sanhedrin, implying that every city and people had some sort of assembly. In the case of Jesus the sanhedrin is composed of the leaders of the Jews, takes action against Jesus to preserve public order, uses its judicial power to condemn his teaching and activities, and represents the nation before the Roman administration.

In Acts the sanhedrin functions as it does in the gospels, guarding community order against the early Jerusalem community, meting out punishment to them, keeping order in the Temple (chaps. 4–6; 23), and representing the nation to the Roman authorities (22:30). Luke portrays the sanhedrin as composed of Sadducees and Pharisees, including Gamaliel (5:34), and led by the high priest (5:21). It controls temple officials, guards, and a prison, and thus is a typical Hellenistic-Roman regional or city council charged with the deliberative, judicial, and ritual tasks necessary for social order and efficient administration.

Because the condemnation of Jesus by the sanhedrin has been used as an excuse for anti-Semitism, many controversies have arisen concerning the nature of the Jewish judicial process against Jesus and the authority ultimately responsible for his death. Such controversies are misdirected. The regional leaders of the Jewish community, meeting in an assembly (sanhedrin or *boulē*), were held responsible for keeping order in their society by the Romans. In the case of Jesus, and in many other similar cases, they exercised their authority with the assistance of the Roman government in a normal way by neutralizing a troublesome teacher and threat to public order.

**E. Origin and Development**

Both 1st-century Greek sources (Josephus and the NT), which mention the Jerusalem sanhedrin in a Jewish context, assign it to the Roman period and attribute it to the usual range of legislative, judicial, and executive tasks found in sanhedrins, councils, and assemblies elsewhere. Josephus refers to a supreme council of Jewish authorities in Jerusalem, but does not explain its composition, exact functions, or place within Jewish government, probably because all of these changed frequently according to political circumstances and because the presence of such an aristocratic council was normal and presumed. The NT writers see the sanhedrin as an opponent of Jesus and his movement, and assign it a membership and functions to fit that role. Generally, the NT agrees with Josephus' perceptions of the sanhedrin in Jerusalem as a central council of the highest leaders with broad powers.

The usage of the term "sanhedrin" for Jewish assemblies is attested only in the Roman period and may reflect Roman usage of the term for regional assemblies (Kennard 1962; Schürer *HJP²* 2:205). Another less probable suggestion is that the use of the term "sanhedrin" for the council derived from Ptolemaic Egypt during the 3d century where sanhedrins were high councils and courts (Mantel 1961:786). It is very likely that the presence of such a council, under other names, in varied forms and with shifting functions, goes far back into Jewish history.

**F. Rabbinic Literature**

Rabbinic literature uses "court" *(bêt dîn)* often and "sanhedrin" relatively infrequently for assemblies which varied in size, composition, location, and function. Because the literature does not provide a coherent and consistent account of Jewish judicial and legal institutions, conflicting theories of the sanhedrins differ in their assessment of the historical reliability of sources and individual texts, in schemes for arranging the fragments of conflicting information into an intelligible whole, in assumptions about the roles and power of the Pharisaic organization in society and in the sanhedrin, and in their understanding of the social and political institutions and relationships which bound Jewish society together. Since the dozens of pertinent rabbinic texts derive from Palestine and Babylon over several centuries, emphasis will be placed on the Mishnah, which is the earliest and most subject to historical control. Special attention will be given to the Great Sanhedrin/Court, made up of seventy-one members, which met in the Chamber of Hewn Stone on the Temple Mount. Parallels from the Bible and Josephus suggest that supreme councils traditionally consisted of seventy to seventy-two members (Schürer *HJP²* 2:210–11).

The Mishnah uses the word "sanhedrin" in a variety of senses. Tractate *Sanhedrin* is concerned with judicial courts, especially those which try capital cases, but for the most part uses the term "court" *(bêt*

*dîn),* not "sanhedrin." A number of overlapping uses of these two terms suggest that they are used as equivalents in the Mishnah (*Sanh.* 1.5 and *Šebu.* 2.2; *Sanh.* 11.2 and *Mid.* 5.4; cf. Mantel 1961:1). Attempts to show that the two words refer to separate institutions or derive from separate eras (Zeitlin 1942; Rivkin 1975) do not explain either Josephus' or the rabbinic usage. The term "sanhedrin" is used for bodies appointed for the tribes by the courts of seventy-one, for the Great Sanhedrin of seventy-one itself as well as for lesser ones of twenty-three (*m. Sanh.* 1.5–6), for the judicial court (size not stated, but probably the court of seventy-one) which sat in a half-circle (*m. Sanh.* 4.3), for a judicial court which has competence to try capital and other cases (*m. Mak.* 1.9–10), for a council of seventy-one with competence over expanding the temple (*m. Šebu.* 5.4) and finally, for the Great Sanhedrin of Israel, housed in the Chamber of Hewn Stone, which used to judge whether priests had blemishes (*m. Mid.* 5.4). Most theories of the sanhedrin attempt to sort these functions into categories and assign them to one or more legislative, religious, or judicial bodies, including the court of the priests, the kings' council, and the like.

"Court" *(bêt dîn)* is the normal mishnaic word for a judicial court and also for a quasi-legislative body which decides the meaning of the law and issues decrees and laws based on Biblical and traditional law (Mantel 1961:64, 80–85, 227–35). *M. Sanhedrin* (1.1–6; 3.1) defines the competences of courts with three, twenty-three, and seventy-one judges. The rabbis envisioned courts in every city and a sanhedrin (of twenty-three) with power to try capital cases in any city with 120 men. In Jerusalem, according to the mishnaic system, there were three courts at the temple, in the gate to the Temple Mount, the gate to the Temple Court, and the Chamber of Hewn Stone (*m. Sanh.* 11.2). The center of the legal system was the Great Court of seventy-one members which met in the Chamber of Hewn Stone in Jerusalem. It tried tribes, false prophets, and high priests; sent the people forth to voluntary wars; approved additions to Jerusalem and the temple; set up tribal sanhedrins; and declared cities apostate (*m. Sanh.* 1.5–6). It also was the final court of appeals concerning the legitimacy of laws (11.2), and it executed rebellious elders (11.4). It had to be composed of Israelites with pure descent (*m. Qidd.* 4.5) and in the rabbinic ideal all were scholars (*m. Sanh.* 4.4). Most interpretations of rabbinic literature envision a great court or sanhedrin presided over by the rabbinic patriarch *(nāśî),* dominated in the 1st century at least by Pharisees and in control of the laws and activities of the priests.

The legal system set forth in *m. Sanhedrin* and elsewhere is an ideal which does not describe the pre-70 sanhedrin. Many of the competencies of the Great Court in Jerusalem are drawn from the monarchic period of the Bible and do not fit Jewish society in the Hellenistic-Roman period (*m. Sanh.* 1.5–6). An assembly of scholars deciding how Israelite life should be lived (*m. Sanh.* 4.3) fits the 2d- and 3d-century rabbinic assemblies which guided the rabbinic movement and competed for control of Palestinian Jewish life, not the political ferment of the Roman Empire. Texts concerning the Great Sanhedrin in the Tosefta and Talmuds support and expand the mishnaic presentation of the Sanhedrin as an assembly of scholars ruling Israel under the direction of the heads of the Pharisaic schools before 70 and the patriarchs after 70. When the details of the patriarch's office are gathered from the Talmuds, a complex network of roles and powers devolve upon the patriarch and his office emerges as a dominant institution in Jewish society along with the rabbinic assembly (Mantel 1961:174–253). Such an account fits the Talmudic, not the Second Temple period. Traditional accounts of the Sanhedrin, which make uncritical use of the rabbinic sources (e.g., Mantel 1961), accept isolated statements as historical facts and assemble them into an intricate social edifice, harmonizing conflicts in a very subjective way.

**G. Leadership Bodies in Palestine**

Before treating various theories which seek to reconcile the data on the sanhedrins, they must be put in their Palestinian social context. The city council *(boulē),* the assembly of elders *(gerousia),* the regional assembly of leaders, and the city assembly of all the citizens were common in the Hellenistic-Roman period, as was pointed out above. The bodies served mixed legislative, judicial, and executive functions which varied with time and place. The underlying pattern was common in all periods, though precise terms and powers varied. The notables, traditional leaders, wealthy citizens, hereditary aristocrats, and leading priests in ancient society ruled over the much more numerous lower classes, using a variety of institutional structures and traditional relationships. These leaders existed at every level and were usually

represented by one or more councils like those described as the council *(boulē),* Great Sanhedrin, Great Court, or court of seventy-one. Duties covered anything pertaining to the overall welfare of the state, including political affairs, religious conflicts, disputes over laws and customs, and important judicial cases. For example, in the Maccabean period the council or senate is called a *gerousia* and the members of it are elders (2 Macc 4:44; 1 Macc 12:6; 11:23; 12:35). The term "sanhedrin" comes into use only in the Roman period and probably reflects changing official terminology and distribution of powers. Hoenig's neat division of social functions into the priesthood represented by the court of the priests, the political by the *boulē,* and the interpretation of the law by the Great Sanhedrin is artificial and improbable (Hoenig 1953:163–68), as are two and three sanhedrin theories to be treated below. It seems that there were many city and regional assemblies and courts, controlled by local leaders and guided by traditional law and custom, as well as by the wishes of the political authorities of the day. (See Büchler [1909:21–33] for the presence of lay courts in contrast to the rabbinic vision of scholars as judges.)

The highest assembly and court was in Jerusalem and met on the Temple Mount in the *liškat haggazît,* usually translated as the "Chamber of Hewn Stone." But *gazît* is translated into Greek as *Xystos* and refers to a part of the old western wall of the Temple Mount next to the council chamber *(boulē),* north of the western portico, according to Josephus (*JW* 5.4.2 §144; see Schürer *HJP²* 2:223–24). Thus the high court was not an assembly of scholars meeting inside the inner forecourt (*m. Mid.* 5.4), as imagined by the Mishnah, but the supreme legislative, judicial, and executive body of leading citizens meeting in a council chamber at the center of the city, near the temple.

**H. Theories**

The disagreements between the Greek and rabbinic sources have produced three streams of interpretation. (See Hoenig 1953 and Mantel 1961 for exhaustive reviews of the many positions on the sanhedrin dating back more than 100 years.) Some favor the Greek sources in which the sanhedrin is the supreme political body. This approach is taken here. It interprets the rabbinic sources as retrojecting Talmudic rabbinic institutions onto the 1st century, a contention which dates back at least to Geiger (1857:114–21). Another approach favors the rabbinic sources and harmonizes them with the Greek sources by hypotheses of joint leadership, separate divisions of the sanhedrin, or committees with special powers. The third approach, initiated by Büchler (1902) and defended by Zeitlin, Mantel, and others, acknowledges the contradictions and differences between the Greek and Hebrew sources and proposes two sanhedrins, one political, reflected in the Greek sources, and the other religious, described in the rabbinic sources.

The sanhedrin theories which accept the rabbinic sources as historically reliable vary greatly in details of how the sanhedrin developed, who led it, how it was constituted, who controlled it, what its functions were and its role in the development of Talmudic law. The following are common variations. The sanhedrin is usually treated as an authoritative, continuous institution dating from the time of Ezra, or, more often, the Hellenistic period. In its early period it was led by the high priest and consisted of priests and other community leaders. In the Hasmonean period conflicts between Sadducees, Pharisees, and high priest caused splits in Jewish leadership. Some hold that the Pharisees gained control of the sanhedrin and others the Sadducees; those who hold the two-sanhedrin theory often argue that the Pharisees withdrew from the unified Sanhedrin to form a religious sanhedrin because it was too political and hellenized or because they lost power under Hyrcanus, Jannaeus, or Herod. Many grant to the Pharisees great political power over domestic affairs, the courts, and the temple ritual, and great influence with the people. Those who hold that there was one sanhedrin often argue for a Pharisaic takeover of the sanhedrin, but also for a separate political council (*boulē* or *gerousia*) which advised the high priest or king. For these scholars the leaders of the Pharisaic movement led the unified sanhedrin, whether they had the title *nāśî*ʾ or not. Some proponents of the two-sanhedrin theory envision the Pharisaic religious sanhedrin as the ruling body of the private Pharisaic association, not as a public body with control over Jewish life, and others picture it as a more publicly active and powerful body. Many scholars nuance their one- and two-sanhedrin theories by distinguishing various governmental and religious functions and assigning them not just to the sanhedrin, but to a *gerousia, boulē,* or various types of *bêt dîn.*

Fundamental to any theory of the sanhedrin is the author's stance on the development of Jewish law during the Second Temple period. Traditional interpretations of the rabbinic evidence have attributed many mishnaic and Talmudic laws and practices to the Hasmonean and Roman periods and have assumed popular acceptance of Pharisaic-rabbinic practice among the people. Such views attribute various mishnaic laws and customs to the Hellenistic and Roman periods and postulate the development and collection of laws at an early date. The Pharisees and later the rabbis are pictured as engaged in the labor of studying and developing the law and applying it with authority to Jewish life, so that the halakic, Talmudic way of life was essentially known and accepted in the Second Temple period, though it was only codified at the end of the 2d century C.E. The history of the sanhedrin, then, becomes entwined with the history of the implementation of Pharisaic law and their quest for power over Jewish society.

## I. Synthesis

Both textual and wider historical evidence indicates that there was a central council in Jerusalem, but its membership, structure, and powers are not clear in the sources and probably varied with political circumstances. Typically in the Greco-Roman world, the leading citizens according to heredity, wealth, power, and position met in a body which had legislative, executive, and judicial functions relative to the welfare and control of the whole nation. The sanhedrin in Josephus, the gospels, and some rabbinic texts fits this pattern. In contrast, the rabbinic vision of an assembly of scholars and learned judges, debating points of law and establishing halakic policy for the Jewish community, fits the social and political situation of the Talmudic period; its highly articulated version of Jewish law and life bears the marks of intensive thought and effort in the aftermath of the destruction of the temple. Attribution of such a pattern to the Hellenistic-Roman period is anachronistic.

The theory of two sanhedrins, one political and one religious, during this period is improbable in the extreme because political and religious life were one. However, it is probable that the Pharisees, Sadducees, and many other groups in Jewish society had their own organizations, including executive and legislative and disciplinary assemblies and bodies, and that such groups intermittently exercised influence, and even power, in Jewish political and social life. Whether they called their assemblies by the terms "sanhedrin," *bêt dîn,* or *boulē* is not known. Diversity and change in Palestinian Jewish life must constantly be kept in mind. The forms and structure of government evolved in response to the conflicts among the Hasmoneans, the hegemony of the Romans, and the civil unrest during the Herodian period. The powers of traditional leaders waxed and waned and governmental offices, taxation districts, judicial arrangements, and laws were changed in complex ways only dimly glimpsed in the sources. Traditional laws, local customs, new adaptations, colonial impositions, and sectarian rules vied with one another for control of Jewish society. Only in the relative power vacuum after the two wars with Rome did the rabbinic version of Jewish life take hold and the rabbinic court *(bêt dîn)* become the central and authoritative council of the Jewish community. The mishnaic and Talmudic vision of a community founded on biblical law, understood through the oral Torah, guided by learned scholars and judges, and made holy by fidelity to God and obedience to the sages, only became apparent and accepted after the temple was destroyed and the priesthood failed to retain leadership of the Jewish community. While the temple stood, the traditional priestly and aristocratic leaders met in council to rule, guide, supervise, and judge the Jewish community in its internal and external social relations.

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**SANSANNAH** (PLACE) [Heb *sansannâ* (סַנְסַנָּה)]. The name (literally, "fruit-stalk of date," see also Cant 7:9) suggests that a grove of palm trees was once located in the vicinity of this site. Sansannah has been identified with Kh. esh-Shamsaniyat (M.R. 140083), SW of Kh. Tatrit (Madmannah) in the Negeb plains at the foot of the Hebron hills. This town was in the Negeb administrative district of Judah, according to Josh 15:31, the only place this site is mentioned in the Bible. However, there is some question as to whether the list of Simeonite towns in Josh 19:5 (Hazar-susah) and in 1 Chr 4:31 (Hazar-susim) contain variations of the name Sansannah because their location in these lists appears to be parallel. See discussion in MADMANNAH for a similar problem in interpretation.
HAROLD BRODSKY

**SANT, WADI ED-.** See ELAH, VALLEY OF.

**SAPARDIANS.** See IVVAH.

**SAPH** (PERSON) [Heb *sap* (סַף)]. Var. SIPPAI. Notorious Philistine warrior, slain by one of David's soldiers in a battle at Gob (2 Sam 21:18 = 1 Chr 20:4). His name is written as Saph in 2 Samuel and Sippai (Heb *sippay*) in the parallel account in 1 Chronicles. In 2 Samuel, he is described as one of the descendants of Rapha *(yĕlīdê hārāpâ),* and the account of his demise is placed alongside that of three of his relatives at the hands of David's men (2 Samuel). Saph was killed by Sibbecai the Hushathite, a member of "the Thirty" (1 Chr 11:29). See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS. The location of the battle, Gob, where the death occurred, is unknown. 1 Chronicles has "Gezer" (M.R. 142140) for Gob, a town near the border of Philistia on the coastal plain, a probable location.

Saph and his relatives have been traditionally understood as the last of the Rephaim, the legendary race of giants which inhabited pre-Israelite Canaan. Note that *yĕlīdê hārāpâ* is written *yĕlīdê hārĕpā᾽îm* in 1 Chronicles and this, in turn, is translated *tōn huiōn tōn gigantōn* in the LXX. Some modern scholars have proposed an alternative explanation of the group to which Saph belonged. It is argued that the translation "descendant" for Heb *yālîd* is inaccurate since the word does not primarily indicate membership in a class due to heredity. For example, Willeson concludes that it refers only to children born to slaves in an Israelite household, and can be extended to include slaves dedicated to a deity who was regarded as the head of their social unit (1958a). Moreover he interprets Heb *hārāpâ* as a Greek word *(harpē)* which means "scimitar." Consequently, Saph was a member of a distinguished guild of Philistine soldiers whose emblem was a scimitar (1958b).

L'Heureux (1974) and McCarter reject Willeson's conclusions regarding Heb *hārāpâ* and explain it in terms of other biblical and extrabiblical evidence in which the Rapha/Rephaim can signify underworld deity/deities. It is concluded that Saph belonged to an elite class of Philistine warriors devoted to a deity named Rapha, whose cult center was in Gath (McCarter *II Samuel* AB, 449–50).

Although these theories are stimulating, they do not adequately explain the biblical data. There is insufficient evidence to make firm conclusions about the meaning of *yālîd* (cf. also Josh 15:14 where *yālîd* is parallel to *bēn*). As far as the biblical text is concerned, Saph and his relatives descended (*yullĕdû,* 2 Sam 21:22) from Raph, probably the eponymous ancestor of the Rephaim. The plain language indicates physical descent. Far more satisfying is the explanation that the account of the defeat of the Rephaim in 2 Samuel 21 demonstrates that David and his warriors finished that which Israel had failed to do under Joshua during the Conquest (Hertzberg *Samuel* OTL, 388).

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**SAPPHIRA** (PERSON) [Gk *Sapphira* (Σαπφιρα)]. Convert to Christianity who, along with her husband, Ananias, is miraculously killed after lying to the apostles about turning over all their money (Acts 5).

The name is from the Aramaic *šappīrā*, "good" or "beautiful," and both Aramaic and Greek forms of the name are found on ossuaries discovered near Jerusalem (*BAGD*, 742). Although there is no solid proof that Luke knew Aramaic and used the name for its meaning, Lake (1979:140) believes it is almost certainly historical that Ananias, at least, died suddenly, under circumstances which led the Church to see in his death the punishment of some offense. Lüdemann (1987:71) believes that the parallel to 1 Cor 5:1–8 demonstrates an earlier analogous story and thus an historical kernel for Acts 5:1–11. But neither of these positions nor the general tendency to doubt the historicity of Acts 5:1–11 explain the presence of the name "Sapphira."

Sapphira appears along with her husband, Ananias, in this narrative of miraculous divine judgment which results in sudden death and fear (Weiser 1979:156–58). Noorda (1979:480–81) rightly advises us to take Acts 4:32–5:16 as a unit and to see at the level of literary composition by the final author a mixture of summary style and narrative scenes (4:36–37 on Barnabas; 5:1–11 on Ananias and Sapphira; 5:15–16 on Peter's miraculous power which attracts wide attention). On the other hand, a number of scholars feel that the exact nature of the sin of Ananias and Sapphira is not easily determined.

To be sure, there is a lack of realism in the portrayal of Sapphira. She does not even know of her own husband's death and burial, and Peter and the others sit and wait three hours for her arrival. Moreover, Luke in Acts 5:1–11 (cf. v 14) portrays a woman as he portrays a man, thus suggesting an appropriate equality (O'Toole 1984:118–26). Naturally this also allows him to stress his ideas through repetition. Consequently, Sapphira appears much like Ananias. She knew and had agreed to the unjust use of the money. However, handing over of the money was not part of an entrance rite for Christians as it was at Qumran (Klauck 1982:78). Sapphira does go beyond Ananias in that she tells Peter a lie about the price paid for the field, and both she and Ananias, in trying to deceive Peter, have acted against the Spirit. In fact, Mettayer (1978:419) sees a play of opposites in the text between Spirit and Satan, life and death, truth and lies, love and aggression, necessity and freedom, and confidence and fear. Luke 12:10, "… but he who blasphemes against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven," may well apply here since Ananias and Sapphira were already Christians, and if so, the harshness of the penalty would be explained (Brown 1969:106–8). Peter's prophetic statement is fulfilled when Sapphira falls dead at his feet where Ananias had earlier laid the money. Likewise, the Christians and Barnabas had laid the proceeds from the sale of their properties at the apostles' feet in recognition of their authority (v 10; cf. 4:34, 37; 5:1–2). This irony continues that of Sapphira's ignorance of her husband's fate, despite her previous knowledge of everything else, and of her joining him in the grave (Johnson 1977:204–9). Her miraculous punishment and that of her husband recalls the threatened damnation of Simon (Acts 8:20–23) and the Lord's blinding of Elymas (13:11). Sapphira's death brings great fear on the whole Church and on everyone who hears of the incident. This is the first time Luke uses "church," and that fact, joined with the first verse of the unit (Acts 4:32; "Now the company of those who believed were of one heart and soul, and no one said that any of the things which he possessed were his or her own"), reveals the centrality of community to the pericope. The immediate reference would be to the Jerusalem Church, but more obviously, it would be the whole Christian Church whose very unity was threatened by actions such as that of Sapphira and her husband.

Everyone calls attention to the contrast Barnabas presents by laying the true price of his field at the apostles' feet. But Sapphira would likewise share in the parallel between her husband and Judas; in both cases Satan is the transcendent cause of the sin, the root cause of the sin is "unrighteous mammon," the act is free, somehow property is involved, and the sin is punished with sudden death (Brown 1969:106–9).

Through his story about Sapphira and her husband, Luke reflects on a number of concerns. God and the Spirit work in the community and through Peter (and the apostles), and to sin against the community is to

sin against them and expose oneself to divine judgment. Christians are encouraged to respect this reality: be fearful. Of course, God and the Spirit are opposed to Satan (cf. Acts 26:18). To suggest an appropriate equality, Luke pictures women as he does men, and, finally, he also presents a lesson in the Christian use of wealth.

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ROBERT F. O'TOOLE

## **SARAH** (PERSON) [Heb *śārâ* (שָׂרָה)]. Var. SARAI. The name of two women in the Bible.

**1.** The wife of Abraham and mother of Isaac. In Genesis 11, 12, and 16 Sarah is called Sarai, an older form of the name which in Hebrew means "princess." In Gen 17:15, the Priestly version of God's covenant with Abraham, Sarai's name is changed to Sarah, just as Abram's name becomes Abraham. Name changes signify a new reality. Thus, the barren Sarah is brought into God's covenantal promise as the mother of many nations and kings (17:16). Over and against Hagar and Ishmael, she is the lawful wife who will bear the son through whom God's promises to Abraham will be realized.

The stories of Genesis 12–50 focus on the threefold promise to the patriarch Abraham that he would have land, descendants, and a great name (Gen 12:1–3); how this promise is passed on from father to son becomes the central plot. The narratives about the matriarchs, then, are not primarily about the women themselves as individuals, but rather about their roles as the legitimate or "correct" wife and mother of the male successor. The question of who is the correct wife, mother of the heir, should be seen in the context of marriage and kinship systems of the Israelite society. Marriage alliances here are endogamous, i.e., within one's own tribe or social group. Lines of descent are patrilineal, traced through the father instead of the mother. Sarah and Abraham are closely related endogamously. They are, in fact, siblings, having the same father but different mothers (Gen 20:12). For this reason, Abraham is able to claim that Sarah is his sister as well as his wife in Gen 12:13 and 20:2, 12. See Wander (1981) and Donaldson (1981) regarding the complexities of such endogamous patrilineal relationships, which are used to control women in the self-interests of their men.

Several recent studies show that the biblical stories of the matriarchs follow a literary paradigm whereby the legitimate wife is paired with a rival co-wife who possesses certain characteristics that the other lacks (Brenner 1985; 1986; Cohen 1983). The competition and jealousy between the two are the destructive consequences of the patriarchal and polygamous society where the narratives are played out. Both sides represent incomplete womanhood, shadowy reflections of the other. Because of the asymmetry of both entities, the two women are locked in conflict until one can expel the other. The person of Sarah, therefore, must be discussed in conjunction with her complementary pair, her maid Hagar.

Sarah far outstrips Hagar on several levels. She is Abraham's only beloved wife, a free woman who exerts considerable control over Abraham's household affairs. Her beauty attracts the attention of pharaohs and sheikhs. However, she is barren and her advanced age seems to preclude any hope for a son. Sarah's barrenness is a twofold stigma. On one level, it represents a loss of status in a patriarchal, labor-intensive society with a high mortality rate. Here, a premium is placed on the ability to bear many sons. On another level, it seems to be an impediment to the fulfillment of God's promise of posterity to Abraham.

In contrast to the freeborn Sarah, Hagar is a slave, one with a particularly lower status in the household. Having no immediate relationship to Abraham, she is subject directly to her mistress, Sarah. Even when she is given to Abraham to produce a child, she is accountable to Sarah in the end. Hagar is also a foreigner from Egypt. Her foreignness creates a foreboding tension in the story. If she bears the child of the promise, it will be a product of an exogamous union in conflict with the endogamous practice of the Hebrews. Hagar is also younger than Sarah. Yet, in contrast to Sarah, whose beauty is highlighted, the text is silent about Hagar's appearance. Finally, where Sarah is barren, Hagar is fertile and she ultimately conceives the child that Sarah so desperately wants. The pregnancy and Hagar's disdain toward her mistress evoke in Sarah jealousy and a shocking cruelty. Sarah abuses her subordinate, forcing Hagar to flee, and ultimately engineers her expulsion from the household along with her son, Ishmael.

Both women are victims and victimizers within the patriarchal system in which they live; the narrative structure itself sets limits on the role each character can play (Exum 1985). Sarah is a victim of the patriarchal system which defines her in her capacity to bear sons and of a narrative structure that spotlights the promise of a son. Hagar is a double victim by virtue of her class as well as her sex. She is exploited by a privileged woman for her fertility. Yet she is victimizer in regarding Sarah and her barren condition not with compassion but with contempt. This elicits another round of oppression, whereby Sarah mistreats her servant and ruthlessly cuts her and her son off from the source of their economic well-being. The insinuation of the text is that women cannot collaborate or bond, even when they are engaged in a common goal. They allow their own self-interests to consume them and to compete with and abuse the other. However, the text is silent about the patriarchal society in which this tragic drama is performed, a society which defines for women what is of value and the social role they are to play.

The NT contains several traditions regarding Sarah. In Rom 4:19 her barrenness highlights Abraham's faith in God's promises. Heb 11:11 shifts the focus from Abraham to Sarah's own faith in conceiving in her old age. Nevertheless, Sarah is used to legitimate patriarchy and women's submission to their husbands: 1 Pet 3:6 states that "Sarah obeyed Abraham, calling him lord." Rom 9:6–9 alludes to the conflict between Sarah and Hagar by insisting that not all are children of Abraham because they are his descendants. God chose Isaac over Ishmael to be the heir of God's promises. In Gal 4:21–31, a text with much supersessionist anti-Semitic potential, Hagar allegorically represents those in slavery under the law, "the present Jerusalem." Sarah, on the other hand, is the "Jerusalem above" who is "free," the mother of the Christian community.

**2.** The daughter of Raguel destined to become the wife of Tobias in the book of Tobit. Her seven husbands were killed by the evil demon Asmodeus on their wedding night. There is an interesting parallel between Sarah of the book of Tobit and Sarah of Genesis that emphasizes the conflict between women in a patriarchally defined society. Just as Sarah in Genesis mistreats her maid Hagar when Hagar becomes pregnant and lords it over her mistress, so does Sarah in Tobit apparently beat her maids for chiding her inability to keep a husband (Tob 2:8–9).

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GALE A. YEE

**SARAPH** (PERSON) [Heb *śārāp* (שָׂרָף)]. An individual of the tribe of Judah, identified as a ruler over Moab. The Vg rendering of 1 Chr 4:22 reflects a rabbinic tradition of a partial or total conquest of Moab by the men of Bethlehem.

DAVID CHANNING SMITH

**SARASADAI** (PERSON) [Gk *Sarasadai* (Σαρασαδαι)]. See ZURISHADDAI.

**SARDIS** (PLACE) [Gk *Sardeis* (Σαρδεις)]. A city in Asia Minor located some 100 kms (38°28´N; 28°03´E) inland from Smyrna and Ephesus, most famous in antiquity as the capital of the Lydian empire (ca. 680–ca. 547 B.C.) and for the legendary king Croesus (ca. 560–ca. 547 B.C.). Following the Lydian empire, the city served in turn as the seat of a Persian satrap, as an administrative center for the Seleucids, and as a leading city of the Roman province of Asia. Its only explicit reference in the Bible is in the book of Revelation (Rev 1:11; 3:1, 4).

Obad 20, however, remarks on the exiles of Jerusalem who are in Sepharad (=Sardis: Kraabel 1969:81 n. 2) which introduces the question of the Jewish community in the city. The enlargement of this community may have been encouraged in Seleucid times by Antiochus (Josephus, *Ant* 12.148–49). Josephus also (*Ant* 16.171) records that the Jews in Asia Minor successfully appealed to the Roman emperor Augustus against the decisions of the city administrations, and more specifically relays Caesar's instructions to the proconsul, Gaius Norbanus Flaccus, to the effect that the Jewish community at Sardis is not to be prevented from subscribing funds to be sent to Jerusalem. He also reports (*Ant* 14.235) that the propraetor, Lucius Antonius, informed the Sardians that the Jews were to be allowed to congregate privately in accordance with their own customs. Striking confirmation of the size and influence of the Jewish community in the Roman period may be seen in the large synagogue excavated in the city, now handsomely restored thanks to Turkish and American support.

Originally used as a synagogue in the early 3d century A.D. (though evidently built for a different purpose—perhaps a basilica, since that is the building's shape), this structure underwent several phases of change (Seager in Hanfmann et al. 1983:163), and remained in full operating condition, alongside the burgeoning Christian church, until the devastation wrought by the army of Chosroes II in A.D. 616; at that moment, the city, and the Jewish community with it, vanished. The synagogue is notable for its huge size and its setting. It forms an integral part of a major urban complex in the heart of the city; this complex comprised a gymnasium and a bath building in use in the time of the emperor Lucius Verus (epigraphic evidence), and a *Kaisersaal* (place for the imperial cult: Yegul 1986:6–7). Since synagogues are normally found on or close to the periphery of ancient cities, the location of the Sardis synagogue is unusual, and speaks eloquently of the continuing strength and wealth of the Jewish community.

The building consisted, in its final stage, of a forecourt and a main hall, measuring some 85 m long and 20 m wide. The forecourt was surrounded by a peristyle and adorned by a large central fountain; this fountain was probably open to the general public since there is mention of "the Fountain of the Synagogue" in an epigraphic description of public fountains at Sardis. Three doors gave access to the main, oblong hall (ca. 60 m long) with an apse at the W end, i.e., pointing away from Jerusalem. Two shrines, one of which would have protected the torah, the OT scrolls, were raised on platforms against the E wall of the hall, while a large marble table stood in front of the apse at the W. There was no sign of benches installed along the walls, features thought to be characteristic of synagogues, nor of a staircase or balcony for the separation of the sexes at their devotions. It is thought that the hall could have accommodated up to one thousand people. Inscriptions in Greek from the interior (Robert 1964:37–57) announce dedications made by prominent members and reveal the professions of some (goldsmiths, etc.) and the status of others (city councillors, etc.). Mosaic pavements, some again inscribed as dedications, embellished the floors, while decorative panels of *skoutlosis*, mosaic-like designs made up of shaped fragments of colored marbles and other stones (Robert 1964:40; Seager in Hanfmann et al. 1983: fig. 264, 265), decorated the walls. Several representations of menorahs in or on stone, on brick, metal, and pottery shards, some again with inscriptions, came to light, though there were only a couple of terse inscriptions in Hebrew, among many in Greek. Incorporated in the building are many reused blocks, some whose function had originally been structural, and others of a more religious nature. Notable among these is a rectangular block of the 6th century B.C. sculpted in relief (Hanfmann and Ramage 1978:43–51) with a representation of a temple of Cybele, the goddess herself, and members of her retinue. In the synagogue, this block was used as part of a pier, its imagery invisible. Also of interest are freestanding 6th century

B.C. sculpted stone lions, originally the lions of Cybele, reused in this changed context as the lions of Judah.

The discovery of this building has shed new light on two important topics, the architectural history of the synagogue, and the place of Jewish communities in the Roman cities of Asia. The building is by far the largest example of an ancient synagogue so far discovered, and there are no clear parallels. Inscriptions testify to the existence of other synagogues in W Asia Minor—at Acmonia, Apameia, Aphrodisias, Hierapolis, Laodicea, and Miletus—but only at Priene has another been excavated (Kraabel in Hanfmann et al. 1983:180–82), which is small in size, unobtrusive, and bears no similarity to Sardis. Sardis is unusual for the absence of balcony and benches along walls, and for the presence of the seating in the apse, the marble table opposite the apse, the pair of shrines (where only one is needed), and the *skoutlosis* decoration. In terms of apsidal synagogues, the general arrangement of colonnaded forecourt plus apsidal hall on axis is found sparingly elsewhere (e.g., at Beth Alpha in Israel), but the Sardis evidence suggests that there was no canonical plan either of shape or decoration or placement of features and furnishings, and that flexibility was the main criterion. The size, the setting, and the richness of decoration and paraphernalia bespeak a Jewish community, not only flourishing but entirely at home in the Roman city. The confident statements of the piety of donors reveal the generosity of members of the congregation, while the identification of some as participants in the administration of the city and indeed of the province (one a *procurator,* another a *comes*), speaks to the integration of the Jewish peoples into the Roman populace. The theory of the ghettoization of Jews in Roman cities may now be challenged, at any rate with respect to Sardis; and if the religion of Christ was on the move, at Sardis it prospered alongside of, not in place of, that of the Jews.

Evidence of an early Christian community is found in Rev 1:11 where Sardis is mentioned along with Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Philadelphia, and Laodicea as one of the seven churches of Asia; while Rev 3:1–6 records, at some length, promises and warnings to Christians in Sardis. A well-known bishop of Sardis in the 2d century is Melito, who substantiates accounts of the persecution of Christians recorded in a letter from Antoninus Pius to the council of Asia in A.D. 161 (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, 4.13. 1–8). A prolific writer, Melito produced tracts, treatises, and homilies, of which the *Homily on the Passion* is the only one to survive almost in its entirety (Kraabel 1971:76–85; Bonner 1940). Melito was a Quartodeciman, i.e., he celebrated Easter on the same day as Jews celebrated Passover, on whatever day of the week Passover fell. In spite of this "Judaizing" practice, later pronounced a heresy by the Church, Melito attacked the Jews vigorously as being responsible for the death of Christ; almost a third of the text of the *Homily on the Passion* is preoccupied with the condemnation of "Israel." Yet Melito was faced not only with a prosperous and large Jewish community in the city, but also by other Christian sects and pagan survivals; it is in this context of the struggle for adherents that his outbursts may be explained.

Churches began to be constructed as the Christianization of the city gathered pace following the conversion of Constantine. In the middle years of the 4th century, a large basilican complex was built outside the city walls to the W, and a small chapel was constructed against the SE corner of the Temple of Artemis before A.D. 400. The latter was evidently thought of as hallowing the sanctuary of Artemis and providing a chapel for the large cemetery nearby (Hanfmann et al. 1983:195). The remains of a huge domed basilican structure, unexcavated, lie to the E of the gymnasium–synagogue complex; this is thought to be of Justinianic date and to have been the cathedral of the city.

The late Antique city came to an end with the Persian attack of A.D. 616. Even during the period of obscurity which followed, however, it seems that metropolitan bishops continued to be appointed: we hear of Marinus in A.D. 680 and Euthymius from ca. A.D. 787–805 (Foss 1976:135), and these appointments suggest that Christianity was still a force to be reckoned with. The list of bishops of Sardis continues until the 14th century, the last attested being Gregory (ca. A.D. 1315–1343). In the first half of the 13th century, a new church was built on the site of the earlier basilican complex of the 4th century; this new church was smaller than its predecessor, but vaulted, domed, and richly decorated. It may well prove to have been the final confident gesture of Sardis Christians prior to the Turkish onslaughts in the second half of the century.

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JOHN GRIFFITHS PEDLEY

**SAREA** (PERSON) [Lat *Sarea*]. One of the five scribes whom Ezra was instructed to take with him in restoring the Scriptures (2 Esdr 14:24). See DABRIA for further discussion.
JIN HEE HAN

**SARGON** (PERSON) [Heb *sargôn* (סַרְגּוֹן)]. In Assyrian the name is spelled *Šarru-kīn* and means "legitimate king." It is clearly a throne name adopted by the king at the time of his accession. Three kings in Mesopotamian history bore this name—Sargon of Akkad (ca. 2334–2279 B.C.), Sargon I of Assyria, who ruled about 2000 B.C., and Sargon II (721–705 B.C.). Only the last is mentioned in the Bible (Isa 20:1).

Although Sargon is mentioned by name only once in the Bible, in the aforementioned passage he played a more significant role in biblical history than this might suggest. It was probably this king who led the Israelites into exile after the fall of Samaria, a subject which has been discussed under SHALMANESER. In fact, the transportation of the Israelites and the settlement of new peoples in Israel to replace them probably stretched over several years at the beginning of Sargon's reign.

To understand better Sargon's dealings with Samaria and the kingdom of Israel it is necessary to look at Assyrian records and the whole context of Assyrian history during this period. Sargon came to the throne as the result of a rebellion against his predecessor, Shalmaneser V. It is reasonably certain that Sargon was a usurper and not in the direct Assyrian royal line. Thus the fighting was bitter and lasted for some time. The internal confusion in Assyria was an excellent opportunity for a major rebellion by states in Syria and Palestine against Assyrian control. This rebellion was led by the king of Hamath and included among others Samaria, Arpad, and Damascus. Once Sargon had secured his hold over the Assyrian throne he launched a campaign into Syria to put down the rebellion. He met the allied forces at Qarqar in 720 B.C. and defeated them. The Assyrian army then marched south right through Israel and Judah and down to Gaza, and defeated an Egyptian army on the border of Egypt. In the wake of this successful march, Sargon launched a massive campaign against the various rebel states. The offending rulers were punished and large numbers of people transported to Assyria (*ANET,* 284–85). This punitive operation included Samaria.

As remarked above, Sargon is mentioned by name only once in the Bible (in Isa 20:1). In this passage reference is made to the year in which the commander-in-chief of Sargon, the king of Assyria, attacked and captured Ashdod. Once again we must look to Assyrian records for a fuller understanding of this event. Ashdod, a major city in Philistia, was independent of Assyria in the first part of the reign of Sargon II. According to the royal inscriptions of Sargon, however, the king of Ashdod made an anti-Assyrian alliance with his neighboring rulers. Therefore Sargon launched a campaign against Ashdod (ca. 713 B.C.) and replaced the offending ruler, Aziru, with his brother Ahimetu. The moment the Assyrian troops withdrew, the people of Ashdod rebelled against Ahimetu and replaced him with Yamani. Sargon therefore led a second campaign against Ashdod (712 B.C.). Yamani fled to Egypt, but the Egyptians put him into irons and sent him to Assyria as a goodwill gesture. Sargon laid siege to Ashdod and two other

cities in Philistia. All three cities were captured, their populations were carried off into exile, and they were replaced with peoples from the E (*ANET*, 285–87). For more details about the reign of Sargon, see MESOPOTAMIA, HISTORY (ASSYRIA), and also *CAH* 3/2/22.
A. KIRK GRAYSON

**SARID** (PLACE) [Heb *śārîd* (שָׂרִיד)]. A town in the territory of Zebulun, the starting point for the description of the borders of the territory (Josh 19:10, 12). The town has been identified with Tel Shadud (M.R. 172229), in the N Jezreel Valley. This identification is supported by LXX manuscripts which render *sedoud* for Heb *śārîd* (Aharoni *LBHG*, 117). The site has yielded sherds of the LB and Iron Ages, as well as of later periods (Aharoni *EncMiqr* 8:392).
RAPHAEL GREENBERG

**SAROTHIE** (PERSON) [Gk *sarōthie* (σαρωθιε)]. Forefather of a family included under the heading the "sons of Solomon's servants," which returned with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:34). However, this family is not included in the parallel lists in Ezra 2 and Nehemiah 7.

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CRAIG D. BOWMAN

**SARSECHIM** (PERSON) [Heb *sarsĕkîm* (סַרְסְכִים)]. A Babylonian official, included in the list of officials in Jer 39:3, who participated in the invasion of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.E. However, the list of names in Jer 39:3 is widely held to be confused (cf. Bright *Jeremiah* AB, 243; Thompson *Jeremiah* NICOT, 644; Carroll *Jeremiah* OTL, 691), and it is not certain that Sarsechim is in fact the name of an official, or even an official title. Ward (*IDB* 4:224) has suggested that Sarsechim may be the title "Chief of the Slaves." However, Ward and most modern interpreters understand the word division of the MT to be confused, and Jer 39:3 needs to be reconstructed on the basis of Jer 39:13. The MT consonantal text reads, *nrgl śr-ʿṣr smgr-nbw śr-skym rb-srys nrgl śr-ʿṣr rb-mg*, "Nergal-sharezer, Samgar-nebo, Sarsechim the Rabsaris, Nergal–sharezer the Rabmag, …" However, Jer 39:13 reads "Nebushazban the Rabsaris, Negal-sharezer the Rabmag …" The proposed solution includes both a revocalization of *smgr* to *simmāgir,* a district governed by Nergal-shar-ezer (Bright AB, 243), and a redivision of the text from *smgr-nbw śr-skym* to *nbw śr-skym.* The latter, according to Bright, is a corruption of *nĕbūšazbān śar sārīs*, with Sar-saris the equivalent of Rab-saris. Therefore the reconstructed part of the verse would read as follows: "Nergal-sharezer, prince of Simmagar, the Rab-mag; Nebushazban, the Rab-saris …" See NEBUSHAZBAN.
JOHN M. BRACKE

**SARTA, ʿIZBET.** See ʿIZBET SARTA (M.R. 146167).

**SATAN.** The purpose of this article is to provide a summary of the occurrences and an objective analysis of the various uses of the term "Satan" throughout the Bible, as well as within deuterocanonical, pseudepigraphical, and early rabbinic literature.

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A. In the Old Testament
1. Meaning of Satan
2. Terrestrial Satans
3. Celestial Satans
B. In the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
C. In Rabbinic Sources
D. In the New Testament

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**A. In the Old Testament**

**1. Meaning of Satan.** There is little doubt that the noun *śāṭān* is related to the verb *śāṭan.* The verb occurs only six times (Ps 38:21—Eng 38:20; 71:13; 109:4, 20, 29; Zech 3:1). The problem arises when one attempts to select the best English equivalent for Heb *śāṭan,* especially since *śāṭan* lacks a cognate in any of the Semitic languages. The choice appears to be between "accuse," "slander," and "be an adversary." Thus Ps 38:21—Eng v 20 may be rendered "those who repay me good with evil accuse/slander me when I seek what is good." (LXX's rendering of *śāṭan* by *endieballon* would suggest slander.) Ps 71:13 reads "may my accusers/adversaries/slanderers perish." Similarly, in Ps 109:3, 20, 29 the writer speaks to God about his accusers/slanderers and the duress they have brought into his life. And last of all, and the only occurrence of the verb outside of a lament Psalm, is Zech 3:1, in which the prophet sees *śāṭān* standing at the right hand of Joshua the high priest to "slander/accuse" him.

There is a good deal of overlap in meaning between "accuse" and "slander," but they are not synonyms. To accuse means to find fault and bring charges, falsely or accurately, against another. Thus, an accusation may be valid or inaccurate. By contrast, slander is always false, a statement of claim that is both inaccurate and damaging to the character and reputation of another.

It is clear from the six passages cited above, and from especially the five from the Psalms, that the enemies of the writer are defaming his character and thus are slanderers. What they are saying about the writer is palpably false, and therefore their mouths must be shut, one way or another. But does the fact that *śāṭan* = "to slander" suggest that the noun *śāṭān* should always be translated as "slanderer"? Not necessarily so. There are some instances where a *śāṭān* engages in activities that are patently slanderous (for example, Job 1 and 2). However, there are other places where a *śāṭān* engages, or is urged to engage himself, in activities that are clearly non-slanderous (e.g., 2 Sam 19:23 = Eng 19:22 [Abishai's charge of blasphemy against Shimei is legitimate]; Ps 109:6). On the basis of the actual uses of *śāṭān* (see A.2 and A.3), we would suggest that *śāṭān* means "accuser," with the added nuance of either "adversary" or "slanderer," depending on context.

**2. Terrestrial Satans.** The first human called a *śāṭān* in the OT is David. Philistines rulers, observing the presence of David and his supporters in their camp as they prepared for war with Israel, complained that David would in fact become their "adversary" (1 Sam 29:4), and thus win the favor of his own king, Saul.

The second instance involves Shimei, a Benjaminite who had earlier cursed and humiliated David as the king fled Jerusalem (2 Sam 16:5–14). Subsequently a repentant Shimei sought David's forgiveness (2 Sam 19:19b–21—Eng 19:18b–20). Abishai, a member of David's court, pushed for Shimei's execution for blaspheming the king. David, however, opted for leniency, and branded Abishai (and his brothers) as an "adversary" for even suggesting such a thing (2 Sam 19:23—Eng 19:22). Killing Shimei, while legally permissible, would seriously diminish David's chance of effectively ingratiating himself with the Saulide Benjaminites. David will decide who, if anybody, shall die for any crime.

The third instance involves Solomon. He wrote to Hiram, king of Tyre and friend of his late father, stating that David had been unable to build a temple because he was so preoccupied with war in expanding and defending his empire. Now, however, Solomon is free to pursue that project, for his era is one of relative peace, one in which Solomon is without any kind of an "adversary" (1 Kgs 5:18—Eng 5:4). Clearly *śāṭān* here designates military enemies, those who threaten the well-being of others.

Perhaps Solomon, in speaking of the absence of satans on his borders, spoke prematurely. Some years later Yahweh raised up two satans against Solomon, whose relationship with Yahweh was in disarray. The first was Hadad from Edom (1 Kgs 11:14), and the second was Rezon from Syria (1 Kgs 11:23, 25). Here again, the meaning of *śāṭān* is military rival who lives outside one's empire.

The last reference to a human *śāṭān* is Ps 109:6. The writer of this Psalm has been on the receiving end of verbal and physical abuse. His request to God is that God will, in response to such vilification, "appoint a wicked man against him; let an 'accuser' bring him to trial" (RSV) [understanding many enemies as one individual]. Only with the help of such a prosecutor will the culprits be brought to justice. The verb and preposition for "stand at" are *ʿāmad ʿal,* the same words used to describe the activity of a celestial *śāṭān* against Israel (1 Chr 21:1) and against Joshua the high priest (Zech 3:1). In the latter two *ʿāmad ʿal*

conveys sinister work by a *śāṭān* (inciting one to do something illicit, or falsely condemning someone), while the first example speaks of truthful accusation against one who is clearly in the wrong.

We have included Ps 109:6 under the category of terrestrial satans. Among modern Psalm commentators only Dahood (*Psalms III* AB, 101–102) argues for a celestial *śāṭān* in this passage. He translates the verse "Appoint the Evil One *(rāšāʿ)* against him; and let Satan stand at his right hand." So understood, vv 6–7 would refer to the psalmist's wish for judgment on his enemies after death, while vv 8–19 would be his wish for their terrestrial misfortunes. Dahood's translation, if supportable, would challenge the idea, frequently advanced, that Satan as an Evil One is not an OT teaching, but rather a later development of the intertestamental period.

**3. Celestial Satans.** There are four passages in the OT that talk of a celestial *śāṭān.* These are Num 22:22, 32; Job 1 and 2; Zech 3:1–2; and 1 Chr 21:1. The noun *śāṭān* occurs 26 times in the OT. Seven of these (discussed above) refer to terrestrial satans, thus leaving 19 references to celestial satans. Three of these 19 use *śāṭān* without the definite article (Num 22:22, 32; 1 Chr 21:1). The remaining occurrences in Job 1 and 2 (14 times) and Zech 3:1, 2 employ the noun with the article *(haśśāṭān),* literally "the *satan*." Leaving aside Num 22:22, 32, because there the Angel of Yahweh is a *śāṭān,* we note that 16 of 17 references to the celestial *śāṭān* use the expression "the" *śāṭān.* The lone exception is 1 Chr 21:1. This would seem to indicate that only in 1 Chr 21:1 is *śāṭān* possibly a proper name. In the remaining passages, with the definite article, it is a common noun, to be translated something like "the Accuser." GKC, §126e and Joüon 1923, §137m–o cite this as an instance of the definite article prefixed to a noun when a term normally applying to whole classes is restricted to particular individuals. As such, the definite article could be translated "a certain one of." It is not without significance that consistently the LXX does not transliterate *śāṭān* in Job (or elsewhere) as *ho Satanas* (a term used six times in the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* as a synonym for the diabolical Beliar), but translates with *ho diabolos,* a term used in the LXX for both a celestial being (Zech 3:1–2) and a human adversary (Esth 7:4; 8:1). Even as late as 1 Macc 1:36, around 100–50 B.C., Antiochus IV is referred to as a *diabolon ponēron,* "an evil foe." This shows that *diabolos* needed the adjective *ponēros* to make it clear that the *diabolos* was wicked. Gammie states (1985:18–19), "Instead of having a clear demonic overtone, the choice of translation *ho diabolos* on the contrary probably represents the translator's desire to utilize a term still relatively neutral and not yet associated in the public mind with a leader of forces in opposition to the divine intentions."

The one instance where *śāṭān* describes a celestial figure who is not in any way hostile to God is Num 22:22, 32. The Angel of Yahweh is sent to be a satan to sinning Balaam. The angel performs his task first by blocking the path so that Balaam's ass may not proceed, then by rebuking Balaam. Only when Balaam's eyes are opened does the angel *śāṭān* become visible to Balaam. The angel is both adversary to and accuser of Balaam, and is dispatched on his mission by Yahweh.

It is in the first two chapters of Job that "the satan" *(haśśāṭān)* is most prominent (but that name is not mentioned again after 2:7). The sons of God, i.e., the divine council, present themselves before Yahweh, and the satan is among them. The question arises whether he is with the assembly as a legitimate member or whether he is an intruder. In favor of the latter interpretation is the fact that the satan alone is asked "from where have you come?" But possibly he is a heavenly agent whose responsibilities have taken him to earth, and the question comes not from surprise in the deity at an outsider's presence, but rather from the deity's questioning of the agent's faithful expediting of his chore.

Job 1 and 2 provide the only instance in the OT where God and the *śāṭān* converse with each other, and twice God initiates the dialogue by asking the *śāṭān* a question about his whereabouts (1:7; 2:2). The question answered, God proceeds to bring Job and his impeccable spiritual credentials to the satan's attention (1:8; 2:3). The satan is not impressed. On the contrary, he suggests that Job's motives for serving God are selfish ones; i.e., Job serves God to get what he really wants, which is prosperity. Thus the satan directly impugns Job's motives for service to God and indirectly accuses God of divine patronage (Day 1988:76). The satan's question to God is a thoughtful, legitimate, and profound one: "Does Job fear God for nothing?" To disprove or substantiate that question, God grants to the satan

carefully circumscribed destructive powers (1:12; 2:6). The satan may not act independently, but only with divine permission.

The second reference to an antagonistic celestial *śāṭān* is found in Zech 3:1–2. In the fourth of eight visions the prophet observes Joshua, the high priest, in front of the Angel of Yahweh, and the *śāṭān* standing by his right side to accuse him. It is not clear exactly what the nature of the accusation against Joshua is. Unlike Job's *śāṭān,* Zechariah's *śāṭān* does not talk. But he is rebuked, not by the Angel of Yahweh, but by Yahweh himself. In his rebuke, Yahweh reminds the satan that he has chosen Jerusalem. That Yahweh draws attention to his choice of Jerusalem, and not of Joshua, would seem to indicate that Joshua not only represents himself, but in some way also represents the restored postexilic community. Neither the iniquity of Joshua nor the sins of the Judeans are such that they bar the way to the investiture of the high priest or the forgiveness of the community, much to the dismay of the prosecuting satan.

The third and final appearance of a malevolent celestial *śāṭān* is in the Chronicler's account of David's census of Israel. That version informs the reader that it was *śāṭān* who rose up against Israel and incited David to number his people (1 Chr 21:1). Two items are of special import here. First, this is the only place in the OT where the Hebrew word *śāṭān,* when referring to a celestial diabolical being, is used without the definite article. This has suggested to most commentators that *śāṭān* is here a personal name. GKC §125f. refers to this instance of *śāṭān* (as opposed to *haśśāṭān*) as an illustration of an original appellative that has assumed the character of a real proper name and is therefore used without the article. The passage, however, might as justifiably be translated "and a *śāṭān* stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel."

The second issue focuses on the question of why the account in 2 Samuel 24 attributes the stimulus for David's census to Yahweh (2 Sam 24:1), while the Chronicler attaches blame to a *śāṭān/Satan.* There are three possible explanations for this shift. The first is that the Chronicler was bothered by the attribution of morally questionable activities to Yahweh; i.e., he incited David to take a census, then punished David for doing so. To that end the Chronicler deleted Yahweh's part in the story as a stimulating factor and replaced him with *śāṭān* (Kluger 1967:159). But if the Chronicler was concerned with saving Yahweh's image from tarnish, why did he leave unmolested other stories in which Yahweh was responsible for Rehoboam turning his back on the wise counsel of his advisers (2 Chr 10:15), or in which Yahweh sends a deceiving spirit into the mouths of Ahab's prophets? Closely related to this explanation is the suggestion that the Chronicler downplayed Yahweh's complicity in this event with his substitution of *śāṭān,* primarily because he was concerned to paint as beautiful a picture as possible of the relationship between Yahweh and David, Yahweh's chosen servant (Day 1988:136–37). Accordingly, the Chronicler omitted any reference to Yahweh's arbitrary anger with his people during David's reign and told the story simply as a temptation episode. A third possible explanation is that the contrast between 2 Sam 24:1 and 1 Chr 21:1 (Yahweh/*śāṭān* illustrates a development in how OT thought explains evil. Most of the earlier literature of the OT explained evil in terms of a primary cause (Yahweh). Later OT literature, such as Chronicles, expanded on this by introducing the concept of a secondary cause in its explanation of evil *(śāṭān).*

To summarize, so far we have seen that (the) *śāṭān* is a maligner of character (Job 1 and 2), an accuser of God's servant (Zech 3:1), and a seducer of Israel's royal leader (1 Chr 21:1). Clearly in the OT *śāṭān* (and other demons) is not connected with some primordial realm, but with sin. As Kaufmann (KRI, p. 65) has stated, "Biblical religion was unable to reconcile itself with the idea that there was a power in the universe that defied the authority of God and that could serve as an antigod, the symbol and source of evil. Hence, it strove to transfer evil from the metaphysical realm to the moral realm, to the realm of sin."

**B. In the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha**

Setting aside 1 Chr 21:1 and Ps 109:6, one observes that the earliest evidence for *śāṭān* as a personal name appears in *Jub.* 23:29 and *Assum. Mos.* 10:1, both of which date to the period of the pogroms of Antiochus IV against Jews in Palestine (ca. 168 B.C.). Actually, however, the majority of these deuterocanonical texts refer to other demons by name, but seldom use the name *śāṭān.* For example, in Tobit, one called Asmodeus is the archdemon. He has already slain the seven bridegrooms of Sarah even

before any of those marriages is consummated (Tob 3:8), and only when Asmodeus is exorcized from Sarah by Raphael, the protecting angel, will Sarah be happily married to Tobias (Tob 3:17). Asmodeus may be connected with the Hebrew verb *šāmad,* "to destroy," or possibly even with Aeshma, a demon of violence and wrath in Persian religion. The possible connection of Asmodeus with Hebrew *šāmad* is heightened by the reference to the demon Shimadon in the midrash, *Gen. Rab.* 36. Shimadon is explicable as deriving from *šāmad,* but not from Iranian Aeshma. Additionally there are major philological problems in connecting Asmodeus and Aeshma, as Barr (1985:214–16) has shown. Again, in *1 En.* 6–11 (3d century B.C.), the ringleader of the angels who were punished because of their sexual activity with the daughters of men is called Shemihazah (chap. 6) or Azazel (8:1–2).

In the book of *Jubilees* the name of the devil is primarily Mastema, a Hebrew word *(maśṭēmâ)* that occurs in Hos 9:7, 8 with the meaning "hatred, hostility, enmity." Scattered references to Mastema throughout *Jubilees* (10:1–14; 11:1–5; 19:28) identify him as the chief of evil spirits, who, after the flood, received permission from God for one-tenth of his spirits to expedite his will on humanity. *Jubilees* also tends to attribute to Mastema certain actions of a questionable nature which the OT attributed to Yahweh. For example, *Jub.* 17:16 says it was Mastema who caused Abraham's testing (Gen 22:1), and *Jub.* 4:2 states that it was Mastema who attacked Moses on his way to Egypt (Exod 4:24).

In the Qumran literature *śāṭān* occurs only three times (1QH 4:6; 45:3; 1QSb 1:8), and never as a proper name. Rather, in this literature the leader of the forces of darkness was Belial, i.e., "the Worthless One." This word is also used in the OT in apposition with son (Deut 13:14—Eng 13:13; 1 Sam 2:12), daughter (1 Sam 1:16), man (1 Sam 30:22), witness (Prov 19:28), and counselor (Nah 1:11). In time Belial became a proper name in Qumran and in some other pseudepigraphical writings. In these sources, and even in the NT the name appears mostly as Beliar (2 Cor 6:15). He is the spirit of darkness (*T. Levi* 19:1; 1QM 13:12), who exercises control over the world (1QS 1:18, 24; 2:5, 19; 1QM 14:9; *Mart. Is.* 2:4). He controls evil people (*T. Levi* ul 3:3; *T. Jos.* 7:4; *T. Dan.* 1:7; *T. Benj.* 6:1). Ultimately he will be chained by God's Holy Spirit (*T. Levi* 18:12), and cast into a consuming fire (*T. Jud.* 25:3).

To summarize, it is clear that references to *śāṭān,* either by that name or by a surrogate, are much more extensive in apocryphal/pseudepigraphical literature than in the OT. More than likely, exposure to Persian religion and its Zoroastrian-based dualism provided some of the stimulus for the more pervasive demonology in these Jewish writings. Rather than viewing the world as the canvas on which one God sketched his unique will for his world, the world was now viewed as a battleground fought over by both benevolent and malevolent deities. It is difficult, of course, to trace exactly how this borrowing or influencing worked, or even why such a concept would have appealed to exiled Jews in Mesopotamia. Are there, for example, other Persian religious emphases to which the exiles were attracted besides Iranian dualism, and if so, what were they? The evidence is slim to nonexistent. Books of the OT that would be expected to show most awareness of Persian religion—Nehemiah, for example—are conspicuously silent about it. It is also debatable whether or not the proliferation of demons and the demonizing of the world represents post-biblical Judaism's attempt to come to grips with a world so grim and hostile that not all phenomena could no longer be placed under the umbrella of divine sovereignty. Rather, it may be that the demonizing of the cosmos, as reflected in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, represents the emergence of Israel's quasi-mythology that was widely embraced throughout the OT period. Such ideas, inimical as they were to orthodox monotheism, would have been repressed by the prophets.

**C. In Rabbinic Sources**

Although *śāṭān* does not appear in Genesis 3, later rabbinic sources identified satan with the serpent in Eden (*Soṭa.* 9b; *Sanh.* 29a). He is identified in a more impersonal way with the evil inclination which infects humanity (*B. Bat.* 16a). In a more personal way, he is the source behind God's testing of Abraham (*Sanh.* 89b). Additionally, *śāṭān* is responsible for many of the sins mentioned in the OT. For example, it is *śāṭān* who was responsible for the Israelites worshipping the golden calf because of his lie that Moses would not return from Mount Sinai (*Šabb.* 89a). He is the driving force behind David's sin with Bathsheba (*Sanh.* 107a), and it is he who provokes the gentiles to ridicule Jewish laws, thus weakening

the religious loyalties of the Jews (*Yoma* 67b). The sounding of the horn on the New Year is to confuse *śāṭān* (*Roš. Haš.* 166). Only on the Day of Atonement is *śāṭān* without power. This is suggested by the numeral value of *śāṭān,* 364; i.e., there is one day in the year he is powerless (*Yoma* 20a).

**D. In the New Testament**

The NT also makes frequent references to Satan. He is mentioned by name 35 times. The breakdown of these references is: (a) the Synoptics, 14 times; (b) gospel of John, once; (c) Acts, twice; (d) Epistles (all Pauline and half of which are in the correspondence with Corinth), 10 times; and Revelation, 8 times (5 of which [2:9; 2:13; 2:13; 2:24; 3:9] are in the letters to the churches and not in prophetic portions [chaps. 4–22]). As popular as the designation Satan is, the name *ho diabolos* appears 32 times.

There are additionally a number of titles given to him. For example, while John uses Satan only once (13:27), the preferred Johannine term for Satan is the "prince of this world" (12:31; 14:30; 16:11). This phrase parallels Matthew's "the prince of the demons" and Paul's "the god of this world" (2 Cor 4:4), "the prince of the power of the air" (Eph 2:2), and "rulers of the darkness of this age" (Eph 6:12) (but not "rulers of this age" in 1 Cor 2:6–8, which refers to human rulers [Carr 1976]). A Johannine parallel appears in 1 John 5:19 where the claim is made that the whole world is in the power of the Evil One. These references teach at least a modified dualism which is close to the Qumran picture of a titanic struggle between the Angel of Darkness and the Prince of Light.

John can claim, on the one hand, that Satan has already been judged (John 16:11), and that the prince of the world will be cast out when Jesus is crucified (John 12:31, 32), and on the other hand, that the world is in the power of the Evil One (1 John 5:19). These are not self-contradictory ideas. Rather, they suggest that for John, Jesus' death and resurrection constitute a victory over Satan in principle; yet the implementation of this victory will be gradual, and yet awaits a climactic conclusion.

If there are titles describing Satan's power, there are also a number of titles that describe him pejoratively. He is an enemy (Matt 13:39); the evil one (Matt 13:38); a tempter (Matt 4:3; 1 Thess 3:5); an adversary (1 Pet 5:8); the father of lies (John 8:44); a murderer (John 8:44); a liar (John 8:44); a deceiver (Rev 10:9); an accuser (Rev 10:10); and one disguised as an angel of light (2 Cor 11:14).

Both John 13:27 and Luke 22:3 speak of Satan entering *(eisēlthen ho satanas)* Judas. The same vocabulary is used for the "entering in" of evil spirits in Mark 5:12, 13 and Luke 8:30–32. Compare with this concept the reference in *Mart. Is.* 3:11:"Beliar dwelt in the heart of Manasseh and in the heart of the princes of Judah and Benjamin, and of the eunuchs, and of the king's counselors."

Luke speaks not only of Satan entering Judas, but also of Satan's desire to have Peter, that he may sift him as wheat (Luke 22:31). (Satan's asking permission to "have" Peter is reminiscent of the satan's request to God to remove the protecting hedge around Job.) Jesus, however, is Peter's advocate (Luke 22:32) pleading against Satan the accuser. It is of interest that apart from John 13:27, Satan occurs in the passion narrative only in the Lukan account. Luke speaks of Satan the "enterer" and Satan the "sifter" in his gospel, and speaks of Satan "filling the heart" of Ananias and thus fomenting deception by Ananias in Acts (5:3).

In several ways the NT makes it clear that Satan is not without limitations. First, the intercession of Jesus stalls his designs on Peter (Luke 22:32). Second, he is a fallen being (Luke 10:18). Third, he is judged (John 16:11). Fourth, his power over a person's life may be broken (Acts 26:18). Fifth, God may use Satan to chasten an apostate believer (1 Cor 5:5; 1 Tim 1:20). Sixth, his temptations, however potent, may be overcome and his ruses exposed (Matt 4:1–11, and the only incident in the NT in which any of Satan's words are recorded). Seventh, he may be resisted, just as Jesus resisted him (Eph 4:27; Jas 4:7; 1 Pet 5:8, 9). Eighth, the NT never refers to Satan as simply the prince/ruler (*ho archon*), but as "prince of devils" (Matt 9:34) or "prince of the world" (John 12:31). Ninth, at God's discretion he is bound (Rev 20:2), released (Rev 20:7), and incinerated (Rev 20:10).

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**SATHRABUZANES** (PERSON) [Gk *Sathrabouzanēs* (Σαθραβουζανης)]. An official of the Persian bureaucracy governing the province "Beyond the River." He was among those who wrote Darius, king of Persia concerning the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem by the Jews (1 Esdr 6:3, 7, 27; 7:1). The name "Sathrabuzanes" is clearly a linguistic variant for the Aramaic SHETHAR-BOZENAI, the name used for this official in the parallel text of Ezra (5:3, 6; 6:6, 13).

**SATRAP.** The governor of a province or satrapy of the Achaemenid empire. Herodotus (3.89 ff) informs us that Darius I (521–486 B.C.) reorganized the empire into a total of twenty satrapies and placed a satrap (Old Persian *xsacapaban* = satrap = "protector of the kingdom/kingship") in charge of each province, in order to bring more rigorous method to taxation and control throughout his vast empire.

The satrap, often a close relative of the king, was generally appointed and removed by him. The satrap's court was modeled on that of the great king. Usually a wealthy man in his own right, he regularly spent of his own resources in the service of government while also having command over royal government resources within his satrapy.

Generally the satrap's power of command extended over both civil and military affairs, but in some cases major fortresses and their garrisons were under commanders who reported directly to the Great King. Other means were available to the king for independently monitoring the satrap's activities. The "king's scribes" for example, regularly reported back to the court. There were also officials called "the eyes and ears of the king," who are assumed to have provided the central government with information on events in the provinces.

In the 4th century B.C. some satrapies (most notably in Anatolia) became semi-independent hereditary fiefdoms, with the satrap no longer appointed by the king. Also, as might be expected, from time to time individual satraps or coalitions of satraps rebelled against central authority. In the main, however, the system of provincial organization re-structured under Darius served the empire well for some two centuries. See also PERSIAN EMPIRE.

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**SAUL** (PERSON) [Heb *šāʾûl* (שָׁאוּל)]. Two persons in the Bible bear this name. The first, Saul, son of Kish, became the first king of Israel (1 Samuel 9–31); he is the subject of this entry. The second, Saul of Tarsus, is discussed under the entry on PAUL.

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A. Name and Family Background
B. The Saulide Narratives in Literary Perspective
C. Models of Saul's Role in the History of Israel

1. The Permanent Judge
2. The Self-Appointed Protector
3. The Chieftain
4. The State-Builder

D. History and Saul's Story
1. The Late Iron I Period
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**A. Name and Family Background**

The name Saul is a *Qal* passive participle from the Heb root *š·l,* meaning "the one asked for, requested." It perhaps is an abbreviated name form, because Semitic names frequently contained multiple elements, some of which consisted of a verbal element followed by a divine name. This name occurs elsewhere in the Bible as the name of a purported king of Edom (Gen 36:37); a Simeonite (Gen 46:10); and a Levite (1 Chr 6:9—Eng 6:24. See SHAUL (PERSON). In Assyrian texts, *ša-u-la-nu* occurs (Tallquist 1914:219), and an Aramaic honorary inscription from 3d cent. A.D. Palmyra contains the form *š·yl·* (Ša·îla·); Cooke 1903:283).

Saul the son of Kish was a member of the Benjaminite clan of Matri (1 Sam 10:21). 1 Sam 9:1 traces his ancestry back five generations, from his father Kish, through his grandfather Abiel and forebears Zeror and Becorath, to Aphiah. Saul's choice of Abner as Israel's military commander was based on family solidarity, because Abner's father, Ner, was Saul's paternal uncle. As Saul's wife, Ahinoam the daughter of Ahimaaz bore seven children: five sons and two daughters. According to 1 Sam 14:49, the firstborn child was Merab, a daughter; then Jonathan, the eldest male heir; Ishvi, a son who either died as a youth or is to be identified with Eshbaal; Malchishua, a son; and Michal, a second daughter. 1 Chr 8:33 and 9:39 name Abinadab and Eshbaal as two additional sons, although Eshbaal may be named in 1 Sam 14:49 under the variant name form Ishyo. Merab bore five grandsons (2 Sam 21:8) and Jonathan a single grandson, called variantly Merib-baal (1 Chr 8:34; 9:40) and Mephibosheth (2 Sam 4:4; 9:6, 13; 16:1, 4; 19:25, 26, 31; 21:7). The Saulide family line continued through Jonathan's grandson Micah (1 Chr 8:34–40; 9:40–44). No names of possible granddaughters have been preserved. Saul fathered two additional sons with his concubine Rizpah—Armoni and Mephibosheth (2 Sam 21:8).

**B. The Saulide Narratives in Literary Perspective**

The career of Saul is described in 1 Samuel 8–2 Samuel 1 and is part of the so-called Deuteronomistic History (DH), which includes Deuteronomy–2 Kings. The DH divides its account of Israel's development into five successive periods: the Mosaic period; the occupation of Cisjordan; the period of the Judges; Saul, David, and Solomon (the United Monarchy); and the period of the kings of Israel and Judah *(NDH).* 1 Samuel 9–12 form a concluding subsection to the period of the Judges, which is anticipated by a speech in chap. 8. After narrating Saul's election as king, this section concludes with Samuel's farewell speech in chap. 12. 1 Sam 13:1, with its characteristic Deuteronomistic accession and regnal formula (see below), marks the formal beginning of the new period of the United Monarchy, which ends with the death of Solomon. Thus, Saul's career bridges two of the larger subdivisions within the DH, emphasizing his pivotal position within the ancient scheme.

Various structuring techniques have been used to make the account of Saul's career a coherent, unified narrative. Three main overlapping patterns are discernible. The first is the three-part kingship ritual, consisting of the designation of the candidate as *nāgîd,* "king-elect," through anointing; his testing by performance of a military deed; and his subsequent confirmation as king by coronation upon successful completion of the test. This pattern is used three times within the 1 Samuel narrative: to describe Saul's elevation to kingship (9:1–11:15); to describe the heir-elect Jonathan's rejection as Saul's successor (13:2–14:46); and to describe David's progression to the kingship as Saul's successor (16:13; 30:1–31;

his final coronation is recounted in the succeeding narrative in 2 Sam 2:4; 5:1–6). The repetition of the pattern emphasizes the writer's desire for it to be viewed as normative from the very founding of the monarchy.

The second pattern is the standard regnal account. It consists of an initial accession formula, including the name of the king, his age at accession, and the length of his reign (13:1); an account of some of his accomplishments (13:2–14:46); a summary of his deeds (14:47–48); and a report of his death, burial, and succession (1 Samuel 31; 2 Sam 2:8–11). In the case of Saul's reign, the customary DH reference to the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel (or Judah) does not appear in the summary of deeds, and the final stage does not immediately follow the summary of deeds, as is the pattern. The deviation from the normal sequence seems to have been done by the writer for two reasons: (1) so that he could use Saul's career to depict the consequences a king would face for disobeying the central principle of the pre-existent Horeb covenant, obedience to Yahweh's revealed command; and (2) so he could prepare the way for David's unusual succession to the throne of Israel in place of a legitimate Saulide.

The third pattern divides Saul's career into two segments: his life under Yahweh's "good spirit," and his life under Yahweh's "evil spirit" (16:14). The pattern is closely associated with the previous regnal pattern and shares with it the same purpose. It emphasizes that the king, as Yahweh's anointed, remains in office and in possession of some form of divine spirit throughout his life, but that disobedience to God will result in the king's divine rejection and his inability to continue to serve his nation adequately as God's earthly vice-regent during the remainder of his reign. His loss of the ability to be guided by God's benevolent spirit will inevitably result in his failure to be able to discern the divine will and act appropriately.

An additional structuring device in the Saulide narrative is the theme of David's covenant with Jonathan, the heir-elect to the throne. It complements the use of the three-part kingship ritual pattern, which establishes a progression from Saul's legitimate coronation to David's "legitimate" coronation, after Jonathan's failure to pass the test for coronation. The theme is developed progressively through scenes that alternately center on Jonathan (18:1–5; 19:1–7; 20:1–21:1—Eng 20:1–42; 23:15b–18) and ones that involve David and Saul (16:14–17:58; 18:6–30; 19:8–24; 21:2–23:15a [with other material]; 23:19 onward [with much other material]) (Jobling 1978). It continues into 2 Samuel, in sections depicting David's dealings with Jonathan's son Merib-baal/Mephibosheth (see MERIB-BAAL). The covenant theme stresses Jonathan's immediate acceptance of David as Saul's divinely chosen successor, and Saul's reluctant but gradual acceptance of David's status.

Two of these covenant theme scenes serve the additional and overlapping function of stressing the king's lifelong inviolability, regardless of his stance vis-à-vis God, by progressively intensifying the message through repetition and alteration. David refuses to harm Saul on two separate occasions because he is Yahweh's anointed, who must die naturally, in battle, or by God's own hand (24:1–15; 26:1–11).

Scholars view the nature and extent of source material underlying 1 Samuel 9–31 in different and conflicting ways (cf. Hertzberg *1–2 Samuel* OTL, 130–34; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 18–23; Klein *1 Samuel* WBC, xxx–xxxii). Often, Saul's career is limited to 1 Sam 9:1–15:34. When this is done, the chaps. are generally thought to be based either on the juxtaposition of blocks of material from a pro-monarchic and an anti-monarchic source or to be a collection of individual traditions. In the latter case, the stories are often associated with the sanctuaries of Gilgal, Ramah, and Mizpah, and are generally thought to have already been organized into complexes detailing Saul's career before their incorporation into the DH. In the former case, the two strands are likewise commonly considered to predate the DH. Chaps. 16–31 are frequently thought to be part of a larger, pre-Deuteronomistic narrative called the History of David's Rise, which is thought to span 1 Samuel 15 (or 16)–2 Samuel 5 and to be an early literary attempt to justify David's accession to the Saulide throne (see Grønbaek 1971). The latter understanding is rejected by a small but growing group for varying reasons. One faction attempts to trace within the 27 chapters the so-called Pentateuchal sources "J" and "E" or "J" alone and therefore denies the existence of a separate early literary composition beside these two complexes (i.e. Eissfeldt 1965:271–80; Shulte 1972:105–80; contrast Halpern 1981:149–74, who traces two sources but does not link them to

"J" and "E"). The other faction questions the existence of Israelite historiography at such an early date and sees the themes, structuring patterns, and historical presuppositions within the Saulide narrative to reflect concerns and techniques that are more plausibly associated with the late 7th century (i.e. Van Seters 1983:217; 270; Edelman 1990).

**C. Models of Saul's Role in the History of Israel**

Four conceptions of Saul's political role within Israel have been proposed. All make use of the same biblical and extrabiblical materials, but each assesses the reliability and relevance of the materials differently, thereby yielding divergent views of Saul and his career. Each theory is summarized below using details taken from the discussion of its main proponent. Subsequent modifications to the seminal study that have gained acceptance are included.

**1. The Permanent Judge.** In 1930 A. Alt argued that Saul's leadership represents a transitional stage within Israel's political existence, between pre-monarchic tribal league and nationhood (1967:223–309). Due to the constant threat of Philistine dominion and expansion, the tribes are thought to have united and subsequently "institutionalized" the existing charismatic office of "judge." The latter was to have been a temporary office of military commander which lasted only as long as the immediate crisis that necessitated intertribal leadership. Saul's appointment, by contrast, was a permanent one, intended to cope with the ongoing Philistine threat, even though (according to 1 Sam 11:1–11) the Ammonite siege of Jabesh-gilead led to Saul's elevation to office. It is argued that his only role was to have been that of commander of the tribal levies, and that internal affairs continued to be managed by the older tribal groupings. Saul's authority was limited to military concerns; it was not to have been hereditary; unlike his successor David, Saul was not a true "king." His office is seen to have evolved naturally out of Israel's tribal, nomadic heritage, rather than to have been "borrowed" from the Canaanite state system or the Philistine political system. Saul's introduction of a rudimentary professional army in addition to the tribal levies is seen to be the only institution adopted from the latter systems.

Alt's model of permanent judge is based on the presupposition that the Bible provides a reliable witness to the political situation and institutions of the pre-monarchic period. It is the oldest and most widely accepted understanding of Saul's role. Its most commonly disputed points are the proposed non-hereditary nature of Saul's office and subsequent kingship; and the origin and uniqueness of eventual Israelite kingship—whether it was indeed a unique, native development within tribal Israel, or whether it was modeled after Canaanite city-states or the newly formed neighboring "nation states" of purported tribal origin, like Moab and Ammon.

**2. The Self-Appointed Protector.** The second characterization of Saul is one of a self-proclaimed protector/ruler. It has been developed by M. Miller as the first challenge to the permanent-judge model (1974; *HAIJ* 120–49). According to this view, the Bible's depiction of the pre-monarchic era is not entirely dependable. In this period, Israel was not a unified tribal league or a chiefdom headed by a single, recognized "judge" or "chief." Rather, it was a time when the various autonomous tribal groups were segmented, and when self-styled military leaders who controlled private armies were able to establish themselves through force as protector-rulers over portions of the population in a limited area.

Saul, like the traditional "judges" Jephthah and Abimelech, and David in his early career, is viewed as such a opportunistic leader, who, unlike the first two examples, was able gradually to extend his initial realm of influence in Benjamin to include large portions of the eventual Israelite state. Saul is assigned the title "king" with the caveat that he was not the head of a full-blown state. He is credited with the creation of a rudimentary administration and military bureaucracy, but is denied the establishment of a state religion and the existence of precisely defined state boundaries. His main base of support is seen to have been obligatory "gifts" made by those to whom he offered his protection and military services.

**3. The Chieftain.** Borrowing terminology used in social anthropology, and assuming the reliability of the biblical depiction of pre-monarchic Israel, this view argues that Saul's political role constituted the transitional, intermediate step of chieftaincy within Israel's natural growth from an "egalitarian" or segmented (i.e., village-based) society to statehood. As a "chief" or "paramount chieftain," Saul was in a political office that fell short of kingship. The model is grounded on E. Service's three-stage model of

"pristine" state evolution (1975), which was developed to describe the predictable path of increasing political complexity that civilizations undergoing their first development would have taken to reach statehood. As presented by J. Flanagan (1981), Saul and David are to be understood as competing chiefs within Israel, on the eve of its move to full-fledged statehood.

**4. The State-Builder.** The final model, developed by D. Edelman (fc.), proposes that Saul should be viewed as the monarchic founder of the Israelite state. This view assumes that Israel's political development must be viewed from the perspective of secondary rather than primary state formation, within the framework of the disintegration of the LB empire system of Syria-Palestine (see also Ahlström fc.). The position therefore on principle rejects the use of models for the formation of *pristine* states, challenging those interested in applying models from social anthropology to Israelite state formation to employ ones designed to account for the formation of *secondary* states. This final model does not espouse the use of comparative models that use analogy to fill in informational gaps in reconstructing the rise of statehood in Israel. Instead, it seeks to reconstruct to the extent possible the specific events that led to Saul's rise to power, to chart the progress of his political career, and to evaluate the nature of his realm on the basis of critically evaluated textual and artifactual material. As in the "Self-Appointed Protector" model (see above), the reliability of the biblical depiction of the pre-monarchic era as a time of a unified, twelve-tribe league is rejected. A political unit bearing the name Israel is seen to have been associated with groups living in a limited portion of the central Ephraimite hill country, but not to have included all twelve tribes or all of the territory that would be encompassed during its statehood, nor to have been itself structured as a sacred league.

According to this model, Saul was a full-fledged king responsible for uniting the various geographico-political units in the Samarian and Ephraimite hill countries, Benjaminite plain, and central Transjordan to create the territorial state of Israel. He was the founder of Israelite statehood and its first king. The term "territorial state" is used to describe Israel under Saul in contrast to the two other types of statehood commonly applied to the ANE, "city-state" and "nation-state" (Buccellati 1967). By definition, a territorial state includes some non-centralized administrative units. The administration of the centralized portion of the Israelite state is viewed in terms of what M. Weber has called "decentralized patrimonialism" (1947:341–58).

**D. History and Saul's Story**

**1. The Late Iron I Period.** On the eve of Saul's political career, the ANE was still recovering from the effects of the decline of the LB political configuration. The traditional powers of Egypt, Hatti, Assyria, and Babylonia were all preoccupied with domestic problems. While they probably were participating in international trade, none was strong enough to attempt to conquer and control Syria-Palestine. The Aegean world was in the midst of a dark age, a period of isolation, and was unable to reestablish its former role as an international maritime trade power. Syria-Palestine was home to a number of polities of limited territory and of varying degrees of centralized power. In S Syria, Aramean groups were coalescing into states. The Golan heights appear to have contained the states of Geshur and Maacah. In Transjordan, the states of Ammon and possibly Moab appear to have arisen. The territory of Edom may have contained some independently governed towns or regional centers, but it does not appear to have reached territorial or national statehood at this time.

In the desert fringe adjoining Judah, another state of Geshur was established, alongside Girzite and Amalekite groups. The Cisjordanian coastal strip was home to the Philistine pentapolis, while a few city-states controlled the Megiddo Plain–Jezreel Valley corridor, inland valleys, and the ghor. Recent archaeological surveys in the hill country regions of both Transjordan and Cisjordan have established that these areas witnessed a significant growth in population during the course of the Iron I period and became dotted with small villages (i.e., Finkelstein *AIS*; Mittmann 1970; Zertal 1986). Settlement in the Judahite hill country was not as pronounced as in the other areas. The new settlements were usually only a few acres in size and often did not have protective walls, although in most cases houses were arranged to form a contiguous encircling belt that would have eliminated the labor-intensive task of building a separate encircling wall but would still have provided some measure of protection from outside attack.

The political constituency within the hill country is extremely difficult to determine. The traditions concerning the so-called judges, once stripped of their idealized, twelve-tribe orientation, tend to indicate that the mountain areas were fragmented into a number of smaller polities which had varying degrees of centralized power, ranging from village-based governments to probable chiefdoms. In theory, *in situ* remains from the past can chronicle the presence or absence of social stratification through varying house size, diet, and material remains, and can document levels of political complexity by the presence or absence of public buildings. Nevertheless, only a small number of hill country sites have been excavated, and of those, no more than 30 percent of the total area has been uncovered, thus it is not possible at present to reconstruct the political configurations of any of them with certainty.

**2. Chronology.** The accession formula for Saul in 1 Sam 13:1 is corrupt; consequently, Saul's age at the time of his coronation and the length of his reign are unknown. Most LXX manuscripts lack v 1 altogether. A few minor mss that contain the verse give 30 as the age at accession, which is a figure representing responsible adulthood; the Hebrew mss have no number, but read "son of ___ year(s) was Saul when he became king." Both the MT and LXX give 2 years as the regnal length.

General parameters for the length of Saul's reign can be deduced from narrative details. Since it was the standard ancient practice to undertake military campaigns annually in the spring, at least six years of reign are needed to accommodate a single battle against each enemy recorded in 1 Sam 14:47–48. Details of three separate battles involving the Philistines are preserved in the Bible (1 Samuel 13–14; 17; 29–31), so a minimal reign of 8 to 10 years would seem required for Saul. Bearing in mind the successful coronation of Saul's surviving young and inexperienced son Eshbaal as the dynastic successor to the throne—in spite of critical circumstances of the day that would have favored the appointment of a seasoned military commander (see ESHBAAL)—it seems likely that Saul would have enjoyed an even longer and more successful reign than the deduced minimum. Such an acceptance of a weak dynastic successor presumes that Saul had been able to establish among the court and the citizenry at large his respect and authority as head of state.

If one is willing to assume that the number 2 in 1 Sam 13:1 is part of the original regnal figure that was subsequently corrupted, which is a possible but not necessary inference, it would seem most appropriate to restore either 12 or 22 as the length of Saul's reign. The second figure is more probable in light of the succession issue. A figure of 32 seems too great if one bears in mind two factors. First, Saul's youngest son by Ahinoam apparently survived the battle of Gilboa because he was too young to fight in it, and hence he was probably under 20 years of age at the time of Saul's death. Second, Jonathan, Saul's eldest son, is reported to have had only a single son not more than five years of age at the time of his death at Gilboa. By implication, Jonathan was not more than about 30 when he died. Although the Bible provides no firm indication for marriage ages for males and females in ancient Israel, it would be a reasonable guess to posit an age within the 20s for males and within the teens for females, particularly in light of the low life expectancy. With one child older than Jonathan, Saul should have been in his mid to late 50s when he died at Gilboa.

Since Saul probably would not have been able to gain the support and respect of the people as king if he had not been an experienced soldier proven in battle, it is reasonable to suspect that he must have been at least 30 when he became king. In light of Saul's deduced age at death, a reign lasting upwards of 25 years seems indicated.

**3. Saul's Coronation.** According to 1 Sam 11:1–11, Saul's rescue of the citizens of Jabesh-gilead from Ammonite threats of oppression and disfigurement was the event that prompted Saul's coronation over Israel. The inclusion of Saul's successful execution of a military deed in the account of his elevation to king has been dictated in part by the use of the literary pattern of the tripartite kingship ritual to structure the presentation (Edelman 1984; see C above). A military testing deed was the necessary second step before the king-elect could be confirmed by official coronation (11:14–15). While it is likely that a military feat was the historical stimulus that led to Saul's being made king, the patternistic nature of the present depiction allows room for the possibility that Saul's rescue of Jabesh-gilead may not have been

the actual deed that led to his elevation to kingship. Although its authenticity has been widely accepted, in recent years different military deeds have been connected with Saul's initial coronation.

Saul's ability to have been able to lead his fellow untrained Benjaminite countrymen in a successful rout of the national Ammonite army as currently depicted is historically implausible. Such a battle almost certainly would have had to have taken place after Saul had become an established king who commanded a national and professional militia strong enough to take on the Ammonite state's army with some hope of success. Thus, while 1 Sam 14:47 indicates that the king successfully fought against the Ammonites at some time during his reign, it is likely that the encounter took place in the later part of his reign, not as a prelude, or even in the opening years.

Confirmation of the historical unreliability of the Jabesh-gilead incident as the founding event of Saul's career is found in 2 Sam 2:4b–7. The passage uses the ancient technical treaty language "to do goodness" (Heb *ʿāśâ haṭṭôbâ* to describe Jabesh-gilead's status under Saul. David is reported to have approached the citizens of the town and to have offered to "do goodness" toward them as Saul their former lord had done. The statement indicates that during Saul's reign, the town had not been part of the Israelite state, but instead, had been linked to the state by treaty. David is depicted to have been encouraging the town to revolt against Eshbaal, Saul's successor, and instead to enter into a treaty with him as king of the newly established state of Judah. 2 Sam 2:4b–7 indicates that Jabesh-gilead was not Israelite before or during Saul's reign, so the depiction in 1 Sam 11:1–11 of the town appealing to its fellow Israelite "brethren" for deliverance cannot be historical. When it is further observed that the story exhibits one of the fullest uses of the pattern commonly found in the Judges stories, the historical character of the account becomes even more suspicious (Edelman 1984).

Two alternative military deeds have been associated with Saul's initial coronation: (1) Saul's overthrow of the Philistine prefect at Gibeah and the related capture of Michmash; and (2) Saul's overthrow of the Philistine prefect at Gibeon. According to the first proposal, the natural continuation of the old folktale underlying 1 Sam 9:1–10:16 was an account of Saul's repossession of Gibeah and Michmash from the Philistines, now described in expanded form and associated secondarily with Jonathan in 1 Samuel 13. It is argued that the killing of the Philistine prefect at Gibeah is the military deed that originally was the third part of the sign described in 1 Sam 10:2–7, which was to confirm Saul's anointment by Samuel as king-elect. The original popular account is thought to have been fragmented and rearranged into the present, artificial order by the person responsible for the material's inclusion in the DH (Miller 1974). This proposal has the advantage of having as its basis an attested Saulide battle. A potential drawback is its need to explain why Saul's overthrow of Gibeah has been displaced by the Ammonite incident as the deed that led to his coronation.

The second proposal, like the first, postulates that the old folktale underlying 1 Sam 9:1–10:16 originally included an account of a military deed that served as the third part of the sign in 10:2–7 and was the historical deed that led to Saul's coronation, but that the deed in question has been deliberately excised from the account and replaced with the secondary account of the rescue of Jabesh-gilead. Following the lead of the extant plot in 9:1–10:16 it is suggested that the story went on to tell how Saul returned home to Gibeon (cf. 1 Chr 8:29–40; 9:35–44) and overthrew the resident Philistine prefect by posing as a member of the prophetic train during a religious procession in order to gain access to the official. The abrupt reference to Saul's visit to his "uncle" (Heb *dwd*) is understood to be a vestige of an account of Saul's visit to the resident Philistine *dwd*, "prefect," whom he killed, thereby liberating his hometown from Philistine dominion.

The present arrangement of the text is seen to have resulted from the deliberate "censure" of the Gibeon incident by the creator of the DH. The historian's bias toward Jerusalem as the sole, legitimate place of worship during the monarchic period is seen to have led to his elimination of clear references to Gibeon as Jerusalem's precursor as the first national sanctuary and state capital of the Israelite state (Edelman fc.). A negative attitude toward the Gibeonites has been noted to exist throughout the History (Kearney 1973). This proposal has the advantage of explaining the present arrangement of the text, but it also has the

disadvantage of reconstructing an otherwise unattested and unverifiable incident as the basis for Saul's coronation.

**4. Saul's Military Career.** One of the few positive evaluations of Saul's accomplishments as first king in the biblical portrayal of his career is that of his military prowess. 1 Sam 14:47–48 summarize his deeds as king in terms of his military victories over his enemies on every side: Moab, the Ammonites; Edom, the kings of Zobah; the Philistines; and the Amalekites. Details of a few of these battles have been preserved in 1 Samuel 11; 13–14; 15; 17; 28–31. Careful literary analysis can help separate fictional embellishment from likely historical fact in many instances, and reveals that Saul was a masterful military tactician.

The battle of the Michmash Pass, currently recounted in 1 Samuel 13–14, is probably the earliest extant Saulide battle. If one follows Miller, it would have been Saul's first battle, which led to his coronation by fellow Benjaminites and his establishment of the site of Gibeah as his capital. If one follows Edelman, it would have taken place within the early years of Saul's kingship, after his establishment of Gibeon as his capital. Saul would have needed to eliminate the two Philistine outposts at Gibeah and Michmash, which together controlled the Michmash Pass through the Wadi Suweinit and an important, internal E-W route from the Philistine Plain to the ghor, to have been able to have created a defensible E flank and to have prevented periodic Philistine traversal of his home base territory to man the garrisons.

Jonathan's reported capture of Gibeah in 1 Sam 13:3 is probably literary fiction; he would have been a child in his early teens at the time, assuming a 22- to 25-year reign for Saul. See JONATHAN SON OF SAUL. The military strategy reportedly used by Saul, which involved the division of the army into two batallions that were to attack both posts simultaneously from the rear and force a retreat into the pass, where escape was impossible (13:2), also seems to be unreliable. It is likely that the hill country on the north side of the Wadi Suweinit, in the vicinity of Michmash and Bethel, was part of the political domain of Saul's rival Samuel (1 Sam 7:15–17; Edelman 1989:57). Saul would not have been free to deploy troops on the north side of the wadi. It seems plausible to suggest that Saul's strategy led him to capture the Philistine fortress at Gibeah, on the Benjaminite side of the wadi, and then to have tricked the Michmash fortress into an unwanted battle before reinforcement troops could arrive from the Philistine homeland. It is possible that the depiction of Jonathan and his weapons bearer pretending to be deserters in order to gain access to the Michmash post (14:1–16) is based on Saul's actual use of a small squadron of men feigning desertion to draw the Michmash post into premature battle. As a result of this two-step offensive, Saul would have eliminated Philistine control to his E, gained control over the E half of the E-W road to the ghor, and gained a foothold among Samuel's constituents, paving the way for his eventual takeover of Samuel's domain as he began to build a territorial state.

The logical goal of the battle against the Philistines in the valley of Elah (1 Samuel 17; 2 Sam 21:19) would have been to secure the S Gibeonite flank and the next most southerly E-W route from the Philistine homeland to the ghor. The latter road ran W from Jerusalem along the Sorek Valley into the Elah Valley before reaching the Philistine Plain. The actual confrontation took place in the form of representative combat in the Elah Valley, the natural point of entry into the hill country. Tradition now names the Israelite champion as the young David, but the actual hero seems to have been a certain Elhanan, son of Jarreoregim, from David's home town of Bethlehem (2 Sam 21:19) (Stoebe 1956).

Saul's battle against the Amalekite stronghold, Ir Amalek, is presently associated with the traditional Amalekite region in the desert S of Judah (1 Samuel 15). Ir Amalek has been identified with the site of Tel Masos in the Beersheba basin (Kochavi 1980:27), which appears from excavations conducted there to have been a regional trade center in the Iron I period (Str. II) (Finkelstein 1988:247–52). Saul's interest in gaining control over such an economic base provides a logical motive for both the proposed identification and the purported battle recorded in 1 Samuel 15.

Although the story contains direct allusions to other S Amalekite traditions in the DH, there are a few hints scattered throughout the Bible that an Amalekite enclave also had once been located in the hill country S of the Jezreel Valley (Exodus 17; Judg 5:14; 6:3–7:20; 12:15; 2 Sam 1:2–2:26), which raises a potential question as to the identity of the Amalekite group with whom Saul fought. The only probable

historical details that can be gleaned from chap. 15 are the name of the city against which Saul launched his offensive (v 5); that it was located near a wadi (v 5); that Saul may have employed an ambush to take the city (v 5); and that he erected a "stele" (Heb *yad*) after his victory in Carmel, probably as a commemorative marker (v 12). The well-known N Carmel promontory had a long history of such monument erections by Mesopotamian rulers, while the S Carmel region did not (Edelman 1986).

Saul's historical campaign against Ir Amalek could have taken place against the N Amalekite enclave, in response to the group's escalating raids against segments of the central Ephraimite hill country population that had become part of Saul's expanding state, rather than against the more well-known S pastoral groups who would have been raiding the few settlements that existed in the S Judahite hills. Saul's control over any portion of the latter region, which was geographically separated from his core territory by the Jerusalemite city-state and a band of no-man's-land, is disputed. This is the region that David raided as a Philistine mercenary and which he subsequently welded into his Hebron-based state of Judah. The editorial attempt to include Judah within the Saulide state in the DH is perhaps best understood to have been motivated by the use of the idealized twelve-tribe scheme for the pre-monarchic era, which then required its continued use into the early monarchic period.

The Saulide rescue of Jabesh-gilead (1 Sam 11:1–11) has been discussed briefly above. What is noteworthy is the report that Saul used the strategy of surprise attack in order to catch the Ammonite forces off guard and gain a military advantage (v 11). The story is presently structured as a judge-style narrative, to depict Saul's successful completion of a military "testing" after his designation as king-elect and prior to his confirmation as king. The actual battle probably took place in the second half of his reign and may have been prompted by Saul's preexisting treaty obligations to supply Jabesh with military support upon request. Although the present account tends to suggest that Jabesh voluntarily sought to enter into a treaty with Saul to avoid the vassalship that Nahash was intending to impose upon them by force, the report of Saul's overnight march to surprise the Ammonite forces and lift a preexisting siege against the city suggests that a treaty may already have been in effect.

The final battle of Saul's career appears to have been an offensive attack against the city-state of Beth-shean, aimed at securing access to an important trade route. Without control of the corridor that descended through the Jezreel and Beth-shean Valleys to the lower end of the Sea of Galilee and then N to Damascus, it was not possible to carry on commerce directly and freely at the international exchange center of the times. The account of the battle spans 1 Samuel 28–31, and is a highly polished, nonchronological, episodic narrative that parallels Saul's final defeat and death with David's successful routing of the remnant of the Amalekites (whom Saul failed to exterminate), confirming Saul's untransmuted divine rejection from the kingship (1 Samuel 15). David's Amalekite battle provides him with an alibi for his whereabouts during the Battle of Gilboa while deliberately depicting him as Yahweh's champion who carries out the commands of his heavenly regent, in contrast to Saul. The historicity of the incident is questionable.

Chap. 28 sets the entire battle within the larger context of a personal crisis facing David, the king-elect. As a Philistine mercenary, he is told he must accompany the Philistine troops into battle against Saul (28:1–2) and muster with them at Aphek. Immediately, the scene jumps forward in time to the eve of the actual battle, to reveal Saul's destined death via the medium of En-dor (28:3–25). The result is to heighten suspense about David's actions and deepen his dilemma: on two previous occasions he has refused to harm Yahweh's anointed agent, even though he had been in a position to do so (1 Sam 24:1–22; 26:1–25); now, he is put in a situation where, as a Philistine servant who cannot control the upcoming conflict with Saul, he may potentially become the unwilling agent of the Israelite king's certain death. Chap. 29 resolves the suspense and dilemma by moving the scene back a few days earlier to the Philistine mustering ground and recounting David's dismissal from the Philistine forces. With the outcome of the impending battle already revealed in chap. 28, chap. 30 recounts David's successful completion of Saul's earlier divinely ordered task of eliminating the Amalekites, so as to make his victory contemporaneous with Saul's death. Chap. 31 briefly portrays the battle sequence outside Beth-shean that leads to Saul's preordained death.

The Bible reports that Saul took the initiative in his final campaign by encamping by the fountain in the Jezreel Valley. In response, the Philistines are said to have mustered their forces at Aphek in the Philistine Plain (29:1) and then marched N to the Megiddo Plain-Jezreel Valley and encamped opposite the Israelites at Shunem (28:4). Their move supposedly resulted in the Israelites' moving camp further E, to the foot of the Gilboa mountains (28:4). The site of the actual battle is not specified, but seems to have been in the Jezreel Valley between the two camps. The Philistines are reported to have routed the Israelites, and pressed them into the Gilboa mountains, where they were able to wound Saul mortally, kill his three sons (Jonathan, Malchishua, and Abinadab), and gain a decisive victory (31:1–7). The next day, the Philistines are said to have gathered booty and to have beheaded Saul's corpse, nailed it to the walls of Beth-shean, along with the bodies of his sons, and to have sent Saul's armor home to Philistia, to be kept in the temple of Ashtaroth (31:8–10). The citizens of Jabesh-gilead are to have retrieved the bodies and to have taken them home and cremated them. Cremation was an established Aegean and Anatolian burial practice that was used especially to honor fallen warriors and royalty.

The report that Saul was the aggressor in the battle of Gilboa is probably historically reliable, as is his reported encampment in the Jezreel Valley, near the local water source, below the Gilboa spur. His apparent target was the city of Beth-shean, which becomes clear from the detail concerning the displaying of the royal family's bodies on the walls of that city, after the Israelite defeat. This was a gesture of victory. Both Saul's position in the Jezreel Valley to the W of Beth-shean and the disposition of his body by the citizens of that city after his defeat confirm that Saul's intended goal was the conquest of the Canaanite city of Beth-shean (Koizumi 1976).

1 Samuel 28–31 portrays the Philistines as Saul's enemies on this occasion. Many scholars have concluded that Beth-shean was a Philistine city at this time to explain its role in the battle. However, excavations at the site have yielded only one sherd of Philistine pottery, in a disturbed locus, after eleven seasons of excavations, while demonstrating that the city was a prosperous and powerful fortified center during Saul's reign. In the LB period, it had been an important Egyptian garrison city, and Egyptian influence appears to have continued as late as ca. 1075 B.C. (James 1966:150–53). In light of the predominance of local Canaanite pottery in the city and the lack of any evidence of partial destruction layers in the course of Lower Level V, which spans the period ca. 1100–1000 B.C., it seems best to conclude that the city became an independent Canaanite center after the disappearance of the Egyptian presence and that it voluntarily entered an alliance with the Philistines at some point in the Late Iron I period. The Philistines would have wanted to have secured access to the same important trade routes that Saul appears to have been interested in. The Philistine presence at the battle almost certainly is to be explained in terms of its status as Beth-shean's ally, and not in terms of its direct control over Beth-shean.

The course of Saul's campaign against Beth-shean remains uncertain. The strong literary shaping of the account leaves its historicity open to challenge. It is possible to conclude from the depiction that Saul planned to attack the city from the E, but perhaps planned to lay squadrons in ambush in the Gilboa hills to the S of the city and to rely on additional Israelite and allied troops from Gilead to join the battle from the east by marching up the ghor. It is not clear if Saul had set a siege against the city or not. In view of the absence of details concerning the actual encounter with the Philistines that led to the rout of the Israelites in the Gilboa hills, it might be possible to suggest that allied Philistine troops arrived unexpectedly from the W, threw the Saulide camp into confusion, and were able successfully to defeat the men as they fled up into the hills in retreat. The current report that the Philistines had encamped opposite the Israelites at Shunem could well be fictional embellishment, created by the author to facilitate his scene of Saul's visit to the witch of En-dor on the eve of the battle.

**5. The State of Israel under Saul.** Although the Bible devotes some 25 chapters to Saul's career as king, it provides little information about the process of state formation in Israel or about the nature of the early state under Saul. Nevertheless, the list in 2 Sam 2:9 of the areas over which Eshbaal, Saul's son, was crowned provides the historian with crucial data about the nature of the early Saulide state by recording its territorial boundaries and administrative divisions. The list appears to be derived from an old administrative document that could have been included in the Davidic state archives as an enumeration of

the territories to which David gained title as Eshbaal's successor. In view of the latter's troubled reign, it is unlikely that he would have made sweeping administrative innovations, so the list should be seen to reflect both the administrative structure and territorial domain of Saul's state.

Although it is possible that Eshbaal could have lost firm control over some former Saulide areas, the reported prolonged war with David in 2 Sam 3:1a tends to suggest that his experienced general Abner was able to maintain Israel's holdings, to the embarrassment of David and the probable anger of the other surrounding states. This situation has resulted in the literary depiction of Eshbaal as a seasoned veteran of 40 when he became king rather than the inexperienced youth other texts indicate he was, to make him a more formidable enemy capable of fending off David's attacks (2 Sam 10:2). It also seems to have led to his assignment of a brief 2-year reign (2 Sam 2:10) to indicate that in spite of his strength and experience, David was able to overpower him quickly and gain the support of the Israelite state leaders.

The list names five areas that together comprised "all Israel":the Gilead, the Ashurites, Jezreel, Ephraim, and Benjamin. The five are further grouped into two subcategories by the use of two different Heb prepositions, *ʾel,* "to," and *ʿal,* "over." The first three were regions "to" which Eshbaal was made king, while the last two, which included his home territory of Benjamin and the area where the premonarchic entity Israel had been located, were regions "over" which he was made king. It has been suggested that the alternation of the two prepositions is attested elsewhere in the Bible and carries no significance in v 8 (*NHT*, 186). However, the verb "to be made king" in all of its attested conjugations never appears in the Bible outside of this verse or in other extant East or West Semitic writings followed by the preposition *ʾel;* the prepositions *ʿal* and *b* are idiomatic. It is unlikely then that the preposition *ʾel* would have been secondarily introduced into the text, creating an unknown idiom. On the other hand, the deliberate use of the preposition in contrast to the idiomatic *ʿal* would be understandable in the context of an incipient and evolving state administration to create a contrast between two types of districts. The idiomatic *ʿal* category probably can be seen to have designated districts with a centralized administration, while the nonidiomatic *ʾel* category would have designated noncentralized districts. The latter perhaps would have been outlying areas where Saul's sovereignty would have been recognized and in which the people would have paid taxes and performed military duty, but areas that would not have had state-built and state-run fortresses established at strategic crossroads and along borders (Edelman 1985:88–90).

The district of Gilead probably was not identical with the hill country of Gilead. See Fig. SAU.01. The administrative base was Mahanaim (2 Sam 2:8), which apparently was established to gain an Israelite monopoly over the iron ore in the Ajlun region. See MAHANAIM (PLACE). The Manassite settlements in the hill country N of the Wadi ez-Zerqa, as far as the Wadi Yabis, can probably be included within the district of Gilead. Jabesh-gilead's status as an ally tends to limit Saulide holdings to the region S of the Wadi Yabis. The settlements associated with the "judge" Jair, which lay N of the Yabis, appear to have been incorporated into the state by David. 1 Chr 5:10 and 7:8–16 indicate that some portions of the areas of Reuben and Gad were within Saulide control. The W hill country S of the Wadi ez-Zerqa, the adjoining land of Jazer in the Salt region, the hilly territory around Heshbon, and perhaps the Hagrite territory in the desert steppe in the vicinity of the Arnon River (Wadi Mujib) can probably be included within the southern limits of Saulide Gilead.

The Ashurite district seems best associated with the SW Ephraimite hill country, in the area surrounding the Beth-horons. See ASHURITES and Fig. SAU.01. The Jezreel district should probably be confined to the Gilboa hills, with the Wadi Faria perhaps serving as the natural S boundary and the Dothan Valley as the W boundary. It would not have included the Jezreel Valley proper, which would have been controlled by the city-state of Beth-shean. Recent archaeological surveys have determined that there were no settlements on the N side of the Valley, in the traditional tribal allotment of Issachar, at this time (Gal 1982).

The district of Ephraim probably would have included the bulk of the central Ephraimite hill country land mass, which would have included the regions of W Samaria, central Samaria, E Samaria, and the hill country of Ephraim. See Fig. SAU.01. The NW boundary might have been the Dothan Valley; the NE boundary, the Wadi Faria; the E boundary, the ghor; the SE boundary, the Wadi Suweinit; the SW

boundary, the Ashurites; and the W boundary the Sharon Plain. Included within the district of Ephraim would have been Manassite, Ephraimite, and Issacharite clans (i.e., Judg 10:1), and the former political domains of Israel, Samuel, and possibly, the Abiezerites (Judges 6–8).

The district of Benjamin would have included the hills S of the Wadi Suweinit and N of Jerusalem; the plain to their W and the hills to the E of the plain, bordering the Philistine lowland. In the E hills, Israelite settlements would have been confined to the northernmost hills, N of Tell el-Fûl. It seems likely that the latter site, if it indeed housed a fortress at the end of the Iron I period, which is not clear from the archaeological evidence (Finkelstein *AIS*, 56–60), was a Jebusite outpost. From the site one can see Gibeon and Geba, but not Jerusalem, so Saul would not have gained any advantage in fortifying it. However, Tell el-Fûl may have been merely a farmstead, in which case it could have been part of the Saulide district of Benjamin. It is likely that Nob was a Jebusite dependent at this time, given its location on an adjacent hill. The NW boundary would have been the Ashurites, and it is likely that the Sorek Valley and Jerusalem would have served as the S boundary. The Gibeonite enclave, which included the cities of Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth, and Kiriath-jearim, appears to have been incorporated into the centralized Benjaminite district at some point during Saul's administration (2 Sam 4:2–4; 21:5).

2 Sam 2:9 indicates that Saul's state did not include the Galilee or Judah. David was responsible for incorporating the former region into the Israelite state. It is possible that Saul had been able to assert control over some segments of Judah, but that he lost these areas to David in the last years of his reign, when David established the rival state of Judah at Hebron (2 Sam 2:10–11). In view of the relatively sparse settlement in the Judahite hills and the lack of additional agricultural commodities that were not already available from other districts, it is possible that Saul chose to control limited portions of Judah by alliance rather than through incorporation, even as a noncentralized district. The Ziphites, for example, may have become associated with Israel by such an alliance arrangement (2 Sam 23:19–24).

In addition to the corporate state land outlined above, Saul appears to have established alliances with various foreign city-states. Besides his treaty with Jabesh-gilead, which may have been struck in order to secure access to the internal N-S hill country road in Gilead, the existence of treaties with Lidebir (var. Lo-debar) and Abel-meholah can be discerned from the extant narratives. The willingness of Machir ben Ammiel, king of Lidebir, to give political asylum to Jonathan's infant son after the Gilboa disaster strongly implies that some form of treaty had existed between Israel and Lidebir. Although the site of Lidebir is uncertain, it seems to have been located N of the Yarmuk River, perhaps at the foot of the Golan heights. Saul's interest in establishing an alliance with the city almost certainly would have been to secure trade access through the upper ghor, en route to Damascus.

A probable treaty with Abel-meholah, located in the W ghor at the S edge of the Beth-shean Valley, is suggested by two pieces of information. The marriage of Saul's eldest daughter Merab to Adriel ben Barzillai the Meholathite (1 Sam 18:19; 2 Sam 21:8) might well have reflected the common ANE practice of sealing a political alliance by marriage. The inclusion of the city in the subsequent fifth Solomonic district strongly indicates that Abel-meholah had remained an independent, Canaanite city-state until the reign of David or Solomon. The district encompasses the former Canaanite domains located in the Megiddo Plain-Jezreel Corridor and the Beth-shean Valley extension, which included the N portion of the W ghor (1 Kgs 4:13). Access to the W ghor road may have motivated this alliance, particularly since Abel-meholah appears to have been located at a commonly used ford of the Jordan (Judg 7:22).

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**SAVIOR, DIALOGUE OF THE.** See DIALOGUE OF THE SAVIOR (NHC III,*5*).

**SAWEH, TELL ES-.** See JESHUA (PLACE).

**SAYINGS OF JESUS, OXYRHYNCHUS.** Dominical sayings that appear in four texts found in rubbish mounds at Oxyrhynchus, a city which flourished in Middle Egypt principally during the Roman period. Now part of the modern town Behnesa, the site stood between the W bank of the Nile and the Baḥr Yusuf (Canal of Joseph) about 125 miles S of Cairo. Along with an extensive number of documents written on papyrus and parchment, which date from the 1st to the 9th century A.D., the texts were recovered by Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt over a series of archaeological seasons beginning in 1897. Actually, only three of the pieces—Oxyrhynchus papyrus nos. 1, 654, and 655—are cast in the strict form of collections of independent sayings of Jesus. The fourth, papyrus 840, exhibits the character of a continuous gospel account, as this form is known in the four NT gospels. Unfortunately, all four—along with possibly a fifth, poorly preserved text (no. 1224) which may be a gospel account—are brief

and, for the most part, very fragmentary. Since only a few lines can be made out on most of them, this has provided seeming invitations for commentators to attempt restorations of the texts. Significantly, the discovery of the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* near Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt has now shown both that numbers 1, 654, and 655 all derive from a Greek version of that text, and that prior attempts at restoring lacunae in the Oxyrhynchus texts were largely misguided. In this connection, it is also important to note that even though all three texts bear an obvious literary connection both with the *Gospel of Thomas* and therefore with one another, they are not from the same scribe, but came from different hands.

*1.* This papyrus leaf of a codex was found in 1897. Containing seven sayings attributed to Jesus that are reasonably legible, three of which parallel the Synoptic Gospels, the verso of this text as it was first published by Grenfell and Hunt has now been shown to precede the recto; for the proper order can be demonstrated from the Coptic text of the *Gospel of Thomas.* The seven sayings, plus one word from an eighth, which stands in the broken portion at the bottom of the verso, are paralleled by the nine sayings numbered 26–30, 77, and 31–33 in the Thomas document. The reason for the expanded number of sayings in the latter text is because the long fifth saying in the Oxyrhynchus document was split in the Coptic version, becoming saying 30 as well as the latter part of saying 77 in Thomas. Adopting Marcovich's readings (1969), one has the following:

Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1, lines 24–31 (verso):

[Jesus sa]ys: [Wh]erever there are
[three,] th[ey are] gods; and
[wh]ere there is o[ne] only
[or tw]o, I am with
th[em.] Lift [u]p the rock
and there you will find me;
cleave the wood and I
am there.

These words of Jesus are arranged in the *Gospel of Thomas* as follows:

Jesus said: Where there are three gods, they are gods; where there are two or one, there I am with him (logion 30).

Jesus said: I am the light that is above them all. I am the All. The All came forth from me, and the All has attained to me. Cleave wood, I am there. Lift up the stone and you will find me there (logion 77).

The sense of the first part of the Oxyrhynchus passage and Thomas's logion 30 seems to recall Matthew 18:20 where Jesus says that "where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them." The implication in the two non-canonical sayings is that Jesus makes up the second or third person, in company with one or two disciples, for the purposes of worship. The second part of the Oxyrhynchus piece links to the last segment of logion 77, though the order of lifting the rock and cutting the wood is reversed. As with other readings, it is impossible here to determine which arrangement of the sayings was prior.

*654.* During the second season at Oxyrhynchus in February 1903, Grenfell and Hunt found a survey list on papyrus whose reverse side preserved a text of 42 lines, broken off on the right side, which consisted of a series of sayings, all apparently attributed to Jesus. Because of lacunae, it is only in sayings 3, 5 and 6 that we find the introductory phrase "Jesus says." The similarities between lines 1–39 of text 654 and the prologue and first six logia of the *Gospel of Thomas* are unmistakable. In the last three damaged lines of the Oxyrhynchus piece, enough can be made out to connect the saying lost here to logion 7 of Thomas. Even so, one significant difference is to be found in the second saying of these two texts. Recalling Matthew 7:7–8 (= Luke 11:9–10), one reads:

Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 654, lines 5–9:

[Jesus says:]
Let not him who see[ks] cease [seeking until]
he finds. And when he fin[ds he will be amazed, and being]
amazed he will reign; and [reigning he will]

rest.

Logion 2, *Gospel of Thomas:*

Let him who seeks not cease seeking until he finds; and when he finds he will be troubled; and when he has been troubled, he will marvel and will reign over the All.

The version that appears in 654 is also attributed by Clement of Alexandria to the *Gospel of the Hebrews* (*Stromateis* 5.14.96), and the two doubtless preserve the original version of this saying as well as the original order of the chain (seek-find-marvel-reign-rest). The principal difference between 654 and logion 2 lies in the final outcome of the person's spiritual quest: to reign or to rest. Since both are well-attested motifs in scripture and elsewhere (see Marcovich 1969:56f.), it is impossible to determine which was the prior reading in the texts quoted above, that is, whether one or the other was "corrected" by a copyist to its current reading.

*655.* Eight fragments of two columns of a text dated no later than A.D. 250 by Grenfell and Hunt were found in 1903. Written in a small, skilled hand in uncial letters, the document comes from a papyrus roll whose fibers and sense of the text have allowed an accurate placement of the fragments. As in the case of nos. 1 and 654, the discovery of the *Gospel of Thomas* has demonstrated that 655 is from a copy of a Greek version of this collection of individual sayings. Indeed, it is possible to determine that logia 36–39 and possibly 24b were written in the two columns.

The freedom felt by a copyist to alter a reading in a text can be seen from a comparison between the first saying and logion 36, its parallel in Thomas.

Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 655, lines 1–17:

[Take no thought] from early un[til late or]
from even[ing until] morning, neither [for your food] what you may ea[t, nor] for [your
clot]hing what you should put on. [You are]
much better than the [li]lies which [nei]ther
card nor spi[n. But] since you have one
[gar]ment, what in fact do you la[ck]? Who can
add to your stature? He himself shall give to
(each of) you your garment.

In an apparent effort to minimize the seeming contradiction between this saying, in which one's special garment was to be supplied by the Lord, and the following one, in which a person is expected to take one's garment off and trample it in the dust before being able to associate with "the Son of the Living One," the redactor [?] of the Coptic text purposely dropped most of the saying, leaving only the following.

*Gospel of Thomas,* logion 36:

Jesus said: Take no thought from morning to evening and from evening to morning for what you should put on.

*840.* Found in December 1905, this partial text consists of a small vellum leaf (8.8 × 7.4 cm.) written on both sides in a tiny, rather regular hand. The writing is dated by its discoverers to the 4th century, and the copyist exhibits an inclination for using red ink in specific instances such as the first letters of sentences, dots of punctuation and—twice—accent marks.

The opening seven lines of the text introduce the reader to the end of an address by Jesus—consistently referred to as "the Savior"—in which he warns his hearers against the sort of overconfidence which leads to punishment both in this life and in the next. He then leads his disciples into the temple, apparently going within the "court of Israel," where they meet a Pharisaic high priest, possibly named Levi. The priest reproaches them for entering without properly purifying themselves and for not changing into white clothing, hence desecrating the sacred precinct. In response, Jesus inquires about the state of cleanness of the priest, who in turn affirms that he has performed the necessary purificatory rites. Against this Jesus delivers a sharp criticism, which recalls Jesus' harsh condemnation of the "tradition of the elders" in Matt 15:1–20 and Mark 7:1–23, contrasting the shallow character of external purity with the deeper inward cleansing in which he and his disciples had been immersed from above at "the waters of life" (line 43).

The absence of connections in this piece to special interests within the early Christian community as well as the presence of both numerous Semitisms and an informed view on temple matters lead naturally to a high estimate of this text as a virtual companion piece to the Synoptic Gospel accounts. Further, it is likely that the original document was composed at least by the early 2d century, since it shares none of the uncontrolled fantasies about Jesus and the disciples that 2d and 3d century apocryphal accounts typically exhibit.

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S. KENT BROWN

**SCAB.** See LEPROSY; SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**SCALLOPS.** See ZOOLOGY.

**SCANDINAVIAN SCHOOL.** The designation "Scandinavian school," regardless of whether it is used to refer to OT or NT studies (or both), should be used cautiously, since those normally designated by this term have not thought of themselves as belonging to a "school." The fact that several Scandinavian scholars in both OT and NT studies have held views explicitly different from German exegetes in particular may explain why English-speaking colleagues, mainly in North America, have come to regard them as a "school."

### *OT STUDIES*

It is fair to say that, without constituting a "school" in the strict sense of the word, certain trends especially since the 1920s have put a distinctive stamp on OT scholarship in Scandinavian countries. The point of departure was the work of the Danish historian of religions Vilhelm Grønbech, who between 1909 and 1912 published the Danish original of his *The Culture of the Teutons* (1931) and in 1915 a brief introduction to "primitive religion." In the former he tried to reconstruct the thought-world of the ancient Teutons, using their own expressions and trying to understand them on their own conditions; in the latter he explained primitive cult as a creative drama with the aim of renewing the conditions that were the result of the myth reproduced in the ceremonies.

The former approach was applied by Johannes Pedersen to ancient Israel (1926). He analyzed the thought-world of the OT, letting the texts speak for themselves without the introduction of modern categories. Especially important was his explanation of *nepeš,* "soul," as the vital principle in man, and his interpretation of *berākâ,* "blessing," as a concept very much like the *mana* of primitive peoples. This volume was followed in 1934 (Eng 1940) by a second one in which the institutions of the OT were dealt with in terms of holiness, holy persons, holy places, and holy actions. At the same time, Pedersen was a heavy opponent of literary source criticism; some of his ideas in this respect were set forth when he argued that the exodus story was the cult legend of Passover (1934).

On the other hand, Grønbech's theory of the cult as creative drama became decisive for the Norwegian Siegmund Mowinckel in the 2d volume of his work on the Psalms (1921–24). Following up Gunkel's idea of the cult as the *Sitz im Leben* of the OT psalms, he launched the theory that certain psalms (47, 93, 95–99) were connected with an Israelite festival in which Yahweh's enthronement as the king of the world was celebrated (*YHWH mālak,* "Yahweh has become king"). Other elements of this festival were Yahweh's defeat of the powers of chaos, the creation of the world, and his "judging" the enemies. The aim of the festival was to convey supernatural blessing to the worshippers. Other volumes of this study dealt with cultic prophecy and with the "evildoers" who were explained as sorcerers causing the suffering of the psalmists.

These ideas gained wide acceptance in the Scandinavian countries. A new slant was given to this approach by Ivan Engnell of Uppsala with additional inspiration from the English "myth-and-ritual"

school. Hooke, in collaboration with other British scholars, had published a collection of essays under the title *Myth and Ritual.* His original intention was to contribute to the discussion between evolutionism and diffusionism in comparative religion. In favor of the latter theory, Hooke and his followers introduced the idea of a common myth and ritual pattern in the ANE. Since this pattern appears in its purest form in Mesopotamia, Hooke concluded that it originated there and spread to the W Semites (including Israel) and Egypt but at the same time disintegrated. Among the elements of this pattern was the New Year Festival, in which the defeat of the powers of chaos and the death and resurrection of the god were reenacted, the king being the main actor of the cultic drama. Engnell accepted this theory and developed it further in 1943 in his dissertation, which was meant to be a preliminary study to be followed by a treatment of divine kingship in the OT (Engnell 1960).

Engnell combined the idea of the myth-and-ritual pattern with the theory that most of the OT texts had for a long time been transmitted orally, which meant, first, that the documentary hypothesis in Pentateuchal research was wrong, and second, that literary criticism in the prophetic writings was impossible and that the *ipsissima verba* of the prophets could not be retrieved. In this emphasis on oral tradition Engnell developed a suggestion made by another Uppsala scholar, H. S. Nyberg, whose study of the book of Hosea (1935) was devoted primarily to proving the reliability of the Masoretic text. This latter point became another cornerstone in Engnell's so-called traditio-historical method.

Engnell's opposition to source criticism was also combined with criticism of Wellhausen's view of the development of Israelite religion, which was deemed evolutionistic. Here Engnell joined hands with his colleague G. Widengren, who was fighting the evolutionistic theory in comparative religion (note his treatment of sacral kingship); this again related to Hooke's position in the question of diffusionism versus evolutionism. Engnell devoted much of his time to a Swedish biblical encyclopedia, in which he set forth his ideas in numerous articles (some of them were translated into English as *A Rigid Scrutiny* [1969], and so he never had the opportunity to develop his ideas in detail on a scholarly level. Some of his suggestions were followed up by Ahlström (1959), focusing on sacral kingship, and Carlson (1964), who intended to present a traditio-historical analysis of 2 Samuel but dealt more with questions of the composition of the final text. Also to be mentioned is Haldar, a student of Widengren's, who directed much of his work to the study of the prophets (1945; 1947). These were sometimes referred to as the "Uppsala School."

Engnell's views were partly accepted, partly opposed by other Scandinavian scholars. The theory of oral transmission was opposed by Widengren, who on the basis of Arabic material stressed the importance of written tradition; this led to a modification by Engnell, who in the prophetic literature introduced the differentiation between the *diwan* type, which was oral, and the liturgy type, which was written (e.g., Deutero-Isaiah). Mowinckel took a compromise stand, arguing that in spite of oral transmission, literary criticism was possible. The idea of "divine" or sacral kingship was taken up and modified by Mowinckel (1956) and by A. Bentzen (Copenhagen) in several minor works. Mowinckel continued his works on the Psalms and published a comprehensive work (1962), partly in discussion with Engnell and also with his compatriot Birkeland, who had argued that the enemies of the Psalms were primarily political (1955). Bentzen also published commentaries on the Psalms and Isaiah in which he utilized the results of Pedersen and Mowinckel.

A number of other scholars should be mentioned. Kapelrud, Mowinckel's successor on the chair of Oslo, studied the book of Joel (1948), a study which reveals strong influence by Engnell. His works on Ugaritic religion are independent studies of the texts within the framework of a myth-and-ritual view. Another noteworthy scholar is F. F. Hvidberg, whose *Weeping and Laughter* (1938) was a source of inspiration for Engnell's treatment of Ugaritic texts in his dissertation. Nielsen was initially interested in oral tradition (1954) but later (1959) developed Engnell's ideas in an independent way. Mettinger's work (1976) tries in new ways to interpret the central theme of the Uppsala school. Finally, Lindblom, for many years professor of Lund, took a positive stand to Pedersen and Mowinckel, but represented in many respects a more traditional approach. Ringgren, in his study of Israelite religion (1966), confesses his debt to the Uppsala school but also endeavors to pay due attention to new findings.

In summary, it can be said that the main importance of the "Scandinavian school" in OT studies seems to be its history-of-religion, or comparative religion, approach to the religion of Israel, including the emphasis on the cult and on the central role of sacral kingship.

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HELMER RINGGREN

## *NT STUDIES*

In NT studies, the contours of the so-called "Scandinavian school" are much less vague, with considerable differences among its various members even in what could be regarded as principal matters.

Two Scandinavian NT scholars exerted a particular influence on their doctoral students and thus decisively inspired the scholarly work and outlooks which characterized the school. They were Anton Fridrichsen (Uppsala University, Sweden, [1928–1953]) and Hugo Odeberg (Lund University, Sweden, [1933–1964]). Of these, Odeberg published relatively little during his tenure as professor, but had a decisive influence on his students through his lectures.

Of Norwegian birth, Fridrichsen received most of his postgraduate education in Germany and France. As a scholar he was constantly on the move and open to new impulses. In his dealings with doctoral students, his openness meant that he never acted as a teacher to whose program the students should conform in order to gain his acceptance. Rather, he encouraged work on topics which were new to him or approaches which differed from his own. Behind most of his work, however, lay a particular understanding of history and of historical research. For him, scholars were to dismiss the sort of "historicism" which "above all wants to find 'authentic' material, reliable biographical data that make it possible to draw a picture of the persons' lives, characters and ideas, … their milieu and the creative factors therein" (Fridrichsen 1953:54). One should rather regard the gospels in the same way as other oriental texts, which have a divine man as their main character, i.e., a figure surrounded by adherents who are inspired by him and in whom he continues to live after his death. This does not preclude the possibility of differentiating between older and younger layers of tradition, but "to him who has liberated himself from historicism's narrow view and meagre experience of reality, precisely the tradition in all its abundance, diversity and multiplicity becomes the mirror in which historical reality is reflected" (1953:56). There was a fundamental unity of the NT, indeed of the whole Bible; one could "discern history, the continuity of events, reality working and being transformed—in short, eschatological fulfillment in preparation under the old Israel, in realization through Jesus Christ, and in interpretation in

his Church" (1953:59–60). Similar ideas are also encountered among some of Fridrichsen's students, while among others only faint echoes of them are heard.

Naturally, an outlook of this kind signaled a serious departure from radical form-criticism. It may also explain why the demythologization program had little success among people influenced by Fridrichsen. On the other hand, the study of NT texts or of their motifs was often made from a history of religions perspective; approaches like "myth-and-ritual" and "patternism" or complexes like "sacral kingship" or "corporate personality," which were important to the neighboring OT scholars, could be brought in (see above). Much more than "Hellenism," one stressed the relevance of Judaism for the understanding of the NT, and often, in many ways, one underlined the importance of the OT both for the preaching of Jesus and for the thinking of the early Church. Thus it was common that the Messiah concept was central to the manner in which one understood Jesus and his self-consciousness, as well as his eschatological preaching. The Son-of-Man idea was taken as containing the thought of a heavenly Messiah, incorporating God's people. A kingly Messiah was easily connected with his people, and so not only the Church found a natural place in the study of some members of the school, but the ministry and the sacraments did as well.

Largely independent of Fridrichsen and his seminar, Hugo Odeberg promoted a NT study with abundant recourse to Judaism, himself a specialist in the area with special linguistic competence and a deep acquaintance with Jewish mysticism. He did not publish programmatic or wide-embracing articles, as Fridrichsen did, but he had an outstanding ability in, so to speak, taking his students with him into the Jewish texts. Thus exegetes who have worked with Odeberg very often go deeply into Jewish, not least Rabbinic material, in order so to shed light on NT texts.

Obviously much of what was done in the school during the 1950s agreed with general tendencies in the world of theology, such as "Heilsgeschichte" and "neo-orthodoxy." But the perspectives intimated above give the school, insofar as one can talk of a "school" at all, a profile of its own.

The successors of Fridrichsen (Riesenfeld) and Odeberg (Gerhardsson) became involved in a development at Swedish universities which meant that "theology" became "science of religion." This cooled down some of the earlier readiness among the exegetes to pursue biblical theology. However, features from the preceding decades still were there, e.g., the suspicion of "uncritical" criticism, the interest in the historical Jesus, and the study of Judaism as a natural frame of reference for Jesus and the early Church. This was also the background against which Riesenfeld (1957) and Gerhardsson (1961) suggested that the gospel tradition and its transmittance were comparable with Rabbinic tradition and its transmission.

One reason behind the discernment of a school may have been that, relatively seen, so many of its members held university teaching positions in Scandinavia and abroad. The following men had all studied under Fridrichsen: C.-M. Edsman (History of Religion, Uppsala), B. Gärtner (NT, Princeton Seminary), G. Lindeskog (NT, Turku/Åbo), B. Reicke (NT, Basel), H. Riesenfeld (NT, Uppsala), K. Stendahl (NT, Harvard), Å. V. Ström (History of Religion, Lund), and B. Sundkler (Missiology, Uppsala); O. Linton (NT, Copenhagen) only finished his thesis under Fridrichsen. Others were not long-time members of his seminar, but spent some time with him and are sometimes regarded as representing the School, e.g., P. Nepper-Christensen (NT, Aarhus) and B. Noack (NT, Copenhagen). N. A. Dahl also studied with Odeberg for a period of time and, after his dissertation in Oslo, spent a couple of years with Fridrichsen. He then returned to teach in Oslo, moving later to Yale. E. Lövestam (NT, Lund) also studied under Odeberg, as did S. Aalen (NT, Oslo). Among other Odeberg students, sometimes mentioned as School-representatives, are E. Percy and E. Sjöberg. A younger generation began their BD studies under Fridrichsen, but completed their doctorates under Riesenfeld, e.g., B. Gerhardsson (NT, Lund) and E. Larsson (NT, Oslo).

One may doubt whether there still is a "school." Some of its original features are still found in Scandinavian NT scholarship, such as a marked readiness to study the NT in the light of the OT and of Judaism (P. Borgen, L. Hartman), but, at the same time, research has moved in new directions, and generally, the tendency to group people into clearly demarcated "schools" has diminished. Consequently, the contours of the "school," already blurred, may be said to have faded away.

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**SCARAB.** See JEWELRY.

**SCEVA** (PERSON) [Gk *Skeyas* (Σκευας)]. A man identified as "a Jewish chief priest" (Acts 19:14), whose seven "sons" (possibly disciples) were itinerant exorcists. In response to the fame achieved by Paul's miracles during his time in Ephesus, other Jewish exorcists began to use the name of Jesus as a magic spell in the hopes of having the same effects (cf. also Simon Magus, Acts 8:18–24). But when Sceva's seven sons (disciples?) attempted the feat, "like an unfamiliar weapon wrongly handled it exploded in their hands" (Bruce *Acts* NICNT, 368). The demon-possessed man reacted so violently to their attempted exorcism that they ran for their lives. According to Acts, the impact of this event had a profound influence in the city whose fame for its magical practices was widely celebrated (Bruce *Acts* NICNT, 269–70, with refs. and bibliog.; Hemer 1989:121):soon many of those who practiced the magic arts were confessing their errors and burning the scrolls with their magic incantations. The author of Acts uses the event to underline the unrivaled power of God working through the life of his servant Paul and also the fact that Jesus' name should not be used as a magic formula (cf. the words of a Jewish magical papyrus in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: "I adjure you by Jesus, the God of the Hebrews;" and the forbidding of the use of Jesus' name in magic by some rabbis [Bruce *Acts* NICNT, 368n]).

The origin and meaning of the name "Sceva" is uncertain. It may be a Greek rendering of the Latin cognomen *Scaeva* rather than a Jewish name, but this would not necessarily mean that the bearer was a Roman citizen (Hemer 1989:234). There is an inscriptional reference to a slave by this name (*CIG* 2889) and also to a gladiator by the same name (*IGRR* 1.701). If Latin in origin it would mean "left-handed," perhaps literally, or possibly used in a metaphorical sense of the word as "favorable omen" (so Hemer).

The suggestion has been made (Bruce 1952:358, but not *Acts* NICNT, 368) that the name is derived from the Hebrew *šeba*ʿ ("seven"), but this is unlikely.

It is not even certain that Sceva was, strictly speaking, Jewish; and it is quite certain that he was never a "high priest" *(archiereus)* in Jerusalem, since that name is never found on the existing lists. It seems likely that he had simply adopted the title as a public relations gimmick—who in Ephesus could disprove the claim?—and what was the role of the Jewish high priest but to enter into "the holy of holies" and to utter the sacred name (Lake and Cadbury [quoting F. C. Burkitt] 1933:241)? Maston suggests that the title was used to authenticate the activity of the "sons" as "*bona fide* exorcists" (1976:405). It is unlikely also that he was a member of a family with Jewish high priestly connections or a former head of the courses of temple priests, of which the term was more broadly applied (Jeremias 1969:175–81; BAGD). As far as the use of the term itself is concerned, Sceva may have been "an apostate and a high priest of the imperial or some other cult" (Williams *Acts* GNC, 327), but it is just as possible that the Greek prefix *archi* ("high" or "chief") is merely a typical example of the Koine tendency to compound words with *archi* (*NDIEC* 2:18). However, it seems more likely that he was simply a professional exorcist with entrepreneurial skills, and that his sons or associates—the text does not actually say that Sceva himself lived in Ephesus—plied their trade in the congenial setting. As Bruce comments: "Luke might have placed the words between quotation marks, had these been invented in his day" (*Acts* NICNT, 368). In spite of its strangeness to modern ears, the story has the earmarks of historicity.

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**SCHOLARSHIP, BIBLICAL (JAPAN).** See BIBLICAL SCHOLARSHIP, JAPANESE.

**SCHOOL OF SHAMMAI.** See SHAMMAI, SCHOOL OF.

**SCHOOLS.** See EDUCATION.

**SCHOOLS, HELLENISTIC.** The Hellenistic schools are important for the understanding of the NT in two respects: it has long been recognized that their social structures provide a partial analog to the early Christian groups; and they produced a large body of literature (much of it still extant) which needs to be taken into account in any study of the literary background of the NT. But in order to utilize this material properly, it is essential to examine the Hellenistic schools as institutions in the widest possible sense: an integrated picture must include not only the better-known areas of philosophy and rhetoric, but also training for the professions and crafts.

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A. The Nature of the Schools
  1. The Individual Level
  2. The Secondary Level
  3. The Tertiary Level
  4. The Movement
B. The Functions of the Schools
C. Training in the Crafts
D. Rhetoric
E. Philosophy
F. Medicine
G. Mathematics and Technical Subjects
H. Philo

## A. The Nature of the Schools

**1. The Individual Level.** The fundamental relationship lying behind any "school" is that between a teacher and an individual student, normally a non-symmetrical relationship between leader and led, between age and youth. It is important to remember that most teaching in antiquity operated on just this individual basis; teachers were specialists (Clarke 1971:7), and a father who wished his son to achieve the full *enkuklios paideia* or "all-around education" could not enroll him in a school where this curriculum was centrally administered but had to find him a different teacher for each subject. (Women participated in the higher levels of Greek and Roman education, but only to a very limited extent.) This basic pattern may be extended beyond the one-to-one teaching relationship in two ways. First, loyalty to the teacher, and imitation of the teacher as a model, might well extend into adult life, and thus by extension teacher-disciple language may be used metaphorically of any individual following the precepts of a particular teacher (or belonging to a particular "school"), even where there has been no physical contact between the two. Adherence to Stoicism tended to work in this way, and Philo's references to the "school of Moses" (see below) may also be understood in this sense. Second, the basic teacher-student relationship in itself can be sufficient to set up an institutionalization of tradition, if the student in his/her turn becomes the teacher of the next generation and passes on what s/he has learnt from the teacher. It seems thus perfectly proper to use the term "school" in any context where we have a "chain of tradition" (Bickerman 1952), even though we have no evidence of any social structures beyond the basic "one teacher plus one student."

**2. The Secondary Level.** A social relationship can come into being between fellow students at a secondary level, especially where (as often happened in antiquity) one teacher could have a number of students or apprentices living in his house in a modified "family" atmosphere. In these conditions, where the natural camaraderie of the young was often intensified by feelings of loyalty to one teacher and rivalry with the students of other teachers, the development of a lateral, peer-group community spirit was almost inevitable. Such a development, with its attendant language of friendship *(philoi, hetairoi),* is often seen as particularly characteristic of the philosophical schools, but in fact it is just as common in rhetoric or medicine.

**3. The Tertiary Level.** Less common in antiquity is the development at a tertiary level of groups of teachers and/or researchers engaged in a common enterprise. A wide degree of variation is possible here, from the high-powered research organizations of the Theophrastus or the Alexandrian Museum to the religiously committed brotherhood of Pythagoras or Epicurus; both could rightly be called "schools." Generally speaking, however, the combination of a number of teachers into a single administrative unit (as in a modern "high school") seems to have been rare in antiquity (Marrou 1956:264–65):the great teachers, like the lesser ones, operated as individuals, and where we speak of a "university atmosphere" this was simply a function of the large number of individual teachers working in major centers such as Athens, Alexandria, or Tarsus. It is only under the later Roman Empire that we find anything like the modern university system, resulting from increasing state intervention in the organization of education (Clarke 1971:130). Where we do hear of teachers operating as a group in the earlier period, it is where a flourishing teacher has co-opted a number of subordinates (sometimes slaves, though this was frowned on) to act as his assistants (Clarke 1971:27, 33).

**4. The Movement.** Finally, the most complex kind of school structure in antiquity comes into being where a number of small groups in different localities are conscious of belonging to the same sect or movement: the "school" here means an agglomeration of geographically scattered groups professing adherence to the same ideals and teaching tradition. This kind of grouping is mainly associated with certain philosophical schools, particularly that of Epicurus; but a similar phenomenon at a less self-conscious level may be observed wherever a number of individual teachers in different places profess to follow a particular teaching tradition, such as the "dogmatist" and "empiricist" schools in medicine.

## B. The Functions of the Schools

Most of the functions of the Hellenistic schools can be plotted on a grid summarizing four major consumer needs:

I: professional training in a particular skill or "art" (Gk: *technē*)

II: liberal education of a gentleman (Gk: *paideia*)

III: intellectul inquiry as end in itself

IV: Moral training and the quest of a lifestyle

Of these, I and II are the most obviously "educational," and on this side our subject forms part of the tertiary or "higher" level of the ancient educational system. Schools serving either of these functions were ministering to a need which was at the same time *recurrent*, in that society provided a constant stream of the young requiring one or the other, and *transient*, in that they belong to a certain stage in the life of the individual student. Typically, the student would engage in his or her chosen course of study as a preparation for adult life and would therefore pass out of the school when the training or education was complete.

However, the 5th century B.C. also saw the emergence of two other subsidiary demands which could persist into adult life and therefore provide a greater degree of permanency, III and IV. On this side we have to see the Hellenistic schools not just as something pertaining to youth, but as an integral part of Greek (and later Roman) cultural life. The Ionian appetite for intellectual inquiry (Gk *theoria*) for its own sake flourished in Pericles' Athens and persisted right through the Hellenistic age; it saw a notable renaissance in the 2d century A.D., but had never ceased to be a feature of the public life of the Greek cities. This phenomenon created the conditions for two classic features of Hellenistic culture, both (interestingly) described with the same group of *philo*-compounds *(philomathēs, philiatros, philotechnos).* On the one hand, there is a constant market for public lectures attended by leisured adults as well as by the young; given the semi-public conditions in which many teachers operated, in fact, it is often difficult to determine whether a discourse is given primarily for the benefit of the disciples who cluster round the master or for the interested passers-by who pause to listen and question (Clarke 1971:33; Bonner 1977:116–17). On the other hand, the patronage of the Hellenistic courts was vital to the financial survival of many scholars and teachers; such a *chorēgia* was often by tradition coupled with some sort of educational duties towards the monarch's children, but antiquity's most famous example of royal patronage, the Museum of Alexandria, was apparently founded solely to support research and did not carry any teaching obligations (Marrou 1956:261; Fraser 1972:1.318). In the Roman period this kind of intellectual patronage could be found in the households of wealthy Romans (including, but not exclusively, that of the imperial family).

Moral training and the search for a lifestyle, finally, in Greco-Roman culture fall under the province of philosophy rather than religion (Clarke 1971:85–99). Many fathers sent their children to a philosopher for a basic moral education (Clarke compares the atmosphere of a philosopher's school to that of a catechism or confirmation class, 1971:96), but it was the philosophical schools above all which demanded, and often got, a lifelong commitment which has been likened to the effect of a religious conversion (Nock 1933).

**C. Training in the Crafts**

Training for any of the multitudinous craft or technical skills falls under the first of these four categories. This kind of professional training is the oldest and also the least documented area in Greek education. Plato, writing in the 4th century B.C., sees it as the norm that professional skills are passed down within families from father to son (*Protagoras* 328a1–6), and there is no lack of evidence that this was in fact the case (Burford 1972:82–87). But Plato also speaks of students attaching themselves, for a fee, to teachers of such crafts as medicine or sculpture (*Prt.* 311b2–c8), and he implies that this was a well-established and widely-known phenomenon, as presumably it was. It is evident that some sort of apprenticeship system developed: we know little of its detailed working (Burford 1972:87–91), but the dominance of the general pattern is clear. In order to learn how to be a sculptor, or a nail maker, or a flute player, you had either to be born into a family which possessed those skills or to attach yourself to a practitioner who could pass them on to you. A famous teacher might have had more than one such

apprentice at any given time, but the fundamental pattern remains that of individual tuition, achieved largely through the age-old method of watching the expert at work and performing any tasks he might entrust to you.

When we use the word "school" in this context, we may mean either the group of pupils attached to any practitioner at one time or the continuity of the teaching tradition passed down in this way, as pupils eventually became practitioners and teachers, passing on to the next generation the accumulation of theoretical knowledge and practical experience which made up their particular *technē.* This teaching was fundamentally oral and practical in character, placing a high premium on personal contact with the teacher and on immersion in the living tradition of the craft (Burford 1972:69):"learning out of a book" came a poor second to the "living voice" of the teacher (Galen *De comp med. sec loc.* VI pref.).

**D. Rhetoric**

The rhetorical schools, by contrast, fall largely under the second category: although a few in any school might go on to become professional rhetors, the vast majority of students would have enlisted solely because they were persuaded that a training in rhetoric was indispensable to a liberal education. In a suggestive discussion on the nature of the education offered by the sophist Protagoras, Plato explicitly contrasts the *paideia* of a gentleman with the professional training of the craft: "Why may you not learn of him in the same way that you learned the arts of the grammarian, or musician, or trainer, not with the view of making any of them a profession *(epi technē),* but only as a part of education *(epi paideia),* and because a private gentleman or a free man ought to know them?" (*Prt.* 312a1–b6, Jowett's translation). The idea of a non-professional "higher education" for the sons of the wealthy appears quite suddenly in Athens at the end of the 5th century B.C. Up to that time a general education (involving literacy skills, music, gymnastics, and mathematics) was seen as part of childhood, which finished at 14 with puberty and the passing into adulthood. The next stage was the (all-male) *ephebia,* essentially a kind of military service concentrating on physical education. Encouraged by Pericles, the Sophists came to Athens offering a new kind of teaching aimed not at those who needed a professional skill in order to earn a living, but at citizens of independent means. Their arrival and immediate success sparked an intense debate which in turn was responsible for the major 4th-century developments in the fields of rhetoric and philosophy. The distinction between this liberal education and the professional training already described was always carefully maintained. Thus music, a traditional part of a gentleman's education, gradually declined in importance amid fears that it was becoming a professional skill (Clarke 1971:52–54). The debate between Socrates and the Sophists was partly over the issue of fees and the need to maintain the "amateur" status of rhetoric surfaces at intervals throughout antiquity (Clarke 1971:28–32).

Following the success of the Sophists, rhetoric quickly emerged as the central component in the higher education of the free-born, and was to keep its place right through antiquity and on into the Middle Ages. The details of ancient rhetoric and its role in education are well documented: cf. Marrou 1956:Pt. 2 chap. 10 and Pt. 3 chap. 6; Clarke 1971:28–45, 130–51. The content and systematization of rhetoric teaching grew rapidly in complexity, but in terms of school structures, rhetoric seems to have maintained the relatively archaic pattern seen in the activities of the Sophists. These were non-citizens, dependent on patronage for a welcome into the city and for introductions to potential clients (Kerferd 1981:18–19). Protagoras, in Plato's dialogue of that name, is shown as using the house of his patron to make his initial contacts and to hold semi-public debates and instructional sessions (*Prt.* 314b6–316b6; see further Kerferd 1981:17–23). Right through antiquity the sophist traveled from place to place, attracting attention first of all as a "star performer" of display rhetoric on his first arrival in a city (Philostr. *VS* 2.8). In this sense the "apprenticeship" model of the crafts is still basic here, in that the teacher first and foremost offers himself as a model to his pupils and claims to teach skills of which he himself is a practitioner. Clearly the most successful performer could expect to attract the most students (and charge the highest fees); it appears that a core of students would attach themselves to the sophist and move from place to place with him, while others would simply attend a course while he was in residence in a given city (Plato, *Prt.* 314e3–315b2).

Fourth-century rhetoric sees a huge explosion in the numbers seeking this kind of teaching, but fundamentally the same pattern continues of the individual teacher attracting a group of fee-paying pupils. The sources speak of phenomenonally large numbers attending the classes of some 4th-century rhetorical teachers (Isocrates is said to have had 100 pupils, though scholars debate whether this was a career total or the number attending at any one time [Marrou 1956:494 n.11; Clarke 1971:29 + n.128]). Either way, this may be a peculiarity of the period when Athens was the educational mecca for the whole Mediterranean world; as rhetoric established itself invincibly at the core of the educational system, what we see is not so much a growth in the size and complexity of rhetorical schools as a proliferation of small schools coupled with a gradual expansion of the "higher" forms of rhetorical training down the educational ladder to successively younger and younger children (Marrou 1956:223–24). The tradition of mobility continues, but as time goes on we see a strong tendency for teachers to congregate in certain cultural centers, notably Athens, Alexandria, and Tarsus (Strab. 14.5.13 / C673–74):mobility thus became characteristic of students as much as of teachers (Bonner 1977:90–96). This tendency may well have contributed to a "university" atmosphere for the young men involved without implying any collegiate structure, or even any concerted action, by their teachers, who operated essentially as private individuals conducting a commercial enterprise and competing for clients. Students lived in lodgings and could move from one teacher to another, listening to their display speeches or to semipublic teaching sessions, before making their choice of teacher or even when enrolled with one particular teacher.

**E. Philosophy**

The position of the philosophical schools on the grid is more complicated, ranging at different times and in differing degrees over categories II, III, and IV. Plato's portrayal of Socrates' dispute with the Sophists reflects his own struggle to establish philosophy, not rhetoric, as the central element in higher education (Marrou 1956 Pt 1, chaps. 6 and 7). The time when this ideal most nearly achieved success was the period of the flourishing of the Academy at the end of the 4th century, when a wide variety of subjects were taught to the thousands of wealthy young men who came to Athens from all over the Mediterranean world to finish their education there (we may compare the social appeal of "Oxbridge" or the "Ivy League" schools in England or the USA). Although philosophy eventually lost out to rhetoric on this front, it was not before the subject had achieved a lasting influence on the ancient ideal of a liberal education, to the extent that many would expect to spend some time with a philosopher during their studies. But philosophy had come into existence as an adult intellectual pursuit in Ionia and in the Greek colonies of the western Mediterranean, and even though its popularity in education waned in time, and the political upheavals of the Hellenistic age curtailed Athens' position as the major "university" city of the civilized world, the philosophical schools survived as communities of adults dedicated to the maintenance of the philosophic lifestyle and to the preservation and elaboration of the teachings of the founder.

The flowering of Ionian science and philosophy in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. has left us the names of many famous teachers and their followers or companions *(hetairoi)*—e.g. Plato, *Soph.* 216a3. It has thus become customary to speak of the "schools" of Democritus or Parmenides; but virtually nothing is known of the organization of these "schools." The major exception is Pythagoras, who according to the traditional account "founded at Kroton in southern Italy a society which was at once a religious community and a scientific school" at the end of the 6th century B.C. (Burnet 1962:39). This school had many of the characteristics later associated with monasticism (though it was open to women as well as to men):members lived in "lodges" and followed a strict dietary and mental discipline (*D.L.* 8.22). Even though the school did not last beyond the 4th century B.C., the community ideal it stood for exercised a profound influence on Greek thought about the nature of the philosophic life, reemerging as a conscious ideal in the 1st century B.C.; this can be seen most clearly in Iamblichus' treatise *On the Pythagorean Life,* which dates from the 4th century A.D. Nevertheless the very fame of this "Pythagorean" lifestyle suggests that it was not the normal pattern for the early philosophical schools.

A clearer picture emerges when we turn to the philosophers of Athens in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. Socrates is portrayed in the dialogues of Plato as conducting purely informal instruction sessions in the streets of Athens and in the private houses of friends, as in *Resp.* 327a–c, 328b–c (although if we were to

take seriously Aristophanes' description of Socrates'"*Phrontisterion*" or "Thinking-shop" [*Nub.* 94] we should have to assume with Burnet [1962:147] that he actually had a school of the Ionian type). This apparent lack of social structure actually presupposes the restricted social world of the leisured youth of the Athenian upper classes. Unlike the Sophists, whom he castigates for charging fees for teaching "virtue" (Plato, *Prt.* 311–14, 318–20; *Soph.* 223–32), the Platonic Socrates refuses to regard the teaching of philosophy as a profession or trade on a par with the teaching of medicine or flute playing. This stance was only possible, however, in so far as both teacher and taught had independent means: Socrates' personal asceticism was famous, but he was not, like the later Cynics, a beggar.

The situation is very different when we come to the Academy of Socrates' most famous pupil, Plato. Possibly influenced by his knowledge of the Pythagorean communities, Plato created an institution which was to outlast its founder by almost a thousand years. The "Academy" proper was a gymnasium in a public park on the outskirts of Athens, where Plato bought land (*D.L.* 3.7) for a house and garden. Here he set up his school, constituting it legally as a *thiasos* or cultic community dedicated to Apollo and the Muses. Like the Pythagoreans, students at the Academy were expected to embrace a frugal lifestyle, and in later years the founder's birthday was celebrated as a festival with offerings, a festal meal, and a public disputation. The philosophical education which Plato offered was thus no longer conducted amidst the public life of the streets of Athens: the Academy is said to have had an inscription over the entrance reading "Let no-one enter who is not a geometer" (Elias in *Arist. Cat.* 118.18). There was a later tradition that Plato had charged no fees for his instruction, and that the financial strength of the Academy rested either on Plato's own wealth or on the accruing of legacies (Clarke 1971:101). For the later Academy, see especially Dillon (1977).

This closed, institutionalized structure had certain clear advantages in the Hellenistic world that emerged after Alexander and was copied by the schools of Aristotle and Epicurus and, ultimately, by the great Museum of Alexandria. Thus when Aristotle came to Athens in 335 B.C. with the express purpose of setting up a second school to rival the Academy (and with the backing of Alexander), he too set about acquiring land as a permanent base for the school. As a non-Athenian he could not own land, and the Athenian authorities assigned him the "*Lyceum*," a grove already sacred to Apollo and the Muses where a complex of buildings (including the famous covered walk or *peripatos* from which the school takes its name) soon grew up to house the growing numbers of students who flocked to the Lyceum (Grayeff 1974:38). Like the Academy, the Peripatetic school bore a strong resemblance to a "society possessing a cult-center with buildings" (Fraser 1972:I.314), but legally speaking, the house, grounds, and other buildings were the property of the head of the school and his legal heirs: hence the importance of establishing the "succession" of heads (Theophrastus, Straton, Lykon), each of whom left a will detailing the property to be passed on to the next in line (*D.L.* 5.11–16, 51–57, 61–64, 70–74). By the time of Straton this includes such "collegiate" details as the dinner plates and glass for the common table (Fraser 1972:2.314).

Stoicism has the name of being "the only philosophical school which taught in a public building" (*KlPauly* 5:377–78). In one sense this is not entirely accurate (both the Academy and the Lyceum were public places), but it does convey accurately one important difference between the Stoics and the other philosophical schools. Stoicism never became a closed institution. To be a Stoic was to profess adherence to a set of doctrines and a body of wisdom passed down from Zeno and the great masters, perhaps to have studied with a teacher who made the same profession, but not necessarily to join—or ever to have joined—a body or group with a communal existence. Despite this, Stoics had a great feeling of "fellowship" with other Stoics and a profound loyalty to the accumulated body of wisdom associated with the school. Significantly, Seneca, one of the school's most influential adherents, still shows the traditional school preference for "personal converse and daily intimacy with someone" over the reading of philosophical books (Sen. *Ep.* 6.4). Arrian's *Discourses of Epictetus* provide us with a valuable picture of the operation of one Stoic school (in Nicopolis, Bithynia) at the end of the 1st century A.D. (Culpepper 1975:135–40).

Epicurus, by contrast, seems to have set out deliberately to create a community withdrawn from the world: unlike Plato and Isocrates, he did not encourage his pupils to prepare themselves for public life, and even participation in the earlier stages of encyclic education was derided as unnecessary. Epicurus bought himself a house and a garden in Athens to serve as a base for the school, and his followers lived a communal life there in the pursuit of moral excellence, encouraged (perhaps by means of some sort of hierarchical system: cf. De Witt 1936) to correct and discipline each other in striving toward the ethical ideal. Devotion to the founder and his words was an integral part of this process; communal meals, the celebration of the founder's birthday, and other modes for reinforcing a communal identity were known in other philosophical schools, but this aspect of the life of the school was particularly marked among the Epicureans, who even had the founder's image on their rings and cups (Cic. *Fin.* 5.3). Since the school professed no interest in the training of its students for public life, women could be and were accepted as members (Culpepper 1975:110–11). The house and garden survived as the center for an Epicurean community for many centuries, but Epicurus had also, unusually, assured the survival of his school by missionary activity in the eastern Aegean, which was enthusiastically taken up by his followers. The school of Epicurus was thus conscious almost from its inception of being a "sect" or "movement" broader than the individual group: each group of *philoi,* "friends," was part of a network which by Cicero's day was regarded as worldwide (Fin. 2.15.49). See further Clarke 1971:69–82; Culpepper 1975:101–21.

The Cynics in many ways represent a return to a "Socratic" anti-structure. Financial independence was achieved by begging: many Cynics were known as poor men of little education (Lucian, *Bis. Acc.* 6; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 32.9), but the Cynic's begging-bowl and staff were also an expression of a philosophic ideology which preached indifference to the goods of the cultured life. Like Socrates, the Cynics taught in the streets, engaging in debate with anyone, rich or poor, who would listen; hospitality also played a part in their teaching activity, since an invitation to join a rich man at dinner could mean an opportunity for further discussion and further spiritual therapy for the host (Diog. *Ep.* 38.3–5; Malherbe 1977:163). Most Cynic teaching activity seems to have been of this casual variety, though we do hear of long-standing associations with Cynic teachers, such as that between the 1st-century Roman senator Thrasea Paetus and Demetrius the Cynic (Tac. *Ann.* 16.34). Nevertheless Cynicism was recognized in antiquity as one of the philosophical schools with its own distinctive teaching tradition and means of operation, and it is probable that, because of their non-elitist teaching methods, the Cynics would have been among the best-known philosophers in the Empire at large. See further Malherbe 1977; Clarke 1971:84–85.

**F. Medicine**

Medical studies could be pursued in a wide variety of ways. On the grid suggested above, medicine belongs principally in categories I and III; but there was a (largely unsuccessful) lobby which would have liked to have seen medicine taught also under II, and when Galen argues that the best doctor is really a philosopher (Temkin 1953:224; Galen 1.53–63/*Scripta Minora* 2.1–8), we are reaching into IV as well. Despite the abundance of Greek medical literature, however, it is not easy to draw up a clear picture of school structures in this area. The evidence we have points to a wide diversity (Drabkin 1944:333), but overall it seems clear that the main medium of instruction was attachment to an individual teacher, sometimes at parental choice (e.g., Galen *Libr. Propr.* 4), so that essentially there was no structural difference between medicine, rhetoric, and other subjects.

Medicine in Greece was an ancient and revered craft or *technē,* passed down traditionally from father to son. The doctor "carried his skill from town to town, establishing in each a workshop or surgery *(iatreion)*" (Singer *OCD*: 549–50; Sigerist 1961:306–307). Doctors, like other craftsmen, operated as individuals, but "what united them and gave them standing was that they belonged to a guild based on the fictitious assumption that physicians were descendants of Asclepius the hero: they were Asclepiads just as minstrels were Homerids" (Sigerist 1961:57). See ASCLEPIUS, CULT OF. Whatever the mythic origins of this pattern, however, doctors, like other craftsmen, began at an early date to take pupils or apprentices into the "family" to learn the craft; Hippocrates, according to Plato, took fees for this instruction (*Prt.* 311b5–c2). It is interesting, however, that the so-called "Hippocratic oath," dating possibly from as late as the 1st century A.D., still places great stress on the archaic "family" pattern of instruction: the swearer

promises "to hold him who has taught me this art as equal to my parents and to live my life in partnership with him, and if he is in need of money to give him a share of mine, and to regard his offspring as equal to my brothers in male lineage and to teach them this art—if they desire to learn it—without fee and covenant; to give a share of precepts and oral instruction and all the other learning to my sons and to the sons of him who has instructed me and to my pupils who have signed the covenant and have taken an oath according to the medical law, but to no one else" (Sigerist 1961:301–4).

The classic pattern of medical instruction in antiquity was thus a matter of apprenticeship to an individual doctor who would train students while using their services as assistants in the sickroom and workshop. Numbers could be large: Marital's epigram (5.9) speaks of "a hundred" students accompanying the doctor on his rounds (Drabkin 1944:335–36). It seems clear that this craft-based system of instruction remained the basic staple of medical training right through antiquity (Drabkin 1944:333–38; Temkin 1953); even in Alexandria, where some of the most eminent physicians of the period had "research fellowships" at the Museum, students are described as being "of the house of" a master, which suggests that the old apprenticeship pattern survived alongside the more rarefied intellectual activity of the Museum (Fraser 1972:1.357–58). As in rhetoric and philosophy, certain centers (like Cos, Cnidus and, later, Alexandria and Ephesus) came to be especially famous for medical teaching. Even so, Marrou (1956:264–65) believes we have no warrant for speaking of "schools" in these places in the sense of a modern teaching "faculty":the individual teacher-pupil relationship was still the primary one, intensified by the "family" fiction and externalized through the passing down of oral and written tradition from one generation to the next.

But the inclusion of medical authorities among the beneficiaries of the Museum at Alexandria is a reminder that there was always a lively interest in the study of medicine among "amateurs," i.e., those who wished to pursue it not as a profession but as a matter of intellectual interest. There were a few lone voices who argued that some medical teaching should be included in the adolescent studies of every *pepaideumenos* (Drabkin 1944:343), but generally speaking, lay interest in medicine was pursued at an adult level. Much of what we call "science" was included under "philosophy" by the Greeks, and the physical basis of medicine was among the subjects discussed by the philosophical schools of Ionia (Drabkin 1944:342–43). The Hippocratic corpus contains polemic against such "philosophical" medicine (Temkin 1953:217), and both Plato and Aristotle imply a distinction between the medical craft as craft and the more "scientific" investigation of the subject (Plato, *Leg.* 720d–e; Arist. *Pol.* 1282a3; Temkin 1953). Third-century B.C. Alexandria saw the birth of two major medical schools whose debates on the theoretical basis of medicine became well known outside professional circles (Deichgräber 1930); Galen in the 2d century A.D. bears witness to public interest in these "sects" *(haireseis),* e.g., in *Libr. Propr.* 1–2. There is in fact ample evidence for a lively intellectual interest in the theory of medicine, catered for by public lectures and debates, not only among the "iatrosophists" of the 4th century A.D. (Drabkin 1944:344–45), but by the activities of earlier lecturers like Galen (Bowersock 1969:chap. 5).

**G. Mathematics and Technical Subjects**

Information about schools in mathematics, architecture, engineering and other technical subjects is even harder to come by than in medicine. For most of these subjects, we possess a substantial amount of technical literature but virtually no information about its production. Mathematics had been securely established as an element in *paideia* since classical times, and the individual geometer, like the rhetor or grammarian, earned his living from the pupils who were sent to him to complete this part of their "encyclic" education (Marrou 1956:243–55; 378–79; Clarke 1971:45–54). Mathematics had also been regarded since Pythagoras as a component in philosophy. But for the major mathematical achievements of the Hellenistic world, either patronage or financial independence seem to have been a prerequisite: the correspondence of the great names of the 3d century B.C., Archimedes, Eratosthenes, and Apollonius of Perga, breathes the atmosphere of the leisured intellectual rather than that of the schoolroom, and their writings are individual compositions rather than school texts. Eratosthenes certainly felt the benefit of Ptolemaic patronage as head of the Library in Alexandria; Archimedes had a close (but undefined) relationship with King Hiero of Syracuse, to whose son he dedicated one of his books; the Attalus to

whom Apollonius dedicated some of his books may have been (but is not certainly) the king of Pergamum. Unlike these three, Euclid is known as the head of a school (also in Alexandria), but little is known of its structure (Fraser 1972 1.376–425).

Architecture, like medicine, was regarded as a "liberal" profession, i.e., one that could be practiced without loss of social status (Cic. *off.* 1.150), and Vitruvius in the 1st century B.C. did his best to argue that the subject should form part of the *enkuklios paideia.* Nevertheless most of the pupils of the *architectus magister* were probably destined for the profession, and it appears that the teacher would rely as much on the exercise of his profession for financial survival as on the fees he received from teaching (Clarke 1971:113–14). Essentially, we have here the same pattern as we have observed in medicine, where instruction is gained by a form of apprenticeship to a practicing master.

As Marrou points out (1956:263), "the same absence of documentary evidence forces us to the same conclusion in the case of all the other technical experts—the engineers (civil and military), surveyors and sailors who are so familiar in Hellenistic society and yet so strangely absent from its education … The technician, like the scientist, learned his job in a very simple, archaic way, the way of personal relationship between master and pupil, craftsman and apprentice." It is significant that we have a number of texts in this area which must derive from a teaching situation, without any ancient evidence as to their social context: papyrus exercises in practical calculation and mensuration (Marrou 1956:263) and textbooks like those of Hero of Alexandria, which contain a kind of practical mathematics derived ultimately from Babylonian tradition and distinct from the philosophical mathematics of Euclid (Neugebauer 1969:80; 157–58). We do know, however, that patronage played some role in the development of Hellenistic technology, particularly in the field of siege warfare (Philo of Byzantium, *Belopoeica pref.* Th50.24–26). One of the few names in the field of technology to achieve fame is that of Ctesibius, who is connected with Alexandria and appears to have founded a school there (Fraser 1972:1.431–32).

**H. Philo**

Any survey of the Hellenistic schools must also ask questions about the social milieu of the Philonic corpus. Was Philo's vast exegetical output simply the expression of an individual literary whim? (And if so, who preserved it?) Bousset's hypothesis of an "exegetical academy" in Alexandria has now been "either rejected or carefully qualified by most Philonists" (Culpepper 1975:197, 204–205). Nevertheless, it is now clear that Philo's exegetical activity must be placed within a "scholastic tradition" (Culpepper 1975:205–206) and equally clear that Philo himself located the bulk of this scholastic activity within the sabbath-day teaching of the synagogues, which he describes (in an intentional comparison with the Greek philosophical schools) as "schools of Moses" (*Vita Mos* II 215–16; *Spec Leg* II 62; *Hypothetica* 7.12–14). It is less clear whether the whole of Philo's expository work can be satisfactorily accounted for in the context of normal synagogue teaching and preaching; Culpepper suggests that "his writings were probably used in a synagogue-school where Philo taught the higher vision of scripture to a select group of initiates whose ears were purified" (1975:211–12). Whatever the merits of this suggestion, it is worth noting in this context the structural importance of the dominant "individual tuition" pattern which we have already observed in the Hellenistic schools. This pattern explains why we often have "school" texts surviving where nothing is known of any school structures beyond the basic presumption of a teacher and a succession of students. As we suggested above, this in itself is sufficient to create the conditions for a "school" tradition which may be concretized in written form: there is no need to postulate "school" structures where we do not know of their existence. Galen provides a useful parallel to Philo in this respect: despite the enormous volume of his writings, and despite his vigorous activity as a teacher and public lecturer, Galen's name is not associated with the founding of any "school."

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LOVEDAY C. A. ALEXANDER

**SCORPION.** See ZOOLOGY.

**SCREEN** [Heb *māsāk* (מָסָךְ)]. A word that denotes three items used in the construction of the Tabernacle according to the priestly accounts in Exodus. The Hebrew noun is derived from the root *skk*, which means "to screen, cover." All three screens are used at entrances to various parts of the Tabernacle and its compound.

The innermost screen, also called the *pārōket,* or "veil," was used to divide the innermost sacred space from the outer sanctum (Exod 35:12; 39:34; Num 3:31; 4:5). This screen, supported by four pillars, thus shielded the ark from the view of priests ministering to the items in the outer sanctum (Exod 40:3, 21). The splendid features of this screen are presented in the description of the veil (Exod 26:31–35; 36:35–36):it used the best textiles (colored wools mixed with twined linen) and the most elaborate workmanship, which included decorations of cherubim. But see TABERNACLE for another view of the nature of the "veil."

The next important passageway, dividing the Tabernacle itself from the surrounding court, was covered with a screen that used the same fine textiles, but was not decorated with cherubim, as was the inner screen (Exod 26:36–37; 35:15; 36:37–38; 39:38; 40:5, 28; Num 3:25). This screen was supported on five pillars made of acacia and covered with gold.

The third screen was placed at the gate to the courtyard (Exod 27:16; 35:17; 38:18; 39:40; 40:8, 33; Num 3:26; 4:26). This screen was twenty cubits long and was hung on four pillars with silver fittings. Its workmanship and fabric were the same as for the screen at the door to the Tabernacle.

These fabric dividers are not mentioned in the descriptions of the Jerusalem Temple, where wooden doors marked the divisions between the various chambers of the Temple and courtyard, that is, between zones of holiness. The mention of the *pārōket* veil by the Chronicler (2 Chr 3:4) may be the result of the influence of P materials. It is also possible that, unlike the First Temple, the Second Temple may have used such a veil, a fact perhaps known to the Chronicler. Herod's Temple almost certainly had the inner veil, but the presence of the two other screens is less likely (see Matt 27:51; Heb 6:19; 9:3). See also VEIL.
CAROL MEYERS

**SCRIBAL EMENDATIONS.** This title refers to a tradition that the Hebrew text of the Bible has been changed in a number of passages. The two earliest sources (ca. 400 C.E.), both midrashic, are the *Mek.* of R. Ishmael, which lists eleven cases, and *Sipre*, which lists seven. Later midrashic and masoretic sources list more cases. The masorah states that such change has occurred in eighteen cases, but the lists vary somewhat in composition, so that altogether some two dozen cases are mentioned. In many manuscripts the *masorah parva* marks each case as "one of the eighteen cases of emendation," but this is not done in the Aleppo or the Leningrad Codex.

The terminology describing the change is *tiqqûn sōpĕrîm,* "emendation of the scribes" (some lists replace "scribes" with "Ezra" or "The men of the Great Synagogue") or *kinnâ hakkātûb* "the text has substituted (one wording for another)." The changes are said to have been made to avoid language which might seem disrespectful to God.

In most cases, the change suggested involves only a single letter representing a pronoun, as in Ps 106:20, where "They exchanged their glory *(kbwdm)* for the likeness of an ox that eats grass" is said to have read originally "my glory" *(kbwdy).* A similar change is suggested in Jer 2:11. In a few cases, a more extensive change is suggested, as in Gen 18:22, where "Abraham was still standing before God" is said to have read originally "God was still standing before Abraham." In the majority of cases (as in these two), the Greek translation does not reflect the text said to have been original. This also appears to be the case with the Habbakkuk commentary from Qumran (1QpHab) for the case in Hab 1:12.

In a few cases the Greek translation may reflect the original text, as in 1 Sam 3:13, where the received Hebrew texts reads "His sons brought a curse on themselves" *(mqllym lhm),* and the Greek reads "His sons spoke evil of God." This passage, however, exemplifies the considerable problem of evaluating this tradition. The standard Hebrew text is considered problematic, because the verb in the case is elsewhere used with a direct object (not the preposition *l-,* as here), and means simply to "curse." The same problem occurs with the text which the tradition gives as the original: "cursed him" *(mqllym lw).* Moreover, in the context, the pronoun "him" must refer to Eli, so no disrespect to God would have been involved. There is also a problem if, as many modern critics argue, the original text read "cursed God" *(mqllym ʾlhm),* as is suggested by the LXX. The cursing of God, which is forbidden in Exod 22:27 and Lev 24:15, would be excellent justification for the punishment of the house of Eli with which the passage is concerned. However, if the original text did have this reading, the received text is much more likely to have arisen through the accidental omission of *ʾalep* from *ʾlhm* than from a deliberate change. Such considerations lead some scholars to argue that the tradition of "emendation" is merely a form of midrashic interpretation, intended to supply a reason for an apparent illogicality in the text.

On the other hand, there is no good reason to suggest that such changes could not have been made, especially if they were made at an early period, as the evidence of the Greek translation suggests. Only 3 verses in the Torah are affected: Gen 18:22 is not included in the early lists, whereas Num 11:15 and 12:12 are included (in Num 12:12 4 *mw* and *bśrw* are counted separately). Even here changes would be justified, according to some Talmudic sages, who argued that a change in one letter of the text was justified to avoid profanation of the name of God. Most modern scholars would agree that the inclusion of a passage in this list of emendations may well show that the text was changed in ancient times to avoid some problem, but they would not necessarily accept as authentic the wording identified by the tradition to be original. No doubt the best approach is to treat each case on its own merits.

The Talmud uses the term *ʿiṭṭûr sōpĕrîm,* "omission by the scribes," of five passages, in most of which the conjunction is expected but does not occur, as in Gen 18:5, where *ʾḥr* appears, but *wʾḥr* is expected. The term *miqrāʾ sōpĕrîm,* "reading of the scribes," is the title given to a list composed of the words *ʾrṣ, šmym, mṣrym* (earth, heaven, Egypt). The significance of the title and list is wholly uncertain. In the case of the "omissions," it is difficult to see why the conjunction should have been omitted in the instances named. It is equally difficult to see why the term should not have been used in the many other cases in which the conjunction is expected but does not occur, if the term is just a means of explaining its absence.

It is quite possible that these traditions of "emendation," "omission," or "reading" reflect a partially forgotten period of editorial activity. During this time, some biblical passages may have been modified, with no support from earlier tradition, in accordance with some view held at that time. However, the available evidence suggests that any such activity was sporadic, and antedated the Greek translation. The many anomalies in wording, spelling, and vowel pointing which have been carefully preserved in the text show that any suggestion that "the scribes" ever made a systematic attempt to "normalize" some feature of the text is untenable. See also BIBLE, EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE.

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E. J. REVELL

**SCRIBES.** The Hebrew word for scribe *(sôpēr)* comes from the Semitic root *spr,* originally meaning a written message which was sent, then meaning "writing," and finally meaning "writer." The Greek word for scribe *(grammateus)* comes from the word *gramma,* which means something drawn and, most commonly, written letters. In various combinations this root in Greek refers to all aspects of writing and education. The word "scribe" in Hebrew, Greek, and other languages had a wide range of meaning that changed over time and could denote several social roles. The closest English equivalent is the term "secretary," which refers to roles from that of a typist to a cabinet officer at the highest level of government. In both Semitic and Greek usage, the scribe was commonly a middle-level government official, for example, a "secretary" in charge of the town council (Acts 19:35). Major political bodies in Athens each had a scribe as one of their officers (see Kraeling 1958:94–102).

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A. The Near East
B. Old Testament
C. Greco-Roman Period
D. Jewish Literature
E. Diaspora
F. New Testament
G. Rabbinic Literature
H. Inscriptions

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**A. The Near East**

Egypt and Mesopotamia provide detailed information on the social position, roles, and education of scribes. From the 3d millennium on scribes were situated in the royal court and in the temples. Their duties included administrating and keeping records of tax collection, forced labor, military activities, commodities, and building projects. For example, in Egypt they supervised land measurement after the annual Nile flood; drafted correspondence, contracts, and treaties; and at the highest level kept the royal annals, collected laws, preserved scared traditions, and were experts in astronomy, omens, and other religious rites and activities. Scribes occupied high posts as royal secretaries in charge of royal correspondence and as such functioned as counselors and high officials.

In Egypt boys were brought to the court or temple and trained to read and write. Practice ostraca found behind one temple testify to an open-air school, and one text suggests that initial training took four years (Williams 1972:216). After training in a school, a young man was apprenticed to a scribe; more advanced young scribes were sometimes apprenticed to high officials as potential replacements. Training seems to have consisted of copying, reciting, and memorizing various traditional materials. Advanced students had access to grammatical treatises, lists of idioms, catalogs of natural phenomena, and didactic treatises which taught them how to write, speak, and behave in a correct way. It is likely that scribes in high office had to know more than one language. Students were exhorted to learn their difficult lessons both by corporal punishment and the threat that they would be transferred to a more arduous and less pleasant manual occupation (see Williams 1975:238–41).

**B. Old Testament**

The first scribe in the OT appears in the Song of Deborah as a muster officer (Judg 5:14). The chief scribe at the Jerusalem court was a high cabinet officer concerned with finance, policy, and administration (2 Kgs 22; Jer 36:10), and Baruch, who recorded Jeremiah's words, was a scribe (Jer 36:32) who moved among the highest government officials. Though there is little direct evidence for scribal schools in Israel, their presence is very probable, especially in major cities (LeMaire 1981). In addition, the Wisdom literature reflects scribal and school activity similar to that found in Egypt and Mesopotamia.

In the postexilic period the most well-known scribe in the Bible is Ezra, a priest and a "scribe skilled in the Law of Moses" (Ezra 7:6), who asked the Persian king Artaxerxes for permission to lead a party of exiled Jews back to Jerusalem. The king ordered various officials to give Ezra the resources he needed for the return and the resumption of worship (7:21–22). The king commissioned Ezra to appoint magistrates and judges who knew the law of God and the king (7:25–26). In Ezra 8–10, Ezra the scribe functions as the leader of the returnees in conjunction with leading priests, Levites, and families. Though Ezra is of high priestly stock, he does not officiate at the cult but is a religious leader, while Nehemiah is governor (Nehemiah 8–9). As such he exercised the office of teacher and priest by reading from the Law to the people while a group of Levites helped the people understand the law and led the people in prayer and sacrifice (Ezra 8).

Because of confusion in the chronology and sources of Ezra and Nehemiah, Ezra's exact office and power is a matter of dispute. Schaeder argued that "scribe" was the title of a Persian official appointed to govern Judea and that Ezra was the governor. Galling disputed him and understood "scribe" as an office in the Jewish Diaspora community, but this view depends on a number of controversial textual interpretations. Some recent archaeological evidence suggests that Ahzai was governor when Ezra arrived in 458, and this leads Talmon (*IDBSup,* 317–28) to deny that Ezra was a Persian official. It is very questionable, therefore, whether Ezra was governor. He was certainly a recognized authority in the Jewish community because he was of high priestly descent and also learned in the law. He had enough access to the Persian court to obtain a favor from the king and enough community standing to lead a group to Jerusalem and establish himself there. The continuing problems with intermarriage and the opposition to Ezra indicate that he was one of a number of influential and powerful forces in the Jerusalem community but that his views did not immediately predominate.

One other scribe appears in Ezra and Nehemiah—Zadok, who was appointed with a priest and Levite to be a treasurer of the storehouses where the tithes were brought (Neh 12:12–13). This text suggests that scribes were part of society and its leadership in Jerusalem. In the postexilic Jewish community the roles of priests, Levites, scribes, and other Jewish leaders overlapped. Ezra was a priest, scribe, and community leader, and possibly a government-appointed leader (Ezra 7). The Levites taught (Nehemiah 8), and in the view of the Chronicler, which probably reflects the postexilic situation, some Levites served as scribes (1 Chr 24:6; 2 Chr 34:13). Even though the Chronicler is promoting the rights of the Levites, his advocacy shows that scribal activity was consistent with priestly and levitical activities (see *IDBSup,* 317–28).

Scribal activity by a variety of groups (priests, prophets, visionaries, scribes, and other community leaders) must be postulated in order to account for the composition and editing of the biblical collection during the exilic and postexilic periods. Fishbane (1985:78–84) has isolated the activities of scribes who copied the biblical text and engaged in unsystematic interpretation by making comments and clarifications, some of which have been incorporated into the text. It is not clear whether the scribes also belonged to the circles which produced the biblical traditions, but certainly they had responsibility for its transmission. Scribes or people with scribal skills must have been part of priestly, prophetic, and leadership circles at all times. While it is difficult to prove historical continuity, the nature of the biblical materials in their Near Eastern cultural setting makes the hypothesis of a continuous and diverse scribal tradition very likely.

**C. Greco-Roman Period**

The Greeks had a lively scribal tradition and often appointed learned individuals, scribes, sophists, and teachers to government offices and councils. The first evidence for scribal officials in Hellenistic Palestine is contained in a letter of Antiochus III to his governor of Coele-Syria, Ptolemy, in which he exempted the senate *(gerousia),* priests, temple scribes, and temple singers from several taxes (Josephus *Ant* 12.3.3 §§138–44). Scribes appear once in 1 Maccabees and are somehow associated with the Hasideans. During the Maccabean revolt (167–164 B.C.E.) a group of "pious ones" or "Hasideans" *(ḥasîdîm)* joined the Maccabees in their struggle against Antiochus IV: "Then there united with them [Mattathias and his friends] a company of Hasideans, mighty warriors of Israel, everyone who offered himself for the law" (1 Macc 2:42). After the death of Antiochus and the accession of Demetrius I "a

group of scribes appeared in a body before Alcimus [the new high priest, appointed by the king] and Bacchides [the king's governor] to ask for just terms. The Hasideans were the first among the sons of Israel to seek peace from them, for they said, 'A priest of the line of Aaron has come with the army, and he will not harm us' " (1 Macc 7:12–14). Eventually Alcimus killed sixty of those who made peace (1 Macc 7:16). The two sentences mentioning the scribes and Hasideans follow one another awkwardly and the relationship between the two is not clear. The scribes may have been a part of the Hasideans or the Hasideans part of the scribal class. The motive for the pietists' actions, that a priest of the line of Aaron would not harm them, bespeaks a great confidence in the traditional institutions and laws of Israel and perhaps a certain interpretation of Israel's history which stressed confidence in God and the sanctity of the priesthood. It is clear that the scribes are associated with the pietists and with defense of the Jewish way of life. Because they could come to Alcimus as a group and were the object of an assassination plot, they probably had some influence or power and were perceived as a threat by the government. They were part of the political leadership of Judaism but in a subordinate position where they were open to the kind of oppression they suffered at the hands of Alcimus. In 2 Maccabees, Eleazar, a leading scribe (6:18), dies for the law and as an example to younger Jews. The author conceived of scribes as prominent leaders in Jewish Palestinian society, notable for their nobility, virtue, and community responsibility.

Josephus uses "scribe" in the usual Greco-Roman way for officials at all levels from village to royal court. He does not use the term for an organized social group, nor does he use it for groups especially devoted to the law, like the Pharisees. In the first half of the *Antiquities,* when Josephus is summarizing the Bible, he retains scribes where they appear as royal officials or as individuals (Baruch, Ezra) and occasionally adds them to the biblical account as mid-level officials serving the king. For example, when the Israelites defeated the Philistines in battle (1 Sam 14:31–35), they began to kill animals and eat them without observing the laws for slaughter of animals. The Hebrew says someone ("they") told Saul about it; Josephus says that the scribes told him (*Ant* 6.6.4 §120). Scribes are community officials with access to the king and responsibility for supervising observance of the law. According to 1 Chr 23:1–6, just before his death David organized the Levites according to tasks with six thousand assigned to be officers *(šoṭerîm)* and judges. Josephus translates "officers" as "scribes" (*Ant* 7.14.7 §364), since he understood scribes to be government officials. Scribes are also government record keepers. When David took a census of the people (2 Sam 24:1) he sent Joab and the commanders of the army to take the census. Josephus understood census-taking as a scribal and not a military activity, so in his account Joab takes the chiefs of the tribes and the scribes with him (*Ant* 7.13.1 §319). In the story of Esther, scribes are twice added to the story by Josephus as keepers of records (Esth 6:1; *Ant* 11.6.10 §§248, 250; Esth 9:3; *Ant* 11.6.13 §287). Josephus refers to temple scribes in the letter of Antiochus III above and in his version of Ezra 7:24, where the Persian king exempts from "tribute, custom or toll" the following groups: priests, Levites, singers, doorkeepers, temple servants, and other servants of the house of God. The last two repetitious and vague terms are translated by 1 Esdras (8:22), Josephus' source, as temple servants *(hierodouloi)* and temple functionaries *(pragmatikoi).* Josephus replaces 1 Esdras' unclear category *pragmatikoi* with "scribes of the Temple" (*Ant* 11.5.1 §128).

While writing of the Herodian period, Josephus refers to village scribes of very low status (*JW* 1.24.3 §479), Diophantes a scribe and high official of Herod (*JW* 1.26.3 §529), and Aristeas, priest and scribe of the council *(boulē),* killed during the siege of Jerusalem (*JW* 5.13.1 §532). Josephus understands scribes to be both high and low officials associated with king, temple, and village.

**D. Jewish Literature**

The presence of scribes in the Hellenistic period is witnessed by Jewish literature whose very abundance testifies to scribal traditions and efforts. The Enoch tradition, with its early interest in calendar and astronomical matters (*1 Enoch* 72–82), the Wisdom books and stories (Qoheleth, Daniel 1–6, Ecclesiasticus), and the variety of literary products of this period testify to intense authorial activity and educational support for such activity. The scribal activity and separatist tendencies in the Enoch traditions were intensified later in the Qumran community's traditions and in those of many other nameless groups of the Greco-Roman period. During the Hellenistic period Judaism produced a vast amount of literature,

and this authorial activity argues for a strong core of educated Jews and an educational establishment, including scribes fulfilling their normal range of duties.

The most famous description of the scribe in Jewish literature is given by Ben Sira in the early 2d century (38:24–39:11). He attributes to the ideal scribe all areas of knowledge, high government station, and lasting fame. The wisdom of the scribe is closely linked with and dependent on God because his main source of knowledge is the "law of the Most High," the study of which leads him "to seek out the wisdom of the ancients" and "be concerned with prophecies." He will also "preserve the discourse of notable men and penetrate the subtleties of parables; he will seek out the hidden meanings of proverbs and be at home with the obscurities of parables" (39:1–3). Ben Sira conceived of the scribe as an expert in what had by then become the three parts of the Hebrew Bible, the law (Torah), prophets, and writings. The scribe is not simply a scholar or teacher in the modern mold, but a high official, advisor to the governing class, and international ambassador and traveler (39:4; 38:32–33). The foundation for the scribes' social leadership is not birth or wealth but knowledge of discipline (*paideia,* education, culture), judgment, and proverbs (*parabolais,* parables, similitudes). In Ben Sira the understanding of scribe has been widened so that it is almost equivalent to that of the wiseman. Ben Sira also seems to have conceived of himself as a scribe (39:9–10) and he may have been a teacher with a school in Jerusalem (51:23; if the hymn in chap. 51 is original to Ben Sira and the description of his situation correct, and if *bet midraš* is correctly translated as "school").

Scribes are also mentioned in other Jewish literature. In the first section of *1 Enoch* (1–36), which dates from before the Maccabean revolt, Enoch is twice referred to as a scribe of righteousness (12:3–4; 15:1) and sent as a messenger to the Watchers, a group of angels who have sinned against God. At the beginning of the *Epistle of Enoch* (92:1), which dates from the latter part of the 2d century or earlier, Enoch appears as the scribe who has written this part of the book: "Written by Enoch the scribe—this complete wisdom teaching." In *2 Baruch,* an apocalypse written after the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E., the scribe Baruch appears as a community leader whose authority now exceeds that of the prophet Jeremiah (2:1; 9:1–10:4) contrary to the biblical text. He carries out traditional scribal tasks of writing to the exiles and also prophetic tasks of receiving revelation. The community looks to him for guidance and for knowledge of God's will in a time of crisis. It seems that the author and his community understand scribes as heirs to the prophets, interpreters of the Bible, and visionaries. Such an understanding of the scribal office fits well an apocalyptic group because apocalyptic literature has strong links with traditional and mantic wisdom. For example, Daniel, an archetypical apocalyptic seer, is a wise man and an official in Babylon.

**E. Diaspora**

The Palestinian use of "scribe" for an official, wise man, and religious leader may have differed from that in the Diaspora. In the *Letter of Aristeas to Philocrates* the translators of the Hebrew Bible into Greek are presented as highborn Jews distinguished by education or scholarship *(paideia)* and knowledge of the literature of the Jews and Greeks. They have some specifically Greek accomplishments, including a talent for talking about the law (the ability to speak well was an essential Greek virtue for the educated person). They seek the "mean," an Aristotelian ideal of virtue, they are not uncouth, nor conceited in dealing with others and they can listen and comment appropriately. In addition, they are also qualified for embassies. While in Egypt on an embassy they discuss kingship with the king, a typical concern of both wisdom literature and Greek philosophy. The description of this group fits the wisdom ideal of the scribe attached to the highest levels of the ruler's court and has much in common with the scribe as depicted in Ben Sira. The translators and the scribe are wise men who know the whole tradition, can function in international situations, and have the talent to be leaders, judges, and scholars. In the Hellenistic age the international ideal of the wise man endured in the Near East and Israel, both in Palestine and in the Diaspora, and continued to adapt and evolve to meet changing circumstances and the development of the Jewish tradition. The use of the term "scribe" in Ben Sira and its absence in *Aristeas* may reflect Palestinian and Diaspora usage. The Alexandrian Jewish community was led by educated, wealthy, highborn people of the type depicted in *Aristeas.* Since the Jewish community had very limited independence and Jews were

not Alexandrian citizens, the community may not have had an official class of scribes, in contrast to Jerusalem. Similarly the Greek prologue to Ben Sira, written by his grandson in Alexandria, does not refer to Ben Sira as a scribe, even though Ben Sira implies that he is a scribe in the book. The Greek term scribe *(grammateus)* does not seem to have been used for a learned wiseman or teacher or translator but for a government official or copiest. Further evidence for this view is found in Josephus who refers to teachers of the law as *sophistai* (*JW* 1.33.2 §648) and characterizes them by descriptive expressions such as most learned (*Ant* 17.6.2 §149) but not as scribes. Josephus is probably following the Greek usage of his audience rather than Palestinian usage. One other indication of this usage can be found in *4 Macc.* 5:4, a Diaspora work where Eleazar, called a scribe in 2 Macc (above), is identified as a priest, presumably because the leadership role attributed to him is more proper for priests than scribes in the Greek world.

**F. New Testament**

More than in any other source the scribes are seen as a unified group in the NT, but this view may not be historically accurate. The Synoptic Gospel writers see the scribes as a group opposed to Jesus but say very little about their other characteristics. In Mark the scribes are associated with Jerusalem and the chief priests as part of the government of Judaism. Though their roles are not specified, their close association with the chief priests means they functioned as high officials and advisors. Some scribes who appeared in Galilee were identified as coming from Jerusalem (3:22; 7:1). Their teachings are referred to in an offhand way, which suggests that they were recognized as authoritative teachers of Jewish law and custom (1:22; 9:11). Mark presents them as a unified political group because for him their salient unifying characteristic is opposition to Jesus. Actually, the scribes probably stand for a plethora of Jewish community officials, many of them actual scribes, who opposed Jesus' claim to authority and his growing popularity.

For Matthew both the scribes and Pharisees had many interests in common and were the learned groups par excellence in Judaism. The scribes were connected both with village life and the leaders in Jerusalem and were part of the middle leadership of Judaism. Matthew approves of scribes because he recognizes the scribal role in the new Christian community (13:52; 23:34). His quarrel is not with the role of scribes as learned guides of the community and guardians of the tradition, but with the Jewish scribes' opposition to Jesus. It is very likely that Matthew's view of scribes as community leaders in the Galilean villages reflects more the situation of his church, in which he himself was a scribe (13:52; cf. 23:34), than conditions in Palestine before the war.

In Luke-Acts the scribes are less distinct as a group and more like an appendage of the Pharisees, united to them by belief in resurrection. At the time of Jesus' death the scribes are associated with the chief priests in Jerusalem as they are in Mark and Matthew. In Acts the scribes continue to appear as learned leaders in Jerusalem who are active in protecting Judaism. Luke also inserts a new category of leader, the lawyer. "Lawyer" replaces "scribe" in one instance (10:25; cf. Mk 12:28), and lawyers are similar to scribes and Pharisees (7:30; 11:45; 14:3). Luke adds no new evidence for 1st century Palestine. His understanding of the scribes is either vague (he conflates them with the Pharisees) or guided by the general functions of scribes in the Greco-Roman world.

The scribes presented in the Synoptic Gospels are best understood as bureaucrats and experts on Jewish life. They could have been low-level officials and judges both in Jerusalem and in the towns and villages of the country. Mark, possibly the most reliable of the gospels, which may reflect conditions in Palestine just before or after the war and which most probably has traditions from the middle of the 1st century, places scribes mainly in or from Jerusalem and only twice simply in Galilee (2:6; 9:14). The presence of scribes in Jerusalem as officials and in Galilean villages as copyists and low-level officials is very probable. The gospels testify most reliably to scribes connected to the government in Jerusalem, and their role there seems to be as associates of the priests, both in judicial proceeding and enforcement of Jewish custom and law, and ongoing business in the Sanhedrin. It is likely that the scribes did not constitute a unified social organization or class, as the NT claims, but rather fulfilled a number of roles in different parts of society. The gospel traditions about scribes may reflect the opposition of many scattered local officials to early Christian communities before and after the war and perhaps opposition to Jesus also.

"Scribe" is used once in Paul's letters, where he contrasts the wisdom of the world with the foolishness of the cross and claims that the cross is true wisdom. In the course of his attack he cites scripture and then asks rhetorically, "Where is the wise man *(sophos),* where is the scribe *(grammateus),* where is the debater *(suzētētēs)* of this age?" (1 Cor 1:20). Paul seems to be referring to well-known terms for educated intellectual leaders in the Greco-Roman world.

**G. Rabbinic Literature**

The Mishnah and other rabbinic collections refer sporadically to the scribes *(sôperîm)* as early authoritative teachers to whom a number of rulings and legal interpretations are attributed. Modern historical reconstructions of the development of Jewish law have usually identified the scribes as the Jewish scholars who had great influence on Judaism from the time of Ezra down to the time of the pairs (*m.* ʾ*Abot* 1:5–11) in the 2d century (Lauterbach 1973:27–29; 163–94). The scribes are often identified as members of the Great Assembly, the legendary ruling body of Judaism during this period. See SANHEDRIN. Scholars have differed concerning whether or not they were priests, when their influence ceased, and the scope of their teachings. Some attribute certain anonymous teachings of the Mishnah to them, but no clear critical method has been constructed for isolating these traditions. Lauterbach holds that they first commented on Scripture in midrash and then developed the Mishnaic form of teaching, but this view has been challenged. All these interpretations of the scribes have treated them as a cohesive body with a well-defined agenda and independent power, but the evidence for this position is very weak.

That the scribes were not an organized group with its own teaching can be seen in the rulings explicitly attributed to the scribes in rabbinic literature. Rules which are designated the "words of the scribes" *(dibrê sôperîm)* are scattered in the sources and so form no coherent body of teaching. In the Mishnah the scribes are used as the source for teachings which are thought to be ancient or for rulings which are not fully accepted or are of less authority than Scripture. For example, the restrictions concerning eating the fruit of young trees are said to apply outside the land of Israel as well as inside as a matter of halaka, that is, biblical law which is generally accepted as such in rabbinic teaching (*m.* ʿ*Or.* 3:9). On the other hand, the restrictions concerning growing diverse crops together are also binding outside the land of Israel, but only by authority of the "words of the scribes," which may mean a supposed ancient enactment or simply rabbinic teaching. In view of the fact that other passages which refer to the words of the scribes seem to imply that the traditions derive from older and reliable authorities, this passage probably invokes their authority, which is less than Scripture but greater than any recent rabbinic teacher.

The rabbis' desire to circumscribe the authority of the teachings of the scribes is most clear where the authority of the laws in Scripture is sharply distinguished from the teachings of the scribes (*m. Yad.* 3:2). Though the Mishnah circumscribes the authority of the teachings of the scribes, it does not contemn or annul it. *M. Sanh.* 11:3 decrees that those who deny that one must observe some part of the words of the scribes are to be treated with greater stringency than those who deny that one must observe some point of scriptural law, probably because a direct challenge to scriptural law is unthinkable.

Many of the passages in Mishnah which mention the words of the scribes are concerned with purity. Certain rules which seem to defy the general principles of uncleanness are attributed to the scribes (*m. Kelim* 13:7) in an effort to ground them on early authority. Secondary rules concerning marriages between relatives are also attributed to the scribes (*m. Yebam.* 2:3–4. The words or teachings of the scribes can function as a general category for classifying different types of rules. Reference is made to a class of unclean persons, those who require immersion according to "the words of the scribes" (*m. Para* 11:5–6). Elsewhere the words of the scribes and the teaching of the sages are distinguished (*m. Ṭohor.* 4:7).

The authority of the scribes is less obvious and well established than that of the Bible as can be seen in the preceding Mishnaic passages. The references to the scribes in the Tosefta are similar to those in Mishnah where they are used as a source for certain teachings. Later Talmudic literature also mentions the scribes from time to time and sometimes in a way congruent with the passages cited above and sometimes with other meanings. In the Talmudic lexicon, "scribe" can refer to a copyist who produced Torah scrolls, to a literate person who writes letters and documents, and to a teacher and interpreter of scripture. In

addition, the teachings of the scribes function as they do in the Mishnah, as an ancient source of authority for Jewish traditions.

The figure of the scribe in rabbinic literature is consistent with scribes in other literature. However, the historical role assigned the *sôperîm* in passing on part of the legal tradition and the implication that they were a cohesive "rabbinic-like" group fits the later rabbinic view of its own origins rather than the known historical facts.

**H. Inscriptions**

Some of the Diaspora literature reviewed earlier suggested that "scribe" was not used for the Jew learned in the law. One other body of evidence from the Diaspora needs to be assessed. The Greek title "scribe" *(grammateus)* appears over twenty times in the inscriptions from the Jewish community in Rome (Leon 1960). The Roman community had at least eleven separate congregations from the 1st century B.C.E. to the 4th C.E. "Scribe" or "Secretary of the Congregation" is the second most common title, after "*Archōn* ""leader," "president"; Leon 1960:183). The limited evidence of the inscriptions shows that the scribe was not the leader of the congregation but a subordinate official, probably the keeper of records and writer of marriage contracts or similar documents. Misspellings in an inscription by a scribe suggest that the average scribe was not greatly learned (Leon 1960:184–85). Since there probably would not have been enough work as a maker of scrolls and contracts to keep a scribe busy full time, the role of community scribe would have been a part-time occupation often filled by a person with minimal training. The slim evidence gathered by Leon fits the Greco-Roman pattern which was alive in some Jewish communities of the Roman Empire. The scribe was a literate person who might not be greatly educated and who fulfilled limited but essential functions in the community.

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ANTHONY J. SALDARINI

**SCRIPT, ARAMAIC.** See ARAMAIC SCRIPT.

**SCRIPTURAL AUTHORITY.** This entry consists of eight separate articles, all of which address some aspect of the history of biblical authority. However, each focuses on one particular aspect of this subject. The first three provide general overviews of how this notion developed within the particular confessional contexts of Judaism, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Roman Catholicism. Two other articles focus on the idea of scriptural authority in the formative period of the early Church and in the Middle Ages. An article on the authority of the Bible in the Reformation and Post-Reformation periods provides an introductory overview of the notion in the context of early Protestantism. The two final articles survey how the authority of Scripture was affected by Enlightenment and Post-Enlightenment developments, and how it is now being articulated by religious communities in a modern, "post-critical" environment.

***BIBLICAL AUTHORITY IN JUDAISM***

The issue of biblical authority has never been a question which bothered Jews. The issue of authority indeed has bothered non-Jews, especially since the period of the Reformation. Judaism ceased relying on the written scriptural law as the ultimate source of authority in tannaitic times (about the 1st century C.E.), and ever after the oral law—*verba divina non scripta*—became decisive. This does not mean that the written law was relinquished or ignored. In theory all authority flows from the word of written Scripture, but that only in the way interpreted by the rabbis or "sages."

Hence we must ask, What actually is regarded as "biblical" in Judaism? Who fixed the borderlines, and who was bound by the definition? It is at this first juncture that Judaism stands apart from Christianity. The problem here is the biblical canon. Again this leads us to the era of the Tannaites: what did make that time so special? Apparently there were various reasons. On the one hand, the central legal authority had collapsed following the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem and the subsequent cessation of sacrifices. Thus the need for fixing rules binding every Jew had become imperative, and those rules were the ordinances as laid down in the Torah.

On the other hand, although "officially" prophecy had ceased after the time of the return from the Babylonian exile (see HOLY SPIRIT), certain texts circulated in Jewish circles which were taken by some to be inspired. We learn specifically from Josephus that men acknowledged as prophets arose towards the end of the Second Temple period, and some attracted followers. See JOHN THE BAPTIST. We cannot know in what precise sense Josephus used the term "prophet."

Our generation has learned how the Qumran covenanters were particular in expounding Scripture. No one can say for sure whether they were more or less extreme in expounding Scripture than their opponents—whether Pharisees, Sadducees, or another group. The fact that this was a Jewish sect which we know about does not mean that this sect was the only one which felt that its interpretations of the Bible were the correct ones. Different sects had "sacred" literature in their possession, books such as Jubilees, Enoch, and Ecclesiasticus. Hence authoritative steps had to be taken to decide which writings should be considered "sacred" or inspired. After the First Jewish War, in mainstream Judaism the authority was in the hands of the Tannaim or "Sages." As far as we can tell, for Judaism there never was an official act of introducing certain writings *into* the canon. The issue was rather which of the various writings which groups had regarded as "inspired" should be left *inside* the canon. See also CANON (HEBREW BIBLE).

Each term we use may lead to misconceptions. "Inspired" means conceived under the influence of *rûaḥ haqqôdeš,* "holy spirit." The expression used in rabbinic literature in discussions regarding canonical status is "books that defile the hands." The writings regarded as inspired are among those things which "defile the hands." That very discussion in rabbinical literature is extremely complicated, but one may be sure that the canonical Scriptures were those which "defiled the hands" in contrast to "profane" literature. (The prolonged discussions as to how that term came to signify what it did cannot be gone into here.)

Since many writings were considered inspired by the common crowd—who were not particular in regard of keeping their hands "undefiled"—it can be understood how this equation of sacredness and defilement could become a token of canonical status in speaking of sacred writings. To be sure, the books of the Torah were regarded as the core of the canon at least since the time of the return from the Babylonian Exile. The books known as prophetic as well as the Psalms had a somewhat lesser degree of sacredness, although we cannot state at which point in history the Psalms (and other writings) were already part of the sacred corpus.

Certain verses of writings which are not considered part of the Hebrew canon are quoted in rabbinic literature by the same introductory formula—"as it is said"—normally reserved for canonical writings. Also, there were traces in rabbinic literature of tannaitic disputes as to whether certain books should indeed be considered inspired. Such discussions may reflect uncertainty about the authoritative status of the book in question. Specifically the character of three books of Scripture was questioned: (a) Ezekiel, because it included legal ordinances contrary to those of the Torah (which in the end were clarified through rabbinic ingenuity; (b) Ecclesiastes, because it expresses doubts regarding the divine order—yet finally the author retracts his doubts; (c) "Song of Songs," the most questionable of all because of the lewd associations it arouses. Even the fact that this book too was attributed to Solomon could not assuage all doubts. Only after a leading tannaite of the 2d century found a way to declare that the catchy superscription should be interpreted symbolically as referring to the relationship between God and Israel as "holiest of poems" was it so recognized.

All this is mentioned to show that not only the legal parts of the Torah—which were the body prescribing practical observation—served as the major authority of biblical writings, but that each book

had to pass the test for canonicity. The choice of the books for possible invalidation may help us answer the question why other books were never regarded as authoritative. The criterion seems not to have been the alleged authorship but rather certain parts of the contents which raised doubts.

On the other hand we cannot say for sure whether assumed time of authorship played any role. Contrary to what modern critics may state, there is no book in the Hebrew Bible canon fixed at a time much later than the return from the Babylonian exile. This is not meant as a statement regarding the time of the redaction of the so-called P source, a problem which has raised many disputes. But it means that no part of the prophets or Psalms can for instance be pushed down to the Maccabean era. Jewish tradition holds that no later prophecies from other sources were admitted into the canon.

Concerning the book of Daniel, the issue of its provenance from Hellenistic times, as claimed by many scholars, does not concern us here. Daniel is not reckoned as part of the prophetic literature in the Hebrew canon, contrary to the Greek. Its content did not raise theological problems and thus its position was never queried.

On the other hand, the book of Esther might have caused difficulties because of its contents, which can hardly be said to be edifying literature. Yet our moral considerations have nothing to do with the question of biblical authority. Questions may be raised why a book which lacks any explicit mention of the divine name altogether should have entered the canon and why no scroll containing Esther was recovered at Qumran. But these are different issues.

The last question brings us to the twilight period between biblical and post-biblical literature. The attitude of the Qumran covenanters toward Scripture is of special importance for our subject. First, their life was totally Bible-centered. Their way of understanding the Bible may seem to us somewhat distorted, just as their very attitude to life did. They felt that they understood the Bible better than other groups of Jewry. The group claimed that it was they who knew the exact historical meaning of a given prophetic text. Their self-understanding as "sons of light" in contrast to the "sons of darkness" may raise the impression that this group felt itself driven to the brink. But none of that can belittle their absolute loyalty to the biblical authority.

If "inspiration" is a criterion for judging a group, it can be stated for sure that the leaders of that sect drew a clear dividing line between the prophetic text and themselves as authoritative interpreters. Just as rabbinic Judaism coined the phrase "a sage (Heb *ḥakām*) is superior to a prophet" so the authors of a Qumran *pešer* (interpretation of prophecy) felt that the prophecy was a dead letter without their authoritative interpretation. Speaking of the term *pešer* used by the Qumran interpreters, that term is easily understood, though previously unknown. We do not know whether it was coined especially for the Qumran type of exegesis. But one point is clear: that sect spent such an effort to achieve correct interpretation that for them the Bible must have played an outstanding role.

However, we should not ignore an argument from silence. While the Qumran writings deal with the correct interpretations of various passages of the Torah, no Torah-*pešer* has been found. What could that mean? Is it purely an accident, or does it mean that regarding the Torah the *pešer*-technique of interpretation was inapplicable, especially for passages with legal implications?

Having talked about Torah and prophets, let us now look at the Psalms. Also here issues of text-type and redaction are intertwined. In this case there is no dearth of texts. Some are practically identical with the MT, while others include odes previously known only from non-Hebrew sources.

A further example of overlap between MT and non-masoretic rephrasing is the so-called Temple Scroll. That text retells the laws of the Torah mainly regarding sacrifices and festivals. But it rephrases ordinances, mainly from Deuteronomy. To us this may seem like an infraction of biblical authority. But this might be the way the covenantors acted out the way they understood the Torah.

Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, rewritings of biblical stories in Aramaic were known. Since every translation amounts to a retelling of the original, all Aramaic Targums amount to so many retellings.

It is one of the old prejudices of biblical studies that only the Onqelos-type of targum is usually reckoned as a proper targum. However, if one studies the Palestinian targums, one realizes that their literary technique in retelling and embellishing the story is much richer. See also TARGUM.

In this case of viewing the power of biblical authority it becomes clear that the *meturgeman*—similar to the midrashist—does not allow any biblical text to stand without embellishment of details. Such facts show the importance of biblical authority in post-biblical Judaism. There hardly exists a biblical text without midrashic elaboration, mainly amoraic. However, midrashic elaborations occur atomistically, not in verse-by-verse fashion, as in medieval commentaries.

The part of the Bible which is the most authoritative is the ordinances of the Torah. Regulations as worked out by oral law have achieved an autonomous status, even if they are theoretically only "fences" erected by the sages. A simple example of legal regulations might help. Deuteronomy 25:2 specifies the procedure of punishment by lashes by order of the court. The Torah is quite explicit regarding the number of lashes: i.e., forty, no more. However, rabbinic law reduces that number, based on the fact that "forty" is preceded in the text by the construct "in number," which is construed as "coming near in number." We may assume that the real justification for the rabbinic reduction was the injunction of Deuteronomy "lest your brother be humiliated."

While it may seem that rabbinic law has overruled biblical law arbitarily, in fact no legal statement is made without a basis in the biblical text. Let us now look at the typical run of a legal argument in midrash halakhah or a Talmudic statement. All rulings regarding halakhah must be deduced from an explicit biblical ordinance in the Torah. If the halakhah is a prohibition, two proof-texts are usually required. For this purpose generally a verse from Deuteronomy serves as additional proof. The execution of the law needed two proof-texts to be declared based on the Torah, and sometimes rather crooked exegemes had to be used. To be sure, the rabbis had power to enact "fences," and those laws are based on the consensus of rabbinic opinion.

Another category which shows the need for a basis in the Bible was termed "halakhah revealed to Moses at Sinai." For post-biblical legislation these were ordinances of two different degrees. In some instances the rabbis realized themselves that the proof from the Torah-text was rather feeble, and might regard it as a "legal prop."

All this is mentioned here to show how carefully the rabbis had to proceed to regulate practical obervance, and they took special pains to stress that "it is the statements of the Sages that need enforcement" (e.g., *Roš Haš.* 19a; *Yebam.* 36b). The general ruling is that any condition appended contrary to an express ordinance in the Torah is not binding (e.g., *Ketub.* 84a). Prophets had no authority to lay down the law (*Šabb.* 104a).

We intentionally stressed the issue of the absolute authority of the Torah. No ruling could be based on pronouncements by prophets if they ran counter to the Torah. Only if a prophet decided in a special emergency—such as Elijah's sacrificing outside the Jerusalem Temple—could their action be regarded as valid. To be sure, prophets had to exhort the people to act justly and morally. But this was not legal enactment. The prophets had to get across a message which became part of the theological heritage of subsequent generations. Issues of ethics and morals are not part of the enacted law.

To finish with a rather extreme statement we may mention the saying "The words from prophets and writings will be abolished in the future, but those of the Torah will not" (*j. Meg.* 1:9). On the other hand the Talmud states (*Taʿan.* 17b), "This point we do not know from the Torah but by prophetic tradition."

Traditional interpretation also had to account for linguistic change. Biblical law was phrased in prose, and most of the Hebrew Bible is written in Classical Hebrew or Late Biblical Hebrew. There are various theories concerning how biblical Hebrew gave way in literary use to rabbinic Hebrew. In general the rabbis had no doubts concerning the sense of words in biblical Hebrew. But sometimes the exact sense of a biblical word was queried. Such discussions are not transmitted for the benefit of the historical linguist, but they originated from practical need. In deciding the sense of a biblical law no linguistic uncertainty was permissible. On the one hand, the Torah uses normal language of humans. On the other, the language of the Torah is one thing and the language of the sages another. Since the understanding of biblical law

depended on the exact interpretation of all key words, this issue comes up rather often in the period of post-biblical and Aramaic diglossia.

Up to now we have dealt only with Hebrew and Aramaic. But there also was Greek. Rabbinic sources contain some snide remarks on renderings of the Bible into those languages. Nowhere do we find a remark that the Bible rendered into another language was as authoritative as the Hebrew original. But we see what contortions in Greek Aquila had to make so as to render the slightest nuance of the Hebrew sentence in proper Greek garb.

We can draw conclusions with regard to the authority of the Bible not only from the pseudepigrapha composed in the period of the Second Temple—most of which can be understood only if one assumes the Bible as authoritative—but even more from two contemporary authors, neither of whom specialized in biblical law. One was Philo—the first Jewish philosopher, the predecessor of medieval Jewish and European philosophy. Philo left us a long list of what he felt his readers should know regarding the teaching of the Bible. The list is included in his *Hypothetica,* which are in fact an apology for Judaism. It was meant for Hellenistic pagans who, as is well known, started many pogroms against Alexandrian Jewry. In this treatise Philo tells how the Bible describes the creation of the world—contrary to Greek mythology—then continues with the laws and their allegorical meaning *(De legum allegoria),* then with the fate of the first representatives of the human race, summing up with a theological essay how "the worse attacks the better" and the unchanging nature of God, then the story of Noah and the confusion of tongues, then to Abraham and who the proper heir of divine matters is *(Quis rerum divinarum heres),* then to "flight and findings," on to the decalogue and certain specific laws and virtues, on "reward and punishment," and in the very end *De vita contemplativa* and *De aeternitate mundi.*

This is not mentioned as an exhaustive index but as an indication of what this early philosopher thought important for his non-Jewish compatriots to know about the contents of the Bible.

Since we can judge the treatise only from what we have of it, it could well be that Philo tried to convey to his readers some points on why and how biblical teaching is authoritative for Jews. But since he was a Hellenistic philosopher writing for other Hellenistic Egyptians, we can only deduce his ideas on the authority of the Bible from these pronouncements.

While Philo, as a philosopher, never let his feelings get the better of him, his slightly younger contemporary Flavius Josephus dealt with the important issue of biblical authority in this polemical treatise *contra Apion* (1.7). This treatise is the first Jewish counter-polemic treatise written by a descendant of Jerusalem priests who was a military leader as well as a historian. It deals specifically with the reverence with which the Bible is regarded by all Jews and thus teaches us something about its authority. Josephus sums this up thus: "We have given proof of our reverence for our scriptures." This statement is based expressly on the interpretation of Deut 4:2 "do not add or subtract anything," which was a standard proof-text from early tannaitic writings till today. Josephus adds "No one has ventured to either add or subtract a syllable. It is an instinct (!) with every Jew to regard them as decrees of God, to abide by them and—if need be—cheerfully to die for them" (*AgAp* 1.42). To be sure, Josephus made his statements in a polemical framework, but we cannot doubt that he tried to present the attitude of mainstream Jewry at his time.

All testimonies from the tannaitic era indicate that the Bible was regarded as absolute authority not only by mainstream Jewry but also in a sect such as the Qumran covenanters. But we cannot gauge the actual type of differences and possible idealizations.

Scholars ask, why the laws of the Torah were regarded so highly when, in fact, they were mainly the background for daily life regulations by the sages or sectarian leaders. Was there perhaps a polemic undercurrent against disparagers? What really is the meaning of the strong interpretation of the phrase "he has despised the word of the Lord" (Num 15:31) and the rabbinic interpretation "This refers to someone who claims that the Tora was not given from heaven" (*Sanh.* 99a).

We have already learned of doubts uttered by some of the sages regarding the canonical status of certain books of what finally became the canon. But some statements were even stronger: "There are many verses which actually should be burned, but these may be the very texts on which the Torah is based (*Ḥul.* 60b).

To be sure, the modern scholar often feels that the rabbis in their statements must have left their critical acumen at home; therefore such statements should be viewed with double attention. On the other hand, we should not minimize the feelings expressed by the rabbis. They held that often laws of the Torah should not be adhered to literally, basing themselves on their interpretation of Ps 119:126, "there is a time to act for God even if one sets aside your Torah." The authority of the Torah is not diminished even if necessity forces one to break its ordinances.

Biblical authority could also be tackled on esoteric bases. We do not know who the first group was to produce in ancient time the *hekālôt* (lit. "[divine] chariot") esoteric literature or whether there was a direct connection between them and the medieval Kabbalists. To be sure, tradition has it that the leading talmudic sages were also masters of esoteric teaching and practice. But since there is more than a trace of suspicion that there was also a group which held on to some kind of Jewish Gnosticism, one should be careful in trying to identify the different expressions of esoteric knowledge and action. But one point should be stressed: whatever the exact shade of reliance on the Torah, its authority was uppermost even if the exegetical approach was esoteric. The Torah had hidden meanings, and the expositor had to search for them.

Up to now we have dealt mainly with what can be called mainstream Judaism, this is to say the heritage of ancient pharisaic ideology. But at the time when normative Judaism gained ascendance there was at least one non-mainstream group apart from the Qumran sect: the Sadducees. Since rabbinic literature developed from Pharisaic sources, it presents a slanted picture. Sadducees differed from Pharisees at certain points of theology, such as bodily resurrection, in regard to the status of oral law, and in practical observance. The Sadducees were stricter in observing biblical law to the letter. Whether the Essenes mentioned in ancient sources were indeed identical with the Qumran covenanters remains an open question.

Mainstream Judaism developed from the Pharisees; no known remnants of the Sadducees survived in Judaism. But because there was no persecution of Sadducees, their disappearance from the scene remains a riddle. The question has been raised what relationship there is between the Sadducees and the splinter group called the Karaites, which developed in Babylonia around the 8th century C.E. as a clear alternative to rabbinic Judaism. That group or sect denied the validity of rabbinic hermeneutics and maintained that the rabbis had strayed from the correct meaning of the biblical law by substituting their legal understanding for that found in the Bible.

The likeliest group that may have kept—or revived—Sadduceean teaching indeed seems to be the 7th–8th century Karaites, which arose as a splinter group of dissatisfied followers of rabbinic Judaism in Babylonia. But the main point of that group is rather stricter adherence to the biblical text according to the slogan of its founder, "search very exactly in the Torah." Since the time the Samaritans had split away from developing Judaism during the period of the Second Temple, there had not been a schism of such magnitude as the Karaitic denial of rabbinic authority. Karaites were enjoined to learn every part of the law by searching the details of the biblical text; and because soon after their schism the vowel and accent signs came into use in writing Torah manuscripts, scholars claimed for some time that the invention of these graphemes was due to Karaite influence, and only afterward was taken over by Rabbanites. See MASORETIC TEXT.

Without going into more details we can only say that if mainstream Judaism had the highest regard for the Bible, the Karaites outdid them. One may possibly compare the relationship to that between normative Catholicism and the claims of the 16th-century Reformers who fought under the banner of *sola scriptura.* Whatever the suitability of that comparison, the fact that Catholicism followed the tradition of the Church Fathers does not at all imply their disregard for the authority of the Bible.

We have spent the major part of this discussion on the early post-biblical period because that was the decisive time when attitudes to the Bible took shape. By the time the Talmud was finally redacted, attitudes had already become frozen. All later Jewish activity regarding the Bible involved exegetical differentiations of philological or philosophical or esoterical character. Esoteric (Kabbalistic) attitudes towards the Bible may seem rather odd to modern scholars, but the Kabbalists were also part of the main

body of Jewry and felt that their dealing with the Bible text actually was the most correct, since they tried to uncover the hidden meaning.

Biblical authority was first called into question by European Jewish thinkers in early modern times. Through the new spirit which arose in Europe after the Middle Ages, the authority of the Bible was challenged. It was first challenged by Benedict (Baruch) de Spinoza (1632–1677), who was no longer a member in good standing of the Jewish community of Amsterdam when he wrote his *Tractatus.* Spinoza attacked the authority of the Torah, giving explicit expression to the hesitant doubts of his medieval predecessor Abraham ibn Ezra. As a matter of fact his compatriot and contemporary Manasse ben Israel composed at that very time his treatise concerning the internal contradictions in the Bible. Neither of those two dealt habitually with the Bible, and in the long run Spinoza's attack was more powerful than Manasse's apology. See further SCRIPTURAL AUTHORITY (IN THE WAKE OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT). One might suggest that the previous sharp division regarding the authority of the Bible between Jews and non-Jews came to an end in the first generation of Enlightenment.

All this happened as part of Western European intellectual development. Jews in other parts of the world took no part in this development, and their attitude did not change from earlier tradition. The first western Jew who lived as a conscious "modern" Jew in the evolving twilight world was Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786). Mendelssohn tried to bring his German coreligionists nearer to an aesthetic appreciation of the Bible but did not dare to get involved with the rabbinic authorities on issues of its authority. None of this changed until the political and intellectual life of German Jews underwent changes. English Jewry had little to contribute, and American Jewry did not yet exist as an intellectual force. Only once German Jewry had digested the impact of Mendelssohn's program and had come into intellectual contact with the surrounding non-Jewish world did the issue of biblical authority become a problem.

By the middle of the 19th century the religious life of European Jewry had undergone major changes, and the nascent *Science of Judaism* had begun to revolutionize Jewish thinking. Whereas previously traditional orthodox attitudes were the only recognized forms of Jewish worship, now a new type of schism had divided the Jewish world. To be sure the main issues in daily life were the way rabbinic regulations were kept and how religious services were conducted. But, as we have already stressed, such issues were never divorced from the issues of biblical authority, even if the actual biblical laws only stood in the background.

Starting from the second half of the 19th century, western Jewry was split into three streams regarding halakhic observance and custom. The old stream strictly adhered to "orthodox" traditional halakha, which automatically entailed recognition of biblical authority, which then was taken as identical with rabbinic interpretation. The contrasting stream was that of liberal or "Reform" Judaism, which did not adhere any longer to the teachings as they had developed from tannaitic times through the Middle Ages. By its own logic, that "liberal" attitude also affected practical expressions of biblical authority. Since those "modernists" also followed trends of liberal views in general, all this worked in the same direction of despoiling Judaism from its age-old heritage. Some of the ideologies of the liberal wing saw their task in justifying their anti-rabbinic program.

Between these two groups stood the "conservative" or traditional wing, which tried to steer a middle course, claiming that present-day Judaism must be viewed as the product of its historical development. In theory, biblical authority was recognized as in earlier times, and nobody dreamt of denying it. But for daily life the issue remained the degree of observing rabbinic halakha rather than worrying about the biblical statements without their rabbinic elaboration.

These three streams today form the major subdivisions common to all parts of Jewry (leaving aside the ultra-orthodox wing, which often calls forth comparisons to the opinions expressed by Protestant or Islamic "fundamentalists"). While all such differences inside Judaism address pragmatic concerns over the degree of observance of rabbinic regulations, they cannot evade reflection on attitudes toward biblical authority.

This picture was correct until a generation ago, before the American scene found its own new expression for its Judaism. At present the so-called "reconstructionist" group officially still is a subdivision of traditional conservative Judaism. This group has tried to sever connections to biblical authority in its attempt to understand Judaism as a matter of "peoplehood," civilization, and common custom. For the first time since the Karaite schism all validity of rabbinic observance is regarded only as a matter of custom and convenient expression of one's feeling of belonging.

In Judaism biblical authority was never absent from the minds of believers. But in daily life the important factor was the way the sages did interpret the law of the Bible. In practical terms, the Bible dwindled to those parts of biblical ordinances which were applicable after the destruction of the Temple. What the prophets had admonished also played a part, but since they could not lay down the law, they remained rather unimportant regarding the issue of biblical authority. Therefore our subject should be approached not as the reading of clear writing, but rather as a palimpsest, which is there for those who spend the effort of studying it, but which otherwise fades practically into the background.

MOSHE GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN

## *BIBLICAL AUTHORITY IN EASTERN ORTHODOXY*

Biblical authority connotes a broad concept embracing revelation, inspiration, canonization, and interpretation as well as the ongoing work of the Spirit. The authority of the Bible is concretely engaged, whether consciously or not, in the actual uses of Scripture, e.g., liturgical, homiletical, catechetical, apologetic, doctrinal, devotional, and academic. In Eastern Orthodoxy a historical review of biblical authority may be presented under three periods: classical, traditionalist, and modern.

### A. The Classical Period (1st–5th Centuries)

Extending roughly up to John Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia, the classical period (1st–5th centuries) marked not only the gradual formation of the Christian Bible as the norm of Christian life and thought but also the accompanying development of a hard-won and theologically coherent exegetical tradition guided by fundamental credal insights of the Catholic Church. This double achievement established a classic unity among Scripture, tradition, and church, while allowing significant variety and creativity, and thus raised a normative claim on all subsequent Christian generations.

The first struggle over biblical authority involved the Church's christological appropriation of the Hebrew Scriptures whose authority as the revealed oracles of God (Rom 3:2) embodied in sacred writings (Luke 24:44) was assumed by early Christians. However, in the early Church, "though the Old Testament was God's word, it was not in fact God's final word" (Lamb *CHB* 1:585). The direct revelation of Christ and the Spirit decisively qualified the authority of the Hebrew Bible, and also gave impetus to a whole new process in which Christian writings bearing the authority of Christ, the apostles, and the prophetic Spirit began to gain authoritative status. Jesus himself exemplified interpretive freedom in the Spirit and set the new dynamics in motion by proclaiming the immediacy of the reign of God (Mark 1:15), challenging the authority of the Mosaic Law (Matt 5:21–48), and seeing in his own ministry the end time fulfillment of prophecy (Luke 5:21). It was no longer the Mosaic Law but Christ who formed the salvific center of divine revelation, and consequently Christ became the new hermeneutical key of God's saving activity in history. Diverse Christian writers such as Paul, Matthew, the author of Hebrews, and the author of the *Epistle of Barnabas* all shared the christological hermeutical principle but gave various unsystematic answers to the question of how the new revelation was related to the traditional Scriptures (see, e.g., Gal 3:19–26; 1 Cor 10:11; Matt 5:17–18; 23:1–3, 23; Heb 7:18–19; 10:1–5; *Ep. Barn.* ix.4).

A sharper struggle over biblical authority was occasioned by the confrontation with various 2nd-century gnostic teachers who severely compromised and at times rejected the authority of the OT. While interpretive freedom in the Spirit led the Church to seek its own rightful christological integrity and mission over against the Jewish biblical tradition, the radical interpretive freedom claimed by Marcion, Valentinus, Ptolemaeus, and others now risked a dissolution of both the church's moorings in salvation history and its distinctive identity amidst the syncretistic sea of Hellenistic religions and sects. In part against them, Justin developed the first signs of a conscious doctrine of Scripture (von Campenhausen 1972:88–102). He simultaneously held to the authority of the OT, while he qualified its unity by

discerning it in a tripartite stratification of prophecy, ethics, and historical legislation for the Jews, which was no longer valid in view of a Christocentric hermeneutic (Stylianopoulos 1974:51–53). Irenaeus is a richer witness, not only for the advanced stage of the canonization of the NT along with the OT, but also for the new awareness of the hermeneutical function of credal insights (rule of faith) of the living tradition of a now worldwide Great Church (Greer 1986:109). Armed with these teachings, the ongoing church reasonably refuted various claims about secret doctrines, apocryphal books, and new revelations by gnostics and later by Montanists.

The crucial questions in the 3d and 4th centuries focused not on biblical authority as such, now reinforced through the completion of the canon (A.D. 367 by Athanasius), but rather on exegetical methodology. A tremendous exegetical output based on allegory, typology, and grammatical exegesis was produced by Alexandrian and Antiochene interpreters whose approaches, despite some sharp differences, should be viewed as complementary rather than antithetical (Froehlich 1984:20, 22; Trigg 1988:31, 34). Regarding biblical authority, however, it was the Arian controversy of the 4th century, fought extensively on exegetical grounds and necessitating ecumenical councils for resolution, that yielded additional profound implications. The unbiblical Athanasian term Gk *homoousios* ("of one essence,"), adopted by the First Council (A.D. 325) under protest, was meant to safeguard what was in fact considered biblical truth regarding the Son's relation to the Father. The adoption of this term was official vindication of the exegetical tradition's insight that a contextual search for the *skopos* ("central aim" or "unifying purpose") of Scripture, rather than a literalist approach to the canonical text, was decisive for the correct interpretation of its meaning. The Second Council's (A.D. 381) promulgation of the Spirit as the Third Person of the Trinity, despite recognized exegetical ambiguity on the matter, yet following Basil's and Gregory the Theologian's liturgical and pneumatological arguments (Pelikan 1981:339, 345, 359–60), underlined the hermeneutical role of the conciliar authority of the Church. It could go beyond mere exegetical deductions and could rely on the inspired integrated insights of the living tradition (Santer 1975:110) for final decision on crucial, universally disputed matters of faith.

**B. The Traditionalist Period (6th–18th Centuries)**

The traditionalist period (6th–18th centuries) emerged organically from the previous one, but also developed new features and emphases which distinguish it. Biblical authority continued to have an impact especially on worship where a phenomenal development of biblical lectionaries and liturgical hymnology occurred by the end of the 1st millennium. Although not of the same quality, commentaries also continued to be written by Oecoumenios (6th century), Euthymios Zigabenos (11th century), Nicodemos of the Holy Mountain (17th century), and others. The devotional reading of Scripture especially in monastic circles continued to influence Orthodox spirituality and much later Russian piety. The authority of the biblical canon remained formally supreme and yet did not totally eliminate a certain freedom for Nicephoros of Constantinople (9th century) to list the books of Revelation, 1–3 Maccabees, Wisdom of Solomon, and many others outside the narrower canon (*NTApocr*, 50).

What particularly distinguished this period, however, was an archaizing loyalty to the Church Fathers and a maximalist devotion to tradition placed on a level of authority formally equal to but virtually higher than Scripture. Already the 5th century christological controversies marked a shift from direct argument from Scripture to appeal to the witness of the fathers (Santer 1975:100), an appeal compromised by a plethora of forgeries between the 5th and 7th centuries (Grant 1960:23). Maximos the Confessor (6th century), despite his own creative mind, held that an exegete depended on the God-inspired fathers more than on one's very breath (Pelikan 1974:18–19). The Council of Trullo (A.D. 692), while enjoining biblical teaching to lay people and clergy alike by church leaders, prohibited new interpretations apart from the patristic ones. Significant examples of direct use of the Bible, accompanied by powerful calls for evangelical renewal, such as in the case of Symeon the New Theologian (10th century) and Kosmas Aitolos (18th century), were exceptions swallowed up by the massive authority of tradition.

The traditionalist features reached their sharpest formulation in the 17th century when Eastern Christianity became more conscious of the proselytizing threat of Protestantism. Against Patriarch Cyril Lucaris, who was influenced by Calvinism and advocated the authority of Scripture over the Church as

well as the narrower OT canon, the local councils of Constantinople (A.D. 1638) and Jerusalem (A.D. 1672), as well as doctrinal statements by Peter Mogila and Dositheos of Jerusalem, wedded biblical authority to the authority of the Church with new precision (Pelikan 1974:284–87). The inseparability of Scripture from patristic exegesis, the validity of liturgical additions to the biblical text, and the absolute authority of conciliar decrees were all ultimately grounded by the Orthodox on notions of Church "infallibility" and of Scripture and tradition as "two sources" of revelation, echoing Latin theology (Pelikan 1974:288–89). In this context, not only was the wider biblical canon (including the "readable" or "deuterocanonical" books) affirmed, but the reading of Scripture by the ordinary faithful was on one occasion prohibited in imitation of Latin measures against Protestant influence.

### C. The Modern Period (19th–20th Centuries)

The modern period (19th–20th centuries), too, has unfolded in organic continuity with the past, and basic traditionalist positions have been maintained to the present. However, the birth of an independent Greek State (1830) as well as the establishment of Athens University as a state academic institution (1837) created conditions in which the "new learning" of Western liberal ideas and critical methodologies began to exercise greater impact on traditional thinking.

A major case in point was the heated controversy over the translation of Scripture into modern Greek. No Orthodox theological principle militates against the translation of Scripture into the vernacular of any people. Sporadic attempts at such translations had in fact been made among Greeks since the early 16th century and seemed to be welcome except when explicitly associated with Protestant proselytizing interests in the Near East. But the complete translation of the Bible during the first half of the 19th century, sponsored by the British Bible Society and supported by a liberal and influential Greek minority, generated traditionalist furor and official disapproval. Preference for the MT over the authoritative LXX version of the OT was rejected. A translated Bible, and one without patristic commentary, could in no way be thought of as part of the tradition, and it was thus stigmatized as Protestant (Vaporis 1970:235). But official condemnations did not necessarily impede use of the translation until very recent times when new ones superceded it. Reaction to the new translations, especially from official circles, has remained mixed.

A deeper creative tension pertaining to biblical authority was introduced through academic critical and historical studies which have raised the problem of history for Orthodox theology (Stylianopoulos 1967:394–400). For one thing, the new approach has put into historical relief the old problem of the wider OT canon, which for many Orthodox has yet to be resolved by the church as a whole. For another and far greater thing, historical studies have opened up the possibility of rediscovering the witness of Scripture as a means of valid critique and renewal in the Church, while at the same time risking an historical relativization of biblical authority. This new problem regarding the authority of the Bible has not been faced directly by Orthodox theologians (Agourides 1976:8). Some continue to hold that Scripture derives its validity from the church and that tradition contains nothing contrary to the Bible (Bratsiotis 1951:21–22). Others stress the ecclesiastical context of Scripture but also advocate the corollary principle that everything in the Church should be judged by Scripture (Hopko 1970:66–67). Still others favor the development of biblical studies as a field in its own right (Stylianopoulos 1972:83–85). The challenge is to define an appropriate balance among Bible, tradition, and Church, a challenge that can possibly be met by a "neo-patristic synthesis" (Florovsky 1960:45), including a hermeneutical model derived from the classical period which would avoid both stifling traditionalism and barren historicism (Trigg 1988:55).

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THEODORE STYLIANOPOULOS

## *BIBLICAL AUTHORITY IN ROMAN CATHOLICISM*

Roman Catholicism is a Church of sacraments as well as of the Scripture, of the living experience of Christ preserved in a visible hierarchical structure. As the Second Vatican Council expressed it in 1964, "the Church, in Christ, is in the nature of a sacrament" (Flannery 1975:350). Roman Catholicism, therefore, places the authority of Scripture within the broader context of the Church. In 1546, the Council of Trent defined that the gospel which Christ promulgated and ordered to be preached was "the source of all saving truth and rule of conduct" and "that this truth and rule are contained in the written books and unwritten traditions which have come down to us, having been received by the apostles from the mouth of Christ Himself or from the apostles by the dictation of the Holy Spirit, and have been transmitted as it were from hand to hand" (Neuner and Dupuis 1982:73). Trent was formulating Catholic doctrine against the Reformers, but it was reflecting an ancient Catholic and Orthodox belief in the relationship between Scripture and traditions, between inspired writings and the Church's experience.

Scripture for the apostolic Church meant the OT as it was now fulfilled in Jesus Christ. The Church and its preaching of Christ was the norm for interpreting the Scripture. With Paul, the apostolic Church began to produce its own writings. One of the earliest problems was to determine what writings were suitable for usage in the Church—the issue of the canon of Scripture that was not definitively settled for Roman Catholicism until Trent (Kelly 1960:52–60). Irenaeus (fl. 190) repudiated the claims of the gnostics that they were the heirs to teaching communicated by Jesus only to his most intimate disciples. Instead, he appealed to the teaching of the apostles, Jesus' closest followers, and preserved through their successors. Even if the apostles had left nothing in writing, he asserted, the Church would have been able to follow "the structure of the tradition which they handed on to those to whom they committed the churches." The gnostic writings were therefore unsuitable for liturgical use. Origen (ca. 185–ca. 254), too, argued that the norm of faith was more than Scripture—it was "the doctrine of the church, transmitted in orderly succession from the apostles and remaining in the churches to the present day" (Pelikan 1971:115–6).

Only gradually did the Church determine the canon of the NT books, but there still remained the problem of the proper interpretation of Scripture. Arius interpreted the gospel of John to mean that the Word (Gk *logos*) was subordinate to the Father—"there was when he was not," to use his famous dictum. Nicaea, the first ecumenical council, condemned Arius' heresy. It believed itself divinely assisted to preserve the Church from heretical interpretation of Scripture and to determine the correct one. In the process, it adopted the language current in the day but not found in Scripture to formulate its creed—the Son was consubstantial (Gk *homoousios*) with the Father (Kelly 1960:226–37). By itself, then Scripture was not an infallible guide to the total Gospel of Christ. It needed some other authority not only to recognize its inspiration but also to preserve its interpretation from error. Like Nicaea's, the creeds and

definitions of subsequent councils took on an authority parallel to Scripture, not in proclaiming new revelations, but in preserving the revelation that had been handed down. The theologians who had helped shape the great conciliar definitions, the Fathers, came to be seen as the principal commentators on Scripture.

In the early Middle Ages, the "sense of the Fathers" provided the key to understanding the Scripture. Their exegesis became almost synonymous with tradition, whose distinguishing characteristics were antiquity, universality, and consensus. Tradition was static, and the medieval commentator was to hand on what he received or, in the words of Pope Stephen I, "*nihil innovetur nisi quod tranditum est*" ("nothing is to be introduced except that which has been received") (McNally 1959:31). But in the West, the Fathers meant primarily Augustine, and few commentators even sought to refer to the Greek Fathers except in translation. Few scholars were even familiar with the Greek NT or Hebrew OT. The Latin Vulgate, originally translated by Jerome, replaced the study of Scripture in the original languages. Commentators appealed beyond the literal to the threefold spiritual sense of Scripture: tropological, anagogical, and allegorical. The Scripture became more of a guide for scriptural life than a source of dogmatic theology (McNally 1959:54–63). In the later Middle Ages, many of the great scholastics, notably Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas, wrote commentaries on Scripture, but still they were unfamiliar with the original texts. Moreover, the development of the papal office now added a source of doctrinal authority complementary to that of councils.

The Renaissance return to original sources paved the way for the Reformation which challenged the Catholic understanding of revelation and the rule of faith. Trent's decree, cited above, was purposely vague about what "traditions" meant, since many of the bishops present were themselves divided on the question, but it also avoided making Scripture and tradition separate sources (Jedin 1961:2.86–94). The council, moreover, formally defined the canon of Scripture—the same books listed at the Council of Florence in 1442. Trent attached an anathema to "anyone [who] does not accept all these books in their entirety, with all their parts, as they are being read in the Catholic Church and are contained in the ancient Latin Vulgate edition, as sacred and canonical, and knowingly and deliberately rejects the aforesaid traditions." Trent, therefore, contrary to the Reformers, accepted as canonical those books contained in the LXX that Jerome had translated in the Vulgate, the so-called "deuterocanonical" books. The council, furthermore, declared that "the ancient Vulgate version … is to be regarded as the authentic translation in public readings, disputations and expositions." This decree, intended only for the Western Church, did not affirm that the Vulgate was inspired, but only that it did not contain errors in matters of faith and morals and was to be used in the Western Church. Finally, the council decreed that no one was to interpret the Scripture "contrary to the meaning that holy mother the Church was held and holds—since it belongs to her to judge the true meaning and interpretation of Holy Scripture—and that no one dare to interpret the Scripture in a way contrary to the unanimous consensus of the Fathers, even though such interpretations be not intended for publication" (Neuner and Dupuis 1982:74–75). Contrary to some popular misconceptions, the council did not prohibit private reading of Scripture, but only a private interpretation different from that of the Church.

Trent thus rejected the Protestant tenet *sola scriptura*, "Scripture alone," and reasserted the Church's role in preserving apostolic teaching. Yet, its formulation about Scripture and traditions would undergo several developments. During the Counter-Reformation debates, some Catholic theologians began arguing that tradition was a source of revelation, separate from Scripture, but their position was not universal. In the late 18th century, John Carroll (1735–1815), who became the first Catholic bishop in the United States in 1789, considered tradition to be the "living doctrine" of the Church. Writing against a former Catholic priest, he stated "that we have always asserted, that the *whole* word of God, unwritten, as well as written, is the christian's rule of faith." For Carroll, the whole authority of Scripture depended on the testimony of the Church throughout the ages, "for if the catholic rule of faith could be proved unsafe, what security have we for the authenticity, the genuineness, the incorruptibility of Scripture itself: How do we know, but by the tradition that is, by the living doctrine of the catholic church, which are the true and genuine gospels?" (Hanley 1976:111). "Tradition," he concluded, was "*the word of God* delivered

down to us by the testimony of the fathers, and in the public doctrine of the catholic church" (Hanley 1976:137–38). He thus saw Scripture and tradition closely related.

A generation later, Carroll's fifth successor as Archbishop of Baltimore, Francis P. Kenrick (1793–1863), also argued for the inadequacy of Scripture alone being the rule of faith. In 1838, he wrote that "a full and adequate rule of faith within the Christian economy must necessarily be referred to the time of Christ and the Apostles, and then suit the condition of men through all ages." The NT, however, could not "be referred to the age of Christ, nor to the beginning of the apostolic preaching: for it is evident that many years elapsed before anything was consigned to writing," and only gradually were the apostolic writings collected and recognized by the churches (Kenrick 1858:1.282–83). Recommending Johann Adam Möhler's *Symbolik,* he concluded that tradition was essentially the preservation of Christian teaching from apostolic times. The "*tradition,* which is the rule for our faith," he declared, "is contained in the greatest part in Scripture, and celebrated back through the ages in the monuments and documents of Christian antiquity, and the custom and public worship of the Christian faithful throughout the world" (Kenrick 1858:289). Kenrick relied heavily for his treatment on the Fathers of the Church, with only a rare citation from St. Thomas or the other scholastics. In this, he was similar to Carroll before him and to John Henry Newman, his own contemporary.

But other theological schools soon overshadowed this close association of Scripture and tradition. The First Vatican Council (1869–1870) issued a constitution on faith. Seriously truncating Trent's decree on Scripture and traditions, Vatican I now stated that "supernatural revelation" was "contained in the written books and unwritten traditions" (Neuner and Dupuis 1982:75). The council further declared that "all those things are to be believed with divine and Catholic faith which are contained in the word of God, written or handed down *(verbo Dei scripto vel tradito),* and which the Church, either by a solemn judgment, or by her ordinary and universal magisterium, proposes for belief as having been divinely revealed" (Neuner and Dupuis 1982:43). The "doctrine of faith," the council continued, "is like a divine deposit handed on *(tradita)* to the Spouse of Christ, to be faithfully guarded and infallibly declared" (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1976:3020). The conciliar statement, reflecting the theology of Johann Baptist Franzelin, S.J., shifted tradition from the dynamic preservation of apostolic preaching to a static deposit and implied that it was a source of revelation separate from Scripture. Moreover, by "Spouse of Christ," as Yves Congar, O.P., noted, "the council understands here above all the magisterium, especially that of the Roman Pontiff" (Congar 1966:196–98).

The council also addressed the relatively new question of inspiration, then surfacing as Catholics began entering the arena of biblical criticism. It declared that the books of Scripture were "canonical and sacred" not because they were "composed by mere human industry" and "were afterwards approved by her [the Church's] authority," "but because, having been written by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, they have God for their author and have been delivered as such to the Church herself" (Neuner and Dupuis 1982:75–76). For certain theologians, this statement precluded multiple authors or redactors of a sacred book in its present form—the precise point that historical criticism was making. The theological viewpoint, flowing from the council, rendered the Church incapable of grappling with some of the issues arising from biblical criticism. It was ironic and tragic that the Church, which so adhered to tradition, would founder on the crisis of Modernism. The older, more dynamic understanding of tradition would have opened the Church to some of the new developments. One American Catholic theologian, John B. Hogan, S.S. (1829–1901), put it succinctly when he stated that Protestants might regard the findings of historical criticism with "dismay," but Catholics could "contemplate it with perfect equanimity. Their faith is based, not on the Bible, but on the Church" (Hogan 1898:480–81). Unfortunately, the form of neo-Thomism, then rising, could not grapple with some of these issues.

Catholic theologians took two general approaches to the new challenge of historical criticism. Some equated inspiration with revelation and attributed to God as the author of Scripture everything known of a human author. Hence, despite the findings of historical critics, there could be no error in Scripture, for this would be incompatible with divine authorship. Others, notably M.-J. Lagrange, O.P., sought to distinguish between inspiration and revelation—while everything in the Scripture was inspired, not everything was

revealed; what appeared to be error was the divine accommodation to the human mode of expression proper to the age of the particular human author of Scripture. According to their critical method, they admitted that some books of the OT, especially the Pentateuch, had multiple authors and that the gospels had undergone several redactions. The opposing theologians, however, appealed not only to their theory of inspiration but also to their understanding of tradition. Some interpreted Trent's reference to the "five books of Moses" in the canonical list, for example, as meaning that the council had pronounced on the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch (Fogarty 1989:99–100, 122). This interpretation contributed to the Pontifical Biblical Commission's assertion in 1906 that Catholic scholars had to hold that Moses was substantially the author of the Pentateuch (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1976:3394).

In the Church's combat against Modernism in the 20th century, it came close to adopting biblical fundamentalism. Although the Church never formally condemned evolution, for example, the Biblical Commission did declare in 1909 that the Catholic exegete had to uphold the historical character of the first three chapters of Genesis in what pertained to Christian doctrine, the special creation of man by God, and the formation of woman from man (Denzinger-Schönmetzer 1976:3513–4). These decisions, however, were intended not so much to adhere to a literal interpretation of Scripture as to preserve the doctrine of original sin.

Catholics were isolated from the world of biblical scholarship until 1943, when Pope Pius XII issued his encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu,* calling for Catholic scholars to apply the historical method held so suspect at the beginning of the century. Yet only seven years later, the same pope published *Humani Generis* warning scholars not to go beyond the magisterium, particularly in regard to the interpretation of the creation of Adam to mean a "plurality of ancestors." While Pius did not condemn such a theory outright, he did state that "it is not all apparent how such a view can be reconciled with the data which the sources of revealed truth and the documents of the Church propose concerning original sin, namely that it originates from a sin truly committed by one Adam" (Neuner and Dupuis 1982:126). Dogmatic considerations flowing from the traditional interpretation of Scripture, then, were still to be the guiding norms for Catholic scholars.

On the eve of the Second Vatican Council, and through the first session in 1962, some biblical scholars were accused of denying official teaching or the magisterium and were on the defensive. The council's first draft of the constitution on revelation was entitled "Sources of Revelation"—Scripture and tradition were separate. Although the bishops failed to muster enough votes to reject the document, John XXIII withdrew it. In 1964, biblical scholars received further encouragement from an instruction of the Biblical Commission on the historicity of the gospels. Scholars were to investigate the development of the gospel traditions from the sayings and events in the life of Jesus through the apostolic preaching to the formation of the gospel traditions themselves (Fitzmyer 1964:134–36). The way was now paved for a fuller appreciation of Scripture and of Scripture scholarship within the Church.

The council's final constitution, promulgated in 1965, declared that "sacred tradition and sacred Scripture make up a single sacred deposit of the Word of God, which is entrusted to the Church." It belonged to "the living teaching office of the Church alone," however, to give "an authentic interpretation of the Word of God, whether in its written form or in the form of tradition." But the constitution made it clear that "this magisterium is not superior to the Word of God, but is its servant. It teaches only what has been handed on to it" (Flannery 1975:755–56). While to many Catholics, Vatican II's treatment of Scripture and its relation to tradition was revolutionary, it was in fact a return to an older theology and one quite compatible with the teaching of Trent.

In the post-conciliar Catholic Church, Scripture has assumed a larger role in the lives of the people. Prior to the council, for example, there were only four major liturgical feasts that had readings from the OT. The council provided for a three-year cycle of readings for Sundays, with the first reading, except for the Easter season, taken from the OT. The homily was made an essential part of the liturgy or Mass and was usually to address the meaning of the biblical texts. Of equal significance, Catholic biblical scholarship came to be accepted in most circles not as a threat to traditional teaching, but as a means of uncovering the richness of the original Scripture message.

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GERALD FOGARTY

## *BIBLICAL AUTHORITY IN THE EARLY CHURCH*

In speaking of scriptural authority in the early Church we may focus attention upon the gradual emergence of an ecumenical Church out of the diversity of earliest Christianity. This development marks the formative period of the early Church, and its completion is reflected in the writings of Irenaeus (fl. 180). While all the many different forms of earliest Christianity assumed the importance and authority of sacred writings, the mainline development was obliged to wrestle with the question which writings were to be regarded as sacred and authoritative. Initially, then, the problem of scriptural authority coincided with the emergence of a Christian Bible and with the arguments for the canonical status of the writings included in it. As a result, the question was not so much how to understand the character and function of scriptural authority as which writings were to be accepted as authoritative.

If by "early Church" we mean the mainline development during the formative period and the ecumenical Church from Irenaeus to the collapse of the Roman Empire in the West (5th century), two general points can act as rubrics for discussion. First, the early Church did not think of the authority of Scripture apart from its relation to the theological tradition expressed in the rule of faith or apart from the use of Scripture in Christian worship. The authority of Scripture was bound to the life of the Church. Scripture, the theological tradition, and the worship of the Church were not treated as alternative points of departure for articulating the meaning of the faith, nor were they regarded as alternative authorities to be played off against one another. Second, the authoritative meaning of these norms of belief and practice was designed to establish unity for the Church, but not a unity involving uniformity. The development of the liturgy preserved regional and even local variations that by no means presented themselves as obstacles to unity. No uniform text of the rule of faith or even of the creeds appears in the Church before the latter part of the patristic period. With respect to Scripture we find not only no uniformity of interpretation, but also no uniform canonical list. To be sure, the rule of faith, the creeds, and Scripture ruled out certain opinions and practices as incorrect. But it did not follow that ruling out error implied the establishment of a single correct view. Instead, the Church remained content with diversity; and we may speak of valid interpretations of Scripture. Only when differing interpretations became contradictory did conflict arise, and the resolution of conflict by no means pretended to eliminate diversity.

### A. Scripture, Theology, and the Church

It is obvious from the NT that Christians initially understood Scripture to mean what only later was called the OT. When Paul repeated the tradition about Christ's death and resurrection, the "Scriptures" by which the Christian preaching was demonstrated were the sacred books of Israel (1 Corinthians 15). Scripture in this sense demonstrated the truth of the Christian claim in a number of different ways: by prophecy, by type and foreshadowing, by testimony lists, by allegory, and by simple proof-texting. No one method prevailed for employing the authority of the OT. Moreover, it began to be clear that final authority rested in the Christian preaching and not in the sacred writings thought to demonstrate it. The authority of the OT was neither rejected nor accepted in simple and absolute terms. Instead, it was only a Christianized OT that remained authoritative in the mainline development, which eliminated Judaizing

forms of Christianity and excluded gnostic and Marcionite forms of Christianity that rejected the OT and its God.

The authority of the OT, then, was made subservient to the authority of the Christian preaching. The next step was the transition from an oral form of that preaching to a written one. In other words, we must speak of the rise of a NT canon. The writings that eventually constituted the NT canon are, of course, older than the canon itself. And even at a time when the four gospels and a collection of Pauline epistles were regarded as authoritative, the oral form of the Christian preaching still functioned. Papias, for example, in the early 2d century tells us that he prefers a "living voice" to writings. It is also clear from the writings of Justin Martyr in the middle of the 2d century that the Synoptic tradition was still living apart from its incorporation in the written gospels. In the long run, however, the written form of the Christian preaching prevailed; and by the time of Irenaeus at the end of the 2d century we can speak confidently of a Christian Bible. For further discussion, see CANON.

The sort of authority vested in this Christian Bible can best be understood by speaking of the motives for regarding Christian writings as canonical. While the Church Fathers were agreed that canonical books are inspired, inspiration alone did not in their view constitute sufficient grounds for their inclusion in Scripture. The reason for this is quite simply that inspiration was thought to attach to other writings and was also required for the correct reading of Scripture. Instead, the chief criterion for canonical status was apostolicity. The Christian preaching was identified with the apostolic faith and came to be embodied in the writings of the NT. There were, of course, difficulties. Mark's apostolic credentials were vindicated by arguing that he preserved the preaching of Peter; Luke's, that of Paul. And writings purporting to be those of apostles but not widely accepted and demonstrably to one side of the theology of the greater Church had to be regarded as spurious.

What this means is that two further criteria for the authority of canonical books came into play. First, wide currency and acceptance in the churches played a role. Second, the Church's rule of faith increasingly determined the acceptability of the NT writings. Thus, apostolicity was required; acceptability was a factor; but orthodoxy became the central issue. The development that led to Irenaeus' definition of a Christian Bible at the end of the 2d century and Eusebius' list at the beginning of the 3d depends upon these three criteria. We must also reckon with the impact of the struggle with heresy that forced the greater Church to make the decisions that led to a biblical canon and to a rule of faith. The gnostics and Marcion forced the Church to decide which writings were apostolic and orthodox, and to widen the list of authoritative writings. The Montanists, who treated their inspired writings as authorities taking precedence over those of the apostles, forced the Church to develop the idea of a limited canon. The final step was to decide upon the details of the canon.

What is remarkable about this development is the role played in it by the theological tradition. While the rule of faith was identified with the message of Scripture and was authoritative because it cohered with the message of the Christian Bible, from another point of view it was the developing rule of faith that actually created a Christian Bible and that was posited as an authoritative norm for interpretation. Just as the authority of the OT had been available to earliest Christianity only when properly interpreted by the Christian preaching, so the Christian Bible had authority only when rightly read in accordance with the rule of faith. Scripture and tradition went together. There were, however, different views of what this meant in practice. For Tertullian (fl. 200) the rule set limits to the interpretation of Scripture and no meaning could be given Scripture that took one beyond the confines of the rule. On the other hand, for Origen (d. 254) the rule merely established the authoritative beliefs required of simple Christians, while it supplied both a point of departure for and a limit upon the flights of speculation appropriate for the "more perfect" Christians. In both cases Scripture, understood in accordance with the rule of faith, was authoritative. But its authority functioned for Tertullian to establish a doctrinal standard and for Origen to encourage speculations that moved toward the truth without pretending to have arrived at it.

The authority of Scripture was united not only with the developing theological tradition, but also with the liturgical life of the Church. From the earliest times Christians followed the practice of the Jewish synagogue in reading and commenting upon Scripture in their worship (Luke 4, Acts 13). Lectionary

systems began to develop in relation to the development of the liturgical year. And we gain the clear impression that preaching was based upon the lessons used in the liturgy. Melito of Sardis' *Paschal Homily* (late 2d century) explained the narrative of the Exodus in a Christian fashion. John Chrysostom (late 4th century) asked his flock to read ahead of time the lessons that were to be read and explained. The liturgical rites themselves, as they began to be fixed and organized, appropriated Scriptural language and themes. It is here that we should probably speak most confidently of the authority of Scripture in the early Church. Scripture in the liturgy did not so much decide theological and moral questions as shape the minds and hearts of worshippers. Such authority is persuasive, subtle, and hard to define. But it was central to the authority of Scripture in the early Church.

**B. Authority and Validity**

Implicit in arguing that the authority of Scripture in the early Church was always associated with the theological tradition and with the liturgical life of the Church is the conclusion that diversity obtained at every level. It is not going too far to say that no uniform canon of Scripture ever obtained during the first 600 years of the Church's history. A synod at Carthage in 419 established the canon of the NT as we have received it, but there are much later manuscripts that sometimes omit Hebrews and sometimes include the *Epistle to the Laodiceans.* In the East there long remained a tendency to reject Revelation. And the Syrian church's Bible at the beginning of the 5th century omitted not only Revelation but also 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude. A second sign of diversity has to do with differing translations of the OT and with problems of textual variants in the whole of the Bible. The LXX took pride of place, but writers like Theodore of Mopsuestia (ca. 350–428) and Augustine (354–430) took seriously other Greek translations and the Hebrew original. Jerome (ca. 342–420), of course, turned to what he called the "Hebrew truth." Neither the absence of a uniform canonical list nor the existence of differing texts and translations seems really to have troubled the fathers of the Church. For them diversity did not prevent the recognition of a Christian Bible and of a unity of faith found in it.

The same recognition of diversity as no obstacle to unity characterized the way Scripture was interpreted. Even the decisions of the ecumenical councils should be understood this way. For example, at Chalcedon in 451 the Church arrived at an interpretation of Christ that would be true to Scripture and to the Nicene Creed. The Definition of Chalcedon, however, more clearly ruled out error than it defined truth. The views of Arius, Apollinaris, Nestorius, and Eutyches were excluded from orthodoxy; but the council in one way or another ratified the three strikingly different Christologies of Cyril, Theodoret, and Leo. We can only conclude that Chalcedon imposed no correct reading of the Scriptural account of Christ, but instead accepted three valid interpretations of Scriptural authority.

One particular problem revolved around the kind of interpretation that had authority. In general, the early Church assumed the authority of Scripture both at the level of the "letter" (the *historia,* or narrative meaning) and at that of the "spirit" (the *theoria,* or spiritual meaning). Nevertheless, after Origen's time we find an increasing emphasis upon retaining the narrative meaning not only in the Antiochene school but also in the exegetical work of figures like Augustine and Jerome. We also find a tendency to codify the various sorts of spiritual meanings that have authority. It is John Cassian, writing in the early 5th century, who first established the fourfold distinction of the narrative, tropological, allegorical, and anagogical meanings which became standard in the West during the Middle Ages. Despite certain tendencies towards standard and uniform views of Scripture and its authority, the early Church understood the authority of Scripture both as one that functioned within the theological and liturgical life of the Church and as one that allowed for considerable diversity. Scriptural authority was not so much a matter of propositions or of the application of principles to cases as a question of the way in which the lore of the church's past persuasively shaped the corporate life of Christians. (See further, *CHB* vol. 1.)

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## *BIBLICAL AUTHORITY IN THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH*

The Church in the Middle Ages lived in and by the Bible (Congar 1967:86, Schüssler 1977:1). As the ultimate source of divine truth, Scripture set norms for society through nearly a thousand years (600–1517) of European history (Kropatschek 1904; Rost 1939). As the standard of literacy, it shaped Latin letters and intellectual life, and gave rise to one of medieval Europe's dominant groups, clerics who could read Scripture and who ordinarily learned their letters by way of the Psalms. As "the book," the Bible became paradigmatic for the handwritten codex and for early print, and as "the holy book," its sacred character attracted to it rich ornamentation and illustration, together with sacral functions in processions, oaths, and the like.

The conviction that Scripture formed both the source and the content of divine revelation underlay the whole of medieval European civilization. The ordinary function and influence of this authority require at least cursory attention before turning to questions of biblical authority in a narrower theological sense. Scriptural texts were invoked at almost every point in medieval civilization. Kings, princes, and prelates were understood to rule by the grace of God; subjects were expected to submit to authorities ordained by God (Rom 13:1) and to honor kings and governors (1 Pet 2:13–14, 17). These principles were combined with OT stories and prophetic oracles to produce a full range of teaching on the political and social order (Ullmann 1963; Schramm 1963; see Riché 1984b: 399–400 for a list of the most commonly cited texts). Institutions fundamental to medieval social and economic life, such as a tithe on all people, the anointing of kings, and the proscription of usury, derived their authority as well from OT texts (Chydenius 1965; Kottje 1965; Little 1984). Canon law, which governed the church and included such social matters as marriage and wills, drew equally upon principles enunciated in Scripture (Gaudemet 1984, with a tabulation of preferred texts; Izbicki 1984; Tierney 1967). Professed members of religious orders, the first order of medieval society and the chief exemplars of the Christian life, pledged themselves to observe the way of life set out in their respective rules and customs, documents understood to implement concretely the teachings of the gospel and the apostles, almost literally so in the case of Saint Francis (Chartier 1984; Leff 1985). Public conflict, whether it concerned church and state in the Investiture Struggle (Leclercq *CHB* 2:183–97; Robinson 1985) or religious poverty in the later medieval religious orders (Leff 1985), invariably drove all participants to seek out the support of biblical texts.

In two areas the text of Scripture dominated entirely. Public worship, the prayers said every day all across medieval Christendom by monks and clerics, were comprised largely of scriptural materials. Priests read through and preached from the gospels and epistles appointed for all the ordinary and special days of the church year, making the language of the Latin Scriptures second nature to most of them. Canons in cathedrals and collegiate churches were to sing the psalms and canticles of Scripture at appointed hours. Benedictine monks prayed the entire psalter each week and read through the entire Bible at least once a year in an evening cycle. Monastic life in particular came to be defined largely in terms of reading and meditating upon Scripture (Gy 1984, Leclercq *CHB* 2:183–97; Dubois 1984). In the later Middle Ages, the laity increasingly emulated these forms of public prayer by way of private "books of hours." Whether for show or for devotion, these books, which thousands of later medieval laypersons thought it fitting to own and sometimes to use, contained an accepted set of prayers derived directly from Scripture (for instance, the seven penitential psalms), or indirectly in the form of petitions and meditations that borrowed heavily from the language of the Bible.

Outside public and private worship, Scripture represented the endpoint of a clerical education, and from the 12th century onward the set textbook for what became the faculty of theology. In late antiquity, Augustine's *On Christian Learning* and Cassiodorus' *Introduction to Divine and Human Readings (Institutiones)* established the understanding and preaching of Scripture as the goal of a Christian education; by the 8th century, churchmen were nearly the only educators left in Europe, and the programs of Augustine and Cassiodorus therefore became paradigmatic for all of learning. The cultural revivals associated with Carolingian Europe (750–900) aimed, in the first instance, at acquiring a better text and a better understanding of Scripture. This goal was enunciated already in Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis,* as well as in his document on letters *(De litteris colendis),* and restated throughout the 9th

century. Patronage from the court and from important churchmen promoted biblical scholarship in the 9th century, though most of it remained centered still around compiling commentaries based upon the fathers (Contreni 1983; Riché 1984a).

It was the revival of learning in the 12th century that conferred upon Scripture an authoritative role beyond that of sourcebook for divine revelation and public worship. Scripture now emerged as the textbook for an academic discipline, the *raison d'être* for a separate faculty of theology (Smalley 1983; Châtillon 1984; Verger 1984). Masters of theology were to teach the "sacred page." This way of designating the Bible, rooted in usage going back to the fathers, came to dominate in university circles, distinguishing the "sacred textbook" used by theologians from the texts in grammar, logic, and law taught by artists and lawyers (de Ghellinck 1947). Masters of theology were expected to teach "ordinarily" the text of some book of the Bible, often choosing one from the OT and another from the NT in the same year, after bachelors of theology (modern–day graduate assistants) had first led students through a "cursory" reading of the entire text of Scripture (Glorieux 1968). Masters commonly focused their attention on the Psalms and the Pauline epistles as those books richest in doctrinal content, though the Wisdom books and the Gospels likewise drew attention as fruitful for elucidating the moral dimensions of the Christian way of life (Smalley 1985; Smalley 1986). To facilitate understanding of the "sacred page," 12th-century masters, first in Laon and then in Paris, prepared an "ordinary gloss," an abbreviated standard commentary written in margins and between lines, which armed masters and students with the essential interpretations laid down by the fathers and earlier masters. To facilitate the use of the "sacred page," another master (usually said to be Stephen Langton, d. 1228) divided the text into chapters for ease of reference, while still others organized alphabetized glossaries and concordances to access key terms. Basic to this entire scholastic enterprise was the persistent conviction that all of "theology" (or "God-talk"), however philosophical or speculative in character, was only introductory to and derived from the study of the "sacred page." Every medieval master of theology, be it Thomas Aquinas or Martin Luther, took these convictions and methods for granted.

All the foregoing examples of Scripture's authoritative place in medieval society beg a prior question: the accessibility of its text. Throughout the Middle Ages in the west, the accepted text was Jerome's translation of the Bible into Latin, widely known therefore as the *Vulgate* (Vg), though readings from older Latin translations (the *Vetus Latina* [VL]) circulated by way of earlier commentaries. Despite notions about three sacred languages, occasional forays into Greek by a few extraordinary intellectuals, conversations and disputes with Jews from time to time about the Hebrew original, and a mandate at the Council of Vienne in 1311 that schools appoint language instructors, the Latin Bible remained the norm for both religious and intellectual life. Humanists in the late Middle Ages (Lorenzo Valla, Erasmus of Rotterdam, and Reuchlin), who generally found themselves at odds with the Latinate masters of theology, first promoted a return to the Greek and Hebrew originals and a philological approach to the text. It was the protestant reformers who successfully imported these humanist aims and approaches into faculties of theology.

The Bible is a large book and the reproduction of it by hand costly and time consuming. It was only in the 9th century that the whole of it was commonly contained in a single great codex, in a corrected and legible script. This revision in format was accompanied by an attempt (usually associated with the names of Alcuin and Theodulf) to establish an accurate text (Loewe *CHB* 2:102–54). Twelfth century schoolmen produced the glossed Bible, a format preserved in early modern printed editions, but whose origins remain unclear and poorly investigated. Theologians at Paris in the early 13th century oversaw the production of Bibles more uniform in format, with divisions into chapters and aids such as glossaries of Hebrew terms. It was the second third of the 13th century that witnessed the production at Paris of complete Bibles in formats small enough to be called "pocket editions" (Light 1984)—possibly products indirectly of the new university (this still disputed), certainly indicators of a new emphasis upon pastoral education and preaching.

Translations into the vernacular languages were numerous and proceeded apace from the 12th century. This was a matter of cultural importance for the Middle Ages, not a product solely of the reformation; but

its history belongs properly to the study of the individual vernaculars (useful orientation in *CHB* 2:338–491; *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 2:88–106). For the question of authority, the issue of vernacular translations is confusing and often misrepresented. The Church insisted throughout that the Latin text employed in public worship and in the schools represented the only authoritative version, a point made strongly over against Slavic missionary inquiries already by Pope Nicholas I (858–67). But vernacular versions were permitted for private devotional purposes, an attitude presumed by Pope Innocent III in 1198 (Boyle 1985) and defended on later occasions, for instance, by Gerard Zerbolt of Zutphen in behalf of the Brothers of the Common Life around 1400 (Jellouschek 1935). This became problematic only when certain groups (Waldensians, Lollards) claimed the right to preach from vernacular versions without ordination, or used them to defend doctrinal positions contrary to receive orthodoxy (Lollards, Hussites, see Hurley 1960). For the great majority of medieval people, access to Scripture was not a matter of vernacular translation—they remained largely illiterate—but of vernacular preaching and still more of illuminated, sculpted, and painted representations of the biblical stories. Toward the end of the Middle Ages, a kind of structured "picture Bible" *(Biblia pauperum)* became very popular in manuscript and early print.

The more focused question of biblical authority came to discussion, and increasingly to debate, in the context of a European-wide church where the divinely conferred primacy of Scripture was taken altogether for granted. Throughout the Middle Ages churchmen said, with Isidore of Seville (d. 637) or Henry of Ghent (d. 1297), that the Holy Spirit (Beumer 1968:33) or God himself (Schmaus 1960) was the author of Holy Scripture. Despite a small dispute in the 9th century over how "error-free" Scripture had been transmitted and some ambiguous remarks in the prologue to Peter Abelard's *Sic et Non,* the question of how this worked, how inspiration took place and to what effect, was rarely raised (Beumer 1968:33, 35). While Thomas Aquinas apparently saw and explored some of the potential difficulties, it was Henry of Ghent who first tried to account for the process by distinguishing primary (divine) and secondary (human) agents in the writing (Beumer 1968:39–40). But this problem was little explored: most churchmen and masters contented themselves with general, and usually forceful, declarations on the divine authorship of Scripture.

Yet that same Spirit of God they also saw at work in the interpretation of Scripture offered by the fathers, the councils, and the prelates of the Church (Congar 1967:125–37). Writers would place the four gospels in parallel to four fathers of the church, and treat the latter as an extension of the former (de Lubac 1959:1.56–57 and passim). Duns Scotus could explain that the same Spirit responsible for the recorded words of institution at the Lord's Supper inspired the prelates at Lateran Council IV to settle on the difficult term "transubstantiantion" as their proper meaning (Congar 1967:131). Theologians generally understood the difference between a divinely authored "canon" and inspired Church Fathers, a distinction found prominently in Rupert of Deutz (d. 1129) and very commonly in the later Middle Ages (Oberman 1963). But it came to expression more often in polemical circumstances, where a master was attempting to defend from Scripture a position contrary to another affirmed elsewhere by fathers or doctors of the Church. The reigning assumption was that one God and one Spirit worked continuously both in Scripture and in the subsequent interpretative traditions of the Church.

Medieval churchmen, in sum, rarely or never imagined Scripture coming to them "alone"; Scripture came by way of the explanations of the fathers (hence the gloss), the teachings of prelates and masters, and the practices of the church. It was possible therefore to affirm the divine authority of Scripture while assuming the framework through which it was transmitted. Canonists did this when they alluded to the singular authority of Scripture, but focused primarily on the Church's laws: Gratian (the textbook for medieval canon law), for instance, conceded Scripture this primary position but never included a Scriptural text as a "canon" in its own right, though he cited it fifty times in explanatory passages. So too, all the masters of theology (Thomas Aquinas, for instance, in the opening arguments of his *Summa*) did the same when they described theology as a "science" (a coherent body of knowledge, or scholarly discipline) derived from and built upon Scripture. Bonaventure, among 13th-century masters, was particularly insistent upon the authority and fullness of Scripture (de Voogt 1954:17–22).

Questions pertinent to Scripture's "primacy" and scope arose in different ways in the later Middle Ages. The first concerned its rank in a series of authoritative sources. All medieval thinkers, including jurists and philosophical theologians from the time of Abelard (Tierney 1967; Schüssler 1977) consistently placed it first. Bonaventure, Thomas Aquinas, and numerous other theologians declared at times that nothing was truly binding if not authorized by Scripture. But at the end of the 13th century, theologians began to separate out the different strands that went into the making of Christian revelation. This raised two questions common to 14th and 15th century writers. First, was Scripture a "sufficient" source of divine revelation? Nearly all masters held that it was "materially sufficient," meaning all that was required for divine truth and human salvation was contained in some sense in Scripture (de Voogt 1954:148ff and passim; Schüssler 1977:73–75). Canonists in particular, such as Panormitanus (d. 1445), held to the traditional declarations of Scripture's primacy and sufficiency, and Luther was later to draw specifically from him for his early apologetic (Schüssler 1977:172ff).

The essential question in later medieval discussion concerned the relations between "Scripture" and "Church" (meaning tradition, authority, and practice). Henry of Ghent raised the question explicitly (Schmaus 1960), as did Gerard of Bologna (d. 1317), Ockham, and nearly all subsequent theologians (de Voogt 1954:356–60; Schüssler 1977:92–130). All sought in some way to underscore their mutuality: Scripture came to humankind by way of the Church, even was authorized by the Church; yet Scripture alone was the source of the divine truths taught by the Church. Some, like Ockham, emphasized the primacy and infallibility of Scripture over against fallible prelates; others, like Jean Gerson (d. 1429), declared Scripture binding as the Church interpreted and transmitted it. A greater sense of distinction between the "canon of the Bible" and the "teachings of the fathers or the church" emerged, thus in Gabriel Biel (Oberman 1963), even when no tension was presumed. In the late Middle Ages, tensions between the two surfaced more often. Wycliff and Hus set the authority of Scripture over against Church and tradition (de Voogt 1954:168–99, 218–232); conciliarists deployed an infallible Scripture against fallible popes (Schüssler 1977:184–224); and certain churchmen (especially Franciscans) isolated more clearly "apostolic" or "oral" traditions to authorize non-Scriptural teachings, especially on Mary (Oakley 1979:148–57; Beumer 1962:62–73). But the assumption that Scripture was divinely authored, uniquely authoritative, and transmitted by way of the Church and her traditions prevailed, despite inherent tensions, to the time of Luther and the Reformation.

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JOHN VAN ENGEN

## *BIBLICAL AUTHORITY AND THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION*

The doctrine of Scripture was a significant theological issue in the Reformation and post-Reformation periods. The polemical writings of Protestants and Roman Catholics make it clear that disagreement over the nature of Scripture's authority in the Church was at the root of many other theological conflicts. The authoritative status of Scripture, its relation to the tradition of the Church, to human reason, Christian experience, and the proper means of Scripture's interpretation formed a cluster of concerns that fostered intense debates in these periods. The ongoing implications of these disagreements have continued to affect the Christian Church through the subsequent centuries.

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A. Luther
B. Calvin
C. Post-Reformation Protestant Theologians

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### A. Luther

The first generation of Protestant Reformers did not write systematic treatises on their views of Scripture. Martin Luther (1483–1546), who broke decisively from the Roman Catholic Church and its medieval theological formulations did, however, stand in continuity with Catholicism in recognizing the Bible's divine authority and inspiration. Yet Luther did not share the Roman Catholic view of the nature and purpose of Scripture and its appropriate interpretation.

Luther looked to the early church theologians and agreed with them that the Bible is inspired by God for the purpose of proclaiming the gospel of salvation in Jesus Christ. It further serves as the Christian's normative guide for living a life of faith. For Luther, salvation is found in the message of Scripture itself rather than, as with the Roman view, through the teachings of the Church and the pronouncements of the church hierarchy, includ- ing the Pope. As Luther stated in his 1519 Leipzig debate with the Catholic

theologian Johann Eck: "By divine law we are forbidden to believe anything which is not established by divine Scripture or manifest revelation." The authority of Scripture was primary for Luther since "the Scripture is the womb from which are born theological truth and the Church." It is "the Word of God" that "preserves the Church of God" (WA 3.454; 259). The Bible is the "touchstone," "ruler," and "plumb line" or "Lydian stone by which I can tell black from white and evil from good" (See Rogers and McKim 1979:76). For Luther, all authorities—including the early church theologians and the apostles themselves—must be tested according to their fidelity to Scripture. For "their authority is worth most when it has clear scriptural support."

Luther found Scripture authoritative because of its content: Jesus Christ. In Jesus Christ, God had graciously condescended to be revealed to humankind as a human being. The Christian Gospel as found in Scripture presents Jesus Christ to the world. Luther's view of Scripture rested on the analogy he drew between the Bible and the person of Christ. He wrote that "the Holy Scripture is God's Word, written, and so to say 'in-lettered,' just as Christ is the eternal Word of God incarnate in the garment of his humanity. And just as it is with Christ in the world, as he is viewed and dealt with, so it is also with the written Word of God" (WA 48.31).

Luther's christological focus in his theology took on special importance as he made this connection between the two natures of Christ and Scripture. For as "the divinity and power of God are embedded in the vessel of Christ's incarnate body, so the same divinity and power of God are embedded in Scripture, a vessel made of letters, composed of paper and printer's ink. In order to grasp the biblical revelation in its fullness it is necessary to conceive of Scripture in terms of the divine-human nature of Christ" (WA 3.515; 403–4).

This meant for Luther that the limitations and "humanity" of Scripture were no barriers to its conveying God's divine Word of salvation. By adopting an incarnational means of communicating with humanity, God used human beings to speak to other human beings. Luther could exercise scholarly criticism in dealing with apparent discrepancies and even "errors" in Scripture. His stress was on the central articles of the Christian faith conveyed by Scripture—centering in the message of the Gospel.

**B. Calvin**

John Calvin (1509–1564) shared with Luther the emphasis on Scripture as the Word of God and the supremely authoritative source for Christian guidance on what to believe and how to live. Calvin's understanding of God's revelation in Scripture was enhanced by his training as a Christian humanist and the insights he gained into the nature of communication and how to study ancient documents (Rogers and McKim 1979:89–96; McKim 1984:44–50).

Calvin's views on the need for Scripture are intimately connected with his views on the knowledge of God. Scripture is needed to reveal God's will since human sin has smothered *(suffocari)* and corrupted *(corrumpi)* the true knowledge of God that is implanted within all persons as a "seed of religion" or "sense of divinity" (Calvin 1536:1.3–4). The will and mind reject the true knowledge of God and become "puffed up and swollen with all the more pride" so the mind is "like a labyrinth." No natural theology or human reasoning can cause the sinner to come to a true knowledge of God.

God has provided "another and better help" to direct humans "aright to the very Creator of the universe" (1.6.1). God has given the Bible to bring people to a true knowledge of God. Scripture functions as "spectacles" by "gathering up the otherwise confused knowledge of God in our minds, having dispersed our dullness" so it "clearly shows us the true God," according to Calvin. Thus the Scriptural revelation is necessary to communicate what God's revelation in nature cannot communicate because of human sin. Scripture is a gift of God's grace to fallen humanity.

Calvin's background training as a Christian humanist affected his way of studying the ancient biblical texts. He understood Scripture as "the Word of God" (1.7.1) that has "flowed to us from the very mouth of God" by the ministry of the biblical writers (1.7.5). Scripture is superior to all human wisdom. In it, "the sublime mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven came to be expressed largely in mean and lowly words" (*contemptibili; humilitate* 1.8.1).

Calvin recognized that Scripture communicated a true knowledge of God and that this divine message came through human words. Of help for his understanding of these two dimensions was the concept of "accommodation" *(accommodare),* a term drawn from the Latin rhetoricians and jurists which Calvin learned through his humanist studies. Ancient rhetoricians "accommodated" the content of their speeches to the "capacities" *(captus)* of their hearers. So, in Scripture—God's divine speech to humanity—God has accommodated God's self to human capacity by communicating with humans in a way (through words) adapted to their limited understandings. The divinely appointed human authors of Scripture express God's divine message in human words and thought forms. Thus the infinite distance between God and humanity has been overcome. The "uncultivated and almost rude simplicity" of Scripture was not a barrier to God's revelation. The simple, human style was the very *means* of God's revelational communication. For Calvin, Scripture's content and function was more decisive than the form of its language. God's condescension and accommodation to human capacity in Scripture is an expression of God's love for humanity. The supreme example of God's accommodation is God's incarnation in Jesus Christ.

The authority of Scripture for Calvin flowed from this understanding of Scripture's nature. He rejected the Roman Catholic view that the authority of Scripture is conferred by the Church (1.7.1). For Calvin, "the church is 'built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles' (Eph. 2:20)." Thus, "if the teaching of the prophets and apostles is the foundation, this must have had authority before the church began to exist" (1.7.2). The Scriptures have authority when humans "regard them as having sprung from heaven, as if there the living words of God were heard" (1.7.1). Scripture is "God's Sacred Word" (1.7.4), "set down and sealed in writing" (4.8.6).

Scripture's authority is recognized only through the work of the Holy Spirit. The internal testimony of the Holy Spirit *(testimonium Spiritus sancti internum)* is the means by which the origin and authority of Scripture become certainties. Calvin wrote: "We ought to seek our conviction in a higher place than human reasons, judgments, or conjectures, that is, in the secret testimony of the Spirit" (1.7.4). For the "highest proof of Scripture derives in general from the fact that God in person speaks in it." The prophets and apostles did not "dwell upon rational proofs" as they spoke. Instead, "the testimony of the Spirit is more excellent than all reason" and "the same Spirit, therefore, who has spoken through the mouths of the prophets must penetrate into our hearts to persuade us that they faithfully proclaimed what had been divinely commanded."

While Calvin recognized there are "human testimonies" that point to Scripture as coming from God (miracles, prophecy, etc.; 1.8), but he believed these "arguments" for the credibility of Scripture were insufficient or "vain" in themselves. External arguments are only "secondary aids to our feebleness" (1.8.13) and are useful to believers who had already accepted Scripture's authority. But "Scripture will ultimately suffice for a saving knowledge of God only when its certainty is founded upon the inward persuasion of the Holy Spirit." This faith in Scripture's authority is intimately related with faith in Jesus Christ since it is only through Scripture that we know of Christ. Faith for Calvin was personal and relational, "a firm and certain knowledge of God's benevolence toward us, founded upon the truth of the freely given promise in Christ, both revealed to our minds and sealed upon our hearts through the Holy Spirit" (3.2.7). Believers are "more strengthened by the persuasion of divine truth than instructed by rational proof." So "the knowledge of faith consists in assurance rather than in comprehension" (3.2.14). Thus for Calvin, Word and Spirit belong inseparably together. The Holy Spirit does not witness apart from the Word; and the Word has no power or effect apart from the work of the Holy Spirit.

Calvin's emphasis on the divine origin of Scripture's message led him to stress Scripture's inspiration. He wrote of "the mouth of the Lord" and "God speaking in Scripture," and in some commentaries he used the term "dictation" to describe this action. Most interpreters agree that Calvin rejected the idea of mechanical dictation since he much more frequently stressed the involvement of the biblical writer's whole personality in the composition of Scripture. His predominant emphasis in using the term "inspiration" is on the divine doctrine or gospel message that humans have expressed in their own words, thought forms, and contexts (see 1.6.2).

In sum, for Calvin, the authority of Scripture lies in its power as God's Word, centered on God's promise and revelation in Jesus Christ, and made known fully through the work of the Holy Spirit.

**C. Post-Reformation Protestant Theologians**

The followers of Luther and Calvin developed more fully the thought of their mentors on many theological topics. Faced with the Counter-Reformation of Roman Catholicism and later in the 17th-century with new developments in science and philosophy, post-Reformation Protestant theologians were concerned to secure the foundations of their doctrinal views. This concern led to an increased emphasis on establishing the authority of the Bible.

Insofar as the second-generation Reformers sought to use the approaches of the Aristotelian philosophy developed in the medieval universities, they have been termed "Protestant scholastics." These theologians were drawn to the resources of Aristotelianism in order to counter the arguments of their opponents by using the same methods. Of importance here was a heavy reliance on the use of reason as a means of establishing proof. Eventually, Protestants attempted to prove the authority of the Bible by using the same type of Aristotelian arguments put forth by Roman Catholics who sought to prove the authority of the church.

A key dimension of the post-Reformation Protestant theologians' approach to biblical authority was the doctrine of inspiration. The Bible gained its authority because it was divinely inspired by God. Scripture is God's Word, and as God's self-communication, Scripture can be expected to share in God's own characteristics. Chief among these for the scholastic theologians were attributes of Scripture such as its complete truthfulness or inerrancy. In particular, these theologians wished to affirm that Scripture's inspiration was completely under God's control and that biblical writers wrote under God's specific, definite command and impulse; that the complete contents of Scripture were the product of God's "breath" or "inspiration" *(theopneustos),* so there is a "plenary inspiration" of Scripture; and therefore, the words of Scripture themselves are directly inspired by God (verbal inspiration). If the inspiration of Scripture is established in this way, these theologians believed Scripture then carried with it God's own truthfulness, power, and authority (Preus 1970:263–65).

For these dogmaticians, the Holy Spirit suggested to the authors of Scripture what they were to write and how it should be written so that as the Lutheran theologian Abraham Calov (1612–1686) wrote: "There is no word of Scripture, not even a jot, that does not occur by divine inspiration" (*Biblia Novi Tesatmenti Illustrata,* II, 1034 in Preus 1970:281). Both the content and "the words also, which are placed in their mouth and dictated to their pen by the Holy Spirit, were communicated to the individual amanuenses, or men of God" (*Biblia* II, 1547). At the same time, these theologians wished to say that the differing temperaments *(ingenia),* feelings *(studia),* and differences in background *(nationes)* of the biblical writers are reflected in Scripture as well (Preus 1970:290–91). The heavy emphasis on verbal inspiration has led a number of scholars to view the post-Reformation theologians as teaching in essence a "dictation" theory of inspiration in which there is no real room for the human personalities of the biblical authors to hold a significant place (Preus 1970:291–92).

Post-Reformation Reformed theologians also grounded Scripture's authority in its inspiration. Francis Turretin (1632–1687) stressed the necessity of establishing Scripture's authority, which he saw as "the primary foundation of faith" (*Institutio* 2.12.1 in Rogers and McKim 1979:176). Amandus Polanus (1561–1610) wrote that "The authority of Holy Scripture is the dignity and excellence pertaining to Holy Scripture alone, above all other writings, by which it is and is held to be *authentic,* i.e., infallibly *certain,* so that by absolute necessity it must be believed and obeyed by all because of God its Author" (*Particiones theologicae* 1:16; Heppe 1950:21).

Since Scripture is God's Word and is inspired directly by God, it gains its authority solely from God and not, as in the Roman Catholic view, from the church's acknowledgment of the canon of Scripture. Yet for Turretin and other Reformed theologians of this period, the function of the Holy Spirit in regard to the composition of Scripture was to lead the Apostles "into all truth so that they might not err" (Turretin, *Inst.* 2.4.24 in Rogers & McKim 1979:176). Turretin argued that "unless unimpaired integrity characterize the Scripture, they could not be regarded as the sole rule of faith and practice" (*Inst.* 2.5.7). This approach led

Reformed scholastics to a great concern with establishing rational proofs for Scripture's inspiration and inerrancy. For Turretin, "Before faith can believe, it must have the divinity of the witness, to whom faith is to be given, clearly established, from certain marks which are apprehended in it, otherwise it cannot believe" (*Inst.* 2.4.13). Turretin proposed a number of "external marks" such as Scripture's "antiquity" and "duration" to testify to Scripture's inspiration and inerrancy.

This in turn led to a strong concern to establish the purity of the biblical texts and the original autographic texts of Scripture. Turretin argued that God had providentially preserved the books of the canon so that they accurately reflected the original manuscripts of Scripture. He acknowledged that errors in biblical manuscripts "crept into the books of particular editions through the negligence of copyists or printers." Yet, these "corruptions and errors" could be "restored and corrected by any collation of various copies, or of Scripture itself and of parallel passages" (*Inst.* 2.5.4).

The implication of this approach for Turretin was to insist on the divine character of even the vowel points of the Hebrew OT (which Turretin believed had been part of the original autographs of Scripture). This view was given confessional status in the Helvetic Consensus Formula (1675) which in answer to the rising tide of textual criticism of the Old Testament, asserted that the inspiration of the "Hebrew Original of the Old Testament" is found "not only in its consonants, but in its vowels—either the vowel points themselves, or at least the power of the points." The Bible was described as inspired "not only in its matter, but in its words" (see Rogers and McKim 1979:184).

In the Protestant scholastic doctrine of Scripture, the perfection of Scripture was the most crucial dimension of Scripture's authority. The doctrine of the "inerrancy" of Scripture was a way of asserting Scripture's authority on the basis of its complete truthfulness and accuracy in all details. As Calov wrote, "Inasmuch as Scripture has been written by a direct and divine impulse and all the Scriptures recognize as their author Him who cannot err or be mistaken in any way (Heb. 6:18), no untruth or error or lapse can be ascribed to the God-breathed Scripture, lest God Himself be accused" (*Systema,* I, 462; Preus 1970:341). The Lutheran Johann Quenstedt (1617–1688) spelled it out fully:

> The holy canonical Scriptures in their original text are the infallible truth and are free from every error. That is to say, in the sacred canonical Scriptures there is no untruth, no deceit, no error, not even a minor one, either in content or words, but each and everything presented to us in Scripture is absolutely true whether it pertains to doctrine, ethics, history, chronology, topography, or onomastics, and no ignorance, no lack of understanding, no forgetfulness or lapse of memory can or should be ascribed to the amanuenses of the Holy Spirit in their writing of the Holy Scriptures (*System,* P.I, C.4, S.2, q.5; Preus 1970:346).

Some scholars have seen the precision and systematization of the post-Reformation doctrine of Biblical authority as an elaboration and clarification of directions initially spelled out by the first generation Reformers, Luther and Calvin. Other have argued that Protestant scholasticism with its emphasis on the place of reason in theology and stress on verbal inspiration and the inerrancy of Scripture as the basis of biblical authority deviated significantly from the views of the early Reformers and set the basis of Biblical authority on a footing that was not consistent with the contents of Reformation theology. This was to lead to increasing difficulties as the further impacts of 17th-century revolutions in science and philosophy coupled with the later development of biblical criticism raised new questions about the nature and authority of the Bible.

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## *BIBLICAL AUTHORITY IN THE WAKE OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT*

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### A. The Period of Orthodoxy

**1. Protestant Orthodoxy.** In continental Protestantism of the post-Reformation period the orthodox theologians developed systems of a scholastic type in which the loci (dogmatic themes) were arranged in analytical manner, starting from the causes and progressing to the effects. Already in J. Gerhard's *Loci theologici* (1610–25) the system is fully developed (Hägglund 1951). Holy Scripture occupies in it a prominent place. Of the two sorts of revelation, natural and supernatural, the last mentioned is the decisive. And "divine revelation, as it is handed down in the revealed word, is the effecting cause of supernatural theology" (*Loci theologici*, Prooemium §18). Scripture itself is the instrumental cause. The principle of the Reformation that "Scripture alone" is the source of faith in this way is brought into an (Aristotelian) system. The equation "Scripture = Word of God" is also preserved. Gerhard maintains that "between the word of God and holy Scripture as such there is no real difference" (*Loci theologici,* 1.1, §7). Therefore the Bible is inerrant in matters of faith. In all this, however, an important shift from Luther's understanding of Scripture has happened: whereas for Luther the Bible becomes the living word of God in being preached and heard, in the orthodox systems (see also Hutter 1961) Scripture in its written form is identified with revelation (Ratschow 1964–66). Against the spiritualists, the orthodox theologians defended the efficiency of the written word. Against the Catholic propaganda which claimed that the Bible cannot be understood without the authority of tradition, the Protestants maintained that it is perspicuous to everybody and unequivocal in itself (Ratschow 1964–66:1.123ff). The inner testimony of the Holy Spirit insures its effectiveness (Kirste 1976). The analogy of faith (cf. Rom 12:6) is the guiding principle for understanding the sense of a biblical sentence in the light of the whole canon. In its late phase, orthodoxy defended the integrity of the Bible by the dogma of verbal inspiration (e.g., J. B. Carpzow: every word is directly dictated to the biblical writers by the Holy Spirit) against the rising criticism. Even the vowel points of the Masoretes were taken for inspired (J. Buxtorf). Orthodoxy lost its predominance on the continent by the end of the 17th century, though it still found its defenders in the 18th. But one may not undervalue orthodox Lutheran piety even in the late phase. An example is J. S. Bach, who in his music shows himself as a believing interpreter of the Bible in the way of Luther (Besch 1950; Petzold 1985; Voigt 1986).

**2. Reformed Positions.** The reformed wing of orthodoxy shared the principles regarding the authority of the Bible with the Lutherans. The Consensus Helveticus (1675) is the most rigid defense of the inerrancy of Scripture. But the reformed dogmatic tradition also knew some special doctrines which had a far-reaching influence on the understanding of the Bible and its authority in England, the Netherlands, Scotland, and (later) the United States. One of the most important was *federal* (or covenant) theology, which originated in Switzerland with the reformers Zwingli and Calvin but was dogmatically developed by dogmatists like P. Melanchthon, H. Bullinger (Baker 1980), Zwingli's successor in Zürich, and C. Olevian in Heidelberg. Later it spread over all reformed territories and was shared by the Puritan W. Perkins and the Dutch theologians F. Gomarus and, above all, J. Coccejus. The Westminster Confession (1647), art. 7, made innerancy a part of the official doctrine of the church (Schrenck 1923; Harinck 1986). The federal theology distinguished two covenants: the general or natural covenant between God and Adam/Noah (which is destroyed by the Fall), and the covenant of grace (which God renewed with Abraham and fulfilled in Christ). Important for its understanding is Melanchthon's theory of mutual obligation: the believer who by baptism belongs to the covenant is obliged to fulfill its commandments. Another reformed doctrine, the theory of double predestination (the greater part of mankind is predestined for doom, the smaller one is elected to be saved by grace), aggravated the problem for the believer how he might know that he would be saved. A legalistic understanding of the Bible crept in—against the intentions of both Luther and Calvin. Legalism was partially reinforced by the continuance of pre-Reformation attitudes to the Bible which took it as a book containing rules of conduct. There was also a deep-rooted conviction—which originated with Zwingli and Calvin—that the whole life of the church, starting with the liturgy and ecclesiastical organization, but including the daily behavior of every believer, had to be molded on the model of Scripture.

**3. Puritanism.** Puritanism, as it originated in England in the 16th century, reached its largest political influence during the period of the Commonwealth (1649–60), was repressed under the Restoration, and found a late working field in America far into the 18th century. It was the most rigid movement impressing the reformed rules of life upon church, state, and people. It became the more vigorous as it encountered a strong opposition and repression from the Anglican state church and its hierarchy under Queen Elizabeth I, King James I, and King Charles I's archbishop Laud.

At its best, the Puritan movement was a party of clergymen and laypeople in the Church of England striving to carry into effect the reformation program of "scripture alone" (Ryken 1986:137–54) and to live a spiritual life according to the Bible (Watkins 1972). In the Westminster Confession, art.1, the reformed doctrine of Scripture is preserved (Rogers 1966–67:257–455). At its worst, it was strictly legalistic, as can be seen in the narrow rules for Sabbath observance (Solberg 1977; Wagner 1982). The Puritans were inclined to use the Bible (especially the OT; Selbie 1953) as a book of laws, culminating in the decalogue. For the separatist groups, the NT delivered the direct model of church organization. But Puritanism did much for spreading knowledge of the Bible in England. The famous Geneva Bible (a work of the Marian exiles in Geneva, 1560; Wilson 1976:122–25), which strongly influenced the officially competing KJV (1614; Wilson 1976:145–48), was a Puritan work (*CHB* 3:141ff). That every layman—even the soldier in Cromwell's army with his pocket Bible—could read the Bible himself and became, at least partially, independent from the sermons in which his parson explained it to him, was a Puritan achievement.

Since 1630, the date of the Puritan-sponsored migration to the Massachusetts Bay, the Bible played a decisive role as the basic authority for developing an ideology of the New World. Whereas the spiritualist Quakers failed to build up durable theologico-social structures in their settlement in Philadelphia, the Puritans in Boston developed the concept of the New England people as the people of the covenant and God's chosen nation (Miller 1933, 1937). Millennial expectation, which was impressed in everybody's mind by reading the Bible, helped to form the conscience of a messianic nation (Bercovitch 1978; Stout 1982). The OT supplied the figure in ancient Israel of the New Israel, to be identified with the American Puritans. For the individual was reserved a personal salvation by grace which could be "prepared" for by listening to the preached Word and being a loyal citizen.

**4. Spiritualism.** From the beginnings of the Reformation, orthodox Protestant theology fought a continuing struggle against spiritualism. Whereas for the reformers the Word itself, as contained in the letter of the Bible, was the bearer of the Holy Ghost and capable of effecting belief in the heart of the hearer, for the followers of the mystic-spiritualist tradition, the "dead letter" lacked any force; the Spirit was kindled like a candle in the heart of the believer. Such spiritualism was to be met with in different degrees: from the mild, Lutheran type of a K. von Schwenckfeld or H. Rahtmann to the radical form of a S. Franck or G. Fox, the founder of Quakerism, who denied to the Scripture any independent authority and relied on the "inner light" as the only saving power in man. The mild spiritualism—to which the Lutheran type of mysticism such as J. Boehme's is related (Pältz 1965)—did not devalue the Bible, but maintained that the utter word cannot be efficient unless the Holy Spirit is opening the heart of the hearer (cf. Grützmacher 1902). Radical spiritualism could sometimes slip into secular revolutionary activity, as with T. Müntzer in the time of the Reformation, or the Ranters and Diggers in England during the Commonwealth. In the main, spiritualism did not win very many followers in the 17th century, and its radical wing had not the power to endanger the high authority of the Bible in the Protestant countries.

**5. Millenniarism.** A phenomenon that for a long time escaped notice in modern scholarship is the apocalyptic trend in the 17th century which can be observed in different countries. On the continent theologians like J. V. Andreae (1586–1654) J. H. Alsted (1588–1638) and J. A. Comenius (1592–1670) had millenarian ideas (Firth 1979:204–13). Later in the century the mystic spiritualists (A. von Franckenberg, P. Felgenhauer, C. Hoburg, F. Breckling, J. G. Gichtel, Q. Kuhlmann, E. and J. W. Petersen) spread their visions of a coming millennium (eschatological reign of Christ of a thousand years) according to Revelation 20 (Wallmann 1986:338ff). Paracelsus, V. Weigel, and J. Böhme had had the same expectations. In England (Ball 1975) during the civil war eschatologically oriented sects like the Fifth Monarchy Men and the Muggletonians (Hill 1972; Hill, Reay and Lamont 1983; Hill 1986:253–300) searched the book of Daniel and feverishly expected the imminent coming of the glorious reign of Christ. But still an Anglican theologian like J. Mede could write an influential chiliastically oriented commentary on Revelation (Firth 1979:213–28; Oberdieck 1985:138ff), the Puritan R. Baxter was likewise a millenarist (Lamont 1979), and even Isaac Newton took a lively interest in the topic in his private religious studies (Manuel 1974; Jacob 1976:100–142; Westfall 1981:309–30, 815–30). The contemporary "scientific" endeavors for a universal chronology relied totally upon the OT. J. Ussher's *Annales Veteris Testamenti* (1650) is the best known example (Barr, 1984–85), but W. Ralegh in his *History of the World* (1614; Fussner 1962:191–210) also relied completely on biblical chronology. Joseph Scaliger in his *Opus novum de emendatione temporum* (1583) and later Newton used astronomical calculations to support the biblical data.

**6. Roman Catholic Exegesis.** For Roman Catholic exegesis the decisions of the Council of Trent (1545–48) remained obligatory. The Vulgate was declared the official version for dogmatic purposes in the church; it included the apocryphal books of the OT as contained in the LXX. In contrast to the reformed churches, the Bible was not the only authority; the oral ecclesiastical ("apostolical") tradition gained the same, if not a higher doctrinal importance (F. J. Crehan in *CHB* 3:199ff). The reading of the Bible among laypeople was in no way furthered by the official church; during the Counter-Reformation it was even suspected as indicating a hidden Protestantism. But the dissemination of Protestant translations in the vernacular languages gave impetus to the production of dogmatically inoffensive Catholic translations in different countries. Only part of them received official recognition (because Pope Paul V in 1559 had forbidden publication of a vernacular edition without formal allowance of the Holy Office). In contrast to the Protestant stress on the literal sense of Scripture, the Roman Catholic tradition preserved the fourfold sense. Patristic exegesis was held in high esteem. In the Jesuit universities founded in the period of the Counter-Reformation, biblical exegesis had a certain, if not prominent, place. The most influential commentator in the Baroque age of nearly the whole Bible was C. a Lapide (van den Steyn). In the wake of L. Molina, Catholic exegetes were inclined to a less strict theory about verbal inspiration. Textual criticism gained a certain place in the work of J. Morin, who held (in defense of the LXX) that the Hebrew text of the OT is corrupt. In other ways, the standpoint of Catholic apologetics was similar to

protestant orthodoxy. A good example is D. Huet's *Demonstratio evangelica* (1679), in which the OT was defended as prophecy upon Christ. Critical outsiders, such as R. Simon, were relentlessly persecuted by censorship. The popularizing of the Bible took place in Germany (Valentin 1983–84), in France (Sayce 1955; Rougemont 1986) and in other countries in the Jesuit drama, mostly on OT stories. Besides, several long poems on biblical topics were produced. But all in all, the role of the Bible in Catholic countries was restricted.

**B. Humanism and Early Enlightenment**

**1. Humanistic Anglicans.** In the Church of England, different currents struggled against one another. A thoroughgoing reformation like that in the Protestant countries had never taken place. Henry VIII's anticlerical measures were exclusively motivated by personal and political interests. Nevertheless, first Lutheran, then reformed theological influences altered the situation. Broadly speaking, the Anglican church can therefore be reckoned among the churches of the Reformation. Whereas the Puritan party followed a narrowly biblicistic program, the Anglicans (this is a 19th-century term, but it adequately describes the majority trend in the Church of that time) steered a middle course *(via media).* They also held the Bible in high esteem (Reedy 1985), but gave reason its place. The rationalism of the Enlightenment was not yet dominant, but the mildly rational temper of humanism used reason for establishing a moral way of life and for apologetic purposes. R. Hooker, in his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594–97), ascribed to natural reason an important role as a basis for positive law, arguing that it is sufficient for reaching moral perfection. Supernatural revelation as codified in the Scripture is needed to lead man by redemption to the goals of faith, love, and hope (for Hooker, Hillerdale 1962; Marshall 1963). Reason and Scripture in that way supplement one another in a dualism, the impact of which was important for the whole following development.

In the Church of England in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, biblical typology was used as well by Puritans as by Anglicans for establishing royal prerogatives and duties in church and state. OT kings such as David and Hezekiah became the models for English monarchs (*ABRMW,* 135ff). The divine right of kings was defended from OT hereditary rights in the patriarchalism of R. Filmer, whose *Patriarcha* was published posthumously in 1680 by the Jacobites in support of the legitimate succession of King James II.

In Anglicanism, the high-church ceremonialism of Archbishop Laud could go hand in hand with broad mindedness in doctrinal matters. The representative work on the Bible from the perspective of liberal Anglicanism was W. Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants* (first published in 1638). Against Roman claims to infallibility, Chillingworth set the principle that the Bible alone is the complete rule for faith and action (Orr 1967; *ABRMW,* 147–52). Chillingworth also employs the Erasmian distinction between fundamental and non-fundamental doctrines; he is ready to reduce doctrinal obligations to a minimum—that Christians should believe on Christ. The central content of Scripture (especially the NT and in it the moral teaching of Jesus) is the will of God that is visible in it and can be understood by everybody with the help of reason. The Bible is just a means of conveying this will; alongside Scripture, natural reason can help to judge right from wrong.

One of the most famous liberal Anglicans was Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679). Often falsely stamped as an atheist, Hobbes, a lay philosopher, developed his political theory from a liberal Anglican standpoint. He combined anti–Roman polemics, a moral understanding of the Bible, and dogmatic minimalism (it is enough to believe "that Jesus is the Christ") with a royalist state-church idea, which induced him to give in his theory of an ideal government (Hobbes 1839a; 1839b) the sovereign the right to decide on all outward ceremonies in the church and the public creed, including also which books of the Bible should be canonical. Scriptural proof by typological arguments for these comprehensive rights on one side and historical criticism of the Bible (especially against Moses' authorship of the Pentateuch) on the other show the ambivalence of an old-fashioned thinker who also tries to use new methods for a political theory developed *more geometrico*: according to the rules of modern natural science.

**2. Latitudinarians.** The Latitudinarians were the successors of the liberal Anglicans in the last decades of the 17th century. Their attitude was the same: no objections against the basic contents of the Christian creed, but with some of them a tendency to minimalism, the whole energy directed to improving the

moral behavior of believers. The most famous latitudinarian was archbishop J. Tillotson (1630–94) who in innumerable catechizing sermons was extremely influential in that direction. The Bible again was taken mainly as a book of moral rules. In a similar vein John Locke (1632–1704), who had refuted Filmer's patriarchalism on its own basis, the OT (*Two Treatises of Government* [1690]) in his *Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695) took the NT as the basis for his two closely connected goals: to demonstrate that the minimal confession that Jesus is the Messiah is enough for salvation and that Holy Scripture provides the only reliable authoritative morality. Locke distinguishes between a law of works (including the law of nature and the law of Moses), which has to be done by everybody, and the law of faith (Rom 3:27), which compensates for the gaps in fulfilling the law. The teaching of Jesus was needed, not because reason is principally unable to attain a natural knowledge of God and human duties, but because in practice, humankind did not use it. The gospel, therefore, has above all a pedagogical purpose. The Bible is held in high esteem, but Locke's rationalism prepared the way for the deistic criticism.

**3. Arminianism.** The followers of Jacob Arminius (1560–1609) opposed the strict Calvinist dogma of predestination. They were also called Remonstrants (after the Remonstratio they had presented to the General States of Holland in 1610). To the Remonstrant community belonged the famous Bible exegetes Hugo Grotius and Johannes Clericus (Jean Leclerc). Grotius, humanist, lawyer, and politician (*TRE* 4:277–80), was also an able exegete (Reventlow 1988a). He wrote *Annotations* to both Testaments (1679). Besides philological exegesis and text-critical research, Grotius offers the first historical explanation of the whole Bible. But he does not criticize the Scriptures. In his apologetic work *De veritate religionis Christianae* he even defends the truth of Christianity by the truthfulness of the Bible. Biblical authority is not yet called in question. Leclerc (Barnes 1938; Reventlow 1988b) goes a step further: he formulates a basic hermeneutical rule requiring that to understand a biblical book one has to detect the intention of the author in writing it, the circumstances of its having been written, and the meanings and events mentioned in it (*Sentiments de quelques théologiens de Hollande* [1685]). Dogmatically Leclerc is a minimalist: he stresses (against R. Simon) that the Bible contains all that is essential for a right religion. Leclerc also wrote several mainly philological and historical OT and NT commentaries (Pitassi 1987).

**4. Outsiders.** Benedict de Spinoza (1632–1677), a Jewish philosopher who was excommunicated by his community, consequently separated the realms of reason (on which he founded his holistic philosophical system) and religion (Strauss 1965; Zac 1965 and 1979; Malet 1966; Heimbrock 1981; di Luca 1982). For his philosophy he demanded complete freedom from any external authority, including the Bible. Faith and philosophy are to be severed (Spinoza 1670 chap. 14). Truth belongs to the realm of philosophy, subjective piety and obedience to the realm of faith and theology (cf. Sandys-Wunsch 1981). Faith is defined (according to Jas 2:17) as obedience. In his *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (1670), which he also wrote for the political purpose of vindicating typologically from the Bible the rule of the regent J. de Witt's party in Holland (Meinsma 1896; Frances 1937; Breton 1973; Greschat 1980), he gave a definition of the historic-critical method (Spinoza 1670 chap. 7): (1) the aim is to give a history of Scripture, which must not be seen on one level; (2) the intention of the biblical writers is decisive; (3) everything is to be drawn out of Scripture itself and must not be taken from dogmatics. He refuses the allegorical method of the Aristotelian Jewish interpreter Maimonides and restricts exegesis to the verbal sense. From his historical standpoint Spinoza is able to detect many mistakes in the orthodox opinions about, e.g., the authorship of the Pentateuch and the historical books (which are not from Moses and the other authors mentioned in their headings, but presumably from Ezra), about the biblical text and the OT canon, and about contradictions between the four gospels and other passages in the NT (Spinoza 1670 chaps. 8–10). All this is no problem for faith, because the Bible has reached us unfalsified as far as the Word of God is concerned (chap. 12). Spinoza's immediate influence was not large, as he was everywhere proscribed as an atheist. But his works were read secretly in opposition circles.

In 1655, the French reformed thinker Isaac de la Peyrère (McKee 1944; Klempt 1960:89–96; Popkin 1979:214–28) anonymously published his book on the Pre-Adamites (Peyrère 1655). In a way this book was revolutionary, as de la Peyrère put in doubt the hitherto commonly accepted biblical picture of the world and of a history of humanity which started with Adam as the first man. He could no longer

reconcile the increase of knowledge about the development of early cultures, such as the Babylonians and the Egyptians, or the ancient and still flowering civilization of China, with the outmoded biblical theory. Therefore he postulated the existence of a pre-Adamite humanity; Adam was the father of the Jews only. The new cosmology was a greater danger to the authority of the Bible (see Popkin 1987).

Catholic orthodoxy regarding Scripture was in principle monolithic, especially because the Inquisition suppressed any independent utterance. But there were some who went their own ways.

Best known is Richard Simon (1638–1712), a French Oratorian who was ousted by his order and prosecuted by the ecclesiastical censorship because of his heterodox opinions, but died as a Catholic priest (Bernus 1869; Margival 1900; Stummer 1912; Steinmann 1960; Auvray 1974; Reventlow 1980). His main work, the *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament* (1678, 2d ed. 1685), intended according to his own declaration (Preface, fol. 3c) to shake the foundations of the Protestant Scripture principle by showing the unreliability of the Bible. Therewith he also invoked a Catholic principle in questioning the correctness of the Hebrew text, which he showed to be corrupted in the long process of textual transmission. Only the originals were inspired (see Le Brun 1982). Simon makes clear that the biblical chronology is not trustworthy (Simon 1685:5.38.204–11)—a very important step for the time—and that profane sources have to be taken into consideration. In these respects he is one of the founders of modern historical scholarship. Whereas his statement that Moses cannot be the author of the Pentateuch is not new, a new method can be observed in his hypothesis that Moses installed "public scribes" who had to write down the minutes of the most important public affairs, which in abbreviated form served as a pattern for the historical books of the OT (Simon 1685:3–5.15–21). In this way tradition attains a position prior to Scripture (though Simon, who sees in the hypothetical scribes inspired prophets, ascribes inspiration to these minutes as well). Simon also wrote several works on NT textual criticism (Simon 1689 a–b; 1695) and on the history of NT exegesis (Simon 1693), in which he also referred to such already acceptable critical observations as the spuriousness of the last section in Mark (Simon 1689a: 77–85), the presumably non-pauline origin of Hebrews (Simon 1689a: 120–30), and the pseudonymous authorship of the so-called Catholic Epistles, especially James (Simon 1689a: 130–42). Though Jean Leclerc strongly opposed Simon's theses (1685) and the supposed scribes were nowhere accepted, Simon was later acknowledged by Protestant Bible criticism as an important precursor.

**5. English Deists.** Deism (see especially Lechler 1841; Gawlick 1972, 1973) is a widespread phenomenon of diffuse appearance. Under the common denomination of believers in God it comprised adherents of Epicureanism (who knew only a remote, motionless God and who disputed revelation) and followers of the Stoic tradition (who were prepared to acknowledge natural revelation). In calling themselves Christians they were quite sincere, because they were even ready to accept a biblical revelation, though revelation adapted to their ideas.

The deists as a movement carrying this name are first mentioned in France in the second half of the 16th century (Betts 1984). But the repression in that reactionary Catholic country forced them into the underground. An open (though still restricted) discussion about deistic principles was only possible in England after the Glorious Revolution of 1689. The first name to be mentioned is that of Edward Herbert of Cherbury (1582–1648), who is commonly regarded as the founder of English deism (Rossi 1947; Bedford 1979; *ABRMW,* 185–93), though that characterization has been disputed (Pailin 1983). Cherbury in his *De Veritate* was proud to have detected five "common notions" or "catholic truths" concerning religion which are innate ideas and everywhere the same in all mankind: (1) there is a God; (2) to him worship is due; (3) virtue combined with piety is the most important part of the service owed to God; (4) sins have to be expiated by penance; (5) there will be reward or punishment after this life (Cherbury 1645a = 1966:1.210–222). The same "catholic truths" he also had detected in the Bible insofar it contains God's Word (*Religio Laici,* Cherbury 1645b = 1966:135). But the Bible also hands down the words of criminals, women, beasts, even the Devil (ibid.)! This utterance shows Herbert to be a moralist influenced by stoic thought who is prepared to acknowledge the Bible insofar it conforms with his system, but also measuring it with the yardstick of preconceived ideas to which he ascribes universal validity. This is fundamentally taken by the same position later "Christian" deists.

After a long interval the works of Charles Blount (1654–93) appeared. (Bonante 1972; Walber 1988). Though Blount referred to Cherbury, he was in fact opposed to natural religion. It is debated how far he was completely against religion, but in the main he was a skeptic. In his work *Great is Diana of the Ephesians* (1695) Blount criticizes the whole cult (rites, ceremonies and sacrifices) as an invention of the priests. His translation of Philostratus' life of the ancient miracle worker Apollonius of Tyana (1680) contains many concealed opinions about the miracles of Christ and other biblical matters. In the letter of a correspondent of Blount whose initials are given as "A. W." (*Oracles of Reason* [1695]) Deism is for the first time defined as faith in the adequacy of natural religion without the need of an additional revelation. *A Summary Account of the Deists' Religion* (1695), also an anonymous pamphlet (Walber 1988:41f) and the first Deist manifesto, proclaims the same creed as Cherbury's without mentioning revelation. J. Toland (Sullivan 1982; Daniel 1984) in his early career—later he became a pantheist—wrote the famous book *Christianity not Mysterious* (1696) in which he used the epistemology of Locke to show that Christian religion and all of its fundamental doctrines as revealed in the Bible are not contrary to or above reason. As human knowledge is gradually progressive it may be that we do not understand everything at the present, but in religion we know all that is useful and necessary to know. These are the "concepts and doctrines of the Gospel" (Toland 1696:xiv). The "plain convincing instructions of Christ" (XXI). Toland's concept is apologetic—he takes "the Divinity of the New Testament for granted" (XXVI)—and near to Anglican moral rationalism. But his step to making reason the measure for deciding about the contents of the Bible is important for the following development of criticism.

The third Earl of Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper (1671–1713), is important for having formulated a theory of ethics independent of any outward authority, including the Bible (for Shaftesbury, see esp. Aldridge 1951; Zani 1954; Grean 1967; *ABRMW*, 308–21). In his *Inquiry Concerning Virtue or Merit*, first published in 1699, he asserted that in every person, even the most primitive, has a natural feeling of good and evil and a friendly attitude, or a "moral sense." As virtues are "natural," "instinctive," or "innate," they are independent from revelation, even in the form of natural law, and all the more of a divine will communicated in the bible. Because moral action has its rewards in itself, the promise of future rewards and punishments in the beyond is superfluous. On the other hand, if there exists a god, he must be just, righteous, and true; he is bound by the pre-existing moral order. The God of the Bible is partly in contradiction to this, as he sometimes acts cruelly, revenges himself, is friendly to only a minority of humanity.

With Shaftesbury we also encounter a moral criticism of the OT figures Moses, Joshua, and the Patriarchs, as well as the people of Israel as a whole. Any critically thinking Christian must be sceptical about the biblical tradition: Shaftesbury is the first to develop this principle as a methodological postulate. Reason can reflect only about things which are perceived by the senses. Shaftsbury also rejects miracles as a proof for the divinity of Jesus' mission, because they are reported by merely human tradition. His personal religion is "enthusiasm":the love of the good and the beautiful; in outward forms he is willing to subject himself to the official church.

In his *Christianity as Old as the Creation* (1730), usually said to be a key work of Deism, M. Tindal (1657–1733) sets natural religion, which is based on the law of nature and adequate for everyone, because it is rational and moral, as the scale on which the doctrines of revelation are to be measured. Basically Christianity is identical with natural religion as pure morality; therefore it can be called its "republication" (for Tindal, see Lechler 1841:326–42; *ABRMW*, 374–83).

A special topic is the debate about the role of prophecy. In orthodox apologetics, OT prophecies (according to 2 Pet 1:19) were one of the most important proofs for Jesus' Messiahship. W. Whiston, mathematician and (eccentric) theologian (Farrell 1981; Force 1985) had postulated that all prophecies apply to Jesus in their literal sense. As that is not everywhere the case, both the MT and LXX texts of the OT are regarded as corrupted (allegedly altered by the Jews in the 2d century) and in need of restoration (Whiston 1722). A. Collins, who had already demanded the right of free-thinking in all religious matters, including the Bible (Collins 1713; Redwood 1976:209–11; Horstmann 1980), answered Whiston (Collins 1724). Asserting that in fact the fulfillment of OT prophecies in Jesus is the only touchstone for the truth

of Christianity, and that Whiston's hypothesis is fantastic and easy to refute, Collins concludes that there is really no other proof for Christianity than the usual typological and allegorical one. But OT prophecies (for instance Isa 7:14) were fulfilled literally in OT times. Collins leaves it open what conclusions follow from that (Lechler 1841:269–75; O'Higgins 1970:155–99; Frei 1974:66–85; *ABRMW,* 362–69).

There is also wholesale rejection of the OT: T. Morgan (1738–40=1969) acknowledged neither the ceremonial nor the moral law of Moses as divine. The instructions of Jesus, which are identical with natural law, are binding. The prophets also find favor as proclaimers of morality. For Morgan, a pure primal religion stands at the beginning, which the patriarchs to some degree represent. The priests, who introduced the cult, are the main corrupters of OT religion. David, Samuel, and the kings are sharply critized for their immorality (Lechler 1841:370–87; Gawlick, in Morgan 1969:5*—36*; *ABRMW,* 396–404).

Another chapter in the history of biblical authority is the debate about the miracles in the NT (for the whole discussion see Burns 1981, Brown 1984). For the moderate Anglicans, including the empirical scientists as J. Glanville and R. Boyle, and also Locke, it was no problem that the miracles had really happened. There was a realm of the supernatural above the empirical world. Even some of the Deists were prepared to accept the possibility of miracles. A critical discussion between the apologist T. Sherlock (1729) and the radical deist P. Annet (1744) focused on the central miracle, the resurrection of Jesus (Lechler 1841:312–14; Craig 1985). Sherlock tries to demonstrate by "eye-witness testimony" that the resurrection has in fact happened. Annet acknowledges reason as the sole criterion, if fact cannot be demonstrated. As proofs cannot be given that the witnesses were not deceived—and a detailed examination of the decrepancies in the gospels, etc., shows the contrary—the evidence is not sufficient to convince anybody but believers. Annet's conclusion goes further: he asserts "that an historical faith is no part of true and pure religion, which is founded only on truth and purity. That it does not consist in the belief of any history, which … makes no man wiser nor better" (Annet 1744:72). This is the basic weakness of the enlightenment.

The discussion on miracles culminated in David Hume's "Essay on Miracles" (chap. 10 of *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding,* 1748) According to Hume miracles are extraordinary events which infringe the laws of nature and are contrary to daily empirical experience. Belief in miracles means to consider them more probable than the laws of nature. The moderate empiricists criticized Hume's arguments because they were not prepared to subsume the whole of reality under the laws of nature (Burns 1981:176–246).

The apologists of the period attempted to defeat the Deists on their own territory and thereby furthered the development of Deism against their will. In the wake of Newton, the Physico-Theologians tried to demonstrate the existence of God and his freedom to act from the origin of matter and the perfection of creation. S. Clarke in his Boyle Lectures of 1704 and 1705 wanted to develop his ethics from his natural philosophy and his doctrine of God. But the notion of the freedom of God and the theory that the present order of the world is created by his arbitrary decrees is contradicted by the principle that God must be infinitely good, and that all his actions must be determined by this goodness. In correspondence to God, all subordinate rational beings must act for the good of the whole. The biblical revelation in principle becomes superfluous. Clarke proves its necessity on pedagogical grounds: humankind was in such a corrupted state that it needed special instruction by divine revelation. Personally Clarke believed firmly in the Bible: in his book on the Trinity (1712) he showed that the doctrine of the Church is contradicted by NT evidence. The seeming contradictions are caused by diverging traditions (natural-right theory, aversion against "mysteries") in Anglican rationalism.

Also very popular was J. Butler's *Analogy of Religion* (1736). His method (Mossner 1936; Jeffner 1966; Ramsay 1969) is a double one: (1) he shows the analogy between natural and revealed religion—natural religion taken in the usual understanding of Anglican ethical rationalism; (2) he owns that certainty is not to be gained in both areas—but if not certainty, at least probability (in the scheme of Locke's epistemology). Revealed religion is a "republication of natural religion," but it also contains supernatural truths. As those are above reason, miracles and prophecies serve as proofs. Butler demonstrates their

reliability by showing that they are a "matter of fact," historical events which can be demonstrated as such. Though Butler's arguments made a great impression and seemed to stop the deistic debate, he actually opened the way for historical criticism of the Bible to sap the foundations of scriptural belief which took the Bible as a report of historical facts and would collapse when they were disproved as such.

**C. The Age of Pietism**

**1. German Pietism.** In 1675 P. J. Spener published his *Pia Desideria*, the famous program for a renovation of the Church. The Bible stands in the center of his proposals (M. Schmidt 1970):the deplorable state of spiritual life in the communities could only be bettered, if "the word of God would be brought more abundantly among us." Toward reaching this aim, some concrete advice is uttered: above all that the Bible (mainly the NT) should be read in every household and therefore be distributed in cheap copies everywhere, that meetings (*collegia pietatis;* the first in Frankfurt in 1670) should be arranged for reading biblical texts and meditating together about them in order to edify one another, and that the syllabus of theological studies for ministers should be altered from scholastic to biblical topics (Brecht 1986).

Spener's program found an unexpectedly broad echo among the youth and part of the clergy. In Leipzig, a collegium philobiblicum of young masters of theology studied the Bible in the original languages, among them A. H. Francke; biblical lectures *(collegia biblica)* were held at the university with great concourse of students. Later the center of Pietism moved to Halle (Aland 1960), where Francke became pastor and professor in the newly founded university (opened 1694). The intensive study of the Bible, based on the literal sense read in the original languages, but leading to Christ in the scriptures, was the basis of this study; dogmatics and philosophy were pushed to the background. Historical criticism was not involved. Spener had no interest in critical exegesis (though he inquired into the historical situation of a text); as a former student of the younger J. Buxtorf (1599–1664; see Wallmann 1986:134–39) he even defended verbal inspiration (for his method, M. Schmidt 1970:27–54). Francke's position was similarly orthodox (see Peschke 1970). The pietists deemed the assistence of the Holy Spirit central to understanding the Scripture. Spiritual experience, leading to rebirth, was regarded as most important (Stroh 1977). The spiritualistic and mystic heritage (Tauler) played an important role. Also, eschatological expectations were nourished (Spener; Francke). The Orphanage (founded 1695) became the place of education for many young Prussian gentlemen, but also a locus of world mission and international connections. The v. Canstein Bibelwerk (founded 1710) printed and distributed Bibles and NTs in many languages in large numbers (Aland 1960:30–39; 1970a: 90–92; Köster 1984:100–135; Köster also on other pietist Bible editions). Pietism spread in all German-speaking territories. A special group was the Brüdergemeine (Moravian Church), founded by Count N. L. von Zinzendorf and still in existence in many countries. Zinzendorf (on his Bible knowledge, see Dose 1977) in 1728 invented the "Losungen" (watchwords), which contain for each day a verse of the OT and the NT and are the best-known German books of devotion to this day.

All in all, Pietism promoted an individualistic or group-oriented piety, above all in laypeople. An example is the Reformed pietistic poet G. Tersteegen, who found in the Bible an everflowing spring of spiritual life (Zeller 1970). The NT especially was read and understood as a book of instruction for pious life. Basic is the demand of a spiritual rebirth of every Christian which has to bear visible fruit.

The best known representative of Wurttemberg pietism was J. A. Bengel (1687–1752). His work on the Bible (Brecht 1967; 1970; Aland 1970a) was divided between philological and historical research on the text of the NT (he was author of a critical edition of the NT, 1734, and a commentary of the whole NT, the *Gnomon*, published in 1742) and his theological interest. Theologically he was orthodox (he believed in verbal inspiration), spiritualist (for understanding the Bible, one needs the help of the Holy Spirit) and apocalyptist (he wrote several works about the calculation of the approaching end of the world on the base of biblical chronologies; Sauter 1966).

Radical pietism (Schneider 1983–4) showed a growing tendency toward spiritualism, mysticism, and eschatological expectations, combined with a separatist criticism of all outer forms in the church. For the Berleburger Bible (1726–42) the "inner word" (Christ indwelling in the soul) is decisive; it is the key for

understanding the threefold sense of Scripture: the verbal, spiritual-moral, and secret-mystical senses. The aim is to gather the dispersed communities of the elected ones who are living at the end of the times and serve God in the Spirit, not in the letter. So the outer word loses its normative character (cf. Hofmann 1937; Urlinger 1969; Brecht 1982). From this position it was just one step to the equation of spirit with reason and the rationalistic rejection of Scriptural authority, which we find in the work of J. C. Edelmann. Edelmann equated the living God, reason, and conscience (see Grossmann 1976), and found reason in the Logos of John 1:1. Both before and after having read Spinoza's *Tractatus*, Edelmann opposed the orthodox doctrine of verbal inspiration and separated God's word (which is spirit and reason) from the Scriptures, which as a human product he found to be full of errors.

**2. Awakening in Britain and America.** Awakening in England is a child of German pietism. Spener's pupil A. Horneck, who in 1660 emigrated to England and from 1670 worked as a parson in London, effected ca. 1678 the founding of the "religious societies" which struggled for a spiritual renovation of the church. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (founded in 1698) accrued from this movement. Its main endeavor was the printing and distribution of Bibles, Bible excerpts, and devotional literature. There were also relations to Halle and A. H. Francke. But most influential for the outbreak of the awakening (for the movement, see Watts 1978:394–490) were the brothers John and Charles Wesley (on John, Cannon 1946; Outler 1964; M. Schmidt 1953–66; Tuttle 1978; Ayling 1979; on Charles, Tyson 1986). Both happened to meet German Moravians and were introduced by them to Luther's doctrine of justification, but with the pietists' emphases on conversion, spiritual rebirth, and above all, sanctification (which they also found in their zealous reading of Eastern theology and with the Church Fathers, but above all understood as "imitation of Christ"; see Källstad 1974:57–81). These themes gained the most important place (Lindström 1980) in their sermons and hymns (Rattenbury 1941). Like the Puritans, they lived by the Bible and built their theological system out of its verses (see Watson 1984), placing stress on the NT. This biblical orientation was born in their studies at Oxford, where close examination of the Bible was part of the program of the "methodist" group (Resembling the *Collegium philobiblicum* at Halle). Another independent revivalist movement arose in Wales.

Methodism separated from the Anglican church late in the century, and related varieties of revivalism were also to be found among the Anglicans (Balleine 1951; Davies 1961:210–40; Walsh 1966). In the New England colonies the Calvanist Puritan Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) was one of the centers of the "First Great Awakening" (1734–44). His own preaching, and that of George Whitefield (1714–1770), initiated and invigorated the movements of revival which were formative for American Protestantism (see Carse 1967; Miller 1949; on his theology of God's self-communication, Elwood 1960; on Whitefield, Dallimore 1970. On the awakening, Sweet 1944; Gaustad 1957; Weisberger 1958; Hudson 1973:59–82; Rutman 1970 is a sourcebook).

Revivalism was a phenomenon that crossed denominational borders. A personal Bible-oriented piety is characteristic of the whole movement. Everywhere the Bible was taken at face value. Historical criticism is lacking or was explicitly rejected. There was also revivalism in other countries (for the Netherlands cf. van den Berg and van Dooren 1978), but mostly later (*TRE* 10:205–20); later movements showed similar characteristics. Edwards also renewed the Puritan millenarian typology for the spiritual awakening in New England: his followers were more inclined to equate the beginning of millennium with the New World political and social reality (Bercovitch 1978:92–118; Noll 1982:46–48; Heimert 1968:59–94). When later the black population of the American South found its religious folk identity (Genovese 1972:161–284), it was the same topos of the chosen people, now that of the Exodus with Moses as leader, together with the eschatological expectations of Revelation that formed the black consciousness (see Levine 1977:33–55).

**D. The Period of the Enlightenment**

The English Deists, beginning with Herbert of Cherbury, are the forerunners of theological enlightenment, so the period overlaps with the age of pietism, and even late orthodoxy. The impact of the deistic works which became known to foreigners by travel or from reviews in scientific periodicals (for S. J. Baumgarten, see Schloemann 1974) was an important factor in the development of enlightenment theology and Bible criticism in other countries. But also rational apologetics, natural theology, empiricism

(Locke), and rational philosophy played a significant role. Its development in the various countries was different according to the political and confessional circumstances; the role of the Bible was more central in Protestant countries, and therefore the interest in critical exegesis more basic. In Catholic territories the Inquisition forced the opposition into the underground.

**1. French Enlightenment.** This was obviously the case in 17th- and early 18th-century France. Several pamphlets containing sharp criticism of the official church and the Bible circulated as clandestine manuscripts (Wade 1938; Bloch 1982; Betts 1984:157–183). Moral criticism of the habits of OT heroes in the manner of Bayle (see below), and even of God's behavior in the stories of the OT, was frequent. A. Calmet's apologetic commentaries on the literal sense of both OT and NT (1707–1716) in refuting the objections against the Bible even gathered a storage for the later adversaries. Such orthodox defenders of the Bible as Bossuet, who declared in the wake of Cartesian rationalism that the Bible must be infallible in every detail, inadvertently prepared the way for the critics. The objections against the Bible were summarized by Voltaire in his *La Bible enfin expliquée* (1776; see Schwarzbach 1971; Cotoni 1986:780–88) and for the NT in his *Histoire de l'etablissement du christianisme* (1777:407–526). Voltaire was anti-Christian but believed in God (Mailhos 1983). Denis Diderot (1713–1784), a psychomaterialist and sceptic, rejected the divinity of the Bible completely. Only Rousseau, who was educated as a Protestant and knew the Bible very well, avoided a wholesale rejection of Christianity. In his *Confession of a Savoyard Vicar* (1762), which relied primarily on natural religion, Rousseau managed to preserve a high esteem for what he found elevating in the life and teaching of Jesus in spite of his skepticism toward the authority of the Bible (Grimsley 1968; Jacquet 1985; Cotoni 1986:788–95). The anti-Catholic intellectual climate in enlightened France hindered a positive evaluation of the Bible, although positive approaches can be observed among the French Catholic moralists of the first half of the century (Vauvenargues; Duclos; Toussaint; cf. Mydlarski 1986).

**2. German Neology.** A decisive step in the evaluation of the bible was the transition to a historical exegesis which slowly developed in the 18th century in Germany and neighboring Protestant countries. Already in the late "rational" orthodoxy a trend toward a philological and historical exegesis of the Bible can be observed (for Budde and Pfaff, see Stolzenburg 1926). It was P. Bayle, a reformed fideist opposed to taking reason as the measure for ethics and faith (Labrousse 1963–64; Rex 1965), who first liberated historical research from dogmatical and philosophical premises. Faith accepts God's word in the Bible, but in its historical form it is a human book and its heroes can be morally criticized (cf. the famous article on David in Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1738; 13; Rex 1965:197–255). J. A. Turretini in Geneva (Merk 1988) formulated the basic principle that the biblical scriptures have to be interpreted in the same way as other human books (1728). The philological work in Pietism (for instance, the Institutum Judaicum in Halle, founded 1728, for instruction in Hebrew and oriental languages) partially prepared the way. The textual criticism of the NT showed that innumerable variants exist, thereby shaking belief in the integrity of the known manuscripts and dealing a deadly blow to the doctrine of verbal inspiration. R. Simon (1689), J. Mill (1710; see Fox 1954), J. A. Bengel, K. F. Houbigant (1746), J. J. Wettstein (1751–52; see Hulbert-Powell 1938; Merk 1988) worked on this field. Their critical editions of the NT provided the basis for further research.

In Germany, the effects of the Enlightenment on theology increased as the 18th century progressed. Neology (as the theological thought of this period is referred to; see Bianco 1983, Sparn 1985) was subject to a number of influences. An infusion of natural theology and philosophy of religion came from the writings of C. Wolff, who in his *Theologia naturalis* (1736) developed rational rules for differentiating genuine from spurious revelation. (Genuine revelation cannot contradict the nature of God, must have a moral character, cannot contradict itself, and must contain no mysteries which are against reason.) The process of "enlightenment" was viewed as a spiritual power capable of forming the human heart for philanthropic "love."

For Spalding, who wrote a very popular anti-materialist manual entitled *Bestimmung des Menschen* (1748), the feeling of harmony and beauty and the striving for knowledge, virtue, religion (the tasting of God's infinity and benevolence), and immortality are natural gifts in man (Bourel 1978:137–46). The

optimistic anthropology of humanism gains preponderance. G. W. Leibniz's cosmology of a "prestabilized harmony" which leads back to the creator of a well-ordered universe stands in the background. The theologians of neology try to reconcile reason and revelation. For J. J. W. Jerusalem the Bible is authentic as a source of morality and the basic truths of religion (Müller 1984:50–66). His position allows doubts about the historicity of biblical stories. The theory of accommodation (Müller 1984:66–76) explains why the contents of biblical revelation are not yet on the level of a higher development of human reason only reached later. But the religion of Jesus is on the highest level of simplicity and thereby understandable by everyone (Müller 1984:76–88). On the other side, reason in the field of natural theology is able to arrive at knowledge of God out of the order and existence of the world (Müller 1984:88–104). In the realm of ethics the biblical teachings (original revelation; Moses; Jesus' teaching to love one's neighbor) are stages in the moral progress of humans (Müller 1984:104–109).

In the period of neology, basic steps in historical criticism of the Bible were taken. Two names are especially important: J. D. Michaelis (1717–1791) and J. S. Semler (1725–1791). Michaelis (Smend 1987; 1989:13–24; Löwenbrück 1986), who was a prolific writer on many fields, worked on Hebrew and Semitic philology, lexicography, and grammar (he gave up the doctrine of the inspiration of the Masoretic vowel points) and on the environment of the Bible. His famous work on the Mosaic Law (Michaelis 1770–75; studied by Smend 1983) intended to explain the circumstances of its origins and to defend it against the deists and atheists. Michaelis intended to show that the Mosaic law becomes understandable as wise and of divine authority for its immediate addressees if one sees it before the background of the time of "childhood" of the Israelite people. Childhood having passed, it is no longer obligatory for Christians. The orthodox opinion of the authority of the Bible is abandoned, the idea of a religious development born. J. S. Semler's best-known work on the canon (1771–73) refuted the doctrine of the inspiration of the canon as a whole, demanded a historical-critical exegesis of the biblical scriptures, but emphasized that the word of God is contained in the Bible (Hornig 1961; Hess 1974; Kaiser 1984a; H. Schulz 1988). He distinguished between theology and religion and stressed the importance of historical knowledge for theology. The distinction between official (Dogmatic) and private (practical-moral) Christian religion resembles latitudinarism. J. A. Ernesti in his *Institutio* (1761) restricted his hermeneutics to the NT; he demanded a grammatical (literal) exegesis of the human sense free of dogmatic interests, but did not doubt the authorship of the inspired authors of the NT books (*NTHIP*, 68–70).

The most radical criticism of the Bible came from the pen of H. S. Reimarus (see Stemmer 1983; Gawlick 1983; Walravens 1986; Reventlow 1988c). Reimarus, who as an orthodox Lutheran initially defended the traditional understanding of the OT as prophecy upon Christ (1731), changed his standpoint under the influence of J. L. Schmidt's "Wertheimer Bibel" (1735; cf. Hirsch 1951:2.417–31; Stemmer 1983:102–112). Schmidt was an adherent of C. Wolff's rationalism and followed in his translation of the Pentateuch (the other parts of the OT translation are preserved in manuscript form) his maxim that nothing in revelation can be contrary to reason. He also knew the English deists and like them rejected miracles and predictions (typology) as proof for the truth of revelation. He therefore translated the respective sentences "for themselves," "according to the intentions of the authors." But his goal (like Wolff's) was apologetic: the natural world is a closed system following the rules of reason. In it nothing that is against reason can be accepted. But revelation, like any historical event, is "above reason":that it happened cannot be disproved unless it is against reason. Therefore Christian religion needs no proof.

Reimarus followed Wolff as an adherent of natural religion (physico-theology), which he defended in a series of systematic works (1754, 1756, 1760). He never published the critical parts of his *Apology* of which Lessing printed fragments in 1734 and again in 1777. Reimarus brought the biblical criticism of the Enlightenment to the summit of radicalism: the messianic predictions of the NT do not mean Jesus; OT and NT are to be divided. The receivers of revelation in the OT lack an adequate moral qualification. The narrations about wonders (for instance, about the exodus in Exodus 14) are contradictory. The OT does not teach saving revelation, because it does not know the immortality of the soul. In the NT the doctrine of the apostles, which taught a supernatural religion, is to be separated from Jesus' teaching of a "natural, rational, and practical religion." But Jesus also announced the approaching realm of God and himself as

its political messiah. Only part of Jesus' teaching is acceptable; the other contents of the NT are falsifiable.

For Immanuel Kant, the moral religion of reason, which can be defined as "knowledge of all our duties as divine commands" (*Religion within the Bounds of Pure Reason* [1793]), is in principle something other than the "faith of revelation" (on Kant, see Bohatec 1938; Bruch 1968; Lötzsch 1976; Kaiser 1984b; Bayer 1988:33–36). In the famous formulation: "the starry sky above me and moral law within me" (*Critique of Practical Reason* [1788]) Kant describes this moral faith as founded in a transcendent-immanent certainty in man himself. This religion in principle does not need revelation, for anyone can verify it by reason. Moral reason is also the scale on which to measure the Bible (*Conflict of the Faculties* [1798]); for instance the command to Abraham to offer Isaac (Genesis 22) cannot come from God. But as in practice the empirical abilities of men are insufficient, the existence of a church, which is an assembly for teaching moral sensibility, is unavoidable. Such a church needs a holy Scripture which can ground moral teaching in revelation and provide the rules for its statutory faith. For Kant it is the NT, which, however, has to be interpreted according to the rules of a pure religion of reason. As such he holds the NT in high esteem. He remarks that the Bible has proved its divinity by the homiletical and catechetical influence it has on the heart *(Conflict of the Faculties).*

With G. E. Lessing (1729–1781) the Bible criticism of the Enlightenment reaches its climax. His much-debated position (as rationalist: Aner 1929:343–361; as believing in revelation: Thielicke 1957) is to be seen in the context and in opposition to dominant opinions of his time. Against the orthodox apologetic endeavor to prove the truth of Christian religion by messianic prophecies and wonders he formulates the famous sentence "casual truths of history can never become the proof of necessary truths of reason" (Lessing 1886–1907:8.12). He does not deny that Jesus performed wonders, but they could impress only persons then present. Secondhand reports do not lead to faith. The historical Jesus himself was not more than human (8.538f). Between historic certainty and actual truth there is the "nasty broad ditch," which he cannot get over (8.14). But there is another certainty for belief: "the proof of spirit and power" (8.9f). Lessing means an immediate personal experience of revelation (standing in the tradition of spiritualism; cf. Schultze 1969:110–116; Gericke 1985:13–35; 49–51). In his "Axiomata" (8.164) he differentiates between letter and spirit, Bible and religion, and declares that Christian religion is not totally dependent on the Bible. In the time of the apostles the Christian message was proclaimed without a letter (7.813; 8.176f). "The letter is not the spirit, and the Bible is not religion (= revelation)" (7.173; 8.813). That makes Bible criticism possible: "Therefore objections against the letter, and against the Bible, are not in the same way objections against the spirit and against religion" (7.813; 8.174). But there is an "inner truth" (7.813; 8.189) which furnishes the authority of revelation. It means spirit, reason, love.

But the Bible (OT and NT) has also a positive purpose. In the pamphlet "The Education of Mankind," Lessing understands the Bible as a book of education which conducted its readers to the highest steps of enlightenment. Education does not give more than humans could have reached by unassisted reason, but advances humanity faster (§4). At first God chose a single "rough" people for special education (§8) with the OT as "elementary book" (§§26–53). Later, when a part of mankind had reached a greater capacity for reason and morality (§55), Jesus Christ came as a teacher (§53) who taught the immortality of the soul (§57f). Lessing is original in applying the idea of education (which was a common motif in the enlightenment period) to history (on his theology of history, Schilson 1974), but of course this is not yet historical understanding. Morality and reason remain abstract ideas. Lessing saw that the doctrines of the apostles (§63) contain certain supernatural truths (Trinity, §73; hereditary sin, §74; atonement through Christ, §75), which are also useful to know (§§76–80). Lessing preserves elements of orthodox doctrine. But the expected completion, when people will "do the good, because it is good" (§85), will make even the NT superfluous. This reminds one of Shaftesbury and Kant. The Bible has no independent continuing authority.

**3. New Developments.** In 1753 R. Lowth published his lectures on Hebrew poetics in which he treated the poetic style of the OT from a purely aesthetic viewpoint, but also regarded it as parabolic expression of its contents (see Hartlich and Sachs 1952:6–10; F. Meinecke 1965:243–52 saw in Lowth a prominent

representative of "English pre-romanticism"). In Göttingen, the classical philologist C. G. Heyne explained Greek mythology as the manner of thinking and speaking characteristic of the childhood of humanity. Because primitive thinkers do not know the real causes of things, they understand everything extraordinary in nature, history, or the human soul as immediate intervention of gods. There are two sorts of myths: historical myths founded on real occurrences, and philosophical myths containing cosmogonical and theological speculations. Myth research has the task of finding but the historical facts behind the myths (Hartlich and Sachs 1952:11–19). Heyne's pupil (Sehmsdorf 1971:125–28) J. G. Eichhorn adapted his method to the explanation of Genesis 1–3 (1779); the re-edition by J. P. Gabler (1790–93) set the new method of understanding the Bible on the basis of its historical circumstances and modes of expression on a theoretical foundation and applied it also to the NT (Merk 1972:52–54). Myth research observed that the primeval history of Genesis 1–3 does not contain historical facts (Hartlich and Sachs 1952:20–38). Here and in other places the aim is also rationalistic-apologetic: to explain away the supernatural element in the OT. G. L. Bauer developed the theory of the "mythical school" in the direction of a historical-critical exegesis (1799):the verbal sense as intended by the author is the only object of interpretation. Eichhorn (see Smend 1989:25–37) was also the author of a famous introduction to the OT (1780–83), in which he defended the thesis of two narrative sources in Genesis and detected the late date of Is 40–52 (see Sehmsdorf 1971:52–54). Eichhorn also wrote introductions to the apocryphical books of the OT (1795), and to the NT (1811–35). An important step was taken by Gabler in 1787 by his separation of Biblical theology, as an historical enterprise, from dogmatics (*NTHIP,* 115–18; Merk 1972:31–45.81–113.273–84; Smend 1962).

Against the ideology of Enlightenment, J. G. Hamann, the "magus from the north," fought with zeal (O'Flaherty 1979; *TRE* 14:395–403). He went through a conversion, was influenced by the awakened J. Hervey (Gründer 1958:51f; Jørgensen 1988), and gained a personal relation to the Bible, which he read in a *sensus plenior* meaning as typologically relating to his own existence (Gründer 1958:116–58; Jorgensen 1980). Against the optimism of the Enlightenment he stressed the Lutheran standpoint of sin and redemption. Against Kant (Bayer 1988) he showed (using Hume's epistomological skepticism) that reason is history-bound and not absolute as a criterion for evaluating the Bible. In the Bible, according to Hamann, are united the word of God, who in humility has bound himself into human history, and the traditions of human weakness. In reading the Bible correctly—that is, with attention to its symbols—as "the language of God," the pious interpreter is able to communicate with God as well as with other people (German 1981) and to detect God as "author of his life-story" (Bayer 1980).

The idea of humanity *(Humanität)* is leading in the work of J. G. Herder (biography: Haym 1880–85; survey of work and bibliography: *TRE* 15:70–95). In history, in which mankind is moving step by step—though not without retrogressions—to an ever greater perfection in its destiny as humanity, it is aided by revelation, which for Herder is already given in the existence of human beings as created by God. In their ability to become acquainted with the world and with history by feeling, understanding, experience, "spirit," conscience, language, but also in the testimony of those who report their own experience of revelation in nature and history, such as patriarchs, prophets, Jesus, humans encounter biblical tradition and the Christian church as institutional bearers of such revelation. But the revelation in nature and in conscience is only understandable in the light of tradition (Herder 1877–1913:10.295). The content of the "documents" of tradition is nothing other than the human, human origins and human destiny as the image of God. Revelation is the "education of humankind" (13.345) to ward the goal of humanity. The Scripture gains its authority by being a testimony of true humanity, reaching its summit in the life of Jesus (20.165–80). Jesus' humanness as a model of conduct, not his divinity, is the object of belief.

The understanding of the Bible as a human document makes historical exegesis possible and necessary. "One has to read the Bible in a human way, for it is a book written by men for men" (10.7). Characteristic for Herder's exegesis of the OT (on which see Willi 1971; Kraus 1973) is the approach from language and "Hebrew poetics" (*Songs of Love* 8.845–588.589–656; *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry* 11.213–466); the authority of the OT as a historical document rests on its antiquity and poetic power (*The Most Ancient Document of Mankind* 6.193–511; 7.1–172). In the NT (see *NTHIP,* 94–98; Bunge 1988) he treated the

Synoptic Gospels (19.135–252) and the gospel of John (19) separately and developed the theory of a protogospel standing behind both.

Herder's exegesis of the Bible represents a transitional stage to the historical view as developed in the 19th century. For him, revelation is the precondition of human existence and understanding as such, but by making human beings the genuine subject of his world view and also of the Bible, and by declaring humanity to be the goal of history, he opened the way for more thoroughly secular types of biblical criticism and a diminishment of biblical authority. It was the Second Great Awakening in the first half of the following century that opened again another way, where the Bible regained its former value.

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HENNING GRAF REVENTLOW

## *BIBLICAL AUTHORITY IN THE POST-CRITICAL PERIOD*

Each generation of believers and scholars must answer its own particular form of the question of the authority of scripture, for the question is posed differently for different communities in different intellectual and cultural circumstances. The Jewish and Christian religious communities have characteristically accepted the scriptures as revelatory, but have been mostly unclear and largely uninterested in stating precisely in what ways this literature is authoritative. It has been enough to affirm that this literature provides norms and permits for the abundant life intended by God for the creation. Specificity beyond that affirmation has been only hard and tenuously won. The problem is that the articulation of any formal criteria concerning authority or revelation turn out to be in tension with the actual concrete practice of the communities affirming the authority (Kelsey 1975). In most circumstances, the actual concrete practice is to be taken more seriously than is the formal statement which tries to objectify and intellectualize that practice.

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A. The Modern Discussion
B. The Cultural Context for the Question of Authority
C. Originary Power and Practice

D. Authority as "Classic"
E. Spheres of the Question of Authority
    1. Church and Synagogue
    2. The Academy
    3. The Public Arena
F. Authorization and Communities of Praxis
    1. Biblical Authority as Requirement
    2. Biblical Authority as Permit
G. Strange Authorization for Newness

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**A. The Modern Discussion**

The governing categories for the questions that have dominated the modern discussion of biblical authority for the last two centuries need to be assessed and appreciated in their own cultural context. The question of the authority of scripture as understood in the Euro-American context has been framed in response to the rise of science, the emergence of scientific method, and the dominance of historical-critical modes of handling literature (Richardson *IDB* 4:248–51; Barr *IDBSup*, 794–97). Prior to this development in the 17th and 18th centuries, there was in the West a sufficient cultural consensus concerning the nature of Scripture. Thus, even critical questions were set within the secure framework of well-established and widely held convictions about the religious authority of the Bible. Prior to the rise of scientific consciousness, questions of authority were indeed an enterprise of "faith seeking understanding" (Barth 1985; Cushman 1981).

The above changed, however, with the introduction of new thought patterns that shattered the theological consensus and paved the way for the study of the Bible as an autonomous piece of literature—a literature that was increasingly understood in relativizing ways. This suggestion of relativity concerning the Bible in turn evoked an urgency with respect to its certitude and absoluteness, a phenomenon new to biblical studies. Thus the "Battle for the Bible" (Lindsell 1976) forced extreme positions, radical and reactionary, concerning such matters as inspiration, revelation, inerrancy, and infallibility. It must be recognized that the very posing of the question in terms of revelation and scientific criticism is reflective of a cultural crisis which challenged every settled authority and which defined the debate in terms of relativity and absoluteness. The above categories of discussion unfortunately skewed the matter in a number of ways. The controversial discussion from the 18th century until now (which is roughly coterminous with the practice of Enlightenment criticism) has a strange quality to it, in that the categories of the conversation have been more or less imposed from external sources such as scientific accuracy or historical precision—categories essentially alien to the material itself. This is just as true of radical views which jeopardized the authority of Scripture as it is of reactionary views which submitted the claims of Scripture to the canon of modern scientific certitude. On the one hand, radical criticism provided a sense of autonomy and freedom within the literature, i.e., now the Bible need not be taken with such heavy authoritarianism when understood to be historically conditioned in all its parts. On the other hand, reactionary scholasticism provided a sense of intellectual control and technical assurance; the Bible was understood as a lone champion of unbending reality in a situation marked by "change and decay." "Change and decay" is one important perception of the rise of science, technology, secularization, and individual freedom, and its corollary, the demise of the old hegemony in its intellectual, moral, economic, and political dimension. "Change and decay" is one experience of the emergence of modernism. But neither such autonomy and freedom, nor such control and assurance, seems particularly germane to the biblical literature itself; nor are they finally satisfying as responses to the religious thirst for truth as mediated by the Bible. The Bible does not mediate the *kind* of certitude sought in these categories.

In retrospect, the recent controversial discussion which opposed criticism and scholasticism now appears to have been misguided. Since the controversy failed to mediate the faith-claims of the text itself, it proceeded on both sides in alien, inappropriate categories. That particular conversation has now become somewhat obsolete because our present-day culture no longer excessively trusts nor fears such scientific

methods. These scientific-critical methods, whether willingly embraced or vigorously resisted, really do not touch the issue of the authority of scripture as a theological problem.

The modern polemical conversation concerning faith and criticism, now so well documented in the handbooks (e.g., Rogers and McKim 1979), has distorted the character of the Bible. On the side of literalism, the truth of God's power was cast in Enlightenment categories of script, document, authorship, and historical accuracy of written reports. In response to this, on the side of liberalism, resistance was offered to such scribalism, which was viewed as authoritarian. Scholars distanced themselves from the religious claims of the text through an appeal to (1) personal experience which judged the text, (2) cultural values held over against the text, and (3) events which happened outside and behind the text. Neither literalism nor liberalism faced the theologically dangerous character of the text, i.e., both articulations of authority became defenses against yielding to the potentially dangerous, upsetting, and subversive power of the text that speaks characteristically against our settled, constructed worlds on behalf of a world yet to come.

**B. The Cultural Context for the Question of Authority**

Ours is a religious and cultural situation in which the question of authority must be posed anew, because the categories of the conversation have shifted. Ours is a post-modern, post-scientific, post-Enlightenment, post-positivistic situation (Gilkey 1981; Harrington 1983). It will not do to frame the question of authority as a scholastic one of proof, or as a romantic one of experience, or as a probe into scientific categories. The question now becomes one of what it means to be a community of interpretation and action called into existence by a text that remains distant and of less utility in the pursuit of certitude. Thus it appears that the question has been wrongly cast as one of *authorship,* a question we might expect from a book-oriented society preoccupied with questions of copyrights, sources, documentation, and scientific facts. The Bible itself has almost no interest in such modern questions of authorship which result in hopeless and misguided investigations of claims of inspiration and revelation.

Rather, authority has to do with *issues of authorization,* i.e., how, in a pluralistic world like ours, concrete communities can be authorized to live, act, and hope in a manner which may at times oppose the accepted norm, a manner which can be justified neither scientifically nor experientially. It is this authorization of a community's obedience and praise that is the real issue in the question of the authority of Scripture. In order to answer this question of authorization, we must attempt to free ourselves of the immobilizing influence of the Enlightenment categories of certitude. An increasing number of people draw the conclusion that communities created and authorized by these texts are summoned and permitted to live, act, and hope in different and dangerous ways, and authorized by a different "voice" which is heard in the text, even if that voice cannot easily be accommodated in the conventional categories of academic investigation. The "authorizing voice" of scripture "heard" in the community needs to be understood as a theological reality mediated through the biblical literature. That is, the authorizing voice heard in the text, albeit mediated through social institutions and more immediate experiences, is indeed the voice of the Holy God. That is the voice communities of faith heard in the text, a voice which authorizes in odd and unsettling ways.

Communities of faith around the world, and especially in the West, where the old "Battle for the Bible" has been largely conducted, are now in deep crisis. Questions of authority cannot be considered apart from this crisis which concerns believers and nonbelievers alike.

The overarching crisis of Western culture (within which the authority of Scripture must be articulated) is that the values and institutions of society are mostly organized against the "prospect of humanness" (Heilbroner 1980). Two articulations of this crisis may be cited. Robert Bellah (1982) has characterized the mood of conventional modern life (largely shaped by the social sciences) by the terms "positivism, reductionism, relativism, and determinism." Bellah further observes that such values are inherently anti-human. Moreover, the live alternative to this practice of society lies only with the religious community which is authorized to preserve values and practices of humanness:

> To the extent, however, that real religious communities can retain or recover a sense of being in but not of this world, can live, at least to some extent, in patterns of voluntary simplicity and mutual concern,

> then they may act as genuine alternatives to the prevailing current … it is more than ever necessary that there be demonstration communities where elementary decencies can be maintained and handed down, humanizing a bad situation as long as it exists, and providing seedbeds for larger amelioration when that becomes possible (pp. 21–22).

In a more recent, extended treatment, Bellah and his colleagues have concluded that American society has lost or neglected those acts and gestures that make sustained human community possible (Bellah et al. 1985). They propose that the religious community has a responsibility and an opportunity to foster and encourage more fully human possibilities.

In a much more abrasive analysis, Richard Rubenstein (1983) has proposed a reading of the economic history of the West as a history of triage. Legitimated practices of land management and use of money and power have as their social result the devaluation and elimination of marginal and useless people. Rubenstein proposes that only the biblical-based religious community can hope to terminate such destructive values and practices, i.e., the social vision of the Bible is the only effective alternative to this triage:

> Only a religious faith radically polemic to magic and to belief in earth's indwelling spirits could have brought about the cultural revolution in which an entire civilization came to reject what men and women had revered as sacred from time immemorial … Perhaps the most influential example of a congery of strangers forming a community by adopting a common faith is that of the Hebrews of Sinai … Neither unending growth nor unending movement offers a solution … That is why a religious transformation is crucial … The call for religious transformation is in reality a call to conversion, a call to change ourselves. Our preachers have rightly told us that we must be converted, that we must be born again. Unfortunately, what has been understood as conversion has all too often been devoid of the inclusive social component our times demand. In truth, we must be born again as men and women blessed with the capacity to care for each other here and now (pp. 230–40).

The question of biblical authority is too urgent to be reduced to a parlor game of conventional scholastic categories. It is not a mechanistic question of proof and certitude for intramural debate within the religious community. It is now a public question of energy, courage, and freedom to act. The larger question is, what will provide energy, courage, and legitimacy for action against the destructive tendencies embedded within our civilization?

**C. Originary Power and Practice**

Against such settlements which reflect the intellectual climate and needs of the modern world, it must be recognized that the biblical text is in an odd way "originary," i.e., it has the capacity to generate real newness. This text contains the power to work a newness that is indeed an act *creatio ex nihilo,* to call into being that which does not exist until brought to speech (Rom 4:17). This "originary" character of the texts means that the text cannot be shackled by theories of inspiration, cannot be domesticated by archaeological proofs, and cannot be assessed by religious antecedents drawn from surrounding cultures. This power to articulate newness shatters all our cherished presuppositions and in turn pushes the question of authority outside the realm of explanation, leading into the world of testimony.

It is necessary, for that reason, to find new modes of articulation of the matter of authority. It is clear that an Enlightenment notion of technical-scientific explanation (either of literalism or of critical scholarship) is irrelevant to this question. One recent attempt with much to commend it is a literary approach that draws attention to the artistic power of the text, that is, authority is located in the speech of the text itself and not in something behind the speech of the text. Such an artistic approach, however, fails to face the ethical demands imposed by the text. It tends, instead, to remain preoccupied with the aesthetic dimensions of the literature.

The authority of scripture must ultimately be articulated in confessional terms by communities which assert that they have discerned the truth of power and the power of truth precisely in this text. (In his shrewd analysis Chilton [1984] has argued that this is true for individuals in their experience as well as for communities.)

This confessional claim is what is meant by the "self-authenticating authority of Scripture" (Raschke 1985). It is the readiness to act that keeps a confessional claim honest. This way of putting the matter is honest in not claiming that this authority can be objectively demonstrated, even though authority is claimed to be objectively grounded in the character of the classic. This way of making a claim is honest in asserting that there is a compelling power we have discerned and upon which we are prepared to act Such a statement of authority will not claim less. But it will not claim more, as though the claim were objectively provable. It is finally the readiness of a confessing community to stake its life on the summons of the text which is its only credible authentication. Both the Church, with its excessive penchant for dogmatic certitude, and the academy, with its fascination with objective rationality, characteristically stop short of the evidence of communal obedience. The question of authority is and must be shaped around the issue of obedient practice at the end of the Enlightenment period.

**D. Authority as "Classic"**

David Tracy (1981) has offered a fresh perspective on scriptural authority centered around the theme of "classic." In that term he proposes a category of authority that is not the special pleading of a partisan community, but a claim submitted to the criterion of public conversation. Tracy understands a text as a "classic" when:

> its "excess of meaning" both demands constant interpretation and bears a certain kind of timelessness—namely the timeliness of a classic expression radically rooted in its own historical time and calling to my own historicity … The classic text's real disclosure is its claim to attention on the ground that an event of understanding proper to finite human beings has here found expression … Every classic lives as a classic only if it finds readers willing to be provoked by its claim to attention (p. 102). If, even once, a person has experienced a text, a gesture, an image, an event, a person with the force of the recognition, "This is important! This does make and will demand a difference!" then one has experienced a candidate for classic status (pp. 115–16).

It is the text and not the community of the text which has authority. Tracy nonetheless understands that the response of the community of the text is important in determining the classic character of a text.

> At the very least, we will be willing to listen to that wider community of enquirers and readers who have found and find this text a classic. We will listen to them and then return to our dialogue with the subject matter of this "formed" text. After that second exposure, we may still decide that the community of enquiry in this instance has been mistaken … At that point, tentativeness must cease. For in those instances where a matter of importance is at stake—and the assignment of the status "classic" to any text is a matter of singular importance—then we must insist. But where tentativeness ceases, listening never does. The wider community of readers, living and dead, must continue to be heard as all return to the struggle of finding some appropriate response (from some initial sense of import to a formed judgment) to this possibly classic text (p. 116).

For Jews and Christians this tentativeness has ceased concerning the Bible. The decision that the Bible is a classic which mediates power and truth is a settled question for those communities. The church and the synagogue have found here "a certain kind of timelessness" which "demands constant interpretation."

With this characterization, Tracy hopes to avoid the circular argument of establishing the authority of the text by quoting the document itself. This practice satisfies only those who are already predisposed to accept the internal testimony of the text. Tracy also avoids the claim to authority which appeals to inspiration, revelation, or the work of the Spirit. Claims of this type may be valid, and are not here denied, but they bear the marks of special pleading as traditionally formulated. Moreover, Tracy eschews any notion of authority imposed externally through declaration, promulgation, or canonization. Circular argument, special pleading, and external imposition are not finally persuasive in such an urgent matter. Rather, authority is recognized (not given) by a public judgment that this text bears authority in its powerful offer of truth which has been recognized over time as having an inescapable claim upon us. The other dimension of tracy's characterization is that, since the text is distant in time, it requires interpretation which both discloses and conceals, so that the affirmation of authority requires and invites

interpretation rather than resisting it. Understood in this way, interpretation is not a threat to the initial claim of the text, but is appropriate to its character and intention.

**E. Spheres of the Question of Authority**

The power of the Bible as a classic as norm and authorizer is operative in three realms. In each of these we may observe the way in which the Bible authorizes.

**1. Church and Synagogue.** The classic is peculiarly linked to the synagogue and church out of whose memory the text has come. There is no doubt that text and community are dialectically related, i.e., that community forms text and text evokes community. The formal claim of canon asserts that this literature is normative, functioning as a norm for life and faith. It functions in the church (in the language of Ricoeur) to permit an imaginative rereading of reality, so that the believing communities can discern and respond to the world in ways different from those dominant responses described by Bellah and Rubenstein. Indeed this text mediates "truth" to these communities, truth about God, truth about self, truth about human history, and truth about the world as God's creation. Gilkey has summarized this "rereading of reality" in ways that show the distinctiveness of this mediation:

> … in the Old Testament understanding of history there are three distinct moments or stages characterizing historical passage … First of all, there was the divine constitution or "creation" of the people and their cultural life … The second moment … is the appearance of estrangement or alienation, of the fallen character of even the life of a chosen people … The final moment is also prophetic … This is the promise of a new covenant beyond the destruction of the old … the promise of new possibilities in historical life … [In the New Testament] divine constitution, divine judgment, and new creative acts become incarnation, atonement and resurrection/*parousia,* aspects of history, to be sure, but not of *ordinary* history (1984:12–13).

The problem with this classic in the religious communities is its possible subjugation to the "tyranny of the church," i.e., it is made to conform to ideological claims of the religious community. Traditionally this tyranny has been especially evident when the Bible has been interpreted only as a reinforcement for patterns of dogmatic formulation. For a very long period the Bible was used in the Christian tradition primarily to support such creedal formulations and it was precisely the rise of historical-critical methods that rescued the Bible, so that it could have its own liberated way, apart from these dogmatic categories. Thus the truth of the Bible cannot in good faith be accommodated to such tyranny, nor can it legitimately be made to serve ideological, partisan, or sectarian ends. Moreover, the truth given in this classic does not concern every kind of question that might be asked—scientific, astronomical, psychological, biological—but it is truth of a theological kind having to do with God's sovereign graciousness and gracious sovereignty.

The urgency of the Bible as authorization for the community of faith is its potential to release from false notions of absoluteness and certitude, and to unite a community currently beset by partisan and divisive pluralism. In the latter regard, the classic would gather disparate communities of faith together around a truth that is larger and more majestic than any similar partisan "truth" claimed by a particular community.

**2. The Academy.** This classic is also historically and culturally linked to the academy. Ebeling (1980) has shown how the Bible has played a key role in the origin of the Western intellectual and educational tradition. In the United States, the Bible has been crucial in forming the school tradition now so much taken for granted (Lynn 1980; Westerhoff 1978). However, the posture of the academy toward the text differs greatly from that of the Church (Childs 1982). Whereas the community of faith has characteristically bowed before the authority of the text, the academy has sought to analyze and understand the text, believing that clear understanding according to the best canon of reason poses no threat to biblical authority, but is a practice natural and congenial to the nature of the texts.

We can, however, speak of the "tyranny of the academy" over the voice of the Bible. The rise of historical criticism which freed the Bible from tyranny of the Church has led in turn to an autonomous reason which fundamentally resists the claims of the text. In contrast to the older discussion of reason and revelation, the academy has taken up a form of reason not only in tension with revelation, but deeply hostile to the claims of the text. Analytic methods have been joined to rationalistic categories of

interpretation so that dimensions of mystery, awe, and inscrutability have been denied the text. Scientific or pseudoscientific norms of knowledge have been imposed on the Bible which have reduced it to an archaic book emptied of its power to transform or to authorize.

An example of the above tyranny is found in the well-articulated article of Smith (1969), who candidly observes that the perceptual field of scholars is in contradiction to the claims of the text. Smith fails to notice, however, that the problem does not lie with the claims of the classic, i.e., the text, but with the methods and questions of the scholarly guild. This type of tyranny of reason has been dramatically identified by Wink (1973) and more programmatically articulated by Childs (1979). The issue has yet to be connected, however, with the larger crisis of technical reason which largely dominates the conversation of the academy (Horkheimer and Adorno 1972).

The function of the classic, i.e., the Bible, in the academy concerns epistemological questions and the nature of knowledge. The academy in the modern world practices a form of knowledge aimed at control and which characteristically tends to domination. Lamentably, too many discussions about biblical authority have assumed such theories of knowledge and technique. Against that, however, the Bible is concerned with modes of knowledge that are relational, convenantal, and interactional, believing that knowledge should not dominate, but should serve to liberate and transform communication (Palmer). Modes of knowledge which tend toward domination cannot offer genuinely "new truth," i.e., they cannot be revelatory, but can only rearrange old patterns of power. "New truth" comes where imagination challenges, where spirit blows against letter (2 Cor 3:6), and where yielding replaces control.

**3. The Public Arena.** Lastly, the classic is culturally available in the public arena. It is a remarkable and enduring fact that the Bible has authority in the Western world far beyond the limits of its proper confessing communities. Indeed the dominant images and metaphors still governing public life are largely and powerfully shaped by the Bible (Frye). Bellah has shown that while civil religion in America may be distorted ideology, it nonetheless still partakes of echoes and sentiments derived from the Bible (Bellah 1975; see also Marty 1982).

To be sure, the Bible in our society has been utilized in coercive, oppressive, and ideological ways, e.g., as a law to keep minorities and women in their respective places, and as a lever against all sorts of "objectionable" people in the public arena (e.g., homosexuals). Nonetheless, it has been the Bible and its derivative traditions that have provided impetus and power for restorative notions of personal health and social humanness. Characteristically, liberation movements in our time have found their central images in the Bible (Walzer 1985). A striking example is Martin Luther King, Jr., a child of this text, who had the imagination and the ability eloquently to articulate the issues of racial discrimination through biblical metaphors that mobilized both public and secular responses (Smylie 1970).

The key to public issues in our society, as in every society, concerns access to power and the processes of decision making. It is obvious that a monopoly of access exists and that many are voiceless and excluded from decision making. Access is characteristically arranged in the interest of certain notions of order and merit. In the public conversation, against such a destructive commitment to an order which opposes egalitarianism in politics and economics, the Bible powerfully insists that questions of justice, questions of abundant life for the marginal, and questions of social access, social goods, and social power cannot be silenced.

The issue of biblical authority in our time, then, may be understood as an issue of the juxtaposition of *the crisis of inhumaneness* (Bellah 1982; Rubenstein 1983) and *the classic* (Tracy 1981) which has enduring authority. Without this classic, it is probable that the church and synagogue would settle for distortions of truth in partisan forms of absolutism or divisive forms of pluralism. The classic, however, summons the church to a *truth that liberates* us from our certitudes and *frees* us from our private and partisan commitments. Without this classic, it is probable that the academy would settle for distorted modes of knowledge, aiming at control and eventually leading to domination. This classic, however, invites the academy to practice *knowledge which heals, reconciles, and mobilizes power* in the service of human dignity, while simultaneously it provides a broad definition of what constitutes human dignity. Without this classic, it is probable the public domain would distort justice, pursue an oppressive order,

and practice economic and political inequality. This classic urges those public practices of power to be *concerned with questions of justice,* so that marginal and powerless persons can be included in the formation of public policy. Thus the classic invites the church and synagogue to consider a truth that liberates, invites the academy to consider a knowledge that reconciles and heals, and invites the public arena to practice a form of justice which provides equal access to all, irrespective of privilege, power, or accomplishment.

The fact does, however, remain that some wield the authority of Scripture as a sponsor of sectarian truth, of ideological knowledge, and of a social order indifferent to issues of justice. To such an alternative and distorted reading of the Bible, one may respond in two ways: first, that it is on the issues of truth, knowledge, and justice (in the ways here characterized) that the Bible has established its claim as a classic. The Bible would not anywhere, at any time, have arrived at the status of classic, if it had been a text characteristically in the service of oppressive truth, technical knowledge, of partisan injustice. It is the largeness of its vision and its promise of a viable alternative that determines its functional power. The Bible is recognized in its classic proportion because it attempts to mediate and make available that which we judge most definitional for human life.

Second, we insist that the question of authority should not concern authorship, but authorization. As soon as the question of authorization is posed, one must ask, authorization to what? To what are the church and synagogue, the academy, and those in public life authorized? Within the scope of the biblical texts, the inescapable answer is the substantive disclosure of the Bible on all three counts, namely, there are (1) a God committed to liberation, unity, healing, knowledge, and justice; (2) an ongoing conflict within the course of public history precisely over these matters; and (3) a vision of the eventual triumph of these commitments of God.

**F. Authorization and Communities of Praxis**

The test of the authorizing power of the Bible is not, however, to be settled according to intellectual formulation. The test in this time of need for human possibility is in praxis, i.e., in the emergence of communities which embody and implement the rereading of the world that is voiced in the text. These communities of obedience bear witness to the authorizing power of the book as well as to the spirit which blows through that book. The text gives them not only advice and guidance but also the energy and courage for a life of obedience. It is staggering evidence of the authority of Scripture that even in the face of harsh, systemic brutality there have been and still are communities of faith who have demonstrated this alternative vision in the public arena. We may identify these communities under the rubric of those authorized by *biblical requirement* and those authorized by *biblical permit.*

**1. Biblical Authority as Requirement.** The Bible gives authorization to *communities of requirement* in its voice as the norm of commandment. The Bible, as the classic in which tentativeness is ended, is heard as the voice of summons and command which can be answered only with obedience. There is a stringent insistence in the Bible concerning expectations and demand for the community which it authorizes. Such communities ask in the face of this text, "What is required?" (cf. Deut 10:12; Mic 6:8). The answer, given in a variety of ways, is justice and mercy (Sider 1977).

This authorization *as requirement* is evident especially in communities of radical obedience in contexts of affluence, satiation, and accommodation. This has been true through the history of the church and the synagogue. In such contexts, the biblical text authorizes communities of the faithful who, in obedience to the text, order their lives in ways distinct from the dominant value system so as to disengage from those practices of power and well-being advocated by the society in which they find themselves placed. Such communities of obedience are given over to acts of mercy, strategies of justice, and visions of peace peculiarly authorized by this text.

**2. Biblical Authority as Permit.** The Bible reciprocally gives authorization to *communities of permit* in its voice as the norm of deliverance (Schreiter 1985). In quite parallel fashion, we may speak of "communities of permission." These communities are located not in contexts of affluence but in contexts of oppression and marginality where people hear the voice of liberation and acceptance, a voice which can be answered only in energy, freedom, and trust.

These are communities of faithful individuals who are authorized and permitted by this text to stand against oppression and to refuse marginality in the name of justice and liberation. Such communities are characteristically found in Third World situations where the dominant value structures preclude justice, legitimize marginality, and invite docility and passive acceptance of the status quo. Within such contexts, this text acts as an impetus to new life through the assertion of one's dignity, rights, worth, and power (Walzer 1985).

These communities of requirement and permission clearly concern public values of justice and dignity. But these same communities also have an intense pastoral concern in that individual persons are called to be obedient and are invited to assert and enact their own dignity, worth, and self-respect.

The authority of Scripture can be understood only in relation to and in terms of the communities it authorizes. The authorizing power of the text is evident through both its demand for obedience and its grant of permission to act in new ways against both accommodation and oppression (Levinas 1969). The force of such authorization implies that the book and its authorized communities cannot wait for the resolution of scholastic arguments concerning inspiration or revelation, nor can they wait upon the academy to formulate properly its own intellectual stance on the matter. The authorizing power of the text is of another order.

In communities of requirement and permission, the Bible does not offer strategies or advice. What it does offer is energy, courage, vision, and hope. Historically, we have spoken of these matters in the text as "the inspiration of the Holy Spirit," and that is indeed what they are. But "Holy Spirit" needs to be understood apart from literary questions of authorship. Rather, the spirit has to do with faith questions of authorization, imagination, and life. The power of the spirit functions to permit communities to discern, imagine, and appropriate life differently, as it is mediated, remembered, and hoped in this text. The work of the spirit is the liberation of the community's imagination mediated through the text. These communities of requirement and permission find such liberation mediated in these texts in ways that permit a new life in the world. The text is "in-spirited" in the sense that it is "peopled" with the force of God's power to permit new communities to emerge in the world. It is "infallible" in the sense that it authorizes a way of living and believing that without fail leads to the fruits of the spirit (Gal 5:22–24). It is "revelatory" in the sense that it discloses a new way of living in the world that was not previously known and that seemed heretofore prohibited by the structures of coercion and domination.

The central thrust of this classic which mediates new life is its offer of an alternative reality of governance which is sure but not dominating, producing new modes of certitude, power, and knowledge. The "otherness" of the text is the disclosure of a "secret" (cf. Luke 10:23–24). In the scripture of Israel, that "secret" is about a transcendent governance rendering all other imperial power inoperational (Exod 8:18), confounding spear and sword with a power name (1 Sam 17:45), and opening the world against might and power by the spirit (Zech 4:6). In the NT that same secret concerns "the impossible" being made possible (Mark 10:27), weakness in obedience which turns out to be triumphant strength (cf. 2 Cor 11:30; 12:5, 9).

**G. Strange Authorization for Newness.**

Martin Buber, in a voice of faithful Judaism, and Karl Barth, in a voice of faithful Christianity, both understood that the Bible is a strange voice and a strange book which gives life. Buber writes:

> The modern person must read the Jewish Bible as though it were something entirely unfamiliar, as though it had not been set before him ready-made, as though he has not been confronted all his life with sham concepts and sham statements that cited the Bible as their authority. He must face the Book with a new attitude as something new. He must yield to it, withhold nothing of his being, and let whatever will occur between himself and it. He does not know which of its sayings and images will overwhelm him and mold him, from where the spirit will ferment and enter into him, to incorporate itself anew in his body. But he holds himself open. He does not believe anything a priori; he does not disbelieve anything a priori. He reads aloud the words written in the book in front of him; he hears the word he utters and it reaches him. Nothing is pre-judged. The current of time flows on, and the contemporary character of this man becomes itself a receiving vessel.

In order to understand the situation fully, we must picture to ourselves the complete chasm between the Scriptures and the man of today (1968:5).

Barth (1957) asserts in parallel fashion:

> Within the Bible there is a strange, new world, the world of God. This answer is the same as that which came to the first martyr, Stephen: Behold, I see the heavens opened and the Son of man standing on the right hand of God … We must openly confess that we are reaching beyond ourselves. But that is just the point: if we wish to come to grips with the contents of the Bible, we must dare to reach far beyond ourselves. The Book admists of nothing less … A new world, the world of God (pp. 33–34).
>
> Once more we stand before this "other" new world which begins in the Bible. In it the chief consideration is not the doings of man but the doings of God-not the various ways which we may take if we are men of good will, but the power out of which good will must first be created (pp. 39–40).
>
> It is not the right human thoughts about God which form the content of the Bible, but the right divine thoughts about men. The Bible tells us not how we should talk with God, but what he says to us; not how we find the way to him, but how he has sought and found the way to us; not the right relation in which we must place ourselves to him, but the covenant which he has made with all who are Abraham's spiritual children and which he has sealed once and for all in Jesus Christ. It is this which is within the Bible. The word of God is within the Bible (p. 43).

The Bible is fundamentally alien to modernity, even as it is fundamentally alien to every dominating mode of rationality in every age of the synagogue and the church. It is for this reason that the Bible and its authority can never be articulated or summarized in dominant modes of rationality. The book can be received and its authority evidenced only in communities of obedience and praise which, with marvelous indifference to categories of explanation, act with power, courage, freedom, and energy toward a new world envisioned, imagined, and promised in this text. To try to reduce such liberated imagination either to the categories of literalism or to the more respectable but equally problematic categories of liberalism is a sorry, mistaken assessment of this book. The practice of literalism is to hope for a kind of control that this in-spirited book will never countenance. To practice liberalism is to hope for a kind of benign distancing that this restless book will never tolerate. In the face of such ill-conceived control or distance, genuinely authorized communities regularly find the book more terrifying than that, and more dangerously healing. Any formulation of authority which alleviates the terror or domesticates the healing is inadequate for the book. Such a reduction in either direction is an attempt at domination, whereas the book insists upon yielding as the point of access to its truth and power. This yielding means that truth and power, with all their terror and healing, are yet to be granted in new forms. That is what the theories of *"Sensus Plenior*" (Brown 1955), "The New Hermeneutic" (Fuchs 1964; Ebeling 1964), and "world-making speech" (Wilder 1983) have attempted to articulate. The authorized communities will continue in obedient interpretation, in obedience which in itself is an act of interpretation. In the midst of interpretation and obedience, there is a waiting (Hab 2:3) and a watching (Mark 13:37) for what will soon be given by God through this text.

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**SCULPTURED STONES.** See IDOL, IDOLATRY.

**SCURVY.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**SCYTHE.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

**SCYTHIANS** [Gk *Skythēs* (Σκυθης)]. The term "Scythians" is used both to describe specific tribes which inhabited the area N and E of the Black Sea beginning in the 7th century B.C. and as a generic word for horse-riding pastoralists who lived during the mid-1st millennium B.C. on the steppes which extend from the Black Sea to S Siberia (Jettmar 1967:21–23). Biblical scholars sometimes associate the Scythians with ASHKENAZ and with the bringers of destruction in the prophecies of Jeremiah (4:29; 5:15–17; 6:22–26; 50:41–42) and Zephaniah (Malamat 1950/51:154–59). Outside the Hebrew Bible their reputation for savagery is alluded to in 2 Macc 4:47; *3 Macc.* 7:5; *4 Macc.* 10:7; and Col 3:11.

The Scythians, called "Ashguzai" by the Assyrians (cf. Heb *ʾaškĕnaz*), apparently first appear in written history in the annals of Esarhaddon (681–668 B.C.), and seem to be centered at that time in what is today NW Iran. According to Herodotus (1.103–6) the Scythians ruled over all of the Near East for 28 years after entering the area from the N; traditionally this period of rule is assigned to the 7th or 6th century B.C. The Scythians continue to be mentioned in texts of the Babylonians, Persians, and Greeks as allies and as enemies through the 4th century B.C. By the 3d century B.C., Scythian presence in the Near East is restricted to the Crimea and the shores of the Black Sea. Ovid records Scythian life in the 1st century A.D., by which time their power is spent; the Scythians shortly after fade from history (Piotrovsky et al. 1987:12–15).

The Scythians did not have a writing system; what textual references we have for them are recorded by outsiders. The principal discussion of Scythian life is by Herodotus (book 4), many details of which have been confirmed by archaeological finds from across the Eurasian steppe.

The Scythian economy was based on their herds of sheep and goat and on their horses. On horseback and in carts, they moved from one seasonal pasture to another, ranging over a wide area. Trade with settled peoples provided grain, metalwork, and luxury goods to the nomads. The Scythians were famed for their military prowess and served as mercenaries for the Babylonians and other Near Eastern kingdoms, and as policemen for the Athenians.

The Scythians mastered fighting on horseback, as Herodotus records, and it is their special military skills which recommended them as mercenaries. This reputation may be why the Scythians are associated with Jeremiah's and Zephaniah's prophecies. Whether the Scythians were meant to be invoked as "the enemy from the north" in these writings is a matter of some debate (Yamauchi 1982:87–97). The precise chronology of Scythian presence in the Levant is based on spotty documentary evidence, primarily Herodotus' (1.105). If in fact the Scythians reached that far W, then it would have been sometime in the second half of the 7th century B.C. (Malamat 1950/51:155). Yamauchi's suggestion that the Scythians were mercenaries in the Chaldean army (1982:99) is based on the excavation in Jerusalem of a few specimens of an arrowhead type called "Scythian." However, this kind of arrowhead was used by many different peoples in this period (Muscarella 1988:107–108), and Yamauchi's argument is not conclusive. Whether Beth-shan was called Scythopolis because the Scythians were once present in the area cannot be determined (Smith 1897:362–64).

In the Black Sea area, the so-called Royal Scythians were buried in grave pits under large mounds of earth and stone, often accompanied by sacrificed horses and people. Grave chambers were at first constructed of timber, though by the 4th century B.C. some were made of stone. The grave goods demonstrate economic interaction with the local settled populations, in the 7th and 6th centuries with Urartians and other Near Eastern groups and in the 5th and 4th centuries with Greeks. Large amounts of gold preserved in some tombs testify to the great wealth of Scythian rulers.

Scientific excavations of Scythian tombs began in the 18th century and continue today. The graves in the Black Sea region had often been robbed in antiquity, but nevertheless contained many objects when they were excavated, and some burials have been found intact (Piotrovsky in Metropolitan Museum of Art n.d.:26–31).

The objects display art styles of the Near East, Greeks, and Scythians. Scythian art is often called "animal style," since the principle motifs are animals, often in characteristic curled up poses or with folded legs. Felines, stags, and griffins are favored motifs, and animal combat scenes are often depicted. The role of Near Eastern art in the development of the Scythian "animal style" is problematic, though the roots clearly lie earlier in the Caucasus, Central Asia and S Siberia (Bunker, Chatwin, and Farkas 1970:24).

Greek-made objects in the Black Sea tombs, dating primarily to the 4th century B.C., depict scenes of Scythian life. From these objects we can learn more about Scythian clothing, customs, warfare practices, and pastoral life. Details include the typical Scythian costume of tunic, trousers, and boots, often covered with small gold plaques; Scythian weaponry, including the bow and arrow case known as *gorytus*, the

shield, spear, and battle ax; and activities of animal husbandry, including the breaking of horses and the milking of sheep (Artamonov 1969:pls. 147–50, 162–76; Metropolitan Museum of Art n.d.:pls. 31, 33).

Although the Scythians primarily lived in tents, there is some evidence in the N steppe of settlements dating to the 7th or 6th century B.C. which may have been occupied only seasonally. By the end of the 5th century B.C., some of the Scythians in the Black Sea region had become permanently settled, although nomadism continued among the Scythians in the Black Sea area until at least the 3d century B.C. (Rolle 1980:124–38).

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**SCYTHOPOLIS** (PLACE) [Gk *Skythōn polis* (Σκυθων πολις)]. A name applied to the town of Beth-shan during the Maccabean period and later (Jdt 3:10; 2 Macc 12:29, 30). See BETH-SHAN.

**SEA** [Heb *yām* (יָם)*;* Gk *thalassa* (θαλασσα)]. The Hebrew noun *yām* occurs 390 times in the OT and refers to bodies of water of various sizes, whether lakes or oceans. While Greek aquatic vocabulary is far more diversified, the standard Greek noun for sea, *thalassa,* is usually used in both the LXX and the NT in the same general manner as the more limited Hebrew noun.

**A. Sea as a Natural Phenomenon**

Biblical authors applied the word "sea" to specific bodies of water known today as the Mediterranean Sea, the Sea of Galilee, and the Dead Sea. In addition, they often spoke about the Reed Sea (Red Sea, KJV and RSV), identification of which is not certain. See also RED SEA. With but few exceptions, during the reigns of Solomon (1 Kgs 9:26–28; 10:22) and Jehoshaphat (1 Kgs 22:49—Eng 22:48), the Hebrews were not navigators of the Mediterranean, which they often called the "great sea" or the "western sea." The coastline of Palestine is remarkably straight, with no natural harbors, and from the 11th century B.C. the Philistines controlled it. (Hence the land was named Palestine, the land of the Philistines.) These two facts explain the Hebrews' lack of maritime activity. Their Phoenician and Canaanite neighbors to the N, however, were active traders. Hiram I, king of the Phoenician city of Tyre, was a major ally of Solomon and was responsible for outfitting the ships that every third year (1 Kgs 10:22) sailed the Mediterranean, and ventured as far as Ophir (Somalia?) on trading expeditions.

The Sea of Galilee, also referred to in the OT as the Sea of Chinnereth (Num 34:11; Josh 13:27) or Chinneroth (Josh 12:3), and in the NT as the Lake *(limēn)* of Gennesaret (Luke 5:1) or the Sea of Tiberias (John 6:1; 21:1), is actually a large freshwater lake in N central Palestine. It was frequently navigated, especially by fishermen. Because of its size and situation it is subject to sudden, violent storms similar to those associated with the ocean itself. See also GALILEE, SEA OF.

The Dead Sea is located in the Arabah region of S Palestine and has no outlet. Its waters, fed by the Jordan river, have a high concentration of salt and other minerals; hence it is often called the Salt Sea (Gen 14:3; Num 34:12; Deut 3:17; Josh 3:16, etc.). Alternatively, it is known as the "Sea of the Plain" (Deut 3:17; 4:49; Josh 3:16) or the "Eastern Sea" (Ezek 47:18; Joel 2:20; Zech 14:8). See also EASTERN SEA; SALT SEA.

The Red Sea *(yām sûp)* figures prominently in the story of the Exodus (Exod 10:19; 15:4, etc.). Its precise location is uncertain, but it is generally considered unlikely that the term refers to what is today

known as the Red Sea, despite the fact the Hebrew is so translated by KJV, RSV, and others. Many scholars therefore prefer to translate it "Reed Sea." There is also reference to the "sea of Egypt" in Isa 11:15.

**B. Sea as a Cosmic Element**

Like other peoples in the ancient Mediterranean community, the Hebrews thought of water as one of the basic elements from which the universe was formed. In the Priestly account of creation (Gen 1:9–10), God separates the waters from land, and calls the former "seas."

More specifically, the Hebrews conceptualized the universe as constructed of three storeys: the earth; heaven above the earth; and waters beneath the earth (e.g., Exod 20:4). The last, which included the oceans of the world and everything underground, was sometimes called *těhôm,* the abyss or the deep (e.g., Ps 135:6). Gunkel defines it as *Urmeer,* "primordial ocean." The "deep" was considered the cosmic ocean, whose waters completely surrounded the universe. It was the source of the waters of every ocean, lake, river, and spring on the earth's surface, and also of precipitation from heaven. Rain or snow would fall to earth when the "windows of heaven," apertures in the firmament dome which enclosed the atmosphere and separated it from the heavenly ocean, were opened (Gen 7:11; 8:2; Mal 3:10).

Because the sea figured so prominently as an element within the created order, many ancient cultures personified it. The Mesopotamian sea monster Tiamat is one important example. Canaanite literature includes reference to others: Lady Athirat of the Sea, consort of the high god El (*UT* 49, 51, *ʿnt*); Prince Sea, a chaotic challenger of Baʿal the creator god (*UT* 129, 137, 68); and Lôtan (*UT* 67), a sea monster vanquished by Baʿal and widely held to be identical with the biblical Leviathan (Job 40:25—Eng 41:1; Ps 74:14; 104:26; Isa 27:1).

**C. Sea as a Cultic Object**

A large bronze basin (over 7 feet high and over 14 feet across) stood outside Solomon's temple in Jerusalem and was referred to as the "brazen (bronze) sea" (2 Kgs 25:13; 1 Chr 18:8; Jer 52:17), the "molten sea" (1 Kgs 7:24; 2 Chr 4:2), or "the sea" (1 Kgs 7:24; 2 Kgs 16:17). It was designed and cast by Hiram, a Phoenician craftsman from Tyre (1 Kgs 7:13–14) and was supported by twelve bronze bulls. The basin was full of water, and was probably used by the priests in connection with the animal sacrifice carried out on the great altar which stood across from it at the temple entrance. Apart from its practical function as a place to wash, the bronze sea probably symbolized the cosmic ocean, even as the temple itself represented the created order of the universe. The sea was dismantled when the Babylonians destroyed the temple in 586 B.C. See SEA, MOLTEN.

**D. Sea in Symbolic Imagery**

As part of creation, the sea was under the control of Yahweh; but it was also a consistent threat, pushing against the shores which held back its potentially violent force. The Hebrew writers viewed the sea with distinct ambivalence. They saw its waves as symbolic of fullness and regularity (Isa 48:18), its dimensions as expansive (Job 11:9), and its waters as the home of countless small animals (Ps 104:25). But they also spoke of its depths and the entangling vegetation therein as entrapment (Jonah 2:6—Eng 2:5). The sea, with its roaring and churning (Ps 93:3–4), had a dangerous power, so much greater than that of mankind that the Hebrews sometimes used marine imagery to speak of their enemies' attacks which they felt helpless to withstand without divine intervention (e.g., Jer 6:23). Accordingly, when describing their greatest victory in the tradition of the Exodus, the Hebrews referred to a parting of waters—specifically, the waters of the Red Sea. In this parting, Yahweh showed his ultimate authority over insurgent forces, both in nature and among men, an authority celebrated in the Song of the Sea in Exodus 15.

The theme of *Chaoskampf,* a battle between a creator god and a sea monster, appears in literature throughout the ANE. The Babylonian epic poem *Enuma Elish* presents one version of it. Whether remnants of it also appear in the OT is widely debated. The conquest of the Egyptians at the Red Sea is sometimes held to be a historicized version of *Chaoskampf,* "mythology come to life" (*CMHE,* 112–44). Also significant in this regard are references to Leviathan (particularly in Isaiah 27, which may quote an

ancient Canaanite poem about the sea monster *Lôtan*), Rahab (Job 26:12) and the dragon (Isa 27:1). See also DRAGON AND SEA, GOD'S CONFLICT WITH.

The book of Revelation refers to a "sea of glass mingled with fire" (15:2). Bowman sees this as a multifaceted reminiscence of OT traditions, including those of the cosmic sea, the temple's bronze sea, and the Exodus tradition of the victory at the sea, coupled with the fires of purification. See SEA OF GLASS, GLASSY SEA. Additionally, the Revelator speaks of a new order with "no more sea," (21:1), probably best understood as no more threat, even potentially, to God's authority and harmonious government of the universe.

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**SEA GULL.** See ZOOLOGY.

**SEA OF GLASS, GLASSY SEA** [Gk *thalassa hyalinē* (θαλασσα ὑαλινη)]. The Sea of Glass is mentioned only in Rev 4:6 and 15:2. The context of the former is the vision of the throne of God and the Lamb (chaps. 4–5). The context of the latter is the vision of the victorious martyrs before the throne of God (15:1–4) which prefaces the vision of the seven bowls (chaps. 15–16). In both instances the Sea of Glass is an apocalyptic symbol used to describe a heavenly wonder. It is a simile, for what is envisioned is "like" a Sea of Glass, but not actually such a sea.

Although it lends majesty and awe to the description of the visions, the symbol of the Sea of Glass is not merely a stylistic device. The symbolism of a heavenly sea before the throne of God originates from diverse Jewish traditions of the creation, Exodus, and apocalyptic throne visions. The waters that were above the firmament, the counterpart of those below the firmament, were considered to be in heaven (Gen 1:7; Ps 148:4; *Jub.* 2:4; *T. Levi* 2:7; *2 Enoch* 3:3 [J]; Str-B 3.798–99), and God's chambers and his throne to be above the waters above the firmament (Ps 104:3; Ezek 1:26). The symbolism may also originate in the molten sea which stood before Solomon's Temple and was used for priestly purification, for it may have represented the waters above the firmament (1 Kgs 7:23–26; cf. Exod 30:17–21). The same may be represented by the ten bronze lavers around Solomon's temple used for the purification of sacrifices (1 Kgs 7:38–39; 2 Chr 4:6).

In 4:6 the Sea is described as being like crystal, a description having several possible origins. The seventy elders of Israel on Mt. Sinai saw God standing on "a pavement of sapphire stone, like the very heaven for clearness" (Exod 24:9–10, RSV). Ezekiel's throne chariot vision describes a firmament "shining like crystal" over the heads of the four living creatures (Ezek 1:22). *1 Enoch* describes God's throne as being like crystal and the floor beneath as crystal (14:12, 18). The Quran (27) relates that there was a glass floor before the throne of Solomon so clear that it was mistaken for water by the Queen of Sheba.

In 15:2 the Sea is described as "mingled with fire" (not to be confused with the lake of fire—Rev 19:20; 20:14). This description, too, has several origins. "Mingled with fire" may describe the reflection of the lightning which plays above the throne of God (Rev 4:5). Ezekiel's throne chariot vision describes the loins of God and below his loins as fire (Ezek 1:27; cf. 1:4, 13). Daniel's vision describes "his throne as fiery flames, its wheels were burning fire. A stream of fire issued and came forth from before him" (7:9–10). Enoch's vision relates that a stream of flaming fire issued from under God's throne (*1 Enoch* 14:19).

The context of 15:2 provides an important association for the Sea of Glass. The martyrs are singing the Song of Moses sung by Moses and the Israelites after their deliverance from Pharaoh at the Crossing of the Red Sea (Exod 15:1–18). The vision of the seven bowls (chaps. 15–16), of which 15:1–4 is a preface,

describes plagues very similar to those of Egypt prior to the deliverance of Israel (Exodus 7–12). Rabbinic tradition assumes that the Israelites beheld the Shekinah while crossing the Red Sea (*Mek.* Širah 3,37a to Exodus 15). The fiery sea may thus be an allusion to the deliverance at the Red Sea and the judgment of the enemy by water. The fiery sea may symbolize God's deliverance of his people in time of persecution and the judgment of their enemies that is about to be inflicted (cf. Rev 8:5).

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DUANE F. WATSON

**SEA PEOPLES.** A modern term referring to nine seaborne peoples mentioned in Egyptian sources (see Helck in Müller-Karpe 1977 and in Deger-Jalkotzy 1983) from the reigns of Merneptah (1212–1202 B.C.) and Rameses III (1182–1151 B.C.); the Egyptian consonantal spellings can be vocalized in some of the names with the help of cuneiform sources: *Šerdani, Lukka, Šklš, Trš, ʾq (y)wš* (perhaps *Aḫḫiyawa*), *Sikila, Danuna, Wšš,* and Plšt (the Philistines). Some of these warlike bands already occur in Hittite sources (see Güterbock 1981 on the Madduwatta text) and in the Amarna correspondence of the 14th century B.C. (on the Šerdani see Lehmann in Deger-Jalkotzy 1983; on the Lukka see Bryce 1974), both as pirates raiding the shores of Cyprus and Egypt and as mercenaries recruited to the Egyptian and other armies. However, the main thrust of the Sea Peoples to the Levantine coasts occurred in the late 13th and early 12th centuries B.C.

Several groups *(Šerdani, Trš, Šklš, ʾqywš, Lukka)* fought within the ranks of the Libyan armies in the W delta and were defeated by Merneptah in 1207 B.C. There are no pictorial representations, but according to the textual descriptions some of these Sea Peoples were circumcised, others were not.

About the turn of the 12th century (for the chronology see Singer 1987) seaborne raiders invaded the coasts of Cyprus (Karageorghis and Muhly 1984), Cilicia (Bittel in Müller-Karpe 1977 and in Deger-Jalkotzy 1983) and N Syria (for Ugarit see summaries in Young 1981) and eventually brought about the collapse of the Hittite Empire. Cuneiform sources from Ugarit (Astour 1965; Lehmann 1970) and from Hattuša (Otten in Müller-Karpe 1977 and in Deger-Jalkotzy 1983; Singer 1983 and 1985b) portray a situation of total confusion and inability of the imperial fleet and armies to cope with the "enemy," who, with one exception, are not mentioned by name. "The Sikila people, who live on ships" in an Ugarit text (Lehmann 1979) are probably identical with the *Skl* of the Eygptian sources (or else, with the *Šklš*).

After the collapse of the central Hittite government, some of the Sea Peoples settled along the shores of the N Levant and Cyprus, while others gradually continued to move farther S, toward Canaan (Schachermeyr 1982). In 1174 B.C., Rameses III attempted to block their advance at the N end of the Egyptian Empire, near the land of Amurru; the ensuing battles, both on land and in sea, are depicted on reliefs in the mortuary temple of Rameses III in Medinet Habu (Nelson 1930; 1932; Sandars 1978:117 ff.). In the sea battle two different types of Sea Peoples are shown on distinctive ships: the *Šerdani* wear horned helmets, whereas the Philistines and related groups *(Šikila, Danuna)* wear feathered headdresses. Only the latter are portrayed on the scene of the land battle; the fighters, three on each chariot, carry long spears, rounded shields, and swords. Their families follow in heavy carriages drawn by oxen. Despite the boastful descriptions of his victory (in the Medinet Habu inscriptions and in the Great Papyrus Harris), it is obvious that Rameses III was unable to stop the advance of the Sea Peoples. To make the best out of the inevitable, he settled them as mercenaries in Egyptian strongholds along the coast of Palestine (Alt 1944; Singer 1983). The Philistines settled on the fertile coast of Philistia, the Sikila seized the region of Dor in the Sharon Plain, and a third group, probably the Šerdani, settled in the Plain of Acco (Lehmann in Müller-Karpe 1977; Singer 1988). In addition to 11th-century Egyptian sources (the report of Wen-Amon and the Onomasticon of Amenope), abundant evidence for the settlement of the Sea Peoples is supplied by excavations (for recent summaries see Dothan 1982; Dothan and Gitin 1987; Brug 1985) in Philistia (Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, Timnah, Tel Seraʿ, etc.) and N of it (Tell Qasile, Tell Jerishe, Tel Aphek, Tel Zeror, Dor, Akko, etc.). One of the distinctive features is a monochrome pottery (Mycenaean IIIC) of Aegean origins, found along the Levantine coast, from Cilicia to Philistia, and in Cyprus (Schachermeyr

in Deger-Jalkotzy 1983; Kling in Karageorghis and Muhly 1984). This early pottery of Aegean origins gradually adopted local traditions and developed into the characteristic Bichrome Philistine ware (A. Mazar 1985; Singer 1985a).

Of the Sea Peoples who settled in Palestine, only the Philistines are mentioned in the OT, probably because the other groups were already fully assimilated with the local populations by the end of the 11th century B.C. The Philistines, organized in five city-kingdoms, gradually became the leading force in Palestine and dominated the land until the reign of David (B. Mazar 1971 and 1986:63–82; Malamat 1971). They still kept their political autonomy and their national identity after the Israelite takeover, until the Babylonian exile.

Clear evidence for the origins of the Sea Peoples is still missing (survey of views in Singer 1988). Disregarding some farfetched theories, the admissible views may be roughly classified according to three main geographical zones. (a) The N Balkans, particularly Illyria on the Adriatic coast; the "Illyrian theory" is related with the identification of the Philistines (*Palaisti may be the original form of the name) with the Pelasgoi (sometimes spelled Pelastoi) of the classical sources, a pre-Hellenic people who inhabited the Balkans and the Aegean regions (Lochner-Hüttenbach 1960). (b) The W Aegean region, i.e., Greece, the Aegean islands, and Crete; this theory relies on archaeological (mainly ceramic) comparisons and on the biblical tradition, which brings the Philistines from the island of Caphtor, i.e., Crete. (c) The E Aegean, i.e., Anatolia and the offshore islands. This view, which is gaining increasing acceptance, is supported by the most solid and diversified evidence. (1) At least two out of the nine Sea Peoples mentioned in the Egyptian sources are undoubtedly located in Anatolia—the Lukka in Lycia and the Danuna in Cilicia; a third group, the *Trš,* is probably related to the Tyrsenoi (and biblical Tiras), who, according to Herodotus, migrated from Lydia to Etruria. (2) The few traces of Philistine words *(seren, q/kobah)* and names (Goliath, Achish) appear to be etymologically connected with Anatolian languages. (3) The Hittite texts provide ample evidence for serious upheavals in SW Anatolia (the Lukka lands) in the second half of the 13th century B.C., which can clearly be related with the emergence of the Sea Peoples (Singer 1983). (4) Some of the classical traditions on W Anatolian heroes who trekked eastward and eventually settled in Cyprus and the Levant (Teucros, Mopsus) may reflect dim echoes of the migratory movements of the Sea Peoples (Schachermeyr 1982).

Although the focal point of the turbulence appears to have been in SW Anatolia (still a poorly explored region), the 'tidal waves' soon affected the neighboring regions and disrupted the authority of the Hittite and the Mycenaean empires. The major cause for the economic and political breakdown, which motivated large populations to migrate, was probably the severe food shortage, amply documented in contemporary Near Eastern texts and also echoed in the classical and biblical sources. Whereas some of the Sea Peoples poured down along the Levantine coast in search of land and food, others turned westward and sailed as far as Sardinia *(Šerdani), Sicily (Sikila* or *Šklš),* and Etruria *(Trš/Tyrsenoi).* Archaeological evidence from the central Mediterranean, particularly from Sardinia, confirms the classical traditions on these movements (Sandars 1978, chap. 4). Quite extensive in itself, the diaspora of the Sea Peoples represents only a fraction of much larger population drifts, which encompassed vast territories in the E Mediterranean, the Balkans, Asia Minor, and the Levant, and radically changed the face of these regions in the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age (see summaries in Deger-Jalkotzy 1983). Contrary to traditional views which conceived of the Sea Peoples as barbarian raiders spreading ruin and chaos, modern historical and archaeological research increasingly appreciates their cultural role in the merging of the Indo-European civilizations of the Aegean realm with the Semitic cultures of the Levant.

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ITAMAR SINGER

**SEA, MOLTEN** [Heb *yām mûṣāq* (יָם מוּצָק)]. Var. BRONZE SEA; SEA. Designations for a spectacular bronze appurtenance that is said to have stood in the courtyard of Solomon's temple. It is described in the temple text of 1 Kings (1 Kgs 7:23–26) and in the parallel account in Chronicles (2 Chr 4:2–5). Both 2 Kings (25:13) and Jeremiah (52:17) list the Sea among the temple vessels that were broken into pieces and carried off to Babylon when the temple was destroyed in 587.

The bronze Sea (Heb *yām hanněḥōšet*), like the other bronze vessels of the temple, was crafted by Hiram of Tyre, an expert in bronze work. The Chronicles preserves a tradition that the requisite metal for the sea and other vessels was part of spoils acquired by David (1 Chr 18:8; cf. 2 Sam 8:8). It apparently was made by casting, since the term "molten" derives from the Hebrew root *yṣq*, "to cast, pour" (as metal). According to the Kings account, it was a vessel of huge proportions: 10 cubits in diameter (ca. 15 feet), 5 cubits high (ca. 7.5 feet), and 30 cubits in circumference. When empty it would have weighed between 25 and 30 tons. Although it is not certain whether it was a hemisphere or a cylinder, its capacity would have been enormous. The Bible has two conflicting traditions about how much it held: 2000 baths in 1 Kgs 7:26, and 3000 baths in 2 Chr 4:5. Furthermore, it is not certain how baths were reckoned, and some have suggested that 1000 baths would be a better figure (Scott 1958:209–12). In any case, it can be estimated to have had a capacity of about 10,000 gallons of water (Paul and Dever 1973:257).

Just as spectacular as its size was its ornamentation. Under its rim was a series of cast decorations: two rows of "gourds." The rim ("brim") itself was made of lily work. Most amazing of all was the way it was supported on four sets of bronze oxen, with three oxen in each set. Each set of oxen faced a direction of the compass, with their "hinder parts" facing inward and supporting the basin.

The cultic purpose of this elaborate item among the courtyard appurtenances of the temple is not specified, except for a rather peripheral notation in 2 Chr 4:5 that it was "for the priests to wash in." Its use as a laver is dubious, since ten bronze lavers, also large and spectacular in design, were also part of

the courtyard furnishings. See LAVER. Furthermore, its height makes it difficult to imagine how it was used for lustrations. The cultic purpose of the Sea may lie more in its symbolic nature rather than as a ritual vessel. See also SEA.

One of the features of ANE temples was their utilization of artistic and architectural elements relating to the idea of the temple as the cosmic center of the world. The great deep, or cosmic waters, is one aspect of the array of cosmic attributes of such a holy spot. The temple of Marduk at Babylon, for example, had an artificial sea *(ta-am-tu)* in its precincts; and some Babylonian temples had an *apsû*-sea, a large basin. Such features symbolize the idea of the ordering of the universe by the conquest of chaos; or they represent the presence of the "waters of life" at the holy center. Ancient Israel shared in this notion of watery chaos being subdued by Yahweh and of the temple being built on the cosmic waters. The great "molten sea" near the temple's entrance would have signified Yahweh's power and presence. Furthermore, the bronze courtyard furnishings (including the large pillars Jachin and Boaz [1 Kgs 7:21]) were the only temple appurtenances visible to the public, which included both Israelites and foreigners in the cosmopolitan days of Solomonic reign. The role of these elaborate objects in providing visual messages about Yahweh's availability and power thus helped establish the legitimacy of the monarchy.

The great Sea did not survive intact until the Babylonian conquest. At the end of the 8th century, Ahaz partially dismantled it, an action that was one of several changes he made in the temple precincts. These changes can be seen as part of his political maneuvering with the Assyrians.

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**SEALS, MESOPOTAMIAN.** Seals take two forms in Mesopotamia: stamp and cylinder. The earliest seals are small geometric pieces of stone, bone, or fired clay, one surface engraved with a design and a back by which it can be handled (Buchanan 1984). Cylinder seals are short tubes (avg. 20 mm) of stone drilled through the center and engraved around their circumference. Both stamps and cylinders are engraved in intaglio to produce a positive impression when rolled or stamped on a receptive surface. Seals may bear either design or inscription or both. Designs include scenes of everyday life, warfare, sport, gods, legends, myth, and ritual activities. Such scenes provide information on activities poorly recorded in texts or archaeological deposits as well as evidence of a monumental art no longer extant (Amiet 1973). Seal inscriptions most commonly refer to the owner's name, but also may include his patronymic, office or profession, political allegiance, and/or religious affiliation (Gelb 1977). Thus seal inscriptions are excellent sources of information on onomastics, administrative hierarchies, political history, and religious preferences. Seal impressions on clay documents or their envelopes both protected the integrity of the contents and served to identify the sealer as author, witness, agent, buyer, or seller, depending on the contents and purpose of the text (Leemans 1982).

**A. Materials and Manufacture**

Different materials for seals were used during the successive periods in Mesopotamian history, depending on accessibility and technical ability to work them. In the earliest period bone, shell, soft stone (serpentine and limestone), and fired clay are used to make stamp and cylinder seals. Harder stones are introduced in the late 3d and 2d millennium when quartz, hematite, carnelian, and lapis lazuli become popular.

Valued as amulets and ornaments as well as administrative devices, seals often are set in gold, silver, or bronze for rings or pendants, or attached by string to toggle pins. Occasionally a seal inscription will indicate that it was given as a votive gift to a god. The "seal cutter," Sum BURGUL or Akk *purkullu*, both cut and set seals. While most of our information comes from official archives and refers to seal cutters employed in large institutions, the number and variability of seals extant indicate that access to seals usually is not restricted to any particular class or institution in Mesopotamian society (Porada 1977).

**B. History and Use**

The earliest evidence for the use of engraved devices as seals dates from the 4th millennium B.C. During this period stamps are used to impress the wet clay applied to secure the closures of various types of containers. Sealing served both to protect the contents and identify the responsible individual or institution. Increasing social and political complexity during the late 4th millennium resulted in the need for more precise methods of accounting and accountability.

Initially hollow clay balls containing tokens representing various commodities were sealed to maintain the integrity of their contents, just as seal impressions on containers secured the commodities themselves (Le Brun and Vallat 1978). Over time cuneiform writing on clay tablets developed as a more efficient means of recording and conveying information, and these were also sealed. Cylinder seals appear at the same time, perhaps because rolling the seal over wet clay tablets or jar closings was a more efficient means of sealing a large surface than stamping it (Frankfort 1939:1–4). Designs on 4th millennium B.C. cylinder seals include scenes of hunting, herding, battle, storage of grain, and ritual activities. Recent research suggests that these motifs refer to the activities of various departments in early administrative centers (Brandes 1979). Other contemporary designs show mythical beasts and geometric patterns. Jemdet Nasr style seals are contemporary with those of the late Uruk period but smaller in size and made of harder stones. Many of the designs show women at work spinning, weaving, and making pottery or participating in ritual activities (Asher-Greve 1985).

Cuneiform inscriptions appear on seals at the beginning of the Early Dynastic period (2900–2300 B.C.). Seal size and design becomes more standardized, and seal impressions can be found on a few tablets as well as jar, box, bag, and door sealings. Two scenes that recur throughout the Bronze Age are formalized during the ED period: the contest between lion and bull or bull-man, and the banquet (Selz 1983). Banquet scenes show female and male figures eating or drinking, sometimes in the company of musicians, and it has been suggested that this represents the sacred marriage ceremony or the Near Year Festival known from later texts (Collon 1987:27).

Around 2300 B.C. Sargon of Akkad created the first Mesopotamian empire, and a number of innovations in art and administration are credited to this period of unification and expansion. Often created for the court and of very high artistic quality, Akkadian seals demonstrate a new, more naturalistic style and greater use of hard semiprecious stones. One of the most important innovations of the Akkadian period is the portrayal of deities with attributes that permit their identification with gods known from texts (Amiet 1980). From this period on seal design is one of the primary sources of information on the Mesopotamian pantheon and activities associated with its gods (Frankfort 1939). As in the earlier periods, seals continue to be used to secure closures and to impress administrative and legal tablets.

Much of the Akkadian iconography persists after the fall of Akkad and throughout the Ur III period (2250–2000 B.C.), although the quality of the engraving declines (Porada 1980:10). The presentation scene, however, remains an important source of information on political ideology and administration in this period (Winter 1986). In this design a human figure accompanied by a god or goddess approaches a deity seated on a throne. The seated figure in the Ur III presentation scene may be either deity or king, the distinction apparent in the form of the headdress. When the king appears in such a scene the inscription often refers to its ownership by a royal official, usually at a very high level. Used primarily within administrative contexts, official seals are commonly found on orders, letters and receipts, and the series of seals and impressions remains one of the few instances where iconography, inscription, and function are clearly related. During the Ur III period, seals are used predominantly in administrative contexts on both objects and texts.

Old Babylonian (OB) period (2000–1500 B.C.) seals retain much of the Akkadian and Ur III iconography, albeit in a more simplified and occasionally schematic form, particularly at the end of the period (Collon 1986). Around 1700 B.C. new techniques for drilling and cutting designs were introduced and resulted in a “drilled style” of seals (Buchanan 1970). These techniques probably aided the mass production of seals evident in the identical scenes found on a great number of them. Throughout the OB period private seals are widely owned and used to impress the various legal documents that required

witnesses or personal acknowledgment. "Burgul" seals, simple clay cylinders inscribed with the owner's name, are produced for single transactions for individuals who did not regularly require a seal.

In the last half of the 2d millennium B.C., in the kingdom of Mitanni in N Mesopotamia, sintered quartz ("faience," composition, or frit) made its appearance as a material for cylinder seals (Porada 1947). Easily made out of locally available materials, frit seals were produced in quantity for internal use and for export. Rarely inscribed, "common-style" frit seals were probably meant to be jewelry or amulets, although occasionally they were used as seals. "Elaborate style" seals were more carefully produced, and are often found impressed on legal and government documents. While Assyria was under the political domination of Mitanni, Assyrian seals were produced in the Mitannian style. As Assyria grew more powerful at the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C., they developed their own style reflecting Assyrian interests and ideology. However, the use of seals on documents and containers followed OB tradition (Porada 1979).

The rise of the Neo-Assyrian empire in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. was accompanied by the reappearance of stamp seals which quickly replaced cylinders as the preferred method of sealing. Long the most widespread form of seal in the rest of the ANE, its reintroduction and popularity in Iron Age Mesopotamia has been tied to expansion of the Assyrian Empire and forced resettlement of large numbers of people from W Asia and W Iran (Parker 1962:27). As papyrus became a common vehicle for written documents during the 1st millennium B.C., a small sealed lump of clay (bulla) served to fix the string binding the rolled document, and replaced the impression of stamp or cylinder on a clay tablet as means of authorizing, witnessing, or securing the text. Stamp seals continued to be used throughout the Persian period. The Persepolis Fortification tablets indicate that impressions still served to acknowledge receipt and disbursement of goods in complex administrative systems (Hallock 1977).

**C. Bibliographic Sources**

A good introduction to cylinder seals as well as a full bibliography of published collections and current scholarship can be found in Collon 1987, while Frankfort 1939 remains a basic, though dated, resource. A good introduction to stamp seals and review of the current literature on the subject can be found in Buchanan 1984, and Buchanan and Moorey 1988. The art of Mesopotamian seals is a vast subject most recently reviewed by Porada in her introduction to *Ancient Art in Seals* (1980). Brief articles on seal use in various periods can be found in the symposium volume edited by Gibson and Biggs 1977.

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**SEASON.** See CALENDARS.

**SEBA** (PERSON) [Heb *sĕbā‹* (סְבָא)]. SABEANS. The firstborn son of Cush (Gen 10:7; 1 Chr 1:9) and hence the name of a people or region located either in Ethiopia or in South Arabia. According to Ps 72:10 the kings of Sheba in Arabia (*Arabōn*) and of Seba came with presents, which is an indication of wealthy kingdoms. In Isa 43:3 God is ready to give the rich countries of Egypt, Cush, and Seba as ransom for Israel; the listing of Seba after Egypt and Cush points to NE Africa, which is confirmed by the LXX, which reads here *Soēnē* (for Syene) instead of Saba. A further passage in Deutero-Isaiah gives the same sequence: "The Egyptians with their produce, the Cushites with their profit, and the tall Sebaites (MT *sĕbā›īm,* LXX *Sebōin,* Vg *Sabaim*) shall come to you" (Isa 45:14); in the light of the comparison with the Cushites noted for their stature (Isa 18:2), this likewise points to an African people.

Already Dillmann (1892:180–81) proposed locating biblical Seba at the coast of Erythraea and consequently seeing in Sheba and Seba the two present countries Yemen and Abyssinia on the E and W shores of the S part of the Red Sea. This would be a reference to the colonization of the Ethiopian littoral by Sabaean settlers from S Arabia which started toward the end of the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. Beginning with the end of the 6th century B.C., however, Abyssinia existed no longer as a Sabaean colony, but came under the control of native sovereigns; Sabaean epigraphic texts with dialectal peculiarities have been discovered on Ethiopian soil bearing witness to this fact. In the inscription JE 4 from Maqalle king Rabāḥ designates himself as "*mukarrib* of Da‹māt and Saba›," which probably means ruler of the highland and of the coastal plain, and his son Lammān similarly designates himself in the inscriptions JE 1384+1370 from Melazo and Abuna Garimā 2 from Adde Kaweh in Tigre.

Furthermore, a few topographical names with Sabaean foundations testify to the immigration from S Arabia to Africa and also to the relations between ancient Yemen and Abyssinia; these include the harbor Saba (Strabo, *Geog.* 16,4.8) on the Ethiopian coast of the Red Sea to the N of Adulis; Sabat (Ptolemaios, *Geog.* 4,7.8), most probably to be identified with the harbor Saba; *Sabai* (Strabo, *Geog.* 16,4.10) NW of the straits of Bāb al-Mandab; and the *Sabaïtikon stoma* (Strabo, *Geog.* 16,4.8 on the authority of Artemidor), a place at the mouth of a river on the coast of the Trogodytice in the region of present-day Suakin. Possibly Soba on the river Atbara can also be connected with Seba, especially since the Ethiopic translation of the Bible offers in Gen 10:7 *Sobā* for *Seba.* Less trustworthy, on the other hand, is the remark given by Josephus (*Ant* 2.10.2) that Saba is said to be the ancient name of the kingdom of Meroë, to which this name was supposedly given only by Cambyses; therefore the connection of Meroë with biblical Seba is surely wrong. Consequently, the Heb name *sĕbā›* is finally identical with the name *šĕbā›;* while, however, the latter is the correct phonetic rendering of South Arabic *sb›,* the form *sĕbā›* might reflect the Ethiopic variant of the pronunciation of that name.

Caussin de Perceval (1847:42–46) held the view that the people of Cushite Seba are to be identified with the prehistoric ‹Ādites of the Arabian Peninsula, who later on were expelled from there by the immigrating Joktanide Sabaeans, emigrated to Abyssinia, and possibly became the founders of the Axumite kingdom. Glaser (1890:387–91) looked for Seba at the Djabal Shammar in N Central Arabia, and likewise Hommel (1926:577) believed that Seba is to be counted among the Arabian Cushites and is the name of a people in Central Arabia. Occasionally it has been suggested that while *šebā›* designates Sheba in SW Arabia, *sebā›,* which is mentioned besides *šebā›* in Gen 10:7 and Ps 72:10, refers to a Sabaean colony on the incense road in the NW part of the Arabian Peninsula. This view, however, is also hardly acceptable.

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**SEBAM** (PLACE) [Heb *śĕbām* (שְׂבָם)]. Variant spelling of SIBMAH.

**SEBAOTH.** See NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT.

**SECACAH** (PLACE) [Heb *sĕkākâ* (סְכָכָה)]. A town situated in the wilderness of Judah (Josh 15:61), within the same district as En-gedi. This settlement, whose name perhaps means "protection" or "cover," is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The theory that this list is derived from an administrative roster compiled under the Judean Monarchy (Alt 1925) has been widely accepted, although controversy continues over the precise makeup of the districts, the proper context of the town lists of Benjamin and Dan, and the period of the monarchy to which the original roster belongs (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 64–72). Recent archaeological work in the Buqeiah valley has uncovered three Iron Age fortress-farms which may be associated with the towns of this district (Stager 1976). If the list in Josh 15:61–62 runs N to S, then ancient Secacah is probably to be identified with the largest of these three fortresses, Khirbet es-Samrah, located approximately 7 km SW of Khirbet Qumran (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 392; M.R. 187125).

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**SECOND COMING.** See PAROUSIA.

**SECOND DEATH.** See DEATH, SECOND.

**SECOND QUARTER** (PLACE) [Heb *mišneh* (מִשְׁנֶה)]. A district within the city of Jerusalem in which Huldah the prophetess resided toward the end of the 7th century B.C. (2 Kgs 22:14 = 2 Chr 34:22). The Heb *mišneh,* in the usual ordinal sense, indeed means "second," but it can also have the nuance of "expansion/increase as a result of doubling"; thus one could translate *mišneh* as "annex" (cf. Zeph 1:10; perhaps also *ha‹îr mišneh* in Neh 11:9). The texts attesting to the "Second Quarter" are all late, and it has long been suspected that this new addition to Jerusalem was constructed opposite the Tyropoeon Valley on the hill W of the old city of David and SW of the Temple Mount sometime during the reign of Hezekiah (late 8th–early 7th centuries B.C.). This expansion would have been designed to handle the increasing number of Israelite and Judean refugees fleeing the devastations of the Assyrian army.

Archaeological confirmation of this "Second Quarter" emerged during Avigad's excavations (beginning in 1969) in the center of the Jewish Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem. Beneath Byzantine, Herodian, and Hasmonean levels, evidence of Israelite occupation in the 8th–7th centuries was found, including a portion of an Israelite defensive wall (Avigad 1983; *EAEHL* 2:597). Although the complete line of this fortification is unknown, the addition of this new quarter seems to have approximately quadrupled the area of Jerusalem's residential neighborhoods, accommodating a swollen population of perhaps 25,000 (compared to an estimated population of ca. 7,000 in Solomonic Jerusalem). See also DAVID, CITY OF; JERUSALEM.

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**SECOND TREATISE OF THE GREAT SETH.** See SETH, SECOND TREATISE OF THE GREAT (NHC VII,*2*).

**SECRET, MESSIANIC.** See MESSIANIC SECRET.

**SECU** (PLACE) [Heb *śekû* (שְׂכוּ)]. A site on the route between Gibeah and Ramah which Saul visited while pursuing David (1 Sam 19:22). Secu, commonly thought to be a village, is otherwise unknown. It is questionable whether Secu is a place name at all; some LXX and Latin mss read "on the bare hill." The well at the site mentioned in the passage was apparently a common meeting place.

TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**SECUNDUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Sekoundos* (Σεκουνδος)]. A gentile Christian from Thessalonica mentioned in Acts 20:4. He accompanied Paul from Macedonia to Jerusalem during his 3d missionary journey. He and the others in Paul's party were probably the delegates delivering the special collection to the church at Jerusalem (cf. Acts 24:17; 2 Cor 8:23). Secundus and his fellow Thessalonian traveler Aristarchus were probably representing the church at Thessalonica in the presentation of their portion of the contribution to the collection. Ambiguities in the text of Acts 20:5–6 create two possibilities. Either Secundus and the others crossed the Aegean Sea to wait for Paul at Troas, or they celebrated the Festival of Unleavened Bread at Philippi with Paul and then sailed with him to meet Trophimus and Tychicus, who alone had gone on ahead to Troas, possibly to procure a ship.

JOANN FORD WATSON

**SEDHEQ** (DEITY) [Heb *ṣedeq* (צֶדֶק)]. The god Sedheq appears in West Semitic proper names from the 2d and 1st millennia B.C.E. The deity appears on a god list from Ugarit (*KTU* 1.123.14) where it is half of the dual divinity form *ṣdq mšr.* The other source of information about this god comes from a pair of classical writers. The major information derives from the *Phoenician History* of Philo of Byblos (fragments of which are preserved in Eus. *Praep. Evang.* 1.10.13, 14, 25, 38), while a note appears on Sedheq's sons in Damascius, *Vita Isidori,* 302 (Attridge and Oden 1981:92 n. 140; Baumgarten 1981:228).

The fact that both the Ugaritic text and the Philo of Byblos references pair Sedheq with the god *mšr/misōr* (*Praep. Evang.* 1.10.13) has led to the reasonable conclusion that these two divinities may have been the West Semitic variants of the Babylonian pair of gods Kittu and Mešaru. The Mesopotamian pair are sons of the god Šamaš and represent two aspects of the sun god's role as the deity of justice (Rosenberg 1965:161; Astour 1966:282; Liverani 1971:58). This association would imply that the god Sedheq was seen as an attendant deity to some other, more powerful divinity; it would not necessitate that the god was associated with a solar deity cult (Rosenberg 1965:164–65; Baumgarten 1981:231). The root *ṣdq* supports the connotation of the divine sphere of the deity as having been justice; this understanding is recorded by Philo of Byblos, who explained the name as *dikaion.* Both in Mesopotamia and Syria-Palestine the gods may reflect deified characteristics of divine qualities (Troiani 1974:135).

What mythological information exists about Sedheq comes from classical sources. In these works it is posited that Sedheq and his brother Misor discovered how to use salt; this has been related to the legal aspect of the gods (Baumgarten 1981:176), but Philo of Byblos has treated these divinities as humans, and it is unlikely that a clear rendition of myth has been retained in the narrative, though it is possible that salt played a part in some myth told about these gods. What the classical writers were more interested in when dealing with Sedheq was his offspring. Sedheq not only was credited with fathering the Dioskouri and Kabeiri, but his eighth son was the renowned Asclepius, born to the god by one of the Titanids. The descendants of Sedheq are credited with inventing the boat, devising medicines, and beginning the noble art of historiography.

Names containing a Sedheq element have been acknowledged for a long time as divine references (Wood 1916:271–72). Among the Phoenicians Sedheq appears commonly among the royal names (Masson and Sznycer 1972:98–99). In biblical texts three names often are cited for bearing the divine

name Sedheq: Melchizedek (Gen 14:18; Ps 110:4), Adonizedek (Josh 10:1), and Zadok (2 Sam 15:24, etc.). Since all of these men are related in the narratives to the city of Jerusalem, two as kings and one as priest, it has been suggested that Sedheq was a major deity in the Jerusalem cult. This would explain the consistent use of Sedheq and variants in biblical names and names found in Hebrew inscriptions, though Tigay (1986:79) doubts such names refer to the deity. Sedheq does appear as a constant characteristic of Yahweh and may even be taken as an attendant minor deity to the Israelite/Judean deity (Rosenberg 1965:170–75); which might raise a mythological background to the constant pairing of the priests Zadok and Abiathar as with *ṣdq* and *mšr* (Cody 1969:89). At least such a pairing has been suggested for the use of the words *ṣdq* and *yšr* as used in the Bible (Liverani 1971:67).

The god appears in Syria-Palestine, perhaps in Judah, and among the Phoenician colonies. Sedheq would appear to have been a minor god, one who was seen to stand in attendance on the major deity of a given pantheon. "Justice" and "Rectitude" seem to have been a pair of gods recognized as members of the divine hierarchy in Mesopotamia and the West Semitic pantheons.

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LOWELL K. HANDY

**SEDRACH, APOCALYPSE OF.** Extant in only one 15th-century Gk manuscript (Bodleian Library, Cod. Misc. Gr. 56, fols. 92–100), this pseudepigraphical work attributed to Sedrach has not been adequately researched. James (1893:127–37), Shutt (1984), and Diez Macho (1984) rightly contend that "Sedrach" does not refer to one of Daniel's companions, according to the Greek spelling; it is a corruption of "Esdras." The document certainly belongs with the apocryphal works attributed to Ezra.

The work begins with a sermon on love by Sedrach, who is subsequently taken up as far as the third heaven by an angel, the hypostatic Voice. Sedrach stands before the Lord and questions him.

P. Volz (1934) and C. C. Torrey (*JEnc* 1:674) thought that the pseudepigraphon was a Jewish work. P. Riessler claimed it was a Christian redaction of a Jewish document (1928:1274). The apocalypse may be a compilation of many documents (Denis 1970), many of them Jewish, but it is Christian in its present form.

James (1893) incorrectly divided the work into two separate and unrelated documents: the sermon and the apocalypse. The connection between these two—specifically that God's actions are motivated by love—suggests that the sermon is a Christian preface to a much older work, the apocalypse. This portion may be a Christian reworking of much older Jewish traditions (and perhaps even a Jewish work). The author (or compiler) was influenced especially by Job, Paul, the gospel of John, the *Testament of Abraham, 2 Baruch,* and especially the *Greek Apocalypse of Ezra* and *4 Ezra.* Agourides (*OTP* 1:606) contends that the apocalypse was composed by a Jew between 150 and 500 C.E., and that the sermon was added by a Christian shortly after 1000 C.E. Diez Macho (1984) suggests that the Jewish document, if one can be isolated, dates from the 2d century C.E., and that the Christian additions date from the 5th century. Sparks (in Shutt 1984:953) attributes the sermon on love to Ephraem Syrus. The Greek is close in some passages to modern Greek, suggesting that the present form of the work is late; but the original language is probably an earlier form of Greek (Agourides). There are sections with Byzantine and even patristic syntax and words.

As in *4 Ezra* the theme of the *Apocalypse of Sedrach* is God's compassion for the sinner. Here are some significant excerpts: "And Sedrach said, 'What (is it), my Lord?' And the Voice said to him, 'I was sent to

you that I may carry you up into heaven … the angel, having stretched out his wings, took him and went up into the heavens, and took him as far as the third heaven, and the flame of the divinity stood there" (2:2–5). Sedrach urges the Lord to make it impossible for Adam to sin, and to "hold onto his foot" so that he will not stray. Then, "God said to him, 'If I hold his foot, he says, "You have given me no grace in the world," and so I left him to his own desires because I loved him' …" (8:1).

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JAMES H. CHARLESWORTH

**SEFUNIM CAVES** (M.R. 238148). A set of three prehistoric sites in the Carmel range just S of Haifa. Nahal Sefunim is one of the rivers draining Mt. Carmel westward toward the Mediterranean, about 5 km S of Haifa. Three prehistoric sites are known along this river, all located on its S bank. Whereas most of the prehistoric sites of the Carmel range are located on the mountain edge overlooking the plain, the Sefunim sites are unique with their hidden, inland position. They are, from E to W, the "Brecchia Cave," the "Sefunim Cave," and the "Sefunim Shelter."

**A. The Brecchia Cave**

This is a large mass of brecciated sediment about 1 m thick which covers the floor of a small cavity and the slope outside it. It apparently constitutes the rear part of a collapsed cave. The stone-hard sediment contains abundant animal bones and a few flint artifacts. The site has never been studied nor dated, but the breccia indicates the Middle Paleolithic (90,000–40,000 years ago) as the latest possible age.

**B. Sefunim Cave**

This cave (formerly "Iraq el-Barud") is located about 1 km from the coastal plain. Stekelis briefly tested the cave in 1941, and A. Ronen excavated it between 1965 and 1970. It is a vast cave, 50 m x 24 m, with two chambers. Cultural remains were found only in the front chamber and on the terrace, yielding a sequence (from bottom to top) of Middle Paleolithic, Upper Paleolithic, Neolithic/Chalcolithic, and modern remains.

**1. The Middle Paleolithic.** A small area near the present cave entrance (layers 13 and 12) and on the terrace (layers VII–VI) yielded Middle Paleolithic remains. These were embedded in a light brown silty clay, with abundant calcareous concretions on the terrace. The lithic industry, mostly of Levallois technique, is governed by points and scrapers. Tool making took place on the terrace, where almost all the cores were found. Faunal remains include forest dwellers such as wild boar and deer, and open-country species such as hippopotamus, gazelle, and cattle.

**2. The Upper Paleolithic.** This period consists of several occupations of Levantine Aurignacian (layers 10–8 in the cave), including one floor made of chalk (layer 10). The cave area occupied by the Upper Paleolithic is slightly larger than that of the Middle Paleolithic; the terrace had no remains of the Upper Paleolithic. The lithic industry includes the typical steep and end-scrapers, burins, various blades, and two bone points. The remains of boar, deer, gazelle, cattle, and antelope were found.

A small Kebaran occupation existed after the Aurignacian, and was almost completely removed by Stekelis' excavations.

**3. The Neolithic/Chalcolithic.** The Neolithic and Chalcolithic remains (cave layer 7; terrace, V–III) are found in a thick (0.2–2 m) stone layer. The entire front chamber and terrace were occupied. The lithic industry includes mainly cores, indicating that the site served primarily as a workshop, which produced celts of various types, scrapers, burins, retouched blades, and knives. A few arrowheads and a dagger

were found on the terrace. A hearth 1 m x 1.3 m and 0.2 m deep was dug on the terrace, which was filled with ashes and burnt stones. A stone anvil was carefully placed on the edge of the hearth. This structure may have been used to heat-treat stone artifacts. The charcoal was $C^{14}$ dated to the end of the 8th millennium B.C.E., which begins the Neolithic/Chalcolithic occupation. Its estimated end was in the 5th millennium.

The faunal remains contain wild species—gazelle and deer—with domestic goat and donkey. Cattle and boar are present, but it is unclear whether they were wild or domesticated. Marine mollusks are relatively abundant here compared with older layers.

**4. The Modern Period.** The site was used to corral flocks and to exploit saltpeter for gunpowder manufacture during the last few centuries. Several plaster-and-ash floors were built in the cave during this period.

**C. The Shelter**

Located midway between Sefunim Cave and the coastal plain, Sefunim Shelter was discovered by A. Ronen and excavated by Lamdan in 1975 and 1976. The site is at the foot of a high vertical cliff where the river terrace is the widest (ca. 10 m) along its entire course. Two periods are represented: Middle Paleolithic and Neolithic.

**1. The Middle Paleolithic.** This phase is embedded in the top part of a red *terra rose,* 0.5–1.0 m thick, which lies on bedrock. The remains were concentrated in a 6 m × 5 m area, and included a pavement 2.5 m × 3.5 m made of thin stone slabs—the only architectural feature known in the Middle Paleolithic of the Levant.

The lithic industry is represented by a small assemblage, indicating a limited occupation both in time and in number of occupants. This fact apparently contrasts with the significance of the slab floor. Possibly each occupation cleaned the remains of the former, so that the remains of the latest use of the Mousterian site are what were preserved. This involved local manufacture of stone tools, inferred from the relatively numerous cores. Levallois products, points, and scrapers form the bulk of the small assemblage, a composition similar to that found in Sefunim cave. The fauna includes deer, boar, and few gazelle. A few mollusks were also found, both marine and sweetwater, but these could have come from the overlying Neolithic occupation. No sediments were found between the Mousterian and Neolithic layers.

**2. The Neolithic.** The Neolithic layer is gray and humic, clearly distinguishable from the underlying red clay. The Neolithic inhabitants built a 13 m long, slightly curved wall parallel to and near the cliff; it was constructed of large boulders. At the W end of the wall a structure made of smaller stones was added which extended the wall another 5 m. It might originally have been a circular structure, but the N part has completely eroded. The Neolithic remains were scattered mainly in the W part of the structure and in the narrow space between the wall and the cliff. Only sparse finds were in the central and E parts of the structure, where had been the Mousterian site.

The lithic assemblage includes very few cores, so that tool manufacture clearly took place outside the area of excavation, perhaps at another site. There are celts, sickles, and arrowheads, along with scrapers, burins, borers, and various retouched items. Faunal remains include primarily cattle (which was absent in the underlying Mousterian), boar, deer, and a horse. Abundant sweetwater and marine mollusks were brought to the site, both for consumption and ornament.

The Sefunim shelter can only be understood as coexisting and cooperating with the cave inhabitants. From the shelter, both the cave and a narrow portion of the coastal plain are visible. Signals could have been transmitted between the sites, and communal hunting could have taken place in the Sefunim valley during the Middle Paleolithic. The shelter's function in the Neolithic, with its long and massive wall, remains unclear. Possibly the tools were brought to the shelter from the workshop in the cave, but this is yet to be demonstrated.

AVRAHAM RONEN

**SEGUB** (PERSON) [Heb *śĕgûb* (שְׂגוּב)]. **1.** The younger son of Hiel who was responsible for the refortification of Jericho during the days of Ahab (1 Kgs 16:34). Scholars debate what is implied by the

note that Hiel rebuilt Jericho "at the expense of" (Heb *bĕ*) his two sons, Abiram and Segub. It is obviously intended by DH to be the working out of Joshua's curse pronounced against Jericho in Josh 6:26, thereby bringing the entire reign of Ahab under the judgment of the divine curse.

Several possibilities exist, however, for understanding the nature of the curse. Some see in this text the fated working out of a curse, whereby Segub and Abiram died of natural causes. Blake (1967:86–97), for example, argued that the entire family (inclusive use of "elder" and "younger") was wiped out due to radiation contamination of the spring. Others argue that the two sons may indeed have been buried in the foundations or gates, but only because they died in childbirth or of other natural causes.

Commentators more commonly assume that the note may be referring to the practice known elsewhere in the ANE and in Israel itself as the offering of a "foundation sacrifice." The association of Abiram with the rebuilding of the foundations and of Segub with the setting of the gates certainly suggests that one son's death marked the beginning of the project and the other son's the conclusion. The question hinges on whether the sons died of natural causes and were therefore buried in the foundation and at the gate, or whether they were offered as a sacrifice in order to ensure the future of the fortifications. If the latter was the case, did Hiel himself take the curse so seriously that he offered his own sons as a sacrifice, or was he compelled to give his sons over to be killed out of popular superstition? Already the Targum understands the text to mean that Hiel "killed" his two sons.

Most probably, the motif of the "fated curse" is due to the literary interest of DH. An early legendary tradition concerning the offering of a foundation sacrifice by Hiel was taken up by DH and reworked for polemical interests. By composing the tradition of Joshua's curse, the note in 1 Kgs 16:34 was thereby made to serve as prophetic fulfillment of a curse, with the literary effect of bringing the reign of Ahab under this divine curse.

**2.** Listed in 1 Chr 2:21–22 in the genealogy of Hezron. The genealogical information given is as follows: Judah > Perez > Hezron > Segub > Jair. The displacement of Hezron's genealogy in vv 21–23 to a position following that of his sons Ram and Caleb, together with the fact that the names presented in these verses represent geographical territories (Jair, Gilead, Aram), suggest that this material is a fragment cemented into the larger genealogy of Judah for certain interests. In this genealogy Judah is linked through Hezron to the family of Machir, whose daughter (Gilead's sister) becomes Hezron's wife. The families of Judah and Machir are nowhere else related, and in Num 32:39–41 both Machir and Jair are considered sons of Manasseh.

The editor of Chronicles has evidently used old genealogical information in order to further Judean claims of prominence. In spite of the territory of Gilead clearly being linked to the eponymous figure of Gilead, a later Judean claim to Gileadite sites (the 23 cities in Gilead) was effected by grafting Hezron into the genealogy by extending it back one generation to Machir and by coupling Hezron with Gilead's sister (to whom some give the name Abijah). Such Judean claims on Gileadite territory may go back to the era of David, who was allied through marriage to the territory of Geshur (2 Sam 3:3).

Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 40) suggests that the name Segub is a corrupted form of the name Argob, since elsewhere Argob is connected with Jair.

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**SEILUN, KHIRBET** (M.R. 177162). Khirbet Seilun, in the heart of the territory of Ephraim a short distance E of the main road leading from Jerusalem to Shechem, is identified with the biblical town of Shiloh. Throughout the ages its location was not forgotten. In the Middle Ages, Eshtori ha-Parhi described its ruins, and the American explorer, E. Robinson, reidentified the site with Shiloh in 1838, according to the detailed biblical description of its location (Judg 21:19), "north of Bethel, on the east of the highway that goes up from Bethel to Shechem and south of Lebonah" (the Arab village Lubban-Sharqiya), and on the basis of the Onomasticon of Eusebius, which states that Shiloh is 12 miles from Neapolis in the district of Acrabattene. He also relied on the fact that the name is preserved by the ruins and nearby spring (see Fig. SEI.01).

**A. Biblical Shiloh**

Shiloh, where the Ark of the Covenant was kept in the first half of the 11th century B.C.E., was the sacred center of the Israelite hill country tribes. See SHILOH. According to the Bible, it was in Shiloh that the land was apportioned among the tribes (Josh 18:10) and the Levitical cities were allocated (Josh 21:2). The population assembled there both in times of distress (Josh 22:12) and times of celebration (Judg 21:19–21). The importance of Shiloh as a religious center and the seat of leadership of the Israelite tribes reached its zenith in the days of Eli the priest, when it became a focus of pilgrimage (1 Sam 1:3, 24). The town figured prominently in the battle of Ebenezer (1 Samuel 4); after defeating the Israelites, the Philistines apparently took advantage of their victory to press up into the hills and to put Shiloh to the torch. The Bible does not explicitly report the destruction of the site at the hands of the Philistines, but its fiery demise is alluded to in a number of passages (Jer 7:12, 14; 26:6, 9; Ps 78:60). Shiloh remained deserted for some time thereafter, but by the reign of Jeroboam I, settlement had been renewed (1 Kgs 14:2, 4), and the town still existed when Jerusalem was destroyed (Jer 41:5). The site is also mentioned in rabbinical sources and by Byzantine pilgrims.

**C. Excavations**

The mound of Seilun is located at the northern end of a fertile valley surrounded by hills. At a distance of 900 m to its NE there is a copious spring, providing water to supplement the runoff water that was collected in cisterns on the mound. The tell, which rises 714 m above sea level, covers an area of about 30 dunams (7.5 acres). Since its E, W, and N slopes are very steep, its most convenient approach is from the S. Three considerations thus determined the location of the settlement: proximity to the fertile valley, availability of a permanent water source, and an easily defensible topographical location.

The first archaeological soundings at Seilun were made by A. Schmidt in 1922. Between 1926 and 1932 a Danish expedition headed by H. Kjaer undertook three seasons of excavations, and an additional probe was made by S. Holm-Nielsen in 1963. The 1981–1984 expedition of the Department of the Land of Israel Studies, Bar Ilan University, headed by I. Finkelstein, conducted four seasons of excavations at the site. Eight strata were exposed by this expedition.

| *Period* | *Stratum* | *Description of remains* |
|---|---|---|
| MB II | VIII | Pottery in the glacis and earthen fills of Stratum VII. |
| MB III | VII | Elaborate defense system consisting of a solid city wall and glacis, adjoined by a row of rooms; earth and stone fills. |
| LB | VI | Deposits of pottery of a cultic nature, ash and bones. |
| Iron I | V | Pillared buildings; numerous silos. |
| Iron II | IV | Scanty architectural remains. |
| Hellenistic | III | Scanty architectural remains. |
| Roman and Byzantine | II–I | Remains of village on upper part and S slope of the mound. |
| Middle Ages | Surface | Ruins of medieval village. |

The first settlement at Seilun (Stratum VIII), apparently a small unwalled village, was established in the MB II. The evidence for this occupation consists solely of pottery found in the glacis and earthen fills of the following stratum; the builders of Stratum VII evidently used the debris from the previous settlement as fills in their earthworks.

During the MB III (Stratum VII) the site, probably about four acres in size, was surrounded by massive fortifications consisting of a solid city wall reinforced by an earthen glacis, whose remains were discovered in five places on the perimeter of the tell. The city wall, founded on bedrock and constructed of large fieldstones, was 3.0–5.5 m wide. In several of its segments its state of preservation is very impressive; in the sectional trench cut near its outer face in the NE sector (Area D), it was found standing to a height of almost 8 m. Following its destruction, it became a quarry for building material, and its stones were robbed throughout the ages. Since the wall was designed to conform to the contours of the

mound, its standard of construction was not uniform. The glacis was also constructed of segments of differing size, density and structural components. In the large section cut into the steep NE slope it was found to be 25 m long and to be composed of five different elements. Against the fortification wall it is 6.3 m thick. A wall 3.2 m high is incorporated into it, and two masses of large rough boulders were laid at the base in order to stabilize the earthworks and to prevent them from sliding down the slope. The glacis was especially strong wherever the slope is the steepest, while on the more moderate slopes it was less thick and of lesser complexity. Hence it is obvious that the principal motivation for laying the glacis was as a reinforcement rather than an attempt to hinder an enemy's approach to the fortification wall.

In the N sector of the site (Areas F–H) a row of rooms 115 m long was built against the inner face of the city wall. Their walls are preserved to a height of 2.5 m. Behind these rooms, in the direction of the center of the tell, and on a higher level, are stone and earth fills, giving the rooms the character of basements; judging by the large quantities of storage vessels found in them, they probably served as storerooms. In addition to these vessels, a unique hoard of silver and bronze objects was discovered, including a shafthole ax and a large silver pendant displaying a hammered "Cappadocian" symbol. Cultic vessels, such as stands, small votive bowls, and a bovine zoomorphic vessel, also came from these rooms, indicating that the rooms may have been connected to a nearby sanctuary. This high place may have stood on the top of the tell, supported by the stone and earthen fills uncovered above the above-mentioned rooms. Stratum VII was destroyed at the end of the MB III (16th century B.C.E.).

It was not long, however, before activity was renewed on the site. The LB level (Stratum VI) was exposed only in one part of the mound—Area D. No architectural remains came to light, but there was a thick accumulation of earth, ashes, and stones extending over an area of about 200 square meters inside and on top of the MB fortifications. A large quantity of broken pottery (mainly bowls and chalices) and animal bones was retrieved from this deposit. Several vessels containing ashes and bones were found intact, or nearly so. There were no other signs of activity in LB Seilun. The site may have consisted solely of an isolated cultic place on the summit of the tell, to which offerings were brought by pilgrims or people of the vicinity. After use, the vessels were broken deliberately and, together with the bones of the sacrifices, were buried in this spot. It is possible that these offerings were brought to the sacred location of the former (MB III) sanctuary. Most of the pottery is of the LB I horizon; from the ceramic evidence, it appears that the activity slowly decreased and finally ceased completely long before the end of the LB Age.

After a period of abandonment, the site was resettled in the 12–11th centuries (Stratum V). Iron I remains were found almost everywhere on the mound: more than 20 silos were unearthed in the N and NE sectors, and a group of pillared buildings was exposed on the W slope (Area C). These are the most important building remains of Iron I Seilun/Shiloh, indicating developed construction techniques and architectural concepts already at this early stage of "Israelite" settlement. The buildings adjoined the outer side of the former MB city wall, which was well preserved here and served as their rear wall. See Fig. SEI.02. A segment of the MB glacis was removed, and the Iron I structures were actually "sunk" into the glacis. The steep slope necessitated two building levels which were divided by a terrace wall. Two pillar buildings, separated by a corridor, stood on the upper level and a large hall on the lower level. The S building on the upper level had four parallel aisles separated from each other by three rows of pillars, while the N upper building consisted of a courtyard set off by pillars from each of its three side units, which were neatly paved with stone slabs. The hall of the lower level probably served as the basement of the upper S building.

The ceramic assemblage from this complex, the richest ever discovered at any early Israelite site, consists mainly of storage vessels, including more than 20 collared-rim jars (seven of which were found by the Danish expedition in 1929). Among its other functions, the building apparently served as a public storehouse. The buildings of the western slope were destroyed by a fierce conflagration. As suggested by Albright and Kjaer, this was probably the work of the Philistines in the aftermath of the battle of Ebenezer in the mid-11th century B.C.E.

The excavation results shed light on several aspects concerning the role of Shiloh in the Israelite Settlement process. First, it is now clear that in the beginning of the Iron Age Seilun/Shiloh was the outstanding candidate to become the sacred center of the hill-country population, since it was an ancient cult site that now stood deserted in an area with only a sparse Canaanite population and a high concentration of "Israelite" sites. See EPHRAIM (PERSON). The exact date Shiloh was first settled by the Israelites is not yet clear; however, it seems that major construction did not begin before the middle of the 12th century B.C.E. The important role played by Shiloh is reflected in the density of the Iron I sites around it, which is two and even three times greater than that of the other regions in the land of Ephraim. The size of the settlement was about 2.5–3 acres. Since a considerable part of it was probably occupied by the shrine complex and other public buildings, the possibility that Shiloh was primarily a sacred *temenos* rather than an ordinary village should not be ruled out. According to the data from the excavations, the shrine was probably at the summit of the tell. Unfortunately, this area was badly eroded and destroyed by later occupation.

After the destruction of Shiloh in the mid-11th century B.C.E., the site lay in ruins for some time. The resumption of settlement in Iron II is represented by scanty village-typed remains found in various places on the mound (Stratum IV). Shiloh of the Roman and Byzantine periods was a large village (Strata II–I). The two Byzantine churches with ornamental mosaic floors uncovered by the Danish expedition S of the mound show that Shiloh still retained its religious association.

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**SEIR** (PERSON) [Heb *śēʿîr* (שֵׂעִיר)]. Ancestor of people living in Edom (Gen 36:20–21; 1 Chr 1:38).

Seir belonged to the ethnic group of the Horites who lived in the hill country of Seir (Gen 14:6). See SEIR (PLACE). According to Deut 2:12, 22 the Horites were defeated and displaced by the Edomites.

The personal name Seir is always found in the expression *bĕnê śēʿîr,* "descendants of Seir." Seir is also used as a geographical name and for the people living in this region (Ezek 25:8; Num 24:18). It is sometimes unclear whether the people identified as *bĕnê śēʿîr* should be understood as descendants of Seir or inhabitants of Seir (2 Chr 25:11, 14).

Seir, Edom, and Esau are closely connected in biblical texts, and are sometimes seemingly used as synonyms. For a thorough discussion of their relationships, see Bartlett 1969:1–20.

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**SEIR** (PLACE) [Heb *śēʿîr* (שֵׂעִיר)]. 1. The biblical name for part of the country of Edom (Gen 14:6; 36:20–21, 30; Deut 1:2, 44; 2:1; 33:2; Josh 11:17; 12:7; Judg 5:4; Isa 21:11; 1 Chr 1:38; 4:42) and, secondarily, a synonym for Edom, both in the geographical and the political sense (Gen 32:4; 33:14, 16; 36:8–9; Num 24:18; Deut 2:4–5, 8, 12, 22, 29; Josh 24:4; Ezek 25:8; 35:2–3, 7, 15; 2 Chr 20:10, 22–23; 25:11, 14).

According to Gen 36:30, "the country of Seir" was inhabited by the HORITES, whereas "the sons of Esau" were living in Edom. In Gen 36:20, Seir is personified as a Horite whose descendants live in Edom. In the archaic text of Judg 5:4, "Seir" and "the field of Edom" parallel each other. Seir is frequently referred to as "the mountain," or "mountains of Seir" (Gen 14:6; 36:8–9; Deut 2:1, etc.). Combined, these

references suggest that Seir was a mountainous region which became part of the Edomite state. Etymologically, Seir means "hairy," whereas Edom signifies "red." There are three possibilities to circumscribe the pertinence of the toponym "Seir" more closely:

(a) "Edom" was originally connected with the Transjordanian plateau between Wādī al-Ḥasâ and Râs en-Naqb (because of its reddish soil; cf. the "field of Edom" in Judg 5:4). "Seir," accordingly, was originally connected with the wooded precipice leading from the plateau down to the Wādī al-ʿArabah (Weippert 1971; Knauf 1988b). This is the most likely interpretation.

(b) "Edom" meant the region between Wādī al-Ḥasâ and Wādī al-Ġhuwayr (which is called in Arabic *el-Jibâl*), and "Seir" referred to the S part of the Edomite state, the area between Wādī al-Ġhuwayr and Râs en-Naqb (in Arabic, *eš-Šarâh*). One argument in favor of this distinction is the fact that the formation of the Edomite state started in the north, in el-Jibâl. In addition, eš-Šarâh, "the mountain range," may have replaced eš-Šarâ, "the wooded rocky mountain with springs," since the region was probably known in Nabatean times when the Nabatean god Dhû Sharâ had his central sanctuary in its center, at Petra. Arabic *šarâ* refers to the same geographic features, rocks and trees, as does Seir, although there is no etymological connection between the two similar sounding words. The slight change from eš-Šarâ to eš-Šarâh may be due to post-Nabatean deforestation, or Islamic shunning of the memory of an "idol."

(c) "Edom" signified the area of eš-Šarâh because of the Nubian sandstone which is dominant along the precipice, especially in the Petra area, and "Seir" referred to el-Jibâl, "the mountains" (hence, the frequent mentioning of "mountains of Seir" in the OT). A ruin in the vicinity of et-Tafîlah may have preserved the ancient regional name: *Khirbet Umm Šaʿîr.*

Hypothesis (c) is irreconcilable with the epigraphic and archaeological evidence concerning the evolution of the Edomite state; hypothesis (b) is based on more assumptions than are needed for hypothesis (a). Furthermore, both Khirbet Umm Šaʿîr ("Seir" in hypothesis c) and Petra ("Seir" in hypothesis b) are situated on the upper terraces of the precipice, well below the plateau, i.e., both places are comprised in "Seir" (hypothesis a).

After Seir had become part of Edom (Gen 36:21), "Edom" and "Seir" became synonyms. Thus, Deut 2:12, 22 concluded from the "Horites in Seir, the inhabitants of the country" (Gen 36:20, 30) on the one hand and the "sons of Esau, this is Edom" (Gen 36:19) on the other that the Edomites conquered Seir and annihilated its previous inhabitants. Deut 1:44; 2:1 seems to presuppose Seir on both the W and the E side of Wādī al-ʿArabah (cf. Deut 2:3), a geographical extension due to Edom's penetration of the Negeb, and the subsequent establishment of Idumaea S of Judah from the late 7th century B.C. onward.

If "Edom" and "Seir" were originally distinct geographic units, the undoubtedly ancient text of Judg 5:4, which has Yahweh come from Edom and Seir to do battle for his people, already betrays a rather vague knowledge of the precise location of the "mountain of god" (Ahlström 1986:58–59; *HAIJ,* 111–12). Deut 33:2 ("Yahweh … dawned upon us from Seir") seems to be an evocation of various places connected with Yahweh's seat in different traditions which, in a geographic context, do not lead to a coherent itinerary. Egyptian topographical lists from the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. do, however, list a "country of *Yhw*-nomads" under the heading "country of Seir-nomads" (another possible translation would be "country of nomads: *Yhw*," "country of nomads: Seir"). The most ancient references, both biblical and extra-biblical, connect Yahweh and Seir, i.e., the region SE of Canaan (Knauf 1988a: 50–51; Görg 1989 *pace* Astour 1979, who tried to locate the nomads of *Yhw* and Seir in S Syria).

2. The name of a mountain in Judah (Josh 15:10). Because the geographical features (land formation, vegetation) which determine the majority of Semitic place-name formation are nearly ubiquitous in the Near East, place names also reoccur frequently. Because the mountain mentioned in Josh 15:10 is situated on the W slopes of the Judean range, it must have been heavily wooded in antiquity. This or a third Seir is mentioned in the Amarna letters (No. 288, line 26; Knauf 1988b: 64; cf., however, Görg 1989, who argues for the identity of the Amarna Seir with the Edomite Seir). Similarly, a Seirah was located in either Benjamin or Ephraim (Judg 3:26). See also SEIRAH.

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**SEIRAH** (PLACE) [Heb *śĕʿîrâ* (שְׂעִירָה)]. The name of either a city or a topographical feature to which the Benjaminite judge Ehud fled after he assassinated Eglon, the Moabite king and oppressor of Israel, in the vicinity of Gilgal (Judg 3:26). So far Seirah has not been located, and the name does not appear to be mentioned apart from this reference.

Simons believes that by analogy with *happĕsîlîm* ("the quarries" or "the idols" in Judg 3:19, 26) *haśśĕʿîrātâ* is best understood as a topographical feature with the meaning "the woody hills" (*GTTOT*, 288).

On the understanding that Seirah designates a specific place name, it has been variously located E of the river Jordan, in the Jordan Valley, at Mount Seir, or in the hill country of Ephraim. A location E of the Jordan seems questionable, as it is less likely that Ehud would have found his countrymen in the Transjordan region than in the hills of Ephraim. The identification of Seirah with Mount Seir on the boundary of Judah (Josh 15:10) is unlikely, as it would have been too distant for Ehud to rally the Israelites and return in time to thwart the retreat of the Moabite soldiers across the river Jordan (Judg 3:28–29). A location in the Jordan Valley would account for the rapid deployment of Israelite forces to the fords of the Jordan River, but the identification of Seirah with some place in the hill country of Ephraim is best supported by the context and especially v 27.
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**SELA** (PLACE) [Heb *selaʿ* (סֶלַע)]. The word occurs about 65 times in the MT, though not usually as a proper name. In six passages it does appear as a place name—2 Kgs 14:7; 2 Chr 25:12; Isa 16:1; 42:11; Jer 49:16; Obad 3; and Judg 1:36. The name means "rock."

**1.** An Edomite fortress city conquered by Amaziah King of Judah and renamed Joktheel (2 Kgs 14:7). Usually this city has been identified with the Nabatean rock-city of Petra (M.R. 192971) halfway between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Aqaba. Umm el-Bayyârah is the rocky peak that dominates the Wadī Mūsā on which Petra was built and towers 300 m above the level of Petra and 1,130 m above sea level. This may have led to the description of the Edomites as living "in the clefts of the rock" (Jer 49:16; Obad 3). However, another site has been proposed for Sela (see *IDBSup*, 800):the modern Selaʿ (M.R. 205020), which is 4 km NW of Buseira (biblical Bozrah). Excavations show that this site was a fortified city from the 9th to the 7th centuries B.C., whereas at Umm el-Bayyârah there are no remains earlier than the 7th century. It could be that both sites served as capitals of Edom at different times but with the same name. Isa 42:11 may refer to the same city.

**2.** An unidentified place on the Amorite border during the time of the judges (Judg 1:36). Apparently it was situated within Judah. This site is mentioned alongside the ascent of Akrabim (lit. "scorpions"), which lies to the SW end of the Dead Sea.

**3.** A place in Moab cited in Isaiah's prophecy against that nation (Isa 16:1). The site has not been identified. Some have proposed that this Sela is the same as that of Sela in Edom (#1 above) and that the Moabite fugitives fled there for refuge. However, the oracle is concerned only with Moab (Isa 15:1) and the fugitives fled S only as far as Zoar (15:5), S of the Dead Sea. Furthermore, references are made to Moab's borders, the "Brook of Willows" (15:7), which is identified with Wadī el-Ḥesā, and the "waters of Dibon" (15:9), which probably refers to the Arnon river. Petra lies yet 80 km farther S of Wadī el-Ḥesā and even farther from Dibon.

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**SELBIT** (M.R. 148141). See SHAALBIM.

**SELED** (PERSON) [Heb *seled* (סֶלֶד)]. A leader in the tribe of Judah, the firstborn son of Nadab without male issue (mentioned twice in 1 Chr 2:30), and a descendant of Jerahmeel through his wife Atarah. Seled is the brother of Appaim through whose line the Jerahmeelites are traced another 16 generations to Elishama (the apparent interest of the genealogy). Variant spellings of Seled are found in the LXX (B *alsalad* and *salad*), although many scholars consider those genealogies corrupt (especially codex Vaticanus). However, the genealogies of Jerahmeel in the MT are viewed by most contemporary commentators as being in good order. For further discussion of the provenance and authenticity of the genealogies in 1 Chronicles 2, see MAAZ.

Many commentators note the sense of loss apparent in the OT for the lack of male issue and conclude that aspects of immortality were perpetuated through one's descendants. The meaning of this name is very uncertain, although it appears to come from the root *sld,* possibly meaning "to spring" or "to beat the ground in running"; some suggest the meaning for Seled is "exultation."
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**SELEMIA** (PERSON) [Lat *Selemia*]. One of the five scribes whom Ezra was instructed to take with him in restoring the Scriptures (2 Esdr 14:24). See DABRIA for further discussion.
JIN HEE HAN

**SELEUCIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Seleukia* (Σελευκια)*; Seleukeia* (Σελευκεια)]. A name given to several cities established during the Hellenistic period. These cities are named after Seleucus I Nicator, one of the Diadochi who gained control of a large portion of Alexander the Great's empire and founded what is known as the Seleucid empire. As many as ten such cities have been identified within his domain. This article will discuss four of these which are of particular interest in biblical studies, including the Seleucia in Syria which is mentioned in 1 Macc 11:8 and Acts 13:4.

Other cities named Seleucia include those in the Anatolian districts of Pisidia, Pamphylia, Caria, and Phrygia. There were also other cities by this name, including one in the Orontes Valley and two others in Mesopotamia in addition to the more significant one on the Tigris. In Coele-Syria, the Decapolis cities of Abila and Gadara, although first mentioned in 217 B.C., have Seleucia added as a prefix in some inscriptions. The port city of Gaza also was given the dynastic name for a brief time while it was under Seleucid control.

The Seleucid state spanned an arc from the Persian Gulf across the Plain of Babylon to the Valley of Aleppo to the Mediterranean coast and up that coast to the Plain of Cilicia. The regions of Mesopotamia, Cilicia, and Syria formed the economic, strategic, and political nucleus of the empire. Seleucus I built important cities named after himself in each of these regions. The first of these to be established was in Mesopotamia.

1. Seleucia in Mesopotamia was founded by Seleucus Nicator in 312 B.C. as his E capital, replacing Babylon as the political and cultural center of Mesopotamia. It is variously known as Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, *Seleucia Babylonia, Seleucia Assyriae,* and *Seleucia Parthorum.* It was located on the W bank of the Tigris, at the Babylonian town of Opis, just N of the Royal Canal which provided access between the Tigris and Euphrates river systems (ca. 20 miles SE of modern Baghdad). Its strategic location on navigable waterways (Strabo 16.739) and on caravan routes to E Asia promoted trade and population growth. As the hub of the new Hellenistic culture in the region, its population was principally Greek and Syrian. Seleucus also built extensively in N Syria, but this did not mean the end of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris as a political and cultural center. It is true that N Syria became the unique center of Seleucid power in the second half of the 2d century B.C., but is a mistake to believe that the Seleucid empire had a single "capital" before that time. The empire had several capitals to house the royal administration, the army,

and the court. The central authority in the Seleucid empire was peripatetic, although the Seleucids recognized Babylonia as the heart of their empire.

Archaeological evidence indicates that Seleucid occupation of the site ended ca. 143 B.C. Even after the fall of the Seleucid empire the city continued to flourish. The new autonomous city was made up of a mixture of peoples including large Jewish and Greek populations. Pliny the Elder reports that in the 1st century A.D. there were 600,000 inhabitants (*HN* 6.122). The large numbers of Diaspora Jews in eastern cities like Seleucia in time became a concern for the Romans who desired to maintain control in the Levant.

Successive Parthian campaigns by Trajan, Avidius Cassius, and Septimius Severus during the 2d century A.D. devastated the city. Excavations from 1927–32 at Tell Umar, the site of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris, produced less spectacular results than might have been expected (see reports by Waterman 1931; 1933). Many of the architectural fragments appear to have been reused at the Parthian capital of Ctesiphon on the opposite bank of the Tigris.

2. Seleucia in Cilicia was founded by Seleucus I in 300 B.C. on the W bank of the Calycadmus River, 6 km from the Mediterranean coast. This city, also known as *Seleucia Tracheotis,* lay along a coastal highway as well as a route that penetrated deep into Anatolia. Its location suggests that the purpose of the city was to protect the region against attacks from the sea. It served in this capacity very well. It did not capitulate even though the rest of E Cilicia fell to Ptolemy III Euergetes in 245 B.C. during the Third Syrian War. This city was of regional cultural significance because it was the location of an oracle of Apollo, and annual athletic competitions. Architectural remains at the site include ruins of temples, porticoes, aqueducts, and a fortification on a nearby height. The site is located near modern Silifke.

3. Seleucia in Palestine was a Hellenistic city in Gaulanitis, what is known today as the Golan. The city eventually came into Jewish control under the leadership of Alexander Janneus (103–76 B.C.), who seized it from the Syrians (Josephus *Ant* 13.15.4). Under Roman control, Seleucia never regained her former importance. Josephus later fortified the site against the Romans during the First Jewish Revolt (*War* 2.20.6). Agrippa II, however, persuaded the city to come to terms with the Romans (*Life* 187, 358). Modern Seluqiyeh (M.R. 222267), 16 km NW of the Sea of Galilee, is believed to retain the ancient name of this Seleucia.

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**4.** Seleucia in Syria was the most important city founded by Seleucus I; it was also known as *Seleucia Pieria.* The name Seleucia honors Seleucus I as the founder of the city, while the name Pieria derives from Mt. Pierius, on whose S slope the city was built. Seleucia was one of four cities that Seleucus I built in N Syria. Apparently he considered it the most important of the four, since he named this one after himself. The three other cities were Antioch-on-the-Orontes (named for Seleucus' father), Laodicea-on-the-Sea (named for his mother), and Apamea (named after his wife). These four cities, known as the "Syrian Tetrapolis," became centers for propagating Hellenistic cultural ideals throughout the region. Coins minted in these cities called them "brother townships."

Although Seleucus I defeated Antigonus and so acquired hegemony over Syria for himself, he did not convert the latter's capital to his own use but built a new city, Seleucia Pieri, 4 miles N of the mouth of the river Orontes, in the N coastal region of Syria, at its frontier with Cilicia. It was 16 miles W of Antioch-on-the-Orontes and served as the seaport of that city. The southern slope of Mount Pierius, which rises 4,000 feet above the Mediterranean, was an ideal location for a fortified city. The city included three areas. The lower part of the city was the port and commercial center. Above the lower city to the NE were terraced cliffs that supported the residential area. At the summit of Mt. Pierius was the acropolis, where

the city's monumental public buildings were located. Surrounding the city on three sides were the cliffs of Mt. Pierius, which made Seleucia nearly invulnerable from land-based attacks. By 220 B.C. the population was 6,000 adult male citizens (Polybius *Histories* 5.61.1). This means that about a century after its founding the total population of the city—including women, children, and slaves—was approximately 30,000.

Seleucus' building program in Syria was evidence of his intention to orient his empire to the W and to press his claims on Palestine, which Ptolemy I Soter controlled. Although Antioch-on-the-Orontes eventually became the capital of the Seleucid empire, it is likely that Seleucus himself considered Seleucia more important. It was the first city he built following his victory over Antigonus at the battle of Ipsus in 301 B.C. He established a mint there and chose it as his burial place.

Seleucia's importance was not simply a matter of imperial vanity. Its location on the sea made it a communications and commercial center. Its acropolis was almost impregnable. The city's most serious disadvantage was that it was too far from the intersection of the major land routes that connected the Euphrates, Asia Minor, and central and S Syria. The need to control these land routes led to the emergence of Antioch-on-the-Orontes as the capital of the Seleucid empire after the death of Seleucus I.

Seleucia Pieria was the site of the tomb of Seleucus I. Antiochus I, his son and successor, deified his father by identifying him with Zeus. Antiochus built a temple in his father's honor called the Nicatorium. The city became the center of the private cult that honored Seleucus I.

Under Antiochus I Seleucia became a flourishing commercial center and formidable fortress protecting Antioch-on-the-Orontes. The commercial importance of the region encircled by the Syrian Tetrapolis goes back to the 3d millennium B.C., as attested by the discoveries at Ebla (Tell Mardikh). This region served to connect the Tigris with the Mediterranean and was at the axis of intersecting trade routes.

Seleucia also had strategic military importance. Seleucia and Ephesus were the two principal naval bases of the Seleucid empire. During the Third Syrian War, Seleucia Pieria fell to Ptolemy III. The Egyptians controlled the city from 245 to 219 B.C. Mastery of Seleucia Pieria was central to any military strategy that aimed to control the Seleucid empire. Dan 11:7–9 does not refer by name to the battle for Seleucia or the principals involved, but the text clearly refers to the events of Seleucia's capitulation to the Egyptian forces. The fortress of the "king of the north" that Dan 11:7 mentions is probably Seleucia.

Seleucia remained under Egyptian control until the reign of Antiochus III ("the Great"). He retook the city at the beginning of his war with Ptolemy IV Philopater. Antiochus III thus eliminated Ptolemaic presence in Seleucia just a few miles from his capital at Antioch. The Ptolemies made no serious effort to retake Seleucia since the city was too far from Egypt for them to exercise meaningful control over it. Also it made diplomatic sense for the Egyptians to end their provocative presence near the heart of the Seleucid domains.

This did not mean that the desire of the Ptolemies to control Syria-Palestine ended with their departure from Seleucia. This city was the key to political, military, and economic domination of the region. In the middle of the 2d century B.C. when the Egyptians wanted to retake Syria-Palestine from the Seleucids, they had to move against Seleucia. According to 1 Macc 11:8, Ptolemy VI Philometor succeeded in taking Seleucia and several other cities along the Mediterranean coast in 146 B.C. (1 Maccabees refers to the city as "Seleucia by the sea.") Later Ptolemy VI entered the Seleucid capital at Antioch and had himself proclaimed king of the Seleucid empire. Ptolemaic control continued until 138 B.C., when Antiochus VII Sidetes landed in force at Seleucia and there had himself proclaimed king.

Seleucia remained under Syrian control until the Roman period. Pompey granted Seleucia the status of a free city because it resisted the kings of Armenia and Pontus who challenged Roman hegemony in the ANE by invading Syria-Palestine. The anti-Roman coalition got as far as Jerusalem before Pompey defeated them and brought everything W of the Euphrates under the jurisdiction of Rome.

The role of Seleucia Pieria as a port is apparent from several references in the NT. In A.D. 49, Paul, Barnabas, and Mark sailed from Seleucia on the first Christian missionary journey (Acts 13:4). When the missionaries returned, Acts 14:26 says that they "sailed back to Antioch." Though the latter text does not mention Seleucia, it is probable that the three landed at the port from which they began their journey. It is

less likely that they continued sailing up the Orontes to Antioch. It is likewise probable that it was at the port of Seleucia that Paul and Silas parted company with Mark and Barnabas at the beginning of the second missionary journey (Acts 15:39–41).

Seleucia continued to have strategic importance throughout the Roman period. It was the home base of an imperial fleet in the 1st century A.D. so the Roman emperors maintained the port at Seleucia. This was a costly project since the area was not a natural harbor. Contemporaneous with the First Jewish Revolt against Rome in Palestine (A.D. 66–70), the Romans under Vespasian and Titus built a canal in solid rock to divert the waters from a mountain stream that caused regular flooding in the harbor area. At the beginning of the 4th century A.D., Roman soldiers who worked on deepening the harbor mutinied. Although the civilian population of Seleucia and Antioch helped put down the mutiny, the Roman authorities blamed the Christians for inciting the rebellion (Libanus *Antiochikos,* 158–62; Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 8.6.8). This became an excuse for a persecution of the city's Christian community. In A.D. 346 Constantius completed a new harbor to improve the movement of military supplies. This brought the city new economic prosperity. The port at Seleucia required regular maintenance. When the eclipse of its harbor took place in the Byzantine period, maintenance ceased, the harbor silted up, and it became a swamp, as it remains today.

The site of ancient Seleucia Pieria was excavated along with Antioch-on-the-Orontes between 1937 and 1939. The most impressive structure found on the acropolis was a large (36 by 19 m) Doric temple. Excavation of the upper city revealed Roman-period villas that were decorated with polychrome mosaic floors. Surrounding the lower city were ramparts made of polygonal Hellenistic ashlars. At the entrance of the lower tower there is a Hellenistic period monumental gate to the market area that was reused in the Roman period as a fortress. Little remains of the theater built in the Roman period. The most significant remains in the lower city is a Byzantine period cross-shaped martyrion with an adjoining choir and baptistery. Just N of the site 1,300 m of Vespasian's canal is visible. Also outside the lower city were several cemeteries with sarcophagi from the Roman period. The more modest tombs of Roman sailors occupy the area between the canal and the port.

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LESLIE J. HOPPE

**SELEUCIDS.** See SELEUCUS; PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (SELEUCID). See also ANTIOCHUS.

**SELEUCUS** (PERSON). Name of the founder of the line of Greek-speaking kings of Syria and adjacent areas after the death of Alexander the Great. Hence the line, which lasted more or less continuously from ca. 321 B.C. to 64 B.C., is known as the Seleucid dynasty, the rulers as the Seleucidae. It is of biblical interest because the kings' policies of Hellenization, while bringing them into conflict with the Jews (particularly during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, 175–164 B.C.), nevertheless prepared the ground in which Christianity was eventually to flourish, the city of Antioch among others being a Seleucid foundation. The Seleucid era, beginning 1 October 312 B.C. in Syria and on New Year's Day, 1 Nisan (=3 April) 311 B.C., in Babylonia, is also important for chronological purposes.

**1.** *Seleucus I Nicator* ("victor") (312/311–281 B.C.). Born ca. 358 B.C., son of the Macedonian Antiochus, a general of Philip. After distinguished service as one of the generals of Alexander the Great, he was made chiliarch (commander of 1000 men) under Perdiccas, protector of the kingdom, on the first division of Alexander's empire (323 B.C.). In the second division made after Perdiccas' murder (321 B.C.)

he became satrap of Babylon, but subsequent struggles among the Diadochi (successors to Alexander) saw him forced by Antigonus to flee to Egypt (316 B.C.). With Ptolemy's help (Dan 11:5 refers to Seleucus as "one of his princes"), he regained Babylon in 312 B.C. after Ptolemy's victory over Antigonus' forces at Gaza. He soon added Media and Susiana to his domains and between 311 and 306 B.C. continued to expand to the E, eventually reaching as far as NW India (his territories there were ceded to Chandragupta, ca. 304 B.C., in exchange for 500 elephants).

After the assassination of Alexander's sons (310–309 B.C.), the Diadochi declared themselves kings and Seleucus followed suit in 305 B.C. In 301 B.C., in alliance with Lysimachus, he defeated Antigonus at Ipsus and so gained control of Syria, much of Asia Minor and, more important, access to the Mediterranean. His policy now became oriented more to the west, with the establishment of Antioch (300 B.C.) as a new W capital (although Seleuceia, the E capital, was to remain important) and the foundation in Asia Minor of several other great cities designed to foster the spread of Hellenism. The Jews whom he settled in them were also granted citizen rights (Appian, *Syr.* 57; *Ant* 12.3.1 §119).

In 281 B.C. Seleucus consolidated his hold on Asia Minor by the defeat of Lysimachus at Corupedium. He was now poised to take over the Macedonian throne and thus reunify most of Alexander's empire, but en route to Europe he was murdered at Lysimacheia in Thrace by Ptolemy's exiled elder son, Ptolemy Ceraunus.

**2.** *Seleucus II Callinicus* ("glorious in victory") (246–225 B.C.). Born ca. 265 B.C., the oldest son of Antiochus II and Laodice. His reign saw a disintegration of the Seleucid empire that, despite his efforts, was reversed only under his son Antiochus the Great. Bactria and Parthia became independent, while in the W, Asia Minor was temporarily lost as a result of an invasion by Ptolemy III of Egypt in reprisal for Laodice's murder of his sister Berenice (Third Syrian [or Laodicean] War, 246–241 B.C.; Dan 11:7–9 alludes to this). Seleucus soon regained control of Antioch, but his attempts to recapture all the territory seized by Ptolemy in the E were further hampered by a rebellion in Asia Minor by his younger brother Antiochus Hierax, supported by Laodice. He died in 225 B.C. of a fall from his horse.

**3.** *Seleucus III Soter* ("savior") (225–223 B.C.). Elder son of Seleucus II, he attempted to recover Asia Minor but was murdered by conspirators while on campaign against Attalus I of Pergamum. He was succeeded by his brother Antiochus the Great; Dan 11:10 alludes to them ("his sons").

**4.** *Seleucus IV Philopator* ("father loving") (187–175 B.C.). Son of Antiochus the Great and co-ruler with him after the Romans defeated Antiochus at Magnesia in 190 B.C. The terms of the treaty of Apamea (188 B.C.) imposed by the Romans had not only prevented him from pursuing any Seleucid claims to Asia Minor W of the Taurus but had also imposed a huge indemnity. Seleucus had plans to pay this by confiscating the funds in the treasury of the High Temple, but his minister Heliodorus is said to have been prevented from entering the sanctuary by the monstrous apparition of a mounted rider (2 Macc 3:7–39; 5:18; there is also an allusion in Dan 11:20). After a comparatively peaceful reign Seleucus was murdered by Heliodorus in an unsuccessful coup d'état. He was succeeded by his younger brother Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

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**SEMACHIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *sĕmakyāhû* (סְמַכְיָהוּ)]. This name, which means "Yahweh has supported," occurs once in the OT. It also appears in a shortened form, *smky,* in the Elephantine correspondence (*CAP,* 49.1). (Compare also AHISAMACH.) Named as the sixth and last son of Shemaiah, firstborn of Obed-edom, Semachiah is listed among the gatekeepers at the temple in Jerusalem in 1 Chr 26:7. The list in which his name occurs (1 Chr 26:4–8) appears to be the contribution of a reviser

of the Chronicler's organization of the gatekeepers (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 169–70; Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 173).

J. S. ROGERS

**SEMANTICS.** The scientific study of the meaning of linguistic signs.

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A. Lexical Meaning of Words
B. Contextual Meaning of Words
C. Phrases and Sentences
D. Grammatical Categories
E. Ethnological and Sociological Categories

———

**A. Lexical Meaning of Words**

Although linguistic signs apply to all levels of language from morphemes and words to paragraphs and total discourses, it has long been assumed that semantics is primarily the study of the meaning of words. Earlier writings on semantics were even more restricted; they were concerned mainly with the historical development of words and their meanings. Within such a framework it was believed that *words* were the basic semantic elements, each having an inherent original meaning underlying all later developments. Words were thus said to have a "basic" or "real" meaning to be recognized for the proper understanding of an utterance. This approach to meaning, called etymology, was for many centuries the core of semantics. During the 20th century, however, etymology became restricted to the mere history of words and their change of meanings, while semantics emerged as the study of the relationship between meaning (defined as the content of what people intend to communicate) and the linguistic signs used to express such meanings.

This new perspective is based on the insight that "the meaning of a word" is not a statement about something a word "has" as a "possession," but merely that meaning is conveyed by *using* words as conventional linguistic signs to convey certain features of meaning. It further involves the implication that meaning is primary, words secondary. This shift in orientation from "word" ∍ "meaning" to "meaning" ∍ "word" had a significant implication for semantics in suggesting that the meaning of a word cannot be properly expressed merely by substituting another word. Therefore, *paradidōmi* in Greek does not "mean" *betray* in English, but is a Greek term denoting a meaning for which the English term *betray* can be used in certain contexts.

The relevant meaning for which *paradidōmi* is used in Greek comprises a set of semantic features, namely, (1) an interpersonal activity, (2) involving the handing over of someone (either of the in-group or the out-group) to an authority, (3) to deal with such a person according to will or jurisdiction, and (4) usually implying punishment. In English this same set of semantic features can be largely expressed by terms such as *betray, hand over, turn over to,* etc. The term *betray* will not signify an out-group person, while *hand over* or *turn over to* usually do not pertain to an in-group person though it could be used of such a person in certain contexts. *Betray* is semantically more marked than *hand over* or *turn over to. Betray* also involves a component of lack of loyalty which is not signified by *paradidōmi.* The meaning denoted by *paradidōmi* is closer in semantic space to that of *hand over* than to that of *betray.* Nevertheless, the English terms are close enough to be used to translate *paradidōmi* in particular contexts. They are not "meanings" of *paradidōmi;* they are "translational equivalents."

The semantics of words is based upon the fact that the position of a word in an utterance is restricted by its lexical environment. The meaning of *bank* in "go to the bank and cash this check" is different from *bank* in "bank more earth along the fence" or "you can bank on him to do the job" or "she banked the plane to avoid the tower." The same word may be used to signify quite different meanings.

On the contrary, one may use different words to communicate the same meaning. For "bank more earth" one may say "pile (up) more earth" or "heap (up) more earth." Though there may be some subtle difference in meaning between *pile, heap* and *bank,* it is a remarkable characteristic of language that

semantically there is much more in common between different words used to convey essentially the same meaning than between the so-called different meanings of a single word. This fact implies that words function within semantic "fields" or "domains."

In the domain of interpersonal activities involving helping and taking care of, the meaning "to assist someone in supplying what may be needed" (often rendered in English by "help") is conveyed in the Greek NT by *paristamai* (Rom 6:2), *antilambanomai* (Acts 20:35), *epilambanomai* (Heb 2:16), *antechomai* (1 Thess 5:14), *eparkeo* (1 Tim 5:10), *boētheo* (Mark 9:22) and *boētheia* (Heb 4:16), *sumballomai* (Acts 18:27) and *hupolambano* (3 John 8). Though many native speakers undoubtedly would have sensed some subtle contrastive features of meaning, even if these were only of a connotative type or pertained to different levels of formality (since absolute synonyms are not a regular feature of language), the use of *paristamai* in Rom 6:2 is so close in semantic space to the use of the other terms occurring for this same meaning that one can hardly, on the basis of our limited contexts and distance in historical and cultural space, determine any significant contrastive semantic features.

On the other hand, *paristamai* in Rom 6:2 differs considerably in semantic space from *paristamai* in John 19:26, "to stand near or alongside of someone" or in Acts 27:23, "to come to be present at a particular place." The etymological approach to semantics would have tried to find some underlying core connection between these meanings. Such a connection, however, is generally quite artificial and misleading in that it tends to emphasize issues that are very remote and even petty. In semantics it is not so much a matter of comparing the same words, but rather the same meanings. Exegetically this implies that the same word in different passages is no true guide for equating the contents of the passages. Rather, the same meaning expressed, even by different words, should be pursued, and those passages will have a shared semantic feature.

Though in some instances it seems difficult to define the difference in meaning between terms belonging to the same semantic domain, it is important to be alert to possible differences, since in many other instances a semantic domain will highlight the significant contrastive features. For example, in the domain of forgiveness, Greek can use *aphiēmi* for the meaning "to remove guilt resulting from wrongdoing," while *charizomai* denotes "to remove guilt resulting from wrongdoing," but on the basis of one's gracious attitude toward the guilty individual. In both instances one may translate by using English words such as *pardon, forgive, overlook, condone,* etc. Yet the Greek terms differ, not with respect to the difference in meaning of the English translational terms, but in at least one crucial component, namely, that *aphiēmi* is a generic term, while *charizomai* focuses on the attitude of the person doing the forgiving.

The type of semantic relationship exhibited by the foregoing examples may be called contiguous. They are similar in meaning, though they differ mainly in one crucial semantic feature. Other semantic domains may have a hierarchical relationship as in animal-mammal-canine-dog-poodle. Terms such as alienate/reconcile, lend/borrow, hot/cold, and old/young constitute complementary sets in which the semantic components are very similar though reverse in sequence or orientation. A fourth type of relationship involves overlapping in that the terms are maximally similar in meaning and can be used almost interchangeably, as in the set involving *paristamai* above. These differ only in subtle issues of usage or association.

**B. Contextual Meaning of Words**

What has been discussed above may be called the lexical meanings of words, that is, what a particular word in and of itself contributes to the understanding of an utterance. This type of meaning should be distinguished from a further level of meaning, namely, contextual meaning involving the reference, usage, and inference of lexical meanings in a context. The Hebrew term *bĕʿēr* means lexically a deep hole in the ground, such as a well or pit, but in Ps 69:16 it occurs in a figurative context, "let not the pit close its mouth over me," in which the reference is probably to the underworld. In Greek *skeuos* is a highly generic term for any kind of container, but in the context of Luke 8:16 the reference seems to be to a bowl or bucket, while in Acts 10:11 it is a sheet used as a container. Closely related is the difference between meaning and usage. The Hebrew *tôʿēbâ* means "something that is highly offensive, to the extent of being abominable." It may be used of various activities such as Egyptians eating with Hebrews (Gen 43:32),

homosexual relations (Lev 18:22), unclean animals (Deut 14:3), foreign gods (Deut 32:16), unaccepted customs (1 Kgs 14:24), etc. Yet, it still means "something abominable," the usages are merely examples of abominable entities or activities and are not part of either the lexical or the contextual meaning of the term. Usage is thus much more generic than reference. Yet another distinction should be made, namely, the difference between meaning and inference. In Jer 31:39, "the measuring line shall extend straight forward over the hill," the Heb word *neged* can be translated by "straight forward" or "straight ahead," though its lexical meaning is merely "a position in front of something." In Jer 31:39 the inference of a surveyor's line extending before a person is that it runs straight ahead. One should carefully avoid reading into a word's lexical meaning features derived from other items in a context. Contextual meaning, whether reference, usage, or inference, can be expressed in translating a passage, but not in defining the meaning of a word as such.

**C. Phrases and Sentences**

Semantics extends beyond the lexical and contextual meanings of words. Phrases and sentences also have multiple meanings and as such they comprise all the distinctions made with regard to the meaning of words. Paragraphs and even total discourses can exhibit similar distinctions. Phrases such as "the book of Moses" may be understood as "the book belonging to Moses" or "the book Moses wrote" or even "the book about Moses." The same phrase may thus have different meanings, and each meaning can be semantically expressed by other phrases or sentences, e.g., "Moses owns a book" or "the book which is in the possession of Moses" or "the book Moses has," etc. Phrases, sentences, paragraphs, etc., can also have reference, usage, and inference. Their meanings can also be defined componentially, but though a larger stretch of language is constituted by the combined data of its members, the meaning is not the sum total of the units. A sentence such as "it is going to rain" can, on the basis of its word level, be understood as meaning that water will fall from clouds onto the ground. Yet a person may pronounce such a sentence to communicate various other meanings in addition to what the word level signifies, e.g., "there will be no tennis today" or "the crops might be saved" or "shelter should be sought." These are inferential meanings of the above sentence, and they function as speech-acts to prompt behavior. The same applies to the meanings of paragraphs and larger discourses. Each level of linguistic structure adds its features to eventually communicate a specific notion.

What makes semantics so extremely complex is that each structure may allow multiple combinations. A sentence such as "I saw his children in Boston" may be interpreted as "I was in Boston and saw his children there" (linking "in Boston" more closely with "I saw") or "I was in Boston and saw his children who live there" (linking "in Boston" more closely with "his children"). Meaning, therefore, is also expressed by the structural arrangement of an utterance.

The syntax of a sentence may allow for different linkages. Some may be as overt as in the above sentence. Others may have a semantic structure that seems somewhat obscure. In Ps 48:2, "the mountain of his holiness," the term "holiness" is syntactically linked to "his," though semantically it pertains to "mountain," meaning "his holy mountain." In Acts 9:36 it is said of Tabitha that she was "full of good works." The term "full" is syntactically linked to "she," yet semantically it designates the quantity of her deeds—"she did many good works." Syntax and semantics are not necessarily related in a direct one-to-one correspondence.

As with words, sentences may not only have more than one meaning, but practically the same meaning may also be conveyed by a number of different sentences. Because sentences are more complex than words, the different sentence structures a speaker may use to communicate almost the same idea can be rather numerous. To reprimand a person, several stylistic choices may be employed, depending on the foci and the harshness of the reprimand. One might say "do not ever be late again," or "I see you tried to be on time," or "I am glad you could make it." The responses elicited by these utterances may be quite varied, depending on the context in which they are used. Yet from the practical context the receptor will know that primarily a reprimand is communicated. The multiple choices are essentially a matter of style.

The semantics of style is extremely varied and complex since it also relates to the communication functions of language, often termed expressive, informative, emotive, imperative, phatic, etc. A phatic

statement such as "how do you do" has meaning in the sense of communicating goodwill and acceptance to a certain extent, though its word-level meaning may be zero. One may say "do this" as a direct command, but the imperative function may also be expressed by "may I ask you to do this for me?"—a question used not to elicit information, but to give a command. Though the function may be the same, the meaning of the command can have quite different inferential semantic components, such as authoritarian versus cordial, or advice versus pleading. Informative speech may often use present tenses of the verb to foreground statements while narrative tenses are used to supply background information. These semantic features are quite subtle and depend largely on the wider discourse structure. Nevertheless, they have important semantic content.

Discourses are semantically arranged by the clustering of units into structural patterns. The theme may occur at the beginning and be explained by enlarging on the same topic. Or one may develop various aspects of a theme and then present the theme as a summary statement. It is also possible to combine these by having the theme in the center of a paragraph. What is important is not so much the types of structural patterns of a discourse, but the extent of its semantic unity in contrast with preceding and following thematic units. The relationships between the constituent units have considerable semantic implications for a receptor's understanding of a passage.

**D. Grammatical Categories**

Semantics also involves grammatical meaning, such as word order conventions which in some languages may mark the subject of a sentence, conventions of concord marking the immediate constituents in a sentence, or the use of coordination and subordination marking the relationship between nuclear structures. In a sentence such as "she did not respond; she remained silent" the two synonymous expressions are coordinated into one utterance for the sake of emphasis. Coordinate grammatical constructions may also involve different expressions to highlight the range of a discourse setting, to contrast, or to compare. Subordinate grammatical constructions are even more complex and, therefore, semantically more varied in their effect. In "there were many reports of how he has bribed the officials," the subordinate construction involves the content of the report. Likewise, one may have clauses of manner, setting, cause, reason, result, condition, or concession expressed by different subordinate constructions. All these relations are utilized by receptors to analyze and interpret an utterance, and to sense any important semantic implications.

Grammatical categories also involve a number of communication strategies, such as speech perspectives and registers (or levels) of language. One may view a past event from the perspective of its *occurrence* at a particular point in time, as in "Christ died for us," or from the perspective of what happened as a *state of affairs*, e.g., "Christ has died for us." Semantically such a state highlights the present reality of an event. The meaning of tense forms is often a matter of speech perspectives, but nominalization as a stylistic alternative may also focus on a state; for example, "his reputation is impeccable," nominalizes "what people have reported about him." Speech registers are likewise important strategies. Formal speech differs in many ways from casual speech. Frozen language, as in some legal documents or in religious ritual, may have little denotative content, but they contribute significantly to the solemnity of the occasion and as such can influence the understanding of the receptor by means of impact and appeal.

**E. Ethnological and Sociological Categories**

Semantics also involves ethnological and sociological concerns. People often tend to think of words or sentences wholly in terms of psychological entities, especially the relationship between the referent and the concept. An expression taken at face value may be interpreted quite differently within a particular ethnological and sociological framework. In Acts 14:8–18, where Paul and Barnabas were mistaken for gods, they "tore their clothes." The significance of this action was once misinterpreted by people from a particular culture as indicating that Paul and Barnabas were happy because they were regarded as gods; but in the cultural context of the text of Acts, Paul and Barnabas were expressing their utter indignation with the total misunderstanding of the people they were trying to preach to.

The ethnological and sociological framework within which language is used has a considerable impact on the semantic interpretation of an utterance in a given situation. Linguistic semantics cannot be studied

apart from the semiotics of cultures and customs. Therefore, though semantics is primarily concerned with linguistic signs, the interpretation of linguistic utterances cannot be disassociated from ethnological and sociological concerns. The same applies to psychological attitudes peculiar to particular individuals or cultures. Likewise, logical considerations play an important part in semantics insofar as they focus on the validity of propositions. An expression such as "this man is a woman" may be interpreted logically as a contradiction, while in a particular sociological context it may be understood as meaning "the person you are referring to as a man is in fact a woman," or in another context, "this man is very effeminate."

These issues are very important for the response of receptors to linguistic discourses. People generally understand utterances in terms of their personal presuppositions. A person's ideological beliefs, especially political or religious convictions, have a direct bearing on how language is interpreted. In fact, the mere words and sentences often contribute much less to people's final reaction to a stretch of language than do their presuppositions.

Semantics is essentially an interpretative procedure. Though one may say that semantics primarily has to do with the meaning of linguistic items, the interpretive acts performed by receptors assign meaning to an utterance in terms of an extremely complex network of interrelated features. Every use of language by someone has to do with meaning and understanding, and as such, semantics is perhaps the most crucial component of language.

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**SEMEIA SOURCE.** See SIGNS/SEMEIA SOURCE.

**SEMEIN** (PERSON) [Gk *Semein* (Σεμειν)]. The father of Mattathias and son of Josech, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:26). Codex D omits Semein, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 for Luke 3:23–31. Although there are names similar in form in the Hebrew Bible and the LXX (e.g., Exod 6:17: Heb *šmʿy,* Gk *semei;* 1 Chr 5:4: Heb *šmʿyh* and *šmʿy,* Gk *semei*), the only use of significance is in 1 Chr 3:19, where a Heb *šmʿy* and Gk *semei* is said to be the son of Pedaiah and brother of Zerubbabel. Kuhn (1923:212), however, claims that a number of the names in the list in 1 Chr 3:19ff. were transposed in transmission. Kuhn's proposal has not gained adherents, not least because it is questionable on other grounds how closely Luke follows 1 Chronicles (Jeremias 1969:295–96). Most scholars believe that reference to Semein as an ancestor of Jesus occurs nowhere else in biblical documents, including Matthew's

genealogy, and that he falls within a list of seventeen otherwise unknown descendants of David's son Nathan (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 500).

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**SEMITIC LANGUAGES.** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

**SEMITIC OSTRACA.** See OSTRACA, SEMITIC.

**SEMITICISMS IN THE NT.** A "semiticism" (or "semitism") in the NT is an aberration of language or style which suggests influence, direct or indirect, of Aramaic or Hebrew upon the Greek. The category includes elements of diction which (1) deviate from known Greek usage so as to conform with natural Aramaic or Hebrew idiom or style, or (2) though attested in Greek are relatively more frequent in the NT, possibly because they happen to coincide with normal Aramaic or Hebrew use.

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**A. Introduction**

The detection of semiticisms in the Greek (or Latin) texts of certain noncanonical works (e.g., *1 Enoch*) led scholars to posit Aramaic or Hebrew originals for them, and in a number of cases Semitic originals were subsequently discovered. The better a Greek translation of a Semitic original, the harder it will be to detect as such: only stray traces of the Semitic prehistory may remain. Translation need not be the only explanation of semiticisms: bilingualism would give many similar effects. Both possibilities must therefore be kept in view.

It has also been fashionable to look for another cause of NT semiticisms: imitation (conscious or unconscious) of the Greek style of the LXX. While this may have been a factor, it is of little explanatory help except where the semiticisms in question (1) reflect biblical Hebrew idioms, (2) occur with fair frequency in the LXX as we have it, and (3) are not allusions to some specific OT passage. (Septuagintisms in the gospel of Luke are discussed by Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB, 114–18.) A subtler variant of this explanation is that the NT author involved may have sought to impart realism to his work by making his characters speak the kind of Greek which his prospective readers might recognize as "Jewish." But that still means that the semiticisms need to be noticed as such. Such theories really relate to the manner of composition of a writer and tend to presuppose what they seek to prove. Interpretation of semiticisms should follow, not precede, their identification.

The essential problems of the semiticisms of the NT are thus how to isolate and identify them, and how to interpret them.

**B. Identification of Semiticisms**

**1. Linguistic Criteria.** The Hebrew and Aramaic texts from Qumran, Masada, Murabba‘at, and Naḥal Ḥever, along with coins and inscriptions, reveal that in the first two centuries C.E. (and probably earlier also) Aramaic, Greek, and two types of Hebrew (akin to classical and Mishnaic Hebrew respectively) were in use in Palestine. The vital role of Aramaic in the language and life of Jesus and his early followers appears from the various transliterated Aramaic words and sentences attributed to him or to the early

church in the NT, usually followed by a Greek translation or explanation. Examples include *Talitha koum (i)* (Mark 5:41), *ephphatha* (Mark 7:34), *abba* (Mark 14:36 = Rom 8:15, Gal 4:6), and *eloī eloī* (or: *ēli ēli* Matt) *lama sabachthan (e)i* (Mark 15:34, Matt 27:46 = *Tg. Ps* 22:1a). It is natural that Jesus should have uttered his cry of distress on the cross in his native language, and that he should have addressed the comatose daughter of Jairus in hers (Wilcox 1982:470, 476). Hebrew words also occur. Among these is *hosanna* (Mark 11:9, 10; Matt 21:9; John 12:13; *Did.* 10:6; cf. Ps 118:25), while *korban* (Mark 7:11) may be either. These tiny scraps of evidence give valuable clues to the type of Aramaic (and/or Hebrew) spoken by Jesus and his circle, but they do not mean that he or they spoke only Aramaic or only Hebrew.

The linguistic data thus favor the presumption that the influence of Aramaic (and/or Hebrew) upon Greek is reflected in at least some parts of the NT. This presumption will be all the stronger where the material or traditions in question appear to have emerged from circles in which Aramaic or Hebrew was the native language.

However, a particularly intractable problem is that of knowing just what was not grammatical in Greek. Many expressions once thought due to Aramaic or Hebrew influence have been traced in the nonliterary Greek papyri and other sources more or less contemporary with the NT. However, even if an apparent semiticism in the NT does happen to coincide with an expression attested in such Greek material, that does not mean that *in its NT context* the linguistic element involved is not a semiticism. In some cases the Greek of the papyri may have been affected by another local language, such as Aramaic or Coptic (Lefort 1928:152–60; *DBSup* 3:1353). But then some of the NT material or its basic tradition did in fact emerge from Aramaic- or Hebrew-speaking circles. However, where an apparent semiticism does turn up in the Greek papyri, it is probably wise to allow it no more than a supporting role in the argument, and then only where Semitic influence in the NT context is indicated on other grounds.

Next, the fact that Biblical Hebrew was in use in the NT period means that apparent "septuagintisms" must be examined carefully, for they may indeed be genuine cases of Hebrew influence after all. The use of the term "Heaven" in Luke 15:18, 21 as a substitute for the Divine Name can hardly be a septuagintism, while the language of Luke 1–2 has striking links with that of 4Q246 and related texts (Fitzmyer 1979:93). Expressions like *kai egeneto* (= Hebrew *wyhy*) and *en tō* with the infinitive are very frequent in the LXX; although basically Hebraisms, they may, in the NT, be septuagintisms. Whether, say, in Luke or Acts, they are due to the author's choice or were taken over ready made from earlier material is an open question. These doubts mean that such expressions should not be used as evidence of direct Semitic influence.

A serious problem is what in fact constitutes a septuagintism. Thus, appeal is sometimes made here to expressions of a Semitic type which appear only a few times in the LXX. Such cases may indeed be allusions to the OT, but if not, their very rarity makes it highly questionable whether they could have been used by an author to give a work a "biblical" atmosphere. If they are not due to reflection of underlying Semitic tradition or material, they may possibly have crept into the author's style or text from liturgical or other ecclesiastical sources (Wilcox 1965:65–86).

A suspected semiticism must of course be shown to be grammatical in Aramaic or Hebrew. But criteria must be established to determine (1) what kind of Aramaic or Hebrew is the source of the semiticism, and (b) how these languages can be distinguished from one another beneath the present Greek mask.

**2. Dialect Models for Aramaic and Hebrew.** Texts from which comparative data should be drawn ought ideally to meet certain conditions, namely:

1. They should be as close as possible to the NT in date and place (Fitzmyer and Harrington 1978:420)
2. They should be extensive enough to give statistically reassuring samples of the language
3. They should embody literary forms akin to those in the NT
4. They should be free compositions, not translations
5. They should reflect spoken forms of the language.

The material from Qumran, Masada, Murabba◦at, Naḥal Ḥever, and the contemporary epigraphic data may meet conditions (1), (2), and (4), and the apocalyptic texts may also help with cases like Mark 13 and Revelation. The Palestinian Targums, and parts of Talmud Yerushalmi and the Midrashic literature,

satisfy (2), (3), (4), and (5), but not (1). An examination of the linguistic affinities of the transliterated Aramaic words in the NT shows coherence with the 1st and 2d century C.E. Aramaic texts, and also a suprisingly high correlation with the language of the Palestinian Targums. Indeed, a check of the Aramaisms claimed by Matthew Black (1967) for the Gospels and Acts showed that in the majority of cases where the early texts could be used, their evidence supported the arguments he had built on Targumic Aramaic (Wilcox 1985:101; *ANRW* 2/25/2:988–1007).

**3. Aramaic or Hebrew?** Two main problems arise here. First, where Mishnaic Hebrew differs from biblical Hebrew, it is often very close to Aramaic, especially in syntax but also in vocabulary. Examples of this include: (1) absence of the "consecutive" verbal construction; (2) use of the participle to express the present (far commoner in Aramaic and Mishnaic Hebrew than in biblical Hebrew); (3) the periphrastic tenses, use of the verb "to be" with a participle to form frequentative and iterative meanings; (4) use of 3d person plural of a finite verb or plural of a participle to indicate an indefinite subject (that is, "they" do *x* = "one" does *x*); (5) the relative particle *š-* or Aramaic *d-*, *dy,* to introduce circumstantial, causal, and (with prepositions) temporal clauses; (6) the ethic dative with *l-;* (7) the "proleptic pronoun":use of a personal pronoun either in the nominative or, with a preposition, in the oblique cases to anticipate a following noun (*ANRW* 2/25/2:993). Second, there is now known to be a real possibility that biblical-type Hebrew may be involved. How are the two types of Hebrew to be distinguished? Aramaic can at times be distinguished from Hebrew (of either sort) through the presence of cognates in vocabulary: e.g., *ʿbd* in Hebrew is "to serve," in Aramaic "to do, make." But this raises the problem of supposed "mistranslations" as signs of semiticism. Of course, such "mistranslations" may in fact be due to bilingualism rather than to actual translation.

**C. Types of NT Semiticisms**

Apart from transliterated Aramaic and Hebrew, the following is a list of the more convincing examples of semiticisms in the NT.

**1. Lexical.** *alla = ei mē* or *ean mē,* "except." This use of *alla* has been traced in the Greek papyri (MM, 22), but in Mark 4:22, a saying of Jesus, may it not reflect an underlying *ʾlʾ* (Wellhausen 1911:16–17)? Now *ʾlʾ* "except" does not seem to be attested in early Palestinian sources, but it is common in Targumic Aramaic, Samaritan Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic and in Mishnaic Hebrew. Semitic influence seems probable, but whether Hebrew or Aramaic is an open question.

*anastēthi* epi tous podas sou, "stand up upon your feet" (Acts 14:10). 4 Kgdms 13:21 is the only case of this in the LXX and Acts 14:10 does not seem to allude to that passage. The Aramaic idiom occurs in a number of mss of the Palestinian Targums to Gen 38:26 (or 38:25, *Tg. Neof.*), as A. J. Wensinck saw (unpublished note). The Hebrew form (with *ʿmd*, not *qwm*) is found in 1QS 6:13 = "to stand up," as also in *Sipra* (Emor, 14:3).

*ginōskein* eis, "to be aware of." Luke 19:44 (D it$^{d}$) has the strange form *ouk egnōs eis kairon episkopēs sou*, "you did not know (of) the time of your visitation," where the usual text reads *ton*, not *eis.* Black (1967:115–16) looked to Aramaism; but the idiom he examined *(ydʿ b-)* occurs not only in 1QH frag. 1:3, 3:4, and 10:3 (?), but also in Mishnaic Hebrew with the meaning "to realize, know of, be aware of" (*m. B.Qam.* 10:8 "if its owners knew neither of its theft *[bgnybtw]* nor of its return *[bḥzyrtw]*"). It may thus be a Hebraism. The passage is in material peculiar to Luke.

*eklegesthai en,* "to choose from among." This construction in Acts 15:7 may reflect Aramaic *bḥr b-* (Torrey 1916:7, 22). The Greek construction does occur in the LXX some 11 times, but the idiomatic translation (without *en*) predominates by far. The Hebrew idiom occurs at Qumran (1QS 4:22, 10:12, etc.) and in Mishnaic Hebrew. The Greek may be explained as either an Aramaism or a Hebraism.

*einai/prostithenai epi to auto.* The Qumran texts provide several examples of the Hebrew expressions *lhywt lyḥd* "to be in the fellowship" (1QS 5:2, 6:23, 8:12), and *lhwsyp lyḥd* "to join the fellowship" (1QS 5:7, 8:19, CD 13:11, 16:14). This may well explain the difficult words of Acts 2:47, giving the meaning "the Lord was daily bringing into membership of the fellowship" (Wilcox 1965:93–100).

*heuresthēnai* eis, "to be found at." Wensinck saw this expression in Acts 8:40 as an Aramaism; cf. *y. Ma‹as. Š.* 5:2, Pal. Tg. Gen 28:1 (MS Paris BN hebr. 110):*w›skḥ bḥrn* (unpublished note; see Wilcox 1965:100). Both passages (interestingly) narrate a miraculous event.

*heuriskein,* "to be able." The use of Aramaic *›skḥ,* "to find" in the sense "to be able," was noted by Wensinck (see Black 1967:134) as a possible Semitic idiom behind the alternate replacement of the Greek verbs *dynasthai* and *ischyein/katischyein* with *heuriskein* in Codex Bezae (cf. Wellhausen 1911:17). Wensinck cited the Targumic Tosefta to Gen 4:7. Aram *›skḥ* also occurs in the meaning "to be able" in 1QapGen 21:13 (the ordinary meaning "to find" being attested in 1QapGen 21:19; Fitzmyer and Harrington 1978:423). Wellhausen and Wensinck are supported by Qumran Aramaic, and the Targumic data shown to be of greater value than sometimes held.

*idou* before expressions of time and number. The Greek evidence for this construction is somewhat late (papyri of the 4th–5th century C.E.), and there does not seem to be any Aramaic support for it. Connolly thought its use in Luke 13:16 due to Syriac influence (1936:378–81). The Mishnaic Hebrew use of *hry* "lo" before totals of numbers and times (especially, months, years, etc.) may be relevant: see *m. B. Bat.* 3:1, *m. Sanh.* 1:6.

*polis,* "province." Torrey's solution of the problem of Luke 1:39, where *eis polin Iouda,* "to the city of Judah," would make better sense as "to the province of Judah," hinged upon the double meaning possible for Hebrew *mdynh* (or Aramaic *mdyn›*) (1912:290–91). The Aramaic case is now supported by documentary material from the NT period, for example, 1QapGen 20:28, 22:4, 5, where the word means "province," and *Meg.* Ta‹an. 12, where it probably means "city" (*ANRW* 2/25/2:1014). Interpretation of the passage as a semiticism is opposed by Fitzmyer (*Luke I–IX* AB, 363).

**2. Syntactic. a. Verbal. (1) Participle as Simple Indicative.** In Aramaic and later Hebrew (especially Mishnaic) the participle frequently acts as a finite verb, especially in the present tense. 4QAmram$^{b}$ frag. 1:10 reads: "Lo, two were (lit: are) passing judgment (Aram *d›nyn*) on me and saying (Aram *›mryn*)." NT examples include Acts 10:19, *idou andres (duo) zētountes se* "lo, (two) men are looking for you," 14:3 (D), Rev 1:16; 6:5 (Wilcox 1965:122–23; *ANRW* 2/25/2:1016). The idiom does occur in the papyri occasionally, but in the NT it may be a semiticism; whether it calques Aramaic or Hebrew is not clear.

**(2) Periphrastic Tenses.** The use of the participle with the verb "to be" to represent a continuous aspect (especially the imperfect) is known in Greek, though the construction is not a major feature of Hellenistic Greek. It is found in Hebrew, but is quite usual in Aramaic, Syriac, and Mishnaic Hebrew, and is common in the texts from the NT period from the land of Israel. NT examples include Rev 1:18 "and lo! I am alive *(zōn eimi)* for evermore" (Beyer 1961:199).

**(3) Impersonal 3d Person Plural.** The 3d person plural active of a finite verb may be used in Hebrew and Aramaic to represent an indefinite subject or the passive voice. Wellhausen noted the impersonal plural as a NT semiticism (1911:18). Examples include: Mark 15:27: "and with him they crucify two robbers"; Acts 3:2: *hon etithoun* "whom they used to put" = "who used to be put"; Acts 19:19; and Rev 16:15: "lest he go naked and they see his shame" (i.e., "lest … his shame be seen").

**(4) Redundant Auxiliaries.** Aramaic and Syriac at times use certain verbs, for example, *qwm* ("to stand"), *nsb* ("to take"), *‹ny* ("to answer") and *sr›* ("to begin"), as auxiliaries. These verbs introduce the action of the main verb, or, in the case of *qwm,* add an existential predicate. The great difficulty in identifying this construction in the NT is determining whether any given instance is truly pleonastic (Black 1967:125–26).

**b. Substantival. (1) Pronouns. (a) The Resumptive Pronoun.** The use of a resumptive pronoun after a relative particle is very common in Aramaic and Hebrew (on the phenomenon in biblical Hebrew, Gross 1987; as a syntactic feature of Semitic languages, Khan 1984, 1988). Similar use of pronouns in the Greek of the NT may indicate the influence of Aramaic or Hebrew. The following may be cited as examples: Rev 3:8, "an opened door, which no-one can close *it* (Gk *autēn*)"; 7:22, "to the four angels, to whom it was given *to them* (Gk *autois*)."

**(b) The Ethic Dative.** In Aramaic and Syriac (but also in Hebrew) the preposition *l-* ("to, for") with pronominal suffixes is often used with the verb superfluously as an "ethic dative." The use may be

documented from 1QapGen 21:19 (*wtbt wʾtyt ly lbyty bšlm,* "and then I returned and came [for myself] to my house in peace"); it also occurs in the Palestinian Targums. Arnold Meyer (1896:124) and Black (1967:104) detected it in John 20:10, where *apēlthon … pros autous hoi mathētai* might represent an Aramaic *ʾzlw lhwn tlmydyy,* "the disciples went (them) away." See also Acts 14:2(D) (Wilcox 1965:132), Luke 10:11 (Joüon 1928:353).

**(2) Adjectives.** Aramaic and Hebrew typically use the positive (plus the preposition *min*) for the comparative and the superlative. In the NT, compare Matt 22:36, "Which is the *great* (i.e., the greatest) commandment …?"; John 1:15 (cf. 1:10), "He who comes after me is ranked ahead of me, because he was *prior* (lit. "first") to me."

Another variant of the matter may be the expression of the superlative by the positive followed by *en* (= Aramaic or Hebrew *b-*):Luke 1:42, "Blessed art thou among women *(en gynaixin)*" = "Most blessed are thou of women" (cf. Cant 6:1, *hyph bnšym* "most beautiful of [lit.: among] women").

**(3) Numerals.** In Mur 19 recto 1:10, the Aramaic idiom *lrbʿyn* "fourfold" occurs. There may be an interesting resemblance here with Mark 4:8, *en hekaton,* "one hundredfold," if the Aramaic preposition *l-* can be translated by Greek *en*. The form *eis hekaton,* found for example in Codex Sinaiticus and some other mss at this point, corresponds even better. However, if the Greek text of Mark be read with *hen,* "one," we must allow with Metzger that another Aramaic idiom for "x-fold" employing the noun *ḥd,* "one" (e.g., *ḥd šbʿa,* "sevenfold" [cf. Dan 3:20]), may underlie the Greek of Mark 4:8 (Metzger 1975:83).

**(4) Indefinite Article.** Use of Greek *heis, mia, hen,* "one," to represent an indefinite article in certain NT passages may reflect the corresponding Aramaic idiom attested, for example, in 4QTLevi ar[a] 2:18, *wmlʾk ḥd,* "and an angel"; Lam R. 1:51, *ʿbr ʿlwy ḥd ʿrby,* "an Arab passed by him." NT cases may be found in Rev 8:13, "and I heard an eagle (Gk *henos aetou*) flying in mid-heaven," and 19:17, "and I saw an angel *(hena aggelon)*." Moulton and Milligan (MM, 187) argue that such a use is found in the papyri, but it seems more likely here in the NT to be due to semiticism.

**c. Sentential. (1) Subordination.** Subordinate clauses introduced by the Aramaic particle *d-, dy,* or the Hebrew particle *š-* may be ambiguous sometimes, due to the range of meanings which these particles possess, which include:

(a) relative particle = "who" "which"
(b) conjunction introducing a statement of fact = "that" = Gk *hoti*
(c) conjunction = "in order that" = Gk *hina*
(d) marker introducing direct speech = Gk *hoti*
(e) "for" "because"
(f) possibly also "so that" = Greek *hōste* (Black 1967:70)

In addition, the Aramaic particle is used to express possession indirectly in a form which partly replaces the construct state.

Black noted an interesting example of possible confusion of meanings for *d-, dy,* in Mark 8:24, "I see the people, *hoti hōs dendra peripatountas:* because I see them as trees walking." Codex Bezae and some other mss omit *hoti* and *horō* ("I see," second use), reading simply "like trees, walking." W. C. Allen (*Mark* ICC, 330) saw an original Aramaic *d-* here, read as *hoti* ("that") instead of *hous* ("whom"):"whom I see like trees walking" (Black 1967:53–54).

**(2) Conditional Clauses.** Beyer (1961:271–78) documents complex Aramaic sentences in which the logical relationship "if … then" is expressed by simple coordination of two clauses with the conjunction *w,* "and." NT examples include Matt 11:17, "We piped for you *and* you did not dance, we wailed for you *and* you did not lament"; the implicit logical structure might be paraphrased, "If we pipe for you, you do not dance, if we wail for you, you do not lament" (Beyer 1961:280; see also John 7:4, 21; 9:30). The fact that Matt 11:17 is a saying of Jesus and in synonymous parallelism heightens the chance of its having been influenced by Aramaic (or Hebrew).

**(3) Indefiniteness.** Aramaic and Hebrew use *k (w)l* to express indefinite countable quantities ("all") or nonspecific selection from definite sets ("any"). The construction occurs especially in generalizing statements. Thus an Aramaic writ of divorce dated to 111 C.E. (Mur 19 ar recto 1:5–7) reads: "you are

authorized on your part to go and become a wife of *any/whatever (kwl)* Jewish man that you wish." Matt 19:3 [RSV] has: "Is it lawful to divorce one's wife for *any* cause?" The Greek *kata pasan aitian* means literally "for *every* cause," suggesting a semiticism.

**(4) Negation.** The negation of statements involving indefiniteness is sometimes accomplished in NT Greek by use of the negative particles *ou* or *mē* with the pronoun *pas* in the order *ou/mē ... pas* or *pas ... ou/mē.* Turner (1963:196–97) notes that extrabiblical examples of this construction are rare. It occurs in both Aramaic and Hebrew, thus: 1QapGen 11:17, "you may not eat blood at all" *(kwl dm lʾ tʾklwn);* 20:6, etc. See Matt 24:22; Mark 13:30; Luke 1:37; Acts 10:14; Rev 9:4; 18:22; 21:27; 22:3 (LXX Zech 14:11).

**(5) Focus.** A constituent noun phrase or clause may be moved so that it precedes the verb, and its expected position in the sentence may be occupied by a copy pronoun. This syntax, traditionally called *casus pendens,* is frequent in biblical Hebrew (Gross 1987) and in Semitic languages generally (see Khan 1988). Sentences in the Greek NT exhibiting focus construction may be semiticisms. Matt 5:40 (D) is a clear case: "He who wishes to sue you and take your tunic, leave to him *(autō)* your mantle."

Generalizing statements (see (3) above) may employ focus construction, copying an initial relative clause with a pronoun. Thus, John 6:39: "everything *(pan)* which he has given me, I have not lost any of it *(ex autou),* and I shall raise it *(auto)* up on the last day."

## D. Interpretation

Evaluation of the semiticisms in the NT, like much ancient historical and linguistic work, is very dependent on circumstantial evidence. The case for any given example will be strengthened if (1) it occurs in close contiguity with other suspected semiticisms, (2) its context is properly Jewish, and (3) its wider context also reflects knowledge of Jewish exegetical traditions. It may lead to a source theory, but must not presuppose one. Torrey's argument was tied to a documentary theory, which laid it open to needless question. The complex linguistic situation of the land of Israel in NT times requires other possible explanations, such as bilingualism, to be kept in view. Further, after form-criticism and redaction-criticism, not to mention common sense, a multiplicity of routes may have been taken by any piece of material which ended up in the text of the NT, and correspondingly, perhaps more than one different linguistic medium may have affected its transmission. Indeed, the very complexity of the apparent linguistic affinities of NT semiticisms coheres well with what is known from the contemporary Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek texts, and warns against easy solutions. Every case must be judged on its merits and against its contexts, immediate and wider alike.

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MAX WILCOX

**SENAAH** (PERSON) [Heb *sĕnāʾâ* (סְנָאָה)]. Name of a family of Babylonian exiles who are listed as returnees under the leadership of Zerubbabel and others (Ezra 2:35 = Neh 7:38 = 1 Esdr 5:23 [Gk *Sanaas*]). The presence of Senaah in a section with many geographical names (Ezra 2:21–35) raises the possibility that this family's name was derived from the place 8 miles NE of Jericho which was later known as Magdalsenna (*IB* 3:582). If the names Hasenaah (Neh 3:3) and Hassenuah (Neh 11:9; 1 Chr 9:7) are alternate forms of Senaah, it is better understood as a clan of Benjamin whose name was derived from a personal name. Because of the unusually large number associated with an otherwise unknown place or clan, some have suggested that Senaah is a collective term, perhaps derived from the verb "to hate," which refers to lower classes or to persons unattached to any clan in Judah and Benjamin. (See discussion in Batten, *Ezra and Nehemiah* ICC, 81, and Clines *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 53.) For further discussion concerning the list in Ezra 2, see AKKUB.
CHANEY R. BERGDALL

**SENATE** [Gk *gerousia* (γερουσια)]. In origin a council of nobles organized as an advisory body to the kings of the city-state of Rome, the Senate survived the monarchy to become the de facto ruling body of the Roman Republic. Under the Empire, the Senate largely reverted to its advisory role, though functioning at times as a high court and as an electoral aembly.

The Senate was originally comprised of the heads of the Roman *gentes* or clans, known as *patres* or fathers, along with other individuals appointed by the kings and known as *conscripti.* This small group of nobles functioned in religious and civil capacity as lifelong advisors to a monarch whose selection they proposed. Under the Republic the same advisory function was fulfilled in relation to annually elected consuls who had replaced the kings as heads of state. In the second century of the Republic, after a protracted political struggle, the normally tightly closed ranks of the senatorial patricians opened to admit a large influx of wealthy and talented plebeian families to form an expanded senatorial aristocracy which again closed ranks to protect its elite status as Rome's rulers (de Francisci 1959:546–96, 760–73; Palmer 1970:189–288).

By the era of Rome's conquest of the Mediterranean, the Senate was the single most important component of the government. Elected magistrates, themselves members of the Senate, though not compelled by law to do so, nevertheless always abided by senatorial recommendations or *senatus consulta,* formally enacted opinions of the house. Through this method of giving advice which was invariably taken, the Senate in effect ruled Rome and the empire; it had guided Rome to win by its setting of policy and through military leadership provided at its direction by individual senators. Senatorial leadership deteriorated in the last century B.C. as a result of political factionalism which resulted in civil war and the termination of senatorial governance of Italy and the provinces (Scullard 1959:1–9; Taylor

1949:1–75). The history of the Senate of the Roman Republic is long, and its procedures varied and complicated. The best brief treatment is Momigliano's (*OCD,* 973–74) and the most complete, though somewhat dated, is that of Willems (1878).

Under the Empire, the Senate reverted in large measure to its former role as advisory body to a powerful ruling monarch. As an assemblage its powers were curtailed and its prestige diminished. Individual senators if favored by the emperor continued to exert tremendous influence, however, and were full participants in the governance of empire as agents of its ruler. The Senate as a body retained direct governance of provinces where troop concentrations were unnecessary. New powers, none threatening to imperial rule, were bestowed by Augustus and other early emperors seeking senatorial service in the administration of the empire. Direct legislative authority, appellate judicial powers, and electoral authority for self-perpetuation were among the most important (Talbert 1984:341–491).

The RSV uses the word "senate" exclusively as a translation of Gk *gerousia,* and only with reference to the governing council in Jerusalem from the Hellenistic period on. This is true of both the Apocrypha (Jdt 4:8; 11:14; 15:8; 1 Macc 12:6; 2 Macc 1:10; 4:44; 11:27) and the NT, which has a single reference to "the senate of Israel" (Acts 5:21). See SANHEDRIN.

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**SENATOR** [Gk *gerōn* (γερων)]. The informal title by which members of the Roman Senate were addressed was senator; the technical term *patres et conscripti,* fathers and enrolled members, was the more formal mode of address for senators.

In the Senate of the ancient kings of Rome, membership was by royal appointment and was for life. Senators were the heads of Rome's clans, and addressed as *patres.* Additional members were appointed as *conscripti,* also for life-long terms. With the advent of the Republic, first consuls and then censors appointed members of the Senate. The monarchical practice of lifetime appointment was continued, and new members were regularly adlected from sons of senators. In this fashion membership in the Senate came to be a hereditary right. Moreover, from the Senate membership, state magistracies and priesthoods, military commands and other offices of distinction were filled. From 367 B.C. men from non-senatorial families, *novi homines,* had access to the Senate through election to state offices. Henceforth both election and adlection would stand as legitimate modes for attaining the rank of senator. Distinction between senators was based on elected office held. The highest ranking senators, and those with the greatest privilege within and without the Senate, were men who had served as consuls and were thereafter titled *consulares,* or consular senators. All senators were ranked by censors in an order of seniority based on the attainment of office. Adlected senators who had not yet held office were lowest in rank and known as *pedarii,* foot senators, because their only prerogative was to vote, accomplished by walking from one side of the chamber to the other. Under the emperors membership continued to be based on election to office which in imperial times was conducted by the senate itself, as well as by adlection through the individual appointment of the emperor who had assumed the powers of the censors. The senatorial class became in effect a court aristocracy without real power but privileged to honors and status. To control the action of senators imperial restrictions stipulated the travel, the service, the expenditure, the marriage and family activities of senators and family members (*OCD* 973–75; Gruen 1974:121–211; Talbert 1984:9–112).

In the RSV, the word "senator" is used once to translate Gk *gerōn* with reference to an Athenian senator (2 Macc 6:1), and in another passage is supplied to complete the implications of the verb *bouleuō* "deliberate" (1 Macc 8:15).

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**SENECA, EPISTLE OF.** See PAUL AND SENECA, EPISTLES OF.

**SENEH** (PLACE) [Heb *senneh* (סֶנֶּה)]. One of two crags at the pass of Michmash, which Jonathan crossed in defiance of the Philistine garrison located there (1 Sam 14:4). The pass is 7 miles NE of Jerusalem, along the Wadi es-Suweinit. The first crag, which v 5 places to the N, was named Bozez. Seneh is the second crag, on the S. The etymology of the name Seneh is uncertain; it may be from *šēn,* "tooth," which would relate to the crag itself, or from *snh,* "thorn bush," which implies the difficulty of crossing.
SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**SENIR** (PLACE) [Heb *śĕnîr* (שְׂנִיר)]. An alternative name applied to Mt. Hermon. Deut 3:8 locates the range of Israel's conquests in Transjordan between the Arnon Valley (Wadi Mujib at a mid-point on the Dead Sea) on the S and Mt. Hermon to the N. The latter is stated in a note (v 9) to be called Senir by the Amorites and Sirion by the Sidonians. Hermon and Senir are collocated also in Cant 4:8, where the lover is allured to come down from the "summit of Senir and Hermon" (cf. 1 Chr 5:23 concerning the land allocation of half of the Manasseh tribe). The Hebrew "and" in this verse should probably be read as explicative, "that is, i.e." (Baker 1980), indicating the identity between the two names rather than suggesting two different locations (Kallai *HGB,* 310).

In an oracle against Tyre, Ezekiel mentions the import of wood, more particularly fir, from Senir, as well as other woods from Bashan and Lebanon (27:5–6). Both of the latter are also located in N Transjordan. This designation appears less precise, and could be an example of synecdoche in which the whole (the entire Anti-Lebanon mountain range) is identified by one of its parts (Senir/Hermon).

Senir *(saniru)* is known from Akkadian sources dating from the 9th to the 7th centuries B.C. In Shalmaneser's 18th year (841 B.C.), he defeated Hazael of Damascus despite the latter's resorting to his fortress on Mt. Senir "facing the Lebanon" (*ANET,* 280). Sennacherib also associates Senir with Lebanon, calling it its entrance and in another text placing it at the S of the Anti-Lebanon range (see Parpola 1970:304).

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DAVID W. BAKER

**SENNACHERIB** (PERSON) [Heb *sanḥērîb* (סַנְחֵרִיב)]. The king of Assyria (704–681 B.C.) mentioned in connection with the invasion of Judah during the reign of Hezekiah (2 Kgs 18:13–19:37 = Isa 36–37; 2 Chr 32:1–23). In Assyrian the name is spelled *Sîn-aḫḫē-erība* and means "the god Sin has substituted the dead brothers." The name therefore tells us that Sennacherib was at least the third son to be born to his father Sargon II, but the first one to survive childhood. The reign of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) is described in more detail under MESOPOTAMIA, HISTORY OF (ASSYRIA). The biblical narratives about Sennacherib concern two major events, Sennacherib's invasion of Judah and Judah's involvement in a rebellion against Sennacherib led by Merodach-baladan of Babylonia.

**A. Sennacherib's Invasion of Judah**

The invasion of Judah by Sennacherib has been the subject of much debate among modern historians since the biblical narratives seem to describe the events rather differently from the Assyrian sources. In the Bible, the main narrative is found in 2 Kgs 18:13–19:37 and essentially the same narrative is found in Isaiah 36–37. In brief we read here that Hezekiah, king of Judah, was allied to Egypt, but when Sennacherib invaded Palestine and laid siege to Lachish, Hezekiah sent a valuable amount of treasure to Sennacherib at Lachish in an effort to buy off the Assyrian. Nevertheless, Sennacherib sent an army S under the leadership of his Tartan, his Rabsaris, and his Rabshakeh. Upon arrival the Rabshakeh

approached the walls and addressed a speech to the inhabitants of Jerusalem who were sitting on the walls. In this eloquent speech he attempted to persuade the citizens to turn against their own king Hezekiah and their ally Egypt and surrender the city to the Assyrians without a fight. He pointed out that other cities of Syria and Palestine had had no success in withstanding Assyrian might and the Egyptians had not lifted a finger to help them. He called Egypt a "broken reed" which pierced the hand which leaned upon it. Hezekiah sent out emissaries to negotiate with the Rabshakeh and in particular to try and persuade him to stop speaking to the men on the wall in "the language of Judah." They pleaded with the Rabshakeh to speak in Aramaic since they did not want the common citizens to understand what was being said. The Rabshakeh however refused. The officials returned to Hezekiah reporting that their mission had been unsuccessful. Hezekiah asked the prophet Isaiah for advice. Isaiah counselled him not to submit to the Assyrians and predicted that they would withdraw of their own accord.

In the meantime the Rabshakeh returned to Sennacherib, who was now besieging Libnah, to report. At the same time a second report came in to Sennacherib that an army led by Tirhakah of Ethiopia was marching against the Assyrians. Curiously nothing further is said about this invasion. In response to the report of the Rabshakeh, Sennacherib sent a second message to Hezekiah which was essentially the same as the first. Hezekiah again consulted Isaiah, and Isaiah gave the same advice, do not submit for the Assyrians will withdraw of their own accord. The biblical narrative then proceeds to say that the "angel of the lord" descended upon the Assyrian camp at night and slew 185,000 warriors. When the survivors woke in the morning and saw their dead comrades, they retreated quickly to Assyria. The narrative concludes with a statement that Sennacherib was assassinated in Nineveh while worshiping in the temple of his god Nisroch. The assassins were two of his sons called Adram-melech and Sharezer, who subsequently fled to "the land of Ararat" (Urartu). Another son of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, then ascended the throne in Nineveh.

The narrative in 2 Chr 32:1–23 is much shorter but similar to that of 2 Kings and Isaiah already summarized. The version of 2 Chronicles has one extra interesting piece of information, however. It describes how Hezekiah prepared for an Assyrian siege by building fortifications and arming his troops.

**B. Judah and Merodach-baladan**

The second major event in the Bible concerning the relations between Hezekiah and Sennacherib is described in 2 Kgs 20:12–19; 2 Chr 32:31; Isaiah 39. Once again the fullest version of the events is found in 2 Kings and Isaiah; only a brief summary is given in 2 Chronicles. In these passages we read that ambassadors were sent from Merodach-baladan of Babylonia to Hezekiah. Hezekiah received them cordially and showed them over his palace and treasury. Isaiah castigated Hezekiah for receiving them and predicted that in the future Babylonia would conquer Jerusalem.

To understand these two major events in the context of Assyrian affairs it is necessary to look at the Assyrian sources. From consideration of these it is reasonably certain that Merodach-baladan's ambassadors were sent to Jerusalem early in the reign of Sennacherib. From Assyrian sources it is known that Merodach-baladan led a major alliance against Sennacherib when the latter first came to the throne. This alliance consisted of Chaldeans, Aramaeans, and Elamites. If one dates the Babylonian embassy to Hezekiah to this time, it indicates that Merodach-baladan attempted, perhaps successfully in view of Hezekiah's attitude, to persuade the kingdom of Judah to join in the alliance against Assyria. This would certainly account for Sennacherib's later aggressive action against Hezekiah. The anti-Assyrian alliance was, after many years of fighting, finally defeated and Merodach-baladan eventually disappeared.

Sennacherib's invasion of the kingdom of Judah, as stated earlier, presents problems to modern historians since the Assyrian records and the biblical narratives do not seem to be very close in detail. Both concern an invasion of Palestine by Sennacherib during the reign of Hezekiah and both mention an Assyrian siege of Jerusalem but apart from these essentials they have little in common. According to Sennacherib's annals (*ANET*, 287–88), this king directed his third campaign (701 B.C.) against Syria. After Sidon and Ashkelon were taken by force a large number of other cities and states submitted without a fight and paid tribute. However, the people of Ekron (Amqarruna) were afraid of the Assyrians since they had sent their former king, an Assyrian vassal, as a prisoner to Hezekiah at Jerusalem. Egypt and

Ethiopia now came to the aid of Ekron. The allied forces met the Assyrians at Eltekeh and the Assyrians claimed a victory. The king of Ekron was released by Hezekiah but nevertheless Sennacherib laid siege to Jerusalem. During the siege various surrounding towns were plundered.

Surprisingly, the Assyrian records do not tell us the result of the siege but simply go on to say that Hezekiah sent a large amount of booty to Sennacherib at Nineveh. This concludes the relevant narrative for the campaign of 701 B.C. The only other pertinent Assyrian information is the portrayal of the sack of Lachish on sculptured reliefs found at Nineveh (and now in the British Museum), which is undated, and a broken text in which reference is made to the capture of the Palestinian town Azekah.

**C. Historical Reconstruction**

It seems that the biblical and Assyrian narratives are so different that they represent two different events. The first was the campaign of 701 B.C. and the second probably took place late in the reign (688–681 B.C.), a period for which no Assyrian annals are preserved. Sennacherib's first Palestinian campaign could have taken place more or less as he described it in his annals. The siege of Jerusalem came to an end when Hezekiah paid a huge tribute to Sennacherib (see 2 Kgs 18:14–16). In subsequent years, Hezekiah, encouraged by the absence of the Assyrian army, must have allied himself to Egypt. At the same time he took the precaution of fortifying Jerusalem to face a siege as narrated in 2 Chronicles. Sennacherib, late in his reign after he had dealt with other problems, was in a position to deal with Hezekiah. Thus, he probably led a second campaign into Palestine which involved among other things the siege of Lachish. It was possibly on this occasion that the Rabshakeh made his vain efforts to persuade Hezekiah to give up without a fight. Tirhakah led an Egypto-Ethiopian force into Palestine to raise the siege. Before the two armies met however a catastrophe befell the Assyrian camp and Sennacherib retreated in haste (cf. Herodotus 2.141). This is a hypothetical reconstruction of the events but it accepts the biblical narrative as essentially accurate while at the same time reconciling it with the Assyrian records. See also Cogan and Tadmor *2 Kings* AB; *CAH* 3/2/23.

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**SENTENCES OF SEXTUS.** See SEXTUS, SENTENCES OF (NHC XII,*1*).

**SEORIM** (PERSON) [Heb *śĕʿōrîm* (שְׂעֹרִים)]. Head of a priestly family appointed to service by David according to 1 Chr 24:8. Aside from this mention, nothing is known of Seorim. In 1 Chr 24:1–19 twenty-four families of priests are chosen by lot for temple service. They were chosen from the descendants of the sons of Aaron, Ithamar and Eleazar. According to the passage, David was assisted by representatives of the family lines. One of these was the priest, Zadok. The other was Abiathar. The lots were chosen without discrimination, however, Zadok's lineage (Eleazar) contained more heads of families. For this reason, sixteen of the families came from Zadok's side and only eight from Abiathar's. Seorim was elected to the fourth course. Priestly duties rotated among the families according to the order of election.

DONALD K. BERRY

**SEPHAR** (PLACE) [Heb *sĕpār* (סְפָר)]. One of the boundaries, described as the mountain or hill country of the E, to which the territory of the sons of Joktan extended (Gen 10:30). The other boundary, Mesha, is usually located somewhere in N Arabia. Because of similarities between the names of most of Joktan's progeny and the names of many towns and regions in S Arabia, a location for Sephar in that area has been sought. Two places bearing the name Zafar, one, the site of the Himyarite capital near Sana in the interior of Yemen, the other, in the Hadramaut on the coast near Shihr, have been proposed. While some scholars are dubious about either equation because of the discrepancy in the initial sibilants of the Arabic and Hebrew names, others have felt that the appropriateness of the equation outweighs that discrepancy. Cohen (*IDB* 4:272) has noted that in post-biblical Hebrew *sĕpār* has the meaning "border country" and suggests that perhaps the phrase in Genesis does not refer to a locality but could better be

rendered as: "as far as the border country, that is, the hill country of the east." Without a firm location for Mesha or additional evidence, no conclusive identification is possible.
GARY H. OLLER

**SEPHARAD** (PLACE) [Heb *sĕpārēd* (סְפָרַד)]. The place where some inhabitants of Jerusalem were exiled (Obad 20). The biblical text gives no indication of the location of Sepharad, but at least three possible locations have been suggested: a city in Spain, possibly Sefarad; a city located in Media; and the city Sardis, located in Lydia of Asia Minor.

The least plausible suggestion originates from the *Targum of Jonathan* which placed Sepharad in Spain. Neiman (1963) suggests that there were at least two cities with the name Sepharad: one designated Sardis in Asia Minor and one called Sefarad in Spain. Jewish tradition preserves the name by calling the Jews from Spain (Sepharad) the "Sephardim" and thereby distinguishing them from the Ashkenazim Jews of Central Europe.

The second possibility comes from several Assyrian inscriptions which record a city named Saparda. One locates this city to the E of Assyria in Media. This location has been determined from a mention of Saparda in the Assyrian annals which record the campaign of Sargon II along the Lower Zab. Other Mesopotamian inscriptions, however, indicate that Saparda was located in Asia Minor. Saparda is mentioned as an ally of the Cimmerians, Medes, and the Minni in their attack on Assyria during the reign of Esarhaddon. This would then locate Saparda, if it is near its allies, to the NW of Assyria. More evidence of a possible Asia Minor location comes from the Behistun inscription which notes that Saparda is between Egypt and Ionia. While another inscription from the same period found at Naksh-i-Rustam, locates it between Cappadocia and Ionia.

The location of Sepharad is also identified with the capital city of Lydia, Sardis, which is located in Asia Minor and is near the modern village of Sart in Turkey (38°28´N; 28°02´E). An Aramaic-Lydian inscription was found at Sardis which preserves the Aramaic name of the city as the same four letters, *sprd,* as the text of Obadiah 20. The date of the inscription is debated (455, 394, or 349 B.C.), but it certainly attests that Sardis is a good candidate for Sepharad. Some have argued that Sardis was too distant to be a possible location of an early Jewish settlement. The city was, however, an important center of trade which would have far reaching contacts. If Sardis is Sepharad it would certainly indicate an early settlement of Jews in Asia Minor. Archaeological evidence at Sardis demonstrates a significant Jewish population in the 2d century A.D. as attested by a large synagogue.

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**SEPHARVAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *sĕparwayim* (סְפַרְוַיִם)]. Sepharvites. One of the places from which the Assyrians, perhaps under Sargon II (722–705 B.C.E.), brought settlers to the cities of Samaria according to 2 Kgs 17:24. The taunting messages from Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.E.), king of Assyria, to the people of Jerusalem in 2 Kgs 18:34 (= Isa 36:19) and 2 Kgs 19:13 (= Isa 37:13) emphasize that the gods and the king of Sepharvaim were unable to resist the Assyrian onslaught.

Albright (*ARI,* 220), among others, located it at Sabarain, a city conquered (ca. 722 B.C.E.) by Shalmaneser V according to the Babylonian Chronicle 1:28 (TCS 5:73). However, Tadmor (cf. Cogan and Tadmor *2 Kings* AB, 199) argues that this place should be transcribed as *šamara›in,* and is to be identified with Samaria. Citing the dual ending on Sepharvaim, Driver (1958:18*) proposed identification with Sippar, an ancient Mesopotamian city (modern Abu Habbah some 20 miles SW of Baghdad, Iraq) which apparently consisted of two towns. The fact that Sippar did not have a king during the Assyrian period and other difficulties militate against Driver's suggestion. Zadok (1976:115) argues for identification with Sipraani, the Chaldean name of a city mentioned in the Murashu documents (5th century B.C.E.) from Nippur in S Mesopotamia, but more data is needed to render this conclusive. Identification with Sepharad by Astour (*IDBSup,* 807) has met with little acceptance. Albright (*ARI,* 220)

and other scholars view the Sibraim mentioned in Ezek 47:16 as a variant spelling of Sepharvaim, while others (e.g., Zadok 1976:116) argue that these were two distinct places.

A related problem is the identification of the gods worshiped by the Sepharvites. According to 2 Kgs 17:31, the people of Sepharvaim worshiped Adrammelech and Anammelech by burning children. Following A. Ungnad, Deller (1965) made the strongest case for equating Adrammelech with Adad-milki, a deity associated with the burning of children in texts from, among other places, Tell Halaf, an ancient town near the Turkish-Syrian border. However, Kaufman (1978) argues that the cuneiform signs read as *Adad-milki* may also have other interpretations. Anammelech has been identified with the enigmatic Anat-melek by some scholars (e.g., Weinfeld 1972:149), and with An (u), the Mesopotamian sky-god, by others (e.g., Cogan and Tadmor *2 Kings* AB, 212).

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**SEPPHORIS** (M.R. 176239). Sepphoris was one of the leading cities of Lower Galilee from the early Roman period. Yet much of its history extended back into the OT period. It lay scarcely 4 miles NW of Nazareth on a high hill in a mountainous plain at an elevation of 286 m above sea level. The territory of Sepphoris extended 10 miles NW to the territory of Acco-Ptolemais and 9 miles SE to Mt. Tabor, which suggests that Nazareth belonged to the territory of Sepphoris.

The rabbis believed that Sepphoris was founded by Joshua the son of Nun, and some identified Sepphoris as biblical Kitron (Judg 1:30) or even Rakkath (Josh 19:35; *b. Meg.* 6a). The name of the city means "bird," and one rabbi explained that it got its name because it perched on a hill like a bird (*b. Meg.* 6a).

Pottery sherds of the Iron Age II and perhaps earlier appear on the surface at Sepphoris. A beautifully molded rhyton or drinking vessel of the Persian period found at Sepphoris may hint at the importance of the city during that period. The priestly family of Amok may have settled there after the return from the Exile (Neh 12:7 and 20; *Mishmaroth* 2). Scant remains of the Hellenistic period are known, but the city clearly reached its peak beginning in the Early Roman period.

Sepphoris entered recorded history for the first time in 103 B.C.E. Ptolemy Lathyrus, the King of Cyprus, was at war with King Alexander Jannaeus of Israel. Ptolemy besieged Acco-Ptolemais, then successfully besieged Asochis hardly 5 miles from Sepphoris. He then besieged Sepphoris itself on a Sabbath, but with no success (*Ant* 13.12.5).

If Sepphoris was already a secure, walled city at this period, then it was likely Greek in character, as was Ptolemais, Shikmona, Dora, Strato's Tower, Joppa, Azotus (Ashdod), and other coastal cities. Since Ptolemy besieged Sepphoris on the Sabbath in order to gain advantage, it is likely that it had a large Jewish population.

There is no historical information about the city at the coming of Rome in 63 B.C.E. However in 55 B.C.E. Gabinius, Proconsul in Syria, recognized the strategic importance of Sepphoris and located one of the five Roman Synedria or Councils there, and the only one for Galilee (*Ant* 15.5.4 §91; *JW* 1.8.5 §170). During the winter of 39/38 B.C.E., Herod the Great took Sepphoris during a snowstorm immediately after Antigonus abandoned it (*Ant* 14.15.4; *JW* 1.16.2). Herod retained the city as his N headquarters for the remainder of his reign.

Judah the son of Hezekiah led the Sepphoreans in revolt immediately upon the death of Herod the Great in 4 B.C.E. The Roman governor of Syria, Varus, responded swiftly. He dispatched to Sepphoris a portion of his legions and auxiliary troops under his son and under Caius, a friend, while Varus marched on to Sebaste. His legions sacked Sepphoris, reduced the city to ashes, and sold its inhabitants as slaves (*Ant* 17.10.9; *JW* 2.5.1).

Herod Antipas, son of Herod the Great by the Samaritan wife Malthace, inherited Galilee and Perea (Transjordan) at the death of his father. Antipas immediately set to work to rebuild Sepphoris and its wall, employing craftsmen from villages all over Galilee. It was Sepphoris that Josephus called the "ornament of all Galilee" and "the strongest city in Galilee" (*JW* 2.511; *Ant* 18.27). Evidently it surpassed Tiberias and Julias in beauty and opulence (*Ant* 18.2.1). Antipas probably granted Sepphoris the rank of capital of Galilee (*Ant* 18.2.1).

The works of Herod Antipas at Sepphoris included a theatre that seated 3000, a palace, and an upper and lower city with an upper and lower market. The upper city was predominantly Jewish by the time of the Second Revolt and likely earlier (*b. Yoma* 11a). There was also an "old fort" (*m. ʿArak.* 9.6), which was under the command of a hyparch. There was an archive (*m. Qidd.* 4.6), and certain archives were brought from Tiberias to Sepphoris in the days of Nero (*Life* 38). The Romans later replaced the "old archives" with the "new archives." Excavations at Sepphoris show that workmen quarried stone on the site itself for Antipas' rebuilding of the city.

Other information about the appearance of this Roman city of mixed population comes from the rabbis. They knew the upper and lower market (*b. ʿErub.* 5b), a fortified upper city, a colonnaded street in the middle of the city (*j. Ketub.* 1.25d), a city wall that required repairs from time to time (*b. B. Bat.* 7b–8a), a city gate (*Eccl. Rab.* 3), many shops (*Bar.* B. Bat. 75a), inns, synagogues, schools or academies (*j. Peʾa* 20b, 27–31), private dwellings with upper stories and sometimes with a Roman-style dining room (*Lev. Rab.* c.16.2), and "the wheels of Sepphoris," evidently referring to water wheels that lifted water to the upper city (*Eccl. Rab.* 12.6). There was a flowing spring below the city (*m. Ketub.* 1.10). The territory of Sepphoris extended 16 miles in every direction, according to the rabbis, and flowed with milk and honey (*b. Ketub.* 111b, *b. Meg.* 6a). Water ran down to the city on two aqueducts from springs at Abel 3 miles to the E (*m. ʿErub.* 8.7). The road from Tiberias to Sepphoris was marked by stadia with castra and a "Syrian monument" (*j. ʿErub.* 6.31b).

The destruction of Sepphoris by Varus and its rebuilding by Antipas seems to mark its transition from a Greek city to a loyalist Roman city of Jewish and gentile population. Certainly the rabbis referred to the "old government" of Sepphoris (*m. Qidd.* 4.5), which suggests they remembered the change. After this period many Latin and Greek names appear in the record, including the names of Jews (*Sipre* Dt. 13; *Mid.* Tannaim 7.2; *t. Bab. Metzia* 3.11).

Pharisaic families are scarcely mentioned in the 1st century in Sepphoris. Instead we find references to those with some sort of priestly connection. Sepphoris was therefore likely a priestly or Sadducean city. For example, Jose ben Illem of Sepphoris served as substitute for the High Priest Matthias in Jerusalem on the Day of Atonement, and Arsela of Sepphoris led the scapegoat from the temple into the desert on the Day of Atonement (*m. Yoma* 6.5; *j. Ber.* 3.6b; *t. Taʿan.* 1 end; *j. Yoma* 6.43c; *j. Maʿas. Š.* 5.56a). In this regard it is important that, after 70 C.E. and the destruction of the Second Temple, the second priestly course of Jedʿaiah settled at Sepphoris (*Mishmaroth* 2).

R. Halaphta was a city official and religious leader in Sepphoris during the second half of the 1st century C.E. (*b. Taʿan.* 16b). The beginnings of Pharisaic Judaism at Sepphoris lie in the meeting of R. Halaphta, R. Eleasar ben 'Asaria the smith, R. Huspith the interpreter, R. Jeshebab, and R. Johanan ben Nuri. They met in the smith's shop to decide a religious question (*t. Kelim B. Bat.* 2.2).

Sepphoris did not figure directly in the ministry of Jesus, though it is worth noting that one logical route from Nazareth to Cana of Galilee ran through Sepphoris.

In the course of the devastating First Revolt against Rome, Sepphoris, a Jewish city, remained mainly pro-Roman. Even when the temple was in danger, the Sepphoreans refused to send aid (*Life* 65). The Sepphoreans met the Roman commander Vespasian at Ptolemais and petitioned him for help against their countrymen, who resented it that the city had already made peace with Cestius Gallus and received a Roman garrison (*JW* 3.2.3). Vespasian responded willingly, supplying the city with one thousand cavalry and six thousand infantrymen under Placidius the Tribune (*JW* 3.4.1). These forces successfully withstood an attack of Josephus himself (*JW* 3.4.1). The city responded by depicting Vespasian on one of their coins in the 14th year of Nero (or 68 C.E.), the year before Vespasian was proclaimed emperor. The pro-Roman

attitude of the city also helps explain the special titles for Sepphoris on the same coins. The full inscription reads "In the time of Vespasian, City of Peace, Neronia, Sepphor[is]." That is, the city was named for Nero (a name which did not stick) and was granted a peace title, while the city specifically honored Vespasian.

Hadrian visited Palestine in 130 C.E. In preparation for the *adventus Augusti*, the road from Legio to Sepphoris was built, though there is no record that he visited Sepphoris. There is also very little notice of the city during the Second Revolt of 135 C.E. However, it is said that R. Johanan ben Nuri read the Esther scroll at Purim at night "in the time of danger." (*t. Meg.* 2.4). R. Eleasar ben Perata of Sepphoris was sentenced to death, but escaped punishment through his clever answers (*Midr.* Tanhuma, mis›ai 23). During the Bar Kokhba Revolt every house in the Upper Market was examined for a *mezuzah* on the doorpost. If found, the owners were fined 1000 denarii (*b. Yoma* 11a).

The religious and political complexion of Sepphoris changed after the Second Revolt. Although the *boule* or council of Sepphoris had received permission from Trajan to mint coins before 117–118 C.E. (Sepphoris coin inscription: "Trajan Gave Authority"), no Sepphorean coins of the period of Hadrian are known. Hadrian may have denied Sepphoris the right to mint coins as punishment for the Second Revolt, simply holding responsible one of the largest Jewish cities in the province. When the right to mint coins resumed under Antoninus Pius, the city was known by its new, Roman name, Diocaesarea (the "Divine Caesar").

The 2d century saw the rise of the rabbis at Sepphoris/Diocaesarea. These sages perpetuated and participated in the reconstruction of Pharisaic attitudes and ideals. R. Jose bar Halaphta was a leather-worker and leading Tanna› of the third generation, active from around 120 C.E., and teacher of Judah I. He is the chief authority for the accepted Jewish chronology as fixed in *Seder Olam Rabba.* R. Jose reported that the priestly courses mourned during the week in which they were supposed to serve in the temple (*t. Ta‹an.* 2.3). The names of nineteen other rabbis in Sepphoris/Diocaesarea are known in the 2d century as the city came into its own as a great Jewish intellectual center.

It is also in the second half of the century that we have the first encounters between the rabbis and Jewish Christians at Sepphoris, including Jacob of Kfar Sakhnin (*Eccl. Rab.* 1.8.3). They debated proper interpretation of scripture (*b. Sanh.* 38b; *Ber.* 10a), though the rabbis also debated among themselves whether one should save the scriptures of the heretics, which seems to include Jewish-Christians, should a fire break out on a Sabbath (*m. Sabb.* 16.1).

Near the end of the century Sepphoris was famous as the residence of the Sanhedrin and of Judah the Prince, who compiled and redacted the Mishnah at his school in the city. This dazzling literary and religious development occurred during a period of increased urbanization and yet during a period of agricultural decline (*Gen. Rab.* 90.5).

It was in this period that the legends of the idealized relationship between the emperor and Judah the Prince emerged. These tales may reflect the life and times of the emperor Caracella (198–217 C.E.). Coins of Sepphoris/Diocaesarea from the reign of Caracella bear the legend "Diocaesarea the Holy, (city of) Shelter, Autonomous, Loyal, Friendship and Alliance (between the) Holy Council (of the city) and the Senate of the Romans." This inscription assumes a treaty between Rome and Sepphoris, a treaty as yet unattested in the ancient literature.

At the death of Judah the funeral train stopped at 18 synagogues in Sepphoris/Diocaesarea. This reflects a very strong Jewish population in the city at the beginning of the 3d century C.E. (*Eccl. Rab.* 7.11–12).

The 3d century was a time of major changes for Sepphoris/Diocaesarea. For example the Sanhedrin moved to Tiberias, perhaps even before the death of Judah (*t. Holin* 1). At this time R. Hanina, who lived in the (upper) market of the city (*j. Ta‹an.* 3.4) became Judah's successor in the Academy at Sepphoris. Severe drought also troubled the land, but it persisted longer in the N. The city coinage of Sepphoris/Diocaesarea stopped under Elagabalus, 218–222 C.E.

During the 3d century the problem of liturgies and excessive taxation became acute. Liturgies were levied both on the Council of the city, which was still Jewish, and on guilds (i.e., on the flax [or linen] guild of Sepphoris/Diocaesarea; (*j. Pe›a* 1.1). Economic problems were growing serious enough that

Jewish land around the city was passing into non-Jewish hands (*j. Dem.* 5.8; *j. Giṭ.* 4.9). Yet Sepphoris/Diocaesarea remained an important commercial center (*j. B. Mezia* 5.6).

In 4th century sources we read of the synagogue of the people of Gophna (*j. Sanh.* 10.28a) and the synagogue of the Babylonians (*j. Sabb.* 8a). A "Great Synagogue" of Sepphoris is also mentioned (*Pirqe R. Kahana* 18).

During the 1st half of the 4th century Eusebius claimed that all of Diocaesarea was Jewish (*m.P.*, p. 29). Epiphanius reported that Count Joseph of Tiberias built a church at Diocaesarea with special imperial permission, since there was as yet no large Christian population (*Adv. Haeres.* 1.30). In the same half century R. Jose ben Hanina and R. Abbahu debated about the books of the heretics, which seems to refer to the Jewish-Christians at Sepphoris/Diocaesarea. They certainly knew of a written gospel (Hebrew Matthew?:*b. ʿErub.* 53b; *j. Soṭa* 16b).

A synagogue inscription from a mosaic floor at Sepphoris likely dates to this period. It refers to R. Judan bar Tanhum bar [Buta], who also dedicated the mosaic floor in nearby Cana. Burial inscriptions from tombs S of the city mention a Hoshayah bar Tanhum, a Rabbi Yaakob, a Rabbi Nahum, and a certain Crispina. A Greek inscription is likely from the lintel of a synagogue or school. It mentions a certain Gelasius son of Aetios, Head of a Synagogue, whose family was from Tyre.

In 351 C.E. a man named Patricius led the city in revolt (Aur. Vict., *Caes.* 42.9–12). Gallus Caesar, an Arian Christian responded by destroying the city and selling the survivors into slavery (Socrates, *Hist. Ecc.* 11.33; Sozomen, *Hist. Ecc.* 4.7). The city was immediately rebuilt, and archaeology shows that the top of the city was dominated by a huge military enclave that included the fortress visible on the site to this day. The burn layer associated with Gallus extends everywhere in the 4th century layer at the site.

In 374 the emperor Valentinius exiled to the territory of Diocaesarea Orthodox Christians from Egypt (Palladius, *h.Laus.* ch. 117). This suggests that the city was no longer a cultural force to be reckoned with, as far as the emperor was concerned.

In the 5th century a bishop with a Greek name presided in Diocaesarea. This bishop, Doretheus, took part in the council of Chalcedon in 451 C.E. (Mansi 6.1091E). Probably gentile Christianity had finally gained a secure foothold. During the same century, in Bethlehem, Jerome thought that the tomb of the prophet Jonah was at Diocaesarea. He also believed that the Gath of 2 Kgs 24:25 was in the city territory of Diocaesarea (*Preface to the book of Jonas* 25.1119). The names of prominent rabbis from Diocaesarea are no longer to be found in the tradition.

During the 6th century Christians took the lead politically. In the year 512 C.E. Marcellinus, bishop of Diocaesarea, intervened in the Council of Jerusalem against Severus and the monophysites (Mansi 8.1071C). After 518 C.E. Theodosius reported—wrongly—that Simon Magus was from Diocaesarea (*Topo.* 4.139). The name of the city appears in a tax decree of the emperor Justinian dated 531–32 C.E. In this decree, posted in Beer-sheba, Diocaesarea is taxed 60 gold solidi per year. Its comparatively high tax assessment suggests that it had recovered from the poor economy of the 3d and 4th centuries. In 570 the Pilgrim of Piacenza visited Diocaesarea and other venerated relics of Mary the mother of Jesus, the first mention of this tradition at the city (*Travels* 161). By the 12th century the city was practically empty (Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary* 43). In the same period the name "Diocaesarea" had disappeared from memory, and the Arab village that remained was called "Saffuriyeh." This name survived to the early 20th century.

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**SEPTUAGINT.** The most widely accepted designation for a diverse collection of Greek literature encompassing: (1) translations of the contents of the Hebrew Bible; (2) additions to some of its books; and (3) works written originally in Greek (or in some instances in Hebrew) but not included in the Hebrew canon. The word "Septuagint," (from Lat *septuaginta* = 70; hence the abbreviation LXX) derives from a story that 72 (other ancient sources mention 70 or 5) elders translated the Pentateuch into Greek; the term therefore applied originally only to those five books. That story is now acknowledged to be fictitious, yet the label persists by virtue of the tradition. The precise referent of the term Septuagint in modern discussions, and especially of "the Septuagint" is neither consistent nor clear.

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## A. Terminology

**1. The Problem of Terminology.** Some scholars use Septuagint (often in quotation marks) to refer only to the Pentateuch while others intend the term to include the entire collection of Jewish-Greek scriptures (1–3 above), reserving the rubric Old Greek (OG) for those books which are translations from Hebrew. Others, recognizing that all the extant Greek mss are corrupt and probably only partially representative of what the original translators intended, use the terms "Ur-Septuagint," "Original Septuagint" or "Proto-Septuagint" to describe the text as it presumably left the translators' hands. Septuagint for some scholars describes a "critical text," i.e., one chosen after careful reading and evaluation of all the available witnesses to the book(s) in question, and determined to be the "nearest approach" to the original translation. Where such critical texts are not established, these scholars would contend that it is inappropriate to speak of Septuagint, only of mss, papyri etc. Still other scholars, viewing the critical process as artificial, cumbersome, time-consuming and subjective, select one or two well-known uncial mss—Codex Alexandrinus (A) and Codex Vaticanus (B) being the most common—as sufficiently representative of the Greek translation. Citations such as $LXX^{A}$, $LXX^{B}$, or $LXX^{AB}$ appear in their work—the last being considered more authoritative than either of the first two. Many other scholars, having subjected the matter to little or no critical scrutiny, use Septuagint to refer to any printed edition so labelled, which may be used to correct/adjust readings in the printed editions of the Hebrew Bible. There

are also scholars who dispute the idea of a single original translation to which all deviant witnesses could theoretically be traced. For them it is pointless to speak of Septuagint as a single enterprise since there were multiple translations each reflecting the concerns of specific communities.

The first desideratum concerning Septuagint then is some agreement, if not consensus, on the way the word is being or should be used. What relationships do the diverse Greek witnesses to the books of the Hebrew Bible have to each other on the one hand, and to the various Hebrew witnesses to those very books on the other? It is not sufficient to identify "Old Greek" in contrast to Septuagint (with or without quotation marks) as is so often done, unless one indicates the precise mss or editions in which either may be found.

**2. Definition of the Term.** For convenience, it is assumed throughout what follows that a single set of original translations of the Hebrew scriptures into Greek was effected in several stages, and in locations not known for sure; that the earliest parts (most likely the Torah) of the translation took place in the 3d century B.C.E. (perhaps in Egypt) and the last parts were completed by the first part of the 1st century B.C.E.; that, in the absence of "hard copy" of these translations, we can recover from the extant witnesses, texts sufficiently reliable to be considered equivalent to the originals, if carefully controlled text-critical principles are employed. This process is being carried out with extreme care in the editions of the Göttingen Septuaginta-Unternehmen (on which see below). It is to the printed texts of these editions (as distinct from readings in their apparatuses), that the term Septuagint as used herein primarily applies. Secondarily, in those books for which full critical editions have not yet been established, Septuagint is considered equivalent to the partially critical texts found in A. Rahlfs' manual edition (Rahlfs 1935). However, despite the long-established contrary practice (such as found in Rahlfs' manual edition), whole books without known Hebrew equivalents are not considered Septuagint. They are usually listed also as Apocrypha and even Pseudepigrapha, and again, since much of discussion concerns translation technique, that question is moot in such books. Where, as in parts of Joshua and all of Judges, Rahlfs prints two lemmata, the is deemed to have not yet been established.

**B. Witnesses to LXX**

**1. Primary Witnesses. a. Papyri.** Several papyri containing mostly parts of the Pentateuch and dating from the 2d century B.C.E. to the 1st century C.E. constitute the earliest and most important of the primary witnesses to LXX. Equally important are certain fragments from Qumran. Given their value, these early witnesses are listed below. Only by their number in Rahlfs' numeration (i.e., the number by which they are cited in the Göttingen Septuagint) are their contents, and approximate dates given.

| *Rahlfs' number* | *Contents* | *Date* |
|---|---|---|
| 957 | about 20 verses from Deut 23–38 | early 2d B.C.E. |
| 941 | fragments from Gen 7 and 38 | Late 1st B.C.E. |
| 847 | parts of Deut 11 and 31–33 | early 1st C.E. |
| 848 | parts of Deut 17–33 | late 1st B.C.E. |
| 819 | Deut 11:4 | 2d B.C.E. |
| 801 | Lev 26:2–16 | late 2d B.C.E./early 1st C.E. |
| 805 | Exod 28:4–7 | ca. 100 B.C.E. |
| 802 | Lev 2–5 with lacunae | 1st B.C.E. |
| 803 | Num 3:30–4:14, with lacunae | 1st B.C.E. |
| 943 | Minor prophets fragments | late 1st B.C.E./early 1st C.E. |

Other unpublished fragments found at Qumran and several papyri, more complete in some instances but later than those listed above, are extant. The most important of these are the Chester Beatty papyri IV and V (Rahlfs 961 and 962) containing with lacunae substantial portions of Genesis 8–46 and dating from the 4th and 3d centuries C.E. respectively. Chester Beatty VI (Rahlfs 963) contains Numbers and Deuteronomy with lacunae and dates from the 2d or early 3d century C.E. (Pietersma 1977). See also

CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI. Detailed treatments of and Qumran (particularly the witness of the scrolls) are found in *QHBT;* Klein 1974; Ulrich 1978, 1987, 1989; and Jeansonne 1988.

**b. Uncials and Cursives.** A few fine uncial and hundreds of cursive mss from the 16th century C.E. and earlier, witness to all or parts of LXX. The oldest of these mss (Codex Vaticanus = B, Codex Alexandrinus = A) were printed as texts in some of the early editions of LXX (see below). Full references to these and other mss are found in any modern critical edition and in several Introductions. The definitive descriptions of LXX mss are found in A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (MSU 2, Berlin, 1914). Critical editions published by the Göttingen Septuginta-Unternehmen provide documentation of the mss, papyri and other witnesses used in each instance, and the reader is directed to these for specifics. Jellicoe has also provided tables of mss collated in the Göttingen and larger Cambridge editions, with cross references to the older edition of Holmes-Parsons in the appendices to his *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Jellicoe 1968:360–69). The tools for Septuagint study—concordances, grammars, dictionaries and the like—are listed and discussed in the standard Introductions and surveys, and in several modern works (e.g., Tov 1981:142–44; Harl 1988:223–66; Brock, Fritsch, and Jellicoe 1973:23–28).

**c. Printed Editions.** The first printed text of the complete Septuagint was included in the Complutensian Polyglot prepared in the years 1514–1517 under the auspices of Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros, of Spain. The Greek text of this Bible, produced with care from selected mss including some sent to the Cardinal from the Vatican Library, formed the basis for LXX columns of four other great polyglots—the Antwerp (1569–72) the Heidelberg (1586–87), the Hamburg (1596), and the Paris (1645). After the printing of the Complutensian but before its publication, Andreas Asolanus issued in 1518–19 a completed edition of the Greek Bible in Venice. That edition, issuing as it did from Aldine press, is usually referred to as the Aldine and seems not to have been based on as wide a selection of mss as the Complutensian. The third and most influential of the older editions of LXX appeared in 1587 under the auspices of Pope Sixtus V. This Sixtina Romana was based primarily on the great Vatican Codex B with its lacunae being supplied from other mss. Numerous editions of LXX have been based on Sixtina and it is to the publication of this great uncial that the practice of identifying LXX with the B text is to be traced.

The fourth major edition of LXX appeared in England in the 18th century (1707–1720). Based on Codex Alexandrinus and produced initially by John Grabe at Oxford, it was completed on his death by able assistants. While in the main the edition was a presentation of the readings of a single codex, it utilized the Hexaplaric symbols (see below) to mark those portions which did not correspond with Masoretic Hebrew. Additions of any kind to the printed text of A were printed in smaller type.

The first attempt to provide what we would call today a critical edition was made under the direction of Robert Holmes of Oxford in the years 1788–1827. The first decade of that period was spent collecting support and collating mss for the project with the aid of scholars both from England and the continent. The first volume, *Genesis,* appeared in 1798, seven years before Holmes' death; the remaining volumes were completed by James Parsons. The printed text was the Sixtine edition but the apparatus included readings of some 300 mss (including 20 uncials), evidence from the Old Latin, Coptic, Arabic, Slavonic, Armenian and Georgian versions as well as patristic citations. The notes included readings from the great editions-Complutensian, Aldine, Grabian and others. While the edition of Holmes and Parsons has been the object of criticism it still remains an invaluable and certainly the largest storehouse of materials concerning LXX.

The 19th-century edition which has had the most lasting impact was begun at Cambridge in 1883. Initially the Syndics proposed to present an edition of LXX and Apocrypha with a critical apparatus containing the variations of all the Greek uncial mss, of select cursives, of the more important versions, of quotations made by Philo and the earlier and more important ecclesiastical writers. As a first step, they produced, between 1887 and 1894, a portable text (edited by the well-known Henry Barclay Swete) using B as text and two or three other uncials as supplements. In time the larger edition of the Cambridge LXX appeared, the early volumes being edited by A. E. Brooke and N. McLean, the later ones by H. St John Thackeray. Though not as wide in scope as the Holmes and Parsons edition, the Cambridge LXX was

executed with greater care. The larger Cambridge LXX also printed the text of B, listing several other witnesses in an apparatus. Its citations, especially of the versions and the patristic citations, have not always proven to be accurate. The project was arrested in 1940 and shows no sign of being resumed.

Modern LXX studies owe much to the work of Paul A. de Lagarde (1827–1891) who, despite his failings, was an exceptionally accomplished scholar by any standard. His primary conviction—the basis for his own activities and the school of LXX thinking to which his name is attached—was that all mss of the LXX present mixed texts, the result of an eclectic process. Thus, the process of arriving at the *Urtext* of the Septuagint must likewise be eclectic. To restore the text, one: (1) needs to be acquainted with the style of individual translators; (2) should give preference to a free translation rather than the slavishly exact one, all other things being equal; (3) should give preference to readings pointing to a Hebrew original other than the MT. Although Lagarde never produced any critical edition, he had hoped, using principles like these, to arrive in due course to the original LXX.

While one may quarrel with the specific results of Lagarde's approach, it is difficult to fault his principles in view of the subsequent history. On Lagarde's death in 1891, his task was taken over by his able student A. Rahlfs. By the beginning of the 20th century, Rudolf Smend and Julius Wellhausen initiated a program to provide the necessary resources for the maintenance and extension of Lagarde and Rahlfs' work, resulting in the establishment of the Göttingen "Septuaginta-Unternehmen" in March, 1908. With this support Rahlfs was able to produce the first critical editions based on his mentor's principles. *Ruth* appeared in 1922, followed by *Genesis* in 1926 and *Psalms* in 1931. His popular edition of the Septuagint based on three major uncials was edited just before his death in 1935 and is perhaps still the most widely used edition of LXX today. From then till now the "Septuaginta-Unternehmen" has produced with unfailing determination the most reliable editions of LXX arranged on Lagardian principles (see below).

**2. Secondary Witnesses.** Secondary witnesses to the text of LXX consist of: (1) scripture quotations and allusions in Greek preserved in Jewish and Christian authors; and (2) the texts of various versions based on early mss of LXX.

**a. Versions.** The most valuable of the versions made from Greek are the Syro-Hexaplar, the Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Old Latin. The autographs of some versions would have been made from mss that predate considerably our oldest complete extant Greek mss. Vaticanus, for instance, is only a 4th century C.E. ms, whereas versions such as the Coptic and the Old Latin were known to have been prepared in the 2d or 3d century C.E. Thus, the accurate editing and evaluation of the versions illuminate our understanding of the textual history of LXX, if only because in each case their texts, when carefully established and retroverted into Greek, would provide a record of at least one Greek ms from the period of their composition.

Just as the translation from Hebrew into Greek produced changes reflective of the concerns of the Greek translators, so in each of the versions one finds further evidence of local coloring. And just as it is difficult to determine for sure whether a deviant reading in Greek reflects the translator's idiosyncracy or a different Hebrew parent text, so in the versions it is not always clear whether variance is due to the translator or to the text being translated. Likewise, the grammatical and syntactical limitations of each of the target languages affect the translation from Greek and by extension, the interpretation of the value of that version for text criticism.

The relationship of the various secondary witnesses to LXX is only now beginning to become clear. Earlier printed editions of LXX which collated the versions often culled their readings from an easily accessible ms, or from printed editions (of the versions) themselves often based on one or two convenient mss. Thus in many instances the full witness of the secondary version had not been utilized. Critical studies of the Armenian, the Ethiopic and the Coptic (Bohairic and Sahidic) of specific books of LXX have been concluded in recent times and their results would not be reflected everywhere in the Göttingen editions. The present writer's own work on the Bohairic has shown that while in the main the translation follows LXX, there are instances when the relatively late mss that are available retain deviant readings which, while probably the result of inner Coptic developments, could also point to the existence of a

Greek ms now no longer extant. Each of the other versions reflects its own idiosyncracies and the reader is urged to consult the individual studies on them (Fernández-Marcos 1985:15–80; Nagel 1985; 1987; Clear 1973).

**b. Patristic Evidence.** In addition to the versions made from Greek, the witness of the early Christian writers provides a valuable LXX resource. Though many writers are known to have flourished in a period contemporary with and antecedent to our oldest Greek mss, the record of their writings—commentaries, sermons and the like—comes to us in mss that are themselves much later. Our ability to determine what exactly was said is affected by this historic fact, and also by the fact that well-intentioned copyists often corrected the biblical patristic citation with that of a version of the Bible current in their time. To complicate matters further, the early Christian writer may merely allude to a text or may quote from memory or, what is most frustrating, may quote one form of a biblical text in one instance and a different version of the same text in another. Some fathers consistently quote accurately, others are rather cavalier. Thus recording and evaluating this evidence presents its own challenges.

In summary, the total witnesses to LXX have been estimated to be well over two thousand. Several mss contain only a single book or a small section of a book, other books are witnessed to by hundreds of mss and several are in between these extremes. But together all these sources provide a complete, if somewhat complex picture of the textual backdrop against which LXX studies must be executed.

**C. Theories of Origins**

**1. Aristeas.** As suggested above, the best known story of the origin of the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible is the story of Aristeas, sometimes referred to as the Letter of (pseudo-) Aristeas. The details of this story are so often repeated that only its broadest outline and some of the reasons for its implausibility as history need be mentioned.

The Epistle of Aristeas describes how a King Ptolemy, probably Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–247 B.C.E.), desiring to collect if possible all the books in the world, and having been informed by his librarian, Demetrius of Phalerum, that the royal library was lacking a copy of the laws of the Jews, sent a letter to Eleazar the high priest in Jerusalem (by the hand of the Aristeas and others) requesting six learned elders from each tribe to perform the translation. The letter is full with details seemingly extraneous to a modern reader—descriptions of the temple, qualifications of the translators, questions by the king to the translators, the nature of the High Priest's garments, and so on. On the arrival of the translators in Egypt, they are received immediately by the king, given the best accommodations and invited to a royal banquet. In due course, Demetrius conducts them to comfortable secluded quarters by the sea where they completed the work in 72 days—precisely as many as the number of the translators. The finished work is highly praised by the Alexandrian Jewish community and it was determined to be so final that a curse would be on any one who, by omission, transposition or addition, would change any part of it. The Egyptian king is impressed with the mind of the Lawgiver and comments on the divine origin of the Law. He dismisses the translators with gifts for themselves, for the High Priest, and with invitations to return.

The story has been augmented and retold by several subsequent writers—Aristobulus, Philo, Josephus, and in various patristic sources. (Extensive discussions of and references to it are found in Jellicoe 1968:29–58; 1974:158–225; Harl 1988:40–68.) It seems to be the product of an unknown Jewish writer in Alexandria writing in the last half of the second, or the first part of the 1st century B.C.E. The narrative contains a number of inconsistencies and inaccuracies, a condition unlikely to have been the case had the writer been a contemporary of the events being described. Most notable is the mention of Demetrius of Phalerum as chief librarian—a position he never held in the court of Ptolemy II since the latter, on his accession had banished him to exile. Another error is the mention of Menedemus of Eritria as being present at the banquet held in honor of the translators when he had already been dead two years before the end of Ptolemy I Soter's reign. Several other points of detail suggest the improbability of the story being historical, among which is the matter of a Greek king being so interested in the Hebrew scriptures, to go to great lengths to secure them. In fact the idea of Greeks translating the religious scriptures of such a minority of their population is highly improbable.

The dating of pseudo-Aristeas's work and the historical circumstances to which it points have generated intense scholarly discussion. Opinions on the date run the gamut from 200 B.C.E. to 50 C.E. As to the real purpose of the work, it has been variously considered as: (1) an apology for the Greek translation of the Torah; (2) a propaganda piece directed at Greeks to show them the superiority of Jewish religion and law; (3) a work which is intended to defend the literary activities of Alexandrian Jews against the attacks of other Jews in Palestine or elsewhere in Egypt; and (4) a propaganda for the original Greek translation against a contemporary revision.

Despite questions about dating and purpose, a broad consensus has emerged concerning the *Letter of Aristeas* on the following points. First, the events described in it relate only to the Pentateuch which was the first part of the Jewish scriptures to be translated into Greek. Second, the translation was an official undertaking supported by Jewish authorities possibly for synagogue and instructional use, and done in Egypt probably in the middle of the 3d century or earlier. Third, the number of translators is not certain.

**2. Kahle.** While the Aristeas story is the most popular, it is by no means the only theory of LXX origins. Much discussed in recent times is the explanation of the Aristeas account and of the origins of LXX identified with Paul Kahle. Using the analogy of Aramaic Targumim, Kahle suggested (first in 1915 and often thereafter) that the diversity of witnesses to the text of the Greek points to the fact that there was never one original translation but rather several designed to meet the needs of specific communities. The Aristeas story is propaganda for an official revision of earlier translations, not a description of a new one. Kahle finds evidence for his position in the Aristeas text itself, section 30 of which he believed (contrary to most scholars) alludes to the existence of other translations in Greek not in Hebrew; in the differences in the A and B texts of Judges; and in the existence of the different early papyri. For him, the task of scholarship in this field is not to reconstruct or even attempt a hypothetical reconstruction of the original text of the version, but to assemble and examine with the greatest care all the fragments and traces of the earliest forms of the Greek Bible we can discover. It is fair to say that while some reputable scholars found Kahle's thesis appealing if not persuasive, the majority of Septuagintalists have not been convinced by it.

**3. Lagarde.** More representative of the mainstream of contemporary scholarship is the theory of LXX origins identified with Paul de Lagarde and the Göttingen school. This *Urtext* theory as it is sometimes called, suggests that all mss of LXX can ultimately be traced to one prototype. In order to achieve this, Lagarde theorized that one needed first of all to attempt to reconstruct the original forms of each of the three main recensions of LXX—the Origenian, the Lucianic and the Hesychian—and from them to work back to the *Urtext.* No one, not even Lagarde himself, succeeded in the reconstruction of the *Urtext* conceived in this way. The recension of Hesychius has never been identified with any certainty and much controversy surrounds the Lucianic text. However the basic idea of an original translation for each of the books of LXX is accepted by the vast majority of Septuagintalists and constitutes the working hypothesis of the Göttingen Septuaginta-Unternehmen—the only active institute involved in the preparation of LXX texts.

**4. Tov.** Recently, a median position between Kahle and Lagarde has been articulated with some vigor by Tov (1981:42, and often elsewhere) who traces it back to Bickerman. Essentially, Tov identifies four stages in the development of the text of LXX: (1) the original translation; (2) a multitude of textual traditions resulting from the insertion of corrections (mainly toward the Hebrew) in all known individual scrolls; (3) textual stabilization in the 1st and 2d centuries C.E.; and (4) the creation of new textual groups and the corruption of existing ones through the influence of the revisions of Origen and Lucian in the 3d and 4th centuries C.E.

Attractive as this position seems in theory, it is problematic on two practical counts. First it assumes that the "original translation" was different from some identifiable "Hebrew" and thus was immediately in need of "correction." A corollary of this assumption is that the original translation was free of human failings so that no traceable "corrections" of any kind would have been present from the start. Second it implies that there was homogeneity in the Hebrew traditions from the earliest times. If we take for granted the possibility that the original translation may have included what to us might seem to be corrections of

and insertions in MT (and this seems eminently plausible), there is no need to make a distinction between (1) and (2) above, and the position is not a median position at all but rather a refinement of the Lagardian hypothesis.

**5. Other Theories.** Other theories have been posited but none has gained widespread acceptance; some have been rejected outright. The following are only representative not exhaustive. Originated by O. G. Tychsen (1734–1815) and revived by F. X. Wutz (1883–1938) is the so-called transcription theory. It suggests that the LXX translators used a Hebrew text translated into Greek characters. Moses Gaster is identified with a theory which places the milieu of the Greek Pentateuch not in Alexandria as is broadly accepted but rather in Palestine, because only a Palestinian origin could have generated sufficient prestige for the new translation. The decision to produce the Greek OT was a means by which Jews could assert their superiority and antiquity to the Greek speaking world. With H. St. John Thackeray has been identified the liturgical approach, which in its essence suggests that the LXX translation originated from the needs of the Jewish community of Alexandria, which required a translation of the Pentateuch for synagogue reading. In time, the Latter Prophets, a partial version of the Former Prophets, and then gradually the Writings were all translated. Thackery's position, though speculative, seems plausible enough especially for the Pentateuch.

Several modern scholars have seen the LXX translation as arising out of Jewish community needs other than liturgical—educational, apologetical, proselytizing, and so on. It has even been proposed that Greek Torah received the official sanction because it was a part of the judicial system of the Ptolemies intended to govern the activities of the Jews (Harl 1988:66–78).

**D. History of the LXX Text**

**1. Revisions.** Even though the circumstances surrounding the original production of what has become known as LXX are disputed, its subsequent history is much clearer. If Tov is correct, revision of the translations began almost as soon as they were copied for the first time but we can only speculate about the nature of such revisions. We know for sure that by the 2d century C.E., Jewish scholars, reacting to the widespread co-opting and polemical use of the LXX by Christians, began to produce editions intended to correct mistranslations, expunge Christian additions and to conform to the Hebrew text that had by then become normative in Palestine.

**a. Aquila.** One of these editions was done in 128 C.E. by a certain Aquila, a Jewish proselyte of Pontus and disciple of the famous Rabbi Akiba. Aquila's version was based on strict principles of Jewish interpretation and was slavishly literal to the Hebrew text, even though it is clear that he had a good knowledge of Greek. Aquila's literalism and precision even to the point of using words with similar sounds made his work particularly attractive to his Jewish contemporaries. The version of Aquila was respected for many years. Both Origen and Jerome were impressed with it, the latter even borrowing from that version's readings in the case of a few rare words. Aquila is considered in some circles to be identical with Onqelos, the compiler of a Targum of the Pentateuch and there is virtual unanimity in Septuagintal circles that the extant text of the Greek of Qoheleth is to be identified in some way with him.

The text of Aquila's translation is preserved in a number of different places. The longest text available is a palimpsest containing some 141 verses of the Psalms. In addition we have several other fragments of Origen's Hexapla (see below), the third column of which contained Aquila's translation. Several mss preserve in the margins readings not only from Aquila but also the other two well known revisers Symmachus and Theodotion. Finally, the Church Fathers (especially Eusebius, Theodoret and Jerome) cite the three Jewish revisers in their discussions and commentaries. See AQUILA'S VERSION .

**b. Symmachus.** Another revision is identified with Symmachus, who produced it toward the end of the 2d century C.E. The edition is distinguished for its literal accuracy and use of good Greek idiom. That is to say, the revision is very precise in some places, whereas in others it translates in keeping with the sense. Some sources identify Symmachus as an Ebionite and thus a Christian; others contend that he was a Samaritan convert to Judaism. SeeSYMMACHUS, SYMMACHUS' VERSION .

**c. Theodotion.** The third reviser of the Septuagint, Theodotion, presents one of the more intriguing problems in modern LXX studies. According to early Christian writers, there was a historic Theodotion

variously identified as an Ephesian proselyte to Judaism (Irenaeus), and an Ebionite (Jerome) who worked toward the end of the 2d century C.E. The text on which he worked as a reviser seems however to have been different from the standard LXX and to have been in existence since the early part of the 1st century B.C.E. For instance, NT citations from the book of Daniel, where a version generally considered to be Theodotion has supplanted LXX in all but two mss, are drawn from the former not the latter. Early Church Fathers—Clement of Rome, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus—cite Theodotion's text of Daniel. This situation has led many scholars to postulate an Ur- or a proto-Theodotion in order to explain the presence of Theodotionic readings before the time of Theodotion. See THEODOTION, THEODOTION'S VERSION.

**d. Proto-Theodotion.** The discovery in 1953 of a Greek Scroll of the Minor Prophets (Rahlfs 943 above) at Naḥal Ḥever (and its subsequent edition by D. Barthélemy) led to a rethinking in some circles of the Theodotion problem. Some scholars have been persuaded completely by Barthélemy, and now argue that a 2d century Theodotion is no longer necessary, suggesting that Ur-/proto-/*kaige*- Theodotion was all there was, and that this reviser flourished toward the end of the 1st century B.C.E., his work being the basis for both Aquila's and Symmachus' in light of the demonstrable similarity of all three in so many instances. Other scholars, recognizing that Barthélemy's thesis and assumptions raised as many problems as they solved, have been more cautious and maintain that the historic Theodotion may have worked as a reviser within the tradition reflected by the earlier so-called Ur-Theodotion. Questions have also been raised as to whether or not the so-called Theodotion text in Daniel is to be attributed to Theodotion, or whether the sixth column of Origen's Hexapla—traditionally considered to be Theodotion—is indeed what it has been claimed to be.

Whether or not one accepts a proto-Theodotion, there seems to be agreement on the following characteristics of the revision as per Barthélemy and his followers: (1) the use of *kaige* to translate Hebrew *gam* and *wĕgam;* (2) the use of *anēr* rather than *hekastos* to represent Hebrew *ʾîš;* (3) a tendency to use *ep/apanōthen* as a translation of Hebrew *mʿl* in contrast to LXX, which uses *apo* or *epanō;* (4) the elimination of the historical present in favor of the aorist as a translation of the Hebrew *waw*-consecutive with the imperfect in narration; (5) tendency to stress the atemporal nature of Hebrew *ʾên* by translating it as *ouk estin;* (6) use of phrase *egō eimi* as a translation of Hebrew *ʾānōkî* and to distinguish it from *ʾānî;* (7) avoidance of *eis apantēsin* as a translation of Hebrew *lqrʾt;* (8) a tendency toward transliteration, especially of unknown words; (9) a tendency to systematize the Greek equivalents of specific Hebrew words or roots. Further refinements and characteristics of this recension have also been proposed.

Barthélemy identified the work of the Reviser (who has been later called *kaige*-Theodotion) in the other parts of LXX—Lamentations, Ruth, the B text of Judges, the Theodotionic text of Daniel, the Theodotionic supplements to LXX Jeremiah and Job, and in the Quinta of the Psalter.

It is regrettable that the portion of the LXX—the books of Samuel-Kings—on which so much energy has been spent is not yet available in a truly critical edition. Many conclusions which seem valid with the state of the text that we now possess, may well be adjusted in the future. It is highly likely that several of the readings attributed to revisers of one kind or another would, on careful scrutiny of all the available evidence (not merely that listed in Brooke, McLean, and Thackeray), be determined to be original LXX.

**2. Recensions. a. Origen's Hexapla.** Next to the story of Aristeas, that of Origen and the Hexapla is perhaps the best known in the history of the LXX text. A native of Egypt and a Christian, Origen was one of those persons with an enormous capacity for detailed and hard work. He also had the benefit of a wealthy benefactor who provided the means to facilitate his voluminous publications. The Hexapla, a massive six-columned work estimated to have been about 6,500 pages long, was completed between 230 and 240 C.E. Origen's chief purpose was to equip Christians for their discussions with Jews, who frequently appealed to the original Hebrew. To this end he arranged in parallel columns the following texts: (1) the Hebrew of his day; (2) the Hebrew text transliterated into Greek; (3) Aquila; (4) Symmachus; (5) LXX, and (6) Theodotion. In some books of the Bible it is reported that Origen added even more columns which he called Quinta, Sexta and Septima; there is also evidence that a version

consisting of only the last four columns, a Tetrapla was in use, though some have argued that the Tetrapla was merely another name for the Hexapla.

Origen's main concern was the fifth column, LXX, which he hoped to link with the Hebrew of his day. To this end he borrowed from Aristarchus (217–145 B.C.E.) certain sigla, well known and used in Alexandrian philological studies, and incorporated them into his work. Words in his LXX without Hebrew counterparts were placed between an obelus and a metobelus. Words and passages in Hebrew without LXX equivalent were copied from another version (most often Theodotion) and inserted into the LXX column between an asterisk and a metobelus.

That would have been an acceptable condition had the Hexapla been retained in its original form, or if Origen did only what he claims to have done. But he seems in fact to have adjusted his text without always indicating where he did, and also the extant witnesses to the Origenian recension do not everywhere retain the hexaplaric signs. Equally problematic was the situation Origen faced when there was variance between the Greek and the Hebrew necessitating a choice from one of the three versions, and when those versions themselves were divergent from each other. His tendency to choose the version closest to the Hebrew meant that in effect the final form of the fifth column was conservative, mixed, and in the last analysis, not much more than a Greek version of Origen's Hebrew. As a result, the work of Origen, rather than helping to clarify a problem, has in many ways created one. The responsible modern text critic tries to get behind Origen—to identify pre-Hexaplaric readings—in order to approach in some reasonable way what might have been original LXX. Because Origen mistakenly believed that the Hebrew text available to him was identical with that from which the Greek translators worked, he unwittingly perpetuated the very confusion he tried to remove.

The Hexapla was not easily duplicated, but its fifth column was copied and widely circulated during the 4th century. A new recension was thereby created consisting of a mixture of Origen's Septuagint with random readings from Theodotion, and Aquila. In addition, the word order of this Hexaplaric Septuagint differed in places from that of the LXX on which Origen worked because he, believing in the primacy of the Hebrew, had deliberately changed the Greek word order to conform to the Hebrew. The copying of the fifth column in isolation from the Hebrew resulted in the gradual misapprehension of the meaning of the Hexaplaric symbols and in the tendency of scribes to omit them. As a result, many extant mss show the influence of Origen's work but do not retain the Hexaplaric signs.

**b. The Syro-Hexaplar.** Fortunately, the fifth column was translated into Syriac by Paul, Bishop of Tella (618–19) and is known as the Syro-Hexaplar. The translation was made in a monastery not far from Alexandria between 613 and 617 (Baars 1968:1). Opinions vary as to the fidelity and accuracy of the copying of the Hexaplaric signs retained in this Syriac work, but few question its importance.

**c. Hesychius.** While the Hexapla was copied in Caesarea for use in Palestine, two other revisions were in circulation, so Jerome informs us, one for use in Egypt and the other in Antioch. These recensions are identified with Hesychius and Lucian respectively. So little is known for sure about the Hesychian recension that it can only be mentioned in passing. In recent times Jellicoe (1963:409–18) has argued that the B text reflects this recension. Others have mentioned various witnesses including the Coptic (Bohairic) of the minor Prophets or even the A text.

**d. Lucian.** The more important revision is identified with a martyr who died in 312 C.E. The nature and person of Lucian and his activity can be established in a number of ways. Eusebius, in his *Church History,* refers favorably to Lucian, commenting on his competence in sacred learning. Jerome makes the most famous comment about the Lucianic revisions in his preface to the books of Chronicles: "… Constantinople to Antioch approves the copies [containing the text] of Lucian the martyr …" (Metzger in Jellicoe 1974:273). According to the description of Pseudo-Athanasius in his *Synopsis sacrae Scripturae,* Lucian, "Using the earlier editions [i. e., of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus] and the Hebrew, and having accurately surveyed the expressions which fell short of or went beyond the truth, and having corrected them in their proper places, he published them for his Christian brethren" (Metzger in Jellicoe 1974:274). The ancient witnesses thus attest to the life and activity of Lucian, but give no clear indication of the range of his revision or the sources he may have used.

Modern scholars have identified certain mss in which the text of Lucian is believed to appear. Seminal work in that area was carried out by Ceriani, Field, and Lagarde. Two devices assisted in this attempt: (1) the frequent agreement of the presumed Lucianic text with biblical quotations in the works of early Christian writers especially Chrysostom and Theodoret, both trained in Antioch and likely to have been influenced by the Lucianic revision; and (2) the presence of a siglum *kai "lambda*" (the Greek letter "l") in the marginal readings of several Greek mss, and of the Syriac letter "lomadh (L) marking variants in certain Syriac mss. These sigla, although open to other interpretations, were thought to confirm the existence of Lucian's revision and work. The mss 19, 82, 93 and 108 (Brooke and McLean's $boc_2e_2$) were identified in the historical books as Lucianic by Ceriani and Field, while Lagarde came to a similar conclusion on his own.

Thus began a detailed investigation for the past 100 years into the Lucianic recension. Rahlfs refined and extended the work of his mentor and confirmed the Lucianic nature of the four codices in the books of Kings. Several attempts were made by other scholars to identify Lucian outside Samuel-Kings; none of these has proven conclusive. In fact it has been shown that in much of the Pentateuch there is no evidence of Lucian at all.

**e. Ur/Proto-Lucian.** What has been of greater interest, however, is the so-called Ur/proto-Lucian debate. Many have observed the similarity of certain texts known to have existed before the time of the historic Lucian, to what was determined to be "Lucianic" readings. Among these "pre-Lucianic" readings according to Metzger (in Jellicoe 1974:285–88) are parts of the Old Latin version dating from the 2d century C.E., the Peshitta version of the OT, a papyrus fragment of Ps 77:1–18 dating from the 3/2d century C.E., quotations from Justin Martyr (mid 2d century), certain NT quotations, biblical quotations by Josephus of Samuel-Kings, and 2d-century papyrus fragments of Deuteronomy.

The debate on Lucian and proto-Lucian has proceeded into the modern period. Several of these witnesses to a pre-Lucianic text, especially in the Pentateuch (Wevers 1973, 1977; Fernández-Marcos 1978) and the Psalms (Pietersma 1978 and Perkins 1978), have been seriously questioned in recent discussions. Tov (1988:186–87) summarized the four main positions on Lucian research in Samuel-Kings in the following terms:

Rahlfs: Lucian brought the OG in conformity with the Hebrew and at the same time removed the OG from the MT by revising its language and style. Rahlfs also recognized that Lucian reflected ancient elements.

Barthélemy: Lucianic mss (19–82–93–108) in 2 Sam 11:2–1 Kgs 2:11 are the OG and the other mss (formerly considered OG) contain the *kaige*-Theodotion.

Cross: The Lucianic mss in the same passages consist of two layers: (1) a substratum consisting of a text (proto-Lucianic and) revised toward a Hebrew similar to that found in $4QSam^a$; (2) a layer consisting of the historical corrections of Lucian.

Tov: Data do not support Cross' proto-Lucianic revision. Lucian mss contain two layers both containing revisional elements made in the time of the historic Lucian.

One of the clearest syntheses of the issues involved in the Lucianic debate is given by N. Fernández-Marcos (1984:163–74). There he adds an element that should augment Tov's categories above. Marcos would locate the work of Sebastian Brock (1966) between Rahlfs and Barthélemy. Two of Brock's discoveries concerning Lucian in 1 Samuel deserve stressing: (1) the desire to improve the LXX text stylistically by eliminating Hellenistic forms and terms; and (2) the adaptation of the text to the needs of the public reading (e.g., by the insertion of proper nouns instead of pronouns, translation of transliterated words, etc.).

**E. LXX as a Translation**

The real value of LXX resides not so much in its function as a corrective to some Hebrew text of which we have a copy, but rather as a record of the way in which a group of Jews in the 3d century and for some time thereafter understood their traditions. In the pre-Christian centuries, there was wide textual variety as is evidenced in the discoveries of materials both in Palestine and Egypt, and thus it is well established that the parent texts (and certainly the translators) for each book of the LXX were probably different. It is also

quite clear that the revisional activity which took place after Origen was in fact taking place long before his time, both on the Hebrew and Greek texts. Thus, while it is convenient to use *BHS* or *BHK* as a starting point for understanding what undergirded the LXX translations, it is dangerous, dishonest and wrong to assume that Leningradensis B 19A (MT) lay before the pre-Christian translators (cf. Ulrich 1988). Even more reprehensible is the widespread practice of assuming that the text of one uncial represents LXX. It has been shown that the character of B, the ms most often mistaken for LXX, is by no means consistent throughout. In Daniel, for instance, it witnesses to the text of Theodotion.

In order to evaluate properly the value of LXX as a translation, it is necessary first of all to ensure that the Greek text in use is as close as possible to the original. The process by which this is achieved is not well known nor often discussed, and so the end products of the Göttingen Septuaginta-Unternehmen are mistakenly referred to as eclectic texts. The choice of the word eclectic, while appropriate for some kinds of literature, is misleading and to some degree pejorative in LXX criticism because it suggests that "bits and pieces" from "pure" mss are blended to create a product, the sum of which is less desirable than its parts. In point of fact, as any one who has worked with LXX mss will attest, and as Lagarde himself pointed out long ago, all extant LXX mss (including the great uncials) are corrupt, in view of the complicated history of LXX. (Equally corrupt, for that matter, is the so-called MT.) The task of the modern editor of LXX is thus not one of picking from equals but rather of sorting and making, at every stage, critical judgments about a vast array of uneven witnesses, following well established principles which only sometimes can be clearly articulated. In some rare instances the reading which appears in the text may not even be present in a Greek ms.

An editor gets that kind of confidence only after years of working intimately with the extant materials and reflecting not only on the grammatical and syntactical principles of Hellenistic Greek, classical and post-biblical Hebrew, and Aramaic, but also and especially on the tendencies present in each of the mss in question, and on the complicated textual history of LXX's relationship with the Hebrew traditions.

The process of establishing the critical text begins in Göttingen, where assistants with several years of classical Greek are employed to collate completely and then recollate each of the more than 120 (at least for the Pentateuch, more or less in other books) mss—uncial, cursive, and some fragments—cited in the apparatus. The collations are rechecked before the books are sent to the respective editors, who in turn establish textual groupings, and also identify unaligned mss. For most of the Pentateuch some 17 textual groups and subgroups with varying numbers of *codices mixti* have been shown to exist. The precise relationship of these textual groups to the critical text, to each other and to the unaligned mss is yet to be determined fully, although descriptions of the individual characters of each of these groups are given the Text Histories of the various editions.

The first task of the editor is to augment the collation books by adding the readings of the papyri; the readings of early versions known to have been based on the LXX—Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Old Latin, etc.; other important witnesses to LXX such as the Syro-Hexaplar and the older printed editions—Complutesian, Aldine, Sixtina; the newer printed editions, especially Rahlfs and of course the Hebrew of *BHS*, the Samaritan Pentateuch and, where extant, fragments from Qumran.

One critical part of the editor's task is to address demonstrably Hexaplaric readings—both pluses and minuses—*en route* to determining the critical text. In this regard the readings of the early papyri are scrutinized carefully and given due consideration but not automatic preference, since they too may be corrupt. The dates and format of mss do not necessarily always indicate accurately the level of their reliability; cursive mss, though later than uncials and papyri, often preserve early traditions. Nor is the equation of Leningradensis (MT) with some segment of the Greek textual tradition taken automatically as indicative of original LXX. The governing principles are much more nuanced than that: readings are everywhere "weighed" not counted. When the final text (and detailed apparatus) has been established, it is then returned to Göttingen for careful checking and publication.

This means that it is not possible for average scholars with only the text and apparatus before them to understand fully all of the factors which entered into the textual judgment in every instance. It means also

that unless the scholarly community wishes to perpetuate widespread confusion, the judgment of each editor with respect to the critical text should be respected.

Once the critical text is chosen, the techniques of the translator in, and if possible, the textual character of the witnesses so that book should be examined carefully before any final statement is made about it. Each modern critical edition is accompanied with a textual history prepared by the editor, which attempts to explain the relationships of the various textual families to each other and also to describe particular tendencies in that book. Erroneous assertions about LXX have been published because scholars fail or are unwilling to compare the translation patterns in an entire book and thus confine their observations to isolated readings. Equally dangerous is the widespread practice in scholarship of making comparisons between words found in different books of LXX (or in critical and diplomatic editions) on the unexamined assumption that translators were acquainted with each other's work.

The last point is particularly apposite in view of the diversity of translation styles and textual anomalies which present themselves when one compares the critical LXX text with the text in *BHS*. Although critical texts have not been completed for the whole of LXX and thus any conclusions should be considered tentative, certain patterns of translation have begun to appear. The Pentateuch, it is fair to say, is in the middle of a continuum with wooden/mechanical/literalistic on the one extreme and free paraphrase on the other. On the wooden end is the translation of Ecclesiastes, on the other end is Proverbs and Job. Specific studies of particular books have been done and their conclusions are generally helpful (cf. Tov 1988:168 n. 22). In addition, it has been shown that several types of "exegesis"—theological, midrashic, actualizations and so on—are present in the various books of LXX. Thus, the nature of the LXX translations as a whole, the kinds of techniques and interpretational principles in specific parts, shape our view of the LXX books as translations. The textual anomalies of LXX vs MT are equally significant. Some of the more obvious are listed below:

*Exodus:* Chaps. 35 to 40 differ considerably from the MT. Some details in the Hebrew are absent, others abridged, and others transposed in the Greek text. Several theories have been proposed to explain the situation as it stands.

*Deuteronomy:* At the end of the Song of Moses (32:43) the LXX is longer by six verses than the Hebrew; the Greek version of the Shema is different also.

*Joshua:* Two different descriptions of the territory of Benjamin, Judah and Simeon (15:21–62 and 18:22–19:45) are attested in the main uncials A and B. The discussion of the institution of the cities of refuge (20:4–6) is present in the MT and not in LXX. There is also variance in the ending of Joshua and the beginning of Judges where the Greek contains fifteen lines unattested in MT.

*Judges:* Rahlfs prints two texts because the main uncials A and B differ so widely. It has been suggested that the B text reflects an early revision (possibly *kaige*-Theodotion?) whereas the A text reflects the Origenian recension. In both texts there are elements not paralleled in the MT. Despite the differences there seems not to be sufficient reason to postulate two translators but rather only two witnesses to a complex textual tradition.

*1–2 Samuel:* The Greek text is longer in general than the Hebrew, often providing smoother reading. There are also elements in the Hebrew that are not in the Greek. One of the more notable details is the portrayal of David in relation to the Goliath story (1 Samuel 17–18). The Greek text is shorter by 50 verses than the Hebrew.

*1–2 Kings:* The LXX portrayal of Solomon, Jeroboam, and Ahab differs considerably from the MT. In general the LXX text is more extensive, often giving two accounts of narratives attested only once in the MT. Some of these seem to point to the existence of two textual traditions concerning the schism between Israel and Judah.

*1–2 Chronicles:* There are differences in the listing of the genealogies of the descendants of Ham, the Greek in general shortening the list found in MT. The Greek text of 2 Chronicles 35 contains readings which, while absent in the MT, are attested in the same form in 2 Kings, 23 and 24.

*Psalms:* The numbering of the Greek Psalms from 9–147 is generally less by one than that of the MT. Hebrew psalms 9 and 10 and also 114 and 115 are, in both instances, combined in the Greek. Psalm titles in the Greek tend to be longer and more numerous than in the Hebrew.

*Proverbs:* Several verses in MT have no Greek equivalent and vice versa. Many of the Greek additions may be explained as fusions of two readings or additions from other known contexts, but some suggest that they were drawn from collections different from those reflected in the MT.

*Job:* The Greek text is shorter by approximately one sixth than the MT. The differences do not everywhere consist of abbreviations. There is a long final addition and alternate rendering of some passages.

*Esther:* Of the 270 verses in the Greek text of Esther, 107 find no parallel in the MT. The additions are widely distributed.

*Jeremiah:* The variance between the Greek and the MT is extensive and often observed. The Greek text is shorter by some 2700 words than the MT. It now seems assured that the shorter Greek version is based upon a different Hebrew text than the MT and is not merely a shortening of the latter. The "oracles against the nations" are situated in another place and in a different order than the MT. Chaps. 46–51 in the MT are placed in the LXX following 25:13 and there are significant differences in the contents of Chaps. 10 and 23.

*The Minor Prophets:* The order of the books differs in the two sources.

*Ezekiel:* The Greek version differs from the MT in many ways. The difference most often discussed is 36:23–38, the oracle of a new heart. The Greek text seems to have been based on a Hebrew original much shorter than that represented in the MT.

*Daniel:* Two Greek texts are available for this book, one a revision called Theodotion, the other LXX. Both of these differ with the MT in a variety of ways. In Chap. 4, for example, the LXX text is clearly longer than the MT even though it omits several elements present in the Hebrew. In addition to these differences there appear the well-known additions *Bel and the Dragon, The Prayer of Azariah and the Three Young Men,* and the *Story of Susanna.*

**F. Importance of LXX**

That the LXX is an important document in biblical studies has long been recognized, but the reasons why have not always been uniformly or clearly expressed. Mainline biblical scholars have therefore tended to use it primarily as a means to correct the MT where the latter is perceived to be corrupt. The foregoing discussions should make clear that the Greek version, although translated from Hebrew, was not necessarily translated from a text accessible to us. The most important reason for studying the LXX then is to read and understand the thought of Jews in the pre-Christian centuries. In the process we may obtain insights into the textual history of the Hebrew Bible. On the purely formal level, any Hebrew text retroverted from the Greek Bible will in fact predate by several hundred years the complete ms on which our Hebrew Bible is based. Septuagint studies are thus important for textual, canonical, and exegetical purposes.

A second reason western scholars especially specialists in Christianity, should consider the LXX, is that it was the Bible of the early Christian Church. It was not secondary to any other scripture; it was Scripture. When a NT writer allegedly urged his audience to consider that all scripture given by divine "inspiration" is also profitable for doctrine, it was to the LXX not the Hebrew that attention was being called. The LXX also provides the context in which many of the lexical and theological concepts in the NT can best be explained. Excellent syntheses of the relationships between LXX and NT have been made. Summaries and evaluations of these discussions and issues appear in Smith (1972 and 1988).

Before and after the adoption of the LXX by Christians—most of whom were former Jews—it was an important document in Hellenistic circles. Early Jewish writers in Greek, such as Philo (ca. 30 C.E.), Paul (ca. 50 C.E.), and Josephus (ca. 80 C.E.) allegorized, expanded and quoted it extensively. The sermons and commentaries of Greek and Latin Church Fathers show evidence that they were using a Greek not a Hebrew Bible; serious study of the early Christian writers cannot proceed without a secure Greek text.

A third reason the LXX is important is that it explains the way the Hebrew Bible was understood and interpreted in antiquity. To the degree that every translation is a commentary, the LXX, as the first translation of the Hebrew Bible, provides insight into the art of translation of a sacred text and the subtle (and at times blatant) way in which it was re-interpreted in the process.

The Septuagint is also important as a reminder to all who would wish for simplistic answers to scriptural and canonical questions, or shortcuts around the complexity surrounding most human endeavors. Some religious movements have sought uniformity of thought and action by destroying or curbing the propagation of dissenting voices. It is to the credit of Judaism and Christianity that the LXX and other materials—Pseudepigrapha, Apocrypha, Targumim, and recently discovered materials such as those found at Qumran and elsewhere—have been freely transmitted.

## G. Bibliographic Resources

The International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (IOSCS) is the ongoing body dedicated to research on the Septuagint. The monograph Series of this group, *SBLSCS*, contains some 24 items all of which are relevant in some way to the Septuagint. In addition, its annual *Bulletin (BIOSCS)* records work published or in progress relating to the Septuagint, and also includes technical articles. The reader is urged to consult that publication for detailed current bibliographies. Many fine overviews on the Septuagint have already appeared and are recommended (Wevers *IDB* 4:273–78; Kraft *IDBSup*, 811–15, and Tov *IDBSup*, 807–11; Tov 1986a and 1988). Some of the more seminal discussions about Septuagint matters have been gathered in the essay collections, festschriften and bibliographies listed in part 1 below. Of these the Brock, Fritsch, and Jellicoe 1973 is the most comprehensive Bibliography to date. In part 2, M. Harl et al. (1988) is especially useful because it lists current extensive bibliographies following the discussions of specific topics.

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## SEPULCHER, HOLY. See HOLY SEPULCHRE, CHURCH OF THE; GOLGOTHA

## SERA, TEL (M.R. 119088). See ZIKLAG (PLACE).

## SERAH (PERSON) [Heb *śeraḥ* (שֶׂרַח)]. The daughter of Asher (Gen 46:17; Num 26:46; 1 Chr 7:30).

Serah also was the granddaughter of Jacob and Zilpah, the maid whom Laban gave to his daughter Leah on the occasion of Leah's marriage to Jacob (Gen 29:24). Serah's name is included in every genealogical list of Asher and she was counted as one of the seventy people who descended to Egypt with Jacob at the time of the severe famine in the land of Canaan (Gen 46:8–27). Because her name also appears in the census list of the clans of Asher (Num 26:46), it is possible that she became the ancestress of one of the prominent clans of Asher. The presence of her name in all of the genealogical lists of Asher gave rise to many stories and legends to explain her prominence among the Asherite clans.

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## SERAIAH (PERSON) [Heb *śĕrāyâ* (שְׂרָיָה)]. Name of eleven individuals in the Hebrew Bible and

Apocrypha. The name is a Qal perfect form of the Heb root *śrh* "to persevere, persist." On rare occasions, the root may mean "to rule." With the divine element, *yah (û),* the name probably means "Yahweh has persevered or persisted" (Fowler, *TPNAH,* 108).

**1.** The son of Neriah, and a high-ranking official in the government of Judah's last king, Zedekiah (597–587 B.C.E.), who also played a direct role in furthering the ministry of Jeremiah the prophet and lent his hand to help preserve the Jeremiah legacy among exiled Jews in Babylon. According to Jer 51:59–64, Seraiah accompanied Zedekiah on a trip to Babylon in the king's fourth year, i.e. 594/3 B.C.E. The purpose of the royal mission was apparently to reaffirm Judah's loyalty to Nebuchadnezzar following the rebellions in Babylon and Judah earlier that year. Before making this trip Jeremiah instructed Seraiah to take with him a scroll or oracles announcing doom on Babylon (Jeremiah 50–51). Upon arrival he was to read the oracles aloud, then roll up the scroll, tie a stone to it, and cast it into the Euphrates with the words of a curse also provided by Jeremiah. Seraiah's title at the time of the mission was *śar mĕnûḥâ* (Jer 51:59), commonly thought to mean "commander of the caravan," "general quartermaster," (Hitzig 1866:399) or something similar. The LXX has *archōn dōrōn* "officer of the gifts."

Seraiah was brother to Baruch the scribe who figures so prominently in the book of Jeremiah (note the same double patronyms in Jer 32:12 and 51:59). Both no doubt descend from a family of Judean scribes. The biblical tradition does not assign the title "scribe" to Seraiah as it does to Baruch (Jer 36:26, 32), nevertheless Seraiah can be assumed to possess the requisite skills of a scribe and can be considered competent to perform a range of scribal functions. A seal impression has been found which reads, "Belonging to Seraiah, (son of) Neriah" (Avigad 1978a: 56; 1978b), and the probability is high that the seal's owner is the biblical Seraiah ben Neriah. If so, the bulla confirms Seraiah's scribal competencies, while at the same time corroborates the biblical tradition of not labelling him a "scribe" (a seal impression found with Baruch's name on it does contain the title "scribe"; Avigad 1978a).

Jeremiah 51:59–64 is a colophon which Seraiah wrote originally for the scroll of Babylon oracles (cf. LXX 27–28), a scroll which had to be copied also by him before it was thrown into the Euphrates (Lundbom 1986). In the MT, where the foreign nation oracles are relocated to the end of the book, this colophon has an expanded role of concluding the entire book (less chapter 52). Seraiah may thus have been the one who, in Babylon, shaped the final form of the book of Jeremiah (or at least the form underlying our present MT). However, we have no independent evidence that Seraiah was exiled to Babylon, only that he went there on the mission of 594/3. However much Seraiah did help preserve the Jeremiah legacy, his role in any case was not as significant as that of his better-known brother Baruch.

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**2.** High-ranking government official who held the position of *sōpēr* (royal secretary) during the reign of David (2 Sam 8:17). In two other lists of David's ministers of state, he is called Sheva (2 Sam 20:25) and Shavsha (1 Chr 18:16). In a similar list of officials of the Solomonic period (Mettinger 1971), he is called Shisha (1 Kgs 4:3 (LXX reads "Sheva"); according to 1 Kgs 4:3, two of Shisha's sons held the office of royal secretary). What the original form of the name might have been is disputed. See Rüterswörden (1985).

**3.** One of the sons of Kenaz and member of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr 4:13).

**4.** A Simeonite (cf. 1 Chr 4:24–33) mentioned in a list of those who were "princes in their clans" in the time of Hezekiah (1 Chr 4:34–43). He is the son of Asiel and the father of Joshibiah (v 35).

**5.** Son of Azriel and officer at the court of Jehoiakim (Jer 36:26). Seraiah was one of those sent by Jehoiakim to arrest the prophet Jeremiah and his secretary Baruch following the reading of Jeremiah's scroll in the fifth year of Jehoiakim's reign (604/3 B.C.E.). Seraiah is named together with Jerahmeel "the king's son" and Shelemiah son of Abdeel (Shelemiah's name is omitted in the LXX [Jer 43:26]). Both Jeremiah and Baruch escaped (Jer 36:26).

**6.** Chief priest of Jerusalem, and one of the Judean royal officials put to death in Riblah by the Babylonians in 587/6 B.C.E. (Jer 52:24–27; 2 Kgs 25:18–21). Seraiah was the son of Azariah and the father of Jehozadak (1 Chr 6:14; alternately Jozadak [Ezra 3:2]). The Chronicler reports that Jehozadak was taken into exile by the Babylonians (v 15). Seraiah's grandson Jeshua, a contemporary of Zerubbabel, was high priest following the exile (Ezra 3:2; 1 Esdr 5:8). According to Ezra 7:1 (= 1 Esdr 8:1), Ezra was "the son of Seraiah, son of Azariah, son of Hilkiah." Although it is not possible that Ezra's father was the Seraiah under consideration here (whereby he would be the brother of Jehozadak), it is possible that Ezra was a direct descendant of Seraiah.

**7.** One of the Judean troop commanders who, following the destruction of Jerusalem in 587/6 B.C.E., chose to join Gedaliah, the ruler of Judah, at his administrative center at Mizpah (Jer 40:8; 2 Kgs 25:23). He is identified as the son of Tanhumeth, a Netophathite—in the parallel passage (2 Kgs 25:23), the words "the sons of Ephai" (Jer 40:8) are omitted. Presumably Seraiah and his men were among those

who, fearing Babylonian reprisals for the assassination of Gedaliah (Jer 41:18; 2 Kgs 25:26), fled to Egypt (Jer 43:5–7).

**8.** One of the leaders who returned to Jerusalem and Judah with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:2; 1 Esdr 5:8). He is called Azariah in Neh 7:7.

**9.** One of the twenty-two "chiefs of priests" (Neh 12:7) who accompanied Zerubbabel out of exile (12:1). In Neh 12:12–21—closely connected with 12:17—Meraiah is named as head of the priestly family of Seraiah at the time of the high priest Joiakim (12:12), Jeshua's successor (cf. Neh 12:10).

**10.** One of the priests who was signatory to a legal document of reform associated with Ezra or Nehemiah (Neh 10:30—Eng 10:29). Although the term "covenant" is not used in Neh 10:1–40—Eng 9:38–10:29, the account probably relates to a covenant-making ceremony (cf. 10:30—Eng 10:29) which addressed itself to various concerns of the postexilic community. It would appear that the priests (unlike the Levites) are listed by their family names, and not as individuals. The individual signing under the name of Seraiah—the first name to appear in this list of twenty-one priests—does so as a representative of the high-priestly family (cf. 2 Kgs 25:18 [= Jer 52:24]; 1 Chr 6:14; see #6 above). In Neh 10:1–2, the LXX places "son of" following the name Zedekiah and before the name Seraiah, thereby removing Seraiah from the list of signatories (see Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB; Rudolph *Esra und Nehemia* HAT).

**11.** A priest who is listed among those who resided in Jerusalem after the exile (Neh 11:3–24). According to the MT, Seraiah is named as "ruler of the house of God" (11:11). However, there is good reason to believe that the MT is to be emended. One possible reading of Neh 11:10–11 is "Jedaiah son of Joiarib, son of Seraiah, son of Hilkiah …" (NEB; JB emends the text to read "Jedaiah son of Joiakim, son of Seraiah …"). With this reading, vv 10–11 provide the genealogy of Jedaiah, the high priest—the names of Jeshua and Jehozadak (Jozadak) are missing. In the similar list in 1 Chr 9:2–34, Seraiah's name fails to appear in 9:11; instead, Azariah is named as the son of Hilkiah. It is very possible that two different individuals are intended (cf. 1 Chr 5:39–40—Eng 6:13–14 and Ezra 7:1 [=1 Esdr 8:1], where it is stated that Hilkiah is the father of Azariah and Azariah the father of Seraiah; see #6 above).

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**SERED** (PERSON) [Heb *sered* (סֶרֶד)]. SEREDITES. The oldest of the three sons of Zebulun (Gen 46:14). Sered was the grandson of Jacob and Leah. His name appears in the list of the seventy people who descended with Jacob and his family to Egypt at the time of a severe famine in the land of Canaan (Gen 46:8–27). Nothing is known about Sered. In the census list mentioned in the book of Numbers he is listed as the ancestral head of the family of the Seredites, one of the clans of the tribe of Zebulun (Num 26:26).

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**SEREK HAYYAHAD.** See FLORILEGIUM (4QFLOR).

**SERGIUS PAULUS** (PERSON). See PAULUS, SERGIUS (PERSON).

**SERMON ON THE MOUNT/PLAIN.** The customary designation for the discourse of Jesus recorded in Matthew 5–7 and Luke 6:20–40.

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A. Name
B. The Addresses
C. Present Situation of Scholarship
D. Origin and History of Tradition
E. Literary Genre and Function
F. Composition

1. The Sermon on the Mount
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G. Theology
1. The Sermon on the Mount
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H. Literary Influences
1. Within the NT
2. In the Post-NT Period

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**A. Name**

The name "Sermon on the Mount" (henceforth abbreviated SM) designates the first programmatic speech Jesus delivered according to the gospel of Matthew (5:3–7:27). The name SM (*sermo in monte*) was used by Augustine (A.D. 354–430), who in his early commentary (written ca. 392–396 [Mutzenbecher 1967:ix]), most probably the first ever written on SM alone, highlighted the famous text as a literary entity in itself. Since then, the name not only designates the particular text in Matthew, but, for the public mind and especially in the present debate, stands also for the text that sums up the uncompromising ethics of the historical Jesus as distinct from the post-Easter theology of the Christian Church. This simplification, however, proves untenable in the light of scholarship past and present.

Since "mountain" refers to the place where Jesus is said to have presented his sermon (Matt 5:1), the parallel speech in Luke 6:20 b–49 was called after the place where it was delivered (6:12, 17), of the "Sermon on the Plain" (henceforth abbreviated SP).

**B. The Addresses**

The sources are unclear concerning the question of the original addresses of SM and SP. According to Matt 5:1, SM is addressed to the disciples of Jesus after he had separated them from the crowd and moved to the mountain. In 7:28, however, Matthew says that all, disciples and crowds, praised the sermon because of its authoritative power. Further, who are the disciples? According to Matt 4:18–22, only four have so far been called: Simon Peter and his brother, Andrew, and the two sons of Zebedee. Matthew can hardly have believed that only four disciples were present on the mountain, however, for he certainly holds that Jesus spoke to all the disciples and, indeed, to all the people as well. Similar ambiguity is found in connection with SP: in Luke 6:12–16, Jesus goes up to the mountain in order to elect the Twelve, and in 6:17–19, all come down to the plain and meet with the people, so that according to 6:20a, disciples and people are present. Yet Jesus makes his speech "fixing his eyes on his disciples." Mark 3:13–19 also reports that Jesus went to the mountain to elect the Twelve, but of course there is no parallel to SM and SP in Mark. This situation would indicate that the gospel writers are certainly interested in having Jesus address both the disciples and the people, probably because the disciples (then and in their own time) have been called from the people who represent the general readership of the gospels. The address to the disciples only appears to have come from the earlier sources, SM and SP, and perhaps the Q-versions, $Q^{Matt}$ and $Q^{Luke}$, into which they were integrated before their inclusion in the gospels (see Strecker 1984:26). In terms of the history of tradition, therefore, both SM and SP serve as instructions given to disciples, a function that is borne out as well by their literary genre and composition.

**C. Present Situation of Scholarship**

The present situation in scholarship regarding SM and SP shows little consensus. All the fundamental problems are debated: authorship, textual transmission and history of tradition, literary genre, composition and function, historical origin, location in early Christian theology, and relationship to other NT and extra-NT sources (gospels and epistles in the NT, Christian apocrypha, Jewish writings, Greco-Roman philosophy, ethics, and religion). Wide differences regarding the meaning of SM for the modern world characterize the present debates inside and outside the Christian churches. In comparison, SP has attracted little attention until recently.

**D. Origin and History of Tradition**

According to the gospel authors, both SM and SP go back to Jesus of Nazareth. The authors are historically correct in the general sense that the main theological doctrines expressed in SM and SP point back to Jesus; but their thesis is hardly demonstrable concerning the written texts, which are in Greek and which cannot be shown to be simple translations from the Aramaic. Both SM and SP were conceived in Greek by whoever composed them.

That SM and SP are parallel texts was recognized and debated in the patristic literature. Perhaps Origen (*fr. in Mt.* 79) and certainly Chrysostom (*In Matth. Hom.* 15) believed that the same sermon of Jesus was transmitted twice; but Augustine took the differences between them seriously, regarding them as two different speeches, one (SM) given before the apostles only and the other (SP) addressing all the people (*De consensu evangelistarum* 2.19). Both options have been held through the entire history of exegesis, up to the present time (see Lambrecht 1985:35–40).

Most scholars today assign the composition of SM to Matthew (Guelich 1982; Strecker 1984; Lambrecht 1985; Luz *Matthäus* EKKNT) and that of SP to Luke (Schürmann *Lukasevangelium* HTKNT, 385–86; Marshall *Luke* NIGTC, 243–45; Fitzmyer *Luke I–IX* AB, 627–62). For these scholars, Matthew received the basic material from Q and expanded it with other sources he found in his tradition or which he made up himself; he also made editorial changes in the material. Concerning the basic Q-material, some assume that it was, on the whole, identical with SP, while others hold that Q is represented in Matthew and Luke in two recensions ($Q^{Matt}$ and $Q^{Luke}$) and that SM and SP were transmitted to the gospel writers as part of these two recensions (see Moffatt 1918:194–204; Streeter 1930:249–59; Kümmel 1975:63–80; Lindemann 1984:251–63, 335–39; Strecker 1984:9–12). Some scholars have attempted to reconstruct from SM and SP an earlier Q-Sermon (see, e.g., Schenk 1981; Polag 1982); but it is still uncertain whether SM and SP were part of Q, and if they were, whether there ever was *one* Q-Sermon, and if there were, whether it can be reconstructed from the two recensions. Wrege (1968:1–4, 57, 108–9, 131, 172), however, does not subscribe to the hypothetical Q-source but has Matthew compose SM from sayings clusters in the oral tradition of the sayings of Jesus. Yet Wrege cannot explain—and does not treat—the parallel literary integrity of SP. Betz (1985b) regards both SM and SP as presynoptic compositions older than Q. Constructed for specific purposes, they took their form from the literary genre and function. As the evolving collection Q—really a collection of earlier collections and clusters of sayings *(gnomologium)*—was expanded, SM and SP ended up in the two recensions.

Over the past decades, some scholars have assumed that SM originated in early Jewish Christianity (Streeter 1930:254–59; Dibelius 1953:97:ca. A.D. 50; so also Betz 1985b: 1). Accordingly, SM continues the teaching of Jesus, looking back at it from a later perspective and making a critical and pointed selection of what was then recognized as essential (see G below). More precise data are hard to ascertain, but the central position of Jerusalem, the only place ever named in SM, is conspicuous (5:14, 34d–35; 7:13–14); and an allusion to the Peter-rock tradition in 7:24–25 is conceivable. In later Jewish Christianity, SM exerted an extraordinarily strong influence (*Didache,* Jewish Christian gospels, *Pseudo-Clementines;* Elchasaites).

There are no clues to the origin of SP as a presynoptic source. The text is apparently designed from a Jewish-Christian perspective, although written for gentile Christians.

**E. Literary Genre and Function**

The literary genre and function of SM was investigated by Betz in 1978 (see Betz 1985b: 1–16), who proposes that SM conforms to the genre of the epitome, which he describes thus (p. 13):

> As a literary work, the epitome is secondary in nature. It is a condensation of a larger work, made by a redactor (who may of course be the same person as the author of the larger work) for a specific purpose. Its characteristics include brevity and precision in selection and formulation. But the epitome is not simply a collection of selected passages. Rather, the author has systematic goals and looks at the work to be epitomized as a whole. What he or she selects and composes into the new literary unit is intended to be a systematic synopsis. In composing the epitome, the author has considerable freedom to be creative, to reformulate, to transpose, to add and omit as necessary in view of the overall demands of the genre and purpose.

Applied to SM, that text conforms to the genre in this way: "The literary genre of the SM is that of an epitome presenting the theology of Jesus in a systematic fashion. The epitome is a composition carefully designed out of sayings of Jesus grouped according to thematic points of doctrine considered to be of primary importance. Correspondingly, its function is to provide the disciple of Jesus with the necessary tool for becoming a Jesus theologian. 'Hearing and doing the sayings of Jesus,' therefore, means enabling the disciple to theologize creatively along the lines of the theology of the master" (p. 15).

The text of SP also falls into the category of epitome and serves the same function. That SP on the one hand is composed in a similar way but on the other hand differs so greatly from SM is due not to a different genre or function but to the different addressees. SM is designed for Jewish Christians, SP for gentile Christians.

**F. Composition**

Careful literary analyses are indispensable for the question of the literary composition of both SM and SP. These analyses consider form and redaction criticism as well as rhetorical and argumentative strategies. Thus far such analyses have been proposed only in experimental form, but even on that basis one can say that both texts are exceedingly well constructed. Each in its own way is a textual unit with its own form, composition, and theological thought world, similarities notwithstanding. Number symbolism is one of the major elements in the composition of both.

**1. The Sermon on the Mount.** The number three is of great importance to the composition of SM. As a whole, SM falls into three parts: the exordium (5:3–16), the central section (5:17–7:12), and the concluding section (7:13–27).

**a. The Exordium** (5:3–16). The exordium begins with an impressive and highly complex series of ten beatitudes (macarisms), whereby the number ten is hardly fortuitous but corresponds to an ordering principle, frequently encountered in Jewish literature, which symbolizes perfection. See BEATITUDES. But matters are still more complicated, for in 5:3–12 two strata can clearly be distinguished. In 5:3–10, a series of eight macarisms, largely parallel in form, have been brought together. Each consists of a distich in the third person plural, the second line of which is invariably introduced by *hoti* ("that"). In patristic exegesis, the number eight (according to other reckonings, the number seven) symbolizes perfection as well. In 5:9–10, two further macarisms have been added secondarily. These secondary expansions bring about changes in form, though it is not clear for what reason. In any case, the symbolism remains constant, since both the number eight (seven) and the number ten express perfection. As a *theologumenon*, perfection itself plays an important role in the SM (5:48).

The phenomenon of the series of macarisms raises the problem of how individual macarisms are related to one another. Again there are wide-ranging discussions among the Church Fathers on this point. They noticed that the first in the series of macarisms speaks of the basic virtue of humility, while the last deals with the vision of God and deification. Thus some patristic expositors interpreted the design as a step-ladder for the ascent of the soul from the elementary virtue of humility to mystical union with God. Though one may be skeptical toward such speculative ideas, it remains necessary to find an explanation more appropriate to the text for why the Beatitudes are arranged in their present order.

In itself, the series of macarisms is by no means uniform, but is made up of four distinct types, each of two lines, with the exception of v 12, which is a tristich. The first and no doubt the "leading" macarism is found in v 3. It has its counterpart in v 10. The first line contains the macarism as such, "Blessed are the poor in spirit," formulated in the third person plural. The designation of those addressed is unusual (see below). The second line constitutes a *hoti*-clause, in which the grounds for the macarism are stated. However, the *hoti*-clause belongs to the macarism in only a qualified sense. The phrase "to them belongs the kingdom of heaven" was originally a verdict that had its place in the last judgment and is anticipated here (cf. Matt 25:34).

The second type is found in vv 4–9. Again the first line contains the macarism, cast in the third person plural, together with the designation of those who are addressed, while the second line is a *hoti*-clause giving the basis for the blessing. But in this instance the *hoti*-clause consists of an eschatological promise, formulated in the future passive. These promises arise through an eschatological interpretation of the *ius*

*talionis* (law of retribution). The series comprised by vv 4–9 contains macarisms that correspond to individual scenes in which the fate of the righteous in paradise is described. Thus one can see in this section a greatly abbreviated apocalyptic vision of the world to come.

The third type is found only once (v 11). The macarism is now formulated in the second person plural and is not connected with a designation of those addressed. The second line takes the form of a *hoti*-clause. It presents three situations of persecution that the addressees must be prepared to undergo.

The fourth type is a tristich, represented by v. 12. Also formulated in the second person plural, it begins with a double summons to "rejoice and be glad," then passes over into a *hoti*-clause in the second line, which provides the necessary justification. This line consists of a Jewish dogmatic judgment: "Great is your reward in heaven." This verdict is then furnished with its justification in the third line: "for so they persecuted the prophets who were before you." In other words, an historical verdict is rendered by which the present persecution of the community is equated with the persecution of the prophets, that, in accordance with Jewish thought, results in eschatological reward. One must read the argument in reverse, so to speak. The historical verdict rendered in v 12c leads to the dogmatic judgment in v 12b, and both together constitute the basis for the macarism in v 12a.

The beatitudes are followed by a commission of the "Church" (if at this point one can call the Christian community a church), stated as two declarations, each claiming a traditional metaphor of Jewish self-description: the salt of the earth (5:13) and the light of the world (5:14–16).

**b. Central Section** (5:17–7:12). The main body of SM (5:17–7:12) sets forth what is called in 7:14 "the way to the (eternal) life" (7:14), i.e., guidelines for a way of life. It consists of three parts, the first of which is devoted to the interpretation of the Torah (5:17–48).

This interpretation is introduced by a set of four *hermeneutical principles* (5:17–20) which are regarded as underlying all of the teachings of Jesus. The first principle (5:17) assesses the intention and purpose of Jesus as a Torah teacher and refutes the idea that he had come to abolish the Torah. The second principle (5:18) affirms the authority of the written Hebrew text of Scripture. The third (5:19) defines the status and authority of Jesus' interpretation of the Torah in the Christian community. The fourth (5:20) specifies what is to be understood by righteousness in distinction from Pharisaism.

These principles are then applied in six cases of *halakah*, the so-called *antitheses* (5:21–48). Taken together, all six cases comprise legal issues exemplifying the commandment of Lev 19:18, "Love your neighbor" (5:43). There are two sets of three "neighborly" conflicts, the first set dealing with family conflicts, second with friends and foes, thus covering in principle all interpersonal relationships.

The first antithesis is on murder and focuses on the brother, understood here also in the wider sense of the term (5:21–26). The second antithesis treats adultery (5:27–30), the third divorce (5:31–32). The second set is based on the assumption that broken friendship is the root cause of enmity, and it opens with the fourth antithesis on oath-taking as the opposite of speaking the truth, the mark of true friendship (5:33–37). The fifth antithesis then deals with retaliation (5:38–42), while the sixth leads up to the climax and the role diametrically opposed to treatment of the brother, treatment of the enemy (5:43–48).

The arrangement of the entire series is worked out with great skill down to the smallest detail, and as a whole it amounts to an interpretation of Jesus' love command in terms of Jewish Torah exegesis (cf. also Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 274–76). Each antithesis is carefully constructed as a legal and ethical argument interpreting in a parallel pattern Torah prohibitions and prescriptions. The argument proceeds by first refuting a false interpretation of the Torah in order then to submit the right interpretation of the same Torah and to argue the latter rhetorically with the help of illustrative examples, images, and metaphors. Each argument leads up to a conclusion justifying Jesus' interpretation as ethically valid.

The second section of the body (6:1–18) contains *cultic instruction* (see Betz 1985b: 55–69). After a general exhortation (6:1), three subsections deal with the improper and proper performance of the rituals of almsgiving (6:2–4), prayer (6:5–15), and fasting (6:16–18). Analysis shows (see Betz 1985b: 57–59) a highly stylized parallel structure of the three sections and also reveals the insertion of a separate instruction on prayer after 6:5–6 (6:7–15). Composed somewhat differently from the rest of the section, this insertion presents as well different theological ideas. It polemicizes against assimiliation with the

"heathen" and presents a Jewish (-Christian) doctrine of prayer (6:7–8), for which the Lord's Prayer (6:9–13) serves as the authoritative example; to this is joined a "sentence of sacred law" regarding forgiveness (6:14–15).

The third section of the body (6:19–7:12) is composed of seven compositions of *sententiae*, varying in length and character and concluded by their underlying hermeneutical principle, the Golden Rule (7:12). The collection begins with a piece on gathering treasures (6:19–21) and continues with a very succinct composition on vision (6:22–23; see Betz 1985b: 71–87). Next comes a short saying on serving two masters (6:24), followed by two long and highly developed arguments, one on worrying (6:25–34; see Betz 1985b: 89–123) and another on judging (7:1–5). A concise yet cryptic *sententia* on profaning the holy (7:6) is followed by a longer argument on giving and receiving (7:7–11), often thought to refer to petitionary prayer (see Luz *Matthäus* EKKNT, 382–87). While the arrangement appears to be somewhat loose, as is often the case in collections of *sententiae*, the Golden Rule (7:12) is assumed to underlie all components and, indeed, SM as a whole.

**c. Concluding Section** (7:13–23). The last major part of the SM consists of *eschatological warnings;* again there are three subsections. Indicating the importance of the Two-Way schema for SM, the first exhortation (7:13–14) combines the image of the narrow and the wide gates with that of the rough and the smooth roads: one leads to the eternal life and the other to everlasting destruction. The disciples of Jesus must struggle on the rough road and find the narrow gate, images describing the difficulties of a life lived in obedience to the SM itself.

The second exhortation (7:15–20) is a warning to be alert in view of false prophets invading and subverting the community. There is no identification as to who these "wolves in sheepskin" are, except that ways of detecting them are indicated.

The final exhortation (7:21–23; see Betz 1985b: 125–57) against self-delusion is cast in the form of a scenario of the Last Judgment. Jesus is shown to act as the advocate of his faithful and to reject those who are deluding themselves by claiming to have prophesied, cast out demons, and wrought miracles in his name but who have failed to observe his teaching of the Torah and are therefore in a state of "lawlessness" and unrighteousness.

The *peroration* (7:24–27; see Betz 1985b: 3–7) takes the form of a double parable describing success and failure in discipleship through imagery of the prudent builder who builds his house on the rock in contrast to the foolish one who builds on the sand.

**2. The Sermon on the Plain.** Falling into the same literary category, using much of the same tradition, and showing a similar arrangement in composition, SP is nonetheless very different from SM. SP has three parts: an exordium (Luke 6:20b–26), a main body containing rules for the conduct of the disciples (6:27–45), and a peroration (6:46–49).

**a. The Exordium** (6:20 b–26). The exordium combines four beatitudes (macarisms) with four contrasting threats ("woes"). The former describe the poor as hungry and weeping and the rich as stuffing their stomachs and laughing indecently (6:20 b–21, 24–25b). This description conforms to a social typology, used here to identify the Christian experiences of discrimination and harrassment of the faithful and to warn against seeking the approval of opportunists and flatterers (6:22, 26). Between the beatitudes and the threats lies a call for joy (6:23), formulating a doctrine of reward in the Last Judgment for sufferings endured.

**b. Main Body** (6:27–45). The rules for the conduct of the disciples in the body of SP can be divided into two subsections, the first dealing with the outside world (6:27–38) and the second with specific guidelines for education (6:39–45).

The first subsection (6:27–38) comprises a lengthy argument concerning Jesus' fundamental command to love the enemy. The command is given in the form of four parallel ethical maxims, the first of which is Jesus' love command, while the others provide interpretations through variations (6:27–28). This set is followed by an elaborate argumentation designed to prove that Jesus' commandment makes sense in terms of Greek ethical discourse. First, critical objections are taken into account through a set of four examples demonstrating the seeming absurdity of the commandment (6:29–30). The Golden Rule is

introduced (6:31) as the principle which makes the command intelligible. Since the Golden Rule can be misinterpreted, however, a commentary follows that refutes its erroneous interpretation (6:32–34) and sets forth the correct one (6:35) and concludes with a maxim (6:36) stating the imitation of God as the theological doctrine undergirding both the Golden Rule and the commandment of Jesus. Finally, there is paraenetical application in the form of four maxims (6:37–38).

The second subsection (6:39–45), contains the guidelines for education and opens with a demonstration of the need for and a formulation of a doctrine of Christian education. Christian education is needed as a means to prevent ignorance: "Can the blind guide the blind?" (6:39). Three rules for the learning community follow: first a rule concerning relationships between students and teachers, including their status both before and after graduation (6:40); second, a rule concerning the relationship between students, demonstrating the need for self-criticism and self-correction (6:41–42); and third, a rule concerning the relationship to oneself (6:43–45), proving the need for self-knowledge and spelling out the elements of an anthropology ("the good person" versus "the bad").

**c. The Peroration** (6:46–49). The concluding section begins with a rhetorical question describing the typical behavior of immature students (6:46), and concludes with the double parable of the two builders portraying the successful and the failed disciple. Although elaborated somewhat differently, the double parable is the same as in SM.

**G. Theology**

In theological concepts, both SM and SP are at the same time characteristically similar and different. Both show dependency on presuppositions coming from the teachings of Jesus, but these have been developed into independent and coherent theological concepts of faith (the term faith, however, is not used by either SM or SP). While doctrinal presuppositions are frequently stated, the whole of the theologies must be inferred from the arguments presented in the texts. These theologies are characteristically different from, although not irreconcilable with, the secondary contexts (Q [?], Matthew, Luke) into which they have been integrated. As compared with other NT texts, both theologies appear archaic insofar as that they show christology and ecclesiology at relatively early stages of inception, and their soteriology is essentially Jewish. Their views on God, the world, and eschatology although in many ways peculiar, do not go beyond what is conceivable in Judaism (see Betz 1985a). Apart from these general agreements, the theologies of SM and SP are strikingly different.

**1. The Sermon on the Mount.** "*The message of Jesus* is a presupposition for the theology of the New Testament rather than a part of that theology itself" (*BTNT* 1:1; for the current state of the question, see Sanders 1985:1–58). The position of SM is that Jesus' teaching was orthodox in the Jewish sense (5:17–20; see Betz 1985b: 37–53), but that this view is contested and must be defended against adversaries. There are those, apparently other Jews, who say that Jesus was a heretic, one who came to abolish the Torah (5:17). In fact, SM must admit that there are Christians who say this and who disregard Jesus' teaching of the Torah. These seem to be gentile Christians, probably adherents of Paul (cf. Gal 3:23–25; Rom 10:4). SM warns that they will surely fail in the Last Judgment (7:21–23). However, even Jewish Christian teachers must be strongly warned against such thinking (5:17–20). Not to be overlooked are his warnings against assimilation (5:47; 6:7, 32) and self-doubt (6:30). SM, therefore, presents Jesus' teaching as decidedly Jewish, and it contains no trace of what we know from contemporary (e.g., Q or Paul) or later NT sources as Christian theology. Conspicuous is the absence of the kerygma of the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ, even in places where one would expect it (e.g., Matt 5:11, 12, 44; see Betz 1985b: 151). Jesus has no salvific function apart from the obedience to the Torah (5:17, 18; 7:12: *hō nomos*) that he teaches through his commandments (5:19: *hai entolai*) and sayings (7:24–27, 28: *hoi logoi*; see Betz 1985b: 48–49). His eschatological function is understood entirely in Jewish terms as the advocate for his faithful in the Last Judgment (7:21–23; see Betz 1985b: 151–54). Because of this role, Jesus is able to pronounce the beatitudes in the here and now (5:3–12). Constituting a complicated literary creation in themselves, these beatitudes anticipate the eschatological verdict to be rendered by God in the Last Judgment. Such anticipation is based on the knowledge of the legal and doctrinal terms according to which that Judgment will be conducted. Since every Jewish teacher of the Torah ought to

possess that knowledge, no "messianic" consciousness or "higher" christology is needed for pronouncing the verdict (differently, of course, when Matthew is considered as the redactor of the Gospel who is followed by most modern commentators; e.g., Guelich 1982:27; Strecker 1984; 27 Luz *Matthäus* EKKNT, 189). The promises made in 5:3–12 are, of course, conditional upon verification in the Last Judgment, from which the disciples of Jesus are not exempt (see 7:21–23 and Betz 1985b).

The soteriology of SM, however, is not based simply on observance of the Torah. Both this soteriology and the teachings of the Torah are based on the notion of "the kingdom of the heavens" *hē* basileia tōn ouranōn, i.e., of God), the interpretation of which is unique in the NT (see Betz 1985b: 89–123). The kingdom of God is otherworldly and eschatological (5:19, 20; 6:10, 33; 7:21), but is simultaneously at work in the present world. The faithful disciples participate in it during their life on earth. In fact, all creation participates in it, consciously or unconsciously, but the disciples do so knowingly. Jesus taught his disciples the Torah as the way revealed by God which corresponds to his kingdom and which leads one into it (7:13–14). The Torah has salvific force, therefore, because of its coordination with God's reign. The disciples who study and practice this Torah can count upon eschatological reward (5:12, 46; 6:1, 5, 16). With the help of the Torah as taught by Jesus, righteousness (5:6, 10, 20; 6:1, 33: *dikaiosynē*; 5:45: *dikaios*) can actually be produced; its opposite is lawlessness (7:23: *anomia*; see Betz 1985b: 52). The task of the disciples in this life, therefore, is "to seek after the kingdom [of God] and his righteousness" (6:33), guided by the Torah as Jesus taught it.

Salvation in SM is thus primarily identical with the kingdom of God. Drawing upon an archaic mythology (5:45: God "makes his sun rise on the evil and the good, and he rains upon the just and the unjust"), SM describes God's reign as that of the Father of the cosmos (6:9 [Lord's Prayer]; 5:16, 45, 48; 6:1, 4, 6, 8, 14, 15, 18, 26, 32; 7:11, 21). His reign stands in stark contrast to that of the political despots (cf. also 5:35, where God is given the title, "the great king," *ho megas basileus*). Unique in the NT is the concept of the divine Fatherhood as *creatio continua,* the evidence of which is observable in the natural order (6:25–34; see Betz 1985b: 108–18, 121–23) by those whose eyes function properly (6:22–23; see Betz 1985b: 71–87). The heavenly Father treats Jesus' disciples as his own sons, and they in turn are called to understand themselves and act as "sons of God" (5:9, 45; 7:9–11; see Betz 1985b: 122–23). Like all sons, the disciples of Jesus must mature to perfection (5:48: *teleios*). To provide the necessary guidance for this learning and maturing is the aim of SM. Its goal is to teach the disciples to imitate their heavenly Father in their daily lives, even as they themselves are fathers (7:11). In this sense the entire Christian existence as taught by SM is imitation of God *(imitatio Dei).*

**2. The Sermon on the Plain.** Although SP is designed from a Jewish-Christian perspective, its addressees were in all likelihood disciples of Jesus coming from a Greek cultural background. None of the material in SM concerned with matters of Jewish religion is found in SP. The language, conceptuality, and ideas, as well as the construction of the arguments, conform to Greek presuppositions. The teaching of Jesus is centered in the maxim, "Love your enemies" (Luke 6:27b), without prooftext as in SM/Matt 5:43) and, argued in terms of Greek ethical discourse, dispels all doubts about its absurdity (6:29–30). Salvation comes to these disciples (the notion of "disciple" occurs in 6:40) as an extension of Jewish eschatological promises, very similar to but not identical with those in SM. As disciples of Jesus, the addressees can expect great reward "on that day," that is, the day of the Last Judgment (6:23). The verdict will be admission to the "kingdom of God" (6:20: *hē basileia tou theou*), when they will be made "sons of the Most High" (6:35). Then there will be the traditional celebrations: good food, fun and games, and wild dances. Hence there can be joy even now (6:21, 23) in anticipation.

What are the theological grounds for extending these promises? They are not based, as one might expect, on the kerygma of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ; there is no doctrine of "grace" and no concept of "faith in Jesus Christ." The great reward which is said to be stored in heaven (6:23b) will be given to the faithful disciples "on that day" because of the sufferings they have endured "on account of the Son of Man" (6:22). These sufferings seem to be discriminations coming primarily from Jews (6:23c, 26c; note "*their* forefathers" instead of "the prophets before *you*" in SM/Matt 5:12c), and are said to be the same as those endured by the prophets of old and hence deserve the same reward. Since their reward

was great, so will be that of Christians who suffer (6:23, cf. 26). Discipleship of Jesus, however, does not consist primarily of ugly sufferings. SP conceives of that discipleship in terms of Greek education *(paideia),* by which the ethics of Jesus is learned as a way to realize one's humanity and as a means of survival in an evil and dangerous world.

Like Greek ethics, SP is primarily concerned with the realization of one's humanity. How such realization is to be accomplished is explained in clear, extremely concise terms. Basic is the Greek ethical concept of "the good person" *ho agathos anthrōpos).*"The good person brings forth the good out of the treasure of the heart, but the bad produces the bad out of the bad" (6:45). Notably, the bad is denied the honorific term, "human person" *(anthrōpos).*

The central ethical demand of Jesus is to love one's enemies (6:27b–28). Properly understood, this demand conforms to God's philanthropy and mercy, both of which are key terms of Greek religion and ethics. God is "kind to the ungrateful and the evil" (6:35d). He is "your Father who is merciful" (6:36). Therefore, the proper human response can only be that one is both generous and merciful and thus imitates God (6:35–38). Love of the enemy, however, not only corresponds to divine philanthropy but also exemplifies the Golden Rule (6:31) rightly understood (6:32–35). Loving the enemy (6:27c–28) means taking the initiative in turning the enemy into a friend, a theory rooted in Greek ethics. Later, Polycarp (*Phil.* 12:3) can rightly comment: "Love those who hate you, and pray for those who curse you, and you will have no enemy." Therefore, a life of generosity and mercy in every respect is the proper response to divine generosity and mercy.

This message was common in both the Greek and the Jewish world, especially in the Hellenistic-Jewish diaspora (see Betz *2 Corinthians 8–9* Hermeneia on 2 Cor 9:6–15). As a presupposition, it is also the basis for the rules of Christian education (6:40–45). Salvation can thus be experienced even now in overcoming ignorance (6:39), in improving one's relationship within the community (6:37–38, 41–42), in becoming a good human person (6:43–45), and in surviving the hazards of life in general (6:47–49). This life of discipleship is, however, threatened from within at every point, so that constant self-examination and self-correction remain indispensable (6:41–46).

**H. Literary Influences**

The literary influences of SM have been and continue to be immense. Comprehensive studies do not exist and probably never will because of the number of sources involved. Bibliographies, despite their efforts, remain incomplete. In comparison, SP has been far less influential. In fact, until recently not much attention has been devoted to it, apart from the gospel of Luke (see Wellhausen 1911:59–60; Knox 1957:9–17; Kahlefeld 1962; Schürmann *Lukasevangelium* HTKNT, 323–86; Robinson 1982:391; Worden 1973; Lambrecht 1985:206–32).

**1. Within the NT.** Literary dependencies and influences exerted by SM and SP upon other NT writings is a problem recently investigated by many scholars. There is a multitude of hypotheses and methodologies, and most questions remain open. What were the relationships between SM, SP, and Q, or versions of Q? Whatever these were, what was their influence *upon* Q? If Matthew and Luke included these texts in their gospels, did they influence these gospel writers elsewhere? Why do Mark and John have no knowledge of either SM or SP? Did Paul know of SM or SP? The parallels in his letters are too close to be accidental, but the significant differences have so far prevented any agreeable solution; see especially 1 Thess 4:2, 3–12 (cf. SM/Matt 5:16, 27–32; 6:33); 5:15 (cf. SM/Matt 5:38–42); 1 Cor 4:12 (cf. SM/Matt 5:44; SP/Luke 6:28); 7:10–16 (cf. SM/Matt 5:31–32); Gal 5:14 (cf. SM/Matt 5:43–48); Rom 2:1–3 (cf. SM/Matt 7:1–5, 37–42); 12:9–21; 13:8–10 (cf. SM/Matt 5:43–48; SP/Luke 6:27–28, 32–36). Did Paul obtain access to these texts through SM, SP, a version of Q, or from the oral tradition? One of the greatest puzzles remains the literary and theological relationship between SM and the Epistle of James (see Shepherd 1956; Dibelius and Greeven *James* Hermeneia, 28–29; Davies 1966:401–14), but also 1 Pet 3:14; 4:14 appears to be familiar with the beatitudes (cf. SM/Matt 5:10; SP/Luke 6:22; see also 1 Pet 2:19, 20, 23; 3:16; and Best 1969–70:95–113).

**2. In the Post-NT Period.** As Koester, Robinson, and many others have pointed out, early collections of Jesus' sayings developed side by side with the Gospels well into the 2d century (see Robinson

1982:389–94 with references). Evidence of such collections has surfaced in papyrus findings such as Papyrus Egerton and the Oxyrynchus Papyri nos. 1, 654 and 655, both of which contain important parallels to SM and SP (noted in Aland 1982:nos. 51–75, 78–83, and pp. 584–85; *NTApocr.* 1:97–116). Such sayings collections are also related to the Nag Hammadi texts, especially the *Gospel of Thomas* (see Koester 1980:238–61; Robinson 1982:393–94). As some of the sayings collections made their way into the NT (notably SM, SP, and Q), others did not, which may account for many similarities and differences among all sources concerned. These developments may also be responsible for the parallels to SM and SP in the Apocryphal Gospels and the Apostolic Fathers, where clusters of sayings can be found (see especially *1 Clem.* 13:2; *2 Clem.* 4:1–7:7; 13:2–4; Polycarp, *Phil.* 2:3; 6:2; 7:2; 12:3; see Koester 1957).

Strongly reminiscent of the Two Way schema in SM/Matt 7:13–14 is its appearance in the *Doctrina apostolorum,* probably originally a work of great proximity to *Did.* 1:1–6:3 and *Barn.* 18–20 (see Rordorf and Tuilier 1978:22–34, 206–10; Wengst 1984:13 with references and bibliography). The relationship of SM and SP to the *Shepherd of Hermas* is as yet unexplored. For Justin Martyr and the Pseudo-Clementine literature, doctoral dissertations have been published but they do not deal explicitly with the problem of SM and SP. All Christian writings of the post-NT period up to and inclusive of Justin Martyr contain numerous references and allusions to SM and SP with most of them textually different and independent from the canonical gospels as we have them. Even after the gospels of Matthew and Luke became generally accepted, this process of transmission may have continued for some time, especially in the Sayings of the Desert Fathers, the monastic rules (e.g., the *Regula Benedicti*), and the liturgical, martyrological, hagiographical, and mystical literature of the East and West. Specialized studies on most of these aspects are lacking. For preliminary surveys, see Massaux 1950; Mees 1975; Beyschlag 1977; Grant 1978; and the indexes of passages in *Biblia Patristica* 1–3 (1975–1980).

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**SERON** (PERSON) [Gk *Sērōn* (Σηρων)]. A commander of a unit of the Syrian army, which he led against Judas Maccabeus. He was the second Syrian commander to oppose Judas on the battlefield. See also APOLLONIUS. He is mentioned only in 1 Macc 3:13–14, with the parallel passage in Josephus (*Ant* 12.288).

The information these sources give about Seron is minimal and his position is thus far from clear. He is described as "commander of the army of Syria" (1 Macc 3:13), which Josephus turned, wrongly, into "governor of Coele-Syria." This could not have been so, since the governor of Coele-Syria at that time was Ptolemy son of Dorymenes. "Commander of the army of Syria" is meaningless in this context and was coined after biblical phrases.

It was suggested that he might have been an official of higher rank than Apollonius, and that he commanded some unit of the Syrian army not far from Judea. Its location was suggested at Dora by Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* 246), and at Gazaro or Jammia by Bar-Kochva (1989:133). Bar-Kochva also suggested, according to his name, that he was Thracian by origin, and so might have been a commander of a garrison of Thracian mercenaries (Ibid.). Seron was defeated by Judas Maccabeus, sometime in the spring of 165 B.C.E. at the Ascent of Beth-Horon.

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**SERPENT (RELIGIOUS SYMBOL).** In comparative religions the term "serpent" refers to a number of creatures, real and imaginary, distinguished by physical serpentine characteristics. Serpents play a major role in mythological and religious traditions throughout the world from arctic peoples (where snakes are rare or nonexistent) to equatorial cultures (where snakes are plentiful). The diversity of serpent figures within a culture may be demonstrated by N European traditions where this category includes, in

addition to snakes, such beasts as sea serpents (usually huge, scaley ocean monsters), dragons (snake-like reptiles with four legs), wyverns (two legged dragon-like creatures with wings), cockatrices and basilisks (rooster-headed wyverns), and hydras (multi-headed serpents). Though each religious tradition views its own serpent symbols within its own world-view, certain correspondences may be found in several widely separated cultures. The ANE peoples shared in the use of serpentine symbolism, though the extant artifacts often leave an imprecise understanding of the snake images. Serpents do appear in literary texts, however, so some idea of their significance to the culture may be determined.

The creation of the universe arising from a titanic struggle of deities, monsters, or both is a fairly common motif. In Enuma Elish the monster Tiamat is defeated by Marduk; with her defeat the cosmos can be designed. It has often been posited that Tiamat was a dragon or some form of serpent; though the text is quite unclear on her nature, it is certain that monstrous serpents aided her in her battle with the gods. In the Bible, God is pictured as struggling with sea serpents, which are controlled, and such texts have been interpreted as examples of creation myths. Serpents aid other deities in the creation of the cosmos in certain Indian, African, South Pacific, and South American religious traditions (Ions 1967:108; Parrinder 1982:25; Poignant 1967:94; Sullivan 1988:297); yet in some cultures the serpents are themselves the creators. Wollunqua, an Australian rainbow serpent, set out the souls of humanity (Butterworth 1970:189) and for various peoples in Angola it is claimed that the python is the creator of all life (Mundkur 1983:260), a notion which finds its parallel among the Warao of Venezuela (Wilbert 1975:168). Moreover, serpents may be representations of both chaos and creation simultaneously (Sullivan 1988:58; Roe 1989:16–17) or the benevolent side of creation which saves people from the chaotic events of creation itself (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971:26).

In cosmic terms the universe always sits on the threshold of relapse into chaos. In numerous cultures the ordered cosmos includes serpents as central figures in the vision of the created world. Often it is the serpent which holds the universe together by lying in the sea surrounding the land, tail in mouth, physically containing the ground (Parrinder 1982:24; Roe 1989:12; Wilbert 1975:164–65; Davidson 1964:32, 34–35). In this form the serpent symbolizes both the boundaries of the created world and the notion of eternity. By holding the universe together tightly in coils, any movement by the snake will cause ground to buckle and quake; therefore the serpent is both protection against chaos and a potential danger. The fact that the serpent surrounding the land is clearly enormous and powerful provides for a cosmic sea serpent; not unlike *Itn* from Ugarit's myths or the biblical Leviathan.

Also common in world mythology is the notion of the world tree which forms the center of the created universe. This is understood to reach from heaven to the netherworld forming a natural pillar on which all levels of the cosmos exist. Either at the roots or around the trunk of the tree there is usually a serpent which appears contrasted with an eagle in the branches above (Butterworth 1970:49–50, 85, 149; Davidson 1964:26–27). Both the Etana myth and the story of Gilgamesh and the Huluppu tree reflect these notions (Kramer 1938:5). The serpent may either be guarding the tree or destroying it. The eagle and serpent as a symbol of perpetual animosity appears to be a common motif portraying the eternal battles between good and evil or, more properly, order and chaos, which are then represented as the extremes of the cosmos (Jordan-Smith 1989:64).

In some traditions the central axis of the world is a serpent, either transversing the planes of existence or upholding the center of the earth (Ions 1967:25, 108; Wilbert 1975:164–65; Paper 1978:28). Common among Indian and American religious traditions, it has been argued to have been represented as early as the 5th millennium B.C.E. in the Ukraine (Gimbutas 1982:101–13). Within the cosmic realm serpentine beings form bridges from the area of human habitation to other abodes; most common is the perception of the rainbow as a snake bridging this land with heaven, a pervasive belief throughout Oceana, South Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Serpents also convey souls to the land of the dead for the Ojibwa and Dauavani (Paper 1978:29; Sullivan 1988:532). As with certain serpentine deities who are related to rivers in Mesopotamia (and possibly with Ug *ṯpṭ nhr*), snakes create, inhabit, and are rivers in various cultures (McEwan 1983:226–29; Parrinder 1982:25; Roe 1989:9).

The final area of the cosmos in which serpents play a significant role is the underworld. In western Christian tradition the serpent as a sign of evil belongs to the realm of hell, but long before Christian iconography the ancient Egyptians could use the serpent Apophis as the very underworld through which Re had to travel; not to mention the myriads of snakes which could destroy the soul of the dead on the way to the afterlife should the departed not know the correct spells for getting by them. Among the Dinka of the Sudan there is some notion of a world beneath the earth inhabited by cobras which act as humans; in India the nagas, who appear in both human and cobra forms, also exist as a counterpart to human life (Lienhardt 1961:117; Rawlinson 1986:137). In South America such python-people are thought to live on an island (Roe 1989:27).

If there are human-like serpents, it is natural that for several peoples around the earth their own ancestors are seen as snakes. In these situations the particular species of snake becomes a symbol for the group. In Oceana the snake is one of four animals from which all people derive (Poignant 1967:90–91); in Africa and the Americas particular snakes (python, cobra, anaconda, rattlesnake, etc.) commonly are held to be the direct ancestors of tribes who then hold the serpents in honor (Mundkur 1983:57, 91, 96; Lienhardt 1961:118; Luckert 1976:124; Voth 1903:352). For these people snakes can be very much like humans and may breed with them.

Serpents have been connected to the destruction of life in several cultures. As in Gen 3:1–15, ANE and African narratives tell how serpents diverted a form of immortality meant for humans. This usually refers to a plant or extra skin which is taken by or given to a snake before the humans could make use of it; therefore snakes may become young again but people may not, a motif which may be seen in the tales of Gilgamesh and Adapa (Joines 1974:70–71; Parrinder 1982:56–59; Wrigley 1988:375). Serpents appear in several fashions with the dead. In Africa, classical Greece and South America the souls of the dead may appear in the form of snakes (Mbiti 1970:216; Cole 1982:61; Küster 1913:67; Burkert 1985:195; Sullivan 1988:544). Pythons convey messages between the dead and God in Turu belief (Mbiti 1970:91), but more often poisonous serpents are sent as messengers of death by sorcerers (Mbiti 1970:255–56; Sullivan 1988:485). Of course chthonic deities and deities of death may take the form or attributes of snakes (Hultkrantz 1979:63; Burkert 1985:201:Lawuyi and Olupọna 1988:2). Finally, the shed skins of snakes have been taken as symbols of immortality of the soul and the mortality of the flesh in Hinduism (*Brihad-Aranyaka Upanishad* 4.4.7 and *Prasna Upanishad* 5.5).

The serpent as the end of life is also found in cosmic scope. Those serpents which surround the earth may also destroy it. In Norse mythology this is a certain fate, for the Midgard serpent eventually will destroy the universe and kill the god Thor in the process (Davidson 1964:37). In the same vein, the Fon believe that if the serpent around the earth is not properly fed it will consume itself, destroying the universe (Parrinder 1982:27). In an Oaxacan myth of Mesoamerica gigantic snakes attempt to devour the earth (Vázquez 1983:9, 13) while South American traditions see periodic cycles of destruction in the universe precipitated by the slaying of two mythical anacondas (Sullivan 1988:197).

Serpents clearly are used for symbols of both good and evil. Few serpent symbols are as unambiguously positive as the use of the boa constrictor among the Tukano to reflect the joy of dancing (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971:103). Yet as ancestors of various peoples serpents appear as positive symbols. They also are beneficent as signs of gods and royalty. Deities may appear as serpents or have aspects of snakes and still be good gods; this is especially true in East Asia where serpents (dragons in particular) are perceived as beneficial (Paper 1978:29; Faure 1987:338). Buddha may, in fact, be represented by the Naga Mucilinda which had protected him (Rawlinson 1986:136). Among the Elamites serpent figures are common and may reflect divine attributes reflected in "Master/Mistress of the animals" representations, often with snakes, and in the thrones, which appear to have held deities, composed of entertwined serpents for a base and with four hooded serpents crawling up the back, for which comparisons with the Naga thrones of Indian tradition should be made (Amiet 1966:58, 310–11 fig. 233 A-B, 378–79 fig. 286 A-C). Mesopotamia had several minor serpent deities, the exact realms of which are largely unknown (Joines 1974:70–71; Frayne 1982:512; McEwan 1983:215). Major deities of Latin America have been portrayed as serpents, including Tlaloc, Cihuacoatl, and the reknowned Quetzalcoatl (Luckert 1976:49;

Delhalle 1982:130; Carrasco 1982:79, 96–98). The terror or power of serpents may also be ascribed to deities in the form of serpent attributes, as with Athena (Burkert 1985:229), where in Greek myth some serpents may slay with a glance.

Serpents also serve as royal symbols. In Egypt the uraeus was worn by the ruler as part of the crown and serpent-shaped sceptres have been found in Elam (Amiet 1966:382). In China the dragon was a standard royal symbol into the 20th century and the sword, one of three symbols of emperorship, in Japan is said to have come from a dragon, probably representing lightning (Paper 1978:29; Holtom 1972:24). Moreover, the poison of serpents may give mortals an invincibility in battle if bathed in or drunk in European and South American traditions (MacCulloch 1973:139–40; Sullivan 1988:444). In some cultures of Africa and America the first ruler of the world, the origin of royalty itself, was a serpent (Wrigley 1988:375; Carrasco 1982:79).

Serpents have been used as representations of lightning throughout the Americas and often are associated with rain throughout the world. In China it is the dragon which causes or witholds rainfall and this is a common belief across Asia including India where the nagas hold such power (Cohen 1978:255; Vogel 1926:4). In Latin America and Oceana the great gods of rain are the celestial serpents (Roe 1989:9; Mountford 1978:23–24). In Africa the same serpent who may "be" a river or the rainbow also can supply rain (Wrigley 1988:372). With this symbolic use of the serpent, however, the snake creatures become ambiguous figures, for drought also is caused by the serpent and hail, flooding, and ruination of crops may come with the rains if the serpents in charge wish to punish people.

The most ambiguous function of the serpent as symbol is as killer/healer. The naga serpents of India are often evil and bite people, causing death; but they may also use their poisons to save lives (Vogel 1926:17–18). Similar attributes are found concerning serpents in South America (Sullivan 1988:444) and Europe in the healing cults of Asclepius and Glycon. The caduceus has become the symbol of medicine in European tradition. The story of the firey serpents sent to kill and the serpent image used to heal in Num 21:8–9 may reflect this aspect of serpent symbolism. It may be noted that in some cultures the serpent only brings disease not a cure (Walker 1980:91).

In some cultures serpents play the role of the villain. Pali belief allows no nagas to grow in dharma and the Lakota believe that snakes are not allowed into the spirit world (Rawlinson 1986:137; Walker 1980:71). As symbols of chaos and gluttony, snakes are a constant threat to the existence of the universe and humans. In Asia and Europe dragons are often seen as killing people, consuming vast amounts of livestock, and holding young women captive or eating them. Evil spirits, monsters, and demons come in the shape of snakes throughout Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Classical mythology has a number of serpentine chaos monsters, including Hydra, Typho, Echidna, and Skylla; Illuyanka, the vast serpent of the Anatolian myth falls into this chaotic vision of the serpent (Beckman 1982:11). Volcanoes can be seen as monstrous destructive serpent mouths (Luckert 1976:44–46; Burkert 1985:127–28). Finally serpents are presented as examples of slyness, lying, and seduction all of which would conform to the serpent which appears in Eden (Ions 1967:113; Hultkrantz 1979:63; Walker 1980:122).

Snakes may be used for sexual symbols. In Europe and the ANE there seems to be reason sometimes to view serpents as symbols of sexuality (Mundkur 1983:180–208). Clearly the serpent has been a symbol for fertility in many cultures among the Oceanic peoples, Africans, and Latin Americans (Poignant 1967:91; Hauenstein 1978:529; Luckert 1976:46; Hultkrantz 1979:236). But there is no universal gender distinction in the use of serpents. While Moor (1988:111) has seen serpent references in the ANE as masculine symbols, it must be noted that in East Asia and Japan serpents are more apt to represent women (Mundkur 1983:176–77); this is true also in Borneo and West Africa (Davidson 1964:193; Hauenstein 1978:530) while Celtic tradition seems to use serpents for a male symbol (Mundkur 1983:180). The Tukano of South America use one snake, the anaconda, to represent women and another, the boa constrictor, to symbolize men (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971:102). So while serpents are related to gender, they are multivalent symbols with regard to sexuality.

Serpents also appear consistently as guardians and as companions to the divine realms. As guardians they are perhaps most noted for protecting pools and wells (Vogel 1926:4; Poignant 1967:92; Ross

1967:348; Mountford 1978:23; Paper 1978:29; Roe 1989:12), though they also protect territory and can stand guard at boundaries (McEwan 1983:221–22). Serpents as guards for people are attested in the Eastern Mediterranean and South America (Burkert 1985:30, 130; Sullivan 1988:493); in the same manner, serpents guard the deities and their dwellings (Grimm 1888:1491; Butterworth 1970:80; McEwan 1983:219). Buddhist monks, from the time Mucilinda protected Buddha, have had guardian serpents (Faure 1987:339, 356). In the heavenly realm fire-spitting snakes protected the divine drink in Indian tradition (Ions 1967:102) in much the same manner that beings interpreted as fire-serpents stand in the presence of God in Isa 6:2. Finally, serpents are renowned for guarding treasures of gold and jewels in both East Asian and European traditions.

As companions of the deities serpents usually serve as a means of transportation. Vishnu floats along on the cosmic sea on his snake raft (Ions 1967:108); Mawa, the Fon creator deity, rides about in the mouth of a snake (Parrinder 1982:25); the Japanese goddess of fortune, Benten is conveyed on the back of a dragon (Piggott 1969:132); while in South America the boa may carry a deity on its back (Sullivan 1988:143). The Elamite representations of serpents with deities mounted on them may reflect the same traditions (Amiet 1966:286). In Hindu mythology the serpent Vasuki is used by the gods and the demons to churn the milk ocean into amrita, the sacred drink and then becomes a constant companion of Shiva. The Fon of Africa perceive snakes to be the intermediaries of the ritual experts and the gods (Mbiti 1969:91).

This relationship between the gods and humans through serpents is perhaps best represented by the serpent as symbol of wisdom. In Japan, Siberia, Africa, and South America one becomes a shaman through the intermediary of snakes (Kitagawa 1969:318; Mundkur 1983:77; Mbiti 1970:91; Sullivan 1988:282, 444). Wisdom may be conveyed to humans through serpents either as oracles or through the consuming of parts of the serpent (Grimm 1888:1491; MacCulloch 1973:140). Magic is a particular form of wisdom which serpents can impart to humans (Piggott 1969:93; Rawlinson 1986:137). However, culture itself may be a product delivered to humans by a serpentine agent. This is clearly the case with Quetzacoatl in Mesoamerica, but in South America as well anacondas bring culture and art (Roe 1989:27); even the snakes which are evil by nature may be forced to impart valuable information for the culture as with the Algonkian tradition that snakes taught humans about poison and medicine (Hultkrantz 1979:63). Within the various Buddhist traditions, in fact, serpents, especially the nagas, can be used as examples of the devout followers of the Buddha, filled with wisdom.

Finally, serpents appear as regular objects of omens. For the most part a snake is an ill omen, but not always. Among the ANE omen texts the sighting of snakes often reflects an impending death or ill fate (Whiting 1984:208); this is a common notion with the sighting of snakes, especially pythons, in Africa, where the snake is taken to be the soul of an elderly man who is about to die (Cole 1982:61, 202). Messages may be sent to humans by the gods through the intermediaries of common snakes and these then will tell the future or diagnose illness (Kitagawa 1969:319; Piggott 1969:132; Hauenstein 1978:532).

For further discussion of the biblical tradition, see Schlüter 1982 and SERPENT, BRONZE.

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**SERPENT'S STONE** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾeben hazzōḥelet* (אֶבֶן הַזֹּחֶלֶת)]. A symbolic landmark at En Rogel where Adonijah, a rival of Solomon for King David's throne, made sacrifices during his abortive attempt to become king (1 Kgs 1:9). The Hebrew word, *zōḥelet* is derived from a verb that means "to shrink back, crawl, glide." The LXX translation, *lithou tou Zōeleth,* where serpent is simply transliterated, would seem to support that the stone was a recognized landmark near En Rogel. This landmark was most likely a sacred stone dedicated to a deity whose symbol was a serpent—frequently a sacred symbol on objects in Palestine—and thus a logical place for Adonijah to legitimize his attempt to seize the throne with sacrifices and feasting.

Various attempts have been made to locate the landmark geographically. The most frequently recognized location is En Rogel at the S end of the Kidron Valley near its confluence with the Hinnom

Valley. Another interpretation attempts to locate more precisely the Serpent's Stone with reference to the Serpent (Heb *tannîn,* "serpent, dragon") or Jackal (Heb *tan*) Well mentioned in Neh 2:13. This well is outside the city in the vicinity of the Dung Gate. This would place the well (identified by many with Job's Well at En Rogel [Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 104, 118]) most likely near En Rogel and the sacred Serpent Stone. Some link the word *zōḥelet* with a modern Arabic word *zahueileh,* "a slippery rock slope." This has been identified with a rocky slope at the modern village of Silwan, opposite Gihon. This interpretation has two difficulties. First it changes the meaning from a stone to a rocky slope. Second it places the location too far N at Gihon, the location where Solomon legitimized his right to the throne (1 Kgs 1:38–39). Locating the Serpent's Stone farther S at En Rogel fits the biblical description that Adonijah could hear but not see the royal enthronement of Solomon (1 Kgs 1:41; Smith 1907:109–11; Simons 1952:160–62).

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**SERPENT, BRONZE.** Serpent figures crafted from copper alloy or bronze have been found throughout the ANE. Some fine examples have been recovered on plaques with deities or as independent figurines (Yadin et al. 1960:117, pl. 181; Macalister 1912:399, fig. 488; Speiser 1935:111–12, pl. 50; Loud 1948:pl. 240, no. 1). To date, the most exquisitely wrought of these serpentine figures is the copper alloy snake with gold foil overlay found at Timna (Rothenberg 1972:159, pls. 19, 20). These objects have been assumed to be cultic images and the appearance of the serpent in artwork in the hands of a god or goddess would seem to confirm this. The serpent appears to have been a stock religious character in Syria-Palestine from the middle of the 2d millennium through the 1st millennium B.C.E. (Joines 1974:62–63) often appearing on pottery or pendants of various types, more attested than in bronze. See also SERPENT (RELIGIOUS SYMBOL).

The most famous bronze serpent, however, is the one called Nehushtan which Hezekiah is recorded as having destroyed (2 Kgs 18:4). It has long been recognized that this object stood for a deity (Kittel *Die Bücher der Konige* HKAT, 278–79; Lods 1930:469), but exactly which one is uncertain since the name of the god is not given. The MT states that the name *nĕḥuštān* (LXX *neesthan*) was given to the object by Hezekiah; it clearly is a play on the words bronze/copper *(nĕḥōšet)* and serpent *(nāḥāš).* It has been suggested that the deity represented by the snake figure was the little known Horon and was related to the Greek Asclepius who was represented by a snake symbol (Gray 1949:32). Exactly where this object was revered in Judah is unclear, but it has often been assumed that it had a place in the pantheon of the temple of Yahweh in Jerusalem; wherever it was maintained, it was worshiped as a deity since the people sacrificed to it.

Rowley (1939:136) believed Nehushtan was a deity from the Jebusite cult of Jerusalem which David retained after having taken the city; the god would then have no relation to the cult of Yahweh. In Num 21:8–9, however, the story of the fashioning of the image is recorded; this story is alluded to in the Hezekiah passage so it is clear that the cult assumed that there was a relationship between Yahweh and this god. According to the Numbers narrative the image was created to cure snakebites. This intermediary between God and the people reflects the divine world of the ANE where an important deity would produce a lesser deity to handle mundane matters such as curing the sick (Levine and Tarragon 1988:518); such an incident is recorded in the Kirta Legend from Ugarit (*KTU* 1.16.V.10–VI.14) where El creates Shatiqatu to save the king's life.

The bronze serpent which Hezekiah destroys was clearly part of the Judean pantheon and almost certainly a deity of healing. The fact that snake divinities which can heal are also capable of killing should be kept in mind (Pardee 1988:213); it is often the very god who harms people who is needed to protect them. This god had a very specialized sphere of expertise (curing those bitten by poisonous snakes) and therefore would have been on a lower level of divine rank than most deities, what Smith (1984:359) has given as the third level, which might be called "craft-gods." This deity appears to be the only biblical

example of a Judean god of this level of deities. There is no evidence from the biblical text or, as of yet, from ancient Syro-Palestinian sources to connect this bronze serpent image with fertility cults rather than healing, though this has been a popular interpretation of the snake figure (Joines 1974:74).

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**SERUG** (PERSON) [Heb *śĕrûg* (שְׂרוּג)]. Son of Reu when Reu was 32, father of Nahor at 30, Serug lived to be 230 (Gen 11:20–23). The name has been related to URU *sa-ru-gi* appearing in texts from the region W of Harran in the 7th century B.C. (Johns 1901:29, 33, et passim). Attempts to identify this with a *ṣe-er-ki* on an Old Babylonian itinerary from Harran to Emar (Hallo 1964:64, 78–79) must now be discounted and the site's name read as *ṣe-er-di/-da* (Dossin 1974:28; Beitzel 1978:212). However, *sa-ru-gi* may be named in a broken context in the annals of Shalmaneser III. It is also possible that *sa-ru-gi* is to be identified with the site described by the later place names Batnai and Sürüç (Kessler 1980:197–202). A Neo-Assyrian place name *Šá/Še-ri-gu-ú* (Zadok 1977:325–26) and an Ur III period personal name *ša-ru-gi* (Barton 1909:plate 94; Schneider 1952:521) have also been compared with Serug. The root thus appears primarily in place names of the 1st millennium B.C. Like others in the ancestry of Abram in Genesis 11, it is possible to relate the name to a geographical location in N Syria. See also HARAN (PERSON), NAHOR (PERSON). However, the occurrence of a similar form in a 3d millennium B.C. personal name, implies that the 1st millennium attestations of the place name cannot be used to date its occurrence. In Hebrew the root *šrg* means "to intertwine" and can refer to a twig or a tendril (Wenham, *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 251–52).

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**SERVANTS.** See SLAVERY.

**SESTHEL** (PERSON) [Gk *Sesthēl* (Σεσθηλ)]. A descendant of Addi who was required by Ezra to divorce his foreign wife (1 Esdr 9:31). In the parallel text of Ezra 10:30, the name Bezalel, son of Pahathmoab, appears in the position that Sesthel holds in 1 Esdr 9:31. However, whether they are

identical cannot be determined, and any grounds for identification are based solely on the order of these two lists.

**SETH** (PERSON) [Heb *šēt* (שֵׁת)]. Var. SHETH. Third son of Adam, born when Adam was 130 years old (Gen 5:3–8). At 105 years of age, Seth sired Enosh, and subsequently lived to the age of 930. Eve explained the name of her son as the divine "establishing" of a replacement for the murdered Abel (Gen 4:25). Seth establishes the line of righteous antediluvians culminating with Noah in Genesis 5 and continuing to Jesus according to the NT (Luke 3:38). Sir 49:16 describes Shem and Seth as highly honored among humanity. The expression, "children of Seth" (*bĕnê šēt;* RSV SHETH) appears in Num 24:17 in what may be a reference to humanity in general (from the perspective of Genesis, Seth through Noah was the ancestor of all of postdiluvian humanity) or more particularly to the nomadic tribes known as the Sutu (attested in the Egyptian Execration texts and in the Amarna texts, but never located in the region of Moab where Numbers 24 occurs [Rouillard 1985:438]). Later Jewish, Gnostic, and Christian writings assigned a special significance to Seth and his righteousness (Klijn 1977).

The paronomasia on the name of Seth in Gen 4:25 has evoked some discussion in the commentaries. Although the *kî* particle introducing the second half of the verse may be understood as explaining the meaning of the name, this is not necessary. It may simply mark the beginning of a statement (whether as an emphatic *kî* or otherwise) which includes wordplay on the name Seth, with a loose, unspecified relationship to the name itself (e.g., She called his name Seth, "God has (indeed) provided another seed for me in place of Abel whom Cain slew."). The assonance of the proper name Seth and the verb *šāt* serves to emphasize the sense in which Seth's birth brings to an end one line and begins a new line of descent (Strus 1978:66). Attempts to assign the Seth of Genesis 4 to a J source and that of Genesis 5 to a P source prove of little value in understanding the traditions underlying the figure. In both chapters he is the "son" of Adam and Eve, and in no case does the text assign Seth to the Cainite line of Genesis 4. Reconstructions of such an association (*GHBW,* 158–66) are conjectural. Also speculative and discredited are suggestions relating Seth to the figure of Alalgar, second name in the antediluvian line of the Old Babylonian king list (cf. Zimmern 1924:24; Westermann 1984:348–52).

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**SETH, SECOND TREATISE OF THE GREAT** (NHC VII,*2*). This Christian-gnostic treatise is the only one of all the Nag Hammadi tractates which has been perfectly preserved. It occupies pp. 49.10–70.12 of Codex VII. *Treat. Seth*, which almost certainly was translated from the Greek, is written in pre-classical Sahidic Coptic. It is likely that many of its serious grammatical and syntactical difficulties are due to the ineptitude of the translator. The title which is found at the end (70.11–12) retains the Gk case endings and appears to be secondary. Already during its transmission in Gk someone must have added this subscript in the belief that the work was another treatise by the heavenly revealer Seth. This is surprising in view of the fact that Seth is nowhere mentioned in the tractate. The likely reason for the mistake is the fact that the speaker in *Treat. Seth* is identified only near the end as Jesus Christ (65,18 and 69,21–22). Someone already familiar with a treatise of Seth, e.g., *The Gospel of the Egyptians* (NHC III,*2* and IV,*2*), might on the basis of a brief look at the beginning have considered it a second one by the same author.

The genre of *Treat. Seth* is that of a revelation discourse, but the pattern is often broken due to what appear to be traditional blocks of material which the author has incorporated. The lack of transitions, unexpected shifts in personal pronouns, and apparent doublets give the work a disunited and confusing appearance. Two main parts can be distinguished. In the first one (49,10–59,19), which is didactic, the

speaker asks and receives permission from the heavenly "Church" to descend to the world and reveal "the glory" to "my fellow spirits." He takes over a human body and causes great consternation among the archons. Only one archon, Adonaios, also known as Sabaoth, joins the side of the savior; the others are put at ease by the boast of the cosmocrator, Yaldabaoth. The cosmological framework which is assumed in the account is similar to the one found in *The Apocalypse of John* (NHC II,*1*; III,*1*; IV,*1* and BG 8502,2), *The Hypostasis of the Archons* (NHC II,*4*), and *On the Origin of the World* (NHC II,*5*). In 54,14 a doublet begins which repeats in different words the descent myth and adds the plan of the archons to kill the savior. The passion account (55,15–56,13) at first appears typically docetic in that Christ's suffering and death are not real but only in appearance. This, however, is followed by the claim that Simon of Cyrene was crucified while the savior looked on from on high laughing at the ignorance of his enemies (56,4–19). This interpretation of the passion, based on Mark 15:21–22, is attributed to Basilides by Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.24.4) and Epiphanius (*Pan.* 24.3.2–4). In 58,17–59,11 there is a third passion account which consists of an allegorical reading of Matt 27:45–53. Though the interpretation is gnostic, it does not appear to be docetic in origin. The profundity and literary quality of this piece is far beyond the vulgar level of most of the rest of the treatise.

The last part of *Treat. Seth* is homiletical and polemical (59,19–70,10). The gnostic readers are exhorted to live in unity with each other and Christ in the face of persecution by Christians who "proclaim a doctrine of a dead man" (60,20–21). A similar anti-orthodox polemic is found in *The Apocalypse of Peter* (NHC VII,*3*) and *The Testimony of Truth* (NHC IX,*3*). The section includes also a dramatic litany in which Adam, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David, Solomon, the twelve prophets, Moses and John the Baptist are called laughingstocks and counterfeits of the Hebdomad, i.e. the cosmocrator, since "none of them knew me nor my brethren" (62,27–64,1). The litany may have been borrowed from a Marcionite source. The theme of the heavenly wedding, which is the model for union among the gnostics, appears to be dependent on Valentinian speculation (57,7–27 and 65,33–68,16).

*Treat. Seth* gives striking evidence of the eclectic nature of gnostic literature. It is able to borrow freely from other traditions and writings without much concern for theological or literary unity. It is unlikely that such writings reflect the doctrines of specific sects. The author and intended readers of *Treat. Seth* in contrast to their orthodox opponents, were not discriminating readers. Evidently they found comfort and inspiration in a wide variety of esoteric sources. What makes *Treat. Seth* of special interest is that the conflict with orthodox Christianity has become open and confrontational. The rejection of the OT and of the death of Christ have become unambiguous, even though there is no standard formulation for this. Persecution may have brought some clarity and unity in what Christian Gnostics denied, but it appears that they remained individualistic and eclectic in what they affirmed. The polemical nature and dependence on other gnostic traditions makes it unlikely that *Treat. Seth* was written before the 3d century, and it could be as late as the early 4th. Nothing in the tractate betrays the identity and provenance of the author.

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**SETH, THREE STELES OF** (NHC VII, *5*). The fifth and final tractate of codex VII (pp. 118–127) of the Nag Hammadi codices. The well-preserved text is a Coptic translation of a Greek original and represents the only surviving witness to this document. The dialect is Sahidic with the presence of some non-Sahidic forms.

*Steles Seth* presents itself as a revelation received by a certain Dositheos, probably the obscure Samaritan teacher of Simon Magus (Schenke 1981:592–93; Tardieu 1973:551; Claude 1983:3). The revelation consists of the contents of three steles composed by Seth in the distant past and now, through the agency of Dositheos, being transmitted to a latter-day Sethian gnostic community. The single reference to Dositheos at the beginning of the text, however, together with the limitation of the term revelation (used twice) to the opening and closing lines of the tractate betray the apocalyptic imagery or genre as part of a secondary redaction (Robinson *NHL*, 362; Claude 1983:9–13).

In its present form, *Steles Seth* is divided into three sections or steles which preserve three hymns addressed to a divine triad presented in Neoplatonic terms. The original form of the hymns, however, has been corrupted by the secondary redaction which integrated them with the Sethian gnostic conception of four races (Adamas, Seth, Proto-Sethians or Dositheos, and latter-day Sethians or elect) (Claude 1983:9–12). The original three hymns are addressed to the divine figures of the Self-begotten *(Autogenes),* Barbelo, and the Unbegotten Father. The triad expresses the relationship between the unknowable god and the perceptible world of humanity. Barbelo, the mother (though never so named in the text) of the divine triad, is the active nature of the stationary Father (the divine as non-being), and the Self-begotten is the vehicle through which that activity is expressed in the perceptible world. This functional relationship of the triad betrays its strong indebtedness to Neoplatonic thought. Numenius, for example, speaks of a movement from the stationary unity of the primordial god through a motion or energy expressed first in the noetic realm and then in the perceptible world (Numen. *Fragment* 15; Tardieu 1973:560–61). The prevalence of Neoplatonic vocabulary in *Steles Seth* (e.g., the existence-life-mind triad; 122, 20–23) is extensive (Tardieu 1973:560–67; Claude 1983:20–31; Robinson 1977).

*Steles Seth,* which presupposes this ontological system, is best understood in its present form as a liturgical document. The three redacted hymns, addressed in ascending order to the triadic nature of the divine, represent a mystery of ascension (Schenke 1981:601–602). In *Steles Seth* one encounters the members of a community in the act of appropriating salvation through liturgical participation in the primordial ascent of their spiritual ancestor Seth. The hymns were likely recited as part of a liturgical process through which the individual ascended and descended from the vision of the divine.

The date and provenance of the original work is difficult to determine. The strong Neoplatonic influence on the text together with Porphyry's mention of Plotinus' confrontation with sectarians whose books apparently included the related Sethian texts of *Zost.* (8.1) and *Allogenes* (11.3) suggests a date in the first half of the 3d century C.E. (Robinson 1977:132–33; *NHL* 362–63). The speculative nature of the text and the survival of the only copy in Coptic translation support Alexandria as the most likely place of composition (Claude 1983:31–33).

The text is an extremely important witness to the interaction of Neoplatonic and gnostic ideas in the latter 2d–3d centuries. It offers also a rare opportunity to look into the social or worship setting of a gnostic community.

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**SETHUR** (PERSON) [Heb *sĕtûr* (סְתוּר)]. One of the twelve individuals sent from Kadesh in the wilderness of Paran to spy out the land of Canaan (Num 13:13). Mentioned only in this list of scouts, Sethur was the son of Michael and a representative of the tribe of Asher. He is numbered among the ten who returned from their adventure with a negative report.
TERRY L. BRENSINGER

**SETTLEMENT OF CANAAN.** The biblical account of how Israel took possession of the land of Canaan presents at first glance a deceptively straightforward picture. The Conquest fulfills Yhwh's promises to the patriarchs and to the generation of the Exodus. It marks the beginning of that period in which Israel, liberated by Yhwh from bondage, enters fully into a treaty-partnership with him, responsible to abide by his ordinances. It ratifies and proclaims Israel's passage into nationhood through her passage from the limbo of landlessness to a franchise in the soil; from a protected, but bereft, perambulation in the wasteland to a fruitful, settled possession of the land. The Conquest is the capstone of Israel's national epic. See also ISRAEL, HISTORY OF (PREMONARCHIC PERIOD) and (ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE ISRAELITE CONQUEST).

Nevertheless, biblical narratives concerning the Conquest take an inferior place to those of the Exodus. Joshua does not tower, Moses-like, over the consciousness of biblical authors. Indeed, no text outside the book that bears his name explicitly attributes the Conquest to him.

Except as a conclusion foregone from the moment of the Exodus, or from the crossing of the Jordan, the Conquest plays only a small role in Israelite literature outside the book of Joshua. Hosea, Isaiah, and Deutero-Isaiah utilize the Exodus as a conceptual model for Israel's return from exile, but never come to grips with the concrete historical, strategic details of its sequel. Micah (6:1–4) recalls the conflict with Balaam and Balak that threatened Israel's initial entry into Cisjordan: the implication is that the transition from the wilderness to the Promised Land was the moment of peril, the Conquest itself a mere corollary; the Conquest, like the seizure of Troy, demanded the powers of an Apollodorus to describe it, but on it those of a Homer would be sadly squandered. The same attitude suffuses the Pentateuchal account, and informs the notion that one should divide off the first five books of the Bible as a Torah, "the five books of Moses." Only a philistine would demand, after the climactic vision of Moses surveying from a Moabite crag the Promised Land denied to him, an explicit, literal account of Canaan's reduction. That there had been a Conquest was self-evident: Israel possessed the land. Describing the Conquest after Moses' death could be nothing more than belaboring the aftermath.

Nevertheless, Israel's historians have indeed provided us with a reconstruction of the Conquest. The tale itself they have confected from the ingredients of old traditions, an occasional written source, and surmise; it is mounted as a component of the Deuteronomistic History, the historical work putatively stretching from Deuteronomy through 2 Kings, a work in large measure assembled in the 7th century B.C.E. In this setting, the tale of the Conquest furnished a crucial link between the prose epic that described the nation's birth, in the Torah, and the history of Israel's life in the land until the twin catastrophes of subjection and exile overtook it—for Israel, the north, at Assyria's hands, and, for Judah, the south, at Babylon's.

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**A. The Biblical Presentation**

The accounts of this fateful epoch in Israel's historical odyssey deserve to be read not just singly, but as an organic reconstruction. Discrepancies in the Israelite view of the Conquest, with the possible exception of Ezekiel's (if Ezekiel 16 comments on the Conquest), are less significant than scholars have generally claimed. In any event, the treatment of the theme begins in the Pentateuch.

Yhwh had promised Canaan to Israel's ancestors, starting with Abraham (Gen 15:18–21; 26:3; 28:13; 48:6, 16, 21f.; Exod 3:8, 17; 13:5, 11; 23:23, 28–33; 33:1–3; 34:11; Gen 17:8; 28:4; 35:12; Exod 6:8). Scholars have quibbled over the unanimity of these texts concerning the dimensions of the territory vouchsafed—the Priestly source (P), at least, does not reckon Transjordan as part of the land. But the prolusory promise is consistent: Yhwh affirms it in both major Pentateuchal narrative strands (P [Priestly] and J [the Yahwistic source]) to each of the patriarchs and to the generation of the Exodus.

The Exodus follows, of course, its goal, i.e. the Conquest and settlement. Yet a lack of faith, when Israel's spies have reconnoitred Canaan's landscape, leads to the abortion of the appointed day (Numbers 13–14). Condemned to delay, the Israelites ultimately invade not from the south, the most natural and quickest route from Egypt, but from Transjordan. The "wanderings" determine the geographical sequence and the extent of Canaan's vanquishment: the Israelites must brand Transjordan with destruction, under the leadership of Moses, before proceeding to capture the prize Yhwh had promised them.

**1. The Transjordanian Conquests.** The Mosaic accessions in Transjordan are recalled in two somewhat different recensions in the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy. In the Deuteronomic resumé, Israel avoids contact with the Transjordanian powers—Edom, Moab, and Ammon—and purposefully engages the Amorite kingdom of Sihon, centered on Heshbon (Deuteronomy 2). The succeeding episode recounts the overthrow of Og. Here, Og is king of the Bashan and a region stretching to the Hermon; the operation, thus, entails a daunting detour from the primary objectives of Israel's military thrust in Cisjordan (Deut 3:1–11; 29:6f.). But according to Deuteronomy, Transjordan is an integral part of the land pledged to the patriarchs (see 2:24f.,31). So like Joshua's, Moses' conquests must envelop everything up to the Hermon (Deut 3:8).

The tradition of Transjordanian confrontations in Numbers is of a different cast. Sihon's subjection is incidental, a by-product of his refusal to permit Israel passage through his territory to its promised land, Cisjordan. It leaves Israel master of the land from the Arnon, Moab's border, to Ammon's border at the Jabbok. Northward expansion embraces the districts of Jaazer, Gilead, and, in the southern Bashan, Kenath (Num 21:21–32; 32:39–42). All these areas were traditionally understood to have been peopled by Amorites—the race whose sin, in the theology of Gen 15:16; Deut 9:4f., laid the moral foundation for its extirpation of Yhwh's hands.

The Amorites are consistently portrayed (Amos 2:9) as the aborigines of the Cisjordanian interior, particularly its highlands (Num 13:29; Deut 1:7, 19f.; Josh 10:6). Their rightful successors, apart from the Philistines on the coast of S Canaan, are the *Hebrews.* Biblical ethnography links the *Hebrews* to an eponym, Eber, who is an ancestor of Abraham (Gen 10:21, 25; 11:14). Thus, the *Hebrews,* Abraham's descendants and collaterals, comprise in Transjordan Israel, Edom, Moab, and Ammon, as the delimitations of Num 20:14–21; 21:13–15, 24 (and Deut 2:4f., 9–11, 19–23) make clear.

In sum, Israel's historians identified the kin-based, territorial kingdoms of the Iron Age as Yhwh's avengers against an autochthonous population organized politically into individual city-states. Possibly,

the identification of Sihon as an Amorite rather than a *Hebrew* contributed to the Deuteronomic notion that Transjordan was doomed to Israelite conquest from the first. This corollary is absent in Numbers.

Num 21:33–35 does recount the digressive expedition against Og in the Bashan. This text stems from a tradition more closely related to that infusing Deuteronomy. But it does not press the claim that Og was an Amorite (as Deut 3:8; cf. v 11). It conflicts with the more modest reports about Israel's initial penetration only into the southern reaches of the Bashan. And, since Wellhausen observed that Judg 11:22f., Num 22:2, and Josh 24:8 reflect no knowledge of the Og tradition in Bashan (1963:109), scholars (e.g., Noth *ÜgS*, 35) have widely regarded the notice as an accretion. One sees the tendency for Og to be attached to Sihon secondarily also in 1 Kgs 4:19, where territory S of the Bashan is associated with him (as against 1 Kgs 4:13).

The ideological profile of the reports in Numbers is most distinctive when silhouetted against their attitude toward Transjordan. This substantiates the thesis that the text concerning Og is a late correction of the tradition. As opposed to Deuteronomy, where Transjordan is the first object of Israel's ambitions, Numbers regards any territorial acquisitions in Transjordan as incidental. The sole value of Transjordan is as a springboard for invading the western bank.

Indeed, of the generation that had balked at invading Canaan when the spies returned (Numbers 13–14), only Caleb, in J (Num 14:23f.), or Caleb and Joshua, in P (Num 14:35, 38; 26:65; cf. the layered Deut 1:34–39), are accorded the privilege of entering that consecrated zone plighted to the patriarchs: Moses' death, thus, preempted his entry into this region (P in Num 27:12–14; Deut 32:48–52). This view even underlies some Deuteronomic pronouncements (e.g., Deut 19:1–10; 31:20–23), despite Deuteronomy's otherwise consistent insistence that the Conquest of the Promised Land had begun in earnest in Transjordan (esp. 2:24, 30–31; 3:24, 26f.; 34:1–4). Similarly, the Mosaic legislation of Deuteronomy is phrased as though it is to come into effect in the future, "when you come to the land that Yhwh your god is giving you" (as Deut 17:14; cf. 6:1, 3; 7:1; 11:10–12, 23, 29; 30:18; 31:13; esp. 31:21). Yet the legislation is proclaimed at the brink of the Jordan crossing; the implication is that the Canaan of the patriarchal promises did not include Transjordan. The stratification of this perspective inside Deuteronomy indicates that it is the older view, on which the authors of Deuteronomy's historical recitations imposed a revisionist position (contrast Weinfeld 1983).

This old view of the Transjordanian occupation comes to most lucid expression in Numbers 32. Here, P portrays the decision by Reuben and Gad to dwell across the Jordan as a betrayal of faith—a refusal to take possession of the allotted inheritance—potentially equivalent to the sin of the spies (32:7–15). These tribes must help master Cisjordan before returning to the portions they have selected on their own. The text also has a reflex in Joshua 22. On returning from the Conquest, the Transjordanian tribes erect an altar, purely for symbolic purposes. Again, the idea that Transjordan is not a part of the land of the promise colors the narrative. Transjordan is impure, profane, and its Israelite inhabitants have the option—even the duty—of abandoning it for "the land of Yhwh's possession, where the Tabernacle of Yhwh abides" (22:19).

Much of this material stems from P, and may have no origin earlier than the 6th century B.C.E. The same probably applies to Num 34:1–15, which define "Canaan" as the Cisjordanian entity, though one stretching to Hamath (Hama) in N Syria (cf. Num 35:14). Still, Deuteronomy's pre-conscious ambivalence on the issue, the occasional reference in J, and the invariable description of Moses' achievements as "bringing Israel up from Egypt," but not as enfranchising her in the land, all indicate that P here followed traditional lines of thought: the Mosaic conquests, across the Jordan (and in the far south, at Hormah; Num 21:3) were supererogatory; the terminus of Israel's migration was west of the Jordan only. This was the region whose subjugation Joshua ben-Nun engineered.

Both the Deuteronomic and the more traditional scenarios locate the Cisjordanian conquest in a clearly defined chronological sequence. Moses' death marks the end of Israel's circuitous migration from Egypt. It rings in a new epoch, in which Yhwh will redeem his second pledge to the Israelites in their Egyptian thrall, and give to them the land of the Amorites, Canaanites, and other residents of Cisjordan (Exod 3:8;

6:8). The transfer of authority from Moses to Joshua takes place amid intermittent action and legislation (Num 27:15–23; Deut 3:28; 34:9). It provides the only tangible continuity from the first era to the next.

**2. The Cisjordanian Conquest. a. The First Movement: Emblematic Victories. (1) The Crossing.** The book of Joshua opens with two cycles of tradition concerning the entry into Canaan, deftly interwoven and partially rephrased by the ("Deuteronomistic") historian. The first focuses on the miraculous and ceremonious fording of the Jordan at Gilgal (Joshua 1:3–5), a site whose location is uncertain, but which lay most probably in the vicinity of the Adam[ah] (Damiya) crossing (B. Mazar 1985). As the narrative unfolds, Israel waits encamped by the Jordan near Shittim from the 8th until the 10th day of Nisan. On the 10th day, the Levites bear the ark into the riverbed: the current upstream comes to a halt, and the people pass dryshod. They pitch camp at Gilgal, where Joshua circumcizes them—responding, apparently, to the P (Genesis 17) and possibly E traditions that circumcision was introduced earlier (Gen 34:13–24; Exod 4:25f.), the narrator explains that the practice was in hiatus during the wanderings (Josh 5:4–7). So fortified, in accordance with the specifications of Exod 12:43–48 (P), Israel celebrates her first Passover in the land (5:9–12). It is at this point that Joshua encounters the "commander of Yhwh's army", at Jericho (5:13–15), though this tradition may conceivably belong to the Jericho cycle (Josh 2:6).

This impressive foundation legend for the shrine at Gilgal figures the Conquest in a miraculous river-crossing. The marvel deflates "all the kings of the Amorites", reducing them to that state of fatalism whose tactical reflex is rout (5:1). An identical reconstruction of events surfaces in the Song of the Sea (Exodus 15), one of the earliest extant Hebrew lyrics: awe at Yhwh's might struck the peoples and leaders of Trans- and Cisjordan dumb, until Yhwh's people had passed over Jordan, into the land of the inheritance (vv 13–16). In Joshua 5 (vv 13–15), as in Exodus 15 (v 17), there follows the consecration of Yhwh's sanctuary. This occasion, and the concomitant appearance of the captain of Yhwh's hosts, foreordains, for the second time, the Amorites' destruction.

The tradition that transformed the Jordan crossing into Israel's proleptic triumph probably negotiated the gap between the time when Exodus 15 was written and that of Joshua 1:3–5's composition in the form of an annual ritual. Such a ritual progress from Shittim to Gilgal is alluded to in Micah 6:5; the prophet associates it with commemoration of the Exodus, and with the story of Balaam (Numbers 22–24). Joshua 24 juxtaposes the same events with a sudden and miraculous Conquest (in the Pentateuch, a number of P texts separate Balaam from the fording) in a (Deuteronomistic) framework that presents Moses' work in Transjordan as the start of, not the prelude to, the settlement (vv 8–12):it represents this historical rehearsal as a history of salvation, the reason for Israel at Shechem (not Shiloh) to make fast its commitment to Yhwh. Interestingly, Hos 6:7–9, in the context of 6:1–10, suggests that both Mic 6:5 and Joshua 24 reflect a single ritual: Hosea refers to a ritual movement from Adam in Transjordan (through Gilgal? Hos 9:10, 12, 15; 12:12; B. Mazar 1985) to a climax at Shechem (cf. Deut 11:29–32; 27:1–13; Josh 8:30–35). This unopposed processional march furnishes the basis for later prophetic transformations of the motif (esp. Isa 11:14–16; see Cross *CMHE*, 99–111).

It is no coincidence that the narratives of Abraham's (Gen 12:5–7) and Jacob's (Genesis 32–34) arrival in Canaan both recapitulate the pattern—the pattern of Israel's entry after the Exodus. The processional route is triply enshrined in the nation's ancestral lore. All these indications concur on the point that the materials reformulated in Joshua 1:3–5 constitute one of Israel's oldest, most carefully preserved traditions concerning the Conquest. They are the fruit of a sanctuary's foundation legend and a ritual hallowing it. In fact, liturgical elements associated with the ritual may survive in Exodus 15, Deuteronomy 33, Psalm 114, and, in embedded form, in Psalm 68 and Hab 3:3–6 (Cross *CMHE*, 99–105). An association with royal ritual seems also to have taken hold, sometime early in the era of the monarchy. 1 Sam 11:12–14; 2 Sam 19:16, 32, 40–44; and, probably 2 Sam 2:8–9, 12 all situate confirmations of the king's accession at Gilgal after a crossing from Transjordan.

**(2) Jericho and Ai.** The second narrative cycle in Joshua chronicles the overthrow of Jericho and Ai (chaps. 2; 6–8). It begins with a reconnaissance of the former town, an act that is set (in the present edition) during the three days Israel encamped by the river in Transjordan (2:22f.):Israel's spies in Jericho

find themselves in the home of Rahab, a prostitute, who barters their abetment for immunity from the Holy War. Rahab recounts how Israel's experience at the Reed Sea and victories over Sihon and Og in Transjordan had demoralized "all the inhabitants of the land" (2:9–11). This information the spies carry back to Joshua; it leads, as the opening cycles are edited, to the fording of the river (2:24).

The narrator resumes this strand after Joshua's encounter with Yhwh's divine commander (5:13–15). Jericho is invested. The ark and the army circle the city over the course of a full week; on the seventh day, down fall the walls. Joshua annihilates the population, Rahab and her family excepted, and the livestock. Captured metal is dedicated to Yhwh, in accordance with the precepts of the Holy War (ch. 6).

Joshua 24 portrays this event as the decisive confrontation, as an emblematic victory over all those groups with which later generations understood pre-Israelite Canaan to have been peopled (24:11f; correspondingly, the Clementine liturgy breaks off at just this point). Conceivably, the reference in Josh 24:12 to "the two kings of the Amorites", an expression elsewhere applied to Sihon and Og (Deut 3:8; 4:47; 31:4; Josh 2:10; 9:10), twins the account with that of the siege of Ai. This is uncertain, however. The LXX of Josh 24:12 refers to twelve Amorite kings instead of two. And v 12 may in fact allude to a rout of the Amorites derivative from and not identical with the battle at Jericho (v 11). But even if Joshua 24 did once preserve a tradition focused on Jericho alone, the narrative in chaps. 6–8 will now allow no dismemberment: the spectacular dismantling of Jericho leads without discontinuity to Ai's storming by subterfuge.

The direct link between events at Ai and Jericho is Achan ben-Karmi of the tribe of Judah (Josh 7:18). His peculation from the consecrated booty of Jericho forestalls the first attempt on Ai. Only his stoning permits the successful renewal of the assault (7:1–8:29). Hos 2:16f. (in the Valley of Achor, as Josh 7:25f; cf. 1 Chr 2:7; and note Hosea's play on Karmi) plainly associate the Achan incident with the first check encountered in Israel's advance from the wilderness into Canaan. This part of the Conquest cycle, like that surrounding Gilgal, had already been constructed, thus, in the oral or written sources that antedated the Deuteronomist's work.

At this juncture, the historian lowers the curtain on the first movement of the Conquest. He does so by taking the Israelites to Mt. Ebal, in fulfilment of the command of Deut 11:29f; 27:1–14 that they write the law mediated by Moses on stones there, and recite the blessing and curse associated with that law. Deut 27:2, 4 assign this duty to "the day when you cross the Jordan." One might suspect that the delays at Jericho and Ai were not envisioned by the authors of the Deuteronomic texts. But "the day when" in Hebrew can mean, "the time when." Too, the narrative as it stands brings Israel past Jericho and directly into the central hills, in a path that intersects the road from Ai or Bethel to Shechem: from Jericho, no other debouch would be more swift. It is to Shechem, in any event, that the historian draws his subjects for the climactic confirmation of their loyalty to Yhwh, in preparation for the practical part of their penetration of the land. That is, significantly, the last point in Joshua at which the ark, a regular element in the narrative from chap. 1 on, plays a role.

**b. The Second Movement: The Big Battalions.** A different sort of history begins in chap. 9. Instead of being dispirited, or magically expelled by hornets, the Amorites fashion formidable coalitions and engage Israel in pitched battles. 9:1, originally placed before 8:30–35 (with G), introduces this shift as a consequence of the foregoing action. It describes an assembly of "all the kings that were across the Jordan" (cf. 5:1), "in the highlands and in the lowlands and in all the shore of the Great Sea opposite the Lebanon—the Hittite, Amorite, Canaanite, Perizzite, Hivite, and Jebusite— … to war with Joshua and with Israel, with one accord" (for the resemblance to EA 366, see C.5.c below). Through the succeeding three chapters, the details of this extraordinary engagement, differing somewhat from the expectations this exordium evokes, unfurl compellingly.

The first palpable step in the plot takes place at Gilgal. Edified by the fate of Jericho and Ai, the Hivites of Gibeon and three other towns, located N and NW of Jerusalem, persuade Israel that they dwell in a "distant" land. By this ruse, they lure Israel into a treaty guaranteeing their lives. Only later, when they have already been rendered powerless to act by their leaders' sworn oath, do the Israelites learn where Gibeon really lies (chap. 9).

On the heels of Jericho's and Ai's devastation, the alliance with the Gibeonite tetrapolis creates a cordon in the central hills separating Jerusalem from the north. This strategic situation impels the king of Jerusalem into action. He forms an alliance with the other Amorite city-states of the southern hills and Shephelah (with Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon), whose joint field force then beleaguers Gibeon. Joshua relieves the town after a night march from Gilgal and scores a resounding rout down the Aijalon Pass. During a two-day period when "the sun was still, and the moon stayed" for illumination, he pursues his antagonists, already enfiladed by hailstones, past Azekah to Makkedah (10:1–14). There, Joshua hangs his royal adversaries (10:16–27; v 15 is to be omitted, with G).

The next segment portrays Joshua as reducing systematically six strongholds in the Shephelah and hills—Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish (where he eradicates as well a field force led by the king of Gezer), Eglon, Hebron, and Debir—all according to the precepts of the Holy War (10:28–39). The historian summarizes: Joshua had taken the mountain, the S, the Shephelah and the "declivities" (*ʾăšēdôt*), establishing an ascendancy from Kadesh-barnea to Gaza in the S to Gibeon in the N. The rather extreme claim that Joshua had eliminated all life within these borders (except on the plain) also appears (10:40–42). The inheritance of Judah had been gutted.

The logical sequel to the southern clash is, of course, a northern one. The king of Hazor organizes a coalition similar to that in the S, but embracing his royal colleagues from the Hermon to the Jordan Valley, from the coast to the Chinnereth. They risk battle at "the waters of Merom," where Joshua annihilates them in a rout stretching to Sidon. Joshua again sets about reducing fortresses, but the only one named or burned is Hazor. Of the rest, Joshua destroys the population, but spares the architecture. The summary discloses that Joshua captured all the territory from the Negeb to the Hermon (the coasts and Jezreel Valley are not explicitly named), ridding the country of all its former inhabitants (Anakim) except in the Philistine littoral. "And the land was tranquil from war" (11:1–23).

This observation marks the juncture of the Conquest with the implementation of Yhwh's plans for the Israelite settlement. The historian provides two reviews, one of the areas conquered (chap. 12), the other of those unsubdued (Philistia, the southern Lebanon, the coast, and the region from the Hermon to Lebo Hamath: 13:1–6). Joshua assigns the tribes' territories (13–19), designates cities of refuge (20; responding to Num 35:9–34; cf. Deut 4:41–43; 19:1–13; Exod 21:12f.) and Levitical cities (21; responding to Num 35:1–8), and dismisses the Transjordanian contingent (22; following Num 32). Thus, the Conquest effectively closes with the confrontation at Merom. At the end of the book of Joshua, two final orations (chaps. 23; 24) punctuate it definitively.

**3. After Joshua: the Nations Remaining.** Joshua's military activity winds down over the course of "many years" with the consolidation of his gains at Merom (11:18). Israel's borders are extended to Lebo Hamath and the Euphrates much later: it is under David (2 Samuel 8) that Israel first fulfills its ultimate territorial destiny. More germane to earlier times are local traditions, which emerge in something of a tangle in Joshua and Judges.

One encounters the first of these traditions in the tribal allotments in Joshua. Manasseh cannot displace the inhabitants of the Jezreel fortresses; Ephraim does not take Gezer. More confusing, Josh 15:13–19 impute the conquest and settlement of Hebron and Debir to Caleb and Othniel, respectively; yet, the towns are already reduced in Josh 10:36–39 (Joshua deeds Hebron to Caleb five years after crossing the Jordan in 14:6–15). Judges 1 seems to place Caleb's conquest after Joshua's death (1:1, 10–15, 20). This text may in fact be drawn from Josh 15:13–19. In it, Hebron is taken by Judah, but Debir by Othniel; Debir is handled similarly in Josh 15:15–17. Yet even Hebron, it is implied in 14:11f., may have succumbed specifically to Caleb's arms (see further C.4).

The border lists assert that Judah (15:63), Ephraim (16:10), and Manasseh (17:11–13) failed to "supplant" (*hôrēš*) some inhabitants of their territories (cf. also 13:13). A comparable note in 19:47 about Dan's taking Laish glosses over the action's roots in Dan's failure to supplant the population of its allotment (Judg 1:35; 18:1, 27). But the primary repository of such recollections is Judges 1, an old text adapted for its present use by the Deuteronomistic Historian (Halpern 1983:179–182; Soggin *Judges* OTL, 26–27). This Cisjordanian compendium is peculiar in two respects: first it claims that Israel's task

after Joshua's demise was not the extension of the collective borders, as Joshua 10–13 might suggest, but making exclusive their grasp on the territories already theoretically in their possession; and, secondly, the chapter presumes that in this stage of the Conquest, the tribes fought singly for mastery within their allotments.

Judges 1 reports victories only for Judah (1:2–16, 20), Simeon (1:17), and Joseph (1:22–26), precisely the tribes concerning whom the Joshua border lists present notices of failure. For Ephraim and Manasseh (Joseph), Judges 1 preserves these notices (1:27 = Josh 17:11–13, Manasseh; 1:29 = Josh 16:10, Ephraim). Judah's failure notice, concerning Jerusalem, is transferred to Benjamin in Judges 1 (Josh 15:63; Judg 1:21). A Judahite sack of Jerusalem is supplied (Judg 1:8). The only mitigation of Judah's success is the remark in 1:19 that the Judahites were unable, because of the "iron chariotry" there (see Sawyer 1983:130–32), to supplant the inhabitants of the coastal lowlands.

Some scholars discover inconsistencies in Judges 1. These are chimerical: one produces them only by equating capture with "supplanting," between which the chapter distinguishes carefully. Joshua had taken the country; Israel must settle it. Judah had burnt Jerusalem (1:8); its inhabitants were not supplanted (1:21). Judah conquered (*lkd*) Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ekron (1:18; read MT), but could not supplant (*yrš*) the denizens of the lowlands (1:19, read with G); in this instance, only the distinction between conquest and supplanting dissolves an outright contradiction between two adjoining verses.

The logic of the chapter, like that of Joshua 13–19, is that military domination does not translate mechanically into supplanting Amorites. Victory at war, however sweet, is merely a preface to the work of rooting out the existing population and colonizing the land. As in Joshua, in short, de- and repopulating the country are two separate steps. This distinction permits the historian to explain how Israel came into political control of parts of Canaan (or, under David, of all of it) without discharging Yhwh's injunction to blot out the memory of the indigenous peoples (Deut 20:16–18; Num 33:52–56; Deut 7:24–26; 12:2f).

Between Judges 1 and Joshua there may seem to be a certain tension, which in some respects cannot be denied. Thus, the summary in Josh 10:40–42 maximizes the achievements recorded earlier in the same chapter, where no activity outside the hills region is described. It interprets the detailed campaign reports to imply Joshua's thorough execution of Yhwh's plans. Nevertheless, it differentiates between highlands and lowlands, just as the segment on Judah in Judges 1 is so careful to do. Joshua smote both (v 42), but destroyed all life only inland (vv 40f.). The summary reflects a desire to inflate Joshua's achievements without violating the limits of historical possibility as the historian perceived it. It is the urge, not the formulation, that creates a sense of tension or contradiction.

More problematic is the relationship between Judges 1 and Joshua 11. Josh 11:16–20 mentions Joshua's "taking" the land from the Negev to Baal Gad, as though without exception. Judges 1 lists the exceptions. But if the historian in Judges 1 relates Josh 11:16–20 (whether or not he wrote them) only to the cities whose forces Joshua met at the battle at Merom (11:1–9), there is no necessary conflict. Alternatively, the historian in Joshua may have distinguished between eradication and Israelite colonization. This would explain the exaggeration of 10:40–42 as well, though it would not altogether relieve the tension occasioned by Joshua 12 (below).

Josh 11:21f. confirms that the text demands such a nuanced reading. These verses must be consistent with Josh 10:40ff. That they rehearse 10:40–43 suggests that they take 11:16–20 not to describe Joshua's ousting the populations of the southern hills. Indeed, this represents a sharp reading: 11:16–20 speak of "taking" territory, of capturing the cities of specific kings (those of vv 1–15), but not of "supplanting" the indigenous populations either in whole or in part. It does not, in the reading of 11:21f. or of Judges 1, present the Conquest as fully accomplished.

The final segment of the Joshua narrative, the list of kings in Joshua 12, corresponds to Josh 11:10–15 in the sense that it enumerates which towns Israel depopulated. The list includes Taanach, Megiddo, and Dor, whose populations were not supplanted, according to Judges 1. It is to be remembered that Judges 1 is placed deliberately after Joshua's death. The chapter presumes that Joshua's campaigns established a generalized control of the countryside; it remained for the several tribes to carry through the settlement thereafter, each in its own territory. This is the meaning of the sequence in Joshua as a whole: one

proceeds from Israel's irruption from Transjordan to the overcoming of indigenous resistance (chaps. 10–12) to the distribution of tribal territories (chaps. 13–22). That individual areas were left unmastered or unsettled may be a tradition alien to some of the sources subsumed in the account. In the presentation as a whole, however, it is a consistent element, one with which the account of the tribal allotments in fact begins (Josh 13:1–6). In all, the qualification of Israel's success at colonizing Canaan may represent the historian's overlay on traditions (like that of the Amorite giants) that were more schematic, and more self-aggrandizing.

At issue in Judges 1 are the nations remaining. Unlike Joshua 13, Judges 1 focuses on interstitial regions, areas within the confines of Israelite control. It denies Israelite dominance in the Jezreel and the Aijalon Pass as well as on the coast, and points to Canaanite enclaves in areas under Israel's heel. Further, where those earlier texts, in which Yhwh's "hornet" is the medium of expulsion, speak of the "remaining peoples" as Yhwh's deliberate provision against the countryside's collapse into uncontrolled wilderness (Exod 23:29f.; cf. Deut 7:22; Josh 24:18), Judges 1 furnishes grounds for the verdict that Israel had willfully failed to execute the command to expunge the former population (2:1–5).

Consistent with this view, where Josh 15:63; 17:11–13, 18 spotlight the invaders' *inability* to expel their foes ("they *could* not supplant"), Judges 1 reserves this excuse for Judah (v 19, the formulation taken from Josh 17:18). Otherwise, it reports only that individual tribes "*did* not supplant" certain antagonists. And what appears as a Danite success in Josh 19:47, Judges 1 translates into a consolation prize, unworthy of mention, for the tribe's failure (vv 34f.). Other than Judah, thus, Israel has turned its back on Yhwh's command: Yhwh ceases, in the remarkable theology of the chapter, to subjugate Israel's (peripheral) foes for them, because Israel had failed, after subjugating them, to eradicate them (2:1–5).

The materials after Judges 1 develop this view. Judg 2:6–10 present an epanaleptic account of Joshua's death (after Josh 24:28–31). This synchronizes the events reported in 2:11ff. with those of Judges 1 (and especially 2:2–4), developing in parallel with Judges 1 an account of Israel's infidelity during what amounts to an interregnum. Thus, there remain (Judges 1) Canaanites whose presence the Israelites suffered after Joshua's death. After the demise of Joshua's generation, who "knew" Yhwh and his acts, Israelites unfamiliar with the wondrous Exodus and entry begin to worship the gods of the peoples around them—the influence of and Israel's fraternization with the Canaanite remnant here asserts itself, as predicted in Josh 23:13; Num 33:55.

In retaliation for Israel's infidelity, Yhwh repeatedly subjects them to the power of aliens. But when they repent, he relents, raising up "judges" (*šôpĕṭîm*) to save them. Yet, at the "judge's" death, the Israelites revert to cultivating gods of "the peoples who were around them." Yhwh therefore resolves against "supplanting" those nations Joshua has left (2:11–21).

By this expedient, Yhwh exploits the "nations remaining" to "test" Israel's fidelity—to wage war on Israel when it is necessary to reprove Israel for its waywardness, to instruct those who "did not know the wars of Canaan" (with G), who could not draw on first-hand experience of Yhwh's intervention for Israel, in wars over Canaan of their own (2:22f.; 3:1f,4). The nations in question are the peripheral powers enumerated among the unconquered in Josh 13:2–6 (cf. Judg 3:3). This presentation, then, links an interpretation of the book of Judges—in which the cycle of apostasy, oppression, and salvation plays itself out (Judg 3:7–11; 3:12–15, 30; 4:1–3, 23f. + 5:31c; 6:1–6, 11–17 + 8:28; 10:6–18 + 11:1–11, 33)—to the major historiographic framework in Joshua, specifically that recounting Joshua's complete subjugation of the interior (as chap. 23; contrast Weinfeld 1967; Kaufmann 1966:632–44).

Both Judg 1:1–2:5 and Judg 2:6–3:6 ascribe Israel's failure to capture and depopulate all the appointed lands to infidelity to Yhwh after Joshua's death. How Judg 1:1–2:5 defines this territory is uncertain (Cisjordan to the Hermon?). Judg 2:6–3:6 defines Canaan after the manner of Joshua 12–13; 23, as embracing all of Syria up to Lebo Hamath (roughly congruent with the dimensions of Egypt's Ramesside empire, and of David's). Both concede that Joshua's death left the Conquest incomplete, effectively confined to the central highlands. Even when David repaired this defect, an indigenous population remained (Judg 1:21, 28, 30, 33), the process of their extirpation having been irrevocably suspended (2:1–

5; 2:20–3:6; 1 Sam 7:14). It is to their presence that Joshua 23–Judges 3 traces Israel's failure to fulfill her divinely appointed destiny.

**B. Scholarly Treatments of the Conquest**

**1. The Beginnings of Modern Criticism.** Even in the 19th century, by which time source-criticism and the inroads of Enlightenment historical method had compelled most scholars to abandon the Pentateuch as a historical record, the book of Joshua continued to command a healthy respect. As late as 1909 a scholar as eminent as Paul Haupt was speculating in print as to the seismic character of the events at Jericho (Haupt 1909:361f.). Moreover, historians of Israel uniformly reconstructed the Conquest as a concerted Israelite entry from Transjordan, climaxing a migration aimed from the first at the overthrow and colonization of the country. Often, they thought of this migration as ending a period of nomadic wanderings, on the model of Numbers 13ff.

Judges 1, taken, it must be said, out of context, furnished the first focus of skepticism about this view. E. Meyer ushered in the new era by arguing (1881) that this chapter recorded a series of triumphs by individual tribes rather than a united invasion, as in Joshua 10–12. The former type of Conquest he assigned to the J source of the Pentateuch, the latter to the Elohist (E). Meyer stressed that the two traditions were not to be harmonized by being placed sequentially (as in the present recension), that they represented contradictory historical variants touching different tribal groups.

Meyer's *tour de force* bore the encumbrance of all the 19th-century biases about the patriarchal narratives. Especially from the time of Ewald's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* I (1843), students of Genesis looked to these narratives as troves of information concerning mass population movements and other early, national history. Thus, the patriarchal life-style reflected Israelite nomadism in the pre-Conquest period. Genesis 34, relating Dinah's ravishment and the curse of Simeon and Levi, memorialized an early Israelite settlement at Shechem and the expulsion of the tribes (not individuals) accursed. The Rachel tribes could be linked to the stories of Conquest in the central hills; the Leah tribes were southern, tied to a penetration from Kadesh (below). Scholars mined the eponymic lore as though it were a mathematical notation of pre-Occupation history. Assuming that the tribes had existed discretely and in perpetuity, they sought to explain their coalescence outside Canaan. Most assumed it had taken place in Transjordan.

Not unnaturally, this posture among the pundits threw the relative chronology of the Exodus and Conquest out of whack. Which tribes belonged to what stages of each? Many scholars chose to harmonize, as they thought, the cacophony of Judges 1 and Joshua. Wellhausen (1894) and Guthe (1900) resolved it into two invasions from the east in the post-Mosaic era. Kittel (1888) and Procksch (1906) read the relative sequence of the patriarchs and Exodus to imply one invasion was pre-Mosaic. Still others (Paton 1900, Steuernagel 1901, Gressmann 1913) posited an early onslaught from the S by the Leah tribes: they unearthed traces of it, now buried beneath the literary structure of a unified incursion from Transjordan, in Israel's reconnaissance from Kadesh (Numbers 13–14; tellingly, J takes the spies only as far as Hebron), and in Num 20:14–21 (confrontation with Edom); 21:1–3 (the defeat of Arad). They also appealed to the fact that in Judges 1, Judah and Simeon proceed first of all the tribes. These scholars associated the later intrusion of the Rachel tribes with a movement of the Exodus-community from Transjordan after Moses' death (Joshua 9–11; Judg 1:21–27). The Leah invasion had been piecemeal (associated with Judges 1 and J); the Rachel invasion (Joshua, E) was unified.

The appearance of the *ḫa-bi-ru* (Eg *ʿapirū*) in the archive from the 14th-century court of Akhenaten at El Amarna undergirded these speculations. The Habiru were identified with the Hebrews *(ʿibrîm),* and the latter, even more speculatively, with the Israelites. The Amarna letters from Egyptian vassals in Canaan were taken to reflect the first stage of Israelite occupation (some in fact exploited them to date the Conquest as a whole to the 15th or 14th century, citing also the problematic 1 Kgs 6:1). A number of scholars identified the Habiru of Amarna with the Leah tribes. A 13th-century allusion to a "chief of Asher" being treed by a bear somewhere in the neighborhood of Megiddo ratified the hypothesis: Israel, or elements of it, had been in the land from the 14th century on. These were the Hebrews who had destroyed Jericho, the fall of which before Late Bronze IIB (ca. 1300–1200 B.C.E.) had embarrassed the

dominant school of thought, which placed the Exodus in the 13th century. The Exodus, by contrast, involved only Rachel.

These analyses all coordinated three dichotomies: between Judah (the south) and Israel (the north), between Leah and Rachel, and between Judges 1 and Joshua. None of these was indissoluble, and that between Judges 1 and Joshua was forced. The theories further attached great weight to the peregrinations of the patriarchs, and to traditions of Israel's wilderness wanderings, even though these were now viewed as a literary device to connect the southern to the northern thrusts. They relied, ironically, on the details of these sources, including their insinuations of the tribes' discrete existence, all the while they rejected the sources' overall historiographic framework; no real inquiry into the interrelationship between the details and the framework was essayed. To anchor all this surmise, though, the traditions of "nomadism" had to mirror authentic conditions in the era before Israel's invasions: how else could diverse groups of Israelites keep sweeping in off the desert? Testimony as to these nomadic origins thus emerged as a nodal point for inquiry. At the same time, these reconstructions affirmed in essence the value of the reports in Joshua 1–11.

**2. The Sociological View.** This consensus was first restructured by Albrecht Alt in 1925. Alt observed that the sources in Joshua portrayed the events from a considerable chronological remove, and that they were insufficiently extensive to permit on this basis alone a detailed reconstruction. He saw that the translation of patriarchal legend from eponymic folklore into national history was arbitrary, and the use of its results solipsistic. He also understood that the reconstruction of pre-Conquest Israel as a medley of marginal nomads had implications for the history of the settlement incompatible with the conclusions at which his colleagues had arrived. Heavily under the influence of Max Weber, he therefore reframed the problem as one of historical geography and political structures: instead of concentrating on the airy problem of the intentions of a people, Israel, immune from historical scrutiny in a sort of wilderness limbo—instead of asking what "tribes" were where in the twilight of Israel's prehistory—Alt asked what it was that the Conquest had meant on the ground.

His answer: in the coastlands and Jezreel, where in the LB Age Egypt's empire had flourished, the old city-states continued to dictate the shape of Canaan's political divisions. Even those city-states vanquished by the Philistines and other Sea Peoples retained their traditional territories; the territories continued to be named after the towns. Conversely, the interior initially occupied by the Israelites lay outside the lowlands system—in the Amarna texts, Shechem, and Jerusalem were the only city-states of the central and southern hills. These Israelite zones, defined by Judges 1 and roughly coincidental with the shape of Saul's kingdom (2 Sam 2:9), took the name not of a town, but of a nation. Their political culture was national, ethnic rather than local and territorial. Indeed, Israel achieved *geographical* continuum only when David took the Jezreel Valley: this was the first era in which the lowland city-state was broken down and subordinated to a national structure, that of a territorial state.

Alt concluded that Israelites had first entered and occupied those hinterlands least fitted to withstand their penetration. Their movement into Canaan resembled that of semi-nomads fixed on a course of sedentarization, a model contoured to the paradigm of Israel's wandering in the wilderness. Yet Alt's scenario incorporated the healthy qualification, based on the model of Bedouin sedentarization, that such a people could have entered the land only by infiltration: they could have mastered territory only outside close political and military control, which is to say, in regions not systematically tesselated with city-states; even here, they must at first have cooperated with the city-state system. The destruction of the city-states was a second stage in the process. Even the coalescence of Israelite ethnicity into articulated peoplehood (which Alt identified with statehood) took place in the land itself.

Alt's emphasis on bedouin infiltration capped the trend focusing on Israelite nomadism as a formative historical and cultural element. Fresh was the element of sociological theory applied almost formally in picturing the nature of sedentarization and the complex interdependence between the pastoral and urban populations, and in emphasizing the development of the state as a measure of meaningful transition in political history. Alt further diverted scholarly attention from Joshua's exploits in storied battles to Israel's and David's achievements across historical Canaan. The issue was not what Joshua had done so

much as what measurable benefits had accrued from his and from any other hypothetical early efforts. Correspondingly, the question of the character and composition of the original incursion into Canaan paled into virtual invisibility beside the issue of what territories Israel in her early years secured: the consciousness of the incoming Israelites ceased to be material, in line with Alt's conviction that they grew together as a political unit only on Canaanite soil. The notion of "conquering" Canaan evolved only slowly out of the gradual consolidation of Israel's ethnopolitical condition there.

Alt's position entailed evaluating Israel's conquest literature as a telescoped compendium of subsequent honors, devoid of direct or literal value. He himself stressed its etiological character, and drew strength from the fact that excavations at Ai showed the site to have been vacant during the LB Age (ca. 1570–1200 B.C.E.), when the Israelites should have been destroying it. Subsequent exploration at Jericho disclosed, too, that the walls did not "come a-tumblin' down" because there were no walls to have tumbled in LB II (though Garstang's "city wall" section has never been relocated and reinterpreted). Stressing that Judges 1 and the record of Hazor's undoing in Judges 4–5 contradicted Joshua's personal association with the struggle against the northern city-states, Alt and his followers dissociated Joshua from any action other than that in the Aijalon Pass (Josh 10:1–15).

The more conservative scholarly positions that antedated Alt did not altogether wither under Alt's attack. In the 1930's, William Foxwell Albright and his disciples emerged as the staunchest advocates of the older constructions, with Israel howling in off the desert and sweeping Canaan before it (Albright *ARI*). The wrinkle of the double-entry (once from the south) was retained from the 19th century. And the concession was made, against the most extreme claims of the text, that the Conquest confined itself to the hills, and even there was only partially successful. Alt's crucial distinction, thus, between the lowlands in the hands of the Canaanites and the hills controlled by Israel, prevailed, though no clear correlation of this point to the distinction between conquest and supplanting in Joshua and Judges was essayed. But Albright pointed to destructions at LB II Lachish and Tell Beit Mirsim, and, later, at LB II Hazor as evidence of a violent entry. He proposed, somewhat more feebly, that the story of Ai's destruction had been displaced from Bethel. Finally, Albright's partisans observed that Judges 1's tribe-by-tribe reportage could not be used to buttress Alt's scenario, as the latter claimed in 1939. Judges 1 was a list, not a narrative, and therefore necessarily presented a fragmented view: further, "tribe-by-tribe" was not a normal process of sedentarization, which takes place at the individual or expanded family (*hamula*) level (Wright 1946).

This whole vantage-point must be seen today as something of a rearguard action. Proponents of Alt's *"Landnahme"*—"occupation," a term that embraces the process through to David's time—retorted that destructions did not imply Israelite action: Egyptians and earthquake, fire and Philistines all had to be reckoned as possible causes. Even where Israelite settlement succeeded the destruction (Bethel, Hazor, and in the Albrightian brief, Lachish, Tell Beit Mirsim), one had evidence only of occupation, not of the identity of the attacker.

Further, they contended, biblical historiography concerning the Conquest took its shape from various concerns—etiological, ideological, political—not all historical, that worked in cumulative synergy from the era of the events to that, much later, of the writing. One could not match textual claims to archaeological results from LB sites without analyzing the claims diachronically: the literature, like the sites, needed to be approached as a stratigraphic cipher. Thus, Jericho (Bienkowski 1986) and Ai (Callaway 1968) were unpopulated in the Late Bronze, so that those elements of the Conquest account were incorrect. At Gibeon, the only signs of a "great" LB city were a few rather inconsequential tombs—so the tradition of alliance had to be called into question or dated later. Debir, probably to be identified with Khirbet Rabud, not with Tell Beit Mirsim, apparently experienced no interruption in occupation (Kochavi 1974). And there are no signs, to date, of LB IIB settlements either at Hebron or at Tell Yarmut. Indeed, epigraphic data from Lachish places the end of the Canaanite city there around 1150 (Ussishkin 1985), some half century after the Israelites are known—from the Merneptah stele—to have established themselves in Canaan. Archaeology does as much to disprove the Joshua narratives as to support them: those who use it to buttress a theory of a unified Conquest must use it, and the texts, very selectively.

As to the issue whether the Israelites entered united, bent on war, or in smaller groups, Alt's disciples observed that one had only to note how exiguous their early impact had been on the city-states. Indeed, the logistics and coordination of the venture imagined by Albright defied rational reconstruction (as Weippert 1979:31–32); and, why the supposedly centralized Israelites dispersed after vast victories into the undesirable hinterlands and the plight of powerlessness seemed puzzling.

**3. The Internal Conquest.** These strictures had great force, and for 40 years the "infiltration" hypothesis furnished the dominant paradigm for reconstructing the Occupation. "Conquest" advocates more or less accommodated to it by debating, as they had since the 19th century, which tribes came to Canaan when. But upon this asymptotic movement, a new model supervened. In 1962, G. E. Mendenhall turned the flank of Alt's position by calling its strongest, yet least defended bulwark into issue.

Mendenhall denied that the Israelites had been desert nomads at all, or underwent any collective transformation from wanderers in the steppe to farmers in the Canaanite interior; he found Alt's supporters at a disadvantage, for the biblical text affords evidence of migration, even of pastoral pursuits inside Canaan, but none of nomadism. Moreover, the model of nomadism with which Alt's supporters most often worked was not that of transhumant communities or transhumant pastoral specialists inside agricultural communities, but one of the groups of wanderers with no special territorial affiliation. It agreed with no known ANE reality, but leaned heavily on the model of Arabian camel-nomads, only superficially understood. This defect, of course, was one inherited from the bedouin ideal of the 19th and 20th centuries (Budde 1895; Flight 1923), an ideal concretized in the popular imagination by the exploits of Colonel Lawrence.

Mendenhall proposed instead that Israel conquered Canaan through a "peasants' revolt." Stressing the importance of the Habiru as an element in Amarna Canaan, Mendenhall defined the term to denote those disenfranchised from a role in the city-state system. He regarded this as a phenomenon more widespread than the case of Israel alone, just as the "gentilic" (his social class) "Hebrew" comprised a group of people of which Israel was only one part. In the Amarna era, he claimed, such alienation was progressing apace: the peasants of the villages yearned for relief from the oppressive cities; they made common cause with the Habiru to this end. Ultimately, he suggested, these peasants must have withdrawn from the city-state structures, drifting off to a refuge in the highlands. Galvanized by a radical new religion, Yahwism, carried across Jordan by a few survivors of the Exodus, these "Hebrews" carved out for themselves a community, ecumenical (Gottwald 1979 adds "egalitarian"; cf. Mendenhall 1983) in character—as reflected in Israelite covenant law—and radically opposed to the feudal despotisms of Canaan. The list of kings killed in Josh 12:9–24 testified powerfully to the zeal with which the Habiru prosecuted their mission to liberate all the prisoners of pagan autocracy.

Mendenhall's "ideal model" stood off against earlier efforts in two respects. Against the Conquest model, it posited no sizable invasion from Transjordan. Against the Occupation model, it restored the element of an early, collective Conquest, repudiating the unteleological notion of nomadism Alt's followers had fostered. It represented a sort of Internal Conquest hypothesis (see further esp. Gottwald 1979; Chaney 1983).

Scholars were not wanting (esp. Weippert 1967) who applied their ingenuity to confute the arguments toward the Internal Conquest. The arguments have been various. The most important of the contentions may be reduced to six.

First, Mendenhall's characterization of the situation at Amarna is misleading. It is true, there are cases in which Canaanite townsmen kill their kings. But uniformly, where the evidence permits us to say anything at all, the old king is replaced with a new one. There is, in short, no evidence of a reaction against the institution of monarchy itself. Indeed, most of the evidence on which Mendenhall, and his defenders, Gottwald and Chaney, draw comes from the Byblos correspondence. Here, the Habiru are allegedly present in greatest number, and the party that deposes the king of Byblos, Rib-Addi, is the Habiru party. Yet these supposedly disaffected ruffians immediately set Rib-Addi's brother on the throne—a development no doubt more reassuring than disconcerting to the pillars of the social order. Similarly, the letters furnish no evidence whatever of peasant flight from the city-states. The only

population withdrawal at Byblos occurs when siege conditions result in a shortage of grain; and the deserters take refuge not among a community of disenfranchised fugitives, but at the next city-state, not under siege, down the coast. The disaffection of which Mendenhall speaks is nowhere in evidence (Halpern 1983:56–88). Unattested in Canaan either before or after the era of Israel's entry, it was, if it ever existed, a cut-flower phenomenon without textual reflex.

If the peasantry does not exhibit the restiveness on which Mendenhall bases his case, the Habiru are positively discouraging. There are a few unequivocal references to real—ethnic or sociological—Habiru in the archive (EA 195; Edzard et al 1970:1,2; possibly EA 71:20–22, 28–31; 76:17–20; 288:25–33, etc.). And scholars frequently stress the fact that Amarna vassal kings complain loudly that their lands, towns, or people are controlled by or have linked hands with the Habiru (Helck 1968:473; Chaney 1983:72–81). But when one asks, what does this mean concretely, the answer is, the lands, towns, or people have fallen into the hands of royal political opponents. Rib-Addi complains loudest and longest about the Habiru: but by "Habiru," he usually means the king of Amurru—another vassal king of the pharaoh—and its allies, i.e., the party that enthroned Rib-Addi's brother. This is the situation in the letters from other vassals as well. Whatever Habiru were, there is absolutely no textual evidence of a large number of them in Amarna Canaan. Almost always, Habiru is a term of opprobrium, denoting rebels against the pharaoh's authority (Halpern 1983:55–56; Na'aman 1986:276–278). One "joins the Habiru" but does not become one (Moran 1988):They are "the brigands," people accused of subversion against Egyptian overlordship; not coincidentally, the same nomenclature is used by the Romans for restive elements (including, retrospectively, Brutus and Cassius).

This understanding of the Amarna evidence finds stark corroboration in the archaeological and historical record. If the Canaanite peasantry in the 14th century was seething with anti-monarchic activism, as Mendenhall supposes, one would expect that large numbers of the disaffected took refuge in the hill country, out of reach of the plains city-states with their Egyptian-supported armies. Likewise, if there was a significant, powerful, and militarily active population of Habiru, locked in an unceasing struggle with the kings of the city-states, they must have settled off the plains. Yet the hill country of Ephraim in LB II was all but devoid of settlements outside the city-states (Finkelstein 1983; *AIS*). The more fertile hills of Manasseh have revealed only exiguous levels of occupation (Zertal 1986b). That is, there is no sign of organized or settled Habiru even in the land of Shechem, notorious for being the stretch of Canaan whose king "gave it to the Habiru" (EA 289:23–24). The Galilean uplands, too, seem to have been bare (Gal 1990; Amir 1980). The simplest explanation for this situation is that there was no significant Habiru population, and no significant flight from the city-states.

Gottwald (1979:296–97, 655–58) has attempted to shore up this soft spot in Mendenhall's armor. He suggests that the peasantry shunned the hills because without lime-slaked cisterns and iron tools for terracing, the hills could not be settled. But the uplands were heavily settled in the MB II—the cisterns must have been lined effectively wherever the bedrock was permeable, though the bedrock did not require this in all places (as Callaway 1976:30). And there is little evidence of iron in the hills in Iron I (Waldbaum 1978; Stager 1985a). Moreover, in LB II-Iron I, Assyrian kings still preferred bronze pickaxes for cutting roads through mountain country (Grayson 1987:272. 40–46; *ARI* 2:7.13). This preference actually lasts into the late 8th century (Thureau-Dangin 1912:3:24):iron implements from this era suggest that quality control remained a serious problem (Pleiner 1979). In light of this difficulty, Chaney has suggested that the kings of LB Canaan deprived their cultivators of all metal (1983:64–65). This, however, is sheer conjecture; the widespread representation of bronze in LB sites, including even relatively simple burials (note Khalil 1984), speaks compellingly against it. The weight of the evidence is that the peasants of the Amarna-era had the means to domesticate the hills. What they lacked was the motive.

One further consideration should be added. The designation, Habiru, may originally have had an ethnic connotation. This interpretation is difficult to disprove if one identifies, as Mendenhall did, the Habiru with the Hebrews: early biblical texts see the latter as an ethnological designation, embracing in one tradition the Israelites and their Transjordanian, south Arabian and south Syrian neighbors (J in Gen

10:25–30; 16:10–14; 19:30–38; 22:20–24; 25:25). If so, early Israel was not, as Mendenhall supposes, ecumenical (see below), but rather an ethnic entity.

In sum, conditions in Canaan in the LB Age do not resemble Mendenhall's characterization: the peasants are not on the verge of withdrawal; the Habiru are not present in any great number; and, there is no evidence of a population of disaffected anti-royalists. Mendenhall's view of the Amarna era is a conjecture whose accuracy is an aleatory matter, not a case argued on the basis of firm evidence and probability.

Mendenhall's position on early Israel is no more apt. Mendenhall's supporters are quick to point out that there are lines of continuity between Canaanite and Israelite material culture. The "collared-rim" style for ceramic ware so characteristic of Israelite settlements is found also in Canaanite strata, stretching back into the 14th century at Beth-shan, Megiddo, Tell Abu Hawam, and Tell Beit Mirsim. Collared-rim storage jars, which are particularly typical of Israelite pottery repertoires, appear in some number at Megiddo VI, an Iron-Age layer the identity of whose inhabitants is disputed (but see Fritz 1987:97). However, only one appears in a LB context, at Canaanite Aphek, and this one occurs at the very end of the period, and in a site with Israelite neighbors close nearby (Beck and Kochavi 1983). Further, there is a change in Iron I from pottery "thrown" on a fast wheel to pottery coil-built and hand-made. There is also discontinuity between Israel and Canaan in the relative frequency of collared-rim ware in the pottery finds of Iron I, and especially in housing stock, where the dominant architectural types and the village plans are entirely divorced (below, C.3).

Too, the settlement pattern in Iron I contradicts Mendenhall's model. The manpower of urban LB Canaan was depleted (Gonen 1984). Yet, the hills population burgeons in Iron I, at a rate far exceeding that of natural increase. Nor were the settlers fugitive peasants: they first homesteaded regions suited to an economy based on pastoralism; only later did settlement extend to regions suited to an autarkic or cash-crop economy (Finkelstein 1983:110–77). So the settlers were not refugees, but migrants, who had converted their assets into livestock, and entered the hills with established herds: this is why 65–80% of the hills villages' area consisted of enclosure space (Finkelstein 1986b: 116–21). They were of recent agrarian background (Callaway 1976:29; Stager 1985b: 60*), but they certainly had not withdrawn from local city-states, which did not have the spare manpower to sustain such an extensive population movement, and whose rulers would not have tolerated the nomadization of their agrarian population.

This point, too, has confirmation. Merneptah's "Israel stele" contains a portrait of "the people, Israel" (Stager 1985b: 59*–60*). However, this portrait actually stems from the artists of Ramesses II, when it functioned as a depiction of Shasu (Redford 1986:192–200). Shasu is the Egyptian term for the pastoralists of Transjordan (Weippert 1974:270–71). In short, the Merneptah stele identifies Israel with pastoral elements from outside Cisjordan. Its record, thus, conforms to that of Israel's own ethnography, for it is with Edom, Moab, Ammon, and Aram, in Transjordan, that Israel claimed the closest affinities—claims that in turn reflect the authentic relations of the Israelite language (see below). All this is what the pattern of settlement leads us to expect, and both contradict the Internal Conquest model.

Mendenhall's cultural arguments are equally unconvincing. The case for Israelite king-killing boils down to the list in Josh 12:9–24—a text that is composite and late, and integrally bound up with the presentation in chaps. 1–11 (above A.3). Even if the text were early, it would constitute evidence of activity not against kings, but against *enemy* kings, a distinction lost on Mendenhall. The distinction is important from all viewpoints: Israel identified the interest of the king with that of the people (Judg 3:15–30; 4; 6–8; Josh 10:1–39). The role of the list in Joshua 12 in the Conquest narratives bears witness only to this prejudice: how does one separate the commemoration of kings killed in Joshua 12 from that of populations extirpated in Joshua 10–11? Further, early Israel was precisely xenophobic, as Judges 5 (esp. v 19) and Exodus 15 (esp. vv 13–17) testify, and as Saulide policy confirms (2 Sam 21:1–14; 4:3). Maintenance of the ethnic distinction between allied Hivites (Joshua 9; 2 Sam 21:1–14), or other local groups within the compass of Israelite territorial ambitions (Judg 1:27–36), and Israelites, reflects a long consciousness and defense of ethnic or national distinction. If early Israel killed kings, it did so not

because kings defended the privilege and social stratification of an *ancien regime*, but because the kings were Canaanites.

This is a major blow to Mendenhall's thesis. That Israel was not egalitarian is a state of affairs Mendenhall acknowledges (1983). But his whole theoretical structure comes crashing down if Israel was not ecumenical. Nevertheless, not only is the early poetry characterized by extreme xenophobia, but the Israelites actually practiced mutilation (male circumcision), the function (although not necessarily the origins) of which is to inhibit connubium with neighbors, such as the Philistines, and perhaps non-Hivite (Genesis 34) Amorites (see Goody 1969). Statistical evidence is also accumulating (Wapnish and Hesse fc.; Hellwing and Adjeman 1986:145–46, 151) for a distinctive Israelite dietary profile, which included the avoidance of pig even in zones bordering on Canaanite and Philistine centers where pig-consumption was regular (Hesse 1986, forty percent of the meat diet in a Philistine site, eight percent in a Canaanite). In the dietary evidence, Israelite xenophobia leaves a firm archaeological reflex.

Here, again, Alt enjoys a firm purchase on the high ground. Israel was first a consanguinary and only secondarily a territorial entity. It afforded no refuge for out-groups. Early Israel may have been, as Mendenhall's adherents claim, egalitarian. Its egalitarianism, however, embraced Canaanite elements roughly under the conditions and in the proportions in which Spartan egalitarianism extended to the Helots. That is a lesson that the reduction of Canaanites to forced labor under Solomon firmly teaches. This xenophobic posture is incommensurable with the view that Israel was ecumenical in origin and disposition. Correspondingly, there exist records of local accommodation to the invaders (Joshua 9; Judges 1), but none of active connivance with them. The implication is not necessarily that no such cases occurred; but the circumstance reflects the hostile attitudes toward such allies that governed the course of Israelite memory. Mendenhall's scenario, again, consists of more imagination than inference.

Had its exponents to labor under none of these considerable disabilities, the Internal Conquest would nevertheless suffer from a fundamental flaw. Unlike either the Conquest or the Occupation hypothesis, it draws no direct support from Israelite sources: Mendenhall (1962) cites such texts as Joshua 12; the Song of Heshbon (suppositiously preserved by defectors to Israel); and links between Reubenites and Gileadites and places in Judah and Ephraim (uninhabited in LB) respectively. All these hints are based on the decontextualization of particular claims. The literature not only contains no recollections of Israelites swarming out of Canaanite villages, but explicitly affirms the opposite. Israel's distinction from Canaan, blemished only by the pact with Gibeon, persisted until the era of the entry had ended. In Mendenhall's case, "the ascent of reason was aided by the wings of imagination." The model can never therefore amount to anything but one among innumerable possible scenarios. Its inherent probability is low.

**4. Résumé.** Each of the reconstructions reviewed above is coherent within the context of the facts. The Conquest scenario responds both to the claims of Joshua 9–11 and to the archaeological data especially from Hazor and Tell Beit Mirsim. The Internal Conquest model focuses on conditions in pre-Israelite lowlands Canaan. One should note that neither model dispenses with the element of invasion from abroad: The Yahwistic invader is reduced, at best, from an agent of radical change, or, in Alt's case, of gradual change, to a catalyst of reactionism; even in this case it remains the fulcrum of historical development.

The Occupation model, however, is methodologically most mature. By asking first what change Israel's entry effected, it sets out from facts immediate to Israel's early life in Canaan. It involves no necessary recourse to the history of Israel before the Occupation. The Internal Conquest presupposes that Israel existed latently among disaffected lowland peasants; the Conquest model presumes that Israel arrived on the brink of Canaan ready-formed, and intent on broad conquests (it effectively presupposes the Exodus). The Occupation model's explanatory power consists in its narrow adhesion to palpable fact: early Israel peopled the hills and backwaters of Canaan.

This very strength proved in the end the theory's Achilles' heel. Alt's view presumed that there was outside Canaan's confines a fund of potential settlers, who fitfully drifted in to homestead the empty hills. Left to him was the 19th-century model of the Bedouin as a means to construe the pre-community community; no doubt the texts in Genesis and Numbers that portray Israel and its progenitors as migrants

encouraged him to exploit the legacy. Here, Alt, too, left the firm ground of historical geography and political structures on the wings of sociological typology. Although his recourse avoided the historically sterile issue of the connection of Israel's Hebrews to the Habiru, and relegated to abeyance the destruction and repopulation by Israelites of Bethel, Hazor, and Tell Beit Mirsim, its implications for Israelite history in an eking existence on the steppe, strike discordantly on the register of verisimilitude: pastoralism is an activity intimately connected with settled culture, with markets for meat, with material plenty. Pastoralists in Canaan belong not to the untamed wilds of the land, but to the fringes of the most heavily cultivated districts. Even a neo-Altian scenario, like that offered by I. Finkelstein, must acknowledge that the failure of archaeological surveys to locate any significant Israelite presence in the hills prior to 1200 contradicts the thesis that a large population could have been engaged in pastoralism there.

**C. The Emergence of Israel in Canaan**

The variables whose isolation is an assault on the Conquest demands are daunting in their diversity. One must mate evidence biblical and extra-biblical, textual and archaeological, intrinsic and ideal. One must distinguish pre-Israelite Canaan from that of subsequent eras. One must distinguish pre-Canaanite Israel from Israel in the land. Finally, one must justify in historical terms the attested condition of pre-monarchic Israel, holding parts of Canaan, on the basis of the process of occupation. In all these enterprises, Alt is to be emulated. The unknown should be approached through the medium of the concrete. Otherwise, guided by "ideal models" and prejudices, the quest after the Conquest is merely a blind groping toward origins—lent a superstitious significance—that lie beyond the glimmer of measurable historical circumstance.

**1. Canaan Before Israel.** Israel's emergence as a people in Canaan coincides with the end of the LB Age (LB II, ca. 1400–1200 B.C.E.) and the beginning of the Iron Age (Iron I, ca. 1200–1000). Various textual sources illuminate the former time: Egyptian monuments deposited at Megiddo and Beth-shan document the pharaoh's domination, and periodic internal and external challenges to it. Hittite archives corroborate them in regard to Canaan's periphery. The diplomatic correspondence from El Amarna (and letters found in a few Canaanite tells) elucidates brilliantly the petty "politicking" of the mid-14th century, during the reigns of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten. To the N, the Ugaritic tablets afford a glimpse of a great kingdom approaching the end of its days in the 13th/12th century. And, starting at about this time, Assyrian texts commemorate campaigns to the West and to the Sea. The archaeological record mirrors the textual record closely, a circumstance rather different from those surrounding Israel's origins, though whether this means that the Sea Peoples or Achaeans caused the collapse of Asian civilization is a difficult question (see Tadmor 1975; Millard 1981, on the age as a whole). Relatively, the era basks in a liberal light.

Late Bronze II Canaan was fashioned from the rich block of the Middle Bronze IIC by the chisel of the Egyptian pharaohs. From the mid-16th to the mid-15th centuries, monarchs from Ahmose to Thutmosis IV, perhaps in common with their local competitors, cut a swath of destruction across SW Asia, reducing the hollow shell of Hyksos Canaan to ash. What Israel later inherited these forces denuded of its numerous, prosperous settlements; they left behind an empire of ruins. In all the Late Bronze Age, Canaan never recovered the density of settlement it enjoyed in the Middle Bronze II.

In the 14th century, a renewed city-state system represented the means of administering the empire, which Amenhotep III's armies consolidated against threats from Hatti and Mitanni. The empire consisted of a series of petty kingdoms, governed by local dynasts whose positions were dependent on the pharaoh's confirmation; it embraced all the land from Gaza to the doorstep of Ugarit. The disruptive element in this conglomerate were the mountain states, territorially extensive entities inland from the coast. Controlling them was difficult at the best of times—logistics and communications considered—and uneconomical at all. Sparsely populated, they remained rugged and refractory. In the plains and valleys, at the same time, a drama of dubious allegiances, alliances with foreign powers (Hatti, Mitanni), and reliance on pharaonic support played itself out. Distance vaccinated the southern lands against the ambitions of Hittite overlords. In the S, the region of later Israel, purely local ambitions dictated the

course of the political maneuvers. In the N, however, in collusion now with this, now with that restive Egyptian vassal, Hatti gradually wrested dominion from the decline of the 18th dynasty.

The landmark development in the relationship between the twin contestants was the battle of Qadesh. Fought early in the reign of Ramesses II, it arrested the erosion of Egyptian control in northern and central Syria, and on the coast south of Hatti. It led to a formal Egypto-Hittite condominium in Canaan. Yet this ratification of the *status quo* by coequal partners was not fated to endure. By the end of the 13th century, the Peoples of the Sea were a third force crashing onto the shores of Egypt and Canaan, and associated developments engulfed hapless Hatti, which beneath their tide sank helplessly from view, affording scope to Assyrian vigor west of the Euphrates, from the mid-13th century onward.

**2. Canaan in the Earliest Israelite Eras.** At the close of the LB Age, a series of new nations crystallized in Syria, Transjordan, and Canaan. For the first time, Egyptian sources during the interminable reign of Ramesses II surely speak of Moab and Edom. The celebrated reference to Israel in the Merneptah stela occurs only slightly later, around 1220–1207. Ammon's development cannot have lagged far behind. These are the nations that J in Genesis classifies as *Hebrew (ʿibrî)*—descendants of the eponym Eber (**ʿi/abr*), a group that includes proto-Arameans in S Syria—which emerged in the Cisjordanian interior and along the line of the King's Highway in Transjordan at the end of LB II. While Egyptian reports of Shasu in Transjordan antedate this era (see Helck 1968), the names later adopted by Iron-Age *Hebrew* kingdoms appear only in the 13th century.

Egypt in adversity maintained a grip on Canaan. This land weathered the Sea-People onslaught and mastered or possibly even installed their colonies on the Canaanite coast (see Singer 1988). Ramesses III, in particular, in the first half of the 12th century consolidated this domination. Locked in a martial struggle with the Sea-Peoples, he memorialized his campaigns against them in Canaan from Megiddo to Medinet Habu.

Ramesses III left his mark on Canaan's architectural complexion with public works at Beth Shean, Megiddo, and Lachish. Yet Egyptian control, like Egyptian interest, centered on the lowlands and trade-routes; even there, it was insouciant and sporadic (cf. Weinstein 1981:22). Just before Ramesses III's reign, the Philistines in the south and the Tjekker at Dor thus began to dislodge earlier Egyptian vassals or were settled in their place (as by Merneptah at Ashkelon?) on the coast. They were unceremoniously absorbed as new vassals into the old empire by the pharaoh (see Ussishkin 1985:222 on the date). Off the trade routes, the *Hebrew* nations appeared. Egypt could tolerate or adapt to considerable flux in its Asiatic possessions.

It is ironic that Israel retained no recollection of Egyptian domination in the land. Egyptian armies went calling in Canaan's valleys through the middle of the 12th century (Ussishkin 1985:218–19, 221, 224–26; Oren 1985:188), at a time when Israel was certainly at home in the hills (the Merneptah stela). We see the indirect influence of Egyptian dominion in Israel's adopting as its national myth an account of liberation from Egyptian bondage: slaves were one of LB Canaan's major exports to Egypt, and this practice probably continued into the 12th century. Famine, occasioned either by political turmoil or by drought, inevitably intensified the level of traffic. Thus, the Joseph story was based on conditions with which all inhabitants of Canaan were conversant. Servitude in Canaan and slavery in Egypt were the Canaanite lot: a story of a slaves' revolt and the overlord's overthrow at the Reed Sea was calculated to comfort all those still under the pharaoh's iron heel in Canaan. All the more, though, should the Canaanite subjects recall an era of Ramesses' revenge.

This conundrum has its key in the nature of Egyptian administration. Israel encountered it as exercised through the medium of local chieftains. Even when the Egyptian army itself appeared, it most often operated under the command of local commissioners (Sisera?) and in close cooperation with the vassals. An Israel subsumed within the territories of the city-states, not itself an administrative unit of the empire, would have had no reason to remember an Egyptian oppression, along the lines of those described in Judges; still less would an Israel in the hills have cause to recall participating in the Egyptians' expulsion. In other words, an ethnic Israel not recognized as a political unit by the pharaoh—because its demography violated the administrative lines of the Asiatic empire—and an Israel whose communal political influence

was confined to the topographic backwaters of Canaan could have encountered and remembered only the demands of local suzerains. The aggregate of these figures Israel claimed to have bested in a melee by the waters of Megiddo (Judges 5).

The Canaan that Israel settled at the start of the 12th century was a land in intermittent turmoil. On the chaos, Egyptian arms imposed a superficial order. It was an order against which Israel could not prevail. Indeed, during Israel's earliest years in Canaan, it was positioned neither politically nor geographically to offer a challenge to the pharaoh's forces. The Merneptah stela portrays Israel as an ethnos, not as a geographical entity. Its representation matches the bulk of the textual evidence as Alt construed it. It also fits precisely the contours of the archaeological data.

**3. Israel on the Ground.** Archaeological data adduced in defense of the Conquest model proved in the end a "recoiling bow." Results were mixed or negative at Jericho, and wholly falsified the claims of Joshua concerning Ai. But these setbacks affect only the symbolic portion of the Conquest, and it is natural to withdraw, as the Albright school did, to the more defensible line of Joshua 9–11. Here, after all, one could take cover behind the bulwark of an Israelite occupation succeeding that of the Canaanites at Hazor and, theoretically, Lachish (contrast Ussishkin 1985) and Tell Bet Mirsim (contrast Greenberg 1987), the two occupation levels divided by a violent destruction. The same was true at Bethel, whose defeat is recorded in Judg 1:22–26. Similar claims have been lodged regarding Beth Shemesh, Tell Zeror, Beth-shan, and, in Transjordan, Tell Deir Alla.

The pungency of this corroboration, however, is neutralized by two factors. Most of the destructions are not at sites to whose conquest Joshua 9–11 lay claim (Gezer, another case, is re-occupied by Philistines). And, at Lachish (V) and Hazor, Israel occupies the post-destruction site only after a gap in occupation. This is a quibble, since Joshua presumes, as noted, only destruction, not necessarily resettlement. But the gaps, even more than the late destruction of Lachish, are embarrassing. Further, if Khirbet Rabud is indeed ancient Debir, there is a flat contradiction: Rabud suffered no discontinuity in the period in question.

Second, as noted above (B.3), several towns named in Joshua 9–12 were either completely or virtually unoccupied at the end of LB IIB; others exhibit no sign of Israelite takeover in this era. The most embarrassing instance is that of Gibeon, hardly "a great city" (Josh 10:2). Jerusalem's ally in the same chapter, Jarmuth (10:3; no destruction is reported), was wholly or partly deserted. Taanach seems to have been devoid of LB IIB remains, despite Josh 12:21. And Arad (Josh 12:14, after Num 21:1–3) was abandoned from EB II until Iron I. Conversely, Lachish, whose destruction Josh 10:31f. describes, survived intact into the mid-12th century under Egyptian control (Ussishkin 1985). Tell Beit Mirsim was not occupied by Israelites until the 11th century (Greenberg 1987). The case of Bethel may be similar. All this poses more serious a difficulty, insofar as the testimony of the book of Joshua is concerned, than the paucity of early Israelite settlement.

The prize cases of exaggeration in Joshua 9–12 come in summaries claiming that Canaanites were uniformly annihilated (10:40–43; 11:12–23). This has precipitated the inclusion of such kings as those of Taanach, Aphek, and Megiddo in Josh 12:18, 21. If one takes this to imply the envelopment and capture of these towns, as scholars have usually felt Josh 11:12, 14 licensed them to do (but see above, A.3.), the archaeological record is damning: LB Aphek fell into non-Israelite hands, thence to the Philistines (note Beck and Kochavi 1983); Megiddo VIIA remained Canaanite into the second half of the 12th century, and it is unclear that Megiddo VI was held by Israel. Yet, discounting for slight exaggeration in the telling, the only specific town whose sack Joshua 11 asserts is Hazor (for whose fall ca. 1200 see the argument of Yadin 1972:108 [Yadin holds for 1230]). Nor can archaeological investigation falsify claims that Joshua met and routed enemy kings in the field.

As noted, the main danger in applying excavation results against the text is identical with that in applying them for it: the textual problems are in the process apt to be oversimplified. The case of Lachish has been cited. One might take the gap in occupation after Lachish VI to contradict the claim of Josh 10:31 that Israel took the town. But the text explicitly distinguishes Conquest from colonization as chronologically separate phases—a distinction presupposed by and indispensable to a sensible reading of

Judges 1. Israel did ultimately gain control of the town. Like that of Jerusalem in Judg 1:8, Lachish's role in Josh 10:31f. probably reflects only the natural telescoping of gradual achievements and their attribution to the emblematic Conqueror, Joshua.

Individual archaeological results are more likely to cast doubt on the biblical testimony than to confirm it. Where destruction and resettlement occur at times and places that coincide with those for which we might expect Israelite activity, the conqueror's identity and the timing of reoccupation can be called into question. Where excavations contradict biblical evidence—at Heshbon, for example, no remains antedating the Iron Age except a tomb (Harding et al. 1953:27–41) have been found (cf. Num 21:21–32)—the evidence can be devastating (though the ongoing settlement at Rabud or Lachish is perhaps more damning). The passage in point must be abandoned as an accurate record, and attempts to explain its origins elaborated without prejudice to surrounding records. Here, however, there is a lesson to be learned: in reconstructing the history, the issue is neither solely what is in the ground nor solely what is in the text; the object of research is the genetic relationship between them, their common, collateral antecedents.

In this connection, the most important archaeological data are not those directly related to textual claims. In a defense of a neo-Altian view, Finkelstein (1983; *AIS*) has adduced the data concerning Israelite population distribution in Iron I; he draws particularly on surveys conducted by Israeli archaeologists of settlement in the fringe areas (including especially mountain ridges and the inter-montane valleys). The picture is instructive: the earliest Iron Age saw the multiplication of small villages especially in the central hills, with minor development in the mountains of Judah and the Galilee (on the Galilee, see Aharoni 1970:264; Gal 1990). The picture in the hills of Manasseh is similar (22 sites in toto), and cult sites are among the remains (Mazar 1982; Zertal 1986a: 43–53). By the 11th century, this trend toward cultivation and squatting in the central hills had grown feverish. For example, where the hills of Ephraim sustained 4–5 settlements in LB II, they hosted something like 125 in Iron I (Finkelstein 1983:110–77). Barren areas, earlier abandoned, such as the Beersheba basin (Cohen 1985; note Finkelstein 1984) and the lower Galilee, began somewhat later to attract pioneers as well, and the countryside swelled with extensive and intensive agriculture and pastoralism.

Transjordan yields up a picture that is, generally speaking, comparable. Surveys tend to confirm that the Wadi Hasa region (to et-Tafileh) and the territory north of it to the Yarmuk experienced significant increases in settlement early in Iron I (Mittmann 1970; Weippert 1979:28–30; MacDonald 1983). Here, it may be added, evidence may be accruing that the process of settlement began effectively in LB, continuing into and snowballing in Iron I (see Miller 1982:172; Ibrahim, Sauer, and Yassine 1976:55–56; Sauer 1986:4–14). Finkelstein has linked this process hypothetically to the expulsion of the settled population from their various domiciles in MB IIB, which propelled them into pastoral nomadism in the fringes of Canaan. The process of resettlement reflects, then, their sedentarization some centuries later.

Archaeologically, however, the settlement increase in Iron I (or Late Bronze and Iron I) does not suffice to distinguish a sudden, massive influx from a slower stream of immigration from abroad, or the stream of outsiders from peasant flight to the hills. Still, when excavated, the Iron I sites in the hills and in Transjordan yield characteristic early Israelite pottery, particularly the "collared rim" ware ubiquitous in Israel's Iron I settlements. Like the rest of the Iron I pottery repertoire (esp. Kempinsky 1985; Albright 1932:53–54; Albright and Kelso 1968:63–65), this has been shown to have clear antecedents in LB II (Ibrahim 1978:121–22; above, B.3). Nor is it necessarily limited in Iron I to Israelites alone: it is heartily represented in Transjordan, for example (Ibrahim 1978). That is, it is a feature of early Israelite culture (the relative proportions of the pottery being particularly diagnostic, with roughly a third of rim fragments at Israelite sites composed of collared-rim store jars, and, at Giloh, another thirty percent of cooking pots—Mazar 1981b: 31). Insofar as this resembled that of the Transjordanian "Hebrews" (esp. Ammon, Moab, Edom; see Sauer 1986:10–14), and of elements inside Canaanite society, it also characterizes the cultures of other, associated peoples—whose settlements and states developed in parallel with Israel's.

The settlements also disclose either the prototypes or the realized form of a characteristic house-plan, that of the "four-room house," in which three rooved rectangles form a U about a courtyard; the parallel

rooms (the sides of the U) are separated from the courtyard sometimes only by pillars; the entrance, normally, is through the courtyard. Again, there is a possible prototype of the plan in LB IIA—an elegant building whose first floor was dedicated to industry was recently unearthed at Tell Batashi (Mazar 1981b: 91). Possibly, therefore, the housing stock is no more discontinuous with that of LB Canaan than is the pottery. Again, however, the common Canaanite house is not identical with the common Israelite: the Canaanite house is a square with a courtyard at its center. Speaking broadly, collared-rim ware and the four-room house characterize Israelite settlements of the Iron Age in Cisjordan, and some Transjordanian "Hebrew" sites (Sauer 1979). They are not characteristic of LB Canaanite centers.

There has been a controversy whether the four-room house was Israelite, and whether it developed from the pastoralist's tent (Fritz 1981:65; Fritz and Kempinski 1983:31–34); this, by definition, reaches beyond our historical grasp. But Israelite settlements also manifest a tendency to erect their housing in a ring, kept hollow in the Negeb, an arrangement convenient for pastoralists. Finkelstein linked the pattern of village planning to the exigencies of hills architecture (1983:192–94); but both factors probably played a role (see Finkelstein 1984:193–95; 1986b: 116–21). The four-room house itself is designed to accommodate small-scale family animal husbandry: the stock sleep under the areas parallel to the courtyard (the sides of the U, which can also serve as storage areas); the cross-room (the bottom of the U) stores feed and provisions for or sleeps the family. See HOUSE, ISRAELITE. Indeed, troughs are often found between the pillars separating the side-rooms from the courtyard (Holladay fc.). And the storage jars and other items of the household economy appear regularly in the cross-room. This design must have disseminated because of its functional advantages. Like the shape of the village, it implies a specific socioeconomic dynamic inside—what the common shape of the pottery shows is a shared economic microcosm. The predominance of this dynamic in its context weighs heavily against a theory that the Israelites originated as peasants in the plains. The Iron I hills pioneers were pastoralists, not peasants, first—a point corroborated by Merneptah's equation of Israelites with Shasu.

Finkelstein's survey (1983; *AIS*) stressed other impinging factors as well. Most of the Iron IA Israelite villages appear in the northern and central reaches of the central hills, clustering alongside the five established Canaanite centers in that region: the earliest settlers did not choose to establish themselves in the least populous and most isolated regions, such as Judaea. It does seem to be the case that the earlier settlements concentrate primarily on the eastern (wilderness) side of the mountain ridges, which afford adequate pasturage for their established herds of sheep. Still, the inhabitants of Izbet Sartah, possibly along with those of several nearby villages, set up shop on land suited to a mixed farming-pasturing strategy within shouting range of Aphek, which they no doubt supplied with meat in exchange for processed goods (see Finkelstein 1986).

The earliest Israelite pioneers thus brought their herds to regions suited to pastoralism. As they expanded their encampments, and erected permanent, agricultural dwellings, they deliberately exploited less densely forested patches in the uplands (thus near towns). This would have helped them avoid some of the intensive capital investment reclaiming the land involved; by the same token, the earliest settlements in the central hills were located in inland valleys (though no excavation results are yet available to determine how these compare to the hilltop villages), where terracing could be kept to a minimum (Finkelstein 1983:161–62; 1986:179).

All this is only to be expected. The new elements seem to have thought their settlements relatively secure—inadequately defended and often unwalled (Callaway 1976:29) as they were—whether because they were negligible or because prevailing conditions were relatively peaceful—as in the case of Izbet Sartah III–II. And, although they depended to some extent on the market for meat in the hills and plains towns of Canaan, many of them, especially the later ones, invested long years of hard labor clearing the farms of trees and rocks, terracing them, planting olive trees and vines, and cutting cisterns and grain silos into the hillsides. These pioneers also built enclosures to protect their property from their neighbors'; they planed the wood of their houses, built pillars and troughs, and participated in public works.

The nature of these projects was such that the families involved required labor for clearing, for improvements, and for harvesting. They needed labor exchange for the herds and fields, which involved a

certain critical mass of population involvement. Allowing that half of the Iron I population was present in Iron IA, the minimum influx into the region of the central hills, (the net Israelite population of which can be estimated at 40,000–80,000; Finkelstein *AIS*, 330–35), must have been something on the order of 15,000 people. That is, the total immigration into the hills of Cisjordan will, minimally, have reached the vicinity of 25,000:the influx simply must have continued over the course of the whole 12th century (and note the two waves of settlement at Ai—Callaway 1976:29–30 and the alterations from unstructured pastoral to a hierarchical, probably patriarchal, agricultural village at Izbet Sartah—Finkelstein 1986:5–23). The immigrants elected to clear, to cut, and to work the rock and the forest.

These are not in the end choices one would expect of peasants fleeing to an uncertain refuge from the plains. Indeed, as noted above, the historical behavior of such peasants had been to seek haven in other plains communities, not in a strange environment. It is difficult to imagine that the massive gamble of labor and materials involved in settling the hills would have come naturally to a plains population, or that marketing meat in the lowlands—and failing to fortify themselves against military constabularies sent to repatriate them (Finkelstein *AIS*, 313)—was a natural course for lowlands fugitives. Whether this movement reflects the sedentarization of peoples uprooted at the end of MB, or simply the influx of migrants from outside Cisjordan (and outside Transjordan), it suggests less the flight of urban peasantry than the homesteading of pastoral elements already integrated in economic interdependence with the plains. The continuity in pottery forms coupled with the distinction in the frequency of pottery types and in the dominant form of domestic (and public) architecture, and the settlement history of Transjordan, are consistent with this reconstruction (see Kempinski 1985). The clearing of trees and the clearing of stones, the building of terraces and the cutting of cisterns, the cutting of silos and the building of enclosures all stand in this tradition.

Still, it must be observed that neither the architectural evidence, which answers to function rather than style, nor the pattern of settlement, decisively contradicts the peasants' revolt. It is rather the textual evidence (above) that disqualifies that theory. One may add, in contrast to the Hivites, Kenites, and others who were absorbed as cohesive ethnic communities distinct from Israel—the list of Judges 1 furnishes numerous examples—whatever fugitive peasants took to the hills could have assimilated to Israel only singly. These would have had the characteristics of clients, at best, among the Israelite kin-groups (see, for example, Khazanov 1983:152–64). That they made a material contribution either to the culture or to the manpower of the hills communities seems unlikely.

**4. Israelite Traditions in the Light of Modern Knowledge.** Attention to archaeology and the history of the tradition has made it plain that the key to interpreting the Joshua traditions as history lies in critical distance and felicitous judgment. The narratives concerning the Jordan crossing, Jericho and Ai must be altogether discarded. The first reflects an annual ritual crossing, whose survival both attested to and re-shaped the traditions of earliest times (A.2.a. (1)); the latter attest the process whereby the sight of an Israelite settlement, or of no settlement at all, atop a noble tell inspired Israelite storytellers and historians to deduce that Joshua had taken the place. The participation of Yarmuth in the coalition of southern kings (10:3) reflects this sort of thinking, as does the confrontation with Arad in Num 21:1–3; 33:40; Josh 12:14. If Tell Hesi proves to be Israelite Eglon (10:34f.), it would represent another instance: the massive EB tells became the objects of Israelite romance.

All this damages the testimony of Joshua 9–11, for this cycle is intimately connected in the historian's presentation with that of Jericho and Ai (esp. 9:3, central to the nuance of vv 10, 24; 10:28, 30; 12:9). Nor does the historian distinguish the "symbolic" Conquest from that in Joshua 9–11 in terms of genre—the two are equally historical. Possibly, diverse sources underlie the account: the narrative in Josh 9:3–10:15 understands itself to focus on a battle against the kings of the southern hill country (esp. 10:6); even the continuation, in 10:16–39, does not exceed the confines of the Shephelah. One might go so far, since the distinction between "smiting" and "supplanting" corresponds to that between lowlands and hills, as to claim that the summary in 10:40–43 goes no further itself (so above, A.3.).

Conversely, 11:1–23 depict Israel as conquering everything Canaanite that moved, except on the coastal plain and in Syria N of the Hermon. This latter material stands in close continuity with chaps. 12–13; 23;

Judg 2:6ff., where it is the peripheral nations who remain unsubdued. Again, it should be noted that Josh 11:16–20 reports the "taking" of the land, not the supplanting of all indigenous populations. "Taking" in 11:23 is a prelude to tribal allotments, which (as Judges 1) precede the "supplanting" of the Canaanites; 11:23 can claim that the whole land was "taken" even though v 22 cites an ongoing Amorite presence in the Philistine region. Still, even the more modest interpretation of the chapter's assertions entails the conclusion that it exaggerates, telescopes, distorts the historical process beyond recognition.

Nor does detaching the southern campaign of chap. 10 from the northern of chap. 11 produce a separate, reliable account. The Albright school appealed to the destruction of Hazor XIII as support for Joshua 11. But the identification of Deborah's opponent in Judg 4:1–3 as the same Yabin, king of Hazor (Josh 11:1) illustrates that later Israel believed pre-Israelite Hazor to be the leading power in northern Canaan (Josh 11:10), the key to the Galilee.

This tradition is probably founded in a hazy combination of historical recollection and geopolitical reality; whether it was in fact Israel that overthrew Hazor remains obscure. Certainly, the more exaggerated claims that the historian suspends from this peg (11:1–4, 12) reflect only his hardened conviction that Joshua's victory was total, his prosecution thorough (11:18–20, 23). Even the locus of Joshua's supposed northern decisive battle, "by the waters of Merom/the height (*ʿal mê mērôm*)" (11:5, 7) reads as though it hatched from a conflation of Judg 5:18–19: these verses locate the other big battle joined by Sisera, identified in Judges 4 as the general of Jabin, king of Hazor, "by the waters of Megiddo" (*ʿal mê mĕgiddô*)" and "on the heights of the field" (*ʿal mĕrômê śādeh*)".

The story of the southern confrontation has been incorporated into the framework of 9:1f.; 11–13. No doubt, the historian received this tradition already partly shaped. Yet *it* is the one in which deserted LB Gibeon, the abiding LB settlement (to 1150) at Lachish, and probably unoccupied Jarmuth play prominent roles. The key to understanding the historian's reconstruction may lie in his use of a quotation from "the book of the Jashar":" 'Sun, be still in Gibeon, and, Moon, in the Aijalon Valley!' And the sun was still, and the moon stood, so that the nation acquitted itself of its foes" (10:12–13).

This old couplet had been attributed to Joshua before the historian of chaps. 9–10 laid his hands on it. 10:12 heads it with a superscription closely resembling those of some psalms, "when (lit., on the day when) Yhwh delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel" (cf. Ps 3; 7; 9; 18; 34; 51f.; 54; 56f.; 59f.; 63; 142). This is redundant in context, and must have been drawn from a written source. It sufficed to place the apostrophe to the luminaries in Joshua's mouth. Moreover, Isaiah cites the incident in connection with an oracle against Jerusalem, as a case of Yhwh's wrath consuming his foes (28:21). His allusion presumes that his hearers recognized the historical reference in all its bearings.

It is around this notion of a decisive confrontation at Gibeon that Joshua 9–10 were built. 2 Sam 21:1–14, in which David decimates the Saulide establishment in expiation of that king's attacks on the Gibeonites, appeals explicitly to old traditions of a hoary alliance between Gibeon and Israel. It was not unnatural for those who wove the narratives of Israelite antiquities, then, to relate the battle at Gibeon to the ratification of Israel's treaty there. That any early Israelite community really contracted such a formal pact with the Hivite tetrapolis is unlikely, and there could have been no such pact at the start of Iron IA, with Gibeon yet to be reoccupied. What seems probable is that Gibeon's role in the literary formulation of the confederates' common history grew as the fortunes of the site waxed during Iron I. After Shechem's destruction in the mid-12th century (Judg 9:45–49), Gibeon seems to have blossomed into one of the larger and more strategically placed towns in Israel (2 Sam 2:12–16 after 2:8–11), and one of the most prestigious (1 Kgs 3:4–14; 2 Sam 21:1ff.). Its eminence among the Hivites by David's time led traditionists thereafter to regard Gibeon's residents as having been the leading element in all earlier Hivite transactions.

Against an Israelite-Hivite axis in the Aijalon Pass, the Amorite opponents mentioned in the Book of the Jashar had to be sought in the S hills. Isa 28:21 may already reflect the view that Jerusalem was the head of the anti-Israelite front: as noted above, it threatens a repetition of Yhwh's "strange deed" in the context of an oracle against the Jerusalem establishment. Certainly, the geopolitical logic of the reconstructed league with Gibeon (above, A.2.b) demanded such a deduction. The old poetic snatch in

Josh 10:12–13 also defined tolerably the extent of the hostile community: "Amorite" is a term deployed primarily to designate denizens of the hills. The enemy thus consisted of city-states in the Judean uplands and in the Shephelah. The knowledge that Israelite settlement did not overflow such areas until the time of David must have informed the tradition and corroborated the reconstruction.

Originally, the song in Josh 10:12 comprised an appeal for the bestowal of a favorable omen—that the sun should be visible in the east and the moon in the west. The omen and its significance are known from Babylonian sources. The granting of the omen and the confirmation of its efficacy are the subject of v 13 (Holladay 1968). But the historian (or his sources) interpreted the text literally to mean that the sun and moon stood still, extending the time in which Joshua could pursue the broken foe. This defined the course and length of the rout—down the defiles of the Aijalon Pass, spilling out into the Shephelah. For the purposes of integrating this reconstruction with that of Joshua's sweeping triumph, the logical sequel was a campaign in the Shephelah and an incursion from the S Shephelah into the hills (10:28–39).

Extensive portions of this concept of the Conquest must have been antique. The association of the old song with "the day in which Yhwh delivered up the Amorites"—and references to the climactic battle in Isa 28:21, and to the confrontation with towering Amorites in Amos 2:9—already contain the skeleton of the treatment in Joshua, even if none mentions Joshua himself by name. The idea that the Amorites were giants implies that they were obliterated—at least in the popular imagination—since the titans did not survive to be examined by later Israel. Similarly, the Gilgal and Jericho cycles derive from old traditions, here reinterpreted in line with the "Deuteronomist's" theology of history. The tradition of a treaty with Gibeon also stems from antecedents in the time of David (2 Sam 21:1f.). Though David's treatment of the Hivites merely implies the prior existence of a traditional *modus vivendi*, it was natural enough for folklorists to concretize the relationship by reconstructing a formal pact (cf. also 1 Sam 7:14; Genesis 34). For the most part it is impossible to date the growth of the traditions on which the historian depends (though Judges 1 probably stems from the time of Solomon, as Halpern 1983:179–82). Still, a good deal of the treatment originates in traditional perspectives on Israel's entry into the land.

Nevertheless, nothing in the literary evidence suggests that the details of the reconstruction antedate the Deuteronomistic History. The Shephelah campaign of 10:28–39 probably represents the historian's systematization of different claims concerning local victories in that region, or his extrapolation, based on a strategic reconstruction, from such claims in the tradition elsewhere (Hazor?). This is the campaign that establishes Joshua's control over the borders he is said to have secured. One might say that he had "conquered" the country from the S up to Gibeon (10:41f.). The appropriation of credit for the conquest of Hebron and Debir (10:36–39; 11:21f. vs. Josh 14:6–15; 15:13–19; Judg 1:10–15, 20; cf. A.3.) may represent either a normal accretion to Joshua of victories dated later elsewhere (cf. Hazor) or an adumbration of his consolidation of the Conquest within the territory whose perimeters he had seized. (The contrast between Joshua's and Judah's or Judah's and Caleb's taking Hebron is a matter of emphasis, partly on conquest or supplanting, and partly on the identity of the groups named.) Conversely, the actual choice of specific Shephelah forts has no plain motivation. Significant towns are excluded. However, since three of the four sites are not yet positively identified, no hypothesis should be advanced on this point.

In light of all this, and with the exception of the confrontation of Gibeon, the most fruitful approach to Israelite traditions may be to note what they do *not* claim, rather than what they do. For example, even the author of Joshua 11–12 does not assert an Israelite colonization of Megiddo and the Jezreel: traditions such as those encapsulated in Josh 17:11–13; Judg 1:27 inhibited the historian from such overweening hyperbole. Thus, Josh 12:21–23 can reflect a success in the field, or at most a raid (born of braggadocio), not the supplanting of lowlands populations. Monarchic Israel generally understood that its forebears in Canaan stuck to the hills.

On this basis, the geographic extent of Joshua's victories could be identified with that of Canaan S of the Hermon. He could be said to have bested opponents from all regions of the land (11:2; 12). And attributing to him some later regional successes, he could be said to have left Israel ascendant in a Canaan it claimed, but alone, as Israel aspired to be, only in parts of it. The territorial framework and nationhood

of a later Israel is thus retrojected to the first moment of Israel's intrusion into the land. The process by which this occurred was no doubt entirely innocent, one of historical reconstruction, based in part on reifications of embellished cultic confessions, in later times, not willful or wholesale invention.

The texts' reluctance to claim that Joshua made permanent gains in the lowlands matches the archaeological and extra-biblical materials from the LB-Iron I transition. There is, beside it, another rather loud silence in the text, the one surrounding Israel's movement into the central hills. It is true that Judg 1:22–26 record a sack of Bethel—typically, for early Israel, by strategem rather than direct assault; the death of Bethel's king is toted up in Josh 12:16. In the Ephraimite hills between Gibeon and Shechem, this is the only conflict any record of which survives (of a town, it should be noted, that was indeed occupied in LB II). And the record itself places the accession after Joshua's time, in the era of internal consolidation.

Outside of Bethel, Josh 12:17 (Tappuah, Hepher), 24 (Tirzah) contain the only assertions that Joshua killed kings of towns in the Manassite hills. In the scheme of Joshua 11–12, the kings in question would have fallen "by the waters of Merom/the height" (11:8). The same scheme dictates that Joshua should have depopulated their towns, though, in accordance with a suspicious proviso (11:13), without doing injury to the buildings. Yet the presentation posits that Joshua fought a battle in the Aijalon Pass that enabled him to encircle the southern hills, then fought another in the north, giving Israel control of the Galilee. The idea of a battle for the central hills, or of extensive operations to gain a foothold there, is alien even to the latest strata of the history. It is unclear whether any tradition ever envisioned these areas as subject to conquest in the same sense that Judea and the Galilee were.

This argument is susceptible to the objection that the historian responsible for the Conquest accounts concerned himself with Israel's mastery only over a large territory, from the far south to the Hermon; he did not imply systematic eradication of the Amorites in Joshua's lifetime (or thereafter). This, after all, is the view presupposed in Judges 1. In accordance with it, one may imagine the central hills, as the history now runs, as a region encircled, awaiting the detailed attention reserved for the period after Israel had stilled the sound of opposing armies, marching in concert against Israel in the field. The objection, however, is vulnerable to the counterstroke that the historian claims that Joshua cleared Israel's hills territory of foreign elements (11:16–23). It also ignores the most piercing hush of all: there is no conquest of Shechem.

In LB IIA, Shechem was the dominant town of the central hills: its king, Lab'aya, had reduced all the region from Jerusalem in the south to Megiddo in the N to his sway. Shechem *was* the central hill country in that era. Yet confrontation with the power fails Israel's memory. Genesis 34 assigns a treaty with the town and Israel's violation of it to the patriarchal era. Judges 9 conversely sets Shechem's sowing with salt in the time after Gideon, in the middle of the era of the "judges." Between the two, Josh 8:30–35; 24 locate ceremonies of covenant confirmation at Shechem, responding in part to Deut 11:29f.; 27. There is a broad tradition of activity at Shechem, but none of siege and capture (cf. Toombs 1979).

The Joshua narratives contain other lacunae, in the northern hills and even in Judah. But in the context of an account of securing perimeters, the omissions are no surprise. The extent to which exaggeration might accrue to accounts of Joshua's time is clarified in Judg 1:8, assigned to the years after his death: in the face of pre-Davidic reality, the verse affirms a Judahite destruction of Jerusalem (but no occupation). No comparable claims concerning Shechem appear. The silence is loud indeed.

Overall, it seems legitimate to speak of a Conquest tradition that stems at least from the 10th century B.C.E.—the time when the ritual crossing of the Jordan to Gilgal is first clearly attested, when the earliest compilation of Judges 1 was made, and when a violation of a "treaty" with Gibeon was remedied. The story of Abimelech (Judges 9) attests incidentally that ambivalence as between local and national or ethnic administration rent the early Israelite community: would the city-state or the nation become the articulated political musculature of Canaan? A central government, like that of the United Monarchy, would have seized on and fostered national traditions—the J source of the Pentateuch may have originated in this concern (its final form is, however, later). The later historian responsible for the

Conquest accounts that survive today overlaid and reinterpreted the sources such elements had mediated to him.

**5. The Israelite Conquest. a. The Earliest Phases.** The absence of traditions of violent entry into the central hills so dovetails with the archaeological evidence of Israelite coexistence in that region with the scattered Canaanite remnants of LB II (and Toombs 1979) that it affords one of the few footholds in the morass of the Conquest. It complements the tradition of Israelite coexistence with the Hivites of the Gibeonite tetrapolis. It resonates harmoniously with the tradition of early (and originally pacific) relations with Hivite Shechem. One may justifiably infer a peaceful Israelite presence among the Hivites of the central hills in general, whose expansion into the region N of Jerusalem was coeval with the Israelite influx.

Israel's early cultic community at Shechem may have centered on the ratification of this relationship (Judg 8:33; 9:4, 46). In any event, the "covenants" in Josh 8:30–35; 24 and Genesis 34 presumably reflect ongoing cultic activity at Shechem during the monarchic era. This would have been inherited and reinterpreted from the time before Abimelek; after his destruction of Shechem, the focus of the action there would have shifted, perhaps from the town to the surrounding hills (as in Deuteronomy 27). It is not impossible that the Iron I installation unearthed in 1983 on the N slope of Mt. Ebal was associated with this displacement, and with pilgrimage coming from the Jordan up the Wadi Far'ah, then down from the N. But this is a matter of speculation; the excavator places the Ebal pottery at the outset of Iron I (Zertal 1986a), which would rule it out.

The character of the earliest Israelite hills villages is consonant with this general understanding. Though the Negev sites, starting in the 11th century (such as Tell Esdar, Arad, Beer-sheba, and, earlier, arguably, Tell Masos) exhibit a stronger predilection for pastoralism and more architectural variety, they differ more in the proportion than in the identity of their constitutive elements. The pioneer study in the socioeconomics of uplands settlements is that of L. E. Stager (1985a), which focuses particularly on the close-knit structure of the sites, uniformly modest in scope. The tendency in them is for houses to cluster together in a few small groups, representing no doubt two or three generations in the life of a nuclear family. The whole of a site might thus consist of only a few families, probably all related within the context of an "expanded" family (see Cohen 1965:56), along the lines of the Arabic hamula (so Izbet Sartah III and II):working, breeding, and relating to the outside world in common.

In the courtyard of the four-room house stood the oven and industrial installations for agricultural and animal produce. In the early settlements this included small, inefficient grain pits, often lined with stone, or storage jars sunk into the earth. The stables underneath the rooved areas parallel to the courtyard (the verticals of the U; see Holladay fc.) indicate that most nuclear families had herds. If the stable space is a guide, the flocks were rarely extensive. See STABLES. Indeed, some of this physical plant may have been given over to draught animals (Gen 49:14?) and fatlings (1 Sam 28:24; 2 Sam 12:3; Amos 6:4). The family, that is, kept a small flock (Judg 6:4, 11; 1 Sam 17:28) while cultivating the soil; no doubt this provided an occupation for young boys (as 1 Sam 16:11) and other unemployables (Amos 7:15). However, occasional large flocks were probably bred by some families, who would have exploited the village commons and supplementary, makeshift enclosures, as well as more distant pastures (e.g., 1 Sam 9:3–5; 25:2–8; 2 Sam 13:23f.). The Negeb settlements, where pastoralism (and, at Tell Masos, as at Izbet Sartah, large cattle) loomed larger, reflect this fact unmistakably. The reference in the Song of Deborah to (large?) Reubenite flocks bedded at home (Judg 5:16; cf. Gen 49:14; Ps 68:14, both with verbs meaning "to lie down") may refer to a similar situation early on in Transjordan.

Overall, the flocks were a significant component of the village economy; but the Israelite family as a whole did not *specialize* in pastoralism. The elements of their extensive cultivation have been touched on above (C.3). The olive and the vine—their exploitation solidly attested later, in the Samaria ostraca—and cereals required some clearing, planting, terracing, provision for processing, storage arrangements that would minimize spoilage, and other capital investments (including defense against freebooters). The suggestion, corroborated by the location of the earliest settlements in the vicinity of Canaanite towns, and by the integration of Shechem into the Israelite economy as witnessed by its Iron I pottery repertoire

(Toombs 1979:no conquest need be posited), is that the first Israelite homesteaders dwelled in peaceful symbiosis with their local Canaanite neighbors. The pastoral component of Israelite industry demanded such markets for meat and wool, and one presumes that this produce was welcome enough among the hills' few tenants, who offered processed goods in exchange (see Rosen 1986:180–81). For the herders in particular, open communications were vital, razzias a catastrophe (Judg 5:6; 1 Sam 25:2–8). Except for royal caravans, hill country commerce may have depended wholly on their wanderings.

All indications thus point toward cooperation between the Israelites and the earlier population from Shechem to (newly-settled) Gibeon (with similar patches in the upper Galilee and along the virgate ridge of the Judaean highlands; in the Negev, assuming Tell Masos was an Israelite settlement, there were no nearby Canaanite towns [as Gen 21:22–34; 26:16–33]), but the inhabitants of Tell Masos, and, later, those of Beer-sheba VII, were no doubt suppliers of meat to the Philistine coast and mediators of the Egypto-Philistine caravan trade with Arabia. This sort of symbiosis is precisely what the earliest Israelite traditions concerning relations with the Hivites N of Jerusalem have led us to expect. Nor would it come as a surprise if, in line with the old song in Josh 10:12f., an Israel so distributed fought one of its earliest memorable battles—one of its earliest battles as "Israel," instead of as a collection of highlands families—in the Aijalon Pass, against a bloc led by Jerusalem.

**b. Where They Came From.** The archaeological situation does not unequivocally demand that the Israelites should have entered Canaan from Transjordan. However, the textual situation does. In no way is Israelite insistence on Israel's ethnic distinctiveness—from the earliest times on (Judg 5:11–19, 31; Exod 15:14f.)—compatible with the hypothesis of an Internal Conquest. As noted above (B.3), despite long coexistence and ongoing life with the Israelites, the Hivites remained ethnicly distinct into the monarchy (2 Sam 21:1–14), as did other indigenese (Judges 1). The monarchy itself arose in part as a result of this xenophobia (Halpern 1983:12–16). From at least the 12th century, Israel understood itself as a people allochthonous and apart in Canaan. Merneptah's equation of Israel with Shasu—otherwise unattested in Cisjordan north of the desert—corroborates the Israelite view.

No precise point of origin outside Canaan can be stipulated with any confidence. Some indications are, however, present. The emergence of the Iron I nations of Canaan—the Philistines and other Sea-Peoples in Cisjordan and the "Hebrew" kingdoms across the river—was an event never lost to Israel's memory. Later historians wrote that the Transjordanian "Hebrew" nations had dispossessed inhabitants there who were "Amorite," that the Philistines had done the same in their territory, just as Israel had done in Cisjordan and in the region from the Arnon to the Jabbok (Deut 2:9–12, 19–23; Judg 11:16–26; Num 21:24–26). All these Iron I peoples Israel regarded as rightful successors to the Amorites (A.1):Amos 9:8 memorializes their migrations in Yhwh's work, bringing "Israel from the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor, and Aram from Kir" (Amos 1:5 threatens Aram with a return to Kir).

It is to the "Hebrews" of Transjordan that the Israelites felt themselves most closely related, and, in terms of language (Halpern 1987), forms of social organization, material culture, and religion (each people its own god—Mic 4:5), rightly so. The narratives of Genesis extend both this sense of kinship and the term "Hebrew" also to the peoples of the neo-Hittite kingdoms in Syria (Aram), whose crystallization dates to the same general time (Genesis 24, J; 29f., JE). These Aramean elements fell heir to the remnants of the Hittite empire. Their languages, in this era, were not discontinuous with those of the southern Hebrews; though certain differences, largely phonological, already obtained, they were inconsiderable compared with those that afterward developed. Nor should the tradition of Israel's ultimate origins among these groups be neglected (Gen 11:28–31; 12:1), especially as it embraces (patrilateral parallel cousin) connubium (Genesis 24; 29).

Altogether, the evidence suggests that Iron I "Hebrew" elements were in the ascendant in areas peripheral to the great empires during the last decades of the LB Age. In the Iron I period settlement in Transjordan, as in Canaan, snowballed. Some of these "Hebrews"—a term whose basic meaning is best explained as an ethno-linguistic one (cf. Eber, their eponym, in Gen 10:21, 24; 11:14)—had long been in contact with Canaanite civilization (as Kempinski 1985; from a slightly different perspective, Finkelstein *AIS*).

Scholars misled by exorbitant rhetoric and the use of the term, *ḫabiru*, in an extended sense ("traitor," "outlaw") have significantly overestimated the role "Hebrews" assumed in Amarna Canaan; in reality, the only "Hebrews" attested are bit players, working for minor figures in the political landscape (Halpern 1983:55 & nn. 24). But there is no denying that small "Hebrew" bands were present (EA 195). Seti I commemorates a campaign against some ʿPR.W (*ʿ*abirū?*) in the Beth-shan region at the end of the 14th century; most likely, he uses the term in its basic, not its extended sense. In any event, the Iron Age newcomers *were* Habiru, "Hebrews," crystallizing from band- into regional organization wherever the parallel administrative structures of the empire and the city-states weakened. Israel is most plausibly viewed as an instance of this contemporary phenomenon.

Some of the "Hebrews" may have been propelled into Transjordan by the stick of Assyrian expansion at the end of the 13th century, then again in the 12th. Under Adad-Nirari I, Shalmaneser I and Tukulti-Ninurta, Asshur extended its control over the western bank of the Euphrates and the Habur basin. The initial deportations, followed by a routinization of Assyrian taxation and the imposition of a harsh bureaucratic commercial control (see Machinist 1982), will have created migrants; these elements can have transported their property only in the form of livestock. The relatively effete rule of Egypt might represent a carrot, drawing the migrants on. By the end of the 13th century, these had congealed into ethnic communities.

The route by which the Cisjordanian elements came is thus recorded both in the patterns of "Hebrew" national development and in the patriarchal narratives (Genesis 12; 24; 31–35; Halpern 1983:91–92; B. Mazar 1985). Some time after the process halted, it was ritualized skeletally in the pilgrimage linking Succoth, Penuel, Gilgal (?), Shechem, and Bethel (see A.2.a). Like their Ammonite, Moabite, and Edomite counterparts across the Jordan River, such migrants would have developed a close set of kinship ties and a sense of communal identity, reinforced both by their habitation in a limited territory and by the characteristics (religion and a shared historical identity among them) that divided them from the administrative units and populations near which they settled: "a fugitive Aramean was my father" (Deut 26:5; Millard 1980).

Even on this scenario, one must posit that an early, important constituent of later Israel came from the direction of Egypt. This component furnished the national myth, and conceivably the god, of the Cisjordanian "Hebrews." This group cannot be identified as the ancestor of an individual tribe or set of tribes, for the "tribes" took their shape in the land. We may justifiably suppose nevertheless that its members occupied some of the earliest Israelite villages in Transjordan, and in the hills of Judah, Ephraim, and the Galilee. The possibility that this group originated with "Hebrews" engaged in commerce with Edom in Transjordan and the Negeb, and ended in bondage to Egypt, is an attractive one. The appeal of their historical identity to other "Hebrews" has been canvassed briefly above (C.2). It can be added that the persistence, until the time of the United Monarchy, of a dichotomy between the Israelites of the hills (whose god was thought to be a god of the hills—1 Kgs 20:23) and the Canaanites of the valleys (and some in the hills) illustrates that the appeal of the new identity did not extend to much of the local population.

**c. How They Came.** A problem that has persistently plagued proponents of a gradual- or multiple-entry hypothesis is that of Israelite solidarity, of common subscription to the Yahwistic-Israelite syndicate. Authors reasoning to northern and southern or to southern and eastern entries repeatedly wrestled with the question, how did their groups come together. Israelite texts furnish an explanation. The homesteaders maintained an ethnic and perhaps even a religious identity distinct from that of their previously-settled neighbors. They maintained, too, a culture, a style of life, alien to that of LB Canaan. Not that intermarriage and commerce played no part in their lives, nor yet that in the pre-Saulide era fraternization was forbidden; only, the settlements and economy and customs of the Israelites were distinctively Israelite ("Hebrew"), those of their neighbors Amorite. For one thing, Israelites ate no pork (though no pig was found at Lachish VI, either). For another, they practiced the mutilation of circumcision. No doubt conservative and endogamous marriage patterns directed against property-alienation helped to perpetuate

the distinction (except, probably, at Shechem). Highlands Canaan—such as it was—was a mosaic, not a melting-pot.

Other data sustain this view. The scattered villages in the highlands and in the hitherto empty Negeb, with their heavy capital investment but without fortification, betoken an atmosphere of toleration, not of strife. This is inconsistent with a mass, unified migration. Even to the S of LB Jerusalem, isolated Israelite communities took root (Giloh, just outside Jerusalem, Beth Zur, probably Hebron, the Negeb sites), contradicting the notion that a threat from a whole body of newcomers was perceived. Most likely, the "invaders" came not in waves, but in tiny bands, as Alt divined, intent on taming intractable lands beyond the grasp, if not beyond the reach (Judg 5:6), of the plains city-states, in the relative freedom of the backwaters. The lords of Shechem may finally have "given [their land] to the Habiru," as the king of Jerusalem precociously accuses them of doing in the Amarna letters (EA 289:23f.); inviting "Hebrew" settlement enhanced capital accumulation and manpower. Local authorities had less of an interest in resisting the migrants than in subjecting or coopting and regulating them.

Again, Judges 9 implies that much the same concerns applied shortly afterward in Iron I: this chapter reflects local nervousness about fealty to a king located outside one's own town in an Israelite community that must antedate the 10th century. Though kingship is desirable over against oligarchy (9:2), an absentee kingship is intolerable (9:28). The local competition of the Israelite era is nothing more than an extension of the lie of the land in LB. Under the circumstances, contests for the loyalty of incoming populations, and especially of pastoral elements and bandits, may have raised the stakes in the bidding to very attractive levels.

It is appropriate, in short, to speak of the stick (the advance of hostile or predatory powers in Syria) and the carrot in connection with Israel's emergence. The pattern of early Israelite settlement, in thinly populated regions, but in the vicinity of LB settlements there, is suggestive. The dwindling of settlements in LB Canaan left land available for pasturing, and, ultimately, farming, that was not closely regulated (as the pastoralists at Mari were—at least in theory—by the Mari regime). As the "Hebrews" spread down from northern Transjordan, they tended to migrate to such areas, their common culture leading ultimately to political crystallization based on the development of an infrastructure of villages (below). One might almost envision the operation of a territorial corollary to Parkinson's Law here. But it is important to recall that the wealth of urban LB II Canaan—or of Egypt's vassals there—may have had an important influence in creating markets for meat and for cereals and cash-crops raised in small lots in the relative security of the upland valleys.

It is tempting to suppose that the "Hebrew" pastoralists were present in number in LB II Canaan (so Finkelstein *AIS*). This would account for the overlaps in material culture between Israel and the earlier Canaanites. Since surveys in the hills have not, however, turned up any evidence of pastoralist encampments (in the form of sherds), this notion should be played diminuendo. Herders were doubtless present in the valleys, but not necessarily in large groups. Instead, the more recent model, which sees the "Iron I" settlement of the hills as coincidental with the last era of "LB II" in the city-states, should be adopted (Kempinski 1985; Ussishkin 1985). The pastoralists *migrated* to LB II Canaan, bringing with them the culture that would become characteristic of Iron I. Their settlement in the hills was gradual; it did not result from the transhumance of herders based in the plains, but from the attempt of alien elements to penetrate new markets.

Two factors accelerated the "Hebrew" inroads into Cisjordan. The first was the economic and political success of the pioneers in diversifying types of production and avoiding fatal conflicts. This would have enticed further homesteaders (as at Izbet Sartah and at Ai). Particularly if the migration was accompanied by a transition in the families concerned (not of their earlier social world) from medim-scale pastoralism (flocks fluctuating from about 10–30) to a mixed economy partly rooted in cereals and cash crops, this impulse could only have been enhanced by Assyrian pressure, and especially by the accommodation of local authorities. These incentives would have remained substantial even if the "Hebrews" migrated without fundamental changes in their economic order (and this is difficult to believe of those who came to Cisjordan). They would have been self-perpetuating: human and material capital accumulation would

create a pool of collaborators for labor-exchange, wife-exchange, and common defense. Simultaneously, economic success would have issued in natural increase, resulting again in a multiplication of settlements, an ongoing, leapfrogging movement into contiguous areas. To this process over the course of Iron I, the archaeological record, and the history of Israel and the other "Hebrew" nations bear unanimous witness.

The Shasu connection, and Merneptah's identification of Israel with the Shasu, warrant that a similar process characterized the arrival of the "Hebrews" in Transjordan, probably in LB IIB. The terrain and textual traditions (as Judg 5:16) suggest that pastoralism was relatively more important there. Still, the success of Iron Age elements penetrating early into the framework of existing LB society encouraged others to come; it reinforced itself, too, with a flourishing of the population. Again, the incoming elements were probably those who had formed part of the pastoral component of Syrian society until the upheavals of LB II (Idrimi 15f.); at any rate, all must have converted their capital into stock when undertaking the trek SW. This process produced the Transjordanian nations and kingdoms of Iron I; it is not to be distinguished from that that produced those kingdoms' Cisjordanian counterparts (Philistines and other Sea-Peoples excepted). In Cisjordan, where Egyptian control was not so early or so carelessly withdrawn, the process of political unification was more extended and more gingerly. One could effectively pyramid the band-structure of the immigrants regionally only when the Egyptian-supported city-states lapsed into a natural, insolvent, internecine chaos, desperate for money and laborers.

At some point, the confrontation between Canaanite city-states and a force that Josh 10:1–15 attributes to Joshua must have taken place in the Aijalon Pass. It is unnecessary to assume that the "Hebrews" had just arrived by way of Shittim, but a substantial body of them (in the hundreds, at least) should be assigned to this encounter. The most significant historical characteristics of the collision are its apparent direction against those domiciled in Judea, and its coordination (if one may extrapolate) with the Hivite elements north of Jerusalem. Here is a reprise of the antagonism between Shechem and Jerusalem so familiar from Amarna. Indeed, as if foreshadowing Josh 9:1; 10:40–43; 11, EA 366 reports a coalition of Jerusalem and S and N allies against "the Habiru-man":the term perhaps refers to Lab'aya, ruler of Shechem, and the principle, of the coordination of peripheral city-states against the center, remains constant.

As the occasion of the engagement by Gibeon, one must not think of a challenge to locally-delegated Egyptian authority. In Iron I, as in LB IIA, pharaonic imperium inhered, in theory, as much in Shechem as in Jerusalem; the contretemps between these towns were local, within the context of formal submission to Egypt. Still, the "Hebrews" of the long, uneven LB II—Iron I transition eventually comprised a threat. In the ridges, they created consternation among the southerners, then worsted them in the Pass marking the southern off from the central hills. It is likely that these Israelites made common cause with the Shechemite state in the enterprise, and that the outcome permitted the Hivite towns that dominated the interior routes of trade to flourish at the expense of their southern neighbors over the course of Iron IA (poorly attested in Jerusalem; see Shiloh 1984:26f.)—this was the strategic thrust of the Hivite settlements in the Gibeonite tetrapolis in the first place. Until Abimelech's destruction of Shechem (Judg 9:45–49), the Israelite "Hebrews" probably represented a parallel sociopolitical structure within the city-state's territory. Like the older Habiru, they had no natural attachment to the city-state system; their political relations with the Shechemite state, like their economic, consisted less of competition than of connivance, but fell short of undifferentiated social integration. In all, the reconstruction of Joshua 9–10 does not seem too wide of the mark.

Even if the success in the Aijalon Pass was a victory for a whole bloc of highlands dwellers, Israelite and Hivite, it would have had two ramifications for the "Hebrews." First, it would have buttressed their political position and prestige in the highlands, enabling them to augment the territory and markets available for their exploitation. Second, it would have promoted still further immigration from Transjordan, from Syria, from other "Hebrews." If the Hivites of the central hills had "given all the land of Shechem to the Habiru," the "Hebrews" had not been patient, passive partners in the process. Nor had they restricted themselves solely to the "land of Shechem."

**d. The Development of Israelite Identity.** Of two things regarding Iron I we may be certain: that an explosion in population not explicable on the basis of natural increase transformed conditions in the areas of Israelite habitation (predicted in Halpern 1983:98–99 and confirmed in Finkelstein 1983; Gal 1990; Zertal 1986), registering particularly in an expansion in area cultivated and the number of villages; and, that the burgeoning population had a sense of unity, however loose, which they expressed in the name Israel, in their common devotion to a god, Yhwh, and in their general assimilation of a national history, of ancestral lore, embracing them as one and articulating their identity (compare the American myths of Jamestown and the Mayflower). Just as the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites had crystallized into national units transcending the bournes of individual towns, so Israelite identity evolved across older territorial boundaries based on endogamy, religion, and culture.

Propinquity and natural obstacles lent this concept nuance. The inhabitants of the central hills, themselves divided into three districts (tribes, lit. "staves") corresponding to differences in location and terrain, constituted a distinct *ʾummâ,* or mother-unit (the etymology of Ar *hamula:* Cohen 1965:2f.), Rachel, in the eponymic folklore. The tribes of this *ʾummâ* were all full brothers, expressing their close relation to one another. But the tribesmen outside the central hills, conceived of, like the Rachel-tribes, as children of the father Israel, had other eponymous matriarchs (Leah, Zilpah, Bilhah):to these tribes' eponyms, the eponyms of the Rachel-tribes were only half-brothers, that is, more distant relations. The ancestral lore thus functioned to express economic, ecological, geographic, and political relationships. Yet it could do so only approximately: the tribal divisions themselves represented no more than a mode of organizing discussion and thought about the components of the basic unit, Israel. In the early period, "tribes" were not programmatic, mutually exclusive administrative entities, as the relationship between Simeon and Judah, or between Joseph and the Joseph tribes, or between the clans of Reuben and those of Judah, illustrates (de Geus 1976:124–80; Gottwald 1979:295–318).

How soon this sense of identity came to be shared by those who frequented the territory between the Arnon and the Jabbok is unclear. Here, geographic discontinuity had led local "Hebrews" to dissociate themselves from the national networks of Ammon to the N and of Moab to the S. Already by the time of Deborah (Judg 5:15–17), they had declared themselves, linking their destinies probably through commerce and kinship to those of their Cisjordanian neighbors. The choice may reflect a desire to elect looser, less organized "protectors" over against more structured ones. Though Gilead was a source or channel for Cisjordanian homesteaders, it might have developed affinities for Moab or Ammon instead of for Israel, and the fact that it did not, merits consideration.

The Song of Deborah (Judges 5) affords a chronological framework for these developments. Under no circumstances can the events described in the song be placed later than the 12th century B.C.E., and a situation in the middle of the century suits them best. The ode already gives vent to a vision of Yhwh as setting forth on his march to war from Edom (v 4), an element typologically infusing or extracted from the Exodus-Conquest cycle (as Deut 33:1–3; Ps 68:8–9). Under the circumstances, it is probable that elements in Transjordan had also had experience of the Exodus. This conclusion sustains and draws support from the opinion that the "Mosaic" community consisted of "Hebrew" migrants through Transjordan down to the periphery of Egyptian control.

As noted above (B.3; note C.4.), the Song of Deborah, the Song of the Sea (Exodus 15) and all of subsequent tradition testify that these "Hebrews" distinguished themselves ethnicly from their neighbors. Even the Hivites of Gibeon and Shechem, alongside whom the Iron I community dwelt, remained distinct into the monarchic era. Only as Egyptian power waned, however, and its own demographic fortunes waxed, was Israel able to exercise its ambitions to revise the political map of Canaan. Egypt's decline drew into the N part of its Asian empire Assyrian as well as "Hebrew" elements—the Assyrian in the shape of Tiglath-Pileser I's foray to the Mediterranean. Egyptian withdrawal precipitated a struggle for the succession, a wolfpack's fierce fighting over scraps and over dominance.

The parties to this affray were the old city-states of the Canaanite lowlands, the Philistines and other Sea-Peoples, and the highland-dwelling Israelites. Their fortunes varied over the succeeding century, often called "the period of the Judges." What is significant, if natural, is that it is at this point—the start of

the clamor for Canaan—that Israel emerges, in the Song of Deborah, from the mists of her proto-history (and the Merneptah stela) to the light of day. It was in the aftermath of imperial Egypt's demise that Israel developed into the grand entity on which David's dominions would be based. Like those of the Transjordanian powers, like that of the Philistines, Israel's path into Canaan was slow and rocky. Like theirs, Israel's "Conquest" was in any conventional sense the consequence of the melee among Egypt's successor states. The war for the succession lasted a century. It culminated in the rise of the Davidic Empire, which reconstituted that of the Ramessides in Asia. In this respect, as in so many others, Alt's understanding of the *Landnahme* has proved prescient and compelling to many scholars.

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BARUCH HALPERN

**SEVEN CHURCHES** [Gk *hai hepta ekklēsiai* (αἱ ἑπτα ἐκκλησιαι)]. The seven churches are those in seven cities of the Roman province of proconsular Asia on the west central coast of Asia Minor. They are the addressees of Revelation (1:4, 11, 20), and individual letters are addressed to each of them in Revelation 2–3. The use of the article indicates that the seven churches were a recognized group: Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea.

The question arises, "Why does the author only write to seven churches when there were others in the province of Asia?" These other churches include Troas (Acts 20:5–12; 2 Cor 2:12), Colossae (Col 1:2; 2:1), and Hierapolis (Col 4:13). Ignatius addressed letters to Magnesia (*Magn.*) and Tralles (*Trall.*) less than two decades later. More fanciful explanations are that these seven churches are symbolic of the types of churches to be found during the church age, or of seven sequential periods of church history. A more accepted explanation takes into account that seven is a number of completeness. The seven churches are representative or heads of all the churches in the region with which the author is familiar and expects his letter to reach, or are representative of the Church at large.

The explanation of William Ramsay (1904:171–96) has received wide support. He proposed that these church cities were selected because, in their given order, they are the postal and judicial districts which a courier from Patmos would encounter and from which his letter could be distributed most effectively throughout the province of Asia. From Patmos, the letter courier would arrive at Ephesus, travel N to Smyrna and Pergamum, and then turn SE to Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea. This forms a circular route through the west central portion of the province. Other church cities not mentioned are located beyond the main circular route and could easily be reached on a secondary route from one of these seven cities.

Ramsay's explanation has the advantages of fitting the geographical positioning of the seven cities, maintaining the sequential order in which they are presented, and explaining why other church cities are not mentioned. It also corresponds to what we know of early Church communication elsewhere. For example, if Ephesians is an encyclical, then it may have been similarly distributed to neighboring churches. Also, when Paul sent his letter to Colossae, the Colossians were to send it on to Laodicea, and Laodicea was to reciprocate with their letter from Paul as well (Col 4:16).

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DUANE F. WATSON

**SEX AND SEXUALITY.** Sex is at once much-discussed and ignored in the Bible. In the narrative portions of the Bible, sexuality appears only occasionally as a motive or force for actions and history. The beauty of women may set them up as victims of men who abuse their superior strength and position in order to possess them: the Pharaoh desired and took Sarah because she was beautiful (Gen 13:10–20), as did David with Bathsheba (2 Samuel 11). Similarly, the beauty of Tamar induced Amnon to rape her (2 Samuel 13). In the Bible, women are not depicted as being in control of this erotic attraction: the Hebrew Bible has no story in which a woman exploits her beauty or erotic attraction as a weapon by which to control or manipulate men. Granted, Tamar (Genesis 38) and Ruth maneuver men into sexual liasons, but they do so not to weedle something else from them as much as to attain the direct benefits of the liason itself: family and progeny. Unlike the later Judith of the Apocrypha, who uses her sexual charms to seduce and murder Holofernes, Jael defeats Sisera with her deceptive nurturing (Judges 4). Unlike the Delilah of modern Western lore who likewise weakens Samson's resolve by toying with his sexual passions, the biblical Delilah instead simply nags him into revealing the secret of his strength (Judges 16).

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A. Sex, Marriage, and Family
1. Adultery
2. Chastity
3. Rape
4. Incest
B. Commingling: Bestiality and Homosexual Practices
C. Sexuality and Purity
D. The Metaphysics of Sexuality

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**A. Sex, Marriage, and Family**

The lack of a *femme fatale* figure in biblical narrative might suggest that the Bible had a cavalier attitude about sexuality. However, the mythological and legal portions of the Bible show a deep concern for sex and its proper manifestations. In the Bible, the appropriate locus of sexuality is the monogamous nuclear family, the ideal human relationship. The creation account of Genesis 2 emphasizes the fundamental nature of such marriage, for God created woman to be the suitable companion to man. The message is reinforced by an interruption in the narrative, a direct aside to the reader: "therefore a man leaves his father and mother and cleaves to his wife and they become one flesh" (Gen 2:24). Marriage in the real world was somewhat problematic, particularly for the wife, who was economically dependent on her husband and at least nominally under his control, and who faced the danger and difficulties of childbirth and child-rearing. The glue that held marriage together and caused women to accept these conditions was sexual attraction: "your desire will be for your husband and he will rule over you" (Gen 3:16).

The Bible considers a strong marital unit essential to societal well-being, with sex cementing the marital bond. The societal interest in conjugal sex is reflected in Deuteronomy's provision that new bridegrooms be exempt from military campaigns for a year in order to cause the wives to rejoice (Deut 20:7; 24:5). Intact families demand sexual fidelity, and the best way to ensure this is to find sexual satisfaction in marriage: "find joy in the wife of your youth … let her breasts satisfy you at all times, be infatuated with love of her always" (Prov 5:18–19).

**1. Adultery.** Israel viewed extra-marital sexuality in the severest light, prescribing death for adultery. As in the rest of the ANE, there was a double standard: males could have sex outside marriage, most notably with prostitutes: "adultery" meant copulation with a *married* woman. Beyond concern for property rights or clear paternity, the demand for sexual exclusivity for wives sought to prevent married women from establishing bonds that could weaken the family unit. Women's sexual behavior increasingly became a matter of public interest rather than the sole jurisdiction of the head of the household. In the

Middle Assyrian laws, husbands had the right to pardon or determine the penalty for his adulterous wife and, with her, her partner in adultery. Biblical laws demand the death penalty absolutely. A hint of husbandly jurisdiction is nevertheless found in the book of Proverbs, in which the young man is warned against adultery for "the fury of the husband will be passionate; he will show no pity on his day of vengeance. He will not have regard for any ransom; he will refuse your bribe, however great" (Prov 6:34–35). This passage indicates, perhaps, an awareness that the husband had (by custom) the right to pardon the adulterer, but an expectation that irate husbands would not do so. See also ADULTERY.

**2. Chastity.** A lessening of father's disposition over daughter's sexual behavior may be detected within the biblical period. In premonarchic times, the head of household had great authority. Lot's offering his daughters to the men of Sodom (Genesis 18–19), the Levite's offering his concubine to the men of Gibeah, and the Ephraimite's offering his daughter to them (Judges 19) were responses to emergency rather than normal actions. Nevertheless, the narratives do not condemn their actions; Lot, in particular, is considered righteous for offering his virgin daughters in order to save wayfarers. The laws of Exodus reflect this parental authority. At all periods, girls living in their father's house were expected to be chaste. In the laws of Exodus (22:14–16), a man who seduced a single girl had to offer to marry her and pay the proper brideprice. But the father had the option to refuse this offer of marriage and determine the fate of his daughter. The father's right of determination seems weaker in the Deuteronomic laws: if a man grabs an unbetrothed girl he must pay the father 50 shekels, and he *must* marry her, without the possibility of divorce (Deut 22:28–29). No mention is made of father's right of refusal. The Deuteronomy section deals with rape, rather than seduction, but the difference between Exodus and Deuteronomy does not seem due to this, but rather to the emergence in Deuteronomy of *public* concern and control over sexual behavior: in Deuteronomy, the entire community has an interest in assuring the chastity of young girls.

A similar example of Deuteronomy's *public* concern for female chastity is the rule of the non-virgin bride (Deut 22:20f). If her unsuspecting bridegroom accused her, with proof, of being non-virgin, she was to be stoned, a communal form of execution reserved in the Bible for offenses that upset the order of the universe and thus threaten the entire community. The mode of "proof" reveals this law as an object lesson in public concern. If the parents of the girl produced the bloody nuptual sheet before the elders, then the accusing bridegroom was flogged and fined and had to remain married to her for life. If they did not produce a bloody sheet, then she would be stoned. She and her parents would have to be ignorant not to find blood for the sheets, and knowing this, it is unlikely that a bridegroom would make such a charge. But the rule clearly indicates that the elders as judges and the people as executioners have an interest in the girl's chastity and will act to protect their interest.

**3. Rape.** Deuteronomy also prescribes stoning when a man "comes upon" a betrothed girl in town and sleeps with her. The girl is stoned because she did "not cry out," meaning that the sex was consensual (Deut 22:23–24); the man because he had illicit sex with his neighbor's wife. The term used for the man's behavior is *ʿinnâ,* normally translated "rape," but *ʿinnâ* is generally "statutory" rather than forcible rape. A man who has sex with a woman without proper arrangements is said to "rape" (*ʿnh;* cf. *BDB,* 776) the woman even if she consents. This usage is found in the story of Dinah and Shechem (Genesis 34). Dinah had gone out and Shechem, seeing her, lay with her and had illicit sex *(ʿnh)* with her. In this way he treated her as a "whore" (Gen 34:31) rather than as a proper woman whose parents have to be consulted. Forcible rape is punishable by death and is explicitly linked to murder, a realization that rape is a crime of aggression and violence rather than sex, and that the girl is a victim (Deut 22:25–27).

**4. Incest.** The Bible defines the parameters of sexual behavior by forbidding intolerable relationships. Sexual relationships may not infringe on another family; they may also not blur the lines in one's own family through incest. Leviticus 18 and 20 and Deuteronomy 27 detail strong incest prohibitions. In one's parent's generation, sex with parents, step-mother, paternal uncle and wife, and both maternal and paternal aunts was prohibited. One's mother's brother and wife are not mentioned: were they considered from a different family (and therefore not prohibited)? One's father's brother's children (first cousins) and one's brother's and sister's daughters (nieces) are also not mentioned; but since one's paternal uncle is prohibited, we might infer that his daughter is also. In one's own generation, both sister and brother's

wife were prohibited. In the succeeding generation, one's daughter-in-law is prohibited, as are one's granddaughters. One's wife's lineage is also off limits: mother-in-law, wife's sister (while wife is alive), wife's daughters and granddaughters.

There is a difference in the amount of control that Israel could exert to forbid these incestuous relationships. In Leviticus 20, adultery, homosexuality, bestiality, and copulation with step-mother, mother-in-law, and daughter-in-law are all punishable by death. However, sex with sister, sister-in-law, aunt, uncle's wife, and menstruant, although equally prohibited, are beyond societal control. They are to be punished by God. The startling omission of "daughter" from the list of forbidden women may be an indication that paternal position was still considered so strong in the family that the text hesitated even to list an absolute prohibition. From the expectation that an unmarried girl would be virgin, it is clear that father-daughter incest at least was not expected.

Taken together, the incest laws define and clarify family lines. Since marriage creates a family, sexual intercourse with one's father's wife, father's brother's wife, and brother's wife is explicitly prohibited because the *ʿerwâ* (normally translated "nakedness," perhaps meaning exposed genitalia) of the woman is tantamount to the *ʿerwâ* of her husband. So, too, the wife's bloodlines *(šĕʾēr)* are parallel to his own and prohibited. The use of a special term, *zimmâ,* for incest with mother-in-law, wife's sister, wife's daughter and granddaughter, indicates that this intercourse, which is not with blood kin, is a special category of incest. Another term, *tebel,* " (improper) mixing," used for sex with daughter-in-law, demonstrates the biblical concern that sex within the family could blur and collapse family structures.

**B. Commingling: Bestiality and Homosexual Practices**

Israel's intense interest in regulating sexual behavior is an aspect of its concern to prevent intermingling between individuals and groups who should be separate. The commingling of divine beings and human women threatened to blur the distinction between divine and humans and thereby eradicate "humanity" as a distinct species (Gen 6:1–4). Bestiality contains the same potential, and is strongly forbidden for both males and females (Exod 22:28; Lev 18:23; 20:15–16; Deut 17:21). Like sex with a daughter-in-law, sex with an animal is also called *tebel,* " (improper) mixing." Homosexual intercourse is not labeled *tebel,* but the extreme prohibition of homosexuality by the death penalty (Lev 29:13, cf 18:22), not inherited from other ANE laws, is best explained as a desire to keep the categories of "male" and "female" intact. Anything that blurs the lines, such as cross-dressing, is also prohibited (Deut 22:5). Lesbian interaction, however, is not mentioned, possibly because it did not result in true physical "union" (by male entry). The biblical view of creation is one of organization and structure; collapsing the categories of existence is a return to chaos. See also PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES.

**C. Sexuality and Purity**

This ability of sexuality to blur existential categories makes it a cosmic national issue. Like murder, aberrant sexuality could pollute the land and endanger the very survival of Israel. Israel felt that its right of occupation was contingent upon its preserving the purity of the land: if Israel indulged in the same behavior as the people before it, the defiled land would spew them out as it spewed out the nations before Israel (Lev 18:28). The people had to guard the land by not permitting murderers to go free or accidental homicides to leave the cities of refuge (Num 35:31–34) and by not leaving unburied the corpses of those who had been executed (Deut 21:22–23). Similarly, they had to refrain from forbidden sexual relationships, and to observe more technical regulations of sexuality, such as not allowing a man to remarry his divorced wife who had since remarried (Deut 24:1–3; Jer 3:1–4). There were no rituals to purify the land, but two rituals sought to prevent imminent pollution. One, the ritual of the decapitated heifer, was concerned with the pollution of murder. When a corpse was found and the murderer could not be identified, the elders of the city nearest the corpse went to a wadi and decapitated a heifer. They declared their lack of culpability and prayed to avert the blood-pollution of the land (Deut 21:1–9). The trial of the suspected adulteress was concerned with the pollution of adultery. A suspicious husband brought his wife to the temple, where she drank a potion made from holy water, dust from the floor of the sanctuary, and dissolved curse words. At the same time, she answered "amen" to a priestly adjuration that

the water would cause her grave consequences if she was guilty. She can then return to her husband, and they can continue normal marital relations.

**D. The Metaphysics of Sexuality**

In these laws of social control over sexuality and its consequences, we can detect a respect for the power of sexual attraction. Controlled and confined within the marital system, it reinforced the social order. Allowed free reign, it might destroy social arrangements and threaten the existence of civilization. This metaphysics of sex, however, only finds explicit statement once in the Bible: "for love is fierce as death, passion is mighty as Sheol, its darts are darts of fire, a blazing flame. Vast floods cannot quench love, nor rivers drown it" (Song of Songs 8:6–7). Otherwise, there is no explicit reflection on the meaning of sexuality nor its place in the cosmic order.

The reason for this absence may be monotheism itself. There is no sexuality in the divine sphere. God, usually envisioned as male in gender, is not phallic; God does not represent male virility, and is never imaged below the waist. The prophets use a powerful marital metaphor for the relationship between God, the "husband," and Israel, the "wife," but the relationship is not described in erotic language. God neither models nor grants sexual potency or attraction. This absence of sex from the divine realm and of God from the sexual realm is accompanied by a separation of sexuality from the realm of the holy. Moses and the people had to abstain from sexual activity for three days before the revelation at Sinai (Exod 19:15). So too, David assured Ahimelech that he and his men could eat hallowed bread because they had been away from women for three days (1 Sam 21:4–5). The priests of Israel were not a reflection of God, and celibacy was a totally foreign idea; yet they modelled controlled sexual behavior. When the sons of Eli slept with the women who came to worship, they forfeited their family's right to be priests (1 Sam 2:22–24). The priest could not marry a prostitute or a divorcee (Lev 22:7), and if his daughter was not chaste, she was to be burnt for profaning her father (Lev 22:9).

All hints of sexuality were to be kept far away from cultic life and religious experience. People had to wait a day after sexual intercourse or nocturnal emission before coming to the temple (Lev 15:16–18), and the wages of a prostitute could not be given to the temple as a gift. There were *qĕdēšôt* in the temple until the time of Josiah. Until recently, these were understood as temple prostitutes, implying sacred prostitution. However, more recent studies have revealed that there is no basis for finding sacred prostitution in Israel. See PROSTITUTION; PROSTITUTION (CULTIC). Similarly, previous theories about Canaanite orgiastic rites or pagan sexual fertility rituals cannot be substantiated. The separation of sexuality from the realm of the holy should not be seen as a polemic against pagan religion but as a result of the lack of sexuality in the conception of the divine. This created a vacuum in thinking about sex, one that was ultimately replaced by the negative Greek ideas about women and sexuality which entered Israel in the Hellenistic period.

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TIKVA FRYMER-KENSKY

**SEXTUS, SENTENCES OF** (NHC XII,*1*). A collection of Greek wisdom sayings assembled by a Christian redactor probably near the end of the 2d century C.E. A 4th century Latin translation by Rufinus enjoyed popularity in the West. Also copies in Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian are extant. In the

nineteenth century two mss of the Gk *Sent. Sextus* were discovered. Codex XII from Nag Hammadi adds to these a fragmentary copy of a version in Sahidic Coptic. No title or page numbers survive; of the estimated original 39 pages only 10 are extant and all have suffered considerable loss. They represent maxims 157–180 and 307–397 of the 451 maxims known to Rufinus.

The value of the Coptic *Sent. Sextus* is textual. It proves to be a faithful, consistent translation which lends significant support to the critical Greek text established by H. Chadwick (1959). The only differences are the omission of maxim 162a and two minor changes in sequence. No attempt was made by the translator to change the theological or ethical outlook of the Greek text. Since the Coptic text predates the Syr mss by two and the Gk mss by five centuries, it is an important witness to the text, order and the divisions of the Gk maxims known to the Coptic translator near the beginning of the 4th century or perhaps even earlier.

*Sent. Sextus* are not gnostic in origin. Most of the maxims appear to have been drawn from Stoic and Pythagorean collections. Their appearance among gnostic writings is not more surprising than the popularity they enjoyed in Christian orthodoxy. The gnostic tractates in the Nag Hammadi collection contradict the belief that gnostics put no value in the virtuous life or that they tended towards libertinism. Evidently their spiritual elitism was matched by a profound asceticism for which the heavenly life was the model. This is also the preoccupation of the *Sent. Sextus* as well as such other non-gnostic, Nag Hammadi tractates as *The Exegesis on the Soul* (NHC II,*6*), *The Book of Thomas the Contender* (NHC II,*7*), *The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles* (NHC VI,*1*), *Authoritative Teaching* (VI,*3*), and *The Teaching of Silvanus* (VII,*4*). The ascetic outlook is the only obvious link between this diverse collection of texts. It lends support to the conclusion, based on the waste papyrus in the cover of Codex VII, that the Nag Hammadi codices were produced and used in a Pachomian monastery before they were buried in a jar near Chenoboskia.

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FREDERIK WISSE

**SEXUAL IMPURITIES.** See DISCHARGE.

**SHAALBIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ša‹albîm* (שַׁעַלְבִים)]. Var. SHAALABBIN. A city within the tribal territory of Dan (Josh 19:42 note var. spelling Shaalabbin [Heb *ša‹ălabbîn*]), probably to be identified with Selbit (M.R. 148141), about 3 miles NW of Aijalon. It was one of the cities where the Danites failed to dislodge the old Amorite population, but the Ephraimites later succeeded in suppressing the Amorites and putting them to forced labor (Judg 1:35). Shaalbim also appears in the list of cities that made up Solomon's second administrative district (1 Kgs 4:9). Possibly one should also identify Shaalbon, the home of one of David's thirty mighty men (2 Sam 23:32; 1 Chr 11:33), as the same city.

Excavations carried out at Selbit in 1949 uncovered the foundation of a building which was identified as a Samaritan synagogue constructed in the 4th or 5th century C.E. The building was built to face in the direction of Mount Gerizim, the holy mountain of the Samaritans. Its mosaic floor was decorated with two seven-branched menorahs with fragments of a Greek inscription appearing above them. The mosaic also contained two fragmentary Samaritan inscriptions, one of which was the Samaritan version of "The Lord shall reign for ever and ever" (Exod 15:18). See D. Barag in *EAEHL* 4:1070–71.

WESLEY I. TOEWS

**SHAALBON** (PLACE) [Heb *hašša‹albōnî* (הַשַּׁעַלְבֹנִי), lit. "the Shaalbonite"]. Apparently the hometown of Eliahba, one of David's elite warriors (2 Sam 23:32 = 1 Chr 11:33). The town should

probably be identified with SHAALBIM, a town which is spelled either *š‹lbym* or *š‹lbyn* in various Heb mss.

**SHAALIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ša‹ālîm* (שַׁעֲלִים)]. An area crossed by Saul as he searched for his lost asses (1 Sam 9:4). Shaalim appears to be a specific territory in the land of Ephraim, mentioned nowhere else in the Bible, between Oprah and Rimmon. It is possible that Shaalim is an error for Shaalbim (Judg 1:35; 1 Kgs 4:9) or Shual (1 Sam 13:17). Both of these are geographical names which are in the same general location as Shaalim. Shual is mentioned in relation to the Philistine camp at Michmash; it is near Oprah, in the region N of Bethel in the central hill country. Shaalbim is an Amorite city given to the tribe of Dan, which becomes part of Solomon's second administrative district. It is identified with modern Selbit (M.R. 148141), 3 miles NW of Aijalon.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**SHAAPH** (PERSON) [Heb *ša‹ap* (שַׁעַף)]. **1.** The youngest of the six sons of Jahdai (1 Chr 2:47). Shaaph was the name of a Judahite, who descended from Jerahmeel's brother Caleb. It should be noted, however, that the precise relationship of Jahdai and his children with any of the individuals mentioned in v 46 is not stated. "Shaaph" was apparently a non-theophoric name, meaning "balm" (as does also the Jewish Palestinian Aramaic term *ša‹ăpā›*). The name gave expression to the parents' joy over the child (*IPN*, 223).

**2.** The third son of Maacah, Caleb's second concubine (1 Chr 2:49). Shaaph founded the town of Madmannah (Josh 15:31), which has been identified with Khirbet Tatrît in the N Negeb/S Judean hill country (*LBHG*, 353, 439). Pace (1976:146) thinks a name was omitted in 1 Chr 2:49 before "father of Gibea"; the missing person would be parallel to Shaaph and Sheva as descendants of Caleb. Sheva, incidentally, carries the same name *(šw›)* as that of a few Jews recorded in Aram correspondence from Elephantine (*TAD* A, 38; *BMAP*, 284). The rather abrupt beginning of v 49 might reflect a textual displacement. Some suggest changing the verb from *wattēled,* "she (Maacah) bore," to *wayyôled,* "he (Shaaph) begot" (cf. Vg). This would solve as well the problem of the absence of an expected "and" before "Sheva" (though it is present in the LXX). Under this view Shaaph here would be identical with Jahdai's son of v 47 but would merely have been called the son of Caleb and his concubine.

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**SHAARAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ša‹ărayim* (שַׁעֲרַיִם)]. 1. A town in the Shephelah district of Judah (Josh 15:36). It is listed after Soco and Azekah, and before Adithaim and Gederah. After the defeat of Goliath by David, the Philistines fled "on the Shaaraim road" on their way to Gath and Ekron (1 Sam 17:52). Although its location has not been identified, it has been sought in the region N and W of Azekah in the Elah Valley (Wadi es-Sant; Rainey 1983:6–7; for a discussion of possible sites see Galil 1985:61–62). The mention of *Saraein* in Eusebius' *Onomast.* does not aid in identifying the site. Some scholars have advocated following LXX B in reading Shaaraim as a regular noun "gates" (Wellhausen 1871:109–10) or as corresponding to the town of Tar‹in in the environs of Ashkelon (Tosefta *Ahilot* 18:15; Abel *GP* 2:439; but see Smith *Samuel* ICC, 165 and Rainey *EncMiqr* 8:244).

2. A town in the tribal inheritance of Simeon in the Judean Negeb (1 Chr 4:31). In the parallel Simeonite list in Josh 19:6 Sharuhen appears in its place, whereas in the list of towns in the Judean Negeb Shilhim is mentioned (Josh 15:32). Albright (1924:134–35 n. 6) speaks for the majority of scholars in viewing this mention of Shaaraim as a later scribal error for Sharuhen (but see *CTAED*, 173).

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CARL S. EHRLICH

**SHAASHGAZ** (PERSON) [Heb *ša*ʿ*ašgaz* (שַׁעַשְׁגַּז)]. A eunuch in charge of one of the two harems of king Ahasuerus (Esth 2:14; note vocalization in *BHS*, *ša*ʿ*ăšĕgaz*). His specific office "the keeper of the concubines" (Heb *šômēr happîlagšîm*), entailed the oversight of the harem of Ahasuerus' married wives as opposed to the harem of virgins waiting to be wed to the king under the care of Hegai (Esth 2:3). The LXX confuses these two individuals giving them both the name *Gai* (cf. LXX of Esth 2:8 and 2:14). Shaashgaz is an incidental character in this story being mentioned only in the context of how Ahasuerus selected a new queen. Each prospective wife would leave Hegai's harem and spend just one night with the king at which time she became one of his lesser wives and was sent to Shaashgaz's harem—unless the king liked her enough to make her queen in place of Vashti (Esth 2:13–14). Esther would have been sent to this second harem had she not been chosen as the new queen (Esth 2:16–18). Several scholars have noted similarities between this subplot in the story of Esther and the harem tale of king Shekriya in *1001 Arabian Nights* (Moore Esther AB, 23–24, Clines *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 266). Shaashgaz's name may be the Heb equivalent of Old Bactrian *saskšant,* meaning "one anxious to learn" (Paton *Esther* ICC, 69).
JOHN M. WIEBE

**SHABBAT** [Heb *šabbāt* (שַׁבָּת)]. See SABBATH.

**SHABBETHAI** (PERSON) [Heb *šabbĕtay* (שַׁבְּתַי)]. A Levite who was present when Ezra enacted the edict against having foreign wives (Ezra 10:15; 1 Esdr 9:14). The accompanying Hebrew phrase ʿ*āmĕdû* ʿ*al-zō*›*t* can be translated as either "they supported this" or "they opposed this." However, the introductory particle ›*ak* ("only") in Ezra 10:15 suggests an exception, and the fact that overwhelming support for the edict did exist further indicates a minority opposition. In other words, Shabbethai was among the few who apparently voiced disapproval of the edict. Such opposition, however, was perhaps not directed against the edict itself, but against its perceived leniency. Shabbethai, it must be noted, is not listed among those who had such a wife to give up, so he might very well have sought stricter measures. Furthermore, if we can assume that additional occurrences of the name refer to the same person, then Shabbethai was a man of deep religious convictions. He is described elsewhere as a chief Levite who was responsible for external business pertaining to the temple (Neh 11:16), and he also provided interpretive assistance during the great reading of the Law (Neh 8:7; 1 Esdr 9:48). Shabbethai's opposition to the edict, therefore, quite likely indicates that he was a member of a more rigid or demanding minority (Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 194).
TERRY L. BRENSINGER

**SHADDAI** [Heb *šadday* (שַׁדַּי)]. See ALMIGHTY; GOD IN THE OT.

**SHADOW** [Heb *ṣel* (צֶל)*;* Gk *skia* (σκια)]. Both the Hebrew and the Greek word for shadow are used in the Bible in a literal and in a metaphorical sense.

In the literal sense it is used for the place where the (sun)light cannot penetrate, especially the shadow of a tree (e.g., Jonah 4:6; Judg 9:15, Ezek 31:6, 12, 17; Hos 4:13; Ps 80:10; Mark 4:32); also of a rock (Judg 9:36); of a cloud (Isa 16:3; 25:5); of a roof (Gen 19:8); etc. Since shadow protects against the heat of the sun, the word develops the metaphorical meaning of "protection," e.g., by a man (Cant 2:3); by a city (Jer 48:45); by a rock (Isa 32:2); but especially—this is the most frequent usage—by God (e.g., Ps 17:8 "Hide me in the shadow of thy wings;" Ps 36:8 "The sons of men seek refuge in the shadow of thy wings;" Ps 57:2 "I will take refuge in the shadow of thy wings;" Ps 63:7 "I am safe in the shadow of thy wings"), the

image being here that of God as a mighty eagle; see also Exod 19:4 and Deut 32:11. For other images in connection with God's shadow see Hos 14:7; Isa 49:2; 51:16.

Another metaphorical use of "shadow" is found in its application with the negative sense of "transience" and "vanity" (e.g., Ps 102:11 "My days dwindle away like a shadow;" Ps 109:23; 144:4; Job 8:9 "Our life on earth passes away like a shadow;" Job 17:7; Qoh 6:12 "Who knows what is good for man in those few days of his empty life which he spends as a shadow?"; *IDB* 4:302).

Traditionally, the Hebrew *ṣalmawet* (Amos 5:8; Jer 13:16; Ps 44:20; Job 3:5; etc.) was translated as "shadow of death" (already in the LXX), because popular etymology wrongly divided the word into *ṣl* (shadow) and *mwt* (death), but it is now certain that it has the meaning of "deep darkness" (Thomas 1962).

In the NT the word has an additional metaphorical meaning, which has its background in Hellenistic ideas. In Col 2:17 the Mosaic commandments are called "no more than a shadow of what was to come" and are posited over against the "body" which is Christ. This opposition of shadow and body is ultimately of Platonic origin. The same applies to Heb 8:5 and 10:1, where the author says that the earthly sanctuary of the Jews is only a copy and shadow of the heavenly, and that the Law contains but a shadow and no true image of the good things to come. The Platonic antithesis between heavenly reality and earthly adumbration is at the background of these passages (*TWNT* 7:400–01).

There are two passages in the work of Luke, one with a literal and one with a metaphorical use of "shadow," that belong together and have a different background than other passages in the Bible, namely Luke 1:35 and Acts 5:15. In the first passage Mary is told by Gabriel that the power of the Most High will overshadow her (the verb *episkiazein* is used) so that she will become pregnant. In the second, the same author tells that the inhabitants of Jerusalem carried out their sick into the streets in order that the shadow of Peter might fall upon them (again *episkiazein* is used) so that they would be healed. Here the person's shadow is equivalent to his soul or vital power or *alter ego* (Frazer 1911:77–100). This soul-concept is well-known from anthropological study of primitive peoples and medieval Western societies (Rochholz 1867; Negelein 1902; Pradel 1904; Bieler 1940; van der Leeuw 1933; Fischer 1965).

The idea that the shadow was a vital part of a human being or an animal (or even of a tree) was also widespread in antiquity and is attested for Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, and Israel (George 1970; Cook 1914; Röscher 1892; Frazer 1911; van der Horst 1976–77; 1979). Humans and animals are liable to be injured if violence is done to their shadows. If the shadow is trampled or urinated upon, struck or stabbed, one will feel the injury as if it were done directly against the person (Pliny the Elder, *HN* 28.69; *Defixionum tabellae* 190:4–13, ed. Audollent). It is dangerous to let one's shadow fall upon particular persons or objects because one's soul might then be purloined by them; to lose one's shadow meant to die within the very near future (Cook 1914:66–68). Certain trees have beneficial, other ones noxious shadows (Pliny *NH* 17.18; Lucr. *de Rerum Natura* 6.783–85; Verg. *Ecl.* 10.75–76). To be touched by the shadow of a criminal will have a very harmful effect upon the person touched (Ennius in Cic. *Tusc.* 3.12, 26). Very famous and much discussed in Hellenistic-Roman times were stories about the extremely powerful and dangerous shadow of hyenas (Arist. *Fr.* 369 Rose = Ael. *NA* 6:14; Pseudo-Aristotle, *Mir. Ausc.* 145; Pliny *HN* 8.106; Solin. 27:24; *Gp.* 15.1, 10; see further van der Horst 1979:28–30), and about the loss of one's shadow when one entered Zeus' sanctuary on Mount Lycaeus in Arcadia (Polyb. 16.12, 7; Paus. 8.38, 6; Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 39, 300C; further Röscher 1892; Cook 1914:66–68), which meant that death was soon to follow.

That these magical ideas were current also in Jewish circles is proved by several texts in the LXX (Job 15:29; Exod 40;35; Ps 139:8) in Targums (e.g., *Tg. Ps.-J* on Num 14:9), in the Mishna (*ʿAbod. Zar.*; *Ohol.* 2:1–2), and the Talmud (*b. Hor.* 12a; *b. Ker.* 5b–6a; *b. Pesaḥ.* 11a–b; see van der Horst 1979:34–35).

The idea that a shadow could have a powerful positive or negative effect upon another person is the background of the story about the miraculous healing of the sick Jerusalemites by Peter's shadow in Acts 5:15 (van der Horst 1976–77). Egyptian texts prove that a god's shadow could even be thought so powerful as to fertilize a woman (George 1970:112–13; the texts speak about the ejaculation of the god's

shadow). A similar conception is probably the background of the otherwise enigmatic passage in Luke 1:35 about the overshadowing of Mary by the Most High (van der Horst 1976–77:211–12).

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## SHADRACH, MESHACH, ABEDNEGO (PERSONS)

[Heb; Aram *šadrak* (שַׁדְרַךְ), *mêšak* (מֵישַׁךְ), *ʿăbēdněgô* (עֲבֵדְנְגוֹ)]. Babylonian names given to a special group of Jewish noblemen by Nebuchadnezzar's chief eunuch Ashpenaz in the exilic period. Along with Daniel, who was similarly named (see BELTESHAZZAR), they constitute the central heroes of the series of court tales recorded in the 1st half of the book of Daniel (chaps. 1–5). Shadrach appears to be a deliberate perversion in spelling of Marduk, the patron deity of the city of Babylon, and likewise Abednego is a clever deformation of Abednebo which corresponds to Akk *arad - nabu* "servant of (the god) Nabu." Meshach has all the appearance of a further disfigurement of a Babylonian original no longer recognizable. The changing of names, on this occasion from the familiar sounding Hebrew Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah (see Dan 1:7), was a familiar practice in the ANE, signifying a change of destiny *(nomen est omen).* Parallels may be seen within the OT in Pharaoh's renaming Joseph (Gen 41:45) and Nebuchadnezzar's new name for Judah's last crowned head (2 Kgs 24:17).

Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego are first mentioned in a list which is headed by the principal hero whose name is given to the canonical book of Daniel (Dan 1:6–7). It has been argued that Daniel alone was the protagonist in the oldest tradition of the court tales and only in the later stages of the book's composition were the heroes incorporated into the narrative as Daniel's companions (*Daniel* AB, 131). It is possible that in the tale of the colossal statue mention of Daniel's companions could be a later addition (2:17–49) but they are not intrusive here or when they are introduced in the first chapter, although Daniel is given a certain prominence. Chap. 3 does not fit happily with this view since only the three companions are the heroes.

From a literary standpoint the Hebrew names and their Babylonian counterparts do not appear at random in the texts. In fact they are subtly woven into the narrative fabric in order to reflect the cultural and religious dichotomy which existed between the Jewish people and their Babylonian overlords. In the introductory chapter the authorial voice uses Hebrew nomenclature in referring to the three companions (1:6, 11, 19) and it is left to Nebuchadnezzar's chief of the eunuchs to change their names (1:7). In the story of the colossal statue it is Nebuchadnezzar who bestowed high office on Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego (1:4–9) even though in their personal relationship with Daniel they keep their Hebrew names (2:17). In the tale of the furnace of burning fire the Babylonian names are declaimed 13 times within the space of 19 verses (3:12, 13, 16, 19, 20, 22, 23, 26 (twice), 28, 29, 30). Such reiteration seems to be a

rhetorical rather than a structural device but it is worth noticing that the sonorous repetition is set firmly in the context of the confrontation between the Jewish heroes and Nebuchadnezzar, the king himself declaiming the Babylonian names 5 times (3:14, 16, 28, 29). Babylonian nomenclature thus provides an authentic local touch to the narratives while at the same time the deft deformation of the spelling satirizes Babylonian cultural values.

PETER W. COXON

**SHAGEE** (PERSON) [Heb *šāgēh* (שָׁגֵה)]. At 1 Chr 11:34 Shagee the Hararite is the father of Jonathan, one of David's mighty men. In place of "Jonathan son of Shagee the Hararite" we find two separate names in the parallel at 2 Sam 23:32 b–33a: "Jonathan; Shammah the Hararite." It is difficult to reconcile the two texts. Wellhausen (1871:216) prefers Shagee (or Agee; see 2 Sam 23:11) at 1 Chr 11:34, saying that Jonathan was a brother of Shammah (2 Sam 23:33) as both of them were Hararites. For 2 Sam 23:33 many suggest that an original *ben* has fallen out of the text and restore it to "Jonathan son of Shammah the Hararite" (NAB; NEB). According to Elliger (1935:31 n. 3) "Shagee" might be a cross between the names Shammah and Agee, the father of Shammah in 2 Sam 23:11. Wellhausen, while pointing out that either the name in v 11 should be *šg*› or that of v 33 should be ›*g*›, prefers *šg*›. In the Gk mss the form of the name in the Lucianic text of 1 Chr *(samaia[s])* reflects the variant at 2 Sam 23:33 MT and may indeed be a modification based on it. The reading in the Vaticanus and Sinaiticus codexes *sōla,* can be explained by a confusion of the Greek letters *gamma* and *lambda.* Codex Alexandrinus, which reads *sagē,* reflects the MT.

While the possibility of textual confusion may be a factor in seeking the original form of this name, it seems best nevertheless to accept the MT reading "Jonathan son of Shagee the Hararite" for 1 Chr 11:34 as the authentic reading of the Chronicler's tradition here.

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STEPHEN PISANO

**SHAHAR** (DEITY) [Heb *šaḥar* (שַׁחַר)]. The Hebrew word meaning "dawn," often personified in the Bible as a reflection of its status as a god in the ANE (Ps 139:9). Although spelled *šahar* in Hebrew, the second *a* vowel *(pataḥ)* is a later Hebrew development; its original pronunciation is preserved in Akkadian syllabic spellings as *šaḫru* (Emar #369, 371). The frequent absence of the definite article with this noun in Hebrew (i.e., instead of "the dawn" simply "Dawn" in Isa 14:12; Hos 6:3; Amos 4:13; Ps 57:9—Eng 57:8; 108:3—Eng 108:2; 139:9; Job 3:9; 41:10—Eng 41:18; Cant 6:10) points to the awareness within the biblical tradition of the personification of this natural phenomenon. In addition, the title "Hind of the Dawn" (Heb ›*ayyelet haššaḥar*) occurs in the context of a Psalm title (Ps 22:1—Eng title), presumably indicating the melody to which the psalm was sung.

Many details concerning this deity surface from widely separated cultures over a period of two millennia, and one must be cautious in assuming that the resulting picture represents what was recognized at any one time. The Syrian environment of the 2d millennium is most appropriate as a background for the biblical text, and this also provides the most detail. An entire mythical/ritual text from Ugarit (*KTU* 1.23) is devoted to describing the birth of this god along with his half-brother Shalim. The father of these two "gracious gods" is the chief god, El, who impregnates two of his wives (perhaps Athirat and Rahmay). Shahar nurses at the breasts of the Mother-goddess, but his voracious appetite remains unsated, depicted graphically as "one lip to earth, one lip to heaven, the birds of the sky and the fish of the sea entering their mouths." As time passes, Shahar and Shalim are found frequenting the wilderness where—when the text breaks off—the issue remains one of satisfying the needs of their diet.

Shahar is the divinity of the dawn while Shalim is that of the evening, bearing the appropriate epithet "sons of day" in *KTU* 1.23. Wherever the two brothers appear together, Shahar is named first before

Shalim, pointing to the sequence dawn-dusk in contrast to the biblical sequence "evening and morning" (Genesis 1).

Dawn's moral place in the cosmos is fraught with ambiguity. Although Dawn brings light and dispels darkness (note the phonetic correspondence with the root for "dark" *šḥr*), it is also the begetter of the rebel morning star (Isa 14:12–13), a star which is associated with the underworld (*KTU* 1.6; Isa 14:15). God acknowledges that the daily commissioning of Dawn is a Herculean task with moral consequences (Job 38:12–15), a task described between the apparently comparable effort required to tame a rebellious Sea and survey the Abyss and the Gates of Death. Sharing contexts with the chaos monster Leviathan places Dawn in a morally charged environment (Job 3:8–9; 41:10—Eng 41:18). Outside the Bible, sacrifices for Shahar are accompanied by offerings to underworld deities (Emar #369.24–25). Appropriately in this regard, the most common verb which describes the dawn's activity in Hebrew is that it "rises" *(ʿlh)*, probably echoing the old notion of the underworld connections of Dawn.

An astral orientation of Shahar is suggested in his juxtaposition with other celestial elements (sun and moon in Cant 6:10; one may favorably compare Eos, the Greek goddess of the dawn, and her brother and sister sun and moon). A connection with the sun is frequently made at Ugarit where after Shahar's birth in *KTU* 1.23, offerings are made specifically to the sun and the stars (1.54). Elsewhere, Shahar and Shalim along with eight other pairs of deities assist the sun goddess (*KTU* 1.107), while the sun goddess in another text is the central deity around which Shahar and Shalim with eleven other deities (or pairs of deities) are mustered in an incantation to neutralize a snake's venom (*KTU* 1.100). In this text, Shahar's characteristic location is said to be the heavens *(šmmh)*. The astral divinity Athtar (identified with Venus) also appears in conjunction with Shahar at Ugarit (*KTU* 1.123) and even more regularly in Epigraphic South Arabic (ESA) texts where the two are invoked as a pair. Allusion to Shahar's offspring is so far known only from biblical texts such as Isa 14:12 where he is depicted as the father of Hellel (RSV "Day Star;" Vg *lucifer*), the morning star, again connecting Shahar with the heavens.

A further biblical text which identifies the offspring of Shahar is Ps 110:3, but it raises the problem of Shahar's gender. Like the Greek goddess Eos, along with Moabite which preserves the feminine form Shahrat (*KAI* 181.15), Psalm 110 explicitly personifies Shahar as a female, for the offspring of Dawn's womb is the dew, Ṭal (consistently masculine in Hebrew; Dawn as the bestower of the dew also may lie behind the imagery of the parallelism in Hos 6:3). The goddess of the dew, Ṭallay, is a female at Ugarit where her progenitor is identified as Shower (*rb; KTU* 1.3–4); Syrian and Hittite rituals juxtapose the storm god with Shahar although the gender of the latter in this case is not clear (Emar #369.24, 52). In spite of this feminine imagery, wherever gender marking is observable in Hebrew, the noun Shahar is masculine. Therefore, one must be prepared to see variable gender in the deity associated with the dawn, a fluctuation observable with other gods and goddesses (e.g., the masculine sun in Hebrew is feminine at Ugarit and in ESA, just as Dew is masculine in Hebrew but feminine in Ugaritic). Note also the Babylonian comment: "Venus is seen in the west, she is male … Venus is seen in the east, she is female" (*Enūma* Anu Enlil 50/4.6–7).

A gargantuan mouth with corresponding appetite seems to place this creature in the company of giants, as does the comparison with Leviathan (Job 41:10—Eng 41:18; cf. Job 3:8–9). The eyelids of Dawn are a characteristic feature (Job 3:9; 41:18), no doubt a reference to the gradually spreading rays of sunlight which presage the sunrise, again pointing to the gigantic stature of Dawn whose eyelids spread over all the earth. Shahar is also winged to allow him to fly as other supernatural beings (Ps 139:9). Although the symbol of Shahar in ESA is a horned dragon, this may not represent the god himself but the animal with which he was associated.

The prominent place of this deity in popular religion is confirmed by its appearance in personal names in Hebrew (e.g., Ahi-Shahar 1 Chr 7:10), Phoenician, Ugaritic and Akkadian. A pious attraction to this deity may be explained by the general perception of the dawn as an envigorating moment, anticipated as the sign of renewal of strength, the realization of vindication and victory (Isa 58:8), and the expeller of darkness and the forces of evil (Gen 32:25, 27—Eng 32:24, 26; Job 38:12). Just as other astral elements

are traditionally cited as the most stable features of creation (Ps 72:5, 17; 89:37, 38—Eng 89:36, 37; cf. Jer 33:25), so the dawn is included in this class as a certainty which can be trusted to recur (Hos 6:3).

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SAMUEL A. MEIER

**SHAHARAIM** (PERSON) [Heb *šaḥărayim* (שַׁחֲרַיִם)]. A Benjaminite (1 Chr 8:8). Shaharaim is listed by the Chronicler as the progenitor of a clan of Benjaminites who lived in Moab. This mention of Shaharaim by the Chronicler, however, has no connection to what precedes it, and there is no hint of the source of the list headed by Shaharaim. The mention of Israelites living in Moab is rare, though not unheard of (see Ruth and 1 Sam 22:3–5). Shaharaim's descendants are said to have built Ono and Lod, though the names Ono and Lod are not found outside the Chronicler's work; see further Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 52–53).

Noth (*IPN*, 223) classified the name as part Hebrew and part Aramaic, and therefore postexilic. The name could be a copyist's error for Shehariah (1 Chr 8:26) or Ahiram (Num 26:38), though neither option has any textual support.

TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**SHAHAZUMAH** (PLACE) [Heb K *šaḥăṣûmâ* (שַׁחֲצוּמָה); Q *šaḥăṣîmâ* (שַׁחֲצִימָה)]. A border town in Issachar, located between Tabor and the Jordan River (Josh 19:22). The location of the town is uncertain, as is its correct name. Naʾaman (1986) notes that the name is non-Semitic in appearance. Albright (1926) suggests that the name may be a conflation of the elements *šḥṣ* and *ymh* (reading with the Qere), that is, "Shahaz-which-is-toward-the-sea" (of Galilee, contrary to *yammâ*'s usual sense of "westward"). A possible location for the site was found by Alt (1928), among others, at Tell Mukharkhash (M.R. 194228), at the confluence of the wadis Sirin and esh-Sherrar, 5 miles SE of Tabor. This site was occupied in the MB, LB, Iron I, and Byzantine periods. However, Mukharkhash has since been more convincingly identified with Anaharath (*HGB*, 195–96; *LBHG*, 155). Another possibility is to locate Shahazumah at Tell el-Hadatah, in the district between Tabor and Beth-shemesh, or according to Kallai (*HGB*, 195), at el-Karm, a tell near el-Hadatah. Kallai (ibid., 196) also suggests a third possibility: if Shahazumah is part of a town list of Issachar and not part of the border document, then it may be identified with Shekh el-Muzegit, below Beth-shemesh. However, the exact location of Shahazumah remains uncertain.

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SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**SHAKERS.** See MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

**SHALEM** (DEITY). Shalem is attested as a West Semitic minor deity in the 2d millennium B.C.E. The god appears in the mythological and ritual texts from Ugarit; however, these documents provide little information by which the divine function of Shalem might be determined. The provenance of the cult of the god is unknown, though both Mesopotamia and South Arabia have been posited as the original area of the deity. While evidence for the existence of the god is clear, how widely the divinity was revered and for how long is impossible to determine. Personal names among the West Semitic peoples may suggest that the god was worshipped into the middle of the 1st millennium B.C.E. Among these personal names are several biblical names which have been construed as containing the divine element Shalem, which makes the deity important for the study of biblical religious history.

Among the myths from Ugarit is one in which the two deities *šḥr w šlm* appear as the offspring of the god El and a pair of "women" whom he impregnates on a beach (*KTU* 1.23). The myth then seems to imply that other gods are sired by El with these women (Caquot and Sznycer 1980:8). The ambiguity of the intent of this myth (del Olmo 1981:437–39) precludes any certainty as to whether the gods mentioned at the end of the narrative include Shalem or not. These latter deities are sent by El into the desert to live for seven, even eight, years; after this period of time there is a reference to imbibing wine. The only characteristic provided for these deities is that of insatiable consumption, presented in the manner used of Mot. Clearly the text assumes a knowledge of the principal deities and therefore does not define or distinguish them.

Because Shalem appears with *šḥr,* not only in the mythological text, but in some of the ritual offering lists (Xella 1981:391), it has been generally taken for granted that the two gods are related to "dawn" and "twilight" either as the divine representations of the two times of day (Gaster 1946:54; Xella 1973:107) or as two aspects of the planet Venus appearing as morning and evening star (Gray 1949:73; *IDBSup,* 821). For this it has been necessary to define Shalem with respect to the slightly better known Saḥar and, to the extent that these two gods appear together in the Ugaritic texts, such an interpretation is possible; however, Shalem also appears on the ritual tablets from Ugarit without *šḥr* which should mitigate against too facile an integration of the two deities such as the interpretation which has declared them the astrological Gemini (Gaster 1946:70; Gibson 1977:29). See also SHAHAR (DEITY).

If evidence of the divine name Shalem is not pervasive in the West Semitic world of the 1st millennium B.C.E., personal names containing the divine element Shalem can plausibly be identified in the period (Tigay 1986:67–68). However, the god's name is written with the root *šlm* which is a common verbal and noun form and might be used in personal names without referring to a god as the meaning "wholeness" or "well-being" (Eisenbeis 1969:50–51) carries a positive connotation. This makes using the personal names containing a *šlm* element for evidence as the worship of Shalem uncertain, though by no means improbable (Tigay 1986:80).

The god Shalem has been correlated with the city of Jerusalem since it was observed that the final element in the city's name could be read as a divine name. It was then proposed that the city must have been named after the deity and therefore Shalem must originally have been the major deity of the area. Support for Jerusalem having been named for Shalem is derived from the story of Melchizedek, who is called the "king of Shalem" (Gen 14:18). In Ps 76:3—Eng 76:2 Shalem is used in a parallel construction with Zion thereby locating it in Jerusalem. It is clear that the biblical text is not using an early Judaic tradition, because already in the Egyptian execration texts, from the early 2d millennium B.C.E., the name Jerusalem was known; though this might suggest a double tradition of the city's name known to the psalmist. Julius Lewy (1934:62) argued that Shalem and Yahweh had originally reigned together in the city of Jerusalem and the town was named for the former. At some time after the Davidic capture of the city Yahweh replaced Shalem as the major deity and then ruled alone. He later (1940:519–21) expanded on his theory and posited that the Mesopotamian deity Shulmānu, in the guise of Ninurta, was the patron god of "*Bêt Šulmān,*" the Jebusite Jerusalem.

The relation of Jerusalem to the god Ninurta led other scholars to posit that the original cult in Jerusalem was dedicated to Saturn; this theory was derived from Mesopotamian astrological reflection on Ninurta (Lewy 1950:353). A continuation of this trajectory produced a vision of Shalem as a deity of violence, destruction, and death (Curtis 1957:168). Rosenberg (*IDBSup,* 820–21) assumes that the identification of Shalem with Saturn is correct, but also wishes to accept the Ugaritic evidence for a possible "evening star" equation, and declares that the deity is a solar god. These theories must be seen as failures. There is little, if any, reason to presume Mesopotamian influence on the origins of the city of Jerusalem. Moreover, the West Semitic Shalem serves sufficiently as a source for the name of the city, even if the nature of the deity is obscure.

Further evidence for the early, and continuing, interest in the cult of Shalem in Jerusalem is seen in the names David gave his sons; both Absalom and Solomon have been argued to have been named after the god. The fact that Absalom is supposed to have been born in Hebron (2 Sam 3:2–3), before David

captured Jerusalem, precludes a facile use of the name to show David's veneration for the god of Jerusalem (*IDBSup,* 820). If Solomon was named after Shalem, which is less than certain, it would appear to have been his throne name, used more often in the Bible than the Yahwistic Jedidiah. Proper names containing *šlm* continue throughout the monarchical periods in the biblical texts which may reflect a continuing cult of Shalem; it is unlikely that they reflect aspirations of the populace for peace (Coogan 1976:85). One last name has been suggested as related to the cult of Shalem in Jerusalem; the Shulamite maiden (Cant 7:1) has been suggested as the consort of Shalem (*IDBSup*, 820) and a fertility cult has been suggested for her in the city (Ahlström 1963:84). Neither the identification nor the intent of the poems is clear and therefore any connection between Shalem and the Shulamite remains speculation.

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**SHALISHAH** (PLACE) [Heb *šālišâ* (שָׁלִשָׁה)]. A region through which Saul passed on his search for his father's lost donkeys (1 Sam 9:4). The context implies that the region is outside Benjamin, presumably in Ephraim to the N. It is probable that the settlement known as Baal-shalishah (2 Kgs 4:42) was located in that region and that the one will have suggested the name for the other.

ELMER M. DYCK

**SHALLECHETH GATE** (PLACE) [Heb *šaʿar šalleket* (שַׁעַר שַׁלֶּכֶת)]. An inner gate of Jerusalem that was part of an enclosure that surrounded the sacred temple precincts and the royal residences (1 Chr 26:16). The name of the gate possibly means "Gate of Departing." This gate was known at different periods by several other names: the "Foundation Gate" (2 Chr 23:5, LXX "Middle Gate") and the "Sur Gate" (2 Kgs 11:5, LXX "Gate of Departing or Turning Aside"). In Hebrew, *sûr* and *šalleket* share similar indicative meanings and the LXX renders both of these words with *ekspan* "draw out" (Isa 6:13 and Ezek 11:19 in Codex Alexandrinus) and with *ekpiptein* "go forth" (Isa 6:13 and Job 15:30 in Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus).

When King David assigned gatekeepers for the Temple complex (1 Chr 26:16), Shuppim, Hosah and their sons were assigned the W gate of the sacred Temple precincts as well as the Shallecheth Gate of the outer royal enclosure, the walls of which stood between (hence the LXX "Middle Gate" of 2 Chr 23:5) the Temple precincts and the outer defensive wall that was W of the city. The area between the W gate of the Temple enclosure, (possibly the mysterious Parbar or Parvar Gate of 1 Chr 26:18 [BDB, 826] and the Shallecheth Gate may have been a forum or "Priests' Chambers" as suggested by the Septuagint's use of *pastophoriou* "priest's chamber," and it may have been in this forum that the guards were stationed as mentioned in 1 Chr 26:16. This forum apparently exited (through the Shallecheth Gate) onto a roadway that "ascended" or "went up" (Heb *lamsillah* [1 Chr 26:18]) to the Fish Gate on the NW corner of the city.

The Shallecheth Gate (and the possible forum associated with it) may have functioned much like the later "Kaiaphon Gate" of Josephus or the "Kiphonas Gate" of the Mishnah (*Mid.* 1:3) as an entrance for priests who were entering the area for Temple service (Mackowski 1980:131–32, 194 n. 4).

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**SHALLUM** (PERSON) [Heb *šallûm* (שַׁלּוּם)*; šallūm* (שַׁלֻּם)]. Some fourteen individuals bear this name, which may mean "the requited" or "he for whom compensation has been made" (Gray *1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 621; *IPN*, 174). In the so-called Barley Letter (Samaria ostracon C1101) the form of this name is attested (*ANET*, p. 321; *KAI*, # 188; *TSSI*, pp. 14–15). Shallun in Neh 3:15 may be a variant spelling; Myers (*Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 111) compares Ug *bn ṯlln* (*KTU* 4.63:I: 16).

**1.** A son of Jabesh, probably a reference to a clan or district rather than to his father, and may be translated, "a man of Jabesh." This might indicate that opposition to Jehu's dynasty came from Jabesh-gilead in Transjordan (Jones *1 and 2 Kings* NCBC, 521) for he gained the throne of the northern kingdom over which he ruled for one month about the year 750 B.C. (2 Kgs 15:10, 13–15) by assassinating Zechariah, the last king of Jehu's house, before being himself murdered by his successor Menahem. The prophets Amos and Hosea allude to these events. Amos foretells Zechariah's murder (7:9, 11) and Hosea speaks of royal assassinations (7:6–7, 16). Both see them as signs of the corruption that will take Israel into exile. These strokes plunged the country into civil war shortly before the renewed advance of Assyria into the West.

**2.** Son of Tikvah and husband of Huldah the prophetess (2 Kgs 22:14; son of Tokhath in 2 Chr 34:22).

**3.** The fourth son of Josiah, king of Judah. He succeeded his father in 609/608 B.C. (Jer 22:11; 1 Chr 3:15) and took the throne-name Jehoahaz by which he is usually called.

**4.** An uncle of the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 32:7). His son Hanamel sold a field at Anathoth to Jeremiah during the siege of Jerusalem.

**5.** The father of Maaseiah, a keeper of the threshold of the temple in the time of the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 35:4).

**6.** Son of Sismai and father of Jekamiah; a descendant of Jerahmeel of Judah (1 Chr 2:40–41).

**7.** Son of Shaul and father of Mibsam; a descendant of Simeon (1 Chr 4:25).

**8.** The fourth son of Naphtali by Bilhah (1 Chr 7:13). In Gen 46:24 and Num 26:49 he is called SHILLEM (Heb *šillēm*). See also SHILLEM.

**9.** Son of Zadok and father of Hilkiah; a high priest (1 Chr 5:38–39—Eng 6:12–13; Ezra 7:2; 1 Esdr 8:1; 2 Esdr 1:1; Bar 1:7). Ezra is descended from him. He is perhaps identical with MESHULLAM in 1 Chr 9:11; Neh 11:11; 12:13.

**10.** A gatekeeper in the camp of the Levites (1 Chr 9:17). He was the head of a family of gatekeepers in postexilic Judah (Ezra 2:42 = Neh 7:45; 1 Esdr 5:28) and one of the first to return from exile in Babylon. He occupied an especially honored position as the gatekeeper of the east gate through which the king usually entered (cf. Ezek 46:1–8) and the one which faced the entrance to the sanctuary. He is perhaps identical with Shallum the Korahite, son of Kore, mentioned in 1 Chr 9:19, 31. He is called SHELEMIAH in 1 Chr 26:14, MESHULLAM in Neh 12:25, and MESHELEMIAH in 1 Chr 9:21. According to Ezra 10:24 (= 1 Esdr 9:25) he was one of those who had married a foreign wife while in exile but by the law of the postexilic community he was compelled to put her away.

**11.** The father of Jehizkiah and a member of the tribe of Ephraim (2 Chr 28:12).

**12.** An Israelite who had married a foreign wife while in exile (Ezra 10:42).

**13.** The son of Hallohesh; head of one of the eight groups working to repair the wall of Jerusalem between the Jeshanah Gate and the Valley Gate in the time of Nehemiah (Neh 3:12). He administered half of the district of Jerusalem, postexilic Judah being divided into five districts.

**14.** Son of Colhozeh (Neh 3:15). He administered the district of Mizpah in the time of Nehemiah and repaired the Fountain Gate as well as the wall of the Pool of Shelah at the King's Garden as far as the steps going down from the City of David.
ROBERT ALTHANN

**SHALMA** [Heb *šlmh* (שׁלמה)]. A N Arabian tribe which is probably mentioned in Cant 1:5: "Black I am, but beautiful, O daughters of Jerusalem, like the tents of Kedar, or the tentcloths of Shalma." The MT has vocalized this "tentcloths of Solomon" (Heb *šĕlōmōh*). What, however, connects the luxurious textiles of King Solomon with the rough goathair of bedouin (Kedarite) tents? Wellhausen (*WPGI,* 227, n. 1) suggested, therefore, reading *šlmh* as *šalmâ* or *śalmâ.* The tribe lived in the vicinity of Hegra/Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ S of the Nabataeans. "Kedar" may in Cant 1:5 actually refer to the Nabataeans. See KEDAR. Shalma is mentioned in the Targums under the name of *šalmāʾā* and *šlmyʾ,* in Nabataean as *šlmw,* in Safaitic as *slm,* in Greek as *Salámioi* (Knauf 1989:107, and n. 586). Part of the tribe may have immigrated into S Palestine in the exilic or early post-exilic period, if *śalmāʾ* (1 Chr 2:51, 54) can be linked to *šlmh.* See also EPHAH; MENUHOTH.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**SHALMAI** (PERSON) [Heb *šalmāy* (שַׁלְמָי)]. Var. SHAMLAI. Head of a family of NETHINIM (Temple Servants) who returned from the Babylonian exile to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, between 538 and 520 B.C.E. (Ezra 2:46; Neh 7:48; 1 Esdr 5:30). Written Shamlai in Ezra 2:46, the correct form is Shalmai as in Neh 7:48 (see also 1 Esdr 5:30, and the Qere in MT notations to Ezra 2:46). The name is one of the few among the Nethinim to have a Semitic root. It is noteworthy that this name appears in a 4th century B.C.E. seal which had been transcribed as "Shalmi the messenger" (Becking 1986:446), although no connection between the bearers of the names can be supposed.

As members of the guild of Nethinim (Levine 1963), the family of Shalmai would have had a special role in the Temple cult, perhaps assisting the Levites. Although some scholars consider the Nethinim to be foreigners or of foreign origin, it appears that during the postexilic period the Nethinim, as cultic personnel, were considered neither foreigners nor slaves. Rather, like the Levites, they had been devoted to cultic service the precise nature of which can not longer be identified. The size of Shalmai's family, its origins and specific role are no longer discernible. Together with thirty-four other families of Nethinim and ten of families of Solomon's servants, the group included 392 members (Ezra 2:58; Neh 7:60) or 372 (1 Esdr 5:35). See also Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC.

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TAMARA C. ESKENAZI

**SHALMAN** (PERSON) [Heb *šalman* (שַׁלְמַן)]. The person who ransacked Beth-arbel (Hos 10:14). Shalman's destruction of Beth-arbel must have been both particularly brutal and well-known. The prophet Hosea cited the event as a warning to Israel of the utter devastation God was about to bring upon it.

Both Shalman and Beth-arbel are mentioned only in Hos 10:14; neither can be identified with confidence. Many scholars interpret "Shalman" as a hypocoristic form of Shalmaneser, the name of several Assyrian kings. Common proposals include Shalmaneser V, who died while besieging Samaria (722 B.C.E.) and Shalmaneser III, whom Astour (1971:383–89) believes invaded Israel in 841 B.C.E. However, elsewhere Shalmaneser is fully spelled out. Other scholars identify Shalman with Salmanu, a Moabite king contemporaneous with Hosea, who is listed among those paying tribute to Tiglath-pileser III (*ANET,* 282).

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CAROLYN J. PRESSLER

**SHALMANESER** (PERSON) [Heb *šalman·eser* (שַׁלְמַנְאֶסֶר)]. In Assyrian the name Shalmaneser is spelled *Šulmānu-ašarēd* and means "the god Šulmānu is the foremost." There were five kings in Assyrian history who bore this name but only the fifth and last such king is mentioned in the Bible. Of the preceding four kings only Shalmaneser I (1273–1244 B.C.) and Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.) were important. See MESOPOTAMIA, HISTORY OF (ASSYRIA) for a discussion of their reigns.

Shalmaneser V (726–722 B.C.), although a relatively insignificant king in Assyrian history, played an important role in biblical history since he laid siege to Samaria, capital of the kingdom of Israel, as narrated in 2 Kgs 17:1–41; 18:1–12; cf. 2 Esdr 13:40. According to this narrative Hoshea became a vassal of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, but then changed his mind and made friendly overtures to the pharaoh of Egypt. When Hoshea withheld tribute from the king of Assyria, the latter shut him up in prison. Eventually the king of Assyria laid siege to Samaria and after three years the city fell.

The Israelites were carried off to live in exile in Assyria, along the River Habur, and in the cities of the Medes. In their place the king of Assyria settled in Israel people from various cities such as Hamat in Syria and Babylon and Cutha in Babylonia. The exiles from Syria and Babylonia continued to practice their own religions and these practices were condemned by the biblical narrative as evil.

The passage in 2 Kings is the most detailed narrative of the fall of Samaria to the Assyrians which has been preserved. In Assyrian records the event is scarcely mentioned. This is not due to lack of interest on the part of the Assyrians but rather to the lack of Assyrian sources in general for the reign of Shalmaneser V. Samaria's fall is given due prominence in the *Babylonian Chronicle* which singles this out as the only significant event in Shalmaneser V's reign. Given the paucity of our sources there has been much debate among modern historians about the exact date of the fall of Samaria, and some historians have even suggested that it was Sargon II rather than Shalmaneser V who captured Samaria (see *ANET*, 284–87). The most attractive solution to the problem is that Samaria fell in 722 B.C., the year of Shalmaneser V's death and the accession of Sargon II. Thus the leading of the Israelites into exile by the Assyrians was probably carried out during the reign of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.). Consequently, references to Shalmaneser (Gk *Enemessaros*) in the book of Tobit (1:2, 13, 15, 16), in connection with events during the exile of the people of Samaria at Nineveh, actually relate to the period of Sargon II. See also SARGON.
A. KIRK GRAYSON

**SHAMA** (PERSON) [Heb *šāmāʿ* (שָׁמָע)]. A son of Hotham the Aroerite and one of the Reubenites associated with King David's chief military men (1 Chr 11:44). The name means " (YHWH) has heard" or "May (YHWH) hear." The Chronicler's expansion (1 Chr 11:41b–47) of the parallel lists of David's military elite (1 Chr 11:10–41a = 2 Sam 23:8–39) includes Shama and fifteen other men from the Transjordan, suggesting that Moabite AROER (1 Chr 5:8) is more likely Shama's hometown, although Judean Aroer (1 Sam 30:28) is also possible. There is general agreement that these expanded verses were not part of the original list. The addition of the sixteen names may have been inspired by 1 Chronicles 12 (Myers, *1 Chronicles* 90), while Williamson (*1 & 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 104) and others (Mazar 1986:101–102; Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT 1st ser., 101) have argued that the Chronicler or a later redactor did not fabricate these names.

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RUSSELL FULLER

**SHAMGAR** (PERSON) [Heb *šamgar* (שַׁמְגַּר)]. One of the early saviors of Israel in the premonarchy period, according to one prose statement (Judg 3:31). In Shamgar's days caravan trade came to a virtual

standstill, according to one line of poetry (Judg 5:6). In both the prose and the poem Shamgar is further identified in Hebrew as *ben-ʿănāt,* "son of Anath" or "Anathite." In the prose Shamgar is credited with single handedly disabling an entire Philistine brigade. The figure "six hundred" is probably not to be taken literally. "Six hundred" is a unit of military organization, an optimum figure rarely reached in practice (cf. Judg 18:11; 20:47) and often, presumably, deliberately kept below strength. Even so, Shamgar's achievement is impressive. His weapon is a metal-tipped pole, some eight feet long.

The name Shamgar is non-Semitic and probably of Hurrian origin, occurring in texts from Nuzi. That he was "Anathite" has long been thought to relate Shamgar to the town of Beth-anath in Galilee (Josh 19:38 Albright 1921). But the Hebrew label *ben ʿănāt* may be a military designation involving the name of the goddess Anath, who was consort of Baal and warrior-goddess in her own right. Analogical evidence connecting Anath with the seminomads known as Ḫaneans in Mari texts, who on several occasions provide the king of Mari with sizable military contingents, lends support to the identification of Shamgar as a mercenary (Craigie 1972). (Another "Ben Anath" is known as a Syrian sea captain with whom Pharaoh Rameses II was allied, a century earlier than Shamgar.)

In the Song of Deborah and Barak, the "days of Shamgar" are seconded in parallelism as being also the "days of Jael" (Judg 5:6). The mention of disruption of the caravan trade, together with the modern opinion that 1125 B.C.E. is too early for Philistine presence in the N, has meant to some interpreters that Shamgar was, rather, one of the causes of hard times for Israel. On such a view, Shamgar was a Canaanite chieftain, perhaps a Hurrian newcomer menacing the entire countryside. On this view, Shamgar could perhaps be said to have "saved Israel" (3:31) in some less direct sense. There is, however, no longer any difficulty in understanding Shamgar, Jael, Deborah, and Barak as contemporaries in one period of success and achievement.

The *pĕlištî* were only one of the Sea Peoples, for whom "Philistine" became the generic label in Israel. It is likely that Sisera (another non-Semitic name), who commands the Canaanite forces in Judges 4–5, had a "Sea People" origin. What the Song of Deborah and Barak celebrates is disruption of the caravans by Israelites living in the highlands, so that Israel prospered to the point that it was able to defeat (thanks to a timely cloudburst and flash flood) the mercenaries sent against them by the N coalition. The activities of Shamgar and Jael lent support.

The brief mention of Shamgar's rescue work, killing six hundred Philistines, may be secondary in the prose, which lacks the familiar formulas about judging and giving the land rest for a number of years. The verse appears to be awkwardly inserted, for the beginning of the Deborah and Barak story (4:1) implies direct continuation of the Ehud story. Some LXX recensions have the Shamgar notice following the conclusion of the Samson cycle at 16:31, taking the reference to "Philistines" at face value. Some interpreters consider the Shamgar notice in 3:31 to be entirely a late piece of creative writing, based on 5:7 and perhaps a supplementary oral tradition. This is conceivable but unlikely.

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ROBERT G. BOLING

**SHAMHUTH** (PERSON) [Heb *šamhût* (שַׁמְהוּת)]. One of twelve commanders supervising monthly courses of 24,000 men, or possibly 24 "units," rather than "thousands" (Myers *Chronicles* AB, 183, 53, 98), in the armed service of the king (1 Chr 27:8). Shamhuth was in charge of the course of the fifth month (v 8). This list of commanders and their functions is possibly a construct of its author/redactor, since (1) no such monthly, conscripted, civilian army is mentioned elsewhere during David's reign; (2) the large number of 288,000 men, if the term is understood correctly, seems improbable; and (3) one of the commanders, Asahel (v 7) was dead before David had rule over all Israel (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 174–75). However, the author/redactor's thesis that David made preparations for the proper ongoing cultic and national life of Israel, as illustrated throughout chaps. 23–27, draws on the fact that David took a census (cf. vv 23–24; chap. 21) which could have been utilized for designing a monthly plan

of conscription, a plan which would have been analogous to Solomon's monthly courses for his provision (1 Kgs 4:7–19).

Because the names of the other eleven commanders appear again in the list of David's Champions in 1 Chr 11:10–47 (= 2 Sam 23:8–39), it is probable that Shamhuth is to be equated with Shammoth of 1 Chr 11:27 and Shammah of 2 Sam 23:25 and, therefore, was a member of this select class of warriors directly attached to the king for special assignments. The form, "Shamhuth," can be explained as a combination of the variant spellings of "Shammah" and "Shammoth" (*IPN*, 259; Allen 1974:190). Shamhuth, however, is not to be confused with the Shammah of 2 Sam 23:33 (= SHAGEE of 1 Chr 11:34), for the latter is probably to be equated with SHAMMAH, the son of Agee listed in 2 Sam 23:11–12 (see Driver *NHT*, 371 who reconstructs 2 Sam 23:33: "Jonathan, son of Shammah the Hararite").

Shamhuth is identified as an Izrahite, which is probably intended to be a gentilic designation for one from the place "Izrah," a place which is otherwise unknown. However, since variants of this designation occur with the other forms of "Shamhuth," it appears that this form has arisen through textual corruption.

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RODNEY K. DUKE

**SHAMIR** (PERSON) [Heb Q *šāmîr* (שָׁמִיר)]. The son of Micah in the levitical genealogy in 1 Chr 24:20–31. Shamir's descent was traced to Levi through his grandfather, Uzziel, son of Kohath, son of Levi. The mention of Shamir in 24:24 is one of several additions to the genealogy in 23:6–23. Due to the absence of Gershon in the list in chap. 24, some consider it secondary. The family of Gershon was probably not active at the time of the composition of the book. Also, the passage does not seem to fit the context in which it is placed. Shamir, as a personal name, occurs only in 24:24. The K, *šmwr,* denotes a passive participle based on the triliteral *šmr.* The meaning of the name is uncertain, but the word *šāmîr* means "thorns" and may carry the connotation of hardness as well as sharpness.

DONALD K. BERRY

**SHAMIR** (PLACE) [Heb *šāmîr* (שָׁמִיר)]. **1.** A town situated in the SW hill country of Judah (Josh 15:48), within the same district as Debir. This settlement, whose name perhaps means "thorn bush," is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The theory that this list is derived from an administrative roster compiled under the Judean monarchy (Alt 1925) has been widely accepted, although controversy continues over the precise make-up of the districts, the proper context of the town lists of Benjamin and Dan, and the period of the monarchy to which the original roster belongs (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 64–72). The ancient name appears to be reflected at Khirbet es-Sumara, approximately 20 km SW of Hebron (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 388; M.R. 143092). Although the location seems correct, archaeological confirmation of occupation during the appropriate periods is lacking.

**2.** A town in the hill country of Ephraim which became the home and burial place of Tola, first of the so-called "minor" judges (Judg 10:1–2). Mentioned only once in the OT, the precise location of this ancient town remains unknown. Based on the similarity between their names, Shamir has often been associated with Samaria, better known as capital of the N kingdom (*IDB* 4:307; *LBHG*, 223). However, such an association is difficult to reconcile with 1 Kgs 16:24, where we are told that Omri named his new royal city after Shemer, the man from whom he had purchased the hill. If Samaria was the home and burial place of a famous Israelite hero, it seems unlikely that this would have been forgotten or ignored in later generations. On the other hand, 1 Kgs 16:24 does not necessarily rule out prior occupation on the hill.

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WADE R. KOTTER

**SHAMLAI** (PERSON) [Heb *šamlay* (שַׁמְלַי)]. The variant for the name Shalmai used in Ezra 2:46. It is also the RSV rendering of the Gk name *Sybai* in 1 Esdr 5:30. See SHALMAI (PERSON).

**SHAMMA** (PERSON) [Heb *šammāʾ* (שַׁמָּא)]. One of the eleven sons of Zophah listed in the Asherite genealogy in 1 Chr 7:37. Shamma is descended from Helem (perhaps to be identified with Hotham) and hence falls within the dominant line of the clan. This name does not appear elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible and its etymology is uncertain. While some scholars consider such unique names as fabrications of the Chronicler, Johnson and others suggest that they derive from military census lists, themselves drawn up in genealogical fashion (Johnson 1969:64–66).

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JULIA M. O'BRIEN

**SHAMMAH** (PERSON) [Heb *šammâ* (שַׁמָּה); *šammāʾ* (שַׁמָּא)]. Var. SHIMEA; SHIMEAH; SHIMEI; SHAMMOTH? 1. The third son of Reuel and the grandson of Esau (Gen 36:13, 17; 1 Chr 1:37). According to Gen 36:17, he was one of the Edomite "tribal chiefs" (Heb *ʾallûpîm*), and as such the name probably represents a clan within the Esauite-Edomite tribe of Reuel.

2. The third son of Jesse of Bethlehem, and older brother of David the king (1 Sam 16:9; 1 Chr 2:13, MT *šimʿāʾ,* RSV "Shimea;" cf. 1 Chr 20:7). Shammah took part in the battle against the Philistines (1 Sam 17:13). Apparently the son of Shammah (MT *šimʿâ,* RSV "Shimeah"), Jonadab, was the crafty friend (and cousin) who helped Amnon concoct a plan to lure the unsuspecting Tamar to Amnon's bed (2 Sam 13:3), and it was also he who subsequently reported that Tamar's brother Absalom had murdered Amnon in revenge (13:32–33). This same Jonadab eventually distinguished himself in battle (21:21, MT *šimʿay,* RSV "Shimei").

3. The son of Agee the Hararite, and one of David's elite fighters (2 Sam 23:11). He may also be listed after Jonathan in 2 Sam 23:33, although the parallel text 1 Chr 11:34 reads "Jonathan the son of Shagee the Hararite."

4. A man from Harod, and one of David's elite fighters (2 Sam 23:25). The orthographic similarities between Heb *d* and *r* mean that this soldier from Haro*d* could be the same as the Hara*r*ite mentioned above (#3). The parallel text 1 Chr 11:27 reads Shammoth (Heb *šammôt*) of Harod.

With respect to Shammah #3–4, one should not put too much weight on the attestations in 1 Chronicles 11, which represent a later attempt to harmonize the parallel attestations in 2 Samuel 23. The meaning of the name "Shammah" and its variants is not clear. See also SHAMMA; SHAMHUTH. It is most probably a variant or a shortened form of a theophoric personal name containing the verb *šmʿ,* "hear," although derivations from **šmm* or *ṯmm* are also possible. See *IPN*, 38–39, 185.

ULRICH HÜBNER

**SHAMMAI** (PERSON) [Heb *šammay* (שַׁמַּי)]. **1.** The son of Onam, a descendant of Jerahmeel (1 Chr 2:28, 32).

**2.** The son of Rekem, a descendant of Caleb (1 Chr 2:44, 45).

**3.** The son of Mered, who married Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh (1 Chr 4:17).

H. C. LO

**SHAMMAI, SCHOOL OF.** Talmudic tradition (collected in Neusner 1971) describes the 1st-century Pharisees and their early rabbinic successors as having been divided into two wings or schools, called "houses" in Hebrew; these were named after the two great sages Hillel and Shammai, who flourished toward the end of the 1st century B.C.E., about 100 years before the Jerusalem temple was destroyed by the Romans. The very existence of such division in the movement of the Sages was a cause of some perplexity among later authorities, who explained (*t. Ḥag.* 2.9) that it arose among students

paying inadequate attention to their teachers, but since Hillel and Shammai themselves are reported to have disagreed on occasion this explanation must be understood as homiletical.

A very large proportion of early Tannaitic and pre-tannaitic rabbinic traditions take the form of disputes (Neusner 1981:19–21 considers many of them pseudepigraphic) between the two "houses." Most of these disputes concern details of halakhic practice, and in general the School of Shammai is reported to have held a view more restrictive or more stringent than that of its rival (*ʿEd.* 4 offers a catalogue of exceptions to this rule). Numerous modern scholars have attempted to explain this "conservative" tendency by reference to the Shammaites' social standing (Ginzberg 1962) or theory of law (Safrai *EncJud* 4:737–41), but all such attempts rest on a very narrow base and must therefore be considered speculative. It should also be noted that not all reported disputes between the schools concerned legal matters; they are described as having argued for two and a half years over the question whether it would have been better for Adam never to have been created, only to agree that now that Adam has been created he ought to examine his deeds.

Later traditions do not agree in their descriptions of the relations between the two schools. *Yebam.* 1.4 reports that despite their serious differences over matrimonial law members of the two "houses" did not refrain from marrying women who belonged to the other, but *b. Šabb.* 17a contains a story that in the days of Hillel and Shammai themselves a dispute over purity law got so out of hand that "a sword was planted in the Study House … and that day was as hard for Israel as the day the golden calf was made."

At a later time the rulings of the School of Hillel were adopted as normative and those of the School of Shammai in most cases set aside. This decision was remembered as having been authorized by explicit heavenly instruction (*b. ʿErub.* 13b; *j. Soṭa* 3.4 19a). The fact, however, that in the great majority of cases the Shammaite opinion is reported first in extant traditions and often gets the last word as well suggests that at an earlier time the size and influence of the two factions was rather more balanced. The general impression is that the Pharisaic/rabbinic movement eventually came under the domination of the School of Hillel but preserved the memory of a time when the School of Shammai was the equal of the other in all respects. Later mystical teaching (*Zohar, Raʿva Mehemna* 3:245a) held that in the "World to Come" the present situation would be reversed and the rulings of the School of Shammai would become law. Thus in the end the original parity of the houses would be restored.

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ROBERT GOLDENBERG

## SHAMMOTH (PERSON) [Heb *šammôt* (שַׁמּוֹת)]. According to MT 1 Chr 11:27 Shammoth the

Harorite is one of David's mighty men. In the parallel at 2 Sam 23:25 he is called Shammah the Harodite. Greek ms B for 1 Chr 11:27 reads *samaoth ho hadi,* reflecting MT for the personal name but perhaps indicating an attempt to modify the gentilic according to MT for 2 Sam 23:25 *(ḥărōdî).* In any event, between 1 Chronicles *hărôrî* and 2 Samuel *ḥărōdî* there appears to be some confusion between the Heb letters *he* and *ḥet* and *dalet* and *reš.* Because of the similarity of these names, there is either textual confusion or a confusion of the persons and the places themselves. As Driver (*NHT,* 362) remarks concerning the list of David's men as found in 2 Samuel and 1 Chronicles, "the names in several instances vary, nor is it always possible to determine which form is original, or whether both may not be corrupt."

It has been suggested (e.g., Curtis *Chronicles* ICC, 191) that Shammoth here is identical with Shamhuth, the fifth army commander for the fifth month, mentioned in 1 Chr 27:8, and/or with Shammah, son of Agee the Hararite, one of David's soldiers mentioned in 2 Sam 23:11 (*HDB* 4:901).

STEPHEN PISANO

**SHAMMUA** (PERSON) [Heb *šammûaʿ* (שַׁמּוּעַ)]. Var. SHIMEA. **1.** One of the twelve spies—one from each tribe—sent out by Moses to survey the land of Canaan (Num 13:4). He was the Reubenite representative chosen, the son of Zaccur.

**2.** A son of David born in Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:14; 1 Chr 14:4). According to 1 Chr 3:5 (where his name is Shimea), his mother was Bathsheba (Bathshua) and he had three full brothers: Shobab, Nathan, and Solomon. In addition, his father had six sons born in Hebron to six different wives, and nine born in Jerusalem to unnamed wives, as well as many sons born to his concubines in Jerusalem (1 Chr 3:9). See also DAVID, SONS OF.

**3.** A Levite in postexilic Jerusalem (Neh 11:17), one of 284 in the holy city (11:18). He is called Shemaiah in 1 Chr 9:16. He was father of Abda (Obadiah), and son of Galal, a descendant of Jeduthun, who was one of three musicians appointed by David to oversee the musical service of the Temple (1 Chr 25:1; 2 Chr 5:12).

**4.** A priest, son of Bilgah, in postexilic Jerusalem (Neh 12:18). Despite their identical names, similar occupations, and contemporary status, it is probable that this Shammua and the one in #3 above are different persons, since their fathers' names are different and especially since Shammua #3 is clearly listed as a Levite and not a priest.

DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

**SHAMSHERAI** (PERSON) [Heb *šamšĕray* (שַׁמְשְׁרַי)]. One of the Benjaminites who dwelt in Jerusalem in postexilic times, a son of Jeroham (1 Chr 8:26). The name Shamsherai is only found here in the OT. Noth (*IPN*, 259) suggested Shamsherai was a combination of *šāmray* and *šimšay,* and that *šimšay* should be read at 1 Chr 8:26, following the Lucianic recension of the LXX. The name *šimšay* is found several times in an Aramaic portion of Ezra (4:8, 9, 17, 23).

TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**SHAPHAM** (PERSON) [Heb *šāpām* (שָׁפָם)]. A Gadite, who was one of four (or three; see SHAPHAT) tribal leaders named in the genealogy (1 Chr 5:12). He was designated "the second" after Joel, who was called "the head" or "chief." The translator of the probably interpreted "the second" to refer to Shapham's birth order, after Joel "the firstborn" (Gk *prōtotokos*). At any rate, these leaders and their seven brethren are presented as sons of Abihail. The mss that give spelling variants for Shapham's name (Sabat and Saphan) probably attest scribal confusion of two Hebrew letters that were written similarly (*pe* with *bet*) and the name "Shapham" with the more common "Shaphan."

1 Chronicles 5 notes that Shapham and the other Gadites lived opposite the Reubenites in "Bashan as far as Salecah" (v 11) and "in Gilead, in Bashan … and in all the pasture lands of Sharon to their limits" (v 17). While Num 13:24–28 assigns Gilead to Gad, too, it does not mention Bashan and Sharon, probably because the former is too far N and the latter too far W. It may be that the reference in 1 Chronicles 5 to Bashan reflects confusion about the N boundary of the tribe or about the extent of Bashan (cf. Deut 3:10). The inclusion of Sharon within Gad's inheritance may be correct in light of reference in the Mesha inscription (line 13; *ANET*, 320) to an otherwise unknown city or region by that name in Transjordania.

While 1 Chr 5:17 notes that Shapham and the other sons of Abihail were enrolled "in the days of Jotham … and … Jeroboam," it is likely that several years separated their reigns (unless Jotham's co-regency with his father Azariah/Uzziah is counted).

Neither Shapham nor the others named in the Chronicler's genealogy for Gad (1 Chr 5:11–17) appear in other lists of Gadites (Gen 46:16; Num 26:15–18; 1 Chr 12:9–16—Eng 12:8–15).

M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**SHAPHAN** (PERSON) [Heb *šāpān* (שָׁפָן)]. **1.** A person bearing the title of "secretary" or "scribe" (Heb *hassōpēr*) who served under Josiah, king of Judah (2 Kgs 22:3, 8, 9, 10, 12 = 2 Chr 34:8, 15, 16, 18, 20; 2 Kgs 22:14). In his eighteenth year (621 B.C.), Josiah commissioned Shaphan to distribute temple funds to workers for the repairing of the temple in Jerusalem. While the temple was being repaired a document referred to as "the book of the law" was found and presented to Shaphan. Shaphan then read it to Josiah. Upon hearing the book, Josiah instituted reforms which cleared Judah of the elements of traditional Canaanite religion and which centered sacrifice to Yahweh in the Jerusalem temple.

2 Kgs 22:12 (= 2 Chr 34:20) refers to one Ahikam as a son of Shaphan (see also 2 Kgs 25:22; Jer 26:24; 39:14; 40:5, 9, 11; 41:2; 43:6). Whether or not this is Shaphan the scribe is a debated question. That Ahikam the son of Shaphan is mentioned in 2 Kgs 22:12 (= 2 Chr 34:20) before Shaphan the scribe seems to argue against a father-son relationship (Cogan and Tadmor *2 Kings* AB, 282).

Jer 29:3 mentions one Elasah the son of Shaphan by whom Jeremiah sent a letter—along with Gemariah the son of Hilkiah—to the Babylonian exiles of 597 B.C. In all likelihood, this is Shaphan the scribe of 2 Kings 22. This identification seems appropriate in light of the reference to Hilkiah in Jer 29:3. Hilkiah and Shaphan the scribe were closely associated in the Josianic reform movement. Shaphan the scribe is explicitly mentioned as the father of one Gemariah in Jer 36:10–12.

**2.** The father of Jaazaniah (Ezek 8:11). Jaazaniah is portrayed as participating in a cult conducted in a secret room with various kinds of animals engraved on the wall. The nature of this cult is not clear and several possibilities exist for its source (Greenberg *Ezekiel 1–20* AB, 168). Whatever the nature of the secret ritual, it clearly would not have involved Shaphan the scribe himself. If the former is Jaazaniah's father, Jaazaniah has departed from his father's perspective.

JAMES M. KENNEDY

**SHAPHAT** (PERSON) [Heb *šāpāṭ* (שָׁפָט)]. The name derives from the perfect form of the verb *šāpaṭ* ("to judge") and occurs both in the short form (Shaphat), as well as in theophoric forms (e.g., Elishaphat) (see *IPN*, 22, 187).

**1.** A Simeonite, the son of Hori, who was sent by Moses with eleven other tribal leaders to spy out the land of Canaan before Israel began her assault (Num 13:5). They entered Palestine from the wilderness of Paran in the S, passed through the Negeb, and traveled throughout the land. After 40 days, the spies returned, and ten of them, including Shaphat, reported that the land was bountiful but its inhabitants were giants, dwelling in strongly fortified cities. They recommended that Israel not attempt to assault the land (Num 13:3–29, 31–33). Only two spies, Caleb and Joshua, urged the people to attack the land (Num 13:30). The narrator calls the report of the ten spies "evil" and notes that they all died of plague before the Lord (Num 14:36–37).

**2.** The father of Elisha, who dwelt with his son in Abel-meholah (1 Kgs 19:16), a city which has been located by some on the E bank of the Jordan (Tell el-Maqlub, according to Cohen *IDB* 1:5), but by most on the W bank (e.g., Tell Abû Ṣûṣ, according to Aharoni *LBHG*, 313). Shaphat may have been a man of some means, since twelve yoke of oxen were used to plow his land. Gray, though, sees the plowing as a community effort and so does not attribute such prosperity to Shaphat (*1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 413). When Elijah called Elisha to leave the plowing and follow him, Elisha asked and received permission to kiss his parents first (1 Kgs 19:19). Shaphat is mentioned again only in the designation of his son "Elisha son of Shaphat" (2 Kgs 3:11; 6:31).

**3.** A descendant of Zerubbabel mentioned only in 1 Chr 3:22. The text of this section of Solomon's genealogy (1 Chr 3:10–24) is corrupt at several points. Apparently, "the sons of Shemaiah" arose through dittography and should be deleted (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 31). This allows the number "six" at the end of v 22 to be correct (otherwise only five names precede it) and makes Shaphat the sixth son of Shecaniah, a descendant of Zerubbabel.

**4.** A Gadite mentioned only in 1 Chr 5:12. He was the son of Abihail and the fourth tribal leader named in the genealogy. It may be, however, that *šāpāṭ* should not be translated as a personal name but as the

noun "judge." In this case, Joel was the leader of the tribe, Shapham the second in authority, and Janai a judge in Bashan (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 47). The Targum and LXX support this interpretation. An alternative is to vocalize *špṭ* as a verb *(šāpaṭ)* and translate "Janai judged in Bashan." (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 69–71.)

According to 1 Chronicles 5, Shaphat and the other Gadites lived opposite the Reubenites in "Bashan as far as Salecah" (v 11) and "in Gilead, in Bashan … and in all the pasture lands of Sharon to their limits" (v 17). Although Num 13:24–28 assigns Gilead to Gad, neither Bashan, which is too far N, nor Sharon, which is too far W, is mentioned. It may be that the reference in 1 Chronicles 5 to Bashan reflects confusion about the N boundary of the tribe or about the extent of Bashan (cf. Deut 3:10). The inclusion of Sharon with Gad's allotment coincides with a reference in the Mesha Inscription (line 13; *ANET* 320) to an otherwise unknown city or region by that name in the Transjordan.

The claim (1 Chr 5:17) that Shaphat and the other sons of Abihail were enrolled "in the days of Jotham … and … Jeroboam" is problematic, since several years separated their reigns (unless Jotham's co-regency with his father Azariah/Uzziah is counted).

Neither Shaphat nor the others named in the Chronicler's genealogy for Gad (1 Chr 5:11–17) appear in other lists of Gadites (Gen 46:16; Num 26:15–18; 1 Chr 12:9–16—Eng 12:8–15).

**5.** An official who managed David's herds in the valleys. He was the son of Adlai and is named as the ninth of twelve officers over the king's possessions (1 Chr 27:29). The list is without parallel in 1–2 Samuel and may derive from a period after David's reign (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 184).

**6.** One of the family heads listed as "the sons of Solomon's servants" (1 Esdr 5:34). The name is rendered as Shaphat by the RSV according to LXX A *(Saphat),* which is the usual representation of the Heb *šāpāṭ,* while Myers (*1 and 2 Esdras* AB, 61) renders it as Shaphag according to LXX B *(Saphag).* However, this individual does not occur in the parallel texts in Ezra 2:57 and Neh 7:59.

M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**SHAPHIR** (PLACE) [Heb *šāpîr* (שָׁפִיר)]. A village in the Shephelah, otherwise unknown (Mic 1:11).

Shaphir ("beautiful"), like Maroth, is mentioned by Micah in his paronomastic lament over Jerusalem's "daughters," towns in the Shephelah which were to have formed a bulwark for her defense. LXX A reads *Saphir* for Shamir (Heb *šāmîr*) which Josh 15:48 locates in the hill country of Judah (cf. Judg 10:1–2); and Eusebius' *Sapheir* between Eleutheropolis and Ashkelon (*Onomast.* 156) has been identified by some with modern es-Suwafir (SE of Ashdod) which would have been in ancient Philistia. Both are improbable locations within the context of Mic 1:10–16. More possible is Tell ʿEitun (M.R. 143099) and most likely of all is Khirbet el-Kôm (M.R. 146104) W of Hebron (Dever *EAEHL* 4:976–77). Micah's pun stems from his personification of Shaphir as a beautiful woman who, in the expected (or recent) military disaster, will be stripped/violated and led away into exile. Hence, v 11: "Move on, 'Lady Fairfax,' in shameful nakedness" (Luker 1985:89, 115). See also Hillers *Micah* Hermeneia, 26.

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LAMONTTE M. LUKER

**SHARAI** (PERSON) [Heb *šārāy* (שָׁרָי)]. Presumably a descendant of Binnui and one of the returned exiles whom Ezra required to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:40). Sharai's name does not occur in the parallel list of 1 Esdr 9:34. According to Noth, Sharai is a shortened form of *(šērēbyāh),* but the meaning of the first element *(šrb)* is unknown (*IPN,* 259–260). However, Noth also argues that the name Machnadebai, which occurs earlier in the verse, is a corruption of the phrase "from the sons of" (*IPN,* 249). If that is true, this would introduce the next family from which offenders come, and Binnui would not be the ancestor of Sharai. See also MACHNADEBAI. Assuming Binnui was Sharai's ancestor, Sharai

was a member of a family who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Neh 7:15; note that Bani replaces Binnui in Ezra's list [2:10]). See also BEDEIAH.
JEFFREY A. FAGER

**SHARAR** (PERSON) [Heb *šārār* (שָׁרָר)]. Father of Ahiam, one of "The Thirty," an elite group of King David's warriors (2 Sam 23:33). See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS. In the parallel reference in 1 Chr 11:35 his name reads "Sachar" (Heb *śākār*). It is difficult to decide with certainty the original name. The LXX is not that helpful, essentially reflecting MT in each text (Luc reads *Sarachō* in 2 Samuel, possibly suggesting *śakar* through substitution of the *kap* for the *reš*). The list of David's warriors extant in 2 Samuel 23 is generally regarded as textually superior to the parallel list in 1 Chronicles 11, in which case Sharar would be preferable (Elliger 1966:72 n. 1). See SACHAR.

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STEPHEN G. DEMPSTER

**SHAREZER** (PERSON) [Heb *śar-eṣer* (שַׂרְאֶצֶר)]. There is one undisputed occurrence of this name in the Hebrew Bible; another is open to question. The name seems to be a form of Akk *šarra uṣur* "may (the god X) protect the king!"

1. According to 2 Kgs 19:37 (= Isa 37:38), one of the sons of the Assyrian king Sennacherib who, along with his brother Adrammelech, assassinated their father. As yet no son of Sennacherib bearing this name has been attested in Assyrian sources.

2. One of two emissaries sent by the people of Bethel in 518 B.C.E. to inquire of the temple priests and prophets in Jerusalem concerning continuation of the practice of fasting in the fifth month (Zech 7:2). The Hebrew text is difficult, and susceptible to more than one analysis. Wellhausen was among the first to suggest that the word *byt ʾl* "Bethel" preceding the name might be its theophoric element, and that its proper form is Bethelsharezer "may (the deity) Bethel protect the king." This interpretation has been adopted in several modern English translations (NEB, NJPS, NAB). For discussion, see BETHEL (DEITY).

A. KIRK GRAYSON

**SHARON** (PLACE) [Heb *šārôn* (שָׁרוֹן)]. Name of two places in the Bible. The etymology of the name is unclear (cf. *GP* 1:414; *LBHG*, 22; Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 48).

**1.** A coastal plain, skirting the Mediterranean on the W and the central highlands on the E, which extends from the Yarkon River in the S to the Tanninim (Crocodiles) River in the N—about 32 miles in length with an average width of 11 miles. In the OT, the Sharon is a metaphor both for splendor and desolation (Cant 2:1; Isa 33:9; 35:2) as well as a place for pasture (1 Chr 27:29; Isa 65:10). In the NT, it is the location for the early ministry of the apostle Peter (Acts 9:35).

**a. Geography.** The Sharon has geographical features that have determined its socioeconomic and political history (Karmon 1961:43–46). The features consist of three distinct corridors that run parallel to each other from S to N. These three corridors are intersected by several rivers flowing E-W to the Mediterranean. The W corridor, extending E about 2.5 miles, is a series of three N-S sandstone ridges with two intervening lowland areas. The W lowlands are dry most of the year, but are filled with temporary lakes during the rainy season. The E lowlands have extensive swamps due to lower elevation. The central corridor consists of red sand hills with an average height of 160–190 feet. In the N part of this corridor, the rivers, hindered by the sandstone ridges, have created broad river valleys with frequent marshlands. The soil of the area is too poor for agriculture; therefore, in antiquity, extensive oak woodlands were formed (for ancient descriptions: Strabo 16.2.27; Pliny *HN* 4.18; cf. Josephus *JW* 1.13.2; *Ant* 14.13.3; for modern analysis: Liphschitz and Waisel 1985:139; Liphschitz, Lev-Yadun, and Gophna 1987). The E corridor is the only level area—one to four miles in width—of the Sharon Plain, consisting of well-drained alluvial soil suitable for agriculture. In the W along the sea, there is a beach of 65–100

feet abutting the W sandstone ridge, forming a coastal cliff of 130 feet in height. From the mouth of each river breaking through this cliff, sand dunes extend inland for several miles. In the E where the mountain slopes rise quickly above the plain, the S and central portions of those slopes consist of hard limestone allowing little access to the central highlands. However in the N, intermittent hard limestone and soft chalk permits access through valleys extending deep into the mountain slopes.

**b. Settlement and Transportation.** In antiquity, these geographical features determined both the settlement patterns and the transportation systems of the Sharon. Settlement of the area seemed to be determined by two factors: (1) access to agricultural resources and (2) strategic control of the transportation systems. In the S, the alluvial soil suitable for farming stops abruptly just N of the Yarkon River. Therefore the settlement patterns based on archaeological surveys show clusters of settlements around the Yarkon River and to the S. This same clustering is true also for the N, beyond the Hadera River, where well-drained alluvial soil permits farming in large areas of the hinterland (MB II: Broshi and Gophna 1986; earlier periods: Gophna and Portugali 1988; N Sharon in the Hellenistic period: Roller 1982). In all periods until the late 1st century B.C.E., the central Sharon from the Mediterranean to the edge of the central highlands was largely uninhabited because the land was unsuitable for agriculture.

However the second factor, transportation, also gave impetus to settlement in other areas of the Sharon. In order to understand this impetus, attention needs to be given to the influence of geography on the various trade routes. The Sharon in antiquity had a double orientation: first by land to the routes between Egypt and Syria, and second by sea toward Egypt, Cyprus, Lebanon, and, at various periods, the whole Mediterranean world. There were only two inland routes running N-S. One was along the coast using both the beach and the lowlands just E of the coastal cliffs. From the Yarkon River to the Hadera River, access from the coast to the E corridor was impossible. Therefore the armies and caravans of the ancient world only could have moved toward the Jezreel and the central highlands after they reached the Hadera River in the N (Roller 1982:43). However, this coastal route was impassable in the rainy season and was hindered by rivers and the coastal cliff in the dry season.

The second inland route through the Sharon was part of the *Via Maris* "The Way of the Sea," a route extending N out of Egypt. It was used by the Egyptians as they moved N to control the Levant and later by other countries as they moved S to gain access to Egypt. Due to the lack of E-W routes noted above, the *Via Maris* had to leave the sea, ascend the Yarkon River to Aphek at its headwaters, then go either directly into the central highlands or N along the level ground of the E corridor to one of the passes in N Sharon. The strategic importance of these geographical limitations was readily recognized in antiquity and gave impetus to settlement along this route. Archaeological surveys of the E corridor show that settlements were clustered at strategic points of access to the highlands and the Jezreel (in the N: Socho [M.R. 153194] and Tel Zeror [Migdol?, M.R. 147203]; in the S: Aphek [M.R. 143168]).

The possibility of commerce by sea also gave impetus to settlements along the coast. These, however, are mainly single sites (Tel Mevorakh [M.R. 143215], Hepher [M.R. 141197], Tel Poleg [M.R. 135185], Tel Qasila [M.R. 130167], and Tel Michal [on the coast, M.R. 131174]) located usually on the rivers beyond the sand dunes. These port cities used the rivers for protection since the coast afforded no safe harbors except at Dor (M.R. 142224) in the N and Joppa (M.R. 126162) in the S. These settlement patterns and transportation routes remained constant until the Roman period and the reign of Herod the Great.

Under Herod and the Romans, a major change occurred in the Sharon which was accomplished by a remarkable feat of engineering. In a span of just twelve years, Herod built the artificial port of Caesarea (M.R. 140212) on the Mediterranean. This necessitated a new network of roads running both N-S and E-W. The Roman technology of paved roads with causeways and bridges allowed commerce to travel through the formerly inaccessible central Sharon. This network of roads also made the Sharon—even in the central region—the most densely populated area of the coastal plain (Karmon 1961:53–57).

**c. History.** The issues of history for the Sharon that have been raised thus far have been those of the *longue durée*. These have been presented in order to raise the possibility of alternative interpretations that may be missed if one only deals with the political issues of the written sources. The synthesis needed to

correlate all the data is beyond the scope of this article. However, the analysis stated above provides insight into the importance of the Sharon as (1) a strategic point of control of overland commerce, (2) a reservoir of economic resources both for farming and herding (for an analysis of the food and animal economy at Tel Qasile see Kislev and Hopf 1985; Davis 1985), and (3) an access to the maritime commerce of the Mediterranean (Roller 1982:50; Hohlfelder 1983:67).

The history of the Sharon gleaned from written texts and other archaeological sources beginning with the 18th Dyn. of Egypt illuminates the interplay of the above three factors. The annals and especially the letters of Amarna show that even though the Egyptians sought to control the trade routes to Syria, still they left the settlements of the Sharon under the control of the local population. These settlements, located largely in the areas of agricultural resources, became the source of supplies for the "colonial administration and Egyptian military forces in Palestine" (Weinstein 1981:15). An illustration of this comes from the annals of Amenhotep II of the 18th Dyn. (*ANET*, 245–47). From the list of booty taken from the Sharon, including horses, large and small cattle, weapons, chariots, and prisoners, it would seem that Amenhotep was exploiting the rich agricultural region of N Sharon and not some semi-nomadic settlement as suggested by Aharoni (*LBHG*, 155) and Aḥituv (*CTAED*, 136). Also the names of the towns taken by Amenhotep such as Aphek, Socho, Yaham (M.R. 153197), and Eg *Migdalēn* (= Tel Zeror? [Aḥituv *CTAED*, 142)—each at a strategic point leading to the central highlands and the Jezreel—would indicate that Amenhotep had a vital interest in the trade routes leading to Syria. However, with the close of the LB age under the 19th Dyn. and the onset of Iron I with the 20th Dyn., the involvement of Egypt in S Palestine intensified politically, culturally, and militarily. Evidence of this intensification is seen in administrative centers such as the governor's residence at Aphek (Oren 1984:49–50, 52). It appears that at least the S portion of the Sharon was under the control of an Egyptian province whose center was at Gaza (M.R. 099101) (Oren 1984:54; cf. Singer 1988).

With the fall of the 20th Dyn. in the mid-12th century, our written sources become very meager. There is evidence of the presence of "Sea Peoples" at the two centers of agriculture: the Peleset/Philistines in the S at Tel Qasile on the Yarkon River, and the Tjeker at Dor in the N (Sandars 1985:164, 170, 174). The complexity of the issues on the status of the Sharon during the emergence of Israel up to the early monarchy has created much diversity in scholarly opinion. Did the Sharon continue its earlier Canaanite development; was it absorbed by the emerging Israelites; or were other forces at work? The diverse conclusions about the biblical evidence (Josh 12:1–24; 17:1–13; Judg 1:27–28) proposed by Alt, Albright, and others are summarized succinctly by Kallai (*HGB*, 3–15, 50–61; cf. Gottwald 1979:174–87, 484–85, 583–87 for a different approach).

The evidence for the history of Sharon until the Roman period consists mainly of the names of the administrative districts or provinces that controlled the area. Under the united monarchy, most of the Sharon seems to have been in Solomon's third district (1 Kgs 4:10). The fourth district (1 Kgs 4:11) according to Kallai (*HGB*, 60–61) was the region of Dor, the coastal plain S of Mt. Carmel and N of the Tanninim River. The exact extent of these districts is a matter of debate. After the divided monarchy, the Sharon fell under the jurisdiction of the N kingdom with only the port city of Joppa remaining under the control of Judah. Dor in the N then became the principle port for Israel (*LBHG*, 23). Under the Assyrians, administrative control of the Sharon was switched to the province of Dor (Akk *Dū-ru*), thus breaking the connection with the central highlands which existed during the monarchical period. The exact time of this change is open to discussion. Some suggest that it was established by Tiglath-pileser III as early as 734 B.C.E. so he could have direct access to Philistia (Donnor in *IJH*, 425). Another factor might have been the need for the agricultural resources of the N Sharon as well as direct access to the maritime commerce. This Assyrian administrative structure was maintained into the Hellenistic period. At that time the whole coast of the Levant became the district of Paralia (*GP* 2, map 8). Under Herod, the Sharon was divided into four districts: Antipatris, Apollonia, Caesarea, and Dora (*GP* 2, map 9).

**d. Nature of Biblical Evidence.** The biblical texts that do mention the Sharon convey little information. 1 Chr 27:29 is part of a list of royal officials that most scholars agree goes back to the time of David (Myers *I Chronicles* AB, 181; Rudolf *Chronikbücher* HAT, 184). In this list, Shitrai the Sharonite has

been appointed supervisor of the royal herds of large cattle (Heb *bāqār*) in the Sharon. Rudolph notes that the persons supervising the royal herds and flocks were experts in animal husbandry. Therefore the use of the gentilic "Sharonite" not only gives his place of origin, but also intimates that persons from this area were trained in the care of animals. The other OT passages are metaphorical and care must be exercised in extracting issues of realia. However they do give a picture both of the agricultural (Cant 2:1; Isa 33:9; 35:2) and pastoral (Isa 65:10) value of the Sharon. Even though these metaphors seem to reflect actual conditions of the Sharon, one can never be sure of the exact referent of the writer.

The situation of Acts 9:35 is quite different. In place of a rustic rural area suitable for grazing, the passage reflects an area of dense population. "All the residents of Lydda and the Sharon" accepted the Christian faith as proclaimed by the apostle Peter because of the healing of Aeneas, a paralytic for eight years. "All the residents" probably is reflective of the new settlement patterns and network of roads that were the result of the building of Caesarea.

The Sharon played a strategic role in the history of the Levant. Its geography made it an important link on the trade routes between Egypt and Syria. Its geography, however, also hindered its natural orientation toward the sea. It is an area that remained basically the same—rustic and rural—until the technology of an outside culture allowed it to expand by sea to the doorstep of Rome. See also Gophna in *EAEHL* 4:1071–74.

**2.** An unidentified site in the Transjordan region of Bashan (1 Chr 5:16). The context would identify this name with a place somewhere in Bashan rather than with the coastal plain of Sharon. Since the exact location is unknown, scholars have attempted to connect it with other texts that mention Sharon. Some have suggested a reference in the Mesha Stela (Myers *I Chronicles* AB, 34; cf. Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 48 who locates it further S). Another suggestion comes from the name of a place called *Sārūna* in an inscription of Amenhotep II (*CTAED*, 170; = Šarūna of EA 241:4). The context of the Amenhotep inscription is sufficiently unclear so that any identification remains uncertain.

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HARRY R. WEEKS

**SHARUHEN** (PLACE) [Heb *šārûḥen* (שָׁרוּחֶן)]. A site in SW Palestine mentioned in Josh 19:6 in a list of cities belonging to Simeon (Josh 19:2–8). In pre-Israelite times, Sharuhen must have been a major town, since it is mentioned a few times in Egyptian texts (Aḥituv *CTAED*, 171). When Pharaoh Ahmose (ca. 1552–1527 B.C.) ended the more than a century-long domination of the foreign Hyksos by conquering their city of residence, Avaris (Tell ed-Dabʿa) in the E Nile Delta, he also acquired their S Palestinian

bastion, Sharuhen *(šrḥn).* In a burial inscription, a ship's captain with the name Ahmose records that the town was besieged for three (perhaps not uninterrupted) years (*ANET*, 233).

Having been influenced by the Hyksos, a time of Egyptian imperialism began with Ahmose and his successors, among them Thutmose III (ca. 1490–1436) who, in his first campaign (1468) into Palestine engaged a coalition of Canaanite and Syrian petty princes. His achievements are recorded in his annals in his temple at Karnak (*ANET*, 234–38). The beginning of the account records that the lands from Yurza (Eg *jrd̄* = Tell Jemmeh) and northward had rebelled; only Sharuhen *(šrḥn)* remained in Egyptian hands (Helck 1971:119). This strategically important site (seen from Egypt's point of view) is mentioned again in a list of places in the temple of Amon in Soleb which dates from the time of Amenhotep III (ca. 1402–1364), and also in a list in a temple in Amara West (Nubia), which Rameses II (ca. 1290–1224) had inscribed. Sharuhen is always mentioned with other sites which are situated along the coastal road (Giveon 1964:247–48; Kempinski 1974:149–50).

After Pharaoh Sheshonq I (ca. 950–929) campaigned in Palestine (mentioned in 2 Kgs 14:25–28), he inscribed the names of the sites he conquered in the temple of Amon in Karnak. Sharuhen is probably among the Negeb sites mentioned, if the text in question is to be read *šrḥn* (Ahituv *CTAED*, 171 n. 499), and not *šlḥm* (Mazar 1957:65, cf. *šilḥîm* Josh 15:32).

Here the vocalization in question is possible, since, in connection with foreign names, the vowelless Eg system of writing prefers a syllabic orthography. In the case of Sharuhen we should read either *s€ -r€ -h€ -n€* or *š€ -r€ -[ḥ€ ]-nw,* that is, Šaraḥna or Šaraḥanu (Aḥituv *CTAED*, 171). Albright (1924:134–35; 1934:53) read *Š€ -ra-ḫu-na,* thus connecting the word with Canaanite Šarḥôn, later Širḥôn. He regarded the Hebrew vocalization šārûḥen as erroneous. Noth (*Josua* HAT [2][1953], 88) agreed on this point and postulated the reading "Sirhon."

In the OT, Sharuhen is mentioned only once. The Vg reads Saroen, while LXX, which reads *hoi agroi autōn* must have read or understood Heb *śdyhn* or *śdwtyhn.* There are two lists which may be compared with Josh 19:2–8, namely Josh 15:21–62(63), a list of towns belonging to the tribe of Judah, and 1 Chr 4:28–32, which is, like Josh 19:2–8, a list of sites belonging to Simeon. The names correspond at least in part in both lists; for this reason the sites *šilḥîm* (Josh 15:32) and *ša ʿărāyim* (1 Chr 4:31) are usually taken to be variants of *šārûḥen.* However, this contradicts the principles "of scribal tradition regarding the patterns noticeable in the composition of the lists. Names peculiar to a given version are inserted in place of others that dropped out of a previously known list" (Kallai *HGB*, 353, n. 46).

A variety of name forms might reflect changing geographico-historical circumstances. Thus it has been suggested that the list in 1 Chronicles 4 (not yet containing Sharuhen), the oldest, and the list in Joshua 19 (containing Sharuhen) date from the time of David, whereas the one in Joshua 15 (no longer containing Sharuhen) is to be assigned to the time of Hezekiah or Josiah (Kallai *HGB*, 353–54).

To the extent that scholars have reckoned with a locality associated with the tribe of Simeon, they have sought to place it in S Palestine, though as far W as possible, to make the extension into Philistine territory appear plausible (Aharoni *LBHG*, 299). If, on the other hand, it has been assumed that the Simeonites were semi-nomadic until around the 8th century, then the list in 1 Chronicles 4 has been taken as the frame of reference of the migrations of the clan; in consequence of this, Sharuhen has been sought even further to the E (Kempinski 1974:150–52).

As a conceivable locality, the W Negeb has long been under consideration (Aharoni *LBHG*, 26–27). Albright's suggested identification (1929:7) of Sharuhen with Tell el-Farʿah ("the high ruin-mound," M.R. 100076) on the W bank of Wadi Ghazze, about 20 km SE of Gaza and about the same distance from the Mediterranean coast, was unchallenged for a long time. This tell, which covers approximately 15 acres and is about 15 m high, was the site at which Flinders Petrie thought to find Beth-pelet (Josh 15:27; Neh 11:26). It contains occupation remains dating from MB IIB until the Roman period (*EAEHL* 4:1074–82). Like other MB II sites (Aharoni *LBHG*, 148), the complex at Tell el-Farʿah was well protected by walls, a glacis, and trench-moats. The single feature found at the tell which best exemplifies MB IIB design is the three-piered gate flanked by two towers. In the LB II period a residence was constructed whose models date from the 19th Dyn. (*EAEHL* 4:1077; plans of both gate and residence). The small finds which were

discovered, particularly in the graves, reveal both Egyptian and Egyptianizing stylistic features (Keel and Küchler 1982:129–31). The Philistines settled at the site during the Iron Age; the lack of finds in the necropolis may indicate that the site was either uninhabited or only sparsely populated between the 9th and 7th centuries (Cohen 1977:170). It is first with the Persian and Roman periods (extending to the 1st century B.C.) that evidence of settlement again becomes clearer.

An objection against Albright's identification of Sharuhen with Tell el-Far‹ah is that the site is too modest to explain Ahmose's three-year siege (Rainey *ISBE* 4:454). Another objection is even more pertinent: the fact that a ship's captain was a participant in Ahmose's undertaking shows that Sharuhen must have been close to the coast (Kempinski 1974:149). The suggestion to identify Sharuhen with Tell Abū Hurēre (M.R. 112087; Rainey *ISBE* 4:454), is even further away from the coast than is Tell el-Far‹ah, rendering this identification improbable. Admittedly, the surface finds, which date from MB II and the LB period, do show that this site could have been important at the time in question.

To be preferred is another tell situated about 6 km SE of Gaza and near the coast: Tell el-‹Ajjûl (M.R. 093097), just N of the mouth of the Wadi Ghazze (Kempinski 1974:145–52; Stewart 1974:63). Measuring 300 m × 500 m, this tell, of which only a tiny fraction was excavated by Petrie, is one of the largest in S Palestine. Because of its name ("ruin-mound of the calf") the tell was previously identified with Beth-‹eglaim ("house of the two calves"; cf. Ezek 47:10), which is attested for the Byzantine period (Maisler 1933:186–88). This identification is, however, just as improbable as the attempt to locate MB Gaza there (Keel and Küchler 1982:97).

As at Tell Far‹ah, ‹Ajjul was both fortified and protected by a deep moat and flourished during the MB Age (Tufnell *EAEHL* 1:55–56). During the course of MB I (12th Dynasty) a town arose which was expanded in MB II and was supplied with a palace. Destroyed in the 17th century, the town was renovated during the Hyksos period. Evidence of this renascence is provided by the architecture, red and black pottery with depictions of birds, fish, and cattle, numerous gold ornaments containing the image of the Syrian goddess, and the largest collection of scarab seals with figural motifs yet discovered in Palestine (*EAEHL* 1:57–60; Stewart 1974). Of interest for historians of culture are the joint burials of men and horses (*EAEHL* 1:55, 57), which reflect the significance of the horse for the Hyksos, who had brought the horse to Palestine.

A feature which perhaps helps to date the destruction of the Middle Bronze Age town is the presence of scarabs bearing the name Apopi (Eg *ʿ wsr rʿ*), one of the last of the Hyksos rulers; these may be seen in relation to the destruction of Sharuhen by Ahmose (Kempinski 1974:147). The time of Thutmose III is also epigraphically attested on the tell: fragments of a storage jar display two cartouches bearing the names of Hatshepsut and Thutmose (Keel and Küchler 1982:99–100). See ‹AJJUL, TELL EL-.

After its destruction, the inhabitants of the town seem to have moved to Gaza, which probably became the new Egyptian administrative center for Palestine. The site of Tell el-‹Ajjul continued as a fortress with a harbor at the mouth of the Wadi Ghazze (Kempinski 1974:148). The tell was completely abandoned when the Philistines appeared on the scene. Only some individual finds form subsequent periods have been found (*EAEHL* 1:60).

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**SHASHAI** (PERSON) [Heb *šāšay* (שָׁשַׁי)]. Presumably a descendant of Binnui and one of the returned exiles whom Ezra required to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:40 and 1 Esdr 9:34). According to Noth, Shashai is a short "pet name" which originated in early childhood and completely replaced the full name (*IPN*, 40–41). However, Noth also argues that the name Machnadebai, which occurs before Shashai, is a corruption of the phrase "from the sons of" (*IPN*, 249). If that is true, this would introduce the next family from which offenders come. However, Shashai is not named as the head of a family in the lists of Ezra 2 or Nehemiah 7. This is further indicated by the parallel text of 1 Esdr 9:34 in which the phrase "of the sons of Ezora" replaces the name Machnadebai, perhaps preserving a name dropped from Ezra 10:40. This would mean that Binnui was not Shashai's ancestor. See also MACHNADEBAI. Assuming Binnui was Shashai's ancestor, Shashai was a member of a family who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Neh 7:15; note that Bani replaces Binnui in Ezra's list [2:10]). See also BEDEIAH.
JEFFREY A. FAGER

**SHASHAK** (PERSON) [Heb *šāšāq* (שָׁשָׁק)]. A Benjaminite, the son of Elpaal (1 Chr 8:14, 25). The Chronicler makes no connection between Shashak, son of Elpaal in 1 Chr 8:14, and Shashak, head of a household in 8:25. The two could be different people but there is not enough evidence to determine this, even though Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 160) believed Shashak was misplaced in 8:14. Noth (*IPN*, 64) believed Shashak was an Egyptian name from the post-exilic period. The last verse of this section (1 Chr 8:28) states that the preceding men, presumably including Shashak, lived in Jerusalem.
TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**SHASU.** A term appearing only in Egyptian that designates both a people encountered by the Egyptians in the period 1500–1100 B.C., and the territory which they inhabited. Since we see the Shasu only through Egyptian eyes, and this view is often obscure, modern interpretations vary as to their origin and identity. The derivation of the word is uncertain: it is related either to the Egyptian verb "to wander" or Semitic "to plunder" (Giveon 1971:261–63; Ward 1972:56–59; Weippert 1974:433). An Egyptian origin seems more likely. It is clear that the Shasu-people were not an ethnic group but rather a social class.

It has been proposed that "Shasu" appears both as a people and a land before the Egyptian Empire period, but this early material is not clear and is best left aside until more conclusive evidence is known (Helck 1971:17–18; Görg 1976:425–26). The first clear reference to the Shasu is found in the biography of an Egyptian army officer who records the taking of prisoners from "Shasu-land" in the reign of Thutmosis II (Giveon 1971:Doc. 1). References to the Shasu land or people which can be used as historical sources continue to appear until the 20th Dynasty.

Though most references to the Shasu are in lists of conquered towns or important enemies, there are enough specific statements to locate these people geographically. In his N campaign undertaken in his first year, Seti I went through Shasu territory before he reached S Palestine. The area concerned lies between the E border of the Egyptian Delta and the town of Gaza (Giveon 1971:Doc. 11; Weippert 1974:270; Spalinger 1979:30).

To the N, Egyptian texts place the Shasu in N Palestine and S Syria-Lebanon. "Two Shasu of the Shasu-tribes" brought false information to the Egyptian king Ramesses II during the Battle of Kadesh in 1300 B.C.; these tribes were allies of the Hittite ruler (Giveon 1971:Doc. 14). Certain of the topographical lists are important in this respect since "Shasu" is included among N districts, for example in a short list of Thutmosis IV (Giveson 1971:Doc. 4). This list has six names: Naharin (N Mesopotamia), Babylonia, Tunip, Shasu, Kadesh, and Takhsi, the latter in the Lebanese Beqaʿa Valley (Edel 1966:11). A similar list of King Amenhotep III places ʿAin-Shasu, "the well of the Shasu," among places in N Palestine such as Dothan and Shamkhuna (Giveon 1971:Doc. 5a). ʿAin-Shasu, the Enshasi of the Amarna Letters, is probably to be located in the Beqaʿa Valley (Helck 1971:261; Weippert 1974:273).

Another group of texts places the Shasu in S Transjordan. Short lists of place-names in Nubian temples of Amenhotep III and Ramesses II record six toponyms located in "the land of Shasu" (Giveon 1971:Docs. 6a, 16a). Those that can be identified are in the Negeb or Edom (Kitchen 1964:66–67; Weippert 1974:270–71). One of the six, Seir in Edom, is found elsewhere in connection with the Shasu. A monument of Ramesses II claims that he "has plundered the Shasu-land, captured the mountain of Seir;" a 19th Dynasty model letter mentions "the Shasu-tribes of Edom;" Ramesses III declares that he has "destroyed the Seirites among the tribes of the Shasu" (Giveon 1971:Docs. 25, 37, 38). From the Egyptian viewpoint, then, the Shasu were a prominent part of the Edomite population. These references indicate that there must have been Egyptian military activity in Transjordan, born out by the claim of Ramesses II that he plundered Dibon in Moab (Kitchen 1964:53; 1976:313–14) and possibly the enigmatic Balu'a Stele (Ward and Martin 1964). This stele portrays a local king receiving his kingship from a god with a goddess in attendance. All three figures are in Egyptian costume though the king is bearded and wears the bag-like head-cloth particularly associated with the Shasu. The panel is surmounted by a six line inscription which remains undecipherable. This stele may show Egyptian influence in Moab in the Empire period but its interpretation is extremely difficult. Only two Egyptian royal monuments of the period have been found locally, both of no value in assessing Egyptian relations with Transjordan since they were not found *in situ:* a stele fragment of Seti I from Tell el-Shihâb on the Yarmuk River (Giveon in *LÄ* 4:245) and a rock stele, the so-called "Job Stone," of Rameses II at Sheikh Sa'id in the Hauran (Schumacher 1891).

In another direction, an important geographical reference is found in a 20th Dynasty letter from the High Priest of Amon in Thebes to Nubian officials in the district of *'Ikt.* "The Shasu of the land of *mw-ḳd* who live in *ḳḥḳḥ* on the sea-coast" are mentioned three times as being hostile to Egyptian expeditions sent to mine gold in the area (Helck 1967:140; on the gold mines, Vercoutter 1959). While *ḳḥḳḥ* is unknown and there is still some controversy over the meaning of *mw-ḳd* in this context (see Kitchen in *LÄ* 4:1201, n. 32), the district of *'Ikt* is the area of the Wadi Allaqi E of Kubân (Zibelius 1971:95–96). There is thus no doubt that the Egyptians met people known to them as Shasu in Nubia though, as Giveon (1969–70) suggests, they may have moved in from Transjordan and were not native to the area. Other evidence for Shasu-people in Africa is ambiguous (Goedicke 1968; Ward 1972:38–40).

In general, the more specific geographical evidence from the texts suggests an origin for the Shasu in Transjordan though other proposals have been made (e.g., Lorton 1971–72:149; Görg 1976). The question is basically whether the term "Shasu" was originally geographic and was then applied to a people, or vice-versa. The latter seems most likely. The "land of the Shasu" from whence the Shasu came was in Transjordan, the term then being used to refer to any district further W where they were encountered.

Apart from the textual evidence, one must also consider the numerous pictoral representations in Egyptian reliefs said to portray the Shasu, though few of these figures are identified as such by accompanying texts. In general, the Shasu were bearded and wore either a short, often tassled, kilt or an ankle-length garment as well as a peculiar bag-like head-cloth. They fought with axe and spear, but not bow and arrow, and are sometimes shown with a round medallion suspended from the neck. However, all these elements of costume, with the possible exception of the head-cloth, are seen in representations of other foreigners as well. This is due to the somewhat casual conventions of Egyptian artists who carefully distinguished foreigners from general regions such as the Aegean, Syria, and Nubia, but were not so careful about more detailed ethnic definitions. Unidentified foreigners in the reliefs must therefore be interpreted with caution; some "Shasu" in the reliefs may not belong to that group at all (Ward 1972:46–47).

While there are few references to the nature of the Shasu-people, these seem clear enough. They were divided into tribes with tribal chieftains and are described as rebellious, quarrelsome, and unfriendly highwaymen who are "ignorant of the laws of the palace" (Giveon 1971:Docs. 11, 36). The latter expression can refer to Egyptian law or, more probably, to the legal institutions of the Asiatic city-states among which the Shasu lived. The Shasu appear as mercenaries in both Asiatic and Egyptian armies and,

following Egyptian practice, we find them resident in Egypt, undoubtedly as retired mercenaries allowed to settle there when their military service was over (Giveon 1971:Docs. 46, 50; Helck in *LÄ* 4:134–35).

But fighting and robbery were not the only aspect of Shasu life. In the reign of Merneptah we find them driving their herds across the frontier into the pasture-lands of the Delta, and the campaign of Ramesses III against the Shasu in Edom netted him animal-herds as well as property and prisoners (Giveon 1971:Docs. 37, 38). The latter reference also notes that the Shasu lived in tents and another text is generally taken to mean that some Shasu lived in towns (Giveon 1971:114–15, n. 5).

This description, sparse though it may be, indicates that the Shasu represent a social class, partially nomadic and partially sedentary, members of which regularly left the Transjordanian homeland to hire out as mercenaries or engage in free-booting. Since the texts speak of "tribes" of Shasu and there are differences in their costume (e.g., either long dress or short kilt), we can speak somewhat confidently of a social class made up of several tribal groups at least partially, perhaps only seasonly, uprooted from their tribal areas. An analogy to the well-known Hapiru-people is obvious, though the analogy is not a complete one.

The Egyptians themselves seem to have recognized that the Shasu and Hapiru had separate identities as shown by a stele of Amenhotep II which lists prisoners from both groups taken in his N campaign (Giveon 1971:Doc. 3). Two texts of Seti I suggest that the Egyptians believed the Shasu and Hapiru to be of the same social class. One speaks of Shasu in N Sinai, the other of Hapiru in the Beth-shan region (Giveon 1971:Doc. 1; Albright 1952; Helck 1968:475–78). The two groups are described in much the same terms as trouble-makers among the sedentary population of Palestine. See also ḪABIRU, ḪAPIRU.

Both groups are best understood in the framework of Rowton's studies on the dimorphic social and political structure of society, prevalent throughout W Asia in the 2d millennium B.C. This embraced both the sedentary and the nomadic (urban and tribal) so that there was continuous economic and political interaction between two groups of rather different social structure (Rowton 1973:202–4). The nomadic element in this dimorphic structure is termed "enclosed nomadism," a type of nomadism, which itself may be partially sedentary, in constant touch with urban life (Rowton 1974).

On the margin of urban and tribal society there was a third group: "a social element consisting of detribalized labor, mercenaries, predatory bands, and tribal splinter groups, all impelled from tribal society into urban society by lack of food, sometimes amounting to genuine famine, and also by intertribal warfare and disputes" (Rowton 1976:14). Such outcasts came also from urban society. This third social group injected a considerable element of unrest in the midst of city-states which had limited political and military control. Even under the Egyptian Empire, the Asiatic provinces were administered rather than ruled so that Egyptian provincial governors were not militarily strong.

If we view the Shasu from this standpoint, the Egyptian texts describe a social class quite similar to the Hapiru. It would appear that in their Transjordan homeland, the Shasu lived in an "enclosed nomadism" type of society, but wherever else they were found, they are very much like Rowton's third element of society—the uprooted, detribalized element which has taken to brigandage and fighting for pay. This seems to be a better definition than the more general terms "transmigrant" or "transhumance" previously used (Ward 1972:54; Weippert 1974:274). The Shasu thus fit into the general pattern of the dimorphic structure of society in W Asia which existed as long as the city-state system prevailed. It can be no coincidence that both "Hapiru" and "Shasu" ceased to have any historical meaning toward the turn of the 2d millennium B.C. when the appearance of nation-states brought stricter political control (Greenberg 1955:88; *LÄ* 5:534). The social class these terms designated had disappeared.

Several parallels have been noted between the Shasu and the biblical Hebrews, but these are of a general rather than a specific nature (Giveon 1971:chap. 5; Weippert 1974:279–80). Such parallels are to be expected if, as many claim, the patriarchal Hebrews belonged to the same wide-spread social class as the Shasu. If the early Hebrews are to be identified with any other known group, it would be with the Hapiru (Weippert 1967:101–3; Cazelles in *POTT*, 1–28; Rowton 1976:18–20).

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**SHAUL** (PERSON) [Heb *šāʾūl* (שָׁאוּל)]. The name means "The One Asked-For." In addition to being the name of the very first king of Israel (see SAUL), it was also the name of various tribes and persons in the OT. Names with the same consonants (and related meanings) are attested in Iron Age Syrian epigraphy (*šʾl,* KAI 24,4), in Palmyrene *(*Šaʾīlā),* and in ancient North Arabian epigraphy (*sʾl,* possibly to be vocalized **Saʾāl*).

**1.** The seventh ruler mentioned in the Edomite King List (Gen 36:37; 1 Chr 1:48). Opinions vary concerning the date of this list. Suggestions range from the 11th century B.C. (Weippert 1982:155) through the 8th to 6th centuries B.C. (Bennett 1983:16) to the 6th/5th centuries B.C. (Knauf 1985). Scholars tend to agree, however, that the succession scheme of this list is artificial, and that, in all likelihood, the rulers listed in it were contemporaries (Bartlett 1972:27; Weippert 1982:155). According to Gen 36:37, this ruler originated from Rehoboth ha-Nahar (RSV translates "Rehoboth on the Euphrates"), which may be a place or a region. See REHOBOTH (PLACE).

**2.** A clan of Simeon (Gen 46:10; Exod 6:15; Num 26:13; 1 Chr 4:24). According to Genesis 34 and Genesis 49:5–7, Simeon (and Levi) were tribes of the central Palestinian hill country and were dispersed after a conflict with the city of Shechem. All other references to the tribe of Simeon are, therefore, highly doubtful.

**3.** A Levite (1 Chr 6:9).

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**SHAVEH, VALLEY OF** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿēmeq* (עֵמֶק) *šāwēh* (שָׁוֵה)]. In Gen 14:17, the place in which the king of Sodom (and implicitly, Melchizedek in v 18) met Abram as he returned from his defeat of Chedorlaomer and his allies. The word *šāwēh,* which occurs as an adjective only here, and as a noun only in v 5 of the same chapter (see SHAVEH-KIRIATHAIM), is derived from the root *šāwah* "to level, make even, smooth." The author of Genesis 14, following his usage, explained "the Valley of Shaveh" by the current appellation "that is, the King's Valley" (Heb *ʿēmeq hammelek*). The latter is mentioned in 2 Sam 18:18 as the place where Absalom set up a pillar for himself. According to Jos. *Ant* 7.10.3 §243, that monument was two stadia (350 to 400 m) distant from Jerusalem (presumably, from its outer walls). This seems to point to the identity of the King's Valley with the Valley of Kidron E of old Jerusalem. Other ancient sources corroborate it. *Tg. Onq.* has here *mēšar měpannā hū› bêt rêsā dĕmalkā* "the leveled valley, that is the race course of the king." According to Jer 31:39—Eng 31:40, the Horse Gate was in the E wall of Jerusalem, adjacent to the Kidron (cf. also its context in Neh 3:28); *Tg. Jon.* translates it *tĕraʿ bêt rêsā* "the Race Course Gate." Neh 3:15 mentions "the King's Garden" in Jerusalem (which included the Pool of Shelah) in a location near the junction of the Tyropoeon with the Kidron (Allegro 1960:90–91; *IDB* 2:10–11; *IDB* 4:310); cf. *Tg. Neof.* of Gen 14:17: *bmyšr rdsy› h[w]› mšrh dmlk›* "in the valley of the gardens, that is the King's Valley." The Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen 22:13–14) adds to *bʿmq šwh whw› ʿmq mlk* (equivalent to the definition in Gen 14:17) the further specification *›bqʿt byt krm›* "the valley of Bet-karma (or, of the house of the vineyard)." Aharoni (*IDBSup*, 97) saw in it the Aramaic form of Beth-haccherem, a Judean city which he identified with the excavated site of Ramat Raḥel, 3.4 km S of Jerusalem (Aharoni 1956:152). This identification may be correct, but it does not entail the transfer of the Valley of Shaveh to the area of Ramat Raḥel. In the Copper Treasure Scroll from Qumran (3Q15), a detailed list of the spots where hoards of silver, gold, and precious objects had been buried, *hšw›* (*haššāwē›* "the plain") is listed twice (Allegro 1960:47, items 37 and 38) immediately after the Kidron. Further in the Treasure Scroll, item 47, "the reservoir which is in *byt hkrm*" is listed after a certain "cistern which is fed from the Great Wadi *(mhnḥl hgdwl)*" (probably the Kidron, cf. *hannaḥal* in that meaning, 2 Chr 33:14), and before "the vat of the olive valley (?)" (or "olive press (?)," cf. Allegro 1960:99–101, who connects it with Gethsemane, directly E from the Kidron) and "Absalom's Pillar" which, as mentioned above, stood in the Kidron Valley. It appears thus that the *byt hkrm* in question is the same as *byt krm›* of 1QapGen and is, most likely, a synonym of the King's Garden (which possessed indeed a reservoir—the Pool of Shelah). The Valley of Shaveh can thus be definitely located as the little plain formed by the junction of the valleys of Hinnom, Tyropoeon, and Kidron (see Allegro 1960, fig. 9; *GP* 1:402–3; Milik 1961).

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**SHAVEH-KIRIATHAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *šāwēh* (שָׁוֵה) *qiryātāyîm* (קִרְיָתָיִם)]. The place in which Chedorlaomer and his allies defeated the Emim (Gen 14:5). *Šāwēh* (construct of **šāweh*") refers to the level terrain, or plain (see SHAVEH, VALLEY OF), near the city of KIRIATHAIM in Moab. According to Deut 2:10–11, the Emim were the aboriginal population of Moab. Strangely, 1QapGen, and *Tg. Neof.* did not recognize *qiryātāyîm* as a geographical name and translated it "city" or "cities." *Tg. Neof.*, moreover, did not understand *šāwēh* either and rendered the passage in question "and the Powerful Ones who dwelt inside the city," thus assigning the Emim (as well as the Zuzim) to the same city (Ashteroth-karnaim) as the Rephaim.

MICHAEL C. ASTOUR

**SHAVSHA** (PERSON) [Heb *šawšāʿ* (שַׁוְשָׁא)]. Var. SERAIAH; SHEVA; SHISHA. A scribe in the political administration of King David (1 Chr 18:16, 2 Sam 8:17, 20:25, 1 Kgs 4:3). The name is probably foreign in origin, perhaps Egyptian (de Vaux 1939; *AncIsr* 1:129–32) or Hurrian (Mazar 1946–47). A non-native Israelite would have been ideal for the profession of scribe, one in which foreign documents would have been handled. The foreign character of the name is the reason for its various spellings in the text: *šĕyāʿ* (2 Sam 20:25 Q: *šĕwāʿ*), *śĕrāyâ* (2 Sam 8:17), *šîšāʿ* (1 Kgs 4:3), *šawšāʿ* (1 Chr 18:16). The weight of the evidence, when the is also considered (see SHEVA), points to the originality of Shavsha, although certainty is not possible.

Shavsha's sons, Elihoreph and Ahijah, performed the same scribal function as their father in the political bureaucracy of Solomon (1 Kgs 4:3). The B text of the LXX in 1 Kings suggests that Shavsha did not retire from his position until after the beginning of Solomon's reign, since his name occurs but not those of his sons. It may be, however, that their names have been accidentally omitted. See *HDB* 4:478–79.

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**SHAVUOTH** [Heb *šābûʿôt* (שָׁבוּעוֹת)]. See WEEKS, FESTIVAL OF.

**SHEAL** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕʾāl* (שְׁאָל)]. A descendant of Bani and one of the returned exiles who was required by Ezra to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:29 = 1 Esdr 9:30). Noth believes this name should be read *yišʾāl* (with *kethib apud Orientales*), meaning "May he (God) make a request of him" or "May he (God) use him" (*IPN* 209, 257). Sheal was a member of a family that returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:10; note that Binnui replaces Bani in Nehemiah's list [7:15]). For further discussion, see BEDEIAH.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

**SHEALTIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕʾaltîʾēl* (שְׁאַלְתִּיאֵל), *šaltîʾēl* (שַׁלְתִּיאֵל)]. Var. SALATHIEL.

The son of Jeconiah (= Jehoiachin), king of Judah (1 Chr 3:17; Matt 1:12). In the genealogy of Jesus found in the gospel of Luke 3:27 he is made the son of Neri. This differs markedly from the Matthean genealogy (Fitzmeyer *Luke* 488–505).

Shealtiel is listed as the father of Zerubbabel in all occurrences in the Hebrew Bible (Ezra 3:2, 8; 5:2; Neh 12:1; Hag 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 23; see also 1 Esdr 5:5, 48, 56; 6:2) except in the list of postexilic Davidic descendants in 1 Chr 3:17 where Zerubbabel is listed as the son of PEDAIAH. Compare that entry for a discussion of scholarly views on this matter.

In 2 Esdr 3:1 Shealtiel (RSV Salathiel) is equated with Ezra which is probably the result of an attempt by the author/editor to link the two figures in his/her sources (see discussion of "4 Ezra" in *APOT* 2:549–50; *OTP* 1:517–569).

RUSSELL FULLER

**SHEAR-JASHUB** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕʾār* (שְׁאָר) *yāšûb* (יָשׁוּב)]. A son of Isaiah named in Isa 7:3. (The phrase *šĕʾār yāšûb* occurs twice again in 10:21–22, though the authenticity of both verses is disputed.) The occasion of 7:3 is the Syro-Ephraimite invasion of Judah in 735 B.C.E. Isaiah is told to take the child with him while he tells Ahaz not to fear the attackers. The significance of the name, which means "a remnant will return," is ambivalent. If the emphasis is that *only* a remnant will return, a threat is implied; if the emphasis is on the certain return of some, it is a promise of sorts. The "return" intended is also disputed. The verb *(šûb)* can mean "return" in the physical sense, as survivors from battle or exile (as

in 10:22). But it can signify, as often in the prophets, conversion or repentance, and that sense is to be preferred here, as in 10:20–21. In 8:16–18 Isaiah refers to himself and his sons, which would include Shear-jashub, as "signs and portents in Israel." If his name speaks of the conversion of a remnant, which is the better interpretation, it finds its fulfillment already in Isaiah's little group of disciples (v 16) and sons, who have accepted Yahweh's message through Isaiah, clinging to it in faith and awaiting its fulfillment (v 17). On Isaiah's use of symbolic names, see also Immanuel in 7:14, Maher-shalal-hash-baz in 8:1–4, and names he bestows on the ideal king in 9:5.

JOSEPH JENSEN

**SHEARIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕʿaryâ* (שְׁעַרְיָה)]. Son of Azel, one of the latest descendants of King Saul from the tribe of Benjamin listed in the genealogy in 1 Chr 8:38 and 9:44. The meaning of the element *šʿr* in the name is unclear. Some relate it to the noun *šaʿar,* "gate," and understand it as "YH (WH) has opened" (Bordreuil and Lemaire 1976:45), but *šʿr* is unknown as a verbal form in this sense. More likely, *šʿr* should be taken as "to reckon," and the name should be interpreted "YH (WH) has reckoned" (Fowler *TPNAH*, 90). The name is attested to twice on a Hebrew seal from the 8th or 7th century (Bordreuil and Lemaire 1976:45–46). The section of the Saul genealogy mentioning Sheariah was probably composed during the time of Azel (Demsky 1971:19), who according to the current structure of the genealogy lived eleven generations after King Saul. The genealogy is from the end of the First Temple period (Demsky 1971:20), and was preserved by Benjaminite families that survived the Babylonian exile (Williamson 1979:356). The existence and preservation of the Saulide genealogy probably reflects the continued prominence of Saul's family, and perhaps even their hope that they would return to power (Ackroyd *Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah* TBC, 42; Flanagan 1982:25). See MELECH. On the repetition of the genealogy in 1 Chronicles 8 and 9, and its structure within the genealogies in Chronicles, see AHAZ.

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**SHEARING.** See ZOOLOGY.

**SHEATH.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

**SHEBA** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕbāʾ* (שְׁבָא); *šebaʿ* (שְׁבַע)]. SABEANS. 1. The descendant of Ham and Cush and the "son" (Heb *bēn*) of Raamah and brother of Dedan (Gen 10:7; 1 Chr 1:9). The name appears again in Gen 10:28 (1 Chr 1:22), where Sheba (Heb *šĕbāʾ*) is listed as a descendant of Shem and among the "sons" of Joktan. The name is also found in Gen 25:3 (1 Chr 1:32) as a descendant of Abraham and Keturah, the son of Jokshan, and the brother of Dedan. The similarity or identity of certain of the names in these genealogies has led some to conclude that the name Sheba refers to the same person or tribe, most probably related to the kingdom of Sheba in SW Arabia (referred to in native sources as Saba—Sabaean *sb'* ) (Westermann 1984:511). See SHEBA, QUEEN OF. If the occurrence of the name Sheba in these instances does represent the same person or tribe, or closely related persons or tribes, it indicates that the Israelites viewed Sheba and his descendants as related both to themselves and to the peoples of Africa. However, such wideranging relationships are understandable, given the extensive trade links of the peoples of the S Arabian littoral (Simons 1954:159; *IDB* 4:511). Alternatively, this passage may be understood to mean that descendants of Ham as well as descendants of Shem lived in SW Arabia (Ross 1981:25–26, 29).

However, the name Seba (Heb *sĕbāʾ*) the son of Cush, also mentioned in Gen 10:7, is found in the topography of ancient E Africa and should be kept distinct from Sheba. See SEBA (PERSON). The "kings of Seba and Sheba" are found together in Ps 72:10, while in Isa 43:3 and 45:14 Seba is mentioned

together with Egypt and Cush. Josephus (*Ant* 2.249) identifies it with Meroē, a city (or country) between the White Nile and the Blue Nile, and calls it the capital city of the Ethiopians that Cambyses had named Meroē after he had captured the city. Strabo (*Geog.* 16.4.8, 10) also knows of the cities Saba and Sabai on the African coast (PW 2/1:1511–13, 1515–20; Winnett 1970:174; Westermann 1984:511).

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**2.** A Benjaminite, son of Bichri, from the hill country of Ephraim, who led a rebellion against David (2 Samuel 20). When David finally finished his mourning for Absalom and began his return to Jerusalem, components of the armed forces of Judah and Israel quarreled over who would accompany David. The forces of Judah gained the upper hand and Sheba (Heb *šeba*ʿ), who is termed a "troublemaker," initiated a rebellion of the forces of Israel. Sheba's words foreshadowed the eventual split of the kingdom: "We have no share in David and no estate in the son of Jesse" (2 Sam 20:1 and 1 Kgs 12:16). Absalom's rebellion had threatened the king personally, but Sheba's rebellion was a threat to the kingdom itself (2 Sam 20:6). Amasa, whom Absalom had made the leader of the army but whom David had later forgiven, was selected by David to muster the men of Judah in order to quell the rebellion. Amasa did not accomplish the task soon enough and David dispatched Abishai with personal forces, but Joab quickly assumed control. While they pursued Sheba, Amasa caught up with Joab at Gibeon only to be killed by him. Sheba passed through Israel but in the end seems to have gathered no more than his own clansmen to his cause (2 Sam 20:14). He took his stand in Abel of Bethmaacah, a fortified city. Joab began seige of the city, but, before he destroyed the fortifications, a woman intervened and agreed to trade Sheba for Joab's withdrawal. She persuaded the inhabitants who then decapitated Sheba and threw his head over to Joab (2 Sam 20:14–22). On the possibility that Saul's clan, the Matrites, and Sheba's, the Bichrites are the same, see Gottwald 1979:259–60.

**3.** A head of a family in the tribe of Gad. Sheba (Heb *šeba*ʿ) is the name of one of seven families listed for the tribe of Gad in 1 Chr 5:13. None of the seven family names are otherwise known, and their genealogical connection to those mentioned in subsequent verses is not clear (see Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 74). The genealogy containing his name is said to have been recorded during the reigns of Jotham and Jeroboam (1 Chr 5:17).

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**SHEBA** (PLACE) [Heb *šeba*ʿ (שֶׁבַע)]. A city in the territory allotted to Simeon (Josh 19:2). In Josh 19:6 the sum of the cities in Simeon's allotment is given as thirteen, yet fourteen names are listed. Several scholars, noting that the name Beer-sheba immediately precedes Sheba, assert that Sheba is the result of a scribal error known as dittography; that is, it is assumed that the second element in Beer-sheba was accidentally repeated (Soggin *Joshua* OTL, 187). Thus, there never was a place named Sheba, and the discrepancy in the city count is resolved. In a parallel passage (Josh 15:21–32), however, a list of Judahite cities includes nine of the fourteen cities mentioned in Josh 19:2–6, and the name Shema is found in the place of Sheba. In view of this fact, some scholars maintain that Sheba does represent an actual city, though its real name (Shema) has been corrupted in Josh 19:2 (Cooke 1918:173). Cohen (*IDB* 4:311) suggests a third position: Shema is a corruption of Sheba. According to Cohen, Sheba and Beer-sheba ("the well of Sheba") were two parts of the same city.

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**SHEBA, QUEEN OF** (PERSON) [Heb *malkat-šĕbāʾ* (מַלְכַּת־שְׁבָא)]. An otherwise anonymous person who visited the courts of king Solomon (1 Kings 10; 2 Chronicles 9). According to these accounts, the queen of Sheba heard of Solomon's fame and came to test him with hard questions (1 Kgs 10:1; 2 Chr 9:1a). She came to Jerusalem with camels loaded with spices, gold, and precious stones (1 Kgs 10:2a; 2 Chr 9:1a). She quizzed Solomon, who was able to answer all of her questions (1 Kgs 10:2b–3; 2 Chr 9:1b–2). She was thoroughly impressed by the king's wisdom and the splendor of his court and temple (1 Kgs 10:4–5; 2 Chr 9:3–4), expressed to Solomon her amazement at his wisdom, achievements, and wealth (1 Kgs 10:6–8; 2 Chr 9:5–7), and praised Solomon's God for the king's happy state (1 Kgs 10:9; 2 Chr 9:8). Thereupon she gave the king an enormous amount of gold, spices, and precious stones (1 Kgs 10:10; 2 Chr 9:9. King Solomon gave her an even greater amount in return, whereupon she left with her retinue for her own country (1 Kgs 10:13; 2 Chr 9:12).

It is likely that another significant reason for the queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon was to strengthen trade relations. Solomon had just constructed a fleet at Ezion-geber at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba (1 Kgs 9:26–27; 2 Chr 8:17), and his ships were plying the length of the Red Sea, thereby affecting the profitability of the overland trade routes in which the rulers of Sheba had an interest as well as threatening Sheba's lucrative trade with East Africa. Further, Israel's wide control of land routes north of the Gulf of Aqaba posed a potential roadblock to caravans bound for either Gaza on the Mediterranean or Damascus (Gray *Kings* OTL, 241). On a visit such as the one described in 1 Kings 10 and 2 Chronicles 9, the queen of Sheba could have secured important trade concessions and prevented potential conflicts between the two powers.

The most plausible location for Sheba is in the SW corner of the Arabian peninsula. This area, known in the native sources as Saba, already had an advanced culture by the early 1st millennium B.C. (and perhaps earlier), with urban complexes equal in size to other parts of the Near East, a sophisticated irrigation system to support agriculture, and important trade links N and W toward the Mediterranean basin and Mesopotamia and E to India (van Beek 1974:40–63). The merchants of Sheba were renowned in Israel and elsewhere in the ANE as traders in gold (Ps 72:15; Isa 60:6; Ezek 27:22; cf. Ezek 38:13), gems (Ezek 27:22), and incense (Isa 60:6; Jer 6:20) and myrrh—products grown in various locations near the South Arabian littoral (Nielsen 1986:19–24).

The queen of Sheba is mentioned twice in the NT, and extensively in subsequent Jewish, Ethiopian, and Muslim traditions. In Matt 12:42, Jesus contrasts the energy of the "Queen of the South" in coming "from the ends of the earth to listen to Solomon's wisdom" with the relative complacency of his contemporary Jews, though "now one greater than Solomon is here" (cf. Luke 11:31). Josephus mentions the queen once, calling her the "Queen of Egypt and Ethiopia" (*Ant* 8.6.5–6). She is mentioned twice in the Talmud—both times in connection with Job 1:15—while the story of her visit to Solomon's court and especially the "hard questions" that she posed and Solomon answered formed a part of later traditions and embellishments (Silberman 1974:65–84).

According to the *Kebra Nagast,* the national saga of Ethiopia, the queen's visit resulted in her conversion to Solomon's religion. Solomon had a son by her, Menelik, who was born following the queen's return to Ethiopia. When Menelik had grown up, he went to Israel to visit his father. When he returned to Ethiopia, he took with him the Ark of the Covenant, thereby transferring God's presence from Israel to Ethiopia (Ullendorf 1974:109–12). In Quran 27:15–45, the queen of Sheba is described as a sun worshipper. She visited Solomon, who tested whether she was "rightly guided" and tricked her into baring her legs. Later, she and Solomon submitted to Allah. In Quranic commentaries and subsequent Muslim legends, the queen is identified as Bilqīs and is sometimes described as being endowed with supernatural powers (Watt 1974:85–103).

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STEPHEN D. RICKS

**SHEBANIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕbanyâ* (שְׁבַנְיָה)*; šĕbanyāhû*]. Four individuals in the Hebrew Bible bear this name.

**1.** One of the priests who played musical instruments before the ark during the time of David (1 Chr 15:24). Given his extreme interest in the installation of temple musicians (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 186), the Chronicler informs us that Shebaniah's specific role was to blow the trumpet before the ark as it was brought into Jerusalem.

**2.** One of the Levites who led worship in the public ceremonies prior to the establishment of the new covenant under Ezra (Neh 9:4). According to Neh 9:5, Shebaniah and other selected Levites specifically called the assembly to join in a liturgical blessing of Yahweh before Ezra's prayer. This individual may possibly be identified with one of the two Levites mentioned in #4 below.

**3.** The head of a priestly family in the postexilic period (Neh 12:14) and one of the priests who "sealed" the new covenant of Ezra (Neh 10:5—Eng 10:4). By examining the related list in Nehemiah 12:3 as well as other manuscripts, Shebaniah in this case should probably be equated with the Shecaniah of 12:3 (Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 334; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 362). Given the similarity between the Hebrew letters *bet* and *kap,* such a misreading is easily understandable.

**4.** Two Levites who joined in with other officials and laity in supporting and "sealing" the new covenant of Ezra (Neh 10:11, 13—Eng 10:10, 12). One of them may possibly be identified with the Levite discussed in #2 above.
TERRY L. BRENSINGER

**SHEBARIM** (PLACE) [Heb *haššĕbārîm* (הַשְּׁבָרִים)]. The place to which the routed Israelites were first pursued by the men of Ai (Josh 7:5).

In the MT of Josh 7:5 the world *haššĕbārîm* appears as a masc. pl. noun formed from *šeber* ("a break or fracture"). A number of the early versions depart from the Hebrew text by replacing the noun *haššĕbārîm* with a verb formed from *šbr* ("to break"). Targum Jonathan preserves the root *šbr* (Aram *ṯbr*) as an element in the verbal clause, "until they broke them," while the LXX similarly translates, *kai synetripsan autous,* "and they crushed them."

Several factors suggest that the reading of the MT is preferable to that of the Targum and the LXX. The context and structure of Josh 7:5 favors the presence of a noun over a verb; the phrase, *ʿad-haššĕbārîm,* "as far as the *šĕbārîm*" provides a suitable compliment to the preceding phrase, *lipnê hasûsûa>ar,* "from the gate." The presence in Josh 7:5 of a noun bearing the prefixed definite article is also consistent with the style of the chapter as a whole. Indeed, in Joshua 7–8 the preponderance of topographical nouns bearing the definite article (e.g., *hāʿay,* "the ruin," 7:2, 4, 5, 8:12, 14, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 29; *hāʿēmeq,* "the plain," 8:13; *bammôrād,* "the descent," 7:5; *hammidbār,* "the wilderness," 8:15, 20; *hāʿărābâ,* "the desert," 8:14) seems to represent the author's attempt to convey a vivid sense of the geography of the battle.

While a noun may best suit the context of Josh 7:5, a variety of opinions exist as to how this noun should be interpreted. Although most English translations (KJV; RSV; NASB; JPSV) have followed the Vulgate in simply transcribing *haššĕbārîm* as a proper noun "Shebarim" (Vg *Sabarim*), the presence of the definite article would suggest that such a rendering is not what the MT intends. Others (NIV; NEB; Keil 1857:183; Boling *Joshua* AB, 218) translate "the quarries," but the fact that *haššĕbārîm* occurs only here in the Hebrew Bible makes such a specific translation too interpretive. It seems best, therefore, to translate *haššĕbārîm* as simply as possible while paying close attention to its context within the story of the attack on Ai.

A few scholars have attempted to preserve the awkwardness of the MT by translating *haššĕbārîm* simply as "the Breaks" (Woudstra *Joshua* NICOT, 123) or "the Breaking Points" (Butler *Joshua* WBC, 77). Monson (1983:168, 169), in a discussion of the geography of Joshua 7–8, suggests that "the breakings" of 7:5 may well be identical with the deep fissures caused by the Wadi Makkuk as it carves its way toward the hill country E of Khirbet et-Tell (M.R. 174147). Just W of the cliffs caused by the Wadi Makkuk, the natural route between et-Tell and the Jordan Valley passes N of the Makkuk and continues eastward along the ridge which separates the Wadis Makkuk and ʿAuja. It may have been at the pass across the Wadi Makkuk (5 km E of et-Tell) that the men of Ai were able to overtake and slaughter the Israelites.

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**SHEBAT** [Heb *šĕbāṭ* (שְׁבָט)]. The eleventh month of the Hebrew calendar, roughly corresponding to January and February. See CALENDARS (ANCIENT ISRAELITE AND EARLY JEWISH).

**SHEBER** (PERSON) [Heb *šeber* (שֶׁבֶר)]. A son of Caleb and his concubine Maacah (1 Chr 2:48).

Sheber was a Judahite listed among genealogies containing ancestors and descendants of David. The extra Calebite material in vv 42–50a (alongside the other version of the family tree in vv 18–24, 50b–55) suggests either that the Chronicler had access to more information from the source which included the Calebite genealogy than from elsewhere or that a great many families of Judah in the Chronicler's day claimed descent from Caleb (Coggins *Chronicles* CBC, 22). Many of the names listed as those of individuals are really of cities—Hebron and Maon and Bethzur being several of the best known. "Sheber" could mean "breach" or the like, in some way maybe reflecting circumstances surrounding the child's birth. Noth (*IPN*, 230) opposed this idea and preferred to see an animal name, "lion" (Ar *sabr*). He did, however, entertain the notion that *šeber* might signify "young" or "child" (similar to *šabrāʾ*—in Syriac, "little boy"; in Aramaic, "naive").

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**SHEBNA** (PERSON) [Heb *šebnāʾ* (שֶׁבְנָא)*, šebnâ* (שֶׁבְנָה)]. An important civil servant during the reign of Hezekiah of Judah (715–687 B.C.E.). His original position was "royal steward" (Heb *ʾăšer ʿal habbāyīt*) (Isa 22:15), but he was eventually demoted and replaced by Eliakim ben Hilkiah (Isa 22:20), presumably because of some scandal. He accompanied Eliakim in the lesser role of scribe as part of the delegation which met with the Assyrian Rabshakeh at the conduit of the Upper Pool of Jerusalem during Sennacherib's siege of the city in 701 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 18:13–19:7).

Although the Hebrew title *(ʾăšer ʿal habbāyīt)* is regularly translated as "royal steward," there is no firm agreement on what the term exactly means. Mettinger (1971:71–110) compares the title to the Egyptian *mr-pr-wr,* who was an overseer of the royal estates, similar to the role of Joseph (Gen 41:40), and suggests that the Judaean and Israelite equivalent performed a similar function. On the other hand, Avigad (1988:9) regards the person holding this title as "… the top ranking senior officer in the official hierarchy of the monarchy, some kind of prime minister." In the biblical and non-biblical sources, the status of the office is assumed and never explained, although it is to be noted that in 1 Kgs 4:6 Ahishar is not listed first in the new monarchical bureaucracy. Known holders of the office were Ahishar, under Solomon (1 Kgs 4:6), Arza under Elah (1 Kgs 16:9), Obadiah under Ahab (1 Kgs 18:3), Jotham, under his father Uzziah (2 Kgs 15:3), Azrikam, under Ahaz (2 Chr 28:7), and Shebna and Eliakim. Non-biblical sources offer Gedalyahu whose name appears on the Lachish seal (*TSSI* 1:62–63), Adoniyahu and Natan, whose names appear on the Jerusalem bullae #1–2, 3 (Avigad 1986:21–23), and the unknown owner of the Silwan tomb (*TSSI* 1:24).

It is clear from Isa 22:15–25 that some time during the reign of Hezekiah, Shebna was publicly removed from office because of some scandal. He had become "the shame of his master's house," by some public misdeed, and had to suffer a public humiliation in return. This act of public humiliation is described in detail in the oracle. He will be stripped of all symbols of office and demoted. His replacement will receive these symbols, assume duties over the royal house and be called a "father" by the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Exactly what Shebna's sin was is not clear, although the impression is given in the oracle that he had dishonored his master by committing it. The maintenance of a proper balance in such patron-client relationships in the ANE, in which the patron is revered, is fundamental to social relationships of this kind, and at the basis of the understanding of covenant. As known covenant texts show, the breaking of that relationship carries with it severe penalties. Likewise, to bring dishonor to one's superior carries with it severe sanctions which often override long-standing relationships. A clear example of this is David's treatment of Joab, who, by killing in peace time to avenge a death in war, had brought shame to his master (1 Kgs 2:5–6).

Shebna had built a tomb near Jerusalem, "on the height" (Isa 22:16), and Isaiah's oracle against him indicates that he will not die in Jerusalem so that he may be buried in this tomb. Instead, he will be thrown like a slingstone, into a foreign land. How much of this is to be taken literally, and how much of it is to be taken as prophetic hyperbole is not clear. Such comments made by prophets to royal officials do have a similar, rather stereotyped ring to them, as is seen in Amos' comments to Amaziah (Amos 7:16–17) and Jeremiah's comments about Pashhur (Jer 20:1–6). Common to both is the threat of exile and foreign burial. If the language of the Isaiah oracle is formal, then it might well have played a part in the demotion ritual which Shebna underwent, and it can be treated as a standard denunciation of high officials. This formal nature of the language might also explain why Shebna reappears later as a scribe, accompanying his successor, Eliakim to meet the Assyrian delegation (2 Kgs 18:8–37). He still has an important role to play in the bureaucratic structure of Hezekiah's court, albeit a slightly diminished one.

There has been much speculation on whether the tomb discovered on the slopes of Silwan, and bearing part of a name and the title *ʾăšer ʿal habbāyīt*, is the tomb referred to in Isa 22:15–16. It is certainly regarded so by Avigad (1953; 1979), but the evidence is lacking. If it was Shebna's tomb, then it certainly takes the sting out of Isaiah's words, because it once contained the owner's bones and those of his maidservant (*TSSI* 1:24). All that is left of the owner's name is the theophoric ending "… *yhw*," an element which is never found on Shebna's name in the Bible. Of course, it is possible to add the element, and Aharoni has suggested (*AI*, 53) that the Arad inscription #27 be reconstructed as *"Ydnyhw bn Šbn[yhw] …,"* but this is speculative. The origin of the name is unknown, and no verbal root *šbn,* exists in biblical Hebrew.

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**SHEBUEL** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕbûʾēl* (שְׁבוּאֵל)]. Var. SHUBAEL. **1.** One of the fourteen sons of Heman who were appointed to prophesy with musical instruments under the direction of their father and the king (1 Chr 25:4). When the lots are cast to determine priestly duties (1 Chr 25:9–31), the name Shubael (1 Chr 25:20) appears where the name Shebuel would be expected, suggesting that the two names are variants. Shubael receives the thirteenth lot cast. Petersen (1977:92) suggests that Shebuel in 25:4 is a misreading of Shubael in 25:20; he finds support in the reading in 25:4, *Soubaēl.* For further discussion of the relationship between the lists in 1 Chr 25:2–4 and 1 Chr 25:9–31, see ASHARELAH; IZRI.

**2.** The son of Gershom and the grandson of Moses (1 Chr 23:16, 26:24). In 23:16, Shebuel is identified as "the chief;" and the Levites in question are assigned "the service of the house of the Lord" (23:24). In 26:24, Shebuel's duties are more specific; he is identified as "chief officer in charge of the treasuries." In 1 Chr 24:20, a person called Shubael is apparently the same person as the Shebuel of 23:16 and 26:24. Shubael is identified as one of the "sons of Amram." According to 23:12, Amram should be Shubael's great-grandfather; however, "sons" in 24:20 may mean more loosely "descendants." The supports the reading Shubael in 23:16, 26:24 as well as 24:20, suggesting the possibility that Shebuel in 23:16, 26:24 is a misreading of an original Shubael; see above.

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**SHECANIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕkanyāhû* (שְׁכַנְיָהוּ)]. The name Shecaniah is held by eight persons in the Hebrew Bible, six of whom lived in the 6th–5th centuries B.C.E. All of our information about persons holding this name is taken from material redacted in the postexilic period.

Note that there is textual evidence which may indicate that Shebaniah (Heb *šĕbanyāhû*), a person mentioned in Neh 10:4 and 12:14, may be identical to the Shecaniah of #3 below. This apparent identity of the two is due to the confusion of the letters *bet* and *kap* which were very easily confused in the Aramaic scripts of the 5th century B.C.E.

It is also not surprising that the name Shecaniah should be so popular in the period after the return from the Babylonian Exile. The root, *škn,* is a favorite of the Priestly tradent who played an important role in shaping the Pentateuch; it is also used in Ezekiel to indicate the dwelling, actually "tenting," of Yahweh with the community. The names formed with this root, such as Shecaniah, are expressive of the desire and perhaps the conviction, that Yahweh again dwell among the people.

**1.** In 1 Chr 24:11 Shecaniah is the name of a priest in the time of David to whom fell the tenth lot for taking charge of the service of the sanctuary. On this list see Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 162–168) and Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 162–164).

**2.** Shecaniah is the name of one of the assistants of Kore the son of Imnah the Levite who was in charge of apportioning the freewill offerings during the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah. Shecaniah helped distribute the portions in the cities of the priests (2 Chr 31:15).

**3.** In Neh 12:3 Shecaniah is listed as a priest who returned to Jerusalem along with Zerubbabel and Jeshua (= Joshua). In v 7 the preceding names are labeled as those of the chiefs of the priests (cf. also Ezra 2). As noted above, this priest may be the same as Shebaniah in Neh 10:4 and 12:14.

**4.** Shecaniah is mentioned in 1 Chr 3:21, 22 as a descendant of Zerubbabel. The verse has some textual problems. Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 58) delineates the major possibilities. If we follow the reading chosen by RSV and NEB then Shecaniah was the son of Obadiah in the 7th generation after Zerubbabel. He is also probably to be identified with the Shecaniah mentioned in Ezra 8:3 (and 1 Esdr 8:29), the father of Hattush (cf. 1 Chr 3:22) although the text of this passage also has textual difficulties (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 67n).

**5.** In Ezra 8:5 Shecaniah is listed as the son of Jahaziel of the sons of Zattu, if we include the reading in 1 Esdr 8:32. He was apparently a family leader (Ezra 8:1).

**6.** A layman mentioned in Ezra 10:2 (also 1 Esdr 8:92) who suggested that those in the postexilic community who had married foreign women send them and their children away. This led to the formation of a covenant among the men of Judah and Benjamin to do just that. This covenant is the topic of the entire last chapter of the book of Ezra.

**7.** The father of Shemiah, a priest who was the guardian of the East Gate and who helped repair the wall in the time of Nehemiah (Neh 3:29).

**8.** The son of Arah and the father-in-law of Tobiah the Ammonite (Neh 6:18). Tobiah was one of the ring leaders in opposition to Nehemiah's successful attempt to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem in the Persian period.

RUSSELL FULLER

**SHECHEM** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕkem* (שְׁכֶם)*; šekem* (שֶׁכֶם)]. SHECHEMITE. 1. Hamor's son, who raped Jacob's daughter Dinah (Gen 34:2). After the sexual encounter Shechem came to love Dinah and wanted to marry her (v 3). He proceeded to speak feelingly to the girl to persuade her to become his wife. Dinah seems to have remained in Shechem's house (v 26) while he and his father obtained from her family its consent to a marriage (vv 8–17). Hamor proposed that his people and Jacob's intermarry and offered to let the Israelites settle in his territory. The sons of Jacob countered by requiring that all of the city's males be circumcised. Davidson (*Genesis 12–50* CBC, 195) says circumcision for the Shechemites would have been a mark that they now belonged to Yahweh's chosen community. Von Rad (*Genesis* OTL, 333) however believes that only at a much later period did circumcision receive conscious theological significance and that the acceptance of faith in the God of Abraham was not suggested in the demand of Jacob's sons. See also CIRCUMCISION. In either case Shechem and his fellow citizens regarded circumcision as a trivial price to pay for an alliance which would have potentially increased their own power and wealth (v 23). But on the third day Simeon and Levi massacred the town's men, who lay incapacitated with fever, and fetched their sister (25–26). According to Von Rad (p. 335) the narrative depicts a prehistoric conflict of the tribes Simeon and Levi in the region around the town Shechem, which means "shoulder of mountain." The Shechemites appear anomalously in Jdt 5:16 in a list of peoples dispossessed from the Promised Land. This inclusion may represent the author's hostility to Samaritans and especially to Shechem, which Samaritan refugees rebuilt in the Hellenistic period and which John Hyrcanus I may have taken by the time the book was written (Moore *Judith* 160). Or the addition of Shechem could be in anticipation of Judith's denunciation (9:2) of him for raping Dinah and recollection (vv 3–4) of the subsequent taking over of his territory (Enslin 1972:90).

2. A son of Gilead, son of Machir, son of Manasseh (Num 26:31—26:35). Shechem's descendants formed the Shechemite clan within the tribe of Manasseh. Noth (*Numbers* OTL, 207) thinks that the reference to Shechem was to the well-known town of that name—an indication that it had been incorporated as a clan into the Manassite tribe. It should not be overlooked that contrary to Numbers 26, which calls Shechem the fourth of Gilead's six sons, Josh 17:2 considers Shechem to be one of Manasseh's sons, on a par with Machir. This latter arrangement might possibly have arisen to more neatly explain the division of Manasseh on the E and W sides of the Jordan River.

3. A son of Shemida, who was a descendant of Joseph's son Manasseh (1 Chr 7:19). If however this Shechem is the same as the preceding one, he is here listed incorrectly as Shemida's second-born son rather than his brother. Fellow siblings Likhi and Aniam may be equal to Helek of Num 26:30 and Noah of v 33, respectively (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 111). The names of Shechem and Shemida as well as Noah and Helek appear along with relatives, Abiezer and Hoglah, as names of persons, tribes, or places in the Samaria ostraca (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 54–55).

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**SHECHEM** (PLACE) [Heb *šĕkem* (שְׁכֶם)]. A city and its environs in the central highlands of Israel.

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A. Modern and Ancient Name
B. Topography
C. Archaeological Excavations
1. German Expeditions
2. American Excavations

D. Archaeological History
1. Earliest Settlement
2. Middle Bronze Age
3. Late Bronze Age
4. Iron Age
5. Persian and Hellenistic Periods

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**A. Modern and Ancient Name**

About 65 km N of Jerusalem, in the territory occupied in biblical times by the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh and known as Mt. Ephraim, is a low, flat-topped mound called Tell Balâṭah (M.R. 176179) with a surface area of about 2.4 hectares. It takes its name from the Arab village of Balâṭah, which covers most of the S half of the mound. The site stands at the end of a narrow pass between the two highest mountains in central Palestine, Mt. Gerizim (881 m) on the S and Mt. Ebal (940 m) on the N.

In 1903, Hermann Thiersh and a party of German scholars examined the mound and found along its NW face a wall of massive stone construction, 3 m in height, which they traced for over 37 m. It was obviously part of a powerful defensive wall appropriate to a major city. Prior to this discovery, there had been considerable controversy as to whether the site of ancient Shechem was identical with that of Neapolis (modern Nablus), or was situated some distance from it. Jerome's statement, "Shechem, which is now called Neapolis," apparently equated the two sites, but Eusebius stated that Shechem was "in the suburbs of Neapolis," and the Madaba mosaic map, which depends on Eusebius' *Onomasticon,* shows Shechem a short distance SE of Neapolis. Thiersh's discovery of a major ancient fortification system at Tell Balâṭah seemed to establish Tell Balâṭah, rather than Nablus, as the site of ancient Shechem, and the identification has not since been seriously questioned.

The Hebrew word *šĕkem* probably means "back" or shoulder," referring to the location of the ancient city on the col between Mt. Ebal and Mt. Gerizim. Fifty-four of the 67 occurrences of the word in the OT refer to the city or its surrounding district. The remaining thirteen are the personal name of a prince of that city, the son of Hamor, its reputed founder. See SHECHEM (PERSON). The Gk equivalent *(Sychem)* appears twice in the NT (Acts 7:16), both times in the speech of Stephen, where the martyr refers to the burial of Joseph's remains near the city. There are also a substantial number of references to Shechem and its inhabitants in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, as well as a smaller number in non-biblical sources. The biblical passages and the non-biblical material will be discussed in the context of the archaeological period which provides their background. Passages in which the word Shechem is the personal name of the son of Hamor will be mentioned only in passing.

**B. Topography**

Ancient peoples built their cities in militarily strategic locations where there was an abundant supply of water, sufficient agricultural land to meet the basic needs of the population, and access to roads or other channels of communication. These requirements are all met at the site of ancient Shechem.

Shechem had a guaranteed water supply. The water table is far beneath the surface, but can be reached by deep, hand-dug wells, such as Jacob's Well about 400 m SE of Shechem. In the village of Balâṭah, approximately where the S wall of the ancient city would have been, there is a copious spring. It is the best of many such springs in the plain of ʿAskar, and provides water not only for the village of Balâṭah but also for neighboring communities in times of drought when their own springs have dried up.

The Shechem area possesses agricultural potentialities favorable to the development of a major city. The underlying rock is limestone, formed about seventy million years ago when the region was at the bottom of the Tethys sea. Subsequent periods of folding and uplifting of the land produced the mountains and the network of flat-bottomed valleys which characterize the Shechem area today. Limestone weathers at the rate of about one centimeter in 1000 years to form a fertile red-brown soil, *terra rosa.* Erosion brought soil down from the hills and left a deep deposit of rich earth in the valleys. Vineyards and fig and olive orchards flourish on the slopes, especially when they are terraced. Grain and vegetables grow well in the valleys. The annual rainfall of about 50–60 cm is sufficient to sustain these crops.

At Shechem both valley-bottom land and hillsides were available for cultivation. See Fig. SHE.01. A broad fertile valley, the Plain of ʿAskar, runs E from Shechem toward the Jordan. It was probably on this plain that Abimelech ambushed the Shechemites who came out to do battle with him (Judg 9:42–44). The Plain of ʿAskar, together with the et-Tahtani and el-Gharbi Plains, provide the city with an area of valley-bottom land about ten km long and 2.4 km wide. The Plain of Mukhna, actually a long rift valley, enters the ʿAskar Plain from the S. Along it runs the road from Jerusalem.

The mountain slopes and valleys not only served the purposes of agriculture, they also provided grass for the pasturage of sheep and goats. Jacob sent his sons from Hebron to Shechem to pasture their flocks, but they preferred the still more luxuriant grassland near Dothan, about a day's journey N of Shechem (Gen 37:12–14).

A network of roads converges on and funnels through the pass between Ebal and Gerizim. See Fig. SHE.01. A N-S highway from Egypt through Beer-sheba and Hebron runs from Jerusalem along the watershed to Shechem. A N extension of this road passes through the Wadi el-Abrad to the Wadi Fariʿa where it connects with the main road to the Jordan Valley and so reaches the principal trans-Jordanian throughfares leading to Damascus and Phoenicia.

In Judg 21:19 the Jerusalem-Shechem section of the road provides a reference point for the location of Shiloh and in Jer 41:5, it is the route by which pilgrims from the N reached Jerusalem. Along its course the road runs through a number of dark, narrow defiles where robbers often lay in wait for unwary travelers (Hos 6:9).

The road which emerges from the W end of the Shechem pass divides and subdivides giving access to most of the main centers of population in the country and to the great coastal highway, the Way of the Sea *(Via Maris).*

The location of Shechem at the E entrance to the pass thus allows it to dominate and control all commercial and military traffic through the region.

**C. Archaeological Excavations**

**1. German Expeditions.** Just ten years after Thiersh's identification of the site, full-scale excavations began at Shechem. A German expedition under the direction of E. Sellin, who had previously excavated at the important sites of Taanach and Jericho, conducted its first season of excavation in 1913, followed by a second campaign the following year.

World War I brought this first phase of the excavations to an end, and the post-war economic conditions in Germany prevented resumption of the work until 1926. Between the spring of 1926 and the spring of 1928, Sellin directed five additional seasons of excavation at the site. During the spring season of 1926, G. Welter, an archaeologist with considerable experience in Greece, joined the expedition. His work in the summers of 1926 and 1927 drew praise from Sellin, but evidently tensions were building beneath the surface. Welter came to be regarded as the "archaeological expert" and Sellin as the "theological" director. Sellin's critics accused him of bad excavation techniques, inadequate recording, poor reporting, and dubious interpretation of the finds. In the summer of 1928, the German Archaeological Institute, which was responsible for the scientific integrity of the expedition, removed Sellin from the directorship and replaced him with Welter.

The move was a near disaster. Welter carried out two campaigns, each of about three months duration, in the summers of 1928 and 1931, but the pace of the work slowed dramatically. Welter's reports were brief and lacking in precision and detail, and his revisions of Sellin's conclusions were in most cases unfortunate. It is to Welter's credit, however, that he prepared excellent plans of the principal remains uncovered by the German expedition and drew the first sections produced at the site.

In 1933, Sellin was reinstated as director and given the assistance of an architect with Egyptian experience, Dr. Hans Steckeweh. What Sellin aptly called the expedition's "unlucky star" continued to shine. After a summer season in 1934, a shortage of funds and the troubled political scene in Palestine prevented resumption of the work until the Second World War made it completely impossible. Sellin had faithfully published informative, though brief, preliminary reports for each season, but the manuscript of

the final report together with the field records of the expedition were destroyed when Sellin's home in Berlin was demolished by a bomb in 1943.

Under Sellin's direction the German expedition employed three excavation methods; exploratory trenches, tracing of fortification walls, and area clearances.

Four huge trenches were dug into the tell. A N–S trench 52 m long by 5 m wide (1 on Fig. SHE.02) was cut into the mound near the center of its N side. In the search for the city wall this trench was extended and widened at its N end. Two N–S trenches were laid out to explore the area S of the wall observed by Thiersh. These were later swallowed up in the large area clearances around the NW gate and the Temple (IV, V and VI on Fig. SHE.02). A fourth trench (3 on Fig. SHE.02), later widened at its S end, ran from a building called "the house of Sheik Selim" NW at a width of 5 m for a distance of about 80 m. The fifth trench (4 on Fig. SHE.02), 5 m wide, ran from the slope of the mound on the NE side westward for about 60 m. These trenches were too narrow to reveal the full extent of any structures encountered, and were dug without cross balks along their lengths to provide stratigraphic control.

The tracing of the major defensive walls naturally began with the exposed portion of Thiersh's cyclopean wall. See Fig. SHE.02, wall A. This led to the discovery of the NW Gate, and what Sellin called the W and E "palaces," abutting the gate on either side. A later wall, with offsets and insets along its length (Wall B), appeared in Trench 4, and tracing it southward led to the discovery of the E Gate of the city.

The discovery of the NW gate with its associated structures led to a huge area clearance in that sector of the mound (A on Fig. SHE.02). A smaller area clearance at the E Gate uncovered the N two thirds of the structure (B on Fig. SHE.02).

Numerous other trenches and small area clearances yielded rich and important finds, but the reports of these are given only in very general terms.

**2. American Excavations.** In 1954, G. E. Wright and B. W. Anderson planned renewed excavation at Shechem. They believed that the important advances in the knowledge of Palestinian pottery chronology, in field method, and in recording and interpretative techniques which had taken place in the twenty years since the last German expedition would make possible the recovery of much of the lost information and would add new dimensions to the archaeological history of the site.

Under the direction of Wright the Drew-McCormick Archaeological Expedition (later called the Joint Expedition) went into the field in the summer of 1956, and continued with approximately six week seasons in the summers of 1957, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1966, and 1968. In 1968, R. Boling reexamined a large building on the N slope of Mt. Gerizim about 300 m from the tell which had been excavated by Welter in 1931. In the summer of 1969, J. D. Seger directed an investigation of the MB remains adjacent to the Temple area. Sellin's "palaces" were the focus of a summer campaign in 1972 conducted by W. G. Dever. Extensive cemeteries of the LB and the Roman-Byzantine Period were discovered on the S slopes of Mt. Gerizim by persons unconnected with the Joint Expedition.

The Joint Expedition planned its work with two aims in view; to reevaluate and supplement the results of the German expedition by excavation adjacent to or within areas already exposed, and to open new areas in order to fill in gaps in the data provided by the earlier expedition.

To accomplish the first of these aims seven fields were excavated during the life of the expedition. (In the terminology used by the expedition a "Field" is a system of interconnected 5 m by 5 m squares. The individual squares within a Field were called "Areas".) The Fields referred to below are indicated by Roman numerals on Fig. SHE.02.

Field I uncovered the portion of the E Gate not excavated by the German Expedition and examined the structures in front of, beside, and behind the gateway. Field II was sited on the SE edge of the huge German clearance on the sacred area. See A on Fig. SHE.02. Field III was a trench over the fortification system on the E side of the tell, just to the N of Trench 4 of the German Expedition. The exploration of the massive temple found by the Germans in Area A on the NW side of the tell constituted Field V.

Less extensive excavations designed to clarify the German results were Field IV in one of the rooms of Sellin's Eastern Palace, Field VI.2 on the NE side of German Area A, and Field VIII on the bottom and S side of German Trench 1.

Of the new excavations, Field VI penetrated below the levels reached in the German Area A to expose and elucidate the earlier structures in the citadel area. Field VII, near the center of the tell, explored the housing of the city from the latest remains to the MB III period. In an effort to determine the overall stratigraphy of the site an 11 × 11 m area (Field IX), located about 40 m S of the citadel area, was excavated from the preserved surface to bedrock. Field XIII, adjacent to the NE side of the citadel area, reached LB levels and exposed rich Canaanite remains. Field XV attempted (with ambiguous results) to locate the MB city walls on the S side of the city.

The expedition undertook some work in the environs of the tell. The most important projects were a survey of the Shechem region, conducted by E. F. Campbell, Jr., and the excavation of a Roman and Byzantine temple site on Tell er-Ras, a spur projecting from the N slopes of Mt. Gerizim (Field XII). Field X designated a largely futile search for tombs on the S slopes of Mt. Ebal. Field XI was a salvage operation to investigate a Byzantine building partially exposed when municipal workers dug a trench to lay a water pipe. Field XIV, an exploratory trench in the compound of the Tomb of Joseph, produced entirely negative results.

**D. Archaeological History**

Combining its own findings with those of the German excavators, the Drew-McCormick Expedition isolated 24 strata of occupation (from latest to earliest Strata I–XXIV). The accompanying table gives these results in a simplified form. The dates are, of course, approximate.

The Stratigraphy of Shechem
(dates approximate)

| Period | Strata | Dates | Characteristics |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chalcolithic | XXXIV–XXIII | 4500–3200 | Village occupation |
| | | | [Gap in occupation during Early Bronze Age] |
| MB I | XXII–XI | 1900–1750 | Earliest urbanization |
| MB II | XX–XVII | 1750–1650 | Hyskos Period |
| MB III | XVI–XV | 1650–1550 | Prosperous urban center |
| | | | [Gap in occupation during LB IA] |
| LB IB | XIV | 1450–1400 | Complete rebuilding |
| LB IIA | XIII | 1400–1310 | Amarna Period |
| LB IIB | XII | 1200–1125 | Israelite dominance |
| Iron IA | XI | 1200–1125 | Israelite Dominance |
| | | | ["Abimelech" destruction and gradual resettlement] |
| Iron IB–IIA | X–IX | 975–810 | Early monarchy |
| Iron IIB | VIII–VII | 810–724 | Divided monarchy |
| | | | [Destruction by Assyrian armies] |
| Iron IIC | VI | 724–600 | Assyrian domination |
| Persian | V | 600–475 | Cultural decline |
| | | | [Abandonment 475–331] |
| Hellenistic | IV–I | 475–331 | Samaritan sacred city |

**1. Earliest Settlement** (Strata XXIV–XXIII). During the Chalcolithic Period (ca. 4500–3200 B.C.), settlers, attracted by the abundant water supply, moved into the area later occupied by the city, which was then virtually a level valley floor (Stratum XXIV). They built roughly circular huts with cobblestone

floors and superstructures probably of hides or compacted earth. Field IX contained the remains of three such huts in close proximity to one another. The compact nature of the occupation suggests an agricultural village of the type common in the Chalcolithic era. In Field VI a beaten earth surface, covered by occupational debris and fragments of pottery represents a second phase of occupation, still within the Chalcolithic Period.

**2. Middle Bronze Age. a. MB I** (Strata XXII–XXI). Urban occupation at Shechem began in Middle Bronze I (ca. 1900–1750 B.C.). Because of deep excavation for later construction the remains are disappointingly scanty, but are sufficient to show the presence of a large and well-organized community. The period began with a massive leveling and filling operation, designed to prepare the site for subsequent building operations. No fortification walls can be assigned to the period. In the interior of the city, there were two levels of housing (Strata XXII–XXI) with a period of temporary abandonment between. The buildings are substantial structures with mudbrick walls on stone foundations and typical furnishings and artifacts of domestic occupation.

The most imposing structure belonging to the period is an earthen platform held in place by a sloping stone wall. A scree of stones and pottery had fallen down the outer face of the platform, but whatever structure surmounted it had been removed by later construction. The W wall of the platform was traced for a distance of 10 m when it turned at right angles to the S. Excavation in 1964, which located the NE corner of the platform fill, discounted earlier suggestions that the structure was the corner tower of a city wall or an altar analogous to the large stone-supported structure at Megiddo. Probably the platform was a rectangular podium near the N limits of the city, topped by a large public building (sacred or secular).

Two Egyptian texts mention the city just described. An inscription on the stele of Khu-Sebek, a noble of the court of King Sesostris III (ca. 1880–1840 B.C.), describes how the king campaigned in a foreign country of which the name was Sekmem (Shechem), and how "Sekmem fell, together with the wretched Retenu (a general Egyptian term for the inhabitants of Syro-Palestine)." The Execration Texts were devices by which the Pharaohs of the 12th Dyn. (20th–19 centuries B.C.) guaranteed the overthrow of their enemies by placing their names and appropriate curses on potsherds or clay figurines which were then ceremonially broken. One of the texts gives the name of Ibish-hadad of Shechem. These texts indicate that by the mid–19th century Shechem was an important strategic and political center, a leader of resistance against Egyptian expansionist policies and probably the head of a city-state confederacy.

**b. MB II** (Strata XX–XVII). The second phase of the MB began in Stratum XX with the city enclosed within a simple, free-standing mudbrick wall 2.5 m wide, set on a stone foundation, a direct continuation of the defensive concepts of the 1st period of urbanization in Palestine (the EB Age, ca. 3300–2400 B.C.). A 43 m long segment of this wall was uncovered on the NW side of the city. See Wall D on Fig. SHE.03.

As the period developed (Stratum XIX), the fortifications underwent dramatic change, due partly to the introduction of the battering ram in seige warfare and partly to the appearance in the area of a new people, the HYKSOS. The city was surrounded by a huge mound of earth over 30 m wide at the base with a slope of between 30 and 40 degrees and surmounted by a defensive wall, the typical "Hyksos rampart."

In Stratum XX a large rectangular area on the inner (W) side of the defensive wall was isolated from the rest of the city. An especially massive wall formed the S side of the enclosure nearest the city. See Wall 900 on Fig. SHE.03. The walled-off area served a double purpose: it provided an enclosed space for public buildings, and a fortified last line of defense in case the outer walls were breached.

Along the inner face of Wall 900 ran a cobbled street with a drain along its edge. Beyond the street lay two groups of buildings, a S and a N block, separated at some stages by a heavy wall and at others by a paved corridor. The S block was dominated by several large courtyards with adjacent smaller rooms. The N block had for most of the period a residential and storage function. This general plan of the citadel area continued throughout the period, but the layout of the individual rooms and courtyards underwent four distinct phases of modification and rebuilding.

In the earliest of these phases (Stratum XX, Fig. SHE.03(A)) the N block, approached through a pillared entryway, contained two groups of small rooms, one for storage (Rooms 21–24) and one for domestic

purposes (Rooms 25–28). The principal features of the S block were two large courtyards (34 and 35) with a range of three smaller rooms (31, 32 and 33) on the N side.

In the 2d phase (Stratum XIX, Fig. SHE.03(B)), a corridor separated the two parts of the complex. A courtyard replaced the storage chambers of the previous phase. Three courtyards (Rooms 10/11, 12, 14) dominated the S block. Around these open spaces on the E and S sides lay a range of small rooms. Judging by the number of silos and ovens, most of these subsidiary rooms were cooking or grain storage areas. However, one of them (Room 16) had a low partition in its center and was provided with a drain. Copper slag on the floor of the room suggested the possibility that it was used for casting bronze objects.

Extensive modifications during the third phase of the citadel (Stratum XVIII, Fig. SHE.03(C)) resulted in the elimination of the small industrial rooms, and the production of four courtyards; a large L-shaped courtyard to the S and E (Room 5), a central court with a small, rectangular room provided with a drain in its SW corner (Room 6), a W court with a small room similarly located (Room 4), and a N court (Room 2).

The N court had a row of column bases stretching across its N end, and an isolated column base near its center. The colonnade probably supported the (wooden?) columns for a canopy. An isolated column base was found near the center of the court. If the complex was a palace, this room probably served as the audience hall, with the throne placed under the protection of the canopy. The W court would then have been the waiting room for those seeking an audience and their retainers. The central court may have been the palace shrine with the cult room tucked away in the corner.

The final phase of the citadel (Stratum XVII) is poorly delineated, because most of its structures and all of its floors were removed by the German excavators. It extended beyond the W limits of the earlier phases, over the stump of the disused Hyksos embankment.

Considerable debate has centered around the function of this important complex. Its isolation from the rest of the city, the size and solidity of its buildings, the numerous courtyards, and the frequent use of solidly-founded pillars demonstrate that the area served a public function. At first the expedition tentatively identified it as a palace (Toombs and Wright 1961:16, 22–28). In 1962, G. E. Wright suggested that the structures had a religious function, and called the complex the “Courtyard Temple” (Toombs and Wright 1963:11–18; G. E. Wright 1965:104–9). Paul Lapp argued that the identification of the complex as a temple was “dubious” (1963:129–30). The evidence and the arguments based on it were later summarized and evaluated by L. E. Toombs (1985:42–60). The most likely conclusion seems to be that the complex was a palace in all its phases, and that its central courtyard, located throughout the history of the structures almost directly beneath the later altar of the MB IIC period, may have been the palace shrine.

Special interest attaches to a series of burials within the complex. The earliest is the skeleton of a child, lying in a flexed position on the Stratum XX floor of Room 28 (Fig. SHE.03(A)), without burial jar or grave furnishings.

The best preserved of the series was found beneath the floor of the Stratum XIX pillared entryway (Fig. SHE.03(B)). The body of a six or seven year old child lay inside a large storage jar, placed on its side in a shallow trench, protected by flat stones. The skeleton, flexed on its right side, wore a necklace of crystal and agate beads. Pottery vessels, probably once containing grave offerings, and scattered bones of an indeterminate nature were found inside the jars and in the trench. A very similar jar burial, with the bones in disarray, was found under the floor of Room 9. Beneath the floor of the adjacent room (Room 8) was the deliberate burial of a sheep or goat on a bed of small stones. Under the W wall of the entryway (Fig. SHE.03(B)) a deposit consisting entirely of pottery, a storage jar with two smaller vessels inside, came to light.

A Stratum XVIII burial under the floor of the N courtyard was somewhat different. A jumble of bones, including fragments of at least four skulls, rested within an upright storage jar, protected by fragments of a second jar. The jar stood in a specially prepared shallow niche in the base of the wall. Two smaller vessels were associated with the burial.

The burials (human, animal, and ceramic) were made just prior to the laying of the floors or in conjunction with the construction of the walls with which they were associated. They seem clearly to have been foundation offerings, but the evidence is not sufficient to establish whether or not the human burials were child sacrifices.

**c. MB III** (Strata XVI and XV). Extensive building activity, high quality construction in both domestic and public architecture, and an abundance of luxury items among the artifacts show that Shechem reached a peak of prosperity in the last phase of the MB. But the presence of three major destruction levels, the last a veritable holocaust, indicates the troubled and dangerous nature of the times.

At the beginning of the period (ca. 1650 B.C.), the defensive system of the city was completely rebuilt on a new plan. The outer revetment wall of the Hyksos embankment was used as the base for a massive wall of huge boulders. See Wall A on Fig. SHE.02. Earth obtained in the main from cutting down the embankment was deposited behind the wall, so that it backed up against solid earth and was virtually impregnable to the battering ram. Eight m inside this outer wall ran a slighter circumvallation. The two walls were connected at intervals by cross walls to form a casemate system, the chambers of which were used for domestic and storage purposes.

On the NW side of the city a monumental gateway, 18 × 16 m, pierced the two walls. See Fig. SHE.02. Massive towers, projecting beyond the entryway both inside and outside the city, flanked the paved roadway through the gate. Three pairs of projections jutting out from the towers narrowed the roadway to only half its width and effectively divided it into two chambers. Each projection consisted of two huge flat stones (orthostats) set on the long edge 75 cm apart. Three gates, swung between the orthostate pairs, probably closed off the entry in time of war or disorder.

Enigmatic structures, which Sellin identified as the two wings of a palace (1926b: 304–7), stood between the outer and inner walls on either side of the gate. G. E. Wright (1965:61) identified the structures as storage rooms. Dever's reexcavation of the buildings (1974) raises the strong possibility that Sellin was correct. Immediately S of the gate, Dever identified a tripartite temple, probably the oldest example in Palestine. It consisted of an antechamber leading into a shrine room with a podium at the N end and through the shrine room to a small chamber abutting the gate. Access to the temple could only be had through a long, narrow room with a colonnade along its central axis. The layout suggests an audience hall and a palace shrine. A substantial building, consisting of a central court with a range of rooms at each end, situated N of the gateway, may have been, as Dever suggests, a barracks for troops. Alternatively, it may have constituted the living quarters of the palace.

The effect of this construction was to shift the palace to the space between the walls in order to leave room for a great public temple and its courtyard. Indeed, the public temple seems to have been built *before* the palace, since the E wall of the palace was inset to avoid the NW corner of the temple. The acropolis of the MB II city was filled over to a depth of almost 4 m to create a level platform. On this filling, a building with walls 5.1 m thick made of well-dressed masonry with a mudbrick superstructure and with its entrance flanked by two large towers was erected. See Fig. SHE.02, building V. The massive nature of the structure has earned it the name "fortress temple." The long axis of the building ran NW to SE, and the entrance, with a standing stone *(maṣṣēbāh)* on either side, was in the SE wall, where it would catch the rays of the rising sun.

The open area in front of the building was occupied by an altar and a huge limestone slab set in a stone socket, but sufficient space remained to accommodate a large gathering of worshippers.

The temple can hardly have been involved in the visits of Abraham (Gen 12:6) and Jacob (Gen 35:4) to the sacred place at or near the city, nor in Jacob's purchase of a piece of ground from the "sons of Hamor" on which to pitch his camp. The temple had a clear function in relation to the urban population, and the oak and altars referred to in the text, if they existed at all, must have stood outside the city. An intriguing possibility is that the compilers of Genesis were attempting to appropriate the site of the Canaanite shrine on Mt. Gerizim as an Israelite sacred place (see below).

The Wall A fortification system seems to have provided inadequate backup defenses behind the great outer wall, and survived for only about 25 years. The new fortifications used the lower courses of Wall A

as a stone scarp for the outer face of the mound, a precaution against sappers and the battering ram. On the relatively level area 11 m back of the scarp a powerful new wall of mudbrick on stone foundations 3.5 m wide was constructed with offsets and insets to permit enfilade fire along the wall. See Wall B on Fig. SHE.02. A new gateway (the East Gate, Fig. SHE.02) gave access to the fertile plain, the breadbasket of the city. It conformed to the plan of the Northwest Gate, but had only four pairs of orthostats, forming a single chamber within the gateway. From inside the city a flight of five steps led up to the roadway through the gate. In its initial phase the gate had a cobbled entranceway between the flanking towers. Toward the end of the city's life the surface of the roadway was raised and the orthostats were moved up to the new level and placed on rather flimsy foundations of smallish stones. The public temple and the Northwest Gate remained in use, but what happened to the "palaces" beside that gate is uncertain because most of the relevant evidence was removed during the German excavations.

If the identifications proposed above are correct, the MB city possessed at least two sacred structures, a public temple and a palace shrine. A third building, possibly also of a sacred nature, stood on the N slope of Mt. Gerizim about 300 m from the city. It was first excavated by Welter in 1931 and reexcavated by Boling in 1968. It is a square structure 18 × 18 m, consisting of an unroofed court 9 × 9 m surrounded on all four sides by smaller chambers, probably used for storage. The court had in its center a stone pedestal, which may have served as the base for a sacred pillar, and in its SE corner an altar-like platform of stone. Incense burners, a libation bowl, and a foundation deposit of bronze weapons were found near the "altar" and, in a side chamber, a stone phallus. Campbell and Wright (1969:111) suggested that the building was a shrine used by semi-nomadic clans in covenant unity with one another. However, the shrine could hardly have functioned in plain sight of the city without the approval and support of its governing authorities. If the building was indeed a tribal shrine, its presence indicates a cordial relationship between the urban and rural populations.

The nature of the domestic structures at Shechem is not well known. In Field XIII a large, multi-roomed building, probably the house of a nobleman or extremely wealthy citizen, yielded many luxury items including numerous fine scarabs and the ivory inlay for two boxes. Such houses as were excavated in Fields VII and IX were well constructed of mudbrick on stone foundations and the fine pottery and artifacts, including several scarabs, confirm the impression of a high level of prosperity.

The final destruction of MB III Shechem displays a calculated ferocity and an intent to cause complete destruction of the city. Everywhere there is evidence of intense fire. Half-destroyed buildings were looted and then deliberately pulled down and the bodies of their inhabitants thrown into the street. When the destruction was complete a layer of debris covered the city to a depth of up to 1.6 m. There is little doubt that the Egyptian armies of Ahmose I or Amenhotep I brought this disaster upon the city as they followed up the triumph of Egyptian arms over the Hyksos. Shechem lay in ruins for about a century until its rebuilding in LB IB as a Canaanite city under the domination of the Egyptian Empire.

**3. Late Bronze Age. a. LB IB** (Stratum XIV). The LB engineers who reconstructed Shechem seem to have done the entire rebuilding in a single, well-planned operation, using the surviving stumps of the walls of major structures as a guide for their work. The old Wall A still served as the facing of the slope of the mound. Behind it, the main defensive wall of mudbrick on a stone foundation followed the line of the Wall B system. A rebuilt Northwest Gate probably remained in use, although the evidence for this is not conclusive. The East Gate was reconstructed with a significant modification. A building, consisting of two chambers, the outer of which had a paved floor, was built on the S side of the gateway, probably to accommodate the guards on duty at the gate. The corresponding guardroom on the N side of the gate, if it existed, was removed by the German excavations.

Under the lowest floor of the outer guardroom the body of a quadruped, probably a donkey, had been buried. The head was missing. It had been severed from the body prior to the burial. Near the neck was a clump of bones from a smaller animal. The deposit appears to be a foundation sacrifice. It is particularly interesting since Gen 33:19 refers to the Shechemites as *bĕnē ḥămôr,* "sons of a donkey."

In the acropolis area (Fields V/VI) a shrine, of which only portions of the cella were preserved, stood on massive foundations of the MB III temple. Its walls were only about one third the width of those of its

predecessor. The cella was a room 16 × 12 m with the entrance on the long E side. The axis of the building was shifted five degrees to the S, possibly to bring it more accurately into line with the rising sun at the summer solstice. A cement covered podium, approached by a flight of steps, occupied part of the W wall of the cella opposite the entrance. It probably provided a base for the statues of the deities worshipped in the temple. A large altar stood in the broad forecourt. This temple, which continued in use throughout the LB and into Iron I, is a strong candidate for the Temple of *ēl-bĕrît* where the Shechemites made their last stand against Abimelech (Judg 9:46).

The broad room temple was not the only sacred structure in LB Shechem. In Field IX, part of a building with substantial walls, contained a brick platform (altar?) and a monolith, the base of which had been dressed to fit into a stone socket. This building went through several stages of reflooring during the LB Age. It may have been a satellite of the main temple or a private shrine associated with a large tripartite house adjacent to it.

An impressive LB structure filled the whole of Field XIII and extended beyond it in all directions. The W side of the complex consisted of two large courtyards. The E side was occupied by a range of three rooms used for cooking and storage, and E of these rooms the edge of what appeared to be a large courtyard disappeared tantalizingly out of the excavated area. The function of the complex is unknown. Its exceptional size and its location next to the temple area raise the possibility that it was a royal palace, but it may have been the residence of an exceptionally wealthy citizen.

The historical occasion for the LB rebuilding of Shechem was probably the establishment of the Egyptian Empire. The earliest 18th Dyn. Pharaohs would have had a vested interest in keeping the hill country depopulated and without fortified cities. The overwhelming interest of these Pharaohs would be to avoid recurrence of the Asiatic intrusions which had put the Hyksos in control of the Delta region and had cost the Pharaohs blood and treasure to repel. Fear of the Asiatics would urge the creation in the Palestine area of a defenseless buffer zone against the still powerful states to the N. However, to create such a zone would run counter to another vital Pharaonic interest, that of holding the coastal strip as an advance line into Asia and as an artery of trade. A workable compromise of these conflicting interests would be to hold the coastal road by means of a chain of fortified bases and, at the same time, to discourage the rebuilding of strong points in the hills, which would be potential threats to communication along the coast.

With the warrior king Thutmose III, Egyptian obsession with defense gave way to imperialist ambition, and an empire without cities is a contradiction in terms. When, after his victory at Megiddo, Thutmose felt that he was master of Asia he may have encouraged the rebuilding of the hill cities, Shechem among them, ruled, of course, by his puppets. A tentative date for the founding of LB Shechem is, therefore, shortly after the battle of Megiddo (i.e., about 1465 B.C.). It ended with the decline of Egyptian control in Palestine and the establishment of the mini-empire of Lab'ayu, king of Shechem (ca. 1400 B.C.).

**b. LB IIA** (Stratum XIII). This stratum is the high point of LB culture at Shechem. The rising level of prosperity is best seen at the East Gate, where the guardrooms were strengthened and paved with flagstones. Just S of the gateway an open area, also paved with flagstones, provided a place for the mustering of troops and for public meetings.

The building complex in Field XIII underwent alterations and improvements. The W courtyard was subdivided into four interconnecting chambers where domestic activities took place. The range of rooms to the E followed the lines laid down in the previous phase, but their functions became more clearly defined. The S chamber was a cooking area and contained an oven and a pantry equipped with storage pits. Under the central room was a sub-floor storage chamber 2 m deep and surrounded by heavy stone walls. Toward the end of the period, this chamber was filled in with material taken from a midden. The fill contained a great many restorable pottery vessels which constitutes a unique ceramic collection, datable to LB IIA. The N room housed a plaster lined silo. The houses in Field VII are of excellent construction.

The flourishing of LB IIA Shechem can be associated with the slackening of Egyptian control over its Asiatic empire in the latter years of Amenhotep III and during the reign of Amenhotep IV (Ikhnaton).

Taking advantage of the power vacuum, Lab'ayu, king of Shechem extended his control from the Valley of Jezreel to the environs of Jerusalem. The Amarna Letters show him as a shrewd, calculating ruler, skilled at setting his sails to the prevailing wind. He professed allegiance to the Pharaoh, but his neighbors refer to him as the ring-leader of opposition, the head of a coalition of rebels and a predator on his neighbors. Lab'ayu was captured by his enemies and killed, but for a time his two sons continued the policy of their father. The fruits of conquest and the profits from the caravan trade would account well for the prosperity of Shechem during the Amarna period.

In the end, the enemies of Lab'ayu's family, whether the Canaanite cities which he had threatened or despoiled, troops sent from Egypt, disgruntled allies or some combination of these, evidently had their way. Destruction by fire brought an end to the city of Lab'ayu. Its debris covers almost every quarter of the city.

**c. LB IIB** (Stratum XII). The city, quickly rebuilt, retained most of the features of its forerunner. The defensive system, the temple on the acropolis, the shrine in Field IX, and the housing in Field VII underwent little modification. The guardrooms at the East Gate remained, but the paved courtyard behind them went out of use and a narrow alley separated the guardrooms from the houses of the city. The principal feature of the period is a marked decline in the prosperity of the city. Walls founded in this period and rebuilds of surviving walls are of shoddy construction.

Two interesting finds are associated with this phase of the city's life. A figurine of the god Ba‹al in cast bronze overlaid with silver came from the floor of a house in Field VII. See Fig. SHE.04. The deity, wearing a conical crown, strides forward on his left foot and holds some object (now lost) in each hand. Figurines of the fertility goddess found in several of the houses show that the consort of the Ba‹al was an even more popular object of veneration than her male counterpart. The second object, recovered from the fill under an Iron I wall in Field XIII, is a fragment of a cuneiform tablet which contains part of the opening lines of an Amarna period letter.

If the story of the rape of Dinah and the subsequent plundering of Shechem by Simeon and Levi (Genesis 34) is not the vague memory of a tribal skirmish inflated and attached to the city of Shechem and the family of Jacob, there seem to be only two points at which it could conceivably fit into the archaeological history of Shechem. While the powerful walls of MB and LB Shechem stood, two semi-nomadic tribes would have been powerless to breach the defenses of the city. The period of abandonment after the destruction of the MB Age city, when the ruins may have housed a small village or have been the headquarters of a tribal group, or the period of decline at the end of the LB Age are the only likely contexts for the story.

A persistent tradition associated with Shechem is that Jacob bought a piece of land near the city from Hamor, the king of Shechem (Gen 33:19), and that in fulfillment of Joseph's death bed command (Gen 50:25, 26), the Hebrews on leaving Egypt carried with them the bones of Joseph (Exod 13:19) and buried them in this plot of ground (Josh 24:32). A garbled form of this tradition appears in Stephen's defense before the Sanhedrin (Acts 7:16). The martyr states that Abraham bought the land from Hamor, and that, not only Joseph, but all who had died in Egypt were brought to Shechem for burial. This is the only reference to Shechem in the NT.

**4. Iron Age. a. Iron I** (Stratum XI). No general destruction layer marks the end of the LB at Shechem. The temple on the acropolis, the defensive walls, and the East Gate with its guardrooms remained in use. This evidence indicates a relatively peaceful passage of the city into Israelite hands, and may account for its absence from the list of cities conquered by Joshua (Josh 12:7–23). Shechem is named as a "city of refuge" (Josh 20:7; 1 Chr 6:67) and as a lLevitical city in the "hill country of Ephraim" (Josh 21:21).

Shortly after the initial intrusion of the Israelites into the region, the city was the scene of a covenant-making ceremony, conducted by Joshua (Joshua 24). The ceremony took place in or near a shrine (v 26) where the representatives of the people "presented themselves before the Lord" (v 1). G. E. Wright has argued convincingly that the shrine was the temple on the acropolis, called in Judg 9:4 the "Temple of El-Berith," the God of the Covenant (1965:134–36).

During Iron I, a great deal of building activity of poor quality went on in the city. In Field XIII the LB complex was replaced by several less impressive buildings. Poorly-constructed houses crowded up against the guardrooms of the East Gate. Many of the buildings in Fields VII and IX show traces of destruction by fire. The impression of disorder and economic decline conveyed by the archaeological remains supports the picture of political unrest and turmoil provided by Judg 8:23–35.

The instability of the period culminated in the brief and abortive reign of Gideon's son, Abimelech (Judges 9). Boling (1969:103) makes the interesting suggestion that Jotham stood on the site of the ruined tribal shrine on Mt. Gerizim when he uttered the parable of the trees and cursed Abimelech (Judg 9:7–21). It would have been an appropriate place from which to protest in the name of the tribal tradition against the royal pretentions of Abimelech.

When the Shechemites rebelled against the upstart king, Abimelech's revenge was swift and complete. The topography of the region and the archaeological remains illuminate his four-stage campaign against the city. The following reconstruction assumes that the Beth-millo ("the building on the artificial fill," Judg 9:20) and the Tower of Shechem (Judg 9:47, 49) are one and the same and refer to the temple and its ancillary buildings on the acropolis. The rebel chief Gaal, deceived and taunted by Abimelech's agent Zebul, brought his troops out of the city into the Plain of ʿAskar. See Fig. SHE.01. Abimelech's forces, which had slipped down from Mt. el-ʻurmeh during the night, ambushed the rebels and drove them back into the city through the East Gate with heavy losses. Abimelech then feigned withdrawal, and the Shechemites, thinking themselves safe came out to work in the fields in the ʿAskar Plain. Abimelech's troops cut them off from the city and massacred them in the plain. Following up this success, they breached the East Gate and in a day of street fighting captured the lower city, burning and looting as they went. The surviving defenders made a last stand in the temple, but their defenses were burned to the ground and they themselves were slaughtered. The heaps of debris covering the Iron I city are silent witnesses to the completeness of Abimelech's vengeance.

The city recovered only slowly from the disaster. The beginning of the recovery was marked by the digging of unlined, bag-shaped pits through the acropolis and adjacent areas. Because of the absence of a lining the pits were unsuitable for storage. Their fill was rich in organic matter and destruction debris, containing pottery of the 12th century B.C. The pottery indicates that the pits were filled soon after the Abimelech destruction. Their most obvious use was to dispose of some of the masses of debris which covered the site. The organic matter may have come, as Campbell suggests (unpublished communication), from garments and utensils burned to prevent the spread of disease.

After the pitting phase, the most significant feature is a layering of black bands of very fine composition and rich in organic matter, found in Fields I, VII, and XIII. They were probably deposits from agricultural plots and threshing floors. Houses of poor quality stood among these plots, and in Field XIII, a roadway paved with small stones ran diagonally across the field. The once powerful city had reverted to the status of an agricultural village.

**b. Iron IB–IIA** (Strata X–IX). Political stability in the reigns of David and Solomon accelerated the pace of Shechem's recovery. By the time of division of the monarchy, the city had been reestablished. Drawn undoubtedly by Shechem's long tradition as the principal sacred place of the N tribes, Solomon's son Rehoboam went to Shechem to be crowned (1 Kgs 12:1). His brutal rejection of the demands of his prospective subjects led to the establishment of the independent N Kingdom under Jeroboam I. 1 Kgs 12:25 states that Jeroboam "built" Shechem and made it his capital, but whether this refers to the construction of the fortifications *de novo* or to a strengthening of existing structures is not clear.

Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence for the period is sparse and ambiguous. The fortifications were rebuilt along the lines of the LB defenses. The preserved fragments indicate that they were of casemate construction. Building activity went on also at the East Gate where the towers were reconstructed.

By Stratum IX a steep slope ran from the acropolis area downward toward the East Gate. This slope was terraced to facilitate the construction of houses. One of the terraces and fragments of two others ran across

Field VII. The remains of the housing constructed on these terraces show an improvement in the economic condition of the city.

Strata X and IX are separated from one another by a destruction level which has been attributed to the invasions of the Egyptian Pharaoh Shishak (ca. 918 B.C.). Stratum IX also ends in a destruction, possibly one of the unhappy events in the recurrent war between Israel and Damascus (e.g., 1 Kings 20).

**c. Iron IIB** (Strata VIII–VII). Shechem lost some of its status when Jeroboam moved his capital to Tirzah, but the city flourished as capital and tax collection center of the district of Mt. Ephraim. One of the Samaritan ostraca names Shechem as a source of taxes in wine. On the former acropolis area a rectangular building, approximately 18 m wide by 16 m deep, was built on the stumps of the old temple walls. Its lower walls were constructed of unhewn boulders. A corridor ran the width of the building at the front and gave access to three long, narrow storage rooms. The floor was a very thick layer of heavy plaster which lapped up over the base of the walls. The plan of the structure suggests a granary and the flooring may be an early example of rodent-proofing a building. The building probably housed grain collected as revenue from the district.

The terraces and the houses built on them were in use throughout the period with frequent rebuilding and repair. The middle terrace of Stratum VII supported a fine Israelite courtyard house, almost completely preserved. The open central court was a work area where domestic activities and home industry went on. In the center of the court was a cylindrical stone 90 cm in diameter. Its surface was covered with irregularly spaced, shallow grooves, leading to a deeper circular groove around the edge. A lip allowed liquid collected in the circular groove to run off into a storage jar, set into the ground beside the installation. Abutting it was a stone vat 55 cm deep. A number of large grinding stones were found in the courtyard. The installation was probably an olive press. Some of the supply of olives kept in the vat would be transferred to the flat stone and abraded against the grooves with a grinder. The oil expressed from the fruit would run off into the jar. In a later phase of the building an oval hearth 2 m long, the rim of which was coated with lime, replaced the press. The hearth was most likely a kiln for slaking lime used in the preparation of plaster, although its use as a pottery kiln cannot be ruled out. A saddle quern against the N wall of the court indicates that grain was ground there.

The N and S walls of the courtyard were flanked by two small rooms. Considerable water must have been used in the two S rooms, since they were drained by two stone-filled sumps. A long room with a silo ran the full length of its E side. It seems to have been the main living room of the house, and was connected by a corridor to the kitchen. In a later enlargement of the building, additional rooms were added on the N and S sides.

The destruction which ended Stratum VIII may be attributed to the campaign of Menahem after his successful seizure of the throne from Shallum (2 Kgs 15:13–16). The Assyrian invasion of 724 B.C. brought about the total destruction of Stratum VII. The city was reduced to a heap of ruins, completely covered by debris of fallen brickwork, burned beams and tumbled building stones. The Assyrian destruction of the N cities, of which Shechem is a typical example, made a profound and lasting impression on the people of Judah. Ps 60:6–8 (=Ps 108:7–9) is an obscure oracle of uncertain date which predicts the deliverance of the N regions. Shechem is the first place name mentioned.

**d. Iron IIC** (Stratum V). The impoverished reoccupation at the end of the Israelite period at Shechem shows a marked decline in every aspect of culture. The Iron II defense system and the East Gate underwent shoddy repairs. Flimsy houses covered the area once occupied by the LB guardrooms. In Fields VII and IX some advantage was taken of existing foundations, but mainly the houses were not much more than shanties. The presence of many imitations of Assyrian vessels in local clay indicates the dominance of the Assyrian overlords.

**5. Persian and Hellenistic Periods** (Strata V–I). Shechem remained in an impoverished state during the Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods (Stratum V) and toward their end, had declined to such a degree that the site was abandoned for almost a century and a half. At the beginning of the period a delegation from Shechem and two other N towns came to Jerusalem to mourn the destruction of the Temple, only to be murdered by Ishmael, the assassin of Gedaliah (Jer 41:4–10).

Religious factors brought Shechem back into prominence about 330 B.C. Following their break with the Jewish community, the Samaritans built a temple of their own on Mt. Gerizim. At the foot of the mountain on the ruins of ancient Shechem they designed a city to rival the Holy City of Jerusalem. They constructed a defensive wall on the line of the MB fortifications and laid down a plastered glacis in front of it. The orthostats at the East Gate had long ago been buried in debris, but the Samaritan engineers cleared out the old roadway to form a sunken approach to the gate. A small building, erected over the remains of the LB and Israelite guardrooms housed a wine or olive press.

House construction of the period is of excellent quality. The foundations on which the mudbrick superstructures rested are made of an outer and inner face of dressed stone with a rubble core between. Broad streets separated the blocks of houses. A destruction ended this phase of the city's life.

In the succeeding phase (Stratum III) the concepts of defense and housing remained essentially unaltered. A particularly fine specimen of a Samaritan house came to light in Field II. Its door and window frames were of drafted masonry. The plastered walls were painted a different color in each room. The iron key to an interior room of the house and a clay seal from a papyrus document, showing a kneeling archer, were found in the remains of the building. Judging by the number of loom weights in the debris, a small-scale weaving industry went on in the building. From the remains of a house in Field VII came a small jar which contained a hoard of 35 silver tetradrachmas, minted by the Ptolemaic rulers of Egypt. It was probably left behind by a refugee fleeing the city at the time of the destruction of Stratum III. A possible historical context for this destruction is the wars between the Ptolemies of Egypt and the Seleucids of Damascus for the control of Palestine, which culminated in the victory of the Seleucid Antiochus III at Paneas in 198 B.C.

The development of increasingly efficient siege equipment rendered the defenses of Shechem obsolete. Ballisti could now hurl their missiles into the city from the slopes of Mt. Ebal or Mt. Gerizim. The fortification system was, accordingly abandoned and the walls robbed for building stone. At the foot of the slope below the East Gate a rectangular tower and a narrow screening wall provided a checkpoint at the entrance to the city.

Shechem was already in its final decline when in 107 B.C. Jewish forces, carrying out the expansionist policies of John Hyrcanus, destroyed Shechem completely. This time there was no recovery. In A.D. 72 the Emperor Vespasian built the city of Flavius Neapolis about 1.5 km W of ancient Shechem on the site now occupied by the Arab city of Nablus. Nablus became the urban center of the region, and Shechem remained in ruins, visited on occasion by pilgrims to the nearby traditional locations of Jacob's Well and the Tomb of Joseph.

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**SHECHEM, TOWER OF** (PLACE) [Heb *migdal-šĕkem* (מִגְדַּל־שְׁכֶם)]. Apparently some sort of fortified place in the city of Shechem; together with its stronghold (Heb *ṣĕrîaḥ*) named "the house of El-berith" (Heb *bêt ʾēl bĕrît*), it was destroyed by Abimelek (Judg 9:46–49). The word "tower" (Heb *migdal*) has a wide range of meanings, the most common of which is a building fortified for military purposes (Gen 11:4–5; 2 Kgs 9:17; 17:9) and a part of a fortification system of a town (Jer 31:38). Mazar has shown that Migdal may have had a cultic meaning as well, taking into account the origin of the term from the Bronze Age traditions (*EncMiqr* 4:633–36, in Hebrew). This interpretation is based upon names composed with *migdal,* such as Migdal-El, Migdal-Gad, Migdal-Penuel, etc., places which bore cultic traditions prior to the Israelite period (cf. also names composed with *bêt*: Bethel, Beth-shemesh, Beth-shean, etc.).

During Sellin's 1913–14 and 1926–27 excavations at ancient Shechem (Tel Balatah), a series of four fortified temples were unearthed. These consisted of consecutive stages of buildings (Tower-Temple 1-a to 2-b), dated from "Temenos 6" phase (ca. 1650–1600 B.C.E.) to "Temenos 9" (ca. 1200–1100 B.C.E.). The tower-Temples of Shechem were located in the NW part of the city, approximately 40 m S of the N gate. It was a stone building whose external measurements were 26.3 × 21.2 m. It had very thick walls (5.2 m) and a narrow, straight single entrance with two flanking frontal towers. The single cella contained six column bases and a niche for the god's statue (which was not found). In the different phases an altar

and maṣṣebôt were put in the courtyard in front of the temple. This building, unquestionably a temple that was in continuous use for 400 years, has been identified with the Tower of Shechem ever since its discovery. The existence of similar tower-temples at Megiddo, also dating to the LB (strata VIII–VIIb, ca. 1479–1150 B.C.E.) and probably at Hazor (area A) strengthened the opinion that this was a common type of temple in LB Canaan. Taking into account the dating of Gideon's family in the 2d half of the 12th century B.C.E., it seems highly probable that the temple destroyed by Abimelech was Temple 2-b, the last in the series. The excavators dated this destruction to 1150–1100 B.C.E., which correlates well with Abimelech narrative.

But this raises questions about the meaning of the stronghold *(ṣĕrîaḥ)* of the house of El-Berith. The word *ṣĕrîah* can be interpreted as a natural cave rather than part of a fortification (1 Sam 13:6), a meaning also evident in three Nabatean inscriptions from Petra, as well as in Safaitic and modern Arabic. These considerations may associate the Bronze Age Tower-Temple structure excavated at Shechem with the "house of El-Berith," while the whole fortified acropolis of Tel Balatah would be associated with the "tower of Shechem." Nevertheless, this solution seems difficult, since it seems to refute the regular meaning of the term "tower," *(migdal).*

This led Milik (1959:560–62) and Na›aman (1986) to suggest that the Tower of Shechem was not located within the city. Milik supposed that the *ṣerîah* of El-Berith was a cultic cave on the neighboring Mt. Ebal. Na›aman suggested that the recently discovered Iron I cultic site on Mt. Ebal (Zertal 1986–87) should be identified as the Tower of Shechem, a suggestion based on the fact that the gathering in the Tower of Shechem (Judg 9:46) followed and came after the final destruction of the city by Abimelech (v 45), which might mean a separation between the two. The main obstacles with this hypothesis are that the architectural elements of the Mt. Ebal structure can hardly fit a temple, and the site had never been destroyed and/or burned, a crucial feature of the Abimelech narrative. On the contrary, the Mt. Ebal site was abandoned complete and was deliberately covered by a stone cover, presumably to protect it against secular use.

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**SHEDEUR** (PERSON) [*šĕdê›ûr* (שְׁדֵיאוּר)]. The father of the chief (*nāśî›*, Num 2:10) Elizur of the tribe of Reuben. Each of the five times that Shedeur is mentioned in the OT occurs in a tribal list where his mark of distinction is his status as the father of Elizur. Under the leadership of Shedeur's son Elizur, the tribe of Reuben participated in the census of Israelite fighting men carried out by Moses (Num 1:5, 20–21), presented its offerings on the fourth day of the twelve-day celebration of the dedication of the altar (Num 7:30, 35), took its proper place on the south side of the tabernacle in the Israelite camp (Num 2:10–11), and assumed its position in the order of march at the Israelites' departure from Mt. Sinai (Num 10:18).

The name "Shedeur" could mean either "Shaddai is fire" or "Shaddai is light." The Masoretic vocalization favors the former interpretation, where the deity bears the ambiguous character of either warming or destroying those who draw near (cf. Isa 47:14). However, Noth (*IPN*, 168) contends that the original form of the name meant "Shaddai is light," a characterization of the deity which is also found in Ps 27:1. Both interpretations should be maintained in view of Isa 10:17, where "the light of Israel will become a fire and his Holy One a flame."

DALE F. LAUNDERVILLE

**SHEEP, SHEPHERD.** Shepherding was one of man's earliest occupations. Flocks and herds, always a prominent feature in Palestine and other Near Eastern societies, consisted specifically of cows, sheep, and goats, but could also include horses, asses, and camels; the principal animal, however, owing to size, abundance, and usefulness, was the sheep.

Possession of these animals indicated power and wealth; Job had thousands of sheep, camels, oxen, and she-asses (42:12), and Abraham's flocks, herds, camels, and asses were counted among his blessings (Gen 24:35). At the dedication of the temple, Solomon sacrificed innumerable sheep and oxen (1 Kgs 8:5).

The owner himself was sometimes the shepherd of his flock. Abel was a "keeper of sheep" (Gen 4:2, 3) and Jacob cared for his own flocks (Gen 30:40). God is pictured as a shepherd who seeks out his own scattered sheep (Ezek 34:12). The work might be delegated to the owner's children; Rachel looked after Laban's sheep (Gen 29:6), and David, though the youngest of Jesse's sons, was given this responsibility (1 Sam 16:11; 17:15).

The principal duty of the shepherd was to see that the animals found enough food and water (cf. Psalm 23); and it was important that he guard the sheep, since they were easy prey for wild animals (1 Sam 17:34–35; Amos 3:12). There was also a danger that thieves might sneak among the sheep and carry them off (John 10:1).

The good shepherd was especially concerned for the condition of the flock, careful that the animals not be overdriven (cf. Gen 33:13–14); and would sometimes carry helpless lambs in his arms (cf. Isa 40:11), or on his shoulders (e.g., the Arcadian god Hermes Criophorus, shepherd and protector of livestock). At night, sheep were often kept in simple walled enclosures made from tangled bushes, providing a minimum of protection from weather and enemies (Num 32:16; Judg 5:16; 2 Chr 32:28; Ps 78:70; Zeph 2:6; John 10:1), or caves might have been used, affording the best protection (1 Sam 24:3). The work of the shepherd was essentially to keep the flock intact, counting each animal as it passed under his hand (Jer 33:12–13; Ezek 20:37; cf. Jer 31:10–11; Pss 49:15—Eng v 14; 77:21—Eng v 20).

From this routine of daily life an extensive and complex stock of shepherd and flock imagery developed throughout the ANE. It was one of man's earliest symbols, and is used repeatedly in the Bible to picture God, or national leaders ruling over their people. It was an ancient figure of speech common in Mesopotamia and Egypt, and the Greeks also used the image for several abstract concepts.

The early church saw Jesus as the great shepherd and the fulfillment of the good shepherd. Even in modern times the image continues in the pastorale, or the eclogue, as a recognized form of poetry, and the picturesque nature of the image has inspired some of the great composers to immortalize in music the idyllic shepherd life.

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A. Mesopotamia
B. Egypt
C. Greece
D. The Old Testament
E. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
F. The New Testament

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**A. Mesopotamia**

Throughout Mesopotamian history the shepherd image was commonly used to designate gods and kings; and as a title for kings this use is attested from practically every period.

The symbol suggests the concept of righteous government and often appears in contexts where the subject of justice is prominent. The king as a shepherd and as a representative of the gods was expected to rule with justice and to show kindness in counseling, protecting, and guiding the people through every difficulty.

The early 3d millennium epic hero Enmerkar, king of Uruk, is called a shepherd when he subjects the distant city of Aratta; and the people of Aratta "bend the knee" before him "like highland sheep." He is also called a "beloved provider" (Kramer 1959:26). The early king figures Dumuzi, ruler in Bad-tibira; Etana of Kish; and Lugalbanda of Uruk are all called shepherds. The famous Gilgamesh, acting tyrannically over Uruk, was challenged by the people: "Is this our shepherd, Bold, Stately, Wise?" (*ANET*, 73).

The *ensi* of Lagash, Gudea (ca. 2144–2124) was called a "shepherd" who "leads the people with a good religious hand" (Thureau-Dangin 1907:101); and it is significant that this king's reign is known for its peace, prosperity, and useful pursuits. Ur-Nammu (ca. 2111–2094), whose name is associated with the first known law code in history, was called the shepherd of his people. Lipit-Ishtar of Isin (ca. 1934–1924), known for his law code and his social reforms, is called "humble shepherd of Nippur, the right installed builder (cultivator) of Ur" (Thureau-Dangin 1907:205). Bur-Sin of Isin (ca. 1895–1874) is "the shepherd who has made the heart of the people happy, the mighty builder of Ur" (Thureau-Dangin 1907:205). Warad-Sin of Larsa (ca. 1834–1823) and his brother Rim-Sin, also of Larsa (ca. 1822–1763) were each called shepherd (ibid., 213, 215, 217), and the symbol is attested during the time of the Eshnunna kings (from ca. 1840) (Frankfort, Lloyd, and Jacobsen 1940:138). The great Hammurabi of Babylon is referred to as shepherd in several places in the prologue and epilogue of his law code; he says of himself, "Hammurabi, the shepherd, called by Enlil, am I; the one who makes affluence and plenty abound" (*ANET*, 164). A strong sense of royal responsibility is revealed in this law code, and the need of governing in justice is of paramount concern. The use of the symbol in early Mesopotamia appears to have been an epithet intended to dignify rulership as good, just, and beneficent for the people.

The image was especially significant as a royal name for the Assyrian kings. It appeared early, as a title for Shalmaneser I (ca. 1280), and later kings such as Tukulti-Ninuurta I, Tiglath-pileser I, Assurnasirpal, Shamshi-Adad V, Adad-nirari III, Sargon II, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Assurbanipal were called shepherds (*LAR* 1:38, 56, 58, 73, 139, 140, 169, 187, 188, 254, 261; *LAR* 2:80, 258, 405; *LAS* 48, 55, 117).

Several Sumerian deities were known as shepherds. The high god Enlil was called the faithful shepherd (*ANET*, 337). The sun god Utu was regarded as a compassionate and kind shepherd (Kramer 1959:210–11). When ancient Ur was destroyed, a poet compared the city to an abandoned stable and sheepfold; and the goddess Ningal wailed that she herself was like an "unworthy shepherd." The destroyed city was also compared to "an innocent ewe," bereft of its "trustworthy shepherd" and its "shepherd boy" (*ANET*, 456, 457, 458, 459, 461; cf. this terminology to Zeph 1:4–17; Matt 26:15; 27:9, 10).

In the Babylonian creation epic, Marduk is celebrated as the fertility god of the land, and in this role is called faithful shepherd (*ANET*, 69, 71, 72). The epic is also political, elevating Marduk in the Semitic pantheon as shepherd of all the gods. The Semitic sun god Utu/Shamash, the universal judge and guardian of justice, acquired a great following of the Mesopotamian masses and was called the "Shepherd of the lower world, guardian of the upper" (*ANET*, 387–88), and it is from this god that Hammurabi is depicted receiving his law code.

**B. Egypt**

Here, as in Mesopotamia, the imagery was used to depict gods, kings, and various other figures, and the people were commonly thought of as a herd or flock. Though the imagery occurs early, and probably carried with it political implications of a centralized monarchy, the terminology is rare, but the concept and thought of the king as shepherd is extensive.

Evidence for the symbolic nature of the shepherd figure is found in the widespread use of the simple shepherd's crook as an insignia of kings, princes, and chieftains. The instrument symbolized the ruler's power and eminence, and especially the nature of his rule, the king's obligation to maintain order and justice *(maat)* in the land.

The appearance of the crook-staff in the Late Pre-dynastic period at first signified princely, and later royal, authority, and in historical times the heket-scepter symbolized rulership. The shepherd's crook as a symbol is traceable to the god Osiris, considered the dead ancestor of the kings of Menes' line. Osiris is always depicted with a royal crown, flail, and crook and is sometimes called shepherd. The crook is found on monuments, pillars, pylons, sarcophaguses, and on artifacts from practically every period. It is prominent on Tutankhamen's gold coffin, and a statue of Ramesses II depicts the king holding a crook in his right hand. Some scholars consider the crook, as a symbol of authority, to have originated with a primitive shepherding people who inhabited the E Delta, in the district of Busiris (House of Osiris). The god of this region in early times was Andjeti, who appears with a scepter in one hand.

In the grim years between the Old and Middle Kingdoms (2300–2050 B.C.), Ipuwer insists that the duty and responsibility of the king is to be the "herdsman of all men," and he challenges king Meri-ka-Re to act for the god, for men are "well directed," being the "cattle of the god" (*ANET*, 417). It is significant that during this period of internal crisis the cult of Osiris was revitalized to its highest level.

In the Karnak temple, Amenhotep III (1411–1374) is called "the good shepherd, vigilant for all people" (*ARE* 2:365–66). An inscription at Redesiyeh calls Seti I (1313–1292) "the good shepherd, who preserves his soldiers alive" (*ARE* 3:86). At Karnak, an inscription by Merneptah (1225–1215) says "I am the ruler who shepherds you" (*ARE* 3:243).

Throughout Shechem history, protection, kindness, and even intimate personal feeling by the ruler for his subjects are implied by the use of the image.

**C. Greece**

The appearance of the figure in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* demonstrates that it had already acquired an accepted and customary meaning in very early times. The common phrase used in these works, "shepherd of the host," describes various individuals in both the Greek and Trojan military. The metaphor is used technically, and the compassionate features often implied in the Mesopotamian and Egyptian literature are conspicuously absent. The ancestral scepter of Agamemnon, and the scepters of other kings, shows the instrument to be a symbol of rank and authority; it significantly appears in context with the phrase "shepherd of the host" (*Iliad* 2. 75–109; *Odyssey* 3. 156).

Aeschylus calls a storm at sea an "evil shepherd" (*Agamemnon,* 657), and even captains are spoken of as "shepherds of ships" (*The Suppliant Maidens,* 767). Euripides speaks of the Athenian ruler Theseus as a "young and valiant shepherd" (*Suppliants,* 191; cf., *Helen,* 1479–1494), and in a description of a battle scene refers to "shepherds of chariots" (*Suppliants,* 674). In Plato's *Republic* the definitions of justice find analogy in shepherd and flock symbolism, and the inferences suggest that a ruler, who is a "shepherd," should be concerned only with what is good for his subjects (*Republic* 1. 342, 343, 345; cf. 3. 415D, E, 416A; 4. 440D). He uses the symbol in the *Statesman* to show that the work of a ruler was nothing less than royal art, or statecraft, since the best government must have a good and wise leader, who serves only for the interest of the people he governs (*Statesman,* 266–72b).

Greek pastoral literature shows man retreating to nature, resisting the allurements of the city. The heroes of the poetry are herdsmen and shepherds like Daphnis (see von Geisau PW 4:2141–46), an ancient and archetypal shepherd, and also Thyrsis, Corydon, Tityrus, Lycidas, and Amyntas (Theocritus *The Bucolic Poets, passim;* Virgil, *Eclogues, passim*). Behind the facade of these shepherds and the accompanying stories of summer days and pastoral delights were the poets' attempts to understand the profound issues of life.

**D. The Old Testament**

The Bible's extensive use of shepherd/flock imagery may be most attributable to Israel's earliest years of nomadic and seminomadic existence, and to some extent, ANE sources, but the shepherd life was so general it is difficult to trace common derivations for the use of the symbol.

**1. God as Shepherd.** The traditions of Israel's life in the desert seem to have given rise to the thought of God as their shepherd, for it is during the early period that he alone is viewed as shepherd and protector (Gen 48:15; 49:24; cf. Deut 26:5–8; Jer 13:17; Mic 7:14). Though God is seldom called a shepherd, the concept was common and remained a favorite idiom throughout Israelite history (cf. Pss 31:4—Eng v 3; 80:2—Eng v 1). God is pictured carrying in his bosom animals which cannot keep up, and mindful of the sheep which have young, he does not overdrive them (Isa 40:11; cf. Gen 33:13; Ps 28:9).

The symbol was a favorite for depicting the Exodus. In one of Israel's earliest traditions, the Song of Moses, the image of God as a shepherd leading the people to safe pastures is implied (Exod 15:13, 17), and later reflection upon this event shows God as a powerful leader driving out other nations and making room for his own flock (Ps 78:52–55, 70–72). A number of passages use the figure to compare the return from Babylonian exile with the Exodus (Jer 23:1–8; 31:8–14; Isa 40:11; 49:9–13). God's loyalty and devotion to an individual sheep is presented in the classic Shepherd Psalm (23); it is possible, however,

that this psalm alludes to the exiled community and is a symbolic expression of their return to Palestine (cf. Isa 49:9–13 and Psalm 121).

The picture of Israel as a flock given into the hands of butchers (the nations) in Ps 44:12–24—Eng vv 11–23 is a variation on the usual thought of God as Israel's shepherd, for here the psalmist views God as a sleeping shepherd, unmindful for the welfare of the flock (cf. Isa 56:10, 11); and in Ps 74:1, God is an angry shepherd, casting off his flock.

**2. Human Leaders as Shepherds.** As among other ANE peoples, Israel's leaders were often regarded as shepherds, and even though God was always their principal shepherd, responsible human agents were necessary so that Israel would not be as "sheep without a shepherd" (Num 27:16, 17); and significantly, a charismatic element is said to have rested on such leaders (Num 27:16–21; cf. Isa 11:1–9; 44:28–45:1). God is said to have led the flock Israel through the wilderness by the hand of Moses and Aaron (Ps 77:21—Eng v 20; Isa 63:11). Although no Israelite king is ever directly called by the title "shepherd," it is implied, since David as prince feeds, or shepherds, Israel (2 Sam 5:2), and when Micaiah predicted the death of Ahab and Israel's defeat, he said the scattered army would be "as sheep which have no shepherd" (1 Kgs 22:17; 2 Chr 18:16; cf. Num 27:16, 17).

In the book of Jeremiah the image includes both religious and political figures of varying rank and authority, showing that by the prophet's time it was a well-established and regular portrait for the ruling nobility (Jer 2:8; 3:15; 10:21; 25:34–38; cf. Ezekiel 34). Even the commanders of the enemy from the north are described as shepherds in a manner reminiscent of Homer's usage (Jer 6:3; 12:10; cf. 13:20).

The symbol receives its most extensive treatment in Ezekiel 34. Here the prophet uses the evil shepherd theme to illustrate selfish and irresponsible leadership (vv 2–3), and to rebuke kingship based on domination and crushing oppression: "With force and harshness you ruled them" (v 4), words which echo the cruel period of Egyptian bondage (cf. Exod 1:13–14; Lev 25:43).

The Persian king Cyrus is anointed as God's servant and chosen as his shepherd to rebuild Jerusalem and the temple (Isa 44:28; cf. Jer 23:1–8).

**3. Other Uses of the Image.** Even death is personified as a shepherd, from which only God can ransom the psalmist (Ps 49:15–16—Eng vv 14–15; cf. Hos 13:14). In an ironic application, the wind is called a shepherd which drives away Jerusalem's shepherds (Jer 22:22). The imagery is sometimes equated with an era of peace (cf. Mic 5:2–6; Isa 11:1–9; Ps 23:2); and it is often God himself who leads Israel to an idyllic place (Jer 31:8–10; Pss 1:3; 5:9—Eng v 8; 23:3, 4; 36:9–10—Eng vv 8–9; Isa 41:18–19; 43:19–20; 48:21).

The use of the sleeping shepherd motif implies irresponsible leadership (Isa 56:10–12; Nah 3:18); and such rulers are called "stupid," since they failed to "enquire of the Lord," and as a consequence "their flock is scattered" (Jer 10:21).

Because sheep are passive and defenseless, a prevailing picture associated with this imagery is that of Israel as straying sheep (Isa 53:6; Ps 119:176; cf. Isa 13:14).

The prophet Jeremiah refers to himself as a "lamb led to the slaughter" (11:19), and in vengeance prays that his enemies be taken as sheep for slaughter (12:2–3); but he weeps that "the Lord's flock has been taken captive" (13:17; cf. 13:20).

**E. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha**

Here the image generally follows the patterns of the OT. God, as the universal shepherd, is a didactic leader who rebukes, trains, and teaches mankind (Sir 18:13, 14; cf. Eccl 12:11). The history of the world and Israel is given, using animal and shepherd metaphors (*1 Enoch* 85–90; cf. 89:13, 20, 36–39 with Ps 77:21—Eng v 20). The Babylonian Holofernes, as conqueror of Jerusalem, is compared to a leader of sheep that have no shepherd, since God had forsaken Israel (Jdt 11:19). A Davidic king will rise to shepherd God's scattered flock *Pss. Sol.* 17:23–46). A kind, spiritual leader shepherds and comforts his suffering and guilty congregation (*Fragments of a Zadokite Work* 16:1–3). See ZADOKITE FRAGMENTS. Shepherds are considered essential for the preservation of the Law, and the evils which fell on Israel were the result of their loss, an apparent reference to prophets and priests (*2 Bar.* 77:13, 15,

16). A future shepherd is presented who takes on messianic proportions (2 Esdr 2:34), and Esdras himself is regarded as a shepherd (2 Esdr 5:17).

**F. The New Testament**

The OT concepts about the shepherd as a responsible leader were continued by the disciples of Jesus, who used the motif to characterize his role and mission. The description of Jesus as the second David, and as Israel's shepherd, begins when shepherds in the fields near Bethlehem, the city of David, heard that his son was born, and angels announcing "peace" to mankind (Luke 2:8–20). The narrative is reminiscent of the OT declaration that the coming of David would result in a "covenant of peace" (Ezek 34:23–25; cf. also 1 Sam 16:1, 12, 13; Jer 23:1–8; Mic 5:2–4).

Jesus is presented as going to "sheep without a shepherd" (Mark 6:34; Matt 9:35–10:6; 15:24; cf. Luke 19:10). The terminology in Mark appears to be based on Num 27:16, 17, where Joshua is appointed Israel's leader, and also on Ezekiel 34, where the leaderless and scattered sheep await the new David (Ezek 34:1–10; 23–24).

The most developed shepherd and flock imagery of the NT appears in the gospel of John (10:1–18, 22–29), where Jesus' concern for Israel is contrasted with the feigned care of their present leadership. As a compassionate and trustworthy shepherd, his mission and quality of leadership are marked by a willingness to die for the sheep (v 11; cf. 1 Sam 17:34–35). The author has specifically identified the mission and death of Jesus with his role as a shepherd by using ideas which look back to the Davidic shepherd of Ezek 34:11–16, 23–24, and the smitten shepherd of Zech 13:7 was also in view (cf. Mark 14:27). Since Zechariah 9–14 was especially significant for the early disciples and for their interpretation and understanding of Jesus' eschatological program, the statement, "Strike the shepherd that the sheep may be scattered," and the entire dying shepherd passage (Zech 11:4–14; cf. Matt 27:9), formed a core around which their savior's life and death might be interpreted. The context in Zechariah had a pronounced emotional effect on the disciples when they saw their leader arrested and the apostles scattered like helpless sheep. Both Ezekiel 34 and Zechariah 9–13 were especially productive as the source for much reflection on the role of the shepherd in the gospels.

At the end time the nations are to be gathered before the Son of Man like a great flock of sheep and goats (Matt 25:31–33), and the book of Revelation suggests a military shepherd image (2:27; 19:15; cf. Ps 2:8, 9).

Based on the view that Jesus was the great Shepherd and Guardian of souls (1 Pet 2:25; 5:4), the early church used the symbol to describe the work of its leaders, who were expected to pattern their life and work after that of their chief Shepherd (1 Pet 5:1–4; Heb 13:17, 20–21).

Church leaders were instructed to "tend the flock of God" (1 Pet 5:2), and the titles which were applied to them, such as elder *(presbyteros)* and guardian, bishop, or overseer *(episkopos),* are directly linked to the work of shepherding (cf. Acts 11:30; 14:23; 15:2, 4, 6, 22, 23; 16:4; 20:17, 28–29; 1 Tim 3:2; 4:14; 5:17; Titus 1:5; 1 Pet 5:2–3; and the church was to be sustained by the responsible oversight of these leaders, who were the shepherds over God's flock.

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**SHEERAH** (PERSON) [Heb *še*ˊ*ĕrâ* (שְׁאֵרָה)]. A descendant of Ephraim (1 Chr 7:24). This passage is part of a fragment, vv 21b–24, that interrupts the Ephraimite (Joshua) genealogy, though the Chronicler's reasons for putting it here are unclear. The only other listing of the Ephraimite clan in the OT is Num 26:35–36 and it contains no mention of Sheerah.

Sheerah is Beriah's (v 23) daughter. She is said to be the founder of three cities, two named Beth-horon and one Uzzen-sheerah. The former are located in S Ephraim (Josh 18:13–14) and are traditionally linked

to Joshua (*1DB,* 394). Both were the scene of numerous military conflicts (Josh 10:10–11; 1 Sam 13:18). Uzzen-sheerah is not known elsewhere in the OT.
M. STEPHEN DAVIS

**SHEHARIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕḥaryâ* (שְׁחַרְיָה)]. A Benjaminite, the son of Jeroham (1 Chr 8:26).

According to the Chronicler, Shehariah was a tribal chief residing in Jerusalem in the postexilic period. The name "Shehariah" occurs only once in the long list of Benjaminites in 1 Chr 8:1–40. The origin and provenance of the name is uncertain. Noth (*IPN*, 169) suggested Shehariah means "Yah is dawning," making reference to the similar idea in Isa 60:2. The almost identical name "Shaharaim," differing only in the vowel pointing and final consonant, occurs earlier in the list (1 Chr 8:8).
TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**SHEIKH ABU ZARAD** (PLACE). See TAPPUAH (PLACE); TEPHON (PLACE).

**SHEKEL** [Heb *šeqel* (שֶׁקֶל)]. "Shekel" is also the RSV rendering of the Gk *statēr.* See COINAGE; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**SHELAH** (PERSON) [Heb *šelaḥ* (שֶׁלַח)*; šēlâ*]. SHELANITES. **1.** Son of Arpachshad and father of Eber (Gen 10:24; 11:12–15). Shelah lived to an age of 433 years. In Genesis 11, Shelah forms part of the line which culminates in Abram; in Luke 3:35, Shelah (Gk *sala*) forms part of the line which culminates in Jesus. The LXX inserts *kainan* in the genealogy of Genesis 5 between Arpachshad and Shelah, and this is reflected in the Lukan genealogy. The name itself is related to the West Semitic root, *šlḥ,* identified variously as a weapon, a canal, or even a divine name (Skinner *Genesis* ICC, 131–32, 232; Driver 1948:77, 81). A divine name based on *šlḥ* is plausible. Whether or not a Canaanite deity, *Šalaḥ,* was specifically god of the infernal river (Tsevat 1954; Loretz 1975), such a divine name may also have formed part of the personal name "Methuselah." However, this interpretation suffers from the fact that such a deity is unattested outside of personal names. The form *šlḥn* occurs as a personal name in Old South Arabic (RES 2687, 1; cf. Müller 1963:315).

**2.** Third son of Judah (*šēlâ;* Gen 38:5; 1 Chr 1:18; 4:21), and ancestor of the Shelanites (Gen 46:12; Num 26:20).

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**SHELAH, POOL OF** (PLACE) [Heb *bĕrēkat* (בְּרֵכַת) *haššelaḥ* (הַשֶּׁלַח)]. Name of a pool near the King's Garden in the area of the Fountain Gate, where Shallun under Nehemiah's governorship repaired the city wall of Jerusalem (Neh 3:15). The LXX reads *tōn kōdiōn* "of the sheepskins" for Shelah. However, Siniaticus and Theodotion read *tou Siloμam,* with the Vulgate and the Arabic versions. The pool of Shelah has been related to the Shiloah of Isa 8:4; both names share the same Heb consonants which mean "to send" (with the idea of supplying water; Simons 1952:109 n. 2, 190). It may be identified with modern Birket el-Hamra, S of the city and outside its wall (Wilkinson 1978:120–21; Williamson *Ezra-Nehemiah* WBC, 207). The "artificial pool" of Neh 3:16 may be identified with the King's Pool (Neh 2:14; Avi-Yonah 1954:246), the possible remains of which have been excavated on the W side of the Kidron Valley (Adan 1979). If so, then this "artificial pool" would be different from the Pool of Shelah. However, the King's Pool has also been identified with the Pool of Shelah (Ussishkin 1976:90).

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**SHELEMIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *šelemyâ* (שֶׁלֶמְיָה)*; šelemiyāhû* (שֶׁלֶמְיָהוּ)]. The personal name of some nine individuals, most of whom were in the late Judean or postexilic period.

**1.** A Judean to whom the cast of the lot fell for the office of high gatekeeper of the Solomonic temple's E gate (1 Chr 26:12–14a). His son Zechariah, a shrewd counselor, obtained the lot for the N gate. In the meagerness of detail one can only speculate that those gatekeepers listed in 1 Chr 26:1–11 were the ruling body of the concerns to the temple gates: the sacred, ethical, legal, and social judgments affecting the priest-laity relationship. The specific task of Shelemiah appears to have been the executive administrator of the dictates of the governing body. It seems that Shelemiah had six associates in the administration of his office (1 Chr 26:17). He may be identical to SHALLUM **#10.**

**2.** The grandfather of Jehudi and son of Cushi, a member of the nobility, a judgment deduced from the four generations recounted, and by the political strata in which Jehudi trafficked (Jer 36:14). That the princes chose to send a member of this family to encourage Baruch to appear before the princes of the realm and to read the provocative words of Jeremiah before them, that Baruch consented to accompany them to the court exhibits a confidence that Baruch must have felt in the delegation, and suggests that the family of Cushi were political moderates and sympathetic to the message of the prophetic party. On the other hand, it was Jehudi that read the scroll of Jeremiah to King Jehoiakim, a thankless and dangerous task which aroused the brazen king to such anger that he degraded the holy scroll by using it as fuel for his brazier (Jer 36:20). That Jehudi functioned in the immediate presence of the king indicates the nobility of his family stature.

**3.** The son of Abdeel, a noble of the court of Jehoiakim, an intimate and supportive adherent of the policies of the king (Jer 36:26). When Jehudi had finished reading the scroll and when Jehoiakim had burned the entire scroll in the brazier, the king set about to crush, no doubt once and for all, the antithetical proposals of the prophetic party, largely the followers of Jeremiah. He dispatched his own son, the prince Jerahmeel, together with Seraiah the son of Azriel and Shelemiah the son of Abdeel to apprehend Baruch and Jeremiah.

**4.** The father of Jehucal (Jer 37:3) or Jucal (Jer 38:1), who with the priest Zephaniah, the son of Maaseiah, was sent to implore Jeremiah to pray for the Judeans.

**5.** The father of Irijah, a Judean sentry stationed at the Benjamin Gate (Jer 37:13). When Jeremiah the prophet sought to finalize a property settlement in his family and to purchase land that appeared destined to fall into the hands of the Babylonians, he was seized by this officer as a deserter to the enemy. The plea of the prophet was preemptorily rejected; he was examined before the enraged militaristic princes, beaten, and imprisoned. That the family is traced to the third generation may suggest a military involvement of its members.

**6.** A son of Binnui who had contracted a marriage with a foreign wife in the postexilic period (Ezr 10:39; 1 Esdr 9:34). However, he banished his wife (and children?) in accordance with the judgment of Ezra and the majority voice of the Judean community to rid the new national structure of the taint of paganism (Ezra 8–10; 1 Esdr 8:68–9:36).

**7.** A second son of Binnui, according to the RSV, who had married a foreign wife and submitted to the edict of Ezra endorsed by the Judean community to dissolve the marriages in which a foreign woman and offspring were concerned and to banish them from the community (Ezra 10:41). See BANI.

**8.** The father of Hananiah, who restored a portion of the ruined wall of Jerusalem (Neh 3:30). The son Hananiah may possibly be the person called an apothecary (Neh 3:8), a member of a guild responsible for the production of incense, sacred ointments, and other apothecary products designed for sacred use (cf. Exod 30:22–38).

**9.** One of the four treasurers whom Nehemiah appointed to supervise the ministration of funds to the Levites. The choice of these officers was quite varied: Shelemiah was a priest, Zadok was a scribe, Pedaiah was of the Levites, and their assistant Hanan undesignated, were considered responsible personnel who would fulfill their duty to distribute the tithes equitably to the Levites, certainly to correct some of the flagrant abuses that prevailed at the time (Neh 13:10–13).
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**SHELEPH** (PERSON) [Heb *šālep* (שָׁלֶף)]. A son of Joktan (Gen 10:26; 1 Chr 1:20) whose name appears in the so-called "Table of Nations" (Genesis 10) as a tribal rather than personal name (Westermann 1984:526–27). It may be identified as the name of a South Arabian tribe. Already in the 19th century, E. Osiander (1857:153–55) had pointed out that Arab geographers refer to a Yemenite tribe bearing the name *as-Salif* or *as-Sulaf.* Al-Hamdānī (1884:100.7) mentions *as-Salif* bin Zurʿa, which form a tribal branch of al-Kalāʿ and which resided in the *miḫlāf* as-Saḥūl in the region of present-day Ibb, where a place name *al-Aslāf* (pl. of *Salif*) bears evidence to them. This origin is adduced by the same author in his *Al-Iklīl* (1966:331–32) as Banū *s-Suluf* (another pl. of *Salif*) bin Zurʿa bin Sabaʾ. A genealogy which is taken over from the Table of Nations in Genesis 10 is to be found in *Al-Iklīl* (Al-Hamdānī 1954:52.1), where an *as-Sulaf* and a *Sālif* are listed as sons of Qaḥṭān (biblical Joktan). Together with the tribes of ʿAkk and al-Ašʿar in the Yemenite coastal plain, the *Sulaf* are said to have venerated the idol al-Munṭabiq (Ibn Ḥabīb 1942:318.4). Those *as-Salif* (or *as-Suluf* or *as-Sulaf* respectively) are most probably to be identified with the *slfn* mentioned in the Late Sabean inscription CIH 621.5, where they are listed among the tribal groups which participated in the construction of the stronghold Māwiyat, the present-day Ḥuṣn al-Ghurāb near the ancient harbor of Qanaʾ, where the inscription was found. This identification is supported by the fact that in line 2 of the same inscription the tribe *klʿn* (= *al-Kalāʿ*) is mentioned, a tribe to which the *Salif* belong according to the South Arabian tradition. One of the nine gates of the ancient Himyaritic capital Ẓafār bore the name *bāb al-Aslāf* (al-Hamdānī 1979) which likewise could have been named after the *Salif.*

It is uncertain whether the tribe Radmān *Ḏū-Salifān (rdmn ḏslfn)* in the Sabean inscription CIH 648, 2–3 belongs to the *slfn* in CIH 621; probably they are separate, and the first one might be associated to the land of *Salif* mentioned in al-Hamdānī (1884:76), which was situated in the region of the Sakāsik near al-Ǧanad, NE of present-day Taʿizz in the S part of Yemen. Other less likely possibilities of an identification of the biblical *šelep* and the Sabean *slfn* with the Yemenite place names *Salafa* or *as-Salf* respectively were considered by H. von Wissmann (1975:78, n. 1).

The *salapēnoi* in Ptol. *Geog.* 6.7.23, with which the *šelep* were occasionally joined, are to be separated from them; first, they are to be located much farther in the N of the Arabian Peninsula; and second, the correct reading of the name is most probably *alapēnoi.* Attempts to compare the biblical *šelep* with the Arabic nouns *salaf,* "ancestors," or *silf,* "brother-in-law," are certainly also to be rejected.

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**SHELESH** (PERSON) [Heb *šēleš* (שֵׁלֶשׁ)]. A descendant of Asher, named in the genealogical list of 1 Chr 7:35. In keeping with his name ("third"), Shelesh is listed as the third son of Helem, who perhaps is to be identified with Hotham (7:32). No other information is given about this figure, either in this genealogy or elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. His name, however, is similar to that of Shilshah (1 Chr

7:37), and the two have been associated with the lands of Shalishah and Shaalim in Saulide narratives (see Edelman 1985:86).

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**SHELOMI** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕlōmî* (שְׁלֹמִי)]. The father of Ahihud, a leader of the tribe of Asher who was appointed to oversee the distribution of the land to the children of Israel (Num 34:27).

Shelomi is a shortened form of the name "Shelemiah," a theophoric name consisting of the root *šlm,* "to make full," "to complete," and the divine element *yh.* The name "Shelemiah" occurs in texts from the end of the Judahite monarchy (Jer 36:14; 37:3; 38:1) and from the postexilic era (Ezra; Nehemiah; Chronicles). The name "Shelomi" may be translated "the Lord has made full" or "the Lord has made complete." In the LXX, it is rendered *Selemi,* and as *Salomi* in the Vulgate.

The name "Shelomi" has been found in extrabiblical writings from Palestine. On a stamp of unknown provenance, one finds the words *šlmy/ hʿd,* "Shelomay, the notary (witness)" (Naveh 1971:29). On an Aramaic ostracon from Arad, dated to the 4th century B.C., the name *šlmy* is found.

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**SHELOMITH** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕlōmît* (שְׁלֹמִית)]. Var. SHELOMOTH. The name "Shelomith" is held by five persons in the Hebrew Bible, who range by date from the 10th to the 6th century B.C.E. Shelomith is sometimes confused in the Hebrew text with the very similar name SHELOMOTH. It has been argued by Noth that, where the text refers to a man, the form "Shelomoth" is correct and Shelomith an error (cf. 1 Chr 23:18; 24:22; 1 Chr 26:25–28). Although this may be correct, it is to be noted that the source of confusion between the two names in the Hebrew text lies in the confusion of the similar letters *yod* and *waw.* Whether or not Noth is correct, the problem is compounded by this epigraphic fact.

**1.** The daughter of Dibri, from the tribe of Dan. During the wanderings in the wilderness (Lev 24:11), she married an Egyptian. Their son cursed the Name (of Yahweh) and was taken before Moses for judgment. He was then stoned to death as punishment.

**2.** The daughter of Zerubbabel (1 Chr 3:19). This verse lists the first group of Zerubbabel's children, who may have been born before the return to Jerusalem. She is the only woman named in this list of postexilic, Davidic descendants (vv 17–24).

**3.** A Levite (1 Chr 23:18). He is called the chief of the sons of Izhar. The same person appears in 1 Chr 24:22 as Shelomoth.

**4.** The child of Rehoboam, king of Judah (932–916 B.C.E.), and Maacah the daughter of Absalom (2 Chr 11:20). The child may have been either a daughter or a son, since the form "Shelomith" is used for either gender. Cf. SHELOMOTH #4.

**5.** Shelomith is the name given to the head of a father's house who returned to Jerusalem with Ezra (Ezra 8:10). If the reading of 1 Esdr 8:36 is followed, he is of the family of Bani (missing from Ezra 8:10) and the son of Josiphiah. Cf. SHELOMOTH #5.

RUSSELL FULLER

**SHELOMOTH** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕlōmôt* (שְׁלֹמוֹת)]. Var. SHELOMITH. **1.** Son of Shimei, who was of the levitical family of Gershon, son of Levi, or perhaps the son of Ladan, where *bĕnê šimʿî* (1 Chr 23:9a) has entered the text as an intrusion. Although there is no textual warrant for this reading, it is the most natural way to solve the difficulty of v 9b, which describes the sons of Shimei as "heads of the fathers for *laʿdān.*" Shelomoth is named as one of the family "heads" in v 9, whether the son of Shimei or Ladan. The Qere (*šĕlômît*) is given in the LXX, Targums, and Vulgate but the Ketib *(šĕlōmôt)* occurs in

the Syriac and Arabic versions. The most common form of the name seems to be "Shelomoth" (cf. SHELOMITH). By etymology, the name is related to the verb *šālam* ("to be complete").

**2.** Son of Izhar and head of the levitical family made up of Izhar's sons. As such, Shelomoth is mentioned in 1 Chr 23:18 and 24:22. The MT of 23:18 reads Shelomith rather than Shelomoth although the LXX reads Shelomoth (Gk *Salōmōth*). The MT of 24:22 reads Shelomoth. Each time the name "Shelomoth/Shelomith" is used in the Hebrew Bible, its alternate form occurs in the Ketib of the MT or in another important source. The only exception is 24:22, where the name occurs twice without alternate readings. Noth claimed that the form *šlmyt* was taken by later readers as a plural of the feminine *šlmy* and hence emended to read *šlmwt,* which was considered a more proper masculine form (*IPN,* 165). The same Hebrew root does in fact provide the basis for the name "Salome." The individual denoted in the preceding passages was also the father of Jahath.

**3.** The son of Zichri, who, with his brothers, was responsible for the treasury of dedicated things. He is mentioned in 1 Chr 26:25, 26, and 28. The forms "Shelomoth" and "Shelomith" both occur in this short span of verses. The treasuries he administered consisted of booty captured by Samuel, Saul, and Joab. 2 Sam 8:11 seems to corroborate this, but temple officials are not included in that passage. Elmslie entertained the possibility that 1 Chr 26:20–32 contained "scraps of ancient information" (*IB* 3:429). If this is true, its inclusion in this portion of Chronicles is intended to fill in details on the identity of the officials and their precise duties. This best accounts for the inclusion of this somewhat reduplicative section (compare chaps. 23 and 24). The treasuries were used for temple maintenance.

**4.** The son of Rehoboam and Maacah, according to 2 Chr 11:20. The man was otherwise undistinguished, since his name occurs only here. The Hebrew text actually has Shelomith, but in keeping with other texts, it is often emended to Shelomoth (cf. SHELOMITH #4). Maacah is not named among the children of Absalom in 2 Sam 14:27; therefore, Shelomoth should not be identified as his grandson. By what seems an odd coincidence, Absalom's mother was also named Maacah (1 Chr 3:2). The interpreter would expect that *bat* was a corruption of *ʾim* (wife), but even if Absalom's mother were not removed by two generations from the time of Rehoboam, there is no textual warrant for such a correction.

**5.** The son of Josiphiah and head of the house of Bani. Shelomoth was one of the family leaders, named in Ezra 8:10, who accompanied Ezra to Jerusalem. This identification is based on texts rather than the MT (cf. SHELOMITH #5). In the Hebrew Bible, Ezra 8:10 departs from the pattern which first lists family lines, then the returning member who represents the line. In this case, Shelomoth is mentioned as if he were the family namesake, but with no representative mentioned. Consequently, the name *bānî* has been added to match texts. Bani is thus indicated as the name of the lineage, and Shelomoth stands as its representative. The name "Shelomoth" also reflects a textual change: The Hebrew is *šelōmît.* Other occurrences of the name in the MT and LXX texts provide the basis for the change.

DONALD K. BERRY

**SHELUMIEL** (PERSON) [*šĕlumîʾēl* (שְׁלֻמִיאֵל)]. The son of Zurishaddai and the chief (*nāśîʾ*, Num 2:12) of the tribe of Simeon during the wilderness sojourn after the Exodus. He is mentioned only five times in the OT in four different tribal lists. As leader of the tribe of Simeon, he helped Moses conduct a census of the able-bodied fighting men of Israel prior to their departure from Mt. Sinai (Num 1:6), presented the offerings of the tribe of Judah on the fifth day of the twelve-day celebration of the dedication of the altar (Num 7:36, 41), and directed his tribe to its proper place on the south side of the tabernacle in the Israelite camp (Num 2:12) and to its position in the order of march as the Israelites prepared to depart from Mt. Sinai (Num 10:19).

Johnson (*IDB* 4:320) suggests that Shelumiel may be the same person as the one named SALAMIEL (Gk *Salamiēl*), son of Sarasadai, in the genealogy of Judith (Jdt 8:1; note the for Shelumiel is identical to Salamiel). The meaning of the name "Shelumiel" admits of at least three interpretations: (1) "God is peace" (*IPN,* 165), (2) "at peace with God," and (3) "God is friendly" (Gray *Numbers* ICC, 7).

DALE F. LAUNDERVILLE

**SHEM** (PERSON) [Heb *šēm* (שֵׁם)]. The name of the eldest son of Noah. It appears in the Hebrew Bible seventeen times (Gen 5:32; 6:10; 7:13; 9:18, 23, 26, 27; 10:1, 21, 22, 31; 11:10, 11; 1 Chr 1:4, 17, 24), once in the NT (Luke 3:36), and once in the Apocrypha (Sir 49:16).

**A. The Name**

The etymological origin and meaning of the name "Shem" is disputed. It has been suggested that Shem is an abbreviated or corrupted form of a theophoric name such as *Šĕmû›ēl, šem* meaning "son." In this regard, it is thought that the name refers to an ethnic deity, "heros eponymus," not an ethnic or geographic entity. The hypothesis that "Shem" is related to Akkadian *sumu,* "name" or "son," is more plausible. Names are regarded in Semitic culture to have very significant spiritual connotations. In view of this fact, it is conceivable that Shem means "The Name" derived appropriately from the common Semitic base *šVm-* "name." A case can also be made that Shem, as in the South Semitic languages Sabean and Ethiopic, means "appointed one," "honored one," "elevated one," or even "holy one."

**B. Biblical Data**

Shem is the eldest of Noah's three sons, the brother of Ham and Japhet (Gen 5:32; 6:10). All three sons and their wives joined Noah in the Ark and escaped the Flood (6:9; 7:13–15; 9:1–18). He also shares together with his brothers the divine blessing and covenant (9:1, 17). On Shem's role in the story of Noah's drunkenness (Gen 9:20–27), see HAM (PERSON).

Shem is the father of all Semites, particularly the Hebrews and the Arabs. He had five sons (Elam, Asshur, Arpachshad, Lud, and Aram) and twenty-five descendants (Gen 10:21–32; 1 Chr 1:17, 24). According to the biblical ethnographic conceptions, the descendants of Shem occupy chiefly the lands to the E of Israel (Arabia and Mesopotamia). Some of his descendants, however, may have controlled part of the Horn of Africa. Shem's descendants Asshur, Elam, and Sheba are identified with peoples known from ancient history. Hazarmaveth (Gen 10:26; 1 Chr 1:20) is generally identified with Hadramaut in South Arabia. Joktan is claimed by both Yemenis and Ethiopia to be their ancestor. Albright identifies "Havilah" with N Ethiopia. Others identify Ophir with the Afar in E Ethiopia.

Although Shem does not figure prominently in biblical literature, he is the lineal ancestor of the Jewish people; Abraham is his tenth-generation descendant (Gen 11:10–31). In the Table of Nations his genealogy is given after that of Ham and Japhet, probably to express continuity with the history of the family of Abraham and his descendants that follows.

**C. Jewish Tradition**

Very few references are made to Shem in the Pseudepigrapha, and hardly any in the published literature of Qumran (*Jub.* 2:64, 69, 72–77, 92, 93; *2 En.* 73:5; *Apoc. Adam* 4:1; *T. Sim.* 6:5; *T Isaac* 3:15; *Ps-Philo* 1:22; 4:1ff). The book of *Jubilees* deals with divine land distribution. See Fig. GEO.05. The *Sibylline Oracles* give the sons of Noah the names of Greek gods, Shem being identified with Cronos (3:110–15). The gnostic Sethian Tractate *Apoc. Adam* (V 5:72, 17; 73:14, 25; 74:11; 76:13, 4) deals with the division of the world and empires among the sons of Noah.

The Tannaitic and Amoraitic teachers considered Shem, or *šēm rabbā,* "Shem the Great" as he is called by some (*b. Sanh.* 108b), Noah's youngest son. They say that in the Bible he is mentioned first among the members of his family because he was the most righteous, wisest, and most important son, not because he was the oldest (*b. Sanh* 69b.; *Gen. Rab.* 26:3; 37:7.

Shem is extolled in various ways: he initiated the covering of his father with a garment and hence even more than his brother Japheth was blessed to have the fringed *tallit* for cover and the Shekinah to dwell in his tent (i.e., Jerusalem; *b. Yoma* 10a; *Gen. Rab.* 26:3; 36:6, 8); he was given the choice, middle part of the earth which included the land of Israel (*b. Sanh.* 91a; *Midr.* Haggadol Gen 9:27; *Gen. Rab.* 1:2; *Pirqe R. El.* 24); he is one of the eight righteous persons who lived in his time and who has a place in the world to come (*Midr.* Haggadol Gen 9:18; 11:10; *Tanhuma Yelammedenu,* Noah; *b. Sanh.* 69b); he was born circumcised (*Gen. Rab.* 26:3; *›Abot R. Nat* 2); he was a prophet for 400 years and priest *par excellence.* In fact, Adam's priestly garment was inherited by Shem from Noah. When they emerged out of the Ark,

Shem fulfilled this priestly obligation by offering the sacrifices on behalf of his father Noah (cf. Gen 8:20), who became unfit after he was mauled by a lion in the ark (*Gen. Rab.* 30:6).

Shem was identified in some traditions with Melchizedek, King of Salem, the "priest of the God Most High" who lived in Salem/Jerusalem and who met Abraham after his victory over the four kings (Gen 14:18–20). Abraham was afraid that Shem/Melchizedek might curse him for having killed his other descendants, the Elamites. So, to demonstrate to Abraham that he was not angry at him, Shem/Melchizedek came out to meet him (*Gen. Rab.* 44:8; *Tanḥuma* Lech Lecha 19). In some instances Abraham is elevated higher than Shem. Thus, according to some teachers, it was Shem/Melchizedek who gave tithes to Abraham, not Abraham to Shem. Furthermore, Jerusalem, the City of the Holy Temple, is so named by combining Salem, the name Shem gave it, with *yir*ʿ*eh* (Gen 22:14), the name Abraham gave it. Shem ultimately lost his priestly position because, in his meeting with Abraham, he put the blessing of Abraham ahead of the blessing of the divine name (*B. Ned.* 32b; *Pirqe R. el.* 27). According to another tradition, however, Shem himself, knowing that he had no other worthy descendants, asked divine favor to pass the priestly office to Abraham. At Abraham's funeral, Shem and his great-grandson Eber, walked before his bier and chose a suitable place for the burial (*Gen. Rab.* 62:6; cf. *Yal.* Gen 110).

To Shem is also attributed the founding of the first school (*b. Mak.* 23b; *Gen. Rab.* 36:8; *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gen 9:27; 25:22). Eber also shares this honor with him. Shem received the Hebrew script of the Torah at the time of divine land distribution. At that time, Shem not only received his share of 26 countries and 33 islands, but also 26 of the 72 world languages and 6 (Hebrew, Egyptian, Assyrian, Lybian, Chaldean, and Gutazaki [Sabean? Sanskrit?]) of the 16 international scripts (*Midr.* Haggadol Gen 10:32). The school was not only a place for the study of the Torah but also a law court in which the divine presence dwelt (*B. Mak.* 23b). Jacob was a student in the Shem-Eber school. His brother Esau did not kill him because of the fear of the judgment of that same court. Judah condemned Tamar to death for adultery, following one of the laws the court had promulgated (*b.* ʿ*Abod. Zar.* 36b; *Gen. Rab.* 63:7; 67:8). Inasmuch as the study of the Torah preceded the Sinai revelation and continues after the end of the world, Torah will be studied in heaven in the academy established by Shem and Eber (*Cant. Rab.* 6:2:6; *Qoh. Rab.* 5:11:5).

**D. Christian Literature**

In the NT Shem is mentioned once in the genealogy of Jesus (Luke 3:36). In the early Christian literature, particularly in Irenaeus of Lyon, Lactantius, Hyppolytus of Rome, Clement, Origen, Epiphanius, and Eusibius, the sons of Noah and their generations are often alluded to but without much elaboration.

EPHRAIM ISAAC

**SHEM, PARAPHRASE OF** (NHC VII,*1*). This enigmatic, gnostic tractate is one of the longest and best preserved in the Nag Hammadi codices. It occupies pp. 1,1–49,9 in Codex VII. Only parts of the bottom lines of a few pages are missing. There is no reason to doubt that *Paraph. Shem* was translated from the Greek. It is written in preclassical Sahidic Coptic. The title is found at the beginning and is supplemented by a subtitle: "The paraphrase which was about the unbegotten Spirit" (1,2–3). Aland understands the word "paraphrase" to refer to a literary genre which tries to achieve insight through a series of variations on a theme, in this case the imprisonment and liberation of the light (1978:81). To be sure, the work does not follow the expected chronological order of cosmogony and salvation history often found in mythological gnostic texts. Its use of repetitions, expansions, changes in terminology, and obscure symbolism leaves the reader more bewildered than enlightened. The word "paraphrase," however, is used in a stricter sense within the tractate itself (32,26) where it appears to refer to an explanation of the role of mythological beings who were listed earlier (31,4–32,5) and whose names are recited later by Shem on leaving the body for his final ascent (46,4–47,7). The race of Shem are to remember this "testimony" for their escape from the body.

The genre of *Paraph. Shem* is that of an apocalypse. Shem (consistently spelled Seem) is taken out of the body "to the top of the creation" (1,4–16) where Derdekeas, the son of the infinite Light, reveals to him matters pertaining to the three primeval powers—Light, Darkness, and Spirit between them. The

center of the myth is the capture of Spirit by Darkness and its rescue by the revealer-redeemer Derdekeas. The revelation ends in 41,20 after which Shem awakens "as from a long sleep." Then follows an eschatological discourse in which Shem describes his ascent at the end of his life (42,11–48,30). Finally, without a proper transition, there is a brief farewell address to Shem, apparently spoken again by Derdekeas (48,30–49,9).

Three issues have crystalized at this early point in the interpretation of *Paraph. Shem.* Still unresolved is its relationship to Hippolytus' account of the teaching of the Sethians based on a writing which he knows as "The Paraphrase of Seth" (*Elenchos* V.19–22). The striking agreement in content leaves no doubt that the two works are related, but the explanation that Hippolytus must have known a Christianized form of *Paraph. Shem* (Wisse 1970:138) is rejected by some in favor of a more distant relationship (Wisse and Roberge 1988:341).

Closely related is the question of the possible Christian influence on *Paraph. Shem.* In contrast to some clear allusions to the OT, i.e., the flood (25,11–15; 28,5–14), Sodom (28,34–29,33), and the tower of Babel (25,17–26; 28,9), there is no obvious Christian material. Faith appears to be personified, but its role is obscure. Parallels with the NT are distant. The striking polemic against baptism may include an allusion to the Baptism of Jesus by John the Baptist (30,21–32,17), but this reading is far from compelling. There are some interesting general parallels between the role of Derdekeas and Christ (Wisse 1970:135), but the differences make dependence of the one on the other unlikely. The question remains whether the enigmatic references in the tractate were intended to be decoded in a Christian way.

The eschatology of *Paraph. Shem* is less controversial but has important consequences for our understanding of Gnosticism. The theme of the ascent of the soul is as expected. The tractate's preoccupation with apocalyptic eschatology, however, was not thought to be characteristic of Gnosticism. The same emphasis is found also in other gnostic writing from Nag Hammadi, such as *On the Origin of the World* (NHC II,5) and *The Concept of our Great Power* (NHC VI,*4*). Evidently Gnosticism and Apocalypticism did not essentially differ in their understanding of eschatology.

If Hippolytus knew a Christianized version of *Paraph. Shem,* then its *terminus ad quem* is the first part of the 3d century. The Gk model of the Coptic version could then be dated back to the late 2d century. Nothing in the tractate betrays the identity and provenance of the author.

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FREDERIK WISSE

**SHEM, TREATISE OF.** Preserved in only one 15th-century paper manuscript is a Syriac document attributed to Shem, the son of Noah. It is an astrological almanac *(Dodekaeteris Chaldaica),* whereby the characteristics of the coming year are predicted according to the stars. The original language seems to be Semitic; there are abundant Semitisms that are most likely original and names are identified according to the Semitic alphabet. The provenience is probably Egyptian (Charlesworth *OTP* 1:473–86; *HJP²* 3/1:369–72); the Nile is frequently mentioned, and the crops noted are characteristically Egyptian (wheat, barley, peas). Irrigation and illnesses due to the winds and desert sands also suggest Egypt. The references to the beneficial effects of the north wind, the numerous comments about the sea and fishing, and the mention of Alexandria may well indicate that the document was composed in Alexandria.

The date of composition is difficult to discern. Mingana (1917) suggested that the pseudepigraphon postdates the Jewish War of 130–135 C.E. Charlesworth is convinced that the document may well date from the latter part of the 1st century B.C.E. Astrological documents found at Qumran and the argument

against astrology in *Jubilees* 12 prove that Jewish interest in astrology is not late and medieval, as some scholars have erroneously claimed. The argument that the document must be Christian and late because Jews did not compose such almanacs is dismissed by the recognition that precisely this type of thought is represented in Fragment A from the Cairo Genizah. For example, as Vermes and his colleagues note (in *HJP²* 3/1:369–72), compare *Treat. Shem* 2:1 ("And if the year begins in Taurus: Everyone whose name contains a Beth, or Yudh, or Kaph will become ill …") with Cairo Genizah Fragment A (A/2, 9–12 [ed. Gruenwald] = "He who is born on the third day of the week in the constellation Scorpio of Leo … will at the age of nineteen marry a woman whose name begins with He, Yod."). The claim that this genre of astrological writing must be late is disproved by the recognition that Boll (1900:139–44) drew attention to a *Dodekaeteris Chaldaica* that was composed in Syria during the time of Octavian (who received the name "Augustus" by a decree of the Roman Senate in January, 27 B.C.E.). While it is impossible to be certain, it is conceivable that the *Treatise of Shem* was composed shortly after the famous nonbattle at Actium, in which Octavian "defeated" Anthony and Cleopatra, both of whom fled to Alexandria. Note these interesting excerpts: "And the king of the Romans will not remain in one place … a great war and misery (will occur) on all the earth, and especially in the land of Egypt" (1:5–9). "And the king (the Roman Emperor Octavian?) will strive with a king (Anthony?) and will slay him. And Alexandria will be lost … And many ships will be wrecked" (6:13–17). "And the king will stay in one place. And power will then leave the land" (7:16–17). Perhaps the author was an Alexandrian Jew, who—in reaction to the Roman propaganda over their "victory" at Actium—composed this astrological document to clarify the inexplicable: Anthony and Cleopatra's superior forces lost the so-called battle of Actium.

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JAMES H. CHARLESWORTH

**SHEMA** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕmaʿ* (שְׁמַע)]. Four individuals in the Hebrew Bible bear this name.

**1.** One of the many descendants of Judah referred to in the Chronicler's genealogical lists (1 Chr 2:43–44). More precisely, Shema appears within the Calebite line as the son of Hebron and the father of Raham. However, the presence of place names within this section of 1 Chronicles has long been noted. Caleb is typically seen, therefore, as the father of a collection of cities rather than individuals. Similarly, Shema was possibly a settlement in the vicinity of Hebron (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 41).

**2.** One of the descendants of Reuben according to the Chronicler's lists (1 Chr 5:8), he was the son of Joel and the father of Azaz. In 1 Chr 5:4, Joel's descendants include a certain Shemaiah and Shimei. Shema can possibly be equated with one of them.

**3.** One of the descendants of Benjamin referred to in the Chronicler's lists (1 Chr 8:13), he was the head of a father's house of Aijalon. In 1 Chr 8:21, Shema appears as Shimei.

**4.** One of the men who stood on Ezra's right hand during the great public reading of the Law (Neh 8:4; 1 Esdr 9:43). Not designated as a Levite, Shema's position at this event suggests that he was an influential or representative member of the Israelite laity.

TERRY L. BRENSINGER

**SHEMA** (PLACE) [Heb *šĕmaʿ* (שְׁמַע)]. One of the cities of Judah "in the extreme South, toward the boundary of Edom" (Josh 15:21,26). A place with this name is only explicitly mentioned in this biblical reference. In the list of Simeonite cities (Josh 19:2 ff) however, there is a town named Sheba. Since the two lists in large parts run parallel, it is a quite common suggestion that the name Shema has arisen as a scribal error from Sheba (Cohen *IDB* 4:311). However, it is obvious that the Simeonite list in Joshua 19 is not merely an excerpt from the Judahite list in Joshua 15 (Axelsson 1987:73–79). The two lists deal with roughly (but not exactly) the same area, but some names occurring in chap. 15 are absent in chap. 19, probably because they never were Simeonite settlements. Thus it is perfectly possible that once a town named Shema existed in S Judah, inhabited not by Simeonites but by some of the groups that joined or constituted the tribe of Judah. This leads us to turn our attention to some Chronistic genealogical passages. There is a Calebite clan (or place?) named Shema (1 Chr 2:43), and we also read of a group of Kenites called Shimeathites (1 Chr 2:55). It is conceivable to see a connection between one or the other of these names and the place named Shema. We probably cannot get much further in our knowledge. The name "Shema" may be just an erroneous variant of Sheba. But it is just as possible that a settlement with the name "Shema" really existed in S Judah. If that is the case, we naturally do not know anything more about its exact location.

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LARS E. AXELSSON

**SHEMAʿ, KHIRBET** (M.R. 191264). Literally "the ruin of Shammai," possibly to be identified with Galilean Tekoa, is situated just S of ancient Meiron on one of the foothills of Mt. Meiron at a level of 760 m above sea level. Venerated since medieval times by Jewish pilgrims as the holy burial site of Shammai and other Jewish priests and sages, the site is distinguished by the presence of a large mausoleum at the SW extent of the settlement and by a large megalith to the W known by locals as "Elijah's chair." Although known to the explorers of the 19th century, the first excavations were undertaken between 1970–72 by a team headed by E. M. Meyers.

Although excavations focused on a rather large public building that turned out to be a synagogue complex, numerous soundings were also conducted in the village itself and in the necropolis which surrounded the site, primarily on the E and S. The following chronological chart summarizes the main cultural phases of occupation that had clear architectural remains associated with them (table 1):

| Stratum | Date | Period |
|---|---|---|
| I | ca. 103–37 B.C.E. | Late Hellenistic |
| Unstratified remains | ca. 37 B.C.E.–180 C.E. | Early-Middle Roman |
| II | ca. 180–284 C.E. | Middle Roman |
| III | ca. 284–306 C.E. | Late Roman |
| IV | ca. 306–419 C.E. | Byzantine 1 |
| V | ca. 419–640 C.E. | Byzantine 2 |
| VI | ca. 640–850 C.E. | Early Arab |
| (gap) | ca. 850–1150 C.E. | |
| VII | ca. 1150–1277 C.E. | Medieval |

Excavation in the village revealed agriculture to be the main source of livelihood. Several olive presses were uncovered and flotation analysis was conducted on the associated soils, which made it possible to ascertain the high quality of oil from Tekoa and Upper Galilee that is so noted in the Talmud. Several cisterns were revealed and a unique ritual bath that has its own pre-wash facility associated with it was also recovered.

The excavated tombs indicate that secondary burial or ossilegium was a normal manner of inhumation, apparently often without ossuaries since only few fragments of stone ossuaries were found. Similar evidence was found in nearby MEIRON. See BURIALS (ANCIENT JEWISH). The main discovery of the expedition was the broadhouse synagogue that was built over several pre-synagogue installations from Stratum I or II, including a very elaborate ritual bath. The synagogue is the first broadhouse ever excavated in the Galilee and the first one to be found with internal columnation. A broadhouse is a rectangular hall which focuses attention or worship upon a long wall as opposed to a short wall as is the case in a basilica. See SYNAGOGUE. In a synagogue in the Galilee the wall of orientation would be the S wall that faces toward Jerusalem.

The Khirbet Shemaʿ broadhouse synagogue is founded in Stratum III, measures 18 m by 9 m, and is erected on a basilica-like plan with two rows of four columns oriented on an E-W axis. The principal entrance is on the N, opposite a Stratum IV *bema* or raised platform, used for the reading of Scripture which is attached to the long S wall. The handsome N entryway was crowned with a large lintel piece with a *menorah* carved into its external face. During Stratum III a Torah Shrine or *aedicula* apparently stood on the S wall where a *bema* was constructed in Stratum IV. Another entrance with an eagle incised into a doorjamb is located on top of a monumental stairway on the W. It is necessary to descend several stairs after entering from either direction, a most unusual feature for a house of worship but one which suits the unusual mountain topography of the site. A gallery for additional seating is situated on the W short wall, partially founded on bedrock, and lies above a frescoed room, which might have been used as a storage area for scrolls not in use, or possibly as a scriptorium. A *genizah*, or storage area for scrolls, no longer in use lies under the W stairwell and opens into the frescoed room. Remnants of benches are to be found on all four walls and it may be conjectured that most worshipers either stood, leaned on poles, or simply sat on the floor. Because of the broadhouse plan, however, the view toward the *bema* from many places in the hall was obscured by the columns.

The earthquake of 306 C.E. did great damage at the site in general and destroyed the synagogue almost entirely. It was nonetheless rebuilt soon after in the same broadhouse form in which it was originally erected. Instead of a Torah Shrine on the long S wall, however, a *bema* was constructed, and perhaps in stratum IV the frescoed room came to serve a more integral part in the storage of scrolls for ritual use. Some architectural pieces were reused if they were not too severely damaged, and many of them were simply used as building stones in the E stylolate wall; this wall was built to shore up the E end of the building where bedrock severely dips and where a ritual bath complex had functioned in an earlier period. The second synagogue thus was even more eclectic than the first, with each column capital being different from the other.

Another building to the N was identified by the excavators as a House of Study, or *bĕt-midraš.* It could be entered by a stairway off the main N entrance path to the synagogue from this building. Benches line one sector of the large room where it is possible to imagine a group of students studying with their master. The rest of the space might have been utilized as a guest room. Both study and hospitality were important functions of the ancient synagogue and provide much insight into its multipurpose use in antiquity.

The significance of the discoveries at Khirbet Shemaʿ are twofold. First, they conclusively demonstrate that no rigid typological scheme dictated the norms of synagogue building in the Galilee. This most unusual broadhouse synagogue reveals an eclectic architectual style whose floor plan hearkens back to an old Palestinian temple type. Second, the remoteness of the Upper Galilean mountain hinterland underscores the high level of the achievement of the inhabitants in religious affairs, trade, and other aspects of communal life. A similar, high level of material culture in metal, glass, ceramics, and architecture also indicates how much a part of their contemporary world the inhabitants were, no matter what the extent of their geographical isolation.

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ERIC M. MEYERS

**SHEMAAH** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕmaʿâ* (שְׁמַעָה)]. Father of Ahiezer and Joash, two of the Benjaminite warriors who defected from tribal loyalty to Saul in order to join David at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:3). Some Hebrew mss and LXX mss read "son of" instead of "sons of," so that Shemaah would in this case be the father only of Joash. The Chronicler has doubled the list of warriors who supported David (1 Chr 11:41b–12:40) beyond what was contained in the parallel narrative (2 Sam 23:8–39 [= 1 Chr 11:10–41a]). The source for these additional lists can only be a matter of conjecture, though Williamson has provided a convincing argument for the structure of 1 Chronicles 11–12. The long list reflects the Chronicler's concern to show "all Israel" united in support for David, a characteristic theme of the history. Ambidexterity or lefthandedness among Benjaminites is also noted in Judg 3:15; 20:16.

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**SHEMAIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕmaʿyâ* (שְׁמַעְיָה)*; šĕmaʿyāhû* (שְׁמַעְיָהוּ)]. Shemaiah is a theophoric personal name commonly rendered "Yahweh has heard" (*TPNAH,* 90; *IPN* 184–86). Dahood (1978:92) translates, "Hear, O Ya," comparing the Ugaritic personal name *šmʿy* ("Hear, O Ya," *UT,* no. 1128:33) and the Eblaite personal name *sí-mi-na-ià* ("Hear, I pray, O Ya," TM 75.G.336 IV 16; see Pettinato and Matthiae 1976:4). The name appears in nonbiblical ancient Hebrew in a preexilic papyrus found in a cave in the Wadi Murabbat (Mur. B 4, *TSSI* 1:32), in the Lachish ostraca (4:6, *TSSI* 1:41; 19:4, *TSSI* 1:49), and in a seal (no. 6, *TSSI* 1:61; see also *TPNAH,* 363).

**1.** A chief of the tribe of Simeon (1 Chr 4:37).

**2.** Son of Joel and a chief of the tribe of Reuben (1 Chr 5:4).

**3.** A chief of the sons of Elizaphan and head of a family of Levites with 200 "brothers" or members of the clan (1 Chr 15:8, 11). David summoned him and other levitical chiefs to transfer the ark of the covenant from the house of Obed-edom (13:14) to the tent in Jerusalem (16:1).

**4.** Son of Nethanel; the levitical scribe who registered the appointment by lot of the priestly divisions in the presence of the king, the principal officials, Zadok the priest, Ahimelech the son of Abiathar, and the heads of the priestly and levitical families. There were twenty-four divisions, with sixteen being allocated to the sons of Eleazar and eight to the less numerous sons of Ithamar (1 Chr 24:6; cf. Williamson 1979:257–59).

**5.** Firstborn son of Obed-edom, eponym of a levitical family responsible for service in the temple. When the Levites were being organized they were allocated by lot responsibility for the S gate of the temple and the storehouses. Shemaiah was the father of several outstanding sons who exercised leadership in the family (1 Chr 26:4, 6–7).

**6.** A man of God or prophet in the reign of Rehoboam who forbade the king from fighting in order to suppress the revolt of the ten tribes from the house of David after the death of Solomon. All were to return to their homes because the division of the kingdom came from Yahweh. And this the people did (1 Kgs 12:22–24; 2 Chr 11:2–4). Some scholars (e.g., Jones *1 and 2 Kings* NCBC, 255) believe that this tradition is a late creation, for "there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam continually" (1 Kgs 14:30). Jones (ibid., 279) argues that the Deuteronomistic editor simply prefers not to elaborate his brief statement in v 30, although he "probably" found details of military engagements in his sources. But this is quite speculative. Gray (*1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 349) points out that the existence of a state of war between the two kings does not necessarily imply actual campaigns. It may have been more an armed truce with both sides fortifying frontier fortresses. Furthermore, prophets frequently functioned in times of war, so that the tradition of Shemaiah's oracle may well be historical (ibid., 309). In any case, Yahweh expressly confirms what has already been announced to Solomon (11:11–13) and Jeroboam (vv 30–39). The LXX has a long

insertion after 1 Kgs 12:24, including a brief version of the story of Ahijah the prophet and Jeroboam (11:29–39). In it Samaias (= Shemaiah, see LXX 12:22) the son of Enlami is told by the Lord to take a new garment, not yet washed, and tear it into twelve pieces. He gives ten to Jeroboam and explains, "Thus speaks the Lord about the ten tribes of Israel," i.e., God gives them to Jeroboam. The incident takes place at Shechem, apparently in the presence of Rehoboam (contrast 11:29–31 where Ahijah meets Jeroboam before his flight to Egypt while he is still an official of Solomon). Shemaiah is "indicating that it was the will of Yahweh to condone the disruption," disapproving of Rehoboam rather than approving of Jeroboam (ibid., 311). The historical value of the insertion is doubtful (Gordon 1975:393).

The name also occurs in 2 Chr 12:5, 7 in a narrative (vv 1–12) which depends, at least in part, on 1 Kgs 14:25–28 (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 245–48). The prophet delivers an oracle to Rehoboam and the principal men of Judah who had assembled in Jerusalem when Shishak king of Egypt invaded the land: "You abandoned me, so I have abandoned you to the power of Shishak" (v 5), the reference being probably to the worship of foreign gods (ibid., 246). King and officials now "humble themselves" and say, "Yahweh is righteous" (v 6), that is, they repent (ibid., 247–48, 225–26). Yahweh then speaks again through Shemaiah: He will quickly deliver them and Jerusalem will be spared, but they will become subject to Shishak (vv 7–8). In the event, Shishak required a heavy indemnity (v 9, cf. 1 Kgs 14:26). The absence of Jerusalem from Shishak's list of conquests suggests that the city was indeed spared (*ANET*, 242). The Chronicler finally mentions a book of events of Rehoboam's reign attributed to Shemaiah the prophet (2 Chr 12:15).

**7.** One of the nine Levites (2 Chr 17:8) whom King Jehoshaphat in the third year of his reign (ca. 870 B.C.) sent to teach in the cities of Judah (vv 7–9). The Levites, together with two priests, accompanied five lay officials who headed the mission, and they taught from the book of the law, probably a royal law code (Myers *2 Chronicles* AB, 99–100).

**8.** Son of Jeduthun; a member of one of the three families of levitical singers, and one of the fourteen Levites who are listed as responding with enthusiasm to the command of King Hezekiah to cleanse the temple (2 Chr 29:14).

**9.** One of the six Levites who, at the command of King Hezekiah and under the directions of Kore, distributed the general priestly and levitical portions of first fruits, tithes, and offerings to those resident in the cities of the priests (2 Chr 31:15).

**10.** Probably a son of Shecaniah in a list of the descendants of David (1 Chr 3:22) and more specifically of Jehoiachin (Jeconiah) and Zerubbabel (vv 17, 19) but the text is difficult. Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 21) dates his birth ca. 495 B.C. He is given five named sons.

**11.** From Kiriath-jearim, father of Uriah the prophet who was a contemporary of the prophet Jeremiah (Jer 26:20).

**12.** The Nehelamite, a false prophet in Babylon and contemporary of Jeremiah (Jer 29:24, 31–32). Shemaiah wrote to "all the people," to Zephaniah the son of Maaseiah the priest who was overseer of the temple, and to "all the priests" (v 25). There is no precise date, but the time is after 597 B.C., perhaps in 595/94 B.C. when there was unrest in Babylon (Wiseman 1956:36, 73) in which deported Jews seem to have been involved (cf. vv 20–23). A summary of this letter is given (vv 26–29), or vv 25b–28 may be a quotation from Shemaiah's letter, vv 24–32 representing "an almost unchanged copy of a letter to Shemaiah written by Jeremiah's secretary" (Dijkstra 1983:319). Shemaiah blames Zephaniah for not disciplining "Jeremiah of Anathoth" who has foretold a long exile and advised the deported Jews to settle down (cf. vv 1–15). Zephaniah reads this letter in the hearing of Jeremiah, who then delivers an oracle against Shemaiah which is to be sent to the exiles: Yahweh has not sent Shemaiah and yet he has prophesied and led the people to trust in a falsehood. He and his descendants will therefore be punished. None will live to enjoy the prosperity Yahweh is going to bestow on his people. Shemaiah's chief offense was that he had preached rebellion against Yahweh (vv 31–32), which meant rebellion against the king of Babylon. Jeremiah wrote in terms similar to those in which he had addressed Hananiah (cf. 28:15–16). The rejection of Yahweh's word spoken by one of his "servants the prophets" leads to judgment.

**13.** Father of Delaiah, who was one of the officials who heard Baruch read Jeremiah's oracles from the scroll (Jer 36:12).

**14.** Son of Hasshub, descendant of Merari (1 Chr 9:14), and one of the seven levitical heads of families who lived in or around Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah. Shemaiah's family is also listed in Neh 11:15 where, however, "Bunni" replaces "Merari." According to v 16, he was one of those in charge of "the work outside the house of God," which would indicate noncultic duties such as maintenance and the gathering and storing of provisions for the temple (Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 187).

**15.** Descended from Jeduthun, son of Galal and father of Obadiah (1 Chr 9:16), who was the head of a levitical family, living at Netophah near Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah. Perhaps Shemaiah is identical with Shammua the father of Abda in Neh 11:17, the difference in names being due to abbreviation: "Shammua" for "Shemaiah," "Abda" for "Obadiah."

**16.** One of the chiefs of the Levites, who gave generously to the Levites for the celebration of the Passover held by King Josiah (2 Chr 35:9).

**17.** A son of Adonikam and head of a family; one of those who accompanied Ezra from exile in Babylon to Jerusalem (Ezra 8:13; 1 Esdr 8:39).

**18.** A leading man, one of a delegation sent by Ezra to Iddo at Casiphia to obtain Levites when Ezra discovered on the way that they were absent from the group returning from Babylon (Ezra 8:16; 1 Esdr 8:44).

**19.** A son of Harim and priest in the list of those who put away their foreign wives and children according to Ezra's reform banning marriage with foreigners (Ezra 10:21, note vv 3–5; 1 Esdr 9:21).

**20.** A son of Harim and layman in the list of those who put away their foreign wives and children during Ezra's reform (Ezra 10:31; cf. variant SABBAIAS in 1 Esdr 9:32).

**21.** One of the sons of Ezora listed among the laymen who agreed to put away their foreign wives and children in accordance with the law of the postexilic community (1 Esdr 9:34; Gk *Samatus*).

**22.** Son of Shecaniah and keeper of the East Gate (of the temple); he led one of eight groups repairing the NE wall of Jerusalem between the Water Gate and the Sheep Gate in the time of Nehemiah (Neh 3:29; cf. Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 115).

**23.** Son of Delaiah and descendant of Mehetabel (Neh 6:10). The context is one of plots against Nehemiah. Sanballat and other Persian officials were opposed to Nehemiah's work of reconstruction, and with the wall now repaired, were making a last desperate effort to stop the work being completed. Nehemiah came to the house of Shemaiah who was "shut up" *(ʿāṣûr)*, perhaps physically (LXX *synechomenos*, "confined;" see Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 138–39), but certainly in view of what follows, morally (*LHA*, 621b):vv 12–13 show that he had been bribed to prophesy. The expression "shut up" would then be an instance of "delayed identification" (on this literary device, see Watson 1984:336–38). Shemaiah prophesies to Nehemiah that his enemies are planning to kill him and that he should take refuge in the temple (v 10). This was an attempt to involve Nehemiah in violating religious taboo. It was forbidden for a layman to enter the temple, though he could seek asylum at the altar (Exod 21:13–14; 1 Kgs 1:50–53; 2:28–34) outside the temple proper. Furthermore, Nehemiah was a eunuch so that it would have been doubly offensive for him to enter the temple (Lev 21:17–23; Deut 23:1; cf. Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 138–39). He was a courageous man and refused to jeopardize himself and his work by following the counsel of Shemaiah, who was merely a hired prophet (v 12) and who spoke in order to terrorize him (v 13).

**24.** A priest who set his seal on Nehemiah's covenant (Neh 10:9—Eng v 8), the head of a priestly family who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (12:6), and the head of a priestly family in the time of the high priest Joiakim (12:18). The name seems to be that of an old priestly family.

**25.** A priest (Neh 12:34) in the procession led by Ezra the scribe, which "went to the right," or counterclockwise, toward the Dung Gate (v 31) during the ceremony dedicating the walls of Jerusalem after the repairs were completed.

**26.** A descendant of Asaph and ancestor of Zechariah (Neh 12:35). Zechariah was one of the priests with trumpets who, during the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem under Nehemiah, went in the counterclockwise procession led by Ezra the scribe.

**27.** One of the Levite musicians who accompanied the procession led by Ezra the scribe going toward the right in the ceremony dedicating the walls of Jerusalem (Neh 12:36).

**28.** One of the Levites who accompanied the procession led by Nehemiah going toward the left in the ceremony dedicating the walls of Jerusalem (Neh 12:42).

**29.** Referred to as "the great Shemaiah" (LXX *Semeios,* Sinaiticus reads *Semelios*), he is the father of Ananias and Jathan, relatives of Tobias (Tob 5:14—Eng v 13).

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## SHEMARIAH (PERSON)

[Heb *šĕmaryāhû* (שְׁמַרְיָהוּ)*; šĕmaryāh*]. **1.** A Benjaminite who defected to David while he was at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:5). The name listed here is the longer form *(šĕmaryāhû),* which means "Yahweh has preserved." Shemariah, along with his companions, is considered an excellent warrior possessing the very desirable quality of being ambidextrous. Because Shemariah and the Benjaminites are "compatriots of Saul" *(ʾaḥê šāʾûl),* their defection to David is very significant; therefore, they are listed first among those who came to Ziklag. The Chronicler uses this as clear evidence of the growing popular preference for David over Saul. The list in which Shemariah's name appears, although put in place by the Chronicler, is probably much older, possibly going back to the Davidic era itself (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 106; cf. Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 95). Williamson notes that Bealiah (the name preceding Shemariah in the list) contains the element "Baal," indicating a date before strict Yahwism would have excluded such (106). Thus, Shemariah's defection to David may be considered authentic.

**2.** A son of Rehoboam by his first wife, Mahalath (2 Chr 11:19). The name listed here is the shorter form *šĕmaryāh* (as are the names in #3 and #4 below). Because of certain tensions with other passages from the Chronicler, Williamson believes the list of Rehoboam's children is adopted from an older source (*Chronicles* NCBC, 244). Shemariah's mother was a great-granddaughter of Jesse through both parents and a second cousin of the king. However, Rehoboam favored his second wife, Maacah, and made her first son, Abijah, his royal heir. The king did place his other sons, presumably including Shemariah, in "strategic centers to maintain his position and to guard against disloyalty" (Myers *2 Chronicles* AB, 71).

**3.** A descendant of Harim and one of the returned exiles who married a foreign woman during the era of Ezra's mission (Ezra 10:32). Shemariah does not appear in the parallel text of 1 Esdr 9:29. Shemariah seems to be a member of a family from which groups of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:32; Neh 7:35). The three-month investigation (Ezra 10:16–17) culminating in the list in which Shemariah's name appears produced a relatively small number of names, leading some to believe that the list only includes prominant members of the community. Shemariah's position in the community, however, remains a mystery. While it seems probable that Shemariah divorced his foreign wife (note the prior oath taken by the people [Ezra 10:3–5] and the possibly generalizable v 19), that is not certain. The RSV follows 1 Esdr 9:36 in clearly stating that all on the list did indeed divorce their foreign wives and put away their

children, but the Hebrew text of Ezra 4b is so corrupt that a definite translation is impossible, leaving the final outcome of the investigation in doubt.

**4.** Presumably a descendant of Binnui and one of the returned exiles who married a foreign woman during the era of Ezra's mission (Ezra 10:41). The name "Shemiah" appears in the parallel text of 1 Esdr 9:34. However, Noth argues that the name "Machnadebai," which occurs before Shemariah, is a corruption of the phrase "from the sons of" (*IPN,* 249). If that is true, then Shemariah would be a descendant of Shashai. In the parallel text of 1 Esdr 9:34, the phrase "from the sons of" does replace the name "Machnadebai." Assuming Binnui was Shashai's ancestor, Shashai was a member of a family who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel. (See Neh 7:15; note that Bani replaces Binnui in Ezra 2:10.) For further discussion, see #3 above.

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**SHEMEBER** (PERSON) [Heb *šem·ēber* (שְׁמְאֵבֶר)]. King of Zeboiim (Gen 14:2); appears simply as the "king of Zeboiim" in v 8. The form of the name ending in *dalet,* as in Sam. Pent. and 1QapGen, is preferable because it means "the name is lost" and belongs to the same type of pejorative names as those of the other kings who rebelled against Chedorlaomer. See also CHEDORLAOMER.

MICHAEL C. ASTOUR

**SHEMED** (PERSON) [Heb *šemed* (שְׁמֶד)]. A Benjaminite, one of the sons of Elpaal who along with Eber and Misham built Ono and Lod (1 Chr 8:12). Many Hebrew mss as well as the LXX, Syriac, and Targums read Shemer for Shemed. The similarity of the Heb *dalet* and *reš* make this a likely option; however, most translators and commentators read Shemed as the most difficult reading. Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 160) suggested that v 12a, which lists the sons of Elpaal, is a transcriber's blunder since Elpaal's sons are also listed in vv 17–18. If the sons of Elpaal—Eber, Misham, and Shemed—were deleted from 12a, this would make Elpaal the *one* who built the towns of Ono and Lod. Shemed would then be identified with Ishmerai (v 18).

TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**SHEMER** (PERSON) [Heb *šemer* (שֶׁמֶר)]. Var. SHOMER. **1.** The original owner of the hill upon which Samaria was built and after which the city was named (1 Kgs 16:24). Gray (*1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 367) suggested that Shemer was the name of a tribe or clan since the hill was quite large and fertile and the name is of a segholate form. The OT, however, does not elsewhere mention a tribe by the name of Shemer, and Noth (*Könige* BKAT, 353) regarded the connection of Samaria to Shemer as a secondary explanatory gloss, *šōmĕrôn* being the original name of the hill. The name "Samaria" comes from the LXX.

**2.** A Levite of the clan of Merari (1 Chr 6:31—Eng 6:46). The name "Shemer" (in the pausal form *šāmer*) is found in a genealogical list tracing the ancestry of Ethan, a singer in the Jerusalem temple at the time of David (1 Chr 6:16–33—Eng 6:31–48).

**3.** A descendant of Asher (1 Chr 7:34). In 1 Chr 7:32 the name appears as Shomer *(šômēr);* it is generally agreed, however, that it should be read as "Shemer" as in 7:34. The LXX tradition is mixed. Codex Vaticanus reads Shemer in both 7:32 and 7:34. Codex Alexandrinus, however, reads Shomer in both places. See also SHOMER.

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**SHEMIDA** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕmîdā·* (שְׁמִידָע)]. SHEMIDAITE. Shemida's name occurs in three kinds of biblical texts that deal with the tribe of Manasseh: a military census [Num 26:32], a tribal allotment [Josh 17:2], and a genealogy [1 Chr 7:19]), as well as in the Samaria Ostraca. The name appears

to derive from the Hebrew words "name" *(šēm)* and "know" *(yāda‘)* and so may have meant "the Name (= God) knows," although alternative derivations have been proposed (Noth *IPN,* 28, 123; *IDB* 4:323).

Shemida's name first appears in the Bible in Num 26:32, which lists him as the fifth of Gilead's six sons and designates his descendants "Shemidaites." This verse is part of the Manassite section (26:28–34) of a military census. The text exhibits no interest in Shemida's descendants, but directs attention to those of Shemida's brother, Hepher, whose son, Zelophehad, had five daughters. This passage is often accepted as establishing the correct relationship of Shemida to the rest of the tribe of Manasseh (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 69–70).

Joshua 17 deals with the allotment of tribal lands to the tribe of Manasseh. The passage notes that Machir was Manasseh's firstborn, that Gilead was the son of Machir, and that the regions of Gilead and Bashan were given to Gilead. Then, however, the passage reports that allotments were given to the rest of the tribe of Manasseh according to their families. The six families or clans (called "sons of Manasseh") that are named are: Abiezer, Helek, Asriel, Shechem, Hepher, and Shemida. It seems likely, therefore, that the writer believed that Manasseh had seven sons, of whom the first was Machir and the seventh Shemida. In addition, Joshua reverses the sequence of the names in Num 26:32 to "Hepher, Shemida." As was the case in Numbers 26, the interest in Joshua 17 is not with Shemida's descendants but with those of Hepher: Zelophehad and his five daughters (17:3–6).

Finally, Shemida is mentioned in 1 Chr 7:19, a genealogical fragment, whose relationship to the rest of the Manassite genealogy (7:14–18) is unclear. The verse records the names of Shemida and his four sons: Ahian, Shechem (the name of Shemida's brother in Num 26:31 and Josh 17:2), Likhi, and Aniam. The verse does not, however, link Shemida and his sons to the Manassites, who appear earlier in 1 Chronicles 7. Consequently, a variety of proposals have arisen in order to fit the verse (7:19) more coherently into its context (7:10–18). Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 152), for example, have suggested that Shemida was the fourth son of Hammolecheth (7:18). Others, however, regard Shemida as the son of Gilead (cf. Num 26:30–32; Josh 17:1–3), and along the lines of this interpretation, Rudolph (HAT, 69–71) has undertaken a comprehensive emendation of the Manassite genealogy in 1 Chronicles 7 on the basis of Num 26:28-34.

The names of Shemida and other descendants of Manasseh occur in the Samaria Ostraca as clans or territories from which shipments of agricultural produce originated. These documents suggest that in the 8th century B.C.E. the names of Manassite clans (including Abiezer, Helek, Asriel, Shechem, Shemida, and Hepher), were still significant as designations of clan territories (Aharoni *LBHG,* 366–67) or administrative districts in Israel (Albright 1931:249–51). While the biblical text does not specify the location of Shemida, Cross (1961:12–14) has proposed that it was situated W of Samaria and N of the Wadi et-Tin.

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M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**SHEMIRAMOTH** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕmîrāmôt* (שְׁמִירָמוֹת)]. The name of two different persons mentioned in the OT.

1. One of the Levites of second rank appointed to provide music during David's second effort to move the ark to Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:18, 16:5). For further discussion, see ELIPHELEHU.

2. One of the Levites appointed by Jehoshaphat to teach the law in the cities of Judah (2 Chr 17:8). For teaching as a function of cultic personnel, see Lev 10:11; Deut 33:10; Jer 18:18; Mal 2:7; Hos 4:6; 2 Chr 15:3.

RAYMOND B. DILLARD

**SHEMUEL** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕmû›ēl* (שְׁמוּאֵל)]. Two individuals mentioned in the Hebrew Bible bear this name.

Shemuel is a theophoric name, composed of the term *šm* and the divine element *›ēl*. In the birth narrative of the prophet Samuel (although the Hebrew spelling of the prophet's name is identical to that of the individuals being discussed here, they should not be confused), Samuel is explained, in the Bible, as "requested from the Lord," or "dedicated to the Lord" (1 Sam 1:20, 27, 28). Many have noted that we should expect the name *šā›ûl* instead of Samuel, if the explanation in the Bible is to be followed, and have suggested that the authors have confused Samuel's birth narrative with that of Saul. The medieval Hebrew grammarian David Kimchi regarded Shemuel as a contraction of *šā›ûl mē›ēl,* "requested of God." Other possible explanations of Shemuel include "the *šēm* is *›ēl*," and "the son of El." Note that Shemuel is rendered as *samouēl* in the LXX.

Shemuel has cognates in other Semitic languages. In the Amorite personal names found in the Mari texts, one finds *sumu-la-ilu* and *sumu-li-ili* (*APNM,* 248–49), a Phoenician text has *lsml›l,* and combinations of *śm* with theophoric elements appear in texts from Amarna and Alalakh, and in Ugaritic.

**1.** The son of Ammihud, leader of the tribe of Simon who was appointed to oversee the distribution of the land to the children of Israel (Num 34:20).

**2.** A leader of the clan of Tola of the tribe of Issachar (1 Chr 7:2).

RAPHAEL I. PANITZ

**SHENAZZAR** (PERSON) [Heb *šen›aṣṣar* (שְׁנְאַצַּר)]. The name "Shenazzar" is held by only one person in the Hebrew Bible. In 1 Chr 3:18 Shenazzar is the name of the fourth son of Jehoiachin (= Jeconiah) who was exiled to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar in 597 B.C. Albright argued that the name "Shenazzar" was one of two Hebrew variants of the Akkadian form *Sin-apla-uṣur* (May Sin protect the son). The other Hebrew variant, he argued, was Sheshbazzar (Ezra 1:8, 11; 5:14, 16). This led to the possibility that the two people who held these names were actually one and the same and that the first return from the Babylonian Exile was led by a descendant of David, Sheshbazzar, the "prince" of Judah.

It has recently been argued (Berger 1971:98ff.), however, on the basis of an examination of the onomastic evidence, that the name "Sheshbazzar" can in no way be linked with the same Akkadian form which the name "Shenazzar" reflects, but must instead be the Hebrew form of the Akkadian name *shamash-ab (a)-uṣur* although spelled *shash (sh)u-ab-uṣur.* This means that the two names, and the people who held them, are no longer to be considered identical.

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RUSSELL FULLER

**SHEOL** [Heb *šĕ›ôl* (שְׁאוֹל)]. See DEAD, ABODE OF THE.

**SHEPHAM** (PLACE) [Heb *šĕpām* (שְׁפָם)]. A place located near Riblah on the Upper Orontes, on the NE border of Canaan (Num 34:10–11). The site is completely unknown. Aharoni (*LBHG,* 67) suggests that it was on the SE edge of the Sea of Galilee; however, this would seem to be too far to the S for the description given in the book of Numbers.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**SHEPHATIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕpaṭyâ* (שְׁפַטְיָה)*, šĕpaṭyāhû* (שְׁפַטְיָהוּ)]. **1.** The fifth son born to King David at Hebron, by Abital (2 Sam 3:4; 1 Chr 3:3).

**2.** A Haruphite and one of the twenty-three Benjaminite warriors who joined David at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:6—Eng 12:5).

**3.** Son of Maacah and, according to 1 Chr 27:16, leader of the tribe of Simeon during the reign of King David.

**4.** A son of King Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 21:2). Together with five of his brothers, he inherited silver, gold, possessions, and fortified cities upon the death of his father, while the throne went to Jehoshaphat's eldest son, Jehoram. The Chronicler reports that after ascending the throne, Jehoram had his brothers executed (21:3–4).

**5.** Son of Mattan (Jer 38:1) and one of King Zedekiah's (597–586 B.C.E.) court officials (he was a *śar* [Jer 38:4], a term translated as "prince" in the RSV). During the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem, Shephathiah was one of four (three in the LXX) officials who, representing the pro-Egyptian faction in Judah, demanded that Zedekiah put the prophet Jeremiah to death because of the treasonable nature of his preaching. Jeremiah's message, which centered on the certain fall of Jerusalem and the necessity of submitting to the Babylonians, was demoralizing the Judean troops (lit. "weakening the hands" of those defending the city of Jerusalem; cf. the use of this expression in one of the ostraca [Ostracon 6] found at Lachish [see *ANET,* 322]). Zedekiah is portrayed as being powerless to resist his court official, and Jeremiah is cast into an empty cistern to die (38:2–6). He is later rescued when Ebed-melech acts on his behalf (38:7–13).

**6.** Founder of one of the lay families which returned with Zerubbabel from exile in Babylonia (Ezra 2:4; Neh 7:9; 1 Esdr 5:9). 372 (472 in 1 Esdr 5:9) members of this family are said to have returned at this time. A further 81 (71 in 1 Esdr 8:34) male members of the family accompanied Ezra (Ezra 8:8).

**7.** Ancestor of one of the families of "the sons of Solomon's servants" which returned from exile with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:57; Neh 7:59). These families, the origin of which is uncertain (cf. however 1 Kgs 9:20–21; 2 Chr 8:7–8), are closely linked with the families of temple servitors in Ezra 2:58 and Neh 7:60, where the total number of temple servants and sons of Solomon's servants is reported to have been 392.

**8.** Father of Meshullam, head of one of the Benjaminites lay families which settled in Jerusalem following the exile (1 Chr 9:8). The Meshullam branch of the Benjaminite line is not mentioned in the similar list contained in Nehemiah 11.

**9.** Son of Mahalalel and ancestor of Athaiah, head of one of the Judahite lay families which resided in Jerusalem at the time of Nehemiah (Neh 11:4). The family belonged to the Perez line, of which 468 male descendants were reported to have been living in Jerusalem (11:6). The name of Shephatiah does not occur in the genealogy of the Perez line in 1 Chr 9:4.

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JOHN M. BERRIDGE

**SHEPHELAH** (PLACE) [Heb *šĕpēlâ* (שְׁפֵלָה)]. This regional name is mentioned 20 times in the Hebrew Bible (arguably 21 times if one includes Isa 32:19) where the vowels are slightly different. In all but two cases a region adjacent to the highlands of Judah is intended. It is difficult to translate this regional designation into a generic physiographic term, and it probably would be wise to leave it in a transliterated form, possibly with a qualifier (Judah or Israel) if that distinction is helpful to a reader. The Heb meaning conveys a meaning of lowness, and consequently some translators have referred to the Shephelah region as "lowlands." This "lowness" may, however, represent an ancient bias on the part of Judahites up on the plateau looking down on their own brethren. The area is certainly "lower" (with hills only ranging from 300 to 1300 feet in elevation) whereas the highlands of the plateau have elevations that can reach about 3300 feet. But a more precise physiographic term may be "foothills" or "piedmont." However, even these terms fail to convey the significance of the morphology of this region because the hilly parts of the Shephelah were largely unimportant, except as supply of wood ("as plentiful as the sycomore of the Shephelah" 1 Kgs 10:27). What did matter most about the Shephelah was a N-S valley separating it from the Judean highlands to the E. This valley was a natural moat that acted to isolate and defend the ramparts of Judah. What also mattered about the Shephelah were the E-W trending valleys that

transected the foothills and led up to the Judean Plateau. These valleys were natural locations for walled cities because they were at the cross roads of easy transportation routes that led from the coastal plains to the highlands. In these valleys were located Gezer at the entrance to the Aijalon Valley, Beth-shemesh by the Sorek Valley, Azekah and Socoh at the Elah Valley, and Maresha and Lachish farther S in the wadis that led up to Hebron. Control of these routes and the cities that guarded them were critical to the defense of Judah, and equally vital to any nation that wanted dominance over the adjacent coastal plains and its coastal highway. Throughout biblical history (and even into modern times), the Shephelah has been of strategic military significance. An authoritative and comprehensive study of the history of this region during biblical times can be found in a paper by Rainey (1983). An interpretative geographic study of this region can be found in a paper written by Brodsky (1987).

The Shephelah of Judah appears as one of four administrative subdivisions of the territory of Judah (Deut 1:7–8; Josh 10:40; 11:16a; 12:8; Judg 1:9). The identification of the settlements listed in Josh 15:33–34 aid in the exact delineation of the boundaries of the Shephelah. The boundary with the Negeb in the S may perhaps be located in a narrow pass N of Tel Halif. The N boundary was around Gezer and Gimzo. In all, the Shephelah of Judah is no more than about 10 miles wide and about 50 miles long along the NE-SW axis of the Judean plateau. Consequently, the importance of the Shephelah throughout history is largely as a transition zone between the coastal plain to the W, and to the Judean highlands to the E.

In two biblical passages the term "Shephelah" refers to the "Shephelah of Israel":Joshua 11:1–3, and in the second use of the Hebrew word in Joshua 11:16.

Some scholars have placed the N "Shephelah of Israel" in the hilly region between the mountains of Samaria and the coastal plain of the Sharon. But this region is not at all physiographically similar to the Shephelah of Judah. A widely accepted location of the Shephelah of Israel, suggested originally by G. A. Smith, is the low hills that lie between the Samarian hill country and the Carmel range, known today as Ramot Manasseh. However, this location is sandwiched between two mountain ridges whereas the Judean Shephelah lies between the mountains and the coastal plains. Finkelstein (1981) offers another possibility: the N-S foothills of W Galilee extending up to the coastal plain of Tyre in S Lebanon. See GALILEE (PREHELLENISTIC). Here a Shephelah-like physiography lies between mountains and coastal plain. Finkelstein further suggests that this region was well recognized throughout history as distinctive, and consequently was used extensively for administrative purposes, especially during the 19th century, and during Crusader times. He also finds evidence that during talmudic times the "Shephelah of Galilee" was differentiated as a "Land of Gentiles," while the mountains to the E were included in the "Land of Israel." Still earlier in history, the border between the tribes of Asher and Naphtali (Josh 19:24–40) may have corresponded to this morphological division: Asher in the Shephelah and coastal plains, and Naphtali in the mountains. Apparently only in modern times has this physiographic region failed to serve as a basis for a political-administrative subdivision.

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HAROLD BRODSKY

**SHEPHER, MOUNT** (PLACE) [Heb *har-šeper* (הַר־שָׁפֶר)]. One of the camping sites of the Israelites as they journeyed through the wilderness (Num 33:23, 24). Its exact location is unknown, as are the locations of most of these sites. Noth (*Numbers* OTL) suggests that it is part of a "document" of the wilderness camping sites used by the Priestly writer.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**SHEPHERD.** See SHEEP, SHEPHERD.

**SHEPHERD OF HERMAS.** See HERMAS' THE SHEPHERD …

**SHEPHO** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕpô* (שְׁפוֹ)]. Var. SHEPHI. A clan name in the genealogy of Seir the Horite in Gen 36:23. Shepho is listed as the fourth of five sons of the clan chief Shobal, and is thus a grandson of Seir. The name also appears in the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 1:40. However, it is written Shephi (Heb *šĕpî*). As Horwitz (1973:70) notes, this may be due to a confusion between the letters *waw* and *yod.* These Horite clans are not to be confused with the Hurrians of Mesopotamia. They were the original inhabitants of the region of Edom (perhaps as cave dwellers), but they eventually lost control of the area to the encroaching "sons of Esau" (Deut 2:12–22). This conquest of the Horites is paired in the text with the conquest of Canaan by the tribes of Israel.

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VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

**SHEPHUPHAM** (PERSON) [Heb *šĕpûpām* (שְׁפוּפָם)]. Var. SHEPHUPHAN. SHUPHAMITES. The fourth of Benjamin's five sons (Num 26:38–40). Although the name "Shephupham" occurs in only one of the Benjaminite genealogies (Num 26:39), what may be corrupt forms of the name are also present in the other genealogies for the tribe (Muppim, Gen 46:21; Shuppim, 1 Chr 7:12, 15; Shephuphan, 1 Chr 8:5). In addition, the name "Shephupham" and its variants usually occur in the company of similar names, which may be variants of a single name, as well: Huppim (Gen 46:21; 1 Chr 7:12, 15), Hupham (Num 26:39), and Huram (1 Chr 8:5). There are numerous differences, however, among these Benjaminite genealogies, and there is no consensus among scholars about which should be used to correct the others. Among the reconstructions that have been proposed, however, Rudolph's preference for that in Numbers 26 (*Chronikbücher* 70–71) has won much, though not universal, support.

Gen 46:8–27 lists the descendants of Jacob who entered Egypt. In v 21, the MT gives Benjamin ten sons, one of whom was Muppim. The LXX, however, gives Benjamin only three sons, but adds six grandsons, one of whom was Mamphin, and one great-grandson. It may be that Muppim/Mamphin is a corrupted form of Shephupham (Westermann 1986:153). Commentators usually note that according to Genesis, Benjamin was only about 25 years old at the time that he and his family entered Egypt (cf. Gen 35:16–19; 41:46, 53; 45:6)—rather young to have had ten sons (or the great-grandson that one finds in the LXX; Westermann 1986:160). In addition, the MT of Gen 46:21 is incongruent with the list of Benjamin's descendants in Num 26:38–40; the MT of Numbers 26 assigns him five sons (Bela, Ashbel, Ahiram, Shephupham, and Hupham) and two grandsons (Ard and Naaman) through Bela. The LXX of Numbers 26:42–44 omits Hupham from the list and gives variant spellings for each of the other names.

1 Chr 7:6–12 provides a third list of Benjamin's descendants and lists Bela, Becher, and Jediael as the patriarch's three sons. The firstborn (Bela) had five sons (v 7):Ezbon, Uzzi, Uzziel, Jerimoth, and Iri (or Ir, v 12). Iri, in turn, had two sons, Shuppim and Huppim. It may be that the text or tradition of this Benjaminite genealogy is corrupt and this Shuppim was the same person as the Shephupham of Num 26:39. Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 145–49) proposed that since 1 Chr 7:6–11 is so strikingly different from the Benjaminite genealogy in Numbers 26, it was originally a genealogy for the tribe of Zebulun, and v 12 was a genealogy for Dan. In addition, there is already a genealogy for Benjamin in 1 Chronicles 8 but none in 1 Chronicles 1–9 for Zebulun. However, this suggestion has won little support, since most scholars find it easier to attribute the differences between the two (Benjaminite) genealogies to textual corruption or to intentional changes by those who transmitted the genealogical material (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 106–9).

In 1 Chr 7:15, it is reported that Manasseh's son Machir "took a wife for Huppim and Shuppim." The identity of Shuppim, however, is unclear. Was he a Benjaminite, perhaps the same Shuppim that was met in 1 Chr 7:12, or perhaps his name is a corrupted form of Shephupham (Num 26:39)? Or was he a Manassite, possibly the son of Machir? The LXX, at any rate, gives his name as Mamphin, the same form that occurs in Gen 46:21, where the MT reads Muppim. The genealogy for Manasseh in 1 Chr 7:14–19 presents a number of complex problems which have not been resolved to the satisfaction of most scholars,

and so it appears that the identity of Shuppim will remain unknown. The same name occurs in 1 Chr 26:16, where it is reported that when lots were cast to assign the various gatekeepers their posts in Jerusalem, two of the Levites, Shuppim and Hosah, were given charge of Shallecheth, a gate on the W.

Another genealogy for the tribe of Benjamin occurs in 1 Chronicles 8. Among the names there is Shephuphan (v 5), one of the nine sons of Bela the son of Benjamin. This may also be a corrupted form for Shephupham, as the Targum and some Hebrew mss indicate by reading Shephupham.

Therefore, two points remain uncertain: (1) the relationship among the names "Shephupham," "Muppim," "Shuppim," and "Shephuphan" and (2) their relationship(s) to the patriarch Benjamin.

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M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**SHERD.** See POTTERY.

**SHEREBIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *šērēbyâ* (שֵׁרֵבְיָה)]. The name of several individuals, in which the theophoric element *yāh* is added to a form of *šrb.* Several explanations or derivations of the name have been proposed. Noth (*IPN,* 259) believes it to be a *Pi῾el* perfect of a verb *šrb* whose meaning is unknown. A verb stem meaning "parch" is, according to BDB, 1055 and KB, 1010, attested in post-biblical Hebrew, Aramaic, and Syriac. A Heb noun, *šārāb,* is found in Isa 35:7 and 49:10 (where Caspari 1931:81 believes it refers to a demon) and conveys the sense of "heat." Zadok (*EncMiqr* 8:259) suggests a West Semitic root *šrb* meaning, perhaps, "to go before," and in Piel "to send." The Ar *sariba* carries similar meanings—"flow, run" and "send in groups." (Zadok's bibliography suggests several derivation possibilities.) Combinations of the above have suggested to many "Yahweh has sent burning heat" as a translation of the name. Robinson (1868:42) points to the Ar *serāb* as denoting a "mirage." Clay (1904:53) notices the name's similarity to a personal name *Ish-ri-bi-Ia-a-ma* found on a 5th century B.C. cuneiform text from Nippur. The use of the name to refer to family and to individual persons makes it difficult to determine from its eight occurrences in the Hebrew Bible the number of people who bear it. Opperwall (*ISBE* 4:474) is correct in observing the name may be of one, two, or three individuals.

**1.** One of those (Ezra 8:18) who, with his sons and brothers, was sent by Iddo to Ezra in response to a request for "ministers *(měšartîm)* for the house of our God" (v 17) to return from Babylon (v 1) to Jerusalem (v 31) with him. The LXX omits his name reading instead *kai archēn* (a corruption, suggests Bewer [1922:76], of *kai Sarcheia* = Heb *wšrkyh*) *ēlthosan.* If the *waw* preceding his name in the MT is an explicative (Rudolph *Esra und Nehemia* HAT, 81; Clines *Ezra Nehemiah, and Esther* NCBC, 110; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 113) and is to be rendered "namely," or if, as in 1 Esdr 8:46—Eng 8:47 (where the name is *Asebēbian*), the copula is to be dropped (Bertholet *Esra und Nehemia* HKAT, 36; Bewer 1922:72), then this Sherebiah is the one "from the sons of Mahli, son of Levi, son of Israel (instead of *bn-yšr῾l* Batten *Ezra and Nehemiah* ICC, reads *br῾šwn* "at the head")—"the man of discretion *(῾îš śekel).*" If the *waw* preceding the name is a simple conjunction ("and"), the "man of discretion" remains unnamed or is itself the proper name of the Levite (Bertholet, 36; cf. Gunneweg *Esra* KAT, 148).

According to Ezra 8:24, a Sherebiah is one of those among the priests and Levites (v 30) charged by Ezra with conveying "the offering *(tĕrûmāh)* of the house of our God" (v 25) from Babylon to Jerusalem (v 30). The MT places *lĕ* before his name either as a sign of the dative (LXX *tǭ Saraia*) (cf. Bertheau *Esra, Nechemia und Ester* EHAT, 106)—thus Ezra separated twelve leading priests and assigned them to Sherebiah—or as "an error but not accidental" to avoid stating that Sherebiah and Hashabiah were priests (Batten, 328). It is easier to read, with 1 Esdr 8:54 *(kai Eserebian),* the conjunction *we* ("and," "in addition to") before his name (Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 65; Williamson, 114; Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 168). This would allow for a team of twelve priests and twelve Levites (Bertholet, 37; Blenkinsopp, 169) to perform the assigned task.

It is reasonable to conclude that this Sherebiah who, along with Hashabiah, is charged with bringing the offering to Jerusalem is the same Sherebiah (v 18) who, along with Hashabiah, returns to Jerusalem with Ezra. That he was a Levite is most certain.

**2.** The third listed of thirteen (Neh 8:7) who "read from the book, from the Torah of God" (v 8). In the LXX only the first three of these names—Jeshua, Bani, and Sherebiah *(Sarabia)*—are recorded and there is no mention of Levites who, in the MT, are represented as "and the Levites *(wĕhalwiyyîm).*" Perhaps the *waw* was affixed by a scribe who took *hlwym* to be the last proper name in the list (Williamson, 278) or by the Chronicler whose partiality for the Levites caused him to add the word (Bertholet, 69) or the entire verse (Rudolph, 147). In 1 Esdr 9:48 (where the name is *Sarabias*), this conjunction is missing. Holmgren (1987:124) believes the Levites' participation combined the functions of interpretation and translation. Their activity during this liturgical event has been variously explained depending on the interpretation given the verbs in v 8b (see Clines, 184–85 and Blenkinsopp, 288).

According to Neh 9:4, Sherebiah (LXX Codex Vaticanus *Sarabia,* Sinaiticus *Saradia,* Alexandrinus *Sachania* [= Heb *šĕkanyāh*]) was the sixth listed of eight who "stood on the platform of the Levites" and "cried (*wayyiz ʿăqû*) to the Lord their God." The verb *zʿq,* suggests Williamson (p. 311), refers to a public expression of grief.

In Neh 9:5, Sherebiah (absent from LXX) is the fifth listed of eight Levites who invite the assembly to "stand up, bless the Lord your God," and then intone the prayer psalm (Myers, 166–70). Blenkinsopp (p. 296) and Clines (p. 191) believe the groups in v 4 and v 5 are identical, the differences in lists being attributable to text transmission. Brockington (*Ezra, Nehemia and Esther* Century Bible, 171) disagrees, holding that if they were the same, there would be no need of both.

In Neh 10:13—Eng 10:12, Sherebiah (LXX Codex Vaticanus *Zarabia,* Alexandrinus and the corrector of Sinaiticus *Sarabia,* Sinaiticus *Zatharia*) is listed thirteenth of seventeen (or fifteen if the repetition of Shebaniah and Hodiah are due to scribal error [Blenkinsopp, 313]) levitical signatories of the "firm covenant *(ʾămānā)* made by the community (10:1—Eng 9:38). Brockington (p. 101) suggests Sherebiah is here a family name while Blenkinsopp (p. 313) believes only the first three names are patronymics, the rest appearing to be personal names.

Blenkinsopp's (p. 313) observation that seven, including Sherebiah, of the thirteen in Neh 8:7 and seven or eight, including Sherebiah, of the sixteen in Neh 9:4–5 are listed in Neh 10:10–14—Eng 9–13 lead to the conclusion that the same Sherebiah is meant in all four occurrences. The mention of Hashabiah in 10:12—Eng 10:11 suggests an identity with #1 above (Clines, 203).

**3.** The fourth listed (Neh 12:8) of eight Levites who returned from exile with Zerubbabel and Jeshua (v 1). Clines (p. 224) discounts the belief that Sherebiah (LXX *Sarabia*) and Judah are here family heads and suggests that Sherebiah was "erroneously introduced into that period from the time of Ezra (Neh 8:7; 9:4f) and Nehemiah (10:12; 12:24)." Myers (p. 196) and Brockington (p. 101) believe this name is a family name while Blenkinsopp (p. 335) believes these names are all patronymics serving here as personal names.

In Neh 12:24 Sherebiah (LXX *Sarabia*) is the second listed of three (or five depending on the reading of the Heb *Vorlage* behind the LXX "and the sons of Kadmiel" as "Binnui/Bani, Kadmiel"—a proposal made by Rudolph, 194; Williamson, 357–358) "heads of the Levites." The list (see Williamson, 361 for an explanation of the literary development of vv 1–26 of which vv 23a, 24–25 is a "list of Levitical heads of families from the time of Johanan") intends to represent the circumstances during the time of Joiakim, Nehemiah, and Ezra (v 26), an improbable combination, suggests Myers (p. 199), since Eliashib was high priest in Nehemiah's time and, suggests Blenkinsopp (p. 335), since Joiakim antedated Ezra (and therefore Sherebiah and Hashabiah).

It is possible, although not clear, that this Sherebiah, a Levite associated with Hashabiah, was identical with #1 above (Williamson, 359).

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RODNEY H. SHEARER

**SHERESH** (PERSON) [Heb *šereš* (שֶׁרֶשׁ) or *šāreš* (שָׁרֶשׁ)]. The Manassite son of Machir and his wife Maacah (1 Chr 7:16), whose name probably meant "clever" or "cunning" (Noth *IPN,* 228). The genealogy of Manasseh in 1 Chr 7:14–19 indicates that his brothers were Peresh and Gilead, and perhaps Huppim and Shuppim as well. In addition, Sheresh had two sons, Ulam and Rakem, although the LXX omits the name of the second (1 Chr 7:16–17). No other biblical text mentions Sheresh.

There are two problems in 1 Chr 7:14–19 that affect the identification of Sheresh. First, Maacah, the mother of Sheresh, is called the wife of Machir in v 16, but his sister in v 15. Moreover, v 14 indicates that Gilead was the brother of Sheresh, but v 17 includes him among the "sons of Gilead." Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 151–52) attempted to resolve these difficulties by emending "Machir" to "Gilead" (v 16). This made Maacah the sister of Machir and the wife of Gilead (as well as his aunt), and consequently, Sheresh's father was Gilead, rather than Machir. Furthermore, they proposed that the names of Shuppim and Huppim (v 15) were glosses from v 12 (the genealogy of Naphtali) and so could not have been the brothers of Sheresh.

Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* HAT, 68–71), however, has attempted to resolve the difficulties in 1 Chr 7:14–19 by emending the text on the basis of Num 26:29–34. His reconstruction makes Maacah the daughter of Gilead and the mother of Sheresh. The name of Maacah's husband is missing, since it was elided in the course of transmission. Rudolph's suggestions have won more support than those of Curtis and Madsen, but neither has been found completely convincing by interpreters.

M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**SHESHAI** (PERSON) [Heb *šēšay* (שֵׁשַׁי)]. One of three Anakite clans inhabiting Hebron visited by the twelve Israelite spies (Num 13:22), later driven out of their city by Caleb (Josh 15:14; Judg 1:10). The name is patronymic, i.e., it probably refers to the founder of the tribe rather than to a chieftain of the clan or an individual person living at the time. Although the name has been derived from Hurrian (Blenkinsopp 1972:18, 113), or as a reduplicated *šin* representing a more complete name (Noth *IPN,* 41), it occurs in Egypt as the name of a Hyksos ruler (Albright *YGC,* 153). Boling and Wright (*Joshua* AB, 374) suggest they were a "pre-Philistine" Sea People who were driven out of the S hill country by the Israelites (Josh 11:21–22).

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KIRK E. LOWERY

**SHESHAN** (PERSON) [Heb *šēšān* (שֵׁשָׁן)]. A descendant of Judah through Jerahmeel; he is the son of Ishi and father of Ahlai (1 Chr 2:31). However, while v 31 indicates that the son of Sheshan was Ahlai, v 34 states that Sheshan had no sons, only daughters, and gave his daughter to an Egyptian slave Jarha. The identity of Sheshan's issue is a complex and unsolved problem. Several suggestions are possible: (1) v 31 should be read Attai as in v 36; (2) Ahlai (if modified to mean "a brother to me") was a name given to Jarha at the time of his adoption into the family of Sheshan; (3) Ahlai was a son of Sheshan but one born after the marriage of his daughter (however, note v 34); or (4) different sources are reflected in this genealogy. See Williamson (1979:352) for a recent discussion of sources in this genealogy and the conclusion that 2:25–33 and 42–50a stand as a related unit but that v 34 reflects a different source. See also Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 83) for an analysis of older, but still debated, theories of genealogical sources. The wording of v 35 "So Sheshan gave his daughter in marriage to Jarha his slave …" is considered by some commentators as equivalent to making his servant his heir (Elmslie *Chronicles* CBC, 19), similar to Eliezer's relationship to Abraham (Gen 15:2–3). See also ADOPTION. Some scholars regarded Jarha as an eponymn of Jerahmeel and proceeded to identify Sheshan with Sheshai of Hebron concluding that the genealogy presents a northward movement of this tribe to the area around Hebron.

Locating Sheshan chronologically is difficult. This tenth generation from Judah is often placed shortly before the Exodus (Keil 1872:67), or in the days of Eli, or nearer the Chronicler's own time (see Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 46). Lacking sufficient evidence the question must remain open.

Variant spellings of Sheshan are found in the LXX (A reads *Sōsan,* Lucian reads *Sisan*, and B reads *Sōsam* in v 34). Many scholars consider those genealogies in the LXX corrupt (especially codex Vaticanus), however the genealogies of Jerahmeel in the MT are viewed by most contemporary scholars as being in good order.

The meaning of the name "Sheshan" is obscure although many, such as Mauch (*IDB* 4:326), follow suggestions of Noth and others that Sheshan is a duplication of an abbreviation expressing endearment (*IPN*, 40–41).

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W. P. STEEGER

**SHESHBAZZAR** (PERSON) [Heb *šešbaṣṣar* (שֶׁשְׁבַּצַּר)]. A leading Babylonian Jew, "a prince of Judah" (Ezra 1:8), who was commissioned by Cyrus to return the temple vessels to Jerusalem in 538 B.C.E. (Ezra 1:8–11) and a governor responsible for laying the temple foundations (Ezra 5:14–17). As the first Judean governor after the Babylonian exile, Sheshbazzar ushers in a new mode of leadership in an age without monarchy and self-determination. Yet nothing more is known about him. This ephemeral Sheshbazzar, who appears in only these two places, has been the subject of much controversy. His name, identity, role, and activities have all been debated. The ancient sources reflect some confusion concerning Sheshbazzar. 1 Esdras refers to him as Sanabassar, whereas the LXX retains Sasabasar. Josephus equates Sheshbazzar with Shethar-bozenai of Ezra 5:6, and hence considers him a Persian official of foreign origin (*Ant* 11.4 §6). The rabbinic sages equate him with Daniel.

Modern scholars have often identified Sheshbazzar, on the one hand, with Shenazzar of 1 Chr 3:18 and, on the other, with Zerubbabel. Both identifications, however, have recently lost their force. The equation with Shenazzar, son of Jeconiah, grew out of the similarity of the names and Sheshbazzar's titles. The designations "prince of Judah" and "governor" indicate an important personage who would most likely be a Davidic heir; Shenazzar was a Davidic descendant. To some extent, this identification, harks back to an era when continuity between Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles was presumed. It may also reflect scholarly discomfort with the fact that the literature is largely silent about so important a figure as the first Judean governor. Although more common a generation ago, this identification has been recently discredited on linguistic grounds (Berger 1971) and proved less compelling with the discovery of several other postexilic Judean governors, some with no clear Davidic ancestry.

The identification of Sheshbazzar with Zerubbabel grew out of a discrepancy among the accounts of temple founding and represents scholars' attempts to reconcile these accounts. Haggai and Zechariah emphatically assert that Zerubbabel was a governor and credit him with laying the temple's foundations in 520 B.C.E. They present this founding as a new and unprecedented act. Ezra-Nehemiah is inconsistent. The narrative first attributes the laying of the foundations to the community as a whole, led by Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Ezra 3:8–13). The later report to the Persian officials at the time of Darius, however (Ezra 5:14–17), claims that Sheshbazzar, whom Cyrus appointed governor, had earlier laid the foundations. The report asserts that the present builders (who, according to Ezra 5:1–2, have been exhorted to build by Haggai and Zechariah) merely continue what had already begun by Sheshbazzar. If Zerubbabel and Sheshbazzar were the same person, some of the contradictions could be eliminated and the mystery of Sheshbazzar's ancestry would be resolved. It has therefore been proposed that Zerubbabel and Sheshbazzar are two different names for the same person, as often happens in the postexilic era (note Daniel's second name). Zerubbabel is thus the governor to whom Cyrus delivers the vessels; he is also, according to this view, the prince of Judah, who laid the foundations according to both Haggai and Zechariah and Ezra-Nehemiah. As a Davidic descendant, he is eminently suitable for such a role.

This view has been discredited as well (Ben Yashar 1981). Scholars now recognize that biblical sources only partially reflect the rich complexities of the postexilic era. Sheshbazzar is no longer the only postexilic governor whose memory has not been adequately preserved. Archeology has identified several such governors (see below). Moreover, equating Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel does not wholly eliminate the discrepancies: Ezra-Nehemiah still describes two stages that do not directly conform to Haggai and Zechariah. Ezra-Nehemiah maintains that Haggai and Zechariah appear at a later stage of the building process (Ezra 5:1), after the foundations have been set (Ezra 3:8–13). Haggai and Zechariah imply that the events of 520 were brand new, that Haggai has stirred up Zerubbabel, who then proceeded to found the temple. As to the names, although double names are common in the postexilic era, they typically include one Hebrew name and one foreign. Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel, however, are both Babylonian names. See also Japhet 1982.

The reconstruction of the history of Sheshbazzar, his role in the postexilic era, and his relation to Zerubbabel are best understood as follows: Sheshbazzar has been appointed governor by Cyrus and sent to Jerusalem with the temple vessels. The precise authority of such an appointment and the nature of the Judean province at the time are not clear. Eber Nahara, the Persian name for the larger province of which Judah would have been a part, had undergone administrative reorganization between the time of Cyrus and the stabilization under Darius. Although Sheshbazzar could have been from the house of David, he need not have been. Ezra-Nehemiah's silence about Sheshbazzar's patronym could be either a deliberate attempt to supress Davidic origins (in light of Ezra-Nehemiah's general tendency to defuse the role of the house of David) or a sign that Sheshbazzar's ancestry had been forgotten by the time when Ezra-Nehemiah was written. The title "prince of Judah" obviously indicates a leader but need not designate royalty. Blenkinsopp (*Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL) observes that "prince" is used in Chronicles for a tribal head (e.g. 1 Chr 2:10) or the head of an ancestral house (e.g., 2 Chr 1:2). Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC) links it with other pentateuchal occurrences (e.g., Num 2:3–31) which could echo the exodus motif. In either case, the term does not possess the royal connotations that it has in Ezekiel 40–48 and hence removes the need to assign Davidic origin to Sheshbazzar.

As to the question "Who, then, laid the temple foundations?," the answer is that both Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel did so at different times and probably to a different extent. Sheshbazzar, as the first governor, began the process. Leading the first return, he must have encountered many obstacles: financial problems because the Persian empire had not yet been well organized fiscally (Meyers *Haggai, Zechariah* AB, xxxiv), harassment by neighbors depicted in Ezra 4, and apathy of the returnees themselves, alluded to in Haggai, all very likely played a role; they contributed to the cessation of building efforts. Such efforts were renewed with the second wave of return during Darius's reign (520), led by Zerubabbel and Jeshua, as reported in Ezra 3. At such time Haggai prompts Zerubbabel to being once more what proves to be the successful founding and completion of the temple.

Ezra-Nehemiah, for its own purpose of emphasizing continuity, combines the first and second return, implying that the journey of Sheshbazzar (Ezra 1:11) is identical with the one in Ezra 2. Indeed, it may be for this reason that Ezra 2:1 names only eleven men at the head of the caravan; Sheshbazzar completes the twelve that symbolically represent the reconstituted Israel.

It should not be surprising that Ezra-Nehemiah, Haggai, and Zechariah perceive the founding of the temple differently and offer contradictory accounts. Each text presents a distinctive ideology, not simply all the facts that are in its disposal. Ezra-Nehemiah, especially in the report to the Persians who inquire about authority for such building, seeks to emphasize continuity. Practical considerations support its theological stance that all the stages of the building were in essence a single unified response to Cyrus' edict. Haggai and Zechariah, however, prefer to emphasize the newness of the venture, a perspective that is understandable if earlier building efforts were skimpy. As for the ephemeral identity of the governor Sheshbazzar, it has become apparent that other Judean governors have been even more ephemeral since biblical literature does not even mention them. Archeologists have helped reconstruct a plausible list of governors, even as they recognize that the scope of authority granted such persons in the Persian province of Judah is unclear. Sheshbazzar is the first of several governors of Judah, only three of whom

(Sheshbazzar, Zerubbabel, and Nehemiah) appear in the Bible. At present a cachet of jar handles and seals have helped construct the following list of governors from Sheshbazzar to Nehemiah: Sheshbazzar (538); Zerubbabel (520–510?); Elnathan (510–490?); Yehoezer (490–470?); Ahzai (470–); Nehemiah (445–433) (see Meyers, 14). Later governors have been preserved in documents such as the Aramaic Papyri from Elephantine. See also Cline *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC.

The silence surrounding the activities and fate of such an important leader as the first Judean governor points to the complexity of the era for which the biblical sources constitute but the tip of the iceberg.

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TAMARA C. ESKENAZI

**SHETH** (PERSON) [Heb *šēt* (שֵׁת)]. The more phonologically correct name for Seth, the son of Adam.

See also SETH. The name is rendered "Sheth" by the KJV at 1 Chr 1:1 and by both the KJV and RSV at Num 24:17. According to Num 24:17, Sheth is the eponymous ancestor of the Moabites against whose descendants Balaam issues his final curse:

star shall come forth out of Jacob,
and a scepter shall rise out of Israel.
It shall crush the forehead of Moab
and break down [*qarqar*] all the sons of Sheth.

This text, however, presents several problems, the first of which is textual. A similar ancient ballad is recorded in Num 21:28:

For fire went forth from Heshbon,
flame from the city of Sihon.
It devoured Ar of Moab,
the lords of the heights of the Arnon.

Owing to their similarity, these two songs were conflated by the oracle against Moab in Jer 48:45, which coupled the first bicolon of Num 21:28 with the second bicolon of Num 24:17, yielding the following mixed reading:

For a fire has gone forth from Heshbon,
a flame from the house of Sihon.
It has destroyed the forehead of Moab,
the crown [*qodqod*] of the sons of tumult [*šāôn*].

The similarities between 24:17bß and Jer 48:45bß have led many scholars (e.g., Budd *Numbers* WBC, 253) to reconstruct the former text along the lines of the latter. As such, Sheth is read as the noun *šā›ôn,* "strife." Others suggest reading it alternatively as *šē›t* ("devastation") as at Lam 3:47.

The second question relates to whether or not Israelite tradition understood Adam's son Sheth to be the eponymous ancestor of the nation of Moab. The major tradition, to the contrary, states that the Moabites owe their name to Lot's son Moab, whom Lot fathered by his elder daughter (Gen 19:30–38). The LXX of Gen 19:37 stresses the etymological nature of the story by adding to the phrase "and called his name Moab" the note *legousa ek tou patros mou* ("saying, 'from my father' "). In so doing the LXX clearly understood the etymology of "Moab" to be from Heb *mē›ābi.* This patronymic connection of Moab with Lot is further attested by the note in Deut 2:9 that Ar (i.e., Moab; cf. Num 21:28) had been given to the sons of Lot for a possession.

Third, there is the problem of the suitability of the figure of Sheth to serve as an eponymous ancestor at all. Since every one of the postdeluvial nations was traced back to Sheth (Gen 5:1–32; 10:2–32), it is highly unlikely that Israelite tradition would have made him the eponym of any single nation, such as of Moab. Because of the unsuitability of using Seth as an eponym for any nation, and because that function

was fulfilled by Lot and his son, it seems best, therefore, to emend the reading of *šēt* in Num 24:17 to conform more closely to the later tradition in Jer 48:45 or Lam 3:47 as proposed by critical scholarship.
ROD R. HUTTON

**SHETHAR** (PERSON) [Heb *šētār* (שֵׁתָר)]. One of the seven princes of Persia and Media who were the advisers of King Ahaseuros (Esth 1:14). These men were the most prominent at the court (lit. "sat first in the kingdom") and had the privilege of personal audience with the king (lit. "saw the king's face"). That such a council of seven prominent nobles customarily advised the Persian monarch is well known from extrabiblical sources (for references see Paton *Esther* ICC, 153 and esp. Hayden in *ISBE* 3:971). Although the presumption that the names of these counselors are Persian is reasonable (see the arguments of Millard 1977, who counters the excessive caution of Moore *Esther* AB, XLI–XLIV regarding the reliability of the MT spellings), no name equivalent to this has thus far been found in the extant extrabiblical literature. Recently, however, on the basis of the Aramaic transcription of Old Persian vocables at Persepolis (see Bowman 1970:64–65), Millard has plausibly suggested an etymology from Old Persian *cica* "bright" (1977:485). See also Paton *Esther* ICC, 68 and Gehman 1924:324.

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FREDERIC W. BUSH

**SHETHAR-BOZENAI** (PERSON) [Aram *šĕtar bôzĕnay* (שְׁתַר בּוֹזְנַי)]. Var. SATHRABUZANES. Persian official named in conjunction with Tattenai as co-senders of correspondence to Darius I (ruled 521–486 B.C.E.) informing the king of building activity in Jerusalem (Ezra 5:3, 6; 6:6, 13 = 1 Esdr 6:3, 7, 27; 7:1). 1 Esdras renders the name Sathrabuzanes (Gk *Sathrabouzanēs*). The texts are unclear as to the position Shethar-bozenai holds, unlike the mention of Shimshai in the correspondence to Artaxerxes in Ezra 4:8–23, where Shimshai is named second after Rehum the commander, and identified always as "the scribe." Shethar-bozenai is named second after Tattenai in all four instances suggesting that Shethar-bozenai may also be a scribe. The meaning of the name is uncertain. *CAP* 5:16 (p. 11) has a related form *štrzn.* Cheyne (*EncBib* 4:4462) presents some interesting possibilities, one being that Shethar-bozenai is a Persian official title (e.g., "chief clerk of the chancery"). In this case, one might regard it as a title of Tattenai denoting his role as investigator, rather than the proper name of another person. The context of the Aramaic section of Ezra 4:8–6:18, deals with opposition to the rebuilding of the temple. However, the letter Tattenai sent to Darius does not have the hostile tone apparent in the Aramaic letter to Artaxerxes in Ezra 4:11–16. Darius in turn replies in positive tones and instructs that the Jews are to be assisted in the building.

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DAVID E. SUITER

**SHEVA** (PERSON) [Heb K *šyʾ* (שִׁיא); Q *šĕwāʾ* (שְׁוָא)]. **1.** According to 2 Sam 20:25, Sheva was David's secretary. In 2 Sam 8:17, his secretary is called Seraiah, while in the parallel to this at 1 Chr 16:18, his name is given as Shavsha. In 1 Kgs 4:3 a certain Shisha is mentioned as the father of Solomon's secretaries Elihoreph and Ahijah. Most commentators agree that all these forms of the name refer to the same person. If this is correct, however, it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine what the original form of the name was. The various forms found in the LXX may be of some help. For 2 Sam 20:25 the OG has *Sousa* (*Iēsous* in B and *Isous* in A may be explained by the presence of an initial *waw* in the context). Similar variations (*Sousa* [OG] and *Iēsous* [B]) are found at 1 Chr 18:16. For 2 Sam 8:17 OG *Saraias* here agrees with MT while *Asa* in B and *Sasa* in MN reflect the variant *(š)šʾ*. These variations

suggest *šš*› or *šawšā*› as the original Hebrew form. Driver (*NHT,* 283) preferred the former while McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB, 433) opts for the latter.

Marquart (1896:22) put forth the opinion that Shisha represents a Babylonian name, *Šamšu,* although this has not received recent following. More commonly accepted is de Vaux's suggestion (1939:397–400) that the name is of Egyptian origin, a possibility that is strengthened by the name "Elihoreph" as one of Shisha's sons (1 Kgs 4:3). That it was in any case a foreign name seems likely from the fact that this person is the only one of David's officers for whom the father's name is not given. Cody (1965:381–93) suggested that Seraiah was the actual name of David's secretary and *šyš*› or something similar was a corrupt form of the Egyptian title *šš š*‹*.t* for a scribe. This suggestion, however, has not been widely accepted.

**2.** According to 1 Chr 2:49, Sheva was one of the sons of Caleb by his concubine Maacah. Sheva was the father of Machbenah and Gibea.

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STEPHEN PISANO

**SHIBAH** (PLACE) [Heb *šib*‹*â* (שִׁבְעָה)]. The name of a well dug by Isaac's servants (Gen 26:33).

News of the well's completion reached Isaac just as he was concluding a treaty by making an oath *(šb*‹*)* with Abimelech, the Philistine king from Gerar (Genesis 26). According to the biblical account, the name "Shibah" ("oath") was given in honor of this occasion. The Genesis author identifies the town subsequently built on the site as Beer-sheba, "well of the oath" (v 33). This incident either is a reopening of a well previously named by Abraham (Gen 21:25–31), or an alternative tradition regarding the nomenclature.

Tell Beer-sheba (Tell es-Saba; M.R. 134072) lies 2 miles E of the modern town of Beer-sheba (Bir es-Saba; M.R. 130072). The former only shows occupation during the Israelite period (Aharoni *EAEHL* 1:160–68). The latter site shows a much longer period of settlement, ranging from the 4th millennium B.C. through the Iron Age and later. Gophna has proposed that the older settlement remained occupied on the traditional site of the wells, while an administrative center was later built at a little distance on the tell (*EAEHL* 1:159). The site in Genesis would then more likely be identified with Bir es-Saba rather than Tell es-Saba. See BEER-SHEBA.

DAVID W. BAKER

**SHIBBOLETH** [Heb *šibbōlet* (שִׁבֹּלֶת)]. Word which occurs 20 times in the Bible, most often meaning "ear of grain," but in several instances also "flowing stream." In one of these occurrences, Judg 12:6, the dialectal form *sibbōlet* appears. This verse, which has come to be known as the shibboleth incident, has been the subject of much debate. Regardless of how one interprets it, however, scholars agree that the passage indicates a certain difference in the pronunciation of Hebrew between Ephraimites and Gileadites. Accordingly, it is an important piece of evidence for establishing the fact that regional dialects of Hebrew, at least in regard to phonology, existed in ancient Israel.

The story of Judg 12:1–6 describes a battle between the tribe of Ephraim and the people of Gilead in Transjordan. The Gileadites were in control of the fords of the Jordan River. When an Ephraimite tried to cross the river to retreat homeward to Cisjordan, the men of Gilead asked him to pronounce the word *šibbōlet.* Typically he was unable to do so and instead said *sibbōlet,* thus revealing his Ephraimite identity.

The simple approach, taking the story at face value, is to assume that at least in some instances the Ephraimites pronounced *š* as [s] (e.g., GKC 17). But few scholars today would hold to this opinion. Instead, numerous theories have been devised with alternative interpretations.

Marquart (1888) believed that the Ephraimite dialect retained the phoneme /ṯ/, but that when the Gileadites heard this it sounded like [s]. Speiser (1942) reversed this hypothesis by suggesting that it was the Gileadite dialect which retained the phoneme /ṯ/, but that the Ephraimites were unable to render it correctly and thus said [s] Speiser pointed to the existence of an Aramaic word *tūblā*ʾ "ear of grain" to posit a proto-Semitic root *ṯbl* for *šibbōlet.*

Subsequently, Marcus (1942) and Kutscher (1967:173–74), based on the earlier work of Fraenkel (1905), noted that *tūblā*ʾ was actually a ghost word, a doctored form attested only once in the vast Aramaic literary corpus, thus greatly weakening Speiser's theory. Kutscher's (1982:15) final words on the subject represented the common view of about two decades ago: "The riddle remains, therefore, unresolved."

A spate of recent articles has renewed the debate concerning the shibboleth incident. The first two articles concentrated mainly on the problem of the Hebrew *śin,* but also commented on the shibboleth incident. Diem (1974:242–43) accepted Speiser's interpretation, in spite of Marcus' and Kutscher's objections. Blau (1971:109) opted to return to the simple interpretation mentioned above. A novel analysis was attempted by Beeston (1979), who proposed that the proto-Semitic root of our word is *sblt,* which the Ephraimites preserved, but that in non-Ephraimite Hebrew the pronunciation shifted to *šblt.*

Swiggers (1981) also accepted Speiser's theory that the Gileadites retained the phoneme /ṯ/, but he alleviated the objection raised by Marcus and Kutscher by proposing to distinguish two roots: *šbl* for "ear of grain" and *ṯbl* for "flowing stream." The former is based on the cognate Ugaritic, Akkadian, Arabic, and South Arabian evidence. The latter, unfortunately, has no Semitic etyma to substantiate it. Moreover, Swiggers noted that in the context of Judg 12:6 only the meaning "flowing stream" pertains. Parallel folk stories show that the password used in such incidents always is related to the context. Since the Ephraimites are crossing the Jordan at this point only "flowing stream" and not "ear of grain" is germane. On the question of how the Ephraimites pronounced the word, Swiggers claimed that they said [*šibbōlet*] as in standard Hebrew, though for graphemic reasons the text of Judg 12:6 uses *sblt.*

Emerton (1985) dismissed the theories which posit a proto-Semitic /ṯ/ as the first root letter based on the failure to find a relevant cognate. Instead, he advanced the working hypothesis that Ephraimites and Gileadites simply articulated the phoneme /š/ slightly differently from one another. The realization of individual phonemes is often subject to minor local variation. Thus, in the Ephraimite dialect, the /š/ sound may have been realized as something closer to [s] than to [š], or in the very least the Gileadites may have heard the Ephraimite /š/ as closer to [s] than to [š].

Lemaire (1985), on the other hand, lent support to the possibility that a root with /ṯ/ is involved. He noted that the Aramaic version of the Tell Fakhariyeh bilingual inscription also represents proto-Semitic /ṯ/ with *s*. According to Lemaire, this situation may not only serve as a parallel to the shibboleth incident, but it even may be related historically since a segment of the Israelites undoubtedly hailed from the general region of Tell Fakhariyeh in Aram Naharayim.

Finally, Rendsburg (1988a; 1988b) demonstrated that Ammonite preserved the phoneme /ṯ/, but that when a Cisjordanian speaker tried to articulate this sound he said [s] The evidence is the Ammonite royal name *bʿlyšʿ* (the root of the second element in this anthroponym is *yṯʿ*), found on a seal at Tell el-ʿUmeiri, which appears in Jer 40:14 as *bʿlys.* Thus, we have another, and in fact much closer, parallel to the situation Lemaire described. Accordingly, Speiser and Swiggers are correct concerning the Gileadite retention of the phoneme /ṯ/, and we can posit an important phonological feature shared by two neighboring dialects in Transjordan. Swiggers is correct that the Ephraimites generally said [šibbōlet] as in standard Hebrew, but Speiser is correct concerning Judg 12:6 specifically. When asked to pronounce /ṯ/ the Ephraimites were unable to do so and instead articulated an [s] Swiggers is also justified in differentiating two roots, although it is still true that no cognate to Hebrew *šibbōlet* "flowing stream" (derived from proto-Semitic *ṯbl*) has been found.

Lastly, it should be noted that based on the story in Judges 12, "shibboleth" passed into the English language as a word meaning "password."

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GARY A. RENDSBURG

**SHIHOR** (PLACE) [Heb *šîḥôr* (שִׁיחוֹר); *šīḥôr* (שִׁחוֹר); *šīḥōr* (שִׁחֹר)]. A river or body of water in the NE Nile delta region mentioned four times in the Bible (Josh 13:3; Isa 23:3; Jer 2:18; 1 Chr 13:5), the precise identification of which is still uncertain. Shihor was understood by biblical writers as being part of the Nile, if not the Nile itself. If one follows the MT of Isa 23:3, Shihor is in parallelism with the Nile (Heb *yĕ›ôr*). In Jer 2:18, Egypt and Shihor (RSV "Nile") are counterpart to Assyria and the Euphrates. Josh 13:3 uses Shihor with the definite article (Heb *haššîḥôr*) and refers to the ideal or actual southernmost boundary between Egypt and the land of Israel, described as opposite or facing Egypt (Heb *pĕnê miṣrayim*]. David assembled all of Israel from Shihor of Egypt to the entrance of Hamath to bring up the ark of God (1 Chr 13:5).

The name "Shihor" seems to reflect the Eg p€ *š-ḥr* "The waters of Horus" (see Gardiner 1918:251; 1947:201; Köhler 1936:289–90; Bietak in *LÄ* 5:623–26). The Hebrew name "Shihor" caused difficulties for the LXX translators. For example, in Josh 13:5, LXX reads *aoikētou* "uninhabited;" Jer 2:18, *gēōn* (see also Gen 2:13 and GIHON); and 1 Chr 13:5, *horiōn* "boundaries." The Greek translation of Isa 23:3 is also problematic (see Wildberger *Jesaja* BKAT, 856 for discussion of MT).

There has been a great deal of discussion among scholars concerning the identification of Shihor. In the light of papyrological and biblical evidence, it has been concluded that Shihor refers to running water, is drinkable, is associated with the city of Pi Rameses (see RAMESES), and empties into the sea at the N coastal town of Pelusium (Gardiner 1918:251; cf. Bietak 1975:129–30). It must therefore be identified as part of the Nile (e.g., Gardiner 1918:250–52; see also 1947:172, 202). Others (e.g., *GTTOT,* 27, 104; Wilson in *DB* 4:498–99) have claimed that Shihor refers to the Brook of Egypt (Heb *naḥal miṣrayim*) identified with Wadi el-Arish. Supporting this identification is a parallel between the markings of the N and S boundaries of Israel in the time of David in 1 Chr 13:5 and 1 Kgs 8:65. Where 1 Chr 13:5 reads Shihor, 1 Kgs 8:65 reads *naḥal miṣrayim* (Brook of Egypt). Shihor must therefore be a reference to the river of Egypt. However, some scholars have turned away from identifying Shihor with Wadi el-Arish. Bar-Deroma (1960) equates Shihor with the Brook of Egypt but identifies it with the easternmost (Pelusaic) arm of the Nile (note also Kitchen 1982:2–3 and *NBD,* 310–12, who identifies the Brook of Egypt with Wadi el-Arish and Shihor with the northernmost portion of the Pelusian branch of the Nile before it enters the sea; cf. also Montet 1968:49–51).

More recent scholars (e.g., Bietak 1975) have been wrestling with the problem of how Shihor can refer to flowing water and standing water at the same time, as suggested by the ancient Egyptian papyri. Another problem concerns the relationship between Shihor and the "Way of Horus," a road that was used for travel between Egypt and Palestine. It has been suggested that Shihor flows through the NE part of the Nile delta parallel with the Way of Horus. Before Shihor empties into the Mediterranean Sea, it runs into

a drainage reservoir also known as the Waters of Horus. Traveling S into Egypt from Palestine on the Way of Horus, it is the first body of water that one encounters (for discussion see Bietak 1975; cf. Na›aman 1979; 1980).

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ARNOLD BETZ

**SHIHOR-LIBNATH** (PLACE) [Heb *šîḥôr* (שִׁיחוֹר) *libnāt* (לִבְנָת)]. A place mentioned in the description of the S border of the territory of the tribe of Asher (Josh 19:26). According to this passage, the S border "on the west touches Carmel and Shihor-libnath." Shihor is derived from the Egyptian *si-hor* (lake/river of the god Horus) (e.g. *ANET,* 471). In the Bible the term *šîḥôr* either refers to the E arm of the Nile/Delta as the S border of the Holy Land (Josh 13:3; 1 Chr 13:5) or it is used as a synonym for the Nile (Isa 23:3; Jer 2:18). See SHIHOR.

Shihor-libnath must then be a river in the vicinity of the Carmel. Its identification depends, however, on whether or not Mt. Carmel was part of the territory of Asher. Scholars who include the Carmel within Asher's territory identify Shihor-libnath with Naḥal Dāyah or with Haḥal Tanninim to the S of the Carmel. They see a possible connection between the name of the latter ("Crocodile river") and of the town that was located near its estuary, Crocodilopolis (Strabo *Geog.* 16.2.27; Pliny *HN* 5.17.75) and its Egyptian name "Shihor" (*GP* I: 270–71).

However, the Heb term *āga* ("and touched on") that is used in the border descriptions in Joshua apparently relates to places *outside* the tribal territories themselves, in which case Mt. Carmel is outside the territory of Asher and Shihor-libnath is to be identified with the lower reaches of the Kishon river to the N of the Carmel (Maisler 1942:Map 5; *HGB,* 205). Libnath, the town that gave its name to the river, has been identified with Tell Abu Huwam (M.R. 152245) at the estuary of this river in modern Haifa (*LBHG,* 238).

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**SHIKKERON** (PLACE) [Heb *šikkĕrôn* (שִׁכְּרוֹן)]. A station on the N border of the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:11), between the better known towns of Ekron (probably Tel Miqne) and Jabneel (probably modern Yavne). Alt (*KlSchr* 1:193–202) has persuasively argued that the border list of Joshua 15 is derived from an ancient legal document delineating the territorial claims of the tribes during the period of the Judges. It is clear that the boundary in this region generally follows the Sorek Valley, running from the edge of the hill country at Beth-shemesh to the Mediterranean shore near modern Palmahim. A thorough examination of this region led Aharoni (*LBHG,* 384) to propose that Shikkeron be identified with Tell el-Ful (M.R. 132136), a small mound on the N edge of the Sorek Valley approximately 6 km N and slightly W of Tel Miqne, and 8 km SE of Yavne. Although this identification is not certain, the general location is no doubt correct.

WADE R. KOTTER

**SHILHI** (PERSON) [Heb *šilḥî* (שִׁלְחִי)]. The father of Azubah, who was wife of Asa and mother of Jehoshaphat, kings of Judah (1 Kgs 22:42). The queen mother (Heb *gĕbîrâ*) was an influential figure in the Judean court, and regnal formulas opening the account of a Judean king's reign almost always mention her name along with that of her father, her provenance, or in late reigns, both. The personal name "Shilhi" is otherwise unknown. Šanda (*1 Kings* EHAT, 502) conjectures that *šlḥy* may not be the name of Azubah's father, but a corruption of the phrase *mn-šlḥym* ("from Shilhim"; see Josh 15:32); the same result can be achieved without emendation by reading *šlḥy* as a gentilic: " (daughter of) a Shilhite."
JEROME T. WALSH

**SHILHIM** (PLACE) [Heb *šilḥîm* (שִׁלְחִים)]. An unidentified town in the Judean Negeb (Josh 15:32). In the lists of Simeonite towns incorporated into Judah, its place is taken by Sharuhen (Josh 19:6) and Shaaraim (1 Chr 4:31). Owing to these putative parallels, most scholars view the three towns as one (e.g., Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 384). Since Shaaraim is generally dismissed as a late corruption of Sharuhen, the discussion has centered on the respective claims of the names "Shilhim" and "Sharuhen." Albright (1924:134–35 n. 6) felt that Sharuhen and Shilhim were alternate names for the same place, the former form reflecting Egyptian influence and the latter Canaanite. He further conjectured that the original form of the name was *Šir/lhōn.* Noth (*Josua* HAT, 88) advocated the primacy of Sharuhen in the context of the biblical text. Recently Naʾaman (1980:147–48) has called into question the identification of Egyptian and biblical Sharuhen with each other, thus arguing for an original Shilhim in the Hebrew Bible (possibly also mentioned in Shishak's list). Aḥituv (*CTAED,* 173), on the other hand, has argued that there is no reason to assume that Shilhim, Sharuhen, and Shaaraim refer to the same place, since there are many differences in the three lists that cannot be dismissed as scribal variants. He regards the three lists as representing three different stages in the history of Simeon's inheritance.

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CARL S. EHRLICH

**SHILLEM** (PERSON) [Heb *šillēm* (שִׁלֵּם)]. SHILLEMITES. The youngest of the four sons of Naphtali (Gen 46:24). Shillem was a grandson of Jacob and Bilhah, the maid whom Laban gave to his daughter Rachel on the occasion of Rachel's marriage to Jacob (Gen 29:29). Shillem was one of the 70 people listed in the genealogical list of Jacob who descended to Egypt with Jacob's family at the time of a severe famine in the land of Canaan (Gen 46:8–27). Little is known about Shillem. According to the genealogical list of Naphtali found in the second census taken by Moses (Numbers 26), Shillem became the father of the Shillemites, one of the clans of Naphtali (Num 26:49). In the Chronicler's enumeration of Naphtali's genealogy (1 Chr 7:13) his name appears as Shallum [Heb *šallûm*]. See SHALLUM #8.
CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

**SHILOAH, WATERS OF** (PLACE) [Heb *šīlōaḥ* (שִׁלֹחַ)]. See SILOAM, POOL OF (PLACE).

**SHILOH** (PLACE) [Heb *šīlōh* (שִׁלֹה)]. A place N of Bethel inside the land of Canaan where the Israelites convened sacred assemblies in the days before Solomon established the Jerusalem temple as the major center of Yahwistic worship (Joshua 19:51; Judg 18:31; 21:12–21). The priests who presided at this shrine appear to have been from the lineage of Eli (1 Samuel 1–4; 14:3; 1 Kgs 2:27). At some early time the shrine was apparently abandoned (Jer 7:12–14; 26:6–9; cf. Ps 78:60).

**A. The Site**

Located in the heart of the Ephraimite hills, Shiloh (Khirbet Seilun, M.R. 177162) occupied a midpoint between the important centers of Bethel and Shechem. See SEILUN, KHIRBET . The book of Joshua makes Shiloh the first permanent home for the ark after the conquest of Canaan. There, Joshua parceled

out land to most of the tribes (Josh 18:1–10; 19:51; 21:2; also 22:9). These traditions are late—Josh 21:2 cites Num 35:1–8, a text from the Priestly source in the Pentateuch (Friedman 1981:116–18), which was produced sometime in the 7th–6th centuries B.C.E. by a clergy that claimed descent from Aaron. Shiloh's role in the book of Joshua is thus part of a historian's reconstruction. The historian writing in Joshua (presumably the Deuteronomist [DH]) knew of three key premonarchic sanctuaries (Gilgal, Shiloh, Shechem); he therefore traced Israel's use of them to the earliest possible era. The view of Shiloh in this historian's sources, this review will show, was somewhat different.

Two sets of data underlie the historian's deduction: first, tradition located a sanctuary associated with the ark in Shiloh during Eli's time (including Judg 18:31); second, both Ps 78:60 (for the date of which, see Clifford 1981) and Jer 7:12; 26:6–9 reflect a 7th-century conviction, probably widespread and based on the traditions about the Elides (Eissfeldt 1957), that Jerusalem had succeeded Shiloh as YHWH's unique "chosen place."

Possibly, 2 Sam 7:6–7 reflects an earlier Jerusalemite posture. It affirms that YHWH had always "roved in a tent and a tabernacle … among all the children of Israel," denying that YHWH had any permanent dwelling before he elected Zion (cf. Psalm 132). But the Deuteronomistic Historian (DH), writing from Josiah's court (Cross, *CMHE,* 278–85), embraces the idea of an election of Shiloh (with Jer 7:12). To avoid contradiction, he therefore interprets 2 Sam 7:6–7 (from a source) to distinguish between a site elected for YHWH's residence and a site elected to house a temple. His formulation, "I never elected a city from among all the tribes of Israel to build a temple for my name to be there" (1 Kgs 8:16), echoes Deut 12:5, which speaks of "the place that YHWH your god will elect from among all your tribes to put his name there, for it to dwell." But it carefully states that no town was elected before Zion *for a temple*—the qualification leaves open the possibility that other towns, such as Shiloh, but not their temples, were previously "chosen places." Again, this is the posture of the Deuteronomistic movement in the late 7th century—the posture reflected in Joshua.

Little can be said with certainty concerning the cultic establishment at Shiloh. Judg 21:18–23 (with a possible oral variant preserved in 21:5–14) implies the existence of a local virginal rite.

Shiloh's eminence is best attested in the era just before the onset of the monarchy. Whether Shiloh had a temple (Eissfeldt 1957:146) is disputed (Cross 1981:173–74; Haran 1985:1998–204). The textual evidence is ambiguous. On the one hand, 1 Sam 1:9 and other nearby texts speak of the establishment in Shiloh as one with regular architectural features: a "nave," a "doorjamb," "doors" (3:15); there are also references to a "house," though whether this always implies an enclosed temple is unsure. On the other hand, as noted above, 2 Sam 7:6–7 denies that YHWH had had a "house of cedar" prior to Solomon's building; he had "roved about in a tent and in a tabernacle" (the parallel in 1 Chr 17:5 is corrupt). Ps 78:60–61 seem to concur: these verses make no mention of a temple. Which is it? Was the Shilonite shrine a temple or an open-air sanctuary?

The passages that imply the presence of a temple in Shiloh certainly stem from the sources used by DH, for as we have seen, he took the opposite view. In this connection, it is noteworthy that neither Ps 78:60 nor Jer 7:12 speaks of a temple at Shiloh, although both affirm that Shiloh was the "chosen place" before Jerusalem. Their concurrence with Dtr suggests a broad consensus among the reform movements of the 7th century: despite Shiloh's election, YHWH commissioned no temple before Solomon's—in accordance with 2 Sam 7:6 and with the Deuteronomistic fixation on "high places." Traditions of a temple in premonarchic Shiloh are probably the older, not the late traditions.

The Deuteronomistic Historian, then, presumably took the references to the Shiloh temple to describe a sanctuary the construction of which had not been divinely ordained—and indeed, no account of its construction is furnished. Too, that the sources of DH placed a temple at Shiloh does not guarantee that a temple was in fact there.

However, one further element favors the sources' view. Recent excavations have disclosed that the Shilonite cult had extensive architectural fixtures (Finkelstein 1985:169–70). The floruit of the site and of its cultic component can be placed in the first half of the 11th century (Finkelstein 1985:170; S. Bunimovitz *apud* Finkelstein 1985:131–38), on the eve of Israel's monarchic revolution, just when the

book of Samuel depicts it. See SEILUN, KHIRBET. And all scholars agree, the ark stood at Shiloh—whether in a tent or a temple—until it was captured by Philistines (1 Samuel 4). Indeed, Shiloh sustained a destruction in the mid–11th century, which scholars reasonably and unanimously ascribe to the aftermath of the Philistine victory in 1 Sam 4:10 (see Finkelstein 1985:173–74). The traditions in Samuel appear reliable, including traditions of a temple.

Texts and archaeology indicate that Shiloh was occupied throughout the Iron Age, and into the exile (1 Kgs 11:29; Jer 7:12–15; 41:5; Finkelstein 1985), though Jer 7:12–15 indicates that the temenos, at least (and thus probably a building), was in ruins in the late 7th century. The Iron I, or more probably, the early Iron II city apparently had a gate complex, with an extended arm, like the gates at Iron II Megiddo and Tel Batashi: from the arm, Eli is said to have awaited news of the battle of Ebenezer; he died by falling backward into the area between the arm and the inner gate passage itself (1 Sam 4:18). Shiloh's continuous occupation had to do primarily with its location, commanding a fertile valley. The sacral tradition, nevertheless, continued. The activity of a Shilonite prophet in the late 10th century (1 Kgs 11:29; 14) suggests that a priestly school remained active on the site.

**B. The Priesthood**

The priesthood of Shiloh in the premonarchic age had, according to one tradition, charge of YHWH's ark (1 Sam 3:3; 4:3). This icon eventually found its way into Solomon's temple, however, and into the care of its Aaronide priests. The transfer was fully effected with Solomon's ejection of Abiathar, the scion of the Elide line, from the high priesthood (1 Kgs 2:26–27, 35).

Aaronide tradition had it that from the Mosaic era forward, only Aaronides could minister at the ark (Exod 28:1). Further, two Aaronide lineages had disqualified themselves by a ritual violation (Lev 10:1–2), and the line of Eleazar—the Jerusalemite Aaronide line—had secured a promise of the priesthood by the signal loyalty of Eleazar's son (Num 25:10–13). As a result, late priestly writing associates the Elides with Aaron's son, Ithamar (1 Chr 24:3). When the ark was forfeit for Elide wickedness, thus, the definitive transfer of the priesthood to the line of Eleazar occurred (1 Sam 2:12–36). It is not clear, however, that this was the position adopted by the Shilonites themselves, who continued to minister at the ark until forcibly removed from it (1 Kgs 2:26.35).

Wellhausen argued (*WPHI*, 142–43) that the complaint to Eli in 1 Sam 2:27 presupposed descent from Moses. Through a prophet, YHWH queries, "Did I not reveal myself to the house of your father when they were in Egypt?" The verb used in this passage, "reveal," generally denotes direct discourse with some party (almost always so in older sources). Wellhausen therefore deduced that Moses was the ancestor of Eli's line (and others). There is a problem with this logic, however: Moses was not a "house." The reference could well be to Israel generally, or to the tribe of Levi, or to some other group.

Wellhausen bolstered his analysis with the contention that several old texts represent Levitic orders as descendants of or members of a guild founded by Moses. Judg 18:30 speaks of Jonathan son of Gershom son of Moses (MT, Manasseh), whose descendants presided at the shrine of Dan. And Deut 33:8–11, among other texts depicting Moses in a priestly role, alludes to Moses as the archetypical Levite.

Wellhausen's case was refined and sophisticated by F. M. Cross, who identified pieces of partisan priestly polemic in the Pentateuchal sources. There are pericopes in P (the Jerusalemite Aaronide source in the Pentateuch) whose sole purpose and point is to defame the Levitical orders (as P in Numbers 16, the Korah revolt; Num 25:6: 15, perhaps directed also against the cult in Reuben [Cross, *CMHE,* 201–205]). Conversely, E (the Elohistic source in the Pentateuch) and Deuteronomy retail accounts that indict Aaron, and defend Moses' authority. Thus, Numbers 12 underscores the unique character of Moses' relationship with YHWH. More to the point, Exodus 32 damns Aaron as the maker of the golden calf, and the Levites earn priestly status by rising to YHWH's support. This tale probably stems from Shilonite circles (*CMHE,* 198–206; Halpern 1976:39–42; Friedman 1987:70–74). Its hero is Moses, and it rejects both Aaron and the golden calf of Jeroboam I at Bethel and Dan (1 Kgs 12:26–33). There are indications of Shilonite assaults on Jeroboam's icon (1 Kings 14), despite the fact that other Mosaic priests serviced the calf at Dan (Judg 18:30). The implication is that Jeroboam refused the Shilonites an exclusive franchise in his royal sanctuaries.

Shilonites are twice depicted as adopting an anti-Solomonic stance: Abiathar supports a rival pretender (1 Kgs 1:7); and Ahijah of Shiloh instigates Jeroboam's coup and the Solomonic schism (1 Kgs 11:26–40). This is one of several indications that the Deuteronomic program was rooted in the Shilonite line. DH charges Solomon with apostasy (1 Kgs 11:1–3), and Josiah acts against his "high places" (2 Kgs 23:13–14). Deuteronomy also recapitulates the charges of Exodus 32 against Aaron, if in a more palatable form (Deut 9:12–21 with 10:1–6). And of course, Deuteronomy makes Moses the font of all authority in Israel. One interesting clue may be present in the Aaronide polemic of 1 Sam 2:27–36: Eli's descendants, says the text, will come begging to the "faithful priest"—the Eleazarites—for an adjunct priesthood. This is just what Deut 18:1–8 enjoins concerning priests from outside Jerusalem: they must be accommodated at the central shrine (= 2 Kgs 23:8–9).

There is one last link between the Deuteronomic program and Shiloh. Jeremiah is the only prophet to mention Shiloh (7:12, 14; 26:6, 9). An avid supporter of Deuteronomic doctrine, Jeremiah had priestly origins, in Anathoth (Jer 1:1), a Levitical city assigned to Aaron. Nevertheless, Jeremiah, who was declared a persona non grata by the Aaronides of the Jerusalem temple, suffered a contretemps with the people of his hometown (Jer 11:21). Some scholars have concluded that Jeremiah was in fact a descendant of Abiathar, banished by Solomon to Anathoth (1 Kgs 2:36). This is at least a strong possibility. Thus, the priesthood of the Shilonite line seems to have shaped much of the literature of the Hebrew Bible, directly or indirectly. Even if Jeremiah was not himself an Elide, his testimony links Shiloh and Deuteronomy.

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BARUCH HALPERN

**SHILONITE** [Heb *šîlōnî* (שִׁילֹנִי)]. **1.** A description of the prophet Ahijah as somehow associated with the amphictyonic shrine at Shiloh (1 Kgs 11:29). Some scholars argue that the reference to Ahijah as a "Shilonite" suggests that a guild of prophets survived the destruction of both the shrine and the cult at Shiloh (Gray *Kings* OTL, 294).

**2.** A description given to some of those Judeans who returned to Palestine after the exile (1 Chr 9:5; Neh 11:5). Shiloh, however, is in Ephraim and so most scholars now agree that the text should be vocalized to read "Shelanite," meaning descendant of Shelah, another of the sons of Judah, mentioned in Num 26:20 (Reed in *IDB* 4:330; Myers *1 Chronicles* AB; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 343).

FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**SHILSHAH** (PERSON) [Heb *šilšâ* (שִׁלְשָׁה)]. The ninth son of Zophah, named in the genealogy of Asher in 1 Chr 7:37. While this figure is unknown elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, his name is similar to that of Shelesh in 7:35, and scholars have associated these figures with the lands of Shalishah and Shaalim in the Saul narratives (Edelman 1985:86). Such an identification is in keeping with Gray's thesis that most names in the Ahserite genealogy are tribal or geographical rather than personal (Gray 1896:239).

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JULIA M. O'BRIEN

**SHIMEA** (PERSON) [Heb *šim‹ā›* (שִׁמְעָא)]. Var. SHIMEAH. **1.** Older brother of David, third son of Jesse (1 Chr 2:13). He is called SHAMMAH in 1 Sam 16:9, where he was rejected (along with his other brothers) as God's choice for Israel's king in favor of David, and 1 Sam 17:13, where he was present at the confrontation between David and Goliath. He was the father of Jonadab, who gave devious counsel to Amnon (2 Sam 13:3, 32, where he is called Shimeah [Heb *šim‹â*]), and the father of Jonathan, who killed a Philistine giant (21:20–21 where he is called SHIMEI; 1 Chr 20:6–8). See SHAMMAH #2.

**2.** A son of David born in Jerusalem (1 Chr 3:5). His mother was Bathsheba (Bathshua) and he had three full brothers: Shobab, Nathan, and Solomon. He is called SHAMMUA in 2 Sam 5:14 and 1 Chr 14:4. In addition, his father had six sons born in Hebron to six different wives, and nine born in Jerusalem to unnamed wives, as well as many sons born to his concubines in Jerusalem (1 Chr 3:9). See also DAVID, SONS OF.

**3.** A descendant of Merari, son of Levi (1 Chr 6:15—Eng 6:30), named in the independent levitical genealogy of 6:1–15—Eng 6:16–30

**4.** A descendant of Gershom, son of Levi (1 Chr 6:24—Eng 6:39), named in a list of levitical singers appointed by David (6:16–33—Eng 6:31–48).

DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

**SHIMEAH** (PERSON) [Heb *šim‹â* (שִׁמְעָה)*; šim›â* (שִׁמְאָה)]. Var. SHIMEAM; SHIMEEAH. **1.** Older brother of David (*šim‹â;* 2 Sam 13:3, 32). An alternate form of SHIMEA #1.

**2.** A Benjaminite, son of Mikloth, part of the family of Saul (*šim›â;* 1 Chr 8:32). He was descended from Jeiel, founder of Gibeon. It is not clear whether he lived in Gibeon or Jerusalem, although most of those listed in vv 29–40 were Gibeonites (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 85–86). He is called Shimeam (Heb *šim›ām*) in 1 Chr 9:38. In 1 Chr 8:31 the RSV transcribes the name of the son of Mikloth as "Shimeeah."

DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

**SHIMEATH** (PERSON) [Heb *šim‹āt* (שִׁמְעָת)]. Parent of Jozabad (MT), one of two assassins of Joash, king of Judah (2 Kgs 12:22—Eng 12:21). See SHIMRITH. 2 Chr 24:26 explicitly labels her an Ammonitess, making her Jozabad's mother. Note that the RSV reads "Jozacar" accepting a minority reading in order to resolve the problem that the co-conspirators' names are variants of each other. The final *taw* of Shimeath is a marker of a feminine noun, although it is not required to understand a name of a woman, but simply a feminine gender for a masculine name (cf. Gray *Kings* OTL, 591). It would be unusual for a man to be identified by the name of his mother rather than his father, especially as it implies that the father is unknown. 2 Chr 24:26 also has a different variant for the man, "Zabad." Some LXX manuscripts read "Jozacar," making a plausible mistake, interchanging the similar looking *beth* with the *zayin* and the *dalet* with the *reš.*

KIRK E. LOWERY

**SHIMEATHITES** [Heb *šim‹ātîm* (שִׁמְעָתִים)]. Part of the Calebite family as well as one of three groups or families of scribes who lived at Jabez (1 Chr 2:55). The verse in which the word "Shimeathites" occurs is not clearly comprehensible (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 16). Apart from the fact that Jabez cannot be located, whether the three scribal names designate families or functions is difficult to determine (Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 98). The Vulgate treats the word Shimeathites as *resonantes,* "melody makers," and attributes this activity to the scribes living in Jabez. The Targum of 1 Chronicles interprets the term Shimeathites as disciples of Torah whose task is to proclaim the tradition. From designating a government bureaucrat in the preexilic period, the function of the scribe evolved in postexilic times to indicate someone trained in Mosaic Torah. This postexilic perspective on the scribe's task might be the

informing background for why the Targum of 1 Chronicles and the Vulgate interpret the scribal Shimeathites in terms of proclamation and public worship.

Whatever or whoever the Shimeathites were, the Chronicler viewed them as related to the Kenites, who are associated likewise with the Rechabites in v 55. That the latter two were related is not improbable (Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 98) but the exact contours of their relationship cannot be traced.
JAMES M. KENNEDY

**SHIMEEAH** (PERSON) [Heb *šīmĕʿâ* (שִׁמְאָה)]. See SHIMEAH (PERSON).

**SHIMEI** (PERSON) [Heb *šimʿî* (שִׁמְעִי)]. Sixteen men or clans bear this name in the OT. The name is short for such names as Shemaiah and Elishama, "Yah (weh)/God has heard." A seal from the period of the Restoration bears the name Baruch the son of Shimei (Avigad 1976:pls. 8–9).

It should be noted that the consonantal writing *šmʿy,* i.e., Shimei, in 2 Sam 21:21 is an error for *šmʿ,* Shimea (cf. 2 Sam 13:3, 32; 1 Chr 2:13; 20:7); 1 Sam 16:9 and 17:13 read Shammah. See SHIMEA #1 and SHAMMAH #2.

**1.** The second son of Gershon the son of Levi, i.e., a subclan of Levites (Exod 6:17; Num 3:18, 21; 1 Chr 6:2—Eng 6:17; 23:7, 10; Zech 12:13). His brother clan is Libni/Ladan. 1 Chr 23:10–11 refers to four families of Shimeites—Jahath, Zina/Zizah, Jeush and Beriah—noting that only the first two were of significance. In 1 Chr 23:9 Shimei is probably an error for one of the sons of Ladan. Curiously, Shimei is called the grandson of Gershon and the son of Jahath in 1 Chr 6:27–28—Eng 6:42–43) and the son of Libni the son of Mahli the son of Merari in 1 Chr 6:14—Eng 6:29).

**2.** A clan or individual of Simeon (1 Chr 4:27), supposedly the son of Mishma.

**3.** A clan or individual of Reuben (1 Chr 5:4), supposedly the son of Gog.

**4.** A clan or individual of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:21), probably an error for Shema (1 Chr 8:13; see SHEMA #3).

**5.** A cult musician under David (1 Chr 25:17; also v 3 in Greek Version), of the clan of Jeduthun.

**6.** A man from Ramah, overseer of David's vineyards (1 Chr 27:27).

**7.** The son of Gera, a Benjaminite kinsman of Saul from Bahurim, who held David responsible for the deaths of the Saulides (2 Sam 16:7–8), as indeed he may have been. David was a vassal of the Philistines when they conquered Saul (1 Samuel 27, 29):An Amalekite anticipated reward for bringing David news of the deaths of Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam 1:1–16) and the head of Saul's son Ishbaal/Ishbosheth was therefore carried to David for an expected bounty (2 Sam 4:8):David allowed the Gibeonites to kill seven sons of Saul (2 Sam 21:1–14), though he spared the crippled Meribbaal/Mephibosheth (2 Sam 21:1–14) who was kept under close supervision in Jerusalem (2 Samuel 9). David thus was and is naturally suspect of harboring malice toward the house of his former liege.

When David is fleeing Jerusalem, which is temporarily under Absalom's control, Shimei casts curses, stones, and dirt at the king and his cohort (2 Sam 16:5–13). Abishai proposes to execute him, but David orders him to be spared, later renewing his amnesty when he returns triumphant to Jerusalem and receives Shimei's submission (2 Sam 19:17–24—Eng 6:16–23). In his deathbed testament to Solomon, however, David revokes his pardon and charges his son to punish Shimei (1 Kgs 2:8–9).

Scholarly supporters of David suppose, not implausibly, that in fact Solomon fabricated these final instructions. Since, however, throughout his reign David's actions toward the Saulides are suspect, despite his protestations of innocence, we perhaps discern David's true colors in his public pardon and secret vengeance. At any rate, Solomon confines Shimei to Jerusalem, presumably to keep an eye on him, and later executes him when he violates the terms of his parole (1 Kgs 2:36–46).

**8.** A leader who does not support Adonijah's usurpation (1 Kgs 1:8); he may be the same as #9.

**9.** The son of Ela, Solomon's administrator over Benjamin (1 Kgs 4:18).

**10.** A Levite of the house of Heman during the reign of Hezekiah (2 Chr 29:14). He may be the same as #11.

**11.** The assistant overseer of donations and tithes under Hezekiah (2 Chr 31:12–13).

**12.** The brother of Zerubbabel, the son of Pedaiah (1 Chr 3:19).

**13.** A Levite who divorces his foreign wife when compelled by Ezra (Ezra 10:23; 1 Esdr 9:23).

**14.** A member of the family of Hashum forced by Ezra to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:33; 1 Esdr 9:33).

**15.** A member of the family of either Bani, or, if we emend in Ezra 10:38 (cf. 1 Esdr 9:34) *ûbānî ûbinnûy* to *ûběnê binnûy,* Binnui. He divorces his foreign wife at Ezra's behest.

**16.** An individual through whom Mordechai descends from Kish the Benjaminite (Esth 2:5). He could be the same as #7.

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WILLIAM H. PROPP

**SHIMEON** (PERSON) [Heb *šim‹ôn* (שִׁמְעוֹן)]. A descendant of Harim and one of the returned exiles who married a foreign woman during the era of Ezra's mission (Ezra 10:31; cf. 1 Esdr 9:32, where the much longer name "Simon Chosomaeus" appears). The Hebrew spelling of the name is the same as that for the patriarch Simeon and means "God has heard" (*IPN,* 38, 60 n. 2, 185). Shimeon seems to be a member of a family from which groups of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:32; Neh 7:35). The three-month investigation (Ezra 10:16–17) culminating in the list in which Shimeon's name appears produced a relatively small number of names, leading some to believe that the list only includes prominent members of the community. Shimeon's position in the community, however, remains a mystery. While it seems probable that Shimeon divorced his foreign wife (note the prior oath taken by the people [Ezra 10:3–5] and the possibly generalizable v 19), that is not certain. The RSV follows 1 Esdr 9:36 in clearly stating that all on the list did indeed divorce their foreign wives and put away their children, but the Hebrew text of Ezra 44b is so corrupt that a definite translation is impossible, leaving the final outcome of the investigation in doubt.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

**SHIMON** (PERSON) [Heb *šîmôn* (שִׁימוֹן)]. An individual of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr 4:20).

**SHIMRATH** (PERSON) [Heb *šimrāt* (שִׁמְרָת)]. A Benjaminite, a son of Shimei (1 Chr 8:21).

According to 1 Chr 8:28, Shimrath was one of the Benjaminites who dwelt in Jerusalem. Noth (*IPN,* 177) suggested that the name is a long form of Shemer, with the *-at* ending being either Arabic or Akkadian.

TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**SHIMRI** (PERSON) [Heb *šimrî* (שִׁמְרִי)]. **1.** A Simeonite, the son of Shemaiah (1 Chr 4:37). His name occurs in one of the most extensive and most recent lists (1 Chr 4:24–43) dealing with the tribe of Simeon (cf. also Josh 19:1–9; 15:26, 28–32, 42), in the third subsection of this list, the portion dealing with thirteen tribal princes and their conquests (1 Chr 4:34–43). For the other two subsections, see 1 Chr 4:24–27 (Simeonite genealogy) and 4:28–33 (Simeonite cities and villages). Because of overpopulation and the need for pasture land, the tribe of Simeon is reported to have conquered and settled toward "Gedor," or as often amended on the basis of the LXX, in a more southwesterly direction, toward "Gerar," in the days of King Hezekiah (1 Chr 4:38–41), as well as in the opposite, southeasterly direction toward Amalek in the region of Mt. Seir (1 Chr 4:42–43). Shimri is mentioned as an ancestor of Ziza, one of the 13 Simeonite princes involved in the initial W expansion. The inclusion of Simeon, a tribe in the Chronicler's day, which had long ceased to be a geographical or political entity, was part of the Chronicler's agenda to present and promote the theme of a unified Israel.

**2.** The father of Jediael and Joha, two of David's mighty men (1 Chr 11:45). The name occurs in the unparalleled supplement (1 Chr 11:41b–47) to the larger synoptic listing (2 Sam 23:8–39 = 1 Chr 11:10–41a) of key personnel in David's military contingent. These men are representative, for the Chronicler, of

the suggestion that all Israel was behind David's rise to kingship (1 Chr 11:10), including individuals from Transjordan, as the only identifiable places in this supplement are locatable there.

**3.** A Levite, the son of Hosah, descended from Merari (1 Chr 26:10). Although not the firstborn, this Shimri (spelled Simri in the KJV) was designated the foremost of the four Hosah subgroupings, involving a total of 13 men out of a grand total of 93 (1 Chr 26:5, 8, 10–11). As the Chronicler also ascribes to King David the sanctioning of 4000 gatekeepers in all (1 Chr 23:5), these 93 must be intended as leaders. Beside the Merari line of levitical gatekeepers, to which Shimri belonged, the gatekeepers were divided among two other main families: the Kohathite family of Meshelemiah (= Shelemiah? 1 Chr 26:1–3, 14) and the family of Obed-edom (1 Chr 26:4–8), who, with no stated levitical ties given in the text, if not a Kohathite in view of 1 Chr 26:19, could have been the person from Gath at whose house David deposited the ark for safekeeping for three months after the death of Uzzah (2 Sam 6:10–12; 1 Chr 26:5b; 1 Chr 13:13–14; 15:24–25; 16:38). See OBED-EDOM. Shimri and the other Hosah subgroupings were assigned responsibility for the W gate of the temple, together with the Shallecheth Gate (1 Chr 26:16) on the causeway which probably ascended from the Tyropeon Valley to the W side of the temple (Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 285). By virtue of their location they supplied 6 gatekeepers of the 24 in toto required daily for the temple complex (1 Chr 26:17–18). Such details must have been important to the Chronicler for the temple of his day.

**4.** A Kohathite Levite, the son of Elizaphan (alternately Elzaphan in Exod 6:22; Lev 10:4) the son of Uzziel, and brother of Jeuel (MT K = RSV) or Jeiel (MT Q = NEB; 2 Chr 29:13; Num 3:30). According to the Chronicler, he was one of 14 representative Levites who answered the call of King Hezekiah at the beginning of his reign to clean and restore the temple for service (2 Chr 29:3–5, 11–19, 35b). As this event is unparalleled in 2 Kings, it is part of the Chronicler's effort to heighten the conscientious role of the Levites in the past as a justification for their continued importance for the postexilic community of his day, as an example for all in ongoing zeal for Yahweh's house and its cultic purity.

ROGER W. UITTI

**SHIMRITH** (PERSON) [Heb *šimrît* (שִׁמְרִית)]. Var. SHOMER. Parent of Jehozabad, one of two assassins (see SHIMEATH) of Joash, king of Judah (2 Kgs 12:22—Eng 12:21). The form of the name, which is masculine in 2 Kings 12 (Heb *šōmēr*), changes to a feminine form in 2 Chr 24:26 (Heb *šimrît*), and is identified as Jehozadab's mother, a Moabitess. The change is usually attributed to an alteration of the gender of the name paralleling what was misunderstood by an editor to be a feminine name. However, it is unclear whether the problem is one of textual transmission or one of different sources used by the Chronicler (cf. Gray *Kings* OTL, 591). The name means "guardian" or "steward." See SHOMER.

KIRK E. LOWERY

**SHIMRON** (PERSON) [Heb *šimrôn* (שִׁמְרוֹן)]. SHIMRONITES. The fourth and youngest son of Issachar (Gen 46:13; 1 Chr 7:1) and the grandson of Jacob and Leah. Shimron is listed with other descendants of Jacob who migrated to Egypt with their families at the time of a great famine in Canaan (Gen 46:8–22). Nothing is known about Shimron. According to the second census list of the tribes of Israel mentioned in the book of Numbers, Shimron became the eponymous ancestor of the Shimronites, one of the clans of Issachar (Num 26:24). The name "Shimron" may be related to Shamir (*LBHG,* 244), a village in the tribe of Issachar, located in the hill country of Ephraim and home of Tola, one of the minor judges of Israel (Judg 10:1–2).

CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

**SHIMRON** (PLACE) [Heb *šimrôn* (שִׁמְרוֹן)]. A Canaanite royal town (Josh 11:1). Its antiquity is known by the references to it in the Egyptian Execration Texts. It is also mentioned by Thutmose III in his list of Palestinian towns. El Amarna Letters relate how its prince joined the king of Acco to plot and plunder a Babylonian caravan at Hannathon. "Shimron" is written in a variety of ways ranging from

Simeon to Samaria, Shim‹on being a well-attested form. In Josh 12:20 the MT reads "Shimron-meron" whereas the LXX reads them separately, which seems to be accurate. The Mishnah and Talmud identify it with Simonia, while Josephus identifies it with Khirbet Sammuniyeh (Tell Shimron; M.R. 170234). The latter is located in the N portion of Esdraelon, N of Megiddo. It is about 5 miles W of Nazareth. According to the book of Joshua, the king of Shimron was defeated by Israel. The Deuteronomistic History mentions it to show that the Lord would unfailingly give powerful royal cities into the hands of Israel if it remained obedient to his commands. Shimron was later allotted to Zebulun (Josh 19:15).
PAUL BENJAMIN

**SHIMRON-MERON** (PLACE) [Heb *šimrôn měr›ôn* (שִׁמְרוֹן מְרֵאוֹן)]. One of the towns whose king and people were defeated by the Israelites under the leadership of Joshua (Josh 12:20). The name SHIMRON occurs two other times in Joshua (11:1; 19:15). Because Meron appears only in Josh 12:20, modifying Shimron, its occurrence is problematic. However, a comparison of Josh 11:1 and 12:19–20 reveals several possible explanations for the addition of Meron in Josh 12:20. In 11:1, four cities are mentioned: Hazor, Madon, Shimron, and Achshaph. In 12:19–20, the towns are given in the order: Madon (MT, absent in LXX), Hazor, Shimron-meron, and Achshaph. One explanation for the appearance of Meron, on the basis of the order of names in both passages, i.e., Shimron (-meron) and Achshaph, is that Shimron-meron may simply be the full name of Shimron, and hence the names represent identical sites (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 328). Still other explanations may be discernible in the LXX. The LXX renders Madon in Josh 11:1 as *Marrōn.* However, it omits Madon in Josh 12:19, but renders Meron (v 20) as *Marrōn.* In addition, the LXX in Josh 12:20 separates the MT.'s "Shimron-meron" into "the king of Shimron, the king of Meron." On the one hand, this may represent a tradition that Shimron and Meron were two distinct towns. On the other hand, it is possible that the LXX, confronted with the addition of Meron in Joshua 12 (MT), concluded that Madon and Meron were identical, and hence rendered *Marrōn* for both of them (perhaps compounded by the confusion of the *dalet* in *mdwn* with the *reš* in *mr›wn*). It might be concluded, however, that the LXX was confused by the situation of Shimron in 11:1 and Shimron-meron in 12:20, trying unsuccessfully to resolve the difference (indeed, note that the LXX also renders Merom in 11:5, 7 with *Marrōn,* thereby increasing the confusion). It therefore seems that the best explanation is to conclude that Shimron and Shimron-meron designate relatively interchangeable referents.
JOHN KUTSKO

While the tradition of a Canaanite king in Shimron is legendary, the existence of an Israelite city during the monarchy is documented. The original name was *šim‹ôn* which is still preserved as *Symoōn* in the LXX; this reading is also supported by the Egyptian sources which read *š-mw-‹-nw* (Execration Text E 55) or *š-m-‹-n* (List of Thutmose III, no. 35), respectively, and by the reading *šamḫuna* of the Amarna Letters. These references show that Shimron must have been an important city during the MB and LB ages. The Masoretic form *šimrôn* still lacks sufficient explanation; the Rabbinic literature (*y. Meg.* 70a) identifies the name with *simônîyāh* which is most probably identical with *Simōnias* mentioned by Josephus (*Life* 24.115). Shimron can be located at Khirbet Sammuniyeh (Tell Shimron, M.R. 170234) close to the NW boundary of the Jezreel Valley; according to surface research this site was occupied from the EB age to the Hellenistic and Roman times.

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V. F.

**SHIMSHAI** (PERSON) [Aram *šimšay* (שִׁמְשַׁי)]. A Persian official identified as "the scribe," who in conjunction with Rehum the commander, wrote to Artaxerxes I (ruled from 465–423 B.C.E.) accusing the Jews in Jerusalem of rebellion (Ezra 4:8, 9, 17, 23 = 1 Esdr 2:16, 17, 25, 30). Shimshai's position as scribe (Aram *sāpar*) in this context properly means secretary or recorder. The correspondence is

preserved in the Aramaic section of Ezra (Ezra 4:8 to 6:18) which Hensley (1977) considers an authentic official Persian document. The letter is conspicuously hostile in tone, informing Artaxerxes specifically that Jerusalem's walls are being built for the purpose of usurping Persian power in the region. Artaxerxes' rescript (Ezra 4:17–22) ordered a halt to the work; Rehum and Shimshai forcibly executed the king's command (Ezra 4:23). At what time in the reign of Artaxerxes this correspondence was exchanged is not known; the chronological relationship of this episode to the missions of Ezra and Nehemiah varies widely among the reconstructions of the restoration period.

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DAVID E. SUITER

**SHIN** [Heb *šin* (שִׁן)]. The twenty-first letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

**SHINAB** (PERSON) [Heb *šin*›*āb* (שִׁנְאָב)]. King of Admah (Gen 14:2); appears simply as "king of Admah" in the same chapter, v 8. The name has been often explained as a genuine theophoric name: "Sin (the Babylonian Moon-god) is the father" (e.g., Dhorme 1931:260). Akkadian personal names of this type (with *Sin* spelled *šn*) occur indeed in Aramaic inscriptions and papyri of late neo-Assyrian, neo-Babylonian, and Persian periods (Lidzbarski 1915:117, 128; *KAI* no. 225:1); cf. also *šen*›*aṣṣar* (Shenazzar, a son of Jeconiah) in 1 Chr 3:18. However, in view of the intentionally pejorative meanings of the names of the other kings of this group (e.g., Bera, Birsha, Shemeber, and Zoar), it is more plausible to attribute the name *šin*›*āb* to the same category, to read its sibilant as *śin,* and to interpret it as "hater of the father," as this was adumbrated in *Tg. Ps.-J.* and guessed by Rashi (*śône*› ›abīw šebaššāmayîm "who hated his father in heaven"). In a fragment of an Assyrian tablet relating a legend about a tyrant who cruelly oppressed the Babylonians by corvée labor (King 1902:1:220; 2 pl. 73), it is said that he *abi kala ilāni iziru* "hated the father of all gods." Since that text is thematically related to the "Chedorlaomer texts" (see CHEDORLAOMER), it is possible that the compiler of Genesis 14 was inspired by the quoted epithet in choosing the name for the king of Admah (Astour 1966:75).

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MICHAEL C. ASTOUR

**SHINAR** (PLACE) [Heb *šin*›*ār* (שִׁנְעָר)]. A name for the region of Babylonia (Gen 10:10). It can be called either the "land of Shinar" or simply "Shinar." The first mention of the "land of Shinar" (Gen 10:10, in the fragment of the Yahwistic Table of Nations) calls it the mainstay or beginning of the kingdom of Nimrod. In it were found the cities Babel (Babylon), Accad (Agade), Erech (Uruk), and possibly Calneh. According to Gen 11:2 the early human race settled in a valley in the "land of Shinar" and began to build the abortive Tower of Babel. Abraham had a hostile encounter with a coalition of four kings, one of whom was "Amraphel king of Shinar" (Gen 14:1, 9). When the Israelites were thwarted in their conquest of Ai because Achan had stolen some of the "devoted things," one of the items he stole was a (presumably valuable) "cloak of Shinar" (Josh 7:21). An oracle in the book of Isaiah promises that a remnant of Yahweh's people will be returned from many places, including "Shinar" (Isa 11:11). After the Exile the prophet Zechariah saw a vision in which the sin of the people, personified as a woman, is transported to the "land of Shinar" in an ephah (a large container) and set up in a temple there (Zech 5:11). The book of Daniel relates that Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, removed some of the vessels from the temple of God in Jerusalem and took them to the "land of Shinar," where he placed them in the temple treasury of his own god (Dan 1:2).

The meaning of Shinar is clear from the biblical references. It is the area known to the Mesopotamians as "the land of Sumer and Akkad," corresponding to the portion of modern Iraq S of Baghdad. This meaning is confirmed by the LXX, *Targum Onqelos,* and the *Genesis Apocryphon.* All three sometimes translate "Shinar" as Babylon (ia).

The question of the origin of the name "Shinar" is more difficult. It first appears in Egypt in the 15th century B.C.E. as *Sngr.* In cuneiform texts of roughly the same period it is *Šanḫaru.* One suggestion is that Shinar is derived from "Sumer." This identification, however, is phonologically impossible, since it cannot explain the origin of the third consonant (*ʿayin,* original *ǵayin*), which never appears in any form of "Sumer." A more plausible etymology has recently been proposed by Ran Zadok (1984). He believes that Shinar derives from cuneiform *Samḫarû,* apparently the name of a Kassite tribe. The Kassites were rulers of Babylon during the period when the term "Shinar" was used in Egyptian and cuneiform sources. There is no strong phonological objection to this etymology, and it may be that peoples W of the Euphrates generalized the name of a familiar Kassite tribe until it became a term for the whole region of Babylonia. Such generalizations are common. For example, the Greeks called themselves "Hellenes," but the Roman word for them was "Greeks," *Graeci, Graii,* after a Hellene tribal name or geographical location.

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JAMES R. DAVILA

**SHION** (PLACE) [Heb *šîʾôn* (שִׁיאוֹן)]. A town given by Joshua to Issachar in the allocation of the land following the conquest (Josh 19:19). It has been suggested (Smith 1966:map 2; *GTTOT,* 184; cf. *RAB,* 129) that the town be identified with Ayun es-Shain, 3 miles E of Nazareth. A proposal has been made to read the name as Sirion, reading *reš* for *ʾalep,* an error made by LXX B in the very next verse (v 20) where Abez is read "Rabez," a minor difference between the two letters in the early Hebrew script (*HGB,* 424). This would not then be the same Sirion as Mt. Hermon, since the latter is in Transjordan and far removed from Issachar's holdings. An identification with Sirin, some 10 miles SE at Mt. Tabor has also been suggested (*IDB* 4:333; *HGB,* 424). This latter location places Shion/Sirion firmly in Issachar's territory, while the former proposal places it on Issachar's border with Zebulun. Either location is thus geographically possible, although rereading the text as Sirion is less preferable since there is no evidence for such a reading in any of the ancient textual witnesses.

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DAVID W. BAKER

**SHIPHI** (PERSON) [Heb *šipʿî* (שִׁפְעִי)]. Son of Allon, a descendant of Simeon (1 Chr 4:37), described as one of the "princes in their families" (1 Chr. 4:38). The name probably means "Yahweh is fulness." In the LXX the name appears as *Sephei.* The name "Shiphi," along with the names of the other Simeonite princes, is not found in any of the genealogies assigned to this patriarch. (Compare the Peshitta where 1 Chr 4:34–41 contains no personal names.) Nevertheless, in view of 1 Chr 4:42, Shiphi and the others were probably part of the tribe of Simeon (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 62).

CRAIG A. EVANS

**SHIPHMITE** [Heb *šipmî* (שִׁפְמִי)]. The gentilic identification of Zabdi, one of twelve stewards of royal property appointed by David (1 Chr 27:27). His specific charge was oversight of the produce of the vineyards. The term is not used elsewhere.

RICHARD W. NYSSE

**SHIPHRAH** (PERSON) [Heb *šiprâ* (שִׁפְרָה)]. One of the midwives of the Hebrews in Egypt (Exod 1:15). She and her partner Puah were ordered by the Pharaoh to kill all Israelite boys as soon as they were

born. Though no reason is given to justify the king's expecting the midwives to do so, perhaps the summons by such a powerful figure was calculated to frighten them (Durham *Exodus* WBC, 11). The midwives, however, feared God and through acts of civil disobedience helped to pave the way for an exodus from Egypt. The prominent role assigned in chaps. 1–2 to these and other women—a group often powerless in ancient societies—makes the eventual victory of the Hebrews all the more striking from the traditional patriarchal point of view (Fox 1986:14). Most later Jewish legends identify Shiphrah with Jochebed, but at least one declares the midwives to have been proselytes (Ginzberg 1909–38:2.251; 5.393 n. 17). "Shiphrah" is a good Semitic name of an early type. Albright (1954:229) found *špr (3)* as the hypocoristic name of a female Asiatic on an Egyptian list of slaves from Dynasty XIII (18th century B.C.) and related it to the Hebrew and Aramaic stem *špr,* "to be fair," and the Ar *sfr,* "to shine." From the same Semitic root comes the Hebrew feminine name *špyrh* in the caves of Murabba῾ât (Stamm 1967:323)—Aram form *špyr῾* (cf. Sapphira in Acts 5:1).

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EDWIN C. HOSTETTER

**SHIPHTAN** (PERSON) [Heb *šipṭān* (שִׁפְטָן)]. The father of Kemuel, leader of the tribe of Ephraim who was responsible for overseeing the distribution of the land of Canaan to the Israelites (Num 34:24). The name is based on the root *špṭ,* "to judge," "to lead," "to rule," and is similar in form to other biblical names such as Azzan and Zethan. The name is usually defined as "judgment" or "the deity has judged." The name was rendered *Sabatha (n)* in LXX (A) and *Sabathe* in LXX (B). In the Vulgate, *Sephtan* appears.

RAPHAEL I. PANITZ

**SHISHA** (PERSON) [Heb *šîšā῾* (שִׁישָׁא)]. Secretary in King David's administration and father of Elihoreph and Ahijah, secretaries of Solomon's administration. See also SERAIAH #1; SHAVSHA; SHEVA.

**SHISHAK** (PERSON) [Heb K *šwšq* (שׁוֹשַׁק); Q *šîšaq* (שִׁישַׁק)]. An Egyptian pharaoh who harbored Jeroboam (1 Kgs 11:40) and advanced against Jerusalem during the reign of Rehoboam (1 Kgs 14:25). The form of the name in MT indicates that its proper pronunciation was uncertain in later biblical tradition. The name derives from Libyan *ššnḳ* and appears in Akkadian as *Susinku* and in Greek as *Sesonchis;* the conventional English spelling is Sheshonk. Shishak (Sheshonk) was the founder of the Egyptian 22d Dynasty, and the first of perhaps five kings to bear the name Sheshonk.

A scion of the seventh generation of a line of chieftains of the Libyan tribe of the Meshwesh, who had settled in Egypt at the end of the New Kingdom, Shishak first came to prominence during the reign of the last king of the 21st Dyn., Psusennes II (ca. 965–931 B.C.), as the commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army. He first appears on a stela from Abydos, dated sometime after Psusennes' 5th year, in which he sets up a mortuary endowment for his father, the great chief Namlot. By the close of the reign he was a mature man with grown children and well connected by marriage. An uncle was high priest of Memphis, a daughter was married to a general, a son was married into an important priestly family of Thebes, and another son, Osorkon, was married to a daughter of Psusennes II himself. Presumably upon the latter's dying without male issue, Shishak took the throne and inaugurated two and a half centuries of Libyan rule.

Shishak's 21-year reign (ca. 931–910 B.C.) represents a brief resurgence of the political and military élan of Egypt in the Near East moving from the erstwhile patrimony of his ancestral house in the city of Herakleopolis, which he left in the charge of his son the general Namlot (II), Shishak took up residence in "Pi-ese-the Great-*Ku*-of-Re-harakhty," probably a faubourg of the (now abandoned) Per-Ramesses in the E Delta. From here he inaugurated a major building program in the Delta (Tell Tebillah, Tanis, Bubastis), the Memphite region (his own mortuary Temple), Herakleoṕolis (the Temple of Arsaphes) and Teudjoy, the headquarters of the governor of Upper Egypt. Thebes had refused to acknowledge his accession to the throne; and perhaps in consequence he terminated the high-priestly family and appointed his son Yewepet to the high priesthood. A monumental gate was erected on the S side of the East-West axis of the Amun Temple at Karnak, and late in his reign Shishak authorized the construction of a large festival court in front of the great Temple. There were disturbances also in the W oases, apparently against Libyan rule; but Shishak was able early to quell this opposition.

Shishak also revived Egypt's active involvement in the political affairs of West Asia. His statue at Byblos seems to indicate suzerainty over this part of the Phoenician coast, and his court became a refuge for dissidents fleeing the regime of his earlier contemporary Solomon (Hadad of Edom: 1 Kings 11:19; Jeroboam: 1 Kings 11:40). Upon Solomon's death and perhaps spurred on by Israelite expansion into the Negeb and increased trade through Ezion Geber, Shishak construed some minor incident on the frontier—a fragmentary stela localizes it on the Red Sea coast—as a *casus belli,* and marched into Palestine. Whether or not he came as the ostensible champion of his erstwhile protégé Jereboam, both Judah and Israel suffered from the destructive march of the Egyptian army which left numerous levels of destruction in settlements all over the country. The commemorative relief and text of Shishak at Karnak reflects this campaign: the text is banal and devoid of historical content, but lists 154 towns claimed to have been destroyed. A careful study of the list and identification of the toponyms has made possible the reconstruction of the routes of march of the Egyptian forces. These involve the Negeb, the coastal plain and northern hill country, and some names even mark the devastation of a flying column across the Jordan to destroy the foundries and smithies around Mahanain in Transjordan. According to 1 Kgs 14:26, Jerusalem escaped the fate of other cities—and it does not indeed appear in the list—thanks to Rehoboam's pragmatic decision to pay Shishak a substantial indemnity which included the golden shields his father Solomon had made for the guard. Nonetheless, this very act, together with Shishak's setting up a triumphal stela at Megiddo, show that the Egyptian monarch construed his victory as tantamount to the reestablishment of an imperial hegemony over Palestine, a hegemony which his son Osorkon's epithets show continuing in the Egyptian view to the end of the 10th century.

The account of Shishak's incursion into Judea is greatly expanded by the Chronicler (2 Chr 12:2–12), providing a theological rationale for the campaign (v 2), a description of Shishak's forces (v 3), a summary of his conquests (v 4), an account of the role of Shemaiah the prophet in Jerusalem (v 5), the reaction of the Jerusalem nobility (v 6), and a word of deliverance that followed the people's repentance (vv 7–8). (The rest of the account, vv 9–11, follows 1 Kgs 14:25–28, with a summary statement in v 12.)

Shishak died ca. 910–909 B.C. perhaps after a brief coregency with his son and successor, Osorkon I. Recently the latter's excessive donations of gold and silver to the temples, on record in an inscription from Bubastis, have been understood as reflecting Shishak's booty from the Palestine campaign.

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DONALD B. REDFORD

**SHITRAI** (PERSON) [Heb *šiṭray* (שִׁטְרַי)]. A state official; a Sharonite. One of twelve stewards of royal property appointed by David, his specific charge was oversight of the herds which pastured in Sharon (1 Chr 27:29). Of the twelve, he is one of seven identified with a gentilic rather than by paternity, indicating perhaps that he was from outside the tribal structure.

RICHARD W. NYSSE

**SHITTAH TREE.** See FLORA.

**SHITTIM** (PLACE) [Heb *šiṭṭîm* (שִׁטִּים)]. The encampment site of Israel in the plains of Moab NE of the Dead Sea. Since Shittim was the final encampment of the Israelites before they crossed Jordan, it is notable in the history of Israel. At Shittim, the Israelites fell into the idolatrous and immoral practices of Baal-peor. The men of Israel who had taken Moabite and Midianite wives were smitten with a plague, killing 24,000, because they had engaged in the Baal-peor cult (Num 25:1–9). Final preparation was made at Shittim to enter Canaan: (1) A census was taken of all men (20 years and up) in view of military need and eventual settlement allotments (Num 26); (2) Joshua was publicly announced as Moses' successor (Num 27:12–23); (3) Reuben, Gad, and part of the tribe of Manasseh received their land allotment E of the Jordan after promising to fight with their brethren (Num 32); (4) Moses delivered his final address to the people (Deut 31 ff.); and (5) Joshua sent out spies to Jericho. In addition, the Israelites defeated the Midianites from the base camp of Shittim.

Shittim is probably the same as Abel-shittim of Numbers 33:49, with the abbreviated version being the more popular. According to the biblical text, the location of Abel-shittim was immediately E of the Jordan and N of the Dead Sea. Two sites have been proposed. Originally, Tell el-Kefrein (M.R. 210139), located on a hill overlooking the Plains of Moab, was proposed as the site of Shittim. The location is 6 miles N of the Dead Sea and E of the Jordan, and notable evidence of habitation in OT times contributed to its selection. Potsherds from Iron Ages I and II (12th to 6th centuries B.C.) were recovered from the site. Nelson Glueck, however, proposes the larger site of Tell el-Hamman (M.R. 214138) for Abel-shittim. This tell is located 2 miles farther E on the Wadi el-Kefrein. Here, remains of Iron Age I and II fortresses with 1.2 m thick outer walls have been discovered. The foundations of massive towers at each end and a strong glacis possibly surrounding the wall indicate that Tell el-Hamman held a strategic position in ancient times. The confusion over the identification of the site exists because the biblical name, Abel-shittim, and its Roman name, Abila, no longer exist in the area. While other familiar names survived, Abel-shittim was forgotten. The names "Shittim," meaning "achaias," and Abel-shittim, "stream of the achaias," indicate that the place was in the once-forested hills of Moab.

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JOEL C. SLAYTON

**SHIZA** (PERSON) [Heb *sîzā*ʾ (סִיזָא)]. The father of Adina who was the leader of a band of Reubenites associated with King David's chief military men (1 Chr 11:42). Adina son of Shiza is the first of a list of sixteen men from the Transjordan in the Chronicler's expansion (1 Chr 11:41b–47) of the parallel lists of David's military elite (1 Chr 11:10–41a = 2 Sam 23:8–39). Linked with the name "Shiza" in v 42 is the ambiguous Heb expression *ʿālāyw šĕlôšîm* (RSV "with him thirty"), which may indicate that Shiza (or Adina?) either was the leader of a unit of thirty warriors or was accompanied by thirty other Reubenites who joined David (cf. the similar expression in 1 Chr 12:4). There is general agreement that these expanded verses were not part of the original list, and Williamson (*1 & 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 104) and others (Mazar 1986:101–2; Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT 1st series, 101) have argued convincingly that the Chronicler or a later redactor did not fabricate these names.

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RUSSELL FULLER

**SHOA** (PERSON) [Heb *šôaʿ* (שׁוֹעַ)]. A people mentioned in a military setting in Ezek 23:23. The context is a prediction of punishment (vv 22–27) in a judgment oracle against Judah, which is described in allegorical terms as the grossly wayward wife of Yahweh ("Oholibah," vv 4, 11, 22). Babylon, the scorned political lover (v 17), was to retaliate, using against Judah the military machismo once so attractive (v 15). The national contingents of its army include Shoa. The preceding name, Pekod, refers to the Aramean tribe of Puqudu located east of the Tigris. Accordingly one expects Shoa to refer to a historical people within the same general area of Babylonian hegemony.

Zadok (1978:178–79) has compared the listing of ethnic groups in v 23 with that of an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar: the trio of Pekod, Shoa, and Koa correspond to a list of four or six Aramean and other West-Semitic tribes, including the Pukudu, although none of the other names match. The present name is not found elsewhere, and any suggested identification runs into the difficulty of explaining why its form is unique. Thus Zadok declined to equate them with the Sutu, with which generally Shoa is tentatively identified, because of lack of phonetic correspondence. He did note that the grouping of Shoa and Koa sounded onomatopoeic. Oppenheim (*IDB* 3:48) has compared pairs of names like the Cherethites and the Pelethites. Indeed, one may note the allegorical names of the S and N kingdoms in this chapter, Oholibah and Oholah, which sound like Tweedledum and Tweedledee. Accordingly, there seems to be some focus on this pair of names. Zimmerli (1979:488) found assonance in the triple grouping, Pekod, Shoa and Koa, in terms of their common "ô" vowel. Eichrodt (*Ezekiel* OTL, 328) has helpfully found wordplay in the three names, Pekod referring to punishment (Heb *pqd;* cf; the wordplay in Jer 50:21) and Shoa to a cry for help (Heb *šwʿ*). See KOA. Then the fate in store for Judah is expressed in a rhetorically forceful fashion. By means of this explanation it is possible to return to the common identification with more confidence, as a deliberate distortion.

The Sutu or Sutians were seminomads who for centuries engaged in raids on Assyrian and Babylonian territory (Brinkman 1968:285–87). At the end of the 8th century B.C. they supported the Babylonian rebel Merodach-baladan against the Assyrian king Sargon. Here they may feature as mercenaries, if not vassals.

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LESLIE C. ALLEN

**SHOBAB** (PERSON) [Heb *šôbāb* (שׁוֹבָב)]. **1.** A son of David born in Jerusalem to Bathsheba (Bathshua; 2 Sam 5:14; 1 Chr 3:5; 14:4). Three full brothers of Shobab's are listed: Shammua (Shimea), Nathan, and Solomon. In addition, David had six sons born in Hebron to six different wives, and nine born in Jerusalem to unnamed wives, as well as many sons born to his concubines in Jerusalem (1 Chr 3:9). See also DAVID, SONS OF.

**2.** One of three sons of Caleb's daughter Jerioth (1 Chr 2:18). He was a Judahite. His grandfather Caleb (also known as Chelubai; 1 Chr 2:9) was not the famous spy of Joshua's day (Numbers 13). Rather, he lived earlier, and was the great-grandfather of Bezalel (1 Chr 2:19–20), the great Tabernacle craftsman (Exod 31:1; 35:30; etc.).

The text of 1 Chr 2:18 is difficult, and some versions (e.g., RSV, NIV) see Jerioth to be a second wife to Caleb (and not a daughter), since they are both introduced by *ʾet*, the common sign of the direct object. All solutions have some difficulties, however. The present one sees the first *ʾet* as the preposition "with" and the second one as the direct object marker, and reads *ʾištô* ("his wife") for *ʾiššâ w-* ("a wife and …")

between the two names (or else understands the *waw* as an emphatic). See also Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 37.
DAVID M. HOWARD, JR.

**SHOBACH** (PERSON) [Heb *šōbak* (שׁוֹבַךְ)]. Var. SHOPHACH. Aramean army general leading the forces of Hadadezer (2 Sam 10:16 and 18). According to the "Ammonite War Narratives" of 2 Samuel 10 (= 1 Chronicles 19), once Joab defeated the Ammonite-Aramean coalition (2 Sam 10:13–14), Hadadezer mustered his forces from "beyond the river" to fight Israel. Shobach, whom the Chronicler calls Shophach (1 Chr 19:16), was the general in charge of the army for this war, which reportedly took place at Helam, located in the Transjordan. In this battle Shobach suffered a major defeat at the hands of David.

There is much question as to whether the battle described in 2 Sam 10:16–19 is the same as the battle reported in 2 Sam 8:3–8, in which Hadadezer also is defeated and the Arameans are again completely subjugated by David (cf. McCarter *2 Samuel*). In that passage, however, Hadadezer is mentioned as being the king and commander of the army and there is no mention of Shobach. Given the different literary emphases of both passages, such as giving the credit for the victory of Yahweh in 2 Sam 8:6, as opposed to giving the credit to David for almost singlehandedly defeating this army (cf. the use of all 3d mas. sing. verbs in 2 Sam 10:18), it is most probable to cite different authors for both passages and to see them as relating to the same battle. See also HADADEZER).

In this case the function of Shobach being mentioned in 2 Sam 10:16 and 18 as both general of the army and as one whom David himself wounded and killed is to demonstrate the military prowess of David. Since the tradition did not record the death of Hadadezer in an Israelite-Aramean war, the introduction of the name of the general into the second narrative suits the purpose of building the status of the Israelite king by having him get close enough to the leader to inflict upon him a mortal wound (Bailey 1989).

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RANDALL C. BAILEY

**SHOBAI** (PERSON) [Heb *šōbāy* (שׁוֹבָי)]. The name of a levitical family of temple gatekeepers who returned to Palestine with Zerubbabel shortly after 538 B.C.E., the end of the Babylonian exile. The name appears in Ezra 2:42 in the phrase "the sons of Shobai" (Gk *sabaou/sōbai*), where the Levites are distinguished from the people of Israel, the priests, and the temple servants. The parallel verse Neh 7:45 lists "the sons of Shobai" (Gk *sabi/sabei/sabai/sōbai*) under the Levites, as does the later parallel 1 Esdr 5:28. The different versions of the Apocrypha use three transliterations of this word: *sobai, sabei,* and *tobeis.* These differences do not appear, however, in the Eng versions.
STEVEN R. SWANSON

**SHOBAL** (PERSON) [Heb *šôbāl* (שׁוֹבָל)]. **1.** The son of Seir, the Horite (Gen 36:20; 1 Chr 1:38) and the father of Manahath (among other "sons"; Gen 36:23; 1 Chr 1:40).

**2.** A son of Hur, son of Caleb (1 Chr 2:50) and father of Haroe, "half of the Manahathites" (1 Chr 2:52).

**3.** A son of Judah, brother of Hur, and father of Reaiah (1 Chr 4:1–2).

According to Gen 36:29, Shobal was a Horite tribe with its own chief. The three "persons" named Shobal listed above are actually personifications of this tribe in various historical circumstances. Shobal #1 represents the tribe as part of the Horite population within the Edomite state in the 7th century B.C. Shobal #2 and #3 presuppose the immigration of Edomite/Idumean tribes and clans into S Judah during the exilic and postexilic period. Those who compiled the statistics of the Judean population in the form of genealogies, which we now read in 1 Chronicles 2 and 4, first linked the immigrants with the Calebites—Shobal (2)—and later directly to Judah—Shobal (3). Here is a primary example for how tribal genealogies, being political in nature, shift with changes in administration and politics. See HORITES; HUR; MANAHATHITES.

As a personal name, *sbl* occurs several times in Safaitic (Harding 1971:309). It seems, however, that the Edomite/Horite name "Shobal" was primarily a geographical designation which is still preserved: Jebel Sôbala S of Wādī al-Ḥasâ (Musil 1907–08, 1:2, 313), and the name of a ruin, Kh. Sôbal, on its top (Musil 1907–8, 2:242). Tribal names, especially the names of sedentary tribes, are frequently derived from geographical names (cf. "Judah" and "Ephraim"). Etymologically, one could perhaps connect "Shobal" with Akkadian *šubultu,* Ugaritic *šblt,* Sabaic $s_1$*blt*, Ethiopic *säbl,* Heb *šibbôlet,* etc., "ear of grain;" the etymology would also point to a geographical name, which referred to the fertility of that particular part of Edom.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**SHOBEK** (PERSON) [Heb *šôbēq* (שׁוֹבֵק)]. A leader of the people and a signatory to the covenant established by Ezra (Neh 10:24). The name means "victor," but nothing else is known about him.

FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**SHOBI** (PERSON) [Heb *šōbî* (שׁוֹבִי)]. Son of Nahash, a ruler of the Ammonites (2 Sam 17:27). Shobi helped David during the revolt of Absalom. When David was on the E side of the Jordan in Mahanaim, preparing for a major battle with Absalom's forces, Shobi, accompanied by Machir and Barzillai, brought supplies to the king's tired and famished troops.

Older scholarship tended to doubt this account of events, feeling that Shobi never existed since his name is not mentioned elsewhere. Shobi's kindness was also difficult to reconcile with David's earlier subjugation of Ammon (2 Samuel 10–12). Consequently, the expression "Shobi son of" was emended from the text in 2 Sam 17:27 and the Ammonite conquest was viewed as occurring later than the revolt of Absalom (Cook 1899–1900:156–60, cf. McCarter *II Samuel* AB, 274, 394).

Such measures are unnecessary. Shobi's older brother was Hanun, who had succeeded his father, Nahash, to the throne. He had fought unsuccessfully with David (2 Samuel 10–12), and David probably replaced him with his younger brother as the king of the Ammonites. This was a common practice in the ANE.

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STEPHEN G. DEMPSTER

**SHOHAM** (PERSON) [Heb *šōham* (שׁוֹהָם)]. Son of Jaaziah (1 Chr 24:27). Several names appear in 24:20–31 which are lacking in 23:6–24. None of the sons of Jaaziah are included in the previous list of sons of Merari. Apparently, the names were added to the earlier list in order to attest to the authority of Jaaziah's family for levitical service. The passage begins with the introduction, "of the remaining sons of Levi …," which implies an intent to fill out the previous list.

DONALD K. BERRY

**SHOMER** (PERSON) [Heb *šômēr* (שׁוֹמֵר)]. The son of Heber, listed in the Asherite genealogy in 1 Chr 7:32. This figure receives no further mention by the Chronicler, but a related name—Shemer (pausal form *šāmer*)—appears in 1 Chr 7:34. Because Shemer's father is not mentioned and because his descendants are listed after those of Japhlet, Shomer's brother, scholars have suggested that these two figures are identical.

The genealogy of Heber (1 Chr 7:32–35) is confusing on several points. Not only does Shomer seem equated with Shemer, but also Helem (v 35) appears identified with Hotham (v 32). The names of Shemer's descendants also are unclear: two of the three have been vocalized differently than their consonantal form, by means of a common scribal technique known as *qere/kethib.*

The name "Shomer/Shemer" also appears in 1 Kgs 16:24, 1 Chr 6:31, 2 Kgs 12:21, with no apparent relation to the figure mentioned here. A possible connection, however, has been drawn between Shomer and a descendant of Benjamin in 1 Chr 8:12. Although the MT refers to this latter figure as Shemed, various mss read the name as Shomer/Shemer. Based on the presence of such other Asherite names as Beriah, Serah, Heber in the Benjaminite genealogies, Edelman suggests that the "Ashurites" of 2 Sam 2:9 refer to an Asherite enclave living on the frontiers of Benjamin and Ephraim (Edelman 1985:85–86).

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JULIA M. O'BRIEN

**SHOPHACH** (PERSON) [Heb *šôpak* (שׁוֹפַךְ)]. See SHOBACH (PERSON).

**SHOVEL** [Heb *yāʿ* (יָעֹ)]. A cultic utensil mentioned in several lists of objects used in the tabernacle (Exod 27:3; 28:3; Num 4:14) and the temple (1 Kgs 7:40, 45; 2 Kgs 25:14; 2 Chr 4:11, 16; Jer 52:18). The shovels were made of bronze, as was the courtyard altar they serviced; they were used to carry away the ashes of the burnt offerings. So apparently were the temple shovels, which are included in the list of utensils (1 Kgs 7:40) even though, in the 1 Kings temple account, the altar itself is not mentioned. The altar probably did exist, having been erected by David, not Solomon; the presence of "shovels" in the Kings text is indirect evidence of the altar's presence.

Incense shovels are frequently depicted in artistic presentations of the temple or its features in Jewish art of the postbiblical period, as in the mosaic floors of Palestinian synagogues. Such shovels are rectangular in shape, with handles projecting from the narrow side. Ceramic incense shovels, both rectangular and oval in shape, have been recovered from Roman period sites.

Another word for "shovel," *raḥat,* refers to a winnowing tool and is found only in Isa 30:24.

CAROL MEYERS

**SHUA** (PERSON) [Heb *šûʿāʾ* (שׁוּעָא)]. A descendant of Asher in the segmented tribal genealogy in 1 Chr 7:30–40. The name appears in v 32 as a third-generation female descendant of the eponymous tribal ancestor Asher, the daughter of Heber and sister of Japhlet, Shomer, and Hotham. The form of the name found in the MT and presupposed by Lucianic LXX derives from the root *šwʿ* meaning "cry for help." The final *ʾalep* has been explained as an ending with a vocative force that was added to indicate that the name is a shortened form (Noth *IPN,* 38, 154). The LXX has the variant reading Sola, which would reflect an underlying Hebrew consonantal text *šwlh,* in which the *ʿayin* either was mistaken for a *lamed* or was omitted from transliteration as a silent letter. In the latter case, an original Hebrew text could be restored as *šwʿlh,* Shualah, a feminine form of the name "Shual."

In light of the intergenerational repetition of other names in the Asherite genealogy, including Zophah, Beriah/Beri, Shelesh/Shilshah and Imnah/Imna/Imrah, it is possible to suggest that Shua is a corrupted reading of Shual in v 36 (Edelman 1988:21, n. 3). The LXX reading Sola preserves a possible stage of textual transmission that presents the name in v 32 as a feminine form of Shual. Such an alteration between masculine and feminine forms occurs elsewhere in the genealogy with Shelesh/Shilshah. If the Greek evidence is excluded from consideration, the MT form *šwʿʾ* could have resulted from a copyist's error in which the final *lamed* of a square script was mistakenly read as a final *ʾalep.* Alternately, since the following word begins with *ʾalep,* a scribal eye could have jumped over the *lamed,* writing *ʾalep* instead and then, when appraising the sense of the consonants, reduplicating the *ʾalep* to begin the word *ʾăḥôtām,* "their sister."

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

**SHUAH** (PERSON) [Heb *šûaḥ* (שׁוּחַ)]. SHUHITE. A son of Abraham and Keturah (Gen 25:2; 1 Chr 1:32). Like all the sons of Abraham and Keturah, Shuah represents an Arabian or Syrian landscape associated with the incense trade around the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. See KETURAH. Shuah is identical with Akkadian *Sūḫu*, a country (and Assyrian province) on the middle Euphrates. In its strategic position vis-à-vis the main trade routes through the Syrian desert, Sūḫu was preceded by the kingdom of Mari, and followed by Dura Europos. As a country, *Sūḫu* is already mentioned in the Mari archives (Háclár 1983), and in Egyptian topographical lists from the LB Age. The hieroglyphic rendering of the name suggests that the Egyptians learned from the Canaanites (Görg 1989). In this case, it can also be explained why Akkadian *s* became *š* in Hebrew (cf. Knauf 1988:74; 105). As early as the time of Sargon II, *Sūḫu* was the summer pasture of Arab bedouin tribes (*ABL* 547 = Parpola 1987:82.13–18). A caravan of Sabeans and people from Tema was intercepted by the governor of *Sūḫu* shortly before the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (see J. Black in Northedge et al. 1988).

The only person from Shuah mentioned in the OT is Job's friend Bildad (Job 2:11). Job's friends seem to come from the extremities of the Arabian peninsula: Eliphaz the Temanite from NW Arabia, Bildad the Shuhite from NE Arabia, and Zophar the Naamathite from S Arabia. See also BILDAD; NAAMATHITE; TEMANITE; UZ.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**SHUAL** (PERSON) [Heb *šûʿāl* (שׁוּעָל)]. A descendant of Asher in the segmented tribal genealogy in 1 Chr 7:30–40. The name appears in v 36 as the son of Zophah, as a fifth-generation descendant of the eponymous tribal ancestor Asher. It derives from the root *šʿl* and means "fox, jackal."

In the context of the genealogy, Shual appears to be a personal name, but is more likely a clan designation or geographical term. The summary in v 40 would seem to indicate that the information presented in genealogical form derives from administrative lists used for army conscription and possibly also taxation. Recruitment could be done by village, region, or clan rather than by individual name (Mendenhall 1958:60–65). In addition, Shual appears as the name of a region in S Mt. Ephraim in 1 Sam 13:17 (see SHUAL [PLACE]), which is consistent with the secondary use of a clan name to designate the region belonging to the clan or of a regional name being applied to those who live within its confines, but not with the designation of open country *(ʾereṣ)* by the name of an individual owner. When the reference to the Asherite clan/region is set beside the one in 1 Sam 13:17 and is further combined with similar geographically specific names in the genealogy such as Birzvaith, Shelesh/Shilshah, Zophah, Imnah/Imna, Japhlet, Beriah, Shemer, and Serah/Sheerah, the association of the entire Asherite genealogy in 1 Chr 7:30–40 with the Asherite enclave located in S Mt. Ephraim rather than the Galilean territory of Asher becomes clear (Yeivin 1971:228; *LBHG,* 244; Edelman 1985:86; 1989:48–58). The cumulative evidence favors an equation of the Asherite descendant Shual with the land of Shual in the vicinity of Ophrah.

An equation of Shual with Shua in v 32 of the genealogy has been proposed (Edelman 1988:21, n. 3). On the understanding that the repetition of the names Zophah, Shelesh/Shishah, Beriah/Beri, and Imna/Imrah within the genealogy is evidence for its composite nature and creation through the combination of three administrative lists detailing the constituents of the enclave at three separate points in time (Edelman 1988:15–16), Shua becomes an additional possible example of name overlap within the underlying administrative sources that has been obscured through textual corruption.

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

**SHUAL** (PLACE) [Heb *šû‹āl* (שׁוּעָל)]. A region located within the confines of S Mt. Ephraim (1 Sam 13:17). The name derives the root *š‹l* and means "fox, jackal."

A Philistine raiding party is reported to have been sent out from the Michmash garrison to the land of Shual via the road to Ophrah in the wake of Jonathan's defeat of the Philistine garrison across the Wadi Suweinit at Gibeah (1 Sam 13:3). Ophrah is commonly identified with modern day eṭ-Ṭaiyibe (M.R. 178151) NW of Bethel (i.e. Aharoni *LBHG,* 440). Ophrah would accordingly be the name of the main settlement within the territory of the clan of Shual, in the easternmost portion of the Bethel plateau. The adjoining village at Rammun (M.R. 178148) was probably also part of the Shual region in the Saulide era (Edelman 1989:53).

Since Shual appears to have been a clan name that was secondarily applied to the region inhabited by that clan, or a regional label that was used to designate villagers living within its borders, one is justified in equating the place name in 1 Sam 13:17 with the Asherite clan/region of Shual listed in 1 Chr 7:36. See SHUAL (PERSON). A careful study of the genealogy reveals that it enumerates clans and villages of the Asherite enclave located in S Mt. Ephraim rather than in the traditional Asherite tribal territory in W Galilee (Edelman 1988). See ASHER; ASHURITES. The genealogical context thus accords well with the geographical indications of 1 Sam 13:17.

It is likely that the land of Shaalim mentioned in 1 Sam 9:4 is to be identified with the land of Shual in 1 Sam 13:17 (Kirkpatrick 1880:63 n. 2; Smith, *Samuel* ICC, 60; Albright 1922:116–17; Kallai 1971:193; McCarter, *1 Samuel* AB, 174–75, n. 9; Edelman 1989:53). The singular form *šā‹āl* or *š‹l* would represent an earlier, variant spelling of *š‹āl* or *šw‹l,* before *waw* became a standard *mater lectionis* for *o*- and *u*-class vowels. The geographical progression of Saul's trek through the four subregions of Mt. Ephraim—the lands of Shalishah, Shaalim, Yimni, and Zuph—is consistent with both the location of the land of Shual around Ophrah and with the appearance of all four regions as clans within the Asherite enclave of S Mt. Ephraim in the genealogy of Asher in 1 Chr 7:30–40 (Edelman 1989:50–58).

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

**SHUBAEL** (PERSON) [Heb *šûbā›ēl* (שׁוּבָאֵל)]. See SHEBUEL.

**SHUHAH** (PERSON) [Heb *šûḥâ* (שׁוּחָה)]. The brother of a certain Chelub listed in the genealogy of Judah in the book of Chronicles (1 Chr 4:11).
H. C. LO

**SHUHAM** (PERSON) [Heb *šûhām* (שׁוּהָם)]. Var. HUSHIM. SHUHAMITES. The only son of Dan according to the second census taken by Moses in the wilderness. He is listed in Num 26:42 as the ancestor of the tribe of the Shuhamites. The (Num 26:46) contains an alternate rendition of this name: *sami.* The parallel genealogy in Genesis 46 also lists only one son for Dan, but gives him the name Hushim (Gen 46:23). It is interesting to note that although Shuham is the only son of Dan, the

phraseology of the verse is in the plural. He is introduced by the clause, "These are the sons of Dan." This is due to the desire to keep the form of the genealogy consistent, and should not be taken to suggest that some entries have been lost.

CHRISTINA DE GROOT VAN HOUTEN

**SHUHITE.** See SHUAH.

**SHULAMMITE** [Heb *šûlammît* (שׁוּלַמִּית)]. A reference to the woman in Cant 7:1—Eng 6:13. Four interpretations occur individually and in combination. The first interprets it as the feminine form of Solomon, which is used to refer to the man in Cant 1:5; 3:7, 11; 8:11, 12 (in addition to the superscription in 1:1). However, the expected feminine form of Solomon is *šĕlōmît* (which occurs in Lev 24:11 and 1 Chr 3:19); in addition, unlike proper names, "Shulammite" is used with the article.

The second regards it as a designation for an inhabitant of the town of SHUNEM (identified with modern Solem). Alteration of liquid sounds is not uncommon, and did occur later with Shunem, as its modern equivalent indicates. However, substitution of *l* for *n* in this name is unattested in biblical times, and the woman of Cant is elsewhere associated with Jerusalem rather than Shunem. In addition, given the strong alliteration of the verse as a whole, it would be surprising for a less alliterative option to be used (*nun* also occurs in *wĕneḥĕzeh* and *hammaḥănāyim; lamed* does not occur elsewhere in the verse). Some proponents of this theory identify the woman of Cant with Abishag, for which there is no clear evidence.

The third interpretation sees Shulammite as a reference to a goddess (Šala or Šulmânîtu), equivalent of Ishtar. This explanation is popular with proponents of the sacred marriage interpretation of Cant.

The fourth interprets it as a noun from the root *šlm,* with meaning "the perfect one." Although there are morphological difficulties, Fox (1985:157–58) explains the word as a *nisbe* form of the otherwise unknown *šūlam,* perhaps pointed incorrectly.

The first and fourth options are reflected in rabbinic references to the term; LXX B has *hē Soumaneitis,* which probably reflects the second option.

Since none of these explanations has won majority approval, many interpreters choose to transliterate the name rather than attempting to translate. This seems the best option. It is possible that no single explanation is adequate (and in fact a number of commentators combine elements of two theories):the form may well be related to *šlm,* and influenced by the name of Solomon. The *u*-vowel may be affected by the long *u* of *šûbî* to increase the assonance of the verse. Recent thorough discussions may be found in Fox (1985:157–58) and Pope (*Song of Songs* AB, 600).

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ELIZABETH F. HUWILER

**SHUMATHITE** [Heb *šūmātî* (שֻׁמָתִי)]. One of the four families that resided in Kiriath-jearim (1 Chr 2:53). They were Judahites if not also Calebites. Shobal, a son of Hur, was the father of Kiriath-jearim—but whether this means he was the founder of the city or the ancestor of its inhabitants is not certain. Williamson (*1–2 Chronicles* NCBC, 55) considers vv 53–55 to be an obscure fragment, attached before the Chronicler's time on account of the link through Kiriath-jearim. The name "Shumathite," which came probably from a proper name **šūmâ,* is of an adjective type designating clans, tribes, or nations. Both of these names could be shortened forms based upon either the word *šmʿ,* "to hear," or the term *šmr,* "to keep." In any case, *šūmātî* is used with the article as a collective noun.

EDWIN C. HOSTETTER

**SHUNA (NORTH), TELL ESH-** (M.R. 207224). A Neolithic–EB I site located on the NE edge of the Jordan Valley along the Wadi al-Arab. When first identified during the 1953 Point IV Archaeological Survey, the size of the site was recorded at ca. 1 km in length with a maximum height of 10 m. Since the early 1950s, the villages of Kh. esh-Shuna and Kh. esh-Sheikh Hussein, situated on and around the ancient mound, have grown at the expense of the archaeological material beneath. Today, though the

sherd scatter extends throughout the modern town of Tell esh-Shuna Shamaliyeh, only small fragments of the original tell are preserved and/or are accessible for excavation. The best-preserved fragment of the mound is located in the middle of the bus stop. Even this area, measuring only × m with a maximum preserved height of 6 m, was only available for excavation owing to the destruction of the overlying houses in 1967. The accompanying destruction debris and garbage accumulation alone account for up to 1.5 m of the mound's preserved height.

During the 1953 survey, several small probe trenches were excavated by Hasan Abu Awad and J. Mellaart, yielding an occupational sequence dating from the "middle Chalcolithic" through to the EB III (de Contenson 1960a; 1960b; 1961; Mellaart 1962). Tell esh-Shuna North was revisited during the 1975 East Jordan Valley Survey (Ibrahim, Sauer, and Yassine 1976), after which salvage excavations were conducted in 1984 and 1985 (Gustavson-Gaube 1985; 1986; Baird 1987). Based on a 75 $m^2$ exposure with a maximum 4.3 m depth of occupation, 109 strata were identified which outlined the local development from the "Pottery Neolithic B–related" /late Chalcolithic to the EB I.

Since the basic chronological framework for the N Jordan Valley during 4th millennium remains controversial at best, the emphasis of the 1984 and 1985 excavations was to trace and reconstruct the chronological sequence. Based on the preliminary analysis, Tell esh-Shuna North has yielded three basic artifact assemblages, distinguished primarily by ceramic criteria. Many of the craft traditions characteristic of the early assemblage(s) endured, and the local traditions, though undergoing continual modification, did not yield to abrupt change.

The provisional "early phase" (strata 114–61/55) is characterized by overlapping series of pits and postholes dug into the natural alluvium, rectilinear dwellings with associated courtyards (one dwelling with sunken flooring), and a series of outdoor graveled, cobbled, and clay pavements with a variety of associated pits and burning installations. The ceramic repertoire is predominantly coarse plain ware (ca. 60%). Decorated wares include a simple red-painted coarse ware with clear Pottery Neolithic B affinities and a coarse red-slipped ware (both representing ca. 20% of the sherd total). The three coarse ware series had rare examples of horizontal bands of thumb impressed, pinched, and incised decoration. Nonlocally produced ceramics include a rare simple geometric painted ware and a dark-face slipped and burnished ware, clearly of the N Syrian tradition. Individual parallels to the late Ghassulian traditions point to contemporaniety; however, too many elements of the classical Ghassulian forms, decorations, and manufacturing techniques are absent to posit the Tell esh-Shuna North as an "early phase" within the late Chalcolithic Ghassulian.

The "middle phase" (strata 60/54–23) is characterized by a series of rectilinear and curvilinear dwellings with associated courtyards, large pits and ash lenses, cobbled pavements, and a series of fragmentary wall foundations. Many of the former craft traditions continue into the "middle phase," notably the coarse plain and red-slipped ceramic traditions (representing ca. 60% and 40% respectively). Most of the simple red-painted wares fall out of use although their production is marginally continued and the more regularized multiple parallel band motif appears. The application of impressed or incised horizontal bands to a vessel surface increases. The distinguishing factor of this phase, however, is the inclusion of the black and gray polished "Esdraelon" wares (though representing less than 1% of the sherd total) and the innovations in local ceramic production that the appearance of these wares seems to have provoked.

The latest preserved phase at Tell esh-Shuna North (strata 22–7) yielded a substantial multiphase building complex and a large basalt wall (preserved width ca. 2 m, but with the W face destroyed. With this wall was a chipped stone surface spanning the "late phase" sequence with an intervening series of poorly preserved wall foundations and pits. Small fragments of eroded copper and slag were found in pit debris, implying the presence of local craftsmen working in small-scale metallurgy. The basic ceramic repertoire of the preceding phase continues with slight modifications in the form repertoire. The gray and black polished "Esdraelon" wares end with the introduction of the "grain wash" wares, clearly placing the Tell esh-Shuna "late phase" within the general development of the EB I.

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CARRIE GUSTAVSON-GAUBE

**SHUNEM** (PLACE) [Heb *šûnēm* (שׁוּנֵם)]. SHUNAMMITE. A town in the hill territory of Issachar (Josh 19:18), at the foot of the hill of Moreh, identified with modern Solem (M.R. 181223). Surface surveys have yielded remains from the MB age to the Islamic period; most historical information is from the LB and Early Iron ages.

Shunem was the site of a Philistine encampment during an Israelite-Philistine battle under Saul (1 Sam 28:4). Abishag, the woman who warmed the aging King David and who was sought in marriage by David's son Adonijah, was a Shunammite (Heb *šûnammî;* 1 Kings 1–2). Elisha visited the town; a Shunammite woman fed and housed him, and he later revived her dead son (2 Kgs 4:8–27).

A Canaanite city-state before the Israelite period, Shunem (*š-n-m* or *š-n-m-i* in the Egyptian orthography) is mentioned in the conquest list of Pharaoh Thutmose III (15th century B.C.E.; *ANET,* 243; Simon 1937:214; *CTAED,* 176). It is also referred to (as Shunama) in the 14th-century Amarna Letters (*ANET,* 485). Having been attacked and destroyed by Lab›ayu, it was the site of forced labor under the king of Megiddo, who described its inhabitants as recalcitrant. It is also listed in the conquest list of Pharaoh Sheshonk I (Shishak in biblical accounts) in the early days of the divided kingdom (*ANET,* 243; *CTAED,* 176), although the biblical account of his campaign does not mention an invasion of cities in the N kingdom. Some connect Shunem (and at times Abishag) with the SHULAMMITE of the Song of Songs (7:1—Eng 6:13).

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**SHUNI** (PERSON) [Heb *šûnî* (שׁוּנִי)]. SHUNITES. The third of the seven sons of Gad mentioned in the genealogical list of the sons of Jacob (Gen 46:16). Shuni was the grandson of Jacob and Zilpah, the maid whom Laban gave to his daughter Leah on the occasion of her marriage to Jacob (Gen 29:24). His name appears among the seventy people who migrated with Jacob to Egypt at the time of a great famine in the land of Canaan (Gen 46:8–27). Nothing is known about Shuni. According to the second census of Israel mentioned in the book of Numbers, Shuni became the eponymous ancestor of the Shunites, one of the clans of Gad (Num 26:15).

None of the sons of Gad mentioned in the genealogical lists in Genesis and Numbers appear in the enumeration of the other clans of Gad in 1 Chr 5:11–17. Several proposals have been advanced to explain this omission. Some scholars had said that when the Chronicler listed the clans of Gad, he departed from his usual source of information. Others have said that the clans of Gad are implicitly mentioned in 1 Chr 5:11. Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 122), however, identified Shuni with Guni (1 Chr 5:15). According to the Chronicler, seven of the eleven (or twelve, according to the enumeration of the LXX) clans of Gad traced their genealogical line to Guni. For this reason, some commentators believe that Shuni is a corrupted spelling of Guni.
CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

**SHUPHAMITES** [Heb *šûpāmîm* (שׁוּפָמִים)]. See SHEPHUPHAM.

**SHUPPIM** (PERSON) [Heb *šuppīm* (שֻׁפִּם)]. This name occurs three times in the OT.

1. One of the sons of Ir named in 1 Chr 7:12 in a "fragmentary addition" (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 78) to a Benjaminite genealogy (1 Chr 7:6–12). Although it has been proposed that the larger list was originally Zebulunite (Brunet 1953:485–86), the correspondence of Shuppim and Huppim in v 12 with Shephupham and Hupham in Num 26:38–41 may testify to an original Benjaminite association of 1 Chr 7:12a, at least (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 65). If in fact *ʿîr* (Shuppim's "father") is to be read as a personal name, then it might be associated with Iri son of Bela in v 7 (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 78). Others, however, see no patronym for Shuppim here but read *dān* ("Dan") in place of *ʿîr* (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 64–66). Verse 12b then represents the vestige of a Danite genealogy rather than a continuation of a Benjaminite fragment.

2. Shuppim occurs again in 1 Chr 7:15 (again with Huppim) where there are considerable textual difficulties. Rudolph (Ibid., 68–71), among many others, considers these names to be corruptions of Shechem and Hepher, sons of Gilead (cf. Num 26:29–34).

3. Shuppim also occurs in 1 Chr 26:16, where it is usually considered a dittograph (Rudolph Ibid., 172). Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 171), however, proposes it might be a copyist's note for erasure indicating damage to the exemplar.

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**SHUQBA CAVE** (M.R. 154154). Shuqba cave lies on the right bank of Wadi el-Natuf (from which the Natufian culture derives its name), which is a tributary of the Yarkon River, and descends from the Judean Hills into the coastal plain. The cave is a large chamber with a chimney at the rear part and three small side chambers. The excavations in 1928 by D. Garrod exposed a sequence of Mousterian layers overlaid by a Natufian layer covered by a more recent deposit composed of EB through modern debris.

The Mousterian layers were of two kinds. The lower one (D) was a soft red cave earth, which accumulated to a depth of about 2 m with remains of gray ashes. It contained artifacts and bones. Some of this layer had become consolidated into *breccia.* The overlying layer (C) was a red clay sediment which contained abraded Mousterian artifacts. This accumulation is explained as the results of water activity, such as caused by the presence of a spring inside the cave. The abraded artifacts were extracted from layer (D) and after being washed and worn by the water were redeposited inside the cave and one of the side chambers.

The contents of the *in situ* material of layer D included among others a lithic industry mostly made by Levallois technique with numerous side scrapers, some points, a few disks, and a few bifaces and burins. Among the faunal remains were hippopotamus and rhinoceros. The Mousterian remains appear to correlate with those of the Mt. Carmel sites.

The cave is better known for its Natufian remains, which included typical cultural attributes of this culture, namely, burials and a microlithic stone industry with numerous lunates as well as sickle blades. Among the heavy-duty tools were mortars and pestles. The Natufian lithic assemblage from Shuqba is Late Natufian and the microliths were often shaped without the exploitation of the microburin technique. It therefore resembles some other Late Natufian sites such as Salibiya I in the Lower Jordan Valley. The collection of bone tools consists mainly of points and awls, a few needles, and an engraved rib.

The fauna of the Natufian layer is chiefly represented by abundant gazelle remains, some cattle, deer, and wild cat.

The lack of Upper Paleolithic sediments in Shuqba is hard to explain unless the spring activity lasted, even intermittently, for a very long time. The Natufians settled on an uneven surface, and after abandoning the cave, a rockfall at the entrance and a subsidence in the area of the sinkhole distorted the lower and upper boundaries of this layer.

OFER BAR-YOSEF

**SHUR, WILDERNESS OF** (PLACE) [Heb *midbar šûr* (מִדְבַּר שׁוּר)]. A desert region and perhaps a place located in the N Sinai between the S border of Canaan and the NE border of Egypt (Gen

16:7; 20:1; 25:18; Exodus 15:22; 1 Sam 15:7; 27:8). The designation "Wilderness of Shur" *(midbar šûr)* occurs only once in the Bible, where it refers to one of the seven wildernesses (Shur, Etham, Sin, Sinai, Paran, Zin, and Kadesh) traversed by Moses and the children of Israel in the Exodus. In the Exodus accounts this area is located between the Red Sea and Marah and is the place where Israel murmured for water: "Then Moses led Israel onward from the Red Sea, and they went into the wilderness of Shur; they went three days in the wilderness and found no water" (Exod 15:22). The lack of water was remedied through the miraculous sweetening of the bitter water at Marah and Israel's eventual arrival at the twelve springs of Elim (Exod 15:23–27). In the parallel account in Num 33:8 this same area is designated as the Wilderness of Etham rather than Shur. See ETHAM.

While the general location of this area in the NW part of the Sinai peninsula between borders of Egypt and Palestine is assured, the precise boundaries of this wilderness depend on where the crossing of the Red Sea and the subsequent stopping place at Marah are to be located. There is no scholarly agreement regarding the location of either of these places. See RED SEA. Those who argue the S route to Sinai would place it E of the Red Sea (i.e., E of the Gulf of Suez) while those who argue for the northern route would place it farther N closer to the Mediterranean.

In the patriarchal narratives, Abraham is said to have "dwelt between Kadesh and Shur" before moving to Gerar (Gen 20:1), and it is noted that the descendants of Ishmael lived in an area "from Havilah to Shur, which is opposite Egypt in the direction of Assyria" (Gen 25:18; see also 1 Sam 15:7). Hagar fled to a well between Kadesh "on the way to Shur" (Gen 16:7). Some have suggested the "way of Shur" is a reference to an ancient caravan route Darb el-Shur used by the patriarchs in their journeys to Egypt running along the line Hebron-Beersheba-Khalasa-Quseima-Ismailia (Woolley and Lawrence 1914–15:39–44; Lipschitz 1978:51–52). In addition, twice the Amalekites are pursued "as far as Shur, to the land of Egypt" in the wars waged by Saul (1 Sam 15:7) and David (1 Sam 27:8). Several of these references suggest that in addition to the wilderness of Shur, there may be a specific place in this area by the same name (Na›aman 1980:100–5).

The word *šûr,* meaning "wall," occurs in the Bible in Hebrew (Gen 49:22; 2 Sam 22:30 = Ps 18:30) as well as in Aramaic (Ezra 4:12–13, 16). Because of this, many have supposed that the designation "Shur" originally referred to a line of individual Egyptian fortresses strategically placed on the E border, approximately along the line of the present-day Suez Canal, forming a "wall" to repel invaders as the "Wall-of-the-Ruler" in the story of Sinuhe (*GP* I: 434; *GTTOT,* 217, 251, 317–18; Lipschitz 1978:27, 51–52). For arguments against this view, see Mazar 1957:64. Others maintain that "Shur" was a reference to the range of cliffs E of the Gulf of Suez, extending along the western side of the et-Tih plateau from Wadi Gharandal in the S toward the Mediterranean in the N, which viewed from the W resemble a wall (Palmer 1872:38–39). There is no consensus as to the meaning or the reference of the designation "Shur."

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DAVID R. SEELY

**SHUTHELAH** (PERSON) [Heb *šûtelaḥ* (שׁוּתֶלַח)]. SHUTHELAHITES. **1.** Shuthelah is the first son of Ephraim according to 1 Chr 7:20. This genealogy of Ephraim lists many descendants including Shuthelah's son Bered, two Tahaths, Zabad, another Shuthelah (v 21), and others. The significance of the 1 Chronicles 7 passage is to point toward Joshua (v 27), an Ephraimite, the hero of the conquest. Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 114) speculates that this genealogy is a combination of two earlier lists owing to the repetition of various names (Shuthelah, Tahath), similarity of others (Bered, v 20, and Zabad, v 21; Eleadah, v 20, and Ladan, v 26; Tahath, v 20, and Tahan, v 25) and length of the genealogy. Hogg (1900–

1:147–49) argues that the 1 Chronicles 7 text is corrupt and suggests that Ephraim's descendants should be reduced to Shuthelah, Tahath (or equivalents), and Eleadah (or equivalents).

Numbers 26:35–36 is the only other OT listing of the Ephraimite clan (except Genesis 46 in the LXX). Based on the Numbers passage, Ephraim had three sons: Shuthelah, Becher, and Tahan. They are described as the heads of clans—the Shuthelahites, the Becherites, and the Tahanites (26:35). Also mentioned in Numbers 26 is an Eran who is a descendant of Shuthelah.

**2.** Shuthelah is a descendant of Ephraim (1 Chr 7:21). See #1 above. Because the text is confusing, this Shuthelah may simply be a repetition of the earlier name (v 20).

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**SIA** (PERSON) [Heb *sî‹ā›* (סִיעָא)]. Var. SIAHA. Head of a family of Nethinim (Temple servants) who returned from the Babylonian exile to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, between 538 and 520 B.C.E. (Ezra 2:44; Neh 7:47; 1 Esdr 5:29 [Gk *Soua*]). The form of the name "Siaha" in Ezra, in contrast to Sia in Nehemiah, suggests a compilation of Hebrew (ending with an *h*) and Aramaic (ending with an *a*) versions of the name and supports a later date for Ezra's list. Neither version, however, sheds light on the name's origin and meaning. As members of the guild of Nethinim (Levine 1963), the family of Sia would have had a special role in the temple cult, perhaps assisting the Levites. The Nethinim have been construed as a guild of temple functionaries, originally of foreign descent. During the postexilic period they were considered neither foreigners nor slaves. Rather, like the Levites, they had been devoted to cultic service, the precise nature of which can no longer be identified. Like the Levites, the Nethinim as a group had signed the communal pledge (Neh 10:29). The size of Sia's family is not known. The family is reckoned together with 34 other families of Nethinim and 10 of Solomon's servants, constituting a contingent of 392 members (Ezra 2:58; Neh 7:60) or 372 (1 Esdr 5:35).

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**SIBBECAI** (PERSON) [Heb *sibbĕkay* (סִבְּכַי)]. One of David's champions, a select class of warriors directly attached to the king for special assignments, named in the list of 1 Chr 11:10–47 (v 29). Although of high repute, he is distinguished from the more elite warriors (vv 11–25) listed before his grouping. He is noted for having killed Saph, one of the "sons" of Rapha (see McCarter *2 Samuel* AB, 449–50), who were known for their stature and military prowess, during a battle with the Philistines (2 Sam 21:18; 1 Chr 20:4). Sibbecai, designated a Hushite, hailed from the village of Hushah in the Judean hills a few miles SW of Bethlehem.

In 2 Sam 23:8–39, a list of the champions which parallels that of 1 Chr 11:10–47, one finds "MEBUNNAI (Heb *mbny*) the Hushite" (v 27) instead of Sibbecai *(sbky).* The form in 2 Samuel seems to have resulted from two errors in transmission: a confusion of *k* for *n* (the Lucianic Greek text reads the equivalent of *sbny*), followed by a confusion of *m* for *s* (McCarter *2 Samuel* 492).

The same Sibbecai appears to be mentioned in a list of commanders found in 1 Chr 27:1–15 (v 11), since this list mentions 11 other mighty men found in 1 Chr 11:10–47. Here Sibbecai the Hushite is further designated as "a Zerahite," a member of the family of Zerah in the tribe of Judah (Num 26:20; Josh 7:17). These commanders were each in charge of a monthly course of 24,000 men, or possibly 24 "units" rather than "thousands" (Myers *I Chronicles* 183, 53, 98), in the armed service of the king; Sibbecai being in charge of the eighth month. This list of commanders and their functions is possibly a construct of its composer, since (1) no such monthly, conscripted, civilian army is mentioned elsewhere during David's reign; (2) the large number of 288,000 men, if the term is understood correctly, is improbable; and (3) one of the commanders, Asahel (v 7), was dead before David had rule over all Israel (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 174–75). However, the author/redactor's thesis, that David made preparations for the proper ongoing cultic and national life of Israel, as illustrated throughout chap. 23–27, draws on the fact that David took a census (cf. vv 23–24; chap. 21) which could have been utilized for designing a monthly plan of conscription, a plan which would have been analogous to Solomon's monthly courses for his provision (1 Kgs 4:7–19).

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**SIBBOLETH** [Heb *sibbōlet* (סִבֹּלֶת)]. See SHIBBOLETH.

**SIBMAH** (PLACE) [Heb *śibmâ* (שִׂבְמָה)]. Var. SEBAM. A Moabite town in the region dominated by Heshbon and given by Moses to the tribe of Reuben on the E side of the Jordan River (Josh 13:19). The name is incorrectly spelled Sebam (Heb *śĕbām*) by the Masoretes in Num 32:3 (cf. *Sebama*), though the

spelling is corrected in Num 32:38 (also *Sebama*) when the city is reportedly rebuilt by the tribe of Reuben. Based on references in the prophetic books (see below), it seems unlikely that Reubenites controlled the town over time.

Sibmah may have produced well-known fertile grape vineyards, since Isaiah prophesies against Sibmah's vines in an oracle against Moab (Isa 16:8–13). From Isaiah, Jeremiah borrows the same taunt against Sibmah in 48:32–33.

Wüst (1975:160) and Kallai (*HGB,* 441) doubt the usual location of Sibmah at Khirbet Qarn el Qibsh because there are no Iron Age ruins yet uncovered there. To fit a more linear course, Wüst would look for the site farther S on the plain of Medeba near Beth Baal Meon.

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**SIBRAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *sibrayim* (סִבְרַיִם)]. One of the towns which forms the N border of the ideal vision of Israel in Ezek 47:16. Although the passage in Ezekiel suggests a general location between Damascus and Hamath, the precise location is still disputed. Citing the geographical notes of Honigmann (1923:184–85), Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 2* Hermeneia, 529) suggests that it may have been on the site of ancient Euaroia (modern Hauwarin), a Roman town situated in Syria about 62 miles NE of Damascus. However, Honigmann does not mention such an equation, nor does Zimmerli produce any solid evidence for this identification. W. F. Albright (*ARI,* 220) and other scholars (cf. *LBHG,* 67 n. 33) have suggested that Sibraim is a variant spelling of Sepharvaim. Zadok (1976:116) and other scholars, however, argue that Sibraim and Sepharvaim are two distinct towns. More data is needed to provide a definite location for Sibraim and Sepharvaim.

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HECTOR AVALOS

**SIBYLLINE ORACLES.** A collection of utterances of a prophetic character attributed to a female visionary figure of classical tradition called the sibyl. Some of the Sibylline oracles are of Jewish origin, and others were adapted or composed by Christians.

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A. The Sibyl
B. The Standard Collection
  1. The Earliest Jewish Oracles: *Sibylline Oracles* 3
  2. Additions to *Sibylline Oracles* 3
  3. The Continuing Jewish Tradition: *Sibylline Oracles* 5
  4. *Sibylline Oracles* 4
  5. *Sibylline Oracles* 11
  6. Christian Adaptations of Jewish Oracles
  7. The Christian Compositions: *Sibylline Oracles* 6 and 7
  8. The Later *Sibyllines*
C. Other *Sibylline Oracles*
D. Significance of the Sibyls

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**A. The Sibyl**

The sibyl was known in Greek legend as an ecstatic woman who uttered prophecies of a predominantly gloomy nature. The earliest reference, in the philosopher Heraclitus (ca. 500 B.C.E.) says that she reaches through thousands of years by the power of the god (Plut. *De Pyth. Or.* 6). She was apparently already a figure of hoary antiquity at that time. According to the Latin poet Ovid (who flourished at the turn of the era), the sibyl was granted by Apollo that she might live as many years as there were grains of sand on the

seashore, but she neglected to ask for the gift of youth. So she remained for thousands of years a shriveled, shrunken old woman.

At first the sibyl was conceived as a single individual, and her association with different places was explained by the legend of her wandering. In the Hellenistic period, however, the word became generic and we hear of several different sibyls. Varro, a Roman writer of the 1st century B.C.E. listed ten sibyls: Persian, Libyan, Delphic, Cimmerian (in Italy), Erythrean, Samian, Cumean, Hellespontic (from Marpessus, near Troy), Phrygian, and Tiburtine (Varro, *Res Divinae,* preserved by Lactantius *Div. Inst.* 1.6.8–12). Other lists varied. The Hebrew sibyl was sometimes added as an eleventh, and sometimes identified with the Persian. The best-known sibyls were those of Marpessus and Erythraea in Asia Minor, and of Cumae in Italy. Both the Cumean and the Erythrean sibyls were associated with caverns. The Cumean sibyl was immortalized by Virgil, who describes her ecstasy in the *Aeneid* 6.77–102 and also refers to her in the *Fourth Eclogue.*

From early times, *Sibylline Oracles* were written down in Greek hexameters. The use of acrostics was thought to be a mark of authenticity. The most famous collection in antiquity was the official one at Rome. According to legend (recounted in the anonymous preface to the standard collection), the Cumean sibyl brought nine books of her own prophecies to Tarquinius Priscus, when he was ruler of Rome (ca. 600 B.C.E.). When he would not pay her price, she burned three of them. She then offered the remaining six for the same price. He refused again, so she burned three more. Finally he purchased the remaining three, and entrusted them to special keepers (first two men, then ten, finally fifteen) to be consulted only in time of crisis, by decree of the Senate. When the temple of Jupiter was burned down in 83 B.C.E., the Sibylline books were destroyed. When it was rebuilt in 76 B.C.E., oracles were collected from various places, especially Erythraea. These oracles were apparently preoccupied with prodigies and portents (Tibullus 2.5.66–78). One surviving example deals with the birth of an androgyne, while another prescribes rituals for the founding of the *Ludi Saeculares.* The last-known consultation of the books was in 363 C.E.

**B. The Standard Collection**

The standard collection of *Sibylline Oracles* is made up of two distinct manuscript collections. The first consists of two manuscript groups, which are usually referred to as *phi* and *psi,* and contain Books 1–8. Group *phi* also contains the anonymous preface. The second collection consists of a group of manuscripts known as *omega,* which contains Books 9–14. Books 9 and 10 merely repeat material from the first collection—Book 9 contains Book 6 and part of Book 8, and Book 10 is identical with Book 4. These books are consequently omitted in the editions, but the numbering of Books 1–8 and 11–14 is retained.

The first edition, by Sixtus Birken in Basel, 1545, contained only Books 1–8. Books 11–14 were first published at the beginning of the 19th century. The first complete edition was by C. Alexandre (Paris, 1841, 1853). The major editions were done by A. Rzach (1891) and J. Geffcken (1902a).

**1. The Earliest Jewish Oracles: *Sibylline Oracles* 3.** The genre of *Sibylline Oracles* was first adapted by Jews for their own propagandistic purposes in the 2d century B.C.E., in Egypt. The oldest Jewish oracles are preserved in Book 3 of the standard collection, in vv 97–349 and 489–829 of that book. Within this corpus five oracles may be distinguished: (1) 97–161; (2) 162–95; (3) 196–294; (4) 545–656; and (5) 657–808. The first of these contains a euhemeristic account of history—i.e. it explains the pagan gods as famous men and women of ancient times. Even earth and heaven were "the first of articulate men." The oracle begins with the story of the tower of Babel, but most of it deals with Greek mythology—notably the birth of Zeus. The best parallel to this review is the *Theogony* of Hesiod. The oracle concludes by listing eight kingdoms, from Egypt to Rome. If we add the initial kingdom of Cronos (father of Zeus) and infer a final eschatological kingdom, we arrive at the usual Sibylline figure of ten. The second oracle also contains a rapid review of history beginning with "the house of Solomon." Most of the oracle, however, is concerned with "another kingdom, white and many-headed from the western sea"—i.e. Rome. The sibyl denounces Rome for injustice and homosexuality. It will endure until "the seventh reign when a king of Egypt, who will be of the Greeks by race, will rule" (192–93). Then "the people of the great God will again be strong."

The reference to the seventh king of Egypt is repeated in two other passages (vv 318, 608) and is the key to the provenance of these oracles. The king in question is either Ptolemy VI Philometor (who ruled 180–164, 164–145 B.C.E.) or his anticipated successor, Neos Philopator. In fact, Philometor's benevolence to the Jews was well known; Josephus (*AgAp* 2.49) claimed that Philometor entrusted his whole kingdom to the Jews. While this claim is exaggerated, it had some basis in the fact that two Jews, Onias and Dositheus, became generals in his army. Onias, legitimate heir to the high priesthood in Jerusalem, was then permitted to build a temple at Leontopolis. It is possible that the earliest Jewish *Sibylline Oracles* were written by a supporter of this Onias. (See Collins 1974:28–32. Nikiprowetzky 1970:215–16 identifies the seventh monarch as Cleopatra VII, the last queen of Egypt.)

The enthusiasm of the Sibyl for the Ptolemaic line found even stronger expression in vv 652–56. There we read that "God will send a king from the sun who will stop the entire earth from evil war." Egyptian kings were associated with the sun from the time of the Pharaohs, and the Ptolemies had appropriated the association (e.g. on the Rosetta Stone). The expression "king from the sun" was used in the *Potter's Oracle,* an Egyptian nationalistic composition from the Hellenistic age, to express the hope for the restoration of Egyptian kingship. In the Sibylline Oracle, the king from the sun must be identified with the seventh king of the other passages—i.e., Philometor or his heir. This passage makes clear that the Sibyl looked to the Ptolemaic house for deliverance, just as Second Isaiah had looked on Cyrus of Persia as a messiah. This political stance is understandable in the case of Jews like Onias and his followers, who found protection and patronage in Egypt when Judea was in turmoil in the Maccabean era. (For a contrary view, which identifies the "king from the sun" as a Jewish messiah, see Momigliano 1975:1077–84.)

The opposition of the Sibyl to Rome is unusual in a Jewish work of this early period. The Maccabees formed an alliance with Rome, and looked on it as a potential ally against the Syrians. In Egyptian affairs, however, Rome supported the rival of Philometor, Euergetes II (Physcon) and the attitude of the Sibyl was formed in the Egyptian milieu. The Sibyl never refers to the Maccabean revolt. It has been suggested that vv 194–95 ("the people of the great God will again be strong") is such a reference (Momigliano 1975:1081) but the suggestion is not warranted by the context.

In addition to the political endorsement of the Ptolemaic house, the earliest Jewish Sibyl had a religious message. This is expounded in the third oracle (vv 196–294) in a eulogy of the Jewish people and their law. Again, the fourth oracle (vv 545–656) exhorts the Greeks to turn from idolatry and offer holocausts "at the temple of the great God," and praises the Jews for avoiding idolatry and homosexuality. The final oracle (vv 657–808) speaks of an eschatological assault on the temple by the kings of the earth, which will be repulsed by divine judgment, with fiery swords from heaven. Then "the sons of the great God will live peacefully around the temple" (702–3) and God "will raise up a kingdom for all ages among men" (767–68).

The earliest Jewish *Sibylline Oracles* are eschatological prophecies. They look for the restoration of a Jewish kingdom around the Jerusalem temple. They evidently did not recognize the Maccabean restoration. The centrality of the temple supports the hypothesis that the oracles were written by a supporter of Onias the ousted high priest. The Ptolemaic king is expected to play a crucial role in bringing about this final state, but the judgment is expected to vindicate Jewish ethics, especially the avoidance of idolatry and homosexuality. While the oracles are eschatological, however, they are markedly different from the apocalyptic visions which were composed in Judea about the same time (e.g. Daniel) although they share some features (e.g. prophecy after the fact, periodization). The oracles make no mention of angels, which play a dominant role in the apocalypses, and do not envisage the resurrection of the dead. Instead their eschatology is closer to the traditional Jewish hope which we find, e.g., in Isaiah 2 and 11—the restoration of a kingdom around the Jerusalem temple. At the same time, the oracles are remarkably "progressive" in their attempt to relate to the gentile world. The choice of the Sibyl as a pseudonym and the mastery of epic hexameters show that the authors of these oracles saw no conflict between fidelity to Jewish religion and acceptance of Hellenistic culture.

**2. Additions to *Sibylline Oracles*3.** The oracles from the time of Philometor were supplemented with various other oracles to make up the third book of the present collection. Some of these, vv 401–88, may

well have been taken from the pagan Erythrean sibyl, for they speak of Homer and the Trojan war—allegedly themes of that sibyl (Lactantius *Div. Inst.* 1.6). An important oracle in vv 350–80 prophesies the vengeance of Asia on Rome. It is most plausibly associated with the campaign of Cleopatra in the 1st century B.C.E. (The campaign of Mithridates earlier in that century has also been suggested—see Kippenberg 1983:45). These oracles lack the ethical concerns of the earlier oracles and were presumably included because of their general political interest.

*Sib. Or.* 3:1–96 was most probably the conclusion of a different book. (Most manuscripts have the title "from the second book, about God.") Verses 1–45 are quite different from the rest of the book and are mainly concerned with monotheism and idolatry. The oracles in 46–62 and 75–92 were written after the battle of Actium and reflect the disillusionment of Egyptian Jews with Cleopatra. Verses 63–74 are later still, and refer to the coming of "Beliar from the line of the Augusti." The reference is most probably to Nero, who takes on demonic proportions in the later *Sibylline Oracles.*

**3. The Continuing Jewish Tradition: *Sibylline Oracles* 5.** The fifth Sibylline Oracle continues the Sibylline tradition of Egyptian Judaism. Like *Sibylline Oracles* 3, the book is made up of several oracles. The first, vv 1–51 is a summary of rulers from Alexander to Marcus Aurelius (the reference to the latter may have been added as a secondary update). The next four oracles, 52–110, 111–78, 179–285, 286–434, show a common pattern: (1) oracles against various nations; (2) the return of Nero as an eschatological adversary; (3) the coming of a savior figure; and (4) destruction, usually by fire. These oracles were probably written at the beginning of the 2d century C.E. on the eve of the great Diaspora revolt of 115–18. The final oracle of the book, 435–530, describes an elaborate battle of the stars which concludes bleakly with a starless sky.

While the earliest strand of the Jewish Sibyllines was already hostile to Rome, this hostility is greatly intensified in *Sibylline Oracles* 5. The most passionate denunciation of Rome is found in vv 162–78. The charge against Rome is partly moral—adultery and homosexuality—but more fundamentally that Rome destroyed the Jerusalem temple and set itself up as a god (cf. v 173). Rome is represented in *Sibylline Oracles* 5 by Nero. The Sibyl adapts the popular legend that Nero had survived and fled to the Parthians and prophesies his return from the ends of the earth. Like Rome, he is denounced as morally evil (a matricide), blamed for the destruction of Jerusalem (v 150) and accused of setting himself up as a god. The intensity of the oracles reflects the deterioration of relations between Rome and the Jews after the war of 66–70 C.E.

Unlike *Sibylline Oracles* 3, however, *Sibylline Oracles* 5 held no hope of aid from Egypt. The oracles show antipathy to Egypt throughout. The savior figure is no longer a human figure but a man from heaven (256, 414), a "king sent from God" (108). In vv 256–57 an original Jewish passage is modified by a reference to the crucifixion, so as to identify this figure with Christ, but this is the only trace of Christian redaction in the book. The hope for a heavenly savior figure brings *Sibylline Oracles* 5 closer to the thought-world of the apocalyptic writings, but belief in resurrection is still notably absent.

Like *Sibylline Oracles* 3, *Sibylline Oracles* 5 also has an ethical message, which consists of polemic against idolatry and sexual offenses, the standard themes of Jewish apologetic literature. The most striking aspect of the piety of these oracles, however, is their devotion to the temple, even though the actual temple had been destroyed for several years. Verses 492–501 prophesy the erection of a temple to the true God in Egypt, and this is viewed entirely positively, although it will again be destroyed. We may detect here an echo of the tradition of the temple of Leontopolis, which had itself been closed down by the Romans. The final state for which this Sibyl hoped was the earthly restoration of Jerusalem (249–55 and 420–27), with a wall extending to Joppa, while the shrines of Isis and Sarapis would lie in ruins. These aspirations may have been shared by the Jews who launched the Diaspora revolt in 115 C.E.

**4. *Sibylline Oracles* 4.** In sharp contrast to the prominence of the temple in *Sibylline Oracles* 3 and 5, *Sibylline Oracles* 4 declares at the outset that God does not have a house of stone but an invisible temple and declares those happy who "reject all temples … defiled with blood of animate creatures and sacrifices of four-footed animals" (27–29). This oracle must have come from a different source than *Sibylline Oracles* 5. *Sibylline Oracles* 4 is the most tightly structured of the Jewish Sibyllines. It gives an overview

of history in four kingdoms and ten generations: Assyria (6 generations), Media (2), Persia (1), and Macedonia. After Macedonia, Rome is inserted out of numerical sequence. This suggests that an older anti-Macedonian oracle was updated in the Roman era. The Sibyl notes the destruction of Jerusalem and the eruption of Vesuvius (79 C.E.), and prophesies the return of Nero (138). The historical prediction concludes with the threat that "God will destroy the race of men at once by a great conflagration" (160–61). This threat, however, is conditional. The Sibyl appeals to "wretched mortals" to "wash your whole bodies in perennial rivers" (165) and repent. If not, God will destroy everything by fire, but there will be a resurrection and judgment. *Sibylline Oracles* 4 then comes closer to the typical eschatology of the apocalypses than do the other Jewish oracles.

The appeal for baptism as a way of forestalling eschatological destruction throws interesting light on the activity of John the Baptist and other baptist groups in the 1st century. The oracle is usually thought to have been composed in the Jordan valley not long after 79 C.E., which is the latest historical reference.

**5. *Sibylline Oracles* 11.** One other book of the Sibylline Oracles was probably a product of 1st century Judaism. *Sibylline Oracles* 11 is a review of history from the Flood to the death of Cleopatra. *Sib. Or.* 5:1–11 is a summary of *Sibylline Oracles* 11 (the summary is repeated at the beginning of *Sibylline Oracles* 12). It seems more probable that *Sibylline Oracles* 11 preceded *Sibylline Oracles* 5 than that the summary statement came first and that *Sibylline Oracles* 11 was expanded from it. Since *Sib. Or.* 11:232–35 contains a eulogy of Alexandria, we may presume that the book was written in that city. It lacks both the ethical concerns and eschatological perspective of Books 3 and 5. The oracle is negative in Cleopatra, but contains no criticism of Rome. Egypt will finally be destroyed because of its oppression of the Hebrews (308). *Sibylline Oracles* 11 then fits the general attitude of Alexandrian Judaism which was conciliatory to the overlords and hostile to the native Egyptians, but stands apart from the tradition of *Sibylline Oracles* 3 and 5.

**6. Christian Adaptations of Jewish Oracles.** In two cases Jewish Sibylline oracles were adapted and incorporated in Christian books. These were Books 1–2 and Book 8.

The first two books of the standard collection are not separated in the manuscripts and should be read as a single book. The familiar Sibylline division of history into ten generations runs throughout. The first seven generations are preserved in 1:1–323. At this point a Christian passage on the life of Christ is inserted (1:324–400). The original sequence is resumed in 2:6–33), but there is no reference to the eighth or ninth generation. The tenth is introduced at 2:15. The remainder of *Sibylline Oracles* 2 describes eschatological crises and the last judgment. Several passages are clearly Christian, but 2:154–76 is surely Jewish since it refers to the universal rule of the Hebrews. *Sibylline Oracles* 2 contains a lengthy excerpt from the sayings of Pseudo-Phocylides (56–148), which is used to illustrate the criteria for the final judgment.

In view of the complicated redaction of the book, little can be said with confidence about the Jewish stage. The only reference to the destruction of Jerusalem is in 1:393–96 and it involves no recrimination against Rome. It is usually regarded as a Christian insertion, designed to bring the book up to date. If this is so, the Jewish oracle was written before 70 C.E. The only indication of provenance is that Phrygia is said to be the first land which emerged after the flood. *Sibylline Oracles* 1–2, then, may be a rare literary relic of the Judaism of Asia Minor, but its value is greatly reduced by the uncertainty of its original contents. The Christian redaction of the book, which may have been completed in the 2d century, is primarily concerned with the judgment. Martyrs and virgins are singled out for special honor (2:46–48). There is a catalogue of sins for which people are condemned (2:255–83) and the sufferings of the damned are described in lurid detail (285–310).

*Sibylline Oracles* 8 falls into two quite different sections. Verses 1–216 are made up of political prophecies, mainly directed against Rome. Verses 217–500, by contrast, are concerned with Christology, incarnation, and the praise of God. The authorship of vv 1–216 is disputed, and not necessarily uniform. The concluding description of the eschatological reign of a woman (194–216) appears to presuppose the book of Revelation and is therefore Christian. Verses 131–38, which are favorable to Hadrian, contrast sharply with other passages in the book and may be the work of a pagan sibyllist. Jewish authorship of the

remainder of these oracles is supported by the animosity to Hadrian in vv 50–59, and the fact that Nero is said to destroy "the nation of the Hebrews" (141), but there is no conclusive evidence. Verses 65–74 envisage the return of Nero during the reign of Marcus Aurelius and must have been written before the death of that emperor in 180 C.E. There is nothing to indicate the place of origin. The importance of these oracles lies in their powerful indictment of Rome for greed and injustice, which is a valuable indication of Near Eastern sentiment in the 2d century C.E.

The Christian redaction was known to Lactantius in the late 3d century. Its most noteworthy feature is that it includes the only acrostic in the Jewish and Christian corpus (217–50), although acrostics were considered criteria for the authenticity of pagan Sibyllines.

**7. The Christian Compositions: *Sibylline Oracles* 6 and 7.** Only two books in the standard collection were clearly original Christian compositions. Book 6 consists of only 28 verses and is a hymn to Christ. It was known to Lactantius about 300 C.E. The hymn mentions the baptism of Christ in the Jordan, a theme also taken up in book 7, but there is no real evidence of its provenance.

*Sibylline Oracles* 7 is badly preserved and loosely structured. A passage on the Flood (7–15) is dependent on *Sibylline Oracles* 1. Much of the book is taken up with oracles against different nations and places, in no discernible order (1–6, 16–23, 40–63, 96–117). There is an eschatological passage in 24–39 which includes a conflagration and a messianic oracle. Another eschatological tableau predicts a conflagration, eternal punishment of sinners, and the restoration of the earth (118–51). The most distinctive doctrines of the book are found in 64–95. After a denunciation of Coele-Syria for failing to recognize the divinity of Christ at his baptism, the Sibyl prescribes that sacrifice be replaced with a ritual that recalls that baptism, in which a dove is released to heaven. The passage also prescribes a prayer to be recited over beggars.

*Sibylline Oracles* 7 then exhibits a somewhat unusual kind of Christianity. It has been labeled "Gnostic" and "Jewish Christian," but the few quasi-Gnostic references (e.g., to the Ogdoad in v 140) are isolated, without any Gnostic context, and the Jewish elements consist of associating Christ with the house of David (31) and a condemnation of those who claim to be Hebrews and are not (135, cf. Rev 2:9; 3:9). The prominence of the baptism has been taken to suggest an origin in Syria or the Jordan valley, but none of these suggestions is more than a possibility. The only evidence on the date is that the book was known to Lactantius.

**8. The Later *Sibyllines.*** The Sibylline collection concludes with three books which continue the political review of book 11. *Sibylline Oracles* 12 covers the period from Augustus to Alexander Severus (235 C.E.). It is noteworthy mainly for its summary appraisal of Roman emperors. Caligula and Nero are portrayed negatively but Augustus, Domitian, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius are praised. There are only two clear Christian passages, 30–34 and 232, and these may be insertions, but the positive treatment of Hadrian (164–75) would be remarkable in a Jewish work.

*Sibylline Oracles* 13 continues the review to about 265 C.E. The hero of the book is Odenath of Palmyra, who fought for the Romans against the Parthians. In a phrase reminiscent of *Sibylline Oracles* 3 he is called *hēliopemptos*, "sent from the sun" (151, 164). Again, it is uncertain whether this book is Jewish or Christian. Book 14 continues the review down to the Arab conquest of Egypt in the 7th century, but few of the references can be recognized and much of the book seems incoherent.

### C. Other *Sibylline Oracles*

Two other Sibylline books enjoyed popularity in the Middle Ages: the Tiburtine and Erythrean Sibyls. Both were pseudo-prophecies of world history. The Tiburtine Sibyl was composed in the 4th century in Greek and speculates on the merits of various emperors before the coming of the antichrist. The Latin version contains an important account of the Last Emperor. The Erythrean Sibyl survives in a 13th-century text, but the core of the work may be much older. It concludes with the combat with the antichrist and the end of the world (see McGinn 1979; Alexander 1967).

### D. Significance of the Sibyls

The Sibyls exercised profound influence on millennarian thought in the Middle Ages, notably on Joachim of Fiore. The main reason why they were preserved in early Christianity, however, was that they

were thought to give pagan testimony to the true religion and to Christ. In the words of Lactantius: "Therefore since all these things are true and certain, foretold by the harmonious prediction of all the prophets, since Trismegistus, Hystaspes and the Sibyl all uttered the same things, it is impossible to doubt that hope of all life and salvation resides in the one religion of God" (*Epitome Institutionum* 68 [73]). See further in *NTApocr* 2:703–45; *HJP²* 3:618–54.

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JOHN J. COLLINS

**SICKNESS AND DISEASE.** Disease and illness are part of the fabric of human life and, as such, they play their part in the biblical literature. It should, therefore, not be a matter for surprise that it includes a vast amount of material of medical interest. This has long been recognized and has given rise to an extensive secondary literature. Much of it has been concerned with the apparently simple problem of establishing a diagnosis from the descriptions and circumstances of the text, but little of this literature deals with methodology. The best example of the problems that have repeatedly been dealt with in the secondary literature is the so-called biblical leprosy (which will be considered in some detail below). By far the greatest part of the medical interest in the Bible is contained in the OT and is usually presented in a historical context, while the NT descriptions are relatively few and presented in the context of miraculous cures.

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**A. Introduction**

The purpose of this account will be to outline some methodological principles on the basis of which the extensive secondary literature can be assessed, and to examine some specific examples from the biblical and apocryphal texts. It is, of course, impossible to do justice to an examination of even a significant part of the medical references in the biblical literature, nor is it possible to provide, in the space available, an exhaustive critique of the secondary literature. The medical aspects of the biblical literature have been exhaustively analyzed by Preuss (1978), and there are also numerous brief reviews (Hemer 1986; Sussman 1967; Wiseman 1986). This account will, therefore, in the main, be limited to (1) a consideration of the technical terms used to describe disease or its signs, (2) descriptions of disease, and (3) case histories in the literature under consideration. In each case the choice is made to indicate general principles that may find wider application. [General descriptions of specific diseases and disorders can be obtained from the standard encyclopedias (e.g., *EncBrit*). For more technical presentations of the epidemiology, pathogenesis, and clinical patterns of a particular disease/disorder, consult any of the standard textbooks of medicine (e.g., *Cecil Textbook of Medicine,* 18th ed., ed. by J. Wyngaarden and L. Smith, 1988 [hereafter abbreviated *Cecil*]).—Editor.]

The classical Jewish biblical commentaries should also properly be regarded as important sources of information. Though they frequently rely on the postbiblical Midrashic and Talmudic primary sources, they often provide insights that have a long history in oral tradition. In particular, these commentaries may contain material of historical, lexical, and etymological importance.

In addition to the biblical and related literature, there is the very extensive Talmudic literature. This is, in a sense, an extension of the biblical literature because it sees itself as such. It was, however, written much later and in an entirely different historical and cultural environment, and its interpretations may, therefore, be less than reliable because of their exegetical intentions. Nevertheless, its insights cannot be entirely ignored. The Talmudic literature will, therefore, at times be referred to when a useful insight into the biblical literature is to be found there. Any detailed examination of the medical contents of the Talmud is, however, beyond the scope of this article. The medical aspects of the Talmudic literature have been considered methodically and in detail by Preuss (1978), and there is a brief general review of the subject by Sussman (1967).

**1. Methodological Principles.** Since the whole of the biblical literature is prescientific, the nature of disease and illness as described in it presents immense problems of interpretation. In each case there are large preliminary questions before interpretation can begin. Is the description an objective historical account or is it a nonobjective or tendentious account? The problem is not simplified by the fact that even some clearly tendentious references to disease (e.g., Lev 26:16) rely, at least to some extent, on empirical reality, as is clear from the expressions that are used (see B.1 below).

The approach here will be to attempt to interpret biblical descriptions and references to diseases and their symptoms in terms of modern medicine. The simplest interpretation and explanation, requiring the minimum of assumptions, will be regarded as leading to the best diagnosis ("Occam's razor"). Such an approach may provide a framework that can be applied to examples that cannot be dealt with here. It may also be a foundation on which the interpretation of new problems can be based and a yardstick against

which the extensive secondary literature, often replete with speculation and of highly variable quality, can be assessed.

Throughout, the reader, as indeed the author, must remain acutely aware of the possibility and occasionally even the certainty of error. It is at times tempting to construct attractive explanations and diagnoses based on scanty textual information. In this connection it is well to remember that temptations to read a text too literally may lead to conclusions far from the ancient reality or, indeed, the author's intentions. Thus, references to the "hardening" of Pharaoh's heart (Exod 4:21; 7:3) have been taken literally as representing coronary arteriosclerosis (Cameron 1970). This must be an error resulting from the use of translations rather than the Hebrew text, where (Exod 4:21) *ʾaḥazeq* (from *ḥazaq* "to grow firm, strong") is used, suggesting that the reference is to Pharaoh's resolve rather than to heart disease. Confirmation for this conclusion may be found in Exod 7:3, where *ʾaqašeh* (derived from *qšh* "be hard or severe") is used to represent determination. An important methodological principle is, therefore, the careful analysis of the meaning of the crucial descriptive words used in the text. The use of these words in cognate languages and their use in connection with observable or well-known phenomena can also be helpful.

Thus, general methodological principles can be proposed in order to arrive at plausible diagnoses of biblical disease. These principles are only as good as they are for the interpretation of historical texts generally. It is first necessary to determine whether a given text contains a general reference or description of a disease *("formal description")* or whether it is a case-historical description of disease *("biographical description"),* i.e., where the fate of a named or intended individual is described.

Where *formal* references or descriptions of disease are concerned, an almost scientific approach becomes possible, depending on the extent, quality, and reliability of the text. In the first place, the likelihood of a given diagnosis can be measured against the well-known medical dictum, "Common things are common and rare things are rare." It is unlikely that rare diseases are justifiably identified when common symptoms and signs of disease are described. This is irrespective of the fact that rare diseases must then have existed, as they do now. Secondly, when assessing what might have been common in a particular setting, account must be taken of social, economic, cultural, and other factors that may influence the prevalence or the incidence of particular diseases, though usually the necessary specific information is lacking. A simple example is the likely association between gastrointestinal infections and the long-term storage of water, which can easily become polluted with sewage, particularly in settlements of high population density. In this connection, it is interesting to note that dysentery was regarded as endemic among the priests in Jerusalem (*j. Šeqal.* 5.2). Profound diarrhea is suggested in 2 Chr 21:15, and dysentery is referred to in Acts 28:8. Similarly, a knowledge of the season and hence the climate could make one or another diagnosis more or less likely.

When texts describe phenomena the significance of which were not at the time understood, but which accurately describe subsequently recognized syndromes, confidence in a diagnosis may be considerable, as in the case of Ps 137:5–6 (see D.1 below).

The findings of paleopathology may also be helpful. Thus, the pathological examination of finds at archaeological sites, including skeletal remains and artifacts, can yield direct evidence about the nature and distribution of disease. Brothwell and Sandison (1967) have provided an outstanding, authoritative source covering the whole subject of paleopathology that will provide the reader with detailed background information in relation to much of our subject. There is also an extensive literature on special aspects of paleopathology, such as diseases found in mummies (Cockburn and Cockburn 1980) and medicine in the Roman world (Jackson 1988). It should be remembered, however, that there are diseases, such as tuberculosis, which clearly existed in the ancient world (Morse et. al. 1964; Morse 1967) but of which there is no reliable trace in the biblical literature. Generally speaking, the critical application of modern medical knowledge together with the principles of epidemiology will often lead to a possible diagnosis or a number of possible diagnoses, with an assessable probability of their being correct.

Where *biographical* descriptions of disease are concerned, the situation is much more complex. Thus, individuals may be described as suffering from a disease which, on the face of it, is uncommon or even

rare, and the probability of a diagnosis being correct will be impossible to define. Furthermore, the description may be tendentious and embellished by wishful thinking about a fitting fate for unpopular persons. This element of the description can often be balanced against the possibility that a real case history has come down to us.

Finally, it is necessary to make the general point that an author or editor may have been describing not actual events but rather an interpretation of history in the light of his own experience.

**2. The Medical Historical Background.** The texts with which we are concerned span so long a period and so large a geographical area that a variety of medical traditions will have influenced the writers and editors. Some of the earliest relevant influences in the OT are likely to have been Egyptian (cf. Dawson 1967) and Mesopotamian (cf. Wilson 1967), while the later influences in the NT are Greco-Roman medicine (cf. Patrick 1967). Unfortunately, there has been no systematic or critical comparison or analysis to define precisely the nature or extent of these influences on the biblical texts. The interested reader is referred, in the first place, to general histories of medicine which include brief details of various aspects of the history of medicine in the ancient world (e.g., Garrison 1929; Mann 1984; Medvei 1982; Osler 1921). A much more extensive and epoch-making treatment of medicine in the ancient world has been provided by Siegrist (1951). It is a matter of continuing regret that Siegrist was not spared to discuss ancient Hebrew medicine as he had planned. In addition to histories based mainly on literary sources, there has been a great deal of work on paleopathology relevant to the period under consideration (e.g. Brothwell and Sandison 1967; Cockburn and Cockburn 1980; Jackson 1988). See also PALEOPATHOLOGY.

**3. The Geographical Background.** Allusion has already been made to the possible significance of the geographical setting for the incidence of diseases. This relationship is most obvious for certain communicable diseases which are particularly associated with tropical and subtropical climates. Particular examples are insect vector-transmitted diseases; gastrointestinal infections, such as typhoid (enteric) fever, and dysentery, and certain parasitic diseases. Most directly recognizable are the effects of a hot climate as, for example, in the incidence of sunstroke (see D.2 below) and drought, which may itself have consequences leading to disease.

**B. Infectious and Communicable Diseases**

It may be thought strange that infectious and communicable diseases can be spoken of in a biblical context. However, the Hebrew word *nega‘* for "plague" or "pestilence" derives from the root *ng‘,* "touch, reach, strike." This may represent an ancient tradition or recognition of the relationship between contact or proximity and the spread of disease. The use of the word *nega‘* may suggest large-scale events, perhaps of an epidemic nature (Exod 9:14; Num 11:33; 2 Sam 7:14), including battle casualties in large numbers (*maggēpâ,* 1 Sam 4:17; 2 Sam 17:9; Num 18:7). The word *maggēpâ* was also used for epidemic disease (Num 14:37; 17:13–15; 25:8–19; 1 Sam 6:4, etc.).

Large-scale epidemics are mentioned on a number of occasions (e.g., Ezek 7:15), including epidemics in crowded cities (Lev 26:25). The 24,000 deaths after the contact between the Israelites and the Moabites (Num 25:9) are unlikely to have been due to sexually transmitted disease, as the text appears to suggest, but are more likely to have been due to some other infectious disease of which the Moabites were carriers, and thus immune, while the Israelites were susceptible. The discharge mentioned in Lev 15:2 has been identified as gonorrhea though there are no supporting details; however, the identification is plausible because of the related references to spermatorrhea (Lev 15:16) and menstruation (Lev 15:19–33), both genital discharges.

The deaths after the eating of the quails (Num 11:31–33) may have been due to food poisoning. Support for this suggestion may be found in the absence of any reference to deaths. The deaths among the returning Israelite spies (Num 14:37) could have been due to an imported travel-acquired infection.

**1. Fevers.** In the Pentateuchal passages of admonition (Lev 26:14–41; Deut 28:15–68), a number of terms are used that appear to be associated with diseases (Lev 26:16; Deut 28:22). Thus, *šaḥepet,* "wasting disease, consumption," comes from the root *šḥp* which, by comparison with Arabic cognates, suggests that a disease is meant in which the body becomes extremely emaciated. Though there is little

doubt that tuberculosis existed in the ANE (cf. Morse et al. 1964), *šaḥepet* must be taken as any disease in which there is severe loss of weight. (On tuberculosis, see *Cecil,* 1682ff.) This could, of course, possibly include such chronic wasting diseases as tuberculosis, but it would also include a wide variety of other wasting diseases of an epidemic nature such as massive parasitic infestation and other acute intestinal infections that can lead to dramatic dehydration, which might be seen as a kind of weight loss. Thus, *šaḥepet* should be seen not as the *name* of a given disease but rather as a *sign* of disease. Similarly, *qadaḥat,* "fever," from the verb *qādaḥ,* "be kindled," is a general term for fevers of any kind. One can merely speculate as to what these might have been. Clearly, they are likely to have included the major epidemic fevers such as malaria and typhoid (enteric) fever. The association with *mehalôt ʿēnayim,* "that consume the eyes" (Lev 26:16), suggests that some of the fevers referred to were accompanied by the sunken eyes that are so characteristic of extreme dehydration due to diarrhea. (On malaria and typhoid fever, see *Cecil,* 1641–42, 1857ff.)

Two further terms mentioned in Deut 28:22 are *daleqet,* from the verb *dālaq,* "burn," and *ḥarḥûr,* from *ḥārar,* "be hot." It is tempting to think that the various terms for fever are not simply tautologous but that they represent recognizably different types of fever, even if not separate diseases. Thus, the commentator Abraham ibn Ezra suggests (Deut 28:22 *ad loc.*) that *qadaḥat* represents quotidian fever while *daleqet* represents tertian or quartan fever. If this suggestion is correct, such distinctly periodic epidemic fevers are, of course, recognizable as malaria.

It is known that malaria was endemic in the E Mediterranean in the Roman period. Fever (Gk *pyretos*) is mentioned frequently in the NT (Matt 8:15; Mark 1:31; Luke 4:38–39; John 4:52; Acts 28:8). Since *pyretos* in the *Corpus Hippocraticum* is associated with marshes and is a recurrent fever, the NT references to this condition may safely be regarded as malaria, particularly because N Palestine, with which these references are associated, was until the early years of the present century associated with endemic malaria.

**2. Yerāqōn.** The Hebrew word *yerāqōn* (cf. *yārōq,* "herbs" or "green") is usually translated as "mildew" or "rust." It occurs six times in the OT (Deut 28:22; 1 Kgs 8:37; Jer 30:6; Amos 4:9; Hag 2:17; 2 Chr 6:28) and with the exception of Jer 30:6, it occurs in association with *šidapōn,* usually translated as "blast." Most medieval Jewish commentators (e.g. R. Solomon b. Isaac ["Rashi"] 1040–1105) regard *yerāqōn* as a disease of plants. In the Mishnah (*Taʿan.* 3:5) and the Babylonian Talmud (*Taʿan.* 19a; *Ketub.* 8b), they are regarded as epidemic diseases of man. In three Talmudic texts (*Šabb.* 134a; *Ḥul.* 47b; *t. Šabb.* 15:8) *yerāqōn* is used to describe the appearance of the newborn male infants in relation to his fitness to undergo circumcision. Rosner (1972) discusses the meaning of the word and, leaning heavily on Preuss (1923:187), suggests that in the OT it probably refers to a disease of grain plants, while in Jer 30:6 it means palor, anemia (which in some cases gives the skin a greenish appearance and was called "chlorosis" by past generations of physicians), or jaundice, but Rosner regards the problem as unresolved. (On anemia and jaundice, see *Cecil,* 808ff., 817ff., 878ff.)

**3. Epidemics.** A variety of epidemics are mentioned in the OT. Thus, the description in Zech 14:12 is very reminiscent of Asiatic cholera, although there is no reliable evidence of this disease in epidemic form before the 19th century (see *Cecil,* 1651–53).

The word *deber,* "pestilence" (Exod 5:3; 9:15; Lev 26:25, etc.), is nonspecific. It certainly cannot be taken to be "plague," as it is commonly translated. The Mishnah (*Taʿan.* 3:4) defines pestilence as a death (presumably from the same perceived disease) occurring on three consecutive days in a town of 500 able-bodied men, but possible causes are not given. The relationship with famine is indicated in Ezek 7:15. Various other terms are used indistinguishably for epidemics (*magepāh* in Num 14:37; *negep* in Exod 12:13 [from *nāgap,* "to strike, smite"]; *negʿa* in Exod 11:1 [from *nāgʿa,* "to touch"). It must be assumed that these terms refer to epidemics with deaths and that the diseases involved included a variety of acute infections prevalent in tropical and subtropical zones.

**a. The Fifth Plague of Egypt.** This (Exod 9:3–6) was a sudden epidemic that affected a wide variety of domestic animals and followed immediately on a plague of flies (Exod 8:20–31). Various suggestions have been made of the nature of this epidemic. Jacoby (1963) concluded that the description best fits an

epidemic of a virus disease such as foot-and-mouth disease or rinderpest. However, the wide variety of animals involved (Exod 9:3) are not susceptible to the causative viruses of these two diseases. Shimshony (1979; 1986) has, therefore, persuasively suggested that a better candidate is Rift Valley fever (*Cecil,* 1818–19), which is spread by flies and can infect all the animals named. A similar epidemic affecting humans, sheep, cattle, goats, and camels was reported in Egypt in 1977 (Anon. 1978). See also EGYPT, PLAGUES IN.

**b. The Plague of the Philistines.** The plague that struck the Philistines at Ashdod (1 Samuel 5 and 6) has frequently been diagnosed as an outbreak of hemorrhoids. This is, however, an unacceptable diagnosis. In the first place, hemorrhoids do not occur in epidemics, and secondly, the association with mice (1 Sam 6:5) may suggest an epidemic of an infectious disease. Preuss (1923:175) argues powerfully that the text represents an account of bubonic plague. The word *ʿōpalim,* which has been translated as "emerods" (AV) or as "tumours" (JB), derives from the root *ʿpl,* "swell." If it is assumed that we are dealing with an objective account, then we have an epidemic of swellings associated with mice and a high mortality rate. The diagnosis of plague, however, requires the presence of rats, since it is the latter that carry the fleas that spread the infection from the rat to man (see *Cecil,* 1661–63). We must also, therefore, assume that the author either did not know the difference or did not distinguish between mice and rats. Another difficulty is that plague was not reliably reported in the ANE until much later than the OT period (McNiell 1976:79). Shrewsbury (1964:33–39) has suggested that the epidemic was one of a severe form of tropical dysentery.

**c. Sennacherib.** The cause of death of 185,000 soldiers of Sennacherib's army (2 Kgs 19:35 = Isa 37:36) is now impossible to identify with any degree of certainty. In his account, Herodotus (2.141) speaks of an associated plague of mice, reminiscent of the plague that struck the Philistines at Ashdod. It must have been a remarkably sudden epidemic in which those affected died very rapidly. The phrase *pĕgārîm mētîm,* (RSV "dead bodies"), which appears to be tautologous, may suggest (cf. verb *pāgar,* "be exhausted, faint") that, when found in the morning, the soldiers were not yet actually dead but *in extremis* and that the present participle *mētîm* suggests an ongoing process. A possible explanation, other than poisoning, might be very severe bacillary dysentery (see *Cecil,* 1646–48). This has, since time immemorial, been a scourge of armies in the field, where sanitation and hygiene leaves everything to be desired and where flies abound.

**d. Hezekiah's Illness.** The intriguing possibility has been suggested that the disease of Sennacherib's army spread to and affected Hezekiah (2 Kgs 20:1; Isa 38:1; 2 Chr 32:24) who had a "boil" *(šĕḥin).* This solitary lesion can be seen as a plague bubo, but such a diagnosis presents serious problems, as we have seen above. Since, from the account, it appears that Hezekiah was the only one affected, the simplest diagnosis would be that he had an abscess, which was treated with a poultice and was cured (2 Kgs 20:7).

**4. Parasitic Disease.** Parasitic diseases are common in hot climates and particularly where hygiene is poor and drinking water is polluted. It would be surprising, therefore, if there were no evidence of such conditions in the biblical literature. However, the clinical presentation of parasitic diseases is usually not sufficiently specific for them to be distinguished clearly from other conditions. Nevertheless, there is occasionally sufficient clinical and circumstantial evidence to suggest a diagnosis.

Herod (Acts 12:23) was eaten by worms and died. According to Josephus (*Ant* 19.8.2), this was associated with acute abdominal pain and death five days later. Preuss (1923:211) does not accept that death was due to infection with worms followed by bowel perforation. He considered that the symptoms are more those of poisoning.

Antiochus (2 Macc 9:5–10) was also seized by severe abdominal pain. Later he fell from a chariot and sustained severe injuries. He was then carried on a litter (i.e, he was unable to move about by himself) and "his flesh fell off," worms swarmed from his body, and he emitted an objectionable odor. The abdominal pain cannot be plausibly connected with later events, except that the severity of it may have led to the fall. The subsequent events can then be accounted for by severe injuries and festering wounds. The worms, according to Preuss (1923:210), were fragments of necrotic (dead) tissue.

**a. The Fiery Serpents.** The "fiery serpents" of Num 21:6–9 have long been thought to be the guinea worm *(Dranunculus medinensis).* (See *Cecil,* 1918–19.) Though the identification dates back to Thomas Bartholin (cited by Preuss 1923:225–26), the case for the diagnosis has most recently been cogently and persuasively argued by Lee (1973). The adult worm, which may be up to one meter in length, occurs under the skin of the arms or, more usually, the legs. It arises not from a "bite" as the text suggests. Rather, the worm larvae are carried within a microscopic water flea *(Cyclops);* when infected water fleas are consumed in drinking water, digestion releases the larvae, which then migrate from the digestive tract to the skin, where the worm matures. An ulcer then develops, through which the worm discharges its eggs into the environment. The deaths (Num 21:6) are due to septicemia resulting from secondary infection of the skin ulcers. (On septic shock, see *Cecil,* 1538ff.)

**b. The Abandonment of Jericho.** Briefly, the story of the fall of Jericho begins with the discovery by the two Israelite spies that the inhabitants expected to be defeated by the advancing Israelite army (Josh 2:9–11). After the city had been captured, Joshua pronounced a curse (Josh 6:26) that anyone who would rebuild the city would do so at the cost of the life of his youngest son. Much later, in the days of Ahab, Hiel of Bethel lost his firstborn son when he attempted a rebuilding of the city (1 Kgs 16:34). Later again, during another attempt to recolonize the area, Elisha was asked to purify the well because the "water is bad" (2 Kgs 2:19), and this was done by adding salt (2 Kgs 2:20–22).

Archaeological evidence has shown that Jericho in the Bronze Ages was built of mud bricks, and that these were made with local water. Examination of the bricks has shown that these contained the intermediate host *(Bulinus truncatus)* of *Schistosoma haematobium,* the cause of genitourinary schistosomiasis. Hulse (1971) has argued, therefore, that schistosomiasis is a strong candidate for explaining certain ecological aspects of the history of the biblical city of Jericho. (On schistosomiasis, see *Cecil,* 1895ff., esp. 1898.)

**C. Skin and Hair**

Because abnormalities of the skin and hair are easily visible, they have a profound effect not only on the patient but also on the observer. This may be the reason why such conditions are frequently referred to and described in some detail in the OT. However, even in modern medicine, a scientific understanding, as opposed to a descriptive understanding, of the diseases of the skin is only comparatively recent. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the biblical descriptions of skin diseases are often problematic in the extreme. As we shall see (C.1 below), in the classical case of the biblical "leprosy," the problem arose from a mistaken translation. Elsewhere, it is necessary to determine the meaning of words in the text in relation to our contemporary knowledge of diseases of the skin.

The term *ṣāraʿat* (Lev 13:2) has long been translated as "leprosy" as if it were a generic term. Apart from the fact, discussed in detail below, that it does not represent leprosy as now known, Sawyer (1976) has argued cogently that *ṣāraʿat* is not a general term but rather a specific term describing a particular kind of skin lesion.

Several specific terms are used in connection with the delineation of *ṣāraʿat* in Leviticus 13 and 14. Thus *śĕʾēt* (Lev 13:2) derived from the verb *nāśa,* "lift," suggests a raised lesion or a swelling. Contrasted with this in the same verse is *śapaḥat,* "eruption" or "scab." Though the meaning of the root *śpḥ* is dubious, the use of derivatives of *śapiaḥ* (derived from the same or a similar root) may indicate a connection with the idea of "outgrowth" or "outpouring" (e.g. Lev 25:5; 25:11; Job 14:19) and may suggest that the lesion intended by this term is one in which there is something emerging or separating from the skin, such as a scab or weeping discharge. Another term used to describe the appearance of lesions (Lev 13:2) is *baheret* from *bhr,* "bright, shine." This may indicate a shiny lesion, perhaps where the skin is under tension, or an inflamed lesion. Finally, *neteq* (Lev 13:32) from the verb *nātaq,* "pull away," suggests a scaly lesion or eruption from which scales fall or can be pulled off.

**1. The Biblical "Leprosy."** Leprosy (Hansen's disease) is a chronic, slowly progressive, bacterial infectious disease due to *Mycobacterim leprae* (see *Cecil,* 1696ff.). It affects not only the skin but also other tissues but that may not be apparent to the uninformed observer. The biblical "leprosy" has been considered in detail by Hulse (1975) in a paper that must now be considered definitive; a useful

discussion of the subject may also be found in Browne (1986). See also LEPROSY. The following summary leans very heavily on the work of Hulse (1975), which must be consulted for the details.

There is evidence neither from the available texts nor from paleopathology that leprosy was prevalent in the biblical world. The use, until recently, of "leprosy" to translate *ṣāraʿat* (Lev 14:2, etc.) follows from the use of Gk *lepra* in the NT and LXX. In the *Corpus Hippocraticum* the word *lepra* means an itchy, powdery or scaly thickening of the skin which probably represents psoriasis or certain fungal infections. There is, however, literary evidence that leprosy was prevalent in India ca. 600 B.C. and that it reached the Greco-Roman world much later and was called Gk *elephas* or *elephantiasis.* The first author to use *lepra* for true leprosy was John of Damascus (A.D. 777–857), who described lepromatous leprosy. This usage was adopted by some later Arabic writers and then by medieval European writers, who were thus responsible for the current name of the disease.

There are, of course, other good reasons for not regarding the biblical *ṣāraʿat* as leprosy. This biblical "disease" was seen in humans (Lev 14:2), buildings (Lev 14:34), and clothing (Lev 14:55), and could apparently progress quite quickly (Lev 13:5–8). None of this would apply to true leprosy. However, though *ṣāraʿat* could be long-lasting (e.g., in King Uzziah, 2 Kgs 15:5–7; 2 Chr 26:19–21), it was regarded as self-limiting or curable (Lev 14:3; 2 Kgs 5:1–27). It is also important to note that *ṣāraʿat* was not regarded as contagious in the biblical texts: it merely defiled ritually.

Hulse (1975) shows persuasively that *ṣāraʿat* was a long-standing, patchy skin condition associated with peeling or flakiness (desquamation) with underlying redness of the skin. Acute conditions which improved within seven days were not regarded as *ṣāraʿat.* We are, therefore, left with chronic, patchy, and scaly conditions such as psoriasis, fungal infections, seborrheic dermatitis, etc., as the sort of conditions of which the Bible speaks. (On psoriasis and seborrheic dermatitis, see *Cecil,* 2320–21, 2326–27.)

**2. Job's Skin Disease.** A variety of suggestions has been made about the identity of the disease Heb *šĕḥin* (from the root *šḥn,* "be warm, hot") from which Job suffered and which had earlier appeared in epidemic form in Egypt (Exod 9:10). Similarly, the association with *ṣārebet,* "scab, sore" (from the verb *ṣārab,* "burn" [Lev 13:23]) may suggest that Job's disease was an acute inflammatory condition.

Job complains of a broken and loathsome skin (Job 7:5); multiple lesions (9:17) which were hot (30:30), especially at night (30:17); bone pain (2:5; 19:20); insomnia (7:3–4); loss of appetite (30:20); and wasting (33:21). Levin (1970) has suggested that this is a description of yaws, an endemic disease due to the spirochete bacterium *Treponema pertenue,* which is prevalent in various parts of the world. (On yaws, see *Cecil,* 1723.) Preuss (1923:390–92) emphasizes the severe itch (Job 2:8) and the "dust" -covered skin (scales?) (7:5) and sees Job's disease as *eczema universalis.* (On the various eczemas, see *Cecil,* 2318–22.) However, if according to our methodological principles, "Occam's razor" is applied to this subject, we are entitled to believe that the author was merely trying to convey that with Job's poverty came the skin diseases that so often, and so sadly, beset the poor, and which we now know are due to malnutrition and self-neglect. These widely differing interpretations of a detailed biographical description serve to underline the problems that beset the biblical diagnostician.

**3. The White Hand of Moses.** In Exod 4:6–7 Moses is told, "put your hand under your bosom" (under his cloak?), and when he removed it, it was "leprous," presumably white, as snow. Then, when he returned his hand under his cloak and withdrew it a second time, the skin was once again normal. It has been suggested by Davis (1982) that this was an example of Raynaud's phenomenon, a condition in which the small blood vessels of the extremities contract inappropriately in response to a fall in temperature, leaving fingers and toes bloodless and white (see *Cecil,* 374ff.). In the case of Moses, his hand would have been warm and pink while close to his body under his cloak. Then, when withdrawn from his cloak, the hand would cool and the blood vessels would go into spasm, leaving the hand cold and white. Then, when returned under his cloak, the hand would once again become warm and pink by the time it was withdrawn again. This is an appealing explanation for the miracle, but the evidence is tenuous.

**4. Miriam's Leprosy.** After Miriam and Aaron had spoken slanderously about Moses' Ethiopian wife, Miriam's skin became "white as snow." The suddenness of the change makes it unlikely that it was the

result of a structural change in the skin. Davis (1985) has suggested that the blanching was due to changes consequent upon rapid shallow breathing (hyperventilation) associated with the shock of the dramatic events of the appearance of the divinity at the entrance to the sanctuary. If this is thought to be farfetched, a simpler explanation for the extreme pallor might be simple fear, which is associated with the release of the hormone adrenalin and which causes very rapid contraction of the blood vessels of the skin and hence pallor. We are left with a need to explain the use of the word *ṣāraʿat* in connection with Miriam's skin changes.

**5. Naaman's Leprosy.** Naaman is described (2 Kgs 5:1) as suffering from the skin disease *ṣāraʿat.* He bathed in the Jordan seven times and was cured. Once again, this could not have been leprosy, and must have been a condition susceptible to rapid recovery. It is tempting to suggest that Naaman's rash was eczema or, perhaps, of allergic origin and that the change in lifestyle alluded to at the end of the account was accompanied by removal of the source of the allergy and that a "cure" followed. Interestingly, Gordis (1975) has analyzed this story as an example of a classical physician-patient relationship.

**6. Baldness.** Loss of hair (alopecia) is a common condition and not usually regarded as a disease, but in the OT it is often regarded as a curse (Isa 3:24; Ezek 7:18; Amos 8:10). Elisha was bald (2 Kgs 2:23). Complete baldness (total alopecia) and even the common male-type baldness disqualified priests from service in the sanctuary (Lev 13:40–41). On occasion, baldness may be part of a disease process in the skin, and such seems to be described in Lev 13:42.

**D. Diseases of the Nervous System**

Paralysis or palsy is frequently mentioned in the NT (Matt 8:5–8 with pain; 9:2–8; Mark 2:2–11; Luke 5:18–26). The man at the Pool of Bethesda (John 5:2–9) had been crippled with paralysis for 38 years, and Aeneas at Lydda (Acts 9:32–35) was healed after being bedridden for 8 years. The nature of the paralysis in these cases can only be guessed at, but it has been suggested that the cause was poliomyelitis. In that case, excluding miracles, reversal of the paralysis is impossible, particularly in the long-standing cases. The cures could, however, be rationally explained if the paralysis was of hysterical origin or if it was feigned—a condition not unknown among, for example, beggars in the East. (On poliomyelitis, see *Cecil,* 2198ff.)

**1. Stroke.** Stroke, which describes the suddenness of the event, is the name given to motor and/or sensory changes resulting from brain damage due either to bleeding from or blockage of blood vessels of the brain (cerebrovascular accident). Though this pathogenesis was not understood, there are clear descriptions of stroke in the OT and apocrypha. Thus, Nabal (1 Sam 25:36) became paralyzed after being drunk, and he died ten days later. It is told of Alcimus (1 Macc 9:55) that his "mouth slipped" (paralysis of the facial muscles)—he became paralyzed, could not speak, and later died in pain. Similarly, Philopater (*3 Macc. 2:22*) lay on the ground motionless, paralyzed, and unable to speak.

Depending on the particular part of the brain that is damaged in a cerebrovascular accident, specific clinical pictures may be observed. Occasionally it is possible to recognize these with reasonable certainty, indicating that the description has not been modified by legend or license. We may have an example in Ps 137:5–6: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning; let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth …" Benton (1971) has pointed out that this description conforms to the specific syndrome of paralysis of the right side of the body (right hemiplegia) and loss of speech (motor aphasia). It is noteworthy that this particular combination of signs, which is due to damage to the left side of the brain, was not recognized as such by physicians until the middle of the 19th century.

**2. Sunstroke.** The son of the Shunammite (2 Kgs 4:18–20) complained of a headache and "died after a few hours." Since the child was resuscitated (2 Kgs 4:34), a reversible event must be assumed, and this may have been sunstroke, though this is said to be unusual in children.

Manasseh, the husband of Judith (Jdt 8:3), died in the days of the barley harvest. He had stood in the field supervising the workers and "heat came on his head" and he became ill and died. This is as clear a description of heatstroke as is needed for a definitive diagnosis (see *Cecil,* 2382ff.).

**3. Epilepsy.** Epilepsy (grand mal) is due to electrical disturbances in the brain and usually presents with major fits (convulsions). (See *Cecil,* 2217ff.) These are so striking that they are likely to be accurately

described by observers. In the ancient world epilepsy was regarded as *morbus sacer et divinus,* and sufferers were regarded as holy, divine messengers (perhaps because of the similarity of the fits to behavior during trances). The patient falls to the ground, foams at the mouth, and clenches (and perhaps grinds) his/her teeth. This is precisely the case in some NT accounts (Luke 9:39; Mark 9:17–18). Similarly, the description in Matt 17:15 is consistent with epilepsy.

**a. King Saul and Balaam.** In the OT the verb *nāpal,* "fall," is used in descriptions of epilepsy. Thus, in 1 Sam 19:23, King Saul removes his clothes "and he fell *(wayippōl)* naked, all that day and all that night." Epilepsy can occur as an isolated event, usually in the course of another disease, and then not recur. However, Balaam describes himself (Num 24:4) as "fallen *(nōpel)* with open eyes." To describe himself in this way may suggest that he had fits over a long period.

**b. Paul.** The apostle Paul must have had a chronic illness (Gal 4:13); he complains (2 Cor 12:7) that he has a "thorn in his flesh" to prevent him from becoming too "elated," and he expresses pleasure (Gal 4:14) that he was not scorned because of his poor health. On his way to Damascus (Acts 9:3) he saw a bright light, fell to the ground, and heard a voice. He was then blind for three days and neither ate nor drank. Though the description is not diagnostic, it is consistent with an attack of epilepsy. The light is consistent with the aura that some epileptics experience just before an attack, and the visual disturbance can be accounted for by some disturbance of the circulation of the blood in the brain.

**E. Diseases of the Eyes and Ears**

Of all the diseases of the organs of special sense, diseases of the eyes and particularly blindness have a special place in the biblical literature. To be overtaken by blindness is the ultimate disaster because with it comes total dependence on others; thus, blindness is from earliest times associated with special injunctions of care (Lev 19:14), though the deaf are also given protection.

Among the disabilities that disqualify priests from service in the sanctuary (Lev 21:20) are *gibēn,* which is usually translated as "crook- or hump-backed," *daq* ("dwarf"), and *tēbalul* ("blemished in the eyes"). In the rabbinic tradition each of these terms is taken to be an abnormality of the eyes. Thus, according to the Mishnah (*Bek.* 7:2), *gibēn* is either absence of the eyebrows or presence of only one eyebrow, although Hanina ben Antigonos *(loc. cit.)* insisted that it meant duplication of the backbone (an interpretation more in keeping with the conventional translation). The Mishnah (*Bek.* 6:2) regards *daq* as a membrane covering the pupil of the eye, probably cataract, and *tēbalul* (cf. verb *bālal,* "mingle, confuse") is regarded as an abnormality in which the black of the pupil extends into the iris (or *vice versa*).

In the case of the blind man in Mark 8:22–26, Jesus spat in his eye and laid hands on him. When he could see again, the man reported that, "I see men; they look like trees but they walk about." Jesus then laid hands on him again and he began to see things clearly. After removal or displacement of the lens, the retinal image is markedly increased so that people will look much taller (Fraser 1973). In very advanced cataracts the lens may become displaced out of the line of sight, either spontaneously or by a very minor blow or disturbance. This suggests that Jesus may have cured the man's cataract by rubbing the eyes and so displacing the lenses. With the return of sight, the man will have been surprised that people should seem so tall. The final recovery will then simply have been due to adaptation of the sight to its new characteristics.

It is clear that, then as now, blindness is common in the Middle East. Much of this will have been due to trachoma, a chlamydial infection of the conjunctiva and cornea, transmitted by poor hygiene and flies, which commonly leads to blindness and lid deformities (see *Cecil,* 1734ff.). It remains the commonest cause of blindness in the world, particularly in the Middle East and Africa. It is interesting, therefore, that the Babylonian Talmud warns of the danger of flies and their association with eye disease (*Ketub.* 77b).

Congenital deafness or loss of hearing early in life is associated with speech defect because the learning of speech is heavily dependent on mimicry. In the NT deafness and mutism are clearly related (Matt 11:5; Acts 8:32–33). The case in Mark 7:32 was a man with deafness and an associated speech defect short of mutism, possibly suggestive of incomplete but severe loss of hearing early in life.

**F. Psychological Diseases**

References to mental diseases in the biblical literature, as elsewhere in the ancient world, are likely to be more affected by notions of the causes of these conditions than is the case for physical diseases. Thus, the *šigāʿōn,* madness (Deut 28:28), derives from the root *šgʿ,* which in the Arabic and Assyrian cognates suggests various noises and may suggest that sufferers made strange (animal?) noises. Mental disturbance was associated with evil spirits (e.g., 1 Sam 16:14), and *šigāʿōn* was the punishment for recalcitrance (Deut 28:28, 34; Zech 12:14).

In the NT the mentally disturbed are usually men, but women, including Mary Magdalene, were also occasionally affected (Luke 8:2–3). The picture of mental disturbance in the Gospels consists mainly of going about naked, self-mutilation, living in tombs (Luke 8:2; Mark 5:2), and violent behavior (Matt 8:28). Some cases are dumb (Matt 9:32) and blind (Matt 12:22). From these descriptions, which include possession by devils, a diagnosis is impossible, though they sound psychotic, and the associated references to exorcism are uninformative. It is significant that, in spite of references to Jewish exorcists (Acts 19:13), nothing of this kind is known in the Talmudic literature (Sussman 1967:217). It is also striking that possession is unknown in the OT.

**1. Saul.** King Saul suffered from paranoia with homicidal and suicidal tendencies accompanied by severe depression (1 Sam 16:14–16) and other psychotic components (1 Sam 19:24). The successful use of music to soothe Saul (1 Sam 16:23) is interesting but does not help in arriving at a diagnosis, unless it points to a reactive depression. In that case, the homicidal tendencies can be ascribed to the prevailing political circumstances, but the psychotic elements are then more difficult to accommodate, except as the psychosis that may be part of severe depression. Preuss (1923:356) argues in detail for a diagnosis of epilepsy in Saul (see below).

**2. Nebuchadnezzar.** Daniel's prediction and Nebuchadnezzar's illness (Dan 4:32–33) are suggestive of a psychosis with subsequent recovery. The self-neglect may suggest an associated deep depression.

**G. Gynecology and Obstetrics**

Normal menstruation is referred to in the OT (Lev 18:19) in relation to ritual cleanliness, but there is no reference to abnormalities as in the NT where the women with hemorrhage (Matt 9:20; Mark 5:25; Luke 8:43) was almost certainly suffering from menorrhagia (excessive menstrual flow). In tribal, nomadic, and agricultural communities particularly, the birth of children was regarded as one of the greatest of blessings (Gen 1:27; Ps 128:3). Conversely, infertility was regarded as a curse (Gen 16:2). The pain of childbirth was used as a paradigm of severe pain (Isa 42:14; Hos 13:13), and maternal death in labor must have been well known (Gen 35:16 see below).

**1. The Birth of Benjamin.** Briefly, the text (Gen 35:16–19) tells us that Rachel was in labor, that the gender of Benjamin was apparent before labor was completed, and that Rachel died in labor. It is clear that, under the conditions described, for the gender of the infant to be apparent we are dealing with a breech delivery (Blondheim and Blondheim 1982). The cause of Rachel's death may then have been due to any of the complications of breech delivery and prolonged labor.

**2. Twins.** Both Rebecca (Gen 25:24) and Tamar (Gen 38:27) were delivered of twins. In the case of Tamar there is evidence of a complicated delivery (Gen 38:28–30) and Preuss (1923:501) has discussed in detail the alternative obstetric diagnoses that might account for the details reported in the text. Nevertheless, it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that the account was devised to substantiate a claim to the rights of the firstborn for Zerah.

**H. Deformity and Injury**

**1. Giants.** It has been traditional to identify as giants the sons of Anak (Num 13:22 and 13:28) encountered by the Israelite spies in the region of Hebron (cf. Josh 15:14; Judg 1:20). The Hebrew word *ʿanaq* as used in Prov 1:9 suggests a necklace. Taub (1965), in an exegetical-type interpretation, takes the view that there is no paleopathological support for the existence of unusually tall individuals in the region, and that some other diagnosis must be found for the description of these individuals as *ʿanaqîm.* He suggested that because they had grossly enlarged necks due to endemic goiter, the "necklace" description was used. This exegetically skillful diagnosis is not persuasive, partly because there is no evidence that this condition was prevalent in the Middle East. Wiseman (1986), however, accepts that giant skeletons

with a height of 3.2 meters (over 9 feet) have been found in the Middle East. Though current clinical experience suggests that this is impossibly tall, such a height is consistent with the account in 1 Sam 17:4 of Goliath's height of "six cubits and one handbreadth" which approximates to 2.8 meters (over 8 feet tall). Interestingly, the pituitary abnormalities associated with giantism and acromegaly are, in fact, associated with goiter. It may be that our texts give a clue to accurate observation. (On goiter, see *Cecil,* 1338–39; on acromegaly, see *Cecil,* 1300ff.).

**2. King Og.** Taub (1965 has also suggested that Og (Deut 3:11), whose bed (sarcophagus?) was unnaturally large, was a sufferer from acromegaly. Straightforward giantism is probably a better diagnosis, as it is in Lev 21:18. Goliath was a giant (1 Sam 17:4) but it must be regarded as unlikely that he had true acromegaly. The giants referred to in 2 Sam 21:18–20 were probably not acromegalic either, but one of them was the brother of Goliath and the other may also have had an inherited abnormality, as is suggested by the fact that his son had additional fingers and toes.

**3. Dwarfs.** The stunted type also mentioned in Lev 21:18 is likely to have suffered from dwarfism as a result of pituitary deficiency in childhood.

**4. Deformities.** Deformities, both congenital and acquired, have been the subject of comment throughout history. In the OT they are listed in relation to disqualification from priestly service (Lev 21:18–20) and they include lameness (*pāseaḥ,* "limper," from *pāsaḥ,* "to limp," Neh 3:6; 1 Chr 4:12; Ezra 2:49 = Neh 7:51), limb damage, dwarfism, deformity of the back, and abnormality of the testicle (? varicocele *mārōaḥ,* from *rāwaḥ,* "enlarged"). Lameness can also be associated with paralysis (Prov 26:7). Mephibosheth became lame after being dropped by his nurse (2 Sam 4:4) and the likely cause was damage to the spinal cord, perhaps from fracture or dislocation of the backbone. In the case of Jacob (Gen 32:26), the result of his wrestling was damage to an intervertebral disk with a resulting deformity (*ṣōlēʿa,* "limp" from the verb *ṣālʿa* "curved") and limp (Gen 32:32).

The bent woman in Luke (13:10–17) may have had a developmental abnormality of the spine such as kyphosis or scoliosis. (See *Cecil,* 2257–58.) Alternatively, if she was elderly, she may have had a collapsed spine due to postmenopausal osteoporosis, in which bones become brittle as the result of calcium loss. Similarly, it is now impossible to diagnose with any degree of certainty what was wrong with the man who had a "withered" (Gk *xeros*) hand (Matt 12:10–13; Mark 3:1–5; Luke 6:6–10). The description would fit anything from a congenital abnormality through a spastic limb to muscle atrophy following poliomyelitis.

**5. Injury.** Injury usually results from a blow, sometimes from or with an object, or a fall, hence the use of *makah* ("blow" or "wound," from the verb *nakah,* "smite"). The word was also used for intentional injury leading to death (e.g., Exod 21:12). Wounds were generally regarded as severe (Jer 10:19; Nah 3:19) or incurable. Another term is *peṣʿa,* "bruise, wound," from the verb *pāṣʿa,* "bruise." In no case, however, are there details of the site or nature of the wound. Occasionally, a blow will lead to bone fracture, and in this case the verb *šābar,* "break," is used in conjunction with the limb (e.g., Ezek 30:21). The splinting of fractures is known from Egyptian sources and it may be that the practice is hinted at in the OT (Ezek 30:21).

**I. Old Age**

It is impossible to know at this distance in time what the life expectancy was in the biblical period, but it must have been much less than the proverbial "three score years and ten." Nevertheless, as would be expected, some individuals did reach a very advanced age and passing references to such individuals are common (e.g. Gen 24:1; 1 Kgs 1:1). See also OLD AGE. Old age brings with it a variety of problems of degenerative disease. Thus, it is reported of King Asa (1 Kgs 15:23–24) that he developed a disease of his feet in his old age and that he died two years later (2 Chr 16:12). In the Babylonian Talmud (*Sanh.* 48b; *Soṭa* 10a) his condition is identified as Gk *podagra* (*pod* "foot" + *agra* "seizure"), a term used to describe gout in the feet, but the grounds for the talmudic diagnosis are not given (Rosner 1983). However, it is unlikely that gout alone, even in an old man, can cause death over as short a period as two years. It is much more likely that the cause was degeneration of the blood vessels of the limbs (peripheral vascular disease), which is common in old persons. Degeneration of the blood vessels can in time lead to gangrene,

particularly in diabetics, which in Asa's days would rapidly have been fatal (see DeVries and Weinberger 1975).

The well-known allegory in Eccl 12:3–6 has often been taken as a representation of old age. Thus, figuratively, v 3 refers to limb tremor, bowed legs, and tooth loss; v 4 lists failing sight, the fallen-in edentulous mouth, insomnia, and voice changes, while v 5 speaks of breathlessness associated with heights. The "wheel broken at the cistern" may refer to the difficult micturition associated with enlargement of the prostrate gland, and the "pitcher broken at the fountain" may be heart failure.

A detailed biographical account of old age is that of Barzillai in 2 Sam 19:33–38. It describes the loss of the special senses of taste and hearing accompanied by thoughts of eternity.

See also PALEOPATHOLOGY; MEDICINE AND HEALING; DISCHARGE.

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MAX SUSSMAN

**SICYON** (PLACE) [Gk *Sikyōn* (Σικυων)]. City in Achaia, on the S shore of the Gulf of Corinth, about 25 km W of Corinth, between the mouths of the Helisson and Asopus rivers (38°01´ N; 22°45´ E).

A major city of archaic and classical Greece, it flourished under the tyranny of the Orthagorids in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. and was the home of important painters and sculptors in the 4th century B.C. Captured by Demetrius Poliorcetes in 303 B.C., the city was moved from its earlier location near the sea to an elevated site about 3 km inland. In the 3d century B.C., under Aratus, Sicyon played a leading role in the Achaian League in its military operations against the Aetolians, the Spartans, and Antigonus. Archaeological excavations at the site of the Hellenistic city have revealed an orthogonal street plan, several sanctuaries, a theater, an agora with gymnasium, fountain houses, bouleuterion, and stoa, as well as a Roman bath building and two Christian churches, one in the agora and one near the port. Comments by Pausanias (2.7.2–2.11.2) indicate that around A.D. 160 the city was already in decline, but still boasted a number of interesting buildings.

Sicyon is mentioned (1 Macc 15:23) as one of the cities to receive a letter from Lucius Caecilius Metellus, Roman consul in 142 B.C., instructing them to send political fugitives back to Judea. Sicyon is the only mainland city mentioned, except for Sparta: this is appropriate, for Sicyon was at the time one of the most important cities in Achaia. The Romans had appointed the Sicyonians arbiters of a dispute in 155 B.C. (between Athens and Oropus), and after the Romans destroyed Corinth in 146 B.C., Sicyon took over much of Corinthian territory and prerogatives, including the presidency of the Isthmian games (Pausanias 2.2.2; Strabo 8.381 = 8.6.23, 25).

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JOHN E. STAMBAUGH

**SIDDIM, VALLEY OF** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿēmeq haśśiddîm* (עֵמֶק הַשִּׂדִּים)]. This place name occurs only in Genesis 14. According to vv 3 and 8, the kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Bela (Zoar) joined forces in the Valley of Siddim to give battle to the invading army of Chedorlaomer and his allies, but were defeated (vv 10–11). In v 3, the valley is identified with the Salt Sea (Dead Sea). According to v 10, the valley was full of bitumen pits, into which the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah fell when they fled from the battlefield.

*Sõiddîm* is a hapax in the OT, and both ancient and modern interpreters have had difficulties in explaining it. LXX rendered it "gorge of salt," Josephus *Ant* 1.9 §174, "valley called 'Bitumen Pits' " (both from the context), Vg, for reasons unknown, "wooded valley," Syr "valley of the Sodomites," *Tg. Onq. mêšar ḥaqlayā* "plain of fields," *Tg. Neof. myšr prdsy*› "plain of gardens," *Tg. Ps.-J.* same, with the note "this is the place that produces streams of water and pours them into the Sea of Salt" (confusion with the Valley of Shaveh, which is also called *myšr prdsy*› in *Tg. Neof.*). However, 1QapGen was on the right track in its translation ‹*mq*› *dy sdy*› "valley of furrows" (Syriac *sadā* or *sedā*), and so was the relatively early *Gen. Rab.* which explained that the place was so called "because it was made up of *śiddîm,* (that is) *telāmîm* (furrows)." In our time, KB, 915, 916 derived *śiddîm* from the root *śādad,* (usually translated "harrow" but more probably meaning "draw furrows," as in LXX and by comparison with Akk *šadādu*), explained it as "border furrows," and connected it with Ug *šd,* Akk *šiddu,* and the aforementioned Syriac *sedā.* This etymology is better founded than such interpretations of the place name as "Valley of the Spirits" (reading *šēdîm* for *śiddîm*), Winckler 1900:33 and n. 1.

Why did the author of Genesis 14 give such a name to the place of defeat of the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah? The reason lies in his acquaintance with, and reworking of, the "Chedorlaomer texts." See

CHEDORLAOMER. The Babylonians considered certain constellations as celestial prototypes of earthly lands, rivers, cities, and temples. The celestial counterpart of Babylon was the constellation Pegasus, which the Babylonians called \lang513i Ikû (a unit of area equal to 59.4 $m^2$, ca. 0.9 acre). One of the "Chedorlaomer texts" (Sp. 158+II,962:obv.15), describing the invasion of Babylon by Kudur-Naḫḫundu (the prototype of Chedorlaomer), says that "against *Ikû* … he advanced." Here the terrestrial Babylon is designated by the name of its celestial counterpart, a stylistic device also used elsewhere in these texts (cf. Astour 1966:104). In land transactions at Ugarit, the highest unit of area is *ikû* in Akk texts and *šd (šd* II, **šiddu*) in Ug texts; hence Ug **šiddu* was identical with Akk *ikû* (Dietrich and Loretz 1969:61–62 must be corrected accordingly). In later times, Syriac *sedā* "furrow," as a unit of length, was equated with one third of a stade; applied to the Olympic-Attic stade, this would amount to 59.4 m, thus a *sedā* square would be exactly equal to the Babylonian *ikû.* The author of Genesis 14, using the West Semitic equivalent of *ikû,* transferred the astral name of Babylon to the region of Sodom and Gomorrah, just as he did with the invasions of the four kings in the same "Chedorlaomer texts."

Gen 14:3 is the only place in the Bible to state that the Dead Sea was once a valley, with the implication that Sodom and Gomorrah were submerged after the events described in the chapter. Since the Dead Sea is part of the great Syro-Palestinian rift that formed millions of years before the advent of man, many authors proposed to limit the assumed catastrophe to the southern, shallow bay of the Dead Sea, S of the al-Lisān peninsula (Harland 1942, 1943; Speiser *Genesis* AB, 101). However, all the other, quite numerous, passages referring to the destruction of SODOM AND GOMORRAH know nothing about the submersion of those cities and their territories. They only speak about their "overthrow," and the more explicit passages (Gen 19:24–25; Deut 29:23; Zeph 2:9) make it clear that the area in question was burned out and changed forever into a waste—a genuine etiological story explaining the sterility of the shores of the Dead Sea. The idea that the Valley of Siddim was overflown with water is an innovation of the author of Genesis 14. Having moved the place of action of the "Chedorlaomer texts" from Babylon to the area of Sodom and Gomorrah, he also transferred there the persistent motif of "flooding Babylon with water" in those texts which was inspired by the actual method of destroying Babylon by Sennacherib and which was also evoked by Jewish prophets in Babylonia of the exilic period (cf. Isa 14:23 "And I will make it … pools of water," and Jer 51:42 "The sea has come up on Babylon, she is covered with its tumultuous waves").

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**SIDE** (PLACE) [Gk *Sidē* (Σιδη)]. A town on the S coast of Asia Minor (36°45′ N; 31°23′ E; now known as Selimiye) which, along with several other cities, received communication from Lucius, consul of the Romans (perhaps Lucius Calpurnius Piso, consul 140–139 B.C.; Johnson 260, rev. ed. 1973), affirming the alliance of the Romans with the Maccabees (1 Macc 15:15–24).

The town was located in a large bay called the Sea of Pamphylia and was about halfway between Syria and the W end of Turkey, and derived a significant part of its wealth and reputation from seafaring. During the conflict between Antiochus the Great and the Rhodians, ships from Side and Aradus formed one wing of Antiochus' fleet. During the early 1st century B.C., it was one of the chief ports of Cilician pirates, but their dominance was suppressed by Pompey in 67 B.C.

The harbor complex of Side was well known (McComiskey 1975:546), and consisted of a triangular promontory with double harbors protected by an artificial mole or sea wall. The entrance into the harbor was only 10 m wide. The sea wall can still be traced, but is now filled with sand. Keeping the harbor

cleared of sand demanded constant attention and led to a proverb, "a harbor of Side," which referred to a job that needed to be done over and over.

Side was founded in 1405 B.C. and settled by colonists from Aeolian Cyme in the 7th–6th centuries and issued its own coins in the 5th century B.C. The city was subject to the political vicissitudes of the area and came under the control of the Lydians, Persians, Greeks (and Seleucids), and became a Roman province in 74 A.D.

During the period of the Maccabees, Pamphylia and Side were part of the Seleucid Empire. One of the Seleucid kings, Antiochus VII Euergetes (138–129 B.C.), had been raised in Side and was sometimes popularly called "Sidetes" (Goldstein *1 Maccabees* AB, 512). Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 499) calls Side "an independent city" of Pamphylia, while Banks (*ISBE* [1939 ed] 4:2785) describes it as a metropolis. The fact that the letter of the Roman consul was sent to Side (1 Macc 15:23) has caused some to infer the presence of Jews in the city, but the text provides no indication of this. There was, however, an extensive Jewish population in Side in the Byzantine period.

The site of Side is marked by the very extensive ruins, which were excavated in 1947–1966 (see Bean 1976 for bibliography). Greco–Roman type city walls protected the N side of the city (2d century B.C. and later). In this wall was a gate which was protected with round towers. Portico-covered streets led from the N main city gate to the harbors. Near the harbors were three theatres, the largest of which dates from the 2d century A.D. A gymnasium (2d century A.D.) has also been excavated. Several deities were honored with temples—Dionysius (1st century A.D.), Tyche, Athena, Apollo (all 2d century A.D.)—and monuments were erected to honor the Roman emperors. A 5th–6th-century basilica and martyrium may be the remains of a Christian church.

The Romans built a 20-mile-long aqueduct into the city and a nymphaeum outside the N gate in the 2d century A.D. and a bath in the 5th century. Outside the city gate to the E was a street lined with sarcophagi and tombs, now mostly destroyed.

The city flourished during the first centuries of Roman rule, but declined under attacks by barbarians from Isauria in the 3d and 4th centuries. The Moslem invasions in the 7th century brought final decline.

A still-undeciphered script and dialect has been found in three inscriptions and continued to appear on coins down to 300 B.C. The people of Side had a poor reputation and Stratonicus called them the most rascally of mankind, though they submitted to Alexander without a fight in 333 B.C. (Bean 1970:986; 1976:835–36).

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**SIDON** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣîdōn* (צִידֹן)]. The firstborn son of Canaan, according to the genealogical scheme of the Table of Nations (Gen 10:15). Sidon is used as a place name in the same context (Gen 10:19; both verses are attributed to J), implying that the name in v 15 is an eponym. Sidon is likewise listed as the firstborn of Canaan in the opening chapter of the Chronicler's work (1 Chr 1:13), which used Genesis 10 as a source. See CHRONICLES, BOOK OF, 1–2.

PHILIP C. SCHMITZ

**SIDON** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣîdōn* (צִידֹן)]. SIDONIAN. A city of ancient Phoenicia. The Greek geographer Strabo mentions Sidon as one of the most ancient of the Phoenician cities (16.2.22). Situated on the E Mediterranean coast about 25 miles N of Tyre, Sidon (modern Saïda, 33°32′ N; 35°22′ E) was prominent from a very early period. The city is paired with Tyre in the Epic of Kirta from Ugarit (*KTU* 1.14.IV.35, 39 *[ṣdynm]*), a composition that is probably centuries older than the extant copy dated about 1345 B.C.E.

A Hittite incantation from early in the 14th century B.C.E. mentions Sidon ahead of Tyre in a list of cities and regions (*ANET,* 352). In the Amarna correspondence, Sidon appears repeatedly as a leader of the anti-Egyptian coalition of city-states (on the chronology, see Katzenstein 1973:29–45).

No Phoenician city is mentioned in the campaign lists of the 18th–Dyn. Egyptian pharaoh Thutmosis III, but Thutmosis IV apparently visited Sidon (EA 85.70; Katzenstein 1973:26). A satirical Egyptian letter of the 19th Dyn., Papyrus Anastasi I, mentions Sidon in a N-S itinerary that includes Beirut, Zarephath, and Tyre (20.8; *ANET* 477). During the 21st Dyn., the report of Wenamun (ca. 1090–1080 B.C.E.) indicates that Sidon was a member of a trading corporation employing 50 coastal vessels in commerce between Egypt and Phoenicia (*ANET,* 27; *AEL* 2:226).

The invasion of the Levantine coast by the SEA PEOPLES may have marked the rise of Sidon. Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus, probably dependent on the Greek historian Timaeus, relates that the Sidonians, some years after their defeat by the king of the Ascalonians, embarked in ships and founded the city of Tyre shortly before the fall of Troy (Justin 18.3.5). While this narrative must refer to a refoundation (Tyre being of extreme antiquity), it perhaps preserves a memory of the disruption following after Sea Peoples swept down the coast of Phoenicia. Ugarit to the N was destroyed; Tyre was apparently destroyed or severely reduced (the account by Tiglath-pileser I of his campaign to the Lebanon [ca. 1100 B.C.E.] mentions Sidon but not Tyre [*ANET,* 275]), while Sidon managed to recover more rapidly from the invasion. (On the date of this refoundation, see TYRE).

The role of Sidon as the mother city of Tyre was recalled on Seleucid coins of Sidon bearing the legend *ʾm ṣr* "mother of Tyre" (Hill 1910:155–56). Other colonies associated with Sidon are Kition (in Cyprus), Hippo, and Carthage (in Cyprus?).

The names "Sidon" and "Sidonian" came to stand for Phoenicia generally. The "Ethbaal king of the Sidonians" mentioned in 1 Kgs 16:31 was, according to the citation of Menander of Ephesus provided by Josephus (*Ant* 8 §324), the ruler of Tyre. The Homeric epics contain ample reference to Sidon and Sidonians (17x total: *Il.* 6.290–91; 23.743–44; *Od.* 4.83, 84, 618; 13.272, 285; 14.288, 291; 15.118, 415, 417, 419, 425, 473), but no reference to Tyre or the Tyrians. (The dates of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are controversial.) The same metonymy is attested in contemporary inscriptions. An Akkadian inscription of Tiglath-pileser III (747–727 B.C.E.) mentions Hiram king of Tyre (not the biblical figure); this same Hiram is named in a Phoenician inscription from Cyprus (*CIS* I 5 = *KAI* 31), where his name and title are *ḥrm mlk ṣdnm* "Hiram king of the Sidonians."

During his campaign in the West in 701 B.C.E., Sennacherib deposed Luli king of Sidon, who had been part of an anti-Assyrian coalition (*ANET,* 288). Josephus, citing Menander (*Ant* 9.14.2 §283–85), gives the king's name as Elulaios, king of Tyre (it seems unlikely that one sovereign jointly held both thrones, as accepted by, e.g., Elayi 1978:28). Sennacherib replaced Luli with Ittobaal, whose successor Abdimilkutti again revolted against Assyria. Esarhaddon suppressed the revolt in 677 B.C.E. The city was destroyed to its foundations, and Abdimilkutti beheaded. A new city of Assyrian foundation, Kar-Asarhaddon ("Esarhaddon's Quay"), became the center of the middle zone of Assyrian administration of the area. (The succeeding decades are discussed by Elayi 1983.)

The literary difficulties of Isaiah 23 are many, but it is reasonably clear that the oracle refers to events during these years from 701 to 677 B.C.E., at least in vv 1–4 and 12. Its tone was provoked by the success of the Phoenician cities, whether Sidon or Tyre, as centers of trade (Isa 23:2, 4, 12; on Phoenician trade, see Frankenstein 1979; on its economic character, Snodgrass 1983).

Sidon was never part of the territory of ancient Israel (Judg 1:1). The city served as a fixed point with respect to which the territory of Canaan could be reckoned (Gen 10:19; on this text, see Simons 1948). Distinctive Sidonian customs (Judg 18:7; O'Connor *NJBC,* p. 135) and deities (Judg 10:6; 1 Kgs 11:5; 2 Kgs 23:13) were recognized. See PHOENICIAN RELIGION. The books of the major prophets include denunciations of Sidon in their respective oracles against foreign nations.

The precise status of Sidon after its submission to Nebuchadnezzar is unknown. Its conquest or submission is indicated by mention of the king of Sidon together with kings of Tyre and Gaza (*ANET,* 308). A Sidonian exile bore a Babylonian name at Erech in 580/79 B.C.E. (Zadok 1978:60), perhaps

indicating that he was already a second-generation resident. (Tyre submitted to the Neo-Babylonian Empire in 573/72 B.C.E.)

Jeremiah calls the "kings of Sidon" together with other monarchs (Jer 25:22) to drink from the "cup of the wine of wrath," of Babylonian oppression. (Jeremiah 27:3 indicates that the plural "kings" in 24:22 is rhetorical; there was only one king of Sidon at the time.) Ezekiel is aware of the maritime supremacy of Sidon (Ezek 27:8) and predicts judgment on the city (28:21–22).

In the Persian period, Sidon remained an important administrative center of the empire. Sidonian fleets were crucial in the Persian strategy against Greece (see Kelly 1987). The funerary inscriptions of kings of Sidon from the Persian period were discovered early in the 19th century (see *KAI* 13–16), and together with other epigraphic and numismatic evidence permit nearly complete reconstruction of the royal succession in this era (on the problems involved, see Henige 1986; a comprehensive historical statement is Elayi 1989).

In the postexilic prophets (Joel 4:4—Eng 3:4; Zech 9:2), and in the Apocrypha (2 Esdr 1:11) and NT (e.g., Matt 11:21; Acts 12:20), the merism "Tyre and Sidon" serves as a geographical designation of the southern Phoenician territory (note Jdt 2:28: "Sidon and Tyre").

The archaeological investigation and excavation of Sidon and its environs has been intermittent (a useful list of excavations and publications is to be found in *ISBE* 4:501). In the latter half of this century urban growth and warfare have prevented archaeological progress.

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**SIEGE MOUND.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

**SIGLOI.** See COINAGE.

**SIGMA.** The eighteenth letter of the Greek alphabet.

**SIGNET.** See JEWELRY, ANCIENT ISRAELITE; SEALS, MESOPOTAMIAN.

**SIGNS/SEMEIA SOURCE.** The hypothetical document comprising accounts of Jesus' miracles and held by a number of scholars to underlie the narratives in chapters 1–12 of the Fourth Gospel ("John"). Quite unlike the Synoptics, this gospel characteristically refers to the miracles performed by Jesus as "signs" (in Greek, *sēmeia*):that is, demonstrations of his messiahship, even his divinity. The evangelist would have derived this use from a distinctive narrative source (= *Quelle* in German; hence the conventional siglum: SQ [for *Sēmeia* 1031 Quelle]).

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A. The Hypothesis and Its Advantages

B. Grounds for Reconstructing SQ

C. History and Variations of the Hypothesis
D. Major Objections

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**A. The Hypothesis and Its Advantages**

This theory seeks to account for the many roadblocks facing the reader of the gospel's narratives. These so-called aporias (inconsistencies, sudden shifts, minor contradictions [lit., impasses]), extremely rare in the Synoptics, are due to the fact, the hypothesis holds, that this gospel's narratives—which in the first half of the gospel are comprised solely of miracle stories—were not written at one time by a single author, but in at least two major stages reflecting quite different times and circumstances. SQ, then, is the earlier written stage in the development of the present miracle stories and was used by the evangelist, the later author/redactor, in creating a very different work, virtually the gospel in its present form. SQ, it is held, is palpably distinctive within the canonical gospel and, in the face of the changes that were required, must have held such authority as to rule out any extensive rewording of it. Just this literary tension would have produced the aporias that so distinguish this gospel. A similar document, a Passion Source, is widely held to underlie the remaining narratives of the gospel in chaps. 11–13, 18–20.

The bulk of the gospel not based on these two narrative sources—that is, the dialogues and discourses now interspersing the miracle stories, and to a lesser extent the passion story, and found in purest form in chaps. 14–17 (Jesus' "Farewell Discourse")—would be of a different origin. Undoubtedly based in some way on a tradition of Jesus' teaching and possibly even on sources, nevertheless this material is far more extensively evolved than the narratives and reflects perhaps more directly the viewpoint and creative activity of the evangelist.

Such a view of the derivation of the gospel holds that the evangelist cannot simply have adapted these narratives loosely from one or more of the Synoptics, even when they are parallel to stories found there (cf., for example, 4:46–54 with Matt 8:5–13 = Luke 7:1–10), for then the aporias remain unexplained. Given the many gratuitous differences in the stories in the Fourth Gospel as compared with the Synoptics, proponents of SQ maintain, there can be no question of a direct literary dependence such as must prevail among the Synoptics themselves. Nor does the theory that the parallels are due to a late assimilation of the gospel to the Synoptics adequately account for the aporias. On the contrary, the connection of the Fourth Gospel to the Synoptics is to be explained by SQ's dependence on pre-Synoptic tradition—or even by dependence of the Synoptics themselves on SQ [Cope 1987].)

Further, the theory makes unnecessary the relatively unmanageable view that in the narratives the author redacted a still fluid tradition (as perhaps did "Mark") or that they developed gradually over many stages, as by a Johannine "school." Two discrete literary stages—best labeled "pre-Johannine" and "Johannine," respectively—are necessary and sufficient to account for the narratives' aporias, which in effect are the "seams" where earlier written material is adapted, without recasting, into a later format. (Aporias as such [e.g. 14:31b] are rare in this gospel's sayings material, which instead displays doublets, even flatly contradictory assertions, and considerable confusion of order and logic.) The nearest analogue to this kind of narrative redaction is not to be found in the widespread solution to the Synoptic Problem, according to which both "Matthew" and "Luke" rewrote Mark and Q, leaving those sources all but unrecoverable, but rather in the long-standing view of the way earlier written accounts of the national epic of Israel were combined in the completed Pentateuch, with all the resulting aporias.

Finally, although Bultmann only implicitly recognized it, the reconstruction of SQ, so far as that is possible, then allows for a systematic redaction-critical investigation of the gospel (Nicol 1972; Fortna 1988). See SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

**B. Grounds for Reconstructing SQ**

Unlike the hypothetical Synoptic sayings source, Q, whose existence and reconstruction are supported by the comparison of two documents (Matthew and Luke), all evidence for SQ is found entirely in the text of the Fourth Gospel, so that it must be reconstructed solely on evidence internal to that gospel. And the aporias, so common there as compared to the Synoptics, make this possible: The seams indicate points of

juncture between source and redaction, where a choice can usually be made in assigning one of the colliding elements to the Johannine and the other to the pre-Johannine layer. How is this done?

As SQ's title indicates, it was first of all the word "sign" that suggested the survival of an older layer in the text of the present gospel. On the one hand, this term—and particularly its connection with faith—is used only rarely and negatively in the Synoptics and there never of the miracles Jesus has performed; and on the other hand, in the Fourth Gospel also "signs-faith" sometimes comes in for criticism (e.g., 4:48; 6:26) but at other points—presumably pre-Johannine—is to be understood in an entirely positive sense.

Further, in the first part of the gospel there are what seem to be vestiges of a pattern of numbering the signs (2:11; 4:54). In fact, it is these miracle stories and others now unnumbered, together with Jesus' dialogues and long monologues ("discourses") now growing out of them, that alone comprise his public activity. What in the other gospels, and in far more diverse form, has been called his "ministry" can only be described in this gospel as his self-presentation in the performing of signs and in extended talk about them.

Thus, to many scholars there has seemed to lie behind the present text a protogospel that presented only Jesus' signs, and a series of them, and did so wholly affirmatively. They were significations (that is, demonstrations) of his messianic status, on the basis of which his first disciples and then many others believed in him; those who "came and saw" (1:39) immediately recognized him as the one so long hoped for in Jewish expectation.

In their present order in the gospel (if not originally in SQ's—see C below), the following deeds of Jesus, less the Johannine insertions they now contain, would have comprised the bulk of SQ: changing water into wine (2:1–11), healing an official's son (4:46–54) and a lame man (5:2–9), feeding the multitude (6:1–14)—probably together with crossing the sea (6:15–25), giving sight to a blind man (9:1–8), and raising Lazarus (11:1–45). (Some would also include the catch of fish now found at 21:1–14.) An articulated series emerges from the reconstruction, not merely a gathering of miracle stories, and a few other passages are also to be included: part of chap. 1 (at least the gathering of the first disciples in vv 35–49) as introduction and, as conclusion, 20:30–31a, and perhaps also part of 12:37–41.

**C. History and Variations of the Hypothesis**

R. Bultmann, from the very first edition of his great commentary (1941 [MeyerK]), gave the classical statement to the Signs Source hypothesis (together with both another prose source, that recounting the passion of Jesus, and a highly artificial poetic Revelation-Sayings Source). Especially in the case of SQ Bultmann acknowledged several precursors, most notably Faure (1922). He nowhere spelled out the criteria for his separation of a pre-Johannine source from the Johannine gospel, nor did he precisely or systematically indicate what the source contained. This lack was filled, so far as possible, by others, e.g., Smith (1965), and more briefly, Van Belle (1975). Some aspects of Bultmann's outline of SQ have been less convincing than others. Thus, on the basis of 1:35–37, he held that the audience for such a source would very likely have been members of the Baptist sect; not many have agreed (but cf. Smith 1976a). And Bultmann also included material that is not so confidently attributed to SQ (e.g., the pericope of Jesus and the Samaritan woman of chap. 4, or material that now connects the miracle stories to their Johannine elaboration and that is usually regarded as purely Johannine [such as 7:1–13, 19–24; 10:40–41—but cf. Attridge 1980 on chap. 7 and Bammell 1965 on chap. 10]). However, no one who has worked subsequently on the SQ hypothesis has been able to ignore Bultmann's ground-breaking work, and in principle it won wide acceptance, particularly in Germany and the United States.

The first major work following that of Bultmann on the history of the gospel's composition was produced by Wilkens (1958). He accepted the existence of a signs source, calling it a "Signs Gospel," but maintained that it, like his two later stages in the gospel's evolution (its *Entstehungsgeschichte*), was already Johannine (a *Grundschrift*, reviving a view little held since the first years of the century). Consequently, he attributed to it still more than Bultmann of what subsequent advocates of SQ would consider posterior to the pre-Johannine source.

Major commentaries by Schnackenburg (1965–84) and Brown (*John* AB, [1966, 1970]) began to appear in the mid-1960s, and each in a way accepted the SQ hypothesis (Brown less explicitly, but note his later

discussion [1979]), fitting it into their conception of how the Johannine literature as a whole (that is, including the Epistles) originated. (In the first two volumes of his work, Schnackenburg is more confident of the possibility of identifying a source behind the present text than in vol. 3, despite the widespread acceptance of Bultmann's relatively uncontroversial passion source.)

Apart from Smith's exposition of Bultmann's original hypothesis in 1965, the first major attempt to examine and refine it was made by Fortna (1970, now updated [Fortna 1988:fine-print subsections of Part One]). His major innovations were an explicit consideration of method, particularly the choice of valid criteria for identifying the source (notably, "contextual" ones); at some points a curtailment of what Bultmann assigned to SQ (e.g., transitional matter—see above), at others an expansion (e.g., 1:6–7, 19–34; 21:1–14), and the discovery of an ordering of the series of signs with a geographical consistency (cf. 2:12; 4:46; [21:1]; 6:1; etc.); above all, the combining of SQ with a revised form of Bultmann's passion source (on the latter, cf. Dauer 1970), resulting in a rudimentary gospel, a "Gospel of Signs," as basis for the present text; and application of the stylistic tests of the source's integrity (see D below) and reproduction of the putative Greek text of the source. Fortna further held that the respect evidently shown the pre-Johannine source in the Johannine gospel demonstrates both what degree of authority SQ must have acquired by the time it was redacted by the Johannine author and the depth of crisis that nevertheless demanded its radical adaptation. Among factors accounting for such a crisis, the most critical would have been the expulsion of Christian Jews from their synagogue—thus from their spiritual home—that J. L. Martyn (1979) has shown to lie behind the present gospel. This crisis also defines the milieu in which SQ would have existed and suggests both the continuity and discontinuity of the later Johannine context with it. (See further Martyn 1970, and now many others such as Robinson 1971; Reim 1974; Kysar 1975; 33–37; Smith 1976a, 1976b; Corsani 1983; and Cope 1986, 1987.)

There shortly appeared Nicol's brief but important study (1972), which refined both Fortna's criteria (by the more explicit use of form criticism for the identification of pre-Johannine tradition) and the stylistic tests, and introduced a sketch of the Johannine redaction of the source. (See further Fortna 1974; Richter 1977.) Subsequently Temple (1974) and Teeple (1974) produced extensive variations on the theory by including material that most proponents could not accept as pre-Johannine. Temple reduces SQ to the two Cana signs (his 1962 article) and proposes a host of other sources. Teeple uses chiefly minute stylistic criteria (e.g., anarthrous personal names). It has been increasingly recognized, however, that stylistic criteria are the weakest of the handful available and that in any case one must look for an intersection of as many different criteria as possible to locate an aporia and assign strata.

In 1977 Boismard and Lamouille published their highly complex theory of the composition history of the gospel, involving a number of stages and dependence both on a source of five signs ("Document C") and on subsequent assimilation with the Synoptics ("Jean II-A"), when the two remaining signs (of chaps. 5 and 6) were included. Their theory is extraordinarily subtle, attempting to do justice to all the loose ends that any simpler reconstruction of the gospel's evolution inevitably leaves. It is not easily falsified, but neither is it convincing to many. (See Neirynck et al. 1979.)

The most faithful follower of Bultmann has been Becker, who in his 1970 article and now in his two-volume commentary (1984–85) has reasserted the original theory with relatively little change (only adopting from Fortna the inclusion of the Baptist pericope [1:19–34] at the head of SQ and a kind of rearrangement, to display a consistent itinerary connecting the signs, but rejecting Fortna's combination of SQ and passion source).

A curtailed version of the hypothesis was proposed by Heekerens (1984; cf. Temple 1962), who holds that only the three still numbered miracles (those of chaps. 2, 4, and 21) comprised the signs source. This more cautious approach would be valid if it weren't for the considerable evidence that the evangelist has extensively rearranged the miracle stories, necessitating a loss of any original enumeration beyond (strictly) the first two, the second retainable only via a contrived addition ("when he had come from Judea to Galilee"). (For more extended summaries of this history, see further: Teeple 1974:1–116; Kysar 1973; 1975; 1985; Bittner 1987:2–14; above all, the forthcoming revision of Van Belle 1975.)

**D. Major Objections**

Despite wide acceptance, the hypothesis has never been universally accepted. A number of dissenters from the theory either resist working backward from the present text for conservative reservations (e.g., Ruckstuhl 1951; Morris *John* NICNT; Carson 1978) or, especially in Britain, seem to be antipathetic toward anything Bultmannian (e.g., Lindars 1971:22–23, 28–42 [a frontal attack on Fortna 1970, despite his own theory (1972) of a fixed tradition analogous to SQ]). In both groups there appears not infrequently the overly cautious phrase that it would be "unsafe" to assume the theory (even as working hypothesis, apparently).

An increasing number of theorists (esp. the Leuven school), rejecting the wide consensus since Gardner-Smith 1938, maintain that this gospel is dependent either directly on one or more of the Synoptics (Neirynck 1977; 1983; 1984) or on a looser body of tradition (Busse and May 1980), so that no hypothetical source is needed to account for the (mostly) narrative parallels among the four gospels. Another group, making a fundamental assumption unnecessary in the view of exponents of SQ, holds that the gospel is the product of a long process of development by a "Johannine school" and so cannot be seen as the product of two principal phases (esp. Schnelle 1987:168–82 ["Arguments against accepting a 'Sēmeia-Source' "Richard (1988:197) cannot accept that the "creative fourth evangelist [would] employ at length and in detail such an uncongenial source."

Some (e.g., Haenchen 1980) have accepted the possibility of SQ but view its reconstruction as precarious at best, despite the aporias unique to this gospel. A more radical appraisal holds the aporias to be illusory, so that what is taken by others to be the collision of pre-Johannine and Johannine is simply the complexity of the author's subtle way of writing or of adapting a lengthy and no longer recoverable tradition (Schnelle 1987:168; Carson 1987).

Others object, probably rightly, to the subjectivity of any reconstruction of a source based chiefly on stylistic criteria (such as that by Teeple). Indeed, already in 1939 Schweizer proposed a test of the validity of source hypotheses: by identifying a list of Johannine style characteristics and applying them to a source, its stylistic distinctiveness can be tested. (On this basis, he cast several earlier hypotheses into doubt.) Ruckstuhl (1951) adopted this method, with a refined table of characteristics, to demonstrate, if that were possible, the "literary unity" of the gospel and hence the invalidity of all source theories, Bultmann's in particular (and, in 1977, Fortna's). (See further Schnelle 1987:171–77.)

Finally, the similarity of SQ to the format of Mark is said to betray Johannine dependence on the Synoptics. In fact, the similarity is rather loose: a Galilean period of Jesus' activity, followed by a Judean. (The hypothesis of a "Signs Gospel," with an apologetic passion narrative appended to the end of the signs, also bears little resemblance to Mark, where the theme of Jesus' passion is integrated with his deeds from the beginning and the passion is no longer apologetic [in contrast to Mark's underlying passion tradition].)

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ROBERT T. FORTNA

**SIHON** (PERSON) [Heb *sîhôn* (סִיחוֹן)]. Amorite king defeated by Moses and the Israelites prior to their entrance into Canaan. Following God's instructions to avoid conflict with Edom and Moab (Deut 2:4–9), Israel's exodus route took them NE toward the Kingdom of Sihon. King Sihon's land stood between Israel and the Jordan river. Moses requested that the Amorite king grant the Israelites passage through his territory. Sihon promptly refused and gathered his army at Jahaz where Moses met and defeated him. The victory over Sihon opened to the Israelites all the territory to the Jabbok river and to the boundaries of Og, King of Bashan. Sihon's defeat inspired Israel to possess all of Transjordan prior to crossing Jordan.

The Amorite kingdom extended E from the Jordan and bounded on the N by the Jabbok and on the S by Wadi Hesban, the southernmost of the E tributaries of the Jordan. At the time of the exodus, Sihon had extended his control S to the Arnon river in Moabite territory (Judg 11:22). This area is popularly known as S Gilead and was the allotment by request of the two tribes of Reuben and Gad (Num 32:33; Deut 3:12). Deuteronomy also associates Sihon with Og, King of Bashan, since these two Transjordanian kings

were defeated in succession allowing Israel to occupy all of Transjordan, from the Arnon river to Mount Hermon (a distance of 130 miles).

Sihon is identified as the King of Heshbon, his capital city (Deut 2:26, 30). In addition, his territory encompassed many villages and towns (Num 21:25). Heshbon was the first major city conquered by the Israelites under Moses. The modern site is Tell Hesbân (M.R. 226134), a fifty-acre site 17 miles SE of Amman (Jordan) and 6 miles N of Medeba. The destruction of Heshbon, Sihon's capital, is preserved in a poem in the Numbers narrative (21:27–30). This event, because of its monumental significance, is also remembered often in Hebrew literature (Josh 12:2, 5; 13:10, 21, 27; Judg 11:12–18; 1 Kgs 4:19; Neh 9:22; Pss 135:11; 136:19–20; Jer 48:24).

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JOEL C. SLAYTON

**SILAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Silas* (Σιλας)]. Var. SILVANUS. The person called "Silas" in Acts is undoubtedly the same person named "Silvanus" in Paul's letters. Silas was a Jewish Christian and possibly a Roman citizen (see Acts 16:37). Along with Judas called Barsabbas, Silas was a leading member, emissary, and prophet of the Jerusalem church (Acts 15:22, 32), one who risked his life "for the sake of the Lord" (Acts 15:26). He was a travel companion and fellow missionary with Paul (Acts 15:40–18:5), one of the evangelizers in Corinth (2 Cor 1:19), and a co-sender, along with Paul and Timothy, of the Thessalonian correspondence (1 Thess 1:1; 2 Thess 1:1). Many interpreters also see the appelation "apostles of Christ" (1 Thess 2:6) as including Silas along with Paul (and Timothy).

Silas would have been his Jewish family name and may represent the Aramaic form of the Hebrew name Saul. Alternatively, Silas may also be a Greek shortened form of Silvanus (like Epaphras for Epaphroditus). The name Silvanus is a Roman cognomen, a Latinized form of Silas. Derived from the Latin *silva,* meaning "wood," Silvanus is also the name of a Roman deity, who represents the life-giving force of nature.

Silas is first mentioned in Acts 15 where he along with Judas is identified as one of the "leading men among the brethren" (Acts 15:22). Both Silas and Judas were chosen by the Jerusalem leaders as their official delegates and emissaries to accompany Paul and Barnabas to Antioch. Their mission was to deliver and explain verbally a letter addressed "to the brethren who are of the gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia" (Acts 15:23), which contained the decision reached in Jerusalem about entrance requirements for the gentiles. Circumcision was not required but the observance of some Jewish customs was (15:28–29). The sending of Silas, also identified as a prophet (15:32), indicates first that he was a reliable and respected representative of the Jerusalem leaders, and secondly, that he had the ability to function persuasively in a gentile community. Evidently Silas' own views were favorable to the gentile mission, and thus he was a fitting choice for the task at hand. According to Acts Silas and Judas were successful in their mission for the letter was well received; the community "rejoiced at the exhortation" (15:31).

After this Luke narrates that "they" (Silas and Judas) were sent back to Jerusalem (15:33); however, some manuscripts try to harmonize this verse with v 40, which puts Silas in Antioch, by adding v 34: "But it seemed good to Silas to remain."

Following an irreconcilable disagreement between Paul and Barnabas over John Mark (15:36–39), Paul chose Silas to accompany him through Syria and Cilicia (15:40). Silas had in hand the Jerusalem letter which was also directed to the gentiles in these provinces (15:23). The choice of Silas was certainly astute, since it had the diplomatic advantage of placing the Pauline mission under the auspices of Jerusalem. The presence of Silas could be interpreted by those who knew his Jerusalem stature as a personal legitimation of the Pauline Gospel.

Luke reports that after Timothy joined the mission in Lystra, the group (Paul, Silas, Timothy) went through Phrygia, Galatia, and attempted to go into Bithynia, but, as the result of a vision, they traveled down to Troas instead, then to the port of Neapolis in Macedonia and finally to Philippi (Acts 16:6–12). There, persuaded by Lydia, the travelers stayed at her home (16:15, 40). In Philippi Silas suffered the same fate as Paul: they were both dragged before the magistrates, beaten, and imprisoned (16:19–24; 1 Thess 2:2). Freed by an earthquake, the prisoners were taken by the jailer into his house, where he washed their wounds and fed them. Then, according to the narrative, Paul identified both himself and Silas as Roman citizens, *Romanoi* (16:37), after which they were released (16:39). Surprisingly, Paul says nothing about this incident, nor does he mention Silas, in his letter to the Philippians (but see 1 Thess 2:2).

Silas is also mentioned in Acts as being with Paul in Thessalonica where both of them (and Timothy) were expelled after an uprising by Jews and rabble-rousers of that city (17:1–9). The missionaries were then sent away by the brethren to Beroea at night (17:10), where opposition was again encountered from Jews of Thessalonica. Then Paul departed for Athens, but Silas and Timothy remained, although they were commanded to join Paul as soon as possible (17:15). Yet according to the Acts narrative they do not meet Paul until he is in Corinth (18:5). On the basis of Paul's writing, Timothy did join him in Athens (1 Thess 3:1–2), but the whereabouts of Silas remains unknown. Did he stay behind in Beroea to supervise activities there or did he travel with Timothy to Athens? If Silas did go to Athens then he may have collaborated in the decision with Paul (and Timothy?) to send Timothy back to Thessalonica (cf. "*we* sent …," 1 Thess 3:2).

While it is uncertain whether Silas actually went to Paul in Athens, Luke reports that he did join Paul in Corinth (18:5), having arrived with Timothy from Macedonia, possibly carrying a gift from the Macedonians so that Paul no longer had to ply his trade in Corinth (cf. 2 Cor 11:9). While in Corinth Silas evangelized. This Paul affirms when he reminds the Corinthians that Silas preached "the Son of God, Jesus Christ" (2 Cor 1:19). Silas is also named as a co-sender along with Paul and Timothy of the Thessalonian correspondence (1 Thess 1:1; 2 Thess 1:1), written from Corinth. Whether Silas had a hand in the composition of the letters themselves is debated (see Bruce *1–2 Thessalonians* WBC, xxxii). How long Silas remained there and whether he returned to Jerusalem is unknown. Nothing further is said about his association with Paul after Corinth.

The person named Silvanus in 1 Pet 5:12 is probably to be identified with the Silas/Silvanus known to Paul. The association of Silvanus with the tradition of Peter in 1 Peter is not unexpected since the two certainly knew each other in Jerusalem. The author of 1 Peter says that the letter has been written "by Silvanus" (*dia* with the genitive). This may mean 1) that Silvanus was the bearer of the letter (cf. Acts 15:22) [Elliott 1980:263], or 2) that Silvanus was the amanuensis of the letter, indicating either that he simply took dictation or that he had a more active part in its composition. According to Elliott, Silvanus is mentioned in 1 Peter not because he is a representative of Paul and would give the letter a "Paulinist" cast, but because he represents to the addressees in Asia Minor what he stood for earlier in Jerusalem: "the universal dimension of God's grace" [1980:264]. See TIMOTHY (PERSON).

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**SILLA** (PLACE) [Heb *sillāʿ* (סִלָּא)]. A street or neighborhood below and S of the Millo in the City of David (2 Chr 32:5) during the reign of Joash (836–798 B.C.E.). The name is only mentioned in the account of Joash's assassination (2 Kgs 12:20–21) as he was lying (severely wounded, 2 Chr 24:25–26) in his Millo house on the way that descended to Silla. Some have concluded that Silla is the name of a street or

way that led down the ridge of the City of David because of Thenius' conjecture that *měsillâ* means "highway" (BDB, 698). If the root *sl*› lends any understanding, it may indicate a commercial district or city entrance where weights, measures and payments were determined. Except for the Fuller's Field to the S of the City of David, we have neither texts (such as the goldsmiths of Neh 3:31) or archaeological evidence that there was any commercial activity that would have been characterized by the name, "Silla."
DALE C. LIID

**SILOAM INSCRIPTION.** The Siloam inscription is an inscription of six lines written in archaic Hebrew dating from the 8th century B.C. This inscription, which was discovered in 1880 and since its removal in 1890 has been on deposit in the Imperial Museum in Istanbul, was carved on the E wall 10 m inside the S end of the tunnel that conducts the waters of the Gihon spring in the valley E of the City of David to the Pool of Siloam at its SE corner. The tunnel was dug from both ends at once; the joining at midpoint was an engineering feat. The inscription describes the event which demonstrated the head engineer's skill and success.

1. *]hnqbh.wzh.hyh.dbr.hnqbh.b‹wd[.hḥṣbm.mnpm.]*
2. *hgrzn.›š.›l.r‹w.wb‹wd.šlš.›mt.lhn[qb.wyšm]‹.ql.›š.q*
3. *r›.›l.r‹w.ky.hyt.zdh.bṣr.mymn.[wmśm]›l.wbym.h*
4. *nqbh.hkw.hḥṣbm.›š.lqrt.r‹w.grzn.‹l.[g]rzn.wylkw[.]*
5. *hmym.mn.hymwṣ›.›l.hbrkh.bm›tym.w›lp.›mh.wm[›]*
6. *t.›mh.hyh.gbh.hṣr.‹l.r›š.hḥṣbm[.]*

1. [ ] the tunneling, and this was how the tunneling was completed: as [the stonecutters wielded]
2. their picks, each crew toward the other, and while there were still three cubits to g[o], the voices of the men calling
3. each other [could be hear]d, since there was an increase (in sound) on the right [and lef]t. The day the
4. breach was made, the stonecutters hacked toward each other, pick against pick, and the water
5. flowed from the source to the pool [twel]ve hundred cubits, even though the
6. height of the rock above the heads of the stonecutte[rs] was a hundred cubits!

It is the nearly unanimous view of historians that the Siloam tunnel is Hezekiah's conduit, and that the inscription in it was written shortly before 701 B.C.E. The form of its script agrees with this dating. According to the Deuteronomist and the Chronicler, Hezekiah had the waters of the Gihon spring outside the city walls diverted to a reservoir inside the walls by means of a conduit, as part of his fortification of Jerusalem to withstand the anticipated siege by Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. (2 Kgs 20:20; 2 Chr 32:30; cf. Isa 22:11; Sir 48:17). The construction of the tunnel from both ends at once, multiplying the difficulties in engineering, reflects the haste forced upon Hezekiah by the threat of Sennacherib.

The word translated "increase (in sound)" in line 3 *(zdh)* is regarded by most scholars as obscure. Since the well attested Hebrew and Arabic meaning "increase" has not seemed fitting, other suggestions have been made from context: crack, fissure, overlap, excitement, meeting, and others. These guesses are not necessary. The jumble of directional changes in the tunnels during the last few meters substantiates the inscription's point that it was their voices that finally brought the crews together, while those same changes also attest to the difficulty of locating the direction of sounds coming through the rock seemingly from all sides.

However, the remarkable achievement was not that the crews met over the last meter and a half, but that they ever came that close to each other in the first place. The tunnel follows not a straight line but a ragged s-shaped curve. See Fig. DAV.04and Fig. JER.09. Whatever the purpose of this intentionally winding path—long a puzzle to investigators—it vastly complicated the survey required by the head engineer, and hence magnifies his accomplishment. When each crew was between 40 and 45 m from the eventual meeting-point, the engineer initiated a series of at least four highly accurate corresponding corrections in both tunnels that brought the crews within shouting distance. Evidence suggests these corrections were performed by use of a method similar to "plane table surveying" as developed by the Romans. The successful joining of the tunnels demonstrated the engineer's proficiency with the primitive

means at his disposal. The satisfaction evinced by the inscription may reflect as well the realization that if the crews had not met, the engineer's life would doubtless have been forfeit.

The success of the moment enabled and induced the engineer to commemorate the event by an inscription. It appears that his commemoration was more private than public, as it was clearly not intended for public notice and makes no mention of the ruler of the city or its god, the political crisis that necessitated the construction, nor even of the master excavator himself, at least in the present form of the inscription. The inscription occupied the lower half of a prepared surface; it is probable that the upper half was intended for a relief showing the joining of the tunnels, with possibly the name of the engineer inscribed thereon. Suggestions that the inscription was written by the stonecutters themselves or that it records an excerpt from annals have not found wide acceptance.

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**SILOAM, POOL OF** (PLACE) [Gk *kolymbēthra tou Silōam* (κολυμβηθρα του Σιλωαμ)]. Siloam, and its related forms (Heb *silōaḥ* [Isa 8:6]; *šelaḥ* [Neh 3:15]) probably applied originally to the earliest reservoir, and later to any other reservoirs which collected water from the channels or aqueducts on the W side of the Kidron valley. It also referred to an area apparently near the reservoirs as reflected in "the tower in Siloam" (Luke 13:4). The modern village, Silwan, located opposite the City of David, carries the name.

**A. Siloam before Hezekiah**

The GIHON Spring (1 Kgs 1:33, 38, 45), later known as the Virgin's Fountain, was the major source of water for the one or more pools which carried variants of the name Siloam; water also was channeled from the intermittent supply of water from the valley bed itself. Traces of a partially covered and partially open aqueduct or channel exist which passes southward from the Gihon along the W side of the Kidron valley. This channel was called Canal II by early explorers and excavators at the turn of the 20th century. The canal had a number of openings in its E wall to allow water to irrigate the gardens on the floor of the valley (Simons 1952:175–77). See KING'S GARDEN. This aqueduct may have carried the water referred to in Isa 8:6 as "the gently flowing waters of Shiloah"; the vertical descent is only a few feet from the Gihon to the lower (Siloam) Old Pool (Isa 22:9–11; now known as Birket el Hamra) below the City of David (Mare 1987:106). "The aqueduct of the Upper Pool" (2 Kgs 18:17; Isa 7:3; 36:2) may be identified with the present Pool of Siloam (i.e., Birket es Silwan), located about 100 feet NW of the Lower Pool.

**B. Siloam in Hezekiah's Time**

The threat of a siege by Sennacherib prompted Hezekiah to secure Jerusalem's water supply and to rob the Assyrians of a water supply. He therefore "stopped all the springs and the brook that flowed through the land" (2 Chr 32:4) and "closed the upper outlet of the waters of the Gihon" (2 Chr 32:30a); and "directed them [i.e., the waters] down to the west side of the city of David" (2 Chr 32:30b). The redirection of the water was accomplished by tunneling through the rock under the city to the SW corner of the City of David. 2 Kgs 20:20 summarizes how Hezekiah "made the pool" (the Pool of Siloam) and

the tunnel (Hezekiah's Tunnel) by which he brought water into the city (see also Sir 48:17–19). Kenyon (1965) has argued that the pool of Hezekiah was originally an underground cistern inside the city walls.

From Gihon, the tunnel (with an average width of 2 feet and an average height of 6 feet) was cut in a circuitous course, with a length of ca. 1,750 feet (a direct route of ca. 1,090 feet) to the Pool of Siloam (possibly the Upper Pool). For the construction and technical details of Hezekiah's tunnel, see DAVID, CITY OF, section E, and Shiloh, 1984. See also SILOAM INSCRIPTION. The statement in 2 Chr 32:30 that Hezekiah "blocked the upper outlet of the Gihon spring and channeled the water …" may imply that, besides the use of the new tunnel to store water in the Upper Pool (i.e., the present Pool of Siloam; 2 Kgs 18:17; Isa 7:3; 36:2), the king may have camouflaged the old Canal II and allowed it also to deliver water down to the earlier Old or Lower Pool (cf. Isa 22:9–11), thus providing an additional source of water when under siege (although procuring water from the Lower Pool might present considerable danger). Ben Sira's statement that Hezekiah "built *pools* for water" (Sir 48:19) seems to indicate that there were additional water sources. An alternate view suggests that Hezekiah's tunnel actually emptied into another pool in the Kidron valley, a pool about 360 feet E of the Pool of Siloam, and that this old pool was forgotten when Empress Eudocia in the 5th century A.D. identified the present Pool of Siloam as the reservoir for the water of Hezekiah's tunnel. This view is somewhat problematic because it would put Hezekiah's pool outside the city walls on the E slope and would be at variance with 2 Chr 32:30 which states that Hezekiah directed the water to the W side of the City of David (i.e., toward the modern Pool of Siloam). The majority of scholars believe that the water of Hezekiah's tunnel emptied into the modern Pool of Siloam (Mare 1987:105).

After the Exile, the Old or Lower Pool in Hebrew was called Shelah, translated Pool of Siloam in the NIV; Neh 3:15), and was probably still used as a reservoir for the waters coming down from the Gihon through the Kidron valley through Canal II, and for the overflow of water coming from the newer Upper Pool fed from Hezekiah's tunnel.

**C. Siloam in the Roman Period**

Of the two references to Siloam in the NT, John 9:7 simply states that Jesus sent the blind man to "wash in the Pool of Siloam," giving the impression that the pool was a well-known landmark. Josephus (*JW* 5.4.2 §145) specifically calls Siloam a *pēgē,* a "fountain," [not a spring; Siloam received its water from the Gihon] and indicates it was at the S end of the Tyropoeon valley. This would place it in the vicinity of either the Lower, Old (earlier) Pool or at the nearby Upper Pool which Hezekiah made, the modern Pool of Siloam. There is, however, a difference of opinion as to which pool Josephus means. In the other reference, Luke 13:4, we are told that there was a tower in a place called "the Siloam" (Gk *tōi Silōam*), with the implication that everyone knew of its location. Presumably it was built on the S end of the ridge of the old City of David, just above the pool of the same name.

At the Lower, Old Pool some remains of a Herodian bath have been found. The Talmud (*Sukk.* 4.9) states that at the Feast of Tabernacles, water was taken in a golden vessel from the Pool of Siloam to the Water Gate and carried in the procession up to the Temple and the altar. In reference to the ceremonies at the Feast of Tabernacles in John 7:37–38 Jesus, in speaking about his dispensing "streams of living water," may be comparing his activity with this ceremony of carrying the water from the Pool of Siloam to the Temple.

**D. Siloam in the Byzantine Period**

The Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333; CChr.SL, 175.16) states that there was a four-sided colonnade above the Pool of Siloam, but says nothing about a church. But in the 6th century A.D., Antoninus Martyr (CChr.SL, 175.142) describes the pool and a church, which is also depicted on the Madaba Map (A.D. 575), a structure built by the Empress Eudocia (ca. A.D. 440). The ruins have been investigated by archaeologists and consist of a central apse, a nave, and atrium; these were built over the N part of the colonnade (Mare 1987:241–43).

**E. The Pool of Siloam Today**

The remains of the Lower, Old Pool are called the Birket el Hamra (the "red pool") and is dry. The Upper Pool (modern Pool of Siloam) is NW of the Old Pool. The S end of Hezekiah's tunnel, conveying

water from the Gihon spring, empties into the reservoir, and the water is still used by the local residents. A mosque now stands on the remains of the Byzantine church.

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**SILVANUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Silouanos* (Σιλουανος)]. See SILAS (PERSON).

**SILVANUS, TEACHINGS OF** (NHC VII,*4*). See TEACHINGS OF SILVANUS (NHC VII,*4*).

**SILVER.** See JEWELRY, ANCIENT ISRAELITE.

**SILVERSMITH, DEMETRIUS THE.** See DEMETRIUS (PERSON).

**SIMEON** (PERSON) [Heb *šim‹ôn* (שִׁמְעוֹן)]. SIMEONITE. **1.** The second son of Leah and Jacob and the full brother of Reuben, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, and Dinah. Simeon is also the eponymous ancestor of the tribe whose territory is found within the S limits of Judah. The etymology is obscure, but some suggest the name refers to an animal, perhaps a hyena (Westermann 1985:473; BDB, 1035). Noth (*NHI*, 58) argues that it originally was a personal name, as found in Ezra 10:31. In Genesis 29 the popular etymology is explained as coming from the verb *šm‹*. Leah, who became Jacob's wife because of her father's deception, is unloved by her husband who prefers his more beautiful wife, Leah's sister Rachel. Although Leah suffers from this situation, she, not Rachel, is granted abundant fertility. When she bears Simeon she exclaims that God has given him to her "because the LORD has heard *(šām‹a)* that I am hated" (Gen 29:33).

The most striking account of Simeon occurs in Genesis 34, the narrative of the rape of Dinah and the revenge of Simeon and Levi. Dinah is violated by Shechem, prince of the city which bears his name. After this act, however, Shechem comes to love Dinah, and he and his father Hamor ask permission from Jacob and his sons for Shechem to marry Dinah. The brothers agree on one condition: that the townsmen of Shechem agree to be circumcized. The brothers, however, are not sincere and use the circumcision as an excuse to attack the townsmen. Their violence is extreme: They not only kill the men of Shechem, but capture the women, children, and animals. Although the historicity of the account is doubted, the narrative may explain Simeon's difficulty in obtaining its own territory. Some scholars (*IDB* 4:356; *NHI*, 70–71) think the account indicates that Simeon's original tribal allotment was in the Palestinian highlands. Gottwald (1979:252–53), who considers the specific references to Simeon and Levi in vv 25 and 30 interpolated, argues nevertheless that the account demonstrates that Simeon needs to take refuge in Judah in the face of some situation of threatened annihilation.

Simeon also plays a small but interesting role in the account of Joseph in Egypt and in his brothers' encounter with him. After Joseph is sold into Egypt and rises to a position of power in the government, his brothers, unaware of his identity, come to him to request grain. In light of the account of Simeon's violence in Genesis 34, it is not surprising that he is the brother kept for ransom by Joseph when the remaining brothers go to retrieve Joseph's full brother Benjamin from Canaan (Gen 42:24). Simeon, along with Levi, is singled out for chastisement in Jacob's blessing. The poem laments Simeon's use of unbridled violence against people and animals; the tribe consequently will be scattered among Israel (Gen 49:5–7).

No separate tribal boundaries are given for Simeon. The list of cities included in Simeon's territory, found in Josh 19:1–9, probably reflect administrative concerns of the monarchy. These cities are found in the southernmost section of Judah's territory. Some surmise that Simeon had to seize the least settled areas, and was successful in occupying the Canaanite city Hormah (*LBHG*, 198). Aharoni (*LBHG*, 234–35) discusses a tribal covenant of Judah with Simeon, Caleb, Kenaz, Jerahmeel, and the Kenites centered

at Hebron. Judges represents Judah and Simeon as forming a pact; both agree to cooperate in face of threats. Simeon does assist Judah in battles against "the Canaanites and the Perizzites" at Bezek (Judg 1:4) and at Zephath (Judg 1:17), yet there are no accounts of Judah defending Simeon, reflecting Simeon's dependency on Judah.

Not much else is known about the activities of Simeon. Simeon is portrayed as one of the tribes which represents the blessing over the people on Mt. Gerizim after they pass over the Jordan (Deut 27:12). Ezekiel hopes for the restoration of Simeon alongside Benjamin and Issachar (Ezek 48:24–25).

**2.** A man in Ezra's day who married a foreign woman (Ezra 10:31). Nothing else is known about him.

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**3.** A man living in Jerusalem who is recorded as offering a prayer and blessing for the infant Jesus (Luke 2:25, 34). The way in which Simeon is introduced in the biblical text makes it probable that he was unknown apart from this context and unlikely that he is any of the other Simeons suggested by later tradition or recent scholars. For example, *Prot. Jas.* 24:3–4 states that this Simeon was a high priest and the successor of Zechariah, John the Baptist's father; *Acts of Pilate* 17:1 makes mention of Jesus later raising Simeon's two sons from the dead; and Cutler (1966:29–35) identifies this Simeon with Simeon the son of Hillel and father of Rabban Gamaliel the Elder, whose existence has been doubted (*HJP²,* 367–68).

Nevertheless, the commendable description of Simeon is to be noted. The same word, "righteous" (Gk *dikaios*), is used of him as is used of Zechariah and Elizabeth in Luke 1:6 and of Joseph in Matt 1:19, probably referring to his obedience to God's law, rather than some standard of personal holiness (see Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 322). He is also commended as "devout" (Gk *eulabēs;* Acts 2:5; 8:2; 22:12, a Lukan word), referring possibly to his carefulness in performing religious duties (see Plummer *Luke* ICC, 66, who cites extrabiblical examples, including Plato *Politics* 311B; followed by Brown 1977:438), although probably in light of later Greek evidence with reference to his reverence and awe for God (Creed 1930:39–40; Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 426). Simeon is further described as "looking for the consolation of Israel." Although this phase is obscure in its specific reference, it probably connotes the expectation in the postexilic period of a time of trouble relieved by the reestablishment of God's reign through the coming of the Messiah (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 427; Plummer *Luke* ICC, 66). The language is reminiscent of portions of Isaiah (40:1; 49:13; 51:3; 61:2; 66:13), and is apparently echoed at Luke 2:38 referring to Anna and Luke 23:50–51 referring to Joseph of Arimathea; later rabbinic writings refer to the messiah as "consoler" (see Str-B 1:66). Lastly, of Simeon it is said, *pneuma ēn hagion ep auton,* which is variously interpreted. Plummer (*Luke* ICC, 66) argues that separation of the word for "spirit" (Gk *pneuma*) from the word for "holy" (Gk *hagion*) by the copulative verb, "was" (Gk *ēn*), makes the meaning "an influence which was holy was upon him," distinguished from reference to the Holy Spirit in the next verse (cf. D, where the word order is changed, probably for theological reasons, so that the reference is to the Holy Spirit). Brown (1977:438), however, claims that reference to the Holy Spirit in v 26 "shows that Luke is thinking of the Holy Spirit" in v 25. Anarthrous use of "holy spirit is also found in Luke 1:15, 35, 41, 67.

In light of mention that it had been revealed to Simeon that he would not see death (a euphemism; see Trollope 1848:57) until he saw the anointed (Christ) of the Lord, Brown (1977:438) reasonably hypothesizes that Simeon was old at the time of his encounter with Jesus. When he enters into the temple "under the influence of the Spirit" (Plummer *Luke* ICC, 67), he sees Jesus there and takes the infant into his arms. Here the temple area is thought by most scholars to be either the court of the gentiles or the court of women, since Mary is present and Luke distinguishes between the sanctuary and the court of the temple (Brown 1977:438–39). Simeon is recorded as reciting what is traditionally called the Nunc Dimittis. For recent and differing analyses of the origins of this prayer song, besides the standard commentaries and Brown, see Grelot (1986:481–509) and Berger (1985:27–39). Then Simeon is recorded as blessing Jesus and his parents, selecting Mary for special comments (see Marshall *Luke* NIGTC, 121–22 for possible reasons). Rather than the tone of expectation for salvation found in the Nunc Dimittis, the

blessing forecasts pain and trouble. Since the blessing is priestly in nature (see Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 429) some commentators have speculated that Simeon was a priest. As Brown (1977:437–38) says, "Despite the close relationship that Simeon has to Levi in the patriarchal stories (Gen 29:33–34), there is nothing in Luke's account to favor the idea that Simeon was a levitical priest, although gentile Christians may have decided that from his blessing the parents in vs. 34."

In light of the events cited above, the language used of Simeon in relation to other NT figures, and the content of his two pronouncements, some recent commentators have drawn out the literary significance of Simeon in Luke's gospel. For example, Figueras (1978:89–93; cf. Brown 1977:451–54) equates Simeon with Moses, while Tannehill (1986:38–44 esp. 44) sees Simeon's as a crucial voice used by the author of the gospel to express a tension in the world regarding the scope of God's salvation and human resistance.

**4.** The father of Levi and son of Judah, according to Luke's genealogy tying Joseph, the "supposed father" of Jesus, to descent from Adam and God (Luke 3:30). D omits Simeon, substituting a genealogy adapted from Matt 1:6–15 in Luke 3:23–31. Simeon the father of Levi occurs nowhere else in the biblical documents, including Matthew's genealogy, as a relative of Jesus, and appears here in a list of eighteen otherwise unknown descendants (Fitzmyer *Luke 1–9* AB, 501). Jeremias (1969:296) believes that it is anachronistic for Luke to include this name here, since there is no record of its use after the patriarchal period until Ezra 10:31, although caution must be exercised in light of the limited nature of the available evidence. Kuhn (1923:208–9) argues that two seemingly parallel lists of names—Luke 3:23–26 (Jesus to Mattathias) and 3:29–31 (Joshua/Jesus to Mattatha)—were originally identical, the first perhaps reflecting a Hebrew context and the second, an Aramaic context, tracing Mary's line of descent (since it does not mention Joseph as Jesus' father). Simeon, in the second list, corresponds to Melchi, in the first list. With no major textual variants for Simeon and Melchi to support confusion of the two in the NT, Kuhn's theory has little plausibility.

**5.** One of those listed, along with Barnabas and Saul, as a prophet or teacher in the church at Antioch (Acts 13:1). Simeon is said also to have been called Niger. An apparent example of a Jew with both a Latin name and a Hebrew name (cf. 12:12), the nature of his Latin name as led Bruce (1951:252) to speculate that Simeon was an African. Apart from Barnabas and Saul, Simeon and the others mentioned here are otherwise unknown, although Smaltz (1952:214–15) has equated this Simeon with the one in 15:14 (see 4.), and Marshall (*Acts* TNTC, 214) notes that, since the name here precedes mention of Cyrenia, some have thought that Simeon was the Simon of Cyrene mentioned in Luke 23:26. Both proposals are without foundation.

**6.** Another possible name for Simon Peter, used once apparently of him in Acts 15:14 and in some texts in the introduction to 2 Peter. At 2 Peter 1:1 a number of versions read Gk *simeōn,* while one papyrus and other versions read Gk *simōn,* a fairly equally divided external attestation. Simeon probably was changed to the more common Greek form Simon in many texts, thus the odd juxtaposition of the names Simeon and Peter is to be preferred (see Metzger 1975:699; the reading gets a C rating in the *UBSGNT*$^3$ text). During the centuries on either side of Christ's birth Simeon apparently was a very common Jewish name, although Jews with the name often preferred to use the Greek form (see Bauckham *Jude, 2 Peter* WBC, 166, 165). With respect to Acts, Conzelmann (*Acts* Hermeneia, 117) calls the form an Aramaism and says that it is archaic. Lake and Cadbury (1933:15) note that Chrysostom equates this Simeon with the Simeon of Luke 2 and his speech with the Nunc Dimittis (see #3 above); Riddle (1940:179–80) claims that Simeon/Simon is an early Christian leader to be distinguished from one named Peter; and Smaltz (1952:214–15) has equated this Simeon with the one in 13:1, believing that Simon Peter is recorded in Acts 12:17 as having died. Lake and Cadbury argue that a more probable explanation is that choice of the name Simeon shows the author's sensitivity to appropriate wording. For the occasion, Peter was addressed by a Palestinian Jew by his Jewish name, and the Jewish spelling is used in the account. See also PETER (PERSON).

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**SIMILE.** See PSALMS, BOOK OF.

**SIMON** (PERSON) [Gk *Simōn* (Σιμων)]. The name of a number of persons mentioned both in the Apocryphal literature of the OT as well as in the NT.

**1.** Simon Chosamaeus (Gk *Chosamaios*), who provided a list of those who were found to have married foreign wives (1 Esdr 9:32; cf. Shimeon in Ezra 10:31).

**2.** Simon I, the high priest (d. ca. 270 B.C.E.), son of Onias and grandson of Jaddua (high priest in the days of Nehemiah [Neh 12:11, 22]).

**3.** Simon II, high priest from ca. 219–196 B.C.E., grandson of Simon I, son of Onias II, and the father of Onias III.

**4.** Simon the Benjaminite chief administrator of the temple during the high priesthood of Onias III (2 Maccabees 3–4).

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**5.** The second son of Mattathias, also known as THASSI. He was the last of Mattathias' sons to lead the Jews against Seleucid rule. Though he was older than his predecessors Judas and Jonathan, he was the last to ascend to a position of leadership. Yet Simon was the real founder of the Hasmonean dynasty, which endured at least four generations after him.

We do not know why Simon was skipped over when Judas and then Jonathan were chosen to lead the revolt, but it seems that they were considered militarily more suitable for the task. He is praised in 1 Macc 2:65 as a man "wise in counsel" and second only to Judas. When Mattathias addresses his sons at his deathbed (1 Macc 2:49–70), Simon is mentioned even before Judas, and elsewhere he precedes his other brothers as second to Judas, sharing with him the rescue of the Jews in the country, when Judas went with Jonathan to Transjordan, and Simon went alone to Galilee (1 Macc 5:17, 20–23, 55).

Yet these and further references to Simon in 1 Maccabees only confirm the accepted view that 1 Maccabees was written to support among other things the Hasmonean dynastic claims, i.e., the legitimacy and position of Simon's descendants as rulers of Judea. See MACCABEES, BOOKS OF (FIRST AND SECOND MACCABEES).

When Simon took over leadership after Jonathan had been detained and then murdered by Trypho (142 B.C.E.), he did not lack experience either in military affairs or in diplomacy and administration. He had participated in the military exploits of Judas and of Jonathan and then shared in the aggrandizement of the position of Jonathan within the framework of the Seleucid Empire.

In addition to his leading the expedition to Galilee, defeating the enemy up to the gates of Ptolemais, and delivering the Jews (1 Macc 5:22–23), he was also entrusted with the siege of some fortresses in Idumea (2 Macc 10:19–20). His efforts were hindered because some of his men took bribes from those

who had taken refuge in the towers. This story, however, is to be viewed keeping in mind the unfavorable attitude of 2 Maccabees towards Simon (cf. 2 Macc 14:17).

Later, Simon and Jonathan took their brother Judas' body after the battle of Elasa and buried it at Modein (1 Macc 9:19), and together fought for survival at the outskirts of Judea after Judas' fall (1 Macc 9:33, 37, 62). The defense of Bethbasi was entrusted to Simon by Jonathan, and he defended it successfully (1 Macc 9:65–68). To what extent these events are historically grounded, or whether are they merely efforts to enhance Simon's prestige, is hard to tell (cf. 1 Macc 10:74).

Yet the gradual promotion of Jonathan under the Seleucids brought in its wake the promotion of Simon too. He was appointed under Trypho governor (Gk *stratēgos*) of the seacoast (1 Macc 11:59). Whether he was able to perform in this capacity is doubtful. When Jonathan went to fight the Seleucid generals who supported Demetrius II, he left Simon in Judea, and at that time he subjugated Beth-zur, and put his own garrison there (1 Macc 11:65–66). Shortly afterward, Simon entered the coastal region of which he was governor, took Joppa, and put a garrison there (1 Macc 12:33–34). He also built and fortified Adida NE of Lydda.

In the year 142 B.C.E. Trypho put Jonathan cunningly away and tried to overrun the Jews, who were deprived of leadership. This was Simon's time of trial, and he successfully filled the gap and took over his brother's position. He became the leader of the Jews and took the necessary military steps. Trypho, faced by unexpected Jewish resistance, began negotiations with Simon and got from him, in return for the promise to release Jonathan, money and Jonathan's two sons as hostages. Simon fulfilled his part of the deal but Trypho did not fulfill his (see 1 Macc 13:15–19, esp. vv 17–18, which are strongly apologetic). Then Trypho tried to invade Judea, but repulsed by Simon, he killed Jonathan and withdrew.

The break in relations with Trypho was complete and Simon approached Demetrius II to renew relations with him. Demetrius was anxious to give a positive response (1 Macc 13:36–40), and even freed Judea from taxes. This, along with Simon's success in finally subjugating the Akra and with Judaizing Gezer, brought Judea to the stage of independence and Simon was not slow to act accordingly. 1 Maccabees 13:41–42 takes this same year (142 B.C.E.) as the beginning of the independence of Judea.

A symbol of this newly gained independence was the dating of documents by the ruling years of Simon. Two years later, in 140 B.C.E., Simon was made high priest and ruler, and a decree in his honor was inscribed upon bronze tablets for all to see. The text of this decree is preserved in 1 Macc 14:27–45.

Once Judea had become independent of Seleucid rule, there was a need for a constitution and some kind of legitimacy for the ruler's house. Appointment by the Seleucid sovereign was out of the question, since his rule was no longer recognized. Divine sanction was also out of the question. One thing was left for Simon and that was to appeal for a national decree. But, this was also typical of Simon, who usually preferred stability over expansion. With this attitude he was able to achieve a broad consensus. That not all agreed to an appointment of him for an indefinite amount of time, and that some compromise was made with a certain opposition, is implicit in 1 Macc 12:41, where his appointment is limited "… until a true prophet shall arise."

After his aforementioned appointment, Simon ruled for about six years (140–134 B.C.E.). His policy was one of consolidation, not one of expansion (note the poem about Simon's glory in 1 Macc 14:4–15). His tour of inspection, which took place just before he was murdered, may be an indication of the attention he paid to the administration of Judea.

Simon was soon confronted with a real political challenge in the person of Antiochus VII Sidetes. Antiochus VII made a final effort to revive the Seleucid kingdom and to regain its lost territories. In the beginning of Antiochus' struggle for the Seleucid crown (against the usurper Trypho, and after his brother Demetrius II fell into Parthian captivity), in 139/38 B.C.E., he sent a friendly letter to Simon, recognizing what had already been granted to him by Demetrius II, and granting him the right to mint coins (1 Macc 15:6), which Simon never utilized. Afterwards Antiochus VII laid siege to Trypho at Dor. Simon sent military aid which was rejected. Antiochus dispatched a delegate, Athenobius, who demanded of Simon either the return of the territory conquered by the Jews or financial retribution. Simon proudly rejected

this demand, saying that that which the Jews had conquered was their ancestral heritage (1 Macc 15:33–34), and that he was ready to give only a hundred talents to the king.

Sometime later, after taking Dor, Antiochus ordered Cendebeus, his new governor *(stratēgos)* of the coastal region, to harass the Jews. Simon sent his sons, Judas and John, against Cendebeus, and they defeated him somewhere on the W slopes of the Judean hills.

After this defeat, Antiochus resorted to a conspiracy in which Simon's son-in-law, Ptolemy, son of Abubos, played a role. Simon and two of his sons were murdered by Ptolemy on their way to visit him in Jericho, where he was governor. Although Simon and his two sons were murdered, John, another son of Simon, escaped the assassins sent to kill him and took over the government of Judea, even before Antiochus invaded the country.

So, even the last of Mattathias' sons did not die in peace, even though he was the one must prone to peaceful consolidation of the new Jewish state. But the foundations he laid down for this state served well for a few decades.

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**6.** THE APOSTLE SIMON PETER, SON OF JOHN (JOHN 1:42; 21:15–17; MATT 16:1, 7). SEE PETER (PERSON).

**7.** One of the half-brothers of Jesus (Matt 13:55; and Mark 6:3).

**8.** A Pharisee who invited Jesus to a dinner (Luke 7:36, 40, 43–47).

**9.** A leper who was a resident of Bethany and in whose house Jesus was annointed by a woman with a costly ointment (Matt 26:6; and Mark 14:3).

**10.** The father of Judas Iscariot (John 6:71; 13:2, 26; 12:4).

**11.** A Jew from Cyrene who was compelled to carry Jesus' cross (Matt 27:32; Mark 15:21; and Luke 23:26).

**12.** Simon the Zealot, one of the Twelve (Acts 1:13). See ZEALOTS.

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**13.** A magician ("Simon Magus") who gathered a following in Samaria by presenting himself as "somebody great" (Acts 8:9–24). The Samaritans recognized him as "that power of God which is called great." It is reported that Simon and his followers were converted and baptized by Philip. However, Simon was rejected by the apostles Peter and John when he tried to buy the power of communicating the Holy Spirit. The story says little about Simon's person or teaching. The author's interests are in the spread of the Christian mission from Jerusalem to Samaria (cf. Acts 1:8) and the character of the Holy Spirit (Barrett 1979). The author does not even say whether Simon repented. The charges of magic are part of the author's polemic against competing cults (cf. Acts 13:6–12; 19:13–20).

The title "Great Power" appears in several strands of Simon tradition and may go back to the historical Simon. Unfortunately, the phrase is not sufficient to determine the content of Simon's claim to be "somebody great" or even the background of his thought. Parallels have been found in Christian and Samaritan texts as well as pagan inscriptions, where the phrase designates God or a god. In Samaritan literature the phrase can also be applied to the chief angel of God. "Great Power" designates several types of being in various gnostic systems, and appears in magical papyri as an entity invoked in spells (Rudolf 1978:320–28).

Later Christian sources regularly refer to Simon as a Magus ("magician"). Although this title could be used positively, it is used derisively of Simon. Both the heresiologists and the popular portrayals of Simon indicate that he and his immediate successors used magic for propaganda. While their great success is admitted, they are accused of defrauding people for the sake of worship or material gain.

Because the heresiologists sought to distinguish Simon's claims from those of their own faith, their accounts probably reveal more about Simonians of the 2d century than about Simon himself. Justin Martyr, writing near the middle of the 2d century, cites Simon as an example of the way in which demonic forces could mimic Christianity (*apol.* 1.26). He reports that Simon came from the Samaritan village of Gitta. During the reign of Claudius, Simon worked his wonders in Rome by means of demons. Justin says that Simon was accompanied by a former prostitute named Helen. She was identified as the

first thought *(ennoia)* of the first god, namely Simon. Justin indicates that Simon had a large following in Samaria and that Simonians in Rome and other regions were called Christians. The Simonians in Rome were probably responsible for the interpretation of a recently erected statue as a dedication to Simon rather than to the Sabine god Semo Sancus who is actually named on the base (*apol.* 1.26, 56). This identification was probably aided by the fact that both Semo and Simon (as the "Great Power") could be identified with Zeus. The extent to which later heresiological accounts of Simon depend upon Justin's lost work *Against All Heresies* is debated.

Irenaeus, writing around 180 A.D., was the first to identify Simon as the source of all heresies (*haer.* 1.23–27). Irenaeus repeats most of what is found in Acts and Justin but explains that Simon's conversion was feigned. He notes that after his rejection Simon set out to learn more impressive magic tricks in order to contend with the apostles. According to Irenaeus, Simon claimed that "he was to appear among the Jews as Son, would descend in Samaria as Father, and would come among the other nations as Holy Spirit." While being the "Absolute Authority," he was willing to be called by whatever name men use. Irenaeus also amplifies the report concerning Helen, citing a myth similar to early forms of the Sophia myth among Valentinians (a gnostic group). The first thought of the father created the angelic powers, who then trapped her in the world. Having passed through many incarnations, including Helen of Troy, she finally appeared in the brothel in Tyre from which Simon rescued her. Similarly, Simon rescues his followers by his grace, although it is not clear whether faith in Simon or self-recognition was required (Rudolf 1978:349). Irenaeus also reports that the Simonians worshiped images of Simon and Helen in the form of Zeus and Athena. They were libertines and rejected the prophets since they believed that the world is ruled by misguided angels. These accusations are commonplaces of heresiology.

Hippolytus' *Refutations* 6. 2, 4–15, written around 230 A.D., adds a description of Simon's death according to which Simon had himself buried with a promise that he would raise himself on the third day, but he did not reappear, "for he was not the Christ." The tale is a polemic portrayal of Simon as a false Christ. The most intriguing parts of Hippolytus' report on Simon are the extracts from the *Apophasis Megale,* which is attributed to Simon himself. Hippolytus' source was probably an interpretive paraphrase of the original (Frickel 1968). The tract presents the revelation of the "Standing One," which can refer to either God or an angel. The tract apparently presented a relatively primitive gnostic system based in allegorical interpretations of the OT with a philosophical overlay, similar to the *Exegesis on the Soul.* It is unlikely that the original document goes back to Simon. Even its relationship to Simonian gnosis has been disputed. In the 4th century, Eusebius quoted Justin *apol.* 1.26, referred to Irenaeus, and added vague charges of immorality (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.13.1–8). Epiphanius attributed features of many gnostic systems to Simon (*haer.* 21.2.4).

While the heresiologists concentrated on the systems and behavior of Simon and his followers, popular Christian literature portrayed Simon as a charlatan, opponent of the apostles, and anti-Christ. The *Acts of Peter,* from the second half of the 2d century, reports a miracle contest between Simon and Peter in Rome. It also mentions a statue erected in Simon's honor in Rome. The climax comes when Simon, the standing one, flies above the city of Rome, but is caused to fall by the prayer of Peter. The use of titles like "Power of God," "Name of God," "Standing One," and "Angel (of Satan)" shows an awareness of Simonian—perhaps Samaritan—traditions. However, the main interest is in Simon as a foil for the apostle's successful preaching.

In the Pseudo-Clementine literature of the 3d century, Simon is presented as a disciple of John the Baptist. After wresting leadership from Dositheus, elsewhere known as a heretical Samaritan, Simon attracts a large following through his teaching and magic. Peter follows Simon from Caesarea to Antioch, refuting his teachings and outdoing his magic. Their conflict becomes the vehicle for debating philosophy and the interpretation of scripture. Simon's use of the title "Standing One," his claim to be the Christ, and the presence of Helen link this material to the heresiological tradition. Later Christian portrayals of Simon seem to depend on the *Acts of Peter* and the *Pseudo-Clementines.* An independent Samaritan tradition treats Simon as a heretical Samaritan, who practiced magic (Fossum 1989:357).

Because the earliest evidence, Acts, represents Simon as a magician without any clear traces of gnostic speculation, Beyschlag (1975) argued that Simon's association with gnostic ideas is secondary, and Simonian gnosis is derived from fully developed Christian gnostic systems. However, the passage is not intended as an exposition of Simon's thought and there is no incompatibility between gnosis and magic. Lüdemann (1975) arrived at the radically different conclusion that Simon himself was a gnostic whose speculation was rooted in Greek thought. The Christian elements were added to the original worship of Simon and Helen under the names of Zeus and Athena. The association with magic was created by Christian polemic. More recently Lüdemann (1987) has argued that the sophisticated wordplay elsewhere in Acts 8:5–24 suggests that the mention of Simon's intent *(epinoia)* is a veiled reference to his female companion *(ennoia),* which would show the author's awareness of Simonian gnosis.

The review essays by Meeks (1977) and Rudolf (1978) show that the study of Simon and Simonian gnosis remains far from consensus. Nevertheless, it is probably safe to suggest that Simon was a contemporary of the apostles who established a syncretistic sect in Samaria. Simonianism was rooted in a mixture of Greek and biblical thought that characterized Samaria. The movement was influenced by Christianity and developed into a gnostic sect by early in the 2d century. Simon's following was dying out by the time Origen wrote in the early 3d century (*Cels.* 1.57). In later times his name was given, on the basis of the story in Acts, to the sin of Simony (the act of purchasing ecclesiastical position). Simon's story continued to develop within the medieval Faust legends.

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**14.** A tanner from Joppa who lived on the seashore and with whom Peter lodged (Acts 9:43; 10:6, 7, 32).

**15.** Simon the son of Clopas, the second bishop of Jerusalem and successor of James, the half-brother of Jesus.

**16.** The name of one of the Emmaus road disciples according to Origen (see Origen *Cels.* 2:62, 68; and *hom. 20 in Jer.; Jo.* 1.5.8; and Cod. S on Luke 24:18 marginal note).

**17.** Simon ben Kosiba, a messianic king during the reign of Hadrian during the Bar Kokhba Rebellion. See BAR KOKHBA.

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**SIMON PETER** (DISCIPLE). See PETER (PERSON).

**SIN** [Heb *śin* (שִׂן) ]. Alternate form of *šin,* the twenty-first letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

**SIN, SINNERS.** This entry explores the concept of sin—of human deviation from the expressed will and desire of God—as it is developed and presented in the OT and NT.

***OLD TESTAMENT***

The elaborate conception of sin in the Hebrew Bible reflects the influence of Semitic culture and the strongly ethical-moralistic character of ancient Israelite religion. The complexity of sin as a doctrine in the Hebrew Bible is heightened because different literary genres depict sin in various ways. The richness of these ideas will be illustrated in the following sections:

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A. Terminology
1. The Term *ḥṭ꞉*
2. The Term *pš꞊*
3. The Term *꞊wn*
4. Other Terms for Sin
B. Origins and Universal Extent of Sin
C. Cultic and Unintentional Sins
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**A. Terminology**

Like Hittite, Sumerian, and Akkadian literature, Israelite literature draws upon a rich thesaurus for terminology relating to sin. One may count over fifty words for "sin" in biblical Hebrew, if specific as well as generic terms are isolated (*DBSup* 7:407–71). The plethora of Hebrew terms and their ubiquitous presence in the Hebrew Bible testify to the fact that sin was a dominant concern of the Israelite theologians. Indeed, their highlighting of human failure, deficiency, or offense in the cultic, ethical, and moral spheres constitutes a central theme of OT theology. A survey of major Hebrew words for sin will illustrate how the Israelite writers conceived of sin in terms of their own language.

**1. The Term *ḥṭ꞉*.** The three most important Hebrew roots for sin *(ḥṭ꞉, pš꞊, ꞊wn [꞊wy/w])* have been studied in detail by R. Knierim (1965). Of these, the root *ḥṭ꞉* is by far the most frequent, occurring some 595 times in the Hebrew Bible. The primitive sense of Heb *ḥṭ꞉*, as confirmed by Akkadian and other Semitic cognate evidence, is simply "to be mistaken, to be found deficient or lacking, to be at fault, to miss a specified goal or mark." Thus Judg 20:16 tells of Benjaminite archers who could sling stones at a hair and not "miss"; Prov 19:2 speaks of a hasty person who "misses" the correct road; Job 5:24 uses the verb of finding nothing "missing" among one's property; Prov 8:36 speaks of someone who "fails" to find wisdom. The root *ḥṭ꞉* frequently expresses the ethical failure of one person to perform a duty or common courtesy for another, as in the failure of a vassal to pay tribute to his overlord (2 Kgs 18:14; cf. Gen 31:36; 43:9; 44:32; Exod 5:16; Judg 11:27). The theological sense of *ḥṭ꞉* comes into play when the offense is committed against God, or when failure (even unconscious, inadvertent, or unavoidable) takes place in the sphere of the cult. Sin against God is of utmost seriousness, so that punishment and compensation (expiatory sacrifices) must be exacted. The close relationship between sin *(ḥṭ꞉)* and its consequences is illustrated in the use of the nominal derivatives, which may signify "guilt," "punishment," or "sin/guilt offering" *(ḥēṭ꞉; ḥăṭā꞊â; ḥaṭṭā꞉t);* similarly, two of the derived verbal conjugations may signify the purgative of sin, "to purify or cleanse from sin through sacrifice and ritual."

**2. The Term *pš꞊*.** A second Hebrew root for "sin" *(pš꞊)* occurs about 135 times, and signifies willful, knowledgeable violation of a norm or standard. Normally it would not refer merely to "a[n inadvertent] mistake," as might be the case with *ḥṭ꞉*. The verb *pš꞊* is thus translated "to rebel, revolt, transgress." The meaning "revolt" is illustrated by the use of the verb in the realm of international politics, where *pāša꞊* signifies the breach of allegiance through violation of a covenant (1 Kgs 12:19; 2 Kgs 1:1; 8:20, 22). These political connotations were imported into the theological sense of the term to mean "rebellion" against Yahweh as Israel's suzerain (1 Kgs 8:50; Isa 1:2; Jer 3:13; Hos 7:13; 8:1). The noun *péša꞊* ("rebellion, revolt") is translated "transgression" in some modern versions of the OT, but this rendition fails to communicate the idea of "rebellious deeds" which is probably to be understood. Other terms for

religious "rebellion" against God include *mārad* ("act insolent, rebel"; e.g., Num 14:9; Josh 22:19; Ezek 2:3), *mārâ* ("contend, revolt, rebel"; e.g., Num 20:24; Ps 105:28; Lam 3:42), and *sārar/sûr* ("be stubborn, rebellious"; e.g., Isa 30:1; Hos 9:15; Jer 6:28).

**3. The Term *ʿwn.*** A third important Hebrew term for "sin" is the noun *ʿawôn*, which finds some 229 attestations in the Hebrew Bible. Though the etymology of the presumed root *(ʿwy/w)* is disputed, the general meaning of the noun "error, iniquity" is accepted. Hebrew *ʿawôn* is a deeply religious term, almost always being used to indicate moral guilt or iniquity before God (rarely, of guilt before a human: 1 Sam 20:1, 8; 25:24). Metonymic usages of the term illustrate clearly the relationship in Hebrew thought between "sin" and resultant "guilt" and "punishment," since *ʿawôn* may denote any of these three senses (or all three meanings) in a single passage. In Gen 4:13, for example, it clearly signifies "guilt" (forensic and psychological) or "punishment," (penal), and probably connotes both. When used in the plural, *ʿawôn* often refers to a person's iniquitous deeds or crimes against God (e.g., Job 13:23, 26; Dan 9:13). The distinction between the nuances (sin, guilt, punishment) is frequently difficult to ascertain in a specified instance of *ʿawôn.* In at least eight passages, *ʿawôn* is used alongside both *ḥṭ›* and *pšʿ* in simply designating "sins" (Knierim 1965:229–35; *DBSup* 7:339–40). In such cases, especially if the texts are late or liturgical, we may suppose that the individual terms have lost some of their crisp distinctiveness, and are employed as virtual synonyms.

**4. Other Terms for Sin.** The OT writers describe human evil or "sin" with a wide range of additional terms. The root *ršʿ* signifies criminal wrongdoing or wickedness; the substantival adjective *rāšāʿ* is a common word used collectively for "the wicked." Ethical and moral badness are designated by the root *ršʿ;* various forms of the root indicate "evil, distress, injury, misery, calamity." The root *ʿbr,* "cross over," may be used in the religious sense of transgressing divine statutes, hence "transgression." To disobey God is to "despise" him *(bāzâ),* "spurn" him *(n›ṣ),* "refuse" *(m›n),* or "reject" *(m›s; znḥ)* his rule. The person who rejects religious values is "godless, profane" *(ḥānēp),* "wicked, base, irreverent" *(bĕlîyáʿal),* or "wanton" *(nbl).* Sometimes sins are designated by words which describe how loathsome and abhorrent they are to God, and thus constitute terms for taboo (*tôʿēbâ; šiqqûṣ; šaʿărûrâ;* cf. Humbert 1960; L'Hour 1964). Criminal violence, dishonesty, treachery, oppression, and injustice were ceaselessly denounced by the prophets (*ḥms; šdd; zmm; bgd; rṣ; ʿšq; lḥṣ; ynh; ʿwl;* etc.). Such crimes against persons were judged as abominable and abhorrent to God as specifically cultic sins (Hallo 1985:21–40). Religious apostasy was depicted in terms of sexual promiscuity *n›p; znh*). Cultic inadvertences *(šgg/šgh)* and sacrilege (*mʿl;* cf. Milgrom 1976a) were counted as serious sins even though they might result from negligence. Hebrew words for "trouble, calamity, sorrow" frequently overlap with sin, since in Hebrew thought sin inevitably leads to hardship and suffering (e.g., *›áwen; rāʿâ; ʿāmāl*). The richness of the Hebrew lexicon in terms for sin (only sampled above) cannot fail to impress the reader that human failure in the religious realm was of central importance to the OT theologians.

**B. Origins and Universal Extent of Sin**

Israelite theologians shared with their 1st-millennium Hittite and Mesopotamian contemporaries several fundamental assumptions about sin. Of first importance: sin was a universal moral flaw, pandemic in the human race. A few citations from Mesopotamian religious texts will establish the context for Israelite thought on this doctrine. In an early Sumerian wisdom text we hear the penitent plead for leniency with his god: "Never has a sinless child been born to its mother, … a sinless workman has not existed from of old" (*ANET*, 590, lines 102–3). An Akkadian incantation for appeasing an angry god employs a similar argument: "Who is there who has not sinned against his god? Who that has kept the commandment for ever? All humans who exist are sinful" (Lambert 1974:281–82, lines 132–43; Seux 1976:207, lines 12–14). Rhetorical questions of this sort were popular forms of expression for this universally acknowledged dogma, reminding the gods that they should not expect too much: "Mankind, as many as there are, Which one of them comprehends his faults? Who has not transgressed, and who has not committed sin? Which one understands the way of the god?" (Ebeling 1953:72–73, lines 8–11; cf. Seux 1976:170 and similarly, *BWL*, 40–41, lines 33–38); "Whoever was there so on his guard that he did not sin? Whoever was so careful that he did not incur guilt?" (Lambert 1959–60:57, lines 105–6; Seux 1976:176; CAD N/ 1:3);

"Where is the wise person who has not transgressed and [committed] an abomination? Where is he who has checked himself and thus not ba[ckslid]?" (Langdon 1927:23, lines 15–18; cf. *BWL*, 16).

The ubiquitous nature of sin emerges with equal clarity from the OT, even on the most superficial reading: disobedience, punishment, and the forgiveness of sin constitute major themes in nearly every book from Genesis through Chronicles. Explicit declarations about universal sinfulness are encountered less frequently in the Hebrew Bible than in Mesopotamian sources, but are nevertheless clear. In the primeval history of Genesis 1–11, God himself is the first to accept this moral verdict against humankind. Having seen that the human race was "only evil continually," and having come to regret "that he had made humankind," God ordered a flood to destroy every living thing, resolving to start anew with the family of Noah (Gen 6:5–7). Yet the catastrophe did not alter the fundamental human problem (sin), as God later conceded: "I will never again curse the ground on account of man, though the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth" (Gen 8:21). The Israelite theologians never doubted that sin was an intrinsic character trait of the human species (Prov 20:9; Qoh 7:20, 29), for they frequently appealed to this fact in petitions for mitigated punishments or leniency. Thus we read in a lament psalm: "Enter not into judgment with your servant; for no person living is righteous before you" (Ps 143:2), or in the dedicatory prayer of Solomon, "If they sin against you—for there is no one who does not sin …" (1 Kgs 8:46 = 2 Chr 6:36). See similarly Pss 103:3; 78:38–39; 155:9–10 (= 11QPs$^{a}$ column 24, lines 6–7).

What could be the cause and origin of this monstrous human evil? Though the problem of sin's "origin" did become a matter of theological speculation in the intertestamental period and afterward, it was apparently of little importance to the Israelite theologians. The tradition of the "fall" preserved in Genesis 3, which became so important in early Christian thought, was not alluded to in the classical Hebrew writings. Instead, human sinfulness was related merely to creatureliness. Humans were made of dusty chthonic substance (hence, frail and ephemeral), born of impure women in a tainting birth process (hence morally tainted) and made to inhabit a polluted, lower-than-celestial realm called earth (hence, having even more natural proclivity to sin than celestial creatures, who themselves all too frequently fall into error). The relationship of sinfulness to creatureliness is elaborated most fully in the book of Job, where it forms a literary topos (Job 4:17–21; 15:14–16; 25:1–6). The argument is found in the mouth of Job's friends, but no doubt would have represented a dominant Israelite belief (Lévêque 1970:1:259–77; Habel 1981:373–92; Urbrock 1974:1–33). Job himself agreed with the major premises of this argument (Job 14:1–6; esp. 14:1, 4) but disputed its relevance to his own outrageous "punishment."

The unrighteousness of humankind as a function of ephemeral makeup is argued syllogistically by Eliphaz in Job 4:17–21: If God's holy angels are not to be trusted and are occasionally charged with error, *a fortiori* "how much more those who dwell in houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust?" Elsewhere in genres of lament and petition, Israelite poets appeal to human frailty and ephemerality (under the figures of dust, breath, grass, shadow) in an effort to elicit God's compassion, clemency, or intervention (Job 10:8–9; Pss 90:3–4; 89:47–49—Eng 89:46–48; 102:4–5, 12—Eng 102:3–4, 11; 39 and 103, passim; cf. Pss 78:38–39 and 130:3). These arguments from frailty and ephemerality are themselves linked to human mortality, as articulated in Gen 3:19, "Since you are mere dust, to dust you shall return." The implications of this poetic line, though not always appreciated in modern commentaries, were correctly perceived and exploited in Job 4:19: Human mortality, tragically, was poetically foretold in earthly human origin, so that human failing is a natural and inevitable concomitant of human frailty.

The notion of humans being "impure from birth" was even more easily understood in light of the laws of the Israelite cultus. The psalmist would confess, "Behold, I was brought forth in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me" (Ps 51:7—Eng 51:5). Eliphaz could employ cultic language to argue, "What is man, that he can be clean? Or he that is born of a woman, that he can be righteous?" (Job 15:14; cf. Job 25:4 and note Job's agreement, 14:1, 4). Levitical law and perhaps even earlier ritual customs stipulated mandatory expiatory sacrifices for the defilement of the woman incurred during parturition (Lev 12); every newborn, to that extent, had come into contact with impurity at birth, and hence had a sinful beginning. Biblical assertions about intrinsically sinful human character, such as those found in Ps 58:4—Eng 58:3 and Isa 48:8, are consistent with the explicit arguments in Job.

The argument for inherent human sinfulness found three times in Job might best be corroborated by the experience of Isaiah in his inaugural vision (Isa 6:1–7). The prophet was raptured into the divine assembly where his moral inferiority and sinfulness as merely human were immediately apparent. Only when the seraph (a heavenly creature) removed his guilt and sin with the burning coal could the prophet enter into the proceedings of the council and receive his commission as a prophetic messenger. Isa 6:5–7 is but one of many biblical passages where the lips are identified as the locus of sin, perhaps because the lips are the visible and audible gateway of the human heart (Prov 6:14) where evil originates (Gen 6:5; 8:21; Jer 17:9). At least one Mesopotamian poet thought along these lines, since the interlocutor in the "Babylonian Job" *(Theodicy)* concedes to the righteous sufferer in his final speech that societal injustices are irradicable, being part of the created world order: "Narru, king of the gods, who created humankind; And majestic Zulummar, who dug out their clay; And mistress Mami, the queen who fashioned them; Gave perverse speech to the human race; with lies, and not truth, they endowed them forever" (*BWL*, 88–89, lines 276–80).

It is highly doubtful, however, that the Israelite poets even in the midst of theodicean struggle would have ascribed the intrinsic human sinfulness to the handiwork of God. They might accuse God of meting out punishment too harsh for frail humans to bear (Job 6:12; 10:4, 9); or accuse him of covenant disloyalty (Ps 89:29–46—Eng 89:28–45); or lament that he had created human beings for mere futility (Ps 89:48b—Eng 89:47b), but they stopped short of the claim that God personally endowed them with sinful tendencies. In fact, "sin" *(ḥaṭṭāʾt)* makes its first and only appearance in the primeval history at Gen 4:7, where it crouches like a lurking demon, ready to spring upon unwary Cain to dominate his will. The origin of the sin-demon in Genesis 4 is never told. Despite this shadowy appearance of sin, and despite the Israelite conviction that sin and sinfulness were congenital moral defects, it must also be stressed that the OT theologians never wavered in holding humans responsible for their sins. The spontaneous eruption (origin) of sin in the human heart became a much stronger theme in the oracles of Israel's writing prophets.

**C. Cultic and Unintentional Sins**

OT texts which treat sin as disobedience, rebellion, disloyalty, or crime are easily understood in modern Western culture where similar categories of ethics and jurisprudence render them immediately familiar. Yet, another vast domain of the biblical understanding of sin is foreign to modern Western religion, but critical to an appreciation of Hebrew religion. This is the Israelite conception of sin as cultic trespass, ritual impurity, sacrilege, and inadvertent sin. As with ancient Mesopotamian religious texts, the distinction in Israelite literature between sin as ethical-moral and sin as cultic-ritual is often difficult to specify. Cultic sins, like moral sins, were counted as grave offenses against the deity: similar punishments (including death) were exacted for both, and similar expiatory sacrifices were mandated for cultic and moral sins alike (e.g., the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* "sin offering" and *ʾāšām, ʾašmâ* "guilt offering"). Furthermore, in many cases it did not matter whether the sin/guilt were committed/incurred intentionally or unintentionally: the consequences, including death, would be the same.

As an approach to the cultic-ritual dimension of sin, we may summarize some representative Israelite laws which reveal the elaborate Hebrew conception of sin. The Kohathite-Levites were to be killed if they even unintentionally looked at or touched the sanctuary vessels (Num 4:13, 20). An animal raped by a human was to be judged guilty and subject to execution (Lev 20:16). The Nazirite who accidentally contacted a dead body (Num 6:9–11) was required to offer an expiatory sacrifice for his "sin." Death was decreed for the Israelite who would eat of the peace-offering on the third day (Lev 19:5–8), and likewise for the Israelite who ate of a sacrifice while in a state of ritual impurity (Lev 7:20–21). One priestly prescription called for the burning of a red cow (her burnt skin, flesh, blood, dung) and a mixing of her ashes with cedarwood, hyssop, scarlet cloth, and water; when applied to a corpse-contaminated Israelite, this concoction was said to "remove sin" (Num 19:1–11). In the same passage it is said that the contaminated person not cleansed with this mixture "has defiled the sanctuary of the Lord" (Num 19:20). An astonishing case is found in an instance of violating a ban: both Jonathan and his father Saul agreed to Jonathan's execution for the offense of "tasting honey" (1 Sam 14:24–44), even though Jonathan knew

nothing of his father's temporary ban on eating. Ritual texts declare that anyone with a pelvic discharge (nocturnal emission, emission of semen during intercourse, regular menstrual flow; Lev 15:16–30) must subsequently offer expiatory sacrifices, or that such persons while "unclean" following such emissions should be removed from the camp (Num 5:1–4) or otherwise face death for "defiling the sanctuary of the Lord" (Lev 15:31). See UNCLEAN AND CLEAN.

The examples above are meant to illustrate that sin and guilt in Israelite religion were serious and complex religious problems, arising not merely from willful disobedience or malice. Sin and guilt in Hebrew terms might have nothing to do with volition, but might be as unavoidable as natural bodily function (see Toorn 1985:23–36). Sin might come through the trespass of one of hundreds of taboos, which only priestly lore could hold in complete compendium. In the case of Jonathan given above (similarly with Jephthah, Judg 11), only superhuman awareness might have averted the transgression and mandatory death sentence which both father and son were prepared to accept. In the examples from Num 19:20 and Lev 15:16–31, the sanctuary is said to be "defiled" by the impure/guilty Israelite because ritual impurity from unatoned guilt is viewed as an aerial contaminant, mystically settling down over the community to pollute it, and most heinously, it comes into contact with the residence and property of God (Frymer-Kensky, *WLSGF*, 399–414).

These brief glimpses of the priestly perspective on sin, or guilt as it was understood in the Israelite cultus, are essential to a balanced understanding of Hebrew religion. If these religious assumptions and values seem odd to us in the modern West, we must remember that Hebrew culture, like other ANE cultures, was dominated by belief in the supernatural and by a clear separation of "sacred" and "profane." Hebrew conceptions of sin must be understood within a universe of thought that transcends the static, materialistic viewpoint of modern science. The Israelite understanding of cultic sin and ritual impurity is recorded mainly in the legal (priestly) sections of the Pentateuch, but also in Ezekiel and to a lesser extent in the Psalter and other prophetic books. The notion of sin as animate evil belongs to the realm of dynamistic thought (*ETOT* 2:382) where divine punishment of a violated taboo might be instant and mechanical. In this clearly supernatural realm, the spoken or written word (oath, vow, blessing, cursing, execration, incantation) was nearly magic. Violations against the holiness of God had a potency of their own, so that the offense of one individual could pollute the land (Num 35:33; cf. Jer 3:1–2, 9; Isa 24:5; Ps 106:38) and bring the entire community under divine wrath. Though the dynamistic conception of sin receives relatively less representation than "sin as disobedience" in the canonical biblical corpus, it must have always been a powerful religious force. Similar notions of sin and impurity are found in religious literature of the Hittites, Sumerians, and Akkadians, where they provide a context within which Israelite laws may be understood.

It was within the framework of Israelite conceptions of sanctity that sin thus became a serious religious problem: by polluting the land and defiling the temple sancta, sin rendered the entire nation susceptible to disease, injury, and direct punishment from God. The elaborate cultic system with its expiatory blood sacrifices, ritual ablutions and sacred rites was meant to counteract this form of evil. It must be stressed that the terms used for "sin" in the realm of the cult *(ḥaṭṭāʾt, ʾāšām, ʿawôn)* are the same terms used to denote "guilt," and sometimes "punishment" (for sin/guilt); the irrelevance of disobedient intent is thus evident even in the nomenclature. Similarly, the root *ṭmʾ* "be (come) impure/unclean/defiled/polluted" often had moral and cultic components which cannot be separated. In the priestly system of thought, it was this concomitant feature of defilement (through sin/guilt) which took on the most menacing and terrifying proportions. To quote Jacob Milgrom, apropos of the Hebrew *ḥaṭṭāʾt,* (the sin/guilt offering):

> The *ḥaṭṭāʾt* as the authorized purgative of the sanctuary echoes with a familiar ring for students of ancient Near Eastern cults in which temple purifications play so dominant a role. Impurity was feared because it was considered demonic. It was an unending threat to the gods themselves and especially to their temples, as exemplified by the images of protector gods set up before temple entrances (e.g., the *šedu* and *lamassu* in Mesopotamia and the lion-gargoyles in Egypt) and, above all, by the elaborate cathartic and apotropaic rites to rid buildings of demons and prevent their return. Thus for both Israel and her neighbors impurity was a physical substance, an aerial miasma which possessed magnetic

attraction for the realm of the sacred … Israel thoroughly overhauled this concept of impurity in adapting it to its monotheistic system, but the notion of its dynamic and malefic power, especially in regard to the sancta, was not completely expunged from the Priestly Code (Milgrom 1976b: 392; cf. Milgrom 1983:250–51 with documentation, and Wright 1987:129–46).

Sin as a form of nonmoral or nonethical evil is also expressed clearly in the Hebrew conception of unintentional (unwitting, inadvertent, unconscious) sin. Sins committed in ignorance were of grave concern to ancient priests and penitents, as the following excerpts from three Mesopotamian prayers will illustrate. In a bilingual *eršaḫunga* prayer, the sufferer admits his proclivity to sin, but does not know which infractions have incited the god's wrath: "I know not what taboo of my god I have violated; I know not how I have encroached upon the sancta of my goddess … The crime I've committed, I know not; The sin I have sinned, I know not; The taboo I have violated, I know not; The sacrilege I have committed I know not … Humans are stupid, and know nothing; People, whoever they might be, what do they know? Whether they've offended or done well, they know not at all; [So] O Lord, do not reject your servant …" (Langdon 1927:40–43, obverse lines 32–35; 42–47; reverse 29–36; cf. Seux 1976:140–42, lines 19–20; 26–29; 51–54). In an incantation for the appeasing of the angry god *(DINGIR.ŠÀ.DIB.BA)* the worshiper queries: "Ea, Šamaš, Marduk, what are my iniquities? … [Though] my iniquities are many, I do not know what I did" (Lambert 1974:274–75, lines 1; 29; cf. 278–79, lines 71–79; 284–85, lines 10–17). In a literary prayer to Marduk, the priest reminds the deity: "People don't know their [faults], they don't see them at all; A god reveals what is good and what is abhorrent; He who has a god, his sins are warded off; He who has no god, his sins are many; When you [Marduk] are at his side, his utterances are choice and his words propitious" (Lambert 1959–60:57, lines 107–12; cf. Seux 1976:176, lines 107–12). In other ritual texts, the sick or suffering penitent confesses a long list of potentially relevant offenses, moral and cultic, recognizing that one or more of them must lie at the basis of his punishment by the deity (Reiner 1956:137, lines 88–95; 143, lines 38' –59'; Reiner 1958:13–16, lines 1–128; Mayer 1976:114–15; Geller 1980:181–92). In both Mesopotamian and Israelite thought, illness was sometimes thought to be related to unintentional or secret sin (Toorn 1985:94–99; 67–87).

In the OT, guilt incurred through unintentional sin was of equal theological significance (Milgrom 1976b: 76–80 [79]) since it might have adverse consequences even for the community. Evidence may be drawn most readily from priestly materials, where "P accords completely with the historical sources that the principle of intention plays no part in violations of sacred taboos, e.g., Uzzah's touching the Ark (2 Sam. 6:6) and the Beth Shemeshites' viewing of it (1 Sam. 6:19) were not deliberate acts" (Milgrom 1970:20). The Hebrew root *šgg/šgh* signifies sin by inadvertence, or unconscious, unwitting sin; see Leviticus 4–5; Lev 22:14; Num 15:22–29; Ezek 45:20 (where *mippétî* means "from naivete"). Unwitting sin was of concern to the biblical psalmists as well; Ps 19:13—Eng 19:12 contains the confession and petition "But who can discern his errors *(šĕgî·ôt)?* So clear me from hidden faults *(nistārôt).*" Punishment for unintentional or unconscious sin also underlies the thought in Gen 20:3–5; 26:10 (cf. Reiner 1956:136–37, line 84); 1 Sam 26:18–19; 2 Sam 16:10; Job 1:5; 11:6 (Heb *tā·ălūmôt*); cf. Num 22:34. The communal lament of Psalm 90, if not referring to the "sins of one's youth," contains the accusation in v 8: "You have set our transgressions right in front of you, and our hidden (*·ălūmîm*, = unwitting, unconscious) sins in the light of your face." From a cultic-ritual viewpoint, unconscious sin would have been dangerous: the menace of its contagion would continue to grow as long as the offense were undetected and unatoned.

In Israelite and Mesopotamian literature, the "sins of one's youth" are sometimes allied with sins of ignorance. Accurate account books were thought to be kept in the heavenly court, so that sins left unpunished and unexpiated from one's youth might later be "remembered" by the deity and brought forward as a basis for punishment. Thus an Akkadian penitential prayer to Šamaš reads: "[the sin(s) which I have commit]ted from my youth [until] adulthood—may they not pursue me. May they be removed 3600 'miles' from me" (Ebeling 1953:54–55, lines 18–20; cf. Seux 1976:287), or in a prayer to Marduk: "The sins which I have committed, known and unknown, from my youth up, please forgive … The grievous transgressions which I have committed since my youth, please absolve and forgive seven times"

(Ebeling 1953:72–73, line 18; 74–75, lines 36–37; Seux 1976:170, 172). A confession of the following sort is not uncommon: "When I was young and naive, I didn't know what sin I committed; Being young and sinful, I am sure to have transgressed the will of my god" (Mayer 1976:115; cf. Seux 1976:404).

The OT psalmist could pray similarly, "Do not remember the sins of my youth" (Ps 25:7), or "Cast far from me the sins of my youth, and may not my transgressions be remembered against me" (Ps 155:12 = 11QPs[a] column xxiv, line 11). Job, though lacking the privileged viewpoint of the modern reader on the real cause of his suffering (a cosmic wager—known from the prologue), assumes that sins of adolescence might be brought up by God for reckoning: "You write harsh decrees against me, and make me to inherit the iniquities of my youth" (Job 13:26). Israelite literature preserves the parallel idea of children inheriting the punishment for their parents' sins—an idea once again shared by the Mesopotamian theologians (Lambert 1974:280–81, lines 114–20; Seux 1976:171, note 22 and lines 22–24). The idea of delayed penalty seems to be consistent with other notions of corporate (national) personality in the OT (Exod 20:5–6; 34:6–7; Num 14:18; Deut 5:9–10; Jer 32:18; cf. 1 Sam 15:2–3; 1 Kgs 21:28–29), but the application of delayed punishment to individuals was less readily accepted (Scharbert 1958:22; 1957:130–50). More than once the Israelites who bore the punishment for their "fathers' sins" were inclined to question the justice of such a principle (Jer 31:29; Ezek 18:2) and lamented its application: "Our fathers sinned, and (Heb Qere reading) now they have passed away; But (Heb Qere reading) *we* are the ones who bear their punishment!" (Lam 5:7). The individual application of delayed punishment (imputed guilt) may be seen in the psalmist's imprecation: "May the iniquity of his father (!) be remembered before the Lord, and let not the sin of his mother be blotted out; Let them be before the Lord at all times" (Ps 109:14–15a; see a similar imprecation and the singular usage of *ʾābôt* in Isa 14:21 [*HALAT* 1:2 (#9, and Ps 109:14 and Isa 14:21)]). The importance for Israelite theology is that sin (guilt, punishment) would accumulate if not expiated and forgiven: it might be visited upon an individual later in life, or upon a subsequent generation.

**D. Sin as Disobedience**

If the priestly literature in the Hebrew Bible depicted sin in terms of injury to God's holiness and violation of cosmic order, with deleterious consequences for the community (contamination and contagion), Israel's prophets and historiographers more characteristically spoke of sin in terms of disobedience, rebellion, covenant disloyalty, and religious apostasy. Both conceptions are important in Israelite theology, for even the prophetic corpus shows concern for cultic-ritual sin. Sin as moral-ethical evil implicates the human being as a creature of choice in a contest of wills and allegiances: the autonomous will of the creature versus the authority and will of the Creator. Stated thus, sin is "comprehended as a *conscious and responsible act*, by which Man rebelled against the unconditional authority of God in order to decide for himself what way he should take, and to make God's gifts serve his own ego" (*ETOT* #2:383). Students of the Bible frequently find the highest literary expression of this "contest of wills" in Genesis 3. In that profound and paradigmatic story, human curiosity, jealousy, and mistrust join with the desire for personal autonomy, leading finally to the overt act of hybris, rebellion, and disobedience. The conditions of sin inaugurated by these acts of disobedience immediately initiate the fracture of harmonious relationships within culture and the physical environment. In the remainder of the primeval history (Genesis 4–11), the reader encounters successive episodes of humans transgressing the limits established by divine revelation: fratricide (4:1–16); illicit sexual liaisons with divine creatures (6:1–4); pandemic societal violence (6:11–12); the assault of heaven itself in the building of the Babel tower (11:1–10). Described in such terms of rebellion and hybris, sin alienates humans from each other, from their earth, from its animal population, and from their Creator.

In the canonical flow of the OT, despite repeated demonstrations of divine grace in mitigated punishments, election, promise, covenants, and means of forgiveness, the propensity for human rebellion is never diminished. The covenants based upon human institutions (feudal systems of land grants, suzerainty treaties) were meant to heighten Israel's awareness of the demands for allegiance and obedience: since God had pledged his loyal love to the nation, he could legitimately expect their obedience to his commands. Yet the biblical theologians never tire of telling how Israel sinned great sins

of infidelity: failing to trust their suzerain, violating the stipulations of their sworn agreement with him, and ever being lured away by the forbidden religious practices of their Near Eastern neighbors. Sin as covenant disloyalty permeates most of the Hebrew Bible, but particularly the theology of the Deuteronomistic historians (Weinfeld 1972) as found in the books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings. The prophets likewise found a basis for indictment in the covenants, but each added his personal imprint on the description of sin, "sometimes as ingratitude (Amos) or as inner aversion and hostility (Hosea), as arrogance and self-exaltation (Isaiah), or as deep-seated falsity (Jeremiah). But they all point in the same direction, namely toward an alienation from God which, because it is a voluntary abandonment of Yahweh, breaks the bond between God and Man, and can therefore be nothing other than disruption and destruction of the divine order" (*ETOT* #2:387). The national religious leaders (notably the kings, prophets, priests) who by their divine election and spiritual qualifications might have restrained sin through exemplary leadership all too often, the biblical theologians tell us, actually led the Israelites in sins of religious apostasy (e.g., 1 Kgs 14:16; 15:26, 34; 16:2, 13, 19, 26; 21:22; 2 Kgs 21:11, 16). Sin at the national level (e.g., the book of Judges) or individual level (e.g., Jeroboam) could thus provide a controlling literary theme used to structure the composition or redaction of theological narrative in the Hebrew Bible (Mullen 1987:212–32).

**E. Sin without Conscience: The Sinner**

The Israelite doctrine of universal sin (see section 2 above) poses a certain tension for modern readers who will also encounter texts making categorical contrast between the character and fate of "the righteous" as opposed to "the sinner." Psalm 1, for example, characterizes the "sinner" (vv 1, 5; also called "the wicked," vv 1, 4, 5,6) as unstable and doomed to an early death, while promising blessedness and triumphant fate for the "righteous" (v 6). If all people are indeed "sinners," how then may some be called "righteous"? The nouns and substantives used to designate the "wicked" as a class are derived from familiar Heb roots: "sinners" (*ḥaṭṭāʾîm = qattāl* noun-of-occupation); "rebels" *(pôšĕʿîm);* "godless" *(ḥănēpîm);* "evil" *(rāʿîm);* "wicked" (*rĕšaʿîm* = unpardonably guilty), etc. The Wisdom Literature of the OT, in particular (Proverbs, Job, Qoheleth, many Psalms), contrasts the "wicked" and the "righteous" as categorical opposites. According to this conventional manner of speaking, the wisdom tradition affirmed that the "wicked" produce only evil deeds and face a calamitous end, while the "righteous" prosper under the blessing of God. According to other representatives of the wisdom tradition (Job, Qoheleth), empirical evidence shows that such optimism is naive; a major burden of theodicy (Job, Qoheleth, certain Psalms, sections of Jeremiah) was to explain the failure of this religious optimism when applied to the individual. But the prophets also spoke of those opposed to the rule of Yahweh as "the wicked," and they prophesied eschatological doom upon these "sinners" (e.g., Isa 1:28; 13:9). In the case of corporate punishment (national disaster), it was easier to see that the political agents of divine judgment might not discriminate between the guilty and the innocent. Despite such theological tensions, generalizations about "wicked" and "righteous" are made throughout most of the OT.

The use of such categorical distinctions recognizes on the one hand a natural proclivity to sin (inherent in humanness, and predicated of all people) and on the other hand an utterly lawless orientation to life which characterized sinners without conscience. Among the latter might be irreligious, impious, sacrilegious people who refused to accept religious norms; they also might be oppressive, violent, murderous people who behaved only according to selfish interest. The "wicked" of the Hebrew Bible might also be those whose religious faith was not purely Yahwistic, or whose religious practices were not approved by the official Jerusalem priesthood. It may therefore be suggested that these characterizations as "wicked" and "righteous" were sometimes moral judgments and at other times were more fundamentally sociological categories. The conscientious Yahwist might well be guilty of sin in many respects (Ps 51:3–11—Eng 51:1–9), but could be joyful only when confession, restitution and forgiveness had brought a restored relationship with God (Ps 51:12–19—Eng 51:10–17). The wicked, by contrast, were incorrigibly bad (Prov 9:7) and utterly refused to recognize the rule of Yahweh (Ps 94:7). It was in this light that Hebrew poets writing for the cult might include embarrassing declarations of innocence and unqualified claims of righteousness (Pss 7:9—Eng 7:8; 17:1–5; 18:21–25—Eng 18:20–24; 26:1–7, 11a)

as well as deep confessions of sin (Pss 25:11, 18; 32:5; 38:4–5, 19—Eng 38:3–4, 18; 39:9—Eng 39:8; 40:13—Eng 40:12). It was this ambiguity of language which Job's friends artfully exploited to their advantage in the debate over Job's "sin." Job avowed his innocence (10:7a; 11:4; 13:23; 33:8–11) which the reader knows to be accurate from the prologue (1:1, 8), and he claimed to be *ṣaddîq* ("righteous"; see 12:4; 6:29; 27:6; 13:18–19); at the same time, Job admitted that in an absolute test for righteousness, no one could emerge *ṣaddîq* (9:2; cf. 9:29–31; 14:4). Job's friends clung desperately to this latter belief, affirming that some hidden sin must stand behind his suffering.

The tendency to identify "sinners" as a class became most pronounced when Israel's national security was threatened: the wicked were those who threatened God's rule, or who were responsible for the weight of guilt which brought the chastisement of God. In the Psalter these wicked "workers of iniquity" become the personal enemies of the king and of Yahweh. They are inveterate sinners and incorrigible criminals, whose wickedness takes on a demonic character. Israel's poets hurl vile imprecations against these godless, perverse, oppressive, and sacrilegious opponents of righteousness (Pss 69:23–29—Eng 69:22–28; 109:6–20; 137:7–9; 140:8–12—Eng 140:7–11; cf. Jer 20:7–12). Though the identity of the "enemies" has not been determined with precision, they are seen to be such a great menace that they are better dead than alive (Westermann 1981:188–94; Birkeland 1955; Keel 1969). The prophets of Israel, though usually in less passionate and vitriolic language, likewise looked forward to the day when these "wicked" would be eradicated from the earth or reduced to impotence.

The categorical differentiation of "sinners/wicked" from "righteous" is found in several genres of Hebrew writing. Wisdom and prophetic literature display this feature, as do the Psalms and some other liturgical texts. If this simple categorization scheme appears unrefined, it must have nevertheless provided Israelites with a powerful incentive to behave in accordance with ethical norms. The catalogs and descriptions of behavior assigned to "sinners/wicked" reminded Israelite citizens that sinners weakened the moral stability of society, and that to violate ethical principles marked one as a treacherous person and a corrupting influence. It must be stressed that the "sinner" in these texts is one who falls under divine disapproval *primarily* for immoral or unethical conduct toward other human beings. In Proverbs, for instance, the catalog of "abominations" *(tôʿēbâ)* hated by the Lord lists mainly sins against persons: deceit, dishonesty, favoritism, devious plotting against another person, punishing of the innocent, inciting quarrels (Prov 6:16–19; 26:25; see also 3:32; 11:20; 12:22; 15:8, 9, 26; 17:15; Hallo 1985:34–38; Toorn 1985:10–23). The Psalms lament and denounce disloyal citizens who vilify neighbors and colleagues with slander, gossip, lies, false accusations, and sorcery (see Toorn 1985:19–20). The Hebrew prophets indict as sinners those who selfishly abuse power and wealth to institutionalize social injustice, using political and economic oppression to maintain their own privileged positions. Thus, while "sin" as a relational concept usually sets the unethical, immoral or irreligious person against God, the specific "sins" which inform the categorization "sinner" are often violations of the dignity and rights of other persons. Toorn carefully documents a comparative study of sin in Israelite and Mesopotamian thought, clarifying how fundamental social and ethical concerns were in definitions of sin (Toorn 1985, esp. 13–23).

While some OT texts depict the wicked as unredeemably bad and unpardonably guilty, some writers held out hope for the sinner's reform. Reform was the usual outlook in Mesopotamian prayers: the punishment of sin in chastisement and suffering (with ultimate healing) was meant to instruct other sinners to reverence the deity more faithfully. An Akkadian absolution ritual ("*lipšur* litany") thus contains the following petition: "[Through] all my sins, all my errors, all my crimes, may the unbeliever [lit., "he who does not fear god"] learn from my example, whoever was neglectful, whoever committed grievous sins against his god and his goddess" (Reiner 1956:142–43, lines 50' –52'). The Babylonian "Righteous Sufferer" who has come through chastisement and healing admonishes his countrymen: "He who has done wrong in respect to Esagil (the Temple), let him learn from my example" (*BWL*, 56, line p; cf. Mayer 1976:307–49, esp. 327–30). Israelite psalmists entertained the same hope, as expressed in Ps 51:15—Eng 51:13, "Then I will teach transgressors your ways, and sinners will be converted to you" (cf. Ps 25:8). The prophet Ezekiel likewise pleads with the "wicked" *(rāšāʿ)* of Israel to avert divine punishment by turning from evil (Ezek 18:21–23; 33:10–19).

**F. Consequences of Sin**

The consequences of sin, according to the Israelite theologians, were manifold and always grave. Sin ruptured the relationship between the creator and the creature, and set in motion a series of consequences which, if unchecked, would eventuate in the "death" of the individual sinner. The emotion first shown by God in response to sin is told in the primeval history: he felt regret and remorse for having created the human race (Gen 6:5–7). Within the framework of covenantal theology, God's response to sin was more commonly a visible display of "wrath" *(ʾap)* which "grew hot" *(ḥārâ)* against the sinner and led to punitive action (Considine 1969:85–159). Human sin would awaken the righteous indignation of God, and his holiness demanded further response. Divine disapproval was automatic in the case of calculated and malicious acts. Yet, a study of divine wrath would show that violations of taboo and other cultic infractions were just as likely to kindle God's anger as were rapacious acts of violence (Lev 10:6; Num 1:53; 16:22; 18:5; Josh 22:20; 1 Sam 4:17; Qoh 5:5—Eng 5:6; cf. Milgrom 1970:21 note 75). On other occasions, divine wrath in response to human error cannot be readily explained, and though it may appear as mere caprice, can be understood as essential to divine freedom (Num 22:20–22, 31–35; 2 Sam 6:6–8; 24:1, 10 [cf. the Chronicler's midrash in 1 Chr 21:1]; Exod 4:24). Sin is said to provoke God's "jealousy" (Heb *qnʾ;* verbal, adjectival and nominal forms); it is that which "irritates" *(kʿs, Hipʿil)* or "antagonizes" *(nsh, Piʿel*) him, and issues forth in divine "vengeance" (*nāqām, nĕqāmâ;* cf. Pitard 1982:5–25).

The OT emphasis on divine wrath and vengeance has prompted modern theologians to ponder the problem of "injury" and "harm" being done to God through sin. If God is truly transcendent, why should he feel so threatened by human misbehavior, as though sin personally harms him or takes something from him? How can the sin against him be compensated through expiatory (substitutionary) sacrifices? The question of how God is injured by sin was already a matter of speculation in the story of Job: both Job and his friends, ironically, doubted that human sin should disturb the divine agenda significantly (Job 7:20, 12; 22:2–4; 35:6–8; cf. Jer 7:19). Perhaps on the deepest level neither ancient nor modern theologians have adequately answered this question. Yet all ancient religions of the Near East maintained as axiomatic the religious principle that the gods were duty-bound to uphold the moral order of the universe by rewarding righteousness and punishing sin. Societal stability depended upon the maintenance of its moral fabric, and this the gods had to insure. If the ancient poets employed anthropological language in describing divine emotions concomitant with the discharge of this divine obligation, they can surely be forgiven; would it be less troublesome theologically to have God mete out justice in the stoic, dispassionate and uncaring manner of an executioner?

According to what principles did the OT theologians envision the execution of divine punishment? If indeed there was a consistent Israelite dogma of talionic retributive justice, why are there so many apparent exceptions—including the major voices of dissent heard in the books of Job and Qoheleth which were also endorsed as canonical by official Judaism? Did God intervene by fiat to personally administer punishment, or did he employ agents, or did he merely maintain the balance of natural events which automatically bring the sinner his just due (so Koch 1955:1–42)? Evidence for each of these modes of punishment may be found in the OT, and the narrative in 1 Kings 22 shows how convoluted schemes of divine punishment might become. However, the lack of scholarly consensus on these questions testifies to the fact that the diversity of viewpoint and the complexity of the problem even among ancient writers have not been fully appreciated. In the following broad canonical sweep we may survey some of the dominant and influential viewpoints on the topic of God's punishment of sin.

In the primeval history of Genesis 1–11, recurrent episodes of sin result in the alienation and estrangement of humankind from God. The first episode (Genesis 3) also leads to the fracture of human society and disruption of nature: hostility now dominates the relationship between the woman and the serpent, between the woman and the man, between the woman and her sons. The man and the ground from which he was taken become mortal enemies, each struggling to take life from the other, until the ground finally gains victory. Cain's sin (Gen 4:1–16) results in ostracism and exile; his expulsion from civilized, cultured society leads to the birth of a new restless, violent society apart from God (Gen 4:17–24; 5:28–29). Global violence and forbidden marriages with celestial potentates prompt God to decree

global destruction (Gen 6:1–9:18), and even in the salvation of Noah's family, crime leads to the enslavement of one nation by another (Gen 9:17–27). Human hybris reaches its zenith at Babel: the assault of heaven is answered by God in the dispersion of races through the confusion of language (Genesis 11). In such pictures the epic narrator unveils sin and punishment in paradigmatic form: these episodes prefigure the character of sin and suffering which will reverberate throughout the canonical telling of Israel's history.

In the election of Israel as the covenant people of Yahweh, a new basis for the punishment of sin was established. Israel now became bound under oath to observe the terms of the covenant with Yahweh (Exodus 24), and Yahweh became the God who must uphold drastic forms of punishment if Israel wavered in covenant fidelity (e.g., Deuteronomy 27–28). Thus the Deuteronomistic historians and the prophets would ceaselessly remind the wayward nation that the rise and fall of national fortunes was a direct function of covenant loyalty: When they were under the heel of foreign oppression, it was because Yahweh had abandoned them, allowing their enemies to exact a penalty for their sins.

The doctrine of retributive justice meted out mechanistically against human sin appears simplistic to a modern read of the OT. However, parallel literary genres of the Fertile Crescent suggest that ancient historiographers and theologians adopted this construct as a didactic literary convention. We may illustrate two episodes of Israelite history with contemporary Near Eastern parallels to show how pervasive this paradigm was. In 1 Samuel 21 the narrator tells of a three-year famine which had come upon the land of Israel for unclear reasons. When King David finally inquired of the Lord to ascertain the cause, Yahweh told him it was on account of Saul's murder of the Gibeonites, in violation of a sworn oath. Expiation for the crime was immediately made (through a reciprocal bloodbath of Saul's descendants) and the Lord relieved the famine. A strikingly similar story is told in the prayer of the Hittite king Mursilis to the Hattian storm god. He laments that a plague which had broken out during the reign of his father had continued unabated in his own reign. Upon inquiry, the storm god revealed through an oracle that violation of a sworn agreement with the Egyptians was the basis for the divine punishment. Restitution and confession were needed to expiate the crime perpetuated by the Hittites during his father's reign (*ANET*, 394–96; cf. Malamat 1955:1–12). The assumption in both accounts was that national disaster was necessarily a consequence of sin (even if committed during the reign of a previous ruler); it was imperative that the sin of the fathers be identified and expiated so that divine wrath might be assuaged.

A second illustration of the pan-semitic doctrine of retribution may be drawn from the Israelite historians' account of the fall of Judah in 586 B.C. The Hebrew prophets leave no doubt that the destruction of the temple and the "seventy-year" exile are divine punishment for sin. A similar logic is found in Esarhaddon's report of the downfall of Babylon a century earlier (ca. 689 B.C.E.). Esarhaddon's account is found in several editions, all of which ignore the important political realities, viz., the destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib's armies; they offer instead a theological interpretation of the sequence of events (Brinkman 1983:35–42). According to Esarhaddon's court historiographers, the Babylonians had become excessively evil: they constantly spoke lies and deceit to one another; they took bribes, abusing the weak and enriching the strong; they allowed murderers and oppressors to become established in the city; robbery became commonplace, as did disrespect for parents and disobedience of slaves; the Babylonians even plundered the temple treasury to make protection payments to the Elamites. The sins of the Babylonians finally became too much for Marduk their god: Marduk flew into a rage, ordering the destruction of the city through a violent flood and its return to a swamp. The gods flew up to heaven and the Babylonians themselves were sold as slaves among the foreign riffraff (Borger 1956:12–15, episodes 1–10). Though Marduk originally decreed for his city seventy years of desolation, ultimately his mercy prevailed and he reversed the number ("turned it upside down"), authorizing Babylon's restoration in the eleventh year (*LAR*, 243). Though modern political historians would reconstruct the events quite differently, Esarhaddon's version conforms to an ancient (and biblical) perspective where causality in history can be reduced to the simple matter of sin and punishment (see in addition to Brinkman's article further examples discussed in *AHG*, 98–114).

An important contribution on the nature of divine punishment mirroring the sin has been published by P. D. Miller (1982). Miller demonstrated that judgment and punishment in the OT conform to a pattern of "poetic justice," where the penalty inflicted upon the sinner constitutes a matching repayment in kind for the harm done in the offense. Thus, the king who does "evil" *(rāʿâ)* will suffer "calamity" *(rāʿâ)* of his reign as punishment (e.g., 1 Kgs 21:17–19). While the general principle of commensurate talionic punishment was found in ANE treaty curses and law codes, the literary vehicle used in the Hebrew Bible employs of a poetic form of the talion, often achieved through paronomasia and other elaborate turns of phrase.

We have already discussed some of the consequences of sin in priestly thought (see section C above). The sinner incurs guilt through transgression, and is made to "carry" *(nśʾ; sbl)* the weight of guilt until it is removed through cultic rites and divine forgiveness. In the interim, depending upon the precise nature of the sin, the guilt-laden sinner may expect sorrow *(ʾáwen),* sickness (Pss 102; 107:17–18; cf. Seybold 1973) and other forms of suffering (*ʿāmāl,* etc.). Israelite theologians at some periods linked sin and suffering so closely that suffering apart from sin was inconceivable (Job; cf. John 9:2). For very serious offenses the sinner might expect the death sentence (at least according to the ideals of the Law). The death penalty might be carried out by the community as part of their judicial responsibility, or administered by God himself in the law of *karet* (Wold 1979; Milgrom 1970:5–8; Knierim 1965:48–50, 73). The "*karet* formula" ("[that person shall be] *cut off* [from my presence]"; Lev 22:3 and often) most often envisages death through direct divine intervention, and is consistent with the many passages which cite "death" as the consequence of sin (e.g., Num 18:22; 27:3; Deut 24:16; 21:22; 22:26; 2 Kgs 14:6; 2 Chr 25:4; Ezek 3:20; 18:4, 20; Amos 9:10). If a persistent sinner did not die physically as a result of sin, living under the threat of imminent death must have itself been a terrifying punishment. In the case of a capital crime, the sinner might still hope that repentance would move God to commute the sentence (e.g., 2 Sam 12:13) or delay it (e.g., 1 Kgs 21:28–29).

**G. Removal of Sin**

If the OT theologians spoke of sin's consequences in very grave terms, it must also be remembered that forgiveness of sin formed a vital doctrine in Israelite faith. Though the path to forgiveness through repentance and cultic ritual might be complicated, though compensation and expiation might be costly, and though some natural consequences of sin might be irreversible, the hope of restored relationship with God found an equally important place in the Hebrew Bible. One Israelite poet's expression of this confidence in the *Miserere* (Psalm 51) provides a supreme and elegant display of such faith. On a national scale, even though punishment of sin should result in expulsion from the holy land of Israel, the exiled community could pray and hope for forgiveness and national return (1 Kgs 8:44–53). Nourished in the poems of Israel's psalmists and writing prophets, this promise of forgiven sin formed the basis of hope for permanent national identity which would live on in the hearts of Jewish believers for many centuries.

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## *NEW TESTAMENT*

Following Jewish usage, the NT authors consider "sin" to be an activity or a stance which is opposed to God. Since God loves humanity and commands that humans love their fellows, sins against humans are also sins against God. There are three distinguishable although partially overlapping views of sin and sinners: (1) a sin may be an individual wrong act; (2) a sinner may be a person who lives without regard to the will of God and who consequently sins by routine; (3) sin may be conceived as a "power"—some sort of active agent—which opposes God and which can capture humans and make them sinners.

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A. Terminology
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C. Sin as Complete Alienation from God
  1. Jesus and the Sinners
  2. Sinners in the View of the Early Church
D. Sin as an Enslaving Power

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### A. Terminology

1. *Hamartia* and its cognates, translated "sin," "to sin," and "sinners," are the most general terms and exhibit the widest range of meaning. In the OT and other literature known in both Hebrew and Greek (such as Ben Sira), *hamartia -tanein, -tōlos* translate *ḥātā᾽* ("sin," sometimes "impurity") and its cognates, which gives it a wide range, but it also is used for Heb *pāša῾,* "transgress, rebel," and especially for *rāšā῾,* "wicked," and their cognates, as well as other words (for a list of translations in the Greek OT see *TDNT* 1:267–71). We shall see the significance of this in section C below. In pagan Greek usage the meaning of *harmartia* is also quite wide. In early Greek literature "sin" can refer to almost any sort of error: missing the mark in throwing a javelin, committing a procedural mistake in sacrificing, or harming or disregarding

others. In later Greek philosophy (from Plato to the Stoics and Cynics), "sin" was especially connected with ignorance: the person who really understands what he or she is doing and its consequences will do what is right (*TDNT* 1:293–96, 296–302; Kaye 1979:30–33).

2. *Paraptōma, parabasis* mean respectively "trespass" and "transgression" and thus refer to individual acts ("trespass":Matt 6:14–15; Rom 5:15–20 and elsewhere; "transgression":Rom 4:15; Gal 3:19; Heb 9:15 and elsewhere).

3. *Parakoē* is "disobedience" (Rom 5:19; 2 Cor 10:6; Heb 2:2; the verb in this meaning appears in Matt 18:17).

4. *Adikia* means "unrighteousness," usually against a fellow human (e.g., Luke 13:17, where it is translated "dishonesty").

5. *Asebeia* means "impiety," usually against God. *Asebeia* and *adikia* appear together in Rom 1:18, translated "ungodliness and wickedness." *Asebeia* and its cognates appear six times in Jude (vv 4, 15, 18).

6. *Kakia* and *ponēros* mean "wickedness" (e.g., 1 Pet 2:6) and "evil." *Ponēros* is very common in the gospels (e.g., Matt 5:11, 37, 39, 45).

7. *Opheiletēs* is a "debtor," and sometimes it and the cognate verb are used to refer to "debt" to God or the neighbor incurred by transgression (Matt 6:12; Luke 11:4; 13:4, translated "offenders"). This usage probably depends on the Aram and late Heb use of *hôb, hôbâh, hôbā*, to mean both "debt" and "sin" or "guilt" (Black 1967:140).

**B. Sin as Transgression or Trespass**

The general Jewish view, accepted throughout the NT, was that all people "sin" in the sense of "commit a sin at some time or other." According to Paul, "all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God" (Rom 3:23), and in Rom 5:12 he traces this situation back to Adam in a difficult passage which will occupy us below. He found it hard to think of anything which he himself had done wrong, save persecuting the Church (1 Cor 15:9; Phil 3:6), but he had to grant that at the judgment, God might find some flaw in his behavior (1 Cor 4:4). The assumption of universal sinfulness is also seen in the Lord's Prayer, where the disciples are told to say, "forgive us our debts" (Matt 6:12) or "forgive us our sins" (Luke 11:4). All four Gospels and Acts place early a passage which displays the assumption that all have sinned: "he [Jesus] shall save the people from their sins" (Matt 1:21); John the Baptist preached "a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins," and Jesus preached, "repent" (Mark 1:4, 15); Zechariah prophesied that his son John would "give knowledge of salvation to his people in the forgiveness of their sins" (Luke 1:77); John the Baptist said of Jesus that he "takes away the sin of the world" (John 1:29; on the assumption of universal sin in John, see Kümmel 1973:290); at the conclusion of the first Christian sermon there is a call to all to repent and receive forgiveness of their sins (Acts 2:28). The assumption that all humans sin can be found in the major parts of the NT: the gospels, Acts, and Paul's letters. The same assumption is found in the other major divisions and books of the NT. In the Deutero-Pauline epistles, see Eph 2:1 (before conversion the readers were dead in their trespasses and sins); in the Catholic Epistles note James 5:16 (the readers should confess their sins to one another) and 1 Pet 2:24; 3:18. The view is reflected in Heb 2:17–18; 4:15 and Rev 1:5, and argued strongly in 1 John 1:8–10.

The passages just listed do not specify what the sins are which have been committed, but they are viewed as individual wrong thoughts or actions (for a fuller list of passages, see *TDNT* 1:295). There would not have been much disagreement about what counted as "wrong," at least at a general level. Jewish sexual ethics differed in part from those of pagan society, but otherwise there was general agreement about right and wrong. In detail, of course, there would be differences from group to group. One group, for example, may have had stricter rules than another about what to do in the case of property left on deposit which was not reclaimed. Everyone would agree, however, that appropriating it for one's use before the set date was wrong. The general view that all people transgress would strike a responsive chord everywhere even without defining what counted as sin.

Sins (or trespasses, transgressions, and the like; see the list of terms in section A), since they are individual wrong thoughts or deeds, may be atoned for. The very call to repentance implies this, and it is stated explicitly in Matt 12:31, which gives an exception to the rule: blasphemy against the Holy Spirit

will not be forgiven. In Judaism, sins were to be confessed to the priest and accompanied by a sacrifice. In the case of transgression against a fellow human, restitution should also be made (usually with an added fifth of the value of what was acquired dishonestly; see Lev 5:24—Eng 6:5). This view is continued in Matt 5:23–24, but the general Christian opinion was that the sacrificial system had been superseded. One should confess directly to God, or to other members of the Christian community, and thus obtain forgiveness. According to the book of Hebrews, forgiveness of sins requires the shedding of blood (9:22), but the sacrificial system is no longer effective (10:11). Forgiveness is obtained, rather, by the blood of Christ (9:14; 10:12). The connection between Christ's blood and forgiveness appears also in Matt 26:28; Rom 3:25; Eph 1:7; 1 John 1:7; Rev 1:5b; 7:14; cf. Rom 5:9; 1 Pet 1:18–19.

Some Christians thought that those in Christ should be empowered to live without transgression. Paul's view was that Christians had been freed from "the law of sin and death" (Rom 7:24–25; 8:1–8), and he urged his converts to live "blamelessly" or "without fault" (Phil 2:15; 1 Thess 5:23). The author of John could write as if those who accepted Jesus would have no sin (John 15:22, 24), and a member of the same school proposed that "no one who abides in [God] sins" (1 John 3:6). This could be stated in the positive: Those in whom God abides have love perfected in them, and this gives them "confidence for the day of judgment," apparently the assurance that if love abides in them sin does not (1 John 4:12, 17). The author of Hebrews, thinking that sin requires atonement and that Jesus had offered "once and for all" the one satisfactory atonement (9:26), stated that those who sinned deliberately after conversion could not be forgiven (Heb 10:26–27; sexual immorality may be especially in mind: 13:4). But this ideal of perfection foundered on experience. Paul, as we saw, was not completely confident that he achieved blamelessness himself (1 Cor 4:4; cf. 1 Cor 9:27; Phil 3:11–12), and he had to reckon with quite serious transgression on the part of some of his converts (1 Cor 5:1–5, 11). The author of 1 John wrote that those who say they have not sinned make God a liar (1:10). While this possibly refers to pre-Christian sin, the perfect tense of the verb implies that the consequences of sin remain, and thus it appears that sin by Christians is granted, despite the theological principle that those who participate in Christ, who was sinless, are themselves sinless (1 John 3:5–6). Christian sin is also reckoned with in 1 John 2:1; 3:20; 5:16 (Kümmel 1973:297).

The last passage refers to a sin which is not "mortal" *(pros thanaton)* and states that a sin by a Christian which is "mortal" may not be prayed for—that is, forgiven. It may be that nonmortal sin is unintentional, in which case 1 John agrees with Hebrews in the view that there is no forgiveness for Christians who sin intentionally (Heb 10:26). In OT and subsequent Judaism, there is a major and obvious distinction between intentional and unwitting transgression, and in view of this it is striking that NT authors do not make more use of it. See LAW (IN JUDAISM OF THE NT PERIOD). The other principal distinction in Jewish law—between sins against God and those against one's fellow—is not explicitly made in the NT (but cf. Luke 15:18, 21, "against heaven and before you"). Apart from the passages in Hebrews and 1 John just cited, the NT also does not rank sins as "heavy" or "light" (Bultmann *BTNT* 2:234). For this distinction in Rabbinic literature see *Šebu.* 1:6; further, Sanders 1977:157–60.

The standard Jewish view was that sin or transgression, if not atoned for in ways prescribed in the Bible, would be punished—either in this world, by sickness, suffering, or death, or in the world to come. This view was also inherited in at least some parts of Christianity. The connection between sin and sickness is seen in John 9:2 (attributed to the disciples) and 9:24 (attributed to Jews who did not follow Jesus). In a Synoptic passage Jesus heals a sick man by telling him that his sins are forgiven (Matt 9:2–6 = Mark 2:5–11 = Luke 5:20–24). Paul explains death and sickness among the Corinthians by saying that they ate the bread and drank the cup in an unworthy manner, and he continues by saying that the Lord "chastens"—that is, punishes—those who do not adequately judge their own actions. This chastening prevents their ultimate destruction, on the standard Jewish view that sins are punished only once (1 Cor 11:27–32; cf *2 Bar.* 13.10). Similarly the body ("flesh") of the man who was committing incest was to be destroyed *so that* his spirit would be saved (1 Cor 5:5):punishment in this world prevents punishment in the next. That sin results in death is indicated in Rom 1:32; 5:12; 6:16, 23 (Bultmann *BTNT* 1:246). This assumption lies behind the view that Jesus' death atones—he died instead of the believer (Rom 3:25 and elsewhere)—and

also behind the view that the believer, by "dying" with Christ and gaining a new life, escapes death (Rom 6:2–11; cf. 7:6).

Within the NT there is no development of a standard system of atonement for postconversion transgressions. Paul, we saw, urged perfection and thought that transgressions would be punished. He knew about repentance (2 Cor 7:9–10), but in his closing admonitions he does not urge repentance and the seeking of forgiveness, but rather "blamelessness." Even where repentance is emphasized, as in Acts, it usually refers to conversion (see section C), not to the correction of postbaptismal transgression. Since repentance, restitution, and sacrifice for transgression are major conceptions in Judaism, and were routinely expected to be offered by Jews who were generally upright and only occasionally transgressed, the relative unimportance of postbaptismal repentance in the NT must be explained. We have already seen that the emphasis was on perfection, and probably this idealism prevented the early authors from spending much time and energy on coping with transgressions by Christians. Secondly, many of them expected the Lord soon to return, and thus they were not motivated to work out a system of pastoral care for straying members of the Church. The stark position of Hebrews—no forgiveness for intentional postconversion sin—is explained by this view: Jesus offered the sacrifice for sins "once for all at the end of the age" (9:26). As centuries passed, a denial of repeated forgiveness, even for intentional sins, was difficult to maintain. The hope for or expectation of Christian perfection, so prominent in the NT, has never disappeared entirely, though in most branches of the Christian faith postbaptismal transgressions are expected and provided for. The rite of penance was a major aspect of Christianity in the late antique and medieval periods, and one of Luther's most important views was that the Christian is at the same time "justified" in the sight of God and, in terms of actual performance, a sinner *(simul iustus et peccator).* The heirs of these traditions give the correction of sin, and repentance for it, a prominent place in life and worship.

The Christian authors of the NT believed that Jesus came to save people from their sins, and consequently that faith in him was required for the remission of sin (e.g., John 1:29; Matt 1:21). John puts the matter strongly and seems even to equate nonbelief in Jesus with sin (John 16:8–9; cf. 8:21–24). Jesus' own view, however, was that "righteousness" was possible in the standard Jewish way: obedience to the Law. He did not come to call the righteous (Mark 2:17), but he did not deny that there were such. He did not disagree with the rich man who assured him that he had kept the commandments, though he told him that "perfection" required yet more: giving his possessions to the poor and following him (Matt 19:16–30 = Mark 10:17–31 = Luke 18:18–30). "Following," however, was not a general requirement which Jesus laid on all (Hengel 1981:59). He proclaimed the nearness of the kingdom, and he urged people to prepare for it, but he did not limit "the righteous" to those who followed him, nor did he equate "sin" with refusing to do so. He saw himself, however, as having come especially to call people who were "sinners" in a worse sense than "occasional transgressors."

The early Christians—at least those who have left literary remains—considered all non-Christians to be sinners in this worse sense. They were of the view that others needed to be converted to faith in Jesus, and thus their view of universal or common sin became more radical than Jesus' own: all were "sinners" in the sense of "lost." We now turn to consider people who as such were "sinners."

**C. Sin as Complete Alienation from God**

While the verb "to sin" usually refers to an individual transgression, the noun "sinner" often (not always) indicates a worse state: a life which is not orientated around obedience to the will of God, but which is rather lived apart from him entirely. The cure for this condition is a change of one's life, sometimes indicated by the word "repentance" in the sense of "conversion."

"Sinners" as the enemies of God, and thus of the "righteous," are prominent in the Psalms, where Gk *hamartōloi,* "sinners," translates Heb *reša῾îm,* "the wicked." These are people who boast of the desires of their hearts, who think that there is no God, who believe that there is no retribution, whose mouths are "filled with cursing and deceit and oppression" (Psalm 10). They appear also in Ben Sira (e.g., 41:5–10), the *Psalms of Solomon* (e.g., 3 and 4), and elsewhere. There are lists of passages and explanations of

terminology in Sanders 1977:342–46 (Ben Sira); 398–406 *(Psalms of Solomon);* cf. also 352–58 (*1 En.* 91–104); 358–60 (some other sections of *1 Enoch*); *TDNT* 1:320–24.

**1. Jesus and the Sinners.** It is sinners in this sense of whom Jesus was said to be the friend ("a friend of tax collectors and sinners," Matt 11:19 = Luke 7:34) and whom he came to call (Matt 9:13 = Mark 2:17 = Luke 5:32; Luke adds "to repentance"). John the Baptist came "in the way of righteousness" and was not accepted, except by "the tax collectors and prostitutes" (Matt 21:32).

The use of tax collectors to represent sinners is more of a puzzle than most scholars, at times including the present author, have granted. The tax or toll collectors of Galilee in Jesus' day were not servants of Rome, but rather of Herod Antipas. He paid tribute to Rome, but this does not necessarily mean that his toll collectors were seen as traitors, though this has often been said. It is more likely that they were regarded as dishonest and greedy. One may compare Philo's remarks on Capito, the tax collector of Judea, a poor man who became rich (*Gaium* 199). He was not a toll collector in semi-independent Galilee, but rather an administrator of taxes in the province of Judea, governed directly by Rome. While he may have been worse than the Galilean toll collectors, it is probable that all tax collectors were thought of as rapacious. That is not to say that, objectively considered, they were all wicked. John, a toll collector in Caesarea, joined together with the leading members of the Jewish community there to bribe Florus (the procurator) to protect access to the synagogue (*JW* 2.14.4 §285–88). He does not fit the image of "outcast" which one derives from the stories in the gospels. When he was collecting money, however, he may not have been seen as a pillar of the community.

At any rate the toll collectors constitute the one named group who represent "sinners" in the Synoptic Gospels, and once prostitutes are associated with them (Matt 21:32). The meaning is that their manner of life was basically antithetical to the will of God.

Luke contains many more references to both sinners and toll collectors than do Matthew and Mark, and the author was especially concerned to emphasize that those who accepted Jesus "repented" in the sense of "changed their lives." In Luke's version of the call of the first disciples, Peter at first tells Jesus to depart from him, since he was a sinner (Luke 5:8), an unworthy companion for a righteous person. Matt 5:46 criticizes toll collectors, but Luke uses "sinners" instead (6:32). In Luke 7:36–49 there is a story of a woman who was a sinner. She ministers to Jesus and he announces the forgiveness of her sins. The parables in Luke 15 are told in the presence of toll collectors and sinners (15:1), and they proclaim that God rejoices over a sinner who repents (15:7, 10). In the parable of the toll collector and the Pharisee, the former confesses himself a sinner and craves God's mercy (Luke 18:10–13). The most elaborate story is that of Zacchaeus, a toll collector who was considered by the crowd to be a sinner, and who made abundant restitution to those whom he had wronged (Luke 19:1–10).

It is probable that Luke has expanded the theme of Jesus' appeal to toll collectors and sinners, but the theme itself reflects the ministry of Jesus. The surest fact is that his call was accepted by one Galilean toll collector, who is called Levi in Mark and Luke, while in the first gospel he is named Matthew and is probably thought of as one of the twelve (Matt 9:9 = Mark 2:14 = Luke 5:27).

The gospels represent Jesus' association with sinners as being a subject of criticism (Matt 11:19; Mark 2:16). This was not seen as problematic so long as scholars supposed that most Jews, or at least the Pharisees, opposed the idea of God's grace and forgiveness. According to this interpretation, Jesus told sinners that if they repented God would forgive them. The Pharisees, hating grace, repentance, and forgiveness, and even more those who believed in them, decided to kill him (so Jeremias 1963:124; 1969:267; 1971:108–21; Perrin 1967:102–3; Schweizer 1971:28–29). This school even proposed that the Pharisees thought that ordinary people were "sinners" in the extreme sense of "without hope in God's sight" (Jeremias 1969:259; 1971:112, 118; *TDNT* 1:323, 328). When this is seen as historical fantasy in the service of theological anti-Semitism (e.g., Sanders 1985:200–4; cf. 1987:230–31), one is left with a question: what was the offense? Another way of asking the question is to focus on the material which is only in Luke. If Jesus' call of sinners meant that toll collectors repaid those whom they had cheated, who would have been aggrieved? One suspects that Luke's portrayal is too bland and that more was at stake. It is certain that Jesus favored honesty, especially in toll collectors, and that he would have liked for habitual

sinners to change their lives. In that sense, Luke's stories are true to Jesus. They do not, however, answer the historical question: Who objected to Jesus' association with sinners and for what reason?

The prevalence of the fantasy mentioned above has left few possible answers from which to choose. The most probable is that Jesus' offense was that he said, or was understood to say, that even heinous sinners who followed him were acceptable to God, and that he did not require of them the standard acts of atonement which are provided for in the law (Sanders 1985:204–8). It is to be noted that in no instance is Jesus said to recommend confession to a priest and sacrifice. In this case the offense was his self-assertion rather than his belief in grace; more precisely, his connection of God's grace with response to himself (as in the story of the woman who was a sinner, Luke 7:36–50).

A striking use of "sinner" to mean one who habitually and willfully flouts God's law is seen in John 9, where Jesus is said to have been considered a "sinner" by some, since he did not keep the sabbath (John 9:16; cf. vv 24–25, 31). It is not to be accepted, however, that Jesus actually disregarded the sabbath. The stories in the Synoptic Gospels (e.g. Mark 2:23–28; 3:1–5) prove rather the contrary, and John here as elsewhere pushes to an extreme a theme which is also found in the Synoptics. It is unlikely that during his lifetime Jesus was viewed as a "sinner" himself; he was criticized for including them, not for being one of them.

**2. Sinners in the View of the Early Church.** Christians viewed all who did not accept their message as sinners, totally cut off from God. The use of "sinners" to mean non-Christians or pre-Christians is seen in Rom 5:8 ("while we were yet sinners Christ died for us"; cf. 1 Tim 1:15). That the fate of sinners is eternal death unless they convert is stated in James 5:20, where it is also implied that a "sinner" has committed a "multitude of sins." Those who had a role in Jesus' execution are described as sinners in Matt 26:45 = Mark 14:41 = Luke 24:7; Heb 12:3. We saw above that those who do not believe in Jesus are considered sinners in John 8:21–24; 16:8–9.

Acts does not have the noun "sinner," but repentance of sin and forgiveness are connected with baptism into the Christian faith. This is needed by all, both Jew and pagan, and thus these terms refer to conversion: Acts 2:38; 3:19; 5:31; 7:60; 10:43; 13:38; 22:16; 26:18. The first and last passages may be taken as representative. In Acts 2:38, Peter calls on the Jews to repent and to be baptized "in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins." In 26:17–18, the risen Lord tells Paul that he is to open the eyes of the gentiles, "that they may turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins and a place among those who are sanctified by faith in me."

In the categories thus far considered, sin is avoidable. If sin is an individual wrong action, a trespass (B), it is possible not to sin, even though all authors grant that humans, being weak, inevitably sin at some time or other. One who is a sinner in the sense of "wicked" (C) can change, as Zacchaeus is said to have done. In both these categories, atonement and change, rely on God's grace. In neither Judaism nor Christianity (at least in most forms of them) is it doubted that God loves those who sin and wishes to save sinners. The standard view in both is that atonement or conversion is always open and that God stands ready to welcome the wanderer back into the fold. A harsher view appears in Christian literature in Heb 10:26; 1 John 5:16; and in Jewish literature in *4 Ezra,* where virtual perfection is required, and in the Dead Sea Scrolls and *Jubilees,* where some sins are not forgivable (e.g., 1QS 7.16–17; *Jub.* 2.27; 15.34). Rather, the typical view is that of Pseudo-Philo, who attributed to God the attitude that "even if my people have sinned, nevertheless I will have mercy on them" (*L. A. B.* 31:2; cf. *Let. Arist.* 192; *Sib. Or.* 4.66–70; *T. Mos.* 4).

**D. Sin as an Enslaving Power**

In the letters of Paul there is a more radical view of sin: it is an active power. This is most clearly the case when the noun *hamartia,* sin, is the subject of a verb other than "to be." When *hamartia* is the subject of "to be," as in Rom 5:13, "sin was in the world," the same view may be implied; but the case is clearer in other passages. Outside the letters of Paul one sees this usage only in Heb 3:13, where it is said that Christians may be hardened "by the deceitfulness of Sin." Here Sin is the active agent.

The usage of "Sin" as power comes mostly in Romans 5–7. According to Rom 5:12, Sin "entered the world"; thereafter one reads that "Sin reigned in death" (5:21); that Sin may "reign" in one's body (6:12)

or "have dominion" over one (6:14); that Sin found opportunity in the commandment and "wrought in me all kinds of covetousness" (7:8); that it "revived" (7:9); that it found "opportunity in the commandment, deceived me and by it killed me" (7:11); and that it "worked death in me through what is good" (7:13). Sin as power may be served (6:16–18), and thus it enslaves (6:20). It can be escaped only through "death" (6:2–11). Put another way, Sin is a "law" which lurks in one's members and prevents the fulfilling of the law of God (7:17–23). The only escape is to leave "the Flesh" (8:8), that is, to die with Christ. Christians have died with Christ and thus to Sin (6:6, 11), and they have thereby escaped not only Sin but also the Law (which condemns) and the "Flesh," the state of enmity toward God (7:4–6).

In this section of Romans, Sin is treated as a power which is not only alien to God but which is almost as potent; in fact, it often wins the struggle. This extreme conception of Sin in part explains Paul's not making much use of the idea of repentance: one does not escape bondage to an alien power by repentance. The radicalness of the problem corresponds to the radicalness of the solution, escape from the "Flesh" by sharing the death of Christ.

It is important to note that Paul does not offer an anthropological, theological, or cosmological explanation of this conception of Sin. In the Jewish view, God had created the world and declared it good. This doctrine is not easily reconcilable with the view that Sin is a power strong enough to wrest the Law from God's control or to render humans powerless to do what is good (Rom 7:11, 19). There are two principal passages which lead up to but do not account for the view that all humanity, apart from Christ, is under the power of Sin. In Romans 1–2 both gentiles and Jews are accused of gross transgression (homosexuality and "all manner of wickedness" on the part of gentiles, robbing temples and committing adultery on the part of Jews), and Paul draws the conclusion that all people, "both Jews and Greeks, are under sin" (Rom 3:9). The RSV here translates "under sin" as "under the *power* of sin," and this interpretation seems to correspond to Paul's meaning. The accusation is not only that people transgress, but that all are *under* Sin, governed by it. The charges of heinous immorality do not actually account for the conclusion, however, partly because they are exaggerated. Both the gentile and the Jewish worlds contained "saints," people whose lives were largely beyond reproach. It is unlikely that Paul's conclusion—that all are under Sin—rests on empirical observation. Further, in the midst of the catalog of charges, comes the admission that some gentiles, though without the Law, nevertheless "do by nature what the Law requires," and these will be justified by their works in the judgment (Rom 2:13–14). The conclusion in 3:9 does not correspond to what leads up to it in any respect: the charges in chaps. 1–2 overstate the case and the conclusion is contradicted by 2:13–14. What this means is that Paul's conclusion, that all are under Sin, was not derived from the line of observation and reasoning he had presented in the previous two chapters.

The same is true of the second passage which argues for the universality of sin. Adam, states Paul, sinned, and this introduced sin and its consequence, death, into the world; "and so death spread to all people because all sinned" (Rom 5:12). This is followed by the statements that "sin is not counted where there is no law" and that "death reigned from Adam to Moses, *even over* those whose sins were not like the transgression of Adam" (5:13–14). In order to make the grip of sin universal, Paul wished to make Adam instrumental. Yet he had two problems: transgressions of the Law which preceded it should not count; not everyone sinned, as did Adam, by rebelling against God's commandment. Despite these problems, he asserted the consequence: "by one man's disobedience many were made sinners" (5:19). His anthropology did not include the conception of inherited sin, and thus he had no logical way of proving universal condemnation by appeal to Adam. He simply asserted it, while himself citing points which count against it.

What we see in both cases is a conclusion which is independent of the arguments which precede it. Adam's sin does not—in Paul's own statement of it—prove that all humanity is sinful and stands condemned. The heinous sins of some Greeks and Jews do not—even in Paul's own presentation of them—lead to the view that all humans are under Sin. This means that he held the conclusion as a fixed view and tried to bring forward arguments in favor of it, though without logical success. The conclusion, in other words, is not only independent of but is also more important than the arguments. (Some scholars

still think that one must understand the human predicament in Paul's view before it is possible to understand his soteriology: e.g., Kümmel 1973:173; others note the relative incoherence of the explanations of universal sin: e.g. Conzelmann 1969:195–98.)

If the considerations put forward in Romans 1–2 and 5 do not explain the origin of Paul's conception of Sin, we can say where it came from? There are two principal possibilities. One is that Paul did not come to Christianity with a preformed conception of humanity's sinful plight, but rather deduced the plight from the solution. Once he accepted it as revelation that God intended to save the entire world by faith in his Son, he naturally had to think that the entire world needed saving, and thus that it was wholly bound over to Sin. His soteriology is more consistent and straightforward than his conceptions of the human plight, and thus may show that in describing sin he had to go in search of arguments which led up to a preformed conclusion. This explanation gives a good account of why Romans 1–2 and 5 are weak as reasoned arguments but lead to a definite conclusion. The conclusion that all need to be saved through Christ, to repeat, came by revelation, and so could not be questioned; the arguments in favor of universal bondage to sin are then seen as efforts at rationalization. (For the argument that Paul's thought ran "backward," from solution to plight, see Sanders 1977:442–47; 474–75.)

The second possible explanation is that Paul had imbibed aspects of a dualistic world view, according to which the created order is at least partly under the control of the god of darkness. Iranian (Zoroastrian) dualism had penetrated the Mediterranean, and it can be seen in the Dead Sea Scrolls, for example, when they distinguish between the angel of darkness and the angel of light, the children of darkness and the children of light (e.g., 1QS 3.17–4.1). There are echoes of this terminology in Paul: Satan (standing in for the angel of darkness) could disguise himself as the "angel of light" (2 Cor 11:14). "This age" is governed by another "god" (2 Cor 4:4) or by other "rulers" (1 Cor 2:6). It is probable that Paul was influenced by dualism, especially since he considered the entire created order to be in need of redemption (Rom 8:19–23), though it could not have been guilty of sin. Paul, it must be emphasized, was not a dualist. He proposed that God himself had subjected the creation to "futility," and that he had done so "in hope," planning its redemption. Formally, there is no admission in Romans 8 of a second power, much less a second god. Yet Paul did believe in evil spiritual forces, "so-called gods" (1 Cor 8:5); "beings that by nature are no gods," as the RSV nicely translates a difficult phrase (Gal 4:8); "demons" (1 Cor 10:20); the "god" or "rulers" of "this age" (above). These non-gods could enslave (Gal 4:8), as could Sin (Rom 6:6).

When we add these references to evil spiritual beings to Paul's conception of Sin as a power, and further note that even the nonhuman creation needs redemption, it must be concluded that Paul was influenced by some form of dualism. By piecing together references to hostile demons, or gods, and Sin, one could even create a dualistic theology. Satan's deception of Eve (2 Cor 11:3) could be combined with Sin's deception of humanity in Rom 7:11 (taking the "I" in Romans 7 to represent humanity in general), and further with the fall of Adam (Rom 5:12–13), to draw a picture of a fully personified second power, which could also be seen in the reference to "the god of this age" (2 Cor 4:4). This second power then might be viewed as the referent of "Sin" throughout Romans 6–7. This, however, would be a false construction. Paul twice employed the word "deceive" from Gen 3:13 (*exēpatēsen* in Rom 7:11 and 2 Cor 11:3; *ēpatēsen* in Gen 3:13), he inherited Satan from biblical and Jewish tradition, and he accepted the existence of "beings that by nature are no gods"; but he did not put all these together to form a dualistic theology. We shall shortly see the dominance of monotheism in his thought about sin.

It is difficult to say, in fact, just how realistically Paul conceived of Sin as a power. Röhser (1987) argues that "superhuman being" is too strong, "only a metaphor" too weak, and he proposes "a certain form of hypostatizing," for which the term "personification" may be used. In this case, Sin in Romans 6–7 is approximately what Wisdom is in Sirach 24: personal attributes are assigned to a reality whose presence in the world can be perceived, but the step of making the reality a Being is not taken.

If there is some truth in the suggestion that Paul was influenced by dualistic thought, there is more in the view that his discussions of sin are the reflex of his soteriology. The force of the latter is most fully seen if we pursue the question posed by our consideration of dualism: Did Paul think that there was an enemy power which enslaved the universe, human and nonhuman alike? In part, we have seen, he did. But this

ran into competition with one of his basic theological views, a doctrine embraced in all the surviving Jewish literature of the period: God controls what happens, both in nature and in history. This view, applied to the issue of sin, means that *God intended human disobedience.* That is just what Paul thought, as he thought that it was God who subjected the creation to futility. (On *praedestinatio ad malum* see Räisänen 1972.) In Paul's view, God intended universal sin so that he could subsequently save everyone by grace. For this very reason he gave the law: "Scripture consigned all things to sin, *in order that (hina)* what was promised to faith in Jesus Christ might be given to those who believe" (Gal 3:22). "God consigned all people to disobedience, *in order that (hina)* he could have mercy upon all" (Rom 11:32). God "endured with much patience the vessels of wrath made for destruction [by him], *in order that (hina)* he could make known the riches of his glory for the vessels of mercy …" (Rom 9:22–23).

In these passages and others, which at first seem impious—charging God with creating transgression—we see the combination of Paul's twin convictions: the one God is the God of Hebrew Scripture, the one who created the world, who called Abraham and who gave the Law; and the same God always intended to save the world by faith in Christ. Thinking backward from the second point, he had to conclude that Creation, Election, and the Law did not save. In his black-and-white world, if they did not save, they did not even help; election and the Law were not stepping-stones to salvation in Christ. Yet God gave the Law. What is its result? Not salvation, therefore damnation. This meant that God intended the result, he "consigned all to disobedience." One might say that humanity was consigned to iniquity as the result of prior sin, which stirred God to wrath (Rom 1:18, 24). But in Romans 1 this is used only to account for gentile corruption, and it is the result of idolatry. The giving of the Law cannot be attributed to God's wrath in the same way. Paul's monotheism, which included the view that God controlled *everything* that happened, was braver than that. God intended all of human sinfulness, just as he intended the subjection of the nonhuman world to "futility" and "travail" (Rom 8:20, 22), but throughout the intended good (8:28):the salvation of the entire cosmos.

No form of ancient Judaism directly known to us (that is, possibly excluding Sadduceeism) considered "predestination" and "freewill" to be incompatible. In Qumran the members of the community were called both "the elect" and "the volunteers"; they were gravely warned not to disobey, but wickedness was also attributed to the "angel" who governed their "lot." Paul puts the two side-by-side as well. Most Jews, he wrote, did not accept Jesus because God "hardened" them; on the other hand, they did not "heed" (Rom 10:7, 16). When predestination and freewill are applied to sin, the result is both that God intended it and that humans are guilty of it. No ancient Jew, including Paul, worked out a consistent explanation of how human decision to sin relates to God's determination of all that happens. Paul at least dealt seriously with the problem, as Romans 9 shows. Dualism provides an alternative: there are two powers which have different intentions, and humans are pulled first one way then the other. In Paul (as in 1QS) we get all three. Sin is avoidable transgression, and it is therefore punishable; Sin is a power external to humanity which enslaves the entire creation; sin was intended by God in order to lead up negatively to salvation through his grace in Christ.

These conflicting views naturally lead to the search for some means of harmonizing them, and, failing that, for some way of defining the "heart" or "center" of Paul's thought, not just about sin, but about God, Christ, and the world, for these are all bound up together. Recent discussions include, in chronological order, Sanders 1977:434–42; Hickling 1980; Beker 1980; Räisänen 1983; Sanders 1983:4–10; Räisänen 1987:xi–xxxi. We cannot hope to solve the question of the center of Paul's thought here, but in the discussion of sin it should be noted that, despite his bravery, Paul was uncomfortable in holding that God gave the Law in order to condemn (Gal 3:22; cf. Rom 3:20; 4:15; 5:20), and that this view was temporarily retracted in Romans 7 (especially v 10), only to reappear (though without the word "Law") in Rom 11:32 (on the movement toward Romans 7 and the retraction of the previously stated view there, see Sanders 1983:70–81). It was in trying to avoid laying the intention to condemn at God's door that Paul shifted to a modified dualism. Sin is an external power which can manipulate the Law (7:8), or it is a power within the flesh (7:18, 23)—in defiance of the goodness of creation. The presence of dualistic influence in Romans 6–7 cannot be denied, and it is confirmed by the passages about inimical non-gods.

Yet in the discussion of sin there is a more powerful theology at work, one which is seen throughout his thought: God created the world and controls history; he will save the world through Christ; everything else, even sin itself, follows from his will but is subjected to it and used for his purpose.

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E. P. SANDERS

## SIN, WILDERNESS OF (PLACE) [Heb *midbar sîn* (מִדְבַּר סִין)]. A desert area located between

Elim and Mount Sinai which the Israelites traversed in the Exodus (Exod 16:1; 17:1; Num 33:11, 12). It is one of the seven wildernesses (Shur, Etham, Sin, Sinai, Paran, Zin, Kadesh) crossed by Moses and the children of Israel. Here the children of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron: "Would that we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the fleshpots and ate bread to the full" (Exod 16:3). The Lord responded by sending manna and quail (Exod 16:4–21). From the Red Sea the Israelites went to Elim then to the Wilderness of Sin (16:1), Rephidim (Exod 17:1), and finally arrived at the Wilderness of Sinai (Exod 19:1). According to Numbers the order is Elim-Red Sea-Wilderness of Sin-Dophkah-Alush-Rephidim-Wilderness of Sinai (Num 33:10–15).

The Wilderness of Sin is not to be confused with the Wilderness of Zin. While there is no distinction made in the LXX or the Vg between Heb *sîn* and *ṣin,* both of which are rendered "Sin," modern English translations uniformly render the distinction as Sin and Zin. The similarities of the words Sin (Heb *sîn*) and Sinai (Heb *sînay*) may suggest that Sinai is derived from Sin or that they are otherwise related.

The precise geographical location of the Wilderness of Sin, between the Red Sea and Mount Sinai, depends on where the other related stopping places and Mount Sinai are to be located. The location of all of these places is uncertain. Those who hold the view of the S location of Mount Sinai—either at Jebel Musa or in the vicinity—have identified likely locations for Elim at Wadi Gharandel, Dophkah at Serabit el-Khadem, Rephidim at Wadi Rafayid or the oasis at Feiran. This scenario would locate the Wilderness of Sin as a sandy plain, Debbet er-Ramleh, below Jebel Tih, or the plain of el-Markha—both on the SW fringe of the Sinai plateau (*GP* 2:210–13; *GTTOT,* 252–53). Those who propose a N Exodus route would locate the Wilderness of Sin in the vicinity of various mountains argued to be Sinai in central Sinai, N Sinai, the Negeb, or the land of Midian. For a review of these views see Beit-Arieh 1988. See also DOPHKAH; ELIM; REPHIDIM; SINAI, MOUNT.

It is unlikely that the Wilderness of Sin is to be associated with Sin, also Heb *śin* (RSV Pelusium; LXX Syene), in Ezek 30:15–16, which probably derives from an Egyptian word *sìn* and refers to an Egyptian stronghold in the NE corner of the Nile delta. See PELUSIUM.

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**SINAI, MOUNT** (PLACE) [Heb *sînay* (סִינַי)]. The hill or mountain *(har)* in the wilderness of Sinai at which Israel entered into a covenant with Yahweh after the release from Egyptian bondage, and where Moses received laws and instruction for the people before continuing on the wilderness journey.

**A. In the Bible**

**1. Names.** Mount Sinai is mentioned fifteen times in the books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers as the place where Yahweh met with Israel and revealed his law, and in three poetic passages it is more generally the place where Yahweh "dwells" or from which he comes (Deut 33:2; Judg 5:5; Ps 68:9—Eng v 8, note also v 18—Eng v 17). In Num 10:33 Sinai is called "the mountain of Yahweh" (elsewhere this name refers to Mount Zion in Jerusalem). In Deuteronomy 1–28 and some passages in Exodus (3:1; 17:6; 33:6) and elsewhere (1 Kgs 8:9; 19:8; 2 Chr 5:10; Ps 106:9; Mal 3:22) the name Horeb is used, apparently for the same place. Traditional source-criticism of the Pentateuch has regarded "Sinai" as the name used in the Yahwist (J) and Priestly (P) documents, while "Horeb" was found in the Elohist (E) and Deuteronomic (D) sources. This did not of course account for the poetic and other non-Pentateuchal occurrences. More recently it has been suggested that all occurrences of the name "Horeb" are Deuteronomic-Deuteronomistic or later (Noth *Exodus* OTL; Perlitt 1977). A few passages refer to "the mountain of God (or gods?)" (Exod 3:1, with "Horeb"; 4:27; 18:5; 24:13), which the present text of Exodus equates with Sinai/Horeb: a few scholars have held that a different mountain may originally have been meant (see Davies 1979b: 68–69 [bibl.]).

**2. Traditions.** The Sinai-complex occupies some sixty chapters in Exodus-Numbers (Exodus 18–40; Leviticus; Numbers 1–10), in addition to several passages in Deuteronomy (esp. 1:6–18; 4:9–14; 5:2–31; 9:8–10:11). The great majority of the chapters in Exodus-Numbers derives from the Priestly narrative and supplementary material of a similar character. After the arrival in the wilderness of Sinai (Exod 19:1), Moses ascends Mount Sinai, where the glory *(kābôd)* of Yahweh has settled (Exod 24:15–18), and remains there for forty days, during which he is given detailed instructions, chiefly about the construction of the tabernacle (or tent of meeting) and about the ordination of Aaron and his sons as priests (Exod 25:31). On his return to the people (Exod 34:29–35) arrangements are made for the building of the tabernacle and its furnishings, and when it is complete the glory of Yahweh takes up residence within it (Exodus 35–40). The consecration of Aaron and his sons follows (Leviticus 8–10), between the revelation of laws about sacrifice (Leviticus 1–7) and the clean and the unclean (Leviticus 11–15) and the ritual for the Day of Atonement (*yôm hakkippurîm;* Leviticus 16). After this follows the varied collection of laws normally referred to as the Holiness (H) Code (Leviticus 17–26), additional laws about vows and redemption (chap. 27), arrangements for the first census of the Israelites, the layout of the camp and the duties of the Levites, and further laws (Numbers 1–6). Then the sacrificial altar is dedicated (chap. 7), the Levites are ordained to their office (chap. 8), the feast of the Passover is celebrated (9:1–14), and details of the procedure for continuing on the wilderness journey are given (9:15–10:28). Dates appear at various stages of the Priestly Sinai narrative, including arrival (Exod 19:1) and departure (Num 10:11–12); these imply that nearly a year was spent there, most of it apparently being occupied with the construction of the tabernacle and its furnishings (cf. Exod 40:17).

In Deuteronomy (the passages are assigned by some to the Dtr Historian(s) rather than the original lawbook; e.g., Mayes *Deuteronomy* NCBC, 41–47) the main Horeb narrative is incorporated in chaps. 5, 9, and 10 as part of the hortatory introduction to the laws. According to this, a covenant with lasting validity was made at Horeb on the basis of the Decalogue, which was inscribed on two stone tablets (5:2–22), and at the same time Yahweh delivered to Moses other laws (now contained in Deuteronomy) for transmission to the people (5:23–6:1). Following the apostasy of the golden calf, however, the tablets were broken, and only Moses' intercession saved the people and Aaron from destruction (9:8–29). Yahweh inscribed two new stone tablets, for which the ark was constructed as a container, and the Levites

were appointed to carry it and act as priests (10:1–9). After this Yahweh sent the people from Horeb to enter the land promised to their forefathers, and Moses set up a system of judges to assist him and gave the people further instruction (10:10–11; 1:6–18).

Much of this account can be paralleled in the nonpriestly sections of Exodus, but there are also important differences there. The appointment of judges appears at the beginning, not the end, and arises out of the visit of Jethro, Moses' Midianite father-in-law (chap. 18). The Decalogue is preceded by a long description of preparatory rituals and the theophany itself (chap. 19), and is given in a different textual form (for details see Hossfeld 1982:21–162). There follows a short legal passage (20:21–26) and a longer series of laws (21:1–23:33, the so-called Book of the Covenant) which are only loosely related to those in Deuteronomy. Next come two interwoven narratives describing an act of worship in which the leaders of Israel "see God" (24:1–2, 9–11) and the making of the covenant (24:3–8). Following Moses' ascent (with Joshua; 24:13) to receive the stone tablets, there is the episode of the golden calf (chaps. 32–34), in which some sections appear which (like the narrative in Exodus 3–4) establish Moses' authority as a spokesman of Yahweh (33:7–34:9). At the end a (new?) covenant is established on the basis of laws of a chiefly cultic character (34:10–27, the so-called Cultic Decalog).

The composition of these chapters and the extent to which the similarities to Deuteronomy are due to Deuteronomistic editing are hotly disputed questions (see, e.g., Beyerlin 1965; Perlitt 1969:156–238; Childs *Exodus* OTL, 318–624; Nicholson 1986:121–78); the Decalogue at any rate appears to be a later addition to its context (Nicholson 1977:422–33; Hossfeld 1982:163–213). On the other hand, it is likely that the themes of theophany, covenant, and law already appeared in the pre-Deuteronomic written account(s) of the Israelites' stay at Sinai; Exod 24:1–11 is of particular importance in this regard, and v 7 probably presupposes the presence of either 21:1–23:33 or 34:10–27 before it. Attempts have been made to identify elements of a treaty pattern in such an early narrative (e.g., Beyerlin 1965:49–90), but a penetrating criticism of them was made by D. J. McCarthy (1978:243–76; cf. Nicholson 1986:56–82). Nevertheless it remains possible, as was first suggested by S. Mowinckel and G. von Rad, that the early Sinai-narrative(s), like the book of Deuteronomy, were shaped by the liturgy of a festival which celebrated the making of a covenant between Yahweh and Israel in ancient times (cf. Deut 31:10–13; Psalm 50).

**B. Location**

From early in the 4th century A.D. (Eusebius of Caesarea) Christian tradition has located Mount Sinai in the S massif of what is now known as the Sinai peninsula. The specific identification with Jebel Musa is clearly attested in the *Peregrinatio Egeriae* (381–384 A.D.), and already in her time a monastery existed at the foot of the mountain, which Justinian later rebuilt (Davies 1979b: 30–48). Possible evidence of this location exists in a 2d-century A.D. Jewish source (ibid., 23–26), but other early evidence is imprecise or points to a location closer to Palestine. There is, however, no foundation for the view that Paul knew a tradition which located Sinai in Saudi Arabia (see Davies 1972:152–63). In modern times at least a dozen different sites have been proposed, including mountains in the N and W of the Sinai peninsula, in S Palestine, in Transjordan, and in Saudi Arabia. Some have thought that Sinai and Horeb were the names of different mountains, either close together or far apart. Recently archaeological and textual evidence have been claimed to support the identification of Sinai with Har Karkom, between Kadesh-barnea and Eilat (Anati 1984; see Davies fc.). The reason for the uncertainty lies partly in the conflicting indications in the biblical evidence and partly in the vagueness of much of it. The association with Midian and allegedly volcanic features in the theophany descriptions have suggested an easterly or southeasterly location, but their link with Sinai appears to be secondary. Poetic passages such as Deut 33:2 and Judg 5:4–5 are probably too vague to be of great use. The wilderness itinerary (Num 33:1–49, etc.) has seemed to some to point to a mountain in Saudi Arabia, but this view is less likely than that which relates it to routes in the Sinai peninsula. See WILDERNESS WANDERINGS. The most precise indication in the Bible is Deut 1:2, "It is eleven days' journey from Horeb by way of Mount Seir to Kadesh-barnea," and this tends to favor a location in the S of the Sinai peninsula (see Davies 1979a; and, for a more general review of the arguments for the different theories, Davies 1979b: 63–69).

**C. History**

Several arguments confirm that "there was from ancient times a special relationship between Yahweh and Mount Sinai which was already in existence before the Exodus from Egypt" (Nicholson 1973:63). Even in later poetry Yahweh is still said to come to Israel's aid "from Sinai" (Deut 33:2; Ps 68:18—Eng v 17). Sometimes other areas to the S of Palestine are mentioned (Judg 5:4; Hab 3:3), but the link with Sinai is particularly close. The phrase *zeh sînay* in Judg 5:5; Ps 68:9—Eng v 8 (RSV "yon Sinai") most probably means "the lord of Sinai" (NEB, NJPS, NIV; for this interpretation of *zeh,* see *HALAT,* 253). It is there that Yahweh's name is first revealed, according to Exod 3:14–15, and the previous sacredness of the mountain is implied by Exod 3:5 and 19:12–13. In view of this it is a priori likely that the traditions in Exodus 19ff. go back ultimately to a visit or visits to the mountain by an element or elements of early Israel, most probably including Moses, and that this was the origin of the identity of this group and of later Israel as the *ʿam yhwh,* "the people of Yahweh" (Judg 5:11, 13). It is difficult to separate this event, historically and traditio-historically, from the Exodus (Nicholson 1973:53–84). Whether the term "covenant" was used already at this early stage to describe the relationship between Yahweh and Israel, and what, if any, obligations the worship of Yahweh was thought at first to imply, it is impossible to know with certainty. But the exclusiveness of later Yahwism must have been a feature of it from early times (Judg 5:8; Ps 81:9–11—Eng vv 8–10) and the ban on images and the observance of the sabbath may also be very ancient (see further *EHI,* 464–72). There is no positive evidence that Sinai was a place of pilgrimage in OT times (against Noth 1940) and from the beginning of the monarchic period at least the old desert-sanctuary of Yahweh ceased to be of any importance, apart from what seems to be an isolated narrative of a journey there by the prophet Elijah (1 Kings 19). The emphasis fell instead on sanctuaries within the land of Canaan (Exod 15:17), one of which even became known as "the mountain of Yahweh" (Isa 2:3; 30:29). But Sinai/Horeb retained its place in tradition and became the gathering point for an increasingly elaborate body of religious law and narrative which sought to define the essence of Yahwism.

**D. Theology**

The presupposition of the Sinai tradition as a whole is a God of majesty and holiness who demands from his people not only exclusive worship but a life regulated by justice. At the same time he is a God who has chosen to meet with and remain with his people; both the tent of meeting and the ark of the older tradition (Exod 33:7–11; Num 10:33–36) and the priestly tabernacle symbolize this commitment. It is a place where Yahweh allows himself (Exod 24:11; 33:18–23) or at least his "glory" (Exod 24:17) to be "seen" and reveals his own nature or "name" (Exod 34:5–7); it is also where he reveals his will in a succession of legal collections. It is also the place where the regular worship of Yahweh is inaugurated and regulated, and where a pattern of leadership, priestly and lay, is established. But it is above all the place of the making of a covenant between Yahweh and his people, though here as much as anywhere the divergent theologies embedded in the tradition need to be recognized. In Exodus 18–24 (and probably in 34:10–27 as originally composed) Yahweh establishes a covenant on the basis of a body of law (24:8), but while disobedience will be punished (22:24; 23:21, 33; cf. 34:7b), there is no hint that Yahweh will finally cast off his people. In Deuteronomy on the other hand, the observance of the covenant is expounded as a matter of "life and death, blessing and curse" (30:19), and the possibility of expulsion from the promised land and utter desolation is seriously reckoned with (28:15–68). Only in exilic additions is the covenant seen as the basis for the restoration of a penitent people (4:31; cf. 30:1–10), a theology which is also found in the conclusion of the Holiness Code (Lev 26:40–45). Finally, in Exodus 32–34 the redaction of older tradition has been shaped by a theology of a new covenant established through the mediatory intercession of Moses, a theology that is present in its essentials also in Deut 9:18–10:11 (Childs *Exodus* OTL, 557–58, 607–8; Moberly 1983).

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G. I. DAVIES

**SINAITICUS, CODEX.** See CODEX (SINAITICUS).

**SINAITICUS, SYRUS.** "Syrus Sinaiticus" denotes Codex Syriacus 30, a palimpsest, in St. Catherine's Monastery, which is at the foot of Jebel Musa (Mount of Moses, the traditional site for the revelation of the Ten Commandments) in the Sinai. The under writing preserves a late 4th- or early 5th-century Syr script and represents the oldest and best copy of the Old Syriac Gospels. The upper writing is a copy of the *Lives of the Female Saints* and was written in 778 C.E.

Sometime between 1889 and 1892, J. Rendell Harris told Agnes Smith Lewis that in 1889 he had seen some unexamined and old Syr manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery. She resolved to travel to the monastery with her twin sister, Margaret Dunlop Gibson. The two of them arrived at St. Catherine's in 1892, found this famous manuscript with the help of the librarian, Father Galakteon, and photographed it. Gibson quotes her sister's words that the leaves "were mostly all glued together, and the least force used to separate them made them crumble. Some half-dozen of them we held over the steam of the kettle" (1893:52–53). It was not until later in Cambridge that the text of the Gospels was correctly identified by Bensly as a copy of the Old Syriac Gospels similar to Codex Curetonianus in the British Museum (which was also found in Egypt, but in St. Mary Deipara in the Nitrian Desert).

Codex Syriacus 30 contains an upper and a lower writing. The upper is a clear black script of the *Lives of the Female Saints* (edited by Lewis in 1900). The obscured reddish brown lower script, the treasure in this codex, contains in Syriac the four canonical gospels, the *Acts of Thomas,* the *Transitus Mariae,* and in Greek portions of a gospel, a homily, and unidentified passages.

The critical edition of the Old Syriac Gospels is A. S. Lewis' *The Old Syriac Gospels, or Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* (1910), which contains the insights she obtained from numerous trips to the monastery. Her own photographs were never published. They were rediscovered in 1988 by the principal and librarian of Westminster College, Cambridge, and by J. H. Charlesworth. Copies are now preserved in Speer Library, Princeton Theological Seminary, and in Westminster College. Charlesworth, Bruce Zuckerman, and Ken Zuckerman have rephotographed the manuscript, thanks to the permission and assistance of the Holy Council of St. Catherine's Monastery, and especially the revered Archbishop Damianos. A new critical edition is being prepared by these scholars.

There are major variants in the gospel text of Codex Sinaiticus; note the following from Matthew: "Joseph—to whom Mary the Virgin was engaged—fathered Jesus, who is called the Christ" (Matt 1:16); "We have seen his star from the east" (Matt 2:2); and "Jesus Bar Abba" (not Barabbas) (Matt 27:16).

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JAMES H. CHARLESWORTH

**SINITES** [Heb *sînî* (סִינִי)]. According to the Table of Nations (Gen 10:17) and the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 1:15, the Sinites were the next generation after Canaan, son of Ham, Noah's son. They are one of eleven members of that generation. Descendants of some of these siblings are located on the Mediterranean coast (Sidon), Asia Minor (Hittites), or inland in Israel (Jebusites) and N Syria (Amorites, Hamathites). The Genesis reference seems to indicate this geographical dispersion as a later development, since the original Canaanite territory is said to stretch from Sidon in the N to Gaza in the S, and from the Mediterranean in the W toward the Dead Sea in the E (Gen 10:18–19). From the biblical understanding, the Sinites must have originated in this area.

A location close to this Canaanite locale is provided in Ugaritic and Neo-Assyrian texts. They speak of *syn* (Ugaritic; *VT* 3:449) or Sianum (Neo-Assyrian; Parpola 1970:308) on the coast S of Ugarit. This would be within the area of other names in the genealogies.

The only other biblical reference places the Sinites at some considerable remove from Canaan, if in fact the same group is intended. Isa 49:8–26 describes the joyful return of exiles from afar whom Yahweh restores to the land. They will come, some from the N, some from the W, and still others "from the land of the Sinites" (49:12; RSV "Syene"). This seems to indicate a far distant land either to the S or to the E. Both directions have received support.

A S location is favored by the reading of 1QIsa 49:12 where it is called "the land of the Syenites *(swnyym).*" This is apparently identical to Syene mentioned in Ezek 29:10 and 30:6 (cf. LXX 30:16). In these prophecies against Egypt, her power will be destroyed from one geographical extremity (Migdol, possibly a frontier fort on Egypt's N border) to the other (Syene). The latter is explicitly placed in the far S, toward the border with Cush (Ethiopia; 29:10). It probably is identical with Egyptian *swn* whose Greek form is Aswan. This is at the location of the first Nile cataract and thus the upper limit of river navigation (Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.3; Kraeling 1952:50). It is on the Nile bank opposite Elephantine, an outpost of the Jews during the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. The prophecy against Egypt could be envisioning the repetition of an earlier conquest by Ashurbanipal. In the mid-7th century he had reached Thebes and possibly as far south as Aswan (Kitchen 1973:392, n. 875).

An easterly direction for the location of the Sinites is suggested by the LXX of Isa 49:12 which instead of "Sinites" reads "the land of the Persians." Some have looked even further E to China, based on later Hebrew, Latin, and Greek identifications of that area as Sin (see the English form "Sino"). This proposal does not commend itself since Jewish settlement in that area occurs only later.

From the available evidence, there appears to have been two distinct locales with similar names. One of these was in N Canaan and was associated with the Genesis and Chronicles genealogies. The other was most likely in S Egypt, with a previously different form of the name which became corrupt in the MT, but was preserved by the Dead Sea Isaiah scroll.

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DAVID W. BAKER

**SINUHE, TALE OF.** The Tale of Sinuhe is considered the finest piece of literature to survive from pharaonic Egypt. The events and characters depicted date to the first two reigns of Dynasty 12 (Amenemhet I and Senusert I), i.e., to the 20th century B.C.; and two of the papyri preserving copies of most of the text date back to within perhaps a century of this time (certainly to the Middle Kingdom). The Tale (*ANET,* 18–22) is a posthumous autobiographical narration by one Sinuhe, a highly placed official in the court of Amenemhat I, who was attached to Neferu, Amenemhat's daughter and wife of Senusert. During an expedition Sinuhe somehow overhears a treasonous conversation following news of the old

king's death. He flees to Syria-Palestine (the land of Retjenu), where he lives in voluntary exile for most of his life, divorced from his Egyptian roots, and slowly coming to terms with his apparent cowardice and defection. He recovers his dignity and self-esteem by proving both his courage and his loyalty to the royal house. In old age he is urged by Senusert, now king, to return to Egypt. He does so and is given a warm and genuine welcome by the royal family he had served, returned to his place in the inner circle of advisers, given all the appurtenances of advanced status, and held in the highest esteem until his death.

The Tale reflects the texture of Egyptian court circles ca. 2000–1900 B.C. and also gives a glimpse of conditions in the area which would some centuries later become the Holy Land. The now anonymous author's handling of the narrative elements of the Tale—characterization, plot, setting and atmosphere, etc.—is so skillfully accomplished that the piece (usually translated as prose but quite probably written in verse) is one of the high points of pre-Homeric literature. For further discussion, see *LÄ* 5:950–55.

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JOHN L. FOSTER

**SIPHMOTH** (PLACE) [Heb *śipmôt* (שִׂפְמוֹת)]. A town in S Judah (1 Sam 30:28), included among the Judahite towns to which DAVID sent a portion of the booty he and his men had recovered from a band of marauding Amalekites (1 Sam 30:16–20). This gesture was surely part of a calculated strategy to consolidate support behind David in his conflict with Saul, as well as a reward for aid given to David and his men in previous years. Siphmoth may also have been the hometown of Zabdi the Shiphmite, an official of King David's court in charge of the royal wine cellars (1 Chr 27:27). The precise location of ancient Siphmoth remains unidentified.

WADE R. KOTTER

**SIPPAI** (PERSON) [Heb *sīppay* (סִפַּי)]. See SAPH (PERSON).

**ṢIPPOR, TEL** (M.R. 125118). A site situated in the heart of the Philistine plain, about 3 km NW of Kiryat Gat. The small mound (ca. half a dunam) rises to a height of about 5 m above a surrounding terrace. Excavations on the mound in 1963–65 indicate a well-defined sequence of occupation. The top three strata yielded remains dating to the early Iron Age (strata I–II) and the end of the LB Age (stratum III), while stratum III contained a number of LB levels with pottery typical of the 14th–13th centuries B.C. Below these LB levels was found a thin level containing MB I pottery (Biran and Negbi 1966; Biran 1978).

The Canaanite material of stratum III (including a bronze figurine and a stone statuette) was sealed by a well-made plaster floor belonging to stratum II. This last Canaanite settlement (stratum III) seems to have escaped destruction, perhaps due to its small size. It was followed by a Philistine settlement (stratum II) which, judging from the abundance and quality of its pottery, was a fairly prosperous community during the mid-12th to mid-11th century B.C. The transition from stratum II to stratum I appears to indicate cultural continuity, although it cannot be determined at present whether the stratum I occupants were Philistines or Israelites. The site was abandoned toward the end of the 11th or at the beginning of the 10th century B.C.

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AVRAHAM BIRAN

**SIRACH, BOOK OF JESUS BEN-.** See WISDOM OF BEN-SIRA.

**SIRAH, CISTERN OF** (PLACE) [Heb *bôr hasirâ* (בּוֹר הַסִּרָה)]. A well N of Hebron where Joab's messengers found Abner, intending to bring him back to Hebron to murder him (2 Sam 3:26). The

site is usually identified with the modern *Siret el-Bellā* N of Hebron (M.R. 159108). Josephus (*Ant* 7.1.5) locates it about 20 stadia N of Hebron.
TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**SIRION** (PLACE) [Heb *śiryôn* (שִׂרְיוֹן)]. A name used by the Sidonians to refer to Mt. Hermon (Deut 3:9). Hermon, well known from biblical sources (M.R. 220300), is part of the Anti-Lebanon range. In a poetic description of the majestic power of God, Sirion is paralleled with Lebanon (Ps 29:6), and placed in geographical contrast with the wilderness of Kadesh (v 8). These support a N locale.

Two additional instances to Sirion are proposed on the basis of textual emendation. Jeremiah (18:14) seeks to contrast the incredible—Israel forsaking her God—with the impossible—the disappearance of the snow of Lebanon from "the crags of Sirion" (cf. RSV, BHS margin). The MT "my fields" is enigmatic in the context and relatively minor textual alterations (the loss of one letter and a minor change in the form of another) yield the clearer meaning. Snow on the Lebanon ("white") range could have led to its name, and Hermon, as one of its higher peaks, has its share of snow.

The Transjordanian territory taken by Israel from Og and the Amorites is said to stretch from Aroer in the S to "Mt. Sion, that is Hermon" in the N (Deut 4:48). Syriac (cf. RSV) reads this as "Sirion," and would involve a reordering of letters and the interchange of two letters which have somewhat similar forms in the early Hebrew script (Craigie *Deuteronomy* NICOT, 197).

An Ugaritic text (*KTU* 1.4.iv.18–21; *ANET*, 134) mentions *shryn* in parallel with Lebanon as a source of the cedar for building Baal's palace. Cedar is also produced in *sirara* according to the annals of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.; Luckenbill 1924:106.25; 107.51). This mountain, associated with Mt. Amanus, is also snow-covered (ibid. 106.25; 119.23; see Parpola 1970:312). An Egyptian text from the 19th century B.C. mentions a location *sryn* in proximity with other sites in the N (Aharoni and Avi-Yonah *MBA*, 27, map 23; Posener 1971:555), apparently another reference to Sirion.

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DAVID W. BAKER

**SIROCCO.** See PALESTINE, CLIMATE OF.

**SISERA** (PERSON) [Heb *sîsĕrā*ʾ (סִיסְרָא)]. **1.** Chief antagonist of Israel during the famous battle in the Valley of Jezreel wherein Israel, led by Deborah and Barak, decisively defeated the Canaanite forces near the brook Kishon. This battle is recounted twice, once in the prose narrative of Judges 4, and once in the poetic treatment of Judges 5. Sisera's precise status as leader of the Canaanites is a matter of debate, since the prose account (Judg 4:2) lists him as the commander of the army of Jabin, king of Hazor, while the poetic account (Judg 5:20) simply presumes he is the leader of the coalition of Canaanite kings (5:19), making no mention of Jabin. Joshua 11 lists Jabin, king of Hazor, as the leader of a coalition of kings who fought against Israel during Joshua's time, but nothing is said there about Sisera being Jabin's general (Gottwald 1979:135–36, 153, 528–29). 1 Sam 12:9 describes Sisera as the "commander of the army of Jabin king of Hazor" (LXX), but the words "Jabin king of" are lacking in the MT. Ps 83:10—Eng 83:9, in alluding to the destruction of the Canaanites "at the river Kishon," mentions Sisera and Jabin together.

Scholars have commonly assumed that Jabin king of Hazor fought in a conflict between Israel and the Canaanites that occurred early in the conquest/settlement period (Joshua 11), and that editors of Israel's premonarchic traditions subsequently (and incorrectly) associated Jabin with the later battle pitting Sisera against Deborah and Barak (Judg 4:2). Aharoni (*LBHG*, 203–6) also discusses two separate battles, but places events at the waters of Merom (Joshua 11) *after* the battle involving Sisera, Deborah, and Barak. Whether or not Sisera was associated with Jabin king of Hazor, it is quite clear that he is the active leader of the Canaanite forces in Judges 4–5.

The precise location of Sisera's home Harosheth-ha-goiim ("Harosheth of the gentiles," Judg 4:2) is unknown, as is also its significance within the Canaanite coalition. Particular sites have been proposed, such as Tell Amr (M.R. 159237) or Tell el-Harbaj (M.R. 158240), but such identifications have thus far proven inconclusive. Harosheth-ha-goiim is not mentioned in the OT outside Judges 4–5 or in other ancient literature, and may simply refer to the forested regions of Galilee (Mazar 1952–53:81–84). Intriguingly, Judges 5, unlike Judges 4, does not link Sisera's activity directly with Hazor, which at this time was a powerful city in N Palestine, nor does it mention Harosheth-ha-goiim. Sisera's name may indicate he belonged to the Sea Peoples who had come to Palestine as part of the broader movement of peoples in the E Mediterranean world around 1200 B.C.E. (*NHI*, 35–38, 150).

Going into the battle Sisera's troops enjoyed a considerable strategic advantage, since the tactical maneuverability of their 900 chariots on the flat terrain of the valley near Taanach and Megiddo (Judg 5:19) would normally have enabled them to rout Israel's foot soldiers. In fact, Israel had repeatedly found itself incapable of defeating the Canaanite chariots in the plains areas (Judg 1:19, 27–36). This time, however, the outcome was dramatically different, and Sisera was forced to flee on foot from the battlefield. While Judges 5 implies that a torrential rain confounded the Canaanites' efforts, Judges 4 mentions no such deluge, stating only that "the Lord routed Sisera and all his chariots" (v 15).

In both the prose account of the Canaanites' defeat and in the poetic account, surprisingly little attention is paid to the battle itself. In Judg 4:15–16 there is only the terse mention of the Lord's routing of Sisera and his chariots, with the Canaanite army falling to the last man before the pursuing Barak. Sisera flees on foot to the tent of Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite. In Judg 5:19–22 the defeat of the Canaanites is presented indirectly; "They took no spoils of silver." There is no detailed description of the battle. Instead, we see the stars fighting against Sisera, the torrent Kishon sweeping away the Canaanites, and the horses' hoofs beating loudly in retreat. The joy and satisfaction regarding Israel's victory is conveyed not so much through these brief treatments of the battle as through the carefully crafted scenes in which Sisera dies ingloriously, victim to the plotting of Jael.

In the prose narrative (Judg 4:17–22), Jael lures Sisera into her tent, covers him with a cloth, gives him milk to drink, and lets him think she will hide him. Sisera's words in v 20 are ironic, for while he tells Jael to conceal him from the men outside the tent, his real enemy is within the tent. After he has fallen asleep, Jael sneaks up on him and uses a hammer to drive a tent peg through his temple. She then calls Barak into her tent and shows him the victim she has snared. Jael's triumphant presentation to Barak of the dead Sisera with the tent peg driven through his temple leads directly into the joyful statement in vv 23–24 about God's having subdued Jabin king of Canaan.

Sisera's demise is presented even more dramatically in the Song of Deborah (Judg 5:24–27). The scene opens with a threefold repetition of the fact that Jael is a woman (Boling *Judges* AB, 114), thereby emphasizing how humiliating it is for Sisera the proud warrior to meet his death by her hand. When Sisera asks Jael for water, as in 4:19, she gives him milk, but here there is an added twist. Torrential, raging water had caused the downfall of Sisera's army (5:21), but now the fleeing Sisera is forced to beg water of Jael to soothe his parched throat. First he has too much water, then too little, and his thirst leads to his demise. As Sisera drinks, Jael uses her implements to bash his head. The writer of Judges 5 has Sisera standing at the onset of Jael's attack, not lying on the ground as in Judges 4, in order that the fall of Sisera, which embodies within it the fall of the Canaanites before Israel, may be emphasized. It is at this moment (vv 26–27) that the Israelites' joy over the defeat of the Canaanites is most powerfully expressed. The words prolong, and in effect place in slow motion, the fall of Sisera to the ground. "And she hammered Sisera;/She crushed his head;/And she shattered and she pierced his temple./Between her feet he sank, he fell, he lay still;/Between her feet he sank, he fell;/Where he sank,/There he fell,/Dead." This extraordinary drawing out of the fall of Sisera allows the audience to savor, indeed, to gloat over, the fall of both Sisera and the Canaanites before the Israelites and their god Yahweh. This is the moment of cathartic release for all the pent up frustrations Israel would have felt over its previous inability to defeat the powerful Canaanites (Hauser 1980:34–38).

Sisera's mother, however, provides one last opportunity for rejoicing over the defeat of the Canaanites. As the final scene opens, she peers out her window, wondering why Sisera is taking so long to return home. She and her "wisest" ladies tell themselves that Sisera is preoccupied with gathering all the spoil he will bring them. This scene, which underlines the greed of the Canaanite women and their inability to imagine that Israel might have won, is very effective, since the reader still has in mind the picture of Sisera lying on the floor of Jael's tent with his skull smashed in. The reader's anticipation of the surprise and grief awaiting Sisera's mother and her "wise" ladies provides great satisfaction to the audience.

The defeat of Sisera seriously curtailed the ability of the Canaanites to dominate the Israelites in this part of Palestine. The Canaanites, however, maintained their independence from Israel until the time of King David.

**2.** "Sons of Sisera" *(bĕnê sîsĕrā᾽)* are included in the lengthy list of temple servants *(nĕtînîm)* who returned from exile in Babylon (Ezra 2:53; Neh 7:55; 1 Esdr 5:32). It has been suggested that the "temple servants" were non-Israelites taken as prisoners of war. See NETHINIM. Consequently, it is possible that these are the descendants of Sisera, the commander of the Canaanite forces, who was defeated by Deborah and Barak (see above #1), or that the name was included by the genealogist to create this impression.

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**SISINNES** (PERSON) [Gk *Sisinnēs* (Σισιννης)]. According to 1 Esdras 6, Sisinnes is the governor of Syria (6:3, 7, 27; Coelesyria in 1 Esdr 7:1) and Phoenicia under the Persian king Darius Hystapis. He is called TATTENAI (Heb *tattĕnay*), "the governor Beyond the River" in Ezra 5:3, 6; 6:6, 13. Sisinnes' initial suspicion of the efforts of the Jews to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem interrupted their work until he could confirm the prior authorization issued by Cyrus. Brockington (*Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* NCBC, 78–79) suggests that the governor's concern was roused by "the adversaries," who according to Ezra 4:4–5 attempted to hinder the progress of the Jews up to the reign of Darius. Since neither 1 Esdras nor Ezra implies that Sisinnes had any personal hostilities against the Jews, the adversaries may have been the underlying cause for the investigation (see Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 76 and Ellison 1976:21). Once the record of consent was located in Ecbatana and reported to Sisinnes, he and his associates carefully supervised and supported the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem to its completion. Sisinnes is essentially the Greek spelling of the Persian name *Thithinaia* rendered in the Aramaic script with aspirated t̲.

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CRAIG D. BOWMAN

**SISMAI** (PERSON) [Heb *sismay* (סִסְמַי)]. A leader in the tribe of Judah and a descendant of Jerahmeel through his wife Atarah (mentioned twice in 1 Chr 2:40). He is the son of Eleasah and father of Shallum in the line of descent from the marriage of Sheshan's daughter (?) Ahlai to his Egyptian slave Jarha. Sismai (AV and NEB spelling is Sisamai) was the great-grandfather of Elishama (the apparent interest of this portion of the Chronicler's genealogy). Variant spellings are found in the LXX (B and A *Sosomai,* L *Sasamei*) although many scholars consider those genealogies corrupt (especially codex

Vaticanus). However, the records of Jerahmeel in the MT are viewed by most contemporary scholars as being in good order. For further discussion of the provenance and authenticity of the genealogies in 1 Chronicles 2, see MAAZ. Sismai appears to be derived from the name of a Phoenician god (*IPN*, 252).
W. P. STEEGER

**SITHRI** (PERSON) [Heb *sitrî* (סִתְרִי)]. A son of Uzziel, who was a brother of Aaron's father Amram (Exod 6:22). Thus Sithri was also a cousin of Moses and a Levite from the clan of Kohath. The lines of Uzziel and Izhar were traced in such detail perhaps to include important men who were contemporary with Aaron and Moses (Childs, *Exodus* OTL, 117). Sithri, Nepheg, and Zichri (vv 21–22) appear only here.

"Sithri" is a shortened Israelite personal name from the premonarchic period. The form, which bears the much used hypocoristic ending *î,* probably represents an abbreviation from the compound of the verb *str,* "to hide, conceal," or a noun meaning "hiding place, refuge," and an original theophoric element (Fowler 1988:163). There is no reason to assume that the divine element would have been *yhwh* (cf. Talmudic *stry*ʾ*l*). The name is (like the related *stwr;* Num 13:13) an expression of piety and trust, a figure of speech for divine protection. Under the image of a hiding place in which one takes shelter from impending dangers, it praises the refuge which the devout person enjoys in the deity, as is also the case in Pss 32:7; 119:114 (Noth *IPN*, 158). In the Jewish colony at Elephantine, the form *stry* has been found belonging to a woman, in an Eg Aram letter to her from her brother (*CAP*, 176). An Aram ostracon from the same site mentions a certain *stryh;* from a Persian period Heb inscription comes *strh* (Vattioni 1969:361).

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EDWIN C. HOSTETTER

**SITNAH** (PLACE) [Heb *śiṭnâ* (שִׂטְנָה)]. A well dug by the servants of Isaac somewhere in the vicinity of Gerar (Gen 26:21; M.R. 112087). The biblical narrative derives Sitnah's name, which means hostility or accusation (Heb root *śāṭan*), from a dispute which arose between the shepherds of Isaac and those of Abimelech over use of the well. In this, Sitnah resembles the neighboring wells of Esek and Rehoboth (Gen 20:20, 22) whose names are also punningly connected to circumstances surrounding their construction. The precise location of Sitnah is unknown.
STEVEN WEITZMAN

**SIVAN** [Heb *sîwān* (סִיוָן)]. The third month of the Hebrew calendar, corresponding roughly to May and June. See CALENDARS (ANCIENT ISRAELITE AND EARLY JEWISH).

**SIX HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIX** [Gk *hexakosioi hexēkonta hex* (ἑξακοσιοι ἑξηκοντα ἑξ) or *chxs* (χξς)]. This number is given as the number of the beast in Rev 13:18. The number is in opposition to the mark of God (3:12; 7:3), and mention of it is the climax of the Satanic imitation which dominates Revelation 13. An important textual variant intrudes here, for the Western tradition reads 616 (C, 5 and 11 [lost], and mss according to Irenaeus). Interpretation of the number of the beast has taken two approaches.

**A. Cryptogram**

This approach assumes that either 616 or 666 is a cryptogram representing a name that the author assumes the audience will decipher ("let him who has understanding reckon the number of the beast" 3:18). It also assumes that to form the cryptogram the author used gematria or isopsephos, a technique used by both Jews and Greeks to conceal names from the uninitiated by substituting the numerical equivalent of the name. Thus in this approach the numerical value of the letters of Hebrew and Greek names are added up to find those names whose sum is 616 or 666.

Assuming that 616 is the original reading, two identifications are *Kaisar Theos,* "Caesar is God" (*k* = 20, *a* = 1, *i* = 10, *s* = 200, *a* = l, *r* = 100, *th* = 9, *e* = 5, *o* = 70, *s* = 200) and *Gaios Kaisar,* "Gaios Caesar"

or Caligula (*g* = 3, *a* = 1, *i* = 10, *o* = 70, *s* = 200, *k* = 20, *a* = 1, *i* = 10, *s* = 200, *a* = 1, *r* = 100). The problem with these identifications is, of course, that 616 is an inferior textual reading.

Assuming that 666 is the original reading, one proposal first put forth by Irenaeus (*Haer.* 5.29–30) is that 666 represents *lateinos,* the Greek word for "Latin" (*l* = 30, *a* = 1, *t* = 300, *e* = 5, *i* = 10, *n* = 50, *o* = 70, *s* = 200). Thus 666 represents the Roman Empire and its emperor. The problem with this proposal is that the number is given in Revelation as the name of a man, not an empire. It has been noted that the initials of the Roman emperors from Julius Caesar to Vespasian equal 666, but this only works if Galba is included and Otho and Vitellius are excluded.

A second proposal is that 666 represents Nero Caesar. The Greek *Neron Kaisar* has a numerical value of 1,005. However, when transliterated into the Hebrew letters *nrwn qsr* it has the sum of 666 (*n* = 50, *r* = 200, *w* = 6, *n* = 50, *q* = 100, *s* = 60, *r* = 200). The proposal that 666 is Nero Caesar can explain the variant 616, for the transliteration of the Latin Nero Caesar into Hebrew *(nrw qsr)* yields 616. In support of the assumption that 666 is the name of an emperor is *Sib. Or.* 5:12–42 which refers to the Roman emperors in succession by mentioning the number of the first letter of each name. This proposal relating the beast and Nero assumes that the author of Revelation was relying upon the well-known *Nero redivivus* myth. See NERO.

The major problems with the cryptographic position are three: (1) the usual Hebrew spelling for Caesar is *qʿsr,* not *qsr* which results from direct transliteration of the Greek, although the form *qsr* is attested; (2) it is assumed that the audience has the ability to transliterate Greek into Hebrew; and (3) the ancient commentators never identified 666 with Nero.

**B. Symbol**

This approach focuses on the symbolic nature of the number. Underlying the proposals is the assumption that the phrase "a human number" does not mean "the number of a man's name," but "humanly intelligible" as opposed to the need for supernatural wisdom to interpret it. One proposal assumes the use of triangulation. Some numbers, called *arithmos trigonos,* are the sum of a string of numbers. Here 666 is the sum of all the numbers from 1 to 36. In turn, 36 is the sum of all the numbers from 1 to 8. Thus 666 is a double triangular number. The triangular number of the beast contrasts the square numbers of the martyrs (144,000 [Rev 7:4]) and the heavenly city (144 [Rev 21:17]).

Another proposal notes that 6 is an imperfect number, 7 being a perfect number. Thus 666 represents the "superlative imperfection." The *Sib. Or.* 1.325–28 notes that the sum of Jesus' name *Iēsous* is 888. Perfection would be represented by 777 and "superlative perfection" by 888. Therefore 666 represents the ultimate evil posed by the antichrist in opposition to the ultimate good offered by Jesus Christ.

None of these proposals is totally satisfactory. They are not to be seen in isolation, for both the cryptic and the symbolic nature of 666 may have led to its choice as a representation for the beast.

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**SKEPTICISM.** Skepticism can be understood in various ways. Taken as the designation of a philosophical current, influential in classical antiquity, it has no analogue in the civilization of ancient Israel. Nowhere in the OT do we find traces of a methodological suspension of judgment based on the presumed unreliability of sense impressions. If we understand skepticism, however, as the mental attitude underlying doubt concerning the truth of religious views and doctrines, the notion can be applied to certain phenomena that are known from the ANE, Israel included. Atheism and religious agnosticism as we currently know them were foreign to ANE peoples, who could not conceive of a universe without the divine. Yet within this basically religious outlook, there was room for doubt. In the biblical texts, one finds traces and expressions of skepsis in connection with certain miraculous events, the belief in divine retribution, and the hope of a beatific afterlife. Although at times they overlap, we will discuss these areas

separately. When it seems useful, reference will be made to expressions of skepticism from ANE civilizations other than Israel, such as Egypt and Mesopotamia.

**A. Skepticism Concerning Miracles**

Miracles call for faith; the biblical authors knew this. They were aware of the fact that their accounts of miraculous events might meet with doubt and disbelief. Usually, we find no outright expressions of skepticism in the miracle stories themselves, but they often contain elements of authentication by which the authors wished to underscore the truth of their tale. Obliquely, then, these stories attest to the presence of skepticism in the audience. The writers endeavored to counter the arguments of possible skeptics beforehand. Some examples can illustrate this practice.

According to 2 Kings 2, Elijah was taken up to heaven by a whirlwind, after a chariot of fire and horses of fire had separated him from Elisha. Such accounts of *Entrückung* ("Assumption Stories") were familiar at the time, especially in classical antiquity. Privileged humans, such as Heracles and Romulus, are said to have entered the heavens in order to enjoy life among the immortals. Inevitably, these "Assumption Stories" often raised the protests of skeptics. Was the account of Elijah's ascension a target of skeptical comments in Israel as well? We know that the Samaritan tradition pictures Elijah's exit in quite a different way. There the prophet is depicted as a scoundrel, responsible for the death of the son of the widow of Zarephath by stealing their last morsels of food. During his flight from king Ahab, Elijah would have fallen into the Jordan and drowned. Although the Samaritan tradition serves the interests of theological propaganda, it could hardly have arisen without any support in popular belief.

The version of the LXX suggests that the assumption of Elijah was indeed surrounded by doubts. The translators reduced the extraordinary character of the events in a subtle fashion. Whereas the Hebrew text states that "Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven," the Greek translation says that "Elijah was taken away by a whirlwind as if *(hōs)* into heaven." The LXX rendering may have been inspired by the Hellenistic tendency to make such stories more palatable to skeptical minds.

The biblical account itself, as given in 2 Kings, betrays conscious efforts on the part of the author to prevent skeptical reactions. The story mentions an eyewitness, Elisha, who was present at his master's departure (v 12). Afterwards, prophets are said to have engaged in an investigation to see whether Elijah had not been cast upon some mountain or into some valley. They verify, so to speak, the truth of the *Entrückung* hypothesis. Three days of unsuccessful research convince them—as it should the reader of the story—that Elijah has indeed been taken to heaven.

Other miracle stories insist on the presence of witnesses in a comparable way. Moses caused water to come out of a rock by striking it "in the sight of the elders of Israel" (Exod 17:6). The *Mekilta* of Rabbi Ismael, a Tannaitic Midrash, explains that the elders had to be present, so that the Israelites would not be saying that perhaps there were natural sources of water in the neighborhood. In the extraordinary story of the quails, sent by God in such numbers that it took two days and one night to gather them (Num 11:32), it is Moses himself who voices the skepticism of the reader (Num 11:21–22). He expresses doubt concerning the possibility of the miracle announced by God. The rhetorical question that he gets for an answer, "Could the hand of the LORD be too short?" is an oblique reminder to the reader that nothing is beyond God's might (Num 11:23; cf. Isa 50:2; 59:1). In Genesis 18, the skepticism of the audience is also anticipated by the reference to Sarah's incredulous laughter (Gen 18:12, 13). In reply, we are warned that "nothing is too hard for the LORD" (Gen 18:14). The biblical authors needed to convince their audience that the miracles they describe really happened. To suppress all doubt, they sometimes inserted episodes in which miracles are confirmed by impartial witnesses, such as the Shunammite woman (2 Kgs 8:1–6).

In this respect, the NT writers followed similar procedures. The miraculous events occurring in Jerusalem at the time of Jesus' crucifixion are reportedly witnessed by a Roman centurion (Matt 28:54). As Paul comes to speak of the Lord's resurrection, he refers to more than five hundred witnesses (1 Cor 15:6). Apparently, not all Israelites, nor all Christians were ready to accept miracles without further questioning.

**B. Skepticism Concerning Divine Retribution**

In the ANE, the gods were believed to be the guardians of the moral order. People were supposed to act in conformity with the reigning code of conduct by virtue of their social conscience ("Act as a gentleman should!"; "Such a thing is not done in Israel"), out of fear of judiciary action, and, ultimately, because God or the gods would otherwise punish them. Social solidarity and the distribution of human justice were limited in their effects; the gods, at once powerful and all-seeing, were believed to make justice triumph. By meting out punishments and sending rewards, they were thought to respond to human behavior. This is divine retribution.

Experiences of undeserved suffering, however, might lead people to question the belief in divine retribution. Particularly in times of political unrest and social upheaval, theodicy could become an acute problem. We know quite a number of literary compositions from Mesopotamia which deal with this issue. Most of them seem to have been written by the end of the Kassite rule (ca. 1200 B.C.). In the *Babylonian Theodicy* (*ANET*, 601–4), a dialogue between a destitute nobleman and his pious friend, the answer to the seeming injustice of the gods is sought by stressing the imperfections of human understanding: "The divine mind, like the center of the heavens, is remote; knowledge of it is difficult; people do not know it" (lines 256–57). If such a gulf separates man from the gods, however, the validity of the moral code itself becomes problematic. Such is indeed the mood of the complaint of the righteous sufferer found in *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* ("I will praise the Lord of Wisdom"). Following a résumé of his meritorious deeds, the sufferer gives vent to his doubts:

> I wish I knew that these things were pleasing to one's god!
> What is proper to oneself is an offense to one's god,
> What in one's own heart seems despicable is proper to one's god.
> Who knows the will of the gods in heaven?
> Who understands the design of the abyss?
> Where have mortals learned the way of a god? (Tablet II, 34–38 [*BWL*])

These lines translate a skepticism that does not stop short of the gods' dealings with man, but attacks the religious basis of ethics. If the gods are so radically different, how can one be sure of their demands? The inaccessibility of the gods, an idea one sporadically finds in Egyptian wisdom texts, too, makes the assumed correspondence between divine commands and human ethics extremely precarious.

Similar misgivings have sometimes been voiced in ancient Israel and their echo can be heard in the Wisdom Literature. "I have not learned wisdom, nor have I knowledge of the Holy One—who has ascended to heaven and come down?" says Agur (Prov 30:3–4a). The distance between God and his creatures, so the author suggests, forbids all hopes of their ever understanding Him. Such a statement is more than an irenic reminder of human imperfection. In the face of inexplicable adversity, the emphasis on God's transcendence condemns the sufferer to impotent acceptance of an arbitrary lot. In the debate about good and evil, he is no party to God:

> Can you get to the bottom of God's secrets,
> Or fathom the limits of Shadday?
> It [God's wisdom] is higher than heaven—what can you do?
> It is deeper than Sheol—what would you know? (Job 11:7–8)

The recognition of God's absolute superiority can easily lead to skepticism. When God's distribution of justice is felt to be incompatible with the human sense of wrong and right, there is no way of knowing whether the human norms of behavior are, in the final analysis, sustained by God.

Skepticism concerning divine retribution could take on various forms. It usually led to doubts about God's active involvement in the world of human affairs: "The LORD does neither good nor ill" (Zeph 1:12). When it comes to the business of everyday life, "God does not manifest Himself," many an Israelite may have been thinking (Pss 14:1; 53:2). The frequent inconsistency between a man's moral attitude and his career, however, raised the far more serious question concerning the divine validation of morals. Experience gave fuel to the conviction that God's conception of right and wrong differed from that of men. If the logic of His plans was beyond human reach, it might well be that He entertained ideas about appropriate behavior far removed from what man would suppose. These considerations could easily lead

to doubt about the validity of the accepted code of conduct. Skeptics would not suggest that God had purposefully given "statutes that were not good and ordinances by which they could not have life" (Ezek 20:25), but that there was no way of knowing how He wanted man to live.

Skepticism of the latter type is attested to by the polemical overtones of Deut 30:11–14. In retrospect, the commandments laid down in Deuteronomy are said to be within human reach:

> For this commandment which I command you this day is not beyond your understanding, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that you should say, "Who will go up for us to heaven, and bring it to us, that we may hear it and do it?" Neither is it beyond the sea, that you should say, "Who will go over the sea for us, and bring it to us, that we may hear it and do it?" But the word is very near you; it is in your mouth and in your heart, so that you can do it.

The images used here reflect the traditional Near Eastern conception of heaven and underworld—"beyond the sea" refers to Sheol, cf. Ps 139:8–9—as the abode of the gods. These are realms to which mortals have no access. Thanks to God's revelation, so Deuteronomy stresses (cf. Deut 29:28[29]), the divine norms are no longer hidden in these remote spots of the universe. Skepticism is combated by an appeal to the special status of the written law, the authoritative body into which revelation has solidified (cf. Prov 30:5–6).

**C. Skepticism Concerning a Beatific Afterlife**

In Egypt, from the First Intermediate Period (ca. 2130–1938) onward, the transitoriness of human existence becomes a literary theme elaborated in the various *Harper's Songs.* The authors of these compositions are skeptical about the efficacy of the funerary cult and urge the enjoyment of the present life. Similar admonitions run through Mesopotamian literature. According to the words of Siduri, one of the characters in the *Gilgamesh Epic,* "When the gods created mankind, they assigned death to mankind, but held life in their own keeping" (Old Babylonian version, Tablet X iii 3–5). Consequently, it is best to make merry as long as the circumstances allow one to do so. Both in Egyptian and in Mesopotamian thought, however, death did not annul the existence of the individual. After one's departure from the world of the living, life continued in the realm of the dead, albeit in a modified way. In Mesopotamia, this afterlife was never considered a happy prospect. Egyptian religion, on the other hand, is known to have stressed the importance of adequate preparations for one's burial and the subsequent care of the tomb, because only thus a relatively comfortable continuation of one's existence could be ensured. Skeptics had occasionally cast doubt on the realism of these expectations. Judging by biographical inscriptions from the 1st millennium B.C., their skepticism came to enjoy some popularity. Considering the persistence of the traditional funerary ideology and the burial practices, skepticism remained an active undercurrent (see also *LÄ* 2:972–82).

The belief in a *postmortem* retribution arose at a relatively late date in ancient Israel, presumably as an answer to the problem of theodicy. From the outset, it met with skepticism. In the OT writings, the issue is explicitly dealt with in the book of Qoheleth (Ecclesiastes). The author is familiar with the idea of a future redressal of life's injustices: "God will judge the righteous and the wicked, for there is a time for every matter and every deed—over there!" (Qoh 3:17). This doctrine, however, is cited with skeptical overtones. God wants to show men that they are but beasts (Qoh 3:18). Both man and beast end up by going to the same place; there is no way of telling whether the spirit of man goes upward and the spirit of the beasts down to the earth (Qoh 3:20–21). The uncertainty of the future should incite man to enjoy his present lot (Qoh 3:22). Since, moreover, nobody has reached perfection (Qoh 7:20) and neither vice nor virtue can guarantee a happy life (Qoh 7:15–18), one had best take the good times as they come and entertain no vain hopes of future rewards (Qoh 9:7–10). The tone of Qoheleth cannot be called pessimistic; the author is a pious and, on the whole, irenic skeptic. His keen eye for the pleasures of life saves his meditations from bitterness and gives him a place in a time-honored stream of ANE wisdom teachings.

**D. Conclusion**

In many respects, Israelite skepticism differs from its modern versions. For one thing, its scope was limited. The existence of God was never called into question, nor were the basic elements of the religious

world view abandoned. In other words: the skepticism that manifested itself in ancient Israel did not pave the way for a purely secular mentality. This does not, however, diminish its importance as a factor in the shaping of Israelite religiosity as we know it. The skeptical reception of miracle stories has contributed to, as much as it was an expression of, a religious culture that prized the word above the feasts of miracle-workers. Doubts concerning the divine settlement of accounts in the afterlife bolstered the fundamentally this-worldly orientation of Israelite faith. The most important contribution of skepticism, in the last analysis, has probably been the impetus it gave to the formulation of a doctrine of canonical revelation. Skeptics stressed the discontinuity between a transcendent deity and the human norms of behavior. Faced with this dilemma, the Deuteronomists brought the entire code of conduct under the tutelage of God by claiming its origin to be in divine revelation. Revelation became a key theological notion, raising the written body of commandments to canonical status. Thus, skepticism has had a catalyzing effect in the development of some of the distinctive facets of Israelite religion.

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**SLAVE GIRL AT PHILIPPI** (PERSON) [Gk *paidiskē* (παιδισκη)]. A young woman with a spirit of divination encountered by the apostle Paul and his companions at Philippi and exorcised of the spirit by the apostle (Acts 16:16–19). Although the majority of scholars (e.g., Schille *Apostelgeschichte* THKNT, 344–45) view the incident of the slave girl as nonhistorical, and others have argued that the story of the exorcism originated with respect to some other figure and was secondarily applied to Paul, there are still some who will defend the account as historical. Lüdemann, for example (1987:189–91), believes that the question of historicity must remain open in the light of Paul's own statements about his miraculous accomplishments (Rom 15:18–19; 2 Cor 12:11–13).

A spirit makes the slave girl clairvoyant and able to predict the future (Marshall *Acts* TNTC, 268). More specifically, the Greek text reads *pneuma pythōna* "spirit of divination" (Acts 16:16). According to Greek myth, the *pythōn* was the serpent or dragon that inspired and guarded the oracle at Delphi; the creature was slain by the god Apollo. The word *pythōn* came to mean a divining spirit, and ventriloquists were called *Pythōnes* (BAGD, 728–29). In antiquity, ventriloquists (Gk *engastrimythoi*) were thought to have in their stomachs a mantic spirit that spoke oracles (Festugière 1947:133). The writer of the account in Acts undoubtedly viewed the slave girl as possessed; the exotic quality of *pythōn* possession enhances the literary appeal of the passage.

The story of the slave girl manifests considerable Lukan theology. She is a slave, a woman, possessed, and put to use for mere profit by her owners; evidently she should be numbered among the disadvantaged of the sort who are the particular object of Jesus' saving activity (O'Toole 1984:109–35). Her act of "following" Paul (Acts 16:17) is not hostile. The slave girl (through her demonic spirit) has insight into the identity and mission of Paul and his company, much as the demons exorcised by Jesus knew his true identity (Luke 4:34, 41; 8:28). Her repeated shouts exposing their mission, "These men are servants of the Most High God, who proclaim to you the way of salvation" (Acts 2:28; Tremel 1981:101), so annoyed Paul that he commanded the spirit in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her, and it did.

In its context, the story of the exorcism creates the circumstance of Paul's imprisonment at Philippi. It is one of a group of stories of Paul's encounter with preternatural phenomena in Greco-Roman cities. In all of these (the sons of Elymas [Acts 13:4–12]; the sons of Sceva [19:11–20]; the silversmiths of Ephesus

[Acts 19:21–40]) the preternatural is distinguished from and subordinated to Christianity. Other Lukan themes salient in the story of the slave girl are the power of the name of Jesus, the continuing activity of the risen Christ, and the salvation of the disadvantaged.

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**SLAVERY.** Slavery is the institution whereby one person can hold ownership rights over another. In the biblical world, this institution took on forms quite unlike the New World slavery practiced in the West particularly in the 18th and 19th century. This entry consists of three articles that explore slavery in the biblical world. The first focuses upon slave labor in the ANE (particularly Mesopotamia); the second focuses upon the practice of slavery as it is depicted in the OT, and the third focuses upon Greco-Roman practices of slavery and how these are depicted in NT texts.

## *ANCIENT NEAR EAST*

A. Types of Labor
B. Sources of Slavery
C. Use of Slave Labor
D. The Legal Status of Slaves
E. Manumission of Slaves
F. Conclusion

### A. Types of Labor

Society in the ANE consisted of three large social groups: freemen, semi-free population, and slaves. Although an unusual variety of forms of socioeconomic relations was characteristic of antiquity, there existed three main types of labor: independent labor of free peasants and craftsmen, labor of slaves, and labor of various groups of the semi-free populace.

Independent or free producers worked in their own fields and craft workshops. There also existed free hired-labor which is attested in earlier as well as in later periods of Mesopotamian history and was used in the Hittite kingdom, Palestine, and many other countries of the ANE. This type of labor was especially characteristic of Babylonia in the 1st millennium B.C., when temples and private individuals were forced to resort to the large-scale use of free hired labor in handicrafts and in agricultural work. These masses of hired hands consisted mainly of land-starved free persons.

Semi-free groups, which can be called serfs or helots, were subjected to extra-economic coercion and worked from generation to generation on land that belonged to the palace and temples. Ethnically, they consisted of native population and captives settled on the land. Depending on the specific historical conditions, the serfs could be deprived of property in the means of production or could have access to them. In other words, some of these persons owned plots of land and possessed immovable and movable property, including even slaves. They worked part-time on their own and part-time in palace and temple households. Other groups of serfs did not have their own land and worked full-time for public estates.

The serfs, although closely akin to slaves, occupied an intermediate position between freemen and slaves. They were the principal labor force in state and temple estates in Egypt, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia (*guruš* in early periods, *šušānu,* etc. in the 1st millennium), Achaemenid Iran *(kurtaš),* and in other countries of the ANE. In later periods the role of such groups in production and in the social structure decreased appreciably from that of the 3d and the 2d millennia, while the role of slave labor became more important.

Slavery was a further form of personal dependence and extra-economic coercion. The slave was a person deprived of the means of production and was merely a thing belonging to his master with regard to whom he had only duties and no rights whatsoever. The institution of slavery probably came into existence at the end of the 4th millennium and developed along different lines in different countries, depending on concrete historical conditions. Its forms also changed in one and the same country within the course of time.

The usual term for "slave" in Mesopotamia was *wardum,* which at the same time was used not only to designate an actual slave but also dependence in the broad sense or servility, thus corresponding to Heb *ʿebed,* Aram *ʿabdā,* Old Pers *bandaka,* Gk *doulos,* etc. In the ANE, all the subjects of the king, including even highly placed officials, were regarded as slaves of the king. In 1st millennium Babylonia, a large number of terms appeared which were either completely unattested in the earlier texts or were used with different meanings (for example, *qallu* which literally means "the little one" or *amēlūtu,* the abstract collective term for slaves of both sexes, which literally means "people"). In addition, in many countries there existed temple slaves whose status was also hereditary. In Mesopotamia, the main term for such slaves was *širku*.

**B. Sources of Slavery**

In all probability, slaves were originally foreigners, mainly prisoners of war. Within all the periods of antiquity, Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Hittite, Persian, and other Oriental rulers carried away great masses of captives from their victorious battles. But only an insignificant part of them was turned into slaves; all the others were settled on the land as palace and temple serfs. In later periods the labor of prisoners of war was more widely used in the construction of canals and the building of roads, palaces, and temples.

Many of the foreign slaves were brought from abroad. For instance, slaves from Sabartu in N Mesopotamia were highly appreciated in Babylonia and Assyria at the end of the 3d and beginning of the 2d millennia.

In the Old Babylonian period, a distinction was drawn between native and foreign slaves. Thus, according to the Code of Hammurapi (par. 280), citizens who had been carried off to foreign countries were subject to redemption. But in the 1st millennium such a distinction was not made in Babylonia or Assyria.

Beginning with the earlier periods, debt slavery was one of the basic sources of replenishing the slave population. However, from time to time debtors were able to gain release from slavery. Thus, the Babylonian king Ammiṣaduqa in the 17th century issued an edict, according to which all inhabitants of his kingdom who had been compelled by debt to become slaves should be released together with their families. See also PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES.

In earlier Mesopotamian periods, debt slavery was usually limited by law to a specific period of time, usually to three or six years. For instance, the Code of Hammurapi (par. 117) stipulates that debt slavery should be limited to three years, but no such limitation existed in Assyria. In Nuzi, debt slavery was widespread, and the time required to work off the loan sometimes lasted up to 50 years. In 1st-millennium Babylonia, however, any limitation of debt slavery to a specific period of time was no longer in force. Moreover, debt slavery was not widespread at this time and was no longer of great significance. Besides, the creditor could no longer sell a debtor into slavery to a third person. Usually the debtor paid off the loan by *antichresis* (free work for the creditor), thereby preserving his freedom.

The self-sale of destitute freemen is attested in documents from the Ur III period and from Larsa in the period before the accession of Hammurapi. In the Old Assyrian period, a man at Kanesh sold himself and his wife into slavery, and at Nuzi self-sale in order to obtain food and clothing was very widespread (Dandamaev 1984:175, n. 121). In 1st-millennium Babylonia self-sale became an extremely rare phenomenon. Thus, about 648, at the time of the siege of Babylon by Ashurbanipal, one woman sold herself into slavery on the condition that her master feed her. The document contains the stipulation that, after the siege has been lifted, husband, son, brother, or any other member of the family may redeem her by offering something equivalent to her value (Weidner 1952/1953:37.2).

The sale of children of free persons into slavery was permitted in Sumer, Babylonia, and Assyria in the 3d and 2d millennia. In Assyria of the 1st millennium, parents could sell their children and brothers could sell their sisters. In Nuzi the sale of children was widely practiced (Dandamaev 1984:174, n. 118). Nine Neo-Babylonian contracts concerning the sale of children by free persons have been preserved from Nippur. In 626, when the troops of the Babylonian king Nabopolassar laid siege to Nippur, which had maintained allegiance to the Assyrians, some parents sold their children to moneylenders (Oppenheim 1955:69–89).

In the 3d and 2d millennia, parents who were not in the position to feed their young children sometimes left them at walls or in baskets on the river and also abandoned them on the street where anyone who desired could pick them up and raise them, either to turn them into slaves or adopt them. The Code of Hammurapi regulates the legal position of such persons (pars. 185–87, 192).

In earlier periods of Mesopotamian history, free persons could be enslaved for violation of law. For example, in Sumer thieves were turned over to their victims as slaves. The wife and children of a murderer who had been sentenced to death were also condemned to slavery. According to Sumerian law, if the son renounced his father, the latter could place upon him the mark of a slave (Driver and Miles 1968, 1:306). The Code of Hammurapi (par. 141) permitted a husband to sell his dishonest or spendthrift wife into slavery. According to the same Code (par. 54), a man through whose fault his neighbor's field was flooded had to compensate for the damage, and if not in the position to do this, then he was to be sold.

In 1st-millennium Babylonia, slaves were permitted to live as families, and their natural reproduction from generation to generation had great significance, being the basic source for replenishing the number of slaves.

An important source of temple slavery was the dedication of privately owned slaves to the temples by their devout masters. This practice of making dedications is attested as far back as the Old Babylonian period and was also known in Assyria. Under the Chaldean kings, one of the principal sources of temple slavery was the dedication of prisoners of war to the temple. Other sources were the slaves transferred to the temple by insolvent debtors, the children of temple slaves, and finally the children of free persons given to the temple for economic reasons. Thus, according to a document dated to the reign of Nabonidus, a time of famine in Babylonia, a woman whose husband had died dedicated two of her young children to the Eanna temple in Uruk to be slaves and branded them. The text notes that the children were given to the temple so they would not die of starvation (Dougherty 1920:no. 154).

**C. Use of Slave Labor**

The documentary sources contain little information about the employment of privately owned slaves in agriculture, except cases when slaves appear as tenants of leased fields. Thus, in 1st-millennium Babylonia, the slaves rented fields, seed, animals, and implements from their own masters or from other persons. The large landowners preferred to lease out the land to tenant farmers instead of employing slaves, because slave labor required constant supervision, and therefore increased expenditures.

A relatively large number of slaves worked on the temple estates. However, temple slaves caused many problems by their frequent escapes and their reluctance to work, thus requiring constant supervision. The letters of temple officials of the Neo-Babylonian period are full of complaints that the slaves are lazy and do shoddy work. Therefore the temples were often forced to employ seasonal workers and occasionally rented out land to free tenants. Besides, a considerable part of the temple estates was tilled by serfs.

In the ANE, there existed no artisan workshops based on slave labor. Trade professions were to a considerable extent passed down from father to son among the free members of the society. Thus, in ancient Oriental societies the labor of free farmers and tenants constituted the basis of agriculture, and the labor of the freemen was predominant in handicrafts as well.

Slave labor reached its highest level of development in 1st-millennium Babylonia. Wealthy individuals owned several slaves, and some families (e.g. the Egibi business house) actually possessed over a hundred slaves. It was not uncommon for persons of moderate means to own three to five slaves. Nevertheless, the number of slaves would not have been greater than half of the free population.

The question arises, why the masses of war prisoners were not enslaved. Slavery was the optimal form of dependence, and very often there was no shortage of prisoners captured in war. Besides, there were no legal or ethical norms preventing these prisoners from being turned into slaves. But this happened in a negligible percentage of cases, while the overwhelming majority were settled in places specially set aside for them, paid royal taxes, and carried out obligations, including military service.

The reasons why foreign prisoners could not be turned into slaves were that the palace economy could not use slave labor because of its low level and that the state machinery was too weak to exert effective supervision over masses of slaves (Gelb 1973:91). In other words, the slave labor sector in the ANE, unlike the world of Greek and Roman antiquity, proved unable to absorb masses of captives because of the comparatively weak development of the economy and commodity-money relations and, consequently, because of the absence of sufficiently advanced methods of production in which slave labor could be widely used. Therefore, slave labor was primarily used for domestic work which did not require much training or costly supervision, that is, where it could be used the year round and not only seasonally.

**D. The Legal Status of Slaves**

Slaves, just like livestock, constituted a basic form of movable property. They were deposited as security, included in dowries, transferred by inheritance, etc.

Slaves were frequently branded for the purpose of identification. The marking most often consisted of tattooing or "writing" the name of the slave's owner on his hand with a red-hot iron. In Assyria ears of slaves were sometimes pierced. The Code of Hammurapi (par. 282) permitted the master to cut off the ear of a disobedient slave. In Mesopotamia starting with the end of the 3d millennium, many slaves were already being marked with marks of the *abbuttum* type. This was probably a special mark placed on the shaven head by a barber who also functioned as the professional marker of slaves (Szlechter 1949:404). According to the Code of Hammurapi (par. 226), if a barber shaved an *abbuttum* from a slave's head without the knowledge and consent of his owner, the barber's hand would be cut off.

The escape of slaves was quite a widespread phenomenon. Fugitive slaves were caught, incarcerated in fetters, and returned back to work. The Laws of Eshnunna (pars. 49–50) already stipulate a fine of two times the value of the slave for the theft of someone's slave or the concealment of a fugitive slave. The Laws of Lipit-Ištar (par. 12) obligate the citizen who sheltered a fugitive slave to return him to his master within a month's time or to pay the latter 25 shekels of silver. The Code of Hammurapi (pars. 15, 16) establishes the death penalty for the theft or concealment of a fugitive slave.

During the sale of a slave the seller in some cases guaranteed that within the first hundred days his slave would neither run away nor suddenly die. In addition, a guarantee was given that the slave was not subject to epileptic fits. The Code of Hammurapi (par. 278) restricts this warranty to one month, while Neo-Assyrian documents stipulate a term of one hundred days after the purchase (Driver and Miles 1968, 2:279–80).

The average price of a slave or slave woman in the period of the dynasty of Akkad and in the Ur III period fluctuated between 10 and 15 shekels of silver. It was 20 shekels in the Old Babylonian period. In late Assyria, slaves were sold for approximately 50 to 60 shekels and slave women for 40 shekels. In the period of the Chaldean dynasty, an adult male slave cost an average of 50 to 60 shekels and a slave woman a little less. Under the Achaemenids, the prices for slaves gradually rose to about one and a half times their previous level (Dandamaev 1984:181–206).

It is natural that the slave's life was valued less than that of a freeman. According to the Code of Hammurapi, the killing of someone else's slave was to be punished only by the payment of compensation to his master for his material loss (par. 116), and, when bodily injuries were inflicted on a slave, it was necessary only to pay half the purchase price of the slave (par. 199).

Although in view of the law the slave was mere chattel, the actual position of slaves varied greatly even in a single society in the same historical period. Some slaves were subjected to cruel forms of exploitation, while others found themselves in relatively good circumstances.

In many countries of the ANE marriages between free people and slaves were permitted. According to Old Babylonian law, the children of a slave woman and her master were regarded as free persons in all

instances. As seen from the Code of Hammurapi (par. 175), children from a marriage between a male slave and a free woman were considered free persons.

Sometimes slaves were permitted to possess various kinds of property *(peculium).* Naturally, a slave received the right to a *peculium* only in those cases when the master took an interest in this. Such slaves were left to themselves with the payment of a fixed quitrent. The size of the quitrent fluctuated depending on the property of the slave, and in 1st-millennium Babylonia, on average, when calculated in money, amounted to twelve shekels of silver a year. Such a sum was also equal to the average annual pay of an adult hired worker regardless of whether he was free or a slave. Sometimes a quitrent was replaced by work for the master. Temple slaves who led an independent economic existence were also obliged to pay a monetary quitrent or provide the temple with finished products in accordance with the established norms.

In 1st-millennium Babylonia enterprising slaves owned land, houses, and considerable amounts of movable property. They actively participated in all spheres of economic activity, were engaged in trade, ran taverns and workshops, taught other persons various trades, pawned and mortgaged their property, and they themselves received the property of others as security for loans.

In the legal sphere such slaves could appear as witnesses, plaintiffs, and defendants in court. They also could have their own personal seals and take oaths. Moreover, there were apparently no differences in the ways in which the interests of slaves and freemen were defended, though the slaves, of course, could not engage in litigation with their masters. In affairs with a third party, the slave could mortgage only the *peculium,* but not his own person.

Slaves sometimes even purchased other slaves or hired free individuals to work in their own households. Such wealthy slaves, however, remained the property of their masters, at whose whim they could be deprived of their property and influence.

**E. Manumission of Slaves**

A slave's right of manumission belonged exclusively to the slave's owner. According to Sumero-Babylonian law, the freeing of a slave took place either before a court or in the form of a contract between the slave and his master or through a ritual purification of the slave. Court protocols as early as the Third Dynasty of Ur contain mention of the manumission of slaves. The freeing of the slave took place before judges, was recorded in a document of an official nature, and could not be contested later by the former master or his heirs (Driver and Miles 1968, 1:221–30).

Sometimes the act of manumission was formulated as a sale contract between the master and his slave. In a number of cases, the freeing of a slave was effected through adoption by his master on the condition that he maintain his former master while he was alive. Sometimes a master married his slave woman to a free man so that the latter would buy her or maintain his wife's former master along with her. An Assyrian document from around 1800 records that a free man manumitted his slave and adopted him, with the stipulation that, as long as the former master and his wife lived, the adopted son was to support them and obey them. After their death he was to receive a plot of land and one ox. If the former master reclaimed his adopted son as a slave, he was to pay two minas of silver. If the manumitted slave repudiated his adoptive parents and ran away, he was to be sold at the place where he was caught (Veenhof 1982:359–85). Another Assyrian document from ca. 1115 records that a slave redeemed himself from slavery for 1 mina 55 shekels of silver. In all probability, he was a debt slave. The text also stipulates that the former master and his descendants shall not initiate any lawsuit concerning this manumission (Jankowska 1989:82–85).

As seen from Neo-Babylonian documents and Aramaic papyri of the 5th century B.C. from Egypt, slaves were sometimes freed with the stipulation that they continue to serve the master or provide him with food as long as he was alive (Dandamaev 1984:438–50). Thus, the manumission of slaves was mainly limited to those cases where the slave owner, advanced in years and without children, sought to arouse the interest of a slave through the prospect of being freed in the future. There is also attested such a form of manumission when a free person (either the master of the slave himself or another person) adopts

the slave. Both of these forms existed in Mesopotamia for two millennia, and their legal character remained the same from the Old Babylonian period on.

**F. Conclusion**

The institution of slavery had a profound influence on the social structure, ideology, law, social psychology, morals and ethics of the various cultures of the ANE. However, the idea of a slave as exclusively the object of rights and as a person outside regular society was apparently alien to the laws of the ANE. The institution of slavery was taken for granted not only by the free persons but also by the slaves themselves, who never demanded its abolition. Therefore ideology of the ANE contains no condemnation of slavery or any protest against it.

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MUHAMMAD A. DANDAMAYEV


## *OLD TESTAMENT*


A. Terms Designating Slaves
B. Sources of Slavery
C. The Use of Slave Labor
D. The Legal Status and Actual Position of Slaves
E. Conclusion


### A. Terms Designating Slaves

The usual term for slaves in the OT is *ʿebed* derived from the verb *ʿābad*, "to work." In the LXX it is translated *doulos,* which is the most general attributive of a slave, and sometimes *oiketēs,* i.e., a household slave. The Heb *nʿr* (fem. *nʿrh*), literally "youth," is also used in the OT with respect to young slaves. Its Greek equivalent *pais* in the LXX designated domestics, young slaves as well as freeborn young persons. Finally, the word *āmāh* is encountered with the meaning slave woman in ancient Hebrew.

The word *ʿebed,* however, denoted not only actual slaves occupied in production or in the household but also persons in subordinate positions (mainly subordinate with regard to the king and his higher officials). Thus the term *ʿebed* is sometimes translated as "servant." Besides, the term was used as a sign of servility in reference to oneself when addressing persons of higher rank. Finally, the same term was also used in the figurative meaning "the slave (or servant) of God." Thus, the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, prophets, David, Solomon and other kings are regularly called slaves of Yahweh (Exod 32:13; Lev 25:55; 1 Sam 3:9; Ezra 9:11, etc.). Similarly, all the subjects of Israel and Judah are called slaves of their kings, including even wives, sons, and brothers of the latter (1 Sam 17:8; 29:3; 2 Sam 19:5, etc.; cf. also Gen 27:37; 32:4). Addressing Moses and prophets, the Israelites called themselves their slaves (Num 32:25; 1 Sam 12:19, etc.). Ruth refers to herself as a slave girl of her relative Boaz (Ruth 3:9). Being a vassal of the Philistine king Achish, David called himself his slave (1 Sam 28:2). It is natural that the same vague and inexplicitly formulated social terminology characteristic of the ANE is also used in the Bible in

relation to the subjects of foreign rulers. For example, courtiers of an Aramean ruler or the soldiers of the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II were considered slaves of their monarchs (2 Kgs 6:11; 24:10–11). It is natural that kings of Judah depending on more powerful rulers of neighboring countries were considered their slaves. Thus, Ahaz is referred to as a slave of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (2 Kgs 16:7). In modern translations of the Bible *ʿebed/doulos* and several other similar terms are rendered "slave" as well as "servant," "attendant," etc. Such translations, however, might create some confusion and give the incorrect impression that special terms for the designation of servants and slaves are attested in the Bible.

However, selecting the proper meaning from such a broad metaphorical application of the term designating a general dependence rarely presents great difficulty. For example, Abimelech, king of Gerar, called up his slaves and told them his dream (Gen 20:8). Apparently, these "slaves" were royal courtiers and officials. Abraham gathered 318 of his slaves, born in his household, in order to recover his kinsman Lot who had been captured by Chedorlaomer and three Mesopotamian kings (Gen 14:14). At least, a part of these persons constituted freeborn members of Abraham's family. Upon ascending the throne of Judah, Amaziah executed his slaves who had murdered his father, the former king (2 Chr 25:3). These slaves were certainly royal dignitaries. When Josiah, king of Judah, had been killed at Megiddo, his body was taken in a chariot to Jerusalem by his slaves (2 Kgs 23:30). It is quite evident that these slaves were royal soldiers. In a number of cases, however, the interpretation of the actual meaning of the ambiguous *ʿebed* may be disputed. For instance, the steward of Abraham's household who was in charge of all his possessions is called his slave (Gen 24:2). His status can only conjecturally be interpreted as an indication of actual slavery and, of course, he could have been a freeborn person.

The nations subjected by the Israelites were considered slaves. They were, however, not slaves in the proper meaning of the term, although they were obliged to pay royal taxes and perform public works. Thus, during the conquest of Canaan, the inhabitants of Gibeon and three other towns avoided defeat by tricking the Israelites into granting them a treaty. When their trick became known, the treaty was upheld but the populations of the towns were reduced to "perpetual slaves" and were obliged to chop wood and draw water for the altar (Josh 9:23). When David subdued the Philistines, Edomites, Moabites, and Arameans, they became his tribute-paying slaves (2 Sam 8:2, 14; 1 Chr 18:2, 6, 13). Solomon took a census of all people who did not belong to Israel and reduced them to "slavery" making such a status hereditary. He also imposed forced labor on them in order to build the Jerusalem temple and royal palace (2 Chr 2:17; 8:7–9). An ideological background of this dependence can be found in the story of Ham, the father of Canaan, who saw his father Noah naked during the latter's drunkenness. Therefore Noah cursed Canaan who was then destined to be a slave to his brothers (Gen 9:25–27). It can also be mentioned that the Philistine champion Goliath challenged the Israelites to decide the struggle between them in a single combat. The conditions of the duel were that if the Israelite champion defeated Goliath the Philistines were to become slaves of the Israelites, and *vice versa* (1 Sam 17:8–9). The Israelites were saying that the king would give a rich reward to the man who would kill Goliath and would make his father's house free, i.e., would exempt his family from paying taxes and performing royal service (1 Sam 17:25).

According to the Bible, the Israelites were slaves in Egypt (Exod 13:3, 14; Deut 5:15; 16:2; 24:18, etc.). They, however, were not slaves in the exact meaning of the word and were only obliged to perform forced labor for the pharaoh.

Our information about the Babylonian captivity of the Jews is much more abundant. The biblical sources describe this captivity as the yoke of cruel slavery (2 Chr 36:26; Isa 14:3; 47:6; Ezra 9:9, etc.; cf. Jer 25:11; 27:7). According to Lamentations (5:5, 8, 13), the prisoners were given no rest, young men were to grind corn, and they stumbled under loads of wood (cf. also Isa 51:14). These captives, however, cannot be legally classified as slaves at all since they were not included in the palace or temple households, but were settled in places set aside for them, particularly in the Nippur region. Initially, these people probably did not have the right to leave their place of residence. Referring to Yahweh's order, Jeremiah urged the prisoners that the captivity would be long, and he encouraged them to build houses and lay out gardens, to marry and raise children (Jer 29:4, 7, 28). Later, after the capture of Babylonia by

the Persians, some of the Jews returned home, taking their own slaves with them (Ezra 2:64–65; Neh 7:66–67). The status of the rest was essentially the same as that of the local free population, as can be seen from the information contained in the documents of the Murashû archive.

**B. Sources of Slavery**

Beginning with the earlier periods, debt slavery was one of the basic sources of replenishing the slave population. Besides, the law permitted the sale of children by parents of free status. Such slaves, however, could not have been sold by their creditors to a third party. The debtors continued to work for the creditor in order to pay off their loans.

In the Deuteronomic law a clear distinction is drawn between slaves of Hebrew and foreign descent. Debtors who were Hebrews and sold themselves in utmost need could be held in slavery for only six years, after which they should be set free without any pay (Exod 21:2; Deut 15:12; Jer 34:14). If a Hebrew slave was married when he was forced into slavery, his wife went free with him after a six-year period (Exod 21:3; Lev 25:40–42). If his master gave him a wife, she and any children remained with the master and only the slave was set free (Exod 21:4). If, however, the slave was content with his master and chose to remain with his family, the master was instructed to bring him to the doorpost and to pierce his ear with an awl and then he was to be his slave for life (Exod 21:6; Deut 15:16–17). If a Hebrew sold his daughter into slavery, she could not obtain freedom even after six years of work. Her master, however, had no right to sell her to a foreigner. If he did not want to treat her as his concubine or to give her in marriage to his son and if he deprived her of food, clothes, and conjugal rights, she could go free without any payment (Exod 21:7–11).

The law also demanded that the status of a Hebrew who sold himself into slavery to another Hebrew should be that of a hired workman and after six years he could go back to his family (Lev 25:39–41). Thus, such a self-sale did not lead to actual slavery. If a Hebrew sold himself to a foreigner, the latter was obliged to set him free as soon as the slave or his relatives could pay for his redemption (Lev 25:39–41). Then the slave was required to compensate his redeemer by working for him or repaying the sum of the ransom (Lev 25:47–52; cf. Exod 21:2; Neh 5:8). If the slave was not in the position to redeem himself he had to work as a hired laborer until the Sabbatical year when he was to be set free together with his children (Lev 25:53–54).

According to the Deuteronomic law (15:13–14, 18), upon manumission, it was required to give the slaves some gifts to enable them to maintain their households, since for six years' work they paid off twice as much as the wage of a hired man.

It seems, however, that these laws were not always observed. For example, during Zedekiah's reign it was decided to proclaim an act of freedom for the slaves of Hebrew descent, and nobody objected to this decision; however, afterward they changed their minds and continued to use the labor of the persons whom they had freed (Jer 34:8–11, 14–17). As seen from the book of Nehemiah (5:3–5), in 5th-century Judah, some free persons were forced to mortgage their fields, vineyards, and houses to escape starvation, or to borrow silver to pay the king's taxes, delivering their sons and daughters into slavery. The inhabitants of Judah complained that they were required to sell their sons and daughters into slavery and that it was not possible to redeem them. Similar protests occur also in some other biblical books. For instance, according to 2 Kings 4:1, a freeborn Jewish woman was complaining that after the death of her husband, his creditor took both her sons as his slaves. Proverbs (22:7) say that the rich rules over the poor and the borrower is a slave to the lender.

Thus, one of the chief sources of privately owned slaves was defaulting debtors and their families. Aliens who fell into debt slavery could become perennial slaves. Besides, the self-sale was permitted by law. Finally, free persons had the right to sell their children or to use them as security.

Already in earlier periods, the abduction of freeborn persons for the purpose of enslaving or selling them into slavery was also known. The law, however, stipulated the death penalty for the kidnapping of Israelites (Deut 24:7; see also Exod 21:16). A number of biblical books contain an appeal not to covet slaves, slave women, and other property belonging to one's neighbor (Exod 20:17, etc.).

In earlier periods, when the Israelites conducted successful wars against neighboring peoples, prisoners of war constituted an important source of slavery. As was characteristic of other ANE societies, captive men, boys and even women were often put to death and only girls were sent into slavery (Num 31:9–18). Thus, during one military campaign there were captured 67,500 head of sheep, 72,000 head of cattle, 61,000 asses, and 32,000 girls (Num 31:32–35).

Deuteronomy (20:11–14) contains instructions that when advancing on an alien city in order to occupy it, it was necessary to make an offer of peace. If this offer was accepted and the city's gates opened, its inhabitants were to pay taxes and perform corvée labor. If this offer, however, was declined, all the men were to be put to the sword, and women and children as well as movable goods were to become the plunder of the victors. But if any soldier married a captive girl who had caught his fancy and afterward divorced her, he could not sell her into slavery and was obliged to set her free (Deut 21:10–14).

In later periods of Israelite society, the influx of prisoners of war was very limited, and for this reason the basic source of slaves was natural reproduction.

The next source of slavery was obtaining slaves through purchase from neighboring nations. This source was in every possible way encouraged by biblical instructions (Lev 25:44–46, etc.; cf. also Eccl. 2:7). Such slaves were legally considered the absolute property of their owners, and their status was permanent: they were sold, passed on by way of inheritance, pawned, and branded or marked like livestock (cf. Isa 44:5).

Apparently, the prices for slaves varied in different periods and depended on their ages, skills, sex, and the like. It is known that Midianite traders sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for 20 shekels of silver (Gen 37:28). To judge from Leviticus (27:3–7), an adult male slave cost an average of 50 shekels of silver and a slave woman 30 shekels; boys between five and twenty years old about 20 shekels, and girls of the same age about 10 shekels; babies and five-year-old boys 5 shekels and girls 3 shekels; old men and women (over sixty years) 15 and 10 shekels respectively. See also OLD AGE.

Finally, it is possible that free persons could be condemned to slavery for violation of law. In any case, to judge from Genesis (43:18; see also 44:9–10, 17), thieves could be sent into slavery.

**C. The Use of Slave Labor**

The slaves referred to in the Bible were in most cases privately owned. Naturally, there existed a royal economy which, however, was organized on the pattern of private households and, probably, the status of slaves of both types did not essentially differ.

It seems that there was no temple household in the Israelite and Judean society. In other words, the Jerusalem temple did not possess its own fields and livestock. Therefore the Bible does not mention any slaves working in the temple household. The main source of temple revenue consisted of various taxes, the most important being the tithe. A number of biblical books mention a group called *netīnīm* (1 Chr 9:2; Ezra 8:20, etc.). Scholarly opinion has been divided on the problem of whether this group constituted temple slaves or a class of cult servitors. See NETHINIM.

As seen from the book of Job (7:2), a slave's life was associated with exhausting labor, and the slave was longing for shadows like a hireling waited for his wage.

We have, however, almost no information about the use of slave labor. In this connection, only a few examples can be referred to, and even in these cases we cannot be sure that actual slave labor and not hired free labor is meant there. Jacob's shepherds are called his slaves (Gen 32:16); Abraham's and Isaac's slaves dug wells (Gen 26:15, 19); one of Saul's slaves, an Edomite, was his herdsman (1 Sam 21:7). There is also very scanty evidence on the use of slave labor in cultivating the land (2 Sam 9:10; Ruth 2:5). During the building of the walls of Jerusalem, Nehemiah ordered the people that every man and his slave were to act as guards by night and work by day (Neh 4:22). The number of these slaves is unknown to us but, according to the same source (4:16, 18), all the adult free population of Jerusalem was engaged in the construction.

For no period of Israelite and Judean society (as well as for any other society of the ANE) is the ratio of free persons to slaves even approximately known. The Bible, however, gives some related information which may be used for comparison (Ezra 2:64–65; Neh 7:66–67). When the Babylonian captivity ended

and the Jews returned to their homeland after the Persians had captured Mesopotamia, the adult composition of the repatriated people was as follows: out of 42,360 persons (30,000 of them men), the number of slaves and slave women came to 7,337, i.e., between one-fifth and one-sixth of the number of free people.

There is no doubt that the number of slaves was probably far less than the number of the free population. In any case, indirect information attests to this. For example, throughout the entire period of the grandiose construction of the Jerusalem temple and royal palace during the reigns of David and Solomon, nothing is known about the use of slave labor. The sources, however, clearly testify to using free subjects of the state for these purposes. According to 1 Kings (5:13–14), Solomon imposed corvée labor on the population of Israel. In particular, ten thousand men were sent each month to Lebanon in order to supply the construction with cedar and pine. Solomon also raised a forced levy of seventy thousand porters and eighty thousand stonecutters (1 Kgs 5:15; 2 Kgs 2:2, 18). It seems that these workmen were conscripted mainly from the Canaanite population which was dependent on the Israelites but was not subservient. According to biblical sources, only descendants of the subjected local population were employed by Solomon on perpetual forced labor for his public works. As to the Israelites, they were used only as fighting men (1 Kgs 9:21; 2 Chr 2:17–18; 8:7–9). This, however, can hardly be right since we know that after the death of Solomon, the Israelites were complaining to his son Rehoboam that his father had laid a cruel yoke upon them. They also asked him to improve their position. However, on the advice of the young men in his attendance, Rehoboam said that he would make their yoke even heavier (1 Kgs 12:4, 14; 2 Chr 10:4, 14). Thus, in all probability, the labor of the free Israelites began to be widely used for corvée works. It is also appropriate to mention that the prophet Samuel warned his countrymen that if they chose a king, he would take their sons and would make some of them plough his fields and reap his harvest, he would take their daughters as cooks, etc., and he would use their slaves and slave women to work for himself (1 Sam 8:11–16).

When the construction of the temple was finished, many master craftsmen were regularly used to carry out repairs in it. There were, however, no slaves among them. They were freeborn carpenters, builders, stonecutters, and masons hired and paid by the temple administration (2 Kgs 12:11–12; 22:5–6; 2 Chr 24:11–12).

**D. The Legal Status and Actual Position of Slaves**

Non-Israelite slaves were legally considered movable property of their masters who could dispose of them as they wished. Slaves were supposed to be in fear of their masters (Mal 1:6). In a number of biblical passages, slaves are listed as part of valuable property along with cattle, gold, silver, etc. (Gen 12:16; 20:14; 24:35; 30:43; 32:5; Exod 20:17, etc.).

A number of proverbs and aphorisms have been preserved which show a contemptuous attitude toward slaves: a slave ruling over princes is out of place (Prov 19:10); mere words will not discipline a slave, since he does not respond even if he understands (Prov 29:19); a slave pampered from boyhood will become ungrateful in the end (Prov 29:21). The case when a slave becomes king is listed among the things which the earth cannot bear (Prov 30:22). A similar case is when slaves are on horseback and nobles go on foot (Eccl 10:7).

Nonetheless, slaves were not only the object of law. Thus, the 4th Commandment contains an interdiction against forcing the slaves to work on the Sabbath (Exod 20:10; 23:12; Deut 5:14). It seems, however, that these instructions were often violated since some biblical sources condemn the breach of the Sabbath (Ezek 23:38, etc.). We have in the Bible the first appeals in world literature to treat slaves as human beings for their own sake and not just in the interests of their masters. Thus, slaves both born in the household and those bought with money, just like the free Israelites, were to be circumcised in order to share cultic life and eat the Passover (Gen 17:13, 23, 27; Exod 12:44; Deut 12:12, 18; Lev 22:11). The Hebrew law also restricted the master's power over his slaves. The premeditated killing of a slave was considered a crime and was punishable by law in cases where the slave died immediately from a beating, although the kind of punishment for this is not indicated in the text (Exod 21:20). But the master was not

to be punished if the slave survived a day or two (Exod 21:21). If the master put out his slave's eye or knocked out his tooth, the slave was to be set free in compensation (Exod 21:26–27).

In contrast to all the ANE laws, Deuteronomy (23:15–16) forbade the handing over of a fugitive slave who had sought asylum from his master. The law instructed the owner to let the slave stay where he chose to live. Our information about fugitive slaves is very scanty. For example, Nabal, a contemporary of David, said that many slaves had escaped from their masters in his day (1 Sam 25:10). Two slaves belonging to an Israelite had run away to Achish, king of the Philistine city of Gath, and their master had to go there to retrieve them (1 Kgs 2:39–40).

An appeal for the humane treatment of slaves can also be found in the advice not to slander a slave to his master so that the slave would not curse the slanderer (Prov 30:10). According to the book of Job (3:19), after the death of a master all of his slaves are free. It is said in the book of Isaiah (24:2) that when the Lord destroys the earth it will be the same for a master and his slave. Job (31:13) says that he never rejected any appeal of his slaves when they brought their complaint to him. Job (19:15–16) also complained that his slave girls treated him as a stranger and his slaves did not respond to his call.

It seems that, according to the Hebrew law, marriages between freeborn men and slave girls as well as between freeborn women and slaves were legally recognized. Thus, a certain Sheshan who had no sons gave his daughter in marriage to his Egyptian slave (1 Chr 2:34–35). Leviticus (19:20) contains instructions that if a slave girl had been assigned to a free man and not yet set free or ransomed, her seducer and she were not to be put to death.

Naturally, there were a certain number of privileged slaves. Thus, according to 2 Samuel (19:17), Ziba, a slave of Saul's family, had fifteen sons and twenty slaves. To judge from Leviticus (25:47–50), some slaves of Hebrew origin could have raised the means in order to purchase their freedom.

The difference in defense of interests of free persons and slaves is seen from Exodus (21:29, 32), according to which if a man had been warned by his neighbors that his ox was known to gore but did not keep it under control, and it gored a free man or woman thereby causing their death, the owner was to be put to death. However, if the ox gored a slave or a slave woman the owner was only to pay 30 shekels to their master.

**E. Conclusion**

Slavery had a profound influence on the social structure, ideology, law, and social psychology of the ANE cultures. However, throughout the entire history of Israel and Judah as well as of all other countries of the ANE, slave labor did not play a decisive role in agriculture and it was used to a very limited extent compared to the labor provided by small landholders. As the Bible indicates, the artisan trades were also in the hands of free persons (1 Chr 4:14, 23; Jer 37:21; Neh 3:8). For this reason, there existed no artisan workshops based on slave labor and the decisive role in the handicraft industries was played by free labor, especially in the area of manufacture depending upon skills. Thus, there was no predominance of slave labor in any branch of economy, and it was used primarily for household tasks requiring neither skill nor extensive supervision, i.e., in jobs where slaves could be employed all the year round, not those which were seasonal in character.

In contrast to many ancient doctrines, the Hebrew law was relatively mild toward the slaves and recognized them as human beings subject to defense from intolerable acts, although not to the same extent as free persons. The early Christian ideology undermined the institution of slavery, declaring an equality of all people in Christ.

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## *NEW TESTAMENT*

A. Orientation
B. How a Person Became a Slave
C. The Patriarchal Context
D. Economic Functions and Social Status
E. Making the Slave System Work
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**A. Orientation**

Among a variety of institutions for maintaining dominance and dependence characteristic of the early Roman Empire, slavery was an especially important form of compulsory labor in which part of the population legally owned other human beings as property; it was practiced in all cultures relevant to the writing of the documents of the NT. Dio Chrysostom, a popular orator in the 1st century C.E., spoke for the Mediterranean consensus when he defined slavery as the right to use another man at pleasure, like a piece of property or a domestic animal (XV.24). Extensive and differing legal traditions in Jewish, Greek, and Roman culture regulated this inherently ambiguous categorization of large numbers of persons as property (chattel slavery). "There was no action or belief or institution in Graeco-Roman antiquity that was not one way or other affected by the possibility that someone involved *might be* a slave" (Finley 1980:65).

Yet it must be stressed that for the most part knowledge of slavery as practiced in the New World in the 17th–19th centuries has hindered more than helped achieving an appropriate, historical understanding of social-economic life in the Mediterranean world of the 1st century, knowledge which is absolutely essential for a sound exegesis of those NT texts dealing with slaves and their owners or using slavery-related metaphors. For example, in contrast to the Authorized Version's translation of the Gk term *doulos* as "servant," the word "slave" should be used in order to stress the legally regulated subordination of the person in slavery. Yet in contrast to present connotations of the term "slave" resulting from the specific racial, economic, educational, and political practices characteristic of slavery in the New World, the slaves and slavery mentioned in NT texts must be defined strictly in terms of the profoundly different legal-social contexts of the 1st century C.E.

Central features that distinguish 1st century slavery from that later practiced in the New World are the following: racial factors played no role; education was greatly encouraged (some slaves were better educated than their owners) and enhanced a slave's value; many slaves carried out sensitive and highly responsible social functions; slaves could own property (including other slaves!); their religious and cultural traditions were the same as those of the freeborn; no laws prohibited public assembly of slaves; and (perhaps above all) the majority of urban and domestic slaves could legitimately anticipate being emancipated by the age of 30.

The extent of the owner's control over the life, the production, the "family" (a slave had no legal kin in Greek and Roman law), and the potential freedom of the enslaved person varied greatly. And sufficient differences existed among the three traditions (Jewish, Greek, and Roman) relevant to NT texts to require that serious students investigate the specific legal-social-philosophical background of each NT passage. This article seeks to reduce that great amount and complexity of detail to balanced examples and appropriate generalizations.

For example, the Greek tradition tended to regard an enslaved person as inferior by nature and thus fortunate to have a Greek master (Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, echoed by Cicero), and to view human freedom as divisible into parts. The Jewish tradition, despite the practice of debt-slavery and the use of slaves even in the Jerusalem Temple, tended to regard any enslavement of Jews by Jews as improper because every Jew had already become exclusively a "slave of God" by means of the liberation of his or her ancestors from Egyptian bondage (Lev 25:55). In the Roman tradition, slaves on the one hand were rigorously regarded in much legislation as things (*instrumentum vocale*—a "speaking tool"), yet on the other hand they were regularly treated as well as free human beings and were normally granted Roman

citizenship when set free, as happened regularly. For this reason, it has been argued that urban and domestic enslavement under Roman law is best understood as a process rather than a permanent condition, a process of social integration of outsiders (Wiedemann 1981:3).

It must also be stressed that, despite the neat legal separation between owners and slaves, in none of the relevant cultures did persons in slavery constitute a social or economic class (see Garnsey and Saller 1987:109–25 for an analysis of class and status). Slaves' individual honor, social status, and economic opportunities were entirely dependent on the status of their respective owners, and they developed no recognizable consciousness of being a group or of suffering a common plight (Bradley 1987:15). For this reason, any such call as "slaves of the world, unite!" would have fallen on completely deaf ears.

Furthermore, by no means were those in slavery regularly to be found at the bottom of the social-economic pyramid (MacMullen 1974:93–94). Rather, in that place were those free and impoverished persons who had to look for work each day without any certainty of finding it (day laborers), some of whom eventually sold themselves into slavery to gain some job security.

Although slavery was practiced in most (but not all) cultures from as far back as records have been found, ancient Greece and Rome are two of only five societies in world history which seem to have been based on slavery. Apparently independently, the Greeks and Romans transformed slavery into something wholly original, "namely, an institutionalized system of large-scale employment of slave labour in both the countryside and the cities" (Finley 1980:67). Thus whereas there is no justification for referring to 1st century Jewish society as a "slave economy," this is an entirely appropriate designation for the Greco-Roman world in general. The leisure used by the Greeks to create their extraordinary cultural achievements had been made possible for the most part by the surplus taken from the work of a large number of slaves (Ste. Croix 1981:133–73). So a part of the population's freedom from the demands of a subsistence existence advanced hand in hand with the increase of the number of human beings held in Greek and Roman slavery. Polybius (IV.38.4), e.g., speaks of slaves, equally with cattle, as essential to life.

These systems of slavery were fully developed and stabilized as social-legal institutions by the 2d century B.C.E. Yet the analysis of the functions and significances of this fact is not easy. For the uniformity of legal rightlessness in principle of all persons in Greco-Roman slavery "masks the wide range of different social and economic roles slaves played, and the fact that most functions performed by slaves could also be undertaken by persons of free status" (Wiedemann 1981:2).

**B. How a Person Became a Slave**

Prior to the 1st century C.E., prisoners of war and people kidnapped by pirates provided the Mediterranean world with the vast majority of its slaves. By the 1st century C.E., however, the children of women in slavery had become the primary source of slaves. Apparently these children were born in sufficient numbers to maintain the large slave population, which comprised at least a third of the inhabitants of most major urban centers. This prolific source was supplemented by self-sale, the sale of freeborn children, the raising of foundlings, and debt-bondage.

Stealing human beings and selling them into slavery had been practiced in the Mediterranean basin for many centuries. Even though the establishment of law and order within the Empire had eliminated piracy by the middle of the 1st century B.C.E. and had greatly reduced kidnapping, the term *andrapodistes* in 1 Tim 1:10, translated "kidnapper" (RSV, NEB), "menstealer" (AV), "slave trader" (NIV), appears in a traditional list of vices, indicating that knowledge of this practice could be assumed in the late 1st century C.E. (see also Rev 18:13).

Prisoners brought to Rome as slaves after the war with Antiochus III in 192–188 B.C.E. may have formed the nucleus of the Jewish community there (see Smallwood 1976:129–31). Pompey brought thousands of prisoners as slaves to Rome in 62 B.C.E., including many Jews. Philo (*Leg* 155) states that "the large district of Rome beyond the Tiber" (modern Trastevere) "was owned and inhabited by Jews. The majority of them were Roman freedmen, who had been brought to Rome as prisoners of war and manumitted by their owners." It is highly likely that the "synagogue of the freedmen" mentioned in Acts 6:9 had been founded by such Jewish freedmen who had returned to Jerusalem.

With the cessation of the great wars of conquest after the death of Caesar Augustus, the primary source for slaves became the children of women in slavery. To be sure, prisoners taken during the First Jewish Revolt (66–70 C.E.) briefly opened up a new source of slaves for the Empire; e.g., Vespasian sent 6,000 Jews to Nero for use as forced labor to dig a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth (unsuccessful because of extensive granite formations). But the slaves who are mentioned and addressed as Christians in the NT were most likely among those born into slavery. Nevertheless other sources of slaves, not as significant as breeding, are important to note in light of early Christian practices. Large numbers of people sold themselves into slavery for various reasons, e.g., to pay debts, to climb socially (Roman citizenship was conventionally bestowed on a slave released by a Roman owner), to obtain special jobs, and above all to enter a life that was more secure and less strenuous than existence as a poor, freeborn person.

It is highly probable that the Erastus mentioned in Rom 16:23 as the "city treasurer" *(oikonomos tes poleos)* of Corinth had to sell himself to the city (as a form of "bonding insurance") in order to secure this responsible position. According to Roman law, such special slaves were usually held in provincial municipal slavery until about age 40, at which time as freedmen and Roman citizens they were given opportunities to pursue political careers. Inscriptional evidence suggests that this Erastus followed that course by being elected an *aedile* (a local Roman administrator) of Corinth, who then, befitting his office, gave this provincial capital the paving of the street in front of the main theater (Theissen 1982:75–83). In any case, even while legally a slave of the city, as "treasurer" of a Roman provincial capital, Erastus was probably the most socially distinguished member of the Christian congregation in Corinth. Such an apparent conflict between legal and social status was by no means unusual during this period.

The money that a poor freeborn person received from self-sale into slavery usually became the beginning of the personal funds (in Roman law the *peculium*) that would later be used to purchase freedom under more favorable circumstances, e.g., with former debts extinguished. Greek law also recognized the validity of self-sale into slavery, often with a contract limiting the duration of the enslavement. Such sales were frequent in the eastern provinces in imperial times. Dio Chrysostom commented: "Great numbers of men, we may suppose, who are freeborn sell themselves, so that they are slaves by contract, sometimes on no easy terms but the most severe imaginable" (XV.23). Time-limited self-sale had been known in Jewish circles for centuries.

The practice of self-sale into slavery is the most likely context for understanding Paul's admonition to the Corinthian Christians: "You were bought with a price; do not become slaves of men" (1 Cor 7:23), even if his emphasis was primarily metaphorical (Bartchy 1973:181–82). Knowledge of such self-sales provides the necessary background for appreciating the commitment of those Roman Christians who exploited the system by selling themselves into slavery in order to gain money to ransom others (apparently having worse owners) from slavery and to provide food for others (*1 Clem.* 55:2).

The "exposure" (throwing away) of newborn infants was a frequently used means of post-birth control; when such infants were found alive, they could be raised as slaves. This practice is not mentioned in the NT, but later Christians urged each other not to expose their children (*Did.* 2:2; *Ep. Barn.* 19:5; Justin *Apol.* I 27:1; Tertullian *Apol.* 9:6–8). Older children were often sold into slavery by their parents, Greek, Roman, and Jewish, either to pay debts or perhaps to improve a child's situation. Among 1st-century Jews "an extremely frequent phenomenon was the selling of daughters as slaves by their fathers" (Urbach 1964:15–18). The selling of children is not addressed in the NT.

A further source of slave labor was the enslavement of debtors by their creditors. Although Ste. Croix (1981:136) argues that these persons should not be regarded as slaves but rather as "bondsmen" because of the possibility of putting a time limit on their enslavement, he also notes that there are no Greek or Latin terms used to distinguish the persons enslaved by this means from those who were born into it (all were called *doulos* or *servus/servitus*). Athens was remembered as unique among Mediterranean cities for having forbidden such enslavement for debt in 594/93 B.C.E. In all other known places, such enslavement was a standard practice; some Greek cities, as well as Rome, apparently insisted, however, that their citizens could only be enslaved for debt outside the debtor's home city. Plutarch (ca. 100 C.E.) spoke of

debtors who were sold by their creditors (*Mor.* 829e) and of others who fled for sanctuary to the temple of Artemis in Ephesus (828d), evidently to save themselves from seizure.

Enslavement of debtors was a widespread practice in Palestine, and Jesus of Nazareth relied on knowledge of it in his parable of the unmerciful slave (Matt 18:23–34). Ste. Croix (1981:165) calls attention to this parable as illustrative of three aspects of debt bondage: (1) outright sale into slavery: the king threatens to sell one of his "slaves" *(doulos)* along with his wife and children in order to obtain at least some money in place of the stupendous sum of 10,000 talents (= a "zillion" dollars) he owed the king; (2) the fact of debt bondage: but after receiving the king's forgiveness rather than such a cruel punishment, this slave then places under guard (in prison?) a fellow slave who owes him 100 denarii (= about 4 months' work), a significant sum; this results in the king's ordering debt bondage along with torture for the first slave; (3) the process of enslavement for debt: it was carried out either by "personal execution" (seizure by the first slave) or by official condemnation (by the king).

Ste. Croix (1981:165) is convinced that this parable reflects conditions in most of the Greek East, including Egypt where clear evidence has been found for both debt bondage and full enslavement for debt. In the context of Roman law, seizure by a creditor ("personal execution") remained the primary means for coercing a defaulting debtor, who often was forced to work in the creditor's house until the debt was paid.

In face of the widespread claim that Jesus of Nazareth never called into question slavery as practiced in Palestine, based on the observation that he often used slaves as typical figures in his teaching (e.g., Matt 24:45–51; Luke 15:22; 17:7), the initial conclusion in the parable of the unmerciful slave must be carefully noted. In the context of debt slavery, first the king's financial mercy (18:27) and then his expectation that his slave would extend the same mercy to another potential debt-slave (v 33) must have struck Jesus' hearers as profound critiques of an exceedingly oppressive practice that produced slaves.

By "spiritualizing" the "forgiveness" as presented in the Matthean framework (vv 21–22, 35), later interpreters of this parable have obscured Jesus' challenging description of the "kingdom of heaven" as a realm in which forgiveness removes the grounds for enslaving people for debt. The same obscuring fate overtook the similarly directed petition in Matthew's presentation of the so-called "Lord's Prayer":"Forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors" (6:12), an appeal that assumes that the petitioner has rejected the use of debt slavery (including forcing impoverished parents to sell their children). "Here as elsewhere in the gospel tradition the term *opheilo/opheilema* ("debts") refers to one's economic or other legal obligations (e.g., Matt 18:24–33; Luke 7:41; 16:5, 7)" (Horsley 1987:254–55). Luke's presentation of this petition (11:4) prominently stresses the completeness of merciful financial forgiveness as the presupposition for requesting divine forgiveness for sins in general: "Forgive us our *sins (hamartias),* for we ourselves forgive *every one* who is indebted *(panti opheilonti)* to us." Luke's inclusion of this tradition is in full accord with his programmatic description of Jesus' ministry in terms of the promise in Isa 61:1–2 that God's spirit will bring good news to impoverished persons and release to prisoners (4:18).

The NT presents no further reference to how persons became slaves. Nor does any NT writer comment on the origins of slavery as an institution or seek in any way to justify human beings' owning other human beings. This fact stands in sharp contrast to Augustine, who 300 years later claimed that the institution of slavery was part of the punishment for Adam's sin (*Civ. Dei* 19.15). The fact that no theological sanctions for slavery can be found in the NT itself became important for those Christians who later fought to abolish this institution.

**C. The Patriarchal Context**

Neither the growth of the early Christian movement nor its impact on persons in slavery in the NT period can be understood apart from the study of the ubiquitous social arrangement now referred to as the "extended household" (Gk *oikos;* Lat *familia;* see Laub 1982:19–62; Klauck 1981). Here the central, dominating figure was the father, the *pater familias,* who in all NT cultures exercised total legal control (Lat *potestas*) over both his children and the enslaved members of his household. According to Roman law, this *potestas* even included the power over life and death (see Harris 1986).

While the slaves in Jesus' parables usually are presented as agricultural workers and thus probably did not live as part of their owners' households, all the slaves mentioned in the NT as Christians labored in urban settings and belonged to such patriarchal "families." Thus, the NT list of slaves who became Christians must include not only those who are clearly designated as slaves (*douloi;* e.g., 1 Cor 7:21; Col 3:22; *oiketai;* 1 Pet 2:18–25), but also the ones whom Paul referred to as "Chloe's people" (1 Cor 1:11), and the slaves who, we may assume, were among the Christians Paul greeted as "those who belong to the family of Aristobulus" and "those who belong to the family of Narcissus" (Rom 16:10–11, RSV).

In many cases, such slaves became Christians along with their owners (1 Cor 1:16; 16:15; Acts 16:15, 31–34; 18:8). Yet the conversion of entire households should not be regarded as the norm for the early Christian missionary movement: NT evidence shows that slaves, wives, sons, and daughters were called to conversion *as individuals,* and that at least some of them became members of a Christian house-church even if their patriarchs did not (e.g., 1 Cor 7:10–11, 21; 1 Pet 2:18–25; 3:1–2; 2 Tim 1:5). Primarily for this reason the early Christian movement was perceived as a serious challenge to the sanctity and axiomatic quality of traditional kinship ties and patriarchal family structure (Nisbet 1973).

Some scholars suggest that such negative, pagan responses to this challenge to patriarchy stimulated the formulation of the so-called "household codes" in the NT, which leave the basic patriarchal structure unchallenged (and thus reinforced; e.g., Crouch 1972; Balch 1981; Schüssler Fiorenza 1984). These pairs of admonitions to wives/husbands, children/parents, and slaves/owners (in complete form only in Col 3:18–4:1 and Eph 5:21–6:9, but see 1 Tim 6:1–2; Titus 2:9–10) do indeed take the patriarchal structure for granted, addressing all members of a typical household for the purpose of transforming the usual attitudes and behavior of both the ruler and the ruled.

The quality of daily life of all those in slavery, but especially that of household slaves (and children), depended almost entirely upon the particular character and mood of the owner (or father; see Eph 6:4):Greco-Roman slave systems and legal frameworks gave slave owners much room to be cruel or compassionate.

For example, even as adults those in slavery were subject to corporal punishment, private or public. Demosthenes had said (22.55) that the greatest difference between a slave and a free person is that the slave "is answerable with his body for all offenses." And the reputation of slaves for deception was met by Roman laws requiring that their testimony for law courts had to be verified under torture. Here it is noteworthy that by the 2d century C.E. Rome made corporal punishment and torture legal also for the *humiliores,* the lower classes among the free, citizen population.

Further, the fact that the owner of slaves owned the bodies and not just the work of the persons in slavery meant that slaves were generally regarded as sexually available without restriction. With respect to sexual exploitation of slaves, Hillel is remembered to have said: "Whoever multiplies female slaves multiplies promiscuity" (*m. ʾAbot* 2.8). So it is striking that neither the sexual risks for slaves nor the related temptations for their owners are mentioned specifically in NT documents, unless Paul had owners of slaves in mind when urging Christians "that you abstain from immorality, that each of you know how to take a wife for himself in holiness and honor" (1 Thess 4:3–4, RSV).

Specifically the "household codes" sought to transform attitudes that were endemic to the patriarchal system, such as cruel dominance by owners into fairness and compassion, and servile deception by slaves into honesty and hard work. Christian slaves are admonished to "obey in everything," "not as men pleasers" but as those who "do the will of God from the heart" and "work heartily as serving the Lord and not men" (Col 3:22–23; see Eph 6:5–8). Christian owners are urged to treat their slaves "justly and fairly," without threatening, since they have a "master in heaven" who owns them as well as the slaves, and who shows no partiality (Col 4:1; Eph 6:9). An interesting comparison is found in the admonition of owners by the contemporaneous Stoic philosopher Seneca "to be moderate in what you tell slaves to do. Even with slaves, one ought to consider not how much you can make them suffer without fearing revenge, but how much justice and goodness allow" (*On Mercy* 1.18).

Concern for the reputation of Christians in the eyes of a patriarchal society clearly motivated admonitions to Christian slaves not to take advantage of being "brothers" or "sisters" of Christian owners,

lest "the name of God and the teaching be defamed." Moreover, Christian slaves in converted patriarchal households should "serve all the better since those who benefit by their service are believers and beloved" (1 Tim 6:1–2). Such a concern regrettably left slavery and patriarchal structures, if not patriarchal attitudes, intact.

**D. Economic Functions and Social Status**

For understanding the economic contexts of the NT, the significance of the "extended households" in the life of the Roman Empire, and of the slaves within these households, can hardly be overestimated. Greco-Roman society had come to depend on persons in slavery as the basic labor force, as essential components of the imperial economy, and a normal part of the daily life of most families. This extensive use of slave labor produced much wealth and the leisure that permitted the development of Greco-Roman culture.

Slaves were used for "an enormous variety of functions in enormously different circumstances" (Bradley 1987:15), some of which when compared to New World slavery seem astonishingly responsible: "doctors, teachers, writers, accountants, agents, bailiffs, overseers, secretaries, and sea-captains" (Hopkins 1978:123). Two primary factors led to this situation. First, the Romans had no tradition that made it acceptable for free men to take orders from anyone except their fathers or their military leaders, either on the farm, in urban workshops and homes, or in government bureaucracy. Cicero, e.g., stated that working every day to earn a living was beneath the dignity of a citizen and that working with one's hands was a "dirty business" (*De Officiis* i.150). Those citizens who nevertheless entered domestic work were regarded as serving "in place of slaves" *(loco servorum)* during their employment. Second, the Romans used large numbers of slaves from the E empire to bring greatly admired Hellenistic high culture to Rome.

The contexts of enslavement varied from such a small-scale owner as the poet Horace with three domestics at Rome and eight laborers on his farm in the country to the household of L. Pedanius Secundus, a senator during the reign of Nero who had 400 slaves in his town house alone. Yet the emperor owned by far the largest number of slaves (see Weaver 1972). Claudius built up the extensive Roman bureaucracy using his slaves and his freedmen, a practice followed by his successors (see Phil 4:22: *hoi tes Kaisaros oikias,* "those of Caesar's household"). Former imperial slaves often gained great wealth and influence, including high office such as admiral of the navy or provincial governor. For example, Marcus Antonius Felix, the procurator of Judea who judged Paul (Acts 23:23–24:27), was a freedman of Claudius' mother Antonia.

Such an economic and political context made it practically impossible for anyone to conceive of abolishing slavery as a legal-economic institution. The great slave rebellions, all of which were led primarily by prisoners of war between 140–70 B.C.E., never sought to abrogate slavery. Rather, these rebels sought either to escape or to turn the tables by enslaving the owners. No Greco-Roman author attacked slavery as a legal-economic institution, not even those who, like the philosopher Epictetus, had been raised in slavery. Dio Chrysostom, the Cynic preacher, concluded that the social and legal status of slavery had nothing to do with the values which the philosophers held to be important (15.29–32).

Only the Essenes at Qumran (see Josephus *Ant* 18.18–22) and the Egyptian Therapeutae (see Philo *Vita Cont* 70) appear to have rejected slavery in principle. To be sure, according to all known traditions, neither Jesus of Nazareth nor his immediate followers owned slaves; nor at the least did Paul, Barnabas, or Timothy. So both the example of Jesus and his great concern for the poor challenged many early Christians to live among themselves in an alternative social-legal environment (see Paul's appeal to Philemon regarding his slave Onesimus, and especially the practice of selling oneself to help the poor, mentioned in *1 Clem.* 55:2). See also PHILEMON, EPISTLE TO.

Because the preaching of the Gospel called into existence congregations that began to function as alternative households, the penetration of the Gospel into the Roman extended family, made up of both freeborn and slaves, threatened in no small way its economic structure (Drexhage 1981:4). Furthermore, the early Christians appear to have disagreed strongly with the prevailing negative attitude toward work and thus toward the persons who had to work to earn a living, including those in slavery. Paul, at least, expected all Christians to work for their living (1 Thess 4:11–12; see Eph 4:28).

Neither a slave's dress, nor race, nor usual occupation, nor fellow workers, nor religion revealed his or her legal or social status. When working as a "tentmaker," Paul most probably had slaves frequently as his shop companions. A slave's actual social status was largely determined by the status of his or her owner.

**E. Making the Slave System Work**

The Romans sought to make their slave system function well by following practices already perfected by the Greeks: providing slaves the security of room and board, and granting them the privileges of owning property (including their own slaves), of making contracts, and in some cases of sharing in profits and receiving wages. Perhaps the major factor was the realistic anticipation by most urban slaves of personal emancipation and Roman citizenship (if owned by a Roman), an expectation sharply distinguishing this system from that to come in the New World.

Since slaves represented a substantial investment by their owners (an unskilled adult male was worth about four tons of wheat), they could at least expect to receive enough food to keep them alive and working. Manumission could mean the end of that security. Epictetus, himself an ex-slave, took pleasure in pointing out that the slave who thinks only of gaining his freedom may be reduced, when he is manumitted, to "slavery much more severe than before" (II.1.27).

Yet at the beginning of the 1st century, owners were manumitting their slaves with a frequency that provoked Augustus Caesar to introduce laws which restricted the numbers and ages of those who could be lawfully emancipated. Augustus took this action because of the unique and surprising Roman practice of usually granting full citizenship to the freed men and women of Roman owners (note the astonishment expressed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a leading Greek literary critic who lived in Rome at the end of the 1st century B.C.E., *Ant. Rom.* IV.22.4–23.7). This emperor, who sought to upgrade the dignity of Roman traditions and protect the moral character of citizenship, was convinced that too many uncultured ex-slaves were becoming Roman citizens.

Manumission, however, was generally regarded as a reward for faithful work; and it functioned as an important safety valve, especially for Roman society in which so many capable and educated persons were enslaved. Substantial inscriptional evidence strongly suggests that persons in domestic slavery under Roman law in the 1st century C.E. could generally expect to be set free by age 30 (Alföldy 1972; opposed by Wiedemann 1985, who argues that these inscriptions represent a Roman ideal but not a standard practice). For those enslaved in rural areas the evidence for an anticipated age for manumission is not so clear. Those who had been enslaved by the courts as convicted criminals had no hope of manumission; rather, they could count on being worked to death in the mines and on galley ships or on fighting to the death as gladiators.

The anticipation of becoming a freedman or woman encouraged a slave to exercise self-discipline and work hard, behavior that was rewarded in two ways. Such conduct was usually the quickest means to accumulate the substantial funds (usually much more than enough to buy a younger replacement) that could be offered to an owner in exchange for manumission. It also provided the kind of example for all others in slavery which an owner would want to encourage by willingness to manumit. Thus, rather than leading to the gradual dissolution of the slave system, frequent manumissions encouraged its smooth functioning.

Most commonly, an owner granted manumission to a *servus fidelis* as the due reward for faithful work and loyalty; this was frequently done by the owner's will at death (Duff 1958). Innumerable former slaves throughout the Empire were living proof that Roman slavery was not usually a permanent state. On the other hand, owners could punish disloyal slaves by including in their wills a clause prohibiting the heirs from ever manumitting them (Wiedemann 1985:165). Although Roman law probably is not directly relevant to the relations between Paul, Philemon, and Onesimus, Roman practice suggests that Paul was pleading with Philemon at the least not to delay Onesimus' anticipated manumission because of the wrongs he had done. See also PHILEMON, EPISTLE TO.

For many, self-sale into slavery with anticipation of manumission was regarded as the most direct means to be integrated into Greek and Roman society. For many this was the quickest way to climb socially and financially. As such, in stark contrast to New World slavery, Greco-Roman slavery

functioned as a process rather than a permanent condition, as a temporary phase of life by means of which an outsider obtained "a place within a society that has no natural obligations of kinship or guest-friendship towards him" (Wiedemann 1981:2).

Slavery also functioned well among 1st century Jews, not only because of the usually limited length of enslavement before manumission (court-ordered sale for debt was limited to six years, the usual period for self-sale) but also because enslaved Jews were generally treated considerately by their owners, according to the demands of Hebrew law (see Exod 21:2, 11, 20–21, 26–27; Lev 25:39–55; Deut 5:12–18; 21:10–24; 23:15–16). Because of these regulations, later tradition claimed: "Whenever one acquires a Hebrew slave, he acquires a master" (*b. Qidd.* 22a). Thus Jews forced by circumstances to sell themselves into slavery sought Jewish purchasers, who often were in short supply. According to Leviticus 25, Jewish slaves were to be treated substantially better than gentile slaves. By the 1st century, however, enslaved gentiles were also given favorable treatment, as "slavery became an influence contributing towards proselytism, and there were many who were accepted into the Jewish faith *via* this route" (Urbach 1964:48). Such a convert became a Jew in the fullest sense at manumission, often granted to facilitate marriage to the owner's daughter.

Enslaved converts to Christ were regarded as "complete" Christians without respect to their legal status (see Gal 3:28; 1 Cor 7:21), a fact which must have subtly served to make the slave system seem less onerous. This fact also prompted exhortations to Christians in slavery to subordinate themselves to their owners, even to the overbearing ones, in imitation of Christ's self-subordination to his suffering and life-demanding mission. The reception of these admonitions as divine counsel surely, if unintentionally, contributed to the smooth functioning of the Greco-Roman slave system (1 Pet 2:18–25; 1 Tim 6:2).

**F. Emancipation and the Status of Freedmen/Women**

Releasing slaves from legal bondage was a frequent and carefully regulated event under Jewish, Greek, and Roman laws, by which at one stroke the person in slavery ceased to be a property and became a legal person. "In juristic terms, he was transformed from an object to a subject of rights, the most complete metamorphosis one can imagine" (Finley 1980:97). No matter how much authority the former owner, now patron (Gk *prostates;* Lat *patronus*), may have retained under Greek or Roman law, the freedman/woman was now unequivocally a human being.

Among such Augustan laws is the *lex Aelia Sentia* (4 C.E.) that required slaves to have reached 30 years old (and the owners 20 years old) if they were indeed to receive Roman citizenship with their legal freedom. Pertinent inscriptions suggest, however, that large numbers (approaching 50 percent) were set free *prior to* their 30th birthdays (receiving the intermediate status of Junian Latins)—women more frequently so than men, especially those between ages 15–20 whose owners decided to marry them. The law provided these freed Junian Latins a number of ways to obtain Roman citizenship, including marrying and producing a son.

Manumission was practiced very generously; sometimes all the slaves of an entire household were released by testament upon the death of the owner. However effected, manumissions were entirely normal events of urban daily life and were expected by both owners and slaves. Thus, few persons are known to have reached old age in urban slavery, not because of ill-treatment, but because they had already been released before dying as freedmen/women in their 30s, 40s, 50s or more (Alföldy 1972:105–6).

To be sure, owners of slaves were not obligated to emancipate their slaves at a particular age. Manumitting a slave or not could serve a wide variety of purposes. For example, an owner who feared that the courts might force his slaves under torture (the standard procedure) to reveal "too much" about the owner's activities could emancipate the slaves in question; ex-slaves could only be required to testify against their patrons in cases involving treason. An owner often freed an older slave because it had become more economical to use his or her services as a freedman or woman than to continue to provide him/her with food and lodging as a slave. And if a slave had accumulated a large *peculium* (Roman law) or savings (Greek law) with which he could purchase his freedom (the prevailing rates were much higher than the price of slaves on the market), an owner could benefit financially while legally binding the ex-slave to continue to perform most of his prior duties.

This, then, is the necessary context for understanding such strongly debated texts as 1 Cor 7:21 and Phlm 8–16. When Paul, in the earliest Christian text mentioning slavery (1 Cor 7:21–24), points to the possibility of Christian slaves being manumitted, he is not only speaking of a normal, everyday occurrence in his world; he is referring to an event over which the enslaved person had very little control. Owners granted manumissions in order to advance their own various personal and business interests and to keep the system functioning.

Thus, in contrast to the conclusions of the majority of continental European scholars (see the chart in Bartchy 1973:6–7), there would have been no point for Paul to have urged Christian slaves to "remain in slavery" (so the Zürcher Bibel, La Bible de Jerusalem, and the Einheitsübersetzung der Heiligen Schrift):there was little influence the slave could have over the timing of his or her manumission apart from offering the owner an attractive sum of money or pleading with the owner to delay manumission for the slave's personal or financial advantage. Likewise, Paul's urging Christian slaves to "take freedom" (so Moffatt, RSV, NEB, JB [vs. the French edition], the Luther Bible, NIV, TEV and the majority of English and American scholars) would seem in these circumstances to be superfluous. The point of his admonition (the aorist imperative verb *chresai* at the end of 1 Cor 7:21d must be completed from the context) seems most likely to be that, as a Christian, the manumitted slave was to "use" or "live according to" the new identity in Christ (the "calling"; see 7:17 and 24) that, for Paul, had become more fundamental than any social, legal, or religious status (see 7:19, Bartchy 1973:155–59).

In this social-legal context, Paul's brief masterpiece of sensitive persuasion sent to Philemon and "the church in his house" seems best understood as Paul's presentation of his requests that Onesimus' manumission not be delayed because of any misdeeds (v 18) and that Philemon forgive his slave and manumit him very soon (v 16: "no longer as a slave but … as a beloved brother"). Paul confronted Philemon with the choice either of continuing to regard himself as Onesimus' owner or of becoming his brother in a new social reality. See PHILEMON, EPISTLE TO. Paul may have hoped that Onesimus would be sent back to help him, with the legal status of Philemon's freedman (v 13).

In light of the fact that Greek notaries often openly rejected procedures prescribed in Roman law, one unique aspect of Greek legal traditions should be noted: viz. the description of stages of partial freedoms for those who were manumitted. Freedom was broken down into four elements: to represent oneself in legal matters; to be secure from seizure as property; to earn one's living as one chooses; and to live where one desires. More than ¼ of the 1,000+ manumission contracts inscribed on the sacred wall at Delphi fix limitations on at least two of these freedoms, usually of movement and employment, by means of a so-called *paramone* clause that remained valid for a limited time (usually 2–10 years). Such a freed slave could not be sold (and was thus legally a free person), but the freedman was still bound to the former owner in a variety of ways.

When Paul describes the Christian slave as a "freedman of the Lord" (*apeleutheros kuriou;* 1 Cor 7:22 only), he has in mind either such continuing personal and legal obligations a manumitted slave owed to his or her former owner according to Greek law, or (more likely) the Roman legislation that guaranteed to the former owner (now the ex-slave's patron) lifelong *obsequium* ("eagerness to serve"), *operae* ("days of work"), and *officium* ("moral duty").

Freedmen/women were potentially no longer without kin, for any children born subsequent to manumission were born free and remained their legal sons and daughters. In contrast to the fact that in the New World skin color often continued to identify the children of slaves and ex-slaves for many generations, freedmen and women in the Roman Empire easily blended into the general population within one generation.

Finally, whether or not a person was a slave or a Roman freedman or a freeborn Roman or Greek was in the long run often less important "than the question of *whose* slave or freedman he was or had been and what financial condition he had reached" (Ste. Croix 1981:175).

**G. Metaphorical Uses of Slave Terminology**

NT writers and their readers were heirs of both the Israelites' description of themselves as "slaves of God" after their liberation from Egyptian slavery at the Exodus (Lev 25:55) and of the popular

philosophical/metaphorical use (especially Stoic and Cynic) of Greek and Roman legal terms for slavery and freedom to describe the moral and spiritual state of both slaves and free persons. How much of this dual inheritance did they claim?

The Greek tradition of encouraging slaves to believe that their minds could be "set free" even while their bodies were enslaved seems to have begun with Socrates, and was stressed, e.g., by Sophocles, Menander, Bion, and Epictetus. An enslaved person could attain an "inner freedom" of the mind from the domination of the passions, conventions, and external circumstances, factors which on the other hand could easily "enslave" a free slave-owner. These metaphorical uses of slave/free language were employed powerfully by the Jewish philosopher and biblical interpreter, Philo of Alexandria, in his treatise, *Every Good Man is Free.*

Such was the air in which Paul urged Christian slaves to regard themselves as "freedmen of the Lord" (1 Cor 7:22), adding that they had been "bought with a price" by God (7:23); and Paul addressed them as free, moral agents. In this case, the point of the metaphor is probably twofold: (1) a stress on the slaves' true moral and spiritual freedom; and (2) a reference to their personal tie to Christ and their obligations to him as their authentic "patron."

On the other hand, for freeborn or freed persons who became Christians, both the Jewish sense of being God's slaves and the common Greco-Roman practice of self-sale into slavery provided conceptual models for them to regard themselves as having become "slaves of God" (1 Peter 2:16) or "slaves of the Lord (Jesus)" (1 Cor 7:22). In 1 Cor 7:23, Paul reminds the legally free Corinthians that they too had been "bought with a price" (see 6:19c–20a) and thus should not become "slaves of men." In the context of 1 Corinthians 7, this exhortation seems to be intended metaphorically, i.e., Christians are not to lose "inner freedom" by becoming slaves of any human expectations or ideas. Yet Paul's Jewish traditions and his expectations for financial solidarity within the Christian community (see 2 Cor 8:14–15) would have led him also to oppose any legal self-sale by a Christian.

Deissmann's attempt (1927) to explain this language (and Paul's redemption metaphors in general) on the basis of the more than 1,000 manumission contracts inscribed on the sacred wall at Delphi attracted much scholarly attention, but has been completely rejected. In these sacred contracts, dated between 200 B.C.E.–74 C.E., Apollo (through his priests) functioned as the trustworthy intermediary of the manumission money and as the strong religious and public guarantor of the contracts.

A thorough study of these inscriptions, however, has demonstrated that none of the slaves set free at Delphi became either "slaves of Apollo" or "freedmen of Apollo." This makes sense, because in Greek culture generally such metaphors were regarded as entirely inappropriate to designate "freedom" (Bömer 1957–63, 2:133–41); therefore, these inscriptions yield nothing that helps to understand Paul's teaching about redemption, including 1 Cor 7:22–23 (Bartchy 1973:121–25). It now seems clear that Israel's conception of herself as "slaves of Yahweh" provided an entirely adequate source for Paul's description of freeborn Christians as "slaves of the Lord."

The OT's use of "slave" language as a designation of a special and honored relationship to God is continued in the NT, especially by Paul who described himself (Rom 1:1), along with Timothy (Phil 1:1), as "slaves of Christ Jesus," thereby stressing not only full dependence on Christ but also their place of honor in the OT tradition of Abraham, Moses, David, Elijah, et al. In Titus 1:2 Paul is further designated as a "slave of God."

Paul makes a further striking application of slave language when using the term *paidagogos* in Gal 3:24 to describe the historical function of "the Law." This metaphor has created confusion for translators: RSV "custodian"; AV "schoolmaster"; NEB "tutor." Despite the present meaning of the derivative "pedagogue," a *paidagogos* was not a teacher. Rather, such a slave was entrusted with the care of schoolboys in order to make certain that they got to and from school safely, and that they did their homework and generally behaved well (Plutarch, *Mor.* 439F). For this task no particular education was assumed; and the assignment was usually given to a slave who, because of age or injury, was no longer able to perform his usual physical labor.

In addition Paul refers to life under the Law as "slavery" (*douleia;* Gal 4:24), the yoke of which is to be avoided (5:1). (Compare the use of the same term in Heb 2:15 to speak of the "lifelong slavery" of those "who fear death.") Paul warns the Roman Christians against living as "slaves of sin" and urges them to "become slaves of righteousness" (6:6, 16–18). In Rom 8:15, he contrasts the "spirit of slavery" (leading to fear) with the "spirit of sonship." Finally, in his grandest use of such language, he portrays the entire creation "in slavery to decay" from which it will be liberated to share "the glorious freedom of the children of God" (8:21).

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**SLING.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

**SLOTHFULNESS.** See VIRTUE/VICE LISTS.

**SMUGGLING.** See TRADE AND COMMERCE (ANE).

**SMYRNA** (PLACE) [Gk *Smyrna* (Σμυρνα)]. A city (modern Izmir; 38°25´ N; 27°09´ E), which lies at the foot of Mt. Pagros, at the mouth of the Melas river on the S shore of the gulf of Izmir. It was the recipient of one of the addresses of the book of Revelation (1:11; 2:8–11). The area in which the city is located was one of the most ancient places of Greek settlement in Asia Minor, and remained so from the first establishment of the community in the 10th century B.C. until the destruction of the Greek population by the Turkish government in 1923.

The first Greeks in the region, which is defined by Mt. Sipylos in the N and the ridge of Pagros in the S, appear to have been Aeolians, and they occupied the first settlement of Smyrna, "Old Smyrna," on the N side of the gulf. Their harbor was on the coast and the acropolis lay on an E ridge of Sipylos, just above the harbor. The Aeolians seem to have arrived and dominated the indigenous population in the 10th century; they remained in control until the end of the 8th century, when they were replaced by Ionian Greeks who had settled to the S. There is no way of knowing the accuracy of Herodotus' story about this event. According to him, a group of Ionian exiles from Clazomenai, who had been welcomed by the Smyrnaeans, seized the whole city while the native Aeolians were outside of the walls celebrating a festival in honor of Dionysus (Hdt. 1.150). It apparently occurred before 688, when Onomastos, whom Pausanias calls an Ionian from Smyrna, won the first boxing competition at the Olympic games (Paus. 5.8.7).

The site has been well excavated, and the remains confirm Smyrna's reputation as a substantial place during the archaic period. The city had massive walls which surrounded an area of about 3000 $m^2$, containing about 500 houses. The city was organized with a regular street plan that suggests that the city's government had the authority to override the rights of individual property owners, and force them into compliance (Cadoux 1938:55–85; Cook 1982:203–4; Boardman 1982:443–45).

In the generation after Onomastos' victory, Smyrna came into conflict with the forces of the emerging Lydian kingdom, which was centered at Sardis on the plain of the Pactolus river, N of Sipylos. The struggle ended in disaster around 600 B.C. (Nicholls 1958/59:88–91, 128–34; Cook 1958/59:23–27). The city was captured, deprived of its civic status, and its former inhabitants were scattered in villages about the plain. Apparently however, as with the Messenians who had suffered the same fate at the hands of the Spartans a century earlier, they continued to identify themselves as "Smyrnaeans." Throughout this period, the memory of Smyrna was preserved in the works of earlier Ionian poets and, possibly, in stories that were beginning to develop about Homer (according to some, Smyrna was Homer's birthplace).

When Alexander invaded Asia Minor in 334 B.C., he found the people of Smyrna living as they had been for three centuries, and according to tradition, he was inspired in a dream to refound the city, though on a new site (its present location). If this was indeed Alexander's desire, he did little to implement it: nothing essentially was done in this area until well after his death in 323. King Lysimachus finally put the new city on the map as part of his major reorganization of W Asia Minor after the battle of Ipsus in 301. The first work at Smyrna appears to have been done in 288/87, and the city grew rapidly in importance during the following century (Cadoux 1938:94–141). Furthermore, even though the city passed under the control of the Seleucid dynasty in 281, the Smyrnaeans were able to exercise a great deal of freedom in the arrangement of their foreign and domestic affairs. So much so, that in the 190s it aligned with Rome against the interests of the Seleucid king Antiochus III. In 195, it became the first city in Asia Minor to erect a temple to the goddess Roma: an act of open defiance which followed upon its appeal to Rome against the king in 197 (Tac. *Ann* 4.56). This astute reading of the relative strength of the two sides, which may have been influenced by contacts with King Eumenes of Pergamum, placed the city in a favorable position after a Roman army overwhelmed Antiochus in 189. Smyrna remained a "free city" for a century, even after Rome took direct control of W Anatolia following the death of the Pergamene king, Attalus III, in 133. It was only after Smyrna had been swept into the conflagration of the first war between Rome and Mithridates VI of Pontus (89–85 B.C.) that it was reduced to tributary status within the Roman province of Asia. This was punishment for aid the city had given to Mithridates.

The next fifty years were troubled ones for Roman Asia. There was another invasion by Mithridates in 73 B.C., and various Roman generals extracted enormous sums of money from the cities of the region to support their armies in the civil wars which began with Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon in 49 B.C. and which ended with Augustus' defeat of Antony in 31–30 B.C. There was a brief occupation of the province by the Parthians in 41–39 B.C. But these events do not seem to have done Smyrna any lasting harm. The geographer Strabo, writing at the end of Augustus' reign (31 B.C.–A.D. 14) and early in the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 14–37) called it the "most beautiful city of all" (14.1.37). It was one of the four centers of the provincial assembly, which was a sign that the Romans regarded Smyrna as one of the most important cities in the province (the others were Ephesus, Sardis, and Pergamum). Its own government, as was the case in the Greek cities of the Roman Empire, was in the hands of the *boule* or town council, which was drawn from the ranks of the richest citizens. The *boule* was administered by a committee of its members (the *prytaneis*) and its primary function was to oversee the actions of the city's magistrates, who were also members of the *boule*. The most important of these magistrates were the *strategoi* (generals, even though they retained no military functions) who were charged with the city's general administration. Other important officials were the *grammateus* (secretary) of the *boule* and *demos* (popular assembly), the *tamias* (treasurer), *agoronomos* (market inspector), and the *eirenarch* (police chief; Cadoux 1938:186–201). In addition to the *boule*, there was also a council of elders *(gerousia)* and the *demos* which, although it had the power to ratify all public business, had little effective power, unless its members chose to riot. Negotiations with the imperial authorities would be carried out through the magistrates, through the offices of prominent citizens, or through the provincial assembly and its officials, the high priests of the imperial cult.

Recognition as a center for the provincial cult was an indication of a city's eminence in the eyes of the Roman state. Further, as one of the major cities of the province, Smyrna acquired three temples; one under Tiberius, one under Hadrian (A.D. 117–138), and the third under Caracalla (A.D. 211–217; Price 1984:258–59). The priests at these temples were Smyrnean citizens and citizens from other cities brought in to serve the function; Smyrna was technically the warden, or *neokoros*, of the temples for the whole province, and priests were expected to expend a good deal of their own money in the performance of their duties. Substantial private expenditure on city services was also expected of the city's own officials while they were in office.

Smyrna's importance in the 2d century A.D. is remarkably well documented. This results from the fascination which its greatest adoptive citizen, M. Antonius Polemo, held for the biographer Philostratus, as well as from the survival of the extensive corpus of another adoptive citizen, Aelius Aristides. Polemo, a descendant of the family which had been given the kingdom of Pontus by Mark Antony in the 30s B.C., was born at Laodicea on the Lycos, but he moved to Smyrna because the city offered him a greater venue for the display of his talents. He was immensely wealthy, a skilled *sophist* (professional orator), an authority on physiognomy (his work on the subject has been preserved in an Arabic translation), one of the most arrogant Greeks of his generation, and one of the most influential. He rose to be a special favorite of Hadrian and to dominate the life of Smyrna. It was said that he spoke to cities as inferiors, emperors as not his superiors, and gods as his equals (Phil. *VS* 535). This was not always to the liking of his contemporaries, but even if his relations with Smyrna were not always amicable, his ostentatiousness enhanced its reputation (as well as his own) to a considerable degree. He may be taken as a paradigm for the international aristocrats of the imperial period who took whole cities under their patronage (Cadoux 1938:254–64; Bowersock 1968:17–18, 22–49).

Aelius Aristides' relations with the city were less amicable. Like Polemo, he used the city as a departure point for a career which he apparently hoped would take him to the pinnacle of Roman society, even to the consulship (which he did not obtain). In representing the city, he did obtain imperial relief for the city after an earthquake. More often than not, however, he was at odds with the *boule*, which persisted in nominating him for civic and provincial posts, but he persisted in claiming immunity from the posts on the basis of a grant from the emperor Antoninus Pius (136–161). The main source for this story is Aelius' spiritual autobiography, *The Sacred Tales*. It is a remarkable work in which he describes various illnesses

(he was an extreme hypochondriac, but this was acceptable in an age when members of the upper classes seem to have enjoyed discussing the signs of their physical decay), the aid that the god Asclepius gave him in these circumstances, and his appearances before various Roman governors when he argued that he should be spared the burden of public office. As a result, *The Sacred Tales* stands not only as testimony to his psychological state, but also to the problems that even a great city could have in extracting services from its most distinguished citizens, citizens who felt that their wealth put them beyond the rules of ordinary civic life (Cadoux 1938:264–81; Syme 1988:8; Bowersock 1968:36–41, 60–62; Burton 1975).

Other texts from Smyrna illustrate conflict in a very different context. Two of the most important early martyrologies, the *Acts of Polycarp* and the *Acts of Pionius and his Companions,* illustrate the tension between the growing Christian community (founded in the mid-1st century) and its neighbors, especially the very powerful local Jewish community. Polycarp was executed in 155, Pionius in 250; the former in a bitter local persecution in which the members of the synagogue played a prominent role, the latter after the edict of the emperor Decius (249–251) ordering all inhabitants of the empire to sacrifice. Both works appear to be authentic transcriptions of the trials and therefore cast essential light on conflicts within the city, not only between Christian and non-Christian, but also between rich and poor, and between local and imperial authorities (Delehaye 1921:11–59; Cadoux 1938:343–400; Lane Fox 1987:462–92).

Little is known about events connected with Smyrna in the 3d century beyond what appears in the *Acts of Pionius,* though the city no doubt suffered as did others from the political chaos of those years. Still, it remained one of the greatest cities of Asia and gradually came to eclipse its former rivals. It seems to have escaped serious damage at the hands of the Persians in the early 7th century A.D., and it did not suffer permanent damage from the Islamic sack in 654. By 869 it was recognized as the equal of Ephesus when its bishop was raised to the rank of Metropolitan, and by the beginning of the 13th century A.D., it stood alone as the greatest city in the Aegean (Foss 1977:481–82).

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**SNAIL.** See ZOOLOGY.

**SNAKE.** See ZOOLOGY.

**SNARES.** See ZOOLOGY.

**SNUFFERS** [Heb *mĕzammĕrōt* (מְזַמְּרֹת); *melqāḥayim* (מֶלְקָחַיִם)]. Metal instruments used in connection with the lamps in the Tabernacle and Temple. Those used in the Tabernacle were made of gold (Exod 25:38; 37:23; Num 4:9) and are known in Hebrew as *melqāḥayim,* a word also used in the temple text in Kings, where RSV renders it "tongs" (1 Kgs 7:49; cf. Isa 6:6). Since the root is *lqḥ,* which means "to take, grasp," the word is perhaps better understood as an instrument to pull up the lampwicks. The "snuffers" of the Temple are indicated by *mĕzammĕrōt,* from the root *zmr,* which means "to trim," as for trimming lampwicks. In this case, a kind of scissors, rather than a snuffer, would be a more accurate rendering. The temple "snuffers" were also said to be of gold (1 Kgs 7:50; 2 Kgs 12:14 [—Eng 12:13]),

except for one text (2 Kgs 25:14 = Jer 52:18) that lists them as bronze instruments, although the bronze designation here may simply be the result of the compression of a longer series of temple vessels.
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**SO** (PERSON) [Heb *sôʾ* (סוֹא)]. According to 2 Kgs 17:4, Hoshea sent without avail to "So, King of Egypt" for military aid against the Assyrians. This brief reference has given rise to a plethora of identifications and interpretations (for a general survey see *LÄ* 5:994). The identification with the Egyptian field commander in the Annals of Sargon II (von Zeissl 1944:19), has been ruled out by Borger's reading of SIPA-*ʾe-ʾe* (etc.) as *Reʾeʾ*$^{(e-)}$ rather than "Sibʾe" (Borger 1960). The desire to connect "So" with the 25th or Kushite Dynasty as a hypocoristicon of Shabako (cf. *LÄ* 5:994–95; Krauss 1980:29) was enhanced by Lucian's substitution of *Adramelech ton ʾAithiopa ton Katoikounta ʾen ʾAigyptō,* but this has been universally abandoned (Redford 1981:75). Some have regarded So as a title misinterpreted as a personal name; Yeivin (1952) suggested *ṯ€ ty* "vizier" and Krauss (1978, 1980) *nsw* "king" (cf. Gk *ʾAmonrasonter* for *ʾImn-Rʿ-nsw-nṯrw* "Amen-Re, King of the Gods"). *Ṯ€ ty* has been objected to on phonetic grounds, and it has been noted that *pr-ʿ€* ("Pharaoh"), not *nsw,* was the most normal designation of kings at this period (Kitchen 1973 §§333–34; Goedicke 1977; Redford 1981:75). Others have continued to favor identifications with specific royal names, Sayed (1970) with *Sʾi€ -ʾib,* the Horus-name of Tefnakhte, Kitchen (1973 §§333–34) with a hypocoristicon of Osorkon. Osorkon IV has been regarded as the likely identity of the king in question even by some who analyze the biblical name differently (Krauss 1980:29; *LÄ* 5:995); Ahlström has appealed to LXX *Sēgōr* in support of an identification with Osorkon II (1985:65), but Redford (1985:15 n. 71) regards *Sēgōr* as a pejorative ephithet meaning "The imprisoned one," from the root *sgr,* and further finds its fit with Osorkon unlikely on phonetic grounds. Yet another line of approach has taken the name as a toponym or an epithet derived from one, namely *S€ w* "Sais" or *S€ ww* "Saite" (Goedicke 1963; Albright 1963; Redford 1981 and 1985:15 n. 69–71). Redford supports this identification with Semitic (cf. Albright 1963) and Greek evidence. He notes that the personal name "The Saite" (*P€ -n-S€ w)* appears in Aramaic with the spelling *Psʾ* (1981; 1985:15 n. 69) and further compares *-psō* in Gk *Nechepsṓ(s),* which he takes as "Necho the Saite" (1981), not Ray's "Necho The Ram" (Ray 1974), which would have kept the final *r* of *sr* (Redford 1981:75 n. 11). Despite his rejection of Sayed's derivation from *Sʾi€ -ʾib,* Redford inclines toward a historical identification of *So* "The Saite" as Tefnakhte and proposes to place the plea for help chronologically in 724–23 B.C.E. (1985:15). Goedicke's choice is likewise Tefnakhte; he first placed the reference in 724 B.C.E. (1963) and subsequently has preferred 727 (1977).

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**SOBATA** (M.R. 114032). A town in the central Negeb, which was apparently part of the Nabatean trade network.

**A. Identification and History**

Sobata is located ca. 40 km SW of Beer-sheba. The place is known by the Arab name of Subeita (Shivtah in Hebrew). Its ancient name, Sobata is frequently mentioned in the Nessana papyri. The origin of the name is uncertain. A. Negev suggests that, like other Nabatean place names, it originated from a Nabatean personal name, perhaps Shubitu, or Shabtai.

Sobata is never mentioned in ancient sources, and its history may be studied from only archaeological finds and the Nessana papyri. The earliest find on the site is an inscription mentioning Aretas IV (9 B.C.E.–40 C.E.) and pottery of the Middle Nabatean Period. It was probably founded as a roadstation on the secondary caravan route connecting Oboda with Nessana. It shared the prosperity of the other towns of the Negeb in the Late Nabatean Period, and to this period pertains about one third of the development. The history of Sobata in the Late Roman–Post Nabatean Period remains unclear. By the middle of the 4th century C.E. the first churches were built at Sobata. At the N border of the Nabatean town, E of the public pools, was the East Church, the town cathedral, whereas on the N, outside of the built up area was a large monastery church, the North Church, apparently a center for pilgrimage. In the course of the 5th and 6th centuries, the town expanded and reached the limits of the compound of the North Church. At this time, a new church, the South Church, was built in the center of town, and the other two churches, which had suffered severe damage by an earthquake in 502 or 503 C.E., were repaired. Like the other towns in the W part of the central Negeb, Sobata survived after the Islamic conquest of 636 C.E. for about a century or two. It seems that when the Moslems built a small mosque in the baptistry of the South Church in the 9th–10th century, Christian Sobata was already a passing memory.

**B. Exploration**

E. H. Palmer was the first scholar to describe the ruins of Subeita (1871:29–30), and especially the rich agricultural hinterland. He was the first to record the Arabic names of Tuleilat el-Anab, the mounds of grapes, and Rugum el-Kurum, the stone-heaps of the vineyards, which abound in the vicinity of the town. On the assumption that biblical Hormah should be identified with this site, he suggested that the spies sent by Joshua brought the cluster of grapes from this place, and not from the region of Hebron. Subeita was visited in 1901 by A. Musil (1907:36–45), who drew the first inaccurate plan of the site, not noticing that the streets of the town do not follow straight lines. In 1905 the French dominican scholars from Jerusalem, A. Jaussen, R. Savignac, and H. Vincent (1905:256–57) discovered the only Nabatean inscription found at Sobata. The most detailed survey of the site was made in 1914 by C. L. Woolley and T. E. Lawrence (1914–1915:72–93). A new fairly accurate general plan of the city and plans of the churches and several other houses were drawn. This was repeated in 1916 by the German team headed by T. Wiegand (1920:62–83). Extensive excavations at Sobata were made in the years 1934–1938 under the direction of H. D. Colt. The three churches and the public reservoirs were cleared, several private houses were excavated, and a winepress was investigated. Except for some incomplete preliminary reports, this important excavation remains unpublished. In the years 1958–1960 the city was cleaned and partly restored under the supervision of M. Avi-Yonah. In surveys made in 1970–1974 by A. Negev, Sobata was investigated several times. The town plan was studied, and the Nabatean town was located in the S half of the ruin. R. Rosenthal-Heginbottom investigated the North Church from 1972–1974 (1982). A. Segal investigated in 1980–1982 the town plan and the plan of several dwellings (1983). A. Negev published the numerous Greek inscriptions of Sobata (1981:47–72, 94–97), and in 1985 S. Margalith made additional trial excavations in the North Church, to try to solve some persisting questions regarding the structural history of the building (1986).

**C. Excavations**

**1. Early Roman–Middle Nabatean Period.** Although the Colt Expedition discovered pottery in a dump in the SW part of the site which included much Middle Nabatean and Early Roman pottery, Crowfoot (1937) dated it to the 3d and 4th centuries. The nature and location of the Middle Nabatean settlement are unknown. However, just N of Sobata is a large cistern whose walls were dressed in the typically Nabatean dressing in oblique lines.

**2. Late Roman–Late Nabatean Period.** Somewhat better known is the settlement of this period. It extended along the N bank of Nahal Zeitan, occupying the S, SE, and SW parts of the developed area.

This part of the town has an orthogonal plan, and at the N end is the large double pool. The S pool is 13.5–14.5 m long, and 11.50–20.5 m wide, and approximately 3 m deep with steps into it on the E and W sides. The N pool measures 20.60 × 22.0–24.0 m, and is 2.5 m deep. It is estimated that the N pool has an estimated capacity of 850 $m^3$ and the S pool contains 700 $m^3$. To the W of the pools one house was excavated apparently dating from the Late Nabatean Period. Two doors lead directly from the street into a court. A small staircase tower leads to the upper floor. Under the floor of the court a small cistern was excavated. There are living rooms to the N and S, whereas to the E of the court is a stable. There are three troughs of the Mampsis style. Like at Mampsis, the troughs were blocked with masonry in the Byzantine period, when the stable was made into a dwelling. Near the "stable house" is another building, in which, in addition to the living quarters were several shops facing a street.

**3. The Byzantine Period.** Agriculture formed the economic base of Sobata in the Late Roman and Byzantine periods. At its later phases Sobata extended over an area of 20 acres. Although the city was not fortified, the blind walls of the houses, courtyards and gardens, and the streets, which apparently could be closed by doors, afforded protection from potential enemies. The houses were not closely built, but had spacious courtyards. The excavators believe that there were gardens within the town. The streets are rather wide, 4–6 m, and at several intersections there are open squares. Some scholars believe that Sobata was an unplanned city of winding streets. While Sobata was not built according to the principles formulated in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, there does appear to be a plan. Without impairing the free circulation in the town, the planners limited the number of streets opening into the desert. Thus there are a large number of blind alleys which lead to every part of the town.

There is no permanent source of water at Sobata, and therefore streets were planned as conduits to collect rainwater into the double pool and into the cisterns which abound in the houses. The streets of Byzantine Sobata therefore, seem to have followed the course of the former channels conveying rainwater to the pools, producing this mistaken conclusion of ill planning.

The large complex of the South Church, built apparently in the second half of the 4th century, is a simple continuation of the old town. It was built between the double pool on the W, and older houses on the S and E. This may explain the extremely small size of the atrium. In the same way it explains the irregularities in relation between the N and S halves of the basilica. About the same time that the South Church was being built, the North Church, too, was under construction, clearly as an extra-mural building. It was isolated enough to ensure solitude for the small monastic community, but not too far to separate it from the economic benefits which derive from its proximity to a town. In the course of the 5th and 6th centuries the town expanded, covering the entire area between the two churches. It was apparently then that the Central Church was built.

The builders at Sobata used three kinds of stone: Hard, crystalline limestone, which was preferred by Nabatean masons, was used for the construction of foundations and the lower courses of walls; a softer crystalline limestone was used for lintels, doorposts, and segments of arches; and to reduce weight, a soft, light, crumbling limestone or chalk was used for the construction of the upper parts of walls. Narrow openings were covered by lintels, and wider ones by vaults. Rooms were roofed over by arches springing either from engaged pilasters or directly out of the walls; these were then covered by slabs of limestone. Inner walls were covered with thick layers of plaster. Walls were consistently 0.60–0.70 m wide, and were made in the old Nabatean method. The exterior faces of the walls were built of ashlars, or of hammer dressed stones while the interior faces were built of coarsely dressed stones, which easily received the coats of plaster. Between the two faces was a fill of quarry waste and earth, ensuring a good measure of insulation. Outer walls were either completely blind, or provided with narrow slit windows placed high up on the wall. Cupboards were built of stone, but the shelves were regularly made of wood. The floors of rooms were usually paved with slabs of stone, but beaten earth floors are not uncommon. In the center of the house there is always a courtyard, in which is the mouth of a cistern. Rainwater was collected from the flat roofs, the courtyard, and often also from the streets, flowing in a channel built into the wall. In most houses steps were attached to the wall of the courtyard and led to the upper stories; these engaged steps replaced the more sophisticated Nabatean staircase tower.

The Colt Expedition published a reduced plan of the South Church with a meager description. Because of the restrictions imposed by the pool, the church has a narrow atrium, which takes the form of a narthex (in form, but apparently not in function). To reach the atrium one has to enter a vestibule. To the W of the vestibule there is a room, perhaps the prothesis, as referred to in the *Testamentum Domini.* A narrow door in the corner of the vestibule leads into the S aisle of the basilica, and another entrance communicates with the atrium, at which there are two monumental entrances to the nave and N aisle. The basilica is almost square (17.60 × 18.20 m), with a T-shaped bema, which extends very deep into the nave, and extremely shallow into the aisles. The rectangular base of the *ambo* is at its usual place in the Negeb, in the NW corner. At each side of the central apse are the lateral apses which are half the height of the central apse. Niches are built into the walls of the lateral apses. The nave was paved with slabs of marble, and the aisles with limestone slabs. A door in the wall of the N aisle communicates with a chapel, which has a rectangular bema and niche in the E wall. At the NW corner, from the chapel, as well as from the atrium, is a large baptistry. It is preceded by a small hall and by a portico of two columns and two attached pilasters. The cruciform font, made of one stone, is set in an apse at the E part of the chapel. To the E of the baptistry and N of the basilica is a building, apparently a small monastery, or the bishop's residence.

A close inspection of the basilica shows that the lateral apses and the central apse were not built at the same time, but the lateral ones are a later addition. An inspection of the walls to the E of the apses shows that the building was originally monoapsidal, with rectangular rooms at the side of the apse. The S and E walls of the basilica were supported by sloping taluses, to protect the building from collapse. A. Negev suggests the following structural history: (1) construction of the church in about 350–400 C.E.; (2) repairs (because of an earthquake in 502 or 503 C.E.) and addition of apses, which were necessary because of a change in the ritual connected with the veneration of martyrs; and (3) minor repairs in 640 C.E., after the Islamic conquest.

At some time a small mosque was built against the N wall of the baptistry. The excavators assumed that the Christian and Moslem communities lived side by side peacefully, but this is doubtful. An inscription found on the *mehrab* of the mosque is dated to the 8th–10th centuries C.E., a date corroborated also by the Early Arab pottery found at Sobata. It is more likely that the mosque was built after the desertion of Sobata by the Christians between 700 and 800 C.E.

Because of its location at the N outskirts of the town, some scholars were inclined to believe that the North Church was the latest of the churches of Sobata. The fact that the building is supported by a very massive glacis has been explained as a result of the conversion of the church into a strong fortress. This is, however, not the case.

S of the large ecclesiastical complex is a spacious partly paved court. A single rather narrow door leads into the atrium (21 × 15 m). A second door, in the opposite N wall opens to the farms and the desert. There are porticoes in the atrium, except on the S side, where there are three rooms. A stairwell at the NE part of the atrium led to a gallery and rooms on the upper story of the atrium building, and it perhaps also led to the gallery above the aisles. An opening to a cistern is in the W part of the atrium, and in the middle of the atrium there stands a column drum enclosed by a raised frame (2 × 2 m). This is probably the memorial of a stylite, who lived here before the construction of the church. It is not impossible that the same ascetic was sanctified after his death, and the place became a center of pilgrimage. At the S end of the E portico there is a small room, perhaps a prothesis. Originally the basilica was entered directly by three doors, but apparently after the earthquake, the columns were supported by ashlar casings, turning the E portico to some kind of narthex.

The basilica (19.50 × 12.15 m) has two rows of five columns each and two engaged pilasters. The floor and the walls of the basilica were faced with marble. The sanctuary consists of a T-shaped chancel, deep at the nave, and very shallow at the aisles. There are three apses, and in the side apses are semicircular niches with built in reliquaries.

Two doors at the W end of the S aisle lead into two chapels. The first chapel (15.50 × 4.30), abutting the S wall of the basilica, has an apse at its E end. The E part of the chapel is decorated with a mosaic of

geometric designs. An inscription at the W border reads: “This work has been completed under the most holy Bishop Thomas, under the charge of John, priest, and the most illustrious John, vicar, in the month of Daesius, in the 10th indiction year.” A. Negev dates this inscription to May 517 C.E., whereas R. Rosenthal-Heginbottom prefers a 607 C.E. date.

The second door in the S aisle leads into a small vestibulum and another chapel, at the E end of which is a cruciform baptismal font, made of one stone. A chancel separates the E from the W, larger part of the chapel. This later part, apparently unroofed, served as a burial ground for members of the clergy.

A. Negev dates the various phases of the North Church as follows: A monoapsidal basilica was built in the years 350–400 C.E. in which the relics of saints were venerated in the lateral rectangular rooms. This building suffered heavy damage in the earthquake of 502 or 503 C.E. Repairs began immediately, and the first stage, which consolidated the walls of the basilica, was completed in 605 C.E., as attested by an inscription (its find spot is not specified, but A. Negev believes that it must have come from the North Church):“With the help of God this work has been completed in the times of the most illustrious prioron (apparently *primi ordinis*, of the First Order) and in the times of Flavius John (son) of Stephan, the vicar, in the 3d indiction-year, on the 13th of the month of Hyperberetaius, in the year 400.” Thus the work was done under the auspices of the highest ecclesiastical and administrative authorities. The mosaic in the baptistry, culminating the work of rebuilding, was apparently laid in 517 C.E. The North Church survived the Moslem conquest, as attested by seven tombstones postdating 636 C.E. The North Church survived the Moslem conquest, as attested by seven tombstones postdating 636 C.E.

The Central Church was excavated by the Colt Expedition, but no plan and no description were published by them; it has been supplied by R. Rosenthal. The Central Church faces one of the main streets of Sobata, in the center of the new quarter of the town. From the street one may enter a small atrium, more of a portico of three columns. The basilica (13.65 × 17.53 m) has two rows of four columns and two engaged pilasters, and is paved with slabs of limestone. The T-shaped sanctuary is less deep than in the other two churches, but has three apses. A. Negev, following J. W. Crowfoot and others, believed that this was the original plan of the building, believing it to be one of only three churches in the Negeb to follow this plan from the beginning. However, S. Margalit found that the constructional history of this church follows that of the other two churches of Sobata. However, no dating material, no remains pertaining to saints, and no martyrs’ cult were found in this church.

In one of the rooms in the building adjacent to the North Church, and on the N and E outskirts of the town three winepresses were discovered. These were identified as tombs by T. Wiegand, and as bathhouses by the Colt Expedition, but their function as winepresses is now beyond doubt. They follow in every detail the description of similar installations at Oboda, except the winepress near the North Church lacks the compartments for storing baskets of grapes prior to pressing. A. Negev explains this difference as a result of the fact that it belonged to the Church, where the harvest grown by the monks was processed communally.

It is fitting to conclude the description of Sobata by quoting a chant which was found engraved at the entrance to the town:

(In faith like Abraham)
————————Isaac
(In) hope (like) Jacob
(In) humility (like) Moses
(In) glory (like) David
(In) wisdom (like) Solomon
(In) endurance (like) Job.

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AVRAHAM NEGEV

**SOCIOLOGY.** Beginning in the 1970s biblical scholars began to recognize the role that the social sciences could play in the reconstruction and understanding of historical phenomena. This entry consists of two articles that survey the impact of social scientific (or, more loosely, "sociological") insights on scholarly understanding of biblical history. The first focuses on ancient Israel, and the second focuses on early Christianity.

## *SOCIOLOGY OF ANCIENT ISRAEL*

Sociology of ancient Israel, or "biblical sociology," is an imprecise covering term for the following: (1) the practice of social scientific criticism of the Bible, which employs methods, data, and theories from the social sciences (anthropology, economics, political science, and sociology), in order to clarify the relationship between biblical literature and ancient society; (2) the study of the social organization of ancient Israel, in its larger or smaller units, either at a given moment in cross-section (synchronics) or over a course of time, which may expand into a full-scale social history (diachronics); and (3) the identification of patterns of social life within the Bible claimed to be prescriptive or exemplary in some way for contemporary religious or secular life.

There are differences among social scientific critics of the Bible as to what constitutes the field of study. "Social" phenomena may be viewed in a restricted manner as those patterned interactions among people distinguishable from "economic" and "political" phenomena. Alternatively, the social, economic, and political phenomena may be conceived as interconnected facets of a mode of political economy that shapes the forms and dynamics of collective human life. The resulting "societal mix" or "social ensemble" is marked by order and stability or by disorder and change, depending on the "balance" or "imbalance" in the conjunction of all the factors at work.

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A. Method and Theory
B. Social History and Political Economy
    1. Tribal Israel
    2. Independent Monarchy
    3. Colonial Israel (1)
    4. Colonial Israel (2)
C. Normative Social Hermeneutics
    1. Modes of Social Hermeneutics
    2. Social Hermeneutics and Political Economy

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### A. Method and Theory

Social scientific criticism has only recently been accorded status among the methodologies considered legitimate in biblical studies. The present status of social scientific criticism can best be appreciated by

grasping its checkered and erratic course of development. Methods, theories, and descriptive results of various social sciences have been applied to the Bible sporadically since the rise of higher criticism in the 19th century. These critical undertakings have differed greatly in depth and quality. Furthermore, the predominance in biblical studies of methods derived from the humanities—as well as the difficulties of mastering simultaneously both the biblical and the social scientific fields—has militated against the development of a sustained scholarly tradition and arena of discourse in which social scientific criticism could be evaluated and advanced.

The earliest social critical studies by scholars of the stature of J. Wellhausen and W. Robertson Smith employed large-scale (macro) theory from nascent anthropology to look for affinities between biblical pastoral nomadic society and the supposedly similar life of pre-Islamic Arabs. Whereas their pastoral nomadic conception of early Israel survived uncritically in biblical studies, the comparative method of these pioneers was generally abandoned or sharply curtailed when it was realized that the evolutionary categories of 19th-century anthropology were too unrefined in method and sweeping in claims to be reliable diagnostic instruments for analyzing ancient Israel.

In the first decades of the 20th century, sociological theory found its way into biblical studies in three major streams indebted to Max Weber, Émile Durkheim, and Karl Marx.

Weber himself wrote a major work on ancient Judaism (1952) which tried to reconstruct how the religious ideas and practices of covenant, ethical monotheism, and prophecy were taken up and transmitted in a particular historical shape through interaction with the economics, politics, and social organization of a marginal Palestinian people. Weber's mode was to posit "charismatic" religious eruptions which underwent "rationalizing" incorporation into religious institutions as an aspect of general social life. Weber's work has had far-reaching effects. It stimulated further analyses of biblical "ideal types," but in overshadowing the field, it also discouraged openness to other social scientific approaches.

Durkheimian social theory influenced the description of Israel's transition from tribal pastoral society to agrarian and commercial society propounded by A. Causse, who drew heavily on Durkheim's notion of "mechanical" solidarity in simpler societies vs. "organic" solidarity in societies with greater differentiation in the division of labor. In one or another form, this "evolutionary" account of Israel's acculturation to Canaan has been widely pervasive in biblical studies.

Marxist social theory has been less often overtly employed in biblical studies (a sketch of Israelite social and political history by M. Lurje [1927] notwithstanding). Nevertheless, Marxist theory was significantly present in the background to the extent that Weber and Durkheim themselves were seeking social understandings in debate with the Marxist tradition. Hostility and misunderstanding between Christians and Marxists, furthered by rigid dogmatism on both sides, delayed a fruitful scholarly use of Marxist social theory in biblical studies until very recent times.

Introduction of the academic study of sociology to the U.S. at the University of Chicago toward the end of the 19th century, coupled with the cultivation at that institution of process theology and the influence of the Protestant Social Gospel movement, encouraged sociocultural studies of the Hebrew Bible by W. Graham, C. McCown, and L. Wallis. Eclectic in method and weak in theory, this "Chicago School," with its religiously liberal orientation, declined in the face of Neo-Orthodoxy and the Biblical Theology Movement.

Form-critical studies, as launched by H. Gunkel, drew significantly on oral tradition and folklore studies, in the search for "the life settings" of biblical literary genres. Later form critics, lacking Gunkel's breadth of understanding and out of touch with the social sciences, came to restrict the life settings largely to cultic situations. The result was a mosaic of diverse, almost random, religious institutional contexts that did not cohere in any larger social structure. M. Noth's hypothesis that the premonarchic literary genres were rooted in a confederate religious structure (amphictyony) was a bold and inventive proposal that overstated and misconstrued the religious component in Israel's society. See AMPHICTYONY.

In spite of these spotty social scientific efforts and results, the nature of biblical literature made it difficult to neglect Israelite social phenomena entirely. Large amounts of potentially instructive social information were gathered from archaeology, historical and economic geography, and comparative

studies of ANE societies. These data were generally treated as background or introductory "realia," i.e., things that ought to be kept in mind as one studies the Bible. At points where specific offices and institutions are mentioned in the Bible, this trove of comparative social information was often helpful in illuminating the biblical references. For the most part, however, scholars had neither the interest nor the means to pursue the way these roles and structures interacted systemically and developmentally in the social whole. Scholars such as A. Alt and W. F. Albright, who strove for a more holistic and comprehensive understanding of Israelite society, were handicapped by insufficient knowledge of available social scientific tools.

A more intentional and sustained use of the social sciences by biblical scholars was initiated in the 1960s and 1970s due to a conjunction of contributing factors: the continuing stream of extrabiblical evidence about ancient societies that called for new frames of reference and interpretation, the enormous growth of social sciences as academic disciplines, social turmoil on a global scale that did not exempt the home societies of biblical scholars, and the rise of socially critical forms of theology, such as theology of hope in Europe, liberation theology in Latin America, and black and feminist theologies in North America.

Over the last two decades, social scientific criticism of the Hebrew Bible has developed along several fronts, characterized by great diversity in the types of social scientific approaches followed, in the biblical literary blocks attended to, and in the historical periods and social phenomena treated. Two broad currents of social description and theorizing can be identified as representative of contemporary work in the field.

Scholars working on the tribal origins of Israel and on the formation of the Israelite state (e.g., G. Mendenhall, N. Gottwald, M. Chaney, F. Frick, J. Flanagan, D. Hopkins, N. Lemche, K. Whitelam, R. Coote, et al.) have used both macro-sociological theory and anthropology, mixing structural-functional approaches with conflictual models. Often implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, these analytic tools have been Marxist in their recognition of class interests at work in early Israel's modes of production. To a large extent the social and religious forms of life in this origins period have been examined in close relation to the physical foundations of agrarian life in highland Canaan. Because the object of inquiry is how Israel began as "tribes" and how it then became a "state," the strategies of study have been processual and, therefore, concerned with social conflict and social change.

Scholars working on the prophetic and apocalyptic phases of the Hebrew Bible (e.g., R. Wilson, R. Carroll, T. Overholt, D. Petersen, H. Mottu, B. Long, B. Lang, P. Hanson, et al.) have been indebted largely to anthropology and social psychology, and have employed a chiefly structural-functional approach that has given only modest attention to the material conditions of life in which prophecy and apocalyptic operated. Where conflict is acknowledged, there is a tendency to treat it as a mechanism for perpetuating social order and as "a conflict over ideas" instead of a conflict deeply rooted in objective social relations involving emphatic differentials in wealth and power (Mottu and Coote are exceptions in this regard).

The differences in methods and theories among those studying "tribal-statist" Israel and those studying "prophetic-apocalyptic" Israel should not, however, be overdrawn. Their exact purport has yet to be adequately thought through and discussed among the scholars themselves. It is probable that different biblical subject matters, and different ways of framing what is sought, lend themselves more readily to one or another social scientific route of inquiry. For example, in examining the tribal and statist formations of early Israel one is necessarily addressing large social aggregates that underwent major changes. In contrast, it is possible, even if far from sufficient, to bracket prophets and apocalyptists as particular offices or functions detachable in some measure from their conflictual contexts.

In terms of biblical coverage, it is noteworthy that tribal Israel, the formation of the state, and the functions of prophets and apocalyptists have received the lion's share of social scientific attention. More slowly, the social contexts and functions of wisdom and law genres are being studied. This leaves large-scale social structure and social change in the later monarchy, in the exile, and in the restoration and ongoing diaspora rather meagerly studied to date. The result is that we possess a fairly full social

description and body of theory for Israel only up to the time of Solomon, while most of the following social structural history awaits in-depth delineation.

Complicating the task is the problematic relation between literary criticism in its newer forms and social scientific criticism. Some scholars view the two approaches as diametrically opposed, so that either one form of criticism must bow to the other or the two must be practiced without any reference to contribution to one another. If the self-contained discourse of the text is stressed to the utmost, it is argued that biblical texts have no historical or social reference. If the text is treated solely for explicit or "hard" social information, or simply as a spontaneous projection of society, then the aesthetic or symbolic integrity of the texts precisely as literature may be forfeited. Either extreme seems unsupportable, even unscientific, in dismissing the complicated interactions between literature and society, as form criticism already granted in principle and in method. Discrimination among the literary genres and of the ways they are connected to social reality—not only in their immediate settings but also in their modes of articulating social consciousness and social practice, however indirectly—will profit both the literary-critical and the social-scientific enterprises (see Gottwald 1985a).

Structuralism, because it had theoretical foundations both in literary criticism and in anthropology, seemed for a time to offer a promising way of bringing literature and society into concourse, as in the work of E. Leach dependent on Lévi-Strauss and that of D. Jobling indebted to A. Greimas. The "society" usually evoked in a structurally analyzed text, however, is schematic and connects poorly with the actual conflict-ridden biblical societies. Further developments in literary theory, both along deconstructionist and Althusserian Marxist lines, suggest ways to designate the fragile and oblique manner in which literature embodies social reality. Some of these new lines of literary-societal interaction are developed by D. Damrosch (1987), J. Rosenberg (1986), and the recent work of Jobling (1987).

The relation between "history" and "society" is another realm of contention in social scientific criticism. Biblical history has normally been presented as a critical assessment of the political and religious history recounted in the Bible, astutely supplemented by other sources from the ancient world. Biblical society is accordingly seen as something other than history, i.e., as the arena of patterned interpersonal behavior "left over" after politics and religion are separately considered. In practice, this inclines toward a "society" consisting of a miscellany of family and legal matters, and of customs and habits of daily life. Dropped from this micro-society of daily happenings are the power factors of politics, the production factors of the economy, and even the realm of religious belief and practice except when the connection is overtly made in the biblical texts.

The compartmentalization of lived human experience into separate categories such as "history," "society," "politics," "economics," "religion," etc. follows the fault lines of the breakup of the scientific study of humanity into discrete disciplines in the latter half of the 19th century. Strategic and tactical advantages gained for purposes of specialized study were overbalanced by a loss of the dynamic interaction among all the facets of socialized human existence. Thus, if we hope to understand biblical "society," it will not be through sociology and anthropology alone as circumscribed disciplines, but only through a joining of the spheres or domains of the public life as they pivot around the realities of power and wealth and are expressed and contested in production, in politics, and in religion.

These are the key questions: Who controls what is produced? Who can persuade or compel others to do what they want done and by what means? Whose ideas and interpretations of the common life prevail? What limits in production, politics, and ideology are set by the environment and by the preceding interplay of social forces as they impinge on the moment? This formulation, known in Marxist theory as "political economy," based on a historical material method, unites *in study* what is really united *in life* without neglecting the distinctiveness of each of the several facets of the social whole.

This means that we are to trace a history of Israel that includes the customary political and religious axes of its life, but which, in order to be complete and adequately representative of its real life conditions, must bring the politics and religion into articulation with the social field of production. In this way we can hope to identify how all the dimensions of the people's life are internally related one to another, both in

harmony and in contradiction, affecting one another and forming an ever-moving system that stabilizes and transforms itself in discernible ways that are not dismissible as random or quixotic.

What follows is a sketch of the social history of ancient Israel understood as the history of the production and reproduction of its economic, political, and ideological life from generation to generation. We shall call it a history of the political economy of ancient Israel. In saying "political economy" we emphasize both the political factor at work in economics and the economic factor at work in politics. We also recognize that the historical actors in the drama of political economy entertain particular ideas and values (religion, theology, ideology) which interact reciprocally with the vectors of political economy. This is not to contend that economics directly and spontaneously "causes" everything else in the public life. It is to say that economic production guided by certain power relationships profoundly *limits* and *shapes* everything that people think and do. To dismiss a political-economic analysis of ancient Israel because the theory and method of political economy were not known in biblical times is to commit a category confusion which, if logically followed, would forbid us any critical scientific study of the Bible whatsoever.

**B. Social History and Political Economy**

For analysis, we may divide the political economy into its two reciprocal poles of *economy* and *polity*.

Central to the structural history of Israel's economy was its dependence on the cultivation of cereals, vegetables, and fruits, supplemented by animal products, in a precarious environment subject to soil erosion and erratic rainfall. Agrarian productivity in the hill country required cooperative harboring and control of soil and water, as well as risk distribution by mixing diverse crops with animal husbandry. Mountainous terrain split much of the arable land into small regional ecologies worked by a village-based populace. Tools and household items were mostly locally crafted. Barter in and between villages circulated products not immediately consumed or held in storage against periodic drought.

Within the primary production unit of the village with its surrounding plots and pastures, the family was the basic residential and labor-organizing entity. In principle, this was most likely an "extended" family of two or more generations, but natural and historical disturbances tended to erode the size and viability of these residential and productive units. Larger groupings of "clans" or "protective associations," up to the level of the "tribe," served as labor cooperatives for major tasks such as terrace-building and harvesting and as "safety nets" to cushion the shock of adverse circumstances on families and villages. The paramountcy of kinship language in ancient Israel has often been taken as a stubborn survival from pastoral nomadic origins, but it is far more probable that the kinship signifiers in Israel were both a retention and deliberate heightening of arrangements typical of village agrarian communities in Canaan. In Israel, this adaptive kinship talk was a way of "mapping" newly emerging forms of political and religious bonding.

Decisive for the political pole in Israel's political economy was the dominance in the wider Canaanite environment of the state form of government. The state's military and ideological apparatuses were able to control the countryside sufficiently to tax the agrarian and pastoral surpluses of the villages through payments in kind and labor conscripted for public projects and for military service. "Surplus" in this instance does not mean of course what the peasants could truly afford to give, but simply what had not yet been consumed by them and was available for seizure by the state.

Faced with life-threatening deprivation, the taxed peasantry had little recourse but to turn to creditors who in turn exacted their "pound of flesh" from the hapless debtors. In this setting, the cities, small in size and population by modern standards, were chiefly administrative, military, and commercial centers, "bleeding" and "policing" the countryside. Trade between states in strategic goods and luxury items passed "over the heads" of the majority agrarian populace, financed by their labor but without benefit to them.

There was, however, a striking departure in Israel's polity that proved to be of immense importance in shaping the history of its political economy. Beginning as a stateless society and returning to the same status in exile, Israel nonetheless took on independent statehood in midcourse. When this political independence was lost, rather than return to the free tribal society it once was, Israel became a society

subject to other states who at best granted it a semiautonomous status. This means that although Israel arose in opposition to the state system, and in time survived apart from any particular state structure, its history and ethos were fashioned in intimate response to the commanding position of the state. In both native and foreign guises, the state intruded insistently upon the economy and ideology of the villages which constituted the heartland of Israel.

At a minimum, the concept of mode of production coordinates the *economic dimension* (who produces what, by what technical means, and with what organization of labor?) with the *political dimension* (among existing economic options, who determines what will be produced, who benefits from what is produced, and by what mechanisms?). For the full picture of the social formation, however, mode of production encompasses a *social dimension* (into what groupings do the producers fall according to occupation, class, status, etc., and how do these groupings show up in family structure and in juridical process?) and an *ideological dimension* (what ideas, beliefs, feelings, and judgments do the variously grouped producers entertain about themselves, their society, and the ultimate meaning of their existence?).

In a narrower sense, mode of production thus refers to the way human capacities and technology are socially organized for the labor necessary to meet basic human needs and to allocate what is produced. In a broader sense, mode of production includes the social ramifications of the labor process in class and status divisions, in political process, in family organization, and in juridical procedures. Equally, it includes the ideological ramifications of the labor process articulated in the ideas, sentiments, and symbols by which the socially organized laborers conceive the meaning of their common projects.

In ancient Israel we may distinguish a *communitarian mode of production* prior to the monarchy, a *tributary mode of production* from the monarchy into Hellenistic times, and a *slave mode of production* in the late Hellenistic-Roman period. The tributary mode of production divides into two phases: a *native tributary* phase when Israel enjoyed political independence and a *foreign tributary* phase when Israel was colonially subject to foreign powers. Alongside the dominant or commanding mode of production, other modes of production usually exist, either as remnants of former times or as forerunners of what is to come, so that a history of political economy has to take these "overlapping," often clashing, productive relations into account.

**1. Tribal Israel: A Communitarian Mode of Production.** Biblical and extrabiblical evidence alike suggest that Israelite society took form in 13th–12th century Canaan as an indigenous phenomenon. See ISRAEL, HISTORY OF (ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE ISRAELITE "CONQUEST"). This does not exclude that Israel incorporated people who had earlier or recently immigrated to Canaan. Furthermore, the evidence indicates that Israelite society was composed of a majority of cultivators of the soil who also practiced animal husbandry. This does not rule out inclusion of pastoral nomadic elements and groups who had been artisans, mercenaries, bureaucrats, and priests and whose skills were contributory to the new society.

As an economy, the new society was grounded in highland agriculture dependent on a mix of crops and herds nurtured by a scattered populace spread over broken terrain and encountering diversified ecological niches with particular subsistence demands. As a polity, the new society was able to practice tributary-free agricultural and pastoral production. This situation obtained for some two centuries because Israel was able to stay free of domination by other states and also to refrain from developing an Israelite state.

There are two ways of understanding this tributary-free political economy of early Israel. On the one hand, it can be argued that the declining Egyptian empire and Canaanite city-states lost their control of the highlands in Canaan so that Israel, without great effort on its part, filled the vacuum. Later, again with little conscious effort or intent one way or the other, Israel itself became a state when someone was finally able to reestablish centralized control. On this way of reading the situation, Israel's tributary-free mode of production and reprieve from state dominion was an historical accident, a "neutral" happenstance, which was soon erased by the rise of the Davidic state. On the other hand, it can be claimed that conscious and deliberate effort by Israelites contributed to the Egyptian-Canaanite loss of power and to the development of highland networks and coalitions that systemically attempted to provide for their common needs without recourse to a state structure. When Israel did resort to monarchy, communitarian forces resisted

its encroachment, limited its most arbitrary forms, and weakened its capacity to override local custom and habits of self-rule. On this way of reading the situation, Israel's tributary-free mode of production was intentional and even social revolutionary in that it introduced and sustained a new mode of production in Canaan.

Overall, the latter understanding seems the more convincing since it does fuller justice to the admittedly equivocal biblical sources, better explains the two-century-long tenacity of free agrarianism in Israel, accounts for the fierce contest over the adoption and molding of Israelite royal institutions, and illuminates the stubborn survival of communitarian sentiments, practices, and movements in later Israel.

The social correlate of this tributary-free political economy was a strong family and village-based mode of life in which customary law mandated mutual aid. Landholdings passed in perpetuity from generation to generation unencumbered by tax or debt, thereby assuring every Israelite a means of livelihood. This is not to posit an "idyllic," perfectly just society of absolute equals, but only to assert that the social compact among Israelites strove to establish and defend this form of life against incursions from foreign states and to prevent the rise of a tribute-exacting and debt-dispensing elite within Israel itself. It must be recognized that this was not a mere nostalgic "ideal" or religious "vision" but a concrete and practical life assertion by free agrarians who benefited from direct use of their own surplus and who valued their new-found dignity and freedom jointly as a people.

The religion of Yahweh was the commanding ideology of this communitarian political economy. In the absence of state controls over public life, the beliefs and practices of the new religion were critical incentives and binding ingredients in molding Israelite culture and morale. The religion worked symbiotically with the economic and social interests and goals of the people. The conception of early Israel as an intertribal league with both religious and secular institutional effects is no doubt broadly correct, although the long-popular notion that Israel was an "amphictyony," analogous to Greek religious leagues, assumes too much centralization of power and a too-schematic view of the religion unilaterally "imprinting" itself on the society.

Fortunately, historical anthropology identifies a rich array of confederating sociopolitical forms by which "tribal" peoples have cooperated to meet their fundamental requirements in the absence of a state, indeed often in opposition to encroaching foreign state polities. The confederating devices in Israel probably advanced slowly in the face of active resistance and foot-dragging lethargy. They did not easily win exclusive allegiance to Yahweh among all Israelites. They did not prevent civil strife in all cases. These mechanisms worked sufficiently, however, to provide a skeletal structure of self-defense, mutual aid, and cultural-religious identity by dint of which Israel grew and prospered.

**2. Independent Monarchy: A Native Tributary Mode of Production.** With considerable success, the communitarian political economy of tribal Israel had protected the diverse localized interests of its members while providing societal unity at critical points where internal disputes, foreign enemies, demoralization from hard conditions of life, and selfish power grabs had to be faced and overcome. These contradictory aims of Israelite society were not easily met. Stresses and strains increased within and without.

With the coming of the Philistines, the Israelites faced a more determined and efficient enemy. Within its own ranks, certain of Israel's landed families had prospered beyond others, and laxity in the observance of customary law, even resort to indebtedness, began to infiltrate society. Virtually all Israelites conceded the need for temporary centralization of military power to defeat the Philistines. Those who had grown more prosperous within Israel were inclined, however, to see a permanent Israelite state as the way to further their interests. Eventually, many leading circles gave their support to a native tributary political economy in which an Israelite elite would tax and indebt their own people. In short, a combination of external and internal factors tipped the scales toward the course to statehood.

Through foreign conquests and through taxation of formerly non-Israelite regions of Canaan brought under his rule, David seems to have postponed the exaction of tribute from the old Israelite populace. Solomon, however, soon converted Israel into a tributary political economy, and this pattern of state taxation of produce and labor continued down to the eclipse of Israelite statehood. To be sure, Jeroboam's

N kingdom may have lifted or relaxed the burden for a time, and no doubt the amounts of tribute siphoned off the land varied considerably from period to period in both kingdoms.

Surplus labor value was taken from the peasants in two cycles of extraction—a *tax* cycle and a *debt* cycle—that jointly constituted a mounting, lethal "one-two" punch, striking catastrophically at their viability as producers. The first cycle of extraction of labor value took the form of state taxation in kind and conscripted labor. These measures skewed the mix of crops and weakened animal husbandry, signaling a pronounced decline of the peasantry, especially when exacerbated by drought and warfare and, increasingly, by the foreign exaction of tribute from the Israelite kingdoms. Progressive peasant impoverishment led directly to the second cycle of extraction of surplus labor value in the form of credit in kind extended to peasants at onerous interest rates by state functionaries and their client landholders and merchants. The consequence of this credit scheme was that large numbers of cultivators fell under obligations as debtors which tended to become perpetual and irreversible.

Distinctive of the tributary mode of production is that there is little or no private property as such, since the peasants have "use-ownership" of the land they live on and till, and the state's "land charter" is a matter of habitual entitlement to taxes based on long convention and backed up by religious legitimation and a monopoly of force. Nonetheless, even if not properly legal, virtual private property arose as creditors were able to take over rights to disposition of land that their debtors could not prevent because the old customary communitarian laws were no longer consistently enforced by courts that fell subject to bribery.

It is this state-initiated and state-condoned double system of incapacitation of the peasantry that the prophets rail against, but their "railing" was not a social or ideological isolate. The prophets stood within social sectors of the community who suffered from this massive shift in the production and allocation of goods necessary to life, and this is altogether true even if some of the prophets were from advantaged classes, since such social protests are often voiced by "intellectuals" who side with the aggrieved. It is also clear that the ideological basis for the prophetic protest was solidly rooted in the premonarchic communitarian political economy. Increasingly overriden and subordinated by a tributary political economy, this communitarian mode still survived locally wherever possible, since the state lacked technical and administrative means to control the countryside totally.

The cumulative devastation of the credit-debt system developed slowly and insidiously over decades and centuries. Probably much of the sardonic rhetoric of the prophets, not to mention the moral earnestness and florid warnings of the Elohist and Deuteronomist sources of the Pentateuch, stems from the ideological reality that this indebtedness system, given the prior state tax burden on peasants, could be given the appearance of a benign and friendly "helping hand." The debt-entailment of lands and persons may actually have been accorded an aura of legitimacy by means of an ideological fiction, and possibly by a legal fiction as well. The creditors could no doubt represent themselves as holding the inalienable land of debtors in "custodianship" and thereby "protecting" the patrimony of the peasants.

An unvarnished look at the political economy at it blossomed under the monarchy reveals nonetheless that the double impact of state tax and state-permitted indebtedness allowed a concentration of wealth among a small elite of state functionaries and those they favored. As Assyria and Neo-Babylonia exacted ever heavier tribute and indemnity from Israel and Judah, these additional costs were passed along to the despoiled cultivators who had to bear the compounded burdens of foreign and domestic exploitation of their labor. To call this credit-debt cycle of surplus extraction "rent capitalism" (Lang 1983:114–27) is misleading, since the term implies legalized private property and misses the close complicity between taxation and indebtedness, thereby overstating the enterpreneurial freedom of the creditors in a situation of low-level technology and political restriction on "capital" ventures.

Reform measures, such as those articulated in the Covenant Code (Exodus 20:22–23:19) and in the Book of Deuteronomy (chaps. 12–26), represented periodic attempts by coalitions of government leaders, wealthy landholders, lower priests, prophets, and groups of taxed and indebted peasants to correct abuses and close the spreading gulf between exploiters and exploited. Royal theology itself, as articulated in the Psalms and in some of the prophetic writings, promised justice and righteousness from the king. In truth,

however, the objective realities for supporting a thriving kingdom in the ANE worked decidedly against the grain of this ideological assurance of royal justice. The reforms, limited in depth and duration, did not fundamentally change the monarchic political economy. Yet, together with the texts of prophecy and wisdom, they do exhibit the tenacity of communitarian values and movements that built communities of solidarity and resistance to the native tributary mode of production.

**3. Colonial Israel (1):A Foreign Tributary Mode of Production.** In its colonial status, both among Jews who remained in Palestine and those who fled or were deported, Israel drew on communitarian values and practices to survive as a politically disenfranchised and enfeebled people. These communitarian strategies were taken up in various ways both by the peasant underclasses and the ousted leaders and upperclasses of the former Israelite states, and they received religious symbolic coding in the edited Pentateuchal sources and in the exilic prophets.

Our knowledge of the class conditions of Jews in Palestine and in exile is limited. It is to be expected that the contradictions wracking both groups were sharp and painful. It will have been chiefly the peasantry who remained on the land in Judah, but the fact that they were free of their native overlords did not necessarily, or even probably, mean that they became autonomous producers. Doubtless the Babylonians exercised their rule by enforcing some version of the tributary mode of production (cf. Lamentations 5), although how exacting their dominion was compared to the era of Judahite political independence has scarcely been considered by historiographers of the period. Possibly, as Alt thought, the Samaritan elite extended its control into Judah with Babylonian permission. To the degree that the Babylonians neglected the province or region of Judah, the Palestinian peasantry may have had times of respite from heavy tribute. On the other hand, the physical hardships of the people, together with the grave damages inflicted on the agrarian base of the Judahite economy during the collapse of the kingdom, probably left the populace at a low subsistence level in which periods of "freedom" from tribute may have made slight difference to their depressed condition.

As for the deported populace of Judah, it is clearly reported in the Bible that they were drawn from the upperclasses in government service. Their situation was that of a "declassed" former elite who retained their self-image and skills, but did so in straitened circumstances in which they chose, in effect, to adopt some of the survival strategies familiar to the communitarian peasantry who had been their subjects. It appears that many of these exiles were eventually drawn into Babylonian and Persian government service and held expectations of returning to Palestine at the head of a new regime. The clash between Palestinian Jews who remained in Judah and expatriates who returned after decades abroad seems to underlie much of the acute conflict in postexilic Judah. This conflict included tensions between Jews and Samaritans, rivalries over who would constitute the legitimate priesthood, and—of growing importance to "the people of the Book"—struggles over who would determine the shape of the national heritage which eventually found formulation in the canon of the Hebrew Bible.

As a restored community in Palestine and as permanently dispersed enclaves abroad, Israelites fell under a foreign tributary mode of production. By allowing home rule among Palestinian Jews, the Persian tribute-takers granted the operation of a native tributary mode of production headed by a Jewish elite. The beneficiaries of this native tributary apparatus, functioning through the temple economy, fought stubborn battles with communitarian forces that created shifting alliances in subsequent centuries, extending on into the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It is evident that it was the heirs of the old Judahite elite, restored from Babylon by the Persians, who gained the upper hand in Palestine, although they could not do so without coming to some terms with the indigenous Jewish populace that had never left Palestine.

Taxes and loans at interest were reintroduced and, in spite of the shrewd reforms of Nehemiah (which have been justly compared with Solon's reforms in Athens), the tax and debt burden mounted under the later Ptolemies and reached devastating levels under Rome. In Maccabean times, a broad nationalist coalition of communitarian and tributary Jewish sectors managed to break free of the Seleucid version of the tributary mode of production, in which slavery was already coming to the fore. As it turned out, however, the communitarian elements in the Maccabean uprising were suppressed by Hasmonean Jewish kings who retained a native tributary political economy closely resembling the exploitative structure and

cultural style of other Hellenistic states. The new wealth generated by the conquests and commerce of the Hasmoneans went to the court and to large merchants and landholders, while Jewish peasants were no better off than they had been under Persian and Ptolemaic–Seleucid rule.

How was the emergence of the Hebrew Bible as Scripture connected with this unrelenting struggle over political economy? The canonization of Torah and Prophets in postexilic times cannot be understood apart from the triangular contest among foreign tributary mode of production, native tributary mode of production, and strivings toward a renewed communitarian mode of production. The canonization process reflected and fortified cultic and ethical purity as a way for all Jews to resist the foreign tributary rule by means of a united nationalist front.

The leading community forces pushing for canonization were, however, supporters and recipients of the benefits of the native tributary apparatus oriented around the temple. This restored Jewish leadership did not wish to jeopardize its privileged position by encouraging or allowing Jewish uprisings aimed at restoring communitarian structures internally and/or at gaining independence from Persia. By contrast, communitarians hoped for an eventual overthrow of Persian dominion, and may have occasionally joined out-of-power native tributary sympathizers in plotting rebellion. They also hoped for the elimination, or at least the sharp limitation, of the Jewish elites and their tributary burdens on the populace.

In this climate of political economy, the Torah was a compromise text. On the one side, Torah was read by the restored Jewish leadership primarily as a document affirming the status quo, for it enshrined the "finished" record of God's past deeds culminating in restored Jerusalem. Samaritan Jews, apparently lacking a vigorous communitarian constituency, were content to restrict Scripture solely to the Torah as "a closed book," as in fact did the later Sadducean Jewish elite to the very end of their power. On the other side, Judahite communitarians not only compelled inclusion within the Torah of Deuteronomy's anticipations of new apostasies and new deliverances, but they also championed the collection of the Prophets whose warnings and promises they viewed as addressing the socially and morally problematic present. Torah and Prophets together were read by communitarians as "open-ended" history with yet unwritten chapters.

The struggle over canonization paralleled and was entwined with the contest over control of production (who would extract what and how much from who, or indeed whether extraction in all forms could be ended). The canon was ideologically "porous" or "ambiguous" in that it could be read as approving different forms of political economy depending on which segments of the writings were emphasized and given priority and on how the old texts were construed as normative or inspirational for new situations.

Postexilic Judaism, therefore, displayed a tangle of conflicting and contradictory practices and ideologies along the spectrum of tributary vs. communitarian modes of production, and along the spectrum of imperial accommodationist vs. national liberationist political stances. It is not surprising—and certainly not merely the result of literary or religious confusion—that the Hebrew Bible should reflect these conflicts and contradictions in acute form. This is so because, while the tributary mode of production massively prevailed, it could only do so by incorporating considerable elements of communitarian ideology, and in lesser degree allowing communitarian practices that did not jeopardize the overall dominance of the tributary mechanisms.

**4. Colonial Israel (2):A Slave-Based Mode of Production.** The two-fold process of surplus extraction typifying the tributary mode of production during the monarchy, as also under foreign dominion during exile and restoration, continued on into the Roman era, but with a vengeance exacerbated by the Roman slave mode of production. To be sure, the slave mode of production was not operative in Palestine in its "classic" form. Slaves worked some of the large estates in Galilee and helped build Herod's monumental works, including the Temple, but slavery did not account for more than a fraction of the total production in Palestine which was carried on mainly by peasants subject to tributary payments to Roman and native elites.

Although slavery was not as fully represented in Roman Palestine as elsewhere in the empire, the very capacity of Rome to rule over the Jews with overwhelming force and to succeed in crushing two major Jewish uprisings in the 1st and 2d centuries C.E. was directly attributable to the productivity of its slave-

based political enemy. While formally free but land-tied peasants and hired laborers did a majority of productive work in the Roman Empire, it was the labor-intensive work of slaves in agriculture, industry, and commerce that built up the critical mass of taxable wealth by means of which Rome was able to extend its conquest and control so thoroughly over such vast territories.

In Palestine, Rome laid heavy exactions on the Jewish populace, some of which were handled through tax-farming. The presence of Roman private property in parts of Palestine probably spurred Jewish creditors into more onerous debt exactions from the Jewish peasantry. The primary exaction of surplus, however, was channeled through the temple economy by which Sadducean high priests and their lay associates collected taxes for themselves and for the Romans. Large sectors of the Judean economy were dependent for livelihood on services rendered to the temple.

Apart from the small but powerful Sadducean stratum, most Jews detested Rome and wished to be free of the foreign slave mode of production, but their readiness to resist or to revolt against Rome varied with the degree that they felt the pressure of tax and debt in keeping with class position. The Pharisaic movement seems to have been composed mostly of small artisans and shopkeepers who were not severely hurt by the Roman and Sadducean complicity in surplus extraction. It was the peasants and wage laborers who bore the brunt of the extraction policies, and they were restive during the first half of the century and openly revolutionary by the 60s.

The stance of Jesus and his first followers vis-à-vis the modes of production is clouded by meager and skewed sources and by a marked tendency among scholars to "spiritualize" Christian origins. It is entirely possible, however, to locate Jesus and his movement with approximate accuracy in the field of political economy. Jesus led a movement among the heavily taxed and indebted peasantry of Palestine that went on to directly challenge the temple economy and thus the very core of the native tributary mode of production.

It is, moreover, a major conceptual error to focus exclusively on the issue of the violence or nonviolence of Jesus' methods, as if the determination of his methods could settle the question of how "political" he was in taking on the temple economy. As the executioners of Jesus recognized, the vigor and directness of his words and deeds were not merely the concern of a few disgruntled Galilean sectarians, since many Jews had similar disdain for the tax and debt burdens which the temple economy fostered, instrumentalized, and accorded religious sanction. There was understandable reason for Jewish and Roman elites to fear the provocative potential of Jesus to ignite disturbances well beyond the immediate circle of his followers. There is little doubt that the content of his teachings and the thrust of his strategy for confronting the Jewish authorities put Jesus and his followers on the side of communitarian forces. It is not even necessary to argue conspiracy or collaboration between Jesus and other communitarian rebels, such as the Zealots, to see that the Jesus movement was genuinely threatening to the continuation of the native tributary mode of production in the short run and to the Roman slave mode of production in the long run.

The outbreak of the Jewish war against Rome cannot be explained solely, or even primarily, as the work of a small conspiratorial Zealot party. Such an organized party scarcely existed prior to the uprising, which erupted as a widespread popular rebellion whose leadership the Zealots were eventually able to seize. See ZEALOTS. In fact, the broad revolutionary forces included two factions or tendencies, much as in the Maccabean uprising: (1) those who wanted to overthrow the Roman dominion and to retain the tributary mode of production in native form, purged of its abusive Sadducean monopoly; and (2) those who wanted to abolish the native tributary political economy altogether by rescinding taxes and debts through a restoration of some form of communitarian mode of production. The revolt against Rome did not achieve sufficient consolidation for the contest between the tributary and communitarian Jewish forces to surface fully and be fought out to a conclusion.

The upshot of the war against Rome was the destruction of the native tributary mode of production, not however by the restoration of a communitarian mode of production, but by the triumph of the Roman slave mode of production and the forced retreat of Jews into small survival enclaves wherein the Rabbinic type of Judaism was cultivated.

**C. Normative Social Hermeneutics**

Does the Hebrew Bible prescribe or exemplify social forms and behaviors that Jews and Christians should follow in their own lives and possibly commend to society in general? This complex question involves theology and ethics and has been given a variety of richly nuanced answers depending on the combination of tradition, reason, experience, and social location through which the Bible is read. We shall identify some of the major modes of coping with this issue (see also Birch and Rasmussen 1989) and comment briefly on the shape of biblical social hermeneutics that accords best with the foregoing analysis of biblical political economy.

**1. Modes of Social Hermeneutics.** First, the most straightforward mode is to claim to obey the biblical social prescriptions in a literal manner, which has been typical of certain orthodox and sectarian groups in their attempts to maintain a biblical manner of life. This has involved such behavior as refusal to practice usury or to bear arms, common sharing of property, regularity in almsgiving and other acts of charity, etc. The assumption of this mode is that the Bible is in part a rule book and is more or less self-consistent in the social patterns it commands. To be sure, the determination of whether particular biblical social behaviors are descriptive or prescriptive, in some or all circumstances, is a matter of community exegesis. Moreover, the biblical social prescriptions are regarded as realizable in contemporary society. In the end, adherents of this position are necessarily arbitrary in selecting certain biblical prescriptions to be observed while disregarding others. Prescriptivists may also be more or less reactionary or progressive in terms of the larger societal norms and practices.

Second, the more common mode in social hermeneutics is to aim at embodying biblical principles in contemporary structures and circumstances that are recognized to be different, in one respect or another, from conditions in biblical times. The principles held to be central to biblical society and worthy of emulation characteristically include one or more of the following: "love," "justice," "equality," "freedom," "law and order," "respect for persons," "right to property," "right of privacy," "entitlement to basic subsistence," and the like. Proponents of a principle-oriented approach are usually fully imbued with and atuned to their own culture and society. They contend that the best way to employ their biblical social heritage is not through invoking selective prescriptions from the Bible but through seeking to incarnate its major social values.

Specification of the normative biblical principles and values is a matter of dispute and the precise way of "applying" or "translating" them to current society is extremely variable. Jews and Christians of this persuasion have often been liberal or radical in their social orientations, but others of a conservative social orientation have adopted the same mode, except that they differ in what they judge to be the leading biblical principles.

Third, more subtle is the mode of historical analogy in which the crucial problematics of particular biblical situations are viewed as similar to the problematics facing present society. Given this correspondence, we may learn how to interpret our situation more sensitively and act with fuller ethical resources if we attend to the structural and attitudinal "clues" available in the related biblical contexts. The prophetic and apocalyptic writings are frequently interpreted in historical analogical manner, as are also the Israelite situations of exodus and exile. This approach may attend to particular biblical social practices in the context of perceived principles (see the first and second modes discussed above), but the attempt is to view biblical practices and principles in a social context that has a structural affinity with our own social context.

**2. Social Hermeneutics and Political Economy.** The history of the political economy of ancient Israel has direct bearing on biblical social hermeneutics, since it alters our perspective on all the modes of appropriating biblical social data and directives. In any act of biblical appropriation, we are dealing with *two dynamic horizons:* the process of the production and reproduction of life necessities, power arrangements, and prevailing ideas both *in the biblical world* and *in our world.* The continuities and discontinuities between these two worlds must be kept in mind throughout the hermeneutical process.

Because the communitarian and tributary modes of production were precapitalist modes, whereas our modes of production are capitalist or socialist, there can be no simple or direct transplant of biblical social

practices into our situation. If we imitate a biblical social practice, it will have a different structure and function for us than it had in its original setting. If we seek to live out a biblical principle, it will have to find material contents and a manner of operation that is congruent with the current prevailing mode of production and social formation.

Moreover, because different modes of production were in conflict in biblical times, complicated by struggles over whether the mode of production would be controlled by natives or foreigners, there are conflicting social paradigms and practices in the Bible. Similarly, modes of production are in conflict today, and the capitalist mode in which most biblical scholarship has been carried on to date, is itself riddled with contradictions. Accordingly, the appropriation of biblical social practices, principles, and analogies will necessarily be *selective* in the choice of authoritative biblical data and *controversial* in application, precisely because the social and ethical stances of interpreters are always challengeable from another perspective, as were the stances of biblical writers.

The question of which social structures and behaviors were the "right" ones in biblical times and which are the "right" ones for us will always remain a matter of dispute. To determine "rightness" in these contexts necessitates critical social ethical judgment. Such judgment is developed within the discourse and practice of the various communities that constitute church and society, and in which many factors such as class, race, gender, and religion are at play. There simply is no "neutral" or "objective" biblical social ethic. But the "lesson" derivable from this reality is not sheer ethical relativism and cynicism but informed moral agency by a "responding" self in a "responding" society.

All of the above interpenetrating factors in a normative social hermeneutics are well illustrated by attempts to read the role and status of women in biblical society in a manner that will be supportive of feminist aspirations. See also FEMINIST HERMENEUTICS. Both the biblical and the contemporary poles of feminist concerns call for social critical judgment. Biblical women experienced restrictions and exclusions from public life typical of patriarchal societies. Nevertheless, when communitarian tendencies were strongest in Israel—as in the tribal period and in the Jesus movement—women participated more freely and on a par with men in public activities. There are biblical texts, such as the Song of Songs and the synoptic teaching of Jesus, which exhibit a strong thrust toward overcoming limiting and demeaning social and cultural barriers between the sexes.

This biblical "mixed record" must be interpreted in terms of the social historical possibilities for the advancement of women under the ancient modes of production and in the light of new possibilities opened up by current modes of production. Biblical ambiguity about women must also be interpreted from the perspective of a hermeneutic that is clear about the criteria for human worth and performance that undergird the feminist life path. This same hermeneutical grid of factors will be operative for the struggles of all marginalized peoples.

Consequently, the point of political economy for social hermeneutics is that our evaluation and appropriation of the biblical texts is a complex critical judgment that resonates with the complex critical judgment also exercised by biblical moral agents. Biblical religion was intimately connected to political economy and always entailed one or another inclination or option toward political economy. The notion of religious "neutrality" toward economics, politics, and society is invalid insofar as the Bible is claimed to support that position. In fact, adherents of biblical religion were active agents in altering modes of production. Our discovery of this truth about our biblical ancestors presents us with ample precedent as Jews and Christians. In short, we are entirely justified on biblical grounds to evaluate and shape current political economy along lines that appear to us valid on human and religious grounds and at the same time are reasonably attainable within the limits of the political-economic present.

Granted that the Bible does not "prescribe" any single political economy, and that its principles are protean and abstract when lifted from their historical struggle matrix. Nevertheless, the Bible does exemplify the centrality of political economy as the arena in which religious claims and aspirations prosper or decline to the degree that they truly engage the basic current issues of our constantly created and re-created common life. Political economy shows emphatically that we are creatures materially *limited* by nature and history. But just as decisively, it demonstrates that we are materially *innovative*

creatures who, in choosing concretely and substantively from the options at hand, interact afresh with nature and with our fellow humans as we fashion that portion of human history which is ours alone to enact.

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NORMAN K. GOTTWALD


## *SOCIOLOGY OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY*

An investigation of the salient issues in a "sociological study" of the NT and early Christianity. This investigation begins with a general statement of the issues and how they relate to previous studies of early Christianity, including those with a more "theological" perspective. Ongoing methodological debates in the human sciences are discussed to shed light on analogous issues confronting students of the sociology of early Christianity. Finally, a review of seminal works in the field describes the range of ways that scholars of Christian origins have addressed these methodological issues.

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A. Introduction
B. Problems in Social Inquiry
    1. Humanistic Discipline or Science?
    2. Social Objectivity and the Problem of Incommensurability
C. Review of Seminal Works
    1. "Social Historical" Studies
    2. "Social Scientific" Studies
D. Conclusion

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**A. Introduction**

During the middle decades of this century, the nature of the NT texts and the aims of exegesis were construed in various ways. For example, participants in the "biblical theology" movement regarded the biblical texts as genuine theological discourse, which was, however, expressed in the time- and culture-conditioned thought forms of the ancient (especially Hebraic) world. The exegete's task was to discern and describe these truth claims so as to show their relevance for 20th century preaching and theological discourse. As a second example, R. Bultmann (1951–55) treated the NT texts as the working out in specific historical situations of the self-understanding(s) that emerged from a faithful response to the kerygma. The interpreter's task was to identify and explicate in philosophical terms the idealistic objects of reference in a given passage, stripped of the 1st century mythology in which they were conceptualized. Despite their differences, these two approaches shared the conviction that the significant content of the NT consists of *theological statements,* and that the exegete's task is to engage in *theological* interpretation.

Advocates of the move that began in the early 1970s to engage in "sociological study" of the NT and early Christianity insist that such conceptions of the NT and of the exegete's task tend to obscure the views and experiences of the vast majority of early Christians, who may not have shared the (elite) writers' views. Second, such conceptions of the NT and of exegesis have encouraged the assumption that theological questions and categories relevant in the 20th century Western world were relevant also in the 1st century Mediterranean environment. Such an assumption of the commensurability of thought forms across centuries and cultures is most likely to occur whenever beliefs are abstracted from what L. Keck (1974:439) has called "the hurly burly of early Christian life."

Advocates of "sociological study" assert that the NT texts are not collections of truth claims which, though expressed in time-conditioned forms, nevertheless point to an unchanging and definable reality; nor are they mythological expressions of encounters with the kerygma, the divine personal address. Rather, the NT texts are records of dynamic social interchange among persons who lived in specific communities at particular times and places. Theological reflection was certainly part of that ancient social interchange, and should be attended to: "sociological study" of the NT texts is not necessarily antitheological. But those who engage in such study contend that the "meaning" of theological (and nontheological) statements in the NT can only be recovered when they are seen to function within specific cultural and linguistic contexts. Patterns of belief influenced patterns of life *and vice versa;* only when viewed as part of a dialectical process can either be fully understood.

Many of the concerns and emphases of current sociological research on the NT and early Christianity have precedents in the work of earlier generations of scholars. Members of the history of religions school, for example, sought to discover connections between NT beliefs and religious practices and those of the

larger religious environment. But, with significant exceptions, focus was on identifying genetic relationships in the ethereal realm of ideas, rather than on seeing how those ideas affected and were affected by the social practices of particular communities of people. As a second example, Shirley Jackson Case and Shailer Mathews of "the Chicago School" sought to explain the social origins of Christianity. Overall the stated aims and presuppositions of Case and Mathews sound remarkably contemporary (see Keck 1974:436–39). But their studies suffered from a lack of sophisticated theoretical perspectives: both sociological perspectives and historical-critical perspectives for the analysis of biblical literature (see Schütz 1982:5–7; here "theoretical perspective" may be defined as a broadly encompassing way or "style" of theorizing, such as the functionalist perspective in sociology/anthropology, or the form-critical perspective in Gospel research [Elliott 1986:9–10]). As a third example, form critics claimed to emphasize the social formation of NT (especially Gospel) traditions. But various factors, such as the lure of dialectical theology and the disparity between the span of centuries presupposed by OT form criticism and of decades presupposed by NT form criticism, prevented the NT form critics from living up to their avowed sociological objectives (Schütz 1982:8–10).

In the United States, the renewal of widespread interest in social questions may be conveniently dated to 1973. In that year a decision was made to form a working group sponsored by the American Academy of Religion and Society of Biblical Literature, for the purpose of exploring "the social world of early Christianity." The group, chaired by Wayne A. Meeks and Leander E. Keck, chose to focus on the task of describing the "social world" of Christianity in Antioch-on-the-Orontes from its beginning until the 4th century (see Meeks and Wilken 1978). The term "social world" in the group's self-designation reflected the influence on many members of symbolic anthropology and of the "sociology of knowledge" as developed by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966). Berger and Luckmann contend that humans are constantly engaged in the construction and maintenance of "social worlds," which provide institutions, structures, and patterns for human life and interaction.

In the years since the formation of the "social world" group, scholars interested in the new agenda have diverged on the question of the role that social scientific goals and methods ought to play in their work. Often scholars have operated as if there were two distinct approaches to the study of early Christianity: the "social historical" approach, and the "sociological" or "social scientific" approach. In its most pointed form, the former refrains from using sociological methods, confining attention instead to more traditional historiographic questions about the social background and practices of the early Christians. In contrast, the approach labeled "sociological" or "social scientific" seeks "to complement a conventional historical and exegetical analysis of the Bible and its environment with an orientation whose questions and objectives, modes of analysis and processes of explanation are guided and informed by the perspectives, methods, and research of the social scientist" (Elliott 1985:329; see also Elliott 1986; Malina 1986b). But in practice, the work of relatively few scholars has matched either of these "ideal types." Rather, many have held that the most promising approach is one that continues to employ old methods and questions, but that is *also* informed by the questions social scientists ask and the models they employ.

Against a thoroughgoing sociological approach it has been objected that the relevant sources are too sparse and fragmentary to support the use of sociological models or the drawing of larger patterns; that sociological analysis retrojects modern Western mental constructs and concerns onto 1st century society; and that sociological analysis both reduces theological statements to reflexive expressions of social forces, and unjustifiably minimizes the historical importance of the creative initiative and intention of individual leaders. Conversely, advocates of the social scientific perspective have objected that works of social history/description are typically intuitive and ethnocentric, and that they are rendered obscure by authors' tendency not to make theoretical presuppositions explicit and open to inspection. Bruce J. Malina (1986a), John H. Elliott (1985, 1986), and other advocates of rigorous "social scientific analysis" contend that the investigator's perception, organization, and interpretation of data is *inescapably* governed by theoretical models. (Here "model" may be defined as "an abstract, simplified representation of some real world object, event, or interaction constructed for the purpose of understanding, control, or prediction" [Malina 1982:231; cf. Elliott 1986]). But, the scholars claim, whereas social scientists carefully describe the

models employed, scholars of early Christianity who eschew social scientific theory leave their models vague and implicit.

The debate about the role that social scientific methods and models should play in the study of Christian origins intersects with an ongoing discussion among scholars across the human sciences. This discussion concerns an interrelated set of epistemological problems of objectivism versus relativism (see Bernstein 1983; Stowers 1985; Marcus and Fischer 1986). Though the epicenter of the current debate is the philosophy of science (it was triggered especially by Kuhn 1970; see Bernstein 1983), anthropologists have for years confronted analogous theoretical problems entailed by the task of understanding and explicating the symbolic discourse of other peoples. An overview of the salient issues in the interdisciplinary discussion (especially as it pertains to anthropology) may help to clarify the related debate among scholars of early Christianity.

**B. Problems in Social Inquiry**

**1. Humanistic Discipline or Science?** Sociologist Bryan R. Wilson notes that early social theorists, including Comte, Hobhouse, Durkheim, and Marx sought to discover a "rational ethic" or "patterns of social regulation" that "utilized the findings of scientific social enquiry, which some of them saw as convergent with the laws of history itself" (Wilson 1979:vii; cf. Evans-Pritchard 1962:140). Max Weber was one of the first social theorists to show an awareness of the limitations of rational procedures and understanding in social inquiry. In the period since Weber, social scientists have debated both the nature of their subject matter and the investigative procedures that they should use. These two issues are related. Social scientists who assume that social groups follow laws or law-like patterns have correspondingly insisted that such groups be investigated scientifically, using procedures of hypothesis or model formulation and testing analogous to procedures employed by the natural scientist. Repeated cycles of testing a hypothesis or model against the data and revising it in light of empirical test results are thought to enable the researcher to verify the facts of the situation and to guarantee that the model is free from formulator bias.

On the other hand, a small but significant number of social scientists have held that the subjects they study—the astoundingly diverse societies and cultures of humankind—do not permit the rigorously controlled procedure, analytic classification, and nomothetic interests of the natural sciences. Human social discourse is always expressed in symbolic forms (including language, ritual, myth, and other cultural patterns) whose meaning is relative to a *particular* set of social and cultural circumstances. This relativity of symbolic meaning, as well as the condensed, multivalent quality of symbolic forms, resist the abstractions of the scientist. Moreover, it is argued, the social scientists' guarantee of the "objectivity" or "scientific validity" of their results is an illusion. Research results are inevitably biased, because they are controlled by the questions generating the data to be analyzed. Such bias is characteristic not only of open-ended, inductive methodologies, but also of rigorously empirical ones: by the use of standardized questions and variables, the social scientist's hypothesis or model sifts and shapes the sorts of data deemed admissible. Indeed, cultural bias is said actually to be *built into* the hypothetico-deductive method.

**a. The Functionalist Perspective.** How have these issues been viewed from various perspectives in anthropology? Many operating from the theoretical perspective of *functionalism* have argued vigorously for the scientific status of their enterprise. The functionalist mode of analysis was developed by Talcott Parsons and his students in sociology, and by Bronislaw Malinowski and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown in anthropology, though the roots of such analysis go back to H. Spencer, E. Durkheim, and T. Veblen. Strict functionalism has come under serious critique (see Penner 1971; Stowers 1985:152–58), but the perspective continues to be influential in modified forms. As originally developed, functionalism is not a narrow model with limited applications, but a general theoretical perspective on human interaction, capable of explaining diverse social phenomena. Social groups are regarded as organisms (much like living organisms) whose natural state is one of equilibrium. Cultural phenomena—ranging from venerable institutions, to kinship structures, to beliefs in witchcraft—can be analyzed to determine their "function"; i.e., their contribution to the smooth and proper functioning of the social system. The method is

"holistic":explanation of any single component of the system must demonstrate how that part interacts with the other components of the system. In strict functionalism, social organisms (like their natural counterparts) are assumed to follow laws or law-like patterns. Moreover, like living organisms, social systems are thought to have certain "needs" (e.g., the need to overcome tensions) which must be met if the system is to endure; a presupposition of analysis is that these needs are often satisfied by practices or institutions that are manifestly intended to serve a different purpose altogether.

Complaints about functionalism were voiced as early as 1950 by anthropologist E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1962)—whose own work, ironically, helped to establish functionalism as a viable working method. In a controversial lecture that has been dubbed "the Humanist Manifesto," Evans-Pritchard lamented the positivist bent of many social scientists of his day. Evans-Pritchard was convinced that human societies are not natural systems that follow scientific laws, capable of being discovered and tested. Rather, societies are moral or symbolic systems in which patterns can be "discovered"—or, better, "imaginatively constructed"—by the observer. Anthropology "is interested in design rather than in process," and "seeks patterns and not scientific laws, and interprets rather than explains." Hence, Evans-Pritchard contended, anthropology should be regarded as one of the humanities, akin to historiography rather than to natural science.

**b. The Cognitive Perspective.** In the late 1950s and the 1960s there emerged the subdiscipline of anthropology known as *cognitive anthropology*, because its practitioners try to map out the cognitive realm or worldview of a particular people (see Colby et al. 1981; Holland and Quinn 1987, esp. pp. 4–6). One impetus behind this new theoretical perspective was its originators' conviction that use of western analytic categories to describe and explain alien peoples inadvertently imposed those modern conceptions onto the data, resulting in ethnocentric interpretations. The cognitive anthropologists strive to correct this problem through careful elicitation of "the native's point of view." The use of native categories in explanation is called "emic" analysis, in contrast to "etic" analysis, which utilizes the investigator's own analytic categories (both terms are derived from a linguistic model; compare "phonemic" and "phonetic" [see Feleppa 1986]). A second impetus behind the development of cognitive anthropology was its inventors' dissatisfaction with the vagueness and imprecision said to characterize ethnographic work. Cognitive anthropologists have maintained that elicitation of native thought forms, done according to formal analytical procedures that can be replicated and tested by others, will permit unbiased (emic) understanding of alien cultures. At least in the earlier stages of the subdiscipline, the ultimate goal was to use the results of this finely tuned emic analysis in cross-cultural comparison, done according to overarching etic, culturally-neutral frameworks.

The insistence of cognitive anthropologists on recovering "the native's point of view" has had a widely pervasive influence on the contemporary discussion in anthropology (see Feleppa 1986). Moreover, the cognitive anthropologists' confidence with regard to the feasibility of genuinely scientific, unbiased investigation of other cultures has served as a catalyst in the present debate, provoking vehement and incisive opposition from some quarters. Clifford Geertz (1973:11), for example, has described cognitive anthropology as the marriage of "extreme subjectivism" to "extreme formalism." Marcus and Fischer (1986:29) suggest that "cognitive anthropology's hopes for objective grids came to be seen as just one set of cultural constructions among others; its frameworks were not at all culturally neutral, but were shot through with the analyst's own cultural categories and assumptions, thus vitiating the project." The latter assessment is relevant for scholars of Christian origins, who are presently debating whether or not overarching analytic frameworks (such as the "group and grid" scheme of Mary Douglas [1973; see also Malina 1986b]) can enable the investigator to escape the clutches of ethnocentrism (see Garrett 1988).

**c. The Symbolic Perspective.** Anthropologists who adopt the *symbolic* theoretical perspective (a designation that actually encompasses a range of perspectives and methods, including the work of both M. Douglas and C. Geertz) have been divided about the appropriateness of claiming "scientific" status for their work. The roots of symbolic analysis go back to psychoanalysis on the one hand, and the sociology of knowledge (especially as prefigured in the work of Durkheim) on the other (see Colby et al. 1981:424). According to adherents of the symbolic perspective, cultural systems are best understood through the

analysis of symbols and their power to constitute reality. Hence, the task of the observer is to interpret action (i.e., meaningful behavior) by searching out the symbolic forms (e.g., ritual or myth) in which such action is expressed and viewing them holistically within their social and cultural context. Symbolic anthropologists assume that the symbolic elements of the focal events of social life are richly "condensed" or "overdetermined." Like dream symbols in Freudian analysis, social symbols reach out "by multiple strands of association into many diverse domains, levels, and corners of cultural experience" (Colby et al. 1981:432).

The assumption that symbolic meaning is multivalent leaves wide room for the subjectivity of the researcher to enter into play. This element of subjectivity has been evaluated differently by various persons both inside and outside of the symbolic camp. "Interpretive" anthropologists (i.e., a subgroup of symbolic anthropologists, whose number includes Geertz and others with similar agendas, all of whom reject the goals and methods of positivist social scientists) have argued that subjectivity is to be neither denied nor feared. As J. L. Peacock (1986:90) notes, the aim is to produce an interpretation that has been filtered through the interpreter's own experience and worldview, but that is nevertheless "focused sharply and precisely on the world of the native." But this indeterminateness of findings is intolerable to anthropologists of a more positivist bent: "there is no assurance that the [symbolic] analyst is not simply inventing some structure that has at best only a minimal or conditional validity" (Colby et al. 1981:432; cf. Shankman 1984).

The classic method for accomplishing the task of symbolic interpretation is the "ethnographic" method: the researcher immerses herself or himself in the life of the people being studied, seeks to learn the people's language and customs, and attempts to describe patterns of symbolization and social structure only after an extended period of exposure to them (see Peacock 1986:48–91; Marcus and Fischer 1986:17–44). In theory, neither the symbolic theoretical perspective nor the ethnographic method is incompatible with "scientific" procedure. For example, an ethnographer seeking to explain why members of a particular social group regularly fall into a state of mass trance could begin with a carefully formulated hypothesis relating this type of symbolic action to other set features of the social and cultural system, then test the hypothesis against empirical data generated in the field. But in practice many ethnographers—especially the interpretivists—find that the multi-layered character of the generated data ("thick with meanings") serves only to reveal the inadequacy or inappropriateness of a rigorous model-testing approach.

The objections of their critics (e.g., Shankman 1984) notwithstanding, Geertz and other interpretivists typically exhibit a high degree of self-critical awareness with regard to methods and procedure (see Marcus and Fischer, 1986). Interpretivists have chosen deliberately to follow an inductive-investigative method, and to reflect thoughtfully on the possibilities and limitations of discursive narrative as the medium in which to explicate an alien culture. Such procedural choices ought not to be taken for granted by scholars interested in social aspects of early Christianity. Elliott is correct that exegetes and historians must make intentional and well-documented decisions about their methodological perspectives. But such explicitness does not necessitate that one adopt a model-testing approach. To insist otherwise is to be more scientific than the social scientists, who—as seen above—disagree about the role that the hypothetico-deductive method ought to play in their analysis. The scholar of Christian origins may well decide that the very nature of human "meaning"—rooted inextricably in the concrete and rich details of a given time and place—makes the inductive but focused procedure of the interpretivist a more appropriate exemplar of method than is the empirical procedure of natural scientists.

**2. Social Objectivity and the Problem of Incommensurability.** To what extent is genuine translation of the terms, concepts, or modes of being of an alien culture into the interpreter's own language and modes of thought possible? Are there spheres of social or verbal discourse that *cannot* be understood aright when they are abstracted from their particular cultural framework—as is necessitated by the very act of translation? Discussion of this issue has often centered on the question of *rationality,* because it is the "nonrational" acts of another people (with so-called magical acts being the case *par excellence*) that pose the most serious problems of cross-cultural translation, and that thereby threaten to cast doubt on the

validity of the whole translation enterprise. Are the apparently nonrational practices and beliefs of other peoples to be assessed and described by measuring them against the analytic categories of our own modern western discourse (e.g., "magic," "science," or "religion")? This was the procedure followed early in the century by James Frazer, who concluded that "magic" was a kind of primitive rational science, but based on false premises. Alternately, are such practices and beliefs to be explained in terms of their ultimate contribution to the stable functioning of the social system, thereby making it unnecessary to attend to "the native's point of view"? This is the approach followed by those adopting a functionalist model of society. But critics have argued that both approaches are distorting. They treat the phenomena at too high a level of abstraction, and so obscure the possibility that the observed "nonrational" behavior actually follows "rules for rationality" that are *incommensurable* with the rules of the observer. Rather than measuring a people's symbolic forms against our own analytic categories, it is argued that the investigator must strive to utilize categories corresponding as closely as possible to ones used by the subjects themselves.

The "problem of incommensurability," then, may be stated as follows: any procedure which abstracts symbolic forms from their cultural context for purposes of comparison runs the danger of obscuring meaning and causing distortion, since the symbolic forms employed by the subjects may be incommensurable with categories derived from another culture. The greater is one's conviction that there are "cultural universals"—that social structures and codes of meaning follow law-like patterns, despite the variety of "superficial" cultural differences from one time and place to the next—the less acute will the "problem of incommensurability" seem to be. Conversely, the stronger is one's conviction that the "meaning" of social and verbal discourse is inextricably rooted in the *specific details of a particular culture,* the more acute the problem of incommensurability will appear to become.

Certainly all translation and interpretation involve abstraction: i.e., the overlooking of specific cultural detail so as to express a quality or property separate from the person or thing possessing it. But methods which employ extensive cross-cultural comparison, or which aim to explain social phenomena in the observers' own analytic (etic) categories must abstract the data from their cultural and social context to a much higher degree than do those approaches which seek to employ the views and intentions of the subjects (emic analysis). On the other hand, one cannot explicate the discourse of another culture without *any* reference to the observers' own (etic) categories, since to do so would be "not to explain anthropologically but to become completely assimilated socially" (Wilson 1979:xvii; see the discussion of the "intentionalist" position in Stowers 1985). Consequently, many anthropologists hold that the best strategy is one that deploys emic and etic categories together. The use of emic and etic categories conjoined is said to permit the investigator best to comprehend what alien peoples think they are doing and why they think they are doing it (on the possibilities and limits of such an approach, see Feleppa 1986). According to Geertz (1983:69), the interpreter achieves such a conjunction of emic (or "experience-near") and etic (or "experience-distant") categories by engaging in

> … a continuous dialectical tacking between the most local of local detail and the most global of global structure in such a way as to bring both into simultaneous view … Hopping back and forth between the whole conceived through the parts that actualize it and the parts conceived through the whole that motivates them, we seek to turn them, by a sort of intellectual perpetual motion, into explications of one another.

This sort of dual focus on the subject of study does not exclude the possibility of cross-cultural comparison. But the investigator is acutely aware of the danger of making easy cross-cultural equations, inasmuch as the abstraction required to do so introduces the problem of incommensurability.

It may be concluded, then, that investigative procedures that systematically compare early Christianity with models based on culturally-distant social groups will encounter the problem of incommensurability in heightened form: in order to make such comparisons work, both early Christianity and the movement (or "model") to which it is being compared must be treated at a high level of abstraction, which increases the risk that distortion of meaning will occur. As Stanley Stowers (1985:151) has pointed out, the recent trend in the study of early Christianity has been simply to assume commensurability between the 20th

century societies upon which social scientific models are based and the societies of the ancient Greco-Roman world. Stowers writes,

> The debate in the philosophy of science, and a parallel debate in the philosophy of history, should warn us to be skeptical about the applicability of modern models to antiquity and suggest that self-knowledge of our own social and conceptual worlds is essential to critical historical work. Most social scientific schemes of description and explanation embody peculiarly modern assumptions about values, beliefs, and social structures. The historian must be able to analyze and evaluate theories and methods thoroughly enough to discern when fundamental assumptions will produce distortion if applied to antiquity.

Stowers' sage cautions ought not to be taken as warrant for abandoning all use of social scientific perspectives and models in the study of early Christianity. Such perspectives and models have already suggested new and productive lines of inquiry and explanation, as attested by the following review of seminal works in the field; this cross-disciplinary enrichment should and will continue. It is, however, increasingly urgent that scholars of Christian origins engage in sustained reflection on the philosophical implications of the perspectives and models that they choose to employ.

**C. Review of Seminal Works**

The only way to gain a sense of the breadth of topics covered and methods used in recent studies of social dimensions of early Christian life and literature is to examine several of those works. The studies are so diverse as to defy easy comparison or categorization. The following (necessarily selective) sketch of seminal works observes the standard distinction between "social history" and "sociology" or "social science," while acknowledging the imprecision of that dichotomy.

**1. "Social Historical" Studies.a. Malherbe.** In his book *Social Aspects of Early Christianity* (1983; 1st ed. 1977), A. J. Malherbe advocates close scrutiny of the written sources of early Christianity, especially the NT, so as to become sensitive to their social dimensions. Malherbe suggests that the relationship between a given document and the community with which it was associated may have been complex; one cannot take it for granted that documents were always *products of* communities. Consequently, Malherbe counsels against premature efforts to draw analogies with non-Christian movements, or to apply sociological theory to the pertinent data. Rather, one must begin by examining the character and intention of the documents "in order to discern how they functioned in relation to the communities with which they were associated" (20). Malherbe discusses a range of topics pertaining to the social dimension of early Christian life and literature, including the social function of 1 Thessalonians, the social and educational level of members of the early movement, and features and associated problems of house churches. Malherbe concentrates his efforts on describing and evaluating relevant scholarship (including works written prior to the current renewal of interest in social topics; e.g., Deissmann 1965; Judge 1960a, 1960b), and on suggesting productive avenues for future research. Malherbe's stress on understanding the unique and particular elements of the NT writings and his reluctance to proceed too quickly to "theoretical description or explanations" of communities (insisting that they first be understood from within) keep his work firmly within the confines of "social history." The point is worth noting, because Malherbe does occasionally refer to his work as "sociological" analysis—a usage that has elicited criticism from reviewers, and that may mislead the casual reader. Some have found Malherbe's constraints on genuine sociological analysis to be overly cautious. But these cautions ought to be taken seriously—even if they are ultimately rejected—inasmuch as they grow out of a rich knowledge of the nuances and complexities of life and literature in the Greco-Roman world.

**b. Grant.** In *Early Christianity and Society* (1977), Robert M. Grant addresses topics which he supposed might appeal to persons whose interests extend beyond esoteric points of theology and exegesis and into matters of "everyday Christian practicality." Grant explores seven different topics (Christian population; relationship to the monarchy; taxation; occupations; private property; almsgiving; and temples, churches and endowments), covering the time span from the 1st to the middle of the 4th century. Grant's attempt to study early Christianity in relation to its social environment is clearly and deliberately that of a historian and not of a sociologist, but several times Grant borders on sociological analysis: for

example, when he discusses the possible relationship between millenarianism and the rejection of private property (chap. 5), or when he treats the "triumph of Christianity" as an "economic matter" (chap. 7). There are methodological problems with the work: Grant never worries about how the upper-crust bias of his literary sources may distort the picture of everyday life for those in the lower echelons of society. Moreover, in the opinion of J. Gager (1979:177), Grant's choice and treatment of topics is reflective more of his own social location than of the situation of early Christians. Given these limitations, Grant's work is valuable for its focus on social, "mundane" aspects of Christian life seldom attended to in histories of the early church.

**c. Hock.** The 1980 treatment of Paul's trade as "tentmaker," by Ronald F. Hock *(The Social Context of Paul's Ministry)* can also be characterized as a work of social history. Hock makes no use of methods or insights from the social sciences, but does endeavor to place Paul within a particular social and cultural milieu. Hock illuminates Paul's references to his manual labor by discussing the trade of tentmaking or leatherworking as it is known from contemporary sources, the experiences that would likely have arisen from tentmaking as a way of life, and contemporary attitudes held by different groups of persons (including rabbis and philosophers) toward manual labor. Hock uses his findings to illuminate the nature of the Corinthian controversy over Paul's refusal to accept their financial support. He concludes that "far from being at the periphery of his life, Paul's tentmaking was actually central to it" (67). By "placing Paul in the workshop," Hock succeeds not only in elucidating specific material and cultural ties that bound the apostle to a particular time and place, but also in casting light on other aspects of Paul's ministry and relationships with his communities.

**2. "Social Scientific" Studies.a. Theissen.** In *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity* (1978), G. Theissen seeks to determine how "the Jesus movement" contributed to the resolution of the disruptive tensions caused by Roman rule in 1st-century Palestine. The governing sociological perspective is functionalism: societies in general are regarded as entities whose "basic aims" include achieving the integration of their members and overcoming conflicts through change (2). The analysis is broken down into three parts. In Part One ("Analysis of Roles"), Theissen (apparently following M. Weber 1963:60–62) describes three standardized patterns of behavior in the Jesus movement: the "wandering charismatics," who abandoned family, possessions, and self-pride in order to follow Jesus; the "sympathizers in the local communities," who subjected themselves to the authority of the wandering charismatics and provided physical sustenance to itinerants who passed through their towns; and the "Son of Man," who was central to discipleship for members of each of the other two groups. In Part Two ("Analysis of Factors"), Theissen studies the history, nature, and extent of societal conditions that may have caused the movement to take the shape it did. In Part Three ("Analysis of Function"), relying heavily on psychoanalytic concepts, Theissen explains how the Jesus movement "articulated an answer" to the deep-seated crisis in Palestinian society: Parables, incidents, and sayings in the NT reveal how the earliest Christians "diverted, transferred, projected, transformed, and symbolized" the aggressions resulting from societal tensions (110). But, Theissen concludes, despite the Jesus movement's ability to overcome aggression, for various reasons it was rejected by Palestinian society. On the other hand, it flourished (albeit in changed form) in the more peaceful Hellenistic lands (on the latter point, see Theissen's important articles on Paul, several of which are collected in Theissen 1982).

Theissen's functionalist perspective has profoundly shaped his explanation of the Jesus movement, dictating that he view the movement as one among several of Palestinian society's efforts to overcome tensions within itself. As in classic functionalism, Theissen's explanation is given entirely in etic categories: the movement is analyzed in terms of its *latent functions*, rather than in terms of the *manifest functions* or *intentions* of the individuals who were its members. "Society" is described in language appropriate only to thinking persons: it has "aims," "needs," "concerns." Moreover, the movement's response to aggression is characterized using psychoanalytic constructs, which are inappropriate to describe social (as opposed to individual psychological) phenomena. Thus, as a full explanation of the emergence and ultimate fate of "the Jesus movement," Theissen's work is inadequate. Nonetheless it is,

by wide consensus, a creative—indeed ingenious—piece of work, which has opened up new lines of scholarly inquiry (for more detailed critique, see Elliott 1986:10–11).

**b. Elliott.** In *A Home for the Homeless* (1983), John H. Elliott engages in "sociological exegesis" of 1 Peter. He notes that he does not abandon traditional literary, theological, and historical questions, but insists (8) that these cannot be answered satisfactorily for a particular text unless one also makes "determination of the sum of its features which make it a vehicle of social interaction and an instrument of social as well as literary and theological consequences." Elliott rejects the traditional "heaven-is-my-home" reading of 1 Peter, arguing vigorously that the terms *paroikos* ("resident alien"; 1 Pet 2:11) and *parepidēmos* ("visiting stranger"; 1 Pet 1:1; 2:11) designated the actual political and social condition of the addressees. Measuring these recipients against Bryan Wilson's typology of sects (Wilson 1961), Elliott argues that the addressees must have constituted a "conversionist sect." By definition such groups exist in tension with the world, and seek to maintain this tension in characteristic ways, which Elliott demonstrates to be exhibited in 1 Peter. Using these insights, and armed also with observations on "the functions of social conflict," Elliott sheds new light on the letter's references to conflict with society. He summarizes (118):

> … the strategy of 1 Peter was not to provide ways of eliminating or avoiding social tension but of accentuating the struggle and presenting it as something which could bring about positive results. This strategy was not to encourage withdrawal or escape of "world-alienated pilgrims" from society or, even less, from the earth. Nor was it to urge cultural assimilation or accommodation. It was rather to encourage the recipients to hold their ground, stand fast, and resist, and to equip them for that task by reassuring them of their distinctive union with God, with Jesus Christ, and with each other.

Elliott subsequently examines the significance and function of "the household" in the socioreligious strategy of 1 Peter, concluding that the "household code" in the letter serves to reinforce the distinctive communal identity of the recipients.

Elliott insists that the recipients of the letter must have belonged to the social category of "resident aliens" prior to their conversion. As others have noted, for several reasons Elliott is not entirely persuasive at this fundamental point; one reason is that he does not give adequate warrant for dismissing the theological overtones of the terms in question (whose OT and NT usage he reviews thoroughly). In any case, Elliott's supposition that one must choose *either* a sociological reading *or* a metaphorical reading raises interesting questions concerning the relationship between these respective usages of a whole variety of terms (e.g., "slave of Christ"). How does the sociological usage of a term affect the metaphorical usage and vice versa, at the level of the audience's reception as well as at the more obvious level of authorial intention?

The application of Wilson's sect-typology raises questions concerning incommensurability: can one assume that the modern western categories used to describe modern Christian sects are commensurable with the patterns of social and symbolic discourse that characterized a group in 1st-century Asia Minor? The question will be answered differently by different readers; in any case, the model's heuristic power to provide a new angle of vision on the conflict in which the addressees were engaged seems to justify its use. More serious are the complications arising from Elliott's application of studies on the functions of social conflict. A common criticism of functionalism is that it commits a *teleological fallacy*, inasmuch as it explains the *purpose* of social structures by reference to their *results* (see Stowers 1985:154–56). Elliott apparently does not wish to fall victim to this fallacy; nor, it seems, does he wish to speculate on how the letter actually functioned in the designated communities once it was received (since we have no way to know this). But, perhaps in the effort to avoid these pitfalls, he has repeatedly ascribed complex and subtle—indeed, Machiavellian—strategical motives to the author(s) of the document. These motives are often expressed in 20th-century terms (see, e.g., 115), and at one point (119) a reference to the contrast between the "implicit" sociological concerns versus the "explicit" theological phrasing of the letter sounds suspiciously like a disguised version of "latent" versus "manifest" functions. Elliott does not give adequate weight to considering how *the author(s) themselves* might have understood (in their own terms) their intentions in writing the letter.

In spite of these weaknesses, many of Elliott's main points about how to read the letter withstand close scrutiny. It is an innovative and interesting piece of work.

**c. Meeks.** Wayne A. Meeks describes his 1983 book, *The First Urban Christians*, as a work of "social history" (ix; cf. 74), but the work pushes the boundaries of that category as it has typically been conceived. The book is a study of "the world of ordinary Christians" in the Pauline churches of the 1st century. Meeks does address traditional social historical issues, such as the urban environment of Pauline Christianity, and the social level of the members of the Pauline churches. But he also addresses questions more commonly associated with the work of the sociologist or anthropologist, concerning, for example, the social structure of the Pauline churches, the way they governed themselves, the types of rituals in which they engaged, and the correlations between stated beliefs and social forms. Moreover, Meeks makes use of various social scientific models in his analysis. The models are used as heuristic devices, to prompt questions and highlight possible connections among the data. Meeks writes (5):

> In this study the use of theory will be suggestive, rather than generative in the manner of experimental sciences. As Max Weber long ago pointed out, historical hypotheses do not admit of verification in the manner of scientific laws, and the controlled experiment is inevitably a misleading model for historical inquiry.

This posture vis-à-vis the social sciences has generated criticism from scholars at both ends of the social science-versus-social history spectrum: representatives of the one end argue that Meeks has not gone far enough in his appropriation of social scientific methods (Malina 1985; Elliott 1985), while representatives of the other end maintain that he has stepped over the line, failing to take adequate account of the participants' intentions, motives, and purposes (Stowers 1985:168–76). The difference in scholarly reactions is worth examining more closely. Malina and Elliott appear to have reacted against Meeks' claim that his work is not organized by any overarching social scientific theory. Rather, Meeks contends, his application of social science is "eclectic." He writes (6), "I take my theory piecemeal, as needed, where it fits." Stowers, on the other hand, appears to have reacted against Meeks' additional comment (7) that his position might be termed a "moderate functionalist" one. Stowers feels that Meeks has fallen into the trap that snares so many functionalists, by neglecting the beliefs and concepts of the people he is studying. But this last assessment is surely debatable: what Meeks seems to mean by his use of the term "moderate functionalist" is little different than what interpretive anthropologists mean by the term "holistic" (e.g., Marcus and Fischer 1986:23:"The essence of holistic representation in modern ethnography has not been to produce a catalog or an encyclopedia … but to contextualize elements of culture and to make systematic connections among them").

Meeks' explicit description of his organizing framework as atheoretical is somewhat misleading, for he does also compare his perspective to that of an interpretive ethnographer (6; cf. 7):

> Our case is analogous to Clifford Geertz's description of the social anthropologists's task as an ethnographer, a describer of culture. The description is interpretative. What it interprets is the "flow of discourse," from which it tries "to rescue the 'said' … from its perishing occasions and fix it in perusable terms" [quoting Geertz 1973:20–21].

Meeks' goals of depicting the world of ordinary 1st-century Christians, and of viewing holistically the associations of salient symbols and metaphors as they occur in contexts of performance (ritual and myth) are consistent with the aims of the interpretive perspective in anthropology.

However one adjudges Meeks' use of the social sciences, it is the firm social-historical footing of the work that gives it such cumulative power to persuade. Like the ethnographer's reports on the conditions of fieldwork and everyday life, the work's considerable exegetical and historical detail gives the reader the sense that Meeks really "was there." His reading of the sociological and anthropological literature has enabled him to ask new questions, which the ancient sources are able to answer, at least provisionally, a surprising number of times. Meeks' book, like the best interpretive ethnographies, presents us with a vision that is focused sharply and precisely on the group under study, but that is nonetheless uniquely the author's own.

**d. Petersen.** In his 1985 publication, *Rediscovering Paul,* Norman Petersen brings insights from interpretive anthropology, the sociology of knowledge, and literary criticism to bear on Paul's letter to Philemon. Petersen had noticed that both narrative worlds and social worlds consist of "symbolic forms" and "social relationships." How, then, do narrative worlds relate to social worlds and vice versa? To what extent is it legitimate to speak of the "sociology" of a narrative world? In an illuminating introduction, Petersen addresses these and related questions. He argues that the term "narrative world" is quite appropriate for analyzing letters, even though they might not seem to have any "narrative":like stories, they are characterized by plot, point of view, and closure. Letters *imply* a narrative, which can be teased out and restated, with some effort but also substantial gain—a feat that Petersen demonstrates in chap. 1. In chap. 2, Petersen turns to examine Philemon, seeking to "view the actions of the actors in the story as social relations," and to "determine from these relations the sociological structures underlying them" (31). In chap. 3, he studies "the overarching symbolic universe that provides meaning to and motivation for the actors' behavior." A summary and conclusion follow.

The "sociology of knowledge" (Berger and Luckmann 1966), from which the term "symbolic universe" derives, has influenced many who are interested in social aspects of early Christianity. A "symbolic universe" is an "overarching universe of meaning" that gives stability to the social world, ensuring that the latter continues to seem not merely reasonable but *inevitable* to its inhabitants. Petersen's case for the compatibility of the sociology-of-knowledge perspective and Geertz's interpretive one is sound, inasmuch as the perspectives overlap considerably and share common intellectual ancestors, including Weber, Durkheim, and Alfred Schutz. Petersen's further addition of literary critical categories and methods to his interpretive kit is also philosophically defensible; Geertz himself has stressed the analogies between cultures and "texts" as objects of study. For Petersen, the final combination is powerful in its ability to summon—but also subtly to differentiate among—the various contexts (narrative, historical, social, and symbolic/theological) from which the text derives meaning. The method enables one better to see how the meaning(s) of the text affected and were affected by the "everyday reality" in which the author and first readers lived. To be sure, Petersen could have provided considerably more concrete detail about "everyday reality" as it pertained to the letter of Philemon (e.g., by incorporating a discussion of master–slave relations in 1st century Asia Minor). But in general his results are impressive, and his method holds promise for the analysis of other NT and ancient Christian documents.

**e. Malina and Neyrey.** Bruce J. Malina and Jerome H. Neyrey have been among the most outspoken advocates of an approach to NT studies that incorporates the scientific method of model formulation and testing. In their joint book, *Calling Jesus Names* (1988), they put their preaching into practice in an examination of the gospel of Matthew (especially chaps. 12 and 26–27). Christological investigation done "from the side," the authors contend (135), differs from more traditional christological investigation in that it "is as interested in the process whereby Jesus was evaluated as in the formulae or labels resulting from the process." In order to illuminate the "name-calling" or "labelling" process by which Jesus' contemporaries evaluated him, the authors utilize models of witchcraft and labelling/deviance theory. They suggest that this approach offers "… accurate, plausible and testable scenarios for understanding aspects of conflict in isolated detail and as coherent patterns of behavior" (138).

The model for explicating witchcraft accusations is that of M. Douglas (1973; elaborated in Malina 1986b), which hypothesizes that certain characteristics of the worldview of any given social group (attitudes toward purity, ritual, body, etc.) are correlated in a consistent and predictable fashion with two sociological variables, corresponding to the group's internal and external lines of demarcation. Witchcraft societies—i.e., social groups whose members are prone to make witchcraft accusations—are classified as strong on the variable known as "group" (= "a high degree of pressure to conform to societal norms") and low on the variable known as "grid" (= "a poor degree of fit and match between individual experiences and stated societal patterns of perception and experience"). In chap. 1, Malina and Neyrey use the categories provided by the group/grid model to analyze the conflictual social dynamics of the community reflected in the Q-stratum of Matthew, focusing especially on Matt 12:22–32. In chap. 2, the same segment of Matthew is examined in the light of labelling and deviance theory (derived from American

sociological work). Chaps. 3 and 4 apply first labelling theory, then prominence theory to the account of Jesus' trial in Matthew 26–27. In each chapter the procedure is the same: the model is laid out in considerable detail, then "tested" against the data from Matthew so as to illuminate the dynamic process of name-calling in which Jesus and his contemporaries were engaged.

One of the authors' primary goals in adopting the model-testing approach is to avoid ethnocentric readings of the biblical texts. Malina and Neyrey argue that the meanings of the words of a given text are rooted in the social structures (= patterned social relations) of the group that produced the text. Most 20th-century readers are accustomed to different social structures and their related cultural codes, and so bring the wrong set of assumptions to the page. Only the interpreter who is equipped with a cross-cultural model that takes the peculiarities of 1st-century Mediterranean culture into account will be able to discern the intended meanings of the text. The witchcraft and conflict models, together with a chart comparing United States values with "the Mediterranean view" (apparently based on social scientific studies of the 20th century Mediterranean world) are proffered as a kind of algorithm for the translation of the words of Matthew 12 and 26–27 into 1st-century meanings. The models and the meanings that Malina and Neyrey present are phrased in highly abstract, etic terms, though the authors insist (137–38) that they have tried to balance the etic emphasis by phrasing their comments "in terms of Mediterranean culture and categories."

It is dubious whether (as the authors claim: xiv, xv) the meanings derived with the use of the given models correspond to the meanings "familiar to the original audience of those texts" (xiv; cf. xv, 136, 143). The authors' interpretations are phrased in 20th-century social scientific categories ("witchcraft," "labelling," "deviance," "prominence," etc.) that are incommensurable with the customary categories of the 1st century. Malina and Neyrey, who apparently are aware of the problem of incommensurability, argue that the redundance of results produced by the several different models demonstrates the models' appropriateness for 1st-century society (65–67), and that the authors' references to "Mediterranean culture and categories" counteract any inherent bias of the models. But the consistency of results produced by the various models does not alleviate the problem, since *all* of the models use exclusively etic categories. Moreover, it is far from evident that generalizations about 20th-century Mediterranean society can be depended upon to transport one's reading faculties into the 1st-century world.

Malina and Neyrey claim that their explanatory constructs are "accurate, plausible, and testable." But what does this claim mean? In the natural sciences, the acid test of a model or hypothesis is whether it can *predict data.* The prediction-criterion is inappropriate to models designed for historical research (cf. the authors' [143] cautious assessment of the possibility of "retrodiction"). "Testable" in the usage of Malina and Neyrey apparently means that they or their readers can assess whether the categories and processes described by the model seem to correspond to ones identified in Matthew. But neither ethnocentrism nor subjectivity has been eliminated from the research procedure: the former is built into the etic categories of the model, and the latter affects the authors' interpretive decisions about how to apply the model to the text.

In sum, Malina and Neyrey do not escape the problem of ethnocentrism, nor do they enable us to read the texts "in terms of the meanings familiar to the original audience of those texts" (xiv). To accomplish the latter, the authors would have had to incorporate 1st-century concepts and categories into their analysis in a much more thoroughgoing fashion. Despite these flaws, Malina and Neyrey's work is valuable. It compels us to see that the proper task of "christology" consists not in the laying out of so many "titles" like Lepidoptera, but in examining the hard give-and-take of persons in conflict. Moreover, Malina and Neyrey challenge us to examine our own presuppositions, and to state these as forthrightly as they themselves have done. Both of these accomplishments are to be applauded.

**D. Conclusion**

The variety of topics which could be addressed by scholars interested in sociological or social historical study of the NT is difficult to specify, because opinions on key methodological questions diverge so widely. As was demonstrated in the foregoing review of seminal works, scholars' positions on methodological issues, such as the use of sociological models and the problem of incommensurability, govern their perception both of the topics needing attention and of the procedures appropriate to such

tasks. Many of the topics addressed in more traditional historical analyses (e.g., Christianity's transition from an isolated sect to a widely dispersed and influential movement, or the formation and organization of the Pauline churches) have already proven amenable to the probing of scholars who are attentive to social dynamics and willing to be informed by sociological theory. Presumably the fund of traditional historical topics will continue to fuel such research in the future. Moreover, there are a variety of methodological problems calling for both sustained theoretical reflection and test-case analyses: for example, the relationship between social reality and various metaphors used by early Christians (e.g., familial or household language used to describe the church, or slave-terminology used to describe discipleship [see Martin 1988]); or as a second example, the interface between sociological study and various forms of literary criticism, including reader response theory (see Petersen 1985; Martin 1988; Garrett 1989:5–9). Doubtless other topics needing attention will surface as scholars become more familiar with the patterns of everyday life in antiquity, and with the driving questions and concerns of sociologists and anthropologists.

There is no question that diversity is the hallmark of the "sociology of early Christianity" at the present time. The role that the social sciences ought to play in such analysis is currently being debated in the academy, and new approaches are being tested in articles, monographs, and dissertations. The new (or renewed) effort of scholars to take seriously the social dimensions of early Christian life and literature has already borne fruit, and there is promise of more to come. But the plant must be pruned and nurtured. Careful methodological reflection and self-critical analysis are essential to its continued growth.

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SUSAN R. GARRETT

**SOCOH** (PERSON) [Heb *śôkô* (שׂוֹכוֹ)]. One of the descendants of Judah (1 Chr 4:18). He is probably the eponymous ancestor of the town of Socoh located in the hill country of Judah. See SOCOH (PLACE) #2.

H. DARRELL LANCE

**SOCOH** (PLACE) [Heb *śôkōh* (שׂוֹכֹה)]. **1.** A town in the Shephelah. Josh 15:35 locates it in the second district of Judah near Jarmuth, Adullam, and Azekah. The confrontation between the Israelites and the Philistines which ended with the death of Goliath took place in the Valley of Elah between Azekah and Socoh (1 Sam 17:1). A Socoh occurs in the list of cities said to be fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr 11:6–10), and it is generally assumed that the Shephelah Socoh is meant. However, the Socoh of the hill country (see below) cannot be ruled out. The Shephelah Socoh is certainly the site referred to in 2 Chr 28:18 which lists a group of cities lost to the Philistines before or in the time of Ahaz.

These references to a Socoh in the Shephelah fit the site of Kh. ʿAbbad (M.R. 147121) located near where the Elah valley opens into the rolling coastal plain. Although the site has not yet been excavated, surface survey has produced pottery of the expected horizon. Furthermore, a short distance to the E, the ancient name is preserved at Kh. Shuweikeh, and Eusebius knew the two sites as a double village, collectively called "Socoth," the plural of Socoh.

**2.** A town in Judah in the S hill country, it is mentioned only in Josh 15:48 (unless it is the Socoh fortified by Rehoboam [2 Chr 11:7]). It is located in the fifth district of Judah near Debir and Eshtemoh and is generally identified as Kh. Shuweikeh (M.R. 150090), an unexcavated site about 17 km SW of Hebron.

**3.** A town in the territory of Israel, cited as the center of Solomon's third district (1 Kgs 4:10). Although this is its only biblical reference, it is apparently mentioned in inscriptions of Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, and Shishak. It is generally located at *Shuweiket er-Ras* (M.R. 153194) about 3 km N of modern Tulkarm, near the opening of the strategic pass leading to Shechem.

**4.** One of the place names on the royal-stamp jar handles, usually identified with Socoh #1. However, this is by no means certain, especially since no examples of Socoh stamps have been found among the *lmlk* handles picked up at Kh. ʿAbbad.

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H. DARRELL LANCE

**SOCRATES.** Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus and Phainarete, was born in 470/69 B.C.E. in the Attic demos of Alopeke and was executed in Athens by a potion of hemlock in 399 B.C.E. His radical critique of the Sophists, among whom he began his philosophical career, resulted in a thoroughgoing transformation of Greek philosophy. Socrates' defense before the Athenian court was immortalized by Plato in his *Apology of Socrates* which became the literary model of many analogous defenses in the future. The reconstruction of Socrates' philosophy is still controversial, since he did not leave any writings. The problems of the historical Jesus and the historical Socrates are similar in many ways and require similar methods. Although mentioned by name only later in early Christian literature (Harnack 1904; Döring 1979), the influence of the Socratic tradition is detectable as early as in the NT. There are surprising parallels between some sayings of Jesus and those of Socrates (Hommel 1984). Socrates' defense influenced Paul's defense strategies in his letters (Betz 1972; *Galatians* Hermeneia) as well as the presentations of the apostles in Acts (Acts 5:29; 17:16–34).

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HANS DIETER BETZ

**SODI** (PERSON) [Heb *sôdî* (סוֹדִי)]. The name Sodi, according to Noth (*IPN*, 152), is a short form of a longer name which may have had Babylonian origins. The *î* ending is either a personal pronoun ("my confidence") or a hypocoristic ending ("[Yahweh is] a confidant"). The personal name Sodi is found only in Num 13:10. Sodi is the father of Gaddiel, who represented the tribe of Zebulun among the twelve men Moses sent from the wilderness of Paran (Num 12:16) to spy out the land of Canaan.
JON PAULIEN

**SODOM AND GOMORRAH** (PLACES) [Heb *sĕdōm* (סְדֹם); *ʿămōrâ* (עֲמֹרָה)]. Two legendary cities from prehistoric Israel in the neighborhood of the Dead Sea, mentioned in the Bible and in ancient Jewish literature. The meaning of the names Sodom and Gomorrah is as uncertain as their location. The names are explained according to etymological derivation: Sodom as "field," "burning," "enclosed space"; Gomorrah as "flooded place," "indentation," or the like. Lately, more caution has been exercised in determining the meaning of the names, even though they are often thought to retain some of the elements contained in the sagas.

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A. Biblical References to the Cities
1. In Genesis
2. In Ezekiel 16
3. Other References
B. Location of the Cities
1. In Classical Antiquity
2. Recourse to Geological Phenomena
3. Archaeology
C. References Outside the Hebrew Bible

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**A. Biblical References to the Cities**

In the Hebrew Bible as well as in the NT, Sodom and Gomorrah are occasionally mentioned in the same breath. But, apart from these cases, Sodom figures far more prominently than Gomorrah. In the Hebrew Bible, Gomorrah occurs jointly with Sodom in only 19 times out of the 39 times the latter is mentioned (Gen 10:19; 13:10; 14:2, 8, 10, 11; 18:20; 19:24, 28; Deut 29:22; 32:32; Isa 1:9, 10; 13:19; Jer 23:14; 49:18; 50:40; Amos 4:11; Zeph 2:9). In the NT the combination is even less frequent (Matt 10:15; Rom 9:29; 2 Pet 2:6; Jude 7). Sodom occurs by itself in the Hebrew Bible in Gen 13:12, 13; 14:12, 17, 21, 22; 18:16, 22, 26; 19:1 (twice), 4; Isa 3:9 (conjecture 1:7); Ezek 16:46, 48, 49, 53, 55, 56; and Lam 4:6. In the NT Sodom is mentioned by itself in Matt 11:23, 24; Luke 10:12; 17:19; and Rev 11:8.

According to an old tradition, Sodom and Gomorrah, together with three other cities (Admah, Zeboiim, and Zoar), formed a so-called Pentapolis, already indicated as such in Wis 10:6. This name derives from Gen 14:2, 8, the only passage in the Bible where all five cities are mentioned in conjunction. Apart from the latter verses, only Gen 10:19 (conjecture 19:25); Deut 29:22; and Hos 11:8 have Admah and Zeboiim. Zoar (according to Gen 14:2, 8 previously called Bela) occurs in Gen 13:10; 19:22f., 30 (twice); Deut 34:3; Isa 15:5; and Jer 48:34 (conj. 48:4). From this survey it appears that Sodom occupied a central place in the tradition, if a Pentapolis ever existed at all. The central role of Sodom is even more certain if, in the "table of nations" of Genesis 10, Admah and Zeboiim can be seen as an editorial addition to Sodom and Gomorrah, and if Deut 29:22 [—Eng 23] can be dated to the exile. Hos 11:8, where Admah and Zeboiim occur together, stands in a N Israelite context, which may justify the conclusion that Sodom (and Gomorrah) played a role in Judean circles, and Admah and Zeboiim in N Israelite circles. Apparently, therefore, a variety of traditions existed of an event that had catastrophic consequences and that, in the message of the Bible as well as in extrabiblical literature, has become a classic example of particular sins, condemnations, and judgments.

**1. In Genesis.** When one considers the traditions about Sodom (and the other cities) in the Hebrew Bible, one is struck by the difference between the function of Sodom in Genesis 14 and that in the other chapters in Genesis which feature Sodom. Genesis 14 is a construction of various genres dating from the postexilic period. Broadly speaking, it contains a report on a campaign (vv 1–11), a narrative about a liberation which is reminiscent of similar tales from the time of Judges (vv 12–17, 21–24), and the Melchizedek episode (vv 18–20). In this chapter, Sodom does not stand in the bad repute it has in the rest of the Hebrew Bible. Although in the first part (vv 1, 2, 8, 9) the lists name five cities and five kings, from v 12 onwards only Sodom and its king play a role. The focus on Sodom is due to the fact that Abraham's nephew Lot lived in this city and was taken prisoner by the four kings from the E. As to the location of Sodom, mention is made of the "Valley of Siddim" that was "full of tar pits" (v 10). But these names leave us in the dark historically as well as geographically. The former name may also be interpreted as "Valley of the Demons."

Quite different is the picture of Sodom given in the other passages in Genesis. The so-called Table of Nations in Genesis 10 (v 19) adds, as we have seen, only secondarily the names of Admah and Zeboiim to those of Sodom and Gomorrah. Genesis 13 relates the separation of Lot and Abraham. In this story, attributed to J, additions from P occur. One of these additions reports that Lot saw that "the Jordan Valley was well watered everywhere like the Garden of the Lord or like the land of Egypt, in the direction of Zoar. This was before the Lord had destroyed the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah" (v 10). The statement in v 12, that Lot settled down in the valley "as far as Sodom" (which suggests that Sodom lay outside Canaan) is, in Genesis 18 and 19, followed by the story about the "wickedness" (already announced in Gen 13:13) of the "men of Sodom," labeled as "great sinners against the Lord." They are held up as an example, illustrative of the way God's justice works.

Analysis of chaps. 18 and 19 shows that the role played by the people of Sodom (and Gomorrah) originates in an independent tradition that was only secondarily linked to the Abraham stories. This tradition initially was of a strictly local nature and originated in the environs of the Dead Sea. The lament over Sodom's wickedness constrains God to intervene; and notwithstanding Abraham's theological reflection whether God is really willing to destroy the righteous along with the godless, the sentence is

executed in Genesis 19. This chapter is reminiscent of the flood stories. The transgressions of Sodom's inhabitants mainly consist in sexual debauchery, human hubris, and violation of (the law of) hospitality. No one in Sodom was exempt from this sin (19:4). The destruction of Sodom and the other cities was effectuated by means of a "rain of brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven" (v 24). It is striking that this story, unlike others (Deut 29:22; Isa 13:19; Jer 50:40; Amos 4:11), does not emphasize the "reversal" of Sodom and Gomorrah. This means that elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible the authors introduced changes in the tradition they had in common with Genesis 19, in the process each time also typifying the "sin of Sodom" in a different way. At the end of Genesis 19, Abraham makes his appearance again. It is said that he surveys the whole valley and that he saw smoke rising from the land, "like smoke from a huge furnace" (v 28).

**2. In Ezekiel 16.** In Ezekiel 16 only Sodom (together with Samaria) is mentioned in an expressive discourse in which Jerusalem is put on the scene as a perfidious woman (vv 44–58). In particular the alleged parallelism with Sodom is humiliating for Jerusalem. Sodom's sin is indicated by references to its "pride," "plenty of bread," and "untroubled tranquility." The city's people lived a life of ease without offering any helping hand to the needy and the poor. It is possible that the understanding of the "sins" of Sodom found in Ezekiel 16, here typified differently from those in Genesis 19, are based upon an alternative Sodom-tradition or that the tradition was simply given a different explanation. The turn in vv 53–55 comes as a surprise. The fortune of Sodom "and her daughters" changes for the better, because Jerusalem's rehabilitation has been secured. Verse 56 shows clearly that Sodom (and its "shame") was once a popular byword and in due course came to act as a deterrent in the mouth of the prophets.

**3. Other References.** In the rest of the Hebrew Bible, Sodom and Gomorrah occur especially in Deuteronomy and in the judgment speeches of the prophets. These cities (once mentioned together with Admah and Zeboiim; Deut 29:23) stand for "the whole land brimstone and salt, and a burn-out waste, unsown, and growing nothing." In Deut 32:32, 33 it is stated that the vine of the enemies stems from the vine-tendrils of Sodom and from the fields of Gomorrah; indeed, that their grapes are poisonous, their berries bitter, their wine venom of snakes. These words have often been taken as reminiscent of the "Sodom apples." (Already in Wis 10:7 mention is made of "plants that bear fruit prematurely"; cf. Josephus, *JW* 4:484f. Over two centuries ago, the Swedish research worker F. Hasselquist has described these fruits on his journey to Palestine in the years 1749–1752. In his opinion they were the fruits that had been wasp-stung and were covered with dust and ashes, *fructus Solani Melongenae;* others: *Calotropis Procera.*)

We have already noted that the prophets compared the proverbial iniquity of Sodom and Gomorrah with the "reversal" of these cities. In Amos 4:11; Isa 13:19; and Jer 50:40 the longer formula is found: "as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah." By means of this formula the judgment of God (or the gods) over these cities in prehistory is called to mind (this is the only time that Amos uses *ʾĕlōhîm* in the absolute sense). A shorter formula is to be found in Deut 29:22; Jer 49:18; and Isa 1:7. Also in the other prophetic verses mentioned above Sodom and Gomorrah occur in comparisons, with the purpose of holding up as instructive examples to Israel and its leaders the atrocities committed by the inhabitants of these cities (cf. e.g., Isa 3:9: "partiality witnesses"; Jer 23:24: "horrible things: commit adultery, walk in lies, strengthen the hands of evildoers"). Destruction of countries and peoples is likewise often announced "like Sodom and Gomorrah with their inhabitants" (Jer 49:18; 50:40; Amos 4:11; Zeph 2:9). So the "reversal" of Sodom and Gomorrah has become a classic instance of the punishment for violating the covenant with God.

In the N part of the realm it was not so much the tradition of the annihilation of Sodom and Gomorrah that was widely known, but rather the destruction of Admah and Zeboiim (Hos 11:8). In the course of time, the latter cities were combined into one tradition along with Sodom and Gomorrah, and located on the coast of the Dead Sea. This leads us to the question of the exact location of the cities.

**B. Location of the Cities**

Usually it is thought that these cities were situated on the S coast of the Dead Sea, but there is no agreement in the biblical record concerning their exact position. According to Gen 19:20–23 there is a

tradition that, before Sodom was destroyed, Lot was allowed to flee with his family to Zoar, since the hills were too far away to be reached in time. Since Zoar is mentioned in the same breath with the other cities (Gen 14:2), it has been assumed that the city concerned had to be Zoara, a Hellenistic–Byzantine city on the border of the *ghor es-safijeh*, already found on the map of Madaba dated from the 6th century. However, not only is the topography in the Hebrew Bible extremely vague, but often the location is also determined by popular etymology. Therefore, it was possible to look for the Pentapolis also on the N coast of the Dead Sea *(el-ghor)*, in the vicinity of the outlet of the Jordan River into that sea. One might find support for this supposition in Gen 13:10–12, where mention is made of the "Plain of the Jordan" (cf. Gen 19:17, 25, 28, 29; Deut 34:3; 2 Sam 18:23; 1 Kgs 7:46; Neh 3:22; 12:28; 2 Chr 4:17). On the other hand, however, the "bitumen pits" in "the valley of Siddim" (Gen 14:10) have been localized in the shallow S part of the Dead Sea.

**1. In Classical Antiquity.** As early as in classical antiquity the reports on the site of the cities were ambiguous. Strabo (*Geog.* 16.2.44) assumes a situation in the environs of *Moasada* (= Masada) on the SW side of the Dead Sea, and he even speaks of thirteen destroyed or submerged cities of which Sodom was the metropolis. Also Eusebius in his *Onomasticon* (42.1–5), identifying Bala (Gen 14:2) with Zoar, has a S localization in mind. When dealing with Josh 18:19 (*Onom.* 11.4–5), he remarks that the "Salt Sea" is also called Dead Sea or *Asphaltites.* The latter name already occurs in Pliny the Elder (*HN* 5.72); Diodorus (*Bibl. Hist.* 19.98); frequently in Josephus (*Ant* 1:174; 4:85; 9:7, etc.); as well as in other classical authors. Hieronymus agrees with Eusebius, and records the flooding of the cities (at Zeph 2:9 in *PL* 25, 1363–64). This hypothesis has been adopted by many latter Christian writers (e.g., Orosius and Claudius Marius Victor), but equally in the rabbinic traditions the "flood hypothesis" is repeatedly mentioned (*Gen. Rab.* 47; *Midr.* Gadol, etc.). The "Pilgrim of Piacenza," Antoninus Placentinus (6th century C.E.), however, looked for Sodom and Gomorrah on the N side of the Dead Sea (Antonini Placentini Itinerarium, CChr.SL 175, 134.137.140.142), as did, perhaps, Theodosius before him (CChr.SL 175,122). Earlier information on the topography of the Pentapolis, already given by Tacitus (*Hist.* 5.7); Pliny (*HN* 5.71ff.) and Solinus, are very vague and secondhand.

**2. Recourse to Geological Phenomena.** In order to substantiate the location of the Pentapolis in or near the S part of the Dead Sea, recourse has often been taken to geological phenomena. One writer has suggested an earthquake, not necessarily with volcanic eruptions, at the beginning of the alluvial or postglacial period (Blanckenhorn). Sometimes an earthquake is dated more precisely, for instance around 1600 B.C., when also the Cretan palaces and cities were destroyed, as were Ugarit and Alalakh VII (Cornelius 1960; Ahituv *EncBib* 5:998–1002). If this theory is correct, the latter earthquake, unlike the former, was not tectonic but volcanic, producing an effect over a wide area around the Dead Sea.

**3. Archaeology.** Since the middle of the 19th century, efforts have been made to determine the topography of the Pentapolis on the basis of archaeology. Clermont-Ganneau (1888:162) was of the opinion that the Gebel Usdum, until the present day situated SW of the Dead Sea, was the exact place. Since the 1930s the excavations of Tuleilat Ghassul by Mallon, Köppel, and Neuville have focused the attention of many researchers on a N site near the mouth of the Jordan river. W. F. Albright, on the other hand, starting from the excavation of Bab edh-Dra‹ SE of the Dead Sea, argued that Sodom and Gomorrah, now submerged, must have been located on the Sel en-Numeira and the Sel-‹Esal respectively. The excavations by P. W. Lapp (between 1965 and 1967) in Bab edh-Dra‹ and those by W. E. Rast and R. T. Schaub (since 1973) in the whole of the S *ghor* did indeed show traces of habitation in the early Iron Age which one might suppose were the prehistoric cities. But it is highly uncertain, if not improbable, that the vanished cities of the Pentapolis will ever be recovered. In the first place because, as Gunkel (*Genesis* HKAT, 214–15) has already demonstrated, legends of the destruction of cities or regions tend to be based on a widespread saga motif (cf., e.g., the Phrygian popular saga of Baucis and Philemon); and, secondly, because such sagas are easily linked to places that, by the very nature of their wilderness and desolation, are a fertile soil for the imagination. Still, on the whole it is by no means impossible that a big catastrophe in prehistoric times did live on in the memory of the peoples (e.g., Moabites or Edomites) living around

the Dead Sea, and that later on the essential features of the tradition (with variation in names and other details) were taken over by the Israelites.

**C. References Outside the Hebrew Bible**

Occasionally, it has been thought that the literature from the world surrounding Israel might provide indications for the existence of the cities. In the Ugaritic texts *sdmy* occurs once (KTU 4.244:13), but this *gentillicium* cannot be identified with the biblical Sodom. Nor do the Ebla tablets give any clue as to the existence of the cities, although prominent scholars initially thought they did.

In the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature Sodom (sometimes along with Gomorrah) is often mentioned or hinted at (*3 Macc* 2:5; Sir 16:7; *T. Ab.* 6:13; *Gk. Apoc. Ezra* 2:19; 7:12, etc.). The inhabitants of Sodom are held up as a warning, but now and then "extenuating circumstances" are adduced in their favor (e.g., Wis 19:13–17). Also in *Jubilees* the fate of Sodom is brought up (13:17, 22ff.; 16:5–6, etc.). The impurity of the Sodomites consisted mainly in fornication. Exemplary, likewise, is the "burning, consuming fire." Also, in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,* Sodom is often mentioned (*T. Levi* 14:6 [with Gomorrah]; *T. Naph.* 3:4; 4:1; *T. Ash.* 7:1; *T. Benj.* 9:1). It is remarkable that, in connection with "fornication," the "reversal of the order of nature" is also mentioned. In the literature of Qumran Sodom and Gomorrah play a role only in 1QapGen, the so-called *Genesis Apocryphon* (21:5ff.; 21:23–22:25).

Josephus pays attention to Sodom and Gomorrah in particular when he retells the biblical history of Genesis (*Ant* 1:170–206). He has elaborations which also occur in the later rabbinical literature. The people of Sodom pride themselves on their power and wealth, they brutalize outside people, and are ungodly. This induces God to ruin their country, so that ever since no plants or fruits could grow.

Philo, in his allegorical explanation, interprets the word Sodom as "blinding" or "making barren," and Gomorrah as "measure" (*Somn* 2:192; cf. *Congr* 109 and 92). In the beginning, the soil of Sodom was fertile, and the king as well as the people were virtuous (*Abr* 227). But when they had become supersaturated with earthly goods, they grew arrogant, threw off the yoke, and seized their lords (*Abr* 228). In Philo's allegory the cities of the Pentapolis are the five senses (*Congr* 92). Other texts featuring Sodom should, according to Philo, equally be interpreted allegorically. And over and over again Sodom is called "infertile (soil) for wisdom" and "blind to reason." Occasionally he remarks on what can be seen of Sodom and Gomorrah up to the present (e.g., *Abr* 140f.).

The tenor already present in the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature as well as in Josephus and Philo is continued in the later rabbinical literature: Sodom and Gomorrah were characterized by their violation of (the law of) hospitality, by sins of fornication, and by the reversal of the order of nature. It is on these counts that the sins of Sodom became manifest and God's justice was summoned. An example of this is given in *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* to Gen 18:20, 21. In the translation of these verses, which are supplemented with midrash, it is stated that the wailing over Sodom and Gomorrah (cities that suppressed the poor and ordered that whoever gave bread to the needy should be burned) was so loud that God had no choice but to intervene. God heard the cries of the girl Peletit (there are other names of the girl in other rabbinical traditions), who had taken bread in a jug to a poor man. She was found out, whereupon she was smeared with honey and put on the top of a wall, thus attracting bees that devoured her. This version occurs in several places in the rabbinical literature. In one place in the Babylonian Talmud (*Sanh.* 109a and b) the "reversed" world of the people of Sodom is even exposed in a way bordering on sad humor. Their laws, e.g., were calculated to do injury to the poor and the needy (Ginzberg 1968:245–50). One should bear in mind that the rabbinic literature is concerned with additions to and alterations of the old tradition.

As is to be expected, Sodom and Gomorrah are mentioned rather frequently in the NT against the background of the old Israelite and rabbinic tradition. Also the imagery of the cosmic annihilation (e.g., Luke 17:25–30; 2 Pet 2:6, 7) and of a sulphur-like sea of fire (Rev 19:20; 20:10, etc.) will have originated in consequence of the punishment of Sodom and the desolate spectacle provided by the surroundings of the Dead Sea. Essentially, these descriptions answer to what in the Synoptic Gospels is depicted as "the fires of hell" (*hē geenna (tou) puros;* Matt 5:22; 18:9; cf. *2 Clem.* 5:4). Admittedly the gospels do

emphasize the sins of Sodom, yet it is stated that this city will fare better than a great many other Israelite towns on the day of the Lord (Matt 10:15; 11:23, 24; etc.). Here, again, Sodom and the other cities of the Pentapolis are held up as a deterrent example of fornication and of the suffering in "the eternal fire" (Jude 7). The fire of the judgment depicted in Gen 19:24, 25 continues burning as a subterranean hellfire, as late Jewish conception has it. For further discussion see BKAT commentaries on Genesis and Ezekiel.

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**SODOM, SEA OF** (PLACE) [Lat *Sodomitus*]. See SALT SEA (PLACE).

**SOJOURNER** [Heb *gēr* (גֵּר)*;* Gk *paroikos* (παροικος)]. A foreigner who is traveling through a land or one who has taken up residence in that land. The key is that the sojourner has no familial or tribal affiliation with those among whom he or she is traveling or living.

The Hebrew word derives from the root *gwr.* It is a common Afrasian root which appears in Egyptian and in the Semitic languages Phoenician, Ugaritic, Old South Arabic and Aramaic as well as Hebrew. In all of these languages, the meaning is generally agreed upon. The nominal form of the root applies to someone who is not native to the area, and the verbal form means "to travel," "to sojourn," or "to stay in a foreign territory." However, there is some variation in the way lexicographers have tried to capture the meaning of *gēr,* and suggestions have included "sojourner," "foreign resident," "stranger," "foreigner," "immigrant," "client," and "resident alien." Sojourner is used most often because it conveys the idea that the individual is not a permanent member of the community in which he or she lives. The term client is frequently employed to indicate that the individual does not have full rights within a community and thus is dependent on a patron for protection.

The understanding of *gēr* has been informed by some of the nonbiblical inscriptions which have been discovered. In the Mesha Inscription, or Moabite Stone, there is a line which lists, "7,000 men and *grn* and women *grt* and female slaves" among those who were killed by Mesha in his attack upon Israel. It is

clear that *grn* (a masc. pl. noun) refers to male "foreigners" and *grt* (fem. pl.) refers to female "foreigners," who live among the Israelites, and that these "foreigners" are seen as being in a class distinct from men and slaves in Israel. The noun *gr* (vocalized *gēr*) is a frequently encountered element of Phoenician theophoric names. Thus the name *grmlqrt* (Benz 1972:104, 298–99) probably means "client" or "protege" of Melqart (a Tyrian divinity). Finally, a Phoenician text lists various people, such as builders, servants, and stone masons, who must be paid for their work at the temple at Kition in Cyprus (CIS I 86). Included in this list of people are *grm*, which, if derived from *gwr*, would suggest that a foreigner works at the temple. However, some scholars have argued that because the term *grm* is in association with *klb*, dog, which could refer to a male prostitute or pederast, *grm* should be understood to refer to female prostitutes. Nevertheless, such an interpretation does not preclude the possibility that such a person was a foreigner.

In biblical texts the term *gēr* is used in two basic ways: to describe the experiences of the Israelites themselves when they are living among foreigners; and to describe those non-Israelites who live among the Israelites. However, this distinction becomes confused when the claim is made that the Levites are *gērîm* (sojourners) among the Israelites. In all of these cases, there are certain expectations of both the native population and the sojourners.

In a number of places, Israelites are said to sojourn in a land. Abraham, because of a famine in Palestine, sojourned in Egypt (Gen 12:10), and, in one version of the "sister–wife" story, Abraham sojourns in Gerar (Gen 20:1). Apparently Lot's criticism of the men of Sodom is seen as a violation of his role as sojourner (Gen 19:6–9). It appears that because of his status as sojourner, Abraham must make a specific request for permission to purchase land from the Hittites in Canaan in order to have a place to bury Sarah (Gen 23:4). In another version of the "sister–wife" story, Isaac is a sojourner in Gerar and is protected by Abimelech (Gen 26:3, 11). Gen 32:4 indicates that Isaac sojourned with Laban; Gen 36:6–7 tells of Jacob and Esau sojourning in the Canaan; and Gen 47:4 reports that Joseph and his brothers requested permission of the Pharaoh to sojourn in the land of Goshen. When the Israelites finally settled in Canaan, it was in the land of their sojourning, which God had promised to them (Gen 17:7; Exod 6:4). This understanding of the Patriarchs as sojourners is also found outside of the Pentateuch (cf. Ps 39:13—Eng 39:12; 105:12; 1 Chr 29:15).

Other people besides the patriarchs are labeled as sojourners. Moses called his son, born to him and Zipporah, his Midianite wife, Gershom, for "I [Moses] have sojourned in a foreign land" (Exod 2:22). The explanation of the name "Gershom" is thus "sojourned *(gēr)* there *(šām).*" When Elijah calls upon God to revive the dead son of the woman from Zarephath, he mentions that he has sojourned with the widow (1 Kgs 17:20). The Bethlehemite Elimelech, husband of Naomi, sojourns in the land of Moab (Ruth 1:1). After the prophecy of Azariah, Asa, king of Judas, institutes a reform in which he gathers the people to Jerusalem, including the people from "Ephraim, Manasseh and Simeon who were sojourning with them" (2 Chr 15:9). Finally, in the biblical version (Ezra 6:2–5) of Cyrus' decree freeing the exiles, the people who lived in Babylon are said to sojourn there (Ezra 1:4). In all of these instances, we see Israelites who are sojourning in a foreign land.

The second way in which "sojourn" is employed is to describe foreigners who live among the Israelites. Often these foreigners are subject to the same laws as the Israelites (Exod 12:49; Num 15:16). Thus, the sojourner shall observe the day of atonement (Lev 16:29) and Passover (Num 9:14); shall refrain from consuming blood (Lev 17:10); shall not blaspheme the name of Yahweh (Lev 24:16); shall observe the statutes relative to the ashes of the red heifer (Lev 19:10); and shall receive equal treatment under the law (Deut 24:14). Only occasionally is there a law which makes a distinction between Israelite and sojourner (cf. Deut 14:21). The reason given for this equal treatment is that Israel was once a sojourner in the land of Egypt (Exod 23:9; Lev 19:33–34; Deut 10:19; 16:9–12).

While equal treatment for the sojourner is the norm, it is clear that the sojourner does not enjoy the same social status as that of the Israelite. This realization emerges initially when one sees the way in which the sojourner has to be singled out in biblical legislation. The sojourner is not a full member of Israelite society but someone of different and lower status. The same perspective appears when one looks at the

reference to the sojourner in the Ten Commandments (Exod 20:10). The sojourner is listed after sons, daughters, servants, and cattle. This secondary status can be seen in that the most frequent context in which the "foreigners" are mentioned includes mention of widows, orphans, and the poor (Lev 23:22; Deut 10:18; 24:17, 19; Jer 7:6; 22:3; Ezek 22:7, 29; Zech 7:10; Ps 94:6; 146:9). Widows, orphans, and the poor are to receive special consideration by the Israelites because of their lack of means of support, and so too are the sojourners.

One group which is often mentioned with widows, orphans, and the poor, along with the sojourners, is the Levites. This association has raised the question of the status of the Levites and has often led to the argument that the Levites are sojourners. In part this argument depends on the material in Judges 17, where the Levite is said to "sojourn" (Judg 17:7, 8, 9). In addition, the dispersal of the tribe of Levi (Gen 49:5–7) and the lack of tribal allotment (Josh 13:14) are used to buttress this argument. However, although Levites are said to sojourn (Deut 18:6; Judg 17:7, 8, 9; 19:1), and are placed in a list with widows, orphans, and the poor (Deut 14:29; 16:11, 14; 26:11, 12, 13), they are never called sojourners. Indeed, usually sojourners and Levites are listed as distinct groups (Deut 14:29; 16:11, 14; 26:12, 13). In a difficult text, the *gēr* and others stand before the Levitical priests (Josh 8:33). Thus, it is clear that one cannot simply equate Levites and sojourners. Rather they are listed together by the Deuteronomistic Historian because he sees both groups, as well as the widow and orphans, as landless persons, a sociological status which qualifies them for specific assistance from the larger population.

So, like the widow and the orphan, the sojourner is in a distinct social class, part of a group which requires special care and protection. The Israelites are expected to provide this care and protection for these foreigners who live among them, because they too were once foreigners sojourning in a strange land. As is stated in Leviticus 19:34, "The stranger who sojourns with you shall be to you as the native among you, and you shall love him as yourself, for you were strangers in the land of Egypt: I am Yahweh your God."

In the NT (and in the LXX) the Greek word *paroikos* is used to translate the Hebrew *gēr* and to convey the idea of a sojourner or resident alien. It appears only four times in the NT. In Stephen's speech in Acts 7, he uses the word to refer to Abraham's time as a sojourner (v 6) and Moses' sojourning in Midian (v 29). In Ephesians 2:19 the writer states that those who join the "household of God" will no longer be sojourners. In 1 Peter 2:11 the writer beseeches the sojourners "to abstain from the passions of the flesh." These usages are consistent with those of the Hebrew Bible which see *gēr* as a sojourner in a foreign land.

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JOHN R. SPENCER

**SOLEM** (PLACE). See SHUNEM (PLACE).

**SOLOMON** (PERSON) [Heb šĕlōmōh (שְׁלֹמֹה)]. The third king of the kingdom of Israel and the second king of the kingdom of Judah in the 10th century B.C.

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A. Filiation, Names, and Family
B. Chronology
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**A. Filiation, Names, and Family**

Solomon was the tenth of David's seventeen (2 Sam 3:2–6; 5:14–16) or nineteen sons (1 Chr 3:1–8; cf. 14:4–7). He was either born of Bathsheba daughter of Eliam (2 Sam 11:3) as her second son (12:18, 24) or born of Bathshua daughter of Ammiel as her fourth son (1 Chr 3:5) in Jerusalem.

David named him Solomon (2 Sam 12:24; according to *qerê,* Syr., *Tg. Jon.,* the mother named him), while by Yahweh's revelation through Nathan the prophet he was called Jedidiah, "Beloved one of Yahweh" (12:25). The explanation of the name *šĕlōmōh* is given in 1 Chr 22:9 that Yahweh "will give *šālôm* (peace) and quiet to Israel in his days." However, modern scholars explain the significance of the name as a "replacement" (from *šillem* "make compensation") for a lost sibling. This explanation seems suitable for the story about Solomon's birth (2 Sam 12:14–24). In that case, it is impossible to accept the view that the name Solomon was the throne name. It appears that the episode about the name "Jedidiah" originated in an attempt to show that Solomon had received his divine election for future kingship in his youth (cf. Akk *migir ilāni rabûti,* "beloved one of the great gods," a Mesopotamian royal epithet).

It is reported that Solomon had 700 wives and 300 concubines (1 Kgs 11:3). Although the figure is clearly legendary, he doubtless had a large harem. He had a reputation as a "lover of many women," especially foreigners (11:1; cf. Cant 1:1; 6:8). However, out of Solomon's many women, no proper name is transmitted except Naamah the Ammonitess, who was the mother of Rehoboam, Solomon's successor (1 Kgs 14:21, 31). In addition, Solomon's two daughters are known by name, Taphath (4:11) and Basemath (4:15), both of them were married to district prefects of the king.

**B. Chronology**

It is a difficult task to establish the chronology of Solomon's reign, since all the chronological notes on his deeds give nothing but typological figures: his 40-year reign, as the case of David, signifies a generation (1 Kgs 11:42; 2 Chr 9:30). Similarly, his fourth regnal year in which he laid the foundation of the Temple, which was also 480 years after the Exodus; the 20-year period for the duration of his building projects of the Temple and the palace; and the 7 years devoted to the building of the Temple (1 Kgs 6:1, 37–38; 7:1; 9:10; 2 Chr 3:2; 8:1) are all symbolical figures. Moreover, Solomon's age at accession is lacking in his chronological notes.

Accordingly, the chronology of Solomon's reign is a matter of conjecture on the basis of circumstantial evidence. Judging from his passive role in the narrative about the struggles for the kingship in 1 Kings 1, we may assume that Solomon was under adult age at the time of his accession (cf. 1 Kgs 3:7; 1 Chr 22:5; 29:1). At the same time, the report on his successor's age of 41 at accession (1 Kgs 14:21; 2 Chr 12:13), coupled with the abundance of Solomon's deeds suggest that he had a lengthy reign of about a generation. In addition, the synchronisms of Solomon with Hiram of Tyre (1 Kgs 5:15–26—Eng 5:1–12; 9:10–14; 2 Chr 2:3–16) and with Shishak of Egypt (1 Kgs 11:40), together with the absolute date of the division of the United Kingdom calculated by chronological notes in the biblical sources, lead scholars to assume the beginning of Solomon's reign around 970–960 and its end around 930–920 B.C.

**C. Sources**

Neither the name Solomon nor allusion to his reign has yet been found in any contemporary extrabiblical source. Therefore, we have to rely solely on the pertinent biblical sources for reconstruction of the period of Solomon. Some parts in 2 Samuel and 1 Kings 1–11 are available for the principal source, while 1 Chr 22:5–23:1; 1 Chr 28:1–2 Chr 9:31 should be treated as secondary. Some wisdom literature, like the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles, are also associated with Solomon, but the associations (except some parts of Proverbs) seem legendary.

As is widely accepted, the books of Samuel and Kings form part of the Deuteronomistic History (DH) which was finally redacted in the Babylonian exile. The editorial work of the DH observed in the biblical sources for the reign of Solomon focuses upon the Temple and Solomon as its builder. According to the editorial design, Solomon's reign is idealized as the Golden Age in the history of Israel, and Solomon himself is described as an extremely wise, extraordinarily wealthy, and supremely powerful monarch. This idealization of Solomon and his reign is rooted in the view that the builder of the Temple and his age must have been blessed by God with every sort of blessing, in contrast with the miseries in the exile after the Temple had been destroyed. Moreover, the structure of the literary complex in 1 Kings 3–11 is constructed by arranging the report on the building of the Temple and matters directly connected with it (1 Kgs 5:15–9:25) at the center between the accounts about the establishment of his rule as preparations for the building work (3:1–5:14) and the narratives about the prosperity of his kingdom as a consequence of the Temple building (9:26–10:29). Chap. 11, in which Solomon's apostasy and his troubles are told, is added as an explanation of the division of the kingdom after his death (based on the Deuteronomistic theory of retribution).

In compiling the literary complex about Solomon and his reign, the DH derived its materials from many sources; unfortunately, these sources can no longer be identified with certainty by their original form. However, scholars have attempted to distinguish them by contents, styles, and other criteria. They are, among others, the Succession Narrative, which consists of most of 2 Samuel and 1 Kings 1–2; official archives of the royal court, e.g., the lists of Solomon's high officials and of the twelve district prefects (1 Kgs 4:1–19); Temple archives, e.g., the description of the architectural structure of the Temple and its furnishings (6:2–36; 7:15–50); folk legends, like the tale about Solomon's arbitration (3:16–28) and story of the visit of the queen of Sheba (10:1–10, 13); a prophetic legend centering upon Ahijah (11:26–40); and "the book of the acts of Solomon" (11:41), perhaps a collection of annalistic accounts, anecdotes, and legends about Solomon.

There is a difference of opinions about the prospects for extracting historical information for the reign of Solomon from the biblical sources. Skeptical views are based mainly on the supposition that editorial distortions are prevalent throughout the DH. However, it is plausible to assume that, the stereotyped words of exhortation, judgment, or editorial modification aside, there is in principle no fabrication in the DH, since the main task of this historian was a compilation of materials from various sources transmitted from previous generations. In any case, before branding it as unhistorical, we must carefully scrutinize all information in the biblical sources. This rule should be applied also to information from the books of Chronicles where the modification, exaggeration, or tendentious treatment of historical events are more noticeable.

**D. Solomon's Succession**

Thanks to the epilogue to the Succession Narrative (1 Kings 1–2), we are informed in detail on the course of events about Solomon's accession to the Davidic throne and his consolidation of the kingship. This narrative has long been appreciated as one of the earliest historical works in the Bible, but yet doubt on its historicity is expressed in many recent studies (see Whybray 1968; Rost 1982). However, by recognizing its literary genre as the category "royal historical writings of an apologetic nature" in the ANE, we may prove that the narrative is basically historical, despite all the descriptions colored by a tendency for the Solomonic apology.

When David became senile (1:1) without designating his successor explicitly, the leading courtiers were divided into two parties revolving about the two rivals for the royal throne. The first candidate was Adonijah the son of Haggith, who was the fourth son but the surviving eldest prince after the death of Amnon and Absalom. He was expected to be David's successor by the general public (2:15) and was supported by Joab, commander-in-chief of the army, and Abiathar the priest (1:7). A rival candidate was Solomon the son of Bathsheba, who was backed by Zadok the priest, Nathan the prophet, Benaiah, the leader of the royal bodyguard called the Cherethites and the Pelethites, and David's heroes (1:8). Except Benaiah and David's heroes who had followed David as members of his bodyguard called the thirty (2 Sam 23:8–39; 1 Chr 11:11–47) since the days of his wandering in the wilderness (1 Sam 22:1–2; 1 Chr

12:8, 16), Bathsheba, Zadok, and Nathan appeared for the first time after David transferred his capital from Hebron to Jerusalem. By contrast, Adonijah and his supporters were those who had held positions at the court already in the days of David's reign at Hebron. In addition, the fact that the members of these rival parties were opposed to each other in contesting for the same positions shows that the conflict was caused by the newcomers' challenge to the old authority. The tendency to posit here a conflict between the Yahwism from Hebron and the Jebusite-Canaanite religion from Jerusalem is a hypothesis based on unproved evidence.

The narrative in 1 Kings 1 gives us the impression that Adonijah ascended the throne at the feast at En-rogel without David's consent. A scrutiny of the text makes it clear, however, that Adonijah had no intention to raise the standard of a rebellion. Because David's remaining days were numbered and Adonijah was expected by the people to succeed David, he had no reason to be in a hurry to usurp the throne. It is more plausible that the feast at En-rogel was a demonstration of his intention to gain the crown after the demise of David. The portrayal of Adonijah as a second Absalom in vv 5–6 obviously stemmed from the inimical viewpoint of the party opposing Adonijah. It was Nathan who fabricated a rebellion on the part of Adonijah to furnish a pretext for extracting from David the designation of Solomon as his successor. Indeed, by taking advantage of the dotage of David, Nathan succeeded in convincing David that he had once pledged himself to designate Solomon as his successor (vv 13, 17, 30). Thus, Solomon's faction secured his designation as David's successor by a court intrigue outmaneuvering Adonijah's party at the last moment.

When Solomon sat upon the royal throne after coming up from the coronation rite at Gihon, the courtiers came to congratulate David and said: "May your God make the name of Solomon more famous than yours, and make his throne greater than your throne" (v 47; cf. v 37). The implication of the words is twofold: on the one hand, an explicit congratulation to the growth of the Davidic dynasty; on the other, an implicit wish that the reign of Solomon may literally surpass that of David. We may regard these words as an expression of the Solomonic legitimation including criticism against the regime of David which had long been deteriorated by the *de facto* usurpation of Joab.

Since Solomon ascended the throne during David's lifetime (1:32–40), there had been several years, perhaps three years (cf. 6:1, 37; 2 Chr 3:2), of co-regency with David before Solomon became the sole sovereign (see Ball 1977). The main purpose of the co-regency was to protect young Solomon against Adonijah and his supporters who still remained intact after being defeated at the struggle for the royal throne. Accordingly, the demise of David brought Solomon's regime to a crisis. Taking advantage of this critical moment, Adonijah shrewdly attempted to regain a footing for a plot of rollback against Solomon's kingship by requesting Abishag the Shunammite for his wife (1 Kgs 2:13–18). As a nurse of King David (1:1–4), she was certainly regarded as a member of David's harem which Solomon had appropriated as proof of his royal legitimacy. When hearing of Adonijah's request, Solomon quickly took strong action against Adonijah and his supporters. He had Benaiah execute both Adonijah and Joab, and he banished Abiathar from Jerusalem to Anathoth (2:19–34). Finally, Solomon also succeeded in eliminating Shimei a Saulide, the archenemy of the House of David (cf. 2 Sam 16:5–13; 19:16–23; 1 Kgs 2:8–9) by entrapping him (2:36–46a). Thus, purging all his opponents, Solomon firmly established his kingdom (2:46b). Some scholars believe that the narrative about Solomon's purge of his enemies stemmed from anti-Solomonic circles. It is more likely, however, that it tells about Solomon's quick decision and wisdom as well as his political achievement in a matter left unfinished by David.

**E. Divine Approval of Solomon's Kingship**

Royal lineage and divine election served as the fundamental elements for the legitimation of kingship in the ANE. As to the first element, the epilogue to the Succession Narrative in 1 Kings 1–2 emphatically tells that Solomon was designated as royal successor by David himself (1:35) and sat upon his father's throne (1:30, 35, 48; 2:12, 24), while mention is made about Solomon's divine approval only a few times in an indirect way (1:36–37, 48; 2:15). By contrast, the divine authentication of Solomon's kingship is the main subject of the account on a divine revelation to Solomon in his dream at Gibeon (3:4–15; cf. 2 Chr 1:3–13) where he received the divine assurance of wisdom to govern the people, although this account

also includes a passage to legitimatize Solomon's kingship on the basis of the dynastic principle expressed by the words of the Davidic covenant (1 Kgs 3:6–7; 2 Chr 1:8–9).

It has been suggested that this episode was composed after a literary genre called the Egyptian *Königsnovelle,* which was a literary form to underline the greatness of royal innovations. In addition, a divine revelation to a king in a dream while he slept at a sanctuary was a common theme in the ancient world (see Seow 1984). Nevertheless, unlike the passage about Yahweh's second revelation to Solomon, which consists of typical words and phraseologies of a Deuteronomistic exhortation and admonition (1 Kgs 9:1–9), there is no reason to doubt that the Gibeon episode furnishes information on the historical situation in the days of Solomon.

That Gibeon, identified with el-Jib (5.5 miles NW of Jerusalem), was an important religious center during the reign of David is testified in the narrative about the Gibeonite ritual execution of the descendants of Saul with David's approval "at Gibeon on the mountain of Yahweh" (2 Sam 21:1–14). The narrative suggests that David also "sought the face of Yahweh" (21:1) at Gibeon. At the same time, from the narrative we learn that the Gibeonites still remained as a distinct enclave as the descendants of the Hivites bound with Israel by a treaty in the days of Joshua (Josh 9:3–27). It is possible to assume, therefore, that David chose the high place in Gibeon as a royal sanctuary before building an altar at the threshing of Araunah (2 Sam 24:25), by taking advantage of the Gibeonite neutral position toward the tribes of Israel. The similar consideration was instrumental in his choice of Jerusalem for his capital.

According to the Chronicler, the tent of meeting (2 Chr 1:3, 5–6, 13), or the tabernacle and the altar of burnt offering (1 Chr 16:39; 21:29) was at the high place in Gibeon at that time. Though secondary, these Chronicler's traditions seem reminiscent of the high place in Gibeon which still served as a royal sanctuary in the early reign of Solomon.

**F. Administration**

Solomon inherited the government which David had organized after the administrative example of Canaanite city-states, and developed it into a larger and more complicated institution. The development is observed in three lists of the high officials of David and Solomon preserved in the biblical sources. It is likely that the first list (2 Sam 8:15–18; 1 Chr 18:14–17) came from the days when David had consolidated his kingdom after defeating his domestic and foreign enemies, the second (2 Sam 20:23–26) likely came from his later years, while the third (1 Kgs 4:1–6) stemmed from the latter half of Solomon's reign. The following synopsis (Table 1) is made after solving textual problems. The names of the officials are placed in the order in the Solomonic list. (The sign * in the first column indicates that the office is lacking in the Solomonic list, while the numerals in the third and fourth columns represent the order in the respective lists.)

| Officials | 1 Kgs 4:1–6 | 2 Sam 20:23–26 | 2 Sam 8:15–18 |
|---|---|---|---|
| The king | Solomon | — | David |
| 1) The priest | Azariah the son of Zadok | — | — |
| 2) Secretaries | Elihoreph and Ahijah the sons of Shisha | 5) Sheva | 4) Seraiah |
| 3) Herald | Jehoshaphat | 4) Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud | 2) Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud |
| 4) Over the army | Benaiah the son of Jehoiada | 1) Joab | 1) Joab the son of Zeruiah |
| * Priests | (Zadok and Abiathar) | 6) Zadok and Abiathar | 3) Zadok and Abiathar |
| | | 7) Ira the Jairite | 6) David's sons |
| * Over the Cherethites and Pelethites | — | 2) Benaiah the son of Jehoiada | 5) Benaiah the son of Jehoiada |
| 5) Over the Prefects | Azariah the son of Nathan | — | — |
| 6) Priests and king's friend | Zabud the son of Nathan | — | — |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 7) Over the palace | Ahishar | — | — |
| 8) Over the levy | Adoniram the son of Abda | 3) Adoram | — |

In comparison with the Davidic lists, the following four changes are striking in the Solomonic list. (1) The first position among the officials was held by the priest in the Solomonic list, while in the Davidic lists it was held by "one who is over the army." (2) The priest was set up instead of several priests, suggesting the establishment of the office of the chief priest. (3) Along with the addition of an extra secretary, three officials (i.e., "one who is over the prefects," "king's friend," and "one who is over the palace") were newly appointed. (There had already been a king's friend under David [2 Sam 15:37; 1 Chr 27:33], but he was not included in the lists of high officials.) (4) The office of "one who is over the Cherethites and Pelethites" was abolished. These changes indicate that the importance moved from the army to the palace with the Temple, which was expanded as the administrative center of a large kingdom. From the patronymics of the officials we may also learn that members of several important families occupied the central offices in the court of Solomon (see also Mettinger 1971).

The Solomonic kingdom was divided into twelve administrative districts and the land of Judah, each of which was governed under a prefect (1 Kgs 4:7–19). Azariah the son of Nathan, one of the high officials of Solomon, presided over the prefects (4:5). The names of the twelve prefects together with the extent of their respective districts are listed in 1 Kgs 4:8–19. Although there are many uncertainties concerning the geographical names in the list, the general structure of the administrative districts is clear enough. The name of the 1st district, the hill country of Ephraim, is not tribal but geographical, encompassing both the tribal area of Ephraim and the main part of Manasseh (i.e., the greater part of the tribal inheritance of the house of Joseph). The 2d to the 7th districts are named after towns, while the 8th to the 11th bear tribal names. If we read "Gad" instead of "Gilead" according to the LXX, the name of the 12th district is also tribal. It has thus become clear that the traditional tribal system was retained in the peripheral areas, while the central hill country was reorganized, and the former Canaanite territories, which had been annexed to the kingdoms of Israel and Judah in the days of David, were organized as districts named after towns.

Because the biblical source tells us that each prefect had to provide food for the king and his household for one month in the year (1 Kgs 4:7; 5:7—Eng 4:27), it is likely that the purpose of the system of the 12 districts was to improve the administrative tasks of tax collection. The fact that Judah is not included in the system would show that it enjoyed the privilege of tax exemption. By contrast, it is possible that in reorganizing the central hill country Solomon tried to neutralize the influence of the house of Joseph over the tribes of Israel.

Already David had appointed Adoram as official "over the levy" at the end of his reign (2 Sam 20:24). The pagan theophoric element Adad in his name suggests that he was a man of Canaanite origin. It appears that David established the institution of forced labor after a Canaanite model and imposed the levy upon the Canaanite population whom he had incorporated into his kingdom (cf. Judg 1:27–35; 2 Sam 12:31). We might also assume that David had Joab take a census (24:1–9; 1 Chr 21:1–6) in preparation for the levy to which the Israelites also would be subjected, although there is no certain evidence for it.

Under Solomon, however, not only the remnants of the pre-Israelite population (1 Kgs 9:20–21; 2 Chr 8:7–8) but also the people of Israel were subjected to the levy (1 Kgs 5:27—Eng 5:13). Despite a passage telling that the forced labor was not imposed upon the Israelites (1 Kgs 9:22; 2 Chr 8:9), all the other sources attest to the harshness of heavy burden which the people of Israel had to bear in the days of Solomon. According to an account, Solomon raised 30,000 men for a levy of forced labor in Lebanon, and Adoniram was in charge of the levy (5:27–28—Eng 5:13–14). Besides, he had 70,000 burden-bearers, 80,000 hewers of stone, and 3,300 chief officers who were over the work (5:29—Eng 5:15–16). According to another, there were 550 chief officers who had charge of the people who carried on the work (9:23; but 250 chief officers according to 2 Chr 8:10).

Solomon's policy of imposing forced labor on the N tribes eventually became a major source of the disruption of the United Kingdom. Jeroboam ben Nebat, who had been given charge over all the forced labor of the house of Joseph by Solomon, became a leader of rebellion against Solomon; after it failed, he

sought refuge with Shishak king of Egypt (1 Kgs 11:26–28, 40). Although the cause of the rebellion is not told explicitly, there is little doubt that Jeroboam was supported by the N tribes who felt they could no longer bear the Solomonic levy of forced labor. After Solomon's death the N tribes negotiated with Rehoboam the son of Solomon about alleviation of the heavy burden of forced labor. When the negotiations were broken off, they declared independence from the Davidic rule, killed Adoram, taskmaker over the levy sent by Rehoboam, and made Jeroboam king over all Israel (12:1–20).

**G. Diplomacy and Trade**

As to the extent of Solomon's kingdom, we have contradictory reports. According to the "official" claim, "Solomon ruled over all the kingdoms from the Euphrates to the land of the Philistines and to the border of Egypt; they brought tribute and served Solomon all the days of his life" (1 Kgs 5:1—Eng 4:21; cf. 5:4—Eng 4:24; also 8:65). According to the other traditions, however, both Hadad the Edomite and Rezon of Damascus became adversaries to Solomon, presumably in the early days of his reign (11:14–25). Moreover, no biblical source tells about Solomon's conquest of Philistine Gath, which kept its independence in the early years of Solomon (2:39–41). It is also clear that Hiram king of Tyre always held the superior position in his relations with Solomon (5:15–26—Eng 5:1–12; 9:11–14). Evidently, these sober traditions are more historical than the hyperbolical claim on the huge extent of Solomon's kingdom. It appears that Solomon's actual dominion was confined to the traditional Israelite homeland in W Palestine, i.e., "from Dan to Beersheba" (5:5—Eng 4:25), the bulk of the N Transjordan, and the route to Ezion-geber on the Gulf of Elath (9:26).

Nevertheless, it is not easy to dismiss the hyperbolical claim as a completely groundless statement. It is possible to find in it an "official" explanation of the historical situation. Indeed, there is reason to believe that Solomon was one of the most influential rulers in Syria-Palestine in those days. The biblical sources refer to his far-flung diplomatic connections, extensive involvement with international trade, and his powerful army and strong defense system. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the regime of Solomon considered all the kingdoms W of the Euphrates as the countries under his influence, though the claim was widely different from the reality.

In connection with Solomon's marriage to the daughter of Pharaoh king of Egypt (3:1; 7:8; 9:24), mention is made about the Pharaoh's campaign against Gezer and its cession as the dowry of his daughter (9:16). This Pharaoh is generally regarded as Siamun, the penultimate king of Dyn. 21 who was also the patron of Hadad of Edom (11:18–22; see Green 1978). It is assumed that the Pharaoh invaded Philistia to regain the Egyptian control over the Via Maris in the early days of Solomon's reign by taking advantage of the weakness of the Davidic rule caused by the demise of David and the death of Joab (cf. 11:21). Encountering the military strength of Solomon, however, the Pharaoh negotiated for a peace treaty, which was cemented by the marriage of his daughter to Solomon. If this reconstruction is acceptable, Solomon's marriage to the daughter of Pharaoh should be considered as a great success of Solomon's diplomacy. Likewise, his marriages to many foreign women, including Moabite, Ammonite, Edomite, Sidonian, and Hittite women (11:1), should be regarded as political. Peace treaties cemented by these marriages, together with a tight defense system, enabled Solomon to secure the borders of his kingdom (cf. 5:4–5—Eng 4:24–25).

The biblical source explicitly refers to a treaty which Solomon made with Hiram king of Tyre (5:26—Eng 5:12). Indeed, Solomon had close relations with the Phoenician monarch in many enterprises. First of all, Hiram provided Solomon with important building materials for the Temple and royal palace in Jerusalem, such as timber of cedar and cypress from Lebanon and gold (5:22–24—Eng 5:8–10; 9:11), together with Phoenician craftsmen (5:20, 23, 32 [—Eng 5:6, 9, 18]; 7:13–14). In turn, Solomon defrayed the expense of these materials and the craftsmen's wages by an annual delivery to Hiram of wheat and oil (5:25—Eng 5:11). By the completion of the buildings after twenty years, however, the trade between Solomon and Hiram became out of balance and the former had to cede to the latter twenty villages in the land of Galilee, called the land of Cabul, probably situated in a region SE of Acco (9:10–14). The Chronicler, who understood the situation the other way around, tells us that Hiram gave cities to Solomon (2 Chr 8:2). But this view hardly seems historical.

Another cooperative effort between Solomon and Hiram was a shipping venture. Solomon built a fleet of ships (later called a fleet of ships of Tarshish) at Ezion-geber on the Gulf of Elath, probably with the help of Phoenician shipbuilders. The ships were manned by Hiram's sailors and Solomon's crews together and were sent to Ophir with Hiram's own fleet to bring back gold, silver, almug wood, precious stones, ivory, apes, and peacocks (1 Kgs 9:26–28; 10:11, 22). Ophir is sought in S Arabia or E Africa. In exchange for providing Hiram with access to the Red Sea, Solomon succeeded in opening seafaring trade to Ophir.

Before Solomon got into the Red Sea trade in cooperation with Hiram, the Egyptians and the S Arabians had held a monopoly on it. Against this background, we may understand the significance of the visit of the queen of Sheba in the extreme S of Arabia to Jerusalem (10:1–10, 13). Although the present story is strongly colored by later legendary elaborations, her visit should be regarded as a trade mission of the S Arabians who became unable to ignore Solomon's control over an important caravan route through Transjordan as well as his naval enterprise in the Red Sea. A reference to "all the kings of Arabia" who were under impost to Solomon (10:15, reading after 2 Chr 9:14) suggests that the visit of the queen of Sheba represents one of the trade relations of Solomon with the Arabians.

Indeed, Solomon controlled two main international routes: the Via Maris, a route passing through the coastal plain and the Jezreel valley connecting Egypt and Damascus; and the King's highway, a route passing through the hill country of Transjordan connecting Elath on the Red Sea and Damascus. It is very probable, therefore, that Solomon made revenue from transit duties imposed on commercial traffic through his kingdom, and the biblical sources in 1 Kgs 10:15 (cf. 2 Chr 9:14) seem to testify to it, though the text requires some emendations. In addition, we are told that Solomon's merchants imported horses from Egypt and Que (i.e., Cilicia in the SE of Anatolia), and chariots from Egypt; then, they exported these horses and chariots to Hittite and Aramean kings (1 Kgs 10:28–29). These trading activities were typically Solomonic in taking advantage of the geographical position of his kingdom between Egypt to the S on the one hand and Syria, Anatolia, and Mesopotamia to the N on the other.

All the figures and descriptions in the accounts of Solomon's mercantile activities and his revenue and wealth should be fabulously exaggerated (e.g., 10:10, 12, 14, 21). Evidently, these accounts were not composed with the intention of making a historical report on Solomon's financial matters. Their aim was to enhance his prosperity under the divine blessings. Nevertheless, we can hardly reject the substantial historicity comprised in them.

**H. Building Enterprises**

It appears that a great part of Solomon's revenue made by every possible method was spent for his building enterprises which were too grandiose to be undertaken within the limit of his resources. Despite his people's resentment (see above), Solomon had to impose forced labor to carry out his building plan. Still he was unable to cover the deficit suffered from the building expenses without cession of part of his territory at the end of twenty years of his building activities. However, it is important to realize that Solomon had good reasons for his extensive building projects.

These building enterprises can be classified into two categories: defense constructions at strategic points in his kingdom, and the great citadel complex of Jerusalem (including the royal palace and the Temple). They were constructions vital to governing a kingdom stretching over such a vast area of Palestine, the N Transjordan, and part of Syria. According to biblical sources, Solomon had 1,400 chariots, 12,000 horsemen (10:26) and 40,000 stalls of horses for his chariotry (5:6—Eng 4:26). Although the last figure is evidently an exaggeration (cf. 4,000 stalls in 2 Chr 9:25), the account of Solomon's chariot force is acceptable as historical in view of 2,000 chariots put into the field at Qarqar against the Assyrians by Ahab king of Israel about a century later.

This large force was stationed at Jerusalem (1 Kgs 10:26) as well as at garrison towns located at strategic points such as Hazor, Megiddo, Gezer, Beth-horon the lower, Baalath, and Tamar in the wilderness in the land of Judah (9:15, 17–18). Solomon also built store-cities as arms depots and supply centers for the army (9:19). In fact, archaeological excavations give evidence for Solomonic fortifications at Hazor (stratum X), Megiddo (stratum VA–IVB) and Gezer (stratum VIII) constructed to a uniform plan

(Yadin 1958). Moreover, it is told that Solomon built "the Millo and the wall of Jerusalem" (9:15). Although there are still differing views about the exact meaning of the term Millo, it is clear that this passage tells about Solomon's fortification works of Jerusalem (cf. 11:27).

Undoubtedly, the most important construction among buildings which Solomon made was the citadel complex of Jerusalem, which consisted of the royal palace and the Temple. As to the biblical sources about these construction works, it is striking that the construction of the Temple and its furnishings are described in detail (6:2–38; 7:13–51), whereas the description of the structure of the palace is disproportionately laconic (7:1–12). However, the comparison between the dimensions of the royal palace (e.g. 100 by 50 cubits on the ground plan of the House of the Forest of Lebanon [7:2]) and those of the Temple (60 by 20 cubits on the ground plan [6:2]) shows that the latter was actually an adjunct building to the former. In spite of this structure, however, it is improper to regard the Temple as a mere royal chapel attached to the palace, since both the biblical and extrabiblical sources, together with archaeological findings, testify to the fact that a temple in a palace-complex like the Solomonic Temple functioned as "the royal sanctuary as well as a temple of the kingdom" (cf. Amos 7:13).

Solomon spent 20 years building the citadel complex of Jerusalem (1 Kgs 9:10):seven years building the Temple (6:38) and thirteen years constructing the palace (7:1). On the palace, the biblical sources give us scarcely any information except the simple structural features of the House of the Forest of Lebanon, the Hall of Pillars, the Hall of Throne, i.e., the Hall of Judgment, the dwelling quarters, the palace for Pharaoh's daughter, and their stonework (7:2–12). Besides, there are some fragmentary notes on shields, vessels, and the throne in the palace (10:16–21).

In contrast, we are informed in detail on the construction of the Temple and its furnishings, including the structural features, the interior fittings and decorations, the cherubim, the inner court, the pillars of Jachin and Boaz, the bronze sea, the wheeled stands and their bases, gold vessels, and so forth (6:2–10, 15–36; 7:15–50). Strangely enough, however, these descriptions deal solely with measurements of the buildings and their furnishings, with materials and technique used, but they hardly furnish us with a general information on the Temple such as its orientation or general appearance. The structure of the Temple and its locations adjoining the royal palace show that Solomon built the Temple following the tradition of the Canaanite-Phoenician temples in the end of the 2d millennium and the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C., which have been uncovered in various places in Syria-Palestine. This fact agrees with the biblical sources which confirm that Phoenician builders and a craftsman from Tyre called Hiram played the central role in the construction of the Temple. See also TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

**I. Zion Theology and the State Cult**

The construction of the Temple on Mount Zion in Jerusalem was one of the most important achievements which Solomon accomplished. It led to decisive consequences in later developments of the Israelite traditions. Like all the other institutions which Solomon established, there were David's preparations also for the Temple building. Although the Chronicler's detailed descriptions about the theme (1 Chronicles 22–29) seem legendary rather than historical, we have no reason to doubt that David made some of the fundamental preparations in his last years. For instance, his purchase of Araunah's threshing floor and the building of an altar there (2 Sam 24:18–25) were doubtless related to the Temple building.

In addition to the physical preparations, David prepared the religio-political conditions for the construction of the Temple. Indeed, the Temple of Solomon is to be regarded as the consummation of the policy which David had undertaken to establish the rule of the House of David over the united kingdom by concentrating the national traditions of Israel in Jerusalem, the permanent residence of the dynasty of David. Before David conquered it, Jerusalem had been alien to the Israelite traditions (5:6–9). However, when choosing Jerusalem as his new capital, David attempted to furnish it with a legitimate position in the ancient traditions of Israel. For David, who came from Judah, it was absolutely necessary to legitimatize his rule over the N tribes of Israel. Out of this effort, among others, he transferred the Ark, which had been the symbol of the tribal confederation of Israel centering around the temple of Shiloh in the premonarchical period (1 Sam 3:3; 4:3–7:2), to the City of David (2 Sam 6:1–9). David also attempted

to build a temple in Jerusalem to house the Ark, but he was told through Nathan the prophet that Yahweh rejected that plan. David could not but content himself with a divine revelation that his son would build the Temple. At the same time, David was promised by Yahweh to establish the House of David as an eternal dynasty over Israel (7:1–16). This divine promise became the nucleus of the covenant of David.

As Solomon built the Temple, therefore, it was regarded as the fulfillment of the Davidic covenant. Moreover, the very existence of the Temple was interpreted as evidence of Yahweh's election of Jerusalem/Zion as his sole abode among the tribes of Israel (8:16; 2 Chr 6:6). Evidently, both elections were inseparably interrelated. The election of David was materialized by the election of Jerusalem/Zion, the election of Jerusalem/Zion could stand so long as the election of David was valid. In addition, in bringing the Ark from the city of David and placing it in the holy of holies in the Temple (1 Kgs 8:1–8), Solomon changed this war palladium of the militia of Israel and Judah (2 Sam 11:11) into the symbol of the covenant of Sinai. In so doing, he succeeded in associating the Davidic covenant with the Sinaitic covenant (1 Kgs 8:21). Admittedly, it is widely recognized that all these passages are Deuteronomistic. Still there is no reason to doubt that the Zion theology which crystallized around the doctrine of the joint election of the House of David and of Jerusalem/Zion stemmed from the days of Solomon as part of the ideology of the Judean dynasty ruling over Israel.

Another Solomonic innovation is the establishment of the position of the king presiding over the state cult. When Saul, the first king of Israel, offered burnt offerings, this royal conduct was condemned by Samuel as the encroachment of the latter's sacerdotal authority (1 Sam 13:8–15). But David was no longer accused for his burnt offerings and peace offerings which he offered after the transfer of the Ark to the city of David (2 Sam 6:17–18). However, divine messages were generally communicated to him through prophets like Nathan (7:1–17; 12:1–15, 24–25) or Gad (24:10–25). Finally, not only did Solomon always have direct communications with God (1 Kgs 3:5–14; 6:11–13; 9:1–9; 11:9–13), he also acted as a priest (3:4, 15; 8:14–66). This development would show that there was an increase of royal authority over the sacerdotal prerogatives in the early monarchies in Israel, and it was brought to finality in the establishment of the state cult under Solomon. The absolute authority of Solomon originated in the ownership of the House of David over the Temple on the basis of the facts that the ground on which the Temple stood was the possession of the House of David, and its founder was Solomon.

**J. Solomon's Wisdom**

Alongside his great wealth, Solomon's legendary wisdom is specially remembered in the biblical sources as well as in later traditions. His sapiential activities in the biblical sources may be classified under the following three categories: administrative wisdom, encyclopedic and gnomic wisdom, and riddles. How Solomon was endowed with administrative wisdom in the very beginning of his reign is told in the narrative about the divine revelation communicated to him in the dream at Gibeon (1 Kgs 3:4–15). It has been proposed that this story was composed after an Egyptian literary type called *Königsnovelle*, one of whose main themes is to underline the greatness of royal innovations. Indeed, the narrative serves as a suitable introduction to the reign of a monarch like Solomon who made many innovations. Evidently, the construction of the Temple is regarded as his greatest innovation in the literary complex in 1 Kings 3–11. However, an episode which directly follows the divine promise of the sapiential endowments recounts Solomon's shrewd arbitration as an illustration of his administrative-juridical wisdom (3:16–28). The theme of the story is very popular in folktales from various countries of the world. It is likely, therefore, that the story about Solomon's administrative-juridical wisdom stemmed from the neighboring nations of Israel.

The international influence is more obvious in the encyclopedic and gnomic wisdom of Solomon (5:9–14—Eng 4:29–34). It is praised as the wisdom surpassing the wisdom of all the other wisemen in the world. In other words, Solomon's wisdom in this sphere was essentially international. In fact, gnomic sayings in the classified lists of natural phenomena are found in Mesopotamia and Egypt. Moreover, it has been assumed that a large part of the proverbial collections attributed to Solomon (Prov 1:1; 10:1; 25:1) was composed on Canaanite, Egyptian, or Mesopotamian models. Likewise, Solomon's supreme skill in

riddles was also international in its nature. It was revealed in his answers to the questions asked by the queen of Sheba visiting him in Jerusalem with an international trade mission (1 Kgs 10:1–10, 13).

It is most probable that the narratives about Solomon's wisdom were composed with the intention of enhancing his fitness as a just ruler as well as exalting his international prestige (3:28; 4:34; 10:23–24). It is not surprising, therefore, that they are colored with fabulous exaggerations and legendary elaborations, which are sometimes interpreted as evidence for the later origin of the narratives. It is not easy, however, to find any other period in the history of ancient Israel than the Solomonic era, in which such a strong stimulus was given to develop sapiential activities through the establishment of a well-organized royal court and its close contacts with the international world. G. von Rad assumed that there was a "Solomonic enlightenment" as the blossoming of intellectual creativities in breaking free from the ancient patriarchal code of living. Indeed, Solomon's wisdom is specially mentioned, alongside his deeds, in the reference to the book of the acts of Solomon (11:41). It is very likely that Solomon's wisdom represented the spirit of his age.

**K. Society**

The transformation of the Israelite society, which began with the establishment of the monarchy, was in full swing in the days of Solomon. The traditional autonomy of each tribe was broken down by establishing administrative districts governed under prefects appointed by the central authority of the king (1 Kgs 4:7–19). Although the tribal names were retained in the peripheral districts, it is clear that these districts no longer enjoyed tribal autonomy so long as they were ruled by royal prefects. In fact, each district was charged with a duty to provide food for the royal court and barley and straw for the horses of the king. These provisions and other taxes were distributed by the king to his "servants" as their salary. The servants of the king formed a new class of people dependent on the monarchy. They were professional soldiers, administrative officials, household staff, merchants, artisans, etc. In addition, it is assumed that the Levites were also integrated into the royal administration in the last year of David to administer the "cities of the Levites" (Josh 21:1–42; 1 Chr 6:39–66), the fortified cities in the border districts of the kingdom (1 Chr 26:30–32). In any case, the development of a social stratum composed of the servants of the king facilitated the centralization of the royal government under Solomon by disrupting the traditional system of the tribal society of Israel.

In the above development in Israelite society towns played an important role as the local centers of the royal administration. As such, the biblical sources refer to towns of a prefectural seat (1 Kgs 4:9–14), garrison towns and store-cities (9:15, 17–19; 10:26), and the cities of the Levites (Josh 21:1–42; 1 Chr 6:39–66). Since the servants of the king mostly lived in towns, the urban population must have increased rapidly. At the same time, it seems, the elders of the town, who had served as the institution of the traditional self-government in the premonarchical period, were integrated into the municipality governed by the officials appointed by the king (cf. 1 Kgs 21:8, 11; 2 Kgs 10:1, 5).

Another characteristic feature of the society under Solomon is found in a mass assimilation of foreign elements into the Israelite society. Since the days of David many foreigners had been employed by the royal court, e.g., mercenaries like the Cherethites, the Pelethites, and the Gittites (2 Sam 15:18, etc.), an official like Adoram or Adoniram (20:24; 1 Kgs 4:6), or an artisan like Hiram (7:13). The biblical sources also tell us that the Canaanite towns and their indigenous population were ultimately incorporated into Israel under Solomon (4:9–13; 9:20–21; cf. Judg 1:27–35). Besides, the Israelites had close relations with the neighboring peoples through intensive mercantile activities. As a result, apart from Solomon's political marriages with alien women, intermarriages took place also among the ordinary people (1 Kgs 7:14). Under these circumstances, the toleration of foreign cults and religious syncretism prevailed in the days of Solomon (11:4–5, 7–8).

After the death of Solomon, the N tribes held the popular assembly at Shechem and demanded that Rehoboam, Solomon's successor, alleviate the heavy taxes and *corvée* imposed by Solomon. When Rehoboam refused, the people rejected the rule of the House of David and elevated Jeroboam ben Nebat to the king of Israel (12:1–20). This political development clearly shows that, despite the centralization of the administrative power and the disruption of the traditional tribal society in the days of Solomon, the

Israelite tribes retained the tradition of self-government. At the same time, apart from the Deuteronomistic censure (11:2–13), the important role played by Ahijah the Shilonite in the schism of the United Kingdom suggests that there was a circle which was antagonistic toward the religious tolerance and syncretism in Solomonic society.

**L. Summary**

Solomon inherited from David the United Kingdom of Israel, which David had established by the personal union of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, with a vast area of conquered lands stretching over the bulk of Palestine and part of Syria. This was a great inheritance not easy to maintain, but Solomon successfully executed the difficult task. As to domestic issues, he accomplished, among others, the following five matters which had been prepared but left unfinished by David: (1) the consolidation of the kingship through a thorough purge of political enemies; (2) the development of the administrative organization; (3) the Temple building with the construction of the royal palace; (4) the crystallization of Zion theology around the doctrine of Yahweh's joint election of the House of David and of Jerusalem/Zion; and (5) the reinforcement of the defense system.

As to the relationship with the neighboring countries, Solomon gave up the expansionism of David and held peaceful relations with them through diplomacy and trade. Except for a problematic report on the conquest of Hamath-zobah (2 Chr 8:2), we have no information on any military campaign of Solomon. On the contrary, he lost the S territory in Edom and retreated in the N border before Damascus. Nevertheless, we should not underestimate the strength of the military power and the defense system which he maintained. It was strong enough to have a showdown with the invading army of Pharaoh.

By taking advantage of the geographical position, Solomon shrewdly increased the revenue not only by collecting toll from caravans passing through his kingdom but also by launching international trade. His active operations in diplomacy and trade made in wealthy and raised his prestige in the international community. As a result, Jerusalem became one of the important centers into which various information and technology came from every corner of the world. Under the stimulus of foreign cultures the royal court served as the center of intellectual creativity. The legendary tradition of Solomon's fabulous wisdom must have stemmed from the Solomonic court with its international surroundings.

In short, the kingdoms of Judah and Israel enjoyed prosperity and peaceful life in the days of Solomon. However, this was not without malcontents, especially among the N tribes. The zealots of Yahwism condemned the religious tolerance and syncretism in the Solomonic society. The traditionalists refused to accept the Zion theology, which was formed as the ideology of the Judean dynasty ruling over Israel. Above all, the N tribes were so discontented with the heavy tax and forced labor, imposed with a bias favoring Judah, that they revolted under the leadership of Jeroboam ben Nebat. Solomon suppressed the revolt, but this problem became the direct cause of the division of the kingdom immediately after his death. He hardly succeeded in bequeathing the Davidic rule over Israel which he had inherited from David. But this sober reality faded away in later traditions in which "Solomon in all his glory" (Matt 6:29) remained as his formal portrait.

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TOMOO ISHIDA

**SOLOMON'S PORTICO** (PLACE) [Gk *stoa (tou) Solomōn (t)os* (στοα του Σολομωντος)]. A colonnade which made up part of the temple complex built by Herod in Jerusalem. This colonnade like the others that surrounded the temple precinct, provided a meeting place for individuals to discuss Scripture preceding and following the observation of religious rituals. Jesus' disciples gathered at this location and the early Jerusalem church also met there (John 10:23; Acts 3:11; 5:12). It was located on the E side of the temple complex overlooking the Kidron Valley (Josephus *Ant* 20.9.7). According to the tradition reported by Josephus, Solomon's temple utilized a covered area supported by a platform (*JW* 5.5.1; *Ant* 8.3.9). The location described as Solomon's portico in the NT was certainly designed by Herod's architects. This colonnade was reportedly double columned and spanned 49 feet. The columns were 38 feet tall monoliths of white marble and supported cedar-paneled ceilings. This impressive structure however was overshadowed by the Royal Colonnade at the S end of the temple precinct. No extant remains of Solomon's Portico are preserved in situ except for the platform on which it was founded. See also TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

ROBERT W. SMITH

**SOLOMON'S SERVANTS.** A phrase that refers to two distinct groups. In the broadest sense it refers to all those who were members of Solomon's imperial household and bureaucracy (1 Kgs 4:1–19). The Hebrew word *ʿebed* refers both to servants and to slaves. Servants, as a broad category, could include anyone from kitchen help to the vizier.

Slavery was common in the Near East during the biblical period. See SLAVERY (ANE). Mendelsohn, in his basic study of state slavery in Israel (1942), asserts that there were three categories of slaves: domestic servants, whose presence and relationship to the community is attested in the laws on slavery in

the Torah (Exodus 21; Deuteronomy 15; Leviticus 25); temple slaves *(netînîm);* and state slaves (Heb *mas ʿôbēd*). See NETHINIM; SLAVERY (OT). These latter consisted primarily of foreign captives of war. There is ample evidence of the existence of such a group (1 Kgs 9:27; 2 Chr 8:18; 9:10). The Ophir fleet was operated by Solomon's servants. In 1 Kgs 9:15–21 the public works projects of Solomon were probably carried out by state slaves.

Israelites were employed in some of Solomon's projects (1 Kgs 5:27). Apparently David also used corvée labor (2 Sam 20:24). The census of David (2 Samuel 24) was aimed at both taxation and corvée labor. Corvée became a burning issue in the breakup of the two kingdoms after Solomon's death.

The Hebrew term *mas ʿôbēd* is eventually replaced by *ʿabdê šelômô,* "servants of Solomon"; in Mendelsohn's view, Solomon was the instigator of this form of slavery, employing these foreign prisoners in the great mining operations in the Arabah. The term later comes to mean state slaves in general.

But after the destruction of the southern kingdom and the Exile, the returnees had no royal establishment to engage in great public works projects and no body of persons who could be used at will for the service of the state.

The texts in Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles refer to the "children of the Servants of Solomon" (Ezra 2:43–58; Neh 7:46–60; 11:3; 2 Chr 8:18; 9:10). These are associated with the priests, Levites, and Nethinim in the lists. They are always listed last, giving the impression of a class distinctly lower than the others. The period after the Exile was marked by a process of "sacralization," as a result of which the priesthood becomes more exclusive and more exalted; the Levites and lesser religious orders absorb many of the functions formerly performed by lay folk (Cody 1969:184–92). The former state slaves thus merged with the older category of temple slaves, and all these were absorbed into the ranks of the "lower clergy" of the restored temple.

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JOSEPH P. HEALEY

**SOLOMON, ODES OF.** Sometime around 100 C.E. a Christian, heavily influenced by Jewish thought, especially similar to that found in the Jewish apocalypses and within some of the Dead Sea Scrolls, composed 42 odes. He may even have dedicated them to Solomon. The 11th ode was found among the Bodmer Papyri in a 3d-century Gk manuscript (no. 11). Five were translated into Coptic in the 4th century and used to illustrate the *Pistis Sophia* (*Odes Sol.* 1, 5, 6, 22, and 25). Also in the 4th century Ode 19 was quoted by Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* 4.12.3). In the 10th century a scribe copied the *Odes* in Syriac, but only *Odes Sol.* 17:7–42:20 are preserved (British Museum ms Add. 14538). In the 15th century another scribe copied them into Syriac, but again the beginning is lost (John Rylands Library Cod. Syr. 9 contains only *Odes Sol.* 3:1b–42:20).

In 1812 the *Odes of Solomon* were discovered by a Danish bishop, F. Münter, in the *Pistis Sophia.* In 1909 they were detected by J. Rendel Harris in a manuscript on his shelves; he published the *editio princeps* the same year. In 1912 they were observed by F. C. Burkitt in a manuscript in the British Museum.

During the first decade after the *editio princeps* there was a flurry of scholarly publications. The consensus was that the *Odes* were very early. Harris contended that they were a hymnbook of the 1st-century Church. J. H. Bernard claimed they were written in the last half of the 2d century. A. Harnack was convinced that the *Odes* were a Jewish psalter that had been redacted by a Christian. He heavily influenced R. Bultmann who claimed that the *Odes* antedate and help us understand the origins of the gospel according to John.

Since the 1960s scholars have once again been attracted to the *Odes of Solomon.* Many scholars, like K. Rudolph, contend that they are a 2d-century gnostic work. M. Testuz argued that the author was an Essene who lived sometime in the 1st century C.E. J. Carmignac was convinced that they were composed by a

Christian who had been a Qumran Essene; and there is ample reason to take seriously that possibility. While some scholars think the *Odes* were composed in Greek (M. Philonenko, A. F. J. Klijn), Syriac specialists such as A. Vööbus, J. A. Emerton, J. H. Charlesworth, and L. Abramowski, have argued that they were composed in Syriac.

The date of the *Odes* has caused considerable interest. H. J. Drijvers contends that they are as late as the 3d century. L. Abramowski places them in the latter half of the 2d century. B. McNeil argued that they are contemporaneous with *4 Ezra*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, Polycarp, and Valentinus (ca. 100 C.E.. Most scholars date them sometime around the middle of the 2d century, but if they are heavily influenced by Jewish apocalyptic thought and especially the ideas in the Dead Sea Scrolls, a date long after 100 is unlikely. H. Chadwick, Emerton, Charlesworth, and many other scholars, are convinced that they must not be labelled "gnostic," and therefore should not be dated to the late 2d or 3d century.

Scholars tend to agree that the *Odes* and the gospel of John are related, but the explanation of the relationship has not won a strong consensus. Most specialists who have published a detailed comparison conclude that the *Odes* are earlier or contemporaneous with the gospel of John (Charlesworth and Culpepper); and M. Lattke is correct in pointing out the extreme importance of the *Odes* for studying the origins of the documents in the NT. Bernard introduced the claim that the *Odes* were composed by a Christian for baptismal services; and as R. Murray has shown there is reason to take seriously a modified form of that hypothesis. The *Odes* are certainly Christian; and as Emerton states, the author was probably "a Jewish Christian" (that is a Christian who was a convert from Judaism).

Although the author never quotes from the OT, he probably knew it, especially the Davidic Psalter, by heart. Ps 84:10 ("For a day in your courts is better than a thousand elsewhere") may have been on his mind when he composed *Ode* 4:5 ("For one hour of your faith/ Is more excellent than all days and years"). Ps 1:2 ("And in his Law he will meditate day and night") probably helped him compose *Ode* 41:6:

> And let our faces shine in his light,
> And let our hearts meditate in his love,

The tone of the *Odes* is one of rejoicing in the appearance of, and triumphal life of, the long awaited Messiah, and in the experience of eternal life obtained through his resurrection:

> And his Word is with us in all our way,
> the Savior who gives life and does not reject ourselves.
> The Man who humbled himself,
> but was raised because of his own righteousness.
> The Son of the Most High appeared
> in the perfection of his Father.
> And light dawned from the Word
> that was before time in him.
> The Messiah in truth is one.
> And he was known before the foundations of the world,
> that he might give life to persons forever by the truth of his name.

(*Ode* 41:11–16)

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JAMES H. CHARLESWORTH

**SOLOMON, PSALMS OF.** A collection of 18 noncanonical psalms from the 1st century B.C.E. which are preserved in Greek and Syriac. The title of the collection is a curious one, since there is nothing in any of the psalms to link them to Solomon.

Although a Greek original for the *Psalms* has been suggested (Hilgenfeld 1868), most scholars have argued that the Greek version is a translation of a Hebrew original. Many believe that the Syriac version is a secondary translation of the Greek (Harris and Mingana 1916–1920, vol. 2; Begrich 1939), but the evidence brought forward to support such a view—alleged errors which the Syriac and Greek share and supposed mistranslations of the Greek by the Syriac—is not compelling. On the other hand, apparent Syriac mistranslations of a Hebrew word or phrase that has been translated correctly in the Greek, the presence of atypical Syriac expressions which are in fact Hebraic idioms and which are absent from the Greek, and certain patterns of variation between the Syriac and the Greek in divine name terminology suggest that the Syriac, like the Greek, was translated from the Hebrew (Trafton 1985; 1986; cf. Kuhn 1937). The presumed Hebrew original is lost.

Although patterned after the canonical psalms and sharing many themes with them, the *Psalms of Solomon* are noteworthy for what seem to be striking historical allusions in several of the *Psalms.* For example, *Psalm* 2 speaks of a "sinner" who forced his way into Jerusalem with a battering ram (v1), after which "Gentile foreigners" defiled the Temple (v2; cf. vv 19–24). Later this "dragon" was killed dishonorably in Egypt, his body being left unburied (vv 25–27). Since these details match so closely what the ancient historians Josephus (*Ant* 14.4; *JW* 1.7) and Dio Cassius (*Roman History* 42.5) wrote about the Roman general Pompey, who captured Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E. and was slain in Egypt in 48 B.C.E., scholars generally agree that the psalmist must have had Pompey in mind. Similar passages which identify the conqueror as a Gentile who came from (and took captives back to) the West (17:11–13) and as one who was initially welcomed by some of the Jewish leaders (8:15–17) also correspond to what is known of Pompey.

Occasionally there have been attempts to identify the conqueror as someone else—e.g., Antiochus Epiphanes, Herod the Great, or Titus—but Pompey seems the most likely candidate. Similarly, some scholars have attempted to see allusions to historical figures and events in addition to Pompey, the most ambitious proposal (Aberbach 1951) being that the *Psalms* sketch the decline of the Hasmonean dynasty from the last stable ruler (Alexandra) to the last to occupy the throne (Antigonus). But such proposals

have not gained widespread acceptance. The inherent difficulty in relating poetic language to historical persons and events is always present in any such reconstruction.

The connection of the *Psalms of Solomon* with Pompey dates the collection to the 1st century B.C.E. There is no reason to believe that all of the *Psalms* were written at the same time or even by the same author. They do, however, share a common perspective, which suggests that, whether composed by one author or several, the *Psalms* reflect the thought-world of a particular group of Jews who brought them together sometime after Pompey's death in 48 B.C.E.

The communal perspective of the *Psalms* has been a source of intense scrutiny by scholars. The *Psalms* not only find fault with foreigners, but also with fellow Jews. Indeed, most of the *Psalms* exhibit a strong we/they mentality. The psalmist identifies himself with those whom he calls the righteous (3:3), the pious (9:3), those who fear the Lord (2:33), the poor (10:6), the innocent (12:4), and the saints (11:1). On the other side are the unrighteous (12:5), the sinners (4:8), the transgressors (14:6), those who please men (4:8), the lawless (17:20), the deceitful (4:23), the hypocrites (4:20), and the wicked (12:1). Such a perceived dichotomy within Israel itself suggests that the *Psalms* are the product of a Jewish party or sect.

Scholars have traditionally interpreted this partisan outlook against the background of Josephus' report of the intense rivalry between the Pharisees and the Sadducees (*Ant* 13.10–14.3). The presence within the *Psalms* of several concepts which Josephus characterized as Pharisaic (*JW* 2.8.14)—proper interpretation of the Law (4:8), divine providence and human free will (9:4–5), resurrection (3:12), and retribution (2:7)—might imply that they are a product of the Pharisees. Specific accusations concerning the profaning of the Temple and its sacrifices (1:8; 2:3; 8:12) would suggest, in turn, that the opponents are the Sadducees.

This understanding of the *Psalms,* although still common (Schüpphaus 1977; Lane 1982), has been called into question in recent years. Strong parallels between the *Psalms* and the Dead Sea Scrolls have caused some scholars to label them as Hasidic or Essenic (O'Dell 1961; Wright 1972; Hann 1988), a position, however, which has not proved persuasive. Other scholars, who prefer to leave the question open, point to a growing skepticism regarding the possibility of reconstructing 1st century B.C.E. Pharisaism from sources such as Josephus, and a growing awareness of the diversity within Judaism beyond the classic categories of Pharisee, Sadducee, and Essene (Charlesworth 1976). The identification of the opponents as the Sadducees faces similar problems. The accusations regarding the Temple certainly indicate the priestly nature of the group, but the charge that they set up a non-Davidic monarchy (17:6) points specifically to the Hasmonean dynasty, which was supported at various times by both Sadducees and Pharisees. Thus it is more accurate to see the *Psalms* as reflecting anti-Hasmonean, rather than anti-Sadduceic, sentiment (contrast the pro-Hasmonean 1 Maccabees), a sentiment which was not uncommon in the 1st century B.C.E.

The *Psalms of Solomon* reflect the struggle Jews underwent as they attempted to reconcile a debacle at the hands of a foreign conqueror with the belief that Israel was God's chosen people. The psalmist resolves the struggle by arguing that the evils which have befallen the nation have been caused by the sin of the people (1:7–8; 2:11–13; 8:9–14, 22; 17:5–8, 19–20). Thus, he confidently asserts that God has not abandoned Israel; he has simply chastised his people, upon whom he will have mercy forever (7:3–10; 9:9–11). Such confidence finds a special focus in the hope for the Messiah, which is set forth in *Psalms* 17 and 18. The psalmist looks forward to the day when the Messiah, the son of David, will come and rid the nation of its enemies and restore Jerusalem to its proper place (17:21–25, 45). Yet the psalmist does not really see the Messiah as a military figure—his trust will be in God, not in horse or rider or bow (17:33–34). Rather, the psalmist, building on such traditional texts such as Psalm 2 and Isaiah 11, sees him as king (17:21, 32, 42), judge (17:26–29), and shepherd (17:40–41). Such an explicit and detailed messianic expectation makes the *Psalms of Solomon* an especially important witness to pre-Christian Jewish messianism.

Parallel to such nationalistic concerns are those of an individualistic nature. The precise character of the personal piety in the *Psalms of Solomon* is debated, however. Some have argued that they affirm a piety of works (Braun 1962; Lane 1982). The righteous walk according to God's commandments (14:2) and are

characterized by righteousness (9:3). They confess their sins to God (9:6), repent (9:7), and endure his discipline willingly (3:4; 10:2; 14:1). God judges individuals according to their deeds (9:5). Thus, the righteous merit salvation; the piety is one of self-exaltation. Others contend that the focus of the *Psalms* is rather on the unmerited mercy of God (Büchler 1922; Sanders 1977). They are filled with thanksgiving to God for his mercy (4:6; 10:3; 13:12; 16:5–6). The righteous look to him for salvation (3:6; 16:6) and forgiveness of sins (3:8; 9:6–7; 10:1). Unlike the sinners, who receive God's punishment and whose end will be destruction (3:11; 13:11; 14:9; 15:10), the righteous receive God's discipline (13:6–11) and await resurrection to eternal life (3:11). The piety thus exalts God, not humans.

Interest in the historical allusions, the communal perspective, the messianic expectation, and the personal piety of the *Psalms of Solomon* has not been matched by an interest in their poetic structure. According to one analysis (Westermann 1981), however, the *Psalms* exhibit important developments in the basic categories of psalms. The lament psalm has evolved, for example, into the petitionary prayer without a lament (*Ps. Sol.* 12) and the prayer of repentance (*Ps. Sol.* 9). Similarly, the descriptive psalm of praise has become in some instances a one-sided praise of God's grace over his majesty (2, 3), which leads further to the praise of the righteous alongside of God (4, 6, 14, 15). On the other hand, the declarative praise of the people has seen little change (15, 16). Further work on the poetic techniques of the *Psalms* is needed.

The *Psalms of Solomon* are thus an important witness to the rich diversity within 1st century B.C.E. Judaism. The collection testifies both to the political perspective and to the personal piety of a particular group of Jews. In addition, it provides one of the outstanding examples of pre-Christian Jewish messianic hope. It is also a key document for ascertaining developments in postbiblical Jewish poetry. See also *OTP* 2:638–70; *APOT* 2:625–52.

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JOSEPH L. TRAFTON

**SOLOMON, SONG OF.** See SONG OF SONGS, BOOK OF.

**SOLOMON, TESTAMENT OF.** A 26-chapter pseudepigraphic folktale of the haggadic type which centers primarily on Solomon's building the Jerusalem temple with the aid of the demons under his control, and contains magic, primitive medicine, astrology, angelology, and especially demonology. (See Alexander *HJP²* 3/1:372–75; Charlesworth *OTP*, 933–87; Preisendanz PWSup 8:660–704.)

A. Contents
B. Genre and Function
C. Author, Language, Sources, Date, Provenance
D. Importance
E. Manuscripts

## A. Contents

After a brief prologue, the story opens with a demon named Ornias who sucks the soul out of a boy through the boy's thumb. This lad has been inspiring the Temple artisans in their work and is therefore Solomon's favorite. When Solomon prays for help to gain power over the demon, God grants him a magical ring through the archangel Michael. The boy, given the ring, overcomes Ornias who is then made to fetch Beelzeboul, who in turn is compelled by Solomon to summon up the strange and powerful demons one by one. Solomon interrogates them and learns their names, their impious and monstrous deeds, and their "thwarting" angels. He then commits them to various punishments, usually temple-building tasks (chaps. 1–18). In the last eight chapters, Solomon hears a conflict between an old man and his son. Further he learns how the demons are able to know the future. In addition, he receives a contribution for the temple from the queen of Sheba (a "witch"). In response to a letter from the King of Arabia, Solomon sends the boy with the ring to Arabia to trap the wind demon Ephippas in a leather flask. Ephippas is brought back and, after putting the cornerstone to the temple in place, is made to fetch the Red Sea demon who informs Solomon that he had been called to aid the demons Jannes and Jambres in opposing Moses in Egypt. The demon is then commanded to hold up in the temple the pillar that Ephippas and he had retrieved from the Red Sea. The tale concludes with Solomon's tragic flaw, the love of a "Shummanite" (i.e., Shunammite) woman. He sacrifices to her gods and builds temples for them. This results in his loss of power over the demons.

## B. Genre and Function

A "testament" (Gk *diathēkē*) is an ancient, venerated worthy's final discourse usually to his relatives (especially sons), but occasionally to other intimates or successors, prior to his impending death. Though the genre is fluid during the Hellenistic–Roman age, recent research (Nordheim 1980; Collins 1984) attempts to isolate three major parts: an opening narrative framework (e.g., those for whom the document is intended; the scene), a closing narrative framework (e.g., death, burial, mourners), and a central section (a historical treatment of the worthy's life, ethical exhortations, and predictions about the future). The "testament" may also include elements such as the fatal flaw of the worthy, the avoidance of temptations, or, more typically, instructions about righteousness and/or blessings and curses.

The *Testament of Solomon* does not completely conform to this description of the genre "testament":its opening and closing narrative frameworks are different and, as noted, it reads more like a haggadic folktale combined with medico-magical lore. However, like a testament it purports to be Solomon's last words, it gives instructions about the demons, it tells of Solomon's fatal flaw, and it is narrated in the first person. Moreover, two verses explicitly claim that it is a testament. In 15:14 (Recension B, Ms P) Solomon says "… at my death I wrote this testament to the sons of Israel and I gave (it) to them so that (they) might know the powers of the demons and their forms, as well as the names of the angels by which they are thwarted". Further in 26:8 (Recension B), when the fallen Solomon becomes a laughingstock to the idols and demons, he concludes (Recension B), "For this reason I have written out this, my testament, in order that those who hear might pray about, and pay attention to, the last things and not to the first things, in order that they might finally find grace forever. Amen." (cf. 26:8–9, Recension A: "And I wrote this, my testament, to the Jews and bequeathed it to them as a remembrance of my end. Let my testament be guarded for you as a great mystery against the unclean spirits so that you know the devices of the evil demons and the powers of the holy angels; because a great Lord Sabaoth, the God of Israel, prevails, and he made subject to me all the demons, (and) by him was given to me a seal of an eternal testament. [9]

And I died in my kingdom and was added to my fathers in peace, and the temple of the Lord God, to whom honor and worship are fitting for ever and ever was completed. Amen.").

In short, the Testament does not neatly conform to the genre, but it has some of its key elements. Because the Vienna papyrus fragment of the *Testament* is in the form of a "rotulus" (an official scroll rolled and read vertically, not in the usual horizontal fashion), R. Daniel (1983:295) has suggested that its author may have attempted to emulate an official will = testament *(diathēkē).* Clearly the author was transmitting information about the causes of disease, sickness, calamity, and death, and he attempted to employ a testament genre to do so. Another proposed hypothesis with regard to its function is that he sought to legitimize "white," or protective, magic among Hellenistic (Jewish?) Christians during the early centuries of Christianity when attraction to magic was increasing in Greco–Roman society, but when official Roman law could punish practitioners of "black" magic with death (Duling 1988:100–1).

**C. Author, Language, Sources, Date, Provenance**

Rather widespread Jewish legends about Solomon's magical wisdom in antiquity raise the possibility that the author had a Jewish background (Duling 1975; 1984; 1985); yet, clear Christian references (6:8; 12:3; 15:10; 22:20), if these are not later additions, indicate that the author was (also?) Christian (Duling 1988). The near absence of Semitisms points to final composition in Greek, specifically the *koinē.* Similar magical traditions in other ancient literature suggest that the *Testament of Solomon* was written by the early 3d century (McCown 1922b: 3, 59–66, 106–11), but that it probably contains earlier sources, some perhaps as early as the 1st century C.E. when the legend of Solomon's magical wisdom was already well established (esp. *Ant* 8.2. 5). The latest possible date is fixed by a reference to *T. Sol.* 26:5 in the *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila,* a document F. C. Conybeare once dated about 400 C.E. (1898:14; McCown 1922a: 15); this date is somewhat reinforced by the discovery of the 5th–6th century Vienna papyrus fragment of *Testament of Solomon* 18 (Daniel 1983; cf. Duling 1988).

The provenance of the document cannot be stated with certainty; while Babylonia and Asia Minor are not impossible, Egypt is somewhat more likely, and Syria–Palestine is not out of the question since, apart from chap. 18, Egyptian influence is mostly lacking. Egypt is probably the provenance for chap. 18 because the 36 *decans* (36 "heavenly bodies" [Gk *stoicheia*], in this case demons, each of which rules 10 degrees of the 360 degree Zodiac), often seem to have names of Egyptian origin, and Ms N equates each of the *decans* with ten days of the Coptic month. However these influences could also be later realignments of the document in Egypt since, by the time the Testament is written, *decans* are widely known in antiquity. If the latter is the case, Syria–Palestine is a real option and this location is supported by the legend of Solomon's magical wisdom there.

**D. Importance**

The Testament's emphasis on Solomon's knowledge of magic and the demons is not explicit in the books that are included in the Jewish canon; rather, as later writers expand Solomon's literary output (e.g., *Pss Sol.;* Wis), so various traditions develop about Solomon's magical wisdom. The root for this development is 1 Kgs 5:9–14 (LXX 4:29–34), and especially 5:13 (4:33):"He [Solomon] could talk about plants from the cedar in Lebanon to the hyssop growing on the wall; and he could talk of animals, and birds and reptiles and fish." In the Hellenistic world such knowledge was typical of magicians. The LXX of the 1 Kings passage states that Solomon composed 5,000 "odes" (*ōdai,* LXX 4:32; MT 1 Kgs 5:12 has 1,004 "songs"), which may have suggested magical "incantations" (*epōdai,* Ant 8.2. 5). Correspondingly, when Josephus describes Solomon's unsurpassed magical wisdom and knowledge, he demonstrates it with the magician Eleazar's exorcism of a demon by means of Solomon's name and "incantations" *(epōdai),* and a root prescribed by Solomon which is placed under a magical ring (the magical ring is also in the Talmud and the *Testament*). Thus, the writings of Josephus in the 1st century C.E. make clear and unmistakable the meaning of the reference to Solomon's understanding of nature in this 1 Kings passage (*Ant* 8.2.5:"every kind of tree from the hyssop to the cedar"; "birds and all kinds of terrestrial creatures and those that swim and those that fly"). Probably the same 1 Kings passage, or at least the tradition built on it, is in mind in Wis 7:15–22 where Solomon is said to know astrology, "powers of roots," and "forces of spirits."

The evidence for the Solomonic magical tradition is rather extensive. Solomon's magical wisdom was probably known among the Essenes (11 QPsApa [Psalm 91]; cf. *War* 2.8.6 on Essene healing and *j. Šabb.* 6:8b, *j. ʿErub.* 10:26c, and *b. Šebu.* 15b on Psalm 91) and to the 1st century author of *Pseudo-Philo* (*L. A. B.* 60). It was certainly known among the Rabbis (esp. *b. Giṭ.* 68ab [the stone-cutting worm legend, cf. 1 Kgs 6:7]; also *Exod. Rab.* 52.4; *Midr.* Cant. 1.1, 5; *Num. Rab.* 11.3; *Pesiq. R.* 6.7; *b. Meg.* 11b; *Pesiq. Rab. Kah.*; Tg. Esth. II; cf. *j. Ber.* 10a; *Pesaḥ.* 56a), the gnostics (NHC II,5:*107*,3; V,5:*78*,30 and *79*,3; VII,2:*63*,11; IX,3:*70*,6,27), the Mandaeans (*Ginza* right, 190), and in the popular Jewish magical traditions of Palestine (*Ant* 8.2.5; *Sepher ha-Razim;* amulets), of Babylonia (the Aramaic Incantation Bowls), and of Egypt (PGM IV.850–929; 3007–86; XCII.1–16; Zosimus; perhaps Hygromancie of Solomon, if early).

The books of the NT canon do not refer directly to Solomon's magical wisdom. However, there is an oblique reference to "something greater than Solomon" in a context of wisdom and demon exorcism (Matt 12:42). Several modern scholars (Fisher 1968; Lövestam 1972; 1974; Berger 1973; Duling 1975) have in varying ways attempted to relate the distinctive use of the Synoptic Gospel title "Son of David" in healing contexts (Mark 10:46–52 = Matt 20:29–34 = Luke 18:35–43; Matt 9:27; 12:23; 21:9; contrast Mark 12:35–37 = Matt 22:41–45 = Luke 20:41–44) to this tradition since there is no surviving Jewish text which correlates the traditional Davidic messiah with healing. Yet curiously Solomon is called "Son of David" in the later Aramaic Incantation Bowl texts from 5th-century Babylon. The Gk of the Testament is very much like that of the NT, and certain aspects of the apocryphal, pseudepigraphical, and NT world of angelology and demonology can be illuminated by the *Testament of Solomon* (3, 6:Beelzeboul; on Luke 10:17–18, cf. *T. Sol.* 20:15–17).

While both Rabbinic and Christian writings know of a tradition that Hezekiah suppressed Solomon's magical books (McCown 1922a; cf. Hippolytus, *Commentary on Canticles*), it is clear the magical wisdom of Solomon was popular in some Jewish, Greek, and notably early Christian circles (McCown 1922a; cf. esp. Origen, *In Mattheum comm. ser.* [tract. 33] 110). The Solomon legend was also very popular in Arab folklore (Salzberger 1907), as the Testament itself helps to demonstrate, and traces of it can be found in Ethiopian literature. Nor did the interest in Solomon diminish; a great number of scientific and magical books were attributed to Solomon in Judaism and Christianity in the medieval period and beyond, as the preservation of mss shows.

**E. Manuscripts**

C. C. McCown's critical edition of the *Testament of Solomon* (1922b) was planned on the basis of 10 mss which he divided into three recensions, i.e., A (= Mss HIL), B (= Mss PQ), and C (= Mss STUVW). He decided on an eclectic text founded on Recensions A and B. McCown also printed separately three other mss: a shorter demonologically-oriented biography (Ms D) which he thought contained the original story (hypothetical *d*) behind the *Testament of Solomon,* and two mss discovered shortly before publication, namely, Ms E, closest to Ms D, and Ms N, mainly Recension B. A. Delatte later published another short version (1927). Since these surviving mss were written down from the 15th to the 18th centuries, K. Preisendanz's discovery (in the Austrian Nationalbibliothek) and publication (1956a) of a *papyrus* fragment of *T. Sol.* 18:34–40 (P. Vindob. G 330) dated to the 5th/6th century C.E. is extremely important. In 1983, R. Daniel published a slightly revised edition of the fragment, extended it to include 18:33, and added two previously unpublished fragments from the same column (29436 and 35939), that is, 18:27–28. The Vienna papyrus fragments indicate that at least chap. 18 was known at an early date and, if it was already part of the *Testament of Solomon,* as Duling has argued (Duling 1988:91–96), these fragments give added support to the theory of a relatively early dating for the document as a whole. Finally, G. Graf has listed an unedited 17th-century Arabic ms in the Vatican Library; this may be related to a ms found by J. H. Charlesworth in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Bib. Nat. Fonds Syriaque 194, ff. 153a–156b [but is Graf's "ethical exhortation" to Solomon's son Rehoboam really *Testament of Solomon* or the so-called Hygromancie of Solomon?]). Charlesworth notes one other text (Vat. ar. 448, ff. 39r–54r).

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DENNIS C. DULING

**SOLOMON, WISDOM OF.** The Wisdom of SolomonSolomon is an exhortatory discourse, punctuated by an encomiastic invocation of Wisdom. It was written in Greek by a learned and profoundly Hellenized Jew of Alexandria, after that city's conquest by Rome in 30 B.C.E. By that time the earlier optimism of the Alexandrian Jewish community for a growing rapprochement with the Greeks and for social and cultural acceptance by them had been replaced by a mounting sense of disillusionment and disappointment. In contrast to Pseudo-Aristeas' mild criticisms of heathen cults, the author of Wisdom's wrathful exhibition of the innumerable crimes and corruptions connected with pagan idolatry and his unrestrained attacks on Egyptian theriolatry are an unmistakable sign of the complete rupture which had in his time sundered the Jewish community from the native Egyptians and Greeks.

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**A. Contents**

The Wisdom of Solomon is readily divided into three parts: (I) Wisdom's Gift of Immortality (1:1–6:21); (II) The Nature and Power of Wisdom and Solomon's Quest for Her (6:22–10:21); and (III) Divine Wisdom or Justice in the Exodus (chaps. 11–19), with two excursuses, one on Divine Mercy (11:15–12:22), the other on Idolatry (chaps. 13–15).

Part I begins with an address to the pagan rulers of the earth to pursue justice or wisdom, while admonishing those whose deviant behavior will inevitably result in their destruction (1:1–16). In diatribe style the wicked are then allowed to speak for themselves. Convinced that life is chance, and death final, they inevitably conclude that one ought to derive maximum enjoyment from the pleasures at hand without regard for moral scruple. Blinded by their own malice, they are ignorant of God's mysteries, and thus pass up the prize of immortality. Harking back to his earlier statement concerning those who have covenanted with Death, the author points out that though God had indeed created man as an immortal image of his own proper being, through the devil's envy, Death has nevertheless entered into the cosmic order, to be experienced by his devotees (chap. 2).

Next an attempt is made to deal with various paradoxes which beset the question of divine reward and retribution. The suffering and death of the just, we are told, are in reality only brief episodes of trial in the immortal destiny of righteous souls which will bring them peace, future glorification, rulership over nations, and a special divine illumination (3:1–12). The barren woman whose life has been pure shall be fruitful at the great assize of souls, and the righteous eunuch will receive a portion in the temple of the Lord. Bastard offspring, on the other hand, will be cut off, so that even childlessness is to be preferred, if accompanied by virtue (3:13–4:6). Moreover, early death is not necessarily an evil, since it may actually signify early removal to safety through divine providence, and true length of life is in any case not to be measured chronologically but by the attainment of wisdom (4:7–20). A portrait is also provided of the ultimate vindication of the just which apparently involves their elevation to heaven to be among the angelic host, and of the final remorse of the wicked when they come to the full realization of their former folly.

There follows a vivid description of the divine judgment, in which the cosmic elements join battle to crush the all-encompassing power of wickedness (5:1–23). The author concludes this part of his work with a second exhortation, this time to Wisdom, which from this point on becomes the explicit theme of the book, usurping the place of the various synonyms earlier employed in conjunction with her. The lords of the far corners of the earth (the reference is probably to Roman rule under Augustus or one of his early successors) are to take note of the fact that their sovereignty is God-given, and that their criminal acts will be relentlessly scrutinized and punished. It therefore behooves them to seek Wisdom so that they may keep the divine ordinances (6:1–11). This task, we are assured, offers no insuperable obstacles, for Wisdom actually anticipates her lovers, and graciously seeks out those worthy of her. Employing the *sorites,* a standard chain syllogism frequently found in Hellenistic philosophical writings, the author eloquently argues that the desire for Wisdom leads to sovereignty (6:12–21).

In Part II, which forms the core of the book, we find the author at his best. With engaging imagery he describes his unwavering search for the great passion of his life, and with an unbridled exuberance he limns the exalted attributes of his beloved Wisdom. Without mentioning Solomon by name, in accordance with a stylistic feature of certain genres of Hellenistic literature, he nevertheless now clearly identifies himself with that illustrious king. In the opening section, the author promises to reveal the nature and origin of Wisdom (6:22–25). He informs us that he loved Wisdom and desired her above all else, though he quickly discovered that all other good things are also eventually acquired along with her (7:7–14). However, God is the sole source of Wisdom, and her scope includes the entire range of knowledge (7:15–

21). Wisdom's twenty-one attributes, borrowed largely from Greek philosophy, are enumerated, followed by an elaborate fivefold metaphor describing her essence and unique efficacy. She is pictured as entering generation by generation into holy souls, rendering them friends of God and prophets. She surpasses even the celestial lights, and nothing can prevail over her (7:22–30). She is God's companion, and Solomon sought to make her his bride, knowing that through her he would have immortality (8:1–16).

There follows a very moving prayer in which the king, acknowledging his feebleness and ephemeral nature, beseeches his Lord to send forth from the holy heavens his throne companion, Wisdom, who was present at the world's creation, to be his guide and guardian (9:1–12). Mortal reason is at best precarious, weighed down as it is by a perishable tent of clay. It is only God's holy spirit of Wisdom descending from on high which has taught men what is pleasing to Him, and has brought them salvation (9:13–18). Part II concludes with a detailed recitation of Wisdom's saving power in history from Adam through Moses and the Exodus (10:1–21).

Part III is constituted by an elaborate *synkrisis,* or comparison, in which the author proceeds with a series of antitheses in order to illustrate the theme that Egypt was punished measure for measure, whereas Israel was benefited by those very things whereby Egypt was punished. This section contains two excursuses. The shorter one (11:15–12:22) concerns the nature of God's mercy as illustrated by his treatment of the Canaanites, whose loathsome practices included sorcery, licentious mystery rites, infanticide, and cannibalism. Though their seed was evil and their viciousness innate, they, too, were nevertheless judged gradually to afford them a chance to repentance (12:3–18). God's mercy thus serves as a model lesson for Israel, to teach them humanity, and at the same time to instill in them confidence in their own relationship with the Deity (12:19–22).

In his second and rather long excursus on the nature of idolatry (chaps. 13–15), those who worship nature are chided for not pressing their search beyond visible reality, which, for all its beauty and dynamic character, only points to its supreme Author. Though not entirely culpable, since they are at least searching for the Deity, neither are they to be excused, for if they were resourceful enough to infer the "Universe," they should certainly have discovered its Master (13:1–9). More blameworthy, however, are the wretches who worship images, addressing their prayers to lifeless objects that are entirely impotent (13:10–19). The author now seeks to explain the origin of idolatry, which he claims did not exist from the beginning but came into the world through the empty illusions of men. A father consumed with untimely grief made an image of the child so suddenly taken from him, honoring him as a god, and handed down to his descendants mysteries and initiation rites. Again, absent rulers were honored by means of images which the artists had overly beautified in order to please their sovereigns, which resulted in the masses mistaking them for objects of worship. This turned out to be the one great trap of human life, for idolatry is the source of every moral corruption (14:12–31).

There follow six further antitheses between the Egyptians and the Israelites (16:1–19:8). The first antithesis (11:1–14) had contrasted the change of the Nile water into blood with the abundant water provided to the Israelites from the desert rock. The second antithesis (16:1–4) now describes the hungering of the Egyptians as a result of the hideousness of the creatures sent to plague them, whereas Israel, after only briefly suffering want, came to enjoy the exotic delicacy of quail food. In the third antithesis (16:5–14), the Egyptians are slain by locusts and flies, but Israel survives a serpent attack through the bronze serpent, symbol of salvation. In the fourth antithesis (16:15–29), the Egyptians are plagued by thunderstorms, while Israel is fed by a rain of manna. The fifth antithesis (17:1–18:4) provides a rhetorically elaborate description of the psychological terror occasioned by the plague of darkness. Deftly and almost imperceptibly the author moves from the physical contrast between darkness and light to the spiritual one which sees in the Egyptian moral villains obsessed with a bad conscience, and in Israel ethical heroes destined to illumine the world with the light of the Torah. In the sixth antithesis (18:5–25), the Egyptian firstborn are destroyed, but Israel is protected and glorified. In the seventh and final antithesis (19:1–9), the Egyptians are drowned in the sea, but Israel passes safely through. The book concludes with the conventional doxology: "For in every way, O Lord, you exalted and glorified your people, and did not neglect to assist them in every time and place" (19:22).

**B. Structure**

Although many earlier scholars had cavalierly carved the book of Wisdom up into a confusing disarray of units, recent scholarship has succeeded in demonstrating the structual unity of the book and the skill with which it was put together. Fichtner (1938), Maries (1908), and Pfeiffer (1949) had already noted some of its repetitions of vocabulary, but Reese (1965) was the first to recognize the author's skillful use of the rhetorical device of *inclusio* in order to mark off many sections of his work, and his attempt to structure the book on that basis. A recent detailed analysis of Wisdom's structure is provided by Offerhaus (1981).

**C. Authorship**

The history of the critical literature dealing with Wisdom parallels to some extent that dealing with the Homeric question. By the middle of the 18th century we begin hearing the voices of those who, like the ancient grammarians who ascribed the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* to different authors, sought to carve the book up and assign its various parts to diverse authors. In 1795, the year in which F. A. Wolff's *Prolegomena ad Homerum* was published, J. G. Eichhorn (*Einleitung in die apokryphischen schriften des A. T.,* pp. 88–90, 142–49), separated the first ten chapters from the rest, explaining the disharmony between the two parts, either by attributing the second part to another writer, or considering it a product of the earlier years of the author of the first part. A few years later, J. C. C. Nachtigal (*Die Versammlungen der Weisen,* II. Teil: *Das Buch der Weisheit,* pp. 8, 11, 82–192), presented his bizarre view that Wisdom was a mosaic, to which no fewer than 79 wise men had contributed.

All these attempts, however, were soon demolished by Carl Grimm's great commentary, which demonstrated that the unity of Wisdom was guaranteed by the uniformity of language and style characterizing the whole (1860:15). After a hundred-year gap, however, the search for multiple authorship revived. Focke (1913) divided the book into two parts (chaps. 1–5; 6–19), but suggested that the author of the second part may also have been the translator of the Hebrew original of the first part. More recently, Georgi (1980) considered it to be the product of a collective process. Others, like Gregg (1909), Goodrick (1913), Fichtner (1938), Pfeiffer (1949), and Reese (1983), continued to maintain unity of authorship, and this remains the consensus.

**D. Language and Style**

The strongest argument for the unity of Wisdom may be drawn from its language and style. In spite of some Hebrew coloring, such as *parallelismus membrorum,* Hebraisms, and the simple connection of clauses by conjunctions such as *kai, de, dia touto, dio, gar,* and *hoti,* Grimm has correctly pointed out that the author's Greek was on the whole rich and spontaneous, and that St. Jerome's judgment that his style was "redolent of Greek eloquence" was completely justified. Thus the author of Wisdom is quite capable of constructing sentences in true periodic style (cf. 12:27; 13:11–15), and his fondness for compound words is almost Aeschylean. His manner at times has the light touch of Greek lyric poetry (cf. 17:17–19; 2:6–9; 5:9–13), and occasionally his words fall into an iambic or hexameter rhythm. He employs *chiasmus* (1:1, 4, 8; 3:15), *hyperbaton* (240 examples), the *sorites* (6:17–20), antithesis, accumulation of epithets (*accumulatio;* 7:22–23), alliteration, assonance, *homoioteleuton, paranomasia, isokōlia,* (balance of clauses), *litotes, anaphora* (chap. 10), and Greek philosophical terminology.

These characteristics, in addition to the author's many favorite "theme" words and expressions which recur throughout the work, argue for unity of authorship, and make the hypothesis that Wisdom is a translation of a Hebrew original virtually untenable. (The Aramaic hypothesis has also had its advocates; Azariah dei Rossi in the 16th century and Zimmermann [1966] in the 20th.) Significant, too, is Wisdom's quotation in 2:12 of the LXX of Isa 3:10, which is radically different from the Hebrew, and of Isa 44:20 and Job 9:12, 19 (in 15:10 and 12:12), a fact which compelled Margoliouth (1900) to conclude that the Greek translators of Isaiah had utilized the Greek text of Wisdom. Although it is possible to maintain that the author may have used an earlier Hebrew document or documents deriving from Palestine in the composition of chaps. 1–10, we should nevertheless have to admit that they were not simply translated by him but rather served as the raw material for a new literary production.

**E. Genre**

The literary genre employed by the author of Wisdom, as Focke (1913:86) had already noted, is the *logos protreptikos* or exhortatory discourse. According to the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* (1421b21), "exhortation *(protropē)* is an attempt to urge people to some line of speech or action," and "one delivering an exhortation must prove that the courses to which he exhorts are just, lawful, expedient, honorable, pleasant, and easily practicable (cf. Wis 6:12–14; 8:7, 10, 16, 18). The protreptic was a union of philosophy and rhetoric which originated with the Sophists, whose sham productions were criticized in Plato's *Euthydemus,* which preserves the earliest example of the genre (278E–282D). Socrates' questioning of Cleinias in that section of the dialogue which serves as an illustration of what he desires a hortatory argument to be, leads to the following conclusion: "Since you think wisdom is both teachable and the only thing in the world that makes man happy and fortunate, can you help saying that it is necessary to pursue it and that you intend to do so?"

More recently, P. Bizetti (1984:55–80), following the lead of P. Beauchamp and M. Gilbert, has sought to demonstrate that Wisdom belongs to the genre of the encomium. The latter is an epideictic discourse which aims at persuading the hearer to admire someone or practice some virtue. Its main parts are: (1) an exordium which introduces and sums up the theme; (2) a eulogy which usually includes a description of the *genos* (ancestry immediate and remote) of the subject of the encomium; (3) the latter's *praxeis* or praiseworthy actions; (4) a *synkrisis* or extended comparison in order to contrast opposite lines of action; and (5) an epilogue with a concluding prayer (cf. Winston 1986).

The protreptic discourse readily lent itself to the incorporation of diatribe, the popular moral invective so characteristic of the Hellenistic period, and Wisdom contains a number of diatribal features: personified abstractions (1:4–6, 8, 16; chaps. 7–10; 18:15); speeches of an imaginary adversary (chaps. 2 and 5); imaginary objections of the adversary accompanied with answers (13:6–9); simple paratactic style (chaps. 1–6); parallelism, *isokōla,* and antitheses (chaps. 1–10); *accumulatio* (7:22–23; 14–25); evocation of mythological heroes or wise men (4:10; 10); elaborate similies (5:10–12); protreptic conclusion with monitory imperatives aimed at deflecting the evildoer from his path (6:1–11); and invective (chaps. 13–15).

**F. Date**

No consensus has thus far emerged regarding the date of Wisdom, and various scholars have placed it anywhere between 220 B.C.E. and 50 C.E. There is virtual agreement that the author made use of the LXX version of Isaiah which would carry us at least to the end of the 3d century B.C.E. Zeller (1963:295, n. 1), however, had already suggested that the address to the rulers of the four corners of the earth (6:1) referred to the period of Roman rule, and that the reference to the remoteness of the rulers' dwelling in 14:17 indicated more specifically the age of Augustus.

Although many commentators have interpreted Wisdom 14:16–20 as referring to the period of the Ptolemies, such a view seems to be very unlikely. First, the reference to the remoteness of the rulers' dwelling readily applies to Egypt under Augustus (and his immediate successors), who organized it not as a province under designated military authority, but as his own private domain, and ruled it in absentia through a prefect chosen from the knights. More important, however, is the fact that the Ptolemies had openly and explicitly proclaimed themselves gods, and had established a full dynastic cult, centrally organized with a hierarchy of provincial priests appointed by the crown, whereas our passage envisages a process which only gradually led to the idolatrous worship of rulers, a situation which can only apply to the Augustan period.

The linguistic evidence also points to a period not earlier than that of Augustus. Some 35 words or usages are first attested in Wisdom and do not appear in secular Greek literature before the 1st century C.E. Further considerations, however, seem to point to the reign of Gaius "Caligula" (37–41 C.E.) as the likeliest setting for Wisdom. The apocalyptic vision in which the author describes the annihilation of the wicked with such ferocious passion (5:16–23) could only be called forth by a desperate historical situation in which the security of the Jewish community of Alexandria was dangerously threatened by a power against which it was hopeless to put up any serious resistance. The riots which broke out in Alexandria in 38 C.E. involved the demolition of many synagogues, and above all a proclamation by the Roman prefect

A. Avillius Flaccus declaring the Jews "aliens and foreigners" (Philo, *Flacc* 54) in Alexandria. This measure, as Smallwood (1976:240) put it, "degraded them from their legal status of resident aliens, on which the existence of the *politeuma* depended, to that of aliens without the right of domicile. Legally they could now all be expelled." Although Flaccus was soon executed, "the situation remained unstable and the Jews lacked security for a further two years and a half, until their rights were officially and explicitly re-established by Claudius in 41" (Smallwood 1976:242).

Most commentators have assumed an Egyptian provenance for Wisdom (Zimmermann 1966:132–33 and Georgi 1980:396, however, opt for Syria), and in this they are undoubtedly correct. The intensity of the author's hatred of the Egyptians can only reflect the persecution of the Jewish community in Alexandria at the hands of the Greeks aided and abetted by the native Egyptians. It is difficult not to see an allusion to contemporary conditions in Egypt in the manner in which the author imputes greater blame to Egypt than even to Sodom (19:13–17).

**G. Religious Ideas**

**1. Preexistence and Immortality of the Soul.** In pointing out the superior endowments of young Solomon, the author of Wisdom began by designating the human body as the personal subject which receives the soul (8:19, "having had a noble soul fall to my lot"). However, since he was not satisfied with his initial formulation, and felt constrained to correct it, we must conclude that the words "or rather being noble, I entered an undefiled body," are meant to suggest the preexistence of souls of varying spiritual capacities, and that in the case of Solomon it was a noble soul that had taken the initiative of entering an undefiled body. In this the author was plainly associating himself to some extent with Platonic doctrine, though at the same time suppressing the major elements of Plato's myth about the procession of souls and the fall of some of them into bodies. That this is so may be further inferred from the fact that in 9:15, he reproduces the distinctive Platonic dualism regarding body and soul, replete with verbal echoes from the *Phaedo* (81C) and *Phaedrus* (247B).

It is essential at this point to emphasize those elements in Plato's theory of soul which are conspicuously absent in Wisdom. We have already alluded to the author's suppression of the conception of the soul's fall. This particular omission, however, is neither surprising nor really at variance with Middle Platonism. Although in the *Phaedrus*, the incarnation of souls seems to be the result of an intellectual "fall," in the *Timaeus*, the soul seems to be destined from the beginning to give life to a body. Mortal creatures came into being so that the universe would not be imperfect, which would be the case if it did not contain all the kinds of living being (41 B–C). Middle Platonists had already noted this inconsistency in Plato's writings and attempted to resolve it by emphasizing one or the other of these positions, the majority apparently opting for the pessimistic rather than the optimistic view. It is thus evident, that in suppressing the pessimistic view, the author of Wisdom, though clearly under the influence of Jewish tradition, was not necessarily being innovative even from the Greek point of view, but was simply aligning himself with that Middle Platonic position which was most congenial to his own way of thinking.

Although it is usually claimed that the author of Wisdom never speaks of the immortal nature of the soul as such, as Greek philosophers do, and makes immortality depend on the soul's practice of justice, this assertion thus baldly put is an overstatement. In the first place, Wisdom 2:23, according to which God created man for immortality and made him an image of his own proper being, clearly implies that man's immortality derives from the fact that his soul is an image of the divine Wisdom, the "proper being" of the Deity. Second, even according to some versions of the Platonic myths concerning the soul, we are told that some souls are "judged incurable because of the enormity of their crimes and are hurled into Tartarus, whence they never more emerge" (*Phd.* 113E; cf. *Grg.* 525C; *Resp.* 615E). Nevertheless, it is true that for Plato, the majority of souls are eventually purified through a process of purgation and thus have a natural claim to immortality, and that the Platonists usually offer proofs for immortality from the very nature of the soul, whereas the author of Wisdom places the emphasis not on this natural claim but on whether or not one has lived righteously. In so doing, however, he follows the same path pursued by Philo, who implies that only the souls of the wise enjoy immortality (*Quaes Gen* 1.16; *Op* 154; *Conf* 149). Both he

and Philo were undoubtedly influenced in this by biblical tradition, but at the same time could claim to be following the Stoic view adopted by Chrysippus, though without the latter's limitation on the preservation of wise souls only until the next world conflagration (*SVF* 2.809, 811).

The centrality of Wisdom's theory of immortality represents a new emphasis in the history of Jewish tradition, although it must be seen as part of a continuous development in Hellenistic Jewish thought. According to *1 En.* 102:5, the spirits of the righteous descend to sheol, but at the judgment will ascend to a life of joy as companions of the hosts of heaven (103:3–4; 104:6). *Jub.* 23:31 seems to presume an immediate assumption of the spirit, and in *T. Ash.* 6:5–6, the soul of the righteous is led by the angel of peace into eternal life. Finally, in *4 Maccabees*, roughly contemporary with Wisdom, the patriarchs are already in heaven ready to receive the souls of those who have died for the sake of God (7:19; 13:17; 16:25). Wisdom's doctrine of the preexistent soul, on the other hand, may be the earliest attestation of this teaching in Jewish literature (cf. *2 En.* 23:4–5; *2 Bar.* 23:5).

**2. Eschatology.** The author's eschatological descriptions form a sort of chiaroscuro, lacking any clear definition. He moves fitfully through alternating patches of darkness and light, almost deliberately blurring the points of transition. The picture which emerges is somewhat confused, but its broad outlines are nevertheless not difficult to draw. The just souls, after passing through the crucible of suffering during their earthly existence, are portrayed as being in the hand of God and perfectly at peace (either in some neutral zone in Hades, or more likely in Heaven). Conversely, the wicked who had oppressed their weaker brothers with apparent impunity, become ignominious carcasses, eternal objects of outrage among the dead. The picture is now abruptly transposed to the "moment of God's gracious dispensation," when the just will blaze forth and in contrast to their formerly passive though peaceful state, will be rendered eminently active. Taking his indignation as full armor, and employing the elemental forces of nature as his weapons, God will now devastate and smash the lawless kingdoms of the earth, thus inaugurating a new, transhistorical era of divine rule. Screened by the divine power, and in receipt of royal insignia of the highest majesty, the just souls (now clearly among the angelic hosts) will, as God's agents, judge the nations of the world, while enjoying an unsurpassed vision of the truth. But what was a gracious dispensation for the just will constitute the day of reckoning for the souls of the wicked, who are pictured as coming forward cringing to be convicted to their face by their own criminal acts. It is not clear, however, whether the wicked face a double judgment, one immediately after death, and a second one at the time of the gracious visitation of the just, or whether they are at first automatically hurled speechless into the depths of Hades, only later to face formal charges in the presence of their former victims.

**3. Torah and Sophia.** The central figure which strides across the book is Sophia or Dame Wisdom, appearing at first under a variety of names (chap. 1), then gradually coming into sharper focus, until she begins to dominate the stage completely (6:12ff.). But then she recedes into the background and merges almost imperceptibly with the Deity, only suddenly to emerge one last time in full power under one of her alternate titles (18:15). She is no innovation of the author of Wisdom, but had already made her appearance as a cosmic force in Proverbs (8:22–31; 1:20–33) and Job (28:12–28) under the guise of a charming female figure playing always before Yahweh, after having been created by Him at the beginning of His work (Prov 8:30).

The figure of Wisdom also has obvious roots in ANE myth. Hu and Sia, for example, are in Egyptian tradition the creative word and the understanding of the high god Re-Atum, personified and separated from their originator. Similarly, Egyptian Maat is a personification of the concept *maat* or right order in nature and society (originally a function of the high god) who became the daughter of Re, and was vouchsafed a cult of her own. According to one text, "Re has created Maat, he rejoices over her, he delights in her, his heart is joyful when he sees her" (Ringgren 1947:49–52; Kayatz 1966:93–119). Examples from the Akkadian sphere are Mešaru and Kettu, Righteousness and Right, who were sometimes conceived only as qualities of the sun-god or as gifts granted by him, and sometimes in a more concrete way as personal beings, independent deities (Ringgren 1947:53–58). We also have an early Semitic reference (6th century B.C.E.) to Wisdom who is dear to the gods in *The Words of Ahiqar* 94–95

(found at Elephantine):"For all time the kingdom is hers. In heaven is she established, for the lord of holy ones has exalted her" (*ANET,* 428).

Wisdom appears again in The Wisdom of Ben Sira (ca. 180 B.C.E.), a Jewish Palestinian work which, having been translated into Greek, left a distinct mark on Wisdom. Both books, for example, use virtually identical images to describe their authors' ardent pursuit of Wisdom, and both place a similar emphasis on God's mercy. Like Proverbs 8, Ben Sira describes Wisdom as having been created from the very beginning (1:4; 24:9), and as having been infused into all of God's works (1:9). She is further described as traversing the entire cosmos, but finally, at the divine behest, making her home in Israel, in God's beloved city of Jerusalem (24:3–12). More important, going beyond the book of Deuteronomy which had identified the laws of the Torah with wisdom (4:6), Ben Sira identified Wisdom with Torah (24:23), "as a result of which both were conceived together as a heavenly element which descended from heaven to take up its abode among the children of Israel" (Weinfeld 1972:256; cf. Collins 1977). The author thereby reached the uneasy compromise of a Divine Wisdom which pervades the cosmos, yet maintains its focus in Zion and in the teachings of the Torah, which thus achieves a new universal significance.

In Proverbs, Job, and Ben Sira, however, Wisdom is not yet strictly speaking an hypostasis as that term was broadly defined by Oesterley and Box (1911:169), i.e., "a quasi personification of certain attributes proper to God, occupying an intermediate position between personalities and abstract beings," since according to these texts she is only the first creation of God. In Philo and Wisdom, on the other hand, where Sophia is considered to be an eternal emanation of the Deity, we undoubtedly have a conception of her as a divine hypostasis, coeternal with Him.

In the light of this tradition of Wisdom speculation, it is no longer difficult to understand why the author of our text chose the Wisdom figure as the mediator of his own message to his contemporaries. She was the perfect bridge between the exclusive nationalist tradition of Israel and the universalist philosophical tradition which appealed so strongly to the Jewish youth of Roman Alexandria. Moreover, as Reese and Mack have recently shown, the author of Wisdom skillfully adapted the Isis aretalogies for his own use in describing Sophia (Reese 1970:36–50; Mack 1973:63–107). The cult of Isis and Sarapis was one of the most popular of the oriental religions from the 4th century B.C.E. to the 4th century C.E., though its peak of popularity was reached in the 2d century C.E. The goddess Isis was a savior and revealer, linked to the pursuit of wisdom and associated with the throne. In a relief of the Ptolemaic temple at Esna, she is said to give the king kingship "for the duration of eternity and perpetuity" (Sauneron 1962–1975:307, 24; cf. Wisdom 6:21). Like Sophia (Wisdom 8:4), she is called *mystis,* initiate, (*P. Oxy.* 1380.111); and, like Hu and Sia, she is an associate of Re, accompanying him in the sun bark and having complete knowledge of his workings. It may be noted that Gaius, who had decorated a room (the *Aula Isiaca*) in his palace on the Palatine with paintings depicting numerous Egyptian religious symbols, had built a temple to Isis, and had instituted Isiac mysteries in which he is said to have participated himself while dressed in female garb (*Ant* 19.1.1.5, 30). Cleopatra VII was said to have dressed as Isis and to have given audiences under the name of *Nea Isis* (Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 54; see Kloppenborg 1982). It was not only fitting, but also politic, for the author of Wisdom to reclaim the falsely appropriated *aretai* for Her to whom they truly belonged, the remythologized Sophia.

**4. Logos and Sophia.** The most remarkable feature about the author's description of Sophia is that he depicts her as an effluence or emanation of God's glory. Most Middle Platonists seem to have avoided such a conception, but it was apparently adopted by some of the neo-Pythag- oreans, and was clearly implied by Philo, who often "Pythagorizes," though in this case he may have gotten the notion from the Middle Stoa. Since, according to the writer, Wisdom pervades the entire cosmos and yet at the same time enjoys intimacy with God (7:24; 8:1, 3), it may be said that there is an aspect of God's essence in everything, including the human mind, which yet remains inseparable from God. The only thing comparable to this view in ancient Jewish thought is Philo's similar notion of an all-penetrating Divine Logos which reaches into each man's mind, thus converting it into an extension of the Divine Mind, albeit a very fragmentary one (*Quod Det* 90:*Gig* 27; *Leg All* I 37–38). Like Philo, too, the author of Wisdom evidently teaches that God created the world by means of Wisdom. Although this statement that "God

made all things by his word *(logo),* and through his wisdom *(sophia)* framed man" (9:1–2) is in itself ambiguous, since it is by no means clear that "word" and "wisdom" here refer to Logos/Sophia, the matter appears to be settled by the description of Wisdom as "chooser of God's works" (8:4). This phrase clearly implies that Wisdom is identical with the Divine Mind through which the Deity acts. In the light of this, the assertion that "with you is Wisdom who knows your works and was present when you created the world" (9:9) must signify that Wisdom contains the paradigmatic patterns of all things (cf. 9:8) and serves as the instrument of their creation.

**5. Pursuing Wisdom.** In depicting Sophia, the author is all aglow with a burning enthusiasm that fills the verses dealing directly with her with a luminous and passionate intensity. His confident words convey a conviction, evidently confirmed by his personal experience, that Wisdom is easily found by those who seek her, to the point of even anticipating them in their search (6:12–16). He speaks of his love for her and his seeking to make her his bride so that he might live with her (8:9; 7:28; 8:16). It is noteworthy that the terms of the description of Wisdom's union with God correspond very closely to those of the description of the student's union with Wisdom. This undoubtedly implies that man's ultimate goal is union with God, which may, however, be achieved only through union with his Wisdom, which is but one of his aspects (*TDNT* 7:499). This union with Sophia is possible because of man's kinship with her (8:17), through his possession of a mind permeated by the intelligent spirit of Wisdom (7:23–24). But if Wisdom is already present in man's mind, as she is indeed in every part of the universe, what is the significance of man's hot pursuit of her and the need for special supplication to the Lord to send her down from his heavenly throne (9:10)? We have already seen that Wisdom is both immanent and transcendent (she pervades the universe, yet remains in unbroken union with God), so that both forms of description may easily be interchanged depending on the particular focus of the writer. The Neoplatonist Proclus later provides a concise expression of this bifocal perspective: "The gods are present alike to all things; not all things, however are present alike to the gods, but each order has a share in their presence proportioned to its station and capacity, some things receiving them as unities and others as manifolds, some perpetually and others for a time, some incorporeally and others through the body" (*Elements* 142). From the human viewpoint, the Divine Wisdom enters man and departs; from the eternal perspective of God, however, it is ever present to man, though its consummation in any particular case is conditioned by the fitness of the recipient. Hence our author speaks in no uncertain terms of "desire for instruction" (6:17), "training in Wisdom's society" (8:18), and the need for predawn vigilance on her behalf (6:14–15).

The author's highly charged language with reference to Sophia seems to allude to a mystical encounter, and although the more precise delineation of the nature of this type of encounter which is afforded by Philo is missing in Wisdom, the latter's description seems more intensely personal and therefore less likely to be a purely intellectual exercise.

**6. The Nature and Efficacy of Wisdom.** As the Divine Mind immanent within the universe and guiding and controlling all its dynamic operations, Wisdom represents the entire range of natural science, in addition to the arts, rhetoric, and philosophy. She is man's counselor and comforter and bestows riches and glory on her own, though her greatest boon is the gift of immortality (7:16–21; 14:2; 8:7–13). Above all, she is synonymous with Divine Providence, controlling historical events, and in each generation guiding the friends of God and inspiring his prophets (7:27; 14:3). Unlike Ben Sira, the author of Wisdom nowhere explicitly identifies Wisdom with Torah, and aside from a marginal reference in 18:9 to the Passover sacrifice, makes no mention of the sacrificial cult. Wisdom is conceived by him as a direct bearer of revelation, functioning through the workings of the human mind, and supreme arbiter of all values. She is clearly the Archetypal Torah, of which the Mosaic Torah is but an image. When he insists that unless God send his Wisdom down from on high men would not comprehend God's will (9:17), he is certainly implying that the Torah is in need of further interpretation which Wisdom alone is able to provide. Here, the author closely approaches the position of Philo of Alexandria, in whose view, even before the Sinaitic Revelation, the Patriarchs were already constituted *nomoi empsychoi*, living embodiments of Wisdom. In Wisdom 10, Sophia had similarly already served as a personal Guide to six righteous heroes who lived before the Sinaitic Revelation. An echo of this notion may later be found in

the statement of Rabbi Avin (4th century) that the Torah is an incomplete form of the Supernal Wisdom (*Gen. Rab.* 17.5; 44.12, Theodor-Albeck: 157, 239).

**7. Universalism and Particularism.** Twice Wisdom is described as *philanthrōpos,* humane or benevolent (1:6; 7:23), and in 12:19 we are told that God's mercy is a model-lesson for Israel, teaching them that the righteous man must be humane. God loves all that exists, loathing nothing that he has created (11:24), and as the lover of all that lives, he spares all. We have here a faint intimation of the Middle Stoic doctrine of *philanthrōpia,* which is fully elaborated in the writings of Philo. The special kinship between God and man, based on the notion of a Divine Logos at once immanent and transcendent, led inevitably to the concept of the unity of man. In this case, as it often happened, a native Jewish idea had converged with a Greek philosophical conception. Going beyond the negative formulation of justice which forbids one individual to injure another, the Stoic Panaetius advanced the positive definition of it as an active beneficence which forms the bond of society (Cicero *Off.* 1.20–22). Following Panaetius, Philo, too, emphasized the positive aspect of justice as an active beneficence (*Virt* 166–70). This quality was epitomized by him in the word *philanthrōpia.* In a section of his treatise *De Virtutibus* devoted to *philanthrōpia* (51–174), Philo pointed out that it had *eusebeia,* piety, as its sister and twin, for the love of God involves the love of man, inasmuch as man "through that higher part of his being, namely, the soul, is most nearly akin to heaven and also the Father of the World" (*Dec* 134).

Many commentators find the "undisguised particularism" of Part III of Wisdom, where God appears "as partial to the Jews and inimical to their enemies" (Reider 1957:41), and the verses regarding the innate viciousness of the Canaanites and their primal accursedness (12:10–11) irreconcilable with the universalism encapsulated in the adjective *philanthrōpon.* It is evident, however, that the ancient Egyptians and Canaanites merely served the author as symbols for the hated Alexandrians and Romans of his own day, upon whom he visited an apocalyptic vengeance in chap. 5. The intense hatred breathed in Part III can only be understood in the light of contemporary conditions. Finding himself in similar conditions, Philo, who has a much more elaborate doctrine of *philanthrōpia* and is always at great pains to tone down Jewish particularism, is nevertheless quite capable not only of depicting the future divine punishment of Israel's enemies, but also of setting God's people apart as the special concern of the Deity who employs the Romans as pawns in his larger historical plan (*Praem* 169–72). This is not to deny that there is a certain degree of tension between the universalist and particularist tendencies both in Philo and in Wisdom, but it is not distinctly more pronounced in the latter than it is in the former.

## H. Purpose

The author is primarily addressing his fellow Jews in an effort to encourage them to take pride in their traditional faith. He seeks to convince them that their way of life, rooted in the worship of the one true God, is of an incomparably higher order than that of their pagan neighbors, whose idolatrous polytheism had sunk them into the mire of immorality. Moreover, he attempts to justify their present suffering through the promise of immortality as a reward for their steadfast perseverance in the pursuit of righteousness. His accusing finger is especially pointed, however, at the pagan kings, i.e., the Roman rulers, who have abandoned the principles of divine justice and who will therefore suffer the consequences of their lawlessness. Following the philosophy of Greco–Roman kingship tracts, he insists that the king, above all, must pursue wisdom (6:21, 24). At the same time, the author naturally tones down the divine nature to which the pagan writers sought to assimilate the king. He emphasizes instead the king's lowly and mortal origins (7:1–5; 9:5).

Moreover, the Greco–Roman doctrines of kingship, as indeed all the high philosophic ideals of Greek thought, are identified by the author with the teachings of Judaism. Indeed, the philosophical tendency of the book is marked by the Stoicizing Platonism, characteristic of the middle Platonic tradition. By representing Judaism in intellectually respectable terms, he sought to shore up the faith against hostile and anti-Semitic attacks from without and gnawing doubts from within, and through a determined counterattack against the immoral pagan world which he threatened with divine retribution he attempted to revive the flagging spirits of his hard-pressed people. Finally, it must be said that in addition to the social and political factors which stimulated the author to write the book, we must reckon above all with

his unbounded love and enthusiasm for wisdom, which verged on the mystical, and lent to his writing (at least to its central part) an extraordinary degree of intellectual excitement as appealing today as when the book first left its author's study.

**I. Manuscripts and Versions**

The best critical edition is the text published by Joseph Ziegler as part of the Göttingen LXX in 1962. The text of Wisdom is well preserved, in whole or in part, in five uncial manuscripts: A or codex Alexandrinus (London, British Museum), 5th century; B or codex Vaticanus (Rome, Vatican Library), 4th century; C or codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale), 5th century (a palimpsest written over by St. Ephraem in the 12th century, and containing only a part of Wisdom); S or codex Sinaiticus (the "Leningrad" text, now in the British Museum), 4th century; V or codex Venetus (Venice, Library of St. Mark), 8th century (important for its witness to many Origenic readings). According to Ziegler, the original form of the text of Wisdom is best transmitted through the uncials B and S (which are so closely related that Ziegler treats them as a single witness, B–S) and A. When these manuscripts agree and are followed by most of the minuscules, we may be certain of the correct reading of the text.

The book is known as The Wisdom of Solomon in manuscripts A, B, S, and V (B: *Sophia Salōmōnos;* A and V: *S. Solomōntos;* S: *S. Salomōntos*). In the Syriac Peshitta version, it is known as the "Book of the Great Wisdom *(Hakmeta Rabba)* of Solomon, son of David." In the Vetus Latina, it is simply *Liber Sapientiae,* "Book of Wisdom."

For textual criticism, the most useful of the versions is the Vetus Latina, originating in Africa in the second half of the 2d century. Its importance lies in the fact that it represents the reading of Gk mss earlier than any that have come down to us. Of the Coptic translations, we have the complete text of Wisdom only in the Sahidic dialect, transmitted through two good manuscripts from the 6th–7th centuries, and published respectively by Paul de Lagarde (1883) and Sir Herbert Thompson (1908). There are also three Syriac versions, an Old Ethiopic (Geʿez) translation, an Arabic translation, and an Armenian version.

**J. Status and Influence**

In the Sinaitic and Alexandrian codices, Wisdom stands between the Song of Songs and Ben Sira, with the prophetic books following. The sapiential books thus hold an intermediate position between the historical and prophetic. St. Jerome recognized that Wisdom was a pseudepigraphon and placed it among those books formally excluded from the Canon (*PL* 28:124). St. Augustine, who quotes Wisdom close to 800 times, at first attributed it to Ben Sira but later declared the author to be unknown. In his *De Praedestinatione Sanctorum* 14.26–29, he nevertheless came out in favor of the canonicity of Wisdom. The Council of Trent (1545–63), decided the issue of canonicity raised by the reformers by decreeing the book's canonical status. For the Greek Church, the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672 introduced Wisdom and other deuterocanonical books to a place in Holy Scripture. From the time of the Reformation, Protestant Churches, following the example of Luther, separated the so-called Apocryphal books from the rest of the Scripture.

The oldest reference to Wisdom appears to be in Clement of Rome's *Epistle to the Corinthians* 27 (end of the 1st century). Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* 4.38.3) alludes to Wisdom 6:19, and according to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 5.26) he mentioned, in a book now lost, Hebrews and Wisdom, quoting passages from both. Wisdom is explicitly mentioned in the *Muratori Canon* (ca. 200):"Further an epistle of Jude and two with the title John are accepted in the Catholic Church, and the Wisdom written by friends of Solomon in his honor" (68–70). In the African Church, the first explicit use of Wisdom is in Tertullian *Adv. Valent.* 2.2, where the Sophia of the Valentinians is contrasted with the true Sophia of Solomon.

Origen admits that Wisdom "is not held by all to have authority" (*Princ.* 4.4.6), but he himself uses it freely. In *Princ.* 1.2.9, he provides an elaborate explanation of the christological meaning of Wisdom 7:25–26. Similarly, Dionysius of Alexandria (3d century), a pupil of Origen, appeals to Wisdom 7:26 to prove a point. (For detailed discussion, see Grant 1967:70–82; Larcher 1969:36–63.)

Finally, we must note the close affinities that exist between the *Teachings of Silvanus* (late 2d or early 3d century), the only non-Gnostic document in Codex VII of Nag Hammadi, and Jewish wisdom

literature, particularly Wisdom. In one of Silvanus' hymns we have an explicit allusion to Wisdom 7:25–26 (113) (see Schoedel 1975:169–99). For further discussion, see Winston *The Wisdom of Solomon* AB.

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DAVID WINSTON


**SON.** See FAMILY.

**SON OF GOD.** An honorific whose history began ca. 3000 B.C.E. In the biblical period, the title suggested a variety of ideas according to its different adaptations.

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A. "Son of God" in the OT

1. The King

2. The People of God

3. The Heavenly Hosts
B. "Son of God" in Non-Christian Jewish Literature
1. The Case of the Messiah
2. The Righteous of the People
3. Charismatic Individuals
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**A. "Son of God" in the OT**

**1. The King.** In the entire Near East, the king could be called "Son of God" or even "God." Pharaoh was the "Good God" (Moret 1902:296). The first of the five "great names" which he received upon his enthronement was "Horus," an old title designating him as the earthly manifestation of the falcon god Horus, the ancient dynastic god of Egypt (Gardiner 1957:72). His incarnation was assumed: "He descended from heaven and was born in Heliopolis" (Erman 1923:340).

The Semitic rulers of Akkad (ca. 2350–2150 B.C.E.) claimed divinity for themselves. Thus, Naram-Sin styled himself *ilu-A-ga-de,* "God of Akkad" (Radau 1899:7). Following the example of the Akkadian rulers, the kings in the ensuing period of Sumerian renaissance had their names prefixed by the determinative for divinity (Dhorme 1910:170). They even enjoyed worship (Römer 1969:146). Bursin called himself "the rightful God, the Sun of his country" (Radau 1900:199, 201). The old titulary continued to apply to the later Semitic rulers. Thus, Hammurabi was the "God" *(ilu)* and "Sun" of his people (Dhorme 1910:170), and his name was occasionally prefixed by the determinative for divinity (Edzard 1965:257–58).

The Syrian kings possibly claimed divinity for themselves. Ezek 28:2, 9 mocks the king of Tyre for claiming to be divine and occupying the throne of *ʾĕlōhîm,* "God." According to Virgil (*Aen.* 1:729 with Servius' note) and Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 1:86), the kings of Tyre traced their descent to Baal. Frazer (1961:15–16) argued that the old rulers of Tyre and Damascus, as well as the kings of Edom, were regarded as divine, since their proper names were composed of names of gods, or were simply names of deities. We know that at least the later Seleucide rulers of Syria claimed to be *theos,* "God" (see below, sec. C.3). Morgenstern (1960:138–76) argues that they continued old rituals in which the king enacted the role of the sun god. Josephus (*Ant* 9.4.6) reports a worship of the deceased rulers of Damascus in his day.

The Israelite king could also be called *ʾĕlōhîm,* "God" (Ps 45:6 [for attempts to explain this away, see Fohrer *TDNT* 8:349, n. 91]). Among the five names of the royal child who is to sit on David's throne, we find *ʾēl gibbôr,* "Mighty God" (Isa 9:6). In Ps 89:28—Eng v 27, the king is said to be the "Highest" *(ʿelyôn)* of the kings, which is a divine name (cf. Hammurabi's title, *i-lu sar-ri,* "God of kings" [Code, recto III: 16]). The parallel in the verse is "firstborn" of God.

It was more common to refer to the king in Israel-Judah as the "Son of God." This was a royal title throughout the ANE. From the 1st Dyn. (ca. 3000 B.C.E.), the pharaohs were regarded as the "sons of Isis," and were represented as being suckled by her and sitting on her lap. The last of pharaoh's royal names was "Son of Re," which he bore from the 4th Dyn. (ca. 2500 B.C.E.) onwards (Gardiner 1957:74). The title indicated that he was the physical offspring of the sun god, as is shown in particular by the

evidence from Deir el-Bahri, where Amon-Re is represented as having united sexually with pharaoh's mother (Sethe 1914:102–3).

In an inscription for Ramesses II, God says: "I am your Father, who has engendered you as god in order that you be king of Upper and Lower Egypt on My throne" (Roeder 1915:158–59). Pharaoh ruled in the place of his divine father. He obviously had to answer for his father's possessions with which he had been entrusted.

Beginning with the Sumerian king Mesilim of Kish, the Mesopotamian ruler was seen as the "son" or "child" of his god or goddess (Sjöberg 1972:87–112). The king is said expressly to have been "born" of the deity, and we should obviously understand this sonship in physical terms. Abisare of Larsa is said to be the "Pride of his physical Father" *(giri$_x$-zal-a-a-ugu-na),* the god Enlil (Sjöberg 1972:96–97). The male god could also be said to have implanted his seed into the womb of the king's mother, a goddess or a priestess representing her (Sjöberg 1972:88, 93).

In the Canaanite epic about Keret, the king is called the "Son of El," and it is implied that as one of the "gods" he is not supposed to die. This is "a projection of cultic terminology" used to enhance the royal office and person (Gray 1964:66–67).

In the Nathan prophecy in 2 Samuel 7, the relationship between God and the Israelite–Judean king (David's "seed") is described as a father–son relationship (v 14; cf. 1 Chr 17:13; 22:10; 28:6). In Ps 89:27–28—Eng vv 26–27, God is the "Father" of the king, his "firstborn." The king was "born" from God when he was installed, as is made clear by the declarations of Yahweh in two Psalms which were used as liturgical texts at the enthronement ceremony: "You are My Son; this day I have begotten thee" (2:7); "In holy ornament out of the womb of Dawn, I have fathered thee as Dew" (110:3; Mowinckel 1955:235–36; Widengren 1976:186).

It has been argued that Ps 2:7 ("today") implies that the "Egyptian idea of physical sonship is changed into a legal one" (*TDNT* 8:351). However, since pharaoh is seen as divine primarily in his role as ruler, the thought in Ps 2:7 is not really dissimilar (*RGG* 6:118). The enthronement was the definitive act of begetting or deification in Egypt too (Preisigke 1920:13–14). The technical term is *smen,* which corresponds to the verb in Ps 2:6, "I have set *(nosaktî)* My king on Zion, My holy hill." This is a parallel to the "birth" in the next verse. "The new Pharaoh does not exist, theologically speaking, until he has received … all the magico-religious consecrations which transform him into a living incarnation of Ra …" (*ERE* 7:712). Thus, Thutmosis III can say that he is God's "Son, whom He commanded that should be upon His throne … and begat in uprightness of heart" (Breasted *ARE* 1:59). The birth occurs after the call to the throne.

In Mesopotamia, too, the king was "born" on the day of his enthronement. In a description of the enthronement of Shulgi, it is said: "The En-priestess bore a good man, who had been placed in (her) womb. Enlil, the Mighty Shepherd, made the youth stand forth, a son, who is well suited for kingship and the throne" (Sjöberg 1972:104–5, with a slight change). A description of Shulgi being given the royal insignia follows. At the coronation, the birth of the king was cultically enacted. Sjöberg (1972:107) also refers to a word of Gudea to the goddess Gatumdu: "My seed [i.e., the seed of my Father] You have received; in the sanctuary, You have begotten me."

"Dawn" (Shahar) in Ps 110:3 corresponds to Gatumdu in the prayer of Gudea (cf. Isa 14:12, where Shahar is the mother of the Babylonian king). In the text about the enthronement of Shulgi, the goddess is represented by the En-priestess. In Ps 110:3, Yahweh has taken the place of Shalem, who is the consort of Shahar in Ugarit. Shalem is really identical with El Elyon, the old city god of Jerusalem with whom Yahweh was merged (Gen 14:18–20, 22; Isa 14:14). Ps 110:3 thus sets forth the king's birth as "Dew," an Ugaritic divine name *(ṭly),* from Shahar and Shalem-El Elyon-Yahweh (cf. the description of the king in Ps 72:6).

The Nathan prophecy guarantees the perpetuity of the Davidic Dynasty (2 Sam 7:16). This promise gave rise to "messianic" expectations (Isa 7:14–17 [a prophecy based on Egyptian and Canaanite oracles about the birth of the royal child from the queen, a representative of the goddess]; 9:6–7 [an oracle

showing influence from the Egyptian royal titulary in the five names of the child who is to occupy the Davidic throne]).

**2. The People of God.** Israel is also called God's "Son" (Exod 4:22–23; Jer 31:9, 20; Hos 11:1). God is the "Father" of the people (Deut 32:6 [cf. v 18, where God is said to have "engendered" Israel]; Jer 3:4, 19; 31:9; cf. Isa 63:16; 64:7; Mal 2:10). All the individuals of the people are therefore God's "sons" and "daughters," or "children" (Deut 14:1; 32:5, 19; Isa 30:1; 43:6; 45:11; Ezek 16:20–21; Hos 2:1). This usage of the name "Son(s)" of God designates Israel as God's chosen and protected people. The Israelites are obliged to respond to the divine mercy by serving God in subordinate and dutiful obedience (*TDNT* 8:352).

**3. The Heavenly Hosts.** The Israelites took over the Canaanite concept of an assembly of gods under the supremacy of El, even designating Yahweh as the "master in the great council of the holy ones" by the name of the Canaanite high god (Ps 89:8—Eng v 7). These "holy ones," an Ugaritic term for "gods" (*TDNT* 8:347, n. 79), could also be called "sons of gods," as is shown by the parallelism in Ps 89:6–7 (cf. 29:1).

Since the latter term according to usual Hebrew idiom means "gods" (cf. Exod 15:11, where "gods" and "holy ones" are in parallelism, and Ps 82:1, 6, where the "assembly of El" is said to be constituted by "gods"), there were made attempts at suppressing it. In Gen 6:2, the Rescriptor of LXX A has substituted "angels" for "sons." Instead of "sons," the LXX reads "angels" in Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7. In Dan 3:25, the LXX (3:93) reads "angel of God," whereas the MT has "son of God." In Ps 89:7, the Targum reads "angels" instead of "sons of God."

In Deut 32:8, the MT reads "sons of Israel," while the LXX has "angels of God." A fragment from 4Q, however, reads *bny ʾl* …, which obviously represents the original text.

In Deut 32:43, the MT reads: "Praise His people, O ye nations." The LXX is very different: "Rejoice ye heavens, and let all the angels of God worship Him." The Gk text goes on: "… and let all the sons of God strengthen themselves in Him." The MT omits these words. The Qumran text, however, has preserved the original: "Rejoice, O ye heavens with Him, and all ye gods worship Him."

There can be no doubt that the "sons" of God were no mere servants of God, as the substitution "angels" endeavors to purport. In Gen 6:1–4, we find a repugnant myth to the effect that the "sons of God" once descended from heaven and had intercourse with women. Psalm 82 appears to reflect a myth about the high god judging certain arrogant "gods, sons of the Most High" (v 6), in the divine assembly (Cooke 1964:29–34).

**B. "Son of God" in Non-Christian Jewish Literature**

**1. The Case of the Messiah.** In the Latin and Syriac versions of *4 Ezra,* God refers to the Messiah as "My Son" (7:28–29; 13:32, 37, 52; 14:9 [in some of these passages, the Copt, Eth, and Arab versions have the same reading or a similar one, "child" or "young man"]). The Gk text, upon which the other translations are based, reads *pais,* which means "servant" as well as "son," and the former appears to be the most appropriate in the lost Semitic original. However, it must be noted that idea of the king as God's "servant" was associated with that of his divine sonship. In a text about Ashurbanipal, "servant" and "son" are found in parallelism (Dhorme 1910:166–67). The two terms as royal titles are closely associated in the OT (2 Sam 7:4, 8; Ps 89:21, 27–28—Eng vv 20, 26–27). In the description of the righteous in Wis 2:12–20, divine sonship and service are associated. The ambiguity of the Gk version of *4 Ezra* may thus be regarded as having been made by deliberate choice.

In God's promise to Levi in *T. Levi* 4:2, it is said that the patriarch will become God's "Son" *(hyios)* and the "Minister *(therapōn)* and Priest *(leitourgos)* of His Presence." In chap. 8, there is a description of Levi's installation as the priestly Messiah, but the patriarch receives also royal insignia, a crown and a scepter ("staff of equity," the name of the king's scepter in Ps 45:7—Eng v 6). In 18:6, it is said: "The heavens will be opened, and from the temple of glory, sanctification will come upon him, with a fatherly voice, as from Abraham to Isaac. And the glory of the Most High shall burst forth upon him. And the spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him" (in the water [probably a Christian

interpolation based on Mark 1:9–11]). Here we find a clear reference to Isa 11:2, which describes the Spirit of God which is to "rest upon" the future king as the "spirit of wisdom and understanding."

Thus, although "Son of God" appears as a priestly title in Syriac inscriptions (Harris 1914:108–13), the evidence of the *Testament of Levi* should be interpreted in the light of the old idea that the high priestly office really belonged to the king (Gen 14:18; Ps 110:4). When the kingship ceased to exist, many of the ruler's functions and paraphenalia were transferred to the high priest (cf. Zech 6:9–14, where the "messianic" prophecy about Zerubbabel, the Davidide who was the Persian governor of Palestine, has been transferred to the high priest Joshua). In later periods of messianic expectations, we therefore often find a priestly Messiah as well as a royal one, even within the same body of literature. Thus, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* also know the figure of the royal Messiah. In *T. Jud.* 24:2–3, there is a prophecy about the kingly Messiah from the house of Judah which is similar to the prophecy about the priestly Messiah from the house of Levi: "And the heavens will be opened upon him to pour out the spirit as a blessing of the Holy Father."

The immediate continuation adds a similar prophecy about the people, who are called God's "sons":"And He will pour the spirit of grace upon you. And you shall be His sons in truth […]."

In the Ethiopic version of *1 Enoch* 105:2, God calls the Messiah "My Son." Chap. 105 is not found among the Greek fragments, but the Aramaic original does seem to contain it (Milik and Black 1971:208).

In 1QSa 2:11–12, there may be found a reference to the birth of the Messiah as the fulfillment of the words of God in Ps 2:7. But the text may be read in different ways. In any case, the term "Son" is not used.

The Qumran sectarians also took the "Son" of God in 2 Sam 7:14 to be the "shoot of David," i.e., the Messiah, who is to reveal himself "on Zion at the end of the days, as it is written, 'And I will raise up the fallen booth of David' " (4QFlor 1:11–13, quoting Amos 9:11a). A little below, the text quotes Psalm 2, but unfortunately breaks off before v 7.

In a fragment from a presumable Daniel apocryphon (4QPs Dan $A^a$ = 4Q 243), the title "Son of God" is several times applied to a certain king who is to rule over all the world. Fitzmyer (1973–74:391–94) takes this to refer to a Jewish ruler, but further work on the text is still necessary.

In rabbinic Judaism, the Messiah could be called "Son of God," the oldest tradition being a citation of Ps 2:7 found in a baraitha in *Sukk.* 52a. R. Nathan (ca. 160) is cited as having referred Ps 89:27, where the king is God's "firstborn," to the Messiah (*Exod. Rab.* 19:7). Mekhilta *Exod.* 7 (48b [ad 15:9]) calls the Messiah the "Son of the King."

Other rabbinic instances are from the age of the Amoraim. There can also be found rabbinic polemics against the idea of Jesus as the "Son of God." The Christological use of Ps 2:7 may explain the rabbinic reluctance of referring the text to the Messiah.

**2. The Righteous of the People.** The designation of the people of Israel as the "son" or even "sons" or "children" of God (cf. God as the begetter of the people in *Sib. Or.* 3:726) can be found down to the period of the rabbis (Delling 1977:18–28). But the collective usage of the term was also narrowed down: God's "sons" were the righteous among the people. Sir 4:10 (Heb) says that the one treating orphans and widows compassionately will be "like a son of the Most High." The righteous thus calls upon God as his "Father" (23:1, 4; 51:10 [Heb]). According to Wis 5:5, the righteous man who is persecuted and killed by the godless is counted among God's "sons," i.e., angels, after death. But already on earth, he calls God his "Father" (2:16; 14:3) and is his "son" (2:18).

Although Philo refers to Deut 13:19 [—Eng 13:18] –14:1 when discussing the possibility of becoming "sons" of God, it is clear that this is only a formal reference and that Philo does not regard membership of the people of Israel as a requisite for being God's "son." Only the good and wise is the "son" of God (*Spec Leg* I 318; *Quaes Gen* I 92) or his adopted "son" (*Sobr* 56–57). He is born spiritually by God (*Vita Mos* II. 209–10; *Quaes Exod* II. 46). If people cannot become "sons" of God, they should at least try to become children of "His invisible Image, the most holy Word […]" (*Conf* 62, 146).

For the rabbis, sonship was dependent upon the observance of the Law (*TDNT* 8:359–60; Delling 1977:26). The thought is implied already in *Jub.* 1:24 (Delling 1977:19–20).

**3. Charismatic Individuals.** In Samaritanism, Moses is the "Son of the house of God," a title which characterizes him as belonging to the angelic dynasty. Being the "Elohim from humankind" (cf. Exod 7:1, where God says to Moses: "I make you as God [*ʾĕlōhîm*] to Pharaoh"), Moses is actually the highest among the angelic sons of God (Fossum 1985:122, 123–29, 150–51). R. Jose ben Halafta (2d century) says that since God calls Moses "faithful in all His house" (cf. Num 12:7), "he ranks higher than the ministering angels" (*Sifre Num.* 110).

In the *Death of Moses,* God addresses Moses as "My Son" and even says: "I am God, and you are God" (Jellinek 1967:121 and 119). Already in the drama *Exagogē* by Ezekiel the Tragedian, God addresses Moses as "My Son" (line 100).

Honi the miracle-worker is reported to have spoken to God as follows: "Your sons have turned to me, because I am a Son of Your house" (*m. Taʿan.* 3:8). To be a "Son of the house of God," i.e., belong to the angelic family, implies a higher status than being a "son" of God, i.e., a (righteous) Jew.

Rab (3d century) is reported as having said: "Day by day, a *bath gol* was heard saying: 'The entire universe exists on account of My Son Hanina […]' " (*Taʿan.* 24b; *Ber.* 17b; *Ḥul.* 86a). Since the entire universe is sustained because of the Galilean ḥasid, Hanina ben Dosa, it is clear that his divine sonship implies far more than the sonship of the righteous who fulfill the will of God.

When R. Ishmael in his unhistorical role as high priest entered the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement, he saw Akatriel Yah (a name of God or, as is the case in later mystical literature, his human-like manifestation) being seated on a throne and addressing him as follows: "Ishmael, My Son, give me your praise" (*Ber.* 7a). In *3 Enoch,* where Ishmael is a type of the mystic who ascends to heaven, God says that Ishmael is "My Son, My Friend, My Beloved, and My Glory" (1:8). The mystic who draws near to God is called his "Son."

In the Hellenistic Jewish romance *Joseph and Asenath,* Joseph is called "Son of God" (6:3, 5; 13:13) and God's "firstborn Son" (18:11; 24:4 [cf. 23:10, "like the firstborn Son of God"]). The people of Israel or the righteous in general are called "sons" of God (16:14; 19:8), but Joseph is far more than a righteous Jew. He is attired like a king (5:4–6); people prostrate themselves before him (5:7); he is called the "sun from heaven" (6:2); and he is said to be of great beauty and possess omniscience "because of the great light that is inside him" (6:6).

Hengel (1976:44, n. 87) compares this picture of Joseph to that of Abel in *T. Ab.* chap. 13, where the latter is the heavenly judge of the souls, sitting on a crystal throne which blazes like fire. He is described as a "wondrous man shining like the sun, like unto a son of God *(homoios hyiō theou)*" (Recension A).

The comparison of Abel to "a son of God" may in fact imply more than a comparison to an angel, for the vision is quite similar to that of the "Great Glory" in *1 Enoch* 14, which, in turn, clearly recalls Ezekiel 1. That the image of the enthroned "man" in heaven draws on the portrait of the Glory is seen in the preceding sec. of the *Testament of Abraham*. In chap. 11, Adam is described as an "all-marvellous man" sitting on a golden throne at the gate of paradise. This is the place occupied by Akatriel Yahweh in the *Mystery of Sandalphon.* The *Testament of Abraham* says that the "appearance of the man *(hē idea tou anthrōpou)* was fearsome, like that of the Lord." This obviously alludes to Ezek 1:26 LXX, where the Glory upon the heavenly throne is said to possess a "likeness as the appearance of a man" *(homoiōma hōs eidos anthrōpou*) (Fossum 1985:276).

**4. An Exalted Angel.** In *3 Enoch,* Enoch ascends to heaven and is transformed into the angel Metatron, God's vicegerent, who is enthroned before God's hall (10:2z; 48[C]:8). God says: "Every secret I revealed to him as a father […]" (48[C]:7). Enoch-Metatron is called by several epithets of honor, even being given the name "the Little Yahweh" (12:5; 48[C]:7; 48[D]:1), but "Son (of God)" is not found.

In a fragment of the *Prayer of Joseph,* we come across a representation of an angel by the name of Israel, who is said to be a "ruling Spirit," the "Firstborn of every living thing," the "Archangel of the power of the Lord," the "Chief Captain among the sons of God," and the "First of those who serve before the Face of the Lord" (Or. *Jo.* 2:31). That the angel is said to be the "Firstborn of every living thing" derives from an exegesis of Exod 4:22, where God says: "Israel is My firstborn son." This verse could be referred to the patriarch Jacob, who was given the name Israel by God (*Jub.* 19:29; *Exod. Rab.* 19:7; *3 En.*

44:10). In the *Pr. Jos.*, the preexistent angel Israel, who is the chief "among the sons of God," explicitly identifies himself as having become manifested in the patriarch: "[…] I, Jacob, whom men call 'Jacob,' but whose name is 'Israel' […]."

Further evidence for the idea of a preexistent angelic Son of God may be found in the synagogal prayers which are imbedded in Books Seven and Eight of the *Apostolic Constitutions.* In the first prayer, God is thanked because of all the gifts he "gave to us through Jesus, Your Son" (7:26:3). The name "Jesus" is of course an interpolation, but perhaps not "through Your Son." The "Son" is possibly identical with the divine "Name" which God caused to dwell among the people (v 2; cf. Deut 12:5, 11). The intermediary may also have been present in the original version as the mediator of the work of creation (v 4).

In another prayer, it is said that God brought everything into being through his "only Son" (8:12:9). The continuation describes him as having been born before all ages, and characterizes him as "Divine Word, Living Wisdom, Firstborn of all creation, Angel of Your great counsel [cf. Isa 9:6 LXX], Your High Priest, both King and Lord of intelligible and perceptible nature, the one before all things, through whom are all things" (vv 9–11).

Although the possibility of a Christian redaction cannot be ruled out, it must be noted that Philo furnishes evidence for the usage of titles such as these in representations of the intermediary in Hellenistic Judaism. In one passage, the Alexandrian Jewish philosopher heaps various epithets upon the intermediary: "[…] God's Firstborn, the Word, who holds the eldership among the angels, their ruler as it were. And many names are his, for he is called 'Beginning,' 'Name of God,' His 'Word,' 'Man after His image,' and 'He that sees,' i.e., 'Israel' " (*Conf* 146). In another text, Wisdom (Sophia) is called "Beginning," "Image," and "Vision of God" (*Leg All* I: 43). The intermediary is also "High Priest" (*Migr* 102; *Fuga* 108–18; *Somn* 1:215; 2:183).

The many-named intermediary is also said to be God's "Son":he is God's "true Word and firstborn Son," who oversees the heavenly bodies whose courses regulate the life of the universe, "like a viceroy of a great king" (*Agr* 51); "the incorporeal Man, who is no other than the divine Image, [is] His eldest Son, whom He elsewhere calls 'Firstborn' and the 'Begotten One' […]" (*Conf* 62–63).

Philo also calls the material world God's "younger son," who can teach people about God (*Quod Deus* 31–32; *Ebr* 30; *Cher* 43–45). The "eldest and firstborn Son" is the "Word," which now is seen as the spiritual world of ideas. In this particular construal of the intermediary, a Platonic influence is seen at work, but there can be no doubt that one of the facets of the Philonic intermediary is an adaptation of a Jewish angelic figure with many names, one of which is "Son of God."

Pre-Christian evidence for this intermediary is also found in Sophianism. Wisdom is merged with the figure of the principal angel (Sir 24:4; Wisdom 10 [Fossum 1987:231, 236–37]), the hypostatized word of God (Wis 9:1–2), and the divine Spirit (Sir 24:3, 5–6; Wis 9:10, 17 [cf. the merger of word and angel in 18:15–6]).

Sophia is the daughter of God, having been brought forth by him (Prov 8:22–25; Sir 24:3; Wis 7:25; Philo, *Fuga* 50; *Virt* 62; *Quaes Gen* 4:97; cf. *Cher* 49–50). She can also be portrayed as God's wife (Wis 8:3; Philo, *Cher* 49–50), who shares his throne in the manner of the Near Eastern ruler (Wis 9:4, 10 [for Pharaoh as God's *synthronos*, see Widengren 1976:187, n. 8; for the Israelite king, see 1 Chr 28:5; 2 Chr 9:8; cf. Ps 80:1]).

A survey of some later evidence does not seem irrelevant. Justin Martyr is seen to be indebted to a Judaism like that of Philo, only less philosophical, when he refers all the OT theophanies and names of the divine attributes to the Son. In one passage, Justin says: "God has begotten as 'Beginning' before all His creatures a kind of rational Power from Himself that is also called by the Holy Spirit 'the Glory of the Lord,' and sometimes 'Son,' and sometimes 'Wisdom,' or 'Angel,' or 'God,' and 'Lord' and 'Word.' And on another occasion, he calls himself 'Captain,' when he appeared in human form to Joshua the son of Nun" (*Dial*. 61:1). In an even longer list of names, the apologist includes such names as "Man," "Angel of great counsel," and "Israel" (*Dial.* 126:1). Justin says that the angel bearing the name of Israel is the "Firstborn of all creation" and therefore "God" (*Dial.* 125:3–5). In another enumeration of names of

Christ, we also find "Priest" (*Dial.* 34:1). In all but one of Justin's lists of names of Christ (see also *Dial.* 62:2; 128:1–2; 1 *Apol.* 33:6), "Son" and "Angel" remain constant.

In the Similitudes of the *Shepherd of Hermas,* which is an adaptation of a Jewish writing, we find an intermediary identified variously as "Son of God" (5; 8–9), "Lord" (5; 9), "Holy Spirit" (5), the angel Michael (8), and the "glorious Man" (9). He appears as the leader of six other archangels (5; 9). If it be argued that Similitude 8 does not allow the inference that Michael is the same as the Son of God, a comparison of the Son in Similitudes 5 and 9 with the archangel shows at least that they are interchangeable. In *Sim.* 5:6:2–3, the Son is said to have been set over the people and to have given the Law. This is predicated of Michael in 8:2–3.

In Similitude 9, the Son is represented as very glorious and tall, and is ascribed with the function of judging the people. Michael is represented in the same way.

In Similitude 9, the "glorious Man," who is identified with the Son (12:8; cf. 6:1–3), is said to be the "Lord of the tower" (5:7; 7:1). This corresponds to the representation of Michael as the "Lord" of the people (8:3:3).

The pagan philosopher Celsus reports on certain prophets in Palestine and Syria who claimed to be "God, Son of God *(theou pais),* or a divine Spirit" (Or. *Cels.* 7:9). There does not seem to be a difference between these claims. In view of all the Jewish evidence surveyed above, it does not seem necessary to explain the assertions of these prophets in the light of Christian trinitarianism.

In the *Doctrine of Addai,* a work from Syrian Christianity, which is replete with Jewish Christian terms and concepts, it is said to Jesus: "Either you are God who has come down from heaven and does these things, or you are the Son of God, who does these things" (fol. 3a). In the *Acts of Thomas,* another work from the same provenance, the alternative runs: "This man is either God or the Apostle of God" (chap. 9). The equivalent of being God having come down to earth is to be his "Son" or "Apostle." The latter title is another designation for "Angel." Justin Martyr says: "Now the Word of God is the Son, as we have said before. And he is called 'Angel' and 'Apostle,' because he declares what we ought to know and is sent forth in order to make known whatever is revealed" (1 *Apol.* 63:5). The equivalence of "Angel" and "Apostle" derives from Judaism, where "Apostle" *(šaliaḥ)* could be used as a gloss for "Angel" (Bühner 1977:281–82, 323–34, 326–29). The "Son of God" is an angel sent by God.

**C. "Son of God" in the Greco–Roman World**

**1. The Hero.** Gods proper could of course be regarded as sons of another god (e.g., Apollon and Hermes were sons of Zeus). But heroes could also be called "Son of God." While Achilles, the son of the goddess Thetis and the hero Peleus, had to go to the realm of the dead, Dionysus and Heracles, both sons of Zeus by a human mother, attained the rank of the immortal gods. Dionysus, whose name probably means "Son of Zeus," and who was also called *Dioskuros,* "Child of Zeus" (*Hymn. Hom.* 33:1), was recognized as divine right from the birth, whereas Heracles had to struggle for recognition and attained apotheosis only at death.

Heracles was the prototype of the person who had to serve God and combat evil throughout life (Soph., *Trach.* 248–53; 274–78). Already Theocritus connects him with the expectation of an eternal peace (*Idu.* 24). In Pseudo-Seneca's dramas about Heracles, the hero is called "savior" *(sōtēr)* and "conqueror of the universe" *(pacator orbis)* (*Her. oet.* 1990), and represented as the victor over death and chaos (*Her. fur.* 889–902; *Her. oet.* 147–50). Heracles is here the model of the ruler who has "earned heaven by his deeds of valor," so that he can ask his Father for the "world" (*Her. oet.* 97–98 [Hengel 1976:25]). It is not surprising that Heracles in some Christian quarters was seen as a kind of forerunner of Christ.

In the philosophy of the Stoics and the Cynics, Heracles was a model of the moral person or even of the ascetic (Epict., *Diss.* 3:26:31). Since it was a Homeric phrase that Zeus was the "Father of men and gods" (*Il.* 1:544; *Od.* 1:28; *et al.*), Epictetus also asserts that Heracles knew his own Father, Zeus, to be the Father of all humans (*Diss.* 3:24.16). Heracles mythology has here been used to convey the Stoic idea that all people are children of God. This is found already in Chrysippus and Cleanthes, and is worked out by Cicero and, especially, by Epictetus (*TDNT* 8:337). However, people had to realize this fact (Epict., *Diss.* 1:3).

**2. The "Divine Man.**" Lucian calls Heracles "Divine Man and God" *(theios anēr kai theos)* (*Cyn.* 13). Men whose gifts and acts were above normal were called "divine" *(theios)* and even regarded as gods. Already Empedocles says of himself that he is seen as a god (von Martitz *TDNT* 8:338–39). Pompey is called "Divine Man" *(homo divinus)* and said to have descended from heaven (Cicero, *De imp. Cn. Pomp.* 14:41; *Ad Quint. fr.* 1:1:2:7). The title "Son of God," however, is not used of these people.

Certain physicians were known as "sons" *(paides, hyioi)* of God, but the phrase is here entirely functional and designates these men as disciples of Asclepius, the god of their guild (*TDNT* 8:336 and 337, n. 18). On the other hand, it must be kept in mind that divine origin was predicated of certain famous individuals, e.g., Pythagoras and Plato (*TDNT* 8:339). These men were called "divine."

From a later period, we have the evidence about Apollonius of Tyana, the miracle-working Neo-Pythagorean peripatetic philosopher, who was said to be the son of Zeus (Philostr., *VA* 1:6). Lucian of Samosata ridicules Apollonius' pupil, Alexander of Abonuteichos, for claiming to be the offspring of Podaleirus, the son of Asclepius (*Alex.* 11; 14; 18; 35; 39–40 [Hengel 1976:31, n. 61]).

It was also held that any man might become divine, or realize his inherent divinity, through initiation into certain mysteries. The Hermetic tractate on rebirth teaches that every man through regeneration can become "a god, a child of God" *(theos theou pais)* (*Corp. Herm.* 13.2).

**3. The Ruler.** The Hellenistic–Roman kingship ideology was taken over from the East. But there were certain antecedents in Greece. The Spartan general Lysander was venerated as divine after his victory over the Athenians in 404 and was accorded a cult in Samos (Plut., *Lys.* 18). In the 4th century, the tyrant Clearchos of Heraclea styled himself "Son of Zeus" (Memnon *apud* Photius, *Bibl.* 224). But the big watershed was in the year 331, when Alexander the Great was called the "Son of Ammon" by an oracle in the Libyan desert. In Greek terminology, this meant that he was the son of Zeus (Plut., *Alex.* 27–28). Alexander addressed Zeus as his "Father" (Arrian., *Anab.* 7.8.3) and was said to have been engendered by him (Plut., *Alex.* 2–3; *et al.* [Pokorný 1971:15]). Plutarch asserts that Alexander regarded his apotheosis as politically pragmatical (*Dial. mort.* 14), deriving the idea from that of the divine sonship of all men (*Alex.* 27).

The Ptolemaic rulers were styled "Savior God" *(theos sōtēr)* and "Son of Helios" (*TDNT* 8:336). They could also trace their ancestry to Dionysus. The Seleucide rulers and the smaller Greek kings in the East claimed the title "God" *(theos).* Seleucus' father was said to be Apollon (Just. 15.4).

In Ephesus, Caesar was declared "God Manifest" and "Savior" of all humankind. Two years after his death, he was declared *divus Iulius,* the "deified Julius" or even the "divine Julius," in Rome. He may even have been held to be the high god himself, as is suggested by the name *Iuppiter Iulius* (Dio Cass., *Hist.* 44.6.4). Like the temples of the gods, Caesar's temple was an asylum (Dio Cass., *Hist.* 47.19). His statue was placed among the statues of the gods in Pantheon (Dio Cass., *Hist.* 53.27.3).

Octavianus, Caesar's adopted son, was *divi filius,* "son of the deified" or "son of the divine," but his names "Caesar" and "Augustus" (the latter often being used as a divine epithet, e.g., of Hercules) associated him closely with divinity (*PW* 4:828). Virgil even called him *deus,* "God" (*Ecl.* 1.7.1–2). He was said to be the son of Apollo by direct engendering (Suet., *Aug.* 94.4; Dio Cass., *Hist.* 45.1.2).

In the East, this kind of phraseology was common. A stele in Pergamum reads "emperor Caesar, Son of God *(theou hyios),* God Augustus" (Deissmann 1923:295). In a resolution in Augustus' honor passed by the provincial assembly in Asia Minor, the emperor is hailed as a "savior" *(sōtēr)* sent to humankind. It is also said that "since the birthday of God [i.e., Augustus] has been for the whole world the beginning of the gospel *(euangelion)* concerning him, let all reckon a new era beginning from the date of his birth" (Deissmann 1923:313).

The Oriental expectation of a world savior as seen fulfilled by Augustus was also adopted by the Romans. The "great Progeny of Jupiter" ushering in the golden age in Virgil's 4th Ecloge is probably Augustus, or his son (*PW* 4:829–30). The Roman poet ascribes the same function to the emperor in *Aen.* 6.791–807.

Horace hailed Augustus as the god Mercury, who had been appointed by Jupiter as an "instrument" of "atonement" on behalf of the Romans for their murder of Caesar. He addressed the pre-incarnated

emperor thus: "Put on the mortal shape of a young Roman; Descend and well contented to be known; As Caesar's avenger; Stay gladly and long with the people of Romulus; Delay your homeward, skybound journey" (*Ode* 1.2.41–45).

Ruler ideology is probably also to be found behind the legend of Romulus, Mars' son, who, after having been killed, came back to life and was witnessed to have ascended to heaven (Hengel 1976:38–39).

Some of Augustus' successors were hesitant vis-à-vis the cult of their person, but the idea of the divinity of the Roman emperor had come to stay (*PW* 4:833–53). Already under Gaius (Caligula), who claimed to be the incarnation of different gods, cult of the living emperor became a duty.

**D. "Son of God" in the NT**

**1. The Case of the Historical Jesus.** Jesus spoke of God as people's "Dad (dy)," using the diminutive form *ʾabbâ* (Mark 14:36 [Gal 4:6 and Rom 8:15 show that this memory was preserved]), which appears to have been quite unusual (Jeremias 1966:59–67). As Hahn (1964:321–29) and others have shown, it is improbable that Jesus also spoke of God as "my Father," thereby claiming a unique relationship with God. Matt 11:27 = Luke 10:22, where Jesus says that "all things" (= "all authority" [Matt 28:18]) have been delivered to him by his Father, the only one who knows him and who is known only by him and the ones to whom he chooses to reveal him, is a strongly literary passage and markedly different from other passages telling us anything about the self-consciousness of the historical Jesus. On the basis of this universal authority, Jesus can reveal the Father. Scholars have suggested a background in wisdom tradition or apocalypticism including Qumran (Pokorný 1971:30–31).

While Matt 11:27 = Luke 10:22 portrays Jesus as God's representative as well as his subordinate, Mark 13:32 ("[…] not even the angels, nor the Son, but only the Father" knows the last day) teaches the full subordination of the Son. But the intimate relationship between "the Father" and "the Son" is still present (the Son is closer to God than the angels). There is a tension between this absolute usage of "the Father," which corresponds to that of "the Son," and the words of Jesus about "your Father." Mark 13:32 as well as Matt 11:27 = Luke 10:22 is a clear Christological limitation of the Father name of God.

In Matt 28:18–20, the commission of the resurrected Jesus to the disciples to go and baptize people "in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" follows upon the word about all authority having been given to the Son. The title "the Son" has here found a new place in the baptismal liturgy, and the association of "the Father" and "the Son" has been expanded into a formula containing the names of all the three persons in the divine economy.

In the parable of the vineyard, Jesus speaks about the sending and killing of the owner's "beloved son" (Mark 12:6), in whom the readers are supposed to see Jesus himself (Mark 1:11; 9:7). The allegorical traits of this parable point clearly to the Christology of the community (Kümmel 1965:214–30).

**2. The "Son of God" as the Heavenly Messiah.** Since the other honorifics of Jesus were first used with reference to his eschatological function, it stands to reason that also "Son of God," which was closely associated with royal messianism, had the same primary usage (Hahn 1964:284–92). In his earliest letter, Paul speaks of the expectation of God's "Son from heaven, whom He [i.e., God] raised from the dead" (1 Thess 1:10). It has been suggested that this originally was a saying about the Son of Man which Paul reinterpreted for his Hellenistic community (Friedrich 1965:502–16). A merger of the messianic figure of the Son of God and the eschatological Son of Man is found in the account of the process against Jesus, where the high priest asks: "Are you the Christ [= Messiah], the Son of the Blessed?" (Mark 14:61). Whether or not the original text read that Jesus gave an unequivocally affirmative answer (the versions differ), the continuation of his reply implies that he is the Son of Man who will be seen "seated at the right of the Power and coming with the clouds of heaven." The text takes "the Son of the Blessed," a phrase which contains a circumlocution for the name of God, as a messianic designation and explains the function of the Messiah by reference to his enthronement by the side of God and return as the eschatological Son of Man.

Rev 2:18 describes the "Son of God" with colors from the portrait of the "one like a son of man" in Rev 1:13–15. Rev 19:11–6, which uses the same colors to depict the figure of the eschatological "King," cites Ps 2:9.

1 Thess 1:10 links the advent of the Son of God from heaven to his resurrection. Mark 14:62, although speaking of Messias futurus, does not mention explicitly the ascension but describes Jesus as a heavenly being with reference to Ps 110:1 and Dan 7:13 (and Ps 80:17 [Seitz 1973:481–85]?). In Peter's Pentecost sermon, Ps 110:1 is cited with reference to the ascension of Jesus (Acts 2:34–35). Being seated at the right of God, he was made "both Lord and Christ [= Messiah]" (v 36). During his lifetime, Jesus was only Messias designatus, "a man attested to you by God with mighty works and wonders and signs […]" (v 22).

In Paul's speech in Pisidian Antioch, it is Ps 2:7, the other enthronement text in the OT, which is cited with reference to the resurrection of Jesus (Acts 13:33). In the beginning of Romans 1, Paul quotes an old confession formula saying that Jesus "was descended from David according to the flesh and designated Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead […]" (vv 3–4). During his life as a Davidide, Jesus was Messias designatus; it was first upon his ascension that he was made the messianic "Son of God in power."

The idea that Jesus was installed as the messianic Son of God upon his ascension appears to have been arrived at by the adaptation of the tradition that an individual could ascend to heaven and become the "Son of God," an angelic being or even the divine Glory (see above, sec. B.3 and 4, the beginning). The Son of Man, with whom Jesus as the heavenly Messiah appears to have been merged at the oldest stage of this layer of tradition, would in fact seem to have been the principal angel or even the Glory of God (Fossum 1985:279).

**3. Installation as "Son of God" on Earth.** The account of the transfiguration, according to which Jesus was identified by a heavenly voice as "My beloved Son" (Mark 9:7), may have been an original resurrection story (Bultmann 1957:278). However, it may also be a text describing Jesus' installation as the eschatological king (Riesenfeld 1947:182–220, 223–25, 303–6) already during his human life.

Jesus' installation as the Son of God was also pushed back to the beginning of his earthly ministry in order to include this in the rule promised to David. Coming up out of the waters of the Jordan, the heavens were opened, the Spirit descended upon him in the form of a dove, and a heavenly voice said: "You are My beloved Son, with thee I am well pleased" (Mark 1:11). Baptism or ritual washing was part of the royal installation. Upon his accession to the throne, pharaoh was washed with water from a sacred pool representing the primordial waters out of which the sun god was born. When pharaoh came forth begotten out of the water, the sun god had to recognize him as his son (Blackmann 1918:153–57). 1 Kgs 1:33–34 relates that Solomon was anointed king at the well of Gihon; perhaps he was washed as well as anointed. Ps 110:7 says that the king at his enthronement "drinks from the brook." Drinking was part of ablution rituals. In the Mesopotamian *bit rimki* ritual, the king not only washed his mouth with water (and beer), but was also cleansed with "clean water" (Widengren 1976:215–16). During his installation as the eschatological high priest (-king), Levi was washed with "clean water" (*T. Levi* 8:5).

That the Spirit appears in the form of a dove is explicable against the background of the Near Eastern idea that the power which filled the king was represented in the figure of a bird. In Persia, the bird actually was a dove (Bultmann 1957:266).

The unction, which belonged to the Semitic enthronement ritual, conveyed the Spirit of God (1 Sam 16:13). In Luke 4:18, Jesus cites the beginning of the royal hymn in Isaiah 61: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, for He has anointed me […]" (v 1). That this refers to the baptism of Jesus is seen from Peter's speech in Acts 10, where it is said that the word of God went forth "after the baptism which John preached: how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and power […]" (vv 37–38).

The words of the heavenly voice recite Isa 42:1 as well as Ps 2:7 (the latter text being quoted verbatim in the parallel in Luke 3:22 Codex D [Bezae], some Itala mss, and many Fathers). In the former text, the beginning of the first of the songs about the Suffering Servant of Yahweh, God says: "Behold My Servant, whom I uphold, My Chosen, in whom My soul delights; I have put My Spirit upon him […]." The Heb text reads *ʿebêd*, which means "servant," while the LXX has *pais*, which means "son" as well as "servant." Even if Isa 42:1 LXX was the sole scriptural support for Mark, it does not have to follow that the heavenly voice originally identified Jesus as the Suffering Servant. Whoever the Servant is intended to

be, the song is held in the style of ANE royal hymnology (Widengren 1969:368). As has been seen above (sec. B.1), "Servant" as well as "Son" was a royal title (for "Servant" as a kingly title, see also 2 Sam 3:18; Ps 89:3; Ezek 34:23). The Targum reads: "My Servant, the Messiah […], My Chosen One, in whom My word has delight" (cf. Targum Isa 43:10, "My Servant, the Messiah, in whom I have My delight"). The close parallelism between Mark 1:10–11 and the eschatological prophecies about the priestly and the kingly Messiah in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (see above, sec. B.1) shows that Mark's unambiguous *hyios*, "Son," is the appropriate term.

In the LXX, "beloved" can translate "only" (Gen 22:2, 12, 16 ["your beloved son," i.e., Isaac]; Ps 127:2; Jer 6:26). *T. Levi* 18:6 compares the priestly Messiah to Isaac (and God's "fatherly voice" to that of Abraham), but there is really no other non-Christian evidence for Isaac as a type of the Messiah (but see Rom 8:32).

In quoting Isa 42:1, Matt 12:18 substitutes "Beloved" for "Chosen." The former as well as the latter was a Semitic royal title (for the latter, see Dhorme 1910:150–52; 2 Sam 21:6; Ps 89:4). Although the term "Beloved" in Mark 1:11 is an adjective and no second title, it has to be understood in the light of the royal titulary. As a matter of fact, "Beloved" was also used as an adjective. Thus, Mesilim of Kish was said to be the "Beloved Son of Ninhursaga" *(dumu-ki-ǧ-$^{d}$nin-ḫur-saga)* (Sjöberg 1972:87 [for further Mesopotamian evidence, see Dhorme 1910:164–66]). Pharaoh Thutmosis is the "Beloved of Hathor" (Gardiner 1957:72). Solomon the king is "loved" by God (2 Sam 12:24; Neh 13:26). Targum Ps 2:7 reads: "Beloved as a son is to his father you are to Me."

The words that God is "well pleased" with the Son also have parallels in royal ideology. At the installation of Hatshepsut, Re introduces her to the divine assembly and says: "Behold My daughter Hatshepsut; she lives! I love her; I am well pleased with her! (Sethe 1914:113). As has been seen above, the Targumic versions of Isa 42:1 and 43:10 read that God has found delight in the Messiah.

**4. The Sending of the Preexistent "Son of God" from Heaven.** At an early stage, Jesus was even conceived of as the preexistent Son who had been "sent" by God into the world in order to bring salvation to humankind (Gal 4:4–5; Rom 8:3–4; cf. John 3:17; 1 John 4:9, 14). Schweizer (*TDNT* 8:375) has explained this notion against the background of Hellenistic Jewish ideas about God's personified word and wisdom. Now the divine Word is called God's "Son" by Philo, but is not said to have been "sent" into the world, while Sophia in Wisdom 9 is said to have been "sent" (the sending of Sophia and the Spirit in vv 10 and 17 corresponds to that of the Son and the Spirit in Gal 4:4–6), but is not the "Son" of God. We should therefore also take into account that the many-named intermediary in Hellenistic Judaism could be represented as an angel and called the "Son" of God (see above, sec. B.4). Angels were "sent" by God (Gen 19:13; Exod 23:20; Mal 3:1 [cf. 4:5, where the eschatological angel is identified as Elijah, whom God will "send" back to earth]; Tob 12:20 [which is similar to John 7:33 and 16:5, where Jesus says that he will return to the one who has "sent" him]). They could therefore be called "Sent Ones," "Apostles" (see above, sec. B.4, the end).

Furthermore, the idea of the preexistence of the Messiah should be taken into account. The "Man" - Messiah in 4 Ezra 13:26 is said to have been kept by God "for many ages" (cf. 12:32). The "son of man" figure in *1 Enoch*, who is identified as the Messiah (48:10; 52:4), is said to have been brought into being before the world (48:2–3, 6; 62:7). Pesikta R. 36:1 takes the primal light of creation in Gen 1:3 to be the light of the Messiah which God conceals under his throne. This tradition may be quite old, for already Aristobulus takes the light to be Sophia (apud Eus. *Praep. Ev.* 13.12.9–11), and Philo identifies it as the divine Word (*Somn* 1.75). Pesikta R. 33:6 says that the Messiah is preexistent. The proof being advanced is Gen 1:2, since Isa 11:2 says that the Spirit of God will rest upon the "messianic" king. In the 3d century C.E., Simeon ben Lakish took Gen 1:2 to speak of the "Spirit of the Messiah" (*Gen. Rab.* 2:4 [Hengel 1976:70–71]).

The Jewish Sibyl calls the Messiah "a certain king sent from God" (5.108 [cf. the sending of kings in 3.286 and 652, where the Messiah is probably not indicated]). The Messiah comes from heaven (5.414 [cf. 256, which may be part of the Jewish groundwork, although the next line possibly reveals Christian influence]).

The idea of the preexistence of the Messiah could find some support in the OT. Mic 5:2 states that the Messiah's "origin is from old, from ancient days" (LXX: "from the beginning, from the days of the aion"). Ps 89:28—Eng v 27, which was applied to the Messiah by R. Nathan (see above, sec. B.1), says that God calls the king his "firstborn." The LXX reads *prōtotokos,* which is similar to *prōtogonos,* an epithet which both Philo and the *Prayer of Joseph* bestow upon the preexistent intermediary (see above, sec. B.4 [cf. Col 1:15, where the "Son" of God is *prōtotokos*]).

**5. The Use of the Title by Individual NT Authors.** According to Paul, God sent his Son in order to set people free from slavery under the elemental spirits of the universe and the Law (Gal 4:3–5; Rom 8:2–4). People were thereby made sons of God by adoption and received the Spirit, through which they could cry: "Abba! Father!" (Gal 4:5–6; Rom 8:15). In the end, they would be "conformed to the image of His Son" (Rom 8:29). The specific act through which the Son effected the salvation was his death on the cross (Gal 2:20; Rom 8:3, 32 [cf. Hengel 1976:7–15]).

The title "Son of God" is a clue to the identity of Jesus in the gospel of Mark. It is found already in the first verse of the work (accepting the reading of Codex Sinaiticus[a], B, D, etc.), which is matched by the exclamation of the Roman soldier centurion at the cross (15:39). Jesus is solemnly declared to be the Son of God by a heavenly voice at two crucial points in his career, i.e., when he is installed as the Messiah (1:11) and right after the confession of Peter before the disciples that Jesus is the Messiah (9:7 [cf. above, sec. D.3]).

The exclamation of the demons that Jesus is the "Son of God" (3:11; 5:17) has another derivation, for the Messiah was not expected to expel demons. The appeal to the miracle-working "divine men" in the Greco–Roman world would not seem to be of any avail, because the pregnant title "Son of God" does not seem to have been applied to those people (see above, sec. C.2). Now in the mouth of the demons, the "Holy One of God" appears to be a parallel title to that of the Son of God (1:24). In Ps 89:5–7, "Holy Ones" and "Sons of God" are parallel titles, designating the members of God's council (see above, sec. A.3). In Zech 14:5, it is foretold that on the Day of the Lord, "God will come, and all the Holy Ones with Him" (the prophecy is repeated in *1 Enoch* 1:9 and Jude 14). Obviously, at the turn of our era, both "Son(s) of God" and "Holy One(s) of God" were regarded as angelic names. The demons' identification of Jesus as the "Holy One of God" and the "Son of God" fits into the Jewish Christian tradition which regarded the miracle-worker as an angelic "Apostle" or "Son of God," the figure of whom has been met with in the *Acts of Thomas* and the *Doctrine of Addai* (see sec. B.4, the end).

Although the title of the Son of God reached Mark from different sources, it is clear that he attaches a unique significance to it. The demons are adjured to be silent; so are the disciples after the confession of Peter. It is only through his death that the deeper meaning of the divine sonship of Jesus can be grasped (cf. 15:39).

In Matthew, it is not the demons but only the disciples who proclaim that Jesus is the Son of God (14:33; 16:16). As is shown by Peter's confession, it is a title of the Messiah (cf. 26:63). The title implies service of God (3:17–4:10). Suffering is involved. The leaders of the Jews mockingly ask why God does not deliver Jesus from the cross, since he claims to be the Son of God (27:43). This reflects Wis 2:12–20, where the righteous, claiming to be the "Son" and "Servant" of God his "Father," is oppressed, tortured, and killed by the ungodly, who mock him for believing that he will be vindicated in the end by God (*TDNT* 8:378). In the Sermon on the Mount, the believers demonstrating God's will and love are promised the status as God's "sons" (5:10, 45 = Luke 6:35).

The title "Son of God" in the temptation narrative is a name of a miracle-worker (Matt 4:3 = Luke 4:3; Matt 4:6 = Luke 4:9). A Moses-Israel typology has been pointed out by Dupont (1956/57:287–304). Now Moses, who was known to be a great miracle-worker, bore the title "Son of the house of God." As was pointed out above, this title, which also belonged to Honi, another miracle-worker, indicated angelic status (see sec. B.3). Exod 4:22, where Israel is called the "firstborn son" of God, could be referred to the principal angel (see above, sec. B.4). Thus, we again come across the Jewish Christian notion of Jesus as a miracle-working angelic "Son of God."

Luke does not assign any significant role to the title "Son of God" (*RAC* 12:49). It is an equivalent to "the Christ," the latter being preferred above the former, as can be seen when comparing Luke's text to the parallels in Mark and Matthew (Luke 9:20; 22:67–70; 23:47).

In the Annunciation, Jesus is identified as the Son of God and the heir to the throne of David (1:32–33, 35). Here Hellenistic "divine man" and ruler ideology have been merged with messianism, for virgin birth was not predicated of the Messiah (in spite of the fact that Isa 7:14 LXX reads "virgin" where the MT has "young woman" [for the verse, see above, sec. A.1, the end]). Now the "divine men" and the imperial "sons" of God were seen as the progeny of a god, either by direct engendering or by a woman, so there is no exact parallel to what is related by Luke. However, we should consider Plutarch's report that the Egyptians believed that the spirit of a god could work the beginnings of a new life in a woman (*Numa* 4).

John agrees with Paul that the purpose of the sending of the prexistent Son of God was his death for the salvation of humankind (3:16–17; 10:11; 11:51–52; 13; 15; 1 John 4:10). Like Paul (Gal 3:26), John emphasizes faith as the condition for becoming God's son or child (1:12). Again like Paul, John holds that the Spirit is instrumental in this birth (3:5, 6, 8).

In John, God is called "Father" about 120 times. Jesus is " (the) Son" /"Son of God" 27 times. The correlation Father/Son suggests itself. The full title "Son of God" is found primarily in confession-like formulas (1:34, 49; 20:31; also in 1 John 4:15; chap. 5; 2 John 3). While "Son of God" is associated with "the Father" only twice (5:25; 10:36), "the Son," which is found 18 times, is virtually always correlated with the idea of God as Father. The intimacy between the Father and the Son is thereby emphasized (1:18; 3:35–36; 5:19–26; 6:40; 8:35–36; 14:13; 17:10). The Son does only what the Father wants him to do; he is thus a true revelation of God.

The basic theme of Hebrews is the "representative atoning suffering of the Son" (Hengel 1976:87), who is a preexistent divine being standing above the angels. Old notions about the Near Eastern priest-king are revived in order to explain his work. In contrast to the priest-king, however, Jesus sacrificed himself (9:12, 25; 10:10). He then took his seat at the right hand of God (1:2–3; 10:12–13). Denial of the Son of God by those who have been purged by his death is unforgivable (6:6; 10:29).

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JARL FOSSUM

## SON OF MAN

[Heb *ben ʾādām* (בֶּן אָדָם)*;* Aram *bar ʾĕnāš* (בַּר אֱנָשׁ);Gk *(ho) huios (tou) anthrōpou* (ὁ υἱος του ἀνθρωπου)]. A Semitic expression that typically individualizes a noun for humanity in general by prefacing it with "son of," thus designating a specific human being, a single member of the human species. Its meaning can be as indefinite as "someone" or "a certain person." Used in Dan 7:13–14 to describe a cloud-borne humanlike figure, the expression—or at least the figure so designated in Daniel—became traditional in some forms of Jewish and early Christian speculation which anticipated a transcendent eschatological agent of divine judgment and deliverance. In the NT that agent is almost universally identified with the risen Jesus. This survey will treat Jewish and Christian texts that use the term "son of man," as well as texts that develop and elaborate the tradition in Daniel 7 without retaining that expression.

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**A. The OT Apart from Daniel 7**

With the exception of Daniel 7 (see below), the singular *ben ʾādām* occurs in the Hebrew Bible only in poetic parallelism and in the book of Ezekiel.

**1. In Poetic Parallelism.** It appears fourteen times, in synonymous poetic parallelism, always in the second half, as an emphatic counterpart to words designating "man" or "human being" (usually *ʾîš, ʾĕnāš, geber* (Num 23:19; Isa 51:12; 56:2; Jer 49:18, 33; 50:40; 51:43; Ps 8:5—Eng 8:4; 80:18—Eng 80:17; 146:3; Job 16:21; 25:6; 35:8). The emphasis in some of these texts is on human beings' difference from God, as well as their mortality and undependability (cf. 1QS 11:20; 1QH 4:30). This appears to undercut the common assertion that *ben ʾādām* is in itself a "lofty" designation for human beings. An evident exception is Ps 8:5 (cf. Ps 80:18), but the point is precisely the paradox that God "is mindful of" man and crowns "the son of man" like a king. This text is noteworthy, nonetheless, because its combination of Gen 1:26–28 with the version of the Eden story behind Ezek 28:12–18—where the first man appears to have been a king—makes it particularly apt to be conflated, in Christian tradition, with Dan 7:13–14 (see below C.6.b, e).

**2. Ezekiel.** Ninety-three times in Ezekiel, God addresses the prophet as "son of man" (Heb *ben ʾādām*). Interpreters disagree as to whether the expression emphasizes the prophet's mere human status before God or his lofty privilege as *the* man singled out from the rest of the people to be addressed by God and sent as the divine messenger.

**B. Early Jewish Texts**

Paradoxically, a generic term meaning "human being" develops a theological aura and, eventually, a set of highly technical meanings. At the root of this development is the single occurrence of *bar ʾĕnāš* in Daniel 7, a text almost unequaled for its influence on both Jewish and Christian messianic speculations in the crucial period up to 100 C.E.

**1. Daniel 7.** Broad consensus sees this chapter as the product of a complex history of tradition with deep roots in non-Israelite mythology. Opinions differ widely, however, on the details of the tradition's history. Where in the ANE are its mythic roots to be found? Was the Israelite form of the text created in one piece? If not, where are the literary seams, and when should one date the creation of the earlier stage or stages? The present discussion will focus on the whole of Daniel 7 as an intelligible unit that dates in its present form and context from the time of the Jews' persecution by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (167–164 B.C.E.) and will emphasize elements that illuminate later Jewish and Christian developments of the tradition.

Daniel 7 divides into two major parts: Daniel's vision (vv 1–14) and its angelic interpretation (vv 15–27). As elsewhere in Daniel 7–12, action occurs on two levels, earth and heaven, both of which are described with strong mythic imagery. Essential to the action is a conflict between the chaotic forces, depicted as fearsome beasts that arise from the primordial deep, and the divine King and his heavenly entourage. The beasts are interpreted as kingdoms (v 17 LXX—MT v 23), and the conflict is for sovereignty over the earth.

The vision focuses on the fourth beast and the blasphemies spoken by its eleventh horn (vv 7–8). The situation is resolved when the white-haired Deity ("the Ancient of Days") convenes the heavenly court for judgment (vv 9–12). The beast is condemned and slain, and its body is destroyed and given over to be burned; dominion is taken away from the other three beasts. The heavenly action concludes when "one like a son of man" is conveyed to the courtroom, where he is presented to the Ancient of Days and is given eternal and indestructible "dominion, glory, and kingship" over "all peoples, nations, and languages" (vv 13–14).

According to the angel's interpretation, which picks up key words and phrases in the vision, the enthronement of the "one like a son of man" means that "the holy ones of the Most High" or "the people

*(ʿam)* of the holy ones of the Most High" will be given "kingship and dominion and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven" forever (vv 18, 22, 27).

Although scholars debate the meaning of almost every element in the vision and interpretation, the following seems the best explanation. "Son of man" is not a formal title, but a designation used in a simile ("*one like* a son of man"), quite possibly to contrast the cloud-borne figure with the beasts. But although this figure has the appearance of a human being, it is, in fact, a heavenly figure (cf. Dan 9:21; 10:5 and in Ezek 1:26 of God), one of the holy ones, who is the patron of the suffering people of the holy ones of the Most High. The relationship of this heavenly figure to suffering righteous Israel is analogous to the relationship between the angelic prince Michael and "your people" in Dan 10:13, 21; 12:1, although in the latter passages Michael has a judicial function not possessed by the one like a son of man. The heavenly enthronement of the one like a son of man will involve Israel's earthly supremacy over all the nations (cf. 1QM 17:5–8).

Although the one like a son of man is never called "king" or "anointed one" (messiah), this heavenly figure is given royal powers and prerogatives ("dominion, glory, and kingship"), and all nations will "serve" him and the people of the holy ones. This terminology repeats the ideas expressed in Dan 2:44; 3:29; 4:1–3, 34–35; 5:19–21; 6:26. Like chaps. 2–6, this vision and its interpretation depict a conflict between earthly kings and the divine Monarch and the latter's ultimate triumph and sovereignty. Different from those chapters, here the bearer of that sovereignty is the enthroned heavenly patron of the people of God who have suffered at the hands of the kings, who have rebelled against heaven—notably Antiochus IV (cf. chap. 3 and 4:27).

Especially significant for subsequent Jewish and Christian interpretations of the tradition is the sequence of events in the vision. The judgment of the fourth beast and his destruction are functions of the heavenly court (v 11); only after this has happened and after a clear break and transition in the text (v 13a), do we hear of the appearance, presentation, and enthronement of the one like a son of man.

The closest known analogies to this chapter's mythic imagery are in Canaanite and Mesopotamian sources. The description of the heavenly court in vv 9–10 and the presentation of one like a son of man also have an earlier, 3d century B.C.E. Israelite counterpart in *1 Enoch* 14:8–24, where Enoch is transported to the heavenly throne room to be commissioned as a prophet.

**2. The Parables of Enoch** (*1 Enoch* 37–71). This major section of the corpus known as *1 Enoch* attests a crucial step in the development of the tradition in Daniel 7. Although these chapters also transmit and rework traditional material from *1 Enoch* 1–36, their uniqueness within the Enochic corpus lies in a series of heavenly tableaux that depict an unfolding drama whose protagonist is a transcendent figure known as "the righteous one," "the chosen one," "the anointed one," and "this/that son of man," who functions as champion of "the righteous and the chosen" and as judge of their antagonists, "the kings and the mighty."

The date of these chapters is disputed. Some scholars argue that the Parables are post-Christian, and even of Christian origin, while others point to a few details that suggest composition in the late 1st century B.C.E. However one dates the Parables in their present form, their traditions about the heavenly deliverer differ from Daniel 7 in distinctive ways that are paralleled in other Jewish texts and in NT gospel traditions about the son of man.

The Parables' portrait of this agent of deliverance draws much of its language and imagery from three biblical sources or traditional interpretations of these sources. The basic texts are: Daniel 7; Isaiah 11 and Psalm 2; Isaiah 42, 49, and 52–53. Through the use and elaboration of this material, the author has created a composite figure whom he considers to be the referent in texts about the heavenly one like a son of man, the Davidic king, and Second Isaiah's servant of the Lord.

The identification of these figures with one another is understandable; for all their differences, their characteristics and functions can be seen to be compatible and complementary. According to Psalm 2, the Davidic king, the Lord's anointed and son, will exact divine judgment on the rebellious kings and rulers of the earth, whose kingdoms will be given to him as his "inheritance" and "possession." Isaiah 11 emphasizes the royal function of judgment. In Second Isaiah, the servant of the Lord has traits elsewhere ascribed to the Davidic king. The Spirit of the Lord rests on him so that he is an agent of justice for the

lowly (Isa 42:1–4; cf. Isa 11:2–5). His word is likened to a weapon (49:2; cf. 11:4). He is God's chosen one and servant (42:1; cf. Ps 89:3, 19–20; [4, 20–21 Heb]). He is exalted (52:13–15) in the presence of kings and rulers (ibid.; cf. 49:7), although they are not his opponents as in Psalm 2. In Daniel 7, after the judgment that destroys or neutralizes opposing monarchs and kingdoms, the heavenly one like a son of man is enthroned as the bearer of God's royal power and dominion. That Second Isaiah and the author of Daniel 7 ascribed, respectively, to the servant of the Lord and the one like a son of man the status and some of the functions traditionally attributed to the Davidic king is not surprising; this king is of marginal significance in Second Isaiah (Isa 55:4–5, "witness, leader, commander," and contrast 45:1, Cyrus, the Lord's anointed) and is not even mentioned in Daniel.

The first Parable (*1 Enoch* 37–44) begins by anticipating the appearance of "the Righteous One" (38:2). Here and in chaps. 52–53, this epiphany recalls the theophany in *1 Enoch* 1–5, and this indicates that the Righteous and Chosen One will function as the agent of God's judgment (38:3). "Righteous One" is a title of the servant in Isa 53:11. In *1 Enoch* 38, as throughout, the opponents are the kings and mighty, the exalted and powerful, who possess the earth and oppress the righteous and chosen. In chap. 39, Enoch sees the dwelling of the Chosen One of righteousness and faith (cf. Isa 11:5) in the heavenly court, among the angels and holy ones (cf. Daniel 7).

In the second Parable, chap. 46 takes up the tradition in Daniel 7. Enoch sees one who has "a head of days" (hereafter he is called "the Head of Days") and with him, one who has the appearance of a man and a gracious face like the angels. The term "son of man" is introduced. Here and throughout the Parables (with the exception of 69:27), the term is qualified: "this/that son of man" or "the son of man who …," but, as is often the case in Ethiopic, which has no definite article, the demonstratives, "this" and "that," very likely reproduce the article in the earlier Greek form of the Parables. Thus, the text refers back to a known "son of man," the one already introduced. But even if this definite usage does not indicate a traditional *title* received by this author, chaps. 46–47 leave no doubt that the *figure* is derived from Daniel 7, or, less likely, a common tradition. Because the whole of the Parables is set in heaven and because the narrative begins with the son of man already in the presence of the Deity, no mention is made, as in Daniel, of the son of man coming with the clouds of heaven.

In chap. 47 the heavenly court is seated (cf. Dan 7:10) not for judgment, but for intercession. Then a new scene unfolds. Among the many, inexhaustible fountains of wisdom (48:1; 49:1), the seer witnesses the naming of the son of man, which is described in the language of the servant's call in Isaiah 49 (*1 Enoch* 48). However, in a major difference from Isa 49:1, this naming is traced back not to the womb, but before the creation of the heavenly luminaries (48:3, 6; cf. 62:7, "from the beginning"). From that time, the son of man was hidden with God, but now God's wisdom has revealed him to the righteous, holy, and chosen ones. This language of heavenly, hidden preexistence and subsequent limited revelation indicates that the author's description of this unique heavenly figure has been influenced by Jewish speculations about Wisdom's preexistence, role in creation, and earthly embodiment in the Torah and its exposition (cf. Prov 8; Sir 24; Bar 3:9–4:4; and in the Parables, *1 Enoch* 42). Although the son of man is not identified *as* Wisdom, aspects of the Wisdom myth have colored the Parables' eclectic portrait of this heavenly figure. The description is further complicated in 48:8–49:4. Reference to "the kings of the earth" (the term occurs only here in the Parables) who "have denied the Lord of Spirits and his anointed one" (48:8, 10) recalls Ps 2:2. Then speaking of the Chosen One who stands before the Lord (cf. Dan 7:13), the author takes up the theme of two parallel passages in Isa 11:2–3 and Isa 42:1 and conflates their imagery in order to describe the spirit that will enable the Chosen One to judge rightly (*1 En.* 49: 1–4).

This judgment, anticipated again in 51:3; 55:4, is described in chaps. 62–63. This lengthy passage is a traditional reworking of Isa 52:13–53:12 (see below, B.3), and it also incorporates royal language and the term "son of man." The Lord places the Chosen One on the divine throne of glory (a Davidic royal term). As in Isaiah 52–53, the exaltation takes place in the presence and to the astonishment of the kings, who recognize the Chosen One and confess their sins. Different from Isaiah, here the kings and mighty are to be judged and condemned by the exalted one, who will slay them with the word of his mouth (62:2; cf. Isa 11:4 and its application to the Davidic heir in *Ps. Sol.* 17:27, 39). With this scene the heavenly drama

of judgment reaches its climax. Vindication comes for the persecuted righteous and chosen, when their heavenly champion condemns their oppressors. Thereafter they will enjoy eternal life in the presence of the son of man and the Lord of Spirits (62:13–16).

The Parables reflect the creative development and mutual modification of complementary traditions. Daniel's heavenly figure is here described in language taken from Davidic royal oracles and Deutero-Isaianic texts about the servant of the Lord. He is not, however, the bearer of God's eternal reign, as in Daniel 7. He is seated on the divine throne of glory in order to execute judgment (cf. 69:27–29). It is in order to describe this function, which Daniel does not attribute to the "one like a son of man," that this author employs language from the servant passages and royal oracles. Conversely, the humanity of the Davidic king is replaced by the transcendence of the heavenly son of man, and the human suffering experienced by the servant (Isa 50:6–9; 52:13–53:12)—and in some royal Psalms by the king—is here a characteristic of the righteous and chosen ones, the earthly clients of the heavenly Righteous One and Chosen One.

These developments reflect an ongoing tradition. With the Exile and the demise of the Davidic dynasty, Second Isaiah reshaped older traditions about king and prophet and applied them to the servant, a mysterious figure who personified Israel and also stood against the nation. The largely nonhistorical and mythical language of the servant passages lent itself to an interpretation about heavenly and cosmic exaltation and judgment, which could easily be co-opted into a dualistic, apocalyptic world view. Thus, the pseudonymous author of the Parables, standing in the apocalyptic traditions of *1 Enoch* 1–36, could conflate another part of his apocalyptic heritage, the heavenly enthronement scene in Daniel 7, with the royal traditions in Second Isaiah and their Davidic antecedents in Isaiah 11 and Psalm 2.

A dualism between earth and heaven and a revelation of the heavenly world are essential to the Parables, as they are to the rest of *1 Enoch.* These chapters profess to be a revelation of the hidden parts of heaven and earth, based on a journey to these remote regions. Central to the revelation are the events, places, and personages involved in the great judgment that will adjudicate the evils and injustices experienced by the author's community—the righteous and the chosen. In particular, the seer brings to his people the knowledge that they have a heavenly champion and vindicator. He is hidden from their eyes, but not from their knowledge, and essential to their righteousness is their belief that he exists in a heavenly realm that prepares for judgment and that he will appear in order to bring vindication and execute judgment. At that time, the kings and mighty who oppress them will see what hitherto they have neither seen nor believed: in the face of the Chosen One they will see the chosen ones whom they have persecuted; they will acknowledge the reality of the realm from which he came; they will recognize the inevitability of their own judgment.

In their present form, the Parables provide one final twist to the drama of the son of man. Chap. 71 recapitulates earlier traditions about Enoch's ascent (especially the commissioning scene in *1 Enoch* 14–16 and the journeys in 17–36) and conflates them with Daniel 7. Enoch is greeted by the Lord of Spirits, who identifies him as the protagonist in his own visions. He is the son of man born for righteousness. This turn of events is totally unexpected. Previously, there has been no hint that the heavenly deliverer had an earthly existence, much less that Enoch had been seeing visions about himself. The text is probably an addition to an earlier form of the Book of Parables, but an addition with important parallels.

**3. Wisdom of Solomon 1–6.** In this text from around the turn of the era, an author posing as Solomon admonishes the kings and rulers of the earth to practice justice because God rewards righteousness and punishes wickedness. Central to his exposition is the case of an unnamed righteous one, a typical figure who is persecuted and put to death by rich and powerful opponents, but vindicated in the heavenly court, where he stands among the angels and condemns his persecutors. The two scenes that depict his persecution and exaltation (chaps. 2 and 5) are cast in the language of Isaiah 52–53, and significant parallels to the judgment scene in *1 Enoch* 62–63 and to *1 Enoch* 46 indicate that Wisdom and the Parables present variants of a common exegetical tradition, which conflates the Isaianic servant passage with material from Isaiah 14 and identifies the kings of Isaiah 52–53 with the royal figure who storms heaven and is cast down to earth.

Also significant for a comparison with the Parables are elements in Wisdom that reflect royal traditions. The framework in Wisdom 1–6 addresses the kings and rulers in language closely paralleled in Psalm 2 (cf. 1:1; 5:23; 6:1, 11 with Ps 2:2, 10 and cf. 4:18 with Ps 2:4), and the expression "son of God" is used of the righteous one (Wis 2:16, 18; 5:5) as it is of the king in Ps 2:7. In 9:9–17, speaking autobiographically, "Solomon" associates right judgment and kingship with the knowledge and understanding of God's counsel which is mediated by the descent of heavenly Wisdom, the holy spirit, which is present at God's throne of glory (cf. Isa 11:2–5), and in 1:6–11 wisdom is God's agent for the right judgment of all people (cf. *1 Enoch* 49:3–4; 51:3).

These parallels to *1 Enoch* 37–71 notwithstanding, Wisdom never uses the term "son of man" of the righteous one. Possible evidence of the influence of Daniel 7 may be found in Wis 3:8, which alludes to the exaltation of the righteous typified in chap. 5, construing it as governing or judging *(krinein)* nations and ruling over peoples (cf. Dan 7:14, 27).

In light of the aforementioned parallels, the differences between Wisdom and the Parables are especially significant. In Wisdom the protagonist is the persecuted one, who has been exalted as judge or accuser of his own persecutors; he is not a transcendent champion of the persecuted righteous. He is, moreover, a type of the many persecuted righteous and not a unique figure who is identified with Daniel's one like a son of man (note the plurals in Wis 3:8). In this respect, the tradition is logically prior to the form in the Parables, for it is identifiably closer to the Deutero-Isaianic source about the persecuted and vindicated servant. Nonetheless, the Solomonic author appears to have known an Enochic context for these traditions. Thus, 4:10–15 cites Enoch as the righteous one par excellence (does this presuppose *1 Enoch* 71 and its identification of Enoch with the son of man?), and the structure of the text—including its argument against those who deny the possibility of immortality and postmortem judgment—parallels *1 Enoch* 102–4.

The Parables and Wisdom parallel one another both in their use of Davidic material and in their failure to apply it to a future Davidic king. Although the author of Wisdom claims to be the son of David, addressing the (potentially) unjust rulers of the earth, his expected agent of ultimate justice will not be a Davidite. He is described as Second Isaiah's servant of the Lord, the righteous one who will condemn his own persecutors. Nonetheless the Greek author plays on the parallels between the LXX word *pais* ("servant, child") and the royal title "son" (Ps 2:7; cf. Ps 110:4 LXX, "out of the womb before the morning star I begat you" and *1 En.* 48:3 of the servant figure), and he applies language from Ps 2:4, 9 to the fate of the righteous one's antagonists (4:18–19). The author of the Parables also does not expect justice from a Davidic ruler and he applies the Davidic oracles to the servant figure. In this case, however, the Chosen One is not one of many who vindicate themselves; he is identified with the unique heavenly son of man in Daniel 7, who will appear, however, not after the judgment, but as its agent. That Wisdom and the Parables offer variants on a common tradition is crucial for our understanding of NT son of man traditions.

**4. *4 Ezra* 11–13.** This text from the end of the 1st century C.E. makes no reference to a figure called "son of man," but the two visions in chaps. 11–12 and 13 parallel Daniel 7 and describe in two different ways the coming of the anointed one.

In the first of these visions, the Roman Empire and its kings are opposed and judged by the Davidic king. In the vision (11:1–12:3), an eagle comes up out of the sea (11:1; cf. Dan 7:1) and is opposed by a lion who indicts it for deceit, injustice, and oppression of the meek, which constitute insolence against the Most High (11:36–43; cf. Dan 7:8, 25). For this it is condemned and its body burned (11:44–12:3; Dan 7:11). In the interpretation (12:4–39), the eagle is identified as "the fourth kingdom which appeared to your brother Daniel" (12:11; cf. 11:39), which will arise on earth (12:13; cf. Dan 7:23); the lion is said to be the anointed one who will arise from the posterity of David and denounce the kings represented by the eagle's wings, destroy them, and deliver the remnant of Israel.

Chap. 13 recounts a second vision and interpretation, which corresponds to Dan 7:13–14. The winds stir up the sea (13:1; cf. Dan 7:2) and "something like the figure of a man" comes up out of the heart of the sea and flies with the clouds of heaven (13:3; Dan 7:13). The voice that issues from his mouth melts all

who hear it (13:3b–4). When he is attacked by a multitude, he carves out a mountain, and standing upon it, he sends from his mouth a stream of fire that burns up all who have gathered against him (13:5–11). Then he gathers the remnant (13:12–13). According to the interpretation (13:21–58), the man is the one "whom the Most High has been keeping for many ages" to "deliver his creation and direct those who are left" (13:26). He is "my son" (13:32, 37, 52), who is hidden (v 52) but will be revealed (v 32) and will stand on top of Mount Zion to reprove the nations for their ungodliness, destroying them by the flame of the Torah (13:33–38).

Although the form of *4 Ezra* 13 and the image of the cloud–borne man parallel Daniel 7, crucial elements in chap. 13 differ from Daniel 7 and agree with the Parables of Enoch and their use and modification of Davidic oracles and, probably, Deutero-Isaianic servant motifs. Like the anointed one in *4 Ezra* 11–12, the man appears not to rule, but rather to execute judgment and deliver the righteous. The manner of this judgment by a fiery blast is reminiscent of Isa 11:4 and the use of this passage in *1 En.* 62:2 (cf. 49:3–4; cf. also *Ps. Sol.* 17:39, 41). Other motifs recall Psalm 2. The man's title is "my son" (Ps 2:7), and he judges the nations who have gathered against him at Mount Zion (Ps 2:1–2, 6; cf. *1 En.* 48:8, 10). A parallel to the Parables' use of servant material also seems likely. Like the Chosen One of *1 Enoch,* "my son" has been kept for many ages and hidden and will be revealed (13:26, 52, 32; cf. *1 En.* 48:3, 6–7; 62:7 and vv 1–3). Like the Chosen One, he will gather the righteous (13:26, 39; *1 En.* 48:7; cf. Isa 49:6, 8–9). Different from the Parables, *4 Ezra* 13 does not use the titles "the Chosen One" and "the Righteous One" and depicts no recognition scene to correspond to *1 Enoch* 62–63 and Isaiah 52–53. Although there is no enthronement as such, the man on the clouds has the office of executing divine judgment.

The stages of tradition in *4 Ezra* 11–13 are complex and difficult to trace. In their present form, the two visions refer to the Davidic messiah (cf. *4 Ezra* 7:28–29, "my son, the anointed one"). To this end, chap. 13 has domesticated cosmic elements of a vision that described a transcendent deliverer and judge. Precisely how this vision was related to Daniel 7 is debated. *4 Ezra* 12:11 mentions the vision in Daniel 7, but chap. 13 could know a source behind Daniel. In any case, similarities between chap. 13 and the combined son of man, messianic, and servant elements in the Parables suggest that at least one source was closely related to the Parables, if not identical with them.

**5. *2 Baruch.*** This apocalypse, which is roughly contemporary with *4 Ezra,* presumes the messianic identification of the central figure in Daniel 7 and his judicial functions. In chaps. 36–39, the last leader of the fourth kingdom will be taken to Mount Zion, where "my anointed one" will convict him and put him to death. A scenario like *4 Ezra* 13 is presumed. Both this text and chaps. 29–30 speak of the revelation, or glorious appearance of "my anointed one," thus suggesting a transcendental figure. Chaps. 53–74 make "my anointed one" the agent of a universal judgment, and the image of the lightning (53:9, 12) recalls the gospel logion in C.1.a below. Of importance in all of these texts from *2 Baruch* is the ubiquity of the title "my anointed one," which is missing in Daniel 7 and rare in *1 Enoch,* and the transcendental character of this figure, which is foreign to the biblical texts about the king.

**6. Reconstruction of the Tradition.** The evidence presented here indicates that the idea of a transcendent judge and deliverer was a known element in Jewish eschatology by the latter part of the 1st century C.E. The texts in question attest a common model that was composed of elements from Israelite traditions about the Davidic king, the Deutero-Isaianic servant/chosen one, and the Danielic "son of man." The model surely existed apart from these texts, and, in order to posit belief in such a transcendent savior figure in any given case, we need not presume that any one of the texts was known and used as a literary source. For the modern critic, however, the texts serve as extant testimonies and expressions of the belief. The texts and their sources in the Hebrew Scriptures do not represent successive developments in a single continuous process. The tradition was fluid and its components interacted with one another in different ways. The transcendent deliverer was often identified with Daniel's one like a son of man, although he was not always called "son of man." In *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch,* e.g., royal and messianic terminology predominated. In other cases not discussed here (Dan 12:1 and the Qumran texts about Melchizedek), a different kind of transcendent savior was envisioned without employing the imagery and terminology of Daniel 7. (See ESCHATOLOGY.) Common to all of these texts is an emphasis on the judicial functions

of the exalted one—an element foreign to Daniel 7 but central to the Davidic texts and taken over into Second Isaiah.

The creative milieux for these traditions were situations of persecution or suffering, as is clear in Daniel 7 and *1 Enoch.* Although *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch* do not mention persecution, the nation's suffering after the events of 70 C.E. is the omnipresent context in these works, and Roman injustice is singled out in *4 Ezra* 12:40–43 and is generalized in *2 Bar.* 72:4. In Wisdom 2 and 5, the persecution and vindication of the righteous one are in focus. In all of these texts, kings, princes, or the rich and powerful are the source of suffering, and thus the royal prerogative and function of judgment is understandably ascribed to the respective protagonists. A similar situation provides the context for parallel speculation about a Davidic messiah in *Ps. Sol.* 17.

The dating of the son of man-servant-messiah tradition is difficult because its clearest attestation is in the Parables, which are notoriously difficult to date. Nonetheless, the evidence in *4 Ezra* 13 indicates that something very close to the tradition in the Parables was known and substantially domesticated by the end of the 1st century. An earlier date is indicated by the Wisdom of Solomon (ca. 40 C.E. at the latest) and its modified form of the conflation of servant and messianic traditions. Thus the conflated tradition attested in the Parables appears to have been extant early in the 1st century C.E. This hypothesis provides a context for the study of NT son of man traditions.

**C. The New Testament**

The term "son of man" occurs in the NT, with four exceptions (Acts 7, Hebrew 2, and Revelation 1, 14), only in the gospels, and there always on the lips of Jesus. With one exception (John 5:27), the gospels always use the definite article ("*the* son of man"), thus introducing the term as a known quantity, even in contexts where it has not been previously defined. Modern scholarship has raised a plethora of questions about the usage in the gospels. How does one classify the sayings? What are the various connotations of the term? To what extent does the usage reflect the Jewish traditions in Daniel, *1 Enoch, 4 Ezra?* Was there, in fact, a concept of a son of man figure prior to the gospel traditions? Did the historical Jesus use the term, and if so, which sayings are genuine and was Jesus referring to himself or another figure?

Since the term's use or nonuse by the historical Jesus has been very much at the center of the discussion, extensive debates have revolved about the philological issue. How was the Aramaic term *bar (ʾĕ)nāš (āʾ)* used in 1st century Palestine? If Jesus used it, could he have meant, simply "I," "me," or "this man"? If so, then one need not assume that his use of it implied a messianic allusion to the figure of Daniel 7.

The present discussion will build on the treatment of the Jewish texts provided above, with two questions particularly in focus. To what extent do the NT son of man texts reflect the conflated traditional developments described above, in their imagery and in the status and functions they ascribe to "the son of man"? Are there NT texts that do not use the expression, but appear to reflect these traditional developments? Such a study and classification of the texts may also help historical queries about earlier forms of the sayings that may be attributed to the historical Jesus.

Since the investigation is textually oriented, primary consideration must be given to the contexts and functions of the passages in the documents that presently contain them. Only in the case of "Q," the hypothetical source of the material common to Matthew and Luke, are the texts discussed with reference to an antecedent context, although the present contexts in Matthew and Luke are also discussed.

**1. The Document "Q." a. Matt 24:26–27; 37–39 = Luke 17:22–37.** The son of man's epiphany is compared to the flashing of lightning and to the coming of the flood in the days of Noah. This double comparison emphasizes the universal dimensions of the son of man's appearance and the sudden and unexpected character of the judgment it will bring. Both the Matthean–Lukan comparison with Noah and the additional Lukan comparison with Lot (which could be original; cf. Sir 16:7–8; Wis 10:4–7; 2 Pet 2:4–10) indicate that a few righteous will be saved, but the saying emphasizes the damning judgment that will fall on the majority of humanity. Although the comparison with lightning recalls the heavenly setting of the scene in Dan 7:13–14, the association of judgment with the son of man and the analogy of the days of Noah parallel the Enochic form of the tradition, for which the flood/final judgment typology is

commonplace. The verb "revealed" in Luke 17:30 is not typically Lukan and may be original to the saying. The verb is used in *1 En.* 48:7; 62:7 of the present time and in *2 Bar.* 29:3; 39:7 and *4 Ezra* 7:28; 13:32 of the future. The idea is consonant with the public manifestation indicated by the comparison with the flood and the judgment of Sodom and recalls the judgment scenes in *1 Enoch* 62–63, *4 Ezra* 7 and 13, and *2 Baruch* 40 and 72.

**b. Matt 24:43–44 = Luke 12:39–40.** Like the previous saying, this logion emphasizes the sudden, unexpected nature of the son of man's coming, here compared to a thief's break-in. Thus, although judgment is not mentioned as such, the admonitory function of the saying indicates that judgment rather than Israel's salvation and exaltation (Daniel 7) is associated with the coming of the son of man. Knowledge of the saying is widely attested in the NT. It may well be reflected in Mark 13:32–36, which occurs shortly after the reference to the coming of the son of man in 13:26–27 (cf. Matt 24:42). On the tradition in Paul, Revelation, and 2 Peter, see below, C.6.a, C.7, C.8.

**c. Matt 10:32–33 = Luke 12:8–9; cf. Mark 8:38 (below).** These passages and their contexts emphasize the ultimate consequences of human confession or denial of Jesus, probably in courts of law. The preceding context in both Matthew and Luke (and hence Q) anticipates the final judgment when secret words will be publicly manifest. Physical death is contrasted with eternal destruction, and divine protection is promised to those who do not fear to give up their lives (cf. Mark 8:34–37). The one who "has authority to cast into Gehenna" (Luke 12:5; Matt 10:28) would seem to be God, but the idiom appears in Daniel 7, and in *1 Enoch* the son of man is the agent of the judgment that condemns to Sheol. Luke 12:8–9 and its Markan parallel agree against Matt 10:32–33 in their reference to the son of man. He is a future judicial figure in the heavenly court, whose function is specifically related to Jesus; he will respond in kind to human responses to Jesus. Presumed is the Enochic formulation: the son of man is the heavenly vindicator of the wronged righteous. Matthew's use of "I" rather than "the son of man" could be due to the evangelist's redaction based on his identification of the son of man with Jesus. Alternatively, it could reflect the earliest form of the saying, or at least a pre-Matthean variant that identifies the heavenly vindicator with the righteous one, as in Wisdom 2 and 5. The original verb in the second part of the saying is uncertain. "Ashamed" (Mark 8:38) is a verb that is used in judicial contexts to mean "lose one's case," and the noun "shame" occurs in *1 En.* 62:10; 63:11 in connection with the son of man's condemnation of the kings and the mighty. However, the use of "deny" in Mark 8:34 may reflect knowledge of the version of the saying in Q, where that verb occurs, and its omission in Mark 8:38 could be an attempt to avoid application to Peter (cf. 14:68, 70). Mark's reference to the "Father" and the "angels" has parallels in the Matthean and Lukan versions of the Q saying respectively.

**d. Matt 19:28 = Luke 22:28–30.** In the future, Jesus' disciples will be enthroned with the son of man to judge the twelve tribes of Israel. Although only Matthew mentions "the son of man," Luke's statement that "my Father has assigned me the kingdom" and the reference to enthronement parallels the wording of Daniel 7. It is uncertain whether judging *(krinein)* here connotes judicial functions *(1 Enoch)* or ruling (as in Daniel), or both. Important, however, is the relationship between one's association with Jesus and one's future exaltation with the son of man, which parallels C.1.c, above.

**e. Matt 12:38–42 = Luke 11:29–32.** Luke's reference to the son of man being a sign like Jonah is usually regarded as more original than Matthew's explicit reference to the son of man's death and resurrection (which reflects the passion predictions). Different from C.1.c and d, the son of man is identified as Jesus the prophet, who is compared to Jonah and wise Solomon. Unlike their preaching and teaching, Jesus' preaching is rejected in his own time. As in C.1.c, this rejection will have consequences at the final judgment, when the obedient Queen of the South and the penitent inhabitants of Nineveh will condemn the wicked of Jesus' generation. The term "son of man" may be used here of the earthly Jesus because he is expected to be the one who will preside over the final judgment. In such a case, another element in C.1.c is present, although the rejection that will be punished is here located in Jesus' earthly ministry rather than in the postresurrection community. The reference to "the wisdom of Solomon" is noteworthy; the book of that name recounts the career of the rejected and vindicated sage, using as a pattern the Isaianic tradition that *1 Enoch* applies to the exaltation of the son of man (above, B.3).

**f. Matt 11:16–19 = Luke 7:31–35.** As in the previous saying, "this generation" is criticized for rejecting the prophetic ministry of Jesus, the son of man. Indeed, they have rejected both the stern preaching of John and the joyous proclamation of forgiveness announced by the son of man. The wrongness of this rejection will become evident when "wisdom is vindicated." The motif recalls both Wisdom 2 and 5, whose rejected and vindicated protagonist is the spokesman of Wisdom, and the Parables of Enoch, whose exalted protagonist has some of the characteristics of preexistent Wisdom. Paradoxically, the son of man's ministry is characterized by the reconciliation of sinners in contrast to John's announcement of the kind of judgment that the Parables of Enoch associate with the son of man.

**g. Matt 12:32 = Luke 12:10.** This free-floating logion also refers to opposition to the human Jesus, the son of man, but it contrasts such words against Jesus in his ministry with blasphemy against the Holy Spirit in the postresurrection situation. In Matthew the logion precedes the saying about the sign of Jonah and is compatible with it because the sign of the son of man is his resurrection. In Luke, it is also compatible with its context because the son of man's future judicial functions relate to confession and denial in the postresurrection situation (cf. Mark 13:9–11).

**h. Matt 8:20 = Luke 9:58.** "Son of man" here is sometimes taken as a surrogate for "I," but at the very least, a contrast is indicated between Jesus the human being and the animals. This could imply the contrast evident in Dan 7:3, 13 and, thus, also Jesus' future status as son of man. Perhaps more to the point is Ps 8:4–8. Ironically, the son of man, who has been given glory and honor as well as dominion over the beasts of the field and the birds of the air, does not have the shelter they possess. If other NT applications of Ps 8:4–8 to Jesus' future power indicate traditional usage (below, C.6.b), the present text may imply an ironic contrast between present lowliness and future glory. In its Lukan context, the saying follows Jesus' rejection by unhospitable Samaritans, but it is uncertain whether Q understood Jesus' homelessness as a result of his rejection.

**i. Matt 4:1–11 = Luke 4:1–13.** Although the title here associated with Jesus is "son of God," Satan's offer to give Jesus all the kingdoms of the world and their glory or power is phrased in the language of Dan 7:14. The verb *paralambanein* ("take along") is typically applied to the accompanying, interpreting angel in journey visions, and the idea here may be that Satan disguises himself as a member of the heavenly court and offers Jesus the prerogatives of the eschatological son of man. The close connection between "son of man" and "son of God" occurs in other texts (see below).

**j. Summary.** Texts in this early stratum associate the son of man with the coming judgment. In 1.a, b, in their Q form, this future figure was not specifically connected with Jesus. In the remainder of the texts, human reactions to Jesus are a touchstone for the future judgment, although in 1.c, d it is not certain that the original form of the saying identified future son of man as the exalted Jesus. In 1.e–h the term "son of man" is used of Jesus in his earthly ministry. The double usage, with reference to Jesus' earthly and future activities, will be fixed in Mark.

**2. The Gospel according to Mark. a. The Son of Man in the Future. (1) Mark 8:38.** Like its parallel in Q (C.1.c; cf. C.1.d, e, f), this text envisions the son of man as the future judicial functionary who will act in accordance with human reactions to Jesus. In context it follows Peter's confession of Jesus and his rejection of Jesus' announcement that "the son of man" must suffer and die. This is a reminder that Mark's various usages of "son of man" cannot be dissociated from one another. The major elements in v 38 ("comes, glory, Father, angels")—all missing in the Q parallel—have counterparts in Mark 13:26–27, 32 (see C.2.a.3), which may indicate Markan redaction (but see below, C.6.a).

**(2) Mark 14:62.** In context, this reference to the future son of man parallels Mark 8:27–29. Different from Simon, who confessed Jesus as messiah, Caiaphas has cynically asked about Jesus' status as the messiah (v 61). His implied rejection, which will be explicit in v 63, leads to the threat that Caiaphas and his court "will see" the enthroned son of man as their judge. Although Daniel 7 is the source of the idea that the clouds of heaven will convey the son of man (here from the heavenly throne room rather than to it), other elements in the description parallel the tradition in the Parables of Enoch and Wisdom 2, 5. The son of man is also the messiah (v 61), seated at God's right hand (Ps 110:1). He will be seen (*1 Enoch* 62) by those who have rejected him (Wis 5:1–2) not only as messiah but as God's son (Wis 2:16–20; 5:5).

**(3) Mark 13:26–27.** The context is a description of the end time. When *false* messiahs have been proclaimed, the son of man will appear on clouds, as predicted in Dan 7:13–14, but coming from heaven, with the power and glory he has received there (Dan 7:14). Although the judicial function described in *1 Enoch* is not explicit, the influence of that tradition is suggested by two elements not found in Daniel 7. Certain unnamed persons "will see" the son of man, who will send angels to gather "the chosen ones" (cf. *1 Enoch* 51; 61:2–5; 62:14–15).

**b. The Son of Man on Earth.** Mark's gospel reflects the semantic ambiguities in the term "son of man" and plays on these ambiguities, referring to Jesus the man.

**(1) Mark 2:1–12.** With an evident allusion to Dan 7:14, Jesus makes the paradoxical claim that in the present, on earth, this human being possesses divine "authority," which tradition said would be given in the future to the glorified heavenly "son of man." Different from Daniel, this authority involves not political dominion over the nations, but the forgiveness of sins. Thus Jesus exercises divine judgment, but the formulation differs from *1 Enoch,* where the son of man *punishes* sinners and saves the righteous. Both the emphasis on forgiveness and the scribes' opposition to this aspect of Jesus' ministry recall the Q saying about John and the son of man (C.1.f), and the opponents' rejection of the son of man's authority parallels other son of man texts in Q and Mark.

**(2) Mark 2:23–28.** This story repeats the paradox in Mark 2:1–12. As son of man, Jesus states what is permissible (*exestin,* the verb from which *exousia* "authority" is derived) on the divinely created sabbath.

**c. The Son of Man who Dies and Rises** (8:31; 9:9–12, 31; 10:33–34, 45). These passages predict the events that constitute the climax of Mark's gospel (cf. 14:21, 41), in each case using verbs that occur in Second Isaiah's last servant passage (52:13–53:12). The pattern of suffering and vindication will be embodied in chaps. 14–16 in a literary genre whose prototype is found in the recasting of Isaiah 52–53 in Wisdom 2 and 5. The use of the term "son of man" in these predictions again plays on the ambiguity of the expression. Jesus the man will be vindicated in his resurrection and will then appear as the glorified son of man. The term is further legitimated in the present usage because of the traditional conflation of servant and son of man materials in the Parables of Enoch. Mark identifies the vindicator with the persecuted one, as in Wisdom, but he parallels the Enochic form of the tradition by using the term "son of man" as a designation for the unique future champion of the chosen.

**d. Summary.** Mark uses "son of man" both as a designation for the human Jesus and in its traditional specific sense to denote his future status as the exalted messianic judge. Bridging the two usages are the formulas that describe the death and resurrection of Jesus; the suffering man will become the exalted son of man when the rejection that led to his death is overcome in the vindication constitutive in his resurrection. In the future as son of man, he will participate in the judgment of those who rejected him in his lifetime or during the time of the church. The purposeful ambiguity of the expression, which is an integral part of Mark's plot, is evident in the author's decision never to use "son of man" as the predicate of the verb "to be," as he does with the titles "son of God" and "messiah." Jesus is never said to be the one who "is the son of man." The lack of such explicit identification allows the ambiguity of the term to stand, and thus perpetuates the mystery of Jesus' identity among the human characters in the story in spite of his use of the term.

**e. Son of Man and Son of God.** Mark's theology has a peculiar terminological twist. Jesus the son of man is also son of God. The relationship of the two terms is evident in Mark 8:38, which refers to God as the Father of the son of man. Although the title "son of God" may well be a messianic designation derived from Psalm 2 (see Mark 1:11, where it is conflated with servant language also used in *1 Enoch* 49:4), its use by demons designates him as a unique divine being. Because he is such, he can forgive sins, rule the sabbath, and exercise God's power to still the sea (4:35–41). But son of God is not simply contrasted to son of man, as Jesus' divine status is contrasted to his human status. In the tradition of the Parables, the son of man who will judge is a preexistent heavenly being with some of the characteristics of divine Wisdom. Between such a preexistence, which Mark presumes for the son of God, and the future glory which he attributes to the exalted son of man, Mark posits an earthly incarnation as the son of man, Jesus of Nazareth. But like the righteous one in Wisdom 2 and 5, this man is shown to be son of God by

obediently submitting to God's will in the human fate of death (Mark 15:39; cf. Wis 2:12–20; 5:1–5). Mark's three stage pattern of preexistence, incarnation, and exaltation results from his overlaying of two related patterns: *Enoch*'s preexistent and exalted son of man, and Wisdom of Solomon's persecuted and exalted righteous man/son of God. This overlaying of patterns appears to have been present also in Q, which presented Jesus as Wisdom's persecuted spokesman who would also be the exalted son of man.

**3. The Gospel according to Matthew. a. Matt 13:24–30, 36–43.** In this parable and its interpretation, judgment is the purpose of the son of man's parousia (explicating Mark 13:26–27 = Matt 24:30–31), and the son of man is identified with the earthly Jesus. The notion that the righteous will "be sown" as seed (contrast Mark 4:1–20 = Matt 13:1–23, where the unnamed sower sows the word of God) recalls similar terminology in *1 Enoch* 62:8 (see below). In the eschatological part of the parable's interpretation (13:41–43), the son of man dispatches his angels not to gather his chosen ones (Mark 13:27; cf. in the parable, v 30), but to gather the wicked and cast them into hell (cf. *1 Enoch* 62–63 and the discussion of C.1.c above). The positive side of judgment is present in the interpretation in v 43—a democratizing of the exaltation of the wise in Dan 12:3. The language describing the harvest parallels John's preaching in Matt 3:11–12 and thus ascribes to the baptist a proclamation about the future activity of the son of man as the judge.

**b. Matt 25:31–46.** This extensive description of the great judgment is rooted in Daniel 7: The central figure is the son of man who comes in his glory. The scene, however, is closely related to the tradition attested in *1 Enoch* 62–63 and Wisdom 2 and 5. As in the Parables, the son of man is a royal figure ("the king," vv 34, 40) who is seated on "the throne of his glory" (v 31; cf. the Parables of Enoch) for the purpose of judgment. In this judgment the nations recognize in the enthroned one the little ones whom they had helped or maltreated on earth, and on the basis of these actions they are granted eternal life or consigned to eternal punishment (cf. *2 Baruch* 72). The passage is a hybrid of the forms of the tradition in the Parables and Wisdom. As in the former, the son of man is the champion and avenger of the persecuted little ones. As in Wisdom, there is a kind of identification between the persecuted ones and the exalted one: "what you have done to the least of these, you have done to me" (vv 40, 45). In its focus on the judgment of those who have responded to Jesus' persecuted alter egos in the world, this text complements the Q and Markan tradition about the son of man's eschatological judicial functions vis-à-vis those who have confessed or denied Jesus under duress (see above).

**c. Other Passages about the Son of Man in the Future.** Matthew's editorial work also reflects his interest in the future activity of the son of man. Although it is possible that he changed "son of man" to "I" in the Q logion in 10:32–33, he has changed Mark's "I" to "son of man" in 16:13, and in 16:28 he has altered Mark 9:1 to refer to the son of man's coming in his kingdom. Other additions define the son of man as judge. According to 16:27 (= Mark 8:38), the son of man will "render to each according to his deeds." In 10:23, he concludes Markan material about the disciples' persecution by promising that the son of man's parousia will cut it short. The juxtaposition parallels the Q saying about confession, denial, and the judgment, which follows in vv 32–33.

**d. The Son of Man Exalted before the Parousia** (26:64; 28:16–20). In Mark 13:26 and 14:62, Jesus predicts the future coming to earth of the enthroned son of man without indicating when the enthronement will take place. Matthew defines this more closely in 26:64, where Jesus informs Caiaphas that "hereafter *(ap᾽ arti)* you will see the son of man …" (cf. Luke 22:69). The time of the enthronement is made explicit in 28:16–20. By the time he commissions the eleven in Galilee, the resurrected Jesus has already been "given all authority in heaven and on earth" (Dan 7:14), something he earlier refused, when Satan offered it to him.

**e. Summary.** Much more than Mark, Matthew emphasizes Jesus' identity and functions as son of man. The combination of Markan and Q traditions creates a relatively large number of references to Jesus' earthly activity as son of man, and Matthew's redactional touches and unique passages employ the language and imagery of Daniel 7 and the Parables of Enoch in order to allude to or describe Jesus' postresurrection exaltation and, notably, his future function as judge.

**4. Luke–Acts.** Luke, like Mark and Matthew, uses the term "son of man" in connection with Jesus' ministry, his death and resurrection, and his future eschatological activity, and with reference to each of these, Luke shows some predilection for the term.

**a. The Ministry of the Son of Man.** In his use of Mark 2:10, 28 (at 5:24; 6:5) and in his placement and redaction of some of the Q traditions (about the Baptist and the son of man, the son of man's homelessness, the sign of Jonah, and words against the son of man), Luke depicts Jesus' ministry as the activity of the son of man which leads to opposition and rejection. In a similar vein, Luke moves the material from Mark 10:35–44 to Luke 22:24–27, and revises Mark 10:45 to describe not the death of the son of man, but Jesus' mission, in his ministry, to seek and save the lost (19:10).

**b. The Death and Resurrection of the Son of Man.** Of Mark's sayings about the son of man's death and resurrection, only 9:9, 13 have been dropped. The second of these references reappears, however, in 17:25, where it is incorporated into the eschatological timetable that will culminate with the days of the final revelation of the son of man. The death-resurrection formula is also inserted into each of the three stories in chap. 24 to vindicate Jesus' predictions; the term "son of man" is used in the first instance (v 7), while messiah (Christ) occurs in v 26.

**c. The Son of Man in the Future.** The future judicial functions of the son of man are essential to Luke's eschatology, as is evident in his use of tradition and the details of his redaction and composition. Throughout, he admonishes the church to act with an awareness of the connection between its present existence and its future accountability to the son of man. The beatitude in 6:22 promises heavenly reward to those who are rejected not "for my sake" (cf. Matt 5:11, the Q parallel) or "for my sake and the gospel's" (Mark 8:35; 13:9–10), but for the sake of the one who will be identified as the eschatological judge—the son of man (cf. the parallel Markan and Q traditions at Luke 9:26; 12:8). Warnings about indifference concerning the time of coming of the son of man are expressed in the Q sayings in 12:35–38; 39–40; 41–48. The second of these speaks explicitly of the son of man's coming. The first and third are partly paralleled in Mark 13:32–37, which comments on the time of the coming of the son of man. Luke 17:20–18:8 is held together by the common theme of the coming of the kingdom and the end (cf. also 17:1, 7, 12). First, Jesus disclaims the possibility of apocalyptic calculation (17:20–21). Then after the Q tradition about the suddenness of the son of man's revelation (vv 22–37), Luke inserts a parable that promises speedy vindication to God's chosen ones (18:1–8). The placement of 18:8b indicates that the son of man will be the agent of that vindication and the judge who will look for faith on earth. In chap. 21 (= Mark 13), Luke announces the glorious coming of the son of man (vv 27–28 = Mark 13:26–27) and defines the gathering of his chosen ones as "your redemption." In vv 34–36, which replace Mark's ending to the section (cf. 13:32–37), traditional material (see below, C.6.a) has a Lukan nuance that recalls 18:1–8. The promise of redemption for the chosen ones is qualified with an admonition to be ready to "stand before the son of man," the judge.

**d. The Present Exaltation of the Son of Man.** Like its Matthean counterpart, Luke's version of Jesus' statement to Caiaphas specifies that "henceforth" *(apo tou nun)* the son of man will be enthroned (22:69; cf. Matt 26:64). Different from Matt 28:16–20, Luke documents the enthronement not in the account of Jesus' commissioning of the eleven (24:44–49), but in Acts, in two stages. First, drawing on Dan 7:13–14 and its typical NT revision, Luke compares Jesus' ascent on a cloud with his return on a cloud (Acts 1:9–11). Secondly, Stephen's vision reveals that Jesus' enthronement as son of man is an accomplished fact (Acts 7:55). The threat implicit in the Caiaphas scene recurs. Stephen's revelation vindicates the preaching that led to his trial and triggers his condemnation to death for the sake of the one he has revealed to be son of man.

**e. Jesus as the Chosen One and Righteous One.** Although we must be cautious in our conclusions about early Christian applications of multiple titles to Jesus, Luke–Acts is especially noteworthy for its combination or interchanging of son of man, messianic, and servant terminology and imagery. Simeon, who awaits "the Lord's anointed one," blesses Jesus as "the light of the nations" (Luke 2:25–32; cf. Isa 49:6; *1 En.* 48:4, 10). In the crucifixion scene, Luke replaces Mark's "the anointed one, the King of Israel" with "God's anointed one, his Chosen One" (Mark 15:32; Luke 23:35). The voice at the

transfiguration designates Jesus as "my Son, my Chosen One" (9:35), a messianic-servant conflation that differs from Mark's "my beloved Son" (9:7). In Acts the crucified and resurrected Jesus is three times designated as "the Righteous One" (3:14; 7:52; 22:14), a term applied to the son of man in Enoch and the persecuted protagonist of Wisdom 2 and 5. A nontitular use occurs in the centurion's confession (23:47; cf. Matt 27:4, 19, 24). This usage should not obscure Luke's interest also in Jesus' status as the anointed one who has entered his glory (see 23:42; 24:26; Acts 2:36).

**5. The Fourth Gospel.** John's use of "son of man" is an integral part of his whole, many-faceted view of Jesus. Although the term occasionally appears where one might expect "son of God," it is usually accompanied by elements familiar from the Jewish traditions or the Synoptic son of man passages. It is associated with judgment and with Jesus' humanity and his death. Most striking are the uses of the verbs *hypsoun* ("lift up, exalt"), which John uses only in conjunction with "son of man," and *doxazein* ("glorify"), which he applies to Jesus mainly in connection with his proper name or the term "son of man." Both verbs denote a status traditionally ascribed to the son of man in the future, but both are also used of the servant of the Lord in the LXX of Second Isaiah. This tendency to make "son of man" the subject of verbs that Second Isaiah applies to the servant parallels the Synoptic tradition and especially its passion predictions (above, C.2.c). Thus, in his use of the conflate Jewish tradition, John, like the other evangelists, employs the Enochic term "son of man" but also uses the notion in Wisdom 2 and 5 that the exalted one is identical with the persecuted one. John's special nuance is the use of verbs that interpret Jesus' death as his exaltation. The idea parallels Wisdom, and it also replaces the Synoptic notion of a future glorious parousia of the son of man. For John, as for Mark, a tension exists between Jesus' identity as son of God and son of man, but in John, Jesus' heavenly preexistence is explicit both to the reader and in Jesus' public discourse.

**a. John 1:43–51.** The strangeness of the comparison of Jesus with Jacob's ladder (Gen 28:10–17) should not obscure the close connection between this passage and Synoptic references to the son of man, in particular the accounts of Peter's confession and Caiaphas' rejection of Jesus. Nathaniel identifies Jesus as "son of God" and "King of Israel" (messiah) and Jesus responds with a reference to "the son of man." As in Mark 14:62 = Matt 26:64, he refers to heaven and what "you will see" *(opsesthe);* "the angels" add another traditional son of man detail. John's unique touches are these: the exalted son of man will not come on a cloud at the eschaton; in the time after the acension/exaltation, when greater things happen (cf. 14:12), the angels will minister to the church because of the activity of Jesus, the son of man. The title may imply the death/exaltation of Jesus and its corollary, his humanity.

**b. John 3:13–16.** The parallelism in v 14 indicates the centrality of Jesus' crucifixion, but the ambiguous verb *hypsoun* expresses the paradox that the lifting of Jesus on the cross is his exaltation to the place from which he came (v 13). This paradox, that the son of man is also the heavenly son of God (cf. 1:49, 51) is expressed in v 16. The verb *dei* ("it is necessary") prefacing a statement about the death/exaltation of the son of man parallels the formulation of the Synoptic predictions about the necessity of the son of man's death and resurrection (Mark 8:31 par.; Luke 24:7, 26).

**c. John 5:25–29.** This double tradition again identifies Jesus as both son of God and son of man and ascribes to both the uttering of the voice that will raise the dead. If v 26 states that the Father has "granted" *(edōken)* his son to have life, v 27 employs the language of Dan 7:14; he has also "given him authority … because he is the son of man." Like the traditional extension of Daniel 7 in *1 Enoch* and the Synoptics, it is the authority to execute judgment (vv 27–30).

**d. John 6:27, 53, 62.** In the present form of this complex chapter, which is marked by repetitions, developments in the tradition, and redaction, the following data are relevant. The "son of man" is the functionary of "the Father," and the terms are almost juxtaposed in v 27. He is the one who gives "food" for life (v 27), and is also the "bread" of life itself that has descended from heaven (vv 35–38). The "bread" that he gives is unexpectedly identified in vv 51–56 as the "flesh" (and "blood") of the "son of man." This may be a legitimate exposition of v 27 (Jesus *qua* man gives his life; cf. 3:14–16). The wording of v 62 recalls Synoptic passages about seeing the exalted son of man. Here the ascent that will be seen is the return of the son of man/son of God to his former glory.

**e. John 8:28.** As in 3:14, Jesus describes his crucifixion with the verb *hypsoun,* whose ambiguity is evident in the fact that those who lift up the son of man will learn from that who he is. Close at hand is Wisdom 5, where persecutors see the one whom they denied and put to death exalted among the sons of God and ready to condemn them. Jesus' identity as the heavenly one is clear in the context here, and his function as judge is mentioned (v 26).

**f. John 9:35.** Here alone in John, the son of man is the object of belief, and some mss read "son of God." The reference to judgment in v 39 is consonant with the term "son of man," and the point may be, "Do you believe that this man is the expected son of man?" As in 5:27, with its reference to judgment, the importance of Jesus' identity as the "son of man" is indicated by the term's syntactical function as predicate of the verb "to be."

**g. John 12:23–41.** This passage is a remarkable Johannine reformulation of Synoptic passion material. Verses 23, 25–26 recall Mark 8:31, 34, 35, 38. Verses 27–29 are a Johannine reformulation of the Synoptic Gethsemane tradition, and possibly the long reading attested in some mss of Luke 23:43–44. Although the allusion to the cross in 12:32–33 need not reflect the saying in Mark 8:34, the verb *dei* ("must") in John 12:34 parallels Mark 8:31, as it did in John 3:14. A typical Johannine feature running through the passage is the interpretation of Jesus' crucifixion as the exaltation/glorification of the son of man, which the Synoptics see as separate events. The conflated citation of Isa 53:1 and 6:9–10 (vv 38–40) adds another Johannine nuance. The former passage, which begins Isaiah's description of the suffering of the servant, follows the description of the servant's exaltation *(hypsoun)* and glorification *(doxazein).* The quotation of Isaiah 6 allows John to equate the servant's glory with the glory of the son, which the prophet saw in his inaugural vision. Now, as then, the people do not believe.

**h. John 13:31.** This last Johannine reference to the son of man employs the verb "glorify" four times in a way that parallels the servant passages in Isa 53:12 and 49:3. As earlier, the glorification is Jesus' crucifixion.

**6. Paul and the Pauline Tradition.** The term "son of man" never occurs in the writings of Paul; the Semitic expression would not have been understood by Paul's gentile audience. Nonetheless, at least two Pauline passages appear to reflect knowledge of Synoptic son of man traditions.

**a. 1 Thessalonians.** This earliest of Paul's extant writings is dominated by the expectation of the parousia of Jesus, who is called variously "Lord" and "Son." Several passages indicate the judicial nature of the parousia or of Jesus' functions in connection with it, and in some cases, the language or imagery parallels Synoptic son of man traditions.

According to 1:10, Jesus will come from heaven as the divine vindicator to rescue Christians from the coming wrath. In 2:19–20, Paul focuses on his own judgment (cf. 1 Cor 3:13–15; 4:1–5). When he stands "in the presence of *(emprosthen)* our Lord Jesus Christ at his parousia" (cf. Luke 21:36), the Thessalonians will be the cause for his hope and joy, his crown of boasting and his glory (cf. Wis 5:16). The references to blamelessness (cf. Jude 24–25) and holiness in 3:13 (cf. 5:23) indicate that judgment will be effected "in the presence of *(emprosthen)* God and our Father at the parousia of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his holy ones" (cf. the wording of Mark 8:38, and see also Did. 6:6–8).

With the death of some of the Thessalonians, Paul found it necessary to augment his preaching about the parousia by integrating reference to the resurrection into his eschatological scenario (4:13–18). A creedal formula about Jesus' resurrection from the dead is Paul's basis for his proclamation of the Christian's resurrection, and an appeal to "a word of the Lord" (4:15) introduces a brief description of the parousia, which places the resurrection in the context of events that are mentioned in Mark's description of the coming of the son of man (13:26–27) and Matthew's elaboration of the passage (24:31):the voice of an archangel; the trumpet of God (Matthew); Jesus' descent from heaven; and the Christians being caught up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air.

This Pauline description is followed immediately by an admonition to vigilance, which also has echoes of Synoptic tradition (5:1–11). The comparison of the day of the Lord with a thief recalls Matt 24:43–44 = Luke 12:39–40. The vocabulary in 1 Thess 5:3, 7 and the admonition to pray constantly (v 17) occur in Luke's ending to the "Synoptic apocalypse" (21:34–36), with its warning to be watchful in order to be

able to stand before the son of man. The imagery about sleeping and watchfulness is typical of several Synoptic passages about the parousia. Paul's comparison to a woman's birth pangs parallels the metaphor in Mark 13:8 and, more closely, the simile in *1 En.* 62:4.

**b. 1 Cor 15:23–28.** As in 1 Thessalonians 4, Paul argues from Christ's resurrection to the Christians' resurrection at the time of the parousia. Verses 23–28 describe events leading to the parousia and resurrection, employing language from a royal Psalm (Ps 110:1) and from two biblical texts that speak of "son of man," namely, Dan 7:14 and Ps 8:7 (cf. the conflation of Ps 110:1 and Dan 7:14 in Mark 14:62). Until the parousia, Christ is occupied with the destruction of "every rule *(archē)* and every authority (*exousia;* cf. Matt 28:16) and power *(dynamis).*" When he has finished this, Christ will deliver the kingdom *(basileia)* to God. The vocabulary is Daniel's with *dynamis* paralleled in Mark 13:26. Paul's special nuance is to interpret the Danielic nouns to refer to angelic powers (cf. Matt 24:29). He develops this theme first in the words of Ps 110:1; the resurrected Christ is in the process of placing "all his enemies under his feet." Then he brings in language parallel to Ps 8:7. The reigning Christ is "subjecting all things under his feet" (cf. Eph 1:21–22)—something the psalmist attributes to "man" and "the son of man," whom God has crowned with honor and glory. Different from Daniel 7, the enthronement here envisioned is temporary; final kingly rule will belong to God. The language of v 24 suggests the reversal of Dan 7:14; the enthroned Jesus will give back what was given to the son of man. Also different from Daniel 7, but like *1 Enoch,* the judicial function of subduing of evil powers is attributed to the exalted one and does not occur before his enthronement. The subduing of death, i.e., Jesus' association with the final resurrection, parallels 1 Thess 4:14–16, as well as *1 Enoch* 51 and 62. That God is here called "Father" (v 24) is consonant with the gospel son of man traditions that speak of God in these terms. In his argument about the resurrection body (vv 35–44), Paul's reference to "sowing" and "raising" parallels *1 Enoch* 62:8.

**c. Other Pauline Texts about Jesus the Judge.** 1 Cor 3:10–14; 4:1–5 emphasize that Paul and Apollos will be judged for their ministry. The first passage, with its reference to judgment by fire, reflects a Jewish judgment tradition like that in *Testament of Abraham* 12–13. The references to revelation and disclosure, not specifically found in the *Testament of Abraham,* are picked up again in 4:1–5, which has some remarkable terminological parallels with Luke 12:2–9, 39–46 = Matt 10:26–32; 24:42–51, where the relevant language is related to judgment and appears in the context of sayings about the son of man.

2 Cor 5:10 explicitly asserts the judicial functions of Christ, before *(emprosthen)* whose tribunal *(bēma)* all must appear to receive what they deserve for their good and evil deeds. The passage provides a context for Rom 2:1–16, which emphasizes that God is the righteous judge of human deeds and the secrets of the heart (v 16; cf. 1 Cor 4:5), but indicates that Jesus will be the agent of that judgment (v 16).

**d. 2 Thess 2:1–12.** This Pauline or Deutero-Pauline text about the parousia of "our Lord Jesus Christ," like its counterpart in 1 Thessalonians 4–5, employs the Synoptic tradition known from Mark 13. Here the transcendent messiah is depicted like the Man from the Sea in *4 Ezra* 13. In a formulation unique to this passage, the fiery blast from his mouth destroys the man of lawlessness, a satanic incarnation whose claims to deity recall texts about rebel kings in Isaiah 14 and Ezekiel 28, and whose performance of signs and wonders is paralleled in the descriptions of the false prophets in Mark 13. A similar confrontation is described in the latter chapters of Revelation (see below).

**e. Heb 2:5–9.** In this text and its context, the author reinterprets the exposition of Ps 8:7 in 1 Corinthians 15. Nothing is excepted from Jesus' authority (2:8; contrast 1 Cor 15:27). Whether this author believes that this authority is already in place for the exalted Christ is not clear. The "not yet" of the tradition, different from 1 Corinthians 15, refers to the incarnation and the passion of the preexistent Jesus, who "for a little while" was made lower than the angels, but whom God has seated at his right hand (Ps 110:1), crowned with honor and glory, and set over all things. Hebrews is remarkable both for its agreements with and differences from the Synoptic tradition. Son of man designates the human existence of the preexistent Wisdom, who is also son of God (1:1–4), but the author never refers to the coming judge as such.

**7. The Book of Revelation.** The risen and exalted Jesus, who dominates the action in this apocalypse, is a composite figure who parallels the Chosen One in the Parables of Enoch and the Man from the Sea in *4 Ezra* 13 and draws on the same biblical traditions that underlie the two Jewish texts.

In 1:7 he is presented in the imagery of Dan 7:14, but it is immediately clear that the glorious one who will come with the clouds is the persecuted one who will be seen by his enemies. The idea is conveyed through the language of Zech 12:10, which is used both at the conclusion of John's passion narrative and in the Matthean elaboration of Mark's description of the son of man's parousia (Matt 24:30 = Mark 13:26; cf. *Ep. Barn.* 7:9–10).

Although the description of the risen one in 1:12–16 recalls the angel in Daniel 10, the analogy, "one like a son of man" (v 13) suggests the figure in Dan 7:13. Elements in the letters that he dictates draw on traditional messianic language and Synoptic son of man traditions. The sword that issues from his mouth (1:16, 2:12, 16) is an element drawn from Isa 11:4 which recurs in *1 Enoch* 62:2 and *4 Ezra* 13:4, 10–11. His status as the son of God who will rule the nations with a rod of iron (2:18, 27) is also messianic, and the language derives from Ps 2:7–8, a text used in *1 Enoch* 48, Wisdom 2 and 5, and *4 Ezra* 13.

The letter to Sardis draws on the Synoptic tradition that compares the Day of the son of man to a thief (3:3; Matt 24:43–44 = Luke 12:39–40; cf. 1 Thess 5:1–7), and Rev 3:5, 8 reflect elements of both the Matthean and Lukan wording of the Q tradition about confessing and denying (Matt 10:32–33; Luke 12:8–9).

The scene in chap. 5 is a reshaping of Dan 7:13–14, with some remarkable differences. The Lion of Judah (5:5) recalls the Davidic messiah of *4 Ezra* 12, but he is quickly defined as the Lamb who was slain (5:6, 12). Although much debate has centered on the meaning of this image and its parallel in John 1:29, an appeal to Isa 53:7, 11 is supported by the traditional conflation of son of man, messianic, and servant language in the Jewish and Christian texts already cited. The lamb stands before God's throne as the Chosen One does in *1 Enoch* 49:2 (cf. Wis 5:1; Acts 7:55). According to 5:7–12, the taking of the scroll from God's right hand (cf. Ps 110:1) is related to the Lamb's receiving of power, might, honor, and glory (cf. Dan 7:14). Hereafter one hears about "him who sits on the throne and the Lamb" (5:13; 6:16; 7:9, etc.). Thus, the Lamb's relationship to God parallels that of the Lord of Spirits and the Chosen One in *1 Enoch* and God and God's anointed in Psalm 2.

Reference to the royal psalm recurs in 11:15, 18; 12:5, 10, although the last verse associates with God and his anointed one the power, kingdom, and authority which are delegated to the one like a son of man in Daniel 7.

Revelation 13 returns to Daniel 7 and the beast who rises from the sea, but the opponent of the two beasts of chap. 13 is the Lamb on Mt. Zion, the son of God—the Lord's anointed mentioned in Ps 2 and also placed on Mt. Zion in *4 Ezra* 13. Jesus' messianic status is again explicit in the vision in 19:11–21, where the imagery of Psalm 2 and Isaiah 11 recurs. He is seated, not on a throne, but on a horse, ready for battle against the kings of the earth. Functionally, this is the equivalent of the Parables' description of the Chosen One, who is seated on the throne of glory in order to judge the kings and the mighty (also a cliché in Revelation).

According to Revelation 20, Christ and those beheaded for the testimony of Jesus and for the word of God (cf. "for me and the gospel … me and my words," Mark 8:35, 38) will be enthroned with Christ for a thousand years, after which the judgment will take place in a court that is described like the tribunal in Dan 7:10. The book concludes with the promise with which it began: the exalted one is coming to commence the events already described (22:20).

Much more than any of the other NT texts, Revelation emphasizes Jesus' functions as ruler (whether in the present, in the millennium, or afterward), and in this sense John returns to Daniel 7. Nonetheless, the Jewish and early Christian developments of the tradition are evident in the importance that John assigns to the coming judgment as the resolution of the present crisis, and in the judicial functions that he ascribes to the exalted Jesus.

**8. 2 Peter.** Belief and disbelief in the parousia of Jesus is a central problem in this text. In 1:16–21, the guarantee of this parousia is the glorious vision which the Synoptics describe as a transfiguration. Here

Peter seems to depict the event as the postresurrection exaltation of the son of man; Jesus "received honor and glory" (cf. Rev 5:12). A divine oracle "from heaven" announcing Jesus as "my son" and the location of the event on "the holy mountain" recall motifs from Ps 2:4, 6, 7. 2 Peter 2 alludes to the Enochic story of the rebel angels and the flood/final judgment typology (cf. 3:5–7), and the successive references to Noah and the Flood and Lot and Sodom recall Luke's version of the Q saying about the days of Noah and the day of the son of man. The reference to the sudden appearance of that day (3:10) reflects the Synoptic saying about the thief, also cited in 1 Thessalonians 5 and Revelation 3. Knowledge of the context of the son of man saying in Mark 13 may be indicated in chaps. 2 and 3, in the warnings about false teachers and prophets in the last times, and in 3:5–7, which appears to know the logion in Mark 13:31.

**9. Summary of NT Evidence.** In a wide variety of ways, NT texts evidence knowledge of the forms, themes, and conflations in Jewish traditions about the son of man. Often taken for granted is the Jewish interpretation that identified the heavenly figure in Daniel 7 as God's anointed one and, sometimes, God's servant. The gospels usually echo the language of Daniel rather than *1 Enoch,* although occasionally the Enochic form of the text is especially evident (e.g., Matthew 25). Outside of the gospels, one finds in many places the belief in an eschatological parousia of the transcendental messiah, which is most probably traceable to a conflate tradition from which the Danielic and Enochic term "son of man" has disappeared.

Perhaps the most remarkable fact about the NT son of man traditions is their consistent ascription of judicial functions to the exalted Jesus. In spite of the frequent use of Danielic language and imagery, these texts, with the exception of Revelation, do not emphasize the Danielic motif of "kingship," much less an eternal reign. Constitutive and central is Jesus' role as judge (or, occasionally, witness), an element introduced into the tradition from non-Danielic, albeit royally oriented sources. This judicial element, more than any other, identifies the NT texts as derivative from the conflated Jewish traditions.

Most of the gospel texts about the exalted eschatological son of man presume that this figure is identical with the risen and exalted Jesus. Reference to the earthly Jesus as "son of man" reflects a complex process of speculation. The Wisdom-*1 Enoch* parallels, and perhaps the identification of Enoch as son of man, allowed one to find for the future son of man and exalted servant an earthly existence as the persecuted one. By the same token, the Enochic idea that the future son of man/Chosen One had an existence before creation allowed Christians—different from the author of the Parables—to posit the descent, suffering, and death of the preexistent son of man. This viewpoint was further facilitated by other Christian speculation about Jesus as the incarnation of heavenly Wisdom. The complexity of these speculations is further attested in Phil 2:6–11, which imposes the myth of descending and reascending Wisdom (cf. *1 Enoch* 42) on the story of the suffering and exalted servant of the Lord.

These complexities in early Christian speculations about Jesus are consonant with the manner in which Jewish traditions had already spun out many variations, reinterpretations, and conflations of basic texts, themes, and mythic patterns. The early Church's constitutive faith in the resurrected and exalted Christ led its teachers to conflate further what they saw to be compatible traditions in their Jewish heritage. Of this process of developing christology, we have only remnants and hints. Attempts to reconstruct this history must consider the possible extent to which the origins of Jesus' identity as "the Christ" may have been influenced by the traditions about a transcendent son of man-servant-messiah described above, which would have functioned as an interpretation of the Easter experience in the primitive Church.

**10. The Historical Jesus and the Son of Man.** For all of the reasons developed and reiterated by modern NT scholarship, we can never be certain whether and to what extent Jesus of Nazareth made reference to "the son of man." Nevertheless, several observations follow from the present exposition:

a. Some of the traditions about the exalted son of man found in Q and Mark seem to be attested very early in Paul.

b. With a few exceptions, gospel traditions about the exalted son of man assume, in their present context, an identification with the risen Jesus.

c. Texts that describe the opposition to Jesus (whether the rejection of his message or his condemnation to death) with reference to the son of man indicate that the variants of the tradition now found in Wisdom

2 and 5 and the Parables of Enoch were being read in light of one another. The suffering righteous one will be exalted as unique son of man; the son of man had an earthly existence that was characterized by rejection and that culminated in violent death.

d. In the light of this clear tendency to identify the son of man with Jesus, one must consider carefully whether texts like C.1.a, b and possibly C.2.a.3 may be traced back to Jesus. The fact that the last of these assumes an identification with Jesus in its Markan context and that Paul reads all of these as references to Jesus should not obscure the fact that in no case does the gospel form of the saying itself necessitate such an identification. This is in striking contrast to those sayings which clearly refer to the rejection or death of Jesus the son of man, to the church's persecution for his sake, or, probably, to the apostles' future association with the glorified son of man.

e. It is far more problematic to maintain that any of the sayings which identify Jesus as the son of man are genuine sayings of Jesus. To accept them as genuine more or less in their present form, one must posit that Jesus cast himself in the role of the suffering prophet or sage and, more important, that he believed that his vindication from death would result in his exaltation to the unique role of eschatological judge. Alternatively, one could expunge the term "son of man" as a secondary Christian interpretation of a genuine saying in which Jesus cast himself in the role of a rejected and suffering servant who anticipated vindication. Such a self-understanding is evident in a number of Qumran hymns ascribed to the Teacher of Righteousness, but neither in these hymns nor in this hypothetical interpretation of the gospel logia does the speaker anticipate for himself the unique eschatological status attributed to the central figures in the Parables of Enoch and *4 Ezra.*

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**SONG OF SONGS, BOOK OF.** Also known as the Song of Solomon or Canticles, this is one of the poetical books of the Hebrew Bible, included among the Megilloth in Jewish tradition.

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**A. Introduction**

**1. Title.** The title is taken from the editorial superscription in 1:1, *šîr haššîrîm.* The duplication is Hebrew idiom for the superlative: the greatest song (cf. "King of Kings"). It is also known as the "Song of Solomon" in the tradition of English versions, and "Canticle" or "Canticle of Canticles," following the Vulgate *(Canticum Canticorum).* Its position in the Bible has varied. It comes after Job in the Hebrew Bible, and it is the first of the five "Scrolls" *(mĕgillôt),* where it is designated for the Passover reading. In the Greek and Latin tradition it comes after Ecclesiastes. It is often associated with Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, among the "books of Solomon."

**2. Canonicity.** The book is accepted as part of the Bible in both the Jewish and Christian traditions. It is not possible to discern the reason for its inclusion in the biblical canon, or when the decision was finally made. Solomonic authorship and a religious interpretation of the book are commonly alleged as reasons, but these are not conclusive. At an early date doubt was expressed about the work. In the time of the great rabbi Akiba (died about A.D. 135) a question arose whether it "defiled the hands," i.e., was canonical. He is recorded as saying that the whole world was not worth the day on which the Song was given to Israel (*m. Yad.* 3.5). Except for aberrant instances, no real opposition to the canonical standing of the book has been voiced.

**3. Authorship and Date.** The first verse ("the Song of Songs which [is] 'to' Solomon") has usually been interpreted as indicating Solomonic authorship. That may well be the editor's intent for the preposition "to," but of itself the preposition can suggest other meanings such as subject matter (about), or possession (belonging to). The association of the Song with Solomon is due to the mention of his name six times (1:5; 3:7, 9, 11; 8:11–12), as well as references to a "king" (1:4, 12; 7:6). In none of these instances does "Solomon" speak; all the references are in the third person, except for a vocative, "O Solomon," in 8:11. None of the passages demands Solomonic authorship. It must be admitted that no one has identified the author(s).

By the same token the date of the work cannot be ascertained. Dates before and after the Exile have been proposed, but none has established itself. As M. Pope (*Song of Songs* AB, 27) has remarked, "The dating game as played with biblical books like Job and the Song of Songs, as well as with many of the Psalms, remains imprecise and the score is difficult to compute. There are grounds for both the oldest and the youngest estimates." The tendency of modern scholarship has been to assign a postexilic date. But the arguments, based primarily on language, are fragile. The appearance of a Persian word, *pardēs,* in 4:13, can be balanced against ›*appiryôn* (perhaps of Gk derivation, *phoreion*) in 3:9). No solid inference can be drawn from the appearance of alleged "Aramaisms," or of "archaic survivals" (Albright 1963).

Pertinent to the question of the dating is the unity (see below) of the work. It is conceivable that several poems within the eight chapters were written by different hands at various times, and only later were assembled into the present form of the book. But this is also a matter of conjecture.

**4. ANE Love Poetry.** Although love poetry has flourished in all cultures and ages, it is the literatures of ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt which are most pertinent for comparison with the Song of Songs.

For the most part the Mesopotamian poetry deals with divine love between gods and goddesses. In his study of the ancient Sumerian texts S. N. Kramer (1969) has pointed out such similarities as the portrayal of the male as shepherd and king, while the woman is both bride and sister. In a poem to Shu-Sin (who has the role of the god, Dumuzi) the woman hails the king as the "brother," who provides life and abundance (*ANET,* 644–45). King Shulgi invites his "sister," Inanna in the following words: "I would go with you to my field … I would go with you to my garden" (Kramer 1969:100). Thus, some themes which occur in the poems relating to sacred marriage are also reflected in the Song. This is to be expected. There will always be commonplaces in love language, whether one is speaking of deities or of humans. But there is no sure way of detecting the direction of the influence (e.g., that the love life of the divinities provided motifs for the expression of human love). It seems probable that there was mutual influence.

Only a few texts deal with love between humans. The most pertinent is a dialogue between a man and woman (Held 1961). It reflects a broken love affair, and a reunion. The similarity to the Song lies in the love experience itself; searching for the lover, and enjoying the lover's favors.

The love poetry of ancient Egypt presents impressive parallels to the Song. See also EGYPTIAN LITERATURE (LOVE SONGS). There are four substantial collections, all dating from about the 14th–12th centuries B.C. (*AEL* 2:181–93; Fox 1985:3–81). They differ from the Song in that they present no dialogue between lover and beloved. They are rather soliloquies (and here they resemble the Song; cf. 2:8–17) by the man or by the woman. The woman addresses the man in the second person and sometimes in the third person (cf. Cant 1:2–4). The woman is described as "sister" (Cant 4:9–12; 5:2) and the man is called "brother" (never in the Song, but cf. 8:1). The collections manifest the same literary genres as are found in the Song: poems of admiration, yearning, description of physical charms, boasting, etc. (White 1978:150–53). In both literatures the senses are deeply involved: touching, seeing, hearing, smelling (fragrance). Compliments, sometimes extravagant, abound. The beloved is most beautiful, unique, as in the Song (1:8; 6:9). The atmosphere in both the Egyptian and the Israelite poems is remarkably similar.

Other parallels between the love poetry of various ages and cultures have been pointed out (Robert 1963:329–426). The similarities to the Song are evidence of the common experience of love, not of mutual influence.

**B. Interpretation**

**1. Language and Literary Form.** Considering the length of the Song, there is an extraordinary number of *hapax legomena,* and some defy translation, such as *talpiyyôt* (4:4), *taltallîm* (5:11), *ḥărûzîm* (1:10). Other words are rare in the Hebrew Bible, or are used differently from their normal usage elsewhere, such as *šzp* (1:6), *dgl* (cf. 2:4; 5:10; 6:4, 10), and *ḥnṭ* (2:13). In many instances the commonly received translation is uncertain, e.g. "rugged mountains" (RSV) for "mountains of *btr*." A striking grammatical peculiarity is the use of the relative particle, *še-*. Except for the title, it is used throughout the work. But no conclusion about the date can be drawn from this. It occurs as early as the song of Deborah (Judg 5:7) as well as in late biblical books.

The metaphors ("your eyes are doves," 4:1) and similes ("your hair is like a flock of goats," 4:1) are not easily understood by the modern reader. Keel (1984) wisely insists on the dynamic and cultural character of the comparisons: "eyes" are really glances; "doves" are understood as messengers of love. All kinds of animals appear: sheep, horse, stag, fox, dove, goat, fawn, lions and leopards, ewe, gazelle and hind. Memorable is the oath, "by the gazelles and hinds of the field" (2:7; 3:6). There is a profusion of fruits and flowers, many of them exotic: vineyard, henna, cedars and cypresses, lilies and thorns, apples and raisin cakes, figs and pomegranates, myrrh and aloes, nard and saffron, calamus and cinnamon, palms, herbs, mandrakes, and nut garden. The comparison of the woman to a garden in 4:12–16 is singular in that no one garden in Palestine could have harbored all these plants, many of them foreign. Another unusual characteristic is the high number of proper names: Kedar, En-gedi, Sharon, Tirzah, Lebanon, Gilead, Amana, Senir and Hermon, Heshbon and its pools, Beth-rabbim and Carmel. The exquisite literary style, decorated with a large number of hapax legomena, is perhaps easier to explain on the view that the work derives from a highly educated author(s). But standards of comparison are lacking; we have no established "folk poetry" in the Bible which can be compared with the Song.

The literary form of the Song can be considered from two points of view. What is the genre of the book as it stands, and what subgenres can be found in it? The answer to the first question is hard to determine. Is the Song more than a collection of poems? Is it a work that has been given a certain unity and message by its structure (see the treatment of unity and structure below)? Or is it a haphazard anthology of poems, as 8:6–7, 8–10, 11–12, 13–14 might suggest? An overall designation of the genre of the book does not seem possible. The most neutral designation might be "love song." Even here the term "song" should not be pressed. It is reasonable to suppose that there were love songs in ancient Israel. The references in Jer 7:34; 16:9; 25:10; 33:11 to the "voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride" are probably to wedding songs. It is surely possible that some wedding songs are preserved in the Canticle, but we cannot prove this. As the work stands, it is a poem to be read rather than a song to be sung, despite the title (1:1) which gives it the unity of *one* Song.

The subgenres within the Song can be established with some success (Murphy 1981b). Modern scholarship has been able to characterize the following types: yearning (e.g., 1:2–4), admiration (e.g., 1:12–14), reminiscence (e.g., 2:8–17), *waṣf* (a description of the physical charms of the beloved, e.g., 4:1–7), boasting (e.g., 8:11–12), teasing (e.g., 2:14–15), and self-description (e.g., 1:5–6).

The interpretation of the Song as a *drama* is an attempt to provide a higher unity for these various types of poems. Origen (d. 253) was the first to use the word drama, and he also distinguished between several speakers, or *dramatis personae.* But it was not until modern times that this approach to the Song took hold (Ewald 1826; Delitzsch 1891; Pouget and Guitton 1948). Perhaps the most telling argument against the theory is that none of the proponents agrees with the other. In some instances the text has to be rearranged in order to suit the theory, and in all cases the interpreter has to supply very subjective "stage directions." Again, there is a difference even in the identification of the main characters. According to Delitzsch there are two main characters, Solomon and a shepherd girl, the Shulammite (7:1). The drama deals with the development of their love, how Solomon takes her to Jerusalem, and how his love for her is ennobled. But the interpretation by Ewald recognizes three main characters. King Solomon and a shepherd are suing for the hand of the Shulammite. She ultimately remains faithful to her rustic lover and rejects the royal blandishments of Solomon (8:11–12). Moreover, the conflict and plot development that are characteristic of drama are not evident in the Song. One may agree that the Song is dramatic, but it is not drama as this term is understood in our culture.

The basis for the dramatic interpretation lies in the indisputable fact that there are various speakers within the eight chapters of the Song. Due to the gender indications, there is wide agreement on whether a man or a woman is speaking. It is more difficult to determine if the male speaker is one and the same person, because two identifications are offered: a king (1:4, 12; 7:6) and also a shepherd (1:7–8). It seems better to recognize only one man, in view of the common literary fiction which endows the beloved with more than one identity (king, shepherd, etc.). The tendency is to endow the beloved with a social class above the one to which he or she actually belongs. This is the "make-believe" language of love, feeding off imagination and exemplified in love literature across the centuries, as Hermann (1959:111–24) has pointed out.

How many other speakers can be identified in the Song? The "Daughters of Jerusalem" clearly speak in 5:9 and 6:1, and they are addressed several times by the woman (2:7; 3:5; 5:8). They do not seem to be significant persons in the Song; they serve more as a foil for the woman to speak (especially 5:9; 6:1). The "brothers" of the woman are alluded to in 1:6, and the woman recalls their words of long ago in 8:8–9. The "companions" of the man are mentioned in 1:7 and 8:13, but are not further identified.

Several modern translations (NAB, NEB, NJB) have followed the practice of the ancient Greek ms, *Sinaiticus* (about A.D. 400), in which the identification of "bride" and "bridegroom" was supplied by a copyist. In the main, there is a wide consensus on the identity of the speakers (male or female), and the marginal identifications are an aid to understanding the sequence of the text. It is worth noting that more lines are to be ascribed to the woman than to the man.

Many commentators (Budde 1898; Würthwein 1969:31–33; Krinetzki 1964, but not 1980) have claimed that the original setting of the poems is a marriage celebration. But there is little in the text to sustain this.

It is clear that 3:6–11 refers to a wedding procession—of Solomon "on the day of his marriage" (3:11). But this is the only explicit reference to marriage in the entire work. Elsewhere the man refers to the woman as "sister," and "bride" (4:8–10), but these terms of endearment do not establish the setting of the poems.

Another setting has been proposed by scholars who adhere to the so-called cultic interpretation of the Song (*IB* 5:98–148). This interpretation is an hypothesis concerning the *original* meaning of the poems in their *original* liturgical setting: the sacred marriage rite, or the marriage between a god and a goddess (Haller 1940; Kramer 1969; Schmökel 1956; Waterman 1948). The arguments are by their very nature hypothetical, since so much depends on the reconstruction of the original background. Pope (*Song of Songs* AB, 145–63) presents a sympathetic and critical view of the development of this interpretation, and he is convinced that the cultic view is "best able to account for the erotic imagery" in the work (*Song of Songs* AB, 17). However, at the most this approach deals with the prehistory of the text. Even Meek explains the Song in its present form as (human) love poetry: "The transforming influence of later Yahwism has almost completely obliterated the elements of the dying and rising god, the sacred marriage, and the place of the king in the rites; but enough traces remain to show that they were once there, although long since forgotten" (*IB* 5:95). It is difficult to favor a view that does not deal with the meaning of a text as we presently have it, and insists on making the hypothetical prehistory of the text the determinant of meaning. Of itself love poetry is applicable to the human and the divine levels, and each level doubtless influences the other. But it is precarious to tie the meaning of the Song into a reconstructed history of Israelite religion.

More intriguing is the question of the setting which the poems receive by being made into a book of eight chapters and promulgated as a unit. What was the occasion and purpose of this? It has been surmised that it would have been the Hebrew sages that were responsible for the preservation and publication of the work. They would have recognized that the poems nurtured the ideals which were part of the wisdom teaching, and the attribution of "authorship" to Solomon, the wise man par excellence, gives some credence to this hypothesis (*IOTS*, 574–76; Würthwein 1969:31).

**2. Structure and Unity.** The content of the eight chapters emerges clearly enough from the literary forms mentioned above (yearning, admiration, etc.), and from a discussion of the structure of the work. Even though there are many unsolved problems concerning the structure and unity of the book, there seems to be a drive towards unity in the text, whether this is to be ascribed to an original author or an editor of the collection (Murphy 1977; 1979).

There is no scholarly consensus concerning the structure of the Song. As few as six poems have been suggested (Miller 1927), and some scholars have recognized as many as twenty-five or more (Landsberger 1954; Krinetzki 1980). Angénieux (1964) established eight poems on the basis of primary (e.g., 2:7) and secondary (e.g., 1:4; 2:4; etc.) refrains, but he had to resort to a hypothetical reconstruction of the text. Exum (1973) has a more sophisticated analysis which establishes eight poetic units by means of the repetition of key phrases and themes and parallelism between the poems.

For convenience the following structure is proposed as a key to understanding the coherence of the Song in its present form. These units may very well have been formed out of previous poems, but this question cannot be treated here. The key to this structure is recognition of dialogue as the dominant thread of unity. Where dialogue is interrupted, and cannot be continued in a consecutive manner, separate poems should be recognized. The structure presumes that there are only two main speakers, the man and the woman (see above the discussion of literary form).

*1:2–6.* Introduction. The woman expresses her yearning for her lover (who is present apparently only in spirit), and associates other women ("maidens") with herself. Her description of herself to the Daughters of Jerusalem (vv 6–7) introduces the theme of the vineyard (herself; cf. 2:15; 8:12).

*1:7–2:7.* A sustained dialogue between the man and the woman, in which a request for a rendezvous is answered in a teasing way by him (vv 7–8). Both continue the dialogue in terms of mutual admiration (1:9–2:7) until the woman finishes with an adjuration to the Daughters of Jerusalem (2:7, this serves as a kind of refrain; cf. 3:5; 8:4).

*2:8–17.* This is a reminiscence in which the woman describes a visit from her lover and his invitation to her ("Arise, my beloved, my beautiful one, and come!" 2:10). Her response closes with an inclusion (gazelle, stag, and mountains in v 17; cf. vv 8–9) as she invites him to herself.

*3:1–5.* The woman describes to the Daughters of Jerusalem the search for and discovery of her beloved (contrast 5:2–8). The theme of absence and presence of the lover is common in love poetry. The poem ends with the adjuration (cf. 2:7).

*3:6–11.* These lines end up with an address to the Daughters, but it is difficult to determine who speaks them. They describe a solemn procession of Solomon and his retinue, apparently on the day of his marriage (v 11).

*4:1–5:1.* The man delivers a *waṣf,* or description of the physical charms of the woman, from head to breasts, and invites her to come from Lebanon (a symbol of her inaccessibility), as he describes the ravishing effect which she has upon him (vv 1–11). He continues with the garden poem (vv 12–16) which envisions her as a paradise of exotic plants and as a sealed fountain. The last couple of lines are probably her response: "let my lover come to his garden and eat its choice fruits." In 5:1 he announces his coming to the garden (the very last line is obscure, 5:1d).

*5:2–6:4.* This is a dialogue between the woman and the Daughters of Jerusalem. She begins with a description of a visit from her beloved, reminiscent of 3:1–5. He disappears, but this time she cannot find him. When the Daughters ask her for a description of the man (5:9), she responds with a *waṣf* detailing his physical charms. Their interest aroused, the Daughters want to join in the search, but she replies that he has never been really lost; he has come to his garden, and they belong to each other (6:2–3).

*6:5–12.* The man delivers a poem in admiration of the woman, her beauty, and uniqueness. The final verses are obscure, and v 12 seems to be hopelessly corrupt.

*7:1–8:4.* This dialogue issues into a *waṣf* describing the woman's beauty. It begins as bystanders express an interest in gazing at her. After the description the man clearly expresses his passionate yearning for her (vv 7–10). She interrupts him in order to proclaim their unity (vv 10–11), and invites him to a rendezvous in the fields. Her declarations to him end with an adjuration to the Daughters (8:4; cf. 2:7; 3:5).

*8:5–14.* These verses are not united by dialogue, and have to be interpreted as separate units: vv 5, 6–7, 8–10, 11–12, 13–14. vv 6–14 have been aptly characterized as "appendices" (Robert 1963:308). The most famous lines, and apparently a high point in the poem is the woman's description of love as being as strong as death, as hard as Sheol. Just as death/Sheol pursues every living being, so does the lover pursue the beloved. In vv 8–10 the woman responds to her brothers' plans concerning her. Either the man or the woman proclaims the triumphant comparison between the woman and Solomon's vineyards (harem?). The Song ends in 8:13–14 on the mysterious note that characterizes the whole work. He asks to hear her voice, and she responds with an echo of 2:17.

**3. Levels of Meaning.** In a sense the interpretation has already been indicated in the analysis of the literary forms and structure given above. The Song clearly deals with sexual love between a man and a woman. There is an almost unanimous consensus among modern scholars that the literal historical meaning of the Song has to do with sexual love. This seems to be the obvious meaning of the many expressions of both physical and spiritual affection between the lovers, and should need no further proof. It is not to be described as "naturalistic" (Robert 1963:52–54) nor as "free love" (Rudolph, *KAT,* 106). Both of these terms are pejorative, and "free love" is a modern, not an Israelite idea. The Song must be appreciated simply for what it is in itself. It needs no defense for its "naturalism." It is in line with the basic affirmation of creation, especially of man and woman, as good (Genesis 1). It also harmonizes with the sages' understanding of sex as portrayed in Prov 5:15–19, and in Prov 30:18–19 ("the way of a man with a maiden," a great mystery). In the rest of the Bible marriage is usually viewed from a social point of view, the union of families and property, and the importance of descendants. In the Song sexual love is treated as a value in and for itself.

But the question can be asked whether this level of understanding exhausts the meaning of the Song. Is another meaning possible? Perhaps this question would not even be raised were it not for the striking

history of interpretation (see below) which the work has enjoyed. For centuries readers have consistently interpreted the Song in terms of divine love. What can be said about this view?

First of all, the development of modern hermeneutical theory has shown that there is no "one" meaning for a religious classic. The literal historical sense does not exhaust the meaning of a literary work. The tension between what a literary work meant "back then," and what it means "now," still remains, and the history of the interpretation of the work is a good indication of how meaning has evolved in relation to a given work. However, the historical methodology applied to biblical works cannot be dismissed. It remains all the more important, for it helps to eliminate exaggerations and vagaries of interpretation to which the text may be subjected. One must seek continuity between what the text said to its original audience and what it continues to bring to its inheritors.

Secondly, it is clear from the history of the interpretation of the Song (see below) that it has been understood as dealing with more than human love. Can one find a basis for this in the text itself? Two aspects come to mind. First there is the powerful symbol of sexual love as this has been developed within the Bible itself. The relationship between the Lord and his people was symbolized early on in terms of sexual attraction. The Lord is a "jealous God" (Exod 20:5). The covenant with Israel is not merely a legal contract. It is a covenant of love, and the prophets develop this theme to the full (Hosea 1–2; Isa 1:21; Jer 3:1; Ezekiel 16 and 23). While this theme appears more often in the context of Israel's infidelity, there are many passages which use the symbol to express fidelity (Hos 2:14–23; Isa 62:4–5). It is true that these writings explicitly identify the lovers as God and Israel, whereas in the Song there is no such indication. Yet one cannot deny the power of the symbol of sexual experience to evoke another level of meaning. It can even be said that sexual love is mentioned in the Bible more frequently in the case of the Lord and the people than in the case of human beings. As a statement on human love, the Song remains open-ended. It can be, and actually was interpreted in terms of divine love.

Perhaps there is another reason, emerging from the text of the Song (8:6):

Set me as a seal on your heart,
as a seal on your arm;
Strong as death is love,
relentless as Sheol is ardor;
Its darts are fiery darts,
the flame of Yah (8:6).

Not all translations would agree with the above (but cf. NJB). The last line is a literal translation of *sălhebetyáh* in the MT: "the flame of Yah." The term is to be interpreted as a noun to which the short form of *yhwh*, namely *yāh,* has been added. Most modern translations interpret this as a kind of superlative (a Yah flame, or an intense flame). But the above version is also possible, and it expresses a relationship between the flames of human and divine love. One cannot define this any more clearly, as though Yah were the agent or origin of the flame. But the text is susceptible to broad interpretation, even to the idea that human love is in some way a participation in divine love (cf. 1 John 4:7–8).

**C. History of Interpretation**

The history of the interpretation of the Song is not as bizarre as some are inclined to think. Although Pope (*Song of Songs* AB, 89) writes that no other biblical book "has had so many divergent interpretations imposed on its every word," there is a remarkable unity to be found in the history of its interpretation. Basically this has expressed itself in two directions. As indicated above, the modern view, especially from the 17th century on, is that the Song deals with human love. But for centuries before this, the common understanding of the Song was that it described the love of God and God's people. There is extraordinary agreement between both Jewish and Christian tradition on this point. For the Jewish community, the Song reflected the love relationship between God and Israel. For Christians, the theme was the love relationship between God (Christ) and the Church (or also, the individual person).

This view has been called "allegorical," because the use of allegory as an interpretive method has been employed. But the view can be divorced from the allegorical method, and simply called the "traditional" understanding. Properly speaking, an allegory is a literary work in which the various details in the text

have a transferred meaning (cf. Ezek 17:1–24; Eccl 12:3–4). But an allegorical interpretation is not to be foisted on a text which is not intended as an allegory. The Song was not written as an allegory, but the allegorical method of interpretation, so popular in the Hellenistic age and later, has been employed in exaggerated fashion by the representatives of the "traditional" interpretation.

The Targum interprets the Song (Gollancz 1973) as an historical allegory of Israel's history from the Exodus through the entry into Canaan and the establishment of the monarchy, down to the exile and restoration. The same view is reflected in the Midrash Rabbah, a verse by verse commentary on the biblical text. Ginsburg (1857:20–60) has provided a brief sketch of the steady development of the traditional view among Jewish scholars through the medieval and modern periods. He notes that the translation of the Song by Moses Mendelssohn in 1788 marks a turning point, as a tendency to the literal sense began to appear (1970:58–59). The literal understanding has been continued by several Jewish scholars (Gordis 1954; Jastrow 1921; Fox 1985).

The most influential Christian commentator on the Song of Songs has been Origen, whose homilies (covering 1:1–2:14) and three volumes of a ten volume commentary (covering 1:1–2:15) have been preserved (see Lawson 1957). While he is aware of a literal sense, his exposition is motivated by what he considers pastoral concerns, and hence the Song deals with the relationship between Christ and the Church (and the individual soul). He has recourse to allegory in order to develop this point of view. Another major influence was Gregory the Great (d. 604). He too was aware of the obvious meaning of the text, but he used allegory "as a certain machine" to elevate the soul to God (Murphy 1981a: 511). Obviously, the traditional interpretation of the Song in the Christian community was motivated by certain ascetic and spiritual views that prevented a proper understanding of the literal historical sense. Yet the Song became one of the most popular books in the Middle Ages, when it was accorded more "commentaries" than any other OT book. In the 12th century alone, there were some thirty commentaries written on the Canticle. Outstanding among these is the work of Bernard of Clairvaux: Eighty-six sermons delivered over a period of eighteen years, 1135–1153 (see Bernard 1980). These were conferences to his fellow monks, the Cistercians of Clairvaux where he was Abbot, and he did not succeed in getting beyond chap. 2! Again, the interpretation is the traditional one, but the outlook is refreshing. Although the allegorical method is not absent, Bernard had the knack of recognizing the experience of love which is in the Song. He called it "the book of experience" (Sermon 3, 1), and for him the greatest experience is love: "Love is alone sufficient by itself; it pleases by itself, and for its own sake. It is itself a merit, and itself its own recompense. It seeks neither cause, nor consequences, beyond itself. It is its own fruit, its own object and usefulness. I love, because I love; I love, that I may love" (Sermon 83, 4).

The traditional understanding is reflected also in a masterpiece of Spanish poetry, the "Spiritual Canticle" of John of the Cross (d. 1591). It was composed in the sufferings of imprisonment, and utilizes the phraseology of the Song in order to express a spiritual union with God. The influence of the traditional interpretation has been paramount in the history of literature (Scheper 1971).

With the Reformation, there is only a slight deviation from tradition. Luther's commentary accepts Solomonic authorship, and he interprets the work as "an encomium of the political order, which in Solomon's day flourished in sublime peace" (*WA* 15:194–95). The allegory remains, but the referents have changed. However, the allegorical approach continued to be dominant among Protestant writers for the next several centuries. Among Catholic writers there was a practical unanimity inherited from the past, concerning the traditional meaning of the Song up to the middle of the 20th century. Since then the common understanding has shifted to the recognition that the direct literal sense deals with human love. Further dimensions of interpretation are indicated as the "typical" sense (Miller 1927), or *double entendre* (Tournay 1982), or as simply another level of meaning (Murphy 1981a).

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**SONGS OF THE SABBATH SACRIFICE.** A Dead Sea Scroll text Extant in 8 fragmentary copies from Qumran Cave 4 (*4Q400–407*), one from Cave 11 (11QShirShabb), and one from Masada (MasShirShabb), as reconstructed, the original composition contained a cycle of 13 songs, one for each of the first 13 Sabbaths of the year. Each song began with a heading and date (e.g., "By/for the instructor. Song of the whole-offering of the 7th Sabbath on the 16th of the month"). A call to praise God, addressed to the angels, followed. The body of the songs were variously developed, but each contained some description of angelic praise, the heavenly temple, and the angelic priesthood. From the imperative calls to praise and the occurrence of some first person plural forms (e.g., "How shall we be considered," "let us exalt"), it appears that the songs were intended for communal worship.

Although many of the songs are preserved only in a highly fragmentary condition, there seems to have been an overall structure to the work. The first 5 songs contain an account of the angelic priesthood. Songs 6 and 8 are formulaic descriptions of the praises and blessings of the 7 chief and deputy princes. The 7th song consists of 7 calls to praise addressed to the 7 angelic councils, followed by an account of the praises of the heavenly sanctuary itself. The 9th through the 13th songs describe the heavenly temple and its praise of God. The 12th song contains a lengthy description of the *merkābāh,* the chariot throne of God (see Ezek 1:10). In the final song the vestments of the angelic high priests are described.

It is difficult to say with certainty whether the Sabbath Songs were composed by the Qumran community. The presence of one copy at Masada and the use of *ʾĕlōhîm* as a divine name (avoided in other Qumran sectarian literature) could indicate a pre-Qumran origin for the text. Whether that is the case or not, the large number of mss at Qumran and the influence of the Sabbath Songs on certain clearly sectarian compositions (the *Songs of the Maśkil* [*4Q510–511*] and the *Blessings and Curses* [*4QBerakot*$^{a–f}$]), indicate that the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* were highly influential at Qumran. The content of the material makes it likely that the Sabbath Songs were composed for a group with a strong priestly identity. While there is no evidence from the content for a date of composition, the paleography of the oldest mss suggests a date not much later than the beginning of the 1st century B.C.E.

As liturgical texts, the Sabbath Songs are not apocalypses. But their description of the heavenly temple is in many respects close to what one finds in *1 Enoch* 14, the *Testament of Levi*, and Revelation. Similarly, although they do not appear to have been used in individual mystical praxis, the Sabbath Songs share many features of content and style with the texts of *hêkālôt* or *merkābāh* mysticism.

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**SONS OF GOD.** In Greek literature from Homeric times there is the idea of Zeus as "father of gods and men." In the later Greco-Roman Mediterranean world, Stoic philosophy stressed the unity of humankind on the basis that all are by nature children of God. An echo of this appears in the quotation of a well-known verse of the poet Aratus put on Paul's lips in the Areopagus speech (Acts 17:28). But the biblical idea of divine sonship and more specifically the Christian conception of believers as "sons/children of God" owes little to such external influences, having its roots in ideas and forms of expression enshrined in early Israelite theology. This article will trace divine sonship patterns in the OT, Intertestamental and Rabbinic Literature, before examining the NT data. See also SON OF GOD.

**A. Old Testament**

The designation "sons (son) of God" occurs in the OT in three clearly definable categories depending on whether it refers (1) to divine or angelic beings; (2) to Israelites or Israel as a whole; or (3) individually to the king.

The use of the expression "sons of God" (more correctly "sons of the gods") with reference to heavenly beings does not imply actual progeny of God (or the gods) but reflects the common Semitic use of "son" (Heb *ben*) to denote membership of a class or group. "Sons of the gods," then, designates beings belonging to the heavenly or divine sphere. Such allusions to a plurality of divine beings, occurring especially in the Psalms and related poetic literature, represent a stage when Israel's Yahwism found room for a pantheon in many ways similar to Canaanite models (cf. the literature of Ugarit). In the Bible, however, such beings are clearly subordinate to Yahweh, forming his heavenly court or council (Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7; Pss 29:1; 82:6; 89:6; cf. Deut 32:43 LXX). Echoes of deliberation with such a court can be heard in the mysterious plural references of Gen 1:26; 3:22; 11:7. As shown by the episode related in Gen 6:1–4, where the "sons of the gods" take wives from the daughters of men, and also by Ps 82:6–7, a key point of distinction between the "sons of the gods" and human beings lay in the matter of life and death: humans remain mortal, unless given a share in the "spirit" common to Yahweh and his host. Eventually the "sons of the gods" were fused with the concept of angels—a development already to be seen in Dan 3:25 and reflected, for the most part, in the LXX.

The description of Israel or Israelites as "sons (son) of God," together with the corresponding idea of God as "Father," is hardly a leading or frequently occurring motif in the OT, though it does feature across a fairly wide cross section of texts. The usage never implies real paternity on God's part. Rather, in a metaphorical way it expresses the intimate and unique relationship between Yahweh and Israel, founded upon the fact that he has chosen and created this people for himself (Deut 14:1; 32:5–6, 19–20; Isa 43:6–7; 64:8; Jer 2:27; Mal 2:10). This filial relationship, while offering assurance and hope for Israel (Isa 63:8,

16; Jer 31:9, 20), also requires a faithful pattern of life. Thus assertions of sonship often serve to heighten reproach (Deut 32:5–6; Isa 1:2–4; 30:9; Hos 11:1–2). In such situations Israel can expect the kind of discipline that sons receive from their fathers (Deut 1:31; 8:5; Mal 1:6; 3:17; Prov 3:11–12). The simple metaphor of sonship becomes a more formal and explicit statement in certain contexts where Israel's status as God's people is affirmed over against other nations (against Pharaoh in Exod 4:22–23; cf. Deut 14:1–2). The association of sonship and "people of God" comes out in a particularly striking way in the oracle of salvation in Hos 2:1 (—Eng 1:10):"… and in the place where it was said to them, 'You are not my people,' it shall be said to them 'Sons of the living God.' " Thus sonship emerges from the OT tradition as the unique privilege of Israel, chosen and created by God. Upon Israel it imposes a peculiar loyalty and obedience; from outsiders it draws acknowledgment and respect.

The privilege of sonship in the OT is focused upon an individual solely in the person of the king. Although the actual phrase "son of God"—let alone "son of Yahweh"—never occurs, the idea appears in two ancient "royal" psalms (Pss 2:7b: "He [the Lord] said to me, 'You are my son, today I have begotten you' "; and 110:3 [assuming that the LXX (Psalm 109) represents the original reading]). Likewise, a filial relationship to God, with its threat of admonition as well as assurance of protection, features in the dynastic oracle to the house of David spoken by Nathan the prophet (2 Sam 7:14: "I will be his father and he shall be my son"; 1 Chr 17:13; 22:10; 28:6; Ps 89:19–37). The idea of a divine "begetting" of the king echoes the royal ideology of surrounding cultures (esp. Egypt). But the Israelite dynastic oracle sets the filial relationship firmly within the framework of the covenantal theology that applies to the people as a whole. While sonship bestows dominion and divine protection, it also promises on God's part intolerance of disloyalty and sin. The "royal" sonship is, then, a microcosm of the divine sonship of all Israel.

**B. Intertestamental Literature**

The usage of "sons (son) of God" to denote heavenly beings continues in a broad range of Jewish texts right up to the time of the rise of Christianity. But now, as already in Dan 3:25, the reference is simply to angels (Wis 5:5; *1 En.* 6:2; 13:8; 14:3 [all as "sons of heaven"]; 69:4–5; 71:1; 106:5–6; *T. Ab.* 12:6; Seth fragment in Cedrenus [Migne, *PG* 121 Col. 8 (p. 41)]; *Jos. Asen.* 16:14; *L.A.B.* 3:1; 1QHf 2:3).

Somewhat isolated references to Israel (Israelites) as " (firstborn) son(s) of God" occur in a broad scattering of texts, especially in contexts where a sharp distinction is made between Israel and other nations (Sir 36:12 [LXX 16b]; Wis 9:7; 12:7, 20–21; 16:10, 21, 26; 18:4, 13; 19:6; Jdt 9:4, 13; *2 Bar.* 13:9; *3 Macc.* 6:28; 7:6; *Pss. Sol.* 17:30; *Jub.* 1:25–28; 2:20; *4 Ezra* 5:28; 6:58; *Assum. Mos.* 10:3; *L.A.B.* 32:10; 4QDibHam 3:4–6). "Son(s) of God" (or its equivalent) becomes virtually a synonym for "people of God" (= Israel), while the OT associations of election, closeness to God, and special protection continue. The ethical aspect of the sonship metaphor also continues (Add Esth 16:14–16; *Pss. Sol.* 17:30; *L.A.B.* 16:5), often associated with the idea of disciplinary chastisement (Wis 12:20–21; 16:10–11; *Pss. Sol.* 18:4).

A fresh development, however, is the considerable frequency with which the motif occurs in eschatological contexts. This suggests that it was an epithet felt to be particularly apt to describe the ideal Israel of the end time, the holy and purified people of God, destined to possess or actually in possession of the blessings of salvation (*Jub.* 1:25–28; *Pss. Sol.* 17:30; *Sib. Or.* 3:702–4; 5:248–50). Frequently, acknowledgment of sonship suggests the idea of rescue from or immunity to death. Connected with this is a widespread tendency in the intertestamental period to characterize the future awaiting the righteous as a restoration of the angel-like immunity to death enjoyed by human beings before the fall (*1 En.* 69:11; *2 En.* 30:11; Wis 1:23–24), along with other angelic characteristics and privileges such as a shining countenance, vision of God, and presence at the heavenly liturgy (Wis 5:5; *2 Bar.* 51:3–12; *Pr. Jos.* A). The combination of these motifs in the eschatology of several texts suggests a conflation in the later period of the formerly separate categories of "Israelite" and "heavenly being (angelic)" divine sonship (Byrne 1979).

For the intertestamental period there is as yet no direct evidence of the individual "son (child) of God" title applied to a Davidic ruler in the titular way associated with later Christian messianism—though fragmentary texts from Qumran (4QFlor; 4QpsDan ar[a]) point to some degree in this direction. More

striking is the frequent use of the singular "son/child *(huios, pais)* of God" in Wisdom 2–5 to denote the individual righteous person, whose ultimate immunity to death and whose destiny to eternal life is acknowledged by his persecutors (Wis 2:16–18; 5:5). The frequent occurrence of the sonship theme in the final part of Wisdom, the great midrash upon the rescue of Israel from Egyptian persecution and pursuit (chaps. 10–19), represents a "democratization" of the individual usage occurring in the early chapters; like the righteous person of chaps. 2–5, the righteous nation, made up of God's sons, receives mild discipline, special favor, and rescue from the clutches of the enemy (12:7, 20; 16:1, 26; 18:4, 13; 19:6).

Though sometimes proceeding from the relevant biblical texts (Deut 14:1 and 32:18 in Philo, *Conf.* 145–46), expressions of divine sonship in Philo have more in common with Stoic-Platonic models and are used to reinforce the moral qualities required for the ascent of the truly wise person to the knowledge and vision of God. Significantly, it is God's Word *(Logos),* himself the "Firstborn Son," who assists human beings in this process, which involves, according to one passage (*Sobr.* 56), becoming "by adoption" God's only son.

**C. Rabbinic Literature**

The motif of Israel (Israelites) as "son (sons) of God" occurs fairly frequently in Rabbinic literature from the earliest period onward (R. Akiba, *m. ʾAbot* 3:15; R. Yose the Galilean, *Mek.* on Exod 15:18). These show an explicit awareness of sonship as a unique privilege. In the 2d century there is a dispute as to whether sonship is an abiding privilege independent of behavior or whether it is to be seen in ethical terms, coming and going according to practice (*b. Qidd.* 36a). Later texts seem to reflect long-standing disputes with Christians as to whether Israel's sonship privilege can be extended to gentiles (*Pesiq. R.* 5:1).

All this material reflects an explicit consciousness of divine sonship as a distinctive privilege of Israel, especially in connection with eschatological restoration, at the time of the rise of Christianity.

**D. The New Testament**

In the NT the designation of believers as "sons *(huioi)*" or "children *(tekna)* of God" occurs as a major motif in the Pauline and Johannine literature, although there are isolated references elsewhere. However, the sense of God as "Father" and the disciples of Jesus, correspondingly, as "sons/children" is probably far more central in the Synoptic tradition than the scattered allusions might suggest: Matt 6:9 = Luke 11:2 (the Lord's prayer); Matt 5:45 (the exhortation to love one's enemies in order to be "sons of your Father in heaven"); the implications of the exhortation to petitionary prayer (Matt 7:9, 11 = Luke 11:11–13). While the references just mentioned bring out the ethical side of sonship (Eph 5:1), the eschatological sense emerges in the beatitude of Matt 5:9 and more strikingly in the teaching on the resurrection in Luke 20:36 (where being "sons of God" and "sons of the resurrection" is linked with being equal to angels). A similar sense seems to attend the allusion in Heb 2:10 to God's leading "many sons to glory"; here Christian sonship is clearly patterned upon that of Christ, who bears the "Son" title in a unique way (1:1–13). Later in Hebrews (12:5b–6 [a quotation from Prov 3:11–12]) the "disciplinary" aspect emerges to explain the trials of persecution.

**1. The Pauline Literature.** In Rom 9:4 Paul lists *huiothesia* (sonship) among a traditional list of Jewish privileges. The term does not occur in the LXX or in any Hellenistic Jewish texts but its use is widespread in Greek literature and inscriptions to denote the common Greco-Roman custom of "adoption." There is a sense in which adoption well suits the Jewish idea of sonship with its basis in election and creation rather than any suggestion of divine procreation. On the other hand, adoption in the strict sense was not a Jewish custom and it may be best not to tie *huiothesia* too narrowly to this meaning, but rather to see behind the term (also in Rom 8:15, 23; Gal 4:5; Eph 1:5) principally the long-standing biblical tradition of Israel (Israelites) as "son (sons) of God."

In Galatians the motif of divine sonship indicates the status of freedom which believers enjoy in the new age, in contrast to the slavery and fear of the old age. The Galatians are tempted to go back into the old age of slavery and set about earning the eschatological blessings by taking on the yoke of the law. But Paul points to the experience of the Spirit (3:2, 5; 4:6–7) as empirical evidence that their believing response to the gospel has ushered them into the new age in which they already enjoy the status of sons.

He blends the argument from experience with a complex scriptural proof showing Christ, as unique "seed" (3:16), to be the sole heir of the promise to Abraham "and to his seed." Believers, including most notably Gentile believers, share in the sonship status and the inheritance only by "entrance" into Christ through faith and baptism (3:26). Thus Christian sonship is God's eschatological gift, enabled by the redemptive death of Christ. It has a totally christological base, attested by the fact that the Spirit of the Son impels the baptized to address God in the way distinctive of Jesus: "*Abba,* Father" (4:6; Rom 8:15; Mark 14:36).

In Romans 8, Paul introduces sonship at the point where his discussion of the new freedom made possible by the Spirit opens the prospect of the hope for eternal life (the statement in v 14 that "all who are led by the Spirit of God are sons of God" picks up the "will live" at the end of v 13). Sonship is a present reality, attested, as in Galatians 3–4 by the experience of the Spirit (vv 15–16). But this is so in a hidden way, surrounded by suffering. The public revelation of sonship awaits the fullness of eschatological existence and will be shown by resurrection (8:23), in which the freedom and glory of the "sons/children of God" will be revealed, accompanied by the restoration of all creation (8:19, 21). All this is simply the unfolding of God's eternal plan that human beings should share the "image of his Son (the risen Lord)" so that he would be "Firstborn among many brethren" (8:29–30).

The upshot of Paul's argument in Romans 8 is that God has conferred the eschatological sonship upon all believers, Jewish and gentile alike. The acute problem this raises with respect to the unique Jewish privilege implied in the traditional understanding is part of the general problem addressed in chaps. 9–11. In a complex scriptural argument, Paul first establishes that sonship does not derive from fleshly descent from Abraham nor does it involve any human meriting, but rests entirely upon God's free choice and election (9:6–18). He finally employs the text of Hos 1:10 (blended in a creative way with 2:23) to indicate God's purpose to include the Gentiles (originally "not my people") within the scope of God's eschatological call to sonship (9:22–26).

An isolated reference in Phil 2:15 shows a more ethical view of sonship based on Deut 32:5. In 2 Cor 6:18, possibly a fragment from an earlier text, we have eschatological sonship in the shape of the Davidic oracle (2 Sam 7:14) rendered in a more "inclusive" and "democratic" form: "you will be to me sons and daughters." A similar use of the oracle occurs in Rev 21:7.

**2. The Johannine Literature.** In contrast to the more fluid Pauline usage, the Johannine literature reserves the strict sonship language *(huios)* for Jesus Christ, describing believers as "children *[tekna]* of God."

In the Gospel of John the expression occurs only twice (1:12; 11:52), but there are indications that the title and status occupy a central place in the self-understanding of the Johannine community. In the first instance a structural analysis of the Prologue shows that the "power to become children of God" (v 12), those who are "begotten of God" (v 13) is in fact the central affirmation (Culpepper 1980). To Nicodemus, representative of sympathetic Pharisaic Judaism, Jesus insists that entrance into the eschatological age likewise involves a being "born from above" (3:3, 5). Although the actual title does not occur, the identity of the real children of God and the criterion by which this is established stands at the center of the debate between Jesus and "the believing Jews" in 8:31–47. The latter base their claim to sonship and freedom on the basis of being "seed of Abraham." Jesus contests that they are true descendants of Abraham and asserts that they, in fact, have the devil, not God, as their father because of their murderous intent towards himself (vv 39–44). Such passages appear to reflect debates between the Johannine community and Jewish groups as to the criterion of the eschatological divine sonship and its true possessors. Similarly, the comment in 11:51–52 that the high priest's prophecy unwittingly but accurately foretold the effect of Jesus' death, namely that it would serve to gather into one all the "scattered children of God," shows a Christian redefinition of the epithet, reminiscent of Paul: the eschatological Israel is gathered from all believers, Jewish and gentile, who constitute the "children of God."

In 1 John the sonship claim again features in a context of dispute—this time dispute within the Johannine movement itself. Sonship is a status conferred by God and, as in the Gospel, stems from being

begotten of God (2:29–3:2; 3:9–10; 5:1–4). It is a present possession but, as in Romans 8, there is a completion of sonship, yet to be revealed (3:1–2). The polemical context, however, in a way reminiscent of John 8, brings to the fore the ethical aspect of sonship: the "children of God" are distinguished from the "children of the devil" by the fact that they do not sin, that they do righteousness (3:10), that they love both God and the "children he begets," that is, the true members of the community (5:1–2).

From both the Pauline and Johannine literature it is clear that the motif of divine sonship, traditionally understood as a distinctive eschatological privilege of Israel, had a place at the center of Christian attempts at self-definition both with respect to Israel and also to the inclusion of the gentiles until the close of the 1st century C.E.

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**SOOTHSAYER.** See MAGIC (OT).

**SOPATER** (PERSON) [Gk *Sōpatros* (Σωπατρος)]. A Christian from Beroea identified as the son of Pyrrhus (Acts 20:4). Sopater, along with numerous others, accompanied Paul from Greece (probably Corinth) through Macedonia as Paul made his way to Jerusalem, presumably carrying a collection (cf. 24:17). Sopater and Paul's other companions sailed ahead to Troas (20:5) where Paul caught up with them and stayed for seven days (20:6). Sopater and the others were probably present at Paul's preaching in Troas when Eutychus was overcome with sleep and fell out of the window (20:7–12). It is not evident whether Sopater went on with Paul to Jerusalem.

Because Sopater's name is a shortened form of Sosipater, he may be identical to the person of the latter name mentioned in Rom 16:21. See SOSIPATER. The linking of Sopater with various Thessalonians in Acts 20:4 and of Sosipater with Jason in Rom 16:21 argues for the identification. See JASON #2.

FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

**SOPHERETH** (PERSON) [Heb *sôperet* (סוֹפֶרֶת)]. Var. HASSOPHERETH. Head of a family of SOLOMON'S SERVANTS who returned from the Babylonian exile to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, between 538 and 520 B.C.E. (Ezra 2:55; Neh 7:57; 1 Esdr 5:33). Written as Hassophereth in Ezra 2:55 and 1 Esdr 5:33 (lit. "the female scribe") and as Sophereth in Neh 7:57 (lit. "female scribe"), this name may denote a profession which had become a proper name (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 27) or "the guild or office of scribes" (Fensham *Ezra and Nehemiah* NICOT, 55). The definite article in Ezra 2:55 suggests the latter. The feminine form is of special interest. Although conclusions from names are always tenuous, it is worth considering the possibility that this family owes its origin to a female scribe. The presence of female scribes in the ANE has been documented (Meier fc.). Ezra-Nehemiah itself indicates that a clan may take the name of its matriarch: according to Ezra 2:61 (Neh 7:63 and 1 Esdr 5:38) the Barzillai clan is named after the wife because the man has taken her name. Similar developments may account for this name.

The clan of Hassophereth comes second in Ezra-Nehemiah's lists of Solomon's servants and first in 1 Esdras's, a position which may indicate prominence within this guild. The origin of the guild is possibly preexilic. Some scholars conclude from 1 Kgs 9:20 that they were originally enslaved foreigners. Levine (1963), however, suggests that the term denotes Israelite officials supervising foreigners. In the postexilic era, the term "servant" typically refers to officials. Like the Temple servants (NETHINIM), Solomon's servants were temple functionaries (Weinberg 1975). They were members of the congregation of Israel and separated thereby from slaves (Ezra 2:64). The size of the clan of Hassophereth is unknown. Its

members, combined with the rest of Solomon's servants and temple servants, add up to 392 in Ezra-Nehemiah (372 in 1 Esdras).

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**SOPHIA OF JESUS CHRIST** (NHC III,*4*). See EUGNOSTOS AND THE SOPHIA OF JESUS CHRIST.

**SORCERER, SORCERY.** See MAGIC (OT); PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES.

**SOREG** [Heb *sôreg* (סוֹרֵג)]. See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

**SOREK, VALLEY OF** (PLACE) [Heb *naḥal šōrēq* (נַחַל שֹׂרֵק)]. A valley mentioned by name only once in the Bible (Judg 16:4). The name refers primarily to a relatively broad valley in the Shephelah some 21 km (13 miles) W of Jerusalem, but also to the occasional river (Nahal Soreq) and to the system which includes the Chesalon and the Rephaim valleys which join the Sorek to drain a 16 km (10 mile) section of the watershed W of Jerusalem extending from Ramah to Bethlehem. These wadis drop ca. 610 m (2000 ft) through the Judean mountains, cutting deep v-shaped canyons into the hard limestone as they flow from E to W. This canyon system, along with those of the Aijalon and Elah, make N-S travel in Judah virtually impossible W of the ridge route. As the Sorek reaches the softer limestone and chalk of the Shepehlah (foothill region), the valley broadens out. And as the flow slows in the lower elevations, alluvial soil is deposited making a rich fertile valley. Travel both N-S and E-W is much easier.

The lower valley served as the border between the territories allotted to the tribes of Dan and Judah (Josh 15:9–12; 19:40–49). However, because of its strategic location and fertility, it was also greatly desired by the Philistines whose domination of the area adjacent to the Philistine Plain eventually led to the migration of Dan to Laish in the N (Judges 18).

Samson was from the Sorek: born in ZORAH (Judges 13) and buried between there and Eshtaol. He married a Philistine woman from Timnah and later loved Delilah who was also from the Sorek (Judg 16:4). The Philistines returned the Ark of the Covenant from Ekron via the Sorek Valley to Beth-shemesh (1 Sam 6:1–7:2).

The strategic importance of the valley is illustrated by the fact that during the divided monarchy, Zorah along with a number of other cities along the Shephelah was fortified by Rehoboam and successors to defend the hill country from any incursions from the coastal plain (2 Chr 11:5–12; cf. 14:6–7). Around 780 B.C., Joash king of Israel defeated and captured Amaziah king of Judah at Beth-shemesh, and from there climbed up to plunder Jerusalem (2 Kgs 14:11–14). Hezekiah (715–686 B.C.), conquered the Philistine Plain once again only to find it overtaken by Sennacherib in 701 (2 Kings 18–19; 2 Chronicles 32; Isaiah 30; 36; 37).

PAUL WAYNE FERRIS JR.

**SORES.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**SOSIPATER** (PERSON) [Gk *Sōsipatros* (Σωσιπατρος)]. The name of two different persons mentioned in the Greek canon of the OT and in the NT.

**1.** One of the commanders under Judas Maccabeus in the war against Timothy in Transjordan. He and Dositheus, who served with him, took Timothy prisoner, but were later convinced by him to let him go (2 Macc 12:19–25).

**2.** A Christian referred to by Paul in Rom 16:21, along with Lucius and Jason, as Paul's "kinsman." Presumably this meant that like Paul these three men were also Jewish Christians. Sosipater and the others are mentioned by Paul as sending greetings to the recipients of the Epistle to the Romans. Thus he must have been present with Paul in Corinth as that letter was being written in ca. 58 C.E. It is possible

Sosipater is identical to the Sopater mentioned in Acts 20:4, who at approximately the same time travelled with Paul as he left Corinth to deliver the collection to Jerusalem. See SOPATER; JASON #2.
FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

**SOSTHENES** (PERSON) [Gk *Sōsthenēs* (Σωσθενης)]. A "ruler of the synagogue" *(archisynagōgos)* in Corinth, mentioned in Acts 18:17 in connection with Paul's being haled before Gallio. Sources suggest the *archisynagōgos* fulfilled a variety of leadership roles in the ancient synagogue.

Acts 18:12–17 relates an incident where "the Jews" accuse Paul before the Roman proconsul Gallio, claiming he teaches others "to worship God contrary to law." Gallio refuses to judge, declaring it an internal Jewish matter. Following this unsuccessful attempt to trap Paul, the crowd seizes Sosthenes, the "ruler of the synagogue" and beats him before the tribunal. Gallio is indifferent and takes no action. Several commentators have suggested Sosthenes' beating is a burlesque touch, where the one who sought to persecute another becomes a victim himself. However it is not clear that Sosthenes was one of Paul's accusers. Nor does the text make explicit whether the angry mob which attacks Sosthenes is his own Jewish constituency turning on him for his failure to secure Paul's arrest, or a crowd of gentile bystanders in an anti-Semitic frenzy. However, opinion seems to favor the latter view.

Sosthenes need not have succeeded Crispus, who had become a Christian, as some commentators maintain, since ancient sources show there could be more than one *archisynagōgos* at a time.

Paul refers to "our brother Sosthenes" in 1 Cor 1:1. Some interpreters have assumed that this is the same Sosthenes mentioned in Acts, but such an identity cannot be proven. If the two are one and the same person, then he would have become a believer in Jesus sometime after the incident before Gallio. See Acts commentaries in Hermeneia, MeyerK, and HTKNT.
CLAUDIA J. SETZER

**SOSTRATUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Sōstratos* (Σωστρατος)]. Sostratus was the Seleucid governor (Gk *eparchos*) of the citadel in Jerusalem while Antiochus IV Epiphanes was king and Onias-Menelaus was serving as high priest (172 B.C.E.). 2 Macc 4:28–29 states that Sostratus as governor was responsible for collecting monies owed to Antiochus IV by the high priest. 2 Maccabees 4 appears to indicate that Sostratus, as governor of the Syrian garrison in Jerusalem, collected taxes *(diaphora)* on behalf of the king. As reasonable as this seems, at least in this case the issue is not tax money but arrears owed to the king by the high priest (Bickerman 1980:163–64). Onias-Menelaus held the office of high priest at the good will of the Syrian king and by force of Syrian arms in Jerusalem. Antiochus' need for funds had moved him to replace the high priest Jason with Onias-Menelaus as the latter had promised access to the Temple treasury (Tcherikover 1977:170). The high priest Onias-Menelaus was not forthcoming with the promised funds and the Syrian commander Sostratus was unable to collect on the debt.

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**SOTAI** (PERSON) [Heb *soṭay* (סָטַי)]. Head of a family of SOLOMON'S SERVANTS who returned from the Babylonian exile to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, between 538 and 520 B.C.E. (Ezra 2:55, Neh 7:57). The family of Sotai heads the list of ten families of Solomon's servants in Ezra-Nehemiah, perhaps denoting its distinction in this guild. 1 Esdras, however, omits the name altogether. Each occurrence of the name is slightly different although the consonants remain the same. None of these variations helps to identify the family's origin or its specific role among Solomon's servants.

The guild of Solomon's servants is probably preexilic. Some scholars conclude from 1 Kgs 9:20 that they were originally enslaved foreigners (See Weinberg 1975). Levine (1963) however, suggests that the term denotes Israelite officials who supervise foreigners. In the postexilic era, the term "servant" typically refers to officials. Like the Temple Servants (NETHINIM), Solomon's servants are temple functionaries. Although they appear last in the list of members of the congregation (which suggests a low status), they are clearly separated from slaves, who are not included as members (Ezra 2:64). The size of the Sotai

family is unknown. Its members, combined with the rest of Solomon's servants and temple servants, add up to 392 in Ezra-Nehemiah (372 in 1 Esdras). See also Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL; Fensham *Ezra and Nehemiah* NICOT; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC.

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**SOUL, EXEGESIS ON THE.** See EXEGESIS ON THE SOUL (NHC II, *6*).

**SOULS, PREEXISTENCE OF.** A doctrine which teaches that the souls of humans and even animals had a prior existence before being born into mortal bodies. In its appearance among Jewish and early Christian writings, this teaching commonly exhibited influences from Platonic thought. But it also has biblical ties. A notable example consists of these words of the Lord to Jeremiah: "Before I formed you in the womb I knew you, and before you were born I consecrated you; I appointed you a prophet to the nations" (Jer 1:5). A second excerpt which recalls this notion is found in the series of questions put to Job by the Lord about the formation of the earth: "On what were its bases sunk, or who laid its cornerstone, when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy?" (Job 38:6–7). Antecedent influences on this excerpt are difficult to trace, although the Psalms speak of celestial hosts who sing praises to the King of Heaven, echoing Ugaritic poetry (cf. Pss. 19:2; 29:2; 148:2–3).

In the NT, the idea appears in the story of Jesus healing the man born blind. At its outset, "his disciples asked him, 'Rabbi, who sinned, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?' " (John 9:2). The concept of a premortal life, in which an individual is able to make choices, lies at the base of the question, indicating that at least the evangelist and his audience shared this view. One must not rule out the possibility that Jesus' disciples also believed the doctrine.

It is conceivable that this concept formed an aspect of Paul's belief, its origins likely lying in his Jewish background. Referring to his turning away from persecuting followers of Jesus, Paul speaks of God as "he who had set me apart before I was born" (Gal 1:15). Another passage, which consists of a thanksgiving to God, reads as follows: "even as he [God] chose us in him before the foundation of the world" (Eph 1:4). Aside from the issue of the Greek vocabulary used here, the verse seems to affirm that in the beginning a celestial plan had been formulated to select persons to fulfill God's purposes; a second dimension may be that God's selection was carried out among persons during a preexistent state.

Jewish sources also reveal the idea of a preexistence. The Wisdom of Solomon, dating to the 1st century B.C.E. and exhibiting Platonic influence, has Solomon say the following in a prayer: "As a child I was by nature well endowed, and a good soul fell to my lot; or rather, being good, I entered an undefiled body" (8:19–20). *2 Enoch,* whose origin is likely Jewish, states that "all souls are prepared for eternity, before the composition of the earth" (23:5), and later hints at Adam's preexistence (chap. 32). In a passage that may be laced with Greek influences, Josephus records that the Essenes, who denigrated the body, believed that "the soul is immortal and imperishable. Emanating from the finest ether, these souls become entangled, as it were, in the prison house of the body, to which they are dragged down by a sort of natural spell" (*JW* 2.8.11). Later rabbinic writers, as well as Philo of Alexandria, also held to this teaching.

Among early Christian writers, the most notable proponent of the doctrine of the preexistence of souls was Origen. For him, the eternal goodness of God required that, since he now dispenses gifts to his creatures, he must always have done so. "It is absurd and impious to suppose that these powers of God have been at any time in abeyance for a single moment … We therefore can imagine no moment whatever when that power was not engaged in acts of well-doing. Whence it follows that there always existed objects for this well-doing, namely, God's works or creatures" (*Princ.* 1.4.3). The justice of God, which operates even in the station of life which one inherits, demands that "all rational creatures [be] of one nature, and it is only on this ground that the justice of God in all his dealings with them can be defended, namely, when each contains within himself the reasons why he has been placed in this or in that rank of life" (3.5.4). Thus Origen's concept affirmed a premortal period in which individual souls were able to

make choices. His views were condemned officially in A.D. 553 in the opening Anathema of the Second Council of Constantinople.

Texts recovered in the Nag Hammadi library, of both Jewish and Christian origin, illustrate that the belief in a preexistence was shared by some gnostics. According to the *Gos. Eg.* in Codex III, Adam was known as a premortal great one who associated with the "holy men of the great light," "men of the Father" (50:12–14). In a related vein, the heavenly Seth was said to have proposed the gathering of a council of premortal souls, then spelled out a plan "to the whole multitude of the multitudinous assembly" which was received with rejoicing by "the whole house of the Father of Truth." Consequently, Seth was sent "to reveal the glory [of the Father] to [his] kindred and [his] fellow spirits" (*Treat. Seth,* 50.1–24). In addition to notable personalities, there is evidence that the souls of others enjoyed a preexistent life. In Saying 4 of the *Gos. Thom.,* the following is attributed to the risen Jesus: "The man who is old in days will not hesitate to ask a child seven days old about the place of life, and he will live." The sense is that a child who has not yet been circumcised on the eighth day has retained an impression of the "place of life," which allows the old man to inquire. Both the *Ap. Jas.* and the *Tri. Trac.* hint at the notion of a premortal life for at least the souls of the elect. See also *IDB* 3:869–70; *ERE* 10:235–41.

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**SOURCE CRITICISM.** Formerly called "literary criticism" or "higher criticism," source criticism is a method of biblical study which analyzes texts that are not the work of a single author but result from the combination of originally separate documents. This method has been applied to texts of the Old Testament (especially but not exclusively the Pentateuch) and New Testament (especially but not exclusively the gospels). This entry surveys the application of this method to those texts.

***OLD TESTAMENT***

A. Definitions
B. History and Development
C. Evidence for Composite Character
    1. Inconsistencies
    2. Repetitions and Doublets
    3. Stylistic Differences
D. Stages of Source-Critical Analysis
    1. Breaking Up the Text
    2. Reconstructing the Sources
    3. Dating the Sources
E. Terminology
    1. Alternative Terms
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**A. Definitions**

Modern literary conventions forbid plagiarism, and require authors to identify and acknowledge any material they have borrowed from another writer. But in ancient times it was common to "write" a book by transcribing existing material, adapting and adding to it from other documents as required, and not indicating which parts were original and which borrowed. The OT contains few books which are the work of a single author throughout; for the most part its books are composite, and in some cases the source materials are drawn from original documents that may be spread over several centuries. Source criticism seeks to separate out these originally independent documents, and to assign them to relative (and, if possible, absolute) dates.

Source criticism is to be distinguished from other critical methods. Where original documents prove not to have been free compositions, but to rest on older, oral tradition, FORM CRITICISM may then be used to penetrate behind the written text. The study of the editing process, whereby the sources have been linked together and incorporated into the present, finished text belongs to the province of REDACTION CRITICISM. Source criticism should also be distinguished from textual (sometimes called lower) criticism, which is concerned to establish the exact wording of the earliest manuscript of the present text, not to reconstruct hypothetical earlier stages in the text's growth. Nevertheless, there is some overlap between source and textual criticism, since the telltale signs that a text is composite may include the kinds of minor inconsistency that scribes were apt to correct when copying manuscripts, and the textual critic needs to be aware of this when making conjectures about textual transmission. Conversely, source critics must be careful not to appeal to such inconsistencies without first making sure that they cannot be accounted for as slips in copying.

**B. History and Development**

Source criticism, the oldest of all the critical "methods" of biblical study, began in the 17th and 18th centuries, but it was during the 19th century that it seemed to offer the answer to most of the puzzles posed by the pentateuch in particular. By mid-century the present division of the Pentateuch into J, E, D, and P was widely accepted among critical scholars, though P was generally known as E2, or the "second Elohist." See TORAH. A decisive end to older, alternative theories such as the "Fragmentary Hypothesis" (which resisted the idea of a few continuous sources) and the "Supplementary Hypothesis" (a basic outline enriched with accretions) came with the work of Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918). Building on earlier work by de Wette and Karl-Heinz Graf, Wellhausen established, in a series of articles (Wellhausen 1885), that the four-source hypothesis was the most satisfactory explanation of the evidence that pointed to the composite character of the Pentateuch. But he went beyond this to provide for the first time a reasoned dating of the sources. Previously, most scholars had assumed that E2—what we call P, and Wellhausen called Q—must be the oldest of the sources; but Wellhausen showed that the sacred ordinances which form the bulk of the legislation in P found no echo in the actual practices of preexilic Israel, and accordingly placed P in the early postexilic age (see Wellhausen 1957). This, together with the already accepted 7th century B.C. date for D, had the effect of providing an entirely new framework for the history of Israel's religion, and suggested that the religious life of the preexilic age was vastly different from the Judaism that began with Ezra.

Wellhausen's paradigm for understanding ancient Israel continues to be widely influential even where his specific conclusions are rejected, and with his breakthrough in Pentateuchal source criticism the modern era of OT study begins.

In the early years of the 20th century, Wellhausen's conclusions were accepted in the English-speaking world as well as in Germany, despite fierce opposition in the name of orthodox religion. Source-critical work on the prophets had already been pioneered by Bernhard Duhm (1847–1928), and the now usual division of the book of Isaiah into three "sources" of different date found general acceptance at the same time as Wellhausen's analysis of the Pentateuch (see Duhm 1875). Despite the rise of form criticism, which eventually diverted interest from source-critical work, ever more detailed work on the sources of the Pentateuch continued until the Second World War, but from the 1930s onwards a feeling grew that source critics were overreaching themselves by dividing the Pentateuch up too minutely into ever more and more fragmentary sources. One of the first casualties of this skepticism was the belief that the Pentateuchal sources might continue into the books of Joshua and even down to 2 Samuel: Martin Noth's theory, (first articulated in 1943) of a Deuteronomistic History beginning with Deuteronomy eventually established itself as an alternative orthodoxy (See Noth, *NDH*). See DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY.

Most German- and English-speaking scholars have continued to accept some version of Wellhausen's hypothesis, but without pressing the details of the source division; moreover, the existence of E has come to be widely doubted. Scandinavian scholars were always less than enthusiastic about source criticism, preferring to think in terms of an extended period of oral tradition in which a basic narrative was supplemented, rather than to assume the existence of discrete written documents. See SCANDINAVIAN

SCHOOL. Since the Second World War Israeli biblical specialists have called in question the whole conceptual basis of Wellhausen's work, and have defended the antiquity of P. See PRIESTLY (P) SOURCE. A renewed interest in source analysis has characterized the work of H. H. Schmid (1976) and J. Van Seters (1975). These scholars, far from sharing the suspicion that P is older than Wellhausen thought, have argued that J, too, is postexilic. OT studies seem in this as in many other ways to have arrived at a pluralist phase, with no one theory holding the field (see Habel 1971; Armdering 1983; Barton 1984).

**C. Evidence for Composite Character**

**1. Inconsistencies.** Suspicion that a book is not the work of a single author, composing freely, is most readily aroused when inconsistencies are noticed. These may be of various kinds. In narrative texts it may be impossible to extract a coherent sequence of events. For example, in Gen 12:1, Abram is told to leave Haran after the death of his father, Terah. According to 11:26, Abram was born when Terah was 70; according to 11:32 Terah died at the age of 205; hence Abram must have been 135 when he was called to leave Ur. But 12:4 says that he was only 75 when he left Haran. The difficulty is explained if the story in Genesis 12 is drawn from a different source from the genealogical information in Genesis 11. Thematic inconsistency arises when a text seems to give expression to two incompatible points of view. Thus in the stories about the rise of the Israelite monarchy in 1 Sam 8–12, some accounts seem to regard Saul's election and anointing as reflecting a decision by God (e.g., 9:15–16; 10:1), while others present the people's insistence on selecting a king to be a sinful rejection of God (e.g., 8:1–22; 10:17–19). The simplest explanation is that the compiler of the books of Samuel used more than one already existing account of the origins of the monarchy, and that these accounts did not agree among themselves. On a smaller scale, there are often puzzling inconsistencies of detail, such as the variation in the names used for God in Genesis and Exodus ("Yahweh," "Elohim," "El Shaddai," "El Elyon," etc.).

**2. Repetitions and Doublets.** In almost every narrative book in the OT a careful reading reveals difficulties in following the sequence of events because the same incident seems to be related more than once. The earliest example is in Genesis 1–2, where in 1:27, "God created man in his own image," but then in 2:7, "the LORD God formed man of dust from the ground," just as if the man's creation had not been mentioned before. Where this kind of repetition is found, the simplest explanation is often that two versions of the same story have both been allowed to remain in the finished form of the book, unreconciled with each other. In some cases material from two or more sources seems to be interwoven: the classic example is the Flood Narrative of Genesis 6–9, where one version speaks of a 40-day flood and the other of a 150-day flood, with incidents from the two versions set down in alternating blocks. Similarly repetitious accounts, often extremely complex and hard to analyze, may be found in Exodus 24, where Moses seems to go up the holy mountain three times, and Joshua 3–4, in which the account of the crossing of the Jordan under Joshua's leadership is impossibly convoluted. Where two accounts or versions are closely similar in extent, they are often called a *doublet:* compare, for example, 2 Kgs 24:10–14 with 24:15–16, or Gen 37:21–22 with 37:26–27.

**3. Stylistic Differences.** Some OT books show extraordinary variations of style, ranging from a preference for particular words or phrases to peculiarities of grammar and syntax. In the Pentateuch, variation is particularly marked in Genesis and Exodus, where some sections are written in a lively narrative style akin to that of the books of Samuel, while others are marked by a stylized and repetitive manner, full of recurring formulas, lists, and technical terms. Compare, for example, the vivid narrative of Exodus 2—the childhood and early career of Moses—with the ponderous accounts of the building and equipping of the tent sanctuary in Exodus 36–40. Such variations in style can also be found in poetic books. Among the oracles in Jeremiah, for example, there are some (e.g., chapters 30 and 31) whose similarity to the style of Isaiah 40–55 (the so-called "Second Isaiah") is so close, and whose dissimilarity from the rest of Jeremiah is so great, that they seem likely to derive from a different hand than the rest of the book. Other chapters in Jeremiah, especially those in prose, seem close to the style of the Deuteronomistic History (Joshua–2 Kings). While an appreciation of stylistic difference is often to some extent subjective, the variations within books such as these are wide enough to make it unlikely that a

single author is responsible for all the material. English translations of the Bible tend to flatten out such differences by using a uniform "biblical English," but in the Hebrew they are easily detected.

**D. Stages of Source-Critical Analysis**

**1. Breaking Up the Text.** Source-critical analysis begins not with a quest for continuous sources, but with an analysis, into fragments, of each section of the biblical book under consideration. The source critic must note each point where there is a break, inconsistency, or discontinuity in the text, and so establish for each chapter how many different pieces of underlying material are present. In a comparatively simple case such as Genesis 1–2, most scholars are agreed that there are only two basic parts: 1:1–2:4a and 2:4b–25. Where there is interweaving, however, a more complicated picture may emerge: the Flood Narrative shows a change of source material every few verses. In the process of analysis, there will sometimes be very brief fragments which seem to derive, not from underlying materials, but from the editor who put the materials together. Such short "link passages" (e.g., "After these things …" in Gen 22:1, or "a second time" in 22:15) are *redactional*—they are necessitated by the juxtaposition of two originally separate stories by the redactor or editor. The study of these portions of text belongs to Redaction Criticism.

**2. Reconstructing the Sources.** Though some books of the OT may have been assembled from a host of tiny fragments and so are little more than anthologies, this process of growth seems unlikely for most of the narrative books of the Bible. For example, when the fragments into which the Pentateuch has been analyzed are examined, they group themselves naturally into a few piles, each marked by a very strong family resemblance. Thus the creation story of Gen 2:4b–25, the account of the building of the tent in Exodus 36–40, and the laws of Leviticus have so many points of style, expression, and theology in common that they probably derive from the same document. More strikingly still, when the fragments of the Flood Narrative are examined they prove to belong to two families, and if each family is joined up in the order in which its fragments occur in Genesis 6–9 the result is two more or less complete *parallel* accounts of the Flood, amounting to an extended doublet. Similarly the "pro-" and "antimonarchy" stories in 1 Samuel fall into two basic narratives which may derive from two sources, rather than a multitude of documents. Painstaking work along these lines resulted in the classic "four-source" hypothesis for the Pentateuch outlined above, according to which the whole work was assembled from only four underlying sources, three of them continuous, parallel accounts of the history of the world from creation to the death of Moses (J, E, P) and the fourth basically the book of Deuteronomy and some related narrative materials (D). Each of the four sources is marked by a uniform style, certain preferences of vocabulary and theme, and its own chronological framework. It is the unresolved clashes between the four, mutually incompatible presentations that make the Pentateuch so bewildering to the casual reader. See also YAHWIST (J) SOURCE; ELOHIST (E) SOURCE; PRIESTLY (P) SOURCE; DEUTERONOMY. Other books yield to the same kind of analysis. Thus scholars distinguish three or four basic kinds of material in Jeremiah, each of which may have had an independent existence as a self-contained work before being edited to produce the present book.

**3. Dating the Sources.** Relative dating of source-materials is sometimes possible, where it seems likely that one source-document was written by someone already familiar with another. Thus, in the case of the Pentateuch, it is sometimes argued that the P narrative of the events at Sinai presupposes an acquaintance with the J version and therefore must be later. Where there is no such presumption, however, the relative dating of sources depends, like their absolute dating, on external points of reference. One of the oldest critical observations in biblical studies was that certain verses in the Pentateuch could not be by Moses, because they presupposed a far later period. Thus the statement, "The Canaanite was then in the land" (Gen 12:6), can only have been written by someone living after the Canaanites had ceased to be in the land, that is, long after Joshua. But it has only been since the triumph of critical biblical scholarship in the 19th century that such arguments have been applied rigorously to the whole OT, with the result that many sources can now be given, if not firm dates, at least a *terminus post quem* and a *terminus ante quem*—earliest and latest possible dates.

**E. Terminology**

**1. Alternative Terms.** As noted above, "source criticism" is a comparatively recent term. Traditionally the critical study of the Bible was known as higher criticism wherever it ventured beyond the study of the transmission of the text. This term indicated that questions of a higher order were being asked—questions about the origins of the material, not just about the accuracy of its transmission by scribes; questions about the interrelation of large complexes of material; and questions about authorship and dating. There was also a general recognition that as criticism became "higher," less tied to purely "textual" matters, it became both more ambitious and also, inevitably, more speculative and hypothetical. If the term "higher criticism" had survived into this century, it would have included such disciplines as form and redaction criticism; the fact that we can now equate it with "source criticism" stems purely from the fact that this was the only form of higher, i.e., nontextual, criticism current when the term was still in general use. During the period when British biblical scholarship was generally hostile to source analysis of the Pentateuch and saw in it merely a liberal, rationalist "attack" on the inspiration of Scripture, "higher criticism" tended to be a term of abuse in English-speaking theology, and to be regarded contemptuously as a pretentious term. But the term was never intended to imply a moral or intellectual superiority, rather it merely indicated a method which built upon and went beyond textual criticism and was in that, non-evaluative sense, "higher."

Once biblical criticism developed techniques such as form, traditio-historical, and redaction criticism, the kind of higher criticism we have been calling source criticism became generally known as "literary criticism" *(Literarkritik).* The method was termed "literary" to emphasize that it concentrated on written documents, rather than on orally transmitted units or traditions. This usage continues in German-language works, but in the English-speaking world there has been an increasing sense that the term is misleading, because of the very different use of the term "literary" found in the secular study of literature. In Britain and North America "literary criticism" usually refers to the evaluative and interpretative study of literature, not to investigations into the origins or sources of a literary work. The term "source criticism" is therefore the preferred designation. It has its own disadvantages, however: "source criticism" can tend to imply that the critic's business is to discover sources, whereas in reality it is to discover whether a passage is composite, and is therefore composed of several sources, *or not.* The more neutral term "literary criticism" may therefore still be preferred, as not prejudging the results of the analysis.

**2. The Word "Source.**" The modern use of "source" to mean one of the underlying documents detected in a biblical book by literary-critical analysis has an interesting history. We may distinguish three phases.

At the Reformation, theology began to share the particular concern of Renaissance scholars for authentic "sources," that is, genuinely early and authoritative texts to which appeal could be made as arbiters of what was authentic in matters of religion. In this sense, the Bible could be called the primary "source" for the Christian faith. In this usage, nothing was being said about the literary character of the biblical books.

After the Enlightenment, scholars began to think of the Bible as a source in a different sense: as important historical evidence from which the history of Israel or of the early church could be reconstructed. This is the sense in which 19th-century secular historians spoke of studying historical *sources,* meaning by this valuable primary documents; and when Wellhausen suggested that the Pentateuch consisted of four sources, he meant four sources for reconstructing the history of Israel and its institutions. If a history of Israel was to be written, it was essential to establish which were the primary sources of evidence—and the four-document hypothesis maintained that there were four such sources, rather than (as a superficial reading of the Pentateuch would suggest) only one.

Modern usage has moved from saying that the Pentateuch contains four historical sources (of information) to saying simply that the Pentateuch consists of four sources, thereby losing contact with the original reason for using this particular term, and treating it simply as a synonym for "underlying literary document."

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JOHN BARTON

## *NEW TESTAMENT*

The term "source criticism" can be used in a very general as well as in a restricted sense. Used in the general sense, "source" is actually synonymous with "tradition," no matter how extensive it is or how it is handed down. Applied in the restricted sense, "source" refers to a written text that has been used by an author in his own writing. It is the task of NT source criticism to find out whether or not individual NT writers have made use of older written texts as sources. If the source in question is still extant (as in the case of Mark, a source used by Matthew and Luke), the task is confined to establishing the very fact that this writing was used as a source by another writer. If it is necessary to assume that an author used a source that is now lost, then, additionally, its size, structure, wording, and provenance need to be determined insofar as this is possible.

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### A. Results

When the use of sources in an individual book of the NT is established to a reasonable degree, it is possible to clarify the genesis of this book and to reach a better understanding of it. The literary and theological character of Matthew and Luke, for example, can be defined substantially better if these gospels are interpreted as further developments of Mark (and of Q).

At the same time we obtain a better knowledge of the different historical and theological developments to which the sources and the extant writings belong. Particularly if it is possible to determine a writing not known until now as a source of an extant writing, the knowledge of the history of the early church will be increased considerably. The reconstruction of the Sayings Source (Q), for example, reveals the fact that

the eschatological preaching in the Syro-Palestine area (from where Q is supposed to have come) obviously differed from that of Mark's gospel and its traditions.

**B. Development of Source Criticism**

The rise of source criticism is part of a fundamental change in the approach to the NT. It means not anything less than the attempt to cast off a dogmatical view of scripture in order to reach a historical understanding of the NT and the origins of Christianity. It is therefore no mere accident that source criticism arose in the Age of Enlightenment and reached its high-watermark in the 19th century. The problem posed by the close relationship between the first three gospels was the first battlefield of source criticism. It was solved by the so-called "Two-Source theory," according to which Matthew and Luke independently used the same two sources, namely Mark and (for the materials common to both Matthew and Luke but not derived from Mark) the so-called Sayings Source (Q). This theory has won almost general acceptance because it provides a rather simple explanation for the complex relationship between the Synoptic Gospels. See TWO-SOURCE HYPOTHESIS.

The intensive source critical work applied to the Synoptic Gospels was guided by the endeavor to gain a firm historical basis for the reconstruction of the life and preaching of Jesus. In a similar way, the analysis of Acts was undertaken out of historical interest. In this case, however, the different proposals have not led to convincing results and the question as to whether or not it is possible to detect sources behind some parts of Acts has remained very controversial until now.

Today, however, source criticism focuses on the literary process which can be traced beyond the extant texts of the NT. This applies to the gospel of John, the sources of which are intensively debated although they do not provide information concerning the historical Jesus. The sources made use of in Revelation are another example. Further fields of source criticism are the relationships of Colossians to Ephesians and of Jude to 2 Peter.

**C. Methodological Problems**

Simultaneously the methodological problems were intensively discussed. Principally there are two different reasons leading to the assumption of a source. First, there are similarities between two or three extant writings and the extent and nature of these similarities makes the use of common oral traditions improbable. In the case that the supposed source itself contained oral traditions, a decisive criterion is a common order of this material in these two or three writings. As far as the result of the investigation is concerned, two different solutions are possible: either one of the two (or three) writings was the very source of the other(s), or the writings related to each other had a common source, which is now lost. Second, there are discrepancies within one single writing which cannot be assigned to the independent work of a single author, and these discrepancies, on the other hand, cannot be explained by the use of oral traditions. In this case the assumption of a source by all means involves the hypothesis of a written document which is now lost.

The assumption of a lost text being used as a source depends on the following criteria, especially if the evidence is based on indications derived from one extant writing only:

(a) The traditional material included in an extant writing cannot be regarded to be transmitted orally either because of its size (e.g. the material common to Matthew and Luke lacking in Mark) or because of its literary structure (e.g. the "speech" of Stephen in Acts 7).

(b) This material forms a text which can reasonably be assumed to have been an independent writing; that is the case, if it reveals a literary structure and theological ideas fundamental to the whole body of material.

(c) In addition, insertions interrupting the body of the supposed source are clear indications for the use of a source. Such insertions point to the author of the extant writing, who is interpreting in this way an already written text.

(d) If the supposed source forms a collection of different traditions originally orally transmitted, a decisive criterion is the proving that there are editorial links or remarks which cannot be assigned to the author of the extant writing. Such editorial links or remarks point to an early stage of editorial activity, i.e.

to the editorial framework of the source (for an example for the last three criteria see the discussion of the Signs Source of the gospel of John, below).

(e) No definite evidence, however, can be drawn from differences of vocabulary and style, as any author is able to remold a written text (although not all NT writers do this), or, on the other hand, to adopt the style and vocabulary of a source in passages which he is going to write himself. Therefore, observations on different style and language can only have subsidiary importance.

The validity of these criteria is generally accepted, but their application is vehemently disputed in some cases.

**D. The Synoptic Gospels**

**1. Mark as a Source for Matthew and Luke.** The close relationship of the three Synoptic Gospels is based on two facts: (1) a bulk of material common to all three, or at least two, of the Synoptic Gospels, and (2) a common ordering of this material. See also SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

About 35% of the material which is contained in the Synoptic Gospels is common to all of them. Because of the different extent of the three Synoptic Gospels the percentage of the common material differs considerably from gospel to gospel. The gospel of Mark consists to 85% of this common material, while the percentage in Matthew is 50% only, and in Luke is only 40%. Moreover, and this is very important, if one singles out these materials, there emerges a common order for it. As for the great majority of the materials, there is a common order in all three gospels and the rest is arranged in at least two of the gospels in the same way. Since this common order could not have been arrived at two or even three times anew, it can only be explained as the result of literary dependency: there must have been a source in which this common order of the material had once been established.

To identify this source, a more detailed analysis is necessary. Of special interest are those cases where the material common to all three gospels occurs in the same order only in two of them. Such a common order can be seen between Matthew and Mark (while Luke deviates: he reproduces the same material in another context), and between Luke and Mark (while Matthew deviates); however, there is no case where Matthew and Luke have a common order from which Mark deviates. This fact is explained best by the assumption that Mark presents the material common to all three gospels in exactly the same order in which it was also used by Matthew and Luke. Matthew and Luke changed (to a limited extent) the given order independently from each other and therefore never reached coinciding results. This leads to the conclusion that there was either a source common to all three gospels, which was identical with the gospel of Mark as far as the arrangement of the material is concerned, or that Mark itself was the source used by Matthew and Luke.

The hypothesis of the priority of Mark becomes a firm conclusion, if the differences of content are additionally taken into consideration. About 95% of Mark's material reappears in Matthew, 85% of it in Luke. Assuming Mark as the common source of Matthew and Luke, most of these omissions can be understood as resulting from the editorial aims of Matthew and Luke, respectively. However, if one considers—as does Farmer (1964)—Matthew as the source of Mark and thinks Mark to be the latest gospel making use of both Matthew and Luke, then one is faced with serious difficulties. But see TWO-GOSPEL HYPOTHESIS. Firstly it would be necessary to explain the differences between Matthew and Luke as being due to the editorial activities of Luke. This possibility is already ruled out if one tries to explain Matthew's Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5–7) as source for Luke's Sermon on the Plain (Luke 6). Secondly it would be necessary to explain why Mark has taken up only 50% of the materials known to him from Matthew (or even only 40% of the materials contained in Luke), and why he has left out even the materials common to both Matthew and Luke, which include such prominent traditions as the Beatitudes and the Lord's Prayer.

The assumption of the priority of Mark is confirmed by the fact that in this way there emerges a comprehensible relationship between the three Synoptic Gospels, both in literary and theological respects. Matthew and Luke turn out to be further developments of Mark: literarily by prefixing the infancy narratives, by inserting the Sayings Source (see below), and by attaching the appearance narratives;

theologically by presenting a more elaborated ecclesiological concept (Matthew) or an advanced position in the development of early Christian eschatology (Luke).

**2. A Pre-Markan or Deutero-Markan Gospel as a Source?** The fact that four pericopes of Mark are missing in Matthew and Luke (Mark 3:20–21; 4:26–29; 7:31–37; 8:22–26) has led to the assumption that it was not the canonical gospel of Mark which was the source for Matthew and Luke, but rather an earlier version *("Ur-Markus")* which did not contain these texts. Similarly, the absence of Mark 6:45–8:26 in Luke has been explained by the assumption that Luke used a mutilated copy of the gospel of Mark (this would mean a Deutero-Mark). These assumptions, however, are precarious, because there are no reasons for these alleged developments of the gospel of Mark; on the other hand, most of these omissions can be explained as deliberate shortenings by Matthew and Luke.

One further observation, which led to the assumption of an *"Ur-Markus,*" concerns the so-called minor agreements, i.e., the variations of both Matthew and Luke concerning their *Vorlage* Mark. These agreements consist of (a) common shorter versions of the Markan material (Matt 17:14–21 and Luke 9:37–43a in comparison with Mark 9:14–29) and (b) positive agreements or versions which Luke and Matthew have in common against Mark (Matt 14:13 and Luke 9:11, "the crowds … followed him" while Mark 6:33 differs).

Most of these shorter versions, however, can be explained as abridgments of Mark made by Matthew and Luke independently. The extent of positive agreements is very limited in all cases. Most of these agreements can be seen as improvements resulting from the editorial activities of Matthew and Luke, which being similar to each other produced, in some cases, a similar wording. Otherwise it would be necessary to suppose that the postulated *Ur-Markus* has undergone a process of deterioration after having been used by Matthew and Luke. Besides, one will have to take into account the possibility that in some cases Matthew and Luke were aware of a slightly different version of Mark's material transmitted by oral tradition and that they to some extent preferred this to Mark's text.

**3. Pre-Markan Sources.** Often it is argued that Mark itself made use of orally transmitted collections of materials or shorter written sources for some parts of his gospel: (a) controversies, Mark 2:1–3:6; (b) parables, Mark 4:1–34; (c) miracle stories, Mark 4:35–8:26; (d) pronouncement stories, Mark 11+12; (e) apocalyptic discourse, Mark 13; (f) Passion narrative, Mark 14:1–16:8.

In all of these cases, however, there is no indisputable evidence. As far as Mark 4:35–8:26 and 11+12 are concerned, positive arguments are lacking altogether. As to Mark 2:1–3:6 and 4:1–34, the assumption of sources depends on the question as to whether or not Mark 3:6 (or 2:27) and 4:10–12 (and 4:33–34) are editorial remarks (or adaptations of such remarks) that can be distinguished from Mark's own editorial framework. In any case, however, the arrangement of the traditional material in Mark 2–8 and 11+12 can be understood without the assumption of written sources. On the other hand, the impression cannot be rejected that Mark often adapts his material as if he would be making use of it in written form (cf. the technique of "sandwiching" in Mark 5:21–24/25–34/35–43); for explaining this, however, it is more appropriate to assume that Mark himself, while collecting his materials, first wrote them down separately before inserting them in the framework of his gospel.

As far as Mark 13 is concerned, it is discussed as to whether or not Mark made use of a short Jewish source, which is supposed (Hölscher 1933) to have been an apocalyptic pamphlet from the year A.D. 44. The proof depends on three problems: (a) The historical events alluded to: Can they be understood more easily as elements of an earlier source or as parts of a text written by Mark on his own account? (b) The reconstruction of the source: Do the parts of Mark 13, which are supposed to be derived from the source, form a literary unit which can have existed as an independent writing? (c) The structure of Mark 13: Is it easier to be comprehended if the use of a source is assumed? There are sound reasons to answering these questions in the affirmative, especially if one argues (Brandenburger 1984) for the origin of this source from Judeo-Christian circles during the Jewish war (ca. A.D. 68/69).

The Passion narrative of the gospel of Mark (Mark 14:1–16:8) has undergone a complicated process of development, but there is no agreement between the different proposals to explain this process.

Accordingly it is a completely open question as to whether or not the pre-Markan Passion narrative was a written document. See also PASSION NARRATIVES.

**4. The Sayings Source (Q).** After accepting the proof that Mark was used as a source by Matthew and Luke, there remains the task of explaining the agreements between Matthew and Luke which go beyond Mark's material. A source has to be assumed for this material, too. If one singles out the material common to both Matthew and Luke but without counterpart in Mark, one obtains a common sequence of at least 13 passages out of 24 (nos. 1–5, 8–9, 12–13, 15, 21, 13–24 of the list below), which contain more than 50% of the whole material. A common sequence like this could not have been arrived at independently by Matthew and Luke.

Since a direct literary relationship between both gospels is ruled out by the assumption that Mark has been used by Matthew and Luke independently, there remains only one solution, viz. to suppose a second source consisting of sayings and some pronouncement stories, commonly labelled as Q. See Q (GOSPEL SOURCE).

The analysis of the Sayings Source has arrived at the following widely accepted consensus. First, for methodological reasons the size has to be limited to the pericopes which are contained in both Matthew and Luke. It cannot be ruled out, however, that one of the two evangelists has omitted some materials contained in Q (that means that some texts from the material peculiar to Matthew or Luke would belong to Q, too), but it can hardly be definitely proven either. The woes in Luke 6:24–26 which are lacking in Matthew 5 are a case in point. Second, insofar as Matthew and Luke are not in agreement, the disposition of Q has to be reconstructed rather from Luke, because Matthew often changes the arrangement in order to compile longer speeches (cf. the insertion of the Lord's Prayer and other Q materials into the Sermon on the Mount). Third, the wording has to be examined in every case to determine whether Matthew or Luke has preserved it more precisely.

According to the order of the material in Luke, the Sayings Source can be reconstructed in the following way:

1. Luke 3:7–9, 16–17 = Matt 3:7–12 John's Eschatological Preaching
2. Luke 4:2–13 = Matt 4:2–11 The Temptation of Jesus
3. Luke 6:20–23, 27–49 = Matt 5:3–6, 11–12, 38–48; 7:1–5, 15–27 The Sermon on the Plain/on the Mount.
4. Luke 7:1–10 = Matt 8:5–13 The Centurion of Capernaum
5. Luke 7:18–35 = Matt 11:2–19 John the Baptist and Jesus
6. Luke 9:57–60 = Matt 8:19–22 On Following Jesus
7. Luke 10:1–12 = Matt 9:37–10:15 Commissioning of the Disciples
8. Luke 10:13–15 = Matt 11:20–24 Woes to Unrepentant Cities
9. Luke 10:21–24 = Matt 11:25–27; 13:16–17 Jesus' Thanksgiving to the Father and The Blessing of the Disciples
10. Luke 11:1–4 = Matt 6:9–13 The Lord's Prayer
11. Luke 11:9–13 = Matt 7:7–11 Encouragement to Pray
12. Luke 11:14–23 = Matt 12:22–30 The Beelzebul Controversy
13. Luke 11:24–26 = Matt 12:43–45 The Return of the Evil Spirit
14. Luke 11:29–32 = Matt 12:38–42 The Sign of Jonah
15. Luke 11:39–52 = Matt 23:4, 23–25, 29–36 Discourse against the Pharisees
16. Luke 12:2–9, 10 = Matt 10:26–33; 12:32 On Confession and Blasphemy
17. Luke 12:22–31, 33–34 = Matt 6:25–33, 19–21 Various Sayings
18. Luke 12:39–40, 42–46 = Matt 24:43–51 The Parables of the Householder and of the Faithful Servant
19. Luke 13:18–21 = Matt 13:31–33 The Parables of the Mustard Seed and of the Leaven
20. Luke 13:24, 26–27, 28–29 = Matt 7:13–14, 22–23; 8:11 Eschatological Sayings
21. Luke 13:34–35 = Matt 23:37–39 The Lament on Jerusalem
22. Luke 14:16–24 = Matt 22:1–10 The Parable of the Great Banquet

23. Luke 17:23–24, 26–27, 30, 34–35 = Matt 24:26–27, 37–41 Final Apocalyptical Sayings
24. Luke 19:12–27 = Matt 25:14–30 The Parable of the Pounds.

In Matthew the material derived from Q is often closely interwoven with material only found in Matthew (Matthew's *Sondergut*). This has led to the assumption that Matthew was familiar with Q in a further-developed version than was available to Luke. However, one has to take into account the fact that Matthew usually reshaped his material to a great extent (cf. the conflation of Jesus' speech of the commissioning of the disciples from Mark 6:7–13 and Q [Luke 10:1–12] in Matt 10:1–16). This weakens the possibility of substantiating the theory of a special version of Q earlier than Matthew and unknown to Luke.

Q is a collection of sayings, including some parables, controversies, and pronouncement stories, whereas narratives are lacking almost completely. Insofar it is to be compared with the Jewish wisdom literature (Proverbs, Ben-Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon), and it has a later parallel in the *Gospel of Thomas.* But there are differences, too, resulting from content. Q presents the authoritative teaching of the Son of Man, who will arrive to act as judge and savior (Luke 12:2–9 = Matt 10:26–33; Matt 24:43–44 = Luke 12:39–40). His preaching is, therefore, no mere teaching of human wisdom, but divine revelation, which is superior even to all former prophecy (Luke 10:21–24 = Matt 11:25–27; 13:16–17), and his disciples are instructed to proclaim this very teaching (Luke 10:1–12, 16/Matt 9:37–38; 10:7–16, 40).

Accordingly, Q opens, after the eschatological preaching of the Baptist and the temptation of Jesus, with the authoritative promise of salvation for the poor (Luke 6:20–23 = Matt 5:3–6, 11–12) and closes with a broad eschatological outlook. It is an astonishing feature that the Passion seems to have been ignored completely in Q. Indeed, Q does not contain a soteriological interpretation of Jesus' suffering and death; but Jesus' suffering is present, nevertheless: it is interpreted according to the fate and the murdering of the prophets (Luke 13:34–35 = Matt 23:37–39). The stress, however, lies on his coming as the Son of Man, on his future role as judge and savior.

This question of the historical and geographical setting of Q can only be answered by inferences. One has to distinguish between the age of the individual traditions and the time of the source's composition. In any case it is clear that the traditions are not homogeneous (Luke 4:2–13 = Matt 4:2–11; Luke 10:21–24 = Matt 11:25–27; 13:16–17 can all be considered as younger traditions), which is an argument against a too-early dating. This is corroborated by the polemic attitude against "this generation" pointing to an increasing distance to Israel, and the positive view of the gentiles (Luke 7:1–10 = Matt 8:5–13; Luke 11:29–32 = Matt 12:38–42). Therefore, the composition is generally dated between A.D. 50 and 70. Judging from the rural features of many Q traditions, most scholars argue for the N part of Palestine and the S part of Syria as being its place of origin.

**5. Other Sources for the Synoptic Gospels.** For the materials which cannot be traced to either Mark or Q, the existence of other sources has also been considered. B. H. Streeter (1924) presumes a separate source for Matthew's *Sondergut* ("M"); and as to Luke, he thinks that Luke has at first combined Q with the Lukan *Sondergut* ("L") to form a "Proto-Luke," into which he later incorporated Mark. Neither from "M," however, nor from the alleged combination Q and "L," can there be a comprehensive source reconstructed.

In the case of Luke's Passion narrative, which in parts differs clearly from Mark, there are no sufficient arguments to assume a special source. More appropriate is the assumption that some parts of the Lukan Passion narrative are derived from orally transmitted versions circulating in Luke's congregations differing to some extent from the narrative taken up by Mark.

Finally it has to be stressed that the Two-Source theory has to be regarded as a hypothesis; but all other theories concerning the interrelationship between the Synoptic Gospels are also hypotheses. No hypothesis can solve all aspects of such a complicated question in a totally satisfactory way, but an alternative hypothesis will only gain wider acceptance, if it is able to excel the Two-Source theory, i.e. if it can solve the questions still unsettled without raising other and more difficult problems.

**E. The Gospel of John**

**1. The Signs Source.** The assumption that the seven miracle stories of John are derived from a special source has been widely approved. Arguments in favor of this source are: (1) The numbering of the two miracles in John 2:11 and 4:54, and especially the fact that 4:46–53 is counted in 4:54 as Jesus' second miracle, although the evangelist mentions other miracles already in 2:23. (2) The editorial transitional phrase in 2:12a, which is without function in its present context and obviously was intended originally to connect the first two miracle stories (2:1–11 and 4:46–54). (3) Insertions by the evangelist in the miracle stories which lead to the assumption of a written *Vorlage* (especially clear in 4:48; cf. also 6:4, 6). (4) The conclusion of the gospel of John in 20:30–31a, which cannot be understood as a summary of the whole ministry of Jesus by the evangelist, because the speeches and Passion of Jesus are nowhere else called *sēmeia.* Here the author of the gospel has made use of the conclusion of a source, consisting of *sēmeia* (= signs), i.e., of miracle stories. (5) The critical attitude of the evangelist towards the view that faith is based on miracles (4:48; 6:26–35), which is incompatible with the view put forward in the single traditions (4:53) and in editorial remarks not deriving from the evangelist (2:11; 20:31a). Since the miracles are called *sēmeia* in the editorial framework of the source, the term Signs Source has become common. See SIGNS/SEMEIA SOURCE.

The size of the Signs Source is fiercely debated. Basically there are three possibilities. The first is a minimal solution, according to which the source consisted exclusively of the seven miracle stories and a limited editorial framework (John 2:11–12a; 4:54; 12:37–38; 20:30–31a). The second is a midway solution, according to which the source contained additionally some further materials like the traditional layer of John 1:35–51 and 4:1–42. As far as the history of these traditions is concerned, there is a close relationship between these materials and the miracle stories; this relationship, however, does not prove that these materials are derived from the same source. The additional argument that the mentioning of the disciples in 2:1 presupposes a story that tells how they became Jesus' followers is not compelling. Third is a maximal solution: the source additionally contained a Passion narrative so that it was a gospel resembling the Synoptics. In this case, however, John 20:30–31a cannot be claimed as the end of the source, and the source itself cannot be labeled "Signs Source" any longer. As far as the theology of the source is concerned, it is difficult to see how this alleged source solved the tension between the miracles which have become much more marvelous (cf. John 11) on the one hand and Jesus' suffering and death on the other hand.

If one opts for the minimal solution, one obtains a distinct profile of the source: It contained seven miracle stories, each of them representing a different type of miracle. This is an argument in favor of the assumption that the source has been incorporated *completely* into the gospel of John. (A striking difference to the Synoptics is the fact that the Signs Source did not contain an exorcism.) The sequence appears to be the result of a conscious composition: at the beginning there is a miracle revealing Jesus' power over inanimate nature (2:1–11), which leads to the disciples' faith, and at the end occurs a (massively enhanced) resurrection story (chap. 11).

The intention of the source is clearly expressed in 20:30–31a: The collection of miracle stories is intended to cause faith in Jesus as the Son of God because of his mighty deeds (2:11); but the source is aware of the fact that miracles may be rejected (12:37–38).

The selection of seven miracle stories, each representing a different type of miracle, and the fact that the miracles have become much more marvelous (in comparison with the Synoptics) point to a later date of origin. Whether names of places as in 1:28 and 10:40 (Peraea) or in 4:1 (Samaria) have something to do with the source's provenance depends on the question as to whether or not these remarks can be assigned to the source.

**2. A Source for the Speeches?** Regarding the speeches of John, the use of a source has also been discussed. R. Bultmann (1971) argued for the use of a gnostic writing consisting of speeches by the gnostic redeemer revealing his own mission; these were critically interpreted by the evangelist. The arguments in favor of this far-reaching hypothesis are now very doubtful, however. The stylistic differences within the speeches of the gospel of John (between poetic and more prosaic sentences) are not sufficient as proof, and that a gnostic writing already existed in the 1st century A.D. is extremely unlikely.

Additionally, Bultmann is often forced to rearrange the sequence of the sentences within the speeches of the gospel of John in order to reconstruct the supposed source. However, the difficulties in the composition of these speeches are obvious and call for further explanation.

**3. The Problem of a Passion Source.** The close relationship between John 18–20 and Mark 14:1–16:8 (and the additional agreements with Luke 22–24) shows that John is dependent here on a given tradition which he adapted. However, this seems to have been not a written source, but rather a relatively stable oral tradition closely related to the Markan Passion narrative. Additionally, this tradition was influenced by the written version of Luke 22–24 (which does not imply that the author has made use of Luke 22–24 directly). One has to take into account an intensive redaction at central points as well (e.g. John 18:28–19:16).

**F. Book of Acts**

It cannot be doubted that Luke has made use of traditional material on a great scale in Acts, but there are evidently no continuous sources behind Acts 1–12. All attempts to reconstruct such sources (referring to the development of the congregations in Jerusalem and Antioch) have led to no convincing result. A special problem is posed by the speech of Stephen (Acts 7). It interrupts not only the continuity between Acts 6:8–15 and 7:54–60, but it is also not Lukan, as is shown by the comparison with Acts 13:17–25, where Luke develops his own contrasting view of the history of Israel. Moreover, Luke breaks off the rendering of his tradition in Acts 7:48 abruptly (cf. 17:24). It is more difficult to answer the additional question as to whether or not Luke has expanded his source by way of insertions (possibly in 7:35, 37, 42b–43). The rough transition from 7:47 to 7:48 and the possible Lukan insertions point to the use of a written source. The critical review of God's election and Israel's disobedience shows that the source shares the Deuteronomistic view of history, although it is probable that it was written by a (Judeo-) Christian author. The fact that it has been assigned to Stephen may indicate that Luke got to know it as an Antiochene tradition.

In relation to Acts 13–28 two sources are discussed: (a) a source of the so-called "we sections" (in Acts 16; 20+21; 27–28), and (b) an itinerary source for the names of the places to which Paul came during his travels.

Both assumptions lead to considerable difficulties. First, the "we sections" do not point to a continuous source, for they only contain sea voyages. If one thought of a source (the journal of an eyewitness?), one would have to assume that Luke has reshaped all parts not bearing on sea voyages. In this case, however, the contrary assumption is more probable, viz. that it was Luke himself who has introduced the "we" into his narrative. This is a common literary device in describing sea voyages in Hellenistic romance literature.

Second, if an itinerary has been used, one either has to assume that it was of a very disparate character or that Luke has shortened it considerably (cf. the roughly sketched journeys in Acts 16:6–8 and 18:20–23 with 16:11–12 and 20:6, 13–15; 21:1–18). However if one restricts the assumption of an itinerary to Acts 20:4–21:15, a positive proof seems to be possible. The list of names in 20:4 is pre-Lukan, because it is only here in Acts that Paul is surrounded by such a delegation, and Luke does not give any reason for this escort. Only if one takes into account 1 Corinthians 16 and 2 Corinthians 8 and 9, does the purpose become clear: The delegation has the task of delivering the collection to Jerusalem, a fact known to Luke (24:17) but suppressed almost completely. The list of harbors and islands in Acts 20:6–21:15 (the only real itinerary in Acts) also seems therefore to be pre-Lukan. It is not unlikely that Luke has used a report of the journey written down by a member of the delegation some time after their return. Some single items of 20:4–21:15 can also be attributed to this source (21:8–9, but not 20:8–35). The source will certainly have reported something about the result of the journey (the delivery of the collection), but Luke has omitted this theme almost completely, so only speculations are possible. It is not astonishing, by the way, that this source, being the report of a delegation, was written in the "we form"; this might have also caused Luke to put other sea voyages in the we form. See also Jackson and Lake 1922:121–75.

**G. Sources Within the Epistles**

Colossians and Ephesians have very close affinities; and if one assumes that at least Ephesians is Deutero-Pauline (Colossians is probably also Deutero-Pauline), one has to accept a literary dependence:

One-third of the vocabulary of Colossians appears also in Ephesians, whereas 73 of the 155 verses of Ephesians have a counterpart in Colossians. (Especially in Eph 2:1–3:19, the affinities to Colossians are very close.) Ephesians presupposes the understanding of important terms like *sōma* (body), *kephalē* (head), *mystērion* (mystery), *oikonomia* (office), peculiar to Colossians, and develops them further. Instances in favor of a direct literary dependence are phrases of Ephesians which can only be explained by assuming that they were taken over from Colossians (for examples, see Kümmel 1975:340–46, 358–60). Colossians is therefore to be seen as the source adapted by the author of Ephesians and remolded to a great extent.

Likewise, the affinities between 2 Peter 2 and Jude 4–13 (2 Peter 2:10–12, 17 with Jude 10, 12–13) are so close that a literary dependence has to be reckoned with: 2 Peter incorporated the shorter Jude; the author of 2 Peter has polished his source in parts and has omitted offensive points, such as the quotation from the apocryphal book of *Enoch* in Jude 14–15.

**H. The Book of Revelation**

The numerous difficulties of Revelation have caused many attempts to prove the use of sources in order to explain its complicated composition. In the visions of the seven seals and of the seven trumpets there is, in each case, one larger interruption (Revelation 7; 10:1–11, 14). As an explanation for these interruptions, as well as for chapters 12 and 17, the use of sources has been assumed. Farther-reaching hypotheses take into account a Jewish *Grundschrift* (basic writing), which has been adapted by a Christian author; or two different versions by one and the same author which have been interwoven only superficially. It cannot be disputed that the author has made use of very different materials in many cases, but until now not even a limited agreement could be reached concerning the differing proposals. If written sources are to be assumed at all, they are of rather limited size and have been reworked intensively by the author to a degree that a differentiation between sources and orally transmitted traditions is hardly possible.

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DIETRICH-ALEX KOCH

**SOUTH.** One of the cardinal compass points in Hebrew and most ANE cultures. Several different words in Hebrew expressed the direction south (S). The Hebrew word *yāmîn* literally means right or right hand. It is frequently used as the direction S because of the typical Hebrew means of orientation. The Hebrew would face E and get his orientation from his body: E was in front of him, W was behind him, N was to his left, and S was to his right. See also DIRECTION AND ORIENTATION. A good example of this use is Ezek 16:46 which speaks of those living to the N *(śĕmō‹l)* and to the S *(yāmîn).* Ps 89:13—Eng v 12 states that Yahweh has created the N *(ṣāpôn)* and the S *(yāmîn).* From the same Hebrew root comes the word *tēmān* used frequently as the direction S, but also used at times as a proper name, Teman, an area in the S, in Edom.

Two other terms are sometimes used to describe regions in the S, *negeb* (or *negbâ*) and *midbār.* These two terms refer to the conditions of the region: dry (or parched) and desert, respectively. Neither term was used exclusively to refer to the direction S however. The term Negeb came to refer to the entire S region of Israel from approximately Beer-sheba and Arad southward. That *negeb* was not limited to a region in the S of Israel is clear from its use to refer to a land S of Babylon (Isa 21:1) and to Egypt (Daniel 11). *Midbār* referred quite often to the wilderness of the Wandering period (Numbers 14), primarily the Sinai region, and to the Arabian desert (Judg 11:22), both of which were in the S. Additional uses of *midbār* refer to the desert/wilderness condition rather than direction.

S is often used in conjunction with the other cardinal compass points, N, E, and W (cf. Gen 13:14; 28:14) to indicate directions or expanse. At times S is used to refer to a particular position or object: i.e., south of a designated object. Often the pair N and S are used together as a merism to indicate a totality, especially in the phrase, "from north to south" (Ezek 20:47; 21:4).

In a more theological meaning, S can be the direction from which God comes or appears (Hab 3:3; cf. Deut 33:2; Judg 5:4). Some translators understand *tēmān* in this instance to refer to a particular place, and hence a proper name; others assume the word refers to the direction "south." Since no other passage relates Yahweh to the particular place Teman, it seems preferable to understand the reference to the direction, since other passages speak of Yahweh coming from Sinai and Paran (around Kadesh-Barnea), both locations to the S of the kingdom Israel. A parallel can be seen in the reference to God dwelling in the far N (Isa 14:13), probably influenced by Canaanite religion. See NORTH.

JOEL F. DRINKARD, JR.

**SOUTH ARABIA, RELIGION OF.** Our knowledge of the South Arabian paganism rests predominantly on archaeological data and on the contents of some thousands of monumental stone inscriptions (many of them fragmentary), relating constructions and dedications to the gods. They are solemn texts, drawn up in the third person. Their contents is not comparable, in volume and variety, to the documents found in Mesopotamia and Egypt, which include mythological and other literary texts as well as personal archives and private letters. Only two short hymns are known from South Arabian inscriptions, but the recent discovery of private texts scratched on wooden sticks indicates that other kinds of written documents were in use and may soon enrich our sources on religion.

The original South Arabian notion of the state was theocratic and expressed through the formula "National god, ruler, nation," for instance in Saba: "Almaqah (the national god), Karib'il (name of the king) and Saba." In ancient times the ruler might call himself the "firstborn" *(bikr)* of the god, while the nation was the "progeny" *(wld)* of its national god.

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A. The Pantheon
B. The Temples
C. Magic and Funerary Customs
D. The Monotheistic Religions

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**A. The Pantheon**

The South Arabian pantheon rested originally on an astral basis, as is shown by such divine names as Šams, "sun"; Rubʿ, " (moon) Quarter"; ʿAṯtar, a god whose name corresponds to that of the Assyro-Babylonian goddess Ištar, identified with Venus. But it remains unclear if those astral identifications were still really perceived as such. Many deities are known only under a vague denomination which does not reveal their nature nor even their sex. Some divine denominations give scattered evidence on theogonic myths: a goddess is named "mother of ʿAṯtar, " another one "mother of (the) goddesses"; there are "daughters of (the god) Il," and finally a "son of (the goddess) Hawbas."

In historical times, the male god ʿAṯtar, apparently identified with the planet Venus, was the supreme god: all the South Arabian nations venerated him under the same name and he takes the first place in enumerations of several gods. He had superseded the primitive supreme god of the Semites, ʾIl or ʾEl, who plays only a secondary role in the South Arabian religion. ʿAṯtar was the god of the natural irrigation by rain, in contrast to the artificial irrigation of the arid zones, which depended on rainwater fallen elsewhere and conveyed and distributed by an irrigation network. This could explain a distinction between two kinds of Sabaean lands in the first centuries A.D.: the "domain *(mulk)* of ʿAṯtar," in contrast to that "of Almaqah," the national god of Saba.

The gazelle, the symbol animal of ʿAṯtar, was the object of a sacred hunt in honor of ʿAṯtar and Kurūm," performed by the ancient rulers and kings of Saba. Kurūm certainly equals "Attarquruma," a North Arabian idol mentioned in the annals of Assyrian kings. As a god of thunder and thunderstorm, ʿAṯtar, qualified as *Šarīqān*, "the eastern one" (probably Venus as the Morning Star) was invoked in the epitaphs as an avenger of the violators of sepulchers. ʿAṯtar is frequently named with the goddess Hawbas, probably his consort, also named in Sabaean inscriptions of the 5th–4th centuries in Ethiopia, where her symbol was the vulva.

Along with the main god ʿAṯtar, each of the major kingdoms venerated its own national god. In Saba this was the god named Almaqah (or Ilmuqah), whose principal temple was near Mārib, the capital of Saba, a federal shrine of the Sabaean tribes. According to the widely contested old theory of the Danish scholar D. Nielsen, who reduced the whole South Arabian pantheon to a primitive triad: father Moon, mother Sun (sun is feminine in Arabic) and son Venus, Almaqah was until recently considered a moon god, but Garbini and Pirenne have shown that the bull's head and the vine motif associated with him are solar and dionysiac attributes. He was therefore a sun god, the male counterpart of the sun goddess Šams, who was also venerated in Saba, but as a tutelary goddess of the royal dynasty. Among other Sabaean feminine denominations, that of *dāt-Baʿdān,* a goddess who received dedications of votive statuettes of horses, was probably a sun goddess, since the horse generally is associated with the solar cult in the Mediterranean culture. In Maʿīn, the national god Wadd, "love," originated from North Arabia. The protective formula *Waddʾāb,* "Wadd is father," written on amulets or on the walls of the buildings, is frequently associated with the symbol of the moon crescent and a small disc (the planet Venus?), so that he probably was a moon god. In the Ḥadhramawt the national god, lord of the main temple of the capital city, Shabwa, was *Syn* (Sīn?), probably a sun god; his symbol animal, figured on coins, was the eagle—a solar animal. In Qatabān, the national god was ʿAmm, "paternal uncle," a well known Semitic divine name. There is no good reason to consider him a moon god. The sun goddess Šams was also venerated in Qatabān. In Ḥimyar, Šams was the national goddess, venerated at the rock sanctuary at al-Miʿsāl, near the site of the ancient city of Waʿlān.

Among the other local gods, many are known only through epithets which do not reveal their nature. The better known are listed here. In Qatabān, the gods Anbay and Ḥawkam are invoked together as (the gods) "of the order and of the decision." The name Anbay, probably derived from a root meaning "to speak, to prophesy," is comparable to that of the Babylonian god Nabū, identified with the planet Mercury. The name Ḥawkam belongs to the root meaning "to be wise." Both gods probably personified two aspects (as evening and morning star?) of Nabū-Mercury, the god of fate and science, spokesman of the gods, in the Assyro-Babylonian religion. In the Ḥadhramawt Ḥawl probably was a moon god: his name expresses the idea of a recurrent movement, suggestive of the cycle of the moon, to be compared

with the Qatabanian god Waraḫ, "month," and to such Sabaean divine names as Rubʿ or Rubʿ Šahar, "moon quarter."

Some tribes or tribal confederations had their own tribal *šym,* "patron." In Saba, Taʾlab ("ibex") of Riyām (a mountain now called Itwa, N of Ṣanʿāʾ), was the patron of Sumʿay, a confederation of tribes in Central Yemen. His sanctuary, on top of the mountain, was the center of an important pilgrimage. In the kingdom of Maʿīn, the patron god Nikraḥ was venerated on an isolated hill close to the ancient city of Yatil, nowadays called Barāqish. He was a healer patron: inscriptions found there reveal that his sanctuary was an asylum to dying people, or to women in childbirth or who had aborted. In votive inscriptions they confessed their sins against ritual purity. In the plain around the hill, nine inscribed pillars were found, each bearing the same text: "marker of this sanctuary." They served to mark the sacred perimeter of the sanctuary. Some tutelary deities called *Munaḍḍihāt* were called upon to protect the irrigation systems. Lares gods were invoked as "Lord of the house (or family)."

Next to Wadd, other North or Central Arabian gods were locally venerated in South Arabia. Bedouin caravaneers in North Yemen offered statuettes of camels to *dū-Samāwī,* "the heavenly one," a god from Central Arabia, for the well-being of their camels. Qatabanian women dedicated inscribed clay feminine figurines to the so-called "Daughters of Il," who correspond to the "Daughters of Allah" of pre-Islamic Mecca: the goddesses al-Lāt, alʿUzzā and Manāt alluded to in the Koran. The first two appear also on South Arabian amulets.

The South Arabian gods are above all represented by their respective animal symbol: bull, snake, eagle, lion, ibex, etc., but also by particular symbols similar to those in use in the Assyro-Babylonian religion—thunderbolt, club, door flap, arrow, etc. Less frequently they appear in anthropomorphic form (or as winged angels) in funerary reliefs or in statuettes as a young male deity or as a fertility goddess with cornucopia, sitting on a throne. Many traces have been recognized of syncretic influences of oriental cults of the Roman Empire; statuettes or reliefs have been found of Dionysios-Sabazios, Harpocrates, Dioscures riding a lion, Janus trifrons, etc., but the inscriptions never give the name under which such gods were known in South Arabia. Various reliefs show clearly an influence of Indian religious motifs.

**B. The Temples**

The sanctuaries consisted essentially of a sacred, open precinct *(ḥaram* or *maḥram),* accessible only on conditions of ritual purity. Expiatory confessions inform us as to the details of those rules. Women accuse themselves of having entered the temple during their menses. Men confess having had sexual relations with menstruating women, or women in childbirth, or of having omitted the ritual washing after sexual relations. Such rules, borne out by inscriptions several centuries older than the birth of Islam but using technical terms identical or very close to those of the Muslim jurisprudence, obviously were part of an ancient common Semitic heritage. There is therefore no reason to assume—as some islamologists have done—that the similar Islamic rules were borrowed from the Jews in Medīna, instead of being a mere survival of pre-Islamic Arabian usages.

The South Arabian temples show various forms derived from the pre-Islamic *ḥaram:* a precinct, mostly rectangular, in which a sort of canopy supported by four pillars may have sheltered the statue of the god and/or an altar for sacrifices. A rather primitive form of temple is that of the temple of Almaqah near Mārib, which must date back to the 5th century B.C. It consisted of a large elliptical precinct of approximately 110 m of great axis, surrounded by a powerful wall more than 8 m high and 4 m thick. A small rectangular temple of later date is embedded into the precinct, to which it served as an entrance hall. That smaller temple was excavated in 1951–52 by American archaeologists. The entrance between two pylons was preceded by six pillars bound by an architrave. The sanctuary consisted of a rectangular court surrounded by a portico with pillars, within which numerous stone slabs were erected, inscribed with dedications of statuettes (now missing). In several ancient temples of the Jawf (in the N part of North Yemen), the peristyle consists of low pillars bearing horizontal stone beams supporting broad slabs forming a ceiling. The internal surface of the pillars and of the ceiling bear an incised ornementation of motifs associated with the ritual hunt.

In the Ḥadhramawt, a series of ancient temples present the common structure of a single (or double) small rectangular cella built on a terrace overlooking the ancient settlement. The shrine is reached by a long flight of stairs up to 70 m in length. Finally, rock sanctuaries like the one at al-Miʿsāl in Ḥimyar, are high places, roughly fitted out on a natural terrace on a particularly imposing rock outcrop. Some mountain tops in Yemen are crowned by such sanctuaries.

The temples played an important role in public life. Each place of importance had its temple or temples, dedicated to one or to several gods. No temple archives have been recovered yet, but the main temples were certainly the centers of the administration in charge of the properties of the god and of collecting the sacred tithe. A stone copy of important acts was kept in the courtyard of the temples. The temples were managed by various kinds of priests and administrators *(ršw, śḥr, qyn, šwʿ)* directly attached to the service of the god, but whose functions are not clearly distinguished. Ancient rulers, for instance in Qatabān, bore priestly titles. Certain priests (*ršw,* and *śḥr)* formed a hereditary caste. They played a role in the interpretation or oracles, and in collective official sacrifices. In Saba, a caste of priests *(ršw)* of ʿAṯtar were recruited on a hereditary basis from three separate clans, each of which supplied in turn an eponymous priest, called *kabīr*, who remained up to seven years in office. The official acts were dated according to the year of office of that eponym, who was in charge of the collection and allocation of the proceeds of the tithe, and performed the magical practices aimed at obtaining rain. Elsewhere in South Arabia a similar institution was limited to two years.

The cultic utensils consisted of bronze receptacles and various kinds of bronze or stone altars: *madbaḥat* for sacrifices of animals; *maslam* used for libations and as incense burners, and *mqṭr*, incense burners. The *madbaḥat* and *maslam* are generally in the form of a stone table with a hollowed-out shallow basin, extended by one or two gutters ending with a bull's head. Numerous incense burners testify to the importance of aromatic fumigations as a rite against evil influences or in order to obtain a favor from the gods. The incense burners in stone have the form of a piedouche supporting a cube with a hollowed out upper surface, or of a small four-legged parallelepiped, bearing the name of a different aromatic on each of its sides. Many small incense burners of that type belong to the furniture of tombs or were used for the domestic cult.

The slaughter of animals as a sacrifice of expiation or of thanksgiving was probably, as in the Islamic cult, an individual rite performed by the faithful himself. But collective sacrifices took place in connexion with the pilgrimages, and—along with the burning of aromatics—at the inauguration of public buildings. The sacrifice of animals normally implies a rite of communion under the form of ritual meals. The offering of a ritual meal *ʾlm* or *mʾlm* (which reminds one of the Islamic *walīma,* a meritorious banquet), in honor of ʿAṯtar, appears in the texts as a rite performed by several ancient rulers of Saba. In a rock inscription which states the rules of the pilgrimage to his sanctuary in Riyām, the patron god Taʾlab orders banquets *(ʾlm)* to be drawn out from the proceeds of the tithe *(ʿušr)* due to him. Pliny (*H.N.* 12.63) remarks concerning the temple of Shabwa in the Ḥadhramawt that the sun god Sabin (probably Sīn) entertained his guests a number of days every year on the proceeds of the tithe. That pilgrimage in Shabwa is also mentioned in a Sabaean text. A similar pilgrimage took place in the month of Abhay at the shrine of Almaqah near Mārib.

In 1981 the French Archaeological Mission in North Yemen visited the ruins of two temples containing votive objects and inscriptions, at the foot and on top of Jabal al-Lawdh, which closes the N side of the Jawf depression of North Yemen. The sanctuary on the mountain lies 1000 m higher than the one at the foot. They are linked by a 6-km-long paved, processional way with a constant slope that clings to the side of the mountain or is carved into it. They include large courtyards containing numerous parallel stone benches from 10 to 16 m in length. Inscriptions mention the offering of ritual meals by several Sabaean rulers, so that those considerable installations probably were used for the ritual meals of the pilgrims. In one of the temples a remarkable engraving on a wall shows a procession of elderly musicians with (masks imitating?) bird heads.

During the ancient period of the kingdom of Saba persons were dedicated in thanksgiving to the tutelary god of a temple, probably in order to perform some temporary duties in his service. But in the kingdom of

Ḥimyar, the historical rock inscriptions of the 3d century A.D. at the sanctuary of the goddess Šams in al-Mi‹sāl mention the ritual slaughter of civilian and military prisoners as a sacrifice in gratitude for a military victory. A similar custom is mentioned in inscriptions of Ethiopian kings in the 4th century A.D. Such human sacrifices were apparently exceptional. The ancient dedications of persons for the service of the god evolved relatively early into dedications of bronze or silver statuettes representing the dedicator, or even the god to whom the dedication was offered. Other objects of dedications were incense burners, statuettes of animals (offered for the well being of cattle), but also figurines of male or female sexual organs, offered in view of obtaining children. Many such dedications were normally described in an inscription and offered on the injunction of the god expressed through his oracle as a condition to the granting of the requested favor. The oracle is generally designated by the word *mas›al,* "interrogation," or "place of interrogation," without any indication as to the procedure involved. That was probably the most commonly used oracular term in pre-Islamic Arabia. A more specific method of divination was *istiqsām* or rhabdomancy: the drawing of lots represented by arrows or rods, each of which was supposed to give a specific answer (positive, negative, etc.) to a question asked from the god, possibly by a priest. Another type of oracle was oniromancy, or divination based on dreams. This appears in inscriptions in which the god is said to have expressed his will through "visions," which he had "shown" to his servant "during his sleep," or "in the temple" (an allusion to incubation), and sometimes "for him," i.e., through the offices of a professional "seer." One such medium, a woman, is called a *ḥlmt,* "seeress of dreams."

Another important cultic rite is what has gone down to Islam under the name *istisqā›:*a "supplication for rain" in case of severe drought. A Sabaean inscription from the 3d century A.D. relates that after a long period of severe drought the whole population of Mārib went to the temple outside the city and presented supplications to the god, while the women magicians were performing their tricks. On the same day, rain fell on the mountains; the flood reached Mārib during the following night, and filled with water the whole irrigation system around the city.

The hunting *(ṣd)* of the gazelle, the game devoted to ‹Aṯtar, was a rite of the ancient rulers of Saba aimed at obtaining good rains or favorable omens. This cultic rite was also performed on other kinds of game in honor of other gods. In a Sabaean text the goddess Šams orders a tribe to go hunting in her honor two days every year, in order to obtain protection and prosperity. Hunting the ibex as a charm and—when successful—as a presage of forthcoming rain, is a rite still performed nowadays in certain parts of the Ḥadhramawt.

**C. Magic and Funerary Customs**

Magic was of course linked to religious practice. Various terms designate the "evil eye" and the "evil spells" which one asked the god to be protected from, or to exert against one's enemies. Amulets carried the name or symbol of a god. The magic formula Wadd›āb, "Wadd is father," or reliefs representing a bucranium and called *śḥr,* "talisman," were inserted into the façade of buildings. Astrology also played a role; people asked for children endowed with "a good astrological configuration," and late reliefs figure the signs of the zodiac.

Funerary customs testify to a belief in an afterlife. Collective tombs consisting of several chambers, sometimes underground, were dug out in the soft limestone. Inscriptions at the entrance of a collective sepulcher specify the title deeds and respective share of ownership of the various occupants and utter threats against any usurper. During their 1986–87 campaign, the Soviet-Yemeni Archaeological Expedition in South Yemen discovered a ritually slaughtered camel in the middle of such a collective underground sepulcher. Several surgically prepared mummies, buried without a coffin, were discovered in 1983 in funerary chambers dug out in a cliff at Shibam Sukhaym, northeast of Ṣan‹ā›. Next to the usual pottery in clay or stone and to artifacts such as weapons or jewels, the burials contain small incense burners or bull heads in alabaster. Various types of funerary inscriptions are found in the graves: stone plinths bearing the name of the deceased supporting a bust, a head or a stone statuette, or even a plain polished alabaster plaque (on which a portrait may have been painted). Stelae were found bearing a name and a human face or bust incised or carved in the round. More elaborate epitaphs called *nfs* of *nṣb* are stone slabs which may include, next to the name of the dead and a threat against any usurper, a single or

double relief illustrating the daily activity of the deceased (hunting, ploughing, riding a camel, etc.) and a scene of the other world, such as the presentation of an offering to a seated goddess.

**D. The Monotheistic Religions**

After A.D. 350 the dedications to pagan gods give way to monotheistic invocations to " (the) God," "the Lord of Heaven," "the Lord of Heaven and Earth", *Raḥmānān,* i.e., "the Merciful," etc. Since expressions of this kind were later used by Jews and Christians, the problem arises of the true nature and origin of that monotheism. Jewish colonies were founded in the Ḥijāz probably around the middle of the 1st millennium B.C., and Judaism must have penetrated into South Arabia during the first centuries A.D. As a result of a Byzantine embassy to the land of Ḥimyar in the middle of the 4th century; the chief of the Himyarites allegedly became a Christian in spite of the Jewish influence in his court and had Christian churches built in his country. That conversion is, however, far from being confirmed. Monotheistic formulas are used by members of the Himyarite dynasty from about 380 A.D., but while no outspoken Christian (e.g., trinitarian) expression appears before the beginning of the 6th century, specific Jewish ones (e.g. the use of the word *slwm,* corresponding to Heb *šālōm,* "peace," the mention of Israel, or the plural *ʾlhn,* "God," obviously a calque of Heb *ʾĕlōhîm*) already occur around the year 430 in inscriptions emanating from Abūkarib Asʿad, a king who according to the Arab tradition was converted to Judaism by rabbis from Yathrib (Madīna). Owing to the recognized presence of Jews (or Jewish converts) in South Arabia from about the middle of the 4th century, it seems unfounded to suppose that the first South Arabian monotheism belonged to Ḥanīfism, that alleged and elusive Abrahamic monotheism which the Arab tradition claims having existed in pre-Islamic Arabia.

Syriac and Arabic sources attribute to Syrian missionaries at the beginning of the 5th century the conversion to Christianity of Najrān, an oasis at the N frontier of Yemen. An Ethiopic account describes the martyrdom there of Azqīr, a Najranite Christian, at the hand of Jews, during the reign of Šhuraḥbiʾil Yakkuf, a king known from inscriptions after the middle of the 5th century.

Somewhere around the year 520 a Jewish convert, Yūsuf Asʾar (the sinister duµ-Nuwaµs of the Arab tradition), took hold of the throne, and later (523?) attacked the Christians, mainly foreigners, in the country; Ethiopians were burnt alive in the blaze of their church in the capital Ẓafār, and in the haven of Mokhā, while the king prepared the siege of Najrān by barring the northern access to the oasis to possible relief from Christian Syria or Central Arabia. Those events are described in three rock inscriptions set up in the desert by Jewish generals of Yūsuf. In October–November of the same year the king and one of his generals put to death hundreds of foreign and indigenous Monophysite Christians in Najrān, by having them burnt alive in their church, or beheaded by the sword. That persecution is described in various hagiographic accounts. Having been told of the events, the Ethiopian Negus Ellā Aṣbeḥah decided to build a fleet in order to invade Yemen and avenge his fellow Christians. This he achieved two years later (525?) by landing in Yemen with his troops, by killing the Jewish king, and by installing an indigenous Christian, named Sumyafaʿ, as his viceroy. Sumyafaʿ is the author of a long inscription written "In the name of the Merciful, of His Son, the Victorious Christ, and of the Holy Ghost."

A few years later a former Ethiopian general named Abrahah seized power and made himself independent from the Negus. His long inscription about repairs at the famous dam of Mārib is drawn up "By the might and the help and the mercy of the Merciful, of His Messiah and of the Holy Ghost." Near the end of his reign he made in Central Arabia an expedition, mentioned in a rock inscription which is drawn up "By the might of the Merciful and of His Messiah." That expedition may have some connection with the Arab tradition of an abortive expedition he launched against Mecca around the year 570, traditionally assigned to the birth of Muḥammad. A few years later the Persians invaded Yemen which later became a satrapy. No inscription is recorded since that occupation, which ended in 628 when the last satrap embraced Islam, followed by many Yemenis. In 631 the Jewish and Christian communities in Najrān formally accepted, in a convention with the Prophet Muḥammad, the political domination of Islam in exchange for the right to continue to practice their religion.

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**SOUTH ARABIC LANGUAGES.** See LANGUAGES (PRE-ISLAMIC SOUTH ARABIA).

**SPAIN** (PLACE) [Gk *Spania* (Σπανια)]. The S European peninsula protruding into the Atlantic Ocean at the W end of the Mediterranean Sea, now comprised of Portugal and Spain (1 Macc 8:3; Rom 15:24, 28). From paintings, Spain's history has been traced back at least to Paleolithic times. The Phoenicians had established trading posts on the SW coast by the time of Israel's conquest of Canaan. By the time the N kingdom of Israel was overrun by Assyria, the Greeks, apparently lured by Spain's precious metals, controlled Spain's commerce. Not much later, Phoenician Carthage became regionally ascendant and pushed the Greeks back to the NE corner of Spain and dominated the coastal area. Financed by Spain's resources of gold, silver, tin, copper, lead, and iron, the Carthaginians rivaled Rome until the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.). Rome subsequently defeated Carthage in the Spanish peninsula and undertook the subjugation of Spain in order to protect themselves from further Carthaginian provocation (1 Macc 8:3). This task took almost two centuries, but by the turn of the era the Romanization of Spain had built up a full head of steam (Schulten *CAH* 8:187–298; Sutherland 1939). Besides wealth, Spain made many substantial contributions to Rome. Five Caesars (Galba, Trajan, Hadrian, Maximus and Theodosius) came from this geographic region along with a host of literary greats including the two Senecas, Lucan, Martial, Pomponius, Mela, Columella, Quintilian, Prudentius, and Orosius (see Collins 1983; Rostovtzeff 1979).

Perhaps the significance of Spain's place in the Roman Empire gave Paul the inspiration to evangelize this W frontier (Rom 15:24, 28). Strategically placed churches in this important region would have been consistent with Paul's missionary strategy, but whether he actually traveled to Spain remains in doubt. Although Clement, writing approximately thirty years after Paul's death, records that the apostle reached "the boundary of the West" (*1 Clem.* 5:7), an expression that probably refers to Spain, and the *Acts of Peter* and the *Muratorian Fragment* concur explicitly, this evidence has not removed the uncertainty from the minds of most scholars. The tradition which asserts that James introduced Spain to the Gospel (PL, LXXXIII, 151) has not been taken seriously.

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**SPAN.** See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**SPARROW.** See ZOOLOGY.

**SPARTA** (PLACE) [Gk *Spartē* (Σπαρτη)]. SPARTAN. The name of a city in S Greece also known as Lacedaemon. During the Dorian settlement, ca. 1000 B.C., the city-state Lacedaemon, later known as Sparta, was probably founded. Slowly, after protracted wars with Amyclae and Messenia, Sparta became a regional power. By the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War (404 B.C.), Sparta had become the most significant city-state in Greece (37°04´N; 22°25´E).

During the reign of the high priest, Onias I (320–290 B.C.), Sparta apparently courted the Jews resulting in a friendly relationship between the two parties. In fact, correspondence between these 2 parties discussed the possibility that both the Spartans and the Jews were descendants of Abraham (1 Macc 12:20–23). Though some doubt the authenticity of the Spartan correspondence, it is not impossible that the supposed Spartan letter in 1 Macc 12:20–23 is essentially authentic (Goldstein *I Maccabees* AB, 447–60). Apparently a colony of Jews had settled in Greece and had facilitated warm relations between Israel and Sparta because, in 168 B.C., Jason found asylum in this community after he failed in an attempted coup (2 Macc 5:9).

Later, ca. 146 B.C., Jonathan apparently also tried his hand at statesmanship with Sparta. Jonathan appealed to the city-state to renew their friendship; he based his appeal upon the above-mentioned letter

from Sparta to Onias I which supposedly had inaugurated a friendship between the two parties (1 Macc 12:1–23; cf. Josephus *Ant* 8.5.8; 12.4.10). Some scholars, however, have also doubted the authenticity of Jonathan's letter. Again the genuineness of Jonathan's letter is not impossible, especially if the letter from the Roman proconsul Lucius to the pharaoh of Egypt is authentic. This latter letter alludes to an effort by the Jews to renew a friendly relationship between the Jews and the Romans (cf. 1 Macc 15:16–21). If the Jews were taking the political initiative with the Romans, then it becomes probable that they also courted Sparta.

After Jonathan's death, Sparta seems to have corresponded again with the Jews, this time with Simon, the high priest. This correspondence apparently was an attempt to restore the past political friendship (1 Macc 14:16–23). The final mention of Sparta occurs in 1 Macc 15:16–22 (cf. Josephus, *Ant* 14.8.5). This text mentions a letter from the proconsul Lucius to the king of Egypt (139 B.C.) with copies sent to other nations as well. The letter requests the recipients not to engage the Jews in conflict. Most importantly, the letter singles out Sparta (1 Macc 15:23) and thereby encourages the enduring friendship of the two nations.

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**SPEECH IMPEDIMENT.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**SPICE.** See PERFUMES AND SPICES.

**SPIDER.** See ZOOLOGY.

**SPIKENARD.** See FLORA.

**SPIRITS IN PRISON.** The identity of "the spirits in prison," to whom 1 Peter 3:19 refers, is disputed. An exegetical issue which cannot be separated from this is the connection with v 18, where "made alive in the spirit" is now generally recognized to refer to Christ's resurrection. Some take "in which" *(en họ)* to refer loosely to the whole process of Christ's death and resurrection, and so are able to date his journey to preach to the spirits in prison between his death and resurrection, while others take it to refer to "spirit" in the sense of the spiritual realm and so are able to date his preaching to the spirits in the time of Noah, before his incarnation. But it is most plausibly taken to refer to Christ's risen condition ("alive in the spirit"), with the result that his journey to preach to the spirits must be dated after his resurrection. This means that the journey can probably be identified with that of v 22, i.e. his ascension to heaven.

There are three major views on the identity of "the spirits in prison" (for the history of interpretation, see Dalton 1965).

First, they are Noah's human contemporaries, who refused to heed his preaching while God's patience gave them opportunity to repent by delaying the Flood. Some form of this view was held by most exegetes until recently. According to one version of it, Christ's preaching to them occurred during his "descent to Hades" and is the same as the preaching of the Gospel to "the dead" to which 4:6 refers. A difficulty with this view is that, whereas references to the descent of Christ to Hades in the early extracanonical literature often refer to his preaching to the dead, it is always a question of the righteous dead of OT times, not notorious sinners such as those who died in the Flood. A second version of this view (Feinberg 1986; Grudem *1 Peter* TNTC) holds that the preexistent Christ preached *through Noah* to Noah's contemporaries while they were still alive. They rejected his message and are called "the spirits in prison" because that is what they are now, at the time of writing. This view can appeal to the Jewish tradition of Noah's preaching repentance to his contemporaries (to which 2 Pet 2:5 refers).

Second, the "spirits in prison" are angelic beings, which the word "spirits" alone (rather than "spirits of …") probably most naturally suggests (though human spirits is not at all an impossible meaning of the word). Specifically they are the fallen angels (the Watchers) as known especially in the Enoch traditions (and cf. Jude 6; 2 Pet 2:4; Dalton 1965). These ("the sons of God" of Gen 6:1–4, according to the

commonest early Jewish interpretation) disobeyed God by descending to earth, mating with women, and teaching humanity evil practices. Thus they were responsible for the corruption of humanity which led to the Flood. Although their descent from heaven occurred well before the time of Noah, the evil which they were still perpetrating reached its peak in the time of Noah. They were subsequently confined in a prison which *1 Enoch* locates beneath the earth, but which *2 Enoch* (7; cf. 18) locates in the second of the seven heavens. In this case, Christ could have confronted them during his triumphal ascent to heaven, and his preaching would be his proclamation to them of his victory over evil. Their submission to him would be included in that of the angelic powers to which v 22 refers.

Another recent view (Michaels *1 Peter* WBC 49, 203–11) is that the spirits are not the Watchers but the evil spirits derived from them. According to *1 Enoch,* the Watchers themselves are no longer active in this world, but the spirits of their children, the giants, became the evil spirits who continue to promote evil in the world until the last judgment. On this view, the spirits would be the evil spirits so often mentioned in the gospels, and Christ's proclamation of his victory in order to receive their submission would be more relevant to 1 Peter's readers than a reference to the Watchers. However, this view is obliged to take *phylake* in the sense of "refuge" rather than "prison":wherever they sought a safe haven Christ went to proclaim his victory to them. This is not the most natural interpretation. Moreover, there is a good reason why the Watchers, rather than the evil spirits active after them, should be mentioned. According to the Enoch traditions, they were the source and origin of all subsequent evil on earth. It was appropriate that Christ as victor over all evil should especially receive their submission.

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**SPIRITUAL GIFTS.** See GIFTS, SPIRITUAL.

**SQUID.** See ZOOLOGY.

**STABLE, STABLES.** A building or architectural sub-unit in which domestic animals, particularly equids, are housed and fed.

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A. Stables in the OT.
1. Terminology.
2. Within the Ancient Near East.
3. Archaeology.
4. Historical Implications.

B. In the NT


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**A. Stables in the OT**

**1. Terminology.** The term "stable" does not appear in the RSV, and only once in the AV (Ezek 25:5), where it mistranslates Heb *nawēh* (RSV "pasture"), with reference to camels. Instead, the Bible speaks of "stalls" (or "spans/teams"? [see below], Heb *ʾurôt*) "of horses for his [Solomon's] chariots" (1 Kgs 5:6 — Eng 4:26; cf. 1 Kgs 10:26; 2 Chr 9:25), and "for all kinds of cattle" (2 Chr 32:27–28; where the term is in apposition with "treasuries" [Heb *ʾōsārôt*], "storehouses" [Heb *miskĕnôt*], and "sheepfolds" [Heb *ʿadorîm*]). This last occurrence is probably a rhetorical flourish of the Chronicler, and need not be taken into serious consideration, except that it occurs in parallel with terms signifying built structures or buildings. The problem comes into focus when we consider that the Hebrew term *ʾurôt* (sing. **ʾurwâ*) is a loan-word from Akk *urû (m)*, "stall." In Middle Babylonian, however, the term may also mean "stallion," and in Neo-Assyrian, "span," or "team" (von Soden *AHW* 3, 1435, I, II). Thus, while "span" or "team"

would make a fitting translation for the earlier usage (1 Kgs 5:6 —Eng 4:26; 2 Chr 9:25), it would not suit 2 Chr 32:27–28. Whatever the translation, the earlier usage reflects the military-political viewpoint, since what is of immediate significance is the number of horses in active military service or training, which necessitated their stalling (see below), and not the number of buildings, or the total number of horses owned by the crown. Within the OT, stalls for young "feeder" cattle seem to be distinguished by the term *mărbēq,* "calf [/calves] from the stall", i.e., specially fattened calves: 1 Sam 28:24; Jer 46:21; Amos 6:4; Mal 3:20 —Eng 4:2. The term *ʾābûs* in the phrase *šôr ʾābûs* "stalled [= fatted] ox" (Prov 15:17) may elsewhere equal "crib" in its more ambivalent English usage as either "manger" or "stall," cf. Job 39:9 (wild ox); Isa 1:3 (ass). From these indications, as also from more general considerations, we should expect the archaeological attestation of "public" /royal stables, cities whose primary function might be to garrison chariot troops, and private stabling facilities within the economies of ancient Israel and Judah.

**2. Within the Ancient Near East.** Chariot teams in the ancient Near East were invariably stallions (Pope 1970:59–60), or upon occasion possibly geldings. Stabling provisions would be needed only for those horses which were in training. In all probability, the studs, brood mares, and foals were allowed to roam freely through the upland valleys, as in ancient Greece (Anderson 1961:4), cf. 1 Kgs 18:5 and 1 Sam 9:3. In the latter instance, the narrative concerns asses. It may be assumed, however, that, within a given culture-region, large-scale breeding practices for horses and asses would be similar.

The number given in 1 Kgs 4:26 for Solomon's horses (40,000) is either legendary, or, more likely, a copyist's error of one order of magnitude, a probability suggested both by one of the major manuscripts of the LXX, Codex Vaticanus, which reads "four thousand," and by 1 Chr 9:25 ("four thousand"). From this viewpoint, the translation "stall" clearly suits better than "span/team," which again yields overly large figures. Note further that the numbers of "horsemen" *(pārāšîm)* and "chariots" (*rekeb*, the term is also used with reference to chariot horses), 12,000 and 1,400 respectively, that Solomon is said to have stationed in the chariot cities (*ʿarê hārekeb*) and in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 10:26) are more consonant with the lower figure, especially when includes trainers, grooms, supply personnel, other stable hands, etc., in addition to the charioteers themselves. That this is an idealized, but nevertheless attainable figure, retroverted into the Solomonic period by later generations, is suggested by the fact that Ahab is credited with 2,000 chariots, i.e., at least 4,000—and probably 6,000—horses, in Shalmaneser III's account of the Battle of Qarqar (853 B.C.; Luckenbill, *LAR* 1, 223, para. 611). Some of these may have been Judean (1 Kgs 22:1–4). This figure has, however, also been questioned (Naʾaman 1976:97–102), but see below. Given what we presently know of the archaeology of early Israel, even if one accepted such a large number for the time of Ahab, it is quite unlikely that it could have held true for the historical Solomon.

The importance, and accompanying economic burden, of chariot forces both to Israel and Judah is abundantly witnessed in the OT (Deut 17:16; 1 Sam 8:11–12; 1 Kgs 4:26–28; 9:19; 16:9; 18:5; 22:4, 29–38; 2 Kgs 8:21; 10:2; Ps 20:7; Isa 2:7; Mic 6:10). Certain unnamed cities were expressly designated "chariot cities" (1 Kgs 9:19; 10:26, 2 Chr 1:14, 8:6, 9:25). Regardless of the historicity of their attribution to Solomon, it seems clear that the appellation was consonant with functional types of cities known to the later Judean historiographers. "Horses … and … chariots of the sun" (2 Kgs 23:11), almost certainly related to terra-cotta images found in some quantity in Iron Age Cyprus (e.g., Gjerstad et al. 1935:789, pls. 234–35 [Ajia Irini]; Karageorghis 1977:38, 67–73, pls. 8:12, 13; 25:1–4 [Meniko]), and which were among the cultic paraphernalia destroyed during Josiah's cleansing of the temple. There was a "horses' entrance" to the royal palace in Jerusalem (2 Kgs 11:16), and the slain kings Ahab and Josiah were borne home from the battlefront in chariots (1 Kgs 22:34–38; 2 Kgs 23:30).

**3. Archaeology.** The numbers of tripartite pillared buildings of standardized design, first identified as stables by the principal excavators at Megiddo, have multiplied during the past century's excavations in Palestine to the point that they are now, after domestic houses, the second-most-common architectural entity known from the period of the Hebrew monarchy. See Fig. STA.01; also MEG.05. Buildings of this general plan are known from Tell el-Hesi, Megiddo, Beth-shemesh, Lachish, Hazor, Beer-sheba, and Tell el-ʿUreima (Tel Kinrot). Furthermore, chariots are among the items rained down from the walls of Lachish upon the forces of Sennacherib in the siege-relief scenes of the 701 B.C. campaign against Judah,

and a Judean chariot is depicted in the procession of captives leaving the city (Ussishkin 1982:105, figs. 69, 82, 90).

Outside Israel and Judah proper, similar structures have been found at Tell Qasile, and Tell Abu Hawam (Mazar 1967:11, fig. 6; Hamilton 1935:pl. 4). The "Military and Police Stables" at Tell el-Amarna (Pendlebury 1951:131–35; pls. 21, 53:1–3) provide a large LB example of somewhat different architecture, while a small "private" stable was discovered at Ugarit, also in the LB II period (Schaeffer 1938:313–17; 1939:284; 1962:3, 18, fig. 13). From further afield, a building closely similar to those from Israel and Judah, but with double the intercolumnar spacing, has been excavated at the Urartian site of Bastam (Kleiss 1970:22–23; 1972:14–18; 1974:107–9, *Abb.* 3). Two late Nabatean structures interpreted as stables, incorporating many of the features of the above, have recently been found at Kurnub (Negev *EAEHL* 3:723–27; 1983:101–3; further, on Roman Period stables in the Hauran and Syria, see Negev 1988:104–7). It is of interest to note that the "perforations for tethering horses," appear erratically in this building as at Megiddo and probably at Beer-sheba strata III–II (Negev 1988:102–3, photos 79, 80).

Beginning with the excavations at Hazor in the late 1950s, and gaining fresh impetus with the subsequent discovery of substantial quantities of pottery and other domestic artifacts (loom weights, grinding stones, etc.) in units excavated at Beer-sheba, various scholars have raised questions regarding not only the interpretation of these particular buildings, but of the Megiddo buildings as well, rightly insisting that, given the common building plan, one interpretation should equally apply to all (Aharoni 1973:115; Pritchard 1970; Herzog 1973:26–27). These criticisms were answered in part by Yigael Yadin (1976), who concentrated on proving that stables involving such things as stone mangers were known in the ANE well before, and during the time of the Hebrew monarchies. J. Holladay (1986) addressed the question in greater length and approached the problem from the perspective of functional architectural design as applied to the care and keeping of highly conditioned, carefully trained horses of great economic and military significance.

In this work, Holladay evaluated the extant building materials and methods and the housing requirements of highly conditioned horses, and from these postulated what elements would go into the design of military horse barracks and how those considerations relate to the Palestinian structures in question. The result demonstrated that, from an architectural perspective, the tripartite pillared halls are an extended series of modules, measuring 1.45–1.80 m wide and 3.00–3.5 m deep (i.e., from the back wall to the inside front lip of the manger), which conform exactly to modern horse "standings," complete even to matters of lighting, ventilation, and ease of cleaning. Further obvious features include the mangers, hardened surfaces, and, in many cases, tethering devices, on either side of a central maintenance aisle. Given this degree of "fit" between the requirements of horse management and the design of these buildings, so widely distributed in time and space throughout the cities of the Sea Peoples, Israel, Judah, and Urartu, it seems clear this particular class of buildings was designed *and perpetuated* with only one function in mind: that of providing an efficient, workable setting for the care and maintenance of stalled horses, which, in the setting of ancient Israel, meant chariot horses.

The typical Israelite and Judean "public" or "royal" stable was thus a long hall, longitudinally divided into three aisles by a double row of pillars arising from low walls which ran the length of the structure, except for a transverse aisle at the front of the building. The latter provided access to the two side aisles from the main—most often the only—doorway, which was usually situated in the center of the front wall. In most cases the stables were located near a gateway, and in at least the case of the S stables at Megiddo, the stables fronted onto a large parade yard. See Fig. MEG.05. The hallmark columnation offered the potential for non-glare clerestory lighting and excellent no-draft ventilation for the entire length of the building, which regularly (Megiddo, Tell el-Hesi, Lachish, Beer-sheba), shared common party walls with other units of the same design. Other sites (Beth-shemesh, Hazor, Tell el-ʿUreima [Tel Kinrot], Tell Qasile, and Tell Abu Hawam) have individual units. As already noted, most units had a single main doorway, leading from the service aisle into a courtyard or street. In their first phase (Stratum III), the Beer-sheba units had one doorway for each aisle, which was replaced in their final phase (Stratum II) by a single central doorway for each unit. The Beth-shemesh stable, the small Tell Abu Hawam horse and

donkey stable and the Bastam building also had a small rear doorway suitable for use by the handlers. The Hazor stable, and probably the Beth-shemesh building as well, was distinguished by having a single doorway at the end of one side wall, opening directly out from the transverse aisle. Well-cut limestone *(nari)* mangers, roughly 1.2 × 0.60 m and 0.70 m high (ca. 0.90–1.05 m above floor levels, including the height of the underlying wall), with a recessed trough roughly 90 × 30 cm by ca. 12–15 cm deep, topped the low intercolumnar walls at Megiddo, their place being taken by stone and mud-mortar mangers at other sites. The horses faced inward (the preferred modern orientation) toward the center aisle, which was invariably of packed chalk/limestone or packed earth, while the two side aisles were invariably paved with cobblestones, in conformity with the triple requirements of durability, ease of cleaning, and preservation of the horses' hooves (Xen. *On Equitation,* 4.3–5). Some columns at Megiddo and Beer-sheba had holes bored through their corners just above manger level, possibly for use as tethering points. One unit at Beer-sheba had a pair of stalls converted into a loose-box, possibly for difficult, sick, or injured horses. No other partitioning devices have been noted, and it is probable that, in keeping with military stables down to modern times, "bails", i.e., poles or heavy planks suspended from the roofing timbers, were used to keep each horse on his ground. A few smaller units, probably serving only a few teams, have been found, e.g., the small Stable 401–359, in the N complex at Megiddo, and, possibly, Building 416 at Beer-sheba, each probably housing the select teams (5 or 6) of the commanding officers (so already Lamon and Shipton 1939:47).

Grain-storage facilities suited to the scale of the stables have been found at Megiddo, particularly for the S stables, where the great Storage Pit 1414 (attributed, probably incorrectly, to Stratum III) could accommodate almost exactly the yearly feeding requirements *in barley* of the 150 horses of the S stables at a rate of 10 lbs./day plus 10% waste: (150 × 11 × 365)/48 lbs. per bu. = 12,547 bushels, against the pit's estimated capacity of 12,800 bushels (Lamon and Shipton 1939:66). The capacity of the N Pits 414 and 415 was considerably less, and the supply must either have been augmented during the year or there must have been other storage facilities nearby. A pit very like the three Megiddo pits was near the Beth-shemesh stable, and a two-halled stone-floored storehouse, possibly for grain-storage, adjoined the Hazor stable. If uniformly filled to a depth of 1 m, it could have accommodated about 6,250 bushels, half the capacity of Megiddo Pit 1414, and about 4.15 times the annual barley requirements of 18 horses. Filled to a depth of 2 m, it could have fed 150 horses for a year. It is, however, possible that one hall could have been devoted to other staples, e.g., wheat, for human consumption.

The similarity of the stalling arrangements in the large tripartite pillared buildings to standard layouts on the ground floors of typical three- and four-roomed houses (Pritchard 1970:272), as well as in larger houses such as those near the citadel at Hazor, is, in a sense, unremarkable. The latter facilities, which are based on a smaller module (roughly 1.05 wide × 2.00 m deep, although this varied), unquestionably served as domestic stables, housing donkeys, mules, and cows and bulls/bullocks (the latter being a smaller breed or breeds than those commonly seen in present-day Europe and N America). Arc-shaped floor-level mangers made of small boulders overlaid with straw-and-mud mortar, often termed "bins," probably served for cattle. An interesting example of nondomestic stalls with bench-style mangers based on this smaller module is the facility in Hazor Locus 3103, which occupies a clearly "public" location immediately by the stairs leading to the main floor of the Citadel (Yadin et al. 1960:pl. 204). At ca. 1.05–1.10 m wide and 2.00–2.25 m deep, including the depth of the manger, these are obviously too small for horse standings (see above) and probably served as the Citadel's stable for riding-donkeys and mules, the normal mode of personal transportation.

**4. Historical Implications. a. During the 10th and 9th Centuries B.C.** The geographical and temporal distribution of the large military stables within Israel and Judah is a matter of some interest, in that it allows at least a partial glimpse at the otherwise obscure military establishments in the twin states. For the Solomonic period, G. Davies has demonstrated a poorly published stable unit predating the N stables at Megiddo (Davies 1988). To date, this is the only unit from that horizon.

From the period of Omri and Ahab come the roughly 450 stalls in the N and S stable complexes at Megiddo and the 19-stalled single unit at Hazor (the odd place may have been occupied by a night

watchman's post [Yadin et al. 1960:6], or, as in some modern stables, by the horses' "pet," e.g., perhaps a goat—or by both entities). Probably contemporaneous with these better-attested facilities are the 4 early units beside the palace-fort gate at Lachish (Starkey's "Government Storehouse," which may once have had an E analog; Ussishkin 1983:147–54) and the 4 larger units of the "Northern Building" in the same palace compound, which would include Loci 1050, 1051, and 1052. At between 19 and 20 m internal length, and using the low figure of 1.45 m for the width of individual stalls, the "Government Storehouse" complex could have accommodated about 44–48 horses (4 × 11–12 stalls). If there had been an E counterpart, it would have added another 44–48 horses. The "Northern Building," some 29 m deep, could have accommodated about 72 horses (4 × 18 stalls). Thus, assuming a team of two horses per chariot, the forces available to a combined Israelite-Judean contingent (this possibility is at least allowed by 1 Kgs 22:4; so also Yadin 1963:300) at the time of the Battle of Qarqar from *known* units at Hazor, Megiddo, and Lachish alone would have amounted to about 294 chariots. These could have contributed about 14.7 percent of the 2,000 chariots of Ahab, or nearly 50 percent in excess of a total of 200 (assuming an order of magnitude mistake in the text of the "Monolith Inscription from Kurkh" of Shalmaneser III; cf Na›aman 1976:97–102). For the lower figure, the stables at Megiddo alone would suffice. Assuming, as a maximal figure for normal troop complements, three horses per chariot, the third animal being an outrigger or trace horse (Littauer 1976:218–19, 223–24; Yadin 1963:298, 386–87; Littauer and Crouwel 1979:113–16), the respective figures would be (a) 9.8% of 2,000 chariots, or (b) 98% of 200 chariots. Assuming an E counterpart to the "Government Storehouse" at Lachish, we would have 10.5% of 2,000 chariots and 106% of 200 chariots.

Obviously the number of horses in a team makes a great difference in the reconstruction. Unfortunately, for Israel and Judah during this period, it is not possible to be certain of this figure. We are almost totally dependent upon the Assyrian reliefs (Nagel 1966; Madhloom 1970), with important details from a variety of other sources, mostly Cypriot and other models, and actual exemplars (Littauer 1976, Littauer and Crouwel 1979). Lamon and Shipton (1939:44) consider three horses a likely figure, and Na›aman ([1976:99] who cites Nagel's [1966:53–60] analysis) contends that four horses were typical for Assyrian chariots from the time of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) forward (note that these are mostly royal).

There is however, one reason (below) to suspect that the number of horses hitched to a *typical* (i.e., nonroyal, nonstandard-bearing) Israelite battle chariot of the 10th–9th centuries B.C. was greater than the classical ANE two-horse team (note, however, Yadin's observation [1963:88–89] that the standard ratio of horses to chariots in LB booty counts was 3:1). Large, heavy Assyrian royal chariots were only just making the transition to three- and four-horse teams (i.e., two horses under yoke, with one to two outriggers) in the time of Assurnasirpal II. On the other hand, to judge from the rather meager evidence, N Syrian chariots of the 9th and 8th centuries, with which the Israelite chariots would most closely have been allied, were "small and light … generally occupied by two men, the warrior and the charioteer" (Madhloom 1970:27). A logical inference is that these N Syrian chariots were probably drawn by a team of two horses. By the end of the 8th century, however, at least the (state?) chariot of the governor of Lachish was drawn by four horses. (Cf. the depiction of the captured Judean chariot in the "Lachish Reliefs," where the four-horse yoke is prominently figured in the victory procession; see Ussishkin 1982:77, 84–85, 88–91, 116). After the Assyrian occupation of the N kingdom for a third of a century, the borrowing of such a status symbol/technological innovation by rulers of the S kingdom is hardly surprising. Even so, this one attestation does not reveal much about the standard configuration of the typical Judean battle chariot of the late 8th or 7th centuries B.C., let alone that of the mid-9th century.

One final consideration, however, may indicate the number of horses required to support the Israelite-Judean contingent at the Battle of Qarqar (853 B.C.). From the logistical perspective, it seems reasonable to argue that foreign campaigns would have necessitated each charioteer taking along a spare horse to replace a yoke horse lamed or otherwise incapacitated while on campaign. To be effective under battle conditions, this spare horse must have been trained with the primary team, perhaps the use of outriggers, which are not all that helpful with respect to traction (Littauer and Crouwel 1979:128, but cf. also p. 29),

developed from, and was a natural concommitant of the practice of campaigning in foreign lands (Littauer and Crouwel 1979:128; cf. Yadin 1963:88–89, 298).

To return to the historical analysis: The single stable unit at Beth-shemesh is overlaid by "later walls," i.e., possibly of the same period as those associated further to the NW with the late Iron II casemate wall system, so it probably should also be assigned to this early period. If the Tell el-Hesi stables were to be dated to this period, together Beth-shemesh and Tell el-Hesi would add about 40 more two-horse teams to the available pool, bringing it up to 16.7% of a 2,000-chariot contingent, or 11.1% based on a 3-horse team (using the larger figure for Lachish, 17.9% or 11.9% respectively). Insisting upon the exclusively Israelite composition of these forces does not alter the equation very much. Megiddo and Hazor alone could have contributed up to 234 two-horse teams: 11.7% of a force of 2,000 (or 7.8% of a 2,000-chariot force comprised of three-horse teams).

The significance of these figures for understanding the potential chariot forces available to Ahab is simple. With far less than 16.7%, or 11.7%, or even 7.8% exposure of the potentially relevant 9th century stratigraphy of the twin states of Israel and Judah (or the single state of Israel), we have already accounted for those respective percentages of the chariot forces attributed to Ahab in the Monolith Inscription. If a scribal error is posited, even reckoning on three-horse teams and disallowing the larger figure for Lachish, we have already located all but one of the necessary stables. It is inconceivable, however, that we have already located almost all of the stables of the early 9th century with so little exposure. Nor is it certain that all stables were located on tell sites. This would distinctly reduce the likelihood of discovery of such units. The statistics currently available allow, and, in fact, favor the larger number, which is, in any case, not an exact figure.

The numbers of troops and chariots listed in the Monolith Inscription are large, and major losses in battle (implied by Shalmaneser III's "in that battle I took from them their chariots, their cavalry, their horses, broken to the yoke" [*LAR* 1, 126:223]) would keenly have been felt, but the numbers are not beyond reason, and it can be demonstrated that the economic drain upon the country/countries would not have been intolerable in the short term (contra Naʾaman 1976:100–2; note that in 1986–87 "tiny" Israel had more tanks [3,660] than the German Democratic Republic, Egypt, or France, and it also had more armored fighting vehicles and tanks combined than Iraq [9,960 vs. 8,600]; International Institute for Strategic Studies 1987). On the other hand, public perceptions about the acceptability of maintaining such a powerful force may have altered radically in the face of widespread crop failures and famine (1 Kings 17–18). That Israel probably suffered a major loss of chariotry at about this time, followed by a declining interest in such forces (or inability to finance following the breakdown of relations with Tyre), is suggested by the degeneration of later building phases of the N stable units at Megiddo and by the crown's failure to rebuild the ruined stable at Hazor (see below).

**b. 8th (and 7th?) Centuries B.C.** Following the high point of the Megiddo stables under the Omride dynasty, some of the units (Stable 364 at least, but probably others as well) in the N complex were rebuilt, with stone and mud mangers replacing the monolithic stone mangers of the time of the Omride dynasty (Lamon and Shipton 1939:63–64). Presumably, these inferior stables were those in use during the last years of Megiddo's service as an Israelite city (the years immediately prior to 733 B.C.), possibly suggesting a modest rebuilding of forces following an earlier nearly complete decline (e.g. 2 Kgs 13:7). While it is clear that there were not as many units in these rebuildings, because of the confusion of the excavations of Megiddo Stratum IVA, it is not possible to say very much about what actually was there. At the relatively small site of Tell el-ʿUreima (Tel Kinrot), Fritz dates the destruction of a "pillared building" to the conquest of the N kingdom by Tiglath-pileser III in 734/33 B.C. (1986:61). At about 15 m long, it could have accommodated some 18–20 horses.

This general picture of decline in Israelite chariot forces during the later parts of the 9th century and, probably, most of the 8th century is supported by the failure to rebuild the unit at Hazor following the destruction, apparently by earthquake, of Stratum VII, ca. 760 B.C. (Yadin et al. 1960:14–16, 19). However, the building had been once rebuilt during the general period ca. 885–760 B.C. (Yadin et al.

1960:6–7, 9, 14, pls. 200–1), presumably indicating that the decline following the Battle of Qarqar was not total.

In the S, stables were still prominent through the period of Lachish Level III (see below). We have already noted the depiction of a Judean chariot in the "Lachish Reliefs." The later 4 units of "Building 1034" and its E wing (Ussishkin 1983:147–51) may belong to this later phase of the city's history. Whether or not the "Northern Building" was still serviceable is a moot point. Little can be said regarding the date of the three units at Tell el-Hesi, which could just as easily have functioned in this period as in the former. Finally, the three Beer-sheba stables were newly built in Stratum III (we have no knowledge of their predecessors, if any), and were destroyed at the end of Stratum II (= Lachish Level III), in a wave of destruction generally attributed to the campaign of Sennacherib in 701 B.C. (Ussishkin 1977:52), although arguments can be mounted in favor of a later date, nearer to or at 597 B.C. (e.g., Holladay 1976:259–70). During this brief period, Beer-sheba may be taken as a model example of a "chariot city":a government chariot-garrison expressly posted to police and patrol either Judah's S border, or, more plausibly, the important Beer-sheba–Zered trade corridor.

**c. 7th (?) and Early 6th Centuries B.C.** For the period following the generalized destructions characterized by pottery of the Lachish Level III horizon, and terminating with the destruction of Lachish Level II (587 B.C., by general consent), we have, at the present, no evidence for the existence of stables, although it must be admitted that the basis for our knowledge is severely limited.

## B. In the NT

Uniquely in the Lukan birth narratives, the infant Jesus is said to have "been laid in a manger *('en phatnē),* because there was no place for them in the inn" (Luke 2:7, cf. 2:12, 16). Alternatively, in this account, *phatnē* may mean "stable", or even an open-air feeding place for animals (*BAGD*). Traditionally, the cave underlying the Church of the Nativity has been understood to be the stable concerned. The use of cave stables, both natural and artificially made, is still widespread in traditional Arab villages, and elsewhere in the Middle East, and a largish cave converted into a horse stable complete with about 100 hewn rock mangers, presumably by the Tobiad Hyrcanus, has been discovered at Araq el-Amir, in the Transjordan W of Amman (Conder 1889:65–87). Notwithstanding, virtually every house, not to mention inn, in Bethlehem must have had stalling provisions, i.e., a domestic stable, for the owner's asses and cattle, and each of these would have been equipped with either—or probably both—the floor-level stone and mud "bin" -type manger, or the mud and rock (exceptionally, cut stone) bench-type mangers better witnessed in earlier Israelite and Judean archaeological contexts (see above). The ubiquity of these features across the social landscape is central to the thrust of the saying of Jesus in Luke 13:15: "You hypocrites! Does not each of you on the sabbath untie his ox or his ass from the manger and lead it away to water it?"

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**STACHYS** (PERSON) [Gk *Stachys* (Σταχυς)]. A Roman Christian who received greetings from Paul in Rom 16:9 as "my beloved." Having been close to Paul in the E of the Roman empire, he had immigrated to Rome. This latter fact is confirmed by the inscriptions of the city of Rome; that only thirteen epigraphical matches of "Stachys" exist shows that the Romans seldom used the name (Lampe *StadtrChr*, 139). Stachys was probably a gentile Christian. See NEREUS. It has been proposed that Stachys was a (freed) slave, but the inscriptions do not reveal a significant occurrence of the name for slaves (see Lampe *StadtrChr*, 150, 152–53); only three out of eleven possible 1st-century "Stachys" inscriptions refer to slaves of freedmen. For further discussion see the commentary on Romans in EKKNT.

PETER LAMPE

**STADIA** [Gk *stadion* (σταδιον)]. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**STAG.** See ZOOLOGY.

## STAIRS OF THE CITY OF DAVID (PLACE) [Heb *ma‘ălôt ‘ir dāwîd* (מַעֲלוֹת עִיר דָּוִיד)].

A staircase about 75 meters SE of the present-day "Pool of Siloam" that descended a rocky scarp from the City of David to the Fountain Gate. Nehemiah notes that Shallum son of Col-hozeh from Mizpah repaired the Fountain Gate and a section of the wall by "the stairs that go down from the City of David" (3:15), and that the dedicatory procession came to the Fountain Gate and ascended the "stairs of the City of David" (12:37).

R. Weill's second campaign of excavations (1923–24) in the City of David uncovered this staircase (about 1.5 meters wide) that descended a rock scarp from a platform area within a well-fortified area dating from before the Iron Age (Weill 1947:15, planche, VII). The upper access to the stairs was found at

the S tip of Weill's massive wall A and at the N face of the great square defensive tower D (Weill, 1947:15, planche II). It descends nearly 11 meters to the Fountain Gate, and runs a distance of about 13.5 meters to the SE from the defensive tower at the top of the stairs. Weill found that the staircase was abruptly cut off near the bottom by intersecting canals (II and IV, Weill, 1947:60–73) from the Pool of Siloam, with Canal IV exiting the Fountain Gate under the Staircase. The staircase survived until its materials and route were used to construct a drainage system for the City of David (Weill's shallow catch basin "O", trench "S–S" and small oval basin "B") during the Second Temple period (Weill, 1947:15). Contrary to a general consensus (Simons, 1952:127–28), Weill proposes that this staircase exiting the citadel is the "way of the gate between the two walls" through which Zedekiah and all the men of war escaped Nebuchadnezzar's siege (2 Kgs 25:4; Jer 39:4; 52:7; Weill 1947:95–96).

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DALE C. LIID

**STAMPS, ROYAL JAR HANDLE.** Handles of Judean storage jars on which were impressed a seal containing a symbol plus the word *lmlk*, "to the king," or "belonging to the king," and usually the name of one of four cities, Hebron, Socoh, Ziph, and *mmšt.* The last of these is not mentioned in the Bible, and the pronunciation is unknown. See MMŠT.

First discovered in Jerusalem by C. Warren in 1869, examples of the stamps now number well over a thousand. Considering the relatively small amount of excavation that has occurred thus far in the territory of biblical Judah, the total number of these stamps originally produced must have been enormous.

The stamps occur in two major types with a number of variations. The first type, the "four-winged" stamp, depicts a flying scarab beetle. See Fig. STA.02 (a). The word *lmlk* stands above the symbol and the city name below. The second type, the "two-winged" stamp, has the same arrangement except that the flying scarab is replaced by what is generally interpreted as a winged sun disc. See Fig. STA.02 (b). Some examples have only *lmlk* with no place name, some have a place name without *lmlk,* and some have only a symbol with no writing at all. Despite the possible variations, the total number of master seals was apparently quite small, perhaps no more than twenty-two (Lemaire 1981).

With few exceptions, the stamped handles come from a single type of storage jar. (Two examples belong to a larger pithos of very different type and manufacture.) Often referred to as the Type 484 jar after the number assigned to it in the British excavations of Lachish, it stands 60 cm high (about two feet) and has four vertical handles spaced symmetrically around the shoulder. The handles have one or two ribs running vertically; and the stamps are placed at the upper end, sometimes with care, sometimes with obvious haste. The jars average slightly more than 45 liters in capacity (about 10.5 U.S. gallons) or about two biblical baths.

A totally persuasive explanation for the use of these jars has yet to be found, but ongoing research is providing valuable new data. Analysis of the chemical composition of the 484 jars has demonstrated that all of them were made in one place somewhere in the Shephelah, probably near Lachish (Mommsen et al. 1984). This gives support to the hypothesis that they originated in a royal pottery (1 Chr 4:23). Also enough complete jars have now been recovered to show that there is a considerable variation in capacity, thus ruling out the long-standing theory that the jars represented a royal standardization of measures (Ussishkin 1983:162–63). Also new is the demonstration that the stamps of private individuals commonly occur on handles of jars which also bear a royal stamp (Ussishkin 1976). These private stamps seem to be found, however, only with the two-winged stamps. Finally, the renewed Lachish excavations have established that the four-winged and two-winged stamps were contemporary, pointing to a briefer period of use for the stamps than many had supposed (Ussishkin 1977).

The exact dating of the stamps has long been a vexed problem. However, the issue has been resolved to the satisfaction of most scholars by the new excavations at Lachish since 1973. See LACHISH. The archaeological and literary evidence point to the campaign of Sennacherib in 701 B.C. for the destruction of Level III, the stratum where the *lmlk* stamps largely occur, meaning that their *floruit* was the reign of

Hezekiah at the end of the 8th century B.C., although it may have begun slightly earlier and continued for a time into the 7th century.

There are perhaps two factors in the royal stamps which have presented the most difficulty for interpreters, namely, the meaning of the four city names and the evidence of both pattern and randomness in the geographical distribution of the stamps.

One influential theory, most highly developed by Aharoni (*LBHG,* 394–400), proposes the four cities to be administrative centers for the four districts of Judah, charged with collection and storage of taxes in kind. But the four cities, Hebron, Socoh, Ziph, and the unknown *mmšt,* form a puzzling group. Hebron and Ziph are only a few miles apart. And why would one chief city be the enigmatic *mmšt*? Linguistic arguments that would interpret *mmšt* as the Hebrew word *memšelet* or "government" and hence a metaphorical expression for Jerusalem have persuaded only a few. See MMŠT. Furthermore, one would expect to find handles bearing the names of the cities heavily concentrated in four distinct regions of Judah, but this is not the case: Hebron stamps form the largest group at Lachish and *mmšt* is common in the N but all four names are found in all parts of the country.

Another theory would construe the four names as royal vineyards (most recently Rainey 1982). This would explain why an obscure *mmšt* would be on the list and why the names are found all over the country. But no stamps bearing the city name Socoh have been found among the many picked up at Socoh itself, nor have *lmlk* stamps been found at Hebron or the most probable site of Ziph. Moreover, some royal stamps have no city name at all which would seem to indicate that the stamps have a broader purpose than simply indicating the geographical origin of a product.

Despite the interpretive difficulties posed by the royal-stamp jars, there does seem to be some movement toward elements of a consensus (Aharoni *LBHG;* Rainey 1982; Mommsen et al. 1984; Naʿaman 1986):in the reign of Hezekiah, the Judean government undertook to move massive quantities of liquid goods—oil, wine, or both—and, by implication, grain to the N and W regions of the country. (The stamps have been found largely in the N [Gibeon, Tell en-Naṣbeh, Jerusalem, Ramat Raḥel] and in the Shephelah from Gezer S to Lachish. Finds in the hill country S of Ramat Raḥel and in the Negeb have been negligible.) This provisioning system was organized out of some fourfold pattern represented by the city names that we cannot yet fully understand. The preponderance of the jars on the borders hints at preparations for the Assyrian attack of 701 B.C., and the observable geographic distribution of the stamps represents moments in that system frozen in time by the progressive Assyrian campaign.

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H. DARRELL LANCE

**STARDISKS.** See JEWELRY.

**STATISTICAL RESEARCH ON THE BIBLE.** The first proposal of a statistical method for biblical research was made in 1851 when Augustus de Morgan suggested the use of mean word-length for the comparison of Hebrews with those Epistles which open with "Paul …" (Lord 1958:282). Just under a century later, actual statistical studies of biblical authorship began, stimulated by the work of Udny Yule on the authorship of *De Imitatione Christi* (Yule 1939). The three main foci of interest have been the Pentateuch, Isaiah, and the Pauline Epistles. Based on statistical analysis, it has been asserted that the first twenty-three chapters of Genesis do conform to the Documentary Hypothesis (Chenique 1967; Houk 1983), and it likewise has been asserted that they (and indeed the entire book) do not (Radday and Shore 1985). It has been asserted that Isaiah is not from one hand (Radday 1973), and that it is (Adams and

Rencher 1973). It has been asserted that Philippians, Colossians, and 1–2 Thessalonians are from one hand (Wake 1948), and that they are from three hands (Morton 1978). To quote Tallentire (1971:117):

> The conclusions reached about style, via computational methodologies, far from being "definitive" by virtue of their objectivity, are mutually contradictory.

Some unreliable conclusions have stemmed from faulty data, many from faulty statistical method, but most from faulty interpretation. Often, both of a pair of contradictory results are incorrect in that neither is a valid inference derived from the data. That, thus far, the end results of most research in this area have been seriously flawed indicates not that statistical methods have little to contribute to biblical studies, but rather that much greater care must be exercised in their application and interpretation.

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## A. Preliminaries

**1. The State of Affairs.** The status of statistical methods in biblical research is well described by M. Halle (1958:28), substituting *biblical scholar* for *linguist:*

> Some of us regard anything in mathematical garb as if it were a revelation from on high, while others reject it out of hand as an endeavor to bully the [biblical scholar] into accepting conclusions he is not in a position to verify. Crude attempts at applying unsuitable mathematical techniques to irrelevant problems, therefore, not only waste the time of those who carry out the research, but also increase the resistance among [biblical scholars] to developments that represent genuine progress.

Responsibility for this state of affairs lies with the often-reverential users of statistics, whose enthusiastic expositions frequently substitute assertion for carefully crafted explanation, and with their critics, who frequently register technical quibbles rather than engage the fundamental issues. Add occasional barrages of ad hominem argument, and it is little wonder that the nonplussed noncombatant leaves the field.

**2. Arguments Against the Use of Statistics.** There are those for whom the enterprise *feels* inappropriate, those who "look askance at any method of literary study which tries to find the truth of conscious literary composition in numerical statistics from which the spirit of the computer has flown" (Knox 1963:116). To these one can only offer reassurances that they can understand and critique properly

explained methods, and that statistical methods are but one way among many of gaining insight into our texts.

There are those who argue that language is rule-governed so that statistical methods are not applicable. Such arguments were common during the rise of generative grammar when the new method was clearing the way for its ascendancy (Chomsky 1957:18). While it has been proved that "language cannot be exactly a Markov process"—a process wherein the probability of encountering a particular item is determined solely by the items which have preceded it (Good 1969:374)—one can get a very long way indeed modeling language as a Markov process. Perhaps an analogy will be helpful: while it is true that Newtonian physics must be supplanted by Einsteinian physics in order fully to account for observed phenomena, in most situations Newtonian physics provides a totally adequate approximate representation.

Finally, there are those who hold that the usual methods of inferential statistics are inappropriate for studying language because the requirements for their applicability are not met. Instead, descriptive methods should be used (Weil 1974:29). (*Inferential statistics* makes inferences as to the characteristics of entire [actual or hypothetical] populations based on samples drawn therefrom. It is contrasted with *descriptive statistics,* which compresses the description of data and/or transforms the data in ways that allow the analyst to hypothesize previously hidden relationships.) This attitude is certainly understandable, given the excessive inferential zeal manifest in much of the literature. But it also is an instance of "the all too common error of over-reaction" (Mallows and Tukey 1982:114). There is a need both for exploratory descriptive analyses and for carefully formulated inferential procedures.

**3. Assessing the Literature.** Repeatedly in this essay, the literature applying statistical methods in biblical research will be assessed by answering the following five questions:

1. *Are the data sound?* Usually, one must accept on faith that the primary data are accurate. Occasionally, internal checks and/or comparisons of gross counts with those obtained from other data sets allow one partially to assess data integrity.

2. *Are the data sufficient to the task?* This is a fundamental issue in statistical studies: the problem of sample size. If the data set is too small, the confidence one can have in inferences based on it or hypotheses suggested by it will be too limited.

3. *Has the method been proven in the current context of use?* The assumptions which underlie the method should be explicit, and evidence should be provided that the data conform sufficiently to the assumptions so as to make use of the method defensible.

4. *Has the method been used with adequate safeguards?* Proper research includes safeguards taken to ensure that the (computer) manipulations used to extract results are carried out reliably.

5. *Are the conclusions warranted?* Given results obtained via appropriate, validated methods applied to a sufficient sampling of accurate data, the researcher must not leap to unwarranted conclusions as to causative mechanisms and as to the confidence one may place in results.

**4. The Analysis of Style.** Before surveying the literature, we shall present the main ideas of a sensitizing paper by Doležel (1969). Its precepts supply an antidote against the many faulty assertions and inferences we shall encounter.

A writer $X_i$ of language L in some practical context $Q_j$ produce a set of texts T ($X_i$,$Q_j$). Here $X_1$ might be Isaiah, $X_2$ might be Jeremiah, $X_3$ might be Ezekiel, etc.; $Q_1$, $Q_2$, etc., might refer to various life situations encountered by the prophets. The range of possibilities across all speakers in all possible contexts for language L is summarized by Table 1, adapted from Doležel's paper.

When we sum texts across the top row (over all conceivable contexts), we obtain T ($X^1$), the set of all texts producible by Writer $X^1$. When we sum texts down the first column (over all possible writers), we obtain T ($Q^1$), the set of all texts producible in context $Q^1$. When we sum across all combinations of writer and context, we obtain T (L), the set of all texts in language L.

Doležel distinguishes three sorts of writers: if composition is independent of context, we have a *context-free* writer, a poet. If composition is fixed by context, if individuality has no effect on composition, we have a *context-bound* writer, a bureaucrat. If both individuality and context affect production, we have a *context-sensitive* writer, a "common writer." Sociopathology aside, the subjective and objective factors

differentially affect everyone's writing at one time or another. That is, we are all sometimes context-free, sometimes context-bound, and sometimes context-sensitive writers.

The set of all texts in a language, T (L), can be classified in terms of the subjective factors ($X_i$ and the objective factors ($Q_j$) conditioning their characteristics. Some characteristics will be homogeneous across all texts. These Doležel refers to as *supra-stylistic.* His example of such a characteristic is the distribution of graphemes in texts. Other characteristics, termed *sub-stylistic,* vary unpredictably across the texts of a language. (Doležel speculates that the variations are the result of pragmatic factors not taken into account by his theory.) *Sub-stylistic* characteristics are the bane of any statistical theory of style as they are confounding variables, variables which can lead the unwary to infer effects where none exist.

When one removes the supra-stylistic and sub-stylistic characteristics from consideration, one is left with a set of characteristics (Doležel symbolizes them by $C_k$) whose dependence on subjective factors ($X_i$) and objective factors ($Q_j$) it should be possible to map. Some of the $C_k$ will depend only on subjective factors, others will depend only on objective factors, while still others will depend on both. Unfortunately, "alternations of factors controlling the same characteristic are possible." For example, sentence length may in some texts be controlled only by subjective factors (be author-specifying). In others, it may be controlled only by objective factors (be context-determined). And in yet others, it may be controlled by both. In the second case, sentence length will be utterly misleading for studying authorship; in the third case, it will only be of use given careful controls over context.

Table 1.
Texts and Their Conditioning Factors

| | Contexts | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Writers | $Q_1$ | $Q_2$ | $\cdots$ | $Q_m$ | |
| $X_1$ | $T(X_1, Q_1)$ | $T(X_1, Q_2)$ | $\cdots$ | $T(X_1, Q_m)$ | $T(X_1)$ |
| $X_2$ | $T(X_2, Q_1)$ | $T(X_2, Q_2)$ | $\cdots$ | $T(X_2, Q_m)$ | $T(X_2)$ |
| . | . | . | . . . | . | . |
| . | . | . | . . . | . | . |
| . | . | . | . . . | . | . |
| $X_n$ | $T(X_n, Q_1)$ | $T(X_n, Q_2)$ | $\cdots$ | $T(X_n, Q_m)$ | $T(X_n)$ |
| | $T(Q_1)$ | $T(Q_2)$ | $\cdots$ | $T(Q_m)$ | $T(L)$ |

**B. Early Authorship Studies**

**1. De Morgan on Hebrews (1851).** In 1851, the eminent logician and mathematician A. de Morgan wrote to his clergyman friend W. Heald proposing the use of mean word-length for the comparison of Hebrews with each of the Epistles whose opening word is "Paul …" He averred (Lord 1958:282):

> I should expect to find that one man writing on two different subjects agrees more nearly with himself [as regards mean word-length] than two different men writing on the same subject. Some of these days spurious writings will be detected by this test. Mind, I told you so.

We have no record that either de Morgan or Heald ever carried out such research.

**2. Mendenhall on Shakespeare (1901).** Taking his cue from de Morgan, but using the distribution of word lengths rather than the mean word length, the American physicist T. C. Mendenhall studied the works of Shakespeare along with those of other Elizabethans. He found that the word-length distributions for Shakespeare and Bacon were considerably different, while those for Shakespeare and Marlow were very similar, producing "something akin to a sensation … among those engaged in the work" (Mendenhall 1901).

**3. Yule on *De Imitatione Christi*(1939).** G. U. Yule introduced sentence-length statistics as author-specific indices. These were used to select Thomas à Kempis rather than Jean de Gerson as the author of *De Imitatione Christi.* Note that Yule had writings shown to be by each candidate author and asked whether the behavior found in *De Imitatione Christi* was closer to one or the other, a particularly

straightforward situation. In *The Statistical Study of Literary Vocabulary* (Yule 1944), Yule introduced his "characteristic K," a measure of vocabulary diversity. This work was the triggering event for the use of statistical methods in biblical research.

**C. Studies in the NT**

We first take up NT statistical studies, since these got underway almost twenty years before statistical work on the Hebrew Bible. We shall lavish attention on the earliest work because its limitations reappear repeatedly in the literature.

**1. Wake on the Authorship of the Pauline Epistles (1948).** Leaving aside research involving simple counts, W. Wake was first to apply statistical methods to a biblical problem. His paper sets an unfortunate precedent: because the texts are short and the range of sentence lengths limited, the discrimination problem "can be solved only by means of certain modern statistical techniques, the results of which are given here but not the working nor the detailed argument establishing the validity of use" (1948:51). These omissions turn the evaluation of Wake's work into a frustrating exercise.

Using the *Textus Receptus* of 1863 from which lists have been removed and treating the Greek colon as a full stop, Wake tabulates the sentence-length distributions for the Pauline corpus. That is, he tallies how many sentences are between one and five words in length, between six and ten words in length, and so on for each epistle. (The five-word intervals are chosen so each contains sufficient counts to make statistical analysis reliable.) He excludes Philemon and Titus on the grounds that they are too short for analysis. For critical reasons, 2 Corinthians is divided into 2 Corinthians 1–9 and 2 Corinthians 10–13. By dividing the various epistles into sections, Wake characterizes the sentence-length distributions (by examining how critical points of a distribution, such as the median, vary across the sections) and clusters the twelve texts into two major groups plus four stragglers: (1) 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians 10–13, Galatians, Romans; (2) 1–2 Thessalonians, Philippians, Colossians; (3) Ephesians; (4) Hebrews; (5) 1–2 Timothy; (6) 2 Corinthians 1–9. He concludes that the two major groups each had its own author.

*Are the data sound?* Wake provides far too little information to allow a meaningful assessment. He states that for Ephesians the mean sentence length is 18.2 words and the ninth decile (length below which 90 percent of the sentences lie) is 36.7 words. Morton (1978:173) reports values of 30.31 and 58.75, respectively. These differences may be due to the use of different NT editions and/or to different ways of specifying words and sentences. (Indeed, Morton [1978:167] mildly criticizes Wake for using an outdated NT edition. In a later paper, Wake discusses sentence-length definition [1957:334].)

*Are the data sufficient to the task?* Wake only gives the reassurance that the sections are "each sufficiently long." His later paper (1957) gives more detail on text sectioning but makes no reference to what methods were used in his earlier work.

*Has the method been proven in the current context of use?* Since Wake gives few details, we can but surmise. From his few clues, we infer that his methods assume the distributions are Gaussian, that is, shaped like the standard bell-shaped normal grading curve. In fact, they are not. The data appear to be such that their logarithms follow the bell-shaped Gaussian distribution (Morton 1978:176). In his later work (1957:331), Wake appropriately transforms nonbiblical sentence-length data so that they are more nearly Gaussian.

*Has the method been used with adequate safeguards?* In addition to comparing the scatters of distributions to allow clustering of texts, Wake also carries out an "analysis of variance" (ANOVA), yielding similar results. We shall not explain ANOVA. While it is robust to departures of data from the assumed Gaussian distribution, it involves other assumptions with regard to which the data should be assessed (Sachs 1984:494).

*Are the conclusions warranted?* According to Wake (1948:54):"The most obvious explanation for the existence of two separate and distinct groups is that they are the work of different authors." That an explanation is "obvious" does not make it true. Yule, in his study of *De Imitatione Christi*, used sentence-length distributions to compare his questioned text with texts known to be from the two candidate authors he considered. Wake's problem is more difficult. He has several texts and wishes to decide how many authors they must have had. Yule's situation involved supervised learning, while Wake's situation is the

much more difficult case of unsupervised learning. For Wake to succeed, he must show that for his chosen criteria the differences among certain texts are greater than the differences within the texts. If he succeeds convincingly, he must then show that the inter-text differences are accounted for by purely subjective factors, that objective factors, such as audience or genre or author's age, have no effect.

Wake may have shown that some inter-text differences in sentence-length distributions significantly exceed intra-text differences, making the identification of clusters of texts reasonable. Unfortunately, he has provided insufficient information to allow us to judge. But he does not show that the differences he detects are due solely to differences in author. Consider three findings not available to Wake; (1) C. B. Williams (1970:60–63) showed that sentence lengths for the "descriptive" prose and the "dialogue" of Lord Dunsany differed greatly. (2) He also showed that rhyming greatly affected the sentence lengths of Masefield. (3) K. R. Buch (1969) showed that one author's sentence-length distributions for works written twenty years apart differed greatly. None of these results involved Koine Greek, so they do *not* disprove that sentence length is author-specifying for the Pauline corpus. But they do illustrate that it is not "obvious" that differences in sentence-length distributions indicate changes in author. In his later paper (1957:345), Wake concludes:

> The markedly skew distributions of sentence lengths of passages of continuous prose seem to display a constancy which enables them to be used as objective criteria of authorship style. The distributions only vary from sample to sample in a manner expected for samples drawn randomly from a fixed population of sentence lengths. This seems to be true for all Greek as well as English authors and the exception that Plato's works provide can be accounted for by the literary form adopted. In any case they are characteristic even though their variability is greater than would be obtained by random sampling of a single population for there seems to be trend with age superposed.

In condensed form: Sentence-length distributions are author-specifying, except when they are not. When they are not, reasons can be found (literary form, age trend).

**2. Grayston and Herdan on the Authorship of the Pastorals (1959).** Grayston and Herdan sympathetically expound and critique Harrison's "vocabulary connectivity" analysis of the Pastorals (Harrison 1921) in preparation for carrying out a more rigorous analysis. They introduce "the alternative probability that a word is either peculiar to the part or common to all parts" of the corpus under study. If $V_{peculiar\,i}$ is the number of word types (vocabulary items) peculiar to part i of a corpus, $V_{common}$ is the number of word types common to all the parts of the corpus, and $V_i$ is the number of word types in part i, then this probability is: $C_i = \frac{(V_{peculiar_i} + V_{common})}{V_i}$ For the Pauline Corpus, the values of $C_i$ range from.30 to.35 for the non-Pastorals, while $C_{Pastorals}$ =.46, due to the very large number of unique vocabulary items. They conclude (10):"The magnitude of C for the Pastorals [that is, of $C_{Pastorals}$] supports strongly the hypothesis of non-Pauline authorship."

They also plot the logarithm of the vocabulary size *(logV)* versus the logarithm of the text length *(logN)* for each Epistle. The Pauline Epistles, excluding the Pastorals, lie close to a straight line, while each Pastoral Epistle lies a fair distance above the line. "This confirms in a formal way the suspicion as to the Pauline authorship for these Epistles" (14). Weitzman (1971) demonstrates that the observed behavior is likely merely a result of variations in text length.

With commendable reserve, Grayston and Herdan finally state (15):

> Altogether, it may be said that the linguistic evidence is strong enough to justify the conclusion of a very different style in the Pastorals. Whether this implies a difference in authorship depends upon one's conception of what style means. Statistics can do no more than establish such differences.

(Readers wishing additional details on these methods should consult Herdan's later work [1960:245–52; 1966:219–49], where both the Pauline Epistles and the entire NT are studied. Note also Weitzman's brief treatment of the NT epistles in his search for text characteristics which are independent of text length [1986b: 872].)

As to the soundness of the data, the study obtains its counts from Morgenthaler's reliable volume (1958), and hence it may be trusted.

As to the correctness of sample preparation, samples of the texts are nowhere involved, exhaustive counts being used. Were each epistle, however, viewed as a sample drawn from an unseen population of writings by its author, it would be possible to attach confidence intervals to the various results. That is, Grayston and Herdan could have indicated what confidence the reader could have in the various results as reflective of what would be found had we access to more extensive texts.

As to the correctness of their methods in this context, little background information is supplied. Viewed as two descriptive approaches, it is difficult to fault their method. When inferences are drawn as to what constitute significant differences, the work ceases to involve statistics and lapses into impressionism.

As to the adequacy of safeguards, the paper includes full details of the arithmetic, allowing the reader to check the work.

*Are the conclusions warranted?* The haste in jumping to conclusions as regards multiple authorship in the body of the paper is offset by the evenhandedness of the final words. Most would agree that they have shown that the Pastorals differ from the Pauline Epistles as regards vocabulary diversity. That this behavior is due to differing authors rather than literary form, subject matter, etc., has not been shown.

**3. Morton on the Authorship of the Pauline Epistles (1963).** Starting with his quarrelsome article in *The London Observer* of November 3, 1963 ("A Computer Challenges the Church") and culminating in chap. 14 of his book *Literary Detection* (1978:165–83), A. Q. Morton and his collaborators have written repeatedly on the problem of the authorship of the Pauline corpus. The following exposition is based on the 1978 book, with references to earlier work as necessary. We include most of our comments as we proceed. (The critique of Morton's presentation before the Royal Statistical Society remains relevant [Morton 1965:224–33].)

According to Morton (38):"The fundamental principle of stylometry can be set down thus: the authorship of texts is determined by looking at habits which are common to all writers of the class under examination. The habits are used by each writer at his own rate. The different writers are separated by calculating the differences between their rates."

Morton points out that observed distributions can be characterized in terms of the usual mean, median, percentiles, etc., or an attempt can be made to fit them to theoretical distributions. The reader interested in theoretical distributions would be well advised to learn about them elsewhere than in chap. 5 of *Literary Detection.* There, one finds confusing pedagogical misadventures: symbols that stand for counts on one page and probabilities on the next (p and q on 54 and 55), expressions called equations (55), negative probability (60), the assertion (68) that "the chi squared distribution is: $x^2 = \frac{\sum(0-E)^2}{E}$" with both the assertion and definition incorrect. The definition should read: $x^2 = \frac{\sum_i (O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$ (Here, the $O_i$ are observed counts and the $E_i$ are counts estimated using some model. We shall use this definition below.) The assertion should be that "$X^2$ obeys the chi squared ($\chi^2$) distribution." One also encounters a profusion of typographical errors and careless notations, all told more than twenty in the chapter. All these miscues debilitate an important chapter in Morton's otherwise clear book.

Morton gives the characteristics of any writing habit used for author identification (96):

> First, it must be a habit apparent in a choice which frequently confronts all authors; second, it must be a habit which can be numerically expressed; and third, it must be a habit which can be shown to be unaffected by changes in subject matter, by the passing of periods of time, by reasonable differences in literary form and all other possible influences which might affect the habit.

Thus (98), "any habit which is bound up with nouns, tied as they are to subject matter, is unlikely to make a good indicator of authorship." And (101):"An uninflected language—English, for example—makes

sentence length distributions much less useful … the mean length is greater but the variance even more so." The former observation makes Morton wary of vocabulary-richness criteria. The latter, his distinction between inflected and uninflected languages, is often ignored by critics of his methods.

In their classic work, Mosteller and Wallace relied heavily on function-word frequency (1984:39). Uncritical use of function words for determining authorship was attacked by Herdan (1966:172–74) and seriously questioned by Damerau (1975). Morton sees difficulties with relying on common function words. He writes (102, 104):

> … it would appear that … common words would make good indicators of authorship if it could be shown that an author used them at a constant rate and individual authors differed in their rates of use. The difficulty of using them as a test of authorship is that their occurrence is too readily influenced by the literary form of the work being studied … For problems [with] a plenitude of samples and a limited choice of authors, the rate of occurrence of frequent words offers ample material for decision. But if these two factors are lacking, there is much less scope.

Morton thereby backs off from criteria central to his early work (1963; 1965). He now asserts the best author-discriminators are the absolute positions of words in sentences (for inflected languages) and the positions in terms of nearby words (for uninflected languages).

In Greek, sentence-length distributions "are an effective indicator of authorship" (108). For the Greek speech writer Isocrates, Morton finds differences in sentence-length distributions which he concludes are due to differences in literary form rather than due to the passage of time. He then notes that there are some tests (129):

> … which are completely unaffected by the variety of literary form, some which are affected by a change in literary form and others which are affected by the passage of years. As long as care is taken in making comparisons of texts which are in contrasting literary forms, tests of authorship are reliable.

One author hardly typifies all writers of Greek. As Morton elsewhere admits (102), "literary form cannot be clearly defined in detail." (Note that Brainerd [1979 and 1980] has produced convincing studies of Shakespeare wherein one set of text characteristics separates his works into genre clusters while another orders them chronologically.)

Chapter 14 of *Literary Detection,* "The Authorship of the Pauline Epistles," presents arguments based on sentence-length distributions plus limited results for positional studies. Where useful, we draw supporting materials from the fuller exposition of Morton and McLeman (1966). Morton sees the evaluation of the Pauline corpus as having two phases: first, establish the authorship of the individual epistles and, second, determine the internal integrity of the individual epistles. The first phase is executed via sentence-length analysis plus other tests independent of sentence length, the second via positional analysis. Following detailed discussions of sample-size determination and appropriate data transformations, Morton (180) discloses his conclusions based on sentence-length distributions:

> Romans, I and II Corinthians and Galatians form one group and the others are separate from it. In the linear scale [i.e., for the untransformed data] there is an anomaly in the third quartile of II Corinthians [the sentence length below which three-quarters of the sentences lie] and this may be due to chance. The table has five statistics for five epistles and one 5% difference is likely to appear in it, for it might turn out to be some indicator of the emendation of this text.

This passage is misleading in two respects, one factual and one interpretive.

*Factual:* The table referred to holds statistics for ten, not five, epistles. Thus, if his tests chance erring in five percent of the cases, he may obtain as many as two "significant" differences that are spurious.

*Interpretive:* Since Morton provides scant explanation as to how he reaches his conclusions, we must reconstruct his procedures. The basic ideas are hinted at in his early work (Morton 1965:217; Morton and McLeman 1966:53).

For each epistle and parameter (mean, median, etc.) he adds and subtracts twice that parameter's standard error (S.E.) so as to form its 95% confidence interval. That is, he determines the range of values within which the true parameter lies (with one chance in twenty, on average, of erring) based on the estimates of the parameter computed from the data. He then determines for which epistles which statistics

show significant differences from the behavior of Galatians, his Pauline gold standard. He announces in the notes to his table which epistles have confidence intervals which do not overlap with those of Galatians. (Underlying all this is his assumption that his parameters are Gaussian.) He finds these epistles are significantly different from Galatians; 2 Corinthians (for one parameter), Ephesians (for 5), Colossians (for 2), 1 Thessalonians (for 4), and Hebrews (for 5). He next examines how Galatians and the rest compare as regards the means of the distributions based on the logarithmically transformed data, finding that Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, and Hebrews differ significantly from Galatians. From these results emerge his conclusions quoted above.

There are at least three problems with his method and his interpretation of its results: (1) Morton asserts that Romans, 1–2 Corinthians, and Galatians form a group and the others are separate from it. In fact his analysis shows (to his satisfaction, see below) that 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1–2 Thessalonians, and Hebrews are not from the same population as Galatians. In terms of inferential statistics, this does not imply that the others are from the same population; it merely shows that the tests do not allow one to decide if the others are or are not from populations differing from Galatians. They may be. If his assertion is based on some hidden practice of descriptive statistics, then he should explain why although 1 Timothy and 2 Timothy fail no tests, they are not included with the "genuine" Paulines. (2) 2 Corinthians fails one test but is restored to the Pauline fold on the grounds that one miscue in twenty-five tests may be expected. Why restore 2 Corinthians? Philippians fails only one test, so why not restore it? Or, since there are fifty tests for the statistics describing the raw data, why not restore both? If a priori information is to be excluded, it must be consistently excluded. (3) The criticisms of sentence-length distributions as author-specifying in C.1 above apply equally here.

As an independent (conservative) probe, we carry out a contingency table analysis of the sentence-length distributions. We have elsewhere explained such analysis (Andersen and Forbes 1986a: 15–25). Here we give only a brief explanation. Table 2 shows Morton's sentence-length data (1978:172–73).

Table 2.
Sentence Lengths in the Epistles

| | Sentence Lengths (in Words) | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Epistle | 1–5 | 6–10 | 11–15 | 16–20 | 21–25 | 26–30 | 31–35 | >35 | Totals |
| Romans | 78 | 160 | 101 | 52 | 51 | 14 | 12 | 30 | 498 |
| 1 Cor | 99 | 190 | 126 | 73 | 32 | 15 | 7 | 13 | 555 |
| 2 Cor | 40 | 70 | 44 | 43 | 31 | 19 | 9 | 17 | 273 |
| Gal | 21 | 54 | 46 | 24 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 166 |
| Eph | 3 | 5 | 24 | 10 | 8 | 4 | 4 | 22 | 80 |
| Phil | 9 | 20 | 19 | 13 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 15 | 89 |
| Col | 5 | 14 | 10 | 7 | 6 | 8 | 2 | 10 | 62 |
| 1 Thess | 4 | 15 | 7 | 11 | 7 | 4 | 6 | 12 | 66 |
| 2 Thess | 3 | 7 | 9 | 5 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 35 |
| 1 Tim | 14 | 22 | 19 | 20 | 10 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 98 |
| 2 Tim | 14 | 13 | 22 | 10 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 77 |
| Titus | 5 | 5 | 7 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 29 |
| Phlm | 0 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 17 |
| Hebrews | 13 | 47 | 73 | 39 | 29 | 22 | 12 | 27 | 262 |
| Totals | 308 | 629 | 510 | 312 | 192 | 110 | 71 | 175 | 2307 |

We follow Morton in taking Galatians as the Pauline fixed point. We test each epistle to determine if it originated from the same population as did Galatians. We form a 2 × 8 contingency table for each pairing

of an epistle with Galatians. For example, for the test as to whether Romans and Galatians are likely from the same population, we get Table 3.

Table 3.
Observed Sentence-Lenth Distributions for Romans and Galatians

| OBSERVED | Sentence Lengths (in Words) | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Epistle | 1–5 | 6–10 | 11–15 | 16–20 | 21–25 | 26–30 | 31–35 | >35 | Totals |
| Romans | 78 | 160 | 101 | 52 | 51 | 14 | 12 | 30 | 498 |
| Galatians | 21 | 54 | 46 | 24 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 166 |
| Totals | 99 | 214 | 147 | 76 | 58 | 19 | 14 | 37 | 664 |

If Romans and Galatians are samples from the same population, then we expect any cell entry in the table will be adequately estimated by multiplying its row total by its column total and dividing by the grand total for the table. This amounts to insuring that each epistle will receive its observed total of sentences, as will each range of sentence lengths [1–5 words, 6–10 words, etc.]. (For these estimates to be reliable, we must insure that each cell-count estimate exceeds unity by at least a bit [Sachs 1984:464]. This is the case for all the epistles save Titus and Philemon; rather than resort to procedures for sparsely occupied tables, we put Titus and Philemon aside.) By carrying out the arithmetic for each cell in the table of observed sentence-length counts, a second table can be built up, a table of estimated counts based on an assumed common underlying population. Table 4 shows the estimates for Romans and Galatians, as the reader may verify.

Table 4.
Estimated Sentence-Length Distributions for Romans and Galatians

| ESTIMATED | Sentence Lengths (in Words) | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Epistle | 1–5 | 6–10 | 11–15 | 16–20 | 21–25 | 26–30 | 31–35 | >35 | Totals |
| Roman | 74.25 | 160.5 | 110.25 | 57 | 43.5 | 14.25 | 10.5 | 27.75 | 498 |
| Galatian | 24.75 | 53.5 | 36.75 | 19 | 14.5 | 4.75 | 3.5 | 9.25 | 166 |
| Totals | 99 | 214 | 147 | 76 | 58 | 19 | 14 | 37 | 664 |

In general, the OBSERVED and ESTIMATED tables will differ, either because the hypothesis that they originate from a common population is faulty or because of random sampling fluctuations. To decide if the former explanation accounts for the differences, one computes the $X^2$ statistic defined earlier, selects a significance threshold (we follow Morton in using 5%), and (taking into account a subtlety known as "degrees of freedom") looks up a threshold value in statistics tables (symbolized by $\chi^2_{.05}$). If $X^2$ exceeds this threshold, we reject the hypothesis that the pair of epistles is from the same population; if $X^2$ is below the threshold, we *may not reject* the hypothesis of a shared origin. For our comparisons, statistical tables inform us that $\chi^2_{.05} = 18.5$. The $X^2$ values resulting from our pairwise tests, arranged from smallest to largest $X^2$, are shown in Table 5.

Table 5.
Sentence-Length Test Results for the Epistles

| Epistle | $X^2$ |
|---|---|
| 1 Corinthians | 5.91333 |
| 2 Timothy | 12.33053 |
| Romans | 12.39933 |
| 1 Timothy | 12.51209 |
| 2 Thessalonians | 16.52812 |
| $\chi^2_{.05}$ | 18.5 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Philippians | 19.20194 |
| 2 Corinthians | 20.49888 |
| Colossians | 24.87708 |
| 1 Thessalonians | 33.71813 |
| Hebrews | 35.3673 |
| Ephesians | 51.73470 |

With one chance in twenty of erring, we may assert that an epistle which when compared with Galatians yields an $X^2$ less than 18.5 may come from the same population as Galatians. With one chance in twenty of erring, we may assert that an epistle which when compared with Galatians yields an $X^2$ greater than 18.5 is not from the same population as Galatians. Thus, our analysis tells us that, as far as sentence-length distributions are concerned, Philippians, 2 Corinthians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, Hebrews, and Ephesians do not come from the same population as Galatians. (Note well that the magnitude of $X^2$ does *not* indicate the extent of dissimilarity from Galatians. The length of an epistle influences the size of $X^2$.)

Morton tells us that "the odds which sentence length distributions left as odds for Pauline authorship [are] around a hundred to one against" (182). Would that we could see how the odds were obtained. As recovering odds from significance tests and compounding the results of multiple comparisons are both areas where statistical errors are *very* frequently made, the mere assertion leaves us unsatisfied.

The odds are moved from a hundred to one against Pauline authorship to "over a million to one against" (182) by evidence contributed by four vocabulary items in sentence positions one and two: *kai* (in sentence position one), *de* (in position two), *gar* (in position two), and *ei* (in position one). These four positional tests are, if Morton's assertions are taken at face value, a hundred times more powerful than sentence length in determining authorship, yet he devotes only one page to their exposure (180). Once again, methods receive minimal exposition. For this analysis, Morton considers two sets of epistles: Romans, 1–2 Corinthians, and Galatians make up Group I; the remainder (less Titus, 2 Timothy, and Philemon) make up Group II. Note that Morton is using the outcome of his previous analysis to group the epistles for this analysis. The resulting odds, therefore, are *not* independent of the former odds. But there is a more serious lapse, one common in authorship studies. Morton appears to perform a sequence of contingency table analyses and then compound their P-values. That is, he reckons the probability that the entire sequence of results could happen by chance. So far so good, assuming all this was done properly. He then appears to convert the compound P-value into odds. This step can only be taken in very special circumstances, the existence of which must be shown, not assumed (Meier and Zabell 1980; M. W. A. Smith 1983). From a purely statistical perspective, odds of a million to one have not been demonstrated.

(Morton [1986] has recently claimed that the positioning in sentences of once occurring words is writer specific; M. W. A. Smith [1987] has raised fundamental questions regarding Morton's claim. In addition to work on the Pauline corpus, Morton and his collaborators have written several books on the Gospels [MacGregor and Morton 1961; Morton and MacGregor 1965; Morton and McLeman 1980]. We refer interested readers to these and some associated reviews [McCasland 1961; Cadbury 1965; Fortna 1983].)

As to the soundness of Morton's data, we have little to go on. His set of criteria has evolved, so even checks via internal consistency are rarely feasible. For example, Morton uses counts of *de* as second or third word in sentences in one study (Morton 1965:222) and as second word only in another (Morton 1978:181), making comparison impossible. The sentence-length data in his Royal Society paper (1965:218) differ quite significantly from those in his book (1978:172). For example, in the former, Romans has 584 sentences; in the latter, it has 498. And so on, through the entire Pauline Corpus. To trace one profile of sentence lengths from 1965 to 1978:Philemon loses one sentence each from the 1–5, 6–10, 11–15, and 26–30 word categories, loses three sentences from the 16–20 word category, and gains one sentence in the 36–40 and one in the 56–60 word category. Much more drastic changes occur for other epistles. Morton supplies no explanation for these differences.

As to the sufficiency of the data samples for his tests, his requirement that "no expectation should be less than five" (1978:69), is by modern standards, conservative (Sachs 1984:475; Andersen and Forbes 1986a: 206). He gives repeated evidence of appropriate sensitivity to the issue of sample size.

The propriety of the statistical methods used and the validity of the conclusions reached have been commented on in the course of our exposition. One further point merits emphasis: the important effect that choice of significance level can have. In his early work, Morton chose to use a significance level of one percent (1965:217) so that *each* test had a 1 percent chance of yielding a faulty result. In his later work on the Pauline Epistles, Morton chose to use a significance level of 5 percent (1978:180), yielding the results given above. Had he retained the 1 percent level, his tests would have pointed to neither 2 Corinthians nor Philippians as being anomalous. Therefore, by *his* logic, Morton would have had to grant Philippians entry into his list of true Pauline Epistles.

**4. Kenny on Stylometry (1986).** Anthony Kenny has written a quite accessible, low-key volume. Its first four chapters carefully introduce the basic ideas of stylometry. Chaps. 5 through 11 are descriptive, taking up common words, conjunctions and particles, prepositions, the article, nouns and pronouns, adjectives and adverbs, and the verb. The focus is exclusively on intertext comparisons. Intratext comparisons are not made, an unfortunate omission. Chaps. 12 through 14 briefly consider the Lucan, the Johannine, and the Pauline problems. Chap. 15 critiques several of the methods used by Morton and colleagues and finds them wanting. The final chapter addresses "Constraints and Prospects."

Kenny's data appear sound and sufficient to the tasks attempted. The modest methods are appropriate to the limited goals sought. In the main, the conclusions drawn are warranted. Weitzman (1987) rightly judges Kenny's volume a "timely corrective to the exaggerated claims of some earlier stylometric studies in the New Testament." For those seeking an introduction to stylometry, Kenny's book is an excellent place to begin.

**5. Neumann on the Pauline Epistles (1990).** Kenneth Neumann provides an introduction to "The Problem of Authenticity" followed by a clear survey of the text-describing variables used by his predecessors in statistical analyses of authorship. While exhaustive in its cataloguing of the variables used, the survey lacks the sustained critical component necessary to aid would-be researchers in their own selection of variables. (In Neumann's defense, it should be noted that central to his method of analysis is a mechanism which selects from his huge list of possible discriminators the putative best few.)

Following a detailed statement of his research plan, Neumann reports his results and comments on their significance. Using teaching text samples from seven authors (Paul, the writer of Hebrews, Clement, Ignatius, Epictetus, Josephus, and Philo), his method decimates an initial 617 candidate variables to six. While these six variables perfectly classify the teaching texts used to select them in the first place, they misassign a third of a new wave of (testing) texts. Neumann attributes this unacceptable behavior to genre differences between the Christian and non-Christian authors. And so, the method is supplied teaching texts from only the four Christian authors and winnows the variables afresh. After a bit of disconcerting fiddling, all of the teaching and testing samples are properly assigned. When the disputed Pauline Epistles (Ephesians, Colossians, and 2 Thessalonians) are classified, all are assigned to Paul but not with much confidence. "These results, despite the Pauline classification, may still indicate a non-Pauline authorship" (Neumann 1990:195). There are signs that the method is not robust. For example: (1) text from Galatians is assigned to Ignatius with a probability of.99; this awkward behavior is suppressed by deleting—on nonstatistical grounds—two sections from the misbehaving Galatians text sample (1990:196); (2) Revelation 2–3 is assigned to Paul; this embarassing result is explained away unconvincingly (1990:220).

Neumann's approach is promising. However, his results vary greatly as variables are selected and deselected and as text samples are altered. This sensitivity suggests that his present conclusions are too brittle to be convincing.

**D. Studies in the Hebrew Bible**

Research on the Hebrew Bible using statistical techniques is too far-flung to cover exhaustively here. Some of our bibliographic entries receive no discussion. We shall concentrate on exposition of studies on style/authorship and on spelling.

**1. The Isaiah Problem. a. Radday (1970).** For our critique of Radday's work on Isaiah, we focus on his book (1973) rather than on his earlier article (1970). After tracing the history of the Isaiah problem and countering some criticisms of approaching the problem via statistical linguistics, Radday describes the preparation of the text of Isaiah for analysis. The consonants of the Letteris text of 1852 are used, homographs having been carefully resolved by attaching to each word a grammatical code indicating whether it is: (1) a noun, (2) a finite verb, (3) other type of verb, (4) residue. Sentence boundaries are marked. As Radday points out, carrying out this program requires considerable subtlety as to the definition of "word," "part of speech," "sentence."

The data having been prepared, Radday examines sentence-length distributions (1973:65–92). He cautions (1973:66):

> But it must be stressed that before Yule's test [on sentence-length distributions] is taken as an infallible means of ascribing an anonymous text to a certain author, sentence length will first have to be examined in the works of a very great number of writers, each in various periods of the author's life and in different topics and genres of his literary output. Not before the variance "within" a writer is sufficiently known, will sentence length become a criterion credible enough for comparison between two writers.

Radday immediately ignores his own advice, his reason being that many others have "put their trust in Yule's test."

To study behavior of parts of a text by a single author, Radday constructs two samples by bisecting a set of 360 sentences scattered across Ezekiel (about 20 percent of the book by word or verse count). He computes the descriptors of the sentence-length distribution for each sample (mean, median, first quartile, third quartile, ninth decile). *By eyeball,* he decides that each pair is sufficiently close save the third quartiles. But this "was only to be expected because of the prosaic character of the second half of the book where Ezekiel deals in necessarily longer sentences with matters of cult and architecture" (1973:77). The agreement of the statistics for the two (sampled) halves of Ezekiel "thus proves for the first time that qualitative individual language properties find their quantitative expression also for Biblical Hebrew authors." This is disconcerting. (1) Supposing there is a genuine discrepancy, it will not do simply to explain it away. (2) Even supposing that Ezekiel has satisfactorily been shown to be homogeneous as regards sentence length, the result is for two samples from one book, not for "Biblical Hebrew authors."

Radday next divides Isaiah into chunks and computes the sentence-length distribution descriptors for each. More eyeballing: "Sentence length alone warrants the assumption of two Isaiahs" (1973:83).

Radday is aware that tests, rather than impressions, are needed. Unfortunately, few details of the tests he uses are given, and the results are reported in a confusing way. Since his tests involve unproved assumptions about the sentence-length distribution, we analyze the data using contingency table analysis. Because the two parts of Isaiah (chaps. 1–35 and 40–66) each involve nearly a thousand sentences, our analysis involves an additional step beyond what was done in C.3. When contingency tables involve large counts, fairly slight departures of the observed data from model-generated data get magnified, leading to quite large values of $X^2$. (Recall that when $X^2$ is below a critical threshold, departures of observed data from estimated data based on a model are attributed to statistical fluctuations; when $X^2$ exceeds the threshold, the model is rejected on the grounds that it inadequately accounts for the observations.) To avoid being misled, we use a measure of association, Cramér's v, defined *in our case* by $v = \left[\frac{X^2}{N}\right]^{\frac{1}{2}}$, where N is the number of pieces of data in our table (Andersen and Forbes 1986a: 23, 240). This quantity varies between zero and one. A value of zero indicates the row and column variables of the contingency table are independent; changes in one have no effect on the other. A value of one indicates the two variables are completely associated, they co-vary in lockstep. Intermediate values imply intermediate degrees of association. For the two parts of Isaiah, we obtain $v_{Isaiah}$ =.29; for the two samples of Ezekiel, we find $v_{Ezekiel}$ =.33. These results indicate that the degree of association between the portions of Isaiah and sentence length (.29) is actually less than that between the samples of Ezekiel and sentence length

(.33). Thus, Radday's reasons for assuming two Isaiahs lead equally, or even a little more strongly, to the assumption of two Ezekiels, contra Radday's assertion that Ezekiel is homogeneous.

Radday next takes up word length, as gauged both by syllable and phoneme count. Concluding a survey of previous work, he comments (1973:99):

> Summing up, it may be said, with all due caution, that word length is not a characteristic specific enough for deciding problems of contested authorship as long as it stands alone. Together with other parameters, however, and within the limitations of statistical linguistics in general, the test seems sufficiently reliable to be attempted.

Radday bases his analysis on: (1) pairs of 250-word samples drawn from five "irrefutably homogeneous Biblical books:" Hosea, Ezekiel, Job, Esther, and Deuteronomy (500 words per control book) and (2) trios of 250-word samples for each of his six sections of Isaiah. (Many scholars find these control books to be nonhomogeneous.) For the control books, the word-length distributions show "a remarkable consistency," except for Job. "But even there, the incongruity between the two samples is still less than within Tolstoy." Evidence from *War and Peace* having set his mind at rest, Radday proceeds to examine the behavior of Isaiah. "One must admit that [the] data are, for our purpose, poor." Various other measures incorporating word-length information for syllable and phoneme counts are introduced in turn. Our explanation of all of these measures would consume an unjustifiable amount of space. Therefore, we shall take up only one particular favorite of Radday, *redundancy,* which he persistently mislabels *relative entropy.* (*Redundancy* is one minus *relative entropy.*) A proper exposition of the concept of redundancy is beyond the scope of this essay. For present purposes, redundancy may be viewed as a measure of the relative "wastage" of symbols in a given text. If many symbols could be deleted without losing the message of a text, that text has a large value of redundancy. If the suppression of even a single symbol would affect the meaning of a text, that text has zero redundancy. Estimating the redundancy of a text is fraught with subtleties (Johnson 1979:221–23). We shall focus on only one of these. Radday's redundancy estimates for Isaiah are given in Table 6.

Table 6.
Redundancies of Sections of Isaiah

| Section | Chapters | Redundancy |
|---|---|---|
| I | 1–12 | .30 |
| II | 13–23 | .30 |
| III | 24–35 | .36 |
| IV | 40–48 | .24 |
| V | 49–57 | .35 |
| VI | 58–66 | .31 |

For Radday, the table "proves the unity of Sections I and II, shows Section III as an unrelated part of the 'First' Isaiah, and Section IV as isolated among the rest of the book" (1973:127). But the weight of these conclusions is even lighter than their impressionistic origins suggest. We are informed that there are *five* six-syllable words in Isaiah (Radday 1973:94). The redundancy estimates are based on three 250-word samples from each portion of Isaiah, *and they depend critically on the luck of sampling six-syllable words.* (This is because the estimator of redundancy Radday uses involves the logarithm of the maximum number of syllables observed in any word in a sample.) As it happens, Radday's samples miss the single six-syllable word in Section I and the one in Section II but include the single ones in Sections III, V, and VI. (Section IV has no six-syllable word.) Now suppose the luck of the draw had snared the two six-syllable words in Sections I and II instead of the two in Sections III and VI, a change in the sampling of four words in samples totaling 4,500 words (.1 percent). Then the redundancy estimates would be as shown in Table 7.

Table 7.
Redundancies of Sections of Isaiah under Alternative Sampling

| Section | Chapters | Redundancy |
|---|---|---|
| I | 1–12 | .38 |
| II | 13–23 | .37 |
| III | 24–35 | .36 |
| IV | 40–48 | .24 |
| V | 49–57 | .35 |
| VI | 58–66 | .23 |

Would these results prove the unity of Sections I, II, and III, show Section V to be a dislocated part of the "First" Isaiah, and show Sections IV and VI as forming Deutero-Isaiah? Quite a revolution based on the sampling or nonsampling of four words. Clearly, a criterion this sensitive is better left unused.

Radday next considers the relative frequencies of parts of speech. His results for single, homogeneous books

> appear to ruin all hope of having here discovered a diacritical means for determining authorship. In spite of this, word categories were counted for Isaiah [141] … Sections I and II are very similar and Sections I and IV are diametrically opposed to each other [154].

So, a criterion which fails on control texts is used nevertheless on Isaiah as if the control tests had proved its validity. Abandon triumphs over sound method.

Next come the transitions between parts of speech. Comparing transition frequencies between pairs of samples from a given book discloses few cases where the rates differ from one sample to the other. The table of counts of excess deviations of transition frequencies

> alone makes it difficult to go on assuming that Sections I [chapters 1–12] and III [chapters 24–35] have a common origin and—exactly!—twice as difficult to believe that Isaiah ben Amoẓ who surely wrote Section I [chapters 1–12] also wrote Section IV [chapters 40–48].

He deletes transitions for "parts of speech that are feebly realized," namely, for prepositions plus free pronouns, free conjunctions, residua, and stops. But he retains proper nouns and nonfinite verbs in spite of the fact that these are more feebly realized than some of those categories he has deleted. Radday's measures of similarity are ad hoc. When we examine the transitions (via contingency table analysis), we find that Sections III (chapters 24–35) and V (chapters 49–57), for which Radday shows no results, are more similar than are Sections I (chapters 1–12) and II (chapters 13–23), for which he does show results. Are we to conclude that sections III and V have the same author?

He considers the frequencies of particles. Radday's "control texts are books generally considered as being more or less homogeneous" (1973:198). Included is Genesis. For his six basic sections, Radday finds that the percentage of the vocabulary contributed by his four particles (his *"$f_r$"*) is as shown in Table 8.

Table 8.
Particle Frequencies in Sections of Isaiah

| Section | I | II | III | IV | V | VI |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *$f_r$:* | 6.03 | 6.04 | 4.74 | 2.55 | 5.79 | 4.96 |

From the table, he concludes:

> The special character of Section IV. . . becomes absolute here: Its percentage is not only the lowest, but by 50% lower than the second lowest (Section III). Furthermore, values of Sections I and II are again identical up to one-hundredth p.c. [percent], Section III behaves differently from its neighbours and Sections V and VI are at least not dissimilar.

Arithmetic errors mar this table. Based on Radday's counts, it should read as shown in Table 9.

Table 9.
Corrected Particle Frequencies in Sections of Isaiah

| Section | I | II | III | IV | V | VI |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| $f_r$: | 6.00 | 4.09 | 4.71 | 2.41 | 5.80 | 4.94 |

Sections I and II no longer exhibit uncanny agreement.

And so it continues through vocabulary related to "war," vocabulary richness, and vocabulary eccentricity. Criteria of unproven author-specifying power are introduced. Methods are not explained. Results are generated. Confirmatory evidence is given fanfare. Contrary evidence is explained away. Finally (1973:274–76), Radday reaches five conclusions:

a) The book is composed of two parts, i.e., chaps. 1–35 and chaps. 40–66.

b) The most dissimilar parts are chaps. 1–12 and chaps. 40–48. Since Isaiah ben Amoz was beyond any doubt the author of the first, he cannot have written the latter.

c) Chaps. 13–23 must be ascribed with a very high degree of probability to the author of chaps. 1–12, namely to Isaiah himself.

d) Chaps. 49–57 and 58–66 display so many affinities with each other and so few with the rest of the book that one has to attribute them to yet another prophet.

e) As to chaps. 23–35 the verdict is inconclusive, but they belong in any case to the first part of the book.

Publication of Radday's book (and its predecessor papers) resulted in several commentaries and reviews. Almagor (1971) criticized Radday for relying on impressions not statistics, for ignoring the interrelatedness of his data, and for reaching subjective conclusions. Drake (1971) saw Radday's work as premature, since we do not know how many parameters define an author's style unambiguously, since we do not understand the causes of intra-author variations (audience, form, intent, health?), since it has not yet been shown that two works by the same author are necessarily more similar than two by differing authors, and since we do not know how well one writer can imitate another. Morton (1974) predicted resistance to Radday's work since biblical scholars are "rarely numerate and tend to resist the introduction of new techniques which require them to raise their education by one notch." He wished Radday had demonstrated the validity of his tests, had explained them more fully, and had illustrated the differences demonstrated by giving examples from the text. But that the evidence supported the conclusions "is hardly to be doubted … From now on Old Testament studies in general and the study of Isaiah in particular stand on new ground." Wagner (1977) saw the bulk of the book as devoted to "a well-documented, and indeed, provocative statistical treatment … If you are willing to think through the implications of revising your approach, you should wade through the volume."

It is all but impossible to determine the soundness of Radday's data since chapters, verses, and parts of verses have been deleted and the retained oracles of chapters 36–40 seemingly grafted onto chapters 1–12.

Radday repeatedly makes use of quite short samples of control texts (and indeed of Isaiah). Little concern about sample-size effects is apparent in his work. One must register profound unease regarding this. As to the status of the methods, the safeguards evident in their use, and the conclusions based on their results, the foregoing commentary has repeatedly demonstrated fundamental errors which discredit his results.

**b. Adams and Rencher (1973).** In response to Morton's favorable review of Radday's work on Isaiah, Adams (1974) tendered three criticisms: (1) the absence of a proper grounding for a method is no excuse for using it as if all were well; (2) the responsibility for proper use of statistical tests rests on their users; (3) Radday's conclusions do not follow from his data. Adams reported: "we applied statistical procedures to data provided us by Radday and found that the results did not support his conclusions" (1974:86). Adams is here referring to his doctoral-thesis work which he and his thesis supervisor published in summary (Adams and Rencher 1973).

Adams and Rencher (1973:151; henceforth A-R) point out that the methods for attributing a text to one of a pair of contending authors, for each of whom one has a body of known work, are quite different from the methods appropriate to the Isaiah problem, where the number of authors is to be determined. This is a sound insight.

A-R (1973:151) contend that for the Isaiah problem, measures of association (similarity) are more appropriate than measures of significant differences. This is a mistaken assertion. Measures of similarity tend to focus on the cohesion among objects, while measures of significant difference tend to focus on their isolation. But A-R certainly are free to use measures of similarity.

To determine the degree of similarity between two texts, A-R rely on the *product moment correlation.* (They also use the so-called *Mahalanobis distance,* which contributes little but complexity to their analysis.) The *product moment correlation* measures the degree of similarity between two objects in terms of their attributes on a scale ranging from minus one to plus one. The more similar are texts, the closer to plus one will be the product moment correlation derived from their attribute values.

As to their choice of author-specific text attributes, A-R assert (1973:151):"Prefix usage is perhaps one of the most pertinent stylistic elements in determining authorship in the Hebrew text." Their quite debatable argument is that the Hebrew proclitic prepositions correspond to habit-prone function words in English, much used in studies of the authorship of English works (for example, Mosteller and Wallace 1984), and hence make good author-specifying markers. Recall that the use of function words has been warned against by Herdan (1966:172–74), Damerau (1975), and Morton (1978:102). For now, let us follow A-R's argument, holding in abeyance scepticism regarding the author-specificity of proclitic-preposition frequencies.

With characterizing attributes selected (Hebrew proclitic prepositions) and with a measure of association decided upon (product moment correlation), the analysts set out toward their two goals (1973:151):

> 1) compare the two major sections in the book of Isaiah with each other and with each of … eleven control texts (inter-text comparison), and 2) examine the book of Isaiah and each of the 11 control texts for internal consistency of style.

This is a sound scenario. Samples are drawn from the eleven control books (Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Habakkuk, Zechariah, Malachi, Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah); Isaiah is divided into two parts (Isa-A [chaps. 1–39] and Isa-B [chaps. 40–66]); for technical reasons, only eighteen of the twenty-four proclitic prepositions they find in Isaiah are studied. From this emerge "perhaps the most salient results of this study" (1973:152), the correlations among the control books and parts of Isaiah. Table 10 shows these.

Table 10.
Corrections between (Samples of) Books

| | Isa-A | Isa-B | Jer | Ezek | Hos | Amos | Mic | Hab | Zech | Mal | Dan | Ezra |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Isa-B | **.98** | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Jer | .97 | .93 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ezek | .96 | .93 | .95 | | | | | | | | | |
| Hos | .93 | .96 | .85 | .87 | | | | | | | | |
| Amos | .97 | .91 | .98 | .98 | .85 | | | | | | | |
| Mic | .97 | .97 | .92 | .95 | .95 | .94 | | | | | | |
| Hab | **.99** | **.99** | .96 | .95 | .94 | .95 | .98 | | | | | |
| Zech | .93 | .86 | .96 | .93 | .78 | .97 | .85 | .90 | | | | |
| Mal | .98 | .97 | .92 | .96 | .89 | .93 | .94 | .96 | .91 | | | |
| Dan | .96 | .96 | .91 | .90 | .90 | .89 | .89 | .95 | .88 | .97 | | |
| Ezra | .96 | .93 | .98 | .91 | .83 | .94 | .89 | .95 | .93 | .92 | .95 | |
| Neh | .92 | .86 | .93 | .88 | .75 | .92 | .83 | .990 | 96 | .91 | .88 | .95 |

Based on these results, A-R conclude (1973:154):

The correlation between the two sections of the book of Isaiah was 0.98, an indication of overall similarity in rates of prefix usage and nonusage. Only two of the other 77 comparisons were as high.

This is fewer than would be expected from the laws of chance when this many comparisons are made. In fact, only two correlations were *higher* than that between the sections of Isaiah; in all, seven "were as high." The researchers having previously eschewed a probabilistic interpretation of the correlation coefficient, it is curious now to be told that a particular pair of correlations which exceed that found between sections of Isaiah is only to be expected "from the laws of chance." Since the large correlations are used to argue for the unity of Isaiah, one wonders why the argument does not extend to asserting that the single writer of Isaiah also wrote Habakkuk.

A-R next determine a set of nine proclitic prepositions which are "most unique for both sections of Isaiah." The resulting correlations are presented to three places of decimal and disclose that no correlations equal the value of 1.000 obtained for the comparison of the two sections of Isaiah. "Statistical comparisons of intra-text with inter-text variation indicated that a high degree of authorship similarity exists for the book of Isaiah." It is not clear how they arrived at "most unique" proclitic-prepositions. Indeed, this whole line of investigation involves "special handling." Had the researchers not resorted to the fictitious accuracy implied in a display of correlations to three decimal places, their results (rounded to two places of decimal) would have included nine pairs of texts having correlations of 1.00.

There follow brief notes of studies of Hebrew roots unique to Isaiah, of root frequencies, and of phrase repetition. The weight of the study remains, however, on the frequency of proclitic-preposition usage.

As to the soundness of the data upon which the study is based, we have used the Andersen-Forbes (A-F) text of Isaiah to determine the incidence of proclitic prepositions. Since the rates for the eleven control texts are based on random samples, we cannot check them directly. A-R do not give actual counts but rather list counts per five thousand words. The comparisons for the simple proclitic-prepositions are as shown in Table 11.

Table 11.
Frequencies of Prepositional Prefixes

| | | Isa-A | | Isa-B | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prefix | Meaning | A-R | A-F | A-R | A-F |
| b- | *in* | 688 | 715 | 676 | 673 |
| h- | *the* | 7552 | 787 | 467 | 466 |
| w- | *and* | 1834 | 1965 | 1884 | 2056 |
| k- | *like* | 231 | 236 | 219 | 223 |
| l- | *to* | 700 | 702 | 863 | 855 |
| m- | *from* | 446 | 300 | 521 | 403 |

Some of the differences are sizable. For compound proclitic prepositions, the counts are small and A-R find some that we do not and vice versa. When we use our inventory of proclitic prepositions to compute the correlation between Isa-A and Isa-B, we obtain the same value (.98) as A-R. The data seem adequately sound.

When we turn to the adequacy of sample sizes, we encounter the *fatal statistical flaw* of this work. A-R (1973) do not give the size of the samples drawn from the control texts. Adams' thesis (1972) contains the needed information: 500-word samples. These are small samples, especially when one is estimating the frequencies of some quite rare events. The point can be made concretely via two sorts of experiments.

Suppose that rather than using the full texts to obtain proclitic-preposition frequencies for Isaiah, A-R had used 500-word samples. Using random sampling, we draw one sample of 500 words from Isa-A and one from Isa-B. Using the proclitic-preposition frequencies based on these samples, we obtain an intra-text correlation for Isaiah of.87. The correlations for forty-seven of the fifty-five pairings of control texts exceed this value. Are we to infer the disunity of Isaiah?

Alternatively, to show sample-size effects, we can derive proclitic-preposition frequencies for Jeremiah and Ezekiel based on the complete books. The correlations for the full books are closer to unity than were those based on samples, as Table 12 shows. (For comparative purposes, the A-R correlations are included in parentheses.)

Table 12.
Large Sample Correlations between Books

| Text | Isa-A | Isa-B | Jer |
|---|---|---|---|
| Isa-B | .98 (.98) | | |
| Jer | .98 (.97) | .94 (.93) | |
| Ezek | 1.00 (.96) | .97 (.93) | .99 (.95) |

The superior intra-text homogeneity of Isaiah as compared with the inter-text homogeneity of control books found by A-R is an artifact resulting from inadequate sampling.

**c. Weil (1974).** Weil (1974:29) is wary of the use of inferential statistics. He rejects much of the work in statistical linguistics because underlying it he finds improper assumptions that data obey the Gaussian distribution and because he sees tests misused. (He asserts that the chi-square test is often used outside its proper domain.) "These considerations have led us, for the moment, to reject the methods of statistical analysis to focus on models that better fit the data we are treating" (1974:30).

Weil opts for the methods of descriptive statistics: factor analysis, automatic classification, multidimensional analysis. While his indictment of the use of inferential statistics is too general, his use of descriptive statistics is certainly acceptable. However, presenting displays of data and challenging the reader to see patterns therein is not all that different from using the methods of inferential statistics in a loosely held manner of the sort advanced by Adams and Rencher. In both cases, probabilities are not attached to results and the reader is left to decide what is significant.

As regards the Isaiah problem, Weil avoids prejudging the composition of text subsets by working in terms of small blocks of chapters (chaps 1–5, 6–10, …, 60–66). For his text attributes, Weil uses the frequencies of occurrence of the hundred most-frequent words in Isaiah. When the chapter blocks are automatically classified via hierarchical clustering, four main clusters emerge: chaps 41–50, chaps 1–35, chaps 51–66, and chaps 36–40. Deutero-Isaiah and the rest split apart first; then the rest divide into Proto- and Trito-Isaiah, with the Kings-parallel chapters "transitional." More recently, using the eighty-nine most frequent words, he obtains an identical pattern of clustering (Weil 1979). Weil has shown that, in terms of the high-frequency words, Isaiah clusters in quite interesting ways. That the frequencies of use of the most frequent words are writer-specific has not been demonstrated, nor is it claimed.

The aforementioned "hierarchical clustering" uses a table of text attributes to compute distances between portions of text. These, in turn, are used to group the texts into explicit clusters. An alternative set of approaches, the so-called "geometrical methods," approximates the distance relations of the texts in a low-dimensional space and leaves it to the human observer to determine which items group naturally into clusters (Andersen and Forbes 1986b; Freedman, Forbes, and Andersen 1991). Weil and his colleagues have used one of these methods, correspondence analysis, to analyze Isaiah (Weil 1979, an extended summary of a fuller exposition in Weil, Salem, and Serfaty 1976). They find that this method, which works in terms of single chapters, yields results quite in accord with those obtained via hierarchical clustering. Most significantly, they validate their results by studying the distances of the various chapters from the centers of the groups they appear to be members of. They also demonstrate that the representation of their data on a plane does not unduly distort the distance relations among the chapters. From the statistical perspective, this is good work.

As regards the soundness of the data, Weil's texts are generally held to be very accurate. That the sample sizes used are sufficient to the task seems assured: by working with blocks of one, three, and five chapters and by using both hierarchical and geometrical methods, Weil and his group demonstrate the stability of their results. Their methods are well understood. They are not without pitfalls, but by

undertaking validating subsidiary studies, Weil and colleagues have put in place excellent safeguards. But as the analysis is entirely based on frequent-word counts, what conclusions are warranted is quite unclear.

**2. Oral and Written Composition: Bee (1971).** Bee has advanced two notions he finds useful in the analysis of biblical texts. First, the relative frequency of verbs allows one "to identify and classify the units of text … It is necessary to assume that in many cases a difference in origin will be accompanied by a difference in verb frequency" (Bee 1971:406). But changes in subject matter may also affect verb frequency, "thus the exercise of educated judgment is essential." If $x_i$ is the word count through the $i^{th}$ verb, then the plot of $i$ versus $x_i$, the *cumulative sum chart* of verbs, can be examined to detect changes in verb-usage rate by discerning changes in plot slope. This leads to Bee's second notion: unstressed words are ligatured to their successors by the *maqqeph,* the Hebrew "dash." If one focuses on grammatical issues, one may treat the *maqqeph* as a space, so that each sutured pair is counted as two words; if one focuses on pronunciation, a sutured pair may be counted as one word. Thus, two charts indicating verb-usage rate can be constructed: (1) the MS chart (*maqqeph* separately) and (2) the MC chart (*maqqeph* combined). If the author's attention was on words as grammatical units, as would be expected for written composition, the MS chart would be appropriate for the analysis; if attention was on words as they are pronounced, as would be expected for oral composition, the MC chart would be appropriate. If the "correct chart" shows a plot which is well fitted by a straight line, then there is no change in style evident. By determining which is the better chart for a set of verbs (either by inspection or via statistical tests), one can determine the origins, written or oral, of a piece of text. And by discerning when the slope of the best-fitting line segment changes, one can subdivide texts into units.

In a series of papers, Bee applies these ideas to determine which of a pair of parallel texts is the earlier, to assess the unity of various passages, to determine the pedigree of various Documentary Sources (Bee 1971; 1972; 1973; 1979).

All this is undoubtedly clever, but it is open to devastating criticism. M. P. Weitzman (1981) has presented a quite detailed analysis of Bee's method. His criticisms are that: (1) the tests impute to language an untenable randomness; (2) the definition of "verb" is not straightforward; (3) changes in verb frequency may have causes other than changes in authorship (which Bee has always admitted); (4) the placement of *maqqeph* is quite variable, making its use unreliable; (5) the "work on Deuteronomy displays that selectivity and manipulation which breeds distrust of statistics;" (6) "the test for composite origin is hopelessly over-sensitive;" (7) "the test for oral or written composition is also over-sensitive." Bee (1983) responds to Weitzman's criticisms, successfully refuting the first, but the rest must stand. (Bee has also proposed a prophetic-text dating formula. Consult Becking's critique [1980] with Bee's response [1980], which provide entry to a series of papers.)

**3. The Documentary Hypothesis. a. Chenique (1967).** The bulk of Chenique's unpublished thesis deals with the issues addressed as he and G. E. Weil prepared Hebrew texts for computer analysis. One chapter (III, forty-four pages) gives sketchy results of analyses of the first eleven chapters of Genesis. He subdivides the chosen chapters three ways: (1) CREATION (1:1-6:8, 146 verses) versus DELUGE (6:9–11:32, 153 verses) versus TOUT; (2) YAHVISTE (J, 147 verses) versus ELOHISTE (P, 152 verses), as defined by the Jerusalem Bible; (3) Genesis chapter 1 (31 verses) versus 3 (24 verses) versus 9:1–17. The first two subdivisions involve ample text samples.

As relevant text characteristics, he investigates grapheme frequencies, word length (in "letters"), text entropy, and word rank-frequency relations. There is no attempt to assess the author-specifying power of these text characteristics. (The work of Pierre Guiraud is, however, cited.)

The statistical tests used are quite simple, consisting of checks for overlapping of confidence intervals and tests for significance of differences in means (t-tests). These sorts of tests were earlier used by Morton and later by Radday and associates. (They have since been repudiated by Weil as inappropriate.) Unfortunately, Chenique looks for significant differences via *marginal analyses.* That is, he studies the behavior of his attributes for each sort of subdivision separately (CREATION versus DELUGE, YAHVISTE versus ELOHISTE, Chapter 1 versus Chapter 3, and so on). This strategy can be quite misleading when there are interactions among the sets of variables treated separately.

Having found significant differences between the YAHVISTE and ELOHISTE as regards grapheme frequencies, Chenique states that their explication is not for statistics but for exegesis to determine (1967:III.5). On finding the information content (in terms of letter entropy) to be greater in DELUGE, YAHVISTE, and Chapter 3 than in CREATION and ELOHISTE, he remarks that the hypothesis of two or more "languages" is not proven thereby, but is retained for verification later (1967:III.9). (He does assert that entropies are characteristic of an author [1967:III.9].) Using the ratio of vocabulary items (V) to total words (N), he finds the vocabulary of the YAHVISTE to be richer than that of the ELOHISTE (1967:III.13).

S. Talmon characterizes Chenique's conclusions thus (Talmon 1985:227):"François Chenique … submits that an analysis carried out with a *calculateur électronique* underpins the Documentary Hypothesis respective to Genesis ch. 1–11." This claims neither too much nor too little.

**b. Weil (1974).** Weil and co-workers have studied the Pentateuch in some detail. In their early work (1974:30), they analyze the chapters of the Pentateuch using *grapheme counts.* They discover four clusters, which Weil finds related to the types of wording they embody: (1) declarative promulgation of law, (2) imperative promulgation of law, (3) general narrative, and (4) reports of censuses, trips, and battles. Weil outlines two clusters, the Pentateuchal books forming a banana-shaped cluster almost touching the pear-shaped cluster of the Prophets. The chapters of Exodus cluster in terms of their themes. Weil remarks that analyses have been carried out based on grapheme sequences, counts of frequent words, and "rare linguistic facts." Neither details nor results are given.

He also introduces an interesting method of studying discourse type. He examines the behavior of $\frac{NV - NP}{NM}$, where *NV* is the count of verbs in a text, *NP* is the count of particles, and *NM* is the count of words ("mots"). When this index is positive, one is dealing with poetry; when it is negative, one is dealing with prose.

In other work, Weil (1981a) analyzes the clustering of the chapters of the Pentateuch and examines the distribution of parts of speech across the Pentateuch and the three Major Prophets.

**c. Radday et al. (1982).** First in a journal article (Radday et al. 1982) and then in a monograph (Radday and Shore 1985), Radday and his colleagues have taken up the Documentary Hypothesis for Genesis. Because of serious implications for this study, we first take up several issues from A. 3 above.

*Data Soundness:* Each word of Genesis from the Letteris text of 1852 is labeled with its grammatical specifics, its length in phonemes, its affixes, which Documentary Source it is from (J, E, or P), its citation, and whether it is human direct speech (H) or divine direct speech (D) or narration (N).

It is with the choice of version of the Documentary Hypothesis that one must take strenuous issue. Radday assures us that should strong results emerge from his sources, one might expect quite similar results using assignments "in a somewhat modified form" (1985:19). Using the Andersen-Forbes text of Genesis, we find the differences between Radday's and Eissfeldt's assignments (from his *Hexateuchsynopsis*) shown in Table 13. The rows are Radday's assignments, and the columns are Eissfeldt's. Thus, Radday assigns 9,100 words to J of which Eissfeldt assigns 7,247 to J, 1,459 to E, and 394 to P. And so on. (We have compounded neither numerals nor toponyms. We have removed 573 words formatted as poetry in BHS.)

Table 13.
Radday versus Eissfeldt Document Assignments

| | Eissfeldt | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Radday | J | E | P | Total |
| J | 7247 | 1459 | 394 | 9100 |
| E | 3283 | 3221 | 282 | 6786 |
| P | 517 | 21 | 3551 | 4089 |

Total 11047 4701 4227 19975

Overall, thirty percent of Radday's assignments differ from Eissfeldt's. (For J, 20%; for E, 53%; for P, 13%.) Crucially, Radday's analysis does not confront a Documentary Hypothesis most would recognize.

In a commendable move to allow others more fully to assess their work, Radday and co-workers (1985:237–52) have published the data upon which their book rests. We have spot-checked two of their text samples, Sample #1, and Sample #29. (These were picked because they are the first narrative samples of P and of J [1985:25].)

Study of Sample #29 (1985:241) discloses one sort of difficulty. Its smallest entry is.485 percent, which we take to correspond to a count of one divided by the sample size, yielding a sample size of 206 words. According to Table 1.3 (1985:25), the material beings at Gen 2:5 and runs through Gen 2:19; according to Table 1.1 (1985:20), the material begins at Gen 2:4. The stretch from Gen 2:4 through Gen 2:19 is 211 words long. Deleting Gen 2:4 reduces the sample to 206 words. (Not only has Gen 1:2–2:3 been dropped on the mistaken grounds that it is poetry, but Gen 2:4 has been dropped inadvertently.) As a check, we count the number of definite articles and the number of potential carriers of the article. The ratio of these two is Radday's criterion #18. We obtain $\frac{42}{65} = .64615$, which is exactly what Radday has. But there is a lapse involved in the definition of Sample #29. It is the first of the J narrative samples (NJ). In fact, there are twenty-seven words of divine speech (DJ) embedded in the sample, eighteen words in Gen 2:17 and nine words in Gen 2:18. Thus, the sample is not pure J narrative. This raises concerns about the labeling of the data in general.

Examination of Sample #1 raises other concerns. Radday analyzes in terms of fifty-four "criteria" computed for each text sample (of around 200 words). Criteria #1–#10 give the relative frequencies, in the given text sample, of words having two, three, …, ten, and greater than ten phonemes. Thus, adding a sample's table entries for the first ten criteria together should yield 100%, as it does. (Note that these ten criteria are not independent, since knowledge of any nine allows determination of the tenth.)

Radday divides his vocabulary into five families (noun [N], finite verb [F], nonfinite verb [V], preposition or pronoun [P], and "coordinating conjunctions, adverbs and the rest" [C]). The lumping together of prepositions and pronouns is passing strange, as is the "ragbag" nature of the C class. He uses "L" for proper names, "in most counts added to N." Adding a symbol for the stop at the end of a verse (S), he reckons the relative frequencies of the thirty-five transitions theoretically possible among these six categories. Criteria #20–#25 describe noun-to-something transitions (N (ρ)?); #26–#31, finite verb-to-something transitions (F (ρ)?); #32–#37, nonfinite verb-to-something transitions (V (ρ)?); #38–#43, preposition or pronoun-to-something transitions (Π (ρ)?); #44–#49, chaff-to-something transitions (X (ρ)?); and #50–#54, stop-to-something transitions (S (ρ)?).

Study of the transition data leads to several unsettling observations. (1) In the summary table of the criteria set (1985:30), Radday has "subordinative conjunctions" in all the places we expect the residue class (C). This is probably a typographical error, "coordinating conjunction" (C) having been intended. In any event, there is a problem. We know from the entry for criterion #17, and have verified directly, that there is one subordinative conjunction in the sample, followed by a finite verb. But, for Sample #1, the table gives criterion #45, C (ρ) F transition, as.0000.

(2) A grammatical classification which includes a category for "the rest" is exhaustive. Thus, if one sums over criteria #20–#54, one should get a sum of 100%. One does not. For example, these criteria sum to 77.05% for Sample #1. Some transitions have been left out. Which are they, and why are they missing?

(3) Radday (1985:29) informs us that of the fifty-four criteria, "nos. 24, 30, 36, 42–49, and 54, altogether eleven, are not realized at all in Genesis." In point of fact, there are many non-zero entries for criterion #43. The remaining ten criteria are precisely just those involving the residual class of words (C). This means that the class consisting of "coordinating conjunctions, adverbs and the rest" (C) is *empty* in Genesis. This can not be. What has gone amiss and at what stage of the analysis?

*Sample Size:* A sample size of 200 words per sample is adopted from the outset (1985:23). Later, a reason for using 200-word samples is given (1985:60–61), but this sample size results from the unexplained decision "setting the criterion that no fewer than three samples be available for any of the nine cells" in the table of the combinations of document and type of discourse (1985:62). In fact, *two* cells, not one as Radday states, have too few words to allow three 200-word samples. Note that many of the criterion values for a sample will be determined by sampling considerably fewer than 200 words. For example, the definite-article criterion (#18) is the fraction of words having the article relative to all those that in theory could. Over the entire book of Genesis, about 20 percent of the words are potential carriers of the definite article. Thus, on average, the incidence figures for the definite article are based on about forty words per sample, quite a limited number. Recall the spurious effects 500 word samples produced in the study by Adams and Rencher.

To summarize, the use of an atypical version of the Documentary Hypothesis, an evidently mislabeled data set, criteria incorrectly said to equal zero, and the use of too-small samples all make us very wary of the results obtained by Radday and co-workers. These major limitations by no means exhaust the list of problems one encounters in the Genesis study.

Were there sufficient space, one might discuss other problems involving: an ignoring of the possibility of outrageous events (1985:13); a more-the-merrier attitude regarding additional criteria (1985:27); an ignoring of the possibility that criteria may be *supra-stylistic* (1985:28); a use of myriad, very similar methods as though the weight of evidence resulting therefrom was piling ever higher; modification of methods because of "disappointing results," without showing the nature of the disappointment for the reader to judge (1985:97); use of dendrograms with rampant chaining (1985:135); use of two-dimensional displays for multidimensional scaling results on the grounds that higher dimensions are more difficult to interpret (1985:146); introduction of elaborate, ill-motivated measures of vocabulary richness and concentration (1985:191–214); typo-riddled presentation of the Sichel distribution (1985:259–60); and *most serious of all,* repeated reliance on potentially very misleading marginal analyses (1985:*passim*). See also the critiques by Portnoy and Petersen (1984a, 1984b) and Weitzman (1986a).

*Demonstrated Power of Methods:* In the monograph, there are several references to previous work as having demonstrated the validity of various approaches (1985:13, 27–29, 45). The references are to the previously discussed monograph on Isaiah (Radday 1973), to an extended paper on Zechariah (Radday and Wickmann 1975), and to a treatment of Judges (Radday, Leb, Wickmann, and Talmon 1977). Space limitations prevent exposition of the work on Zechariah and Judges. The methods are essentially the same as those used in the Isaiah study. And, as with that study, one must question both the measures used and the conclusions based on their apparent behavior.

*Safeguards in Use of Methods:* Our spot-check of two of the data samples brought out problems suggesting that adequate safeguards were not used. (We note Radday's comment regarding the discovery of major error in his initial analyses of Genesis [1985:31].)

*Conclusions Drawn from the Statistical Results:* The attitude of Radday and his co-workers regarding inferences drawn from their criteria sets has fluctuated considerably. In his earliest work, Radday was confident his criteria were author-specific (Radday 1970:320; 1973:*passim*) and inferred multiple authors (Radday 1970:324; 1973:274). The work on Zechariah was more cautious. The possible confounding effects of changes in genre, subject matter, and author's age were admitted, and the detection of caesura was announced with multiple authorship only implied (Radday and Wickmann 1975:42, 47, 54). In a study of the use of the definite article, some variations in rates of use were attributed to changes "in subject matter and/or literary type" while other variations were attributed to differing authors (Radday and Shore 1977:25, 26). In the work on Judges, the introduction of criteria as author-specific was justified by phrases such as "one feels inclined to believe that …" and "… may be assumed to characterize him although the matter has so far been insufficiently examined" (Radday, Leb, Wickmann, and Talmon 1977:478). The outcomes of the statistical tests were, however, viewed as author-specific (Radday, Leb, Wickmann, and Talmon 1977:492; also Radday and Shore 1977).

In an interesting study of the Five Scrolls, differences in vocabulary concentration (the fraction of the text accounted for by the fifty most frequent words) were seen as due to differing authors or differing stages in one author's career (Radday and Pollatschek 1978). A vocabulary concentration study of Postexilic Prophets (Radday and Pollatschek 1980) was badly marred by inadequate exposition of method. A survey which introduced a new pair of measures of vocabulary characteristics concluded with a brief treatment of richness and concentration in Genesis. A plot of richness versus concentration was produced which induced marvel in the researchers (Pollatschek and Radday 1981:222 and figure 6). Note the quite different plot, based on the same material, in Radday, Shore, Pollatschek, and Wickmann (1982:477).

In the Genesis research, all results showing nonhomogeneity between documents are explained away. We shall let one extended quote make the point (1985:182–83).

> Let us concern ourselves with the just mentioned distinctness between NJ [narrative J] and NE [narrative E]. Too much weight need not be accorded to it … NE takes over when NJ fades out and precisely where a break occurs in the treatment of the central figures … Little wonder, then, that NJ is not uniform with NE, and there is no reason why the two should be ascribed to two different hands. To every intent, therefore, J and E seem to be one. Carrying this reasoning further, one may add that it explains also the seemingly singular language behavior of P … The unique character of P must be due to the lack of balance in subject matter between what Documentarians ascribe to the Priestly Writer and what they credit to the Yahwist or the Elohist.

One can easily envision some other researcher not making the foregoing arguments and concluding that the texts under study are from multiple hands. Here we see starkly the extreme flexibility which discredits most authorship studies. Even when the statistical work is done with great rigor (which rarely is the case), the final inferences too often involve blatant arbitrariness.

Rosenhouse (1986) has written a minimally critical summary of this work. Parunak (1987) finds commendable the team approach, the use of multiple methods in assessing the data, and the inclusion of the data upon which the results rest. He laments the sketchiness of the statistical exposition, the over reliance on the independence assumption, the nonuse of the most sensitive methods of data exploration, and the underuse of graphical displays. Weitzman (1986a) briefly summarizes the work, homing in on many of its basic imperfections. His ultimate judgment is that "[Radday's and Shore's] concluding claim of 'massive evidence that Genesis is a unity' (p. 190) is a massive *non-sequitur*."

**d. Others (1977–1986).** For completeness, we include, with minimal comment, notice of other work dealing with the Documentary Hypothesis. (1) Deist (1977) concludes that Eissfeldt's L-source and J-source are not dissimilar by examining the differences in frequencies of occurrence of various syntactic characteristics. (Inferential statistics are used in a loose way.) (2) Houk (1983) studies word-length distributions (in terms of syllables) in Genesis 12–23. Analyzing J, E, and P "significant difference between the three kinds of material is found" (1983:192). When the halves of J, of E, and of P are compared (intra-document homogeneity), "the disunity evidenced goes against any large scale unity of composition" (1983:193). (The implications of significant intra-document nonhomogeneity for judging inter-document nonhomogeneity are not addressed.) For a study along similar lines of Ezekiel 1:1–3:11, in which multiple authorship is concluded, see Houk 1981. (3) Andersen and Forbes (1987) present tables of counts (sans statistical analysis) for the Pentateuch using forty different *genres* and Eissfeldt's eleven sources. (Interpretive comments are sparse and very cautious.)

**4. Other Investigations of Style/Use.** Hoftijzer (1981) investigates the incidence of *H-locale* (the suffix *-h* on a substantive indicating motion toward a place) relative to places it might appear and examines the significance of differing rates of use via confidence-interval overlap. (Parunak [1983] has written a helpful review of this work.) Parunak (1981) uses clustering methods and tests for cluster significance in creative ways to produce what he terms "pictorial concordances." His plots allow one to *see* clumps of vocabulary in texts. By examining his "density plots" for intersections, new hypotheses might well be generated. Forbes (1987) studies a measure of syntactic organization (part-of-speech entropy) across the

Hebrew Bible, seeking simple models of text organization and differentiating texts by the conditioning of later upon earlier syntactic units.

**5. Spelling in the Hebrew Bible: Andersen and Forbes (1986a).** Andersen and Forbes (1986a; henceforth A-F) investigate whether sufficient orthographic individuality, regarding the use of *defective* and *plene* spelling, has survived repeated copyings to allow portions of the received text to be grouped in terms of spelling patterns.

The data preparation required to execute the study is substantial. First, based on what is known about the development of Hebrew spelling, certain vowels are marked as historically fixed (1986a: 126–49). For example, since all but six of the 55,439 word-terminal vowels in the Hebrew Bible are written *plene* (1986a: 111), the class of word-terminal vowels is judged historically fixed. Since such vowels bear no discriminatory information, they are dropped from further consideration. There are other vowels in particular lexemes which might be spelled *defective* or *plene*, but which are always or almost always spelled in one way. These, too, are dropped as being empty for purposes of discriminating portions of texts. If one can assert, with 95 percent confidence, that the deviant spelling for a lexeme would occur in less than 1 percent of a lexeme's appearances in an enormous text, the associated vowel is declared fixed in its spelling on statistical grounds (1986a: 151–54). For example, *kōl* ("all") is spelled defective 852 times and spelled *plene* once. It is considered of fixed spelling.

After fixed vowels are eliminated, the *ketib* text contains 108,943 vowels which were opportunities for spelling choice at some point in the development of Hebrew spelling. Since the vowels developed along individual lines, A-F next define sixty-five vowel types and label each opportunity as to its type (1986a: 162–204). Some vowel types refer to classes of words ("Type 1. Suffix -ī- on finite verb"), while others are specific to a single lexeme ("Type 33. *Nota accusativi* ʾ*ōt*"). As there is evidence that some spellings might be conditioned by "stress level," each spelling-choice opportunity is labeled as to stress ("low," "middle," "high").

Having specified sixty-five vowel types, three levels of stress, and two choices for spelling, the text is next divided into portions. Here, the problem of sample size is encountered (1986a: 205–13). For a complete analysis (in terms of all four variables), statistical requirements dictate that no more than seventy-six portions be used. The text of the Hebrew Bible is divided accordingly, keeping the samples of roughly equal size where possible and making divisions in terms of scholarly interest (Proto-, Deutero-, Trito-Isaiah) or subject matter (Joseph Cycle as a single portion). When analysis involves a single type (as when one asks if spelling choice and portion are associated for a given vowel type), fewer portions may be allowed due to the paucity of vowel opportunities making up the type.

Statistical analyses can lead to very misleading results if important variables are left out of account. Therefore, the final preparatory step is to examine the behavior of spelling in terms of a trio of possible "confounding variables":proximity, local frequency, and stress. The interval between instances of a lexeme has almost no effect on spelling choice (1986a: 214–7). Thus, proximity is not a confounding variable. Spelling choices made when an item occurs frequently in a portion do not differ radically from choices made when it occurs infrequently. Thus, local frequency effects appear unimportant (1986a: 221–30). Stress, however, does exert an influence on spelling choice for certain vowel types. The overall effects of stress, however, are quite puzzling. The spelling of vowels under "high" stress is not more frequently *plene* than that of vowels under "middle" or "low" stress (1986a: 230–39). Ways of accounting for stress effects without treating the stress category as *ordered* are therefore used.

The data having been winnowed, labeled, and examined for confounding influences, the main analysis proceeds in two stages: (1) determination for each type as to whether it shows interaction between choices of spelling and text portion, and (2) clustering of the text portions into affinity groups exhibiting similar spelling practices.

Demonstrating that spelling patterns have survived transmission involves: (1) assessing how best to handle stress for a given vowel type, (2) analyzing the spelling behavior across portions (looking for anomalies and deciding if these result from the dominating effects of a few lexemes or reflect pervasive association of spelling choice and portion), and (3) displaying evidence that the patterns of spelling choice

do indeed depend on portion (1986a: 240–87). One finds that some vowel types show spurious spelling choice-portion association (due to extremely localized aberrant spelling practice) and others show no association. But the majority of vowel types, especially those for vowel /ō/, manifest an association between spelling choice and portion. This is the first major result of our analysis.

Having demonstrated that useful spelling-choice information remains in our texts, the final task is to cluster the text portions into groups exhibiting similar practices. A helpful way of visualizing the similarities in the spelling patterns of the text portions is to compute measures of their distances apart and use these to form *dendrograms.* Fig. STA.03 shows one such dendrogram. It may be viewed as a tree laid on its side, its branches pointing to the left, its root to the right. Its leaves are text portions. Its branches link similar text portions or groups of portions. Leaves joined by branches "high" (leftward) in the tree are very similar. Branches which join "low" in the tree link relatively dissimilar clusters. Thus, in Fig. STA.03 we see that the two most similar text portions are Exodus 25–31 and Exodus 32–40, since branches join these leaves at the highest (left-most) level of the tree. Joshua 1–12 is the single most disparate portion in that it is the last leaf to join the tree.

Such a dendrogram contains details which make immediate sense, as when portions of the same book turn out to be similar. Other joins are surprising and invite closer scrutiny. For example, the portions of Isaiah are closer to portions of other books than they are to one another.

The spelling practice in the Pentateuch sets it quite apart from the rest of the Hebrew Bible (1986a: 288–308). The Pentateuch prefers old-fashioned spellings in many cases. This is the second major result of our analysis.

There could be several explanations for this. Perhaps the manuscripts of this part of the Bible came from a different community, one with different spelling practices, than the source of the rest. Perhaps it enjoyed greater veneration and so resisted modernization. Perhaps it is older than the rest. More study is needed.

As to the soundness of the machine-readable text used, the A-F text has been checked repeatedly and via multiple approaches over the fifteen years during which it has been created. Its consonantal text has been collated against that of Weil. The grammatical assignments have also been thoroughly checked. In general, the various word and category counts for the text are in agreement with Weil's published counts (1981b).

Sample sizes have been determined in accordance with conservative statistical practice, and analyses have been carried out with a range of sample sizes so as to allow assessment of the robustness of results.

The inferential methods used to show that the spelling in the texts has not suffered total randomization due to copying errors are applicable under very general conditions (1986a: 123). The descriptive methods of clustering are well understood, and their results have been verified via geometrical methods (classical multidimensional scaling [1986a: 330]). The major limitation of clustering methods, their forming of clusters no matter what data are supplied them, has been controlled for by clustering with related data sets and by computing measures indicating cluster reliability (1986a: 300–8). In addition, other distance measures and methods have been used, leading to quite similar results (Andersen and Forbes 1986b; Freedman, Forbes, and Andersen 1991).

The accuracy of the results has been safeguarded by carrying out the data preparation using standard computer utilities, by performing cross-checks and counts to verify data integrity at each stage, and by using a standard statistical package for the analysis (Andersen and Forbes 1989).

Known shortcomings have been described in the Epilog (1986a: 329–31), and steps have been taken to address them (Freedman, Forbes, and Andersen 1991). As to the conclusions drawn from the results of the statistical analyses (1986a: 309–28), others must be the final judges.

Several reviews of the work have been published. Campbell (1986) sketches the goals and methods of the work and presents a few of the results. He concludes: "Despite their attempts to keep it intelligible, this is not a book for the faint-hearted; but it is an important book which must be given careful study." M. S. Smith (1987), in summarizing the work, finds areas he feels need more attention: the details of spelling practice in the inscriptions, the respective roles of scribal choices (if any) and copyist alterations, the effects of text apportioning on results. He hopes "that further study will touch more directly on the

questions of textual origins, transmission, etc …" Barr (1988) severely criticizes the work for so imposing the orthographic theories and categories of Cross and Freedman upon the data as to nullify "the value of the computer as a means to objectivity." He remarks that Andersen and Forbes give the impression "that they have no idea at all that other possibilities exist." For Barr, spelling "depends, in large measure, not on the time when the passage was written but on the textual history of the book in which it is found." Contrary to Barr's claim, Andersen and Forbes are well aware of this hypothesis and consider it extensively (Andersen and Forbes 1986a; 102–4, 115–16, 124–25, 241–46, 289). Repeatedly, Barr asks why certain information is missing. Much of it is present, as the indexes reveal. Barr unfortunately misunderstands the book, largely because he addresses the problem of the statistical analyses by "leaving aside the mathematical material" (ignoring two-fifths of the book). Hamilton (1988) states that Andersen and Forbes "succeed admirably in accomplishing each of [their] major goals … Their results are often startlingly fresh, even if their statistical methods sometimes may be incomprehensible to a general reader." He is frustrated by the lack of extensive examples of each vowel type, the lack making him "suspicious of the degree to which [he] can rely on [the] final statistics." He concludes: "The statistical denseness and opaqueness of *Spelling in the Hebrew Bible* may hamper it from taking its deserved place as the standard reference work on this complex and difficult subject." Pardee (1988) has two main criticisms of Andersen and Forbes: (1) They limit the term spelling to *matres lectionis*, only minimally developing a "clear-cut model of the cultural conditions that created the conventions for the use of m. l." (2) They fail "to take seriously the diversity of orthography in the late preexilic Hebrew inscriptions." Pardee concludes: "We are heavily in their debt … for the reliable presentation of data and statistical analysis that they have provided."

**E. Concluding Remarks**

By now, a pattern has emerged. With distressing regularity we have seen: (1) a lack of sensitivity to the subtleties of sample-size specification, (2) a misconstruing of previous investigations as providing justification for one's current work when they do not, (3) a cavalier attitude regarding the necessity of safeguards against data-processing mishaps, and (4) a careless pedagogy wherein basic concepts are not explained or are explained sloppily. Most distressingly, we have repeatedly seen investigations embarked upon with sweeping claims of assent-demanding objectivity only to witness their ultimate invalidation through special pleading and selective attention to results. One need not be a statistician to detect when an outcome has hinged on researcher/thaumaturge and audience blinking at critical moments.

A harsh indictment, one too often true of statistical analyses. For example, statistical errors have been found in around half of the papers published in a representative set of North American medical journals (Glantz 1981:6–9). Referring to the general statistical literature, Mallows and Tukey (1982:163) ask why arguments based on statistics so often fail to convince. They reply that: (1) procedures are often inadequately explained, (2) conclusions are often suspect because the assumptions underlying methods are not clearly met by the data, and (3) the relevance of the data to the questions asked often has not been demonstrated. The shortcomings of statistical biblical research are typical of statistical analyses in general.

The solution is *not* to forswear statistics but rather for its users to explain their work clearly, to make explicit the *assumptions* upon which their analyses rest, and to give up the pretense that conclusions based on statistics are without presuppositions. Many areas of biblical studies can profit greatly from the careful application of statistical methods.

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A. DEAN FORBES

**STELES OF SETH.** See SETH, THREE STELES OF (NHC VII,5).

**STEPHANAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Stephanas* (Στεφανας)]. A Christian from Corinth whose household Paul identifies as "the first converts in Achaia" (1 Cor 16:15). Stephanas (whose name means "crown") was the head of a household in Corinth important enough for Paul to mention twice in 1 Corinthians (1:16; 16:15–17). Along with Fortunatus and Achaicus, Stephanas was part of the delegation from Corinth that visited Paul in Ephesus (16:15–17).

Stephanas' household were among the very few baptized by Paul in Corinth (1:16). According to Paul they were in fact the "first fruits" *(aparchē),* understood as the first converts, of that region (16:15). However, Acts 17:34 offers a conflicting account, implying that Paul's conversion of the Athenians (thus also Achaians) Dionysius, Damaris, and others, took place before Paul ever got to Corinth. Ramsay explains the discrepancy by saying that Stephanas' household were the "first fruits" of a church or community established by Paul in that region (1920:385). Others suggest that Paul meant "first fruits" of Corinth.

Those who belonged to Stephanas' household (*oikos* in 1:16; *oikia* in 16:15) are not further identified. Such a household may have included male and female family members, freedmen and women, and/or slaves. Due to their leadership role mentioned in 16:15–16, those referred to by Paul would be adults, whether male or female. This, however, does not preclude the presence of children. It is sometimes suggested that Fortunatus and Achaicus, named immediately after Stephanas, were part of that household. Though possible, this is uncertain because household members would probably not be singled out by name apart from the global designation and because the delegates sent by the Corinthians would undoubtedly be from more than one household to provide a broader representation of the community.

Stephanas and other members from his household "appointed (see Fee *1 Corinthians* NICNT, 829, n. 21; RSV has "devoted") themselves to the service *(diakonia)* of the saints" (1:15). Though appointed

neither by Paul nor by the local community, their service rendered is reason for Paul to commend them as worthy of exercising leadership in Corinth (1:16). The service offered, not further specified, was likely expressed as: (1) being ministers of the gospel by teaching and preaching (Fee ibid., 830), and/or (2) being patrons or benefactors of the community, for example, by providing hospitality in the home (Meeks 1983:58). Probably not intended is activity relating to the collection for the poor in Jerusalem (designated by similar phrases in 2 Cor 8:4; 9:1, 12–13) since nothing in the context suggests this. Because of their role as benefactors, Meeks suggests that Stephanas was fairly well-off, though probably not as high in socioeconomic status as Gaius or Crispus (see 1 Cor 1:14; Acts 18:8; Rom 16:23).

That Paul gave his full support to the leadership position of Stephanas' household in the community suggests that they remained loyal to Paul amidst the divisive partisanship (1:12), and hence they are probably to be included among "Paul's people" in the community (cf. 1:12). Upon the arrival of Stephanas along with Fortunatus and Achaicus, Paul rejoiced, for they made up for the "lack of you" *(humeteron husterēma*) which Paul keenly felt (16:17). Was this "lack" the physical absence of the community sensed by Paul (so most commentators) or an obligation felt by the Corinthians to labor along with Paul in missionary activity (Ollrog 1979:97–98)? The text does not clarify the matter. Paul also remarks that their presence refreshed his spirit (16:18), apparently because they relieved some of his worries about the local church in Corinth.

It is not clear what Stephanas' leadership status was among the Corinthians. Did he have the full support of the Corinthians, or was his role challenged by some (cf. 1:16)? Did some at Corinth doubt the wisdom of asking Paul for advice, and oppose sending a delegation (cf. 1:12)? Was Stephanas sent because his household was Paul's "first fruits," and hence had a special relationship with the community's founding apostle? Did Stephanas and company bring a letter to Paul with some disturbing reports about community life (see 7:1; cf. 7:25; 8:1; 12:1)? Was Stephanas one of those who persuaded the church to send the letter? If he did bring the letter with its troubling news, Paul was nonetheless refreshed in spirit at the arrival of Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaias. Finally, were Stephanas and his companions the messengers who took 1 Corinthians back to the community? This is likely, since Paul exhorts the church to recognize these individuals (16:18), implying their return and perhaps their position as interpreters of the letter.

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JOHN GILLMAN

**STEPHEN** (PERSON) [Gk *Stephanos* (Στεφανος)]. One of the seven chosen by the Twelve to serve tables; he was the first Christian martyr (Acts 6-7). At the time that complaints were formulated by the Hellenists against the Hebrews, about the way in which their widows were treated when they were being assisted by the Christian community, Stephen and six other Hellenists were chosen to handle service of the tables and thereby free up the apostles, who could then give themselves over to service of the Word (Acts 6:1–7). Later on, some Jews of the "Synagogue of Freedmen," unable to reply to the arguments that Stephen expounded against them, bribed several people to speak calumnies against him before the people (6:8–11). He was haled before the Sanhedrin where new accusations were pronounced against him (6:12–15), and this gave him the occasion to proclaim a lengthy discourse of self-justification (7:1–56). Once enraged, the members of the Sanhedrin dragged him out of the city and stoned him (7:57–60), after which he was solemnly buried (8:2).

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A. The Hellenists
B. A Popular Riot
C. The Appearance before the Sanhedrin
D. A Programatic Discourse
E. Stoning

F. Stephen and Paul

## A. The Hellenists

These narratives in Acts present commentators with serious difficulties. First of all, who were these Hellenists to whom Stephen certainly belonged and which Acts 6:1 sets over against the Hebrews? According to some commentators, the Hellenists and Hebrews—most certainly Christians—can be distinguished by the fact that the former would have come from among the gentiles while the latter would have been converts from Judaism. In this view, Stephen would be of gentile origin. But it seems preferable to make a different kind of distinction between these two groups (Hengel 1975; Pesch 1979). In actual fact, the Hellenists who wanted to kill Paul in Acts 9:29 were certainly Jews, as were the Hellenists mentioned in Acts 11:20. The distinction between Hellenists and Hebrews, then, was one that already existed in Judaism: the Hellenists would have been hellenized Jews, that is, ones who had adopted the language and a certain number of the customs of the Greeks; the Hebrews, on the contrary, would have been Jews who had preserved the purity of their hebraic culture. This distinction was kept up in early Christianity: the Hellenists were Christians who had come from Jewish milieux that had been hellenized to a greater or lesser degree, while the Hebrews derived from Jewish milieux which had kept the purity of their hebraic culture. But members of both groups were converts from Judaism. Stephen's name was Greek, derived from the word *stephanos,* "the crowned one"; like the other Hellenists, he had adopted, while still a Jew, the Greek language and a certain Greek life-style. See HELLENISM.

A second problem is posed by the account of the election of the Seven, among whom was to be found Stephen (6:1–7). According to this narrative, the Seven were chosen by the community to serve the tables and in this way permit the apostles to dedicate themselves to the ministry of the Word. Yet afterwards, this service of the tables completely disappears from the horizon of Acts; besides this, Stephen and Philip are shown to be given over to service of the Word just like the apostles: Stephen at Jerusalem (6:8–7:60) and Philip in Samaria (8:5–40). Indeed, Philip elsewhere in the early tradition retains the title of an "evangelist" (Acts 21:8). In light of this fact, a certain number of commentators think that the present narrative in Acts must be the reinterpretation of a primitive account bent on addressing a later situation of the Church. In the primitive account, the problem that would have set the Hellenists against the Hebrews would have been that of Christianity's openness to the pagan world. The Hellenists were favorably disposed towards this movement, almost by the very fact of their Greek upbringing, while the Hebrews were more or less openly opposed to it, basing themselves on one or another of the sayings of Jesus (Matt 10:5–6). For the Hellenists, this crisis would have been the occasion to establish a certain independence with respect to James and the Jerusalem church (Trocmé, 1957:188–91). Stephen would thus have been one of the first defenders of openness on Christianity's part to the gentile world, the very position which Saul (Paul) would later on champion. With regard to the problem of service of the tables, an echo of which is still to be found in Luke 10:38–42, this issue likely did not arise until several decades later.

## B. A Popular Riot

The circumstances surrounding the death of Stephen are likewise a problem. A number of commentators admit that the present narrative in Acts is not homogeneous. In their view, an ancient narrative, according to which Stephen would have been stoned during a popular riot, has been amplified by all those features which in the present account involve his appearance before the Sanhedrin, including Stephen's long discourse. One finds this hypothesis laid out, with important qualifications, in the commentaries elaborated, from one perspective, by P. Feine (1891), F. Spitta (1891), J. Jüngst (1895), F. J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake (1922), O. Bauernfeind (*Apostelgeschichte* THKNT), G. Stählin (*Apostelgeschichte* NTD); and, from another perspective, by B. Weiss (1889), H. H. Wendt (*Apostelgeschichte,* MeyerK) A. Harnack (1908), as well as in the treatments of H. W. Surkau (1938:105–19), E. Trocmé (1957:183–91) and J. Bihler. Though contested by the "western" tradition of the text of Acts: at 7:57, the Fleury palimpsest (h) and the Coptic codex $G^{67}$ explicitly say that it was "the people" who rushed forward to Stephen to drag him out of the city and stone him. According to the ancient narrative, the circumstances of Stephen's death were as follows: Stephen had enjoyed a great deal of success in his preaching before

the people, due in part to the signs and wonders which he had performed (6:8). Enraged that they were unable to counter his arguments in favor of Christianity, the Jews of the "Synagogue of Freedmen" bribed some people into accusing Stephen of having uttered blasphemous words against Moses and against God (6:9–11). At this news, the people turned on Stephen (7:57 Western Text), dragged him outside the city and stoned him (7:58). Stephen underwent the same fate as had, long before, the unfortunate Naboth, possessor of a vineyard coveted by King Ahab. At the instigation of Ahab's wife Jezebel, Naboth was falsely accused before the people of having cursed God and the king. The people then dragged him out of the city and stoned him (1 Kgs 21:11–13). The primitive account of the martyrdom of Stephen is literarily dependent on this narrative of the death of Naboth (Brodie 1983). Beyond the historical facts, its author wanted to signify that Stephen's adversaries were not worth any more than the wicked Jezebel, whose memory had been held in disgrace by all Jews.

**C. The Appearance before the Sanhedrin**

The primitive account was taken up and amplified, notably with the addition of Stephen's appearance before the Sanhedrin (6:12–15), during which he gave the lengthy address intended to defend himself of the accusations brought against him (7:1–56). It is not at all certain that all these additions were formulated in the same period or that they may be traced back to the same hand. Whatever the case, they were meant to meet two well-determined goals. First of all, they contributed to the establishing of a parallel between the death of Stephen and that of Jesus. Before being put to death, Jesus had appeared before the Sanhedrin and false witnesses had accused him of announcing the destruction of the Temple (Mark 14:55–58; cf. Acts 6:12–14). Secondly, in the presence of his judges Jesus had declared, "You will see the Son of man seated at the right hand of the Power" (Mark 14:62), while Stephen affirmed, "I see the heavens open and the Son of man standing at God's right hand" (Acts 7:56). In both cases, it is these very statements that seem to provoke the fury of the members of the Sanhedrin. Before dying Jesus had prayed God to pardon his executioners (Luke 23:34) as Stephen also would do (Acts 7:60); and, like Stephen later on (Acts 7:59), Jesus entrusted his spirit into God's hands (Luke 23:46). In this, Stephen followed faithfully in the footsteps of his Master (Mark 8:34).

**D. A Programmatic Discourse**

Above all else, the amplifications in the narrative also made it possible to have Stephen deliver a speech in the presence of the Sanhedrin that laid out some of the governing principles of the Hellenists, ones which, as we pointed out above, extolled Christian openness to the gentiles. This involved a double thematic, already hinted at in the accusations brought against the future martyr: "This man does not cease uttering words against this Holy Place and against the Law" (6:13). By the "Holy Place" one must understand the Jerusalem Temple, which was the center of Jewish religious life, the place of God's presence (1 Kgs 8:10–13). Stephen began by discreetly insinuating, based on notions from the Bible, that God does not dwell in only one place. At the beginning of the Exodus, the Hebrews went forth to worship God in a "place" that was located in the desert (Acts 7:7; cf. Exod 3:12). Similarly, Moses encountered God in the episode of the burning bush in a sacred "place" that was also situated in the desert (Acts 7:33; cf. Exod 3:5). Therefore, there is no unique "Holy Place"; God dwells everywhere (cf. Mal 1:11). Stephen ventured further still; relying on a citation from Isa 66:1–2, he asserted that God does not inhabit dwellings made by human hands (Acts 7:48–50). In this way, the Jerusalem temple was demythologized. Christians were no longer constrained to participate in the worship which took place in the Temple; they could, in this regard, part company with Judaism.

Stephen was also accused of having spoken against the law. He would again quote Scripture to justify his position. After having spoken at length of Moses and his liberating mission, he clearly alluded to that law which the prophet had received from God to transmit to his people (Acts 7:38; cf. Exodus 19). Just before this, however, he had cited the following saying of Moses retrieved from Deut 18:15, 18: "God will raise up from among your brethren a prophet like me" (Acts 7:37). Therefore, Moses, inspired by God, had himself foretold the sending by God of a new prophet who would take up anew and bring to completion his work by giving a new law. When Stephen proclaimed that Jesus was this "prophet like Moses" and the bearer of a new law destined to perfect and replace the Mosaic law, why was there such

an outcry and a charge of blasphemy? Because also on this point Stephen's position marked a break between Christianity and Judaism: the Mosaic law was not absolute; it was destined to give way to the Christian law which had as its purpose the bringing of the Mosaic law to its highest degree of fulfilment (cf. Matt 5:17–48).

In the primitive account, the people bribed by the Jews of the "Synagogue of Freedmen" to calumniate Stephen had accused him of blasphemy against Moses and against God (6:11). In his speech, Stephen answered these accusations, but he did so in much blunter fashion. Instead of showing the well-founded nature of his positions toward the Jerusalem Temple and the Mosaic law, Stephen threw back at his accusers their very own charges against him, all along making references to the Bible. In recalling the episode of the golden calf narrated in Exod 32:1–35, he showed how the Hebrews rebelled a long time ago, and that this rebellion was directed both against Moses, through rejection of his authority, and against God, by the people giving themselves over to idolatrous worship (Acts 7:39–43). Why should the Jews attack Stephen by accusing him of blasphemy against Moses and God, his argument goes, since their own forebears had done worse and they themselves were no better than their fathers (Acts 7:51–53). This apologetic, one must recognize, is much less subtle than that used by Stephen when he justified his positions regarding the Temple and the Mosaic law. Perhaps it was not composed by the same hand as the first and belongs to a later redaction.

Whatever the case might be in this last regard, Stephen's speech before the Sanhedrin constituted a pivotal turning point in the development of Christianity. While the Hebrews—Christians who had come from purely Jewish milieux—would not think of separating themselves from the Judaism whose liturgical and legal customs they intended to preserve (Acts 15:1–5), the Hellenists averred that Christianity, in order to spread among the gentiles, had to break with Judaism by adopting a new liturgy not tied to the Jerusalem Temple and, equally, a new morality based on Christ's teaching. It was this intuition of the Hellenists that Stephen developed in his discourse to the Sanhedrin, in this way showing himself to be the precursor of Paul.

**E. Stoning**

The Acts narrative gives us no details of the manner in which Stephen was stoned (7:59–60). According to Jewish legislation, one dragged the condemned person outside the city to an elevated place where there was a drop-off spot twice the height of a human person. One of the accusatory witnesses then cast him down from this height in such a way that he would fall on his back. If the person died from this fall, the execution came to an end. But if he did not die from the fall, a second witness dropped a stone onto him, over the heart. If the individual survived these two successive attempts, all the onlookers then had to finish off the job with a volley of stones (cf. Deut 17:7). This is the manner of proceeding according to evidence provided in the Mishnah. Was this how it was done in Stephen's case? We can only conjecture that it was so.

The Acts of the Apostles do not give us any indication either about the place of the stoning. In locating the spot, we have nothing to go on but a tradition that we know about only by way of an occurrence that took place at the beginning of the 5th century, an episode that had powerful repercussions throughout the Church. A priest named Lucien, resident in Caphar Gamala 25 km (= 15 miles) NNW of Jerusalem, claimed to have had a vision on Friday, December 3, 415, in the course of which Gamaliel revealed to him that in his village was to be found a tomb containing the remains of himself (Gamaliel), of his son, Nicodemus, and, above all, those of Stephen, the first martyr. This vision would be repeated on the next two Fridays. Lucien notified the bishop of Jerusalem and an excavation of the grave was begun. Once recovered, the relics of Stephen, whose authenticity no one thought of denying, were transported to Jerusalem on December 26 and set to rest on Mount Sion. Under the guidance of Eudocia, wife of the Emperor Theodosius II and more or less an exile in Jerusalem, and of bishop Juvenal, a basilica was built to house the relics of the first martyr on the presumed site of his death. The building was dedicated on June 15, 460, shortly before the death of Eudocia. Now the remains of this basilica, destroyed in 614 at the time of the Persian invasion, were brought to light when excavations were carried out between 1885 and 1893 by the Dominican Fathers, who had bought the land and on it built the modern-day French

Biblical and Archaeological School (Ecole Biblique). This was situated several hundred meters (yards) to the north of the city's north gate, today's Damascus Gate. Thus did it come about that on this spot Christian tradition located the martyrdom of Stephen at the beginning of the 5th century. What is the value of this tradition? It is impossible to give an answer to this question.

**F. Stephen and Paul**

According to the author of Acts, Saul, who would later change his name to Paul (Acts 13:9), was present at Stephen's martyrdom and kept watch over the clothing of the accusatory witnesses who initiated the stoning. More to the point, he himself approved this capital punishment (Acts 7:58; 8:1; 22:20). When the author insists in this way on Paul's presence, might this not be to suggest that there is a link between Stephen's martyrdom and Paul's conversion (Acts 9)? He would then have been the first to make his own the idea that later on would be articulated by Tertullian: "The blood of martyrs is the seed of Christians." However, in this instance, the theme actually finds its fullest significance when one recalls that Stephen gave his life to defend the ideal of the Hellenists, according to which Christianity could not develop except by separating from Judaism and by putting distance between itself and the Mosaic law and the Jerusalem Temple. This is the principle which Paul, having become a Christian after he had persecuted the Church, would defend with tenacity (Galatians 1–2). We might say, then, that Stephen was the precursor of the apostle to the gentiles.

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TRANS. TERRENCE PRENDERGAST

**STIRRUP.** See ZOOLOGY.

**STOICS, STOICISM.** Stoicism is a modern term referring to the philosophy of the Stoic school. This school took its name from the *stoa poikilē,* a decoratively painted colonnade in Athens, where Zeno began his philosophic lectures and discussions around 301/300 B.C. (for the name, see Hobein 1931:40–47). The school he set up lasted until the second half of the 3d century A.D. Historians like to subdivide it into the periods of the old, middle (from Panaetius onwards), and late (imperial age) Stoa (Colish 1985:7). This is a controversial division, which is not used as the basis for the following overview. Source material is only satisfactory for the Roman imperial period. All earlier Stoics are only documented by quotations and summaries provided by authors of a later period (details in Long 1974:115–17).

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A. Stoicism
  1. Logic
  2. Physics
  3. Ethics
B. Important Stoics
C. Relations with the NT


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**A. Stoicism**

(Cf. esp. Pohlenz 1984 1.31–158; Colish 1985 1.7–60; Hossenfelder 1985:45–94). The Stoics adopted the basic division of philosophy into logic, physics, and ethics. By comparing logic with the wall of a

garden, physics with the trees, and ethics with the fruits (*SVF* 2. 38) they revealed that their real preoccupation was with ethics.

**1. Logic.** Of the individual areas of logic—theory of perception, dialectic, and rhetoric—only the first (the most important) will be treated here. The Stoic theory of perception is a sensual one. Things affect the human senses and thereby produce an "image" *(phantasia)* in the soul (which originally resembles an unwritten blackboard). This image is described as a physical "impression in the soul" *(typōsis en psychē)* (like the print of a wax seal) or more generally as "a change in the soul" *(heteroiōsis psychēs)* (*SVF* 2. 56). When the outward stimulation is removed, the images are nevertheless preserved as memories in the soul. Concepts *(ennoiai)* arise by abstracting from that which many memories have in common and by various logical operations, which are based on that (e.g. analogous conclusions) (*SVF* 2. 83, 87). According to the Stoic belief, one cannot achieve reliable knowledge of reality by means of the images alone. Only by means of *synkatathesis,* by the judgment of the *logos* (the human "reason") that an image actually is faithful to reality, can one come to a true perception *(katalēpsis)* or "grasp" of things (*SVF* 1. 59, 60; 2. 65, 97). This is possible because the world to be perceived is itself formed and woven by the universal *logos,* of which the human *logos* is a part, so that the subject and the object of the perception are intimately and ultimately related.

**2. Physics.** In the Stoic school of thought, being is that which is active or suffering. Since both are associated with physical touch, there can be only a bodily form of being. This materialism of the Stoics, however, introduces (without giving up the claim to a monistic view of the world) a distinction (based on Heraclitus and Aristotle) between *hylē* (matter) and *logos* (reason). "Matter" is the bodily, in so far as it suffers (i.e. is qualified and moved). The active principle which qualifies and moves the bodily is "reason" (*SVF* 1. 85; 2. 299–328). Since these two principles of being, *hyle* and *logos,* can never be separated from one another, the *logos* is given a peculiar, special status: although it never exists other than bodily, it is not a material being.

Matter is fundamentally qualified by the *logos* as warm, cold, moist, or dry. Therefore the simplest bodies are the four elements (fire, air, water, earth). Fire, however, is seen to be the superior element, since the other three are produced by it and dissipate into it again. Therefore the undying fire (which is actively in things in the form of *pneuma,* a warm breath) is equated by some Stoics with the *logos* and with God (*SVF* 1. 157, 160; 2. 423). Cosmogenesis is seen as the emergence of variety from original unity and begins with the thickening of the fire into air and from there into water, when the creative *logos* releases countless *logoi spermatikoi* (seeds of the *logos*), each of which engenders single things and arranges them into the global act of creation (*SVF* 2. 1074). This process reverses itself at a certain point, and with the *ekpyrōsis* (the return of the cosmos into its fiery original state) that world period comes to an end. This process repeats itself *ad infinitum* (*SVF* 1. 107, 109; 2. 596–632).

The world thus represents a uniformly structured physical form, which is imbued with and created by a reasonable power, the *logos.* This creative force is identified with God. The world as a whole is thus like the human being as an individual, a creature endowed with and led by reason (*SVF* 1. 111–4; 2. 633–45). The human body (like the animal) is enlivened with a breathing soul. By contrast with the animal kingdom, the human being also has in his *hēgemonikon* (the major part of the soul) a share of *logos.* At death, the soul separates from the body. It exists for a certain time on its own, but is reabsorbed into the universal *logos* no later than at the next *ekpyrōsis* (*SVF* 2. 809–22).

The divine *logos* is, as shown, both physical and spiritual. It does not stand transcendent outside of the material world, but imbues and deifies it, although in differing degrees of purity. By looking at the beauty and appropriate development of the world, it is possible to develop a natural perception of God. Just as every work of art tells something about the artist, so the greatest work of art, the world, reflects an all-superior creative power (*SVF* 1. 528; 2. 1010–12). Their monotheistic pantheism led the Stoics also to acknowledge the cosmos and parts of it (e.g., the planets) as gods (in the sense of manifestations of the one deity). Even the various divine creatures of popular religions and myths could be integrated into the Stoic theology, for they could be seen as rather blurred forms of reverence for (or pictures of) a particular god, which the Stoics like to call Zeus. They interpreted these myths allegorically. Although the divine

*logos* is partly described as an artist endowed with reason, the Stoic view of God is not a personalized one. Only a few statements (especially the Zeus hymn and the prayer of Cleanthes, *SVF* 1. 537, 527) move in that direction.

If every development in the cosmos finally comes back to the *logos,* there is nothing that can stand in contradiction to divine work, or be independent of it. As a divinity which does not behave well is unthinkable, the given world is for the Stoics the best possible one: it is created and maintained beautifully and appropriately by the divine providence (*SVF* 1. 172, 548; 1106–67).

Given this view, it is not surprising that questions were raised about the origin of physical and moral evil. The first (illness, death etc.) is explained by reference to the indispensability of antithesis: light cannot be thought of or exist without dark, or good without bad; consequently, the negative pole has to be taken into account as the undesired accompaniment. Moreover, evil things like sickness and death are not seen to be negative at all, given man's independence from the outside world (*SVF* 2. 1168–86). On the other hand, there is an attempt to solve the problem of moral evil by an intellectual interpretation and reference to the human being's freewill; in Socratic tradition, evil is the direct result of a lack of perception, but man is free to attain this perception and to do good (*SVF* 3. 657–70, 682–84).

**3. Ethics.** The purpose of Stoic ethics is to show man the way to happiness (which is identical to the morally good and the useful). In a negative sense, happiness lies in independence from all outside determinants; positively, it lies in the achievement of all one's own goals. It is important then, to attribute value only to those things which are easily attainable, i.e. to adjust the desired to the possible.

This basic concept was described by Zeno in the formula *homologoumenōs zēn* (*SVF* 1. 179), which actually simply means "living harmoniously". What is probably meant by that is the conformity of desire and possibility and the resulting inner "unanimity," man's equanimity. It is possible that the formula also expresses the leading role of the human *logos* (contained in the word *homologoumenōs*) (Pohlenz 1984:I/116). As early as Cleanthes, the formula was extended to "living harmoniously with nature" (*homologoumenōs tē physei zēn, Stoic.* 3. 12), which constituted a certain change in the interpretation (universal nature as the norm). Later this became "living in accordance with nature" (*kata tēn physin zēn* [*SVF* 3. 16, 17]).

The possibility and the difficulty of such harmonious or natural living is the concern of the Stoic doctrine of passion. Passions *(pathē)* are psychological forms of excitement, which occur when the *logos* agrees to an impulse *(hormē)* elicited by an image *(phantasia),* i.e. when the *logos* falsely judges an external thing to be a worthwhile good or an undesirable evil (like for example wealth or poverty). By means of such a false judgment *(doxa)* the *logos* abdicates its leadership to the passion (*SVF* 1. 205–15; 3. 377–420). However, as the *logos* is free to agree to things (*SVF* 1. 61) and is in a position to make correct judgments (as long as it is not perverted by external influences), freedom from passions and thus happiness are theoretically within reach of man. Freedom from passions *(apatheia)* does not mean total lack of feeling and indifference. But what the wise man feels and desires will remain within the framework set by the *logos:* he will not qualify any of his instinct's desires as a "good."

Freedom from passions is a result of virtue. The essence of this lies in the realization that outside the moral sphere (which only human beings possess) there can be neither a good nor an evil, as happiness can be found only in complete independence from all outside influences (*SVF* 1. 374; 3. 33). In the end though, this realization, virtue, is the only good thing, as it is the necessary and sufficient prerequisite for happiness (*SVF* 1. 188). Since virtue has to do with a perception, it can be taught (*SVF* 3. 233). As virtue not only results in the achievement of all man's aims, but also represents the only true aim, it is theoretically identical with happiness. That is why it is worthy of achieving for its own sake (*SVF* 3. 38–48).

There are no single virtues in the sense that one could possess one and not the other: "to have one is to have them all" (*SVF* 3. 295). The four traditional cardinal virtues are insight *(phronēsis),* prudence *(sōphrosynē),* courage *(andreia),* and justice *(dikaiosynē);* according to Zeno, the latter three are nothing more than manifestations of the first, which as "virtue" in the real sense of the word represents insight into the real relationship of values and makes itself known by way of prudent choice, courageous

endurance, and just sharing (*Stoic.* 1. 200–1). "Of all existing things, one kind is good, the other evil, the third indifferent *(adiaphora)*" (*SVF* 1. 190). The *adiaphora* are: "death, life, fame, scandal, hardship, lust, wealth, poverty, sickness, health and the like" (ibid.). Although these things do not have any bearing on the happiness of man, and although he must preserve his independence from them, there is nevertheless a distinction between indifferent things which are "preferred" *(proēgmena)* and those which are "rejected" *(apoproēgmena).* The former are those which are outwardly beneficial to human life (like health, wealth, and intelligence); the latter are the opposite. Between them there is another group of things which are indeed completely indifferent, like the stretching or bending of a finger (*SVF* 3. 188, 122). The acceptance of preferred things which have a certain value (if not for the attainment of actual happiness) and are worth striving for (if not as real goods), is not a weakening, but a consequence of the doctrine of passion (Hossenfelder 1985:59–60):In order to avoid giving something inappropriate the character of a good or an evil, and without making a judgment of its own, reason aligns itself with the animalistic, self-preserving endeavors of the instinct.

The behavior of the wise man in everyday life is thus aligned "instinctively" to the natural. That is why his actions will in most cases be indistinguishable from a quite normal way of life, since even the unwise tend to follow the self-preserving aims of their instinct (but misunderstand these aims as signs of "goods" or "evils"). Natural behavior is called *to kathēkon,* "the appropriate, befitting," regardless of this difference in interpretation—e.g., "to honor parents, brothers and sisters and homeland, to nurture friendships" (*SVF* 3. 495). Appropriate actions *(kathēkonta)* which are carried out with the attitude of the wise (i.e. conscious of their indifference) are labelled *katorthōmata* (actually "justly done").

The extensive regulation of practical behavior by instinct seems to imply completely egoistical and individualistic action. Stoic ethics, however, point out that the natural basic instinct for self-preservation also includes caring for one's neighbors: the common nature of reason allows man to recognize himself in others, so that he actually looks after himself whenever he acts for the benefit of others. In according with that, social behavior is quite natural (*SVF* 3. 611–36). The Stoic sees himself as part of a cosmopolis of man and gods, which combines their logos, and in which only the condition of the *logos,* and not origin, sex, rank etc. determines the higher or lower position (*SVF* 3. 349–66).

**B. Important Stoics**

Zeno of Citium (333/2–262/1 B.C.), the founder of the Stoa, went to Athens in 312/311, studied under the Cynic Crates but also under Academics and Megarians, until he began to teach himself in 301/300. His impressive system correspond to the feeling for life of Hellenism, in so far as it tries to present a secure path to happiness (independence of outside circumstances) to those suffering from the general sense of insecurity precipitated by the dissolution of the polis and the concommitant political changes.

Zeno's successor as head of the school was Cleanthes (about 331/330–232/231 B.C.), who had studied with him from 282/281. He retained the doctrine of Zeno without displaying great originality of his own. However, he did add a new religious element to it, when he worshipped the universal *logos* in his hymn to Zeus (*SVF* 1. 537).

The signs of the school's decline, noticeable under Cleanthes were not stopped until the next head, Chrysippus (about 281/277–208/204 B.C.) took over the school. The saying "Without Chrysippus there would be no Stoa" (*SVF* 2. 6) rightly emphasizes his contribution towards the consolidation of the school, which he achieved by logically systemizing the teachings. Characteristic of him is his intellectualism: instinct is no longer separated from reason and subject to its judgment, but is in fact the very value judgment itself (i.e., a property of reason), so that a passion consists of a false judgment of reason.

Panaetius of Rhodes (about 185–98 B.C.), who along with Posidonius of Apamea is often considered to be the main representative of a "middle Stoa" (Colish 1985:10) was head of the school from about 129. Above all, his affiliation with the circle of Scipio Africanus Minor meant that he was a great influence on the intellectual life of Rome. Panaetius moderated the Stoic rigor both in relation to other philosophical schools and in daily life. For example, he no longer saw virtue as the only good on which happiness relies: what the older Stoics classed as natural, "preferred" *adiaphora* (like wealth, health) were given by him the character of goods of the second order, which can lead the way to virtue. He considered the

passions as unavoidable and taught the right way to cope with them. According to Panaetius, Providence has over time stabilized the world. It has made man capable (by means of his own *logos*) of creation and self determination. Destiny *(heimarmenē)* is left with, at most, theoretical significance.

Posidonius of Apamea (about 135–50 B.C.) studied under Panaetius in Athens, but then opened his own school on Rhodes, where Cicero became his student. As there is very little witness to his teaching, a reconstruction can only be made with great difficulty. Characteristic of his philosophizing is the inclusion of a whole range of concepts from other disciplines like history, mathematics, geography, astronomy etc., all of which he combined in his *logos* philosophy to a systematic world view. Just as man is inspired by the divine universal spirit, because his soul comes from it, so are all things, particularly animals and plants, imbued with God and kept alive. The cosmos is a living creature, with a great variety of interrelationship between individual parts.

The Stoics of the Roman Empire period fell back on the founders of the school, without developing any great originality themselves. However they were not concerned with Stoic orthodoxy: they tended toward eclecticism. Other typical factors are the diminishing emphasis upon logic and physics, the increasing religious element, and the attempt to find practical moral relevance for philosophizing.

The concrete definition of Stoicism's ethical dogmas (e.g., their use in fighting individual passions like anger) and its popularization (by means of an effective style) must be credited to the Nero teacher, politician, and poet, L. Annaeus Seneca (4 B.C.?–A.D. 65). Important to Seneca is the dependence of the morality of an action on the inner attitude of its bearer: a deed can only be good if its intention is. Conscience is the last moral norm. "I will do nothing for a (good) reputation, everything for a (good) conscience" (*vita Beata* 20. 4). This final arbiter is given to man by God, who in Seneca's writings sometimes seems to have personal characteristics.

The practical element of philosophy is even more obvious in C. Musonius Rufus (about A.D. 30–100), who, occasionally in exile on Gyarus, held lectures on life for an educated lay audience. He used traditional Stoic principles to find answers to questions like: should daughters be educated the same as sons (of which he was in favor), or what is the most important thing in marriage? The purpose of the lessons was not simply to know and understand philosophy but more importantly to be able to apply it.

More significant is Epictetus (about A.D. 50/60–120/40), who studied under Musonius and, like his teacher, directed a school of philosophy for lay people first in Rome, and, after the banning of the Roman philosophers by Domitian (A.D. 89), in Nicopolis. The *diatribal* recorded by Arrian and the famous *encheiridion,* a collection by Arrian of the central points of Epictetus' teaching, show that his lecturing amounted to a lively, pastoral counseling based on old Stoic principles (with a touch of the Cynic). The positive value of the "preferred" *adiaphora* was something he definitely rejected: existence is strictly divided into what is "up to us" and what is "not up to us" (*ta eph' hēmin–ta ouk eph' hēmin*); happiness is only attainable by the conscious restriction of our ambition for *ta eph' hēmin,* i.e. for the inner, evaluating but distance attitude to external things. Central to Epictetus' ethics is the affinity of man to God (whom he portrays even more personal than Seneca) and the divine Providence. See EPICTETUS.

**C. Relations with the NT**

It would be beyond the scope of this article to deal comprehensively with the complex problem of to which extent, by which ways, and under which changes Stoic thoughts and forms of expression have left their marks in the NT. Only some NT texts, which are especially relevant, will be considered.

In Acts 17:22–31 Greco-Roman conceptions and the worship of God are criticized in a way we find in Stoic authors as well: Thus the ideas that God should live in temples made by hand (v 24b) or that "the divine" should equal a picture made by men (v 29) are rejected. Cultic sacrifice is criticized with the argument that God has no needs (v 25a). The positive statement about the closeness of God to each human being (v 27) corresponds with the Stoic conception of God; in v 28a this statement is expressed in a triadic formula which probably is a borrowed Stoic phrase.

As we have seen, the Stoics can perceive God by regarding the harmony and beauty of the cosmos. Paul holds a similar "natural theology" in Rom 1:19–20: Although God is invisible, he can be seen in his creational works by reason. Nevertheless, in this statement Paul is not directly dependent on the Stoics,

but on wisdom and apocalyptic tradition. Like the latter, he does not pretend to explain the possibility of the rational knowledge of God. Instead, his aim is the proclamation of God's judgment of the gentiles, who did not make use of this possibility.

The Stoic ethics in particular became important for the NT. In 1 Cor 7:29–31 Paul advises a distant attitude toward the world, which at least has certain similarities to the Stoic ideal of being imperturbable *(ataraxia).* The clearest difference between Paul and this ideal is the eschatological reason for this attitude, which can be seen in 1 Cor 7:29a, 31b and which has no parallels in Stoicism.

When Paul, in Rom 2:14–15, writes that gentiles "do by nature *(physei)* what is in accordance with the law *(ta tou nomou),*" because "the work of the law is written in their heart," he is using a topos of Hellenistic ethics (which he probably knows from the Hellenistic-Jewish apologetics). Especially Stoicism emphasizes life in accordance with nature *(physis)* as a moral aim. The law of nature, an unwritten law, which is perceived by reason, is of greater obligation than every law *(nomos)* made by human beings.

In the NT letters parenetic genres can be found, which have at least some of the roots of their form and concrete filling in the Stoic popular philosophy: catalogues of vices (Rom 1:29–31; 13:13; 1 Cor 5:10–11; 6:9–10; 2 Cor 12:20; Gal 5:19–21; Eph 4:31 5:3–5; Col 3:5,8), of virtues (Gal 5:22–23; Phil 4:8; Col 3:12; 1 Tim 6:11; 2 Pet 1:5–7), and of duties of each member of a household (*"Haustafeln":*Eph 5:22–6:9; Col 3:18–4:1; 1 Pet 2:18–3:7). Such catalogues show a great correspondence with moral convention of the NT environment, especially with that of Stoicism. One can often hear that in Stoicism ethics is a function of the intellect, whereas in the NT it is a function of the existential determination of the Christian by Christ. That is true to a certain extent. But this difference is hardly to be perceived where on the one hand the Stoic ethics really becomes popular and includes a strong religious element and where on the other hand NT ethics begins to be oriented by the conventional common sense. Therefore, the problem of the *proprium* of the NT ethics is particularly pressing in view of the means of the moral instruction just mentioned.

In some sections the letters of Paul show stylistic analogies to the *"diatribe,*" a form of popular-philosophic propaganda in antiquity which was especially used by Stoics. Part of this style form the catalogues of vices and virtues already dealt with, but also catalogues of sufferings, the so-called *"Peristasenkataloge*" (esp. 1 Cor 4:10–13; 2 Cor 4:8–12; 6:4–10; 11:23–29; 12:10). The section which is nearest to the style of the *"diatribe*" (rhetoric form, vivid expression, low density of thought, and dialogue elements) is 1 Cor 15:29–49 (cf. also Rom 1:18–2:11; 8:31–39; 11:1–24; 1 Cor 4:6–15; 9:1–18). Paul uses this stylistic device particularly in order to make a personal appropriation of difficult theological trains of thought easier for his readers.

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THOMAS SCHMELLER

**STONING.** See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES; STEPHEN.

**STORAX-GUM.** See PERFUMES AND SPICES.

**STORK.** See ZOOLOGY.

**STORM GOD, SEMITIC.** See HADAD (DEITY).

**STRANGLING.** See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES.

**STRATON'S TOWER** (PLACE). See CAESAREA (PLACE).

**STROKE.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**STRUCTURALISM.** A philosophical theory about the way in which meaning is perceived through the structures of human cultural systems. It has been applied in various ways to almost all the sciences and the humanities; in every case it attempts to show that meaning and significance result from the way human beings shape and pattern their intellectual systems, rather than being inherent in the subject matter being studied.

**A. Structuralism in General**

**1. Structuralism in Linguistics.** The foundation of structuralist theories lies in *linguistics,* and is associated especially with the work of Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913) (see Saussure 1974). Whereas linguists had traditionally looked to the history of language to explain its meaning, Saussure argued that meaning was a function of the interlocking relationships within the linguistic system of any given language at a particular moment. Thus, if we want to know the meaning of a word, we should not primarily ask about its history or etymology, but should look at all the words with which it contrasts in the language as at present constituted. Take words for color, for example: the meaning of the English word "red" for a modern speaker has little to do with the etymology of the word or its use in earlier stages of the English language (of which the ordinary speaker is quite unaware); it has much to do with the other words for this range of colors that were available to the speaker, and from which the speaker selected "red" rather than "scarlet," "crimson," etc. The English words for color form a self-contained system which divides up the spectrum conventionally in certain ways, and unless we are in command of the whole system, we cannot understand what is conveyed by each individual color term.

The idea of language as a structured system which provides as it were the resource from which individual utterances can be drawn, and the basis for understanding their meaning, is central to structuralist linguistics, and is widely accepted by modern linguists. The linguistic system is called by Saussure the *langue,* as opposed to the *parole,* which is the individual linguistic utterance (Saussure 1974:7–17). Two other important terms are *synchronic* and *diachronic.* Synchronic study of language is the study of the system or structure of a language as it exists at a given moment, whereas diachronic study refers to the traditional concern for the history of a language.

**2. Structuralism in the Study of Human Culture.** The structuralist movement in modern philosophy and aesthetics represents an attempt to apply the insights of structuralist linguistics by analogy to other aspects of human culture. In anthropology, Claude Lévi-Strauss (1963) applied de Saussure's ideas to the description and analysis of myths in pre-philosophical societies. Drawing on the distinctive relation of *parole* (speech) to *langue* (system), Lévi-Strauss argued that individual myths (cf. *parole*) are related to an underlying structured system of stories (cf. *langue*) which provide a basic account of reality for peoples who have not yet developed an abstract conceptuality. Each myth makes sense only when one has reconstructed the entire system of myths of which the individual myths form a part; a particular myth's meaning is then a function of its contrast with other myths.

Roland Barthes (1976) and Umberto Eco (1976) proceeded to apply the same ideas to modern societies, arguing that here, too, the meaning of cultural forms is a function of their synchronic relation to a structured system of meaningful signs. The term *semiotics* (from Gk *semeion,* sign) was coined to describe this kind of study, which has been important also for modern sociology. Chess is a good example

of a human cultural system which is susceptible of semiotic or structural analysis. In chess, the "meaning" of the moves is determined conventionally by the relations between the pieces and by the rules of the game, and is a function of contrasts between the pieces and the moves they are allowed to make. A "rook" exists only within this system, as the piece which can move more flexibly than a pawn, for example, but less flexibly than a queen, as one of a pair of pieces which can guard the king and so on. Once removed from the chessboard, the rook is a rook no longer, but simply a piece of wood. It has no meaning except within the game. Until one is in command of (or, in technical structuralist terminology, is *competent* in) the rules of chess as a whole, one cannot understand an individual piece or make any sense of a particular move. Almost all social and cultural situations are similarly susceptible of structuralist analysis, from law courts and public meetings to meals and parties.

**3. Structuralism and Literary Study.** But it is above all in the study of *literature* that structuralism has proved influential. At first in France, but later in the English-speaking world as well, literary critics sought to apply the linguistic model of synchronic, structural interpretation to literature and to interpret literary works as part of a structured system analogous to a language. In the work of Roland Barthes (1976) and A. Greimas (1966) and their followers, the conventions with which literary forms such as novels, lyric poems, and drama operate are explained as a kind of *langue*—so that individual works should be understood less as the inventions of creative writers than as illustrations of the possibilities inherent in the "system" of literature. Just as one may become "competent" in a particular language by internalizing its conventions and rules, so, it is suggested, one may become competent in a given literature by coming to understand the conventions and constraints under which it operates. The early successes of structuralist analysis were in the interpretation of such traditional forms as folktale (see especially Propp 1968) and (in modern literature) detective novels, where any reader can see that quite strict conventions operate, but structuralists have also sought to show that all literature without exception is rule-bound. Often there is a certain iconoclastic intention here—to convince the reader that what most people think of as works of individual genius are in reality no more than expressions of literary conventions: "originality" is an illusion. In this, structuralism joins hands with more recent schools of interpretation such as materialistic, sociological, and psychoanalytic criticism, all areas in which works traditionally seen as highly original or innovative are explained more or less deterministically as the result of forces beyond their authors' control, and so somewhat debunked.

**B. Structuralism and the Bible**

**1. Language.** Many of the basic ideas of Saussurian structuralism are widely accepted by linguists, and they have naturally affected the study of Biblical Hebrew. James Barr's *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (1961) represents a turning point in the linguistic study of the Bible. Against the etymologizing, diachronic approach to Hebrew and New Testament Greek which found expression in the *TDNT* Barr argued that the biblical languages should be studied in accordance with current practice in general linguistics: meaning must be determined by the present context of words and sentences in the biblical text, and must not be read off from the (supposed) derivations of "key words." Barr also argued against the idea that a special "Hebrew mentality" could be deduced from features of the language, such as its verb system or its syntax, showing that this was incompatible with a structural approach to language. Since Barr, the study of biblical languages has moved more closely into line with Saussurian categories, and the *TDNT* has fallen out of favor with many scholars.

**2. Anthropology.** Structural anthropology has made important contributions to understanding some of the categories of thought that lie behind the OT text. An interest in structured systems has, since Lévi-Strauss, led anthropologists to examine *kinship structures*—the patterns of permitted and forbidden degrees of marriage through which, it is suggested, societies maintain their equilibrium and understand their own meaning. E. Leach (1970) has analyzed biblical genealogies from this point of view, seeing in them (especially in the Table of Nations of Genesis 10) the Israelite understanding of the place of Israel in the wider world. It has also been argued by Douglas (1966) that the complex food laws of Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14 can be understood from a structural perspective as the remains of a classification system, by which ancient Israel introduced significant distinctions into its perception of the animal world

and so marked off an area of cultic safety within which to live a harmonious existence. So far, however, these applications of structuralist theory to the Bible have been occasional and unsystematic, and it remains to be seen whether biblical studies will move further in this direction.

**3. Literary Structuralism.** The major influence of structuralism on biblical studies has been in the area of exegesis and literary analysis. The initial impetus for a structuralist study of the Bible came not from biblical scholars themselves, but from within the French structuralist movement. A pioneering study is that of Roland Barthes on the story of Jacob and the angel in Gen 32:22–32 (see Barthes 1974). Using the analytical categories of Greimas (1966), Barthes interprets this story as a folktale in which a new twist has been given to the plot by exploiting some of the conventions with which folktales normally operate. The participants in the story can be formally defined by their functions: God is the "originator," Jacob is the "hero," the angel is his "opponent." In the "syntax" of folktale proper, these three "actants" (as they are called in Greimas' terminology) may interact in various ways: the "originator" may step in to help the "hero"; or one or more "helpers" may be introduced into the plot; or the "hero" may succeed in his quest by his own efforts, but at the end be rewarded by the "originator." But in the story in Genesis none of these patterns is followed. Instead, as Barthes shows, the "originator" and the "opponent" turn out to be one and the same—it is the very God who sent him on his journey with whom Jacob wrestles all night, and who in the end blesses him for his persistence in resisting him.

A structural analysis thus reveals that Genesis 32 is an *artificial* folktale, whose effectiveness depends entirely on its success in "subverting" the normal rules of folktale to produce a surprising outcome which shocks and disturbs the reader. In Barthes' study, this structuralist reading is shown to be theologically significant. The idea that one and the same God stands behind *all* that happens to his servants is a central theme of much OT narrative, which avoids dualistic explanations of history and attributes both good and bad experiences alike to the providential guidance of a single God; as Joseph says to his brothers, "As for you, you meant evil against me; but God meant it for good, to bring it about that many people should be kept alive" (Gen 50:20). Thus a structuralist analysis can help to show by what methods the biblical writers convey their message, pointing to the exploitation of structural possibilities.

In Barthes' analysis of Genesis 32 there is, strictly speaking, no new *interpretation* of the text: the theological point which the text is said to make is familiar to readers of the Bible in any case. The analysis simply lays bare the mechanisms by which the text succeeds in conveying the meaning that most readers would find in it. Thus structural analysis here provides an explanatory theory, rather than generating a new exegesis. But since Barthes many biblical scholars have seen in structuralism a tool for discovering new meanings in the biblical text. As in some advanced forms of redaction criticism, the arrangement of elements within the text is thus taken as highly significant, and much attention is devoted to the shaping of texts through repetitions, chiastic arrangement, and stereotyped formulas, as well as by contrasting pairs ("binary opposition"). Thus, in an early structuralist study of Genesis 1–2, P. Beauchamp argued that 1:1–2:1 is so constructed that the ten "words of creation" ("and God said …") fall into two balancing groups of almost exactly equal length. The "meaning" of the passage is then the tension or contrast between the two groups, in which the inanimate created order is contrasted with the world of living beings, and the final act of each set of five "words" is meant to be set over against that of the other: the stars (the crowning work of the fourth day) are set over against man (the last creature made on the sixth day), and the reader is supposed to see an important truth in this contrast.

A major theme of structuralist approaches to biblical study has been a desire to undermine the results of conventional "historical" criticism. Many structuralist studies claim that structural analysis reveals patterning and order in texts which biblical critics had previously seen as fragmentary or confused. Just as structural anthropologists often claim to find a coherent system of thought underlying what strikes the uninitiated observer as a tangle of inconsistent myths or folklore, so structural exegesis sees apparent confusion in a text as a clue to a deeper, underlying pattern. At times conservative biblical scholars have made common cause with structuralists (as also with CANONICAL CRITICISM) because it seemed to offer a way of defending the integrity of the present form of the biblical text. This is, however, by no means universally true, and many structuralists have no interest in defending traditional doctrines of

biblical inspiration. They may be attracted to structuralist analysis of the Bible because the biblical texts, being often anonymous, traditional, and complex, seem to demand an explanation that does not emphasize the deliberate intentions of an individual author but rather the operation of subconscious patterns buried in the human psyche.

**C. Post-Structuralism**

Structuralism has proved a highly changing and developing movement, and since the late 1960s many fresh developments have appeared that may be grouped together under the heading "post-structuralism." See also POST-STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS. *Deconstructionism* is an attempt to undermine the reader's expectations that a text will communicate some independently existing truth, by showing that author and reader alike are caught in the system of constraints imposed by the linguistic and literary system to which they belong, and are capable of communicating or receiving only such meanings as this system makes possible (see Culler 1981). In *reader-response criticism* (see Iser 1978; Jauss 1982) the idea that a text has a fixed meaning is abandoned, and the reader is seen as having a vital role to play in contributing to the meaning of a work. Reading is as "creative" an activity as writing. This has been of particular interest to students of the parables in the gospels (see Via 1985; Patte 1976), which seem inherently to call for a response from the reader if they are to be effective. It may be said that a parable means nothing until it meets with a responsive reader: the attempt to state the meaning of the parables in a "timeless" form notoriously tends to reduce them to platitudes. See also READER RESPONSE THEORY.

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JOHN BARTON

**SUAH** (PERSON) [Heb *šaḥ* (שַׁח)]. The first son of Zophah given in the Asherite genealogy in 1 Chr 7:36. This figure appears within the dominant line of the genealogy (Beriah, Heber, Hotham/Helem, Zophah), and yet nothing is known about him. He is attributed with no descendants, and his name does not appear elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. While some scholars consider such unique names as fabrications of the Chronicler, Johnson and others suggest that they derive from military census lists, themselves drawn up in genealogical fashion (Johnson 1969:64–66).

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JULIA M. O'BRIEN

**SUBAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Soubas* (Σουβας)]. Forefather of a family included under the heading the "Sons of Solomon's Servants," which returned with Zerubbabel (1 Esdr 5:34). However, this family is not included in the parallel lists in Ezra 2 and Nehemiah 7.

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CRAIG D. BOWMAN

**SUCATHITES** [Heb *śûkātîm* (שׂוּכָתִים)]. One of three families who lived in the town of Jabez and who, while tracing their descent through Caleb, counted Kenites in their ancestry (1 Chr 2:55). These families either comprised secretaries *(sōpĕrîm),* belonging to a scribal guild, or were Siphrites *(siprîm),* earlier dwellers of Kiriath-sepher (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 38, 43). The Jabez at which they settled is unknown. (A Jabez is introduced abruptly in 4:9–10 with etymological explanation but without lineage.) At least as early as Jerome some have understood the Sucathites, Shimeathites, and Tirathites to refer to groups of religious functionaries, yet nothing substantial exists upon which to base such a view. Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 55) notes the attempt to derive the word Hammath from a proposed noun **ḥēmāt,* meaning "family-in-law"—which would make the three Kenite clans descendants from a relative by marriage of the Rechabites' forefather. He observes, however, that in the context of this list one would expect a place name after "the father of" and compares *byt-rkb* with *byt mrkbwt* (4:31; Josh 19:5). The genealogy of 1 Chr 2:55 seems to reflect the ongoing amalgamation of previously unrelated tribal elements into the mainstream of Judah.

EDWIN C. HOSTETTER

**SUCCESSION NARRATIVE.** See COURT NARRATIVE.

**SUCCOTH** (PLACE) [Heb *sukkôt* (סֻכּוֹת)]. The name of two places mentioned in the OT.

1. The first station of the Exodus located in the NE delta of Egypt (Exod 12:37; Num 33:5). The Israelites left Rameses and pitched in Succoth and then journeyed to Etham where they camped on the "edge of the wilderness" (Exod 13:20, Num 33:6). The location of Succoth is connected with the identification of the sites of Rameses and Pithom which have not been positively determined. See also RED SEA. Tell el-Maskhuta located 15 km W of modern Ismailia and Lake Timsah in Wadi Tumilat has been suggested by a number of scholars as a possible location of Succoth. The name Succoth may be an adaptation of Egyptian Tjeku *(tkw),* a region and perhaps a city proposed to be located at Tell el-Maskhuta. Brugsch has offered an explanation of the derivation of Hebrew Succoth from Egyptian Tjeku *(tkw)* correlating Egyptian *t* with Hebrew *s,* Egyptian *k* with Hebrew *k,* and noting that the Egyptian *w* is a plural suffix while the Hebrew *wt* represents the feminine plural suffix (Bleiberg 1983:21). Papyrus Anastasi V records that an Egyptian lieutenant traveled from the palace (supposedly at Rameses) to Tjeku in one day (*ANET,* 259) fitting nicely with the biblical narrative, although Gardiner (1920:109) disputes this supposition and Bleiberg, an excavator on the Wadi Tumilat Project, finds it difficult to locate the places mentioned in the text (1983:24–25).

Numerous monuments with the name of Tjeku have been excavated at Tell el-Maskhuta, and they also contain references to the temple of Atum or Pr-ꜥitm, possibly corresponding to the Hebrew Pithom. Naville, who excavated there in 1883, identified Tell el-Maskhuta as Pithom, the treasure city built by Hebrew slaves (Exod 1:11) noting particular architectural features he considered to be store chambers. Most scholars now identify the site as Succoth observing the structures to be from the Roman period and earlier structures to be part of the fortress foundations known to have been at Egyptian border towns. For a review of Naville's arguments and Gardiner's rebuttals, see Bleiberg 1983. A possible compromise would have Succoth or Tjeku as the name of the district and Pithom referring to the religious center at Tell el-Maskhuta. Papyrus Anastasi VI dating to about 1230 B.C.E. preserves a message sent from a frontier official to his superior that certain Edomite bedouin had been allowed to pass the fortress in the

district of Tjeku (Succoth?) to pasture their cattle near Pithom (*ANET*, 259), locating both places in the same area. Bleiberg (1983) suggests that Tjeku was originally a region and then later a city located at Tell el-Maskhuta. Pr-ʾitm, he believes, only refers to the temple of Atum, and he states that there is no clear evidence to locate a city of Pithom there.

2. A city located on the E of the Jordan River close to where it is joined by the Jabbok (Nahr Zerqa). Jacob stopped here when returning from Padan-aram and built a house and "booths" for his cattle, hence the name Succoth, "booths" (Gen 33:17). It was located in the kingdom of Sihon and allotted to the tribe of Gad (Josh 13:27). Gideon stopped here while pursuing the Midianites and asked for provisions for his army from the men of Succoth and also Penuel. He was refused in both cases, and upon his victorious return he inflicted punishment on Succoth and beat down the tower of Penuel (Judg 8:5–17). It was also between Succoth and Zarethan on the plain of the Jordan that bronze vessels were cast for the Temple under the direction of Solomon (1 Kgs 7:46; 2 Chr 4:17). The Valley of Succoth is mentioned in the Psalms (60:6; 108:7) with a positive connotation which would fit the location in the fertile region at the junction of the two rivers known as the Ghor Abu Obeideh.

Tell Deir ʿAlla has been suggested as the location of Succoth by many scholars. The stele of Shishak at Karnak mention six sites in the Valley of Succoth: Adam, Qodesh, Penuel, Succoth, Mahanaim, and Zaphon. Mazar (1957) has proposed a reading which fits nicely with the location of Deir ʿAlla according to the order they are listed. Tell Deir ʿAlla was occupied during Chalcolithic, Late Bronze, and Iron Ages I–II, and used as a cemetery by the residents of nearby Abu Gurdan until approximately 1500 C.E. The LB level contains remains of a sanctuary complex raised on an artificial mound and no defensive walls typical of the period. It has been suggested that it served as a shrine for the nomadic population of the region. It was destroyed early in the 12th century B.C.E. by uncertain means, although there is evidence of a conflagration and an earthquake has been suggested (Franken 1979). Aharoni (*LBHG*, 284 n. 224) is willing to allow that this was the result of Gideon's vengeance. An Egyptian vase bearing the cartouche of the wife of Seti II, Taousert (1214–1194 B.C.E.), was discovered at this level as well as three clay tablets whose script is related to Phoenician.

The Iron I remains also show no permanent settlement, only remnants of furnaces for smelting bronze and some postholes perhaps for tents of the metal workers. Aharoni here relates this to the smiths casting vessels for the Solomonic Temple. The Iron II settlement is a walled city in which the famous Aramaic inscription fragments mentioning the prophet Balaam were found. See also DEIR ʿALLA.

Franken, who has excavated at Deir ʿAlla, does not identify it as biblical Succoth (Franken 1979). He follows Abel in preferring Tell el-Ekhsas, 2.5 km to the west (*GP* 2:470). The name of this tell translates from Arabic to "booths." Franken contends that the cultural assemblage from Iron Age Deir ʿAlla is not Israelite and therefore it is not Succoth. The pottery seems to indicate Ammonite influence or origin. He also cites the absence of any biblical references to shrine at Succoth, and there is a very substantial one from the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age at Tell Deir ʿAlla.

Levine (1985) presents a number of arguments in opposition to Franken's conclusion. He suggests that the Deir ʿAlla texts originate from a context of continuous cultural interaction from both sides of the Jordan which could easily represent an Israelite presence. He bases his stance on linguistic and literary analyses proposing the language of the texts as a regional dialect related more closely to the surrounding Canaanite group rather than to the old Aramaic. He also contends the shrine may be an ʾEl temple easily fitting within the scope of Israelite culture if not Israelite monotheism.

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JO ANN H. SEELY

**SUCCOTH-BENOTH** (DEITY) [Heb *sukkôt bĕnôt* (סֻכּוֹת בְּנוֹת)]. A deity whose worship was instituted by the Babylonians who had been forcibly resettled in Samaria (2 Kgs 17:30). Although Samaria had been destroyed in 722 B.C., it was not until 689 B.C. that the Assyrians captured Babylon and dispersed its people. Because the name is perfectly intelligible in Hebrew ("booths of girls/daughters"), and because no Babylonian deity by this name is known, the identification of Succoth-benoth is problematic. The MT seems to contain an oblique reference to shrines *(sukkôt)* associated with sexual rites involving women *(bĕnôt),* perhaps women dedicated (Akk *sakku*) to the Babylonian Banitu (i.e., Ishtar) or Ṣarpanitu (consort of Marduk; see Wiseman, *ISBE* 4:649). The possible association with one of these Babylonian goddesses is reinforced by some of the LXX renderings of the name which include a final vowel *(Sokchōbenithei, Sokchōbanitha).* Some have suggested that while *bĕnôt* may indeed reflect one of these Babylonian deities, *sukkôt* may be identified with the Sumerian deity SAG.KUD (i.e., Saturn), whose name in Akkadian was actually vocalized *sakkud* (Hallo 1977:15); this deity may be the same "Sakkuth" (Heb *sikkût*) mentioned in Amos 5:26. See SAKKUTH AND KAIWAN. The suggestion that the MT is actually a corruption of an original **mrdk wzrbnyt* ("Marduk and Ṣarpanitu") has recently been questioned (Cogan and Tadmor, *2 Kings* AB, 211).

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GARY A. HERION

**SUD** (PLACE) [Gk *Soud* (Σουδ)]. The name of the river in Babylon along which Judean exiles, including King Jeconiah (Jehoiachin), were settled (Bar 1:4). These exiles were the original audience to whom the book of Baruch was directed. The name Sud is problematic, and the Gk form may reflect a distortion of the uncial script spelling of Ahava (LXX *eoua*), the name of the river where the exiles were gathered on the eve of their return to Jerusalem (Ezra 8:15, 21, 31; see Moore, *Additions to Daniel, Esther, Jeremiah* AB, 270).

GARY A. HERION

**SUDIAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Soudios* (Σουδιος)]. In 1 Esdr 5:26, this name is possibly an alternate form of HODAVIAH #4.

**SUETONIUS** (PERSON). Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, Roman biographer and antiquarian, was born ca. 70 C.E., possibly at Hippo Regius in North Africa. His family held equestrian rank, his father serving as a tribune of the Thirteenth Legion. Suetonius began his career as a professional scholar in Rome, working as a teacher of rhetoric and as an advocate. He was a friend of Pliny the Younger, whom he accompanied to Bithynia ca. 110 C.E. and with whom he later corresponded. Subsequently, Suetonius held several imperial offices. His duties as secretary of studies *(a studiis)* are unclear. He served next as director of the imperial libraries. He likely held both these posts under Trajan (98–117 C.E.. Under Hadrian (117–38 C.E.) he held his most important post, secretary in charge of imperial correspondence *(ab epistulis).* In 122 C.E. he was dismissed from this post, apparently for disrespectful behavior toward the Empress Sabrina. The date of his death is unknown.

Suetonius wrote treatises on Roman antiquities, on the natural sciences, and on grammar. Of these works, only excerpts from his treatises on Greek games and on curses remain. Suetonius also wrote two collections of literary biographies. *The Lives of Illustrious Men,* written during the reign of Trajan, contained brief biographical sketches of 21 grammarians, 16 orators, 33 poets, and 6 historians. Substantial fragments of this work are extant. During the reign of Hadrian, Suetonius published his *Lives of the Caesars,* which contained biographical sketches of the emperors from Julius to Domitian. All this work, except for the first chapters of Julius' life, has been preserved. In his imperial biographies, Suetonius was interested in both the private lives and the public activity, especially the day-to-day public activity, of the emperors.

In his *Lives of the Caesars,* Suetonius provides insight into Roman religious practice and thought in the early empire. Suetonius firmly believed that the workings of fate were determined and could be foreseen.

He devoted much attention to the omens and signs that attended the births and deaths of the various emperors. Suetonius also firmly believed that the emperors had a duty to live and act so as to protect and sustain the traditional pattern of Roman life (Wallace-Hadrill 1983:128). Religious practice was an important part of that life. Emperors who failed to honor the gods properly (*Tib.* 69, *Ner.* 56) were censured by Suetonius. Actions taken by emperors to return religious practice to the traditional pattern, such as the purging of the Sibylline oracles (*Aug.* 31.1), the disciplining of the Vestal virgins (*Dom.* 8.3–4), and the reviving of old rituals (*Aug.*31.3–4, *Claud.* 22) won his approval. Emperors were called upon to resist innovation in religious practice, even innovation which served state interests. Suetonius noted with approval that the establishment of emperor worship in Rome was resisted by Augustus (*Aug.* 52), while Caligula's insistence that he be treated as a god was seen as a vice (*Calig.* 22.2–4). Emperors were expected to oppose even more vigorously innovations that did not serve state interests. Suetonius observed that Augustus correctly honored all ancient and long-established foreign rites, but despised all the rest. Egyptian worship of Apis and Jewish worship in Jerusalem were singled out for disapproval (*Aug.* 93). Tiberius was commended for abolishing foreign cults at Rome, especially the "superstitious" Egyptian and Jewish cults (Tib. 36). Claudius properly suppressed the Druidic cult (*Claud.* 25.5). Also praiseworthy was his expulsion of Jews from Rome, since the Jews were always causing disturbances there at the instigation of Chrestus (*Claud.* 25.4). (This could be a confused reference [Chrestus/Christus] to disputes between Jews and Christians over the messiahship of Jesus, or Chrestus [a not uncommon name] may simply have been an agitator who was writing up the Jewish community in Rome at the time [Benko 1969:408–13].) Suetonius also noted with approval that Nero had inflicted punishments on the Christians, a sect which professed a new and mischievous belief (*Ner.* 16.2).

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JOAN BRUEGGEMAN RUFE

**SUFFERING.** The Bible portrays innumerable examples of suffering. It could come in many different forms—a loss in battle, destruction of the nation and the symbols of worship, ravaging illnesses, premature death, great physical pain, rejection and loneliness, spiritual torment such as guilt or disbelief about God's goodness and concern. The list could go on (e.g., see Gerstenberger 1980:22–102). When such calamities occurred, whether to individuals, to larger groups within the nation, or to the nation as a whole, efforts were made to answer the many questions that would arise. What went wrong? Where did the suffering come from? Who brought it? How does God fit into this? Why would God bring (or allow) such terrible things to happen to the people whom God has chosen for his own?

There are several obvious places to look for biblical interpretations of suffering, such as the story of the Fall (Genesis 3), the Deuteronomistic History (DH), the book of Job, and gospel accounts of the crucifixion of Jesus. The experience of the exile was a crucial time for reconsidering many traditional ways of seeking meaning in suffering. The same could be said for the Christian church's need to explain why the messiah should die. Some biblical passages deal with suffering less as an intellectual problem of theodicy than as a process of coping with terrible reality (e.g., Lamentations, individual and corporate laments in the Psalter, and Jeremiah's Confessions).

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**A. Preexilic Interpretations**

**1. Creation and Fall.** Genesis 2–3 gives one perspective on suffering. The world was intended to be a good place. (That is even clearer when we include Genesis 1 and read these first three chapters as a whole.) If the woman and man had heeded the one restriction about the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gen 2:17), suffering as we know it might never have entered the world. But they disobeyed (3:6–7) and opened the door to pain and suffering. God pronounced curses on the snake, the woman, and the man (Gen 3:14–19), and the world has been filled with pain and misery ever since.

The story of the Fall is the basic etiology for the presence of suffering in the world. It provides an explanation for the incongruity between the intention of God and the reality of a suffering world. There is already a theodicy in this initial story. God is good and powerful and just. God made a good world for the humans to enjoy. The human beings—the man and the woman—are the ones who must bear the responsibility for the pain and suffering of the world. This is the story of the whole human race. The lesson here is that it has been so from the beginning: We are all born into a world in which we are vulnerable to suffering.

**2. The Sins of the Fathers.** A number of biblical texts offer another perspective on human suffering (Exod 34:6–7, with parallels in Exod 20:5–7, Deut 5:9–10, and Num 14:18). The idea presented here is that the cycle of sin and suffering that began with our first parents is perpetuated from generation to generation. We are already paying for the sins committed by our grandparents, even as we are behaving in ways that will bring distress to the generations which follow us. Sins have their consequences. There are cause and effect relationships built into the order of creation (see Koch 1983). One cannot act with impunity, expecting to escape retribution while defying God's law. If the punishment does not come directly on the head of the offender, it will nevertheless work itself out eventually in the life of one's children or grandchildren. In the time of the exile, some of the victim's of that disaster protested that they should not bear the brunt of sins committed by their parents (see Ezekiel 18 and Jer 31:29–30). It may seem unfair, but it does describe reality. Sin leads to suffering. Someone will be hurt and, in turn, will pass that hurt on to others. Suffering resulting from sin is a corporate matter, infecting the whole society, not necessarily seeking out the most wicked perpetrator of evil upon whom to inflict the most severe suffering.

**3. Preexilic Prophets.** With acute insight, the great prophets (Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel) identified the decadence, injustice, and idolatry of their society. They knew that such behavior could lead only to disaster. They made a connection between the sins of the people, especially of the political, religious, and business leaders, and the national disaster which was coming. The people deserved what would happen to them, though there were pious folks who would surely have to bear the suffering along with those most deserving of it. In a time of national disaster, when a whole nation is being destroyed, there is no such thing as a safe haven for even the most righteous. Jeremiah's suffering was even more acute than others because he knew what was going to happen and his position as God's spokesperson made him an outcast from his own people. Baruch, Jeremiah's scribe, lamented his own unhappy situation and was told, by God through Jeremiah, that God would keep him alive, but Baruch could not hope for much more than that in a destructive time such as his (Jer 45).

**4. Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic History.** The Deuteronomistic corpus, obviously, was not completed until the time of exile. It does seem proper, however, to treat its understanding of suffering as a

preexilic tradition. In some ways, it represents the epitome of that interpretation, the supreme effort of the historian to make logical sense out of the ebb and flow in the fortunes of the nations of Israel and Judah. Times of prosperity were rewards for faithfulness to God. Disaster and chaos were the result of sins committed by the people.

The whole book of Deuteronomy has a hortatory style; there is an urgency about the message. The law must be obeyed or there will be dire consequences. If it is kept, there will be prosperity and a long habitation on the good land. The series of blessings and curses in Chapters 27 and 28 make clear the connection between ethical behavior and what will surely follow. Special attention could be paid to Deut 28:35, in which we are told that those who disobey God's commandments may find themselves covered with grievous boils from head to toe. Job's counselors perhaps knew this text as they looked for an explanation for his misfortune. Deut 30:15–20 is a good summary of the viewpoint of Deuteronomy. God has given the people a choice: they can choose good and live long on the land, or choose evil and be driven off the land. This probably represents the dominant understanding of the origin of suffering up until the time of the exile.

The story of Achan and his sin in Joshua 7 is a difficult and unpleasant one. Achan keeps some of the booty that was intended for the Lord, and as a consequence, things go badly for the Israelites in subsequent battles. When Achan's sin is found out, he and his whole family must be purged from the society. Suffering comes from human sin. The sin of one can have ripple effects, bringing suffering to all the people. Suffering is caused by human sin, but it may be the sin of another, not necessarily one's own sin, that brings suffering.

The stories of the judges in the book of Judges are set into a pattern that shows this same belief that suffering is retribution for sin. The overall scheme is laid out in Judges 2:6–23. When the people were unfaithful, God would send an enemy to torment them. Then, in response to their cries for help, God would send a judge to deliver them from their adversaries. After the judge died, they would revert to their idolatries and the whole process would repeat itself. The history of Israel thus makes sense. God is at work to see that justice is done. People's decisions can determine what fate awaits them. In this view, suffering is an indication that wrong choices have been made. They can be identified and lifted up as a reminder not to make the same mistakes again.

In 2 Kings 17, the historian provides a summary of why the N kingdom came to an end. There is a reason that can be discovered: The world makes sense; this is a moral universe, good is rewarded and evil is punished. God has the power and the will to see that it will happen.

At the end of the DH, there are, apparently, a few problems fitting all the historical data into this neat system. Why should Manasseh, the worst king of all, live so long and in comparative ease? (The terrible consequence of his reign will not occur until later—2 Kings 21:10–15.) Why should Josiah, the great reform king, die a premature death in a stupid political alliance, leaving the people in the hands of such atrocious kings as Jehoiakim and Zedekiah? (The Huldah oracle attempts to show that Josiah was actually better off dead so he would not be present to witness the execution of God's wrath on Judah—2 Kings 22:14–20.) The end of the history leaves us with the ambiguous (at best) hope that at least there is a son of David alive and well and receiving some respect from the king of Babylon (2 Kgs 25:27–30).

**5. Concluding Observations.** (a) In the preexilic traditions, the dominant interpretation of suffering is that it is the *result of human sin.* We find it in the Penteteuchal sources, in the preexilic prophets, and in the DH.

(b) There is a *strong corporate sense* in all of these texts. Genesis 3 deals with the whole human race; Deuteronomy, the prophets, and the DH are interpreting the fate of the people, the nation. They are not attempting to show that an individual's suffering or lack of same is directly related to that person's obedience to God. Life is too complicated to draw that precise a cause-and-effect connection. Adam and Eve sinned, so we are all, whether relatively good or bad, subject to pain and death. Achan sins and the whole nation suffers. The interconnectedness crosses generational lines so that even the sins of those who are no longer alive leave a legacy of suffering. The Babylonians destroy all in their path, the wicked and

the pious, the unjust and the obedient. Suffering is caused by sin, and its victims include the deserving as well as those who are innocent bystanders (as Jeremiah and Baruch).

(c) God is active in this world to execute justice. God raises up enemies to torment the disobedient in the time of the Judges. God brings Babylon against Jerusalem. This understanding of God's part in human suffering keeps a balance between God's power and justice. What happens is under God's influence, even though terrible things may be taking place. But they are understandable in light of the sin that initiated the punishment. There has been some debate about how actively God manipulates events to bring suffering. Some have preferred to suggest, and tried to make a case from biblical texts, that the process of suffering following sin is almost an automatic one built into creation so that God's participation in bringing calamities on people is minimized (see Koch 1983).

(d) Even in preexilic literature, the doctrine of retribution is not the only interpretation of suffering. God may actually arbitrarily without giving any explanation. In Exod 4:11, in response to Moses' assertion that he cannot go back to Egypt to free the people because he is "slow of speech and tongue," God says, "Who has made man's mouth? Who makes him dumb, or deaf, or seeing, or blind? Is it not I, the LORD?" God's power is here asserted. There is no attempt to interpret one's physical limitations or handicaps as a result of sin. They are merely there and we have no explanation. But God must have something to do with their existence because God is God.

In Genesis 3, the snake suddenly appears as one of God's most subtle creatures. In this fundamental story about how suffering entered the world, the humans and God are not the only actors. Though the main point of the story, as already stated, is the human sin which caused the trouble, it is important to note that there is mystery and complexity added to the story by the presence of the snake. We do not have here a full-blown notion of Satan or the devil, but we do have a recognition by the biblical writer that there is a mysterious force for evil that seems to push humans into actions that will be detrimental to themselves and to others. Why there should be such a hostile creature in this "good" (Heb *ṭôb*) world that God has just created is part of the mystery. It is important that Yahweh alone is God and that the serpent is only one of God's creatures. There is no cosmic competition or dualism present here.

In Deut 8:1–6 we see a view of suffering which will gain in strength later in the biblical traditions. The suffering may have some benefit, either for the sufferer or others. God may be using it to teach something. Thus the wanderings of the people of Israel in the wilderness was a time of humbling and testing (8:2), teaching them that one does not live by bread alone (8:3). God has disciplined the people as a man disciplines his son (8:5). According to Judg 2:20–23, God will not drive out all the nations left in the land when Joshua died. Some will be left there in order to test Israel, to see whether they will walk in the way of the Lord or not. The conclusion of the Joseph story (Gen 50:15–21) speaks of the benefits that many received through the suffering of one wise and righteous person: Though Joseph's brothers meant evil against him, God used Joseph's suffering to save many from famine.

**B. Exilic and Postexilic Response to Suffering**

The catastrophe of the exile strained the credibility of the earlier consensus as presented by the prophets and historians. The disaster was too severe and lasted too long. Sinful though they be, the people of Judah were still more righteous than their punishers, the Babylonians (Hab 1:12–13). One does not punish one's children by killing them. The terrible events that followed rapidly on the death of Josiah made it difficult for many to believe that a God of justice was ruling the world.

**1. Ezekiel 18 and Jer 31:29–30.** Ezekiel confronts those who complain that "the fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge" (18:2; see also Jer 31:29–30). The fathers had sinned and now the children are paying for it. That hardly seems fair. Ezekiel counters that the soul that sins shall die (18:4; see also Deut 24:16). All are responsible for their own life. They will not have to pay the penalty for sins committed by their fathers, nor will they be saved by the good deeds of their fathers: Whether they live or die depends on their own actions. There are many ways to understand this important chapter in Ezekiel. It does seem to indicate an effort to move the doctrine of retribution away from a strictly corporate understanding. One need not be swept along by the sins of society or even one's own family. Individuals make their own decisions and determine their own futures. There is certainly some

tension between this movement by Ezekiel and the earlier understanding that one can expect to bear the sins of ancestors to the third and fourth generation. Was that earlier belief incorrect? Can each generation start afresh without being victims of its predecessor's choices? Probably not. But Ezekiel (if his point is not overstated and absolutized into a general principle) wants to say that the present situation should not be excused by claiming that it was hopelessly predetermined in the past (and therefore we cannot be held accountable for our own actions).

**2. Isaiah 40–55.** After a couple of generations of exile, the people were demoralized. If the earlier tradition was right that their defeat was God's punishment on their disobedience, would it ever end? Had God cut them off forever? Or perhaps they had been deluded all along, and their destruction was a sign that the Babylonian gods were superior to Yahweh, who couldn't provide help when needed. Second Isaiah appeared to provide a word of hope. He did not reject the older view: Judah's suffering, at least up to a certain point, was punishment for sin (Isa 42:18–22, 24–25; 43:24b; 47:6). But suffering is not to be defined only in negative ways (as punishment). It can have positive meanings. If the people have the faith to see it, they may discover that their suffering is part of God's work in the world. They are God's witnesses (as in 43:9–10), called to be "a light to the nations" (as in 42:6 and 49:6). Israel, the Servant of Yahweh, has a mission to reach out to all the world. Other nations will see what God is doing through his chosen people and they will be persuaded to join in worship of the one true God, the God of Israel. Thus Second Isaiah turns away from defining suffering only as punishment (though that point is not entirely negated) to a more hopeful, future-oriented understanding. God will work some greater good for others out of the suffering of the faithful.

**3. The Lament Tradition.** The tradition of lament is not new in the exilic times. The children of Israel cried out to God for help when they were slaves in Egypt and during their wilderness wanderings (Exod 3:7; Num 11:1). The repentant idolators during the time of the Judges implored God to deliver them (Judg 3:13). David mourned the loss of friends and family (Saul, Jonathan, Abner, and Absalom; 2 Sam 1:17–27; 3:33–34; 18:33). Jeremiah called to God for vengeance on his enemies and vindication of his miserable life (Jer 17:14–18; 18:19–23). But in the time of exile, lament was particularly prevalent as a response to catastrophe, meaninglessness, and delay in the redemption of the faithful and judgment on the wicked (e.g., book of Lamentations; Psalms 44; 137). The lament calls God into accountability. God should act fairly and quickly. The lament allows for honest interchange between humans and God, the freedom to admit even bad theology and hostile thoughts. The lament turns to God as the ultimate source of help and, in the typical lament form, ends with the assurance that God has heard and will save. The lament does not solve all of the sufferer's intellectual questions about the origin and meaning of the suffering, but does provide a structured way for the faithful to bring their suffering to God's attention and to cope with it.

**4. The Book of Job.** Job is the classic biblical discussion of the problem of suffering. It addresses these questions in greater depth and length than any other biblical book. Though there are many problems with dating, the best guess is that the major part of the book was written in the late exilic or early postexilic period (with the prose sections possibly earlier and the Elihu speeches possibly later). This would be a time when questions of meaning in suffering, whether or not it was deserved, and discontent over the prosperity of the wicked would be of great and immediate relevance, not only to individuals but to a whole people who had thought they were God's chosen nation and now had been virtually destroyed.

The book of Job examines in great detail all the best answers that the earlier religious tradition had to offer in order to find meaning in suffering. Job's three counselors (and later Elihu) are permitted to present their interpretations of Job's suffering by drawing from what they have learned in the past. Their answers are primarily variations on a retribution doctrine, especially as developed in the DH, in much Wisdom literature (e.g., Proverbs 10:23–30 or Psalm 1), moving toward a more individualized interpretation of suffering as punishment (a direction already seen in Ezekiel 18). Job's friends believe that a just God rules in the world. Such awful things would not happen to Job unless he was deserving of them. Job looks like an innocent person, to be sure, but there must be some sin somewhere which has caused the trouble. They take upon themselves the pastoral task of trying to help him locate the flaw

which can then be repented so that he can return to a better life. In his first speech (chaps. 4–5), Eliphaz is somewhat puzzled by Job's apparent innocence and shares the insight that no mere mortal can be righteous before God (4:17). Job may be better than some, but he is still a sinner and, therefore, deserving of his fate. Eliphaz also softens the harshness of his theories of retribution (in 5:17–27) by suggesting that Job's suffering may be good for him. The man who can learn from the chastizing of the Almighty can be happy for the experience.

Job rejects all the answers presented by his would-be comforters. He is still much influenced by his own religious tradition, and he wants the law of retribution to work. The problem is that it is not working. Job has kept up his end of the bargain by his pious and ethical life (see especially his summing up in chaps. 29–31), but God has rewarded him with one disaster after another. And so Job assails God for God's cruelty and injustice (see 9:20–24; 16:6–17; 19:5–13).

There is much debate over how the prologue/epilogue fits with the rest of the book of Job. Whatever else might be said, it is absolutely essential that we, as the readers of the book, know what God says in both the prologue and epilogue. In the prologue, God, in conversations with Satan, declares that Job is blameless and upright and turns away from evil (1:8, 2:3). In the epilogue, God says that the three counselors were wrong about Job while Job spoke what was right (42:7). Without that information, we would not know whether Eliphaz and the rest were right to blame Job for his disasters, or whether Job is right to protest that he was a victim of injustice. With the inclusion of the prologue and epilogue, it is clear that Job is a case of innocent suffering. He does not deserve his fate. The doctrine of retribution cannot be applied to every case of individual suffering as if it were a universal explanation.

The book of Job is certainly a critique of a rigidly applied doctrine of retribution to explain all suffering. But does it offer any alternative explanations? The best place to look for the "answer" of the book of Job to the dilemma of human suffering is in the God speeches (chaps. 38–41). When God finally speaks to Job (an audience which Job had desired for a long time), God offers no reasons for why Job had suffered. All of Job's questions, framed in juridical terms of guilt and innocence and court trials, were simply ignored. Rather, God proclaimed the wonders of the creation, human inability to understand the complexities of the universe, and the assurance that God will take care of those matters which humans can neither comprehend nor control. In the end, at least according to the usual interpretations of these speeches by Jewish and Christian religious communities, Job is satisfied with this kind of answer that is no answer. Though his intellectual questions are not resolved, he seems content to live with the mystery. His relationship with God has been restored so that he is more willing to leave the unknown in the hands of a God that he can again trust. The abundance of rich creation imagery points to the presence and care of God in the world even when we cannot clearly see God's activity in either our personal or community's history.

The prologue (chaps. 1–2) is one of the very few OT passages that speaks of a heavenly being called "the Satan" who is an adversary of human beings, enticing and testing, seeking their hurt. This introduces another dimension in the biblical interpretation of suffering. Theories of suffering as retribution for sin concentrate on humans and God as the actors in the origin of suffering—humans sin and God executes justice. The presence now of a third party complicates matters even as it helps to explain. How does the Satan relate to God? In Job, God clearly has the last say about what the Satan may do (1:12; 2:6), but one wonders why God allows the Satan to do any harm at all. And how does the Satan relate to humans? Are they still responsible for their own actions if they get a little push from some supernatural force who leads them into self-destructive behavior? At least the presence of a heavenly force for evil allows a sufferer to shift blame from self or God when neither of those options seems appropriate or helpful.

**5. Prophetic Eschatology and Apocalypticism.** When disillusionment deepened and hopes for a better life in this world diminished, prophets appeared to paint wonderful visions of a new world in which there would be no war (Mic 4:1–4 and Isa 2:2–4), wild and domestic animals would sleep together in peace (Isa 11:6–9), fields and vineyards would bountifully supply everyone's needs (Amos 9:11–15), and all people will know what God's will is and actually do it (Jer 31:31–34). Such dreams of the future allowed people to express their hope that God would not allow the present state of suffering to remain forever. Whatever

the origin of the suffering, it would one day be removed, if not in this life and the present age, then in a visionary future age which is in continuity with the present but also radically different from the history of the world up to this time.

When pessimism about this world became particularly acute, apocalyptic visions (as in the book of Daniel, Ezekiel 38–39, Isaiah 24–27, and parts of Zechariah) presented an even greater discontinuity between the present world and the future victory over suffering and evil. The DH was perhaps too confident about seeing the working of God *in history.* To the apocalyptic mind, evil has the upper hand. God will have to intervene to bring the present world order to a close before justice can be done and suffering removed. Suffering is to be expected in this age which is under the dominion of evil powers. But there is hope for the sufferer because God will win the final victory over all that can harm his creation. Even those who have died, martyrs in an evil age, will be redeemed because God will bring them back from the dead in order to execute the justice that was not granted them during their earthly life (Dan 12:1–2). Even death cannot frustrate God's justice. Though pushed off into the distant future, even to a future age, retribution will be forthcoming. The good will be rewarded and the wicked punished.

**6. Concluding Observations.** During the exilic and postexilic periods a number of changes were taking place in the earlier understanding of suffering as corporate punishment for sin, evidence of a just God at work in the world.

(a) The doctrine of retribution began to be *applied to individual lives* as well as to suffering incurred by a whole people. If individual persons suffer, perhaps they have brought it on themselves and are not merely suffering as part of a fallen race or decadent society. Ezekiel seems to move in this direction, as do Job's counselors.

(b) There are efforts to move beyond suffering as punishment in order to see *redeeming value in suffering,* either for others or for the sufferer. Isaiah 40–55 speaks of a servant who takes on suffering for the benefit of others. Both Eliphaz (Job 5:17) and Elihu (Job 33:12–15; 36:9–12, 15) suggests that God uses suffering to teach people, to save them from worse dangers that will come if they do not change their ways.

(c) There was much protesting of God's injustice. The sense of unfairness would be worse as one began to believe that just retribution should occur even in individual lives. Perhaps the whole nation deserves its fate, but what about women, children, the pious, the righteous who suffer as much, and sometimes more, than the obviously wicked? (See Hab 1:12–13, many lament psalms, Job's speeches, Jeremiah's Confessions, and the book of Ecclesiastes.)

(d) There is more willingness to talk about *the demonic as a contributor to suffering,* either by causing the trouble directly or by enticing humans to do what will bring suffering down on themselves. The only three OT references to Satan as a superhuman figure are from this time—Job 1–2, 1 Chronicles 21, and Zechariah 3.

(e) There is a looking ahead into *the distant future as the arena where justice will finally be achieved.* In the meantime, the world is so hopelessly in control of evil forces that suffering is more the norm than the exception. These "last times" may still come within the framework of history as we know it, or it may take a dramatic intervention by God to bring in a new age. The time of final vindication may not come until good people have already perished, in which case they will arise from the dead to receive their reward (Dan 12:1–2).

(f) Finally, there are some attempts to recognize and live with the ambiguity, the mystery, not to push the logic of theodicy to the point where one must blame humans in order to protect God's justice and power (Job's friends) or doubt God's justice in order to protect one's integrity (Job himself). Job finally seems willing to live with unanswered questions. Lament psalms, in their movement from lament to praise, also seem more concerned with preserving the relationship with God than finding satisfactory solutions to the intellectual dilemma of suffering.

**C. The New Testament**

In their attempts to understand suffering, the early Christians were shaped and informed by these biblical traditions already mentioned. But NT discussions about suffering are very often preoccupied with

two questions—how to make sense out of the suffering of Jesus, and how to understand the suffering experienced by early Christians because of their allegiance to Jesus as Christ.

**1. The Gospels.** The old idea of retribution was still prevalent. God was still regarded as a good and just God, and it was believed that evil would be punished and good would be rewarded, although this will not necessarily happen within this life. In this life, one cannot assume that sufferers deserve their fate. Life is too complicated for that. It may even be true (as in the Beatitudes of Matt 5:3–12) that the ones who are blessed are the mourners, the meek, the hungry, the poor, and those who are persecuted for a righteous cause. In a corrupt world, the ones who appear to be successful may actually be the evil ones who have come unjustly to their reward. Suffering may actually be a sign that you are one of the faithful rather than being the consequence of a sinful life.

In Luke 13:1–5, Jesus would not concede that those who met unfortunate ends at the hands of Pilate or that those who were crushed by the Siloam tower were any worse than those who might have escaped. The incidental calamities of this life cannot be explained, but everyone will be held accountable in some future judgment.

In John 9, Jesus says that the man born blind was not afflicted because of some sin committed by either his parents or himself. This is a clear word of rejection of an absolutized doctrine of retribution which connects sin to punishment in individual cases of suffering.

The suffering and death of Jesus was a problem for the early Christians. The Messiah was supposed to usher in a new kingdom, not get himself killed. Clearly, Jesus did not deserve to die. Luke has Jesus tell the travelers to Emmaus that prophets have spoken that it was necessary that the Christ should suffer (Luke 24:25–26). (In Acts 3:18, Peter also refers to such prophecies of a suffering messiah.) The OT texts that come the closest to predicting such a Messiah are those in Isaiah 40–55, particularly the Servant Songs, and especially Isaiah 53. The suffering and death of Jesus thus came to be viewed as part of God's design: It was for a greater good, the salvation of the human race. Christ died for others. And, by analogy, the followers of Jesus should be willing to take up their own crosses, to be willing to suffer for the sake of the spreading of the gospel (e.g., Matt 16:24–25). Thus the suffering of the early Christians could be interpreted as suffering for others, following the example of Jesus Christ.

Though there are characteristics of apocalyptic literature at many places in the gospels (such as the presence of demonic forces and belief in the resurrection of the dead—e.g., Mark 12:18–27 and parallels), a few passages are more obviously apocalyptic in tone (e.g., Matthew 24, Mark 13, Luke 21). They speak of the great trauma at the end of the age when God will act decisively to end the reign of sin, evil, and suffering once and for all.

**2. Epistles and Revelation.** In words of comfort to fellow Christians, early Christian writers concentrated on two areas of encouragement to those who were suffering. First, they should be assured that no matter how severe they are treated by this life, the promise of resurrection is there for them. If Jesus rose from the dead, then surely the followers of Christ will also be raised into a wonderful new existence where Jesus has defeated all enemies (1 Corinthians 15). Even if some have already died before Jesus has returned, the mourners should not grieve and be without hope. Those who are alive will not be gathered to God before those who have fallen asleep (1 Thess 4:13–18). Justice will finally be done. The dead will be raised and judged by what they have done—the good to be rewarded and the evil to be punished (Rev 20:11–15, 22:12). For those who have favor with God, there will be no more tears, death, mourning, or pain. All the former things will pass away (Rev 21:4).

A second theme of good news in the midst of suffering is the assurance that God can work good even out of suffering. Therefore, it is even possible to rejoice in your suffering, with the knowledge that it will produce endurance, character, and then, hope. The one who suffers can be assured that whoever hopes in God through Christ will not be disappointed (Rom 5:3–5). Suffering can be understood as discipline, sent by God to make us better persons, just as earthly fathers sometimes must discipline their sons (Heb 12:3–11, containing quote from Prov 3:11–12).

**3. Concluding Observations.** (a) The NT continues the direction begun in exilic times of being less certain that God's justice will be fully executed within this world as presently constituted. With regard to

suffering, this meant that people can seldom have the kind of assurance expressed by the DH, and can be skeptical about those who continue to identify cause-and-effect relationships between the sins that people do and the suffering that comes to them. Particularly, this does not work when examining the suffering of an individual person. God will still see that justice is done, although it may not be apparent in this life. More likely, it will come in its fullness either through death and resurrection or at the Second Coming, whichever comes first. In the meantime, the faithful will have to tolerate a certain amount of suffering, strengthened in the knowledge that it will not last forever and that one day they will receive their reward.

(b) NT writings put a heavy emphasis on suffering for others as a calling for a Christian. Just as Jesus died for others, so should Christians be willing to suffer for the good of others and the spreading of the gospel. Such an explanation could be very helpful when suffering was clearly the result of a public witness to an unpopular religion; however, it might not be so helpful in explaining common, ordinary suffering that seemed not to be directly or indirectly related to any great witness.

(c) The benefit of the suffering might fall on the sufferers themselves rather than on other persons. Though suffering is, by definition, negative, it is still possible to receive some personal benefits from such an experience. As Paul says, it is even possible to rejoice in one's suffering, looking back and realizing that lessons have been learned, that humility has been realized, that hope has met response, and that God's reassuring presence has been with the sufferer even in the depths of suffering.

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**SUICIDE.** The taking of one's own life is always morally problematic. Religiously motivated suicide is particularly sensitive as an issue in the history of Jewish and Christian thought, and is closely related to issues of martyrdom and redemptive suffering generally. See also MARTYR, MARTYRDOM.

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A. Introduction: History of the Problem
B. Suicide in Greek and Roman Antiquity
C. Suicide in Biblical Literature
D. Suicide in Second-Temple Judaism
E. Suicide in Early Christianity
F. The Augustinian Reversal

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**A. Introduction: History of the Problem**

The idea that suicide is both a sin and a crime is a relatively late Christian invention, taking its impetus from Augustine's polemics against the "suicidal mania" of the Donatists in the late 4th and early 5th centuries and acquiring the status of canon law in a series of three church councils of the 6th and 7th centuries (Fedden 1938:133–34). In other words, the act of taking one's own life, which had been accepted, admired, and even sought after as a means of attaining immediate salvation by Greeks and Romans, Jews and Christians throughout antiquity, now became the focus of intense Christian opposition.

The term "suicide" is itself something of a novelty (Daube 1972:418–29). The *OED* dates its first occurrence to 1651, though the word can be found slightly earlier in Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio*

*Medici,* written in 1635 and published in 1642 (Alvarez 1970:50). The term was still considered enough of a neologism for Dr. Johnson to exclude it from his *Dictionary* in 1755. Instead, condemnatory expressions such as "self-murder," "self-killing," and "self-slaughter" were used to describe the act of taking one's life, emphasizing its association with murder. Hence the cleverness of John Donne, the first to compose a formal defense of suicide in English, by entitling his treatise *Biathanatos* (a slightly garbled version of the Greek *biaiothanatos* or "one who dies violently") to avoid the pejorative association of the act with murder. Throughout this treatise, Donne employed (and perhaps coined) the term "self-homicide," an intentionally neutral designation, since the word "homicide" could apply to criminal acts as well as to justifiable and even commendable ones (Daube 1972:419–20).

The arguments of Donne and his successors, notably Voltaire and David Hume, did little to overturn Christianity's moral and religious condemnation of suicide. It took the work of the social sciences, launched by Enrico Morselli (1879) and Emile Durkheim (1897), to change the situation. The phenomenon of suicide was now seen not as an individual problem but as a social one, reducible to statistical analysis. At about the same time medical doctors began to view suicide as a result of illness, specifically depression and other types of mental disorder. Hence suicide came to be seen as a "symptom" of individual psychopathology and social disorganization.

There were, of course, certain advantages in the "medicalizing" and "social scientizing" of suicide. The act was eventually decriminalized: the successful suicide could now be buried and his family was no longer disinherited; the unsuccessful suicide was spared execution. But something was also lost. The more suicide came to be regarded as a "symptom," the less it was seen as an enduring moral and religious question. "Despite all the talk of prevention, it may be that the suicide is rejected by the social scientist as utterly as he was by the most dogmatic Christian" (Alvarez 1970:74).

**B. Suicide in Greek and Roman Antiquity**

Although it has been customary to regard the discussion of suicide in Greek and Roman antiquity as a distinctly Stoic phenomenon, this should not obscure the fact that nearly all the philosophical schools and religious movements of the Greco-Roman world had worked out their own positions on the problem of suicide (Hirzel 1908; Grisé 1982). Admittedly, in the Roman period, many of the more famous suicides (or martyrs) were Stoics, and in the writings of Seneca in particular the act of taking one's life was extolled as the greatest triumph of an individual over fate. Yet, the phenomenon was by no means limited to Stoics. The remark of E. R. Dodds, that "in these centuries a good many persons were consciously or unconsciously in love with death," may be an exaggeration, but it is an exaggeration for a point (1965:135). Indeed, as A. D. Nock observed, the first century witnessed the rise of what can only be described as a "suicide cult" (1933:197).

While accounts of suicide can be found in Greek literature as early as Homer (e.g., Epicaste in *Od.* 11.271–80), who regarded the act as something natural and usually heroic, it is really Plato's *Phaedo* which provides the starting point for and remains central to the discussion of suicide throughout antiquity. In the *Phaedo,* the condemned Socrates argues that the philosopher should welcome death since he may expect to attain "the greatest blessings in that other land" (64a). In fact, Socrates goes so far as to urge every person with a worthy interest in philosophy "to come after me as quickly as he can" (61bc). Recognizing the provocative nature of his remark, Socrates immediately issues a disclaimer: "Perhaps, however, [the philosopher] will not take his own life, for *they* say that is not permitted" (61c). The apparent contradiction only serves to confuse the issue among Socrates' disciples. One of them, Cebes, therefore asks: "What do you mean by this, Socrates, that it is not permitted to take one's life, but that the philosopher would desire to follow after your dying?" (61d). Socrates responds by appealing first to the Pythagorean (or perhaps Orphic) doctrine that an individual is placed in a kind of prison—the body—from which he must not set himself free or run away (62b). With typical playfulness, however, Socrates confesses that this "secret doctrine" is too obscure for him to be certain of its meaning. He offers therefore a simpler principle: "The gods are our guardians and we humans are the possession of the gods … If one of your possessions should kill itself when you had not intended that you wished it to die, would you not be angry with it and punish it if you could?" (62bc).

By this analogy Socrates implies that an individual, who is one of the gods' possessions, ought not to take his own life because that would mean usurping a privilege which belongs only to the gods. This statement, in particular, led some interpreters, both ancient and modern, to conclude that Socrates (or Plato) condemned suicide. But the argument is less straightforward and more subtle than might appear at first glance. On the one hand, "Socrates' sweetly reasonable tone repudiates suicide, yet at the same time he makes death seem infinitely desirable; it is the entry to the world of ideal presences of which earthly reality is a mere shadow" (Alvarez 1970:60).

Furthermore, as John Rist has noted, Socrates left one point obscure, and this point remained at the center of the discussion of suicide throughout antiquity, to appear again in the first book of Augustine's *City of God* (1969:234). Socrates concludes that "perhaps from *this* point of view it is not unreasonable to say that a person must not kill himself until god sends some necessity *(anangke)* upon him, such as has now come upon me" (62c). By this "loophole" Plato implies that Socrates decided to take his own life *voluntarily,* irrespective of the sentence of death hanging over him, which was merely coincidental. The importance of this account for the subsequent discussion of suicide in antiquity should not be underestimated. Indeed, the death of Socrates served as the paradigm for countless others. At the same time, however, and owing to their playfully ambiguous character, the statements attributed to Socrates in the *Phaedo* were also used as a way of moderating against the practice of suicide.

The influence of the *Phaedo* on subsequent discussions and actual cases of suicide is pervasive. A few examples must suffice. According to the doxographic tradition preserved in Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Philosophers* (7.28), Zeno, the founder of Stoicism, was leaving his school one day when he fell and broke his finger (in other accounts, his toe). Striking the ground with his fist, he proceeded to quote the following line from a lost tragedy of Timotheus, the *Niobe:* "I am coming; why do you call me?" Zeno then killed himself by holding his breath. Adolf Bonhoeffer has observed that Zeno seems to have interpreted this "accident" as a divine summons; hence the quotation from the *Niobe* (1894:38–39; cf. Rist 1969:243). Zeno supposed that he had received the signal to depart, perhaps because his philosophical work was complete or because he was no longer capable of living "according to nature." In any case, the story of Zeno's death echoes the rationale of Socrates in the *Phaedo.* Like Socrates, Zeno believed that god gives the sign for an individual's departure.

The account of the death of Cleanthes, Zeno's successor, admits of a similar interpretation. He refused to resume eating after an inflammation of the gums had led to a two-day fast. "Declaring that he had already gotten too far down the road, Cleanthes went on fasting the rest of his days until his death at the same age as Zeno's" (Diog. Laert. 7.176).

The views of the later Stoics betray even more clearly the influence of the *Phaedo.* In the *Tusculan Disputations,* Cicero recounts the death of Cato of Utica and then compares it with the death of Socrates.

> Cato departed from life with a feeling of joy in having found a reason for death; for the god who is master within us forbids our departure without permission. When, however, god himself has given a valid reason [*causam iustam*], as he did in the past to Socrates and in our day to Cato and to many others, then with certainty your true wise man will joyfully go forth from the darkness here into the light beyond. All the same, he will not break the bonds of his prison house—the law forbids it—but as if in obedience to a magistrate or some lawful authority, he will go forth at the summons and release of god.
>
> For the whole life of the philosopher, as the same wise man says, is a preparation for death (1.74).

According to Plutarch, Cato himself was inspired by Socrates to kill himself and read the *Phaedo* twice the night before he fell on his sword (*Cat. Min.* 67–68).

By the time we reach Seneca in the 1st century A.D., we have witnessed the "apotheosis" of suicide. Instead of invoking the Socratic and earlier Stoic view that the wise man will not take his own life until god gives the signal to depart, Seneca emphasizes the right to die in general: it is the act *par excellence* of the free man, the path to liberty, proof that an individual cannot be held against his will.

> In any kind of slavery the way lies open to freedom. If the soul is sick and because of its own imperfection unhappy, a man may end its sorrows and at the same time himself … In whatever direction you turn your eyes, there lies the means to end your woes. Do you see that cliff? Down there is the way

> to freedom. Do you see that ocean, that river, that well? There sits freedom at the bottom. Do you see that tree …? From its branches hangs freedom. Do you see that throat of yours, that stomach, that heart? They are ways of escape from slavery. Do you ask what is the path to freedom? Any vein in your body! (*On Anger* 3.15.3–4).

Like Cicero, Seneca frequently mentions Cato as an example of how to die bravely. According to Seneca, however, Cato *proved* his freedom by taking his own life. Although he still compares Cato with Socrates, he intentionally omits any suggestion that god provided a particular sign indicating death (e.g., *Moral Epistles* 13.14; 24.6–8; *Prov.* 2.9–10). This represents a considerable shift: "to allow for suicide in certain circumstances is one thing, to exalt it is quite another" (Rist 1969:248). Still, the difference is one of degree, for Socrates had also emphasized the benefits, and hence desirability, of death in general.

Seneca's famous *70th Epistle,* which to all intents and purposes is a panegyric to suicide (or freedom), begins with the maxim that "the wise man will live as long as he ought, not as long as he can," and continues by proclaiming that the wise man will consider the possibility of death long before he is under extreme *necessitas* (70.4; cf. Socrates' *anangkē*). Seneca emphatically opposes philosophers who condemn suicide as those who "shut off the path to freedom" (70.14–15). Indeed, it is the deity who has arranged things so that an individual can never be kept in this life against his will.

> Above all, I [sc. god] have taken pains that nothing should keep you here against your will; the way is open. If you do not choose to fight, you may run away. Therefore, of all things I have deemed necessary for you, I have made nothing easier than dying. I have set life on a downward slope: if it is prolonged only observe and you will see what a short and easy path leads to freedom (*Prov.* 6.7).

Thus it is by no means contrary to the will of god if an individual chooses to end his life at any time; it is precisely because of the divine order of things that one is at all times free to die. Furthermore, as Rist notes, it seems that not only is the choice of suicide open to everyone, it is also a particularly ennobling act. Even the "fool" can be transformed into a sage by a well-judged and opportune death (1969:249).

Seneca's fascination with suicide (in *Ep.* 24.25 he speaks of a *libido moriendi*) strikes the modern reader as exaggerated and extreme—indeed, pathological—but it would be a serious historical misjudgment to dismiss it as such. The fascination with voluntary death in this period was widespread and had, as Nock suggests, various causes: the aura surrounding suicide in legend and life, a certain stridency of self-expression, a desire for theatrical prominence, and the popular notion of the body as the prison of the soul (1933:198). To these should be added the idea of suicide as a means of self-divination, as a shortcut to immortality. Again, a few examples must suffice. The 2d century rhetorician, Lucian of Samosata, gives us an extraordinary (albeit sarcastic) account of how the Cynic philosopher Proteus Peregrinus, who at one time had been a Christian, burned himself to death at Olympia as a means of apotheosis (*Peregr.* 20–41).

Similarly, Epictetus, the well-known slave turned Stoic philosopher (fl. 100 A.D.), knew of a death-wish among young Greeks so strong that he felt obligated to rein it in. These young men appealed to him in the following manner: "Are we not akin to god, and have we not come from him? Allow us to go back whence we came; allow us to be freed from these chains that are fastened to us and weigh us down. Here there are thieves and robbers, and courts of law, and those who are called tyrants. They think they have some power over us because of this paltry body and its possessions. Let us show them that they have no power over us" (1.9.13–15).

The death-wish of these young Greeks has two causes: first, a longing to escape from earthly troubles and, in particular, from the prison of the body; but the obverse of this is an equally strong desire to return "home," to attain immortality by reuniting with the deity. In an attempt to restrain these men, Epictetus exhorted them in language reminiscent of Socrates in the *Phaedo:* "Men, wait upon god. When he shall give the signal to depart and set you free from this service, then you shall depart to him. But for the present endure to remain in the place where he has stationed you" (1.9.16).

Here it is important to note that Epictetus, like his contemporaries, was not opposed to suicide *per se;* he only thought it wrong to commit suicide without sufficient justification (in this case, without a "divine signal" to do so).

**C. Suicide in Biblical Literature**

One of the difficulties Augustine and later theologians had in defending their condemnation of suicide is that neither the Hebrew Bible nor the NT explicitly prohibits the act. The Hebrew Bible records five cases of suicide. In two of these, someone who was already wounded preferred to die by his own hand (or, more precisely, in one case, by the hand of his armor-bearer). When Abimelech was mortally wounded by a woman who had dropped a millstone on his head, he "immediately cried out to his attendant, his armor-bearer, 'Draw your dagger and finish me off, that they may not say of me, "A woman killed him!" ' So his attendant stabbed him and he died" (Judg 9:54).

Similarly when King Saul had been mortally wounded by the Philistines at Mt. Gilboa, he said to his armor-bearer, "Draw your sword and run me through, so that the uncircumcised may not run me through and make sport of me." When his armor-bearer refused, Saul grabbed the sword and fell upon it. Seeing that Saul was dead, the armor-bearer too fell on his sword and died (1 Sam 31:4–5; cf. 1 Chr 10:4–5). Note that although Saul was mortally wounded, his armor-bearer committed suicide purely out of devotion to his king.

The fourth case involves Ahithophel, once an adviser to King David who later deserted to serve David's rebellious son Absalom. When Absalom decided not to take Ahithophel's advice, Ahithophel hanged himself (2 Sam 17:23).

The fifth example is Zimri, an officer who treasonously murdered King Elah and had himself proclaimed king of Israel. When the army refused to follow him and laid siege to the capital, Zimri closed himself in the royal citadel and set it afire over him (1 Kgs 16:18).

To these one might add the example of Samson, who deliberately brought the Philistine temple at Gaza down on his head after being blinded (Judg 16:29–30). Later, Christian exegetes would interpret Samson's death as a symbolic foreshadowing of Christ's self-sacrifice.

The important point is that none of these biblical figures receives censure; indeed, their suicides are scarcely commented on, leading one to conclude that in ancient Israel the act of suicide was regarded as something natural and perhaps heroic (Daube 1962:83–87). The only instance in the Hebrew Bible where an individual considered death and perhaps wished to kill himself, but did not, is Job (7:15; 13:15).

In the NT there is only one clear case of suicide—the death of Judas—and, like the examples in the Hebrew Bible, it too is recorded without comment, although it is implied that Judas's act of self-destruction was a result of his remorse and repentance, and not an additional crime (Matt 27:3–10; Daube 1962:88–89). "Only much later did the theologians reverse the implicit judgment of Matthew and suggest that Judas was more damned by his suicide than by his betrayal of Christ" (Alvarez 1970:51). In Acts 16:27–28, Paul is said to have prevented the suicide of the Philippian jailor, no doubt in order to convert him.

The death of Jesus, at least as we have it in the canonical gospels, is ambiguous. Is it the execution of a criminal, an example of heroic martyrdom, or a case of suicide? (The same ambiguity would apply to Plato's account of the death of Socrates.) In an extraordinary passage in the Fourth Gospel (8:22; cf. 7:34; 13:33), we are told that the "Jews" understood Jesus' repeated sayings about his "going away" as a suicide threat. As is often the case in John, they may have spoken more wisely than they knew. Tertullian, for example, described the death of Jesus as a form of voluntary death, and he was followed by Origen in affirming that Jesus *voluntarily* gave up his spirit, since it was impossible that the deity should be at the mercy of the flesh (Fedden 1938:110). Even Augustine recognized that "[Jesus'] spirit did not leave his body against his will, but because he willed it to happen and he willed when and how it happened" (*On the Trinity* 4.16).

Now in strictly historical terms Jesus of Nazareth never expected to give his life "as a ransom for many." Rather, his intention was to bring about the restoration of Israel and to usher in the kingdom of God, an eschatological revolution which would be accomplished miraculously through Jesus himself acting as God's messianic agent. So conceived, his death was a tragic failure. By the time we reach the gospel accounts, however, a transformation has occurred: Jesus' death was not a mistake; his was not the execution of a failed apocalyptic prophet. On the contrary, it was precisely for this reason that Jesus came:

to redeem the world from sin through his sacrificial death. Hence the emphasis in all the gospels on Jesus' prior knowledge of his fate and on his willing and voluntary acceptance of that fate. If it is not always easy to distinguish between suicide and martyrdom, between killing oneself and allowing oneself to be killed for a cause, a principle, or belief, then Tertullian and Origen (even the "Jews" in the Fourth Gospel) were not wrong in describing Jesus' "going away" as a form of suicide. How else are we to make sense of the provocative statement of the Johannine Jesus: "No one takes my life; I lay it down of my own free will" (John 10:18)? That later theologians judged the act of suicide a sin for which Jesus' similar act could not atone is a telling indication of the distance Christianity has traveled in its thinking about suicide.

More remarkable even than the second-hand interpretations of Jesus' death in the gospels are Paul's own reflections on death in Phil 1:21–26, a passage in which the apostle wrestles with the question of suicide (Droge 1988).

> For me, to live is Christ and to die is gain. Yet which *I shall choose* I cannot tell. I am hard pressed between the two. My strong desire is to depart and be with Christ, for that is far better. But to remain in the flesh is more necessary on your account. Convinced of this, I know that I shall remain and continue with you all, for your progress and joy in the faith, so that in me you may have ample cause to glory in Christ Jesus, because of my coming to you again.

The preceding passage concludes a section of the letter (1:12–26) in which Paul considers the relationship between his imprisonment and the proclamation of the Gospel. In the final analysis he declares that the Gospel will be better served by his continued existence rather than by his departure in death. But first he carefully considers the advantages of each possibility. As Lightfoot and other commentators have observed, "the grammar of the passage reflects the conflict of feeling in the apostle's mind. He is tossed to and fro between the desire to labour for Christ in life, and the desire to be united with Christ by death" (1891:92). Although the former possibility is judged to be "more necessary" (Gk *anangkaioteron* [Phil 1:24]), the latter is, literally, "much more better" (*pollō mallon kreisson* [v 23]).

At the outset it is important to note that Paul's reflections on death do not arise from the fact that he faces imminent execution. Admittedly, he is in prison, but by the time he writes his letter to the church at Philippi Paul has every reason to expect that he will receive a favorable verdict (1:25–26). That is why he can say to the Philippians that he is looking forward to visiting them in the near future (2:24). Furthermore, full weight must be given to Paul's statement about life and death: "which *I shall choose* I cannot tell" (1:22). In other words, the question of life or death is a matter of Paul's *own* volition, not a fate to be imposed on him by others. If it is a matter of Paul's own choosing, then it seems clear that his internal struggle concerns the possibility of suicide.

In Phil 1:21, Paul issues his famous statement about the meaning and significance he attaches to life and death: "For me, to live is Christ and to die is gain." Why is death a gain? The answer is found in 1:23, "My strong desire *(epithymia)* is to depart and be with Christ, for that is far better." For Paul, death is a gain because it means union with Christ and the attainment of immortality; and it is for this reason that he "lusts after death" (*epithymia eis to analysai,* cf. Seneca's *libido moriendi* in *Ep.* 24.25). Although he finally rejects the "gain" of death, it is clearly death that he prefers. This is confirmed by a similar statement in 2 Cor 5:1–8.

> For we know that if the earthly tent we live in is destroyed, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. Here indeed we groan, and long to put on our heavenly dwelling … For while we are in this tent, we sigh with anxiety; not that we would be unclothed, but that we would be further clothed, so that what is mortal may be swallowed up by life … So we are always of good courage; we know that while we are at home in the body we are away from the Lord … We are of good courage, *and we would rather be away from the body and at home with the Lord.*

The final sentence is important, for the phrase "we would rather …" *(eudokoumen mallon)* does not express a preference but a *decisive* choice.

If Paul prefers death, why does he finally choose life instead? Here attention must be given to the comparative *anangkaioteron* ("more necessary") in Phil 1:24. Earlier it was noted that Socrates had left a single loophole for the justification of voluntary death: "An individual must not kill himself until God

sends some necessity *(anangkē)* upon him" (*Phaedo* 62c). It seems that Paul, like so many of his contemporaries, was aware of this Socratic principle and applied to his own situation, for he says, "To remain in the flesh is *more necessary* on your account." In other words, he believed that the necessity or constraint was on the side of his remaining alive. While the option of death was considered and, indeed, personally desirable, it was ultimately rejected because it contravened his understanding of the *present* will of God, namely, that Paul continue his earthly mission. It is not the case, however, that Paul rejected suicide *per se,* only that it was not *yet* the appropriate time for such an act (In fact, it is not known how Paul died. Given his statements in Phil 1:23 and 2 Cor 5:8, the possibility of suicide cannot be ruled out.)

A similar position on voluntary death was endorsed by Paul's contemporary, the Roman Stoic Musonius Rufus, in a statement that can be read as a virtual paraphrase of Phil 1:21–26. "One who by living is of use to many," Musonius declares, "has not the right to choose to die, unless by dying he may be of use to more" (frag. 29; Lutz 1947:133). This is the intellectual context in which Paul's reflections on death are best understood. He prefers death to life because it means union with Christ and immortality, but Paul also believes that a divine *anangke* has been placed upon him and that he cannot depart until a divine signal is given.

**D. Suicide in Second-Temple Judaism**

In Jewish literature of the Hellenistic and Roman periods pious Jews are often portrayed as taking their lives voluntarily rather than betray their religious beliefs. For example, when in 39 or 40 A.D. the emperor Gaius announced plans to have a statue of himself erected in the Jerusalem temple, the Jews solemnly warned the Roman governor Petronius that, if this were carried out, they would first slaughter their women and children and then kill themselves "in contempt of a life which is not a life" (Philo *Gaium* 236).

Of similar interest is the treatment of voluntary death in the writings of Flavius Josephus. Although Josephus himself delivered a lengthy speech on the iniquity of suicide in the *Jewish War* (3 §362–82; but his own neck was on the line), in the same work he also praised the heroism of the Jews at Masada who mutually slaughtered themselves rather than fall into the hands of the Romans (7 §320–88). The former passage is especially worthy of note because it betrays a clear awareness of the Socratic tradition on suicide. "Do you not think that God is indignant," Josephus declares, "when man treats his gift with scorn? For it is from him that we have received our being, and it is to him that we should leave the decision to take it away" (*JW* 3 §371).

The most famous example of all, however, was the suicide of Razis, recorded in gruesome detail in 2 Macc 14:37–46.

> Being surrounded, Razis fell on his own sword, preferring to die nobly rather than to fall into the hands of sinners and suffer outrages unworthy of his noble birth. But in the heat of the struggle he did not hit exactly, and the crowd was now rushing in through the doors. He bravely ran up on the wall and manfully threw himself down into the crowd. But as they quickly drew back, a space opened and he fell in the middle of the empty space. Still alive and aflame with anger, he rose, and though his blood gushed forth and his wounds were severe he ran through the crowd; and standing on a steep rock, with his blood now completely drained from him, he tore out his entrails, took them with both hands and hurled them at the crowd, calling upon the Lord of life and spirit to give them back to him again.

The *theatrical* quality of Razis' death is of a piece with the literary commonplace of the Gymnosophists (Brahmans), who threw themselves into the fire and thereby made a protest against Alexander the Great, and with the stories in Tacitus of the Stoic philosophers who opened their veins in opposition to the emperor Nero. Also similar is the explicit hope of immortality: Razis "tore out his entrails, … calling upon the Lord of life and spirit to give them back to him again." His act of self-destruction is one of political rebellion, to be sure: but it is also carried out with the full assurance that he will pass over to a higher reality.

In later rabbinic literature there are numerous stories of suicide, and this despite the usual claim by scholars that the rabbis opposed the practice. The Mishnah and Talmud contain accounts of suicide and martyrdom as well as discussions relating to the rules and regulations governing both. For example, *b.*

*Ketub.* 103b relates that when rabbi Judah the Prince died a "voice from heaven" *(bat qôl)* proclaimed that all those present at his death would enjoy the life of the world to come. When a fuller, who had the misfortune of not calling on the rabbi that day, learned of this, he killed himself. Immediately, a *bat qôl* announced that he too would live in the world to come.

A similar story in the Mishnah *(ʿAbod. Zar.* 18a) concerns the martyrdom of Rabbi Hanina ben Teradion during the emperor Hadrian's reign. The rabbi was wrapped in a Torah scroll and set on fire; but to ensure that he would suffer, water-soaked tufts of wool were placed upon his heart. His disciples therefore begged him to breathe in the fire in order to hasten an otherwise gruesome death. The rabbi, however, refused, in words faintly reminiscent of the *Phaedo:* "Let him who gave [my soul] take it away, but no one should destroy himself." The executioner then asked whether he would enter the world to come if he helped the rabbi die sooner. When he received an affirmative response, the executioner removed the tufts of wool and the rabbi died. The executioner then threw himself upon the fire. Suddenly a *bat qôl* proclaimed that both the rabbi *and* the executioner had been admitted to the world to come. The story concludes: "One may acquire life in a single hour, another after many years."

In both accounts suicide is given a clearly positive valuation. Moreover, suicide is understood here not so much as an escape from mundane affairs and troubles; rather, it is an act of sincere contrition and simultaneous transformation, enabling the individual to atone for his sins and to attain eternal life. The statement that "one may acquire life in a single hour, another after many years" bespeaks an understanding of suicide not as a sin but as a particularly ennobling act: both Jew *and* pagan can be transformed by a well-judged and appropriate death.

**E. Suicide in Early Christianity**

As Christianity expanded into and eventually took over the Greek and Roman world it brought with it a preoccupation with death as intense as Paul's. "We conquer by dying," Tertullian wrote, "and this victory of ours gives us the spoil of eternal life" *(Apol. 50).* The Christians' lust for martyrdom was the measure of their value of life. For them "life itself was at best unimportant; at worst, evil. Death therefore was a release awaited or sought out with impatience" (Alvarez 1970:68). One thinks immediately of Ignatius begging the Roman community not to make any attempt to save him.

> I am writing to all the churches, and I give injunctions to all men, that I am dying willingly for God's sake, if you do not hinder it. I beseech you, be not an unseasonable kindness to me. Permit me to be eaten by the beasts, through whom I can attain to God … I long for the beasts that are prepared for me; and I pray that they may be found prompt for me. I will even entice them to devour me promptly; … I will force them to it. Grant me this favor. I know what is expedient for me; now I am becoming a disciple … Let there come on me fire, and cross, and struggles with wild beasts, cutting, and tearing asunder, racking of bones, mangling of limbs, crushing of my whole body, cruel tortures of the devil, may I but attain to Jesus Christ! … The pains of birth are upon me. Permit me, my brethren; hinder me not from living, do not wish me to die … Permit me to receive the pure light; when I have arrived there I shall become a man … Even though when I come to you I beg you myself, do not be persuaded by me, but rather obey this which I write to you. For in the midst of life I write to you desiring death (*Rom.* 4–7).

The Romans seem not to have been prepared for the fact that Christians like Ignatius anxiously awaited their torture as a means of salvation. In times of persecution Christians would force themselves on the notice of Roman magistrates by tearing down images and by other provocative demonstrations. In 185 A.D., the proconsul of Asia, Arrius Antoninus, was confronted by a group of Christians (perhaps Montanists) wearing nooses around their necks, and demanding execution. He simply sent them on their way, telling them that if they wanted to commit suicide there were cliffs and precipices they could jump over (Frend 1965:293). In similar fashion Marcus Aurelius says:

> What a fine thing is the soul which is ready if it must here and now be freed from the body and either extinguished or scattered or survive. But let this readiness come from a personal judgment and not out of a mere spirit of opposition, like that of the Christians. Let it be in a reasoned and grave temper, capable of convincing another, and without theatrics (*Meditations* 11.3).

Even certain Christians could be moved to embarrassment and irritation by such strident behavior. Clement of Alexandria, for example, criticizes those Christians whose fascination with martyrdom led to theatrical displays.

> We ourselves blame those who have rushed on death: for there are some who are really not ours but share only the name, who are eager to deliver themselves over in hatred against the creator, poor wretches, passionate for death. We say that these men commit suicide [*exagein heautous*] and are not really martyrs, even if they are officially executed. For they do not preserve the characteristic mark of believing martyrdom, inasmuch as they have not known the only true God, but give themselves up to vain death, as the Gymnosophists of the Brahmans to useless fire (*Strom.* 4.17.1).

Of interest here is Clement's contrast between martyrdom and suicide. In the final analysis such a distinction is rather arbitrary and depends to a large extent on the perspective of the observer. After all, Clement is describing the actions of men he considers heretics, "those who are not really ours but share only the name." Doubtless, Clement would also have regarded Ignatius' lust for martyrdom as suicidal, even though Ignatius himself viewed his impending death as the means of attaining immortality. The same ambiguity applies to the deaths of Socrates and Jesus. Depending therefore on the prejudice of the observer, the act of taking one's life or allowing it to be taken can be evaluated either positively, as a form of voluntary martyrdom or self-sacrifice, or negatively, as the equivalent of self-murder.

The ambiguous and fluid nature of the terms "suicide" and "martyrdom" is perhaps best illustrated by an extraordinary passage from the late 2d century *Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas.* Condemned to death for refusing to deny their religious beliefs, these two women, along with other Christians, were led into an amphitheater where frightening tortures awaited them. Throughout, emphasis is placed on the voluntary nature of their suffering. "We came to this of our own accord," they declare, "that our freedom should not be violated" (18.5). Perpetua's death is then described in the following manner:

> The others took the sword in silence without moving, especially Saturnus, who... was the first to die. Perpetua, however, had yet to taste more pain. She screamed as she was struck on the bone; then she took the trembling hand of the young gladiator and guided it to her throat. It was as though so great a woman... could not be killed unless she herself was willing (21.8–10).

Here the concepts of suicide and martyrdom merge: they are but two sides of the same coin. In spite of its legendary features, this account brings to light an important aspect of one form of religious suicide in antiquity. Perpetua's death is not simply an attempt to escape from the trials and hardships of her present life, it is rather a statement about or judgment on life itself, both here and in the hereafter. That the dates of the deaths of the martyrs were celebrated annually in the church calendar as "birthdays" speaks volumes.

**F. The Augustinian Reversal**

In considering this cluster—martyrdom, suicide, murder—Jacques Bels (1975) has shown that up until the time of Augustine antiquity generally considered suicide as a form of voluntary martyrdom and clearly distinguished it from murder. Beginning with Augustine, however, the division was altered. Suicide came to be separated from martyrdom and identified instead with murder, more specifically, self-murder. Bels has further shown that the reasons for this change in attitude were largely polemical. In confrontation with the Donatists, Augustine sought to redefine the terms "martyrdom" and "suicide," and in so doing claimed, in a manner similar to Clement two centuries earlier, that the Donatist "martyrs" were in fact merely "suicides"—that is to say, self-murderers. (The relevant texts are *Against Gaudentius* [a Donatis bishop] and *City of God* 1.17–27. Though purely polemical in the former treatise, Augustine's opposition becomes more theoretical in the latter, when the Donatists appealed to the "Old Testament" example of Razis in order to justify their position.)

As is well known, Augustine's case against suicide was based on Plato, not the Bible. Aside from his appeal to the sixth commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," Augustine took over the Pythagorean argument of Plato in the *Phaedo,* that to sever the bonds of body and soul prematurely is to usurp a privilege which belongs only to God. To commit suicide therefore meant that the individual had acted, in his last moment of life, in direct opposition to the divine will—had, in a strict sense, murdered himself. However "un-

Christian" the sources of his argument, in the centuries between Augustine and the Renaissance suicide was condemned by Christianity as an act of murder and was considered unredeemable along with the sins of adultery and apostasy. Indeed, Aquinas buttressed the argument by raising self-preservation to the status of a universal natural law. Thus in the early 13th century, when the Albigensians sought out martyrdom with a Donatist zeal, the church condemned them for this and their *other* heresies, and then granted them their wish (Fedden 1972:146–47). For further discussion see *EncRel* 14:125–31.

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A. J. DROGE

**SUKKOTH** [Heb *sūkkôt* (סֻכּוֹת)]. The Feast of Succoth is equal to the Feast of Booths. See CALENDARS (ANCIENT ISRAELITE AND EARLY JEWISH).

**SUMER, SUMERIANS.** Sumerians were speakers of the Sumerian language. The Sumerian language is first attested in the earliest written records at the beginning of the 3d millennium B.C., and became extinct by the early 2d millennium, at the latest (Cooper 1973, Heimpel 1974, Lieberman 1977:20–21), but preserved as a language of scholarship and cult through the end of the pre-Christian era. See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

Sumer (ian) is the anglicized Akk *šumeru.* The term and the language were first known from the Sumero-Akkadian bilingual compositions and lexical lists found on tablets from Ashurbanipal's library at Nineveh, excavated in the middle of the 19th century. Controversy as to whether Sumerian was a real language or only an invented sacred language of the Babylonian and Assyrian clergy (Jones 1969) was resolved in the last decades of that century when large numbers of unilingual Sumerian texts and inscriptions of the Sumerians themselves were discovered during the French excavations at Girsu (Tello) and the American excavations at Nippur.

**A. Usage and Etymology**

The Sumerian term for Sumer is KI-EN-GI (R), and for the language EME-$GI_7$(R). Current scholarship has rejected the theory put forward by Poebel and elaborated by Jacobsen, which would link both KI-EN-GI and *šumeru* to the Sum word KALAM (Emesal dialect KA-NA-ÁG) "nation, homeland," and derive all from variant forms of the name of the city Nippur, the religious capital of ancient Babylonia (Krecher 1966:108, Kraus 1970:48–51). The adjective $GI_7$(R) means "noble" or the like and has a known variant orthography GI (R), as in the royal name Shulgi (r), "noble young man." Sum EME is "tongue," hence EME-$GI_7$ is "noble tongue," and the GI (R) in KI-EN-GI should function adjectivally like the $GI_7$(R) in EME-$GI_7$. Since Sum KI is "place," one would ideally like KI-EN-GI to be "noble place," but since the /g/ in $GI_7$ is not the nasalized Sum /ĝ/, this leaves the EN unexplained. The best suggestion is Wilcke's (1974:229–30),

that by analogy with known forms KI+toponym = "place GN" (attributive, not genetive), ki-en-gi be understood as "place, noble en." Sum EN normally means "lord" or "high priest," but the meaning intended when the term KI-EN-GI was coined (mid-3d millennium at the latest) is uncertain. The etymology of Akk *šumeru* and its relationship to KI-EN-GI and EME-$GI_7$ are unknown.

As a geographical term, KI-EN-GI "Sumer" is used in a narrow sense for Babylonia S of Nippur, and in this sense can contrast with KI-URI "Akkad," Babylonia N of Nippur. In a broader sense it is used for all of Babylonia, parallel to MA-DA "land", KALAM "nation," UN and SAG-$GI^6$-GA, both " (native) people," and in contrast to KUR (-KUR) "foreign land(s)" or specific extra-Babylonian toponyms.

As attributives, KI-EN-GI and EME-GI are used to qualify domestic animals in the Ur III period (Wilcke 1974:218–19), and there is a "Sumerian" (EME-$GI_7$) quart measure in the Sargonic period, but the terms rarely qualify human beings. One Sargonic administrative text possibly refers to "Akkadians" (LÚ A URI$^?$-ME) alongside Sumerians, and Shulgi of Ur (ca. 2050 B.C.) is said to have referred to his predecessors as Akkadians (DUMU URI), Sumerians (DUMU KI-EN-GI), and Gutians (Wilcke 1974:205, 216, 225–26). When the last king of Ur, Ibbisin (ca. 2000 B.C.) is said to have called his rival, Ishbi'erra, "not of Sumerian seed" (NUMUN KI-EN-GI NU-ME-A), it is because he comes from Mari, i.e. outside of Babylonia proper. In humorous scribal dialogues of the early 2d millennium, scribes boast of their "Sumerian" origins to bolster their claim to mastery of the Sumerian language, already a dead language that had to be learned in long years of study in the scribal academy (Wilcke 1974:226).

The term DUMU-$GI_{(7)}$(R) contains the same $GI_{(7)}$(R) as in KI-EN-GI (R) and EME-$GI_7$(R) and should mean "Sumerian" (DUMU = "child," and by extension, "citizen, member"), but in nearly all references seems to refer to either a fully free citizen, or an aristocrat, with no ethnic implications (Wilcke 1974:230; Cooper 1983:240).

**B. Sumerian Origins**

The vexing question of Sumerian origins has two parts: when did the Sumerians arrive in Mesopotamia, and whence? Most scholars accept the fact that a good number of the earliest place names in Babylonia are not Sumerian (but see, to the contrary, *CAH* 1/1:122–55; Jacobsen 1969), and therefore the early populations who named those places did not speak Sumerian (e.g., Gelb 1960). Based on perceived phonetic similarities, Landsberger (1974) associated a subgroup of these early place names with certain Sumerian words, dealing primarily with agriculture and crafts, which he saw as loanwords from the pre-Sumerian language of the place names, called by him Proto-Euphratic. Proto-Euphratic was, according to Landsberger, the language of the indigenous population of Babylonia, as distinct from the language of northern Mesopotamian, Proto-Tigridian, postulated on the basis of phonetic similarities in another subgroup of non-Sumerian, non-Semitic toponyms. Both Proto-Euphratic and Proto-Tigridian were themselves dialects of an original proto-language (*Ursprache;* Landsberger 1974:178 n. 2). Whether one accepts the notion of a Proto-Euphratic substratum in Sumerian or not (see the criticisms, e.g., of Powell 1972:167–68 and Lieberman 1977:18), the evidence of the non-Sumerian toponyms would make it quite difficult to posit the Sumerians as *the* indigenous population of (southern) Babylonia.

A *terminus ante quem* for Sumerian presence in Babylonia can be established by the date of the earliest texts in the Sumerian language. A respectable scholarly minority had always doubted that the Sumerians invented the writing system that bears their name (Gelb 1960:262–63, Oppenheim 1964:49, Hallo and Simpson 1971:22–23), but newly published evidence of the archaic texts from Uruk (Green and Nissen 1987) makes it highly unlikely that the earliest archaic texts (Nissen's Stage IV; Nissen 1986, Green and Nissen 1987) do not represent the Sumerian language, despite Nissen's own doubts (Green and Nissen 1987:Einleitung). The phonetic uses of archaic signs documented in Green and Nissen (1987) prove that the signs represent Sumerian lexemes. For example, the alternation of the signs TAB and $DAB_5$ proves that the signs in question had Sumerian readings already at the time of the archaic texts, and the use of the sign EN in composing the complex sign MEN "crown" shows that the language of the archaic texts had a word "crown" containing the phonetic sequence /en/, i.e., the Sum word MEN. Vaiman (1976) has made a convincing suggestion that the sign GI was used to represent "to return" or something similar, a word written with the sign $GI_4$ in later Sumerian. Since the sign GI is a pictogram of a reed, the language

represented would have to be one in which a reed could be used as a rebus writing for the verb "to return," i.e., "reed" and "to return" would have to be homonyms, as they are in Sumerian. The weight of the cumulative evidence is persuasive: the language of the archaic texts is Sumerian. Until the publication of the archaic texts has advanced further, it will be difficult to determine to what degree the evidence for the Sumerian character of the texts' language is present at the earliest stage (Nissen's Stage IV) as opposed to the next stage (Nissen's Stage III), to which the great majority of texts belongs. Chronologically, the difference is slight (just before 3000 B.C. or just after), and we can set the *terminus ante quem* for a Sumerian presence in Babylonia to 3100–3000 B.C.

Classically, attempts to detect the first presence of the Sumerians in prehistoric Babylonia have been made by searching the archaeological record for discontinuities that could indicate the arrival of a new population group. The premises of such an enterprise are questionable, and the results have been contradictory. There have been those who have seen continuity in the archaeological record and would have the Sumerians in Babylonia in the 5th millennium B.C., and those who see discontinuity and date the arrival of the Sumerians to the beginning of the Uruk period (mid-4th millennium) or later (Jones 1969; Römer 1985:7). Current consensus would deny the possibility of detecting ethno-linguistic change through change in archaeological assemblages or settlement patterns, but there continue to be archaeologists who are convinced that the Sumerians were present in the Ubaid population (5th millennium B.C.; e.g., Oates 1986:21–22), and those who are most comfortable placing the arrival of the Sumerians in the mid-4th millennium (Nissen 1988:68–69).

If the Sumerians were not part of the original population of Babylonia, where did they originate? Or, if they were part of the original population, where did their ancestors reside before the relatively late settlement of the Mesopotamian alluvium? Sumerian is a linguistic isolate, and the many attempts to relate it to other languages, ancient or modern, have been unsuccessful (Haldar 1965; Komoróczy 1978:226 with notes; Römer 1985:27–8). Because the ancient world to the W of Mesopotamia is relatively well known, and there is no evidence from toponyms, personal names or inscriptions to suggest early Sumerian presence there, the search for a Sumerian "homeland" has been to the north or east, and the Indus Valley area has been the most respectable specific suggestion (e.g., Römer 1985:9). Because Sumerian sources usually mention the Indus region (Meluhha) together with Magan and Dilmun in the Persian Gulf region (Heimpel 1987), and because of a Babylonian tradition, preserved by Berossus, that the merman sage Oannes rose out of the Gulf to bring the arts of civilization to Babylonia, it is most often suggested that the Sumerians arrived by sea or along the Gulf shore (but, to the contrary, von Soden 1985:15). The Gulf connection has also been used recently to suggest that the Sumerians originally inhabited areas now covered by the waters of the Gulf, which had advanced beyond Qatar only around 12,000 B.C., and didn't reach their present level until 4000 B.C. (Roux 1982). Possible support for the Indus Valley as a Sumerian homeland is the Sumerian poetic term for native Babylonians or mankind in general, SAG $GI_6$-GA "black-headed."

However, the most sensible approach to the problem of Sumerian origins is to abandon both the attempts to detect something in the archaeological record that signals their presence or arrival, and the search for an original homeland. A very sober and refreshing assessment of the problem by Komoróczy (1978) points out that *all* non-Indo-European, non-Semitic languages of the ANE are isolates, and that it was typical for very different languages to coexist and form convergence groups, as did Sumerian and Akkadian. He would see both Semites and Sumerians among the peoples who first settled the alluvium. The ancestors of the Sumerians may have originated on the eastern fringes of Babylonia, but all of the qualities that we might want to call "Sumerian" emerged and developed only after they were settled in Babylonia and in close contact with other ethno-linguistic groups. Similar views, conceptualizing Sumer and Sumerians as an evolving process within Babylonia have been expressed by, for example, Haldar (1965), Gibson (1976), Roux (1982) and Oates (1986). On current evidence, it is the best view, but new evidence could easily tilt the question toward quite different answers (Jones 1969:139–40).

**C. Sumer in the Hebrew Bible**

It has been generally accepted that OT Shinar, used for Babylonia, derives from Akk *šumeru.* See SHINAR. This etymology has been challenged by Zadok (1984), who suggests, rather, that Shinar derives from *šanḫar (r)a,* a word used for Babylonia in 14th-century B.C. Hittite and Syrian sources, deriving, perhaps, from the name of a Kassite tribe. The toponym appears in Egyptian sources as *sngr*.

Zadok argues that phonologically Shinar/*šanḫar (r)a*/*sngr* cannot derive from *šumeru,* and that furthermore, the term only appears in the second half of the 2d millennium B.C., long after the Sumerians had disappeared. The argument holds only if one insists that the biblical Shinar derives in the first instance from *šanḫar (r)a,* which could then be shown *not* to derive from *šumeru.* But if Shinar derives more directly from *šumeru* (the term was preserved and understood in cuneiform tradition throughout the 1st millennium B.C.), then Zadok's phonological objections are not compelling. One might well ask why the biblical authors would choose to designate Babylonia by a name known primarily from 14th-century Hittite texts.

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**SUMERIAN LITERATURE.** Cuneiform texts in the Sumerian language which were edited in the scribal schools of ancient Mesopotamia and the surrounding Near East, with the exception of lexical lists, mathematical exercises, and other purely scholastic genres. Together, the literary and scholastic genres constitute the "canonical" category of Sumerian texts, and are distinguished from the sometimes equally eloquent monumental category (including law "codes") on the one hand and from the far more abundant archival category on the other.

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A. Scope and Language
B. Genres First Attested in the Old Sumerian Phase
C. Genres Presumably Originating in the Neo-Sumerian Phase
D. Genres First Attested in the Old Babylonian Phase
E. The Post-Sumerian Phase

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## A. Scope and Language

Sumerian literature is comparable in sheer size to biblical literature. A recent survey estimates the number of lines so far recovered at approximately 40,000; bearing in mind that most Sumerian literature is poetic in form and that the typical Sumerian verse may be somewhat shorter than the typical biblical verse, this already compares favorably with the total of biblical verses in the Masoretic count, recently calculated at 23,097 (Hallo 1988). Much of Sumerian literature still remains to be recovered.

Most of Sumerian literature is composed in the main dialect (Sum *eme-gir*$_{15}$) but lamentations recited by certain types of singers and the speeches of women or goddesses in myths and erotic poetry are in a different dialect (Sum *eme-sal*). This dialect becomes more and more prevalent in the liturgical compositions of the post-Sumerian periods.

The modern rediscovery of Sumerian literature has passed through several stages, each reflected in contemporary biblical scholarship. The first stage began in 1873, with the first full editions of substantial numbers of bilingual Sumero-Akkadian texts by François Lenormant (1873–79). Such texts, mostly of late (i.e., 1st millennium B.C.) date, translated each Sumerian line literally into Akkadian. Consisting largely of religious poetry, they had particular influence on Psalms research. The second stage dates from about 65 years later, when S. N. Kramer (1937), A. Falkenstein (1938), and T. Jacobsen (1939) began to edit unilingual Sumerian literary compositions dating from the early 2d millennium B.C. These included many different genres and influenced the study of corresponding biblical genres, including historiography, narrative, love poetry, and proverbs. A third stage may be said to have begun a century after Lenormant with the publication by R. D. Biggs (1974) of the texts from Tell Abu Salabikh. Together with texts previously known from Šuruppak and other southern sites, and texts subsequently discovered at Ebla in Syria, the Abu Salabikh texts expanded the chronological horizon of Sumerian literature back almost to the beginnings of writing. The significance of these early Sumerian texts for biblical scholarship remains to be seen.

Given the chronological extent and generic diversity of the corpus, each genre will here be considered in the approximate order in which it first appeared in the corpus. Within each phase, the genres will be treated by focus, which is typically god, king, or (common) man, though some few genres focus on two or all three. (For a general attempt at the history of the corpus, see Hallo 1976; for a detailed typology and bibliography, see Edzard *RLA* 7:35–48; for biblical analogies, see Hallo 1988.)

## B. Genres First Attested in the Old Sumerian Phase (ca. 2500–2200 B.C.)

Incantations are already attested at Šuruppak (modern Fara) and Ebla (Krebernik 1984) and continue to occur on individual tablets throughout the Old and Neo-Sumerian phases (e.g., Hallo 1985; Jacobsen 1985; Michalowski 1985). By Old Babylonian times, some were being collected and grouped by subject, e.g., those against "evil spirits" (Geller 1985). In post-Sumerian times, they were often provided with interlinear translations into Akkadian and generally served to ward off the evils feared from hostile magic or from unfavorable omens. Biblical literature has no comparable genres, preferring to deal with such ominous symptoms by the Levitical laws of purification. But the incantation bowls of the 6th century A.D. show that post-biblical Judaism was not immune to the approach in a Mesopotamian environment.

Hymns to deities and their temples are also attested from a very early date. Some of the finest are attributed to Enheduanna, daughter of Sargon of Akkad and the first non-anonymous author in history (Hallo and van Dijk 1968; Kramer *ANET*, 573–83). Another high point is represented by the temple hymns of Gudea of Lagaš (Jacobsen 1987, part 7). Like other religious poetry, these genres are reflected in the biblical psalter.

Sumerian myths and epics are generically also hymns, but confine praise of their divine or royal protagonist to their concluding doxology, while the body of the poem is narrative in character. The great gods (Enlil, Enki) and goddesses (Ninhursag, Inanna) figure prominently in these myths (cf. Kramer 1937; *ANET*, 37–57), but so do lesser deities, especially those worshipped at the religious capital of Nippur, such as Ninurta (cf. Cooper 1978; van Dijk 1983; Jacobsen 1987, part 4). The epics concentrate on the legendary rulers of Uruk (biblical Erech):Enmerkar, Lugalbanda, and especially Gilgamesh (cf. Kramer *ANET*, 44–52; Jacobsen 1987, part 5). In bilingual form, or in Akkadian adaptations, some of these epics survived into the late periods; an Akkadian fragment of Gilgamesh was found at 14th c. (?) Megiddo, and virtual quotations from the epic have been identified in Ecclesiastes (Tigay 1982:165–67).

The common man is notably the focus of wisdom literature, so called in imitation of the biblical category though wisdom itself is not prominently mentioned, as it often is in Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes. The earliest attested wisdom genres are instructions and proverbs. The former are attributed respectively to the divine Ninurta (Aro 1968) and to the king of the last antediluvian city, Šuruppak, the Sumerian Noah; both collections include much practical advice, especially about agriculture (Alster 1974; 1975). Proverbs are attested far more abundantly; by the early 2d millennium, 24 discrete collections can be identified and they survive, sometimes in bilingual form, into the late 1st millennium (Gordon 1959; Alster 1978). Though biblical proverbs are not directly related to the Sumerian collections as they are, demonstrably, to Egyptian ones, they often display a remarkable similarity of both form and substance, as for instance in the catalogue of divine abominations in Prov 6:16–19. Almost equally old is the minor wisdom genre of the riddle (Biggs 1973), called *ibilu* in Sumerian and *ḫittu* in Akkadian; the latter term is cognate with Hebrew *ḥîdā*.

**C. Genres Presumably Originating in the Neo-Sumerian Phase (ca. 2200–1900 B.C.)**

The deification of the Sumerian king during this phase led to a certain commingling of sacred and royal literature and to the emergence of several new genres responding to the new ideology. (Though known from later copies, their composition can be dated here on internal grounds.) The king was regarded at once as of divine and human parentage, the product of a physical union in which the royal partners "represented" deities, most often Dumuzi and Inanna or their Akkadian equivalents Tammuz (cf. Ezek 8:14) and Ishtar. An extensive body of poetry celebrated these "sacred marriage" rites and, together with more strictly secular love poetry addressed to the king or recited antiphonally by him and his bride, anticipated the Song of Songs in its explicit eroticism (Kramer *ANET*, 496, 637–45; 1969; Jacobsen 1987). Divine hymns now often concluded with a prayer for the reigning king, presumably for recitation in the temple. But the courtly ceremonial engendered a new genre of its own, the royal hymn, in which the chief events and achievements of the royal lifetime were celebrated in non-liturgical form (Kramer *ANET*, 583–86; Klein 1981).

True to their ambiguous status during this period, kings were both authors and recipients of petitionary prayers which took the form of letters. Such letter-prayers were addressed to them, or to "real" deities, by princesses, officials, and ordinary mortals, and thus provide a precedent of sorts for the "individual

laments" of the Psalter (Falkenstein 1938; Kramer *ANET*, 382; Hallo 1968; 1981). New "wisdom" genres also provided vehicles for describing individual concerns, albeit most often of aristocratic circles in Nippur. The setting is authentic for this period, though the details may be fictitious. Thus we have literary records of trials (e.g., Jacobsen 1959), a letter of Ludingira, "the man of God," to his mother at Nippur (Civil 1964; Cooper 1971), and two elegies by the same (?) Ludingira for his father and wife respectively, one described as an incantation ($tu_6$), the other as a "wailing" *(i-lu)* (Kramer 1960). But perhaps most startling is the "petition (*ír-ša-ne-ša*$_4$) to a man's personal god" in which an unnamed individual laments his fate until finally restored to health and fortune by his personal deity (Kramer 1955; *ANET*, 589–91). The parallels between this text and the archaic prose frame of Job are striking, and the gap between the two compositions is in some part bridged by Akkadian treatments of the same "righteous sufferer" theme, some of which have turned up in the scribal schools of 14th century B.C. Ugarit (Nougayrol 1968 no. 162).

**D. Genres First Attested in the Old Babylonian Phase (ca. 1900–1600 B.C.)**

The collapse of the Neo-Sumerian empire of Ur (ca. 2000 B.C.) and the decline of the dynasty of Isin which succeeded it (ca. 1900 B.C.) inspired new genres to address new problems. In sacred literature, the "congregational lament" mourned the destruction of cities and especially of temples at the hands of hostile forces, often conceived as aided or abetted by a disaffected patron deity. Such laments may have served a ritual purpose: when rebuilding the ruined temple, the necessary demolition of the remaining ruins could have been punished as sacrilege had not the blame been laid squarely on enemy shoulders. The laments over the temples of Ur, Eridu, Nippur, Uruk, and over Sumer as a whole were all quite specific in recalling the historical circumstances of the disasters (*ANET*, 455–63, 611–19; Jacobsen 1987, part 8). Later laments turned into ritualized litanies which, at ever greater length, appealed to the deity to desist from visiting further calamities on his or her worshippers (Cohen 1974; 1981); they form a bridge of sorts to the comparable genre in the Psalter and to Lamentations, though far inferior to both the biblical and the Old Babylonian compositions (Gwaltney 1983). The latter themselves may have evolved from earlier compositions commemorating the fall of Lagaš (Hirsch 1967) and Akkad (cf. Gen 10:10) (*ANET*, 646–51; Cooper 1983; Jacobsen 1987).

While priestly poets coped with the destruction of temples, royal historiographers wrestled with the ceaseless change of dynasties. The entire history of Sumer (and Akkad) was outlined in the Sumerian King List, a document which traced the succession of dynasties (or rather of cities) which had ruled the country from the end of the Flood to the accession of Hammurapi of Babylon (ca. 1792 B.C.) (Jacobsen 1939). Later recensions prefaced this outline with a version of antediluvian "history" probably borrowed from the Sumerian Flood Story (*ANET*, 42–44; Civil 1969; Jacobsen 1987:145–50). The outline history of the Hammurapi dynasty and all later Babylonian dynasties was similarly enshrined in corresponding Akkadian king lists. The Dynastic Chronicle combined both Sumerian and Babylonian traditions in bilingual format (Finkel 1980). A comparable history of Lagaš was composed, probably at the court of Old Babylonian Larsa, for both these cities were omitted from the "official" king lists emanating, most likely, from Nippur (Sollberger 1967). Sumerian historiography thus has little in common with the Deuteronomic history or the Chronicler's history of Israel, though it can be said to include other products of the royal chanceries such as royal correspondence, royal hymns, and royal inscriptions (Hallo 1983).

The Old Babylonian period witnessed the heyday of the scribal school (Sum *é-dub-ba-a*), in which Sumerian was taught to Akkadian-speaking pupils. The daily life of the school is vividly portrayed in essays about the school and in diatribes between teachers and students and among the students (Sjöberg 1976; Gadd 1956). Well trained in debate, the scribes devised a genre of literary disputations for royal entertainment or religious festivals. These pitted imaginary antagonists against each other—shepherd and farmer, summer and winter, cattle and grain, pickaxe and plow, silver and copper—with the winner proclaimed at the end by king or deity. A distant parallel may be seen in the biblical fables such as 2 Kgs 14:9 and Judg 9:8–15 or in the story of Cain and Abel (*ANET*, 41–42; Alster and Vanstiphout 1987).

**E. The Post-Sumerian Phase (ca. 1600–100 B.C.)**

The fall of Babylon (ca. 1600 B.C.) led to the closing of the scribal schools of Babylonia and relegated Sumerian firmly and finally to the status of a learned and liturgical language. Scribal guilds replaced the schools in Babylonia, and royal libraries like those of Assur and Nineveh took their place in Assyria. Here and in the temples, Sumerian texts continued to be catalogued, copied, recited, translated into Akkadian, and even newly composed. And with the growing prestige of Babylonian learning, they were carried beyond the borders of Mesopotamia to the capital cities surrounding it in a great arc—from Susa in the southeast to Hattuša in the north and Ugarit in the west. But the scope of the Sumerian literary heritage thus passed on gradually contracted. Of the genres devoted to the common man, only proverbs and school essays survived in bilingual editions; the rest largely disappeared while a rich Akkadian wisdom literature came into its own (Lambert 1960, esp. chap. 9). The genres devoted to the king were fundamentally altered by the new ideology, which rejected his deification; few of the epics and fewer still of the royal hymns and love songs escaped displacement or recasting in Akkadian guise. Only in the religious sphere did Sumerian continue to figure prominently. Here, a rich bilingual (and, on the periphery, even occasionally trilingual) literature continued to sing the praises of the gods or appeal for their mercy (e.g., Cooper 1971, 1972). More and more, this sacred literature employed the *emesal* dialect (Krecher 1967; Kutscher 1975). In bilingual and dialectal form, Sumerian literature survived and even revived as late as the Seleucid and Parthian periods in Babylonia (Black 1987; Cohen 1988). With a history of two-and-a-half millennia, with a geographic spread embracing most of the Asiatic Near East, and with a direct impact on Akkadian, Hurrian, and Hittite literature, Sumerian literature may well have exercised indirect influence on biblical literature. But where and when that influence made itself felt must be investigated separately for each genre.

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WILLIAM W. HALLO

**SUN.** In ancient Israel the sun—Heb *šemeš* (masc. though sometimes treated as fem.), less commonly *ḥeres* (Job 9:7; Isa 19:18 [emended text]) or *ḥamma* (lit. "the hot one")—was usually felt to be a positive phenomenon. "Light is sweet, and it is pleasant for the eyes to behold the sun" (Eccl 11:7). Night was the domain of unsavory characters (Job 38:13) and beasts of prey that hastened away as soon as the sun rose (Ps 104:22). The world "under the sun" was the proper realm of mankind (Eccl 1:3 and *passim*; cf. *KAI* 13.7–8; 24.12; 222 C 4–5). To "see the sun" filled people with a sense of being alive; the stillborn could be described as ones who had never had that experience (Ps 58:9; Eccl 6:5).

Being a symbol of life and vigor, the sun could be used as a metaphor to designate a person's vitality, happiness, and success. To have one's sun "go down" meant to experience misfortune and failure (Jer 15:9; cf. Mic 3:6). Another positive quality associated with the sun is constancy. The enduring fame one might wish for a king was like a reflection of the steady presence of the sun (Ps 72:17; cf. v 5). Because of its penetrating rays, from which nothing remains hidden (Ps 19:6), the sun also embodied the triumph of justice. At the break of day, "the wicked were shaken off the earth" (Job 38:13), as the "sun of righteousness" rose (Mal 3:20—Eng 4:2). Morning after morning, God passed judgment "like the light," as the *Tg. Jonathan* renders Zeph 3:5. In view of the sun's association with the distribution of justice, the righteous ruler could be compared to the morning light; he was "like the sun shining forth upon a cloudless morning" (2 Sam 23:3–4).

However, the sun also had its grim side. The Palestinian sun is hot (Exod 16:21); around noon it can be suffocating. This was the time when, according to popular belief, the midday demon haunted the land (Ps 91:6; cf. Vulg). When the sun had reached its zenith—the time referred to as the heat of the sun in 1 Sam 11:9; Neh 7:3—one had best doze off in the shade of one's home (Gen 18:1). Prolonged exposure to the sun could lead to sunstroke (Isa 49:10; Jonah 4:8; Ps 121:6; cf. 2 Kgs 4:18–20; Jdt 8:2–3). Those who could afford to do so led an indoor life; having a skin scorched by the sun designated one as a member of the lower classes (Cant 1:6).

The OT writings do not attest to an elaborate cosmology, shared by all Israelites. Thus, the data concerning the daily course of the sun do not inform us concerning its whereabouts overnight. In most ancient cosmologies, the sun was regarded as making its way from the west to the east through a

subterranean passage. *Tg. Ket.* Eccl 1:5 and Rashi suggest that this is indeed the conception underlying Eccl 1:5. The latter passage, however, gives no explicit cosmological view. Psalm 19:5–7 pictures the sun as coming out of a tent, like a groom from the nuptial chamber. Since in other texts the heavens are represented as a tent (e.g., Isa 40:22; Ps 104:2–3; Job 26:7), the psalmist is apparently suggesting that the sun spent the night in a heavenly abode. The "habitation" *(zĕbûl)* of sun and moon which Hab 3:11 refers to seems to be located in heaven, too. It would be vain, however, to search in the OT for one authoritative view on this matter. Ancient Egyptian iconography represents the sun as being daily brought forth and swallowed by Nut, the goddess of heaven, but also as making a journey through the underworld in his barque. This "multiplicity of approaches" (Frankfort and Frankfort 1946:10–26), proper to ancient Egyptian thought, is characteristic of the cosmological views of the Israelites, too. On the whole, the OT writers were less interested in establishing a unified cosmology, than in extolling God's power over the universe. Day will follow upon day, season upon season, because God has ordained it to be so. Yet in the day of judgment, the "Day of the Lord," even the sun will be ashamed (Isa 24:23). It will darken and no longer shed its light (Isa 13:10; Joel 2:10; 3:4—Eng 2:31; 4:15—Eng 3:15), to shine all the more clearly in the era of salvation to follow (Isa 30:26), if indeed it is not wholly eclipsed by God's own light (Isa 60:19–20; cf. Rev 21:23, 22:5). The Gospels underscore the dramatic importance of the Crucifixion with an account of the darkness that lasted for three hours, beginning at noon (Matt 27:45 = Mark 15:33; Luke 23:44).

Though they did not speak of the sun in exclusively mythical terms, the peoples of the ANE regarded the sun as a deity. In Egypt, the sun god (going by such names as Khepri, Re, Atum, Aton and Amon-Re, depending on local traditions and the various manifestations of the sun) was the most prominent deity. He was creator and judge, all-knowing and all-seeing. In Mesopotamia, Shamash (Sumerian Utu) was widely worshipped as the patron of justice, the god who protected the maltreated and downtrodden. Since he was thought to pass the night in the underworld, he could be asked to mediate between the living and the spirits of the dead. North-Syrian inscriptions from Zenjirli mention Shamash in one breath with Hadad, El-Reshep (or Arq-Reshep), and Rakib-El (*KAI* 214.2–3, 11, 18; 215.22). The Mesopotamian sun god is also invoked in the inscription of Zakkur (*KAI* 202 B 24), in the treaty of Barga›ya and Mati›el (*KAI* 222 A 9), and in a funerary stela from Nerab (*KAI* 225.9). In the Ugaritic pantheon there was a sun goddess called *Špš,* connected with the netherworld. She is called a ruler of the dead, and it was within her powers to liberate Baal from the realm of death. The female gender of Ugaritic *Špš* is matched by the South-Arabian goddess *Šams* (worshipped as a male deity, however, in Palmyra). Topographical names mentioned in the OT, such as Beth-shemesh (a pre-Israelite settlement), attest to the presence of a sun cult on the early Palestinian soil, too. If the restoration proposed by E. Puech (1986) for a 12th century B.C.E. inscription from Lachish is correct, there is also epigraphical evidence for a temple of *Šmš* in early Iron Age Palestine.

Considering the popularity of the solar cult in the ANE, its absence among the Israelites would be astonishing. The polemical references in Deut 4:19; 17:3; Jer 8:2 and Job 31:26–28 show that many Israelites were indeed attracted to the worship of the sun. According to 2 Kgs 23:11, the so-called "Josianic Reform" was equally directed against the cult of the sun. Modern authors who stress the political implications of Josiah's religious program have speculated about the Assyrian character of the 7th century solar cult in Jerusalem. Neo-Assyrian politics, however, did not, as a rule, stipulate allegiance to Assyrian deities from vassal states (Cogan 1974; cf. Spieckermann 1982:86–88; 236–56).

The cult of the sun was traditionally well established in Syria and Palestine, so there is no need to assume that it was a 7th-century innovation on the part of the Assyrian overlords. The only distinctively Assyrian trait one can discover in the narrative of 2 Kings 23 is the presence of horses and chariots dedicated to the sun (2 Kgs 23:11). Contrary to the assumption of many commentators, however, the custom of dedicating (model?) horses and chariots to the sun has little to do with the sun-god's alleged Akkadian title *rākib narkabti,* "charioteer." In fact, this was an epithet of Bunene, the trusted advisor of Shamash. Yet it is true that (white!) horses served important ritual functions in Assyria. The practice of

dedicating such animals to the sun, taken over by the Assyrians from the Mitanni, may have found its way into Judah by way of the Arameans.

The success of Josiah's efforts was short-lived. Shortly before the Babylonian Exile, Ezekiel witnessed a scene of priests worshipping the sun in the courtyard of the temple in Jerusalem (Ezek 8:16). And also after the Exile, sun worship remained one of the pagan cults most popular among Palestinian Jews, as extrabiblical sources attest. Eventually, the rabbis seem to have permitted the oath by the sun (cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Tora, Seper Hafla›a, Shebu‹ot* xii 3, Philo. *Spec Leg* II 2).

The deification of the sun was severely combatted by the partisans of Yahwism. According to the priestly account of the creation, the sun is merely "the great luminary" made by God to rule the day (Gen 1:14–19; cf. Jer 31:35, Ps 74:16, 137:7–9). It is under the command of God, who may order it not to rise (Job 9:7), to stand still (Josh 10:12), or to move backward (2 Kgs 20:11; Isa 38:8). It would not be correct, however, to say that the sun was merely divested of its numinous character. Some of the traits formerly belonging to the deified sun were transferred to YHWH, who thus acquired a solar aspect. The story of the ark's stay in Beth-shemesh (1 Sam 6:7–21), judging by its name a center of sun worship, may have preserved the memory of how the Yahwistic cult supplanted the solar cult. In the course of this process, which has presumably been occurring on a larger scale, new characteristics were added to the image of the Lord. Although the God of Israel never came to be regarded as being immanent in the sun, he did take over the role of sun god. Thus various individual complaints in the Psalter mention the morning as the time of salvation. At dawn, the suppliants expect to behold God's face, in order to be released from their trials (Ps 11:7; 17:15; cf. Ps 30:6 [ —Eng 30:5]; 46:6 [ —Eng 46:5]). The theophany of which these texts speak might be connected with the early sunrise. As the sun breaks through, the reign of wickedness comes to an end. A Sumerian proverb says, "Let but the lawless exert themselves. Utu [i.e., the sun god] is the bringer of every day." In Israel, it is the Lord who with his eyes, like the all-penetrating rays of the sun, scrutinized everything and called the evildoers to do account (e.g., Psalm 19). On occasion, the Lord is said to "shine forth" (Heb *hôpîa‹* [Deut 33:2]), to "flash up" (*zrh* [Isa 60:2]), and to "shine" (*ngh* [2 Sam 22:29; Isa 4:5]), all verbs associated with the sun. According to Num 25:4, judgment is to be executed *neged haššemeš,* "before (RSV: in) the sun"; on the basis of 2 Sam 12:11–12 this expression is usually understood to mean "publicly," as opposed to "privately" *(bassēter).* Since 2 Sam 21:6, 9 speaks about an execution "before the Lord," however, one might take Num 25:4 as a reference to the judicial role of the sun, a role eventually devolved upon the Lord.

A number of scholars have suggested that the temple in Jerusalem was designed as a center of sun cult, in which the Lord was worshipped as a solar deity (e.g. F. J. Hollis, H. G. May, J. Morgenstern). The E-W orientation of the temple, for instance, would have been chosen to allow the morning rays of the sun to penetrate directly into the sanctuary. The pillars at the entrance of the building have been compared with the columns at the doorway of Egyptian solar temples; also the formula of dedication in 1 Kgs 8:12–13 (LXX) has been understood as an indication of the scholar character of the Jerusalem temple cult. Recent scholarship has cautioned against unwarranted speculation on this subject. Yet even the more reluctant authors concede that at least some solar elements were present in the Jerusalem temple. It is therefore not without good cause that the worshipper who claimed that one day in the temple courts is better than a thousand elsewhere could call his god "a sun *(šemeš)* and shield" (Ps 84:10–11).

These observations agree with the image of the Lord as a god who has taken on several solar traits. Foremost among the latter stands his role as divine judge. In Israel, the Lord fulfilled the role given to Shamash (Sumerian Utu) in Mesopotamia, and to Amon-Re in the Egyptian religion of the New Kingdom. Like the sun, he was thought to be all seeing and all knowing; he brought "hidden sins" to light (cf. Ps 19:13). His earthly abode, the temple in Jerusalem, was therefore also a center where justice was administered. Evildoers would be found out by God, and the unjustly accused would be acquitted, as several Psalms say, alluding to ordeal procedures (Psalms 3, 4, 5, 7, 11, 17, 26, 27, 57, 63, 73).

Iconographically, the sun god was often represented as a winged disk. This symbol was popular all over the ANE. Also the Palestinian soil has yielded several royal stamps, dating from the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.E. decorated with the winged disk. The archaeological evidence, therefore, suggests that in the

Israelite religion no ban was placed on the traditional solar symbol, in spite of its evident religious connotations. Was it taken as a reference to Israel's god? The link has certainly been made by Mal 3:20—Eng 4:2, where it is said that for those fearing God "the sun of righteousness shall rise, with healing in its wings." This text sums up, in a way, the religious significance attached to the sun and its subtle relation to the Lord. The winged sun, omnipresent and all seeing, is the bringer of justice; in Yahwism, it has been closely associated with the Lord, who accordingly has assumed several traits traditionally ascribed to solar deities.

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KAREL VAN DER TOORN

**SUN, CITY OF THE** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿîr* (עִיר) *haḥeres* (הַחֶרֶס)]. This phrase (only in Isa 19:18) is the translation of a variant reading found in some Heb mss and accepted by most modern translations (including RSV, NAB, NEB, TEV, NJB). However, most copies of the MT read "the city of destruction" *(heres).* There is also some evidence that this reading may be a distortion of the original "city of the righteousness" *(ṣedeq),* which can be recovered from the LXX (*asedek*—not a Gk word, but simply Heb transliterated in Gk letters).

The passage in which the phrase occurs tells of five cities in Egypt whose inhabitants speak Hebrew and worship the God of Israel. It is not clear whether the speakers of Hebrew are Israelites or Egyptian proselytes. The latter part of the passage links Israel with Egypt and Assyria, its traditional enemies.

The passage, in its original wording, may have been written in exilic times when some Jerusalemites had fled to Egypt. The section thus expresses a hope for the establishment of a "new Jerusalem" (Jerusalem being the city in which righteousness [*ṣedeq*] lived [Isa 1:21]) in Egypt. The reading of most Heb texts (*heres,* "destruction") could well be a deliberate distortion of the proposed original term *(ṣedeq)* and a judgment against the Jewish people in Egypt who had built the temple in Leontopolis—an action which offended the Jerusalemite (and later rabbinic) authorities. The other Heb texts, the Qumran Isaiah scroll, Symmachus (Jewish Gk translation from the 2d century C.E.), and the Lat, all have "city of the sun." This reading seems to be a deliberate acceptance of the unconventional temple by recognizing the temple in Leontopolis. (Leontopolis was located in the nome [district] of HELIOPOLIS, "the City of the Sun.")

The phrase occurs in a passage justly famous for its striking universalism. The variations among the versions show that any translation, ancient or modern, involves interpretation.

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**SUNSTROKE.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**SUPERSTITION.** Superstition (Lat *superstitio;* Gk *deisidaimonia*) is the term which pagan writers and legislators favored as a depiction of Judaism and Christianity. From the age of Constantine onwards Christian writers and legislators returned the favor by referring to pagan religion as *superstitio* or

*deisidaimonia.* Cicero (*Flac.* 67), Valerius Maximus (*Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* 1.3.3), Horace (*Sat.* 2.3.281–95), and Plutarch (*De superst.* 8) represent a rhetorician, anthologist, philosopher, and educator, respectively, who considered Judaism a superstition. The court gossip Suetonius (*Ner.* 16.2) and the diplomat Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 10.96.7.12) disparaged Christians (to the extent they could distinguish them from Jews) because Christians, they said, held to a superstition.

In their turn, Christian theologians and lawmakers called pagan and Jewish religion superstition (Acts 17:22 and 25:19). Tertullian (*Pallio* 4.10; *Ad Nat.* 2.8.8) mocks all pagan religion in the first text, the Egyptian cults in the second by calling both *superstitio.* The religion of the Goths, says Augustine (*De civ. D.* 10.9) is *superstitio,* as is the faith of the Jews (*De civ. D.* 6.11). Legislation from Constantine onwards includes Jews among the *superstitiosi* (Krueger and Mommsen 1895:844 = *Digesta* 50.2.3.3).

What did superstition mean in antiquity, apart from serving as a tidy label for someone else's religion? Can the history of early Christian literature be illumined by an understanding of the meaning and function of superstition in pagan antiquity? The answer to the first question requires a short survey of the intellectual and social history of *superstitio,* including its etymology, original meaning, and subsequent history. The answer to the second question stems from pagan antiquity's belief that Christianity's progress across large tracts of the Mediterranean world resembled nothing so much as the spread of a *vana superstitio,* a futile, even dangerous system of belief.

**A. Intellectual and Social History**

In the ancient world the usage of *superstitio* progressed through four stages. From Constantine (ca. mid-4th century) onwards it became the choice of Christian theologians and legislators for designating both pagan and Jewish religion. Prior to that, from Livy to Constantine (approximately the first three centuries C.E.), *superstitio* denoted a form of *religio,* "religion," either native or imported, that posed a threat to the stability of the state or to the fabric of family life. Still earlier, from Cicero to Livy (ca. 1st century B.C.E.) the term applied especially to exaggerated, even droll forms of piety and religion, especially as practiced by old men and women. From Plautus and Ennius to Cicero (ca. 2d century B.C.E.) *superstitio* meant either "prophetic" (Smith 1981:350), "the faculty of testifying retrospectively to what has been obliterated" (Benveniste 1973:516; Janssen 1975:141), unlawful divination (Grodzynski 1974:38), or "the ability to interpret cultic oracles" (Calderone *ANRW* 1/2:396). Because *superstitio* does not occur in the surviving Latin literature before Cicero, these attempts to discern its original meaning turn on texts in which the noun-adjective *superstes,* "witness" or "survivor," or the adjective *superstitiosus,* "possessing divinatory skills," appears (Ennius, *Scen.* 57; 319, Plaut. *Truc.* 387; *Asin.* 17; *Rud.* 1139; *Cas.* 818).

The ancients already disagreed among themselves over the etymology of *superstitio* (Pease 1977:580–81). The earliest surviving attempt to trace the word's origin comes from Cicero, who says that "superstition" defines the faith of people "who spend the whole day in prayer and sacrifice in order that their children may survive *(superstites)* them" (*Nat. D.* 2.72). This derivation of *superstitio* from *superstes* ("witness" or "survivor") has commanded growing assent from scholars (Benveniste 1973; Janssen 1975). *Superstes* became increasingly associated in Latin literature with a personal survival instinct that could cut across the grain of established canons of *fides,* "loyalty," *pietas,* "piety," and *humanitas,* "civilized behavior" (Janssen 1975:187). Its own history thus helps explain the similar degeneration of *superstitio* from an expression of positive religious meaning into a term of abuse.

With regard to the social history of *superstitio* the following points stand out. Within the exercise of piety and religion, *superstitio* included violations of the traditions governing the use of the *precatio,* the formula prayer, and the *carmen,* the metrical hymn. Both Plinys saw in the misuse of hymns and prayers the stuff which bred *superstitio* (Pliny the Elder, *H.N.* 30.2.7; Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10.96.8; cf. already Cicero, *Clu.* 194). The charge of *superstitio,* though without any formal legal basis, nonetheless entered into trials and police actions under the Julio-Claudian, Flavian, and Antonine emperors (Val. Max. *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* 1.3; Quint. *Inst.* 4.4.5; Tac. *Ann.* 12.59). Although there is no surviving legislation against *superstitio* as such from the 1st century C.E., there are other laws and edicts that empowered magistrates and prefects to punish *Religionsfrevel,* "outrages against religion," especially if such outrages embraced deeds inimical to the state, addiction to magic, or caused injury to another person through

charms and chants. Mommsen (1890) was the first to point out the relevance of the *lex Iulia maiestatis,* the law punishing acts of treason, for correcting religious delicts. The *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis,* a law punishing murder by dagger and poison, was extended by a decree of the senate (date unknown) to punish even the *pigmentarius,* "pharmacist," who sold hemlock, aconite, caterpillars, and blister beetles—all deadly ingredients in the kit of a potential murderer or sorcerer (Krueger and Mommsen 1895:802 = *Digest* 48.8.3). In the civil courts, where cases of personal injury, *iniuria,* appeared, precedents accumulated for extending the *iniuria* statutes to include injury arising out of verse, songs, and prayers whose intent was malevolent (Krueger and Mommsen 1895:780–81 = *Digest* 47.10.13.27). The application of the laws governing *iniuria* to superstition lies close at hand: Roman writers from Cicero to Pliny the Younger knew that *superstitiosi* achieved their goals, in part, through potent *carmina,* "sacred songs."

Two final points are germane to the general history of *superstitio* in pagan antiquity. First, *superstitio* is an aristocratic term of contempt for forms of religion and piety that Rome's literate upper classes found excessive, comic, or dangerous. How Rome's unlettered majority attacked forms of religion that were comic or threatening is uncertain, but it did reproach them. A piece of graffiti from the Paedigogium on Rome's Palatine hill dated to the reign of Septimius Severus (193–211 C.E.) illustrates this contention. The line drawing consists of a crucified man with a donkey's head before which an *orans,* a man in the prayer posture, is standing. See Fig. ART.48. The Greek text reads *Alexamenos sebete theon.* Despite certain grammatical difficulties, the scrawled line probably means "Alexamenos worships god" (Vaeaenaenen 1966 1:209–212). Naturally, it is tempting to interpret this graffito as a parody of Christian faith, corresponding at the visual level to what literate Romans called *superstitio.*

The second point is that the Greek word *deisidaimonia* "god-fearing" was frequently translated by *superstitio.* As *deisidaimonia* gradually evolved in classical and late antiquity into a term of reproach, signifying "excessive fear before the gods" (Koets 1929:104–6), it conduced to and even accelerated *superstitio*'s progression from an expression of positive religious content to a term of abuse (Smith 1975; 1981:352–55).

**B. Early Christianity**

The importance of *superstitio* for a fuller understanding of the history and literature of early Christianity stems from the fresh light that is thrown on texts and traditions. For example, the submission tradition in Rom 13:1–7, 1 Pet 2:13–17, and *1 Clem.* 61, though widespread in Hellenistic Jewish literature of the period, is nonetheless enigmatic. These texts come from letters written either from or to Rome. Each calls for submission to Roman civil authority. How to explain this appeal, coming as it does in an age of increased aversion among Romans to any form of religion thought to be a *superstitio* (Hodgson 1986:65)?

If the label or charge of *superstitio* is envisioned as a form of aggressive behavior adopted by Roman courts and police to suppress nonconformity in matters of public and private life, then the response to such charges (in Roman Christianity at least) may lie in texts like Rom 13:1–7. Seen from this perspective, Rom 13:1–7 is a short-term strategy for survival in an increasingly hostile city. The broader issues at stake are then the original rationale for, and long-term relevance of, all the submission traditions in early Christian literature (1 Pet 2:13–3:7; Col 3:18–4:1; Eph 5:22–6:9; *1 Clem.* 57; *Did* 4:11). Were these exhortations, initially at least, a clarion call to withdraw from ordinary life and to set up a counter-society (Elliot 1981)? Or were they a pragmatic strategy to brace early Christianity against calumny and arm it with established codes of behavior in order that it make its way *within* ancient society (Balch 1981)? If Rom 13:1–7 and the other related texts were short-term responses to the charge of *superstitio,* how did they evolve into timeless principles of moral action? The social and intellectual history of *superstitio* can help us find answers to these questions.

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**SUPH** (PLACE) [Heb *šp* (שׁף)]. A place mentioned near the site of Moses' address to the people of Israel in Transjordan prior to their entry into the land of Canaan (Deut 1:1). Attempts to locate this biblical site have yielded little results. Musil (1907:211) suggested Kh. Sufah, ca. 7 km SE of Madaba, as a possible match (followed by Noth *NDH* 108–9). Due to the similarity in meaning, Kraeling (1948:201) identified the Greek town Papyron (cf. Gk *papyros*), mentioned by Josephus (*Ant* 14.33) in connection with a victory of the Hasmonean ruler Aristobolus, as the Greek equivalent of Heb *sûp* (lit. "reeds, rushes").

Others propose emending the text from *môl sûp* "in front of/opposite Suph" to *miyyām sûp* "from the Re (e)d Sea" (Cheyne in *EncBib* 4023–24; *BDB* 693; see discussion in Driver *Deuteronomy* ICC, 1–4 and Simons *GTTOT*, 255). This reading is also supported in some versions (LXX, Vg, and *Tg. Onq.*), which reflect an understanding of the Heb as *yam sûp.* If correct, this *yam sûp* may refer to the Gulf of Aqabah (cf. 1 Kgs 9:26 and Jer 49:21), although the precise geography of this verse as a whole is problematic. See also RED SEA.

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**SUPHAH** (PLACE) [Heb *sûpâ* (סוּפָה)]. A name occurring in a quotation from "The Book of the Wars of Yahweh" (Num 21:14–15). Scholars have long noted the textual difficulties in these two verses of archaic poetry. Noth concluded that the poetic fragment "defies all explanation" (*Numbers* OTL, 160), while Albright felt that reconstruction was not possible (*YGC*, 44). The Sam. Pent. and Vg interpret Suphah as *yam sûp*, the "Re (e)d Sea" (note KJV "What he did in the Red Sea," which follows Vg *sicut fecit in mari Rubro*). The RSV's traditional "Waheb in Suphah" (Heb *ʾt whb b-swph*), a reference to two locations in Transjordan (note also Budd *Numbers* WBC, 237), has never been satisfactorily explained. Suphah may be related to the SUPH of Deut 1:1, but there is no evidence to support this equation.

Christensen (1974) has proposed reading Yahweh as the subject throughout the two verses: "[Yahweh] came in a whirlwind, he came to the branch wadis of the Arnon …" etc. (Heb *ʾt Yhw b-swph, ʾt nḥly-m ʾrnwn*). In this reading, the Heb particle *ʾt* is taken as the verb *ʾth* "to come" (found only in poetry, e.g., Deut 33:2); *whb* is read as the tetragrammaton *Yhw (h)* (a more substantial emendation; see Christensen 360, n. 6 for discussion); and Heb *sûpâ* (unaltered) carries the meaning "tempest, storm, whirlwind," attested elsewhere in poetic texts (e.g., Isa 17:14; Amos 1:14; Nah 1:3). While any reconstruction of this obscure passage must be tentative at best, Christensen provides a viable alternative for this tantalizing fragment. (Note also Weippert [1979:17], who largely accepts the above reconstruction, but prefers *b-spt* to *b-swph*). See also WARS OF THE LORD, BOOK OF THE.

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**SUPPER, LAST.** See LAST SUPPER, THE.

**SUPPER, LORD'S.** See LORD'S SUPPER, THE.

**SUR** (PLACE) [Gk *Sour* (Σουρ)]. A site in the book of Judith, which makes up part of a list of places on the seacoast stretching from N to S (Jdt 2:28). Sur is otherwise unknown under this name; it should be noted that the name "Sur" also occurs in 2 Kgs 11:6 (Heb *swr*) as part of the phrase *bš‹r swr,* that is, the name of a gate in Jerusalem, not a town on the coast. It is likely in any case that this name is a corruption. Two possible explanations have been given for the name "Sur" in the book of Judith. The first is that it is a corruption of Dor (Gk *Dōra;* Heb *dwr* or *d›r*). Dor is a seaport town 15 miles S of Mount Carmel, therefore in the proper geographical location. However, the sequence of towns in Jdt 2:28 appears in the correct N-S order (Sidon, Tyre, Jamnia, Azotus, Ascalon), and identifying Sur with Dor would upset this order. The other suggestion is that Sur is a dittography of Tyre, that is, the Heb *ṣwr* was misread as *swr*, and then transliterated into Greek as *Sour.* This does not explain, however, why the first Tyre was properly transliterated as *Tyros,* and the second was transliterated incorrectly. At present, the site remains unidentifiable. Of course, given the genre of the book of Judith, the name may be entirely fictitious.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**SUR GATE** (PLACE) [Heb *ša‹ar šr* (שַׁעַר שׁר)]. One of several names used to refer to an inner gate of Jerusalem in the NW quadrant of an enclosure that surrounded the Temple precincts and the royal residences (2 Kgs 11:6). Jehoiada the priest stationed troops at this gate as a part of the security arrangements for the coronation of Josiah against his grandmother Athaliah (2 Kgs 11:6; 2 Chr 23:5). These troop deployments were in close proximity to the Temple and the royal residence and suggests that the Sur Gate was a gate of an inner perimeter (Avi-Yonah 1954:240, fig. 1).

The earliest account of Josiah's coronation (2 Kgs 11:6) refers to this gate as the Sur Gate (Heb *sûr,* "turn aside," "depart") while the later parallel account in 2 Chr 23:5 calls it the "Foundation Gate" (rendered in the LXX as the "Middle Gate" because it was a part of the royal enclosure which stood between the Temple precincts and the outer defensive wall). This is consistent with Jeremiah's reference to the princes of Babylon who, after having breached the N outer defenses of Jerusalem, met at the Middle Gate (suggested by some to be between the Corner Gate and the Temple mount, Simons 1952:276 and Avigad 1980:59) before their penetration of the inner and S defenses of the City.

The assignment of the Shallechet Gate to the Temple gatekeepers Shuppim and Hosah (1 Chr 26:16) was most likely referring to the Sur Gate (Heb *šalleket* and *sûr* share a similar indicative meaning and are both translated in the LXX [Codex Alexandrinus] by Gk *ekspan* "draw out" [Isa 6:13; Ezek 11:19] and by Gk *ekpiptein* "go forth" [Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus] in Isa 6:13 and Job 15:30). These descriptive names most likely came from the busy intersections near the Fish Gate in the NW corner of the outer defensive perimeter of the city. This exit from the city led to several ridge routes that continued to the coast, to Ephraim in the N and to Judah and Egypt in the S. See Smith 1908:106 n. 2; 260–61.

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**SURETY.** See LAW, BIBLICAL AND ANE; DEBTS.

**SUSA** (PLACE) [Heb *šûšan* (שׁוּשַׁן)]. Ancient city in SW Iran (mod. Shūsh; 32°12´N; 48°20´E), for a long time the capital of Elam, and later the winter residence and main capital of the Persian Empire. Susa

is located on the bank of the river Chaour (Akk *Ulai,* Gr *Eulaeus*), close to the river Kerkha (Akk *Uknu,* Gr *Choaspēs*). It owes its prosperity and historical importance to its geographical location: at the periphery of the Mesopotamian plain and at the foot of the Zagros mountains. Ethnically, culturally, and politically, Susa was always linked to both Mesopotamia and the Iranian plateau.

**A. Biblical References**

All biblical references to Susa (Neh 1:1; Dan 8:2; Esther passim; Add Esth 11:3; 16:18) concern the Persian period and suggest some familiarity with the topography of the city (see below). An important Jewish community had settled in Susa, probably after the Persian conquest of Babylon in 539 B.C. (it was still thriving when Benjamin of Tudela visited Susa in the 12th cent. A.D.). One of those Jewish expatriates was Nehemiah, who had acquired an official position at the royal court of Artaxerxes I (464–424).

**B. History of Exploration**

Scattered over 250 hectares, the ruins of Susa have been described by early 19th cent. travellers like Kinneir (1809), Gordon (1812), Rawlinson (1836), and Layard (1840). First excavated by W. K. Loftus in 1851–52, who identified it with the Persian capital (Loftus 1857), and by M. and J. Dieulafoy in 1884–86 (Dieulafoy 1890–92), the site has been continuously investigated from 1897 to 1979 (except during the two World Wars) by the Délégation archéologique française en Perse/en Iran under the successive directorships of J. de Morgan (1897–1909), R. de Mecquenem (1909–45), R. Ghirshman (1945–67) and J. Perrot (1967–79).

**C. History of Occupation**

**1. Early Periods.** Susa is among the first cities known in the Near East. Soon after its foundation, ca. 3900 B.C., a massive terrace, 80 m long and at least 10 m high, probably crowned by cultic installations, was built in the southern part of the first settlement. This area was to remain for nearly four millennia the administrative and religious heart of the city. Graves excavated in its vicinity have yielded a fine painted-ware decorated with highly stylized naturalistic designs, copper objects originating from the Iranian plateau, and stamp seals representing a mythical figure, the "master of animals."

Before the middle of the 4th millennium, this Susa I culture was replaced by a proto-urban culture of Mesopotamian origin. This Uruk period witnessed essential innovations: the appearance of mass-produced wheel-made pottery, the first sculptures in the round, the first cylinder-seals, and especially the first manifestations of writing, i.e., bullae containing calculi, and shortly thereafter, tablets inscribed with numerical signs. Long-distance trade relations and trading outposts in the Zagros and on the Iranian plateau were also established at the same time. Susiana was then "a second land of Sumer" (Amiet 1988:40).

A new culture marking a total break with Mesopotamia emerged ca. 3200. Typified by the appearance of tablets with an original and still-undeciphered pictographic writing and by a new art style, this Proto-Elamite culture extended over the whole of SW Iran and across the Iranian plateau up to the province of Seistan. Its two major centers were Susa and Tall-i Malyan (Anshan), which might have been linked politically and which symbolize the dual character, Semitic and Elamite, of the Elamite culture throughout its history.

**2. Elamite Period.** This proto-Elamite political configuration collapsed ca. 2800. Incorporated in the Mesopotamian sphere of influence, Susa became just another Sumerian city. On its acropolis were the temples of the local deities: the god Inshushinak and the goddess Ninhursag. The city was prosperous and its merchants were in contact with countries as distant as Turkmenistan, the Indus Valley, and Dilmun (Bahrein). In order to benefit from this Iranian trade, Sargon of Agade annexed the city ca. 2350. Two centuries later, after the fall of the Agadean empire, Susa was integrated to the Elamite kingdom of Awan. A new script, the Elamite linear script, was then briefly introduced as a national reaction to the use of the Sumerian cuneiform writing. This Elamite polity was crushed by Shulgi, king of the third Dynasty of Ur, who annexed Susa and reconstructed the sacred precinct; it included a ziggurat and new temples dedicated to Inshushinak and Ninhursag.

Around 2000, two major Elamite polities, Shimashki and Anshan, emerged in SW Iran. They were instrumental in bringing the downfall of the last Sumerian empire. From then on Elamite civilization took shape, and Susa was to be part of it for the next 1,500 years. The city was first integrated to the kingdom of Shimashki. With the advent (ca. 1925) of a dynasty originating from Fars, it became the lowland counterpart of Anshan as co-capital of the empire of the *Sukkalmah,* who introduced the title of "king of Anshan and Susa" (Elam *šu-šu-un;* cf. Akk *šu-ša-an*) to be used by most Elamite kings until the 7th cent. Actively engaged in Mesopotamian affairs, they created an empire covering most of SW Iran. Susa became a large and prosperous city of about 85 hectares. It had a population of peasants, herders, craftsmen, and merchants dominated by an aristocracy of officials and landowners whose large mansions and private archives, written in Akkadian, have been uncovered in excavations.

During the middle Elamite period (second half of the 2d millennium), Elam reached the peak of its glory. The 13th cent. is dominated by the figure of Untash-Napirisha, who founded a new capital, Tchogha Zanbil, initiating thereby a political and religious reform which did not survive him. The following 12th cent. was the time of the dynasty of the Shutrukids. Its founder Shutruk-Nahunte conquered and annexed Babylonia, from where he brought back large spoils, including the famous Code of Hammurapi, discovered on the Acropolis of Susa in 1900. Such trophies enriched the treasure of temples built or restored by this king and his two successors, who commemorated their deeds in many inscriptions written in Elamite. Susa was then the capital of one of the most powerful kingdoms of the ANE, and its god Inshushinak was sovereign, together with the local deity, in all Elamite cities of SW Iran.

But this brilliant period was short-lived. The empire of the Shutrukids collapsed ca. 1100. Elam experienced a Dark Age from which it emerged only in the late 8th cent. It had then three capitals (Susa, Madaktu, and Hidalu), Susa being the religious center. The Neo-Elamite kings who wrote this last chapter of Elamite history were engaged in an active confrontation with Assyria over the control of Babylonia and the central Zagros. Several decades of bitter fighting culminated in a series of victorious campaigns led by Assurbanipal, who razed Susa in 646.

Elam never recovered from this blow, although a new Elamite kingdom was restored at Susa ca. 625. It survived modestly until the coming of the Persians.

**3. Persian Period.** The Persian period was Susa's golden age. The city was taken by Cyrus II the Great, probably in 539, just before the conquest of Babylon. The king and his successor Cambyses II may have settled it (cf. Gk *Sousa* in Herodotus 1. 188; 3.30, 65, 70; Strabo 15.3.2), but there is no archaeological evidence of a Persian presence before the reign of Darius I the Great (521–485). In 521/520, immediately after quelling the great rebellion which followed Cambyses' death, i.e., well before he undertook the construction of Persepolis, Darius I selected Susa as the main capital of his empire. This choice was understandable: Located at the heart of an empire extending from India to Egypt, the city occupied a much better strategic position than Babylon, Ecbatane, and Persepolis, to which it was linked by important roads. It also commanded a vast network of communication, especially the "royal road" Susa-Sardis (Herodotus 5.52–53). Disregarding the existing layout of the old city, the king decided to create an entirely new capital of his own. The work proceeded according to a program of great urbanistic coherence and grandiose ambition. It resulted in a complete reorganization of the city which acquired then the main topographic features still existing today (Perrot 1981; Amiet 1988:121–37).

The population of old Susa was probably resettled and the new city, extended to at least 250 hectares, was divided in two parts: in the W the fortified royal city, corresponding to the tells of the ancient Susa, and in the E the unfortified lower city (corresponding to Dieulafoy's *"Tell de la ville des Artisans*"). The two parts of the city were separated by a canal diverted from the Chaour River (the *Ulai* / *Eulaeus*) to run along the N and E sides of the royal city; the latter was thus like an island between two arms of the river (cf. Pliny *HN* 6.31.135; it is this canal or E arm of the Chaour separating the royal city from the lower city which may be referred to in the vision of Dan 8:2). The distinction between the two parts of the city can be noticed in the book of Esther, where "Susa the citadel" (Heb *šûšan habbîrâ*) refers strictly to the

fortified royal city (thus in Esth 9:6, 11, 12), while "Susa" (without qualification) applies to the unfortified lower city (thus in Esth 9:13, 14, 15).

Virtually nothing is known about the lower city, whose present remains are marked by low hillocks corresponding mainly to later occupations. It was probably linked to the royal city by a bridge crossing the E arm of the Chaour and leading to a monumental city gate of 36 m by 18 m (the "gate of Ulai" of Dan 8:2 in the LXX). The latter is the only access known to the royal city.

The royal city was surrounded by massive fortifications; the outer edge of the elamite tells was cut vertically to establish a high glacis formed by a thick massif of earth and bricks, about 20 m wide at its base. This resulted in the creation of a strong city having the appearance of a citadel and dominating the lower city of a height of about 15 m.

The main urban components of the royal city were the complex of the royal palace (= Dieulafoy's *"tell de l'Apadana*") in the NW, the citadel *stricto sensu* (= *"tell de l'Acropole*") in the W and a residential area (= *tell de la Ville Royale*") in the E. Excavations and archaeological surveys suggest that the latter was not densely settled—it probably contained many gardens with some public and private buildings (as in Pasargades and around the Persepolis platform).

The major element in the royal city was the royal palace, which came to symbolize Susa itself (cf. Herodotus's "royal palace," or the "House of Memnon," another name of Susa: Hdt. 5.53). It was the major center of the government of the empire, where a royal treasure was kept (see Hdt. 5.49; Diodorus 17.66. 1). It had been erected on one of the oldest tells of Susa, reshaped and enlarged by Darius' builders to create a platform of 13 hectares, about 15 m high, in the shape of an irregular quadrilateral protruding out of the line of the fortification, like Sargon's palace in Khorsabad. Nearly one million cubic meters of earth and gravel were used in its construction. It was reached from the W through a monumental gate flanked by two colossal statues of the king; the one still *in situ* was 3 m high and was manufactured in Egypt (see *Cahiers DAFI 4*).

Three versions of the foundation chart of the palace (written in Old Persian, Akkadian, and Elamite, respectively) have been uncovered, in which the king tells us about its construction (Stève 1974–75; Vallat 1970, 1986). The whole empire was mobilized to contribute to this vast enterprise, using the material and human resources of each province—the cedar wood came from Lebanon, the *yaka* wood from Gandhara and Carmania, gold from Sardis and Bactriana, lapis lazuli and cornaline from Sogdiana, turquoise from Chorasmia, silver and ebony from Egypt, ivory from Ethiopia, India, and Arachosia. The builders who dug the foundations of the palace and who molded its bricks were Babylonians, the stone cutters were Ionians and Sardians, the gold and silver smiths Medians and Egyptians, the carpenter Sardians and Egyptians, and the walls were decorated by Medians and Egyptians.

This fabulous palace is the setting of the story of Esther, in the time of king Ahasuerus (Xerxes I, 485–465, successor of Darius I). Several notations allow us to suppose that its writer had some topographic familiarity with the palace excavated by the archaeologists.

Covering about 5 hectares, the royal palace had two parts: one residential (the "house of the king" of Esth 5:1) in the S (ca. 3.8 hectares), and one official (the audience hall, or *Apādānā*) in the N (ca. 1.2 hectares) (Amiet 1974; Perrot 1981). The residential part was built in the tradition of Mesopotamian palaces, with blind outer walls and a series of inner courtyards. There were four courtyards in succession, running from E to W. The first was the entrance courtyard, measuring 64 m by 55 m and leading to the private area to the W; it may correspond to the "outer courtyard" of Esth 6:4. The third courtyard gave access in the S to the royal apartment, composed of two successive broad rooms; it is tempting to identify it with the "inner courtyard" of Esth 4:11, 5:1–2. Lateral passages opened onto storerooms on both sides of the royal apartment. To the S (and to the NW?) were private apartments (the harem?) reached by means of a long corridor.

A passage to the N of the entrance courtyard led to the audience hall, or *Apādānā,* which occupied the N part of the palatial complex. While the residential part of the palace was built according to a Mesopotamian tradition, the official part derived from an Iranian tradition (cf. the columned halls of Hasanlu Tepe, Baba Jan Tepe, and Nush-i Jan Tepe, and the palaces of Pasargades). Built by Darius I and

damaged by fire during the reign of Artaxerxes I (465–424), it was restored by Artaxerxes II (404–358). Measuring 109 m on each side, this building must have been an imposing sight: It was composed of a square hall 58 m by 58 m whose roof was supported at a height of 20 m by 36 columns resting on a square base, and of three porticos having each 12 columns resting on a campaniform base and with a capital in the shape of a double bull protome. The Apadana was probably standing on a terrace reached by staircases, like its counterpart in Persepolis, and decorated with glazed bricks representing processions of archers and offering bearers. Covering both the audience hall and the courtyards, this rich decoration derived from an Assyro-Babylonian tradition. Beside the archers and the offering bearers, it showed long rows of lions, bulls, and griffins.

In addition to the royal palace, excavations have also revealed the remains of two other smaller palaces, one built by a successor of Darius I to the SE of the royal city (Dieulafoy's *"Donjon*"), and the other erected by Artaxerxes II to the W of the fortified city, on the other side of the Chaour River (Boucharlat and Labrousse 1979).

**4. Later History.** Following the Persian defeat at the battle of Gaugamela and the flight of the last Achaemenid king, Susa was taken without a fight in 331 by Alexander the Great, who found immense treasures in its royal palace. The mass marriage to Persian girls of some of Alexander's officers and soldiers and the king's own marriage to Darius III's daughter took place in the city in 324, after Alexander's return from India (Diod. 17.107.4; Plut. *Alex* 70.2).

After Alexander's death (323), Susa was annexed to the empire of the Seleucids (see Boucharlat 1985). It lost its rank as a capital and became a *polis* under the name of Seleucia-on-the-Eulaeus. Although it belonged culturally and politically to the Mesopotamian sphere of influence, it was briefly annexed to the neighboring kingdom of Elymaïs, heir of the Elamites. A center of Hellenism, Susa still enjoyed a relative measure of independence during the 4 centuries of the Parthian period (ca. 150 B.C.–224 A.D.). Inhabited by a cosmopolitan population from all parts of the Near East, it experienced a period of considerable prosperity, marked by many constructions and by an unprecedented agricultural and demographic development.

From Ardeshir I onward, founder of the Sassanian dynasty in 224 A.D., the ancient city was administered by a governor and lost its autonomy. In the 4th century, following a rebellion of its inhabitants, who by then comprised a majority of Nestorians, it was destroyed by Shapur II (309–379) who unleashed his elephants to trample down the city. Reconstructed soon afterwards under the ephemeral name of Iranshahr-Shapur, but neglected by the Sassanian kings who created other centers in the plain of Khuzistan (Gunde-Shapur, Shushtar, Eïwan-e Kerkha), Susa declined steadily during the following centuries. It was, however, in the 5th century, the seat of a Nestorian diocese. After the beginning of Islam (639), when the regional capital was transferred to Ahwaz, Susa experienced again, from the 8th to the 10th cent., a last period of prosperity, to which the remains of a large mosque and of other public buildings together with vessels imported from Samarkand and China bear testimony (Kervran 1985). But decline again followed, until the final abandonment of the city occurred in the 13th cent.

**D. Daniel's Tomb**

Susa has remained until now a center of pilgrimage involving a medieval tomb now enshrined in a mosque and attributed to the prophet Daniel. This apocryphal tradition goes back at least to the 7th century, and has its roots even earlier since in Sassanian times the tomb was ascribed to Darius or to the mythical Iranian king Kai Khosrow (Streck 1934:594). Through time, the tomb was venerated equally by Jews, Christians, Moslems, and Mandeans.

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PIERRE DE MIROSCHEDJI

**SUSANNA** (PERSON) [Gk *Sousanna* (Σουσαννα)]. This name refers to two different persons mentioned in the Greek canon of the OT and in the NT.

**1.** The primary character in the book of Susanna. For further information on the role of this character see SUSANNA, BOOK OF.

**2.** A member of Jesus' traveling entourage mentioned only in Luke 8:3. Along with other women, she probably supported the group both financially and by helping with the tasks of cooking, cleaning, and sewing. This suggests a rather well-to-do woman, perhaps of independent means, dedicated to supporting the itinerant ministry of Jesus.

Susanna traveled with Jewish men. In view of Jewish attitudes about the behavior of women in public, there is little doubt that Susanna's actions were considered scandalous. Yet the indications are that Jesus approved of women supporting his ministry and accepted women as well as men as traveling companions or disciples. While women often financially supported prominent teachers in early Judaism, the idea of Jewish women becoming students of a prominent rabbi or teacher was unknown and unacceptable prior to and during Jesus' era. Thus, Luke 8:1–3 must be viewed as an indication that Jesus' kingdom agenda had some socially radical consequences.

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BEN WITHERINGTON, III

**SUSANNA, BOOK OF.** The book of Susanna belongs to the various additions to the book of Daniel, and is preserved in the Greek translations of the Bible—the older LXX and Theodotion. It is not included in the Hebrew canon, and is not mentioned by ancient Jewish writers, including Josephus. The Christian Irenaeus (2d century A.D.) is the first to mention the work in his *Contra Haereses* (5.26). Theodotion's version is somewhat longer than the old LXX.

**A. The Story**

According to the longer version, Susanna, a daughter of Hilkiah and wife of Joakim, a wealthy Jew in the Babylonian Diaspora, became an object of vehement passion for two of the "elders" who had recently been appointed judges in the Jewish community. One hot day, in accordance with a plan designed by the

elders to proposition Susanna, they hid in the garden of her house while Susanna went bathing. At the moment she dismissed her maids, they approached her, trying to force the young woman to have sexual relations with them both. If she resisted, they said, they would accuse her of committing adultery with a young man. Susanna started screaming as they "shouted against her."

Unfortunately at her trial on the following day, the version of the two elders was accepted without even asking for her testimony, and the assembly of the community sentenced her to death. While Susanna was led away to be executed, God sent the young Daniel, who asked that the two villains be separated in order to cross-examine them independently. When he asked each one separately under which tree Susanna committed the purported adultery, each gave a different answer; one said "under a mastic tree," the other "under a liveoak tree." Thus Daniel succeeded in discrediting their testimony, and Susanna as a result was set free, while the two elders were stoned to death. For the first time Daniel emerged as a hero to his people.

**B. The Old LXX and Theodotion**

In spite of the fact that no evidence for a Semitic *Vorlage* of Susanna exists, scholars (Kay, *APOT* 1:638–51; Lévi 1933; and Moore *Daniel, Esther, Jeremiah Additions* AB) claim that it was composed in Hebrew or Aramaic. Their arguments are: (a) the appearance in the Gk version of many Aramaicisms/Hebraisms such as *idou, kai egeneto,* and the phrases "as usual" (v 15), and "I'm in a bind!" (v 22); (b) some of the more difficult Gk phrases can be explained as a misreading of a Semitic text—in fact, both Gk versions (Theodotion in particular) do translate easily back into Hebrew; and (c) the frequent use of *kai* ("and"). The existence of a Semitic *Vorlage,* however, should not be regarded as decisive. The Aramaic Danielic literature found in Qumran may lead to some new insights concerning a Semitic text of Susanna.

Another unsolved problem is the relationship between the two Gk translations, i.e., the Old LXX and Theodotion. In the case of Susanna, the differences between the two are more numerous than in the other additions to Daniel. In most instances the additions in Theodotion's version enhance the drama and the psychological aspects of the story, but do not alter the essential plot. If a Semitic original is postulated, it is still not clear whether the two Greek versions are two separate translations of one Semitic text, or of two different Semitic texts. The possibility has been raised that Theodotion is a recension or new edition of the Old LXX translation. The verbatim agreement in great parts of the two Gk versions raises the possibility that while the two translators worked on two Semitic texts, Theodotion also made use of the older LXX.

**C. Origin and Purpose of the Story**

Many views have been propounded concerning the origin of this "detective story." It is claimed inter alia that Susanna is an apocryphal story, composed in order to demonstrate the downfall of the two false prophets mentioned in Jer 29:21–23 (Fritzsche 1851). Alternatively, it is argued that the story constituted a polemics of the Pharisees against the Sadducees in the 1st century B.C. regarding proper court procedures (Brüll 1877; Ball 1888; Kay *APOT* 1; and Oesterley 1935). Others say that it is merely a secular folktale which was later Judaized (Huet 1912; Baumgartner 1926; and Pfeiffer 1949). Some see in it an echo of a Babylonian myth (Ewald; Kamphausen), while others suggest a Greek mythological origin (Fries). According to this latter view Susanna, like Phryne, was originally a virgin goddess who was attended in her bath by her two slaves who were later put to death. Many variants and allusions to the Susanna story can be traced in later Jewish literature; the most important ones are those appearing in *b. Sanh.* 93a (known also to Origen and Jerome), *Josippon* (10th century A.D.), and the works of Jerahmeel (11th century A.D.).

**D. Relationship to Daniel 1–6**

The location of Susanna either before Daniel 1 (as in Theodotion, OL, and other translations) or after Daniel 12 (the LXX, SyrH, and Vg) seems to many scholars to be out of place, and disconnected from Daniel 1–6. The reasons adduced are first, that the action of Susanna, unlike Daniel 1–6, does not take place in the Babylonian court. Second, the Jewish community in Susanna is not threatened from the outside and seems to have remarkable autonomy, a situation which is very different from the strained

atmosphere of Daniel 1–6. Third, in the book of Susanna, Daniel plays a secondary role (the real hero is Susanna), whereas in Daniel 1–6 he is the main character.

However, it can be argued that the story of Susanna depicts an earlier stage, in time and place, of Daniel's deeds, and is meant to demonstrate Daniel's piety even as a young person. In all probability this assumption would also correspond to the place and date of composition, which is Babylon, at some time during the Persian era, when the Jews enjoyed a great deal of religious autonomy and freedom. The attempts (in particular by those scholars who believe in a Semitic *Vorlage*) to assign the provenance of the story to Palestine seem unfounded. The *terminus ad quem* can be cautiously fixed at circa 100 B.C., when in all probability, the translation of the Old LXX to Daniel was completed. The story is, unlike other tales of this kind, free of foreign influences—both direct (i.e., in the plot) and indirect (i.e., language and customs). In spite of the fact that Susanna may have originated from a folktale, it has a strong religious atmosphere. Everybody in the story (except the two elders) emphasizes his own adherence to God, and the community is obviously guided by the law of Moses throughout the story.

**E. Relationship to the Bible**

Many aspects of the story show a close link with the Bible (i.e., biblical law and custom). Susanna's parents are described as being religious people who "instructed their daughter in the Law of Moses" (as prescribed in Deut 4:9–10 and 6:6–9). Susanna is a "beautiful and God-fearing woman," a description used in relation to Judith (8:7–8), Sarah the daughter of Raguel (Tobit 3:14–15; 6:12), and Esther (Esther 2:7 = LXX 2:20). Susanna, like Queen Esther, is "refined and shapely" (Esther D 3 and 2:7). During her trial Susanna is ordered to be unveiled. The LXX presumably means here "stripped naked," which would be in accordance with the penalty for adultery (Hosea 2:5, 11; and cf. Ezek 16:37–40, and *m. Soṭa* 1:5). When the two elders testify against Susanna, they "laid their hands on her head," in accordance with the custom mentioned in Lev 24:14. Susanna was condemned to death in line with the ordinances of Lev 20:10 and Deut 22:21–24.

Daniel, in his questioning, corrects the failure of the community to conduct a cross-examination. The two witnesses, as elders of the community, were not examined in adherence to Deut 19:15–20. Daniel, however, does interrogate them and he may be acting in accordance with what we later find in the Mishnah (*m. Sanh.* 6:1–2). Daniel says to one of the elders: "You shall not put to death the innocent and righteous person" (v 53), echoing Exod 23:7; when he calls the other elder "a descendant of Canaan" (v 56), he may be alluding to Gen 9:20–25 where Canaan is apparently blamed for improper sexual behavior. In v 59 Daniel says: "the angel of God is waiting with drawn sword to hew you in half and destroy the pair of you"; this is reminiscent of Num 22:31 and 1 Chr 21:16. Daniel's conviction of the two elders by "their own mouths of having borne false witness" accords with Deut 19:18–20. Thus, even if the story of Susanna was originally a pagan one, it was reworked so as to appear very biblical. See also DANIEL, ADDITIONS TO.

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MICHAL DAYAGI MENDELS

**SUSI** (PERSON) [Heb *sûsî* (סוּסִי)]. A man from the tribe of Joseph (Manasseh), known only through association with his son Gaddi (Num 13:11). Gaddi was one of the twelve tribal representatives who left Kadesh to spy out the land of Canaan.

TERRY L. BRENSINGER

**SUSIYA, KHIRBET** (M.R. 159090). A town established in the Judean hills S of Hebron following the Bar Kokhba Revolt.

**A. Identification and History**

The site is situated 14 km S of Hebron, in the S Judean hills, in a region named Daroma ("South") in Jewish sources and by Eusebius. The Arabic name of the site signifies "the Ruin of Liquorice Plant." The ancient name of the site is unknown, and it has been assumed that it was never mentioned in historical sources. The site is less than 2.5 km SW of Kh. Karmil, identified with Carmel, 4 km SE of Yatta, identified with biblical and postbiblical Jutta, and 3 km E-NE of es-Samu', identified with Eshtemoa. The key to the identification of the site lies in a proper understanding of the history of these sites in the period following the Bar Kokhba War. Eusebius names three Jewish villages in the region S of Hebron: Jutta, "a very large Jewish village" (*Onomast.* 108.8); Eshtemoa/Asthemo (*Onomast.* 26.11); and village in Daroma, or Esthemo, "a large Jewish village in the region of Eleutheropolis" (*Onomast.* 86.20). Carmel is mentioned three times. It is once named Karmelos, the home of Nabal (1 Sam 25:2), and "there is today a village by the name of Chermala, named Karmelos, on the tenth mile from Hebron, and there is stationed a garrison of soldiers" (*Onomast.* 118.5–7). In the second reference, it is named Chermel, "a very large village in the Daroma, near Hebron," and the garrison is mentioned again (*Onomast.* 172.20–23). Finally, he speaks of Chermala, "once named Karmelos. By this name is named today a large Jewish village" (*Onomast.* 92.19–21). In this third instance the Roman garrison is not mentioned at all. Chermula is later mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum* as the seat of *equites scutarii Illyricani* (72.6), and in the 6th century C.E. Chermoula was still a place of great importance, mentioned in a papyrus from Nessana. Kh. Karmil, to which all of these references are usually ascribed is 810 m above sea level, and overlooks the ancient roads coming from Hebron and descending to the Judean Desert and the Negeb. It is the only place in the whole region well supplied with spring water, and all other villages depended on rainwater. A Crusader fort occupies the site of the Roman fortress, and the Byzantine period is represented by at least three churches. Kh. Karmil could not have been Eusebius' Jewish large village, which must be sought somewhere else, and A. Negev suggests that Jewish Carmel of the post Bar Kokhba War period should be sought at adjacent Kh. Susiya. The scenario may be drawn as follows: after the Bar Kokhba War and the foundation of Aelia Capitolina, the border between the new city and the remnants of the Jewish territory was drawn somewhere S of Hebron. The Roman army then occupied points of strategic importance at old Carmel, then named Chermala/Chermoula, N of the Jewish region, and at Arad, 20 Roman miles from Hebron (*Onomast.* 14.2), where a Roman fort stood at the S limit of the region.

Between these two forts the Jews lived unmolested. It is possible that the Jews, who felt uneasy in the shadow of the Roman banners, moved to the site of Kh. Susiya, which they named Carmel—the name of their old site. The distance of 2,400 m conforms with the *halachic* Sabbath limit, and may indicate that not all of the Jews of Chermala moved to the new place; they were thus able to use the services of the Kh. Susiya synagogue. Among the dedications of chancel screens found in the synagogue two formulae were observed, one made by "the whole town," and the other by the "holy community," the first referring to the Jews of Kh. Susiya, which was a Jewish town, and the second refers to the Jewish community of Chermala.

From the foundation of new Carmel in the 2d or 3d century C.E., the town prospered throughout the Late Roman, Byzantine, and Early Arab periods. The local economy was based on agriculture, mainly the production of wine and the extraction of olive oil.

**B. History of Research**

The site was described by V. Gúerin in 1869 (1869:173), who noted the presence of a large building, which he identified as a church facing N. The Survey of Western Palestine visited the site in 1874, and was very much impressed by the quality of local architecture (*SWP* 3:414–15). In 1918 A. E. Mader (1918:182–83) marked Kh. Susiya as a Christian site. While excavating the synagogue at Eshtemoa L. A. Mayer and A. Reifenberg (1937) identified the public building at Kh. Susiya as a broad-house type of synagogue. The site was further surveyed by a team of the Israel Survey in 1968 (1972:70). In 1969–72 the synagogue was excavated by S. Gutman, E. Netzer, and Z. Yeivin (Gutman, Yeivin, and Netzer 1981:123–28). In 1978, Y. Hirshfeld (1983) excavated a dwelling in the W part of the site. Excavations in the town of Susiya were made in 1984 by A. Negev, and in 1985 he was joined by Z. Yeivin.

**C. The Excavation of the Synagogue**

The ancient site of Kh. Susiya comprises two hills—an E, horseshoe shaped hill, and a W hill. At the N end of the W arm of the horseshoe, where both hills join, is located the synagogue.

The synagogue has doors on the E and N, which lead into a court (ca. 12.5 × 13.0 m) of three arched porticoes. The court and porticoes are paved with large flagstones, except for the S portico which has a mosaic pavement. In the court are two openings—one to a cistern, and the other to a cave (perhaps a quarry which was subsequently used as storage space). A grand staircase leads to a porticoed narthex, of four Corinthian columns between antae, from which three doors lead into the prayer hall (interior measurements 9 × 15 m). At the S end of the narthex, steps ascend to a second story above the S wing of the building. The floor of the narthex is paved with mosaics, having geometric designs and several dedicatory inscriptions. The S wing of the building consists of an oblong hall, which is entered through the narthex, and which has benches along three walls. To the W of this is another room, entered from outside of the building.

The prayer hall was a broadroom type, on an E-W axis. The bema was attached to the middle of the N wall, where apparently was a niche for the Torah shrine. E of the main bema was a secondary bema, for the reading of the law. There were several phases in the development of the main bema. To the later phase belong fragments of the marble chancel screen, which is decorated with menorot, a Tree of Life surrounded by lions, a palm tree surrounded by lions, and numerous fragments of Hebrew and Aramaic inscriptions. There were benches built along the S, W, and part of the N walls.

The long history of the building may be traced in the mosaic floors of the prayer hall. It was originally paved with white mosaics, which was replaced at an early phase with a polychrome mosaic. The W part was divided into three scenes: a hunt scene, Daniel in the lions' den (?), and a damaged panel. The middle panel had a large circle divided into segments, apparently containing the signs of the zodiac. The E part of the floor was decorated by a geometric carpet with birds. In front of the secondary bema was a representation of a Torah shrine flanked by menorot, depicted inside a gabled building. On each side of the building were two stags. At a later phase the zodiac panel was replaced by a geometric pattern with a rosette in its center. The later floor was repaired from time to time with coarse white tesserae.

The earliest mosaic panel was found in the center of the narthex. It was made of very small, colored tesserae, forming a geometric design, surrounding an inscription. The most important dedicatory inscription, lamentably fragmentary, was found near the main entrance to the prayer hall, and contained a date: "the second of the week/ (year) / four thousand / when the world was created." "Week" is used in the sense of the book of *Jubilees*, where jubilees (49-year cycles), "week" of years (seven-year cycles) and single years are used in recording dates. The other dating system in this inscription is of the Creation of the Universe. The most complete and the latest inscription is that found in the S portico: "Remembered be for good the sanctity of my master and rabbi Isai the priest, the honorable, the venerable, who made this mosaic and plastered its walls with lime, which he donated at a feast Rabbi Yohanan the priest, the venerable scribe, his son. Peace on Israel! Amen!" This inscription contains elements which are not earlier than the period of the Geonim (9th–10th centuries C.E..

The excavators tentatively dated the construction of the synagogue to the late 4th or 5th centuries, and its use lasted into the 8th or 9th century, when a mosque was built in the courtyard. At some time, the synagogue was heavily damaged by an earthquake, which necessitated supporting the walls with heavy

taluses. This apparently was the earthquake which shattered the Negeb in 502 or 503 C.E., after which many churches and other buildings were repaired in the same way.

**D. Excavations in the Town**

The E horseshoe shaped hill covers over 15 acres. The whole settlement seems to have been surrounded by a continuous line of rooms, which did not communicate with each other, but served as a wall; these rooms opened into the settlement. Several sections of this building were exposed: a tower at the extreme N end of the E arm, a section 50 meters long on the S, and smaller sections at the W arm.

The tower, apparently one of the earliest structures on the site, was built of extremely large ashalrs, some as long as 2 m, each decorated by two bosses and flat margins. The S section had outer walls made of smaller blocks of drafted masonry, some with flat bosses. The building consisted of units of one or two rooms built one against the other, starting from the E end of the wall. Between two units of the S building a stepped *mikveh* (ritual bath) was excavated in the rock. Of the lintels found in the debris, one was decorated with two menorot, another with an uninscribed *tabula ansata* (similar lintels were also found in neighboring Eshtemoa and Kh. el-ʿUzeiz, identified with Kefar Aziz). Some of the lintels had slots for affixing mezuzot. On the W arm of the building, two rooms and two entrances leading into the defended quarter were unearthed. These were about 2 m wide, with extremely heavy doorposts, lintels, and door sills.

Two caves were excavated. One cave, E of the synagogue, is entered by an L-shaped stepped corridor. The door leading into the cave had heavy door posts and a lintel carved in the bedrock and which was decorated with a menorah within a wreath, and a *tabula ansata.* The cave is 12 m long and 9 m wide. Part of the E wall, more than 3 m high, is built of excellent drafted ashlars, many of which are decorated with bosses of differing projection. This wall separates a large plastered cistern from the cave. There are one large and several small openings in the cave's ceiling for ventilation and light. At the back of the cave is a small dark chamber, the door of which could be bolted secure, apparently a storeroom for valuables.

Still larger is the second cave, situated to the S of the first cave. A barrel vaulted descent leads to the cave, just in front of which is a *mikveh.* To the right (E) of the entry, a rock wall, faced with hammer-dressed stones, forms a small living room. A similar wall faces also the SW corner of the cave, perhaps another living corner. At this end another stepped corridor leads up to the outside of the cave. The irregularly shaped cave is 25 m long, and its widest width is ca. 14 m. Windows of different sizes drilled into the ceiling, ventilate and illuminate the cave. At the SW corner of the cave a low, narrow passage leads into the innermost part of the cave, where two rooms join at right angles. These measure 6.5 × 4.5 and 10.5 × 6.30 m. The thin rock walls are lined with very thick walls built of hammer-dressed stones. Light and air penetrates this part of the cave by two small, round windows. Originally, this part of the cave had a *mikveh,* but its entrance was blocked at an early phase, when in all probability it was made a wine cellar. The narrow entrance, which could easily be blocked with stones (the blocking stones were found outside the entrance), and the narrow windows, which could also easily be closed, assured a proper atmosphere for wine fermentation.

From the main E entrance to the cave, another corridor leads to a small, rounded room. At the sides of the entrance are a *mikveh* and a small cistern which supplied its water. There were several small niches for lamps in the walls of the room. A rectangular opening in the roof near the steps enabled the safe lowering of jars into the room. Another opening in the W wall communicated with the main cave. This small room probably was where the juice from the wine press was stored in jars before being put in the wine cellar. In the 1985 excavation season, a wine press was discovered in the courtyard above the large cave.

**E. Date and Summary**

The remains from Kh. Susiya contained mixed pottery dating to the Late Roman and Byzantine periods, a few glazed sherds of the 8th century C.E., and a plethora of painted pottery of the 12th–13th century C.E. Pottery of this late period was found on the lowest living floors, which makes the dating difficult. The only two coins found were of Claudius Gothicus (268–70 C.E.) and of 330–35 C.E. Tentatively the beginning of settlement at Kh. Susiya may be dated to the second half of the 2d or early 3d century C.E., when occupation of the W horseshoe hill began. At this period the settlement consisted of a defensive

building and caves. Some time in the Byzantine period the settlement was abandoned and a new quarter, consisting of houses built of stone was founded on the W hill. Apparently at this stage the synagogue was built. This new settlement flourished until the end of the Umayyad period. In the 9th or 10th century C.E., the Moslems built a small mosque in the court of the synagogue, which had already gone out of use. In the Crusader period, Kh. Susiya was again occupied, but it was finally deserted after the victories of Saladin.

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AVRAHAM NEGEV

**SWALLOW.** See ZOOLOGY.

**SWIFT.** See ZOOLOGY.

**SWINE.** See ZOOLOGY; MEAL CUSTOMS (JEWISH DIETARY LAWS).

**SWORD.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.

**SYCAMINE.** See FLORA.

**SYCAMORE FIG.** See FLORA.

**SYCHAR** (PLACE). See JACOB’S WELL.

**SYENE** (PLACE) [Heb *sĕwēnēh* (סְוֵנֵה)]. An ancient Egyptian town, modern Aswan, on the E bank of the Nile near the first cataract (24°03´N; 33°00´E) mentioned three times in the Bible (Isa 49:12; Ezek 29:10; 30:6). Syene is referred to in Isa 49:12 in an oracle of salvation in which the dispersed people of Israel are gathered together again. The MT reading *sînîm* in v 12 has for many years been a matter of confusion among scholars. The text of 1QIsa[a] has the consonantal reading *swnyym,* which is a plural gentilic. This spelling points to a base *swn* which confirms the non-gentilic spelling *sĕwēnēh* found in the Hebrew Bible. Both references to Syene in Ezekiel occur in the oracles against Egypt. Syene is counterpart to Migdol and is used as a metaphor for all of Egypt from N to S (cf. the expression “from Dan to Beer-sheba” in Judg 20:1 and 1 Sam 3:20). Here again there are textual difficulties. In Ezek 29:10 the MT reads Heb *mimmigdōl sĕwēnēh* “from the tower of Syene” which is further defined with the phrase “as far as the border of Cush.” The LXX, however, reads *apo Magdōlou kai Suēnēs* “from Migdol and Syene.” The *kai* possibly points to the Heb *ûsĕwēnēh* “and Syene.” The verse reads further “as far as the border of Cush (Gk *Aithiopōn*).” Here Cush seems to refer to the region beyond the first cataract also known as Nubia or Ethiopia in Greek (cf. discussion in CUSHAN). Similarly in Ezek 30:6 the MT reads “from the tower of Syene,” where LXX reads “from Migdol as far as *(heōs)* Syene.” Here also, in light of the LXX, the Heb word *mimmigdōl* should be taken as a proper name “from Migdol.” The LXX reading of *heōs* points to a Heb reading in which the final *h* would be the *he*-locale. This does not disturb the consonantal text, but still renders as with the LXX the meaning “from Migdol to Syene.”

Next to Elephantine, an island off of the coast of Syene which was the capital of the first Egyptian nome (see ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI), Syene was quite an important city, located right below the first cataract. Strabo describes Syene as a city of both military and commercial importance (17.1.52–54). The Egyptian word from which the modern name Aswan is derived means “trade.” The first cataract served as a natural boundary between Egypt and Nubia. According to the ancient historian Herodotus, as he had learned from

hearsay, the sources of the Nile are to be traced to two springs marked by two peaks between Syene and the island of Elephantine, half of the water flowing N and the other half flowing S (2.28; cf. Strabo 17.1.56). A fortification program was undertaken in the S and NE delta region during the Middle Kingdom (1938 B.C.–ca. 1630 B.C.) These areas were referred to as "the gates of the barbarians" and Syene as "the south gate." However, because of the rapids it was difficult to attack from the S. The rapids also made it very difficult for merchant ships to pass. Cargo first had to be unloaded and either be loaded onto smaller boats that could make it through the rapids or be carried around the rapids on land. Herodotus (2.29) describes how a boat would have to be harnessed between two oxen on land which pulled the boat through the rapids. The loading and unloading of cargo traveling between Egypt and Nubia made Syene a great trade center. The area around Syene was also known for its many mineral deposits. In upper Nubia there are great granite quarries; today one can still see an unfinished statue and an abandoned obelisk. Because of the bareness of the region it is not clear whether or not the people of the area had to depend on food shipped from downstream.

Many ruins still remain on the island of Elephantine. In Syene, however, except for two Greco-Roman temples, not much remains visible, because the ancient city is now underneath the modern city of Aswan. Of interest are the cave tombs at nearby Qubbet el-Hawa on the W bank of the Nile. Among the finds are a large number of inscribed pots which were used as burial offerings (see Edel 1967). The modern city of Aswan is best known for the Aswan dam completed in 1970. Unfortunately a great part of upper Nubia has been flooded due to dam construction and many archaeological remains lie submerged under water. For further discussion of Elephantine and surrounding region see *BMAP*, 1–127.

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ARNOLD BETZ

**SYLLABIC, BYBLOS.** See LANGUAGES (BYBLOS SYLLABIC INSCRIPTIONS).

**SYMMACHUS, SYMMACHUS'S VERSION.** Symmachus is one of the three Jewish translators used by Origen (mid-3d century C.E.) in the compilation of his Hexapla (see HEXAPLA OF ORIGEN), a document now only fragmentarily preserved. Origen placed the text of Symmachus in the fourth column of his work. There is general scholarly agreement with the tradition that Symmachus produced a Greek translation or revision of the OT after the works of both Theodotion and Aquila. There is little agreement about other factors that relate to the life and work of this enigmatic figure.

A dominant emphasis in ancient accounts of Symmachus was his association with the Ebionites, a Jewish-Christian sect. In modern times, Schoeps (1950) has supported such a connection through a detailed study of Symmachus' generally free rendering of the Hebrew. According to Schoeps, the Greek version of Symmachus exhibits numerous contacts with characteristic elements of Ebionite exegesis and belief. For some, the designation of Symmachus as Ebionite removes him from Judaism; for others, the term does not exclude membership within the Jewish community. Among the latter is Dominique Barthélemy (1974). Although he does not deny that Symmachus may have been an Ebionite, Barthélemy emphasizes another strand in the traditions about Symmachus; namely, that he was a Samaritan who converted to Judaism. In Barthélemy's reconstruction, the Symmachus who translated the Hebrew Bible into Greek—and who was a converted Samaritan, with possible Ebionite leanings—can be identified with Symmachus, the disciple of Rabbi Meir, mentioned in the Talmud.

Barthélemy's identification leads to a date for Symmachus sometime in the third quarter of the 2d century C.E. Other scholars, however, note the absence of references to Symmachus, the translator, in 2d- and early-3d-century sources that could reasonably be expected to take note of him. This leads to a considerably later date, in the second quarter of the 3d century, for the appearance of Symmachus' work. If this is correct, Symmachus may have finished his translation only a short period prior to Origen's use of it.

The sources upon which Symmachus relied have also been much discussed. It used to be argued that Symmachus had consciously set himself in opposition to Aquila, whose extreme literalism he countered

with a free translation more sensitive to the literary value of the Greek language than to distinctive features of the Hebrew. Detailed study of their respective versions does not, however, bear out this contention. Symmachus is not dependent on Aquila, nor does he exhibit extensive knowledge of or interest in Aquila's work. See AQUILA'S VERSION. On the other hand, it is clear that Symmachus knew and used material identified with Theodotion and linked more broadly with the *kaige* recension of the Septuagint. See THEODOTION. Symmachus, although he apparently found many specific renderings of Theodotion to his liking, was unhappy with the earlier translator/reviser's tendency to establish standard or stereotyped representations for many Hebrew words and phrases. Variety, for stylistic or exegetical purposes, was more in keeping with Symmachus' conception of the translator's craft. Again unlike Theodotion, who as a reviser made extensive use of an existing Greek text to prepare his version, Symmachus produced a fresh translation, on the basis of Theodotion-*kaige,* the Old Greek, possibly Aquila and other Greek renderings, and his own understanding of the Hebrew *Vorlage.*

The text that Symmachus created would have found a far wider audience than Aquila's. Its style and its literary achievements were undoubtedly praised by many Greek speakers, who were thus drawn into the world of the Hebrew Scriptures without having to leave their own. In this context, it should be noted that Symmachus generally preferred to supply his readers with translations (often, only guesses) for obscure or technical Hebrew terms that had remained transliterated in earlier Greek versions. On the whole, the work of Symmachus, with its freedom of style and variety of renderings, looked very different from the Hebrew original. Such an approach to translation, whether in antiquity or the modern world, has strengths and drawbacks. For example, Symmachus is far less useful for the textual critic than is the literalist Aquila. By contrast, the many interpretive elements he introduced makes him a valuable source for the study of exegetical traditions. Jerome, a learned and thoughtful observer of both text and interpretation, cast an implicit vote in favor of Symmachus and his approach. For it was Symmachus whom he followed most often in the preparation of his own biblical translation, the Vulgate.

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**SYNAGOGAL PRAYERS, HELLENISTIC.** See PRAYERS, HELLENISTIC SYNAGOGAL.

**SYNAGOGUE.** The meeting place and prayer hall of the Jewish people since antiquity. During Second Temple times the term "synagogue" referred both to a group of people and/or a building or institution. Although these notions are not mutually exclusive, it is quite probable that at its inception the synagogue did not refer to an actual building but to a group or community of individuals who met together for worship and religious purposes. This entry will explore the nature of the synagogue, first providing a broad introductory overview, and then surveying the evidence pertaining to early synagogues in the Diaspora.

### *INTRODUCTORY SURVEY*

By the 1st century C.E. the synagogue had become so important and central an institution to Jewish life in Palestine that the Talmud of Palestine refers to 480 of them existing in Jerusalem in the time of Vespasian (Kloner 1981:12). One scholar has recently proposed that in Jerusalem alone there were 365 synagogues in the late Second Temple period (Wilkinson 1976:76–77). A Greek inscription from Jerusalem dating to the 1st century C.E., found in the excavations of 1913–14, describes the varied function of the synagogue at that time (quoted in Levine 1987:17):

> Theodotus, son of Vettenos, the priest and *archisynagogos,* son of a *archisynagogos* and grandson of a *archisynagogos,* who built the synagogue for purposes of reciting the Law and studying the

commandments, and as a hotel with chambers and water installations to provide for the needs of itinerants from abroad, which his fathers, the elders and Simonides founded.

Josephus also emphasizes the centrality of the reading of Scripture and the importance of study found in the Second Temple synagogue (*AgAp* 2.175). The NT corroborates such a picture in reporting Jesus' and Paul's frequent visitations to synagogues. During those times they would invariably read or expound Scripture, either the Pentateuch or Prophets (e.g., Luke 4:16–22; Acts 13:13–16).

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A. Origins
B. Terminology
C. Diaspora Synagogues
D. Synagogues in Israel-Palestine
E. Building Types
1. Basilica
2. Broadhouse
3. Apsidal
F. Conclusion

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**A. Origins**

The origin of the synagogue is shrouded in mystery, though most scholars would place its beginning in exilic times (Gutmann 1975:72–76). It was the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple in 587/6 B.C.E. and the forced eviction of the Judeans to Babylonia that created the conditions which brought about a complete reappraisal of life. Bereft of temple and country, the Judeans probably under the priestly leadership of Jehozadak (Hag 1:1), undertook to collect and edit their sacred writings. This effort culminated around 560 B.C.E. in the publication of the Primary History (Genesis–2 Kings). Another aspect of the life crisis facing the Judeans in exile was the question of how to worship without a sanctuary located on a holy place. Many scholars assume that the prophet Ezekiel was pivotal in establishing local houses of worship to deal with the matter, citing Ezek 11:16 (with its reference to the *miqdāš mĕ‹aṭ*) in support of the prophet's efforts in this connection. Others have cited the meeting place *(bêt ‹am)* of Jer 39:8 also as reflecting such a need for non-temple worship and meeting.

Whatever the reality of the situation in exile, the fact of the matter is that the response to Cyrus' edict in 538 B.C.E. permitting the Judeans to return to Palestine was underwhelming. Many chose to stay in the Persian diaspora and such a decision clearly indicates that their religious needs were being met. Indeed, cuneiform records and archives reveal a community in Babylonia that retained its Yahwistic identity (Zadok 1979). See also MURASHÛ, ARCHIVE OF. Unfortunately there is no documentary evidence, either epigraphic or archaeological, to verify the existence of the synagogue as structure or social institution. Moreover, Ezekiel's role in advancing an alternative to the Jerusalem temple must also be questioned in view of the fact he was a priest who supported the temple cult and who (in chapters 40–48) vigorously advanced the prospect of a restored temple.

Whatever the case may be for an exilic date for the idea or actual establishment of the synagogue as a place where individuals gathered to worship, read, or recite the scriptures, and to venerate Yahweh, the experience and trauma of the destruction and exile of God's people enabled the Judeans to develop a means of approaching God that transcended the confines of sacred space. The discovery of a number of cult centers outside of Jerusalem—at Kuntillet ‹Ajrud in Sinai or at Lachish in the Shephelah—indicate that the Deuteronomic reform for centralized worship must be viewed in light of the reality of a popular religion that located its cult in numerous places.

The existence of other cult centers outside the land of Palestine—such as at Elephantine in Egypt in Persian times, at Leontopolis in Hellenistic times, possibly in Transjordan in Hellenistic times ('Araq el-'Amir), at the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim, or even at Qumran in Palestine—indicates that the precedent for such a pattern of religious expression was widespread in the Second Temple period. In this context the Gk inscriptions from the Fayyum in Egypt, which date as early as the 3d century B.C.E. and

mention synagogues, are quite understandable. Thus cult centers and the earliest synagogues exist alongside one another from Hellenistic times on. Although the exclusivity of the Jerusalem temple cannot be maintained for this period, its centrality in the life of Palestinian and Diaspora Jews cannot be doubted.

**B. Terminology**

The terms employed to designate the synagogue reflect the variety of its functions. The earliest terms come from the Second Temple period and are Greek: *synagogue* and *proseuche* (Hengel 1975:39–41; Levine 1987:20–23), the former meaning "house of assembly," the latter "house of prayer." Despite the fact that the status and full extent of the development of private prayer in the Second Temple period is much debated and in doubt, some scholars feel that *proseuche* is the older term, popular since the 3d century B.C.E. In any case, *synagogue* was in use by the turn of the era and came to replace *proseuche* by the 2d century C.E. Hengel has suggested that *proseuche* carries with it the special connotation of Diaspora synagogue, while *synagogue* carries with it the nuance of "Palestinian" in the NT, Josephus, and rabbinic sources (Hengel 1975:41–54). Others have suggested a distinction in meaning between the terms that derives from a difference in architecture and ornamentation, but there seems to be little merit to such a view.

The difference in Greek terms undoubtedly reflects the multiple functions of synagogues in both Palestine and the Diaspora; it also reflects how Jews and non-Jews perceived the role of the synagogue in society. The Hebrew and Aramaic terms of post-70 C.E. also reflect this variety to which is added the *bêt midraš,* or "house of study." *Synagogue* is equivalent to *bêt knesset* and *proseuche* equivalent to *bêt tĕpillâ.* It is noteworthy, however, that as the number of synagogues greatly and rapidly increases after 70 C.E. the nomenclature continues to reflect the varied communal aspects of life that were carried on within the confines of the synagogue, notwithstanding the fact that from the 2d century C.E. on the liturgical life of the synagogue is well documented and fairly stable. (The Jewish community center of contemporary America is a direct descendant of this multi-function ancient institution.)

**C. Diaspora Synagogues**

Despite the fact that the oldest synagogue inscriptions come from Egypt, we have no archaeological documentation of what they might have been like. Josephus informs us of the centrality of the reading of the Law in the Alexandrian synagogue (*AgAp* 2.175), while the *Tosephta* (*Sukk.* 4.6) refers to other aspects of its furnishings and to its enormous size:

> And a wooden *bema* was found in the center of the synagogue hall, and the *ḥazzan* or leader of the synagogue would stand on the corner of the *bema* with kerchiefs in his hand. When one came and took hold of the biblical scroll to read, the *ḥazzan* would wave the kerchiefs and all the people would answer "Amen" for each blessing (translation after Levine 1987:17).

The oldest synagogue in the Diaspora to be preserved, excavated, and reported is the one from the Aegean island of Delos, birthplace of Apollo. A free port in the 2d century B.C.E., Delos attracted a substantial number of Greek-speaking Samaritans who erected a synagogue there sometime in the 1st century B.C.E. Although earlier scholars doubted the identification of the 16.9 m × 14.4 m synagogue hall, new evidence has enabled a positive interpretation to dominate today (Bruneau 1982; Meyers and Kraabel 1986:186; Kraabel 1987:51). The discovery of a *menorah* on an overall piece of Pentelic marble in the Agora excavations of Athens suggests (but does not prove) the existence of a synagogue there also (Meyers and Kraabel 1986:186).

In Priene, on the Aegean coast in Asia Minor, a small structure once identified as a small house-church is today identified as a synagogue dating from the 3d or 4th century C.E. Two incised *menorahs* near a niche indicate the existence of a place for the Torah scrolls. The largest Jewish community of Asia Minor, however, was at Sardis in Lydia. Its large, basilical synagogue with apse is one of the best preserved Jewish ruins anywhere and dates to the 2d or 3d century C.E. It was destroyed in 616 C.E. An extensive literature exists on this synagogue site and its excavations. The distance from apse to front steps is 100 m, and its width is 10 m. Over eighty inscriptions have been recovered from the building (Kraabel 1987; Meyers and Kraabel 1986:191–92). Another important synagogue of Polycharmos exists in Macedonia (at Stobi) and dates to the 3d century C.E. A later one dates to the 4th century. The 4th-century building

boasts a mosaic floor in a hall of 7.9 m × 13.3 m with walls decorated by frescoes. The base of a Torah shrine may be preserved on the E wall (Meyers and Kraabel 1986:186–87).

At Ostia, the port of ancient Rome, a very large and well-perserved synagogue is preserved in its 4th-century form (24.9 m × 12.5 m). A *bema* occupies the wall opposite the main entrance, and a massive Torah shrine dominates the building. The excavations suggest an earlier, 1st-century building lies beneath the reconstructed later building (Meyers and Kraabel 1986:187–88; Kraabel *ANRW* 2/19:475–510).

The eastern Diaspora is best represented by the astonishing synagogue excavated at Dura Europos in Syria on the Euphrates. The city was destroyed in 256 C.E. thereby preserving its ruins in a most serendipitous way. The broadhouse synagogue with Torah niche is best known for its wonderful wall paintings which depict biblical scenes. Some of the stories represented are the exodus, Elijah reviving the widow, Samuel anointing David, the Philistine capture of the Ark of Yahweh, etc. One of the most famous is the Ezekiel panel that shows God's deliverance of his people from exile and their resurrection in Jerusalem. The synagogue paintings provide an unprecedented opportunity for understanding Judaism in the 3d century C.E. and for assaying the importance of synagogue life on the fringes of the Syrian desert (Meyers and Kraabel 1986:190–91). Its proximity to the church at Dura and to pagan edifices also tells a great deal about pluralism.

The synagogues of the Greco-Roman Diaspora are diverse in style and varied in their architectural layout. Some are large, some are small. Some are basilical, some are broadhouses. In all, however, there is a constancy in the symbols which decorate them. Of special importance is the placement of the Torah shrine as the focal point of worship or centerpiece of the wall of orientation. For the Diaspora the synagogue becomes the vehicle par excellence for communicating what Kraabel calls a "biblical Diaspora theology" and grafting it on to a Greco-Roman social organization (1987:58). It enables Judaism to preserve itself in a healthy, self-conscious way in a pluralistic setting. Although the evidence to date is fairly limited, there is no doubt that future discoveries will continue to shed important light on the social setting of the synagogue in Greco-Roman society. For a survey of the archaeological aspects of these various synagogues, see "Diaspora Synagogues" below.

**D. Synagogues in Israel-Palestine**

The dearth of new data for ancient synagogues in the Diaspora may be compared with a plethora of new material from Israel/Palestine. Since 1967, systematic survey and excavation has turned up dozens of new important discoveries from the S Judean desert to the N Golan Heights. See Fig. SYN.01. When combined with previously known material and evaluated on its own merit, the Judaism that emerges appears to have been surprisingly variegated, flourishing in Syria-Palestine throughout the Byzantine era until the Arab conquest in the 7th century C.E. The evidence of ancient synagogues thus demonstrates the viability of Judaism for the duration of the Greco-Roman period, and calls into question the commonly held assumption of an earlier generation of scholarship that Palestinian Jewry was in decline towards the end of the Roman period.

If one of the surprising aspects of recent research has been that more synagogues have been identified as being "late," another is that few have been found that are "early." Thus far only three synagogue buildings within Israel/Palestine have been securely dated to the Second Temple period: Gamla, Masada, and Herodium. The building at Gamla in the Golan is oriented towards Jerusalem, is situated close to a ritual bath, and is in the heart of a Jewish town that was at the very forefront of the war against Rome in 66–70 C.E. (Gutman 1981). The Masada synagogue is located on the NW side of the hill, is rectangular in plan with two rows of columns, one on the S side with three columns, and one on the N with two, and four tiers of benches. Its entrance on the SE, opposite Jerusalem, suggests a kind of sacred orientation. Sacred scrolls were found in a small room in the NW that was apparently used to store the scrolls not in use during worship (Yadin 1966:181–91). The building at Herodium is also rectangular with entrances to the E and supported by four columns, and benches on three walls and is located near a ritual bath. Only when compared with Masada does its identification as a synagogue seem possible (Foerster 1973).

The dearth of early Second Temple synagogue remains stands in striking contrast to the large number of synagogues referred to in ancient literary sources; but such an anomoly derives from our modern

misunderstanding of the synagogue as a social and religious institution and the synagogue as a distinct and discrete architectural entity. This apparent contradiction disappears if we assume that, in the first centuries, large private houses were used as places of worship alongside other buildings that came to be utilized for worship and other matters requiring public assembly. In Palestine, it would seem, it was about a hundred years after the destruction of the Temple that the synagogue *as building* began to emerge as a central feature of Jewish communal life. This inference surely may be deduced on the basis of the Second War with Rome in 132–25 C.E., which brought even greater destruction and dislocation than the first war. It was really not until the second half of the 2d century C.E. that Palestinian Jewry achieved any measure of respite from war with all its social and economic implications. It was then that the synagogue as synagogue building emerged, and it first took root in Galilee, the region most heavily populated by Jews at that time.

In Galilee we observe most of the types of buildings that ultimately became associated with synagogues: basilicas with and without apse, and broadhouses. Variety in architectural patterning and ornamentation is accompanied by a repetitive organization of sacred furnishings that culminate in placing the Ark of the Law on the wall facing Jerusalem. The existence of one pattern on one type synagogue, however, does not necessarily mean that another type could not and did not exist alongside another. Indeed, diversity in every sense characterizes all periods and all regions of Palestine where synagogues are to be found.

**E. Building Types**

**1. Basilica.** In the basilica, as in the various other forms of the ancient synagogue, the major architectural, if not theological, aspect is the wall of orientation facing Jerusalem. It is generally assumed that this most salient and telling feature of the synagogue is derived from the biblical practice of praying towards Jerusalem (1 Kgs 8:44 = 2 Chr 6:34; 1 Kgs 8:48 = 2 Chr 6:38; Dan 6:11). This custom achieved legal force in the rabbinic period when it is translated into law (*j. Ber.* 4, 8b–c), but the same principle also seems to have been operative in the 1st-century buildings at Masada and Herodium (Foerster 1973). See also Figs. ART.36 and ART.37.

The principle of sacred orientation may be observed in the basilical structure uncovered in the American excavations at ancient Meiron (Meyers, Strange, and Meyers 1978), where the triple facade faces S towards Jerusalem. Most scholars agree that this example dates to a time when the ark was not yet a permanent fixture in the synagogue but was a portable structure brought into the main sanctuary during worship. The precentor, or reader of Scripture, would stand before it facing Jerusalem (though compare the example of the Nabratein broadhouse, where one might have faced the opposite direction, towards the congregation; Meyers and Meyers 1981). Possible representations of a portable ark may be observed in sculpture at Capernaum and in mosaic elsewhere (Hachlili 1976:43–53). It seems that the portable ark of the synagogue harkens back to Nathan's rebuke of David (2 Sam 7:4ff.), when the prophet argues poignantly, in theological terms, for a movable shrine.

Both the orientation of the basilica and the suggested location of the ark require the so-called "awkward about-face" of the worshipper. If the Jerusalem-oriented entrances were both functional and also the focus of worship, the worshipper would have had to turn around immediately upon entering the building from the S. The lack of an entrance on the N, or opposite side would have necessitated such a turnaround. At Meiron and at most other basilical sites, no convincing proof of entrances either on the N, E, or W has been found. The Nabratein basilicas, however, are the exceptions to this rule.

All of this presupposes the existence of some kind of Torah shrine (either portable or permanent) on the interior S (Jerusalem-oriented) wall, even though none has been found in situ; the evidence at both Meiron and Capernaum supports such a theory (Strange, *IDBSup,* 140–41). A novel arrangement was found in the basilica-like synagogue excavated at Beth She‹arim: a raised *bema,* or podium, for the reading of the scrolls is situated in the back wall of the nave opposite the three monumental doorways, which face Jerusalem. The building dates from the second quarter of the 3d century to the middle of the 4th century (Avigad and Mazar, *EAEHL* 1:233–34). If the Torah shrine was portable and brought out during services, we would not expect to find any trace of it today (Kraabel, *NCE,* 438). The excavators at

Beth She‹arim noted significantly, however, that a Torah shrine was relocated on the Jerusalem wall during the last phase of the building's history. The excavator of the Ein-Gedi synagogue also observed this change (Avi-Yonah 1973:341). Both instances tend to suggest a major theological development some time in the late 3d or early 4th century C.E., when public reading of Scripture in a worship setting reached a high point. Whether such a transformation can be related to external circumstances affecting the Jewish community, such as the Christianization of the empire or the reading of Scripture by sectarians, is a matter that deserves further study. S. Lieberman (personal communication) feels that this was a matter of Jewish self-definition vis-à-vis Christians and Jewish-Christians, indicating the Jews' preference for a specific canonical form of Torah.

The origin of the basilica is generally conceded to be the typical Greco-Roman basilica, possibly mediated to Palestine through builders employed by Herod the Great, one of the most notable patrons of Roman building in the E Mediterranean world. Still others suggest that the basilica is mediated through Syro-Roman and Nabatean prototypes. In any case, the synagogue qua basilica is still innovative in that it has adapted a public structure (whether sacred or secular) that emphasizes the exterior and has modified it to suit its own unique religious purposes.

New discoveries indicate a much higher degree of flexibility in dating all types of synagogues than previously believed and attest to the simultaneous existence of more than one type. For example, the basilica at Capernaum is widely regarded as late or Byzantine, whereas the broadhouse at Khirbet Shema‹ is dated much earlier. The only certain way of dating any ancient building is through scientific excavation and scholarly evaluation of the data that emanate from such excavation. With respect to the general categories of synagogue buildings, present excavations indicate even more anomalies than the variation in ground plan and internal furnishing already mentioned, so that even the concept of a standard basilica can no longer be maintained.

**a. The Case of Gush Ḥalav.** The 1977–78 excavations at the ancient site of Gush Ḥalav (Giscala), just a few km N of Meiron (Meyers 1981), reinforce the opinion that only careful excavation can provide the answers to important questions of dating and typology. In the jargon of field archaeologists, this site provides a classic example of the axiom "the answers always lie below." Kohl and Watzinger, who excavated at Gush Ḥalav during their survey in the early part of this century, clearly did not go far enough in their work; their published plan of Gush Ḥalav indicates they erroneously identified what now are clearly storage areas as the closing, or interior, wall of a very large square basilica (1916:plate 15). The more recent work at Gush Ḥalav, however, has pointed out the errors in the earlier typological assumptions, and reinforces the notion that variety existed even within the broadly defined category of "basilical synagogues." (see Fig. SYN.02)

The founding of the Gush Ḥalav synagogue surely can be dated to the 3d century C.E. However, the S wall, which faces Jerusalem, has only one entrance, the one with the down-facing eagle incised on the underside of its lintel stone. If a gallery for additional seating had existed, it would have been on the N side, where the only other certain entrance to the building was found. What is "basilical" about this building is its two rows of four columns running N–S. It is rectangular only if we define its newly discovered, interior, load-bearing walls as the interior space of the building. Indeed, what is interesting about this building is that these interior walls, on the W, N, and E, demarcate the interior space of the building and internally transform a roughly square structure—originally thought by the Germans to be the synagogue interior—into a rectangular basilica with a large corridor on the W side, a gallery on the N, and a series of rooms along the E. This is a unique arrangement in this kind of building.

Also of major interest is the *bema* along the S wall which happens to be the only ashlar wall among all the exterior walls. This *bema* dates to the 4th century, or second phase of the building's use, and is off-centered in the building, just to the W of the entrance. Among the debris were found smaller pieces of architectural fragments that suggest an *aedicula*, or Torah shrine, in conjunction with this *bema*, possibly built atop it, or perhaps in another, still earlier phase during the 3d century. The discovery of the *bema* at Gush Ḥalav represents the first of its kind in the general category of buildings we call basilical, except for the anomalous findings at Beth She‹arim and Ein-Gedi. The Gush Ḥalav basilica with this plan existed

into the 6th century, when, shaken by the earthquake of 502 C.E., it was destroyed or damaged beyond repair in 551 C.E.

New data from recent excavations are bringing fresh insights. While the material from Gush Ḥalav alters somewhat the old views, it underscores the capacity of an individual religious community for limited originality. The overall architectural forms, however influenced by the surrounding Greco-Roman provincial world, reflect a freedom from rigidity that is refreshing to the student of Roman provincial art.

**b. The Case of Nabratein.** The 1980–81 excavations at Nabratein, just N of Safed, provide additional unexpected information on the basilical-type synagogue. First, the 3d-century building with six columns, destroyed in a 306 C.E. earthquake, housed a fixed Torah shrine, good portions of which were preserved intact (see Fig. SYN.03). It also had unexpected entrances on the N and E, though as a result of erosion neither one is completely clear. Although the Byzantine basilica, which was dedicated in the time of Justinian (562 C.E.) and survived into the mid-7th century, had no preserved fixed repository for the scrolls, it apparently housed a wooden ark and had no *bema.* Depictions of the possible ark were found on pieces of black ceramic and, hence, its existence seems reasonable (Meyers and Meyers 1982).

More surprising was the discovery of an early broadhouse phase at Nabratein dating to the 2d century. If Khirbet Shemaʿ called into question ideas about the development of the Galilean synagogue, then this building provides the new theorists' coup de grace. Although there is no fixed shrine, twin *bemas* flank the Jerusalem-oriented wall, and a break in the cement in the center of the floor suggests that a table there was used for reading and possibly translating the Torah. Was the biblical interpretation given on the *bema* or at floor level?

A single new excavation could completely shatter the old theories and prove conclusively that a fixed shrine, the *ʾărōn haqqōdeš,* existed in an early Galilean structure. This, then, would indicate that later mosaics and other artistic depictions do, in fact, portray the actual accouterments that existed in the earlier Galilean synagogue.

**2. Broadhouse.** The broadhouse synagogue receives its designation because its wall of orientation is one of the longer, or broader, walls as opposed to the shorter end-wall in the basilica. Despite the fact that the oldest known example of this type comes from Dura Europos and dates from the first half of the 3d century C.E., this type of building in Palestine was traditionally thought to be late (4th century C.E.) and transitional (that is, between the Roman basilical and the Byzantine apsidal synagogue). In general, its appearance seems to coincide with a time when a fixed receptacle for the Torah had been adopted. Among the known broadhouse synagogues, however, the *bema* is the most widely attested feature and always is situated on the Jerusalem-orienting wall. The broadhouse represents one resolution of awkward about-face required by the basilica: the worshipper could enter as easily through the short wall (and face the Torah shrine) as through the long wall opposite the shrine. Or, the broadhouse simply may represent an independent predilection for an architectural type which already had a lengthy history in ancient Palestine.

Both solutions find attestation in the first and only Galilean broadhouse excavated: at Khirbet Shemaʿ, just 1 km S of ancient Meiron. See Fig. SYN.04. Conclusive dating of two major phases of the Khirbet Shemaʿ broadhouse synagogue to the 3d and 4th centuries C.E. once again forces students of ancient synagogues to put aside preconceived developmental notions of stages and study the evidence alone. Khirbet Shemaʿ, while clearly a broadhouse with orientation in both stages on the long S wall, differs from its closest parallels at Susiyah and Eshtemoʿa in Judea by having internal columnation running E-W, 90° off the wall oriented towards Jerusalem. None of the other broadhouse synagogues so far excavated has supporting columns in the sacred area; instead they use radically widened walls to support the superstructure.

At Khirbet Shemaʿ the first synagogue building of the second half of the 3d century C.E. was destroyed completely in the great earthquake of 306 C.E. The evidence for the destruction of Synagogue I at Khirbet Shemaʿ emerged dramatically in the course of excavations beneath the floor in the E end of the second, or post-306, building; here were recovered fragments of columns, capitals, and bases all shattered so badly that they could only be used as rubble building material or fill.

The destruction date of 419 C.E. for the second Khirbet Shemaʿ building can be easily determined because there is a sharp break in the coin evidence after 408 C.E. Since most 5th-century coins were produced under Arcadius and Honorius early in the century, and hence specimens would not normally be expected, the best explanation for such a radical break in the coin profile is a sudden abandonment of the site. This is further corroborated by the tumbled and badly shattered debris of Synagogue II. Dating by the closest "strong earthquake" after 408 C.E., it is possible to conclude that the occupation of the entire site—comparing all the data from the entire town—came to an abrupt end in the earthquake of 419 C.E. Scientists of the Geologic Survey of Israel, who have just concluded a long-range study of the Upper Galilee region, have studied the pictures of the in situ remains of Synagogue II and were able to confirm the direction of the ancient fall, which is determined by the fault lines, recently plotted by them. Their study has also corroborated the direction of the Gush Ḥalav collapse and has enabled us to explain the extensive repairs done at Meiron in the first half of the 4th century C.E.

In sectioning, or cutting through, the *bema* at Khirbet Shemaʿ, excavators were fortunate enough to recover a number of coins from which it could be concluded that the people at Khirbet Shemaʿ did not wait long to rebuild their sacred sanctuary. Since the rubble-filled *bema* dates to after 306 and because an earlier bench runs through it and along the S wall, it may be concluded that there was no *bema* in the 3d-century building (Synagogue I). Fractured remains of smaller architectural elements, however, suggest that a Torah shrine probably stood on this wall in the first structure.

The origin of the broadhouse, therefore, need not be sought at Dura, but may be viewed as being descended from the basic Syro-Palestinian broadhouse temple. In the case of Khirbet Shemaʿ—as in Nabratein in the earliest structure—we apparently have a "mixed" type, a kind of merger between the Roman basilica (viewing the building E-W with its two rows of four columns) and the Syro-Palestinian broadhouse (viewing the building along the long southern-orienting wall). In any event, it represents a novel adaptation of existing prototypes and gives ample testimony to the ingenuity of the designers.

**3. Apsidal.** The third general category of synagogue building is the apsidal building, clearly the latest of all types (judging from attested remains and inscriptions) with a basilica-like interior. The novelty of this synagogue type, which began in the 5th century C.E. and continued until the 8th century, lies in the fact that the apse points in the direction of Jerusalem and constitutes the focus of worship. It represents another resolution to the awkwardness of the basilical arrangements described above by enabling the worshipper to face directly in the sacred direction by entering from the E (or from any side opposite the Jerusalem wall). In this type of structure the apse usually is separated from the rest of the sanctuary by a screen and often serves as the repository for the Torah shrine and possibly for the storage of old scrolls.

In many buildings there is a platform, or *bema*, within the apse, suggestive of the place where the reader or precentor stood, along with the cantor *(ḥazzan),* translators, and elders. In this regard it is functionally equivalent to the *bema* at Khirbet Shemaʿ or Gush Ḥalav, though in those places there is only room for the reader of Scripture, or *ḥazzan* (*t. Sukk.v A.I.Sukk.* 4.6 and parallels). The apsidal building provides the best possible arrangement for explaining the rabbinic reference to the elders sitting with their backs towards Jerusalem, i.e., to the orienting wall (*t. Meg.* 4.21). According to this same rabbinic source, the only other time when leaders turned their backs to Jerusalem was during the recitation of the priestly blessing by the priests themselves. In the apsidal structure, perhaps because of Byzantine strictures against the building of new synagogues and even limiting repairs to points of breach, emphasis now is shifted from the exterior to the interior. This shift in emphasis, if indeed such a conclusion is correct, usually is observed in the colorful and richly decorated mosaics which adorn the floors. These mosaics often consist of depictions of biblical episodes but sometimes present borrowed Greek themes as well, such as the signs of the zodiac (Ḥammath Tiberias, Beth-shan, and others). Often, too, the mosaic directly in front of the apse represents the Torah shrine flanked by the menorah (Beth Alpha). Parade examples of the apsidal synagogue may be found at Maon, Jericho and Gaza, Beth Alpha, Ḥammath Tiberias (last phase), and Ḥammath Gader.

**F. Conclusion**

In summary, one might characterize the state of synagogue studies as being in flux. New material has created a healthy climate of reconsideration and reevaluation. To be sure, many of the old theories have foundered, but that is expected. While there is no longer any typological approach to this subject, the old types still persist. Today, however, they persist in startling new variety. Ultimately when all the new data are published, we will know far more about the ancient synagogue than ever before. From our point of view, the synagogue represents one of the most notable achievements of Judaic civilization, for it is the synagogue that enabled Judaism to survive the transition from temple to private house of worship and from worship within the Holy Land to worship anywhere that Jews might gather.

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## *DIASPORA SYNAGOGUES*

Our knowledge of the Jews in the Diaspora is based on often unclear Jewish literary sources, from the writings of church fathers and pagan sources, and from archaeological excavations. The excavations are important because they provide concrete material relating to the lives of the Jewish communities in various countries. Thus it is worthwhile here to examine the data gathered from these archaeological discoveries—particularly from excavations of synagogues—and thereby to present a clearer picture of the present state of the Diaspora Judaism research.

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A. Descriptions
B. Diaspora Synagogue Architecture
C. Synagogue Art
D. Jewish Symbols
E. Inscriptions
F. Dating of the Synagogues


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**A. Descriptions**

Although there is still some doubt as to whether remains from Aphrodesias (Turkey), Athens, and Corinth provide evidence of ancient synagogues, a number of structures excavated in the Mediterranean and Near Eastern world are without doubt the remains of synagogues built and used by Jews of the Diaspora (although those of Misis in Turkey and Elche in Spain are still debated).

**1. Dura Europos.** This synagogue, located in a small trading caravan-town on the Euphrates River in Syria, was excavated from 1932 (Kraeling 1979; Goodenough 1953–68:vols. 9–11). The Jewish community there lived under Roman rule, and their synagogue was destroyed when the Sassanians destroyed the town in 256 C.E. The synagogue had two stages of building, each with a different architectural plan and decoration. *Synagogue I* dates to the 2d century—before ca. 245 C.E., while *Synagogue II* dates to 245–56 C.E. Both synagogues were part of a house complex and consisted of a forecourt and a rectangular main assembly room (14 × 8.7 m) with two entrances from the courtyard on its E wall. On the W wall the Torah shrine niche was built to hold the ark of the scrolls. In Synagogue II, all four walls were elaborately decorated with biblical scenes; there were also some other changes and remodelling done in this second stage. See also DURA-EUROPOS.

**2. Ostia.** At Ostia, the ancient port of Rome, a synagogue of two periods was excavated in 1961–62. A 1st-century synagogue was found under the later building, with a similar plan (but without a Torah shrine). The plan of the later synagogue consisted of several rooms, probably built in two stages: an entrance hall with three doors, and a main hall with its W wall slightly round; attached to it from inside is a platform *(bema).* Between the entrance hall and main hall 4 columns were found. In the later stage, a Torah shrine was built at the SE corner of the main hall, blocking one of the earlier entrances, appearing as an additional rather than original structure. Its architraves were decorated with carvings of Jewish symbols (shofar, menorah, ethrog, and lulav). The floor of the vestibule was a black and white simple mosaic. The main hall had an *opus sectile* floor.

**3. Stobi.** Three buildings, one above the other, were found in excavations conducted since 1970 in Stobi (Macedonia, Yugoslavia); two of them are synagogues, both under a later church (Moe 1977).

Synagogue I, the earlier of the two, is also known as the synagogue of Polycharmos. Among the remains was an inscription (*CII* 694). The building was probably Polycharmos' private house which he subsequently donated to the Jewish community (he and his family probably lived on the second floor). The synagogue walls were decorated with fresco geometric designs, sometimes inscribed with the name of Polycharmos. Also found were a few pavement stones and a copper plaque. The plan of the later Synagogue II is more clear and detailed. It had a main hall (13.3 × 7.9 m) with a Torah shrine structure on the E wall (oriented toward Jerusalem). The hall's floor was decorated with geometric-designed mosaic, while the walls were covered with fresco and molded stucco.

The archaeological evidence suggests that the structure was probably originally a house built between the 1st and 2d centuries, donated in the 2d century by Polycharmos for use as a synagogue, and then rebuilt and remodelled for its new function in the 2d–3d century. On top of the later synagogue a church was built (late-4th or early-5th century), purposely replacing the synagogue by a Christian basilica church.

**4. Sardis.** The Sardis (Turkey) synagogue was built as part of the Roman gymnasium-bath complex. It might have been a public building, later turned over to the Jewish community and then sealed off from the rest of the complex. The synagogue was in use from the 3d century on and was remodelled several times (Seager and Kraabel 1981). The later synagogue (now reconstructed) from the 4th century is the largest Diaspora synagogue found to date. It consists of an atrium forecourt with 3 entrances and a main hall ending in an apse with benches on the W. On the E wall of the hall two Torah shrines flank the central entrance. Six piers are built on the N and S walls. In the center of the hall, a platform was built, and close to the apse an "eagle table" stood flanked by two stone Lydian lions in second use.

Mosaic floors with geometric and floral designs decorated the hall and court. Inscriptions were incorporated into various sections of the mosaic. The walls were decorated with marble pieces and the ceiling was painted. Many inscriptions were found, mainly donations inscribed in Greek. The synagogue

had several stages of building alterations between the 3d and 4th centuries, and the last synagogue was abandoned and destroyed with the rest of the town in 616 C.E. (Seager and Kraabel 1981:172–74).

**5. Priene.** The building (also in Turkey) was first identified as a house-church, but several artifacts found at the site proved the building was a synagogue. These included two plaques with Jewish symbols (the menorah, shofar, a lulav, and ethrog) that were discovered on the floor in front of the Torah shrine (Goodenough 1953: fig. 878, 882). Another relief was found with an unfinished, carved menorah. The building was a rectangular, rebuilt house measuring 19 × 14 m. A niche was built into the (Jerusalem-oriented) E wall. Some additional rooms surrounded it. The synagogue probably was in use in the 3d–4th centuries.

**6. Delos.** This synagogue building on the island of Delos was probably the earliest synagogue in the Diaspora, the structure being in use from the 1st century B.C.E. It might have been a 2d century B.C.E. house that was subsequently remodeled as a synagogue. The identification of the building as a synagogue is based on the plan of the house and on dedication inscriptions on bases found in two rooms of the building. On the basis of these, an argument followed as to the identification of the structure. Some scholars are against identifying it as a synagogue (Sukenik 1949), while others strongly support such an identification (Bruneau 1982; Kraabel, *ANRW* 2/19:475–510; White 1987). The main argument against Delos being a synagogue is the absence of Jewish symbols, and the discovery of a group of 1st–2d century C.E. lamps, some with pagan symbols.

The Delos structure is a main hall (16.9 × 14.4 m) later divided into two rooms by a wall with three entrances. Room A had benches along the walls with a marble throne "seat of Moses" on the W wall. Several rooms and portico are on the S and E of the main hall. The identification of the Delos structure as a synagogue is difficult and problematic because of its early date, a time when Jewish symbols were not used, and because the building did not have a general identifying plan. However, it seems that the arguments presented by Bruneau, Kraabel, and White in favor of the Delos synagogue are convincing.

**7. Aegina.** In this city in Greece a synagogue building was found consisting of a main hall (13.5 × 7.6 m) with a semicircular apse (5.5 m) on the E wall. Probably three entrances were constructed on the W wall. On the N wall several rooms were added. Its floor was paved with a geometrically designed mosaic. Close to the entrances, at the border of its W part, inscriptions were laid mentioning Theodoros, the Archisynagogos who constructed the building. At the E end of the mosaic border, in front of the apse, the center of the border is suddenly paved with white mosaic tesserae. This suggests that a *bema* stood there. Beneath this synagogue were found the remains of an earlier building, possibly pointing to an earlier structure (of a synagogue?). The Aegina synagogue is dated to the 4th century.

**8. Apamea.** The Apamea synagogue in Syria yielded only an elaborate mosaic floor with a number of inscriptions, all donations to the synagogue of various people (Goodenough 1953, 2:83–84 and bibliography there). The mosaic floor design is comparable to other Apamea pagan and Christian mosaic floors and to the school of Antioch mosaicist. It includes a menorah in one of the carpets on the S end of the remaining mosaic floor. There was a square niche, probably the Torah shrine, on the S wall (probably close to the menorah on the floor), which in Syria was the wall facing Jerusalem. The floor was found under a later church. Here, as in other Diaspora synagogues, a church replaced the synagogue, probably in the 5th century. The synagogue is dated to the late 4th century on the basis of its dated inscriptions.

**9. Hammam-Lif.** The synagogue, discovered in 1883, is situated near Tunis in N Africa. The building consisted of a complex of rooms. The main area of rooms (b, c, d) were the main part of the synagogue. The main hall (c) probably had three doors leading into it. It had a niche on the W wall, perhaps with a *bema* in front of it. The room was floored with mosaics, its design including birds and fish (nilotic scene), and in its center there was an inscription flanked by Jewish symbols (the menorah and ritual objects). Except for the inscription and the Jewish symbols, the other designs are reminiscent of contemporary N Africa mosaic floors. Two other inscriptions were found which might have been connected with a genizah (the burial of a Torah scroll). On the basis of its mosaic art, the synagogue is dated to the 6th century (see Goodenough 1953, 2:89–100).

**10. Philippopolis.** A recent excavation in Bulgaria discovered a synagogue dated to the end of the 4th–early-5th centuries. The plan is not exactly clear, but a mosaic floor depicting a large menorah was found, as was an inscription mentioning donors having Jewish names.

**11. Elche.** This building (in Spain) consists of a main hall (10.9 × 7.55 m) ending with an apse on its E wall. The entrance was on the opposite W wall. It had a floored mosaic with Greek inscriptions. Scholars disagree as to whether the building might have been a church or synagogue. Wischnitzer (1964:12) suggests that it might have served originally as a synagogue, being later remodeled for use as a church, as we know from other locations (such as Apamea and Stobi).

**12. Misis, Mophostia.** The remains of the building in Misis (Turkey) consist mainly of elaborate mosaic floors and very few architectural remains. The mosaic floor in the central part shows the biblical story of Noah's Ark, with animals and birds surrounding it. On the N aisles the Samson story was depicted apparently in 14 scenes. Biblical scenes were not depicted on church floors (except for the Jonah story in the Aquila church), but several such scenes occur on synagogue floors in Palestine/Israel (Beth Alpha, Gerasa, Naaran). The original excavator maintained that the building was a 4th–5th century church.

**B. Diaspora Synagogue Architecture**

The most important feature of the research of Diaspora art and architecture have been the archaeological discoveries of synagogue buildings surveyed or excavated in Syria, Turkey, Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia, N Africa, Bulgaria, and Spain. These synagogues do not have much in common architecturally; in fact, they rarely have similar features either with one another or with synagogues in Palestine.

The plans seem to be local and not part of established types. However, there were two factors that determined the architectural plan of each of the Diaspora synagogues. The first was the local artistic and architectural traditions and fashions. But secondly, several circumstances peculiar to the Diaspora synagogues seem to have exerted some influences that ultimately determined their plans. For example, some synagogues were regular houses which were subsequently converted into assembly halls (e.g., Dura Europos). Some synagogues were built as part of a public complex in a prominent site in the city (e.g., the Sardis synagogue, which was part of the monumental Roman bath and gymnasium complex). A very important fact in the fragmentary architectural survival of some Diaspora synagogues was the intentional converting of the synagogue into a church (probably in the 4th–5th century C.E.; e.g., Apamea). Also, many of the Diaspora synagogues had two phases of buildings.

However there do appear to have been some characteristic features of the Diaspora synagogue. Some of them had a forecourt. Their facades were not usually decorated and had either triple entrances (Sardis, Ostia) or a single entrance (Priene). Dura Europas had two entrances leading from the courtyard to the assembly hall. A unique feature was the main hall, which was not divided by columns; it was usually a hall with a Torah shrine, elders' seat, and sometimes benches. In the Sardis synagogue the pillars were built so close to the walls that the hall was not divided into a main and side aisles (as was customary in many synagogues in Palestine).

The main feature and focal point of the Diaspora synagogues was the Torah shrine (see Hachlili 1988: chap. 8), which consisted of three forms: (1) an aedicula (Sardis, Ostia); (2) a niche (Apamea and Priene); or (3) an apse (Aegina). The Torah shrine was built on whichever wall happened to be oriented towards Jerusalem.

**C. Synagogue Art**

Art in the Jewish Diaspora can be seen in synagogue ornamentation and Jewish catacombs wall paintings. See ART AND ARCHITECTURE (EARLY JEWISH) EARLY JEWISH ART AND ARCHITECTURE. Most of the synagogue ornamentation consists of mosaic floors. They depicted mainly various geometric patterns, and some had Greek donation inscriptions, sometimes with Jewish symbols (such as the menorah and the ritual objects) added to the design (e.g., Sardis' mosaic floors, Aegina, and Apamea).

The most important and unique expression of synagogue art is the cycle of biblical scenes in the elaborate wall paintings of Dura Europos. The paintings there cover all four walls of the synagogue hall,

reflecting an important development of narrative depiction in the 3d century C.E. For years scholars have been studying these paintings trying to ascertain the nature of their significance. Some have maintained that some other painted synagogues in Mesopotamia and Syria were the models for the paintings in the provincial city of Dura Europos. Others try to fit them into Parthian art or "provincial" Roman art. Some scholars suggest that the whole cycle was painted by local artists, a single master and his assistants; but because of the difference in composition, others maintain that the local paintings were created by various painters. Kraeling and others suggest the Dura artists used pattern books, probably manuscripts or other pictorial sources. The only exception is the painting of the Sacrifice of Isaac and the cultic object above the Torah shrine, which has been suggested as being influenced by similar depictions in synagogues in Palestine.

The style of the Dura paintings shows pictures of static compositions and postures; the figures are usually depicted with expressionless faces and in strict frontality. The scenes and details of figures, dress, and objects are stylized, colors are rich, and space is usually completely filled. Scholars have found Greek and Parthian elements, but not much of Roman art. Some motifs, however, are found only in Durene art.

**D. Jewish Symbols**

The most common of Jewish symbols depicted in Jewish Diaspora art (as in Palestinian Jewish art) is the menorah. The menorah is depicted on mosaic floors, wall paintings, and inscribed on walls and tombs. It frequently appears along with ritual objects. The ark of the scrolls is seldom depicted (only on Dura paintings, on some Jewish catacombs wall paintings, and on some of the gold glasses found in these catacombs). Depictions of ritual objects (the lulav, etrog, shofar, and a vase) frequently have been found flanking the menorah. Narrative biblical scenes occur only on Dura Europos paintings (the Misis mosaic floor, if it is indeed a synagogue, also has biblical scenes).

**E. Inscriptions**

Inscriptions provide a great source of information about Diaspora synagogues. Some inscriptions were found in excavated synagogues, and many were found in places which might indicate that a synagogue was once there. About 150 inscriptions related to synagogues have been found in the Diaspora (Roth-Garson 1988; Frey 1975; Lifshitz 1967; Leon 1960):16 inscriptions in Egypt (from Alexandria and other places); 27 inscriptions from Syria (19 from the Apamea synagogue and 3 from Dura Europos); 4 from Cyprus; and 13 inscriptions from Greece. Asia Minor has yielded the most, including about 80 from Sardis (only a third of which have been published). Three inscriptions were found in Stobi (Yugoslavia), while Spain, Sicily, and Cyrenaica yielded one inscription each. (All our information about synagogues in Rome came from tombstones and burial inscriptions.) See JUDAISM (IN ROME). Most of the inscriptions are dedicatory, indicating the names of donors and some information about their donation, sometimes giving his or her profession or date. Many of the donors indicate their reason for the donation. All the data gained from these inscriptions enable us to have a much richer knowledge of Jewish Diaspora life.

**F. Dating of the Synagogues**

Most of the Diaspora synagogues had several stages of use, but most of them were either built in the 3d–4th century C.E., or flourished at that time. The Delos and Ostia synagogues were probably the earliest Diaspora synagogues. The Dura Europos synagogue is dated to the middle of the 3d century C.E. The dating of the end of some synagogues is determined by their subsequent conversion into churches, probably in the 5th century.

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RACHEL HACHLILI

**SYNAGOGUE OF THE FREEDMEN.** See FREEDMEN, SYNAGOGUE OF THE.

**SYNAGOGUE, RULERS OF THE.** See RULERS OF THE SYNAGOGUE.

**SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.** The first three gospels in the NT canon—Matthew, Mark and Luke—are known as the "Synoptic" Gospels, so called because they can be viewed side by side ("syn-optically") and compared very easily by means of a synopsis. The reason for this is that all three gospels have a great deal of material in common and very often they present their material in the same order. Further, the very different type of material, and the different arrangement, in the Fourth Gospel shows that this agreement between the Synoptic Gospels cannot be explained as due to chance or to the fact that the synoptic narratives simply reflect the actual course of the historical ministry of Jesus. The three Synoptic Gospels are thus in some relationship with each other, and the problem of determining the nature of that relationship is known as the synoptic problem. See also SOURCE CRITICISM (NT); TWO-GOSPEL HYPOTHESIS; TWO-SOURCE HYPOTHESIS.

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A. Introduction
B. Markan Priority
C. The Q Source
D. The Sources M and L
E. Conclusion

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**A. Introduction**

The history of the study of the synoptic problem is a subject in its own right. Many solutions have been proposed. For example, it has been suggested (a) that the agreements between the gospels are due to dependence on oral traditions; (b) that the present gospels are dependent on an earlier gospel; (c) that the three gospels are in a direct relationship with each other, the agreements between them being due to the fact that one (or more) evangelist has used the work of another. Today, the most widely held solution to the synoptic problem is the so-called Two-Source theory, and this proposes a combination of (b) and (c) above: in the material where all three gospels are parallel, the agreement between them is due to the fact that Mark's gospel is the direct source of the other two; in the material where Matthew and Luke alone are parallel to each other, their mutual agreement is due to dependence by both on common source material, now lost but usually called "Q" (the synoptic sayings source).

It is almost universally agreed today that the "oral" theory is insufficient to explain the agreements between the Synoptic Gospels. These agreements include not only verbatim agreements in the Greek versions of important sayings (e.g., Matt 7:7–11 = Luke 11:9–13; such agreement could be explained by oral tradition), but also agreements in the order of the material which at times go beyond anything that could be expected to be memorized in oral tradition. For example, Matthew and Mark break their

narrative of the ministry of Jesus to go back in time to give an account of the death of John the Baptist, and they do so at precisely the same relative point in their accounts (Matt 14:3–12 = Mark 6:17–29). Dependence on oral tradition can scarcely account for such a phenomenon of interruption of the story of Jesus' ministry at identical points in the two gospels. A similar example occurs in the story of the healing of the paralyzed man. In Mark, Jesus says to the scribes "But so that you may know that the Son of Man has the power on earth to forgive sins," a sentence which is never quite finished since the next words of Jesus are the command to the paralytic to take up his bed and go home. There is a slight break in the narrative and Mark fills in the gap with an extra comment: "and he says to the paralytic." In fact all three evangelists make precisely the same intervention at exactly the same place (Matt 9:6 = Mark 2:10 = Luke 5:24). Dependence on oral tradition could easily account for the memorable sayings of Jesus being recorded in identical form; but such dependence cannot really explain a story being preserved in such an untidy way and yet in otherwise independent narratives. The nature of the evidence thus demands some kind of *literary* relationship between the gospels.

As already stated, the most popular theory today is the Two-Source theory. However, there have always been supporters of other theories, among these the so-called Augustinian theory (that Matthew came first, Mark second and Luke third; Butler 1951), and above all in recent years, the Griesbach (or Two-Gospel) hypothesis (Matthew came first, Luke used Matthew, Mark came third using both Matthew and Luke) (Farmer 1977; Dungan 1970; Orchard 1976). Others have questioned parts of the Two-Source theory by denying the necessity of Q while still maintaining Markan priority (Farrer 1955; Goulder 1974). More complicated theories of prior sources with complex relationships between these different stages of the tradition have also been proposed (Boismard 1972). Not every solution to the synoptic problem can be discussed here. In order to structure the discussion, the Two-Source theory will be defended here, considering separately its two main aspects, viz. Markan priority and the Q hypothesis, and taking note of alternative explanations of the various phenomena discussed.

**B. Markan Priority**

The case for Markan priority is more of a cumulative one than a theory based on one logically cast-iron argument. In the English speaking world, the classic formulation of the case for Markan priority is often thought to be the discussion of Streeter (1924); and although this can be and has been criticized, Streeter's categories of evidence still provide a useful starting point for the contemporary discussion.

Streeter's first argument concerned the contents of the gospels. He pointed to the fact that practically all the contents of Mark also appear in either Matthew or Luke, and frequently in both; from this he deduced that Mark's gospel was the source of the other two.

On its own this argument can carry no weight at all. The fact that Mark's contents are almost all paralleled in Matthew and Luke simply shows that there is a relationship among the three gospels, but it does not determine what that relationship is. Per contra, neo-Griesbachians would argue that the evidence could be just as easily explained if Mark were writing third, and including in his gospel everything which was common to both his sources.

However, when one ceases to argue abstractly and considers the actual contents of the gospels themselves, then the case for Markan priority can be strengthened. In general terms, it is easy to see why, if Mark were written first, Matthew and Luke might have produced their gospels. Not only is Mark's gospel much shorter than the other two: it is also a great deal more verbose in the material it shares with Matthew and Luke. Thus, if Mark were written first, Matthew and Luke must have reproduced practically all of the substance of Mark while omitting some of Mark's redundancies in wording, and also supplemented Mark with further material available to them from other sources. The converse is rather more difficult to envisage. If Matthew's gospel were written first and was used by Mark (the Augustinian hypothesis), why did Mark produce such a short gospel, omitting so much more material from Matthew? Why did he omit so much of the teaching of Jesus, including the Sermon on the Mount and the Lord's Prayer? Why too did he expand much of the material he did retain with such inconsequential details so that the same story is often twice as long in Mark as in Matthew? The Griesbach hypothesis fares little better here. Neo-Griesbachians do not always agree on the precise procedure which Mark allegedly

followed: did Mark make it his primary aim to include only what was common to his sources? Or did he proceed by following his two sources alternately? Either way it is hard to envisage why Mark should have done this to produce his present text on the basis of Matthew and Luke. Why did he omit the preaching of John the Baptist (common to both his sources: Matt 3:7–10 = Luke 3:7–9)? Why did he omit the Great Sermon which was also in both his sources? (Or if he followed his sources alternately, he seems to have switched sources very carefully to avoid the Sermon. Why should he have done this?) No very satisfactory explanation seems forthcoming. Thus the argument from common content, when expanded by reference to the actual contents themselves, does have some force in supporting the theory of Markan priority.

Streeter's next argument concerned the order of the stories in the gospels. He appealed to the fact that the order of Mark always agrees with that of Matthew, or of Luke, and often with both; but Matthew and Luke never agree against Mark in order. Streeter deduced from this that Mark must have been the common source used independently by Matthew and Luke. (Streeter's third argument applied precisely the same logic to the phenomenon of the wording within each pericope, where, for the most part, Matthew and Luke fail to agree against Mark.)

This argument has frequently been attacked as providing no support at all for the theory of Markan priority. To claim that Markan priority is the only theory which will explain the facts is to be guilty of the "Lachmann fallacy" (Butler 1951; perhaps an unfortunate term since Lachmann did not argue in this way, and the argument is not strictly "fallacious" in the sense of proposing a patently false conclusion of the type 0 = 1). The evidence only shows that Mark occupies a *medial* position in the pattern of relationships between the gospels. The evidence can be adequately explained by the theory of Markan priority, the Augustinian hypothesis, and the Griesbach hypothesis.

Once again, however, a consideration of the gospel texts themselves can strengthen the case for the theory of Markan priority. The deviations in order between Matthew and Mark, and between Luke and Mark, are relatively small in number and can be quite easily explained as due to the redactional activity of Matthew and Luke respectively. (This was the way Lachmann himself argued.)

For example, assuming that the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5–7) should be placed in the gap between Mark 1:21 and 1:22 (Neirynck 1972), Matthew's changes become intelligible. He brings forward the story of the healing of the leper (Mark 1:40–45) to be the first miracle after the Sermon (Matt 8:1–4); this supports his picture of Jesus as the fulfillment of the OT dispensation (the command to the leper to go to the priests in Matt 8:4 is now the climax of the story; cf. 5:17). He brings forward the story of the stilling of the storm (Mark 4:35–41 = Matt 8:23–27) and redacts it to make the story a paradigm for true discipleship. Its new position in Matthew, following the call stories (Matt 8:18–22), is now thoroughly appropriate in a section on discipleship. Matthew also brings forward the stories of the healing of the woman with the hemorrhage and the demoniac (Mark 4:35–5:20), redacting them en route, to highlight the theme of faith and true response to Jesus. Other changes by Matthew include the transfer of the call of the 12 (Mark 3:13–19 = Matt 10:1–4); this can be explained as due to Matthew's tendency to systematize his material into thematic blocks. Also the anticipation of the section about Jewish persecutions (Mark 13:9–13 = Matt 10:17–22) can be explained if, as seems likely, Matthew emanates from a situation of intense Jewish hostility. Jewish persecution is, for Matthew, an experience of the past and present, not necessarily a mark of the eschatological future.

Luke's changes are less numerous. The transfer of the rejection scene (Mark 6:1–6 = Luke 4:16–30) is due to the programmatic significance which the story has for Luke. The transposition of the mass healings and the call of the 12 (Mark 3:7–12, 13–19 = Luke 6:17–19, 12–16) serves to create an audience for the Great Sermon. The postponement of the story of Peter's call (Luke 5:1–11 cf. Mark 1:16–20) serves to make Peter's response psychologically more plausible, coming as it now does after a certain amount of Jesus' activity. Thus the changes in order which the theory of Markan priority has to assume can be explained reasonably adequately in terms of Matthew's and Luke's redactional interests (Tuckett 1984b).

Competing hypotheses fail to explain the order of the gospels so well. For example, the Augustinian hypothesis cannot really explain why Mark should have changed the Matthean order in the way he must

have done. So too Luke's procedure is very difficult to explain in detail: Luke must have retained the Markan sequence very accurately, but must have changed the order of other material from Matthew considerably. The obvious case of Lukan reordering would be breaking up Matthew's Sermon on the Mount and distributing the teaching material contained there in many different parts of his gospel.

Neo-Griesbachians have claimed that in fact, the evidence which Streeter referred to (the failure of Matthew and Luke to agree against Mark in order) not only does not prove Markan priority: rather, it points quite clearly to the Griesbach hypothesis. Thus it is argued that the failure of Matthew and Luke to agree against Mark is really too good to be true, assuming Markan priority: Matthew and Luke must have had some conspiracy to ensure that one would always support the Markan order when the other departed from it. The evidence is then only explicable on the theory of a conscious redactional decision by Mark to follow both his sources when they agree, and to follow one at a time when they differ. Only in this way is the pattern of "alternating agreement" explicable.

Such an argument is, however, open to criticism. The argument deduces from the same evidence (the lack of Matthew-Luke agreements against Mark in order) that one and only one solution to the synoptic problem is viable. But this is just a repetition of the "Lachmann fallacy" in slightly different guise; it is claiming that the facts can be explained by only one hypothesis, and Butler showed that the facts themselves are ambiguous. Neo-Griesbachians have also failed to explain Mark's procedure in detail. If Mark indeed followed his two sources alternately, why did he choose to do so in precisely the way he did? Why did he switch sources just where he did? (We are back to the question of the content of Mark's gospel.) No comprehensive answers to these questions seem yet to have been given.

Streeter's fourth argument concerned the nature of Mark's Greek compared to that of the other two gospels. He appealed to the fresh and vivid nature of Mark's narrative, the presence of small details which might go back to an eyewitness (the "cushion" in the boat in 4:35 and the "green" grass in 6:34 are always mentioned here), and to other places where Mark's Greek might be considered as difficult. All these suggest that Mark's account is more primitive.

It must be said that much of this argumentation is worthless (Farmer 1964). The "vivid" nature of Mark's Greek shows us only something of Mark's style, rather than anything about the relative priority of Mark against Matthew and Luke. So too the famous small details could just as well be later additions: later apocryphal gospels are full of such "life-like" features in their narratives.

There are however some instances where a *comparison of the actual texts themselves* makes the theory of Markan priority more plausible than competing theories. In each case one must ask whether the text of one gospel can be adequately explained as a later change from another gospel, or whether the reverse procedure is more plausible. One classic example is Mark 6:5f. = Matt 13:58:

| Matthew | Mark |
|---|---|
| And he did not do many miracles | And he could not do any miracles there, except that he laid his hands on a few sick people and healed them and he marvelled |
| because of their unbelief. | because of their unbelief. |

At the end of the rejection scene in Nazareth, Mark's account appears to suggest that Jesus was powerless (he *could* not do any miracles) and the crowd's unbelief caused Jesus astonishment. In Matthew, Jesus' powerlessness is not mentioned. Matthew simply states that Jesus did not perform many miracles. Also the reason is clearly stated: it is due to the *crowd's* unbelief, not to any deficiency in Jesus. It is easy to see how Mark's version might have been found difficult for a later evangelist and changed to a version like Matthew's. Given Matthew's version it is hard to see why Mark should have wished to change it to his present wording. Thus the theory of Markan priority can give a plausible explanation of the development of the text where the theory of Matthean priority cannot.

Another stock example concerns the wording of Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi in the three gospels:

| Matt 16:16 | Mark 8:30 | Luke 9:20 |
|---|---|---|

You are the Christ, the Son of the living God You are the Christ You are the Christ of God

If Mark's text came first, the development of the tradition seems intelligible: both Matthew and Luke expand the brief Christological confession of Peter in Mark to bring more honor to Jesus. On the other hand, any theory which places Mark after Matthew seems hard to accept. Why should Mark omit Matthew's reference to Jesus as the Son of God here? One should remember that (a) the scene at Caesarea Philippi is clearly of great importance as a turning point in Mark's story, and (b) "Son of God" is a title of immense theological significance for Mark (Mark 1:1, 11; 9:7; 14:61f.; 15:39). Why then should Mark omit it here if it was given to him in (one of) his source(s)? At this point the theory of Markan priority makes good sense of the actual texts where other hypotheses do not.

It is probably true to say that examples of this nature have convinced the majority of scholars today that the theory of Markan priority is the most viable. Clearly such arguments cannot provide incontrovertible evidence. It is always possible for defenders of other source hypotheses to provide scenarios for how and why the secondary evangelists altered their sources in the ways that the hypothesis implies. But until this is done in detail, such hypotheses will fail to carry conviction.

It is admitted by all that the theory of Markan priority is not without problems. Some of these are perhaps more serious than others.

It has been questioned whether the Mark which was available to Matthew and Luke was precisely the same as the canonical gospel we possess. In particular, some critics have suggested that the omissions which Matthew and Luke must have made from Mark could be better explained if they had a copy of Mark (an Ur-Markus) which did not contain these passages.

Such a theory is probably unnecessary. The common omissions by Matthew and Luke can be adequately explained as due to redaction. For example, the note about the charge of Jesus' relatives that Jesus is mad (Mark 3:20–21) could have been felt to be derogatory; the parable of the seed growing secretly (Mark 4:26–29) could be regarded as redundant since Matthew and Luke both have the parable of the leaven to act as a pair with the parable of the mustard seed; the miracle stories of the healing of the deaf-mute and the blind man at Bethsaida (Mark 7:31–37; 8:22–26) could have been felt to be dangerous because of Jesus' use of what could be interpreted as magical techniques. (In any case Matthew may show knowledge of these stories, by having a general summary statement of Jesus' healings at 15:29–31 [the parallel to Mark 7:31–37], and by having two blind men healed in his parallel to Mark's story of the healing of blind Bartimaeus [Mark 10:46–52 = Matt 20:29–34 cf. 9:27–31]). The saying about salt (Mark 9:49–50) may have been unintelligible, and in any case Matthew and Luke appear to have a similar saying from another source (Matt 5:13 = Luke 14:34); the episode of the flight of the naked young man at Jesus' arrest (Mark 14:51) may have been regarded as irrelevant.

This covers almost all of Matthew's omissions from Mark. There is a considerably larger quantity of material which is in Mark but not in Luke, notably the section Mark 6:45–8:26. (Cf. Streeter: Luke had a mutilated copy of Mark. Note however that any Ur-Markus theory here would not meet the facts: one would have to posit an Ur-Markus used by Matthew and a quite different Ur-Markus used by Luke!) However, it seems likely that many of Luke's omissions from Mark can be satisfactorily explained as due to Luke's own redaction. Some of the omissions may be due to the fact that Luke had a parallel version of the same tradition and preferred to use that instead (cf. the parable of the mustard seed Mark 4:30–32, Luke 13:18–19). Some of the material in Mark but not in Luke may have been of less interest to Luke's gentile audience (e.g., the long discussion about purity in Mark 7:1–23). Other material may have been omitted as redundant (the feeding of the 4,000 [Mark 8:1–10] after the very similar story of the feeding of the 5,000 [Mark 6:31–44]). In all there seems no need to postulate that Luke had available to him a version of Mark which was significantly different from our present canonical version.

Another feature which has been felt to constitute a difficulty for the theory of Markan priority is that of the so-called "duplicate expressions" in Mark, where Mark has two almost synonymous expressions side by side, and where Matthew has just one half and Luke the other. The most famous example is Mark 1:32 and pars.:

| Matt 8:16 | Mark 1:32 | Luke 4:40 |
|---|---|---|
| When evening was come | When evening was come | |
| | and the sun was setting | When the sun was setting |

Although this phenomenon has been used to argue in favor of Markan priority (Matthew and Luke simply cut out Mark's redundancy: Streeter), others have felt that the phenomenon constitutes a major problem for the theory. Why should Matthew and Luke so conveniently choose to pick the half of the double expression which the other omits? Hence neo-Griesbachians would argue that the texts can be best explained as due to Mark's conflating his two sources (Farmer 1977; Dungan 1970).

The evidence is probably indecisive. Neirynck (1972) has shown that "duality" is a stylistic feature of Mark's Greek, and is far more wide-ranging than those instances which could be explained as conflation of Matthew and Luke. Further, there are a number of instances where Matthew and Luke retain the same half of a Markan duplicate expression. The whole argument is very similar to the problem of the choice and order of material, but in both cases, the number of instances where Matthew and Luke provide this kind of alternating support for Mark is not statistically significant enough to question the assumption that Matthew and Luke have used Mark independently (Tuckett 1983; 1984).

Perhaps the greatest difficulty faced by the theory of Markan priority concerns the so-called "minor agreements." At the level of order it is true that Matthew and Luke never agree against Mark. At the level of the detailed wording within pericopes the same remains broadly true. Nevertheless, there are a number of instances where Matthew and Luke do agree with each other against Mark. These texts are called the "minor agreements," and clearly constitute an anomaly for the theory of Markan priority. An occasional instance where Matthew and Luke had independently altered Mark in the same way would not be unexpected; yet the number of instances where this must have occurred (assuming Markan priority) is felt by many to be uncomfortably high.

Once again an abstract approach can perhaps be misleading, and one should consider the actual minor agreements themselves. Several agreements are scarcely surprising as independent changes of Mark's Greek. Mark often uses the present tense in his narrative to describe the events of the past (the so-called "historic present"); Matthew and Luke use the aorist tense much more frequently. It is therefore not unexpected that Matthew and Luke regularly change Mark's historic present to an aorist, and quite often do so at the same place, thereby creating a minor agreement (e.g., Mark 2:5 and pars.). So too Mark often connects sentences with the word "and" *(kai),* a usage which is as clumsy in Greek as it is in English. Matthew and Luke regularly "improve" this by changing *kai* to *de.* Again it is not surprising that they sometimes do so at the same point and thereby create a minor agreement (cf. Mark 2:24 and pars.). Neirynck has in fact shown that a vast number of the minor agreements can be explained in this way: on the theory of Markan priority, they involve changes to the text of Mark by Matthew and Luke independently, and there are numerous other instances in the tradition where Matthew and Luke must have made the same kind of change (again assuming Markan priority) but without necessarily agreeing with each other (Neirynck 1974).

Other agreements may be explicable in other ways. In some instances, it may be that the Markan tradition overlapped with another tradition available to Matthew and Luke (i.e., Q). The agreement between Matthew and Luke may thus be due to the influence of this Q version. The influence of Q may explain minor agreements in the parable of the mustard seed, the Beelzebul controversy, and the Temptation story. Indeed the agreements between Matthew and Luke are so extensive (and it is only because they are so extensive that one postulates a parallel, non-Markan version) that these texts are often called "major agreements." They really constitute a separate category and cause no difficulty for the Two-Source theory provided one accepts the possibility in principle of overlapping sources.

Some agreements may be explicable as the result of textual corruption. (Streeter appealed extensively to this, and his argument has been heavily criticized; Farmer 1964. It is widely agreed that such an explanation cannot be as widely used as Streeter claimed.) In the course of the transmission of the text, it would be inevitable that scribes copying the text of one gospel would sometimes let the wording of a

parallel version influence them (whether consciously or unconsciously). Since Matthew's gospel was the most popular in antiquity, it is not surprising that in several manuscripts of Mark and Luke, the wording has been assimilated to Matthew's text. Thus if a text in Luke was assimilated to the Matthean wording, this might create the impression of a minor agreement against Mark. How far one may invoke this argument to explain the minor agreements is disputed; Streeter probably went too far. However, there are some occasions when the uncertainty of the precise reading of the gospel texts makes it doubtful whether there really was a minor agreement originally. For example, in many printed editions of Mark 9:19 and pars. there is a minor agreement:

| Matt 17:17 | Mark 9:19 | Luke 9:41 |
|---|---|---|
| O faithless and perverted generation | O faithless generation | O faithless and perverted generation |

Yet the extra words "and perverted" *(kai diestrammenē)* are present in some manuscripts of Mark (including $P^{45}$ W); they are also absent from a few witnesses to the text of Luke (e Marc). There must therefore be an element of doubt whether there originally was a minor agreement here (McLoughlin). The apparent agreement between Matt 26:75 and Luke 22:62 against Mark 14:72 (in saying that Peter "went outside" and wept "bitterly") may also be explicable on textual grounds, since the verse in Luke may not have been part of Luke's original text: the verse is omitted in a few mss and it also makes for some internal lack of cohesion between v 61 and v 63 (Tuckett 1984a).

The most famous of all the minor agreements concerns the mockery of Jesus by the soldiers.

| Matt 26:68 | Mark 14:65 | Luke 22:64 |
|---|---|---|
| Prophesy to us, Christ! Who hit you? | Prophesy! | Prophesy! Who hit you? |

The extra question, involving five words in Greek *(tis estin ho paisas se)* common to Matthew and Luke, is not easily explained as due to the influence of a parallel tradition or to independent redaction. The most satisfactory explanation on the theory of Markan priority is to assume that the extra words constitute a textual corruption in the text of Matthew, due to assimilation to the Lukan version. The question makes good sense in the Lukan context where Jesus is blindfolded, but little sense in the Matthean context where Jesus is not (Streeter 1924, McLoughlin 1967). The obvious weakness of the theory is that there is no ms evidence for a text of Matthew not containing the words. The theory thus involves postulating a primitive corruption of the Matthean text which has affected all known mss. Such a theory is thus easy to ridicule but is not inherently impossible (Neirynck 1987).

Although the minor agreements clearly constitute a problem for the theory of Markan priority, it is by no means clear that the same texts can be explained any better by other hypotheses. The theory of Goulder (1978), which postulates some reminiscences by Luke of Matthew's gospel, faces difficulties precisely because the agreements are so minor. Why should Luke have allowed Matthew's text to influence him in such a minor way as to create these small agreements, but rarely in any major way?

The Griesbach hypothesis fares little better. Here the minor agreements have to be explained as due to Mark's own style causing him to alter the text of his two sources at some points where they agree. This is feasible in general terms, but becomes problematic when applied to specific texts (Tuckett 1983). For example, it becomes difficult to see why Mark should have deliberately omitted the mocking question "Who hit you?" if it stood in both his sources. Can such an omission be "stylistic"?

One other factor has been brought into more recent debates by neo-Griesbachians. This concerns the patristic evidence about the synoptic problem. Many of the Church Fathers appear to assume that the chronological order of the gospels is the same as the canonical order. They all agree, for example, that Matthew's gospel was written first. Further, there is one statement ascribed to Clement of Alexandria (who in turn is claiming to be reproducing earlier testimony) to the effect that gospels with genealogies were written first (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 6.14).

The value of such evidence is very uncertain. The evidence of Clement is quite isolated and can scarcely bear much weight in supporting the Griesbach hypothesis against the claims of the Augustinian hypothesis. But even if we could determine what the Church Fathers believed, it does not solve the problem of whether they were right, and we can only establish that by considering the internal evidence of the gospel texts themselves. It is thus doubtful if the patristic evidence can help in the solution of the synoptic problem today.

In conclusion, we may say that, although it is not without problems, the theory of Markan priority remains the most adequate solution of the synoptic problem in relation to the so-called "triple tradition," those parts of the tradition common to all three gospels.

**C. The Q Source**

Agreements between the gospels are not confined to passages where there is a Markan parallel. Frequently Matthew and Luke alone agree, and at times that agreement is extremely close (Matt 3:7–10 = Luke 3:7–9) On the Two-Source theory, this agreement is to be explained as due to dependence by Matthew and Luke on non-Markan common source material usually known as Q. However, others have questioned this, claiming that Q is an unnecessary hypothesis, and that the agreements between Matthew and Luke can be explained as due to direct dependence of Luke on Matthew. Supporters of the Griesbach hypothesis claim that Luke is dependent on Matthew alone. Others maintain the theory of Markan priority but would wish to explain the agreements in the "double" tradition (parts of the tradition where Luke is parallel to Matthew) as due to Luke's knowledge and use of Matthew (Farrer 1955; Goulder 1974).

The case for the existence of Q, like the case for Markan priority, is a cumulative one. It is also in some sense a negative one, since the Q hypothesis is essentially the alternative to the possibility that Luke knew Matthew. (The theory that Matthew knew Luke is hardly ever proposed today.) If Luke did not know Matthew, the only real alternative theory is that both evangelists depend on common source material.

The first factor to be considered is the order of the material in the double tradition. This material appears in widely differing orders in Matthew and Luke. If Luke knew Matthew, why has he changed the Matthean order so thoroughly, disrupting Matthew's clear and concise arrangement of the teaching material into five blocks, each concerned with a particular theme? Neo-Griesbachians have rarely attempted to provide such a detailed explanation (only Orchard 1976, on which see Tuckett 1983). The problem becomes all the more pressing if one also maintains the theory of Markan priority (Farrer 1955; Goulder 1974). In this case, it is assumed that Luke knew and used Mark in the triple tradition. But Luke has made very few changes to the Markan order. Why has Luke behaved so conservatively with the order of one of his sources (Mark), and with such freedom in relation to the order of his other alleged source (Matthew)? This radical difference in the way Luke must have used his sources seems so unlikely to many, that it is more probable that Luke did not know Matthew and that both depend on common tradition for the non-Markan material which they share. Further, insofar as this tradition may come from a single source Q, the fact that Luke has preserved the order of his Markan source almost unaltered, whereas Matthew has rearranged the Markan material in the interests of his thematic arrangement, suggests that the same has probably happened in the case of Q. Thus, most today assume that Luke has preserved the order of Q more faithfully than Matthew.

Further considerations of order can strengthen the Q hypothesis. V. Taylor has shown that, although at first sight there appears to be little correlation in order in the Q material in Matthew and Luke, the situation is different if one bears in mind Matthew's general aim of collecting together like materials into a thematic arrangement. If one takes the five Matthean discourses in turn, and compares the order of the Q material within each discourse with the corresponding material in Luke, then there is a striking agreement in the relative order (Taylor 1959). Such a phenomenon is hard to explain on other hypotheses.

Further evidence against the theory that Luke knew Matthew is provided by the fact that Luke never seems to be aware of Matthew's modifications to Mark in Markan material. Sometimes Matthew makes significant additions to Mark (e.g., Matt 12:5–7; 16:16–19), yet Luke never betrays any knowledge of these Matthean additions. Such a state of affairs is hard to square with the view that Luke knew Matthew as well as Mark. (It is in itself less of a problem for the Griesbach hypothesis: such "omissions" by Luke

are simply due to Luke's redaction and the fact that they are not in Mark either is then due to Mark's subsequent editorial decision to omit them too, perhaps because he is following a policy of including only material common to both his sources.)

Another relevant factor in this discussion is that quite often in double-tradition material, Luke has a form of the tradition which appears to be more primitive than Matthew's (e.g., in some of the Beatitudes Matt 5:3,6 = Luke 6:20f.; in the form of the doom oracle as a saying of Wisdom in Matt 23:34 = Luke 11:49; in the shorter version of the Lord's Prayer Matt 6:9–13 = Luke 11:2–4; in the form of the saying about the Sign of Jonah Matt 12:40 = Luke 11:30). If Luke is dependent on Matthew at every point, then Luke's version should always be secondary to Matthew's. Insofar as this is not the case, the theory of Luke's knowledge of Matthew is weakened.

Such results can be incorporated within an overall theory of Luke's knowledge of Matthew. It may be that Luke knew Matthew but only used Matthew very occasionally. Some neo-Griesbachians have argued that although Luke knew Matthew, Luke sometimes had access to parallel but independent versions of the same tradition (Farmer 1975 concerning some of the parables). However, if this theory is extended too far, so that Luke is supposed to be dependent on traditions parallel to Matthew for too much of the tradition, then the theory becomes almost indistinguishable from the Q hypothesis.

A final argument for the Q hypothesis arises from the fact that Matthew and Luke have a number of doublets, two versions of basically the same saying, one version of which has a parallel in Mark while the other does not; for example, the saying about cross-bearing appears in Matt 16:24 = Mark 8:34 = Luke 9:23 and also in Matt 10:38 = Luke 14:27. This phenomenon can be easily explained on the basis of the Two-Source theory: one version of the saying is due to dependence on Mark, the other comes from the Q tradition.

This final argument illustrates very well the fact that at times the two basic streams of tradition postulated by the Two-Source theory, Mark and Q, must have overlapped. Advocates of the Two-Source theory would claim that such overlap occurs not only in isolated sayings, but also in whole pericopes such as the Temptation narratives, the Beelzebul controversy, the parable of the mustard seed, the mission charge and perhaps elsewhere.

Such a theory is felt by many to be a possibly fatal weakness of the Two-Source theory. In any case it must mean that the "Q tradition" cannot simply be defined as "tradition common to Matthew and Luke but not in Mark." Nevertheless, the theory that some parts of the gospel tradition were preserved in more than one strand is not inherently unlikely.

In fact, it is paradoxically precisely these "overlap" passages which provide strong arguments against source hypotheses *other* than the Two-Source theory. In most of these overlap passages, advocates of the Two-Source theory would argue that Luke has generally preserved the Q version, Mark has his own (independent) version, and Matthew conflates the two. (The Beelzebul story and the parable of the mustard seed are examples; other instances are perhaps more complex.) Such texts can be explained quite easily in this way. But the same texts look decidedly odd when viewed from the perspective of other hypotheses. For example, if one retains the theory of Markan priority and dispenses with Q (Farrer 1955; Goulder 1974), then Luke's procedure here must have been very strange. Mark must have written first, Matthew then adding to Mark. Luke, who usually follows Mark and ignores Matthew when they run parallel, must have decided here to remove very carefully all the Markan material from Matthew, retaining only the parts peculiar to Matthew. Such a procedure is so unlike Luke's alleged procedure elsewhere in the tradition that it seems easier to discard the inital premiss (Downing 1965). The Griesbach hypothesis shares a similar fate. Matthew must have written first; Luke, writing second, must have reproduced only some parts of Matthew. Then Mark, writing third, must have taken an aversion to anything which Luke had taken from Matthew and so reproduced only those parts of Matthew which Luke had omitted. Such a procedure is so unlike what has been claimed to be Mark's overall aim of reproducing precisely what *was* common to both his sources. Again it seems easier to discard the initial premiss (Tuckett 1983). Thus the overlapping texts, far from providing problems for the Two-Source theory, in fact strengthen it considerably.

The agreements between Matthew and Luke in double tradition material are thus probably best explained by dependence on common source material Q. The further problems associated with this theory—how far we should be thinking of Q as a single source, or whether we should be thinking only of an amorphous mass of material which was never combined prior to its incorporation by Matthew and Luke—will be discussed elsewhere (see Q). Such problems do not affect the basic theory that the Matthew-Luke agreements in double-tradition material are not to be explained by Luke's knowledge of Matthew.

**D. The Sources M and L**

Matthew and Luke also have further material peculiar to their gospels alone. This material is usually referred to as "M" and "L" respectively. How far any of this material can be traced back to written sources is unclear. Streeter postulated further documents relating to these strands of the tradition and proposed a "four-document hypothesis" (corresponding to the four basic strands of the tradition: Mark, Q, M, and L). This must however remain speculative. The question whether it is appropriate to talk of Q as "document" will be discussed elsewhere.

In the case of M material, some have appealed to its strongly Jewish-Christian nature (Matt 5:17–20; the formula quotations). However, it may well be that much of this material is due to Matthew himself, and the "Jewishness" of the material may simply be a reflection of the author of the gospel.

In the case of L material, many have suggested a "proto-Luke" theory (Streeter 1924; Taylor 1926). This is the theory that Luke wrote a first draft of his gospel combining the Q and L material together, and that later he added the Markan material. This theory can appeal to the fact that Luke does sometimes interweave Q and L material, but he tends to keep Q+L and Markan materials separate in large blocks. This would be well explained if the Markan material was added subsequently to an already existing document. Further, it seems likely that Luke had a separate (non-Markan) source for his passion narrative. It is striking here that the measure of verbal agreement between Luke and Mark drops sharply when compared with the rest of the tradition; also there are a large number of small differences in order between Luke and Mark (e.g., the mockery of Jesus comes after the Jewish hearing in Mark, before in Luke; the rending of the temple veil comes after Jesus' death in Mark, before in Luke). Given Luke's generally conservative treatment of Mark elsewhere, it seems quite plausible to postulate that Luke had access to an independent account of the passion narrative. This would also fit in with a proto-Luke theory.

However, while the theory of an independent passion narrative clearly fits a proto-Luke theory, it in no way demands it. Luke certainly contains large, non-Markan, blocks of material in 6:20–8:3; 9:51–18:14; 19:1–27. But there is no certainty that these ever formed part of an earlier full-length gospel. Further, 3:1–4:30, sometimes ascribed to proto-Luke, betrays Markan influence as well (Luke 3:4; 3:21f.; 4:1f.; 4:24) and hence there is no clear beginning to the alleged proto-Luke. Thus the whole proto-Luke theory remains rather doubtful, and in fact has convinced few scholars outside England. In any case, it is doubtful if much can be gained by postulating a proto-Luke prior to canonical Luke. Certainly it cannot guarantee the historical reliability of Luke's gospel as Streeter and Taylor thought: the sources of the tradition remain the two basic strands of Q and L.

**E. Conclusion**

The Two-Source theory probably offers the most adequate (or least problematic) solution to the synoptic problem. It is not free from difficulties and it can never be proved with mathematical finality. Many arguments used in the discussion are reversible. Practically all arguments depend on claims to the effect that a development of the tradition in one direction is "more likely" than the reverse development. Clearly, any such claim is subjective, and always potentially open to a counterclaim which tries to account for the opposite change in question. Thus the most one can say is that the Two-Source theory provides a reasonably comprehensive account of the development of the tradition on the basis of its main tenets of the dependence of Matthew and Luke on the Markan and Q traditions.

The synoptic problem is of very considerable importance in a number of fields. Older scholars perhaps thought too quickly that the isolation of the older strands of the tradition take us straight back to the historical Jesus. Wrede's work on the messianic secret in Mark and theories of a theology of Q show that

the earliest sources may still leave us some distance removed from Jesus. Nevertheless, a solution to the synoptic problem is essential if we are to reach back to earlier parts of the tradition. The synoptic problem also lies at the basis of a great deal of redaction-critical study of the gospels. Much of this study presupposes the Two-Source theory, seeking for example to illuminate Matthew's and Luke's theologies by examining the changes Matthew and Luke have made to their sources. Any different theory of synoptic relationships may well entail a drastic alteration in our assessment of the theologies of the individual evangelists.

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C. M. TUCKETT

**SYNTYCHE** (PERSON) [Gk *Syntyche* (Συντυχε)]. A member of the Christian community at Philippi whom Paul entreats to reach "agreement in the Lord" with another member, Euodia (Phil 4:2–3). The two had apparently quarreled, but the nature of their differences is not specified.

While the name Syntyche is in the feminine form in the Greek text, as it is in numerous inscriptions where the same name occurs, it has been asserted, e.g., by Theodore of Mopsuestia, that this person was a male. Theodore claimed to have heard that Syntyche ought to have been spelled as the masculine Syntyches, and that "he" was actually the jailer at Philippi (cf. Acts 16) and the husband of Euodia. But there is no substantiation for what Theodore had learned by rumor and no textual evidence to support it (Hawthorne *Philippians* WBC, 179). Furthermore, the use of the Greek feminine plural pronouns *autais* and *haitines* in 4:3, which can only refer back to Syntyche and Euodia, requires that both names belong to women.

Not only has Syntyche's gender been questioned, but also her individuality. On this and further speculation concerning her significant role in the Philippian community, see EUODIA.

FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

**SYRACUSE** (PLACE) [Gk *Syrakousa* (Συρακουσα)]. A Greek city on the SE coast of Sicily (37°07′N; 15°11′E) where Paul's ship put in for three days on the voyage to Rome after having been shipwrecked on the island of Malta (Acts 28:12). The long stay of three days could be attributed to wind conditions or to the unloading and loading of cargo (Haenchen 1971:718). The city is situated at the edge of the great south Sicilian limestone formations. Originally only on the small island of Ortygia, right off of the coast of Sicily, the city eventually grew and spread to the mainland. At first the island was connected to the mainland by a dam but later a bridge was built.

According to Thucydides (6.3.2; see also Strab. 6.2.4) Syracuse was founded by Archias from Corinth one year after Nexos was founded (734 B.C.). At first Syracuse was ruled by land proprietors or *gamoroi,* those who divide the land (Finley 1979:18). The city prospered under its tyrants Galon and his brother Hieron who succeeded him (ca. 485–467 B.C.). In 413 B.C., Syracuse was besieged by Athens and the Athenian armies were defeated. This marked the turning point in the Peloponnesian War. Eventually the city was taken by Marcellus in 212 and became a Roman province. (A more extensive survey of Syracuse' political history can be found in PW 8:1478–1535.)

At the time of Paul's visit, Syracuse was still a very prosperous city. Cicero (106–43 B.C.) gives an extensive description of the city and calls it the richest and fairest city in all of Sicily, strong and beautiful to behold (Cic. *Verr.* 2.4 115–19). Two harbors are found in the city, a large one on the mainland and a small one on the island.

A few remains of ancient Syracuse are still in existence. The temple of Apollo and a Roman amphitheater are on the mainland; the temple of Athena on the island was built into the Church of Santa Maria delle Colonne along with a number of early Christian catacombs. On the W side of the island there is still the fresh water spring called Arethusa.

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ARNOLD BETZ

**SYRIA** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾaram* (אֲרָם); Gk *Syria* (Συρια)]. SYRIAN. In the Bible, Syria is usually used to designate the areas associated with the ancient city-state of Damascus, also known as Aram. Extensive discussions of the relationship between Syria and biblical Palestine to its S and W will therefore be found under ARAM (PLACE) and DAMASCUS (PLACE). This entry consists of two articles that focus upon the archaeological record of human occupation of ancient Syria: the first surveys the prehistoric period, and the second surveys the Bronze and Iron Age periods.

### *PREHISTORIC SYRIA*

Up until the 20th century the term Syria designated a natural geographic area *(Bilad al-Cham)* between the Sinai to the S, the Mediterranean to the W, the Taurus mountains to the N, and the Syrian desert to the E. This region never knew (except during Roman domination) real political unity. We will refer here to the limits of the present-day state of Syria, excluding, by consequence, the bordering states of Israel, Jordan, and Lebanon.

Currently three clear and distinct climatic zones divide Syria: one, to the W, is littoral Mediterranean, a temperate climate separated from the interior by the Alaouite mountains which continue to the N in Lebanon and AntiLebanon. In the opposite direction, its desert-like SE border receives less than 200 mm of rain per year but is crossed by the Euphrates and dotted with several oases (Palmyra, El Kowm). Lastly, between these two zones, a semiarid band of intermediary climate inscribes an arc that begins in the Jezireh, between the middle branches of the Euphrates and the Tigris, continues through the steppes of the Aleppo region and the Damascus oasis, and extends further S, then out of Syria to the boundary of Jordan. This zone, of which the climatic vegetation is a steppe-forest of oaks and pistachio trees, is also characterized by wild grains that made this the "nuclear zone" (Braidwood), where the first agricultural experiments were carried out in the Near East during the Neolithic period.

A. History of Research
B. Paleolithic Period
C. The Last Epi-Paleolithic Hunter-Gatherers and the Origins of the Villages
D. The Beginnings of Agriculture in the 8th Millennium
E. The Villages of Rancher-Farmers of the 7th Millennium
F. Ceramic Civilizations of the 6th and 5th Millennia

## A. History of Research

Human occupation of Syria in prehistoric times is really known only from research done since 1950. Of course, the first prehistoric studies of the Levant began at the end of the 19th century, but at first only concerned Lebanon, based upon research of St. Joseph University and the American University in Beirut. Beginning in 1920, Palestine, under British mandate, was studied under the direction of the Englishwoman D. Garrod and the Frenchman R. Neuville. In Syria itself, excavations only began between 1930 and 1933 by a German, A. Rust. The rock shelter of Jabrud, published in 1951, provided evidence for the end of the Lower Paleolithic Period and the Middle and Upper Paleolithic. Immediately before World War II, the first research on Neolithic Syria was carried out by the German M. von Oppenheim at Tell Halaf, in upper Mesopotamia, and above all by an American team from the University of Chicago in the plain of Amuq, near Antioch. R. J. Braidwood, who directed this excavation, was the first in the Near East to have included in his team not only archaeologists but also natural scientists, inaugurating "multi-disciplinary" methods currently in use everywhere.

At Tell Halaf as well as in the Amuq plain, one finds only a relatively late Neolithic period, not before the 6th millennium and devoid of ceramics. An older "pre-ceramic" Neolithic period was only known in the Levant by discoveries of J. Garstang between 1930 and 1936 in the lowest levels of Jericho in Palestine. It was necessary to wait until the 1960s for the French archaeologist H. de Contenson to begin excavating in Syria itself on the littoral as well as at Ras Shamra, at the oasis of Damascus, Tell Ramad, and Tell Aswad, which are all pre-ceramic Neolithic occupations going back to the 7th millennium. At the same time, the University of Tokyo inaugurated a vast program of survey and excavations in the Levant Paleolithic that led to ongoing work in the Palmyra region, and to the discovery of Latamne, the oldest Paleolithic site known in Syria.

The research has not stopped since 1970:under the impetus of F. Hours and P. Sanlaville the survey of Paleolithic sites extends from the coast of Syria, to the Oronte and Euphrates valleys and to the desert oasis of El Kowm. On the other hand, the construction of the huge Tabka dam on the Euphrates was the occasion, thanks to an "international salvage campaign" of sites threatened with flooding, for a discovery of real importance for the origins of the agriculture and the Neolithic period in the Near East. The excavations by J. Cauvin at Mureybet and Cheikh Hassan and those of A. Moore at Abu Hureyra and of the University of Amsterdam in Buqras have, from 1970–76 entirely renewed our knowledge of this subject.

All these digs, as well as the progress of 20 years of techniques and absolute dating by carbon 14, allow us to present a fairly accurate picture of Syrian prehistory.

## B. Paleolithic Period

As it forms the occidental front of Asia, but also the N extension of the Arabic Peninsula (or Africa), Syria constitutes an obligatory passage between two continents. This had an importance from the beginning of its human population: it is known to be in Africa that the human species emerged, 2.5 million years ago, and that it is from there that later *Homo erectus* began to spread throughout the rest of the world. It is thus not surprising that Syria shows traces of particularly ancient occupation, going back, according to the present state of our knowledge, a million years.

It is during this period that several rare tools of worked flint were found on the terraces of northern Nahr-el-Kabir, at *Sitt Markho*, or from the Oronte, at *Khattab*, near Latamne. These crude pieces are the only vestiges of what is called the "Early Lower Paleolithic" period. Beginning at 600,000 years B.P.,

during the Middle Lower Paleolithic period, tools are more abundant and derive from biface industries that are called in Europe as in Africa, "Acheulean." The handaxes found there are large and lance-shaped. The most important site is that of Latamne, on the Oronte, because a real habitation has been found there; however, artifacts of the same period have been found on the surface in several locations near the Oronte, the Euphrates, Nahr-el-Kabir, and on the coast. This period also sees the birth of a particular technique for knapping flint, called the "Levallois technique," that allowed the extraction of flakes, of which the contour was already predetermined, by a preliminary preparation of the core.

Between 250,000 and 150,000 B.C., at the end of the Acheulean, the handaxes become smaller and lighter, the tools obtained by the Levallois technique increase in number, and the layers also become more numerous. The valley of the Oronte at Gharmashi and the oasis of El Kowm provided places of true habitation.

The transition toward the Middle Paleolithic period takes place between 150,000 and 90,000 B.C. It is represented by an original culture, the Jabrudian that owes its name to the site of Jabrud in the Qalamoun mountains, but that is above all known today by about ten sites discovered in the El Kowm oasis. There are still several handaxes there, but the most numerous tools are the scrapers. Around 100,000 B.C. other cultures appear (the Hummalian, the Levalloiso-Mousterian) that for a certain time characterize different regions in Syria. But only the Levalloiso-Mousterian, characterized by points and side scrapers produced by the Levallois technique, occupied the entire Syrian territory during the Middle Paleolithic period, that is to say between 90,000 and 40,000 B.P.

Strangely, despite the intensity of site surveys, up until now only a few Late Paleolithic sites have been found in Syria. This is the case for the period that is called elsewhere (in Lebanon and Israel) the "Aurignacian of the Levant." Syria is more heavily occupied at the end of the Late Paleolithic period, by the Kebarian civilization which is often considered to already belong to the Epi-Paleolithic period.

**C. The Last Epi-Paleolithic Hunter-Gatherers and the Origins of the Villages**

At the end of the Paleolithic period, about 16,000 B.C., the "Kebarian" culture was implanted in the Levant; it is characterized by the miniaturization of flint tools. These "microliths" served as the cutting edge for a whole scale of varied instruments of which the haft was of wood. Around 12,000 B.C. the microliths take geometric and stereotypic forms (triangles, trapezoids, rectangles). This is the "geometric Kebarian" present in all the Levant, the littoral as well as the desert areas. The Syrian oasis of El Kowm, near Palmyra, shows a remarkable density of layers from this period where small groups of hunters, still very mobile, located their encampments near places of water.

It is also during this period that a progressive warming of the climate allowed the natural diffusion of wild cereals in the entire semiarid area, halfway between the desert and the Mediterranean climate of the coast. Thus wild grains (wheat, barley), even before becoming "domesticated," came to play an important role in human diet. It is in this "nuclear" zone that the first phases of the "Neolithization" process took place; that is to say, first the sedentarization of villages, then the apprenticeship of agriculture.

A new culture, the Natufian, occupied in effect the entire Levant from the Nile to the Euphrates between 10,000 and 8200 B.C. Most of the geometric microliths were now of lunate form. The Natufians, like the Kebarians, were "predators" living principally on wild resources. But it is to them that we owe the first sedentary villages known in the Near East: these were small agglomerations of 200 to 300 square meters, made up of round houses half buried in pits in the earth, and henceforth were occupied on a permanent basis by social groups that were larger than previous ones. The village of Mureybet on the middle Euphrates in Syria was founded by Natufians around 8500 B.C.: its setting was characteristic of the ecological options of this culture, to assure sufficient resources for the entire year without recourse to "nomadism." One thus finds fish and shells from the river, wild grains and game (gazelles, equids) from the surrounding steppe, and game from the wooded borders of the Euphrates (boars, deer, bovids, migratory birds). All of this points to a very eclectic economy, usually called a "wide spectrum" economy.

**D. The Beginnings of Agriculture in the 8th Millennium**

The first agricultural experiments took place, in this already sedentary milieu, during the first half of the 8th millennium. The oldest traces of this grain culture appear in Palestine, at Jericho and Netiv Hagdod, and in Syria in the region of Damascus, at Tell Aswad, and on the middle Euphrates, at Mureybet. Of particular interest here is to pinpoint this phenomenon within a continuous evolution, unbroken since the village had come into existence a millennium earlier; when around 7800 B.C. the study of pollens showed the first artificial concentrations of grains (concentrations that define the "fields") at Mureybet, which in its phase III, had just attained its full demographic and cultural flowering. Like the nearby and contemporaneous site of Sheikh Hassan, its settlement area reached three hectares. It is a crowded web of round habitations, currently divided in the interior by rectilinear partitions; while around 7700 B.C. the first structures constructed entirely with a rectilinear plan appear, probably used as silos. Special Neolithic innovative techniques such as baked clay or polished stone, were already present but still marginal and reserved for prestigious and cultural uses. The stone tools, where the Natufian microliths have disappeared, increase in number of arrowheads and sickle blades. A very diversified bone industry also accompanies them.

This cultural flowering is accompanied by a profound economic transformation; the proto-agricultural practices become part of a more general plan of alimentary strategy, more selective and better organized than before: fishing, so important in the Natufian period, almost disappears, and hunting centers around the large grass eaters (cattle and wild equids). These practices which express a choice in the resources exploited and the abandonment of certain others, allows one to refute the hypothesis of an agriculture that was invented in the Near East to respond to insufficient wild resources which was the result of growing human populations. By the same token, it is during this period that the early agriculturalists of Palestine built the first monumental architecture at Jericho, implying cooperation and collective work. It is to this new set of activities, required by larger communal groups, that one must attribute the first steps in "subsistence production." However, the "principal cause" of this change seems to be more sociological than ecological. This change also had consequences in the ideological and religious domain. Natufian art was essentially theriomorphic, but that of Mureybet III is almost entirely anthropomorphic. At about 8000, the first known feminine figurines of the Near East are found at Mureybet, made of stone or baked clay. These symbols of the "Mother Goddess" will spread over an increasingly larger area throughout the Near and Middle East and the Prehellenic Mediterranean. A bull cult is also inferred at Mureybet from the frequent insertion of horns or ox skulls in the walls of the houses; similarly, this cult will proliferate through the Phoenician "Baals" and the Minoan religion into classical Greece.

**E. The Villages of Rancher-Farmers of the 7th Millennium**

In the 7th millennium, Syria, like the rest of the Levant, is occupied by a new civilization, the "PPNB" (Prepottery Neolithic B), that grew up around the middle Euphrates beginning in the second half of the 8th millennium through progressive transformations from the culture of Mureybet III. Phase IV of Mureybet and the village of Abu Hureyra, also on the Euphrates, furnish us with even older examples.

The habitations are now all rectangular and have several rooms with floors often coated with lime or gypsum plaster. The villages practice not only farming but also raise small livestock, although hunting still plays an important role in their diet. The tools remain basically arrows and sickles, although polished axes are now in current use. Ceramics, however, are still not common, but at the end of the 7th millennium vessels made from lime or gypsum plaster will appear, known by the name of "white ware." The Neolithic sites of Ramad, Buqras and El Kowm are part of this more elaborate phase of the culture, and date from about 6000 B.C.

The preceramic village of Ramad, occupied from 6250 to 6000 B.C., covers three hectares, and lies 20 km to the south of Damascus, at the foot of Hermon. The rectilinear houses with floors covered with lime plaster walls of mudbrick and stone bedrock, are aligned along the small streets. Their inhabitants grew not only grains (wheat, barley) but also flax for linen and raised sheep. It is interesting to find at Ramad, in the religious domain, a true "cult of ancestors," attested by human skulls with face modeled over it in lime plaster in the image of the living person and attached to figurine supports made from clay. This cult is found at most of the PPNB sites from the Euphrates to Palestine. It seems to show, at a moment when

the fully sedentary group of humans turned their attention to the domestic animal and plant species and passed fields and flocks down from one generation to the next, a new sense of the continuity and filiation of human life.

A second important event from the end of the 7th millennium also results from the full mastery of agricultural and husbandry techniques. At first restricted to the "nuclear zone" of the steppe where the first agricultural experiments were carried out (dry farming), Neolithization allowed human groups to go further than this initial ecological limit: this expansion takes place simultaneously toward coastal Syria and toward the interior desert zone, the former too humid and the latter too arid for the grains to grow spontaneously. On the coast, the site of Ras Shamra-Ugarit was occupied from 6500 B.C. by Neolithic agriculturalists. In the desert, this is represented by the reoccupation, around 6200 of the El Kowm oasis, abandoned by man since the end of the Paleolithic period; it also formed around 6400 B.C., the foundation of Buqras.

Buqras is located on the right bank of the Euphrates, 40 km downstream from the present Deir-ez-Zor. It is also a large village of three hectares of closely knit, several-roomed houses with walls of mudbricks and floors covered with gypsum plaster. These houses are served, like at Ramad, by several streets. The inhabited rooms, long and narrow, communicate with one another through very small doors, while other constructions, divided into small, noncommunicating cubic cells, served no doubt as places to store food. A developed art attests to the high cultural level attained by the village: painted frescos representing ostriches and numerous human and animal figurines in stone or baked clay are found. A small number of painted ceramics appear in the upper layers, but the greatest number of artifacts are of polished stone or of gypsum plaster ("white ware"). The Neolithic village of El Kowm contains similar architecture with also, around 6000 B.C., an enormous quantity of white ware.

The economy of these two desert sites, both outside the limits of "dry farming," was based not only on raising goats and sheep and on a large quantity of hunting, but also on elaborate farming, where several species of grains were cultivated despite the dryness of the climate. This was possible through a selective use of fertile ground bordering the Euphrates (Buqras) or near springs (El Kowm), but also, probably, by the use of primitive irrigation techniques.

A last important event probably also took place during the same period as the late PPNB. Outside of the sedentary farming villages previously described, traces of contemporary installations left by nomadic groups are believed to have been found. These groups could have been the first ancestors of the present-day Bedouins of the Near East.

**F. Ceramic Civilizations of the 6th and 5th Millennia**

After 6000 B.C., the process of "Neolithization" of Syria was thus complete. The constitutive elements of what is generally understood to be "Neolithic" are completely developed: the life of villages, the domestication of plants and animals; the new cults, and also the specifically acquired techniques such as stone polishing and ceramics manufacture. Ceramics, the last of these acquisitions, will now serve, thanks to its variety of forms and decorations, to differentiate various civilizations.

The Syrian littoral in the 6th millennium is the epicenter of a cultural trend of lusterware, called Dark Face Burnished Ware, identified on the Antioch plain (Amuq A–B), at Ras Shamra VB and also found in more recent layers (phase III) of Ramad.

On the contrary, Upper Mesopotamian Syria (Jezireh), along the tributaries of the Euphrates, Khabur and Balikh, and the bordering regions of Iraq and Turkey, developing 5500 B.C., after a brief phase of black lusterware of a different tradition than that of the littoral, the magnificent polychrome painted ceramics of the Halafian culture. The Halafian repeats, in its figurines and its pottery decorations, the symbolic themes (representing goddesses and bulls) that appeared in Mureybet two millennia earlier. It is the beginning of cultural unity over a great geographic expanse, characterized by intense commercial exchanges that now included pottery itself in addition to Anatolian obsidian, traded since the Natufian. The pottery from Halaf reached the littoral shortly before 5000 B.C.: it has been found at Ras Shamra IV and in the plain of Amuq (phases C–D).

At the end of the 5th millennium, Syria finally enters into the movement of a new civilization, the Ubaid, an even vaster area which extends from the Arabic Gulf and Lower Mesopotamia, where it seems to originate, to Syrian Jezireh and even to the littoral Mediterranean. Here one encounters traces, more or less hybrid with local influences, at Ras Shamra III and at phase E of Amuq.

The Ubaid culture represents a decisive advance in the urbanization of the societies of the Near East, because one can perceive there for the first time an architectural plan which clearly differentiates between ordinary habitations and more monumental buildings of a public nature. This is the direct preparation of urbanization for the Uruk period where writing and "History" will take their first steps.

JACQUES CAUVIN

TRANS. STEPHEN ROSOFF

## *BRONZE AGE AND IRON AGE SYRIA*

Many features which characterize the civilizations of the Early Bronze Age did not appear suddenly but as the result of a long history of development and experimentation going back in many instances to 10th millennium B.C. The cultures of many areas of the Near East attained a remarkable stage of crystalization by the middle of the 4th millennium B.C. Well-organized, fortified cities existed in Syria with elaborate temple and religious structures and administrative support organizations that exploited and facilitated exchange, supervised developed agriculture and animal husbandry systems, controlled technological and other modes of production, and in general made their influence felt over great distances.

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A. Early Bronze Age
B. Middle Bronze Age
C. Late Bronze Age
D. Iron Age I
E. Iron Age II

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### A. Early Bronze Age (ca. 3000–2000 B.C.)

It seems, at first glance, that there was a retrenchment at the beginning of the 3d millennium, a consolidation of local cultural features at the expense of wider concerns, but this impression may change as additional evidence become available. Continuity from the end of the Protoliterate is evident in the ceramic inventory with the continuation of characteristic vessels like crude beveled-rim bowls, and specific vessel types with reserve slip and various incised decoration, but there is significant change. Similarly, the limited evidence for metalworking indicates that this technology has its roots in the 4th millennium B.C. Bronze figures cast in a lost-wax process were found at Judeideh in a Phase G context. The modeling of the figures is quite sophisticated and clearly represents a developed art style of which little else is known.

The major centers of Mari, Ebla, Hama, Ugarit, Khuerah, Braq, and Leilan were occupied at this time, but it is not clear whether they were small settlements which developed into great cultural centers or whether they already were major population and administrative centers. Only a handful of sites help us to define the very beginning of the Bronze Age. Judeideh and Chatal Hüyük in the Amuq provide a well-known sequence; Hadidi and nearby sites at the big bend of the Euphrates River provide a comparable sequence; Braq and Leilan demonstrate the sequence in the E. At Mari, the EB I material is present at the edge of the site and at Mardikh it is found beneath the later EB palace G of Level IIB1, in the context of another major building in Level IIA.

Several distinctive pottery forms can be isolated as characteristic of the EB II, particularly a bowl or cup form with a "cyma-recta" profile. Hadidi in the Euphrates Valley and Qalat el Mundiq in the Orontes Valley, with the Amuq sites and a few others, delineate this second phase of the EB. Many simple but characteristic cup, bowl, and jar forms of normal buff wares continue with slight development from EB I, documenting clear continuity.

Geographical variations are already very specific in these earliest EB phases. Painted decoration or colored slips on pottery are common in the coastal areas in the Amuq and in the Khabur area, but are

uncommon in the Euphrates River Valley. The so-called "Ninivite V" painted and incised wares seem consistently to follow levels with beveled-rim bowls, but their exact phasing and geographical range must be more precisely determined.

New traditions in the cultural assemblages of Syria began to develop in the second quarter of the 3d millennium. The tremendous archives from Tell Mardikh (Ebla) provide a new perspective on the cultures of ancient Syria; together with the finds from Mari which have been known for several decades longer, they block out the development of Syrian languages, architecture, and the arts during the remainder of the 3d millennium.

Written evidence in monumental architectural contexts, gives us an insight into the cultures of these cities from a completely different perspective than we are able to see from the cultural sequences documented for earlier periods. These written materials provide an insight into the specifics of international trade, the commodities which were exchanged, the routes along which they moved, and the major urban centers that controlled traffic. They allow us to understand the regional organization of the state, particularly how it monitored agricultural and industrial production. They give us an impression of the local written tradition and the maintenance of foreign language traditions. They provide documentation of the local religious traditions and practices, and how these fit into the fabric of the world around them. They demonstrate the complex fabric of cities and cultures working in cooperation or in open warfare; alliances, treaty relationships, spheres of influence, cultural regions, ethnic relationships, the relationship of ruling families and the causes for which armies moved to aid an ally or to stop the advance of an enemy state or coalition. Mari and Ebla were prime players with Assur, Urkish, and a number of other major centers of the time. See EBLA TEXTS and MARI (TEXTS).

With this written documentation as a background, many of the artifactual remains can be more precisely interpreted. The major palace exposure of the final phase of Ebla reveals two sides of a large audience hall with large columns supporting a portico. A large throne dais was built under the N portico. An elaborate square stair tower and a monumental stairway just to its S, allow movement from the court to the portion of the palace at a higher level on the citadel. Archive, office, work, and storage rooms adjoin the court in the areas which have been excavated. Palace artisans created a variety of materials for trade and for the embellishment of the palace. Some of the commodities known from the texts, like the textiles, have not been preserved, while other commodities have been preserved in a very limited way. Portions of elaborately decorated furniture, with carved wooden elements and with inlays of ivory and stone, and small pieces of composite sculpture in stone and precious metals are preserved. An art style similar to that which is characteristic of the end of the Early Dynastic and the beginning of the Akkadian periods in Mesopotamia is represented on cylinder seal impressions on clay. Imported vessels in Palace G are best represented by stone vessels of Egyptian manufacture, a few of which carried the royal names of Chephren, Pepi I and Pepi II, rulers of the 4th and 6th Egyptian dynasties.

A wealth of artistic representation is found at Mari as well, though the number of tablets of the period contemporary with the Ebla archives is still small and most of the inscriptions of the period were found on votive statues. The artistic style is documented in cylinder seal impressions, inlays for plaques and other small items, but particularly by free-standing votive figures.

Major archives also must have existed at the sites of ancient cities that coexisted with Ebla and Mari in the complex cultural fabric of the time, cities mentioned in the texts like Armanum, Tuttul, Harran, Emar, Alalakh, Ugarit, Byblos, Homs, and Damascus. Unfortunately evidence of artistic production from other sites in Syria is extremely limited. The few votive figures and stele that are preserved from Habuba, Selenkahiye, Khuera, and Mozan are far less polished than the products of royal artisans at Mari and Ebla. Khuera and Selenkahiye in particular provide a corpus of cylinder seal impressions which expand our knowledge of the repertoires of Early Dynastic and Akkadian period seals. Extremely common at many sites are the "average person's" artwork represented by thousands of handmade figurine fragments depicting human and animal forms.

The ceramic sequence is very well documented, and distinctive wares can be isolated which cluster materials into regional assemblages. Extremely thin, "metallic ware" vessels, some rivaling the much

later, Late Assyrian palace wares in extreme thinness, are common along the Euphrates and into the Jezireh. A gray ware, designated stone ware, is at home in the Khabur area, particularly at Braq. Most of the pottery traditions are of buff wares with a variety of forms, clay compositions, and thicknesses that can be used to further define the various districts. One vessel type which has received considerable attention as a link to Palestinian assemblages is a sequence of cup forms. A long sequence of such forms can now be demonstrated for a period of about 600–700 years. Early in the sequence a distinctive variety is the metallic ware cup with thin corrugated sides and folded-over lip. The base treatment changed, proportions changed, and the lip and sides were simplified in later varieties. The sequence ends in the 20th century B.C. The most specific variant of this sequence is a tall chalice with distinctive painted and incised decoration found at Mardikh in IIB2, Touqan, Hama in J5–1, and the Amuq in Phase J.

Sketchy or limited evidence does not allow us to show the full geographical extent of the regional assemblages of the end of the 3d millennium. The culture of the Assyrian heartland to the NE, centered in the Mosul region, was a traditional cultural focus which rivaled Mesopotamia and heavily influenced both Mari and the river valleys of the Khabur, Balikh, and their tributaries. Excavations at Leilan, Braq, Chagar Bazar, Mozan, Melebiya, Khuera, Bderi, Tuneinir, and a number of other sites presently under excavation in the Khabur Dam salvage area; at Hammam et Turkman and Bi‘a on the Balikh, are beginning to define the extent of the cultural spheres which extended out from Mari, Assyria, and the Syrian Jezireh. The Tabqa Dam salvage projects at Hadidi, Mumbaqat, Qanas, Sweihat, and Selenkahiye define a middle Euphrates assemblage between the Jezireh and the Aleppo-Mardikh area while the Amuq sites (Ugarit and Tabbat el Hammam) represent distinctive areas of another cultural tradition which stretched along the Mediterranean coast from Turkey to Lebanon. Less well known or documented are the Homs, Damascus, and Lebanese Beqa regions, which must have been centers of equally distinctive regional cultures. The early excavations at Qatna and other sites provide only limited hints of the characteristics of the EB culture at the E edge of the S cultural areas where they come up against the Syrian desert at the contact points with a major desert roads.

Our knowledge of the cultural assemblages of Bronze Age Syria has improved tremendously in recent decades. The later parts of the EB III–IV horizon correspond with the Akkadian and Neo-Sumerian periods in Mesopotamia, but the subdivisions are not yet clear and the beginning of this horizon predates the Akkadian period. The amount of information which is lacking, however, is as impressive as the information which is available. It is clear that the material culture of certain areas of Syria, like the coast, have close parallels in some specifics with Palestinian sites, but on the whole what is now most impressive is the individualistic nature of the assemblages of specific geographical areas. Syria must be seen as culturally distinct from Palestine, Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. The ethnic identity of the cultural groups associated with the material assemblages in the different areas of Syria is still a matter of discussion, and is based on limited information. Semitic, Hurrian, Anatolian, and other personal names are present at Mari and Ebla, but their concentration at specific sites and the interpretation of their distribution is problematic. We have used approximate, rounded-off period dates throughout this article, because with our present state of knowledge, we must rely on relative rather than absolute dates for Syrian chronology.

**B. Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2000–1550 B.C.)**

The cultural surroundings of ancient Syria changed drastically between the 3d and 2d millennia B.C. with the shift of power and influence in Mesopotamia from the 3d dynasty of Ur to the dynasties of Isin and Larsa, and in Egypt with the renewal of centralized authority under 12th Dyn. rulers, restoring unity after a “dark age.” Significant changes occur in Syria as well, and new cultural traditions are well developed in all areas by the 18th century, MB II. Similar to Egypt and Mesopotamia, and unlike Palestine, urban traditions continue through a difficult transitional period. Scattered sites like Mari, Hadidi, Hama, Judeideh, and Chatal Hüyük, document a transition in ceramics.

Distinctive new decoration styles are established as characteristic features of the ceramic assemblages in the Amuq–Cilician and Khabur areas. In the intervening area, particularly along the Euphrates, painted decoration is, again, extremely rare and the ceramic sequence has to be defined by the development of

specific rim forms and comb-incised decoration. Decorated basins from temple areas at Mardikh reflect artistic conventions which go back to the glyptic of the Early Dynastic period in Mesopotamia. The style of carving is well known from contemporary cylinder seals, particularly seals found in Anatolia at the trading center of Kültepe (Kanish) in Level II.

Occupation of the vast area of the Jezireh is most dramatically affected, probably because of ecological changes, and does not rebound to any degree in the new millennium. This was the case also with cities like Selenkahiye and Sweihat in the Euphrates Valley. At Hadidi, there is a dramatic reduction in the size of the site. Other geographical areas, like the Orontes Valley also show a decrease in urban population densities. The size of Mari at the beginning of the 2d millennium is not clear, but a major palace area continued in use in the same location where one had stood for centuries. A large, newly fortified urban settlement was constructed at Mardikh at this time.

Scattered written evidence exists, but the prime source for the period is from the palace archives at Mari. This rich source of information reveals a complex interaction of city-states from the Khabur area, Assyria, and Iran to the NE, Mesopotamia to the S, and the Aleppo area to the W, as well as a relationship with significant component of nonurban populations. The political organization of a typical state is revealed at Mari as well as the dynamics of interstate rivalries and cooperation. Zimri-lim, son of the Mari ruler, Yahdun-lim (1825–1810 B.C.), was forced to leave his home city and reside with a friendly dynasty in Aleppo. After a time, Zimri-lim (1782–1759 B.C.) was able to regain his family patrimony from the ruler of Assyria, Šamši-Adad (1815–1782 B.C.), who had installed his son Yasmah-Adad at Mari. Mari correspondence demonstrates centralization of power for a time in the Assyrian heartland and the rebuilding of the capital city at Shubat-Enlil, now identified with Leilan. The temple and other monumental architecture excavated there, as well as the written records of the period, will shed further light on this period of Assyrian expansion.

Hammurabi (1792–1750 B.C.) of Babylon emerged victorious in the interstate conflicts of the time in carving out a significant area of control for his Babylonian dynasty. Mari is one of the cities which succumbed to Hammurabi's advancing power and did not recover. Political power in this area of the Euphrates shifted to the city of Khana. Excavations at Ashara have brought to light many centuries of this city's history including archives of limited size and information, a private archive of Puzurum, and an archive from the temple of Ninkarak. The other significant Syrian archive of this period is from the Level VII palace at Alalakh in the Amuq.

Good archaeological sequences have been exposed at Hadidi, Halawa, Habuba and Qanas, in the Tabqa Dam salvage area on the Euphrates, and at Hama and Mardikh. Mardikh has yielded some of the most spectacular remains for this period also. A portion of a palace, several administrative buildings, and the gateway show a well-developed style of substantial architecture. Royal tombs have been found beneath the floors of one building, but only one statue provides a written inscription. The use of orthostats, in many cases alternating basalt and limestone as in the palace and one phase of the gateway, are a distinctive feature here and in the Alalakh VII palace.

A distinctive temple tradition, which continues into the LB, is now well documented on many sites. The temples are basically organized on a central axis. Entry is usually made through a pillared portico or entrance room and the structures are usually deeper than they are wide. Specific features like exceptionally thick walls, the presence of an entrance room or a niche centered on the back wall, show some development through time. Some of these peculiarities may be associated with the worship of specific deities, but only in a few cases is the god worshipped in a temple conclusively established. At Mari, the Dagan temple near the palace is of the axial type just mentioned, while the contemporary phases of the Ishtar temple maintain a different, indirect-access temple type.

The corpus of sculpture of this period comes primarily from Ebla and Mari. The Ebla basins have been mentioned but several additional fragments, and other fragments of votive statues were also found. Most of the Mari sculpture is from the palace area, primarily free-standing statues of officials and the famous goddess holding a vase overflowing with water.

The Mari palace was considered a wonder in its time and an attraction for visiting dignitaries. Its walls were extensively decorated with geometric and figural murals. Most famous of these scenes is the "investiture scene" in the courtyard near the throne room. The subject matter overlaps with scenes from other media, particularly glyptic. The style of well-articulated, naturalistic figures is well known from seals and plaques, but an additional dimension is added by the color renderings of costumes, furniture, and other details. Mythological scenes are also represented, but again mostly in a format known in glyptic art.

The glyptic art of MB II Syria reached a high point and is well represented at Mari, Alalakh, Ebla and through numerous seals which have appeared on the antiquities market. Several distinctive area styles can be distinguished on the basis of Mesopotamian, Egyptian, or Anatolian motifs which they incorporate. The excellent workmanship, design, and naturalistic renderings created striking, polished miniature works of art which are a sharp contrast to the seals produced at the beginning of the MB. A beautiful sculpted head of the statue of a ruler at Alalakh is an excellent representation of this art style in another medium.

**C. Late Bronze Age (ca. 1550–1200 B.C.)**

The MB Age ended with a Hittite incursion into Syria under Mursilis I, a campaign which continued S along the Euphrates and resulted in the destruction of Babylon and the end of the Old Babylonian period around 1600 B.C. Subsequent Hittite rulers were not able to follow up on these victories, but the international competition for influence and control in Syria reached a new level in the LB. Egypt was a constant threat at the end of its 17th and the beginning of its 18th dynasties, through the time of Thutmose III (1504–1450 B.C.). Egyptian temple reliefs document campaigns far into N Syria and list cities on the Euphrates on their line of march. Hadidi (Azu) and Mumbaqat (Ura) have been identified among these cities. Hadidi in particular demonstrated the presence of outside influence in the assemblage of materials from the beginning of the LB. There is a sudden break with the basic plain-ware traditions of the Euphrates Valley that consistently reflects a Mesopotamian orientation. A phase with chocolate-on-white decorated pottery and a specific variety of grey wares that represents traditions originating in the S and on the sea coast, marks the transition to the LB. This unexpected change may represent the effect on the local culture of Egyptian influence at the beginning of the period which caused the spread of cultural features which previously had been confined to the areas most strongly influenced by Egypt, namely, Palestine, S Syria and the sea coast.

Before long the Egyptian influence was confined to S Syria, but a growing Hurrian domination extended over N Syria. Alalakh in Level IV represented a Hurrian dependency near the coast with a large archive of tablets preserved in the destruction level of the palace. Hurrian cultural influence is well documented in the tablets from Nuzi (in the Assyrian heartland) and later from Ugarit. Occupation of the period has been documented at many sites including Hadidi and Mumbaqat where small personal archives have been found in buildings with large well preserved inventories. The art style of the beginning of the period is represented by a few pieces of sculpture like the statue of Idrimi and crude basalt figures at Hadidi, Alalakh, Hama, and elsewhere, but not enough is available to define more than a rough component of the contemporary sculptural style. The polished glyptic style of the previous century was modified and a class of common seals with abstracted; simplified renderings became very common. Most of these common style seals were produced in faience or frit and are found virtually throughout the Near East from Egypt and Palestine to Iran and Turkey. One of the most characteristic features of the ceramic repertoire of the Mitannian period is the "Nuzi" ware and its western "Atchana" variation in the materials from Alalakh IV–II. This luxury ware treatment of white decoration on a dark slip, highlights elaborate floral and geometric patterns. Such wares are known throughout N Syria and Assyria but usually in small quantities.

The private buildings at Hadidi and Mumbaqat are square structures organized around rectangular courts. A similar architectural organization forms the nucleus of the plan found in greater elaboration in the Alalakh level-IV palace. The archives of Alalakh, Hadidi, Mumbaqat, and Bi›a provide stratified seal impressions of the period as well as a wealth of personal names peculiar to each region and an illustration of the local variants of Akkadian. A Mitannian palace area has been excavated at Braq and a portion of a

palace and a temple at Bi›a. The archives found at Nuzi provide many insights into the distinctive features of the cultural area under the control of Mitannian rulers and yield a good representation of glyptic. The wealth of minor art objects and architecture from Nuzi provides excellent comparative material for Syrian sites.

The final days of the Bronze Age city at Ugarit are dramatically revealed in the remains of its palace as well as records of several centuries of international political activities and palace administration. An outlying seaside palace at Ras Ibn Hani near Ugarit provides contemporary information. Religious texts from a temple area at Ugarit have added a new depth to the study of biblical texts by revealing temple rituals, the complicated pantheon of deities worshipped at Ugarit, and a rich collection of important mythical texts. In documenting the language and grammar, these findings provide insight into an early stage of development in many genres which are well known in biblical traditions. Another major discovery at Ugarit is the use of a new cuneiform script for most religious texts, but also for some regional administrative documents, a script which marks a significant stage in the development of alphabetic writing. The major international language, however, remained Akkadian. See UGARIT (TEXTS AND LITERATURE).

The collections of tablets at Ugarit are only a portion of the rich finds from this site and its nearby dependencies at Ras Ibn Hani and Minet el Beidha. The sea-side location of this major trading center was responsible for an international imprint on the city's culture and arts. Imported pottery from Cyprus and the Aegean area is common at this transit point and on many coastal sites, but only to varying degrees inland. It is well represented in Palestinian excavations, the Transjordan, S Syria, and the Beqa. Egyptian influence made a strong impression on the art style of Ugarit with clear motifs, like Hathor curls, *ankh* symbols, adapted Egyptian headdresses, etc., evident on palatial ivories and cylinder seal impressions. Hittite motifs were common during the Hittite Empire period, but Mesopotamian styles and motifs maintained primary importance. Despite these influences, the hand of the local artist is clear in the selection and shaping of foreign ideas and themes in their products. Evidence for sculpture is limited but the small arts, cf. copper, bronze, and clay figurines, mold-impressed plaques, carved ivories, faience vessels, beads, and amulets are numerous.

Other areas of Syria demonstrated their traditional orientations. Middle Assyrian glyptic is well represented at Sheikh Hamid, Fakhariya, and other sites. Hittite seals with their typical motifs and hieroglyphic inscription are found at many sites in N Syria. Architecture shows marked Hittite influence in temples at Alalakh, fortification, gate and tomb construction at Ugarit, and domestic buildings at Meskene. It is not clear how far the metropolitan pressure at Ugarit, which resulted in the use of multistoried structures, spread beyond cities of the sea coast. Certainly the art and architectural styles were lively, inventive, and flourishing, but the flowering was short-lived and the old traditions continued on as underlying constants. The dual temples at Emar, the continuation of the use of the temples at Mumbaqat and the variation of temple types in the long sequence of temples at Alalakh (with the dominance in the traditional local axial types) are excellent examples of such continuity.

Several other large archives also were terminated at the beginning of the 12th century B.C. in roughly contemporary destructions. They help to fill in the historical, cultural, and religious picture of the area of N Syria at the end of the period of Hittite political domination and confrontation with Assyria in the E. Previously this period was illuminated primarily by the international correspondence from the royal archives from el Amarna in Egypt. Extensive temple archives and small administrative archives were found at the Hittite regional administrative center of Emar (Meskene Qadime) on the Euphrates. A smaller archive was found at Tell Frey and a single tablet at El Qitar, both nearby sites. The 13th–12th century archive at the Assyrian city at Sheikh Hamid, on the lower Khabur, shows the strength and influence of the Assyrian rulers of that period, who on several occasions campaigned across the Euphrates and reached the Mediterranean coast. Their activities must have played an important role in the demise of the Hittite Empire, known otherwise from an opposite point of view in the texts found at Bohazkoi, Ugarit, and Egypt.

**D. Iron Age I (ca. 1200–1000 B.C.)**

Evidence for the Iron Age in Syria is much more limited than that for the Bronze Age. Spectacular monuments, sculpture, and a broad range of artifacts have been excavated but written material is limited. Most of the inscriptions that have been found are royal inscriptions or proclamations. It is still difficult to place these materials and the artifactual information into the context of the written evidence from surrounding areas, from Egypt, Greece, Assyria, Babylonia, Palestine, and the biblical record.

The beginning of the Iron Age was marked by a dramatic change from what had gone before. New realities replaced the Hittite political structure. Westward pressure from the armies of the Middle Assyrian rulers abated after a time, the sea coast was under severe pressure from peoples of Aegean origin, and Aramean groups exerted pressure from the desert areas. Despite the upheaval and the integration of new population elements, many traditions were maintained through the transition. Some sites continued to be occupied from the Bronze Age through into the Iron Age, but the basic fabric of the area's cultures had been drastically altered. The ever sensitive indicator of ceramic production showed a major change. Pottery with monochrome decoration reflecting Aegean models of the 12th century B.C. and earlier, is distinctive at sites near the coast. This pottery has been excavated at Chatal Hüyük and Judeideh in the Amuq; on the coast at Ras el Basit, Ras Ibn Hani, Byblos, and farther S; but further inland, where painted pottery is traditionally rare, excavated sites of the period are also rare.

The Tabqa Dam salvage area on the Euphrates, saw a drastic reduction in the number of inhabited sites so that the Iron Age is barely represented. Farther upstream at the major sites of Til Barsib and Carchemish, major Iron Age centers were established. As a major Bronze Age Hittite center which maintained its importance, Carchemish withstood external forces for a considerable time and preserved earlier traditions more consistently than many other cities. The site of ʿAin Dara in the Afrin Valley W of Aleppo, was also occupied at the end of the Bronze Age and through much of the Iron Age.

**E. Iron Age II (ca. 1000–550 B.C.)**

Many important sites fill in the Iron Age picture in Syria, like: Taʿyinat, Chatal Hüyük, Judeideh, Rifiaʿat, Deneit, Nirab, Qarqur, Afis, Abu Danne, Safire, Hama, Arslan Tash, Halaf, Fakhariyah, Sheikh Hamid, Agaga, Ashara, Mishrife, Nebi Mend, Ras el-Basit, El Mina, Soukas, Amrit, Tabbat el Hammam, es Salihiyeh, and Ashtara. Some sites represent a long sequence and others provide monumental architectural remains, including wall paintings and elaborate sculptural architectural embellishment, but the length of use and contemporaneity of individual building phases between different structures is difficult to reconstruct with precision. Even where inscriptions mentioning Assyrian rulers are present, it is difficult to be certain unless there is a good clustering of material in its original context. Monumental sculpture was reused and early excavation techniques do not allow us in many cases to tie the artifacts very closely to the architecture. By the end of the 11th century, many independent city-states developed across Syria, similar to the pattern of city-states that existed in the Bronze Age. As time went on, the earlier pattern of struggle between rival coalitions, the creation of larger states, and eventually the incorporation of states into large, foreign-dominated superstates continued.

The city-states of NW Syria were part of a broader culture area which included Cilicia, stretched to Malatya in SE Turkey, and S to Damascus. The term "Neo-Hittite" is often used to describe these states for a number of reasons: Assyrian records refer to much of the Syrian area as Hittina; the characteristic hieroglyphic style of writing of the Hittite Empire period, derived from Luwian written traditions, continues in use; and many other features of Hittite culture, like the sculptural tradition, continue. ʿAin Dara and Carchemish should, with continued excavation, demonstrate exactly how the cultural features, the ruling elite, the organizational structures, etc., depended on earlier models and traditions. An extraordinary temple complex has been excavated on the acropolis of ʿAin Dara where rows of monstrous lions and sphinxes guarded both the entrances to the temple and the holy of holies. Meter-long footprints of the god were carved on the floor between the portico columns and on the door sills. Processions of animals and some dignitaries formed a sculptural band around the exterior walls of the temple and the platform upon which it stood. Hittite conventions and themes are strongly evident in dress, proportions, and surface finish, particularly in the earliest sculptures. Local influence is, however, also clear in the animal bodies, the treatment of the heads, and the stances of the figures. At Halaf, the striking, primitive

sculpture of the Kapara palace complex represents a similar phenomenon with unusual combinations of features and awkward proportions in the sculptures.

As the cities of the area revived economically and the local rulers attempted to display their wealth in new artistic and architectural construction, they apparently used local talent either to pick up and continue earlier traditions, reflecting the traditions of the contemporary Assyrian state, or to develop distinctive, independent styles. Some sculptures at Carchemish also provide a continuity with past Hittite traditions. Several long rows of sculptured orthostats have been arranged chronologically and dated through almost four centuries of the Iron Age. The reliefs decorating the royal citadel and "hilani" complex at Halaf can be compared with reliefs early in the Carchemish sequence, representing early works of sculpture of a developing style which demonstrated considerable imagination and innovation.

Isolated sculptures of the 10th and early 9th centuries B.C. have been found at numerous other sites beside Halaf. The awkwardness of the earlier sculpture remains, like the statue of Adad-it›i/Hadad-yis‹i found at Fakhariyah (probably dating to the middle of the 9th century B.C.), show that the Assyrian influence is considerable. The bilingual inscription in Aramaic and Assyrian seems to be a necessity for communication with different constituencies. The area of Fakhariyah (Sikan)/Halaf (Gozan) on current evidence does not continue the use of the Luwian hieroglyphic script as is the case at Carchemish, Ta‹yinat, Malatya, and Hama. The art style demonstrated on the monuments of Kilamuwa of Samal (Zinjirli) are characteristic of this time, but his inscription is in Phoenician script.

The presence of Assyrian motifs and stylistic features are even stronger in the materials which fall between the second half of the 9th century and the middle of the 8th century B.C. With the victory of the Aramean, Israelite, Ammonite, etc., coalition by Shalmaneser III's army at Qarqar in 853 B.C., the political situation in N Syria changed. "Neo-Hittite" building complexes or citadels have been excavated late in the period at Hama, Ta‹yinat, Zinjirli, and Sakjegözü with a series of administrative buildings and temples in distinctive "hilani" style, characterized by pillared entrance porticos and main rooms at right angles to the axis of the porticos. The associated inscriptions represent statements of local rulers in monumental form, but in a context of strong Assyrian influence. Apparently the rulers were allowed to maintain their local traditions and independent status, but under ever increasing Assyrian control. At Agag on the Khabur, the accidental discovery of a gateway with flanking lions in a style characteristic of late-9th–early-8th century Assyria clearly demonstrate Assyrian domination in the artistic tradition.

The changing political climate is reflected in many other categories or artifactual evidence beside artistic production. The ceramic hallmark of the period is the use of a red slip to decorate a set range of vessel forms, particularly bowls, platters, and jugs. At the same time, the characteristic monochrome painted pottery of the earliest centuries of the Iron Age ceases. These two changes in particular are quite sudden and occur, as in Palestine, roughly at the beginning of the 10th century B.C. At that time, the red-burnished tradition includes primarily rougher, utilitarian appearing vessels with the most common color range of the slip being in dark shades and often to brown. By the end of the period, the most common range of colors is much lighter and toward a pink shade, but experimentation with more controlled firing procedures produced cream, white, or black variations. Burnishing procedures on the earlier forms were primarily done by hand and often in a variety of patterns. This gives way to the burnishing of vessels on a turning surface or wheel. Solid, overall burnishing is displaced by spaced burnishing in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C.

International contacts expanded with each successive century in the Iron Age and beyond. An increasing level of sharing of information and exchange of materials is evident, though it is difficult to interpret the extent of the rivalry between Phoenicians, Greeks, and Cypriots for control of coastal trade. Imports from Cyprus and the Aegean become more frequent through the 8th and 7th centuries. So far, the quantity of Greek material has not penetrated very far inland from the coastal areas at places like Al Mina. This trade depot and port city has provided rich evidence for Cypriot imports with White Painted (III), Bichrome (III–IV) wares, Black-on-Red wares, and ring-necked juglets as well as Greek imports, specifically Protogeometric vessels and Cycladic cups, of the 9th and 8th century B.C., and Protocorinthian,

Corinthian, and Rhodian vessels of the 7th century B.C., and Greek imports from the 8th through the 5th centuries.

A break with the pattern of independent city-states seems to come with the reorganization of the areas under Assyrian domination into a provincial structure under Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 B.C.), following a short interlude when one of Assyria's N rivals, Urartu, controlled or influenced a large portion of N Syria. The full effects of the Assyrian reorganization is apparent at the end of the 8th and into 7th century B.C. with the palace complexes which are constructed at Ta‹yinat, Barsib (Bit Adini), and Arslan Tash (Hadatu). These large, extended palaces, closer to the Mesopotamian style, replace the "Neo-Hittite" citadel complexes with their grouping of smaller independent structures. Similar to the "Assyrianizing" of architectural building and planning, the same is observable in the area of art styles. The local traditions mentioned earlier give way to increasing influence from Assyrian styles and eventually to art works produced to conform very closely to the contemporary Assyrian styles. The stelae of Panammuwa and Barrekub at Samal represent local styles with strong Assyrian influence in the time of Tiglath-pileser III and just after. The Assyrian royal and governors palaces provide rich sources for the cultural materials from the dependent areas which had been gathered as booty and tribute. Palace reliefs document the contact and confrontation with these areas as well.

The decoration of the palace at Barsib on the Euphrates is an excellent example of Assyrian art, unique in being preserved in full color, as if it were constructed in the Assyrian heartland. Wall paintings decorated in the styles of the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, or just after him, are preserved. The palace continued to be used for a long time, possibly to the end of the Assyrian empire, and saw major refurbishing and the renewal of wall paintings under Assurbanipal (668–627 B.C.). An Assyrian palace has now also been excavated on Syria's E edge at Sheikh Hamid.

A Greek settlement at Soukas in the 6th century B.C. is indicated by the heavy concentration of Greek pottery and a temple installation. Similar pottery is present at the coastal city at Ras el Basit and at Ta‹yinat slightly inland, as it was farther S in Lebanon at Arqa, Sarafand, Tyre, and Kamid el Loz. As time went on, the cultural assemblages of these areas displayed their perennial leaning toward Egyptian cultural influence. This increasing influence continued at the end of the Iron Age and beyond when, successively, the Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Persian empires controlled extensive areas of the Near East and administered these areas as provincial dependencies. This had a unifying effect on the cultural expression illustrated over a broad area. The evidence for the end of the Iron Age is very limited, but sites like Deneit and Amrit illustrate the distinctive features of the culture of the end of the Iron Age and the Persian period.

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**SYRIAC LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGE (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY); LANGUAGES (ARAMAIC).

**SYRIAC MENANDER.** A collection of popular wisdom sayings ascribed to Menander the Sage and included among the OT Pseudepigrapha. It is found in a Syriac manuscript now kept in the British Museum (BM Or. Add. 14.658, fols.163v–67v) probably dating from the 7th century C.E. The text was edited by J. P. N. Land in 1862 and corrected by the editor (1868), by W. Wright (1863), Schulthess (1912), and later by Audet (1952). A short extract of the same text is found in BM Or. Add. 14.614 of the 8th or 9th century (Sachau 1870). The nature of the florilegium may be adequately defined as wisdom literature in the form of pragmatic rules for human behavior: how to live with parents, children, women, brothers, friends, older people, slaves and enemies; how to behave while drinking or eating; how to use riches or to face the vicissitudes of fate. It consists of precepts, prohibitions, paradigms, and short characterizations of human attitudes.

It is very difficult to determine the number of maxims contained in the anthology. The following sample shows how counts have varied: 96 (Audet 1952), 101 (Schulthess 1912), 103 (Riessler 1928) or 153 (Baumstark 1894). The English translation abstains from numbering the dicta, but presents 474 lines consisting of about 110 different sayings. There is no uniformity in the format of the maxims; some are monostichs, some distichs, and others are longer units of a sapiential nature. Although there are a few thematic groups of sayings, such as on adultery and fornication (II.45–51), on eating and drinking (II.52–66), on servants (II.154–66), it is impossible to find an organizing principle in the sequence of the various counsels. This lack of system may indicate that the redactor drew from different sources in compiling the florilegium.

In the manuscript, the anthology is placed between extracts from Greek authors and philosophers; from this placement it is clear that Menander was held to be the famous representative of the New Comedy at Athens (ca. 300 B.C.). Baumstark (1894) suggested that these sayings might in fact have been borrowed from Menander's plays, but there is no evidence for that. It is more likely that the collector attached the playwright's name to the collection because there were other anthologies of sayings already circulating under the name of Menander.

It is possible that one of the sources was in fact an anthology ascribed to Menander. There are several sayings in our collection reminiscent of Menandric monostichs; one is "Blessed is the man who has mastered his stomach and lust" (1.65 [*OTP* 2:588]), which resembles the maxim "It is a good thing to master one's stomach and lust" independently attributed to Menander (Jaekel 1964:57). However, there are also many affinities to Jewish wisdom literature in Proverbs, Sirach, Ahiqar, and Pseudo-Phocylides, which may suggest that the redactor of the florilegium was acquainted with this type of sapiential literature (*OTP* 2:586–87). Was the author a Jew (Frankenberg 1895), a member of the so-called God-fearing circles in Egypt (Audet 1952), or a cultured pagan writer who, in drawing up this collection of wisdom sayings, incorporated in a Greek anthology material from oriental wisdom traditions, including Jewish sapiential sayings? The author, if Jewish, may have concealed that fact (note *Syr. Men.* II.263–64:"but the gods are despised by their priests," which suggests polytheism) in order to convey Jewish ethical instruction to pagan readers under the guise of a pagan writer. In either case, the author was religious, and could summarize all human conduct by referring to the fear of God: "The main source of all good things is the fear of God, it delivers one from all evil things" (*Syr. Men.* II.394–95).

As to its date (3d century A.D.?) and provenance (Egypt?) nothing can be said with absolute certainty.

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TJITZE BAARDA

**SYRIAC PSALMS.** See PSALMS, SYRIAC (APOCRYPHAL).

**SYRIAC VERSIONS.** See VERSIONS, ANCIENT (SYRIAC VERSIONS).

**SYRIACUS, CODEX.** See SINAITICUS, SYRUS.

**SYRIAN CHRISTIANITY.** See CHRISTIANITY (IN SYRIA).

**SYRO-EPHRAIMITE WAR.** A modern term (but see Isa 7:2) designating a war that pitted the kingdom of Judah against a coalition comprised of Damascus (Syria) and Israel (Ephraim) (2 Kgs 15:37; 16:5–9; Isa 7:1–9; 2 Chr 27:1–9; 28:1–27). The apparent purpose of the war was to dispose of young Ahaz, king of Judah, and to pressure Judah into joining Rezin of Damascus and Pekah of Israel in opposition to the expanding Assyrian empire. Assyria, however, came to Ahaz' assistance and relieved the pressure by attacking Syria (Damascus was captured ca. 732 B.C.). A decade later the Assyrian army attacked Israel, destroying Samaria in 722/721 B.C. Judah then became a vassal state of the Assyrian empire.

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A. Sources
1. Biblical
2. Nonbiblical
B. Historical Events
1. Precedents for a Syro-Ephraimite-Judean Alliance
2. The Early Years of Tiglath-pileser III
3. The War

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**A. Sources**

**1. Biblical.** The rather numerous references to the war in biblical sources raise problems of interpretation related to the editorial arrangement of texts referring to the war. Therefore, we can sketch the main events of the war, but we cannot always be certain about the overall chronological sequence. From 2 Kgs 15:37 we know that the war began during the reign of Jotham, son of Azariah (Uzziah). Rezin of Damascus and Pekah of Israel joined in attacking Jerusalem (16:5), which lost control over Elath to the south (16:6). Jotham's son and successor, Ahaz, then sent messengers and tribute to the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (16:7–8), who captured Damascus and killed Rezin (16:9), and seized some of Israel's northernmost towns (Ijon, Abel-Beth-Maacah, Janoah, Kedesh) and provinces (Gilead, Naphtali, Galilee) (15:29). Pekah was assassinated by Hoshea, who then became king (15:30). Ahaz met with Tiglath-pileser III in Damascus (16:10). The book of Chronicles (2 Chr 27:1–9; 28:1–27) draws in part from the account in the book of Kings, but arranges the account differently and utilizes other sources, some historical (accounts of wars against the Ammonites and Philistines) and some perhaps not (e.g., the account of Obed the prophet).

Passages in the various prophetic books provide a glimpse into the international tensions of the time. For example, some of the oracles of Amos refer to such affairs (Amos 1–2; 3:9; 5:26–27; 6:1–7, 13), while Hosea knows about plots against kings of Israel (7:3–6), a war between Judah and Ephraim-Benjamin (5:8–9), and pressures from Assyria or Egypt (7:11; 8:9; 9:3). Some of the oracles of Micah antedate the downfall of Samaria (1:6) and the "evil down to the gates of Jerusalem" (1:12, 13). Some prose portions of Isaiah, in Deuteronomic fashion (e.g., 7:1–3 compared with 2 Kgs 16:5 and 8:17b), refer to the war. Many of his oracles seem to have their historical context in the war (7:4–9; 8:3; 9:7–10), in the crisis of the N kingdom in the years before its downfall (10:9), in the consequent political turmoil within Jerusalem (the unpopularity of the Davidic dynasty [7:13; 8:6] and the anarchy during a regency [3:4,

12]), in the pressure of foes from the E and W (2:6–7), and in the conquests of Assyria (10:11–34; 17:1–11; see Donner 1985:311).

**2. Nonbiblical.** Assyrian involvement in this conflict fortunately means that there are Assyrian records attesting to this war. Unfortunately, however, they are in a bad state of preservation. The annals of Tiglath-pileser III and two "summaries" offer a chronological order, although their interconnections are disputed. Other fragments relate events more in a geographical than a chronological order. P. Rost (1893) was able to make an edition based upon Rawlinson's publications and Layard's copies (some originals having been lost). New texts were published by Boissier (1896), Wiseman (1951; 1956; 1964), Levine (1972), while reliefs (with inscriptions) were published by Barnett and Falkner (1962). Rost's readings and edition were greatly improved by the studies and collations of Borger and Tadmor (1982), Weippert (1972; 1975; 1982), and Na›aman (1986). Several translations are available (*LAR* 1:nos. 769–821; *ANET*, 282–84).

The following seven texts directly relate to the Syro-Ephraimite war. The Assyrian list of eponyms (esp. *RLA* 2:430–31; *LAR* 2:437) and the Babylonian Chronicles (TCS 5:52; Brinkman 1984; 1968:229–32) help provide a chronological sequence for these texts.

(1) *Text A:* Rost lines 197–210 (1893:34–37) = *LAR* 1:no. 777 = *ANET*, 283 (left column, bottom).

(2) *Text B:* Rost lines 229–40 (1893:38–41) = *LAR* 1:no. 779 = *ANET*, 283 (right column, lines 17–33).

(3) *Text C:* Rost lines 211–28, and independent series (1893:38–41); cf. Tadmor 1968:180; Na›aman 1986:72.

(4) *Text D: LAR* 1:nos. 815–18 = *ANET*, 283–84; this text is completed by the parallel in Wiseman 1951:3 (ND 400).

(5) *Text E:* Wiseman 1956 (ND 4301 + 4305) and Wiseman 1964 (ND 5419), with K 2649 (cf. Kessler 1975:57; Borger and Tadmor 1982:245; Na›aman 1986:72).

(6) *Text F: LAR* 1:nos. 801–3 = *ANET*, 282.

(7) *Text G:* Barnett and Falkner 1962:pls. 62 (Gezer) and 70–71 (Ashtartu cf. 30b) (cf. also Weippert 1975).

**B. Historical Events**

**1. Precedents for a Syro-Ephraimite-Judean Alliance.** It is important to note that anti-Assyrian coalitions formed by Syro-Palestinian states are evident more than a century before the Syro-Ephraimite War. As early as the Battle of Qarqar in 853 B.C., Damascus (often called ARAM) appeared as a dominant power leading anti-Assyrian coalitions, coalitions extending beyond the Arameans sometimes to include Cilician states as well as Urartu to the north. Even this early, Israel and its king Ahab (of the Omride dynasty) participated in this anti-Assyrian coalition (*ANET*, 278–79). In 840 B.C. Israel under a new dynasty (Jehu) was compelled to render tribute to Assyria (*ANET*, 280). By 800 B.C. Israel was actually allied with Assyria against Damascus, and it is often assumed that Israelite foreign policy remained pro-Assyrian for as long as the dynasty of Jehu remained in power.

However, there is some evidence (extremely indirect and problematic) that, when pieced together, possibly suggests that several decades before the Syro-Ephraimite War (i.e., while the Jehu dynasty was still in power), Israel (and Judah) already had switched allegiances and sided with Damascus to oppose Assyrian interests. The Zakir stela (*ANET*, 655–56) is one piece of evidence; it reports that sometime in the first half of the 8th century B.C. Bar-Hadad of Damascus led of a coalition including Arpad and Sam›al against Hamath and its king Zakir. Hamath was delivered, something Zakir attributed to his gods, although Assyrian intervention was probably also a factor. The likelihood of Assyrian intervention is suggested by the subsequent fates of Damascus' allies. We know from other evidence that Arpad and its king Mati›ilu had become Assyrian vassals already by the time of Ashur-nirari V (754–746 B.C.; *ANET*, 532–33), while in Sam›al (which is sometimes also called ¸Ya›udi") the Panammu dynasty (which previously had been overthrown) was now restored when Tiglath-pileser III reinstated Panammu II, father of Barrakab) to the throne (*ANET*, 655).

The possibility that Israel and Judah may have participated in Bar-Hadad's coalition against Hamath (and therefore also against Assyria) is suggested by two textual fragments (K6205 + Rost 1893:20–24

[lines 123–41]) that, when joined together, form a second piece of evidence from Tiglath-pileser III's annals (*LAR* 1:no. 770 = *ANET*, 282–83 [the join occurs where *ANET* notes a "lacuna of three lines"]). (For a critique of this joining, see Na›aman 1974:especially p. 36.) This reconstructed text reports that an unnamed group (of kings) had taken nineteen districts and cities of the coast belonging to Hamath, and had given them to one "Azriau" (line 131, from the Rost 1893:20–24 fragment; "Azriau" is also mentioned on line 123 of the same fragment). The introductory portion of this text (the K6205 fragment) further identifies this individual twice as " (Azri)au" of "Yauda" and as (A)zriau" of "Yaudi."

The crucial issue concerns the identities of "Azriau" and "Yaudi." Assuming that these two fragments indeed belong together, opinions are divided as to whether this was (a) the same prince of Sam›al (Ya›udi) that Tiglath-pileser III removed when he reestablished Panammu II (cf. Briend and Seux 1977), or (b) Azariah (u) the king of Judah, also known as Uzziah (cf. Tadmor 1961; Haran 1962; Kessler 1975:53; Cazelles 1978). The cuneiform spelling of Judah and Yaudi are identical *(Ia-u-da-a-a)*.

Since Sam›al is never identified as Ya›udi in any other texts of Tiglath-pileser, this perhaps suggests a reference to the Judean king Azariah (u). However, it seems unlikely that Judah would be involved in (much less profit territorially from) a potentially anti-Assyrian military campaign so far to the north of both Israel and Phoenicia, and it is possible that the two fragments do not even belong together, in which case "Yaudi" (Judah) would not even be mentioned in connection with the nineteen districts of Hamath (Na›aman 1974). On the other hand, "Azriau" is not the sort of name one would associate with an indigenous N Syrian, since in form it is Israelite, not Aramean (Cogan and Tadmor *2 Kings* AB, 166). Furthermore, according to the elliptical biblical statement that "Jeroboam brought back Damascus and Hamath to Judah" (2 Kgs 14:28), it is possible that sometime after 800 his victory against Damascus extended Jeroboam's dominion as far as Hamath. Jeroboam of Israel, may then have compensated Judah for the harsh treatment it had received from his father Jehoash (2 Kgs 14:11–14), by ceding to Judah nineteen districts and towns captured from Hamath (a region that posed no immediate danger). This would explain Judah's involvement in Syrian affairs as far away as Hamath, where Assyria, Damascus, and Israel were already involved.

**2. The Early Years of Tiglath-pileser III.** Tiglath-pileser III ascended the throne in 745, after the assassination of his predecessor Ashur-nirari V. That autumn he directed his first annual campaign south against the Aramean tribes threatening Babylon. Apparently encouraged by the turmoil associated with the death of Ashur-nirari and by Tiglath-pileser's preoccupation with the south, an anti-Assyrian coalition was formed under the leadership of Urartu, Arpad, and the Cilician states, a coalition including Rezin of Damascus and Hiram of Tyre. As mentioned above, in 743 B.C. Tiglath-pileser defeated this coalition. The Panammu dynasty was restored to the throne of Sam›al, and Assyria annexed for itself the nineteen cities and districts previously given to "Azriau." Three more campaigns had to be directed against Arpad in the following years (742–740 B.C.); however, it was soon captured and annexed (cf. 2 Kgs 18:34; Isa 10:9). The faithful Hamath remained independent, but never recovered the nineteen cities and districts taken for Azriau and then subsequently annexed into Assyria. In 739 B.C. an Assyrian governor was appointed in Ulluba and a citadel *(birtu)* was seized. Tiglath-pileser III then consolidated his position in Syria a year later when he conquered Kullani/Kalnia (biblical Calneh/Calno; cf. Amos 6:2; Isa 10:9) and organized the new province of Kinalia (Weippert 1972:36; Kessler 1975:50–52).

About this time there was a change in Israelite policy. Shallum brought an end to the Jehu dynasty by assassinating Jeroboam's successor; however, scarcely a month later Shallum himself was assassinated by Menahem, who became a tributary of Tiglath-pileser (2 Kgs 15:19–20; cf. Levine 1972:18–19; *ANET*, 283). According to 2 Kgs 15:16, Menahem sacked Tiphsah (RSV "Tappuah"; likely Tapsakus in Bit-Adini; cf. 1 Kgs 5:4—Eng 4:24; Haran 1962:286), an action he probably undertook as a vassal of Tiglath-pileser.

For the next three years Tiglath-pileser was occupied with enemies to the E (Media, 737 B.C.) and N (Urartu, 735 B.C.). During this time he received tribute from Sam›al, Byblos, Tyre, Damascus (Rezin), Samaria (Menahem), and an Arabian queen (Zabibe) (*LAR* 1:no. 772 = *ANET*, 283), but not from the leper Azariah of Judah, or his son and co-regent Jotham. Because these tributes were heavy and Tiglath-

pileser's campaigns against Urartu (735 B.C.) were somewhat unsuccessful, the situation seemed favorable for yet another anti-Assyrian coalition to form in Syria.

**3. The War.** In N Israel, Pekah assassinated Menahem's son and successor Pekahiah and redirected Israel to embrace a more militantly anti-Assyrian policy. Israel joined a coalition of states including Kashpuna (on the coast southwest of Hamath), Tyre, Ashkelon, and, principally, Damascus; eventually Egypt itself appears to have been solicited to join (cf. the obscure allusion in Amos 4:10). Jotham king of Judah, probably remembering the delicate problems associated with the nineteen cities/districts of Hamath taken for (and then from) his father Azariah, refused to participate in this anti-Assyrian coalition. In retaliation, Damascus and Israel attacked him, and the so-called "Syro-Ephraimite War" began (2 Kgs 15:37).

Jotham died soon thereafter, and the issue of his succession was fraught with turmoil. Jotham's young son and successor Ahaz assumed the throne, apparently under great confusion and under the regency of the queen mother (cf. Isa 3:1–12). Even within Judah and Jerusalem, many viewed the Davidic dynasty unfavorably ("exhausting the patience" of God and man, according to Isa 7:13), and some "rejoiced in" (not RSV "melt in fear of") the plans of Rezin and Pekah. Certainly Philistia, which had suffered under Ahaz' grandfather Azariah (2 Chr 26:6), took advantage of the turmoil to strike against Judah (2 Chr 28:18).

At this critical juncture, the leaders of the coalition hoped to place on the throne of Jerusalem a non-Davidide, the son of their Tyrian ally Tubail (Phoen Ittoba‹al; Aram Tabe‹el). They attacked Jerusalem (2 Kgs 16:7; Isa 7:1), devastating the towns of Judah right up "to the gate of Jerusalem" (Mic 1:9–12). Rezin also incited Edom to recover Elath (2 Kgs 16:6, where Heb *›ĕdôm* is preferable to MT/LXX *›aram*). Both Moab (which was at war with Edom; Amos 2:1) and Ammon (which was taking the opportunity to expand its own borders; Amos 1:13) refused to join the anti-Assyrian coalition. But since Pekah had interests in Argob (the region between Damascus and Ammon; 2 Kgs 15:25) and in Moab (Arieh; cf. 2 Sam 23:20), he attacked Ammon to secure ties with Damascus; Israel was victorious at Lo-debar and Karnaim (near Ashtartu; Amos 6:13).

Tiglath-pileser III saw the danger and immediately responded to the young Ahaz' request for help. As usual, the Assyrian armies came down the coast "against Philistia" (734 B.C.):Kashpuna was taken, Tyre lost Malahab (see *Text E* in section A.2 above), Mitinti was enthroned in Ashkelon (see *Text F* in A.2 above), Hanuna of Gaza had to flee to Egypt, a stela of Tiglath-pileser was erected on the border of Egypt, and probably Idibi›ilu the Arab was established as governor (although this may have been done the following year). In short, Judah had been rescued and Egyptian interference had been blocked. Tyre decided to submit to Assyria and forsake his "covenant of brotherhood" (i.e., alliance; Amos 1:9) with the coalition, which was now at a stalemate. The following year (733 B.C.) Tiglath-pileser III advanced against Damascus itself, but a second campaign was needed a year later (732 B.C.) to destroy it. With the destruction of Damascus, the Syro-Ephraimite War came to a decisive end.

However, some questions still remain concerning the fate of Samaria, more particularly concerning the context of the assassination of Pekah and the enthronement of Hoshea, and its relationship to the loss of Gilead and Galilee. It is generally conceded that Pekah was assassinated in 732/1 B.C. *after* the fall of Damascus (Donner 1985:313), and that tribute ("10 talents of gold and *x* talents of silver") was then sent to Assyria by his successor Hoshea (*ANET*, 283–84; see *Text D* in A.2 above). Another text (*Text E* above) recounts that Tiglath-pileser was at Sharrabanu in Babylonia when Hoshea appeared before him, and the Sharrabanu conquest has been dated to between 731 and 729 B.C. (Borger and Tadmor 1982). If *Text E* and *Text D* refer to the same tribute, then it would confirm that Hoshea's nine-year reign (2 Kgs 17:1) should be dated 731–722 B.C.; and that Pekah was the last principal ally in the Syro-Ephraimite War to be killed.

However, it is possible that these texts refer to different tributes, and that Hoshea's reign began *earlier* (i.e., that Pekah was assassinated *before* the fall of Damascus). For example, according to 2 Kgs 15:30 Pekah was assassinated while Jotham—not Ahaz!—was still king of Judah (although Ahaz probably had been Jotham's co-regent since 734 B.C. This may be corroborated by the note that Ahaz (now king in his

own right) met Tiglath-pileser III *at Damascus* (2 Kgs 16:10), suggesting that this occurred after his father had died (and therefore after the assassination of Pekah) and either before or on the occasion of Damascus' capture (732 B.C.). From this, it is possible to date Pekah's assassination and the beginning of Hoshea's nine-year reign to 733 B.C., the same year that Tiglath-pileser's 9th campaign led to the devastation of 16 districts/towns surrounding Damascus (*Text A*), and of Gezer, Ashkelon, "the way of the sea," Galilee, and Gilead (*Text D*; cf. also Isa 8:23—Eng 9:1), with Samaria remaining untouched (*Text B;* Tadmor 1967). Thus, Hoshea's reign would have ended in 724 B.C., which seems to be corroborated by the biblical references suggesting that he was imprisoned for three years prior to 722/721 B.C., during which time Samaria had no king (2 Kgs 17:5; cf. Hos 13:10–11). This combined evidence suggests that Pekah of Samaria was not the last of Ahaz' antagonists to be removed, but rather that it was Rezin of Damascus, the principal architect of the Syro-Ephraimite alliance.

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**SYRO-HEXAPLA.** An early 7th-century translation of the Bible into Syriac. The Syro-Hexapla was the product of a reconciliation between the Monophysite patriarchates of Antioch and Alexandria, effected in 612–13. Athanasius of Antioch, in flight from the Arab conquest of Syria, reached Alexandria with five of his bishops, including Paul of Tella and Thomas of Harkel. At his command, a new Syriac version of the Bible was made from the Greek. The NT, the work of Thomas (with some assistance from Paul), is known as the Harclean Syriac. The OT was produced by Paul, helped by Thomas. The work was carried out in Alexandria between 613 and 617. There are dates in some manuscripts, to the effect that 3 Kingdoms was completed in February 616, 4 Kingdoms in the same year, the Minor Prophets and Daniel in January 617.

Paul's translation was made from the fifth column of Origen's Hexapla, the one containing the Septuagint (LXX). It included the diacritical symbols indicating those passages found by Origen in his Greek but not in his Hebrew text, and those added by him from elsewhere when he discovered that the LXX lacked material found in the Hebrew. The presence of variants from other Greek versions are recorded in the margins of one Syro-Hexaplaric manuscript. This has led to conjecture that Paul used the Hexapla itself. There is no other evidence to prove that the Hexapla was ever brought to Alexandria, where Paul certainly produced his version. Moreover, the manuscript used by Andrew Du Maes, the editor of the first printed edition, contained a colophon saying that the translation was made from a copy "made by Eusebius with the help of Pamphilus from Origen's books in the library of Caesarea." There seems no doubt that Paul's sources were good and, probably, annotated copies of Origen's fifth column.

The Syriac of the version is so extremely faithful to the Greek as to be highly unidiomatic. This, along with the quality of his sources and the preservation of many of Origen's critical symbols, renders Paul's translation of great importance in recovering Origen's text of the LXX—a vital task in the reconstruction of the history of the LXX.

There are several important manuscripts of the version. The most valuable is the Codex Ambrosiana, so-called because it is in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan. Originally in two volumes, the first was lost after its use by Du Maes. The second contains Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom, Ben-Sira, the Minor Prophets, Jeremiah (with Baruch, Lamentations, and the Epistle of Jeremiah), Daniel (with Susanna and Bel and the Dragon), Ezekiel, and Isaiah. The codex was copied in the 8th century. A manuscript in Paris contains 4 Kingdoms. A whole group from the Nitrian desert, now in the British library, include Syro-Hexaplaric texts of Exodus and Ruth complete, and parts of Genesis, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, and 3 Kingdoms, as well as two copies of the Psalter (for an illustration of one, see Würthwein [1957:144–45]). There are a number of other fragments. There are also several lectionary fragments (though the Graecized nature of the Syriac cannot have made this version a popular one for reading aloud).

The Syro-Hexapla is also a rare witness to the genuine LXX text of Daniel, which in almost all Greek manuscripts has been supplanted by Theodotion's version.

The first printed edition of the version was by Du Maes, who in 1574 published *Josuae-historia illustrata.* He was followed by, notably, Norberg (1787), Bugati (1788 and 1820), and de Lagarde (1880).

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**SYRO-PALESTINIAN ARCHAEOLOGY.** See ARCHAEOLOGY, SYRO-PALESTINIAN AND BIBLICAL.

**SYRO-PHOENICIAN WOMAN** (PERSON) [Gk *Syrophoinikissa* (Συροφοινικισσα)]. A Greek woman, born in Syrian Phoenicia, who begged Jesus to drive the demon out of her daughter as recorded in Mark 7:24–30 and Matt 15:21–28. This is the only example in the gospels of Jesus ministering to a woman who was in all likelihood a gentile. Perhaps Luke omitted this story because he found it too offensive to his gentile audience. Mark stresses this woman's political and national identity. She is called

a "Greek" (i.e., a Greek-speaking gentile or pagan) and a Syrian Phoenician by birth. Matthew simply calls her a Canaanite, which probably indicates her religious affiliation.

This story shows that Jesus' reputation as a miracle worker was widespread—even those in the region of Tyre and Sidon, well outside of Galilee, had heard about him. In both the Markan and Matthean versions the woman is depicted as persistent, and as having faith that Jesus can do something to help her daughter who is said to be possessed by an unclean spirit. Despite the fact that this woman has no claim on Jesus as Son of David since she is not a Jew, the story indicates that Jesus was willing to respond to her faith. His apparent initial unwillingness to help her is perhaps a reflection of his conviction that the focus of his ministry and mission was on his fellow Jews (cf. Matt 15:24). Herein we are perhaps meant to see a precedent for the later gentile mission of the Church.

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BEN WITHERINGTON, III

**SYRTIS** (PLACE) [Gk *Syrtis* (Συρτις)]. The name of two dangerous, shallow gulfs off the coast of North Africa which briefly threatened Paul's ship as it was buffeted by a storm (Acts 27:17). While Paul was being taken under guard to Rome, a fierce storm called the "northeaster" (v 14) drove the ship away from Crete in a southwesterly direction, straight at the Syrtis. Even though these dangerous gulfs still lay hundreds of miles away, the sailors were so afraid of being driven aground in them that they took measures to guide the ship in a more westerly direction, eventually reaching Malta (Acts 28:1).

According the Strabo (2.5.20), the Greater Syrtis covered an area approximately 450–570 miles in circumference, and 170–180 miles in breadth. This is the modern Gulf of Sirte, off the coast of Libya. The Lesser Syrtis is the modern Gulf of Gabes off the coast of Tunisia. The ancient mariners' fears of running aground while still far out at sea are echoed in Dio Chrysostomus' warning: "Those who have once sailed into it find egress impossible; for shoals, cross-currents, and long sand-bars extending a great distance out make the sea utterly impassable or troublesome" (*Or.* 5.8–9).

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# T

**TAANACH** (PLACE) [Heb *taʿnāk* (תַּעְנָךְ)]. A Canaanite royal town founded ca. 2700 B.C., usually identified with Tell Tiʿinnik (M.R. 171214), a pear-shaped mound 320 m N–S, 137 m E–W at its widest. Strategically located in the upper Cenomanian-Turonian foothills ca. 150 m above the Plain of Jezreel. Tell el-Mutesellim (Megiddo) is visible 8 km to the NW and modern Jenin, in which is located Tell Jenin (En-gannim), can be seen 10 km to the SE. Taanach differs from both Jenin and Megiddo in that it is not located at the point where a natural pass enters into the Jezreel, nor does it possess a spring, but survives on systems of water collected into cisterns. The site fronts on the SW edge of the down-faulted alluvial Jezreel Plain which was a seasonal swamp in antiquity, because of the poor drainage of the Kishon. The mean annual temperature is ca. 22°C (72°F) with an average of ca. 510 mm (20 inches) of annual winter rainfall. Despite gaps, the continuity of name and occupation is evident in the presence today of the village of Tiʿinnik on the SE slope of the tell.

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A. Written Sources
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**A. Written Sources**

**1. Biblical References.** In the currently accepted Massoretic text (Codex Leningradensis) the seven occurrences of the town name are uniformly rendered as *taʿnāk.* The usual transcription, Taanach, drops the *ʿayin* and spirantizes the final consonant. The LXX B text has several variants: *Tanach, Thanak, Thanaach.* Originally a town in Issachar and Asher, Taanach was later assigned to Manasseh (Josh 17:12; 1 Chr 7:29). Though the king of Taanach was one of 31 Canaanite rulers Joshua (12:21) smote, "Manasseh did not drive out the inhabitants of … Taanach and its towns" (Judg 1:27). The victory hymn of Deborah describes that the battle against the Canaanite forces led by Sisera was joined "at Taanach, by the waters of Megiddo" (Judg 5:19). The biblical description of this mid-12th century encounter contains no further information about either the contemporary existence or fate of the two towns mentioned. Later, however, "when Israel was strong" (Judg 1:28), it subjected the local population to forced labor. In the 10th century, Solomon included Taanach in the fifth administrative district governed by Baana, son of Ahilud (1 Kgs 4:12). The town was assigned to the Kohathite Levites of W Manasseh sometime after the 10th century B.C. (Josh 21:25).

**2. Non-Biblical References.** To date, no written documents refer to Taanach before the 15th century B.C. The Egyptian account of the Battle of Megiddo (ca. 1468 B.C.) locates Taanach at the exit into the Jezreel of one of three possible routes. The reference is most likely to a route from today's Baqaʿ to Yabad, past Kufr Qud and down the Wadi Hassan into the Jezreel W of Kufr Dan. The S wing of the Asiatic army was mustering "in Taanach." The "Palestine List" on Pylon VI of the temple of Amon at Karnak enumerates the towns and princes who found refuge in Megiddo and includes Taanach (No. 42). Elsewhere in the same temple is a mutilated list which includes Taanach (No. 14) among the towns in Palestine conquered in the 5th year of Rehoboam of Judah (ca. 918 B.C.) by Shishak, founder of the 22nd Egyptian Dynasty. An 18th Dynasty hieratic papyrus, Petersburg 1116A, lists Taanach among the eleven towns in *sa-hi* (Palestine) from which representatives of the *maryannu*-warrior class were sent to the

Pharoah's court. If Amarna Letter 248 is from Taanach, following Knudson's restoration of line 14, its prince had an Indo-Aryan name, Yashdata. He was allied with the prince of Megiddo, Biridiya (EA 245:12, 15), against Labayu of Shechem. In the 4th-century-A.D. *Onomasticon* of Euseubius, Taanach was described as a "very large village" either four (98.12) or three (100.7) miles from Legio (el-Lejjun). Crusader documents of the 12th and 13th centuries, recording disputes among ecclesiastics regarding the distribution of produce from villages assigned to either a monastery or church, indicate that "Tannoch" was colonized by and thus indentured to the monastery of St. Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, Jerusalem. The Ottoman census of 1596 revealed that there were only 13 (?) taxable males in the village of Ta'inniq. A visit by S. Wolcott, an American (published in 1843), reported the existence of "a mean hamlet" at Ta'annuk. The only 19th century explorer to visit and record the visible ruins and living architecture of "Ta'annak" is some detail was V. Guerin who noted evidence of extensive former occupation on the tell and its S slope. He was the first to suggest that the foundation of the present mosque was a Byzantine church.

**B. Excavation History**

In the same year that Macalister began work at Gezer (1902) the first major archaeological excavation in N Palestine was initiated at Taanach by Ernst Sellin, an Old Testament scholar from Vienna. He excavated ca. 16 percent of the tell surface in ca. 20 weeks spanning three seasons between 1902 and 1904 and promptly published two major reports (1904; 1905). Sellin divided the history of the site into four major periods of occupation, each with a sub-phase. He thought the earliest city was Amorite and should be dated between 2000 and 1600 B.C. Period II saw the site gradually taken over by the Israelites until it became a fortress city under Solomon. Period III dated to the time of the N Kingdom until its incorporation as an Assyrian province in 722 B.C. Period IV followed a long gap in occupation until ca. A.D. 1000–1200, the main evidence for which was a cluster of rooms on the crest of the mound Sellin identified as the "Arab Fortress." Sellin's long trenches criss-crossed the N half of the tell in an unsuccessful search for the city walls. Instead he located six large buildings which he designated "fortresses." Notable among a rich collection of artifacts was a cult stand and twelve cuneiform tablets.

The second major excavation was fielded by Paul Lapp in three seasons: 1963, 1966, and 1968. In ca. 22 weeks in the field, this expedition excavated ca. 6 percent of the surface of the tell. In addition to discovering the fortification system and redating the stratification history of the site, this expedition uncovered two cuneiform tablets (one alphabetic) and a second cult stand. Apart from preliminary excavation reports by Lapp (1964, 1967a, 1967b, 1969) studies of the two new cuneiform tablets have been published (Hillers 1964; Glock 1971). A third program of study of the site began in 1982 with an ethnoarchaeology examination of the present village (Ziadeh 1984) and continued in 1985–87 with the excavation of parts of the Mamluke-Ottoman village on the E slope of the tell (Glock and Ziadeh 1986). This work has been directed by A. E. Glock.

**C. Results of Excavations**

This review of the material culture of Taanach on the tell is largely based on the ASOR excavations which were necessarily limited to the SW quadrant of the mound except for the reexamination of the "NE Outwork." Four of the five areas excavated were, however, adjacent to Sellin trenches, thus making possible the correction of the earlier work.

**1. The Early Bronze Town, ca. 2700–2300 B.C.** The physical evidence that Taanach was a prestigious center in the middle centuries of the 3d millennium B.C. is the massive fortification system discovered on the S and W sides of the mound. On the S, the earlier of two city walls was an average of 4.20 m thick and preserved ca. 4 m high at the point where it was realigned during rebuilding. The SE corner of the defense system was vulnerable to both natural and military forces, the latter due to the probability of a city gate on the SW. Against the exterior of the first city wall was a complete rectangular tower bounded by walls ca. 2 m wide separated from a fragmentary second tower by a 2.75 m space through which there may have been an entrance. The second-phase city wall was fronted by a deep *huwwar* glacis revetted by a heavy, stepped retaining wall making the defenses on the S in this third phase more than 11 m thick. In the final phase the entire area was covered over with a beaten earth glacis against the foundation of a

massive 20 × 10 m tower surmounting the second-phase and third-phase fortifications. It has been argued that the early glacis at Taanach indicates that this form of "defense" may have been an indigenous Palestinian development (Parr 1968). Limited exposure of the contemporary outer defense system in two places on the W side of the tell showed that a similar massive city wall bounded the site high on the steep slopes. So far only meager evidence of the layout of the interior of the EB city has emerged. Immediately inside the W city wall, a small benched room appeared adjoining a wide courtyard replastered at least six times. Farther E and S, two phases of domestic architecture appeared over bedrock in elements of three (?) living spaces linked by common walls. Unfortunately, both phases were sufficiently pitted by later activity so that walled separations are often conjectural. Nevertheless, several tabuns and hearths, but no cisterns, as well as the range of storage and cooking wares, leave no doubt about the function of the space. More of the city plan will be known once the debris below the MB *insula* to the W has been excavated. Albright (1944: 15) has redated the so-called "Ishtar-washur Fortress" excavated by Sellin to late EB II.

**2. Middle Bronze III to Late Bronze IIA, ca. 1700–1350 B.C.** A small exposure on the W side of the tell revealed two phases of the earliest casemate defense walls in Palestine. The width of the wall grew from 3.75 m to 4.5 m, the earlier small stones replaced by large stones in phase two. Nowhere else in the areas excavated was this wall preserved. Several phases of a lime plaster surface of a glacis system was evident everywhere against the outer slope of the tell below the walls. The second of three glacis was cut by the foundation trench excavated for the construction of the West Building (Sellin's "Westburg"). This large building (ca. 20 × 20 m) is unique in that it is constructed of an imported hard limestone. The 2d millennium architecture at Taanach is best preserved inside the badly eroded defenses. The most important exposure was in the 16 m wide space between the W casemate wall and the N–S street which led to the West Building. In this space was a dense cluster of 18 small rooms. Child burials were below the floors of these rooms. Assorted jewelers' tools suggest that at least one room had been a workshop. The second-phase reconstruction in the early 16th century B.C. followed the lines of the earlier building but widened the walls from one to two stones. W of the street, an E–W wall ca. 4 m high retained debris along the N side of a stepped (?) approach to a subterranean plastered chamber, 3.5 m wide and high. An arched entrance, 3.5 m high cut into bedrock, led to steps descending 10 m. The function of the room remains obscure though it may have been an aborted effort to reach a spring. Though today there is no spring flowing at the site, the presence of a fault line just N of the tell suggests that in antiquity one may have existed. The first cisterns appear in the MB III houses. It was in the debris that accumulated after the abandonment of the rooms along the N–S street that another cuneiform tablet (TT 950) was found.

In summary, more is known about this period than any other at Taanach. The reoccupation of the site after a gap of 600 years was gradual. The earliest evidence appears to be of transhumants, followed by more permanent settlers (indicated by flimsy walls) until in the early 16th century (to judge from the W defenses) when a substantial strengthening of existing architecture occurred. There seems to have been a partial abandonment following the battle of Megiddo, ca. 1468 B.C. The presence of Mycenaean III A 1 and 2 and early III B pottery implies continuity into the 14th century though the architectural remains are fragmentary at best.

**3. Iron Age through the Persian Period, ca. 1200–400 B.C.** The evidence for a settlement in this period is scattered, and implies that the site may not have been intensively settled. Only on the W side of the tell was a small portion of a 12th-century city wall (4.25 m wide) exposed. Three 12th-century houses, one on the S end of the tell, a second ca. 140 m NW, and a third ca. 60 m farther NW (the location of the alphabetic cuneiform tablet), though partially visible, were constructed with paved areas, tabuns, and pillared partitions. The courtyard of the so-called Drainpipe Structure in the S contained a stone trough, plastered basin, feeding bins, tabun, hearth, as well as a cistern more than 12 m deep fed by a series of interlocked, vertical, ceramic drain pipes leading from the roof to a channel which emptied into the cistern. Preservation of this building was due to a late 12th-century collapse of the calcined mudbrick superstructure. Adjacent to the long trench in which Sellin found a cult stand in 36 fragments, the ASOR excavation uncovered a 10th-century structure laden with a large cache of pottery, a figurine mold (Hillers 1970), 140 sheep astragali, 58 ceramic loomweights, and stone and metal tools. Lapp's cultic

interpretation of this assemblage has been challenged (Fowler 1984). Nearby in a cistern, a new cult stand with figures in relief on 3 sides of four panels was found in a 10th-century context. See Fig. TAA.01. An addition to the defense system on the N slopes of the tell in the 9th century consisted of a rubble-filled stone platform surrounded with a pavement. This was Sellin's "NE Outwork." Very little evidence has been uncovered for the remainder of the Iron II period. Storage pits and two incomplete rooms belong to the Persian period.

**4. Late Roman and Byzantine Periods, A.D. 300–650.** This period is abundantly evident from surface surveys in the village and nearby region (Ahlstrom 1978; Glock 1983b). A small portion of the Byzantine town which extends the entire length of the E slope was excavated in 1987. A curbed and paved ramp, an impressive platform, a room destroyed by fire and filled with storejars and bronze objects were excavated.

**D. Special Finds**

**1. Cuneiform Tablets.** A small but complete alphabetic cuneiform tablet was found in a 12th-century destruction layer. The preliminary publication (Hillers 1964) interpreted the document as a receipt or invoice for a shipment of grain or flour to a *Kokaba'*. Though some differences of interpretation have emerged (Cross 1968; Dietrich, Loretz, and Sanmartin 1974), Hillers seems to be essentially correct (Weippert 1966; 1967). In 1968, the ASOR excavation recovered one Akkadian tablet (TT 950) and two blanks in an area more than 100 m from where Sellin found seven tablets and five fragments in, and near, a ceramic box. The Taanach archive of thirteen documents consists of four letters (ca. 100 readable lines) and nine name lists containing ca. 80 personal names dating to the mid-15th century B.C. It is not clear what function the name lists may have served. B. Mazar (Maisler 1937: 48) has suggested that it was a list of taxpayers or soldiers. The ethnic diversity reflected in this onomastica consists of ca. 62 percent NW Semitic, ca. 20 percent Indo-Aryan, and ca. 18 percent Hurrian-Anatolian names (Gustavs 1927–28; Glock 1971; Mayrhofer 1972). Recent study of the letters (Glock 1983a) shows that Hrozny's original transcription (in Sellin 1904; 1905) is more reliable than Albright's (1944). The four letters are from three correspondents to the ruler of Taanach, Talwashur. Two letters are from local rulers requesting intercession for an arranged marriage, subsidy (50 silver shekels), and various kinds of equipment (chariots, bows, bowstrings, copper arrows). Two other letters are from one Amanhatpa who may be co-regent with Thutmose III, the later Amenhotep II (Malamat 1961). In any case, the correspondent reprimands the ruler of Taanach for not paying his respects by visiting him in Gaza, the Egyptian base in Palestine. In another letter, he requests that Talwashur supply specialized military personnel together with horses and chariots for the Egyptian army in Megiddo.

**2. Taanach Cult Stands.** Though fragments of several were found, one large (90 cm high) cult stand was excavated by Sellin. Two side panels of its hollow form were crudely decorated with a series of five superimposed lion and griffin figures in relief with human and animal heads projecting from the facade. Lods (1934) debated the possibility that it was simply a stove decorated with mythological symbols, but ultimately preferred to interpret the structure as serving a religious artifact. In 1968 the ASOR excavation recovered a smaller (60 cm high), but more carefully constructed stand in four panels. See Fig. TAA.01. In the top panel above a bovine form, the winged sun disk has been interpreted as a symbol for Baʿal, while the nude female leading two lions on the bottom panel is read as his consort, Asherah (Hestrin 1987).

The location of the site, and evidence from the excavation, may combine to explain the function of Taanach, which may have been different in each major period of occupation. A hypothesis can be suggested for the 3d–2d millennia B.C. Even though the site is not located at the exit of an easily traveled wadi and is thus less accessible than Megiddo or Jenin, it nevertheless enjoys from its crest a panoramic view of the Jezreel Plain to the N. In the EB the site may have been watered by a spring, although in the 2d–1st millennia B.C., the spring was not functioning; it was necessary to resort to cisterns and water collection systems. From the same period there is an unusual quantity of material evidence for metallurgical activity (Stech-Wheeler et al. 1981). The Taanach Akkadian archive remains the largest in Palestine. The existence of two tablet blanks supports the idea that at least one scribe was resident. Though the site was well defended, it appears that in this period there existed considerable open space

within the walled town. In short, between the 17th and 14th centuries Taanach served as a protected center for professional and technical work supporting the political power located at neighboring Megiddo.

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**TAANATH-SHILOH** (PLACE) [Heb *ta›ănat šīlōh* (תַּאֲנַת שִׁלֹה)]. A town on the NE border of Ephraim (Josh 16:6), SE of Shechem as one may determine from a comparison of the border description in Josh 16:6–7 with that in Josh 17:7. The ancient place name probably survives in the name Khirbet Ta‹na. Consequently, either of the two neighboring sites Khirbet Ta‹na et-Taḥta (M.R. 187173) or Khirbet Ta‹na el-Foqa (M.R. 185175) affords a possible identification for the ancient town (*HGB*, 158). Both sites have yielded material evidence of Israelite occupation during the premonarchic and the monarchic periods. Eusebius identifies *thēnath* of the tribe of Joseph (i.e., Taanath-Shiloh, cf. Josh 16:5–6 LXX A) with *thēna,* a town still existing in his time, located ten miles in an eastward direction from Neapolis apparently on a Roman road leading to the Jordan (*Onomast.* 98:13). This information accords well with the actual location of Khirbet Ta‹na et-Taḥta, but nonetheless it does not offer decisive evidence for identifying this location with ancient Taanath-Shiloh. It may be that Eusebius was not aware of Khirbet Ta‹na el-Foqa because it was unoccupied in the Roman period and because the Roman road ran well to

the S of it with the result that the place name did not appear in the official Roman lists of places along the highways from which Eusebius may have drawn his information.

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WESLEY I. TOEWS

**TABBAOTH** (PERSON) [Heb *ṭabbāʿôt* (טַבָּעוֹת)]. Head of a family of Nethinim (Temple servants) who returned from the Babylonian exile to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel and Jeshua between 538 and 520 B.C.E. (Ezra 2:43; Neh 7:46; 1 Esdr 5:29). The name means "signet rings" (cf. Exod 28:23). It could reflect the clan's role within the guild of Nethinim or be a nickname that had become a family name over time—a likely development if the Nethinim (many of whom possess odd names) were originally foreigners or of low descent. As members of the guild of Nethinim, the family of Tabbaoth would have had a special role in the Temple cult, perhaps assisting the Levites. Whatever their origin, during the postexilic period the Nethinim, as cultic personnel, were considered members of the congregation. Like the Levites, they had been devoted to cultic service the precise nature of which can not longer be identified. The size of Tabbaoth's family, its origins and specific role are no longer discernible. Together with thirty-four more families of Nethinim and ten of families of Solomon's servants, the group included 392 members (Ezra 2:58; Neh 7:60) or 372 (1 Esdr 5:35). See Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC.

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TAMARA C. ESKENAZI

**TABBATH** (PLACE) [Heb *ṭabbāt* (טַבָּת)]. A site related to the Midianite flight after Gideon's surprise attack (Judg 7:22). It has been identified with Ras Abu Tabat on the Wadi Kufrinje, halfway between Jabesh-gilead and Succoth. The name may be derived from the root *ṭbr* (BDB, 371–72), of uncertain meaning, but the noun *ṭabbûr* means "highest part, center."

Gideon's surprise attack routed the Midianites from the Jezreel Valley toward Zererah to the border of Abel-meholah by Tabbath and beyond. Gideon's pursuit took him to Succoth, Penuel, and Jogbehah (Jubeihat, 15 miles SE of Penuel). The Midianites rallied near Karkor (Judg 8:10; Qarqar in the Wadi Sirhan, 150 miles from Jezreel).

Wright (*WHAB*, 65, map IX) shows Tabbath S of Jabesh-gilead and Abel-meholah and N of Zarethan and Succoth in the mountains E of the Jordan River. Cohen (*IDB* 4:497) identifies Tabbath with Ras Abu Tabat, which he postulates was the vicinity of Karkor and Heres. However, the Midianites did not retire and rally their forces near Tabbath, but at Karkor, which was fairly deep in the desert.

The attempt to locate Tabbath largely depends upon the locations of several others sites mentioned in the narrative: Beth-shittah, Zererah, Abel-meholah (Judg 7:22), and Succoth (Judg 8:4–8). Complicating the analysis is the fact that the identifications of these sites are also unclear.

The location of Beth-shittah is unknown, though Smick (1973: 81) and Aharoni (*LBHG*, 294 n. 222) say that both it and Abel-meholah were near fords of the Jordan. In Judg 7:24, Gideon calls on Ephraimites to capture the fords of the Jordan. Boling *(Judges* AB, 48, map 2) suggests Beth-shittah is on the E bank on the Wadi Kufrinje E of Zarethan, several miles from the Jordan River.

Zererah is usually identified with Zeredah and both are equated with Zarethan (though there is a Zeredah in Ephraim; 1 Kgs 11:26). Zarethan is often identified with Tell es-Saʿidiyeh (M.R. 204186) on the Wadi Kufrinje, but an alternate location for Zarethan is to the S at Tell Umm Hamad (M.R. 205172) on the N bank of the Jabbok. Pritchard (1987: 96–97) identifies Zarethan with Saʿidiyeh (however, the first end-paper map shows Zarethan on the S side of the Jabbok). Pritchard (1985: 3) and Tubb (1986) both say that the biblical identity of Tell es-Saʿidiyeh is uncertain.

Abel-meholah has been located either 12 miles S of Beth-shan at Tell el-Hilu (M.R. 197192; Smick 1973: 168; Pritchard 1987: 99, 113; Boling *Judges* AB, 48) or at Tell Maqlub (M.R. 214201) on the Wadi

Yabis E of Jabesh-gilead, 20 miles from Gideon's camp at the spring of Harod. Aharoni (*LBHG*, 284 nn. 222, 313) notes the el-Hilu location for Abel-meholah, but says that it should be identified with Tell Abu Sus (M.R. 203197) where are two fords. Smick (1973: 168) also notes the possible location of the site at Tell el-Meqberah, half way between the Yabis and Kufringe wadis. Soggins (*Judges* ET, OTL, 144) suggests additionally, Tell Abu Sifri, on the W bank of the Jordan, 3.5 miles W of Wadi Yabis.

Succoth is mentioned as one of the towns through which Gideon passed in pursuit of the Midianites, which would imply that Tabbath should be located somewhere along the route from Jezreel to Succoth. Succoth is often identified with Tell Deir ʿAlla (M.R. 208178; Pritchard 1987: 247), N of the Jabbok, though Franken (*EAEHL* 1: 321–24) prefers to identify Succoth with Tell el-Ekhsas, 1.5 miles to the W of Deir ʿAlla (cf. Aharoni *LBHG*, 284 n. 224). Gideon's route of pursuit then passed into the hill country to Penuel and into the desert.

The location of Tabbath is unclear since its identification relies heavily upon the location of these other sites, the location of which are matters of dispute, and the logic of which makes for some confusion in this narrative. If the Midianites fled up the Wadi Yabis (Abel-meholah = Tell Maqlub) or up the Wadi Kufrinje (Zererar = Tell es-Saʿidiyeh and Tabbath = Ras Abu Tabat), one would expect Gideon to pursue them along one of these routes, but he took the Jabbok, which leads E and then turns S toward Amman. It thus gives access to the desert and the Wadi Sirhan. Perhaps in their panic from the surprise in Jezreel, the Midianites fled whichever way they thought was open to get back to the E desert, but Gideon may have known where they were going and took the more direct route by-passing the forests of Gilead. The Midianites, too, however, may have fled through the Jabbok wadi system, in which case Gideon's route would have followed them.

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**TABEEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ṭābĕʾal/ṭābĕʾēl* (טָבְאַל/טָבְאֵל)]. **1.** Father of the unnamed person whom the kings of Syria and Israel planned to make king of Judah in place of Ahaz at the time of the Syro-Ephraimite war, ca. 735–734 B.C.E. (Isa 7:6). Several possibilities have been put forth for his identity. All theories assume that Tabeel is the name of this would-be ruler's father or tribal ancestor. The most important options stem from the interpretation of two Assyrian cuneiform documents. In an 8th-century-B.C.E. letter discovered at Nimrud, an Assyrian official named Qurdi-Aššûr writes about "the messenger of Ayanûr, the Tabeelite [KUR *Ṭa-ab-i-la-aya*], Ezazu by name" (Saggs 1955: 132; Albright 1955: 34). Albright applied this text to Isa 7:6 and assumed that Tabeel was the name of a tribe and its land which was located in NE Palestine or SE Syria. Hence, "the son of Tabeel" was the son of a Judean king and a Tabeelite princess (Albright 1955: 35). Mazar located the land farther to the S in S Gilead and assumed that it referred to the large estate of a Judean noble family whose ancestor was Tabeel. This family eventually became the important Tobiad family in postexilic Judah, since during the reforms of Josiah the divine element of many names was changed from "El" to "Yah." Hence, Tabeel became Tobiyahu (Mazar 1957: 236–38). Both Albright and Mazar accepted Alt's theory that the "son of Tabeel" referred to the holder of a hereditary state office, following traditional models in Israel and Ugarit (*KlSchr* 3: 212). However, Alt's theory does little to clarify either of their positions. Furthermore, Albright's interpretation of the Assyrian letter is controversial. A second Assyrian document, a vassal list of Tiglath-pileser III on a stele found in Iran and dated to 737 B.C.E., is the source for an entirely different theory. This list names Tubail *(Tu-ba-ìl)* as the king of Tyre in Phoenicia, immediately following Rezin of Damascus and Menahem of Samaria (Levine 1972: 40–41). Vanel argued that there was an alliance between Damascus, Samaria, and Tyre and that the ruler of Tyre (the son of Tabeel) was offered the throne in Jerusalem in exchange for his support in the anti-Assyrian coalition (Vanel 1974: 17–24). The Heb form *ṭābĕʾal* was

no doubt originally *ṭābĕ‹ēl* (“God is good”; cf. LXX *tabeēl* and #2 below). The name as given in the present text is intended by the MT as a form of ridicule (“not good”).

**2.** A Samaritan official in the Persian period (Ezr 4:7 [Heb *ṭābĕ‹ēl*] = 1 Esdr 2:12—Eng2:16 [Gk *tabellios*]). Along with his colleagues Bishlam and Mithredath, he sent a letter to the Persian king Artaxerxes I (465–425 B.C.E.) requesting the king to halt the rebuilding of Jerusalem by those who had returned from exile. The request, which suggested that these Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem would incite rebellion and the withholding of taxes, was successful.

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## TABERAH (PLACE) [Heb *tab‹ērâ* (תַּבְעֵרָה)]. A place on the wilderness itinerary of the Israelite,

three days N of Mount Sinai (Num 10:30; 11:3; cf. Deut 9:22). The inhospitable locale led the people to complain, angering Yahweh. This leads Yahweh to send down fire to burn *(b‹r)* part of the camp. This action provides the Hebrew verbal root from which the name “Taberah” (“burning”) is constructed.

An itinerary of Israel’s campsites in the wilderness is included in Numbers 33, but it omits Taberah, skipping from Sinai to Kibroth Hattaavah (v 16). The latter site is mentioned in 11:34–35 as a location where Yahweh again punished his people for complaining. Since no record is made in Numbers 11 of a move from Taberah to Kibroth Hattaavah, these could be alternative names for the same location. However, Deut 9:22 seems to list them as separate sites (*GTTOT*, 255). Possibly one of the names designates an area and the other a specific site within the area (Wenham *Numbers* TOTC, 106). No compelling identification of the geographical location of Taberah has been proposed.

DAVID W. BAKER

## TABERNACLE [Heb *miškān* (מִשְׁכָּן)]. The Israelite tent sanctuary frequently referred to in the

Hebrew Bible. It is also known as the tent of meeting (Heb *›ōhel mô‹ēd*) and, occasionally, as the Tabernacle (or tent) of testimony (*miškan ha‹ēdût*). It is the central place of worship, the shrine that houses the ark of the covenant, and frequently it is the location of revelation. It is presented in biblical narrative as the visible sign of Yahweh’s presence among the people of Israel. More verses of the Pentateuch are devoted to it than to any other object. It contains the ark, an incense altar, a table, a seven-light candelabra, an eternal light, Aaron’s staff that miraculously blossomed (Num 17:23–26), the vessels that are used by the priests, possibly a container of manna (Exod 16: 33–34), and a scroll written by Moses (*sēper hattôrâ*).

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A. In Biblical Narrative
B. Historicity
1. Archeology and the Biblical Sources
2. Architecture
3. The Tabernacle and the Temple
C. The Tabernacle and the Sources

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### A. In Biblical Narrative

The Tabernacle’s history, as recounted in the biblical text, covers between six and seven centuries. The construction of the Tabernacle is commanded in a revelation to Moses at Mt. Sinai (Exodus 26). The materials are then donated by the people, the component structures and fabrics are fashioned (Exodus 36), and the Tabernacle is erected and consecrated (Exodus 40). In an apparent contradiction or confusion of

sequence, it is reported that the Tabernacle is moved outside the camp in the wake of the golden calf episode (Exod 33:7–8), but this relocation comes before the report of the Tabernacle's actually being built (see below). In any case, once the Tabernacle is completed, it becomes the place of communication between the deity and Moses for the remainder of Moses' life. The law requires that all sacrifice and the execution of several other practices must take place at its entrance (Lev 1:3, 5; 3:2, 8, 13; 4:5–7, 14–18; etc.).

During the journey from Mt. Sinai to the promised land, the Tabernacle is disassembled and transported whenever the people travel, and it is erected again whenever they stop to camp. Joshua stands guard inside it. Major events occur in it or in its precincts: the inauguration of the priesthood (Leviticus 8–9), the deaths of Aaron's sons Nadab and Abihu (Leviticus 10), the reprimand of Aaron and Miriam concerning Moses' Cushite wife (Numbers 12), the divine decision that the generation of the Exodus is to die in the wake of the spies episode (Num 14:10–35), the confrontation in the Korah episode (Num 16:18–19), the plague in the wake of the Korah episode (16:6–15), the miraculous flowering of Aaron's staff (16:16–25), the divine command in the Meribah episode (20:6–8), the sexual offense and Phinehas' zealous act at Peor (25:6–8), the transfer of leadership from Moses to Joshua (Deut 31:14–23), and, at the conclusion of the Pentateuch, the placement of the scroll of the *tôrâ* there beside the ark (31:24–26).

Following the arrival in the land and the conquest under Joshua, the Tabernacle is erected at SHILOH (Josh 18:1; 19:51). It is recognized as the only permissible place of sacrifice (22:19, 29). Shiloh and the Tabernacle then retain the status of being Israel's religious center through the age of Eli and Samuel (1 Sam 2:22). In the course of a defeat of the Israelites by the Philistines, the ark is separated from the Tabernacle; the ark is located at the house of Abinadab at Gibeah (7:1) while the Tabernacle remains at Shiloh. Following the destruction of Shiloh (not reported in the narrative books but referred to in Jer 7:12, 14; 26: 6, 9), the fate of the Tabernacle is partly unclear. According to the book of Chronicles, the Tabernacle somehow comes to be located at the high place of Gibeon. When King David brings the ark to Jerusalem he houses it in a new tent (1 Chr 16:1 = 2 Sam 6:17), but he still sends the chief priest Zadok and his retinue to Gibeon to perform the nation's sacrifices (as commanded in Leviticus 17) at the Tabernacle (1 Chr 16:39–40; cf. 21:29). The Chronicler's account of David's sacrifice at the threshingfloor of Ornan explains that David performs the sacrifice at this location only because he is unable to get to the Tabernacle at Gibeon at the time (21:28–30). The Chronicler's history also reports that this division of locations is the case at the beginning of King Solomon's reign, stating that the ark is in Jerusalem in David's tent but that Solomon and the people go to sacrifice at the Tabernacle at Gibeon (2 Chr 1:3–6). The books of Samuel and Kings are silent as to the location of the Tabernacle at this point. They give a report that Adonijah is killed at the "tent of Yahweh" (1 Kgs 2:28–30), but it is not clear whether this means the Tabernacle or the tent of David. However, both Chronicles and Kings report that when Solomon dedicated the Jerusalem Temple, he not only brought the ark to the Temple but also the tent of meeting as well (2 Chr 5:5 = 1 Kgs 8:4).

In the book of Kings, the Tabernacle is never mentioned again after this. The book of Chronicles, though, consistently pictures the Tabernacle as located somewhere inside Solomon's Temple. The Chronicler reports that David appoints Levites who serve at "the Tabernacle of the tent of meeting" until Solomon builds the Temple (1 Chr 6:16–17, MT). There follows a list of these persons whom David appoints, and the list concludes with the notation that "their brothers the Levites were appointed to all the service of the Tabernacle of the house of God" (*miškān bêt haʾĕlōhîm*; 16:33, MT). The Levites' appointment to keep the charge of the tent of meeting is again explicitly identified as part of the service of the house of Yahweh (1 Chr 23:32). Later, in the Chronicler's report of King Joash's efforts to repair the Temple, Joash demands of the priests that they acquire funds for the support of "the tent of the testimony (*ʾōhel haʿēdût*, 2 Chr 24:6). Likewise in the Chronicler's account of King Hezekiah's repairs and renewal of worship at the Temple (2 Chr 29: 5–7), Hezekiah speaks of the Tabernacle as present in the Temple:

> Now sanctify yourselves and sanctify the house of Yahweh, God of your fathers, and take the impurity out of the holy place, for our fathers trespassed and did what was bad in the eyes of Yahweh our God, and they left him, and they turned their faces from Yahweh's Tabernacle and turned their backs. They

also closed the doors of the hall and put out the lights and did not burn incense and did not offer burnt offerings in the holy place *(qodeš)* of the God of Israel.

The reference to the Tabernacle *(miškān)* in this verse is frequently taken as figurative or as meaning God's "habitation" generally, but all of the other items mentioned in the passage (the house, the holy place, the hall, lights, incense, and offerings) are concrete and literal. The context therefore indicates that this account is part and parcel of the Chronicler's record of the Tabernacle's presence in the Temple in Jerusalem. The references to the Tabernacle in Chronicles end here at the account of the reign of Hezekiah, and none of the narrative books of the Hebrew Bible gives any indication of the fate of the Tabernacle beyond this point. However, a Psalm (74:7) speaks of the Tabernacle as having been destroyed along with the burning of the Temple: "They cast your Temple into the fire,/ To the ground they profaned your name's Tabernacle."

The book of Lamentations (2:6–7) also speaks of the destruction of the Tabernacle along with the Temple:

> And he has dealt violently with his pavilion as with a garden,
> He has destroyed his [tent of] meeting.
> Yahweh has caused holiday and sabbath to be forgotten in Zion,
> And he has spurned in his angry indignation king and priest.
> The Lord has cast off his altar,
> He has abhorred his Temple.
> He has closed up the walls of her palaces in the enemy's hand,
> They have made a noise in Yahweh's house as on a holiday.

The reference to a pavilion *(sukkâ)* in the first line is consistent with other references to a *sukkâ* as a structure in the interior of the Tabernacle (see below). The parallel line refers to "his meeting" *(mō‹ădô),* which has regularly been taken to mean "his tent of meeting" *(›ōhel mō‹ădô),* as the context, the parallel with the "pavilion," and the use of *mô‹ēd* in the sense of "holiday" in the following line all indicate. The context also indicates that the references to the tent are not to be taken as figurative here, for the other items in this poetic reckoning of things that are lost with the Temple are all actual objects, institutions, and persons: altar, walls, holiday, sabbath, king, priest. The books that recount the postexilic period do not refer to the Tabernacle or indicate any attempt to replace it actually or symbolically in the Second Temple. Like the ark, it ceases to play any part in the religious life of the community.

The Hebrew Bible thus presents a picture of the Tabernacle's place in history from its construction in the wilderness to its erection at Shiloh and then at Gibeon to its placement inside the First Temple until its destruction in the burning of the Temple ca. 587 B.C.

**B. Historicity**

**1. Archeology and the Biblical Sources.** A central component of the Graf-Wellhausen model of the history of ancient Israel was the view that the Tabernacle never really existed, that it was a pious fraud conceived by the authors of the priestly (P) sections of the five books of Moses to represent the Second Temple. Evidence collected by scholars since the beginning of the 20th century, however, has undermined the view that the Tabernacle was a fiction. Parallel institutions of tent shrines in the Semitic world from ancient Phoenician to modern Islamic examples have been described (see Cross 1961: 217–19, and references; *CMHE,* 72). Most notable among the parallels probably is the pre-Islamic *qubbah,* a small, portable red-leather tent. The biblical tent of meeting, too, is protected by a red-leather covering (Exod 26:14). It has been claimed that the Tabernacle as described in the Torah is too massive to be portable as required. Admittedly, the Tabernacle is set on silver bases that would be quite heavy, but historically the bases may have been permanent mounts that were added precisely when the Tabernacle ceased to be portable. The Pentateuchal text, in that case, would subsequently have included them because, by the time of the composition of this text, they would have been in place for a long time. The actual mass of the Tabernacle itself, meanwhile, is unknowable since it is made of wooden frames, and only the frames' length and width are given in the biblical text, but not their thickness. The thickness has occasionally been assumed to be one cubit (18 inches), which would indeed produce a massively heavy structure, but this is

a groundless assumption in the absence of any report in the text. Indeed, this view assumes a frame that is many times the thickness of the siding of a house. The frames were formerly assumed to be solid boards, but the language of the text itself and especially the use of the term *qerasîm* for these boards (with parallels in the dwelling of El in an Ugaritic text) suggest rather that they were formed like a trellis (Cross 1961: 220).

Furthermore, the elaborate details of the fabrics, wood, and precious metals of the Tabernacle do not have the appearance of sheer fiction. Embedded in the priestly (P) Pentateuchal narrative, the description of the Tabernacle's materials looks like the other documents that are embedded in the P narrative, for example the book of generations *(tôlĕdōt)* that is now cut and distributed through Genesis, the list of stations of Israel's journey (Numbers 33), and the Israelite census list (Numbers 1–2). These lists appear to be older documents that were used to add detailed facts to the narrative, and the Tabernacle text is of the same character. There is no need or justification for going into these details of fabrics, rings, rods, poles, embroidery, and silver bases in a work of pure fiction; and indeed there is no comparably detailed description of anything in the priestly work (cf., for example, the description of Noah's ark in Gen 6:14–16).

Cross (1961) and Haran (1965) have sought to identify the referent of the priestly description of the Tabernacle. Cross has argued that it is the tent that David erected. The description of that tent has now been made part of the priestly work and called the Tabernacle of Moses. Haran has argued that it is the Tabernacle of Shiloh, which the priestly writers believed to have been carried there from Sinai. Haran takes the elaborate detail and precious components of the description to be priestly embellishments in picturing the ancient tent structure. If we regard these details as unlikely to be fictional, as suggested above, then Cross' view is more likely. If we doubt that the details have any veracity, then either view seems possible (see below).

Two textual considerations figure in this matter of historicity. The first concerns the passages that picture the place of worship at Shiloh as a tent. The structure is called a house *(byt)* in Judg 18:31; 1 Sam 1:24 and a temple *(hykl)* in 1 Sam 1:9; 3:3. It is called the tent of meeting in 1 Sam 2:22b, but this half verse has been regarded with suspicion because (1) its language is so similar to the priestly (P) passage Exod 38:8, yet it is embedded in a context that otherwise is not priestly, and (2) it does not appear in the Greek or 4QSam [a]. Still, the half verse may possibly be native to its text and not a "gloss"; and, in any case, Ps 78:60 agrees with its identification of the Shiloh structure as a tent: "And he forsook the Tabernacle of Shiloh,/ The tent that he placed among humans." A. R. S. Kennedy (*HDB* 4: 654) dismissed this explicit reference to the Shiloh Tabernacle in the Psalm as "of too uncertain a date to be placed against the testimony of the earlier historian"; but Eissfeldt, Albright, and Cross have dated the Psalm as certainly preexilic and possibly as early as the united monarchy (*CMHE* 73n., 134, 242–43). That is, it is no less reliable than the prose source in the book of Samuel that refers to the structure as a house or temple. The Psalm, the reference in 1 Sam 2:22, and the P source in Josh 18:1; 19:51 all speak of a tent at Shiloh. The question is how to adjudicate between these passages and those that speak of the Shiloh sanctuary as a building (see below).

The second textual consideration concerns the depiction of the Tabernacle in the book of Chronicles as located in the Temple of Solomon. This depiction has been doubted on the grounds that (1) Chronicles is a late source and (2) Chronicles simply follows the P conception of the Tabernacle. The claim that the Chronicler is simply following P on this point is questionable. The law according to P declares repeatedly that sacrifice and various other practices can be performed nowhere on earth but at the Tabernacle (see citations above) and that this is the law forever. Since the Chronicler wrote in the period of the Second Temple, which did not contain the Tabernacle, the Chronicler would hardly be expected to go out of his way to develop this P perspective. Moreover, there is evidence that the references to the Tabernacle in the books of Chronicles were not the Chronicler's insertions but rather were part of the Chronicler's preexilic source. Halpern (1981) has assembled evidence that the Chronicler made use of a source text that recounted the history of the Judean monarchy down to the time of Hezekiah. A substantial number of terms, phrases, and concerns in the Chronicler's history run consistently through the accounts of the kings

of Judah down to the reign of Hezekiah, and they cease thereafter. In addition to the many items that Halpern lists, we must add the matter of the Tabernacle, which, as we have seen, is treated frequently and with importance down to the time of Hezekiah and then is not mentioned thereafter.

In sum, there is reason to believe that the Tabernacle was historical, and the biblical depiction of it as located in the Solomonic Temple cannot simply be dismissed as late and tendentious.

**2. Architecture.** The architecture of the Tabernacle is both interesting in itself and significant for the light it sheds on the history of the Tabernacle. The architecture has presented a classic problem in amateur and professional biblical scholarship for centuries. The biblical account of the command to build the Tabernacle includes descriptions of the components of the structure but no directions as to how to put them together. The assembly of the tent must therefore be derived from the character and dimensions of the components.

The Tabernacle is a series of enclosures, with diminishing sanctity as one progresses from its interior through the various layers to the outside:

**a. The *pārōket.*** Inside is a small pavilion that contains the ark. This pavilion is composed of four columns with a fabric canopy spread over them. The pavilion is called the *pārōket.* It has generally been taken to be a veil hanging vertically in front of the ark, but the text says quite explicitly that one is to cover over the ark with it. The divine instruction to Moses at the time of the erection of the Tabernacle is, "And you shall make the *pārōket* cover over the ark" (*wesakkōtā ʿal hāʿārōn*; Exod 40:3). It is called the *pārōket hammāsāk* (40:21; Num 4:5). There is a reference to the *sukkâ* in the passage from Lamentations quoted above and in a passage picturing the deity's tent in Ps 27:5. The LXX uses the term *katapetasma,* meaning something that one stretches, a covering; its verbal form means to spread over, to cover with fabric. The term *pārōket* came to mean a veil by the rabbinic period, and so apparently the Tabernacle *pārōket* was assumed from that time to the present to have been a veil hanging as a partition in the interior of the Tabernacle. This assumption already led to some confusion in rabbinic times. A Talmudic passage (*b. Sukk.* 76) dealing with Exod 40:3 states: "And you shall make the *pārōket* cover over the ark." The *pārōket* was a partition, yet the Scriptures call it a covering *(skkh).* Consequently, a partition is meant in the sense of a covering. And the rabbis (explain it thus): It means that it is bent a little (at the top) so that it looks like a covering." (See also *b. Soṭa* 37a; *b. Menah.* 62a, 98a; since the verse in Exodus explicitly says to make the *pārōket* "cover *over*" [Heb *ʿal*] the ark, the *Gemara* concludes that in this case the word *ʿal* means "near to.") This confusion and these strained explanations of words that made no sense with reference to a veil underscore the difficulty of this view of the *pārōket.* It is rather a *sukkâ* that is pictured in Exodus as the innermost enclosure. This inner pavilion is made of the finest fabric: linen embroidered with cherubs, with blue, purple, and scarlet; and the columns over which this fabric is spread are made of acacia *(šittîm)* wood (Exod 26:31–32). See also VEIL; SCREEN.

**b. The *miškan.*** The *pārōket* is set up inside a second enclosure, called the Tabernacle, Heb *miškān.* (The biblical narrative uses the term *miškān* both for this second enclosure and for the entire Tabernacle.) The structure of this *miškān* in particular must be deduced from the information given about its components. The *miškān* is a great cloth composed of sheets of material (*yĕrîʿôt,* generally translated as "curtains"). The curtains that make up the *miškān* are made of the same fabric with the same embroidery as the *pārōket.* The *miškān* is constructed by arranging wooden frames *(qĕrāšîm)* as a rectangular box and then spreading the curtains over them.

**(1) The Frames.** The frames are made of acacia wood. Each frame is a trellis, with two vertical "arms," joined to one another (Exod 26:17). See Fig. TAB.01 (a). See also TENONS. There are 48 frames: 20 for each of the 2 sides of the *miškān,* 6 for the rear wall, plus 2 that are somehow arranged at the rear presumably for support at the corners. The frames are 10 cubits tall and 1.5 cubits wide. Metal rings are attached to the frames, and long rods (five on each side) are slid through the rings to hold the framework together. See also RING. The text does not say whether the frames are to be set up flush alongside one another (Fig. TAB.01 (b)) or whether they are to overlap one another (Fig. TAB.01 (c)).

The most common view in scholarly depictions of the *miškān* has been to assume that the frames stand flush against one another. Since the frames are 1.5 cubits wide, the framework has thus been understood

to be 30 cubits long by 10 cubits wide. In favor of this reckoning it has been observed that the Temple of Solomon is reported in 1 Kings 6 to have been 60 cubits long by 20 cubits wide: the Tabernacle is thus seen as a 1:2 scale model of the Temple. A problem with this comparison is that the six frames of 1.5 cubits width each in the back of the Tabernacle add up to only 9 cubits, not 10. The two special corner frames may make up the difference, or perhaps it is made up by the thickness of the side frames. The fact remains, though, that the 10-cubit width was not determined by what the dimensions in the text require; it was simply a guess that was proposed precisely to make the Tabernacle dimensions analogous to those of the Temple. The 1:2 analogy of the Tabernacle to the Temple is questionable in any case because the Temple's height is 30 cubits while that of the Tabernacle is only 10 (1:3).

A second question with regard to this flush arrangement concerns the 1.5 cubit width of the frames. Why the unusual size rather than a 1.0- or 2.0-cubit width? In the case of the overlapping arrangement of the frames the extra half cubit would be for the overlap. In that case, the 20 frames of each of the *miškān's* sides would mean a wall of 20 cubits. The rear wall, of 6 frames, would be 6–8 cubits wide depending on the arrangement of the corner frames and the thickness of the frames. The description of the rings and rods that connect the frames seems to fit better with this overlapping arrangement; the middle rod is said to reach from one end of the wall to the other "in the midst of" (Heb *btwk*) the frames.

**(2) The Fabric.** The measurements of the cloth *miskan* that is to be spread over the frames are given, and this information further helps to choose between these alternative arrangements of the frames. The *miškān* is composed of ten curtains, each of which is 4 × 28 cubits. Five of the curtains are sewn together into one large piece that is 20 × 28 cubits, as are the other five, resulting in two larger pieces of fabric, each 20 × 28 cubits. Loops are then sewn into the 28-cubit side of each, and the two larger pieces of fabric are then connected to each other by putting gold rings through the loops, yielding a double cloth that, if stretched flat, would measure 40 × 28 cubits. See Fig. TAB.02 (a). See also LOOPS; TWINED LINEN. This double cloth is then spread over the standing frames. On the view that the frames are standing flush, forming a rectangular box that is 30 cubits long, 10 cubits wide, and 10 cubits high, the double cloth would be spread full length from the opening. The cloth is 40 cubits long altogether, and so it covers the 30-cubit length of the frames, and its remaining 10 cubits fall as a flap to cover the back frames. The length of the cloth thus matches the structure satisfactorily; the width of 28 cubits, however, does not match. The frames are 10 cubits high on each side, and it is another 10 cubits across the top. That requires that the *miškān* be 30 cubits wide altogether; but, since it is only 28 the cloth is a full cubit above the base on each side. Those who hold this view of the Tabernacle suggest that the shortfall may be to protect the precious cloth from touching the ground; but if this were the case the rear flap of the cloth should be one cubit shorter as well, but it goes all the way to the base. Also, a gap of an entire cubit (about 18 inches) between the end of the fabric and the base seems excessive and awkward looking in any case.

Another problem with this view of the design is that it leaves precious gold rings virtually invisible, for in this view the frames stand between the rings and the interior of the Tabernacle so that one who is inside cannot see them. They cannot be seen from the outside either because the entire structure is wrapped in a red-leather cover. That leaves them unseen. In this view, their purpose is to divide the Tabernacle into two parts, the "holy place" and the "holiest place" (or "holy of holies"). The text says that the *pārōket* is to be hung "under the rings" (Exod 26:33), and so in this view the *pārōket* is pictured as a veil hanging directly below the rings. This is attractive to the extent that it makes the "holy of holies" a perfect cube, 10 cubits long, wide, and high. (The "holy of holies" in Solomon's Temple is a 20-cubit cube.) As we have seen, however, the *pārōket* is more probably a canopy, not a veil; and so it does not make sense to speak of it as standing under a single line of rings.

In the case of the overlapping arrangement of the frames, the two pieces of fabric that make up the *miškān* would not be laid side by side but rather on top of one another as a double layer of the fabric. The rings would thus all be at one end. The measurements of this cloth would be 20 × 28 cubits. The frames would be 20 cubits long, 6–8 cubits wide, and 10 cubits high. The cloth of the *miškān* would fit this perfectly. Its 20-cubit width would match the 20-cubit length of the framework. Its 28-cubit length would

go up the 10-cubit high side, across an 8-cubit width, and down the other 10-cubit high side. The rings would form a pattern of gold around the entrance. See Fig. TAB.02 (b).

The question may be raised against this view that the instruction that the *pārōket* be placed "under the rings" makes little sense if the rings are encircling the entrance. The problem, however, appears to be a textual one. The LXX of this verse does not say "under the rings" but rather "under the frames." The Heb term for "frames," as mentioned above, is *qĕrāšîm*. The Heb term for "rings" is *qĕrāsîm*. The Greek translator is reading the former, while the MT gives the latter. In the light of the clumsiness of the MT text for either of the two views of the *miškān,* and the obvious vulnerability of these two terms to scribal confusion, the LXX is preferable. The command to place the *pārōket* "under the frames" would then mean that the *pārōket* must be lower than the height of the frames.

**c. The *ʾōhel.*** The *miškān* is covered by a third enclosure, called the "tent" (Heb *ʾōhel*). It is made of a less-valuable fabric, goat wool, and it is not dyed or embroidered. Like the *miškān,* it is made of two pieces of fabric joined together by loops and rings, but its rings are of brass instead of gold. Its measurements shed further light on the construction of the Tabernacle. Instead of having a 28-cubit width, it has 30. In the flush arrangement of the frames, this leaves a cubit of this less-attractive fabric showing on each side (but not on the back) of the structure, which, again, seems questionable. In the overlapping arrangement of the frames, however, the extra cubit would be spread back along the edges of the *miškān* on both sides to cover it and thus protect the finer fabric from touching the ground. This is stated explicitly in Exod 26:13: "And the cubit on one side and the cubit on the other side, of the extra in the length of the curtains of the *ʾōhel,* shall be spread on the sides of the *miškān* on the one side and on the other side to cover it." This favors the overlapping arrangement of the frames. It is difficult to reconcile it with the flush arrangement. There is one more aspect of the *ʾohel* that further confirms the overlapping arrangement of the frames. Instead of being made of two groups of five curtains like the *miškān,* the *ʾōhel* rather has one group of five and one of six curtains. The sixth curtain, which like the others is 4 cubits wide and 30 cubits long, falls along the rear wall of the frames. When folded double, each half of it is spread back to cover 4 cubits of the rear wall. See Fig. TAB.02 (c). This, too, matches and confirms the 8-cubit width of the overlapping arrangement of the frames. It does not fit the 10-cubit width of the flush arrangement. Those who have held this view of the Tabernacle, i.e. the flush arrangement, have understood the sixth curtain to be folded back around the entrance of the structure, i.e. as a flap folded back along the roof and sides of the front, rather than on the rear wall. The text says, "And you shall double the sixth curtain opposite the front of the tent (*ʾel mûl pĕnê hāʾōhel*)" (Exod 26:9b). The words "opposite the front" do not easily fit with this understanding. The location that is "opposite the front" is the rear; and the verse that refers to the spreading back of the half curtain (v 12) says explicitly, "The half of the extra curtain shall be spread on the rear of the *miškān."* Again, it is the overlapping arrangement that conforms to the description of the materials in Exodus 26.

**d. The Outer Enclosures.** The *ʾōhel* is covered by two more enclosures: the covering of ram leather dyed red and a covering of *tĕḥāšîm* skins. The meaning of *tĕḥāšîm* is uncertain. It has been translated as "badger" or "dolphin" among other things. It has been connected to an Assyrian word meaning "sheepskin" and an Egyptian word meaning "to stretch or treat leather" see Cross 1961: 220.) The entire structure with all its layers is then surrounded by one more enclosure, a great open court.

**3. The Tabernacle and the Temple.** The matter of the dimensions of the Tabernacle has implications for the recovery of its history. The view of the flush arrangement of the frames resulted in a Tabernacle that was analogous to the dimensions of the Temple of Solomon. This has been judged here to be questionable since only one of the three Tabernacle measurements (the length) can be ascertained to be one half the size of the corresponding Temple measurement; the height is one third, and the width is uncertain. This raises questions concerning the view in the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis that the Tabernacle was merely a literary fiction, conceived to stand for the Temple. The evidence that the Tabernacle was historical in any case, discussed above, coalesces with this matter of the dimensions to place serious doubt on this point.

In the view of the overlapping arrangement of the frames, the Tabernacle is 10 cubits high, 20 cubits long, and 8 cubits wide. The 8-cubit width, it should be noted, is the size of its *exterior* dimensions. Since the frames themselves have some thickness, the interior of the Tabernacle would be somewhat smaller, but not less than 6 cubits wide since there are 6 frames in the rear. These dimensions correspond to the dimensions of structures known to us from the Hebrew Bible and from archeology. In the Hebrew Bible, these dimensions correspond to the size of the space under the wings of the cherubs in the holy of holies in the Temple of Solomon. The Holy of Holies is a perfect cube, 20 cubits on each side (1 Kgs 6:20; 2 Chr 3:8). Inside stand the two cherubim, carved of olive wood and plated with gold. These two statues are each 10 cubits tall. Unlike the usual cherubs known to us from the ANE, which have their wings folded back against their bodies, the Temple cherubs have their wings spread wide, touching the wall on either side and touching each other in the center. The space under their outspread wings is 20 cubits deep, 10 cubits high, and less than 10 cubits wide (because their bodies take up some of the center space).

The discovery of a temple at Arad by Y. Aharoni led to further confirmation of these measurements. The Arad temple was found to have features strikingly in common with the Tabernacle (Aharoni 1973). The height of the Arad temple is unknown, but its length is 20 cubits, and its width is 6 cubits. As discussed above, the Tabernacle and the space under the wings of the cherubs both match this 20-cubit length. The width of the Tabernacle is calculated here to be 8 cubits wide at the exterior and at least 6 cubits wide in the interior, which also matches the Arad sanctuary's width and fits within the less-than-ten-cubits limit of the place under the cherubs' wings.

The correspondence of the dimensions of the Tabernacle to the dimensions of the space under the wings of the cherubs in the Temple sheds light on the question of the historicity of the biblical report. The Tabernacle may have actually stood under the wings of the cherubs in the Solomonic Temple, or it may have been stored inside the Temple while the corresponding space under the cherubs' wings symbolized and reflected its presence. The Babylonian Talmud in fact reports that the tent of meeting was stored away beneath the crypts of the Temple of Solomon (*b. Soṭa* 9a). Josephus reports that the Tabernacle was brought to the Temple as well (*Ant* 8.101; see also 106), and he comments that the outspread wings of the cherubs had the effect of looking like a tent (8.103). A number of Psalms (26:8; 27:4) present this same picture of the Tabernacle in the Temple. Remarkably, Ps 61:5, says:

> I shall abide in your tent forever,
> I shall trust in the covert of your wings.

The parallel here of the deity's tent and the hidden place of the deity's wings is notable in the light of the evidence associating the tent of meeting with the wings of the cherubim. It has long been recognized that the referent of the wings in this Psalm is the winged cherubs (Rabe 1963: 35; Dahood, *Psalms I* AB, 107–8; Briggs, *Psalms* ICC, 64; Kraus, *Psalms I* BKAT, 433; Weiser, *Psalms* ATD, 302). The report of the destruction of the Tabernacle along with the Temple in Ps 74:7 belongs with this group of Psalmic references to the Tabernacle in the Temple as well (see also Pss 27:6; 76:2–3; and more general references in Psalms 15; 43; 46; 84).

The report in 1 Kgs 8:4 (= 2 Chr 5:5) that the Tabernacle was brought to the Temple at the time of the Temple dedication thus cannot simply be dismissed as a "gloss"; nor can the references to the Tabernacle's presence in the Temple in the books of Chronicles, Psalms, and Lamentations be lightly discarded as late, idealizing, or figurative. Indeed the rejection of the report of the Tabernacle's arrival in 1 Kgs 8:4 was a product precisely of the Graf-Wellhausen rejection of the historicity of the Tabernacle. Wellhausen argued that "Some mention of the Tabernacle, had it existed, would have been inevitable when the Temple took its place" (*WPHI*, 43). But here in fact was the mention of the Tabernacle that Wellhausen insisted upon, and Wellhausen eschewed it, saying that it "has no connection with its context, and does not hang together with the premises which that furnishes …" and he concluded, "it is the interpolation of a later hand" (*WPHI*, 43–44). These claims are simply unfounded. The report of the transfer of the Tabernacle is perfectly consistent with its context, following as it does immediately upon the report of the transfer of the ark. It is true that the Tabernacle is not mentioned for quite some time prior to this point, but this particular source of the Deuteronomistic historian only begins a few chapters

earlier (1 Kings 3; the lengthy narrative preceding this is a different source, the Court History of David). The verse in Kings has also been suspected of not being native to this passage because it refers to "the priests *and* the Levites," according to the MT. This is atypical in Deuteronomistic terminology and more characteristic of priestly (P) terminology. These words do not appear in some of the OG texts, however; and the MT (but not OG) of the equivalent verse in Chronicles reads "the Levitical priests," which is in turn atypical in the Chronicler's terminology. The textual situation is therefore too unclear for this wording to be evidential on either side. In any case, whatever the stage at which the report of the transfer of the Tabernacle to the Temple came to be in the text, it is in agreement with the archeological evidence, the architectural evidence, and the reports in Chronicles, Psalms, Lamentations, Josephus, and the Talmud that the Tabernacle was housed inside the Temple of Solomon.

This may also explain the confusion, noted above, over the passages that refer to the sanctuary at Shiloh both as a house/temple and as a tent/tabernacle. The Shiloh sanctuary may have been, like the Jerusalem Temple, a building in which the Tabernacle was stored or erected. If so, then this arrangement would have been made because the Tabernacle already had some prehistory and special status prior to the construction of the building at Shiloh. The report of the Pentateuchal sources E and P that the Tabernacle was the portable sanctuary of the followers of Moses before entering the land must be taken seriously in this regard. At the same time it must be recognized that the Tabernacle as described in the priestly (P) portions of the Torah and discussed above is not likely to correspond to this original tent structure. It is possibly too heavy and certainly too elaborate and costly to have been produced in the Sinai wilderness. As noted above, Haran (1962; 1965) takes the priestly description as an elaboration upon the more modest actual Tabernacle that had been at Shiloh, while Cross (1961) takes the priestly description to reflect the tent that David erected at Jerusalem. On the argument that the elaborate details do not appear to be sheer fabrication, the tent of David is the likely referent of these details. Also historically, if the tent of Shiloh was lost with the destruction of the Shilonite temple, then the tent that was brought to the Temple at Jerusalem and housed there may have been the tent of David, thereafter referred to as the Tabernacle or tent of meeting, whose successor it was.

The association of the Tabernacle with the Temple, whether at Shiloh or Jerusalem, whether the tent of David or the older tent of meeting, had an important symbolic meaning as well. It merged the stability of an established nation in its land with an ancient heritage of a people newly freed from slavery who experience a period of incubation in closeness to God. The Tabernacle in the Temple was a link to a history that played a defining part in the formation of biblical Israel's character.

**C. The Tabernacle and the Sources**

The Tabernacle is not mentioned in the Pentateuchal sources J and D. Its role is significant in E, but it is mentioned only a few times. There is no indication there of its size or materials. Its importance derives from the fact that it is the place where the deity communicates with Moses. It is pictured sufficiently simply and so connected to Moses personally that some have argued that it is Moses' own tent, though there is no textual support for this claim. There are contradictions of fact between the E picture of the tent of meeting and that of P. In E the tent is moved outside of the camp following the golden calf incident (Exod 33:7–11), and it remains outside the camp, as indicated by the wording of the episode of Miriam's leprosy (Num 12:4). The E report of the tent's being moved, however, comes before the report of the Tabernacle's being made and erected in P (Exodus 40), resulting in this contradiction, as noted above. According to E, further, Joshua stays inside the tent. This is in contradiction to the view of P, according to which no one who is not a priest is permitted inside the tent of meeting.

Most importantly, though, in P the Tabernacle is the center of religious worship, the only locus of sacrifice. It is thus inextricably bound to the crucial priestly law of centralization of worship (Leviticus 17). One cannot sacrifice anywhere but at the entrance to the tent of meeting. This in turn has important implications for the date of the source P. If the Tabernacle was historically located in the Temple of Solomon until its destruction in 587 B.C., as the evidence discussed here indicates, then the priestly narrative and much of the priestly law must have been composed in the period prior to the destruction. Otherwise one must assume that in the years following the destruction of the Tabernacle a priestly author

wrote the law requiring that one sacrifice nowhere but at the Tabernacle that no longer existed. Other recent evidence coalesces with this matter of the Tabernacle's historical place to support a preexilic date for P. See also TORAH.

Centralization of religious worship at the Tabernacle also played a critical role in the development of the priesthood in Israel. It meant the concentration of legitimacy, authority, and income in the priestly establishment at the central sanctuary. At Shiloh this meant the priesthood that is associated with Eli and Samuel. The background of this priesthood is debated and has been identified in recent scholarship as being Levitical, non-Aaronid, and possibly Mushite (*CMHE,* 195–215; Friedman 1987: 40–42, 72–79, 117–49). At Jerusalem, apparently from the beginning of the establishment of the Temple, the Aaronid priesthood was in authority. With the policy of centralization, which begins with the reign of Hezekiah according to the report of the books of Kings and Chronicles, the command to sacrifice only at "the entrance of the tent of meeting" comes to be manifestly in the service of the Aaronid priesthood. This, too, belongs among the evidence that P was composed in the preexilic period and quite possibly in the reign of Hezekiah.

The place of the Tabernacle in centralization also means that the Tabernacle plays a substantive role in the priestly conception of monotheism and thus in the biblical presentation of monotheism overall. Though monotheism need not require that there be only one legitimate place of sacrificial worship, such centralization does seem to be particularly compatible with and serviceable to monotheism: one God, one altar, one central shrine.

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**TABERNACLES, FESTIVAL OF.** See BOOTHS, FEAST OF.

**TABGHA** (M.R. 200251). A solitary area with no settlements from NT times, on the NW shore of the Sea of Galilee at the foot of the Mt. of Beatitudes and S of the ancient highway from Tiberias to Capernaum. From Roman times onwards, the spring water was used for irrigation and water mills. In Christian tradition, three events are commemorated in this area: the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5:1–11), the miracle of the multiplication of the loaves and fishes (Matt 14:15–21; Mark 6:35–44), and Christ's apparition to his disciples, his preparing a breakfast for them, and the conferring of the primacy on Peter (John 21). Byzantine writers add other events. Theodosius (ca. A.D. 530) speaks of the baptism of the Apostles; the Anonymous *"Life of Constantine"* (written during the period of A.D. 715–1009) mentions the *"Dodecathronon,"* the "place of the twelve seats" where Christ taught. St. Jerome (A.D. 404) refers to the site mistakenly as a desert, thus taking Mark 6:31 *erēmos topos* (Lat *desertus locus*) literally and not in the intended sense of a remote spot. The primary source is a section preserved in Peter the Deacon's *"Book on the Holy Places,"* a 12th century monk and librarian at Monte Cassino, who attributed his information to Egeria, thus referring to the late 4th century. The author describes a pilgrimage center, a church with an altar above the place where the miracle of the five loaves and two fishes was performed and from where pilgrims took away small pieces of the rock. During the visit by Bishop Arculf (ca. A.D. 670–80) the church lay in ruins, while the approximately contemporary source of Epiphanius the Monk

speaks of a village with a large church. (On the various sources consult Loffreda 1970a: 21–36; Wilkinson 1971: 196–200; 1977: 81, 108, 120, 169–70, 203).

Six of the seven springs, an earlier chapel beneath the main pilgrimage church to the S of the highway, the Sanctuary of the Sermon on the Mount on the N side of the route, and a chapel close to a small anchorage on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, as well as Arabic and Crusader remains, have been located and brought to light at Tabgha. (See the maps in Loffreda 1970a: 2; and Wilkinson 1971: 195.)

The lakeshore chapel with four steps leading up to it from the S is traditionally connected with the spot where Jesus stood, when he received his disciples and prepared a meal for them (John 21:4, 8–9); Loffreda (1970a: 104–5) calls it the Sanctuary of the Primacy. In this building, a rock-hewn table on the E was the focal point, and, being the only one among the excavated structures to have been in use until A.D. 1263, the medieval sources referring to a "table" *(Mensa Domini)* must relate to it. These sources include the *"Commemoratirium de casis Dei,"* a list of churches and monasteries from A.D. 808, mentioning at the same time the monastery of Heptapegon with ten monks; the report *"De situ Urbis Ierusalem"* from A.D. 1130; Thetmarus' account of A.D. 1217; and a Florentine map of the 13th century, where the site is named Tabula (for an illustration see Loffreda 1970a: 26).

The pilgrimage church was excavated by A. E. Mader and A. M. Schneider in 1932 on behalf of the Görresgesellschaft. The earliest sanctuary was discovered by B. Gauer in 1936 during restoration work on the mosaics and it was subsequently excavated by Schneider. In the same year, a basilica was erected over the ancient remains and a new one was consecrated. In 1970, when the mosaics of the N transept had to be repaired, the missing walls of the earliest sanctuary could be traced by S. Loffreda. In 1976, 1979, and 1980 soundings were made by the author in the *bema* area and the N section of the atrium. B. Bagatti unearthed the Sanctuary of the Sermon on the Mount in 1935, and S. Loffreda excavated the Sanctuary of the Primacy and systematically explored the ancient remains on the Franciscan property at Tabgha in 1969.

The Church of the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes (56 m long and 24.30 m wide in the E and 33 m in the W), comprises a basilica with atrium and narthex as well as side rooms all round except for the E third of the diagonally set N wall, where the builders had to take into account the direction of the highway. The church (22.60 × 15–20 m) combines the basilical and cruciform floorplans and consists of two units: in the W, the church hall is divided by two rows of five columns into a nave (7.90 m wide) and two aisles (3.58 m wide); in the E, is the transept (20 × 11.30 m) and the sanctuary of a shallow apse (3.50 m deep) and two lateral rooms, an unusual feature and possibly of liturgical significance.

The 6 × 6.9 m presbytery *(bema)* was raised by one step above the floor of the transept and hall. Its focal point was the altar with its E end in line with the chord of the apse. The preserved base (1.70 × 0.95 m) contains four sockets for the legs of the altar slab and within these an unworked block of limestone, placed there intentionally and showing signs of chipping. The presbytery with its central entrance from the W underwent two phases. In an early phase, the chancel screen was T-shaped, covering most of the transept across the width of the nave and extending narrowly along the lateral rooms. In a later phase the chancel screen was removed in front of these rooms. This development does not conform with that of other churches of the region (cf. Gerasa in Kraeling 1938: 181–83).

The W division of the transept was achieved by a row of two columns in the middle and two columns on pedestals on both sides. The center, set in line with the presbytery opening, was marked by a triumphal entrance, which in a first phase consisted of a wide arch rising from the two innermost of the pedestal columns. In a later phase, following the destruction by an earthquake, a portal with three openings formed by the two central columns with architraves was built. Architectural fragments include bases, column drums and capitals of both marble and limestone, fragmentary small marble columns, slabs of the chancel screens, and the altar.

The atrium (ca. 23 × 13 m) has an open space with remains of a fountain *(cantharos)* in the center, three porticos on the S, N, and W, and lateral rooms which continue along the S of the basilica. The atrium and basilica are separated by a corridor *(narthex?)* which appears to have taken the place of the usual E portico.

The basilica and atrium were decorated with mosaic floors. Glass cubes of several colors, found in the apse area, indicate that there once was an apse mosaic. Nave, aisles, presbytery, the lateral rooms and the W corridor had floors in geometrical patterns, the one in the S aisle was completely destroyed, while the others have patches missing. Of the basically white, coarse atrium mosaic little was preserved.

The transept area which flanked the presbytery was embellished with intricate figure carpets of Nilotic landscapes with fauna and flora. There are representations of swan, geese, doves, ducks, herons, cranes, cormorants, and flamingos; lotus, papyrus, reeds, and oleanders. Though there is a definite lack of realism, the birds are shown in their natural activities like nesting, feeding, or hunting for food. The better preserved N carpet shows birds which are bigger than the plants and the three buildings: a tower, a pavilion, and a city gate. The damaged S carpet displays the same setting with a Nilometer.

These mosaics belong to the so-called figure carpets, which emerged during the 5th century A.D. in the E Mediterranean. Essentially representing landscapes filled with various iconographical subjects such as hunting scenes, animal pursuits, or paradise visions, there are two main groups: one with human figures and the other with animals, plants, and buildings (Kitzinger 1976; 1977: 50–52). The Tabgha floor has several characteristics. The two carpets lack an inner division and the subjects are all to be viewed from the front, i.e., the W. The birds are bigger than plants and buildings, and the composition is neither realistic nor naturalistic: one has waterfowl perching on branches and flowers which could not possibly have carried their weight, and the other has incorrect details of the plants and their never growing out of water marshes. Overlapping and shadowing have been avoided. The absence of movement implies tranquility and serenity, thus the theological concept expressed by the artist and the church commissioners could have been peace in nature as part of the savior paradigma (Nauerth 1987) as well as the equation of the Nile with the river of paradise Gihon-Geon in early Christian ideology and iconography (Herrmann 1959: 38–43).

The dating of the church remains problematic, since no dated inscriptions have come to light. The Nilotic landscape mosaics are dated on stylistic grounds to after A.D. 450 (Kitzinger 1976: 72); the subject has a close parallel on the silver trulla in the Hermitage Museum with four stamps from the time of the emperor Anastasius I, A.D. 491–518 (Herrmann 1959: 61–63; Effenberger 1978: 93–96). Soundings in the atrium revealed sealed material which points to a construction date in the second half of the 5th century (Rosenthal and Hershkovitz 1980: 207). Accepting that the architectural structures and the mosaic floors were constructed together, it follows that this church cannot have been seen by Egeria, who then could have visited the earlier, much smaller chapel with a single nave (Schneider 1937: 20–23), dated by Loffreda (1970b: 378–80) to the late 4th or early 5th century on the evidence of a coin minted under the emperor Honorius during A.D. 395 and 408. This evidence does not conform to the now accepted date of Egeria's visit to the E between A.D. 381 and 384 (Wilkinson 1971: 3, 237–39).

Finally, we have to consider the question whether the sacred rock on which bread and fish had been placed and from which pilgrims broke off fragments was venerated in this road church or in the lakeshore chapel (compare the different interpretations of Schneider 1934: 40–41 and Loffreda 1070a: 27–30, 99–105). To the E right behind the altar a fragmentary mosaic piece depicts a basket with two complete breads and two halves, flanked by a fish on either side, the *Tilapia Galileae*—St. Peter's fish. Together with a donor inscription (the last line with the date has unfortunately been damaged) on the N side of the altar, this mosaic belongs to a repair of the 6th century; it shows that until the church's destruction, probably already in the Sassanid invasion of A.D. 614, the miracle of the loaves and fishes was commemorated in this major pilgrimage church.

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RENATE ROSENTHAL-HEGINBOTTOM

**TABLE FELLOWSHIP.** Ancient meal customs placed a higher premium on the symbolic value of table fellowship than is common in the modern Western world. To the ancients, sharing a meal was embued with ritual meaning and often signified the most solemn and intimate of social relationships. Such conventions were utilized in various social and religious associations and contributed to the development of early Christian communal meals.

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A. Conventions of Table Fellowship Symbolism
1. Dining Together
2. Sharing Food
3. Exclusion and Inclusion
B. The Social Function of Communal Meals
C. Table Fellowship as a Literary Motif

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**A. Conventions of Table Fellowship Symbolism**

**1. Dining Together.** The formal meal or banquet was the primary social event for the ancients and one which carried a great deal of meaning. Dining together created a tie or bond among the diners which in turn created an ethical obligation toward them. For example, in the ANE eating together was often utilized to symbolize the ratification of a covenant between two parties (Gen 26:26–31). In the Greek tradition, table etiquette was a part of ethical instruction and was especially based in the ethics of friendship. That is to say, rules of etiquette at the table were defined in terms of behavior that enhanced the enjoyment of the occasion for all present or contributed to the "friend-making character of the table" (Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 614A–B; see also Plato's "symposium laws," *Leg.* 2.671C–72A). The statutes of Greek clubs and associations express similar concerns, prohibiting individuals from speaking out of turn and engaging in other divisive behavior at their communal banquets (*IG* $II^2$ 1368.107–10; *ILS* 7212.2.25–28; Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936: 41–42). In the extended section on meal ethics in Sirach (31:12–32:13) the ethical basis for table etiquette is: "Judge your neighbor's feelings by your own, and in every matter be thoughtful" (31:15). Similarly, in the NT, when Paul defines the rules of conversation or speaking at the Christian gatherings, gatherings which include meals (1 Cor 11:17, 20, 33) and whose theological definition is developed at least partially out of meal symbolism ("This is my body … all the members are one body" [1 Cor 11:24, 12:12]; Bornkamm 1969), he does so in terms of that which "edifies" the whole church rather than the individual (14:4–5, 26–33; Smith 1980 and 1981).

**2. Sharing Food.** The idea of social bonding at the meal was especially symbolized by the specific action of sharing food together. Such symbolism was then used in discussions of ethics at the table as in this example from Plutarch: "Indeed, just as the wine must be common to all, so too the conversation must be one in which all will share" (*Quaes. conv.* 614E). Paul draws on similar imagery in defining how the Christian communal meal, the Lord's Supper, creates bonds among the diners: "Because there is one

bread, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the one bread" (1 Cor 10:17). This motif lends added poignancy to the scene where Jesus' betrayer shares from the same dish (Matt 26:23 = Mark 14:20 = John 13:26).

**3. Exclusion and Inclusion.** Meals as social institutions are characterized by the ways in which they define social boundaries in terms of who is excluded and who is included (Douglas 1972: 61; Goody 1982: 191). The same was true in the ancient world as expressed, for example, by the way in which the custom of reclining was practiced and understood. Reclining represented the posture of wealth and privilege; thus only a free citizen could recline at table, while women, children, and slaves, if present at the meal, must sit (Dentzer 1971: 240–55; Smith 1980: 33–38). During the Roman period, however, women began to recline along with men, but the original meaning of the custom was not forgotten (Philo *Vita Cont* 68; Lucian *Symp.* 13). This interpretation of reclining is also reflected in the Jewish Passover liturgy where it is specified that the poor are to recline at the meal along with everyone else, thus apparently symbolizing their full inclusion in the community on the occasion of the festival meal (*m. Pesaḥ* 10.1).

In Judaism, the food laws (kashruth) functioned as a means to define boundaries between the Jewish community and the rest of the world (Douglas 1972: 78–80). When Paul opposed this practice in the Christian church at Antioch, he did so precisely because it defined boundaries so effectively, boundaries which in this case worked against his vision of the social solidarity of the larger Christian community (Gal 2:11–21, 3:28).

**B. The Social Function of Communal Meals**

The effectiveness of a meal in symbolizing exclusion from outside society and inclusion in a special social group helps to explain its popularity as a social institution in the ancient world. Indeed, the banquet functioned as the primary way in which various social groups exemplified and solidified their group identity. Various kinds of clubs and associations are known to have existed in the Greek and Roman world, such as religious, funerary, and trade associations, but in virtually every case in which we are able to reconstruct their structure, we find that they most commonly met together for meals out of a common purse (Smith 1980: 101–77; Klauck 1982: 68–71).

Like the Greek and Roman clubs and associations, other distinct social groups in the Greco-Roman world met together at table. For example, various Jewish groups, most notably the Therapeutae, Essenes, and Pharisees, also shared communal meals together as a major component of their group identity (Philo *Vita Cont* 40–89; 1QSa 2.11–22; Neusner 1979: 67–96). Similarly, the descriptions that we have of the assemblies of early Christian groups tend to emphasize the communal meal as a central activity that helped to define their community identity (1 Cor 11:18–20, 33; Gal 2:12; Acts 2:46; 20:7; Pliny *Ep.* 10.96.7).

The symbolism of social bonding or "communion" was also extended to include the deity at certain kinds of religious meals (see MEAL CUSTOMS; Hauck *TDNT* 3:799–800). Paul expressed a similar idea when he spoke of the Lord's Supper as providing "communion" *(koinonia)* with the blood and body of Christ (1 Cor 10:16).

**C. Table Fellowship as a Literary Motif**

When meals were described in literature, they tended to follow the idealized literary model of the formal meal as represented especially by the symposium tradition. This literary tradition was made up of standard themes and motifs that were very influential both in the repetition of the symposium form and in other genres as well (Martin 1931). The classic *Symposia* are those of Plato and Xenophon, in which they idealize a banquet at which Socrates was present. Their models became especially influential in subsequent centuries so that later philosophers as well as satirists mimicked them (Plut. *Quaes. conv.;* Lucian *Symp.*). Indeed, the symposium genre was widely utilized in various types of Greco-Roman literature. In the Jewish tradition, for example, it is utilized in the *Letter of Aristeas* and even contributes to the literary form of the Passover liturgy (Stein 1957). In the NT, it is reflected in the Gospels, especially Luke (de Meeûs 1961; Delobel 1966; Steele 1984; Smith 1987), as well as in 1 Corinthians 11–14 (Smith 1980 and 1981).

Other related literary motifs connected with meal traditions are especially connected with the Jesus tradition and the idealization of Jesus at table. For example, Jesus' ministry is effectively symbolized by the theme: "He eats with tax collectors and sinners," a theme that draws on the symbolism of exclusion and inclusion to define the nature of the kingdom that Jesus preached (Matt 11:18–19 = Luke 7:33–35; Matt 9:10–13 = Mark 2:15–17 = Luke 5:29–32). This became a prominent motif in the parables (Matt 22:1–10 = Luke 14:15–24) as well as in various other table fellowship texts in the gospels (Smith 1987).

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DENNIS E. SMITH


**TABLET.** See WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS.

**TABLETS OF THE LAW.** The phrase designates the two stone tablets inscribed with a set of laws and given by God to Moses on Mt. Horeb/Sinai. References to the tablets are concentrated in the parallel texts of Exodus (24:12; 31:18; 32:15, 16, 19; 34:1, 28) and Deuteronomy (4:13; 5:22; 9:9, 10, 15, 17; 10:1, 2, 4, 5); they are mentioned elsewhere in the OT only in 1 Kgs 8:9. The Bible itself does not use the above phrase as such, employing rather the equivalent expressions "tablets of the covenant" (Deut 9:9, 15) and "tablets of the testimony" (Exod 31:18; 32:15). According to both Exodus (31:18; 32:16) and Deuteronomy (5:22; 9:15), the writing on the tablets was done by God himself; as such the tablets' content has an authority even greater than that accorded the human written word in the ANE. On the other hand, the biblical record is ambiguous as to just which body of laws stood on the tablets. In Exod 24:12 Yahweh tells Moses "… I will give you the tablets of stone with the law and the commandment which I have written for their instruction." Here, it seems the tablets are to bear the whole body of laws previously communicated to Moses in Exodus 20–23, i.e., the "ten words" or Decalogue of Exod 20:1–17 as well as the prescriptions of the "Book of the Covenant" in Exod 20:23–23:19 (20–33). Deut 5:22 (cf. 4:13; 9:10), on the contrary, clearly and emphatically limits the inscribed text to the "ten words" of Deut 5:6–21 (= Exod 20:1–17). Finally, Exod 34:27–28 suggests that the "ten words" set down on the tablets comprised rather the cultic laws recorded in Exod 34:11–26, the so-called Ritual Decalogue. The uncertainty on the point left by the biblical documentation likely reflects divergent traditions as to which body of Israelite laws could claim preeminent authority in virtue of its having been written by God himself.

In any event, according to the parallel accounts of Exod 32:19 and Deut 9:17, Moses smashed the original set of tablets upon seeing the golden calf the people had made during his absence on the mountain to receive the tablets. Against the background of ANE practice, his gesture, destructive of the covenant document, signifies the abrogation of the covenantal relationship between God and Israel. Subsequently, God initiates the making of a new set, thereby intimating his readiness to reactivate the disrupted relationship (Exod 34:1; Deut 10:1–2). This second set of tablets receives permanent shelter in a wooden "ark" which Moses, on Yahweh's orders, prepares for them. As a container of the "tablets of the covenant/testimony," this object is designated as "the ark of the covenant" (Deut 10:8), or alternatively, as "the ark of the testimony" (Exod 25:16) (1 Kgs 8:9 affirms that the tablets were the sole content of the

ark; contrast Heb 9:4 according to which it also contained a sample of the manna and the rod of Aaron). The ark with its tablets eventually was installed in the "holy of holies" of Solomon's Temple, 1 Kgs 8:6. The Bible does not record what finally happened to either the ark or the tablets. Presumably, they were carried off in one of the successive despoilations of the Temple—either that of 587 or an earlier one. See ARK OF THE COVENANT.

In Deut 31:9, 26 one finds a new feature not recorded in the parallel material of Exodus, i.e … "the book of the law" (= some form of our book of Deuteronomy) written by Moses is placed "beside" the ark bearing the tablets of the covenant. This notice signifies that the former—while clearly subordinate to the Decalogue recorded on the tablets since written by Moses rather than God himself—nevertheless belongs closely together with it as its authoritative interpretation and application.

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CHRISTOPHER T. BEGG

**TABOR** (PLACE) [Heb *tābôr* (תָּבוֹר)]. A Levitical city in the territory of the tribe of Zebulun listed in 1 Chr 6:62 (—Eng 6:77) but missing in the parallel list of Josh 21:34–35. If the town is associated with Mount Tabor, then the latter presumably would also have been included in the tribal territory of Zebulun (*HGB*, 184–85). This, however, seems unlikely. See TABOR, MOUNT. Some scholars have suggested that this Levitical city is actually CHISLOTH-TABOR (*LBHG*, 271; Naʿaman 1986: 224). Recent studies show that the lists of the Levitical cities of the N tribes are not derived from an independent geographical source but rather presuppose the descriptions of the tribal territories in Joshua 13–19, thus their value as historical sources is undermined (Auld 1979; Naʿaman 1986: 203–36).

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RAFAEL FRANKEL

**TABOR, MOUNT** (PLACE) [Heb *har tābôr* (הַר תָּבוֹר)]. A mountain of very unusual shape and striking appearance located in the NE corner of the valley of Jezreel (M.R. 187232). The most explicit references to this "mountain" (Heb *har*) are found in Judg 4:6, 12, and 14, but Jer 46:18 and Ps 89:13 (—Eng 89:12) also mention "Tabor" in connection with other lofty peaks. The reference to "Tabor" in Josh 19:22 is also presumably to this hill. However, the existence of a place in Judah named Alon-Tabor (RSV "oak of Tabor," 1 Sam 10:3) indicates that more than one place was called Tabor, and some scholars have suggested that the references to "Tabor" in Judg 8:18 and Hos 5:1 also may possibly refer to other places.

The summit of Mt. Tabor is a plateau, 1,000 × 400 m in area, sloping down steeply in all directions and connected to the hills to the NW by a low saddle. In the past its slopes were thickly forested. It overlooks the Jezreel valley and controls one of the most important crossroads of the region where the main N–S routes meet and cross the valley. It is a landmark that can be seen from great distances, and from its summit Mt. Carmel, Mt. Gilboa, and Mt. Hermon can all be seen, a feature reflected in Jer 46:18 and Ps 89:13. Recently a small Iron Age site has been discovered close to the summit of the mountain, also containing remains of later periods (Gal 1982: 17).

Two biblical references suggest that the mountain was a place of worship. The first, while not explicitly naming Tabor, refers to the mountain where Zebulun and Issachar "shall offer right sacrifices" (Deut 33:18–19). The second reference mentions "a net spread upon Tabor" and clearly suggests some sort of cult practices (Hos 5:1). Krauss (1966: 165–172) suggested that Psalm 68 was directly connected to the cult on Mt. Tabor. Also, the god Zeus Atabyrios was worshipped at Rhodes on a holy mountain named Atabyrion (or Atabyrios), as well as at other places such as Sicily and Crete. Eissfeldt (1934) suggested that this E Mediterranean cult was Phoenician, and that it derived from the cult of the Galilean Mt. Tabor.

Lewy (1950–51), however, suggested that both names—Tabor and Atabyrios—stem from the name "Tibira," an epithet of the god Tammuz that he suggested was derived from Akk *tibira*, "metal worker."

The territories of Zebulun, Issachar, and Naphtali meet at Mt. Tabor, and the name Tabor itself is preserved in the names of two towns, CHISLOTH-TABOR (or "Chesulloth") on the border between Zebulun and Issachar, and AZNOTH-TABOR on the border between Zebulun and Naphtali. Some scholars place Mt. Tabor within the territory of Zebulun (e.g., *HGN*, 184), primarily because Tabor is named as one of the Levitical cities of this tribe (1 Chr 6:62—Eng6:77). However, it has been shown that the lists of Levitical cities of the N tribes is not an authentic geographical list, and apparently derives largely from the description of the tribal territories in Joshua. The occurrence of Tabor in the list probably derived from CHISLOTH-TABOR, thus its appearance is not relevant to Mt. Tabor's tribal affiliation. Other scholars place the mountain itself within the territory of Issachar (Noth 1953: 119), but the phrase "touches on Tabor" (Josh 19:22) suggests that the mountain itself was not part of the territory of this tribe. Thus, Mt. Tabor was apparently not an integral part of any one of the tribal territories (see *GP*, II: map 3; and map 72 in *MBA*). This and the gathering of the tribes on the mountain in the battle of Deborah (Judg 4:6, 12, 14) makes it probable that the mountain was a shared cultic center for all the N tribes.

In the Second Temple Period Tabor was one of the mountains on which signal flares were lit to announce the new moon (*t. Roš. Haš.* 2[1]:1, p. 210). Antiochus III captured the mountain in 218 B.C.E. (Polybius, *The Histories* 70:6), and it was one of the places held by Alexander Jannaeus (*Ant* 13.15.4). Alexander the son of Aristobulus was defeated near Mt. Tabor by Gabinius in 55 B.C.E. (*JW* 1.18.7; *Ant* 14.6.3). Josephus himself fortified the mountain (*JW* 2.20.6; *Life* 37) and described its capture by Placidus in 67 C.E. (*JW* 4.1.8). According to Christian tradition it was on Mt. Tabor that the Transfiguration of Jesus took place, although the mountain is not named in the NT references (Matt 17:1–8 = Mark 9:2–8 = Luke 9:28–36). The tradition, however, is clearly attested by the 4th century C.E. (Conder and Kitchener 1881: 367).

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RAFAEL FRANKEL

**TABOR, OAK OF** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾēlôn tābôr* (אֵלוֹן תָּבוֹר)]. A tree in the territory of Benjamin used by Samuel (1 Sam 10:3) to denote the location of Saul's second sign of kingship. The phrase "Oak of Tabor" is found only in one location in the Bible (1 Sam 10:3), yet attempts have been made to associate it with the oak mentioned in Gen 35:8 and the palm in Judg 4:5. Strong reasons do not exist, however, for such an association. A further suggestion has been made that the Oak of Tabor is located near Bethel, since the three men meeting Saul in 1 Sam 10:3 were traveling toward Bethel. This idea is also uncertain. With the lack of archeological evidence concerning the Oak of Tabor, and the vague description of it in the Bible, determination of an exact site is impossible.

As far as the interpretation of the *ʾēlôn*, the word can be understood as either "oak" or "terebinth." Tabor, mentioned in the context of 1 Sam 10:3, appears to be different from the Tabor mentioned elsewhere in the Bible. Again, the lack of detail in the narrative of 1 Samuel 10 produces an unclear picture of the Oak of Tabor. The only conclusive remark of this location is that it must have been a prominent contemporary landmark.

TOM F. WEI

**TABRIMMON** (PERSON) [Heb *ṭabrimmōn* (טַבְרִמֹּן)]. The son of Hezion and father of Ben-hadad I who was king of Damascus during the reigns of Baasha, king of Israel, and Asa, king of Judah (1 Kgs 15:18). Nothing is known of Tabrimmon, but he may have reigned as king of Damascus prior to Ben-

hadad I. His name means "Rimmon is good" (or bountiful), Rimmon being a god worshipped by the Syrians (cf. 2 Kgs 5:18). In Assyria this deity was called Rammanu (Thunderer), a title given to Hadad, the god of storm, rain, and thunder. The compound name, Hadad-rimmon of Zech 12:11, suggests that these gods are identical.

PAULINE A. VIVIANO

**TACITUS** (PERSON). Roman historian, born ca. 56 C.E., probably of a Gallic or N Italian family. He received his rhetorical education under Marcus Aper and Julius Secundus, the most distinguished orators of his time. In 77 C.E., Tacitus married the daughter of Agricola, the consul, shortly before the latter's departure for Britain.

Tacitus began his political career as quaestor in 81/2 C.E., and praetor in 88 C.E. during the reign of Domitian (*Agr.* 9.6; *Hist.* 1.1; and *Ann.* 11.11). He left Rome on an official commission in 90 C.E. and returned in 93 C.E. shortly after his father-in-law's death. In Rome, Tacitus witnessed the final years of Domitian's criminal atrocities (*Agr.* 1ff. 3.2, and 44ff. and *Hist.* 1.1). In 97 C.E., Tacitus was made *consul suffectus* under Nerva and as Rome's leading orator, gave the eulogy for Verginius Rufus. In 100 C.E. with his friend Pliny (the future governor of Bithynia), he prosecuted Marius Priscus for extortion (Pliny *Ep.* 2.12.2). He may have governed a military province and later served as proconsul of Asia in 112/13 C.E. If a sentence in *Ann.* 2.61 was written after 115 C.E., Tacitus may have survived to the accession of Hadrian in 117 C.E.

Concerning Tacitus' writings, the Dialogus, once considered his earliest work, was dedicated to a consul of 102 C.E. and was likely published then or shortly thereafter. On the basis of style, some scholars reject its Tacitean authorship. Dialogus is a nonhistorical work which discusses the decline of Roman oratory. In the Dialogus, two lawyers and two literary men discuss the claims of oratory against those of literature and why eloquence had declined since the days of Cicero. Most notable, great oratory had declined because it was dependent on the free life and institutions fostered under the Republic.

In 98 C.E., Tacitus published *De vita Iulii Agricolae,* describing the life of his father-in-law, particularly his achievements in Britain. The work is at the same time a *laudatio* of the dead man and an *apologia* for Agricola's passive toleration of the tyranny of Domitian. This work is similar to earlier Greek semi-biographical moral eulogies. Although historical and descriptive material about Britain is included in this monograph, a more thorough narrative of Roman activity in Britain can be found in his *Histories.*

In the same year, Tacitus published *De origine et situ Germanorum,* an ethnographic study of the tribes N of the Rhine and Danube. While its purpose is somewhat uncertain, the work contains recurrent moral contrasts between the "noble savage" and the decadence of Rome and warns about the threat of the Germanic tribes on the N frontier.

Tacitus also wrote two longer monographs which survey Roman imperial history from 14–96 C.E. The first of the two historical works is usually called the *Histories* and covers the period from the death of Nero (68 C.E.) to the assassination of Domitian (96 C.E.). The *Histories* probably consisted of 14 books (see Jerome *Comm. in Zach.* 3.14 and below on the *Annales*). Only books 1–4 and the first half of book 5 are extant, describing the turbulent years of civil war that begin the era (from 69–70 C.E.).

Tacitus' last and greatest work was the so-called *Annales,* recording the history of the Julio-Claudian emperors, from the death of Augustus (14 C.E.) to the death of Nero (68 C.E.). The *Annales* consists of sixteen books, which have also not survived in their entirety. Existing mss lack two years from the reign of Tiberius, the entire reign of Gaius (Caligula), half of the reign of Claudius, and the last two years of Nero's rule.

Although tainted by his strong anti-Imperial bias, the works of Tacitus are the earliest extant account of Roman history in the 1st century C.E. SUETONIUS, the Imperial biographer and Tacitus' contemporary, as a court secretary, amassed invaluable material but often without a critical discretion. Likewise, Dio Cassius, a later historian of this period, lived close to the court but was unable to grasp the affairs of the early empire. Supplemented by archaeological, numismatic, papyrological, and artistic evidence, Tacitus is by far the chief witness for this significant historical period.

Tacitus is also the most significant Roman historical source on the Jews in the 1st century C.E. In his *Histories,* Tacitus describes the early stages of the Roman siege of Jerusalem, the end of which unfortunately has not survived. In this context, Tacitus records traditions about the origin of the Jewish nation, the nature of their religion, and a description of their land and history until the outbreak of the Great Revolt (*Hist.* 5.1–13).

Among the versions of the origins of the Jews found in Tacitus, some are neutral, one is favorable, and one is derogatory. One version is derived from the etymological association of Iudaei with Mt. Ida on Crete. Tacitus writes that the Jews, according to some, were refugees from Crete, leaving the island when Jupiter expelled Saturn. Other versions, recorded by Tacitus, assert that the Jews came from an overspill of the Egyptian population, some maintaining that the Egyptian Jews had originated in Assyria (suspiciously similar to the biblical tradition), and others that they came first out of Ethiopia (certainly not the region of modern-day Ethiopia). Tacitus also reports that some assign a very distinguished origin to the Jews, associating them with the Solymi (from which was derived Jerusalem) celebrated in Homer.

Finally Tacitus records the version which reflects what he calls the majority opinion (identical with the Greco-Egyptian tradition about the Jews). The Jews, hated by the gods and disease-striken, were led by Moses through the wilderness with the help of wild asses, which directed them to water. Moses taught the people profane religious notions and established a sabbatical for idleness. Tacitus criticizes Jewish proselytism, misanthropy, separatism, and their refusal to worship the emperor. Because of Tacitus' fame, his account had a tremendous influence from the Renaissance onwards.

Other interesting points about Jewish history are scattered throughout both historical works (see esp. *Hist.* 2.81; *Ann.* 2.42, 85; and 12.54). There is some uncertainty about what sources Tacitus relied on for his information but suggestions include Apion, Pliny the elder, and Antonius Julianus, Mucianus for geography, and, though unlikely, Josephus for the siege.

Tacitus also referred to Christians in his account of the burning of Rome under Nero (*Ann.* 15.44). The passage was intended to illustrate the magnitude of Nero's crimes and not to provide an in-depth description of a religious "superstition" that otherwise is of no interest to Tacitus. He relates that the movement was named after a certain Christus, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate during the reign of Tiberius. Tacitus also states that Christianity had spread to Rome, where it was growing in popularity (compare Suet. *Claud.* 25). Nero made the Christians scapegoats for the burning of Rome and used the occasion to cruelly execute Roman Christians, not so much for the crime of incendiarism, however, as for their antisocial tendencies (compare Suet. *Ner.* 16). Tacitus' account became a springboard for a later Christian tradition which painted a fantastic picture of persecution under Nero. Tacitus' account reveals Roman attitudes toward Christians in the early 2d century C.E. and is of particular interest when compared with the near contemporary letters exchanged between Pliny the Younger and Trajan.

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**TADMOR** (PLACE) [Heb *tadmōr* (תַּדְמֹר)]. An oasis in the N part of the area controlled by the united kingdom of Israel, which was fortified by Solomon (1 Kgs 9:18; 2 Chr 8:4). The Ketib in the MT of 1 Kgs 9:18 reads Tamar (Heb *tāmār*); the Qere corrects it to Tadmor (Heb *tadmōr*). For a further discussion of this point, see below.

Tadmor (34°36´N; 38°15´E) was an important desert oasis on the route to Mesopotamia, located halfway between Mari and Damascus. It is mentioned in the Assyrian records of Tiglath-pileser I (1115–1100 B.C.E.) as "*tadmar ša mât amurri,*" "Tadmor of the Amurru country" (*ANET*, 275). Amurru, or Aram, was located in what is now modern-day Syria. During the reign of Solomon, Amurru was one of the areas dominated by vassal treaty, and it appears that Solomon fortified it as part of his control of the trade routes, and also as a defense against the encroachments of the Arameans of the kingdom of Damascus. Tadmor later became known as Palmyra to the Greeks; it was a large and important trading center until its destruction by the Roman emperor Aurelian in 273 C.E.

There is some debate concerning the correct reading of 1 Kgs 9:18. As mentioned above, the Ketib reads Tamar, a word meaning "palm," which suits an oasis as a descriptive term. Therefore, it is possible

that the *dalet* of Tadmor was lost by haplography, and that Tamar remained in the text because the error was not at first noticed. The Qere reads Tadmor, as does the LXX of Lucian. The question is, are Tamar and Tadmor identical sites, or are they separate cities, both fortified by Solomon? The identity of Tadmor in 2 Chr 8:4 as the N oasis on the trade route connecting Mesopotamia and Palestine is certain. The city is mentioned as part of Solomon's building program immediately after the recounting of his conquest of Hammath-zobah in Syria. Therefore the identification of Tadmor as the city mentioned in the Assyrian records, later known as Palmyra, is clear.

However, in 1 Kgs 9:18, the name Tamar/Tadmor occurs in a list of cities that begins in the N and ends in the S, with Tamar/Tadmor at the end. If Tamar/Tadmor is to be identified with the site in Syria, it is out of geographical order (being in the N). Therefore, some scholars suggest that the correct reading is Tamar, and identify Tamar with a site in the SE part of Judah, also mentioned in Gen 14:7, Ezek 47:19; 48:28. Tamar was a fortified town on the border of Israel and Edom which functioned as a supply depot for mines in the Arabah. The location of Tamar is uncertain; two locations, Qasr ej-Jeheiniyah (M.R. 173048; W of the Arabah), or el-Qeriya (S of the Dead Sea), have been suggested.

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SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**TAHAN** (PERSON) [Heb *taḥan* (תַּחַן)]. TAHANITES. Tahan is a descendant of Ephraim (1 Chr 7:25) and therefore a descendant of Joshua, the hero of the conquest (v 26). Tahan is the son of Telah and father of Ladan. The Ephraimite list in 1 Chronicles 7 is a unit that is interrupted in v 21b and resumed in vv 25–27. Since the antecedent of "his son" before Rephah (v 25) is unclear, the relation of Tahan to the earlier listing is also uncertain. Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 114) suggests there is a repetition of names in vv 20–21 and 25–27 and some variations in spelling. Hogg (1900–1: 149–50) argues that the names in vv 25–27 beginning with Rephah (and therefore including Tahan) are variations or misreadings of the three sons of Ephraim found in Num 26:35–36. This Numbers passage is the only other listing of the Ephraimite clan in the OT and it names three sons of Ephraim: Shuthelah, Becher, and Tahan.

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**TAHASH** (PERSON) [Heb *taḥaš* (תַּחַשׁ)]. The third of four sons borne by Reumah, the concubine of Abraham's brother Nahor (Gen 22:24). While Westermann (1985: 368) insists that Tahash is a personal name here, it could rather reflect the name of a land known in Egyptian texts from Thutmosis III to Ramesses II as *tḫs* and in the Amarna letters as *taḫši* (Simons 1937: 220). Although the region may have been located just beyond the NE border of Palestine, it more probably was situated N of Damascus, if not even N of Kadesh on the Orontes River. The suggestion that the name of Tahash derives from a place gains some strength by the pairing of him with Maacah. The Aramean Maacah tribe can be geographically fixed to the S foot of Mount Hermon, NW of Bashan (Josh 13:11, 13; 2 Sam 10:6, 8). Heb *taḥaš* is often treated as the same as the Ar term *tuḫas* (cf. *duḫas*) for "dolphin," but this interpretation is not certain. (See Haran [1965: 204 n. 28] for several attempts at identification.)

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**TAHATH** (PERSON) [Heb *taḥat* (תַּחַת)]. **1.** A descendant of Kohath (1 Chr 6:9—Eng6:24), one of the three sons of Levi (Gen 46:11). Tahath is the son of Assir and the father of Uriel (1 Chr 6:8–9—Eng6:

23–24). Tahath also appears in 6:22—Eng6:37 in a listing of the descendants of Heman, the singer, a Kohathite. The Kohathites were the most important of the Levitical families because Kohath was the grandfather of Aaron, Moses, and Miriam (Exod 6:18–20). In the wilderness the Kohathites, along with the Gershonites and Merarites, were charged with the care and transportation of the tabernacle. Later, King David gathered 120 Kohathites, with Uriel as their leader, to bring the ark to Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:5–15). Heman was the leader of those "appointed over the service of song in the house of the Lord" (1 Chr 6:16–18—Eng6:31–33).

**2.** A descendant of Ephraim and son of Bered (1 Chr 7:20). The name appears twice in the listing of the sons of Ephraim, first as the son of Bered, and second as the son of Eleadah. This genealogy of Ephraim lists many other descendants including two Shuthelahs, Bered, Zabad and others (vv 20–27). The significance of this passage is to point towards Joshua (v 27), an Ephraimite, the hero of the conquest. Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 114) speculates that this genealogy is a combination of two earlier lists due to the repetition of various names (Shuthelah, Tahath), similarity of others (Bered, v 20 and Zabad, v 21; Eleadah, v 20 and Ladan, v 26; Tahath, v 20 and Tahan, v 25) and length of the genealogy. Hogg (1900–1:147–49) argues that the 1 Chronicles 7 text is corrupt and suggests that Ephraim's descendants should be reduced to Shuthelah, Tahath (or equivalents), and Eleadah (or equivalents). Num 26:35–36 is the only other OT listing of the Ephraimite clan (except Genesis 46 in the LXX). Based on the Numbers passage, Ephraim had three sons: Shuthelah, Becher, and Tahan (Tahath). They are described as the heads of clans.

**3.** Son of Eleadah (1 Chr 7:20). See #2.

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**TAHATH** (PLACE) [Heb *tāḥat* (תָּחַת)]. A camping site for the Israelites during their journey through the wilderness (Num 33:26–27). The location of Tahath is unknown. It is part of an original list of place names used by the Priestly writer, the majority of which cannot be identified. This list was possibly the itinerary of a pilgrim route to and from Sinai (Noth *Numbers* OTL). The name Tahath occurs elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible as a personal name (1 Chr 6:9, 22—Eng w 24, 37; 7:20)

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**TAHCHEMONITE** [Heb *taḥkĕmōnî* (תַּחְכְּמֹנִי)]. Gentilic identification of Josheb-basshebeth, chief of "the Three," (2 Sam 23:8). In the parallel passage of 1 Chronicles (11:11; cf. 1 Chr 27:32), the text reads "Jashobeam, a Hachmonite, was chief of the three; …" The textual difficulties surrounding this name are extensively discussed by McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB, 489). These difficulties preclude any certainty about the personal name, the gentilic designation, and the group title. The most likely reading for the personal name is "Yeshbaal." See JOSHEB-BASSHEBETH. The gentilic designation is most likely "Hachmonite." See HACHMONI. However, neither Tahchemon nor Hachmon, the presumed clan or place names, are identified elsewhere. McCarter states that the MT *ṯḥkmny* is a corruption of *bn ḥkmny* (MT 1 Chr 11:11). This has support from the $LXX^{L}$ reading: *huios thekemanei.* Context supports "the Three" as the group name, apparently, but not certainly, a special force among "the Thirty" (cf. 2 Sam 23:18–39), David's corps of military elite *(haggibbōrim).* See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS.

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**TAHPANHES** (PLACE) [Heb *taḥpanhēs* (תַּחְפַּנְהֵס)]. An Egyptian outpost in the E Delta of Egypt bordering Sinai, and one of several outposts along the route through Sinai into Palestine and N Arabia. The Hebrew consonantal spelling reflects the Egyptian *T€ -ḥ (t)- (n.t)-p€ -nḥsy* meaning "the Fortress of Penhase." The Heb *taḥpanhēs,* rendered in Gk as *Taphanais,* through popular etymology was associated

by the Greeks with *Daphnai*, as the location was later known (and late also as *Daphne* and *Daphno*), and is probably still reflected in the contemporary Arabic name of the site, Tell ed-Defenna/Dafna (Lambdin, *IDB* 4: 510).

Modern Tell ed-Defenna, the ancient Tahpanhes (30°52´N; 32°10´E), is situated about 8 km W of el-Qantara and about 24 km SW of Pelusium/Farmea/Tell el-Farama (Timm 1985: 551–55). Excavations by Petrie in 1887 produced some earlier Pharaonic objects, but the earliest substantial occupation of the site dates to Psammetichos I (ca. 663 B.C.), founder of the Saite dynasty, who located a garrison of Greek mercenaries there, who were employed in his war against the Ethiopians (Ball 1942: 8). Excavations uncovered Greek pottery, weaponry, and various other objects. Some artifacts were also dated to the reigns of Neco (609–593), Psammetichos II (593–588), and Apries (588–566). There is no clear evidence of occupation of this site by Persians, although Herodotus suggests it, and early excavations of the site yielded pottery of "Persian design" (Fontaine 1948). With the establishment of the colony of Naucratis at the end of the 7th or early 6th century B.C. on the Canopic branch of the Nile, the commercial importance of Daphne must have slowly dwindled (Fontaine 1948). Dwellings of the Ptolemaic period and Roman period tombs were also found, but no Byzantine period remains (Petrie 1886; Fontaine 1948; Ball 1942: 8). The site is dominated by the ruins of a large rectangular building known to the *fellāḥīn* of Petrie's day as *qasr bint el-yahūdīya*, "The Fortress of the Jewish Woman." The *qasr* appears to be a fortified residence of a governor of Daphne from the Saïte period, although the traditional association with the Jews is curious. Also, the famous statue of the god Baal-zaphon located in the Cairo Museum was taken from Tell ed-Defenna/Daphne although details of its discovery are vague.

Herodotus mentions Daphne, along with Elephantine and Marea, as one of three outposts set up against intrusions by Assyrians and Arabs from the E during the Persian occupation (2.30.107). Judith 1:9 (here *Taphnas*) and a Greek geographical papyrus (*T[.]aphnaiein,* damaged) both mention the site as one of several settlements along routes into Egypt (Noordegraaf 1938). A new Nabatean inscription from Tell esh-Shuqafiya dated to the last half of the 1st century B.C. mentions the site (Aram *Dpn*›) as the location of the shrine of the Nabatean god Dushares, suggesting a significant Nabatean commercial presence in Daphne at that late date (Jones et al. 1988). The *Antonine Itinerary* (late 3d century A.D.) mentions *Daphno* as being 16 Roman miles inland from Pelusium. Some manuscripts of the Latin account of the Christian pilgrim Egeria in the late 4th century A.D. mention *Tathnis/Tatnis* in the land of Goshen along the route of the city of Arabia to Pelusium, which has been identified by some as Daphne (where it reports that Moses was born), but this may be a scribal error for Tanis (Gingras 1970: 63–64, 186–88). A certain bishop Eulogius at the time of the great Athanasius (4th century) is mentioned in a Coptic source as being from *Taphnas* (Timm 1985). In the 6th century A.D., Stephanus of Byzantium mentions the site as *Daphno* which derived its name from the laurels (Gk *daphne*) which grew there (Ball 1942: 171). *Daphne/Taphnas* is also mentioned briefly in connection with Jeremiah in a few patristic writers (Timm 1985: 552 and references). There is also mention of a St. Isidore from *Dafnās* in a late Copto-Arabic source (Timm 1985).

In the Bible, most references to Tahpanhes are found in the book of Jeremiah, especially chapter 43. Jerusalem was about to be besieged. The governor Gedaliah had been assassinated, and those in the circle of Gedaliah feared for their lives and fled to Egypt, taking the aged Jeremiah and Baruch his scribe with them, as both were suspected of having pro-Babylonian sympathies. These Jewish refugees found asylum in Tahpanhes, just within the Egyptian frontier, where Jeremiah lived and uttered his last prophecies of which we have any knowledge (Jer. 43:8–13, and chapter 44), words which again condemned his people for their apostasy. Jeremiah, now presumably in his sixties, is heard of no more, and it seems probable that at Tahpanhes he spent his last days (Bright *Jeremiah* AB, CXI).

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**TAHPENES** (PERSON) [Heb *taḥpĕnês* (תַּחְפְּנֵיס)]. An Egyptian queen whose sister married Hadad of Edom after he found refuge in Egypt when he fled from David (1 Kgs 11:19–20). Tahpenes is treated as a personal name, but it is probably a corruption of an Egyptian title, "wife of the king" *(t.hmt.nsw).* This reading is confirmed by the LXX which has a *mu* instead of the Hebrew letter, *pe,* in this name. She is called the "great lady" *(gĕbîrâ),* possibly indicating her position as "chief lady" of the harem and mother of the heir-apparent. The title, *gĕbîrâ,* is given to the queen-mother in Judah. Hadad's son, Genubath, is weaned by this queen and raised with the sons of Pharaoh. See Gray *Kings* OTL; Noth *Könige* BKAT.

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**TAHREA** (PERSON) [Heb *taḥrē‹a* (תַּחְרֵעַ)]. See TAREA.

**TALENT** [Gk *talanton* (ταλαντον)]. "Talent" is also the RSV rendering of the Heb terms *kīkar* and *kīkār.* See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**TALIONIS.** See LEX TALIONIS.

**TALITHA CUMI.** The Aramaic phrase, transliterated into Greek *(talitha koumi),* used by Jesus when he healed Jairus' daughter. This provides evidence for an Aramaic basis to the language of Jesus, because (1) it is a full sentence, and (2) *talitha* is from the Aramaic form of *ṭalyâ* ("lamb," "youth") and *koumi* reflects the feminine singular imperative form *qûmî* from the verb *qwm.* It occurs only in Mark's gospel, furnished with an explanation in Greek, *to korasion, soi legō, egeire* ("Girl, I say to you, get up!"). Here, however, the words *soi legō* ("I say to you") have no equivalent in the presumed Aramaic. There is a parallel of substance in Luke 8:54 which lacks those words, but which uses *hē pais* ("child") instead of *to korasion.* Both could easily reflect the same Aramaic original. However, Mark and Luke alike express the vocative here by using the definite article, and in this coincide with the use of the Aramaic emphatic state in the word *talitha* (Aram *ṭlyt›*), whereas in the similar cases in Luke 7:14b and John 11:43b the vocative itself is used.

It seems strange that anyone should have addressed an unconscious (or dead) person as "girl" and not by her own name. The context is thoroughly Jewish, the girl's father has a Jewish name (Jairus = *Ya›ir*), and he is a synagogue ruler. If his name is given, why not that of his daughter? Further, the Greek mss and the versions have problems in Mark 5:41. The best attested reading is *Talitha koum,* but at first sight that seems to make the verb masculine *(qwm)* instead of feminine *(qwmy).* The other three sets of readings all look like attempts to make sense of the matter by seeing in *talitha* (or in their equivalents for it) a proper name. Thus all make both subject and verb explicitly feminine. The problems could be solved if (1) *talitha* could be documented as a proper name and not just an Aram word meaning "girl," and (2) if in the spoken language the final *yod* in feminine form *qwmy* were silent as in the corresponding Syriac. In Acts 9:40 and John 11:43b the person being "raised from the dead" is addressed by name: since *Thaleththi* (= *Talitha*) has been attested in an epitaph of the 1st century A.D. from Tiberias in Galilee, *Talitha cum (i)* should possibly be read as "Talitha, stand up!"

The view that *talitha cumi* is a foreign word, part of the magician's mystique, is ingenious but fails to take account of the Jewish and indeed Aramaic nature of the whole setting of the story.
MAX WILCOX

**TALLIT** [Heb *ṭallît* (טַלִּית); *ṭallêt* (טַלֵּית)]. Ceremonial tassels worn in Judaism and ancient Israel. See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**TALMAI** (PERSON) [Heb *talmay* (תַּלְמַי)]. **1.** A descendant of Anak. Talmai, together with Ahiman and Sheshai, lived in Hebron when the spies were sent by Moses (Num 13:22). They were driven out by Caleb (Josh 15:14) and Judah (Judg 1:10). According to Num 13:33, they had descended from the Nephilim and were considered giants. In Judg 1:10 they are called "Canaanites."

**2.** The king of Geshur, the son of Ammihud. Talmai's daughter Maacah bore David's third son, Absalom, during David's rule in Hebron (2 Sam 3:3; 1 Chr 3:2). After the assassination of Amnon, Absalom fled for refuge to Talmai in Geshur and remained there three years (2 Sam 13:37–38).

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**TALMON** (PERSON) [Heb *ṭalmōn* (טַלְמֹן); *ṭalmôn* (טַלְמוֹן)]. A levitical gatekeeper, and head of one of the major families of postexilic gatekeepers; the name is found in five of the Chronicler's lists of temple personnel (1 Chr 9:17 = Neh 11:19; Ezra 2:42 = Neh 7:45 = 1 Esdr 5:28; Neh 12:25). Some scholars have questioned whether some of these lists (e.g., Ezra 2:42 and parallels) indicate the originally non-levitic status of the gatekeepers (cf. Williamson 1979: 253–54 n. 11; *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 35, 347), but D. J. A. Clines (*Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 55–56) is probably right to affirm the likelihood of the levitical status of the gatekeepers from the beginning, with only "terminological differences" being reflected in the various lists (also cf. Myers, *1 Chronicles* AB 120–21). The LXX lacks any reference to Talmon in Neh 12:25 (all six names are lacking in the earliest Greek mss); such omissions are quite common in Nehemiah 12, and they remain problematic. See AMOK. Although the MT does list six names in v 25, probably only the last three (Meshullam, Talmon, and Akkub) are meant to be understood as gatekeepers (*contra* the RSV); the first three names continue the list of singers found in the previous verse (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 356, 358 nn. 24.d., 25.a.; Clines *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 227; cf. Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 194–95).

In regard to the meaning of the name "Talmon," Noth (*IPN,* 223) compared the Arabic word *ẓalmun,* "brightness, splendor," or the like (*Ḏ > *ṭ,* assuming Aramaic influence); he categorized this name as a "pet name," expressing the delight of the parents for their child.

Finally, some have pointed to the reference in Ezra 10:24 (cf. 1 Esdr 9:25) to the postexilic gatekeeper (clan?) of Telem (Heb *ṭelem*) as possibly an alternate form of the name "Talmon" (Clines *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 56). In support of such an identification, one might note the analogous appearance in the same verse of the name "Shallum" (= Meshelemiah = Shelemiah; see MESHELEMIAH), another prominent clan of levitical gatekeepers.

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**TALMUD.** The compilations of commentary on the Mishnah whose texts have become the core for Jewish legal and moral understanding.

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A. Definitions
B. Content
C. Editorial History
D. Textual History

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**A. Definitions**

The word "Talmud" means "study" or "learning." In *M. ʾAbot* 4:13—"Be heedful in *talmûd,* for an unwitting error in *talmûd* is accounted a willful transgression"—"Talmud" refers to the opinions and

teachings students acquire from their teachers. In *b. B. Meṣ.* 33a, it indicates the totality of one's acquired knowledge: "He from whom one has acquired the greater part of his *talmûd* is to be regarded as one's teacher" (Berkovits *EncJud* 15: 750). However, talmud most frequently denotes the two collections of materials, one from Palestine and one from ancient Babylonia (modern Iraq), which are organized as commentaries to the Mishnah, which tradition assigns to the leader of the Palestinian Jewish community at the beginning of the 3d century C.E., Judah the Patriarch. Because the Babylonian Talmud became for European Jewry the more important of the two, "the Talmud" usually refers to that document. This collection is also known as the *ŠaS,* an abbreviation for *Šiššâ Sidrê mišnâ,* "the six orders of the Mishnah," the *Gemara* (Aram *gĕmārā›*), from the Heb root, *gmr,* which means "completion," or the *Bablî* (pronounced bavli), the Hebrew adjective "Babylonian."

The Talmud compiled in Palestine is called in the traditional texts "the Gemara of the land of Israel," "the Talmud of the land of Israel," "the Talmud of the West," and "the Gemara of the people of the West." At times the North African Rabbi Nissim (ca. 900–1062 C.E.), names a tractate to which he appends the phrase "of the children of the West." The term *Yĕrûšalmî,* a Hebrew adjectival form of Jerusalem, is used commonly by the North African sage Hananel ben Hushi'el (d. 1055/56 C.E.), occasionally by R. Nissim, by Isaac ben Jacob Alfasi (1013–1103 C.E.), and by many medieval European sages. The earliest printed edition of this text, published in Venice, and the only complete ms of the document, the Leiden Manuscript, both employ the term "Talmud Yerushalmi." The Meiri, Rabbi Menahem ben Solomon (1249–1316 C.E.), a Provencal sage, refers to the document as the Western Talmud (Bokser 1979: 150–51).

If the Jews are "a people of the Book," that book is the Talmud, especially the Babylonian Talmud. The Babli sets forth the outline of a system of Judaism which is adhered to today. The modes of religiosity in the Hebrew Bible focus on the priests offering sacrifices to YHWH, usually at the altar/Temple in Jerusalem. The leaders of the community, whose ideal place of residence was within the land of Israel, were the kings, anointed by YHWH's representatives, the priests, eventually an inherited office, and the prophets, called by YHWH. With the end of the monarchy in 586 B.C.E., the end of prophecy before the Maccabean period, the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E., and the decline of the Palestinian centers of Judaism after 220 C.E., the Jews had to discover new ways of approaching YHWH. The outlines of the new system were set forth in the two Talmuds (Heb *talmûdîm,* plural of *talmûd*). The Babylonian Gemara became the foundation-document of Central European and American Judaism, while the Yerushalmi served the Jews of the Mediterranean world. YHWH's representatives were now the rabbis, who achieved their status by mastering both the Written Torah, the Hebrew Bible, and the Oral Torah, the rabbinic traditions which "originated" with Moses, our rabbi. Sacrifices were replaced by prayer, study, and good deeds, and the community outside of the land of Israel waited for its return to the holy land at the time of the Messiah (Neusner 1965–70). The Talmuds are our major sources of information about the Jews of late antiquity. While we have other written materials by Palestinian Jews—such as the *targûmîn* (Aramaic translations of the Hebrew Bible), *midrāšîm* (collections of biblical exegeses), and some liturgical and magical texts—and some archaeological artifacts—such as tombs, synagogues, and inscriptions—the Yerushalmi remains our primary source of information about Palestinian Judaism in late antiquity (*HJP²* 3/1; Meyers and Strange 1981; Smallwood 1976; Avi-Yonah 1976). For the Jews of Babylonia, with the exception of a very few archaeological finds—such as the Dura synagogue and the magical bowls of Nisibis—the Babli is our sole source of information about their way of life, their system of beliefs, their modes of thought, and their interpretations of the Hebrew Bible (Neusner 1965–70). Therefore, in order to gain information about the Jews of Late Antiquity, one must delve into the two Talmuds.

The sages cited in the Talmuds are known as Amoraim (Aram *›ămôr›āyim*), the sayers, for their statements are usually introduced in the Gemara (commentary section) by the Heb root *›mr,* "says." The masters who appear in the Mishnah and related documents are known as Tannaim (Heb *tannā›îm*), from the Heb root *tnh,* to teach or repeat, because their sayings are introduced in the Gemaras (Aram *gĕmārôt,* plural of *gĕmārā›*) by some form of the root *tnh.* The Amoraim are followed by the Seboraim (Heb *sĕbbôrāyim*), a plural noun from *sbr,* to reason, who are in turn followed by the Geonim (Heb *gĕ›ônîm*) (a

plural noun meaning learned), which is usually applied to the heads of the Babylonian academies at the time of origins of Islam.

The text of the Babylonian Talmud consists of some 2.5 million words, on 5,894 folio pages. About one-third is Halakah (Heb *hălākâ*), legal material or statements of law, while two-thirds is Aggadah (Heb *ʾaggâdâ*), that is, stories, anecdotes, legends, and the like. Interestingly, much of the Aggadah in the Babylonian Talmud seems to have been of Palestinian origin. Only one-sixth of the Palestinian Talmud consists of Aggadah. Some argue that because only the Palestinian sages produced a distinct genre of biblical exegetical texts, the *midrâšîm,* which contains a good deal of Aggadah, they were able to include much less Aggadah in their talmud than did the Babylonian Amoraim (Goldberg 1987a: 336).

**B. Content**

The two Talmuds differ in scope, language, style, and content. The Palestinian Talmud contains a Gemara to 39 of Mishnah's 63 tractates, occurring in 4 of the base document's 6 major Orders: *Zeraʿim,* Seeds; *Moʿed,* Festival; *Našim,* Women; and *Neziqin,* Torts. It also includes a Gemara to the first 3 chapters of the tractate *Niddah,* Menstruant Woman, which appears in the Order *Ṭoharot,* Purities. However, not all of the tractates are complete: There is no Gemara to the third chapter of tractate *Makkot,* Lashes, in *Neziqin;* to the 21st through the 24th chapters of *Šabbat* in the Order *Moʿed;* or to the 4th through the 10th chapters of *Niddah.* The Palestinian Talmud does contain a Gemara to all of the tractates of *Zeraʿim* and to tractate *Šeqalim* of the Order *Moʿed.* A version of the missing chapter of *Makkot* has been found in the Cairo Geniza. Although some medieval authorities refer to the existence of a Palestinian Gemara to *Qodašim,* Holy Things, and *Ṭoharot,* most scholars agree that none actually existed, and no fragments of these have yet appeared (Rabinowitz *EncJud* 15: 772–74, Bokser 1979: 167–68).

Only 37 of the 63 tractates of the Mishnah receive a connected commentary in the Babylonian Talmud. Materials from the remaining 26 are scattered throughout the text. With the exception of *Berakot,* Blessings, there is no Babylonian Gemara to the tractates in *Zeraʿim.* The Order *Moʿed* is complete in the Babylonian Talmud, with the exception of *Sheqalim,* which does appear in the Palestinian Talmud. Furthermore, the Babylonian Talmud, like the Palestinian Talmud, does not contain a Gemara, to *Eduyyot,* Testimonies, or *Abot,* Fathers. The *Gemara* to *Qodashim* is almost complete in the Babylonian Talmud, with the exception of *Middot,* Measurements, *Qinnim,* Bird-offerings, and part of *Tamid,* Daily Whole-offering. Similar to the situation in the Palestinian Gemara, *Niddah* is the only tractate of *Ṭoharot* which has a Gemara in the Babylonian Talmud (Berkovits *EncJud* 15: 757, Goodblatt 1979: 259). Steinsaltz (1976: 279–83) and Berkovits *EncJud* 15: 751) contain a convenient chart which compares the content of the two Talmuds to the chapters of Mishnah. Krupp summarizes the contents of the various manuscripts of the Palestinian Talmud (1987b) and provides a chart of the contents of the major manuscripts of the Babylonian Gemara, tractate by tractate (1987a).

Both Talmuds are composed in Aramaic as well as Hebrew. The Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud is classified as Eastern Aramaic, while that of the Palestinian Talmud is known as Western Aramaic. The Babylonian text contains some Persian loan-words, and the Palestinian document contains a considerable amount of Greek in a Syrian-Palestinian dialect. The Hebrew in the Talmuds represents several types: Biblical Hebrew, in quotations from the Hebrew Bible, early Middle Hebrew, especially in the quotations from the Mishnah, and late Middle Hebrew, a post-Mishnaic form of Hebrew. However, because the copyists and printers who transmitted the Talmudic texts often "corrected" the orthography, morphology, syntax, and lexica of the documents to conform to more widely known forms of Hebrew, it is extremely difficult to recapture the traits of the original languages of these documents (Goodblatt 1979: 273–80, Goldberg 1987b: 305, Rabinowitz *EncJud* 15: 774, Bokser 1979: 201–8, Ginzberg 1970: 8).

Many who have compared the Palestinian Gemara to its Babylonian counterpart have observed that the comments in the former are briefer and more focused (Halivni 1986: 82). Its discussions are frequently shorter, more elliptical, less clear, and often enigmatic (Bokser 1979: 170), when compared to those in the Babylonian Talmud. The Palestinian pericopae frequently lack editorial introductions and connections. A passage may consist of nothing more than the juxtaposition of a Tannaitic text which seems to be at variance with the relevant section of Mishnah and a reconciliation of the two. Or, the section may open by

quoting an Amoraic statement to which Tannaitic sources or other Amoraic statements are found to support or to contradict it. If the quoted texts disagree, the Amoraim frequently seek to smooth out the differences (Goldberg 1987b: 307). On the other hand, the Babylonian Gemara contains elaborate pericopae which have been described as "colorful, pulsating, outreaching, often presenting an interwoven and continuous discourse …" (Halivni 1986: 82). Although scholars disagree concerning the number of layers one can discern in the Babylonian Gemara, they all point to the elaborate ways in which the units have been constructed.

The differences in style between the two documents is no doubt partly the result of the fact that of the two Talmuds, only the Babylonian went through a protracted period of compilation and editing. Depending upon which scholarly theory one accepts, the Seboraim, and even the Geonim, worked at completing, compiling, editing, and polishing the Babylonian text before it found its way into the communities of medieval Europe. Even if one accepts the traditional dates for the completion of the two Talmuds, the Babylonian Gemara had at least a century more of development than did its Palestinian counterpart (Goldberg 1987b: 305–6).

In addition to differing in style, in general terms the content of the two Talmuds is dissimilar. Scholars have long noted that angelology, demonology, sorcery, magic, astrology, and other folk beliefs are much more prominent in the Babylonian Talmud than they are in the Palestinian Gemara (Ginzberg 1970: 20–24, Goldberg 1987b: 306), even occurring in Babylonian retellings of Palestinian materials (Goldberg 1987a: 336). However, the difference between the content of the two Amoraic collections is much more fundamental and relates to the differing ways in which the two Amoraic texts approach their base document, Mishnah. Goldberg suggests that the Palestinian Talmud does for the Tosefta (additional tannaitic materials) what that document does for Mishnah; that is, it expands upon Tosefta in the same way that Tosefta, in Goldberg's view, expands upon Mishnah (Goldberg 1987b: 311)." However, the Palestinian Gemara may "correct" or interpret Mishnah, limiting or expanding its applications, totally without recourse to Tosefta (Goldberg 1987b: 312). Rabinowitz (*EncJud* 15: 772) writes that while the sages in the Babylonian Talmud go "to the most extreme lengths to justify the original text of the Mishnah, explaining differences and difficulties by stating that there are lacunae or that the author of one section is not the same as that of others, the Amoraim of the Palestinian Talmud freely and explicitly amend the text of the Mishnah, sometimes without any ostensible reason." Neusner writes that the Palestinian Gemara "appears in the main to provide mere commentary and amplification for the Mishnah" by doing one of four things to it: " (1) text criticism; (2) exegesis of the meaning of the Mishnah, including glosses and amplifications; (3) addition of scriptural proof texts of the Mishnah's central propositions; and (4) harmonization of one Mishnah passage with another such passage or with a statement of Tosefta" (1986: 18). He estimates that 90 percent of the Palestinian Gemara focuses on Mishnah. The other 10 percent of the *Yerushalmi* contains (1) theoretical questions of law not associated with a particular passage of the Mishnah, (2) exegesis of Scripture separate from Mishnah, (3) historical statements—stories about things which happened, and (4) stories about and rules for sages and disciples, separate from discussions of a passage of the Mishnah (Neusner 1986: 19–21). In brief, most scholars agree that the Palestinian Gemara is much more focused on Mishnah than is the Babylonian Talmud.

Like the Palestinian Talmud, the Babylonian text devotes substantial efforts to explaining, interpreting and amplifying Mishnah. Both Talmuds seek to discover how the Hebrew Bible serves as a basis for Mishnah's statements, and they both employ Tosefta as an aid to comprehending Mishnah. However, Neusner finds "a greater tendency in the Babylonian Talmud to speculate on law beyond the framework of a Mishnah paragraph" (1986: 92–93). For Neusner, the major difference between the content of the two Talmuds is in regard to their use of, and reference to, the Hebrew Bible. He estimates that the Babylonian text contains four to five times more scriptural units than the Palestinian Gemara (1986: 100). Further, only the Babli uses scriptural units independently of its interpretation of Mishnah, for the framers of the Babylonian Talmud "were prepared to organize their larger composition around more than the single focus of a context of discourse dictated by the Mishnah or by points of law or theology deemed pertinent to the Mishnah" (Neusner 1986: 104). To summarize: The Babylonian Talmud contains a good deal more

material which is unrelated to Mishnah than does its Palestinian counterpart. And, the Babylonian Gemara includes many more scriptural units than does the Palestinian Talmud.

**C. Editorial History**

The Palestinian Talmud does not provide us with any information concerning its editing (Rabinowitz *EncJud* 15: 772); however, we can deduce from the events included and omitted from the text as well as from the names of the sages quoted in the document that the Gemara was edited sometime shortly after the end of the 4th century C.E. (Bokser 1979: 192). Rabbi Moses ben Maimon (Maimonides, 1135–1204 C.E.) claimed that Rabbi Yohanan (died last quarter of the 3d century C.E.) edited the Palestinian Talmud. Moses ben Jacob of Coucy (13th century) emended Maimonides' text to read "Yohanan and his disciples" (Rabinowitz *EncJud* 15: 772). Given Yohanan's central place among the Palestinian rabbis, this statement is probably true; however, it is so general as to be meaningless. The Palestinian text seems to come from the three major Palestinian amoraic academies—Tiberias, Caesarea, and Sepphoris. The sages from the fourth center of Palestinian *amoraim,* Lydda, did not leave much material (Rabinowitz *EncJud* 15: 772). The consensus of modern scholarship is that the bulk of the Palestinian Gemara was compiled finally at Tiberias (Bokser 1979: 193). Lewy had argued that the Gemara to *Neziqin* was different from the rest of the Palestinian Gemara, and Lieberman argued that *Neziqin*'s distinctive traits derive from its being composed in Caesarea earlier than the other portions of the Talmud. Most scholars believe that the anonymous parts of *Neziqin* derive from Caesarea, while those elsewhere in Palestinian Talmud ostensibly derive from Tiberias (in Bokser 1979: 193). The material in *Neziqin* consists of short comments, of almost exclusively halakhic (legal) content. It differs in brevity, style, and terminology from the rest of the Talmud. The first three Orders, the remaining tractates of *Neziqin,* and the tractate *Niddah* were edited at Tiberias. Although, the Yerushalmi is not the work of one school (Rabinowitz *EncJud* 15: 313–14). Many scholars have argued that the Palestinian Talmud was committed to writing during the 4th and 5th centuries because of the oppression experienced by the Palestinian Jewish community at that time. Recently these arguments have been demonstrated to be flawed, and they can now be dismissed (Bokser 1979: 197–79).

The editing of the Babylonian Talmud has received a good deal of scholarly attention, most of which Neusner (1970) and Goodblatt (1979: 291–318) have summarized. The traditional view, based on a few ambiguous passages from the Babylonian Gemara, a letter of Sherira ben Hanina Gaon of Pumbedita (ca. 906–1006 C.E.), and a comment by Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac of Provance (Rashi, 1040–1105), attributes the final editing of the Babylonian Talmud to Rav Ashi (died 427/28) and Ravina II (ca. 500). The traditional view does recognize the fact that traditions were produced after Ashi and Ravina, for even Sherira mentions R. Yose, one of the Seboraim, during whose days the Babylonian Talmud reached its ultimate conclusion (Berkovits *EncJud* 15: 761).

Goodblatt (1979) suggests that most modern scholars adhere to some form of a "two-source" theory of the editing of the Babylonian Talmud. Weiss argued that each generation and center of Amoraim produced its own talmud, some of which are still identifiable. He attributed the earliest stratum to Yehudah b. Yehezqel, head of Pumbedita, in the late 3d century, and claimed that it was based on material formulated by Rav and Samuel (middle 3d century), statements of other great Babylonian Amoraim, and some tannaitic material. However, this "talmud was limited and did not cover early tractate." The second recognizable stratum originated in the early 4th century, in Pumbedita under Abayye, and it covered all of the tractates we have in our present Gemara. Rava took this edition with him to Mehoza where it was further supplemented. Later generations continued to add to this edition as it was adopted by the Naresh school under R. Papa and by the school of Sura under R. Ashi (in Goodblatt 1979: 292). Kaplan claims that the Seboraim were the final editors of the Talmud. The Gemara, brief summaries, was produced by the Amoraic academies. The Seboraim took the Gemara collected by Ashi, rearranged it, and added to it Gemaras from other Amoraic academies and other uncollected oral material, so that "the gemara of R. Ashi, accompanied by the Saboraic exposition, make up the bulk of the present Talmud" (in Goodblatt 1979: 314–15). Similarly, Klein writes "the compilation of the Gemara was in fact the work of R. Ashi and Rabina … Sebara [was] added during the 6th and 7th centuries" (in Goodblatt 1979: 315).

Halivni has produced the most recent variation on the "two-source" theory. He argues that the Amoraim followed an apodictic form; they merely stated the law, without preserving the "give-and-take" that stood behind their legal conclusions, a style which closely follows the Mishnah (1986: 76, 52–70). It was the anonymous authorities, the Stammaim (Heb *sĕtāmmayim*) who flourished between 427 and 501 or 520 C.E., who recovered or invented the discursive material which now makes up the bulk of the Babylonian Gemara (1986: 76). The Stammaim created a "flowing discourse" by completing what was missing in the Amoraic text through conjecture and restoration, and by adding introductions, conclusions, and interpolations to the Amoraic material they had received. The Stammaim believed that opinions rejected by the Amoraim were not false; they were rejected for only practical reasons, so that from the point of view of religiosity "even the rejected view was acceptable" (1986: 77). Halivni concludes, citing Occam's razor, "that the redaction of the Talmud was done at one time …, after R. Ashi's death, reaching its greatest intensity in the last quapter of the 5th century" (1986: 81).

Looking at the broader picture, however, all of the above versions of the two-source theory, as well as the traditional view, are questionable. Masters who flourished in the early 6th century appear in the Gemara. It seems probable that major redactional activity, which included substantive additions to the text, continued through the 6th and 7th centuries. Also, extensive materials attributable to authorities of the 8th and 9th centuries found their way into the Babli. Furthermore, the text as we have it today contains glosses and comments from the middle ages. Additionally, copyists and printers freely emended the text, "on the basis of conjecture or variants in mss, until modern times." Also, the printed editions of the 19th century, on which all modern printings are based, contain emendations suggested by the commentaries of the 16th through the 18th centuries. And, both Jewish and non-Jewish censors deleted potentially offensive passages and replaced sensitive terms with more neutral ones. Goodblatt writes:

> Through the 7th century, there seems to have been no hesitation to add freely to the text. Beginning in the 8th century conscious substantive changes were no longer made. From then on additions were mainly the result of marginal notes finding their way into the text. Moreover, in the 8th century independent compositions by rabbinic masters begin to appear. All of this suggests that by the latter date BT was considered a finished work. A 10th century Talmudist claims that a deposed Babylonian exilarch who arrived in Spain ca. 770 wrote out from memory the complete text of the Talmud. (1979: 264–65)

**D. Textual History**

There is only one complete ms of the Palestinian Talmud: the Leiden Manuscript, Codex Scaliger 3, written in 1289 (Krupp 1987b: 320, Rabinowitz *EncJud* 15: 776, Bokser 1979: 153) by Jehiel ben Jekuthiel ben Benjamin ha-Rofe. Jehiel indicates that he relied on a corrupt text which was full of errors (Rabinowitz *EncJud* 15: 776); however, Krupp (1987b: 320) writes that "the prototype was better than the copyist judged it, whose emendations were unimportant and did no damage elsewhere." The earliest printed edition of the Palestinian Talmud was produced in 1523–24 in Venice by Daniel Bomberg. Krupp (1987b: 320) states that "the real damage" to the Talmud's text "was done by the 'improvements' and arbitrary changes, additions and omissions of the compositor of the Bomberg edition." The Venice Edition serves as the basis for subsequent printed editions of the Palestinian Talmud. There is a Vatican ms, Talmud Yerushalmi Codex Vatican 133 (Vat. Ebr. 133), perhaps from the 13th century, which contains the tractate *Soṭah,* and the whole order of *Zeraʿim,* except for *Bikkurim.* (Rabinowitz *EncJud* 15: 776–77, Bokser 1979: 155). The tractates in the Palestinian Gemara are divided into chapters and Halakot, following the divisions in its Mishnah, and the text is cited in that manner. Therefore, *Ber.* 3:1 refers to the first Halakah of the third chapter of tractate *Berakot.* The Venice edition was printed in two columns on each side of the page. Citations of the text are based on columns a and b appearing on the obverse, and c and d on the reverse. Therefore, *Ber.* Venice 3a refers to the inside column on the obverse side of the third page of tractate *Berakhot. Ber.* 3d indicates the inside column on the reverse side of the same page. For a discussion of the other available mss and editions of the Palestinian Talmud see Bokser (1979: 151–63) and Krupp (1987b). Schwab produced a generally unreliable French translation of the Palestinian

Talmud in eleven volumes in 1871, and Wunsche translated the aggadic portions into German in 1880. Recently Neusner (1982–89) has undertaken the only English translation of the Palestinian Talmud.

A Bodleian Library ms covering half of the tractate *Keritot,* dated to 1123, is the oldest ms of the Babylonian Talmud listed by Krupp (1987a: 366); however, Berkovits (*EncJud* 15: 765) notes that there is a ms of *Pesaḥim* at Cambridge that "may date" to the 9th century. The Codex Florence, dated to 1177, contains about one-third of the Babylonian Gemara, and the Codex Hamburg, dated to 1184, contains the first three tractates of *Neziqin.* Codex Munich 95 written in Paris in 1343 is the oldest complete ms of the Babylonian Talmud (Goodblatt 1979: 265). The first complete edition of the Babylonian Talmud was produced in 1520–23 in Venice by Daniel Bomberg. Because there is no Babylonian Gemara to *Šeqalim,* Bomberg appended the Gemara from the Palestinian Talmud. This edition also includes the Palestinian version of *Horayot* (Bokser 1979: 151). Bomberg's pagination has become standard. He printed the Gemara on numbered folio pages, with one column of the text on each side of the page. The column on the obverse side is designated a, that on the reverse b. Because Bomberg used the first page as his title page, each tractate of all present-day editions of the Babylonian Talmud begin on page two. Sections of the Gemara are cited according to Bomberg's pagination; therefore, *Ber.* 12a refers to the obverse side of the twelfth folio page of tractate *Berakot.* In addition Bomberg's placement of Rashi's commentary on the side of the page closest the binding and the comments of the Tosafot (Rashi's grandsons) on the outside of the page is followed in all modern editions of the text. Most 20th century editions reproduce the Romm edition published in Vilna between 1880–86 (Goodblatt 1979: 268). Goldschmidt produced a German translation of the complete Babylonian Talmud. The standard English translation was published under the editorship of I. Epstein (1935–52). Recently, Neusner (1984–85) has undertaken a new English translation of the Babylonian Talmud.

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GARY G. PORTON

**TAMAR** (PERSON) [Heb *tāmār* (תָּמָר)]. The name of three women in the OT. The name may mean "palm (tree)" (*IPN* 230).

**1.** In Genesis 38, the Canaanite woman who was married to Er, Judah's first son by the Canaanite daughter of Shua. After Er was slain for his wickedness by God, Judah asked his next son Onan to perform the task of levirite marriage with Tamar. Onan, however, attempted to avoid issue with her by

practicing coitus interruptus, and for this he too was killed by God. When Judah tried to save his last son Shelah by delaying giving Tamar to him, she took matters into her own hands. Disguising herself as a prostitute, she had relations with Judah. When he discovered her pregnancy and his own role in it, Judah declared her to be more righteous than he since he had withheld Shelah from her. She bore twin sons, Perez and Zerah and through Perez was an ancestress of David (Ruth 4:12, 18–22; 1 Chr 2–4) and Jesus (Matt 1:3).

The story has been the focus of much recent research dealing with such questions as its origins (Emerton 1979), its function within the Joseph story, especially through a literary analytical approach (Alter 1975), and the reasons for Tamar's actions (Coats 1972; Niditch 1979).

**2.** The daughter of David and Maacah and the full sister of Absalom, with whom Amnon, her half-brother, fell violently in love (2 Sam 13:1–22). On the advice of his friend Jonadab, Amnon feigned illness and asked that Tamar be sent to feed him. When she arrived, he raped her; and then, his love having turned to hate, threw her out. Tamar fled to Absalom who ultimately avenged her violation by having Amnon killed.

The story has recently been the subject of much literary and structural analysis (Conroy 1978; Fokkelman 1981) underscoring its role within the larger treatment of Absalom's revolt (2 Sam 15–20).

**3.** The only daughter of Absalom, undoubtedly named after his sister, and described as a beautiful woman (2 Sam 14:27). Some scholars have equated her with Maacah, the wife of Rehoboam, son of Solomon, and the mother of Abijah (1 Kgs 15:2; 2 Chr 11:20–22). This is because some manuscripts of the LXX and the OL have in 2 Sam 14:27 "Maacah" instead of "Tamar", and a further statement in the LXX adds that she was the wife of Rehoboam and the mother of Abijah. McCarter (*II Samuel* AB, 342) notes that it is possible that the original reading for the name in the passage of Samuel was "Maacah" and that Tamar's name replaced it in the MT by confusion with Absalom's sister, prominent in the preceding chapter. However, he prefers to assume that the name Maacah along with the statement about her marriage arose in the LXX through an unfounded scribal equation of the daughter of Absalom, son of David, with the daughter of an otherwise unknown Absalom mentioned in 1 Kgs 15:2. Other scholars have seen Tamar as the mother of Maacah (Dahlberg *IDB* 3: 196).

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GARY H. OLLER

**TAMAR** (PLACE) [Heb *tāmār* (תָּמָר)]. A perplexing site located in the Judean Arabah region, SSW of the Dead Sea. Establishing the precise location has been difficult because of the lack of existing toponyms commonly used for identification. One possible location is found in the area of Qasr el-Juheiniya (M.R. 173048) 21 km WSW of the Dead Sea, where the Roman fortress of Thamara is speculated to be. Another possible location is believed to be Ain Hoseb (M.R. 173024) 40 km SW of the Dead Sea. The biblical Tamar is included in the traditional border with the SE nation of Edom and is distinguished as the future E boundary of Israel in Ezek 47:13–48:29. In Ezek 47:18, the LXX and Syr both support the reading of "as far as Tamar" *(tāmārā),* instead of the MT version "you shall measure" *(tāmôddû);* placing the city in the area of the extreme SW boundary.

Problems have arisen in Ezek 47:19; 48:28 with the Semitic name of Tamar confused with the city of "Teman" mentioned in the LXX. In these verses the translators of the LXX use the name Teman (Gk *thaiman kai phoinikōnos* [Teman and palm-tree] and *thaiman*) for the location. Teman was an Edomite locale situated in the same geographical area Tamar was thought to occupy. See TEMAN. The misconception may be attributed to the similarities in the consonantal form of both words and the

previous boundary lists found in Josh 15:1–4 and Num 34:3–5. Both use Edom as the marker for the S boundary. Also note that Teman may be understood to mean "south," adding to the difficulty of the text.

Another disputed identification is found among Solomon's building sites in 1 Kgs 9:18. Here the Ketib reads "Tamar," while other mss and the Qere vocalization supports "Tadmor" as in 2 Chr 8:3. This N Syrian city is situated about 190 km NE of Damascus. See TADMOR. Though problems inherently arise by taking one reading over the other, it is generally thought to be important to maintain that the original reading was Tamar, not only because scholars prefer the more difficult reading, but also because it seems more plausible historically due to its strategic location with respect to the S trade route. The inconspicuousness of the distant Tamar could have contributed to the confusion with Tadmor. Again Tamar and Tadmor are similar orthographically and have same denotation, contributing to the misidentification. The mistake could have been in the simple replacing the more obscure name of Tamar with the more known and prosperous Syrian city Tadmor.

Other references to Tamar may be associated with this site are found in Gen 14:7 and 2 Chr 20:2, where Tamar is identified as Hazazon-tamar (in the 2 Chronicles passage the author places a note connecting it with En-gedi). Since the name Tamar signifies "palm," it is also thought to be referred to in Judg 1:16, the "city of palms," which is mentioned as the departure point from which the Kenites moved into the wilderness of Judah; however, this reference is probably about Jericho, which is often described as the city of palms (Judg 3:13; Deut 34:3; 2 Chr 28:15).

JEFFREY K. LOTT

**TAMARA** (M.R. 173048). A Cisjordanian Roman *Limes castellum* mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (36, p. 47, 46), and until now, the only one that has been excavated. The identification proposed by A. Alt (1935) has been sustained by the excavators, based now on archaeological and literary evidence (Gichon 1976a: 80–81).

Tamara (Qasr el Juheinije) was built by the Nabateans in the 1st century C.E. to protect the highway from Moab through Zoar to Mampsis. It seems to have been taken over by the Romans immediately on their acquisition of Nabatea in 105/6 C.E. until the reign of Hadrian.

After its refurbishing under the Illyrian emperors (Propbus?, 276–281 C.E.), the *castellum* stood until the Arab conquest (634/35). About 279 C.E., the inner portions were completely rebuilt. This and subsequent repairs are attributed to damage caused either by hostile attacks or earthquake, for which archaeological and literary evidence exists (Gichon 1976a: 82).

According to the *Notitia*, the cohors I Palaestinorum, an indigenous infantry regiment, was stationed at Tamara. During the 4th or 5th century this unit was converted to the status of farming militia and the soldiers and their families began farming the surrounding scattered arable plots, doing service in the *castellum* in turns. On the eve of the Moslem invasion of 634 C.E., some of the families found refuge in the *castellum* for a lengthy period and arrangements for their accommodation were made. The final conquest brought much internal destruction, and the site was never permanently resettled.

To ensure the collection of the water from the few winter rains, the *castellum* was built on the lowest spot of a natural trough where the drainage from the surrounding slopes converged. It was then easily channeled into intramural cisterns and more extramural reservoirs, which served the passing caravans. Since the highway was forced to pass through the valley, the site was positioned to ensure maximum control of passage. To compensate for the loss of visibility, a ring of observation posts crowned the surrounding crests.

Excavations were carried out from 1973 to 1976. The *castellum* is a well preserved square building, built of ashlars of varying quality, which are arranged in two faces with a rubble fill. The joints apparently were later repaired and straightened. The building measures 38 × 38 m, with four protruding towers which measure 6 × 6 m each—a typical *tetrapyrgos.* Of the four barrack blocks leaning against the walls, which are preserved 3.5 m above the floor, two obviously served as living quarters and the other two were devoted to other various purposes. See Fig. TAM.01. The following arrangement was preserved through all four construction phases: Phase I: Nabatean construction and occupation; Phase II: Roman takeover

and evacuation in about 135 C.E.; Phase III: Probus' reoccupation until the Persian invasion in 614; and Phase IV: Heraclius reoccupation in 628 and final destruction in about 634.

The Nabatean structure lacked the corner towers and had deeper barrack blocks. The towers, not less than 6 m high, were added in phase II and in phase III, the SW and SE barracks were diminished in size. The 6 section rooms *(contubernia)* measured 3.10 × 4 m, but a shaded portico with a roof resting on square pilasters was added. The NW and SW corners housed the higher charges, while the commander occupied a flight of rooms adorned with wall frescos in geometrical patterns (rank obviously carrying its privileges). The other barracks included the regimental shrine *(sacellum),* stores, armory *(armamentarium),* office *(officium),* and a large bakery. The single, 7 m deep gate, had a barrel vault and was divided into three compartments. A guard room led into the gate passage, which could be closed with doors and beams on both sides. In phase IV, the entrance was narrowed from 1.50 m to 0.80 m, emphasizing the largely static character of the garrison. Access to the battlements was gained by three flights of stairs, while the towers apparently had wooden ladders, which could be removed to enhance their defensive capabilities in the event of hostile penetration.

The large cistern, dug into the center of the courtyard, measured roughly 10 × 10 × 3.80 m. Its roof of heavy stone slabs was supported by ten stone pillars.

Obviously, Tamara could not house a complete unit, part of which must have been spread out to man the surrounding outworks and minor fortifications. Tamara and its support facilities was a fortification typical to the *limes* Palestine.

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MORDECHAI GICHON

**TAMARISK.** See FLORA.

**TAMMUZ** [Heb *tammûz* (תַּמּוּז)]. The fourth month of the Hebrew calendar, roughly corresponding to June and July. See CALENDAR (ANCIENT ISRAELITE AND EARLY JEWISH).

**TAMMUZ** (DEITY) [Heb *tammûz* (תַּמּוּז)]. The Mesopotamian god Tammuz (SumDumuzi) is well attested from the 3d through the 1st millenniums B.C.E. The origins of the cult of the deity precede our written records, but it has been suggested that, like Gilgamesh, Dumuzi was once a Sumerian ruler who became revered as a god (Falkenstein 1954: 63; Gurney 1962: 150; Alster 1972: 15). Whether or not a human stands behind the divine figure, it does appear certain that Mesopotamian traditions concerning the god adapted various earlier religious themes into his character (Jacobsen 1970: 73–74). The figure which emerges as the deity is that of a shepherd. Various textual traditions survive regarding the god, but they reflect a plurality of traditions, making a consistent representation of the god difficult (Alster 1972: 13).

Early in the 20th century Tammuz was taken to be the classic example of the "dying-and-rising" god. Based on the work of Frazer (1935: 6), this position saw Tammuz as the divine representation of the life cycle of crops and therefore a vegetation deity (Langdon 1914: 114). It was held that the god died with the plants and rose again when they reappeared the next season; the cult, it was maintained, spread from Mesopotamia throughout the ancient world and was found with assorted names given for the Tammuz deity from Egypt (Osiris) through Palestine (Eshmun) into Greece (Adonis). Even the Christian Christ story was related to the myth (Frazer 1935: 6; Langdon 1914: 1; Moortgat 1949: 142–43; Kramer 1969: 133, 160 n. 48; Burkert 1979: 105–11). With the recognition that Tammuz was a shepherd, the death and rising of the god became less obvious (Falkenstein 1954: 65; Kramer 1951: 1–17). A fragmentary end of a

myth has been suggested as evidence for Tammuz' return from the dead (Falkenstein 1965: 281; Kramer 1966: 31), but this material is open to more than one interpretation.

Most of the material which has been preserved concerning the god relates him to the cult of Inanna/Ishtar. The courtship and marriage of these two deities have been recorded in numerous poems for her cult and have been taken at times to be examples of fertility rite liturgies. It is the myth of Inanna's Descent which supplies the best known rendition of the death of the god; she sends her husband to her sister Ereshkigal since someone must take her place among the dead. It would seem to be this story which is alluded to in the Gilgamesh Epic (VI: 46–47). Here Inanna/Ishtar assigns annual weeping in the cult for Tammuz, while the context suggests duplicity on her part toward him; this is no doubt what the women are observing at the Jerusalem temple when Ezekiel describes their apostasy (Ezek 8:14). Yet there are other mythological sources for Tammuz which do not include the goddess, perhaps the most intriguing being "Dumuzi's Dream" as it presents a totally different version of the death of the god, one related to his being a shepherd (Gurney 1962: 153; Miller 1980: 50). Other minor works also dwell upon the fact that Tammuz is dead (Gurney 1962: 154), so this aspect of the cult of the god appears to be consistent, while a return to the living is, at best, conjectural. Aside from Ishtar/Inanna, Tammuz' sister Geshtinanna is the most commonly reappearing figure in the texts dealing with Tammuz; his mother's name is given as Turtur.

The reason for Tammuz worship appearing in Jerusalem has been debated for some time. Both the Babylonians and the Assyrian revered Tammuz in their pantheons (Moortgat 1949: 93, 122) but neither would have been apt to require worship of this rather minor deity as a political acknowledgment of their rule (McKay 1973: 68–69). It is possible that the cult arrived in Judah without political sanction and it has been suggested that "Tammuz" is used in the text to refer to an indigenous deity (Ringgren 1966: 97), though the latter is unlikely.

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LOWELL K. HANDY

**TANAKH.** The Hebrew name for the entire Hebrew Bible (Old Testament). It is an acronym formed from the initial letters of the titles of each of its three major divisions: TORAH ("Law"), NEBIIM ("Prophets"), and KETUBIM ("Writings").

**TANHUMETH** (PERSON) [Heb *tanḥumet* (תַּנְחֻמֶת)]. A Netophathite, the father of Seraiah who was one of the captains of the Judean forces who join Gedaliah at Mizpeh following the fall of Jerusalem.

Tanhumeth is mentioned in biblical texts only in Jer 40:8 and 2 Kgs 25:23 in connection with the association of his son, Seraiah, with Gedaliah. In contrast to 2 Kgs 25:23 where Tanhumeth is definitely identified as a Netophathite ("Seraiah son of Tanhumeth the Netophathite"), Jer 40:8 reads "Seraiah the son of Tanhumeth, the sons of Ephai the Netophathite." This identifies Ephai, and not Tanhumeth, as a Netophathite. The location of Netophah is not certain, though it is usually thought to be in the vicinity of Bethlehem. Khirbet Bedd Faluh (M.R. 171119), three miles S of Bethlehem, has been proposed (Gray *Kings* OTL, 771).

JOHN M. BRACKE

**TANIS** (PLACE) [Gk *Tanis* (Τανις)]. See ZOAN.

**TANNA, TANNAIM.** Rabbinic sages and scriptural reciters. The name comes from Aram *tannā᾽*, pl. *tănnā᾽îm* from the root *tny*. This term has, by derivation, two basic meanings in the rabbinic tradition. First, it refers to sages of the Mishnaic period. On that account, this period and its texts are termed "tannaitic." Tannaim flourished somewhat before but especially in the century and a half following the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in 70 C.E. Tannaitic rabbanism was a Palestinian movement, but some tannaim were active also in Babylonia (Neusner 1962). The period is customarily divided into five or six generations, with the most prominent tannaim including Akiba, Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, Meir, and Judah Hanasi. Tannaitic traditions are recorded in the Mishnah, the Tosefta, the midrashei halakha, and talmudic baraitot.

Second, the term can refer to the professional repeaters or reciters of the rabbinic schools. Publication during the tannaitic and amoraic periods was oral and depended, therefore, on tannaim who were, for all practical purposes, "living books" (Lieberman 1950: 83–99). Though some written records were kept, these bore no official status. Instead, when the version of a teaching needed to be checked it was the tannaim who were consulted. Accordingly, they were valued for their capacity to memorize, not for their intelligence. Nevertheless, some of the greatest talmudic sages also acted as tannaim for their teachers.

The form of rabbinic traditions reflects the centrality of the oral tannaitic system. Neusner (1985) has shown that the Mishnah employs a very limited number of mnemonic patterns in its composition. The same is true, to a significant extent, of amoraic traditions (Kraemer 1984: 47–148).

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DAVID KRAEMER

**TAPHATH** (PERSON) [Heb *ṭāpat* (טָפַת)]. Daughter of Solomon, wife of Ben-abinadab (1 Kgs 4:11). Taphath is one of two wives mentioned in the list of Solomon's officers (1 Kgs 4:7–19). Her husband, Ben-abinadab, was in charge of Naphath-dor, the fourth district in the list. Only two daughters of Solomon are mentioned in the OT—Taphath and Basemath (1 Kgs 4:15). Both are wives of officials responsible for monthly provisions for the royal table. The inclusion of their names (along with the epithet, "daughter of Solomon") distinguishes their husbands from the other officials in the list and is usually interpreted as indicating their husbands' importance.

LINDA S. SCHEARING

**TAPPUAH** (PERSON) [Heb *tappūaḥ* (תַּפֻּחַ)]. A son of Hebron and a descendant of Caleb (1 Chr 2:43). Some (e.g., Noth *IPN*, 260) see in Tappuah a tribal or family name. The name is presumably to be connected either with Beth-Tappuah (Josh 15:53), modern Taffûḥ (M.R. 154105)—a town over 4 miles W of Hebron in the Judahite hill country—or with Tappuah (v 34), possibly modern Beit Natif (M.R. 149122)—a town in the lowlands of Judah, 12 miles W of Bethlehem. The term *tappûaḥ* means basically "apple, apple tree," but may also have a broader sense. The formula, "x the father of y," in which y is a place name, occurs first in 1 Chr 2:42 and appears often in the subsequent context. The feature looks

striking in its frequency here and its absence from the rest of the OT (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 54). If, as has been suggested, *wbny ḥbrwn* ought to be deleted at the beginning of v 43, then Tappuah and his brothers would have been sons of Mareshah (known otherwise from Josh 15:44 as a chief city in the Shephelah, modern Tell Ṣandaḥannah [M.R. 140111], some 12 miles NW of Hebron). In spite of the textual problems, however, this seems quite unnecessary. The reader may consult the NIV, the NJB, and the RSV to discover other ways of handling these verses. See also TAPPUAH (PLACE).
EDWIN C. HOSTETTER

**TAPPUAH** (PLACE) [Heb *tappûaḥ* (תַּפּוּחַ)]. **1.** A town situated in the N Shephelah, or lowlands, of Judah (Josh 15:34), in the same district as Eshtaol, Socoh, and Azekah. This settlement is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The theory that this list is derived from an administrative roster compiled under the Judean monarchy (Alt 1925) has been widely accepted, although controversy continues over the precise makeup of the districts, the proper context of the town lists of Benjamin and Dan, and the period of the monarchy to which the original roster belongs (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 64–72). Beit Natif (M.R. 149122), a modern village in the Shephelah S of the Nahal Sorek, has sometimes been suggested as a possible candidate (*IDB* 4: 517). See also TAPPUAH (PERSON). While this suggestion fits the geographical requirements, it lacks the necessary archaeological support.

**2.** A town in the hill country of Samaria on the N border of the territory assigned to the tribe of Ephraim (Josh 16:8). In the delineation of the S border of Manasseh we are informed that, although the city of Tappuah belonged to Ephraim, both the land of Tappuah as well as the inhabitants of En-Tappuah belonged to Manasseh (Josh 17:7–8). Alt (*KlSchr* 1: 193–202) has persuasively argued that the border lists of Joshua 15–19 are derived from ancient documents delineating the territorial claims of the tribes during the period of the Judges. This N Tappuah is probably the same as the Canaanite city whose king is said to have been defeated by Joshua and the people of Israel (Josh 12:17). Although the identification is not certain, Sheikh Abu Zarad, located high on a ridge approximately 12 km S of Nablus (M.R. 172168), is a popular and very attractive candidate for Ephraimite Tappuah (*LBHG,* 384).

**3.** According to the RSV, a town in Samaria near Tirzah which was destroyed by Menahem after its people refused to open to him (2 Kgs 2:16). Although the MT reads *tipsah,* the editors of the RSV chose to follow the LXX reading *taphoe,* suggesting that the MT is in error. If this emendation is accepted, then an equation with Ephraimite Tappuah may be possible. However, if we accept the common identification of Tirzah with Tell el-Fara, which lies approximately 22 km NE of Sheikh Abu Zarad, it is difficult to see how Tappuah of Ephraim can be considered to be within the territory of Tirzah (2 Kgs 2:16). Perhaps the MT reading is to be preferred in this case.

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WADE R. KOTTER

**TARALAH** (PLACE) [Heb *tar·ălâ* (תַּרְאֲלָה)]. A town in the tribal allotment of Benjamin (Josh 18:27) which was in the hill country NW of Jerusalem. According to Alt (1925), the S town list, of which Taralah is a part, is an older document incorporated by the Deuteronomist into his history, i.e., the province list of the kingdom of Judah from the time of Josiah. Abel (*GP* 2: 92, 480) gives a possible identification for Taralah as Khirbet Erha, which is below er-Ram to the S, and contained a small village inhabited during the Iron Age (the Israelite period). Press (1948–55) has suggested Khirbet Tililiya, which is to the E of Bet Iksa. The exact location of Taralah, however, remains a mystery.

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SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**TAREA** (PERSON) [Heb *taʿrēaʿ* (תַּאְרֵעַ)]. Var. TAHREA. A Benjaminite, son of Micah, great-great-grandson of King Saul according to 1 Chr 8:35. In the parallel genealogy in 9:41, his name appears as Tahrea *(taḥrēaʿ).* An etymology for either form of the name from Hebrew is unknown, and none of the etymologies proposed from other languages (e.g. Marquart 1902: 350, n. 17 or Rudolph *Chronikbücher* 80) is compelling. The variation between the two forms of the names reflects variation between the gutturals *ʾalep* and *ḥet,* which is attested to elsewhere in Hebrew, especially in the early postbiblical period (Kutscher 1959: 399). The section that lists Micah's children is segmented, listing four children; it is unclear why this segmented note appears in what is generally a linear genealogy. Tarea's line is not the main line, which derives instead from his brother Ahaz. The name appears in the two nearly identical genealogies of Saul's family in 1 Chr 8:33–40 and 1 Chr 9:39–44. This list is from the end of the First Temple period (Demsky 1971: 20), and was preserved by Benjaminite families that survived the Babylonian exile (Williamson 1979: 356). The existence and preservation of the Saulide genealogy probably reflects the continued prominence of Saul's family, and perhaps even their hope that they would return to power (Ackroyd *Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah* TBC, 42; Flanagan 1982: 25). See MELECH. On the repetition of the genealogy in 1 Chr 8 and 9, and its structure within the genealogies in Chronicles, see AHAZ.

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MARC Z. BRETTLER

**TARES.** See FLORA.

**TARGUM, TARGUMIM.** The name given to the Aramaic translations of the Hebrew Bible. "Targum" is the singular form, while the plural is "Targumim."

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A. Terminology
B. Texts
  1. The Pentateuch
  2. The Prophets
  3. The Writings
C. Genre
D. Origin and Context

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**A. Terminology**

In biblical studies a "Targum" is an early Jewish translation of the Bible into Aramaic. The noun *targûm* derives from the quadriliteral root *trgm* which appears early in the Semitic languages (cf. Akkadian *targummanu,* "translator"), and which may have entered Semitic from Indo-European, possibly via Hittite (Rabin 1963: 134–36). The root was primarily used in situations of trade, diplomacy, or administration which called for translation from one language into another, and it is to this context that its one biblical occurrence, Ezra 4:7, relates. The passage is difficult, but the correct interpretation probably is: "the document was written in Aramaic and was to be translated *(ûmĕturgām),"* that is into Persian when it was presented to the king at court; cf. Ezra 4:18, "the document which you sent us has been read in translation (Aram *mĕpāraš*) before me" (Lewy 1954: 175–77).

In rabbinic Hebrew the verb *tirgēm* is used in a restricted sense for translating the Bible from Hebrew into another language, usually Aramaic, but sometimes also Greek (see *y. Qidd.* 59a and *y.Meg.* 71c, where the reference is to Aquila's Greek version). So too, while the noun *targûm* could designate a Bible

translation into any language (*m. Meg.* 2:1; *b. Šabb.* 115a), it normally denotes the Aramaic version used to render orally the Bible lections in synagogue. The synagogue Bible translator was known as the *mĕtûrgĕmān, tûrgĕmān,* or simply as *hammĕtûrgēm* ("he who translates").

Besides its basic sense of "translate," the verb *tirgēm* in rabbinic Hebrew can also mean "to explain" a biblical verse or a mishnah, where the language of the explanation is the same as the language of the original text (Bacher 1905: Pt. II, 242). These two meanings may be illustrated from the Targumim themselves: Neofiti and Pseudo-Jonathan to Gen 42:23 both state that when Joseph feigned ignorance of Hebrew he spoke to his brothers through a *mĕtûrgĕmān* ("translator"); whereas Neofiti to Exod 7:1 calls Aaron the *mĕtûrgĕmān* of Moses when he acted as Moses' spokesman to Pharaoh and the Israelites (cf. *Exod. R.* 8:3). The root *trgm,* then, like Gk *hermēneuō,* Lat *interpretor,* and English "interpret," covered both "translation" and "explanation."

**B. Texts**

Targumim are extant for all the books of the Hebrew Bible except Ezra, Nehemiah, and Daniel.

**1. The Pentateuch. a. Onqelos.** At least since the Middle Ages, *Targum Onqelos* (= *Onq.*) has been widely accepted by Jews as the most authoritative Targum to the Pentateuch. The name derives from *b. Meg.* 3a: "R. Jeremiah (or some say R. Ḥiyya b. Abba) said: The Targum of the Pentateuch was composed by Onqelos the proselyte from the mouth of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua." This tradition is problematic since the parallel in *y. Meg.* 71c speaks of "Aqilas" rather than "Onqelos," and clearly envisages not an *Aramaic* but a *Greek* version of the Pentateuch (the well-known translation of Aquila). Given that "Onqelos" as a corruption of the Latin name "Aquila" is attested elsewhere in rabbinic texts (cf. *t. Dem.* 6:13 with *y. Dem.* 25d), two proposals can be made to resolve the conflict between these two passages. (1) Silverstone (1931) argued that both are correct and that the same man, Aquila, produced both a Greek *and* an Aramaic version of the Pentateuch. To support this argument he suggested that there are significant similarities between the Greek translation of Aquila and *Targum Onqelos.* (2) Alternatively, and more plausibly, Barthélemy (1963: 148–56) argued that the Babylonian tradition is mistaken: the Babylonians simply misunderstood a logion they received from the West and applied it erroneously to an anonymous Aramaic version which was circulating among them.

There is no doubt that *Onq.* was known in Babylonia in the Talmudic era and was held in high esteem there. The Babylonian Talmud refers to it as "our Targum" (*b. Qidd.* 49a), and quotes it some 17 times, usually under the rubric, "as we translate" (e.g. *b. Sanh.* 106b). It cites *Onq.* from time to time as an authority on halakah (legal ruling), and in general *Onq.*'s halakah agrees with the Mishnah, as the Mishnah was understood in the Babylonian schools. Though *Onq.* is in a different dialect from the Babylonian Talmud, its language at certain points (notably in vocalization) shows the influence of eastern Aramaic. The Masorah to *Onq.* was apparently produced in Babylon and includes a list of cases where the readings of the school of Nehardea differs from those of the school of Sura. All of this, coupled with the fact that no clear quotations from *Onq.* have yet been identified in the Jerusalem Talmud or the early midrashim, would seem to point to Babylonia as *Onq.*'s place of origin (Kahle 1959; Díez Macho 1973).

However, there are good grounds for believing that *Onq.* in fact originated in Palestine. (1) Although the most literal of the Pentateuchal Targumim, *Onq.* still contains considerable quantities of aggada (homily), often in an abbreviated and allusive form (Vermes 1975: 127–38; Bowker 1967; Melamed 1978, Vol. 1: 150–280). This aggada is usually attested in Palestinian sources, and, indeed, can often be found more fully and clearly expressed in the corresponding passages of the Palestinian Targumim. *Onq.,* for the most part, represents a distinctively Palestinian tradition of exegesis similar to that found in the Palestinian Targumim. (2) The western elements in the dialect of *Onq.* are much stronger than the eastern, and extend beyond the vocalization deep into the grammar and vocabulary. *Onq.*'s Aramaic is very similar to that of the *Genesis Apocryphon* from Qumran (Kutscher 1965: 9–11). Basically *Onq.* is written in a literary *koinē,* for which the name "Standard Literary Aramaic" has been proposed (Greenfield 1974), which was in use among Jews in the late Second Temple period. Though, as the name implies, Standard Literary Aramaic was not a localized vernacular, *Onq.*'s use of the dialect is strongly colored by *western* features. The fact that Standard Literary Aramaic was increasingly supplanted for literary purposes after the Bar

Kokhba war by the local western spoken Aramaic dialects (found in the Palestinian Targumim and in the Palestinian Talmud) strongly suggests that *Onq.* originated in Palestine in the 1st or early 2d centuries C.E.

This early Palestinian version of *Onq.* (= proto-*Onq.*) was taken to Babylonia, where it became the official Targum. It is probable the Babylonians did more than simply transmit the text they had received from the West: they subjected it to thorough revision. This revision was aimed at shortening the more expansive proto-*Onq.* into closer conformity to the underlying Hebrew (hence *Onq.*'s truncated, allusive aggadot), and at producing a standard text. The Babylonians created a Masorah for the Targum (Faur 1966) and imposed upon it their own tradition of vocalization. The Babylonian redaction of *Onq.* probably took place in the 4th or 5th centuries C.E. The argument that it must be dated before 259 C.E. because the Masorah to *Onq.* contains readings of the school of Nehardea which was destroyed in that year, is unsafe: the name "Nehardea" was applied to the successor school of Pumbeditha down to the Middle Ages. Though the text of *Onq.* is very stable, compared to that of the Palestinian Targumim, it is by no means uniform. Sperber (1973: 3–5) drew attention to doublets within the textual tradition of *Onq.* (and *Tg. Jonathan* to the Prophets) and argued that they pointed to the existence of two "schools of translators." The Babylonian recension of *Onq.* appears to be best represented by certain Yemenite mss with supralinear pointing, e.g. mss 131 (EMC 952), 133a (ENA 1705), 152 (ENA 80), and 153 (EMC 48) of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, and Ms. Ebr. 448 of the Vatican Library.

As the Babylonian Gaonate increased in influence in the early Middle Ages the Babylonian *Onq.* was carried back to the West. Possibly the earliest reference to it in Western literature is *Pirqê dĕRabbî Eliezer* 38 (8th/9th cent. C.E.). Its return to its place of origin had a profound effect on the development of the indigenous Palestinian Targumim. It is premature to assume that *Onq.* had entirely disappeared from Palestine between, say, the 2d and the 8th cent. C.E., despite the lack of clear references to it in Tannaitic and Amoraic literature. There are certain mss and early printed editions of *Onq.* with Tiberian vocalization which have a much more Palestinian character than the standard Babylonian recension (note, e.g., the aberrant text partially published by Jahn in 1800). These texts may simply represent late contamination of the Babylonian *Onq.* resulting from its being copied in the West by scribes who knew the Palestinian Targumim. However, the possibility cannot at this stage be ruled out that some may be forms of *Onq.* predating the arrival of the Babylonian recension in the West, and are direct Palestinian descendants of proto-*Onq.* It is also possible that the *Onq.* element in Pseudo-Jonathan preserves traces of a Palestinian form of *Onq.*

**b. Pseudo-Jonathan.** By publishing it as "Targum Jonathan ben Uzziel to the Torah," the *editio princeps* attributed this work to the supposed author of the "official" Targum to the Prophets. However, since Zunz (1892: 71) it has generally been accepted that the title is a misnomer which arose from the false resolution of the abbreviation T"Y as *Targûm Yĕhônātān* instead of *Targûm Yĕrûšalmî.* References to a "Targum Jonathan to the Torah" can be traced back no earlier that the 14th-century Italian Qabbalist Menaḥem Recanati. The work is fundamentally a Palestinian Targum, and its correct medieval designation was *"Targûm Yĕrûšalmî*"or *"Targûm ʾEreṣ Yiśrāʾēl."*Although in modern scholarly literature it is frequently referred to as *"Targûm Yĕrûšalmî* I" [= TY I/TJ I] in contrast to *"Targûm Yĕrûšalmî* II" [= TY II/TJ II], which denotes the remaining recensions of the Palestinian Targum, the title "Pseudo-Jonathan" is perhaps to be preferred as being less tendentious and confusing.

Two text witnesses for *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* (= *Ps.-J.*) are extant: the *editio princeps*, which was prepared for the press by Asher Forins and appeared on Venice in 1591; and Ms Add. 27,031 of the British Library, London. This Italian ms has no colophon, but belongs to the 16th century. The censor Dominico Gierosolimitano has signed and dated it 1598. The ms, though textually very close to the printed edition, is not its exemplar. The Targum covers the whole of the Pentateuch, except for a few verses (the identical verses being missing in both text-witnesses).

*Ps.-J.* is the most expansive of the Pentateuchal Targumim, and is roughly twice the length of the original Hebrew text. It is a highly complex document which combines traditions from widely different periods. Alleged "late" elements include references to the six orders of the Mishnah (Exod 26:9; 36:16), to the 613 commandments (Exod 24:12), to a wife and daughter of Muḥammad (Gen 21:21), to

Constantinople and Rome (Num 24:19–24), to "Edom" and "Ishmael" as representatives respectively of Christendom and of the Islamic world. None of these examples of lateness is as decisive as is sometimes supposed. For example, the 613 commandments are already mentioned in the Talmuds (*y. Šeqal.* 25a and *b. Makk.* 23b). And the "little apocalypse" in *Ps.-J.* Num 24:19–24 which refers to Constantinople and Rome, while it undoubtedly recalls early medieval apocalyptic texts such as the *Book of Zerubbabel* and the *Prayer of R. Simeon b. Yoḥai*, basically belongs to a genre of literature which goes back in Judaism to the Second Temple period. A similar passage in *Targum Lamentations* 4:21–22 speaks of the "Parthians" *(Parkĕwāʾē)* devastating Rome, which *prima facie* suggests a tradition originating before 224 C.E., when the Parthian empire came to an end. However, despite these caveats, there is a consensus that *Ps.-J.*, in the form in which it now stands, cannot have been redacted before the 7th/8th cent. C.E.

Counterbalancing the "late" elements in *Ps.-J.* are elements which appear to be "early." Among these the invocation against the "enemies of Yoḥanan the high priest" (Deut 33:11) has engendered considerable discussion. There is little doubt that "Yoḥanan"here is John Hyrcanus (134–104 B.C.E.), but whether the tradition itself, or the Targum at this point, goes back to the Second Temple period is much less certain. In Talmudic and post-Talmudic times there was some interest in the Hasmonaeans, as the *Scroll of Antiochus* and the *Book of Josippon* show (cf. also *b. Roš Haš.* 18b: "In the year so-and-so of Yoḥanan, high priest of the most high God"). More convincing evidence for an early component in *Ps.-J.* is the fact that it contains a number of translations that are expressly censured in rabbinic literature, sometimes as early as the Mishnah (Exod 12:8 in *y. Bik.* 65d; Lev 6:7 in *y. Bik.* 65d; Lev 18:21 in *m. Meg.* 3:10; Lev 22:28 in *y. Bik.* 9c; Deut 14:5 in *y. Kil.* 18c; Deut 26:4 in *y. Bik.* 65d) (McNamara 1966: 46–56, 134–38). These translations are scattered throughout the Targum and are part of its running text. It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that a stratum of *Ps.-J.* must have originated before the redaction of the Mishnah and the Yerushalmi Talmud. Further proof that *Ps.-J.* incorporates early material emerges from a number of detailed analyses of specific passages and themes, which, in the context of a thorough tradition history, show that *Ps.-J.*'s interpretation at times correlates with the earlier stages of the tradition (Vermes 1975: 92–126; Kuiper 1972; Schäfer 1971–72; 8–29; Alexander 1988: 243–47).

A major problem is *Ps.-J.*'s relationship to *Onq.* At numerous points *Ps.-J.* agrees with the text of *Onq.* to an extent that precludes accidental similarity. *Ps.-J.* regularly has doublets in which one element corresponds to *Onq.*, while the other appears to represent a Palestinian Targum (= PT) (see, e.g., Gen 3:5; 4:13; 8:11; 27:29; Exod 1:19; Lev 16:4; Num 26:9; Deut 5:3). The whole text of *Ps.-J.* can be resolved into three basic components: (1) PT material; (2) *Onq.* material; and (3) midrashic material unique to *Ps.-J.* (i.e., not found in *Onq.* or the other PT recensions), but often paralleled in *Pirqe R. El.* or other late rabbinic sources. There are two ways of accounting for *Ps.-J.*'s distinctive character. One is to suppose that *Ps.-J.* has attempted in a rather systematic way to combine a PT with *Onq.* This could have happened in Palestine in the early Middle Ages when the influence of the Babylonian *Onq.* was being felt in the West. In the interests of preserving *both* traditions a redactor created a text which effectively fused them. To this basic text he added, on his own account, a number of aggadot drawn from late midrashic sources. An alternative explanation would be to suppose that *Ps.-J.* and the Babylonian recension of *Onq.* are independently derived from a common source. If the Babylonian *Onq.* goes back to an old Palestinian Targum which originated before the Bar Kokhba war, then it is at least theoretically possible that *Ps.-J.* descends directly from that old Targum (it is a matter of nuance whether we designate *Ps.-J.*'s source "the old PT," or "proto-*Ps.-J.*" or "proto-*Onq.*"). This model would account for the puzzling fact that just as the PT element in *Ps.-J.* does not correspond precisely with the other extant recensions of the PT, so its *Onq.* element does not always correspond precisely with the extant witnesses of the Babylonian *Onq. Ps.-J.*, then, may preserve not only a distinctive recension of the PT (a fact generally acknowledged), but an independent Palestinian recension of the *Onq.* tradition as well. On this explanation *Ps.-J.* can be seen as the ultimate stage in the evolution of the PT, which in its latest strata betrays the influence of early medieval midrash.

**c. Codex Neofiti 1.** This Vatican Library ms, wrongly catalogued in 1892 as "Targum Onqelos," was identified in 1956 by Díez Macho as a recension of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch. Its

Palestinian provenance, indicated clearly by the title inscribed on the first folio *(Targûm, Ḥumaš Yĕrûšalmî),* is confirmed by its affinities to the other recensions of the PT (notably the Fragmentary Targum and the Cairo Genizah fragments) and by its dialect, a form of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic close to the Galilean dialect of the Jerusalem Talmud. The main text, which is written in three different hands, contains a colophon stating that it was completed in Rome in (5)264 AM = 1504 C.E. Some 30 verses are missing, for a variety of reasons, and a further 150 contain lacunae or censor's excisions. Numerous glosses have been added by a variety of hands between the lines and in the margins. Though some of these are corrections of manifest scribal errors, the majority contain variant readings and indicate that the main text has on several occasions been collated with other Targum mss. The interlinear glosses, which are largely grammatical in character, often agree with *Onq.;* the marginal sometimes correspond to *Ps.-J.*, but mainly to Fragmentary Targum and to the Cairo Genizah fragments. Some appear to contain readings which are attested nowhere else (Clarke 1972; Lund and Foster 1977).

Widely different dates have been proposed for *Neof.*, ranging from "pre-Christian" times to the Renaissance. Goshen-Gottstein (1975) has presented the best case for a very late date. He argues that certain Targum texts may have been edited at the time of the Renaissance to purge them of midrashic expansions and to bring them into closer conformity with the underlying Hebrew, the literal, philological meaning of which was the main concern of Renaissance scholarship. This editorial activity may have produced the so-called "Third Targum" to Esther. Very late editorial activity on the Targumim should not be ruled out, but it cannot totally explain the phenomenon of *Neof.* Though *Neof.* is not as expansive as *Ps.-J.*, it is still an expansive Targum, and at numerous points the "editors" missed an obvious opportunity to excise midrashic additions. Moreover, as Speier (1966–67; 1969–70) has shown, *Neof.* agrees with PT quotations in the *ʿArûk* of Nathan ben Yeḥiel of Rome (died 1106) where these cannot be paralleled in other recensions of the PT, so there is evidence for the existence of *Neof.* well before the Renaissance. By way of contrast, Díez Macho (1959) has presented the case for a "pre-Christian" origin for *Neof.* He has argued, e.g., that certain "anti-Mishnaic" halakot in *Neof.* must be "pre-Mishnaic," and he has detected at various points in *Neof.* a non-Masoretic *Vorlage.* Díez Macho's arguments are far from conclusive, though he, and others, have successfully shown that *Neof.* appears to contain early material. In fact, there is no reason why, in principle, Díez Macho *and* Goshen-Gottstein cannot both basically be right. The literary character of *Neof.* is similar to that of *Ps.-J.:* it is a text which has evolved over a very long period of time. Analysis suggests that underlying *Neof.* is a base text which applies certain standard exegetical procedures and employs certain standard equivalents for the original Hebrew, but that this text has been glossed and reworked over a considerable period of time. Sometimes several layers of glosses can ble differentiated with reasonable certainty (Levy 1986). Though there is evidence of "post-Mishnaic" editing of *Neof.* (e.g., it tries to reflect the Rabbinic rules regarding the Forbidden Targumim), it is not marked by any of the very late elements that feature in *Ps.-J.* It probably represents on the whole an older recension of PT than *Ps.-J.* There are no good grounds for dating anything in *Neof.* later than the 3d/4th cent. C.E.

**d. Fragmentary Targum.** The texts belonging to the Fragmentary Targum (= FT) fall into at least five groups (Klein 1980): (1) Ms.P = Hébr. 110, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (589 verses of the Pentateuch). (2) Ms.V = Ebr. 440, Vatican Library (908 verses);Ms.L = B.H. fol.1, Universitätsbibliothek, Leipzig (293 verses); Ms.N = Solger 2,2°, Stadtbibliothek, Nürnberg (833 verses)—the exemplar for the *editio princeps* in Bomberg's *Biblia Rabbinica,* Venice 1516–17. To this group belong also Ms.M = Ms 3 of the Günzburg Collection, Moscow (probably copied from N) and Ms.S = Ms 264 of the Sassoon Collection (probably copied from Bomberg), which has supralinear vocalization. (3) Ms.B = Or. 10794, British Library, London (Deut 1:1–5:9). (4) Ms.C = T-S AS 72.75, 76, 77, University Library, Cambridge (Deut 23:15–28:5; 32:35–33:9). (5) Ms.J = Ms 605 (ENA 2587), Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York (Exod 14:1, 13, 14, 29–31; 15:1–2; 17:15–16; 19:1–8). The manuscripts differ greatly in content, and even where they overlap display numerous variant readings. It is not possible to derive the five groups stemmatically from a common archetype. Nevertheless, they share certain characteristics which suggest that they are interrelated and form a distinct type of Targum. All the mss give a Palestinian Targum in western Aramaic. The incompleteness of FT is, apparently, deliberate, and not due to accidents

of transmission, as is the case with the Cairo Genizah Fragments. FT represents a broadly uniform tradition of Bible exegesis, and typologically stands somewhere between *Neof.* and *Ps.-J.* The major differences between the mss relate to length. They can partly be reconciled by observing that for the most part (though not invariably; Ms.B is idiosyncratic) the longer forms of FT contain the verses found in the shorter forms. Some shorter forms may, therefore, be abbreviations of the longer, and may result from a further application of the principle which created FT in the first place, viz., the desire to produce—for whatever reason—a Targum which covered only selected verses of the Pentateuch.

It is usually argued that FT-texts have been excerpted from originally complete Palestinian Targumim. (Shinan [1979: 108–10] less plausibly supposes that the FT-texts are the seeds from which the full Palestinian Targumim eventually grew.) But why should anyone create a truncated Targum? Though FT may represent a set of random Palestinian glosses derived from a variety of sources, a more satisfactory explanation is to suppose that, like the Targumic Toseftot (see below), it arose at a time when *Onq.* was establishing itself in the West as the "official" Targum, and displacing the indigenous Palestinian Targumim. Rather than simply discard the PT, certain scribes collated against *Onq.* a number of rather similar versions of the PT (not identical to any of the extant full recensions), and so created shortened forms of the PT to supplement *Onq.* These incomplete Targums recorded those elements of the complete text which were considered most worthy of preservation. Much of PT's aggada was preserved. It is noticeable that the sections of the Pentateuch missing from the longest recensions of FT are usually translated more or less literally in one of the other recensions of the PT, thus suggesting that they were literal also in FT's exemplars. However, the desire to preserve PT's aggada cannot have been the only motive, for there is a small but significant proportion of FT which offers a more or less "literal" version of the original. The precise reasons for preserving these "literal" renderings in tandem with *Onq.* probably varies from case to case. The selection may sometimes have been governed by subjective considerations no longer recoverable. In general, however, the phenomenon should be seen within the broad setting of medieval Jewish scholarly activity (well documented in *Neof.* and in *Targum Job*) which was prepared to record even minor variations between one Targum text and another. It is not possible to put any kind of precise date on FT, but it probably represents a recension or recensions of the PT earlier than *Ps.-J.* but later than *Neof.*

**e. Cairo Genizah Fragments.** Seven fragmentary copies of Pentateuchal Targumim—mss A, B, C, D, E, G, X in Klein's nomenclature (1986: XXII)—have been published from the Cairo Genizah collections. B, C, D give the Hebrew verse in full; A, E, H, Z quote only lemmata. It is not certain how extensive the original texts were. D, which preserves parts of Genesis, Exodus, and Deuteronomy, presumably once covered the whole of the Pentateuch. B, C, E, H, Z contain fragments of Genesis, and A contains fragments of Exodus. According to Beit Arié the dates of the mss range from 8th to 14th century (Klein 1986: XXXVII), which makes them among the earliest witnesses to the Targum. They are particularly valuable from a linguistic point of view since they represent a relatively pure dialect of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic (Kutscher 1976: 3–4). They are typical PT texts, alternating aggadic passages with literal translation. They do not agree precisely with any of the other extant PT recensions, nor with each other, where they overlap.

**f. Toseftot.** In certain mss of *Onq.*, sometimes in the text (Ms. Parma 3218), sometimes in the margin (Ms. Sassoon 282), sometimes gathered together at the end of a biblical book (*Biblia Hebraica,* Lisbon 1491, end of Exodus), aggadic passages are to be found labelled "Tosefta" or "Tosefta Yerushalmi" (Sperber 1959: XVII–XVIII). Separate collections of such Toseftot are also extant (Ms. Heb.c.74, Bodleian Library, Oxford; Ms. T-S NS 184.81, Cambridge University Library: see Klein 1986, 1: XXVII). Most of the Toseftot, including those in the independent collections, are to greater or lesser degree linguistically mixed and contain elements of both the dialect of *Onq.* and of the PT. The most plausible explanation of the Toseftot is that they are extracts from complete copies of the PT made after *Onq.* had become the standard Targum in the West. They illustrate the concern to preserve Palestinian aggadot and to embellish the drier, more literal style of *Onq.* An attempt was made (not always successfully) to recast them from their original PT dialect into the *Onq.* dialect, presumably in the

interests of stylistic uniformity. There is also another possibility, which, though less likely, may explain some cases. Given the history of *Onq.* outlined above, some Toseftot may represent the more expansive old Palestinian *Onq.* (proto-*Onq.*), before it was revised in Babylon to bring it into closer conformity to the Hebrew text. The Western features of the language could then be seen as secondary—the result of the transmission after ca. 200 C.E. of proto-*Onq.* in a linguistic milieu where western Aramaic dialects had become the norm.

**2. The Prophets. a. Jonathan.** *Targum Jonathan* (= *Jon.*) derives its name from *b. Meg.* 3a which states that "the Targum of the Prophets was composed by Jonathan b. Uzziel from the mouth of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi." Elsewhere Jonathan b. Uzziel is placed among the pupils of Hillel (*b. Sukk.* 28a; *b. B. Bat.* 134a; *ʾAbot R. Nat.* A14, 29a). Barthélemy (1963: 150ff) has suggested that the tradition in *b. Meg.* 3a, which is given in the name of two Palestinian authorities of the 3d century (R. Jeremiah and R. Ḥiyya b. Abba), originally referred to the Greek translation of Theodotion (= Jonathan). It was misapplied in Babylonia to an anonymous Aramaic version of the Prophets (cf. the Aquila/Onqelos problem discussed above). An alternative Babylonian tradition cites *Jon.* under the rubric "as Rab Joseph translates" (*b. Pesah* 68a = *Tg. Isa.* 5:17; *b. B. Bat.* 3b = *Tg. Obad.* 6; *b. Yoma* 32b = *Tg. Jer.* 46:20). Rab Joseph b. Ḥiyya (ca. 270–333 C.E.) was head of the Academy of Pumbeditha.

*Jon.*'s character and history are similar to *Onq.*'s. In grammar its Aramaic dialect is the same as *Onq.*'s (though there are curious differences in lexicon). As with *Onq.*, a great deal of aggada has been discreetly worked into *Jon.*, but it is generally not expansive. Any expansion that does occur tends to be found, as in *Onq.*, in poetic passages (see, e.g., Judges 5; 1 Sam 2:1–10). Since poetry forms a greater proportion of the Prophets than of the Pentateuch, the general complexion of *Jon.* appears slightly more aggadic than *Onq. Jon.*'s renderings are consistent across the whole second division of the canon, and stock phrases recur at different points where they fail to reflect precisely the underlying Hebrew (cf. e.g., *Tg. Jer.* 8:16 and *Tg. Hos.* 10:5, *Tg. Jer.* 8:21, 14:2, *Tg. Nah.* 2:11, and *Tg. Joel* 2:6; *Tg. Judg.* 20:16, *Tg. Jer.* 10:18 and *Tg. Zech.* 9:15). Parallel passages are rendered in the same way (cf. 2 Kings 18–20 and Isaiah 36–39; Isa 2:2–4 and Mic 4:1–4). There are links between *Jon.*'s rendering of the *hapṭārôt* and the corresponding Torah passages in *Onq.* (cf. Judg 5:8 and Deut 32:17; Judg 5:26 and Deut 22:5; 1 Sam 12:3 and Num 16:15; 2 Kgs 14:6 and Deut 22:5; Jer 48:45f and Num 21:45f). This would not be surprising if the suggestion is correct that the Targum of the Prophets grew from an Aramaic version of the *hapṭārôt,* which would naturally be influenced by the already extant renderings of the matching Torah lections.

*Jon.* was held as authoritative in Babylonia even in matters of halakah. The Babylonian Talmud introduces a number of quotations from it with the formula: "Were it not for the Targum of this verse we would not know what it means" (*b. Ber.* 28b; *b. Moʿed Qaṭ* 28b; *b. Meg.* 3a; *b. Sanh.* 94b). *Jon.*'s uniformity suggests that it was subjected at some point to an official redaction. From the Babylonian Talmud quotations of *Jon.* it may be deduced that this took place in Babylonia in the 4th/5th century C.E., at the same time as the Babylonian redaction of *Onq.* That Babylonian redaction is probably now best preserved in Yemenite mss with supralinear pointing such as Ms 229 (EMC 105), Jewish Theological Seminary of America, and Mss Or. 2210 and 2211, British Library, London.

Despite its Babylonian redaction, *Jon.* (like *Onq.*) originated in Palestine. This is indicated by its essentially Judean dialect (Tal 1975), and by its aggadot which have strong affinities with Palestinian tradition (Hayward 1987: 5). Attempts to show that it contains very early aggada (e.g., *Jon.*'s Messianic interpretation of Mic 5:1–3 must be pre-Christian [Díez Macho 1959: 226f]) are not always convincing. It is debated whether any remnants of the pre-Babylonian *Jon.* still survive. *Jon.* is extant in a number of Western mss with Tiberian pointing, and some of these (e.g. Codex Reuchlinianus of the Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe) differ significantly from the text in the Yemenite mss. It is unclear whether this Western recension represents a Palestinian phase of *Jon.* predating the Babylonian recension, or a case of the standard Babylonian recension being contaminated by the lost PT to the Prophets, subsequent to *Jon.* being brought (with *Onq.*) from Babylonia to the West.

**b. Toseftot.** Toseftot are extant for *Jon.* (just as they are for *Onq.*), sometimes written in the margins of the mss, sometimes inserted into the running text. Around 80 are found in Codex Reuchlinianus (Sperber

siglum f): note, e.g. the long aggadic addition relating to the Aqedah at Isa 33:7. They are also frequent in Ms p 116 of Jews' College, London (Sperber siglum c), and in the early edition of the Prophets printed at Leiria, 1494 (Sperber siglum d): see 1 Sam 17:39, 43; 18:19; 2 Sam 12:12; 1 Kgs 5:11; 22:21, 22; 2 Kgs 4:1, 6, 7 in Sperber's edition (1959). Qimḥi in his commentaries cites a number of these additions under the rubric "Targum of the Tosefta." In the mss, however, they are commonly designated "Targ[um] Yerush[almi]," or "Tosefta of the Land of Israel." It is very likely that the Toseftot to *Jon.* originated in the same way as the Toseftot to *Onq.* They are remnants of a once complete Palestinian Targum (or Targums) to the Prophets, which were preserved to supplement *Jon.* when the Babylonian recension of the latter began to predominate in the West. The surviving Toseftot appear to correspond with *hapṭārôt* for the Sabbath and festival lections. Many have been recast in the dialect of *Jon.*, but some have preserved a more PT Aramaic coloring.

**3. The Writings.** There is no official Targum of the Writings. According to *b. Meg.* 3a Jonathan b. Uzziel wanted to provide one, but was reqtrained by a heavenly voice because the date of the Messiah is foretold in the Writings. Medieval writers usually quote the Targumim of the Writings as "Targum Yerushalmi." The view that they originated in Palestine is, on the whole, borne out by their language and aggada. However, *Masseket Sōpĕrîm* 13:6 introduces *2 Tg. Esth.* 3:1 with the words "Rab Joseph translated." This is the same Rab Joseph b. Ḥiyya, head of the Academy of Pumbeditha, to whom certain Babylonian sources attributed the Targum to the Prophets. The Targumim of the Writings fall textually into two groups: (1) the Five Scrolls (Lamentations, Canticles, Ruth, Qohelet, Esther); and (2) Job, Psalms, Proverbs, and Chronicles. The Five Scrolls are extant in both Yemenite and Western mss, and in *Tg. Lam.* and *Tg. Cant.* the Yemenite mss present a quite different recension of the text from the Western. In *Tg. Ruth* and *Tg. Qoh* the distinction is not so clear. In *Tg. Esth.* the situation is totally confused. It is possible there was once a distinctive Yemenite recension of the Targum for each of the Five Scrolls, but in three of them (Ruth, Qohelet, and Esther) it has been contaminated to varying degrees at a fairly late date by the Western recension. In the Yemen, the Five Scrolls were read at five different festivals throughout the liturgical year—Canticles at Pesaḥ, Ruth at Šabu‹ot, Qohelet at Sukkot, Esther at Purim, and Lamentations at the 9th of Ab. Canticles, Ruth, and Qohelet are read with Targum. The link between Esther and Purim is, of course, very old, but it is debated how early the other Scrolls were associated with their festivals. The Talmud does not mention any connection. It is not unlikely, however, that in some cases the connection was early enough to have influenced the Targum. Note, e.g., how the Exodus is a major theme of *Tg. Cant. Tg. Job* and *Tg. Ps.* are very close. *Tg. Prov.* and *Tg. Chr.* stand on their own.

**a. Job.** Some 14 mss of *Targum Job* (= *Tg. Job*) are known, of which Ms Ee 5.9, University Library, Cambridge, is, perhaps, the best. All mss are of Western provenance and represent four different recensions of the text (Vallina 1980; Stec 1989). One of *Tg. Job*'s most distinctive features (affecting all its recensions to greater or lesser degree) is multiple translation: two, sometimes three or even four, different translations of a verse, or substantial part of a verse, are presented, under the rubric *targûm ›aḥēr* or *lāšôn ›aḥēr.* Approximately 50 verses are treated in this way. Bacher (1871) attributed the alternative Targumim to a glossator of *Tg. Job* living in the 8th or 9th cent. C.E., who, dissatisfied with the midrashic-aggadic renderings of certain verses, made more literal versions which he inserted into the text as the first Targum. He then recorded the original translation as *targûm ›aḥēr*. Thus Bacher explained the fact that the first Targum tends to be literal, and the second aggadic. But this hypothesis fails to explain why in some cases both first and second Targumim are more or less literal, or why numerous aggadic verses have been left untouched by the glossator. A more plausible solution is to suppose that *Tg. Job* as we now have it represents a series of scholarly "editions" which result from scribes collating various mss and recording the substantial variants. Such scholarly interest in collecting variant readings is attested elsewhere in the Targumim (e.g., *Neof.* 1). The four recensions and the multiple translations bear witness to the textual fluidity and complexity of *Tg. Job.* This complexity suggests that it evolved over a considerable period of time. Though textually unrelated to the Rabbinic Targum of Job, 11QTgJob from Qumran shows that translation of Job into Aramaic had begun already in Second Temple times. Also, *t. Šabb.* 13:2–3 (cf. Šabb. 15c; *b. Šabb.* 115a) records a story about Rabban Gamliel immuring a copy of a Targum of Job in

the 1st century C.E. There are a number of non-Masoretic readings implied in *Tg. Job* (e.g. 31:18; 33:17). They may point to the presence of an early stratum of material. Bacher (1871) suggested the *Tg. Job* originated in Palestine in the 4th or 5th cent. C.E., but this is little more than a guess. Linguistically *Tg. Job* is mixed: it has strong affinities to the language of PT to the Pentateuch, but it also contains elements of eastern Aramaic as well. For long sections it is literal (e.g., chaps. 19–23 and 32–33), but it does have a considerable number of expansions and non-literal renderings (e.g. 5:12–13; further Weiss 1979: 235–87).

**b. Psalms.** In language, style, exegesis, and textual type *Targum Psalms* (= *Tg. Ps*) is very similar to *Tg. Job:* both Targumim have gone through a parallel process of transmission and probably originated in the same milieu. Díez Merino (1982) has published a Spanish tradition of this Targum, represented by Ms.116–Z–40 of the Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense, Madrid (= No.5 in the catalogue of Villa-Amil and Castro), which was prepared for use in the Complutensian Polyglot by Alfonso de Zamora, but no comprehensive critical edition is available. *Tg. Ps.*, however, is found in the same Western mss as *Tg. Job* (including Cambridge Ee. 5.9), and is likely to reflect the same four recensions. Multiple Targumim are less frequent (only some 21 verses in all are involved), but are more common in the mss than in the standard printed editions. Aggada is also less extensive, but tends to agree with Palestinian tradition. There are some notable cases of historicizing exegesis, where the words of the Psalm are contextualized in the sacred history (see e.g., Ps 9:6–7;91; 118)—a device used throughout the *Tg. Cant.* As with *Tg. Job*, the complexity of the textual tradition means that little can be said with certainty about the date of *Tg. Ps.* It does imply a non-Masoretic *Vorlage* at a number of points. For example, the Madrid ms translates MT's *ʾôr zāruʿ* in Ps 97:11 by *nĕhôr dĕnaḥ* ("light has shined") in agreement with LXX and Peshitta. (The reading of the Targum in Bomberg's edition—*nĕhôr dĕnaḥ ûmittamar* ["light has shined and is preserved"]—represents a secondary attempt to conform the Targum to MT.) Such non-Masoretic readings are a sign of early material. *Tg. Ps.* 22:1, *ʾēlî ʾēlî* [v 1. *ʾĕlāhî ʾelāhî*] *mĕṭûl mah šĕbaqtānî*, is close to Jesus' words on the cross (Mark 15:34; Matt 27:46) which some have claimed as evidence of a Targum of the Psalms in the 1st century C.E. But not too much should be made of this since both the Targum and the NT give the obvious Aramaic translation of the Hebrew. All that can safely be deduced from the reference to Rome and Constantinople in *Tg. Ps.* 108:11 is that the Targum of this verse cannot have arisen before Constantinople was founded as the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire. It should be noted, however, that some text-witnesses omit the reference to Constantinople.

**c. Proverbs.** *Targum Proverbs* (= *Tg. Prov.*), though commonly grouped with *Tg. Job* and *Tg. Ps.*, differs from these Targumim in two significant ways. First, it is almost totally literal, and avoids midrashic interpretation even when such interpretation might reasonably be expected: e.g., in 8:22ff. it makes no attempt to exploit the rich Rabbinic traditions which identify wisdom with Torah and which give Torah a role in the creation of the world (see FT Gen 1:1; *Gen. R.* 1:1; further Komlosh 1973: 72). None of the Rabbinic exegeses of Proverbs collected in Midrash Proverbs is reflected anywhere in *Tg. Prov.* Second, in 300 verses out of 915 *Tg. Prov.* is verbally identical to Peshitta Proverbs, and on a number of occasions it agrees with the Peshitta against the MT (e.g., 1:7; 4:26; 5:9; 7:22–23; 9:11; 12:19; 16:4, 25), though it should also be noted that there are instances where it agrees with MT *against the Peshitta* (Maybaum 1871: 89 fn). The Aramaic of *Tg. Prov.* is a curious mixed dialect: e.g., it has the 3d masc. sing./plur. impf. of the verb with prefixed /*n*/ (as in Syriac and Babylonian Jewish Aramaic) and with prefixed /*y*/ (as in *Onq.* and PT dialects) (see 9:11). Some of its linguistic features, such as *gyr* instead of *ʾry/ʾrwm* (29:19), appear to be clear "Syriacisms."

Two main theories have been advanced to account for these facts: (1) *Tg. Prov.* is a reworking of the Peshitta Proverbs. In other parts of the Bible it is normally thought that significant agreement between Peshitta and Targum is evidence of the latter's influence on the former, not vice versa, but there is nothing intrinsically improbable in the suggestion that a Jewish scholar, wanting to create a Targum for Proverbs, saved himself some trouble by adapting and, rather inconsistently, revising a Christian Aramaic version. If this theory is correct, then *Tg. Prov.* is a late work, and its non–Masoretic readings have simply been taken over, presumably unnoticed, from the Peshitta. Its dialect is a totally artificial mixture of Jewish Aramaic and Syriac, created by patchy reworking of the Peshitta into more standard Targumic forms of

Aramaic. (2) According to the second theory, Peshitta Proverbs is derived from *Tg. Prov.*, or (more subtly) both Peshitta and Targum draw on a common earlier Jewish source. This theory, which follows the usual lines of influence between Targum and Peshitta, implies that *Tg. Prov.*, or the Ur-Targum that lies behind *Tg. Prov.* and the Peshitta, is a relatively early work based on a non-Masoretic *Vorlage.* The "Syriacisms" might be explained by supposing that *Tg. Prov.*, or the Ur-Targum, was composed somewhere in the East, perhaps for use in the Jewish community of Nisibis, or some other center in N Mesopotamia, where the local Aramaic dialect would have been close to classical Syriac. In transmission, however, the eastern Aramaic of this text was modified quite heavily, but unsystematically, to make it conform to "normal" Targumic Aramaic. *Tg. Prov.* is extant in most of the mss that contain *Tg. Job* and *Tg. Ps.* Until its textual tradition has been fully investigated and clarified there is no solid basis on which to decide between these competing theories.

**d. Lamentations.** Two recensions of *Targum Lamentations (Tg. Lam.)* are extant—one in the Yemenite mss (e.g., Or. 1476, Or. 2377 and Or. 2375, British Library, London), the other in the Western mss (e.g., Codex Urbinas 1 [= Urb.Ebr.1, Vatican Library] and Héb. 110, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). The Western recension is longer than the Yemenite, and usually gives a better text. However, the supralinear vowelling of the Yemenite mss (which derives from the Babylonian tradition of reading the text) is linguistically more coherent than the Tiberian vowelling of the Western manuscripts (van der Heide 1981; Alexander 1986). The two recensions are not self-contained: some of the later Yemenite mss appear to have been contaminated by the Western tradition. *Tg. Lam.* is very expansive, the aggadic additions tending to cluster toward the beginning of the work. It shares many exegetical traditions with *Lamentations Rabba,* which is generally regarded as one of the oldest of the midrashim, but it is hard to say whether *Tg. Lam.* drew on the midrash or vice versa. Linguistically *Tg. Lam.* is a mixture of PT and *Onq.* Aramaic: *ḥzˀ* (= *Onq.*) occurs 19 times as against 4 occurrences of *ḥmˀ* (= PT). *Tg. Lam.* 4:21, "Rejoice and be glad, Constantinople, city of wicked Edom, that is built in the land of Armenia, with great crowds of the people of Edom," could hardly have been written before 330 C.E. when Constantinople became the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire. From an analysis of *Tg. Lam.* 4:21–22, Komlosh (1973: 90) dates the work to the early 7th century C.E., when Jews saw the Persians as potential deliverers from the yoke of Byzantium, but before the liberation of Jerusalem in 614.

**e. Canticles.** *Targum Canticles* (= *Tg. Cant.*) is a very expansive Targum (about five times the length of the original Hebrew), which systematically interprets Canticles as a cryptic account of the relationship between God and Israel from the Exodus to the Messianic Age: 1:3–3:6 covers the Exodus, Sinai, the wilderness wanderings and the entry into Canaan; 3:6–5:1 covers Solomon and the Temple; 5:2–6:12 covers the Exile under Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar, the return under Cyrus, the rebuilding of the Temple, the Great Assembly, and the Hasmonaeans; 7:1–13 is a miscellany of themes corresponding to the present age in the chronological schema. Exhortatory in tone, it urges Israel to repent and pray for the redemption; 7:14–8:14 depicts the Messianic Age: the coming of the Messiah, the resurrection, the return to Jerusalem, and the war against Gog and Magog. The basic exegetical technique of the Targum is to deduce from the direct speech in the original an appropriate context in the sacred history to which the words could apply, all within the basic equation of God as the "beloved" *(dôd),* and Israel as his "darling" *(raʿyâ).* The exegesis is historicizing, and not, strictly speaking, mystical, even at 5:10–16, a passage which may have influenced the *Šiʿûr Qômâ* speculations of the Merkabah mystics (Alexander 1989: 126).

*Tg. Cant.*'s unusually holistic reading of its text, its stylistic and exegetical uniformity, and the conspicuous lack of alternative Targumim, seem to point toward an original single author. However, textual considerations put this idea in some doubt. Textually *Tg. Cant.* is similar to *Tg. Lam.*, and exists in two distinct recensions—a Yemenite (e.g., Ms. Or. 1302, British Library, London, and Ms. Opp.Add. 2333, Bodleian Library, Oxford) and a Western (e.g., Codex Urbinas 1, Vatican Library, and Ms. 3189, Biblioteca Palatina, Parma)—which cannot be derived stemmatically from a single archetype. So if there was an original author his work has been modified quite heavily in transmission. *Tg. Cant.* is also linguistically similar to *Tg. Lam.* and contains elements both of PT and *Onq.* Aramaic. *Tg. Cant.* is usually regarded as a late Targum composed possibly in the 7th century C.E. At 1:2 and 5:10 it refers to

the "Six Orders of the Mishnah and the Talmud" as a completed text. At 1:7 it appears to envisage a world divided between "Esau" (= Christianity) and "Ishmael" (= Islam). At a number of points its language may be influenced by Arabic (note 1:7 *šittûp* = Arabic *širk;* 4:3 *min bar* = Arabic *baʿda;* further R. H. Melamed 1921: 395). It contains numerous indirect quotations from other parts of Scripture and these betray a knowledge of *Onq., Ps.-J.* and *Jon.* Its relationship to *Canticles Rabba* is unclear: both the midrash and the Targum share many traditions, but *Tg. Cant.* also has a number of striking aggadot not attested in the much fuller midrash. E. Z. Melamed's contention (1970–71) that *Tg. Cant.* makes use of (indeed, misquotes) traditions from the Babylonian Talmud has been contested by Heinemann (1971–72). Melamed (1970–71: 215) also suggests that the reference to "this polluted land" in *Tg. Cant.* 8:14, and the description of the rabbinical academy in 8:13, suggest the work was composed in Babylonia.

**f. Ruth.** *Targum Ruth* (= *Tg. Ruth*) is well attested both in Western mss (e.g. N.72, Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, and 3231, Biblioteca Palatina, Parma) and in Yemenite (e.g. Or. 2375 and Or. 9906, British Library, London), but the two groups do not represent such clear-cut recensions in Ruth as they do in *Tg. Lam.* and *Tg. Cant. Tg. Ruth* is moderately expansive and alternates blocks of aggadic material (e.g., 1:1, 13, 16–17; 2:10–13; 3:7–8, 10, 15; 4:20–22) with passages of more or less literal translation. Much of its aggada is found also in *Ruth Rabba* (cf. e.g., the list of ten famines at *Tg. Ruth* 1:1 with the similar list in *Ruth R.* 1:4). Little can be said with certainty about *Tg. Ruth*'s date. Levine (1973: 6–8) argues that it contains pre-Rabbinic halakah. The most striking case is at 1:17 where four kinds of death penalty are listed, viz., stoning, burning, the sword, and hanging on a tree *(ṣĕlîbat qĕsāʾ).* This contradicts the standard Rabbinic view (reflected in *m. Sanh.* 7:1) that the four death penalties are stoning, burning, beheading with a sword: cf. *m. Sanh.* 7:3), and strangulation (with a scarf [*sûdārîn*]: cf. *m. Sanh.* 7:3). According to Rabbinic halakah criminals who are stoned should be hung on a gibbet after they are dead, but hanging in itself is not regarded as a means of causing death (*m.Sanh.* 6:4). *Tg. Ruth* is clearly at odds with the Mishnah (a fact recognized by the Parma ms which reads *ḥĕnîqat sûdārāʾ* ["strangulation with a scarf"] for *ṣĕlîbat qêsāʾ*), and with the corresponding passage in *Ruth R.* (9:14 §8), which lists the four Mishnaic death penalties in the precise wording of the Mishnah. However, it is too simplistic to argue, as Levine does (1973: 7), following Díez Macho, that "anti-Mishnaic" halakah must be "pre-Mishnaic," and is evidence of the antiquity of the Targum. Certainly *Tg. Ruth*'s position that hanging is a mode of execution is attested as early as 11QTemple 64:7–13, but it represents an intrinsically plausible interpretation of Deut 21:22 which was apparently advocated by some Qaraites (who may, of course, have derived it from Second Temple Jewish sources). In its "anti-Mishnaic" halakah *Tg. Ruth* could be reflecting Qaraite halakah just as easily as "pre-Mishnaic" sectarian halakah.

**g. Qohelet.** As with *Tg. Ruth*, the Western and Yemenite mss of *Targum Qohelet* (= *Tg. Qoh.*) do not appear to present two clearly differentiated recensions of the text. *Tg. Qoh.* is moderately paraphrastic, and its aggada can usually be paralleled in *Qohelet Rabba*, the Babylonian Talmud, and other classical rabbinic sources, although sometimes with idiosyncratic variations. For example, *Tg. Qoh.* allegorically interprets the "little city" in 9:14f as the human body, the "great king" as the evil inclination, and the "poor wise man" as the good inclination. This interpretation is broadly similar to that found in *Qoh. R.* 9:14 § 8 and *b. Ned.* 32b. But the Targum works out the allegory with much greater detail and precision, and its view that the "few men" refer to the virtues of the heart contrasts with the midrash and the Talmud's view that the reference is to the limbs of the body.

**h. Esther.** Early printed editions offer three recensions of *Targum Esther* (= *Tg. Esth.*). *1 Tg. Esth.* and *2 Tg. Esth* both appeared in Bomberg's *Biblia Rabbinica*, Venice 1517, the former in the main text, the latter in an appendix entitled, "Targum Sheni" ("Second Targum") to Esther. These two Targumim are very expansive; *2 Tg. Esth*, in fact, is the most consistently expansive text in the whole of the Targumic corpus. In stark contrast the so-called "Third Targum" to Esther *(3 Tg. Esth.),* which was printed in the Antwerp Polyglot of 1569–72 (cf. Alfonso de Zamora's *Tg. Esth.* in Ms. 116–Z–40, Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense, Madrid [= No. 5 in the catalogue of Villa-Amil and Castro], and in Ms. M–2, Biblioteca Universitaria, Salamanca) was almost completely literal. Goshen-Gottstein (1975) strongly suspects the authenticity of *3 Tg. Esth.* He argues that humanist scholars created it in the 16th century by

purging the expansive Esther Targums of their aggadic additions. Grelot (1975), however, accepts *3 Tg. Esth.* as genuine, with some reason, for, although scholars such as Alfonso de Zamora or Arias Montano (the editor of the Antwerp Polyglot) had the ability to produce such a Targum, creating *3 Tg. Esth.* would have been a tour de force, and it is puzzling that similar Targumim were not attempted for easier texts such as Lamentations. Grelot argues that *3 Tg. Esth.* is, in fact, the oldest recension of *Tg. Esth.* and forms the basis for *1 Tg. Esth.* The picture is complicated by the fact that Yemenite mss of *Tg. Esth.,* such as Or. 2375, British Library, London (Sperber 1968), do not respect the distinction between *1 Tg. Esth.* and *2 Tg. Esth* but combine elements from both recensions (Díez Merino 1984: 289). Indeed, even some Western mss do the same (e.g. Ms. Nürnberg = Kennicott no. 198, Ms. Sassoon 282, and Ms. Héb 110, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). *1 Tg. Esth.* and *2 Tg. Esth* contain many aggadot (the traditions regarding Solomon's Throne are a case in point) attested elsewhere only in late sources such as *Esther Rabba;* therefore the presumption must be that both these Targumim, in the form in which we now have them, date from the early Middle Ages. However, the public reading of Esther was a part of the festival of Purim at least from Tannaitic times (see *m. Meg.*), so there was good reason for rendering Esther into Aramaic at an early date. The immense complexity of the textual tradition of *Tg. Esth.* can be seen as a measure of the length of time that Esther had been read and studied in connection with Purim. It has yet to be proven, however, that early strata can be identified in the expansive *1 Tg. Esth.* and *2 Tg. Esth*., or that the literal *3 Tg. Esth.* takes us back to the earlier stages of the tradition.

**i. Chronicles.** *Targum Chronicles* (= *Tg. Chr.*) is for the most part a literal translation, with a few aggadic expansions (e.g., at 1 Chr 4:18; 7:21; 11:11, 22; 2 Chr 3:1; 23:11; 33:12–13). It is extant in three German mss of the 13th and 14th centuries, all with Tiberian vocalization: Ms.E = the Erfurt Codex (now Ms.or.fol. 1210 and 1211, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin); Ms.C =Ms.Or.Ee.5.9, University Library, Cambridge; and Ms.V = Codex Urbinas 1 (Urb.Ebr.1, Vatican Library). These give two rather different recensions of the Targum, one represented by E, the others by C and V. In the parallel passages of Chronicles, Kings, and Samuel, *Tg. Chr.* shows strong affinities to the Targum of the Former Prophets, especially as found in Codex Reuchlinianus. *Tg. Chr.* may originally have been created by taking a Targum of the parallel passages in Kings and Samuel and extending its general style to the rest of Chronicles. However, *Tg. Chr.* seems to have made use, not of any extant recension of the Targum to the Former Prophets, but of an earlier form of that Targum which predated the emergence of the standard Babylonian recension. The similarities between *Tg. Chr.* and Peshitta Chronicles are also best explained by the hypothesis that Peshitta Chronicles is derived from an earlier form of the Targum than the one now extant. *Tg. Chr.* appears to have known and made use of PT to the Pentateuch. It is particularly close to *Ps.-J.* in its vocabulary, style of translation, and aggadic content (cf. *Tg. 1 Chr.* 1:4–24 with *Ps.-J.* Gen 10:1–32). Its language is mixed and contains elements of PT Aramaic, of *Onq.* Aramaic, and of Babylonian Talmud Aramaic. In this case the PT Aramaic stratum is probably original, and the other dialectal features secondary, having been introduced by scribes who knew well *Onq.* and the Babylonian Talmud. Le Déaut and Robert (1971), following Rosenberg and Kohler (1876), argue that *Tg. Chr.* originated in Palestine in the 4th century C.E., but that its final redaction may be as late as the 8th/9th cent. C.E. A late date for the text as we now have it is suggested by the fact that certain aggadot in *Tg. Chr.* seem to betray the influence of the Babylonian Talmud. It is hard to envisage such a knowledge or respect for the Babylonian Talmud in the West before the early Middle Ages.

**C. Genre**

Targum and midrash share the same hermeneutical approach and apply the same exegetical techniques to the interpretation of Scripture, but they differ in important ways as to their literary form and presentation. Targum is translation, and as such its form tries to mirror the form of the original text, its voice and perspective is supposed to be the same as that of the original author. Midrash, by way of contrast, has its own distinctive form of lemma + comment which never varies whatever the form of the original, and its voice and perspective is always explicitly that of the *daršān.* Targum, unlike midrash, can offer essentially only a monovalent reading of Scripture; it cannot be argumentative, nor make explicit its exegetical reasoning, nor quote other verses of Scripture with the formula, "as it is written" (though there

are numerous "concealed" quotations from Scripture in the Targum). Targum cannot cite rabbinic authorities by name, nor be selective: it must present the whole of the original in proper order.

It is true that the Targumim show certain formal similarities to midrash, which tend to be more marked the later the text. The hugh expansions found in some of the late Targumim (e.g., *Ps.-J., Tg. Cant., 2 Tg. Esth*) put the translation form under great strain, and would have been more easily accommodated by midrashic form. Moreover, the Targumim do achieve a degree of polyvalency in their readings of Scripture. They contain numerous double renderings of single biblical items: e.g. *Ps.-J.* translates the Hebrew *nĕśô ʾ* [RSV "bear"] in Gen 4:13 as both "tolerate" and "forgive": "my rebellion is far too great to be *tolerated*, yet before you is the power to *forgive* it." Sometimes these doublets have resulted from the incorporation of alternative translations from the margin into the text; sometimes they may be original. Either way they arguably involve an understanding of the Hebrew text as polyvalent. Polyvalency is also achieved, very directly, in those Targumim (e.g., *Tg. Job*) which offer multiple translations. The formula *targûm ʾaḥēr* used to introduce these variant translations seems deliberately to echo the formula *dābār ʾaḥēr* used in midrash to introduce alternative interpretations. The midrashic form of lemma + comment also has its analogies in Targum. Targum was intended to be read side by side with Scripture: Targum proper is arguably only part of a larger literary structure which includes the Bible. The biblical text therefore can be seen as the lemma, the Targum as the comment. Even within the Targum proper there is an analogy to lemma + comment. At many points in the Targum it is possible to distinguish a literal base-text from explanatory plusses: the base-text is equivalent to the lemma, the plus to the comment.

All these formal analogies between Targum and Midrash should be duly acknowledged, but they do not invalidate the assertion that Targum and Midrash are two different literary genres. The Targumim, even at their most expansive and midrashic, try to stay within the limits of the translation-genre as they understood it. It should be noted that Targum appears to treat all Scripture formally as narrative: it does not distinguish between Hebrew poetry and prose. It often expands the poetry in such a way that its poetic form is lost and it is reduced to prose in translation (Alexander 1988: 228–37).

The material that makes up the Targumim may be classified into two broad categories: (1) literal translation and (2) non-literal translation. Though all translation involves some interpretation, the degree of interpretation presented by literal (i.e., natural and obvious) translation may, for practical purposes, be rated at zero. In non-literal translation the interpretative element is introduced in three main ways: by addition, by substitution, and by rewriting (Samely 1989: 197–206). The addition may be an explanatory word, clause, or clauses attached to a literal base-translation: e.g., Gen 10:2: Hebrew, "The sons of Japhet were: Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras"; Targum *Ps.-J.*, "The sons of Japhet were: Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras, *and the names of their provinces were: Phrygia, Germania, Media, Macedonia, Bithynia, Asia, and Thrace.*" Care is always taken to link the addition seamlessly to the base-text, and to conform it to the overall syntax of the verse, so that it is usually impossible, without looking at the Hebrew, to distinguish base-text from addition. However, the addition is inserted in such a way that it can be "bracketed out" leaving behind a viable, freestanding, literal rendering of the Hebrew.

In substitution a biblical word or phrase is given only a non-literal equivalent: e.g., Num 34:4, Hebrew, "its goings out [i.e., of the border of the land] shall be south of Kadesh-barnea"; Targum *Ps.-J.*, "its goings out shall be south of *Reqem-Geʾah* [= Petra]." Here the non-literal rendering can be analysed as substituting the potentially literal rendering. The interpretative element cannot be bracketed out leaving a viable base-text. For that to have been possible the Targum would have had to read: "its goings out shall be south of Kadesh-barnea, that is Reqem-Geʾah."[w]

In rewriting the Targum creates essentially a new syntactic structure, rather different from the one that would have been created by literal translation, and inserts into it elements derived from the biblical text, usually in the order in which they appear in the original. These biblical elements may be translated literally or non-literally, or the non-literal equivalent may be related to the literal in some way, such as by using the formula, "X [= non-literal equivalent], which is likened to Y [= literal equivalent]." Rewriting, which is typical of the *Tg. Cant.*, may be illustrated by the following example: 1:11: Hebrew, "We will

make for you circlets of gold [*tôrê zāhāb*], with studs of silver [*něquddôt hakkāsep*]"; Targum: "Then it was said to Moses: Ascend to the firmament and *I will give you two tables of stone,* hewn from the sapphire of the throne of my glory, *gleaming like fine gold,* arranged in lines and written by my finger. *Engraved on them are the Ten Words, refined more than silver* that has been refined seven times seven ways (which corresponds to the number of interpretations by which they [the Ten Words] are expounded—49 modes of interpretation in all), And I will give them by your hand to the people, the House of Israel."

**D. Origin and Context**

In Talmudic times it was customary to translate the biblical lections in synagogue simultaneously from Hebrew into Aramaic (*m. Meg.* 4:4, 6; further Alexander 1985). Tradition traced the institution of this practice back to Ezra's public re-promulgation of the Law described in Nehemiah 8: "*They read from the book, from the Law of God* (Neh 8:8)—this refers to Scripture; *clearly* [*měpōrāš*]—this refers to Targum" (*y. Meg.* 74d). A major reason for the origin of the Targum must have been the fact that increasingly in the postexilic period Aramaic replaced Hebrew as the vernacular of the Jews of Palestine. It came to be recognized, however, that the Targum could do more than provide a simple rendering of Scripture into everyday speech: it could be a commentary as well as a translation, and impose a comprehensive interpretation on the original Hebrew. This function of the Targum to provide an acceptable reading of Scripture, which was distinct from Scripture and left the original intact, helps to explain why the Targum continued to be recited even when its language did not correspond to the local dialect of Aramaic (e.g., *Onq.* in Babylonia), or when Aramaic had been replaced altogether by Arabic as the Jewish vernacular in the Middle East. The Rabbis recognized this function of Targum and, as part of their policy to stamp their authority on the synagogue liturgy, they tried to control both its content and the manner of its delivery in synagogue; certain translations were banned (see *m. Meg.* 4:9, with reference to Lev 18:21), and certain passages excluded from translation (the so-called Forbidden Targumim: see Alexander 1976). The Rabbis were concerned that Targum should be clearly distinguished from Scripture: the same person could not publicly read the Hebrew and recite the Targum. Targum belonged to the oral Torah, and the translator had to recite it orally in public, while the reader had to read (and be manifestly seen to read) the Hebrew from the scroll. At the same time it is a fundamental rabbinic principle that the Targum is not a freestanding translation, to be used on its own; it should always be heard and studied in conjunction with the original Hebrew. Even when Targum was studied in the privacy of one's home, the suggested rule was that the *pārāšâ* should be read twice in the Hebrew and once in the Targum (*b. Ber.* 8a). Besides its use as a liturgical version in synagogue, and as a repository of traditional exegesis in private study, the Targum played a role in elementary education (*Sipre* Deut. §161, p. 212). Children appear to have learned it in the *bêt hassēper.* The Hebrew Bible formed the staple of elementary education, and in the absence of formal grammars the Targum provided a valuable aid to the acquisition of the biblical language (York 1979; Alexander 1985). In later centuries Arabic and Yiddish Bible translations served a similar purpose for Jewish schoolchildren.

Fragments of Aramaic translations of the Bible have been discovered at Qumran (4QTgLev, 4QTgJob, and 11QTgJob). This suggests that the Targum is a pre-rabbinic institution which the Rabbis attempted to rabbinize and to control. The culmination of that process was the production in Babylonia of official rabbinic Targumim for the Torah and the Prophets (*Onq.* and *Jon.*). The enormous textual fluidity of the extant Targumim (which must broadly reflect regional variation and a largely oral transmission over long periods) proves that official uniformity was never achieved.

Though aimed primarily at a popular audience, the Targumim are the work of scholars with a deep knowledge of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Bible exegesis. At no stage can they be envisaged as spontaneous renderings of untutored translators. And, despite the present textual fluidity, the content of the Targum in any given locality was probably always largely predetermined and traditional. According to Rabbinic halakah the Targum had to be given orally in synagogue (*Pesiq. R.* 5, ed. Friedman 14a-b; Tanḥuma *Wayyērā᾽* 6, ed. Buber II, 87–88), but there is clear evidence that written texts of the Targumim were in circulation in the Talmudic era: Rabbinic stress on oral transmission related primarily to liturgical use.

It is a matter of dispute just how directly the extant written texts go back to the Targumim of Talmudic times. It would be a mistake to assume that they all represent direct transcripts of the oral Targum delivered in the early synagogue. Certainly some of our texts *were* recited in synagogue: *Onq.* and *Jon.* are cases in point, and some of the Cairo Genizah mss of the PT are clearly marked up for liturgical purposes. However, there are other texts (e.g., *Ps.-J.*) whose liturgical role, at least in their present form, must be seriously questioned. They represent scholarly editions of genuine Targumic traditions put together in the early Middle Ages as serviceable collections of early Bible exegesis.

For full bibliography on the Targumim, see Grossfeld 1972–78; the introductions to Díez Macho 1968–79; and Aufrecht 1974–.

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## **TARSHISH** (PERSON) [Heb *taršîš* (תַּרְשִׁישׁ)]. Var. TARSHISHAH. As an Israelite name,

"Tarshish" belongs to a class of names drawn from words for precious stones (*IPN,* 223). Three persons in the OT bear this name.

**1.** One of the four "sons" of Javan, the "son" of Japheth, and thus a great-grandson of Noah (Gen 10:4 = 1 Chr 1:7). The author of Genesis 10 is clearly intending to set forth tribal and national entities (the so-called "Table of Nations"), and thus the references to this son of Javan are also references to a place by the same name. See TARSHISH (PLACE).

**2.** One of the seven sons of Bilhan, the son of Jediael, listed in the military census of the Israelites (1 Chr 7:10). This Tarshish is therefore the great-great-grandson of Jacob through Benjamin.

**3.** One of the seven princes of Persia and Media who were advisers to king Ahaseurus (Esth 1:14). These men were the most prominent at the court (lit. "sat first in the kingdom") and had the privilege of personal audience with the king (lit. "saw the king's face"). Extrabiblical sources attest to such a council of seven prominent nobles customarily advising the Persian monarch (see Paton, *Esther* ICC, 153; and especially *ISBE* 3:971). Although it is reasonable to presume that the names of these counselors are Persian (see Millard 1977, who counters the excessive caution of Moore [*Esther* AB, xli–xliv] regarding the reliability of the MT spellings), no name equivalents to this have thus far been found in the extrabiblical literature, nor has a generally acceptable Persian etymology been suggested (despite Paton, *Esther* ICC, 68).

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## **TARSHISH** (PLACE) [Heb *taršîš* (תַּרְשִׁישׁ)]. Var. TARSHISHAH. According to the Table of

Nations (Gen 10:4), Tarshish is one of the four sons of Javan, the son of Japheth, and thus a great-grandson of Noah. See TARSHISH (PERSON). The descendants of the siblings of Tarshish are associated with maritime countries in the Mediterranean and Aegean (Elishah, Kittim, Rodanim), so the descendants of Tarshish could well be found in this same area. In spite of over 30 references to Tarshish in the OT, its exact location is still a matter of debate.

**A. Precious Stones and Ships**

Seven of the references use Tarshish in the description of a precious stone (Ezek 28:13). The stone is used in the priestly breastplate (Exod 28:20; 39:13) and is known for its beauty (Cant5:14) and flaming brilliance (Dan 10:6; cf. Ezek 1:10; 10:9). It has variously been identified as chrysolite (LXX; NIV), topaz (NEB) or beryl (RSV; JB). Its name, Tarshish, apparently derives from its geographical source, but the references provide no direct clue as to where that might be. There needs to be a mutual interaction between proposed sites and the identification of the stone to check for minerals which might not naturally occur in a suggested site.

Ten further references use Tarshish to describe ships. Some of these were in the service of Solomon, along with Phoenician ships, in trade for gold, silver, and exotic merchandise (1 Kgs 10:22; 2 Chr 9:22). It is generally accepted that these ships were harbored at Ezion-Geber on the Red Sea, because mention is made of ships built there for Solomon, manned in part by Phoenician sailors (1 Kgs 9:26–27), though in this context they are not specifically identified as Tarshish-ships. Those ships built by Jehoshaphat to sail for gold to Ophir at least made landfall at Ezion-Geber, since they were ultimately wrecked there (1 Kgs 22:48; cf. Ps 48:8, where similar ships are destroyed by a violent east wind). A bit more detail is provided in the account of the same incident in 2 Chr 20:36–37. Here the ships are explicitly stated to have been built in Ezion-Geber "to go to Tarshish." The contrast in function and destination could indicate a misunderstanding on the part of the Chronicler concerning what was meant by a "Tarshish ship" in his source documents.

In several cases it is the Mediterranean rather than the Red Sea which is the field of operation of the Tarshish-ships. They carried heavy cargoes of the wares of Tyre (Ezek 27:35), and they are to weep when it, their harbor stronghold, is destroyed (Isa 23:1, 14; cf. v 10. In an eschatological passage describing the future glory of Zion with abundance flowing into Israel, maritime areas usually associated with the Mediterranean will give up their Israelite exiles along with their gold and silver to Tarshish-ships in order to restore them to Israel (Isa 60:9).

The final ship collocation does not describe location but grandeur and great size. The Day of the Lord will not only humble the high mountains and the cedars of Lebanon, but also the Tarshish-ships (Isa 2:16), which appear to have become proverbial for their great size.

In these contexts, Tarshish has been generally understood to refer to a geographical location, but there is a difficulty in that the references point both toward the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, which makes a single-site identification tenuous.

**B. Etymologies**

Albright suggested a different approach to the name Tarshish, associating it with the Akkadian *rašāšu* "to heat, melt, smelt" (Albright 1961: 347 and n. 96; cf. *AHW*, 960–61). In this case the form *taršišu* might be a refinery. This would then lead to an understanding of the ships as oar boats, providing transport of the raw material to the refinery, or as carriers of the purified metal from the refinery. In support of this interpretation is the association of Tarshish-ships (Isa 60:9), and Tarshish itself (Ezek 27:12), with metal. Also supportive is the great size of the ships (Isa 2:16), necessitated by their heavy cargo (Ezek 27:25). This type of vessel would thus be expected wherever there was bulk trade in metal, so their occurrence in association with two unconnected seas no longer poses an insurmountable problem.

Wiseman tentatively suggested another etymology for the name, from the Greek *tarsos* "oar" (*NBD,* 1180). This receives some support from the identification of Tarshish-ships with those from Mycenae which had 30 to 60 double banked oars (Barnett 1958: 226), but it has not been widely accepted.

**C. Geographical Locale**

Tarshish as a geographical location is mentioned in several places. Three verses speak of it as a source of precious metal (Jer 10:9; Ezek 27:12; 38:13). The exact location of Tarshish, or even its direction in relation to Israel is not univocal. Its association with the West and the Mediterranean is best known from Jonah's flight toward Tarshish from Joppa on the W seaboard of Israel (Jonah 1:3; 4:2). Its further association with the "islands," mainly a designation of maritime areas W of Israel, also points in the same direction (Ps 72:10; Isa 23:6, where it is also associated with Egypt and Sidon; 66:19, associated with

Asia Minor and Greece). There are also weaker links with the S in the literary connections of Tarshish and Sheba, Seba and Dedan (Ps 72:10; Ezek 38:13).

Extrabiblical sources and cognate terms have been used as evidence for locating Tarshish. Tartessus in SW Spain, a Phoenician colony on the Guadalquiver River, has received some attention (Herodotus 1.163; 4.152; Albright 1961: 347). The area is known for its metals (Strabo *Geog.* 3.2.11) and chrysolite is found there (see Pliny *HN* 37, 43; Driver 1963: 498), though not true topaz. Mineral deposits are also found on Sardinia, where a Phoenician inscription of approximately the 9th century B.C. was found. It apparently refers to one of its towns as Tarshish (*CIS* I: 144; Albright 1961: 346–47). A more recent suggestion is that Tarshish is to be identified with Carthage in N Africa (Berger 1982: 61–65). In part this identification is made on the basis of the LXX reading of the name in Ezek 27:12 as *karchēdonioi* "Carthage."

Tarshish *(tarsisi)* is mentioned in Akkadian sources from the 7th century B.C. on (Parpola 1970: 349), but the extent of Assyrian contact or knowledge of the area so far W is not clear.

Part of the ambiguity of identification of Tarshish could well be the descriptive rather than definitive role of the name. It is used not to clearly identify one discrete geographical site, but rather to indicate what activity—smelting or refining—went on in a location. The term could therefore very easily refer to any number of different sites, including all of the suggestions made previously, as well as Ezion-Geber itself and other Red Sea locations. The same multi-reference usage might also be evident in the name Carthage, Semitic *qrtḥdšt* "New Town." It is also generic enough to apply to a number of locations. In addition to the N African locale, there is also a Carthage on the coast of W Spain (Strabo *Geog.* 3.2.10; Hallward 1930: 31, 34), which is in close proximity to the earlier Tartessus. Berger's argument identifying Tarshish and Carthage (1982) therefore might not be incompatible with its identification with Spain.

Because of the ambiguity regarding the identification of Tarshish, we are not able to say with confidence where Jonah was heading when he set sail from Joppa. All we can be sure of is that he was going west, and that he thought he would be leaving his God behind.

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**TARSUS** (PLACE) [Gk *Tarsos* (Ταρσος)]. The principal city of the fertile plain of East Cilicia in SE Asia Minor, remembered today as the home of Saint Paul.

**A. Location**

The ancient territory of Cilicia was composed of two quite distinct parts. In the E there was a fertile plain, called Cilicia Pedias ("Flat Cilicia"), extending from the edge of the Taurus Mountains in the N to the sea in the S. The major trade route from Syria to central Asia Minor ran through this coastal plain, crossing the Amanus Mountains by the Syrian Gates and then the Taurus range by the Cilician Gates. In the W there was the rugged coastland of Cilician Trachaei ("Rough Cilicia"), where the Taurus Mountains extend all the way to the sea. The latter was notorious in antiquity as a refuge for pirates, as well as a source of mercenaries and timber. Tarsus was the chief city of the E plain, located about 10 miles (16 km) up the river Cydnus and 30 miles (50 km) S of the celebrated Cilician Gates. It is a Turkish city today of just under 100,000 inhabitants.

**B. History**

Tarsus is at least 4,000 years old. The Hittite texts refer to the region of Cilicia as "Kizzuwatna" and make specific mention of Tarsa (Tarsus) and Adaniya (Adana). The historical foundations of the city are somewhat confused in the sources (Hemer *ISBE* 4: 735). It is no longer tenable to identify it with the

biblical Tarshish (Gen 10:4), but we know it existed as a fortified city and trade outpost before 2000 B.C. The whole region was linked by treaty to the Hittite empire and was later incorporated in it until its demise ca. 1200 B.C., when it was destroyed by the invasions of the Sea Peoples. Resettled by Greeks, in the 9th century B.C. the city, along with all of Cilicia, came under the control of the Assyrians. Tarsus is mentioned in the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III (9th century B.C.). From the early 6th century B.C., the region was ruled by a succession of local puppet kings bearing the dynastic title "Syennesis," who continued to rule under the Persian empire until ca. 400 B.C., when they were replaced by Persian governors (satraps). In spite of its Greek heritage, the city of Tarsus was dominated by the oriental culture imported as a result of the influence of its eastern overlords. Coins during the Persian period (5th–4th centuries), for example, bore the legend *Baal Tarz* ("lord of Tarsus") rather than the name of the Greek god Zeus. In 333 B.C., Cilicia was conquered by Alexander the Great, when he defeated the armies of Darius III at Issus and so opened up the way into Syria. Tarsus was saved from being burned by the retreating Persians (Arr. *Anab.* 2.4–5; Quintus Curtius *Historiae Alexandri* 3.4.14–15) and came under the rule of the Seleucids for the next two centuries, and, as a result, became Hellenized (though without ever losing entirely its oriental character; see Ramsay 1907: 122–31; 198–205).

Under the Seleucids, Tarsus was given a new name, Antioch-on-the-Cydnus, and a new constitution with a degree of municipal autonomy (in the aftermath of the revolt mentioned in 2 Macc 4:30–31, 36). Ramsay (1907: 161–86) suggested that the new constitution given by Antiochus Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.) provided the occasion for new colonists, including both Greeks (especially Argives) and Jews. The latter were probably given citizenship rights as a group and enrolled in a civic "tribe" (Gk *phylē,* Lat *tribus*), with its own religious ceremonies. There is no certain proof for this supposition, but there is evidence that this was the case in cities like Alexandria, Cyrene, Syrian Antioch, Ephesus, and Sardis (Bruce 1977: 36). In 83 B.C. the city came under the power of Tigranes I, king of Armenia, ally and son-in-law of Mithridates VI, but then passed rather quickly into Roman hands through the conquests of Pompey (67 B.C.), who established Tarsus as the capital of the province of Cilicia. Cicero resided in the city as proconsul of Cilicia in 51–50 B.C. (*Att.* 5.20.3; *Fam.* 2.17.1). The city enthusiastically welcomed Julius Caesar in 47 B.C. and adopted the name Iuliopolis in his honor. After the death of Caesar and the defeat of the anti-Caesarian party at Philippi in 42 B.C., Tarsus received the status of a free city by Antony, who controlled the eastern Roman provinces. And it was at Tarsus that the celebrated meeting took place between Antony and Cleopatra of Egypt, who sailed up the Cydnus on a barge in the guise of Aphrodite (Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 26).

Under Augustus, Tarsus enjoyed a variety of special privileges, including exemption from imperial taxation (Bruce 1977: 34), and reached the height of its prosperity. Tarsus also became a center of intellectual life (Finegan 1981: 53). To reform the administrative structure of the city, Augustus sent his former tutor, Athenodorus, the Stoic philosopher, who was himself one of the city's most illustrious sons. Athenodorus and his successor, Nestor the Academic (tutor of Marcellus, the nephew and intended heir of Augustus), initiated not only civic reforms, including the requirement that citizens must have a net worth of at least 500 drachmae, but also significant cultural and educational institutions. According to Strabo (14.5.131), the people of Tarsus in the 1st century C.E. were keen students of philosophy, the liberal arts and the entire encyclopaedia of learning; this was true to such a degree that it surpassed both Athens and Alexandria as a center of culture and learning, even though people did not, as a rule, come from other regions to study in its schools. Native Tarsians, however, went on to study elsewhere and frequently held educational and civil posts of importance throughout the empire. A less-flattering picture of Tarsus during the 1st century is found in Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, the neo-Pythagorean sage. According to the story, Apollonius (who would have been a contemporary of Paul) went to Tarsus at the age of fourteen to study with the rhetorician Euthydemus but was shocked by the frivolous and luxury-loving atmosphere of the city and withdrew to a more congenial environment (*VA* 1.7). This account, written nearly two centuries after the event, is probably influenced by knowledge of two orations by Dio Chrysostom, in which he addresses the Tarsians and castigates them for their lack of moral earnestness (Bruce 1977: 35).

**C. Home of Paul**

Whatever the fame of Tarsus prior to the 1st century A.D., the city's fame today rests in its association with Paul the apostle (Acts 9:11, 30; 11:25; 21:39; 22:3), missionary hero of the second part of the book of Acts (chaps. 13–28). Although Paul is only connected explicitly with Tarsus in Acts, there is no reason to doubt that he was, as he asserts to the Roman tribune Claudius Lysius, "a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city" (21:39). "The claim to citizenship of a Greek city is unusual in a Jew, and possible only where a special constitution made a body of Jewish citizens possible" (Hemer 1989: 127). But there is evidence that there were Jews who were citizens of Greek cities (as, for example, inscriptions from the synagogue recently excavated at Sardis demonstrate; Philostr. *VA* 6.34 presupposes that Jews were known to be citizens of Tarsus), and there are indications that the refoundation of the city by Antiochus Epiphanes may have created this possibility (cf. above). However, Ramsay (1907: 228–35) and others were probably wrong in overestimating the influence of his native city on his life. Rather than having studied Greek philosophy and graduating from the university of Tarsus, so to speak, it seems likely that Paul was sent to Jerusalem as a youth to receive the proper educational formation that wealthy but pious Jewish parents would desire for their child (so van Unnik, Bruce, Hemer, Finegan). In Acts 22:3, Paul informs his Jewish brethren in the courtyard of the Jerusalem temple: "I am a Jew, born in Tarsus of Cilicia, but brought up in this city, educated at the feet of Gamaliel according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers …" The three participles used here suggest three stages in Paul's life, namely, (1) his birth in Tarsus, followed by (2) being raised as a child *(anatethrammenos)* in Jerusalem and (3) subsequent education as a youth in the school of Gamaliel. The narrative of Acts also makes an incidental reference to a sister who lived in Jerusalem (23:16). Thus, it seems likely that whatever formal instruction Paul had in the classics of Greek literature and philosophy he would have received in Jerusalem rather than in Tarsus, if the Acts account is to be accepted as historically reliable. Contrary to Ramsay and others, this fits quite nicely with Paul's rather scanty use of Hellenistic writers and ideas, as well as his much deeper dependence on the Pharisaic Jewish heritage (Bruce 1977: 41–52). Paul's trade as a "tentmaker" (Gk *skēnopoios*) (Acts 18:3) has usually been identified with his family home in Tarsus, which was (and still is today) famous for a type of felt cloth (Lat *Cilicium* or Gk *Kilikion*) made from the wool of the shaggy black goats characteristic of Cilicia, but Hock (1980: 20–25) argues that *skēnopoios* means "leatherworker" rather than "tentmaker." The evidence seems inconclusive (Hemer *ISBE* 4: 736; 1989: 119). Whatever trade Paul learned as a boy, he most likely learned it in Jerusalem rather than Tarsus.

The remains of the 1st-century city of Tarsus lie underneath the modern city and have been therefore largely inaccessible to archaeologists. The remains of the Sea Gate (dubbed "Cleopatra's Gate") are still standing, and the foundations of a number of Greco-Roman buildings have been uncovered in the process of modern excavations. A small outpost of the city, today known as Gözlü Kule, has been excavated under Hetty Goldman, and a large number of terra-cotta figurines of mythological characters, deities, animals, and people (Finegan 1981: 54–55).

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W. WARD GASQUE

**TARTAK** (DEITY) [Heb *tartāq* (תַּרְתָּק)]. The deity Tartak is attested only once in the ANE, in 2 Kgs 17:31. The god is mentioned as having been brought to Assyrian-controlled Samarina, after the fall of Israel, by the Avvites whom the Assyrians resettled in the land. The absence of any hard extrabiblical

evidence for this deity has led to innumerable theories, more ingenious than illuminating. Three theories proposed around the beginning of the 20th century remain the favored identifications of the divinity.

Talmudic tradition (*Sanh.* 63b) states that Tartak has the form of an ass; this information, along with an attempt to associate the name with a Persian word for "intense darkness" led to a theory that Tartak was possibly a chthonic deity (*SDB* 4: 3182; Slotki 1950: 268).

Montgomery (1914: 74) argued that Tartak was a vastly altered form of the name Atargatis, a Syrian goddess known from Greek sources. The names are sufficiently different and the emendations so conjectural that the identification is unlikely. However, the theory remains popular with cautionary notes (Gray *1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 654).

Hommel (1912: 118) suggested that the pair of deities Nibhaz and Tartak had been found together, and in that order, on a list of Elamite gods published by Meissner (1910: 66). A certain amount of reconstruction is entailed, especially with *dag-da-ad-ra* (or the proposed variant *dir-tak*). While this theory would have the gods come from Elam, nothing is known about either deity from Elamite sources at this time, but it has proved attractive for supplying an origin for the god (Cogan and Tadmor *2 Kings* AB, 212).

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LOWELL K. HANDY

**TARTAN** [Heb *tartān* (תַּרְתָּן)]. The tartan (Assyrian *turtānu*) was a high-ranking Assyrian official who, together with the RABSHAKEH and the RABSARIS, played an important role in the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib as described in 2 Kings 18–19. For further details about the siege, see SENNACHERIB. Regarding high ranking officials in the Assyrian administration, see MESOPOTAMIA, HISTORY OF (ASSYRIA). The title tartan also appears in the MT of Isaiah 20:1 which in the English versions is translated as "the commander-in-chief." In this passage the tartan of Sargon II of Assyria is credited with the siege and capture of Ashdod. See SARGON.

A. KIRK GRAYSON

**TASSEL.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**TATIAN.** Christian apologist of the 2d century who is best known for having been a pupil of Justin Martyr, writing a defense of the Christian faith which was mainly an all-out attack on Greek culture, composing a gospel harmony called the *Diatessaron,* and founding a very ascetical and possibly heretical sect known as the Encratites.

Tatian says that he came from Assyria (*Oratio ad Graecos* [*Or.*] 42), which could mean anywhere E of the Euphrates. Nothing is known of his early years except what may be gained by inference. Growing up in one of the petty kingdoms which formed a buffer zone between the territories of the Romans and Parthians, he lived in an area where the Hellenistic culture imposed on society by the Seleucids was declining and the native Semitic culture was reemerging. Tatian nevertheless cast his lot with this disappearing culture and studied rhetoric with the intention of becoming a sophist, the most glamorous profession of his day.

His studies and career took him eventually to Rome, the goal of all aspiring sophists. Whatever his success in the profession, it was not extensive enough to have been noticed by any pagan writer whose account is preserved. After having been at Rome some time, he was converted by reading the Bible (*Or.* 29). His conversion does not seem to have been (as Justin's was) the result of a philosophical quest but instead the superiority of biblical religion was established on religious grounds. Justin probably was not the one who evangelized or catechized Tatian since the account of Justin's martyrdom shows that he functioned instead as a Christian version of the school-keeping philosophers of the time.

At some point, Tatian wrote his apology, *Logos pros hellenas,* known by its Latin name, *Oratio ad Graecos.* It is not addressed to the emperor, as so many apologies were, in the hope that it would be signed as a rescript and thus give legal protection to the Christians. Rather, it is addressed to the Greeks—that is, those educated in Greek culture—and devotes more space to attacking that culture than it does to defending Christianity or setting forth its beliefs systematically. Few writings from antiquity show emotion as genuine as Tatian's hatred for the culture in which he had set out to make his career. His onslaught against Greek culture is actually our only source for some information about details of Greek culture. The catalog he gives of Greek sculpture (*Or.* 33, 34), for instance, supplements even what is known from Pliny. Most of the material he uses appears to be gleaned from the doxographies available to orators of the time. Indeed, the apology itself is a showpiece of Asianic rhetoric. There has been much debate about the date of composition of the *Logos* as well as about the document's intended purpose. But the debate has yet to produce agreement among scholars.

The sole solid date we have for Tatian is the time of his return to his native Mesopotamia, 172 C.E.; the date derives from Eusebius *Chron.* 12 and Epiphanius *Adv. Haeres.* 1.3.46. At some point, he produced his gospel harmony, the *Diatessaron,* but there is much disagreement about whether it was written in Rome or after he returned to the East. Closely connected is the question whether its original language was Greek or Syriac. The *Diatessaron* fell into disfavor with Theodoret in the 5th century, despite its general use in churches of Upper Syria. All accessible copies (about 200) were destroyed by order of Theodoret. No complete copy is extant today. The only known survivals of it are a Greek page discovered at Dura-Europos and a recently discovered commentary on the Diatessaron by Ephrem Syrus. Many scholars associate the *Diatessaron,* perhaps mistakenly, with readings in a number of later gospel harmonies and other documents in a wide variety of languages.

When he returned to Mesopotamia, Tatian must have felt at home in the very ascetic forms of Christianity he found there. If he ever became heretical it must have been then, because his *Logos* is perfectly orthodox. Nothing is known about his Encratites except that he is supposed to have been their founder, but a few fragments attributed to him do indicate both extreme asceticism and some doctrinal deviations. Since, however, no Syriac document mentions him for centuries, this whole issue is obscure.

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O. C. EDWARDS, JR.

**TATTENAI** (PERSON) [Aram *tattĕnay* (תַּתְּנַי)]. Var. SISINNES. Persian governor of the province Beyond the River during the reign of Darius I (ruled 521–486 B.C.E.) who sent a letter to inform the king of building activity in Jerusalem (Ezra 5:3, 6; 6:6, 13 = 1 Esdras 6:3, 7, 27, and 7:1). Tattenai is one of the few Persian officials mentioned in the Hebrew Bible for whom there is external attestation. The tablet naming Tattenai is dated in the year 502 B.C.E. "The crucial passage is a reference to a slave of $^{m}$Ta-at-(tm)tan-niž , governor *(pahal)* of Ebir-nari" (Olmstead 1944: 46). Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 76) says, "Tattenai himself is now known to have been at this time governor of Beyond the River only, and thus subordinate to Ushtannu, who was governor of Beyond the River and Babylon together." Tattenai led an investigation into the building of the temple in Jerusalem (vv 3–5). After making their

inquiry, Tattenai, "and Shethar-Bozenai, and his associates" (Ezra 5:6) sent a report to Darius informing him of the building activity in Jerusalem and asking whether a decree was issued authorizing the work. Williamson suggests that the associates in v 6, are "inspectors" (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 77). Darius's response to the inquiry is favorable to the Jews, and Tattenai complied "with all diligence what Darius the king had ordered" (Ezra 6:13). The narrative and letters in this section of Ezra are in Aramaic. The study by Hensley (1977) maintains the authenticity of the letter (vv 5:7b–5:17).

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DAVID E. SUITER

**TAU.** The nineteenth letter of the Greek alphabet.

**TAVERNER'S BIBLE.** See VERSIONS, ENGLISH (PRE-1900).

**TAVERNS, THREE** (PLACE). See THREE TAVERNS.

**TAW.** The twenty-second (and final) letter of the Hebrew alphabet. In its early forms it resembled an "X," and was used as a personal "mark" or signature. Thus, "my signature" in Job 31:35 is literally "my taw."

**TAWILAN** (M.R. 196972). The site of Tawilan was first surveyed by N. Glueck who suggested (1935: 82–83, 177) that it might be identified with biblical Teman in the land of Edom (Jer 49:7, 20; Ezek 26:13; Amos 1:12; Obad 9; Hab 3:3). However, modern scholarship follows de Vaux (1969) who equates Teman with a region of S Edom hence the equation of Teman with Tawilan is no longer considered acceptable. No other biblical candidate for Tawilan has been suggested.

Tawilan is located in central Edom, near the modern village of Wadi Musa (El-Ji), just outside the Nabatean capital of Petra. The exact course of the Kings' Highway (the major N–S route through Transjordan) is unknown at this point, but it presumably passed close to Tawilan. Access to the Wadi Arabah and the W is also possible here.

The site is situated on a terrace at the W foot of the Jebel Heidan. Its establishment seems to have been with a view to agriculture rather than defense since the terrace is fairly flat and the site is overlooked by a nearby slope. Glueck (1935: 83) identified what he thought might be defensive walls, but Bennett (1984: 2) states that "nowhere in the excavations did we come across any fortifications or any structures which might be considered defensive." The closest known water source is the perennial ʿAin Musa, several km to the SE.

Excavations at the site have been undertaken by C.-M. Bennett (1968–70) and the British Institute at Amman for Archaeology and History (1982). Three major trenches were opened, in which four phases of Iron Age occupation were isolated by the excavator (Bennett 1984: 4):

Phase 1: The site was used as a source of clay with a settlement presumably in the vicinity (10th–9th centuries B.C.).

Phase 2: Uneven bedrock levelled with stone and clay. Flimsy stone partition walls and pillars in some places overlie the Phase 1 pits. Other pits were constructed to house storage jars (8th century B.C.).

Phase 3: Architecture becomes more elaborate with steps up to various levels (8th–7th centuries B.C.).

Phase 4: Doorways and entrances were blocked and some of the major walls rebuilt or repaired (7th–5th centuries B.C.).

These dates are highly speculative, particularly the 10th–9th century date for Phase 1 where there is very little supporting evidence. Furthermore, the phases are mostly based on additions and modifications to existing structures. Phases seldom overlie each other. It is possible that the village was not in use for more than about 200 years.

The only absolute date available for Tawilan comes from Phase 4 where, in Trench III in a blocked doorway, was found a cuneiform clay tablet. It has been published by Dalley (in Bennett 1984: 19–22)

and is a business document recording the sale of livestock. It is dated to the accession year of a King Darius, mostly probably Darius I (521–486 B.C.), indicating that Tawilan was still functioning at the end of the 6th century. An overall date of 7th–6th centuries B.C. for Tawilan seems most likely, but the phases cannot be accurately dated within this.

There is no evidence for substantial occupation of the site following the Iron Age. The site was used as a cemetery at some point, probably during the Romano-Nabataean period (ca. 2d century B.C. to 3d century A.D.). There is some evidence for Mamluk occupation, but no clear associated structures.

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STEPHEN HART

**TAX COLLECTOR.** Among the NT writings, only the Synoptic Gospels recount Jesus' association with tax collectors (*telōnai,* KJV, "publicans"). Three problems attend this picture: (1) the identity and status of the *telōnai,* (2) the moral evaluation of them, and (3) the significance of Jesus as "a friend of tax collectors and sinners" (Matt 11:19; Luke 7:34).

**A. Identity and Status**

Etymologically *telōnēs* is a combination of *telos* in the sense of something paid for the purpose of the state, a toll, tax or duty; and *ōneisthai* (noun, *ōnē*), to buy or purchase. Its earliest usage describes those in the Greek city-states who purchased the right to collect taxes or who were contracted by civic officials to do so. The lessee would pay the state in advance the sum to be collected for the coming year and the cost of the enterprise and the profit for the individual collectors would be the responsibility of the lessee. The practice was taken over by Rome, and during the expansion of the Roman Republic, taxes were collected in the provinces by groups of individuals, the *societas publicanorum*, composed principally of Romans of the Equestrian order (Badian 1976: 48–66). Tax collecting became a lucrative and politically important occupation (Finley 1973: 60) and Roman writers recount that the publicans often exploited the provinces. The system was drastically curtailed, first by Julius Caesar and later, under the Principate, by Augustus (Garnsey and Saller 1987: 87).

After the conquest of Palestine in 63 B.C.E. by Pompey, Palestine was forced to pay tribute to Rome. The Roman publicans were active for a short time, and employed indigenous officials (high priests and local assemblies) as their agents. Under Gabinus (57 B.C.E.), who was opposed to the publicans, the district sanhedrins were made responsible for collection of taxes (Smallwood 1976: 33). After his defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia in 48 B.C.E., Julius Caesar reorganized the province of Syria and the publican system, which had never become entrenched in the provinces of Egypt and Syria, disappeared totally in Judaea. Julius Caesar made the ethnarch Hyrcanus responsible for the collection of the taxes, and shortly before his death in 44 B.C.E. authorized the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem and a reduction in taxes (Smallwood 1976: 42). Under Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.E.) direct taxes were collected by royal officials, attached to the court. When Judaea came under the Roman prefects in 6 C.E. (called procurators after 44 C.E.), the direct taxes, the "head" or poll tax and the land tax were collected by officials in direct employ of the Romans. In Galilee, similar officials were under the supervision of Herod Antipas (4 B.C.E. to 39 C.E.).

In addition to the principal taxes, the personal or poll tax *(tributum capitis)* determined by the census (Luke 2:2; Matt 17:25; Acts 5:37) and the land tax *[tributum soli]*, there were a host of indirect taxes, especially on the transport of goods. Jews were also subject to religious taxes such as the temple tax and tithes on produce for the Jerusalem priests (Perkins 1984: 185–86). This double burden of taxation created considerable hardship and often precipitated both passive and violent resistance (Freyne 1980: 281–87; Horsley 1987: 61–62). Collection of the indirect taxes was most likely subcontracted (farmed out). The term *telōnai* could be used of three distinct groups (Herrenbrück 1981): (1) those who purchased the right to collect specific taxes, (2) supervisory officials like Zacchaeus (called *architelōnes* in Luke 19:2), who

had the opportunity for personal gain (Luke 19:8), and (3) their employees who collected such taxes at toll booths or tax offices (*telōnion,* Mark 2:14; Matt 10:3; Luke 5:27). The *telōnai* with whom Jesus associates in the Gospels are most likely "toll collectors." They appear at transport and commercial centers (Jericho and Capernaum) and when John preaches to them (Luke 3:12–13), he tells them to collect no more than is "appointed" (*diatetagemenon,* which suggests minor functionaries fulfilling the orders of higher officials).

**B. Moral Evaluation**

Negative views of the *telōnai* occur in secular literature, in the NT, and in rabbinic writings. In Roman and Hellenistic literature they are lumped together with beggars, thieves, and robbers (Cicero, *De offic.* 15–51; Diogenes Cynicus, *Ep.* 36.2; Lucan, *Pseudolog.* 30; Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* 14.14; Michel *TDNT* 8:99). In the NT they are paired with sinners (*telōnai kai hamartōloi,* Mark 2:15; Matt 9:10; 11:19; Luke 7:34; 15:2) and with "immoral people" (*pornai*, Matt 21:31), and they are likened to Gentiles (Matt 5:46; 18:17). The Pharisee contrasts himself with "other men, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even this tax collector" (Luke 18:11) and Jesus is accused of being a drunkard and "a friend of tax collectors and sinners" (Matt 11:19). The rabbinic writings (which, though not written before the 3d century C.E., incorporate early oral traditions) link both tax and toll collectors *(gabbā᾽îm* and *môkĕsîn)* with robbers, murderers, and sinners (*m. Ṭohar.* 7.6; *m. B. Qam.* 10.2; *m. Ned.* 3.4) and appear in lists of "despised trades" which no observant Jew should follow (*b. Sanh.* 25b; Jeremias 1969: 302–12). The parable of Bar Ma'jan, a tax collector, which most likely dates from the 1st century and may have influenced Jesus' parable of the Great Supper (Luke 14:16–24; Matt 22:1–10) reflects similar negative views. Though not having lived a pious life he is given a fine funeral because he did "a single good deed" in his lifetime by inviting the poor to a banquet when the city counselors did not come (*y. Sanh.* 6.23c; Jeremias 1972: 178–80).

**C. Jesus and the Tax Collectors**

The two major sources of the Synoptic Gospels, Mark (2:15–16) and Q (Matt 11:19 = Luke 7:34) as well as Luke's special material (Luke 15:1–2; 19:1–10), affirm that Jesus associated with and had table fellowship with tax collectors. In Matt 10:3, one of the Twelve, Matthew, is called a tax collector (Mark 3:18; Luke 6:15). Luke 3:12–13 records that tax collectors were baptized by John, while Matthew mentions that "tax collectors believed him" (Matt 21:32). Despite claims that such fellowship may be a creation of the early church (Walker 1978: 238; Horsley 1987: 216), both the multiple attestation of the sources as well as the improbability that the church would join Jesus to such social outcasts argue that such association was an authentic practice of Jesus. It also is consistent with the accounts of Jesus' concern for other marginal people such as Samaritans (Luke 10:29–37; 17:16), widows (Mark 12:40–44; Luke 20:47–21:4; Luke 7:11–17), and the poor (Luke 6:20–23).

The gospels also attest to the opposition evoked by Jesus' association with tax collectors (Mark 2:15; Matt 9:11; Luke 5:30; Luke 15:1). Jeremias (1969: 310) argued that, because of their tendency to enrich themselves through dishonesty (Luke 3:11–12; 19:8), they were thought to be sinners for whom repentance was difficult. Perrin (1967: 93–94) claimed that they were considered "Jews who made themselves as Gentiles," and were especially scorned as "Quislings" because they collected taxes from their fellow Jews on behalf of the hated gentiles. While the precise basis of opposition to them is uncertain, in Galilee, which was not directly under Roman prefects during the ministry of Jesus, they would not have been employees of gentile rulers, but officials of a Jewish client king. However in Judaea they would have been more directly linked with Roman administration, so opposition there to Jesus' actions could have been more intense (Donahue 1971: 59–61).

Jesus' association with them is viewed as an "acted parable" of his message of God's mercy to sinners and "an anticipatory sitting at table in the kingdom of God" (Perrin 1967: 107). Parables such as the Two Debtors (Luke 7:41–43), the Two Sons (Matt 21:28–31), the Lost Sheep (Luke 15:3–7), the Lost Coin (Luke 15:8–10), and the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11–32) vindicate Jesus' concern for "the lost" and association with tax collectors and sinners (Jeremias 1972: 124–36). This association is also to be interpreted in the context of those traditions in the gospels where Jesus' actions challenge the religious

and social conventions of his time, such as the forgiveness of sin (Mark 2:1–12), and violation of the sabbath by plucking grain or healing (Mark 2:23–3:6).

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JOHN R. DONAHUE

**TAX OFFICE** [Gk *telōnion* (τελωνιον)]. The place where Matthew or Levi, the son of Alphaeus, was sitting when Jesus recruited him in the parallel passages Matt 9:9, Mark 2:14, and Luke 5:27. The word occurs elsewhere in the Greek-speaking east and seems to refer to a public building where custom duties of various kinds were collected (see Dittenberger 1905, 2: #496 line 9). Presumably this is the place of business of the *telōnēs,* "tax farmer" or "tax collector," a figure much despised in the Roman world.

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DANIEL C. SNELL

**TAXES AND TAXATION.** The revenues received by governments in money, in kind, or in labor; the process of extracting those revenues.

Taxation is extremely important to the state, and the state cannot be said to exist in its fullest form if it has no taxing power. In the states about which we are informed in the ANE and the biblical record we know little about that power because our documents come from persons who were not very interested in how it worked. There are in the Bible traces of resistance to taxation and measures like the census of King David that appear to have been connected with taxation (2 Samuel 24). A simple society was being asked to pay for David's adventures in new ways, and its leaders did not always like the new order.

There are surprisingly few words for "tax" in Biblical Hebrew. The verb from the root *ʿrk* in 2 Kgs 23:35 seems to mean "evaluate for taxation": "And the silver and the gold Jehoiakim gave to Pharaoh, but he evaluated *(heʿĕrîk)* the land to give the silver according to the Pharaoh's command, each person according to his evaluation brought the silver and the gold …" A similar case is 2 Kgs 15:20: "Menahem exacted the money from Israel, that is, from all the wealthy men *(gibbôrê haḥayil),* fifty shekels of silver from every man, to give to the king of Assyria." These are unusual events, but the use of words from the root *ʿrk* in the Priestly sections about fiscal obligations to the temple shows that *ʿrk* could be used for more regular dues, as in Lev 27:7.

The term also occurs in connection with the temple in 2 Kgs 12:5 (—Eng 12:4): "… All the money of the holy things which is brought into the house of the Lord, the money for which each man is assessed—the money from the assessment (Heb *ʿerek*) of persons—and the money which a man's heart prompts him to bring …" This passage implies that there was a forced taxation for the temple in this period.

But even though the word *ʿerek,* "evaluation, assessment," seems too general to have been the normal equivalent to modern words for "tax" (though one might note that in Middle English *taxen* meant "to

estimate, assess"), it is hard to find any other word that is more likely. The term *mekes* "tax" occurs only in Num 31:28, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41 as a term for obligatory donations for the priests. The lack of detailed vocabulary for taxation implies, probably correctly, that neither the terminology nor the practice of taxation was systematic or well developed in ancient Israel.

The description of the future custom of the envisioned king in 1 Sam 8:15–17 does not use technical words for taxation, but the process is certainly described: "He will take the tenth of your grain and of your vineyards and give it to his officers and to his servants. He will take your menservants and maidservants, and the best of your young men and your asses, and put them to his work. He will take the tenth of your flocks, and you shall be his slaves." There is considerable doubt whether the Israelite or Judean kings ever exercised such broad powers. An incidental reference to a time "after the king's mowings" (Amos 7:1) may imply that the Israelite king had the right to a first mowing of hay. The idea that the king could exempt a household from taxes appears in 1 Sam 17:25, where the troops inform David of what will be done for the man who kills Goliath: "the king … will make his father's house free (Heb *ḥopšî*) in Israel."

The list of governors, or perhaps tax farmers, who supplied Solomon's table in 1 Kgs 4:7–19 implies a regular rotation of supply, but it does not indicate how the officers exacted the food they provided. Tax rebellion seems to be a motive in the speech of the Northern Tribes to Rehoboam in 1 Kgs 12:4, though the language is vague.

Solomon collected transit duties, according to 1 Kgs 10:15. The Chronicler says that Jehoshaphat also received taxes and transit duties (2 Chr 17:5, 11).

From the period of the divided monarchy, the ostraca from Samaria record deliveries of wine for the use of the king; sealings with the label *lmlk* "for the king" found in various sites in Judah indicate that there were central depots to which local taxes in kind were gathered. See SAMARIA (OSTRACA).

Ezra 4:13 and 7:24 show through the offer of tax exemption for the temple-building activities that there may have been "tribute, custom, or toll" (*mindâ, bĕlô* and *hălāk*); the words all have Akkadian etymologies, and so they are not likely to reflect earlier Hebrew practices. (On the *ḫatru* system and related revenue-gathering institutions of the Persian imperial administration of the 5th century B.C.E., see PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (PERSIAN); PERSIAN EMPIRE.) The people may also have had to pay a tax in kind called "the bread of the governor," which Nehemiah claims he did not take as his due, though previous governors had (Neh 5:14–15). We had no per capita figures for such exactions. See also TITHE.

Another aspect of taxation in Israel was forced labor (Heb *mas*, which may have an Egyptian etymology, from *ms* "bearer"). The oppressive nature of forcing people to work for a period on government projects is clear in a number of texts, and it is remembered as an aspect of Egyptian life in Exod 1:11. Traditions also recall that the Israelites, when they entered the land, imposed forced labor on the subdued population (Josh 16:10). Under David an officer who oversaw the forced labor bore the Phoenician name Adoram (2 Sam 20:24). He succeeded in keeping his post under Solomon (1 Kgs 4:6 and 5:28, both calling him Adoniram), but later was killed by northerners (1 Kgs 12:18). 1 Kgs 9:15 and 21 assert that the great works of Solomon were accomplished with forced labor. But 1 Kgs 5:27 (—Eng 5:13) reports, "King Solomon raised a levy of forced labor out of all Israel; and the levy numbered thirty thousand men." The number seems high, and the duration of service is not known.

It is unclear to what extent the kings of the divided monarchy managed to continue this taxation in labor. It may be significant that Jereboam, first king of the Northern kingdom, got his bureaucratic start as the official over the forced labor (Heb *sēbel*) of the house of Joseph (1 Kgs 11:28; the Hebrew word *sēbel* elsewhere means "hard work"). The fact that this fellow was later chosen to be king implies that being involved in administering forced labor was not always a sure guarantee of unpopularity, and perhaps the principle that the king could demand forced labor for reasonable periods of time had been established in the popular mind. It is implied that King Asa of Judah also imposed forced labor (1 Kgs 15:22). Forced labor was apparently still an issue in 1 Macc 10:34–35, where a Seleucid king grants exemption from work on Jewish holy days.

Mesopotamian and Assyrian taxation is better documented than Israelite in some periods, but its general features are similar. The state demanded a percentage of agricultural staples and perhaps of herds. It also levied taxes on goods transported by merchants, and required at least some citizens to perform labor for the state for part of the year.

In the NT the Greek terms for tax are few and hard to differentiate: *kēnsos* in Matt 22:17, 25, *phoros* "tribute" in Luke 20:22 (using different words in what is clearly the same story), and *telos* "toll" in Matt 17:25, *didraxmon* "half-shekel tax" in Matt 17:24; *apographē* in Luke 2:2 and Acts 5:37 is "writing down in a census" for the purpose of later taxation.

The attitude of the early Christians is demonstrated in the story in Matt 22:17 = Luke 20:22 and Matt 17:25, where Jesus advises rendering unto Caesar what is Caesar's and obeying the taxation requirements of the government (note Romans 13:6–7, using Gk *phoros*). The Roman census at the birth of Jesus in Luke 2:2 seems not to have met with opposition, but a later census did, as we hear in Acts 5:37, if indeed two different censuses took place; see also CHRONOLOGY (NT). The advice to go the extra mile in Matt 5:41 may show that Christians believed that the requirement of forced labor was acceptable.

A half-shekel tax was exacted by temple authorities for the upkeep of the temple; it may at first have been only a third of a shekel, according to Neh 10:32–33. Josephus (*Ant* 18.9.1) says it was collected each year from every Jew twenty years of age and over in the land of Israel and abroad. A head tax was imposed by the Emperor Vespasian on all Jews living anywhere under Roman control after the fall of the temple in 70 C.E., to pay to the Roman government revenues of the temple tax which the Jews had already been used to paying (*JW* 7.218).

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DANIEL C. SNELL

**TEACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS (HALACHIC LETTER).** See MIQṢAT MAʿASE HATORAH (4QMMT).

**TEACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.** The dominant figure associated with the branch of the Essenes that established itself at Qumran. The fifteen references in the published Dead Sea Scrolls, however, furnish only meager information about him. Some are so fragmentary as to yield only the name *môreh haṣṣedeq* (1QpHab 1:13; 4QpPs$^{b}$ [= 4Q173] frag. 1, 4; frag. 2, 2). See also MIQṢAT MAʿASE HATORAH (4QMMT). Despite periodic efforts to argue that the allusion is to a function carried out by different individuals at various stages of the sect's history (Buchanan; Rabinowitz; Starcky), the consensus is that it is the title of a particular personage. Two texts (4QpPs$^{a}$ [= 4Q171] 3:15; 1QpHab 2:8) identify him as "The Priest," which must be understood in a titular sense and so indicates that he was a high priest (Stegemann 1971: 102, 210–20; de Vaux 1960: 267; Schürer *HJP²* 1: 605–6). The Essenes were already in existence when he joined them (CD 1:9–11). Yet he is considered the founder of a community (4QpPs$^{a}$ 3:15–16) in which he enjoyed the status of a prophet (1QpHab 2:3; 7:4–5) whose interpretation was the only valid understanding of the demands of the Law (1QpHab 8:1–3; 1QpMic frag. 8–10, 6–7). For his followers he was the Unique Teacher (CD 20:1) and fidelity to his teaching was the criterion of salvation (CD 20:32). Within the Essene movement, nontheless, he was opposed by the Man of Lies (1QpHab 2:1–4; 5:9–12), and from without he suffered persecution at the hands of the Wicked Priest (1QpHab 9:9–10; 11:4–7).

Is it possible to identify the Teacher with an historical figure? A number of authors have answered in the affirmative and their proposals range from Onias III in the 2d century B.C. to the rebel Menachem during the First Revolt in A.D. 66–70 (Schürer *HJP²* 3/1: 436 n. 7). All the late identifications, however, are excluded by the paleography of the Scrolls, which means that none of the individuals mentioned can be dated after the middle of the 1st century B.C. A much tighter time frame is indicated by the link

between the Teacher and the Wicked Priest, because with great probability this latter figure has been identified with Jonathan Maccabeus (Jeremias 1963: 36–78; Stegemann 1971: 202–7), although some prefer his brother Simon (Schürer *HJP²* 3/1: 435 n. 6, 438). Since the two were contemporaries, the activity of the Teacher must be dated in the middle of the 2d century B.C. In view of 4QpPs[a] 3:15–16 this provides an important correlation, because the first phase of Essene occupation at Qumran could be dated to the second half of the 2d century B.C. (de Vaux 1973: 5), although positive evidence is virtually nonexistent (*DBSup* 9: 748–52).

Although the Teacher was a high priest, his rigoristic attitude toward the Law precludes his identification with any of the Hellenizing high priests who ruled from the murder of Onias III in 172 B.C. to the death of Alcimus in 159 B.C. Neither, of course, can he be identified with either of the Maccabean brothers, Jonathan or Simon, or with John Hyrcanus, since Jonathan's successors would have inherited his enmity toward the Teacher. This focuses attention on the period 159–152 B.C. when, according to Josephus, "the city continued for seven years without a high priest" (*Ant* 20.10.3 §237). This can only mean that no one had been appointed officially. As a description of the real situation it is impossible, because the indispensable liturgy of the Day of Atonement demanded the participation of at least a *de facto* high priest. 2 Macc 10:38 attests the existence of such an individual (Murphy-O'Connor 1976). If his identification with Onias IV, who as the son of Onias III had the preeminent claim to the high priesthood, is impossible (Schürer *HJP²* 3/1: 145–47), then we must presume that the function of high priest was assumed by the leading member of the Temple hierarchy (Graetz 1884: 122). In the eyes of traditionalists such as the Essenes his legitimacy would have been unquestioned, and from a Jewish perspective the credit for the return to orthodoxy would have belonged to Jonathan (1QpHab 8:8–9; Murphy-O'Connor 1974: 230 n. 73), even though in reality the vacuum is explained by divisions among claimants to the Seleucid throne. In order to consolidate his power, however, Jonathan accepted the high priesthood in 152 B.C. when it was offered to him by Alexander Balas (1 Macc 10:15–20; Jos. *Ant* 13.2.2–3 §43–46). Thus he became the Wicked Priest, and the deposed *de facto* high priest joined the Essenes. Their demand for radical religious reform (CD 2:14–6:11) coincided with his own desires.

His presence quickly provoked a split within the Essene movement. The reasons are complex and not entirely clear. One factor was probably his assumption of the eschatological (but not messianic) role of "the one who teaches righteousness" predicted in CD 6:10–11 (Davies 1983: 123–24); this is the simplest explanation of his title, Teacher of Righteousness. The heightened sense of the imminence of the eschaton that this implies appears also in the movement of some Essenes to Qumran in fulfillment of Isa 40:3. 1QS 8–9 (minus 8:16–9:2) is the proposal for this project (Murphy-O'Connor 1969: 529–32; Knibb 1987: 127), and its attribution to the Teacher is adequately justified by 4QpPs[a] 3:15–16 and by the position he enjoyed within the Qumran group. Such initiatives may have been associated with an intensification of the rigorism of the Essene movement, since "the latter ordinances" (CD 20:9, 31–32) are probably additions by the Teacher to "the former ordinances" (1QS 9:10) by which the sect had hitherto been governed (Laperrousaz 1971).

Jonathan, the Wicked Priest, had first dismissed the Teacher as insignificant, but when it became known that he had acquired followers and moved to Qumran, he had to act against him because an eschatological movement was both a threat to his authority and a danger to the Jewish people at a critical moment in their history (1QpHab 9:9–10). Various attempts have been made to reconstruct what happened during the inconclusive encounter recorded in 1QpHab 11:4–7 (Jeremias 1963: 57; Stegemann 1971: 236; Talmon 1951), and the only one that is certainly wrong is Dupont-Sommer's (1950: 121–22) hypothesis that the Teacher was killed. It became the foundation of a bizarre interpretation of the Teacher's career, which was decisively refuted by Carmignac (1957).

At the beginning of Qumran studies there was a tendency to consider the Teacher the author of 1QS, 1QM, and 1QH (e.g. Carmignac and Guilbert 1961: 13, 86, 136). For the reasons noted above 1QS 8–9 is substantially the work of the Teacher, but nothing in 1QM suggests the attribution of any part to him. Scholars working independently and with different methods agree that the following hymns at least should be ascribed to the Teacher: 1QH 2:1–19; 4:5–29; 5:5–19; 5:20–6:36; l 7:6–25; and 8:4–40 (Becker

1963: 53; Jeremias 1963: 171; Kuhn 1966: 23). Despite certain hypercritical reserves (Schürer *HJP²*: 454), it is certain that these hymns are the work of a single author and the radical nature of his claims to be the ultimate religious authority (1QH 2:13; 5:22–23; 7:12; cf. CD 20:1) makes the Teacher the only plausible candidate (Schulz 1974). Attempts have been made to use the hymns to fill out the career of the Teacher (Carmignac 1960; Delcor 1962; Mansoor 1961: 45–49; Michaud 1956), but all specific biographical inferences are excluded by the fact that the texts is a tissue of OT citations and allusions. At most the hymns reveal the inner life of the Teacher (Jeremias 1963: 266). It has been suggested that the historical data in the *pesharim* concerning the Teacher were derived from the hymns (Davies 1987: 87–106), but this approach has not yet been adequately tested. See also MIQṢAT MAʿASE HATORAH (4QMMT).

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J. MURPHY-O'CONNOR

**TEACHINGS OF SILVANUS** (NHC VII,*4*). A treatise from Nag Hammadi remarkable both for the fact that it is in the form of a wisdom writing and for the fact that it develops a theology closer to Catholic Christianity than to Gnosticism. Documents reused in the covers of the codex in which *Teach. Silv.* is found have dates from before 350 A.D., and some of the handwriting of the cartonnage may be dated as late as 360 A.D. The Coptic text (in the Sahidic dialect with admixtures of Achmimic and sub-Achmimic) is a translation from a Greek original. Theological affinities provide the only other evidence as to date and provenance. The name Silvanus may refer to the companion of Paul but little or nothing is made of the connection. The treatise need not be pseudonymous, however, since Silvanus was to become a common Christian name (Broek 1986: 18–19).

There is very little by way of coherent order to *Teach. Silv.*, and an outline of its contents is not very illuminating. Suffice it to say that the first half of the treatise (84,16–98,20) is dominated by ethical discussion and includes an interesting reflection on the "three races" or "three parts" of human nature and a striking rejection of any form of human friendship. The second half of the treatise (98,20–118,7) is preoccupied with questions about the nature of God and of Christ, although these are increasingly interrupted by ethical reflections as the writing draws to a close. *Teach. Silv.* leaves the impression of being a collection of diverse materials and probably represents the end product of a long literary development. In particular, the discussion of the nature of God and Christ in the second half looks as though it may once have been more unified than it now is.

The similarity between *Teach. Silv.* and Jewish Wisdom Literature is obvious, and reformulations of passages from the Wisdom of Solomon are particularly noteworthy. It is equally obvious that a more otherworldly atmosphere pervades *Teach. Silv.*, and that consequently a comparison between *Teach. Silv.* and the *Sentences of Sextus,* the *Parangelmata* of Clement of Alexandria, and the later collections of precepts for monastic purposes is appropriate. But *Teach. Silv.* occupies a place somewhere between these two worlds. On the one hand, *Teach. Silv.* is closer to late Jewish wisdom in its blending of classical Jewish forms (proverbs, admonitions, discourses), elements of the Stoic-Cynic diatribe, and the Hellenistic hymn; on the other hand, such materials are charged with deeper spiritual significance by *Teach. Silv.* and undergo subtle literary transformations under the impact of this intensification of traditional wisdom themes (Schoedel 1975).

It is not inaccurate to speak of Gnosticizing tendencies in *Teach. Silv.* Included here are the following: an emphasis on the transcendence of God; a view of Christ that makes much of his role as revealer; the apparent (though not fully certain) treatment of Christ's descent into the underworld as a descent into this world (103,28–104,14; Peel 1979); the reference to the "three races" of human beings and the devaluation of the "female" constituent of the human frame (92,10–93,24); an emphasis on the derivation of humanity's essence from God (93,26–27; 117,7–9); and a string of symbols and images having to do with ignorance, drunkenness, wild beasts, the bridal chamber, and so forth. It is probably significant for the literary history of *Teach. Silv.* that such elements predominate in the ethical sections of the treatise. Even there, however, they are not developed in characteristically gnostic ways. The "three races," for example, are dealt with as the "three parts" found in all human beings. There is in fact little here that could not also be illustrated from writers like Clement of Alexandria or Origen. At least in its present form, *Teach. Silv.* is clearly non-gnostic: God, the father of Jesus Christ, is the creator (114,30–115; cf. 112,37–113,30); and Christ is the incarnate Lord (101,22–102,7).

Indeed, even anti-gnostic sentiments are to be found in *Teach. Silv.* Thus gnostic views of the ignorance of the creator are rejected: "Let no one ever say that God is ignorant, for it is not right to place the demiurge of every creature in ignorance" (116,5–9). Mysterious revelation is suspect: "And he [the Adversary] casts spurious knowledge into your heart in the guise of mysterious words" (96,3–6). And in words reminiscent of anti-gnostic predecessors *Teach. Silv.* argues: "If we scarcely find things on earth, who will search for the things of heaven?" (112,5–8; cf. Schoedel 1984).

It is coherent with this that the bedrock of the philosophical language of *Teach. Silv.* can be designated as a mixture of Stoic ethical and anthropological terms and Platonic metaphysical conceptions such as is found also in Philo (Zandee 1974) and Clement of Alexandria (Zandee 1977). An especially interesting point is the description of God as the one who contains but is not contained (99,29–101,10)—a theme rooted in classical philosophy, developed at length by Philo, adapted by numerous Church Fathers and even some gnostics, decisively refined by Augustine, and handed on to the Western world through Gregory the Great and others (Frickel 1956; Schoedel 1972, 1980). Special links with Origenistic and post-Origenistic theology in *Teach. Silv.* is possible in the light of the treatment of certain biblical texts and the development of a number of theological themes (Broek 1986). Thus the application to the incarnation of the image of the sun shining on filth without being defiled by such contact (101,29–102,7) is otherwise known to us from Origen and his successors. And the view that Christ "is always the Son of the Father" (115,9–10) seems to presuppose a post-Origenist analysis of the relation between God and

Christ. One of the soteriological themes of *Teach. Silv.* suggests that the treatise may even move in the shadows of Athanasius (*De incarnatione verbi* 54.3): "He [Christ] who has exalted man became like God, not in order that he might bring God down to man, but that man might become like God" (111,8–13).

The ascetic cast of the ethic of *Teach. Silv.* and the use of the sapiential literary form made *Teach. Silv.* of special interest to proponents of the monastic movement. A passage akin to *Teach. Silv.* 97,3–98,22 in fact appears in two other sources where it is associated with the name of Antony the great desert hermit (Funk 1976). A common source may lie behind *Teach. Silv.* and Ps-Antony (Funk 1976: 18–19), or it may be that Ps-Antony drew on *Teach. Silv.* (Broek 1986: 23, n. 53). The advice given in the passage to avoid all human friendship no doubt owes something to a sharpened form of ascetic withdrawal from society, but it may also be another instance in which a rather unusual theme from classical Egyptian wisdom literature proved attractive to the monastic movement (Funk 1976: 20–21).

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WILLIAM R. SCHOEDEL

**TEBAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ṭebaḥ* (טֶבַח)]. The firstborn son of Reumah, the concubine of Abraham's brother Nahor (Gen 22:24). The personal name Tebah would have meant something like " (born at the time [or place] of) a slaughtering." The man himself is said to have been the ancestral father of an Aramaean tribe and presumably founded the city of Tibhath (1 Chr 18:8; cf. 2 Sam 8:8, where *ṭbḥ* should be read instead of the erroneous *bṭḥ*). The town belonged to the empire of Hadadezer, the king of Aram-Zobah. King David of Israel took from Tibhath and brought to Jerusalem large supplies of bronze, which were used later in Solomon's construction. "Tebah" has been thought to be related to the place name *tubiḫi* of the Amarna letters and probably to *dbḫ* of Tuthmosis III's Palestine list. This city was likely located between Baalbek and Kadesh, in the Beqaʿ Valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon Mountains (*GTTOT* 333; *LBHG,* 171, 296).

EDWIN C. HOSTETTER

**TEBALIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ṭĕbalyāhû* (טְבַלְיָהוּ)]. A gatekeeper in the temple at Jerusalem, Tebaliah is named in 1 Chr 26:11 as the third son of Hosah of the Levitical line of Merari. The list in which this name occurs may come from the Chronicler (Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 169) or from a later reviser of the Chronicler's arrangement of these temple functionaries (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 173). The derivation of the name itself is a matter of some speculation. Noth (*IPN,* 244) found no

satisfactory possibilities for its meaning. If the root *ṭbl* is understood, then the meaning might be "Yahweh has dipped" or "purified" (BDB, 371). If, on the other hand, the initial element is understood to be derived from *ṭōb* (see Coogan 1976: 74–75), then the meaning might be "good for Yahweh" (see Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 170).

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J. S. ROGERS

**TEBETH** [Heb *ṭēbēt* (טֵבֵת)]. The tenth month of the Hebrew calendar, corresponding roughly to December and January. See CALENDAR (ANCIENT ISRAELITE AND EARLY JEWISH).

**TEFILLIN** [Heb *tĕpīllîn* (תְּפִלִּין); *tĕpîlîn* (תְּפִילִין)]. See PHYLACTERIES.

**TEHILLIM** [Heb *tĕḥīllîm* (תְּחִלִּים)]. See PSALMS, BOOK OF.

**TEHINNAH** (PERSON) [Heb *tĕḥinnâ* (תְּחִנָּה)]. The father of Irnahash in the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr 4:12).

H. C. LO

**TEKOA** (PLACE) [Heb *tĕqôaʿ* (תְּקוֹעַ)]. TEKOITE. A town in the highlands of Judah (2 Chr 11:6). It is identified with Khirbet Tequʿa (M.R. 170115), ca 16 km S of Jerusalem at an altitude of 825 m. The site is located exactly on the border between arable land and the desert. E of it extends "the wilderness of Tekoa" (cf. 2 Chr 20:20). To the W there is a fertile area once known for its olive trees, as we know from Talmudic sources (*m. Menaḥ* 8,3). Perhaps the mentioning of Tekoa in Jer 6:1 refers to its location bordering the waste land, and thereby to the possibility of using the town as a refuge where the people of Jerusalem could "flee for safety" on the day of desolation. The Hebrew text of Joshua 15, giving an administrative division of the kingdom of Judah, does not mention Tekoa. The LXX though presents an additional district with Tekoa, Bethlehem, and some other towns (v 59b). If we interpret the genealogical lists in the beginning of 1 Chronicles correctly (especially 2:24; 4:5) Tekoa was founded as a result of a merging of people from the clan of Ephrathah at Bethlehem and Calebites from the Hebron area. This also seems perfectly logical, since the site is situated exactly between the areas of the two cities mentioned.

Tekoa appears a couple of times in the narratives of king David. One of David's heroes, Ira the son of Ikkesh, came from Tekoa (2 Sam 23:26). According to the Chronicler this Ira later served as officer in charge of a division of 24,000 men (1 Chr 27:9). It was also in this area that David gained support and laid the foundation for his further accession to the throne. When David's son Absalom after having killed his brother Amnon had fled abroad, Joab, the commander of the army, arranged a reconciliation between father and son by sending for a "wise woman" from Tekoa to talk to the king. This has led some scholars to suggest that "wisdom" had a particular association with Tekoa (Wolff *Joel and Amos* Hermeneia, 123). This is possible but by no means certain. Wise women do exist both here and there and everywhere. After the division of the monarchy we are told that king Rehoboam of Judah strengthened the fortifications of Tekoa along with some other cities in his little kingdom (2 Chr 11:5 ff.). It is quite possible that he did, but the list of fortified cities preserved here rather seems to derive from the time of Josiah (Keel and Küchler 1982: 733). The most prominent resident of Tekoa mentioned in the Bible was neither an army officer nor a wise woman but a prophet, the great Amos. Carrying out his ministry in the N kingdom he nevertheless was a southerner, probably a sheep breeder, from Tekoa. Indeed there have been assumptions that the Tekoa of Amos was situated in the N kingdom, but we are on the safer side relying on the traditional localization in Judah (see Wolff *Joel and Amos* Hermeneia, 123). It has been suggested that the sheep breeders of Tekoa, one of whom was Amos, were indeed cultic personnel, in charge of the temple flocks (see e.g. Kapelrud 1961: 5–7, 69), but we don't know of such an arrangement. The book of Nehemiah (3:5, 27) tells us that after the exile Tekoites restored sections of the city wall of Jerusalem. We

are also informed that their leaders were not very interested in the project, which may reflect the permanent conflict between city and countryside. During the Maccabean revolt ca. 160 B.C., Jonathan was operating in the wilderness of Tekoa (1 Macc 9:33) while Antiochus IV refortified the city (*Ant.* 13.15). During the Jewish wars in the 1st centuries C.E. Tekoa seems to have been in the hands of the Jewish rebels (*JW* 4.518; cf. Keel and Küchler 1982: 665). In Byzantine times Tekoa was a Christian town.

There are ruins of a Byzantine church in the site. The apse and the S wall are still discernible, as also parts of a floor mosaic. Ca. 50 m to the NE of the church we find a dubble cave probably originally a cistern, that seems to be the place honored since the 1st century C.E. as the grave of Amos. A built-up passage leads into the cave from the E. Fragments of walls indicate that a building, ca. 10 × 10 m, once stood above the cave. This was presumably the memorial building, the propheteion of Amos. The monastical life was flourishing in this area in the middle of the 1st Christian millennium. There were monks and monasteries in the vicinity of Tekoa, frequently representing rebellious and unorthodox tendencies in theological thinking, e.g. Monophysitism and Origenism. Some centuries later, in the days of the crusaders, Tekoa was a big village inhabited by Christians and Muslims. In later times the place has gradually lost its significance. Today sometimes bedouins dwell on the site. A couple of kilometers away from it we can find a little Arab village called Tequa as well as an Israeli settlement by the name "Tekoa."

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LARS AXELSSON

**TEL-ABIB** (PLACE) [Heb *tel ʾābîb* (תֵּל אָבִיב)]. A place in Babylonia where a number of exiles from Judah dwelt (Ezek 3:15). This Tel-abib was on the bank or the vicinity of the canal Chebar. The name "Tel-abib" is only mentioned in Ezek 3:15, but the name of the river Chebar is mentioned six times in Ezekiel. The great river (or canal) flowed through the site of ancient Nippur and then entered again into the Euphrates. The site of Tel-abib has not yet been identified. Avi-Yonah (*MBA* map no. 163) considers Tel-abib, Tel-melah, Tel-harsha, Cherub, Addan, Immer, and Casiphia to be the villages of Jewish exiles on Chebar river near Nippur.

In the documents of Murashû and sons, the Babylonian trade and banking house, from the 5th century B.C., a number of Jewish names are found. This fact may confirm that the Jewish exiles had settled in this region. The Babylonian name *nār kabāri,* "kabaru river," which may be identified with the biblical Chebar is found on two contracts from the time of Artaxerxes I (464–424 B.C.).

The word "Chebar" is mentioned in relation to Ezekiel's vision and his residential home. Apparently Ezekiel returned to his home in the village called Tel-abib. Cherub (Ezra 2:59; Neh 7:61) may be another name for Tel-abib from the consideration that Ezekiel saw the vision of Cherubim on the bank of Chebar River near Tel-abib.

In the Akkadian language the expression *til abūbi,* "hill of ruins made by the Deluge," was commonly used from the Old Babylonian period on. For example, "May (Adad) turn his land into hills of ruins *(māssu ana tilli abūbim litêr)*" (CH 50: 79–80). If one tears up the citadel's foundation, it will become "like a hill of ruins *(til abūbi)*." When the Assyrian army destroyed and flattened the rebellious cities, those became like *til abūbi.* Tiglath-pileser III wrote, "I destroyed (them) like *til abūbi."* The Akkadian noun *abūbu* means "tidal wave; flood; the Deluge," but the biblical *mabbûl* "Deluge" is probably related to another Akkadian word *biblu* "flood" (a noun derived from the verb *abālu* "to carry off, sweep away"). A variant form of the same word *bibbulu* "flood" in Code of Hammurapi §45:43 is more similar to *mabbûl.* It is most likely that the Hebrew meaning of the name "Tel-abib," "hill of fresh ears of barley," is a modification of the Akkadian words *til abūbi,* "ruins by Deluge," similar to Jacob's changing the name of his son from Ben-oni to Ben-jamin (Gen 35:18).

YOSHITAKA KOBAYASHI

**TEL-ASSAR** (PLACE) [Heb *tĕla›śśār* (תְּלַאשָׁר)]. An Aramaean city inhabited by the people of Eden mentioned with Gozan, Haran, and Rezeph, situated on the middle Euphrates. It might have been a city of the kingdom of Eden, the House of Eden or *Bît Adini* in Akkadian inscriptions which lay between the river Balih and Euphrates.

The Hebrew transcriptions *tĕla›śśār* and *tĕlaśśār* are conglutinations of *tēl-›Aśśār* "Ruin-mound of ›Assar," which may probably be identified with the Akkadian *Til-Aššuri* which means "Ruined mound of Aššur," namely "Ruined mound destroyed by the Assyrian god Aššur." This name may be an alternative name for the destroyed Aramaean city of Til Barsip, modern Tell Aḥmar, on the E bank of the Euphrates. In 2 Kgs 19:12 and Isa 37:12 the Rabshakeh referred to it probably because he passed through the cities of Gozan, Haran, and Til Barsip. Even if Til Aššuri which is referred to in the annals of Tiglath-pileser III and Esarhaddon appears to lie near the Assyrian border with Elam, Tel-Assar inhabited by the people of Eden seems to lie in the kingdom of Eden on the middle Euphrates.

The kingdom of Eden was located between Assyria and Syria-Palestine. Barsip (*ANET*, 269), the capital city of the house of Eden, was conquered by Shalmaneser III. He "renamed it after himself" (Hallo 1960) and annexed Bit Adini to Assyria in 855 B.C. Afterward Amos denounced the house of Eden (Amos 1:5). It probably rebelled against Assyria, and in the 8th century B.C. it was destroyed.

Sennacherib, through his messengers, tried to convince Hezekiah to surrender. By enumerating the names of cities, he showed that the gods worshiped by the people of these places had been unable to deliver them from the power of the kings preceding him. See *MBA*, map nos. 127, 138, 146.

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YOSHITAKA KOBAYASHI

**TEL-HARSHA** (PLACE) [Heb *tēl ḥaršā›* (תֵּל חַרְשָׁא)]. A Babylonian site from which a number of lay people who were unable to establish their genealogies to prove they were the descendants of Israelites came back to Jerusalem and Judah with Zerubbabel in 537 B.C. by the decree of Cyrus. The Jewish exiles were probably taken to several unpopulated ruin mounds based on the assertion that some of the names of the locations where they lived were preceded by the word *tēl* "ruin mound of …" (Ezra 2:59; Neh 7:61; 1 Esdr 5:36). There were 652 people who could not prove their Israelite ancestry: the sons of Delaiah, the sons of Tobiah, and the sons of Necoda who came up from Tel-melah, Tel-harsha, and other exilic villages.

If it is an Aramaic word, it means "ruined mound of the deaf (or dumb)," and also less probably "ruined mound of a sorcerer." There were also cities called Ḫaršu and Ḫaršaya, but its Akkadian meaning and the relation to Tel-harsha cannot be ascertained (*CAD* H, 115–16). Aharoni (*MBA*, map no. 163) considers that Tel-harsha was one of the villages for exiles on Chebar River near Nippur, such as Tel-abib, Tel-melah (Ezek 3:15; Ezra 2:59), but the location is not yet identified. See TEL-MELAH.

YOSHITAKA KOBAYASHI

**TEL-MELAH** (PLACE) [Heb *tēl melaḥ* (תֵּל מֶלַח)]. A place probably in Babylonia from which Jewish exiles returned to Judah, some of whom could not prove their Israelite lineage through their genealogies (Ezra 2:59; Neh 7:61; 1 Esdr 5:36 [RSV, Telmelah]).

The name means "the ruined mound of salt." Some consider that it was a ruined town which had been strewn with salt for purification of a site devoted for destruction (cf. Judg 9:45). The salt land is uninhabitable (Jer 17:6) and the Jewish exiles were probably deported to such a place. The soil of the site was probably too saline to produce crops.

According to Aharoni (*MBA*, map no. 163) the villages of the Jewish exiles on the Chebar River near Nippur are Tel-abib, Tel-melah, Tel-harsha, Casiphia and others (Ezek 3:15; Ezra 2:59; 8:17). However, the site is not yet identified. See TEL-HARSHA.

YOSHITAKA KOBAYASHI

**TELAH** (PERSON) [Heb *telaḥ* (תֶּלַח)]. A descendant of Ephraim and son of Resheph (1 Chr 7:25).

What the name Telah means is not apparent. It appears in a postexilic Ephraimite genealogy which is difficult to interpret. Clearly he is the son of Resheph, but the relationship of Resheph to the preceding names is not clear. See RESHEPH (PERSON). The general tenor of the list aims toward situating the descendants of Joseph in the area N of and including Bethel. *BHS* proposes reading Shutelah for Telah. Similarly, Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 154) view Telah as possibly an abbreviation of Shutelah. In the present form of the text, Telah is in the sixth generation before Joshua.
JAMES M. KENNEDY

**TELAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ṭĕlā᾽îm* (טְלָאִים)]. Var. TELEM. The site where Saul mustered his troops in preparation for an invasion into Amalekite territory (1 Sam 15:4). There has been a long history of confusion over the identity of this site. The LXX reads "Gilgal" in place of Telaim, a tradition followed by Josephus as well (*Ant* 6.7.2). This tradition is unlikely, even though Saul was known to frequent the shrine located at Gilgal. It is much more likely, given the Amalekite destination, that Telaim is to be identified with Telem, a settlement in the Negeb allotted to Judah (Josh 15:24). Scholars who read Telem in place of *mē᾽ôlam* (= "from ancient times," 1 Sam 27:8) or of Havilah (1 Sam 15:7) do so on conjectural grounds alone. The exact location is unknown.
ELMER H. DYCK

**TELEILÂT EL-GHASSÛL.** See GHASSUL, TULEILAT EL-.

**TELEM** (PERSON) [Heb *ṭelem* (טֶלֶם)]. One of the three gatekeepers among the returned exiles who married a foreign woman during the era of Ezra's mission (Ezra 10:24 and 1 Esdr 9:25 where LXX reads *tolbanēs*). Noth contends that the name is etymologically related to the Arabic *ẓalmun* and means "brightness," probably an expression of joy over the birth of the child (*IPN*, 223). The three-month investigation (Ezra 10:16–17) culminating in the list in which Telem's name appears produced only three names of gatekeepers, leading some to believe that the list only includes prominent members of the Temple staff. Telem's importance at the Temple, however, remains a mystery. While it seems probable that Telem divorced his foreign wife (note the prior oath taken by the people [Ezra 10:3–5] and the possibly generalizable v 19), that is not certain. The RSV follows 1 Esdr 9:36 in clearly stating that all on the list did indeed divorce their foreign wives and put away their children, but the Hebrew text of Ezra 44b is so corrupt that a definite translation is impossible, leaving the final outcome of the investigation in doubt.
JEFFREY A. FAGER

**TELEM** (PLACE) [Heb *ṭelem* (טֶלֶם)]. See TELAIM.

**TELHARSHA** (PLACE). See TEL-HARSHA.

**TELL/TEL.** In biblical and archaeological usage, a mound that has resulted from the depositions of successive layers of human occupation. Geographic names containing the element "tel" or "tell" are alphabetized under the second element of the name; for example: IRA, TEL; BEIT MIRSIM, TELL.

**TELMELAH** (PLACE) [Gk *Thermeleth* (Θερμελεθ)]. An alternate form of the name TEL-MELAH.

**TEMA** (PERSON) [Heb *têmā᾽* (תֵּימָא)]. One of the sons of Ishmael (Gen 25:15). As with many of the names in this chapter, the name "Tema" has Arabian elements, and is certainly to be connected with the prominent oasis city of Teima. See TEMA (PLACE).

**TEMA** (PLACE) [Heb *têmā᾽* (תֵּימָא); *tēmā᾽* (תֵּמָא)]. A city in N Arabia (Isa 21:14; Jer 25:23; Job 6:19). It was apparently associated with a "son of Ishmael" (Gen 25:15; 1 Chr 1:30).

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A. Name and Identification
B. Location and Topographical Description
C. History of Exploration
D. Tema in the 1st Millennium B.C.

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**A. Name and Identification**

The identity of biblical Tema with Tayma *(Taymâ᾽),* one of the major caravan oasis cities of N Arabia, has never been seriously doubted. The name of the city is rendered as *Te-e-me* (not accepted by Eph῾al 1982: 125, n. 437), *Te-ma, Te-ma-a* and *Te-ma-᾽* in Akkadian inscriptions from Sennacherib through the reign of Nabonidus. It is spelled *tym᾽* in Aramaic inscriptions from the city itself, and *tm᾽* in contemporary Thamudic texts from its vicinity. Both the Aramaic and the Thamudic references derive from the 5th or 4th centuries B.C. In Minaean, the name may once occur as *tymy.* The geographer Ptolemaeus from the 2d century A.D. mentions *Thaîma* (Knauf 1989: 80, 149).

The name cannot be interpreted with certainty. In its present form, it looks like a *fa῾la᾽*-formation from *TYM; taym* means "slave, servant" in Arabic. Alternatively, one may analyze the name as a formation with *ta*-prefix from *WMY.* Akkadian *wamā᾽um,* later *tamû (m),* Syriac *îmâ,* means "to swear an oath"; Qatabanian *wmy* could signify "confederates" (Müller 1963: 113). In this case, the name may elucidate the cultic and political centrality of the oasis for the surrounding tribes. Although one would expect a form like *Tawmâ᾽ if the name should indeed be derived from *WMY,* this explanation is not entirely impossible since we do not know how far the NW Semitic shift of *w-* to *y-* had, by the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C., penetrated into Arabia. The ethnic adjective formed from the city's name is *tymny* "Temanite" in Hebrew and Aramaic, and *taymâwî* in Arabic.

**B. Location and Topographical Description**

Tayma (27°38´N; 38°29´E) is strategically situated on the W edge of the N Arabian desert *(an-Nafûd),* where three important trade routes merge: (a) the "incense road," the main artery of traffic between S Arabia, Syria, and the Mediterranean, which follows the E escarpment of the W Arabian mountain ridge; (b) the connection between the "incense road" and Mesopotamia, which leads NNE from Tayma via Dumah (see DUMAH) to the Euphrates, and circles the N fringe of the Nafûd; and (c) the connection between the "incense road" and E Arabia and the Persian Gulf, which leads E from Tayma via Hâ᾽il to Gerrha (see HAGAR), skirting S of the Nafûd. The city is situated on the S border of a salt swamp *(sabkha).* The core of the settlement lies within the limits of the present oasis which today consists predominantly of mudbrick compounds and palm gardens. The view of ancient Tayma would probably not have been much different except for some more magnificent buildings; also, in antiquity the oasis extended to the NE and to the NW for 1–2 km beyond the present limits of cultivation. The whole ancient oasis was surrounded by a wall, most of whose course can still be traced. The wall includes an area of ca. 800 hectares (Edens and Bawden 1988: 52–54). Rocky hills overlooking the city from the S (Jabal Ġhunaym) contain rock drawings and Thamudic inscriptions of religious significance.

**C. History of Exploration**

From the late 19th century onwards, the city was visited by several explorers who described its visible monuments and recorded its inscriptions. The most important among these were C. Doughty in 1877 (Doughty 1936: 284–300, 517–65), C. Huber and J. Euting in 1884 (Euting 1914: 146–63, 198–207), H. St. J. B. Philby in 1951 (Philby 1957: 72–103), W. L. Reed and F. V. Winnett in 1962 (Winnett and Reed 1970: 22–37), and R. Stiehl in 1966 (Altheim and Stiehl 1968: 74–77; 1973: 243–53 with fig. 2–12). Archaeological surveys and soundings commenced in 1979 and are presently continued (Bawden et al. 1980; Livingstone et al. 1983; Abu-Duruk 1986).

**D. Tema in the 1st Millennium B.C.**

A small amount of "Midianite" pottery attests human presence at the oasis for the end of the 2d millennium B.C. (Bawden and Edens 1988: 209–11; Edens and Bawden 1988: 54–57; Parr 1988a: 76–81). As early as shortly after the middle of the 8th century B.C., Sabaean and Temanite caravans reached the Euphrates in the vicinity of ᾽Ana. See SHUAH. When the participants in the commerce on the incense

road paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III in 734 B.C., so did Tema (Knauf 1989: 3–4, n. 16, 138). Tema's close cooperation with the Sabaeans who controlled the incense trade from the 8th through the 5th centuries B.C. is attested by Job 6:19. It can also be argued that the local N Arabic script, "Tayma-Thamudic" or "Taymanite," is derived from Sabaic writing (von Wissmann 1976: 355, n. 89).

Around 600 B.C. Tema and Dedan were the two major urban centers of N Arabia (Jer 25:23; Knauf 1989: 103f.). In 553/552, the Babylonian king Nabonidus marched into N Arabia via Edom and made Tema his headquarters during his ten years' sojourn in N Arabia (Beaulieu 1985). Nabonidus' march of conquest is reflected in Isa 21:12–17 (Galling 1963; Lindsay 1976). During the 5th century, the city reached the peak of its prosperity (Bawden and Edens 1988; Edens and Bawden 1988; Parr 1988b). It remained the metropolis of N Arabia under Persian rule, and most probably was the seat of a Persian governor (Knauf 1990). Its trade and cultural relations to Mesopotamia, Egypt, and various parts of N Arabia are reflected in the Aramaic inscriptions, the names and places of origins of the city's gods, and the iconography of the reliefs accompanying the inscriptions (Dalley 1986; Knauf 1989: 150–52; 1990). When, around 400 B.C., the Minaeans expelled the Sabaeans from the incense trade, Tema lost its preeminence to Dedan. In the course of the 1st century B.C., the town was incorporated into the Nabataean realm (Wenning 1987: 116–17).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**TEMAH** (PERSON) [Heb *tāmaḥ* (תָּמַח)]. The name of a family of temple servants who returned to Palestine with Zerubbabel shortly after 538 B.C.E., the end of the Babylonian exile. The name appears in Ezra 2:53 in the phrase "the sons of Temah" (Gk *thema*), where the temple servants are distinguished from the people of Israel, the priests, and the Levites. The parallel verse Neh 7:55 (Gk *thēma/ēmath*) and the later parallel 1 Esdr 5:32 (Gk *thomoi/thom (e)ei/thomthei*) also list "the sons of Temah."

STEVEN R. SWANSON

**TEMAN** (PERSON) [Heb *têmān* (תֵּימָן)]. The firstborn son of Eliphaz, the most prominent of the tribes of Edom (Gen 36:11). It seems that the Edomite tribes were basically regional organizations; names of Edomite tribes have survived into the present toponymy of the region. See also FEINAN, WADI; ZERAH. The references to Teman in Gen 36:15, 42 are dependent upon 36:11 (Weippert 1971: 437–46).

Teman is a geographical designation from the root *ymn* with *t*-prefix; it signifies "south" in general (e.g., Exod 26:18). As a toponym, Teman refers either to Edom, the southernmost Canaanite state in the first half of the 1st millennium B.C., or to a part of Edom. In Amos 1:12, the fire that Yahweh is going to hurl on Teman will consume the palaces of Bozrah. It seems, then, that Teman was the name of the N part of Edom whose capital was located at Bozrah (Buṣeirah; M.R. 208016). Ezek 25:13 threatens the Edomites "from Teman to Dedan," i.e., from the northern to the southern borders of their realm at the beginning of the 6th century B.C. (Knauf 1983; 1985: 250). In Jer 49:7, 20, and Obadiah 9, Teman is used as a synonym for Edom. If Teman was the name of the region surrounding Bozrah/Buṣeirah, the capital of Edom, this broadening of the term's meaning becomes intelligible. This was the region where the Edomite state began to form in the 9th century B.C. and from where it penetrated farther S in the following centuries.

It is clear from all these references, that Teman designated a region and, secondarily, a tribe (de Vaux 1969). The identification of the archaeological site of Tawilan near Petra (Glueck 1935: 82f.) with Edomite Teman is untenable both in terms of linguistics and philology.

Since the classification of an Edomite as an Edomite would not make much sense, the "land of the Temanite," which was the origin of the Edomite "king" Husham (Gen 36:34 ; 1 Chr 1:45), does not refer to Teman, but to Taima in N Arabia. See also HUSHAM. It cannot be decided whether Job's friend Eliphaz the Temanite (Job 2:11; 4:1; 15:1; 22:1; 42:7, 9) was thought to have come from Edom or Taima (Knauf 1983: 25). His personal name may allude to the Edomite tribe of Eliphaz (Weippert 1971: 246).

"Yahweh of Teman" is attested in the ostraca from Kuntillet ʿAjrud (Emerton 1982). It is unclear, whether this Teman refers to the Edomite region, or to "South, Country of the South" in general. Authors who look for the origin of the God Yahweh in Edom would tend to argue for the first option (Ahlström 1986: 58); those who assume Yahweh's homeland to have been located farther S would choose the second one (Knauf 1988). The same ambiguity applies to Hab 3:3.

A settlement *Thaiman* in S Transjordan is attested for the 3d and 4th centuries A.D. by Eusebius and St. Jerome (*Onomast.* 96:19–21; 97:15–17). Their locations, however, vary (5 or 15 miles N of Petra?); therefore, the place still remains unidentified (Weippert 1971: 422).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**TEMANITE** [Heb *têmānî* (תֵּימָנִי)]. An ethnic designation in the OT. A Temanite is either a person from Teman or from Tema. See also TEMA and TEMAN. Teman refers to "the south" in general and to Edom specifically; accordingly, a Temanite is a "southerner," or an Edomite. As for the Edomite "king" Husham, who came from "the country of the Temanite," or "Temanites" (Gen 36:34; 1 Chr 1:45), a possible origin in the Tema area has been proposed. See HUSHAM. Job's friend Eliphaz (Job 2:11; 4:1; 15:1; 22:1; 42:7, 9) may have been at home in either Tema or Edom. See also ELIPHAZ;

NAAMATHITE; SHUAH; UZ. Temni in 1 Chr 4:6 (a proper name) seems to refer to an Idumaean clan incorporated into the statistics of the tribe of Judah. See also HUR; SHOBAL; MENUHOTH.
ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**TEMENI** (PERSON) [Heb *têmĕnî* (תֵּימְנִי)]. One of the sons of Ashhur, a descendant of Judah (1 Chr 4:6). His name indicates that he was a southerner.
H. C. LO

**TEMPLE OF OLYMPIAN ZEUS.** See OLYMPIAN ZEUS, TEMPLE OF.

**TEMPLE SCROLL.** A scroll emanating from Qumran Cave 11 (hence its designation 11QTemple; Heb *Megillat Hammiqdaš*) which sets forth the author/redactor's plan for a perfect society, cult, and government of the Jewish people in the land of Israel.

**A. Discovery**

The *Temple Scroll* was first brought to the attention of the late Yigael Yadin by Joseph Uhrig, a Virginia minister, in 1960 who said it was in the hands of a Jordanian antiquities dealer (Shanks 1987). After two years of negotiations, Yadin had little more to show than a small fragment proffered as a sample, and he gave up hope of recovering the scroll. In the aftermath of the Six Day War in 1967, Yadin was able to locate the antiquities dealer and the scroll which was eventually purchased for the Shrine of the Book in Jerusalem (Yadin 1983, 1: 1–5).

**B. Description and Paleography**

The scroll was in poor condition. It had been kept under the floor of the antiquities dealer's home in a shoebox. In addition, other fragments were in a cigarbox, and some had been hidden elsewhere. The task of unrolling the scroll and placing the fragments in order was made even more difficult because the writing of some columns was preserved only on the back of the preceding column. The upper edge had been severely damaged by dampness, either in antiquity or in the care of the antiquities dealer.

The scroll consists of 19 sheets, each containing 3–4 columns. Adding space for the damaged beginning, the entire scroll would have been approximately 8.75 m, making it the longest of the preserved scrolls (1QIsa$^{a}$ is 7.34 m). It is written in two hands, one scribe writing cols. 1–5 and another (with some overlap of text) the remainder of the scroll. Yadin (1983, 1: 12) suggests that the scribe of the first part of the scroll repaired the scroll by rewriting the first part which had become worn through use. The scribal techniques and script are typical of the other Qumran manuscripts. While the language of the scroll has much in common with the dialect in which the sectarian compositions from Qumran are written, in certain linguistic features and in its legal terminology, it exhibits more affinities to rabbinic Hebrew than do the other scrolls (Schiffman 1980).

The *Temple Scroll* is also known from other manuscripts. These other manuscripts are extant only in fragments and some have been used in restoring parts of the text. Yadin (1983, 1: 17) identified the script of the two scribes of 11QTemple as Herodian, dating to around the turn of the era. He also discussed two fragments, dating Rockefeller 43.975 to the Herodian period but 43.366 to the Hasmonean, from the end of the 2d century B.C.E. J. Strugnell (in Wacholder 1983: 205–6), having examined the manuscripts at the Rockefeller Museum, writes that 43.366 belongs not to a manuscript of the *Temple Scroll* but rather to a Pentateuch with supplementary additions. Further, Strugnell calls attention to a group of Cave 4 fragments which quote the *Temple Scroll* or one of its sources and which he dates no later than ca. 150 B.C.E. A few fragments from Cave 11 are also awaiting publication.

**C. Contents**

The scroll presents itself as a rewritten Torah which begins with the renewal of the Sinaitic covenant in Exodus 34 and then turns to the building of the temple in Exodus 35. From this point, the scroll continues in the order of the canonical Torah, covering the basic structures of the sanctuary and its courts, the sacrificial system, the various other Temple rituals, laws of ritual purity and impurity, and finally a long series of Deuteronomic prescriptions, including a distinct section on the king, the government, and the army. The scroll concludes with the laws of consanguineous marriages.

11QTemple 29:2–10 indicates clearly that the purpose of the *Temple Scroll* was to provide a system of law for the pre-messianic temple. This temple, it was expected, would be replaced in the end of days with a divinely created sanctuary. Until then, the author/redactor saw his scroll as representing the correct interpretation of the Torah.

The scroll does not simply recapitulate the prescriptions of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. It collects together the various pentateuchal (and sometimes prophetic) material relevant to the issue at hand and weaves together a unified, consistent text. In this respect it can be said that the text redacts the Torah, combining all materials on a single topic together. In many cases, statements in the canonical Torah referring to God in the 3d person are shifted into 1st-person-divine direct address. In this way the intermediacy of Moses is eliminated and the contents of the scroll are presented as the direct revelation of God to Israel at Mt. Sinai.

Yet the scroll goes further. It uses a distinct form of exegesis, in some ways similar to the midrash of the later rabbis, to reconcile the differences between the various pentateuchal texts so as to create a unified and consistent whole. At times, it makes minor additions to clarify its legal stance. In a few places, extensive passages appear which are not based on our canonical Scriptures. In this way the scroll propounds its own views on the major issues of Jewish law relating to Temple, cult, government, and sanctity. It is this exegetical and legal approach which makes the *Temple Scroll* so central for the history of Jewish law and midrashic exegesis, and for understanding the sects of the Second Temple period.

The laws of the scroll include a number of provisions of great interest. The architecture of the temple proposed here differs from biblical accounts, on which the author claims to base himself, as well as from descriptions of the Second Temple in Josephus and the Mishnah. Most interesting is the extension of the *temenos* (the "Temple City") by the addition of a 3d courtyard, so large that it would have encompassed most of what was then Jerusalem. The courtyards and their gates represent the Israelite encampment in the wilderness. Unique approaches appear here for the construction of the temple furnishings. The sacrificial festival calendar includes a number of festivals not part of the biblical or rabbinic cycle. A second New Year festival is to be celebrated on the first of Nisan, in the spring, followed by annual celebration of the eight days of ordination. Besides the Omer festival for the barley harvest (the 2d day of Passover) and the first fruits of wheat (Shavuot), the scroll adds two more first-fruits festivals, each at 50-day intervals, for oil and wine. The wood offering is also celebrated as an annual festival in the summer. Extensive laws deal with the sacrificial procedure and ritual purity and impurity. Here we see a general tendency to provide additional ways to protect the sanctuary from impurity. This brief survey does not even begin to indicate the rich nature of the scroll's exegesis and the many details of Jewish law in which the text diverges from the views of other sectarian documents or rabbinic literature.

**D. Sources**

Even in its present form, it is not difficult to discern that the *Temple Scroll* has been redacted from a number of sources by an author/redactor. His sources most certainly included the sacrificial festival calendar (11QTemple 13:9–29:1) and the law of the king and army (56:12–59:21). It has also been suggested that the description of the temple precincts and furnishings (2:1–47:18, *passim*) and the laws of purity (48:1–51:10) constituted separate sources (Wilson and Wills 1982). It was the author/redactor who added the Deuteronomic paraphrase at the end (51:11–56:21, 60:1–66:17).

**E. Dating**

Rockefeller 43.366, taken by Yadin as the earliest manuscript of the *Temple Scroll*, led him to date the scroll to no later than the reign of John Hyrcanus (134–104 B.C.E.) or Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.). Yet, as already noted, this is not actually a manuscript of our scroll.

All sources now included in the scroll presuppose the existence of a canonical Torah differing from MT only in minor details (contrast Stegemann 1988: 246–56). Only a few legal rulings can be shown to derive from variant biblical texts. For this reason the scroll had to have been completed after the period of the return (ca. late 6th to mid-5th centuries B.C.E.). Further, all manuscripts of the *Temple Scroll* identified thus far are of Herodian date, although it is possible that a source of the scroll was extant by 150 B.C.E. It is within these parameters that we must seek both a dating and a *Sitz im Leben* for the scroll.

More specific dating must take into account the particular regulations of the law of the king which is the largest sustained non-pentateuchal section. This text provides the clearest indications of date in the scroll. It emphasizes the separation of roles of the high priest and king and the need to constitute the *gerousia* so that it would consist of twelve each of priests, Levites, and Israelites. It argues against the use of mercenaries which were used extensively by John Hyrcanus. The *Temple Scroll* requires that the king have a special palace guard to protect him against kidnap. Here we have an illusion to the perfidious kidnap and murder of Jonathan the Hasmonean in 143 B.C.E. (cf. 1 Macc 13:24). The text further polemicizes against campaigns such as those of John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus when it prohibits wars with Egypt for the sake of accumulating wealth.

Since the law of the king is incorporated into the fully redacted scroll, it is therefore appropriate to date the scroll as a whole to no later than the second half of the reign of John Hyrcanus (Schiffman 1987; Yadin [1983, 1: 386–90] dates the scroll to the reign of Hyrcanus or slightly earlier; Hengel, Charlesworth, and Mendels [1986] date the scroll to 103–88 B.C.E.). At this time, the author/redactor called for a thoroughgoing revision of the existing Hasmonean order, desiring to replace it with a Temple, sacrificial system, and government which was in his view the embodiment of the legislation of the Torah. This dating is fully consistent with the paleographic data described above.

**F. Relation to Other Qumran Documents**

In his initial study of the *Temple Scroll,* Yadin assumed that it, like the rest of the Qumran corpus, represented a text of Essene provenance. Accordingly, he interpreted the scroll to agree with the previously known Dead Sea sectarian texts and Philo and Josephus' description of the Essenes. Many scholars have followed this lead. Others have pointed to the absence of the usual Qumran polemical language and distinctive terminology, and the lack of some characteristic linguistic features in these texts (Levine 1978 [and the responses of Milgrom 1978 and Yadin 1980]; Stegemann 1988: 237–46; Schiffman 1983: 13–17). Further, this text has a different view of the origins, authority and derivation of Jewish law. Whereas the sectarian texts from Qumran generally expect the law to be derived by inspired biblical exegesis from the canonical Torah, the *Temple Scroll* sees extrabiblical laws as stemming from the Sinai revelation as an actual Torah. Some recent scholarship now sees the *Temple Scroll* as emerging from a related group which was either contemporary with or earlier than the previously known Qumran sect. Still to be investigated are the unpublished Torah scrolls with supplementary material which at some points seem to underlie the *Temple Scroll.*

There is an even closer link between the *Temple Scroll* and the *Miqsat Ma*ʿ*aseh Ha-Torah* (4QMMT). This "halakhic letter" describes a series of laws over which the authors disputed with the established authorities of the Jerusalem priesthood. The 4QMMT claims that due to disagreements with the Jerusalem establishment its authors left Jerusalem and forswore worship in its temple (Qimron and Strugnell 1985). It is most likely that this letter dates to the origin of the Qumran community. In general, 4QMMT takes positions equivalent to those of the Sadducees in rabbinic literature and ascribes to the Jerusalem priests views identified as Pharisaic. In many cases, this text's rulings agree with those of the *Temple Scroll.* This new evidence suggests that the *Temple Scroll* stems from forerunners of the sect who shared Sadducean rulings on many matters. See also MIQṢAT MAʿASE HATORAH (4QMMT).

**G. Significance**

This scroll is the largest of the Dead Sea Scrolls and for this reason alone it vastly enriches the textual remains of Second Temple Judaism. This text shows that the exegesis of Scripture for the derivation of Jewish law, the activity which the later Rabbis called midrash, was already a central part of the Judaism of some groups in the Hasmonean period. This exegesis served as the basis for highly developed legal teachings which are evidence that among some groups of Second Temple Jews strict adherence to a living and developing tradition of Jewish law was the norm. Further, some of these Jews objected strenuously to the conduct of the Hasmoneans in both the religious and political/military spheres. These opponents were at the forefront of the movement represented by the Qumran sect. Among the texts they brought with them to Qumran were the sources of the *Temple Scroll.*

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LAWRENCE H. SCHIFFMAN

**TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.** Although not a trace of any phase of the temple building in Jerusalem seems to have survived to the present day, the Jerusalem Temple holds a place of great prominence in the architectural history of the Western world. No other building of the ancient world, either while it stood in Jerusalem or in the millennia since its final destruction, has been the focus of so much attention throughout the ages. Such attention has taken the form of the prayers and pilgrimages of the faithful, the discussions and deliberations of the postbiblical sages, and, in recent centuries, the incessant explorations, excavations, and expositions by the scholarly community.

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A. Introduction
B. Terminology
C. Sources
    1. Literary
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D. Solomonic (First) Temple
    1. David Precursors
    2. Architectural Features
    3. Temple Furnishings
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E. First Temple After Solomon
F. Temple of Zerubbabel
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G. Herodian Temple
H. Future Temple

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### A. Introduction

The architectural entity known as the Jerusalem Temple was a complex institution. It played a central religious and cultic role in Israelite life. It also was an expression of the artistic and aesthetic standards of Near Eastern antiquity. In addition, and in relation to its religious and artistic value, it functioned on a political level. It contributed to the authentication, first, of the national state of which Jerusalem was the

capital during the preexilic period, then of the semiautonomous community of Judeans after the exile, and finally of the Jews who continued to live in Jerusalem and the surrounding territory, with sporadic periods of autonomy, in the centuries before its final destruction.

The history of this building thus extends from the origins of the monarchy in the 10th century B.C.E., when it was constructed by King Solomon, until the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 C.E. However, this millennium-long period did not entail the continuous existence of the original structure. A major rebuilding effort, nearly from the ground up, took place after the Exile, beginning in 520 B.C.E., after nearly seventy years of desolation in the wake of the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem in 587. A second, enormous rebuilding effort took place near the very end of the Temple's history, when King Herod included the Jerusalem edifice among the extensive building projects that characterized his reign (37 to 4 B.C.E.). Although the early and late postexilic temples were in many senses continuations of the first temple building, they were also new buildings, exemplifying the techniques and styles of their own periods.

Consequently, the term Jerusalem Temple can designate one or all of these three distinct yet related buildings. The first is usually called the Solomonic Temple, because of Solomon's role in the building project; it is also called the First Temple. The next building is designated the Second Temple or sometimes Zerubbabel's Temple, in recognition of the chief political officer in the Persian province of Yehud (Judea) at the time of the reconstruction efforts of the late 6th century B.C.E. The third structure, while technically existing during the period known as the Second Temple period (515 B.C.E. to 70 C.E.), was in fact a new and grandiose edifice and is generally referred to as the Herodian Temple.

This division of the architectural history of the Jerusalem Temple into three major stages does not represent the only periods of change or renewal during the building's existence. Except for the Herodian Temple, which was completed only shortly before its destruction, the first two edifices underwent periodic renovations and alterations, both in structural features and also in the elaborate appurtenances associated with the cultic practices that took place in the Temple and its courts. These changes, which can often be linked to shifts in the political climate of Jerusalem as an administrative center, point to the political as well as religious functions of this series of monumental buildings.

Unlike religious structures or institutions in today's Western world, which are usually seen as functioning apart from institutions of political power, the Jerusalem Temple, like that of other temple buildings in the ANE, was inextricably linked to political rule. Furthermore, although it has been customary to project onto the Jerusalem Temple our contemporary experiences with religious architecture as places of worship for the community of the faithful, the Temple like its ancient counterparts played a somewhat different religious role. The temple building itself was not a place of public gathering and prayer, although its courtyards were the scene of such activity. Rather, the Temple in conception was a dwelling place on earth for the deity of ancient Israel and in this way, too, was fundamentally different from the religious buildings (synagogue, church, mosque) of postbiblical times.

**B. Terminology**

The English word "temple," as used to denote the central religious building in Jerusalem, comes from a Latin word (*templum*). In English translations, "temple" is used to translate the Hebrew word *hêkāl,* which is used in the phrase *hêkāl Yahweh.* The word *hêkāl* is related to similar terms in Ugaritic and Canaanite and is based on the Akkadian word *ekallu.* The Akkadian in turn comes from Sumerian *ê-gal,* meaning "great house." The connotation of this etymology is that a temple is a large building, or palace. It signifies a residence; and when used with the name of the deity, it indicates that the building is conceived of as a residence for that deity.

With respect to the Jerusalem Temple itself, the term *hêkāl,* when used with the definite article, is the same as the term for the major interior space (RSV "nave") of the building. This fact has led some scholars (e.g., Albright *ARI*) to suggest that the early Canaanite temples, of which the Jerusalem Temple is a development, consisted of one major chamber, the name of which thus designated the entire building. In the ongoing architectural tradition, rooms were added but the name of the largest interior space continued, *pars pro toto,* to represent the whole structure.

In biblical terminology, the noun *hêkāl* can be a non-sacral term referring to any palatial dwelling (such as Ahab's palace, 1 Kgs 21:1; or that of the Babylonian king, 2 Kgs 20:18 = Isa 39:7; or that of the Phoenicians, Joel 3:5—Eng 4:5), although royal palaces are usually called *bêt hammelek,* "house of the king." Its use for Yahweh's dwelling includes references to pre-Solomonic structures, notably the shrine at Shiloh (1 Sam 1:9; 3:3), as well as to the heavenly abode of God, where Yahweh is envisioned as enthroned in his holy habitation (e.g., Isa 6:1; 2 Sam 22:7 = Ps 18:7; Ps 11:7). Only rarely is Solomon's Temple called by this term: twice in 2 Kings (23:4; 24:13); several times in Jeremiah (7:4; 24:1; 50:28; 51:11); and three times in 2 Chronicles (26:16; 27:2; 29:16). Postexilic biblical sources, however, do use *hêkāl* as a general designation for Zerubbabel's Temple.

Although the use of *hêkāl* is significant in pointing to the conceptualization of the Temple as a dwelling place, another biblical term is more common in reference to the Temple and likewise indicates the residential nature of the building. The basic term for temple in the Hebrew Bible is *bêt Yahweh* or *bêt ʾĕlōhîm,* "house of Yahweh" or "house of God." These terms are used in the Bible for Solomon's Temple (as in 1 Kgs 7:12, 40, 45, 51; 1 Chr 9:11, 13, 26) and for the postexilic temple (e.g., Zech 8:9; Neh 6:10). They are also found in reference to Yahweh shrines located outside Jerusalem (e.g., Judg 19:18; 2 Sam 12:20).

The other major national shrine of ancient Israel, the Tabernacle, apparently was a portable structure and is associated with the premonarchic tribal period of Israelite history. Its character as a non-permanent tent gave rise to a pair of appellations for its successor structure, the Jerusalem Temple: "tent" (*ʾōhel*) and "tabernacles" (*mišk*ā*nôt,* only in the plural). These terms appear only in the book of Psalms (e.g., 15:1; 43:3). Several less common terms also reflect a temporary structure. The noun *nāweh,* which indicates the abode of flocks or shepherds, is applied to the earthly temple, usually poetically (e.g., Isa 33:20), or to God's heavenly abode (as in Exod 15:13), which is the prototype for the divine dwelling-place on earth.

A similar occurrence, in which the Jerusalem Temple is conceived of as the place where Yahweh "sits"—as in the heavenly temple, Exod 15:17—is the use of *mākôn lĕšibtô* in 1 Kgs 8:13. This verse also includes the designation "lofty house" (*bêt zĕbûl*). Both of these terms may reflect stereotypical language drawn from Canaanite mythology (Haran 1978: 14). Somewhat less rare is the appearance of *māʿon* or *mĕʿônāh,* meaning refuge or lair and thus "habitation." Used alone or in construct with "house" or "holiness," these words can denote either God's heavenly dwelling (as in Jer 25:30) or earthly abode, the latter being the Jerusalem Temple (Ps 26:8).

One other word in the Hebrew Bible associated with the Jerusalem Temple is *miqdāš,* which is usually translated "sanctuary" or "shrine" by lexicons and dictionaries. This term can actually refer to anything, object or place, possessing sanctity. It can even designate the whole order of sacred acts to be carried out by the priests (as Lev 19:30, "you shall keep my sabbaths and venerate my *miqdāš*"; so Haran 1978: 15). More typically it refers to a sacred structure, such as the Tabernacle and its precincts (Exod 25:8, etc.), non-Jerusalem shrines (as at Shechem, Josh 24:26, and in the N kingdom, Amos 7:9), and the temples of non-Israelites (as a Moabite shrine, Isa 16:12, or Tyrian shrines, Ezek 28:18).

As a designation for the Jerusalem Temple, *miqdāš* came to be used generally for the entire sacred area of the Temple and its precincts, that is, the building itself and the series of courtyards surrounding it. This inclusive usage is especially true in Ezekiel (see, e.g., Ezek 44:1). But the term can also be found as a designation for the temple building itself, as in Ps 74:7, "They have burned thy sanctuary with fire." One late biblical passage, 2 Chr 36:7, uses the phrase *bêt miqdāš,* "house of holiness." This designation, in the form (*bêt hammiqdāš*), becomes the most common term for the Jerusalem Temple in postbiblical Hebrew literature (in the Mishnah, e.g., *Maʿas. Š.* 5:2, and the Tosefta, e.g., *Ber.* 3:16).

The NT references to the Jerusalem Temple, largely to the third or Herodian building, are numerous but employ only two different Greek terms. The word *naos* designates the temple building itself, and *hieron* indicates the sacred compound in its entirety. Both these words are commonly rendered "temple" in English translations.

**C. Sources**

Information about the various structures located in Jerusalem and referred to as the Temple comes from two major sources: ancient texts, both biblical and extrabiblical; and archaeological materials.

**1. Literary.** The Temple is mentioned, directly or indirectly, in many different places throughout the Hebrew Bible, in over half of the biblical books (according to the enumeration in Christian Bibles). In addition, eleven different NT books refer to the Temple. However, the major source for our knowledge of the Temple is the elaborate description—a veritable blueprint in words—contained in 1 Kings 6–8 and its parallel account in 2 Chronicles 2–4. These chapters provide a wealth of detail and are particularly valuable because they appear to be texts derived from records of the Temple's construction.

These temple texts deal specifically with the First Temple, as do the many references in Ezekiel. However, the testimony of Ezekiel is problematic. For one thing, it postdates the destruction of the First Temple and thus can provide information only about the last years of that building's existence, by which time the Temple may have been significantly different from the structure erected during Solomon's reign. Furthermore, much of the book of Ezekiel is cast in a visionary mode, in which reality and fantasy intermingle; such literary materials are not entirely reliable as historical witness. Similarly, some references to the Temple in postexilic sources, such as Haggai and First Zechariah, predate the completion of the Zerubbabel Temple and hence might contain impressions based on memories of the First Temple. But again, such reminiscences would reflect only the last days of that building. Also, in the case of First Zechariah, the temple passages are part of visionary scenes that are rooted in reality but go beyond the real.

In addition to the major sections of Kings and Chronicles that portray the construction of the Solomonic Temple, other scattered verses in these historical books mention it. Mainly, they serve to indicate the changes that were made in the original Solomonic building over the centuries between its construction and its destruction. As such, these references (see below) reveal that the Temple was not a static architectural entity. The fact that there are major differences between the Kings account, for example, and the passages in Ezekiel may be, in part, a result of the visionary character of the prophet. Yet, such differences are also the consequence of the substantial alterations that were made in the Temple's form and contents by various rulers between the reigns of Solomon and Jehoiachin. A case in point is the altar of the inner court, which is not mentioned in the Kings passage but which is found in the Chronicles version (2 Chr 4:1) and which is presented in detail by Ezekiel (40:47; 43:13–17). Conversely, the great "sea" is absent in Ezekiel but present in the other two main accounts.

Although not dealing directly with the Temple, the prescriptive and descriptive accounts of the construction of the Tabernacle are relevant to the accounts of temple building. See TABERNACLE. The final form of those priestly accounts, found in Exodus 25–30 and 35–39, may date to the exilic or postexilic period. But at least some of the materials come from the earliest period of Israelite existence. Some scholars (notably Haran 1978) have argued that the Tabernacle, with its appurtenances, personnel, and cultic acts, reflects conditions in the latter part of First Temple period.

The specificity of detail in all the temple accounts as well as in the tabernacle texts is a great boon to the scholarly task of reconstructing what the building looked like in antiquity, in its various phases. At the same time, the technical nature of the vocabulary that is involved sometimes makes it very difficult, if not impossible, to understand what is being portrayed. Many of the architectural or construction terms are lexically rare, and hence their exact meaning cannot readily be determined. Furthermore, the ancient versions often provide little assistance in such cases. Both the technology and the architectural and decorative fashions had changed sufficiently by the time of the earliest translations so that accurate renderings by the ancients was not always achieved.

The construction of the Second Temple under the governorship of Zerubbabel is heralded in Haggai and First Zechariah, and it is referred to by both Ezra and Nehemiah and by the Chronicler at the very end of 2 Chronicles. None of these accounts attempt to provide a description of the edifice itself; they are more concerned with the difficulty of bringing the building project to fruition and with the political and economic aspects of the construction work. Any references to the dimensions or quality of the rebuilt sanctuary are incidental (as Ezra 6:3) and probably incomplete; their reliability as witnesses to the

building as it existed is thus questionable. The few references in Daniel (7:25; 8:11–13; 9:24–27) are pre-Herodian but deal with the desecrations of the Temple by the Syrians and tell little about the building itself.

The Second Temple survived for nearly a hundred years longer than did the Solomonic Temple. The latter part of its existence, at the end of the period witnessed by the canon of the Hebrew Bible, was thus within the time frame that saw the production of extrabiblical materials that have survived. Many of these works contain information about the Temple. Some of them are pre-Herodian; others are somewhat later but apparently contain reliable materials concerning the last stages of the Zerubbabel building. Most of these sources, however, like their biblical forebears or counterparts, are not comprehensive architectural descriptions. The technical data provided are random. However, the historical information about the changes that were made, while perhaps incomplete, is nonetheless valuable in attesting to the ongoing series of renovations that characterized the Zerubbabel structure as well as that of Solomon.

These extrabiblical sources include several apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books, namely 1 Esdras, Ecclesiasticus, and 1 Maccabees. The material in 1 Maccabees, by virtue of that book's concern with the Syrian control of Jerusalem, provides some details about the Temple. Another source, the *Letter of Aristeas,* is difficult to date and is also so outrageous in what it claims for the Temple that it could hardly be taken to represent Herod's Temple, let alone Zerubbabel's; rather, it seems to be the product of grandiose imaginings. The 1st century C.E. Jewish historian Josephus and the early 3d-century rabbinic work, the Mishnah, both deal briefly with the pre-Herodian Second Temple. However, these sources are far more concerned with the last temple, that of Herod the Great. Finally, another ancient source dating from the late Hasmonean period, probably no later than the reign of John Hyrcanus (135/134–104 B.C.E.; so Yadin 1983: I, 39, 386–89), describes the Temple in great detail. This text, known as the Temple Scroll, clearly draws from biblical sources yet is visionary in nature. Consequently its reliability as a witness to the later phase of the Zerubbabel Temple is doubtful.

References to the Herodian Temple abound in the NT, in Josephus (mostly in *Ant* 15.12 and *JW* 5.5) and in the Mishnaic tractate *(Middot)* ("measurements"). A brief and not very useful description can be found in Philo. Of these four sources, Josephus and the Mishnah stand out for the wealth of technical, descriptive data that they contain. Josephus in particular represents an extraordinary testimony to the process of construction, in all its facets, that characterized the most famous of the manifold Herodian projects. The Mishnaic description tends to focus on the sanctuary itself rather than on the elaborate series of courts and porticoes that Herod's architects and engineers erected on the enlarged platform that constituted the Temple Mount.

As for the First Temple, with its several diverging sources, details of the Herodian Temple appear to be different in the two major written sources, Josephus and the Mishnah. Most scholars take seriously the fact that Josephus was a gifted historian and also an eyewitness observer of many of the events he chronicles and the places he describes. Inevitably there are contradictions, mistakes, and other problems in his description of the Herodian Temple. Yet he is a contemporary of that building, whereas the Mishnaic material was compiled long after the Temple was destroyed. The Mishnah may be akin to Ezekiel in its tendency to aggrandize and glorify the past; and for that reason alone the witness of Josephus, despite what is known of his penchant for exaggeration, may be preferable. Archaeological evidence (see below) from excavations on the Temple Mount (and from other places described by Josephus) is striking in its tendency to confirm the reliability of the Josephus accounts (Mazar 1975: 15).

In addition to *Middot,* other Tannaitic (Mishnaic) and also Amoraic (Talmudic) passages contain extensive materials dealing with the Temple in general. Most of these are concerned with the ritual acts that took place within the temple precincts and are not concerned with either the structure or its courts. The same can be said for references in other ancient rabbinic treatises.

**2. Archaeological.** The location of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, and thus of the place where the three successive temples were built in biblical antiquity, has never been in doubt. The site is that of the Muslim shrine known as the Dome of the Rock (Qubbet es-Sakhra), built in 691 by the fifth Omayyad caliph, Abd-el-Malik, to mark the earthly spopt from which the prophet Muhammad was said to have

ascended to heaven. This spot is presumed to be very close to the site of the three ancient temples, if not above the actual place where the innermost sanctum ("holy of holies"; see below) of the temples once stood.

The beginning of the modern exploration and excavation of historic and holy sites in Palestine in the 19th century did not, therefore, involve attempts to locate the Temple's site. Research from the outset concentrated on the recording and identifying of the visible remains in the area of the Old City and the Temple Mount and on the excavation of areas not part of the Muslim holy places. Edward Robinson, the American biblical scholar who is perhaps considered the founder of biblical archaeology broadly conceived, first traveled to Palestine in 1838. Although he traveled widely in the land, he also spent considerable time exploring the Temple Mount, where he drew attention to a wide arch extending from the S end of the Western Wall (the remains of the great platform built by Herod to support the temple compound). That arch, which became known as Robinson's Arch, is one of the most impressive remains of the Herodian building project.

Other 19th-century explorers followed Robinson's lead. Perhaps most notable among them was Charles Wilson, whose publications in 1865 revealed the existence of another arch leading to the W side of the Temple Mount. Wilson, too, is commemorated for his discovery: the arch is called the Wilson Arch. Several years later, Charles Warren led a systematic exploration, which included soundings on three sides of the Temple Mount. Although he erred in some of his datings and conclusions, his skill as a trained engineer allowed him to produce drawings and diagrams of exceptional quality and of great value to all subsequent research. Among the many other late-19th-century scholars to work in Jerusalem, the German architect Conrad Shick deserves mention because of his topographical studies and also because of his famous reconstruction drawing of the Temple.

For most of the 20th century until the Six Day War of 1967, the ongoing archaeological attention to Jerusalem was directed largely to the many other vestiges of ancient Jerusalem of all periods and not to the Temple Mount itself. Beginning in 1968, an archaeological project of enormous proportions was initiated by Professor Benjamin Mazar on behalf of the Hebrew University and the Israel Exploration Society. The work of Mazar and his assistants (see Mazar 1975; Ben-Dov 1982) gave serious attention to the remains of all periods of occupation in the area excavated. Yet the main focus of this project, which concentrated on the S and W sides of the Temple Mount, was the recovery of architecture and artifacts that could be dated to the time of Herod and thus to the last of the Jerusalem temples.

The archaeological record for the Herodian period is thus extensive. The major features of Herod's ambitious construction projects have been identified, usually with the effect of corroborating the witness of Josephus. But even so, because the Temple Mount is a Muslim holy place, the site of the temple building itself has not been excavated. Furthermore, since Herod's workmen apparently demolished the Zerubbabel Temple, and since the 7th century Muslim architects cleared away the debris of the centuries before they began their work on the Dome of the Rock, it is unlikely that more than the most meager and scattered remains of any of the three ancient temples could ever be recovered. The verbal descriptions of 1 Kings and of Josephus remain far richer sources for our knowledge of at least two of the temples than excavation in Jerusalem could possibly provide.

Despite the limited results or potential of archaeological work related to the Jerusalem Temple in Jerusalem itself, the archaeological recovery of ancient Palestine and of the ancient biblical world has provided a rich array of evidence that indirectly informs the attempts of scholars to recreate the form and comprehend the meaning of the successive temples built in Jerusalem. Excavations of the major sites of the Canaanite and Israelite periods in Syria and Palestine have all sought to identify, describe, and classify the remains of temples found on these sites. The impetus to excavate temples and to establish a typology of temple architecture surely comes in part from the desire to shed light on the origins and nature of the Jerusalem Temple, which cannot be reached directly by archaeological investigation.

The excavations at such Palestinian sites as Megiddo, Ai, Arad, Shechem, Beth-shean, and Hazor have all contributed important data to an understanding of temple architecture in the Bronze and Iron Ages. Similarly, temple remains at several Syrian sites of the Neo-Hittite period, notably Tel Tainat, Alalakh,

and Zenjirli, exhibit features that can be compared to the First Temple. Analyses of Semitic temple architecture, particularly as it bears upon the Jerusalem Temple, have appeared sporadically in the past fifty years as independent works and as chapters in archaeological handbooks. Perhaps the first of these comparative studies is that of G. E. Wright, whose relatively brief treatment of Syro-Palestinian temples (1944) was in the context of a series of articles in *Biblical Archaeologist* on the "Significance of the Temple in the Ancient Near East."

Another, notable contribution to this comparative approach is that of Ottosson (1980), who discusses and catalogues the three basic temple types found in Syria-Palestine: the broad house (*Breitraum*), the longroom (*Langhaus*), and the square (*Quadratbau*). Aspects of at least the first two of these, if not of all three, appear to be relevant to the Jerusalem Temple. By far the most comprehensive study thus far is that of T. Busink (1970–80). Busink seems to examine the architecture as well as the contents of the Jerusalem Temple as completely as possible. In so doing, he reviews not only the comparative archaeological evidence and the literary sources but also the plethora of reconstructions proposed by scholars over the ages.

**D. Solomonic (First) Temple**

**1. Davidic Precursors.** The biblical sources and the weight of tradition all point clearly to Solomon as the Israelite monarch responsible for the original construction of the Jerusalem Temple. Nonetheless, as the biblical texts themselves make clear, the idea for this monumental building did not originate with Solomon. Furthermore, the architectural expertise, many of the building materials, and at least some of the skilled labor came from outside Israel's borders; the Phoenicians are clearly associated with the technical and material aspects of the temple-building project (see 1 Kgs 5:17–32). Still, King David is inextricably linked with the conceptualization of that project. But the fate of his vision for a divine dwelling place in Jerusalem took a curious turn, leaving his son Solomon as the biblical figure most prominently associated with the Temple.

When David captured the Jebusite stronghold of Zion, he built a royal palace there with the help of Phoenician workmen and materials (2 Sam 5:7–11). From his new capital, he set out to deal once and for all with the Philistines. Thereupon he brought the holy ark, the visible symbol of Yahweh's presence among the Israelites, up to Jerusalem and eventually, amidst a great celebration, deposited it in a tent that he had arrayed for it (2 Sam 6:17). As the beginning of Nathan's vision indicates, David fully intended to honor Yahweh with a permanent dwelling, for David already had a "house of cedar" while the ark of God was "sitting in the midst of curtains" (2 Sam 7:2). Thus he selected a site, the threshing floor of Araunah, as the site of the Temple. Furthermore, according to 2 Chr 22:1–5, David contacted the Phoenicians and procured all the materials that would be needed for the construction of the Temple. This part of the building process is attributed to Solomon in the Kings account.

The authenticity of the Chronicler's version has been questioned. In light of the known tendency of Chronicles to aggrandize both David and the cult, linking these two key areas of the Chronicler's interest might be construed as a feature of his manipulation of historical data. However, several recent trends in biblical scholarship now tend to validate the Chronicles account. David's ascension to the throne marks the transition of Israelite national existence from a tribal basis through a chieftaincy to a monarchy (see Frick 1985; Flanagan 1989). The political nature of David's kingdom in its imperial extent has been reemphasized (as by Malamat 1982). In that context, the construction of public works, which serve the state on a pragmatic level and also help to consolidate power and establish the new political authority, has been considered in relation to David's extraordinary political and military achievements (Meyers 1987).

The integrative role of monumental (temple) architecture in achieving stability and support in a centralizing state is apparently a fact of state formation that should be attributed to the beginnings of the Israelite monarchy, to the reign of David as well as to that of Solomon. David expanded the priestly bureaucracy according to the two lists of high officials attributed to the time of David (2 Sam 8:15–18 and 2 Sam 20:23–26; see also the Solomonic list, 1 Kgs 4:1–6). Furthermore, David's direct involvement in cultic matters as well as his association with psalmody (and thus liturgy) represent more than personal piety; David was astutely utilizing public cultural (religious) forms that served to garner wide support

among his constituency and to indicate the legitimizing presence of Israel's god Yahweh in the transition to statehood. Finally, David's conscriptive policies in securing both temporary and permanent labor forces was surely meant to foster public works. In light of these factors, the procurement of materials recorded in Chronicles seems a likely concomitant of these other features of David's relationship to the projected temple.

The Temple, once erected, conformed to an array of motifs (see below) that characterized sacred architecture in ancient W Asia. The steps leading to the construction and completion of a sacred building also constituted a distinct sequence of events in the Mesopotamian and NW Semitic world. A five-part thematic arrangement typifies such projects, and Solomon's temple-building efforts adhered to that arrangement (see below). But the David story includes the initial two stages of a temple-building project, and the intentions of David to erect a national sacred monument can be established not only by the biblical evidence but also by reference to such extrabiblical information about temple building. David's role as temple builder included the receipt of initial divine approval (2 Sam 7:3), site selection, and the amassing of materials and probably labor; it remained to Solomon to bring to completion David's strategic plan by overseeing the construction of the building and by carrying out a lavish dedication ceremony.

**2. Architectural Features.** The basic ground plan of the Temple was a rectangle, 100 cubits long and 50 cubits wide (about 165 feet × 841/2 feet). These dimensions do not include the platform upon which it was built (according to Ezek 41:13–14); but they do include the width of the interior and exterior walls as well as the auxiliary chambers and storerooms that surrounded the interior sacred space on three sides. (see Fig. TEM.01 and TEM.02)

The inner sacred space was subdivided laterally into three sections. This tripartite plan is similar to that of many of the Canaanite temples excavated in Palestine and also to the Neo-Hittite temples in N Syria. Of the former, the series of LB II temples at Hazor are often cited as having many of the features—proportion, size, or division of space—that characterize the Jerusalem Temple. As for the latter group, the small 9th-century temple adjacent to a royal palace, discovered in 1936 at Tell Tainat (McEwan 1937), has been singled out as the ancient structure that provides the closest parallel to the Jerusalem Temple. That this N example is closer than Palestinian ones is not surprising, considering the N (Phoenician) involvement in the Jerusalem building project and also in light of the fact that the Tainat example is closer in time (later by about a century) than the Canaanite ones, which predate the First Temple by at least several centuries.

Despite the similarities in plan and in decorative elements to roughly contemporary buildings of ancient W Asia, the Jerusalem Temple has no exact parallels. Some have suggested that, were a 10th-century Phoenician temple to be discovered and excavated, the existence of something approaching an exact parallel might be established. However, there is no reason to expect any sanctuary in the ancient world to replicate another. While current architectural modes were followed by the various structures of a given era, each building had its own idiosyncratic features and variations, in ground plan and decoration as well as in furnishings.

The interior tripartite division created three separate units, each 20 cubits in width. Taken together these units measured 70 cubits long, and 6 cubits separated the first two units and probably also the second from the third. The height of the central part is given as 30 cubits; the innermost part is 20 cubits high, with the difference in height not accounted for in the biblical sources; and the outer section may have also been 30 cubits high, or it may have been atop a platform ascended by stairs (so Ezek 40:49). The biblical information is inconclusive for all three dimensions; but a combined interior space for the three parts of about 1451/2 feet long and 35 feet wide, and 52 feet high in its central part, can be calculated using 20.9 inches as the size of the cubit, more specifically the royal cubit, which was probably the intended unit of linear measure in the biblical temple texts. The 20-cubit width, which seems to represent the largest distance that could be spanned without interior columnation, appears to be a realistic figure (Paul and Dever 1973: 78). The Temple was as large as it could be according to the architectural conventions of its day.

The first section of the interior space of the Temple is designated by the Hebrew word *ʾûlām,* which may be derived from a root *ʾwl,* "to be in front" (cf. Arabic *ʾawala,* "to be first"; so Gray *Kings* OTL, 163) and hence related to the Akkadian term *ellamu,* "front." The variety of the English renderings of *ʾûlām* is striking. The RSV translates it "vestibule" (as in 1 Kgs 7:19; 2 Chr 3:4). Other versions call it "porch," "entrance hall," or "portico." The LXX merely transliterates it. The resistance of the LXX to translate it and the diversity of English renderings reflect an uncertainty about the nature and function of this part of the Temple except that it was the first space that one entered.

Although the biblical information clearly intends that the *ʾûlām* be considered part of the internal space of the sanctuary, certain details of its construction set it apart from the other two internal sections. For one thing, it apparently was not flanked by the adjacent complex of auxiliary chambers of the Temple; it would thus have appeared to be a projection in front of the entire rest of the building. In addition, instructions are given for the paneling of the inner two sections of the interior but do not appear for the *ʾûlām;* this suggests that the walls of the first section may not have been treated so elaborately as those of the other two interior rooms. Further, the construction technique given for the *ʾûlām* (1 Kgs 7:12; cf. 1 Kgs 6:36) is identical to that described for the Temple's public court and also for the great courtyard that formed part of the adjacent palace area. Finally, the doorways to the two inner sections are presented in considerable detail, whereas no doorway at all is specified for the *ʾûlām,* a fact that is related to the omission of any height specifications for this first section.

These distinctions between the two inner chambers of the Temple and this first one suggest that it functioned as a transitional space that shared both in the closed sanctity of the interior and the more open accessibility of the courtyard space surrounding the Temple. It had no doorway and, without a height specified, perhaps no roof. As such it served as an open-air forecourt that gave access to the divine dwelling much as most Near Eastern houses or villas were reached through private courtyards.

This understanding of *ʾûlām* as forecourt is also suggested by the presence of the great pillars, named Jachin and Boaz (1 Kgs 7:15–22), on either side of the entrance to the *ʾûlām.* These somewhat enigmatic pillars were each 18 cubits high (according to 1 Kgs 7:15; 2 Chr 3:35 and Jeremiah in the LXX record the less likely figure of 35 cubits) and were surmounted by ornate double capitals at least another 5 cubits in height. Although the interior space of the Temple was lavishly decorated, the exterior stone walls presented a rather simple and unadorned visual impression. The elaborate bronze pillars, standing at the entrance, were thus the visual link, just as the *ʾûlām* was the spatial link, between the public areas outside the Temple and the private grandeur within. Although some earlier studies comparing the Temple to the Assyrian *bit hilani,* with its two entryway pillars supporting a lintel, suggested otherwise, the pillars were probably freestanding. As such, they can be considered the gateposts flanking the entrance to the forecourt of God's house and signifying the entry of the deity to this earthly dwelling (see Meyers 1983a, and below).

The second and largest section of interior space, measuring 40 cubits long by 20 cubits wide and 30 cubits high, is designated by the term *hêkāl,* or main room. The RSV calls it "nave," an inappropriate term derived from classical architecture in reference to the floor plan of a basilical building, in which the central space (nave) is separated from flanking spaces (aisles) by rows of columns or pillars. As noted above, the *hêkāl* may have originally been the only room of early Semitic shrines, since the term is sometimes used to designate the Temple as a whole (as Jer 7:4, Zech 8:9). Access to this central room from the forecourt (*ʾûlām*) was gained through a 10 cubit-wide doorway spanned by a double-hung door of cypress hinged on olivewood door-posts. The location of the windows of the Temple (2 Kgs 6:4) is not specified. If they indeed provided illumination in the central room they would have been set in the fashion of clerestory windows, high in its walls, above the height of the adjoining chambers.

The large size off this section of the Temple in relation to the other two parts suggests that it was the locus of much of the cultic activity connected with the interior space of the Temple. This supposition is supported by the fact that the internal furnishings of the Temple, which required regular ritual attention according to Pentateuchal sources, were located in the *hêkāl* (see below).

The innermost chamber is known as the *dĕbîr*, or "inner sanctuary" (RSV; other translations render it "oracle," "Holy of Holies," "shrine," "adytum," "most holy place"), a term that may be derived from the common Hebrew root *dbr* meaning "to speak." If this derivation has any validity, it would reflect the function of the inner chamber as the place where Yahweh's invisible presence or glory rested and from whence God "spoke," that is, gave oracles or responses to those who "inquired of the LORD." Entry to the *dĕbîr*, a perfect cube 20 cubits on a side, was gained through double-hung, olivewood doors.

The doors to bmth the central and inner chambers and the cedar walls of those two rooms were carved with some combination of cherubim, palm trees, and floral designs; they were then overlaid with gold. The floors of both these rooms were set with cypress boards, which, in one or both of these chambers, is said to have been covered with gold (2 Kgs 6:30). Thus, while the building was constructed of quarry-hewn stone blocks, no stonework would have been seen within these two spaces.

The auxiliary rooms surrounding the interior space are difficult to reconstruct. Apparently a multitude of small chambers of varying widths extended along the two sides and the rear of the Temple. They were arranged in three stories, each story having about thirty rooms. The rooms in the bottom level had an interior width of 5 cubits, and each succeeding level was one cubit wider than the one below, apparently because the thickness of the walls was decreased at the roof level of each of the upper two levels to allow for insertion of the roof beams (1 Kgs 6:6). Each level was 5 cubits high; their combined height was probably somewhat more than 15 cubits, if roofing thickness is added. Still, this auxiliary space reached little more than halfway up the 30 cubit high walls of the *hêkāl* (and *dĕbîr*). Access to all these rooms was apparently from the S side (1 Kgs 6:8), although Ezekiel reports entrances on both sides (Ezek 41:5–6). The orientation of the Temple is not specified, but this detail about the chambers indicates an E–W orientation (cf. also Ezek 8:16).

The outdoor space surrounding the Temple is given little attention in the Kings account except for the mention of an "inner court" (1 Kgs 6:36), which was constructed of "three rows of hewn stones and a row of cedar beams," just as was the great court of the nearby royal palace, and also the forecourt or "vestibule" (*ʾûlām*) of the Temple itself (1 Kgs 7:12). The paucity of information about the areas exterior to the building, along with the fact that the royal palace, with a very large courtyard space, was apparently adjacent to the temple precinct, suggests that the two precincts, temple and palace together, formed one very large royal-cultic compound. It is not clear how one moved between these two parts of the center of government of ancient Israel nor how access was gained to one or both from outside the compound. Presumably there were gates, as several passages in Ezekiel indicate. However, the references in Ezekiel to a complex series of gates, courtyards, and other structures may reflect the cumulative results of the renovations and rearrangements of space carried out at various times after the reign of Solomon.

**3. Temple Furnishings.** The elaborate temple structure with its interior decorations of costly, carved wooden panels and doors, overlaid with gold, did not sit empty. As a house for the divine resident, the interior was furnished, as was the courtyard in front of it. The interior furnishings were made of wood and covered with gold, while bronze is the material that dominated both the pillars (Jachin and Boaz) just outside the forecourt and the appurtenances situated in the courtyard.

The large central chamber (*hêkāl*) contained a number of different ritual furnishings. A small golden altar, probably made of cedar (1 Kgs 6:20) and used for incense, apparently stood in front of the entrance to the innermost chamber. No information about its size or location is found in the temple texts of 1 Kings; perhaps the information about the placement of the incense altar in the Tabernacle (Exod 30:6) is relevant. The lampstands, also made of gold (presumably laid over wood), were situated in two groups, five on the north and five on the south. These objects were probably hollow cylindrical stands surmounted by multispouted lamps (1 Kgs 7:49) and not the seven-branched stands so familiar from postbiblical art and as suggested by the Pentateuchal description (Exod 25:31–40; 37:17–24) of the single lampstand (menorah) that stood in the Tabernacle (*IDBS*, 586–87; Meyers 1979). A third kind of furnishing was the small table, also made of gold or perhaps just overlaid with gold, upon which the "bread of the Presence" was placed.

The cubical space of the inner sanctum (*dĕbîr*) was filled by two enormous cherubim, carbed of olivewood and covered with gold (1 Kgs 6:23–28). Each had a 10-cubit wing span, and each was 10 cubits high. The protective outspread wings of these composite beings sheltered the holiest object of all, the "Ark of the covenant of Yahweh" (1 Kgs 6:19), which was the specific representation of God's presence within the elaborate and richly decorated temple-dwelling. (On the question of whether the tabernacle was stored or erected therein, see TABERNACLE.)

A series of bronze appurtenances, of spectacular dimensions and design, were placed outside the Temple building. All were said to have been fashioned by Hiram of Tyre, who belonged to the tribe of Naphtali on his mother's side (1 Kgs 7:13–14). The two pillars just outside the entrance to the forecourt (*ʾûlām*) have already been mentioned.

An enormous basin, 5 cubits high and 10 cubits in diameter, was placed in the court at the SE corner of the temple building. The 1 Kings temple text calls it the "molten sea" (1 Kgs 7:23) or simply "the sea" (1 Kgs 7:24; cf. 2 Kgs 16:17). Elsewhere it is designated "bronze sea" (2 Kgs 25:13; 1 Chr 18:8; Jer 52:17). The basin rested upon four sets of three oxen, each set facing outward towards one of the four directions of the compass. The function of this imposing vessel is not specified, although 2 Chr 4:6 indicates that it was for priestly washing. Clearly its great size and elaborate ornamentation bespeak its symbolic value. Although the texts do not attempt to explain what that value might be, scholars have long assumed that the sea is related to the role of the "sea" or *apsû* in Canaanite and Babylonian mythology, with its vestiges in the Hebrew Bible (*ARI,* 148–50).

A series of ten objects, each 4 cubits by 4 cubits and 3 cubits high and each supporting a basin ("laver"), were also placed in the court, five to the south of the Temple and five to the north (1 Kgs 7:39). RSV "stands" does not properly convey the complexity of these objects, which rested on four wheels and which were decorated with an extensiive series of faunal (lions, oxen, cherubim) and floral (palm trees, wreaths) motifs (1 Kgs 7:27–37). Again, the use of these ornate and movable objects is not specified in 1 Kings, although 2 Chr 4:6 relates the lavers, which are said to have had a capacity of 40 baths (ca. 243 gallons), to the purification of certain sacrifices. The fact that Ezekiel omits mention of these wheeled stands accords with the fact that they no longer existed in his day.

In addition to these major cultic objects, the Kings account also lists a number of subsidiary bronze objects made by Hiram, presumably for the courtyard ritual (1 Kgs 7:40). Finally, the text mentions a detailed set of golden objects and fittings meant for the interior ritual (1 Kgs 7:48–50).

Amidst this elaborate array of cultic appurtenances described in 1 Kings, specifications for a courtyard altar are strangely absent. However, outside the temple texts themselves, the Deuteronomistic narratives assume that a bronze altar stood in the courtyard since the days of Solomon (1 Kgs 8:22, 64 and 9:25; cf. 2 Kgs 16:14). The parallel temple texts in 2 Chronicles include a large (20 cubits square and 10 cubits high) bronze altar (2 Chr 4:1); and Ezekiel of course describes an altar but probably one that came from later in the monarchic period (Ezek 43:13–17).

It is difficult to imagine, given the attention to symmetrical arrangements, that the "molten sea" at the SE corner of the Temple would not have had a counterpart, presumably the altar, at the NE corner. In the description of Solomon's dedicatory sacrifices (1 Kgs 8:64), the sanctification of space for sacrifice in the *middle* of the courtyard area is reported, an act that took place because the altar itself was too small for all the offerings of the occasion. Perhaps the middle space was available because the enormous appurtenances, sea and altar, were already in place on the N and S sides of the front of the Temple. In any case, it is unlikely that the omission of the altar from the temple texts of 1 Kings is the result of the absence of an altar, which was the most basic item of temple appurtenances in the ANE. The explanation for this omission perhaps lies in the role of Solomon's predecessor in the temple project. David had already built an altar at the place he had chosen for the Temple and had proceeded to offer sacrifices there (2 Sam 24:21, 25; cf. 1 Chr 21:18–22:1), thus initiating the altar and, in a sense, temple sacrifice long before Solomon's dedicatory feast.

**4. Role in National Life.** Solomon's workers, according to 1 Kgs 6:37–38, completed their monumental task in seven years, between the fourth and eleventh years of his reign. This is a relatively short

construction time, considering the grandiose nature of the building and its furnishings. Some scholars thus feel that the details of fabrication are exaggerated, that the extent of costly (gold and bronze) decorative elements and cultic objects are beyond reasonable possibilities, and that the sheer size of certain aspects of the building and its associated features is improbable. Such objections to the biblical description are difficult to evaluate. However, archaeological discoveries of architectural modes and artistic motifs in ancient W Asia tend to authenticate the biblical record of the Temple in its conception if not in its scope. Whether or not the text preserves an accurate picture of the Temple, the idea of an extraordinary and precious sacred structure located on Mt. Zion in Jerusalem is emphatically presented in the Kings account. Later biblical materials only serve to intensify the sense of the building's magnitude and grandeur.

Because of its prominence in the text, and because of the way its basic form and decoration can be linked to Iron Age styles, the Temple of Solomon clearly played a central role in the emergent national state. As a house for God, its role can of course be evaluated in terms of the religion of ancient Israel. However, to do so without also giving attention to its part in the economic and political dynamics of the Davidic-Solomonic empire would be both to underestimate its religious value and to lose sight of the integral nature of the religious and sociopolitical spheres in the ancient world.

**a. Religious Symbolism.** The ability of the Temple to play an important role in the national and international life of the imperial kingdom of Solomon lay in its conceptualization as a divine dwelling place on earth. Although the God of Israel was viewed as transcendent, and God's presence was hardly restricted to a designated place or places, the need for the assurance of divine availability led the Israelites, like all other peoples, to establish locales in which access to the transcendent deity could be secured. The nearly universal human willingness to commit substantial resources to the construction of sacred buildings, the maintenance of expensive cultic practices, and the provision for extensive priestly personnel attests to the profound nature of humanity's insecurity about the nearness of divine power and protection (Levine 1968).

The presence of God in Jerusalem was all the more critical at the period of sociopolitical transition (see below) at the outset of the monarchy. The great risks involved in the military and diplomatic endeavors of the earliest biblical monarchs motivated them to establish new visual cultic forms, or emphasize existing ones, so that the availability of divine support for these ventures could be assured. The ability of the Temple to convince both the rulers and the ruled of its efficacy in representing God's presence rested upon its incorporation of features that were part of the symbolic language of sacred art and architecture in the world of the Israelites.

The symbolic nature of the Jerusalem Temple, as for all major shrines in the ancient world, depended upon a series of features that, taken together, established the sacred precinct as being located at the cosmic center of the universe, at the place where heaven and earth converge and thus from where God's control over the universe is effected. When the royal capital is brought into this sphere of divine activity through the construction of a temple, the regime acquires the might involved in the heavenly arena. A series of visual symbols, rooted in the mythic consciousness of the Israelites and their neighbors, provided the affective power of this notion of cosmic center. Evidence for the Israelite understanding of the symbols of the sacred center comes not only from the details of temple construction but also from the poetic celebration of Zion in psalmody and prophecy.

Perhaps chief among the symbols expressing the sacred centrality of the Temple is the idea that Zion, and the Temple built there, is the cosmic mountain (Clifford 1972; 1984; Levenson 1985: 111–75). The temple building, on a mountain and a platform, replicates the heavenly mountain of Yahweh (cf. Ps 48:1–4) and also its earlier manifestation at Sinai. It also reaches back to the beginning of time, to the creation of the world (cf. the seven years of Solomonic temple-building activity in relation to the seven days of creation). The foundation of the Temple thus becomes a protological event, going back to the beginnings of time and established by God, not by either David or Solomon (see Ps 78:69–70).

Other symbols constitutive of the cosmic order made visual and vital in the Temple can be identified in the exuberant presence of floral and faunal motifs in the interior decoration of the building and in the construction and decoration of its appurtenances. The trees carved on the walls, the groves on the Temple

Mount, and perhaps even the sacred lampstands, are part of the symbolic expression of the mythic Tree of Life that stood on the Cosmic Mountain, and in the paradisial garden at creation. Similarly, the waters of the Molten Sea and the great fountains of the deep present in God's habitation on Zion (Ps 46:4) contribute to the notion of the Temple as cosmic center.

The convergence of heavenly temple and earthly temple, with the concomitant reality of God's presence, is further conveyed by the overriding concern to make the Temple a fit dwelling place for the divine sovereign. The degree to which the quality and scope of the temple complex and its objects manifest the finest and costliest materials affects the way in which the most exalted of inhabitants is understood to be nearby in this house. The very terminology used for the building ("house," "palace") and the emphasis on the extraordinary nature of its design and fabrication together provide symbolic statements that God is in residence on Zion. The furnishings meet the "needs" of the building's occupant, with the glory of those furnishings signifying the Glory within.

The notion of purity associated with the Temple likewise intensifies the sense of divine nearness. The Temple precinct, its contents, and its personnel exhibit a gradation of materials used and of cultic acts performed which can be reconstructed in part from the Kings account and in part from the evidence of the tabernacle materials (Haran 1978: 175–88, 205–29). Every category of structure, furniture, ritual, and human attendants is arrayed in a continuum, from the profane territory outside the sacred precinct, to the somewhat holy and pure character of the courtyard area with its bronze implements and its access to the public, to the holier and hence more pure and precious gold-adorned *hêkāl,* to which only certain priests had access, and finally to the inner sanctum, the place where God's glory rests. The innermost room was the essence of holiness and thus off-limits to all but the chief priest, only once a year and only after he attained an exceptional state of purity (at least in Second Temple times).

This carefully arranged gradation involves a consciousness that the closer one gets to the inner sanctum, the nearer one is to the perfection of the divine presence. Even if an ordinary individual can never approach the holiest place, the existence of the concentric circles, as it were, of increasing holiness signified that the Holiest One of all could be found at the sacred center.

The purity of the sacred center involved physical cleanliness. But it also involved the moral perfection associated with the nature of Yahweh. The Psalmist who expressed the need for both "clean hands" and a "pure heart" in order to ascend the Temple Mount (Ps 24:3–4) points to the nature of the cosmic center as moral center (Levenson 1985: 172). God's presence in the inner sanctum, in the last analysis, is symbolized by the covenant document, the "two tables of stone" contained in the ark that was placed under the protective wings of the cherubim and that represented the moral imperatives of the Israelite pact with Yahweh, according to the Deuteronomistic record of the Temple dedication (1 Kgs 8:9). As important as the ideas of cosmic center and divine accessibility are for understanding the role of the Temple, so too is the association of sanctuary with covenant and the concomitant establishment of social order through law (Lundquist 1988; and see below).

**b. Political Function.** David's intention to construct a major sacred edifice in Jerusalem and Solomon's compliance with his father's plan virtually from the outset of his long reign represent neither acts of personal piety nor arbitrary quests for personal aggrandizement nor the considerate provision of divine availability to any Israelite whose heart and hands would turn towards the Temple Mount. The Jerusalem Temple, in dimensions alone if not also in decoration, was apparently one of the largest and most beautiful structures of its kind in ancient W Asia. It is not a coincidence that the construction of this sacred complex is associated with the formation of a national state that, for less than a century, occupied a unique position in the ongoing power struggle that for millennia has characterized the narrow strip of land between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea. The construction of the Temple has typically been seen as a by-product, and a somewhat overblown one at that, of Davidic and Solomonic political might. It now may be more accurate to understand the Jerusalem Temple as an essential part of state formation rather than as an ornament of such a process.

The Davidic-Solomonic state not only unified the tribal groups inhabiting the highlands from Upper Galilee to the N Negeb; it also extended its domain to the surrounding regions of Syria and Transjordan.

Jerusalem became the capital of a nation-state squeezed between the Jordan Rift and the Mediterranean. That in itself was a status not easily won in the Levant. But Jerusalem became more than the capital of a small kingdom; for one fleeting moment in the long history of the Near East, Jerusalem was the seat of an empire, albeit an empire of modest proportions in comparison with the territories periodically controlled by the ancient superpowers of Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia.

That David set out to acquire such extensive territory when he began his military forays is impossible to determine. Yet the momentum of his military strategy and his charismatic leadership brought victory on the battlefield and carried him further and further afield. This success can hardly be comprehended unless it was the result of careful and astute advance planning. David succeeded by the end of his reign in establishing a supranational state—a centralized polity with a ruling bureaucracy that exercised a monopoly of force over a three-tiered constituency of immediate supporters, the Israelite tribal groups, and imperial subjects.

David's ability to establish an imperial domain and Solomon's success in sustaining it are both linked to the way in which their policies and sovereign acts succeeded in convincing their subjects that obedience to royal dominion would be amply rewarded by peace, stability, and prosperity. The initial force of arms to achieve subject compliance had to be replaced or accompanied by effective assurance that the monarchic authority also had *the right* to exercise power. Throughout ANE history, divine sanction has been invoked to legitimize that right. Communication of the deity's approval of the ruling power and involving the populace in the goals of the state were characteristically effected by the construction of a monumental religious building or, if a new dynastic power was emerging or a major political shift was taking place, by the renewal or renovation of an existing structure.

Recent research has identified the various features of a typology of temple building that obtained throughout the ANE and has shown that the Jerusalem Temple partook of the dynamics of that typology. For example, the series of steps leading to the completion of a legitimate temple, which the deity will approve and agree to inhabit, can be identified in the biblical texts relating to the Jerusalem Temple. David initiated these steps; Solomon repeated some of them and completed the ones David had been unable to carry out. In so doing he assured the legitimacy of the shrine.

The legitimacy of the shrine as a House of Yahweh in turn gave legitimacy to the monarchy. It helped to convince those whose resources and labor contributed materials and manpower to the temple project that their service was divinely ordained. But their contributions were not simply in the service of a coercive bureaucracy. The temple typology that heralded the presence and sanction of the deity in the cosmic center symbolized and secured by the Temple included the establishment of just rule through law, and hence social stability. The culminating feature of this typology was the belief that the construction of a major temple would ultimately bring peace and prosperity to all the inhabitants of the realm.

Many of the aspects of the religious symbolism of the Jerusalem Temple discussed above constitute elements in this typology of temple-building. Holy mountain, cosmic center, living waters, sacred vegetation—all of these features are visual indications of divine presence and of God's participation in the fortunes of the nation-state ruled from the temple-palace complex. The sacred precincts on the Temple Mount constituted a visual revelation, a signification of Yahweh's potent availability. The overwhelming dominance of verbal revelation in scripture and in postbiblical Judaism and Christianity makes it difficult to appreciate the visual component of biblical religious experience (Levenson 1985: 145–51). Yet the temple materials in the Bible record a visual reality that conveyed on an affective, nonverbal level the accessibility and the revelatory might of the unseen God of Israel.

Such interrelated religious and political significance was operant for all three components of the Davidic-Solomonic realm. The subject peoples were perhaps the most difficult of all to convince of Yahweh's (and thus the Davidides') supremacy. For them, the Jerusalem Temple's striking reality communicated the message of Yahweh's presence and power in the language of visual symbolism and through the modes of design and decoration that were part of their own cultural vocabularies. Much has been made of the Davidic and Solomonic "borrowing" of Phoenician workers and artistry, as if Israel lacked indigenous artisans and creativity. That may be so; but there is a certain political genius involved

in appropriating architectural conventions to form a visual idiom that would have been meaningful to the widest possible population.

The erection of Jachin and Boaz (see above) is a case in point. The two gateposts flanked the forecourt to the Temple, just as the monumental gateways of many major Near Eastern cities marked the entrance to the sacred precincts. As the stone-carved reliefs adorning some of these gateways show, the completion of a temple was marked by a grand procession and celebration by which the statue of the god of the new temple was taken through the city, into the sacred compound, and finally into the niche for the cult statue in the inner sanctum (as at Khorsabad, Carchemish, Karatepe; see Barnett 1981). The two pillars in the Jerusalem Temple, along with the 1 Kings 8 description of the bringing of the ark into the Temple and the accompanying extravagant dedicatory feast, belongs to this scheme of introduction: bringing the deity into the new abode. Once installed within, the pillars as gateposts remain highly visible, signalling the legitimizing presence of Yahweh in the Temple to all subsequent onlookers. For Solomon, those onlookers included the array of emissaries and wives from subject peoples or from other foreign peoples in uneasy alliance with the ascendant Israelite ruler.

These religious-political dynamics clearly functioned on an economic level as well. The Temple, with its treasures and treasuries, was a national bank of sorts. It was a stronghold, safely situated in the most defensible part of the Jerusalem landscape. The extracted tribute of the peoples conquered by David, perhaps referred to in the terse comment in 1 Kgs 7:51 that Solomon brought into the temple treasures all the precious materials that David had dedicated to Yahweh, became part of the national assets. Presumably, some of the tribute collected by Solomon also made its way into the temple precincts. The some ninety side chambers of the Temple provided storage for more than the cultic objects used in the rituals of the *hêkāl* and the court. They also held at least some of the revenues of the state, be they the tribute of foreigners or the sacrificial surplus brought by Israelites. The sacred space of the temple building itself, off-limits to all but a small group of priests, offered maximum security for the resources of the realm.

As a state institution, the Temple thus represented the intersection of the ideological values and religious beliefs of the nation with the social, political, and economic aspects of its organization. As a monumental public work markilg the transition from tribal league to nation-state, it was instrumental in establishing both divine and royal power. The fact that Temple and palace occupied adjacent areas in Jerusalem does not mean, as some have supposed, that the Temple was merely a royal chapel for Solomon and his court. Rather, its smaller size bespoke the fact that it was not meant as a physical place for multitudes. But it was a place that multitudes could see in its conspicuous location near the palace. With its visual symbols of holiness that could be comprehended by all, both Israelites and foreigners were apprised of Yahweh's revelatory and legitimizing sovereignty.

**E. First Temple After Solomon**

In light of its integral and integrating role in the dynamics of Israelite national life, it comes as no surprise that the ongoing history of the Temple is related to both internal and external aspects of the history of the southern kingdom, Judah, which retained Jerusalem as its capital and the Temple as its sacred center following the dissolution of the united monarchy and the loss of subject territories after Solomon's death. Incursions by foreign powers often meant the diminution of the Temple's resources and thus of the state's vitality. Only five years after Solomon's death, his son Rehoboam was forced to relinquish quantities of treasure to the invading Shishak of Egypt (1 Kgs 14:25–26) while at the same time becoming embroiled in armed struggle with the sister kingdom Israel to the north.

Early in the 9th century, Asa removed all the silver and gold "that were left" (1 Kgs 15:18) in the Temple stores, a statement implying that these resources had already been depleted. Asa presented these treasures to the Syrian ruler Ben-Hadad in order to secure a Syrian liaison against the northern kingdom. Later in the 9th century, Joash drew upon temple revenues to institute extensive structural repairs to the divine dwelling (2 Kgs 12:1–16), a restoration project effected with some difficulty. No explanation for priestly resistance to Joash's orders is offered in the Kings account. Yet the looming Syrian threat may have meant that the nationalistic statement made by the temple work seemed unwise to some factions.

Indeed, Joash eventually emptied the temple treasuries of its resources, consisting mainly of the votive offerings of his three predecessors, in order to appease Hazael of Syria. Nearly a century later, Hezekiah presented Sennacherib with a tribute consisting of all the silver from Yahweh's house (and from the royal palace too); he also stripped off the gold trim of the temple doors and doorposts (2 Kgs 18:14–16). The latter were adornments that Hezekiah himself had commissioned for the Temple and perhaps are indicative of other refurbishings likely to have accompanied his purge of the Temple of the alien elements introduced by his predecessors.

Additions or changes to the Temple and its furnishings often reflected the political entanglements of the Judean rulers. Normally viewed through the tendentious perspective of the Deuteronomistic historian as syncretistic acts disloyal to Yahweh, the bringing of foreign cultic elements into the Temple can also be seen as strategic religio-political accommodations to foreign powers. Ahaz, for example, may have been currying favor with Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria and with the powerful Assyrian gods by installing a new altar fashioned exactly after one that he saw on a state visit to the Assyrian monarch in Damascus (2 Kgs 16:10–16; cf. Ezekiel's description, 43:13–17). Ahaz also altered other items of the courtyard appurtenances, and he removed some post-Solomonic architectural additions apparently in compliance with Assyrian standards (2 Kgs 16:18).

Similarly, Manasseh installed various non-Yahwistic cultic elements into the Temple and its courts (2 Kgs 21:3–5), actions that may have troubled Judean loyalists but that were also strategic ploys in the face of Assyrian hegemony. Josiah later could reverse Manasseh's deeds, in his radical centralizing purge; but he could do so because of the effective demise of Assyrian might by the late 8th century. Josiah's extensive temple restoration project (2 Kgs 23:3–7; 2 Chr 34:8–13) was a nationalistic move. He strengthened his Jerusalem power base by ridding the sacred center of foreign elements and thus establishing the renewed legitimacy of his rule under Yahweh alone.

In the many centuries between Solomon's implementation of the bold and visionary temple project of King David and its destruction at the hand of the Babylonians, the Temple underwent countless changes, some directly recorded in the Bible, some tangentially indicated, and others no doubt left unmentioned. All of these alterations were related to some extent to the waxing and waning of monarchic power. It is no accident that the biblical report of the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem records the burning of the Temple as the first in the litany of conquering deeds perpetrated upon the Judeans and their institutions (2 Kgs 25:8–9; Jer 52:12–13). The royal palace, which had probably also seen countless renovations over the centuries since Solomon built the "House of the Forest of Lebanon" (1 Kgs 7:2) and which probably was as likely a source of booty as the Temple, was also burned, along with other palatial dwellings. Yet only the sacking of the Temple is recorded.

The Deuteronomic historian, in describing the loss of the Temple furnishings, is reporting the demise of the political state more than would a description of the sacking of the palace or its furnishings. The removal of the pillars of bronze receives special attention (2 Kgs 23:13, 16–17) in the sad tale of the devastation of Jerusalem. Just as the erection of the two pillars marked the legitimizing entry of Yahweh into the earthly dwelling, the toppling of those highly symbolic elements of the Temple signified the loss of political autonomy in the eyes of the Babylonian forces, the surviving Judean bureaucracy, and the remnant of the people.

**F. Temple of Zerubbabel**

The First Temple was subject to continual alterations, which paralleled political shifts, during its four centuries of existence. So too the successor structure in Jerusalem cannot be conceived of a single building, standing unaltered from the late 6th century until the next catastrophic destruction at the hands of the Romans in 70 C.E. The shifting fortunes of the postexilic community are mirrored in the complex architectural history of the Second Temple. As for the First Temple, not all of the inevitable modifications are preserved in the ancient sources. Yet some of those changes, especially in the late centuries B.C.E. after the rise of Hellenism in the Near East, can be detected.

The most radical change of all, associated with the grandiose building schemes of Herod the Great in the last decades of the 1st century B.C.E., resulted in a temple building that was not technically a

renovation: it was an entirely new structure. Consequently, the Herodian Temple constituted in fact a "Third Temple," although it is often subsumed under the designation "Second Temple" since there was no chronological interruption of consequence involved when Herod built a spectacular new edifice to replace the Temple dating back to Zerubbabel.

**1. Postexilic Rebuilding.** The ruins of the First Temple remained desolate on the Temple Mount for the long decades of Babylonian rule over Judah. However, the conquest of the Babylonians by Cyrus the Great in 538 B.C.E. had momentous consequences for the inhabitants of Judea, now called (or soon to be called) the province of Yehud, as well as for those living in exile. Persian imperial policy under Cyrus involved granting more autonomy to subject peoples than had either the Babylonians or Assyrians before him. As for other displaced groups, Cyrus encouraged the Judean exiles to return to their homeland. An official edict, recorded on a clay cylinder and echoed in two biblical versions (in Hebrew in Ezra 1:1–4; in Aramaic in Ezra 6:1–5), permitted not only the return of the exiles but also the rebuilding of the Temple. The latter aspect of Persian policy was tantamount to restoring a measure of political autonomy to the Judeans, albeit without the restoration of a royal house, even though the man eventually appointed governor, Zerubbabel, was a Davidic scion.

The temple rebuilding project began with a restoration of the altar, the amassing of materials and workers, and a celebration marking the renewal of the foundations of the Temple (Ezra 3). Cyrus had already allowed the surviving temple treasures brought away by Nebuchadnezzar to be returned to Jerusalem (Ezra 1:5–11). Yet the project was stalled, apparently for local political reasons. It remained for Darius I to reinstitute Cyrus' encouragement of the Jerusalem Temple restoration. With the support of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, the restoration work was begun again in the fall of 520 B.C.E. The Temple was soon completed and was rededicated by 516 or 515, just about exactly at the end of the seventy years of desolation that prophetic tradition foresaw as the fate of the sinful Judeans and their Temple (Jer 25:11–12; 29:10; cf. Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8* AB, 117–18).

The biblical information about the Temple restored under the leadership of Zerubbabel and the high priest Joshua (Hag 1:1, 12; 2:1) comes mainly from the contemporary witness of the two prophets who encouraged the project and also from the somewhat later record in Ezra. None of these sources provide much by way of concrete data about the dimensions and quality of the renewed edifice; it is perhaps ironic that the temple building that survived the longest—almost exactly five centuries—evoked the least descriptive material in the literary record. Presumably, the surviving foundations and rubble of walls, along with the availability of the Deuteronomic temple descriptions as well as the Pentateuchal tabernacle texts, guided the supervisors of the construction work. The outstanding richness of the Solomonic structure may not have been replicated. Yet it is reasonable to believe that the ground plan of the Zerubbabel building followed that of its predecessors; and the availability of precious temple items carried to Babylon in 587 allowed for a return to at least some semblance of the First Temple's splendor.

The physical attributes of the Zerubbabel Temple are elusive; but the symbolic qualities survive in a prominent way in postexilic prophecy, especially in the unique set of visions found in First Zechariah. The visionary materials found in Zech 1:7–6:15 contain many of the symbolic features associated with the First Temple. Often called the "temple visions," their very sequence and structure envision a universe with the Jerusalem Temple at its sacred center (see Meyers and Meyers *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8* AB, liv–lix, and chart 8). Further, the revelatory nature of the visions constitutes the equivalence, in a community without a royal leader, of the preconstruction revelation to the king that characterized Near Eastern temple-building typology and that was present for both David and Solomon.

Other features of the envisioned Temple in Zechariah contribute additional evidence of its symbolic holiness and centrality. The association of the Temple with law and justice (covenant and order) is present in the charge to the chief priestly official (Zech 3:7) who will have access to heavenly justice at the Temple as sacred intersection of earth and heaven. The necessary purity of the high priest involves cleanliness and also the removal of all iniquity (Zech 3:3). The concern for righteousness and justice is also part of the symbolic message of the flying scroll in the fifth vision (Zech 5:1–4). The enigmatic stones of Zech 3:9 (cf. 4:7 and 4:10) participate in the language of temple foundation (see *Haggai,*

*Zechariah* AB, 204–7, 246–48, 253–54), particularly in the paradigms of temple refoundation, in which a new ruler and polity create anew, on an existing temple site, a sanctuary that has existed since the beginnings of time. The golden lampstand of the central vision (Zech 4:1–6a, 10b– 14) merges the prophet's knowledge of First Temple and of Tabernacle appurtenances. It introduces the richness and purity of an extravagantly golden object, and it invokes the notion of sacred tree in its portrayal of two olive trees flanking the lampstand.

The oracular materials in Zechariah, which frame the visions and are also integrated into them, also contain vivid imagery of the cosmic center. Prominent among such passages are those heralding the "great mountain" (Zech 4:7), the "Mountain of Yahweh" (Zech 8:3), and the "Mountain of Holiness" (Zech 8:3). These designations echo the literary and visual idioms of temple building found throughout the ANE as well as the many biblical references, notably in Psalms, linking temple and mountain and thus portraying the Temple as the embodiment of the cosmic mountain.

Finally, the notion of prosperity and fecundity that result from the construction of a divinely ordained and approved temple, in which the deity's presence is thus secured, is an integral part of the message of both Zechariah and Haggai. Haggai contrasts the relative impoverishment of the inhabitants of Yehud (Hag 1:6, 10–11) with the bounty that will obtain once the temple project is underway (Hag 2:10–19). Zechariah, too, equates anticipated prosperity (as in Zech 2:8–9 and especially 8:9–13) with the restored divine presence in the Temple (and thus throughout the land) and the attendant blessings. As for Solomon centuries before, and as for countless monarchs of the ANE, the legitimation of a political entity signified by the deity's dwelling and presence meant social stability and economic growth.

The clear presence of typological and symbolic elements of temple building for the postexilic period is all the more significant because these elements retained their value for the inhabitants of Yehud in the face of the absence of a crucial element. The construction of a monumental sacred structure, expressed in the cosmic vocabulary of both texts and artistry, was characteristically and fundamentally associated with state formation or state renewal. For the restoration community, such full political autonomy was precluded. Yet the Persian overlord saw the value in granting near autonomy to this and other subject peoples by encouraging the building of local temples. This policy was intended to secure loyalty and also stability, since the renewal of legal authority was a commitment feature of the revival of a sacred structure.

Whatever the strategic aims of Darius' policy may have been, the effect for the restoration community was the transition of a Yahweh-centered people organized in an autonomous nation-state to that of a Yahweh-centered community lacking full political autonomy. The Zerubbabel Temple stood alone, with no adjacent royal compound. It thus gave legitimacy to a new form of community identity that was not linked, except in eschatological vision, to monarchic rule. The construction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem validated a community consisting of people present in Yehud and also those still in exile; and it secured the authority of the community ideals contained in the legal code or Torah promulgated as law under Persian encouragement.

**2. Post-Zerubbabel Alterations.** Virtually no information about the fortunes of Zerubbabel's Temple in the centuries immediately after its dedication is available. Occasional passages in Nehemiah refer to ritual acts associated with the Temple (Neh 10:32–39; cf. 12:44–47). Some elaborations of the Second Temple may have accompanied the revitalization of Jerusalem and its fortifications in the mid-5th century. No record of such activity exists except for the cryptic notation that before setting out on his mission, Nehemiah secured permission to procure lumber for his projected work in building the walls of Jerusalem, his own house, and also the "gates of the fortress of the house" (Neh 2:8). If the "house" is the Temple, then some changes were surely made in the time of Nehemiah.

The use of "fortress," apparently in relationship to the Temple, is one of several references in Nehemiah to features of the Temple precinct that are unknown from earlier sources. Another cites a chamber prepared for Eliashub the priest in the "courts of the house of God" (Neh 13:7); this chamber seems to be distinct from the storage chambers attached to the temple building itself (as probably in Neh 12:44; 13:4–

5). These features may have been present since the days of Zerubbabel, or they could equally represent alterations carried out thereafter.

Similarly, the broad area (Neh 8:1) in front of the Water Gate where Ezra read the law to the gathered assembly may have been an outer court of the Temple. The reading of the Torah of Yahweh would presumably have taken place close to God's residence (so 1 Esdr 9:3). However, the gate and court system of the refortified city and of the temple compound within cannot readily be understood. Although only the inner court is mentioned for the First Temple at its inception, sources for the late Second Temple refer to a variety of inner and outer courtyard areas, a picture in accord with Nehemiah's allusions to structures for priestly use situated at some distance from the Temple.

Following the Greek conquest of Palestine, a succession of rival factions seeking to control Jerusalem left their mark on the appearance of the Temple. As the Seleucids began to dominate the Ptolemies, who had held sway in Jerusalem at the outset of the Hellenistic age, the high priest Onias II, who backed the Seleucids, gained power. Early in the 2d century, Onias' son Simon apparently made extensive repairs to the Temple under Seleucid sponsorship (so Sir 50:1–21). The report in Ecclesiasticus invokes cosmic language (fountains of water, holy trees) and also makes it clear that the renovations were really in the nature of fortifications.

The security of the Temple Mount and of the Jewish community under the Oniads was in jeopardy, and internal strife among Jewish factions made the Temple vulnerable to the advancing Seleucid forces. The consequent seizure of Jerusalem in 168 B.C.E. by Antiochus IV is recorded in several ancient sources (1 Maccabees; Daniel; Josephus), all of which deplore the desecration of the Temple perpetrated by the Seleucids. Antiochus IV intended to eradicate Jewish culture and replace it with Hellenistic culture; and he took steps to do so by placing in the Temple, at the focus of Jewish life, a statue of Zeus Olympius. This outrageous religio-political act triggered a successful revolt, the Maccabean War; and the purification of the Temple marked the restoration of Jewish autonomy in Judea. The relatively brief span of the Hasmonean rule in Jerusalem was marked by internal strife, the vagaries of which apparently saw repeated although minor adjustments to the Temple. The nature of these adjustments was that of increasing the fortifications of the Temple, a sign of the tenuous grasp of independence by the Maccabean rulers and of the increasing threat posed by the expanding interests of Rome into the troubled Hasmonean state.

By 63 B.C.E., Roman domination of Jerusalem was established, marked by Pompey's three-month siege and then capture of the Temple Mount (Josephus *Ant* 14.3.1–4.4; also *JW* 1.7.6) and later by Crassus' plunder of the temple treasures. However, it was some years before the Maccabeans were fully ousted. Although vassals of Rome, they tried to resist Rome by regaining the safety of the temple fortifications (*Ant* 14; 13.3–4; 16.2). Nonetheless, authority over Judea was held by a Roman appointee, Antipater the Idumean. Even after Antipater's appointment, Hasmonean resistance continued and was not finally overcome until Antipater's son Herod laid siege to Jerusalem and captured the Temple Mount in 37 B.C.E. Herod had plans for Judea that involved a radical transformation of the kingdom from a provincial Jewish community to a model of Hellenistic culture.

**G. Herodian Temple**

Herod had an exalted view of his constituency. His building schemes, especially for the Temple, were geared towards three distinct groups whose support, respect, and admiration he sought. He saw himself as king of the Jews—not only the local traditional Palestinian Jews, but also the patrician Jews living both in Judea and in the Hellenistic Diaspora. He hoped to serve the concerns of the former group by upholding traditional Jewish religious practices and especially, in terms of his building projects, by restoring the Temple, which had suffered the ravages of the previous centuries of strife. In setting out to have a new building constructed, he was careful to adhere to authoritative specifications in the canonical texts. Thus he was limited in the size of the building he could construct.

Yet the standards of the Hellenistic Jews, living in cosmopolitan cities of the classical world such as Corinth, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome, and accustomed to seeing sacred architecture on a more massive scale than that recorded for the First Temple, also had to be met. The same might be said for the third

group in Herod's purview: the Roman authorities upon whose favor his right to rule in Palestine depended. By making Jerusalem a spectacular metropolis carrying out its international business in the shadow of a shrine that legitimized the full political and economic range of the city's activities, Herod would retain the favor of Rome. The scope of a much-enlarged Jerusalem and the classical tastes of the imperial power to the West both mandated a temple larger than those of comparable eastern cities. Just as David and Solomon planned, in accord with the international status of Jerusalem, a temple grander in size and decoration than those of the nations with which the Israelite empire was interacting, so too would Herod have to commission a building that would be preeminent in its day.

The inherent tension between the size limitations of the canonical blueprint and the more massive standards of Hellenistic-Roman architecture was resolved by Herod and his architects with a bold plan. While the Temple itself would have to have the same dimensions as its predecessors, the Temple Mount was not restricted in its potential size. Herod would expand and raise the temple platform, thus creating an unparalleled and truly monumental temple precinct containing the sanctuary, courts, gates, a fortress (Antonia), approaches, porticoes, and subsidiary buildings. So incredible were the dimensions of this project, as recorded in Josephus and, with some variations, in Mishnah *Middot*, that many scholars suspected Josephus of gross exaggerations.

The archaeological work in Jerusalem since 1968 (see above), while not able to excavate the site of the sanctuary, has undertaken extensive and careful excavations of the Temple Mount's massive support walls and of the arched ramps leading up to the surmounting enclosure walls and gates. The magnitude suggested by the ancient sources has been strikingly confirmed. The enormous raised platform was indeed constructed in the Herodian period, and the resulting size of the Temple Mount compensated for the relative modesty of the Temple's size. The Temple Mount as a whole could be viewed as a suitably imposing feature dominating the Jerusalem landscape.

This extensive platform, with its huge retaining walls to bear the weight of the fill and of the structures to be built above, was trapezoidal in shape. The area of this expanse was over 172,000 square yards, making it the largest site of its kind in the ancient world (Ben-Dov 1982: 77). See Fig. TEM.03. The entire holy area was twice as large as the monumental Forum Romanum built by Trajan, and three and a half times more extensive than the combined temples of Jupiter and Astarte-Venus at Baalbek.

The retaining walls themselves towered more than 80 feet above the roadways going around its perimeter and reached over 50 feet below street level in their foundation courses. The stones used to build these walls were gigantic. On the Western Wall (the "Wailing Wall" in Jewish tradition) the largest stone is about 40 feet long; an even larger one in the S wall weighs over 100 tons. These incredible dimensions are calculated from archaeological remains, not from the ancient sources. (For a summary description of archaeological features associated with this Herodian retaining wall, see Ritmeyer 1989.)

Although Herod did not tamper with the dimensions of the Temple proper, nor, it seems, with its internal furnishings, he did choose to outdo Solomon in golden embellishments of the building's exterior and in the scale of the courtyard furnishings. See Fig. TEM.04. The result was an awesome structure. According to Josephus, the outside of the Temple was adorned with so much gold that, when the sun shone upon it, it virtually blinded those who looked at it. The grandeur of the whole complex of courts, buildings, and porticoes led rabbinic sources to proclaim that "No one has seen a truly beautiful building unless he has seen the Temple" (*Sukk.* 51:2).

The task of building the Temple, its platform, and all its attendant structures began in the eighteenth year of Herod's reign (20 B.C.E.). Elaborate preparations and planning preceded the actual work and the dismantling of the existing Second Temple. Careful not to offend the religious sensibilities of the local populace and their concerns about the purity and holiness of the site, he arranged for a large workforce (1,000 men, according to Josephus) of priests to supplement the much larger labor pool, estimated at tens of thousands of workers. The priests were specially trained in construction work and masonry so that they could carry out the work on the sacred areas where the general public could not tread.

Herod was also careful not to have the existing temple building demolished until everything was ready for its successor to be erected. Thus the new Temple, because of its relatively small size and the

meticulous preparations for its construction, was completed in a remarkably short period of time, about eighteen months. But the whole project took a great deal longer to complete. The ancient sources are not in agreement about how long the building operations continued. The Gospel of John (2:20) indicates that the project took 46 years, well beyond Herod's life-time (cf. *Sanh.* 41.2 and *ʿAbod. Zar.* 8.2). Josephus (*Ant* 20.219) indicates that final embellishments and even repairs on components finished earlier in the project's duration took place virtually to the time of the Great Revolt, when Titus and the Tenth Legion Fretensis turned the magnificent holy compound into smoldering uninhabitable ruins in the year 70 C.E.

**H. Future Temple**

The destruction of the largest, grandest, and shortest-lived of the Jerusalem temples hardly brought about the demise of the temple idea in the religious communities emerging from Jerusalem. Both Judaism and Christianity, albeit in distinct ways and to different magnitudes, responded to the end of the earthly temple with ideas about its future existence. Both of these traditions had, in their formative stages, witnessed the Temple's glory and had been profoundly affected by its presence in Jerusalem; both of them were forced to consolidate their constituency and reorder their beliefs in the wake of the calamitous religious and political changes that swept over Palestine in the wake of the Roman armies.

For Christianity, which had barely emerged with a distinct religious identity by the year 70, the adaptations to the loss of the Temple were far less complex than for Judaism. The two major figures of earliest Christian tradition, Jesus and Paul, had both been in the temple precincts, though not in the temple building itself. The earliest Christians in Jerusalem apparently continued to participate in temple ritual (Acts 2:46; 3:1). Still, the experiences of Jesus and Paul at the Temple and with various personnel had been fraught with tension (see, e.g., Mark 11:12–19; 14:53–65; Acts 26:21). Jesus is even said to have proclaimed the eventual and eschatological destruction of the Temple (Mark 13:1–2).

Such experiences may underlie in part the fact that the early church at the end of the 1st century and later placed no emphasis on the notion that the Temple might one day be restored. Pragmatic reasons, too, may have influenced antipathy toward the temple idea. It would not have been advantageous to be aligned with the Jews and their hopes to restore the Temple when the Roman armies had perpetrated and celebrated its devastation. In any case, the eschatological visions of the early Christians had no place for a fourth temple. The visions in Revelations of a celestial Jerusalem, a city of gold and jewels, partakes of cosmic temple language with its references to a "great high mountain" (Rev 21:9) and the "waters of life" (Rev 22:1).

Yet the new Jerusalem would not have a temple (Rev 21:22). In the Byzantine period, when Jerusalem was largely a Christian city, no steps were taken, despite the flurry of construction work that characterized the 4th to 6th centuries, to clear the ruins on the Temple Mount let alone to restore it. On one level, the presence of the ruins may have been seen as witness to the validity of Jesus' prophecy that the Temple would be destroyed. On another level, there were strong theological reasons for the neglect of the temple building. The Christian understanding of Jesus' life, death, and resurrection drew on Jewish ideas of sacrifice and transformed them. The ongoing cycle of sacrificial offerings and especially the annual sin offering were epitomized and fulfilled, once and for all, by the sacrifice of Jesus' life. Jesus' entry into the eternal Temple on behalf of humanity ruled out forever the need for further sacrifices at either an earthly or a heavenly temple (see Heb 8:10). The crucifixion of Jesus in association with the Passover meant an understanding of his death in terms of the slaughter of the Pascal lamb and, by extension, in terms of the full sacrificial component of the Temple.

In contrast, the loss of the Holy Place in Jerusalem did not bring about a shift in its centrality for Judaism. In the 6th century B.C.E., Israelite political autonomy had disappeared, but the rebuilding of the Temple under Zerubbabel had provided a focus for a reconstituted and hierocratic community that transcended territorial and political boundaries. The Temple had been a force for survival. Yet, even without an earthly temple, the centrality of such a structure continued for the Jews of antiquity. It could continue to function that way because it had never been understood and defined only by is physical shape and its concrete nature (Levenson 1985: 178–84). From the very beginning, under the aegis of David and Solomon, the temple conception involved a continuum from heaven to earth. It bore meaning that

transcended its material reality. It was a cosmic structure and it involved covenant/Torah. The removal of the earthly component did not detract from its heavenly existence, nor from the dynamic reality of the Torah.

Because the Temple had never been fully mundane, it could never be completely destroyed. It continued to exist in Judaism in present reality through Torah. At the same time, its structural conception persisted in the hope that it would one day be rebuilt on earth. That fervent hope for the restoration of the Temple gave rise, in late antiquity, to three separate attempts at rebuilding. The first, in connection with the Bar Kokhba Revolt (132–35 C.E.), is documented largely through the fact that several coins minted by the ephemeral rebel government depicted the facade of the Temple. The interest of the Jewish insurgents in rebuilding the Temple was no doubt provoked by the acts of Hadrian, who set out to make Jerusalem a Roman city. His founding in 130 C.E. of *Colonia Aelia Capitolina*, as Jerusalem was to be called, may well have included the beginning of work on a temple to the Capitoline Triad (Jupiter, Minerva, and Juno) a project that was carried out once the rebellion was quelled in 135.

Another attempt to restore the Temple was also provoked by Rome, but this time through the emperor's encouragement. Julian "the Apostate" strove to weaken the ties between Rome and the Christian church and to strengthen pagan religions. As part of this plan, he tried to disrupt the Christian character of Jerusalem in 362–63 C.E. by allowing Jews, who had been banned from Jerusalem since Hadrian's reign, to resettle the Holy City and even to restore the Temple. It seems that work on the building actually was initiated—only to be abandoned when Julian died in 363.

A final effort to re-establish the Temple came about near the end of the Byzantine period, when the Persians gained control of the Holy Land in 614 C.E. The Persians were favorably disposed to the Jews and gave them control over Jerusalem, an act that apparently sparked plans for temple building. However, it soon became clear that the Persians should not slight the Christian majority. Jerusalem was returned to Christian control, a status secured when the Emperor Heraclius restored Palestine to Byzantine rule in 629 C.E.

These futile efforts at temple restoration in the centuries after the destruction of 70 C.E. perhaps only served to increase the eschatological aspects of the Temple's reality. If it couldn't be rebuilt historically, it surely would be part of the world-to-come. Yet at the same time, these rebuilding efforts punctuated and no doubt stimulated the intense consideration of temple matters that characterized rabbinic Judaism.

Whether the interest in temple building was eschatological or not, the centuries immediately after the events of 70 C.E. meant an outpouring of popular and scholarly energy into temple matters. With all its rituals, festivals, officials, and structural aspects, the Temple was the focus of much of the discussion of the sages of postbiblical Judaism. In their fervent hopes and beliefs that they would regain Jerusalem and the Temple Mount, they took pains to retain and clarify all the information that would be necessary to rebuild the Temple and restore its service according to divinely ordained specifications.

These discussions by generations of scholars were preserved in the Mishnah, in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds (up to the 6th century C.E.), and also in the homiletic literature (Midrash) recorded up to the 10th century. The obsession of the Jewish sages with being prepared for a rebuilt Temple meant the preservation of a wealth of information about the last of the Jerusalem Temples as well as about the general way of life in Jerusalem before it fell to Rome.

The Jewish response to the great destruction meant continuity of the temple idea; yet it also involved radical institutional change. Preexilic Israel had its Temple and palace; postexilic Judaism had its Temple and priesthood. Postdestruction Judaism had neither—but it had its synagogue, the origins of which are shrouded in uncertainty. Much has been made about the relationship between Temple and synagogue, to the extent of supposing that the latter is hardly more than surrogate of the former, with prayer the equivalent of sacrifice.

While it is inevitable for parallels or lines of continuity to be drawn between Temple and synagogue, there are fundamental differences between the two (Cohen 1984). Linking them does a disservice to the synagogue which, as a democratic and scholarly institution of the people, is a true creation of Judaism, whereas the Temple as a dwelling place for God and as maintained by a hierarchical and elitist personnel

was a creation of the ANE world from which Israel emerged. By their very nature, the multiplicity of synagogues scattered throughout the Jewish dispersion precluded the participation of such buildings in the cosmic imagery of the sacred center that was the essence of the Jerusalem Temple.

The survival of the Temple in Christian conceptions of Jesus as the sacrifice that secured eternal redemption and in Jewish images of an eschatological Temple does not exhaust the ways in which the Temple endured beyond 70 C.E. As a visual object that endured for nearly a thousand years in physical reality, it has persisted for another two thousand years in artistic conceptualizations. Graphic representations of the Temple began to proliferate almost from the moment it was reduced to ruins. Representations of the temple building and of its furnishings were used to adorn mosaic floors, bronze and silver coins, ceramic lamps, stone sarcophagi, tomb paintings, gilded glassware—practically every available artistic medium of antiquity. Beginning in the medieval period if not earlier, biblical, liturgical, and scholarly manuscripts were illuminated with depictions of temple treasures. Ceremonial religious objects were inspired by what were deemed to be their temple analogues. And of course many of the masterpieces, as well as lesser works, of European sculpture, painting, and engraving included depictions of the Temple in their portrayals of biblical themes.

Finally, the modern scholarly explorations of biblical lands and texts (see above), which overlap to some extent with visits of pilgrims to the Holy Land, have given rise to a plethora of detailed architectural reconstructions and of actual models. In the 19th and 20th centuries, biblical scholars, archaeologists, and architectural historians have produced countless graphic representations of all three of the Jerusalem Temples. Some of these are little more than fanciful projections; others have shown painstaking attention to every possible source of information. Perhaps the most elaborate reconstruction of all is the scale model of the entire Herodian city built on the outskirts of Jerusalem (Holyland Hotel) in the 1960s under the guidance of the late Professor Avi-Yonah.

In the two millennia since the Temple was destroyed, generation after generation of draftsmen, painters, archaeologists, artisans, photographers, and scholars have sought through a variety of graphic modes to reconstruct this ancient building. The motivations which led to the construction of the three successive temples in Jerusalem have been perpetuated in part by these manifold postbiblical efforts to simulate and so to comprehend the visual expression of a nonmaterial reality.

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**TEMPLES AND SANCTUARIES.** This entry consists of four articles that survey temples and sanctuaries in the ancient world of the Bible. The first focuses on temples in ancient Egypt, and the second focuses on temples in ancient Mesopotamia. The third focuses on temples in Syria and Palestine during the biblical period, while the fourth surveys Greco-Roman temples. See also TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

### *EGYPT*

Egypt can truly be called a land of temples. From the great sprawling complex of the Amon temple at Karnak to the tiny shrines found along village streets, temples and sanctuaries devoted to the cults of the gods were a dominant feature of every city and town. Hundreds are mentioned in the texts (Helck 1960b) though a relatively small portion have actually been discovered. In the cemeteries, hundreds more, in the form of royal funerary temples and chapels for private mortuary rituals, were part of the tombs of both kings and commoners. These two kinds of temples—cultic for the gods, funerary for mortals—dotted the Egyptian landscape and were an integral part of Egyptian life. The functions they performed went far beyond religious ones. Religion was not a separate category of thought in ancient Egypt, but pervaded every aspect of society and culture. Temples were therefore deeply involved in what we would term secular life.

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A. Introduction
    1. Cult Temples
    2. Funerary Temples
B. Temple Personnel
C. Economic Functions of the Temple
D. Other Non-cultic Functions

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## A. Introduction

**1. Cult Temples.** The cult temple was first and foremost the home of a deity and thus the point of contact between that deity and the mundane world of man. The cult temple as a building symbolized the divine creation of the universe. It represented the eternal existence of an ordered universe as opposed to the chaotic forces which, according to myth, once attempted to destroy that order. This struggle between order and chaos—that is, good and evil—was part of all ancient thought, including that of Egypt. The cult temples of the land, built of stone to last "for eternity," stood as a constant reminder of the inevitable triumph of good.

The cult temple as an institution provided the vast and complicated ritual by which a deity was worshipped. The essential goal of worship was to coax the deity into positive action on behalf of the community. All deities could bestow or withhold their largesse as they pleased; temple ritual was geared to pleasing them so they would act favorably. Because of its primary function as the house of a god, the building itself was erected only after an important foundation ritual. This can be traced from the early 3d millennium B.C. to the Ptolemaic period. The ceremonies lasted up to two weeks with the participation of the king and priests representing various deities (Montet 1964).

Three cult temples with long histories, each noted for its prestige and wealth, played a dominant role for many centuries (Helck 1960a). The largest of all Egyptian temples was that of Amon-Re, king of the gods, at Karnak (Thebes), begun ca. 1550 B.C. and enlarged and repaired over the next 15 centuries. Within its precincts were 26 chapels for deceased kings and 34 temples of varying size dedicated to other deities. The other two major temples were those of Re the sun god, at Heliopolis, and Ptah, an old god of craftsmen and creation, at Memphis. Both also included numerous other temples for kings and gods. The dominance of these cult places arose because Thebes and Memphis were Egyptian capitals; Heliopolis was originally the cult center of Atum, one of the oldest and most revered deities of the pantheon, who was superseded at this site by the sun god Re in the 3d millennium B.C.

A list of the more important cult centers would be too long for the present context, but a few are worthy of mention. Abydos, the holy city of Egypt to which Egyptians went on pilgrimage, was the traditional site of the burial of Osiris, the ruler of Paradise. The Osiris temple, one of the most splendid buildings in Egypt, was erected by Seti I (1303–1289 B.C.). A major temple to Horus, son of Osiris and protector of the living king, stands at Edfu. See Fig. ART.21. While this is of Ptolemaic date, the temple existed long before as shown by the numerous priests of this temple mentioned in earlier texts. The great temple of Elephantine was dedicated to the chief guardians of the first cataract of the Nile—Khnum, Satis, and Anukis. And, of course, there is the once magnificent temple to the Aton at El Amarna used for only the few years of Akhenaton's reformation.

Among other temples for major deities were those of Thoth, god of writing and knowledge, at Hermopolis; of Montu, god of battle, at Armant; of Min, an early fertility deity, at Coptos; and many others. This does not mean that these and other deities were worshipped only at those towns at which they were most closely associated. The greater deities such as Amon-Re, Ptah, Horus, Osiris, and Thoth, had temples and shrines throughout the land, and even abroad, especially in the Hellenistic period. With the advent of Egyptian imperialism in the period 1540–1100 B.C., temples to Egyptian gods arose in Nubia, the Sudan, and Palestine (Giveon 1978: 22–27). Hathor, goddess of motherhood, was a particular favorite of Egyptians living abroad with temples in such foreign places as the southern Sinai, Byblos, the Wadi Timnah, and Nubia.

**2. Funerary Temples.** Funerary temples, which otherwise had much in common with the houses of the gods, had a different primary function. Whether a large complex built for a king's pyramid or a tiny chapel in an artisan's tomb, the funerary temple served to perpetuate the eternal existence of the human soul. Ritual and ceremony played a major role in assuring the soul of food and drink and the other necessities of continued existence in the afterlife. Moreover, the funerary temple was the point of communication between the soul of the deceased and the living. Just as the living communed with gods in the cult temples, they communed with the dead in the funerary temples. For the souls of the dead, now living in the realm of the supramundane and in direct contact with the gods, could also act on behalf of the

world of the living. Innumerable texts show that the souls in Paradise were called upon to intercede in the affairs of men. Among these are letters written to deceased relatives and placed in their tombs which call upon them to help solve personal and household problems (Gardiner and Sethe 1928). There are also graffiti and monuments left by visitors to tomb chapels in the hope that the soul of the deceased will intercede for them (Davies and Gardiner 1920; Alliot 1937–38). This was in direct response to the "Appeal to the Living" frequently found in tomb texts in which the deceased promises such intercession for any passerby who makes offerings or says prayers on behalf of his soul.

Royal funerary temples developed out of the tiny structures of the Archaic period (ca. 3200–2700 B.C.) which became larger and more complex with the construction of pyramids during the Old and Middle Kingdoms (ca. 2575–1630 B.C.). During the Empire period (1540–1075 B.C.) and later, royal funerary temples were built along the western fringe of the Nile Valley opposite Thebes while the actual tombs were hidden away behind them in the Valley of the Kings. The temples at Deir el-Bahri (Thutmose III and Hatshepsut), the Ramesseum (Ramesses II), and Medinet Habu (Ramesses III) are examples of such royal funerary temples.

The funerary chapels of commoners likewise had humble beginnings. The solid, bench-shaped mastaba tombs of the Archaic period were decorated with vertical niches on all four exterior walls. One of these niches, always at the S end of the wall facing the Nile, was designated as the focal point where prayers and offerings were made for the deceased. The next step was a tiny exterior chapel at the same point on this wall. By the time of the Old Kingdom, chapels were built into the superstructure of the freestanding mastaba type tomb or, in the case of tombs cut into the mountainsides along the Nile Valley, quarried out of solid rock. Burials associated with these chapels were in simple underground chambers hidden from view. This practice continued for the rest of Egyptian history.

All funerary temples and chapels were open to the public which considered them as readily accessible points of contact with human intercessors, now in the divine realm. Certain royal funerary temples and even tomb chapels of commoners became particularly venerated over long periods of time as being shrines more efficacious than others. Their walls are covered with the graffiti of ancient visitors calling upon the deceased to intercede for them with the gods.

**B. Temple Personnel**

The wide range of religious and secular functions of the temples required a variety of personnel to carry them out (Sauneron 1960). The number of people attached to a temple varied from a single priest to many thousands of priests and lay workers, depending on the size of the sanctuary and the extent of its property. In the larger temples, a substantial part of the staff was concerned with administering and caring for fields and crops, gardens, animal herds, granaries, housekeeping, and the copious written records of daily life. This administrative staff was made up mostly of lay persons, though priests could also be appointed to such duties.

The actual work of these enterprises was carried on by a large number of workers. Peasant families tilled the fields and watched over the numerous flocks. Craftsmen of all kinds manned the workshops that produced the myriad cult objects and the necessities of everyday life for the entire temple community. There were doorkeepers and guards, butchers and bakers, and the artists, sculptors, and stone masons who kept the temple precinct in repair. Each temple department such as the granary or the treasury had its own cadre of caretakers, scribes, and workers. Like any large noble estate, the temple was self-supporting and employed whatever staff was necessary to supply and care for all its needs.

The continuous ritual and ceremony carried on throughout the year was the domain of the priests. It is difficult to establish a strict religious hierarchy since clerical offices varied in importance and function in different temples. There were basically two priestly classes: the "God's Servants," divided into five grades, and the "Purified Ones," the innumerable ordinary priests, also divided into several grades which cannot yet be clearly defined.

It was from the higher ranks of the God's Servants that the leaders of the clergy were drawn. High priests held the title "First God's Servant." Such men were among the most important in the land, especially the high priests of the gods Amon-Re at Thebes, Ptah at Memphis, and Re at Heliopolis. From

about 1500 B.C. on, the single most-powerful cleric in Egypt was the high priest of Amon-Re who belonged to the inner circle of royal advisors. Controlling vast wealth and the allegiance of the people, this priesthood was a significant political competitor to the royal family. Akhenaton's failed reformation in the later 14th century B.C. was an attempt to curb the influence of this priesthood which ultimately assumed the rule of Upper Egypt around 1075 B.C. The temple and state, theoretically expected to work in tandem under the divine kingship, were often in opposition as to who was in control.

There were many classes of priests who specialized in only one aspect of temple service. Among these were the lector priest, responsible for learning and reciting the vast ritual literature; the stolist, who cared for the clothing and other paraphernalia of divine statues; astronomers who kept track of time by observing the heavens and using water clocks and other time-keeping devices; priestly scholars and scribes in the temple's "House of Life" (the scriptorium/library) who accumulated and interpreted the sacred writings; singers and musicians who played a significant role in temple ceremonies; and, in later times, astrologers who read the fate of the nation and the individual in the stars.

The role of women in the priesthoods was minor for much of Egyptian history. Generally, they served as priestesses of the goddess Hathor or some local female deity. It was not until the later Empire period, when Amon-Re came into such preeminence, that women took on important positions in that cult. Women were also prominent in ceremonial singing and dancing. However, the place of women in the priesthoods seems always to have been subordinate to that of men, even with the Hellenistic Isis priestesses.

**C. Economic Functions of the Temple**

The most significant secular function of the temple was in the economic sphere. Janssen (1975, 1979) suggests that the Egyptian economic system was based on a local subsistence economy in which the necessities of life were produced in all sectors of society without particular concern for the open marketplace. Any surplus was collected by state institutions and redistributed among the host of government employees not directly involved in production, from high officials to ordinary workmen.

The temples were involved at both levels. Like any other sector of society, the temples produced the food, clothing, and other necessities required by their personnel. When the state collected the nation's surplus products, the temples were used as storage depots and centers for the redistribution of this surplus. In the early centuries of Egyptian history, temples were small and without great wealth. From the Old Kingdom on, royal grants and private donations gradually expanded temple property which meant a commensurate increase in agricultural laborers, craftsmen, and other workmen needed to maintain the temple's subsistence economy.

The real growth of temple wealth came during the Empire period (ca. 1540–1100 B.C.) when foreign conquests created an enormous surplus of manufactured goods in the form of booty and tribute as well as new agricultural land. It has been convincingly argued (Janssen 1979) that the cult temples formed one of many branches of government and were not institutionally or economically independent of the state. The extraordinary wealth of the larger temples must thus be seen in a new perspective. The royal "gifts" to temples were not outright grants of land, produce, objects of precious metals, and the like. This was rather the placing of state property in the hands of one of several government institutions (like the state treasury) to be recalled and used when the government wished to do so. State employees such as the royal workmen in the Valley of the Kings were paid in kind by the state out of temple treasuries. The temples thus acted as a kind of banking system for the state and paymaster for government workers.

Offerings to the gods also played a role in the redistribution of surplus goods. The food, clothing, and a host of other items presented to the gods in sometimes massive quantities were reused by the living once the service to the gods had been satisfied. Such offerings were a major source of income for the temples and were used, for example, to support the families attached to temple service in one way or another.

**D. Other Non-cultic Functions**

One important aspect of temple activity lay in the area of formal education which was directed by the priests within the temple precinct. It is safe to say that all educated males working in any capacity were trained in the temple schools. (The rare literate women probably received private tutoring outside the

temple.) Temple education may partially account for the fact that, with few exceptions, Egyptian officials at all levels bore priestly titles of some kind or other. Many professions such as medicine and astronomy were almost totally the domain of the priests. The temple of Neith at Saïs in the Delta was especially noted as a center for medical education.

Temple libraries housed archives of substantial proportions though, being of papyrus rolls, most have long since disappeared. The list of documents once filed in temple libraries embraces the entire spectrum of human knowledge: political, religious, scientific, economic, and legal (Redford 1986: 215–24). For example, a summary of every trial, even those held in village courts, was preserved in the temple archives. Papyri recording property ownership were kept there and, in one famous case, the litigants were able to obtain copies of the pertinent documents stretching back over two and a half centuries. The temples were thus the repositories of all the accumulated knowledge of Egyptian civilization. It was in such a temple library that Manetho, an Egyptian scholar of the 3d century B.C., studied and wrote his history of Egypt, excerpts of which were quoted by other historians for centuries.

The vast expanses of temple walls provided a public library cataloging the exploits of Egyptian kings. Here were carved in stone the records of foreign wars and other important events, the so-called "annals" of the empire and later, where succeeding Pharaohs recorded what they had accomplished on behalf of the gods. The campaigns of Thutmose III (1490–1436 B.C.), detailed accounts of the Battle of Kadesh under Ramesses II (1268 B.C.), the wars of Ramesses III (1184–1153 B.C.), and the last successful Egyptian campaign into Palestine under Sheshonk I (945–924 B.C.), are among the many exploits recorded on temple walls. The temples were chosen as the medium to record these events since kings were boasting to the gods; temples were made of stone so the boasting would last forever.

In Ptolemaic times, certain temples—notably those at Dendera, Saqqara, Deir el-Bahri, and Abydos—included sanatoria where the sick went to find cures under the aegis of deities of healing such as Hathor, Serapis, and Bes. Two deified commoners were also associated with healing in late times: Imhotep at Memphis and Amenhotep, Son of Hapu, at Thebes (Wildung 1977). Both had been royal architects who came to be venerated as patrons of the intellectual arts, and ultimately, as popular gods of healing. While actual sanatoria are known only from the late period, deities of healing are mentioned in earlier texts which suggests that centers of healing probably had an earlier history.

Oracles, divine answers to specific questions, also lay within the scope of temple activity (Černý 1962). Recorded oracles range from queries about vital state concerns such as the royal succession, to personal problems like the theft of a sheep from a farmer's barnyard. Oracles were sought in the great temples as well as at village shrines. By the 20th Dynasty (1190–1075 B.C.), divine justice via oracles had become a popular substitute for human justice in the regular law courts. Dream omina, a common type of oracle, were obtained through the temple priests under controlled conditions since dreams were considered to be messages from the gods.

Egyptian temples thus had many functions and existed to serve several purposes. They were the houses of the gods, the points of communication between gods and men, keepers of education and libraries, important economic institutions, and eternal recorders of the deeds of Egyptian kings. In the later years of the empire, during the 20th Dynasty, some, like the funerary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, took on another function. Incursions of Libyan tribes from the desert into the Nile Valley and rebellious mercenaries made life dangerous in Thebes and the villages around the city. The temples became fortresses in which the local population could find safety from rampaging foreigners. It was fitting that the temples which protected men's souls should offer them physical protection in time of temporal need. See also *LÄ* 6: 365–76.

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## *MESOPOTAMIA*

Beginning with the pioneering excavations of the late 19th century, archaeologists have recovered the remains of monumental structures more or less conclusively identifiable as temples at many sites in both S Mesopotamia (ancient Sumer and Akkad, later Babylonia) and N Mesopotamia (Assyria and the Jazirah). The remains of temples and, in some instances, the associated staged towers known as ziggurats have been discovered in Babylonia at such important cities as Eridu, Uruk, Ur, Nippur, and Babylon; and in Assyria and the N at Assur, Mari, Calah, Tell Rimah (possibly ancient Karana), Tell Brak, and in the last several years, Tell Leilan (ancient Shubat-Enlil) (see Weiss 1983). These remains date from as early as the early 5th millennium B.C.E. (at early Ubaid-period Eridu) to the mid-1st millennium B.C.E. at Babylon.

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A. Archaeological and Textual Evidence
B. Origins and Evolution of the Temple
C. Social Role of the Temple

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### A. Archaeological and Textual Evidence

The ancient Sumerians, Babylonians, and Assyrians built their temples (as well as other "public" buildings and "private" houses) principally with sun-dried mud brick (although beginning in the late 3d millennium B.C.E. kiln-fired brick, frequently set in bitumen, was increasingly used, especially in constructing facades). This choice of material was forced upon them by the lack of proximity to more durable materials such as stone and large timber, especially in the Tigris-Euphrates floodplain of S Mesopotamia. Consequently, then, while the gigantic stone temples of Egypt have stood majestically for millennia, the great temples and ziggurats of Mesopotamia have crumbled into massive, amorphous mounds of decayed mudbrick. Even during their heyday, these structures required frequent replastering and other maintenance. Moreover, they were frequently demolished and reconstructed because (as is amply attested by numerous royal dedicatory inscriptions, year names, and self-laudatory royal hymns) it was considered the pious act of the dutiful ruler, acting as the god's steward, to undertake such reconstruction, and to do so on the same sanctified spot. This process usually entailed the demolition of the temple's existing walls, leaving only wall stubs often only a few inches high, that were then filled in with wall rubble (and, in at least one instance, old clay tablets) to create a platform upon which the new temple was erected. As a consequence, archaeologists excavating the remains of great urban sites that were inhabited more or less continuously for centuries (sites such as Ur, Uruk, and Babylon) have been confronted with long and complicated sequences of wall stubs superimposed upon and sometimes intersecting each other. Relatively little is known about how these structures were roofed (although some important evidence in this regard has been recovered from the Old Babylonian (OB) period temple at Tell al-Rimah; see Oates 1979: 80–82; Lloyd 1978: 167–69); indeed, for some types of temples uncertainty continues as to whether certain areas were roofed or unroofed.

Finally, especially for the late 4th and 3d millennia B.C.E., additional evidence concerning the construction and appearance of temples is provided by cylinder seals and the remains of their impressions,

by representations on stone vases and troughs, by actual models of temples and houses, by house plans incised on clay tablets, and by painted decoration on pottery (note especially Crawford 1977: 65–76).

The textual evidence regarding Mesopotamian temples tends to be much more tractable, although its interpretation is fraught with its own peculiar difficulties. Various temples and their attributes were celebrated in "temple hymns" (e.g., Kramer 1957; *TCS*3), and the destruction or desecration of famous temples at the hands of invaders or sacrilegious rulers was mourned in lamentations (see Kramer 1988). More pious rulers boasted of their reconstruction or embellishment of temples, or of donating cultic paraphernalia such as statues, chariots, or weapons to them, in commemorative and dedicatory inscriptions (see, for example, Sollberger and Kupper 1971 and Klein 1989), year formulae, and royal hymns. Undoubtedly the most celebrated inscription of this type (and one of the masterpieces of classical Sumerian literature) is that of Gudea, ruler of the Sumerian state of Lagash, who ca. 2000 B.C.E. caused two large cylinders to be inscribed with the account of his rebuilding of the Eninnu, the temple of the god Ningirsu, a warrior god who was the patron deity of Girsu (modern Tello, formerly thought to be the site of the ancient city of Lagash, now to be identified as Tell el-Hiba) (see Falkenstein 1966 and Kramer 1988). In sheer volume of material, however, the overwhelming majority of the textual evidence relating to temples consists of thousands of inscribed clay tablets that constitute the remains of the formerly vast archives of various temple households of S Mesopotamia. These administrative records consist chiefly of accounts of transactions and expenditures. They are inscribed in an often-cryptic bureaucratic argot that includes designations of rank or profession and terms for commodities that, in some instances, have yet to be adequately translated. Nonetheless, these records indisputably have yielded the most important evidence for assessing the wealth and socioeconomic power of the temples and the scope of their economic affairs, and for elucidating the bureaucratic processes and the hierarchy of personnel that administered the gods' estates and households. Among the more noteworthy archival remains recovered to date are the account texts from the Late Uruk period (late 4th millennium B.C.E.) levels of the Eanna temple precinct at Uruk. Written in a pictographic script that is a direct precursor of cuneiform writing, these clay tablets contain the earliest known evidence of writing, which evolved from the need to maintain accurate records of the increasingly complex and sophisticated Uruk temple household(s). Other major archival collections that have survived include the Early Dynastic (ED) III period (mid-3d millennium B.C.E.) archives of the temple of the goddess Bau at Girsu; the Ur III period (i.e., Third Dynasty of Ur, late 3d millennium B.C.E.) records of the temple of Inanna at Nippur; the Isin-Larsa period (early 2d millennium B.C.E.) archives of the Eshumesha, the temple of the god Ninurta at Nippur; and the Neo-Babylonian (NB) period (mid-1st millennium B.C.E.) archives of the Ebabbar (the temple of the sun god, Shamash) at Sippar and of the Eanna temple at Uruk. Unfortunately, none of these archives is complete. The extant records from each of them represent the activities of only certain parts of the temple household and document those activities for only limited periods. Of course, the archives of many of the great temples of Babylonia and Assyria—not to mention the temples themselves—await discovery.

**B. Origins and Evolution of the Temple**

The earliest sacred shrines of ancient Mesopotamia have never been found, and undoubtedly never will be discovered, for they were most likely constructed of reeds or some other similarly ephemeral material. Exactly why the earliest shrines were built probably can never be satisfactorily answered, although some current hypotheses would link their origins to the emergence of "tribal" ceremonial centers or treasuries among the pre-urban groups of S Mesopotamia (Wheatley 1971: 226–29; Jacobsen *EncRel* 9: 447; but see Oates 1979: 24). With regard to N Mesopotamia, some experts have attempted to identify a structure of "unusual" ground plan at the site of Hassuna or the so-called "tholoi" at village sites of the Halafian period (early to middle 6th millennium B.C.E.) as sanctuaries, but the evidence is extremely inconclusive.

In the eyes of most scholars, the earliest structures that can be identified with some probability as temples date to the early Ubaid period (early 5th millennium B.C.E.) and are to be found at Eridu in S Mesopotamia and at Tepe Gawra in the N, although at least one scholar (Aurenche 1981: 51) has cautioned that one might just as validly identify these structures as community houses. The structure at Eridu was built of mudbrick and is commonly regarded as the earliest example of "monumental"

architecture in Mesopotamia. Beginning as a small rectangular structure, the Eridu Ubaid temple evolved to comprise a central rectangular sanctuary with wall niche (presumably for the god's statue or symbol) and central "offering table," with lateral wings projecting from the central sanctuary to form a T-shape. The exterior facade was ornamented with alternating buttresses and recesses, and the entire structure stood on a platform or terrace. These attributes mark the Eridu Ubaid temple as a probable prototype of subsequent Mesopotamian religious architecture. The continuity of tradition that eventually characterized this architecture is likewise well exemplified at Eridu: the Ubaid temple lay under the great ziggurat built for the Sumerian god Enki, the patron deity of Eridu, almost 2,000 years later by the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur.

The explosion of urban development in S Mesopotamia during the 4th millennium B.C.E. was paralleled by the construction of more elaborate temples that in some instances were set on even higher platforms. In the Eanna temple precinct the city of Uruk (biblical Erech, modern Warka) in particular were built structures as large as 275 by 175 feet, including one structure (the "Hall of Pillars") the exterior of which bore the remains of colorful "cone mosaic" decoration. Although even these buildings perhaps cannot yet be identified unequivocally as temples (see Nissen 1988: 96–97), the discovery of hundreds of account tablets dating to this period (ca. 3000 B.C.E.) surely indicates that the temples must have been located in this area. Incised with an early pictographic script, the direct ancestor of cuneiform writing, these tablets also reveal that at the dawn of literacy the temple households of Uruk already commanded abundant resources in livestock and agricultural commodities and supplied grain rations and other support to numerous dependants.

Between the end of the 4th millennium and the end of the 3d millennium B.C.E., both textual and architectural data reveal that the temples became the foremost centers of the cities of ancient Sumer. The vast majority of the temple archival remains for this period come from the city of Girsu. They attest to the great economic resources (for example, the estates of the goddess Bau alone comprised 11,000 acres) and complex bureaucracies of the temple households. The Girsu temple estates in general produced commodities such as wheat and barley, dates, vegetables, cheese and other milk products, oil, dried fish, wool, hides, and reeds; and they employed men and women (and children, as well) of many different crafts and professions, including bricklayers and carpenters, smiths and masons, spinners and weavers, butchers and bakers, farmers and fishermen, shepherds and swineherds. These records and other "historical" documents of this period, however, also reflect the ongoing encroachment by local and then "imperial" political/secular authorities (in particular, the Akkade Dynasty and the Third Dynasty of Ur) on the wealth and prerogatives of the temple households. By the 18th century B.C.E., this trend culminated in an increasing "secularization" of the temple as Hammurabi and his successors exerted more and more control over temple property. Throughout the remainder of ancient Mesopotamian history, the temples remained vital components of the socioeconomic fabric of Mesopotamian urban society, but their economic autonomy tended to be compromised by various rulers' needs for revenues. At the same time, however, the Mesopotamian ideology of kingship required that a king's rule be sanctioned by divine authority. This need gave kings good reason to curry the favor of temple priesthoods and administrators (many of whom came from the ranks of influential local families) and to assist them in maintaining the temples' prestige. Thus, the temples continued to benefit from royal endowments, and the citizens of cities with especially ancient and prestigious temples (such as Nippur and Babylon) were frequently granted royal privileges that might include exemption from conscription and taxes (see Kraus 1954: 535–36). To fend off later kings' attempts at encroachment, the temples could resort to claims of ancient privilege and protected status and, undoubtedly, to the political savvy of temple officials.

From an architectural standpoint, the period after 3000 B.C.E. witnessed the appearance of several different types of temple ground plans. Excluding temples known only from textual evidence (such as the Tummal shrine of the goddess Ninlil, which most scholars have located in Nippur, although now see Yoshikawa 1989) or temples for which an earlier ground plan was destroyed by rebuilding (such as at the Ekur, the much-celebrated temple of the god Enlil, also at Nippur), at least five different types of temple ground plan can be discerned before 2000 B.C.E. in S Mesopotamia (Crawford 1977: 22–26). The evident

lack of standardization of ground plans has led at least one scholar to speculate that different temple plans were appropriate to different gods. Thus, of the four oval temple enclosures known for this period, two of them (at al-Ubaid and al-Hiba) are known to have been dedicated to female deities (Ninhursag and Inanna, respectively); on the other hand, of the five known temples of the "house plan" type, three were dedicated to female deities and two to males (Crawford 1977: 25, 84–86). Using a criterion based on verticality as opposed to horizontal ground plan, however, the temples of S Mesopotamia during this period can be grouped into two basic categories: "high" temples on a platform or ziggurat (for the planning and appearance of which the evidence is quite meager) and "ground-level" temples. Whatever the peculiarities of their ground plans, the ground-level temples share, for the most part, certain basic elements, in that the main sanctuary (the cella) was rectangular, with a door in one of the long sides and a brick altar at one end (thus producing the so-called "bent-axis approach"). Behind the altar was a wall niche in which would have stood the cult statue. The sanctuary was also furnished with small brick pedestals (presumed to have been offering tables) and, along the walls, brick benches upon which the votive statues of pious donors would have stood (see Lloyd 1978: 118–20). Many of these features, including the bent-axis approach, are to be found in temples of N Mesopotamia during this period (including the "Archaic Ishtar Temple" at Ashur and the Ishtar Temple at Mari).

By about 2000 B.C.E., however, two new features that were to endure for centuries became established in Mesopotamian religious architecture. The bent-axis configuration was now, for the most part, replaced in Babylonia by the "direct-axis" approach, a more symmetrical layout that resulted in an aligned vista from a paved courtyard, through perhaps an antecella, that terminated with the cult statue itself, which now could be viewed sitting in a niche in the middle of the far, long side-wall of a wide, shallow room (the so-called *breitraum* cella). From this period on, the direct-axis ground plan and *breitraum* cella remained the standard for Babylonian temples. In Assyria, however, some elements of the bent-axis approach were retained in the rectangular *langraum* cella, which one entered through a door on one of the long sides, then turning 90 degrees to face the cult statue on a dais at the narrow end of the room.

Also, from the end of the 3d millennium B.C.E. on, the staged towers known as ziggurats became an essential feature of Mesopotamian temple complexes in both Babylonia and Assyria. The earliest ziggurats in Babylonia probably date to the mid-3d millennium B.C.E. (the ED period); indeed, the origins of these towers are almost certainly to be linked to the temple platforms of preliterate times. The intended function of these multi-staged towers (a ziggurat might have as few as three or as many as seven stages) remains uncertain, although of several hypotheses that have been advanced to explain their purpose (Were they thrones of the gods—cosmic mountains that served as tombs of a dying/resurgent god?), the hypothesis that identifies them as stairways connecting heaven and earth, thereby allowing the deity to descend from heaven, has become widely accepted. Normally, a "high" temple stood atop the ziggurat, a "low" temple near (not necessarily adjoining) its base.

Indisputably the best preserved ziggurat is that built for the moon god Nanna-Su'en at Ur by Ur-Nammu and his successor, Shulgi, who ruled over Sumer and Akkad during the early 21st century B.C.E. (this structure quite likely conceals within it, however, an earlier ziggurat dating to ED times). This structure originally had three stages, atop the highest of which presumably stood a "high" temple or shrine (the structure itself has not survived). The tower was constructed of a solid mudbrick core that was faced with a 2.4-meter-thick layer of baked brick set in bitumen. The lowest stage measured about 61 by 46 meters and was about 15 meters high; a triple stairway converged at its top. With the construction of this ziggurat was ushered in, moreover, yet another new concept in Mesopotamian religious architecture: a walled precinct enclosing a large, open space, with a monumental structure set in the middle and with one or more planned courtyards within the precinct. Also within the walls were a storehouse and two official residences, as well as a temple kitchen where, presumably, the gods' meals were prepared (see Oates 1979: 46–47; Lloyd 1978: 151–52). Other well-known ziggurats in Babylonia include a well-preserved Kassite-period (mid-2d millennium B.C.E.) example at ancient Dur-Kurigalzu (modern Aqar Quf, W of Baghdad) and, of course, the Etemenanki ("the house that is the foundation of heaven and earth"), the mighty ziggurat that stood within the temple precinct of the great god Marduk at Babylon during the 6th

century B.C.E. It is this structure that possibly inspired the Tower of Babel story in the OT book of Genesis. Although the structure itself has long since been demolished by the depredations of brick scavengers, the awe that it once must have inspired can easily be sensed in the famous (albeit rather skeptical) description of it by the 5th-century B.C.E. Greek historian Herodotus (*The Histories*, Book I).

The ziggurat came to be a characteristic feature of religious architecture in Assyria as well by the early 2d millennium B.C.E. Three (including a twin-ziggurat complex) were discovered at the traditional capital of Assyria, Ashur, the earliest of them having been built by the late 19th-century B.C.E. ruler Shamshi-Adad. Later ziggurats were built at Nimrud (ancient Kalhu) and Khorsabad (ancient Dur-Sharrukin). The physical relationship of tower to sanctuary in Assyria tended to differ, sometimes quite markedly, from that in Babylonia. In particular, in some instances in Assyria the god's sanctuary extended into the core of the tower itself, so that the niche containing the god's statue was actually situated within the tower's base. No similar configuration is known from Babylonia.

**C. Social Role of the Temple**

Throughout antiquity, no institution played a more significant or enduring role in ancient Mesopotamian society than the temples of the great urban centers of Babylonia and Assyria.

E. Sollberger (1975: 34) has succinctly defined the Babylonian temple as "the house in which a god lives, manages his worldly business, is served by his household and by his people, and, through his own success, ensures the happiness and prosperity of his city and her inhabitants." This definition incorporates very well the two principal translations of the Sumerian and Akkadian words for "temple" (respectively, É and *bītum*): "house" and "household." Quite simply, the essential function of an ancient Mesopotamian temple was to serve as the house of the city's patron god or goddess. Yet the identity of the patron deity with his or her temple was so complete that the temple can be regarded, not simply as the god's abode, but as the god's "embodiment" (Jacobsen 1976: 16–17). Looming high above the city's skyline, dominating the horizon, the temple provided the inhabitants of a Mesopotamian city "visible assurance that the god was present among them" (Jacobsen 1961: 276). Furthermore, as the city's patron and protector, the deity was fittingly regarded as its true landlord. It is hardly surprising, then, that, from the advent of written records, the temple households appear as the owners and administrators of vast estates, often comprising thousands of acres, as well as enormous herds of livestock and various storehouses, granaries, and workshops where the produce of the temple estates was sheltered and processed. Just as the temple dominated the city architecturally, then, the temple's household dominated—or, at the very least, played a vital role in—the city's economic life.

Because of the patron deity's central role in the life of the city, and from the great wealth produced by his/her estates, there accrued to the temple a number of significant social roles within the surrounding community. Perhaps most important, its fields and orchards produced surpluses of barley and wheat, dates, and other foodstuffs that might sustain the community in hard times. From that same produce came the funds to supply wages and rations to, in some instances, thousands of full-time and part-time employees and dependants whose status might range from chief temple administrator (Sum SANGA) or palace official to semi-free textile worker or agricultural laborer. The temple also protected the economically disadvantaged by sheltering and employing widows, orphans, and war captives; by standardizing weights, measures, and interest rates; or even by granting small interest-free loans of grain (although, in other circumstances, temple administrators might exact interest rates as high as one-third of a loan's principal). On a more ostensibly "cultic" level (and it is prudent, in discussing the social role of the Mesopotamian temple, not to insist on too strict a separation of "cultic" from "economic" or, for that matter, "spiritual" from "secular"), the temple might perform services such as administering oaths and ordeals in judicial proceedings.

Few scholars would dispute, however, that, in the minds of ancient Mesopotamians themselves, the temple's most crucial function was to provide for the city's patron deity a secure, permanent residence of appropriate spaciousness and luxury. Here, the deity's servants could attend to his or her "care and feeding" (Oppenheim 1977: 183) by bathing and clothing the deity's statue in its private chambers and by preparing and ceremonially presenting regular food offerings according to a suitably elaborate, long-

established ritual. In the unstinting performance of these duties lay the community's only hope, if not assurance, for its continued safety and prosperity.

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## *SYRIA-PALESTINE*

There is no technical word in the Hebrew Bible for *temple* or *sanctuary.* Hebrew *bêt,* "house," is regularly used in connection with the name of a particular deity, such as the "House of Yahweh" for the Solomonic temple, the "House of Dagon" at Ashdod, etc. Similarly the Hebrew *bāmāh* means "high place," but clearly denotes a shrine or sanctuary, usually Canaanite, yet it also refers to the royal sanctuary at Dan in N Israel. Beyond that, Hebrew *miqdaš* "shrine" (literally "place set apart") is sometimes used to describe a holy place, but the distinction, if any, is not clear. Occasionally, the terms are grouped together in ways that seem confusing, as "houses of the high places" (1 Kgs 13:32), or "shrines of the high places," (2 Kgs 17:29, 32; 23:19). A partial solution to the ambiguities inherent in the biblical terminology may lie in the fact that for the final redactors of the Hebrew Bible (i.e., the Deuteronomic historians) there *was* only one temple-sanctuary—that in Jerusalem. However, the Bible's lack of familiarity with other cultic installations is rectified in part by the discoveries of modern archaeology, which have brought to light a number of Canaanite, Philistine, Israelite, and other temples and sanctuaries. This review will summarize the main such installations known from the Chalcolithic, Bronze, and Iron Ages (for details, see entries on individual sites; and see also TEMPLE, JERUSALEM).

### A. Chalcolithic (ca. 4500–3400 B.C.)

The earliest real temple in Palestine, in the sense of being a monumental public structure dedicated exclusively to cult practice, is the splendid hilltop structure above the spring at En-gedi which overlooks the Dead Sea. See Fig. TEM.05. It is a large *Breithaus* (broadroom) building, surrounded by a temenos wall with a gatehouse. Many scholars believe that the fabulous hoard of copper and ivory cultic implements, found hidden in a cave in the Naḥal Mishmar nearby, was part of the original paraphernalia of this temple. A smaller temple, perhaps a household shrine, was found at Tuleilat al-Ghassul at the N

end of the Dead Sea, with a bichrome wall painting depicting elaborate geometric motifs, priests' masks, and the like. Other small sanctuaries, such as the one at Gilat, have produced zoomorphic and anthropomorphic terra-cotta figurines; and on the Golan Heights, household shrines are characterized by small basalt altars with both human and animal motifs.

**B. The Early Bronze Age (ca. 3400–2000 B.C.)**

The first great urban era in Palestine understandably exhibits more monumental temples. Belonging to EB II are several *Breithaus* temples, based simply upon larger versions of the typical broadroom domestic dwelling. The Megiddo XIX temple, built just above bedrock, is typical—a single-room building with centrally aligned column bases. At ʿAi, two temples are known: the "sanctuary" adjacent to the city wall, with several phases belonging to EB I–II; and the so-called "Palace" on the summit, an Egyptian-style structure converted in EB III to a massive temple with splendid masonry construction, probably the finest 3d millennium structure in Palestine. Also belonging to EB III is the "White Building" at Tel Yarmut C.V–IV, again a fine masonry structure somewhat more rectangular than most, with thick plastered walls, column bases, and a low podium on one wall. The Arad EB II "Twin Temple" of strata III–II is unique only because of its plan that features two *Breithaus* structures side-by-side; an outer, partially walled courtyard has a stone altar and an adjacent stone-lined sunken *favissa.* See Fig. TEM.06. Smaller EB II–III sanctuaries, more like shrines, are those at Jericho and at Bâb edh-Dhrâ. No EB IV temples or sanctuaries are presently known, this being a final, post-urban phase. All the above temples and sanctuaries were looted in antiquity and thus have yielded few if any artifacts, the Egyptian alabaster vessels from ʿAi being a notable exception. The buildings themselves are simple, one-room structures, with no particular orientation, and only occasionally an altar as an item of furnishing.

**C. The Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2000–1500 B.C.)**

The urban revival of the first half of the 2d millennium B.C., has produced a larger number of temples and sanctuaries representing several prototypes. Nearly identical single-room *migdal* or "fortress" temples are known from the MB III phases at Megiddo (str. X) and Shechem ("Fortress Temple 1"); and a similar, less massive such temple is known from area A at Hazor (the str. XVI "Long Temple"). Hazor area H (str. XVI; MB III) has also yielded the earliest bipartite temple in Palestine. Finally, an MB III tripartite temple at Shechem ("Temple 7300") was built into a palace adjoining the city wall and NW gate. See Fig. TEM.07. More recently, very small single-room temples have been found at Tel Kittan and Kfar Ruppin; and the tiny village of Tell el-Hayyat in the Jordan Valley has produced a series of five such superimposed temples, dating from MB I–III, with terra-cotta and bronze votive offerings. The bipartite and tripartite versions of these longroom temples continue into the LB and Iron Ages.

The Nahariyah MB I–III temple is a broadroom structure with several phases, featuring a large outdoor circular altar or "high place." Isolated from any known settlement, it is located on the seashore, probably dedicated to Asherah, whose name at Ugarit means "She who treads the sea." This identification is strengthened by the discovery of several terra-cotta and metal Mother Goddess figurines, as well as a mold for casting them. Another unique MB III cultic installation is the famous Gezer "High Place," an outdoor shrine that features ten enormous standing stones in a N–S alignment with a large stone basin or laver adjacent to them, all of which are surrounded by a plastered pavement with a large stone basin or laver. Quantities of burned sheep and goat remains indicate that animal sacrifices were offered there, but it is more likely a covenant-renewal site than a mortuary installation, as formerly thought.

Most of the MB temples and sanctuaries were looted in antiquity, or were rebuilt in later times and thus had their original features altered beyond recognition.

**D. The Late Bronze Age (ca. 1500–1200 B.C.)**

The last phase of the Canaanite Bronze Age witnessed the proliferation of earlier style temples, as well as the introduction of newer, local and Egyptian style temples. The Megiddo and Shechem *migdal* temples were rebuilt (str. VIII–VII and "Fortress Temple 2a" respectively). The Hazor area H temple was rebuilt as another bipartite building (str. XV) and it was probably in this phase that the Syrian style basalt orthostats were added all along the lower walls. In the outer court were stone offering tables and basins, as well as a potter's workshop with many small, votive bowls. In its reuse in LB II (str. XIV), this building

was expanded into a tripartite temple with the orthostats reused. The temple continued in use in the following stratum (XIII) until its final destruction and in its debris were Cypro-Minoan style stone vases, as well as a wide variety of ceramic votive vessels. Smaller examples of this basic Canaanite style temple were also found at Tel Kittan (Temple III).

Variants on the single-room local style of temple, often with offering benches around the side walls and an altar on the back wall, are well-illustrated in the series of three successive temples at Lachish, "Fosse Temples" I–III. These temples tend to have a side room, as well as pits or *favissae* surrounding them. The Lachish pits produced a rich series of ceramic votive vessels, including the well-known Lachish ewer (Hestrin 1985), whose inscription in Proto-Canaanite mentions a sheep offering for Elat. More recently, a "Summit Temple" on the upper city has been found, much more monumental in character, which yielded among other items a splendid gold relief depiction at a nude Asherah-Qudshu goddess astride a warhorse. The Tel Mevorakh (str. XVI–VIII) temple is another example of the local style, also exhibiting a rich collection of votives: ceramic and bronze vessels, jewelry, cylinder seals, and other items.

The series of temples at Beth-shan seems to be more Egyptianizing in style. Although designated by the excavators "Thutmoses III," "Pre-Amenhotep," and "Amenhotep III," the connections and dates are fanciful. All three temples are relatively elaborate mudbrick structures with offset entrances; although badly dug and published, it is clear that rich votives were associated with these temples.

In addition to these more standard temples, a number of other types of cultic installations existed in theLB. An example of a curious rectangular "maze-like" shrine with a central column or altar is known in area F at Hazor; similar to this are the isolated, off-site examples of the Mt. Gerizim (Shechem) and Amman Airport temples, the latter with rich collections of votives and (apparently) burned human bones.

A unique "Stelae Temple" at Hazor (area C) had a semi-circular alignment of 10 small basalt stela accompanied by a seated basalt figure with outstretched arms. Nearby were found a terra-cotta mask, several fine cylinder seals, a bas-relief silver plaque, and evidence of a potter's workshop. Finally, smaller shrines are known are Shiloh, including several votive vessels; and, from the final phase of LB II, the "Sanctuary" at Deir ʿAllā in the Jordan Valley.

The only actual Egyptian temple thus far discovered in Palestine in this period is the small structure located just at the base of "Solomon's Pillars" in the Wadi Timna, just N of Eilat. It evidently served an Egyptian garrison stationed there to oversee copper mining operations, and has yielded hundreds of items, many of them Egyptian.

Despite an almost bewildering variety and number of LB temples (multiple contemporary examples of some sites), there is apparently a homogeneity of cult practice reflected. This is no doubt typical of fully developed Canaanite religion, as is best documented by the Ugaritic texts. There is a multiplicity of male and female deities, most of them connected with the fertility cults of Greater Canaan. The principal offerings in these "houses of the gods" were apparently gifts of food and drink (including animal sacrifices), and various votives—common objects (such as pottery) and more costly items.

**E. The Iron I Period (ca. 1200–900 B.C.)**

With the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age in Palestine, evidence of a multi-ethnic society appears which is no doubt reflected in cult and temple installations, as well as in other aspects of material culture.

Among temples continuing in the Canaanite LB style are the Beth-shan VI ("Seti I") temple, and probably also the small Tell Abu-Hawam IVa temple. The final phase of the Shechem *migdal* Temple ("Fortress Temple" 2b) also belongs to the early 12th century B.C. (str. XI), although many would regard this as an Israelite reuse of the old sanctuary (i.e., the "house of El-berith" of Judg 9:46). See Fig. TEM.08.

Several Philistine temples have recently come to light, the most elaborate and well-preserved being that at Tell Qasile, at the mouth of the Yarkon River, with several 12th–11th century B.C. phases (str. XII–X). The temple features an outer courtyard, an inner cella with benches and an altar, and a *favissa* that produced dozens of discarded cult objects. Many of the latter have Cypriot and Aegean connections, underlining the relations of the Philistines with the "Sea Peoples." A smaller shrine at nearby Jaffa

yielded the skull of a lion, perhaps to be identified with Asherah, the "Lion Lady." More recently, a small shrine at Tel Miqne (biblical Ekron) has come to light, with inscribed bovine scapulae similar to those found in 12th century B.C. temples at Enkomi and Kition in Cyprus.

No early Iron I temples constructed *de novo* as "Israelite" have yet come to light, but several possible Israelite shrines are now known. At Hazor, a stratum XI "squatter occupation" above the ruins of the destroyed LB Canaanite city yielded a small shrine, with several incense stands and a jar that contained a group of bronzes, probably votives, including a fine seated male deity of familiar LB type. A bronze bull figurine, also of Canaanite style, is the principal find at an isolated 12th century B.C. hilltop shrine found recently near Dothan, in the tribal territory of Manasseh (Mazar 1982). Finally, a large early Iron I altar-like construction atop Mt. Ebal, flanking the Shechem pass, has been interpreted as an Israelite shrine (cf. Josh 8:30, 31). Storejars with burned animal bones are reported, but the possibility remains that the whole installation is either domestic, or simply a watchtower.

By the 10th century B.C., however, a number of clearly Israelite cultic installations appear. A small courtyard shrine of str. VA/IVB at Megiddo includes offering stands and a limestone "horned" altar. At nearby Taanach (str. IIB), a larger shrine features an oil-pressing installation, a collection of astragali, a mold for making "Astarte" plaques, and in particular two large terra-cotta stands with a fantastic array of sun discs, sacred trees, cherubs, lions, and other familiar Canaanite iconographic motifs. Tell el-Far‘ah N. (str. VIIb; Israelite Tirzah) produced a "gate shrine" near the city entrance with a large stela and possibly another oil-press; and from another location came a *naos* or temple model, which at one time undoubtedly contained a representation of a male or female deity (elsewhere usually Asherah-Tanit). The monumental shrine at Dan may date to the late 10th, or more likely the 9th century B.C. It features a massive ashlar masonry podium approached by a flight of steps, possibly a Canaanite-style *bāmāh* or "high place" (cf. 1 Kgs 12:31). Nearby was a small long-room temple with rich cultic finds, probably a later addition. In the S kingdom was "cult Room 49" at Lachish (str. V, 10th–9th century B.C.), a small room with benches that yielded incense stands, "horned" altars, and ceramic votive vessels. Finally, the temple at Arad, with its several phases (str. XI–VIII) may have originated in the late 10th century B.C. See Fig. ARA.02.

In Iron II, the period of the divided monarchy, some of the above cultic installations continued, in particular those at Dan and Arad. The Dan temple featured an altar associated with burned animal bones and several bronze shovels; and nearby were found "horned" altars, both male and female figurines, and other cultic paraphernalia. The Arad temple, built roughly along the lines of the Solomonic temple, with an outer courtyard and altar, a central room, and a small inner chamber with a stela and two stone incense altars, was rebuilt well into the 7th century B.C. Among the finds of the later phases were a bronze crouching lion, and two shallow offering bowls inscribed *q–k*, probably an abbreviation for "set apart for the priests." At Beer-sheba, in stratum IV, another temple of the 8th–7th centuries B.C. has been reconstructed, albeit largely from negative evidence. A radically altered building in the center of the mound was interpreted by Aharoni as a demolished temple, which he believed had once featured the large "horned" altar the stones of which were found in rubble construction of a later building. A krater from this area bore the inscription *qôdeš,* "sacred." The most astonishing Israelite shrine ever found is at Kuntillet Ajrûd in the E Sinai desert. This 8th-century-B.C. structure is built into the entrance of the fortress, with low plastered benches and storerooms on each side, and plastered walls that produced several fragmentary and intact Hebrew dedicatory and blessing inscriptions, invoking El, Yahweh, and Ba‘al. Inside the fortress, large storejars featured scenes of Bes, sacred trees, lions, processions, and especially a half-nude female seated in a throne, near an inscription mentioning blessings "by Yahweh of Samaria and his asherah."

Finally, E of Beer-sheba at the site of Qitmit an apparently cultic site from the late Iron Age has been discovered which seems to be non-Israelite. The excavator suggests from the nature of the finds that it was probably Edomite. Several small rooms with benches and altars were found, in connection with a number of unique terra-cotta figurines of worshipers and deities, including a three-horned goddess.

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WILLIAM G. DEVER

## *GRECO-ROMAN TEMPLES*

### A. Greek Temples

Shifts in Greek religious practice in the early 1st millennium B.C.E. are reflected in the archaeological record. During the Mycenaean period sacred space had been integrated into domestic space, and religious activity had been organized around the palace of the king. After the decline of the palace system, the developing Greek *polis* segregated religious activity and began to divide sacred space from areas of habitation. One of the Greek words for sanctuary was *temenos,* meaning "an area cut off." A *temenos* was a piece of land marked off by a wall or boundary stones, reserved for sacrifices and dedications to a god. A *temenos* could be located in the center of the city, at the edge of town, or in the countryside. Caves, groves, and areas around springs or streams were often set aside for a god. A *temenos* usually contained at least an altar, but need not have contained a building.

By the 8th century B.C.E. the Greeks had begun to build temples to their gods. The typical Archaic *temenos* was an enclosed area containing a rectangular building facing a high, raised, rectangular altar *(bomos).* The Greek temple, *naos,* was considered the dwelling place of the divinity, and the main chamber of the *naos,* the *cella,* was used for the display of the cult statue of the god. Sometimes temples also included a separate chamber, *adyton,* whose use was restricted to priests or priestesses. The major religious ceremonies, however, did not take place in the temple, but at the altar outside. By the 8th century there were temple buildings at the pan-Hellenic sites of Olympia, Delphi, and Delos, and early in the 7th century there were buildings for local cults at Argos, Sparta, and Samos.

With the evolution of the Greek *polis,* public cult became more complex; sanctuaries were expanded and adorned by cities competing to display their growing wealth. Marble was introduced as a building material at Delphia in the 6th century B.C.E. and had become standard by the middle of the 5th century at Olympia and Athens.

The architecture of the Greek sanctuary was determined by the needs of the cult. Because the area of the sanctuary was thought to be sacred, certain standards of purity were required of worshippers. Inscriptions at the entrance to sanctuaries often prohibited from entry those who had recently participated in a funeral, assisted at a childbirth, or engaged in recent sexual intercourse. Basins of water were placed at the entrance of the sanctuary so that those about to worship could perform a ritual purification by sprinkling water before entering the sacred area. Because formal sacrifice was followed by public banquets, many sanctuaries had kitchens and dining rooms to serve officials and visiting worshippers. Votive dedications required places for storage, and many sanctuaries included special buildings for the display and storage of votive gifts. Wealthy cities made it a point to advertise their success by dedicating spoils from war in the great pan-Hellenic sanctuaries like Delphi and Olympia, and city treasuries were a regular feature of these public sites.

Greek sanctuaries served a variety of needs. Usually the important gods of the city were worshipped in the center of town. At Athens, Athena, as protector of the city, had her temples on the acropolis. Other temples and shrines were located in the *agora,* or commercial and political center of the city. Demeter, as goddess of agriculture, however, often had her sanctuary outside the city walls. Grand temples for Dionysos were rare; in some Greek cities Dionysos had a small temple near the theater.

Special facilities for festivals and ritual were incorporated into Greek sanctuaries. Athletic contests were part of the festivals at Nemea, Olympia, Delphi, and Isthmia; at these sites grand stadiums were located adjacent to the sacred area, near the temple and altar of the god. Incubation, or sleeping overnight in the sanctuary, was a requirement in healing cults of Asklepios; his sanctuaries at Epidauros and Corinth were therefore equipped with special stoas for the entertainment and relaxation of visitors seeking to be cured. Oracular gods often had their sanctuaries near a natural source of water. At Delphi, in the early period, water from the spring Kassotis, located in the center of the *temenos,* flowed into the *adyton* of the temple of Apollo where the Pythia gave prophetic pronouncements.

Sanctuaries for the mysteries differed from other types of Greek sanctuaries. Because mysteries were secret ceremonies, the rituals were sometimes performed inside the temple. The Telesterion of Demeter at Eleusis, for instance, was a large, square building with a roof supported by interior columns. Tiered stone steps around the inner side of the outer walls could accommodate hundreds of worshippers standing in rows at the annual celebration of the mysteries. At Samothrace the sanctuary of the Theoi Megaloi had two buildings for the two separate stages of initiation, *myesis* and *epopteia.* Both buildings had seats for spectators at the ceremonies.

Greek sanctuaries became more complex and elaborate during the Hellenistic period, enriched and decorated by the donations of the great Hellenistic kings and wealthy private individuals. Grand stoas at Delos and Samothrace accommodated increased numbers of visitors to the annual festivals. The growing popularity of the cult of Asklepios in this period is reflected in the development of great sanctuaries in his honor throughout the Aegean and Asia Minor. Greek sanctuaries continued to flourish during the Roman period, often patronized and adorned by important Roman rulers and political leaders.

**B. Roman Temples**

The Latin word *templum* is related to the Greek word *temenos* and referred originally to an open space marked off for observation of the sky and the taking of auspices and divination. Eventually the word *templum* referred to the piece of land dedicated to a god and used for religious ritual. A *templum* could include a building, *aedes,* an altar, and votive dedications. The *aedes* functioned like the Greek *naos* and housed the statue of the god. The architecture of Roman temple buildings, in fact was influenced by Greek models. Some temples were open to all, others were subject to restrictions based on gender or social status. Some temples belonged to private religious associations or *collegia;* many of these included cooking and dining facilities for the banquets of the members.

Roman temples served many functions and were closely tied to the needs of the state. They provided a place for the performance of public sacrifices and for the official taking of the auspices, for storing treasures, holding meetings of the Senate and other official bodies, for trials of the law courts, and for private rituals and dedications. The Roman *consuls* had their offices in the temple of Castor and Pollux.

During the period of the Republic the building of new public temples in Rome was controlled by the Senate and the tribunes. The oldest public buildings were built in the Forum and on the Capitoline hill; later temples were scattered throughout the city as it expanded and grew. Vitruvius says that temples were located in areas appropriate to the function of the gods being worshipped (1.7.1–2). New temples could be built to honor victories in war, to accommodate a new divinity introduced at Rome (e.g., Cybele, the Syrian gods, the Egyptian gods, and Mithras), or in the Imperial period, to honor the emperor. Location of new temples seems sometimes to have been determined by political requirements. During the reign of Augustus, as part of his program of religious reform, many older temples were restored and new ones built. The reign of Hadrian was the second great period of temple building and restoration, both at Rome and throughout the empire.

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**TEMPTATION OF JESUS.** Within the NT a narrative account of the temptation of Jesus is given in all three Synoptic Gospels (Matt 4:1–11; Mark 1:12–13; Luke 4:1–13). Reference is made to Jesus' temptation in the letter to the Hebrews (Heb 2:18; 4:15), but it is otherwise passed over in silence by the NT literature.

In each of the Synoptics, the temptation narrative is an integral part of the introduction to the Gospels' story about Jesus' ministry. The three accounts agree among themselves as to the place of the temptation ("the wilderness," Gk *erēmon*), the role of the Spirit in leading Jesus to this place, and a 40-day duration of time, but they otherwise differ among themselves as to the details of the narrative. The three accounts even identify the tempter in different fashions: "the tempter" *(ho peirazōn)* in Matt; "the Satan" *(ho Satan)* in Mark; and "the devil" *(ho diabolos)* in Luke.

**A. The Synoptic Problem**

Discussion as to the literary relationship among the three accounts is an integral part of the Synoptic problem. Proponents of the two-source theory generally hold that the Markan account enjoys literary priority vis-à-vis the other accounts, that Matthew's account largely stems from the Q source, and that Luke's account is a conflation of Markan and Q material. Other scholars would take issue with each of these three positions. Wilhelm Wilkens (1982), for example, has argued that the Matthean account is a creation of Matthew, who was then followed by Luke.

Scholars who admit the dependence of the Matthean and Lukan accounts upon Q disagree as to whether Matthew or Luke more faithfully reproduces the Q sequence of three temptations. The majority believe that the Matthean order (bread-temple-kingdoms) better reflects Q than does the Lukan order (bread-kingdoms-temple). That Matthew's order is more logical, leading to the issue of sovereignty as its climax (Matt 4:8–10), and that he juxtaposes the two similarly structured temptations (bread-temple) are among the principal reasons in favor of the Matthean sequence. On the other hand it is noted that Luke's sequence has a topographical schema and brings the series of temptations to their conclusion in Jerusalem, features of the narrative which are consistent with Lukan interests and his redactional techniques.

**B. Mark 1:12–13**

The relatively simple Markan account (Mark 1:12–13) bears the imprint of Mark's editorial work and is characterized by its christological context. In it, the Spirit of God appears as an overpowering force who drives Jesus into the wilderness, the place of temptation. Mention of the Spirit highlights the action of God (Jesus himself is not named in Mark's account) and links the temptation to the account of Jesus' baptism (1:9–11). Jesus is God's agent in the confrontation with Satan.

Mark's account is devoid of specific mention of fasting, which some infer from the final mention of angels who "minister" (*diakoneō,* a word whose primary meaning is "to serve at table"). Also, Mark does not identify any specific temptations. Rather, Jesus is described as being tempted during a period of "forty days and forty nights," a span of time during which he is in the presence of wild beasts. These traits have led some scholars to see an allusion to Moses (Exod 24:18; 34:28) and/or the Exodus (Exod 16:35; Num 14:33–34; Deut 8:2; Acts 7:42) or, alternatively, to an Adam christology and/or a paradise motif (Gen 2:19; see Mahnke 1978: 28–38). Since the account forms an integral part of Mark's initial portrayal of Jesus, and "40" is a stylized number, some scholars take the account as a symbol of the struggle with Satan and the forces of evil which is characteristic of Jesus' entire ministry.

**C. Matthew 4:1–11**

In Matthew's account, the temptation comes after a 40-day fast from food. An infinitive of purpose (*peirasthēnai,* "to be tempted," 4:1) emphasizes that the temptation is part of the divine plan for Jesus. A conditional clause ("if [= "since"] you are the Son of God," 4:3, 6) links the temptations to Jesus' baptism (3:13–17). The *three* temptations form a single unit. Their form is that of a rabbinic scriptural disputation: various passages of the Scriptures are passed in review. The substance of the debate ultimately focuses on the meaning of Jesus' sonship.

In their original context, the three scriptural passages cited by Jesus (Deut 8:3; 6:13; 6:16) referred to the trials of Israel during the Exodus and are presented according to the sequence of these trials according to the book of Exodus. Thus, Matthew seems to present a contrast between the faithful response of Jesus as Son and the infidelity of Israel as Son (cf. Hos 2:11 in Matt 2:15). By respectively refusing the role of the wonder-worker, tempting God, and the assumption of political power, Jesus is presented as faithful to God's word and faithfully responsive to his baptismal call. Each of the temptation episodes probably reflects Jewish-Christian debate within Matthew's community and discussions between Jews and Christians relating to the role of Jesus.

**D. Luke 4:1–13**

The Lukan sequence of the three temptations represents a more natural geographic movement, from the wilderness to the temple. The final episode is set in Jerusalem, a center of Lukan interest. The three temptations are bracketed by the "Son of God" motif (4:3, 9), which links the temptation narrative not only to the baptismal scene (3:21–22) but also with the genealogy (3:23–28). The temptations highlight the true identity and function of Jesus.

For Luke, the 40-day period is one of temptation and of fasting. Luke's redactional interests are apparent in his reworking of the Markan material. The additional reference to the Spirit (4:1) is in keeping with an emphasis throughout Luke–Acts. The fasting sets the scene for the first of the three specific temptations. The devil's departure "until an opportune time" (Luke 4:13) may anticipate the role of Satan in the Passion (Luke 22:3) and may suggest that the period of Jesus' earthly ministry was free from Satan (Conzelmann 1960: 28).

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**TEN COMMANDMENTS.** The Ten Commandments are a collection of biblical laws contained in Exod 20:1–17 and Deut 5:6–21. The title originates from Exod 34:8 (cf. Deut 4:13; 10:4), where it is stated that Moses "wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments." In the Hebrew and Greek texts, the "ten commandments" are, literally, the "ten words." Although "ten" has achieved a firm place in the tradition as the distinctive characteristic of the collection, the terminology itself was apparently a secondary description of the collection. From the Greek *deka logoi* ("ten words") derives the term "decalogue" as an equivalent designation for this set of biblical laws. However, the exact enumeration of the Ten Commandments is not obvious, as later ecclesiastical usage clearly shows. Moreover, there are also obvious differences between the biblical text as to the wording of the individual commandments.

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    2. Jewish Tradition
    3. Christian Tradition

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**A. Survey of Scholarship**

Some scholars find in this terminology, "the ten words," an argument in support of the view that the original form of the Ten Commandments consisted of a negative particle and a verb, each commandment thus presumed to have been expressed as a single word. Their argument is otherwise based on a distinction among biblical laws originally developed by A. Alt (1966) in 1934. Alt distinguished between casuistic law, characterized by a conditional style ("if …, then …"), and apodictic law, a simple prescription or proscription without specific mention of a corresponding sanction. He considered that the biblical tradition had taken over much of its casuistic law from the Canaanite culture, but that apodictic law was indigenous to Israel and represented true Israelite law.

**1. History of the Decalogue.** The Bible places the origin of the Ten Commandments within the time of Moses. According to Exodus, God gave the commandments to the Israelites when they were encamped on Mount Sinai after the Exodus from Egypt. Deuteronomy expresses the view that the covenant established on Horeb-Sinai is based on the revelation of the Ten Commandments. The biblical tradition stresses the divine origin, the completeness of the collection, and its finality (Deut 5:22). Unlike other collections of biblical laws where the role of Moses as a mediator is stressed (cf. Exodus 19; Exod 20:22; 34:32; Lev 17:1; Deut 6:1), the Ten Commandments are attributed directly to God (Exod 20:1). In Exodus 20, the first person is used in vv 2, 3, 5, 6 (cf. Deut 5:6, 7, 9, 10).

Contemporary critical scholarship is reluctant to ascribe the Ten Commandments, in their present form, to the Mosaic era. There is a wide consensus that the present form of the Ten Commandments is the result of a long historical development, whose individual steps cannot be identified with certainty. The complex process of development was related to the institutional life of Israel, its sense of identity, its social structures, its teaching, and its worship. Given the complexity of the process, it is virtually impossible to reconstruct any original form of the decalogue. Some scholars have, however, attempted to reconstitute a presumed original form of the collection.

The individual commandments have their own history. During a period of oral transmission various commandments were expanded by the addition of motivating factors, theological reflections, promises, and explanatory detail. At some stages in the transmission, the formulation of individual commandments may have been shortened.

According to some scholars, primitive collections preceded the tenfold collection (see Nielsen 1968; Gerstenberger 1965; Hossfeld 1982; Lang 1984). Even after the decalogue had come into existence as a collection of ten laws, there was still further development, as a comparison between Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5 clearly demonstrates. Some scholars postulate a literary dependence of one biblical text upon the other.

Each of the biblical versions of the Ten Commandments is postexilic in its present form. Most scholars agree that Exod 20:1–17 interrupts the Exodus narrative (Exod 20:18 relates to the theophany at Sinai and continues Exod 19:25). Thus the present relationship of the Ten Commandments to Sinai is considered to result from relatively late redactional work upon the Exodus narrative.

**2. Important Contributions.** Many of the early critical studies of the decalogue took issue with the tradition of its Mosaic origins on the basis of a history-of-religions approach to the content of the Ten Commandments. It was argued, for example, that the social ethic expressed in the decalogue is under the influence of the 8th-century prophets (Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah) and that the First Commandment was unthinkable before Hosea. The Mosaic origins of the Ten Commandments were therefore questioned on the basis of a developmental theory with regard to Israel's religion and ethics. In his 1982 monograph, F. L. Hossfeld argued that the social prohibitions of Deut 5:16–21 were freely composed along the lines of Hos 4:2 and Jer 7:9. More specifically, in a 1985 essay, Christoph Levin pointed to Jer 7:9 as the source of the decalogue.

Many scholars were convinced that the religious and social ethos expressed in the decalogue was similar to that expressed in the so-called Elohist document (8th cent.). Consequently, the decalogue was frequently interpreted according to the canons of source-critical and pentateuchal documentary theory. André Lemaire (1981) distinguished four literary redactions of the decalogue: an Elohistic (from the time of Amos and Hosea), a Yahwistic (from the time of Hezekiah), a Deuteronomistic (found in Deuteronomy 5), and a Priestly redaction (responsible for the expansion of the Sabbath commandment in both Exod 20:8–11 and Deut 5:12–15).

The major thrust of most of the recent historical-critical studies of the Ten Commandments has sought to identify their literary form, their relationship with the institutional life of Israel, and the theological and literary significance of their presence in Exodus and Deuteronomy.

A significant precursor of Alt's form-critical analysis of Israelite law was the work of Sigmund Mowinckel (1927). Mowinckel held that although the present versions of the decalogue are relatively late, its origins are quite ancient and are to be associated with Israel's worship. Form-critical analysis of Psalms 15 and 24 led to their being considered entrance liturgies. Similarly, the decalogue was judged to have originated in a liturgical rite. Mowinckel postulated the existence of an annual New Year's covenant renewal ceremony in which the Law was proclaimed, the decalogue serving as the focal point of the proclamation of the Law. Mowinckel pointed to the allusions to the decalogue in Pss 50:16–20 and 81:9–10 as an indication of the cultic use of the decalogue. While recent scholars might take issue with the thesis of a cultic origin of the decalogue, most have adopted the notion that the decalogue enjoyed a cultic function in Israel's tradition.

A further step in the study of the decalogue was undertaken by G. E. Mendenhall (1954a), who compared biblical covenant texts and a group of Hittite suzerainty treaties. Among the common features which he identified were their preambles, the historical prologues, the covenant stipulations, provisions for the preservation and reading of the treaties, and the curses and blessings cited as sanctions relative to the observance of the treaties (cf. Deuteronomy 27–28). While various scholars take issue with Mendenhall's contention that the origins of the biblical covenant pattern owe specifically to the Hittite model, many agree that the decalogue, as a summary of covenant stipulations, has many formal similarities with the suzerainty pacts. A comparison highlights the importance of the preamble and the historical prologue as providing keys to understanding the decalogue in its present literary form. The suzerainty model may also provide a clue as to the significance of the tradition of the two tables (Exod 31:18; 34:29; Deut 4:13; 9:10–11, etc.). Originally each table may have contained the entirety of the decalogue. According to the model of a treaty, two copies would be made of the text, one for each of the parties to the agreement.

E. Gerstenberger's 1965 dissertation introduced a new phase in the discussion of the Ten Commandments. He successfully demonstrated that Alt's division between apodictic and casuistic law was far too simple, since the category of apodictic law was not as unified as Alt had supposed. Gerstenberger rejected the view that the decalogue had its origin in the cult and/or was based on treaty

stipulations. Rather, he argued that the more basic form of Israelite law was "the prohibitive form" whose roots lie in a clan ethic and that at most, cultic use and treaty models represent secondary developments. While one might legitimately take issue with Gerstenberger's notion of the clan ethic, he clearly demonstrated that the content of the second group of commandments is not unique to Israel and that it has much in common with other ancient expressions of family ethics.

Subsequently, Anthony Phillips (1970) argued that the Ten Commandments functioned as a summary of Israel's criminal law. Although the precepts of the decalogue are not sanctioned within the decalogue itself, the Bible elsewhere indicates sanctions, often death, for violations of precepts similar to those contained in the decalogue. According to Phillips, criminal law regulates conduct that is detrimental to the whole community. Given Israel's covenant status with Yahweh, any offense against the covenant was against the community. Therefore, the community was subject to Yahweh's wrath in the event that his covenant was violated. Through a somewhat different approach, then, Phillips underscored the covenantal nature of the extant versions of the Ten Commandments.

While these various studies illustrate the complexity of the issues involved in any attempt to understand how the present decalogue came into being, they also point to the central position of the Ten Commandments within the biblical tradition. They are presented as the direct address of God, identified as a complete entity, given a special name, are reflected in the prophets (Hos 4:1; Jer 7:9) and the psalms (Psalms 50; 81), and provide a framework for the revision of law found in Deuteronomy 12–26. This attests to their influence upon Israel's faith and ethos.

**B. The Individual Commandments**

In Exod 20:2 and Deut 5:6, the Ten Commandments are introduced by a preamble, which Zimmerli (1953) identified as a "self-introductory" formula. The revelation of God's name (cf. Exod 3:14; 6:2) had been linked with the promise of Israel's deliverance from Egypt. Its citation in the preamble to the decalogue is a further sign of Israel's election. That God speaks directly to his people indicates that the commandments are an integral element within the election of the nation. The commandments are a gift from God, but they also place a claim upon Israel insofar as they are an expression of God's will for his people.

**1. The First Commandment.** The style of the precept itself, "you shall have no other gods before me" (Exod 20:3; Deut 5:7), is terse and negative. The commandment has been expanded by an explanation and a sanction (Exod 20:5–6; Deut 5:9–10; cf. Exod 34:14; 18:10).

Various translations have been proposed for the phrase "before me" *(ʿal-pānāy),* many of them with a negative connotation ("over against me," "in opposition to me"), but the traditional rendering appears as useful as any. The commandment defines the relationship between Yahweh and Israel by categorically eliminating any other deities from Israel's allegiance. It bans the worship of foreign gods.

The exclusivity of the relationship between Yahweh and Israel is an important element in Israel's oldest religious tradition. However, it is not necessary to ascribe the present formulation of the commandment to a very early stage of the tradition, nor is it advantageous to interpret the commandment as if it inculcated monotheism. The commandment technically enjoins monolatry, but it can be understood within a henotheistic religious system.

**2. The Second Commandment.** The wording, "you shall not make for yourself a graven image …" (Exod 20:4; Deut 5:8), has been incorporated into the framework of the First Commandment. Originally, the commandment appears to have banned any image of the deity carved from wood or stone, but its scope was later expanded to include metal figures as well. The additional explanation ("any likeness") banned every representation of God.

Whereas virtually all other contemporary cultures used cultic representations as a means of entering into contact with the deity, Israelites were not to do so. At issue was the fact that God cannot be controlled by humans. The Israelites were forbidden even to attempt to control Yahweh. Deut 4:9–12 is a helpful attempt to interpret the ban.

**3. The Third Commandment.** "You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain …" (Exod 20:7; Deut 5:9) prohibits the abuse of the name of God, the sacred tetragrammaton. The ancients

considered the name as expressing the nature or function, almost the very being, of a person or thing. Within Israel the name of God had an important role from the earliest times. God's name was called upon (Gen 4:26) and blessed (Ps 72:19). It was not to be blasphemed (Lev 24:16) or cursed (2 Kgs 2:24).

Although this commandment may have originally enjoyed a fairly wide scope, it seems to have been primarily cited as a prohibition of false oaths or the use of God's name in a curse from a very early period. Israelites ought not to try to manipulate God by an abusive use of his name.

**4. The Fourth Commandment.** Among the precepts of the decalogue, "remember the Sabbath day …" (Exod 20:8–11; Deut 5:10–12) is the one which has attracted the greatest amount of scholarly interest. Questions have been raised as to its origins and the etymology of the term "Sabbath," as well as the significance of the different explanatory interpretations offered by the Exodus and Deuteronomy accounts.

Many scholars observe that the Sabbath observance is unique to Israel and that it originally had no association with cultic practices. The Sabbath observance does not owe its origins to the Fourth Commandment, since the practice is apparently very ancient, having existed in Mosaic times (cf. Exod 16:22–30). The Fourth Commandment merely recalled and reinforced the traditional observance.

The theological explanation offered in Exod 20:11 recalls the Genesis 1 account of creation, but that account itself presupposes the Sabbath observance. Deut 5:10–12 offers a different theological explanation. Hossfeld (1982) considers this formulation of the Sabbath precept as the center of the Deuteronomic redaction of the decalogue. The explanation of the commandment in Deut 5:10–12 is in keeping not only with Deuteronomy's humanitarian concerns but also with the original social purpose of the precept. Rabbinic tradition emphasized that the commandment also required six days of work (Exod 20:9; Deut 5:13).

**5. The Fifth Commandment.** Like all of the other commandments in the decalogue, the Fifth Commandment, "honor your father and your mother …" (Exod 20:12; Deut 5:16), was addressed to adults. It was a prescription requiring the able-bodied to provide care and support for the elderly and is to be understood within the context of the extended, rather than the nuclear, family. A variety of legal prescriptions concerning the elderly form the background of this commandment. Casuistic statements such as those found in the Book of the Covenant (e.g., Exod 21:15, 17) are similar to those found in the laws of neighboring cultures. See LAW (BIBLICAL AND ANE). The positive formulation of the commandment summarizes a whole body of legal prescriptions concerning the physical and material support of the elderly.

The promise of life, the effective opposite of a curse, pertains to all of the precepts of the decalogue. It was attached to the Fifth Commandment to emphasize this particular precept. This results in an affirmation of reciprocal justice. During the postexilic period the commandment was particularly significant because of the importance of society's seniors in passing along the traditions of the people. Various wisdom traditions (e.g., Proverbs 1–9; Sir 3:1–16) elaborate on the implications of the commandment. During the Hellenistic period the commandment was used to provide a scriptural warrant for the obedience owed by children to their parents (e.g., Philo *Dec* 165–67; Eph 6:2).

**6. The Sixth Commandment.** "You shall not kill" (Exod 20:13; Deut 5:17) is a commandment whose Hebrew text is difficult to translate into English. The Hebrew verb *rāṣaḥ* has a meaning more restrictive than the generic English verb "to kill."

The commandment is addressed to free, landholding Israelites and affords protection for the life of the Israelite. The commandment forbids the illegal and willful killing of the innocent, but does not ban capital punishment nor forbid the killing of Israel's enemies during war. The commandment appears also to forbid "indirect" killing. Texts such as Ps 94:6, Job 24:14, and Deut 22:26 probably refer to social situations which effectively deprived the poor, widows, orphans, and so forth of life.

**7. The Seventh Commandment.** "You shall not commit adultery" (Exod 20:16; Deut 5:18) is different from the Tenth Commandment and must be understood within contemporary social structures. It was pertinent to a society that was not strictly monogamous, but was clearly patriarchal: women were considered to be virtually the chattel of their husbands.

The commandment forbade male Israelites to have sexual intercourse with the wife of another Israelite, a fellow member of the covenanted community. According to Deut 22:24 and Lev 20:10 both members of an adulterous pair were to be put to death by stoning.

Israelite men were not forbidden to have sexual intercourse with the slaves of their own household. Sexual intercourse between an Israelite man, albeit married, and an unmarried or unbetrothed woman was not considered to be the crime of adultery. The seduction of an unbetrothed daughter of an Israelite was, however, considered to be an offense violating a neighbor's property rights (Exod 22:15–16). See also ADULTERY.

**8. The Eighth Commandment.** In the popular view, "you shall not steal" (Exod 20:15; Deut 5:19) is generally understood as forbidding robbery, the unlawful private appropriation of another's goods. In 1953, A. Alt argued from a variety of considerations, including the placement of this commandment in the decalogue and the necessity to distinguish between it and the Tenth Commandment, that the commandment forbade the kidnapping of the free Israelite—to enslave or to sell him—rather than the stealing of material possessions. That the Heb verb *gānab* frequently supposes a human object (cf. Gen 40:15) supports this view. The situation would have been common enough (cf. Genesis 37) to warrant a particular precept. Although Alt's views have been generally accepted by scholars, some scholars (Jackson 1975; Klein 1976; Crüsemann 1983; Hossfeld 1982) have rejected them and espoused the older interpretation of the commandment, which interpret it as a forbidding of robbery.

**9. The Ninth Commandment.** Although many English-language translations of the Ninth Commandment, "you shall not bear false witness against your neighbor," offer the same wording for both the Exodus and Deuteronomic versions of the commandment, following the LXX (Exod 20:16; Deut 5:20), different Hebrew words are to be found in the MT. Exod 20:16 reads Heb *šeqer,* "lie," while Deut 5:20 reads Heb *šāwʾ,* "meaningless, incorrect speech." The change of wording was apparently intended to tighten rather than to change the meaning of the commandment.

The commandment forbids false witness in a legal proceeding. Protection is extended not only to the Israelite but to the "neighbor," that is, the coinhabitants of the same land.

**10. The Tenth Commandment.** The Deuteronomic version of the commandment, "you shall not covet …" (Deut 5:21), is different from that of Exod 20:17. Rather than considering the wife among the household properties of an Israelite, Deut 5:21 separates her from among a man's other possessions. Deuteronomy also specifically forbids the illegal appropriation of a neighbor's field.

The purview of this commandment is different from that of the Seventh and Eighth Commandments. The Tenth Commandment forbids the protracted appropriation of another's wife rather than individual acts of adultery. With regard to goods, the commandment forbids not only robbery but all illegal acquisition of another's property. See WANTING AND DESIRING.

**C. Later Tradition**

Apart from Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5, the precepts of the decalogue are rarely cited in the Hebrew Bible (Hos 4:1; Jer 7:9).

**1. New Testament.** The NT does not give the entire list of the Ten Commandments. Nor does it refer to the Ten Commandments in a global fashion (but cf. Mark 10:19; Luke 18:20). However, the individual precepts of the decalogue are more frequently cited in the NT than they are in the OT. They are featured in the antitheses of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5:21–37) and highlighted in the call of the rich young man (Matt 19:16–30; Mark 10:17–31; Luke 18:18–30). A story of controversy between Jesus and the Jews confirms the traditional Jewish interpretation of the Fifth Commandment (Matt 15:1–9; Mark 7:1–13). Individual commandments are also cited in the epistolary literature (Rom 8:7–13; 13:8–10; Eph 6:1–4; Jas 2:8–13). This situation reflects a Jewish catechetical tradition and the importance of traditional Jewish Halakah in early Christian paraenesis.

**2. Jewish Tradition.** The Nash papyrus and the tefillin found at Qumran suggest that the commandments had a liturgical significance within Judaism. It would appear that the recitation of the decalogue was originally part of the daily temple service (*m. Tamid* 5:1).

Within Judaism the commandments are clearly divided into a group of five positive and five negative commandments. Jewish tradition stresses that the commandments were spoken by God (*b. Ber.* 12a). In Judaism the sequence of the commandments sometimes differs from that given in the Pentateuch (cf. Mark 10:19).

Although Christians have tended to make use of the Ten Commandments somewhat independently of their biblical context, the rabbinic tradition has refused to isolate the decalogue from the larger body of biblical law. This posture has been adopted to combat the idea that only the Ten Commandments of the decalogue were given by God. The precepts of the decalogue are scattered among the 613 commandments as enumerated by Maimonides. Nonetheless some Jewish sources (e.g., Philo, or *Num. Rab.* 13:15–16) have classified the 613 commandments under the ten headings of the precepts of the decalogue.

**3. Christian Tradition.** Christians do not generally adopt the Jewish division of the Ten Commandments into five positive and five negative commandments. Nonetheless, they differ among themselves in the enumeration of the commandments and their consequent distribution in "two tables." The Roman Catholic, Anglican, and Lutheran traditions generally consider that three commandments relate to one's relationship to God (Exod 20:3–11; Deut 5:7–15) and seven to one's neighbor (Exod 20:12–17; Deut 5:16–21), thus treating Exod 20:4–6 as a single commandment and Deut 5:21 as two commandments. The Reformed tradition divides the commandments into a group of four and a group of six, separating the First from the Second Commandment (see above) and treating Exod 5:17 (= Deut 5:21) as a single precept.

From medieval times, many Roman Catholic authors have interpreted the Ten Commandments as a summary of "natural law." In recent years Christian scholars have tended to associate the decalogue with freedom, as both a gift from God and a task for humans, and with fundamental human rights.

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RAYMOND F. COLLINS

**TEN LOST TRIBES.** See LOST TRIBES, THE.

**TENONS** [Heb *yādôt* (יְדוֹת)]. Projections at the end of the boards *(qĕrāsîm)* that formed the two side walls and the back wall of the tabernacle. These projections, made of silver, were inserted into two sockets as described in the tabernacle texts of Exodus (Exod 26:17, 19; 36:22, 24). See also TABERNACLE.

CAROL MEYERS

**TENT OF MEETING.** See TABERNACLE.

**TENTH PART (OF AN EPHAH).** See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**TEPHON** (PLACE) [Gk *Tephōn* (Τεφων)]. Listed in 1 Macc 9:50 as one of the cities of Judea fortified by Bacchides in his battle with Jonathan. Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 386), following Abel (1925: 206–7), argues that *Tephō,* found in Vg and supported by Lat mss as well as a number of minuscules, is the more likely reading (note also Grimm 1853: 141). This name designates the Heb *tappŭaḥ* rather than *tĕqôaʿ* (Tekoa, M.R. 170115), suggested by the text of Josephus (*Ant* 13.1.3 §15). There is, however, more than one TAPPUAH listed in Joshua. Since the other cities fortified by Bacchides are located in the hill country N of Jerusalem, the area from which the Maccabean resistance originated, "Tephon" must refer to the Tappuah listed in Josh 17:7–8 and elsewhere located on the border between the territory of Ephraim and Manasseh, presumably at the modern location of Tel Sheikh abu Zarad (M.R. 172168).

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JOHN KAMPEN

**TERAH** (PERSON) [Heb *teraḥ* (תֶּרַח)]. Son of Nahor, and father of Abram, Nahor, and Haran. Terah lived 205 years and died in Haran after migrating with his family from Ur of the Chaldees (Gen 11:24–32). It was in Ur that Terah, with his father Nahor, worshiped other gods (Josh 24:2). The designation of Gen 11:27–25:11 as the *tôldôt* of Terah suggests the importance assigned to this figure as the father of Abram and reflects the 135 years Terah lived after Abram's birth, enough time to experience many of the events in these chapters (Wenham *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 252).

Terah's name has been studied both in terms of its etymology and in terms of its association with other geographic and personal names. In respect to the former, initial attempts to find a divine name *trḥ* in the Ugaritic myth of Keret have been rejected as without foundation (Albright 1938; Gordon 1938; Jouon 1938: 280–81). The *trḥ* root in Hebrew may mean "ibex, mountain goat." This root appears in Amorite names of the early 2d millennium B.C. (Gelb 1980: 34, 200). Also of interest is the attempted association with *Têr* the moon god in the region of Harran in the Neo-Assyrian period, whose name has been understood as present in personal names (Landsberger and Bauer 1926–27: 92; Lewy 1945–46: 425–26; Zadok 1977: 42). For the possible association of Terah and his father with the lunar cult at Ur and Haran, see NAHOR (PERSON). However, the association of the name Terah with the moon god is now doubtful, as *Ter* is a form of *Šer,* related to West Semitic *Sahr* and thus phonologically different.

Many scholars have associated "Terah" with a place name *Til ša turāḫi,* found in Neo-Assyrian texts as early as those of Shalmaneser II in the mid–9th century B.C. and situated near Harran on the Balikh river (Kraeling 1922–23; Parpola 1970: 355–56). See HARAN (PLACE). Schneider (1952: 521) observes a Sumerian personal name *te-ra* in a cuneiform text from the Ur III period (CT 10: pl. 46 no. 18964). He compares the rendering of "Terah" in the Vulgate *(thare)* and in the Septuagint *(thara),* neither of which preserve evidence of the final laryngeal.

As with other personal names in Abram's ancestry of Genesis 11, "Terah" may have associations with a place name in northern Mesopotamia (Westermann 1984: 564–65). Albright (1924: 386–87) finds in *Til ša turāḫi,* "mound of the ibex," evidence of Aramean settlements in the 2d millennium B.C.

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RICHARD S. HESS

**TERAH** (PLACE) [Heb *tāraḥ* (תָּרַח)]. A site in the wilderness itinerary of Numbers 33 (vv 27–28), between Tahath and Mithkah, on the way from Sinai to Ezion-Geber. It is one of twelve sites in vv 18–30 which are otherwise unattested and whose location is unknown (Budd *Numbers* WBC, 355).
RICHARD S. HESS

**TEREBINTH.** See FLORA.

**TERESH** (PERSON) [Heb *tereš* (תֶּרֶשׁ)]. Guardian of the entrance to King Ahasuerus' private chambers (Esth 2:21; 6:2). With his associate Bigthan he plotted to assassinate Ahasuerus but was exposed by Mordecai (Esth 2:22–23). The etymology of "Teresh" remains unclear. For conjectured Old Iranian etymologies see Paton (*Esther* ICC, 69).
PETER BEDFORD

**TERQUMIYEH.** See IPHTAH (PLACE).

**TERROR ON EVERY SIDE** [Heb *māgôr missābîb* (מָגוֹר מִסָּבִיב)]. The phrase *māgôr missābîb* occurs in Jer 6:25; 20:3, 10; 46:5; 49:29; Ps 31:14; Lam 2:22. In Jer 6:25, 46:5, and 49:29 the phrase is a metaphorical expression for an invading army and is commonly translated "terror on every side." In Lam 2:22 the phrase also refers to an invading army. The use of the phrase in Jer 20:10 and Ps 31:14—Eng 31:13—both laments—refers to enemies of the prophet and psalmist whose whispering and plots are "terror on every side" for the prophet and the psalmist.

However, the occurrence of the phrase in Jer 20:3 has by far generated the most interest and debate. Holladay (*Jeremiah 1* Hermeneia, 543) proposes that all other uses (with the possible exception of Psalm 31) are dependent upon the Jer 20:3 text. In Jer 20:3, the phrase *māgôr missābîb* is the new name Jeremiah gives to Pashhur as part of an oracle of judgment against the priest who had beaten and imprisoned the prophet.

The two most significant problems in interpreting the phrase *māgôr missābîb* in Jer 20:3 have been first, to determine the meaning of the phrase itself, and second, to understand how, if at all, the phrase might be a play on Pashhur's name.

Regarding the meaning of the phrase, the problem is made difficult by the variety of lexical possibilities for *mgwr.* These possibilities are evident in the way other ancient versions translate Jer 20:3: LXX translates *mgwr* as *metoikos* ("alien") and Syriac as *tawaba* ("foreigner"), thus associating the word with *gwr* in the sense "to sojourn." Vg uses *pavor* and seemingly associates *mgwr* with the verb *gwr* meaning "dread." However, the Targum appears to relate the word to yet another meaning of *gwr,* namely "to show enmity, attack" (McKane *Jeremiah I–XXV,* ICC, 461–62; Holladay *Jeremiah 1*Hermeneia, 543–44). While *māgôr missābîb* in Jeremiah 20 has typically been translated as "terror on every side," Holladay (p. 544) has proposed that the phrase is given multiple meanings in its context in vv 4–6: Pashhur will be a *māgôr,* i.e., a terror to his friends; Pashhur's friends will be an accuser of *māgôr,* i.e., attack by falling to the sword of the enemy; Pashhur and his cohorts will be an occasion of *māgôr,* i.e., sojourn or exile in Babylon. When *māgôr* is understood with multiple meanings, Holladay suggests (p. 544) that *missābîb* not only has spatial ("every side") but "notional" connotations; " 'from every point of view'—'*mgwr* with every nuance.' "

Regarding the relationship of *māgôr missābîb* to the name Pashhur, there have been a number of proposals which have begun by attempting to discover the meaning of the name Pashhur—often assuming an Aramaic root. McKane (pp. 462–63) succinctly summarizes these efforts. Among the most recent is that of Holladay, who suggests the Aramaic sense of Pashhur's name is "prosperity" or "fruitfulness." The new name given by Jeremiah—*māgôr missābîb*—is according to Holladay (see above) a triple negation of the positive sense of Pashhur's original name (Holladay *Jeremiah*, 544; cf. Holladay 1972: 305–20). In contrast to these efforts to relate *māgôr missābîb* to Pashhur's name, Bright does not believe there is an obvious play on Pashhur's name (*Jeremiah* AB, 132; cf. McKane, 464).

The phrase *māgôr missābîb* remains enigmatic. While "terror on every side" is the usual translation, even this sense is not certain in the key text, Jer 20:3.

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JOHN M. BRACKE

**TERTIUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Tertios* (Τερτιος)]. The scribe to whom Paul dictated Romans in Corinth ca. 58 C.E. (Rom 16:22). To the recipients of the letter Tertius wrote: "I, Tertius, the writer [*grapsas*] of this letter, greet [*aspazomai*] you in the Lord [*en kyriǭ*]" (16:22). It is debatable whether Tertius intended *en kyriǭ* to be linked with *grapsas* or with *aspazomai.* The former, i.e. "written in the Lord," would indicate that Tertius viewed the production of this letter as part of his Christian service; the latter, "greet in the Lord," would convey the solidarity he felt in Christ with the Roman believers. The latter is the more commonly given interpretation, support for which is the implication in Tertius' greeting that he was known by some of the Romans (Cranfield *Romans* ICC, 806).

Tertius is the only one of Paul's amanuenses mentioned by name in his letters. That it was not unusual for Paul to use such services can be inferred from various statements that he wrote parts of letters in his own hand (1 Cor 16:21; Gal 6:11; cf. Col 4:18; 2 Thess 3:17).

Tertius' collaboration with Paul raises questions about the methods of dictation and shorthand used in the process and the extent to which a scribe may have left his own imprint on the thought, style, and text of Paul's letters. In describing himself as the "writer" of the letter Tertius could have meant: (1) that he took down the letter in longhand from Paul's dictation, (2) that he wrote in shorthand as Paul dictated, or (3) that he more independently composed the letter following directions from Paul. Interpreters have variously defended each method (see the detailed discussion in Cranfield, 2–5).

FLORENCE MORGAN GILLMAN

**TERTULLIAN.** Tertullian (*floruit* A.D. 197–post 213) (cf. Braun 1977: 567–77) was the first great Latin Christian writer of the West. Critical editions since the Renaissance give his name as Quintas Septimius Florens Tertullianus, but this is because the 15th-century humanists J. Trithemius and Politanus gathered these names from the later manuscript tradition (Labriolle 1947: 95, n. 2). Tertullian referred to himself only as Septimius Tertullianus (*De virginibus velandis* 17.5) (Barnes 1971: 242), as the 4th-century fellow North African, Lactantius, testified (*Divine Institutes* 5.1.23). He has been identified with the Tertullian of the juridical codices (Steinwenter PW 5: 845), but this identification has been disproved (Groh 1970: 104, n. 52; Barnes 1985: 325).

The best ancient witness to Tertullian's biography, Jerome (ca. A.D. 392), tells us that Tertullian was a citizen of Carthage who was the son of a proconsular centurion (*Chronicon; de viris illustribus* 53). Recent challenges to this (Barnes 1971: 11–12) have not been accepted (Schöllgen 1984: 102). Jerome's notice that Tertullian was a priest, however, is surely wrong (Barnes 1985: 323), as are many hypothesized incidents of his biography inferred from his treatises (Barnes 1971: 243–47).

Tertullian was born into what may have been a family of equestrian rank (Groh 1970: 11–14; Schöllgen 1984: 189), one of whose members, a cousin, had published a literary work titled *The Tables of Cebes* (*De praescripto haereticorum* 39.4; Groh 1970: 12). He appears to have been married (cf. *Ad uxorem*). He was bilingual, having written some of his treatises in Greek, and was extremely well educated in rhetoric (Sider 1971). Tertullian was the most learned Christian writer of his day, having read most of the 2d-

century Christian writers before him (Harnack 1914), as well as the Silver Age pagan writers (Barnes 1971: 203). He was known and read by most subsequent North African and Western writers, but his reputation in the East was confined to his authorship of the *Apologeticum,* rendered into a Greek translation by someone else (Harnack 1892: 36), from which Eusebius of Caesarea (ca. 290) quoted (*Hist. Eccl.* 5. 5. 5–7).

Tertullian's writings sound the rigorist strains which will become the themes of North African Christianity throughout its entire subsequent history in antiquity (cf. Frend 1965; 1985): Christianity as the *nova lex;* the centrality of God as lawgiver and judge; fear of God as the foundation of salvation; the "gathered" or "pure" notion of the Church separated from all idolatry of the secular world. His writings are especially important for Western theology because they contain so many of the first Latin appearances of key theological terms—*trinitas, persona, substantia, status, dispositio, dispensatio* (cf. Otto 1960; Braun 1977). Once thought to be the inventor of such a Latin theological vocabulary (Morgan 1928: 39, 41–45), then the voice of an ecclesiastical Latin carried in the Christian community (Schrijnen 1934: 110–11; Teeuwen 1926: XIV–XV, 54; Pétré 1948), Tertullian (see the positions of Becker 1954: 341–43 and Braun 1977: 17–26) is now seen as a linguist of extraordinary sensitivity, capable of creating neologisms in line with current usages of his day (cf., e.g., Braun 1977: 151) but also careful to reflect both contemporary pagan or Christian usage and biblical meanings in his theological terminology (Braun 1977: 17–26; O'Malley 1967: 26–27, 41, 62–63; Stirnimann 1949: 93, 96).

In his writings to A.D. 209, Tertullian acts as the spokesperson for a Latin Christian community centered in the capital and confined to the proconsular province (cf. Barnes 1971: 280–82). The *Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs* (A.D. 180) and the *Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas* (A.D. 203) are our only sources for knowledge of early North African Christianity besides Tertullian. Tertullian's writings give us a picture of a solidly middle-class Christian community (Groh 1970; 1976) with distinctive liturgical and theological traditions, though the origins of this community are not certain; both Roman and Asia Minor roots and connections are indicated. However, Tertullian's audience indicates a highly literate Latin-speaking group, capable of enjoying satire, irony, and, above all, great style as expressed by Tertullian's use of North African rhetoric of the forensic, epideictic, and deliberative genres (Sider 1971) and by his frequent imitation of the great 2d-century writer Lucius Apuleius (Waszink and van Winden 1987: 277). The appellation "Christian Sophist" applied to Tertullian is both apt and nonpejorative (Barnes 1971: 211–32; 1985: 333). Portrayed in earlier scholarship as a writer concerned to vanquish and silence all opponents (Lortz 1927–1928; Nister 1950: 49–51, 68; Steinmann 1967: 70), he has emerged in more recent scholarship as a nuanced interpreter, seeking to bring clarity and unanimity to widely diverse ideas and traditions (Braun 1977; O'Malley 1967: 2, 14, 36).

At the heart of Tertullian's theological method was the drive for *truth* (his most frequent word) and clarity in theological and exegetical matters, perhaps best expressed in his concern for simplicity of meaning (O'Malley 1967: 28, 122, 169). This means that the literal meaning of Scripture, as revealed by the rule of context (both historical and stylistic) is his preferred method of scriptural interpretation (O'Malley 1967: 130–31). Although he will defend allegorical exegesis of Scripture against the heretic Marcion, it is the plain truth of Scripture, represented by the Rule of Faith with its certainties, which binds and contains the conclusions of the theologian or the exegete (cf. *On the Prescription against Heretics* 13–14).

Tertullian's general systematic principle that inner reality (of a person or text) must correspond with outer reality (Groh 1971: 13–14; 1985: 88–90) results both in an increasing moral rigor in his writings and in his late adoption of the philosopher's *pallium* instead of the Roman toga (cf. *De pallio*).

After A.D. 208 (Barnes 1985: 328) Tertullian turned to Montanism and to Montanist prophets to resolve the uncertainties of points of Church discipline which neither theology nor Scripture could settle normatively, such as the proper length of fasts or veils for virgins. His community of Montanist prophets seems to have practiced charismatic exegesis and the production of spiritual psalms and visions (Groh 1985: 92–95). The vision of a Montanist sister confirmed his immanent sense of eschatology when a vision of the heavenly Jerusalem was seen hovering over the earthly Jerusalem (*Adv. marc.* 3.24.4; cf.

Groh 1985: 81). By his later treatises, Tertullian and his group seem to have split from the Catholics of Carthage (Braun 1977: 721), but Augustine's witness to an independent group in his day known as the Tertullianists (*De haeresibus* 86) is not solid (Groh 1970: 18–19; Barnes 1985: 334).

Tertullian's Latin quotations of the Scriptures have been isolated (Roensch 1871), but it is extremely difficult to tell exactly what versions he is using. His habit of glossing a text (O'Malley 1967: 36, 63) and his facility in translating directly from Greek occlude his text traditions. He also quotes with frequent inaccuracy (Waszink and van Winden 1987: 119). Studies indicate that he knew and cited all books of our present NT except 1 Peter, 3 John, and James (Campenhausen 1972: 276, n. 44), that he had at his disposal at least customary readings of certain texts and Latin translations of portions of biblical books (O'Malley 1967: 7, 45, 63; Barnes 1971: 276–78), but no precise text type has emerged (Aland and Aland 1987: 182–83). The problem is complicated by the high degree of theological self-consciousness of Tertullian. For example, his treatise *De oratione* preserves our earliest Latin commentary on the Lord's Prayer with a curious reversal of clauses. While the other clauses follow the Greek and Vulgate traditions, he reads: *"Fiat uolentas tua in caelis et in terra"* ("Thy will be done in heaven and on earth"; *Or.* 4.1) and then (*Or.* 5.1) *"Veniat … regnum tuum"* ("Thy kingdom … come"; cf. also *Or.* 9). It is impossible to tell whether the North African Church's version of the prayer contained this reversal, or whether Tertullian's theological belief (that obedience to the will of God was the heart and substance of the kingdom) caused that reversal (cf. Evans 1953: XIV–XV).

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**TERTULLUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Tertyllos* (Τερτυλλος)]. The attorney representing the Jews who brought charges against Paul before Felix the Roman governor of Judea (Acts 24:1–2).

Non-Romans bringing charges before provincial magistrates and unfamiliar with the forms of Roman law used in these courts needed the services of professional advocates. The identification of Tertullus as a *rhētor* (RSV, "spokesman") portrays him as such a professional. It is not certain whether Tertullus was Roman, Greek, or Jewish. In his speech he identifies himself with his clients but this may be his professional stance as their advocate. He appears to be familiar with both Jewish and Roman law, but the main evidence for his familiarity with Jewish law is in the textually questionable vv 6c–8a (RSV margin). The evidence indicates that these phrases are not original, in spite of the manner in which they logically round out the speech. Without their reference to "judging him by *our* law" and "Lysias taking him out of *our* hands" (which accuses Lysias of interference with "due process" in the Jewish right to judge those who profaned the Temple) Tertullus' knowledge of Jewish law is reduced to one general phrase in v 6, "he tried to profane the Temple." On the whole there is little in the speech that would identify him as a Jew.

Luke has composed Tertullus' speech to reflect professional rhetorical style. He begins with a *captatio benevolentiae*, "currying of favor." The excuse to end the praise and proceed with the charges also has rhetorical flair (Conzelmann *Acts* Hermeneia, 198). Tertullus' statement of the charges shifts their originally religious nature (Acts 21:28; 23:29) to one of sedition. Paul is a public troublemaker, a threat to the peace of the empire. Tertullus' prosecution plays on one of the governor's fears in troubled Judea. This touches on a Lukan theme in Acts. Christians are brought before Roman magistrates on various charges and found innocent. This has been seen by some to reflect a pro-Roman apologetic on Luke's part. Romans should grant Christians legal status based on the precedence of earlier decisions. Or it may be that these stories encourage the Christians of Luke's day, faced with difficult decisions in relation to the state, to remain loyal citizens.

Another aspect of Tertullus' prosecution is important to the theology of Acts. It is implied that he represents the Jewish people as a whole and against Paul and thus against the Gospel. He charges Paul with sedition against all Jews everywhere (24:5) and thanks Felix on "behalf of this nation" (24:2). Some scholars have found in these verses additional evidence in support of the idea that Luke "writes off" the Jews in the scheme of salvation in favor of the gentiles. But Luke portrays Tertullus' charges as false (see Paul's defenses). Since this claim to speak for the Jewish people against Paul appears on the lips of a lawyer pressing false charges, that claim also appears as false.

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**TESTIMONIA** (4QTestim). This leather fragment from Qumran Cave 4 was discovered in 1952 and purchased for the Palestine Archaeology (Rockefeller) Museum. A preliminary edition was published by J. M. Allegro (1956: 182–87) before it was fully presented by him labeled as *4Q175* in DJD 5 (Allegro and Anderson 1968: 57–60; pl. xxi); that edition was thoroughly reviewed by J. Strugnell (1970: 225–29).

4QTestim is a single column in a mid-Hasmonean hand, well preserved apart from the bottom right-hand corner. Its script is very like that of 1QS and can be dated to the early 1st century B.C.E. 4QTestim is important for the form of its biblical texts, its genre, and its implied eschatology and messianism.

4QTestim contains four texts: three biblical texts, Exod 20:21 (Sam. Pent.; = MT Deut 5:28–29 + 18:18–19), Num 24:15–17, and Deut 33:8–11, and one quotation from the fragmentary *Psalms of Joshua* (*4Q379* frag. 22, col. 2, lines 7–14; being edited for DJD by C. Newsom) whose text enables some restorations to be made in corresponding places in 4QTestim and is based in part on Josh 6:26.

Allegro entitled the document *Testimonia*, as it seems to contain a set of proof texts. The form of the document and the quotation of the same texts in other Qumran mss (Exod 20:21 [Sam. Pent.; = MT Deut 5:29 + 18:18–20] in 4QBibParaph; Num 24:17 in 1QM 11:6, CD 7:18–20 and 1QSb 5:27; Deut 33:8–11 in 4QFlor frags. 6–7) support this idea. 4QTestim's genre is used to corroborate theories that early

Christians had collections of proof texts which they used apologetically, as shown by the sequence of Isa 28:16, Ps 117, 118:22, and Isa 8:14 repeated in Matt 21:42, Rom 9:33, and 1 Pet 2:6–8 (cf. *Ep. Barn.* 6:2–4; see Fitzmyer 1957: 534; Prigent 1959: 421–22).

4QTestim is constructed in a very organized manner (Brooke 1985: 311–17). There are no introductory phrases, but the texts are linked through catchword *(gĕzērâ šāwâ)* to each other and may mirror the order of the biblical books (Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua). Although the text type of these quotations differs slightly from the MT and from all known versions, the opening quotation is closest to Exod 20:21 in the nonsectarian proto-Samaritan tradition (see Skehan 1957: 435; Sanderson 1986: 224–37).

It is generally agreed that the whole document is eschatological. Lübbe (1986: 193–96) has shown how all four texts describe the self-understanding of the Qumran community as under threat. Most other scholars see that viewpoint expressed messianically in 4QTestim 1–20, the three biblical texts describing in turn the prophetlike Moses, the Davidic messiah, and the levitical messiah of Aaron (cf. 1QS 9:11; see Fitzmyer 1957: 84). In fact, Num 24:15–17 by itself (4QTestim 9–13) speaks of three figures: man, star, and scepter. Exod 20:21 (4QTestim 1–8) is placed before Numbers 24 to identify the man (*geber;* cf. 1QS 4:20, 1QH 3:7–10) as the Mosaic prophet, who may also be the Teacher of Righteousness. Deut 33:8–11 (4QTestim 14–20) follows Numbers 24 to identify the star with the levitical messiah of Aaron (as is implied for the Interpreter of the Law in CD 7:18–20). The scepter stands for the Davidic messiah. In addition to their messianic use in other Qumran documents, these texts may have influenced NT traditions: Exod 20:21 (Sam. Pent.) may lie behind Luke 9:35, John 6:14, Acts 3:22–23, and 7:37; Num 24:17 may lie behind Matt 2:2–10, Rev 2:28, and 22:16; Deut 33:8–11 may have influenced the portrayal of Jesus as priest in such texts as John 19:23, Heb 4:14–5:10, and the several traditions that speak of the denial of family (Amusin 1971: 359–61).

Not enough text remains to determine whether 4QTestim 21–30 speaks of two or three people. If the texts in 4QTestim 1–20 speak of three figures, then 4QTestim 21–30 may present their three antitypes, an accursed man who belongs to Belial and his two sons, as the context of Judges 6 suggests. Several scholars have attempted to identify these three figures with Hasmonean enemies of the Qumran community (see Brooke 1985: 309–11); the two possibilities that fit best are Simon (ruled 143–135 B.C.E.) and his two sons Judas and Mattathias, all of whom died at Doq in 135 B.C.E., or John Hyrcanus I (135–105 B.C.E.) and his two sons, Aristobulus I (104 B.C.E.) and Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.). If the extract from the *Psalms of Joshua* mentions only two opponents, then the possibilities for identification are numerous. The identification of the city of 4QTestim 22 and 26 also remains open; Jericho, as in Josh 6:26, and Jerusalem, as in 4QTestim 29–30, are the favorite candidates.

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**TESTIMONY OF TRUTH.** See TRUTH, TESTIMONY OF (NHC IX,*3*).

**TET** [Heb *ṭet* (טֵת)]. The ninth letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

**TETRAGRAMMATON IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.** There is some evidence that the Tetragrammaton, the Divine Name, Yahweh, appeared in some or all of the OT quotations in the NT when the NT documents were first penned. See also NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT; YAHWEH (DEITY). The evidence for this is twofold.

**A. Jewish Scribal Evidence**

The extant pre-Christian copies of the Greek OT that include passages which in Hebrew incorporate the Divine Name also preserve the Hebrew Divine Name in the Greek text. These copies are (1) P. Faud 266 (=Rahifs 848), 50 B.C.E., containing the Tetragrammaton in Aramaic letters; (2) a fragmentary scroll of the Twelve Prophets in Greek from Wâdī Khabra (=W.Khabra XII *Kaige*), 50 B.C.E.–50 C.E., containing the Tetragrammaton in Paleo-Hebrew letters; and (3) $4QLXX^{Levb}$ (=Rahifs 802), 1st century B.C.E., containing the Tetragrammaton written in Greek letters in the form of *IAO*. The well-known Jewish-Greek versions of the OT that emerged in the 2d century C.E., i.e., those of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, continued the Jewish practice of writing the Hebrew Tetragrammaton into the Greek text. The evidence, therefore, suggests that the practice of writing the Hebrew Divine Name into the text of the Greek OT continued throughout the NT period. From this it may be concluded (1) that the NT writers had access to copies of the Greek OT that contained the Hebrew Divine Name, and (2) that the NT writers who quoted from the Greek OT had reason to preserve the Tetragrammaton in their quotations.

**B. Christian Scribal Evidence**

By the time of the earliest extant Christian copies of the LXX (2d or early 3d century C.E.), a clear break with the Jewish practice outlined above is to be observed. The Christian copies of the Greek OT employ the words *Kyrios* ("Lord") and *Theos* ("God") as substitutes or surrogates for the Hebrew Tetragrammaton. The evidence suggests that this had become the practice of Christian scribes perhaps as early as the beginning of the 2d century. Curiously, the surrogates for the Tetragrammaton have been abbreviated by the writing of their first and last letters only and are marked as abbreviations by a horizontal stroke above the word. Thus, for example, the word for "Lord" is written **KS** and for God **THS**. These two so-called *nomina sacra,* later to be joined by thirteen other sacred words, appear also in the earliest copies of the NT, including its quotations from the Greek OT. The practice, therefore, in very early times was consistently followed throughout the Greek Bible.

A conjecture is that the forms KS and THS were first created by non-Jewish Christian scribes who in their copying the LXX text found no traditional reason to preserve the Tetragrammaton. In all probability it was problematic for gentile scribes to write the Tetragrammaton since they did not know Hebrew. If this is correct, the contracted surrogates KS and THS were perhaps considered analogous to the vowelless Hebrew Divine Name, and were certainly much easier to write.

Once the practice of writing the Tetragrammaton into copies of the Greek OT was abandoned and replaced by the practice of writing KS and THS, a similar development no doubt took place in regard to the quotations of the Greek OT found in the NT. There too the Tetragrammaton was replaced by the surrogates KS and THS. In the passing of time, the original significance of the surrogates was lost to the gentile Church. Other contracted words which had no connection with the Tetragrammaton were added to the list of *nomina sacra,* and eventually even KS and THS came to be used in passages where the Tetragrammaton had never stood.

It is possible that some confusion ensued from the abandonment of the Tetragrammaton in the NT, although the significance of this confusion can only be conjectured. In all probability it became difficult to know whether KS referred to the Lord God or the Lord Jesus Christ. That this issue played a role in the later Trinitarian debates, however, is unknown.

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**TETRARCH** [Gk *tetrarcheō* (τετραρχεω)*; tetrarchēs* (τετραρχης)]. See PALESTINE, ADMINISTRATION OF (ROMAN).

**TETTER.** See LEPROSY.

**TEXTS.** Articles on texts, other than the biblical texts, may be found under EBLA TEXTS; HITTITE TEXTS AND LITERATURE; MARI (TEXTS); NAG HAMMADI CODICES; UGARIT (TEXTS AND LITERATURE); and WADI MURABBAAT (TEXTS). See also LETTERS; and EPIGRAPHY, TRANSJORDANIAN.

**TEXTUAL CRITICISM.** The name given to the critical study of ancient manuscripts and versions of texts, for the purpose of ascertaining a correct reading of the text. Textual criticism has been applied to both the Hebrew Bible and the Christian New Testament.

### *OLD TESTAMENT*

The goal of OT textual criticism is to analyze and evaluate the data representing the text of the Hebrew Bible and to trace in broad outline the history of this text. For that purpose it collects the relevant data from the Hebrew sources and reconstructs them from the ancient translations (versions). At the same time it examines these data critically by comparing them with parallel material in the MT (see E.3 below). For general summaries and descriptions of OT textual criticism, see Deist 1978; Klein 1974; McCarter 1986; Roberts 1951; Weingreen 1982; and Würthwein 1979).

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## A. Introduction

**1. Nature and Goals of Textual Criticism.** At some point scholars have to form an opinion on the question of whether or not there once existed an (one) original textual form ("Ur-text") or several pristine forms of the biblical books; if either of these questions is answered in the positive, one then has to express an opinion regarding the nature of that (or those) original text(s). To determine one's position with regard to that text is important not only for abstract scholarly purposes, but also for obtaining clarity regarding the very nature of the textual procedure (described in section E below).

The majority opinion holds that there once existed an Ur-text, although often the implications of such an assumption have not been thoroughly considered. Given the present state of knowledge, the assumption of an Ur-text is the most logicial one, especially because the alternative (multiple "original" text forms) cannot be substantiated. The existence of synonymous readings or cases in which the original reading cannot be determined does not undermine the correctness of this supposition as much as it reflects our own inability to reconstruct the original text. The reconstruction of elements in the assumed Ur-text thus remains one of the aims of the textual critic, even if it is virtually impossible to determine what stage in the development of a given biblical book should be called the Ur-text.

Since literary (or "higher") criticism deals, inter alia, with the literary growth of the books, and since textual (often wrongly called "lower") criticism deals with the transmission of that finished text, we may consider the Ur-text broadly to be the finished literary product which stood at the beginning of the stage of textual transmission; textual criticism thus aims for the reconstruction of that text. (For complications deriving from this definition, see section F.) Several scholars, for example Greenberg (1978) and Talmon (*CHB* 1: 162), do not accept the assumption of an Ur-text, but rather think in terms of several parallel pristine texts.

The nature of OT textual criticism is best seen by comparing it with that of other works of literature. Such a comparison shows that the textual criticism of the OT has its own character in the following respects:

(a) In contrast to the textual criticism applied to many other works of literature, that pertaining to the OT does not seek to reconstruct the original form of the *complete* text of the biblical books, much less to determine the *ipsissima verba* of the authors of these books (the same holds true for the criticism of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey,* works which supposedly went through a similar literary history). The most that could be achieved would be to reconstruct *elements* of the Ur-text. Some scholars define the aim of textual criticism in a seemingly more modest way, referring to the OT text current in a particular period (usually the 4th or 3d century B.C.). The recovery of that stage of the text would represent a more realistic goal than recovering the end product of the literary growth. However, this definition in fact is not more modest, since at that period the biblical text was current in different forms which cannot be reconstructed. Adherents of the "oral tradition" theory are compelled to work with a broader definition of the goals of OT textual criticism, because in their view the books of the OT never existed in one original text but only in various oral formulations (see Nyberg 1935; van der Ploeg 1947).

(b) It is often thought that textual criticism aims to produce "eclectic" editions of the texts studied, that is, editions that attempt to reconstruct the original text of the composition through a selection of readings from various sources. For theoretical as well as practical reasons this cannot be the task of OT textual

criticism, because not all scholars agree that at one time there existed an original text of a biblical book; and even if such had existed, practical problems make its reconstruction difficult (see further B.5.a below).

Because of these problems, most of the existing critical editions of the OT are not eclectic but "diplomatic"; that is, they reproduce a particular form of the *textus receptus* ("received text") of the OT as the base text, while recording divergent readings (or "variants") from Hebrew and non-Hebrew sources in an accompanying critical apparatus. In contrast, most modern translations of the OT are by nature eclectic: while adhering basically to the MT, they often replace some MT readings with parallel ones from the versions (mainly the LXX) and the Qumran scrolls.

**2. Need for and Importance of Textual Criticism.** The realization that the OT must be examined text-critically is relatively new. It has come about slowly through the discovery of new sources and through an increase in critical awareness. Meanwhile the necessity of a text-critical analysis of the OT should be justified not only on the basis of historical considerations but also in view of the internal differences between the various sources of the OT text.

**a. Internal Differences between Editions and MSS.** Except in the case of photographic reproductions of the same text, no two printed editions of the Hebrew Bible are identical. The differences among them generally have to do with minimal, even minute, details of the text (single consonants, vowel signs, accents, text arrangement, numbering of verses, division into chapters and verses, Masoretic notes). In a few cases, however, they concern entire words (e.g., some editions of Prov 8:16 read *ṣedeq*, "righteousness," but others *ʾāreṣ*, "earth"). Older printed editions contain several misprints, and this is even true of many modern editions. Thus, some printings of the much-used 1852 Letteris edition read *mošet* (a nonexistent word) instead of *mošeh* (Moses) in Num 11:30, and *šālaktā* (wrong spelling of "you sent") instead of *šālaḥtā* ("you sent") in Jer 29:25. Even the most "accurate" edition, the 1984 printing of *BHS*, contains several misprints and inaccuracies.

Disregarding these printing errors, most variations between the printed editions go back to differences in the mss on which they are based. With the exception of the chapter and verse divisions, which are not found in them, these mss differ from each other in the same manner as the printed editions referred to above. To be exact, the differences between the Masoretic mss (see B.1 below) are small, while older sources such as the Qumran scrolls often display major variations among themselves (see D.4 below).

**b. Differences between Inner-Masoretic Parallel Texts.** In parallel versions of one biblical source—such as 2 Samuel 22 and Psalm 18, Psalms 14 and 53, and in large sections of the books of Samuel–Kings and 1–2 Chronicles (see Vannutelli 1931–34; Bendavid 1972)—it is possible to notice many textual differences representing variants that originated in an early stage of the history of the text. These textual variations, distinct from redactional, linguistic, and stylistic changes, give a good idea of the relationship between the texts in a very early stage of the transmission (for examples, see section D below). It is exactly these parallel biblical passages that have prompted the development of OT textual criticism precisely because they necessitated the comparison of texts.

**3. History of Investigation.** Not only the comparison of parallel texts in the OT but also the differences among the Masoretic mss and the independent analytical examination of the MT led very early to the conclusion that the biblical text is corrupt in a number of places. This conclusion provoked many theological and philological discussions in the 17th and 18th centuries about the authority of MT as well as that of the LXX and the Samaritan Pentateuch (Sam. Pent.).

The first rather complete analyses of the OT text are those of J. Morinus, *Exercitationes biblicae de hebraei graecique textus sinceritate* (1633, 1660), and L. Cappellus, *Critica sacra* (1650, 1675–78). After the middle of the 17th century there appeared a great many treatises on the OT text, though it should be noted that in this and the following century the borderline between textual criticism and theology is often vague. Scholars at that time involved in the critical study of the OT text included Buxtorf, Hottinger, Morinus, Cappellus, Spinoza, Richard Simon, Houbigant, Kennicott, and de Rossi. The works of these scholars have been described in detail by Rosenmüller (1797), Keil (1859), and Barthélemy (1982: 1–63).

Of the many names that could be mentioned from the 19th century, de Lagarde, Perles, Cornill, and Wellhausen are noteworthy because of their remarkable insights into textual criticism.

In many areas of OT textual criticism it is often best to start with older works, since in textual criticism (called an art by some and a science by others) an intuitive grasp of the issues underlying divergent texts is just as important as recently discovered data: Wellhausen (in his 1871 commentary on Samuel), König (1893), and Steuernagel (1912: 19–85) in particular all exhibited that kind of intuition. At the same time, the modern description of OT textual criticism will differ significantly from earlier discussions because of the relevance of the newly discovered Qumran scrolls to almost every aspect of textual criticism.

**B. Textual Witnesses**

There are many witnesses to the biblical text, both in Hebrew and in other languages. Of these, the Hebrew sources are the easiest to analyze, while those in the other ancient languages must first be retranslated into Hebrew. (The relation between these witnesses is discussed below in C.2.) For obvious reasons the analysis proceeds from the Hebrew sources (especially the MT) since, as the "received text" within Judaism and Christianity, it is the primary object of scholarly attention. Even though our discussion begins with this "received" text, it is important to remember that the MT is not intrinsically "better" than the other texts.

Until the middle of the 20th century the earliest witness to the Hebrew text was the so-called Nash papyrus from the 1st or 2d century A.D. (actually a liturgical text), containing a combined version of the Exodus and Deuteronomy texts of the Decalog. But textual research underwent very significant changes with the discovery of the Qumran scrolls. This new material now must occupy the center of modern descriptions of the biblical text.

**1. The Proto-Masoretic Texts and the MT.** The MT of the Hebrew Bible, so named because of the subsequent addition of the Masorah to the consonantal framework, does not in fact exist in any one source and may never have existed as one textual unit. Rather, different manifestations of that textual form are known, so that it would be more correct to speak of a group of "Masoretic Texts." Like most of the witnesses to be discussed below, the content of the MT cannot be characterized in general terms, so that one must be content with describing the MT as a "text." This text was perpetuated by influential circles in Judaism (the Pharisees?); some scholars believed they also partly created this text, although there is little evidence in favor of this. Socioreligious reasons thus made the MT the most significant of the biblical texts. See MASORETIC TEXT.

The MT resulted from a combination of five elements: (1) the consonantal text; (2) certain para-textual elements; (3) the Masorah itself; (4) a vocalization scheme; and (5) cantillation signs (each is discussed below). The word "Masorah" generally refers to the latter four elements; however, in the technical sense of the word "Masorah" refers only to one of the elements, a specific type of apparatus written around the text (B.1.d below).

**a. The Masoretes.** The Masorah was prepared in the period between A.D. 500 and 1000 by succeeding generations of scribes who occupied themselves with the transmission of the biblical text. Little is known of the background of these Masoretes. In their composition of the Masorah, they built on the work of earlier generations of *sôpĕrim,* which literally means "scribes," but has also been reinterpreted as "men who occupied themselves with counting *[spr]*" the letters and words of the consonantal text of Scripture (*b. Qidd.* 30a). According to tradition, the copying of the Pentateuch started with Ezra, who is called a *sôpēr māhîr* ("fast writer") in Ezra 7:6 and is considered the *sôpēr* par excellence in rabbinic tradition.

The Masoretes not only transmitted the consonantal text, but also devised vocalization and accent systems for it. Their labor had both technical and creative aspects; technical insofar as it concerned the mechanics of copying and counting letters, words, and verses; creative insofar as it concerned the invention of a scheme for recording vocalization and accents. While doing this, the Masoretes also formed mechanisms to assure that special care would be exercised in the transmission of the text; the word "Masorah" in its technical sense refers only to these latter mechanisms. See MASORETES.

**b. The Consonantal Text.** The received consonantal text preceded the one that includes the vocalization and accents. Both of these circulated in many slighly deviating forms, and were finally

stabilized only with the advent of the printed Rabbinic Bible toward the end of the 15th century (see B.1.g below). However, earlier forms of the MT come close to such a stabilization. The earliest attestations of the consonantal framework of the MT—found in many, but not all, Qumran texts—date to around 250 B.C. Their resemblance (especially 1QIsa $^{b}$) to the medieval form of the MT is striking, showing how accurate the transmission of the MT was through the ages. These earliest attestations are called "proto-Masoretic" since their consonantal framework formed the basis for the later Masoretic mss.

Although most of the preserved biblical texts reflect the MT, we also know of several sources current before A.D. 70 that reflect substantial deviations from the MT: these include the LXX, the proto-Samaritan sources, the Sam. Pent., and various Qumran scrolls. Afterward, the MT became virtually the sole witness to the biblical text, challenged only by the continual use of the Sam. Pent. and the LXX. Furthermore, the biblical quotations preserved in Talmudic literature and in the *piyyûṭîm* (liturgical hymns) generally reflect the MT, although sometimes they deviate from it in details. These differences were examined in great detail by Aptowitzer (1906–15), and especially due to the influence of Kahle (see C.3 below) their significance and number have generally been exaggerated (since the majority of the quotations actually agree with MT).

The ensemble of the Masoretic mss constitutes a distinct group, even though no single extant mss is entirely identical with any other. The work of copying, certainly in earlier times, always created variations between the basic text and the copy. Furthermore, though the consonantal text was already consolidated in the 1st and 2d centuries A.D., all the mss from that period onward differ from each other in numerous details, more so in the early centuries than in the medieval period.

In the description of the development of the consonantal text underlying the MT, three periods can be distinguished, although they cannot be clearly demarcated due to insufficient information. The first period ended with the destruction of the Second Temple. The proto-Masoretic mss of this period, mainly from Qumran (150 B.C.–68 A.D.) and Masada (until 73 A.D.), comprise a tightly closed group, almost identical in content with the medieval sources. At this early period one may still find differences between the various sources in words and phrases, discernible, for example, from a comparison of 1QIsa $^{b}$ and other Qumran texts or medieval sources. Talmudic and later rabbinic literature have preserved other early variants. Still other early variants are found in the Masoretic *madinḥa›ē* and *ma‹arba›ē* readings (see B.1.d below) and in the Masoretic handbook *Minḥat Shay*.

The second period begins with the destruction of the Second Temple and ends in the 8th century, most of the evidence coming from the beginning and toward the end of the period. The scrolls from Wâdī Murabba‹at and Naḥal Ḥever in the Judean desert (antedating 132–35 A.D.) are the best witnesses for the beginning of the period. Most of these sources (such as the Minor Prophets scroll from Wâdī Murabba‹at) are virtually identical with the medieval ones, although there are differences in small details. Non-Hebrew sources from this period include the Greek translations by Kaige-Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus, the Aramaic Targums, and the Vulgate (on all these, see B.5 below). From the end of this period come the earliest documents from the Cairo Genizah.

The third period begins in the 8th century and continues until the 12th century. The earliest dated Masoretic mss proper are from the 9th century, and are characterized by the introduction of vocalization, cantillation signs, and the Masorah. The consonantal texts of the individual codices are virtually identical.

At the end of the first stage of the development of the MT a conscious attempt was made not to insert any more changes in the text and to transmit the text as precisely as possible. However, since a variety of texts already existed within the proto-Masoretic group, the presence of textual variants could not be avoided, so the idea of textual uniformity remained an abstract ideal. The variants current in this first period as well as in the second one are mainly from earlier textual traditions and often can still be found in non-Masoretic sources such as the LXX and Qumran texts.

In contrast, the vocalized "Masoretic" mss of the third period preserved only a few variants deriving from earlier periods. Almost all variants from this period resulted from errors stemming from the frequent copying of mss in the Middle Ages. A good description of the typical characteristics of medieval mss is given by Goshen-Gottstein (1975). For the text-critical study of these mss it is important to remember that

they are not to be regarded as one single source, as is often assumed in scholarship. Every individual ms must be compared separately with non-Masoretic sources, and in that way some mss (those denoted as 30, 93, 96, 150 by Kennicott) will be recognized as containing more substantial variants than others. Furthermore, it can be demonstrated that the medieval mss are to be subdivided into independent geographical groups (Italy, Germany, France, Spain), of which the group from Spain contains more ancient variants than others (Cohen 1973). Nevertheless, the consonantal text of no single ms is significantly of greater importance than that of any other one. The variants in the medieval (12th century and later) mss were collected by B. Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum hebraicum cum variis lectionibus I-II* (Oxford, 1776–80), and J. B. de Rossi, *Variae lectiones Veteris Testamenti I–IV* (Parma, 1784–88; repr. Amsterdam, 1969). A summary edition that includes the variants of these two collections was published in 1818 by J. C. Döderlein and J. H. Meisner. The more recent editions of C. D. Ginsburg (*The Twenty-four Sacred Books …* [London, 1896]), the *BHS,* and *The Hebrew University Bible* (see E.2 below) also quote from older medieval mss.

**c. Para-textual Elements.** Once it became unacceptable to make any more changes to the biblical text, the earliest generations of the *sôpĕrîm* directed their activities toward accurately recording all the peculiarities in their mss. These peculiarities attested early scribal practices also reflected in the Qumran scrolls and in Hellenistic scribal traditions. (For a detailed description of these elements, see Ginsburg 1897.) The most important practices were associated with the following six phenomena:

**(1) Paragraphs.** With painstaking care the Masoretes transmitted the division of the text into paragraphs (Heb *pārāšâ,* pl. *pārāšiyyôt*), which resembled the system now also attested in most Qumran texts. They distinguished between small textual units separated from each other by open spaces between verses within the line (*pārāšâ sĕtûmâ,* "closed section," indicated with the letter *samek*), and larger textual units separated from each other by spaces that leave the whole remaining line blank (*pārāšâ pĕtûḥâ,* "open section," indicated with the letter *pe*). The Masoretes also indirectly indicated versification (with the *silluq* accent), following an ancient tradition indicated (by spaces) in a few Qumran texts (1QLev, 4QDan a,c) and in several Greek texts such as 8ḤevXII. (The actual *numbering* of the verses was accomplished only in the 13th century.)

**(2) Inverted *Nuns.*** The original purpose of these signs (found mainly before and after Num 10:35–36) was to indicate that the passage does not belong in the present context (cf. *Sipre* 84 on Num 10:35). In the Masoretic tradition these signs developed into that of inverted *nuns,* but originally they had the form of a sigma [ (] and an antisigma [)], also found in 11QpaleoLev, 1QS, 1QM, and in the writings of the Alexandrian textual critics indicating elements that did not belong to the text. These are the forerunners of our modern parentheses.

**(3) Puncta Extraordinaria.** Supralinear (occasionally in combination with infralinear) points are found in fifteen places in the OT (e.g., Gen 33:4; Ps 27:13). While these points originated from scribal notations indicating that the elements thus highlighted should be deleted (a convention used in many Qumran texts), within the Masoretic corpus these symbols were reappropriated to indicate doubtful letters (cf. Butin 1906 and Talmon [in the 1969 reprint of Butin 1906] *apud* Butin and the explanation in ʾ*Abot R. Nat.,* version A, 34). Similar signs are found in Hellenistic texts (cf. Lieberman 1962: 43–46).

**(4) Suspended Letters (Litterae Suspensae).** In the mss some letters are intentionally placed higher than those around them (i.e., "superscripted" between surrounding letters). A good example is the suspended *nun* in Judg 18:30, where the text with the *nun* is read *mnšh* (Manasseh) or without the *nun* as *mšh* (Moses). As in the Qumran texts, the suspended letters indicate later additions, which nevertheless were transmitted as such in the MT.

**(5) Special Letters.** The special form of some letters directs the reader's attention to details that were important for the Masoretes, such as the middle letter or word in a book. For a *littera minuscula* see Gen 2:4; for a *littera majuscula,* see Lev 13:33. In other instances imperfectly written letters are indicated especially.

**(6) *Tiqqûnê sôpĕrîm* (Emendations of the Scribes).** This phenomenon is not a para-textual element per se but rather is part of the *Masorah parva.* The term refers to words (18 or 11 depending on the sources;

the oldest source is the *Mekilta* on Exod 15:7) that tradition says were changed by the *sôpĕrîm;* e.g., "my wickedness" (Num 11:15 MT) replaced an original reading "your wickedness." All supposed emendations concern minor changes in words that the *sôpĕrîm* deemed inappropriate for God or (in one instance) Moses (Num 12:12). In some sources these corrections are called *kinnûyê sôpĕrîm* ("euphemisms of the scribes"), implying that the *sôpĕrîm* had a different understanding of these words without, however, changing the text itself. See also SCRIBAL EMENDATIONS; BIBLE, EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE. Many details in the list of *tiqqûnîm* are dubious. Nevertheless, it is considered likely that theological alterations have been made in the text (see D.4 below), even though the specific *tiqqûnê sôpĕrîm* which have been transmitted may not give the best examples of this process (see McCarthy 1981).

**d. The Masorah.** The desire of the Masoretes to transmit the text as precisely as possible is manifested in a corpus of literature which was especially designed for this purpose (see Leiman 1974). These mechanisms actually developed far beyond the original intent into collections of notes written not only alongside the text but also in separate volumes of detailed observations on the biblical text (especially observations about orthography, since the scribes were most likely to err in these details).

The Masorah (literally, "transmission" or "tradition") in the narrow sense of the word is an apparatus of references and remarks written around the text about (especially orthographic) details in the biblical text. It was composed to facilitate the accurate transmission of the text. The best-known and most influential Masorah is the Tiberian (see Yeivin 1980). See also MASORAH.

The *Masorah parva* (or "smaller Masorah"), written in the margins between columns, contains observations about the number of times a word (or phrase) occurs in a given spelling in a biblical book or in the OT as a whole. The remarks pertain only to the orthography of words whose spelling deviates from the rules devised by the Masoretes themselves. The notes constituting the *Masorah parva* are often inconsistent or inaccurate. This results from the fact that it was initially transmitted alongside of its companion biblical manuscript, and consequently several forms of the Masorah circulated, each accompanying its own manuscript (subsequently, Masorah could be transcribed onto the margins of mss to which they originally did not apply).

Three groups of notations associated with the *Masorah parva* are especially important. The first group of notations designates words that should be read *(qĕrê)* instead of the ones written *(kĕtîb)* in the text; for example, in Jer 2:24, *napšô* (K) should be read *napšâ* (Q). Earlier mss indicated the presence of a Qere by a sign in the margin (a vertical line resembling a final *nun*); in later mss the Qere was indicated by the letter *qop* (for Qere). In most mss and printed editions the consonantal text of the Kethib is pointed with the vowels of the Qere, while the marginal Qere itself remains unvocalized. In some cases whole words were "written but not read" (*kĕtîb wĕlā᾽ qĕrê*) and others "read but not written" (*qĕrê wĕlā᾽ kĕtîb*). See KETHIB AND QERE.

The Qere words can be subdivided in different ways, but it should be remembered that most Qere words differ only in one letter from the corresponding Kethib. The classification and analysis of Gordis (1971) is the best modern introduction to the problem of the Kethib and Qere. Opinions vary about whether the Qere represents a Masoretic "correction," a textual variant, or something else. The Masoretes themselves seem to have regarded the Qere as a correction of the Kethib, and therefore in their reading the Kethib was to be ignored. In line with this tradition, some modern scholars maintain that all Qere words were indeed intended as a correction of the Kethib. For the following reasons, however, this seems doubtful: (1) some (types of) words that constitute the Qere word in one verse are the Kethib word in other verses; (2) every category of Qere words contains instances that are not "corrected" elsewhere; and (3) in some passages the Qere words are grammatically impossible or contextually awkward, and therefore hardly constitute "improvements." Gordis' statistics show that as a rule, the Qere and Kethib are equal in value and that the Kethib sometimes offers a better reading than the Qere. For that reason, other scholars believe that all the Qere words were originally textual variants—differing in one or two consonants—that subsequently came to be regarded as corrections since they had been written in the margin. Gordis offers a middle course between these two views by suggesting two stages in the development of the Qere.

Initially, the Qere was intended as a correction, particularly to discourage blasphemy, such as the *Qere perpetuum* (the constant Qere) of the written Tetragrammaton (YHWH) to be read as *ʾădōnāy.* Subsequently, the already existing system of incorporating corrections as marginal notes was also used to preserve for posterity deviant/variant readings. Still later, all these marginal notes came to be (mis)understood as corrections. Recently, Barr (1981) suggested that the Qere words originated in the "reading tradition" because there is never more than one Qere word.

The second group of notations associated with the *Masorah parva* is indicated by the notation *sĕbîrîn,* followed by an almost identical word (e.g., *mmnw/mmnh* in Judg 11:34). The *sĕbîrîn* notations closely resemble those of the Qere; indeed, various words indicated as Qere in some mss are indicated as *sĕbîrîn* in others. The term is an abbreviation of *sĕbîrîn wĕmaʿṭîn,* i.e., "one might think" *(sbr)* that x should be read instead of y, but that is a "wrong assumption" *(maʿṭîn).*

Third, the *Masorah parva* mentions some 250 consonantal variants between Palestinian (*maʿarbāʾê,* or "western") and Babylonian (*mādînḥāʾê,* or "eastern") readings.

The *Masorah magna* (or "larger Masorah"), written in the spaces above and beneath columns (and sometimes in the margins), mentions the exact verses the *Masorah parva* refers to.

**e. Vocalization.** Vocalization and accents were added to the consonantal text of MT at a relatively late stage. This additional layer of information is known only from the MT, but is similar to the tradition of reading the Sam. Pent. During the Middle Ages the Samaritans developed a system of vocalization, but the mss of the Sam. Pent. remain without systematic vocalization. The problems which in the MT were addressed by the added vocalization were solved 1,000 years earlier in a different way in the scrolls written in the "Qumran system" of spelling, where an extremely full spelling facilitated the vocalized reading.

The purpose of vocalization was to solidify the reading of the text in a fixed written form on the basis of the oral tradition which had been stable in antiquity (note the large amount of agreement between the content of the Masoretic vocalization and the text presupposed by the LXX). As with all other forms of reading (vocalization), the Masoretic system reflects the exegesis of the Masoretes, although the greater part of it is based on earlier traditions.

The modern editions reproduce (with internal differences) the textus receptus both of the consonants and of the vocalization. This is also true of most mss, but recent findings and studies have shown that this textus receptus is only one of many systems. (For the history of vocalization and the different systems, see MASORETIC ACCENTS.)

**(1) The Tiberian Vocalization.** Of the various vocalization systems, the Tiberian has become the most widely accepted. More and more details of the other systems (Palestinian, Babylonian) are becoming known through the discovery of such mss, especially from the Cairo Geniza (a storeroom for sacred writings) discovered at the end of the last century, and from Yemenite mss preserved through the ages by the Yemenite community. The differences between these systems pertain to pronunciation, the graphic form of the vowel markers, and the conception of basic linguistic entities such as the *matres lectionis* and the *šĕwâ.* The Tiberian vocalization found in mss dating from A.D. 850 to 1100 is of greater importance for the reconstruction of the vocalization systems than those of the later mss, since the earlier sources (the Aleppo codex; codex Leningrad B 19a; the Cairo manuscript of the Prophets; British Museum Or. 4445; Sassoon 507, 1053; and various mss from the collection of Firkowitch in Leningrad) indicate the original systems of the Masoretes (sometimes inserted by them), while the later sources have been contaminated in the course of the transmission.

In the circles that occupied themselves with the vocalization of the biblical text from the 8th to the 10th century A.D. in Tiberias, the most prominent families were those of Ben-Asher and Ben-Naphtali. The Ben-Asher system was later accepted universally, while that of Ben-Naphtali came into disuse. It is not known whether any of the transmitted mss offer a purely Ben-Naphtali tradition; hence not all details about this system of vocalization are known, even though one learns much from the "variants" between it and Ben-Asher (see Lipschütz 1965).

In the Ben-Asher family, the most developed system is that devised by the last grammarian of that family, Aharon ben-Moshe ben-Asher (ca. 925). It was once assumed that the Second Rabbinic Bible contained the text of Ben-Asher, although now it seems that this edition contained an eclectic text from various mss (see Penkower 1982) and that in the preparation of this text the editor was often guided by his own grammatical rules (e.g., with respect to the *metheg,* the sign for secondary emphasis). Most scholars today believe that codex Leningrad B 19a (A.D. 1009) is the best complete representative of the Ben-Asher text; hence the *Biblia Hebraica (BHK)* and *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia (BHS)* are based on this codex. Many, however, have recognized that the Aleppo codex is the most authentic representative of the Ben-Asher tradition, because this codex was vocalized and supplied with Masorah by Aharon ben-Moshe himself. The fame of this manuscript must be attributed largely to Maimonides, who declared it to be the authoritative text of the Bible. Kept for centuries by the Jewish congregation of Aleppo (Syria), this ms was thought to have been lost in a fire in 1948; in fact, only the pentateuchal portion was lost while the other books were saved. A facsimile edition of the surviving part of the Aleppo codex was published by Goshen-Gottstein in 1976; its vocalization is described in detail by Yeivin (1968). This codex is the basis for the edition of the *Hebrew University Bible Project (HUBP).*

**(2) The Character of the Masoretic Vocalization.** Transcriptions of biblical texts in the second column of the Hexapla and in Jerome's Bible commentaries often present traditions that differ from the Masoretic vocalization devised much later. Because of these data, several scholars (esp. Kahle 1959: 149–88) have contended that the Masoretic vocalization reflects a late artificial system created by the Masoretes themselves, who rejected earlier systems. Kahle based his view especially on the double pronunciation of the letters *b, g, d, k, p, t,* and the form of the suffix of the second-person masculine singular personal pronoun (in the Masoretic tradition this is *-ĕkā,* but in the earlier sources it is *-āk*). However, the Qumran texts have confirmed the antiquity of the Masoretic pronunciation, not only with respect to this pronominal suffix but also in other details (see esp. Ben-Hayyim 1954).

**f. Cantillation Signs (Accents).** See MASORETIC ACCENTS.

**g. Printed Editions.** Many scholars believe that the most ideal edition would be one based on a single manuscript, since it would consequently be a faithful representation of one existing system. Such editions have appeared only recently, however (see below). In the past, editors composed their respective texts from a variety of mss that they deemed suitable, rarely mentioning their sources for the individual elements of the text. Moreover, they allowed their own grammatical ideas to influence the text. Even though the differences between the printed editions are minor, these small variations are important for the grammatical analysis of the text.

The first printed edition of the complete text appeared in 1488 in Soncino, a small city in the vicinity of Milan. Particularly important for the advance in biblical research have been the so-called polyglots, multilingual editions that give the text of the Bible in parallel columns in Hebrew (MT and Sam. Pent.), Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, Latin, and Arabic, accompanied by Latin translations and introduced by grammars and lexicons. The first is the Complutensian Polyglot (1514–17), prepared by Cardinal Ximenes in Alcala (Latin: Complutum). The second was published in Antwerp (1569–72), the third in Paris (1629–45), and the fourth, the most extensive, in London (1654–57), edited by B. Walton and E. Castell.

The so-called Rabbinic Bibles have proved to be of great importance for the history of the printed text. These editions contain in parallel columns the MT and Aramaic Targums, along with various rabbinic commentaries. The earliest editions of the Rabbinic Bible were printed in Venice by Daniel Bomberg, the first (1516–17) edited by Felix Pratensis and the second (1524–25) by Jacob Ben-Hayyim, based on various Spanish mss (see Penkower 1982). The latter edition differs from the former in the addition of the *Masorah parva* and *Masorah magna.* Probably because of this Masoretic apparatus, subsequent generations regarded this edition as the textus receptus of the Hebrew Bible. For that reason by far the majority of the editions of the Bible (with the exception of some modern editions) derive from the text of Ben-Hayyim. They differ only as to where they remove errors, where they introduce new ones, or where they add details from other mss that the editor deemed important.

In the course of the centuries, hundreds of editions of the Hebrew Bible have appeared, of which the most important are those of J. Buxtorf (1611), Athias (1661), Leusden (1667), Jablonski (1699), Van der Hooght (1705), Michaelis (1720), Hahn (1831), Rosenmüller (1834), Letteris (1852), and Koren (1965–66).

Since the end of the 19th century, scholars have been aware of the need for more accurate editions based on critical principles. Baer and Delitzsch tried to reconstruct the Ben-Asher text on the basis of (among others) Ben-Asher's grammatical treatise *Diqdûqqê haṭṭĕʿāmîm* (published by Baer and Strack in 1879). Ginsburg hoped to reconstruct the Ben-Asher tradition on the basis of his thorough knowledge of the Masorah. His analysis of the Masorah prompted him to make the Second Rabbinic Bible the basis of his 1894 edition, to which he added a critical apparatus containing variants from various mss and printed editions. A few modern editions are based on single sources: Snaith's 1958 edition is based on BM Or. 2375, 2626–28; Dothan's 1975–76 edition and the *BHS* are based on the codex Leningrad; and the *HUBP* edition is based on the Aleppo codex. (For these latter two editions, see E.2 below.)

In recent years the complete text has been made available in machine-readable (computer) form. Several computer texts, based primarily on the *BHS* and/or the codex Leningrad B19A, contain all components of the biblical text as well as a detailed morphological analysis. (For bibliographical details, see *Centre: Informatique et Bible. Bible Data Bank, List of Data and Services* [Maredsous, Belgium: 1981].)

**2. Proto-Samaritan Texts and the Samaritan Pentateuch.** Among the early attestations of the biblical text, the so-called proto-Samaritan sources hold an important place. These sources contain early nonsectarian texts (see B.2.c below), on one of which was based the Samaritan Pentateuch (Sam. Pent.). In its present form, the Sam. Pent. contains a clearly sectarian text. However, when its thin sectarian layer is removed, together with that of the Samaritan phonetic features, the resulting text probably did not differ much from the texts we now label "proto-Samaritan." Because of this relationship, the proto-Samaritan sources should be discussed first; however, the fragmentary state of their preservation in contrast to the full evidence relating to the Sam. Pent. leads us first to consider the latter. (For a more complete survey of editions and translations of the Sam. Pent., as well as the history of scholarly study on it, see SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.)

**a. Origin and Background of the Samaritan Pentateuch.** The Sam. Pent. contains the sacred writings of the Samaritans, presently a community of a few hundred members living mainly on Mount Gerizim (near Shechem, modern Nablus) and in Holon (near Tel Aviv). These sacred writings contain only the Pentateuch, while a Samaritan version of Joshua (see Gaster 1908) is also known.

Opinions vary about the origin of the community (see Purvis 1968). The Samaritans themselves believe that the origin of their community goes back to the time of Eli (11th century B.C.), when the "Jews" withdrew from Shechem to establish a new cult in Shiloh, which was later brought to Jerusalem. According to this conception, the Jews split off from the Samaritans, not the other way around. A different view is reflected in 2 Kgs 17:24–34, according to which the Samaritans were not originally Jews, but pagans brought to Samaria by the Assyrians after the fall of Samaria in the 8th century B.C. In accordance with this tradition, in the Talmud the Samaritans were indeed named Kythians (cf. 2 Kgs 17:24).

**b. The Character of the Sam. Pent.** The textual character of the Sam. Pent. is usually studied by comparing its readings with the MT (Waltke 1970), and since the list by Castellus in the London polyglot (vol. 6, 1657) a figure of 6,000 such differences is usually cited. This detail has to be reexamined now on the basis of modern critical editions.

Study of the proto-Samaritan texts has facilitated the separation of early elements in the Sam. Pent. from elements subsequently added by the Samaritans. The details of this distinction are subject to further research, but the distinction itself is probably correct. It had been surmised by recent generations of scholars that the Sam. Pent. consists of two different layers, but the exact nature of these layers could be studied only with the aid of the new finds. It has now been clarified that the second layer is thin and that if this layer is "peeled off" the proto-Samaritan base text becomes visible.

**(1) Early (proto-Samaritan) Elements in the Sam. Pent. (a) Harmonizing Alterations.** The Sam. Pent. contains various kinds of harmonizing alterations, especially additions (to one passage on the basis of another one) that, by definition, are secondary. These alterations appear inconsistently (i.e., features which have been harmonized in one place have been left in others). The Sam. Pent. was not sensitive to differences between parallel laws within the Pentateuch, which, as a rule, have remained intact, while differences between parallel narrative accounts, especially in the speeches in the first chapters of Deuteronomy and their "sources," were closely scrutinized.

The most frequent type of harmonizing alterations happens when one of two differing parallel verses in the Sam. Pent. is adapted to the other (for the editorial principles, see Tigay 1985: 53–96; Tov 1985). Thus, in the MT the Fourth Commandment in Exod 20:8 begins with *zākôr* ("remember") and in Deut 5:12 with *šāmôr* ("observe"), but the Sam. Pent. reads *šāmôr* in both verses. As a rule, however, the Sam. Pent. puts both parallel verses (or parallel details) after each other in the earlier of the two texts. Thus the parallel verses from Deut 1:9–18 are added in Exodus (after 18:24 and within v 25), resulting in a double account of the story of Moses' appointing of the judges. For similar additions, see Num 10:10 (= Deut 1:6–7) and 12:16 (= Deut 1:20–23). In this way the nature of the book of Deuteronomy as a "repetition of the law" (*mišnēh tôrāh*in Jewish sources) has been reinforced, since on a strictly formal level Deuteronomy can only "repeat" something if it is also found verbatim in an earlier book.

Another kind of harmonizing change concerns the addition of details in the Sam. Pent. with which the reader should actually be familiar, even though they are not explicitly mentioned in the Bible. In Exod 14:12, for example, the Israelites murmur against Moses after he has led them through the Red Sea: "Is not this what we said to you in Egypt, 'Let us alone and let us serve the Egyptians'?" This complaint is not mentioned earlier in the MT; but the Sam. Pent. inserts this quote in an earlier verse (Exod 6:9). Another illustration is Gen 31:11–13, where Jacob relates a dream not mentioned in any earlier verses in the MT; in the Sam. Pent., however, the account of this dream is added after 30:36.

The characteristic style of biblical narrative is to relate commands in great detail but their execution only briefly. In the Sam. Pent., however, the execution of such commands is often elaborately narrated by repeating the details of the command. For example, in the first chapters of Exodus God gives Moses and Aaron commands whose execution is briefly mentioned in the MT; the Sam. Pent., however, describes their execution in detail after Exod 7:18, 29; 8:19; 9:5, 19.

**(b) Linguistic Corrections.** Probably most of the linguistic corrections of the Sam. Pent. were already found in the proto-Samaritan sources (see, e.g., 4QpaleoExm). These corrections pertain to the removal of "unusual" forms (such as *naḥnû,* corrected in Gen 42:11 to *ʾănaḥnû; wĕḥayyat hāʾāreṣ* in Gen 1:24 instead of *wĕḥayĕtô ʾereṣ*), and to the correction of syntactical incongruities such as singular/plural, masculine/feminine (Gen 9:29; 13:6).

**(c) Content.** It cannot be determined how many of the content variants of the Sam. Pent. were already found in the early sources. Probably most of these variants (which cannot be characterized in any way) were archaic. Among other things, they contain a remarkable number of synonymous variants.

**(2) New Elements. (a) Sectarian Changes.** The views of the Samaritans differed from those of the Jews in a number of important details, only one of which is known to have been inserted in their biblical text. This concerns the most important doctrinal difference between the Jews and the Samaritans: the central place of worship (Jerusalem for the Jews, Mount Gerizim for the Samaritans). To reinforce this belief the Samaritans added a commandment to the Decalog (after Exod 20:14 and Deut 5:18) that secured the centrality of Mount Gerizim in the cult. This commandment is composed of a series of biblical pericopes that mention such a central cult in Shechem (Deut 11:29a; 27:2b, 3a, 4–7; 11:30 [in this sequence]). The addition of this material as the Tenth Commandment was made possible by changing the First Commandment into an introductory clause.

Closely connected with this addition are various alterations in Deuteronomy where the characteristic expression "the place which the Lord your God *will* choose" is changed to "the place which the Lord your God *has* chosen" (e.g., Deut 12:10, 11). From the Samaritan perspective, Shechem was already the chosen

place in the time of Abraham, whereas from the historical perspective of Deuteronomy, the choice of God's place (Jerusalem) yet lay in the future, after the conquest of the land and the election of David.

**(b) Phonological Changes.** Some of the phonological features of the Sam. Pent. have been inserted by the Samaritans themselves, as is visible from their agreement with those of the known Samaritan literature. This is true especially of the gutturals, which differ distinctly from those of the MT (see esp. Ben-Hayyim 1956–79; Macuch 1969). Thus in Gen 49:7 the Sam. Pent. reads *weḥebratam* instead of MT's *wĕʿebrātām.*

**(3) Orthography.** The use of *matres lectionis* (see D.3 below) in the Sam. Pent. differs in several respects from their use in MT. Macuch (1969: 3–9) and Cohen (1976) have shown that it is an oversimplification to say that the orthography of the Sam. Pent. is "fuller" than that of MT: in some word categories MT is fuller than the Sam. Pent., while in other ones the reverse is true. It cannot be determined with certainty how many of these orthographic peculiarities were introduced by the Samaritans, since the proto-Samaritan texts are not consistent in this matter either.

**c. Proto-Samaritan Texts.** An important group of early texts unearthed at Qumran have been classified as "proto-Samaritan." That name may be somewhat misleading since these particular Qumran mss are neither Samaritan (*pace* Baillet 1971) nor sectarian in any way. This term is used, like in other cases (cf. "proto-Theodotion," "proto-Lucian"), to designate a group of texts, on one of which the Sam. Pent. seems to have been based.

The prominent characteristic which these texts have in common is the occurrence of major harmonizing elements such as evidenced in the Sam. Pent. (see above). There are large harmonizing additions from Deuteronomy in Exodus and Numbers (and in one case, vice versa), well attested in 4QpaleoExm (Sanderson 1986), 4Q158, 4Q364* (both biblical "paraphrases"), 4QNumb* (see Cross 1961: 186), 4QDeutn*, and 4Q175 (Test) [*denotes texts still unpublished].

All these texts form a typologically similar group, related in character yet sometimes different in content. As for differences, the texts (except for 4QpaleoExm) are written in square Hebrew characters. Also, they lack the distinctive phonetic features of the Sam. Pent. As for similarities, they share the Sam. Pent.'s linguistic simplifications, its harmonizations in minor matters, as well as its noncharacteristic readings, although differing in many details in these areas. The spelling of 4QpaleoExm is fuller than that of the Sam. Pent., while that of the other texts is not. They are not sectarian in any way. Moreover, they contain various readings not known from other sources. At the same time, these proto-Samaritan texts share a sufficient amount of significant details with the Sam. Pent. to demonstrate the close relationship with that text. In the same way as the proto-Samaritan texts relate to each other, the Sam. Pent. is akin to all of them, although that text is a bit remote from them because of its subsequent ideological and phonetic developments.

**3. The Qumran Texts.** In contrast to the two aforementioned groups of witnesses of the biblical text—the (proto-) Masoretic and the (proto-) Samaritan—the texts found at Qumran do not present any one homogeneous group of texts, but a collection of different texts, including proto-Masoretic and proto-Samaritan texts. The texts found at Qumran give an insight into the textual situation in Palestine as a whole from the mid-3d century B.C. until 68 A.D., although it is not known whether the selection and nature of the texts found at Qumran is in any way representative of that period. For overviews of the scrolls and their bearings on OT textual criticism, see Skehan 1971; 1975a; 1975b; Vermes 1977).

**a. Background.** Many of the Qumran texts discovered in the middle of the 20th century constitute a major source of information for the history of the biblical text, with regard to the history of transmission of the text (see D below), the relation between the biblical witnesses (see C.2 below), and the specific content of the mss themselves. The latter issue is discussed here. (For background information on the Qumran texts, see DEAD SEA SCROLLS.) Many of the texts so far remain unpublished, but all of them have been described and the most important ones have been published either entirely or partially. This makes it possible to obtain a good idea of the importance and relevance of the new sources. (See Fitzmyer 1977 for bibliography, and Skehan (*DBSup* 9: 805–28) and Tov 1988 for full surveys.)

The scope of the documents differs from text to text. The large Isaiah Scroll from Cave 1 (Isa) contains all 66 chapters of the book, but only small fragments of other books have usually been preserved. Separate scrolls are usually identified on the basis of perceived different scripts, but this may be misleading since large scrolls were often written by more than one scribe, so that the total number of scrolls represented by the fragments is smaller than generally assumed.

With the exception of Esther and Nehemiah (but Ezra-Nehemiah form one book), fragments or complete scrolls have been found of all the books of the OT. In addition, fragments of some apocryphal and pseudepigraphal books (in Heb or Aram), which thus far were known only in Gk or other translations, have been unearthed. This situation may be indicative of an open-ended canonical conception, but since the background of the finds of the documents in Qumran has not been clarified, reliable information on the canonical conceptions of the Qumran community can be obtained only from their various sectarian writings.

Based on archaeological considerations, the period of settlement of the Qumran community is from approximately 150 B.C. (or somewhat later) to A.D. 68. However, paleographic analysis suggests that the oldest Qumran texts were written before that time. Presumably the settlers of the Qumran community brought with them some earlier scrolls; furthermore, if scrolls were indeed copied at Qumran, they had to be copied from texts imported from outside. The oldest scrolls are ascribed to the middle and end of the 3d century B.C.: Freedman (1962: 93) attributes 4QExodf to 250 B.C. and Cross (1955) ascribes 4QSam to the second half of the 3d century B.C. and 4QJer$^{a}$ to 200 B.C.

**b. Textual Character.** The Qumran texts come from 11 caves. Presently it cannot be determined whether the scrolls differ textually from cave to cave. Most of the scrolls whose contents differ from MT (and which thus are important for the reconstruction of the textual history) were found in Caves 4 and 11. This may or may not be coincidental. The biblical text from Qumran is best described in relation to the MT and other sources known before the discoveries in Qumran. The Qumran texts reflect a textual variety, the background of which is not clear (see below).

(1) Most texts from Caves 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, and 8 (and many of Cave 4) are virtually identical with the consonantal framework of the MT, barring occasional variants, especially minor orthographic differences. This group also contains all the paleo-Hebrew texts (except for 1QpaleoLev and 4QpaleoExm). In view of the early date of these scrolls, their text tradition is usually called "proto-Masoretic."

(2) Other texts, though representing the basic tradition of the MT, display a different approach to the text. These scrolls are written in a very special orthography and language, and contain a relatively large number of secondary readings (i.e., readings that eliminate grammatical and contextual difficulties). This orthography and language has not been attested in sources outside the Qumran community (although a few agreements with pronunciations in the Samaritan tradition have been recognized), but this absence of documentation may be due to the paucity of our sources. In the meantime this system of language, orthography, and scribal habits should thus be called the "Qumran system," but the imprecision of this term should be noted. Some of the special features of this "Qumran system" are the spellings *kyʾ, zwt/zwʾt/zʾwt, lwʾ, kwh, mwšh,* and forms such as *mʾwdh/mwʾdh/mwdh;* lengthened independent pronouns such as *hwʾh, hyʾh, ʾtmh;* words serving in the MT as "pausal" verbal forms such as *(w)yqṭwlw;* lengthened future forms such as *ʾqṭwlh;* and lengthened pronominal suffixes for second and third persons plural (e.g., *mlkmh, mlkkmh,* etc.). (For a description of the linguistic background, see Kutscher 1974 and Qimron 1986, and for the distribution of these features in the Qumran scrolls, see Tov 1986; 1988.) These texts also reflect various scribal phenomena not found in other Qumran scrolls, and according to Tov (1986; 1988) they were produced by a Qumran scribal school.

(3) Some texts exhibit great similarity with two non-Masoretic witnesses: the LXX and the Sam. Pent. The sources that are akin to the Sam. Pent. (the so-called "proto-Samaritan" texts) have been described above. Furthermore, 4QJer$^{b,d}$ are closely akin to the LXX, which in Jeremiah reflects a Hebrew text that is one-seventh shorter than the MT and with different arrangement of verses, pericopes, and chapters; in both these respects the LXX resembles the Qumran text. Several other texts, especially 4QSam $^{a}$, likewise

contain some or many readings also reflected in the LXX, but none of them is as close to the LXX as 4QJer[b,d].

(4) Several scrolls are "independent" in relation to the MT, LXX, and Sam. Pent. A large scroll such as 11QpaleoLev (see Tov 1979) often agrees with the MT over against other textual witnesses, but it also disagrees with the MT. Likewise, it also agrees often with the LXX, with which it also disagrees (the same also applies to its relation with the Sam. Pent.). At the same time, it contains many independent readings, that is, readings not found in other sources (see D.4 below).

**c. The Origin of the Qumran Scrolls.** For the evaluation of the textual variety at Qumran and of some of the individual scrolls, one would like to know more about the origin of the Qumran scrolls. In the past most scholars have regarded the Qumran scrolls (both biblical and nonbiblical) as the scrolls of the Qumran sect, implying that these scrolls have been written at Qumran by the scribes of the Qumran community. In these descriptions the collection of scrolls has frequently been portrayed as the "library of Qumran," without the nature of this library ever being appropriately described. Likewise, the discovery in Qumran of what has been called the "scriptorium" has reassured many scholars that the Qumran scrolls were indeed written there. On the other hand, scholars have known that at least the most ancient texts could not have been written at Qumran, since they precede the time of the sect's settlement. This fact, however, has not significantly influenced the account of the scrolls' origin. In any case, the fact that most scholars attributed the Qumran scrolls to the Qumran sect aroused opposition among a few scholars, who, referring mostly to the archaeological finds, denied this claim altogether. These scholars claimed that all of the scrolls found at Qumran were brought there from somewhere else, perhaps from the Temple library (see Rengstorf 1960; Kutscher 1974: 89–95; and Golb 1980). Del Medico (1957) thought that the Qumran caves contained an ancient *genizah* (depository of books) brought from outside.

The aforementioned views were mostly based on the archaeological evidence, while a different view has been proposed by Tov (1986; 1988), based on the distribution of orthography and language in the Qumran scrolls. He noted that the sectarian compositions are written almost exclusively in the Qumran system and that furthermore, no sectarian writings are written in anything but this orthography. These findings led to the conclusion that the Qumran community wrote their own sectarian writings in this special orthography and language, probably at Qumran. Furthermore, all the scrolls written in this system reflect a distinct (Qumran) scribal school recognizable by several scribal habits (the use of scribal marks and of initial-medial letters in final position, and the writing of the divine name in paleo-Hebrew characters). These characteristics are not found in the other scrolls. On the basis of this evidence he suggested that the scrolls written in the "Qumran system" were written by the Qumran community, while the other ones were brought from outside.

**4. Additional Hebrew Sources.** Mere fragments of passages found in the Bible (some dating as early as the First Temple period) have been preserved. Two small silver scrolls (amulets?) from Keteph Hinnom in Jerusalem, dating from the 7th century B.C., contain (with differences) the priestly blessing (Num 6:24–26). The Nash papyrus from the 1st or 2d century A.D. contains the Decalog according to the text of both Exodus and Deuteronomy. There is also the Severus scroll of the Pentateuch which, according to rabbinic tradition, was brought by the Romans to "the synagogue of Severus" in Rome after the fall of Jerusalem (70 A.D.) and which contains orthographic differences from MT, and the "Pentateuch of Rabbi Meir," quoted by Talmudic traditions as having been copied from the Severus scroll. There were also various texts now lost and mentioned in Talmudic literature, such as Codex Hilleli, Codex Zambuki, and Codex Yerushalmi (see Ginsburg 1897: 410–37).

**5. Ancient Versions. a. Text-Critical Use of Versions.** The textual criticism of the OT aims at tracing all early attestations of the biblical text. It is not enough to search for such readings in Hebrew sources because non-Hebrew sources, particularly ancient translations (the Versions), also contain many data. These data are used in the text-critical analysis of the OT, but by definition they cannot be used in the language of the translations, since the aim is to discover deviating Hebrew text traditions. The textual critic must thus analyze those portions where the ancient translations deviate from the MT in order to determine whether or not they might reflect original Hebrew variants. Such elements are then retranslated

(retroverted) into the assumed Hebrew-Aramaic original, in order that these retranslated elements, together with extant Hebrew sources, can be used in the text-critical analysis.

Until recently, OT textual criticism has paid much attention to the Versions. This interest was justified because the oldest Heb mss were dated to the Middle Ages while some of the mss of the LXX, Peshitta, and Vulgate date from the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. (some fragmentary papyruses of the LXX go back as far as the 2d century B.C.). This situation has now changed because the Hebrew scrolls from the Judean desert/Dead Sea are not only considerably older than these but often also more important. Therefore text-critical interest will in the future be focused more on Hebrew sources than on the Versions, even though text-critically the LXX will always remain of great importance. The importance of the other Versions for textual criticism is diminishing, although occasionally they contain significant readings. At the same time, these Versions remain important as witnesses to ancient *exegesis.*

Text-critical analysis here reconstructs elements in the Hebrew text—the *Vorlage*—on which the translation may have been based. Scholars are divided about the possibilities and methodology of this procedure. There are no firm, systematic criteria for such a reconstruction of the text, but important aspects of the procedure followed have been described, mainly in reference to the LXX, by Margolis (1907), Goshen-Gottstein (1963), Barr (1968; 1979) and Tov (1978a). These methodological analyses can also be applied to the other Versions.

This analysis is based on the recognized differences between the MT and the various ancient translations. When such a detail differs from the MT one need not immediately assume that its *Vorlage* differed from MT. Such differences are also caused, even in larger measure, by other factors, such as exegesis, translation technique, and corruptions in the transmission of the text of the Versions. Intimate knowledge of these areas is a *conditio sine qua non* for the text-critical use of the Versions. If analysis leads to the conclusion that a particular deviation from MT is not caused by one of the above-mentioned factors, one may assume that the translation is based on a Hebrew consonantal text that differed from the MT.

Often such a text can be reconstructed on the basis of our knowledge of the translation technique and vocabulary, accessible through modern concordances and other tools. The following is a good illustration. The LXX of Deut 31:1 reads, "and Moses finished speaking" *(kai synetelesen Mōusēs lalōn)* instead of MT "and Moses went and spoke" *(wayyēlek mōšeh wayyĕdabbēr).* The deviating translation in the LXX must have been caused by the presence of a variant since no exegesis can be detected in this detail. According to the information presented by the concordances, the Gk verb *synteleō* ("finish") usually represents Heb *klh* ("finish"); thus it may be assumed that here the Heb *Vorlage* of the LXX read *wayyĕkal* instead of *wayyēlek* (i.e., metathesis of the last two consonants). The reconstruction of this variant is supported by an identical variant in a Heb Qumran scroll (1Q5, frag. 13,2) and the similar expression in the MTof Deut 32:45.

Very few elements in the Versions can be retranslated with absolute certainty to specific Heb variants. In general, it is uncertain whether a deviation in a translation is due to a Heb variant or, for example, is the result of a free translation or of exegesis (in choosing from the various possibilities, familiarity with the nature of the translation of the individual books is very important).

But even if it is certain that a detail in the version can be translated back to a particular Heb variant, this does not mean that such a variant reading actually existed in a Heb source; it is possible that the translator misread a detail in his *Vorlage,* so that the variant existed only in his mind. Thus the LXX of 1 Sam 21:8 wrongly calls Doeg *ho Syros,* words that can be retranslated to *haʿărammî,* "the Aramean," instead of *hāʿădōmî,* "the Edomite" in MT (and in other OT references to Doeg). It is impossible to say whether the *Vorlage* of the Gk translation actually read *hʿrmy* or if the translator wrongly read *hʿdmy* as *hʿrmy.* In either case it is customary to say that the LXX reflects a "variant" *hʿrmy,* even though this reading may never have existed in a Hebrew text.

Because of the different approaches in the reconstruction of the *Vorlagen* of the Versions, many divergences in the Versions are retranslated as Heb variants by some, while others regard them as

stemming from translation technique, exegesis, etc. Furthermore, in the retranslation of the divergences into Heb, the possible reconstructions can be numerous.

**b. The Septuagint (LXX).** The quality of the Greek translation contained in the LXX varies from book to book, ranging from slavishly literal (e.g., Psalms and some early revisions now included in the LXX canon such as the "LXX"of 2 Kings [4 Kingdoms in the LXX] and Ecclesiastes) to loose paraphrases (Isaiah, Proverbs, Esther, Job, Daniel). The analysis of this quality is crucial for the text-critical analysis of the LXX, for it helps us to ascertain whether an individual variation between the MT and the LXX is due to free translation (i.e., an idiosyncrasy of the translator) or to a Heb variant (i.e., an idiosyncrasy of the *Vorlage*).

The LXX reflects a large number of Heb variants in all the books of the OT; in fact, among the Versions, the LXX is by far the most important source for textual criticism. Together with the Qumran scrolls and the Sam. Pent., it constitutes the most important non-Masoretic witness, especially for Exodus, Numbers, Joshua, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. Particularly important are those sections in which the LXX reflects a text which is *recensionally* different from MT. In such sections the LXX usually represents a stage in the development of a biblical book that preceded the stage reflected in theMT. This holds especially for the LXX of Jeremiah, the shorter LXX version of 1 Samuel 17–18, and the chronological framework of the LXX in 1–2 Kings. (The text-critical use of the LXX in biblical research is discussed in Tov 1981b. For bibliography, see Brock 1973.) See also SEPTUAGINT.

**c. Peshitta.** The quality of the Peshitta (Syriac translation) varies from book to book, ranging from fairly accurate to paraphrastic. The Heb *Vorlage* of the Peshitta was more or less identical with MT. The Peshitta offers fewer variants than the LXX, but more than the Targums and the Vulgate. (On the text-critical use of the Peshitta, see especially Goshen-Gottstein 1960; Weitzman 1985). See VERSIONS, ANCIENT (SYRIAC VERSIONS).

**d. The Targums.** The quality of the translation of the Aramaic Targums varies from Targum to Targum and from book to book (see especially Komlosh 1973). As a rule, the Targums from Palestine are more paraphrastic in character than the Babylonian ones. The more literal translations of 11QtgJob and 4QtgLev, though found in Palestine, are an exception to this rule. The relation between the various Targums as well as their origins are elaborately discussed in modern research (Grossfeld 1972–77). See TARGUM, TARGUMIM.

The Targums usually reflect the MT; deviations from it are based mainly on exegetical traditions, not on deviating texts. An exception must be made for 11QtgJob, which contains interesting variants and which possibly lacks some verses of the MT (42:12–17), a fact which would be significant for the literary criticism of the book. It may perhaps be assumed that other Targums in an earlier stage of their development also contained more variants than in their present form. *Targum Onqelos* as a rule contains more variants than the Palestinian Targums. (For a discussion and reconstruction of these variants, see Sperber 1973; Komlosh 1973.)

**e. The Vulgate.** Though occasionally reflecting variants (see Marks 1956; Nowack 1875; Kedar-Kopfstein 1968; 1969), this Latin translation almost always reproduces MT. See VULGATE.

**C. Textual History**

**1. Introduction.** The history of the text (referring mainly to MT) since the 2d century A.D. onward is known in broad lines. But the history of the text before that time is in a sense prehistory about which we can only guess, even though many texts are now known. Theories about the history of the text were current already before the discovery of the Qumran texts, in other words, before one could have an idea of what ancient biblical scrolls looked like and before one knew about the textual multiplicity reflected in the Qumran finds. In many respects these theories are now outdated. Nevertheless, they are discussed here because of their influence on the development of the research and in particular on the terminology used.

**2. Relationship between Textual Witnesses.** The most important textual witnesses to the OT are MT, with Heb *Vorlage* of the LXX (here simply designated as LXX), "independent" Qumran texts and those written in the "Qumran" orthography and language, the proto-Samaritan sources, and the Sam. Pent. All other sources (such as the Peshitta, Vulgate, Targums, the Heb texts from Naḥal Ḥever, Wâdī Murabba‹at,

Masada, and many Qumran texts) are less significant for the history of the OT text since they are virtually identical with MT.

During the last three centuries the idea has arisen that the MT, the Sam. Pent., and the LXX represent the three main text types for the Pentateuch (the term comes from Kahle 1915: 436, who speaks of *"drei Haupttypen des Pentateuchtextes"*). This view has been greatly influenced by the coincidence that the MT, Sam. Pent., and LXX have been preserved for posterity respectively as the sacred writings of the Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian communities. Another influence was the analogy with the tripartite division of NT and LXX mss. This viewpoint developed gradually (before Kahle, the term "recension" was mainly used; after Kahle, "text type"), but the question was never raised whether these three sources indeed represented different recensions or text types, that is, texts that typologically differ from each other. Only the recent research done in America has tried to define the typological differences among these texts.

The problem with this approach has been expounded by Talmon (*CHB* 1: 159–99) and Tov (1978b; 1982a). According to Tov, the MT, Sam. Pent., and LXX should be regarded as three ancient texts, not as recensions or text types. The complex of relationships among these texts is no different from the relationships among all early textual witnesses. The relationship between the LXX and MT is similar to that of any early source to another one (including recensional differences), but the relationship between the Sam. Pent. and the other two is somewhat more complicated since it (and proto-Samaritan texts) does reflect a number of typologically characteristic peculiarities.

**3. Research Before 1947.** Various aspects of the history of the text have been discussed by scholars. However, all of these descriptions illustrate only certain aspects of the textual history, and none provides an overall description. In 1915 Kahle gave the first comprehensive description of the textual history of the Hebrew Bible. Prior to that there were only summary remarks and descriptions of the history of the text, of which the two most significant are those of Rosenmüller (1797) and de Lagarde (1863). In 1797 Rosenmüller had maintained that all the MT mss belong to "one recension," which differs from the "recension" of the LXX (at that time the term "recension" was often used in the neutral meaning of "text").

In contrast, the brief theoretical remarks of de Lagarde (1863: 3–4) have until now been of great importance for the reconstruction of the textual history. He believed that all Masoretic mss had certain characteristics in common (especially the *puncta extraordinaria*), so specific that all mss would go back to "a single copy" *(ein einziges Exemplar).* This one copy he also regarded as "one recension" (the "Palestinian recension") that differed from the "Egyptian recension" (LXX), so that terminological confusion was unavoidable. According to de Lagarde, the text from which both recensions derive (the Ur-text) can be reconstructed by way of an eclectic procedure. De Lagarde himself was unable to translate his theoretical arguments into practical applications, but subsequent generations have carried forward this line of argumentation in what became known as the "Ur-text theory." It should be mentioned that in general more has been ascribed to de Lagarde than he himself had postulated. Another source of inaccuracy is the confusion in modern literature between the views of Rosenmüller specifically on the MT and de Lagarde generally on the text of the OT.

Kahle's views were especially influenced by the text traditions differing from the MT that were known in his time: divergent biblical quotations in rabbinic literature, the fragments from the Cairo Geniza, and the various Gk and Aramaic traditions. Guided by these multiple text traditions, Kahle sketched the history of the text as follows. Originally there was not one text of the Hebrew Bible (thus de Lagarde), but a plurality of what Kahle called *Vulgärtexte* ("vulgar" texts). His model for this description was the development of the Aramaic Targums, which, having come into existence as independent translations, were circulated in various forms. This multiplicity of text traditions disappeared during the first two centuries A.D., after the MT (ca. A.D. 100) had been "created" out of the recension of one of the *Vulgärtexte* into an accurate, official text which dislodged all other traditions. In this respect Kahle's description is directly opposed to that of de Lagarde: according to de Lagarde, the history of the text

began with one text which split into various texts, whereas for Kahle the history of the text began with a plurality of text types out of which later one text subsequently emerged.

Kahle was correct in his assessment of some aspects of the textual history of the Hebrew Bible, but on several significant points his views need revision. First, the textual variants on which Kahle's theories are based, like the variants in the rabbinic sources, are of much less significance than Kahle thought they were. Kahle was often impressed by lists of variants, whereas an accurate description of their nature should have led him to other conclusions. Second, the MT was not created in the 1st or 2d century A.D., but it existed already before that time as one of many texts (cf. the proto-Masoretic Qumran scrolls). Third, Kahle's description of the contrast between *Vulgärtexte* and an official text is inaccurate and insufficiently elaborated. (Also, for criticism of Kahle's description of the MT, LXX, and Sam. Pent. as the three "main types" of the text of the Pentateuch, see below.)

Less well known than Kahle's theories are the following analyses, which further developed certain of his insights. A. Sperber (1940) further elaborated the difference between one official biblical text and many *Vulgärtexte*. He described especially the nature of these vulgar texts, in which group he also included the Sam. Pent. and the MT of Chronicles. On the analogy of the development of the Homeric writings, S. Lieberman (1962: 20–27) introduced a qualitative distinction between three kinds of mss: *phaulōtera,* "poor copies," in the possesion of unschooled villagers; *koinōtera,* or *vulgata,* the "generally accepted text," in the possession of city people, used especially for study purposes (e.g., in schools); and *ēkribōmena,* "accurate copies," in the possession of people connected with the temple. Building on Lieberman, Greenberg (1956) suggested that at the time of the Hasmoneans two text types were in circulation: the fuller, unofficial type (such as the Sam. Pent.) and the shorter, official type (the MT).

Beginning with the 1950s, a new approach to the history of the text became current in American biblical scholarship. A theory of "local recensions/text types/families" was set forth in broad lines by Albright (1955) and worked out by Cross (1975a; 1975b). This theory reduces the multiplicity of textual witnesses to three text types: one current in Palestine (inter alia, the Sam. Pent., the MT of Chronicles, several Qumran scrolls), one in Babylonia (the MT), and one in Egypt (the LXX). These text types can be described in general terms; for instance, "the Palestinian family is characterized by conflation, glosses, synoptic additions, and other evidences of intense scribal activity, and can be defined as 'expansionistic' " (Cross 1975a: 283). The characteristics of the Babylonian and Egyptian text types are described in the same general way.

This theory has its critics (Talmon, *CHB* 1: 193–98; Tov 1982a). One of its weaknesses is the lack of evidence supporting the description of the characteristics. Moreover, the terminology needs closer definition (see Gooding 1976). The Qumran scrolls show that the boundaries between the three groups are not always clear. For example, how can one explain the close relationship between 4QJer $^{b,d}$ (found in Palestine) and the *Vorlage* of the LXX (Egypt)? How can it be determined that MT is Babylonian and that (not only the translation but also) the *Vorlage* of the LXX is Egyptian? Serious questions are also raised by the fact that scrolls of all three supposed text types were found side by side at Qumran. Notwithstanding these objections, a central feature of the theory of local text traditions can be evaluated positively—there were undoubtedly geographical and social differences among the various text traditions. Only such an assumption can explain how altogether different forms of the text, in particular recensional differences (see F below), have been preserved, even after the MT had become the only text to be used by the central group in Judaism. At the same time, it is not possible to make precise statements about the nature of these local traditions.

**4. More Recent Research.** The description of the textual history is necessarily brief, because our knowledge on this subject is very limited. Each of the descriptions and theories described in the previous paragraphs refers to merely one aspect, and all of them are usually very dogmatic. There is no single "textual theory" which explains all aspects of the textual development, so that we will have to content ourselves with partial descriptions of limited phenomena.

The first question arising is the chronological framework for the description. It is relatively easy to recognize the end of the 1st century A.D. as the limit of the period of textual development, since the

biblical text did not change much after that period. At that time the texts were well fixed in their respective socioreligious environments, and they did not continue to develop anymore. On the other hand, the beginning of the period of textual development is not well demarcated. It would have been natural to assume that the textual development started upon the completion of the literary compositions, since from that time onward they were frequently copied. However, as noted below (see F), limited copying began even before that time.

In the OT itself there is some evidence that portions of books were written prior to the completion of the full literary unit. Also, editing and revisional activity, as evidenced in most of the biblical books, took place on the basis of previously written compositions. The editors-revisers of the biblical books thus served as both authors and copyists. This applies also to the author of the book of Chronicles.

At a certain point the literary unit was completed, but this process could be repeated several times: sometimes a certain readership accepted a form of the book which at the time was considered final, and it was distributed as such on a limited scale. However, at a later point someone else could prepare a "revised" edition intended to replace the previous one. That edition was also accepted by some in due course, but it could not totally replace its forerunner, which remained in use in places that were remote either sociologically or geographically. In this way the earlier editions were available to the LXX translators in Egypt as well as to those who deposited 4QJer $^{b,d}$ in the Qumran caves.

Independent of the procedure of copying, each of the biblical books at a given moment received an authoritative (canonical) status. This process had much impact on the copying and transmission procedures of the biblical text.

The finalized literary product which incorporated the last recognizable literary editing of the book should be considered the "Ur-text" (archetypal copy) of the biblical books, elements of which textual criticism attempts to reconstruct. This formulation, which necessarily remains conjectural, thus agrees with the views of de Lagarde, though not in all details.

The period of textual unity reflected in the copies which we named the "Ur-text" was short, and possibly never existed, since at the same time there also circulated additional copies of the biblical books incorporating remnants of previous literary stages. This relative textual unity was disturbed in the next generations, when copyists inserted changes in the text in different quantities. This textual diversity was also created by the changes pertaining to the biblical text in spelling, the writing of final letters, and probably also the dissolution of the *scriptio continua.* An abundance of textual errors likewise disturbed the initial textual unity.

Many copyists took liberty to insert changes in the text, and in this way they continued the approach of the last layer of composing and editing the biblical books. Some scholars even speak of a transitional stage of composition-copying. Even though many of these changes pertain to matters of content, a qualitative and quantitative distinction should be made between the intervention of the authors-editors prior to the authoritative status of the biblical books and that of the later copyists, who allowed themselves less freedom than their predecessors.

From the outset all copyists may have approached the text freely, but possibly already then there were copyists who consciously refrained from inserting changes in the text. In any event, the earliest available textual evidence, the proto-Masoretic texts from Qumran dating from the 3d century B.C., already displays such an approach. It is hard to know whether these texts represent an approach of earlier generations or a secondary stage; in any event, even these texts at times reflect scribal intervention of some kind.

The available textual evidence does not enable any precision in dating, but the Qumran finds allow for some statements on the last three centuries B.C. until 68 A.D. In that period we note different textual developments in the various biblical books—if the evidence does not distort the picture—and the various groups in Judaism approached the biblical text differently. The Qumran finds show that this period is characterized by textual variety. The views of Kahle (see C.3 above) referred to a situation like this, with one major difference: in his description the textual variety existed in the initial stage of the textual development, while according to our analysis it was created at a second stage.

Textual variety was characteristic of Palestine as a whole, but apparently in temple circles only one text or group of texts was used, namely the proto-Masoretic texts. The Qumran finds show the different texts which were current in Palestine in the Second Temple period: the texts written in the "Qumran" orthography, proto-Masoretic and proto-Samaritan texts, scrolls closely related to the LXX (4QJer $^{b,d}$), and texts that are not related to any of the above. Because of the latter group of texts, the number of the texts current in Palestine was virtually unlimited.

This textual variety has been described in the past in terms of closeness to sources known before the Qumran finds. This way of describing the scrolls reflects a custom that resulted from the accidental situation that for centuries scholars were aware of the LXX and the medieval mss of the MT and the Sam. Pent., but not of earlier texts. Because of this unusual situation, scholars were accustomed to describing the data in a reverse order. This irregularity can now be corrected, enabling one to understand how the medieval MT developed from the earlier proto-Masoretic texts and how the Sam. Pent. was based on one of the so-called proto-Masoretic texts.

The textual variety characterizing the biblical books as a whole did not exist for all of them to the same extent. This resulted from the accidental nature of the textual transmission: scribes inserted their changes (expansions, omissions, orthography, etc.)—inconsistently—in some of the biblical books only, so that a certain textual development known from one biblical book should not necessarily have existed in all of the books.

Within this textual variety we note two different approaches to the biblical text, which gave rise to both "vulgar" texts (in use by the public at large) and all the other, "nonvulgar" texts. The latter were conservative in nature, and they were created and used by specific groups. The present evidence does not allow for a distinction between three groups, as suggested by Lieberman (1962), even though the assumption itself is logical. It is hard to know in which circles the different texts were created and used. Probably the vulgar texts were never used for liturgical purposes, but this cannot be ascertained for the Qumran sect. Between the nonvulgar texts, the proto-Masoretic texts stand out since they had a special, possibly exclusive, status in the central group of Judaism.

Vulgar texts are known from different places in Palestine. Their copyists took liberty to insert in them all kinds of changes and corrections as well as to innovate the spelling, often drastically, as witnessed in many of the Qumran scrolls. Typical representatives of this group are the texts produced by the Qumran school of scribes. These texts are usually written carelessly, and they contain many corrections and erasures. From a textual point of view their secondary nature is visible in the changes in orthography and language as well as in contextual changes. Apparently also the Severus scroll and the "Pentateuch of Rabbi Meir" contained a similar crop of secondary readings, especially in phonetic details. To this group belong also the proto-Samaritan texts and the Sam. Pent. The latter texts are not written carelessly, and their spelling does not resemble that of the Qumran school of scribes, but their scribes allowed themselves much freedom in editorial interventions. The harmonizing additions as well as the linguistic and contextual corrections are clearly secondary, a feature which characterizes the vulgar texts as well.

The so-called vulgar texts contain many secondary readings in comparison with the nonvulgar texts, but at the same time they also contain some readings which are preferable to the ones in the MT and other nonvulgar texts. Such readings simply happened to be preserved in vulgar sources.

The nonvulgar texts can also be named "precise" or "conservative," but these terms may be misleading since these texts differ from each other. These internal differences reflect the textual diversity in the Second Temple period, and all of them reflect elements of the so-called original text which have been changed in the other texts. It is hard to say which text is closer to the so-called Ur-text; if a personal impression may be allowed here, it seems that often the LXX is closer to that text than the MT.

Of the nonvulgar texts one is best acquainted with the proto-Masoretic texts, from which the MT developed in the Middle Ages. However, in spite of the great care taken in the copying of these texts, they too were corrected (see the emendations of the scribes and other corrections mentioned in D.4.b below) and they too were corrupted from time to time; see especially the text of Samuel. Another such text is the

LXX. In one case the *Vorlage* of one of its books has been preserved coincidentally in a Qumran scroll (4QJer$^{b}$).

The vulgar and nonvulgar texts described here were current in Palestine in the last three centuries B.C. and in the first two centuries A.D. The coincidental nature of the preserved textual sources does not enable us to know which sort of text was more frequent. However, if the Qumran scrolls display a trustworthy picture, it appears that from the 3d century B.C. onward, proto-Masoretic texts were more frequent than the other ones. This situation derives from the strength and influence of the central stream of Judaism, through whose influence these texts were copied and distributed. It is not clear whether beyond the mere copying there was a conscious effort of unifying the texts which would have reduced the number of internal differences. Such a presumed procedure could have been learned from the story about the three scrolls found in the Azarah (see *j. Taʿan.* 4:2, 68a [cf. Talmon 1962]).

After several centuries of textual diversity we note a period of textual unity at the end of the first century A.D. caused not by intrinsic factors related to the textual transmission, but by political and socioreligious events and developments. By the end of the 1st century A.D. the LXX had been accepted by Christianity and abandoned by the Jews. Copies of Sam. Pent. were available, but in the meantime that sect had become an independent religion, so that their texts were considered Samaritan, not Jewish anymore. The Qumran sect, which had preserved a multitude of texts, did not exist after the destruction of the temple. Therefore the sole texts that existed in this period were the ones that were copied and distributed by the central group in Judaism. For example, the texts from the Bar-Kokhba period found at Naḥal Ḥever and Wâdī Murabbaʿat contain solely the MT. This situation gave rise to the wrong conclusion that the MT had "ousted" the other texts, but such a description reminds one of a cultural struggle of modern times and not of the real background, viz. the political and socioreligious factors at work in this period (cf. Albrektson 1978).

It should be remembered that all descriptions such as the preceding depend on the accidental nature of the textual evidence. Even the nature of the books in the MT and LXX has been determined to a great extent by coincidence. The situation that 1–2 Samuel in the MT is relatively corrupt derives from the fact that such a copy has been included in the archetype of the MT, and not from the approach of the scribes to that book or from its textual vicissitudes. Likewise, the discovery of textually important data in some of the books of the LXX and scrolls such as 4QJer$^{b}$ may be coincidental, so that similar developments may have taken place in other books as well.

**D. Copying and Transmission of the Text**

Many external facts are now known about the copying and transmission of the text from one generation to the next. These data are interesting in their own right, but they also help us to understand the background of certain textual mishaps.

**1. Sources of Information.** The texts from the Judean desert (mid-3d century B.C. to beginning 2d century A.D.) provide an excellent picture of a cross-section of the biblical texts on the basis of which the copying and transmission of the texts through the centuries can now be portrayed. Since some of these texts were written in Qumran and others in different places in Palestine, the copying conventions evident in the Qumran scrolls are generally accepted as representative of what was customary at that time.

The post-Talmudic tractate *Sopherim* (ed. M. Higger [New York 1937; repr. Jerusalem 1970]), which gives detailed instructions for writing biblical scrolls according to the Halakah, provides further information on this process. Many of the instructions in this tractate represent old traditions, so that the material can be used in spite of its 9th-century date. In the following some of the central details in that copying and transmission are recorded.

**2. Outward Form.** For many centuries the biblical books were written on scrolls (Hebrew *mĕgillâ,* pl. *mĕgillôt*), composed of individual sheets of leather (vellum) and at an earlier, undocumented stage, of papyrus. This is amply illustrated by the documents from the Judean desert (for the later periods, see the documents collected by Sirat 1985). Only in the post-Talmudic period did the codex, introduced by the Christians for their holy writings, also come to be used for the Hebrew Scriptures. Even today scrolls are still used in the synagogue for the reading of parts of the Bible.

Each scroll contained one biblical book, but a few Qumran scrolls contained more than one pentateuchal book and the Minor Prophets scroll from Wâdī Murabba‹at encompassed all the Minor Prophets. Some scrolls contained mere selections: 4QDeutq probably contained only Deuteronomy 32, and likewise some of the psalm scrolls contained a mere choice of psalms.

The text in the scrolls was written in columns, whose size varied from one scroll to the next. Some texts were more consistent regarding the column size than others, but within each individual sheet usually a consistent pattern was followed (for details see Tov 1988). These columns were usually lined and the letters were written beneath the lines. Most scrolls contained columns of approximately 20 lines, with exceptions on either side. For example, most of the scrolls containing one of the Five Scrolls had very small columns (7–13 lines). The script in which the Bible was originally written (the [paleo-] Hebrew script) was developed from the Canaanite script. Even when this script was no longer used, and new texts were written in the so-called Aramaic or square script, some of the pentateuchal scrolls could still be written in the old script. This is also the case with one Qumran scroll of Job and some as-yet-unidentified texts from Qumran and Masada. The transition from the Hebrew script to the square script took place in the 5th century B.C. (tradition ascribes this change to Ezra).

Two formal features of scrolls, attested in the Qumran scrolls, are also reflected in some way or another in the later MT: (1) The text is divided into sense units (paragraphs, sections). Not only is the system used in most Qumran scrolls similar to that of the MT, but the two also agree to a great extent with regard to the position of the paragraphs. (2) Scribal marks are used to indicate letters to be erased, corrections made, and other matters which are not always clear (see 1QIsa).

Certain formal features of the printed MT were not part of the older scribal practices: (1) In the ancient biblical scrolls the words presumably were not separated by spaces—they were written in the so-called *scriptio continua,* as can still be seen in the later tefillin and mezuzahs from Qumran and Masada. However, no such biblical texts have been preserved, and the main argument for the assumption of *scriptio continua* is that later texts often resolve word divisions wrongly. All Qumran texts use spaces between the words, and in a few exceptional cases dot dividers are used. (2) The scrolls from the desert of Judea contain neither vocalization nor accents. (3) The division into verses and chapters in the Hebrew mss was not made until the Middle Ages. (4) The letters *m, n, s, p,* and *k* have two forms in the Aramaic script, one of which is used at the end of a word. Several Qumran scrolls represent a transitional stage in which both forms of the letter are often used interchangeably (initial-medial forms of the letters sometimes are used in the final position).

The Qumran scrolls clarify various aspects of the procedure of copying (see especially Martin 1958) which also explains various types of errors: (1) The graphic similarity between several single letters or combinations of letters—ligatures—explains mistakes made with consonants. (2) The correction habits (adding elements between the lines or in the margin, crossing out, erasing, placing dots above or under the letters) created cramped and crowded texts which facilitated misunderstandings and misreadings. (3) The published scrolls contain extremely few examples of glosses, so often appealed to in biblical scholarship. If these were ever used, they must have been created at an earlier stage of the textual transmission.

**3. *Matres Lectionis.*** *Matres lectionis* (literally, "mothers of reading") are the letters *›alep, he, waw,* and *yod* added to the basic forms of Hebrew words to facilitate their reading. In principle the *matres lectionis* thus serve a function that in the MT was later taken over by the vocalization.

The textual witnesses differ considerably in their use of *matres lectionis,* and individual witnesses are not always internally consistent. This situation is the result of the development of Hebrew orthography. At first Hebrew did not use *matres lectionis,* but later these were added in several places to the basic form of the words: *yod* for "i" and "e," *waw* for "u" and "o," and *›alep* for "a," "i," "e," and "o" (see Cross and Freedman 1952). The increasing use of *matres lectionis* is reflected in the various kinds of biblical texts; older texts make less use of them than more recent ones.

Spellings without a *mater lectionis* are called "defective"; those with a *mater* are called "full" *(plene).* The orthography of the MT to a certain degree exhibits defective spelling, therefore the last copying stage represented in the MT reflects a relatively early stage of the evolution of the biblical text (between the 4th

and 2d centuries B.C., according to Freedman 1962). However, it is wrong to generalize about the books of the MT, since every book is different (see especially Andersen and Forbes 1986). The later biblical books (Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles) reflect a fuller orthography than the earlier ones (e.g., the spelling of the name David as *dwd* in Samuel and Kings, but *dwyd* in Chronicles). Among the earlier books, the Pentateuch (esp. Exodus and Leviticus) and Kings present the most conservative system of spelling. Within individual books different spellings are found side by side (e.g., Ezek 32:23 *kbrtyh*, v 25 *kbrth*, v 26 *kbrwtyh*). (For examples of the inconsistencies in the Masoretic spelling, see especially Sperber 1966: 556–74; Barr 1989.) On the other hand, beyond the characteristics of each book, certain words consistently reflect an established spelling *(nʾm, ybʾ, ʾbwt).*

**4. The Background of Textual Variations.** There are literally thousands of differences regarding spelling, vocalization, verse division, etc., between parallel texts within the MT, within the early biblical texts (proto-MT compared with the Qumran scrolls and the proto-Samaritan texts), and within the later mss of the MT. Usually all these different readings are compared with the MT and deviations from the MT are called "variants," without any pejorative implication that they are intrinsically inferior. A distinction is made between unintentional variants created in the course of the copying of the text and other variants, some of which reflect intentional alterations (while still others reflect a shifting linguistic reality).

**a. Unintentional Variants.** Unintentional variants (for the most part mistakes) crept into the text for various reasons connected with the copying of texts: the transition from the Hebrew to the Aramaic script, the interpretation of the *scriptio continua* when the words were finally separated, the misunderstanding and interchange of letters and words by the copyists, and finally various types of oversight by the copyists. In simple terms, all variants are either different words (sometimes resulting merely from one different consonant), omissions or additions of details, or transpositions of elements. Among these, the following phenomena should be mentioned separately:

*The confusion of consonants.* Errors result from the fact that some consonants closely resemble others, especially *t/ʾ* and *y/ṣ* in the Hebrew script, *y/w*, *b/m/k* in the square (Aramaic) script, and *d/r* in both. Also, ligatures such as *nw* could be confused with final *m*, and *ʿy* or *ʿw* could be confused with *š*. This confusion is recognizable not only between different mss of the same text, but even within parallel texts in the MT itself (e.g., Gen 10:4 Dodanim = 1 Chr 1:7 Rodanim; Gen 10:3 Riphat = 1 Chr 1:3 Diphat).

*Dittography.* Errors could result from the erroneous repetition of letters or words (e.g., Jer 51:3 *ydrk ydrk;* cf. the Qere, *ydrk*).

*Haplography.* Errors could also stem from the skipping of one or two (almost) identical letters or words (e.g., the erroneous omission of *bṭwḥ* in Isa 26:3 in 1QIs$^{a}$ before *bṭḥw* in v 4; the correct reading is found in the MT).

*Homoeoteleuton.* Similarly, errors crept in due to the erroneous omission of a group of words with the same ending, caused when the eye of the copyist jumped directly from one word (or group of words) to another, identical word (or group) later in the text (e.g., the omission of Isa 40:7b–8a in 1QIs$^{a}$; in this case the omitted text was subsequently reinserted at the end of the line, above the line and in the margin).

*Metathesis.* Errors could also result from the transposition of letters (e.g., 2 Sam 23:31 *hbrḥmy*, the Barhumite = 1 Chr 11:33 *hbḥrwmy*, the Baharumite). On the basis of parallel texts, the latter reading can be established as the correct name of the city (Bahurim).

*Doublet* (conflate reading). The mistaken juxtaposition of two or more parallel readings in the text itself, with or without grammatical connection, could lead to erroneous readings (see the textual witnesses in Isa 37:9; 41:20; Jer 52:34 = 2 Kgs 25:30). See Talmon 1960.

*Different word division.* Some differences between two textual traditions derive from the time when the words were resolved from the *scriptio continua* (cf. the Kethib and Qere forms in 2 Sam 5:2; Ezek 42:9; Job 38:12).

Many examples of these scribal phenomena have been collected by Sperber (1966: 476–90) and Delitzsch (1920) from different mss of one text, from the MT compared with the Sam. Pent., from the Kethib words compared with the Qere forms, and from inner-Masoretic parallel texts.

**b. Other Variants.** While many of the variants in biblical mss were created by unconscious scribal procedures such as described above, other readings were intentionally inserted into the text. Of these, there is a large group of linguistically different forms indicating that the linguistic reality of the copyist was different from that of the original text and that the text was changed accordingly. This is visible especially in the Sam. Pent. and the Qumran scribal school, as well as in the text of Chronicles when compared with the earlier books. In this latter case, the author of Chronicles allowed himself the linguistic changes which were also made by copyists. Relevant examples for 1QIs[a] are the change of the rare *yhlw* to *yʾyrw* in 13:10 and of the hapax *šwbl* to *šwlyk* in 47:2.

More penetrating changes concerned the content of the text, especially in the realm of theology. The Sam. Pent. and the LXX (possibly independently) record in Gen 2:2 that God stopped his work on the *sixth* day (and not on the *seventh* day as in the MT), thus removing a theological problem from the text. The "corrections of the scribes" (see above) show that this procedure must have continued until relatively late periods. Changes of this kind have often been recognized within the MT itself (see Ginsburg 1897: 399–404) in the tendency of Samuel to alter the component "Baal" in personal names. Thus Gideon's second name, Jerubbaal, occurs 14 times in Judges and in 1 Sam 12:11, but was changed to "Jerubbosheth" in the MT of 2 Sam 11:21, where the LXX still has the old form "Jerubbaal." The name of Saul's fourth son was twice written "Eshbaal" in 1 Chronicles, but in 2 Samuel it was changed 12 times to "Ishbosheth."

**E. The Procedure of Textual Criticism**

**1. Introduction.** OT textual criticism covers two areas. The first, the analysis of the biblical text as found in Hebrew mss and as reflected in the ancient versions, may be called textual criticism proper, while the second area, conjectural criticism, is to be regarded as an appendix to textual criticism (see E.4 below). The task of textual criticism proper is further subdivided into two stages, the first involving the collation (collection) of existing Hebrew variants and the reconstruction of other variants from the ancient translations, and the second dealing with the evaluation of these variants.

**2. Collation and Conjectural Reconstruction of Hebrew Variants.** The evaluation of the textual witnesses can begin only after all the relevant data have been collected. For this purpose, variants have been collected and described in various kinds of monographs. Most of the information on these variants is found in monographs which are devoted solely to this issue, but much information can also be found in special apparatuses in ICC and BKAT.

In addition, one often turns to a modern critical edition of the Hebrew Bible that contains a selection of these variants. The modern editions are *BHK*, BHS, and the still incomplete *HUB* (see M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, *The Hebrew University Bible: The Book of Isaiah I–II,* Jerusalem, 1975–81). These critical editions reflect a mixture of objective and subjective factors, the latter manifested in the idiosyncratic process of selecting which data to incorporate and how to present them. Thus, *BHK* and *BHS* merely provide a selection of textual data and are often inaccurate. Much important data is excluded and much that is insignificant has been included; especially the treatment of the Versions leaves much to be desired (*BHS* is often more careful in its judgments than *BHK,* but on the other hand the selection of *BHK* often provides a better basis for further study than *BHS*). (For a critical evaluation of *BHK*, see especially Orlinsky 1961.)

The *HUB* avoids conjectures (emendations) and its selection of data is much more complete than *BHK* or *BHS*. In four different apparatuses this (still incomplete) edition simply includes variants (a) from the Versions; (b) from the rabbinic literature and the scrolls from the Judean desert; (c) of consonants from medieval mss; and (d) of vocalization and accentuation from those mss.

**3. Evaluation of Readings.** After all the variants are collected from the Heb sources and reconstructed from the Versions, they must be evaluated. This evaluation is performed through comparison with the textus receptus (MT), without implying that the MT is the best text. In fact, all Heb readings in principle are of equal value and this applies also to reconstructed variants, provided the reconstruction is trustworthy.

The purpose of this comparison is to determine whether one of the transmitted readings can make a better claim of representing the "original" text (as defined in the introduction above) than the others. Because of the lack of convincing arguments, such a determination is often impossible. In some cases two variant readings are regarded as "synonymous" (see Talmon 1961), and in yet other cases the evidence for deciding the "original reading" is insufficient. However, the inability to decide in such instances does not undermine the correctness of the procedure itself.

The readings are compared on the basis of their intrinsic value. This analysis is based on subjective considerations that are used as a guide to evaluate the reading "in its context" when that "context" is taken in the broadest sense of the word. Thus, a discussion of the "context" of a given Heb word leads to a complete exegesis of the passage as well as to an analysis of the language and style of the OT as a whole and the specific scriptural unit under investigation. Ideally one tries to determine the one reading from which all the other(s) would have derived, or the reading which best explains the direction in which the other readings developed. That reading is considered the "best" or "original" reading.

In view of the subjectivity of the evaluation of the readings, some have tried to draw up rules, external (relating to the textual witnesses) and internal (relating to the intrinsic value of the reading) that would seemingly make this evaluation more objective (see, e.g., Klein 1974: 69–84; Payne 1974; Thompson, *IDBSup*, 886–91; Barthélemy et al. 1979; for an analysis of the earlier discussions see Tov 1982b). *Internal rules* pertain to such issues as preferring the shorter reading *(lectio brevior)* to a longer one, and a "more difficult" reading *(lectio difficilior)* to easier ones. But these internal rules are abstractly formulated, they apply only to a small number of instances, and their use is so subjectively determined that the evaluation still remains a subjective procedure (see Albrektson 1981; Tov 1982b). *External rules* refer to such matters as the relative and absolute date of the textual witnesses, their geographical backgrounds, the weight given to the testimony of the majority, and the preference of MT, but all these criteria are fraught with assumptions and do little to eliminate the subjective aspect of the enterprise. Common sense coupled with the occasional use of an internal rule remains our main guide.

**4. Conjectures.** Conjectural criticism (emendation) concerns itself with the correction of the biblical text, utilized when neither the Hebrew mss nor the ancient translations offer a "satisfactory" reading of the "original" text in a given instance. The coincidental nature of the textual data preserved justifies judicious emendation: since only a (small?) fraction of the textual witnesses have been preserved, it is possible to appeal to the unpreserved remainder by way of conjecture, basing this on known textual procedures such as interchanges of similar letters. Conjectural criticism is one of the most subjective parts of biblical study because there are no objective criteria for determining the incorrectness of the transmitted readings or for suggesting conjectures. Conjectural criticism actually stems mainly from exegesis and is only secondarily linked to text-critical criteria, for conjectures are initially proposed on the basis of what the critic feels the text "ought" to say, and only subsequently must they be acceptable on the text-critical level. Most conjectures derive from a certain understanding of the context, but some are based on linguistic presuppositions concerning biblical Hebrew, cognate languages (especially Ugaritic), and on metrical considerations. Most of these linguistic conjectures are questionable (for criticisms on grammatical conjectures, see Sperber 1966: 49–104).

A well-known example of a contextual conjecture is in Amos 6:12 where, instead of MT *ʾim yaḥărôš babbĕqārîm* ("does one plow in the mornings" [?]), Michaelis in 1772 emended it to read *ʾim yeḥārēš bebāqār yām* ("does one plow the sea with oxen" [lit. "is the sea plowed by oxen"]). The MT is unintelligible without the conjecture (accepted by RSV), which makes perfect sense and creates better parallelism than the MT, even though it is not supported by a single manuscript.

Various editions (especially *BHK* and *BHS*) and commentaries include conjectures, and given the inherent subjectivity involved it is not surprising that these have generated much criticism.

**F. Textual and Literary Criticism**

The biblical books each developed to the stage at which they were considered finished literary products, and textual criticism concerns itself with charting developments from that point on. The reconstruction of all developments prior to that point is the concern of literary criticism. However, since some form of

written transmission must have occurred during the stage of the literary growth, sharp distinctions between the two cannot always be drawn. Much can be inferred from the way in which late biblical revisions were based on earlier texts; also the story in Jeremiah 36 suggests that *portions* of what would later be incorporated in a biblical book were written and circulated prior to the completion of the complete literary product we now possess.

Scholars have pointed out that some of these earlier (partial) formulations of the biblical books have been preserved in the textual witnesses. These remnants of earlier literary stages (preceding the one reflected in MT) are thus relevant to *literary* rather than to *textual* criticism since they pertain to the literary growth and not to the textual transmission of the book in question. Most of the evidence relates to data preserved in the LXX and in two of the Qumran scrolls, in both cases textual witnesses which because of their physical and/or religious remoteness from mainstream Judaism were used at a time when the MT prevailed elsewhere. The examples have been collected by Tov (1981b: 293–311). For example, the MT of Isa 38:21–22 witnesses to a later stage in the development of the story of Hezekiah's sickness, as is evident from 1QIs[a] and the parallel in 2 Kings 20, which attest to an earlier stage (see Zakovitch 1985). The LXX of Jeremiah and 4QJer[b] attest to an earlier editorial stage of the book, differing from the later edition (attested by MT) both in length and in sequence of verses and chapters (see Tov 1981a). The short text of the LXX of Josh 20:1–6 reflects an earlier and shorter stage of the law on the cities of refuge than the MT, which witnesses to a subsequent editorial stage wherein the law was reformulated with respect to Deuteronomy 19 (see Rofé 1983). Likewise, the much shorter text of the story of David and Goliath in the LXX reflects an earlier stage of that story than does the MT (see Lust and Tov in Barthélemy et al. 1986). According to Tov (1981b: 307–11), this sort of textual evidence should not be evaluated with the usual text-critical procedures.

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EMANUEL TOV

## *NEW TESTAMENT*

NT textual criticism is the study of the transmission of the NT texts from their presumed autographs through all of their ms representations. Though its primary objective is to reconstruct the original or earliest form of the text of the NT books, it is concerned also with intermediate and larger forms of the text and, indeed, with all aspects of textual transmission and its history, including localized or geographically limited forms of the text, and ideologically or theologically biased textual formulation. While NT textual criticism has its "scientific" or empirical and objective aspects, including statistical analyses and quantitative measures, it is also very much an "art," requiring subjective judgments and qualitative decisions based on expert knowledge of the general textual transmission process and on experience with textual variation and scribal habits in particular. NT textual criticism, then, is the science and art that assesses the transmission of the NT text and identifies its alterations and distortions.

Textual criticism is "lower criticism," the establishment of the text of a document as closely as possible to the autograph or the author's original writing. This is distinguished from "higher criticism," the assessment of a document's philological, historical, literary, cultural, and ideological characteristics, as well as its interpretation and meaning.

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A. Definitions
1. Textual Reading/Textual Variant
2. Variation Unit
B. Occasion and Necessity
1. The Basic Transmission Process
2. General Nature of the Manuscript Evidence
3. Scribal Alterations
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D. History of the NT Text and Critical Editions

E. Contemporary Theory in NT Textual Criticism

1. Text-Types
2. Canons/Criteria of Criticism
3. Basic Text-Critical Methods

F. Conclusion

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**A. Definitions**

**1. Textual Reading/Textual Variant.** The textual variant or, in more recent years, the variation unit (see below) provides the focal point for NT textual criticism. Yet not every textual "reading" that varies from any other reading in the same unit of text is a textual "variant." Only variant readings that are "significant" variants are considered "textual variants." Each of these terms requires careful definition (see Epp 1976b).

**a. Reading.** The term "reading" is the broadest and most general term, referring to any textual difference or any varying text formulation in a ms found by comparison with the same passage in any other ms. Any such textual divergence is always a "reading" before it is anything else. It may, in fact, remain a "reading" permanently or, depending on its nature, may be designated a "variant."

**b. Significant/insignificant Readings.** A reading is either a significant reading or an insignificant reading. "Significant" means meaningful or useful for the major tasks of NT textual criticism, including the determination of ms relationships, the location of a ms within the textual history of the NT, and the establishment of the most likely original text. Naturally, an "insignificant" reading is one that is inappropriate, inadequate, or inconclusive for these goals of textual criticism, though no reading can automatically, finally, or absolutely be described as insignificant. For example, readings not useful in establishing a ms's relationship to other mss may nonetheless aid in understanding its own nature and the characteristics of its scribe(s). Hence, the edition of any ms should display and analyze all of its readings prior to separating the significant ones from the insignificant. In addition, readings may become significant readings when new mss are discovered or upon the availability of collations of mss previously unexamined. This complicates the task of collecting and recording data and makes imperative, e.g., the *full* collation of every NT ms so that all of its readings can be examined as the need arises.

An *insignificant reading* may be classified in one of four ways and should not be called a "variant": (1) A *nonsense reading* is one that fails to make sense because it cannot be construed grammatically or because it lacks a recognizable meaning in some other way. Authors and scribes do not produce nonsense intentionally, so it is assumed (a) that nonsense readings resulted from errors in transmission; (b) that they, therefore, cannot represent either the original text or the intended text of any ms or alert scribe; and (c) that they do not aid in the process of determining ms relationships.

(2) A *clearly demonstrable scribal error* (other than a nonsense reading) is a reading that can be construed grammatically and makes sense but can be demonstrated with reasonable certainty to be a scribal error. Unintentional scribal errors are described below, but notable are certain instances of haplography and dittography; harmonization with similar contexts; errors of hearing that produce a similar-sounding word; and metathesis. Naturally, it is difficult to determine in many cases whether a variant is a "clearly demonstrable" error or an intended reading, and any reading that makes sense should not lightly be placed in the "insignificant" category. Yet, in the case of many readings a reasonable argument can be made that the result has arisen, for example, from harmonization or from haplography due to homoeoteleuton—a common error both in antiquity and in our own everyday experience that eliminates several letters or words or a lengthy passage as the eye jumps from a certain word ending or line ending to a similar ending farther along in the ms.

(3) With one notable exception, mere *orthographic differences* between readings render those readings insignificant for text-critical purposes. The most common orthographic differences involve itacisms (the

accidental confusion of seven vowels or diphthongs which had a similar pronunciation) and the *nu*-movable (presence/absence of the letter *nu* at the end of certain Greek forms), as well as varying formulations of abbreviations. None of these phenomena contributes decisively to the establishment of ms relationships, and "correct" spelling is not a material issue in reconstructing the original text as long as no ambiguity in meaning attends the alternative spelling formulations. The exception to the insignificance of orthographic changes comes in the spelling of proper names; these need to be retained in the critical apparatus among the "significant" data for textual criticism because some classic text-critical and historical problems turn on the forms of names for persons or places.

(4) Finally, a *singular reading*—a reading found in one NT ms but in no other as far as our knowledge extends—is not genetically or genealogically significant, nor are original readings to be expected among them, so they are considered insignificant. Singular readings, however, are useful in assessing the nature and characteristics of an individual ms and its scribal habits, so they need to be identified and preserved for those purposes—and also in the event that new ms evidence renders such a reading no longer singular! Singular readings fall into two groups: those that produce sense and those that do not. Nonsense singular readings are treated as nonsense readings in general, for they contribute virtually nothing to text-critical study except perhaps to convey some general impressions as to the carefulness/carelessness of a particular scribe. Singular readings that make sense—whether they present an alternative historical, descriptive, ideological, theological, or editorial perspective, or involve orthographic differences, harmonizations, or scribal corrections—do not contribute to the major tasks of textual criticism and are therefore "insignificant" readings, though—again—they may aid in understanding a particular ms in terms of the habits of its scribe and in terms of any stylistic or ideological distinctives of that ms.

A nagging question regarding singular readings is whether a similar reading in a versional ms or patristic quotation nullifies the singular status of such a reading in a Greek ms, for currently a singular reading is defined as a singular textual divergence within the Greek ms tradition, but perhaps a singular reading should be so designated only if truly unique—that is, without support in the entire (known) NT textual tradition. As an example, numerous readings found in the Greek ms tradition only in Codex Bezae do find support in early versions or patristic sources. Readings so supported can assist in establishing textual groups and in seeking the original text.

**c. Textual Variant.** The term "variant" (or "textual variant") is reserved for those readings that are "significant" or meaningful in the major tasks of NT textual criticism, as specified above: determining ms relationships, locating mss within NT textual history and transmission, and in establishing the original or earliest possible NT text. Stated negatively, a "variant" is a reading that is not a nonsense reading, not a demonstrable scribal error, not a mere orthographic difference, and not a singular reading. Stated positively, a variant is a significant reading by virtue of its fitness for genetic and genealogical tracking and by virtue of its appropriateness as a possibly original reading. Thus, not all "readings" are "variants," though all "significant readings" are "variants" because of their intrinsic value for pursuing the most important goals of the discipline. The only reservation or ambiguity in these definitions (as already noted) is that "insignificant" readings can be of value (and therefore significant!) in assessing a particular ms's own textual, stylistic, or ideological characteristics and the habits of its scribe or scribes.

A first step in the text-critical process, then, is to distill from the mass of readings those that are genuine variants, for this distillate will form the body of data from which judgments can be made both about the history of the NT text and about the most likely original NT text.

**2. Variation Unit.** A reading and a variant by definition exist only over against another and divergent reading; therefore, a variant to be a variant must be a member of a variation unit, which constitutes the indispensable basis of comparison in textual criticism. A "variation unit" is that determinate quantity or segment of text, constituting a normal and proper grammatical combination, where our mss present at least two variant readings and where (after insignificant readings have been excluded) each of these variant readings has the support of at least two mss. Utilizing the technical definition of "variant" above, a variation unit can be defined more succinctly as that segment of text, constituting a normal and proper grammatical combination, where our mss present at least two "variants." In every case where a variation

unit is being delineated, however, the shortest or smallest possible grammatical unit should be selected, that is, the shortest grammatically related segment of text that encompasses all the variants from across the ms tradition that present themselves at that point. Text-critical practitioners quickly discover the utility of establishing variation units, for they permit the data to be displayed in a convenient fashion. But more importantly they allow for more precision and accuracy in analyzing the genuine variants in any given segment of text, for they encompass all variations *in a coherent unit of text* that are relevant to textual decisions, rather than treating individual words in isolation from their most immediate context. It will be apparent that the use of variation units also has the advantage of reducing the number of variants, for in many cases the proper variation unit is not a word, but often two or more words, or a phrase, or even entire sentences and occasionally paragraphs (as mss of the so-called Western text illustrate).

(In practice some readings are included in an apparatus that normally would be excluded by these definitions of "variant" and "variation unit." Examples would be readings in versions that differ somewhat from the Greek variants but support most or major elements of the text displayed in the variation unit, or "noteworthy" readings, that is, interesting or striking readings of mss, versions, or fathers that technically are singular readings or even nonsense readings or represent mere orthographic changes. These are included when, in the admittedly subjective judgment of an editor, they inform the text-critical process in some potentially significant fashion.)

A second step in the text-critical process, then, is the isolation of variation units in the NT text to facilitate the evaluation of the data relevant to the major text-critical tasks.

**B. Occasion and Necessity**

**1. The Basic Transmission Process.** The discipline of textual criticism is necessitated by the nature of the process by which the NT text has been transmitted to us—through mss, that is, through copies of copies of copies made by hand down through the years. Since—like virtually all ancient literature—no autographs are extant for the NT, its most likely original text must be reconstructed from these imperfect, often widely divergent, later copies. To understand this complex transmission process requires knowledge of ancient writing materials, of paleography, of scribes and scribal habits, of scribal errors and transcriptional probabilities, of scriptoria and their procedures, and of the availability and mobility of literary texts in the early Christian world. In a broader context, it also requires knowledge of the nature, development, and spread of early Christianity, including details of the relevant geographical areas, the cultural and ecclesiastical milieu of Christianity in those various areas, and the theological and personal influences that shaped Christian faith. For the earliest times and even for some later periods, our understanding of the NT text is inhibited by a lack of detailed knowledge; just as often, perhaps, the neglect of data provided by Church history has prevented advances in the discipline. (Birdsall is an example of the proper historical approach.)

Within this context, what NT textual materials have come down to us? As early as 1707, John Mill claimed that the (relatively few) NT mss examined by him contained about 30,000 variant readings (Vincent 1903: 6); 200 years later B. B. Warfield (1907: 13) indicated that some 180,000 or 200,000 various readings had been "counted" in the then existing NT mss, and in more recent times M. M. Parvis reported that examination of only 150 Greek mss of Luke revealed about 30,000 readings there alone, and he suggested that the actual quantity of variant readings among all NT manuscripts was likely to be much higher than the 150,000 to 250,000 that had been estimated in modern times (Parvis *IDB* 4: 594–95). Perhaps 300,000 differing readings is a fair figure for the 20th century (K. W. Clark 1962: 669). The textual critic must devise methods by which to sort through these myriad readings and to analyze the many mss that contain them.

It is not difficult to imagine how the NT writings were employed in the early decades of Christianity and how they were circulated in that initial period and in the succeeding decades. For instance, an apostolic letter or a portion of a gospel would be read in a worship service; visiting Christians now and again would make or secure copies to take to their own congregations, or the church possessing it might send a copy to another congregation at its own initiative or even at the request of the writer (cf. Col 4:16); and quite rapidly numerous early Christian writings—predominantly those that eventually formed the

NT—were to be found in church after church throughout the Roman world. Naturally, the quality of each copy depended very much on the circumstances of its production; some copies must have been made in a rather casual manner under far less than ideal scribal conditions, while others, presumably, were made with a measure of ecclesiastical sanction and official solicitude, especially as time passed. Great Church centers, such as Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Rome, Lyon, and Carthage, must have issued copies of the Scriptures, or parts thereof, for their constituent churches, and when the Christian Church gained the official favor of the Roman Empire under Constantine, the emperor himself commissioned 50 copies of the Scripture "on fine parchment … by professional scribes" for new churches in Constantinople (Eusebius, *Vita C.* 4.36). This occurred about A.D. 331, some 280 years after Paul penned the first of his letters and about 260 years after the first gospel, Mark, was written. Codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, the two oldest parchment manuscripts of the NT (except for fragments), are elegant copies of the kind that Constantine must have had in mind, and they come from precisely this period—the mid–4th century.

As the study of papyri in Egypt demonstrates with considerable specificity, the Roman Empire facilitated the fairly swift and widespread movement of letters and literature, and there is no reason why Christian writings would not have enjoyed the same mobility. This is evidenced, e.g., by the fact that early NT papyri contain at least remnants of all the major kinds of texts identified as existing in the first centuries of Christianity, and yet there is no compelling reason to think that all of these kinds of texts originated in Egypt; rather, many texts now survive in early Egyptian papyri that were brought there from other areas of the Christian world (Epp 1989c).

Our four gospels gradually emerged as the Church's choice from among a larger group of gospel writings; this occurred through a process only vaguely understood but culminating sometime between A.D. 150 and 180. These four gospels most often circulated in a single codex, though sometimes with the addition of Acts or other portions of the NT. The Pauline letters also frequently circulated together, though sometimes with Acts and/or the General Epistles, and the Acts and the General Epistles are another common combination. Actually, almost every conceivable grouping of NT writings is to be found among extant mss, including about 60 codices containing the entire NT (Aland and Aland 1987: 78–79). As these mss circulated and were used and reused in churches, they were copied and recopied, and the survivors among them have left to us a legacy rapidly approaching some 5,400 Greek mss, plus thousands of versional mss and patristic quotations. These constitute the data for NT textual criticism, from which the history of the NT text must be deduced and the most likely original text reconstructed.

**2. General Nature of the Manuscript Evidence.** The need for textual criticism exists, of course, whether there are 5,000 or only 5 mss. The extant mss for many classical authors reach only into the hundreds (e.g., fewer than 700 for Homer's *Iliad*) and can be as few as several mss or even one (as for books 1–6 of the Latin *Annals* of Tacitus). This comparative paucity of mss, on the average, for classical authors has occasioned a correspondingly frequent use of conjectural emendation in the construction of critical editions of classical texts. In the case of the NT, however, the thousands of mss and the hundreds of thousands of readings present a genuine embarrassment of riches, and NT textual critics have only rarely employed emendations, preferring rather to assume that the original reading in virtually every case is somewhere present in this vast store of material. The difficult questions, of course, are, where have they been preserved and how do we locate them among so many witnesses?

But it is not only in quantity of mss that NT textual criticism excels in riches; their quality also exceeds those in other areas of ancient literature. For one thing, the interval between author and earliest extant mss for most classical writings is customarily hundreds—sometimes many hundreds—of years, and an interval of 1,000 years is not uncommon. For example, the single ms of Tacitus referred to earlier (of a work written about A.D. 115) dates from the 9th century, and most of the mss of Euripides (ca. 485–406 B.C.) come from the Byzantine period. The majority of the NT mss are also of late date, but the distinctive differences are that so many others are early and that the interval between the time that the NT books were written and their earliest ms representation is only a century or so. In one striking instance, a papyrus fragment of John ($P^{52}$) may date as early as 25 years after the gospel's composition, and several other mss with extensive portions of text are dated to around A.D. 200—for books written between A.D. 55 and 90.

Even the two elegant codices mentioned earlier, Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, were produced around 350. So both the quantity and quality of ms sources place the NT text in a category virtually by itself.

Riches such as these constitute both the complex problem that the NT text presents—for the materials are so vast and variegated—and at the same time the rare opportunity and exciting challenge facing the discipline—the advantage of a depth and breadth of material unavailable for similar bodies of ancient writings. NT textual critics, by and large, are confident that the original reading in virtually every case is preserved among the array of some 300,000 variant readings. Yet both the preservation and the discovery of NT mss are random events, and while this randomness of history has been particularly generous to NT studies, it has not furnished scholars with a systematic presentation of textual evidence, nor does it offer a complete or even necessarily representative array of ms material for each or any writing or for the various geographic areas of early Christianity. Textual criticism, however, must utilize the materials it has and devise methods that will assess them appropriately. That challenge has a history reaching back almost as far as our earliest extant mss themselves—when rudimentary methods emerged—and it remains in some measure unresolved even today.

**3. Scribal Alterations.** Textual criticism has been occasioned by the divergent nature of the texts in our ms remains, and it is necessitated by the quantity of ms evidence. But necessity also arises from scribal errors and alterations in the transmission process. Among our earliest extensive mss, some show signs of being copied with workmanlike care (e.g., $P^{75}$, $P^{45}$), while others appear to have been copied by rather careless scribes (e.g., $P^{66}$). Scribal habits, including errors and alterations, need to be analyzed carefully. Commonly they are divided into two categories: unintentional and intentional alterations. (Examples can be found in standard handbooks, e.g., Scrivener 1894: 1.7–17; Nestle 1901: 234–39; Warfield 1907: 93–107; Robertson 1925: 150–60; Vogels 1955: 162–82; Greenlee 1964: 63–68; Metzger 1968: 186–206; Vaganay 1986: 87–98.)

**a. Unintentional Scribal Errors.** Accidental alterations are often characterized as errors of the eye, of the ear, or of memory and (unthinking) judgment. First, those involving oversight include (1) confusion of letters that have similar appearance (uncial *alpha, delta,* and *lamda* look alike, as do *epsilon* and *sigma, omicron* and *theta, eta* and *nu, pi* and *gamma-iota* or *tau-iota/iota-tau,* etc.); (2) mistaken division of words (since uncial letters were run together in mss, without word division or punctuation); (3) misreading of abbreviations or contractions; (4) metathesis, or interchanging the order of letters or words; (5) mistaking a less familiar word for one more familiar to the scribe; (6) haplography ("single/simple writing"), the omission of one word when it occurred twice, or of two or several words (even a sentence or more—cf. Luke 14:27) that are dropped as the scribe's eye jumps from one group of letters to a similar group of letters farther down the leaf, thereby resulting in the failure to copy what lies between the two words that have a similar ending (homoeoteleuton); (7) dittography ("double writing"), repetition of a letter, word, or passage because the scribe's eye went back to what had already been copied; and (8) simple misspellings due to carelessness and failure to notice the error.

It has been a long-standing convention in textual criticism that scribes tend to lengthen the text they copy rather than shorten it (except when haplography has clearly resulted from homoeoteleuton); hence, the common acceptance of the rule, "the shorter reading is to be preferred" (see below). Recent study of scribal habits as revealed in the early NT papyri, notably by E. C. Colwell, has, however, cast some doubt on this principle (Royse 1979: 143, 150–55).

Abbreviations also require an added comment. They were frequent for divine names, for other terms, and at the ends of lines. Sometimes they were mistaken for ordinary words (or vice versa), permitting varying ways of reading the text. A special class of abbreviations, apparently created by Christians within the first two generations, concerned divine names and sacred terms and was employed in a rigidly consistent fashion. These abbreviations appropriately are called *nomina sacra* and, whether by design or not, they differentiated Christian books from both Jewish and secular books. They may have been theologically motivated, for the most prominent among them would represent—in an almost creedlike fashion—the common beliefs of all Christians. These "sacred names" were God, Lord, Jesus, Christ, Son, Father, Spirit, cross, savior, man *(anthropos),* mother, heaven, David, Israel, and Jerusalem. (On the

whole matter, see Roberts and Skeat 1983: 57–61; Roberts 1979: 46–47.) The abbreviations (really contractions) used for each were formed from two or three letters or two syllables in the word, with a horizontal line drawn above the resulting contraction. At 1 Tim 3:16, e.g., the likely original *hos* (*omicron-sigma,* "he who") may have been misunderstood as the abbreviation for "God," which was written *theta-sigma* and would look very much like the relative pronoun *omicron-sigma.*

Second, unintentional errors of the ear, occurring when scribes produced copies from dictation, include (1) itacism (relating to the vowel *iota,* though itacism involves other vowels as well), which is an interchange of various vowels and diphthongs that were similarly pronounced (such as *ai* and *e; ou* and *y; o, ō,* and *ō̧;* i, y, ē, ę̄, ei, oi, and *ui*), and the *nu*-movable (presence/absence of the letter *nu* at the end of certain Greek forms); (2) interchange of certain similar-sounding consonants or combinations of letters (as in Matt 2:6: *ek sou* for *eks hou*), or of single consonants for double, or vice versa; and (3) failure to emphasize or hear a rough breathing mark.

Finally, unintentional errors resulting from a momentary lapse of memory include (1) the use of a synonym for the word in the exemplar (when the scribe remembers the meaning but not the exact word); (2) a change of word order; (3) an unconscious assimilation to the similar wording of another biblical passage or liturgical formulation that is better remembered than the wording the scribe has just seen in the exemplar (though this assimilation could as well be intentional harmonization [see below]); and (4) unconscious harmonization with a word, phrase, or grammatical formulation in the immediate context of the passage then being copied. In addition, errors due to poor judgment may be included here, though—like certain cases of harmonization—some may deem them intentional. The most common one involves material placed in the margins by earlier scribes or by readers of the ms being copied. These marginal notations could be corrections to the text, glosses (interpretations of or comments on the text), or even material not directly related to the text. The error of unthinking judgment comes when a scribe incorporates one or more of these marginal notes from the exemplar into the text of the ms being produced.

**b. Intentional Scribal Alterations.** Changes made intentionally by scribes as they copied texts were motivated, in virtually all cases, by a desire to improve the text or to correct it in accordance with what they believed to be its true reading. Purposefully destructive change, at least as perceived by the scribe, is unknown. Moreover, it is customary to say that a slavish scribe—and better still, one of only modest intelligence—is to be preferred to one who thinks for himself. It is the thinking scribe who is more likely to make intentional alterations in the text, inevitably in good faith and out of worthy motivations, including occasional changes made to introduce or promote a viewpoint not in the text being copied. As a class, intentional alterations are far fewer than accidental ones, yet they can exercise far more influence in the transmission process.

The categories of intentional scribal changes include (1) alterations in grammar, spelling, and style, including the spelling of proper names; (2) intentional harmonizations to bring the passage being copied into conformity with one similar or parallel (such as a parallel in the Synoptic Gospels), or with an OT quotation (sometimes expanding it to include more of the source or conforming it to the LXX), or with a liturgical passage in the Church lectionaries, or even to bring a passage into conformity with a translation known to the scribe or found in a bilingual ms; (3) clarification of perceived geographical or historical discrepancies, such as references to time or place, or to authors of OT quotations; (4) conflation of varying readings present in two or more mss accessible to the scribe, yielding a full text; (5) addition of logically appropriate material, such as expanding "Jesus" or "Lord" to "the Lord Jesus Christ"; and (6) theological or ideological alterations, usually involving minor changes in the interest of the Virgin Birth, the omniscience of Jesus, the trinity, or asceticism, to mention a few examples, as well as extensive additions of material, as found, e.g., in mss of the so-called Western text.

**C. Major Source Materials for the NT Text**

The NT text has been preserved in Greek mss; in numerous ancient (and, of course, modern) translations or versions; in liturgical documents, primarily lectionaries, surviving in Greek and other

languages; and in NT quotations by Church Fathers in various languages. All of these become sources for readings and for textual variants in the process of restoring the NT text.

**1. Greek Manuscripts.** Greek mss of the NT, now numbering more than 5,300, customarily have been characterized in three differing ways: (1) by the material upon which they are written (papyrus, parchment, or paper); (2) by their calligraphic type (uncial or minuscule handwriting); and (3) by the function of the document containing the text (continuous-text ms, lectionary, or patristic quotation). The traditional way of listing them, however, cuts across these categories (utilizing one or two from each!) and follows the scheme of papyri, uncials, minuscules, lectionaries, and patristic quotations.

**a. Writing Materials and Calligraphy.** The NT was first written on papyrus—undoubtedly both the autographs and the earliest copies—as are the oldest extant NT mss, virtually all of which consist of or have come from mss in codex form. Papyrus was used as a writing material as early as 3000 B.C. and was still manufactured in Egypt as late as the 11th century A.D.; Greek writing on papyrus goes back to the 4th century B.C. and extends to the 8th century A.D.

As is well known, the freshly cut lower stems of papyrus plants were peeled off in long strips, were placed side by side, slightly overlapping, and then covered by another set of strips laid crosswise, and finally were struck with several blows from a broad mallet or a flat stone to fuse the two layers together into a sheet, which—when dried and polished with pumice—produced a strong, flexible, light-colored, and durable writing material. Contrary to popular opinion of long standing, papyrus was not a particularly fragile substance that was far inferior in durability to parchment. Papyrus does become brittle and subject to instant disintegration, however, when it has been repeatedly wet and dry. It survives, therefore, only when protected from moisture in buildings, caves, jars, or even in the soil of the virtually rain-free areas of Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, provided that the papyrus was neither too near the surface nor so deeply buried as to be affected by a rising water table. It has also been assumed that papyrus was expensive, but the fact that vast quantities were used, often with wide margins and large unwritten spaces, and that reuse (though quite feasible) was infrequent, indicates that at times, at least, papyrus as a writing material was quite inexpensive (evidence summarized in Epp 1989b).

For Greek literary works, papyrus sheets were glued together to form a roll or scroll; in Christian circles, papyrus sheets were turned into a codex, that is, into our form of the book, constructed of folded sheets bound at one edge. For reasons still not entirely clear, all of the Christian mss that survive from the 2d century (six OT texts made for Christian use and five NT texts) are on papyrus and are in codex form, which has led to the theory that Christians invented the codex and that the earliest codices were made of papyrus, or—if Christians did not invent the codex—that they immediately adopted it as the only suitable form for their writings (Roberts and Skeat 1983: 40–42).

Papyrus mss, in codex form, were used by Christians from the earliest times into the 8th century. They constitute only 3% of NT continuous-text mss and less than 2% of all NT mss, though, of course, far less than that in the amount of extant Greek NT text, since most of the papyri are highly fragmentary. Qualitatively, however, they enjoy an importance inversely proportionate to the small amount of text they presently preserve.

Meanwhile, around the turn of the 2d/3d century (A.D. 200), NT mss began to be copied on parchment or vellum. Though the terms are now used as synonyms, vellum technically is calfskin prepared as a writing material, while parchment technically is writing material processed from other animal skins. Among all the sources for parchment, skins of sheep and goats were preferred. Preparation of skins for use as writing material (i.e., leather, which was tanned) may reach as far back as 2500 B.C., but the invention and extensive manufacture of parchment is associated by tradition with the city of Pergamum in the 2d century B.C., and the term "parchment" is related etymologically to "Pergamum."

In these Hellenistic times, skins were soaked (with little or no tanning agents) for cleaning and removal of hair and, while wet, were stretched, and then were allowed to dry, a process in which the adhesive pelt fluid dried to give the material a firm consistency and to set the fibers in the stretched condition: "Having become trapped in their own adhesive the fibres cannot revert to their former relaxed state and the result is a highly stressed sheet which is smooth, strong, relatively inelastic, light in colour, yet opaque" (Reed

1975: 44). Leathers were not stretched; parchment was, and the extremely durable material that resulted took inks and colors well and could be written on both sides. The stability of parchment also permitted its reuse, after scraping and washing the existing writing off the surface; such a ms is called a *palimpsest* (i.e., "scraped again"). Some 50 NT mss prior to the 11th century are palimpsests, among which the most famous is Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus (C), whose NT text dates to the 5th century. It was first deciphered by C. Tischendorf through application of a (destructive) chemical reagent, but today it and other palimpsests can be read by use of ultraviolet photography, which recently has been further aided by computer enhancement techniques.

Parchment codices were standard for copies of the NT text until the very late Middle Ages when paper finally replaced parchment (14th–15th centuries) and when printing replaced hand copying (15th century). Roughly 75% of all Greek NT mss are on parchment (ca. 4,000, including some 2,400 continuous-text mss and some 1,600 lectionaries). Paper mss, therefore, are more common than might be supposed, numbering roughly 1,200 (somewhat evenly divided between the minuscules and lectionaries) and ranging in date from the 12th to the 19th centuries, with most originating in the latter part of this period.

As for *calligraphy,* until the 9th century Greek ms of the NT (both papyrus and parchment) were written exclusively in uncial script (using large-sized, unconnected capital letters), and uncials continued to be employed in the following century. Minuscule script (using lowercase, cursive or "running"—connected—letters) was used from the 9th centupy on. The earliest dated NT minuscule (no. 461) was copied in 835. Minuscule script, as its name implies, was smaller, requiring less space, and its connected style permitted more rapid writing. Minuscules, therefore, were easier and quicker to produce and less expensive than uncials, and the legacy of NT textual materials is likely to be larger than might have been the case had the uncial hand persisted. About 12% of NT mss are in uncial script (some 650) and 88% in minuscule (some 4,650). NT uncial mss are found on papyrus and parchment, minuscules on parchment and paper.

**b. Function and Form of NT Mss.** NT mss assumed certain forms in accordance with their functions. The predominant form in which the NT text has been preserved is the *continuous-text ms,* i.e., a ms recording the text of at least one NT book (even if no longer fully preserved) in a continuous fashion without additional context (though occasionally an interlinear or separate commentary to the text may be part of the ms). These mss may be written on papyrus, parchment, or paper and may be either in uncial or minuscule hand. Continuous-text NT mss number about 3,125, including about 94 different papyri in uncial script, about 270 different uncial mss on parchment, and around 2,750 minuscules on parchment or paper (of which more than 2,100 are on parchment).

A second form is the *lectionary.* Lectionaries are mss containing portions of biblical text for reading in church services. NT "lessons" from the Gospels and Epistles are arranged not in the order of the NT canon, but in accordance either with the Church year (called the synaxarion), which runs from Easter to the next Easter and which contains readings for specified Saturdays, Sundays, and weekdays of the ecclesiastical year, or with the calendar year (called the menologion), which begins with September 1 and contains readings for feast days, saints' days, and other days of the Church year and for special Church occasions. Lections vary in length from a few verses to a few chapters, with a customary length of about ten verses. Since these segments of text have been extracted (originally) from the NT writings, that is, from continuous-text mss, an introductory formula (called an *incipit*) often had to be added to accommodate the text to liturgical usage, including such standardized phrases as "The Lord said …," "At that time …," or "In those days …" At times minor changes had to be made in the text itself, such as altering a pronoun (e.g., "he") to a noun (e.g., "Jesus"), to insure a meaningfully independent and self-explanatory portion of text (Colwell and Riddle 1933: 1–5; Metzger 1972: 479–84).

By their very nature, these liturgical texts are likely to have been transmitted rather carefully and preserved with a considerable measure of conservatism. They are likely, however, to have been copied almost exclusively from exemplar lectionaries, rather than scribes freshly extracting the relevant portions from continuous-text mss—that would be too tedious. This conservatism in the copying process suggests that Greek lectionaries, which range in date from a few 4th-, 5th-, and 6th-century uncial fragments to

paper mss of the 18th century and later, are certainly more important than these relatively late dates suggest, for—more so than other mss—they are likely to preserve texts substantially earlier than their own dates. Yet this is a relative statement, for the origin of the Greek lectionary system is debated, with suggestions ranging from the 4th century to much later—perhaps the 7th or 8th century (Aland and Aland 1987: 163–66; Metzger 1972: 495–96). Basically, and overwhelmingly, the lectionaries carry a Byzantine text (see below), and they have significance for studying the development of the NT text, but little importance in establishing the original text. Their role in the latter is chiefly to aid in identifying readings introduced into continuous-text mss from the lectionary system, especially the *incipit*, which monks who are scribes would be prone—out of familiarity with lections—to transfer from their memories to the texts they are copying (Metzger 1972: 495; Aland and Aland 1987: 166).

NT lectionary mss in Greek number around 2,200, of which nearly 90% (more than 1,900) are minuscules and the rest uncials (about 270). Two uncial lectionaries date as early as the 4th and 5th centuries, about seven more in the 6th and 7th, with large numbers originating in the 9th and 10th, and with vast numbers of minuscule lectionaries stemming from the 11th and 12th centuries and thereafter (Aland and Aland 1987: 81). Over all, 75% are on parchment, with the rest on paper (dating from the 12th century on), and the majority of lectionaries consist of gospel readings. Needless to say, lectionaries occur also in other languages, but they are classified with the appropriate versional mss.

**c. Aids to Readers of Manuscripts.** Ancient mss, including those of the NT, contained relatively few helps for the reader. Words and sentences usually were not separated from one another, occasionally leading the reader to divide words in alternate ways with differing meanings; virtually no punctuation occurred until the 6th or 7th centuries (see examples in Scrivener 1894: 48–49); similarly, breathing marks and accents are rare prior to the 7th century, though after this time they occasionally were added by a later hand to earlier mss (as, e.g., in Vaticanus; see other examples ibid.: 45–48); and only rudimentary and differing systems of chapter division were employed. Already Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and Alexandrinus, e.g., had marginal capitular systems, though they were not the same ones.

To assist in locating parallel passages in the gospels, Eusebius (ca. 263–339) devised a system of ten "canons" or tables (known as the Eusebian Canons) that divided the gospel material into sections and identified those that were found in all four gospels (canon I), those in each combination of three gospels (canons II–IV); those in each combination of two gospels (canons V–IX), and finally those sections in only one of the gospels (canon X). Thus, all the possible combinations were exhausted. Each section in each gospel was then numbered consecutively, and these section numbers, along with their appropriate canons, were placed—in colored ink—in the margin of a ms. The reader, by looking up the section number in the designated canon, could find the numbers of any parallel sections in other gospels (the canons are reproduced in Nestle-Aland$^{26}$: 73*–78*; cf. Metzger 1968: 24–25).

**d. Traditional Classifications of Greek NT Manuscripts.** Greek NT mss customarily are placed into one of four groups, *papyri, uncials, minuscules,* or *lectionaries,* to which is added a fifth class, *patristic quotations.* Of course, patristic quotations, as used in textual criticism, are not directly mss, for they must be quoted from critical editions; yet there is no reason to depart from the usual classifications.

A system of symbols had to be developed for easy reference to the various mss, for it was too cumbersome to refer constantly to Codex Alexandrinus or Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus or Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis, especially in a critical apparatus. J. J. Wettstein, in his critical edition (1751–52), developed the first such system of ms designations when he used capital letters for uncials and small letters for minuscules. He started the alphabet afresh for each segment of the ms tradition, that is, assigning letters A, B, C, etc. to the uncial gospel mss, then A, B, C, etc. again to mss of the Acts, then to those of Paul, and finally to those of the Apocalypse; then in similar fashion assigning lowercase letters to each group of minuscules.

Late in the 19th century this system was expanded and refined by C. R. Gregory, and the numbers he assigned in his 1908 list constitute the basis for the system still in use today. Naturally, the Latin alphabet was not adequate as more mss were discovered, so the Greek alphabet was also used and—for a while—a few letters of the Hebrew alphabet (of which only *alep* remains in common use, for Sinaiticus). These

additional symbols were also inadequate, however, and the present system (referred to as Gregory numbers) employs Arabic numbers for all ms groups, though in differing ways. Numbers of papyri are preceded by P, as in $P^{75}$, those assigned to uncials by a zero, as in 0171, but the familiar capital letters earlier assigned to many uncials remain in common use (such as A, B, C, D, W), though each of these also has a number (e.g., A = 02, B = 03, C = 04; D of the gospels and Acts = 05; D of Paul = 06). Minuscules are designated simply by successive numbers (such as 1, 69, 1739), and lectionaries are consecutively numbered but preceded by a cursive letter *l* (°).

Others attempted to assign symbols that would be more rigidly consistent as well as more descriptive of the mss involved. The most elaborate such effort was that of H. von Soden (1911–13), who divided all witnesses into three groups, using the Greek letter *delta* for manuscripts preserving the entire NT (including those lacking the Apocalypse), *epsilon* for mss of the gospels, and *alpha* for those of the Acts and Epistles. Then an Arabic number was assigned to each in such a way that it indicated the ms's date—1 to 49 for a *delta* ms through the 9th century, etc. Thus, each ms designation would convey both its content and its age. For example, *delta* 1 would indicate a ms of the whole NT dating in the first nine centuries; but this happens to be Vaticanus, and the age indication is much too broad to be useful, for it is of highest importance to know that Vaticanus dates in the mid-4th century rather than merely somewhere before the 10th. Von Soden's system is much more complicated than these few remarks suggest, and something of its complexity can be gauged from the fact that several concordances of ms references, or "keys," were produced to permit translation of von Soden's symbols into those of Gregory, and vice versa (the latest occupies 38 pages in Aland 1963: 334–71). In addition, von Soden's system was neither sufficiently precise (in terms of mss of early date) nor sufficiently flexible to accommodate the many additional mss that came to light after 1913. Accordingly, it has fallen into disuse, though it must be understood so that text-critical discussions by scholars who employed it can in turn be understood.

What follows is necessarily a summary of some of the most important witnesses to the Greek NT text. The standard handbooks provide similar summaries for their times, and catalogs of mss provide the appropriate detail for this primary material. In the final analysis, of course, the original publication of a particular ms inevitably provides the fullest array of data and analysis. The latest full list of the papyri and uncials, as well as a select list of about 150 minuscules and a list of Greek Church Fathers, with brief descriptions, can be found in Aland and Aland 1987: 96–155 (cf. Aland 1963, with update, 1969; also 1976, a descriptive catalog of NT papyri). More convenient for most will be the list of mss in *UBSGNT*$^{3}$ (905–7), supplemented in *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (= Metzger 1971: 771–75), but especially that in Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ (684–711), which provides a handy chapter-and-verse indication of the exact contents of each papyrus and uncial, or—in the case of very extensive manuscripts—their lacunae. Lacunae are also noted for minuscules cited individually in Nestle-Aland, but not for the vast number cited under the symbol "M" (= Majority text). Notable among other handbooks with brief descriptions of selected mss are Metzger 1968: 36–67; Vogels 1955: 7–73; Lagrange 1935: 41–181, 389–420, 465–87, 529–38, 579–97; Kenyon 1912: 41–144; 1949: 66–110; Gregory 1907: 299–393; Nestle 1901: 28–93; Scrivener 1894: 1.90–377. For more extensive treatments of mss known at the time, see Gregory 1908; 1909; von Soden 1911–13: 1.102–248; for mss in America, K. W. Clark 1937.

*(1) Papyri.* Presently 96 NT papyri have been identified, though two of these are portions of others ($P^{33}$ = $P^{58}$; $P^{64}$ = $P^{67}$), leaving a total of 94 different papyri. They range in date from the 2d century to the 8th, and all but four are from codices (the four, $P^{12}$, $P^{13}$, $P^{18}$, $P^{22}$, are from scrolls, though all are exceptional in that they are either written on both sides or are on reused papyrus [Aland and Aland 1987: 102]). These 94 papyri range in extent of coverage from tiny fragments (like $P^{52}$ of John) to extensive portions (in papyri like $P^{66}$, $P^{75}$, and $P^{72}$).

The first NT papyrus came to light in 1868, when C. Tischendorf published a fragment containing 62 verses of 1 Corinthians (now designated $P^{11}$); but the first major flow of NT papyri came from the Oxyrhynchus excavations in 1897ff. by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, which eventually produced 28. More remarkable is the fact that 20 of these (plus one uncial fragment found there, 0162) date to the turn

of the 3d /4th century or earlier. By 1930, 42 papyri had been published, though all were highly fragmentary.

A significant change came when the Chester Beatty papyri were made available in 1930–31, for the three most prominent ($P^{45}$, $P^{46}$, $P^{47}$) were the first NT papyri to preserve extensive portions of text. Equally important—if not more so—were the early dates of these three mss: $P^{46}$ from about A.D. 200 and $P^{45}$ and $P^{47}$ from the 3d century.

$P^{45}$ contains 30 leaves of an original codex containing the four gospels and Acts in perhaps 220 leaves. Now surviving are 61 verses of Matthew (20:24–30; 21:13–19; 25:41–26:39); about 6 chapters of Mark (4:36–9:31; 11:27–12:28); more than 5 chapters of Luke (6:31–7:7; 9:26–14:33); most of John 10 and 11; and 13 chapters of Acts (4:27–17:17).

$P^{46}$ contains 86 leaves of an original 104, which held 10 epistles of Paul (but apparently not the Pastorals), plus Hebrews, though the usual order of Galatians and Ephesians has been reversed and Hebrews stands between Romans and 1 Corinthians. Extant are eight chapters of Romans; all of Hebrews; virtually all of 1–2 Corinthians; all of Ephesians, Galatians, Philippians, Colossians; and two chapters of 1 Thessalonians (but none of 2 Thessalonians)—all leaves suffering some loss of lines at the bottom.

$P^{47}$ preserves 10 leaves of an estimated 32 originally, and it held the Apocalypse, of which 8 middle chapters are extant (9:10–17:2).

Important as these discoveries were, more significant ones were to follow, when around 1955–56 four codices came into the possession of M. M. Bodmer of Geneva, the priceless $P^{66}$, $P^{72}$, and $P^{75}$, and the 7th-century $P^{74}$, as well as a fifth containing three verses of Matthew ($P^{73}$). Three of these codices are of very early date: $P^{66}$ (like $P^{46}$) from about A.D. 200, and $P^{72}$ and $P^{75}$ from the 3d century; moreover, as noted earlier, they preserve extensive portions of text.

$P^{66}$ has 104 pages of John's gospel (1:1–6:11; 6:35–14:15), plus fragments of 46 other pages (14:26–21:9, with lacunae).

$P^{72}$ is the earliest known copy of 1–2 Peter and Jude and contains the entire text of these epistles.

$P^{75}$ retains 102 of its original 144 pages and preserves chaps. 6–17 and 22–24 of Luke, as well as portions of chaps. 3–5 and 18; in addition, it has virtually all of John 1–12 and portions of 13–15. $P^{75}$ is the oldest known copy of Luke, and its text (of both Luke and John) is extraordinary for its close similarity to that of Vaticanus.

$P^{74}$ contains, with numerous lacunae, Acts 1:2–28:31, and portions of James, 1–2 Peter, 1–3 John, and Jude.

Further papyri have been published since, but none that in any way matches the combination of early date and extensive text found in the Chester Beatty and Bodmer mss. There are, however, 43 other very early papyri that, by virtue of dating prior to the early 4th century, rightfully deserve mention, though they are all highly fragmentary: $P^{52}$ (early 2d century); $P^{32}$, $P^{46}$, $P^{64/67}$, $P^{66}$ (about A.D. 200); $P^{90}$ (2d century); $P^{77}$ (2d/3d century); $P^{1}$, $P^{4}$, $P^{5}$, $P^{9}$, $P^{12}$, $P^{15}$, $P^{20}$, $P^{22}$, $P^{23}$, $P^{27}$, $P^{28}$, $P^{29}$, $P^{30}$, $P^{39}$, $P^{40}$, $P^{45}$, $P^{47}$, $P^{48}$, $P^{49}$, $P^{53}$, $P^{65}$, $P^{69}$, $P^{70}$, $P^{75}$, $P^{80}$, $P^{87}$ (3d century); and $P^{13}$, $P^{16}$, $P^{18}$, $P^{37}$, $P^{38}$, $P^{72}$, $P^{78}$, $P^{92}$ (3d/4th century). To this list of our earliest mss should be added the four earliest uncials known to us: 0189 (2d/3d century); 0220 (3d century), and 0162 and 0171 (3d/4th century), for they fall into the same earliest period. (See Aland and Aland 1987: 56–64, 96–102.) These mss, because of their extraordinarily early dates, occupy a position of supreme importance in all aspects of NT textual criticism, especially its history and theory.

**(2) Uncials.** As a classification of NT mss, "uncials" is not used to refer to all NT mss written in uncial characters (about 650), but only to continuous-text mss so written on parchment (about 270). Thus, the papyri and the more than 270 lectionary mss written in uncials are classified under papyri and lectionaries, respectively, and not here.

Continuous-text uncials total about 290, but the number of different uncials is closer to 270, due to the continuing process of uniting separated fragments with their original mss (Aland and Aland 1987: 105; see 106–25 for a full list of uncials). Uncials date from the 2d/3d century through the 10th century. Only 4 predate the early 4th century (0189, 0220, 0162, 0171); 14 stem from the 4th century—including the two most famous uncials, Codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus; but 54 survive from around A.D. 400 to 500; and

uncials increase as one moves into the later 6th and through the 9th centuries, with the last 19 originating in the 10th century. It should not be assumed, however, that uncials inevitably preserve large segments of NT text; the oft-mentioned, famous codices like Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and Alexandrinus have extensive text, as do many others, but in reality only 35 percent of all uncials survive in more than two leaves. To be more precise, only 59 uncials (about 22 percent) contain more than 30 leaves and only 44 uncials (about 16 percent) have more than 100 leaves. Of this latter group, 17 contain 100 to 199 leaves; 16 have 200 to 299; 9 have 300 to 399; and only 2 have more than 400 (Bezae [05] with 415 and Claromontanus [06] with 533 leaves).

Among the uncials, perhaps five mss stand out from all the rest; all are of early date (4th or 5th century) and of crucial importance in NT textual transmission and for the discipline generally.

*Codex Sinaiticus* (א) is the only uncial presently containing the entire NT (though Alexandrinus still contains portions of every NT book). Sinaiticus also has virtually all of the OT, as well as the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Shepherd of Hermas.* It dates from the 4th century and its large pages contain four columns each—the only NT ms written in this fashion.

*Codex Alexandrinus* (A) is of somewhat later date—in the 5th century—and lacks only portions of Matthew (up to 25:6), John (6:50–8:52), and 2 Corinthians (4:13–12:6) from its NT, and it contains the OT, as well as *1–2 Clement.* It is written in two columns and its text appears to have been copied from different exemplars, for its gospel text is akin to the Byzantine type, while the remainder of the NT has a text like that in Sinaiticus and Vaticanus.

*Codex Vaticanus* (B), 4th century, is written in three columns and contains all of the NT except an extensive portion from Heb 9:14 through Revelation; it also has the OT, though it begins with Gen 46:28 and lacks Ps 105:27–137:6. Vaticanus would be regarded by all as the most valuable uncial ms of the NT, and by many as the most important of all NT mss, due to the combination of its early date, its broad coverage of the NT, and the excellent quality of its text, which—for the overlapping portions—is strikingly similar to that in $P^{75}$.

*Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis* (D) contains, on Greek and Latin facing pages, the four gospels (in the order Matthew, John, Luke, Mark), Acts nearly complete, and a small portion of 3 John. Its date is 5th century, or possibly late 4th. It is written in one column, but in sense lines rather than in the usual fashion of simply filling the lines. Bezae, with many striking additions to the text (and some omissions), is the major Greek representative of the so-called Western type of text, which some have considered the earliest form of the NT text, but which others have viewed as a later, derivative development.

*Codex Washingtonianus* (W), also known as the Freer Gospels (for C. L. Freer of Detroit, who acquired it in 1906), has the four gospels virtually complete (though in the order of Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark) and dates from the early 5th century. Its text is of mixed character, with various sections of varying length representing rather different textual types: Byzantine in Matthew and most of Luke; Alexandrian in the rest of Luke and most of John; and so-called Western in Mark 1:1–5:30, but like the text of $P^{45}$ in 5:31–16:20. It may be best known for the material it inserts into the already longer ending to Mark (16:9–20) that it shares with other witnesses: it adds at 16:14 a paragraph that includes an excuse by the disciples in response to the risen Christ's chiding of them for unbelief.

Other uncials of special significance should be noted briefly.

*Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus* (C) is a 5th-century ms of the whole Bible that was erased in the 12th century and reused for writings of Ephraem of Syria, though now it has many lacunae in the roughly 60% of the NT that remains. Yet extensive segments are extant of all NT books except 2 Thessalonians and 2 John, of which nothing is preserved.

*Codex Claromontanus* ($D^P$) is a 6th-century ms of the Pauline letters and Hebrews, which —like Codex Bezae—is a Greek-Latin bilingual codex written in sense lines, which was at one time in Theodore Beza's possession. And for the last century its text has been considered to be similar in character to that of Codex Bezae; that is, $D^P$ has been recognized as the leading Greek witness to a so-called Western text of the

Epistles, just as Bezae has long been considered the chief Greek witness to a Western text of the Gospels and Acts. (Aland and Aland 1987: 108, however, disagree with this assessment of Claromontanus.)

*Codex Laudianus* ($E^a$) contains the Acts (except for 26:29–28:26) and dates from the 6th century. It is bilingual, but with the Latin in the place of honor on the left or verso and the Greek on the right; the Latin follows the Greek in a slavish manner. Its text is best described as "mixed," that is, showing agreements with Codex Bezae but also with the Byzantine text.

*Codex Coislinianus* ($H^P$), from the 6th century, contains portions of 1–2 Corinthians, Galatians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, Hebrews, 1–2 Timothy, and Titus in an Alexandrian kind of text. Its present 41 leaves—used in the Middle Ages for binding other books—are now in six widely spread libraries.

*Codex Freerianus* (I), or the Washington Codex of the Pauline Epistles, dates from the 5th century and contains 1 Corinthians through Hebrews with numerous lacunae. About 40% of its original leaves survive, and its text is Alexandrian.

*Codex Regius* (L) is a gospel codex from the 6th century with very few lacunae, but with two endings to Mark, the common 14:9–20, but also the so-called shorter ending. It is poorly written, but with an Alexandrian kind of text.

*Codex Borgianus* (T) is a 5th-century Greek-Sahidic ms with portions of six chapters of Luke and seven of John. Three other uncials (0113, 0125, 0139) have been identified as parts of the same ms, which together total about nine leaves. Its text is Alexandrian in complexion.

*Codex Dublinensis* (Z), a 6th-century palimpsest ms of Matthew (with lacunae), carries an Alexandrian form of text.

*Codex Koridethi (theta)* is an interesting 9th-century ms of the Gospels (lacking only Matt 1:1–9; 1:21–4:4; 4:17–5:4), not only because it is written in a rude hand by a scribe who did not know Greek, but, more so, for the nature of its text. In Matthew, Luke, and John it is Byzantine, but its text of Mark cast it, formerly, in the role of the leading member of the later phase of the so-called Caesarean text (see below).

048 is a double palimpsest whose earliest text (5th century) contains small portions of Acts, the Catholic Epistles, and the Pauline Epistles (though not Galatians or 2 Thessalonians).

There are other uncials, all fragmentary, that should be listed briefly as important by virtue of their early dates. First, there are the several uncial fragments that predate the 4th century and are properly classified with the earliest papyri, namely, 0189 (Acts 5:3–21) and 0220 (Rom 4:23–5:3, 8–13), both of the 3d century, and 0162 (John 2:11–22) and 0171 (Matt 10:17–23, 25–32; Luke 22:44–56, 61–64) of the 3d/4th century. Next are 058 (Matt 18:18–29); 0169 (Rev 3:19–4:3); 0185 (1 Cor 2:5–6, 9, 13; 3:2–3); 0188 (Mark 11:11–17); 0206 (1 Pet 5:5–13); 0207 (Rev 9:2–15); 0221 (most of Rom 5:16–6:3); 0228 (Hebrews 19–21, 23–25; 0231 (Matt 26:75–27:1–3, 4); and 0242 (Matt 8:25–9:2; 13:32–38, 40–46), all of the 4th century, which places them in the same period as Codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus. Others, 057 (Acts 3:5–6, 10–11); 059 (Mark 15:29–38); 0160 (Matt 26:25–26, 34–36); 0176 (Gal 3:16–25); 0181 (Luke 9:59–10:14); 0214 (Mark 8:33–37); 0219 (Rom 2:21–23; 3:8–9, 23–25, 27–30); and 0270 (1 Cor 15:10–15, 19–25), date to the 4th/5th century, just prior to the period of Codices A, C, W, D, and others of the 5th century.

These early uncials, both the great codices of the 4th century and the fragmentary ones up to the turn of the 4th/5th century, provide some perspective on the textual situation at this time.

**(3) Minuscules.** Some 80 percent of the minuscules are solid representatives of the Majority text and to that extent at least they will contribute little to the establishment of the original text, for the Byzantine or Koine text (to use two other terms for the Majority text) is a text type that developed from the early 4th century on and became the well-established and official ecclesiastical text of the Byzantine Church. Yet among the minuscules are some (nearly 10%, according to Aland and Aland 1987: 128) that may have much to contribute to recovery of the original NT text. Some of these, as well as several minuscules noteworthy for other reasons, are noted below. For a list of about 150, see Aland and Aland 1987: 128–35; for descriptive comments on about 20 prominent minuscules, see Metzger 1968: 61–67; cf. Vogels 1955: 65–69; for older descriptive lists, see Gregory 1909: 124–326; von Soden 1911–1913: vol. 1; Scrivener 1894: 1.189–326.

*Minuscule 1* (12th century) is distinguished for its use by Erasmus—as a supplement to his main source, Minuscule 2—for the first published Greek NT (1516). In 20th-century textual criticism, Codex 1 was identified as the head of a group of similar mss known as Family 1 (1, 118, 131, 209, 1582), whose text has affinities with the text in Codex *theta;* together, these and other mss were considered part of the so-called Caesarean text. Codex 1 contains the entire NT except the Apocalypse.

*Minuscule 13* (13th century) contains the gospels (with lacunae) and heads a group of a dozen mss named Family 13, which, again, was identified earlier as a major component of the so-called Caesarean text.

*Minuscule 33* (9th century) contains the whole NT except the Apocalypse, with a few chapters missing in each gospel, and has long been called the "queen of the cursives" because its text is akin to the Alexandrian kind of text found in the great uncials.

*Minuscule 69* (15th century) includes the entire NT (with lacunae) and is written partly on parchment and partly on paper. It is a prominent member of Family 13.

*Minuscule 81* (a dated ms from 1044), which contains Acts (except 4:8–7:17 and 17:28–23:9) and the Epistles, is significant because its text is of the Alexandrian type.

*Minuscule 383* (13th century) has the Acts and Epistles, with so-called Western readings in Acts 13–22, which are largely shared by 614.

*Minuscule 565* (9th century) is a magnificent copy of the gospels (lacking only John 11:26–48; 13:2–23), written with gold ink on purple parchment and containing the "Jerusalem colophon"—a statement that it was copied "from the ancient mss of Jerusalem"—which appears also in some 13 other mss.

*Minuscule 579* (13th century) appears to be a copy of a much older ms of the gospels with an Alexandrian kind of text, especially in Mark, Luke, and John. It not only has the "longer ending" of Mark (16:9–20), but also the added "shorter ending."

*Minuscule 614* (13th century) contains the Acts and Epistles in a text with numerous affinities with the so-called Western kind of text (cf. 383).

*Minuscule 700* (11th century) is a gospel codex with upward of 300 singular readings and noteworthy for its reading, in the so-called Lord's Prayer (Luke 11:2), of "Let your holy spirit come upon us and cleanse us" in place of the usual "Let your kingdom come"—a reading shared in Greek only by minuscule 162.

*Minuscule 892* (9th century) has the gospels, though only half of its original text of John remains. It is important because of its early date, but more so because it preserves the early, Alexandrian kind of text.

*Minuscule 1241* (12th century) contains the NT, with lacunae and later supplements, though not the Apocalypse. It has numerous noteworthy readings.

*Minuscule 1243* (11th century) is important for its text of the Catholic Epistles, though it contains the entire NT except the Apocalypse.

*Minuscule 1424* (9th/10th century) heads a large family of manuscripts. It has the whole NT (except Matt 1:23–2:16) with a marginal commentary (though not on the Apocalypse) taken from various Church Fathers, and its text of Mark appears to be of special interest.

*Minuscule 1739* (10th century) preserves the Acts and Epistles (except Acts 1:1–2:6, which have been supplied by a later hand) in a generally Alexandrian text form. It may have been copied from a 4th-century exemplar, because its valuable marginal notes taken from early Church Fathers end with Basil (330–79).

*Minuscule 2053* (13th century) contains the text of the Apocalypse with the commentary of Oecumenius. Its quality of text is rated by some above the early uncials and even papyri (Metzger 1968: 65–66; Aland and Aland 1987: 134).

*Minuscule 2062* (13th century) has the text of the Apocalypse, except for 2:1–14:20, and a commentary. Its text is similar in quality to 2053.

*Minuscule 2344* (11th century) contains the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse (with lacunae). Its text of the Apocalypse often agrees with 2053, and it is important in the other sections as well, particularly in the Catholic Epistles.

*Minuscule 2427* (14th century) survives in 44 leaves of the gospel of Mark and may contain an early form of text.

*Minuscule 2464* (10th century) is a relatively early minuscule ms of Acts and the Epistles, though it lacks about five chapters of Romans and all of 1–2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, and Hebrews.

**(4) Lectionaries.** Though the lectionary mss of the NT number 2,200 or more, they are not often cited in the critical apparatus of Greek NT texts because they overwhelmingly preserve a Byzantine text and are not critical in establishing the original NT text. Greek lectionaries do not include the Apocalypse, for there were no readings from this book in the Church year; the same applies to some passages of Acts and the Epistles. The Nestle-Aland[26] cites only 5 lectionary mss (numbers 32, 44, 185, 1575, and 1602); the *UBSGNT*[3] cites 52 systematically and 97 from other critical editions of the Greek NT. The American and British Committees' apparatus of Luke (1984–87) cites 10 lectionary mss that were scientifically selected as representatives of the "dominant" lectionary text (numbers 69, 333, 513, 852, 853, 867, 991, 995, 1084, 1750—dating from the 10th to the 13th centuries) and also 31 others that represent a "divergent" text.

The current list of lectionary mss can be found in Aland 1963; 1969; older descriptive lists appear in Gregory 1909: 327–478; Scrivener 1894: 1.327–76.

**(5) Patristic Quotations.** Passages of the NT quoted by writers in the early Church constitute an important body of data for textual criticism, for they provide narrowly dated and geographically located textual readings. That is, from them we have an indication of the form that a text took at certain places at certain times—at least the *terminus ad quem* for such a reading, though not normally, of course, the *terminus a quo*. By comparing these patristic readings with similar variants in continuous-text mss, we have some sense as to the age and, though less clearly, the possible provenance of the mss containing them. In general, the more striking or distinctive the readings, the more definite are the conclusions about their date and place of use and perhaps origin. Patristic quotations, therefore, assume very great significance in the effort to establish text types.

Unfortunately, however, the matter is not as simple as this schema suggests. Which manuscripts of the Church Father represent what that author wrote? Indeed, the whole process of textual criticism must be applied to each patristic writing in an effort to establish its original text as closely as possible. Though this has been done for most relevant writings, critical editions still have not been prepared for some; more frequently, though, new critical editions are required that take account of new discoveries and of refinements in method. There is a further difficulty when a canonical text (even if not yet fully defined) is a prominent subject of the early Church writings. The biblical text was well known to the Christian monks (or others) who copied and recopied the mss of the patristic writings, and we can never be certain that what the patristic author wrote has been copied as that author wrote it or whether biblical quotations have been conformed—in the copying process—to the copyist's knowledge or memory of how that text ran in the NT known and used by the scribe and the local community. Of course, this same situation confronts us in the continuous-text mss, but it is heightened in the fathers—where a copyist's main task is the transmission of not the NT text, but the text of the patristic writing. The patristic problem becomes more complex and vexing when passages from the gospels, but particularly the Synoptic Gospels, are involved, for often the author does not indicate which gospel is being cited, leaving open the possibility that the copyist has conformed the citation to a more familiar Synoptic form of that passage. This can happen also when the source of the quotation is given. Naturally, if the patristic writing is a commentary on one of the gospels, some of these difficulties are eased. To take a different example, sometimes an author will cite only the first words of a NT quotation—assuming that the reader will know the rest—but a scribe may fill in the text according to the formulation used locally; or vice versa, the scribe may leave out all but the first words of a familiar passage. As a rudimentary rule, if a quotation differs from the usual forms of the NT—and is not an obvious error—it might gain credence as representing what the author wrote, though such a principle would neither apply to many cases nor by any means be an adequate criterion.

Even more serious problems emerge, for it is not always clear whether an early Christian writer is (a) quoting a NT book directly and exactly as it occurs in the NT text being referenced or, as an alternative, is attempting consciously to quote such a text from memory (a *citation*); (b) is paraphrasing the text, i.e.,

adapting a NT text to the writer's own discussion or syntax while retaining clear verbal correspondence to the Greek NT passage (an *adaptation*); or (c) is merely alluding to a passage by reference to its content but without substantial verbal correspondence (an *allusion*). These questions must be answered in each instance before a patristic quotation can be listed in a critical apparatus of the NT. In the process, each writing must be evaluated further to discover, e.g., its author's citing habits, and a close comparison must be made of varying citations of the same text in the same author. As a rudimentary rule, long quotations are more likely to have been copied from a ms than to have been cited from memory, though the usual transmission hazards indicated above must also be taken into account; at the same time, short or incomplete citations cannot be taken as indicating that the writer's NT text left out the remaining portion of a passage—unless an evaluation of that writer's views makes it highly unlikely that he would have omitted such words were they known to him. An additional complication arises when a writer conflates two or more NT quotations into one.

Ideally, for use in textual criticism, the father's NT text should be reconstructed. In the case of a writer with extensive quotations (like Origen), a running text of that writer's NT (or sometimes NTs), or portions thereof, can be presented, with an apparatus that shows the citations as well as the adaptations and allusions. Then, the resultant father's NT text is compared directly with all major mss and text types to identify the relationship of that father's text to the NT textual tradition as a whole. In the case of writings with few NT quotations and where a running NT text cannot be reconstructed, the individual citations, adaptations, and allusions can merely be listed, showing their agreements/disagreements with the NT ms tradition. (On the terminology and method, see Fee 1971a; 1971b). The Society of Biblical Literature, in a new series, is publishing these kinds of analyses of patristic NT quotations (the first volume is by Ehrman).

Though the process must operate case by case, adaptations and even allusions can at times be more informative about a father's NT text than the citations. Normally, however, only what can reasonably be established as a writer's quotation from a ms lying before him has the fullest weight as a textual reading that can be placed into a variation unit and then employed, with other ms and versional variants, to establish the NT text. Yet apart from their crucial significance in the dating and localizing of certain kinds of variants and textual formulations, patristic quotations do not loom as large as one might expect in the overall establishment of the original text.

Of obvious significance are Greek patristic writers and writings such as the following (dates are often approximate): *Apostolic Constitutions* (380); Apostolic Fathers (Clement of Rome [95], *Didache* [early 2d century], *Epistle to Diognetus* [late 2d century], Ignatius [d. 110], Papias [2d century], Polycarp [d. 156]); Athanasius of Alexandria (295–373); Basil the Great of Caesarea (330–79); Chrysostom (344–407); Clement of Alexandria (d. 212); Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444); Cyril of Jerusalem (315–86); Didymus of Alexandria, "the Blind" (313–98); Dionysius of Alexandria (late 2d century); Epiphanius of Salamis (315–403); Eusebius of Caesarea (263–339); Gregory of Nazianzus (329–90); Gregory of Nyssa (335–94); Hesychius of Jerusalem (1st half of 5th century); Hippolytus of Rome (d. 235); Irenaeus of Lyon (2d century); Justin Martyr (d. 165); Marcion (2d century); Nonnus of Panopolis (5th century); Origen of Alexandria/Caesarea (185–254); Tatian (2d century); Theodore of Mopsuestia (352–428); and Titus of Bostra (d. by 378).

Lists of these and other Church Fathers quoting the NT can be found in Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ (62*) and *UBSGNT*$^{3}$ (xxxvii–xl), a relevent quotations are utilized in the critical apparatus of each; a full, annotated list appears in Aland and Aland 1987: 170–80. An index of biblical citations and allusions has been prepared by the Centre d'analyse et de documentation patristique (Allenbach et al. 1975–87), providing an almost exhaustive list for the first three centuries (with a separate volume on Origen), as well as for Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Epiphanius. The apparatus of the American and British Committees' *Gospel according to St. Luke* (1984–87) includes all citations and adaptations in Greek fathers up to A.D. 500, but does not normally record allusions.

**2. Versions.** If the NT were preserved only in Greek mss and Greek patristic citations of NT passages, textual criticism would be much simpler but also much poorer. Actually, the rich Greek tradition was

expanded during the early centuries of Christianity, not only through the patristic quotations but through the translation of the text into other languages—which in turn was quoted by Church Fathers who wrote in those languages.

The earliest history and actual origins of these translations are obscure. It is clear, however, that the earliest and also the most important were the Latin, Syriac, and Coptic Versions—though not necessarily in that order. During the early centuries of Christianity, the NT circulated and was used in its original Greek dress in Greece, Asia Minor, southern Italy, and in the coastal regions of the Mediterranean Sea in Syria and Egypt—and also rather deeply into Upper Egypt, as recent studies show. Surrounding these geographical districts, however, were areas using different languages: Latin in much of Europe and North Africa; Syriac throughout Syria, including centers like Edessa and Arbela (though Greek was the language of Antioch); and Coptic (in various dialects) in Egypt, and it was inevitable that the spread of Christianity, at an early date, would entail also the translation of the NT into these and other languages.

It cannot be said with certainty whether Latin or Syriac translations were the first to be made; both seem to have originated in the latter part of the 2d century. The gospels were the first to be translated, perhaps into Syriac for Tatian's Diatessaron (a weaving together of the four gospels into a single account about A.D. 170, though its original language has been a matter of debate also), perhaps followed later in the century by Syriac translations of the separate gospels—though these could have preceded the Diatessaron. Or perhaps the gospels were first translated into Latin by missionaries in the late 2d century for use in Latin-speaking sections of the Roman Empire. In any event, versions of the gospels and of other portions of the NT in Syriac, Latin, and Coptic were widely circulated in the 3d century, though the earliest extant manuscripts in these languages are from the 4th century, and the late 4th century at that for the Latin and Syriac versions. (On the versions generally, see Metzger 1977; Aland 1972; Vööbus 1954.)

The use of versional evidence in textual criticism, however, is anything but mechanical; often no one-for-one relationship exists between a reading in Greek and its counterpart in Syriac or Coptic or even in Latin. Differences between Greek and the NT versional languages can be of several kinds, as indicated in the following examples: Syriac, unlike Greek, has no case endings, differs in tense systems, and has no comparative or superlative (Brock 1977). Coptic has no case endings and relies on strict word order to show subject, object, indirect object, and adverb; uses definite/indefinite articles differently; and cannot represent the distinctions between various Greek prepositions (Plumley 1977) (see LANGUAGES [COPTIC]). Armenian presents relatively fewer problems; Greek word order, e.g., can often be preserved precisely, but Armenian lacks the vocative case and grammatical gender; nouns and relative pronouns in some case constructions do not show a distinction between singular and plural; and there is no aorist infinitive or present participle, nor a future tense (Rhodes 1977). In Georgian, Greek prepositions often are not expressed but understood, some prepositions are postpositive, prepositions and postpositives may have several meanings, and there is no definite article as such (Brière 1977; Molitor 1972: 318–25). Ethiopic has no neuter gender and no definite or indefinite article; its verb cannot adequately express time, modal nuances, or the active, passive, or middle voice (Hofmann 1977). Gothic has no future form, prefers a singular demonstrative pronoun even if the Greek has a plural, and a Gothic verbal form may represent two Greek moods or tenses (Friedrichsen 1977). Old Church Slavonic, though it coincides with Greek in most major aspects and allows for a decent translation even on a word-for-word basis, does not have an explicit definite article, has no future tense, and cannot always clearly express the nuances in Greek subordinate clauses (Lunt 1977). Even Latin, which generally provides a fine vehicle for translating Greek, does not differentiate between the aorist and perfect tenses, and has no definite article and no middle voice, among a number of other relatively minor differences (Fischer 1977).

Grammatical and idiomatic factors such as these affect the textual critic's ability to determine what Greek text lies behind particular renderings in these various Versions. Only detailed knowledge of such factors, however, will permit the critic to understand the possibilities in each case or perhaps to realize that no clear determination of the underlying Greek is possible at all.

**a. The Syriac Versions.** The textual tradition of the Syriac version is complex, though the number of extant mss is very much smaller than, e.g., the Latin version. For the gospels, Acts, and Pauline letters

(the extent of the NT canon in the early Syriac Church), there was an early or Old Syriac form of the tradition, and it survives in continuous-text mss for the gospels but is preserved almost exclusively in patristic quotations by Syriac-speaking fathers for the Acts and the Pauline letters (though these patristic sources have not always been preserved in Syriac itself).

The Old Syriac gospels survive in two forms, each in one ms. The first is the Curetonian Syriac version, named for William Cureton, editor in 1858 of the 5th-century ms in which it is found; its symbol is $sy^{c}$. The gospels occur in the order of Matthew, Mark, John, and Luke, and about half the text originally in the ms now survives. The second is the Sinaitic Syriac, preserved in a late-4th-century palimpsest ms found in a monastery on Mt. Sinai in 1892 by Agnes Smith Lewis and Margaret Dunlap Gibson. About 85% is extant—though difficult to read—and its symbol is $sy^{s}$. Whether these two forms of the Old Syriac gospels stem from a common original and represent different developmental stages of that text or are independent translations from Greek into Syriac remains a matter of debate—though the former view is dominant (Metzger 1977: 39).

The commentaries (in Armenian) of Ephraem of Syria (d. 373) are the chief source for the Old Syriac texts of Acts and the Pauline Epistles, complemented by the writings of Aphraates (d. 367) and by such works as the *Liber Graduum* (A.D. 320).

Tatian's Diatessaron of around A.D. 170 could, and quite logically would, have been constructed by using the four separate gospels (or *tetraevangelium*), and that is the view of some; more numerous and more recent scholars, however, contend that the Diatessaron was the first form in which the gospel narratives appeared in Syria. Among the evidence for this latter view are the significant textual differences between the wording of the diatessaron and the Old Syriac gospels—making it difficult to understand how Tatian could have drawn his text from these fourfold or separate gospels. Of course, it is perhaps more difficult still to picture compilers of the separate gospels extracting their materials from the Diatessaron, and yet there are diatessaric elements in the Old Syriac gospels, suggesting that in some way the Diatessaron, developmentally, lies behind the Old Syriac gospels—even if they may have expanded it in accordance with current Greek texts. This is currently the dominant view, though a third option is to argue that the Diatessaron and the Old Syriac gospels were translated from the Greek as independent efforts, based perhaps on differing localized texts from the mid-2d century.

A further debate, relevant to these other questions, concerns the time when the Old Syriac text originated. Since only two mss have survived, it has been difficult to argue that the Old Syriac text was ever an official and canonical gospel text in Syria—would there not, in that case, be more numerous remains? It could, though, be argued that the Old Syriac mss were suppressed once the Peshitta version took over, just as copies of the Diatessron disappeared when the four separate gospels became dominant (early 5th century)—for the Diatessaron has hardly survived in Syriac and our knowledge of it is overwhelmingly from preservation in other languages. If, as seems more likely, the Old Syriac was not an official text in Syria, then perhaps the separate gospels were individual translations made on an ad hoc basis. Such translations—plausibly including the archetype of $sy^{s}$ and $sy^{c}$—could have appeared in the 3d century, though there is no proof.

Some recent opinion places the origin of the Old Syriac around the mid-4th century—built on the view that the text was based on the Diatessaron and that the Diatessaron held its canonical position as the gospel text in Syria until the time of Rabbula (early 5th century)—this latter view in turn being buttressed by the fact that only two mss of the separate gospels in Syriac have survived. Yet not all scholars have given up the earlier view that the Old Syriac text stems from the end of the 2d century.

So various questions—highly complex and intractable—remain regarding the diatessaron and the Old Syriac gospel text (see Metzger 1977: 3–48; Black 1972; Vööbus 1951; 1954).

Early in the 5th century, someone prepared a Syriac vulgate version, known as the Peshitta ("simple"), whose symbol is $sy^{P}$, and this revision displaced the Diatessaron in favor of the separate gospels and also replaced the Old Syriac. Whether Bishop Rabbula of Edessa (411–31) made the revision or produced merely a transitional Syriac version along the way toward the Peshitta is not clear, but the Peshitta is preserved in a tight textual tradition in some 350 mss, some as early as the 5th and 6th centuries.

Another Syriac version, the Palestinian (= Aramaic), whose symbol is $sy^{pal}$, stems from about the 5th century and apparently was translated from Greek independently of the other Syriac versions. Three 11th- and 12th-century lectionary mss survive, as well as a fair number of fragments from continuous-text mss, including small portions of the gospels, Acts, the Pauline Epistles, Hebrews, James, and 2 Peter. The most recently uncovered fragments come from Khirbet Mird, the most extensive of which is a parchment fragment containing Acts 10:28–29, 32–41.

Finally, the complex Syriac textual tradition continued to develop through an early-6th-century version made for Bishop Philoxenus by his chorepiscopus Polycarp in 507/8, which was either reissued by Thomas of Harkel in 616 with marginal notes or was revised by Thomas, again with marginal notes. On the former view, there is only one version involved (the Philoxenian); on the latter view, there are two separate versions, the Philoxenian ($sy^{ph}$) and the Harclean ($sy^{h}$). Present evidence indicates that the latter view is correct and that Thomas of Harkel rather considerably revised the Philoxenian version—primarily to bring it into slavishly close conformity with Greek idiom—and also added marginal readings and a critical apparatus that marked off certain readings with obeli and asterisks. This apparatus and the marginalia are by no means fully understood, but at least some of the readings highlighted in these ways represent Greek variants known to Thomas. Whether any Philoxenian mss survive is uncertain; the only ones plausibly defended as Philoxenian contain the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse, but these books were not part of the Syriac NT canon and therefore were never quoted by Philoxenus. The only certain remnants of the Philoxenian version would appear to be NT quotations in Philoxenus's *Commentary on the Prologue of John*, recently published. (On the Philoxenian/Harklean problem, see Metzger 1977: 63–75; Brock 1981; VERSIONS, ANCIENT [SYRIAC]).

**b. The Latin Versions.** The translation of the NT into Latin developed into the most extensive tradition of any NT version, for it existed both in North Africa and in Europe in an "Old Latin" form from the earliest period and then expanded in its "Vulgate" form into a widespread, long-standing, and highly influential ecclesiastical textual tradition.

When and where the Latin version originated are difficult questions. Rome is not the likely place of origin, for Greek was the dominant language there for Christian writings until perhaps the mid-3d century, though Latin began to be used at the end of the 2d century. The earliest extant Christian writing in Latin from Rome, however, comes from the mid-3d century (Novatian). The only plausible evidence favoring Rome as the Latin version's place of origin is the existence there of Christian technical terms in Latin in the first half of the 2d century (e.g., in *Shep. Herm.*). Actually, Tertullian of Carthage in North Africa (ca. 160–220) provides the earliest NT texts in Latin, and Cyprian (ca. 200–58), also of Carthage, evidences the first use of Latin NT mss, though the earliest extant Latin NT mss found anywhere stem from the 4th century. The best judgment, therefore, is that the NT took its first Latin form in North Africa, perhaps in the late 2d century. (See Metzger 1977: 285–90; Fischer 1977: 5–6).

Old Latin mss, exceeding 50 in number, are designated by lowercase Latin letters in italic (*a*, *b*, *c*, etc), which are used for the gospels, then reused for each subsequent section of the NT: Acts, Pauline Epistles, Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse. More recently—since the alphabet cannot furnish enough letters—the Vetus Latina Institute at Beuron has assigned an Arabic numeral to each ms. Old Latin mss date from the 4th century until the 13th, indicating the version's longevity and persistence. Vulgate mss exceed 8,000 in number and as many as 10,000 may exist—approaching twice the number of all Greek mss of the NT—and the most important among them are designated by uppercase Latin and Greek letters. They date from the 5th century on.

The Old Latin *(Vetus Latina)* version, with its roughness and diversity of language, was neither a single nor a unitary textual form, but there were several forms or versions, differing according to location. In part, at least, the Old Latin must have originated as a slavish interlinear version of the Greek. The *African Old Latin* form is attested primarily by three relatively old mss (Codex Palatinus [*e* or 2] of the gospels, 5th century; Codex Bobbiensis [*k* or 1] from A.D. 400 with about half of Matthew and Mark; and the fragmentary Fleury palimpsest [*h* or 55] of Acts, 5th century), as well as quotations in Tertullian and Cyprian. It shows greater differences from the Greek tradition than do the European forms, which differ

among themselves as one moves from Italy to Gaul and to Spain. The *European Old Latin* is preserved in far more mss than the African, including several of the 4th and 5th centuries. Currently three groups are differentiated, the term "European" being applied to the first, which includes, for the gospels, Codex Vercellensis (*a* or 3; 4th century); Codex Veronensis (*b* or 4; 5th century); Codex Colbertinus (*c* or 6; 12th/13th century); and Codex Corbeiensis II (*ff*$^2$ or 8; 5th century), among others, as well as Irenaeus. The Italian group includes several mss (e.g., gospels: *f* or 10, *q* or 13; Paul: *r*, *r*$^2$, *r*$^3$ or 64), as well as the great bilinguals (e.g., *d* or 5, the Latin side of Bezae, and *e* or 50, the Latin side of Laudianus). Finally, a Spanish group has been identified. (See Metzger 1977: 293–330.)

Critical editions of the Old Latin are, for the gospels, *Itala* (Jülicher, Matzkow, and Aland 1954–72) and, for the rest of the NT, *Vetus Latina* (Frede 1962–69; 1975; Thiele 1956–69).

These Old Latin mss, and others like them up through the 13th century, were the NT Scriptures for many Latin-speaking churches over a wide area. The diversity of mss and the generally chaotic state of the early Latin textual tradition were recognized, however, by prominent Church figures in Rome and elsewhere already by the latter part of the 4th century, as evidenced, e.g., by the statement of Jerome (347–420) that every Latin codex seemed to represent a different version and by Augustine's reference to the "infinite variety" among Latin translators. Pope Damasus (366 to 384) took action to correct this situation by asking Jerome to prepare an offical revision of these diverse Latin texts. He himself may only have done the OT, but he or others completed a revision of the gospels in 383, based apparently on European Old Latin mss and a comparison with several Greek manuscripts. From this beginning, the *Vulgate* ("common") text (symbol: vg) developed and assumed its dominant position in the Roman Catholic Church, becoming by decree of the Council of Trent in 1546 the standard text for liturgical purposes.

Some Old Latin mss continued to be copied and used for some centuries after Jerome's time (as noted above), and the Vulgate revision was itself corrupted in its own transmission process by conflation with such Old Latin manuscripts, as well as through the normal scribal alterations, with the result that the Vulgate textual tradition—the more than 8,000 mss and many thousands of patristic quotations—became quite thoroughly mixed and confused. Attempts were made to cut through this confusion by issuing authorized editions of the Vulgate, like those of Pope Sixtus V (1590, the Sixtine edition; symbol: vg$^{s}$) and Pope Clement VIII (1592; the Clementine edition; symbol: vg$^{c1}$). In 1899, J. Wordsworth and H. J. White published the first of a three-volume modern critical edition of the Vulgate, whose aim was to recover the revision as Jerome (and his successors) prepared it, and this edition, carried on by others, was completed for the NT in 1954 (Wordsworth and White 1889–1954).

Vulgate mss are too numerous to report here, and their importance for the primary goal of textual criticism consists mainly in the degree to which they preserve Old Latin portions or readings. For Latin Church Fathers, see Aland and Aland 1987: 211–16.

**c. The Coptic Versions.** The NT in several Coptic dialects is found in various geographical areas of Egypt. Sahidic was the language of Upper (southern) Egypt from Thebes to the south, and the NT in Sahidic (cop$^{sa}$) dates from the early 3d century. Bohairic was used in the delta region of Lower (northern) Egypt, and NT portions (cop$^{bo}$) were translated perhaps later in the 3d century. Between these areas, lesser dialects and accompanying translations were to be found, mainly the Achmimic (cop$^{ach}$), sub-Achmimic (cop$^{ach2}$), Middle Egyptian (cop$^{mae}$), and Fayyumic (cop$^{fay}$).

The Sahidic was known mainly from fragments until the 20th century, when a number of more extensive mss came to light, some as early as the late 3d and early 4th centuries. Its text of the gospels and Acts may be described as possessing both Alexandrian and Western elements, with the former predominating. Bohairic is preserved in many late mss, but early ones are few, though there is an extensive 4th-century copy of John. The Bohairic version generally has greater affinity with the Alexandrian than does the Sahidic in the gospels, and even more so in the Acts.

The Achmimic, sub-Achmimic, Middle Egyptian, and Fayyumic versions are preserved in relatively few documents. There is, however, one extensive sub-Achmimic ms of the Fourth Gospel dating to the early 4th century; there are two extensive 4th- or 5th-century Middle Egyptian mss, one of Matthew

(largely Alexandrian in textual type) and one with half of Acts (with distinctive Western elements); and an early-4th-century Fayyumic ms is extant with a fair portion of the Fourth Gospel. (On the Coptic versions, see Metzger 1977: 99–141.)

**d. The Armenian Version.** Whether the Armenian version (symbol: arm) was made from Greek or Syriac—the latter is the more recent judgment—is debated, but it seems to have originated in the early 5th century, with a revision some centuries later on the basis of a Greek text. Also debated is whether the Armenian gospels were first in a diatessaron form or were separate gospels. As to its preservation, more Armenian NT mss exist than for any other version except Latin, though none dates prior to the 9th century. The version's textual character is most like the Old Syriac in the gospels, though some have identified it as Caesarean; in Acts and Paul it shows that "midway" character between the Alexandrian and Western. See Metzger 1977: 153–71; VERSIONS, ANCIENT (SYRIAC).

**e. The Georgian Version.** Opinion is varied as to the basis for the Georgian version—whether Greek, Syriac, or Armenian, or a joint Armenian-Syriac basis—with Syriac and Armenian the two most likely possibilities. Again, some think the Georgian gospels first appeared in a diatessaron form, though perhaps in a non-Tatian form of harmony. There is little doubt, however, about the close affinity of the Armenian and Georgian versions: they are twins whatever their respective origins. Furthermore, two streams have been identified in the gospel texts, an earlier stage ($geo^1$), found in the Adysh ms, and a later ($geo^2$), found in the Opiza and Tbet› mss. The latter shows signs of revision on the basis of Greek texts, and its textual character has been called Caesarean. In the Acts, it has been argued that an Old Georgian version existed that was translated from a no longer extant Old Armenian, and that both share a textual complexion like that of the Old Syriac. (See Metzger 1977: 182–98.)

**f. The Ethiopic Version.** Far more obscure is the origin of the Ethiopic version (eth), but perhaps it came into being in the late 5th or early 6th century. The gospels were translated either from Syriac or Greek, but the Acts, Catholic Epistles—and perhaps also the Apocalypse—doubtless from Greek. The oldest mss predate, at best, the 13th century, and the Ethiopic text is characterized by heterogeneity in the gospels.

**g. Other Versions.** A number of versions less important for NT textual criticism but cited occasionally in the critical apparatus are the *Arabic* (arab), *Nubian* (nub), *Persian* (pers), and *Sogdian* (a Middle Iranian language) in the East; and the *Gothic* (goth), *Old Church Slavonic* (slav), *Anglo-Saxon*, and *Old High German* in the West. (See Metzger 1977: 257–81; 375–459.)

**D. History of the NT Text and Critical Editions**

This vast store of sources—Greek mss, patristic quotations, versions—must be evaluated, sorted, and somehow marshaled in the reconstruction of the earliest attainable form of the Greek NT text. That process began, presumably, with the first copyist of a NT text who—out of a conscious interest in improving it—pondered a change in the text being copied, for at that point an alternative reading was being assessed. It is Origen of Alexandria/Caesarea (185–254), however, who marks the first documented use of text-critical principles when, in his commentaries, he refers to NT readings that are supported by "few," "many," or "most" mss accessible to him. He is followed by Jerome (347–420), who took note of variant readings, considered an older ms to carry more weight than a recent one, and preferred readings that best suited a passage's grammar or context. In the Renaissance, Lorenzo Valla (1407–57) collated some Greek NT mss and pointed out involuntary and voluntary scribal alterations, and Erasmus (1466–1536) observed thousands of textual variations in preparation for his edition, which became the first published Greek NT (1516). It was based on several minuscule mss, primarily Minuscule 2, supplemented by no. 1. This was the beginning of the printed editions, and it was quickly followed by the Complutensian Polyglot in 1522 (whose Greek NT portion had already been printed in 1514, though not published). Numerous editions succeeded these earliest two, including notable ones by Robert Estienne, also known as Stephanus (four editions, 1546–51); Theodore Beza (nine editions, 1565–1604); and the Elzevir brothers (seven editions, 1624–78), whose second edition of 1633 contains the famous phrase *textus receptus* in their statement in the preface, "You have the text now received by all."

A new, lengthy, and productive period began when Brian Walton placed variant readings from Codex Alexandrinus at the bottom of the pages of the Greek text in his Polyglot Bible (1655–57) and additional readings in an appended critical apparatus. Alexandrinus, which had come to light in 1627, was assigned the symbol "A" by Walton and was a major factor in the now increasing activity of collecting variant readings and displaying them in critical editions of the textus receptus. John Fell's 1675 edition presented variants from mss and versions exceeding (so was his claim) 100 in number. A giant step was taken by John Mill's 1707 folio Greek NT (which printed the 1550 Stephanus text), for its extensive apparatus encompassed more than 31,000 readings for more than 21,000 variation units. The sheer size of this body of variants raised disturbing questions about the validity of the textus receptus; beyond that, in his prolegomena and textual notes Mill enunciated several important text-critical principles, including the judgment that the more obscure a reading, the more authentic, and he implied that genealogical relationships may exist between mss. For his achievements, Mill appropriately may be called the founder of modern NT textual criticism.

These collections and displays of variant readings met their share of severe criticism, but there was now no way to stop the increasingly sophisticated movement to explore the available textual evidence for the Greek NT. Indeed, plans to supplant the textus receptus now became deliberate, most notably in Richard Bentley's preparations for an edition that would present the text of Origen's time ("the true exemplar of Origen"); his 1720 *Proposals for Printing* this Greek/Latin NT explained that he intended to employ the oldest uncials and the patristic and versional evidence of the first five centuries. Unfortunately, he never carried out his ambitious plan, though its influence—through the principles enunciated—was significant nonetheless. Others accelerated the process that slowly but surely was undermining the textus receptus, and they did so in two ways: by forming new critical texts through choices among the myriad readings and—more important—by developing rules or "canons" for selecting those readings. Notable are two such proposals for new editions that appeared in the decade following Bentley's 1720 statement. In 1725, J. A. Bengel published a "Prodromus" ("forerunner") to his edition and in 1730 J. J. Wettstein's *Prolegomena* appeared. Bengel's critical edition did not appear until 1734 and Wettstein's two large volumes not until 1751–52, and when they did, surprisingly the resultant text of neither scholar followed the noble canons of criticism they proclaimed in their proposals—for they both largely stayed with the textus receptus. Yet their canons were to have far-reaching influence. Bengel asserted that "the harder reading is to be preferred" (usually expressed as *difficilior lectio potior*) and that ancient witnesses are to be preferred; in 1742 he listed 27 canons in his famous *Gnomon.* Wettstein asserted 19 canons, among them that the reading in clearer Greek is not necessarily preferable; the fuller, more ample reading is not preferable to the shorter; a reading conformable to the style of the author is preferable; the more ancient reading is preferable; but the more orthodox reading is not necessarily preferable.

Though the principles of Bentley, Bengel, and Wettstein were not consistently carried through by any one of them, they were to bear fruit in the landmark Greek NT of J. J. Griesbach in 1775–77. He enunciated 15 canons, including many of those championed by Bengel and Wettstein. Griesbach gave most weight to his first canon, which in brief states that "the shorter reading … is preferable to the more verbose," though he carefully qualifies and elaborates it by specifying, e.g., that the reading in question must be supported by the "old and weighty witnesses," must suit the author's style, and must not show influence from a parallel passage, etc. He also prefers the more difficult reading, the harsher reading, the less orthodox reading, etc. What is more important, however, is that—unlike his three predecessors—Griesbach put his critical principles into practice, though still with considerable restraint. The result was that Griesbach's edition made the first significant break with the textus receptus. Yet this was only a cautious and measured departure from the received text of long standing, for, while Griesbach's text departed from it at many points, the textus receptus was still there as the textual base being manipulated.

Actually, it took some 50 years more to reach a clean, clear, and decisive break with the textus receptus—in the sense that the NT text would now be formed entirely from the most ancient witnesses available rather than from previous printed editions. It was Karl Lachmann who achieved this in his edition of 1831. His aim was to formulate the text as it had existed just prior to A.D. 400, and his bold

method was to lay aside the entire established traditional text and to draw his own text from the oldest Greek uncials, the Old Latin and Vulgate, and some early fathers such as Origen, Irenaeus, and Cyprian.

The succeeding period produced our modern editions of the Greek NT, based on the general principles exemplified by Lachmann, and also brought an increasing flow of new mss. Constantine Tischendorf was prominent in both endeavors, for he produced eight editions of the NT (1841–72) and nearly two dozen volumes publishing new mss. The rationale for his editions was that the text "should be sought solely from ancient witnesses" and must "arise from the witnesses themselves …, not from the edition of Elzevir, which is called 'received' " (2d ed. of 1849). He goes on to say that the mss "that excel in antiquity prevail in authority" and that the foundation of all canons is this: "More probable than others is the reading that appears to have occasioned the other readings." His eighth major edition of 1869–72, with the indispensable "Prolegomena" by C. R. Gregory (1894), was the last large-scale critical edition of the entire NT to be produced (except for that of H. von Soden [see below]), and it is still in use for its vast treasury of textual readings, though in many serious ways it is thoroughly out-of-date (e.g., he cites, about six times, only one papyrus, $P^{11}$). Tischendorf's text, though important both for utilizing all of the newly found materials and for furthering the triumph over the textus receptus, was not long in use, for the Westcott and Hort text of 1881 and the Nestle text of 1898 (and its successive editions) were much more widely used in parish and in scholarship.

Tischendorf's other monumental contribution was his discovery and publication of significant NT mss. Not only did he find and rescue Codex Sinaiticus—the dramatic story is well known—but he discovered 18 uncials and 6 minuscules and edited or redited some 36 other mss.

S. P. Tregelles in 1854 published canons of criticism along the same lines as Lachmann and Tischendorf, producing a Greek NT between 1857 and 1872. Meanwhile, over a 20-year period, B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort had been preparing a new critical text with an extensive introduction, which appeared in 1881–82. The very title of their work, *The New Testament in the Original Greek,* shows that their goal was far more ambitious than those of Bentley or Lachmann—who wanted to establish the 3d- and 4th-century texts, respectively—for Westcott and Hort sought and claimed to be reproducing the original text itself. How they formed their text, however, is more important than their audacious claim. In short, Westcott and Hort (though Hort actually wrote the introduction) argued that four types of text existed or developed in the first centuries of Christianity, which they called "Neutral," "Alexandrian," "Western," and "Syrian." The so-called Neutral, they argued, is represented by the great 4th-century uncials, Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, but can be traced back to the mid-2d century. The Alexandrian represents the refinement of an essentially Neutral kind of text—a polished version—and is found in codices C, L, 33, the Coptic versions, and Alexandrian fathers such as Clement and Origen. The so-called Western kind of text, they argued, reaches back as far—perhaps further—than the Neutral and is represented in Bezae and Claromontanus and can be documented in early fathers (e.g., Marcion, Tatian, Justin, Irenaeus, Cyprian) and early versions (especially the Old Latin and Curetonian Syriac). Finally, the Syrian (which we now call Byzantine) is a later text that has developed from the conflation of readings found in the earlier text types. Westcott and Hort rather dramatically documented such conflation in test passages and argued, further, that the Greek and Latin fathers up to the mid–3d century support one or another of the pre-Syrian texts but do not support the conflate readings or other distinctively Syrian readings. A major conclusion was that the Syrian text had not yet been formed by the mid-3d century and that of the other three that lay behind it, the two oldest were competing texts in the earliest traceable period: the Western and the Neutral. (The Alexandrian text, since Westcott and Hort, has generally been classified with the Neutral, though the term "Alexandrian" has been retained to describe the combined entity.)

The question that remained for Westcott and Hort concerned which of these earliest pre-Syrian text types (Neutral or Western) represented the original, since both—according to them—had 2d-century claims. There was no way by which Westcott and Hort could bring their historical reconstruction to reveal—on historical grounds—which of the two was closer to the original NT text. That is to say, they admitted that genealogical method—which, in the rather loose fashion that they applied it, had shown the

Syrian text to be later—could not break the impasse. How was it to be broken? Actually, seeds of the solution were already evident in the way that the Western text had been described by Hort—a text given to paraphrase and corrupt in other respects. Hence, when seeking an escape from the historical reconstruction that found two very early texts in competition with one another, the Neutral and the Western, Hort relied on subjective evaluations and on internal criteria. These internal considerations involve, first, the internal evidence of readings, i.e., consideration of individual readings in terms of (a) intrinsic probability (what the author most likely wrote) and (b) transcriptional probability (what the scribe most likely wrote); when both methods certify the same reading, it may with certainty be accepted as the most probable, but transcriptional probability is decisive when the two approaches are in conflict. Second, the internal evidence of documents considers each individual group of readings that makes up a ms so as to acquire "knowledge of documents," namely, that ms's general quality and reliability. In ths way the weight of a ms's readings can be assessed when the internal evidence of (individual) readings is unclear. Third, the internal evidence of groups considers a single group of mss so as to determine its overall character as a bearer of generally reliable documents—in comparison with other groups.

This strategy pushed to the background the later, smoother, critically edited text with conflated readings, namely, the Syrian, and it pushed aside the early, paraphrastic, nearly always corrupt text that was fond of assimilation, namely, the Western Text. At the same time, however, it brought to the forefront the oldest and "best" (i.e., the purest) mss and the "best" groups of mss, those witnesses which—as Westcott and Hort saw it—had virtually escaped corruption and contamination and which they—understandably—called "Neutral." Vaticanus, Hort asserted, "very far exceeds all other documents in neutrality of text …, being in fact always or nearly always netural" (2.171), with Sinaiticus next in purity, and these mss, by virtue of being both close in time and closest in quality to the original text of the Greek NT, were taken by Westcott and Hort as fair representatives of that text.

A major effect of the Westcott and Hort scheme and of the text it produced was the thorough rout of the textus receptus—a general equivalent of their Syrian text. Though Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and others had displaced the textus receptus by asserting the logical authority of the older witnesses, it was Westcott and Hort who provided an impressive and consistent demonstration of how and why this later, fuller text developed from the older—their loosely genealogical explanation of the patently observable conflation process. In this and other ways, Westcott and Hort set the stage for the 20th-century agenda in NT textual criticism.

Westcott and Hort's claim to have the NT "in the original Greek" amounted, of course, to overkill, and the very strategy that led to this claim was quickly attacked at various vulnerable points—leading the discipline during the first half of the 20th century into a fascinating period of new explorations and of speculative historical reconstructions. For example, Westcott and Hort's negative valuations of the Byzantine (= Syrian) text and the Western text were viewed by many as excessive. Some sought to redeem Byzantine readings—and indeed the entire text—from their now harshly negative status. The most extreme form of this attempted rehabilitation came from J. W. Burgon (1883; 1896), who turned the Westcott and Hort reconstruction on its head and counterattacked with vehement, acrimonious, and abusive charges against what he saw as their malicious intention to undermine the text of long standing and to replace it with their "scandalously corrupt" mss—Vaticanus and Sinaiticus (1883: 16). A more reasoned defense of Byzantine readings was made by F. H. A. Scrivener (1894), who also published numerous mss and collations.

As for the Western text, Westcott and Hort's harsh judgment about its extensive corruption—while claiming at the same time that its readings were perhaps the earliest documentable NT readings—provided a challenge: Were these early Western readings, rather than the Neutral, really the original ones? As a result, not only were individual Western readings claimed to be original, but some argued that the Western text of Acts in general was original (e.g., A. C. Clark in 1933), and Fr. Blass in 1896 (1898: 96–164) asserted that both the Western and Neutral texts were original in Luke–Acts, claiming that Luke wrote two versions of each book, one represented by the Western, the other by the Neutral. More significant, some of the witnesses assigned by Westcott and Hort to the Western text were soon

recognized to be disparate and divergent rather than homogeneous. When new discoveries brought to light such mss as Washingtonianus and Koridethi and the Sinaitic Syriac, a new, separate text type was identified two generations after Westcott and Hort: the Caesarean. This text type, however, was soon divided into two phases, a primitive, pre-Caesarean stage ($P^{45}$, W [in Mark after 5:30], $f^{1}$, $f^{13}$) and a recensional, Caesarean text proper (Codex *theta*, 565, 700, arm, geo, Origen$^{part}$, Eusebius, Cyril$^{Jer}$). This understanding of the Caesarean text enjoyed widespread support for nearly 50 years, but during the past 15 years or so the Caesarean text appears to have been breaking up. While W and $P^{45}$ (in Mark) form a textual group (with other supporting witnesses), that group is not related significantly to the witnesses il the later Caesarean proper group, so the former should no longer be called "pre-Caesarean." In fact, the $P^{45}$-W group appears to be a separate group that stops with W and leads no further; nor does it have a significant relationship with either the Alexandrian or the so-called Western texts, nor with the Byzantine. As for the Caesarean text proper, recently *theta* has been shown to agree only about 40% with Codex W and, e.g., to agree nearly 50% with Codex D, which would make *theta* more "Western" than "Caesarean." The result has been to question not only the existence of a "pre-Caesarean" text of the gospels, but also of a "Caesarean" text in general (see Hurtado 1981; cf. Epp 1974: 393–96.)

Critical editions continued to appear after Westcott and Hort, including those of R. F. Weymouth (1886), B. Weiss (1894–1900), the British and Foreign Bible Society (1904, with a 2d ed. by G. D. Kilpatrick in 1958), A. Souter (1910, rev. ed., 1947) H. J. Vogels (four eds., 1920–50), A. Merk (nine eds., 1933–64, revised 1965), and J. M. Bover (five eds., 1943–68). H. Greeven produced a new text of the Synoptic Gospels in 1981.

Some large-scale critical editions appeared following Westcott and Hort. From 1911–13, H. von Soden undertook the prodigious task of classifying the massive body of Byzantine mss into manageable groups and assessing their character. Many minuscules were first collated for his edition, which encompassed the entire NT, and his meticulously detailed discussions are still valuable, as is the ms evidence in his critical apparatus. Yet his division of all witnesses into three recensions and his preference for readings supported by two gave prominence to Byzantine readings in his critical text—which therefore moved against the stream of critical opinion from Bentley on. Second, S. C. E. Legg produced a critical apparatus of Mark (1935) and Matthew (1940). In 1948–49, the International Greek NT Project (= American and British Committees), a joint British-North American endeavor to present not a critical text, but a critical apparatus, of the NT, began work on Luke—taking up the task after Legg's publications—and produced an apparatus in two large volumes in 1984–87, which offers the textual evidence from the eight papyruses that have portions of Luke, from 62 uncials (out of 69 containing Luke), from 128 minuscules (methodically selected from nearly 1,700 extant for Luke), and from 41 representative lectionary mss, as well as evidence from all Greek and Latin Church Fathers up to A.D. 500 and from selected Syriac fathers, and from the following Versions: Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Ethiopic, Gothic, and Old Church Slavonic, as well as the Arabic and the Persian versions of the Diatessaron. Since then the project has begun work on the gospel of John.

Meanwhile, Eberhard Nestle produced a hand edition of the Greek NT (12 eds., 1898–1923), and this "Nestle" edition was subsequently edited by his son, Erwin Nestle (13th–20th eds., 1927–50), and by Kurt Aland (21st–25th eds., 1952–63), then coedited with Barbara Aland beginning with the 26th ed. (1979). Hence, this hand edition is popularly known and cited as Nestle-Aland$^{26}$. The text of the 26th edition is identical with that of the *UBSGNT*$^{3}$ (1975), edited by K. Aland, M. Black, C. M. Martini, B. M. Metzger, and A. Wikgren, whose first edition appeared in 1966 and which has an accompanying *Textual Commentary* prepared by Metzger (1971). The earlier Nestle editions formed the NT text by choosing readings supported by two of the following editions: Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, and Weymouth (but Weiss after 1901). The more recent procedure has been to construct the text without reference to earlier editions. The Münster Institute for NT Textual Research (founded and directed by Kurt Aland, and since 1984 by Barbara Aland) maintains the official registry of mss and also the most complete files of ms copies, which constitute the main resource for the Nestle-Aland and *UBSGNT* editions, as well as for a new major critical edition under way at the Institute.

**E. Contemporary Theory in NT Textual Criticism**

The preceding historical sketch of the development of critical texts leads naturally to current theoretical issues in NT textual criticism. First, the long-standing question of text types has not been resolved to everyone's satisfaction and remains a major issue.

**1. Text Types.** Though there is not complete agreement about the configuration of the NT text in the first few centuries, it can be argued plausibly that three textual clusters or constellations can be identified in reasonably separable groups, and that each finds its earliest representatives in papyrus mss and then carries on to one or more major uncials (cf. Epp 1989c). (1) First, the clearest cluster can `e identified in the $P^{75}$-Codex B line (with $P^{66}$, Sinaiticus, and, e.g., the later L, 33, 1739), namely, an Alexandrian kind of text, which might be called the *B text group.* (2) Second, three or four papyruses and one uncial prior to the 4th century ($P^{29}$, $P^{48}$, $P^{38}$, 0171, and perhaps $P^{29}$) form a cluster that can be related to Codex D (and later with 1739 in Acts, and 614, 383), namely, what has long been called—though incorrectly in the geographical sense—the Western kind of text, which might better be designated the *D text group.* (3) Third, a cluster can be identified in $P^{45}$ and Codex W (with, e.g., $f^{13}$), which might be called the *C text group* because it stands midway between the B and D text groups (but no longer to be called Caesarean). (4) In addition, though not among the early clusters and therefore with no early papyrus representatives, there is the later Majority or Byzantine text group, whose earliest major witness is Codex A (though only in the Gospels). Therefore, this might be called the *A text group* in recognition of Codex Alexandrinus. This cluster does have supporting witnesses among the papyruses, but only from the 6th ($P^{84}$), 7th ($P^{68}$, perhaps $P^{74}$), and 7th/8th centuries ($P^{42}$).

Whether all of these clusters can properly be called text types is—and will be—much debated. A text type may be defined as an established textual cluster or constellation with a distinctive character or complexion that differentiates it from other textual constellations. Such differentiations are based not on general impressions or on random samples, but on a full quantitative comparison of agreement/disagreement in variation units (or test readings when large numbers of manuscripts are being considered). "The quantitative definition of a text-type is a group of manuscripts that agree more than 70 per cent of the time and is separated by a gap of about 10 per cent from its neighbors" (Colwell 1969: 59).

No one doubts that the Byzantine (the A text group) is a genuine text type, beginning in the 4th century and carrying on in the ms tradition even beyond the invention of printing. It is also plausible, though not all agree (e.g., Aland and Aland 1987: 50–71), to argue that the other three textual constellations constitute three distinguishable text types as early as the 2d century and following (with the C text group, however, ceasing with Codex W).

Attempts to identify and clarify text types have been prominent since Bengel divided all NT witnesses into three families, and text types were a major preoccupation in the differing reconstructions of Westcott and Hort and von Soden, but especially in the period that followed. It will and must remain a major item in the discipline's agenda. (See below; cf. Epp 1989a: 97–100; 1989c.)

**2. Canons/Criteria of Criticism.** In the preceding historical sketch, the gradual emergence of critical "canons" or criteria for determining the most likely original readings can be observed, and various examples have been noted along the way. These canons go back at least as far as Gerhard von Mastricht in his Greek NT of 1711. Now they are usually divided into two categories: *external criteria,* those appealing to the nature of mss and to historical factors in the transmission process; and *internal criteria,* those appealing to scribal habits, contexts of passages, and the author's style, language, and thought. They can be summarized as follows (from Epp 1976a: 243), with each criterion phrased in such a way that if it accurately describes a textual variant, there would be a presumption (other things being equal) to regard that variant as the most likely original reading in its variation unit:

A. *Criteria related to external evidence*

1. A variant's support by the earliest mss, or by mss assuredly preserving the earliest texts
2. A variant's support by the "best quality" mss
3. A variant's support by mss with the widest geographical distribution

4. A variant's support by one or more established groups of mss of recognized antiquity, character, and perhaps location, i.e., of recognized "best quality"

B. *Criteria related to internal evidence*

1. A variant's status as the shorter or shortest reading in the variation unit
2. A variant's status as the harder or hardest reading in the variation unit
3. A variant's fitness to account for the origin, development, or presence of all other readings in the variation unit
4. A variant's conformity to the author's style and vocabulary
5. A variant's conformity to the author's theology or ideology
6. A variant's conformity to Koine (rather than Attic) Greek
7. A variant's conformity to Semitic forms of expression
8. A variant's lack of conformity to parallel passages or to extraneous items in the context generally
9. A variant's lack of conformity to OT passages
10. A variant's lack of conformity to liturgical forms and usages
11. A variant's lack of conformity to extrinsic doctrinal views

These criteria are employed with various degrees of decisiveness and in varying combinations in all current methodologies in NT textual criticism. For example, while the external criteria are emphasized in the historical-documentary approach, the internal criteria receive almost exclusive emphasis in the rigorous eclectic method. The third basic method, reasoned eclecticism, compromises and uses a combination of the two kinds of critical canons (see below).

Anyone attempting to employ them will recognize, however, that their use is highly complicated and that in the final analysis, determinations are made on the basis of a "balance of probabilities." For example, often the criteria will compete with one another: one or more canons will accredit a reading while other canons discredit the same reading; or different canons at the same time will accredit two or more competing readings in the same variation unit; or external criteria may support one reading, while internal criteria support another, etc. Moreover, as noted earlier, the "shorter reading" canon has been called into question in recent times, and it is clear that not all carry the same weight. It might be suggested that the canons be rank-ordered and judgments made on the basis of the applicable canon with the highest priority. Discussions of this type generally—though not always—come to the same conclusion that Tischendorf reached: the only criterion that can clearly claim priority is that the reading is to be preferred that best explains the origin of all other readings in the variation unit. Most recently, K. Aland has called this the "local genealogical method" (Nestle-Aland$^{26}$: 43*).

**3. Basic Text-Critical Methods.** Current approaches to the establishment of the most likely original NT text may be reduced to the three basic methods mentioned above, though a brief summary can hardly do justice to the complexities involved in each.

**a. Historical-Documentary Method.** In an ideal text-critical world, this method would be largely adequate by itself, for it attempts to reconstruct the history of the NT text by tracing the lines of transmission back through the extant mss to the earliest stages and then selecting the reading that represents the earliest attainable level of the textual tradition. The NT text-critical world, of course, is not ideal, and the matter is not as simple as this schema suggests. Yet in theory we should be able to organize our extant mss into groups or clusters, each of which has a similar kind of text (as sketched earlier). As a result of this process, we should be able to isolate the earliest known groups. Then we should be able to identify other groups that can be arranged in an identifiable chronological succession—that is, later groups. If only one very early group or cluster were to emerge, that would simplify matters a great deal, for it could be claimed with a high measure of legitimacy that this earliest type of text is closest to the original. Or, to view the matter at the level of readings, within each variation unit the reading would be selected that comes from that earliest cluster, again with a plausible claim that it represents the original reading.

This—though much oversimplified—is the traditional method of external or documentary textual criticism, so named because it emphasizes external criteria, including the age and provenance of a

document, as well as the general quality of its scribe and its text. This could be called the "historical-genealogical" method, but—unlike textual criticism in the classics—strict genealogical procedures (establishing stemmata of manuscripts) is not feasible in NT textual criticism, for there is too much textual mixture in the complex array of mss (Colwell 1969: 63–83; Birdsall *CHB* 1: 317). So a name that emphasizes history and documents makes "historical-documentary" an appropriate designation for this idealistic method.

The historical-documentary method ascribes a major role to the earliest papyruses and uncials—that group prior to the 4th century—for these mss, many discovered only recently, provide for the first time a genuine opportunity to assess and to reconstruct the history of the NT text in those crucial one and a half to two centuries preceding the great uncial codices. Unfortunately, this earliest group of mss does not reveal one earliest cluster or type of text, but a spectrum of readings that do not easily lend themselves to grouping. Yet the task, though elusive, is not impossible (see "Text Types" above).

Also prominent in this method is the quantitative measurement of ms relationships, in which the total agreement/disagreement between and among a sizeable number of mss can be measured and displayed—largely a development since the 1960s (Duplacy 1975; Colwell 1969: 56–62; Fee 1968a; 1968b; 1971a; Wisse 1982; McReynolds 1979). This controlled and precise quantitative methodology is indispensable in establishing ms relationships and is used also to determine textual affinities of patristic writings and of versions.

**b. Rigorous Eclectic Method.** Those who employ this method rely largely, primarily, or exclusively on internal criteria for resolving text-critical problems and for establishing the original text. It is also known as "rational criticism" or "thoroughgoing eclecticism" by its proponents, and stems from the work of C. H. Turner (1923–28) and M.-J. Lagrange (1935: 17–40). In practice, the variant is selected that best suits the context of the passage, the author's style and vocabulary, or the author's theology, while taking into account also such factors as scribal habits, including their tendency of conformity either to Koine or to Attic Greek style, to Semitic forms of expression, to parallel passages, to OT passages, or to liturgical forms and usage. Internal canons of these kinds take precedence over the external ones—sometimes to the virtual exclusion of the latter. "The decision rests ultimately with the criteria as distinct from the manuscripts" and "each reading has to be judged on its merits and not on its [documentary] supports" (Kilpatrick 1943: 25–26; 1965: 205–6), for "we are concerned with which reading is likely to represent what our original author wrote. We are not concerned with the age, prestige or popularity of the manuscripts supporting the readings we would adopt as original" (Elliott 1974: 352), and "it seems to be more constructive to discuss as a priority the worth of readings rather than the worth of manuscripts" (Elliott 1978: 115; cf. 1972). It has been characteristic of rigorous eclectics, among whom G. D. Kilpatrick and J. Keith Elliott have been the most consistent, to scrutinize and accredit Byzantine readings that pass the internal criteria tests, and not to attribute any special character, value, or authority to the early papyruses or uncials simply because of their age.

**c. Reasoned Eclectic Method.** The third method combines these two approaches, drawing from both—that is, relying on the balance of probabilities arising from the application of all relevant canons—external and internal. This is the method adopted and employed day-to-day by the vast majority of NT textual critics, and it was the method used, in general, to form the text common to the Nestle-Aland[26] and the *UBSGNT*[3]. When one is faced with any variation unit, the variant reading would be chosen that appears to be in the earliest chronological group and that makes the best sense when the internal criteria are applied. If no one textual group can be identified unambiguously as the earliest cluster, then the variant would be chosen that is in one of the earliest groups and that best satisfies the relevant internal considerations. This method acknowledges the reality that no single criterion or invariable combination of criteria will bring resolution in all cases of textual variation, so it applies evenly and without prejudice any and all canons—external and internal—that are appropriate to a given instance, and then seeks an answer based on the balance of probabilities among the applicable criteria. Though it is impossible to generalize, external criteria probably have a slight edge among practitioners of this method, though perhaps the variant that can explain all the others in a variation unit would assume the highest priority in those cases where such a

variant can clearly be identified. This generalization seems to be substantiated as one analyzes the rationale for a large number of the decisions made for the *UBSGNT,* as described in Metzger's *Textual Commentary* to that edition.

The nature of this method suggests that the term "reasoned eclecticism" is most appropriate, though it might be called "moderate," for it goes to neither extreme in using the canons, or "genuine" eclecticism, for it employs criteria from both groups and therefore the best available principles from across the methodological spectrum, or it might be called simply the "eclectic" method, though this unmodified term no longer sufficiently discriminates it from the rigorous eclectic method. (On eclectic methods, see Fee 1976; Epp 1976a.)

**F. Conclusion**

NT textual criticism has a long, fascinating, and distinguished history, revitalized at point after point by new and striking discoveries that have generated fresh theoretical formulations. Its practitioners have not been reluctant to reconsider established conclusions, abandon them, and move in new directions. The present situation is one in which agreement on many important aspects of the NT text's history and on methods for reconstructing the most likely original text is still elusive. Prominent areas of debate are the existence and nature of early text types, the relative weight and appropriate use of the various canons of criticism, and the most effective way to utilize the earliest papyruses and uncials in the two problem areas just mentioned, but also in the general search for the original text of the NT.

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**TEXTUAL GLOSSES.** See GLOSSES, TEXTUAL.

**TEXTUS RECEPTUS.** The name given to the form of biblical text actually used in a community and regarded by the members of that community as authoritative. The term literally means "received text," and it originated with the publisher's claim made for the 1633 Elzevir edition of the Greek NT, *Textum ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum* ("Now, then, you have a text received/accepted by all").

The production of a completely uniform text available to all members of a community was made possible by the invention of printing. The most careful copying could not prevent the development of some variation during the process of manuscript transmission. Such variation in the text of the Hebrew Bible was kept to a minimum by the Masoretic control of its transmission, so the textus receptus of the Jewish Bible is, in effect, the first fully satisfactory printed edition of the Hebrew Bible, the Venice edition of 1524–25 printed by Daniel Bomberg. The Greek and Latin texts of the Bible, with their more complex history, took somewhat longer to reach the stage of universal acceptance. This was finally achieved for the Latin text (the Vulgate) with the Clementine edition of 1592. For Western scholars, the Sixtine edition of 1587 became the textus receptus of the Septuagint.

These early editions were simply printed imitations of the best manuscript copies of the day. Thus Jacob ben Hayyim, the editor of the Hebrew textus receptus, produced a typical Masoretic Text, with vowel and

accent signs, *masorah magna, masorah parva,* and a form of the *masorah finalis.* See MASORETIC TEXT. In addition, he printed the standard Targum beside the Hebrew text, and grouped the most highly regarded rabbinic commentaries around them. In this format, as well as in its text, his edition set the standard for later editions prepared for Jewish scholars, known generically as *Miqra᾽ōt gĕdolōt.*

The Venice edition of 1524–25 was generally recognized as the best available text of the Hebrew Bible for all purposes until the beginning of the 20th century. Scholars had by then recognized the importance of the earliest traditions, representing the self-consistent work of a single Masorete, for the study of the history of the text. This resulted in the printing of the text and Masorah of the Leningrad codex, a good representative of such a tradition, in the third edition of Rudolph Kittel's *Biblia hebraica* (1937). Such editions have now superseded the textus receptus in the study of the earlier history of the text of the Hebrew Bible, and in research dependent on the early form of the text.

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**THADDEUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Thaddaios* (Θαδδαιος)]. One of the twelve disciples of Jesus (Matt 10:3; Mark 3:18). In Matt 10:3 variant readings include "Lebbaeus" or "Thaddeus, surnamed Lebbaeus." The name is omitted from the Lukan lists of apostles (Luke 6:14–16; Acts 1:13), where the name "Judas son of James" is inserted instead. If Luke's name is correct, the descriptions "Lebbaeus" and "Thaddeus, surnamed Lebbaeus" may have been added to avoid confusion with Judas Iscariot the traitor. They may be based on *leb* ("heart"), the Hebrew root of "Lebbaeus," and be a term of endearment. The reference to Judas, not Iscariot, in John 14:22 probably refers to Thaddeus. See JUDAS (PERSON). No other person in the NT named James can be identified with any certainty with James the father of Thaddeus.

In extracanonical literature, Thaddeus healed, preached to, and converted persons in Edessa in Mesopotamia. The story is preserved in the Greek and Syriac versions of the *Acts of Thaddeus* and an earlier account by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 1.13; 2.1. 6–8). Eusebius also mentions Thaddeus as one of the Seventy (1.13.4, 11; cf. Luke 10:1).

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**THADDEUS, ACTS OF.** See ABGAR, EPISTLE OF CHRIST TO.

**THAMUDIC LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

**THANKSGIVING.** Greek words derived from the root *eucharist-* are used in the NT almost exclusively in the sense of thanksgiving directed to God (in the LXX the verb and substantive do not occur in the Hellenistic sense until the apocryphal writings). The only exceptions are Acts 24:3 and Rom 16:4, although cf. 2 Cor 1:10–11. On Luke 17:16 cf. v 18.

**A. Thanksgiving at Meals**

It was the custom of the Jews to praise God for each dish (cf. *t. Ber.* 4:1; *b. Ber.* 35a). This expressed their sense of dependence on God's gifts in creation. Festive meals were opened by the master of the house with a grace said over the loaf of bread before it was distributed. The meal ended with a benediction over the cup of wine. Both actions are expressed by the Hebrew *berak* or the Aramaic *berek.*

**1. The Prayer of Thanksgiving at the Last Supper.** This is referred to in the Pauline tradition of the Last Supper (1 Cor 11:24) and in Luke (22:19) by the participle *eucharistēsas,* whereas in Mark (14:22) and in Matthew (26:26) it is expressed by *eulogēsas.* Both these verbs are translations of *berak/berek,* but *eulogein* seems more appropriate and is already used in LXX for *berak.* However, it should be noted that Aquila also uses the term *eucharistia* in the sense of "praise"—always for *tôdâ:* Pss 25(MT 26):7; 41(MT 42):5; 49(MT 50):14; 68(MT 69):31, etc. In Rom 14:6 and 1 Cor 10:30 *eucharistein* is used in connection with food (cf. 1 Tim 4:3–4). Thus praise and thanksgiving are inseparable (cf. below). In any case *eucharistein* used absolutely, without object or subordinate clause, obviously comes from a Semitic background.

The act of praise at the end of the meal is referred to in Mark 14:23 and Matt 26:27 (cf. Luke 22:17) by the participle *eucharistēsas.* This is a stylistic variant for the act of praise *(eulogēsas)* mentioned at the beginning of the meal. In Luke 22:20 and 1 Cor 11:25 *eucharistein* is implied by the word *hōsautōs* (cf. Luke 22:19; 1 Cor 11:24).

**2. Thanksgiving in Jesus' Miraculous Feedings.** It is often supposed that in the narratives of the miraculous feedings the words chosen for the introductory actions of Jesus echo the tradition of the Lord's Supper. But Mark himself shows in 8:14–21 a paraenetic interest in the feeding stories which does *not* appear to be oriented toward the Lord's Supper (cf. also 6:52). Nor in 6:41 does he assimilate the description of the opening actions of Jesus at the meal to the traditions of the Lord's Supper as it appears in 14:22.

On the other hand, Mark 8:6 shows a striking agreement with Luke 22:19 (cf. also 1 Cor 11:23–24). The inescapable conclusion is that the tradition of the Lord's Supper utilized by Paul has influenced the *pre-Markan tradition* of the Feeding of the Four Thousand. Since v 7 interrupts the context, it is possible to reconstruct a pre-Markan version of the story which features only the bread. This would link it with the Lord's Supper, so making the miraculous feeding an allusion to the community celebration. The *Kyrios* acts as host to those who are "afar off" (cf. v 3b) and to those who are near (Eph 2:17). The fish were added later and assimilate the story to the Feeding of the Five Thousand. Thus the eucharistic associations of the original story were suppressed in order to emphasize the miracle.

In the *pre-Markan tradition behind Mark 6:35–44* the fish motif cannot be eliminated (vv 38, 41, 43). The phrases expressing the actions are unlike any known eucharistic tradition. As a result there is no obvious reference to the Lord's Supper.

In Matt 14:15–21 the fish motif recedes into the background to some extent, but it is not completely eliminated (cf. vv 17 and 19). True, the terminology describing Jesus' action (note the word *klasas,* v 19, which deviated from Mark) conforms to some extent to the tradition of the Lord's Supper. But the forms of the verbs and the references to Jesus' looking to heaven are also points which differ from the supper tradition. Thus Matthew does not intend to establish any close connection between the Feeding of the Five Thousand and the Lord's Supper (cf. also 16:5–12). Rather, he was unconsciously influenced by some features of the supper tradition.

In the Feeding of the Four Thousand (Matt 15:36) Matthew follows Mark in his description of the preparatory actions of Jesus (Mark 8:6–7). By including the fish in the opening act of praise (unlike Mark, v 7) Matthew is following his practice, noticeable elsewhere, of shortening Mark's material. The finite verb *elaben* (instead of the participle *labōn* in Mark 8:6b) is determined by the participle at the beginning of v 35 (in v 6a Mark has a finite form of the verb). There are no signs of any influence of the Pauline tradition of the Lord's Supper (1 Cor 11:23–24) on Matthew any more than there is on Mark.

In Luke's version of the Feeding of the Five Thousand (though cf. Luke 9:13, 16) the fish motif is soft-pedaled. This may be explained by the fact that in 9:12–17 Luke combines Mark 6:35–44 and Mark 8:1–9. The Evangelist made no attempt to conform it to his version of the supper tradition. In particular he has not taken over *eucharistēsas* in v 16 (cf. Luke 22:19) from Mark 8:6. Luke's concentration on the bread is not so much the sign of any interest in the community celebration as of his intention to represent the meal, beginning as it does with the breaking of the bread and a special prayer, as generally typical of Jesus (cf. Luke 24:30–31, 35). In any case it is worth noting that only Luke speaks of Jesus' *eucharistein* in connection with his final Passover (22:17, 19), whereas for other meals *eulogein* is used (9:16; 24:30). The difference is intentional. For Luke, *eucharistein* was obviously a term associated with the Lord's Supper.

In the Johannine version of the Feeding of the Five Thousand we find in 6:11 agreements with 1 Cor 11:23–24 (cf. also Luke 22:19). The reference to the breaking of the bread is missing; the writer is content with *eucharistein.* The agreement already noted with the supper tradition in Paul and Luke can be traced back to the Johannine tradition. The Evangelist uses the Feeding of the Five Thousand to introduce the bread discourse, which has obvious links with the Lord's Supper (cf. esp.6:51–58, but also vv 27, 32–35. This suggests that John himself also understood the feeding narratives in a eucharistic sense, especially if

he is responsible for the bread discourse in its present form. The timing in 6:4 (near the time of the Passover) and the mention of Judas in 6:64, 70–71 (cf. 13:2, 21–30 as well as 1 Cor 11:23) are further pointers to the Lord's Supper (13:1ff.). Finally, in 6:51c John shows affinities to 1 Cor 11:24 and Luke 22:19, which suggests that this version of the supper tradition was known in the Johannine community. Even if John 6:51c–58 is assigned to the post-Johannine redactor, the Feeding of the Five Thousand was in any case understood in a eucharistic sense. *Eucharistein* (21:13, however, occurs only in the Western texts) had associations with the Lord's Supper. This may also be suggested by the redactional notice in John 6:23, if textual criticism allows us to take the final genitive absolute as part of the original text.

**3. Christian Thanksgiving at Meals.** In Rom 14:6 and 1 Cor 10:30 Paul presupposes that grace before meals was said in Christian households. The context of 1 Cor 10:26–30 makes it clear that the Jewish custom of grace before meals was taken over and practiced in a way which everyone could recognize. Rom 14:6 emphasizes the community-building character of the table prayers addressed to the one Creator God. The Christian who eats everything thanks God for the food, while the vegetarian Christian gives thanks likewise for what he or she receives. It is therefore wrong to despise or judge the other person (v 3).

In contrast to the prayers of heretical asceticism, 1 Tim 4:3–5 emphasizes the way in which the saying of grace before meals acknowledges that food is the gift of God's creation and therefore good. It is thus "consecrated" as though by God's word of creation.

In Acts 27:35 Luke describes how Paul behaved in a way similar to Jesus at the Lord's Supper (Luke 22:19). The word *eucharistein* occurs here. The addition of the indirect object *tō theō* (cf. Luke 17:16; 18:11), as in the phrase "in the presence of them all," underlines the character of this action as a public confession. Luke is not describing a celebration of the Lord's Supper, for Paul starts eating alone, without distributing to the others. These, who take their food after him, are mostly non-Christians (vv 36–37). But the explicit use of eucharistic terminology makes Paul's meal a transparent reminder of the Lord's Supper. It strengthens the believers in the hour of trial and enables them to confess their faith and to help their fellows.

**B. The Prayer of Thanksgiving in Worship**

**1. General Considerations.** The grace before meals is addressed to God and is marked by praise and thanksgiving (1 Cor 14:16; 2 Cor 9:12–13; cf. also Rom 1:21; Rev 4:9; 7:12). It had a recognized place in the worship of the early Christian community (cf. 1 Cor 14:16–17; Col 3:15–17). An individual could recite it in the form of glossolalia (1 Cor 14:16–17). Its focus was the saving act of God in Christ (2 Cor 4:14–15; Col 1:12ff, 2:6–7; 3:17; Eph 5:20). The goal of Pauline missionary work is to make this prayer of thanksgiving universal (2 Cor 4:15). Revelation finds the archetype of the Church's praise and thanks addressed to Christ in the worship of heaven (Rev 4:9; 7:12; 11:17). The community's thanksgiving may also focus upon a particular benefit it has received from God (2 Cor 1:11; 9:11–12), and thanksgiving should be a feature of all prayer (Phil 4:6; 1 Thess 5:17–18; Col 3:15–17; 4:2). Thus, according to 1 Tim 2:1, worship features not only a prayer of intercession for the whole world but also a general thanksgiving.

**2. At the Celebration of the Lord's Supper.** In early Christian communities there were special prayers of thanksgiving in connection with the Lord's Supper. The formulation *to potēron tēs eulogias ho eulogoumen* (1 Cor 10:16a) employs the regular term for the final cup of the meal, *kos shel berakah,* and adapts the verb accordingly. This suggests that there was a specifically Christian prayer of thanksgiving which was recited before the administration of the cup. Since the phrase "the bread which we break" (1 Cor 10:16b) implies the prior recitation of a prayer of praise (cf. Mark 14:22; 1 Cor 11:24), the breaking of bread must have been preceded by a corresponding Christian prayer. 1 Cor 10:16 therefore presumes that thanksgiving has preceded the distribution of bread and wine, thanking God additionally for granting participation in Christ's saving death (cf. *Did.* 9:2–4). This in fact seems to be the way in which the anamnesis command of 1 Cor 11:24–25 and Luke 22:19 was put into effect. Paul must have this in mind when he speaks of "proclaiming the Lord's death" in the Lord's Supper (1 Cor 11:26). These prayers of

thanksgiving gave such a powerful imprint to the celebration that it was later called *eucharistia* (*Did.* 9:1, 5; Ignatius, *Phila.* 4:1; *Smyrn.* 7:1; 8:1; Justin, *Apol.* 66:1).

**C. Personal Thanksgiving**

**1. Overview.** The basic attitude of everyone vis-à-vis his or her Creator should be one of gratitude and praise (Rom 1:21). This is the Christian alternative to silly talk or levity (Eph 5:4). But it can also be misused as a cloak for self-righteousness (Luke 18:11). When God hears our prayers this too can be an occasion for thanksgiving (John 1:41). There are other occasions for prayer, as when Paul successfully averts a misunderstanding of baptism (1 Cor 1:14–15), or when his converts display a rich variety of spiritual gifts. He is particularly grateful for the existence and growth of Christian congregations (Acts 28:15; 1 Thess 2:13; 3:9; 2 Thess 2:13).

**2. Introductory Thanksgivings in the Pauline Letters.** Paul often speaks of giving thanks in his prayers for the recipients' growth in faith. This usually comes immediately after the prescript: Rom 1:8; 1 Cor 1:4; Phil 1:3; Col 1:3; 1 Thess 1:2; Philemon 4. Some of the Deutero-Paulines adopt the same practice: Eph 1:16 (following an introductory eulogy); 2 Thess 1:3; 2 Tim 1:3. Exceptions occasioned by the current situation are found in 2 Corinthians and Galatians. In the Deutero-Pauline 1 Timothy and Titus there are no initial thanksgivings (cf., however, 1 Tim 1:12–14).

The mention of thanksgiving for the recipients was not an invariable feature for letters in antiquity or late antiquity, whereas in the Pauline letters their occasional omission is always for good reason. The regularity with which the apostle expresses his thanks and praise in his letters shows his basic gratitude, his consciousness that it is only by God's grace that he is a successful and responsible proclaimer of the gospel. For the purpose of the thanksgiving is usually to bring home to the recipients their close ties with the apostle and make them realize that their growth in faith is a gift from God. Thus Paul encourages them to practice their faith in ever-growing measure until the Parousia. That is also why he introduces in the exordium of his letters themes that will be important later in the letters. The thanksgiving in Rom 1:8ff is rather different; its purpose is to gain favor with his readers.

There are differences in the length and structure of the thanksgivings. These variously reflect the specific situation of each letter. The following points are important to the apostle: (1) His gratitude is constantly integrated into his prayers for the strengthening of his readers' faith (Rom 1:9–10; Phil 1:3–4; Col 1:3; 1 Thess 1:2–3; Philemon 4; further Eph 1:15–16). Also to be seen in this light is 1 Cor 1:4 (cf. further 2 Thess 1:3). (2) Paul's gratitude arises from the faith of the community which the gospel has produced (Rom 1:8–9; 1 Cor 1:4–6; Phil 1:3–5; Col 1:3–6; 1 Thess 1:2–6; 2:13; Philemon 4–7; also Eph 1:15–19; 2 Thess 2:13–14; 2 Tim 1:5). (3) Paul focuses on the future eschatological orientation of faith (1 Cor 1:7–9; Phil 1:6; 10–11; 1 Thess 1:9–10; 3:13; cf. also 2 Cor 1:9b, 14; further 2 Thess 1:5–10; 2:13–14).

**D. Conclusion**

In NT usage *eucharistein/eucharistia* expresses the way in which gratitude to God for Christ's saving work and for the life of faith is a characteristic feature of Christian existence. For further discussion see *TWNT* 9: 397.13–405. 25 and *EWNT* 2: 219–22; *John* AB, 231; *John* HTKNT, 15; *1 Corinthians* THKNT 7/2: 60–62.

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**THANKSGIVING HYMNS** (1QH). Among the Essene writings found by the Ta'amire bedouin in Qumran Cave 1 were two leather packages that were stuck together. At one time they had formed a single leather scroll. Along a circuitous route these materials came into the possession of the Hebrew University, where they were opened and edited under the auspices of E. L. Sukenik (1955). These texts consisted of nonbiblical hymns, which the editor designated as *Hodayot* or songs of praise, because of their frequent use of the formula "I shall praise you, Lord" (siglum: 1QH$^{a}$). Two additional fragments (siglum: 1QH $^{b}$) were published as *1Q35* frs. 1+2 in *DJD* 1: 136–37. The first part of 1QH $^{a}$ to be opened was preserved on three sheets and later reconstructed as cols. 1–12 (sheet I = cols. 1–4; II = cols. 5–8; III = cols. 9–12). Roughly one third of the original 35–40 lines of the three sheets belonging to this first leather package was either damaged or completely destroyed. The second part contained a number of fragments that were difficult to arrange. The reconstruction of cols. 13–18, using this material, excluded 66 fragments. The editing disclosed large gaps, and the sequence of the columns was uncertain. For that reason J. Carmignac offered a new arrangement of the available textual material, including fragments that had not yet been taken into consideration (cf. the precise chart in Carmignac 1961: 281).

Among materials from Cave 4 there were further fragments of at least 6 *Hodayot* mss (4QH $^{a–e}$ and pap4QH$^{f}$), which testify to a different arrangement of the songs (cf. Strugnell 1956: 49–67). Aided by these parallel texts, H. Stegemann reconstructed a new edition of the text having 24 columns. This reconstruction preserved a partially new arrangement (cols. 17, 13–16 before col. 1; in the editio princeps col. 17 was incorrectly collated) and included most of the fragments that had not yet been integrated into the text (Stegemann 1963; cf. recently Puech 1988: 59–88). A complete and final edition is still not available.

Several scribal hands are evident in the *Hodayot* manuscripts. In the editio princeps the end of the first manuscript appears at col. 11:22 (middle). The so-called second hand continued from 11:26 to the end of col. 18. The lines between 11:22 and 28 reveal a third hand at work (cf. Martin 1958, 1: 59–64). All three hands represent the Herodian script, particularly in its middle and late phases (cf. Cross 1961: 180; Avigad 1965: 76f; Birnbaum 1971, 1: 155).

Linguistic studies have shown that the language of the *Hodayot* is based on biblical Hebrew. Yet there are elements of Palestinian Aramaic and Late Hebrew as well as Samaritan influences. Characteristic of these songs is above all the liberal use of *scriptio plena.* Peculiarities can be seen in the suffix endings on verbs and nouns (e.g., in 2d-person masculine singular verbs: *-tâh;* in nouns indicating the 2d-person masculine singuline: *-kâh*); the loss of laryngeals, chiefly *ʾalep* and *he;* the elision of *he* in the infinitive construct; and even the quiescent *ʾalep.* Compared with the MT, there are several new words and a few syntactic peculiarities (in addition to the introductions in the commentaries, cf. esp. Mowinckel 1956:

265–76; Silberman 1956: 96–106; Goshen-Gottstein 1958: 103–12). Such orthographical, grammatical, and syntactic features link the *Hodayot* to the other writings associated with the Qumran community.

Analyses of each songs' *Gattung* quickly revealed that this was a collection of "songs of praise" similar to the psalm tradition in the OT (cf. Carmignac 1961: 130ff.). As was the case with the OT Psalms, different types of songs could be found among the *Hodayot.* Based on their structure, A. Dupont-Sommer observed that a community must have stood behind some of the hymns, while behind others there was evidence of a particularly strong, single personality (1957: 7). In a thorough analysis of their individual elements, G. Morawe divided the songs into "thanksgiving songs of the individual" and "hymnic confessions" (1960, see esp. the chart on p. 166). This classification was frequently criticized and elaborated upon. G. Jeremias (1963: 170) and S. Holm-Nielsen (1968: 124ff.) viewed cols. 1, 9:37b, and 10:1–12 (Holm-Nielsen added to this list 7: 26–33 and col. 13) as an independent literary type, designating them as "hymns." In these hymns the splendor of creation and of God's omnipotence were praised.

The reports concerning distress and deliverance belong to a type called "thanksgiving songs of the individual," which are also preserved in the individual thanksgiving songs of the OT (cf. Gunkel and Begrich 1985: 265–92; for the *Hodayot*, see the summarizing chart in Morawe 1960: 133–35). Unlike the biblical Psalms, however, the theme of deliverance from sickness or distress does not predominate in the Qumran hymns. Rather, the concern is God's salvific action with respect to the mediator of his revelation, who has had to endure persecution because of his message (cf. Jeremias 1963: 170). The "I" of the one praying is individual and personal. Behind this "I" a historical person of significance for the community is discernible. He is usually identified with the "Teacher of Righteousness" (cf. Dupont-Sommer 1950: 86; 1957: 10–12; Jeremias 1963: 174–77; more restrained is Bardtke 1956: 220–33; 1956–57b: 93–104; Morawe 1960: 170–71, n. 2; Holm-Nielsen 1960: esp. 170 and 347; Hempel 1962: 281–374), and the songs are termed "songs of the Teacher."

The "hymnic songs of confession" are characterized especially by hymnic sections, contemplation, soteriological statements, and meditations on human misery. The "I" of the one praying is no longer an individual, but rather a collective that includes every member of the community. Therefore, these songs were also designated as "songs of the community."

Scholars have not given a unanimous answer to the question about the historical context out of which the *Hodayot* arose. Except for statements about their function, which are only very general, the songs themselves preserve no concrete instructions regarding particular cultic occasions. One must also consider the fact that the Qumran community no longer participated in the cult of the Jerusalem temple, but had discovered new oral forms for praising God (cf. Becker 1964: 129ff.; Klinzing 1971: passim, esp. 11–20). Consequently, it is not surprising that the Sitz im Leben was sought in other communal situations. The *Hodayot*'s didactic style and characteristic wisdom speech permit one to imagine a catechetical and meditative usage (Bardtke 1956: 220–33, esp. 230; cf. Maier 1960, 2: 64; Dupont-Sommer 1957: 8. [in partial agreement]). Yet the vague indicators in the songs (1QH 3:23; 11:13; 12:3–11) or even in the other writings (1QS 10:9f.) point positively to a communal use in the worship of God (cf. Holm-Nielsen 1960: 332–48). Relying on Philo's description of the Egyptian Therapeutae (*Vita Cont.* §§27, 29, 80, 83–84), several scholars have argued that the Sitz im Leben is to be found in the common singing and praying of the community's members (Dupont-Sommer 1957: 8; Carmignac 1961: 135; Reicke 1955: 37–44; Delcor 1962: 24–26). In contrast to these views, H.-W. Kuhn has postulated the entrance into the covenant (i.e., the annually recurring covenant festival) as a concrete occasion for the use of these songs. He bases his conclusion on the following elements: soteriological statements, doxologies dealing with the baseness of humankind, and meditations on human misery. It is also possible, Kuhn contends, that the community could have used these songs for their daily periods of prayer, as suggested in 1QS 10:10: "with the coming of the day and the night I shall again enter into God's covenant" (Kuhn 1966: 29–33). The approach taken by Kuhn with respect to the songs of the community commends itself also for nuancing the use of the songs of the Teacher. It should also be asked in which communal situations the distress and deliverance reports could have been spoken, prayed, or sung. The mere presence of the songs of the

Teacher in a collection with the songs of the community suggests that the community had adopted, and adapted, the songs which had originally been composed by, and been applicable to, a single individual.

Even if the *Hodayot* are in form prayers and songs, they do preserve implicitly or explicitly some traces of the theology of the Qumran community. That does not mean, however, that these hymns offer the material for a closed and unified systematic theology. Their different forms, different authors, and the probable lengthy span of time during which they were written suggest that one should expect divergent shapes and emphases (cf. the still optimistic view of Licht 1956: 1–13, 89–101). Based on this premise, a few characteristics can now be presented.

(1) One must start with the formula "I shall praise you, Lord," or, less often, "Blessed are you, Lord," which shows these texts to be songs of praise and thanksgiving. In terms of content, they include God's works of creation, his salvific actions, and his judgments. In all of these actions, God's mercy is revealed to the one praying (cf. 10:14), his truth and righteousness (cf. 4:31; 11:7; 14:16). God's uniqueness, omnipotence, and holiness are indisputably certain for the one praying and form the prerequisite foundation for his anthropological, soteriological, and ecclesiological ideas.

(2) In the statements about the baseness of humankind and observations on human misery found in the hymnic songs of confession, which are also discernible in the thanksgiving songs of the individual, a picture of humanity is recognizable that is characterized by the conviction of the absolute nothingness, sinfulness, and thus the forlornness of all human beings. Expressions like "a thing formed of clay" (1:21; 3:23 passim), "a thing shaped out of dust" (18:31; frgs. 3, 5, 14), or "a thing molded out of water" (1:21; 3:24passim) appropriate OT ideas about creation, but go far beyond the latter by associating such phrases with ethical qualifications, e.g., "quintessence of shame" (1:22), "source of impurity" (1:22; 12:25). These expressions allow one to recognize an irreconcilable contrast between the nature of God and humankind (cf. Lichtenberger 1980: 77–87). In the reports of distress found in the songs of the Teacher, biographical reports that depict attacks and violent measures directed against the mediator of God's revelation dominate. These reports lead on to a similar complaint about the vanity and hopelessness of the human condition.

(3) The soteriological statements present a response to the hopelessness of human existence as an inescapable predicament. God has placed his spirit within the one praying (12:11; 13:19; 17:26; cf. in the songs of the Teacher (4:31; 7:6), granted him knowledge (13:13; cf. also 11:27) and insight (14:8, 13), taught him (11:9–10), purified him of wickedness, sanctified him from impurity (11:10; cf. also 2:21; 7:30; 11:30), and delivered his soul (3:19–20). God is therefore the sole actor. In contrast, human beings are only capable of receiving and accepting.

(4) The result of crossing over from the sphere of calamity into the realm of salvation is entrance into the congregation of angels and the community of holy ones (cf. 3:21–22; 11:11ff.; 14:18) or membership in "your [God's] covenant" (cf. 4:19, 24; 5:9) for the purpose of common jubilation and praise (3:21; 11:13). Analogous statements announce that the pious believe as much in a present salvation as they do in an eschatological one (3:21; 11:11ff.; cf. also 6:34). In these statements deliverance is interpreted as a new creation with respect to an eternal congregation.

The certainty of already participating in the eschatological salvation is documented in the constant use of the OT—above all the Psalms (cf. Holm-Nielsen 1960: 301–31; Carmignac 1960b; Jeremias 1963: passim). Thus the writings of the OT are not simply understood as linguistic aids, but serve rather to present the claim that the speaker is living in the age of fulfillment and completion (cf. 1QpHab 7:2–4). Accordingly, the perspective of these songs can be stated as follows: they present a new, completely genuine form of speech which represents the language humans will possess in God's new creation (cf. esp. 1:27c–31a). Therefore, these songs of praise represent the community's genuine response to God's creation, his acts of deliverance, and his judgments.

Is this the Qumran community? Individual hymnic sections of other Qumran writings undoubtedly demonstrate shared themes with the *Hodayot.* For example, 1QS 10:9–11:22 preserves comparable theological, anthropological, and soteriological conceptions. Furthermore, the *pesharim*, especially the *pesher* on Habakkuk and the *pesher* on Nahum, with their concrete references to the "Teacher," his

community, and his opponent, appear to be a clear commentary on the reports of distress in the songs of the Teacher (cf. Carmignac 1960a).

From this one can conclude that originally at least the core of these songs derived from the Qumran community. The composition of the majority of these songs should be dated at the beginning of the history of the Qumran community, ca. the middle of the 2d century B.C.E. Some hymns or parts of the songs could be older and could have arisen in the circles called "Hasideans" in 1 Macc 2:42 and 7:13. These circles were no doubt the predecessors of the Qumran community.

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**THANKSGIVING, THE PRAYER OF** (NHC VI,*7*). The title assigned to what has come to be identified as the seventh tractate in codex VI of the collection of 4th-century Coptic manuscripts discovered in 1945 near Nag Hammadi in Egypt. The text, which is nearly perfectly preserved, extends from line 33 of page 63 to line 7 of page 65 in the codex. The Coptic dialect of NHC VI is Sahidic, with some Akhmimic and Subakhmimic variants.

The title is modern and derives not from the manuscript itself but from the nature and content of the text. Instead of a title, *Pr. Thanks.* is furnished with an incipit (63.33), "This is the prayer that they spoke," which is bracketed by the scribe with the scribal decoration typical of titles in the Nag Hammadi codices. Together with the reference at the close of *Pr. Thanks.* to the participants' ritual embrace and departure to a sacred meal (65.2–7), the incipit provides the narrative framework to the prayer which forms the body of the work. The incipit indicates, moreover, that *Pr. Thanks.* was not here intended to be a completely independent work but rather an appendix to the preceding tractate, the Hermetic *Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* (NHC VI,*6*). In this tractate the deifying knowledge of God for which the prayer gives thanks is revealed by Hermes to his disciple, ostensibly the "they" of the incipit to *Pr. Thanks.*, and the subject of hymning God occupies much of the discussion.

*Pr. Thanks.* is consequently designated Hermetic. This identification is strengthened by the fact that a Latin version of the prayer was previously known from the close (section 41) of the Hermetic dialogue preserved in Latin under the title *Asclepius* (though *The Perfect Discourse* was the title borne by the Greek original), a Coptic version of a portion of which (sections 21–29) follows *Pr. Thanks.* in NHC VI. Before the discovery of *Pr. Thanks.*, a second (Greek) version of the prayer was known from an adaptation in the magical papyrus called Mimaut after its original owner (Louvre, Paris, #2391), column XVIII, lines 591 through at least 609. The original Greek version ultimately underlying all three extant adaptations was probably composed in the 3d century, and probably in a Hermetic context, though not necessarily as part of *The Perfect Discourse*. The Coptic *Pr. Thanks.* is likely to date from the 4th century.

*Pr. Thanks.* attests to the influence of Greek philosophical concepts on the pagan hymnody of late antiquity and the increasingly transcendent view of God which it encouraged. The same influence was making itself equally felt in Christian settings and accounts for the attraction that *Pr. Thanks.* must have held for its Christian readers, despite its pagan origin.

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HOWARD JACKSON

**THARRA** (PERSON) [Gk *Tharra* (Θαρρα)]. The eunuch who, along with Gabatha, conspired against King Ahasuerus (Add Esth 12:1–2). In the MT, the two co-conspirators are named, respectively, Teresh and Bigthan (a) (Esth 2:21; 6:2). When Mordecai overheard their plot, he informed the king (in the MT he used Esther as an intermediary); Tharra and Gabatha were subsequently hanged. In the plot of the Gk version (unlike that of the MT), Mordecai's actions were immediately rewarded by Ahasuerus. The Gk version also uses the occasion to introduce a motif not found in the MT account: Haman hated Mordecai because the latter had informed on the two eunuchs, implying that Haman was secretly sympathetic to the plot to assassinate Ahasuerus.

GARY A. HERION

**THASSI.** The nickname of Simon, the second son of Mattathias (1 Macc 2:3), and the founder of the Hasmonean dynasty. For the nicknames of Mattathias' sons see GADDI (PERSON). There is no convincing explanation for the meaning of "Thassi," and even the reading is contested by several scholars, on the grounds of various readings such as "Tharsi," "Thatis," or conjectural "Thadsi." The most similar Hebrew root is *tss,* "to boil, to ferment," but it does not help in giving any sense to the word. We tend to agree with J. Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* 231), "that speculation is futile as to the origin of the nickname."

URIEL RAPPAPORT

**THEATER.** See ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

**THEBES** (PLACE) [Heb *nō› ›āmôn* (נֹא אָמוֹן)]. Greek designation (at least as early as Homer) of the second most populous and important city in Egypt after Memphis, located on the Nile ca. 225 km N of Elephantine and ca. 700 km S of the Mediterranean (25°42′N; 32°37′E). (The precise derivation of the name is in doubt, but it is generally agreed that some Egyptian appellative which sounded like "Thebes" suggested the application of the toponym to the Greeks.) The 4th township of Upper Egypt, in which Thebes was located, was called *Wese,* and this term was also frequently applied to the city; otherwise it went under the names of its various parts or its geographic location, such as *Ipt-swwt,* "Most Select of Places" (modern Karnak); *Ipt-rsit,* "Southern Select [place]" (modern Luxor); *Djēme,* (modern Medinet Habu); and *niwt rsit,* "The Southern City." From the end of the New Kingdom it was also called "the city of Amun" after the city's principal god, whence the Hebrew *Nō› (Amôn)* (from Egyptian *niwt,* "city"; Nah 3:8; Ezek 30:14–16) and Greek *Diopolis* ("city of Zeus"). Thebes straddles the Nile at a point where the alluvial plain broadens to a width of ca. 9 miles and thus provides the region with moderate productivity in crops. The ruins of the ancient city cover, on both banks, an area of ca. 16–18 square miles, and because of sparse occupation over the last 1,500 years many ancient buildings have survived (in contrast to Memphis or Alexandria).

Paleolithic occupation in the area is attested by flint assemblages in the adjacent western desert, and a settlement from the late predynastic has been revealed by excavation on the W bank of the Nile; from that period occupation has been uninterrupted. By the early Old Kingdom villages dotted the broad alluvial plain on both banks, and the practice had begun of locating the necropolis in the Sahara cliffs bordering the valley of the Nile on the west. Though mentioned as a district capital along with its local god Montu, and in receipt of occasional votives from the Memphite kings, Thebes under the Old Kingdom (ca. 3000–2200 B.C.) never achieved political importance; and it was not until the collapse of the 6th Dynasty (ca. 2200–2180 B.C.) that the city springs to prominence as the seat of an energetic family of nomarchs. Under the Antefs of the 11th Dynasty Thebes welded the seven southernmost townships of Upper Egypt into a rebel kingdom, defied the legitimate 10th Dynasty at Herakleopolis, and provoked a protracted civil war. Montu-hotpe 1 (ca. 2060–2010 B.C.), victorious in the struggle, turned Thebes into his capital and lent a degree of monumentality to the erstwhile village by erecting his imposing tomb-cum-mortuary-temple on the W bank in a valley called "The Most Holy," modern Deir el-Bahari. The 12th Dynasty (ca. 1991–1776 B.C.), although they ruled from a new capital at Lisht, between Memphis and the Fayum, were Theban by birth and never ceased to adorn the city with memorials. Senwosret I (1971–1926 B.C.) began the nucleus of the present temple at Karnak on the E bank, probably as a royal chapel (largely of mud brick) dedicated to the local deity Amun ("the hidden one"), whose origins are obscure. (Some cultic structure had stood on the spot in the 11th Dynasty, but its nature and plan are unknown.) Under the peaceful rule of the 12th and early 13th dynasties the temple became the repository of steles, votive statuary, vessels, jewelry, and sundry treasures, all dedicated by reigning kings to the great "Amun-re" who, through royal patronage, had been exalted to the status of "King of the Gods, and who is over the Two Lands (i.e., Egypt)." The city of mud-brick houses surrounding the temple grew phenomenally, extending far to the E, N, and S of the present-day temenos. The city may have suffered during the first half of the 17th century B.C., as

excavation shows a destruction and abandonment; and inscriptional evidence suggests that it barely survived the depredations of the Hyksos.

The New Kingdom (ca. 1550–1076 B.C.) was a halcyon time for Thebes. The 18th Dynasty, which had expelled the Hyksos, originated in Thebes, and although they preferred a N residence, they maintained close ties with their place of origin. At least once a year they repaired S for festival, and vast quantities of booty from the foreign wars were bestowed on the temple of Amun. Thousands of war prisoners, many from Palestine, were employed in the construction of tombs and temples. Most important, the 18th Dynasty (followed by the 19th and 20th) considered Thebes the family burying ground: from ca. 1540 B.C. a line of mortuary temples celebrating the cult of deceased kings took shape on the W bank, and from Thutmose I's reign (1525–1514 B.C.) royal burials were secreted in shaft tombs in a desert valley known today as the Valley of the Kings. Thutmose I restored the Amun temple at Karnak and his grandson Thutmose III (ca. 1504–1451 B.C.) enlarged it and dug the sacred lake. Amenophis III (1419–1382 B.C.) added the Third Pylon to the front of the temple, and rebuilt the temples at Luxor and Montu. The Amarna pharaohs (1382–ca. 1350 B.C.) added a number of buildings along the axis of the temple, but their work was dismantled and their masonry reused by Horemheb in his enlargement of the Amun complex. Sety I (1321–1304 B.C.) completed the great hypostyle hall and the Second Pylon, and his son Rameses II (1304–1234 B.C.) finished the decoration and enlarged the Luxor temple.

In the process Thebes became a monumental memorial commemorating the empire which Egypt had created in Asia and the Sudan. Among those records germane to biblical studies recovered from the ruins and from excavation one may cite the following: (1) itineraries (ostensibly lists of "conquered places") in Palestine and Syria, the most important being those of Thutmose III or the Sixth and Seventh Pylons (*ANET*, 242–43); (2) the extracts of the royal daybook detailing the Asiatic conquests of Thutmose III (*ANET*, 234–41); (3) the reliefs and inscriptions describing Akhenaten's introduction of monotheism; (4) the war reliefs depicting the campaigns of Sety I and Rameses II in Palestine and S Syria on the external walls of the hypostyle, the Luxor temple, and the Rameseum; (5) Rameses II's treaty with the Hittites (*ANET*, 199–201); (6) the "Israel" stele of Merenptah (ca. 1225 B.C.), on which the name "Israel" first occurs in hieroglyphs (*ANET*, 376–78); (7) literary and administrative papyri and ostraca; (8) the inscriptions of Rameses III at Medinet Habu describing the invasion of the Sea Peoples (*ANET*, 262–63); and (9) the triumphal inscription of Sheshonk I commemorating his invasion of Judah and Israel.

At its height Thebes comprised several foci of settlement centering upon major temples and connected by broad sphinx-lined avenues. On the E bank the central settlement lay in and around Karnak with its temple to Amun and subsidiary shrines for Khonsu (the moon), Montu (the hawk-headed god of war), Ptah, and Osiris. One km S was the complex of the mother-goddess Mut and Khonsu-the-child, while 3.5 km farther S was the Luxor temple ("southern Ope") with its temple to Amun and the king's spirit. On the W bank the major centers were (from S to N): the great palace and commercial harbor of Amenophis III; the mortuary temple of Rameses III at Medinet Habu; the town of the necropolis workers at Deir el-Medina; the Rameseum of Rameses II; the "valley" with temples of Montuhotpe I and Queen Hatshepsut; and the temple of Sety I at Qurneh. The city was administered by two majors, one for the E bank and one for the W; but the high priest of Amun exercised jurisdiction over both the vizier for Upper Egypt was often in residence.

With the death of Rameses XI (ca. 1070 B.C.) Thebes ceased to enjoy a direct connection with the royal family, who used Tanis both as residence and burying ground. The city shrank in population and became merely the provincial headquarters of the high priest of Amun (who often refused to reside there). An abortive rebellion (ca. 835–825 B.C.) against the Libyan 22d Dynasty ruling in the N brought reprisals and furthered decline. From ca. 711 to 525 B.C. the city experienced a revival and considerable growth, as it was favored by the Amun-worshipping Sudanese kings of the 25th Dynasty; and it became the capital of princesses of the reigning house, who filled the office of "Divine Adoratress" of Amun and ruled from Asyut to Elephantine. Thebes was sacked by the Assyrian army in 663 B.C., and suffered similar raids at the hands of the Persians in 525 and 343 B.C. In the Ptolemaic period Thebes became identified with nationalist interests against Greeks, and mounted three rebellions against the Alexandrian Ptolemies. With

the suppression of the last of these in 80 B.C., the temple of Amun was largely abandoned, Karnak lost its preeminence, and the center of occupation shifted S to Luxor where in Roman times stood the agora of the city and the military camp. With the advent of Christianity many of the temples were transformed into churches and monasteries.

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DONALD B. REDFORD

**THEBEZ** (PLACE) [Heb *tēbēṣ* (תֵּבֵץ)]. A settlement which Abimelech had captured but was never able to leave, having been mortally wounded by a millstone a woman dropped on his head from a tower (Judg 9:50; 2 Sam 11:21). The site is to be identified with Tubas (M.R. 185192), in a fertile region some 13 miles NE of Shechem. The settlement would have been strategically important to Abimelech inasmuch as it stood at a point of easy access to both Shechem and Dothan.

ELMER H. DYCK

**THEFT.** See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES (OT AND ANE).

**THEKLA, ACTS OF.** According to ancient Christian tradition, Thekla of Iconium was a convert, companion, and colleague of the apostle Paul. After she proved herself faithful by enduring persecutions, Paul ordained her to teach. At about the year 200 C.E. Tertullian (*De Bapt.* 1.17) wrote:

> But if they claim writings which are wrongly inscribed with Paul's name—I mean the example of Thecla—in support of women's freedom to teach and baptize, let them know that a presbyter in Asia, who put together that book, heaping up a narrative as it were from his own materials under Paul's name, when after conviction he confessed that he had done it from love of Paul, resigned his position.

The book referred to here almost certainly was the *Acts of Paul,* in which we find the following stories of this Thekla.

When Paul and his two traveling companions, Demas and Hermogenes, arrive in Iconium to preach their gospel and the necessity of sexual continence, a beautiful young woman named Thekla converts and then refuses to marry Thamyris, to whom she had been betrothed. He and Theocleia, her mother, unsuccessfully beg her to abandon this newcomer Paul. Thamyris, however, succeeds in bribing Demas and Hermogenes to desert Paul and they tell him how to bring charges against the apostle before Roman authorities. Thekla visits Paul in jail and she is brought with him to trial. Paul is flogged and released, but Thekla, at her mother's insistence, is condemned to the pyre. A miraculous shower extinguishes the flames and Thekla leaves Iconium in search of Paul.

She finds Paul and Onesiphorus' family in a cave praying for her welfare, narrates her rescue, and asks Paul to baptize her. He refuses until she is more fully proven. She and Paul then enter Antioch of Pisidia, where an officer of the emperor cult attempts to have his way with her. In defending herself she violates the imperial symbols Alexander wears and thus is accused of the capital offense of sacrilege. A Roman judge condemns her to the beasts. The first beast released is a lioness, which refuses to eat her. Next comes a bear but the lioness kills it. Then a lion fights the lioness and both die. Inasmuch as Paul had refused to baptize her, she baptizes herself safely in a pool of ferocious (?) seals. Other beasts are

released, but the women inebriate them by throwing flowers, spices, and perfumes into the arena. In desperation the executioners finally tie her to two bulls and thrust hot pokers onto their genitals. The bulls bolt but fire burns the ropes and Thekla is spared. Queen Tryphaena, her patroness in Antioch, gives her money to care for the poor and sends her off to find Paul. When the apostle hears Thekla's story he tells her "to teach the word of God." Tradition claimed that she established a ministry in Seleucia of Isauria where she taught, cared for the poor, and healed the sick (see, e.g., the later Greek additions to the end of the *Acts of Paul and Thekla*).

Tertullian thought the author of the *Acts of Paul* concocted Thekla out of an overly enthusiastic "love of Paul," but it is more likely the author had learned Theklan legends from local storytellers and wrote them up in his own *Acts.* Given the dominant place of women in the story and the use of Thekla's memory to authorize women teaching and baptizing, it is likely these storytellers were themselves celibate women. The author of the pseudo-Pauline Pastoral Epistles (1 and 2 Timothy and Titus) seems to have known such stories and to have dismissed them and their legitimations of women's ministries as "tales told by old women" (1 Tim 4:7; MacDonald 1983). It is difficult to know how the legends were generated, but it is quite possible that an Anatolian woman named Thekla was in fact active in the Pauline mission and later became the subject of fantastic legends used to support women in their ministries.

Be that as it may, Thekla was popular in the imaginations of early Christians. The sections of the *Acts of Paul* pertaining to her circulated independently as the *Acts of Paul and Thekla* and were widely read and copied. We know of several traditions about her death, and she was the heroine of Methodius' *Symposium* (early 4th century). Her iconography is rich until the 12th century. Thekla typically is depicted listening to Paul preach, half naked between two wild beasts, or as an orant surrounded by flames. Vowed virgins often took her name, including Macrina, the sister of Basil the Great and Gregory of Nyssa. Her feast day was celebrated in the East on September 24 and in the West (until she was stripped of canonical status at the Second Vatican Council) on September 23.

The zenith of her popularity came in the 4th to 6th centuries and was largely concentrated in Seleucia, Isauria, the traditional location of her ministry. Gregory of Nazianzus called Seleucia "the city of the holy and illustrious virgin Thekla" (*On the Great Athanasius* 22), and here archaeologists found a richly decorated, huge basilica—almost the length of a football field—as well as other shrines, all in honor of St. Thekla. A 4th-century nun named Egeria visited Seleucia and recorded in her extant diary that it contained "a tremendous number of [monastic] cells for men and women (*The Travels of Egeria* 23, 1–6). A 5th-century resident of Seleucia wrote a two-volume work entitled *The Life and Miracles of Saint Thekla,* the first half of which simply paraphrases the *Acts of Paul and Thekla.* The second half, however, contains 46 stories of miracles attributed to Thekla by the local faithful, thus providing a window through which to see entire provinces of Asia Minor devoted to the veneration of this virgin martyr.

The text of the *Acts of Paul and Thekla* appears in pp. 235–72 of *Acta apostolorum apocrypha,* vol. 1, eds. R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet (Leipzig 1891–1903; reprint Darmstadt 1959). See also *NTApocr* 2: 353–64 and *DACL* 15: 2225–36.

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DENNIS R. MACDONALD


**THEODICY.** Life's harsh enigmas render belief in a benevolent deity difficult. Theodicy is the attempt to defend divine justice in the face of aberrant phenomena that appear to indicate the deity's

indifference or hostility toward virtuous people. Ancient Israel's conviction that God shaped historical events to benefit a covenant nation exacerbated the issue, particularly in the wake of events associated with 722 and 587 B.C.E. In one sense the pitiful state of Yahweh's worshipers during the Exile and in postexilic Judah transformed theodicy into a question about history. For this reason, theodicy was never just a theoretical problem of the individual; divine justice involved society itself—the distribution of goods, access to knowledge and power, the formation of legal statutes. Moreover, distinct theodicies surfaced to protect the interests of the privileged and the powerless.

**A. Theodicy in the Ancient Near East**

Although more severe in Israel because of its belief in Yahweh's sole authority, the problem of theodicy also beset Egyptian and Mesopotamian thinkers. Most Egyptian authors resolved the issue by placing the blame on human shoulders, for example, "The Protests of the Eloquent Peasant" (*ANET*, 407–10), "Suicide" (*ANET*, 405–7), and "The Instruction of Amenemhet" (*ANET*, 418–19). On the other hand, "The Admonitions of Ipuwer" (ca. 2100 B.C.E.) contains a gloss that boldly asks if the gods are sleeping while social chaos rages, adding that they set confusion throughout the land as if loving death (*ANET*, 441–44). Mesopotamian texts spread the blame more freely. A Sumerian Job text, "Man and His God" (*ANET*, 589–91), attributes the following response to sages of old: "Never has a sinless child been born to its mother …" Rather than accusing humans of innate guilt, "I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom" (*ANET*, 434–37) appeals to human ignorance about the gods, whose will cannot be discerned and may in fact be just the opposite of what people think the deities desire. "The Dialogue of Pessimism" (*ANET*, 600–1) implies that societal chaos renders life meaningless, which is an indirect accusation of the gods. The sharpest attack comes in "The Babylonian Theodicy" (*ANET*, 601–4), an acrostic poem of twenty-seven stanzas of eleven lines each. Here the sufferer tells a pious friend that the gods endowed the human race with lies, and the friend defends the gods by appealing to broader experience and divine potential for making things right in a moment.

**B. Theodicy in Ancient Israel**

The Israelite responses to the problem of theodicy resemble these in some ways but bear their own stamp, chiefly because of Israel's experience. Creation faith in the goodness of all things precluded some answers, while belief in Yahweh's self-revelation ruled out others. Above all, an unfailing insistence on Yahweh as a moral creator and champion of the oppressed narrowed the possibilities for accusing God. Nevertheless, the dogmatic crust created by these fundamental presuppositions cracked and burst under the pressure of a greater integrity, a willingness to expostulate with the deity. Without exception, dissent arose on the basis of a profound vision of a better society in which Israel's God would play a decisive role.

The scope of this wrestling with theodicy is astonishing, from Eve's defense of the creator whom the serpent accused of tyranny to the Chronicler's effort to apply the Deuteronomistic historian's national punishment to specific individuals such as King Manasseh (cf. the Prayer of Manasseh in the Apocrypha). Spurred on by Josiah's shocking fate, the Deuteronomistic historian issued a monumental theodicy, an explanation for Judah's defeat that made sense theologically, at least to some. In a word, the nation sinned, God punished it by external foes; the people repented, God restored them. The cycle repeated itself ad infinitum. Gideon's sharp retort to an angel's assurance of divine solicitude speaks volumes: "Pray, sir, if the Lord is with us, why then has all this befallen us?" (Judg 6:13). Abraham's articulation of the issue can hardly be improved on: "Shall not the Judge of the whole earth do right?" (Gen 18:25); although Moses' request that Yahweh blot him out of the divine record book shows how seriously the author of Exod 32:32 took wholesale slaughter of populations by an angry deity. Joshua's request that a condemned Achan glorify God, assuming complete responsibility for his death, shows that the author valued divine justice greatly (Josh 7:19).

The prophets struggled valiantly with this problem, despite their strong sense of national waywardness. For Habakkuk, the prosperity of the wicked and the sorry lot of the virtuous seemed to suggest divine blindness and inactivity, until he caught a vision of broader horizons on which history began to unfold. He asked the most difficult questions of all: How long, and why? His contemporary Jeremiah personally bore

the brunt of divine abuse, which he chose to describe as seduction and rape. Still, the prophet conceded that Yahweh was by definition *ṣaddîq* (innocent), even though Jeremiah felt constrained to press charges (Jer 12:1). Ezekiel, another contemporary, in Babylonian exile, argued with some people bent on challenging Yahweh's justice, and the best he could do was assert the opposite opinion (Ezekiel 18). The prophetic novella about Jonah states that at first the prophet refused to carry out the divine command precisely because of God's compassionate nature, wondrously announced in Exod 34:6–7. The issue separating Jonah and his Lord concerned divine justice: can a wicked city like Nineveh escape punishment by repenting? Jonah believed justice demanded punishment, whereas Yahweh thought a higher principle of mercy was operative. This argument placed the issue of divine justice on a different level from that presupposed by the authors of Genesis 18 and Exodus 32. Deutero-Isaiah pressed in another direction: an innocent servant died on behalf of other people, and God is essentially hidden (or hiding).

Wisdom Literature took up the problem of theodicy in earnest. The book of Job offered several partial answers—human ignorance, divine mystery, corrective discipline, delayed punishment and rewards—but acknowledged the problem as an insolvable enigma before which the best response was silence in the presence of a self-revealing creator. Various paradoxical proverbs recognized manifestations of anomie in society, for innocent victims like Abel forced such concessions, particularly after the weakening of corporate solidarity in favor of an increasing emphasis on the individual. Under Hellenistic influence, Ben Sira lifted the arguments out of the realm of verification, insisting on metaphysical and psychological answers, specifically that nature rewards virtue and punishes vice, and that evil people suffer psychic stress. Wisdom of Solomon endorsed both answers, emphasizing the latter with specific reference to the Egyptians who held Israel in bondage. The martyrdom of the devout during the Maccabean revolt prompted the author of Daniel 12:2 to entertain the possibility of life after death, but 2 Esdras laid bare the inadequacy of this solution, now extended in duration. Eternal torment for the masses hardly salvaged God's honor even if a few fortunate people like Ezra enjoyed hope of a better fate. The notion of human depravity threw a question over the worthwhileness of creation, a version of the modern debate over whether or not a moral creator should have fashioned free beings who would choose evil. A few psalms aired the problem of theodicy and responded to it by denial (Psalm 37), appeal to mystery (Psalm 49), and liturgy (Psalm 73, awareness of the deity's presence in the sanctuary, with assurance that the goodness of God alone mattered). Within rabbinic literature, the concept of *yēṣēr hārāʿ* and *yēṣēr haṭṭōb,* evil and good dispositions, offered a convenient explanation for human conduct, for the rabbis believed that God would eradicate the evil inclination in due time. An extreme view characterized the thinking in Ecclesiastes; the deity was remote and indifferent to morality, giving free rein to chance and conceding ultimate authority to death.

In the Hebrew Bible the fundamental issues relating to theodicy cover three types of evil: primary, moral, and religious. The first type refers to catastrophic phenomena in nature such as earthquakes, tornadoes, pestilence, drought, and the like. The Yahwistic narrative examines this issue, refusing to absolve the deity of responsibility for evil's existence as manifested in the talking serpent, although largely exonerating Yahweh for sending the Flood (contrast the Mesopotamian parallels). Moral evil, arising in human decisions, exercises the energies of numerous thinkers, both in its social and its individual dimensions. Religious evil, which restricts itself to the vertical plane and thus involves only the individual and God, surfaced late but achieved poignancy in the poetic disquisitions of 2 Esdras. Because the created order was essentially good, the dualistic answer failed to gain momentum, despite the partially opened door accompanying the notion of Satan. Older claims that Yahweh created weal and woe, light and darkness, (Isa 45:7; Amos 3:7) retained their power to command assent. That belief introduced some embarrassing ideas, e.g., the divine seduction of persons to their harm (the pharaoh of the Exodus; 1 Kings 22) and pushed individual prophets into curious statements (Ezekiel's insistence that Yahweh commanded human sacrifice in order to horrify people). Small wonder a popular questioning of divine justice did battle with Yahweh's defenders, also beset with official complaints against divine governance.

Answers to the problem of evil derived from several contexts. Belief in a harmonious universe issued in a corresponding conviction that a rational principle, Order—or Yahweh—rewarded good deeds and punished evil acts. This principle, planted in nature at creation, was identified with divine wisdom (*maat* in Egypt), making endemoniasm an ethical issue, for virtuous deeds sustained the universe while at the same time bestowing life's good things on deserving persons. A theory of reward and retribution permeated the ancient world, hardening into dogma and eliciting sharp dissent throughout the ANE. Israelite prophets naturally subscribed to this theory, but they stretched it to the limit by insisting that some persons suffered precisely because they were Yahweh's servants and that others suffered because they participated in the divine pathos (Hosea).

The family setting produced a different response to the problem of evil. Loving parents disciplined their children to shape character and to protect them from harm. The parental metaphor for God lent credibility to the idea that the heavenly Parent chastened disobedient children. In fact, this metaphor enabled teachers to insist that discipline was proof of love. The educational setting, at first the home and later the royal court and schoolhouse, also encouraged this understanding of discipline, which was frequently harsh, as Sumerian and Egyptian school texts attest.

All religion presents a vexing problem—how to determine the purity of worship. The human tendency to assume the central position and the eagerness to act in a manner that pays worthy dividends forced Israel to ask whether anyone served God for nothing. The very survival of faith depended on a positive answer to this question, but the only way to find out whether persons would remain faithful without thought of the carrot or the stick was to submit them to a test. The probative response to the problem of evil thus emerged from the noblest of intentions. Perhaps that fact partially explains the dominance in later memory of the Joban response to suffering that characterizes the prose prologue, almost to the exclusion of the poetry's defiant insistence on appropriate rewards, an idea that also invaded the epilogue. Experience taught individuals in the ancient world that most unpleasant things passed eventually. Hope springs eternal in the human breast, and patience was deemed essential to learned persons. The God who draws near, inspired worship far and near, for many people believed that suffering and tears were superseded by joy. The idea of "latter things," eschatology, grew naturally from covenant promises never fully actualized. Davidic kings absolutized this ideology to enhance their own status and to legitimize the cult at Jerusalem and Zion's inviolability. People longed for the Day of the Lord when the mighty deliverer would correct all wrongs. Apocalyptic thinkers pushed that eschatological deliverance beyond this world into the remote aeons of eternity. Only thus would forgotten victims like Job's children and servants ever experience vindication.

From the realm of the sacrificial cult arose yet another answer to the problem of evil. The presumed efficacy of human sacrifice and, still later, animal or cereal offerings suggested that redemption occurred for those who incurred guilt, thus revealing God as forgiving. This notion was extended to include symbolic gestures of devotion such as prayers and the libations of one's mouth, and even further to embrace vicarious sacrifices. That powerful concept erupted for the first time in the Servant Poems of Deutero-Isaiah, and Christianity understood Jesus' death in this way.

In some circles evil was denied any reality. Prosperity of the wicked was dismissed as illusive, despite appearances to the contrary. According to the author of Psalm 73, the affluence of evil people had no more substance than images in a dream. On waking, Yahweh would shake these images into oblivion. In addition, Israel's thinkers recognized mitigating circumstances, so that passing judgment on a given individual became hazardous.

For some people evil offered an opportunity to act heroically. In short, suffering prepared individuals for knowledge of the inner self or for a revelation of divine will. Human extremity became God's occasion to act (cf. John 9:3), and suffering enabled growth in character and maturity in personality. In Job's case suffering led to immediate sight, a vision of the Lord of Nature that convinced the miserable creature that all previous knowledge of God had been derivative and hence flawed. The devout worshiper in Psalm 73 whose faith was sorely tested later felt God's hand on warm flesh and emerged from darkness into light with a mighty shout: "If I have you, I want nothing else."

One of the oldest answers to the problem of life's ambiguities emphasized ultimate mystery and human limits. The universe had its flaws, and no one possessed sufficient intellience to explain its enigmas. The earliest proverbs in the OT already perceived many areas in which human knowledge came up against a mightier force—Yahweh's will. In the last resort, the poet responsible for the book of Job refused to offer a final answer to the mystery of suffering, even though Yahweh certainly had the opportunity to resolve the problem before which a groping humanity stands. In this instance silence was undoubtedly the right option for the poet, for keeping the question open was preferable to closure by means of a simplistic answer. Perhaps the enigma of suffering points to the mystery of the biblical God, who gathers human pain into the divine heart. Evil caused suffering on God's part, for that was the price of human freedom.

Qoheleth's skeptical response abandoned all hope of divine justice, in this radical view echoing Job's strident accusations of a deity who remained oblivious to human misery and Agur's mocking parody of sacred tradition (Prov 30:1–4). Qoheleth's flippant question, "Who knows?" grew out of dismay that the universe had gone awry, rendering existence futile and absurd. One could even speak of a tendency in the Hebrew Bible toward antitheodicy. The insistence on divine freedom and human limits persisted in spite of quests for rational solutions to the problem of evil. Israel's sages recognized pride's folly, the arrogant insistence on judging God on the basis of human reason. This intuition led the author of Job to propose an answer within revelation rather than reason, just as the composers of "The Babylonian Theodicy" and "I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom" appealed to religious tradition and mystery rather than locating the final word in human logic.

In ancient Israel history kept the problem of theodicy alive, for few people doubted that Yahweh stood behind the events of 722 and 587 B.C.E. The ensuing crisis of faith resulted in a transcending of the ethical principle—strict justice giving way to compassion—and a universalization of providence. The basis for both moves lay in Israel's idea of creation, for only the fashioner of the universe had sufficient knowledge and power to render absolute justice, or to forgo it. Confronted by this maker, the questioning individual had one of two options: repentance or despair.

Within Wisdom Literature, texts dealing with creation frequently broach the issue of divine justice. The emergence of the figure Wisdom (*ḥokmāh*) softened the anxiety resulting from emphasis on the High God who ruled the whole universe, rather than promoting allegiance to the patron deity of a single group. Wisdom, personified as a woman, turned toward human beings like a lover, assuring them of divine benevolence. The sages also employed a debate formula in several discussions of theodicy. The form advised people against saying something ("Do not say"), cited the specific expression that the teacher wanted to prevent, and offered the reason for urging silence in this regard. Wisdom and apocalyptic had an advantage over prophecy and Yahwism generally—they lacked historical triumphalism. Whereas the sages virtually ignored the Israel's history until Ben Sira, apocalyptic surrendered the belief that Yahweh controlled historical events, for history had become a nightmare.

Modern calamities such as the Lisbon earthquake and, above all, the Holocaust have raised the question of theodicy to new heights. Traditional free-will defenses have lost their power, partly because they are ahistorical, overly abstract, and rationalistic. Cosmic order no longer makes sense, philosophical theism reduces religion to a few ideas that are shared by many groups, and the experience of faithful believers who struggle against evil escapes notice. In the opinion of some, process thought offers a way of approaching the problem that resembles the OT emphasis on God's susceptibility to change. Perhaps patient resistance to evil that juxtaposes love and hatred, passive response and harsh force, comes closest to discerning a viable response to evil. The crucial issue remains: will such action actually overcome evil? Only when resistance to God has vanished will theodicy cease to trouble theists.

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**THEODOTION, THEODOTION'S VERSION.** Among the early Jewish translators of biblical material into Greek was Theodotion of Ephesus, who was active in the mid-2d century C.E. Origen, who organized his Hexapla a century later, included work attributed to Theodotion in his sixth column. In certain books, such as Exodus, Joshua, and Job, this sixth-column material may securely be identified with the Theodotionic recension. In such books, and especially in Job, Origen regularly drew on Theodotion to "correct" the then current Greek to reflect more accurately the Hebrew text Origen held in highest esteem. In other places, however, the sixth column does not contain Theodotion (as with the Minor Prophets and Psalms, for example), and scholars must seek his version elsewhere. The trail sometimes leads to the LXX itself, as in the case of Daniel, where Theodotion's edition supplanted the Old Greek at a very early date.

In fact, quotations from Theodotion's Daniel and from other material identified with him antedate "historical" Theodotion by as much as a century. This has led to the hypothesis of an "Ur-Theodotion." His work may be described as a thoughtful revision of the Old Greek of some (all?) of the OT toward a Hebrew that closely resembled the text preserved by the Masoretes (the MT). This anonymous individual (or group of individuals) apparently lived in the 1st century B.C.E. and provided the basis for "Theodotionic" quotations prior to Theodotion. It is unclear how extensive are the further developments that can be attributed to the 2d-century Theodotion, whose existence and activity are too widely witnessed by tradition to be dismissed altogether.

Efforts to establish the locale and purposes of Ur-Theodotion have been revitalized by the work of Dominique Barthélemy (1963). For him, (Ur-)Theodotion cannot be understood apart from the *kaige* recension of the LXX, which Barthélemy first identified on the basis of a Minor Prophets scroll found in the Judean desert. Barthélemy isolated a number of characteristic translation devices and equivalences for this recension, among which was the representation of Hebrew *gm*, "also," by the Greek *kaige*. There is no doubt that in certain biblical books, like Exodus and Joshua, the text preserved in Theodotion's name is in fact part of this larger recension. Each book or block of material, however, must be investigated separately. In Barthélemy's opinion, *kaige*—and, therefore, Theodotion—originated in Palestine in circles that can be closely linked to particular types of rabbinic exegesis. Barthélemy seeks to establish the identity of Ur-Theodotion: he is Jonathan ben Uzziel, to whom a Targum on the Prophets is generally credited. Barthélemy's overall characterization of the *kaige* recension has won wide acceptance, as has his association of much of Theodotion's version with the recension. His more speculative attempts at identification and localization have met with a more guarded response.

Judged on its own merits and as part of the *kaige* recension, Theodotion's version is generally accorded high marks. He aimed to produce a text that retained much of the flavor of the Semitic original and at the same time appealed to a wide audience of Greek speakers, and in this he succeeded. One of his goals,

apparently, was to provide standard representations of key Hebrew words and phrases where the Old Greek he was revising preferred variety. He was also partial to transliteration of technical terms or of other unclear or obscure words. Many of the techniques used by Ur-Theodotion (and the *kaige* recension in general) were perfected by Aquila, and it is for that reason that Barthélemy speaks of Theodotion-*kaige* as Aquila's precursor. See also AQUILA'S VERSION. However, it would be unfortunate to think of Theodotion's work only in terms of its heirs or even of its subdivisions. As a finished product, it represents a high point in Jewish attempts to make the sacred text comprehensible to those who no longer understood the Hebrew language.

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**THEODOTUS** (PERSON). Theodotus was a common Greek name meaning "gift of God," and was the name of several significant people in secular and sacred history.

**1.** A Samaritan epic poet who wrote in the 2d century B.C.E., of which only fragments are extant (see *FGrHist* 732; and Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* 9.22).

**2.** Among the 72 Palestinian elders listed in the Jewish-Alexandrian *Letter of Aristeas* is the Greek name Theodotus.

**3.** One of the ambassadors along with a certain Mattathias (unless these are the Greek and Hebrew name of the same man) sent by the Syrian general Nicanor to make peace with Judas Maccabeus (2 Macc 14:19).

**4.** An Aetolian whose plot to murder Ptolemy IV Philopator, king of Egypt (221–204 B.C.E.), was foiled by a renegade Jew (*3 Macc.* 1:2; and compare further Polybius 5.81).

**5.** Theodotus, son of Vettenus. An inscription bearing his name found on Mt. Ophel, Jerusalem, indicates that he dedicated a synagogue (*CII* 2 [1952], no. 1404). The excavations conducted by Weill disclosed the remains of a large building dating from Roman times, including the installations of a bathhouse. The Greek inscription indicates what the complex of buildings was used for: "Theodotus the son of Vettenus, priest and *archisynagogos,* son of the *archisynagogos,* grandson of the *archisynagogos,* built this synagogue for the reading of the Torah and the study of the commandments, and the hostel and the rooms and the water installations, for needy travelers from foreign lands. The foundations of the synagogue were laid by his fathers and the elders and Simonides." No certain evidence identifies this synagogue with any mentioned in literary sources such as the synagogue of the Freedman, as some scholars suggest (Acts 6:9). The name may indicate Roman connections, perhaps a family of Jewish exile origin which built the synagogue after gaining freedom to cater to the needs of pilgrims arriving in Jerusalem.

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**THEOLOGY.** This entry consists of two articles. The first focuses on OT theology and the second focuses on NT theology. For a survey of attempts to understand theologically the relationship between the two, see THEOLOGY (BIBLICAL), HISTORY OF.

## *OLD TESTAMENT*

OT theology may be defined as the exposition of the theological content of the OT writings. While such a definition is simple and to the point, it masks a variety of understandings which have been operative in the history of the discipline, as well as the complex range of problems associated with it, which require further elucidation.

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A. History of OT Theology

1. In the Service of Protestant Orthodoxy
2. Emancipation from Dogmatics
3. The Influence of Rationalism
4. OT Theology Eclipsed by the History of Israelite Religion
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C. Conclusion

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**A. History of OT Theology**

OT theology came into existence as a distinct discipline toward the end of the 18th century. Prior to that time, it was subsumed, along with NT theology, under the larger discipline of biblical theology. It should be noted, however, that within the context of the Jewish canon, OT theology is synonymous with biblical theology, whereas in the context of the Christian canon, it is a subdiscipline of the latter. See also THEOLOGY (BIBLICAL), HISTORY OF. An understanding of the origins of biblical theology is essential for a proper understanding of fundamental issues in OT theology today. Consequently we shall begin our historical survey prior to the time when OT theology became a distinct discipline. At the risk of a certain amount of oversimplification, the history of the discipline may be divided into five distinct periods.

**1. In the Service of Protestant Orthodoxy (ca. 1550–1650).** While the Bible has been read theologically since its formation, biblical theology as a discipline has its roots in the Protestant Reformation. The Reformers' emphasis on Scripture as the sole source and norm for all matters of faith provided the soil from which biblical theology sprang. While the term itself was not used by the Reformers to designate a distinct discipline, it is clear that for them biblical theology meant a systematic theology which was biblical in character, that is, for which the Bible was the primary, if not the sole, source and norm. Insofar as the Reformers self-consciously sought to differentiate their theology from Roman Catholic dogma, in which tradition played a major role, one may note a polemic dimension in the birth of biblical theology. One could go on to observe that while the target of the polemic changed periodically, the polemic dimension has been a constant feature of biblical theology throughout its history, in the sense that it had to fight repeatedly for an unbiased hearing of the theological witness of Scripture.

While the Reformers in their use of Scripture introduced a creative tension between the Bible and dogmatic theology, the opposite was true of the proponents of Protestant orthodoxy who followed them. In their hands the Bible became subservient to Protestant dogmatics, which determined the selection, order, and treatment of biblical passages. The Bible came to be viewed as a uniform sourcebook of quotations whose primary task was to support the dogmas of Protestant orthodoxy against the dogmas of Roman Catholicism. No distinctions were made in regard to time, authorship, historical context, compositional purpose, or distinctive theological perspectives of the biblical documents. The system of arranging biblical data was the traditional *loci* method known from medieval scholasticism. That is, various Scripture texts would be listed and briefly commented upon under the topical rubrics drawn from dogmatic theology. The understanding of biblical theology reflected in Protestant orthodoxy may be characterized as "dogmatic biblicism" or proof-texting *(dicta probantia).* Early in the 17th century, the actual words "biblical theology" began to appear in the title of works of this kind. As far as we know, the first work to use such a title was W. J. Christmann's *Teutsche Biblische Theologie* published in 1629. While many other works of this nature were published subsequently, a significant shift in the

understanding of biblical theology began to take place during the second half of the 17th century, thus ushering in a new era in the history of the discipline.

**2. Emancipation from Dogmatics (ca. 1650–1800).** The more attentively Scripture was read and studied during the course of the 17th century, the more it became apparent that the biblical documents did not really contain a theological system of doctrines at all. Rather, Scripture was cast into the form of a historical narrative. It told the story of God's unfolding relationship with humanity through a sequence of temporal events *(oeconomia temporum).* Furthermore, it was noted that this relationship between God and humanity was given form through a series of covenants. Hence this approach to Scripture came to be known also as "federal" or "covenant" theology (from Lat *foedus*, "league, covenant"). One of the first and most influential proponents of this new approach was Johannes Cocceius (1603–69), who was trained in OT and oriental studies, but toward the end of his life became professor of dogmatic theology at the University of Leiden. Cocceius abandoned the topical outline of the traditional dogmatics in favor of covenant as the central concept around which the theological assertions of Scripture were organized. At the same time he emphasized the notion of Scripture being the record of God's redemptive activity in history, thus becoming a forerunner of the later *heilsgeschichtliche* approach to biblical theology.

The shift from a dogmatic to a more historically oriented approach to biblical theology accelerated during the course of the 18th century. Of particular importance in this development were two cultural movements of the 18th century: German Pietism and the Enlightenment. Pietism was a revolt within the German Church against Protestant scholasticism, which it considered to be excessively preoccupied with dogmatic speculations and arid abstractions. Whereas Protestant orthodoxy tended to equate the Christian faith with intellectual assent to sound doctrine, Pietism stressed personal experience and awareness of the presence of God, as nourished through a life of prayer, personal devotion, Bible reading, and moral living. Pietism's emphasis on the reading and study of Scripture by all brought about a greater familiarity with the contents of the Bible. It also brought about an increasing awareness of the differences between biblical and dogmatic theology. Biblical theology, which until now had been subservient to Protestant dogmatics, became increasingly differentiated from and even opposed to the latter during the course of the 18th century. In distinction from dogmatic theology, biblical theology was primarily concerned with the temporal and sequential unfolding of revelation in the Bible. The religious teaching of the Bible must be set forth in its own right and according to its own categories, rather than in the straitjacket of dogmatic systems. It was to be practical as well as edifying for the ordinary believer. The meaning of Scripture was to be ascertained with careful attention to the historical context out of which it arose and to the specific nuances of biblical words and concepts.

The increasing differentiation of biblical theology from dogmatic theology was also greatly aided by the Enlightenment which swept across Europe during the 18th century. Rationalism's aversion to dogmatic religion, its belief in the powers of the human intellect to ascertain truth through observation and inductive reasoning, as well as its belief in the existence of universal natural religion which was in conformity with the demands of reason, exerted a powerful influence on biblical studies and widened the gulf between biblical and dogmatic theology. Increasingly the Bible came to be subjected to the same kind of critical and rational study as any other human document of antiquity.

Thus under the impact of both Pietism and rationalism, biblical theology was liberated from the dominance of dogmatic theology and became a distinct and independent discipline. The first major biblical theology to be written from this new vantage point was G. T. Zachariä's four-volume *Biblische Theologie oder Untersuchung des biblischen Grundes der vornehmsten theologischen Lehren* (1771–75). Mindful of the widening gulf which had been shown to exist between the meaning of biblical texts as determined by critical exegesis and that alleged by dogmatic theology, Zachariä set out to determine the theological teaching of the Bible free from the constraints of any dogmatic system. The latter was, rather, to be tested and, if necessary, to be corrected by the former. Whereas dogmatic theology had treated the Bible like a uniform textbook of theological doctrines, a true biblical theology must allow for greater historical differentiation and individual treatment of the biblical writings. Each book of the Bible has its own peculiar character and intent. Differences in time, place, circumstance, and purpose must not be

glossed over, but must be determined as accurately as possible. Philological and semantic concerns were to be given due emphasis, so as to penetrate the peculiar language and thought of the Bible. While Zachariä thus clearly emphasized the historical and descriptive character of biblical theology, he believed that it had also a constructive or normative function. Some of the assertions and beliefs of the biblical authors related more to their own times than to ours; consequently, biblical theology must differentiate between that which belonged to their own time and that which is valid or binding for all time. That which was historically or culturally conditioned must be distinguished from that which is abiding or universal. Biblical theology must not only expound the exegetical meaning of the Bible, but must also attempt to translate the timeless biblical truths into contemporary garb, so as to allow us to appropriate them. The results of such a biblical theology could then serve as the basis for a purified dogmatic or systematic theology.

The emancipation of biblical theology from dogmatic theology found its clearest expression toward the end of the 18th century in a programmatic essay by J. P. Gabler (1753–1826). Gabler has often been credited as being the founder of biblical theology as a distinct theological discipline. That, however, is not quite accurate, for many of the ideas he formulated had already found expression in other 18th-century biblical theologians prior to him, such as Zachariä, W. F. Hufnagel, and J. G. Hofmann. It would be more accurate to say that he took up ideas and impulses present in the work of other 18th-century biblical theologians and formulated them into a coherent programmatic statement which became formative for the entire subsequent history of the discipline. Gabler himself never attempted to write a biblical theology, but his program for one was laid out in his inaugural lecture at the University of Altdorf in 1787, as well as in subsequent occasional articles. The rather lengthy title of his inaugural lecture was indicative of his program: "Concerning the Proper Distinction between Biblical and Dogmatic Theology and the Appropriate Definition of the Respective Goals of Both." Gabler proceeded to differentiate the two theological disciplines as follows. Biblical theology is historical in character; that is, it sets forth what the sacred writers thought about divine matters. Dogmatic theology, on the other hand, is didactic in character, teaching what a given theologian thinks about divine matters in accordance with his ability, his particular circumstances, age, locale, religious and intellectual tradition, and similar conditioning factors. Gabler went on to differentiate two phases or distinct tasks of biblical theology. The first task of biblical theology was to ascertain simply what the various biblical authors thought and asserted about divine matters in their various contexts. This was to be accomplished by means of a purely grammatical and historical exegesis. All allegorizing or spiritualizing was to be shunned. Care was to be exercised in differentiating the various ideas of biblical writers, not to blur differences but to arrange and compare these ideas in some suitable manner. The second task of biblical theology was to sift these various biblical concepts and assertions in terms of their universal and abiding value and to deduce some general concepts and ideas from these which could serve as a basis for the construction of a dogmatic theology. In subsequent writings, Gabler referred to these two stages in biblical theology as *wahre* ("true") and *reine* ("pure") biblical theology respectively (Hayes and Prussner 1985: 62–64). It is clear from this distinction that for Gabler, biblical theology thus entailed both a purely historical or descriptive and a constructive or normative dimension; and this distinction has continued to occupy biblical and OT theology down to the present day. It is also obvious that the second task involves the application of certain value judgments to the Bible which are extrinsic to it. Usually these were drawn from Christian theology or contemporary philosophy. For Gabler, for instance, one such norm was the concept of the spiritual evolution of the human race, according to which spirit evolves in stages from the lower to the higher. The rationalism of the age of Hume is clearly reflected in his thinking on this point. In the century following Gabler, rationalism became a dominant influence in biblical theology.

**3. The Influence of Rationalism (ca. 1750–1875).** Initially rationalism, along with Pietism, had been a constructive force in emancipating biblical theology from the stranglehold of dogmatic theology and in establishing it as a distinct theological discipline in its own right. Many 18th-century biblical theologians combined both currents in their life and their scholarship. That is, they were both devout believers as well as rationalists, and this was reflected in their scholarly work on the Bible. But toward the latter part of the

18th and especially during the first half of the 19th century, these two currents more often than not stood in opposition to each other, as rationalism became the more powerful of the two. Increasingly, rationalist philosophy penetrated biblical theology and for a time forced it into a philosophical straitjacket which threatened to become as rigid as the older religious dogmatism had been. The Bible was now understood in terms of an evolutionary religious process leading from lower forms of religion to the absolute or universal religion. The latter was usually defined as a religion of reason (deism) or morality (Kant). Representative of this kind of 19th-century biblical theology were the works of G. L. Bauer, C. F. von Ammon, and G. P. C. Kaiser. Only those teachings of Scripture which were in accord with reason, or the universal religion as established by reason, were of abiding value. Everything else was to be discarded as the outgrown ideas and practices of a particular culture or period in history. Concomitant with such a rationalistic approach to biblical theology was an increasing devaluation of the OT as the record of an inferior stage in the religious development of the human race, and hence less suitable than the NT for the construction of a biblical theology.

Another important development during this period was the division of biblical theology into the separate disciplines of OT and NT theology, a practice which has become customary down to the present day. Several reasons may be cited for this development. One was undoubtedly the increasing recognition of the diversity of Scripture, especially the distinct differences in content, historical context, and outlook between the testaments, which made it more difficult to treat them as homogenous documents. Another reason was the sheer increase in data and new discoveries pertaining to the Bible, which made it more difficult for anyone to master the entire field of biblical studies. Thus specialization became a necessity. But thirdly, it must also be said that the rationalistic devaluation of the OT in favor of the NT undoubtedly contributed to this bifurcation in biblical theology. At any rate, the work that marked the beginning of this division of the discipline, and thus the beginning of OT theology proper, was G. L. Bauer's OT theology published in 1797. The subtitle of his work is indicative of Bauer's understanding of the newly independent discipline of OT theology: "Theology of the Old Testament, or Outline of the Religious Ideas of the Ancient Hebrews from Earliest Times until the Beginning of the Christian Era." That is, the task of OT theology was to trace the religious ideas of the Hebrews in their historical development and against the background of other ANE religions with whom the Hebrews came into contact. Already the influence of comparative religion was beginning to make itself felt here in this first OT theology. Bauer's rationalistic orientation manifested itself in the manner in which he judged the religious content of the OT. Miraculous and mythological elements in the Bible were dismissed by him as superstitions of a primitive race.

While other OT theologians were even more rationalistic than Bauer, not all biblical theologians of the late 18th and early 19th centuries were equally indiscriminate in their application of rationalistic philosophical principles to the Bible. Others, like D. von Cölln and W. L. DeWette, were more moderately rationalistic, seeking to bring into a creative confluence thought-forms of a modern age with the historical revelation and faith of the Bible. However, in response to the excesses of vulgar rationalism, a conservative reaction took place around the middle of the 18th century, leading to the writing of OT theologies along more orthodox lines. Representative of this development were scholars like E. W. Hengstenberg and F. Delitzsch. Other OT theologians of this period, like H. Ewald, G. F. Oehler, and E. Schultz, took a more moderate or mediating position somewhere between the rationalists and the orthodox Lutherans. Of these, the OT theology by Oehler, published posthumously in two volumes (1873–74) and written from a *heilsgeschichtliche* perspective, was a particularly influential work. It was also the first of the major German OT theologies to be translated into English shortly after its original publication.

**4. OT Theology Eclipsed by the History of Israelite Religion (ca. 1875–1930).** During the last quarter of the 19th century, another significant shift in emphasis occurred in the field of OT theology. The systematic-conceptual presentation of the theological content of the OT, whether of the rationalistic, conservative, or mediating variety, was replaced by a historical and genetic approach to the religion of Israel. Several factors brought about this development. First and foremost among these was the greater historical consciousness brought about during the 19th century by the work of such distinguished

historians as L. von Ranke. Of equal importance were developments in the comparative study of religions. Israel's religion was no longer viewed as an isolated phenomenon *sui generis,* but as one among several other ancient religions, such as those of Egypt, Babylon, Greece, or pre-Islamic Arabia. This development was hastened by a veritable flood of archaeological discoveries from antiquity, which shed fresh light on the Bible and the religious beliefs and practices contained therein. At the same time, revolutionary changes in the historical-critical understanding of the OT, associated with the names of Vatke, Graf, Kuenen, and above all Wellhausen, required new assessments in one's understanding of the history of the religious ideas of the OT.

These developments brought about a shift in the understanding and definition of OT theology. Even when scholars like B. Stade and E. Kautzsch continued to use the word "theology" in the titles of their works, it was apparent that they were really writing histories of the religion of the OT or of Israel. In recognition of this changed reality, most other scholars of this period abandoned the title "OT theology" altogether when they wrote on the religious content of the biblical documents. Reflective of this new outlook was a volume by R. Smend, *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* ("Textbook of the History of Old Testament Religion"). For the next four decades or so, few people wrote OT theologies; most wrote histories of OT or Israelite religion.

The history-of-religion approach differentiated itself from OT theology as traditionally conceived by the following characteristics: (1) an exclusive reliance on a historical-genetic, rather than a systematic-conceptual, approach to the OT; (2) a concomitant de-emphasis on the OT as special revelation, in favor of seeing it as a historical and human record of the evolution of Israelite religion; and (3) greater emphasis and attention to Israel's ANE environment. Increasingly, the OT was seen as an integral part of that environment and only one particular form of religious development among many.

Generally, the history of Israel's religion was traced through several distinct stages. Not infrequently, extrinsic value judgments were applied to these. Thus, for instance, postexilic Judaism was usually compared unfavorably with the religion of the preexilic prophets (Hayes and Prussner 1985: 140–41). Evolutionary philosophical principles were evident in many presentations of Israelite religion. The latter was usually described as evolving from primitive animism or nature religion to ethical monotheism. The influence of Hegel and Darwin may be discerned here. Thus, in spite of its claims to historical objectivity, the history-of-religions approach was not immune to the philosophical assumptions and cultural presuppositions of its own age.

**5. Rebirth of OT Theology (1930 to the Present).** The dominant hold which the history-of-religions approach had exercised over the discipline of OT theology began to wane during the period between the two world wars. Several factors helped bring this change about. Among them were the general change in theological climate following World War I, a reaction against the extremes of 19th-century historicism and evolutionary developmentalism, and new developments in the field of OT scholarship itself. Already during the twenties, there appeared a series of articles by leading OT scholars, such as R. Kittel, C. Steuernagel, O. Eissfeldt, and W. Eichrodt, calling for a revival of the discipline. Without surrendering the legitimate gains of the history-of-religions approach, many increasingly felt and expressed the need to allow the OT to speak theologically in its own right. In so doing, they hoped to defend the OT against its many detractors, as well as to enable it to speak more immediately and in fresh ways to contemporary theological issues and problems.

The year 1933 may be said to mark the beginning of a new era in OT theology with the appearance of two such works, one by E. Sellin and the other by W. Eichrodt. By far the most outstanding and enduring representative of the new era in OT theology is Eichrodt's *Theologie des Alten Testaments,* originally published in three parts between 1933–39 (Eng 1961–67). In spite of legitimate criticisms and acknowledged shortcomings (Hayes and Prussner 1985: 277), Eichrodt's work so far remains unsurpassed in comprehensiveness, methodological thoroughness, and theological acumen. From our vantage point in the late 20th century, one may safely say that it has stood the test of time and may well turn out to be the most significant work of its genre in the 20th century.

A brief look at its structure reveals the nature of OT theology as the author understood it. In an introductory chapter on methodology, Eichrodt defined the task of OT theology as constructing a complete picture of the realm of OT belief in its structural unity. Such an exposition was to be done with constant reference to two contextual realities: the world of ANE religion on the one hand, and the realm of NT belief on the other. It should be observed, however, that in actual execution, Eichrodt paid far more attention to the former than the latter. His methodology sought to differentiate itself self-consciously from the systematic rubrics of dogmatic theology on the one hand, and the genetic approach of a radical historicism on the other. The developmental analysis of the history-of-religions approach he replaced with a systematic synthesis of OT religion, but in rubrics and categories suggested by the OT itself. The biblical concept of "covenant" was chosen by him as an overarching category or unifying center of OT theology, and the material was presented in accordance with the following tripartite scheme: God and the People, God and the World, God and Man. A look at the full table of contents reveals that the organizational principle operative in Eichrodt's theology was systematic or conceptual. It should be noted, however, that within this systematic scheme, allowance was made for historically tracing changes in Israelite religion or in the perspective reflected in the chief documents and tradition complexes of the OT.

The systematic approach to OT theology, in terms of presenting a cross section of the basic structure of OT belief, continued to dominate the discipline for the next three decades. While there were differences in the choice of organizational schemas and overarching concepts, nearly all OT theologies were written from such a systematic-conceptual perspective. This methodological consensus was shaken during the late 1950s by G. von Rad with the publication of his immensely stimulating *Theologie des Alten Testaments* in two volumes (Eng 1961–65). Against the systematic-conceptual approach to the OT, von Rad insisted that the theological task proper to the OT is not the spiritual or religious world of Israel, nor the belief system of the OT, but simply Israel's own explicit assertions about Yahweh as reflected in the major tradition complexes of the OT. The latter, however, presented Yahweh's relationship to Israel as a continuing divine activity in history. Consequently, it was this picture of Yahweh's activity in the history of Israel as reflected in the traditions of the OT which, for von Pad, constituted the proper subject of OT theology. Methodologically, this meant for him that the retelling of this confessional story of the OT traditions was the most legitimate form of theological discourse on the OT. This conviction is reflected in the manner in which von Rad organized and presented his material. Vol. I consists of two parts: a concise survey of the history of Israelite religion, followed by a theology of Israel's historical traditions. After a brief chapter on methodology, the latter are treated under the following three headings: "The Theology of the Hexateuch," "Israel's Anointed" (covering the Deuteronomistic and the Chronicler's history), and "Israel Before Yahweh (Israel's Answer)," which covers the Psalms and the Wisdom Literature. Vol. II is divided into three parts as follows: "General Considerations in Prophecy," "Classical Prophecy" (which treats the OT prophets from Amos on in their sequential appearance down to and including apocalyptic literature), and "the Old Testament and the New" (in which the author sets forth his understanding of the relationship between the testaments).

Von Rad's approach to the subject has often been labeled a salvation-historical one, and in one sense this is correct. It must be remembered, however, that for him *Heilsgeschichte* did not refer primarily to Yahweh's saving activity in Israel's actual history as critically reconstructed by the historian, but to the kerygmatic history as confessed by the OT writers and traditionalists. For von Rad, as for many other OT scholars, a considerable gulf exists between these two histories. For this reason, von Rad's approach to OT theology can also (and perhaps more accurately) be labeled a tradition-historical, rather than a salvation-historical, one. At any rate, von Rad's OT theology made a considerable impact on the field, not only because it was a significant departure from more traditional methodologies, but because it was a well-written and stimulating book, characterized by profound erudition and theological sensitivity. His approach has succeeded in presenting a more differentiated and finely nuanced picture of the various theological perspectives found in the OT documents. On the minus side it must be said that his twofold division of the history of Israel into an actual and a confessional history, and his opinion that only the latter of these is of concern to OT theologians, are unsatisfactory and indefensible. Furthermore, his claim

that the OT presents no coherent theology, but only a wide variety of conflicting theologies, is exaggerated and excessively atomistic. In the long run, it is doubtful that von Rad's tradition-historical approach to OT theology will replace more systematic and conceptual approaches to the subject. In all likelihood it will be no more than a contributing perspective or intermediate step, albeit a very important one, in the construction of more conceptually oriented theologies of theOT. In support of such a contention, it might be noted that most of the OT theologies which have appeared in the past 30 years since the appearance of von Rad's work have not followed him in his basic approach.

Before we bring this survey of the history of the discipline to a conclusion, we must comment briefly upon one particular phase in its most recent history.

**6. The "Biblical Theology Movement" and the Alleged "Crisis" in OT Theology.** The revival of biblical and OT theology in this century brought it to a position of prominence in the larger theological enterprise during the 1940s and 1950s, which has led some to speak of a "biblical theology movement" during that era. According to Childs (1970: 32–50), this movement was characterized by a rediscovery of and emphasis on the theological dimensions of the Bible; the unity of the Bible; the revelation of God in history; a distinctive biblical mentality, involving a sharp dichotomy between Greek and Hebrew thought and stress on semantic approaches to the content of the Bible; and emphasis on the contrast between the Bible and its ancient environment. Barr (*IDBSup*, 105) adds a certain antiphilosophical bias as another characteristic feature of this movement. Childs (1970: 61–87) describes the rapid dissolution of this movement during the 1960s. It was brought on, according to him, by both changing perspectives within the field of biblical studies and by pressures external to the field. Chief among the latter were the new secularity, developments in the social sciences, and a gap between theology and experience. Since the appearance of Childs' book, it has become fashionable in some circles to talk of a "crisis" in biblical and OT theology. The added perspective of the past two decades, however, make it appear that such assessment is in need of considerable revision. Those who have bought into the "crisis" talk have overstated their case. They have also been guilty of confusing and oversimplifying certain issues which need to be differentiated more carefully. The following observations are offered in support of this contention.

First of all, it needs to be said that Childs' description of a biblical theology movement in the 1940s and 1950s is a bit oversimplified and hence misleading. It focuses too exclusively upon the American scene, and even there lumps together biblical scholars, theologians, and theological positions which need to be differentiated more carefully. Even more misleading is the implicit equation of the biblical theology movement with the much wider discipline of biblical theology (Smart 1979: 18–30).

Secondly, it must be remembered that the term "biblical theology" (and hence "OT theology" and "NT theology") has functioned traditionally in at least two distinct, albeit related, senses. By it one may mean either (a) a type of theology which is consonant with the Bible; or (b) the theology (or theologies) contained in the biblical documents. Biblical theology of type (a) is a systematic theology which uses the Bible as its chief, if not sole, source and norm, whereas type (b) is more of an exegetical and descriptive enterprise. Childs' description of the biblical theology movement and its crisis operated more with a type (a) definition of biblical theology. Thus, whatever crisis there may have been applied to a narrow segment of the enterprise, that is, to Childs' "biblical theology movement," rather than to biblical theology of the exegetical and descriptive variety. The title of Childs' book appears to be somewhat of a misnomer.

Thirdly, we feel that it is more accurate to say that whatever crisis existed in the 1960s was not uniquely one in biblical theology as such, but rather a crisis of faith and theology in general. Scholars, clergy, and laity alike had bandied about too glibly theological concepts and categories, biblical or otherwise. Then they woke up one day and discovered that a serious gap existed between their theological abstractions and their faith experience; and so they became disenchanted with "biblical theology" and cast about for greener intellectual pastures. The theological enterprise itself at one point became uncertain about its identity and purpose, as evidenced by the now strangely quaint and dated "Death of God" controversy. To the extent that biblical theologians are human beings who, like anyone else, imbibe of the general cultural

and philosophical currents of their age, that general malaise or crisis may have been in some forms of biblical theology also, but it did not belong uniquely to that discipline.

For all these reasons we believe that it is inaccurate to speak of biblical theology as being in a state of "crisis" or dissolution during the 1960s. It would be more accurate to speak of it as entering a period of transition and reassessment. After three decades of breathless expansion, culminating in what Dentan (1963: 72–83) has termed the "golden age of the fifties," biblical and OT theology reached a plateau where it needed to reflect whence it had come and whither it was going. Some of its cherished assumptions were tested and found wanting; certain in-course corrections had to be made; new data and perspectives provided by ancillary biblical disciplines had to be sifted and accommodated; and differing methodologies needed to be assessed and evaluated.

While few new OT theologies were produced during the 1960s, more than a dozen such works have appeared since the beginning of the 1970s, which is an unprecedented number for any comparable period during the entire history of the discipline! To this number of full-length theologies must be added the flood of articles and monographs which deal with some specific topic or aspect of OT theology and which today number in the hundreds and thousands of items. All this suggests that the discipline of biblical theology today is alive and well.

**7. Summary: Two Fundamental Dialectics.** Our survey of the history of the discipline has shown that OT theology has undergone a number of significant changes during the past four centuries. These were brought about chiefly as the result of two related, though distinct, fundamental dialectics operative in the history of the discipline, which continue to be operative in the discipline and stand at the center of contemporary discussions about OT theology. The first dialectic has to do with the nature and task of OT theology, that is, whether it is primarily *descriptive* or *normative* in character. We saw how biblical theology started out as a normative discipline, designed to undergird the dogmatic assertions of orthodox Protestantism. Under the impact of Pietism and the Enlightenment, biblical theology asserted its status as a distinct theological discipline and became more self-consciously descriptive in character. The excesses of vulgar rationalism, however, obscured the legitimate gains of the descriptive approach by subjecting OT theology to the normative straitjacket of philosophical rationalism. The impact of 19th-century historicism, on the other hand, for a time displaced any kind of normative OT theology with a purely descriptive history of the religion of Israel. Finally, in the mid-20th century, the normative aspects of OT theology were given greater prominence again.

The second fundamental dialectic operative in the history of the discipline has to do with the question of methodology; that is, what is the most effect way to present the theological content of the OT. This dialectic may be designated by the words "systematic-conceptual" versus "historical-genetic" (the terms "synchronic" or "crosscut" versus "diachronic" are also used in the literature). A systematic-conceptual approach to OT theology sets forth the theological content of the OT in terms of ideas or categories drawn either from the OT itself or from somewhere else. A historical-genetic approach, on the other hand, seeks to describe the theological content of the OT in its historical and sequential unfolding, either in terms of the actual history of Israel or of the history of the traditions and literature of the OT. Our historical survey showed how biblical theology started out with an exclusively systematic-conceptual framework; that is, the theological content of Scripture was fitted into the rubrics of Protestant dogmatics. With the rise of federal or covenant theology, and later *Heilsgeschichte,* the rigorously dogmatic methodology was abandoned in favor of a more historically oriented one. Historical-genetic methodologies became most pronounced during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. And in the last 50 years, the pendulum has swung back toward more systematic methodologies.

**B. Current Issues and Problems**

As one surveys the sizable literature on OT theology during its revitalization in the mid-20th century, one cannot help but note that a few key issues have stood at the center of the discussion. Some of these, like the two fundamental dialectics identified above, have been with us for a long time; others have come to the fore only more recently. There appear to be at least four central issues that warrant some discussion.

**1. Descriptive and Normative Dimensions.** At issue here is the very nature and purpose of the discipline. Is OT theology to be construed as a purely descriptive discipline, the chief task of which is to describe the theological ideas of the OT irrespective of their abiding significance and continued meaning today? Or must any credible OT theology also press on to deal with "contemporary meaning" questions? Our historical survey above has shown that this fundamental question has received varying answers throughout the history of the discipline. It remains for us to assess where we stand on this issue today.

Following the demise of the theological consensus represented by the so-called "biblical theology movement," the pendulum swung toward a self-consciously descriptive approach to OT theology. For a while it appeared that the program of a purely descriptive biblical theology advocated by Stendahl (*IDB* 1: 418–32) and others would carry the day. Certainly much valuable work in OT theology was produced under its banner. More recently, however, dissatisfaction with a purely descriptive approach has become more vocal again, and calls have been issued for the inclusion of normative dimensions in the enterprise of biblical and OT theology (so, for instance, Childs 1970; 1985; de Vaux 1971; Clements 1978; Martens 1981; Hanson 1986; and others). Should such calls be heeded, or should they be ignored as an illegitimate intrusion of the concerns of systematic theology into the discipline of OT theology? Will OT theology again be pressed into the service of dogmatics, to the point where its independent witness will be muted or falsified? This danger is certainly real, as the history of the discipline has amply demonstrated. One must proceed cautiously and with proper safeguards against the uncritical confusion of descriptive and normative concerns. Nevertheless, when all is said and done, it can be argued that a normative dimension belongs legitimately to the discipline of OT theology. In support of this view, the following considerations are advanced.

First of all, it should be noted that even a self-consciously descriptive OT theology embodies certain normative dimensions in the manner in which biblical data are selected, interpreted, and arranged in some coherent fashion. The process of determining the essential and fundamental structures of OT faith inevitably involves the interaction of biblical data with the cultural, philosophical, and theological presuppositions of the interpreter. Complete neutrality and objectivity is an illusion. The recognition of this fact, however, does not provide us with an excuse for unbridled bias. On the contrary, one must strive to be as objective and as faithful to the biblical data as one can, and to differentiate carefully between these data and one's own presuppositions. The heavy-handed imposition of philosophical or theological straitjackets on the biblical data must be strenuously resisted as being inimical to a vital and creative OT theology.

A second reason for insisting on some normative dimension in OT theology is suggested by the very nature of the biblical writings, for they seem to demand some kind of commitment or response on the part of the interpreter. Even if complete neutrality and detachment were feasible, this would not be true to the intentions of the biblical text, which presupposes the reality of God in relationship to human beings and the world, and which seeks to elicit a personal response on the part of the reader. It is for this reason also that the historical-critical method in and of itself, in spite of the impressive and lasting results which it has achieved, has proven to be an inadequate tool for doing biblical OT theology. Any approach to Scripture which views the world as a closed system of natural cause and effect, which operates with the principle of analogy as if it were an absolutely inviolate norm, and which rules out by definition the possibility of miracle or divine activity in human affairs is incapable of producing a truly biblical OT theology.

A third consideration which has been advanced in support of the contention that normative concerns rightly belong to the discipline of OT theology has to do with one's understanding of the term "theology." If theology is in any sense concerned with "truth for us" or truth for the religious community in which the OT is a foundational faith document, then OT theology cannot be content merely to describe the religious ideas which the ancient Hebrews held at some point in their history. Inevitably it must press on to discern what the abiding truth is today for those who consider themselves to be the spiritual descendants and heirs of ancient Israel. R. E. Clements (1978: 6–7) recently has argued that theology is something more than the study of religious ideas in the sense that it also offers some measure of evaluation of their truth. It is in the very nature of theology to concern itself with living faith rather than the history of ideas. Against this

view, it may be argued that the word "theology" does not always have such normative connotations, but that it is also used in a more descriptive and noncommittal sense, as in the expressions "historical theology" or "Hindu theology," which may refer to a description of the belief system of a person or group of persons by a more or less sympathetic bystander who does not necessarily share that belief system. Without denying that such a description "from the outside," as it were, can yield important insights, we are inclined to doubt that OT theology can or should be restricted to such a specialized understanding. To be sure, there are those who would be content to restrict OT theology to being simply one of several historical or comparative theologies. But for most members of the faith communities for whom the OT is a normative foundational document, OT theology inevitably suggests connotations of abiding truth value, and any OT theologian worthy of the name is expected to address these in some fashion.

This leads to a fourth and final consideration in support of our contention that some normative concerns rightly belong to the discipline of OT theology—a consideration that is of a more pragmatic nature. The chief reason why the Bible has been preserved, read, and cherished for all these centuries is because it was considered in some sense to be God's word to us. People have turned to it in order to find God and to discern meaning and purpose for their lives. Thus, "meaning questions" will inevitably rise in the mind of most students of Scripture, and it would be a disservice to them to ignore these. What, for instance, is the meaning and significance of holy war in the books of Joshua and Samuel, and how can this inform our current concerns with issues of war and peace? Does God repent or have a change of mind, as the book of Exodus seems to assert, and what does this do to traditional notions of God's immutability? Does God bring about both good and evil, as some of Israel's poets seem to suggest? How are we to understand the *lex talionis*, or what is the theological significance of contradictions in the OT law codes? Does God indeed reward good and punish evil, and what must we do to gain favor in God's sight? Biblical theologians who ignore such meaning questions and adhere solely to the descriptive dimensions of their task will frustrate their readers or lose them altogether.

There are those who argue for a strict division of labor between theological disciplines, insisting that it is the task of systematic theology to deal with the question of what it means for us now, whereas OT theology need only deal with the question of what it meant to ancient Israelites back then. But this dichotomy is both unsatisfactory and impractical. The hermeneutical task cannot be divided up that neatly. Most students of the Bible prefer to have their meaning questions addressed as these arise from their reading of the text, rather than being referred to some other discipline, the agenda and theological discourse of which may be informed by other than exegetical concerns. Furthermore, the field of biblical studies has become so complex that few systematic theologians have either the interest or the energy to be fully conversant with developments in biblical exegesis. Here OT theologians can perform a valuable service for systematic theologians by presenting them with a theological synthesis of the results of biblical exegesis in a form which is more readily accessible and useful to the latter. In order to do this effectively, however, biblical scholars in turn must become more conversant with theological perspectives and be willing to move beyond merely antiquarian concerns.

For all of the reasons indicated, we believe that a normative dimension belongs appropriately to the discipline of OT theology. This, however, in no way is meant to minimize or detract from the descriptive task, which must always remain the heart of the enterprise. As OT theologians attempt to deal with present meaning, they must not lose their interest and respect for the descriptive task, if OT theology is to remain a viable and creative enterprise. Under no circumstances must it be allowed to become captive to either a narrowly meaning-oriented philosophical or theological system, or an ideological historicism which refuses to deal with meaning questions in any form. In the light of the descriptive/normative dialectic inherent in OT theology, an attempt should now be made to locate the discipline of OT theology vis-à-vis the two disciplines with which it had to contend most for its independence and integrity.

OT theology is a boundary discipline which shares some common ground with the history of the religion of Israel on the one hand and systematic theology on the other. It functions best when it maintains the tensions between these two disciplines and resists the temptation of being too closely identified with either.

The chief source and norm for OT theology is the canonical books of the OT. In seeking to understand the theological concepts and ideas contained in these, OT theology may also consult extracanonical literature and archaeological data, but these in themselves will not become a basis for theological construction. For example, the understanding of Yahweh reflected in the Elephantine papyri or in the inscriptions of Kuntillet ʿAjrud is of interest to OT theology in the sense that it can provide background or contrast against which the biblical understanding of God can be seen more sharply, but it does not become part of a normative definition of the latter. A history of the religion of Israel, however, may rightfully draw upon extrabiblical sources for its reconstruction of the beliefs and practices of Israelite religion. Systematic theology, on the other hand, shares with OT theology its use of the canon as a source and norm, but in addition it recognizes certain others, such as tradition, human knowledge and experience, and reason, as valid sources and norms for constructive theology.

As regards its method of operation, OT theology is an exegetical and theological discipline; that is, it deals with the grammatical, historical, and literary meaning of biblical texts, but with special attention to their theological significance and meaning as discerned by the theologian under the illumination of the spirit of God. The history-of-religions approach operates more exclusively from a phenomenological and historical perspective. Systematic theology shares with OT theology its concern for the theological meaning of Scripture, but it is at the same time more philosophically and logically oriented than OT theology.

As regards the organization of data, there is considerable variation. In general, OT theology follows a combination of conceptual and tradition-historical principles in organizing its materials, whereas the history-of-religions approach generally employs historical and genetic principles of organization. Systematic theology, on the other hand, seeks to construct logically coherent conceptual systems. OT theology is much less interested in system building and is able to live with a lot more ambiguity and diversity of theological perspectives. It thus remains truer to Scripture, which does not come to us in the form of a logically coherent system of theology.

As regards the respective hermeneutical concerns of these disciplines, the history of religions is primarily, if not exclusively, descriptive in the sense that it seeks to describe a historical phenomenon like the religion of ancient Israel. Systematic theology, on the other extreme, is primarily concerned with normative meaning questions; that is, what does the OT mean for us today in the context of our respective belief communities? OT theology falls somewhere in between these two. It is both descriptive and normative in the sense that it must not only ascertain what the OT documents meant in their own historical context, but also press on to reflect on what they can mean for us today in our own context.

The location of OT theology as a "boundary discipline" between systematic theology and the history of religions as sketched in the preceding paragraphs can be summarized in tabular form:

| *RUBRIC* | *HISTORY OF RELIGION* | *OT THEOLOGY* | *SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sources & norms: | biblical and extra-biblical, literary and archaeological data | the canon of the OT | Scripture, tradition, reason, human experience and knowledge |
| Methodology: | phenomenological and historical | exegetical and theological | theological and philosophical |
| Organization of material: | chronological and genetic | conceptual, topical, historical and tradition-historical | systematic and logical |
| Hermeneutics: | descriptive: what was it and what did it mean? | descriptive and normative: what did it mean and what might it mean for us today? | normative and constructive: what does it mean in the context of this faith community? |

While these distinctions are not absolute but allow for a considerable amount of overlap as demonstrated by the history of the discipline, this schema suggests a range on the descriptive/normative spectrum at

which OT theology seems to function best and at which it may be legitimately differentiated from the history-of-religions approach on the one hand and systematic theology on the other.

**2. Methodology.** Assuming that OT theology legitimately includes both descriptive and normative dimensions, the question still remains how the manifold and diverse theological witness of the OT can best be organized so as to present a reasonably coherent and comprehensive picture of the faith structure of the OT. Our historical survey has shown that methodologies have fluctuated between systematic-conceptual and historical-genetic approaches, or varying combinations thereof, and the same is still true of recent OT theologies. Within that fundamental dialectic, however, many different schemata of organization are possible. No one particular schema has been able to dominate the field or win universal assent, as the following analysis of recent OT theologies since Eichrodt and von Rad will demonstrate.

**a. T. C. Vriezen.** For Vriezen (1970) the central task of OT theology is to describe the characteristic features of the message of the OT and to reflect upon that message from the viewpoint of the Christian faith. His book is divided into two parts. The first part is devoted to an examination of the place of the OT in the Church and its significance for Christian theology. Nearly a third of the book is devoted to this general topic. If one wonders why the author devoted so much space to this subject, it is probably because he wished to restore the OT to its rightful place in Christian theology after a period of serious neglect and devaluation (it must be remembered that the first Dutch edition appeared in 1949).

In the second part of his book, Vriezen turns to the actual delineation of the theological content of the OT. It is divided into four chapters, in which the material is presented in an essentially conceptual fashion under the following four headings: (1) the nature of the knowledge of God in the OT; (2) the intercourse between God and man; (3) the community of God; and (4) the future hope of the community of God. Vriezen essentially follows the cross-section approach pioneered by Eichrodt, except that the overarching central theme of the OT for him is not covenant, but communion between God and humanity. With this emphasis Vriezen intentionally sought to counter von Rad's denial of a theological center of the OT, as well as the atomizing tendencies inherent in the latter's tradition-historical orientation. Vriezen also made a conscious effort to differentiate OT theology from the history of Israelite religion, which for him were separate disciplines showing distinct differences in function, scope, and methodology. According to Vriezen (1970: 147), OT theology is a Christian theological discipline whose task is to delineate the characteristic features of the message of the OT, both in itself and in its relation to the NT; whereas the history of Israel's religion is a historical discipline seeking to offer a picture of the religion of Israel in both its historical development and in its innermost essence and character. In accordance with this definition, Vriezen went on to produce a book on Israelite religion (1967). He is one of a handful of scholars to have produced both an OT theology and a history of the Israelite religion.

**b. W. Zimmerli.** Like Vriezen, Zimmerli follows a basically conceptual approach in the ordering of his material. But within that overarching structure, he is much more tradition-historically oriented than the former. His understanding of the nature and task of the discipline is also not as confessional as Vriezen's was. For Zimmerli, OT theology has the task of presenting what the OT says about God in a coherent whole. It must deal with the most important narrative complexes (which for him, as for von Rad, are the Hexateuch and the Prophets), but at the same time it must also lead readers "to bring together in their own minds the diverse statements the OT makes about God, who wishes to be known not as a manifold God but as the one Yahweh" (1978: 10). The self-revelation of Yahweh as formulated in the First Commandment may thus be said to be the unifying center of OT theology. This central theme is reflected in the organization of his book, which is divided into five major sections. The first one, entitled "Fundamentals," deals with Yahweh under the aspects of the revealed name, the God of Israel since Egypt, the God of the Fathers, Creator and King, Election, Covenant, and Commandment. The second part deals with "The Gifts Bestowed by Yahweh," among which are war and victory, land and blessing, God's presence, and charismata of leadership and instruction. The third part analyzes "Yahweh's Commandment," and the fourth part deals with the topic of "Life Before God." The latter, dealing with the themes of obedience, praise, lamentation, and wisdom, is very much reminiscent of von Rad's section "Israel Before Yahweh (Israel's Answer)" (1962–65, I). The fifth and last major part of Zimmerli's OT

theology is entitled "Crisis and Hope." It is chiefly devoted to the Prophets, but includes brief sections on the primeval history, the historical narratives, apocalypticism, and a concluding chapter on "The Openness of the OT Message."

In spite of the topical organization of his material, Zimmerli's approach to the subject stands much closer to von Rad's than to Eichrodt's or Vriezen's. In large stretches his OT theology reads like a miniature von Rad, though he is more interested in drawing out the overarching unity of the OT's understanding of God than von Rad, who was content merely to delineate the various theologies of the major tradition complexes of the OT.

**c. G. Fohrer.** Fohrer is another contemporary OT scholar who, like Vriezen, produced both an OT theology and a history of Israelite religion, though in reverse sequence from Vriezen. Fohrer's *History of Israelite Religion* (Eng 1972) appeared in German four years before his OT theology. It is a substantive work which made a significant contribution to the field. A brief look at it may help us put Fohrer's understanding of OT theology into sharper perspective. According to Fohrer, the purpose of presenting a history of Israelite religion is to depict the course of this religion as one among many others, without theological value judgments or apologetic concerns. Careful attention must be given to both the manifold changes this religion underwent during the course of its history and the common elements which it exhibited in all periods and which make it possible to speak of Israelite religion as a single entity distinct from others. Following a strictly historical and chronological principle of arrangement, Fohrer's *History of Israelite Religion* is divided into four parts: (1) the religion of the earliest period (patriarchal times through the era of the judges); (2) the period of the monarchy; (3) the exilic period; and (4) the postexilic period down to the era of the Maccabees.

Israelite religion arose as the synthesis of two basic given religious elements as modified by a series of five major religious impulses. The two basic givens were the nomadic clan religion of the patriarchs and Canaanite nature religion. The five major religious impulses which determined the development of Israelite religion were: (1) Mosaic Yahwism; (2) the monarchy; (3) the prophetic movement; (4) Deuteronomic theology (seen as a consequence of the first three impulses and a new impulse in its own right); and (5) exilic prophecy and incipient eschatology. In spite of the developments, tensions, and changes which Israelite religion underwent, it also exhibited certain constants throughout its long history. Fohrer identifies these as a personalistic structure of faith; the correlation between divine and human activity; the notion of God's present action among nations and people; the demand for human conduct which is consonant with the divine will; the belief in the sovereign rule of God; and God's communion with humanity, to be realized in the lives of both individuals and nations.

Fohrer's delineation of the structural constants in the religion of Israel is of particular significance, for it becomes a point of contact between his history (1973) and his theology (1972), where they are taken up again in Chap. 6 as "basic elements of OT faith" which run through the entire OT. From this, one may gain an important insight regarding the relationship of the two disciplines: the point at which OT theology and the history of Israelite religion show the greatest degree of affinity, and at times become virtually indistinguishable, is in the delineation of the abiding or fundamental structures of Israelite or OT faith.

With this we must turn to a closer examination of Fohrer's OT theology. It consists of seven chapters and follows an essentially conceptual and topical method of presentation. While the descriptive side of the task is not neglected, the normative and constructive dimension is very much in evidence throughout his book, much more so than in most recent OT theologies. The first two chapters of the book are taken up with what might be termed prolegomena to an OT theology. Chap. 1 reviews the various ways in which the OT has been interpreted down through the ages. Most of these are judged by him as erroneous or improper, for they are rooted in questionable dogmatic presuppositions. The OT faith must be understood in its own right and in its various historical manifestations, where it is permissible, however, to differentiate between what is of abiding theological significance and what is merely peripheral and culturally conditioned and time-bound. Unfortunately, Fohrer fails to inform the reader by what yardstick that is to be measured.

Chap. 2 deals with the question of the OT and revelation. Fohrer argues that the OT as a document or book cannot be equated with revelation. Revelation happens only in the concrete encounter between God and human beings. That is, it is personal experience, and only the one who experiences it can testify to it or describe it. Consequently, the OT is at best a witness or testimony to acts of revelation. Even the prophetic word as recorded in Scripture is already a mixture of divinely given insight as well as human perception, integration, and digestion. It is obvious that Fohrer operates with a very subjective understanding of revelation. However, the mere fact that he is speaking about revelation at all and allows for its occurrence shows how much he is operating at this point as a constructive theologian, rather than simply as a descriptive historian of Israel's religion.

Chap. 3 is organized under the philosophical category of *Daseinshaltung* ("attitude toward existence"). He describes six types of attitudes toward existence, all of which are found in the OT: magic, cultic, legal, national-religious (election faith), sapiential, and prophetic. These are then evaluated by him in terms of their merely temporal and transtemporal or abiding value and significance. Magic was purely temporal, an inappropriate attempt to manipulate the divine world. The priestly cultic and legal attitudes toward existence had some transtemporal significance insofar as they overcame magic and attempted to revitalize Mosaic faith in a changed cultural milieu. But they too were beset by problems, leading in turn to a superficial faith which sought to manipulate the deity for selfish or nationalistic ends. The same was true when genuine election faith was usurped by national-religious ideology. The sapiential attitude is found wanting because it was a mere utilitarian morality. This leaves the prophetic attitude toward existence, which for Fohrer represents the high point of the history of OT faith. It transcended all the others and is characterized by faithful trust and obedient service rooted in complete communion with God. Prophetic existence, according to Fohrer, was the reappearance of Mosaism in a purified form. Fohrer's lifelong preoccupation with Israel's prophets may be partly responsible for this one-sided valuation of prophetic existence. On the other hand, one cannot help but feel that his low esteem for Israel's cultic and legal traditions may also be the result of a long-standing theological bias found in much of Lutheran Protestant OT scholarship.

In chap. 4, which is entitled "Unity in Diversity," Fohrer turns to the question of whether OT faith has a center around which everything else revolves. After noting von Rad's denial of such a center, and after rejecting various centers proposed by other OT scholars, Fohrer proposes a dual center for OT theology designated by the concepts of "rule of God" and "communion with God." These form the unifying core to which the diverse religious and theological concepts of the OT may be related. Corresponding to this dual concept of the rule of communion with God is a dual human response of fear and trust, or distance and relatedness, which is characteristic of OT faith. Here we see how one of the "constants" of Israelite religion which he isolated in his history of Israelite religion has become the center of his OT theology.

Chap. 5 deals with the power and ability of OT faith to absorb and transform ancient beliefs and practices, chiefly under the influence of the dual center isolated in the previous chapter. OT faith itself, however, even its understanding of the rule of God and God's will to communion, in turn underwent change and expansion.

In Chap. 6, "Developments," Fohrer discusses basic tendencies of OT faith which are not confined to one particular stream but which run through the whole of the OT because of their relatedness to the central concepts of the rule of God and communion with God. They are: (1) the personal structure of OT faith; (2) God's activity among people and nations; (3) God's action in and through nature; (4) a correlation between divine and human activity (the act-and-consequence scheme); (5) faith as righteous action; and (6) the "this-worldliness" of OT faith. As we noted above, most of these basic tendencies of OT faith had previously been identified by Fohrer as "constants of Israelite religion" in his earlier work. At this point, his two works coincide very closely.

But in the very next chapter, Fohrer goes far beyond what any history of Israelite religion could do and what few contemporary OT theologians have even attempted to do. In this final chapter, entitled "Applications," Fohrer's mode of operation becomes overtly normative and constructiv as he seeks to spell out how the fundamental insights of OT faith can be applied to fundamental human issues and

problems today. The meaning question is wrestled with under the following five major headings: (1) the meaning of the biblical prologue; (2) the state and politics; (3) social organization; (4) humanity and technology; and (5) the future of mankind.

Both of Fohrer's works are immensely stimulating and have made significant contributions to the field, especially as regards an appropriate differentiation between the disciplines of OT theology and the history of the religion of Israel. His work, however, is not without shortcomings. His descriptive work is at times idiosyncratic and insufficiently substantiated; his one-sided valuation of the prophets is excessive, and his lack of appreciation for Israel's cultic and legal traditions is deplorable. His conceptual categories are too limiting at times, and his theological biases too glaring. But his attempt to delineate the constants of Israel's religion or the basic tendencies of OT faith is highly commendable and worthy of emulation. His forthright and unabashed attempt to deal with contemporary-meaning questions belongs to the very core of the theological enterprise. One may frequently find oneself in disagreement with elements of both Fohrer's historical reconstruction and his normative theological construction, but one will rarely fail to be stimulated in one's own thinking by what he has to say.

**d. C. Westermann.** According to Westermann (1982), a theology of the OT has the task of summarizing what the OT as a whole and in all its parts says about God. Westermann agrees with von Rad that unlike the NT, which has a center in Jesus Christ, the OT has no other center to which various theological assertions could be related. It is important, however, to look at how the OT speaks about God. As the tripartite canon indicates, the OT speaks about God's acting and speaking in history, and about humanity's response to that divine acting and speaking. And this furnishes Westermann with a key to organizing his material in six parts. Part I, "What Does the OT Say About God?" deals with methodological issues and provides a brief précis of his approach to the subject. The next four parts form the central core of his OT theology. Part II, "The Saving God and History," deals with one fundamental kind of divine activity: God's rescue of the needy from distress. God's saving activity may take many forms and applies to all spheres of life in both its individual and corporate dimensions. God's saving activity in the Exodus event at the beginning of Israel's history became determinative for all subsequent history.

Part III, "The Blessing God and Creation," deals with another fundamental kind of divine activity. It refers to God's ongoing, gradual, and less spectacular action in creation and in the daily flow of life, which is known as blessing in the Bible. The history of this blessing theme is then traced by Westermann from the patriarchal narratives and the Balaam oracles through Deuteronomy, the institution of kingship and the cult, the prophets, and the book of Job. Words associated with the blessing motif, such as "peace," "success," "prosperity," and "protection," are analyzed. Westermann's distinction between God's saving and blessing activity is an important one, which has frequently been neglected in more salvation-historically oriented treatments of the OT. It is a real gain which deserves to be preserved and explored more fully in OT theology. Curiously, though, Westermann does very little with wisdom in the OT, even though earlier in his book he had, quite rightly, located it under the rubric of creation theology.

Part IV, "God's Judgment and God's Compassion," begins with an analysis of the OT concept of sin and the vocabulary associated with it. The act/consequence theme is explored, as is the notion of forgiveness. This is followed by a discussion of the judgment theme in the Prophets, which addressed itself to all areas of Israelite life. The prophets, however, were also messengers of a saving, healing, and forgiving God, which leads Westermann to a discussion of God's compassion. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the apocalyptic, which is predominantly concerned with the future.

Part V, "The Response," analyzes various human responses to God's words and actions. Westermann distinguishes three basic forms which this response took: words, actions, and reflection. The response in words consisted of prayers, praise, and lamentation. The response in action could find either legal or cultic expression, that is, by obedient action in response to commandment, or in the life of corporate worship, including holy places, times, and mediators. Unlike Fohrer, Westermann here finds a positive valuation for Israel's legal and cultic traditions within his OT theology. The third type of human response to God's initiative is reflection. This could take the form of pious meditation on God or God's Torah (as

in Psalms 1 and 119), or in more extended theological reflection. Examples of the latter would be the major historical traditions of the OT, such as the Yahwistic work, which is rooted in praise over experience of deliverance; the Deuteronomistic History, which is a reflection on the experience of judgment; and the Priestly work, which is rooted in the fundamental reality of God's presence in worship. He says nothing about the Elohistic tradition or the Chronicler. Westermann's subsuming of the primal histories of the OT under Israel's response is a major tour de force, which makes one wonder how meaningful the categories of "Yahweh's activity" and "Israel's response" really are when dealing with OT documents in an OT theology. Can these two entities be so neatly distinguished? Are not all OT documents at the same time records of both God's actions and Israel's response?

Part VI, "The Old Testament and Jesus Christ," is the last chapter in Westermann's book, in which he explores the nature of the relationship between the OT (and the faith expressed therein) and Jesus Christ. He does this from the tripartite perspective of the Hebrew canon under the following headings: (1) "The Historical Books and Jesus Christ," (2) "The Prophetic Proclamation and Jesus Christ," and (3) "Christ and the Response of God's People." Both God's saving and blessing activity find parallels in the NT story of Jesus Christ, as does the prophetic message and experience. Israel's response in words and actions as expressed in the psalms and in commandment and law also finds many echoes in the NT. Most of the comparisons which Westermann makes in this concluding chapter are predominantly of a descriptive nature and merit further exploration and consideration by objective scholarship. Unlike many earlier OT theologies written by Christians, he does not simply use the OT for purposes of negative contrast; on the contrary, he frequently attempts to correct traditional Christian misconceptions of the OT. Throughout one gets the impression that he is concerned to restore the OT to full and equal partnership in the theological dialogue between the testaments.

Westermann's OT theology, like that of Zimmerli, is only a *Grundriss* ("basic elements"). It is a brief but very compact treatment of the subject, though one that is highly stimulating and thought-provoking. As regards his methodology, in spite of his emphasis on the historical character of the OT and the action-oriented nature of its God-talk, it is fundamentally conceptual and topical, rather than historical-sequential. This appears to be the prevailing trend in the field.

**e. J. L. McKenzie.** McKenzie's work (1974) is the first by a Roman Catholic scholar to break with the traditional schema of dogmatic theology. Instead, he follows a conceptual approach with topics abstracted from the OT itself. The basis on which his topics are chosen is the amount of coverage which they receive in the OT and the degree of "profundity" they exhibit within the totality of Israel's experience. On the basis of this admittedly somewhat subjective criterion, McKenzie devotes a chapter to each of the following seven topics: the cult, revelation, history, nature, wisdom, political and social institutions, and the future of Israel. Within this larger systematic and topical scheme, McKenzie occasionally finds it expedient to lapse into a more historical-sequential scheme, as when under the chapter on revelation he treats some of the prophets sequentially and book by book. This only reinforces what we have had occasion to observe previously, namely, that a single methodology is rarely adhered to rigorously, and that most OT theologies today exhibit a mixture of both systematic-conceptual and historical-sequential methodologies. Other distinguishing features of McKenzie's OT theology are the heavy emphasis he gives to Israel's cult and his refusal, explicitly at least, to relate the OT to the NT. As regards the former, one cannot help but wonder whether his emphasis on the cult is entirely due to the prominence given it in the OT, or whether the author's Roman Catholic orientation may also play a role in this. As regards his claim that he wrote this OT theology as if the NT did not exist, it is at least debatable whether the application of his criterion of "profundity" is not at times implicitly influenced by Christian values and NT perspectives.

**f. W. C. Kaiser, Jr.** Written by an American OT scholar and dean of Trinity Evangelical Divinity School in Deerfield, Illinois, Kaiser's theology (1978) is a self-conscious attempt to move beyond the methodological impasse represented by Eichrodt and von Rad. He attempts to achieve this by combining both conceptual and historical approaches to the subject in a harmonious whole. With von Rad, the author agrees that an OT theology must draw its approach from the historic progression of the canonical text of

the OT. But unlike von Rad, he places much greater confidence in the historical accuracy and reliability of Israel's narrative traditions. Unlike von Rad also, but in agreement with Eichrodt and others, Kaiser believes that the various theological assertions of the OT are united by a common theological theme, which like a leitmotiv runs through them all and unites them in a common bond and purpose. The author thus belongs among those who believe in the existence of a theological center and organizing principle in OT theology. For Kaiser this is the theme of God's promise and blessing, first enunciated in Gen 12:1–3 and textually reiterated and confirmed throughout the canon by means of a variety of related words and concepts.

Accordingly, the main part of Kaiser's OT theology is organized into eleven chapters which follow a historical-sequential order, but are grouped around the central theme of promise as follows: Prolegomenon to the Promise: Prepatriarchal Era (Chap. 5); Provisions in the Promise: Patriarchal Era (Chap. 6); People of the Promise: Mosaic Era (Chap. 7); Place of the Promise: Premonarchical Era (Chap. 8); King of the Promise: Davidic Era (Chap. 9); Life in the Promise: Sapiential Era (Chap. 10); Day of the Promise: 9th Century (Chap. 11); Servant of the Promise: 8th Century (Chap. 12); Renewal of the Promise: 7th Century (Chap. 13); Kingdom of the Promise: Exilic Prophets (Chap. 14); and Triumph of the Promise: Postexilic Prophets (Chap. 15). The first four chapters of the book deal with issues of definition and method, and the final chapter addresses briefly the question of the connection between the OT and NT.

A look at this outline inevitably creates the impression of a certain artificiality in the organization of the biblical data, which is confirmed by a close reading of the actual contents of these chapters. For instance, the Abrahamic and Davidic convenants are stressed to the neglect of the Mosaic covenant, which incidentally, Kaiser considers to be an outgrowth of the Abrahamic covenant. Given the author's choice of the promise motif as his theological center, this is not surprising at all, but it is highly doubtful that it reflects either historical reality or the literary witness of the OT. Also problematic is Kaiser's association of the topic "life in the promise" with the sapiential tradition and the assigning of all of the latter to the Solomonic era. Israel's cultic traditions are insufficiently treated, and it is also highly questionable to treat the postexilic developments of Israelite faith under the rubric of prophecy. Another serious shortcoming of Kaiser's OT theology is his failure to come to terms with the literary character of the material he is interpreting. Most of it is treated by him as if it were uniformly historical in character. Historical and literary-critical problems are bracketed out or ignored. This might have been less objectionable if the author had been content to claim merely a structuralist or canonical reading of the documents rather than a historical one.

In spite of these shortcomings, however, the book contains many valuable exegetical insights. The author is to be commended for his insistence on the exegetical nature of OT theology and that the overarching categories should be derived exegetically from the material itself. Certainly the theme of promise and blessing is an important one in the OT, the significance of which can be exegetically demonstrated over a wide range of literature, as Kaiser has done. But it, no less than any other single theological theme, is incapable of doing full justice to the wide-ranging and richly varied theological literature of the OT.

**g. R. E. Clements.** Clements' theology (1978), written by a British scholar and Baptist minister, originated in 1975 as a series of lectures intended primarily as a critique of then-existing OT theologies. Subsequently these were expanded to include the author's own suggestions as to what a theology of the OT should look like. This explains why a significant amount of space is devoted to methodological issues, whereas the author's own constructive treatment of the theological content of the OT is more in the nature of a brief sketch or outline rather than a full-fledged OT theology. Its eight chapters follow an essentially topical outline.

Chap. 1, "The Problem of OT Theology," deals with fundamental problems of the discipline as traditionally construed. Observing that OT theology traditionally has been a Christian undertaking, Clements questions why this is so and whether it is necessarily so. Against a purely descriptive approach, the author argues that theology by definition is something more than the study of religious ideas, for it

offers a measure of evaluation of their truth. While the historical-critical method is absolutely essential for OT theology today, it alone is not sufficient but must be complemented by theological perspectives. The canon is of theological significance for the discipline, as is the fact that we can observe already in Scripture a process of transition from cultic religion to the religion of a book. Clements rejects the methodological search for a uniform center for constructing an OT theology, but notes that ultimately it is the nature and being of God which establishes a unity in the OT.

Chap. 2, "Dimensions of Faith in the Old Testament," turns to an examination of four salient features of the OT which must be considered carefully before one attempts to elicit from it a particular theology. *The literary dimension* reminds us that the OT is not the product of any mne author but of many, and that it contains many literary types. *The historical dimension* reminds us that the OT consists to a large extent of historical narratives which speak of various levels of divine intervention and activity in the world; these have to be taken into account in uncovering the theological meaning of ancient biblical narratives. Changing and conflicting perspectives (e.g., the revolt of Jehu) can also be demonstrated, but the notion of "progressive revelation" must be used with caution. *The cultic dimension* reminds us that contrary to much modern Christian interpretation, the cult was not just a dispensable adjunct but the heart of Israelite religion. It so affected the ideas and language of the OT that it may be viewed as the cradle of biblical theology. Yet the conception of God also brought forth changes in the cult. Finally, *the intellectual dimension* reminds us that the OT arose in an ancient culture and setting which was very different from the modern world. In this ancient milieu the OT came in contact with three areas of the history of religious ideas—primitive thinking, mythical thinking, and the realm of magic—yet it effected significant changes in all of these areas as a result of its emphasis on the personal and moral nature of God.

After these preliminary hermeneutical considerations, Clements in the next four chapters of his book turns to an examination of the essentials of OT theology as he understands it. Chap. 3, "The God of Israel," deals with the being, names, presence, and uniqueness of God. Chap. 4, "The People of God," examines God's human partner under the rubrics of people and nation, election, and covenant. Chap. 5, "The Old Testament as Law," gives adequate recognition to the importance of Torah in the OT under the following four headings: "The Meaning of Tôrâh," "The Pentateuch as Tôrâh," "The Tôrâh and the Prophets," and "From Tôrâh to Law." Clements' emphasis on Torah is a welcome and much-needed corrective to many OT theologies written by Christian authors. Chap. 6, "The Old Testament as Promise," deals chiefly, though not exclusively, with the prophetic literature of the OT under the following fourfold subheadings: "Prophecy and the Judgment of Israel," "Prophecy and Hope," "The Forms of Prophetic Hope," and "The Promise in the Law and the Writings." Clements goes on to observe that for Christian interpreters the prophetic promise motif has always been more congenial to finding theological meaning and significance in the OT than the Torah motif (see the OT theology by Kaiser above). Yet both motifs are present in the OT and must be given their due significance in any OT theology. The author is to be commended for his evenhanded treatment of both themes. The sixth chapter concludes the author's attempt at constructing the outline of an OT theology as he understands it.

In the final two chapters of his book, Clements turns again to topics which belong to the category of prolegomena to an OT theology, rather than to its actual content. They deal with OT theology in relation to other theological disciplines, Chap. 7 dealing with "The Old Testament and the History of Religions," and Chap. 8 with "The Old Testament and the Study of Theology."

One may fault Clements' OT theology for the disproportionate attention given to the prolegomena-type issues, as over against the theological content of the OT. His failure to deal with the third part of the OT canon, except for a few scattered references to the psalms, is a more glaring omission and one which is not adequately explained. The acknowledged origin of the book may be cited in partial explanation of these imbalances. In spite of these shortcomings, however, the book contains many good insights and suggestions, which others may explore more fully. It certainly breaks some new ground, and for this reason alone must be judged to be an important contribution to the ongoing discussion about the nature and task of OT theology.

**h. E. E. Martens.** Written by the president of and professor of OT at Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary, Martens' OT theology (1981) represents a distinctive approach to the subject in that it seeks to construct an OT theology on the basis of a grid provided by a single text in Exod 5:22–6:8. In this passage, the author finds enunciated the central message of the OT in the concept of "God's design." God's design has a fourfold purpose: (1) the bestowal of blessing, consisting of both deliverance in history and blessing through the cult; (2) the formation of a covenant community; (3) the knowledge of God expressed in personal relationship; and (4) the gift of the land and the enjoyment of life in it. On the basis of this grid of God's fourfold design, the author then proceeds to lay out the theological content of the OT. The book is divided into four major parts. In the first part, the fourfold design is articulated on the basis of the Exodus passage and "earlier" anticipations of it in the primeval history and the patriarchal narratives. The second part examines the implementation of this design in the premonarchic era. The third part traces the testing of that design during the era of the monarchy. And the fourth part explores of the reaffirmation of that fourfold design in the postmonarchic era, including a brief glance at its reemergence in the NT books of Matthew and Romans.

From this outline it is apparent that the author's methodology is a combination of systematic-conceptual and diachronic approaches, whereby historical- and literary-critical questions are for the most part ignored in favor of a conservative acceptance of the historicity of the narratives. In spite of this shortcoming, however, the book provides many valuable insights into the meaning of the biblical text. The author also has a clear sense of the difference between the descriptive and constructive dimensions of his task. At several points scattered throughout the volume, there are sections specifically marked as "Theological Reflections," in which Martens explores the potential meaning and significance for today of biblical passages and themes just described. Martens' OT theology further confirms the confluence of synchronic and diachronic, descriptive and normative approaches to the subject, which we have had occasion to observe in many contemporary OT theologies.

**i. W. H. Schmidt.** The Werner Schmidt, who is professor of OT at the University of Marburg in Germany, has characterized his book (1983) as standing midway between a history of Israelite religion and a theology of the OT. Even a casual examination of its contents, however, reveals that the book is in fact a history of the religion of Israel, not an OT theology. First of all, the dominant and overarching approach to the subject is historical and genetic rather than systematic and conceptual. The four major subdivisions of the book are purely historical in nature: (1) nomadic prehistory; (2) the early period after the Conquest; (3) the period of the monarchy; and (4) the late period. The subsections under these headings deal for the most part with individual topics of a historical nature, such as the God of the Fathers, the wars of Yahweh, the tribal confederacy, the monarchy, prophecy, and the apocalyptic. Where more systematic concepts such as covenant, election, or the word of God appear at all, they are relegated to a brief excursus rather than being taken up in the main body of the text.

A second reason why this work is better classified as a history of Israelite religion is because it emphasizes heavily the notion of growth and change in Israel's religion during the course of its history, as well as its relationship and affinity to its ANE environment. To be sure, the author also describes that which distinguishes Israelite religion from other ancient religions (chiefly its understanding of God as reflected in the first and second commandments), but that fact in itself does not make Schmidt's book an OT theology. Any history of Israelite religion worthy of the name will also do that, as we have seen above (cf. Fohrer and Vriezen).

A third reason for judging this book to be a history of Israelite religion rather than an OT theology has to do with the exclusively descriptive nature of its analysis. There is no attempt at constructive theological synthesis or at making any kind of judgment regarding what are the normative and abiding elements of OT faith which might continue to inform the faith communities who view the OT as sacred Scripture.

The fact that this book deals chiefly, though by no means exclusively, with the history of the religious ideas (rather than the religious practices and institutions) of Israel does not make it an OT theology, as the author seems to assume. Even a history of religious ideas is still a history of the religion of Israel, albeit a more narrowly focused one. Schmidt's volume, for all intents and purposes, is very similar in conception,

structure, and emphasis to such recent histories of Israelite religion as those by Ringgren, Fohrer, and Vriezen, and might just as well have been labeled that. As such, it is well written and takes its place as a worthy equal among them.

**j. B. S. Childs.** Brevard Childs of Yale University has been an active participant in the debate about the nature and purpose of the discipline for many years (see Childs 1970). More recently, however, he has presented his own constructive attempt at an OT theology (Childs 1985). It is a book of rather modest dimensions; like most recent OT theologies, it is more in the nature of an "outline" rather than a full-fledged treatment of the subject. By the author's own admission in the preface, it is presented in a less technical form than his earlier commentary and introductions. Nevertheless, the subject matter is dealt with in sufficient detail to reflect adequately his understanding of it.

Childs follows essentially a systematic and topical method of organization. The roughly 250 pages of his book are divided into 20 brief chapters. The first two are methodological in nature, dealing respectively with the nature and history of the discipline and the meaning of revelation as applied to the OT. The theme of revelation is also the subject of the next two chapters, where the author examines the question of how God is known (Chap. 3) and what the purpose of God's revelation is in the OT (Chap. 4). The revelation of God is inseparably associated with the revelation of God's will. Consequently, the next four chapters are devoted to that subject under the following headings: The Law of God (Chap. 5); Knowing and Doing the Will of God (Chap. 6); The Theological Significance of the Decalogue (Chap. 7); and the Role of Ritual and Purity Laws (Chap. 8). The next five chapters examine various human recipients of God's revelation: The Recipients of God's Revelation (Chap. 9); Agents of God's Rule: Moses, Judges, Kings (Chap. 10); The Office and Function of the Prophet (Chap. 11); True and False Prophets (Chap. 12); and the Theological Role of Priesthood (Chap. 13). The theme of revelation, which loosely held together the first 13 chapters of the book, is not as apparent in the remaining 7 chapters, which deal with a sequence of unrelated topics as follows: Benefit of the Covenant: The Cultus (Chap. 14); Structures of the Common Life, dealing with various civil, legal, and military institutions (Chap. 15); Male and Female as a Theological Problem (Chap. 16); The Theological Dimension of Being Human (Chap. 17); The Shape of the Obedient Life, which deals with Israel's response to God in psalms, wisdom, and story (Chap. 18); Life under Threat (Chap. 19); and Life under Promise (Chap. 20).

From this outline it is apparent that Childs' way of doing OT theology represents no radical departure from the way others have done it. He emphasizes both constructive and descriptive dimensions of the task and orders his material in a conceptual and topical, rather than a historical or tradition-historical, manner. Even his vocal emphasis on a "canonical approach" represents no radical departure from past practices, for OT theology has traditionally accepted the canon of the OT as the source and norm which define its limits. It is true that Childs, more frequently than other scholars, makes the final or present shape of the canonical books the object of his theological reflections, rather than the antecedent stages or the process which led to their formation. But this fact is not sufficient to speak of a radical departure in biblical theology. (Hasel's handbook [1982: 86–92] needlessly multiplies labels and distinctions when it calls this the "New Biblical Theology Method." It is neither a new nor a distinct or well-defined method.) Childs' OT theology falls well within the limits of the fundamental dialectics described earlier, which have characterized the discipline for many years. His most recent work is another significant contribution to the field, but it blazes no new trails, nor does it resolve the fundamental problems and tensions which have beset the discipline in the past, and which will continue to beset it in the future.

Finally, Childs' claim that OT theology is a specifically Christian theological discipline makes only explicit what has historically been implicit in most OT theologies written by Christians. The validity or legitimacy of this claim is an issue which we shall not pursue at this point, but to which we shall return (see B.4 below).

**k. S. Terrien.** Terrien's volume (1978) is not so much an OT theology as it is a biblical theology, ranging across the theological content of both the OT and NT. However, since a major portion of its content deals with the OT, and since the OT provides the major overarching rubrics for dealing with the content of the NT, it is desirable to include this book under a discussion of recent OT theologies.

For Terrien, the reality of the presence of God stands at the center of biblical faith. This presence, however, is always elusive, so that one could equally well say that the dialectic between God's self-disclosure and self-concealment stands at the center of biblical faith. This theme, according to Terrien, is more fundamental and pervasive than the theme of covenant or any other center which has been proposed so far. Its pervasive presence can be demonstrated not only for the OT, but for the NT as well; hence it is ideally suited for the construction of a biblical theology which embraces both testaments.

In accordance with this overarching theme of God's elusive presence, a vast amount of biblical data is organized in ten succinct chapters. Chap. 1, "Cultus and Faith in Biblical Research," deals with some antecedent methodological issues. The author alludes to three revolutions in biblical studies (literary criticism, form criticism, and tradition history) and describes what he considers to be two dominant schools in OT studies: (1) the Scandinavian and British "myth and ritual" school, and (2) the German and Swiss "story of salvation" school. Terrien's own inquiry proposes to utilize the insights of both in the conviction that cultus and faith are integrally related and mutually interdependent in the Bible. The remainder of the first chapter is devoted to a brief discussion of the history and nature of biblical theology, as well as the author's own constructive proposals regarding it.

Chap. 2, "Epiphanic Visitations to the Patriarchs," traces the theme of divine presence through the ancestral narratives. These are understood as stories which preserve memories of moments when the Hebrew ancestors had perceived the presence of their God with particular intensity. Terrien maintains that the ancestral traditions differ from other theophanic traditions in the OT in that they are free from the display of natural mirabilia and are couched in the style of simple meetings, centering on dramatic dialogue between God and human beings. Several of the narratives of Genesis are examined in detail by the author with considerable exegetical skill and theological sensitivity.

In Chap. 3 Terrien turns to an examination of "The Sinai Theophanies." While the theophanic experiences ascribed to Moses bear some resemblance to the "epiphanic visitations" of the ancestors, they also differ from the latter in several respects: they ascribe the theophanies to a single place, the mountain of God; while the ancestors erected many altars at various sites, Moses created no topographically fixed shrine in the Wilderness of Sinai; they emphasize the element of natural wonder; and they are concerned with the theologoumenon of "the Name." In the disclosure of the latter, sight is submitted to hearing. Hebraism is a religion not so much of the eye as of the ear. The name carries connotations of divine presence, but it also confers upon this presence a quality of elusiveness. Terrien then goes on to contrast "name theology" with "*kābôd* theology," which are seen as the conflation of two distinct traditions, North and South. The former emphasizes the hearing of sounds and voices and the obeying of words, whereas the latter emphasizes visions of divine glory.

Chap. 4, "Presence in the Temple," deals with the theme of divine presence through sacred space, a notion deeply embedded in the human psyche. In Israel, however, there was a profound tension between two cultic views of divine presence: presence through space, and presence through time. This tension Terrien illustrates with reference to the changing roles of three cultic institutions: (1) the Ark of Yahweh, illustrating a move from historical time to cultic space; (2) the tent of meeting, which was a spatial vehicle for prophetic or oracular communication, to be distinguished from tabernacle and temple; and (3) the temple of Solomon, which Terrien interprets in the main as a reversion to NW Semitic paganism, with its omphalos myth and the triumph of the sense of seeing over the sense of hearing. Only in the Deuteronomistic reinterpretation of the name theology is the sense of hearing brought to the fore again. Further modifications were also effected by the prophetic critique of one-sided notions of divine presence in Israel; which brings the author to the subject of the next chapter.

Chap. 5 is devoted to "The Prophetic Vision." In keeping with Terrien's thematic and conceptual approach, the prophets are not dealt with individually and in chronological order, but as a single phenomenon under several theological rubrics. In distinction from other commonly held views, Terrien understands the prophets not primarily as predictors of the future, nor as announcers of the coming Messiah, nor even as social reformers, but as "poets of divine presence, even when they prayed to a deus absconditus" (1978: 227). In the traditions about Elijah, Terrien discerns a dramatic turning point in the

Hebraic theology of presence, insofar as it closed the era of theophany and relegated it to the realm of an unrepeatable past. In its place is ushered in the era of prophetic vision, "where miracles of nature become miracles of character" (1978: 229). Elijah's experience at Horeb demonstrates that "the God that is coming is altogether different from the one that man expects" (1978: 234). Elijah recognized the presence, but he did not see God. He only heard a voice, and it was the voice of commission. Elijah was not a new Moses, but the forerunner of an Amos. All the great prophets were confronted with the sudden discovery of presence, which they did not seek out, but to which they responded. Their burden was the burden of the word which had been forced upon them. It is to the intrusion of the divine presence in the word that their entire lives were subordinated. The prophets were intimate companions of God, but their companionship never deteriorated into casual familiarity. When Yahweh was silent, the prophet prayed, but he could not compel. The elusiveness of the divine presence gave birth to prophetic prayer and the poetry of spiritual agony. It also fulfilled a double function: it pointed to God's transcendent freedom over nature and humanity, but it also became a symbol of God's self-imposed weakness as a model for human power.

In Chap. 6, Terrien turns from the prophets to "The Psalmody of Presence." Several specific psalms are analyzed to demonstrate the manifold ways in which the theme of presence is developed. David himself, as reflected in Psalm 18, experienced divine presence as immediate and real and in terms of the liturgical anamnesis of the Sinai theophany, together with its implications of obedience and loyalty to the Mosaic covenant demands. For the Davidic successors, however, presence was conceived as an adoption into divine sonship, which was institutionalized in sacred ritual, as illustrated by Psalm 110. Terrien considers this to be a deterioration of the Hebraic theology of presence.

That the Lord of heaven and earth was present cultically in the sanctuary is the assumption of much of Israel's hymnology. But the psalms also attest a movement from cultic presence to spiritual presence, in the form of communion with Yahweh through faithful obedience far from the holy place (Psalms 27 and 84). The psalmists received through Zion a faith which taught them the superfluity of Zion. Some psalmists labored under the plight of their spiritual isolation; they sang of the absence or hiddenness of God (Psalm 22). Others spoke of the "haunting God," whose presence was experienced as oppressive (Psalm 139). And yet others spoke of the "sufficient God," whose presence could be experienced in situations of extremity (Psalm 23). Terrien sees the psalmody of presence evolving from royal communion to the inner life of the common person. Like the great prophets, the cultic musicians interiorized the cultus and thus helped to prepare the birth of Judaism after the destruction of the temple in 586 B.C.E.

In Chap. 7 Terrien turns to an analysis of "The Play of Wisdom." While the prophets compared communion between Yahweh and Israel to a marriage, and while the psalmists spoke of divine presence in terms of cultic nearness and mystical quest, the wise spoke of access to presence through the love of wisdom, which Terrien characterizes as a "man-initiated enterprise but in depth a human response to a transcendental call" (1978: 358). Wisdom could be likened to a sublime counterpart of the prostitutes in the mystery cults of the ancient Semitic world, who attempted to allure all who passed by. While for many of the wise presence was viewed as attainable, Job experienced God not only as absent or silent, but as an enemy whom he accused of malevolence and irresponsibility. Yet Job in turn encountered the holiness of God in its fullness, without intermediary or protective armor. Qoheleth pierces the traditional delusions of religionists. Seemingly skeptical, he nevertheless maintained a deep attachment to the theocentricity of all life. Terrien concludes this chapter with the claim that the sages exhibited the same theological rigor as the prophets, but they shifted their attention from history, a stage now devoid of God, to the theater of the universe where they detected divine presence. Terrien's claims for wisdom appear to be somewhat exaggerated, though he is to be commended for seeking to restore it to its rightful place within an OT theology.

Chap. 8, "The Final Epiphany," deals with postexilic Judaism. It is distinguished sharply from preexilic Hebraism as follows. Whereas Hebraism had been founded on divine presence, Judaism arose from divine absence. The parents had seen the mighty acts of God, but the children knew only national dereliction. Such generalized epitomes may strike the reader as a bit too glib and facile. God's presence continued to

manifest itself even in postexilic times. And this not only cultically, but now also in joyous meditation upon and faithful obedience to God's Torah, as well as through a life of prayer and mystic communion with one's Maker (see, e.g., Psalms 1 and 119).

More justified, perhaps, is Terrien's claim that there occurred in postexilic times a shift in emphasis from sacred space to sacred time. This thesis is undergirded with respect to three institutions which the author analyzes: The Sabbath, the Day of Atonement, and the Day of the Lord. In the Sabbath, ancient notions of sacrality are transferred from "holy space" to "holy time," as illustrated dramatically by the creation story in Genesis 1. Whereas ancient Semitic cosmogonies had concluded in the building of a temple, the priestly story of creation concludes with the consecration of the Sabbath. For Terrien, the Day of Atonement ritual exemplifies a theology of mediated presence through the agency of priest and temple, whereby the sins of the past were erased through the observance of the yearly ritual. Terrien, however, moves on shaky ground when he asserts that the atonement ceremony contains a "built-in element of amorality," because the collective aspect of forgiveness tends to dull the rigor of personal decision and behavioral commitment. Such value judgments appear ill-founded, especially when one compares the subsequent history of the Jewish and Christian communities.

The remaining two chapters of Terrien's theology are devoted to tracing the theme of divine presence into the NT. In Chap. 9, "Presence as the Word," Terrien argues that the theme of divine presence was of more fundamental importance to the early Christian interpretations of Jesus than the ideology of messianism. This is seen most clearly in three pivotal movements described in the Gospels: annunciation, transfiguration, and resurrection. Correlating the motifs of theophany, temple, and final epiphany, they interpreted the person of Jesus in the context of divine manifestation. These three stories as told in the four Gospels are subjected to a detailed exegesis by Terrien, and numerous parallels are drawn between elements in them and their OT antecedents. (That the NT picture of Jesus exhibits extensive affinities to Hebraic and Jewish antecedents comes as no surprise but a welcome confirmation to those who have never been persuaded by the Bultmannian construct of Jesus and of early Christianity.) In answer to the question why the early Church told the stories about the annunciation, transfiguration, and resurrection of an obscure Galilean executed for sedition by the Romans, Terrien replies quite simply that they saw that God was present in Jesus and that Jesus communicated divine presence to them. In his mortal existence, Jesus had brought God's nearness to people in need. In his eternal life, his presence enveloped them and created them anew.

Chap. 10, "The Name and the Glory," is devoted to the proposition that one of the dominant thought forms of the earliest methods of interpreting the person of Jesus was the temple ideology. The author seeks to demonstrate this thesis by looking at some key passages in Acts and the Epistles of Paul under the following three themes: (1) the New Temple; (2) the Temple of the Spirit; and (3) the Temple of his Body. Surprisingly, the author pays scant attention to the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is replete with temple ideology.

Obviously, Terrien's analysis of NT materials from the perspective of the theme of divine presence could have been even fuller. But by what he has done, the author has amply demonstrated that a biblical theology covering both testaments is a viable enterprise and one which could shed fresh light on the meaning and significance of the NT and of the Christian faith. Terrien's volume is a significant and masterful exemplar of the discipline of OT and biblical theology. Thoroughly grounded in the detailed exegesis of numerous texts, it includes a wealth of information exhibiting broad mastery of the field and relevant literature. His documentation from both primary and secondary sources is thorough and comprehensive. The book is also lucidly and interestingly written. Even where one disagrees with viewpoints advanced by the author, one still finds oneself stimulated by him. The understanding of the discipline of OT theology reflected in his work is both descriptive and normative. It goes further than most recent OT theologies in being theologically normative. The author's overarching methodology is conceptual and thematic, although historical and tradition-historical perspectives are not entirely ignored. The center of his theology is the dialectal theme of God's presence and absence, or self-disclosure and self-concealment. Associated with it are a number of subordinate dialectal themes, such as eye and ear,

hearing and seeing, glory and name, aesthetic and ethical, and the like. By means of these, he is able to bring into correlation a mass of biblical data, including such diverse and frequently neglected materials as wisdom and cultic piety. It is not necessary to agree with the author that the theme of divine presence is the only one, or even the most viable one, for doing biblical theology. Other themes and conceptual constructs may be used to correlate significant amounts of biblical data, as an examination of one final biblical theology will demonstrate.

**l. P. D. Hanson.** Like Terrien's theology, Hanson's (1986) is a biblical theology that ranges across the content of both testaments, and that draws major overarching concepts from theOT. The purpose of Hanson's biblical theology is clearly stated in its preface. He does not seek to present a new biblical theology on the scale of Eichrodt or von Rad. Instead, he proposes to follow one fundamental theme which he sees running as a unifying thread through all the diverse writings of the Bible. On the other hand, he proposes to transcend the limitations of Eichrodt and von Rad in two important ways: first, by concentrating not solely on the historical and prophetic traditions, but by dealing with all major biblical traditions, including priestly, sapiential, and apocalyptic ones; and second, by going beyond the OT into the NT.

As regards the book's design, an appendix and the first chapter are devoted to a discussion of the underlying presuppositions and methodology of the author. Hanson's approach to the subject is avowedly descriptive and normative. Constructive theological reflections are interspersed with rigorous historical, sociological, and philological analysis. The remaining 14 chapters of the book cover various biblical periods in historical sequence, including the intertestamental and NT periods. Relevant biblical literature is assigned to and discussed against the background of a brief historical sketch of each period, which is prefixed at the head of each chapter. So rigorous is this historical and sequential approach to the subject that in large stretches the book is indistinguishable from a history of the religion of Israel. Nevertheless, the construct of an overarching normative theme against which the various religious ideas and institutions of each period are measured, as well as the presence of constructive theological reflections and applications, places this book squarely within the category of OT theology as we have defined it. Hanson's book, however, is a vivid reminder of how closely related and interdependent these two sister disciplines have become in recent decades.

The unifying theme or center of Hanson's biblical theology is the biblical notion of community. Born in the experience of the Exodus, this notion is based on a pattern of divine initiative and human response. To the antecedent acts of a righteous and compassionate God, Israel responded in grateful worship and praise. The Yahwistic notion of community centered on devotion to one God alone and was defined by a triad of qualities: righteousness, compassion, and worship. This triadic notion of community, unlike the one which it challenged, did not offer a finished program, but rather inaugurated a historical process. It is to a description of this historical process that the successive chapters of Hanson's book are devoted.

The Yahwistic notion of community grew during the era of the tribal league. It was tested and refined during the age of kings and prophets. Kingship with its Davidic covenant theme and Zion tradition affected it both positively and negatively. But it was especially through prophecy that the Yahwistic notion of community was preserved and developed. Amos and Hosea envisaged a reformulation of the community of faith. Isaiah effected a masterful synthesis between the early Yahwistic notion of community and the Jerusalem royal theology; at the time the latter was thoroughly eschatologized. Micah represents one of the sharpest attacks on the Zion tradition in the name of the covenant theology of early Yahwism; and Jeremiah stands as a monumental example of the tenacity of the latter. He saw more clearly than anyone before him that the chief obstacle to true community lay deep within the human heart, requiring a new redemptive act by God. In spite of the sincere reform efforts by kings like Hezekiah and Josiah, the monarchic experiment ended in failure. Out of this crisis, new attempts at reformulating the Yahwistic notion of community were made. Ezekiel envisaged a program for the restoration of purity through the sanctuary and the cult. The Priestly writing also envisaged a return to fundamental structures of worship established in a bygone era. It stressed the atonement ritual provided by God as a means of overcoming sin and alienation from God. The emphasis on strict division between priests and Levites and

the stress on the definitive nature of Torah as an eternal order ordained by God on Sinai sowed the seeds of subsequent strife between various segments of the postexilic community. Second Isaiah's was the most remarkable response arising out of the Exile. The era of punishment for sin was ended; a new era of salvation was about to be ushered in by God. In the figure of the servant, he announced a broadened and deepened understanding of community. It included not only Israel but the nations of the world and was rooted in the mystery of God's redeeming action in one who suffered the fate of the accursed, but who through his vicarious sacrifice was gathering together a community of the forgiven and redeemed by God.

In contrast to Second Isaiah's lofty vision, the early postexilic community was characterized by party strife and dissension. Leadership was held firmly in the hands of the Zadokite party, with its pragmatic program of domestic consolidation around a hierarchically stratified cult. It received support and new impetus from prophets like Haggai and Zechariah, as well as from circles responsible for an early edition of Chronicles. Dissident groups gave rise to apocalyptic eschatology, represented by such texts as Ezekiel 38–39, Isaiah 24–27, and Zechariah 10–14. The book of Malachi, as well as the editorial framework of Third Isaiah, represents a protest against conditions in the divided community of the 5th century. Hanson ventures the judgment that the Yahwistic notion of community during this period was perhaps better understood by those who lost the struggle for preeminence than by the Zadokite establishment which won, a reminder that faithfulness to a biblical ideal is not necessarily associated with the religious establishment of a given era.

The threat of the dissolution of the Yahwistic community during the 5th century was avoided through the successful reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah. Their contribution is evaluated positively by Hanson as providing the concrete communal structures capable of regulating a society and maintaining a just order, without which the high ideals of the Yahwistic community of faith might not have been preserved. At the same time it must also be noted, however, that their tendency to identify righteousness too closely with a narrow partisan view of community muted earlier prophetic understanding of God's compassionate and all-inclusive outreach. Such attempts to scale back the eschatological dimension of Yahwistic faith by focusing too exclusively on the "holy seed" of Judah did not go unchallenged. Voices of protest against them were raised in such writings as Joel, Ruth, and Jonah.

During the 3rd century, the pressures of hellenization posed new threats to the Jewish community. Against the threats of assimilation, fidelity to the Torah came to be upheld as a norm. The Torah came to be viewed as the eternal manifestation of the divine order of the universe, aided by its identification with wisdom. Increasingly, the Torah scribes came to be viewed as the community leaders. The last two centuries before the common era witnessed the rise of diverse notions of community, represented by the rise of such rival groups as the Sadducees, Pharisees, and Essenes. An understanding of these is important for studying how the biblical notion of community was further developed with the early Christian movement.

Hanson turns next to an examination of the notion of community in the teaching of Jesus as reflected in the Synoptic Gospels. He is careful to delineate both elements of continuity and discontinuity in the message of Jesus against its Jewish background. Jesus' teaching began with the heart of classical Yahwism as expressed in the Shema and Isaiah's call to trust in God. Jesus' own life of prayer and worship exhibited continuity with his Jewish upbringing, as did his respect and love for the Torah tradition of his people. He treasured the commandments as a trustworthy guide to God's will. But his view of Torah was less systematic and philosophical and more historical. It involved attention to both the original setting and present setting of any law, as exemplified by his views on the divorce law. More important than the mere keeping of any precept was a person's present relationship with God (see his dialogue with the rich young man). Jesus also redefined community membership in a more inclusive way by removing it from normal social conventions and placing it directly within the eschatological context of divine initiative and human response. The kingdom of God for him was not an object of apocalyptic speculation but a present reality in the lives of those responding to God's call; wherever acts of justice and mercy are performed from a grateful and loving heart, there the kingdom is present. Indivisibly related to his teaching was the way in which he manifested the presence of the kingdom in his own life. His whole

life was one of undivided worship of his Father in heaven; righteousness and compassion lay at the very center of it. Finding the Yahwistic triad of worship, righteousness, and compassion in the gospel narrative further corroborates the notion that it constitutes the heart of the biblical notion of community.

The subsequent history of this notion is then briefly traced by Hanson through the first three Christian generations as reflected in the rest of the NT. The early disciples understood their mission to be an extension of that of their master, that is, to preach the kingdom of God. In the post-Easter period, their focus came to rest increasingly on Jesus as the Messiah of the kingdom. As the Torah represented God's presence to the Pharisees, so Christ came to represent God's presence to the disciples. The basis for Paul's message was his eschatological belief that Jesus the Messiah had inaugurated the new age of reconciliation. The notion of community was broadened to include the gentiles, though without voiding God's election of Israel. Finally, in the period after 70 C.E., and in the face of rising tensions with gnosticizing tendencies, alienation from the Jewish community, and Roman persecution, Church order and true doctrine came to be increasingly stressed. The intense eschatology of the primitive Church gave way to a more pragmatic posture of viewing the Church as one institution among many others in the world.

In a final chapter, Hanson engages in some concluding reflections on the contemporary implications of the biblical notion of community. He believes that it has abiding validity and that it can offer a reliable guide both in providing a life-sustaining fellowship and in reaching out beyond that fellowship to bring healing to a broken world. That basic thesis is elucidated with reference to three typical problems posed for the communities which continue to look to the Bible for guidance: community structure, relations with civil authorities, and Jewish-Christian relations.

A brief comparison between Hanson's and Terrien's biblical theology may be instructive at this point. Their understanding of the nature of the discipline shows a large measure of agreement. While both works are rooted in detailed description, their authors affirm and practice the normative dimensions of their task. Both range over the entire Christian canon of OT and NT. In sharp contrast to biblical theology as practiced by most Christian theologians, the OT is not slighted in favor of the NT, but given its full due as a worthy partner in the theological dialogue between the two. Hanson perhaps does a little better job in delineating the elements which unite and differentiate Christians and Jews in a common theological bond. Both make a conscious effort to include in their biblical theologies previously neglected parts of the OT, such as priestly, sapiential, and apocalyptic traditions. In this respect, Hanson is stronger in his treatment of priestly and apocalyptic materials, and Terrien in his handling of sapiential ones.

Methodologically, both use a combination of conceptual and historical methods, whereby Hanson's treatment of the subject is more pronouncedly historical and genetic than Terrien's. Terrien does a magnificent job of amassing and critically sifting a vast amount of secondary literature; whereas Hanson's documentation is perhaps a bit more eclectic and not as comprehensive. Both have a center for their biblical theology in the form of an overarching theme. The fact that both are able to digest a vast amount of biblical data under centers which differ, yet which each author considers as in some sense central to biblical theology, is further evidence for the contention that the quest for a "center" in OT theology is not as significant or crucial as recent discussion would lead us to believe (contra Hasel 1982: 117). As a matter of fact, we consider the search for a center to be largely immaterial and misleading, irrespective of whether one understands by "center" either a principle of organization or a normative category in the sense of referring to the abiding truth and validity of Scripture. To be sure, the most pervasive reality of the OT is Yahweh God, and in this very limited sense, one could speak of Yahweh as the dynamic unifying center of the OT. How useful or functional, however, is such a general and abstract statement? The OT does not contemplate God in isolation or in God's essential being, but only in relation to and interaction with other entities, such as human and angelic beings, history, or the world in which we live. Therefore, as soon as one goes on to ask such questions as, what kind of God is it to whom the OT bears witness? or, what is God like and how is God known? one is immediately involved with a chorus of many voices and answers which the OT documents provide.

The search for a center becomes even more futile when by it we mean a single organizing principle under which all the materials of the OT can be effectively subsumed. The multiplicity of so-called centers advanced in the history of the discipline, to say nothing of the many dialectal or multiple "centers" which have become popular in recent years, should be ample evidence to persuade us of the futility of such a quest. Each center has a limited usefulness in that it provides a particular angle of vision from which the biblical data may be viewed. Some may even be broader and more comprehensive than others, allowing us to see a wider spectrum of the Bible. Others may be too narrow, screening out too many important data. But even the best and most comprehensive still distort or leave out dimensions better seen from other angles, or they may become so broad and abstract as to obscure the sharpness and specificity of the biblical presentation of ultimate reality. For these reasons, we consider undue preoccupation with a center for OT theology to be a wasted effort. Several angles of vision are better than one. Eichrodt's covenant concept, Terrien's "Elusive Presence," Hanson's "Triadic Notion of Community," just to mention a few, are all angles of vision which allow us to see some things more clearly than others. None are inherently superior. Among all of them, there is a considerable amount of overlap. All taken together give us a more adequate, though still not perfect and complete, grasp of the reality to which they point. The quest for a unified and logically coherent system is perhaps more germane to systematic than to OT and biblical theology. Inordinate attention to it may even suggest that we are in danger of confusing the two disciplines again. The historically specific and concrete theological message of the OT must not be overly systematized and abstracted.

**m. Summary.** In concluding this section on methodology in OT theology, it may be helpful to summarize succinctly what we have learned from this survey of recent OT theologies. First of all, as regards the dialectal tension between descriptive and normative dimensions of the discipline, some scholars, like Zimmerli, Westermann, and McKenzie, continue to emphasize the descriptive dimension of OT theology. The majority of OT theologians surveyed, however, have become much more overtly normative than either Eichrodt or von Rad. By and large they have achieved this, however, without falling prey to the confusion between these two dimensions which characterized some of the biblical theology of the 1950s. Stendahl's differentiation seems to have made a lasting impact, even if his counsel for a purely descriptive approach is no longer heeded.

As regards methodological principles of organization, the issues today are no longer as sharply drawn as they were between Eichrodt and von Rad. Nearly all OT theologies today combine conceptual and systematic with historical and tradition-historical approaches to the subject. Some, like Vriezen, McKenzie, Clements, Childs, and Terrien, favor the conceptual approach. Others, like Zimmerli, Kaiser, and Hanson, clearly prefer historical and tradition-historical principles of organization. A few, like Fohrer and Westermann, exhibit a more nearly equal balance between the two.

Some of the works surveyed continue to favor some parts of the OT canon over others. The German scholars on the whole continue to give preference to the historical and prophetic traditions, downplaying or ignoring priestly and sapiental traditions. Westermann's distinction between the saving and blessing activity of God, however, appears to be a significant modification of a one-sidedly salvation-historical approach to the subject. While many English-speaking scholars are guilty of a similar preference for a "canon within the canon," some important correctives can be discerned in recent British and American OT theologies. Clements, for instance, seeks to redress the imbalance with respect to the Torah and legal traditions of the OT. McKenzie emphasizes the importance of the cult, and Terrien gives adequate recognition to the importance of sapiential and cultic traditions. Hanson's coverage of apocalyptic traditions is quite thorough. Legal and cultic traditions are also given their due by Hanson and Childs. While more could yet be done on this score, all in all there appears to be a greater degree of respect for the theological witness of the entire canon of the OT, rather than just selected segments thereof.

**3. Revelation through History, Tradition, and Story.** Another issue in OT theology is the problem of revelation through history, which has received considerable attention since the appearance of von Rad's work (see esp. Albrektson 1967; Barr in *IDBSup*, 746–49; Herberg 1976; Pannenberg 1968; Roberts 1976). At the core of biblical religion, whether in its Jewish or Christian manifestation, stands the belief

that God has acted for the benefit of the human race and the world through specific and concrete events in the history of a particular people called Israel. Both the OT and the NT attest to this fundamental conviction. How that divine activity is to be visualized and understood constitutes one of the fundamental problems of OT and biblical theology. The older Protestant orthodoxy had understood revelation as consisting chiefly of inspired utterances of a propositional and dogmatic nature. But already during the 17th century, a more historically oriented understanding of revelation came to the fore in the writings of "federal" theologians like Cocceius. Increasingly, revelation came to be understood in terms of God's redemptive activity in history, and the Bible was viewed as the written record thereof. This notion reached its fullest development in the various salvation-historical perspectives of the 19th and 20th centuries. The 19th-century revolution in historical thinking aided this development greatly, at the same time as in some circles it also tended to undercut the notion of God's activity in history. In the religiohistorical perspectives of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the biblical idea of revelation came to be replaced with notions of human progress and the evolutionary development of religion. But following the revival of OT theology during the mid–20th century, the notion of revelation through history gained greater currency again, especially during the era of the so-called biblical theology movement. Against both the fundamentalist notion of revelation as propositional truth and the liberal notion of revelation as human progress and religious evolution, it became fashionable to locate revelation in the actual events of biblical history, many of which were strikingly illumined by spectacular discoveries in biblical archaeology (Wright 1952). During the 1960s, however, the concept of revelation through history came increasingly under attack from several quarters. Today it has fallen on hard times, and while not without its defenders, it has been abandoned by some and become dysfunctional for many others.

As one surveys recent literature on this issue (see Lemke 1982: 34–46), it becomes apparent that the notion of revelation through history has become problematical chiefly on two grounds: it was construed too one-sidedly and burdened with too many unresolved ambiguities. A one-sided emphasis on God's mighty acts in history tended to ignore or overlook other important dimensions of God's self-disclosure. The Bible also speaks of God's self-disclosure in the realm of nature, in the proclamation of laws and commandments, in the high moments of communal worship or the quiet meditations of the human heart, in the reflections of the wise, and in the musings of poets and storytellers. Furthermore, the Bible does not differentiate as sharply as modern theologians have between *facta* and *dicta,* the God who acts and the God who speaks, or the objective historical event and its subjective appropriation by human beings. If God is revealed at all, God is revealed in all of these manifold ways. Thus, for example, God's communication with Moses, the actual events at the sea, Miriam's song about it, and the cultic anamnesis of all of these are part of God's revelatory act which we call the Exodus.

Among the unresolved ambiguities which have beset the notion of revelation through history are the following. To begin with, there is a problem of definition. What do we mean by "history" or "revelation"? If history is defined in terms of a closed system of finite causality and revelation is defined in terms of God's self-disclosure, then obviously there is no room for divine activity in history and it is pointless to speak of revelation through history.

Unexamined or confused philosophical and theological assumptions have been another major source of ambiguity in the discussion about revelation through history (Blaikie 1970). What, for instance, is our understanding of God? Is God a personal agent or an impersonal process? What is our understanding of divine and human causality, the nature and possibility of miracle, or the meaning of providence? Lack of clarity on such questions as these will lead to confusion and equivocation in one's understanding of revelation through history.

A third source of ambiguity which has contributed to the dysfunctionality of the concept of revelation through history lies in the recourse to purely historical and descriptive language when theological and normative language is called for. Statements like "the Hebrews believed that God had clogged the chariot wheels of the Egyptians" or "Moses felt himself to be in the presence of the Holy when he encountered what appeared to be a burning bush at Horeb" render the concept of revelation through history

problematical, for they tell us nothing about what exactly God was doing in those events, how God was revealed, or whether God was doing or saying anything at all.

Finally, a fourth source of ambiguity which has rendered the concept of revelation through history problematical is the bifurcation between "actual" and "confessed" history brought about by modern historical-critical approaches to the Bible. If the events of Israelite history as reconstructed by critical historiography are not identical with those narrated or confessed by the biblical writers, then what happens to the notion of revelation through history? Where is the locus of divine revelation, in the *actual* or in the *confessed* history? Which set of events is the proper object of OT theology? There are those like von Rad who clearly opt for Israel's confessional history as the only proper object for OT theology and the real locus of revelation. That, however, poses some real problems for the concept of revelation through history, for if the events through which God was alleged to have been revealed did not happen, or happened in a manner other than remembered by the biblical authors, then what happens to God's mighty acts in history? Do they simply evaporate into thin air? For those who, like F. Hesse (1971), would answer this question affirmatively, the only recourse is to ignore the confessional history and to place the locus of revelation in the events as reconstructed by critical historiography alone. Neither course of action has proven satisfactory or adequate; nor are these the only options available to us. For one, the dichotomy between actual and confessed history is not as radical as it has often been made out to be. There is a considerable degree of confluence between the two, if not in every detail, at least in regard to the broad outlines of biblical history. Secondly, even where these two histories diverge in significant details, the confessional history is at the same time another datum of Israelite history and therefore a legitimate object of both historical inquiry and theological reflection. The locus of revelation then becomes more complex. God's activity cannot simply be located in the *bruta facta* of the one, nor in the confessional *dicta* of the other, but in the complex interface between the two. A. Weiser (1961) already saw this quite clearly; more recently the issue has also been addressed by P. Hanson (1978).

The limitations and ambiguities inherent in the notion of revelation through history have elicited a number of responses by systematic and biblical theologians. There are those who have sought to expand the notion by making all of history the locus of revelation (Pannenberg 1968; Rendtorff 1961; Kaufmann 1960). Revelation, in other words, *is* history. That is, God's purpose and activity is revealed in the totality of history, and consequently not until its final consummation. From the vantage point of biblical or OT theology, such a "resolution" of the problem is not satisfactory. For one, it is too global and universal to be historically useful. Furthermore, it goes beyond what the Bible asserts. In Scripture, God's activity is neither confined to, nor wholly identified with, the historical process as such.

Another recent attempt to come to terms with the notion of revelation through history is to abandon it in favor of a notion of revelation through story or narrative theology. This approach has gained many adherents in recent years and has certain advantages, at least on the surface. For one, it recognizes that much of the biblical narrative comes to us in the form of story or tradition, some of which may be historylike, but which is far removed from history writing as commonly understood today. Secondly, it associates revelation with the word, which is a time-honored and biblically based notion. And thirdly, it relieves us of the burden of having to decide whether events actually happened the way they were remembered and told.

In spite of its current popularity and appeal, it is doubtful that this flight into "revelation through story" will prove to be a satisfactory solution to the problem. While it can provide a necessary corrective to the imbalances and excesses of the revelation-through-history approach, it fails to address the deeper underlying and abiding issues which the latter was designed to engage. Granted that not all biblical narratives can or should be read as history, many of them must and will continue to be read this way. The reasons for this are partly determined by the Bible and partly by our own cultural givens. Once modern critical historical consciousness has arisen in us, we cannot very well revert to a precritical stance. In some fashion or form, people will continue to ask questions of what *really* happened in history and what relevance that has for them today. Of even greater significance is the fact that biblical religion is *essentially* historical in character. As long as some biblical documents make claims about God's presence

and activity in human affairs and among a particular historical people, we will necessarily continue to address the issue of God's revelation through history. Any theological approach to Scripture which ignores this problem or pretends that it does not exist will have no lasting impact upon the discipline of OT theology.

**4. Is OT Theology an Exclusively Christian Enterprise?** The final issue which we seek to address is posed by both the actual history of the discipline and by the explicit way recent practitioners of it have chosen to define it (see Lemke 1989; Levenson 1987). If one looks at the history of the discipline, it would appear that OT theology is indeed an exclusively Christian enterprise. OT theology had its roots in the Protestant Reformation, and for most of its history it was practiced by Christian scholars working, either explicitly or implicitly, from Christian theological assumptions. The noticeable absence of Jewish biblical scholars from the discipline in the past may in part be attributed to the specifically Christian polemic context in which biblical and OT theology arose. However, there were other historical circumstances which converged to keep Jewish scholars from entering the field of OT theology. Goshen-Gottstein (1975: 69–88) has shown that just as the treasures of Jewish exegesis were made available to Christian Hebraists during the late 15th and 16th centuries, Jewish biblical scholarship entered a period of protracted stagnation brought about by a combination of external circumstances and spiritual forces within Judaism. According to him, it is only the belated entry of Jews into 20th-century biblical scholarship that has prevented until now the development of Jewish biblical theology. From a purely historical perspective, therefore, one would have to concede that OT theology in the past has been an exclusively Christian (and until recently, a mostly Protestant) enterprise. This historical fact, however, does not settle the question of whether OT theology of necessity, or in its essential character, is an exclusively Christian enterprise. While a great majority of its practitioners continue to define it that way (see, for instance, Childs 1985: 7), we would argue that there is no compelling reason to continue to do so, and that the discipline would be immensely enriched by the inclusion of Jewish scholarship. To a limited degree this is already happening, but it should become even more extensive and self-conscious in the future. Since this judgment is not shared by most of the OT theologies which we have surveyed, we propose to submit to closer scrutiny some of the main arguments for and against our thesis.

First of all, the fact that OT theology arose as a Christian theological discipline and that most of its practitioners during the last 400 years have been Christians (nominally at least) does not mean that this necessarily defines the discipline in perpetuity. A look at its own history is instructive here. Biblical theology began in a polemic context: it was directed first against Roman Catholic dogma and then against the orthodox doctrines of Protestant scholasticism. Yet today, both Protestants and Roman Catholics are engaged in a fruitful dialogue and in the production of significant works in biblical theology. There is no reason why a similar development cannot take place between Christians and Jews. It has already happened in many areas of biblical studies, such as history, archaeology, philology, and exegesis; there is no compelling reason why the theological dimensions of our common scriptural tradition cannot be made the subject of fruitful and mutual dialogue.

Secondly, on the basis of the fact that the very name "Old Testament" is a Christian designation which points to the existence of a "New Testament," it has been suggested that OT theology must therefore be construed as a Christian discipline; and that the question of the relationship of the testaments is part of the essential purpose and task of OT theology. Such an argument, however, is not irresistibly persuasive. To be sure, the question of the relationship between the testaments is a valid and legitimate theological question, at least for Christians, but probably also for Jews. However, it belongs more appropriately to a Christian *biblical* theology than to OT theology as such. Furthermore, the designation "Old Testament" need not imply pejorative connotations or theological value judgments. Today it is widely used in a purely neutral sense of designating the documents of the Jewish canon of scriptures (Tsevat 1986: 33–50). The fact that these documents also happen to be part of the Christian canon does in no way necessitate the assumption that their theological witness cannot be ascertained in its own right, but must only be heard in the context of the theological witness of the NT. As a matter of record, when NT contexts and perspectives are emphasized too much, the independent theological witness of the OT becomes muted or

obscured, as amply illustrated by the history of the discipline. A further point of clarification should be made. When we are saying that OT theology is not of necessity a Christian theological discipline, we do not wish to deny that the theological perspectives of subsequent faith communities have a significant role to play in the theological interpretation of the OT. They clearly do. All we are claiming is that they need not be confined to the Christian faith community. The Jewish faith community surely also has legitimate insights and perspectives to contribute to this quest. It can provide a much-needed corrective, or a more variedly nuanced perspective, to a one-sidedly Christian theological reading of the OT, from which Christians would benefit in the construction of their own theology.

Thirdly, Jewish scholarship itself has been reluctant to participate in the production of OT theologies. There may be various reasons for this. For instance, it has frequently been asserted that Judaism is less theologically oriented, right conduct and observance being more important than right thinking. There is some truth in that objection, but it is not a compelling argument against Jewish OT theology. Jews also study the Bible and reflect on its theological content. This is evidenced by much recent Jewish biblical scholarship, even when it does not overtly label what it produces as OT theology. Kaufmann's well-known treatment of Israelite religion (1960), while following essentially a historical and descriptive methodology, also has recourse to more conceptual presentations of Israelite religious phenomena and is at points highly constructive and normative in its historical reflections. It requires little imagination to see that Kaufmann might equally well have written an OT theology. The work of the late Abraham Heschel clearly falls within the understanding of OT theology presented in this essay. It is hard to imagine a theologically more perceptive and finely nuanced treatment of the life and message of Israel's prophets than that of Heschel (1962). Limitations of space do not permit us to mention others by name, but contemporary Jewish scholarship abounds with examples of first-rate theological treatments of various facets of the OT. It is only a question of time before a full-length and major OT theology will be produced by a Jewish scholar. Perhaps it will be called Tanakh theology (Goshen-Gottstein 1987: 617–44) or a theology of the Hebrew Bible, or the like, but whatever its name, it will be a significant contribution to OT theology. Such a theology will bring fresh nuances and perspectives, especially on those portions of the Hebrew canon which have often been ignored or slighted in Christian OT theologies. Jon Levenson's recent treatment of the Sinai, Zion, and creation traditions of the OT (1985; 1988) may be viewed as signposts on the way to a Jewish OT theology. One can only hope that the renewed interest in biblical theology by Jewish scholarship will not stop with the OT, but will also issue in fresh theological readings of the NT. There is no doubt in our mind that not only biblical and OT but NT theology as well could be greatly enriched through a Jewish theological reading of the NT documents.

But we must return to the question with which we began this section. By now it should be apparent that we can see no compelling or valid reasons for viewing OT theology as an exclusively Christian enterprise. The absence of Jewish scholarship from the field of OT theology is more the result of historical accident than logical or theological necessity. Both Christian and Jewish scholars can and should be engaged in doing OT theology. The discipline would be greatly enriched and strengthened by such truly ecumenical dialogue.

If one wonders why it has taken us so long to come to this realization, the Church and Christian theology must surely assume a major share of the blame because of their long-standing devaluation and subordination of the OT to the NT. A concise summary of traditional Christian attitudes toward the OT will make this clear. For the first century of the existence of the Church, the OT was the only Bible the Christians had. Both Jesus and the apostles recognized the documents of the OT as their sacred Scripture. The central problem for the early Christians was not whether the OT was to be their sacred Scripture, but whether and how Jesus could be understood as another mighty act of the God whom they already knew through their Scriptures (Sanders 1976: 531–60). Not until the 2d century, or as Christianity became increasingly a Gentile movement, did the status of the OT become problematical for some Christians. Marcion tried unsuccessfully to remove the OT, along with a good part of the NT, from its status as sacred Scripture. But while the Church officially adopted the OT as part of its canon of sacred Scripture, the ghost of Marcion continued to haunt the Church throughout its subsequent history. The varying

attitudes which Christians have assumed toward the OT may for convenience' sake be grouped into five basic categories.

(1) *An Abrogation or Negative Valuation of the OT.* This attitude may range from an outright rejection of the OT from the Christian canon (Marcion, Schleiermacher, von Harnack, F. Delitzsch) to a radically qualified acceptance of it for purposes of negative contrast with the NT and the Christian gospel (Bultmann, Baumgärtel). All of them have no positive theological use for the OT, which is variously characterized as inferior, superseded, or on a par with the other non-Christian religions. In short, the OT is simply the dark foil against which the light of the gospel shines all the more brightly. Regrettably, many Christians through the long history of the Church have adopted this attitude, even though it is wholly unbiblical and unworthy of their allegiance. It is potentially very harmful and has been responsible in part for gross outbursts of anti-Judaism throughout the history of the Church. If consistently held, it would lead to the eventual destruction and disappearance of Christianity.

(2) *The OT as a Necessary Historical Presupposition.* Because of Christianity's origin in a specifically Jewish milieu, an understanding of the OT is essential for a proper understanding of the NT and of the gospel. The history of the early Church is incomprehensible apart from its Jewish antecedents, and the literature of the NT presupposes knowledge of the language and thought-world of the OT. While correct as far as it goes, this position is inadequate, because it confines itself to a purely historical and descriptive level. Historical and cultural connections alone are not sufficient grounds for canonization; if they were, one could argue with equal validity for the inclusion of the Enuma Elish in the Jewish canon, and some of the intertestamental literature in the Christian canon.

(3) *The "Christianization" of the OT.* This was the prevailing attitude toward the OT in the Church for at least a millennium, or from the early Church Fathers to the Reformation. This position accepts the OT as a theologically relevant part of the Christian canon. However, its voice as an independent theological witness was muted by the superimposition of Christian meanings on the OT. Allegory and typology were the prevailing exegetical techniques in earlier centuries. More recently, subtler ways of doing this have been devised. Usually this takes the form of some hermeneutical key, such as the "law/gospel" or "promise/fulfillment" dialectic, by means of which the theological meaning of the OT is to be discerned. The problem with these unitary hermeneutical keys is that they are too one-sided and simplistic, obscuring both real continuities and obliterating finer nuances and distinctions. Proponents of these usually also fail to see that whatever dialectics may be legitimately present in Scripture, they cannot be divided up between the testaments but are operative throughout the entire Christian canon, inclusive of the NT. Such a one-sided Christian reading of the OT gives lip service to the theological relevance of the OT, but in actuality does not really permit it to speak in its own right.

(4) *The OT Has Direct Literal and Prescriptive Theological Validity.* While this position has never had a wide following among Christians, it has enjoyed some favor among certain groups. Essentially it holds that since Christians have become heirs to God's covenant with Israel, they also must assume all of its obligations. Apart from 1st-century Jewish Christians, this attitude was also embraced by some Anabaptists of the radical Reformation, as well as by some modern sectarians.

While this attitude is commendable in its theological consistency, it is too literalistic and fails to take sufficient cognizance of the fact that even biblical religion is a living organism which underwent significant changes and adaptations, to say nothing of the gulf that separates modern people from the cultural world of the Bible.

(5) *The OT as Theologically Significant and Indispensable Norm for Christian Faith.* This position involves a positive theological valuation of the OT. It rejects all notions of a unilaterally evolutionary or supersessive nature. The God of Jesus is the same as the God of Abraham, Moses, and Deborah. The OT continues to function for Christians as a source of revelation and valid apprehension of God's character and relationship to humanity and the world. The theological meaning of the OT must be ascertained through objective critical scholarship, in which both Christian and Jewish scholars can participate. And while the subsequent adaptations of the theological content of the OT by Jewish and Christian faith communities may provide valuable insights into the fundamental structure of biblical faith, they must not

be granted normative value in the sense of dictating in advance how the theological message of the OT is to be heard. Allowances must be made for both continuities and discontinuities in theological perspective between the OT and the two faith communities to which it gave rise. Neither the NT nor the Talmud should be allowed to define OT theology in any normative sense.

It is this fifth and final position which holds the greatest promise today for the doing of OT theology in a truly ecumenical context in which both Christians and Jews may participate with integrity and to the mutual benefit and enrichment of the respective faith communities for whom the OT is sacred Scripture.

**C. Conclusion**

At the beginning of this article we defined OT theology as "the exposition of the theological content of the OT writings." In the light of our historical survey and our analysis of key issues in the evolution and current practice of the discipline, we are now in a position, perhaps, to give a little more specificity and precision to that definition. OT theology may be defined as *an exegetical and theological discipline which seeks to describe in a coherent and comprehensive manner the OT understanding of God in relationship to humanity and the world.* A few comments on key elements in this definition may be in order. By defining it as *an exegetical and theological discipline,* we wish to underscore that OT theology must be rooted in the careful exegesis of the actual texts and documents of the OT, but that this must be done in such a manner that the theological dimensions of the text are not ignored or obscured, but given due prominence. The phrase *to describe … the OT understanding* seeks to safeguard the descriptive aspects of our task, so that we hear what the OT itself has to say rather than superimposing theological and philosophical systems on it from the outside. This is not to say that legitimately constructive and normative dimensions of theology can or should be ignored. They clearly have a place in any OT theology worthy of the name. But the constructive and normative dimensions must always be closely related to, and dependent upon, the descriptive dimension. OT theologians must not confuse these two dimensions, but as much as possible should be clear about when they function in one or the other mode of operation. Furthermore, this description of the theological content of the OT must be reasonably *coherent and comprehensive.* That is, it should deal with the essential faith structure of the OT, not with every phenomenological detail of Israelite religion but in sufficiently comprehensive fashion so that no important element (like wisdom, the cult, creation theology, or legal and priestly traditions) is slighted or ignored. Finally, the phrase *God in relationship to humanity and the world* points to the proper object and parameters of the discipline. It is not the God of philosophical abstraction or theological speculation that is the object of our inquiry, but Yahweh God who is revealed not only in creation but in the historical experiences of a particular people called Israel. OT theology thus defined and understood is in no crisis or quandary, but in the midst of a highly productive and creative period, the full extent of which remains yet to be seen and assessed.

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## *NEW TESTAMENT*

New Testament theology (NTT), now sometimes called "the theology of the New Testament" but in 1800 "the biblical theology of the New Testament," is a product of the 19th-century division of "biblical theology" into Old and New Testament sections. See THEOLOGY (BIBLICAL), HISTORY OF. This was later reinforced by the growing sense of historical development and by increasing specialization within university theological faculties, but the roots of NTT in the older, precritical biblical theology hold the key to its nature and purpose. It arose out of Protestantism's aim to preserve and demonstrate its biblical credentials, and so its truth. These theological origins and aims were partly obscured in later biblical scholarship, and have been eroded by further secularization in recent years. But the religious and

rational implications of the name "theology" were recovered in the mid-20th-century flowering of the discipline and provide a criterion for the proper use of the phrase today.

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**A. Nature and Purpose**

"Theology" implies a relationship to religious faith, and NTT an orientation to the canon as a source and norm of Christian doctrine. How this biblical discipline is related to contemporary Christian faith and theology became a problem with its use of historical methods not designed to communicate religious faith. A systematic presentation of the biblical material must be important to a Christianity that appeals to the Bible. But historical reconstruction of these early witnesses provides neither a single nor a modern account of Christianity. The move from ancient history to modern theology is not straightforward, and may be possible only in reverse or through a fusion of horizons.

Though rooted in the Reformers' determination to make Christian theology accord with the Bible (as they claimed late medieval scholasticism did not), the discipline derives more directly from subsequent theological developments in Protestant orthodoxy. The Reformation churches, having rejected the Roman magisterium and subordinated tradition to Scripture, needed to demonstrate that their theology corresponded to the content of the Bible. They did so by "collections" of *dicta probantia* or proof texts, such as S. Schmidt's *Collegium Biblicum* of 1671. The earliest works entitled *Teutsche Biblische Theologie* (W. J. Christmann, 1629) and *Theologia Biblica* (Henrius a Diest, 1643) were similar defenses of Protestant doctrine.

To count as Christian, any theology has to demonstrate some continuity with Scripture and tradition. Quoting texts is a shorthand for that. But the need for probative arguments in controversy, coupled with assumptions about the infallibility of Scripture, led to a belief that proof texts demonstrate the truth of doctrinal statements. The argument is circular and the belief false, because as in modern fundamentalism the texts are theologically meaningful only in relation to the system that governs their selection and interpretation. This kind of biblical theology was only a small part of Protestantism's theological engagement with the Bible, and has never been a serious contender to replace dogmatic theology. But in the context of pietist hostility to the dogmatics of Protestant scholasticism and the memory of the Reformers' call for a more biblical theology, these systematically organized collections of texts gained enough independence to allow them a critical role with respect to the dogmatics they were originally designed to support.

In his *Pia Desideria* (1675) Spener attacked the return in Protestant theology of the Aristotelianism which Luther had ejected, and demanded a biblically based theology and reform of ministerial education. C. Haymann's *Biblische Theologie* (1708) and A. F. Büschings *Gendanken von der Beschaffenbeit und dem Vorzug der biblisch-dogmatischen Theologie vor der alten und neuen scholastischen* (1756) reflect this pietist demand for biblical simplicity. Later salvation-history theologies and the 20th-century "biblical theology movement" reflect the same hostility to philosophy and systematic theology. They bear witness to the essential simplicity of the gospel, but bypass the answerability of theology at the bar of

reason. Biblical and NT theology could be understood as an alternative to systematic theology only where claims to religious truth were based on a biblicist view of revelation which excluded the rest of human knowledge from Christian accounts of God and the world. That antirational strand in Christian thought became even less credible when the Bible itself was subjected to critical questioning, but it has remained a subordinate strand in biblical and NT theology.

The future of biblical and NT theology lay not with this pietist undercurrent, but in German and Swiss theological faculties. Here it has not usually been a shortcut to bypass complications, but one expression of the theologically committed biblical scholar's task to clarify what the Bible says, and so contribute to the professional education of Protestant clergy whose main activity would be preaching.

This orientation to contemporary religious needs has remained a feature of the modern critical discipline, which also has flourished in confessional theological faculties and seminaries, but rarely elsewhere. Its strongly emphasized independence of dogmatics did not until quite recently mean any loss of theological interests; and where that has happened the name "theology" has usually been dropped.

The religious aims and assumptions of NTT have affected the actual presentations. Where interpreters have been convinced that there is no real difference between the Bible and their own Christianity, a summary of its contents has seemed sufficient. But in the Enlightenment some theologians saw that only part of the Bible corresponded to their own understandings of Christian truth, and later more historically conscious theologians reflected on the differences between ancient and modern views of the world and God. A bridging operation was necessary to relate the Scriptures to modern theology, and NTT contributed to this. Some NTTs remained summaries of exegetical conclusions, but the more advanced ones contained hermeneutical proposals within their summaries of biblical ideas. How the modern interpreters understood the Christian revelation affected the form of their presentations. These became part of the strategy for relating the results of biblical study to modern understandings of the Christian revelation.

Christian accounts of revelation point to the biblical texts, the history behind them, and the corporate and individual mind of those who hear the message. Different theories emphasize different elements, and the NTTs reflecting a theory of revelation exhibit corresponding combinations of the three elements. They may be more or less biblicist, more or less historicist, and more or less hermeneutical. These three points of reference allow us to map the field and provide the basis for a typology of all work done in it. Insofar as it is possible to judge between better and worse theories of revelation they also provide a criterion for evaluating different conceptions of NTT, though not for judging how well these have been carried out. That depends on their exegetical success. But in NTT the theory is as important as the practice—and relatively neglected.

1. The *biblicist* element in Christian accounts of revelation and in NTT is the tendency (more or less extreme) to attach greater weight to these writings than would be rational for non-Christians. It is necessary because Scripture is indispensable for knowing God in Jesus Christ, and that is central to Christianity. Associating revelation closely with Scripture is axiomatic because Christian revelation centers on Jesus, the Messiah of Israel. But actually identifying Scripture with revelation is irrational biblicism. It bears witness to this "givenness" of revelation, its capacity to challenge the interpreter, and its "offense" to human wisdom, but hardens that witness into a false objectivism.

2. Because Christians find the revelation of God in a historical figure, the *historical* element in a Christian doctrine of revelation and in NTT cannot be evaded by appeals to the text alone, or to text plus preaching. Orthodox Christianity resists any tendency to treat the NT as fiction, despite its fictional and mythical dimensions. But in a secular culture the historical dimension can if absolutized lead to a historicism which destroys all talk of God and revelation, and so destroys NTT.

3. The *hermeneutical* element in the doctrine of revelation and in the NTT recognizes the distance between the past event of God in Jesus and its present appropriation, but bridges it in the act of interpretation, whether by word or action. If emphasized at the expense of the other two necessary emphases this can dissolve into a subjectivism which loses the otherness and givenness of revelation. But it is possible to preserve the two horizons in a dovetail joint which connects them.

The roots of NTT lie deep in a brittle biblicism that was broken and transformed under the impact of modern historical questioning. Both the historical and the hermeneutical emphases made their historically disciplined understandings of the texts fruitful for the modern interpreters' own rather different understandings of Christianity. The difference between them is that the historicist keeps historical-exegetical work separate from personal appropriation, whereas the "hermeneutical" type (to borrow a 20th-century theological use of that word) tries to combine the two steps in a single act of interpretation. The biblicist still thinks there is only one step.

The problem for the historicist is how to get from the first to the second step; there is no obvious connection. Most Christian reading of Scripture, whether biblicist or hermeneutical, combines the two steps. There are dangers of modernizing distortion, but these are met by allowing other exegetes and historians to challenge all theological interpretations. The argument is then engaged on the public exegetical field. There is no appeal to private experience in exegesis.

The dangers of distortion are strongest where biblicists want a close correspondence between the Bible and their own convictions. The historicist has a low regard for this—and consequently risks losing contact with the revelation attested by Scripture. The hermeneutical middle way is to insist that Christian interpreters can disagree with a text by engaging in a theological criticism which justifies this disagreement, taking the rejected text with due seriousness but refusing to absolutize it. Theological criticism *(Sachkritik)* is therefore essential in hermeneutical NTT. It offends historicist sensibilities because it appeals to nonhistorical factors (the theological interpreter's own understanding of the gospel), and it offends biblicism for "urging Christ against Scripture" (Luther). It hovers on the brink of subjectivism, especially when the individual interpreter fails to take due account of the corporate judgment of the Christian community.

Prior beliefs can be challenged by reflection on a text, and possibly even changed. Or they may be confirmed at the cost of giving reasons, based on other scripture, tradition, reason, and experience, for rejecting a passage. This interaction cannot long be suspended where theologians are wanting to communicate the truth of the biblical message. Personal beliefs can to a large extent be held in suspension while performing the more straightforward historical tasks that are a large element in NTT. But if these are made the goal of NTT a transition has been made from theology to ancient history. The dangers of this happening are considerable because most biblical specialists are by training linguists and historians, not theologians.

Many NTTs have made use of doctrinal categories drawn from the subsequent tradition to summarize the biblical material. Such grids drawn from modern dogmatics are likely to introduce anachronisms and historical distortion, though they may also allow a deeper penetration of the text's meaning, since these analytical tools arose out of past attempts to fathom the biblical message. But their main value is that as formalizations of the interpreters' own tradition and belief or empathy, they make possible an implicit affirmation of the Christian reality and truth of the material being communicated. Instead of repeating the contents of the Bible and then affirming their agreement (on whatever grounds), such theological interpreters combine exegesis and confession in a single move which correspond more closely to how Christians actually read their Scriptures. They combine description and advocacy, fidelity to the texts and an implicit claim that what the Bible says corresponds to the reality that Christians acknowledge today.

The justification for this kind of NTT, like any theology, lies in the needs of the religious community that develops it. Modern Western Christianity has required interpretations of the NT which do justice both to the rational study of these texts and to its fluctuating understandings of its revelation of God in Jesus Christ. Where the boundaries of the religious community are blurred and the texts are public property, all kinds of interpretation are possible. The justification for nonbelievers engaging in theological interpretation is then their honest concern to offer interpretation commensurate with the authors' understanding of their subject matter. The case for admitting the interpreters' own real or assumed theological beliefs into their presentations is that only in this mirror can be religious content of the text be acknowledged and communicated. This can remain a rational procedure so long as exegetical controls are also admitted, and modernizing distortions criticized. Historical exegesis provides a necessary control in

NTT, checking that what is presented accurately represents the ancient documents, and providing the rational rules for debating this. But it does not determine what Christians believe today. Even if the NT provided a uniform doctrinal system (which it does not), contemporary belief could not simply repeat it because belief in a God who relates to the world invokes (in principle) all human experience and knowledge, and that varies from age to age. Biblicism denies this problem and positivistic historicism ignores the question of God. Christian theology has to solve the hermeneutical question because biblical components are central to Christian belief. NTT addresses it while engaging in biblical scholarship. These biblical ingredients in Christianity are difficult even to define precisely because they are affected by the culture in which the Bible is read. The necessary historical study draws nonbiblical material into the discussion and that affects the inter- pretation and evaluation of some biblical texts. It also raises questions quite foreign to the biblical authors, such as the "historical" (as contrasted with the "earthly") Jesus. The contexts of both text and interpreter so complicate the question of the contemporary theological meaning of the Bible that biblical scholars can be pardoned for retreating to their own specialist tasks and leaving theology to the theologians. But the history of NTT confirms that its origins and continuing vitality stem from Christian theological needs. This history discloses theological commitment expressed in a passion for truth, but also compromises, errors, problems, and future possibilities.

**B. History and Analysis**

The Reformers' and their successors' demands for a theology that was in accord with the Bible went hand in hand with a determination to expose its theological content. The tasks were closely related but not necessarily combined. Calvin's commentaries did not make his *Institutes* superfluous. Not even the new genre called "biblical theology" was designed to replace systematic theology, only to make it more biblical. That idea was widely shared by orthodox, pietist, and rationalist theologians, but it proved to have two unforeseen consequences. First, as Luther had seen, Scripture has a nose of wax and can be made to support many different theologies. Secondly, when historical study sharpened the differences between ancient and modern thought, a gulf between the Bible and modern theology became visible. That posed a bridging problem. Most biblical theologians have thought this their responsibility, but by the late 19th century the discipline was being defined in historicist terms which virtually excluded such hermeneutical endeavors.

The modern exegetical methods of Locke, Turrentini, and Ernesti had rational teeth which could strengthen the criticism of contemporary dogmatics and so fulfill an essential element in the Reformers' use of Scripture. G. T. Zachariae's *Biblische Theologie oder Untersuchung des biblischen Grundes der vornehmsten theologischen Lehren* (4 vols., 1771–75), which took Protestant orthodoxy's proof-texting method to an exegetically responsible climax, remained within the bounds of the doctrine of inspiration while allowing the biblical materials to challenge dogmatics, as the subtitle implies ("Investigation of the Biblical Basis of the Main Theological Doctrines"). But the criticism of dogmatics by rational exegetical methods could be taken much further than Ernesti or Zachariae envisaged. It was soon detached from the doctrine of inspiration, and in the hands of rationalist theologians exegetically responsible proof-texting could support different forms of Christianity. In the biblical theologies of Hufnagel (1785 and 1789) and Ammon (1792, 1801–22) the moral teaching of Jesus became central, in accordance with Enlightenment preferences.

Biblical theology did not lend itself as readily to modern ideas as the new historical study of the gospels, and even Ammon saw himself as relatively conservative, mediating between the older Protestant beliefs and a new outlook. This was a time of transition; the disagreements between the orthodox and biblical theologians more strongly influenced by the Enlightenment show that these theologically motivated attempts to present the content of the Bible were guided by the interpreter's own understanding of the gospel. The same effect can be seen in the Fathers' and Reformers' theological interpretation of Scripture, and is justified by the element of subjectivity present in all talk of God. This was later obscured by the equally legitimate demand for greater objectivity in historical presentations of NTT.

By the end of the 18th century many theologians were aware not only of the gulf between the NT and orthodox dogmatics, but also of that between both of these and modern religious convictions, and between the biblical texts and historical reality. One way of bridging the gap between Jesus (or the NT writers) and contemporary thought was to suggest that Jesus (or the Holy Spirit) had "accommodated" himself to the thought-forms of the day. This solution could not survive a more historically sensitive approach to the NT, but it provides further evidence of the part played in all theological interpretation by the interpreter's own convictions. It was Enlightenment sensibilities which told Semler what Jesus and the apostles "really" believed.

The same prior convictions about what was true in religion and morals lay behind J. P. Gabler's proposals for sifting a "pure" distillate of religious ideas from the biblical materials systematically arranged by the biblical theologian. Gabler's suggestions were not pursued, mainly because his rationalist account of revelation as true ideas was overtaken by romantic conceptions of religion and revelation. But in the course of his earliest sketch, his Altdorf inaugural lecture in 1787, Gabler advanced the discussion beyond Zachariae in ways which have led most analysts to see the beginnings of the modern discipline in this *Oratio de iusto discrimine theologiae biblicae et dogmaticae regudnisque recte utriusque finibus* ("On the Proper Distinction between Biblical and Dogmatic Theology and the Specific Objectives of Each") (see ET in *SJT* 3: 133–58).

Gabler's aim as an Enlightenment theologian was to suggest how the Bible could still inform Christian faith, even though much of it was open to moral and historical criticism. He prepared to sift the wheat from the chaff by distinguishing between the historical task of analyzing the content, and the doctrinal and philosophical task of expressing Christianity in one's own language. It was this preliminary distinction that proved epoch-making because it allowed biblical specialists to present the material in whatever ways seemed historically appropriate, instead of being bound by their doctrinal aims. Those could be satisfied at the next stage of the process by which Gabler, like his predecessors, hoped to make Protestant theology accord better with its scriptural basis. The stage was thus set for historicist biblical scholars to limit themselves to the first step and leave the second to doctrinal theologians and popularizers. Biblicist NTTs could continue to identify them, but critical biblical theologians with a Christian view of Scripture would have to find alternative ways of combining the recognition of historical distance with their contemporary appropriation of the biblical witness.

Gabler's proposals for biblical theology as a historical, not a dogmatic, discipline were confused, because his final step was more theological and less historical than he recognized. But that was in any case not followed. What was accepted was his distinguishing the first historical step, and this led at once to G. L. Bauer's division of biblical theology into OT and NT sections, as required by the historical and material distance between them. Bauer published his *Theologie des alten Testaments oder Abriss der religiösen Begriffe der alten Hebräer* in 1796, and his unfinished *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (4 vols.) in 1800–2. The latter NTT distinguished discrete historical entities within the NT itself: the religion of Jesus from that of the apostles, and the different NT witnesses from one another. The sharper historical perspective of late-18th-century biblical criticism was thus drawn into biblical theology, though as Bauer's procedure and title make clear, the new subdiscipline still employed these independent historical methods and insights in the service of theological claims.

The same combination of historical methods and theological interest is evident in the title and structure of W. M. L. de Wette's "Biblical Dogmatics" (1813) which described the religion of the Hebrews, of Judaism, and of early Christianity *(Lehrbuch der christlichen Dogmatik in ihrer historischen Entwicklung dargestellt. Erster Teil. Die biblische Dogmatik, enthaltend Biblische Dogmatik Alten und Neuen Testaments. Oder kritischer Darstellung der Religionslehre des Hebraismus, des Judenthums, und Urchristenthums).* The teaching of Jesus is distinguished from its interpretation by the NT writers, and here the NT books are grouped according to their (presumed) (1) Jewish-Christian, (2) Alexandrian or Hellenistic, or (3) Pauline character.

Although these two interpreters present the material in a historical way, they are not writing ancient history. Their theological aims are clear when they draw critical theological conclusions from their

historical judgments. If the aim of biblical and NT theology is to unite historical study of the Bible with a modern theological perspective, then Gabler's pupil de Wette may be judged the greatest biblical theologian of the century. He had drawn from Schleiermacher and Fries a theory of religion which could contain his critical studies and so allow the Bible, studied by the best rational methods available, to inform his faith and theology. Gabler's insistence on the historical character of biblical theology had in principle made it possible for biblical theology to assimilate the more progressive biblical criticism of Semler and Michaelis. But the discipline's character and aims place it on the conservative end of the theological spectrum, assisting Christian use of the Bible, and apart from de Wette there was little progress between G. L. Bauer and F. C. Baur. Von Cölln's posthumous "purely historical" work (1836) advances the historicist option of clearly separating biblical and doctrinal theology, but the earlier biblical theologies of Kaiser (1817) and Baumgarten-Crusius (1829) are unimportant.

Not until the 1830s and 1840s, when historical criticism of the NT made its decisive advances, was the discipline finally forced to face the changed situation which biblical criticism had been brewing for over 150 years, since Spinoza and Simon. After Strauss'*Life of Jesus* (1835) and Bauer's criticism of the Pauline Epistles (1831–45), Acts (1845), and the Gospels (1844–47), the older assumptions concerning the proximity of the NT witness to modern Protestantism were rendered obsolete, however slowly most theologians came to recognize this. A new account of the unity of the NT, by definition a central issue in NTT, was needed, along with an account of the relationship between the NT and modern theology which took into consideration the new critical historical perceptions of these documents. Baur answered both these needs with his account of the historical development of Christianity and a Hegelian metaphysics which allowed him to speak of God as spirit moving through the entire development. It could not stop with the NT, which was only the first chapter of the history of dogma, but this integration of a historical reconstruction in a modern philosophical theology allow Baur's "purely historical" NTT to be classified as a "hermeneutical" type, a theological interpretation of the NT. It was genuine theology because it aimed to satisfy both faith and reason, unlike the biblicist type which satisfies historical reason at the expense of faith. Baur thought his strong sense of "objective" historical reality also protected insights that had been lost in the more subjective NTT of the Enlightenment, later to be repeated in liberal Protestantism. But the way he understood revelation in history was so dependent on his own philosophy that this could not be challenged without destroying the whole basis on which he read these texts as revelatory. One point of the biblicist strand in Christian views of revelation is that it allows the text to challenge the interpreter. A critical theologian may overrule this challenge on appeal to the gospel to which it bears witness *(Sachkritik)* but even this takes the texts more seriously as religious witness than Baur's radical historicism, which refuses to treat them as more than information about the past.

The achievement of Baur in NTT was rounded off in 1864 by the posthumous publication of his *Vorlesungen über Neutestamentlichen Theologie.* He had in the 1840s pioneered the developmental historical form which was to remain a characteristic of the discipline. Three generations of impressive historical scholarship followed, including a series of textbook summaries of the content of early Christian thought, culminating in H. J. Holtzmann's *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie* (1897, 1911). They were variously written from different theological standpoints, corresponding approximately to the spectrum of critical historical judgments. Holtzmann represents liberal scholarship at its best, and B. Weiss provided (1868, 1903, Eng trans., 2 vols., 1882–83) an influential conservative statement.

Despite the range of critical judgments it is striking how similar most of these presentations appear, at least in outward form. W. Alexander's is based entirely on dogmatic loci, but the rest offer a more or less historical presentation, with even the most conservative scholars doing some justice to the diversity of the NT witness. Following A. Neander, B. Weiss contrasted this historical, and so variegated, biblical and NT theology with the unitary system of a "biblical dogmatics." They all (except Alexander) provide an account of Jesus, sometimes extending to half the work, though the aims and presuppositions of these accounts vary. Apart from the liberals Weinel and Kaftan, who were influenced by the history-of-religions school, the more substantial works made use of the categories of dogmatics. The textbook format is

distinctive, but the more historically sensitive they are the less there is to distinguish them in content from the NTT contained in lives of Jesus and histories of the "apostolic age."

The similarity between NTT, now a historical task using historical methods, and partial or total histories of early Christianity, which were very largely histories of religious thought, raised the question whether NTT had any right to exist as a separate discipline. This was answered most sharply by W. Wrede in 1897 (ET 1973), largely in the form of a critique of Holtzmann's monumental work, which had recently appeared and summed up a generation of liberal Protestant historical and exegetical research. Taking the historical tasks and methods of the discipline for granted, Wrede argued that the canon could not determine its boundaries (so too G. Krüger *Das Dogma vom Neuen Testament*, 1896), that doctrinal categories did less than justice to the historical material, and that treating each little book separately was absurd, since they provided insufficient data for reconstructing their authors' theologies.

As an account of what he rightly preferred to call "the history of early Christian religion and theology," Wrede's essay remains unsurpassed. That he could reduce the theological component in NTT to the history of religious ideas and think he was only carrying out consistently principles that were generally accepted is explained by the extent to which the hermeneutical aims of NTT had either been compromised by association with conservative critical judgments or relatively neglected by the better historians, both conservative and liberal. Wrede simply rejected the hermeneutical task of bridging historical scholarship and theological reflection and restricted NTT to the former. His proposal leads "beyond NTT" (H. Räisänen 1990), i.e., to the dissolution of that theological discipline in the interests of a history of religions untainted by the scholar's own commitments. This ideal enjoys widespread support today among biblical scholars who see their specialism as primarily descriptive-historical, and among theologians reacting against a "biblical theology" unschooled in philosophy and systematics. The best expression of both these reservations is found in the program of K. Stendahl (*IDB* 1: 418–32). The background to Wrede's essay and the various responses it elicited will therefore throw light on the present situation.

NTT was agreed by many conservatives as well as liberals to be a descriptive historical discipline, establishing what was once believed. Having accepted its historical character, they could be criticized for failures in this regard. Those who inclined to the biblicist identification of their historical and exegetical conclusions with their contemporary theological views could not allow contradictions between the biblical witnesses and were vulnerable to Wrede's charge that their association of NTT with dogmatics was corrupting their historical work. However, this was caused not by the mere association with dogmatics but by the biblicist identification, which forced the history into a procrustean bed. The liberals, by contrast, were under no such pressure to harmonize the biblical witnesses and could with less difficulty correct failures in their historical reconstructions. Only in their accounts of the historical Jesus were they subject to similar pressures. Holtzmann's orientation of NTT to the biblical documents and the use of doctrinal categories was residually guided by his theological interests, and this resulted in historical defects, but he could in principle have taken account of Wrede's points in a revised historical presentation, as Bultmann later did. There was no need for the theological interests guiding the presentation to weaken the history. Theological interests pose a threat to historical objectivity, and that requires vigilance. It does not require their denial or suppression, or even (necessarily) their suspension. Historians have interests; what matters is that they do not pervert historical judgment.

Holtzmann's second edition (1911) could acknowledge Wrede's arguments and welcome his program, while also briefly defending the right of NTT to be guided by the position of the canon in contemporary Christianity. His purely pragmatic defense of his canonical orientation was not grounded in his view of revelation. It was also unconvincing because it contradicted his own historical structure, which began with a chapter on the Jewish context. But it correctly reflected the connection of NTT with Christian use of the Bible. It could have recovered more of the biblicist and hermeneutical elements in NTT by suggesting that revelation takes place partly in the present, through texts being interpreted and heard. But the liberal Holtzmann shared Wrede's historicist view of revelation lying behind the text, rather than the later (and earlier) kerygmatic view of it occurring "in front of" the text, in the act of reading, or through its reception. The conservatives B. Weiss and W. Beyschlag had a stronger sense of the textual or biblicist

element in the doctrine of revelation, and so in NTT. Wrede dismissed their comments because they were compromised by their association with defective history. But his brief arguments (in his footnote 4; see Morgan 1973) against Beyschlag's badly stated and Weiss' inadequate hermeneutics miss their valid point that biblical theology has always presupposed a Christian account to what the Bible is about, and has sought to elucidate that. Because they did not argue their case, and because B. Weiss adhered to a biblicism that was not far removed from the discredited doctrine of inspiration, Wrede rejected out of hand what sounded to him like mere assertion.

But his argument against Weiss is revealing. Unlike Overbeck, whose secularizing program for a "profane" Church history and exclusion of all theological interpretation from the scholarly realm was close to his own, Wrede allowed himself to be drawn on the question of revelation, and showed how his scholarship was guided by positivistic assumptions. Revelation, he said, was "no concern of biblical theology," but a matter for dogmatics to debate after the biblical scholar has identified the "something" which may or may not be revelation. Such a value judgment on the results of historical research is rather distant from any views of revelation implied in the Church's use of the Bible. NTT which aimed to serve that would require a more textual orientation. Historical research has its own integrity and autonomy. It also has much to offer theology and exegesis. But in a discipline that is concerned with the Church's use of the Bible it is an auxiliary science. It can discredit implausible readings, but only when bolstered by philosophical theory (as it was by Baur, and more weakly by his successors) could it make theological claims.

Neither Holtzmann's failure to satisfy the historical and hermeneutical ideals of NTT nor Wrede's radical dissolution of the discipline signaled the bankruptcy of liberal NTT. Much of its effort was invested in the so-called "historical Jesus" quest, which received far more serious blows from J. Weiss in 1892 and Wrede himself in 1901, and from the theological critique of Kähler (1892). But liberal Protestantism's historicist option of finding something behind the texts with which it could identify was not limited to the Ritschlians' historical Jesus. It was equally possible to see historical research as a means to understanding religion, and to find the revelation of the divine in that rather than in the moral personality of Jesus. For Harnack, the interests in religion, Christianity, and Jesus coincided, and Wellhausen could similarly identify with the prophetic religion he uncovered as a historian. But some members of the history-of-religions school could sit more lightly to christology and find God in the religion they interpreted with the help of a romantic theory of religion. They criticized their great liberal predecessors for being too oriented to doctrines and documents, and illuminated "the beginnings of our religion" (Wernle) with parallel material and the study of preliterary traditions and motifs. Wernle's title admits the personal interest characteristic of NTT, and Bousset's *Kyrios Christos* makes plain its author's personal standpoint. A hermeneutical bridge was thus being constructed as the Bible became a source for understanding religion, and Jesus and Paul valued as religious personalities. This was therefore still NTT, even though the biblicist component had been abandoned and the "religion hermeneutic" did not fit into the traditional doctrinal and systematic format. Diessmann's polemic against the "dogmatized" Paul, for example, was theologically as well as historically motivated.

The liberals' hermeneutics were underdeveloped, because with the exception of Troeltsch most of these great historians were not great theorists. Their position was also unstable because their emphasis on the historical component in revelation made their theology vulnerable to their own further research. J. Weiss and especially A. Schweitzer thought the eschatology of Jesus and early Christianity out of tune with their own religion, and Heitmüller saw a similar problem in Paul's sacramentalism. But despite this, the "religion hermeneutic" survived because the liberals did not claim to believe the whole NT. Theological criticism of its untenable aspects had long been taken for granted. Their casual elimination of parts of the biblical witness was at odds with the Church's use of its Scripture, but some connection between the NT and this modern liberal theological interpretation was maintained.

This form of NTT was further weakened by the changes in cultural climate around 1914, and was eclipsed for some 60 years, at least in the German and Swiss Protestant homelands of NTT. Karl Barth's *Römerbrief* (1919, 1921) provided the catalyst for a reemergence of the biblicist type of NTT which had

been dampened by the intellectual victory of liberal Protestantism in historical research. More importantly, it stimulated a new combination of critical research and strong theological interests, in Bultmann's hermeneutical type of NTT.

Barth had some considerable sympathy for the biblicist strand in 19th-century theology and NTT, represented by J. T. Beck. But his strand formed a very wide spectrum, and included such outstanding historical scholarship as that of Lightfoot and Zahn. The main importance of Barth's reaction lay in its relativizing of the historical research which had dominated the discipline, and restoring the emphasis to the text and its interpretation. The theology of the word influenced the terminology of F. Büchsel (1935, 1937), who subtitled his NTT "A History of the Word of God in the New Testament," but failed to distinguish between this and the doctrinal concepts in which it found expression. A few years later M. Albertz published *Die Botschaft des Neuen Testaments* (4 vols. 1947–57), which was shaped by form criticism. Although it avoided the word "theology," it is a NTT influenced by the new movement. The so-called biblical theology movement which took various forms in Britain in the 1930s and North America in the 1940s and 1950s was only partially influenced by Barth. E. C. Hoskyns owed much to the *Römerbrief,* which he translated, but the *Church Dogmatics* had little impact in England. In Scotland and North America, where Calvinism was more pervasive, Barth was taken more seriously, though only a few biblical theologians could be called remotely Barthian. The most celebrated NTT from this wide and disparate movement may be seen in the "salvation history" theology of O. Cullmann. The popular writings of A. Richardson, culminating in *An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament* (1957), and some early work of A. M. Ramsey also belong here. But the new theological interest in the Bible after World War I had many sources and took many forms, including Kittel's *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (1933–74; ET 1964–76), which was dedicated to Schlatter.

The ambiguity of Barth's relationship to his liberal teachers became visible in his debate with Bultmann in 1922 over what Bultmann saw as the necessity of *Sachkritik,* i.e.i.e., theological criticism of the text in the light of the gospel it intends to articulate. Barth's unwillingness to admit this emphasized the biblicist component in NTT in contrast to the hermeneutical emphasis in Bultmann's kerygmatic theology. Barth had persuaded Bultmann to abandon the liberal religion apologetic he had learned from Herrmann and refined in debate with Schleiermacher, Troeltsch, and Otto in favor of a greater emphasis upon "theological exegesis," i.e., interpretation of the biblical texts. But Bultmann was determined to maintain the liberal heritage of historical criticism and built his historical research into an existentialist theological interpretation of the NT which drew on Dilthey's existentialist philosophy of history and Heidegger's phenomenology. With this new theological framework he was also able to appreciate Schlatter's hermeneutics, which had similarly held together thinking and writing.

Bultmann's *Jesus* (1926) is an impressive theological interpretation of the earliest strata of the synoptic tradition, and may therefore be classified as NTT, but the distinctive shape of his achievement is clearer in other articles from the same period, and monumentally in *The Gospel of John* (1941, ET 1971) and the *Theology of the New Testament* (1948–53; ET 1952–55). These great syntheses of theological interpretation were solidly based in the most advanced of German biblical scholarship and dominated NTT for most of the present century. Bultmann retained the historical outline of early Christian thought, following Wrede's recommendation. But inside this outline, his NTT proper is contained in daring theological interpretations of Paul and John which go well beyond historical reconstruction. These interpretive ventures presuppose Bultmann's own understanding of revelation and God-talk, seeking to explicate faith's understanding of God, the world, and human existence, as found in these texts.

This existential theological interpretation was bound to be rejected by theologians with a more biblicist or historicist view of revelation, but the most cogent criticisms were those which argued that it failed to do justice to aspects of the NT itself. The Synoptic Gospels evidently attach theological importance to the ministry and teaching of Jesus, and Paul and even (arguably) John are more positive about the world and history (past and future) than Bultmann's concentration on the "historicity" of human existence can allow.

Those who rejected that account of revelation taking place in the act of proclamation, with theology articulating the resulting self-understanding, gave accounts of NTT which reflected their own more

historicist (Jeremias) or biblicist positions. Both these alternative types combine some talk of the word proclaimed with greater prominence to history. But their concepts of history are as elusive as Bultmann's when related to revelation. Theories of salvation history are not easily reconciled with early Christian eschatology, and they stand in a curious relationship to the critical study of history. But they echo the historical dimensions of the biblical witnesses, especially the OT, and some popular NTT has claimed this label, including E. Stauffer's *Theology of the New Testament* (1941; ET 1955). A more serious claimant to continuity with von Hoffmann and others, perhaps the most impressive textbook since Bultmann's, is L. Goppelt's posthumous *Theology of the New Testament* (2 vols., 1975–82; ET 1981–82).

A more rationalistic account of revelation in history was developed by W. Pannenberg, also in opposition to theologies of the word. It was partly inspired by von Rad and ultimately dependent on Hegel, but also built on some modern study of the apocalyptic. It influenced the thinking of some NT theologians (e.g., U. Wilckens) but did not result in any complete NTT.

Discussions of history and eschatology dominated the discipline in the 1950s and 1960s, with some of the most creative contributions stemming from Bultmann's own pupils and followers, and relating to the "historical Jesus." Bultmann's synthesis was challenged on all fronts and defended on some, but the crop of NTT textbooks which followed signaled a decline. H. Conzelmann wrote *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament* (1968, 1987; ET 1969) to give greater prominence to the historical components in NTT and to supplement Bultmann with a section on the synoptic kerygma. His most surprising theological modification of Bultmann was to follow H. Schlier in seeing theology as the interpretation of early creedal formulations.

Other textbooks followed from outside the Bultmann school. They correct some of his weaknesses, but lack his hermeneutical penetration and retreat toward biblicism and historicism. J. Jeremias wrote only the first volume of his NTT, devoted entirely to "The Proclamation of Jesus" (1971, 1988; ET 1971). The summaries of W. G. Kümmel (1973; ET 1974), E. Lohse (1974), and G. Strecker (1988) provide basic information but do not advance the methodological discussion. J. D. G. Dunn's textbooks, especially *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament* (1977) and *Christology in the Making* (1980, rev. 1989) are more substantial, as are the textbooks by the evangelical scholars G. E. Ladd (1974), D. Guthrie (1981), and L. Morris (1986), which summarize the contents of the NT rather than interpret its essential content. Their biblicist standpoint and generally conservative historical judgments allow them to identify with what they find in the NT much as conservative NTTs did in the 19th century. Even in some mainstream biblical scholarship, the biblicist component in NTT has expanded to fill the vacuum left by the decline of hermeneutics within liberal and radical scholarship. As biblical scholarship has become more secularized, the religious interests that govern most people's reading of the NT have reasserted themselves, often fruitfully. The attention that Bultmann's hermeneutics are receiving from some conservative interpreters is impressive.

Within Roman Catholicism the revival of biblical studies since *Divino Afflante* (1943) has given rise to some sophisticated hermeneutical discussion and some outstanding biblical scholarship, much of it written with eyes open to theological questions. But the textbooks of M. Meinertz (2 vols., 1950) and J. Bonsirven (1951; ET 1963) no more advanced the discipline than the popular NTT of A. Lemmonyer (1928; ET 1930) and O. Kuss (1936). K. H. Schelkle (4 vols., 1968–76; ET 1971–78) reverted to a structure based on doctrinal concepts, but within each section the diversity of the witnesses is respected. This major work fulfills the discipline's aim to make the biblical material available for religious use, but it takes for granted the intelligibility of the traditional doctrinal structure. Some more original Roman Catholic NTT has been written by systematic theologians (notably E. Schillebeeckx and H. Küng) turning to biblical studies in order to loosen the dogmatic straitjackets.

The past few years have seen a variety of developments, some of which are religiously and theologically motivated and deserve the name NTT. Many of these have retained a strong base in biblical scholarship, but have seen this as a necessary control rather than setting strict limits to the interpretive task. Liberation theology has roots in an older biblical theology. It is not in the vanguard of historical scholarship, but is

opening up new perspectives in biblical interpretation which will surely be increasingly important for European and North American NTT.

Still working within the historical paradigm, E. Schüssler Fiorenza (1983) has also argued powerfully for a "committed" stance which rejects the ideal of historical objectivity. Interpreters' legitimate interests are best declared and scrutinized. The feminist challenge is evidently most important for the Western churches and demands the attention of any biblical study that asks about the meaning and truth of its message. This has traditionally been the underlying concern of biblical and NT theology, even though it has sometimes been suppressed by a positivistic historiography. In the past it was considered very largely within the parameters set by the doctrinal tradition. Today ethical issues are becoming a growth point in NTT and the discipline can be expected to take many new shapes. Both the application of social-scientific methods in biblical studies and the recent swing to more literary types of interpretation are full of potential for NTT. But these take us beyond history and analysis into a concluding summary of problems and possibilities.

**C. Problems and Possibilities**

**1. Scope.** The phrase "New Testament theology" is used in a general sense to embrace all theologically interested research on the NT, and more commonly in a narrower sense to refer to textbook summaries of its theological context. The history of the discipline reveals a series of historically informed attempts to present the ideational content of these writings in a coherent way. But the definition of that content as theological has usually led interpreters to relate the biblical witnesses to contemporary Christian belief and practice. This is because the belief that the canonical writings communicate the revelation of God implies a self-involvement on the part of the interpreter. This puts an unusual kind of pressure on the largely historical character of NTT, and has led to methodological problems.

The discipline originated and has survived in the service of the Church's use of Scripture. Its tensions, which some have thought amount to contradictions, stem from its combination of this religious interest with the rigorous use of the linguistic and historical methods that are agreed to be necessary for clarifying the meaning of ancient writings. NTT has insisted on using these rational methods of biblical scholarship to determine what, according to the linguistic conventions of their authors, these texts mean. But the results have not always corresponded to the ways the Bible is heard and understood in the wider contexts of religious communities sharing beliefs shaped partly by intervening history.

As a biblical discipline NTT gives priority to the witness of the texts, and this matches the wish of the community to be challenged and corrected by the witness of its Scripture. The discipline's dependence on the rational methods available at any given time reflects the general commitment of the Church and theology to human rationality. But in a secular culture these methods tend to exclude the presupposition on which Christian theology operates, the revelation of God in Jesus. So long as it remains a theological discipline NTT retains this assumption, and explicates it in ways that avoid conflict with the methods and results of the rational investigation of the Bible.

**2. Unity and Diversity.** The most serious point of conflict between faith and reason in the modern study of Scripture and the most visible problem for NTT concerns the unity of the Bible. This is implied by the notion of Scripture and assumed by Christianity, but challenged by historical investigation which has highlighted the diversity of the biblical witness. That destroyed traditional accounts of its unity which saw this in terms of a monolithic doctrinal structure. The unity of the two testaments has always been a problem for Christian theology, and biblical theology has tried to resolve it in ways that do justice to modern critical study. But within NTT it is the diversity of these explicitly Christian witnesses which raises questions about how Scripture should be read. F. C. Baur's ambitious attempt to integrate his radical historical criticism in a dialectical account of the unity of the development was falsified by subsequent research, but his combination of critical and hermeneutical perspectives remains suggestive. Bultmann's location of the unity in the nonobjectifiable kerygma seemed to evade the problem by removing it from history and texts to an event which eludes definitive formulations. But this is vacuous until it is specified by reference to the theological, i.e., doctrinal language in which faith's self-understanding is expressed, and then disagreement breaks out, as the discussion of H. Braun's essays

(1957, ET 1968; 1961, ET 1965) illustrated. It emerged from the hermeneutical debates of the 1960s that most theological interpreters are dissatisfied with Bultmann's near contentless christology and want to point in more specific ways to the person in whom Christians find the decisive revelation of God. They recognize the diversity of christological statement in the NT, but find the unity of Scripture and the criterion of its diverse formulations in the historical, exalted, and expected Jesus to whom these formulations bear more or less adequate witness. Since the person and place of Jesus Christ cannot be explicated without drawing out his soteriological meaning, some general anthropological and ecclesiological statements are also included in most accounts of the unity of Scripture.

**3. The Relationship to Contemporary Theology.** Behind any theological interpreter's construal of the unity of the biblical witnesses stands some particular understanding of the saving revelation of God in Jesus, i.e., a contemporary understanding of Christianity, which is related (often silently or implicitly) to the understanding of Scripture uncovered by history and exegesis. The three elements in a Christian account of this revelation (history, text, contemporary actualization) are differently defined and differently accented in different NTTs. The liberals' sometimes positivistic emphasis upon the history at worst reduced the texts to sources and failed to hear them as religious witnesses. In fact most of the older liberals had a sensitive ear for religious utterances and could relate in a personal way to the history they uncovered or constructed. But their focus on the religion "behind" the texts did less than full justice to the ways the Church actually used its Scripture. The various modern theologies of the word have reacted by undervaluing the historical element in Christianity, provoking further reactions in renewed emphases on salvation-history or universal-history frameworks for speaking of God and revelation. These disputes have come to no clear conclusions. NTT today is beginning to develop the liberals' "religion" option in ways that take the texts as more than historical sources. C. Geertz's cultural-linguistic theory of religion opens new doors for theological interpretation, as W. Meeks has appreciated in *The First Urban Christians* (1981) and L. Johnson in *The Writings of the New Testament: An Interpretation* (1986). Alternatively, Bultmann's model can be developed to take account of the new emphasis upon liberation and praxis, as is clear from D. Tracy's *The Analogical Imagination* (1981), a work deeply suggestive for NTT.

**4. Literature and History.** The shape of NTT is determined by the biblical data and the interpreter's understanding of revelation. The hegemony of historical research in biblical scholarship since Baur has tugged NTT away from its more natural orientation to the exegesis and interpretation of the biblical literature. This would ultimately have dissolved NTT into the history of early Christianity, had not Barth instigated a renewal of attention to the text and its interpretation. Like Barth in his *Römerbrief* Bultmann is primarily a theological interpreter of certain biblical texts, but in his textbook Bultmann maintained the historical paradigm preferred by biblical scholarship and included his existential interpretations of Paul and John within that outline, commenting only briefly that for him the historical outline stands in the service of the primary task, which is interpretation of texts. Despite his followers' even stronger historical emphasis, it is possible to develop a more literary model for NTT out of his legacy. This need not and should not involve any devaluation of historical scholarship. The Christian Church's emphasis upon the historical elements in its founding revelation forbids any exclusion of the historical interest, even though some forms of historical apologetic have lost their cogency for a critical age. The importance of historical exegesis in the study of literature varies with different theories, but only a literary theory which insists on textual determinacy (to which historical research makes a major contribution) is likely to meet the needs of NTT, because without that, Scripture could mean anything and would lose its capacity to challenge and perhaps redirect the interpreter and the Church.

**5. The Canon.** Discussion of the appropriate interpretation of Scripture points NTT in a literary direction, whereas most biblical scholarship since Semler has (partly for good theological reasons) preferred a historical paradigm. The notion of a canon is applicable to a collection of literature, but as Wrede memorably insisted, it has no place in historical research. Its theological function of excluding what does not correspond to its critical norm is also uncongenial to liberal Christianity and in any case only workable in a very loose sense today. Now that theories of inspiration and revelation which make

these writings different in kind (as opposed to having a special use) have disappeared from critical theology, the question of "canon" is important only in discussion of the boundaries of Scripture, and that is scarcely a live issue today. Michaelis suggested that nonapostolic writings would have to be excluded. This entanglement of theological with historical judgment is intelligible in view of the argument from apostolicity used in the formation of the canon, and it gained weight from some accounts of inspiration. Such false supports are exposed by historical criticism. But the Church's reception and use of the Bible today has only the loosest connection with these arguments. Any of its statements can be challenged, but Scripture is not a "given" for the Church, its shape and content vindicated by centuries of experience. The "theological problem of the canon," which has haunted the historical study of the Bible from its inception, is really the problem of Scripture, i.e., having a collection of writings which are treated with more respect than can be rationally justified outside the Christian interpretative community. This biblicist strand in Christianity and NTT stands in some tension with a historically dominated biblical scholarship but only falls into contradiction with historicist views of revelation and NTT.

B. S. Childs has since 1979 appealed to the canon in opposition to the hegemony of history in biblical interpretation. His canonical criticism recalls NTT to its ecclesial and theological context, and his angle of vision adds a dimension to the task of scriptural interpretation and remains interpreters to balance historical with literary perspectives. But the data for NTT are the multilayered Scriptures in all their many-sidedness. Theological interpretation cannot be constrained by the final form of the text or final shape of the collection, least of all when this involves denying or neutralizing historical insights. The final form is important because that is what the Church reads as Scripture, but the final editors are not all-important for a Christian view of revelation. This depends on a dialectic between Scripture and the gospel, which is hindered as much by constricting the possibilities for scriptural interpretation as by cutting loose of theological assumptions. The plasticity of a multilayered Scripture enlarges the possibilities for theological interpretation expressing the freedom and truth of the gospel. Scripture is the indispensable source and resource of Christian witness. It also functions as a norm by being constantly used by the religious community. But to strengthen its normative role by hardening its canonical arteries would lead at best to a sterile orthodoxy and at worst to a precritical bibliolatry.

**6. The Historical Jesus.** The difficulty of maintaining a correct balance between on the one hand the historical founding events of Christianity, and on the other hand the texts and their interpretation, is particularly clear in the argument concerning the place of the (so-called) "historical Jesus" in NTT. The phrase is ambiguous, but both meanings are important. NTT can scarcely ignore the earthly ministry and teaching of Jesus, which are plainly important for some if not all the NT writers. Neither can it ignore the distinctively modern question of the Jesus reconstructed by modern historical research. This is important for many Christians' understanding of their faith, and rightly so, granted the identity of the Lord of faith with the man from Nazareth. Nevertheless, it is far from clear that this legitimate interest is best satisfied by speculative reconstructions based on inadequate evidence. Even the so-called New Quest of the historical Jesus in the 1950s and 1960s was theologically vitiated by the historians' proper contrast between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith being made constitutive for christology, and the early Bultmann's tendentious comments that "how the proclaimer became the proclaimed" is the central question for NTT was similarly a remnant of the Enlightenment's prejudice against doctrine. A more literary approach to NTT could do justice to the importance of the history of Jesus for Christianity by saying what can be said about this history in the course of interpreting each of the gospels. A critical theological interpretation can justly appeal to all that can be known about Jesus in the course of unfolding and assessing the witness of each evangelist. Historical insights can question the evangelists' interpretations at particular points (e.g., over Matthew's account of Jesus' attitude to the Pharisees, or John's account of his attitude to "the Jews"), but without placing these points in a framework that systematically exaggerates the discontinuities and tries to structure christology on them.

**7. Old and New Testaments.** The relationship of the testaments was no more satisfactorily handled in historicist NTTs than other aspects of the problem of the canon. Biblical historians could not justify neglecting the intertestamental material, but they found it hard to do it justice in the context of biblical

theology. More biblicist NTTs and biblical theologies, and Christian theologies of the OT, have paid particular attention to this question, but their answers are too exclusively dependent on their textual data to satisfy theologians whose view of revelation pays more attention to the present-day actualization of the text.

The biblicist theological emphasis on the texts themselves is reinforced by biblical scholarship which likewise focuses attention on the texts. This alliance of biblicism and sound scholarship is present in the recent German discussion of "biblical theology" led by H. Gese and P. Stuhlmacher, and continued in the *Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie* (1986–). But a critical NTT and even a critical Christian biblical theology must take its bearings from a more satisfactory view of revelation. Since the Christian revelation of God focuses on Jesus Christ, crucified and risen, rather than on the texts that bear witness to him, a Christian biblical theology or reading of the Bible is almost bound, in a historically conscious context, to be a NTT. The OT witness has to be interpreted in the light of that, placing such a strain on the historically trained conscience that one may question the very possibility of a Christian OT theology which does justice to faith and reason. But there is nothing unreasonable about a Christian biblical theology which selects OT material and interprets it in the light of the event to which Christians believe it ultimately bears witness. This is permissible if the texts are not distorted and made to say what exegesis refutes. That restriction will exclude from a Christian biblical theology much of the valuable substance of OT scholarship. But these writings have continued to be read as Scripture and there are many possible interpretative strategies by which the insights of the older covenant can be preserved in the new. Some of the best recent biblical theology has focused on particular theological themes as found in both testaments, without trying to provide an overview of everything, e.g., D. Senior and C. Stuhlmueller's *The Biblical Foundations for Mission* (1983) and P. D. Hanson's *The People Called: The Growth of Community in the Bible* (1986).

**8. Christianity and Judaism.** The Hebrew Bible is shared by two complex religious communities who claim to worship the same God, but understand God's revelation, and so the shared Scriptures, quite differently. This question of the relationship between Judaism and Christianity has not until recently been much discussed in NTT. But recent history has placed it firmly on the Christian theological agenda, and the historical circumstances of Christian origins mean that the NT has much to say to it. The arrival of this theme in NTT is signaled by F. Mussner's *Tractate on the Jews* (1979; ET 1984).

**9. The Future.** Increased specialization even within NT scholarship has rendered the old textbook format of NTT questionable. It has become less likely that one scholar's summary of his or her exegetical conclusions will excite the interest that Holtzmann's did. But the textbook form has value at the introductory level. NTT has always had a popular appeal, and many of the older and modern presentations are popularizations rather than scholarly *summae*, e.g., A. M. Hunter, 1943, 1944, 1958 and F. C. Grant, 1950. But the conclusion to be drawn from the present discussion is that the particular tasks of NTT within biblical studies and on its borders with systematic, doctrinal, or philosophical theology center on understanding the NT in ways that do justice to the best insights of historical and exegetical research, while also relating (perhaps critically, but always constructively) to the expectations and needs of the Christian community. This may be done by an "interpretation" of the writings of the NT (L. Johnson), or a *Theological Introduction to the NT* (E. Schweizer, 1989). It is more likely to be oriented to the biblical literature than to early Christian history, but unlikely to follow B. S. Childs' narrowing the discipline to a study of "the NT as canon" (1984)—a proposal which was discredited when it set the canonical Paul against the historical Paul. History and exegesis retain critical controls over what is said in NTT, even though theological interpretation and criticism (*Sachexegese* and *Sachkritik*) go outside the realm of historical discourse. This literary orientation is in the first place a reflection of the fact that the NT is a collection of literature, whereas it merely provides material for historical reconstruction. But secondly, it respects the extent to which most theology is oriented to texts. However, a modern liberal theology is likely to be oriented to the empirical phenomenon of religion, and doing justice to early Christian religion for the sake of NTT involves historical and social-scientific as well as literary perspectives.

The theological orientation of NTT as a theological as well as a biblical discipline means that it is largely concerned with theory. But unlike a *Hermeneutik,* which discusses the principles of interpretation (e.g., H. Weder, 1986), NTT illustrates them in the process of interpreting these writings. However, unlike a commentary, NTT needs to make clear the way in which it combines exegesis and theology in a theological interpretation. That is the special task of a theologically and historically responsible presentation of biblical *Sache* or "content" that is believed by Christians to mediate the decisive saving revelation of God.

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Discussions of the conceptual content of the NT amount to a large portion of NT scholarship and cannot be selectively included. The items listed below therefore have been included primarily because of their focus on methodological issues. Most New Testament Theologies contain a section on the aims and task of the discipline. Standard theological/biblical encyclopedias also contain relevant articles, notably *RGG* [2] 1: 1091–94 (ET in Pelikan 1970: 27–31); *IDB* 1: 418–32; *IDBSup*, 104–11; *RE* [3] 3: 192–200; *LTK* 2: 444–49; *Sacramentum Mundi* 4: 216–20. Also consult the bibliography of THEOLOGY (BIBLICAL), HISTORY OF.


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**THEOLOGY (BIBLICAL), HISTORY OF.** The following article gives an overview of more than two centuries of research in the fields of biblical theology. It begins in the period before historical criticism became dominant in the understanding of the Bible in the wake of the Enlightenment. Before Gabler, who "discovered" the field, the dogmatic approach was dominant. It saw the whole Bible on one level and tried to found dogmatic sentences on the evidence of verses taken from all parts of Scripture without any regard for historical developments. Every word was taken as inspired and equally God's own word. Gabler reserved this task for "dogmatic theology," while assigning the historical task of describing what the biblical writers said to "biblical theology." Subsequently, the "history of religions" approach fixed its attention exclusively on the development of Israel's religion. The different writings, sources, and layers in the Bible were seen as products of time-bound circumstances, correlated to one another by a

development leading from the earliest and most primitive to the most recent periods. Dialectical theology brought an end to this approach, stressing again that the Bible is God's word speaking to the Christian believer today through the voices of the biblical witnesses. The most recent "biblical theology movement" was the concerted effort of Anglo-American scholars to carry through this approach in a scholarly world still dominated by liberal views. Many ways of tracing a biblical theology have been explored since then. The result is that neither an overarching structure, nor a single term (as "center" of the Bible or one of the Testaments), nor a historical development as such can suffice as a unifying principle for the whole Bible. Therefore the ongoing task of biblical theology must be a careful listening to the different voices of the biblical witnesses living in different times and circumstances, and the quest for the inner unity that comprises the Bible as proclaiming the same God, the God of Israel and the father of Jesus Christ.

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**A. Developments before Gabler**

Although the principle of *sola scriptura* (Scripture alone) had accorded the Bible a central position for faith and theology in the Reformation, the Reformers themselves failed to develop a critically considered biblical theology. Luther straightforwardly understood Scripture to be the preached Word of God. His yardstick for assigning a work to the center or periphery of Scripture—an undertaking he took so seriously as to exclude whole books from consideration—was dogmatic ("was Christum treibet": "[that] which urges to Christ").

The dogmatic approach of the medieval period continued to dominate in the period of Protestant Orthodoxy (17th century). Indeed, the doctrine of the Holy Scripture considered as the Word of God led to such a thoroughgoing identification of the two that every single word in the Bible was reckoned to be inspired (so, e.g., by Johann Gerhard), as was the very Masoretic vocalization of the Hebrew text (so Johann Buxtorf). The need to support dogmatic positions with corresponding statements from Scripture led, under Orthodoxy, to the formation of a concept of "biblical theology," which was above all defined by Abraham Calov as an ancillary discipline of dogmatics. The task of this "exegetical theology" was held to be the coordination of biblical passages (*dicta probantia* or *collegia biblica*) with the various appropriate doctrines (*loci*). In the best known work of this sort (Schmidt 1671), the supportive passages from the OT and NT were listed separately, although no differentiated evaluation of either part of the Bible was intended by this. At this point—as in modern-day fundamentalism—all of Scripture was regarded to be on one and the same plane, regardless of the times when the various texts themselves originated.

Even Pietism, which had criticized the scholastic system of Orthodoxy and had sought to replace it with a biblically founded theology (as in the works of Heymann [1708] and Wiedner[1722]), did not transcend

the understanding biblical theology as an ancillary discipline of dogmatics. Pietistic works, too, merely organized supportive passages for dogmatic purposes. However, Pietism did manage to call renewed attention to the biblical basis of theology and the role of the Bible for evangelical piety.

This fundamentally ahistorical view of the Bible was not even surpassed by the early theologians of the English Enlightenment (the so-called Deists), in spite of their opposition to the orthodox ecclesiastical position. This is most clearly the case in the work of Matthew Tindal (*Christianity as Old as the Creation* [1730]), which was probably the most representative of Enlightenment efforts. Here, too, the Bible was evaluated according to an absolute and imposed system; although this system was not the teaching of the Church, but a "natural religion" (or, more precisely, a rational and self-evident morality for all men). The only biblical statements regarded as valid were those that could satisfy the demands of this morality (provided, however, that those statements derived from morally unobjectionable biblical authors). Most of the recipients of revelation in the Bible failed to satisfy the latter criterion. Tindal thought it possible to discern his "religion of nature" in the gospels. Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768) was far more consistent. On the basis of similar views about a purely morally conceived religion (determined by the rational supernaturalism of his teacher, Wolff), Reimarus perspicaciously recognized the time-bound features in the Bible, penetrating all the way to the heart of Jesus' message. From this point of departure he developed what was surely the most radical criticism of Scripture of his day (see Reimarus 1972).

The decisive fundamentals of a historical criticism of the Bible had already been formulated by B. Spinoza (1670). However, as Spinoza was regarded as something of a maverick, his views were only acknowledged a century later. Spinoza noted that the biblical writings derive from different epochs and thus could not be held to lie on the same plane. There was furthermore the question of the original intentions of the author of a given biblical work. Finally, he maintained that one's knowledge of the contents of the biblical works ought to be won from the Bible itself, and should not be based on dogmatic premises imposed from without. Spinoza developed his own pantheistic philosophical system entirely apart from the Bible; he assigned reason to the realm of truth, and theology to the realm of piety and obedience.

Among the theologians of the Enlightenment, A. F. Busching was the first who possessed sufficient independence to develop a theology based on the Bible alone, in contrast to the scholastic teaching methods; he presented this theology in his lectures at Göttingen, as well as in numerous works. He also attempted provisionally to organize the OT and NT statements with respect to their appropriate historical periods. But it was J. S. Semler who first developed the theoretical fundamentals of a historical-critical biblical exegesis which opened a pathway for a new understanding of biblical theology (Semler 1771–75; and other works) Semler emphasized the importance of distinguishing between the "Word" and "Scripture," and held that the latter should be seen as a product of human effort to be understood purely historically according to the dates its various sections were composed, a position that undermined the traditional teaching about verbal inspiration. Although Semler himself published two volumes of biblical *dicta probantia* for dogmatics (1764–68), he had nonetheless prepared the methodological ground for a new understanding of the task of a biblical theology.

One perhaps ought to mention the work of G. T. Zachariä, which was influential in its own time (1771–75). Zachariä sought to develop a new arrangement of the theological doctrines corresponding to a systematization which follows the order of the material in the writings of the OT and NT. However, since Zachariä held to the notion of verbal inspiration, and since he considered a writing's date of composition to be unrelated to its theological value, the dogmatic doctrinal system was merely replaced by Zachariä's own biblicistic one.

**B. From Gabler through World War I**

**1. The Program of J. P. Gabler.** A fundamentally new understanding of the goal of a biblical theology was presented by Gabler in his now famous accessionary lecture delivered to the faculty of theology in Altdorf in 1787 (see Sandys-Wunsch and Eldredge 1980 for translation and discussion of this address). Basic to Gabler's thought was the distinction between "Biblical Theology," which is of a historical nature (*genere historico*), and Dogmatic Theology, the nature of which is didactic (*genero didactico*). According

to Gabler, biblical theology, "passes on to us what the holy authors thought about divine things." In contrast, dogmatic theology presents us with conclusions about divine things arrived at by a theologian whose thought will have been conditioned by the particularities of his time, his origins, and the school to which he belonged. Since dogmatic theology is subject to the continuous transformations of history, it is crucial that those "pure concepts" which are valid for all times should be derived from the Bible and analyzed so as to distinguish divine from human wisdom. To this end a precise historical organization of the biblical works according to their respective times of origin is necessary, enabling us to recognize the time-bound concepts (the *true theology*), as well as to collect the sacred ideas (*notiones sacrae*) through comparative study, thus gaining the "pure theology."Since the "sacred ideas" are "constant," dogmatic theology at any time-determined stage may appeal to them to support its statements.

Gabler's emphasis on the historical character of biblical theology deserves special stress. The consequence of this idea is that the biblical writings are to be studied with the same methods as apply to secular works. A further consequence of the chronological distinction of writings (in connection with which the apocryphal writings proved to be important) is that the OT recedes in importance with respect to the NT, the distinctions between various canons become clearer, and the dogmatic unity of Scripture breaks down. However, Gabler's assumption that it is possible to extract from the Bible *dicta classica* (that is, timeless universal truths agreeing with reason; i.e., a "biblical theology, narrowly construed"), which might form a solid foundation for the didactic mission of (more subjective and time-bound) dogmatic theology, was itself a product of Enlightenment thought. Gabler did not see that historical knowledge itself is based on various time-bound presuppositions, and that it, too, therefore remains subjective.

**2. The Partition into OT and NT Theologies.** Gabler himself never attempted to realize his program. The work of C. F. von Ammon (1792) once again interpreted the whole of Scripture on a single plane, albeit a plane based on Kant's moral teachings. Wherever Gabler's work was taken seriously, his historical program speedily led to a partition into OT and NT theologies, as first occurred in the work of his colleague at Altdorf, G. L. Bauer. Bauer accepted only Gabler's first methodological step, namely the historical investigation of the sources. In the process, Bauer emphasized powerfully the pre-Christian and sub-Christian elements (except for monotheism) in the OT. His basic idea was that religious ideas evolved progressively, and in keeping with that idea he studied the development of the concepts. He also sought rationalistic explanations for biblical myths and miracles, and considered the decisive climax to be the advent of Jesus, whom he designated "the greatest teacher in the world."

Also in the subsequent period we find an unequal balance between historical interpretation of the sources and the desire to derive universal truths from them, so that the reconstruction *(comparatio)* alternated between these extremes. Additionally, the historical approach created an abyss separating the Testaments. F. C. Baur objected that the works of W. M. L. de Wette (1813) and G. P. Kaiser (1813–21; see below) were not sufficiently historical. De Wette described "the moral idea of a god, liberated from all myth, as a holy will" as the objective principle of Hebrew religion. This "ideal universalism" (conceived as the idea actually intended by Moses) was symbolized by theocratic particularism. De Wette summarized Hebrew religion and Judaism as "the religion of the Old Testament," Judaism being for him "the unfortunate reconstruction of Hebrew religion." "The teachings of Jesus" and "the teachings of the apostles" were the "religion of the New Testament and of Christianity." For De Wette, "only that which according to philosophical principles belongs to religion" should be part of the presentation, which is systematically constructed according to the doctrines of God, man, and the Messiah (soteriology). After the second edition, de Wette prefaced each subsequent section with a "doctrine of revelation," which showed Hebrew religion to be a history of revelation from the Creation until the latest period.

D. G. C. von Cölln attempted to carry out Gabler's program in a work published posthumously (1836). The OT and NT were treated separately, and the various epochs (such as "Hebrew religion" and "Judaism") were distinguished according to "historical principles." The rationalizing and systematic tendency was, however, dominant in the work: Von Cölln's goal was to make manifest the "universal religious concepts or religious universalism" which he distinguished from the concrete temporal features

(expressed either mythic-symbolically or mythic-nonsymbolically), which he labeled "theocratic concepts of religion or religious particularism." It is noteworthy that historical development was scarcely discernible in this work.

A new approach more explicitly concerned with the historical development of Israelite religion came with the work of W. Vatke (1835). Influenced by Hegelian philosophy, Vatke understood the chain of events in history as the self-manifestation of the "absolute Spirit" in revelation. In this view, "the various evolutionary stages of religion were equivalent to just as many stages in the development of consciousness" (p. 100). The goal of this evolutionary development of consciousness is absolute religion, in which "the concept of religion becomes completely realized as idea" (p. 101), which Vatke saw as occurring in Christianity. Hegel's historical dialectic led to a periodization of the religious history of Israel, according to which the Law followed the prophets, the Chronicler's History was dated very late, and the Psalms and Wisdom materials, too, were dated later than the prophets. Hegel's student B. Bauer also published a similar type of history-of-religions investigation (1838–39).

In his review of volume 1 of G. P. Kaiser's biblical theology, F. C. Baur earlier (1818) had already demanded such a thoroughgoing, historically conceived, and independent scholarly investigation of biblical theology which would bring Jewish and Christian religion into comprehensive historical perspective. Step by step, the historical-critical investigation of the NT sources permitted the reconstruction of the history of early Christianity (by distinguishing between authentic and deutero-Pauline epistles, the Synoptics and the gospel of John, etc.), a reconstruction that was later summarized by Baur himself (1853). From this effort, Baur's (posthumously published) lectures emerged (1864). At the outset he formulated the following principle: "Unlike dogmatics … biblical theology ought to be a purely historical discipline." Due to the historical difference between the two Testaments, he insisted that this discipline should yield separate theologies of the OT and NT (1864: 1, 10). On the basis of Hegel's dialectic and the understanding of history as the self-manifestation of the human spirit (which over time participates more and more in the absolute spirit), three NT periods arose out of the conflict and conjunction of doctrinal concepts: (1) the period of the four Pillar Epistles of Paul and the antithesis provided by Revelation; (2) the period of Hebrews, the deutero-Pauline epistles, 1–2 Peter, James, the Synoptics, and Acts; and (3) the period of the Pastoral Epistles and the Johannine writings, since, according to Baur (p. 351) "New Testament theology achieves its highest stage and most complete form" in the Johannine didactic concept. In addition to this, the teaching of Jesus constituted the "primeval period," which, however, "escapes precise historical observation" (p. 122), since it has been transmitted by tradition. (Against this, G. L. Bauer held that the teachings of Jesus themselves belonged constitutively to NT theology. The disagreement on this point is still noticeable even in the most recent studies, and is, indeed, one of the abiding problems of NT theology.)

Among the other notable publications of the 19th century was the *Christologie* (1829–35) of E. W. Hengstenberg, a conservative attempt to demonstrate the unity of the two testaments as revelation utilizing Messianism as a unifying theme. But despite Hengstenberg's ecclesiological influence, the future belonged to the historical approach. The *Vorlesungen* ("Lectures") of J. C. Steudel (1840) presuppose an understanding of the step-by-step, continuous developmental path of OT religion from the very simplest forms, even though these lectures were structured systematically. According to Steudel, Christianity is, "in virtue of its historical connection with Judaism, both the continuation and the perfection of Judaism (or, more rightly put, of the OT revelation)" (1840: 542). Steudel's student, G. F. Oehler (1873–74), also wanted to derive the step-by-step, progressive revelation of NT faith historically and genetically from the OT witnesses. His subdivisions were Mosaism, prophetism, and OT Wisdom. We should note that Oehler assigned the whole of the Law, including Deuteronomy, to Mosaism, and did not accept Vatke's assignment of it to the period following the prophets. The post-positioning of Wisdom had no chronological intent; rather, it points to the special role played by this literature, which Oehler understood as satisfying man's drive for knowledge.

H. Ewald's theology (1888), presupposing his *Geschichte Israels*, stresses in a similar way the historical "stages of revelation." These, however, he found to correspond to one another in the main and to have

their common reference point in Christ. Thus the two Testaments were once more understood from the same point of view. This work was, however, scarcely noted in the following period.

**3. From Biblical Theology to History of Religion. a. From OT Theology to the History of Israelite Religion.** In the last quarter of the 19th century, the discussion raged even within the field of OT theology for and against the Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen hypothesis, according to which prophecy was held to have preceded the Law. While the history-of-ideas oriented account of F. Hitzig (1880), student of H. Ewald, and the conservatively minded A. Dillmann (1895) either did not refer to the debate (thus Hitzig) or rejected the Wellhausen hypothesis (thus Dillmann), the popular *Theologie* of Hermann Schultz (1892), which ran to five editions, represented a transition to a mixed position. Here the history of Israelite-Jewish religion enjoyed the place of honor, while the systematic-theological treatments of the "Congregational Consciousness of Salvation in the Second Temple" and the "Religious Understanding of the World" were presented at the end of the work. Thus, Hitzig, Dillmann, and also E. Riehm, in a posthumously published work (1889), present introductory sections on "The Nature of Israelite Religion," followed by sections devoted to historical matters.

The future was to belong to the purely historical studies, such as those of A. Kuenen (1869–70), J. Wellhausen *(WGI*), and K. Budde (1912). The change also manifested itself in A. Kayser's *Theologie* (1886), the title of which was changed to *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion* in the edition revised by K. Marti in 1897. When B. Stade, a comrade-in-arms of Wellhausen, named the first volume of his 1905 work "The Religion of Israel and the Origins of Judaism," and yet retained as series title the misleading *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments* (1905), the latter was plainly an anachronism. Matters were similar in the posthumously published work of E. Kautzsch (1911), since his was a purely history-of-religions approach. In a well-known speech (1893), Stade described the task of the discipline as a purely historical one and rejected all connection to dogmatics. The elder Rudolf Smend (1851–1913) wrote a *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte* ("Textbook of the History of Old Testament Religion," 1893) from the point of view of the Wellhausen School, and so brought this development to a climax. Other works of this type were published by G. Hölscher (1922), and by W. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson (1930).

An interesting note was brought into the discussion by the so-called history-of-religions school, the main representative of which in OT study was H. Gunkel. The members of this school shared with their contemporaries the rejection of the old style of biblical theology; their twin battle cries were "religion" and "history" (Gunkel 1914: 386–87; cf. also W. Klatt 1969: 25–26). The intention, "to grasp *the religion itself* in all its depth and breadth," that is, the "history of *biblical religion*" (Gunkel 1922: 66; cf. Klatt 1969: 27), entailed the separation of OT study from dogma and canon, but also from constrictive literary criticism. Additionally, and this is especially noteworthy, Gunkel held that OT and NT religion ought to be understood in all their "historically conditioned connections with other religions" (1922: 66).

**b. From NT Theology to the History of the Early Church.** Similar developments characterized the field of NT theology. Already E. Reuss declared: "Biblical theology is essentially a historical discipline. It does not demonstrate; rather, it relates. It is the first chapter of a history of Christian doctrine" (1852: 11). The beginning of this history of Christian doctrine was the appearance of the person and message of Jesus, both of which had to be included in any investigation.

Even a work which proceeded on the basis of a fundamentally conservative attitude, such as B. Weiss' popular *Lehrbuch* (1868) could not escape the results of the historical-critical study of the NT writings. Weiss' work presupposed the results of this research with respect to authors and dates of composition, so that after arranging the writings historically it would be possible "to regard them as sources for a particular concept of doctrine" (1868: 8). Weiss defined the real task of biblical theology as "historical-descriptive." He also distinguished between biblical theology and "biblical dogmatics," the latter attempting to derive a unified system of doctrine from scripture's manifold teachings. He held that the presence of such a unified doctrine guarantees the authenticity of the NT writings as documents of the perfect revelation which took place in Christ. Since this position did not really take the various historical contexts seriously, it ultimately proved to be unsatisfactory. The *Theologie* (1891) of W. Beyschlag was a

thorough presentation of the teachings of Jesus (one after the other, but harmonically) according to the Synoptics and John, interpreted along the lines of liberal theology; in other respects it followed B. Weiss. Beyschlag found the concept of a biblical theology actually inappropriate, since the Bible does not contain anything like a scholarly theology, but rather religion, or even religio-moral teachings (1891: 1.1–2).

A further step in the direction of a consistent religio-historical study was soon taken. A. Deissmann demanded an "account of the collective consciousness of early Christianity" which went beyond the borders of the canon (1893: 137–38). G. Krüger (1896) demanded that the biblical theology of the NT be replaced by a history of the religion and literature of early Christianity. In the program of the history-of-religions school W. Wrede supported the following approach: the study of early Christian literature would be liberated from the rule of dogmatics only if one abandoned the "method of doctrinal concepts" and looked beyond the borders of the Canon (1975: 85–135 passim). The task was then to depict the living early Christian religion in its development and self-manifestation (Wrede 1975: 115, 123–32).

However, Wrede's program was never consistently followed in any later comprehensive study. H. Weinel attempted to develop, with Wrede, a "history of the religion of the earliest Christianity" instead of a NT theology (1911: 3). However, in so doing Weinel proposed a "religion of Jesus and of early Christianity" as a "moral religion of redemption" (p. 130) in an absolutely liberal-theological sense. Similar to this was J. Kaftan's work (1927). The religio-historical approach was more consistently carried out in 1913 by W. Bousset (1967), who depicted the religion of early Christianity as "the history of faith in Christ from the beginning of Christianity until Irenaeus." P. Feine's *Theologie* (1910; cf. also 1921) is an ambiguous work in that it broadly adopts the results of historical-critical research, but then presents—in the traditional sequence—the teachings of Jesus according to the Synoptics, of early Christianity, of Paul, and of the rest of the NT writings, each separately listed; in the process Feine inserted numerous subjective and confessional evaluations of faith. Decidedly conservative was T. Zahn's *Grundriss* ("Outline") (1928). A. Schlatter went entirely his own way (1909–10); according to him, the historical "awareness" postulates a theological interpretation which defends the ecclesiastical tradition materially as well as harmonizes contradictions.

**C. New Beginnings at the End of World War I**

**1. The Understanding of Scripture according to Dialectical Theology.** According to the principles of historical inquiry (which formed the hermeneutical basis of the religio-historical approach), the twin bases of historical knowledge are objectivity and relativism. In this connection, the yardstick for evaluating events as really having happened is inner-historical analogy, which presupposes the "similarity in principle of all historical occurrences" (Troeltsch 1898). However, this presupposition also reduces the events of salvation history (themselves derived from the Bible by historical-critical methods) to the level of mundane historical events. K. Barth was merely one of many young pastors who discerned a painful discrepancy between the results of this historical-critical exegesis and the Bible-based piety of the congregation, and who thus found themselves left alone by the exegetes with the duty of preaching from biblical texts. Thus the appearance of Barth's 1919 commentary on the epistle to the Romans (1933) had the effect of a call to arms. The new hermeneutical approach which Barth had only hinted at in the preface he explained in the preface to the second edition in more detail: Barth emphasized that while he acknowledged historical criticism, he could not consider himself satisfied with the text "as it stands." Rather, he felt compelled to press on to actual *Verstehen* ("understanding") and *Erklären* ("explanation"). As he said, "Kritischer mussten mir die Historisch-Kritischen sein!" ("The critical historian needs to be more critical" [1933: 8, although the authorized translation does not quite do justice to the original German!]). Following the model of the Reformers, Barth held that it was essential that one should strive for a dialogue between the inner dialectic of the matter behind the text and the reader. Barth subsequently developed this position (esp. 1925). His point of departure for understanding Scripture was, however, the dogmatic contention that "the Bible is the Word of God" (1925: 217), and, while men may have spoken in it, it was, "[though] refracted through the prism of their words, God himself" who spoke (p. 220). The self-evidence of this truth is the work of the Holy Spirit (p. 243). However, he insisted on "the historical conditionality of the Biblical witness" (pp. 226–27) if only in the Reformers' sense of the "in, with, and

under" of God's word in human words. In response to those who sought historical information beyond the canon, Barth insisted that the canon was an "absolute datum" (p. 221), and, although differences were admitted between its various parts, as between the OT and NT, these were merely relative with respect to the unity of revelation behind both (pp. 222–23). Thus the theme of "biblical theology" was posed anew, understood now as a question about the unity of the testaments.

In addition to this, Barth's Christological approach must be considered. His remarks about "history and primeval history" (1927: 230–54) were especially influential. According to Barth, only the revelation which took place in Jesus Christ was a "primeval history" (p. 230). Normal history, as such, is not revelation; revelation, however, is discoverable in history, but only when it is heard as God's personal address to people who look for him (p. 234). Thus, it is only in the light of the "primeval history" (i.e., the revelation in Christ) that history becomes revelation—i.e., a context interpreted through the Word of God. The demand levied by dialectical theology that the hearer (reader) immediately encounter the Word of God provoked a lively discussion. Taken together with the simultaneous Luther renaissance, the result was a harkening back to the Reformation understanding of Scripture, together with the claim of complete integration with the knowledge and methods of historical-critical research. However, dialectical theology was also in danger of repeating the hermeneutical weaknesses of the Reformation by insufficiently considering the relationship between exegesis and dogmatics.

A strongly Christocentric exegesis of the OT as the Word of God which also acknowledged the historical character of the Word was propounded by W. Vischer (1934–42). First he examined the Pentateuch ("the Law"), then the historical books ("the Former Prophets") with the aim of disclosing their hidden Christological significance, though in the process he frequently resorted to allegory.

**2. New Efforts in OT Theology.** Renewed interest in the theological aims of the study of the OT was not stimulated by dialectical theology, but rather by exegetes more closely aligned with the religio-historical school. R. Kittel, the old master of the historical research on the OT, proclaimed that the decipherment of the specifically religious content of OT religion had been neglected (1921: 95). He further emphasized that it was important to press on from the merely religio-historical and psychological characterization to describe the nature and nucleus of the religion, and its truth in terms of systematics, that is, the philosophy of religion, or dogmatics. Because of the purity of the OT conception of God and of personality, and because of its universalism, OT religion was viewed as the "summit of all ancient religions" (1921: 96; similarly also Porter 1921). C. Steuernagel (1925) also espoused the history-of-religions position, although he suggested that it was important to include a systematic and thematically ordered characterization alongside the genetic account of the general development of Israelite religion. However, as he stated, "Both disciplines have the same object: Israelite religion …; the same sources … and the same method: historical" (1925: 272). The descriptive-dogmatic method of OT theology was thereby established. In this task (as Steuernagel saw it) of providing a "philosophy of religion" perspective on OT materials, a pre-Gabler form of the old task of "biblical theology" was revived. Steuernagel objected only to its lack of evolutionary perspective and its overarching dogmatic scheme (p. 267).

Indeed, we find in numerous works of this period a return to the 19th-century ambivalence mentioned above. A historical and evolutionary account of the history of Israelite-Jewish religion was now accompanied by a systematic account. This was the case, for example, in E. Sellin's two-volume *Theologie* (1933). In this book, the traditional tripartite division recurs: (1) God and his relationship to the world; (2) man and man's sin; and (3) divine justice and salvation. This systematic account was, however, intended to reproduce the faith and doctrine in the OT, "only insofar as they have acknowledged Jesus Christ and his apostles as the presupposition and foundation of their Gospel, as the revelation of the God they had proclaimed" (1933: 1). It was this "prophetic-moral-universalistic-eschatological religion" that continually wrestled with the "national cult-religion" throughout the OT period, the latter being preserved within the various currents in Judaism.

O. Procksch's posthumous *Theologie* contains, in addition to the insistence that the history of religion should be subordinated to OT theology (since the self-sacrifice of God is encompassed by history; 1950:

17), an extensive section on "the historical world" before the systematic main section on "the world of thought." L. Koehler's *Theology* (1958; original German 1936) is programmatic and descriptive: "One may give a book the title *Old Testament Theology* if it manages to bring together and relate those ideas, thoughts and concepts of the Old Testament which are or can be theologically significant, justified by their content and in their right context" (1958: 7). The total organization of this work is traditionally dogmatic: (1) the doctrine of God; (2) the doctrine of man; and (3) the doctrine of divine judgment and salvation (eschatology). Here, too, we find Protestant cultural premises: a section entitled "The self-redemption of man: the cult" can only be assigned to (2) (as a mere human enterprise)! But Procksch was the first scholar to develop new ideas about organizing the material in better accord with the contents of the OT. In the systematic main section of his work, he used for the first time such relational concepts as "God and world," "God and nation," and "God and man," concepts which were later adopted by W. Eichrodt (on the basis of Procksch's lectures). However, a gap separated the descriptive form of Procksch's account of the contents of the OT from his theological aims ("All theology is Christology" [p. 1]; the OT points to Christ; in his historicity he may only be apprehended through the OT [pp. 7–12]).

W. Eichrodt's 3-volume work published in the 1930s (cf. the 2-volume English translation, 1961–67) expressed in classical form the presentation of OT theology in terms derived from the OT itself. In the preface to the edition, Eichrodt defined the goal of his work as *"to present the religion of which the records are to be found in the Old Testament as a self-contained entity, exhibiting ... a constant basic tendency and character"* (1961–67: 1.17). By the same token, Eichrodt also intended "to understand the realm of OT belief … and … by examining on the one hand its religious environment and on the other its essential coherence with the NT, to illuminate its profoundest meaning" (p. 1.31). The overall structural arrangement—(1) God and people; (2) God and world; and (3) God and man—apparently follows Procksch (with conscious emphasis on "God and people" as the relationship which was most central to OT thought), although the historical development is thematically integrated in the work.

Eichrodt chose the idea of the covenant as his organizing principle, around which he grouped the entire theological content of the OT. In the first part (vol. 1) the headings are accordingly grouped under the key word "covenant," even though not all of the material fits well in this context. In parts II and III (vol. 2) the word has been dropped from the headings, and the connections are also much looser. In the 5th German edition of vol. 1, Eichrodt noted that from a historical perspective, the movement from the OT to the NT reveals itself as the breakthrough and triumph of the royal reign of God. Conversely, he noted a reverse "movement of life" *(Lebensbewegung)* passing from the NT to the OT, by means of which the world of OT thought will finally be completed (p. 2).

However, against the objections of Baumgärtel (1951), Eichrodt insisted on the strictly historical, nonnormative task of OT theology (1961–67: 1.13). After Eichrodt, the dogmatic scheme established itself more often in most of the thematically ordered studies. This applies to some Roman Catholic works, such as that by P. Heinisch (1950), which was divided into five main sections (God, Creation, Way of Life, the Hereafter, and Redemption), and that by P. van Imschoot, of whose originally planned three volumes only two appeared (1965), focusing respectively on God and Man. But an organization based on dogmatic *topoi* was also exemplified in the works of Baab (1949), Vriezen (see below), and Garcia Cordero (1970).

**3. The Situation in NT Theology.** Unlike the creative theological efforts in the field of OT theology, the situation of NT theology between the world wars was characterized by comparative stagnation. The new theological impetus which had been initiated by dialectical theology did not lead to the appearance of new general presentations. Instead, the old standard works of Feine, Weinel, and Schlatter were repeatedly reprinted. Of course, theological work was conducted in several individual areas of NT study. This applies particularly to Pauline studies, which not only discussed the questions of the Hellenistic or Jewish origins of the apostle's thought (following the lead of the religio-historical school), but also inquired as to the contents of his proclamation. The theological understanding of the gospel of John was summarized in Bultmann's commentary (1941). Form criticism offered the study of the Synoptics new

possibilities to work out the theology of the (early Hellenistic) congregation which was reflected in the short units in those works.

It is remarkable that R. Bultmann, who belonged originally to the religio-historical school, had conceived his sharply existential approach by 1925, immediately after his encounter with Martin Heidegger. For Bultmann it was essential that "the text makes its claim on the reader, i.e., it does not let itself be observed, but instead attempts to determine the reader in his existence" (1975: 252). However, since the text is a historical witness, "the decisive question is: whether we approach the narrative in such a way that we acknowledge its claim upon us, that it has something new to say. If we surrender our neutrality with respect to the text, this means that the question of truth dominates our exegesis" (p. 253). Instead of the contemporary-historical question "What does it say?" the important thing is the question "What does it mean?" (p. 254); it is in such a way "that we then inquire as to the possibilities for our existence which emerge from our encounter with the narrative" (p. 265). However, since Bultmann held that the only correct questioning of the NT "is that of belief," that is, "[an approach] which is founded in obedience to the authority of the Scriptures" (p. 271), such questioning in effect becomes fundamentally impossible, as does theology in general. Interpretation of self and of text are inseparable and "since … the self-interpretation of the individual as historical individual can only be carried out in the interpretation of history, theology and exegesis or systematic and historical theology fundamentally coincide" (p. 272). In biblical theology, "the existential encounter with the reality of this history is carried out" (p. 273).

In practice, however, systematic and historical theology *are* separable, since systematics has the task of "conceptual explication of man's existence as determined by God," while the aim of historical theology is "to describe the interpretation of the individual which is given in the text" (p. 273). In its capacity as conceptual-scientific thought, exegetical theology understands the NT as the Word of God only indirectly; the revelation is veiled in human words. The duty to elevate its intelligibility into the intelligibility of the present (Bultmann's later famous key word for this was "demythologizing" [ *Entmythologisierung*]) reveals the *necessity for expert criticism* (p. 274). Bultmann's entire program was thereby already implied.

At this time, F. Büchsel completed a work (1937) which was, however, both inadequate and conservative-apologetical. The work by E. Stauffer (1941) was likewise unsatisfactory, since in its major section (which focuses on "Salvation History") it avoids making an adequate differentiation of the NT writings; indeed, the section ranges beyond the limits of the canon. The work also promulgates a unifying "Christocentric NT theology of history."

**D. Developments since World War II**

**1. The "Biblical Theology Movement."** There soon emerged in Great Britain and America a renewed religious interest in the Bible. A movement which began in Great Britain shortly before (and which continued during) World War II strove to bring about an obligatory approach of faith to the Bible, including the OT, so that the questions of its theological meaning and its relation to the NT attained wider significance. First popular revivalistic writings, and subsequently also critical scholars, demanded a return to the authority of Holy Scripture (including the OT) as essential to Christian faith. Above all in America (and Scotland), the consequences of dialectical theology now showed themselves, while England to a large degree went its own way. A number of scholarly journals (*Theology Today,* 1944; *Interpretation,* 1947; *Scottish Journal of Theology*, 1948) were founded to provide a forum for the new movement. The views which appeared differed in points of detail, although much of it derived from the prior developments in the German-language sphere. Thus, for example, Hebert (1941; cf. also 1947a; 1947b; 1950) interpreted the OT on the basis of its fulfillment in Christ, a Christological interpretation reminiscent of W. Vischer. For Pythian-Adams (esp. 1942; cf. also 1944), the "presence" of God was the central concept in the OT; he held that the relationship of this presence to the fulfillment in Christ was the foundation of the unity of the salvation history. The NT scholar P. Minear demanded an immediate relation of faith to the Bible: "The Bible calls for witnesses, not for teachers. It is written from faith to faith" (1949: 3).

Against views which were not infrequently fundamentalistic, H. H. Rowley expressly emphasized the necessity of the historical-critical method for the understanding of the OT. Rowley further held that the use of this method offered no obstacles to the spiritual understanding of the word (1944). For Rowley, the Bible was not revelation itself, but merely the account of the revelation; consequently it must be read with the aid of critical reason (1963: 3–34). Rowley remained convinced of the importance of the OT for Christian faith (cf. also 1946), and saw the relationship of both testaments as one of promise and fulfillment (1953). However, diversity is visible within this unity (1953: 1–29); as Rowley said, "Each Testament is to be read first and foremost in terms of itself … before they are related to one another" (p. 20).

After World War II, a lively discussion broke out in America (in short form already in *JBR* 8 [1940]) concerning the need for a biblical theology. On one hand were proponents of the view that a purely historical understanding of the Bible must accommodate the more immediate demands of faith. Thus already in 1946 G. Ernest Wright advocated a view which distanced itself from the compulsion for "objectivity," insisting instead that Bible readers adopt for themselves the confessional viewpoint of the biblical narrator (1946; similarly also Ferre 1952; 1959). B. Childs objected to a merely "objective" description of the religious contents of the Bible, advocating a reformatory understanding of the Bible, on the assumption that the Reformers read the OT in order to hear the Word of God (1964: 437). For this, Childs maintained, faith is necessary. Against the objection that this would be an unscientific form of biblical interpretation, Childs (like other advocates of the "confessionalistic" method) stressed that the task of description was implicitly part of the theological task. All critical methods are to be employed, since the OT is the witness of a historical people, a fact that the exegesis of the Reformers did not sufficiently respect.

On the other side there were, above all, the proponents of the old liberal exegesis, who, if they did not simply insist on a purely religio-historical interpretation, demanded for biblical theology in objective-descriptive manner of presentation. The spokesman for the latter position was K. Stendahl (cf. above all 1962; 1965). According to Stendahl, it is easy to distinguish between "what it meant" and "what it means." Adherents of this position emphasized repeatedly that biblical theology is a historical undertaking and so must be accomplished descriptively. They thus insisted on pursuing the course which Gabler had begun. From a methodological viewpoint they adhered to historicism, fearing that the "biblical theology movement" led to undue enthusiasm, arbitrariness, and loss of scientific objectivity.

It is important that we see the international background behind this "movement" and consider the interconnections with the theological ground-breaking which had taken place in European biblical study since World War I. Also the "crisis" of the movement, which was diagnosed by Childs at the beginning of the 1960s (1970; on the discussion, see Smart 1979: 18–30), had to do with changes in the general spiritual and theological climate in the Western world at this time. Insights and points of view from sociology and the humanities commanded more and more of the Church's attention, often at the expense of the Bible. However, the preponderant disregard of the Bible in the Church beginning in the 1960s (which Smart [1970] so very much regretted at the height of this "crisis") has more recently given way to a renewed interest in biblical theology (see below).

**2. Main Problems in OT Theology.** The much-discussed question whether an OT theology ought to proceed purely descriptively, or whether it ought in some way to make statements of faith, has been variously answered in the European debate as well. Whereas W. Eichrodt had stressed the descriptive-historical approach (1929: 89–91), O. Eissfeldt (1926: 1–12) placed historical and theological interpretation on two different planes, namely the plane of knowledge and the plane of faith. Although in this form Eissfeldt's suggestion remained a unique contribution, this dichotomy would in the future prove to be a fundamental problem of OT theology.

In the work of F. Baumgärtel an experiential piety in the tradition of the Erlangen Lutheran pietism revealed itself. For Baumgärtel, the question is whether the OT individual "being touched" by the "basic promise" ("I am the Lord, your God") is also our "being touched" by the Gospel (thus, in a subjective sense, "salvation history"), even though the concrete realization under the old covenant has been done

away with, and in the OT only the lack of prospects, that is, the failure, becomes visible (see Baumgärtel's major work: 1952; and esp. 1953; 1954).

**a. Systematically Structured Works.** In contrast to Eichrodt, T. C. Vriezen in 1949 saw the task of an OT theology as "a Christian theological science" (1970: 147). "As a theological branch of scholarship the theology of the Old Testament seeks particularly the element of revelation in the message of the Old Testament; it must work, therefore, with theological standards and must give its own evaluation of the Old Testament message on the ground of its Christian theological starting-point" (p. 148). Therefore Vriezen treats in the first main section of his Introduction above all "The Christian Church and the Old Testament" (pp. 11–21), and devotes a separate chapter (pp. 91–142) to the theme "The Old Testament as the Word of God, and Its Use in the Church." The concept of revelation is central to Vriezen's thought, for it is here that we also find the connection to the NT. Vriezen says, "At the heart of the Old Testament message lies the expectation of the Kingdom of God, and it is the initial fulfilment of this expectation in Jesus of Nazareth … that underlies the message of the New Testament. The true heart of both Old and New Testaments is, therefore, the eschatological perspective" (p. 123). A second main section (pp. 153–461) then presents "The Content of Old Testament Theology." Here Vriezen makes the fundamental determination that in the OT the knowledge of God is the "intimate relationship between the Holy God and man" (p. 153). He treats revelation and the cult in a section entitled "The Intercourse between God and Man" (pp. 176–289); and has other sections devoted to "The Community of God" (where God as the God of community, the interpersonal community with its ethical standards, and the understanding of man all belong); and "The Prospect of the Community of God" (pp. 430–63) (covering the present rule of God and future hope).

Against this, E. Jacob (1958) argued for retaining the historical-descriptive character of OT theology. It is nevertheless not a question of *bruta facta;* in Jacob's view, interpretation is decisive for history, and for the Israelites this took place in their faith. Jacob's OT theology has unlimited scope: "faithful to its name, it deals solely with God and with his relations to man and the world." Thus Jacob's first main section deals with "Characteristic Aspects of the God of the Old Testament" (1958: 37–120); here he sees "the living God" as "the center of revelation and of faith," and as forming the point of departure. He subsequently goes on to describe God's names, manifestations, holiness, righteousness, faithfulness, love, wrath, and wisdom. In the second main part of the work we find "The Action of God according to the Old Testament" (pp. 121–275). First the spirit and the word are characterized as "means" of divine action; then descriptions follow of God as creator of the world, of nature and the destiny of man, of God as the lord of history, and of God in the various institutions (offices and places). The third main section is entitled "Opposition to and Final Triumph of God's Work" (pp. 281–342); here the traditional topos of eschatology has apparently provided the pattern. The subjects here are sin and redemption, death and future life, final struggle and messianic kingdom. One might ask whether the theme of "God" pure and simple is suitable to serve as the formal supraordinate category of OT theology as a whole.

However, the theme "God" does in fact serve in this capacity in the work of G. A. F. Knight (1959), the main sections of which are entitled "God," "God and Creation," "God and Israel," and "The Zeal of the Lord" (which is more in the nature of a rubric under which all sorts of different themes can be treated). In a certain sense, Knight seems intent on describing a theology of the entire Bible. Like Vriezen, he emphasizes "that the Church believes the Old Testament to be the Word of God"; thus his intention is to write a theology of the OT from an ecclesiastical perspective (1959: 7). In the various OT metaphors of the "divine family"; of God's name, face, and spirit; of Israel as the "sons of God"; and also in those metaphors expressing Israel's manifold hopes ("son of David," "branch," etc.), we find reflected some of the conceptual patterns which were adopted in the NT, and a somewhat loose collection of such metaphors assembles itself before the reader's eyes.

An independent (though for its author, characteristic) effort was chosen by G. Fohrer. Proceeding on the assumption that revelation is "personal experience" (1972: 49), Fohrer saw in the (antimagical and antilegalistic) existential attitude of the (individual) prophets the real high point of the OT (pp. 71–86).

The interwovenness of the lordship of God with the community with God forms a second focus in this connection (pp. 98–109; see further below).

J. L. McKenzie saw matters quite differently. He, too, understood the OT writings as "records of this people (Israel) with Yahweh" (1974: 31). However, he found the most normal and frequent site of this experience to be the cult. Revelation took place in the cult (in the laws of the Covenant and the prophets); history, nature, and wisdom were collected there, and (as not subsumable) political and social institutions and "the future of Israel" were generated there. One cannot help noting that McKenzie is a Roman Catholic scholar, and that consequently the varying organizations of the OT theologies described here apparently derive from quite different worldviews.

W. Zimmerli's account (1978) is relatively brief, but is nevertheless the result of many years of theological preoccupation with the OT. Zimmerli also adheres to a systematic presentation, one which proceeds from the revelation of the name of God (see below, D.2.b). This implicitly leads to a bipartite presentation, first on God (chaps. 1–3), then on Man (Chap. 4). A fifth chapter, "Crisis and Hope" (dealing with judgment and salvation), reveals the old *locus de novissimis.*

The work of C. Westermann (1982) is structurally intelligible only on the basis of the systematics developed by the author in numerous preparatory studies. Using a peculiar form of existential approach, the work is characterized by numerous interwoven polarities: (1) through the opposition between the saving and blessing activity of God (historical acts and acts of creation, respectively); (2) between God's justice and his mercy (prophecies of judgment and salvation; the apocalyptic); and (3) between the act (and word) of God and man's response. However, it is also necessary to evaluate Westermann's work in relation to the questions posed by G. von Rad (see below). Similar dialectics are the one of Terrien (1978) between "aesthetics" and "ethics" and the "cosmic-theological" one of Hanson (1978).

Judging by its framework chapters (chaps. 1–2 and 7–8), the work by R. E. Clements (1978) is a sort of prolegomena to an OT theology which contains discussions of the fundamental problems of the subject. The middle section (chaps. 3–6) contains a mixture of material *topoi* (God [Chap. 3]; the people [Chap. 4]) and dogmatic themes (the Law [Chap. 4]; the Promise [Chap. 5]). Some isolated authors still conducted historical-genetic studies. An example of this is the work of C. K. Lehman (1971). The subdivisions of Lehman's work correspond to those of the Masoretic canon itself (Pentateuch, Prophets, the Writings), and his assumption of a seamless and reliable historical tradition stretching from Adam to the postexilic period allow both event and interpretation to coincide. However, one should note that also a fundamentalist approach, such as the work of J. B. Payne (1971), may take the form of a dogmatically ordered presentation: God, man, faith, commitment (repentance, faith, ethics, cult), reconciliation.

**b. The Problem of History.** Working on the basis of the traditio-historical approach, G. von Rad produced his own account of OT theology. Already in 1952 von Rad had demanded "that the plan of an Old Testament theology be historical and not systematic" (p. 31). In so saying, von Rad had already laid the foundation for the bipartite division of his major work, which would be published within the decade (*Theology of the OT* [*ROTT*], ET 1962–65). As Sellin and Procksch had done previously, von Rad placed at the beginning of his study "A History of Jahwism and of the Sacral Institutions in Israel in Outline." In the following "Methodological Presuppositions" he insisted that the object of any theology of the OT be "simply Israel's own explicit assertions about Jahweh." It was essential to "deal directly with the evidence"; in the process the theologian must "in many cases … go back to school again and learn to interrogate each document, much more closely than has been done hitherto, as to its specific kerygmatic intention" (*ROTT* 1: 105–6). The use of the key word "kerygmatic" here illustrates von Rad's reliance upon dialectical theology. At the same time, however, he limited his field of study, since, as he said, the OT witnesses likewise "confine themselves to representing Jahweh's relationship to Israel and the world in one aspect only, namely as a continuing divine activity in history." He went on to affirm that "Israel's faith is grounded in a theology of history." However, the manifold nature of the OT witnesses means that there is no single appropriate systematic-theological approach to the theology of the OT; thus von Rad concluded that "re-telling remains the most legitimate form of theological discourse on the Old Testament" (*ROTT* 1: 121).

Accordingly, the main body of vol. 1 presents the theology of the Hexateuch according to the periods of saving history which are recounted there (*ROTT* 1: 129–305). The following section, "Israel's Anointed" (pp. 306–54), unites thematic organization with an exposition of the sources (the Deuteronomistic and Chronistic histories, and also the royal psalms). Extensive materials which von Rad found impossible to subsume under the heading of "historical traditions" (such as prayers, psalms, the Law, and, above all, Wisdom) are gathered under the heading "Israel before Jahweh (Israel's Response)."

Von Rad observed that prejudicial earlier scholarship had maintained that there was a "definite break between the message of the prophets and the ideas held by earlier Yahwism" (*ROTT* 2: 3). This led the author to divide his work into two volumes, of which the second is entitled "Theology of Israel's Prophetic Traditions." Here von Rad emphasized that at the heart of their message the prophets, too, had been dependent on ancient traditions (*ROTT* 2: 4). However, they also saw a new thing, namely an entirely new type of historical action by God, which was to replace what had gone before. Their new understanding signified an "eschatologizing of historical thought" (*ROTT* 2: 112–25).

The subsequent discussion was above all determined by the dilemma which von Rad himself had brought about when he spoke of the gap separating Israel's *actual* history from the understanding of history which Israel had conceived in relation to Yahweh and his actions. They are to a large extent irreconcilable (*ROTT* 1: 106). Nevertheless, according to von Rad it remains the task of an OT theology to reproduce Israel's picture of her history, as this self-understanding was itself a historical fact, and therefore theologically significant: "In the Old Testament it is thus this world made up of testimonies that is above all the subject of a theology of the Old Testament" (p. 111).

One of the first objections voiced against this was that von Rad's procedure loses the immediacy of faith; the presentation remains descriptive and avoids posing the question of truth (Keller 1958). Yet another criticism (affirmed by, above all, F. Hesse [1958; 1960]) maintains that it was not Israel's conceptions about her history but the actual course of that history, as revealed by historical-critical research, that is theologically important, since, if Yahweh really did act in history, only the facts could be of interest.

Von Rad responded to these criticisms in the preface to vol. 2 (*ROTT* 2: viff.) by referring to the presuppositions of modern historical research. Research, too, interprets history, but it does so on the basis of presuppositions which acknowledge only the material cause-and-effect actions of men, and not the actions of God. To consider the latter reality, we must perforce study the witness of ancient Israel.

A number of scholars took up an intermediate position with respect to this discussion; they held that it suffices if Israel's interpretation of history is only broadly correct, and that it is not a matter of the accurate reproduction of matters of detail.

By way of contrast, the fundamentalistic position rejects the above-characterized dualism, and severs the Gordian knot (and in doing so incidentally prevents satisfactory reflection about the hermeneutical difficulties) by claiming that the Word of God opens the objective reality of history.

More or less simultaneously with von Rad's preparatory thoughts about the possibility of an OT theology, G. Ernest Wright published his work *God Who Acts* (1952). The subtitle of the work, "Biblical Theology as Recital," prefigures its central hypothesis, which is that history is the actual plane on which God's revelation takes place. The external acts of God, which he effected through the mediation of the election of Israel (the confirmation of which was the making of the covenant on Sinai, while Christ was its goal), are decisive; theology, then, is practically nothing but the confessional recital of the acts of God in history. For von Rad, too, these confessions were themselves facts, but they came in the distinctively different form of tradition, that is, of a message about an event. Later, he was to distinguish (*ROTT* 2: 358) between the revelation by the *word* (ranging from oracles to God's direct address to the prophets) and that occurring in the *acts* of God, whereby only the latter are susceptible to contemporary new interpretation (p. 301). He held that the elements of "promise" and "fulfillment" describe a tension internal to the OT in the "periodization of history" (pp. 133–35; 168–75; 304) which progresses from promise to fulfillment.

The students of von Rad developed his understanding of history in two directions. One of these directions, promulgated in 1961 by the systematic theologian W. Pannenberg, has been characterized by the key word "revelation as history" (1968). According to Pannenberg, God's self-revelation did not take place directly, as, for example, in theophanies, but indirectly, in the historical acts of God. This revelation is visible to all and universal, but it will only first be fully apparent at the end of all history.

The second direction has been advocated by R. Rendtorff, who proposes to build a bridge over von Rad's "gap" between facts and the history which was affirmed by Israel's faith. Rendtorff maintains that history and tradition are namely one and the same (1960). In this view, "the tradition about the historical acts of God is itself history. It encompasses the facts, but is inseparable from them" (1960: 39). The *historical effect* of events often resides in the experiences and interpretations of them made by those implicated in them. External and internal history belong together.

Rendtorff additionally claimed, in his contribution to Pannenberg's volume (1968), that "the prophetic word may not itself be understood as revelation," since it is based on the self-demonstration of Yahweh in historical events made only previously or retrospectively. This was explicitly contested by W. Zimmerli (1962). For Zimmerli, the proclamation of the word was the central revelational event. This was already his position in his early work (1956), as well as in the preliminary works leading up to his commentary on Ezekiel (Hermeneia; 1979–83). Particularly, Zimmerli's contribution on the "word of (self-)manifestation" (German *Erweiswort*) links the announcement of the name of Yahweh as "means of revelation" to his demonstration of reality in the historical event itself (1982). Today many exegetes share this view that the interpreting and proclaiming Word of God as medium of revelation must be viewed along with the historical events themselves.

In this connection one should particularly take note of the position of H. W. Robinson as unfolded in his posthumously published work (1946). Robinson's main hypothesis was that the form of revelation in the faith of Israel was determined by two factors: by the means whereby God acted, and by the interpreting response of whoever received the revelation. "The divine revelation in Nature, Man and History is through acts, which need to be interpreted through human agency to make them words in our ordinary sense." A related view is P. D. Hanson's model of "dynamic transcendence" (1978). In Hanson's view, a multilayered socio-political-historical event can only be understood as divine activity through the tradition-forming perspective of the faith of a community in the reception of its confessional inheritance.

In the meantime, the traditio-historical approach had established itself as an important perspective of OT theology (Knight 1973; 1977). However, there were also certain caveats to be observed with respect to any identification of tradition with revelation. Thus, in his collection W. Zimmerli stressed the prophetic "no" which was pronounced upon the fossilized tradition of the people. (On H. Gese, see section d. below.)

The importance of history for OT faith has been much discussed. G. von Rad had once sweepingly declared, "The Old Testament is a history book" (1961: 181); later, however, even he found this view too one-sided (1966: 144). Massive criticism was voiced by James Barr against the use of the concept of history in OT theology. Barr pointed out that there are too many areas in the OT where the concept is inapplicable, for example, in connection with wisdom and creation, but above all also in conjunction with the verbal communication between God and man. Furthermore, the idea of an extensive historical continuity is foreign to the OT (thus 1966; also 1963). The younger R. Smend has since then also emphasized that history is only one aspect of the OT, albeit a very important one (1968: 4).

However, the view that the OT understandings of history differed significantly from those of all other ANE religions and cultures (as had been stressed by G. E. Wright [1968]) has at last expired. B. Albrektson (1967) particularly concluded that other ancient oriental religions were familiar with the notion of gods who act in history (see further H. Cancik 1976; Gese 1958a; Saggs 1978).

**c. The "Center" of the OT.** The attempt to find a concept which might serve as the basic idea, central concept, or "center" of the entire theological content of the OT is peculiar to the systematic-theological approach to OT theology. Among the many candidates have been the following: "the holiness of God" (Hanel 1931); "that God is the Lord who commands" (Koehler 1958: 30, 35); "the Kingdom of God"

(Klein 1970); "election" (Wildberger 1959: 77–78); "the Promise" (Kaiser 1978: 32–40); and "the community between God and man" (Vriezen 1970: 8, 15–16). For Eichrodt, who rejected all dogmatic schemes, the concept of "covenant" was nevertheless the self-inherent "center" of the OT (1961–67, 1:13; also Wright 1969: 62; Clements 1978: esp. 119).

The subsequent discussion as to how ancient the idea of "covenant" was in the OT (see COVENANT), or as to whether one might not more fittingly translate Hebrew *bĕrît* as "obligation" (Kutsch 1973), did not really touch upon the essential question: namely, whether it is at all possible to designate any concept as the "center" of the OT. There were also suggestions in favor of a bipolar definition of the "center," as, for example, that of G. Fohrer: "lordship of God and community with God" (1968; 1972), or the so-called "Covenantal formula" (R. Smend 1963), or "Yahweh, the God of Israel; Israel the people of Yahweh" (R. Smend 1970).

G. von Rad spoke out against the attempts to find a "center" of the OT. Speaking from a traditio-historical viewpoint, he stated that "the revelation of Jahweh in the Old Testament is divided up over a long series of separate acts of revelation which are different in content. It seems to be without a centre …" (*ROTT* 1: 115). Thus the OT offers ever new interpretations and actualizations of Israel's salvation-historical traditions. However, he admitted, all individual traditions do ultimately refer to a single greater "Israel"; but this Israel is an object of faith (p. 118), for which reason it cannot be chosen as the "center."

Von Rad's objection did not end the search for a "center" of the OT. Among recent suggestions, there are two which regard the "center" to be a literary quantity. W. H. Schmidt has held the first commandment of the Decalogue to be a *vade mecum* which leads us through the whole of the OT understanding of God (1970: 11). Similarly, W. Zimmerli first held the "I Yahweh" of Exod 20:2 to be a constant of the faith of Israel (1971 and later), and subsequently found Yahweh's name, at once both veiled and revealed in Exod 3:14, to be the "center" (*TRE* 6: 445ff.). On the other hand, S. Herrmann has proposed that we regard the Book of Deuteronomy to be the "center," since "the basic questions of Old Testament theology are concentrated there" (1971: 156). There also remains considerable skepticism as to whether the OT can be said to have a "center" at all (thus, among others, A. H. J. Gunneweg 1978: 140; M. Oeming 1987: 182–83). This skepticism then also applies to the suggestion which has won the most supporters in recent years, namely to regard the sovereignly acting, free God as the real "center" of the OT. However, the principle of the "center" should not be misunderstood. The self-same God is also important for any theology of the entire Bible (see below).

**d. The OT Perspective on the World. (1) Creation Theology.** In G. von Rad's salvation-historical theology, the theme of "creation" played only a subordinate role. In a 1936 essay, von Rad had advocated the hypothesis that in the OT a faith rooted in creation is subordinated to a faith rooted in salvation (1966: 131–43). According to his famous 1938 essay on the Hexateuch (1966: 1–78), the Yahwist's Primeval History is only a sort of prestructure to his salvation-historical account (p. 63). His intent, then, was to show that the ultimate goal of saving history with respect to Israel was the salvation of all people. To substantiate this subordination of creation-faith to salvation-faith, von Rad chose the example of Deutero-Isaiah. He points out that by hearkening back to the creation of Israel, the concept of creation is thereby incorporated into the concept of redemption (in a corresponding way, R. Rendtorff [1954] saw creation and redemption as closely connected in the writings of this prophet). In his theology, von Rad also regarded the position of creation to be marginal, particularly as a theme of later Wisdom Literature.

A considerable number of OT scholars and systematic theologians followed this view until the Bristol Faith and Order Conference in 1967 (the official position paper was *God in Nature and History*). Since then, however, the general opinion on the theme of creation has changed significantly. The saving action of God in history (the blessing), viewed as continual activity, was paired with creation by C. Westermann (1978; also 1982). He stressed the independence of the primeval event as a biblical category (1967; also *Genesis* BKAT, 1: 1–103; also Crüsemann 1981). Also of importance was Westermann's distinction between the topoi of world creation and human creation (Genesis 1: 31–34 et passim; cf. further Albertz 1974).

In terms of the history of religions, Canaanite religion has gained considerably in importance, particularly since the discoveries at Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Jerusalem seems to have played a major role in the adoption of Canaanite traditions, such as the idea of the kingship of God (cf. W. H. Schmidt 1966; Schreiner 1963), the motif of the chaos battle (O. Kaiser 1958; Stolz 1970: 12–71), and the notion of the mountain of God, which in Jerusalem was identified with Zion (Clifford 1972; O. Steck 1972). The concept of the mount of God as a dam holding back the primeval waters belongs, like the chaos battle, to the themes of creation, with the admixture of ideas originally associated with El and Baal.

Albertz (1974: 91–99) shows that the topic of the creation of the world has its place in hymns as a description of the majesty of God or of the *creatio continua,* that is, the preservation of the creation (esp. Ps 104:10–23). In Deutero-Isaiah the theme serves in the "disputation" to demonstrate Yahweh's superiority (Albertz 1974: 7–13).

**(2) Wisdom.** For a long time, Wisdom played virtually no role whatsoever in OT theology. It was repeatedly held to be a purely secular and utilitarian phenomenon (Zimmerli 1976; McKane 1965), or else only secondarily "Yahweh-ized" in late times (Fichtner 1933). The almost exclusive orientation among scholars toward the historical and prophetic traditions threatened to marginalize Wisdom. Von Rad supported the hypothesis of a "Solomonic enlightenment," that is, the theory that the early monarchic period, when Wisdom was cultivated at court, was a time of secularization as a result of enlightened intellectuality (1972: 59–61; also Brueggemann 1972; criticisms were voiced by Crenshaw 1976: 16–20). However, according to von Rad, even these enlightened wise men had recognized that the "limits of wisdom" (1972: 97ff.) were in the omnipotence of God. They, too, knew experiences of God (1972: 61ff.). In this late work, von Rad definitely emphasized the theological quality of Wisdom: "This wisdom is … at all events to be regarded as a form of Yahwism" (1972: 307). Also W. Zimmerli later (1978 para. 18; *TRE* 6: 450–51) admitted that the "fear of Yahweh" was of central importance for the old sententious Wisdom; in Job and Ecclesiastes he saw a clear orientation toward the "I am who I am." He was strongly attentive to the personification of Wisdom in such didactic poems as Proverbs 8, Job 28, and Sirach 28, understanding it in the sense of a self-revelation of the creation, which, alongside of the saving history, possessed its own quality as a sort of "primeval revelation" (1978: 175). He thus saw these to be genuinely Israelite conceptions. However, one might, with Crenshaw, be tempted to ask whether such a small section of Israel's artistic poetry (the dating of which is quite uncertain) can support such wide-reaching hypotheses.

Von Rad had pushed to one side the international character of OT Wisdom. Ultimately he saw the peculiarity of Israel to reside in the fact that she never pressed on to the understanding of a world entity governed by world order (1972: 71–72). Gese, however, who, in the course of a previous investigation of Egyptian Wisdom, had rejected its "eudaemonistic misinterpretation" (1958b: 7–11), as he emphasized the divine character of *maʿat* (world order) (pp. 11–21), had already shown that ancient Israelite Wisdom participated broadly in the ancient oriental concepts of order (pp. 33–45). For Gese, nevertheless, ideas in ancient Israelite Wisdom relating to the issue of act and consequence (cf. esp. Koch 1983) were limited by the emphasis on the sovereign freedom of Yahweh (1958b: 45–50). In the Job poem, in which the Comforters are adherents of this act-consequence doctrine, the freedom of the personal God, who is exalted above this order, is demonstrated to the righteous sufferer (in precise reversal of the Sumero-Akkadian paradigm where the deity is expected to listen to a complaint, the paradigm on which the act-consequence doctrine is based).

H. H. Schmid (1968) presented evidence that the Israelite concept of righteousness (Heb *ṣdq/ṣĕdaqâ*) has an extremely comprehensive semantic field (law; wisdom; nature; fertility; war/victory) which corresponds, like Egyptian *maʿat,* to the concept of world order (also parallel is *šalom,* "peace"). Later (1974), Schmid attempted to draw some consequences of this insight for OT theology. For Schmid, creation theology comprises the "total horizon of Biblical theology" (1974: 9–30). Not only wisdom but also state and law, prophecy, and even the historical traditions stand in a certain relation to this order. Schmid relaxed his picture of an inflexible order by depicting a hypothetical development in Israel's concepts of order (1974: 31–63). He held this development to have led to the formation of a theocentric

cast of thought which separated God and the world. Crenshaw (1976: 26) seized on Schmid's position and, with reference to H. Gunkel, maintained that the threat to world order posed by chaos was the background of the theology of creation.

There remain some unsolved problems concerning the relationship between Wisdom and OT historical thought, and also concerning the assignment of a place for Wisdom within OT theology.

**3. Attempts at a NT Theology. a. Modern German Studies. (1) Protestant Studies.** After World War II new developments in NT theology began in 1948 with the publication of R. Bultmann's *Theologie* (*BTNT*, 1951–55). Structurally, the book begins by focusing on what Jesus himself proclaimed (*BTNT* 1: 3–32); it "belongs among the presuppositions of a theology of the NT and is not part of it itself" (p. 3).

According to Bultmann, "theology" proper begins with Paul, who belonged completely to Hellenistic Christianity (pp. 187–89). This is so because the "kerygma of the primitive congregation" and above all the kerygma of the Hellenistic congregation lay between Jesus and Paul, since "already his [i.e., Paul's] theology presupposes a certain amount of development in primitive Christianity" (p. 63), namely the development of Hellenistic Christianity out of earlier Jewish and pagan forms. The theology of the gospel of John and the Johannine Epistles (which are quite independent of Paul) reflect even further development after Paul (*BTNT* 2: 3–92). Church order, doctrine, and ethics (pp. 119–54; 203–36) belong still later, attesting to the development of the ancient Church.

In Bultmann's view, the goal of a NT theology is that "the Christian faith makes sure of its object, its reasons, and its conclusions. But first there was a Christian faith; later on there was a Christian kerygma … which proclaimed Jesus Christ as God's eschatological saving act, namely that very Jesus Christ, the crucified and resurrected one" (*BTNT* 1: 3). Bultmann held that this development began with the kerygma of the primitive congregation, and that it is essential that we reconstruct this kerygma (pp. 33–62).

According to Bultmann's "Epilegomena" (*BTNT* 2: 237–51), theological ideas are explications of the believing self-understanding, that is, "ideas, in which the believing understanding of God, the world, and man unfolds" (p. 237). But since faith is "faith in the kerygma" (p. 239), the NT theology has to describe (or even reproduce) the kerygma. However, this is only possible in the form it is interpreted by the respective theological statements. Thus, alongside of reconstruction, we find interpretation to be the second pole of Bultmann's efforts. And this also accounts for the form of Bultmann's presentation: it unfolds the theological ideas of the individual works or groups of works in all their differences.

The following statement is decisive for Bultmann's account of the Pauline theology (one of the two foci of Bultmann's work): "Pauline theology (is) at the same time anthropology," since for Paul "Every statement about God is also a statement about man, and vice versa" (*BTNT* 1: 191). This entire section is determined by Bultmann's anthropological and theological concepts, which also influence its structure. In the section dealing with Johannine theology (the second focus), the discussion alternates between concepts whose main categories are dualism, judgment, and faith. By contrast, the sections which frame the two focal ones are more strongly influenced by the (historical-critical and history of religion) reconstruction. Reconstruction and interpretation are both necessary and interconnected, according to Bultmann; but interpretation takes place "on the presupposition that both have something to say to the present" (*BTNT* 2: 251). That means whenever "self-understanding," which has been "awakened" by the kerygma, "is understood as a possibility of human self-understanding, the hearer is called to decision" (p. 241).

As far as the respective descriptive and "theological" tasks of biblical theology are concerned, Bultmann saw both in a single perspective. It is obvious how much his anthropological approach narrowed the hermeneutical horizon. But even today Bultmann's theology has retained its exceptional position as a classic. H. Braun radicalized Bultmann's anthropological approach in single-minded fashion, pushing the anthropological approach to the extreme (1961). For Braun, theology is nearly identical with anthropology, because God can be encountered nowhere other than in interhuman relations. God, as one "existent by himself," is no longer intelligible; thus Braun defines God only as the "whereness of my being driven about" (Ger: *"Woher meines Umgetriebenseins"*), in the "I may" and "I must": "man in all his fellowman-ness implies God." "God would then be a certain kind of fellowman-ness" (1961: 341). H.

Conzelmann, however, developed Bultmann's approach further. The structure of his 1967 work is similar to Bultmann's: after a religio-historical survey, Conzelmann proceeds to investigate the kerygma of the primitive congregation and the Hellenistic congregation, then the Synoptic kerygma (in which the traditions about Jesus have been reworked), together with the theology of the Synoptic authors. Then follow the theology of Paul, the post-Pauline developments, the Johannine corpus. Whereas Conzelmann stubbornly maintained that "the 'historical Jesus' is not a theme of New Testament theology" (1967: 16), E. Käsemann represented the problem of the historical Jesus (1954) as so far unsolved. The identity of the risen and the earthly Lord is important, according to Käsemann, so that we cannot dismiss the question of historicity.

Unlike Bultmann and Conzelmann, W. G. Kümmel devoted the first chapter of his work (1969) to reconstructing the proclamation of Jesus. For Kümmel, "The Faith of the Primitive Congregation" (Chap. 2) was constituted by the Easter faith. In Chap. 3 ("The Theology of Paul"), the final section, entitled "Paul and Jesus," is noteworthy; here Kümmel on the one hand describes the historical connection between both figures, and the differences in their historical and salvation-historical situation on the other. The final section deals with the gospel of John and the Johannine Epistles. This, however, does not bring the entire canon into review.

J. Jeremias offered a lengthy reconstruction of the proclamation of Jesus (1971). He felt that it was possible to derive criteria which would enable a relatively certain reconstruction of the *ipsissima vox* of the historical Jesus within the "pre-Easter tradition." The effort had many gainsayers; further volumes did not appear.

E. Lohse incorporated the preaching of Jesus completely into the discussion of NT theology ("Since the Christian sermon relates to the beginning of the Gospel, the theology of the New Testament must illustrate the indissoluble dependence of the kerygma on the [with respect to itself] pre-existent history of Jesus [1974: 18]). Lohse's "postulate of nonderivability" (*Unableitbarkeitsthese:* Jesus' *ipsissima verba* being those which cannot be attributed to the early Church) permitted such a reconstruction (1974: 21, although this is now questioned). There then follow "The Kerygma of Earliest Christianity," the theology of Paul, the Synoptic Gospels, and the Johannine corpus (all arranged chronologically according to their times of origin as determined by modern criticism). A concluding chapter on "The Apostolic Teaching of the Church" reflects the situation as it was at the close of the 1st century A.D. The final section, entitled "The Unity of the New Testament," understands the NT canon to contain a variety of theological efforts, which, however, were all founded on the same kerygma of the crucified and risen Christ.

Goppelt's posthumously published *Theologie* understands itself to be breaking new ground, insisting that Bultmann's approach "has lost its historical and theological relevance in research" (1975–76: 38–39). The first volume (the programmatic superscription of which is "the theological significance of Jesus' activity") is based on the conviction that the tradition about the activity of the earthly Jesus in the gospels was drawn as a "substructure" into the kerygma (whereas the epistolary literature of the NT reflects the development of the kerygma within the situation of the congregation [pp. 57–58]). Thus the message of Jesus (about the arrival of the kingdom of God, the challenge to repent [Jesus' ethical instructions], and the idea that Repentance is a gift of the Kingdom of God [the new order of salvation]), his saving actions (the miracles), and his self-understanding (which, according to Goppelt, already entailed both messianic promise and the expectation of the Son of Man, if in veiled form), taken together with the Easter event and the Easter kerygma, are all components of the theology of the NT itself. A. Lindemann particularly protested against this, insisting that "Theology is the interpretation of the Easter confession, not interpretation or repetition of the teachings (and, as far as they are known, the actions) of Jesus" (1975: 56). This fundamental disagreement still obtains today. In his second volume, entitled "The Multiplicity and Unity of the Apostolic Witness to Christ," Goppelt dealt with the primitive congregation, and Paul and the post-Pauline writings, in the course of which he also includes other modern questions (the relationship to "society"; para. 43–44).

**b. Roman Catholic Studies.** With a few exceptions the special task of articulating NT theology was only acknowledged at a relatively late date by Roman Catholic scholars. The first sizable work, by M.

Meinertz (1950), thus dealt with the NT writings separately, and failed to take into consideration the impact of the development of primitive Christianity on the NT writings. Bonsirven likewise mainly took the task to be a dogmatic one: "to recover the revealed matters as understood by the authors, to attempt a hierarchical classification of these matters, so as to furnish a basis for Christian dogmatics" (1951: 9). Bonsirven nevertheless undertook to discuss historical development; in doing so, he dealt separately with Jesus (whose teachings, however, he reconstructed from the Synoptics and John), primitive Christianity, and Paul and the post-Pauline writings (the latter entitled "Works of Christian Maturity," reflecting the author's high estimation of these materials).

In his study of the history of NT criticism, Schnackenburg (1963) developed a new idea, namely that a chronological and theological account based on the history of primitive Christianity should be supplemented and deepened by thematically oriented diachronic sections. Schnackenburg proposed to deal first with the kerygma and theology of the primitive Church, then the "message and teachings of Jesus" according to the Synoptics, followed by a theology of the individual Synoptic Gospels, of Paul, John, and the rest of the writings, and finally some central problems in thematic sequence.

This diachronic system dominates the presentation by Schelkle (1968–76), who pursues, from the OT and Judaism through the NT writings (in continuous discussion with dogmatics), such main themes as "Creation, World-Time-History" (vol. 1), "Revelation" (vol. 2), "Redemption and Salvation" (in Christ, vol. 2), "Ethos" (vol. 3), "Completion" (vol. 4/1), "Disciple, Congregation and Church" (vol. 4/2). All Roman Catholic presentations approximate this one closely.

Related to Goppelt's approach is the methodology employed by Thusing (1981), which attempts to follow an outline of a theology of the NT. The basic idea is that the theological unity of the NT is held to reside in two categories of criteria: (1) the "structures of the message, activity, and life of Jesus of Nazareth" and (2) the "structures of christology and soteriology" based on the resurrection of Jesus (in the sense of a "post-Easter transformation of the Jesuanic"). The author's intention is to provide a total perspective which encompasses "the affirmation of God and the affirmation of man" as a field of tension.

**c. Recent English Studies.** With the exception of translations of German-language works, the first English-language work to appear in the postwar period dealing with the question of an appropriate methodology for NT theology was F. Grant's *An Introduction to NT Thought* (1950). Grant strongly emphasized the distinctions historical-critical research had observed between the various "theologies" contained in the NT, which may itself be characterized as a "theology in process" (1950: 60). As Grant saw it, the task is to discern the inherent unity within all this diversity. Since, however, the many differences make any reconstruction possible only to a limited extent, a historical interpretation is necessary which employs Christology as the "central tendency of the New Testament" (p. 61) as its general background. Certain themes ("Doctrine of God, Miracles, Doctrine of Man, Doctrine of Christ," etc.) are then synchronically treated throughout the NT.

The problems inherent in this effort became clearer in the influential work by A. Richardson (1958). The basic presupposition of this work was "that the apostolic Church possessed a common theology and that it can be reconstructed from the New Testament literature" (1958: 9). Richardson's goal was "the framing of an hypothesis concerning the content and character of the faith of the apostolic Church" (ibid.). This hypothesis maintained "that Jesus himself is the author of the brilliant re-interpretation of the Old Testament scheme of salvation … which is found in the New Testament, and that the events of the life, 'signs,' passion and resurrection of Jesus, as attested by the apostolic witness, can account for the 'data' of the New Testament better than any other hypothesis current today" (p. 12). Richardson consciously intended that his account not remain "within the limits of purely descriptive science" (ibid.), since "the principle of interpretation here employed is that of historic Christian faith" (p. 13). In matters of detail, then, the work offers a conservatively colored, systematic-theologically arranged account of such themes as "Faith and Hearing"; "Knowledge and Revelation"; "The Power of God unto Salvation"; "The Kingdom of God"; "The Holy Spirit"; etc. The disadvantage to this approach is the same as that which manifests itself in similarly constructed accounts of OT theology, namely that the individual biblical writers and their views do not come to expression. Furthermore, such important themes as creation,

anthropology, and the Law are lacking. Richardson nevertheless rightly points out that "there can be no history … which does not depend on a principle of interpretation, which the historian must necessarily bring to his study" (p. 9). However, the presupposition of the dogmatic unity of the New Testament ("historic Christian faith") allows a procedure which sees the goal of a NT theology to be already fulfilled in the systematic organization of the biblical statements.

Methodologically similar efforts have been offered by Stagg (1962) and Knudsen (1964). Also for Stagg the "unity in diversity" of the NT was the methodological point of departure of the work (1962: ixff.). Correspondingly, the subtitle of Knudsen's work, "A Basis for Christian Faith," shows that the author's intention was to provide an "interpretation" which in systematic-theological fashion opened the way for the NT witness for faith. Once again the views of the individual biblical authors were not satisfactorily differentiated.

Lehman (1974) provided a conservative presentation. Unlike him, however, G. E. Ladd (1975) offered a presentation which was ordered according to the NT works: the Synoptic Gospels, John, the primitive Church, Paul, the General Epistles, the Apocalypse. Ladd understood the goal of a NT theology to be descriptive, although the concept of God's actions in history (1975: 25) serves in the work as a *vade mecum* to the contents. The triad of God-man-sin is the presupposition of the ideas of revelation and redemption as fundamental biblical statements (p. 26). On the other hand, for S. Neill, "Every theology of the New Testament must be a theology of Jesus—or it is nothing at all" (1976: 10).

The work by Guthrie (1981) advances a conservative position. He insisted that the entire teaching of Christ is authentic in all of the gospels (including John [1981: 70f.]). The organization of the work is systematic ("God"; "Man and His World"; "Christology"; "The Mission of Christ"; "The Holy Spirit"; "The Christian Life"; "The Church"; "The Future"); a final section entitled "Scripture" deals with the use of the OT in the NT. The author's fundamentalistic approach allows him to integrate "the teaching of Christ" into all of the sections.

Among Roman Catholic works, it would be appropriate to mention that of J. L. McKenzie (1965). In spite of his acknowledgment of the plurality of biblical "theologies," McKenzie, too, sees the task as the production of a systematic-theological presentation (pp. 275–76), for which reason his work is thematically arranged.

**4. The Theology of Both Testaments.** After World War II, inspired by dialectical theology, a new desire arose for regaining a Christian theological significance also for the OT. Scholars tried to find a positive answer for the question concerning the relationship between both testaments. Thus the development which had taken place since Gabler, and which had led to a broad separation between OT and NT theologies, was reversed for the first time. In the process, earlier models were once more drawn into the discussion to describe the relationship in question.

**a. The Salvation-Historical Model.** The concept of salvation history *(Heilsgeschichte)* had been introduced into theology during the 19th century through the so-called Erlangen School. The main representative of the concept was J. C. K. von Hofmann (1841–44). Hofmann defined "salvation history" in terms of its ultimate goal: "Jesus is the end, and also the middle, of history; his appearance in the flesh is the beginning of the end" (1841–44: 1.58). All history which had taken place prior to the Christ-event was history and prediction at once—"history" insofar as it witnessed to ever progressing forms of the community between God and man; and "prediction," insofar as ever more definite references to the final form of the community of God and man began to appear (p. 1.40). For Hofmann, salvation history was a peculiar history, the understanding of whose witness took place subjectively, according to the *testimonium spiritus sancti internum* ("inner testimony of the Holy Spirit"). Thus its facticity was, to this extent, not subject to historical criticism; it unified at one and the same time individual pious experiences with the historical perspective.

This understanding of salvation history had two facets: (1) as the history of God's dealings with certain people throughout history, a history in which Christ was both the origin and the center; and (2) as the personal saving history of all people. These views recur in the work of K. Barth (1957), whereas F. Baumgärtel existentializes the concept as an exclusively internal happening (it is "the being-touched-by-

God of men in the Old Testament," which "is our own being-touched … under the Gospel" (1953: 14). Normally, however, "salvation history" was understood as a total context of external events which began in the history of Israel and which came together as simultaneous conclusion and pinnacle in the Christ-event. It was so understood by Dodd (1928), Pythian-Adams (1938), Löwith (1949), and others.

In connection with the NT, it was above all O. Cullmann (1951, 1967) who developed the concept of salvation history. Cullmann insists on the "linear understanding of time in the biblical history of revelation" (1951: 51), in contradistinction to the cyclical one which characterized Hellenism; within the saving history consisting of selected moments *(kairoi)* in the course of time (p. 131ff.), the Christ-event forms the center. Both the salvation-historical past and the future refer to it (pp. 131ff.; 139ff.). But it is salvation history "with respect to the carrying out of God's plans for salvation" (p. 39). "Because of sin and judgement it can also be a history of disaster" (1967: 21). Cullmann additionally stressed that he understood the concept not as a seamless context of demonstrable historical events, but rather as salvation-historical faith, that is, as "faith in a connection revealed only by God, resting upon a completely uncalculable selection of individual events" (p. 55). Therefore the concept of "history" should be placed in quotation marks, although there is an analogy between history and salvation history (p. 91).

Criticism of the concept of "salvation history" was above all launched by R. Bultmann and his school (esp. Bultmann 1956). According to Bultmann, "history" had come to an end with Christ; therefore the Church and its message are not "historical" but "eschatological" quantities (Bultmann 1957). For Bultmann, "historicity" (which has individual reference and is inaccessible) and "history" (objective and accessible) are opposites of one another.

Similar criticisms were offered by G. Klein (1970), K. G. Steck (1959), and F. Hesse (1971, with a rejoinder by Schmitt 1982). According to Hesse, Christ's resurrection and its significance for salvation are not verifiable within history (1971: 62–63). In reality, the saving event is merely a single point which the adherents of salvation history try to represent as a line (called "astigmatism" by Hesse 1971: 66).

In the work of G. von Rad, a peculiar understanding of "salvation history" played a role as a referent to a theology of the entire Bible. Von Rad carried his traditio-historical understanding of "Israel's historical traditions" through the OT and beyond. He also held salvation history to be the always new, always actualizing interpretation of history (*ROTT* 2: 320). Also in the NT this continual process of new interpretation is repristinated yet again, "starting from a completely new event" (*ROTT* 2: 340). Nothing violent occurs; rather, the NT fulfillment is already anticipated in the internal movement of the salvation-historical dialectic of the OT, in its progress from promise to fulfillment. However, von Rad also acknowledged that there was a strong impression of the "discontinuity of the divine revelation which Israel experienced" (this phrase did not appear in the 1975–82 Eng translation). Thus he found it impossible simply to accord with Hofmann's view of the divine plan for salvation which was supposed to embrace both Testaments, and instead attempted to connect the two parts of the Bible through the use of typology (see below).

A great number of other exegetes have also seen some form of salvation-historical connection between both Testaments. Thus, for example, S. Amsler (1960), following O. Cullmann, saw in the historical event of the person and work of Jesus Christ (in which God himself acted according to the NT understanding) the central event of a history which spanned from creation to the eschaton (1960: 105). All the historical and revelatory acts of God belong to this history (p. 106), and its goal is achieved in Christ (p. 107). Amsler further maintained that the goal of this history is already repeatedly attested in the OT, in which connection what is important is our view of a still open future which is prestructured by the saving events of the past (pp. 107–11; 114–16). In the NT, all the events of the OT are interpreted in the light of the fulfillment which has taken place in the breakthrough of the end in Jesus Christ (p. 119). From this perspective, vistas emerge of promise, fulfillment, and typology (see below). See also Wright (1952: 56–58).

We also find the model of a history of salvation culminating in Christ, often including the Church, in earlier Roman Catholic and Protestant publications. Against this, Pokorny (1981: 3–4) cautioned that "the Christ-event of the New Testament is not a direct continuation or further development of the events of the

Old Testament." It was the eyes of faith inspired by the experience of Christ which first saw the historical dimension of God's address in the OT witnesses.

**b. Typology.** Already in the 19th century, P. Fairbairn had written a major work on the subject of typology (1845–47). Fairbairn identified various "types" and saw in them the facts, persons, or events of which the biblical stories speak. These types were to be brought about by God within the framework of the divine economy of salvation. "Spiritual and divine truths," in order to be recognized when they would eventually occur incorporated into the person and work of Jesus, had to be prefigured in the earlier biblical stories.

Typology was brought to the attention of students of modern hermeneutics through the exegesis of the NT itself and through the study of the biblical exegesis of the early Church. In this connection the seminal work was *Typos,* by L. Goppelt (1982), which originally appeared in German in 1939. According to Goppelt, the typological interpretation of the OT in the NT is "the method of interpreting Scripture that is predominant in the NT and characteristic of it" (1982: 198). He holds that this form of interpretation is not exegetically passé; rather, it incorporates one of the most fundamental aims in the NT: "It is an excellent witness to the NT's consciousness of its own place in redemptive history. The NT knows itself to be in some way the fulfillment of the types found in the redemptive history of the OT and to be a prophecy in type concerning the future consummation" (1982: 205). Since Goppelt, however, intensive study of the exegetical methods of the NT has shown that the methodologies are in fact quite various, and that typology is more seldom employed than Goppelt supposed. Nevertheless, Goppelt's basic understanding of the theological function of the NT use of Scripture as a whole has been confirmed.

In the programmatic number of the journal *Evangelische Theologie,* which appeared under the auspices of the BKAT series, the editorial group presented their aims of connecting the historical-critical method with kerygmatic goals, in the hope of producing an interpretation of the OT which would be useful for the purposes of preaching. In this connection, typology received a major position, thanks to a contribution by von Rad, published in *Interpretation* 15 (1961). Von Rad dealt with the question of how God's saving acts on behalf of Israel (as witnessed in the OT) applied to the Church and to the individual Christian, concluding that the only possible reply must be in terms of typology: "Rather we see everywhere in this history brought to pass by God's word, in acts of judgment and in acts of redemption alike, the prefiguration of the Christ-event of the New Testament" (1961: 192). In von Rad's view, typology is based on the belief that it was the same God who had revealed himself in Christ who had already acted in OT history and had spoken to the fathers through the prophets. Typology allows the working out of salvation-historical structural analogies in both Testaments.

In his *Theologie,* von Rad once again showed that he understood typology as a linear series of saving acts which encompassed both Testaments, and which was characterized by the tension between promise and fulfillment (*ROTT* 2: 364ff.). Thus typology was able to reveal an observable structure also in the case of the OT. H. W. Wolff (1961; 1956) had a similar working hypothesis for the historical understanding of the (given) correspondences between both Testaments. The views of Lampe and Woolcombe (1957) and Foulkes (1958) were similar as well.

Roman Catholic circles especially accepted typology as an appropriate method of spiritual scriptural interpretation. Here, of course, patristic exegesis played an important part (Origen and Thomas Aquinas). See especially Jean Daniélou (1950), which deals with both Scripture and patristic exegesis in connection with a number of themes (e.g., Adam-Christ).

Criticism of the typological method was above all offered by F. Baumgärtel (1952: 124–27, 138–43, plus numerous articles), who felt that typology provides a purely theoretical construction which cannot affect faith (contra Eichrodt 1963). See also J. Barr (1966, Chap. 4).

**c. Promise and Fulfillment.** The scheme of "promise and fulfillment" can also be traced to the NT exegesis of the OT. However, the conceptual model of traditional theology with respect to the OT "messianic promises," which saw these as fulfilled in the NT in Jesus Christ, was no longer adhered to by critical exegetes (the last proponents were König 1923; Edelkoort 1941). However, after World War II, especially von Rad *(ROTT)* and W. Zimmerli (1961) attempted to show that the relationship of both

Testments at least in part consisted in the correspondence of "promise" to "fulfillment." For both scholars, this correspondence was an aspect of the OT salvation history itself, which they described variously as an "area of tension constituted by promise and fulfilment" (von Rad *ROTT* 2: 371) or as a "movement from promise toward fulfilment" (Zimmerli 1961: 329). Since, however, all the fulfillments in the OT are only provisional, the final fulfillment is no sooner attested than by the NT—insofar as believers are still awaiting its completion. See further Oxtoby 1966; Bruce 1978; Achtemeyer 1973: 77–115, 165–67, 172–81.

Baumgärtel criticized this model on the basis of his own particular understanding of the concept of promise (1952: 95–101, 106–27). He distinguishes between "promise" considered as God's assurance, and "prediction," that is, human predictions of future events. However, Baumgärtel's understanding of "promise" in the sense of a timelessly valid basic promise of God is untenable with respect to the OT. J. Barr (1966: 113) regards the concept of "promise" as nonderivable from the NT's conceptual realm, which he, incidentally, also regards as no longer useful.

**d. The Traditio-Historical Approach.** Tradition history, as a specific approach to a new biblical theology, is associated with H. Gese (1970; 1981a; 1981b). Gese proceeds on the basis of von Rad's understanding of tradition history, but nevertheless reckons with a continuous context of tradition from the OT to the NT, where it finds its conclusion: "The Old Testament originates in the New Testament; the New Testament is the completion of a process of tradition, which is essentially a unity, that is, a continuum" (1970: 420). Gese does not attempt to specify the contents of this process of tradition, but he does acknowledge a traditio-historical "nucleus" of the OT. It consists of the revelation on Sinai (1970: 427; 1981a: 25), plus the self-revelation of the "I am YHWH" (1981a: 25; 1981b: 65). Through the "Wisdomization" and "eschatologization" of the Torah in the late period, a second center was formed, namely Zion; therefore Gese distinguishes between a "Sinai Torah" and a "Zion Torah" (1981b: 80–81). For Gese, the tradition itself is the kerygma: "The traditio-historical process corresponds to a process in the history of revelation" (1981a: 18). Gese's position has been supported by, above all, P. Stuhlmacher, who defines biblical theology as "a New Testament theology which is open to the Old Testament, and which attempts to discover the traditional and interpretative context of both Old and New Testament traditions" (1973: 375).

In addition to criticisms of Gese's "ontological" terminology, scholars have suggested that he presupposes a (undemonstrable) linearity in the development of the OT traditions. Moreover, his approach has been labeled a kind of phenomenology (since Gese simply describes the religious-historical phenomena without evaluating them). Finally, Gese insisted that it is only possible to assume an unbroken context of tradition between the testaments if one abandons the decision of the Reformers to limit the OT canon to the borders of the Masoretic Bible (1977: 324, an illegitimate "reduction of the canon"). Gese himself sees the connection precisely in the so-called "apocryphal writings" (apocalyptic and late Wisdom); however, the Masoretic canon would presumably have been fully established by the middle of the first pre-Christian century.

**e. Basic Connective Concepts.** Confronted with the difficulties inherent in trying to combine the two Testaments with the aid of some single encompassing scheme, scholars recently have attempted to demonstrate a connection between them on the basis of some common fundamental concepts. For P. Stuhlmacher (1973), one such concept is the confession of the resurrection of Jesus with respect to the OT confession of the hope of resurrection. But Stuhlmacher also mentions as fundamental concepts such features as "reconciliation," (e.g., 1979a: para. 15; 1979b) and "law" (1978; cf. also Siegwalt 1971). Others have suggested "the covenant" (e.g., Campbell 1954), "election," "lordship of God" (Gray 1979), "promise" (W. C. Kaiser 1974; 1978), and the "people of God."

Others have attempted to discern the connection in question in a number of key concepts (Haag 1965). Thus Abbing (1983) has traced the triad of features consisting of revelation, history, and human responsibility throughout the entire Bible. Some exegetes conclude that it was Yahweh himself who raised Jesus from the dead. For S. Terrien (1978), the *deus absconditus atque praesens* forms the real middle of the Bible. Seebass (1982) recognizes as the middle of the Bible the new understanding of God

which came about in Jesus Christ (2 Cor 5:19, "God was in Christ"). Alongside of this insight he offers such factual themes as the resurrection, messianism, people of God and kingdom of God, creation, and trust in God. Wagner (1978: 794) insists on the "functional identity" of God in spite of all the differences in the tradition and redactional history of the Bible.

A special variant is the creation-theological approach of H. H. Schmid, which he attempts to make applicable to the entire Bible. He holds this concept to have been the conceptual presupposition also for fundamental theologoumena of the NT, such as Paul's doctrine of justification, the redemptive death of Jesus, and his mediative role in the creation (1973: 12–14). Using the same basic approach, U. Luck emphasizes more strongly the features of experience of the world and apprehension of reality (1976: 7–9, 13).

**f. The Canonical Approach.** B. Childs (1970: 99–107) initiated a discussion concerning a "canonical" biblical theology which has been especially lively in the United States. See CANONICAL CRITICISM. According to Childs, the crisis of biblical theology was to be ameliorated by a new approach based on the OT and NT as normative bases of the Church because of their divine authority. To this, J. A. Sanders (1972) added the demand for a "canonical criticism" which would have as its aim the derivation of a new perspective of critical exegesis by studying the origin and function of the canon (Sanders 1984; 1987). So saying, however, Sanders saw the real center of the OT canon to be the Torah (against this, Blenkinsopp [1977] emphasized the prophetic character of the canon); this reflects the earlier view in the U.S., promulgated above all by Wright (1969: 166–85), according to which there is unquestionably a "canon within the canon" or a "center" of the corpus (see above). In methodological terms, the choice of the canon of the Old (and New) Testament(s) as the referential framework of a biblical theology is dependent on the recent redaction-historical approach. Where scholars were previously interested in the respective earliest literary strata and traditions, now they had begun to concern themselves more with the "posthistory" and the "final form" of the biblical text. Thus scholars are increasingly tending to read the texts "holistically," that is, by taking the entire context of a given text into consideration and relating it to the perspective of the entire Bible (on these three indissoluble aspects of the "canonical" concept—earliest literary strata, "posthistory," "final form" of the text—see, critically, Barr 1983: 75–82). Childs has himself exercised his exegetical approach on a biblical book (*Exodus* OTL); furthermore he also used his "canonical principle" as the basis for introductions to both the OT and the NT (respectively 1979 and 1984). In his *Theology* (which follows the traditional organization), Childs describes the purpose of the canonical approach as "to describe the theology of the Old Testament according to the intertextuality of its canonical shaping and so seek to understand how this corpus of material was ordered and rendered within the context of scripture" (1985: 53). Childs also holds the theological understanding of the NT as the result of a "canonical process" to be of decisive importance (1984: 22–33).

Childs' "canonical program" has proved to be controversial (see *JSOT* 16 [1980], and *HBT* [1980]: 113–211). It has been argued that instead of attending to the unity of a writing within the context of both testaments, we should also observe the differences between individual writings (on the OT, see Hanson 1982; Goldingay 1987; on the NT, see Käsemann 1964; Dunn 1977). The demand to search for the "center" has also been levied in connection with the NT (Schrage 1976) and corresponds, as a definition of the "canon within the canon," to the tradition of the Reformers.

These are presumably not real contradictions, but rather different aspects of the total goal of a biblical theology, which encompasses both the exegetical and systematic horizons. A solution to the difficulties can only be expected through the cooperation of both theological disciplines, which would transcend the estrangement of exegesis and dogmatics that has obtained since Gabler.

**5. Skeptical Voices.** Skepticism about the theological value of the OT is as old as Marcion. In addition to the historical factors behind such skepticism (sometimes including anti-Semitism), there were often also theological factors. E. Hirsch considered the OT to be "a document of a religion of law which was superseded by Christian faith" (1936: 26); to it he opposed the NT ("the Christian religion") as the witness of the Gospel (pp. 11, 76). Hirsch therefore held that the OT is only of interest for Christians since there we encounter the *deus absconditus* in the masks of sin, death, and turmoils of faith (pp. 27–

30), features which were, however, subdued forever through the God of love, the father of Jesus Christ. A similar rejection, based, however, on depth psychology, has been presented by Hannah Wolff (1983). According to Wolff, were we to acknowledge the OT as part of the Christian canon, the Christian self-identity, which is to be determined through the historical Jesus, would be subordinated to Jewish-patriarchal and counter-Christian foreign influence.

The judgment of R. Bultmann was more subtle. For him the scheme of "law and Gospel" means a legitimately "historical" existential question of "what basic possibility it presents for an understanding of human existence" (1963: 13). The OT is "being under the law," and since this is the necessary prerequisite for "being under grace," man must be subject to the OT if he hopes to understand the NT. Similar views were also espoused by F. Baumgärtel and F. Hesse (see above). Bultmann's attitude toward the OT is still effective among his students and other NT scholars today.

Such skepticism as does appear often clothes itself partially in the guise of criticism of a given program (so, for example, in Grässer's 1980 criticism of Stuhlmacher; incidentally, Grässer [1980: 219–20] agrees with R. Smend that a biblical theology which begins with the NT and looks back to the OT remains possible; Strecker 1980). However, skepticism is sometimes explicit; thus, for example, Merk (1972: 270–71; see also *TRE* 6: 455–77) regards the separate treatment of the OT and NT to be the necessary consequence of Gabler's methodological approach. For Merk, the demand for a "biblical theology" which embraces both Testaments is a "retrograde tendency, which abandons the insights of Gabler and G. L. Bauer" (1972: 271, n. 193).

**6. Conclusion.** What might we expect in the near future from the ongoing work on a biblical theology? The theological task of biblical scholarship unavoidably includes the problem of the relation between the testaments. Every Christian preacher has to expound biblical texts taken from both parts of the Bible. So the discussion about their unity and diversity will continue. But the expectations of discovering a comprehensive model—a basic idea or ongoing development that would allow us to understand the Bible as an organic unity—remain unfulfilled. Thus, the next steps to be taken will be more modest: to detect common topics where the NT is related to the OT, where it expressly cites the OT or builds upon conceptions which have been taken over from it. All these endeavors have one basic presupposition: that the God who revealed himself in the OT is the same as the father of Jesus Christ. Insofar as the enterprise of a biblical theology of both testaments is rooted in faith, it needs dogmatic reflection for results that transcend the realm of simple exegetical observations on a concrete scriptural text.

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**THEOPHANY IN THE OT.** Theophany, the self-disclosure of God, is a widely attested phenomenon in the literature of ancient Israel, recorded by its historians, prophets, sages, and psalmists. The word "theophany" itself is a Greek term, from *theos,* "god," and *phainein,* "to appear," a classical

example of which in Greece was a festival at Delphi at which the statues of Apollo and other gods were shown to the people. Though the term is not a Hebrew one, and though divine images were not a part of Israelite ritual, "theophany" and related terms—"epiphany," "appearance," and "hierophany," "appearance of the sacred"—have come to be used among scholars for descriptions of the appearance of God in the Hebrew Scriptures.

God is understood by Israel to be a reality different from the world and unlimited by it (1 Kgs 8:27; Amos 9:2–4; Psalm 139). Yet in theophanies God is revealed by self-limitation to specific places and particular forms within the world itself. The distinctive places and forms within the world which become modes of divine manifestation in Israel are to be found in the realms of nature and of human society. Natural and social images of divine appearances are, in fact, closely integrated in most theophanies. God may be described, for example, in the form of a thunderstorm, unleashing lightning, hail, and torrents of rain, and at the same time as a warrior riding a chariot and leading heavenly armies into battle (Hab 3:3–15). Furthermore, this theophany may occur at a mountain revered as sacred both for its natural features and for its sanctuary and city which mark the center of a political entity. While great interest has been attached to the human form and social roles—warrior, king, judge—of divine self-disclosure in Israel, less attention has been given to the essential role of geography and natural forms in Israel's experience of theophany.

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A. The Location of Theophanies
B. The Form of Theophanies
    1. Natural Forms
    2. Human Forms

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**A. The Location of Theophanies**

One of the fundamental characteristics of theophany in Israel is its occurrence at locations in the natural environment which were considered particularly sacred, particularly conducive to contact and communication between the divine and human spheres of reality. God appears at springs (Gen 16:7), rivers (Gen 32:23–33—Eng 32:22–32), trees (Gen 12:6–7), but predominantly and most significantly at mountains (Gen 12:8; Exodus 19; Psalm 48). It is on the mountain that the deity becomes manifest as the divine warrior in the phenomena of the thunderstorm, is enthroned as king of the cosmos and history, and issues decrees about the divine will and intentions for the human community.

The occurrence of the most significant theophanies on mountains in ancient Israel is not unique but representative of a much wider phenomenon. For many cultures in antiquity the mountain was considered that point in the environment most conducive to contact with the divine, most revelatory of divine presence. This is true for the Canaanite culture, from which Israel emerged, whose major deities El and Baal both reside and become manifest on mountains (Clifford 1972: 34–97). It is also true for ancient cultures in Greece, India, China, Japan, Africa, and the Americas, which all recognized mountains as locations of divine manifestation (Eliade 1969: 41–44; Eck *EncRel* 10: 130–34).

The prominence of the mountain in biblical theophanies must be related on the one hand to its complete familiarity to the Israelite inhabitants of the Canaanite hill country and on the other hand to its extraordinary natural features. With its peak reaching into the skies, it represents the closest connection in the environment between earth, the domain of humanity, and heaven, the realm of the gods. The splendor of the highest peaks produces a sense of awe, a sense heightened and made more mysterious when the cloud banks of the thunderstorm veil the summit from view. Once scaled, the mountain offers an unlimited vision, not only of the clouds and the heavens but also of the horizon of the earth.

These features make the mountain the most suitable site of divine manifestation and thereby identify it as a cosmic center. The mountain as cosmic center is a concept fundamental in many traditional societies, as Mircea Eliade (1969: 27–56) has shown, and operative also in ancient Israel, as demonstrated by Richard Clifford (1972). In Israel, as elsewhere, the mountain functions as the center and site of theophany by linking the three cosmic regions along a central axis: located on earth, its top reaches into

heaven (Ps 48:2–3—Eng 48:1– 2) and its base down into the subterranean waters of the Underworld (Pss 46:3— Eng Ps 46:2; 104:5–9). The waters of the Underworld are frequently represented by a spring issuing from the earth at the mountain's base (Ps 46:5—Eng 46:4; Ezek 47:1–12). This point of intersection is supremely sacred, for it is the meeting place of heaven and earth, the point at which direct contact is made between the divine and human. This contact is represented by vivid manifestations of the divine, by theophanies in which Israel experienced divine assistance, divine rule, and divine communication.

As the center of the cosmos the mountain is also the center of human society. With its defensible height and its spring to provide a stable water supply, the mountain was both the location of divine presence and a favorable site for human habitation. The mountain thus became the focus of the familiar, inhabited, and organized space of society, a space representing the political microcosm beyond which existed the unknown, foreign, and chaotic reality of cosmic and historical enemies. The central institutions of a society, in particular its religious sanctuary, were constructed on the mountain to represent divine contact with and control of human affairs.

The understanding of the mountain as the site of divine manifestation and thus the center of cosmos and society is present in an ancient Canaanite mythic pattern which Frank Cross (*CMHE*, 147–94) has shown to have deeply influenced biblical descriptions of theophany. In this mythic structure, present in the Baal Cycle from Ugarit (and reflected in Enuma Elish from Babylon), the storm god Baal, sitting in the assembly of gods on the sacred mountain, is challenged by his enemies, preeminently Sea, who embodies chaos. Baal, as a warrior mounted on the clouds, responds by destroying Sea. As a result of this victory, Baal is enthroned as cosmic king on Mt. Zaphon, receives a house constructed on the summit, and appears as the storm with the thunder, lightning, and rains which bring fertility to the earth. While Baal is celebrated at Ugarit as king and ruler of the universe from his mountain height, it is El, father of the gods, who issues decrees and communicates to human beings the will of the divine council from its assembly atop his own sacred mountain.

In Israel, these modes of theophany have been combined in the activity of a single deity, Yahweh, who appears at the cosmic mountain as the divine warrior in the thunderstorm to protect Israel from cosmic and historical threats to its security, who is manifest as ruler of the cosmos and history, and in that capacity discloses the divine will by issuing decrees, revealing plans, judging nations and people, granting requests, answering inquiries, and commissioning messengers. These modes of the theophany of Yahweh are closely related and unified by their location at the sacred mountain.

Though Israelites experience the theophany of Yahweh in these modes at a variety of sacred mountains, by far the most important are a southern peak, Mt. Sinai, and the hill on which the city of Jerusalem was built, Mt. Zion. The southern mountain is the site of God's appearances in Israel's oldest accounts of theophany. A number of archaic poems composed before the monarchy identify God's appearances to Israel with a mountain in the S called Sinai or Paran, and perhaps Seir (Deut 33:2–5, 26–29; Judges 5 [esp. vv 4–5]; Habakkuk 3 [esp. vv 3, 7]; Psalm 68 [esp. vv 8–9—Eng 7–8; and vv 18–19—Eng 17–18]). In these poems, God becomes visible on the mountain in the phenomena of the thunderstorm and marches out from it as a warrior with heavenly armies to fight for Israel. All of these poems are in fact victory hymns depicting the theophany of the divine warrior at the mountain as decisive for the victories of Israel's armies. Present also in these archaic theophanies is the depiction of Yahweh as king who in divine and human assemblies issues decrees and instructions (Deut 33:3–5). Another premonarchic poem, Exod 15:1–18, opens with a theophany of Yahweh as a warrior in the storm fighting Pharaoh's armies at the sea and concludes with the enthronement of Yahweh on his holy mountain.

This early identification of Israel's deity with mountains can be illustrated further by two archaic titles. One identifies Yahweh as "the One of Sinai" (*zeh sînay;* Judg 5:5; Ps 68:9—Eng68:8). Another designates Yahweh *ʾĒl Šadday,* "God, the One of the mountain," a title used in archaic poems (Ps 68:15—Eng68:14) and again in later archaizing contexts (Job, Ezekiel, the priestly work). The divine mountain itself is identified as a sacred space (*qōdeš;* Ps 68:18—Eng68:17) and called the "mount of possession" (Exod 15:17), designating it as exclusively divine property.

This southern mountain is identified as the site of the most significant theophany in Israel's formative period by the epic tradents, the Yahwist (J), who refers to it as Sinai and the Elohist (E), who calls it Horeb. Sinai/Horeb is called the "mountain of God" (Exod 3:1) and is designated as sacred ground (Exod 3:5; 19:12–15, 21–23). Here God appears to Moses as a flaming tree during Israel's enslavement, commissions Moses to direct Israel's exodus, and reveals the divine name (Exodus 3). Here also God appears to the assembled Israelites after the deliverance at the sea (Exodus 19; 24). As in the old poems, the archaic theoxphanic pattern lies behind the description of God's manifestation (*CMHE*, 164–69). Yahweh meets Moses at the sacred mountain with instructions for the coming conflict (Exodus 3), appears at the sea to fight for Israel in the storm (the pillar of cloud and fire/lightning; Exod 14:19–20, 24–25), and then leads the people back to the holy mountain where, in a vivid self-disclosure of the victorious deity in the thunderstorm, the decrees which will constitute Israel as a covenant community are issued (Exodus 19–24).

The exilic Priestly writer (P), who appropriated these epic sources for an extended treatment of Israel's formative period (Genesis–Numbers), divided Israel's early history by three great moments of divine self-disclosure, the final and climactic of which occurred in God's revelation at Mt. Sinai. (The preparatory theophanies are to Noah on a mountain in Ararat [Gen 8:4; 9:1–17] and to Abram, presumably by the oaks of Mamre [Gen 14:13; 17:1–27].) The Priestly writer too preserves the old theophanic pattern. The glory *(kābôd)* of Yahweh in the cloud (e.g., Exod 16:10) leads Israel from Egypt through the wilderness to Mt. Sinai, where the glory of God is manifested in the thundercloud (Exod 24:15b–18). Here as in the epic sources, the emphasis in the theophany at the southern mountain is on the rule of God and on the communication to Israel of decrees and instructions which will place that rule into effect. Indeed, the entire collection of Israelite law has been identified by P as promulgated in the Sinai theophany, an assertion which makes this theophany and the divine will communicated through it definitive for all subsequent generations of Israelites. The martial character of the theophany at Sinai, though less emphasized by P, may still be recognized not only in the divine leadership in the cloud from the battle at the sea, but also in the assembling of Israel in military companies by tribe and in the march from the mountain by the tribes following the divine warrior in the cloud (Numbers 1; 2; 9; 10).

The old tradition in Deuteronomy which now provides the introduction to the Deuteronomistic History (Joshua–2 Kings) contains essentially the same modes of theophany at the southern mountain, here called Horeb. The deity becomes manifest in the thunderstorm at the mountaintop, is recognized as Israel's divine warrior, and issues decrees which become the basis for Israel's community life (Deuteronomy 4–5). The pilgrimage of the prophet Elijah to Horeb and the divine revelation to him there recorded by the Deuteronomistic Historian (1 Kings 19), a theophany reminiscent of an earlier one to Moses (Exod 33:17–23), indicate that this southern mountain continued to be regarded as a site of theophany down into the days of Israel's monarchy.

The location of this mountain can no longer be identified with certainty, except that it lay in a desert area S of the land of Israel. Though tradition has understood it to be Jebel Musa in the S tip of the Sinai peninsula, this tradition is late and uncorroborated by archaeological evidence. The mount of theophany may in fact have been located in the N Sinai or, more likely, in the mountainous area SE of Israel in the Transjordan where the old poetic and epic material place it. The various names for the mountain—Sinai, Horeb, Paran—could even reflect different traditions connecting theophanies of Yahweh and Yahwistic sanctuaries with more than one S peak.

During the Israelite monarchy this S mountain in the desert, which had been the preeminent location of theophany in Israel's formative period, is superseded in importance by a mountain in the land of Israel itself known as Zion. Zion was the name given to the ancient fortified ridge between the Tyropoeon and Kidron valleys. A modest mountain when compared with surrounding peaks, its summit was inhabited as early as the EB Age (ca. 3000 B.C.E.), likely because the Gihon spring at its base provided a stable water supply. This spring undoubtedly also lent the mountain cosmic significance, symbolizing the subterranean realm linked to the earth and heaven at this point. Mt. Zion was captured by David and became the site of the royal palace and then of the temple of Yahweh constructed under Solomon at its summit. From the

time of David on, psalmists, prophets, historians, and apocalyptic writers see Zion as the most prominent place of divine self-disclosure.

The psalmists, while believing heaven to be the divine realm proper (Pss 11:4; 14:2; 20:7—Eng20:6), understand God to be present within the human realm at Mt. Zion (Pss 11:4; 46:5–6—Eng46:4–5; 48:1–4—Eng 48:1–3; 76:1–3—Eng76:1–2), frequently referring to it as God's sacred mountain (Pss 2:6; 48:2—Eng48:1; 87:1). The same modes of Yahweh's epiphany associated with the southern mountain are also present in Zion theophanies. The deity appears on Mt. Zion as a thunderstorm, going into war against Israel's enemies to protect Zion and the Davidic king (Pss 18:7–20—Eng18:6–19; 29:1–11; 97:1–5; 144:1–11). God's kingship on Zion is celebrated, in particular in a series of hymns which may have been used in the liturgy of a fall New Year festival (Psalms 47; 93; 95; 96; 97; 98; 99). From Zion the divine king communicates with Israel, issuing decrees which govern the Davidic state and the nations at large (Pss 2:5–9; 89:20–38—Eng89:19–37; 132:11–18), rendering judgment on Israel and the nations (Pss 9:8–9, 20–21—Eng9:7–8, 19–20; 96:10–13; 99:1–5), and accepting the prayers and offerings of Israel (Pss 5:1–4—Eng5:1–3; 12:6–7—Eng12:5– 6; 20:1–5).

Even among prophetic figures, for whom divine self-disclosure in Israel was not bound to specific spaces and the institutions and offices attached to them (Amos 7:14–15; Jer 18:1–2; Ezek 1:1), theophanies are primarily associated with Zion (Ezekiel 1; 10; 43; Amos 1:2; Mic 1:2–4; Zephaniah 1). This is particularly true for Isaiah, whose vision of Yahweh in the temple (Isa 6:1–13) and description of the appearance of Israel's God as a thunderstorm to protect Jerusalem (Isa 29:1–6; 30:27–33) identify God's manifestation on earth as inextricably linked to Mt. Zion.

Apocalyptic writers regard Mt. Zion as the site at which theophany would one day become an everyday reality. Here the divine warrior would appear in the storm to fight a decisive battle against the nations to remove permanently any threat to Zion's security (Isa 66:15–23; Ezekiel 38–39; Joel 3:1–21; Zechariah 9). God would then be enthroned over an eternal kingdom of peace and prosperity in which the light of God's presence would replace the sun, moon, and stars (Isa 24:21–23; 25:6–8; 60:16–22; Joel 3:17–21; Zech 14:6–21) and in which all would by nature respond to the divine law (Jer 31:31–34; Ezekiel 36).

Though Sinai and Zion dominate Israel's theophanic landscape, other mountain peaks also mark the sites of divine appearances. Mt. Carmel is the location of a decisive theophany to Elijah, Ahab, the prophets, and the people of Israel in which Yahweh is manifest as a thunderstorm consuming the offering of Elijah by lightning and bringing rain and fertility (1 Kings 18). Together with Carmel, Mt. Tabor is also referred to as a sacred mountain (Jer 46:18; cf. Hos 5:1; Ps 89:13—Eng89:12; Judg 4:6, 12, 14). Mts. Ebal and Gerizim figure prominently in an archaic ceremony near Shechem affirming the acceptance of the divine law (Deuteronomy 27; Josh 8:30–35). Divine appearances in ancestral traditions also occur at mountains (Gen 12:7–8; 22:1–14; 28:12).

The primary symbol identifying the mountain as the site of divine disclosure not only within the natural realm but within the realm of human society as well is the religious sanctuary, the dwelling place for the deity constructed on the mountaintop. This sanctuary, or earthly house of God, becomes the focal point for the political structures which order Israelite life. Located at the center of the community, the sanctuary represents the presence, the protection, and the rule of God within Israelite society. At the southern mountain in Israel's formative period this dwelling appears to have taken the form of a tabernacle or tent shrine. The Priestly writer later described its construction as based on a divine design related to Moses on Mt. Sinai, thus representing an earthly copy of God's heavenly home (Exodus 25–27). Its two designations, "place of tenting/encampment" *(miškān)* and "tent of meeting/assembly" *(ʾōhel môʿēd)*, indicate that Israel saw the tabernacle as the location of God's presence and communication with Israel and its leaders (Exod 25:22; 33:7–11).

On Mt. Zion a more elaborate and permanent dwelling for the deity was constructed during the monarchy by King Solomon (1 Kings 6–8). Within the temple the psalmists experience the presence and behold the beauty of God (Pss 11:4; 27:4; 63:3—Eng63:2; 84:1–5—Eng84:1–4). In this temple God appears to and commissions Isaiah in a vivid theophany (Isaiah 6). Here the Deuteronomistic Historian

believes God to be present on earth (1 Kings 8). From this sanctuary and through the Davidic king in his adjacent palace, God governs the affairs of Israel and of the nations (Psalms 2; 46; 48).

The way in which the cosmic mountain with the temple at its summit provides the focal point for the different modes of divine appearance—that is, as warrior, king, and lawgiver—suggests that theophany is a more unified phenomenon than much recent scholarship has claimed. A distinction is customarily made between theophanies during war and those in the cult (e.g., Jeremias *IDBSup*, 896–98; Westermann 1965: 93–101), and arguments are made for its origins in holy war (e.g., Jeremias 1965: 118–50; von Rad 1959) or during the great festivals of Israel's cult (e.g., Mowinckel 1967: 142–43; Weiser 1950: 513–31). In fact, these settings are closely linked from earliest times by their relationship to the sacred mountain, a linkage present in the archaic mythic structure of conflict, rule, and law-giving, and in the cultic life of the worshiping community. At the mountain sanctuary God appeared as warrior and led out Israel's troops to battle. At the mountain sanctuary the victorious God was enthroned to the praises of Israel and the divine rule over cosmos and history recited and reenacted. And at the mountain sanctuary the divine will was communicated and accepted by the community. These modes of theophany are thus not isolated phenomena, but part of a single pattern of thought and practice in Israel from earliest times.

Though the mountain is the customary location of theophanies in Israel, divine appearances do occur at other sites. In many of these cases, the manifestation of God is marked by other geographical features which represent portals or points of transition within the natural environment between the divine and human worlds. One of these geographical features is the water source, be it a spring, well, or river, which represents a link to the subterranean realm. The clearest example of the water source as a point of theophany is the spring issuing from the base of the cosmic mountain, indicating this location as a cosmic center where the three regions meet (Ps 46:1–6—Eng46:1–5; Ezek 47:1–12; Joel 3:1–18; Zech 14:8). Theophanies at other water sources are common in the accounts of Israel's ancestors; they are experienced by Hagar (Gen 16:7–14; 21:15–19), Isaac (Gen 26:24), and Jacob (Gen 32:23–33—Eng32:22–32).

Another aspect of the natural environment which locates theophanies is the sacred tree, which is the most widely attested variant to the mountain as cosmic center in traditional societies (Eliade 1969: 44–47). With its roots reaching into the Underworld and its branches into the heavens, it unites the three worlds on a single axis. The divine garden in Eden is populated with trees (Genesis 2–3), and trees are particularly prominent as points of theophany in traditions about Israel's early period. Theophanies to the ancestors (Gen 12:6–7; 18:1; 21:33–34), Moses (Exod 3:1–6), and the judges (Judg 6:11–24) occur at trees which mark sacred space (Exod 3:4–5).

While natural features like mountains, springs, and trees which mark the meeting point between divine and human realms determine the basic experience of theophany in Israel, not all divine appearances are located in this way. In some cases, the exact location of the theophany is unmarked (Gen 15:1; 20:3; Judg 13:2–3; Amos 7:4; Job 38:1). In other cases, a mobile symbol of divine presence, the tabernacle or the ark, determines the location of theophanies even when moved from the mountain itself (Exod 40:34–38; Num 10:35–36). These examples indicate that while certain places in the natural environment were especially sacred, particularly conducive to contact between God and human beings, divine presence and manifestation were not confined to these locations alone but ultimately pervaded the earthly realm and those above and below (1 Kgs 8:27–28; Amos 9:1–4).

**B. The Form of Theophanies**

Just as the essentially unlimited deity of Israel becomes manifest by a self-limitation to concrete space within the ordinary world, so the deity takes on familiar forms from mundane reality. Some of these forms are natural phenomena and others are human or social. In most cases the natural and social coalesce in Israel's description of the form of divine appearances.

**1. Natural Forms.** The most common natural form of divine appearance in Israelite literature is the thunderstorm, with its dark storm cloud representing the divine chariot or throne (Hab 3:8; Ezekiel 1), its thunder representing God's voice (Exod 19:16, 19; Ps 18:14—Eng18:13), and its fiery lightning bolts God's weapons (Hab 3:11; Ps 18:15—Eng18:14). The thunderstorm is the predominant form of

theophany in Israel's older literature, the early poetry and epic (J/E) sources, and in the psalms. While not as frequent or explicit, it also lies behind the major theophanies in the literature of Israel's later historians, prophets, and apocalyptic writers.

The reason the thunderstorm became the primary form of divine manifestation in Israel must be derived from its character as the most powerful and essential phenomenon in the life of people in a Canaanite agricultural society. Its violent winds, lightning, hail, and driving rain were the greatest demonstration of the powers of nature regularly experienced by Israelites, powers which could threaten and destroy life. On the other hand, the rain brought by the storm clouds was crucial to sustain the farming economy in Israel and provide food for its people. Drought and famine were constant threats. Thus the thunderstorm represented absolute power which could be both malevolent and beneficent.

In its frightening and beneficent qualities the storm reflects the dual character of the holy which Rudolf Otto understood to be at the heart of all religious experience (Otto 1958: 1–40). The apprehension of the holy, the *mysterium tremendum,* is widely characterized by a sense of "awfulness," or fear combined with a sense of fascination and of gracious intent. This "strange harmony of contrasts," which Otto sees as the most noteworthy phenomenon in the history of religions, is captured more powerfully in the experience of the thunderstorm for Israelite agrarian society than in any other experience of the world. It represents most intensely both the awful power and the benevolent care of divine powers at work in the universe.

The "awful" aspect of the manifestation of the sacred, so apparent in the storm, is the source of the great danger at times associated with theophanies in Israel. Divine appearances frequently elicit terror from those who experience them (Gen 28:17; Exod 3:6; 19:6; Lev 9:24; Judg 6:22–24). Furthermore, the prospect of death from a direct encounter with the divine is a common concern (Gen 32:31—Eng32:30; Exod 19:12–13; 33:17–23; Num 17:12–13; Deut 5:24–27; Judg 13:21–23).

The thunderstorm as the preeminent manifestation of divine power is given expression in the same ancient Canaanite mythic pattern in which the sacred mountain functions as cosmic center. The pattern celebrates the supreme position of a storm deity (Baal in Ugarit, Marduk in Babylon, Yahweh in Israel), before whose military strength the universe and natural environment can be shaken. It concludes with a theophany of the storm god enthroned as king of the universe, in which the rain from the storm brings fertility to the earth.

The dominance of the thunderstorm in Israel's theophanies can be seen already in Israel's premonarchic poetry, in which Yahweh's appearance is in every case the storm. Since these poems are victory hymns, the destructive power of the storm, directed against Israel's enemies, is emphasized (Exod 15:7–10; Deut 33:2–3, 26–29; Judg 5:4–5; Hab 3:3–15; Ps 68:7–8, 31–34—Eng68:8–9, 32–35). The beneficence of the storm as a source of fertility, is, however, also recognized (Exod 15:17; Ps 68:9–10—Eng68:10–11; Deut 33:28). The psalms from Israel's monarchy reflect the enduring strength of this old theophanic tradition. The most vivid theophanies in the Psalter take the form of a thunderstorm, in which Yahweh's destructive power over Israel's enemies and blessings of fertility to Israel are both praised (Psalms 18; 29; 50; 77; 83; 97; 104; 144).

The thunderstorm is also the most prominent theophanic form in the epic sources (J/E), picturing in particular God's presence in the great revelation at Mt. Sinai (Exodus 19). The archaic traditions of the theophany of the storm god in Canaan and Israel make it clear that this epic depiction of God's manifestation has its origins in the thunderstorm rather than in the phenomenon of a volcanic eruption, as some have argued (Jeremias 1965: 100–11). The column of cloud and fire/lightning which Israel meets on its march to the sea (Exod 13:21–22; 14:19–20) and which leads Israel to and from the sacred mountain (Num 10:33–34; 14:13–14) is derived from this same storm imagery (Mann 1971: 15–30; *CMHE,* 163–69). See PILLAR OF FIRE AND CLOUD. The pillar of cloud by day and fire by night (Exod 13:22) does not represent different manifestations of divine presence by the single storm cloud (Exod 14:24) apprehended as a cloud column during daylight and as a fiery, lightning-filled column at night. The storm cloud is closely associated with the divine presence in the tabernacle in these epic sources (Num 12:5). Other manifestations of the deity as fire in epic and other sources (Gen 15:17; Exod 3:2–4; Lev 9:24;

Num 11:1–3; Deut 9:3; 1 Kgs 18:38–39) may ultimately derive from the lightning of the storm and its effects.

The Priestly writer and the Deuteronomistic Historian both preserve this experience of the storm cloud as the form of divine appearances (Exod 24:15–18; 40:34–38; Num 9:15–23; Deut 1:33; 4:9–40; 1 Kgs 8:10–13). In relationship to this image P frequently uses the term "glory" *(kābôd)* to describe the presence of God (Exod 40:34–38; 24:15–20), a term used also by his exilic contemporary Ezekiel (chap. 1). While this term may have its origin in the radiance widely attributed to deities in the ANE, it may more narrowly also derive from the aura of the fiery storm cloud (*CMHE,* 153, 165–69).

Detailed theophanies are not characteristic of prophetic discourse, but where they are described, the thunderstorm lies behind the images chosen (Isa 28:2; 29:6; 30; 27–33; Ezekiel 1; 10; 43; Amos 1:2; Nah 1:2–4; Zeph 1:14–16). In apocalyptic literature, thunderstorm theophany is taken up to describe both the ultimate destruction of evil nations and the bountiful harvests Israel will experience when Yahweh appears to inaugurate the new age (Isa 24:17–25:8; Joel 3; Zech 9; 10:1–2). In Wisdom Literature as well, in particular the book of Job, the thunderstorm is employed to describe the manifestation of God (Job 26:5–14; 38:1; 40:6).

The theophany of Yahweh in the powerful natural phenomenon of the thunderstorm is ritualized in Israel in the iconography present in the divine dwelling, the tabernacle, and later the temple. The chief symbols in both sanctuaries were the cherubim fashioned for the top of the ark (Exod 25:18–22), embroidered into the tabernacle curtains (Exod 26:1), placed in the holiest room of the temple (1 Kgs 6:23–28), and carved into its walls and doors (1 Kgs 6:29–36). The cherubim represented the throne of God and the place of divine presence without equal (Exod 25:20–22; 1 Sam 4:4; 1 Kgs 8:6–13; Isa 6:1–4; Pss 80:1–3—Eng80:1–2; 99:1–5). The cherubim, hybrid creatures composed of the body of a lion with eagles' wings, were common throughout the ANE in royal and religious iconography as representations of the storm god, the lion representing the roar of thunder and the wings representing the storm winds (Jacobsen 1976: 128–29; Albright 1938). The identification of Yahweh's storm cloud with the cherubim in an early royal psalm (18:11—Eng18:10; cf. 104:3) and later in Ezekiel's exilic vision (Ezekiel 1) illustrates the enduring understanding of these cultic figures as representative of the storm theophany of Yahweh.

Other features within the temple representing the appearance of Yahweh as the thunderstorm are the incense cloud and the blast of the trumpet (Beyerlin 1965: 134–35). The Priestly writer closely relates the divine cloud in which the deity appears above the cherubim to the cloud of incense produced by the priestly censer to cover these cherubim (Lev 16:2, 12–13). The epic sources connect the voice of God in the thunder with the blast of the trumpet *(šōpār)* at Mt. Sinai (Exod 19:16–19). Three of the greatest biblical theophanies—those to Samuel (1 Samuel 3), Isaiah (Isaiah 6) and Ezekiel (Ezekiel 1)—are understood best as manifestations of Israel's deity as the thunderstorm represented by its iconography in the sanctuary.

While the cherubim are understood as the divine throne and the cloud of incense as the storm cloud in which the deity is present, no images were fashioned for the sanctuary to represent God's actual form. Images of Yahweh himself were in fact prohibited as a means of divine self-disclosure (Exod 20:4, 23; 34:17; Lev 19:4). Since divine images are the primary means of divine manifestation in other ANE cultures, their prohibition represents a most distinctive characteristic of Israel's understanding of theophany. This rejection of images cannot stem from an identification of God with historical processes instead of with the realm of nature or a sense of God's absolute transcendence of the creaturely world (*ROTT* 1: 212–19; Zimmerli 1963: 234–48), since Israel experienced the manifestation of God within natural phenomena. The rejection of images may represent, rather, a dimension of the demand for exclusive allegiance to Yahweh and a barrier against the syncretistic influences which divine images would introduce. The close link between the First and Second Commandments and the reference to Yahweh's jealousy point in this direction (Stamm and Andrew 1967: 81–88; Exod 20:3–6, 23; 34:11–17).

**2. Human Forms.** As in the religions of Israel's neighbors, this depiction of the divine in imagery drawn from the natural environment is integrated with imagery drawn from human society. Within the

description of God's appearance as a thunderstorm, the deity is at the same time attributed human characteristics: God has ears, nose, and mouth (Exod 15:8; Ps 18:7, 9, 16—Eng18:6, 8, 15), as well as hands and feet (Exod 15:5; Deut 33:3; Ps 18:10—Eng18:9); God stands and looks (Hab 3:6), marches into battle (Hab 3:12–13), rides a chariot (Hab 3:8, Ps 18:11—Eng18:10), shoots arrows and hurls spears (Hab 3:9, 11; Ps 18:15—Eng18:14); God speaks (Exod 19:3; Deut 33:27) and reveals such human emotions as anger and compassion (Exod 15:7; Hab 3:2, 8, 12). Especially prominent in the psalms is the reference to God's face, which is associated with divine favor. The psalmists seek God's face (Pss 27:7–9; 80:4, 8,20—Eng80:3, 7, 19) and entreat God not to hide his face (Pss 13:2—Eng 13:1; 30:8—Eng30:7).

As a human figure, God is represented in biblical theophanies as assuming roles central to the society of ancient Israel. Storm theophanies characterize Yahweh as warrior (Exod 15:3) and king (Pss 97:1–5; 99:1–5) and in the role of king as lawgiver (Exodus 19) and judge (Ps 94:1–3). The representation of God as a human figure assuming familiar social roles indicates Israel's apprehension of the divine presence within the realm of human culture as well as in the powers of nature. The self-disclosure of God as warrior and king is described in imagery which mirrors these figures in Israelite society and gives expression to the belief that a divine power stands behind Israel's warriors, its leader or king, and the social order they defend and legislate.

As a warrior, God appears as the commander of heavenly armies which wage war against cosmic enemies threatening the orders of nature as well as against historical enemies which threaten Israel's security (Psalm 89). In these historical engagements, the divine warrior is the counterpart of Israel's commander, and the heavenly armies of Israel's own troops (Miller 1973: 74–141, 156; Deut 33:2–3; Hab 3:13). Storm theophanies which picture Yahweh as a warrior thus reveal the presence of divine powers in Israel's wars, fighting with, protecting, and achieving victory for Israel's armies.

As king, God is represented as the supreme power in the cosmos, surrounded by a divine council of heavenly attendants and ministers, a heavenly parallel of the court setting in the Israelite monarchy (Deut 32:7–8; Pss 82:1; 89:8–9—Eng89:7–8; 103:20). Though in one stream of tradition God's manifestation as king precluded a human counterpart (Judg 8:22–23; 1 Samuel 8), for the most part it gave divine legitimation to the rule of the Israelite monarch (Psalms 2; 89; 132). The laws which governed Israelite society were not considered human conventions but divine decrees issued by the heavenly king. Thus the revelation of the law is a crucial part of the theophanies of Yahweh as king (Exodus 19–24; Psalm 132; Isa 2:2–4). The announcement of the divine will is frequently conveyed to individuals in the form of visions or dreams, a phenomenon particularly frequent among the prophets (Jeremiah 24; Amos 7:1–9; 9:1–4; Zechariah 1–6) and later apocalyptic authors (Daniel 7–12).

Members of the divine council, who assist the sovereign God in the administration of divine rule in the world, frequently appear to human beings as divine representatives or messengers (*mal*ʾ*ākîm;* Robinson 1944: 151–57). Appearances of members of the divine council as messengers announcing the divine will, protecting the righteous, and executing divine judgment are common in the old epic sources (Gen 16:7–11; 22:9–19; Numbers 22), in the Deuteronomistic History (Judg 6:11–22; 13:6–9; 2 Sam 24:16–17), and in the psalms (34:8—Eng34:7;148:2). Theophanies in prophetic literature are particularly affected by the conception of the divine council, since the prophets regard themselves as the earthly counterpart to the heavenly messenger conveying to their contemporaries divine pronouncements (Ross 1962: 98–107; Isa 6; 40:1–8; Jeremiah 23; 1 Kings 22).

The theophanic images of Israel's deity which are human in form and representative of specific social roles are almost exclusively masculine. The figure of Yahweh is treated as male grammatically: pronouns and verb forms in theophanic narratives are always in the masculine gender. Furthermore, the primary social roles which Yahweh assumes as warrior, king, and judge are offices ordinarily filled by men. Recent attention has been drawn to feminine imagery also employed in the Bible to picture God (Trible *IDBSup*, 368–69), and to the place of women as recipients of theophanies (Bird 1987: 409). The use of feminine as well as masculine imagery to represent God indicates that the sacred was understood in Israel to encompass both male and female characteristics. Yet theophanic imagery in Israel is predominantly masculine, a circumstance certainly related to the patriarchal character of Israelite society itself. This is

one further representation of the fact that in their description of the unlimited divine reality in its limited manifestation, Israelites employed forms which represented the character of the natural and social worlds with which they were familiar.

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THEODORE HIEBERT

**THEOPHILUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Theophilos* (Θεοφιλος)]. The name, meaning "friend or beloved of God," appears in literature, inscriptions, and papyri of both Jews and gentiles from the 3d century B.C. (*BAGD* 358). In the NT, Theophilus is the only person mentioned to whom writings were dedicated (Luke 1:3; Acts 1:1). Many scholars believe that he was a real person, because dedications of the time customarily referred to real persons. However, this specific person is not easy to identify, and the pseudonym "Theophilus" was probably used to protect this individual from the political authorities. Any number of suggestions have been made about Theophilus' identity: (1) Theophilus, the brother-in-law of Caiaphas; (2) Theophilus, an Athenian official convicted of perjury by the Areopagus; (3) Theophilus of Antioch; (4) Sergius Paulus, proconsul (Acts 13:6–12); (5) Lucius Junius Annaeus Gallio (Acts 18:12–17), the brother of Seneca; (6) Titus Flavius Clemens, the husband of Domitilla and the heir presumptive of Domitian, who may have been executed because of his interest in Christianity; (7) Philo; or (8) Agrippa II (Acts 25:13–26:32; Marx 1980: 18–26). The title which Luke gives Theophilus, "most excellent" (Luke 1:3; cf. Acts 23:26; 24:3; 26:25), suggests that he was a person of social and political prominence, perhaps a Roman governor, procurator, or magistrate, but this is by no means certain (Minear 1973: 133). Very likely, he was a leading figure in the group that Luke was addressing (Maddox 1982: 12).

Among other things, the dedication very probably indicates that Theophilus helped to make the two volumes available to potential readers. In the best of circumstances, as an influential patron he may have

also made a considerable contribution toward this end. But there is no reason to think that Theophilus was a publisher (cf. Goodspeed 1954: 84) or Luke's literary agent, or that he hoped to benefit financially from the sale of Luke's double volume (Vögtle 1971: 41–42).

Through his prefaces, which bear a striking resemblance to two of Josephus' prefaces (cf. *AgAp* 1.1–4; 2.1–2), Luke unites his two volumes, reveals a certain literary intention, and claims through and for Theophilus both a place for Christianity on the stage of world history and a wider audience: Luke–Acts may be addressed to Christians, but there is a universal aspect to the work. In addition, Luke justifies his work for Theophilus by reference to earlier similar writings, his trustworthy sources based on careful research (*Acts* NIGTC 1978: 40–43).

There is a dialogic setting between Luke and Theophilus; thus, even more important than the insoluble question of his personal identity is the question of whom Theophilus represents. This question is closely related to Luke's purpose. Scholars are divided on the question of whether Theophilus was even a Christian (Brown 1978: 107). The main argument against it is that Christians supposedly would not have used a title like "most excellent" for one another. However, this observation seems to be truer of Paul's writings than of Luke's, and there is evidence that Theophilus was a Christian: in Luke 1:1–2, Theophilus is included in the "us" which refers to a domain shared by Luke and Christians. As W. Ong has indicated, while the writer's audience is always a fiction, Theophilus is Luke's implied reader and symbolizes his wider Christian audience (Kurz 1987: 208–12). If Theophilus was expected as patron to assist in making the book available to others, this would suggest that he was a Christian (Marshall 1979: 38). Also, the contents of Luke–Acts do not give the impression that it was specifically addressed to non-Christians, and so "the things about which you have been informed" (v 4 would mean Theophilus' catechetical instruction. This instruction, in all likelihood, did not include the whole content of the gospels in detail but the broad outline of the kerygma, including the ministry, death, and resurrection of Jesus and the coming of the spirit (cf. Acts 10:34–43; Marshall 1983: 296, 302–7). Hence, Theophilus most likely represents a wider Christian audience, and from the prologue we can get an insight into the nature of this audience or community. It was a community which had received some instruction about Jesus but now needed to be reassured of the reliability of this information. Luke's gospel was to help the community recognize this reliability. Moreover, this community saw itself as an eschatological and ecclesiastical "we" (Mussner 1984: 382–92).

Of all of his purposes, Luke clearly mentions only one; namely, when he writes to Theophilus, "that you might know the truth concerning the things of which you have been informed" (Luke 1:4; Minear 1973: 132). However, "truth" may not be the best translation of Luke's *asphaleia.* Most probably, Luke is not speaking only of the truth of historical facts, but also of the belief to which this truth would naturally lead. He has in mind the general anthropological conditions which relate to knowledge and historical experience and provide a basis for one's Christian faith decision (Glöckner 1975: 38–41). Perhaps "reliability" is a better translation of *asphaleia.* Luke wants to provide for Theophilus a reliable account of what Jesus did and taught and of how this was continued in the early Church (cf. Acts 1:1).

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**THEOPHORIC NAMES.** See NAMES, THEOPHORIC.

**THEORIES OF TRANSLATION.** Any discussion of theories of Bible translating must reckon with the fact that most translations are not accompanied by any explicit statement of the theory or principles involved in the production of the text. As a result, only by analyzing the text can one ascertain the implicit principles. Even when a text does include a statement concerning translation principles, a study of the text often reveals that quite different considerations must have significantly influenced the work of the translators.

In general, the introductions or explanations of the nature of a Bible translation contain not a statement of an underlying theory, but a set of principles which are usually very little more than "rules of thumb." Even when theories of translation are mentioned, they are usually not related to such communicative disciplines as philology, information theory, communication theory, psychology, linguistics, or semiotics, but primarily to matters of text and exegesis explained as corollaries of a theology of revelation and inspiration.

The various theories, either implicit or explicit, which have influenced Bible translating run the entire gamut from the most literal word-for-word renderings to the most paraphrastic interpretative amplifications. Note for example, the Concordant Version (1926) of Eph 2:1–2:

> And you, being dead to your offences and sins, in which once you walked, in accord with the eon of this world, in accord with the chief of the jurisdiction of the air, the spirit now operating in the sons of stubbornness.

And the Amplified New Testament (1958):

> And you [He made alive], when you were dead (slain) by [your] trespasses and sins in which at one time you walked [habitually]. You were following the course *and* fashion of this world [were under the sway of the tendency of this present age], following the prince of the power of the air. [You were obedient to and under the control of] the [demon] spirit that still constantly works in the sons of disobedience [the careless, the rebellious and the unbelieving, who go against the purpose of God].

One might suspect that the various gradations of literalism and freedom in translating would reflect a theological continuum of conservative to liberal, but that is not the case. Some theologically conservative persons are particularly anxious to have strictly literal translations, while many other conservatives are delighted with the highly paraphrastic Living Bible. Conversely, people of theologically liberal persuasion are often pleased with free translations which seem to be more meaningful, but others of this same theological orientation insist on literal translations, since they appear to communicate more of the aesthetic mystery of religious experience.

A brief review of some of the highlights in the history of Bible translating may help in understanding the great diversities in theories and principles used by translators and something of the present situation in which there are so many different translations, especially in English, reflecting so many different points of view.

The most significant of the ancient OT translations is the LXX, which according to tradition was translated by 72 elders for the use of the Greek-speaking Jews in Egypt. In reality, of course, this translation was not done by 72 elders who produced identical texts, but was produced during the 3d and 2d centuries B.C. by a number of different translators employing quite different principles. In some cases, the Greek is painfully literal and awkward, and in other places quite paraphrastic and interpretative. This was, of course, the OT used primarily by early Christians and quoted more in the NT than the Hebrew text itself. Many Jews, however, were not satisfied with the LXX translation and so Aquila produced an

extremely literal translation. This text hardly makes sense in Greek, but is extremely valuable to textual scholars who try to reconstruct its underlying Hebrew text.

Early Latin translations of the LXX and of Greek texts of the NT were for the most part quite literal. As such they were not in accordance with principles of translation which had been proposed by various Roman authors, particularly Cicero, who made a number of meaningful comments on the necessity of producing intelligible and acceptable translations. Because of the unsatisfactory nature of the early Latin translations, Jerome was commissioned by Pope Damasus toward the end of the 4th century to produce a new translation based on the best existing Greek and Hebrew mss. His translation was in a sense quite revolutionary, for it was in the popular form of the Latin language, and as a result his text was known as the *Vulgata.* As with any daring attempt to put the Scriptures into meaningful form, there was a strong reaction against the Vulgate New Testament and only the prestige of Pope Damasus rescued the text and Jerome from serious condemnation.

During the Middle Ages, whatever translations were produced in the Western world tended to be quite literal and were greatly influenced by the Vulgate. But finally at the time of the Reformation Martin Luther produced a meaningful translation of the Bible in German and explained in a remarkable way his fundamental principles of translation in a document entitled *Sendbrief zum Dolmetschen* (1530). The German translation by Luther influenced a great many other translations made during the time of the Reformation and was particularly significant in a number of different translations made into English.

The most important translation in English was the King James Version, which was not designed to be an entirely new text, but to contain the best of existing translations. In view, however, of its extraordinary sensitivity to style, the KJV became widely used and constituted both a base and a model for many translations produced by 19th-century missionaries in different parts of the world.

There is an assumption that there was little or no translating into English between the time of the KJV (1611) and the Revised Standard Version (1953). In reality, however, some 500 different translations of at least one full book (not including translations made in connection with commentaries) were published in English. These translations ranged from very literal to excessively free. During this time, however, some translations were particularly important. One of these was John Wesley's New Testament (1755), which in many respects was ahead of its time, both in the level of language and exegesis. But the person who directly and indirectly influenced Bible translating most during the 19th century was George Campbell, who in 1789 published a translation of the Gospels with an introduction of some 700 pages outlining in detail the principles which should govern the translation of the Scriptures. His book, however, was not as influential as a book published by Alexander Fraser Tytler, who clearly plagiarized Campbell's statement of principles and in 1790 published an *Essay on the Principles of Translation.* Tytler's book was reprinted many times and frequently quoted by those involved in a study of principles and procedures in translating.

Toward the end of the 19th century there was a widespread reaction against the principles of freedom in translating the Scriptures. In certain respects this same tendency greatly influenced translations of secular literature. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Revised Version (1881) made in England and the corresponding American Standard Version (1901) favored quite literal renderings. In many respects the exegesis was more accurate and the textual basis more scientific, but the results were stylistically awkward and neither of these texts obtained wide acceptance.

Prior to World War II, the two most important translations, which were to influence considerably the theory of Bible translation into English, as well as in other languages, were *The Bible: A New Translation* by James Moffatt (1922) and *The Bible: An American Translation* by Smith and Goodspeed (1935). Particularly important was a book by Goodspeed titled *Problems of New Testament Translation* (1945), for in this volume Goodspeed enunciated clearly and effectively the requirements for translation which would be intelligible in terms of content and acceptable in terms of style. Goodspeed was also important in early discussions concerning what later became the RSV (1953). The translations of Moffatt and Goodspeed were both freer than the RSV, which took as its base the KJV and the RV of 1881 and 1901.

Since World War II, there has been an explosion in the number and variety of Bible translations, not only in English but in numerous European languages and in hundreds of languages and dialects

throughout the world. These have ranged from the traditional and literal New American Standard Bible (1960) to the highly literary and relatively free translation of the New English Bible (1970). The New International Version (1978) is a kind of hybrid as far as the theory of translation is concerned. In a number of passages it aims at clarity of statement, and hence uses present-day language, but in passages which are well known by the conservative constituency there is a tendency to revert to traditional terminology, even when it is quite misleading. For example, in Psalm 1:1 "the counsel of the wicked" is likely to be heard as "the council of the wicked" and "stand in the way of sinners" means in present-day English "to prevent sinners from doing or going some place," while in reality the Hebrew refers to "close association with sinners."

Since 1945, considerable attention in translation theory has been given to the production of texts which would be especially meaningful to particular constituencies. J. B. Phillips (1947) produced *Letters to Young Churches* as a way of capturing the attention of young people who could not understand or appreciate more traditional translations, and Today's English Version (known as the Good News Bible) (1976) was published in so-called common language (the overlap between the literary and the colloquial) in order to reach out beyond the Church to a largely secular constituency. Those who have played a particularly important role in the development of present-day theory and practice of Bible translating are Eugene A. Nida and colleagues of the American Bible Society and the United Bible Societies. Translation theory and practice have been described in detail in a number of volumes (see Bibliography) and in *The Bible Translator*, published quarterly by the United Bible Societies since 1950.

The present-day approach to the problems of Bible translating has required a careful consideration of four different disciplines: philology, linguistics, communication theory, and sociosemiotics. All of these approaches to communication are valid in different respects, but all are highly significant for any full understanding of interlingual communication. Based on insights from these different disciplines, the focus of theories of Bible translation has shifted from the context of the author to the understanding of receptors. This does not mean that translators overlook the implications of the historical-cultural context of the original communication, but the correctness of a translation must be judged on how correctly present-day receptors understand the text. Intelligibility, however, is not enough; a text must also be acceptable in such matters as level of language, style, format, and marginal helps.

Special attention must be paid to different constituencies, who employ different levels of language. What is understandable to children may seem unnecessarily simplified for adults, and what may be appropriate for devotional reading or for critical study may be out of place in a liturgical setting. Moreover, one must employ quite different principles of translation depending upon the literary genre represented in diverse biblical texts, for example, lyric poetry (Psalms), didactic poetry (Job, Ecclesiastes), prophecy, laws, history, narrative, letters, and apocalyptic. Furthermore, it seems quite evident that in major languages at least three different kinds of Bible translations are probably necessary in view of the diversity of receptors and differences of use: (1) a traditional, ecclesiastical text which will reflect customary Church usage, e.g., RSV; (2) a translation in common language, such as TEV; and (3) a literary text, such as the NEB. Translations are also being prepared for those who use American Sign Language, which has syntactic and lexical features differing significantly from American English.

A number of significant developments in biblical studies and in attitudes toward communication are of increasing importance in Bible translating. In matters of text most translators are moving away from the tradition of the textus receptus and are prepared to introduce into footnotes most of the significant variants. Similarly, in the case of the OT most translators no longer follow the Masoretic Text (the standard Hebrew text) blindly, for the Qumran evidence has clearly shown the diversity of traditions lying behind the LXX. It is important to note that translators are increasingly willing to indicate the diversities of textual evidence. In some circles this change has seemed to represent an intellectual revolution.

The changes in attitudes toward exegetical matters have been even more pronounced than those involving textual evidence. Rather than attempting to go behind the Hebrew text to discover some underlying meaning, whether on the basis of literary or historical criticism, more and more translators are recognizing the legitimacy of adopting as the exegetical perspective the meaning of the text when it was

evidently recognized as "Word of God" for the believing community. Though the theological bases for a more canonical approach to Scripture do vary widely, the results clearly reflect a greater concern for the meaning of the Scriptures as evidently interpreted by those who participated in the community of faith.

Concern for effective communication has forced translators to focus more on the response of receptors and to recognize that correctness of rendering can only be judged in terms of the way in which the intended audience is likely to understand a text. Translators are no longer content to think merely in terms of source, message, and receptors. They are also concerned with setting, but not just the original setting of the message, but the setting in which the translation is to be employed. How will it be used, by whom, under what circumstances, and for what purpose?

Finally, translators are becoming increasingly aware that the meanings of words and sentences cannot be defined merely by what is to be found in dictionaries and grammars. In addition to designative meanings, syntax and lexical units are filled with all kinds of associative meanings, which in many respects are more important in acceptability of the message than the designative meanings. An old-fashioned style can signal that a text is irrelevant, and a jazzed-up, journalistic rendering of Scripture can make the text appear to be nothing but cheap propaganda. Words and idioms have far more meaning than most dictionaries suggest. There are hosts of associative meanings clinging to lexical units—those resonances of usage which are hard to define but clearly evident in people's subjective reactions to any text. In English the term *righteous* seems to be too closely connected with *self-righteous* and *sanctification* sounds too much like *sanctimonious.* Semantic contamination or infiltration, whether positive or negative, is a constant concern of any sensitive translator.

The rate of Bible translating throughout the world is greater than it has ever been in history. Translating is actually going on in well over 1,500 languages, including many languages which have only recently been reduced to writing. Major revisions, or even new translations, are also being undertaken in most major languages throughout the world. Increasingly this work of Bible translating is not being done by missionaries but by trained nationals, who under the guidance of consultants can do a much better job of translating into their own mother tongue than anyone can do in trying to render the Scriptures into a foreign language. These translations are also having a highly significant impact on the growth of churches in the Third World.

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EUGENE A. NIDA

**THERAS** (PLACE) [Gk *Thera* (Θερα)]. An alternate form of the name AHAVA (PLACE).

**THESSALONIANS, FIRST AND SECOND EPISTLES TO THE.** There is little doubt that 1 Thessalonians, the 13th book in the NT canon, is an authentic letter written by the apostle Paul to the Christian community at Thessalonica in Macedonia. It is the oldest document contained in the NT. However, a growing number of scholars doubt that 2 Thessalonians, the 14th book in the NT canon, was actually written by the apostle Paul himself; rather, it appears that it was written by an unknown Paulinist who used 1 Thessalonians as a model to address a new situation in Macedonia.

## *1 THESSALONIANS*

### A. Outline and Structure

The First Epistle to the Thessalonians has three major parts. The first major part (1:1–5) is the opening, which includes a greeting and opening thanksgiving. The second major part—the body of the letter—itself can be subdivided into two sections. In the first section (through chap. 3) Paul recounts his interactions with the Thessalonian church, stressing his integrity while proclaiming the gospel among them, and his ongoing concern for them after he had moved on. In the second section (or Great

Paraenesis, 4:1–5:24), Paul exhorts the Christians of Thessalonica to live in a way that pleases God, aware that Christ may return at any moment. A final greeting, adjuration, and benediction (5:25–28) constitutes the third major part of the letter.

1 Thessalonians has an unusual but effective structure. The letter opening (1:1–5) follows the normal pattern of greeting and thanksgiving, as does the letter conclusion (greetings and benediction, 5:23–28; Boers 1976: 140). Paul regularly includes in his opening thanksgivings material related to the congregation he addresses. Scholars debate whether the thanksgiving belongs to the letter opening (as above) or to the letter body, and whether 1:6–10 is part of the thanksgiving. The outline given above treats 1:6–3:13 and 4:1–5:24 as the major units of the letter body. Boers (1976) argues that the intermediate thanksgiving (2:13–16), an unusual unit in the center of a section, is an interpolation. He divides the letter body into thanksgiving (1:2–10), apostolic apology (2:1–12), apostolic parousia (2:17–3:12), and exhortation (4:1–5:22).

**B. Authorship, Literary Form, and Genre**

1 Thessalonians names Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy as its writers (1:1). Though the letter is written in the first person plural throughout, Paul's viewpoint is consistently preeminent (cf. 2:1–11: the character of the initial preaching and manual labor; 2:18: Paul's desire to visit; 3:1: Paul alone in Athens). There is nothing to suggest that either Silvanus or Timothy participated in the writing. Scholars universally affirm that Paul is the actual writer of the letter.

Ancient epistolary theorists talk about both letter style and letter types (Malherbe 1988: 12–15, with ancient texts). 1 Thessalonians is an authentic letter, not a technical treatise, giving a real communication. Its subsections correspond to various letter types (1:2–10: friendly; 2:1–12: apologetic), but Malherbe (1988) has argued convincingly that the entire letter uses hortatory motifs and techniques and falls into the "admonishing letter" type (Pseudo-Demetrius *Epistolary Types* 7) or the "encouraging letter" (Pseudo-Libanius *Epistolary Styles* 83). Using ancient rhetoric as a guide, Kennedy (1984: 142) identifies 1 Thessalonians as a deliberative letter, a rhetorical analysis close to Malherbe's letter-style identification in spirit, but Jewett (1986: 71–78) characterizes 1 Thessalonians as an epideictic text and provides an outline based on the rhetorical analysis of an oration.

**C. Origins and Social Setting**

Thessalonica was the capital of the Roman province Macedonia. It was essentially a Greek city with early devotion to the cult of the Roman emperor. Acts 17:1–9 narrates Paul's initial missionary activity in Thessalonica. Paul travels there from Philippi along the Via Egnatia through Amphipolis and Apollonia. Paul preached Jesus as the Anointed One *(christos)* for three Sabbaths in the synagogue. His success among the non-Jewish worshipers of God stirred up opposition among the Jews, who accused him of anti-Roman propaganda to the politarchs (chief officials in the administration). Lüdemann (1989: 185–88) argues that the preaching in the synagogue (Acts 17:2–3), the conversion of some Jews (17:4), and the rebellion of others (17:5–9) are all part of the Lukan redaction and are not historical. On the other hand, the travel itinerary of Acts, the conversion of Greeks, and the trial of Jason rest on good historical tradition.

Some data in 1 Thessalonians agree with the Acts narrative. 1 Thess 2:2 refers to Paul's initial preaching occurring after mistreatment in Philippi. But nothing in the letter suggests a Jewish element in the congregation. 1 Thess 2:14 (if authentic) implies that the church was wholly, or at least largely, non-Jewish in composition. The only mention of Jews in 1 Thessalonians (2:14–16) refers to the Jews who "killed Jesus and the prophets, persecuted us, do not please God, and are opposed to all people," clearly non-Christian Jews in Palestine and Jerusalem. The description of the initial proclamation (1:9–10), the advice about life in the city (4:10–12), the eschatological message (4:13–5:11), and the paraenesis about life inside the church (5:12–22) fit well into a Greek city (Malherbe 1987; Krentz 1988). The new congregation in Philippi sent Paul money twice (Phil 4:16) while he was at Thessalonica, which implies a longer stay than the two weeks of Acts 17:2. Other than that, Paul did some form of work to support himself (1 Thess 2:9) while in Thessalonica.

After leaving Thessalonica Paul came to Athens. Unable to revisit the Thessalonians, he sent Timothy north to get information about the conditions in the congregation (3:1–2) and to solidify them by exhortation to remain firm in persecution (3:2–3). Timothy's return with good news about their fidelity and their warm friendship for Paul occasioned the letter. Paul does not write to combat a theological aberration in the church at Thessalonica. There is none. His purpose is to strengthen the congregation by reminding them of his initial proclamation and by reinforcing the exhortation he had given them on the founding visit (4:1–2).

Recently scholars have stressed different aspects of Thessalonian history and culture as the social setting in which to place Paul's thought in 1 Thessalonians. Malherbe (1987) argues that the role of the philosophic teachers of ethics, especially as portrayed by Dio Chrysostom, illuminates Paul's self-description in 2:1–12 and the paraenesis in 4:1–12. Donfried (1985) stresses the significance of the cults of Dionysus and Cabirus for understanding Paul's discussion of sexual morality (4:1–9) and the civic cults for understanding the unique eschatology in 4:13–18 and the affliction present there. Jewett (1986) using the categories of modern sociology, interprets the Thessalonians as members of a millennial cult which Paul must fight. Krentz (1988) more generally calls attention to the character of a Greek polis as the matrix for interpretation. We still await a definitive answer.

**D. Authenticity and Integrity**

Though scholars accept the Pauline authorship of 1 Thessalonians, in spite of attacks on its authenticity by K. Schrader and the school of F. C. Baur in the 19th century, some question its integrity or regard two paragraphs, 2:13–16 and 5:1–11, as interpolations. Collins (1984: 96–135) summarizes the recent, inconclusive discussion.

Pearson (1971) identifies 2:13–16 as an interpolation because the paragraph interrupts the argument, introduces an unnecessary thanksgiving at an inappropriate location in the letter, contradicts Paul's hope for the Jews in Rom 11:25–32, and reflects a situation of persecution after A.D. 70. In evaluating his arguments, Davies (1977: 6–9) concludes that Paul was still working out his view of non-Christian Judaism. Donfried (1984) points out that 2:13–16 does not interrupt the argument, but takes up the themes of imitation and affliction announced in 1:6–9. Gilliard (1989) suggested a new solution: Paul only condemns the Jews doing the specific acts named in the restrictive participial modifiers in 2:15–16. He does not condemn all Jews. The rejection of 5:1–11 as an interpolation by a writer of the Lukan school who sought to correct false inferences drawn from 4:13–18 was proposed by Friedrich (1973). He based his opinion on the presence of traditional motifs of early Christian paraenesis and vocabulary not common in Paul. His suggestion has not won general acceptance (see Rigaux 1975).

Theories suggesting the combination of two or more authentic letters were offered by Eckart (1961), Schmithals (1964), and Demke (1973), among others. Differing from one another in general and detail, they have not gained general approval. Kümmel (1962) subjected Eckart's proposal to detailed analysis, while Collins (1984: 106–9, 114–35) and Marshall (*1–2 Thessalonians* NCBC, 13–16) critique the major proposals.

**E. Historical Significance**

1 Thessalonians is the oldest document in the NT. It offers the earliest direct insight into the early Christian mission and the life of an early, fundamentally non–Jewish-Christian church. It also contains the oldest summary of Paul's missionary proclamation to a non-Jewish community (1:9–10). Paul called the Thessalonians to turn away from the worship of images of gods to believe in and serve a God who is alive and authentic. Paul stresses that the gospel is the gospel about this God (the "word about God," 2:13; the "gospel about God," 2:2, 8, 9), who has demonstrated that he is authentic and alive by raising Jesus from the dead.

Paul's earliest proclamation also included exhortation about a lifestyle that corresponded to this call to faith (4:1–2). He had handed on to the Thessalonians "how they were to live and please God" (4:2). The standard of action and judgment is "the will of God" (4:3). Disregard the brother in sexual misconduct and God will carry out the judgment against the transgressor (*ekdikos,* 4:6), since misconduct "disregards the God who gave the Holy Spirit" (4:8). Thessalonians are "taught by God" (a single Greek word, unique

in the NT, 4:9) to love one another. Because God has destined them for the possession of salvation, they are to exhort one another (5:9–11). Paraenesis is oriented to God, not the Spirit or Christ. Indeed, the Spirit is almost absent from this letter, and baptism and the Lord's Supper are not mentioned.

Paul also uses early traditional christological formulas. Havener (1981) identifies three christological passages: 1:10, 4:14, and 5:9–10. The first mentions Jesus' resurrection by God, but not his death, and stresses his rescue of the Thessalonians from future wrath. The second (4:14) states that the Thessalonians believe that Christ died and rose as the basis for their certainty of the future resurrection, while 5:9–10 states that the formula "who died on our behalf" is the basis for the conviction about future salvation (Rigaux 1975). Paul makes no use of Jesus' death in this letter. He stresses that the resurrection made him the Lord who will come as deliverer (1:10; 4:13–17). 1 Thessalonians uses *parousia* (the technical term for the arrival of a ruler) to describe Jesus' coming as Lord, the future deliverer, more than any other Pauline letter. The language is borrowed from the ANE ruler cult to proclaim Jesus as Lord.

Some language and modes of argumentation frequent in the later letters are totally absent. There is no use of the OT or any reference to any of the great OT figures (Abraham, Moses, David, the prophets), any great events in Israel's history (Exodus, kingship, Exile), or any of its cultic institutions (temple, priesthood, sacrifice). There is no reference to the Torah and, consequently, no language of justification. Paul does not refer to baptism or the Lord's Supper. There is no developed description of the Church as the body of Christ or the Israel of God. Christians are not described as living "in Christ" or "by the Spirit." Paul's theological and linguistic resources in this letter differ from the later ones. That does not mean his thought is impoverished; it is simply different, fitted to the church he addresses.

The Thessalonian church has only informal leadership (5:12). There is no trace of any clerical office. Thessalonians are encouraged to support one another by admonishing, encouraging, and enduring one another (4:14). Even their worship appears unstructured. 1 Thess 5:16–22 suggests common prayer. Spirit-filled prophecy (5:19–20), which is encouraged, must be put to the practical test of whether it leads to good or not. The Thessalonian church still lives in the spontaneous joy (1:6; 5:16) that does not require ecclesial structure to endure.

1 Thessalonians, so far as we know, is the first Christian letter. It sets the pattern for Christian letter writing that goes beyond the NT into the life of the early Church (the Apostolic Fathers). Koester (1980) calls it an "experiment in Christian writing" that influenced the subsequent Church.

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## *2 THESSALONIANS*

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A. Outline and Structure
B. Origin of the Letter
1. Historical Situation Presumed
2. Theories Assuming Authenticity
3. Theories Assuming Pseudonymous Authorship
4. Reconstruction of Historical Origin

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### A. Outline and Structure

Like 1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians has three major parts. The first major part (1:1–2) is the opening greeting. The second major part—the body of the letter (1:3–3:16)—itself can be subdivided into three sections. The first section (through chap. 1) is a prayer of thanksgiving for the steadfast faith of the church at Thessalonica. In the second section (2:1–3:5) the writer addresses the problem confronting the church: the excitement over the supposed revelation of the imminent Parousia (return) of Christ. The third section (3:6–16) addresses the issue of lifestyle: the Christians are encouraged not to fall into disorderliness and idleness but rather to follow the example of Paul, who worked while he lived and preached among the Thessalonians. The third major part of the letter is the closing (3:17–18).

2 Thessalonians resembles 1 Thessalonians in structure and content (Milligan 1908: lxxxi–lxxxii). Bailey (1978: 133) represents this similarity in a brief table:

| | 2 Thessalonians | 1 Thessalonians |
|---|---|---|
| A. Letter opening | 1:1–12 | 1:1–10 |
| 1. Prescript | 1:1–2 | 1:1 |
| 2. Thanksgiving | 1:3–12 | 1:2–10 |
| B. Letter body | 2:1–16 | 2:1–3:13 |
| 1. Thanksgiving in the middle | 2:13 | 2:13 |
| 2. Benediction at the end | 2:16 | 3:11–13 |
| C. Letter close | 3:1–18 | 4:1–5:28 |
| 1. *Paraenesis* | 3:1–15 | 4:1–5:22 |
| 2. Peace wish | 3:16 | 5:23–24 |
| 3. Greetings | 3:17 | 5:26 |
| 4. Benediction | 3:18 | 5:28 |

The salutation in the two letters is almost identical, describing the recipients as "the church of the Thessalonians," naming the inhabitants rather than the city, as Paul does elsewhere (1 Thess 1:1; 2 Thess 1:1). Both letters begin with a long thanksgiving. Both also have thanksgivings for the Thessalonians in the middle of the letter body (Krodel [1978: 77] speaks of "two thanksgivings"), a feature found in no other Pauline letter. The letter body in each closes with a request to God expressed by a volitive optative (each uses the optative verb form *sterixai* and the phrase *hymon tas kardias* as direct object, a combination found nowhere else in Paul). Each letter concludes the paraenetic section with a request that the "God [Lord] of peace" do something (1 Thess 5:23–24; 2 Thess 3:16). Both include petitions that use the verb *kateuthynai* (though in different contexts, 1 Thess 3:11; 2 Thess 3:16), found nowhere else in Paul. Both letters describe the situation of the Thessalonians in the context of the opening thanksgiving (1 Thess 1:6–10; 2 Thess 1:4–6). Their structure, as Bailey makes clear, is similar.

Neither letter identifies Paul as an apostle in the prescript. Both letters describe Paul's manual labor in Thessalonica in similar wording (1 Thess 2:9; 2 Thess 3:8) and urge the Thessalonians to imitate him in

doing manual labor (1 Thess 4:11; 2 Thess 3:12) in quietness or tranquillity *(hēsychia).* They use the same form of appeal (*erōtōmen [de] hymas,* 1 Thess 4:1; 2 Thess 2:1), a locution that occurs elsewhere in Paul's letters only in Phil 4:3. Both have extensive sections dealing with matters of eschatology (1 Thess 4:13–5:11; 2 Thess 1:6–2:12), though the one in 2 Thessalonians appears in the opening thanksgiving and forms the body of the letter, while the one in 1 Thessalonians occurs in the paraenesis. Both letters use motifs and expressions that do not occur elsewhere in Paul.

Rhetorical criticism is a recent development in the study of 2 Thessalonians. Scholars agree that 2 Thessalonians belongs to the deliberative genre of rhetoric. Holland (1988: 6, a revision of his 1986 dissertation) states that its constituent elements are exhortation and dissuasion. The author exhorts his readers to "obey the Pauline tradition" and dissuades them from "heeding the false proclamation that 'the Day of the Lord is here' (2:1–2)." Jewett (1986: 82, referring to Holland's dissertation) argues that Paul seeks to persuade the Thessalonians "to take some action in the future" that relates to their "self-interest and future benefits," in this case "a reassessment of the eschatological expectation and a stiffened policy toward the 'disorderly.' " Hughes (1989: 73–74, a revision of his 1984 dissertation) supports this genre identification by comparing 2 Thessalonians to Demosthenes' *Epistle* 1 in structure and topics treated; its goal is "to refute those who say, 'whether by spirit or *logos* or a letter as from us, that the Day of the Lord has already come.' "

They all analyze the letter into the five constituent parts of an oration (bounded by an epistolary prescript and postscript): exordium, narratio (or partitio), probatio, exhortatio, and peroratio (see RHETORIC AND RHETORICAL CRITICISM), but their identification of these sections in the letter differs. Their rhetorical analysis leads to differing statements of the goal of the letter because they identify the narratio (or partitio, the statement of the theme) differently. Jewett places 3:1–5 into the probatio (or proof by argument), while Holland and Hughes both regard it as part of the exhortatio. Hughes places the peroratio *before* the exhortatio because he does not regard it as a constituent part of deliberative oratory, but a contribution of ancient letter theory (1989: 63).

Rhetorical Analysis of 2 Thessalonians

| Rhetorical section | Holland (1988: 8–33) | Jewett (1986: 82–85) | Hughes (1989: 68–73) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Exordium | 1:3–4 | 1:1–12 | 1:1–12 |
| Narratio (partitio) | 1:5–12 | 2:1–2 | 2:1–2 |
| Probatio | 2:1–17 | 2:3–3:5 | 2:3–15 |
| Exhortation | 3:1–13 | 3:6–15 | 3:1–15 |
| Peroratio | 3:14–16 | 3:16–18 | 2:16–17 |

**B. Origin of the Letter**

**1. Historical Situation Presumed.** The contents and historical situation presupposed in 1 Thessalonians influence all decisions about the origins of 2 Thessalonians. 2 Thessalonians claims the same authors as 1 Thessalonians: Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy (2 Thess 1:1; 1 Thess 1:1). However, Paul himself is the major figure, as is clear from 2 Thess 3:7–10 (the same is true in 1 Thessalonians, as 2:17–3:10 makes clear). "Improper and evil people" are impeding Paul's (their?) missionary work (2 Thess 3:1–2). However, the letter gives no additional information about Paul's situation, present location, or future plans. The only additional detail the letter provides is a reference to the signature in Paul's own hand in the letter conclusion, "which is a sign in every letter; that is the way I write" (2 Thess 3:17). 1 Cor 16:21, Gal 5:11, and Philemon 19 also refer to Paul's own handwriting in the letter conclusion; however, they do not identify it as a mark of authenticity.

The letter addresses the Thessalonians, who are undergoing severe persecution (2 Thess 1:4, 6–7). 2 Thessalonians does not name the persecutors or identify them ethnically (contrary to 1 Thess 2:14–17, which identifies the oppressors as "members of the same tribe" *[symphyletōn]*). They are simply identified as "those who do not know God and do not obey the gospel" (2 Thess 1:8; cf. 2:12). That persecution dominates the letter, which is essentially a one-theme document. The Thessalonians expect

the Parousia of Jesus to occur very soon on the basis of Christian prophetic teaching (cf. 2:2; *dia pneumatos*), a theological argument *(logos),* or a letter claiming Pauline authorship (2 Thess 2:2). The letter does not indicate how the writer obtained information about the situation in Thessalonica. There is reference to earlier eschatological teaching (2 Thess 2:5) and instruction in living (2 Thess 3:6, 10). The historical situation is vague.

Collins (1988: 223–24) points out that it is the "necessary proximity of the composition of 2 Thessalonians to 1 Thessalonians in the event of Pauline authorship of both letters which constitutes the problem of 2 Thess 2:2." Collins' analysis can be generalized. Any historical reconstruction of the origin of the two letters must account for the linguistic and structural similarity of the two letters if written in a brief time span, while also recognizing the differences in historical situation, in eschatological outlook, and in their christology and soteriology.

**2. Theories Assuming Authenticity.** Until the end of the 18th century readers assumed the Pauline authorship of 2 Thessalonians. Attestation of the letter is early and as strong as for other Pauline letters. Pol. *Phil* 11:3 refers to 2 Thess 1:4 and Pol. 11:4 apparently refers to 2 Thess 3:15. The Muratorian Canon lists it among the Pauline letters. It was cited by Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 110), the Epistle of Vienne and Lyons (Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 5. 1), Irenaeus (*Haer.* 3.7.2), and Tertullian (*de Res. Carnis* 24). Although Chester Beatty Papyrus 2 ($P^{46}$) does not include any of 2 Thessalonians, possibly because of its fragmentary preservation, Codex Sinaiticus, Codex Vaticanus, and Codex Alexandrinus, the earliest uncials, do. While most contemporary scholars no longer argue for Pauline authorship, those who do account for Paul's authorship in one of three ways.

**a. Interpretations Assuming the Priority of 1 Thessalonians.** Marshall (1983: 24–25) argues that the situation in 2 Thessalonians is easily accounted for as a development of the situation in 1 Thessalonians. 1 Thess 2:14–16 shows that intense persecution was already present. 2 Thessalonians reflects the growth of the opposition. The expectation of the Parousia in 1 Thess 4:13–18 could easily lead to seeing signs of the end of the world, while 1 Thessalonians also suggests that some members of the church "were living in idleness." The situation could develop quite rapidly. He also argues that "purporting to be from us" (*hōs di hēmōn,* 2 Thess 2:2) is not a reference to a spurious letter, but a phrase modifying all three items mentioned before; it refers to "whether the message attributed to Paul was a faithful representation of his teaching" (1983: 187), and that 2 Thess 3:17, the "mark" of Paul's own handwriting, is not designed to distinguish this letter from a spurious letter of Paul in circulation at Thessalonica, but to underline "the importance of the contents in each of his letters" (pp. 231–32).

Best (1972: 56–59) and Bruce (*Thessalonians* WBC) both support this position, though a bit more hesitantly than Marshall. Jewett (1986: 3–18) surveys the arguments against authenticity to conclude that the evidence is equivocal, but tilts in favor of authenticity. He accounts for the differences in emphasis by constructing a millenarian model of Thessalonian Christianity that would account for the misunderstanding of Paul's first letter that led to the situation described in 2 Thessalonians (1986: 161–92).

**b. Inverted Order Solutions.** Manson (1952–53: 268–78) brought back into the modern discussion a theory first proposed by H. Grotius, namely that Paul wrote 2 Thessalonians before 1 Thessalonians. Manson argued that the troubles in Thessalonica are present in 2 Thessalonians, but past in 1 Thessalonians (pp. 269–72); that the internal difficulties in 2 Thess 3:11–12 are a new development, but completely familiar to all in 1 Thessalonians (pp. 272–73); that the emphasis on the autograph close (2 Thess 3:17) is "pointless except in a first letter" (pp. 273–74); that the statement in 1 Thess 5:1 (that the Thessalonians do not need instruction about the times and seasons) is to the point if 2 Thessalonians 2 is already known; and that 1 Thess 4:9–5:11 introduces three didactic sections with the formula "Now concerning …," where Paul must be replying point by point to questions raised by the Thessalonians, either by letter or through Timothy. As Marshall (1983: 26) comments, this "interesting theory has failed to gain support."

**c. Different Recipients.** The same is true of theories that Paul wrote 1 Thessalonians and 2 Thessalonians to different audiences in the Thessalonian church. Harnack proposed that 1 Thessalonians

went to the gentile Christians, 2 Thessalonians to the Jewish Christians (cf. Best 1972: 38–39), while Dibelius (1937: 57–58) held that Paul wrote to different circles at Thessalonica, tentatively suggesting that 1 Thessalonians went to the community leaders while 2 Thessalonians was intended for liturgical reading. All such theories founder on lack of textual evidence for such partial audiences inside the Thessalonian church (see Marshall 1983: 26–27).

**3. Theories Assuming Pseudonymous Authorship.** Scholars in growing numbers argue against Pauline authorship in favor of authorship by an unknown Paulinist who used 1 Thessalonians as a model to meet a new situation in Macedonia.

**a. History of Scholarship.** J. E. C. Schmidt first proposed pseudonymous authorship in 1798 (Trilling 1972: 13, with reprint of the key pages of Schmidt's work, 1972: 159–61). He challenged the authenticity of 2 Thess 2:1–12 on the basis of its eschatology. In 1892 Holtzmann (pp. 213–16) summed up the arguments against authenticity after 90 years of scholarship: no anti-Jewish polemic as in the authentic Pauline letters; non-Pauline form of the language; basically an expansive repetition of parallels from the first letter; no OT citations. Wrede (1903) introduced a new stage into the research by providing evidence for the literary dependence of 2 Thessalonians on 1 Thessalonians in language, order of motifs, and structure. He formulated the questions that dominated scholarship down to 1972 (see Jewett 1986: 35ff.; Collins 1988: 212–13), even though the majority of scholars still held to Pauline authorship. Trilling's *Untersuchungen* (1972) ushered in the third stage of discussion, in which more and more scholars incline to pseudonymous authorship, e.g., Bailey (1978), Krodel (1978), Lindemann (1977), Collins (1988), Holland (1988), and Hughes (1989). Trilling supported his historical reconstruction in his 1980 commentary. Krodel and Collins provide convenient summaries of the cumulated argumentation.

**b. Linguistic-Literary Evidence. (1) Vocabulary.** Vocabulary statistics are deceptive. Of the ten hapax legomena in 2 Thessalonians five occur in the LXX; the other five are not unusual (Milligan 1908: liii). Bornemann (1894: 471) suggests that the vocabulary of 2 Thessalonians is close to that of Luke–Acts, a suggestion supported by an examination of the eleven words that are Pauline hapax legomena in 2 Thessalonians but occur elsewhere in the NT, and the five that occur only in the Deutero-Pauline Ephesians and Pastoral Epistles. There are also a series of Pauline terms that are completely absent from 2 Thessalonians: *agapētos, aiōn, hamartia, an, anēr, apothnēskō, apostolos, ginōskō, gnō rizō, egeirō, egō, ethnos, zēteō, kalos, kerykssō, laleō, mallon, men, nekros, polys, syn, sōma, teknon, tis.* The particles and prepositions are especially important. *Thessalonikeus* (1 Thess 1:1; 2 Thess 1:1) and *euthynō* (1 Thess 3:11; 2 Thess 3:5) are the only terms that occur in both Thessalonian letters, but nowhere else in Paul. The former is striking, because it is the only time Paul uses the term for the inhabitants of a city rather than the city name. Such word statistics allow no firm conclusions.

2 Thessalonians uses a number of terms in a sense unusual for Paul. Gk *thlipsis* ("suffering") is viewed as the basis for the retribution of the persecutors in 2 Thess 1:4–6, but as confirmation of the Thessalonians' election in 1 Thess 1:6–10. Paul regards the *basileia tou theou* as present in Rom 17:17, 1 Cor 4:20 and 1 Thess 2:12, but future in 2 Thess 1:5. (Paul does regard it as future in the phrase "inherit the kingdom," 1 Cor 6:9, 10; 15:50; Gal 5:21.) 2 Thess 1:7 uses *apokalypsis* of Jesus' Parousia (cf. 1 Cor 1:7), while elsewhere Paul uses it of the wrath of God (Rom 2:5), of some specific item of information (1 Cor 14:6, 20; Gal 1:12; 2:2), or of mystical experience (2 Cor 12:1, 7). Gk *klēsis* has a future orientation in 2 Thess 1:11 (without any tie to baptism), while 1 Thess 4:7 uses it of Christian life in the world. Paul usually relates "calling" to baptism (Gal 1:6, 15; 5:13; 1 Cor 1:26; 7:20).

Unusual turns of phrase are more significant. Frame (1912: 32–34) presents an extensive list of such phrases and turns of thought in 2 Thessalonians, which Trilling (1972: 49–50; cf. Rigaux 1956: 85–87) presents in a convenient format. While Frame claims that the apocalyptic subject matter accounts for many of them, Trilling more persuasively claims that recurring features of style in 2 Thessalonians better account for them: figures of speech, recurrent parallelism (see Trilling 1972: 52–53), and frequent plerophory.

**(2) Literary Style.** 2 Thessalonians has a distinctive style for such a short letter. On the one hand, it betrays few of the characteristic stylistic features of the authentic Pauline letters described by Weiss

(1897: 5): individual, short sentences, rarely formed into periods, even when clauses are introduced by *hoti, hina, hopōs, hōste, etc.*; asyndetic clauses or clauses joined by the copula or antithetical or comparative particles; frequent appositions; infrequent genitive absolutes. In short, this is the style of the Cynic-Stoic diatribe. Such style uses much figurative language drawn from daily life, with frequent address to the readers.

2 Thessalonians is different. Some things characteristic of Paul's style are missing. There are no parenthetic expressions, no play on prepositions (cf. Gal 1:11, 12; Rom 11:36), and no initial or end rhyme (except for the one possibility in 2 Thess 2:17). Rigaux (1956: 90) gives an extensive list of pictorial language drawn from daily life in 1 Thessalonians, but finds only two examples of pictorial language in 2 Thessalonians: "rest" in 1:6 and the Word of the Lord "running" in 3:2, a sure indication of nonauthenticity for Trilling (1972: 56). The sentence structure is different. 2 Thessalonians has long sentences (1:3–12; 2:5–12; 3:7–9), formed of elements joined like links in a chain ("kettenartige Verknüpfung," von Dobschütz 1909: 42). 2 Thessalonians frequently repeats terms or expressions in identical form or a slight variant, a mark of the letter's "poverty of expression." Trilling (1972: 62–63) gives a long list that demonstrates this as a distinctive mark of style of 2 Thessalonians. This pleonastic style also led to the frequent use of parallelism, in 2 Thessalonians most frequently synonymous, more rarely synthetic, almost never antithetical. Trilling (1972: 52–53) gives a long list of such passages. Krodel (1978: 82–83) translates part of the list into English and comments that these parallelisms are "all the more important when we recognize their sparsity in 1 Thessalonians." Weiss (1897: 12–13) points out that Paul himself most frequently used antithetical parallelism, a basic element of his theological thought.

Rigaux (1956: 89) called attention to Paul's development of thought by triadic groupings in 1 Thessalonians. He identified sixteen such triads. But 2 Thessalonians has only one such triad (2 Thess 2:9). This is striking in view of 2 Thessalonians' tendency to pleonasm, fullness of expression, seen in compound verbs when the simplex would do (2 Thess 1:3, 4, 5, 10), in the frequent use of *pas, pantes, en panti tropō,* the use of substantive chains, and the use of hendiadys (2 Thess 2:4, 17; 3:8, 12; Trilling 1972: 58–60). A comparison of the paraenetic sections of the Thessalonians letters makes this clear. 1 Thess 4:4–10; 5:1–11 are formed of short sentences, while 5:14–22 is a series of short, asyndetic imperatives. 2 Thessalonians is different: there are only two short sentences in its paraenesis (2 Thess 3:2b, 17) and four paraenetic imperatives (2 Thess 2:15; 3:13, 14).

**(3) Verbal Similarity.** Bornemann (1894: 473) already pointed out that the similarity of 1 and 2 Thessalonians went far beyond structure to include "sequence of thought, clauses, turns of phrase and expressions." Wrede (1903: 3–36) provided massive documentation by presenting the parallels in tabular form, by showing that every paragraph in 2 Thessalonians has a conceptually related section in 2 Thessalonians. He demonstrates that these significant parallels occur in the same order in both letters. (Many of the linguistic similarities are listed in the paragraphs above.) They are not dependent on a specific historical situation in the congregation addressed. Wrede finally concludes in an impassioned paragraph (pp. 29–30) that the coincidence of memory or historical situation is not adequate to explain the similarity.

**(4) Lack of Personal Warmth.** Commentators point to the striking difference in tone between 1 and 2 Thessalonians. 1 Thessalonians is written with warmth. Paul's affection for his readers is clear. He recalls their reception of the gospel in a time of great pressure (1 Thess 1:6) and their open announcement of the gospel to others (1 Thess 1:8) so that their faith was known throughout Achaia as well as Macedonia. When separated from them, he felt the loss, repeatedly striving (in vain) to visit them (1 Thess 2:17–18). His affection for them led him to send Timothy N from Athens so that he was bereft of companionship there (1 Thess 3:1–2). And when Timothy returned with the good news of their fidelity in faith and their enduring affection for him, Paul becomes lyrical in his joy (1 Thess 3:7–10). The tone of 2 Thessalonians is quite different. Bornemann (1894: 468; cf. Trilling 1972: 63) spoke of the letter's consistent impersonal, official tone, closer to prophetic speech than to a true letter. For example, in both thanksgivings 2 Thessalonians uses *opheilomen* with *eucharistein* ("we ought to give thanks," 2 Thess 1:3; 2:13). The opening thanksgiving is impersonal in tone. While *adelphoi* ("brothers") is found eighteen

times in 1 Thessalonians, it occurs in 2 Thessalonians "only when it is part of a structural formula or when it is taken over from 1 Thessalonians" (2 Thess 1:3; 2:1, 13, 15; 3:1, 6, 13; Collins 1988: 222). 2 Thess 3:6 introduces the paraenesis with the verb "we order" (*paraggelomen,* cf. 3:4, 10, 12), not "we beseech" *(parakaloumen),* as in 1 Thess 4:1 (cf. 4:10; 5:11, 14). The relationship between writer and readers differs from that in 1 Thessalonians.

In short, while the structure and language of 2 Thessalonians are in many respects close to 1 Thessalonians, there are significant differences in vocabulary, rhetoric, and tone. Such differences call for explanation.

**c. Theological Arguments.** 2 Thessalonians introduces no new themes into the Thessalonian correspondence. But there are many differences in theological emphasis or nuance that suggest the writer differs from Paul in theological outlook and probably comes from a later age.

**(1) Eschatology.** 2 Thessalonians is the only Pauline letter in which eschatology is the major topic. Its eschatology, strongly apocalyptic in language and outlook (Giblin 1967), is a response to the persecution undergone by the readers (2 Thess 1:4). 2 Thessalonians exhorts the readers to fidelity and endurance by pointing out that God's justice (2 Thess 1:5) leads inevitably to the condemnation of the oppressors and the vindication of the faithful at the revelation of the Lord Jesus. Jesus will "execute vengeance on those who do not know God" (2 Thess 1:8–9), a point reinforced in 2 Thess 2:11–12. 2 Thess 2:1–12 reinforces the need to remain faithful by pointing out that a series of events must take place before the Parousia of Jesus can happen. The persecution will grow worse as the opposition develops in intensity. The "Man of Lawlessness, the son of destruction" (2 Thess 2:3) must appear first. He will be a parody of the Lord, whose Parousia, accompanied by false signs and acts of power and miracle, will deceive and lead to destruction all those who "do not receive the love of the truth in order that they might be saved" (2 Thess 2:9–10).

Paul elsewhere makes use of apocalyptic motifs and language, but without such a consistent apocalyptic schema of events. He speaks of the present age and the coming age (Gal 1:4) and sets out in 1 Cor 15:21–28 a periodization of events that lead to the resurrection of believers. In 1 Thessalonians he speaks of the Parousia of Jesus (1 Thess 2:19; 3:13; 4:15; 5:23) in a context strongly influenced by the ruler cult *(apantēsis, kyrios),* not apocalyptic. The "day of the Lord" in 1 Thess 5:2 is borrowed from prophetic, not apocalyptic, imagery. Krodel (1978: 84) points out that nowhere does Paul "use the idea of divine retribution to *comfort* believers in distress."

2 Thess 2:1–2 suggests that some of the readers expected the Parousia very soon. But Christians must be clear about the Lord's Parousia and their future gathering before him (2 Thess 2:1–2). Paul stressed the nearness of the Lord's Parousia in 1 Thess 4:15, 17; 5:1–5, while his later letters continued to say "The Lord is at hand" (1 Cor 7:29, 31; Rom 13:11–12; Phil 4:5). 2 Thessalonians stresses the opposite to reinforce the urgency of the need to stand fast and remain faithful (2 Thess 2:15) to the God who called the readers through the gospel (2 Thess 2:14; cf. Krodel 1978: 74–77). And both letters appeal to earlier teaching (1 Thess 5:1–2, explicitly rejecting time speculation; 2 Thess 2:5 affirms a sequence of events).

**(2) Christology.** 2 Thessalonians never mentions the death or resurrection of Jesus. Jesus is primarily the Lord *(kyrios)* in 2 Thessalonians (cf. 1:1, 7, 8, 12; 2:1, 8 [13?], 14, 16; 3:3, [5?], 6, 12, 16, 18), but the letter nowhere tells how he became the Lord. It does not cite earlier creedal formulas (1 Thess 1:9–10; 4:14; 5:10 does), does not talk of Jesus' death as sacrifice (as 1 Thess 5:10 does), or relate his lordship over the Thessalonians to baptism. There is nothing like "the word of the cross" (cf. 1 Cor 1:18) in this letter. In 2 Thessalonians Jesus, the Lord, does not have a past, but only a future, significance. At the Parousia he will punish the oppressors (2 Thess 1:8; cf. "righteous judgment," 1:5), while the faithful will be gathered before him (2 Thess 2:1). His Parousia will also be his revelation as Lord, i.e., as benefactor and vindicator. His major characteristic is power exercised in the destruction of the "Man of Lawlessness" (2 Thess 2:8). This contrasts strongly with other letters in the Pauline corpus, where the confession "Jesus is Lord" is tied to his resurrection and to baptism (1 Cor 12:3; Rom 10:9; Phil 2:11).

2 Thessalonians also diverges from Paul by using language about Jesus that Paul reserves for God. The term "Lord," referring to Jesus, occurs where Paul speaks of God. Thus 2 Thess 2:13 speaks of the

"beloved of the Lord," while 1 Thess 1:4 speaks of the "beloved of God." 2 Thess 2:14 speaks of the "glory of our Lord Jesus Christ" (cf. 2 Thess 1:10, 12). Paul ascribes glory only to God (Rom 1:23; 3:7, 23; 4:20; 5:2; 6:4; 1 Cor 10:31, etc.); Jesus only reflects God's glory (2 Cor 3:18; 4:4, 6). Where 1 Thess 5:23 invokes the "God of peace," 2 Thess 3:12 calls on the "Lord of peace." The language of 1 Thessalonians is the normal Pauline expression (Rom 15:33, 16:20; 1 Cor 14:33; 2 Cor 13:11; Phil 4:9). 2 Thessalonians reveals a christological development that gives greater prominence to Jesus.

**(3) Theology.** God's acts in the past are the basis of the Christians' hope. He chose the Thessalonians as the "firstfruits" toward salvation (2 Thess 2:13), an election that is the basis for their conviction that they are "beloved by the Lord" and destined "for the sure possession of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ." Because God called them, they are his assembly (*ekklēsia,* 1:4) that suffers for the royal rule of God *(basileia tou theou).* Suffering leads to the demonstration of the "just judgment of God" (2 Thess 1:5) because it leads to the public demonstration that God is just. Twice God is addressed as "our Father" (1:1; 2:16), but never as "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" (cf. 2 Cor 1:3) or as the one who "raised Jesus from the dead" (Rom 4:24; 8:11; 10:9, etc.).

God's election and justice determine the content of the gospel in 2 Thessalonians. God will carry out his apocalyptic plans for them. "The gospel of our Lord Jesus" (2 Thess 1:8) describes how Jesus' Parousia executes judgment and gathers the faithful. God is responsible for all that happens: their election (2 Thess 2:13), their growing faith and love (2 Thess 1:3), his past love for them (2 Thess 2:16), the sanctification of the spirit (2 Thess 2:13), their past comfort and hope (2 Thess 2:16). It is not surprising that grace *(charis)* plays so small a role in this book. It occurs twice in stock formulas (2 Thess 1:2; 3:18). 2 Thess 1:12 relates grace to the Parousia of the Lord, while 2:16 ties it to God's love and the gift of comfort and hope in the past to pray that God exhort and establish them in the present. The familiar Pauline contour is absent.

**(4) Tradition and Life.** 1 Thess 3:8 urges the Thessalonians to "stand fast in the Lord." 2 Thessalonians urges its readers to "stand fast and hold on to the traditions" (*paradoseis,* 2 Thess 2:15; the singular is used in 3:6). By tradition 2 Thessalonians means the content of the letter itself, that is, the apocalyptic teaching that God will vindicate those faithful under persecution. Tradition is thus a criterion for action. Paul's work in order not to accept any money from the Thessalonians (2 Thess 3:8–9) is described in language reminiscent of 1 Thess 2:9. The imitation of Paul is a part of the tradition they must (*dei,* 2 Thess 3:7) keep.

Prayers in 1 Thessalonians pray for the survival of the readers in the Parousia (1 Thess 5:23), since the coming of Christ is the basis for comfort and encouragement (1 Thess 4:18; 5:11). 2 Thessalonians prays for a right action in word and deed (2:16–17), for "love of God and the endurance of Christ" (3:5), for a life lived in peace (3:16). The eschatology determines the content of the prayer. Thus it is not surprising that 2 Thessalonians urges the readers to proper action against those "who live [walk] without order" (2 Thess 3:6, 11), because of the imminent Parousia of the Lord Jesus (2 Thess 2:8). The Thessalonians themselves should not grow tired of doing what is good (2 Thess 3:13).

**4. Reconstruction of Historical Origin.** Apocalyptic eschatology flowered at the end of the 1st century, as Revelation and Matthew suggest. The last two decades (80–100 C.E.) was a time of persecution for the Church. The stress on authoritative tradition also suggests a later age in which Paul has become a revered figure. This dating also provides a good historical context for interpreting the reference to spurious Pauline revelation, theological argument *(logos),* or correspondence mentioned in 2 Thess 2:2. People were invoking Paul's name as authority for their teaching—and 2 Thessalonians does the same. The reference to Paul's handwriting in 2 Thess 3:17 is based on the earlier references in 1 Cor 16:21, Gal 6:11, and Philemon 19. Nowhere does Paul suggest it as a mark of authenticity; in Galatians it is a mark of his personal feelings for the addressees. 2 Thess 3:17 is the only place the handwriting is used as a mark of authenticity. (The word *semeion* elsewhere in Paul always refers to miraculous events or to evidence of the Spirit's activity.) Bailey (1978: 138) comments that 3:17 "makes more sense as the product of the pseudonymous author who wished by it to allay any suspicions of inauthenticity which his letter might arouse." Krodel's proposal (1978: 85), supporting the suggestion of Lindemann (1977: 35–

47) that 2 Thess 2:2 might refer to 1 Thessalonians, now misinterpreted at this later date, is attractive, but not compelling. In short, 2 Thessalonians is the work of a late Paulinist who rethinks Paul in terms of apocalyptic eschatology and the Pauline tradition to reinforce the fidelity of persecuted Christians.

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**THESSALONICA** (PLACE) [Gk *Thessalonikeus* (Θεσσαλονικευς)*, Thessalonikē* (Θεσσαλονικη)]. City mentioned in Acts 17:1–13; 1–2 Thessalonians; Phil 4:16; and 2 Tim 4:10. It was founded in 316 B.C.E. by Cassander, the son of Antipater, whom Alexander the Great had left in charge of Macedonia. It was named in honor of Cassander's wife, Thessalonike, a stepsister of Alexander and the last surviving member of the ancient royal family of Macedonia. Built at the head of the Thermaikos Gulf below the Hortiates mountains, the city rose steeply above its harbor.

It is possible that Thessalonica was constructed on the site of an earlier settlement, Therme. Remains of foundations and fragments of an archaic temple (ca. 500 B.C.E.) have been found in the W part of the city, but it has not been possible to ascertain the deity in whose honor it was erected or the structure's precise size and plan. A series of ancient Greek coins without a legend but bearing a Pegasus obverse type found at Thessalonica has been connected with Therme (Gaebler 1906). On the basis of the association, it has been suggested that Therme was a Corinthian foundation, colonized perhaps under Periander's rule (ca. 600 B.C.E.).

A. Hellenistic Thessalonica
B. Early Roman Thessalonica
C. Later Roman and Early Christian Thessalonica

## A. Hellenistic Thessalonica

Aside from a number of tombs, some pottery, terra-cotta figurines, and smaller objects, surprisingly few Hellenistic remains have been discovered in Thessalonica. An inscription dated to 60 B.C.E. (*IT* [= Edson 1972] no. 7) found near the Roman forum makes mention of an agora. It is possible that this earlier Hellenistic agora was rebuilt later into the Roman forum, at least part of which has been excavated. Beneath the forum's pavement were found varieties of Hellenistic pottery and a late Hellenistic "Atlas" now on display in the city's Archaeological Museum.

Remains of a sanctuary of the Egyptian gods were discovered at Thessalonica. Unfortunately, the site could not be preserved. A scale model of one of the structures excavated, a small temple, is in storage at the Archaeological Museum. The temple, one of a complex of structures constituting the sanctuary of the Egyptian gods, consisted of a small anteroom which opened onto a larger hall. Directly opposite the opening of the anteroom, in the center of the far (N) wall was a niche, in front of which a stone bench was found. The walls were of simple Roman construction: rough stones and lime mortar alternating with successive horizontal bands of three layers of baked brick. Small irregular pieces of multicolored marble pavement decorated the floor in a simple geometric pattern.

Lying directly under the W portion of the anteroom and running some 4 m along its length to the E was an elongated vaulted room (1.6 by 4 m). Providing access to this crypt was a long tunnel-like corridor (1 by 10 m) which ran parallel to the W wall of the building above. Its outside opening terminated in a staircase beside the niche, though outside the temple proper. The corridor was connected to the crypt at the other end by an arched opening in the W extremity of the crypt's N wall. The entrance to the corridor was found sealed at the top with marble slabs, a fortunate result of which was that the corridor and crypt were preserved in their original state.

In the middle of the crypt's E wall there was a niche in which stood a small herm in archaizing style depicting a bearded Dionysos. The floor of the crypt, which was about 2.5 m below the floor level of the temple above, had no special covering. Unlike the corridor and the superstructure above, the crypt was constructed of simple mortar without lime. To the N and E of the temple other structures were found, consisting of small rooms probably belonging to the sanctuary complex. A few meters to the NW, the end of a small rectangular building (5 m wide) was found. The masonry of the building's substructure has been described as Hellenistic, but its walls clearly are Roman, constructed in alternating bands of brick and green schist.

The movable finds at the Serapeum, including some 69 inscriptions, were transferred to Thessalonica's Archaeological Museum. Of special note are a dedicatory epigram of the 2d century B.C.E. by the otherwise unknown poet Damaios (*IT* no. 108), the head of a statue of Sarapis and one probably of Isis, a small Roman statue of Harpocrates and one of Aphrodite-Harmony, a small headless statue of a seated goddess of the known Isis-Cybele type, a small Hekataion, the upper part of a statue of an initiate or priest, and a relief dedicated to "Osiris initiate" *(Oseiridi mystei)* of the late Hellenistic period depicting an altar (in a space surrounded by a templelike structure) around which are three figures, one of whom is pouring a libation (*IT* no. 107). Also of interest is a letter of Philip V dated 187 B.C.E. in which he prohibited the use of the Serapeum's funds for extracultic purposes and declared specific penalties for contraventions of the regulation (*IT* no. 3). The inscription attests to the early importance and power of the cult.

An inscription mentioning the gymnasium administration of 96–95 B.C.E. (*IT* no. 4) and two later Roman inscriptions referring to ephebes (*IT* nos. 236 and 237) were found near the basilica of St. Demetrios. Byzantine literary sources indicate the existence of a stadium also in the vicinity of St. Demetrios. Although it is not certain that the Hellenistic gymnasium complex included a stadium, such an

arrangement would not have been unusual. The most likely site for the gymnasium and stadium would seem to be immediately S of St. Demetrios and just N of the Roman forum.

Stretches of the early Hellenistic city wall of Thessalonica have been incorporated into the medieval fortifications visible today. Rows of large blocks of well-worked stone characteristic of Hellenistic masonry occur especially in the N wall, while reused marble slabs and porous rocks (perhaps belonging originally to the Hellenistic wall and gates) are apparent elsewhere. The walls preserved today, which are thought to follow substantially the Roman and Hellenistic fortifications, date primarily from the 4th to 5th centuries C.E. and later. Their circuit was about 7 km, while their height extended from 8 to over 10 m.

**B. Early Roman Thessalonica**

The Macedonian kingdom under Perseus unsuccessfully defied Roman interests in the E Mediterranean. After a decisive defeat in 168 B.C.E., Perseus was seized while claiming asylum on Samothrace. Under the Roman division of Macedonia, Thessalonica was the capital of the second of four regions. When an independence movement was crushed 20 years later (148 B.C.E.), the Romans deported to Italy the entire surviving Macedonian aristocracy, including military and civil officials. Although its most important industries and much of its trade were curtailed sharply and despite its isolated and extremely vulnerable position, Macedonia hardly stagnated.

Thessalonica appears to have been in the forefront of the Macedonian recovery. In 146 B.C.E., it was made the capital of the reorganized province of Macedonia and enjoyed the commercial and civic privileges (including the right to mint its own coinage) accorded the seats of provincial governors. Its proximity to the Via Egnatia, the main artery linking Rome and the East, and the major N-S trade routes further facilitated security and commercial prosperity.

There is some indication of local unrest and magisterial abuses at Thessalonica during the mid–1st century B.C.E. Late in 60 B.C.E., the Roman governor in Macedonia, C. Antonius Hybrida, returned to Rome on charges of misadministration (extortion) and *maiestas.* The proconsul was convicted and exiled.

Six months of Cicero's exile was spent in Thessalonica (May to November, 58 B.C.E.). In 18 letters written in Thessalonica, Cicero only twice refers to his environment: once to the *quaestorium* where he was lodged (residence of the province's financial officer; *Plan.* 99) and once to the Via Egnatia, where heavy traffic apparently made his own travel difficult (*Att.* 3.4). More instructive of Thessalonica's situation during the period is information gleaned from Cicero's speech *(Pis.)* on the alleged abuses of L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, governor of Macedonia from 57 to 55 B.C.E. Although some of the senator's charges may have involved complete fabrications and others probably reflected manipulation of information, there is little reason to doubt that during this period Thessalonica did not enjoy the Roman benefactions and attention to security it had realized in other times.

During the civil wars of the 1st century B.C.E., Thessalonica seems to have pursued a policy of neutrality, though Pompey and his retinue resided there for a time in flight from Rome (49–48 B.C.E.). Many of Rome's senators and knights of the equestrian order joined Pompey at Thessalonica, and the city became effectively a "second Rome" with the consecration of a site for the authoritative convening of the Senate. Following the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalus, Thessalonica was caught again in the crossfire of competing Roman powers. The city seems originally to have been supportive of the "liberators" Brutus and Cassius, who had been instrumental in the assassination of Julius Caesar. At some point before the second battle of Philippi (42 B.C.E.), however, Thessalonica must have withdrawn her support, since Brutus is reported to have promised his soldiers the sack of the city if they were victorious. The victors at Philippi, Octavian (later titled Augustus) and Antony, received lavish honors from the city. So extreme was Thessalonica's attachment to Antony, the new Roman ruler in the East, that the city inaugurated a local era in his honor. That this later proved problematic with Octavian's defeat of Antony at Actium is demonstrated by the erasure of dates on inscriptions from the period (e.g., *IT* nos. 83 and 109).

A profusion of honors granted by Thessalonica marks Octavian's ascendancy as sole ruler of the Roman Empire and bearer of the title "Augustus." In the last third of the 1st century B.C.E., the laureate head of Julius Caesar with the legend *theos* occupies the obverse of a series of coins minted at the city, while the reverse presents the bare head of Octavian with the inscription *Thessalonikeon.* An inscription (*IT* no. 31)

refers to a temple *(naos)* of "Caesar" probably dating from this interlude in the Roman city's history. Blocks from the archaic temple (of Therme?) with later Roman markings indicating directions for reconstruction were found in proximity to fragments of imperial statuary. It is possible that the early temple was made over to accommodate honors for the emperor. From this period also dates the establishment of a "priest and agonothete of the Imperator Augustus 'son of god' " and a priest of "Roma and Roman benefactors." A group of "Roman benefactors" received honors at Thessalonica from at least 95 B.C.E.

Among the fragments of imperial statuary recovered in the W part of the city N of the Serapeum was an almost complete statue of Augustus. He is depicted in a standing heroized representation with his right hand upraised. At least five precut pieces were used in the composition of the statue, suggesting that it may have been produced elsewhere and transported to Thessalonica for assembly. The statue has been dated to the reign of Gaius ("Caligula") or Claudius, and it is one of the few objects recovered at the city which can be dated with certainty to the period of Paul's visit. It is perhaps in the context of so effusive an outpouring of honors for Augustus that one should understand Paul's condemnation of those who promote "peace and security" (1 Thess 5:3—a Julio-Claudian program of *pax et securitas*?).

An institution apparently peculiar to Thessalonica was the office of "priest and agonothete of god Fulvus." The Fulvus deified was the son of Marcus Aurelius who died at the age of four in 165 C.E. His divinization at Thessalonica may represent a case of local syncretism probably involving the Cabiros (a principal civic deity), perhaps Osiris, and the devotional interests of the city's "youths" and ephebes. The office is attested for the period 206–70 C.E. but must have originated shortly after the youth's death (*IT* nos. 153–70 and 236). The priesthood was related intimately to other offices involving the "youths," ephebes, and the gymnasium but was not synonymous with the ephebarchate or gymnasiarchate (*IT* nos. 236, 180, 195–96). Nor did the office supersede or displace that of the civic agonothete (*IT* nos. 163, 171, 178).

On the basis of the archaeological record, the most important civic cults of the early Roman imperial period were those of "the gods" (for a time, the tutelary deities of the city), of the emperor, and of Roma and Roman benefactors. Official decrees of the city, made sometimes in concert with an official association of Romans *(Romaioi sympragmateumenoi)*, were dated to the terms of individuals holding these offices. Also important in the city's religious life in the 1st century C.E. was the cult of the Egyptian gods. An inscription (*IT* no. 255) records the divinely ordered diffusion of the cult from the sanctuary at Thessalonica to the Greek city of Opus. This is an indication, perhaps, of the "metropolitan" character of Thessalonica's Egyptian cult establishment and presents an interesting parallel to the diffusion of early Christianity from the city to which Paul may refer in 1 Thess 1:8. The cult of the Egyptian gods appears to have absorbed elements of Dionysos worship at the city (*IT* no. 259). A small herm of Dionysos recovered in the central niche of the Serapeum's subterranean crypt had a precisely worked hole for the apparent removal (and replacement?) of the statue's genitalia. The ritual reconstitution of the dismembered Osiris is known to have been practiced generally in Egyptian cults (Arn. *Adv. Nat.* 7.5.19.9–13). It is possible that at Thessalonica in Macedonia, an area famous for its devotion to Dionysos, the object of reconstitution may have been Dionysos, with whom Osiris was identified under the umbrage of the Egyptian cult.

Found near the Serapeum were 1st-century-C.E. dedications to the "highest god" *(theos hypsistos)*, one involving a vision on the part of the devotee (*IT* no. 67) and another indicating a cultic dining association (*IT* no. 68 and cp. 70). Devotion to Zeus "the highest" with the goddess Nemesis is also in evidence at the city, though in a slightly later period (*IT* no. 62, 2d or 3d century C.E.). Other divine objects of honor in early Roman Thessalonica include Herakles, the Dioskouri, a Hero for whom there is evidence of a temple, Apollo, and Aphrodite.

In the 2d and 3d centuries, Thessalonica's principal civic deity was the Cabiros, who figures prominently in this period of the city's numismatic record. According to legend, the Cabiros, a young prince, was murdered treacherously by his two brothers, who subsequently enshrined his remains at the foot of Mt. Olympos (Firm. Mat. *Err. prof. rel.* 11). Clement of Alexandria in the late 2d century C.E.

identified the murderous brothers as those who had absconded to Tuscany with the chest in which Dionysos' *virilia* were preserved, suggesting another possible link between Dionysos and an important Thessalonican religious figure. From the 2d or 3d century C.E., there is epigraphic evidence of a priesthood of the divine Alexander at Thessalonica (*IT* no. 278 and cp. 275 and 276). Iconographic materials also attest the presence of devotees of Cybele and Mithras, and from the same period an association of Asklepiasts is known (*IT* no. 480).

The remains of Roman Thessalonica's forum complex now visible in the modern city date to the 2d century C.E., while the odeum to the E appears to have been built about a century later. The open area of the forum measured at least 65 m N-S by 100 m E-W. It was bounded by a portico on the S as well as the E. A Corinthian capital found at the site has been restored on a base in the outer colonnade. The E portico (running N-S) has a well-preserved mosaic floor of geometric design. On parts of its edge are preserved three steps leading down over a drainage channel to the open paved area. Beneath the portico running E-W is a cryptoporticus consisting of two vaulted passageways constructed of extremely well-dressed blocks and finely hewn smaller pieces. In addition to large circular covered openings occurring in the apex of the vaults at regular intervals, there is an extensive series of smaller arched openings along the top of the sides of the passageway. The E extremity of the excavated passage ends abruptly before intersecting the N-S portico. To the S, the cryptoporticus would have opened onto a lower level of the forum which was multitiered in construction.

The odeum features a marble-paved orchestra which is slightly elliptic. At a level considerably above it are preserved seven rows of seats. The height of the first row of seats may indicate that the structure was used for shows involving animals. In its original state, the odeum extended some 26 rows of seats beyond the seven preserved rows. The proscenium has eleven niches, alternately semicircular and rectangular, constructed in brick, faced with marble and flanked by stairs leading to the proscenium proper. Before it were found two headless marble statues of muses, identifiable by their attributes as Thalia and Erato. The scaena is paved with mosaic at the level of the orchestra floor in meander and interlace designs. Monumental doorways lead from it to vaulted lobbies under the lower seats. From these the orchestra is entered. The lower part of one of the broad stairways leading to the diazoma (a gallery or lobby giving access to the theater seats) has also been excavated. A number of rooms were found beneath the seats and there are two larger rooms presumably opening onto the portico which were adjacent to the odeum proper.

**C. Later Roman and Early Christian Thessalonica**

The Arch of Galerius at Thessalonica commemorates Roman victories over the Persians in the last years of the First Tetrarchy (270–300 C.E.). The original arch included two triple archways, only one of which is preserved at the W. The height of the arch is about 21 m. It is built of brick, like the Galerian palace, octagon, and rotunda, which all belong to the same complex. The middle piers bear stone sculpture, divided into four registers. The sculpture is typical of late imperial times in crowding together many forms in a narrow space and representing objects out of scale with one another.

As the central figures of honor, the tetrarchs Maximianus, Constantius Chlorus, Diocletian, and Galerius probably were represented by four statues in the four niches to the left and right above the pillars of the central passageway. Approaching the arch from W to E, one is presented with a series of scenes epitomizing the Roman victory in the East (specifically, the war in Armenia and the second or punitive campaign in Assyria). The traveler approaching from the E first would have passed through the SE arch complex (which has not survived) and then proceeded through the second arch.

Of particular interest on the SE facade of the arch is the central register in the SW pillar. Here Diocletian is shown joining Galerius in a *nuncupatio votorum* (a public declaration of vows) at an altar of Zeus and Heracles. Galerius is in military attire on the right while Diocletian, wearing a toga, stands to the left. They present a sacrifice in thanksgiving for the victory over the Persians. Between the two is the altar, toward which Galerius extends his right hand. The two visible sides of the altar are ornamented with sculptural representations of Zeus, with whom Diocletian was associated, and Heracles, with whom Galerius was connected. In back of the altar are two female figures labeled *Oikoumene*, the inhabited world, on the left and *Eirene*, peace, on the right. The relief's propagandistic message is that peace has

been established in the world through the exertions of Galerius and Diocletian and their divine supporters Heracles and Zeus.

The surviving portion of the palace of Galerius, built as his official residence around 300 C.E., consists of a court about 22 m square, surrounded on the E, S, and W by rectangular rooms and beyond them, corridors paved with mosaics or marble. Beyond the wall forming the E boundary of the corridor are the remains of a bath complex. Opening beyond the SE wall of this complex is a large semicircular exedra. A little over 40 m due W and S of this position is an octagonal structure excavated in the early 1950s.

The so-called octagonal building had a central area opening onto seven large apses. The eighth wall, facing SW, contained the entrance. Although six of the apses are identical, the one opposite the entrance is appreciably larger. Each of the apses is somewhat larger than a semicircle, appearing rather more like a horseshoe in plan. From the head of one apse to that of its opposite is about 30 m. The structure was furnished with an extremely elaborate marble floor (including well-preserved *opus sectile* compositions on display in the Archaeological Museum). Found on the floor were four marble pilaster capitals, apparently wall revetments. On each of them the centerpiece is a deity in high relief, either draped or nude. Deities represented include Jupiter, Cabiros, Dioscuros, and Hygeia. In the larger NE apse there is a cross with equal arms, each consisting of a single brick enclosed within a circle of rayed bricks. On each side there appears a brick-composed lateral design representing a branch or plant of some kind. It has been suggested that these are later Christian insertions (i.e., the cross flanked by branches), perhaps depicting Constantine's vision of a cross on the sun with the injunction "by this conquer." It also is possible that the piece is an iconographic acclamation of the "victory of the cross" purportedly realized in Galerius' edict of toleration of Christians.

Associated with the Galerius palace complex is a marble arch found near the octagonal building and now on display in the Archaeological Museum. Two medallions enclose the central subjects of the arch. The tondo on the right contains a bust of Galerius with details finished in paint, while the one on the left contains the bust of a crowned woman, probably representing the *Tyche* or *Fortuna* of Thessalonica. Supporting the medallions are two figures in Persian costume, while holding either end of the wreath are smaller winged figures thought to be *erotes.*

The presentation of Galerius with the *Tyche* of Thessalonica is an instance of a pattern of protector god or hero and city goddess which recurs in Thessalonica's religious history. At an early stage in legends surrounding the martyr St. Demetrios, regarded as the protector of the city, he was connected with the Lady Eutaxia ("good order") and in later legend and art, he was associated closely with the Virgin. Before St. Demetrios superseded him, the Cabiros had been the city's protector and was depicted in its coinage on the obverse with *Tyche* on the reverse. It appears from this arch that Galerius also may have assumed this role for a brief period in Thessalonica's history.

Springing from a kantharos at each end of the vault (soffit) of the arch is a complex vine with twin interlacing shoots bearing thick bunches of grapes and leaves. These rise on either side to a central medallion containing a bust of Dionysos wearing a heavy wreath. An almost identical design appears in the mosaic decoration of a soffit between the columns of the nave in the Basilica of the Holy Virgin *(Acheiropoietos)* in Thessalonica. From a kantharos flanked by two birds rises a twin vine, rich with bunches of grapes and leaves. Instead of the central medallion containing a bust of Dionysos, a four-armed Latin cross appears in a blue circular field. Excavations in the NE portion of the church have revealed a succession of mosaic-covered floors dating to the imperial period.

Immediately E of the Galerian palace are the remains of a bath complex which has been related to the hippodrome. According to the original plan, a colonnaded avenue led from the palace and hippodrome to the triumphal arch, then on to the rotunda. The rotunda originally may have been intended as a mausoleum. Though it dwarfs Diocletian's mausoleum at Spoleto, it closely resembles it in plan. The massive size of the Galerian structure is demonstrated by the dimensions: the wall is 6.3 m thick, supporting a dome about 24.5 m in diameter. Inside are eight vaulted openings in the wall, each decorated with a different mosaic design. The original entrance was from the S, where an elaborate approach flanked by stoas extended N from the arch of Galerius. With the conversion of the building for use as a

Christian church about 400 C.E., the entrance was changed to the W, a nave was built to the E, an exterior corridor around the structure was built, and on the interior, the dome was decorated with mosaics, featuring portraits of saints and architectural constructions. The building was adapted for Moslem worship about 1590, and a minaret was added to the precinct.

Other important early Christian monuments at Thessalonica in addition to the Church of the Virgin *(Acheiropoietos)* and the Rotunda *(Hagios Georgios)* include the chapel of *Hosios David* and the Basilica of St. Demetrios. *Hosios David*, located in the central N portion of the modern city just below the acropolis, contains an apse mosaic of Christ *Pantocrator* from the 5th century C.E. The restored mosaic is remarkable not only for its stunning presentation of a young, unbearded Christ but also for its depiction of scenes drawn from Ezekiel and perhaps Revelation. Preserved at the Basilica of St. Demetrios, just NE of the Roman forum, are a number of early Christian mosaics and architectural elements and a crypt complex adapted from an earlier martyrium for the saint.

A Samaritan-Greek bilingual inscription (*IT* 789) has been recovered at Thessalonica. The inscription consists of three elements: two lines in Samaritan characters (line 1, "Blessed be our Lord forever" and line 15, "Blessed be his name forever"); a biblical text, the benediction of the priests from Num 6:22–27 (lines 2–14) in a Greek translation that differs from the LXX, more closely approximating the Hebrew of the MT and the Sam. Pent.; and the dedication by one Siricius (lines 15–18), the donor, who along with his wife and children had the plaque set up. Siricius expressed good wishes to the city of Neapolis (Samarian Nablus?) and its friends (lines 18–20). The inscription, which bears no date, has been placed in the Byzantine period (ca. 4th–6th centuries C.E.). It may provide evidence for a Samaritan diaspora community at Thessalonica.

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**THETA.** The eighth letter of the Greek alphabet.

**THEUDAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Theudas* (Θευδας)]. The leader of an unsuccessful Jewish rebellion in the region of Judea during the 1st century C.E.

Two sources from antiquity provide brief information concerning the rebellion of Theudas. The NT records a reference to Theudas in the speech of the rabbi Gamaliel at Acts 5:36. In his address to the Sanhedrin, Gamaliel argues that the Jewish religious leaders should assume a lenient posture toward the rise of the early Christian sect, since history and the will of God typically bring false religious movements to a quick end. The aborted efforts of Theudas and of Judas the Galilean are offered as evidence for this conclusion.

Josephus (*JW* 20.5.1 §97–99) provides a more detailed account of the rebellion. Theudas, to whom Josephus refers as an "imposter" (or "wizard"), was the leader of "the majority of the masses" (a number which is set at 400 men by Acts, perhaps to "minimize the extent of the movement"; Horsley and Hanson 1985: 166). As a self-proclaimed prophet, Theudas promised to separate the waters of the Jordan river in order to afford his followers easy passage upon dry ground. This sign probably was offered as a replication of the feat of Joshua, who led the wandering Israelites into Canaan over the dry riverbed of the Jordan (Joshua 3), or possibly in remembrance of the miracle of Elijah, who separated the waters in order to return to his destiny with God in the desert (2 Kgs 2:6–8). The claims of Theudas quickly drew the attention of the Roman army, which managed to destroy the rebellion, to disrupt and capture many of the participants, and to behead Theudas himself.

The account in Acts places the rise of Theudas at a date that is prior to the rebellion of Judas, a figure whose revolt is associated with "the days of the census" (i.e., most likely the general taxation under Quirinius in ca. C.E. 6; Haenchen 1971: 257). Josephus, however, records the event almost half a century later, during the reign of the procurator Cuspius Fadus (C.E. 44–46). The escalation of tensions between Rome and the Jews immediately prior to the rule of Fadus suggests that the chronology of the respective movements may be confused in Acts.

The eschatological nature of the rebellion that Theudas led was characterized by his claims to authority, the implication that he regarded himself as the "prophet like Moses" (Deut 18:15–18), and his symbolic attempts to work miracles. These claims and actions suggest that ultimately he hoped to reunite the divided religious factions of Judaism and to overthrow the Roman occupation in Palestine (Aune 1983: 126–62). While there is no indication that the movement under Theudas was an armed revolt, there is little question that the insurrection was seen as an important event during the years of disorder that followed the death of Herod in 4 B.C.E.

Modern attempts to explain the accounts of Josephus and Acts as the records of two different individuals are based upon the arguments that Acts often is accurate historically and that the name Theudas was common during the Second Temple period. In addition, scholars have attempted to associate Theudas with other Jewish millenarian leaders who are known from the Second Temple period (Bruce *Acts* TNTC, 147). These arguments, however, have not proven to be convincing. The minor divergencies of dating and details between the two records of Acts and Josephus suggest instead that some difficulty with the historical details behind the revolt of Theudas occurs within the sources that were incorporated by the authors.

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**THIASOS.** See ASSOCIATIONS, CLUBS, THIASOI.

**THISBE** (PLACE) [Gk *Thisbē* (Θισβη)]. The N Galilean village from which Tobit was taken into exile by Enemessarus (RSV "Shalmaneser"), king of Assyria (Tob 1:2). The village is said to be located "south of Kadesh-Naphtali" (M.R. 200279) and "above/overlooking Hazor" (M.R. 203269; Gk *hyperanō Aser* [LXX A,B]/*Assōr* [Sinaiticus]; RSV translates "Asher"). This suggests a location somewhere near the E edge of the Alma plateau. Simons (*GTTOT,* 1614f) suggests that the Gk *ek Thisbē* be viewed much like "Tishbe" in 1 Kgs 17:1, as an original Heb **mittōšĕbê,* "from the inhabitants of." See also TISHBE (PLACE).
GARY A. HERION

**THISTLE.** See FLORA.

**THOMAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Thōmas* (Θωμας)]. "One of the twelve" disciples of Jesus (John 20:24). Paired with Matthew, the name of Thomas appears in the middle of the list of the Twelve in the Synoptic Gospels (Matt 10:3; Mark 3:18; Luke 6:15). Paired with Philip, Thomas appears on the list of the Twelve given in Acts (Acts 1:13). None of these texts, however, attributes any specific role to Thomas.

A portrait of Thomas emerges with some clarity in the Fourth Gospel, where Thomas appears in four passages (John 11:16; 14:5; 20:24–28; 21:2). In three of these Thomas is "called the Twin" (*ho legomenos Didymos;* John 11:16; 20:24; 21:2). In Aramaic *tĕ›omâ* (Hebrew, *tĕ›om*) means "twin," but there is not much indication that this word was used as a proper name in the Semitic world. The Greek word for "twin," *didymos,* is a well-attested name and may be the name by which Thomas was known in Greek-speaking Christian circles. The Fourth Gospel tells us nothing about his twin, nor how Thomas came to acquire this name, leaving the 3d-century *Acts of Thomas* to suggest that Thomas was Jesus' twin and some Syriac manuscripts of John 14:22 to suggest that his real name was Judas (cf. *Gos. Thom.* 1).

In the epilogue to the Fourth Gospel the name of Thomas appears in second place among the disciples who benefited from the revelation of Jesus by the Sea of Tiberias (John 21:2). Thus, the epilogue identifies Thomas not only as a "disciple" (cf. John 11:16; 20:25), but also as a particularly significant witness to the risen Jesus. Thomas appears as a representative figure among the disciples in John 20:24–29, a scene which has merited for him the descriptive epithet "doubting Thomas." Prior to that narrative, the Evangelist had twice introduced Thomas into his gospel in scenes which have no parallel in the synoptic tradition. In John 11:16 Thomas is portrayed as a courageous leader among the disciples of Jesus, ready to go to death with him. His appearance heightens the dramatic intensity of the scene by linking the resurrection of Lazarus to the death of Jesus. In John 14:5 Thomas reappears, this time as some one who does not know where Jesus is going. In response, Jesus reveals himself to be "the way, the truth, and the life."

Bravado and misunderstanding continue to characterize Thomas in John 20:24–29, a thoroughly Johannine composition, without parallel in the synoptic tradition, and a literary doublet of John 20:19–23. Thomas has been chosen from among the Twelve to dramatize the disbelief of the group. The refusal of the disciples to believe the testimony of those who had seen the risen Lord is a common feature of the gospel tradition (Matt 28:17; Mark 16:11, 14; Luke 24:36–43); the fourth Evangelist alone has chosen Thomas to represent and symbolize this doubt.

According to his account, Thomas was not present when Jesus appeared to his disciples on Easter day (John 20:24, cf. v 19). Those disciples tell Thomas that they have seen the risen Lord but Thomas demands a quasi-physical proof of the resurrection in order that he might believe (John 20:25; cf. 19:34; 20:27). He recognizes Jesus' death, but not his glory (cf. John 11:16; 14:5).

In a scenario which is a virtual repeat of the Easter day apparition (cf. John 20:26, 19), Jesus appears to the full complement of disciples. He satisfies Thomas' request for proof, but exhorts him: "Do not be faithless, but believing." Thomas responds with a solemn confession of faith, "My Lord and my God." Nonetheless, he is chided by Jesus, who then pronounces a macarism on those who have believed without seeing.

Thomas' confession is the only explicit confession of the divinity of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel. Influenced by liturgical usage, it represents the conviction of the Johannine confession that belief in the resurrection is belief in the divinity of Jesus.

The Evangelist's characterization of Thomas looks to the future as well as to the past. He is one who ought to have believed because he had heard the testimony of disciples who did believe in the risen one. Reproached by Jesus for demanding proof rather than accepting testimony, Thomas serves as a foil for those who believe without benefit of a visionary experience. Jesus' praise of them, "Blessed are those who have not seen and yet believe" (John 20:29), is the final word of Jesus in the main body of the gospel.

According to some later texts, especially the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* and the *Apocalypse of Thomas,* Thomas was the beneficiary of secret revelations from the Lord. The 3d- (or 4th-) century *Acts of Thomas* tells of his evangelizing and being martyred in India, a tradition maintained by Syro-Malabar Christians today.

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**THOMAS THE CONTENDER, BOOK OF** (NHC II,*7*). The seventh and last treatise in Codex II of the Coptic Gnostic Library from Nag Hammadi. It is a revelation dialogue between the resurrected Jesus and his twin brother Judas Thomas, ostensibly recorded by Mathaias (the apostle Matthew?) at a time just before Jesus' ascension. It is written in a rather standard Sahidic dialect of the Coptic language, and, except for partial damage to the bottom five lines of each leaf of the Coptic text (most of which is able to be restored), it is almost completely preserved.

The *Book of Thomas the Contender* is a literary expression of traditions native to Syrian Edessa about the apostle Jude, surnamed Thomas, the missionary to India. It was likely composed in the first half of the 3d century A.D. Two products of this tradition have been dated with fair certainty: the *Gospel of Thomas,* composed ca. A.D. 50–125, and the *Acts of Thomas,* composed ca. A.D. 225. Both seem to derive from the ascetic, pre-Manichean Christianity in the Osrhoëne (Eastern Syria, between Edessa [modern Urfu] and Messene). *Thom. Cont.* seems to occupy a median position between the *Gospel* and the *Acts* in (1) date of composition, (2) relative dominance of the role played by Thomas in these works, and (3) in terms of the development from a *sayings collection* preserved by Thomas *(Gospel of Thomas)* to an actual *dialogue* between Jesus and Thomas *(The Book of Thomas the Contender)* to a full-blown *romance* centered on the missionary exploits of Thomas *(Acts of Thomas).* See also THOMAS, ACTS OF; THOMAS, GOSPEL OF. The present Coptic version was probably translated from Greek; the existence of the text is otherwise unattested in antiquity.

The subscripted title designates the work as the "book" of "Thomas the *athlētēs* [i.e., "one who struggles" against the fiery passions of the body] writing to the perfect," while the opening lines designate the work as "secret sayings" spoken by Jesus to Judas Thomas and recorded by Mathaias as he heard them speaking. The designation "sayings" does not really correspond to the genre of the work, which is a revelation dialogue. This type of dialogue is unlike the Platonic dialogue in which a conversational

process of statement, counterstatement, and clarification leads step by step to the birth of knowledge. It is instead more related to the literature sometimes called *eratapokriseis* ("questions and answers") in which an initiate elicits revealed truth from a spiritual authority or revealer figure in the form of catechetical answers to topical questions. Such revelation dialogues are found in many pagan hermetic and gnostic Christian texts, including many from Nag Hammadi: *The Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,*1*), *The Sophia of Jesus Christ* (NHC III,*4*), *The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth* (NHC VI,*6*), *The Dialogue of the Savior* (NHC III,*5*), and *The Letter of Peter to Philip* (NHC VIII,*2*). These dialogues are set at a time between the resurrection and ascension, when the Savior appeared on earth in his true divine form. Thus, both he and his teaching were available to select apostles in a form unclouded by the sort of materiality which was believed to obscure the spiritual significance of his rather parabolic and earthly preresurrection teaching. This special teaching might consist of enlightening commentary on his darker earthly teaching, or even new revelations to special apostles. As the Savior's twin, Thomas (= Aramaic *tāuma* = Greek *didymos,* "twin") had a claim to direct insight into the nature of the Savior and his teaching. By "knowing himself" Thomas would also know the "depth of the all," whence the Savior came and whither he was about to return, and thus become a missionary possessing the true teaching of Jesus.

This true teaching of Jesus turns out to be consistently ascetic. Its basic theme and catchword is "fire," the fire of bodily passions that torment the soul, and its counterpart in the flames of hell: one shall be punished by that by which one sins. Around this principal theme are gathered a number of conceptual oppositions (divine light versus passionate and infernal fire, the wise man who understands the truth versus the ignorant fool who is guided by the fiery illusion of truth, as well as Platonic oppositions between the visible and invisible and the dragging down of the soul by the passions versus the wings by which the wise flee the bodily appetites). It is of course the presence of the Savior as the emissary of the light which serves to illuminate the eyes to see invisible reality within that which heretofore was only perceptually visible and thus illusory. The treatise thus evinces a Platonic dualism of a radically ascetic stripe, and may be properly considered broadly ascetic rather than gnostic. The gnostic myth of the creation of the world by a divine accident or evil power is neither mentioned nor apparently presupposed, and the dualism of the treatise is much more anthropological (body/soul) than cosmic (the above/below). A more appropriate designation for the doctrine of this work is Christian (ized) wisdom with ascetic application; the wisdom themes of seeking, finding, being troubled, resting, and ruling (cf. *Gos. Thom.* logion 2 etc.) are distinctly present and pressed into the service of an exhortation to the ascetic life by means of a Platonic dualism between the visible-passional-illusory and the invisible-spiritual-real.

There are presently two competing theories concerning the composition of *Thom. Cont.* The more recent one, developed by H. Schenke (1983), holds that its underlying source lay in a probably non-Christian Hellenistic Jewish wisdom treatise containing the above-mentioned doctrine pseudonymously designated as a letter from the patriarch Jacob as "the contender [with God] writing to the perfect." Subsequently, in the Christian orbit, this ascetic treatise was Christianized by the substitution of Jesus for the figure of the divine wisdom as the revelatory figure of the work, the addition to the title of the phrase "the Book of Thomas," and the attendant recasting of the whole from the genre of expository treatise into the genre of revelation dialogue. That is, the text was dissected into smaller expository sections placed upon the lips of the risen Jesus; these were recast as answers to fictitious questions put to him by the apostle Thomas which themselves were inserted into the text as pretexts for the ensuing answers of the Savior. The questions of Thomas thus presuppose and were composed on the basis of the answers of Jesus. For the existence of the ultimate source of the work in the form of an epistle of Jacob, Schenke appeals to the canonical Epistle of James, which, although it is not a dialogue, was considered by Arnold Meyer as an apocryphal Hellenistic Jewish epistle of Jacob with only superficial Christian interpolations. As an example of a similar conversion of an expository work into a dialogue found within the Nag Hammadi treatises, one may point to the *Sophia of Jesus Christ,* which is acknowledged to be a recasting of the non-Christian *Letter of Eugnostos* into a postresurrection dialogue between Jesus and certain trusted disciples.

The earlier theory, developed by the author of this article, began from the observation that the actual dialogue between Thomas and Jesus occupies only the first three fifths of the treatise (NHC II,138:4–

142:21), while the remaining two fifths (NHC II,142:21–end) actually constitutes a long monologue of the Savior, in which Thomas no longer plays a role. This and the detection of a transitional editorial seam at 142:21 suggest that *Thom. Cont.* could have been compiled by a redactor from two separate works, the first three fifths from a dialogue between Thomas and Jesus, perhaps entitled the "Book of Thomas the Contender Writing to the Perfect," and the second two fifths from a collection of the sayings of the Savior gathered into a homiletical discourse perhaps entitled "The Hidden Words Which the Savior Spoke, Which I Recorded, Even I, Mathaias." A redactor later prefixed the dialogue to the sayings collection, prefaced the whole with the present opening lines augmented by the reference to Thomas as the recipient of the secret words and Mathaias as the scribe, but then appended a subscript title designating Thomas as the author of the whole. In its original form, the last two fifths would have existed as a late and decadent reflection of the literary genre of the sayings of Jesus, in which original sayings have been so expanded with interpretation that the original saying has been all but obliterated, leaving only vestigial Jesuanic formulas such as "Amen I say to you," "blessed are you who …," "woe to you," "watch and pray," and one instance of a parable (144:21–36). On this hypothesis, *Thom. Cont.* fits into a natural interpretive development of the sayings of Jesus: original, relatively unadulterated collections of Jesus' sayings were gradually collected and expanded by means of interpretive material as in Q (the Gospel Source) or the *Gospel of Thomas,* and then later embedded in a larger interpretive frame story such as a postresurrection dialogue or a life-of-Jesus gospel concluding with a passion or resurrection narrative.

While a final decision between these two compositional theories is still awaited, there can be no question that *Thom. Cont.* displays the marks of a redactional history. On either view, it represents a new source for the form-critical investigation of early Christian literature and for the process by which ever new literary genres were adapted for Christian teaching. It also constitutes another instance in a growing body of Christian Wisdom Literature with its emphasis on seeking, finding, resting on, and ruling by the truth, and thus escaping the troubles of life.

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JOHN D. TURNER

**THOMAS, ACTS OF.** Pseudepigraphic text which relates the adventures of the apostle Judas Thomas as he preaches an ascetical or encratite form of Christianity on the way to and from India. Like other apocryphal acts combining popular legend and religious propaganda, the work attempts to entertain and instruct. In addition to narratives of Thomas' adventures, its poetic and liturgical elements provide important evidence for early Syrian Christian traditions.

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A. Language and Recensions
B. Date
C. Authorship and Provenance
D. Contents
E. The Hymns
F. Liturgical Elements
G. Theological Perspectives


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**A. Language and Recensions**

The principle witnesses are in Greek and Syriac, although the *Acts of Thomas* also survive in Armenian, Latin, Arabic, Coptic, and Ethiopic. Among the various versions of this popular work there are several abridged recensions. The complete *Acts* is attested in only one Syriac and two Greek mss. Translation errors and other linguistic phenomena make it clear that the work was originally composed in Syriac and translated into Greek. The current Syriac version, however, has been heavily edited in an orthodox direction.

**B. Date**

The major Syriac witness (B.M. add. 14.645) dates to 936 C.E. The earliest Syriac witness to the text, a fragmentary palimpsest (Sinai 30), dates from the 5th or 6th century. The major Greek witnesses (Paris. gr. 1510 and Vallicel. B 35) date to the 11th century, although there are partial Greek witnesses dating from the 10th. Some form of the work was clearly in circulation by the end of the 4th century when testimonies begin. Epiphanius (*Anac.* 47.1 and 60.1.5) records its use by Encratites. Augustine (*de serm. dom. in monte* 1.20.65; *c. Adiamantium* 17; *c. Faustum* 14 and 22.79) attests its use by Manicheans, and allusions are found in the Manichean Psalms. Attestations continue sporadically until the 9th-century Byzantine patriarch Photius (*Cod.* 114) and the 11th-century archbishop, Nicetas of Thessalonica, who paraphrased the work. The original composition is probably to be dated in the first half of the 3d century, slightly later than the *Acts of Peter, John,* and *Paul,* which are attested in the 2d century. Some sections, particularly the originally independent *Hymn of the Pearl,* presuppose conditions in the Parthian period, which ended with the establishment of the Sassanian Empire in 226 C.E. It is likely that *Acts Thom.* underwent redactional development, including adaptation by Manicheans, in the late 3d or 4th centuries.

**C. Authorship and Provenance**

According to Photius, all the major apocryphal *Acts (Paul, John, Andrew, Peter, Thomas)* were the work of one Leucius Charinus. While there may be reason to connect this otherwise unknown author to the *Acts of John,* the other acts are independent and anonymous compositions. Earlier scholars conjectured some connection of *Acts Thom.* or of the *Hymn of the Pearl* (chaps. 108–13) with the Syrian theologian of the 2d century, Bardaisan, yet that connection, too, is unlikely.

The work is clearly associated with Syria, and particularly with the city of Edessa, where Thomas was traditionally venerated. The apostle's martyrdom (chaps. 159–70) records the translation of his relics from India back to the West, presumably to Edessa. *Acts Thom.* has parallels with other Thomas literature of probable Syrian provenance, including the *Gospel of Thomas* (NHC II,*2*) and *The Book of Thomas the Contender* (NHC II,*7*), discovered at Nag Hammadi, both of which rely on the notion that the apostle was Jesus' twin, and advocate a radical asceticism.

**D. Contents**

The Greek version consists of thirteen acts concluding the martyrdom. The first six are loosely connected episodes highlighting Thomas' miraculous powers. The first act (chaps. 1–16) begins with the distribution of mission territories among the apostles in Jerusalem. Since Thomas is reluctant to undertake his assignment to India, his master and twin, Jesus, sells him to an Indian merchant, Chaban, who seeks a skilled craftsman. Thomas submits to God's will and departs with his new owner. On the way to India they stop in a city—Sandrok in Syriac, Andropolis in Greek—where a royal wedding is in progress. At the banquet Thomas encounters a Hebrew flutist for whom he sings the Hymn of the Bride (chaps. 6–7). An insulting waiter soon meets a dire fate in accordance with the apostle's prediction. The prophecy brings Thomas to the attention of the king, who requires a nuptial blessing for his daughter. After Thomas prays for the bride and groom, Jesus appears to the couple and converts them to celibacy, to their parents' dismay. Before the king can react, Thomas departs.

In the second act (chaps. 17–29), Thomas, now in India, is interviewed by King Gundaphor, for whom the apostle undertakes to construct a palace. With the king's abundant supplies Thomas initiates a program of poor relief while preaching the Gospel. Gundaphor, on an inspection visit, discovers the truth about Thomas' activity. He imprisons the apostle with the merchant Chaban. While they languish in jail awaiting punishment, the king's brother, Gad, dies and goes to heaven, where angels show him various mansions. He requests to dwell in one but is told that it belongs to his brother. Gad obtains permission to

return to earth to purchase the property, whereupon Gundaphor finally understands the sort of palace Thomas had been constructing. Both royal brothers are converted and seek initiation. In the first major liturgical passage, Thomas anoints the two royals, preaches, and celebrates the eucharist.

In the third act (chaps. 30–38) Thomas, instructed by a nocturnal vision, discovers the corpse of a youth. A lewd serpent claims responsibility and then sings of his diabolical lineage. At Thomas' command the serpent sucks his poison from the youth and dies. The youth then hymns his deliverance. All of this prompts a series of homilies from Thomas advocating an ascetical life and promising forgiveness to the youth and other bystanders.

In the fourth act (chaps. 39–41) Thomas is returned to the city by a talking ass' foal who claims descent from Balaam's ass. Upon arrival, the animal dies and Thomas orders a proper burial.

In the fifth act (chaps. 42–50) Thomas, now back in the city, is confronted by a woman possessed by a demon. Thomas exorcizes the demon, who complains at length before being expelled. After an elaborate prayer Thomas baptizes the woman and celebrates the eucharist.

In the sixth act (chaps. 51–61) Thomas is told of a youth crippled at the reception of the eucharist. An inquiry reveals that the youth had tried to convince a beloved prostitute to embrace celibacy. Her refusal provoked him to kill her. Thomas prepares holy water to cleanse him, but he remains in despair. The apostle brings him to the victim's corpse, where, prompted by Thomas, the youth prays and revives the woman, who gives a graphic account of Hell and the punishments in store for the wicked (chaps. 55–57). Inspired by this vision, Thomas preaches repentance and conversion to Jesus, the fulfillment of Scripture. Prayers of praise and requests for divine aid close the section.

The second half of the acts is a more integrated composition with a number of interlocking episodes. Here the work displays a Christian version of erotic motifs at home in the Hellenistic novel. The dramatic tension increases as Thomas' ascetic gospel is accepted by two upper class women to the consternation of their powerful husbands.

In the seventh act (chaps. 62–68) Thomas encounters a character prominent in the rest of the work who will finally (Chap. 169) be ordained a presbyter. He is a military commander, later identified as Siphor, who serves a King Misdai. He seeks assistance for a wife and daughter possessed by demons. The apostle departs with him, after praying for his flock and appointing a deacon in his place.

In the eighth act (chaps. 68–81) Thomas and Siphor travel together until their draught animals drop from exhaustion. Thomas sends Siphor to request assistance from a herd of wild asses who readily comply. One, like the ass in the fourth act, is endowed with speech. At the commander's city, Thomas prays and sends this ass to exorcise the demons who possess Siphor's wife and daughter. It does so, rendering the women unconscious. The demons try to strike a bargain with Thomas, but he rejects their offer. The asses then preach, urging the crowds to listen to the apostle. Thomas offers a lengthy doxology to Christ, restores the women to consciousness, and dismisses the helpful beasts.

In the long ninth act (chaps. 82–118) the romantic drama and Thomas' encratite theology become prominent. A noble woman, Mygdonia, wife of a high royal counsellor, Carish, comes to hear Thomas preach. After a sermon on chastity, humility, and related virtues, she asks to be baptized, and Thomas admonishes her to forsake the world. That night she refuses to eat or sleep with her husband, who has a symbolic dream about an eagle who snatches a partridge from him. Mygdonia hints at the interpretation of the eagle as Thomas and the partridge as herself. With a tense farewell, Carish goes to attend on the king, while Mygdonia seeks out Thomas. Later Carish confronts Mygdonia, and piteously entreats her to return to his bed and board. She instead prays to be delivered from him and flees. After a bitter soliloquy Carish complains to King Misdai, who summons Siphor. While Thomas questions Mygdonia about her husband, the king questions the commander, who explains how Thomas healed his wife and daughter. The king authorizes Carish to arrest Thomas, who is interrogated, scourged, and imprisoned. The apostle offers a prayer of thanksgiving that echoes numerous gospel texts. He then launches into a poetic reflection, the *Hymn of the Pearl* (chaps. 108–13). Carish returns home to find Mygdonia unkempt and in squalid attire. After emotional appeals to give up her religious folly, he finally tries to bargain Thomas' life for

Mygdonia's love. She remains adamant. Still unbaptized, she yearns to see Thomas, takes money for bribes, and hides from her husband.

In the tenth act (chaps. 119–133) the conflict intensifies. While Mygdonia is in hiding with Marcia (or in Syr, Narkia), her nurse, Thomas comes to her. Marcia provides bread, water, and oil. Thomas blesses the oil, baptizes the two women, and celebrates the eucharist before returning to prison. Dawn finds Carish in a dramatic confrontation with Mygdonia while King Misdai again interrogates Thomas. The king advises and Carish implores Thomas to convince Mygdonia to return to her husband. Thomas accompanies Carish to his home and advises Mygdonia to obey her husband, but she refuses. Thomas returns to Siphor, who requests baptism. The apostle preaches, baptizes, then celebrates the eucharist with Siphor and his family.

In the eleventh act (chaps. 134–38) Thomas gets into deeper trouble. Misdai tells the story of Mygdonia to his own wife, Tertia, whom he urges to visit Mygdonia. Tertia complies, but Mygdonia preaches Thomas' gospel. Tertia, enthralled, visits Thomas, then tries to evangelize the king. An exasperated Misdai finds Carish and together they seek to arrest Thomas.

In the twelfth act (chaps. 139–49) Thomas continues to make important converts. Vizan, the king's son, assumes command of the soldiers guarding Thomas and the apostle preaches to him. Misdai tries to interrogate Thomas under torture, but the instrument of torture, a set of hot slabs, is miraculously neutralized by a sudden flood, which threatens to submerge the area until stopped by Thomas' prayer. Thomas then bids his followers farewell and prays.

In the thirteenth and final act (chaps. 150–171) Vizan asks Thomas to visit his ailing wife. Mygdonia, Marcia, and Tertia, miraculously freed from imprisonment, come and, like the friends of Socrates, seek to take Thomas into exile. Tertia explains how they came to the prison, guided by a divine visitation. Thomas leads his visitors in prayer and song. Vizan, sent to bring necessities, meets his wife, Mnesara, miraculously healed and guided to the prison. All assemble at Vizan's house, where Mnesara recognizes Thomas as her healer. Thomas prays, blesses the oil, then anoints and baptizes Vizan. Mygdonia baptizes Mnesara and Tertia. Thomas celebrates the eucharist, then returns to prison for a final farewell. After the guards report to Misdai the strange comings and goings of the night, there follows another dramatic encounter between Misdai and Thomas, reminiscent of that between Pilate and Jesus. The king orders Thomas to be removed and speared. Thomas compares his fate to that of Jesus, bids final farewell to his friends, and prays before being slain. After his death he appears to several of his followers. Later still Misdai searches for Thomas' bones, with which to heal an ailing son. They have been taken west, but the king uses dust from the tomb area to good effect. After Thomas appears to him he is brought to Siphor, now a presbyter, and requests prayers. The work ends on this happy note, with the persecutor brought to the threshold of the persecuted community.

**E. The Hymns**

Considerable attention has been devoted to the two major poetic sections, the Hymn of the Bride (chaps. 6–7) and the *Hymn of the Pearl* (chaps. 108–113). In both pieces, which were probably independent poems adapted to *Acts Thom.*, the elusive symbolism has elicited a wide variety of readings.

The first poem, which in the Syriac is an allegory of the Church, begins with a description of a bride, the "daughter of light," who is "glowing with a radiant beauty." The imagery becomes surreal with the reference to her headgear consisting of "The King and Truth." That the bride has some cosmic significance is suggested by the descriptions of her neck which is "like the steps which the First Craftsman fashioned" and of her hands which "give signs and clues, announcing the dance of the blessed aeons." She has seven groomsmen and bridesmaids and twelve servants, all watching for the bridegroom, so that they might be admitted to the "banquet of the eternal ones." There they will put on royal garments and celebrate forever. In the meantime they have received his ambrosial food and wine and have glorified the "Father of Truth and Mother of Wisdom." The bride may indeed be meant to symbolize the community of the celibate faithful, although other readings are possible. She is probably related to the figure of Lady Wisdom (e.g., Proverbs 7 and Wisdom of Solomon 7), and to the Sophia-Pronoia of

gnostic sources. If so, she could represent the insight or the faith which enables its attendants to enter the heavenly wedding banquet and put on the wedding garment.

The better known *Hymn of the Pearl* is introduced as a reflection by Thomas on his own fate. It tells of the quest by a prince who as a child is equipped and sent from an eastern kingdom to Egypt with a mission to acquire "the one pearl which is there with the dragon, the devourer." His reward is be to invested with a special garment. He travels to Egypt through Babylonia acquiring guides for the trip. In Egypt he disguises himself and takes an eastern prince as a companion. Although the prince warns his friend about Egyptian ways, he himself is overcome when the locals learn that he is a stranger. After tasting their food and drink, he enters the service of their king, forgetful of his mission. At home the royal council hears of his plight and dispatches a letter recalling him to his task. This letter issues a dramatic summons: "Arise and awake from sleep … and remember that you are a son of kings … Remember your garment woven of gold. Remember the pearl for which you were sent to Egypt." This sealed letter, which speaks and serves as an ambassador, evokes a response from the prince. He seizes the pearl and makes for home. At his approach, the promised royal garment appears. In it the prince perceives himself and is reunited with his former glory. Suitably clad he enters with the pearl to the presence of the king of kings.

Although the hymn is susceptible to various interpretations, many of which it probably received as it was adapted in successive contexts, it probably serves as an allegory of the fate of the soul. Represented by the prince, it is sent into the realm of materiality where it experiences oblivion of its heavenly origin and destiny. Impelled by a message of heavenly origin, it completes its mission. In the royal garment, which recalls the wedding garment imagery of the earlier hymn, the prince sees himself. Donning it apparently symbolizes reunion with the soul's heavenly counterpart or higher, pneumatic self. The poem reaches its climax when that salvific union is achieved. See HYMN OF THE PEARL.

**F. Liturgical Elements**

Initiation rituals, or impositions of the "seal," are described in several episodes (chaps. 25–27, 49, 121, 132, 157). The last three cases follow the common Syrian order of anointing before baptism. The brief reference in Chap. 49 provides little information. In the first account Thomas' preliminary prayer (Chap. 25) refers to washing before anointing. The ritual itself consists only of anointing and involves an elaborate epiclesis (Chap. 26) on the oil which, in its Greek form, invokes the spirit, in good Syrian style, as "the merciful mother" and, unusually, as the "fellowship with the male." The initiation rite brings remission of sins, new birth, and participation in the spirit (Chap. 132).

The apostle celebrates the eucharist on various occasions (chaps. 26, 27, 29, 49–50, 121, 133, 158). Wine is not regularly mentioned, appearing only at 158 and, at the request of Mygdonia, it is expressly excluded from the eucharist at 121, according to the Greek version. An epiclesis on the bread (Chap. 50) repeats some of the unusual invocations of the earlier epiclesis on the oil. Participation in the eucharist, like baptism, secures forgiveness of sins and spiritual empowerment (Chap. 158).

**G. Theological Perspectives**

While poems and liturgies have exotic elements, Thomas' explicit teaching is generally familiar early Christian material. The major focus is the Savior, Jesus Christ, who combines divinity and humanity (chaps. 48, 80), and who reduced himself to smallness (chaps. 15, 123) to enable humans to participate in the majesty of a new humanity (Chap. 48). Through his prophetically proclaimed (Chap. 59) suffering, death, and resurrection, he overcame the powers of death, entered Hades, and released its captives (chaps. 10, 143, 156). He has come as the revealer of saving truth (Chap. 25) and is expected as eschatological judge (Chap. 28).

Acceptance of Christ and his apostle brings salvation from inimical powers graphically portrayed in the exorcisms (Chap. 32) and from the punishments of hell (chaps. 56–58). It also liberates the believer from ignorance and error (Chap. 98) while providing knowledge of the origin and destiny of the self (Chap. 15).

Conversion entails a life of rigorous asceticism, particularly in sexual matters. While the transitory world and all its allurements are to be rejected in favor of the world above (chaps. 36–37), the source of all other ills is clearly sex and its use is to be rejected, even in marriage (chaps. 12, 28, 84, 126, 144). To

be attached to Christ is to find the true bridegroom (chaps. 14, 124) and is the basis for entry into the heavenly wedding feast. Although ascetisicm is a feature of most of the apocryphal acts, the position of this work is extreme and probably represents the position of the encratite movement of which Tatian is the best known representative.

It is generally recognized that the classification of all the apocryphal acts as "gnostic" is an obsolete oversimplification. The *Acts of Thomas* does have some elements which are gnostic in a general sense, such as the awareness of (Chap. 15) and eschatological union with (Chap. 113, in the *Hymn of the Pearl*) one's true self. Yet it lacks the cosmogonic myths characteristic of Gnosticism in the strictest sense. The work basically represents the mixture of theology, liturgy, and ascetical piety characteristic of Syrian Christianity of the 2d and 3d centuries. For text, see *NTApocr* 2: 425–531.

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**THOMAS, APOCALYPSE OF.** A 5th-century apocryphal apocalypse that describes the events that are to occur before the end of the world. It is unlike other apocalypses, such as those of Peter and Paul, which provide visions of a future world. The *Apocalypse of Thomas* was known only through a reference in the *Decretum Glasianum* until 1908 when C. Frick discovered a citation in the Chronicle of Jerome of the *Codex Philippsianus No. 1829* in Berlin. Now it is found in two versions.

A longer version is attested by several manuscripts, such as the 9th-century Cod. Clm 4585 of Benediktbeuern; an 8th-century manuscript from the Library of the Chapter of Verona; Cod. Vatic. Palat. Nono. 220; and an Old English version from the 9th-century Anglo-Saxon Manuscript of Vercelli. There are two parts to this longer version. The first part describes what is to occur before the last judgment, and includes a series of anathemas and cries of pain and woe that will come to those who live on the earth during these last days. It is usually identified as an interpolation. The second part corresponds to the shorter version. It is represented by the 5th-century Cod. Vindob. Palatinus 16, which is the oldest known witness to the original text of all the apocalypses, and it is known from Cod. Clm 4563 from Benedikteruern that dates from the 11th or 12th century (see Otero 1965: 798–99; Quasten 1962: 149; James 1924: 556–59; and also James 1910a and 1910b).

The shorter version is the oldest known witness to the original text of the *Apocalypse of Thomas.* However, it has also been subjected to numerous revisions, especially as it was influenced by

Manichaeism and Priscillianism (Otero 1965: 799). Otero suggests that both versions provide indications that the *Apocalypse of Thomas* may be earlier than the 5th century (1965: 799). A multiplicity of variants in the Latin manuscripts leads some scholars to think that it may have originally been composed in Greek (*IDB* 4: 634; Quasten 1962: 149; Otero 1965: 799). English translations of both versions may be found in James; Otero provides a translation of the shorter version.

The shorter version of the *Apocalypse of Thomas* begins with a revelation to Thomas from the Lord, who identifies himself as "the Son of God the Father" and "the father of all spirits," about the "signs which will be at the end of the world" (Otero 1965: 799–800). These signs will take place over seven days. On the first day it will rain blood on the earth; on the second day smoke will cover the whole earth; on the third day pillars of smoke and the stench of sulfur will fill the earth; an earthquake will topple the idols of the heathens on the fourth day; darkness will cover the earth on the fifth day; on the sixth day people will hide from the righteous angels and the "bodies of the saints will rise"; on the seventh day angels will fill the air and make war among themselves and deliver the elect. On the eighth day the elect who believe in Jesus will be delivered, and they will rejoice over the destruction of the world.

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DANA ANDREW THOMASON

**THOMAS, GOSPEL OF** (NHC II,*2*). The *Gospel of Thomas* is an anthology of aphorisms, proverbs, parables, prophetic sayings, and community rules preserved in the name, and under the authority, of Jesus. It is thus a representative of the genre chreia collection: concise sayings aptly attributed to Jesus are listed seriatim in the form of direct statements made by Jesus or responses to questions asked of him. Whereas the colophon at the end of the text presents the anthology as a "gospel," the incipit provides the original designation for the genre as a collection of attributed "sayings." *The Gospel of Thomas* may therefore be regarded as a sayings gospel. The division of the text into 114 sayings is not given in any manuscript but has become a standard scholarly practice since that procedure was introduced in 1959 (Guillaumont et al. 1959: vi).

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A. Text and Attestation
B. Authorship and Origins
C. Relationship to the NT
D. Literary Criticism
E. Theology and Social Formation

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**A. Text and Attestation**

The Coptic text of *Gos. Thom.* is a translation of a lost Greek original. Although fragments of three different mss of the Greek text were discovered among the Oxyrhynchus papyri *(P. Oxy.)* and published in 1897 and 1904, the gospel is extant in its entirety solely in a Coptic translation. It survives as the second of seven tractates of Codex II of the Coptic Gnostic Library from Nag Hammadi, which was buried in the 4th century and unearthed in Egypt in 1945. The Coptic text is conserved in the Coptic Museum of Old Cairo. The three Greek fragments (*P. Oxy.* 1, 654, 655) are conserved, respectively, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford University; the British Library, London; and the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

The discovery of the Coptic text enabled scholars to identify the Greek papyri as fragments of *Gos. Thom.* and, in turn, assess the relationship of the Greek to the Coptic text. *P. Oxy.* 654 corresponds to the prologue and sayings 1–7 of *Gos. Thom.; P. Oxy.* 1 corresponds to *Gos. Thom.* 26–30, 77.2, and 31–33;

and *P. Oxy.* 655 corresponds to *Gos. Thom.* 24 and 36–39. On paleographical grounds *P. Oxy.* 1 has been assigned a date shortly after 200 C.E.; the copying of the other two Greek fragments is estimated to date from various decades in the mid–3d century. Analysis of the handwriting of the Coptic text, which is well preserved, indicates that it was copied just before the year 350. According to the critical edition of the Coptic text by Layton (1989: 7), the admixture of Sahidic and Subakhmimic forms indicates that the language of this translation is "a literary language," apparently "written by a speaker" of Subakhmimic "attempting, artificially, to conform" to Sahidic. See LANGUAGES (COPTIC).

Substantial differences do exist between the Greek fragments and the Coptic text. These are best explained as variants resulting from the circulation of more than one Greek edition of *Gos. Thom.* in antiquity. The existence of three different copies of the Greek text of *Gos. Thom.* does give evidence of rather frequent copying of this gospel in the 3d century. According to the critical edition of the Greek text by Attridge (in Layton 1989: 99), however, even though these copies do not come from a single ms, the fragmentary state of the papyri does not permit one to determine whether any of the mss "was copied from another, whether they derive independently from a single archetype, or whether they represent distinct recensions." It is clear, nevertheless, that *Gos. Thom.* was subject to redaction as it was transmitted. The presence of inner-Coptic errors in the sole surviving translation, moreover, suggests that our present *Gos. Thom.* is not the first Coptic transcription made from the Greek. The ms tradition indicates that this gospel was appropriated again and again in the generations following its composition. Like many other gospels in the first three centuries, the text of *Gos. Thom.* must be regarded as unstable.

The one incontrovertible testimonium to *Gos. Thom.* is found in Hippolytus of Rome (*Haer.* 5.7.20). Writing between the years 222–235 C.E., Hippolytus quotes a variant of saying 4 expressly stated to be taken from a text entitled *Gos. Thom.* Possible references to this gospel by its title alone abound in early Christianity (e.g., Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.25. 6). But such indirect attestations must be treated with care, since they might refer to the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas.* Parallels to certain sayings in *Gos. Thom.* are also abundant; some are found, according to Clement of Alexandria, in the *Gospel of the Hebrews* and the *Gospel of the Egyptians.* However, a direct dependence of *Gos. Thom.* upon another noncanonical gospel is problematic and extremely unlikely. The relationship of *Gos. Thom.* to the *Diatessaron* of Tatian is even more vexed, exacerbated by untold difficulties in reconstructing the textual basis of Tatian's tradition, and has not yet been resolved.

**B. Authorship and Origins**

The prologue of *Gos. Thom.* explicitly identifies Jesus as the speaker of its sayings and Didymus Judas Thomas as the one who recorded them in writing. Although the sayings' authority ultimately resides in the voice of the "living Jesus," attribution of those sayings to Jesus is said to be authenticated by Didymus Judas Thomas, who was revered in the early Syriac church as an apostle and twin brother of Jesus. The simple name Thomas is a transliteration of a Semitic surname, whose underlying meaning, like that of the accompanying Greek "Didymus," is the ordinary word for "twin." Judas is thus the original, given name of the pseudepigraphic author of the collection, the same person to whom the letter of Jude in the NT is also attributed. However, because the colophon identifies the text as *Gos. Thom.*, it has become customary to refer to the author by the derivative cognomen Thomas.

Attribution of authorship to Judas Thomas situates the text at a time in which appeals of authority were made to individual disciples or apostles by name, in order to secure the identity and guarantee the reliability of the tradition of those communities which looked to such individuals as their patron. Thus, though James is respected (saying 12; cf. Gal 1:19; 2:9, 12), his authority is succeeded in *Gos. Thom.* by that of Thomas (saying 13). And the contrasting of Thomas' authority with that of Peter and Matthew (saying 13; cf. Gal 1:18; 2:7–9, 11–14; Matt 16:15–19; John 21:15–23) may indicate further that *Gos. Thom.* was composed at a time in which collections of written traditions about Jesus were connected with the competitive claims of authority under the names of individual followers of Jesus.

The fact that Judas "the Twin" was the apostolic figure particularly revered in Syriac-speaking churches is important evidence for the date and place of composition of the text. For as Koester (in Layton 1989: 39) has shown, *Gos. Thom.*'s identification of its author as Jesus' brother Judas does not presuppose a

knowledge of the NT, but "rests upon an independent tradition." In addition, the peculiar, redundant name Didymus Judas Thomas seems to be attested only in the East, where the shadowy disciple named Thomas (Mark 3:18 par.; John 14:5) or Thomas Didymus (John 11:16; 20:24; 21:2) was identified with Judas in the Syriac NT and called Judas Thomas (John 14:22). The occurrence of variants of this distinctive name in the *Acts of Thomas* is especially striking, not only because the latter evidently shows acquaintance with *Gos. Thom.* 2, 13, 22, and 52, but also because it is widely held that the *Acts of Thomas* was composed in Syriac in the early 3d century. Other documents that invoke the authority of Judas Thomas by name are also of Syrian origin, such as the *Teaching of Addai,* the Abgar legend (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 1.13.1–22), and the *Book of Thomas the Contender* (NHC II,*7*).

Accordingly, the naming of Judas Thomas as the ostensible author of *Gos. Thom.* serves to locate the likely composition of the text in a bilingual environment in E Syria. Since Edessa was the capital city of the N Mesopotamian region known as Osrhoëne, whose church preserved the bones of Thomas as relics since the end of the 4th century (Layton 1987: 361), scholars have generally accepted it as the place of composition of the text. Another city in the same geographical provenance, however, would not be implausible. A bilingual culture is thought to be required for the production of a gospel extant in Greek and showing traces of Semitisms. Nevertheless, it is questionable whether*Gos. Thom.* was actually composed in Aramaic or Syriac and then translated into Greek and Coptic. There is no evidence for the text of *Gos. Thom.* other than that preserved in Greek and in a Coptic translation made from the Greek. If there ever were a Syriac version, it apparently has not survived.

Although the Coptic text of *Gos. Thom.* was copied in the 4th century, the Oxyrhynchus papyri establish a date of composition prior to the year 200 C.E. The original editors of the Greek fragments had proposed the year 140 as the latest likely date of composition for *P. Oxy.* 1 and 654 (Grenfell and Hunt 1897: 16; 1904: 25), and the year 150 for *P. Oxy.* 655 (1904: 44). Even though they preferred to date the collection ca. 100 (1897: 18), their terminus ad quem of 140 became widely assumed as the actual date of composition of the gospel (e.g., Guillaumont et al. 1959: vi; *NTApocr* 1: 305; Quispel 1975: 180, 194; 1981: 222–23). Determining a plausible date of composition is speculative and depends on a delicate weighing of critical judgments about the history of the transmission of the sayings-of-Jesus tradition and the process of the formation of written gospel texts. The earliest possible date would be in the middle of the 1st century, when sayings collections such as the Synoptic Sayings Gospel Q first began to be compiled. The latest possible date would be toward the end of the 2d century, prior to the copying of *P. Oxy.* 1 and the first reference to the text by Hippolytus. If *Gos. Thom.* is a sayings collection based on an autonomous tradition, and not a gospel harmony conflated from the NT, then a date of composition in, say, the last decades of the 1st century would be more likely than a mid-to-late-2d-century date. As such, this gospel would provide the earliest surviving evidence for the beginnings of Christianity in and around Edessa.

**C. Relationship to the NT**

The scholarly community is more sharply divided over the question of the relationship of *Gos. Thom.* and the writings of the NT than any other single issue. Since no fewer than 68 of the 114 sayings in the text have biblical parallels, establishing a connection between *Gos. Thom.* and the NT could have far-reaching consequences. The outcome would not be restricted to the narrow confines of source criticism or the extent of the Synoptic Gospels' influence on those texts which eventually were not accepted into the canon. Broader issues are at stake as well, including the significance of *Gos. Thom.* for the history of the transmission of the sayings-of-Jesus tradition, the place of this text in the intersection of cultures symbolized by the term "Christian beginnings," and the very designs of the gospel itself.

Scholars who argue that *Gos. Thom.* is dependent on the NT generally regard the former as a mid-to-late-2d-century gospel harmony, composed for the needs of a Christian gnostic community (e.g., Schrage 1964). Scholars who maintain that *Gos. Thom.* is independent of the NT generally consider this gospel a 1st- or early-2d-century sayings collection, based on traditions which are closely related to the traditions of the canonical gospels but which have undergone a separate process of transmission (e.g. A.e.g., Robinson and Koester 1971). An intermediate position is taken by those scholars who propose that an

original core of chreiai, parallel to but independent of the NT, forms the basis of *Gos. Thom.*, which at some later stage in the development of the text was combined with sayings derived from the Synoptic Gospels (e.g., Wilson 1960).

The most distinctive hypothesis for *Gos. Thom.*'s dependence on sources but independence from the NT has been repeatedly advanced by Quispel (e.g., 1975: 3–16, 180–209; 1981: 218–66). Starting from the observation that Clement of Alexandria attributed variants of saying 2 to the *Gospel of the Hebrews* and saying 22 to the *Gospel of the Egyptians,* Quispel proposed that *Gos. Thom.* is a collection of sayings derived in part from those two noncanonical gospels. The presence of doublets in the text of *Gos. Thom.* is regarded as proof of its use of written sources. Where there are doublets, one member of the pair is said to reflect a more Jewish-Christian theology and the other a more encratite theology. The *Gospel of the Hebrews* (which Quispel frequently equates with the *Gospel of the Nazoreans*) is considered the source of the former; the latter member, it is argued, was reproduced from the *Gospel of the Egyptians.* In addition, a third source is provided for those sayings that have neither a Jewish-Christian nor an encratite theology: a hermetic gnomologium, comprising hellenizing sayings which speak about one's knowledge of the self (Quispel 1981: 259–66).

Quispel's arguments have not received the endorsement of most scholars (Haenchen 1961–62: 162–69; Fallon and Cameron *ANRW* 2/25/6: 4216–19). He predicates his source-critical hypothesis on fragmentary texts of indeterminate content, tenuous attestation, and uncertain designation. Entire gospels are thus reconstructed from a handful of quotations preserved in early Christian writers, then put forward as the textual bases from which *Gos. Thom.* is supposed to have extracted some of its sayings while, simultaneously, eliminating all traces of their narratives. Quispel equates the presence of Jewish-Christian and encratite sayings in *Gos. Thom.* with the necessity of their stemming, respectively, from a single written source. But what he identifies as isolated sources are not coherent written texts, only sayings which apparently share a common heritage. Attempts to establish a direct dependence of *Gos. Thom.* on noncanonical gospels are very precarious indeed.

The question of the relationship of *Gos. Thom.* and the Gospels of the NT is still to be resolved. Arguments for dependence or independence ultimately must come to grips with two fundamental issues: the wording of the sayings in *Gos. Thom.* and the order in which they are presented in the text. Close analysis of a saying's wording seeks to establish whether or not individual words or phrases in *Gos. Thom.* and the NT are dependent on their respective parallel passages. Careful scrutiny of the sayings' order endeavors to account for the differences in the sequence of those sayings that are preserved in *Gos. Thom.* and the NT. Constructing an argument based on wording is compounded by the difficulties in determining whether specific terms that appear in *Gos. Thom.* and the NT show the distinguishing signs of redactional revisions of the other's sayings; indicate coincidental agreements that may be drawn from oral traditions or written texts shared in common; or attest to a process of intertextual composition, in which the authors of *Gos. Thom.* and the NT experimented with creative ways to integrate past reflections and present perceptions into novel literary performances, in order to make sense of the various junctures of their groups' histories. Constructing an argument based on order, on the other hand, is compromised by the fact that *Gos. Thom.* presents its sayings in a sequence totally different from that of any of the Synoptic Gospels, and does so with no discernible compositional pattern demanding such a rearrangement.

Those who argue that *Gos. Thom.* is dependent on the Synoptics not only must explain the differences in wording and order, but also give a reason for *Gos. Thom.*'s choice of genre and the absence of the gospels' narrative material in the text. To assert, for example, that *Gos. Thom.* erased the passion narratives because Gnosticism was concerned solely with a redeeming message contained in words of revelation (Haenchen 1961: 11) is simply not convincing, since the *Apocryphon of James* (NHC I,*2*), the *Second treatise of the Great Seth* (NHC VII,*2*), and the *Apocalypse of Peter* (NHC VII,*3*) all indicate that sayings of and stories about the death and resurrection of Jesus were reinterpreted by various gnostic groups. For any theory of dependence on *Gos. Thom.* or the NT to be made plausible, one must show that the variations in form and content of their individual sayings, together with the differences in genre and

structure of their entire texts, are intentional modifications of their respective parallels, designed to serve a particular purpose.

There are only four instances in which *Gos. Thom.*'s order approximates that of sections of the NT:

(1) saying 32 (Matt 5:14b)
saying 33.2 (Matt 5:15 = Luke 11:33 = Mark 4:21 par.)
(2) saying 43.3 (cf. Matt 7:16a, 17–18; 12:33 = Luke 6:43–44a)
saying 44 (Matt 12:31–32 = Luke 12:10 = Mark 3:28–29)
saying 45.1 (Matt 7:16b = Luke 6:44b)
saying 45.2 (Matt 12:35 = Luke 6:45ab)
saying 45.3 (Matt 12:34b = Luke 6:45c)
(3) saying 65 (Matt 21:33–39 = Mark 12:1–8 = Luke 20:9–15)
saying 66 (Matt 21:42 = Mark 12:10 = Luke 20:17)
(4) saying 92.1 (Matt 7:7b = Luke 11:9b)
saying 93 (Matt 7:6)
saying 94 (Matt 7:8bc = Luke 11:10bc)

For those who argue that *Gos. Thom.* is independent of the Synoptics, these parallels present a problem that cannot readily be resolved according to current assumptions about documentary relationships. An intertextual model may prove helpful, for it enables texts to be understood as highly conscious authorial compositions, adapted and adopted from various encounters with groups and repeated engagements with texts that constituted the cultural tapestry of the times. The relationship of *Gos. Thom.* and the gospels of the NT may be imagined intertextually as a process of creative borrowing and reworking by all parties over time, in which original contributions were entertained and traditional materials recast to produce novel literary performances that addressed the concerns of socially autonomous Christian communities. In *Gos. Thom.* these particular sequences are arranged according to similarity in form, shared theme, and catchword association. Only saying 44 disrupts the proverbial features of these four sets—and it seems to have been inserted as a judicial threat, to warn the "disciples" (mentioned in saying 43.1) of the perils of misconstruing the identity of Jesus, manifest in his words. These chreiai do not function as a harmony of the gospels, but are grouped in units that express the labor invested in maintaining the fabric of an ordered society. By formulating insights essential for living astutely in the world, the collected sayings of *Gos. Thom.* offer the path of wisdom, described throughout the gospel, as the guiding perspective for the community counseled by the text.

Most discussions of *Gos. Thom.* and the NT have been conceived somewhat narrowly, couched chiefly in terms of *Gos. Thom.*'s possible dependence on the canonical Gospels as written sources. A broader perspective is called for, which not only inquires into a text's use of sources but also examines how the authors of a text appropriated everything that they used. Developing a method for controlling the ways in which *Gos. Thom.* may have inserted, deleted, transposed, or conflated its sources is an exceedingly intricate task. In a chreia collection, sayings could conceivably be added or subtracted anywhere, at any time, to update the collection, take a position on issues of interest to the Jesus movements, and reflect on the development of a particular group's history. *Gos. Thom.* is a text that lays claim to formal authorship and renders critical judgments upon the patterns of practice of its times. It therefore must be considered the guiding religious statement of an autonomous Christian community.

Both that community and its gospel have their own rationales, patterns of discourse, and networks of social and textual relations. To be sure, there may be some evidence that the scribes who copied the Coptic text of *Gos. Thom.* were acquainted with the gospels of the NT. But a correspondence between the Coptic translations of the NT and the Coptic text of *Gos. Thom.* would prove some sort of relationship only at the stage of their translations, not at the compositional level of their Greek texts. And the Greek *Gos. Thom.* appears to be further from the NT than the Coptic text. Accordingly, *Gos. Thom.* is best

understood as an independent sayings collection of a self-conscious scribal tradition, a gospel with its own compositional integrity, generic identity, and transmissional history. Most of the sayings in the gospel are preserved in forms more original than their parallels in the NT or reflect developments of more original forms of such sayings. *Gos. Thom.* thus continues the process of creative remembering. Its group has persisted in collecting, composing, and updating its heritage by acts of reinterpretation over the course of several decades of social history.

**D. Literary Criticism**

The fundamental literary feature governing the composition and interpretation of *Gos. Thom.* is its genre. As a chreia collection, the gospel comprises self-contained units arranged in no discernible order. Its chief organizing principle seems to be the linking of discrete sayings by catchword association. Although some chreiai have been grouped according to a similarity in form (e.g., proverbs in sayings 31–35; parables in sayings 96–98) or a shared theme (e.g., the "elect" in sayings 49–50), few display a compositional sequence structured according to antique patterns of rhetorical elaboration. It is possible that our present *Gos. Thom.* is based on an older collection of sayings which neither the Greek nor the Coptic version has preserved in its original form. However, no cogent literary arguments have yet been adduced for isolating such a collection, identifying its characteristics and contours, and indicating which sayings clusters may compose that earlier stratum and which a later recension.

A chreia collection imparts its own distinctive claim of authority. The teacher is regarded as present in the words that are selected for inclusion in written form. It is the task of the reader, on the other hand, to provide an interpretative context, and thus imitate or assimilate the virtues displayed by the teacher and offered in the text. Ascribing *Gos. Thom.* to Jesus, who is characterized as a sage with a distinguished reputation, presupposes that his counsel is endowed with special wisdom. By identifying him as "the living Jesus," moreover, the claim is made that his wisdom is invested with divine authority. Jesus' sayings are thus understood to be those of the voice of divine Wisdom manifesting herself. His authority resides not in the mythology of the risen Christ—a postresurrection setting is disallowed by the text—but is localized in sayings that offer contemporizing wisdom, made available through the gospel, for those who have ears to hear.

The designation of the text as "the secret sayings which the living Jesus spoke," whose interpretation will enable one not to "taste death," indicates that the discernment of the meaning of these sayings was thought to bring secret wisdom. As Kloppenborg (1987: 301) has shown, the sayings in *Gos. Thom.* have been "formulated so that they require interpretation in order to become efficacious." In fact, there is a direct correlation between the production of this text and the skill needed to interpret it correctly. According to the prologue, the secret sayings of the living Jesus are recorded in writing by his twin brother Thomas. Correspondingly, in saying 1, "the reader is to penetrate the opacity of the written word by means of a hermeneutical key which would unlock the secret of life." That key is proposed programmatically in saying 2, which describes by way of a sorites nothing less than "a process of 'sapiential research,' " in which "interpretation and salvation coincide" (Kloppenborg 1987: 305). Fundamentally, therefore, *Gos. Thom.* is an esoteric book whose explication, marked by insight and mastered by research, discloses one's origin, identity, and destiny (saying 50).

The majority of the sayings in *Gos. Thom.* are indicative of reflective activity pertaining to and characteristic of the phenomenon of wisdom. Proverbs (e.g., sayings 31–35, 45, 47, 94) clarify the world and one's situation in it. They conceptualize the sense to be made of the social order by identifying the skills and articulating the responses appropriate to exemplary, lived circumstances. Parables (e.g., sayings 8–9, 20, 63–65, 76, 96–98, 107, 109) express the discovery of one's identity and destiny in the words of wisdom that form the basis of a community. It is striking that the parables preserved in *Gos. Thom.* regularly refer to the labor requisite to cultivating the kingdom, and feature none of the elaborate allegorical interpretations attested in their parallels in the gospels of the NT (Cameron 1986: 3–39). Prophetic sayings (e.g., sayings 3, 18, 51, 113) announce that the arena for encountering the ethos of the kingdom is an ideal order, which must be recognized without and internalized within the imagination of the individual. Even those sayings formulated in the first person singular (e.g., sayings 17, 23, 28, 77, 90,

108) are pronouncements of heavenly Wisdom, not announcements of some role for Jesus as a savior who is to come. For *Gos. Thom.*, the kingdom is not projected into an apocalyptic future, but is made accessible and rendered intelligible through pondering the meaning of Jesus' words.

Community rules (e.g., sayings 6, 14, 27, 53, 104) present a critical assessment of traditional codes of religious etiquette. In marking the differences that define group membership, these rules direct the community's attention to the consequences of imitating the patterns of practice exemplified by Jesus and described in the text. The distinctive character of the conditions of discipleship comes to expression most personally in selected aphorisms (e.g., sayings 42, 49, 58, 82) in *Gos. Thom.* Individual no less than collective wisdom has been aptly ascribed to the figure of Jesus. Such a sapiential characterization indicates that Jesus is not only sanctioned as the envoy of Wisdom; he is also the one through whom that divinely anchored order is maintained and manifest in the midst of the world. By presenting the entire gospel as a collection of attributed sayings, therefore, *Gos. Thom.* locates the realm of imaginative discourse as the social space for cultivating a sane and circumspect society made possible by the wisdom remembered in Jesus' name.

**E. Theology and Social Formation**

One of the most discussed issues in the literature on *Gos. Thom.* is whether or not this gospel is gnostic. Quispel (1975: 196, 198, 206; 1981: 219, 223, 234, 264) has consistently maintained that *Gos. Thom.* is not a gnostic but an encratite text, whose apparent gnostic features owe their appearance to the author's use of hermetic sources, thought, and lore. It is certainly possible that some gnostic sayings were interpolated into the text during the course of its transmission, and may well form the latest stage in the social history of the gospel. Nevertheless, no literary arguments have been adduced to indicate why such sayings were inserted in the text where they are. A majority of scholars have concluded that *Gos. Thom.* is a gnostic gospel, though it cannot be assigned to a particular sect or school. As the text now stands, it surely seems to be gnostic, for *Gos. Thom.*'s members acknowledge in the first person plural their origin and identity in the realm of light (saying 50), and where they preexisted (saying 19.1) and are destined to return (sayings 18, 49). This gospel thus bears witness to that widespread esoteric movement in antiquity which regarded insight as the means of attaining liberation, the recognition of one's own identity with the divine.

For some readers, a hidden clue to gnostic interpretations of other sayings may have been provided by finding what were regarded as allusions to a "myth of the heavenly origin, fall, incarnation, awakening, and return of the soul" (Layton 1987: 376) encoded in the otherwise "obscure" aphorisms in the text. The fact that Jesus' twin brother Thomas is the ostensible author of the gospel may therefore be especially significant. It is noteworthy in any case, for, as Layton (1987: 359) has shown, the motif of the twin "provided a profound theological model for the reciprocal relationship of the individual Christian and the inner divine light or 'living Jesus': to know oneself was to know one's divine double and thence to know god." Accordingly, whoever comes to recognize the essential identity of himself, the living Jesus, and the father is characterized in *Gos. Thom.* as a "solitary" (sayings 16, 49, 75) or "single" one (sayings 4, 11, 22, 23, 30, 106), who has broken the bonds that mark existence without integrity and been restored to a state of primordial unity. Jesus himself is the prototype of that oneness (saying 61); correspondingly, Thomas' recognition of his identification with Jesus (saying 13) discloses the profile of self-awareness that is mirrored through the text.

Becoming a solitary or single one is signified in *Gos. Thom.* by baptismal initiation. Sayings that focused on the disciples' stripping themselves naked, being without shame, treading on their garments, and becoming as little children (sayings 21.1–2, 22, 37) were elaborated in baptismal practices and attendant interpretations of the Genesis accounts of the creation and the fall (Smith 1965–66: 217–38). According to this tradition, the unity of the first human was disrupted by the creation of woman and subsequent sexual division. Redemption was imagined to be the replication of Adam and Eve's primordial state, the reunification of the sexes and transcendence of the world. *Gos. Thom.* thus presents baptism as a symbol of rectification, making paradise the paradigm for social relations in the community. Initiates were invited to take their place in that ideal new order identified as the kingdom. References to the solitary or

single one that are appended to other sayings in *Gos. Thom.* (sayings 4.2, 16.2, 23) indicate that the language of baptism not only signified a ritual of initiation, but has also become a focusing lens for conceptualizing the difference that solidarity in the community makes.

As the guiding religious statement of an identifiable Christian community, *Gos. Thom.* is fundamentally concerned with questions of social self-definition. What the kingdom is like, to whom it belongs, how one is admitted, and what etiquette is proper were the burning issues that the sayings addressed to designate membership in that community. In addition to the function of baptism in *Gos. Thom.* as an elaboration of identification, table fellowship is also attested as a social setting for remembering the gatherings that Jesus occasioned. Sayings that refer to a member's place on dining couches at a banquet (sayings 61.1–2, 64) were told in the context of community meals, to demarcate one's belonging to the group and to assess the significance of invested loyalties (Cameron 1986: 16–19). Parables and other chreiai that were understood self-referentially may well have been produced on similar occasions.

Two of those parables are introduced with a question from or about the disciples (sayings 20, 21.1–2). Such attributions are particularly striking, since the "disciples" serve as foils in *Gos. Thom.* to underscore Jesus' identity and his consequence for the community (sayings 18, 24, 37, 43, 51, 52, 99, 113), and to inquire about the codes that constitute their activity (sayings 6, 53). The *Gos. Thom.* is acquainted with the apocalyptic responses of other, threatened groups, but it rejects them by redirecting the disciples' queries about the future (e.g., sayings 18, 51, 113) with answers which employ the aphoristic imagination that was cultivated by the earliest Jesus movements. Accordingly, Jesus is neither presented as an apocalyptic preacher nor characterized as the coming "Son of Man" (*Gos. Thom.* 86 preserves a generic, nontitular usage). Instead, he is identified as the personification of Wisdom (e.g., saying 28), whose appearance made a difference in the way the social order would be established, sought, and found.

Moreover, *Gos. Thom.* does not interpret Jesus' death by means of a theology of the cross, but advances a christology in which such a proclamation was not necessary. When the disciples are aware that Jesus will pass away, they reflect on the implications of his departure in terms of group leadership (sayings 12, 13). Accordingly, there is no need to appeal to the cross and resurrection in order to imagine the origins of Christianity, for *Gos. Thom.* documents an alternative rationale sufficient to account for its beginnings, and presents a wisdom paradigm as a mythic precedent to reflect upon its subsequent history. Jesus' death is conceptually linked to the life of the disciple, who bears his own cross in imitation of Jesus' stance of endurance (sayings 55, 101). For this gospel, therefore, the reciprocal relationship of Jesus and his followers is characterized as an ethos marked by self-identification, social solidarity, and personal integrity.

*Gos. Thom.* took Jesus seriously as a teacher who spoke with authority. It celebrated his memory by preserving sayings in his name that sanctioned the formation of a distinctive community. The gospel locates its group's position within the Christian tradition as an independent Jesus movement, which persisted over the course of several generations of social history without becoming an apocalyptic or kerygmatic sect. Authorized by interpreting the written legacy of Jesus, *Gos. Thom.* maintained its autonomy and distinct identity by acts of creative attribution. Jesus was characterized as the embodiment of Wisdom; his words, which could harness the very power of the universe, offered her path of "knowing" as an investment of the imagination. *Gos. Thom.* defines the role of its community in constructing the fabric of society as a process of sapiential insight and research. This gospel, therefore, charts the course of salvation as a study in interpretation, providing the elixir of life to those for whom the secret of the kingdom is disclosed in the interpretation of Jesus' words.

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**THOMAS, THE INFANCY GOSPEL OF.** The *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* (= *Inf. Thom.*) is a popular collection of novelistic miracle stories which purport to recount the miracles and sayings of the boy Jesus between five and twelve years of age. In terms of the development of the tradition sometime in the mid–2d century, *Inf. Thom.* represents the textualization of a cycle of orally transmitted folklore which was continually expanded by the still circulating oral tradition (Gero 1971: 56–57) and, at the textual level, by creative editors. The text is not to be confused with the sayings gospel *The Gospel of Thomas* (NHC II,*2*) from Nag Hammadi.

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### A. The Manuscript Tradition

The most noticeable and problematic feature of the ms tradition of *Inf. Thom.* is that the text is known in numerous recensions and translations (at least 13 languages; Mirecki 1983: 191–201). This is not surprising considering the popular and folkloristic nature of the narratives. Some of the earliest and most important mss have not yet been edited and studied, so that basic questions concerning the original language (Greek or Syriac [cf. Peeters 1911–14: i–lix, esp. xx; and the critique by Gero 1971: 48 n. 1]), the earliest written form of the narratives, and the time, place, and circumstances of composition still remain unanswered (for a useful stemma of the ms tradition, see Gero 1971: 56; my abbreviations for mss follow Gero's model [49–54] and references to texts in *Inf. Thom.* follow that of Cullmann *NTApocr* 2: 388–401).

**1. Syriac Manuscripts.** One of the most important mss dates from the second half of the 6th century and contains *Inf. Thom.* in the Estrangela script of Syriac (= *BMSyr*). Edited by Wright (1865: 6–11), the ms is in the British Museum and is considered by Gero (1971: 51, 55) to represent the earliest known form of the text. There are two other Syriac mss but neither has been published. One is in Göttingen (= *Gött*) and dates from the 5th or 6th century (cf. Gero 1971: 51 n. 6); the other is a Vatican ms (= *Vat. syr.;* Bib. Vat. Syr. 159) dated to 1622–23, which Peeters (1911–14: xiii-xvi) suggests is at the base of all other recensions. The Syriac text of *Inf. Thom.* was incorporated into a later work of unknown date called the *Life of Mary* (Budge 1899: 1.65–70, 75–76; 2.70–82), which itself is known from a 13th- or 14th-century Syriac ms (= *BVM*).

**2. Greek Manuscripts.** In the modern period, *Inf. Thom.* is best known in the so-called longer recension (*GrA;* = Gero's A-type text), based on two Greek mss. One is dated to the 15th century and is currently in Bologna (= *Bonon*) and the other is dated to the 16th century, may be dependent on *Bonon,* and is in Dresden (= *Dresd;* Mingarelli 1764: 73–155; Thilo 1832: 275–315; Tischendorf 1876: xxxvi–xlviii, 140–57; Michel 1911–14: xxiii–xxxii, 161–89; Santos Otero 1984: 280–303). Two other mss of the longer recension are a fragmentary 15th-century ms in Paris (= *Par;* Bibl. nat. gr. 239), first edited by J. B. Cotelier in 1698 (repr. 1700 and 1724) and reprinted by J. A. Fabricius in 1703 (1.127–67), and a now-lost fragment from Vienna (= *Vind;* Tischendorf's discussion [1876: xliii] is derived from Thilo [1832: lxxv, 275–81]). Also of the longer recension and demonstrating significant agreements with the Latin and Slavonic versions is a 15th-century ms in Athens (= *Ath;* Athens bibl. nat. gr. 355), edited by Delatte (1927: 264–71). Finally, the longer recension in Greek is preserved in an important and unedited 14th- or 15th-century ms in the library of Vatopedi Monastery on Mt. Athos (= *Athos;* cod. 37), a little-known ms which has so far received only brief notice beginning with R. Lipsius in 1890 (24). A shorter and possibly secondary recension in Greek (*GrB;* = Gero's B-type text) is known from a 14th- or 15th-century ms at Mt. Sinai (= *Sinai*). This text was edited by Tischendorf (1876: xliv, 158–63) and shows similarities with the late Latin infancy gospel *Pseudo-Matthew* (see below). The shorter recension is generally understood to be a selective abbreviation of the longer recension (Gero 1971: 49) but McNamara (1971: 42–66) argues that the shorter (also known in an Irish version, see below) is prior to the longer and so preserves an earlier "short form" of the text.

**3. Latin Manuscripts.** A late and undated Latin ms (= *Vat*) in the Vatican library (Vat. Reginae Sueciae 648 [cf. Gero 1971: 50 n. 2]), edited by Tischendorf (1876: 164–80), begins with the story of the flight to Egypt when Jesus was two years old (as does *Ath*). Another of our earliest unedited mss is a damaged Latin palimpsest in Vienna (=*Lat palimps.*) which Tischendorf (1876: xliv–xlvi) dates to the 5th century. The Latin text of *Inf. Thom.* was incorporated into a larger work sometime during or before the 9th century (Gero 1971: 51 n. 1), known as the infancy gospel of *Pseudo-Matthew* (= *Ps-Matt*). At least four mss of *Ps-Matt* are extant from the 14th and 15th centuries (for discussion of *Ps-Matt* follow the reference to the work of Sanchez [1968] in Gero 1971: 51 n. 2). Select episodes from the Latin versions of *Inf. Thom.* were incorporated into other medieval Latin infancy gospels, and the most striking is a 13th-century ms in Paris (= *Lat. Par.;* Paris Bibl. nat. lat. 11867), which transmits the story of the boy Jesus riding on a sunbeam also found in other mss, including Codex B of *Ps-Matt* (Gero 1971: 51 nn. 3–4; 57).

**4. Slavonic Manuscripts.** At least fourteen mss dating from the 14th through 19th centuries in five Slavonic languages are extant. They generally conform to Gero's A-type text and may derive from more than one early translation into Old Slavonic from Greek (see bibliographies in Gero 1971: 53–55; Lüdtke 1927: 490–508; Santos Otero 1984: 284). Following Gero, we have a Russian ms (= *S*) from the 16th century edited by Speranskij in 1895; three Serbian mss, the first (= *X;* the Chudlov ms) from the 14th century edited by Popov in 1872, the second (= *N*) also from the 14th century edited by Novakovic in 1876, and the third (= *L*) from the 16th century edited by Lavrov in 1899; a Middle Bulgarian ms (= *J*) from 1337–55 edited by Jacimirskij in 1899; a Croatian ms (= *Cr*) from the 15th century, in Glagolitic script, translated into Serbo-Croatian by Grabar in 1969; and finally eight Ukrainian mss from the 18th and early 19th centuries published by Franko, Adrianova, and Speranskij.

**5. An Irish Manuscript.** A 17th-century ms (= *Ir*) contains an Irish translation of *Inf. Thom.* into verse. The ms was edited by J. Carney (1958: 1–43), who argues that the translation into Irish was made about the year 700. The text represents Gero's Greek B-type text (the shorter recension) and demonstrates affinities with the Syriac versions and the Latin *Ps-Matt* Gero does not discuss the ms, while McNamara (1971: 42–66) argues against the consensus that the shorter recension, shared only by *Ir* and *Sinai,* is prior to the longer and so preserves an earlier "short form" of the text. The issue is yet to be decided but the burden of proof is on McNamara's position.

**6. Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, and Georgian Manuscripts.** We have already noted the incorporation of *Inf. Thom.* into later infancy gospels in the case of the Syriac version used as a source for *BVM* and the Latin version used as a source for *Ps-Matt* An Arabic infancy gospel, using several episodes in chaps. 36–53 from the Greek and Syriac *Inf. Thom.,* was first published in 1697 by Sike on the basis of a poor and now lost ms (= *Arab* or *S;* text available in Thilo 1832: 63–158). Another ms (= *Flor. arab.*) of the Arabic infancy gospel is in the Medici Library in Florence (Codex Laurentianus orientalis 32) and is dated to the year 1299, but does not employ the episodes from *Inf. Thom.* (Thilo 1832: xxxi; Peeters 1911–14: viii). An Armenian infancy gospel of the 12th century, employing episodes from *Inf. Thom.* in chaps. 18–20, is extant in several Armenian mss (= *Arm;* Peeters 1911–14: xxx, 199–220). Chap. 8 of the Ethiopian *Miracles of Jesus,* a 15th-century compilation of various traditions in Ethiopic, contains materials from *Inf. Thom.* The Ethiopic text was published by Grebaut (1919: 565–66, 625–42) on the basis of five Ethiopic mss which derive from either the Arabic or the Syriac (Gero 1971: 53 n. 4). An 11th-century Georgian ms (= *Geo;* Codex A95) in the Museum in Tiflis, containing what Gero describes as homiletic and hagiographic texts, includes a mutilated Georgian version of *Inf. Thom.* breaking off at Chap. 7. Gero suggests that *Geo* is the second oldest textual witness to *Inf. Thom.* after *BMSyr,* with which it shares a close relationship (discussion and literal Latin translation in Garitte 1956: 511–20).

**B. Time and Place of Composition**

Although nothing definite can be said about the place of composition, the high value ascribed to the early Syriac mss, the traditional association with the Syrian Thomas tradition, and the possibility of shared traditions with the *Gospel of Thomas* (cf. *Inf. Thom.* 10:2 and *Gos. Thom.* logion 77) all suggest Syria as the place of composition (but Gero is probably correct in suggesting that the ascription to Thomas, as we have it, is medieval [1971: 58–59]). Data for the time of composition include both ms evidence and patristic testimonies. The ms evidence takes us back to the 5th century at the earliest (*BMSyr* and *Gött*), leaving us merely to surmise how much earlier the time of composition might have been. The most relevant patristic testimony comes from Irenaeus (ca. 180; *Haer.* 1.20.1) where we find the well-known Alpha-Beta logion, found twice in *Inf. Thom.* (Irenaeus' form of the logion is closer to that in *Inf. Thom.* 14:2 than in 6:3), giving us a date in the second half of the 2d century at least for this logion. Irenaeus does not specify whether he quotes it from an infancy gospel, but he does contrast his source for the logion with "the true scriptures," suggesting he knew it as part of a text which some (the gnostic Marcosians) apparently considered as authoritative. He also introduces the saying by summarizing its narrative context (a context which is essentially, but not exactly, the same as that in *Inf. Thom.*), further suggesting that he knew it already as part of a narrative story (apophthegm? infancy gospel?) rather than as an independent oral saying. Other sayings' parallels or patristic allusions are either references to the *Gos. Thom.* or else are not explicit enough so that identification can be made (Hippo. *Haer.* 5.7; Origen, *Hom. I in Lc.;* Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 3.25. 6; Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 4.36 and 6.31). Another, but less objective, evidence for dating is provided by comparative analysis with the datable canonical infancy narratives (discussed in section D below).

**C. The Story Line**

The contents of the text are presented below in the order of the episodes as they are presented in the Greek A-type text (*NTApocr* 392–99): (1) prologue in which Thomas speaks in the first person; (2) when Jesus is five years old, he cleans the pools of water and brings twelve clay sparrows to life; (3) Jesus strikes dead the son of Annas the scribe; (4) Jesus strikes dead a young boy who bumps into him; (5) Joseph rebukes Jesus, who then strikes his detractors blind; (6) Zacchaeus attempts to teach Jesus the

alphabet, but Jesus responds with the abstruse Alpha-Beta logion and so confounds his teacher; (7) confounded, Zacchaeus speaks to the people and praises Jesus' power; (8) Jesus laughs, speaks as a heavenly redeemer, and then heals those he struck blind; (9) Jesus' playmate Zenon dies from a fall and Jesus raises him from the dead; (10) a young man cuts his foot with an ax, Jesus heals him, and speaks logion 77 of *Gos. Thom.*; (11) at six years of age, Jesus saves the spilt water from a broken pitcher; (12) when he is eight years old, he sows a single seed and reaps one hundred measures; (13) Jesus stretches a piece of wood which Joseph cut too short; (14) Joseph takes Jesus to another teacher to learn the alphabet, but Jesus again responds with the Alpha-Beta logion and strikes the teacher unconscious; (15) a third teacher tries to teach him, but Jesus teaches the Law and heals the other teacher; (16) Joseph's son James is bitten by a viper and Jesus heals him; (17) a child dies and Jesus raises him from death; (18) a workman dies and Jesus raises him from death; (19) at twelve years of age Jesus and his parents go to Jerusalem for the Passover feast (= Luke 2:41–51); and (20) a brief editorial conclusion.

**D. Tradition and Redaction**

The impetus behind the creation and transmission of the stories of the words and actions of the boy Jesus was already at work in the canonical infancy narratives in Matthew 1–2 and Luke 1–2. What we observe in *Inf. Thom.* is the continuing response to the still active interest in the so-called "lost years" of Jesus' life. By the time these stories were circulating orally, the canonical infancy narratives were no longer providing answers and were instead the sources which generated new questions, questions which the stories now in *Inf. Thom.* attempted to answer. This would give us a date ranging from the late 1st to early 2d centuries for the origin of these traditions, but some could date from as early as the period of the formulation of the canonical infancy stories (pre-80 C.E.?).

Most of the stories appear to be form-critically discrete traditional units which most likely existed independently of each other and were secondarily clustered together into a rather loosely structured narrative framework. Irenaeus was, as we have seen in the case of the Alpha-Beta logion, one of the tradents who confirms the independent nature of these stories. Typical editorial devices, emphasizing sequences of time and place, help create a narrative structure which only barely gives the impression of an integrated and functional story line. There is really no narrative plot, no cohesive theological framework (gnostic or otherwise), and no moral to the story except to focus on the sensational nature of the precocious child's activities and his gradual maturation. The sensational nature of the miracle stories is primarily related to the desire at the popular level for entertaining descriptive stories about the boy Jesus (Brown 1977: 28–29 speaks of a popular "curiosity"; cf. Gero 1971: 47 n. 1), rather than to the propagandistic needs of the movement as Cameron has stressed (1982: 122–23). It seems *Inf. Thom.* like the many apocryphal acts of the apostles (MacDonald 1986: 1–6), was among the popular novels of the early and late medieval Church, and so was not read as a serious theological tractate. If the text makes any theological statement, it is that a high christology can be applied successfully to the childhood period (Brown 1977: 29) to offset adoptionist tendencies or beliefs that his power was somehow diminished during his prebaptismal earthly life.

**E. Forgotten Sources for the "Hidden Years" of Jesus' Life?**

Simply because the secondary narrative framework over the traditional stories frames all events between Jesus' fifth through twelfth years, we need not assume that all of the stories now incorporated into *Inf. Thom.* were originally understood to have occurred during those years. It is quite probable that some of the stories were originally understood to have been stories about Jesus' activities as a young man after the age of twelve and right up to his involvement with the Baptist. The complete absence from early Christian literature of any stories about these "hidden years" of Jesus' life after the age of twelve is unusually striking and yet has received no comment from researchers. The "absence" of such stories can be explained by the thesis that they did in fact exist and survived only after they were gathered together at the textual level and subsumed under the secondary framework of infancy narratives. The standard infancy narrative was an acceptable textual framework for the retrojection of such traditions in virtue of its precedence in the canonical gospels. Further, the silent period of Jesus' life after age twelve then acquired a numinous quality (still in effect today) so that Luke 2:52 (=*Inf. Thom.* (19:5b) could function

as the final word on the now silenced and mysterious "hidden years". The entire tradition is carefully placed into the (seven-year?) childhood period between Luke 2:40 (the end of the infancy period) and 2:41–51 (the visit to Jerusalem at age twelve). In like manner, retrojected elements from the canonical stories that depict activities in the period of Jesus' ministry have influenced, if not generated, in *Inf. Thom.*, both stories (cf. Mark 5:22–24, 41–42a and *Inf. Thom.* 18:1–2a) and editorial comments (cf. Mark 3:6 and *Inf. Thom.* 2:5). From another angle, scholars have not yet asked whether any of the traditional stories or sayings in the canonical or other gospels were originally associated with the period of Jesus' childhood or his young adult life before his contact with the Baptist, and were only later projected into the period of his postbatismal life (cf. *Inf. Thom.* 10:2 and *Gos. Thom.* logion 77; also cf. *Inf. Thom.* 15:1–2 and Luke 4:16–22).

**F. Diverse Theological Elements**

The presence in the text of a large number of diverse theological elements and the absence of any cohesive and unifying theological framework suggest the text's primary audience was not among the theologically astute, but rather among the masses who found such stories about the wonder-working child to be entertaining (Cullmann *NTApocr* 2: 392). The text presents an almost frivolous and carefree story rather than a theologically precise rhetorical argument requiring an existential commitment or ideologically correct response from the reader, as in the sayings and narrative gospels.

The most popular misconception about the text's theology is that it is gnostic. See GNOSTICISM. The most influential early statement, although not well argued, was by Tischendorf (1876: xlvi–xlvii), who set the agenda by focusing on perceived gnostic christological elements. All such statements employ a misunderstanding of Gnosticism and focus too narrowly on a perceived docetic christology (see also Michel 1911–14: xxxi). More balanced is Gero's critique (1971: 51 n. 3) which emphasizes the child's physical and emotional characteristics in tandem with a high christology which need not be docetic (as in Johannine theology).

The broad range of diverse christological elements can be seen in the following list (references follow the numbering for sections in the GrA-type text in *NTApocr* 2: 392–401): (1) diverse christological titles and confessions in 7:2, 4; 9:3; 10:2b; 17:2; 18:2; (2) a vague numinous christology (cf. Mark 4:41) in 3:3; 4:1b; 5:2, 6:1 b; 7:1–4; 14:3b; 15:3; 19:4–5; (3) the boy Jesus is worshiped in 9:3, 10:2b; 18:1; (4) he speaks as a heavenly redeemer in 8:1; (5) he has a special relation with God as Father in 19:3 (= Luke 2:49); (6) he has divine insight in 6:3–4; 15:1–3; and 19:2, 4–5; (7) he gives life to inanimate objects in 2:4; (8) he smites people at will in 5:1b; 14:2; (9) he freely takes human life in 3:2–3; 4:1a; (10) he raises people from death in 9:1–3; 18:1; (11) he heals people in 8:2; 10:1–2; 15:4; 16:1; and (12) he performs nature miracles in 11:1–2; 12:1–2; 13:1–2.

Finally, the overall theological effect of the redaction is that as the boy Jesus matures from his fifth through twelfth years, he seems to take on a more responsible attitude concerning the divine powers at work in him. By the end of the story he has gradually become obedient to his parents and has ceased the irresponsible use of divine power. The theological understanding behind this development is that the divine power within him was almost alien to him until he gradually, over seven years, came to realize what it was. It is this divine-human conflict in the child, and the gradual process of psychological development leading to a genuine self-recognition, that lends itself to a docetic understanding, despite the incarnational interests of the compiler (Gero 1971: 51 n. 3).

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**THORN.** See FLORA.

**THOUGHT OF NOREA.** See NOREA, THOUGHT OF (NHC IX,*2*).

**THRACIA** (PLACE) [Gk *Thrakia* (Θρακια)]. THRACIAN. Country E of Macedonia which lay between the Danube and Strymon rivers. Ancient Thrace (to use the more common term) was located in the E half of the Balkan peninsula which presently is part of NE Greece, S Bulgaria and European Turkey. Ramsay (1890) notes that the term "Thrace" was often used imprecisely and at times even the Macedonians were referred to as a "Tribe of Thrace" which meant, more or less, the land N and NE of Greece. The geographical boundaries of Thrace, however, were not always constant. There is evidence that before 1300 B.C. the Thracian tribes retreated from the Adriatic to the Axius. In 480 B.C., the Macedonians forcibly annexed all Thracian territory W of the Strymon river. Thracian S territories were lost to Philip II of Macedon in 342 B.C. After considerable struggle, in A.D. 46, Thrace became a Roman province.

Thracian social structure consisted of a confederacy of patriarchal tribes, each with a feudal aristocracy and a serflike peasantry. Thracian religion was organized around Dionysos, the vegetation god who was worshiped ritually. Though the Thracians developed culturally somewhat, especially in their poetry and music, their barbarism was infamous in the world of civilized Hellenism. The Thracians developed this reputation based upon the practice of human sacrifice, the wearing of unseemly tattoos, the abuse of alcohol, and a most inhumane treatment of fellow human beings. Beyond this savagery, the Thracians were known as fierce warriors and were sought as mercenaries. Before the Roman era, the boundary between Thrace and Macedonia was seen as the boundary between civilization and barbarianism. The land of Thracia, like the Thracians, was rugged. It included the forested mountainous territory of Haemus, the Dobrudja steppe region, and the fertile Hebrus valley.

Neither Thrace nor the Thracians are mentioned or alluded to in the NT. There is, however, a reference in 2 Macc 12:35 in which a Thracian soldier is identified as the one who rescued Gorgias, whom the text identifies as the governor of Idumea (some scholars reject "Idumea" in favor of "Jamnia"). Since Thracians were used as mercenaries, this account is not impossible. There is no record of Christianity having reached Thrace in the NT period. Moreover, the identification of Thrace with Tiras (Gen 10:2) by some scholars is nothing more than conjecture.

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**THREE STELES OF SETH.** See SETH, THREE STELES OF (NHC VII,*5*).

**THREE TAVERNS** (PLACE) [Gk *Treis Tabernai* (Τρεις Ταβερναι)]. A station in Latium located along the Appian Way, about one day's journey or 33 Roman miles (30 U.S. miles) S of Rome (*CIL* X.685). It was between the towns of Arica and the Forum of Appius, which were 16 and 43 Roman miles S of Rome, respectively. Three Taverns became a convenient stopping point because it was located at the intersection of the Appian Way and the road from Antium to Norba. The ancient site, while not precisely located, is near the modern town of Cisterna (42°35´N; 12°51´E). Two groups of Christians from Rome set out to meet Paul when news arrived that he had landed in Italy at the harbor city of Puteoli. The first group greeted him at the Forum of Appius and the second met him at Three Taverns (Acts 28:15).

The NT contains a transliteration of the Latin *Tres Tabernae*. The Latin term *Tabernae* is neither identical nor as limited in meaning as the English word "tavern." Rather, it denotes any shop, booth, or inn. The Three Taverns may have been a group of inns where travelers could rest, eat, and spend the night. This group of inns could have provided a suitable name for this crossroad station.

Three Taverns was only 6 miles from Tripontium, the point where the Appian Way entered the Pontine marshes. Horace traveled down the Appian Way through Three Taverns and he then went by canal barge through the marsh area (Horace *Sa.* I. v.3–6; cf. Strabo V.3.6). Cicero mentions Three Taverns several times in his letters (*Att.* i.13; ii.10, 12–13). See PW 4: 1875.

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**THRESHING.** See AGRICULTURE.

**THRESHOLD.** Two synonymous Hebrew nouns—*sap* (occurs 24 times) and the less common *miptan* (8 times)—belong to the architectural vocabulary of ancient Israel and denote an essential component of an entrance, whether gate or doorway. In the Hebrew Bible, that component is always the threshold, with the one exception of Ezek 40:6–7, where a gate chamber may be indicated.

In other ancient Semitic languages, the terms equivalent to *sap* can denote parts of a doorway other than its threshold. For example, Akkadian *sippu* can indicate "doorjamb" or "door-hinge stone" or a composite of these elements (Salonen 1961: 62–66). This variety of legitimate meanings results from the great variation in the design of entryways over time in Mesopotamia and also from the difference in type and size of the buildings involved in the use of the terms.

The more straightforward biblical usage probably reflects the consistent use of one kind of doorway and gateway construction in ancient Palestine (see Dever and Paul 1973: 35–36). The threshold was the bottom horizontal component of the door frame, the other parts being the two jambs (the vertical components) and the lintel (the top horizontal component). Although the jambs and lintel could be made of wood or of stone, the threshold was probably always stone. Usually it consisted of one large stone block, wide enough to extend the full width of the door frame; but sometimes it was made of two or more smaller blocks fitted together. Most thresholds were slightly higher than the floor level inside the building and the street or courtyard level outside. Presumably this helped to keep water from rushing in during the rainy season.

Depending on the width of the door or gate, a socket was cut on one or both sides of the threshold, near the jambs, to accommodate the doorpost or gatepost projecting from the door leaf or gate leaf. Wide entryways had double-hung doors or gates, meaning a socket at each end of the threshold. Small square indentations cut into some thresholds provide evidence of the bolting of doors by metal bars sliding down vertically. The threshold, and the lintel above it, were frequently cut with ledges, often several inches high, to prevent the inward opening doors from swinging outward. See also HOUSE, ISRAELITE.

"Threshold" appears in the Bible mainly in the Prophets (five different prophetic books) and in the Former Prophets (in all but Joshua); and it also occurs several times in Chronicles and twice in Esther. Most of the biblical usages are in reference to the entrance of a temple building, usually the temple in Jerusalem; but the threshold of a pagan temple, the house of Dagon at Ashdod, also appears (1 Sam 5:4, 5). In at least three passages the threshold is that of a royal building (Est 2:21; 6:2; 1 Kgs 14:17; and perhaps Zeph 2:14), and two occurrences involve private dwellings (Judg 19:27; Ezek 43:8).

In addition to being an integral structural element in public or private buildings, the threshold as boundary between domains of activity has clear symbolic significance. At its most basic level, the threshold represents the border between the inside, domestic world (whether of ordinary people, royalty, or gods) and the outside world. As a sort of neutral territory between domains, it marks transition and is often associated with magic or religious rites that accompany passage over the threshold (van Gennep 1960: 15–25). Entryways were sacred zones, which had to be controlled so as to protect the goods and people inside from what lurked without. Sometimes special sacrifices were made or deposits buried at the threshold of a building.

For these reasons, the three "keepers of the threshold" (*šōmrê hasap;* e.g., Jer 35:4; 2 Kgs 23:4) were among the major cultic functionaries in the priestly hierarchy of the Jerusalem temple. They appear as leading figures, following the chief priest and the second priests (see Jer 52:24 = 2 Kgs 25:18). Their involvement in the temple renovation projects of Josiah (2 Kgs 22:4; 2 Chr 34:9) and Jehoash (2 Kgs 12:10) and also in Josiah's purge (2 Kgs 23:4) also testifies to their important administrative and religious roles. There were probably three threshold officers because of the three major gateways (north, south, west) to the temple precinct (Ezek 40:6, 24, 35); each gateway had its own threshold official to oversee the flow of temple business and visitors.

In addition to these high-ranking officials, a lower order of levitical servants were called gatekeepers *(šō‹arê-hasap).* They functioned as porters or entry guards (1 Chr 9:22; 2 Chr 23:4; and probably 1 Chr 9:19) and numbered in the hundreds in the postexilic period.

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CAROL MEYERS

**THRONE, HALL OF THE** (PLACE) [Heb *›ûlām hakkisē›* (אוּלָם הַכִּסֵּא)]. See JUDGMENT, HALL OF (PLACE).

**THUNDER, PERFECT MIND, THE** (NHC VI, *2*). Among the gnostic texts of the Coptic Nag Hammadi Library, discovered in 1945, few can match *The Thunder, Perfect Mind (Thund.)* in philosophical inscrutability. *Thund.* consists entirely of a monologue by an unnamed female revealer ("I am the utterance of my name"). Most conspicuous are, indeed, the recurring sections of "I am" statements, which alternate with teachings, exhortations, and pleas. The self-proclamations include antitheses, such as "I am the honored and the scorned one. I am the whore and the holy one," and paradoxes, for instance, "I am the bride and the bridegroom, and it is my husband who begot me. I am the mother of my father and the sister of my husband, and he is my offspring."

The speaker is one yet many, earthly as well as heavenly: "I am the one below, and they come up to me." Universal, she declares herself to belong to Greeks, Egyptians, and barbarians. She is intimately connected to her devotees and identifies herself with the faculty of understanding and devotion in them. *Thund.* emphasizes the believers' obedience toward the revealer—a trying relationship because the goddess appears and acts in oppositional terms. The speaker retains her identity despite—and, paradoxically, because of—her antithetical traits.

After debating the first part of the document's title *(nebront* vs. *tebronte),* scholars now spend more effort on the problem of recognizable contexts, both *of* the text and *in* it. H.-G. Bethge (1973), representing the *Berliner Arbeitskreis,* notes a possibly underlying gnostic "fall of Sophia" myth, and M. Tardieu (1974) draws attention to the Jewish "divine voice" traditions, for instance in *1 En.* On the other hand, the late G. MacRae, who first translated *Thund.* into English, finds scarcely any Jewish (or Christian) influences in it (see MacRae and Parrott 1977).

Ties to the Isis religion may be relevant, for Isis' sexual, wifely, and motherly aspects resemble those of the female speaking in *Thund.* Isis' self-descriptions in universal imagery are known from, e.g., Apuleius' *Golden Ass,* Book 11. However, as MacRae observes, the contrasts and paradoxes, so characteristic of

*Thund.*, do not occur in the Isis mythologies or aretalogies (cf. Bergman 1968). B. Layton (1986) suggests parallels to Greek riddles, and, along with other scholars, points to the gnostic Eve traditions, where some striking similarities appear (see, e.g., *Orig World* [*NHC* II,*5*] and *The Gospel of Eve,* as attested by Epiph. *Pan.* 26. 2–3). One might also compare a part of *Megalē Apophasis,* transmitted in Hipp. *Haer.* 6. 17.3, to *Thund.* Another gnostic female that shows certain affinities with the one in *Thund.* is the Mandaean Ruha ("Spirit") (see Buckley 1980).

*Thund.* is a well-preserved document; damage is limited to the first few lines at the top of each page. Like the rest of the *NHC* documents, *Thund.* was originally written in Greek, subsequently translated into Coptic. The text's language is Sahidic, with some sub-Achmimic aspects. Suggested dates for *Thund.* range from the 1st to the 4th century C.E. However, these data are of scant help in determining the text's provenance, readership, and spiritual home. *Thund.* singularly testifies to a style not found in other documents of Late Antiquity, and it cannot be neatly fitted into any known system, gnostic or otherwise. Philosophically sophisticated, the text calls for new levels of interpretations in religious speculations and salvation systems of Late Antiquity. For instance, *Thund.* insists on a positive evaluation of oppositional elements and of paradoxes. Such lack of negativity regarding antitheses merits serious scholarly consideration, particularly in view of traditional interpretations of gnostic dualism. Thus, one cannot ascribe to *Thund.* a clear ethical message of "dos" and "don'ts." The goddess speaking in this text does not fit the patterns of the more familiar, pedagogical biblical Wisdom figure found in Proverbs and Wisdom; neither do the "I am" statements in John seem immediately relevant. However, these as well as other OT and NT traditions will no doubt continue to be consulted in future research on *Thund.*

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**THUTMOSE** (PERSON). See EGYPT, HISTORY OF (NEW KINGDOM [18th–20th DYNASTY]).

**THYATIRA** (PLACE) [Gk *Thyatira* (Θυατιρα)]. City in Lydia, in W Asia Minor, at the junction of roads between Lydia and Mysia, on the plain of the river Lycus (modern Akhisar; 38°54´N, 27°50´E).

Very few architectural remains have been found at the site, but inscriptions show an active civic and social life from the 2d century B.C. until the 3d century A.D. They mention shrines to Apollo Tyrimnaeus and Artemis Boreitene, to Helius, and to Hadrian; three gymnasiums full of statues; stoas and shops; and a portico of 100 columns in which the gerousia met.

Thyatira was an important center of the wool trade. A guild of wool workers is mentioned in an inscription (*IGRR* 4: 1252), and others name several dyers and fullers in and around Thyatira, as well as the neighboring cities of Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colossae (Broughton 1938: 818–22).

This recalls Lydia of Thyatira, who is known to us from Paul's visit to Philippi (Acts 16:14–15, 39) as a well-to-do householder engaged in the trade in luxury purple dye. (An inscription from Thessalonica also tells of a resident there from Thyatira, Menippus, who deals in purple dyes [Broughton 1938: 819]).

Thyatira also appears as one of the seven churches of Asia Minor in the Apocalypse (Rev 1:11; 2:18, 24). The account mentions the blazing eyes and brass feet of Jesus, and this has been interpreted as an allusion to a cult statue of Apollo or Helius (both of whom appear on the city's coins).

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**TIAMAT** (DEITY). In the Babylonian liturgical text Enuma Elish the goddess Tiamat appears as one of a pair of primordial deities, with her consort Apsu. Since the first publication of the text it has been understood that this goddess represented the "seawater" from which the name derives *(tiamtu);* it also was posited that Tiamat was the primordial chaos and that the Mesopotamian myth had influenced the P account of creation in Genesis, where *tĕhôm* was seen as derived from her name (Smith 1876: 64). The battle which is presented in the Babylonian myth sets younger gods, and especially Marduk (Ashur in the Assyrian version), against the primordial couple. Apsu is slain and Tiamat responds with the creation of monsters, but to no avail. Marduk slays her and creates from her carcass a dome for the sky. A reference from this action to that of God dividing the waters in Genesis and creating a dome to separate them has been posited, along with a notion that Tiamat's body also was used to create the earth (Heidel 1951: 116).

There is scant evidence for the recognition of this goddess outside of the Enuma Elish itself (Lambert 1963: 189–90; Tsumura 1989: 48–49), and such references may be related to the myth. Within the myth Tiamat is the mother of all the divine world and hesitant to engage in their destruction. She provides for the story both the original creation and the opposition to further creation, embodying both chaos and the source of life (May 1955: 18–21; Wakeman 1973: 21–22). For the creation of the rule of Marduk she represents the chaos which must be controlled each year in the Akitu festival (Bottéro 1985: 160).

The relation of "Tiamat" to the biblical *tĕhôm* has been satisfactorily discounted since the Heb noun is clearly a Northwest Semitic common noun referring to the cosmic waters (Lambert 1965: 293; Day 1985: 7, 50–51; Tsumura 1989: 47–48, 51–52). The possibility of Genesis using the Babylonian text as a primary source has now been generally abandoned (Rapaport 1979: 13; Day 1985: 50–51; Tsumura 1989: 158–59). The mythological content of the narrative, however, remains a central concern for biblical scholars. It is clear that the battle between Marduk and Tiamat liturgically presents both the order made of chaos in nature and the order of the social and political world, reaffirmed in the cult (Stolz 1970: 20–21; Day 1985: 19; Grønbaek 1985: 29–30). This divine battle for rule and order may be found in several biblical passages which do not, however, refer to Tiamat.

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**TIBERIAS** (PLACE) [Gk *Tiberias* (Τιβεριας)]. A city founded on the W coast of the Sea of Galilee (M.R. 201242) in A.D. 20 by Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, as a new capital city to replace Sepphoris. The city is mentioned only once in the Bible, and then only in a passing reference to boats from Tiberias carrying people in search of Jesus (John 6:23; but cf. John 6:1; 21:1).

**A. Location and Establishment**

According to Josephus, Tiberias was built "in the best region of Galilee" near hot springs (*Ant* 18.2.3 §36). The city lay between steep hills to the W and the Sea of Galilee (Lake Tiberias) to the E. Magdala-Taricheae lay two miles to the N and Hammath one mile to the S. The region was famous for its wine, figs, and wheat, and wheat and barley were sold in separate markets at Tiberias (*Eccl. Rab.* 1.12; *j. B. Qam.* 6d; *Gen. Rab.* 79; *Midr. Ps.* 1). In Jewish tradition, Rakkath of Josh 19:35 was identified with Tiberias (*j. Meg.* 1.1); however, it is now usually identified with Khirbet Qunaytirah, N of modern Tiberias. The hot springs of Tiberias are mentioned in Pliny (*HN* 5.15), and the Mishnah (*Šabb.* 3.4; *Makš.* 6.7) described them as hot enough to cause injury (*Neg.* 9.1). The rabbinical sources indicate that the springs (Hammath) were one Roman mile from Tiberias (*t. Meg.* 4.3). See HAMMATH (PLACE).

During the construction of the city, tombs were discovered, which rendered the site unclean for Jews (*j. Šeb.* 9.1). Therefore, Antipas was forced to settle the city with a mixed population of Jews and gentiles, including landless people and freed slaves (*Ant* 18.2.3 §36; *b. Šabb.* 33b). Antipas named the new city in honor of the emperor Tiberius, and immediately began minting coins at the city. The earliest extant coins show a reed and an inscription in Greek, "Of Herod the Tetrarch." The reverse displays the name Tiberias written in Greek letters within a wreath. The earliest date is "Year 24" (of Herod Antipas), which corresponds to A.D. 20. All subsequent dates in Tiberias were calculated from this founding date.

**B. Government and History**

The city was governed as a Hellenistic *polis* by a council of 600, headed by an elected archon. The administrative details were under the control of royal appointed *hyparchs* (governors) and an *agoranomos* (market overseer; *Life* 12 §64; 34 §169; 55 §285; *JW* 2.21.6 §615). The city also had a Council of Ten (*JW* 2.21.3 §9; *Life* 27 §134; 54 §278). Tiberias, like Magdala-Taricheae, was the head of a toparchy (*JW* 2.13.2 §252), of which there may have been five in Herodian Galilee.

Antipas built at Tiberias a stadium, a forum or market, baths, and a royal palace on the hill that overlooked the city (*JW* 2.21.6 §618). He adorned the palace with animal statuary, which was so offensive to Jews that it was the first building to be destroyed in the First Revolt against Rome (*Life* 12 §65–67). There was also a Jewish place of prayer (a *proseuchē,* a "large edifice" in *Life* 54 §277; cf. Acts 16:13). A city wall apparently existed, since one was destroyed in the First Revolt (*JW* 3.10.1).

When Herod Antipas fell from the emperor's favor and was exiled in A.D. 39, Caligula granted Tiberias and other territories, along with the title of king, to his good friend Herod Agrippa I, grandson of Herod the Great and Mariamne (*Ant* 18.7.2 §252; *JW* 2.9.6 §183). Agrippa had previously been a market overseer in Tiberias. In spite of his Jewishness, Agrippa depicted himself and Caligula on his coins, which were struck at Tiberias. Five years later, when Agrippa suddenly died, Tiberias and the rest of the Jewish kingdom reverted to rule under the Roman procurators, who resided in Caesarea.

In A.D. 61, Nero granted Tiberias to Herod Agrippa II, son of Agrippa I (*Ant* 20.8.4 §159; *JW* 2.13.2 §252), and the title "king" appears on his coins. Agrippa II ruled his father's lands, including Tiberias, through the First Revolt of A.D. 66–70 to the end of the century. At the outbreak of the First Revolt, most inhabitants of the city favored the revolt, among whom was Justus ben Sapphias, archon of the city and leader in the revolutionary party (*Life* 12 §66; 27 §134; *JW* 2.21.3 §599). During the revolt, Josephus used Tiberias as a headquarters of his Galilean command. He set up a court, or synedrion, of 70 elders in Tiberias to decide cases of capital punishment (*JW* 2.20.5).

When Vespasian arrived at Tiberias with his armies, the city offered no resistance, but threw open its gates and begged for mercy. Vespasian spared the city and returned it to Agrippa, though he breached its S wall (*JW* 3.9.7–8 §445–61). Vespasian, however, ordered 12,000 refugees from Taricheae to be slaughtered in the stadium of Tiberias, while 6,000 were sent to build Nero's canal at Corinth, and 30,400 were sold as slaves (*JW* 3.10.10 §539–40). The city retained its importance, as inferred from the fact that the city received the toparchy of Magdala-Taricheae after the First Revolt. Tiberias then administered a territory which extended 15 miles S of the lake, 8 miles W to the border with the city-territory of Sepphoris, and to a point 5 miles N of Capernaum and Lake Tiberias.

Municipal coinage of Roman Tiberias begins in A.D. 100, during the reign of Trajan, which marks its change to an autonomous city attached to the Provincia Judea. On these coins the title of the city is

"Tiberias Claudia" in honor of the emperor Claudius, who must have granted some political favor to Tiberias. Later coins depict the Greek deities Zeus, Tyche, Sarapis, Hygeia, and Poseidon.

During the reign of Hadrian, a Hadrianeum (i.e., a temple to Hadrian) was built but not completed (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.12.1). Coins of the city dated to A.D. 119/120, the year of the emperor's visit to Judea, show a temple to Zeus, possibly the Hadrianeum. Tiberian coins were occasionally overstruck by the Jewish rebels of the Second Revolt. Hadrian abolished Jewish municipal government in the province of Judea in retaliation for the Second Revolt of A.D. 135. This affected Tiberias directly, even though the city had not participated in the Second Revolt. During this revolt the Romans made a fortified patrol line between Tiberias and Sepphoris 18 miles to the W (*t. ʿErub.* 4.11; *j. ʿErub.* 5.22b). This road may have been patrolled as far W as Acco-Ptolemais.

In spite of the Second Revolt, and perhaps because of the expansion of its territories, successful commercial connections extended from Tiberias to Rome, as inferred from two inscriptions attesting to a guildhall in Rome which had been erected by merchants of Tiberias (Cagnat 1911: 132). In these inscriptions the city is called "Claudiopolis in Syria Palestina" and "Tiberias Claudiopolis in Syria Palestina." The official Roman name of the city by A.D. 170 was "Tiberias Claudia in Syria-Palestina," as evidenced by its coins. According to a Talmudic legend, Tiberias was granted the title of a colony by the emperor "Antoninus," who is represented to be in dialogue with the patriarch Judah I (Judah ha-Nasi; see *b. ʿAbod. Zar.* 10.71). In fact, coins of Tiberias from the reign of Elagabalus (A.D. 218–22) bear the title "Colonia." The city wall was rebuilt, perhaps during the reign of Septimus Severus (A.D. 192–211), increasing the municipal tax burden.

Tiberias was known to be a fishing center, and its fishermen are mentioned frequently in ancient sources (*j. Pes.* 4.2). The city was also known for its textile production of rough cloth and reed mats (*b. Sukk.*20b; *Gen. Rab.* 79), as well as for its tanners (*Shir. Rab.* 1.4). The glass which was manufactured at Tiberias was famous for its clarity (*Gen. Rab.* 96).

Although there is sparse Talmudic evidence of Jewish followers of Jesus in Tiberias in the 2d and 3d centuries (*j. Sanh.* 25d; *j. Šabb.* 14d), Tiberias sustained a long, predominantly Jewish tradition. A synagogue of Tiberias is mentioned in the Mishnah (*ʿErub.* 10.10), while 13 are mentioned in later sources (*b. Ber.* 8a, 30b). Following the Second Revolt, Rabbi Simeon bar Yohai declared Tiberias to be pure (*j. Šeb.* 9.1), and by the 3d century A.D., Rabbi Yohanan ben Nappaha and the Sanhedrin moved to Tiberias. During the time of Judah I, the city council was composed of Jews, as was the board of strategoi (municipal executives?) which then ruled the city (*j. ʿAbod. Zar.* 4.4). The Jewish presence was strong enough in the middle of the 3d century that Yohanan bar Nappaha could order the destruction of statues in the baths of Tiberias, and see the decree carried out (*j. ʿAbod. Zar.* 4.4). Rabbi Yohanan presided over a famous rabbinical academy at Tiberias that included Rabbi Simeon bar Lakish, Rabbi Ammi, and Rabbi Assi (the third generation of the Amoraim) and their successors. The tombs of these sages are still venerated in Tiberias.

Even though the economic trend of Tiberias took a downturn in the 3d century, the leadership among Palestinian Judaism was not diminished. Rabbi Yohanan said, "Tiberias is the lowest of all [cities of the Sanhedrin] … and salvation shall come from there" (*b. Roš Haš.* 31b). Taxation grew so severe that rich men sought to evade service on the city council (*j. Ber.* 5.1), yet Tiberias became perhaps the greatest intellectual center of ancient Judaism. It had its own community of Babylonian Jews with their own synagogue and a synagogue for Jews of Tarsus (*j. Yoma* 7.1), as well as a special synagogue of the city council (*j. Šeqal.* 7.4). Indeed, in the 4th century Eusebius of Caesarea could refer to Tiberias as a "famous city" (*Onomast.* 16.1).

The first mention of a Christian church in Tiberias occurs during the early 4th century. It was built, using the still unfinished Hadrianeum, by Count Joseph of Tiberias with the permission and intervention of Constantine, since Tiberias was still largely Jewish (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 30.12; 30.10.10).

A few years later, in 351, Tiberias joined with Sepphoris in revolt against Consantius Gallus. For their participation in the revolt, Tiberias and Lydda were punished by Roman forces (Aur. Vict., *Caes.* 42.9–

12; Jerome, *Chron.* 24). Tiberias recovered swiftly, though some rabbis had fled the city during the revolt (*Gen. Rab.* 31.11; *j. Ketub.* 11.1).

Shortly afterward (A.D. 361–63), the Christian citizens of Tiberias received a letter from the emperor Julian "the Apostate" urging them to return to the old Roman religion (*Juliani epistulae et leges* 154, 209). However, in 383, when Eugeria made a pilgrimage to Tiberias, she saw a church on the spot where the house of James and John had stood (Peter the Deacon, 6.2).

A strong Jewish presence persisted in Tiberias. The so-called Jerusalem Talmud or Palestinian Talmud was composed largely at Tiberias by the 5th century A.D. During the 5th century Jerome brought from Tiberias to Bethlehem a Jewish "doctor of the law" to assist him in translating the book of Chronicles into Latin. By A.D. 429 the Roman authorities had abolished the patriarchate (*Cod. Theod.* 16.8.22), though Jews everywhere continued to recognize Tiberias as the center of Jewry in Palestina Secunda. In 520, Mar Zutra, the posthumous son of the executed exilarch in Babylon, dared to move to Tiberias and became head of its academy *(Rosh ha-Perek).* The successive heads of the academy can be traced for ten generations (Mann 1970: 58).

After Justinian's accession to the imperial throne in A.D. 527, a law was enacted which banned Jews from municipal government (*Nov.* 45), so the city administration of Tiberias passed to Christians. Justinian also renewed the city wall of Tiberias (Procop., *Aed.* 5.9 §358).

At this time the Jews of Tiberias were in communication with the kings of the tiny nation of Himyar on the E shores of the Red Sea. The Byzantines saw this connection as a betrayal of Christian interests. In 614, at the hour of the Persian invasion of Palestine, the Jews of Tiberias regarded the invasion as potentially a rescue from Christian oppression and at first assisted the Persians. The Jewish leader was Benjamin of Tiberias (Theophanes a.m. 6120). The Byzantine emperor Heraclius met with Benjamin and other Jewish leaders of Galilee at Tiberias in 629 after his final defeat of the Persians. Heraclius pardoned the leaders and spared Tiberias. Even though Benjamin accepted baptism, Heraclius later rescinded the pardon and tried and executed the Jewish leaders of Tiberias, among others. This event may be contemporary with the emergence of Palestinian liturgical poetry *(piyyut),* which is identified with Tiberias.

In the spring of 636, the Arab forces under the command of Shurahbil ibn Hasanah occupied Galilee and Tiberias. The inhabitants of the city surrendered peacefully, only asking that their churches (including synagogues?) and houses be spared (Marmardji 1951: 129). Archaeological evidence suggests that the city had already expanded S to include Hammath. Tiberias became the capital of the province of al-Urdun (Jordan), and was especially famed for its spa built around the hot springs. During the same century Tiberias became a center for the Masoretes, who developed what became the standard vocalization system of the Hebrew text of the Bible.

**C. Archaeological Investigations**

The archaeology of Tiberias is largely unpublished, except for the synagogue at Hammath-Tiberias (*EAEHL* 4: 1178–84; Dothan 1983). However, the excavations at Hammath-Tiberias have disclosed an area of Seleucid and Hasmonean public structures associated with the springs. These were followed by a building of A.D. 20–135 that was either a gymnasium or a palaestra. In the first half of the 3d century, the first synagogue was built on the site. This synagogue was superseded by the synagogue of Severos, the major donor, who is recognized in the large Greek inscription in the floor as "disciple of the most illustrious patriarchs." This synagogue includes a splendid floor with a zodiac, the four seasons, Helios driving his chariot, a detailed representation of a holy ark, and two menorahs standing left and right of the ark with other Jewish symbols. This building is dated A.D. 325–83. It was remodeled and used continuously for several centuries. The final building dates to the Early Arab period and apparently was also a synagogue.

Weights with the names of *agoranomoi* of Tiberias, written in Greek, have been found at Yodefat N of Sepphoris. The S city gate with two round towers and the remains of the main N–S road have been excavated, as well as the 5th–century city walls, which were built against the 1st-century gate and its towers. These walls have been traced from the shores of the lake for more than a kilometer.

Some synagogue remains from Tiberias proper date from the 5th century and include inscriptions written in Greek and Aramaic. A 5th- or 6th-century panel from a synagogue chancel has been found, which is carved in open lattice work in white marble with an inscribed menorah. Baths and a basilica, both of the Byzantine period, are known from salvage excavations.

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JAMES F. STRANGE

**TIBERIUS** (EMPEROR). Tiberius succeeded Augustus as the second Roman emperor, ruling from 14–37 C.E. He was born the son of an aristocrat, whose name he bore, and Livia Drusilla in 42 B.C.E. Tiberius' parents divorced when he was four, shortly before the birth of his younger brother Nero Drusus. His mother Livia married Octavian, the future Augustus.

From 20 B.C.E. to 12 C.E. Tiberius pursued a successful military career, despite an eight-year voluntary exile to Rhodes beginning in 6 B.C.E. In 20 B.C.E. he campaigned with Augustus in the east against the Parthians. Between 12 and 9 B.C.E. Tiberius brought Pannonia into the Roman Empire and he fought in Germany from 9 B.C.E. (the same year Nero Drusus died) to 7 B.C.E. and later from 4–6 C.E. From 7–9 C.E., he suppressed uprisings in Pannonia and Illyricum and was subsequently sent to reclaim the Rhine frontier after the humiliating decimation of Varus' three legions by Arminius the Cheruscan in 9 C.E.

After the death of Agrippa, Augustus' chief lieutenant, in 12 B.C.E., Tiberius was compelled to divorce his wife Vipsania and to marry Julia, Augustus' daughter and Agrippa's widow. Julia was exiled in 2 B.C.E. for adultery. Although Tiberius was granted tribunician power in 6 B.C.E., he retired to Rhodes in indignation because Augustus was making overtures to prepare Gaius and Lucius, the emperor's grandsons, for the imperial throne.

When those two grandsons died in 4 C.E., the aging emperor reluctantly adopted Tiberius along with the ruler's surviving grandson, Agrippa Postumus, who was later exiled. Tiberius was reawarded tribunician power for a ten-year period and was commissioned to a special command on the Rhine. When Agrippa Postumus was exiled, Tiberius was simultaneously ordered to adopt his own nephew Germanicus. Tiberius' succession was confirmed in 13 C.E. when he was made coregent by a special law. The following year Augustus died and at the age of 56 Tiberius was named emperor of Rome.

Tiberius' reign was a bridge between the idiosyncratic rule of Augustus and the formally established imperial system. Tiberius, whose father was an unpopular republican, was reticent to preempt senatorial authority by assuming too much of an outward show of dictatorial power. At the same time, Tiberius harbored deep suspicions (bordering on paranoia) against many of the senators. Tiberius cautiously consolidated his authority while continuing the earlier policies of Augustus.

At the beginning of his reign, the armies in Pannonia and Germany mutinied. Tiberius' son, Drusus the younger, dealt efficiently with the problem in Pannonia but Tiberius' adopted son, Germanicus, was less effective with the disturbance in Germany. Germanicus, however, enjoyed great popularity, particularly with the soldiers, and led an expedition to reclaim the territories lost when Varus was defeated by the Germans between the Rhine and the Elbe. Although the expedition ended in failure, Germanicus was awarded a triumph and given an enthusiastic reception in Rome.

Drusus the younger was given charge over the Danubian forces and Germanicus was placed in command of a similar post in the east. The thorny question of their ultimate succession never arose because in 19 C.E. Germanicus died. His death was probably the result of natural causes, despite the protests of his widow Agrippina the elder. In 23 C.E. Drusus the younger also died and the emperor excluded from his presence all of Drusus' friends (which included Agrippa I), for fear of awakening painful memories. By 29 C.E. Agrippina the elder and two of her sons were murdered. The heir apparent was the sole surviving son of Germanicus and Agrippina the elder, Gaius (CALIGULA).

The greatest tragedy of Tiberius' reign was the appointment of Sejanus, a Roman of nonsenatorial rank, as the emperor's personal adviser and co-worker. A number of incidents enabled Sejanus to enjoy a brief ascendancy to a position of unequaled authority until his assassination in 31 C.E. The emperor authorized Sejanus to recall nine praetorian cohorts to Rome, which were previously distributed between Rome and other Roman towns, greatly increasing Sejanus' power. Sejanus also used treason trials to eliminate his own personal enemies. Tiberius withdrew to his Villa of Jupiter on the island of Capreae to get away from the domineering influence of his mother and to escape from the burdens of the empire. Sejanus used Tiberius' isolation to enhance his own position back in Rome. Tiberius' isolation gave occasion for a number of reports about his alleged (yet unverifiable) sexual exploits on the island (see Suet. *Tib.*).

By Sejanus' bidding, Agrippina the elder and two of her sons were executed. When Sejanus was implicated in a plot to assassinate Gaius (Caligula), the emperor transferred the praetorian command to Macro, another one of Tiberius' close friends. Sejanus was arrested and swiftly executed by order of the senate. When Tiberius drew up his last will, Gaius and Gemellus (the son of the emperor's dead brother Drusus the younger) were named as joint heirs. It was evident, however, that Gaius would be the next emperor. The 78-year-old emperor died at the Villa of Lucullus at Misenum of natural causes in 37 C.E. Contemporary ancient sources write favorably about Tiberius' reign (Velleius Paterculus 2; and Valerius Maximus *Praef.*) while later senatorial sources seem to accentuate the emperor's faults (Tac. *Ann.* 1–4; Dio Cass. *Hist.* 46–48; and Suet. *Tib.*).

Tiberius had little tolerance for foreign cults and expelled all the Jews from Rome in 19 C.E. (Jos. *Ant* 18.3–5), allowing them to return later in his reign. In 18 C.E. Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, founded the city of Tiberias, which was named in honor of the emperor. Ironically, the city would later become one of the four holy cities of Israel and a center for Jewish learning.

Tiberius is the Caesar of the Gospels (except Luke 2:1) and his regnal years are used to fix the date of John the Baptist's ministry and the baptism of Jesus (Luke 3:1). It was during the reign of Tiberius that Jesus ministered in Galilee and was subsequently crucified in Jerusalem under the Judean procurator Pontius Pilate. Pontius Pilate was appointed by Tiberius to rule Palestine in 26 C.E. and was removed from office by the same ruler in 36 C.E. Early Church sources claim that Pilate sent to the emperor a report of the trial and execution (Just. *Apol* 1.35; Tert. *Apol* 26; and Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 2.2). The silver denarius mentioned in the NT (see Matt 22:15–21; Mark 12:13–17; Luke 20:20–26; 23:2) bore the image of Tiberius with the inscription "Tiberius, son of the divine Augustus."

SCOTT T. CARROLL

**TIBHATH** (PLACE) [Heb *ṭibḥat* (טִבְחַת)]. A city, in what is today NE Lebanon or Syria, belonging to Hadadezer, the Aramean king of Zobah, whose domain stretched from the fertile central Lebanese Beqaʿ valley as far N as the upper Euphrates river. It was from this place that David, after his victory over the Arameans (1 Chr 18:8), brought to Jerusalem large supplies of bronze later used in the construction of Solomon's temple. The place is called Betah in the parallel passage (2 Sam 8:8), and is possibly associated with Tebah (Gen 22:24). Tebah was the nephew of Abraham, and the ancestor of an Aramean tribe. Some scholars identify him as the founder of this city. The city is thought to have been located in the country of Amurru in an area between Tunip and Baalbek; its precise location is unknown.

RAY L. ROTH

**TIBNI** (PERSON) [Heb *tibnî* (תִּבְנִי)]. A rival of Omri for the throne of Israel (1 Kgs 16:21–22). In the 27th year of Asa of Judah (886/4 B.C., *IJH*, 682), Zimri conspired against and killed Elah son of Baasha, the king of Israel. The troops besieging Gibbethon acclaimed their general, Omri, as king and marched on Zimri in Tirzah. Zimri set the palace on fire and died in the conflagration after a reign of only seven days (1 Kgs 16:8–20).

At this point the Israelites were divided into two factions—one that favored making Tibni son of Ginath king, the other for Omri. The fact that there was no prophetic designation of a successor to Elah caused a crisis in government. The rivalry lasted four years. In that time the people following Omri grew stronger

*(wayyeḥĕzaq)* than those with Tibni. Finally Tibni died. There is no explicit reference to any fighting. It may be that Omri's cause gradually gained popular support and Tibni died of natural causes. However, the LXX statement that "Joram his brother died at that time" may indicate a violent death for both at the instigation of Omri. Regardless, "somehow, somewhere Tibni died, and then Omri ruled without a rival" (DeVries *1 Kings* WBC, 200). Omri was finally acclaimed king by the people in the 31st year of Asa (882/0 B.C., 1 Kgs 16:23; cf. Gray *Kings* OTL, 365–66; *HHI*, 202; Miller 1968: 392–94; *NHI*, 229).

It has been suggested that the movement Tibni led manifested the Israelite religious community's opposition to the power of the professional army (though surely the Deuteronomist would have given more detail if the rivalry had been of religious significance) or was a protest of the older, more conservative elements against the younger officers of the army who aspired to the throne (Gray *Kings* OTL, 366). There is not enough evidence to be able to know with any certainty. That the movement was of major import is clear, however, from the length of time that the rivalry endured, from its broad impact on the people of the nation, and from the LXX statement that Omri "reigned after Tibni" (v 22, apparently counting the four years as Tibni's reign, though MT accredits them to Omri; cf. Thiele 1977: 33–35).

The brief mention of Tibni in 1 Kings is important in several respects. First, the silence of Kings regarding such a long and probably significant rivalry shows how the book was compiled with intentions other than to be a full secular history. Second, the sequence of events from Elah to Omri is a reminder of the clash between antidynastic traditions of charismatic leadership and a desire for dynastic stability. Third, the story indicates the power of the army in Israel at that time. Also of note are the unique literary features of the end of v 22—*wayyāmāt tibnî wayyimlōk ʿomrî* ("Tibni died and Omri became king")—assonance of the *y* and *m* sounds, the repetition of *wayy-* at the beginning of each verb, and the rhyme at the end of both names.

The name Tibni has been paralleled to the Akk "Tabniea" ("May Ea give a son") or possibly the Phoenician "Tabnith." These affinities are suggested by the fact that LXX and Josephus have the name with *a* rather than *i* (Tabni, Thamni). "Tibni" might then be a parody of the name, meaning "man of straw, scarecrow" (KB 1018; Gray *Kings* OTL, 365; *IPN* 232). He is called the "son of Ginath." Ginath appears to be the name of his father. However, the feminine ending may indicate that it is a place name, i.e., his home. Gray *Kings* OTL, 365–66; cf. *LBHG*, 434) suggests that this is En-gannim in the territory of Issachar, Gina in the Amarna texts and modern Kh. Beit Jann.

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KENNETH H. CUFFEY

**TIDAL** (PERSON) [Heb *tidʿāl* (תִּדְעָל)]. King of Goiim, one of the allies of Chedorlaomer (Gen 14:1, 9). The original form of the name can be reconstructed as **tadġal,* with the voiced pharyngeal *ġ* which had not yet merged with ʿ in the pronunciation of Hebrew at the time of the LXX translation (*r* instead of *d* in LXX and Syr is due to the virtual identity of the two letters in the Aramaic square script, and the reduction of *a* to *i* in an unstressed closed syllable followed the rule of Masoretic vocalization). When the publication of the Babylonian "Chedorlaomer texts" (see CHEDORLAOMER [PERSON]) revealed royal names reminiscent of those of the four E kings in Genesis 14, Tidal was compared with $^{m}$*Tu-ud-ḫul-a* son of $^{m}$GAZ.ZA […], who "plundered Babylon, the glorious city, led water over Babylon and Esagil (temple of Marduk, principal sanctuary of Babylon); his son, with the weapon of his hands, smashed his skull." As noticed by Pinches (1897: 74), *Tudḫula* apparently meant "The Evil Offspring" (TUD.HÉUL.A) in Sumerian. Böhl (1916; 1924: 151) equated Tudḫula, hence also Tidal, with one of the Hittite kings named Tudḫaliyaš (incidentally, in an Assyrian letter of the 13th century found at Ugarit and published by Lackenbacher 1982, this name is spelled even closer to its form in the "Chedorlaomer texts": $^{m}$*Tu-ud-ḫu-li-ia*). Böhl's identification was widely followed. However, none of the Tudḫaliyašes plundered Babylon or even waged war against Babylonia. Astour 1966: 88–90 thought that the name Tudḫula was substituted for that of another Hittite king, Muršiliš I, who had indeed sacked Babylon in

1531 B.C. (low chronology) and carried away the statues of Marduk and his consort Ṣarpanitum. But why the substitution was made remained unexplained; besides, even though Muršiliš was assassinated after his return from Babylon, the murderer was not his son but his brother-in-law. A simple and convincing identification was proposed by Tadmor (*EncMiqr* 8: 435–36). He took the meaning of *Tudḫula* as "The Evil Offspring" not as an intentional pun with *Tudḫaliya (š),* as understood by Astour 1966: 89, but at its face value—as a derogatory pseudonym for Sennacherib, whose father Sargon I was killed in battle—hence the patronymic $^{m}$GAZ.ZA, ideographic writing for *dâku,* "to kill" and its derivatives. In 689 B.C., Sennacherib captured Babylon and systematically destroyed it, razing to the ground its houses, walls, temples, and temple towers. In his own words (*LAR* 2: 341), "through the midst of that city I dug canals, I flooded its site with water, and the very foundations thereof I destroyed. I made its destruction more complete than that by a flood … I completely blotted it out with water and made it like a meadow" (cf. also Esarhaddon's relation of the same event, *LAR* 2: 642, 649). Sennacherib also carried away to Assyria the statue of Marduk. In 681, Sennacherib was murdered by his son Arda-Mulišši, whose name was miswritten in 2 Kgs 19:37 as "Adrammelech" (Parpola 1980). Nabonidus later recalled, without naming him, Sennacherib's "evil intentions" against Babylon, his destruction of the city and carrying away the statue of Marduk, for which that god made his own son murder him (*ANET,* 309). At the same time, a new destruction of Babylon by water was anticipated by the authors of Isa 14:23 and Jer 51:42.

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MICHAEL C. ASTOUR


## TIGLATH-PILESER (PERSON) [Heb *tiglat pil›eser* (תִּגְלַת פִּלְאֶסֶר)]. Var. TIGLATH-

PILNESER; PUL. An Assyrian king who invaded N Israel twice, once intervening on behalf of Judah (2 Kgs 15:19–20, 29; 16:5–18; Tiglath-Pilneser [Heb *tiglat pilně›eser*] in 1 Chr 5:6, 26; 2 Chr 28:16–21). In Assyrian the name is spelled *Tukultī-apil-ešarra* and means "my trust is in the firstborn of the shrine Ešarra." The phrase "the fistborn of the shrine Ešarra" refers to the god Ninurta who was the son of the god Ashur, since Esharra was the shrine of Ashur. Three kings in Assyrian history bore this name and two of them were outstanding monarchs, Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.) and Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 B.C.). For a fuller treatment of their reigns see MESOPOTAMIA, HISTORY OF (ASSYRIA). Only Tiglath-pileser III is mentioned in the Bible, where he is sometimes called Pul (Heb *pûl*), a form of his nickname Pulu (an abbreviation of the element *apil* in his name), which is attested in cuneiform records.

It is known from the royal inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III that Samaria, together with other major cities such as Damascus and Tyre, paid tribute to Assyria as early as 738 B.C. That the kingdom of Israel was submissive to Assyria in the reign of Menahem is confirmed by the biblical narrative in 2 Kings (cf. *ANET,* 282–83). Certainly by 734 B.C. Tiglath-pileser was able to march right through Palestine without opposition and capture Gaza in the S. This was part of Tiglath-pileser's attempt to establish an Assyrian trading center on the border with Egypt.

This attempt in S Palestine and the Sinai was frustrated, however, by a major rebellion in the years 733–732 B.C. The leader of the rebellion was Rezin (*Rahianu* in cuneiform sources) of Damascus. Rezin was supported, among others, by Samaria, which was now ruled by Pekah. In 733 the Assyrians defeated Rezin's army and laid siege to Damascus. But when the city had not fallen after 45 days, Tiglath-pileser III gave up the attempt and returned to Assyria, carrying many people from the surrounding regions into exile. In the following year, 732 B.C., Damascus was once again attacked and this time captured.

According to the narrative in 2 Kgs 16:5–18, Tiglath-pileser III launched a campaign against Rezin of Syria because he together with Pekah of Israel had laid siege to Ahaz, king of Judah. Ahaz appealed to the Assyrian king for help and accompanied the appeal with a bribe. After the fall of Damascus Ahaz went there to pay homage to Tiglath-pileser. The biblical narrative continues to describe how Ahaz was impressed by Assyrian religious practices and tried to institute them in Jerusalem.

Pekah, king of Israel, who had been in league with Rezin of Damascus, was a target of Assyrian vengeance during this period. According to Assyrian records Pekah's army was defeated and various regions such as Gilead and Galilee were captured and their people taken back to Assyria in exile. Samaria, however, remained free and was not captured until the time of Shalmaneser V. Some time after the Assyrians defeated Pekah he was assassinated and replaced by Hoshea as king of Israel, who became an Assyrian vassal. See *CAH* 3/2/22.

A. KIRK GRAYSON

**TIKVAH** (PERSON) [Heb *tiqwâ* (תִּקְוָה)]. **1.** The father-in-law of Huldah the prophetess, who authenticated the temple scroll found during the reign of Josiah (2 Kgs 22:14). In the parallel text of 2 Chr 34:22, he is named Tokhath; however, that involves only a minor difference in the consonantal Hebrew text (*tqwh* versus *twqht*). Noth takes the spelling of 2 Chronicles to be original and argues that the name is non-Semitic (*IPN*, 260). Wilson (1980: 223) believes that Tikvah's son, Shallum, is the same Shallum identified as Jeremiah's uncle (Jer 32:7). If he is correct, Tikvah was also the father of Hilkiah, the grandfather of Jeremiah, and a member of a priestly family in Anathoth—a family long conjectured to be descended from Abiathar and possibly Eli (see 1 Kgs 2:26–27). Further, if Hilkiah the priest mentioned here is also the father of Jeremiah, then we can infer that he brought the temple scroll to his sister-in-law for verification of its authority. However, both "Shallum" and "Hilkiah" are relatively common names; therefore, these possible identifications must remain uncertain.

**2.** The father of Jahzeiah, who was one of the few opponents of Ezra's procedure to dissolve the marriages between Judean men and foreign women (Ezra 10:15; 1 Esdr 9:14). Noth considers the name to be a modification of *tāwqhat* and considers it to be non-Semitic (*IPN*, 260). For the discussion, see JAHZEIAH (PERSON).

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JEFFREY A. FAGER

**TILON** (PERSON) [Heb K *twlwn* (תּוֹלוֹן), Q *tîlôn* (תִּילוֹן)]. The son of Shimon, belonging to the tribe of Judah (1 Chr 4:20). The MT records a variation in spelling of this name between what was written and what was spoken (preserved in the margin).

DAVID CHANNING SMITH

**TIMAEUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Timaios* (Τιμαιος)]. The father of the blind beggar Bartimaeus of Jericho, to whom Jesus restored sight (Mark 10:46). The preservation of the name of Timaeus and his son is limited to Mark and is one of only two instances in which Mark gives a name within a healing story (cf. 5:22). Such detail may indicate the later influence of Bartimaeus within the Church. This common name is shared by the famous dialogue of Plato, the *maeus.*

JOANN FORD WATSON

**TIMNA** (PERSON) [Heb *timnāʿ* (תִּמְנָע)]. **1.** A sister of the Horite chief Lotan (Gen 36:22; 1 Chr 1:39); she became the concubine of Eliphaz (a son of Esau) and the mother of Amalek (Gen 36:12). A few scholars assume that two different persons are described in these passages: Lotan's sister and Eliphaz' concubine (see, for instance, Douglas in *NBD*, 1200). Most, however, accept that the Timna of Gen 36:22 and 1 Chr 1:39 is the same person as the Timna of Gen 36:12. Some feel that the identification of a Horite as a concubine rather than a wife is meant to convey information concerning relations among various

groups. According to Wilson (1977: 180), for example, assigning Timna the status of a concubine indicates not only that social mixing had taken place between Horites and Edomites (whose eponymous ancestor was Esau), but also that the Horites were assigned an inferior status among the Edomites. Sarna (1989: 250) adds that the purpose of Timna's status as a concubine is to draw attention to the Amalekites not being genuine Edomites. This becomes important when one considers that whereas the Israelites were to consider Edomites as kinsmen (Deut 23:7–8), the Amalekites were to be punished for their treatment of Israel (Exod 17:8–16; Deut 25:17–19).

**2.** A clan chief of Edom (Gen 36:40; 1 Chr 1:51), apparently listed in 1 Chr 1:36 as a son of Eliphaz. This suggests that Eliphaz had a concubine and a son each named Timna. Scholars have offered other possibilities. Keil and Delitzsch (1986: 323) noted that the wording of 1 Chr 1:36 is "and Timna and Amalek," and claimed that this is simply a concise way of saying "and from Timna, Amalek." Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 44) claims that the names Timna and Amalek in 1 Chr 1:36 were loosely attached to the preceding list and that the Chronicler was relying on the reader's knowledge of Genesis to make sense of the reference. Several scholars, however, suggest that the "Timna" of Gen 36:40 and 1 Chr 1:36, 51 was not a person at all. Rather, it was a geographical designation of the territory inhabited by the Edomite clan (see, for example, Hicks in *IDB* 4: 649).

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DAVID SALTER WILLIAMS

**TIMNA**ʿ (PLACE). A valley at the S end of the Arabah, and some 30 km N of the Gulf of Aqabah. The valley has been the center of intermittent copper mining and smelting activities for over six millennia, and dozens of sites in the valley yield remains attesting to this activity. Consequently, for precision, map-reference (M.R.) numbers in this entry are not rounded off to the usual six digits.

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A. Geographic Setting and Nature of the Site
B. History of Explorations
C. Results of the Excavations
    1. The Copper Installations
    2. The Shrines
D. Questions and Observations from the Excavations

———

**A. Geographic Setting and Nature of the Site**

Timnaʿ consists of a semicircular valley covering ca. 70 $km^2$ and is drained by four wadis. The valley opens toward the E into the Arabah, and the N, W, and S walls of the valley are protected with formidable cliffs ca. 500–700 m high. In the center of the valley is a large mountain rising 453 m above the surrounding area. The erosion of the predominantly sandstone cliffs of this mountain has left an array of geologic formations, among which is one called "King Solomon's Pillars." The exposed stone throughout the valley encases veins of high-concentration copper-bearing ores which have been exploited from the Chalcolithic period to the modern operation run by Israel's Timna Copper Mines, Ltd.

**B. History of Explorations**

Timnaʿ was first noted by the British explorer J. Petherick in 1845 (1861), who identified the presence of copper smelting slag. A. Musil in 1902 noted the remains of buildings in the area (1907). In 1934, F. Frank (1934) identified seven copper smelting sites; N. Glueck in 1935 claimed to have identified Iron Age I and II sherds in the area, and as late as 1970 attributed the mining operations in part to Solomon (1970: 91–92, 120; however see discussion in C.1.c below). B. Rothenberg began a systematic investigation of the region in 1959–60, which resumed annually in 1964. For this study he assembled an international and interdisciplinary team combining archaeologists with specialists in metallurgy, extractive metallurgy, mineralogy, and chemistry.

**C. Results of the Excavations**

**1. The Copper Installations.** The copper installations consist of areas devoted either to one or a combination of operations—copper mining, ore preparation, smelting, and casting. While the region has been exploited intermittently over a long period of time, this summary will concentrate on those operations that occurred during four major periods—the Chalcolithic, the EB, the LB–Iron Age I, and the Roman.

**a. The Chalcolithic Period.** Site #39 (M.R. 14909183) consists of two areas—"a" and "b." At the bottom of a hill is Site 39a, which was a preparation site for mixing ores and fluxes. These were then probably smelted at Site 39b on the top of the hill some 30 m higher. A building (ca. 4 × 5 m) with rounded corners and an entrance on the W was excavated at the bottom of the hill and apparently was a dwelling in which some of the ore was processed. Site 39b, on the top of the hill, yielded an array of Chalcolithic flints and ceramic remains *in situ*, and of special importance was the smelting installation, which consisted of a primitively constructed bowl furnace (ca. 45 cm in diameter and ca. 30 cm deep; *EAEHL* 4: 1186–88).

The copper ores were gathered during the Chalcolithic period by a combination of trenching and pitting, essentially a pit-mining process. There is some tentative evidence of shaft-and-gallery underground mining (Site 42), but this has not been fully investigated (Rothenberg 1972: pl. 2, 3; 1978: 1). The evidence from the Timnaʿ valley constitutes the earliest evidence of a metal production complex in the ANE (Rothenberg 1978: 4).

**b. The Early Bronze Period.** Several sites yielded remains of copper operations from the EB period. The EB I is represented by a fully developed underground mining system (in Area T) consisting of shaft-and-gallery networks. The tunnels were dug and the ores extracted by means of stone tools. Examples of these tools were discovered in the tunnel system, along with a typical EB I lamp. There are several smelting sites in the area which may date to the EB I, but these have not been fully investigated (Rothenberg 1978: 1–2).

While there is no evidence of copper mines in the Timnaʿ valley itself during EB II; several sites have been located just a few km N of the valley—Sites 144, 167, 168, 201, and 231. Site 201a (M.R. 15109175; ca. 3 km N of Timnaʿ in the Arabah), along with some of the others, has produced pottery and flints of the EB II, as well as a smelting furnace built of stone. These installations are particularly significant because they are the first evidence of tapping the slag out of the furnace during the smelting process (Rothenberg 1978: 2). The earlier process had involved mixing the fuel and ore, after which the slag and copper were allowed to cool. The mass was then broken up and the copper nodules removed for further processing (1978: 28–29).

Evidence for copper metal mining and processing during the rest of the EB is lacking, although it is possible that some activity occurred during the EB IV (inferred from the discovery of EB IV remains in the S Arabah; Rothenberg 1978: 1). Such activity might be expected in view of the appearance of copper ingots at several EB IV sites in the N Negeb—e.g.Beer Resisim (Cohen and Dever 1980) and Yeruham (Kochavi 1969)—and also at Lachish (Tufnell 1958: 39–43, 75).

**c. The Late Bronze–Iron Age I.** A gap appears in the mining/smelting operations at Timnaʿ during the MB, but it commenced again in LB II. A large operation was found at Site 2 (M.R. 14489107) and showed evidence of several steps of the processing operation. One area (B) had a furnace for smelting and casting as well as a facility to produce charcoal from acacia wood. In another area (D–K), a 400 $m^2$ building seems to have been used to house some of the personnel and to store and process raw materials for smelting; this was built around an 8 × 11 m courtyard in which were storage pits and stone platforms where ores were crushed (inferred from grinding tools and crushed ores found *in situ*). In the N of this area was a casting workshop with remains of charcoal, wood ash, copper pellets, and slag (*EAEHL* 4: 1188–90). There was also an area that appears to have been a *bamah* W of the site (see 2.b below).

Site 30 (M.R. 14479093) is a large, 40 × 80 m walled smelting area, which had three strata. Strata 3–2 showed evidence of rather extensive use and several rectangular buildings—probably a combination of workshops, dwellings, and storage facilities. The predominant smelting technique was the more tedious

process of allowing the slag to cool, from which the copper nodules were picked. The open areas in the compound were used to store raw materials, or to discard broken slag. The ceramic repertorie consists of a combination of black, handmade Negeb ware (Negebite ware), along with Midianite and Egyptian ceramics which appear to be generally Iron Age I. Stratum 1 did not encompass as large an area, but the metallurgical process was more sophisticated than in the earlier strata, as shown in the larger, more durable furnaces, and the reintroduction of tapping the slag. The ceramics of this stratum were almost exclusively Iron Age I (*EAEHL* 4: 1199–1201).

In spite of Glueck's claim that Solomon engaged in copper mining activity in this area (1970: 91–92, 120), there has been no evidence to indicate any such activity during the Iron Age IB, much less any activity attributable to Solomon. Instead, there is a gap in mining/smelting operations from the mid–12th century B.C. to the Nabatean period. The texts, on the other hand, indicate that Solomon's copper/bronze resources were in large part secured by David as a result of his military exploits (cf. 1 Chr 18:8, 10; 22:3, 14). There are no textual nor archaeological indications that Solomon sponsored mining activities in the area of Timnaʿ, or anywhere else.

**d. The Roman Period.** Site 28 (M.R. 14829032) appears to have been a major center for Roman copper extraction, and Rothenberg suggests that it was associated with the presence of the Third Legion Cyrenaica (*EAEHL* 4: 1199). The site has remains of smelting furnaces which incorporated the slag tapping procedure, in addition to casting workshop areas (*EAEHL* 4: 1198–99).

**2. The Shrines. a. The Chalcolithic Period.** A shrine has been inferred in Site 191 (M.R. 14979166), which rests next to one of the cliffs in Timnaʿ valley. It consists of a semicircular enclosure against the face of the cliff, in which there is a narrow fissure. The enclosure was littered with Chalcolithic sherds and flints and inside the fissure is an apparently ancient rock drawing/carving depicting two beings (a male and female?) along with four abstractly executed ostriches. Rothenberg suggests that the female figure is reminiscent of the Ghassulian fresco and suggests that the two figures may represent the deities worshiped at the site (1972: 53–62).

**b. The Late Bronze–Iron Age I.** Area F at Site 2 (see C.1.c above) is located about 70 m W of the main smelting area and has what appears to be a *bamah.* It is on a ridge which connects a 20-m-high hill to the adjoining lower intermediate valley walls. The *bamah* is an oval tumulus measuring 4.8 × 3.1 m and about 22 cm high (*EAEHL* 4: 1190; Rothenberg 1972: 114–16). In association with the structure along with the black Negeb ware were found numerous decorated Midianite sherds; various small precious items such as beads of carnelian and faience; stone, glass, and copper needles and spatulas; Red Sea shells, ostrich eggshells; several goat horns; and evidence of metallurgical activities. Rothenberg suggests that this site may be where some of the copper implements associated with the worship at the nearby Hathor shrine were produced (*EAEHL* 4: 1190).

A series of cup marks next to a deliberately leveled area, 3 × 3 m, were found on a high plateau (M.R. 14509090) in association with another copper site (Site 34). This installation apparently dates to the LB II period (Rothenberg 1972: 66). The site, which Rothenberg suggests is a *bamah,* rises 10 m above the plateau and has a series of steps leading up to it which shows signs of tool marks (1972: 117). The platform has engraved on its surface a small representation of a human sitting on a one-hump camel.

Site 199 (M.R. 14579094) is nestled deep within a series of crevices associated with the so-called King Solomon's Pillars. The presence of human skeletal remains enclosed within a number of the crevices implies a burial place. In association with these were ceramic goods dating to the LB–Iron Age period, including an ornate Midianite jug. About 50 m S of this funeral area is a sheltered area which was created when a large piece of sandstone fell and formed an artificial cave. In this cavity (Site 198) was a platform on which was a rounded *maṣṣebâ* stone (55 cm high and 30 cm wide) with a shallow cup mark (libation bowl?) beside it. Rothenberg suggests (1972: 118–19) that these were associated sites, and infers from the slag, tools, and charcoal remains in the cave that perhaps this area was used for ritual casting.

The most complex shrine is Site 200 (M.R. 14579090), also known as the Hathor Temple, which is built against the face of the "Pillars," and is centrally located. The remains were located in a mound measuring

ca. 15 × 15 m and ca. 1.5 m high. Excavations revealed 5 strata ranging from the Chalcolithic to the Roman periods, although the primary activities were concentrated in the LB–Iron Age I (strata 4–2).

The Chalcolithic period (stratum 5) was represented by flints and sherds and had some sparse remains of buildings and fireplaces (*EAEHL* 4: 1190).

Strata 4–3 are dated to the LB II–Iron Age I period and were associated with the 19th–20th Dyn. of Egypt, who were exploiting the copper of the region.

The stratum 4 shrine consisted of a 9 × 7 m courtyard in which was a *naos* measuring 2.7 × 1.7 m. The raised *naos* was built of imported white sandstone and rested against the red sandstone cliff, in which had been carved a large niche; the niche probably accommodated the representation of a deity. Two square foundation stones were located flanking the *naos,* where probably stood two large squared pillars depicting Hathor. Such pillars were found in clear secondary use in the shrine (*EAEHL* 4: 1190–92). It seems that stone lintels (i.e., architraves) bridged from the Hathor columns to the back of the shrine into holes that had been dug into the cliff to support the end (Rothenberg 1972: 130). Some of the small finds associated with stratum 4 include incense altars and offering tables (*EAEHL* 4: 1192); otherwise, because of the disturbed stratigraphy of the site, many of the small finds for strata 4–2 are grouped together (Rothenberg 1972: 152–53). Rothenberg suggests (*EAEHL* 4: 1190) that the shrine was built sometime during the reigns of either Rameses II (ca. 1304–1237 B.C.) or Seti I (ca. 1318–1304 B.C.; the later is the date given in 1972: 129–30). Because of the extreme obliteration of the architectural remains, it appears that the shrine was deliberately destroyed, but by unknown agents (Rothenberg 1972: 131).

Stratum 3 was built after the lapse of about a generation, at which time the courtyard was enlarged to ca. 9 × 9 m and paved with a layer of crushed white stone. The *naos* also was renovated with a layer of lime plaster and with the installation of a special area, a *pronaos,* just in front of it (measuring 3 × 3 m). From the inscribed objects found in this stratum (e.g., a faience ring stand with a cartouche inscription; *EAEHL*4: 1195), it appears that the new shrine may have been rebuilt during the reign of Rameses III (ca. 1198–1166 B.C.). Further corroborating this conclusion is the outline of a rock stele (ca. 90 cm high and 55 cm wide) carved into the face of the cliff above the shrine. The stele shows Rameses III, identified by two of his cartouches carved into the stone, offering gifts to Hathor (Ventura 1974), who was the Egyptian goddess of mining. That the shrine was devoted to the worship of Hathor, at least in these earlier strata, can be inferred from the stele depicting Hathor, the presence of the Hathor-faced square columns, representations of the cat which is associated with Hathor (and especially a leopard; Rothenberg 1972: 166), and the discovery of an inscribed bracelet fragment which reads: "Hathor, Lady of the Turquoise," and another similar inscription on a sistrum handle (Rothenberg 1972: 166). The monumental elements of the stratum 3 shrine were almost exclusively Egyptian in character. The shrine was probably destroyed by an earthquake (Rothenberg 1972: 149), and if the shrine were associated with Rameses III, it would have been in the first half of the 12th century B.C.

The shrine of stratum 2, however, takes on a different character (*EAEHL* 4: 1193–96)—a room was added outside, but attached to the E side of the shrine and against the cliff, stone benches were built flanking each side of the entrance into the shrine, and a series of *maṣṣebôt* were placed along the W wall, most of which consisted of earlier Egyptian elements in reuse (e.g., one of the square Hathor columns, which had been defaced and was placed upside down). Rather large quantities of animal bone fragments were found in this stratum, and especially around the *maṣṣebôt* (Rothenberg 1972: 176). Perhaps most surprising was the discovery, along both side walls of the shrine, of fairly large pieces of red and yellow heavy fabric into which beads had been woven. The material was a combination of flax and wool, and from the discovery of strategically placed postholes, it is inferred that these were the remains of a tent covering (Rothenberg 1972: 151; *EAEHL* 4: 1196). In the *naos* was found *in situ* a copper snake, measuring ca. 12 cm. with a gilded head which depicted two eyes (Rothenberg 1972: 152, 173).

Stratum 2 appears to have more of a "Semitic" character. Because of the Midianite ceramic motifs, some of the non-Egyptian motifs at the site, and the apparently contemptuous regard for some of the Egyptian elements (e.g., the defacing and inversion of the Hathor column, and yet its retention as a religious artifact: the effort to eradicate the obvious hieroglyphic elements at the site), one can infer that

the Midianites, or at least groups who were more indigenous to Canaan, were probably the predominant group working the sites. The non-Egyptian motifs include the copper serpent; a copper figurine of a sheep; copper jewelry resembling the geometric designs on the Midianite pottery; a very stylized copper figurine with outstretched arms, a phallus, and almost a "beak face" head; and another cast copper figurine of a phallic image [Rothenberg 1972: 172–76]).

The small finds from strata 3 and 2 consist of those with Egyptian motifs: the fragment of a small sphinx (which Rothenberg says resembles the figure of Rameses II; 1972: 132), faience beads, bowls, animal figurines, scarabs, wands, alabaster vessels, and Hathor figurines (*EAEHL* 4: 1196); and those of more local origin (cf. the listing above). While Rothenberg is unwilling to attribute these artifacts specifically to either stratum 3 or 2 because of the disturbed nature of the site and the resulting stratigraphic problems (*EAEHL* 4: 1196–98; 1972: 152–53)—and it is necessary to respect these factors—one nevertheless wonders if the artifacts should generally be divided to correspond to the respective character differentiations of the site's monumental remains. This shrine came to an end about the middle of the 12th century B.C.

**c. The Roman Period.** Part of Site 200, the shrine, was briefly reoccupied during the Roman period and was used as a casting workshop (Rothenberg 1972: 177–79).

A possible shrine of some kind was found at site 28 (M.R. 14829032). It consists of a somewhat rectangular area (7.5 × 5.5 m), outlined with large slag pieces that had been embedded into foundation trenches. On the S side was an "apse." Rothenberg hints that it might have been a symbolic Christian church from the Roman period (1972: 221–22).

**D. Questions and Observations from the Excavations**

The transition from the predominantly Egyptian nature of the copper activities of the LB–Iron Age to the more Semitic character is intriguing: what was the relationship between the Semitic elements and the Egyptian? Rothenberg (1972: 183) and Kenyon (1987: 45–46) think that the Semitic peoples collaborated with the Egyptians in the copper-extracting processes (1987: 45–46), while Singer (1978: 20) hints that there was perhaps coerced labor: "Egyptians … more likely directed, imported Midianite and Amalekite laborers." Regardless of this relationship, a change of attitude apparently occurred among the Semitic elements as implied in the contemptuous treatment of the exposed hieroglyphs, the defaced Hathor columns, and especially the apparent deliberate inversion of one of the columns while retaining it in the shrine context. Somewhat peculiarly, there is no evidence to infer an armed conflict, but with the destruction of the Hathor shrine by an earthquake (during the reign of Rameses III?), the Semitic elements appear to have gained the supremacy.

Perhaps the Egyptians decreased their presence at Timnaʿ to redirect their manpower in the face of the Libyan threat on their W border, and because of conflicts with the Sea Peoples (cf. *CAH* 2/2: 371–78). Additionally, one benefit of military campaigns (tm the victors) is the spoils, which could diminish the need to extract raw materials. Perhaps the earthquake, then, was simply coincidental to the "ethnic" shift, or perhaps the earthquake was perceived as a convenient time to diminish the operation in view of the time and energy needed to "retool." The answer to this question remains elusive.

The appearance of the copper snake in the *naos* of the Hathor shrine easily recalls the episode of Moses and the serpents in the wilderness, and in particular Moses' construction of a bronze serpent which he placed on a pole (Num 21:6–9). This relic, which was called "Nehushtan," is that which Hezekiah is said to have destroyed as part of his reforms (2 Kgs 18:4). It is unclear whether the word *nĕḥuštan* is derived from the root meaning "copper, bronze," or from the root for "serpent" (cf. BDB, 639), but either way, the name is appropriate. While no claim is made to connect directly the Timnaʿ serpent with either of these traditions, its presence corroborates a wider cultural veneration of the serpent among those who became Israel's neighbors (as do also various ceramic representations of serpents on cultic vessels; e.g., the cult stand from Beth-shan, stratum 5).

The discovery of the fabric which covered the Hathor shrine, while by no means duplicating the description of the tabernacle (cf. Exodus 26, 36), shows the antiquity of the practice on at least a "permanent" structure.

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DALE W. MANOR

**TIMNAH** (PLACE) [Heb *timnâ* (תִּמְנָה)]. **1.** A town on the N border of the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:7), between Beth-shemesh and Ekron (probably Tel Miqne). According to Josh 19:43, it was originally assigned to the tribe of Dan. Alt (*KlSchr* 1: 193–202) has persuasively argued that the border list of Joshua 15 is derived from an ancient legal document delineating the territorial claims of the tribes during the period of the judges. Despite these claims, for a time Timnah was in the hands of the Philistines, for it was here that Samson's famous misadventure with his Philistine wife took place (Judges 14). The fact that Timnah was taken by the Philistines during the time of Ahaz (2 Chr 28:18) indicates that it came under Israelite control for a time, perhaps as a result of Uzziah's campaign against the Philistines (2 Chr 26:6).

A majority of scholars accept the identification of ancient Timnah with Tell el-Batashi (M.R. 141133), a large mound in a broad section of the Nahal Sorek approximately 9 km WNW of Beth-shemesh and 5.5 km E of Tel Miqne (Ekron). Extensive excavations have demonstrated a close correspondence between the history of ancient Timnah and this most impressive mound, including a substantial Philistine occupation during the Iron I period and clear evidence of Israelite reoccupation during the 8th century (Kelm and Mazar 1985). When combined with this archaeological evidence, the ideal geographic location of Tell el-Batashi with respect to other known points on Judah's N border makes this identification difficult to question. See also BATASHI, TELL EL- (M.R. 142132).

**2.** A town situated in the S hill country of Judah (Josh 15:17), within the same district as Maon. This settlement is included in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The theory that this list is derived from an administrative roster compiled under the Judean monarchy (Alt 1925) has been widely accepted, although controversy continues over the precise makeup of the districts, the proper context of the town lists of Benjamin and Dan, and the period of the monarchy to which the original roster belongs (*Joshua* 64–72). Given the tentative identifications of neighboring towns such as Maon with Tell Ma'in, Carmel with Khirbet el-Kirmil, and Juttah with modern Yatta, the hill country Timnah is no doubt located in the same region, 10 to 15 km SW of Hebron. However, no satisfactory candidate within this region has yet been identified.

**3.** A town in S Canaan (Gen 38:12). It was on his journey to Timnah that Judah is said to have mistaken his daughter-in-law Tamar for a ritual prostitute (Gen 38:12–19). The lack of detailed geographical clues makes it difficult to provide a firm identification. Many scholars (eg. Gold in *IDB* 4: 649) equate it with Timnah of the S Judean hill country (#2 above), although its identification with Timnah/Tell el-Batashi seems equally probable in geographic terms. The discovery that Tell el-Batashi was a major city during the Bronze Age (Kelm and Mazar 1985) lends considerable strength to the second of these associations. Given that Timnah is a relatively common place name, it is entirely possible that a third location is referred to in these verses.

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WADE R. KOTTER

**TIMNATH** (PLACE) [Gk *Thamnatha* (Θαμναθα)]. Listed in 1 Macc 9:50 as one of the cities of Judea fortified by Bacchides in his battle with Jonathan. While the major mss of the Greek text read *Thamnatha Pharathōn,* as if the two terms comprise the name of a single location, Abel has rightly pointed to the readings of the Vulgate, Syriac versions, and Josephus (*Ant* 13.15), all of which place a *kai* between the two words (1925: 206–7; Goldstein *I Maccabees* AB, 386).

The location of this city has been the subject of some debate. The discussion is rooted in the various references to *timnāh* in the Hebrew Scriptures, all of which do not designate the same location. See TIMNAH (PLACE). While Aharoni and Avi-Yonah identify the city in 1 Macc 9:50, also called Thamna, with a site SW of Jerusalem (*MBA*, 197), Abel considered it to be at the location of Joshua's tomb, the modern Khirbet Tibnah (M.R. 160157), also known as TIMNATH-HERES or Timnath-serah (1925: 206–7; *GP* 2: 481–82). There is also a Timnah now identified with the modern Tell el-Batashi (M.R. 141132) in the Sorek valley E of Jerusalem, even though that site has also been the subject of debate (Aharoni 1958: 27–30). Goldstein is probably correct in asserting that the fortifications erected by Bacchides would have been to the N of Jerusalem (AB, 386), the primary base of the Maccabean insurgency (AB, 236), thereby arguing for the Khirbet Tibnah site located about 12 miles NE of Emmaus. This is probably the same city reduced to servitude by Cassius (*Ant* 14.275).

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JOHN KAMPEN

**TIMNATH-HERES** (PLACE) [Heb *timnat-ḥeres* (תִּמְנַת־חֶרֶס)]. Var. TIMNATH-SERAH. A toponym that denotes the portion allotted to Joshua as a personal possession (Judg 2:9). The initial problem presented by the biblical evidence is the variation in the name between Judges (2:9; Timnath-heres) and Joshua (19:50; 24:30; Timnath-serah [Heb *timnat-seraḥ*]). Though most scholars have accepted "Timnath-heres" as the original form (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 469), they do not share the same unanimity in their interpretations concerning the difference between the renderings in Judges and Joshua. Some suggest that the name "Timnath-heres," "Portion of the Sun," indicates the presence of a cult center, dedicated to the sun deity (cf. *IDB* 4: 650). Therefore the change in Joshua may represent an attempt by the redactors of Joshua to remove any hint of idolatry on the part of Joshua.

Another suggestion by van Selms (*ISBE* 4: 856) maintains on the basis of etymology that the change was due to the geographical location of the settlement. If Timnath-heres is part of the S slopes of Ephraim (see below), then it is located in the most rugged portion of the whole territory of Ephraim (Finkelstein *AIS*, 128). According to van Selms (*ISBE* 4: 856), the change from *ḥeres* to *seraḥ* was due to "spontaneous metathesis" and the new form should be translated "overhang." This etymology would seem to be a logical referent for a town built in an area of steep incline.

The third interpretation suggests that the metathesis is due to popular etymology. In contrast to van Selms, Boling proposes that "Timnath-serah" means "leftover portion" (*Judges* AB, 72). Therefore the name is an inference gleaned from the fact that Joshua received his allotment from what was left after all the other tribes had been given their inheritance. The interpretation of van Selms is difficult to sustain because *seraḥ* is never used to describe mountain formations, but rather to describe the "excess" such as cloth that overhangs the edge of the top of a tent. It is that surplus which is "left over." In summary, the evidence is not sufficient to make a definitive resolution of the problem, although the third suggestion seems most likely.

All three references to Timnath-heres/-serah locate Joshua's inheritance within the geographical boundaries of his own tribe, Ephraim (Num 13:8). However, the city appears to belong exclusively to Joshua and not to the tribe of Ephraim. The suggestion that Joshua had a private city (like David with Jerusalem and Omri with Samaria) bears further study (cf. van Selms *ISBE* 4: 856). In this connection, it should be noted that Caleb also receives a special inheritance of Hebron in the tribe of Judah.

Timnath-heres has been predominantly identified with Khirbet Tibnah (M.R. 160157) among the S slopes of Ephraim (Finkelstein *AIS,* 121, 169). The site, 24 km SW of Shechem, was occupied as early as MB II. However, during the LB Age it was mostly abandoned (Boling and Wright AB, 469). In contrast, during Iron I, the site was a rather large village of 35–40 dunams. The abundance of pottery also indicates active occupation in Iron II. There is evidence of occupation down until the Early Arab and medieval periods. The archaeological evidence would seem to support that the settlement was extensively rebuilt during Iron I and may be the source of the tradition that Joshua rebuilt the settlement (Josh 19:50). It is clear that this site was part of the early settlement of the hill country of Ephraim that would finally emerge as Israel. See TIMNATH (PLACE).

HARRY R. WEEKS

**TIMON** (PERSON) [Gk *Timōn* (Τιμων)]. Timon appears only in Acts 6:5, where he is one of seven gifted leaders "of good repute, full of the spirit and of wisdom" (Acts 6:3), who were chosen to look after the needs of the Hellenistic Jewish-Christian widows who had been neglected in the "daily distribution" (Acts 6:1). Since all seven had Greek names and only one of them, Nicolaus, is explicitly called a proselyte, it is probable that the other six, including Timon, were either Jews born in the Diaspora or Palestinian Jews with Greek names (as would be the case with Jesus' disciples Andrew and Philip). The work of two of them, Stephen (Acts 6:8–8:2) and Philip (Acts 8:5–40; 21:8), makes it clear that the seven did not limit themselves to "serving tables" (Acts 6:2) but functioned for the Hellenists in the way that the Twelve did for the Hebrew Christians (see Simon 1958: 7).

Tradition holds, according to Schermann (1907: 302–3, 348), that Timon was one of the 70 appointed by Jesus (Luke 10:1), later became bishop of Bostra in Arabia, and was eventually martyred by fire in Basrah at the instigation of heathen Greeks.

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JON PAULIEN

**TIMOTHY** (PERSON) [Gk *Timotheos* (Τιμοθεος)]. A missionary associate, fellow worker, and trusted emissary of Paul over an extended period of time. Timothy is mentioned after Paul in the prescript of various Pauline letters as a cosender of those letters (1 Thess 1:1; 2 Cor 1:1; Phil 1:1; Philemon 1; cf. also 2 Thess 1:1; Col 1:1). He is variously identified as "our brother" (1 Thess 3:2; 2 Cor 1:1; Philemon 1), as "fellow worker" (1 Thess 3:2; Rom 16:21), and as Paul's "beloved and faithful child in the Lord" (1 Cor 4:17; cf. 1 Tim 1:2) who enjoys a special relationship with this apostle (Phil 2:20–22; cf. 1 Tim 1:2, 18; 2 Tim 1:2; 2:1). Many interpreters also see the phrase "apostles of Christ" (1 Thess 2:6) as including Timothy along with Paul (and Silas).

According to Acts Timothy was a native of Lystra in Asia Minor (16:1, 2), the son of a Jewish woman and a Greek father (16:1). Because of the matrilineal principle of descent, Timothy would have been considered a Jew, although the applicability of this principle in the 1st-century Diaspora has been questioned by Cohen (1986: 251–68). The author of 2 Timothy, preserving what is probably historically reliable tradition, names his mother as Eunice and his grandmother as Lois, both of whom are described as Christian believers (1:5). Timothy's mother did not have him circumcised (Acts 16:3). This together with her marriage to a (nonbelieving?) gentile suggests that Timothy, living in the Diaspora, did not grow up in a pious or strictly observant Jewish home (although see 2 Tim 3:15).

At Lystra during Paul's second missionary journey, Timothy is chosen by Paul to accompany him, probably because "he was well spoken of by the brethren" of that area (Acts 16:2–3). The reason for his good reputation remains unknown. At this time Timothy was already a Christian. Although there is no

indication in Acts or Paul's letters when Paul first encountered Timothy, nor is there reference to the person who brought Timothy to the Christian faith, it is usually assumed that Paul and Barnabas met and converted him during their first missionary journey to that area. In accord with Jewish legal observance, Paul had Timothy circumcised, thus regularizing his religious status and hence making him fully acceptable and more effective as Paul's co-worker to the Jews of his native area and elsewhere (Acts 16:3). The noninterference of Timothy's father with the circumcision leads to the assumption that he was deceased at this time.

Timothy along with Silas (= Silvanus) accompanied Paul through Asia Minor to Troas and then went over to Macedonia. At Philippi they became involved in conflict (Acts 16:6–40; 1 Thess 2:2); however, Paul and Silas are the only ones mentioned as having been brought before the magistrate. Timothy may have been spared because he was half Greek. Afterward the missionaries passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, eventually arriving at Thessalonica, where opposition was also encountered (Acts 17:1–9). The sources offer different accounts about what happened next. According to the author of Acts, Paul, Silas, and Timothy left by night for Beroea, where Timothy and Silas remained, while Paul set sail for Athens (17:10–14). From Athens Paul sent word that Timothy and Silas were to join him in that city "as soon as possible" (17:15). Yet, according to the narrative, they do not meet Paul until he is in Corinth (18:5). According to Paul in 1 Thessalonians, Timothy (and Silvanus?) had joined him in Athens from where Paul, anxious about the newly established community at Thessalonica, sent Timothy to them (3:2). Since Paul was closer to the events related, his account merits priority.

The decision to send Timothy may have been collaborative (cf. "*we* sent …," 1 Thess 3:2), with Timothy taking an active part in the determination that Paul remain in Athens, while he (and Silvanus?) went back to Thessalonica. Timothy's task included the following: to establish the Thessalonians in their faith and to encourage them (3:2), to assess how the community was faring so that he could report back to Paul (3:5), and probably to tell them of Paul's longing to see them personally and to explain why Paul himself could not come (2:17). At the time the Thessalonians were suffering afflictions from their neighbors, just as Paul had told them would happen (3:3–4). Already known to the new converts, Timothy undoubtedly had Paul's confidence that he was quite capable of the mission entrusted to him. Timothy's close collegial relationship to Paul is underscored by the words "our brother" (3:2), his commitment to service by the phrase "God's fellow-worker [*synergos*] in the gospel of Christ" (3:2), and the divine origin of his call by the title "apostle of Christ" (2:7, assuming that the "we" in this section includes the cosenders mentioned in 1:1). Although Paul calls others "brother," this designation is used characteristically for Timothy, and brings to mind, along with the other titles, the common ministry he shared with Paul.

After his mission to the Thessalonians, Timothy returned to Paul in Corinth (cf. Acts 18:5), bringing a report of successful missionary work. He informed Paul about "the good news" of their "faith and love," and related how the believers remembered the apostles always and longed to see them (1 Thess 3:6). Such news was a source of comfort to Paul amid his own distress and afflictions (3:7). It also appears that Timothy brought a list of questions from the new converts about, for example, the fate of those who died before the Parousia (4:13–18), and concerns about "the times and seasons" (5:1–11). One wonders whether Timothy himself gave some response to these concerns while he was with the Thessalonians. Whatever the case, Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy find it necessary to send their reply by means of a letter (1 Thessalonians).

While in Corinth, Timothy was active in establishing the community of believers there, for he, along with Paul and Silvanus, preached "the Son of God, Jesus Christ" (2 Cor 1:19). It is uncertain, however, how long Timothy remained in Corinth after his Thessalonian mission. Was it for 18 months, the duration of Paul's stay (ca. 51–52, cf. 2 Cor 1:19; Acts 18:11)? Also unclear is Timothy's path over the next few years.

At some point Timothy joins Paul during his Ephesian stay of the third journey (ca. 54–57). Having heard disturbing reports about the Corinthian community, Paul decides to send Timothy from Ephesus to Corinth as well as another letter (the canonical 1 Corinthians; cf. 1 Cor 7:1 regarding a previous letter) to

resolve the situation. The sending of Timothy is indicated by the verb *epempsa* in 1 Cor 4:17, which may be translated in two ways. As a regular aorist the sense is "I sent … Timothy," implying that he was sent before the letter (note that he is not mentioned in the prescript in 1 Cor 1:1, suggesting that he was not present when Paul wrote it). The verb may also be read as an epistolary aorist, "I am sending … Timothy," indicating that he was sent at the time of the letter, and possibly that Timothy himself brought the letter with him to Corinth. If the sending of Timothy is the same as that referred to in Acts 19:22, then he was accompanied by Erastus and together they traveled to Macedonia first before Timothy continued on to Corinth.

In any case, Timothy's mission was to serve as an apostolic reminder, recalling for the Corinthians Paul's ways in Christ (1 Cor 4:17). As his "beloved and faithful child in the Lord" (4:17) Paul counted on Timothy to remind the Corinthians of his own teaching. However, it appears that Paul was apprehensive about the kind of reception Timothy would receive. At the close of the letter Paul gives them a threefold instruction when Timothy arrives: "See that you put him at ease among you," as if Timothy was nervous and easily intimidated; "let no one despise him," as if he had been rejected previously by them or as if the sentiment against Paul would overflow toward Timothy; "send him on his way in peace," as if he had left without their support earlier (16:10–11). Did Paul have doubts about Timothy's effectiveness as a leader, or was Paul fearful that the Corinthians would complain, believing they merited the personal presence of Paul himself? The last instruction, "send him on his way [*propempsate*]" has been interpreted as meaning to equip Timothy with all the resources he needed for the journey, including some financial outlay (cf. 1 Cor 16:6; 2 Cor 1:16).

There is no indication in Paul's writings how Timothy's troubleshooting visit turned out. Although Timothy is mentioned as a cosender of 2 Corinthians, Titus becomes Paul's main emissary at the time of this letter. This may indicate that Titus was a stronger personality than Timothy, that Timothy was too closely involved in the conflict, or it may simply mean that Titus was appointed by Paul from the start to handle the collection, a major concern of this letter. It is not necessary to conclude that Timothy was incapable of the task at hand or a persona non grata. For, not too many months later when Paul himself was again in Corinth for three months, a period when Romans was written, Timothy was (still?) there and is the first whose own greetings are included (Rom 16:21). Identified as "*the* fellow-worker" of Paul *(ho synergos mou)*, meaning the "well-known co-laborer," Timothy remains highly regarded by Paul.

When Paul left Corinth, bound for Jerusalem and with plans to go on to Rome and Spain, Timothy was among those who started out with him and went at least as far as Troas (Acts 20:4). It is unknown whether Timothy continued on with Paul to Jerusalem, or intended to travel farther with him.

Timothy is mentioned as the cosender in the prescripts of three letters Paul wrote from prison (Phil 1:1; Philemon 1; cf. Col 1:1). None of these letters implies that Timothy was also imprisoned. In Philippians the imprisoned Paul plans to send to them Timothy, about whom he says: "I have no one like him, who will be genuinely anxious for your welfare … Timothy's worth you know, how as a son with a father he has served with me in the gospel" (2:20–22). Paul leaves no doubt about Timothy's selfless devotion to him.

The significance of Timothy is underscored by his being named as the recipient of two pastoral letters. These letters allegedly written by Paul are usually taken to be pseudonymous. Timothy is portrayed as a youthful, inexperienced protégé of Paul, intimidated by strong opposition, requiring the encouragement and instruction of his mentor on both personal and Church matters. The letters also pick on the theme of the uniquely close relationship between Paul and Timothy, who is referred to variously as "true child of the faith" (1 Tim 1:2; cf. 2 Tim 1:2), and "my son" (1 Tim 1:18; 1 Tim 2:1). The first letter suggests a situation in which Paul, freed from prison and having returned to work in the east, had appointed Timothy to remain at Ephesus (1 Tim 1:3). This implies that Timothy was in Ephesus after Paul's death. Timothy is also said to have received a gift "by prophetic utterance" (1 Tim 4:14). The second letter suggests a somewhat later period, which presents Paul as having been arrested and taken off to Rome a second time. It includes the tradition that Paul asked Timothy to come to him in his imprisonment soon, before winter, and to bring Mark along with his cloak (2 Tim 4:9, 11, 13, 21). If Timothy did go to Rome and was

imprisoned while he was there, this visit should be connected with the mention of Timothy's release from prison by the author of Hebrews (Heb 13:23).

According to later tradition preserved by Eusebius, Timothy, the disciple of Paul, was the first bishop of Ephesus (*Hist. Eccl.* 3. 4).

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**TIMOTHY AND TITUS, EPISTLES TO.** The Pauline letters to Titus and (1–2) Timothy, in recent centuries, have been treated together as both a theological and a literary unity and have been called the "Pastoral Epistles" (hereafter PE). This phrase originated in 18th-century German NT studies, although Thomas Aquinas had already characterized 1 Timothy as "a rule for pastors." The three short letters are "pastoral" in the sense that they are concerned with "shepherding" the Church. Already in the late 2d century, the Muratorian Fragment justified their position in the Christian canon because of their contribution to ecclesial discipline in the Church universal; this case is made in the name of Paul. Additionally, they are concerned with what believers *do.* These letters, however, have no time for speculative thinking or theoretical research and they do not appreciate Christians who pursue such activities (Titus 3:9; 1 Tim 1:4; 2 Tim 2:14; 3:7). They are *pastoral* because they are *practical:* they are ordered to a Christian *praxis,* to the activities of believers.

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A. Summaries of the Pastoral Epistles
B. Documents and Data
C. Literary Form and Sources
D. Data Referred to in the Pastoral Epistles
E. Hypotheses to Explain the Data
1. Who Wrote the Pastorals?
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**A. Summaries of the Pastoral Epistles**

The PE consist of three individual "letters" and are part of a small group of Pauline letters (including Philemon) that were addressed to *individuals.* These stand together in the NT after a larger collection of Pauline letters that were addressed to Christian *congregations* or *churches* (Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians). In the current order of the NT collection, eight additional letters (Hebrews, James, 1–2 Peter, 1–2–3 John, Jude) follow the Pauline collection. Altogether the epistles constitute a third of the NT.

**1. The Epistle to Titus.** The PE come to us as a collection of correspondences that opens with a letter under the name of Paul, to his collaborator, Titus. The individual, personal relationship of the apostle to his co-worker is the frame within which is sketched a Pauline policy and program for predominantly Jewish-Christian congregations, of which the churches in Crete are paradigms.

The long, solemn greeting and blessing for Titus which serves to open not only this letter but also the whole correspondence contains a descriptive definition of the apostolic task divinely imposed on Paul (Titus 1:1–4).

The body of the letter (1:5–3:11) then articulates the apostle's commission to the colleague who shares in and carries out the Pauline apostolate, as a man's son carries on the name and work of his father. The first series of orders from Paul (1:5–16) centers on the establishment of presbyter-bishop ministers in the

towns of Crete. The qualifications of candidates for this work are sketched through catalogs of vices and virtues (1:5–9). The list concludes pointedly with the requirement that these men be responsible, convincing teachers. The description that follows (1:10–16) offers the reason for that insistence: certain Jewish-Christian teachers are perverting the consciences of their fellow believers; the new Pauline presbyter-bishops must stop them.

The second series of orders in the body of this letter (2:1–3:11) again addresses Titus explicitly, giving him Pauline directives for the whole people of God. A domestic code (2:2–10) supplies the grid for instructing various groups within the Jewish-Christian congregation: older men and women, younger women and men (including Titus himself), the Christian slave. The visibly good and attractive lives of God's household are a revelation to all their fellow men of the blessing that the crucified Savior has in store for those who put their faith in him (2:11–14). Titus must confront the present Jewish-Christian troublemakers (2:15–3:11), with their disobedience and the reminder that they have relapsed into the evil life that preceded baptismal rebirth. That event, as it was interpreted by the Pauline teaching, is to be the center of gravity in Titus' instructions. His time is to be spent on encouraging the faithful to live out what they believe; he is to waste no time on theological quibbles.

As the composition closes (3:12–15a), an introduction appears for the pair of missionaries who bear the letter, commending their cause to the support of their fellow Christians in Crete. Titus is summoned to meet Paul at Actium (Nicopolis) as soon as his replacement from the Pauline entourage appears.

The plural address of the final prayer (3:15b) directly refers to all the Cretan Christians. Paul's commission to one of his collaborators is intended to be "overhead" by the Cretan churches.

**2. The First Epistle to Timothy.** The second unit of the Pastorals has the form of an epistolary diptych directed to Timothy. 1 Timothy constitutes an epistolary commission for this Pauline co-worker (2 Timothy is an epistolary testament to Timothy in the name of the apostle—see below).

Just as the letter to Titus had the cities of Crete and Jewish Christians principally in view, 1 Timothy is concerned with the metropolis of Ephesus and Christian converts that come mainly from paganism. The letter opens (1:1–2) with a brief apostolic greeting and blessing for Timothy, another of Paul's true children in Christian belief.

The body of the letter is arranged with respect to a core of prophetic texts, hymnic and oracular (3:14–4:5), which are proposed and interpreted for Timothy by Paul, for the benefit of the Church conceived of as God's household. Apostolic commissions for Timothy are then arranged both before this core (1 Tim 1:3–3:13) and after it (4:6–6:21a).

The former Pauline commission opens with the address to Timothy in the singular (1:3) in a series of apostolic commands about Judaizing heterodoxies in applying the Law among the converts from paganism. These errors have occasioned the decision to put Timothy in charge at Ephesus (1:3–7). The true Pauline teaching about the function of the Law is complemented by the apostle's thanksgiving prayer to the risen Jesus for his conversion and vocation (1:12–17). This section of commands closes with an emphatic repetition of the singular address to Timothy in the charge of 1:18–20. Then the figure of Timothy sinks out of view as Paul delivers a series of apostolic exhortations on the public worship of believers (2:1–3:1a) and the ministers who serve them (3:1b–13). The section on public worship employs an already traditional Christian order to community prayer which opens with a description of the universal scope of Christian liturgical prayer and the reasons (practical as well as theological) for this catholic inclusiveness (2:1–7). Then the church order turns to the praying community as such, dealing first with the dispositions appropriate for the men in the assembly, then for the women (2:8–10). Public teaching by a married woman in the liturgical assembly poses a special problem because of her prior commitment to her husband and children. The order proposes a solution grounded on the liturgical charge which a bride heard in her Christian marriage (2:11–3:1a).

Finally the order turns to the qualifications and dispositions required in those who minister to the liturgical assembly. The ministerial offices have the Pauline titles of bishop and deacon. In the first place, the ideal bishop is described with a catalog of the virtues to be sought in him and the vices that disqualify a candidate (3:1b–7). Secondly, the order submits catalogs of the qualities to be investigated in another

cadre of ministers, male and female. The former are titled deacons; the latter receive no formal title (3:8–13).

The lengthy church order concludes at the central core of prophetic and hymnic texts (3:14–4:5). At this point Timothy again appears as Paul, in the first person, addresses him. This singular address, relatively rare in the preceding apostolic commission, dominates the development of the second commission, which occupies the last half of 1 Timothy.

The second commission (4:6–6:21a) is divided into three sections. It may presuppose metropolitan house churches with stronger Jewish ties than the former commission. The first section addresses Timothy personally as a Pauline teacher, faithful to the apostolic instruction that he has received, putting it into practice for his own sake and for the sake of his fellow Christians, to whom he reads out the OT and whom he teaches in the assembly for public worship. For this task he has received a charism ("gift") through a presbyterial laying on of hands (4:6–16).

In the second section of the commission, Timothy appears as an apostolic supervisor of the orders of the church. A domestic code is used to frame this section (5:1–2 and 6:1–2). The implication is that the household was conceived of as the primary unit in the local church and that this was to be Timothy's primary concern. The orders of presbyters and widows suggest a more Jewish structuring of the congregations envisioned in this section than earlier. Timothy's supervision of an order of widows is described in terms of an already traditional church order (5:3–16). His relationship to an order of presbyters is delineated next, again using traditional materials (5:17–25).

The third and final section of the Pauline commission, after a brief polemic against heterodox opponents (6:3–5), turns to the problems which wealth occasions among believers (6:6–10, 17–19). In the middle of this exposition (vv 11–16) appears a traditional ordination charge that serves here to hearten the apostolic co-worker as he deals with the rich and thus the powerful and influential members of the Christian congregation.

1 Timothy closes with a summary warning to avoid speculative adventures and to adhere to the content of the preceding apostolic commissions (6:20–21a). The blessing prayer which closes many manuscripts of 1 Timothy (6:21b) may not be part of the original composition.

**3. The Second Epistle to Timothy.** The epistolary diptych directed to Timothy closes with a second paraenetic letter which assumes the form of an epistolary testament in the name of Paul on the eve of his death to Timothy as his child and heir. In 2 Timothy, the apostle is no longer conceived of as in transit (as in Titus and 1 Timothy) but as under arrest in Rome (1:16–17; 2:9). Thence he writes to summon Timothy from Asia Minor (probably from Ephesus), where the previous letter had left him (2 Tim 1:16, 18; 4:9, 11–12, 19).

2 Timothy opens with a brief apostolic greeting and blessing for Timothy (1:1–2), which corresponds closely (but not exactly) with the opening of 1 Timothy. A lengthy prayer of thanksgiving (vv 3–14) immediately follows, reminding one of the regular practice in the rest of the Pauline corpus but not of the other PE. The prayer rehearses Timothy's faith-history as a basis for his present courageous stand with Paul, who is suffering for being herald, apostle, and teacher of the Gospel.

The body of the epistolary testament (2:1–4:8) has been inserted between two personal notes (1:15–18 and 4:9–22), which can be read together. A similar preexisting envelope appears to have been used in composing the Epistle to Titus in its present form. The notes here not only transmit news about what has happened to Paul since his arrest, transfer to Rome, and imprisonment; they also provide instructions for Timothy to join him, and include a greeting for the house churches in Ephesus.

The testament within this framework falls into three major sections: the first, devoted mainly to the testator, Paul himself (2:1–13); the second, to those whose teachings and lives are a threat to the validity of the proposed will (2:14–3:9); the third and final section, to the legitimate heir, Timothy (3:10–4:8). It is Paul himself who is depicted as mandating the transmission of his apostolic teaching and his gospel. Timothy and those he picks to carry on this apostolic work must be ready to suffer as Paul. The second section of the testament prepares Timothy to withstand those who would overthrow the Pauline heritage, particularly by evacuating the reality from the final resurrection and the accompanying judgment. The

third and final section of the testament turns to the legatee, Timothy, in his relation to the legator, Paul. Three subdivisions are marked in Greek by a recurring *sy de*, "You, however …" (3:10, 14; 4:5). The first recalls Paul's apostolic life and sufferings from the first days when Timothy witnessed them in Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra. Then Timothy is urged to continue living out the faith he had received through Paul and through Timothy's mother and grandmother, a faith fully grounded in the Scriptures of Israel. With this heritage he has to prepare for the Lord's judgment by indefatigable proclamation of the Pauline word to erring Christians. The closing section turns from Paul's heir to the apostle himself, who is about to die to this life, but who is alive with hope in and love for "the upright judge, the Lord" (4:8), who will recompense him.

After the personal notes mentioned previously, 2 Timothy ends in 4:22 with a double prayer, first for Timothy and then for all believers who have been privileged to overhear the extended conversation between Paul and his child that has occupied 1 and 2 Timothy.

**B. Documents and Data**

The Greek text of the PE, like the rest of the NT, has been transmitted in numerous ancient codices, i.e., on leaves of papyrus or parchment bound together into what we call a "book." However, before 100 C.E. practically all Hellenistic literary compositions were copied on rolls or "scrolls" (Roberts and Skeat 1983). It was during the latter part of the 1st Christian century in Rome that secular authors began to experiment with the codex for literary compositions (although Julius Caesar may have used a codex notebook before this for his letters to the Roman Senate [Suet. 1.56.6]). The innovation was attractive to late-1st-century Christians and, by the end of that century, they (in distinction from their Jewish and pagan contemporaries) had transferred their sacred literature (the Greek OT) from the rolls on which it had been originally copied into codices or books. The very earliest scraps of Christian documents, including a papyrus page of the Epistle to Titus ($P^{32}$), are already in "book" form. This innovation gave a visible identity to the Christian writings; it was also, in every sense, a pastoral (i.e., practical) measure that met a need in the 2d-century churches: the codex was an efficient way of gathering several compositions under one cover for easy consultation in public reading or private study.

Every manuscript of the PE is in codex form. Yet the Greek text of the PE was originally composed, in all probability, on one or more rolls (depending on whether the letters were originally written together as a collection or whether they were composed and dispatched separately). The reconstruction of the intervening process has its repercussions for every hypothesis about the origin and purpose of these letters. Certain features of the process can be discerned in the arrangement of the compositions within the extant NT codices; thus the gospels and Acts are always separate from the epistolary literature and, within the latter, a Pauline collection can be distinguished from a collection of seven other epistles (or eight if Hebrews is included). Within these epistolary collections the length of an individual letter appears generally to have determined its place within the collection (thus among the Paulines, Romans is first and Philemon last; see Frede 1966).

The PE appear to mark a new beginning within the extant Pauline codices because 1 Timothy is notably longer than 2 Thessalonians. This marks, in all probability, the seam where two 2d-century collections of Pauline letters were joined: a collection of letters to churches (at times including Hebrews, as in $P^{46}$ and the archetype of B) and a smaller collection of Pauline letters addressed to individuals (also arranged in almost every extant codex with the longest first and Philemon, the shortest, last [Quinn 1974; Roberts 1979: 60, 62]). An alternate and perhaps even earlier order which is attested in the Muratorian Fragment and the 4th-century Latin commentary on the Paulines (Ambrosiaster), reads Titus before 1–2 Timothy.

The Greek text of the PE (*NovTG*[26] and Aland et al. 1983) has been transmitted in many manuscripts since the 4th century (see especially A, C, D), and $P^{32}$ may be as early as 200 C.E. (Aland 1976: 253; van Haelst 1976: 189, 534; E. Turner 1977: 147). The absence of the PE from B still provokes questions (Skeat 1984: 464–65). J. K. Elliott (1968) studies every significant variant in the PE. The PE are alluded to or cited by many ancient Christian writers, and for the 2d century alone, *Biblia Patristica* (Allenbach et al. 1975: 1.507–18) offers about 450 references. In the mid–2d century, Marcion refused the PE a place in his canon (according to Tertullian) and Tatian rejected Timothy while retaining Titus (according to

Jerome). Polycarp, however, perhaps as early as 120 C.E., almost certainly cited the Epistles to Timothy in his *Letter to the Philippians.* Whether Ignatius and *1 Clement* knew the text of the PE is more problematic but seems more likely now than a generation ago (Spicq *Pastorals* EB, 162–63; Hagner 1973: 236–37; Quinn 1978b).

The language of the PE (their actual vocabulary, syntax, and style) is homogeneous over the small corpus and notably different from the rest of the Paulines (including the other "private" letter, to Philemon [see the tables assembled and revised by Harrison 1921; 1964]). As A. D. Nock noted, "It is clear that as we pass from the Pauline Epistles to the Pastorals … there is an approximation to the phraseology of the world around, a lessening of the feeling of isolation, and an increase in intelligibility to the ordinary contemporary man, had he happened upon these books" (1972: 342–43). Roughly one out of three words in the PE (names of persons and places aside) do not appear in the other Paulines; almost one out of five do not appear elsewhere in the NT (although the overwhelming majority of these do appear in Greek documents that predate 50 C.E., including Philo and the LXX). The language of the PE has notable resemblances to that of Luke–Acts (Strobel 1969; Quinn 1978a; Wilson 1979; Marshall 1981; Moule 1982a: 264–65, 281–82; 1982b: 113–32). Moreover, in their narrow compass, the PE coin about half a dozen terms (N. Turner 1974: 149–50) and use some terms in a quite unusual sense (thus *themelios,* "treasure," in 1 Tim 6:19). Such coinages are not only "spontaneous and unconscious creation," but they also "may represent an attempt to convey ideas which seemed to need new expressions" as well as devices for "stylistic emphasis or dramatic effect" (Nock 1972: 642–43).

Computer analyses of linguistic data from the PE have become available (Aland *VKGNT*; Friberg and Friberg 1981; Morton et al. 1982). With their aid, it is feasible to analyze in precise detail the use and distribution of the Gk particles and the length of the words and sentences in these compositions. Such studies appear to confirm that the PE are homogeneous among themselves and different from the rest of the Paulines; the relatively limited word pool in the individual letters, however, limits the certitude of such observations and the inferences that can be drawn from them (N. Turner and Moulton 1976: 102–4).

The large number of terms that are peculiar to the PE in biblical Greek already alert the reader to their affinities with the more literary traditions in Hellenistic Greek. Their vocabulary generally is less biblical (i.e., Septuagintal) than Paul's, though there are notable contacts with sapiential and other ethical compositions of Hellenistic Judaism (e.g., *4 Maccabees; Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*) as well as some language typical of the popular Epicurean, Cynic, and Stoic philosophers (e.g., Philodemus of Gadara; Epictetus; see N. Turner and Moulton 1976: 102). The language of Greek drama, particularly the language of the tragedies of Euripides and the comedies of Menander, had its effect on ordinary people and their speech, and consequently on the PE, which sought to address such people.

The 55 proper nouns and adjectives of the PE belong to the total working vocabulary of the author: some of them are unique to these letters (thus "Jewish" in Titus 1:14); some occur in the other Paulines ("Luke" in 2 Tim 4:11 and Col 4:14; Philemon 24); still others are found elsewhere only in the Lukan corpus (thus "Crete," and "Antioch, Iconium, Lystra," and the double name "Pontius Pilate"). The 17 cities mentioned suggest the geographical world presupposed by this correspondence. Of the personal names none occurs more often than that of Jesus; thus is signaled the christological concerns of these compositions.

In two areas, the vocabulary of the PE already reflects specialized patterns of use. The first falls in the area of Christian conduct or ethics, and the terminology is that used for distinguishing good from bad acts. The second area reflects particular Christian ministries, and the vocabulary is that used for designating those who shoulder specific roles in the service of the body of believers. In both areas, the PE share some of their emerging technical vocabulary with other 1st-century Christian documents (such as the terminological clusters around faith and love or apostle and presbyter). Other terminology is almost unique to the PE (the term "widow"; the clusters of words built around *sōphrōn* ["sensible"] and *eusebēs* ["godly"]).

The second major consideration regarding the language of the PE is the syntax—the way in which the words are ordered into sentences; their patterns in the use of coordinating and subordinating particles

(note computer analyses above); their characteristic ways of employing the Gk moods and tenses (thus the optative, a mood rarely used in the NT, appears several times in 2 Timothy). The influence of the LXX, Hellenistic Judaism, and Latin surfaces in these areas. A syntactic phenomenon in the PE is the periodic breakdown of syntax, ranging from inordinately abrupt transitions (thus Titus 2:6–8; 1 Tim 3:1a–b) to inexplicable shifts in the inflection of verbs (1 Tim 1:3–7). All this belongs to the individual character of the PE as Gk compositions.

With the question of the style of the PE one is beyond questions of vocabulary (see N. Turner and Moulton 1976: 101–72). When the text is read aloud in Greek, the author's use of sound to accent his thought is often notable. The reader hears alliteration, assonance, rhyme, paronomasia, polysyndeton (for abundant expressiveness), asyndeton (for a vivid impassioned effect; see *BDF* 460 and 1 Tim 3:16; 2 Tim 2:11–13). The prose at times has a distinctly poetic rhythmic structure, particularly when prayers are alluded to or cited (thus 1 Tim 1:12–17). A predilection for unusual, even unique, terminology has been observed above. By and large, the style of the PE is Hellenistic rather than Hebraic, and lacks the versatility which characterizes other parts of the Pauline Epistles; their style is paraenetic, the author urging his points rather than arguing them (Quinn 1981a).

**C. Literary Form and Sources**

Compositions in epistolary form represent the oldest surviving Christian literature. The form was a borrowing from the contemporary 1st-century world where the letter already had a long history in Roman, Hellenistic, and Semitic cultures. See LETTERS (GREEK AND LATIN). The epistolary form was used infrequently for literary composition in Palestinian Judaism (although note 4QEn$^{g}$ and 4QMMT); but the popularity of the form in Greek-speaking Judaism appears in the LXX epistolary compositions cited in LXX Esther, Baruch, and Maccabees, not to mention the pseudepigraphical books *Enoch,* the *Letter of Aristeas,* and the *Apocalypse of Baruch.*

Current studies of epistolary theory in the ancient rhetoricians (Malherbe 1977a and 1977b/1983; White 1984) and the innumerable texts which the ancient world called "letters" or "epistles," are making clearer early Christians' expectations when a composition was read or heard in an epistolary form. The Christians did not look for a technical, scientific treatise; rather the letters were considered to be a limited, inadequate substitute for personal, face-to-face communication (see 1 Tim 3:14; 4:13). In ancient rhetorical schools, letters were written as exercises in which famous persons, mythical or historical, were characterized (see Ovid, *Heroides*). Just as an ancient author of a history composed speeches that certain persons might have given, so letters were written to depict the personality and character of a philosopher or statesman or literary figure (see the Cynic Epistles [Malherbe 1977a] and Horace, *Epistles,* passim).

When an ancient Christian began to read a letter "To Titus" or "To Timothy," he thus expected to hear a Pauline conversation in writing which conveyed Paul's heartfelt personal care as well as his teaching, directives, and requests. The reader expected this regardless of whether or not the letter was a piece of private correspondence originating before Paul's death or a "characterization" composed after his martyrdom (or a combination of these).

The PE have not come down as separate letters. They are an epistolary collection, already distinct from the collection of Pauline letters to churches in the 2d century, when they were being read in the order Titus, 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy. A letter collection itself is a literary genre which enjoyed a limited popularity in Greek philosophical circles and came into its own in Roman political life (see Carcopino 1951: 4–37). Thus, collections of the "letters" by persons as diverse as Cicero, Augustus, Horace, Ovid, Seneca, and Pliny were published (or in Augustus' case available in the archives; see Suet. *Aug.* 71, 76; *Claud.* 4), whether they were in prose or poetry, on personal or literary matters, on political or philosophical questions, edited by themselves while they were still alive or published by others after their deaths. The premise of these collections is that they contain letters that are worth saving for the education and instruction and enjoyment of the next generation of individuals and groups to whom the letters were not originally addressed.

The epistolary genre was used not only for letters, but also was incorporated into other genres. Sometimes a letter or an epistolary collection is prefixed to another work (i.e., the seven letters which

open the book of Revelation, the letter from Cyrus opening Ezra, and the pair of letters which open 2 Maccabees). Sometimes they are found within the composition (i.e., the correspondence with the exiles in Jeremiah 29; 1 Macc 10:22–45; 12:5–23; the Greek Esth 3:13$^{a–g}$; 8:12$^{a–x}$ [RSV 13:1–7; 16:1–24]; Acts 15:23–29; 23:25–30). Also they are added to the end of the composition (examples in Quinn 1978a: 68–69; see the Greek Esth 10:3$^{l}$ [RSV 11:1]; additions to Justin, *Apology* 69–71). The appearance of epistolary compositions within a larger work of history signaled the authenticity, the credibility, and the authority of the narration. Letters within a narrative also served to satisfy questions in a particular community about outstanding and yet controversial personalities whose past teaching and acts were still being appreciated.

Accordingly, the PE were read as a collection (regardless of whether the letters had an individual preexistence). The collection offered an authoritative message from the past, a message from a significant personality, a message containing (at least in the judgment of the collectors) observations whose significance was meant to transcend the setting presupposed in their text. The collected letters thus came as a "prophecy" from the past to a new generation (see Pliny citing M. Cato's letter in *HN* 7.51.171; 29.7.14; Ovid occasionally describes his letters *Ex Ponto* as containing prophecies). The original addresses of such correspondence tend to sink below the historical horizon while the author (genuine or putative) remains the polestar around which a new public revolves. Thus Titus and Timothy in the PE are less actual historical individuals than paradigmatic persons, models with which the new public is expected to identify (Fiore 1982). "The essence of the epistolary genre, both in antiquity and the Middle Ages, was not whether the letter was actually sent but whether it performed a representative function" (Constable 1976: 13). The PE aim *to represent* Paul as herald, apostle, and teacher (1 Tim 2:7; 2 Tim 1:11), who instructs and directs the men sharing his apostolate. These men, in turn, as Paul's true "children" (Titus 1:4; 1 Tim 1:2) and heirs, transmit his directives to "God's house, which is the church of the living God" (1 Tim 3:15). They also see that this household has managers (Titus 1:5) who are the presbyters, bishops, and deacons and whose lives and teaching represent Paul (note also the "faithful men" of 2 Tim 2:1–2).

Other recent studies have more closely specified the paraenetic and hortatory character of the PE as the ancient world understood paraenesis (Perdue 1981): as ethical exhortation, universally applicable to individuals, and addressed to a paradigmatic audience (Quinn 1981a). Such letters do not expect answers but action from the recipients. The epistolary form of 2 Timothy has attracted special attention because it has many characteristics of the testamentary genre in the ancient world (Nordheim 1980). Paul becomes the dying patriarch, leaving his goods, his wisdom, and his wealth to his children who carry on his name, his plan, his hopes. A will is paraenesis par excellence because no one can argue effectively with it.

In the PE quotations of and allusions to compositions appear that served as sources for this paraenetic epistolary. Greek versions of the OT are quoted (1 Tim 5:18a) as well as an oracular line from a pagan poet (Titus 1:12); there is a saying in 1 Tim 5:18b which Luke 10:7 places on Jesus' lips. An allusion to an apocryphal composition about Jannes and Jambres appears in 2 Tim 3:8 (see *OTP*, 427–42). There are citations of archaic Christian hymns (1 Tim 3:16; 2 Tim 2:11–13; see Stenger 1979; Quinn 1979) and prophecies (1 Tim 1:18; 4:1; Quinn 1979) and possibly some short dispatches that originated at the end of Paul's life (Titus 1:1, 4–5; 3:12–15; 2 Tim 1:1–2, 15–18; 4:9–15). Although the case has been argued (Hanson 1981), there is no convincing evidence, aside from Romans, that the PE quote from the other Pauline letters.

If the foregoing compositions were already in relatively fixed texts, there appear to be sources cited in the PE that were in more plastic form and open to redactional activity. Such are the Christian domestic codes *(Haustafeln)* of Titus 2:2–10 (see Sampley 1971: 18–30; Verner 1983) and 1 Tim 5:1–2 (to be read with 6:1–2). Similarly, there are many lists that specify good and bad ethical qualities (e.g., Titus 1:6–10; 2 Tim 3:2–5). The lists of bad qualities use more archaic, catechetical materials that aim to identify the Christian in contrast to the unbeliever; the lists of virtuous qualities are not addressed to the whole believing community but to particular classes of believers. Specific conduct is demanded, often with an apologetic if not a missionary goal. See also HAUSTAFELN; HOUSEHOLD CODES; VIRTUE/VICE LISTS.

Also among the more plastic materials cited by the PE are those materials classified as church orders, which contain directives for the Christian life, particularly liturgical worship. They occupy 1 Timothy 2–3 and 5:3–25. The former, perhaps from a congregation of predominantly gentile origin, begins with directives for the public prayer of the church. Then it treats the liturgical conduct of men and women (with an added note on the role of the Christian wife in public teaching, 1 Tim 2:11–15). Finally it turns (1 Tim 3:1) to the qualifications and regulations for the specific ministries of men (bishop, deacons) and women (a group without a title who are parallel with the deacons; 1 Tim 3:11). The other church order of 1 Timothy, perhaps from a house church of predominantly Jewish origin, is enclosed within a household code (5:1–2; 6:1–2) and deals with widows (1 Tim 5:3–15) and presbyters.

Prayers abound in the PE. The briefest are in the opening and closing epistolary blessings (twofold in 2 Tim 4:22; there originally was probably no blessing in 1 Tim 6:21b). Other prayers also appear, both brief ones (thus 2 Tim 1:16–17) as well as long ones (thus 1 Tim 1:12–17; 2 Tim 1:3–14). Flexible as these compositions are, they often appear to contain traditional elements and to move formulaically from an opening address to the body of the prayer, which then concludes in a doxology. Another type of prayer that verges on the credal is the acclamation preserved in 1 Tim 2:5–6 (Quinn 1981b).

Of the materials cited or redacted by the author of the PE the most difficult to bring into precise focus are those that may be characterized as ecclesial paraenesis (as distinct from the epistolary paraenesis noted above). An authoritative teaching office seems to be presumed that articulates Pauline apostolic doctrine through creed, cult, and catechesis received in faith. Compositions of various types, cited under the rubric *pistos ho logos* ("this is the Christian message meant to be believed"; indicated with an asterisk[*] among the following references) also belong to this kind of paraenesis (Knight 1968).

Credal formulas in the PE are relatively rare, brief, and closely identified with Paul's gospel and his prayer (1 Tim 1:15*; 2 Tim 2:8). The paraenesis characteristic of the public worship of believers—the sacramental cult including liturgical orations and homilies—appears more frequently in the PE (see Titus 2:4–5 for a citation from a marriage charge; 2:11–14 for a baptismal confession; 3:4–8a* for a didactic baptismal oration; 1 Tim 2:13–15* for another citation from a marriage homily; 1 Tim 6:11–16 for an ordination charge; the previously noted hymn of 2 Tim 2:11–13* may have been used in a baptismal liturgy). Various types of ethical catechesis also appear to be drawing on previously existing materials and redacting them in an authoritative way for a particular purpose: Titus 2:7 adapts the household code which demands certain qualities of various ages and classes of believers and makes it apply to the apostolic minister himself; in 1 Tim 4:8–9*, the teaching on godliness is applied to the figure of Timothy; in 1 Tim 6:6–10, 17–19, the wealthy believers are the object of what seems to be at least a partially traditional exhortation.

**D. Data Referred to in the Pastoral Epistles**

After surveying the texts of the PE, their literary form, and the previous compositions upon which they drew, one approaches the methodologically delicate task of disengaging from these materials a sketch of the world—both geographical and social—to which the PE refer. The places and the persons, named and unnamed, which figure explicitly in the text suggest materials for a societal profile of ecclesial life as the PE conceive it, i.e., the ways in which believers are to relate to their God, to one another, and to those who do not share their faith.

Titus and 1 Timothy profess to come from Paul en route to Macedonia and Nicopolis in NW Greece; 2 Timothy comes from Rome (Quinn 1980a). The island of Crete is the destination for Titus, while Ephesus, the metropolis of Asia Minor, is the destination for Timothy. In the whole correspondence, a total of almost 20 places is mentioned from modern Italy and France to Yugoslavia and Greece and into central Turkey. Within these letters one encounters almost 41 persons by name, a few of whom belong to OT traditions (Adam and Eve, Moses, Jannes and Jambres, David). In the "present" that the PE presuppose, Paul and more than a dozen of his current and past co-workers, as well as some members of the churches, are explicitly named and, more surprisingly, some opponents of the apostle and his mission are also noted by name (1 Tim 1:20; 2 Tim 1:15; 2:17; 4:14). Beyond these names, the reader gets a glimpse of other "brothers," the "faithful" of the Christian generation (1 Tim 4:3, 10, 12; 4:6; 6:2; 2 Tim

4:21), as well as unfaithful and unnamed opponents of the Pauline teaching, some of whom are Jewish Christians (Titus 1:10, 14–16; 1 Tim 1:3–7). A secular society and its rules and rulers are in the author's peripheral vision (see Titus 1:12; 3:1; 1 Tim 1:9; 2:1–2; 6:15), and he senses their pressure upon Christian marriages and ministries (Titus 2:5, 8; 1 Tim 3:7) and upon the conduct of Christian slaves (1 Tim 6:1).

The social description presupposed by the PE indicates a stratified social structure within the ecclesial communities. The author models this structure after the concept of the extended family in the Hellenistic and Roman world and perceives it as the household of the living God (1 Tim 3:15; Verner 1983), i.e., the family to which God as Father gives life. Within this extended family are old and young, male and female, free and slave, married and single (including the widowed), parents and children, rich and poor, Jewish and pagan—all who have accepted faith in Christ and worship the one God through him. The faith and the worship it engenders are the keys for understanding the life of the Church as presented by the PE.

The rule of faith in the PE is rooted in the liturgical acclamation and confession of the one and only God of Israel, "who wills that all human beings be saved" (see 1 Tim 2:3–7; Quinn 1981). God is seldom called Father in the PE (only in the opening blessing of each letter), and Jesus is never called the Son. What differentiates the faith in the PE from normative forms of Judaism is its attitude toward Jesus, who is "risen from the dead, from the line of David" (2 Tim 2:8) and who receives the titles usually attributed to God, "our Savior" and "Lord" (thus Titus 1:3–4; 1 Tim 1:18); also Jesus is addressed directly in prayer (1 Tim 1:12; 2 Tim 1:18). In Titus 2:13 he is, almost certainly, "our great God" (Harris 1980). No name occurs more often in the PE (32 times) than "Jesus Christ" or "Christ Jesus" ("Christ" alone in 1 Tim 5:11).

From faith in "the human being, Christ Jesus, who gave himself as a ransom for all" (1 Tim 2:5–6) derives the vision of the mission of the Church in the PE and their intense concern for prayers by believers for the unbelieving society around them (1 Tim 2:1–2; 4:10). In this setting of ecclesial prayer and mission, a doctrine about the Holy Spirit has begun to take shape (Quinn 1979). The Spirit appears to be involved in the words of prophecy (1 Tim 1:18; 4:1, 14), and especially in the inspiration of the sacred written words of all Scripture (2 Tim 3:15–16). The only person to receive the title "prophet" is the pagan poet Epimenides (Titus 1:12). The liturgical actions of baptism and ordination are linked with the Spirit (Titus 3:5; 2 Tim 1:6–7; Quinn 1982). Fragmentary citations of compositions that may have originated from liturgies of marriage, reconciliation (2 Tim 2:25–26), and possibly even the Eucharist (1 Tim 4:4–5; Hanson 1968: 97–109) witness to the inclusive ecclesial vision that inspired the liturgical texts of the PE, even though they contain no reference to the Spirit.

This ecclesial vision includes an eschatological aspect which the Spirit also reveals: these days are the last days (1 Tim 4:1; 2 Tim 3:1). The Paul of these letters and his prayers set hope on life eternal, which has begun in this last age (Titus 1:2; 1 Tim 4:8) but which will reach its consummation on "that Day" (2 Tim 1:12, 18; 4:8) when Jesus appears in glory (Titus 2:13; 1 Tim 6:14) as "judge of the living and the dead" (2 Tim 4:1). Paul prays for the Lord's mercy on that judgment day upon a fellow Christian, apparently deceased, who had been kind to him (2 Tim 1:16–18; 4:1; see 4:19); he also leaves a coppersmith called Alexander to the Lord to be judged "according to his works" (2 Tim 4:14–15). Belief in the final judgment is closely linked to the judgment in the final resurrection (cf. Titus 3:5 with 2 Tim 2:17–19), although the PE do not emphasize the latter as such. Eternal life will consist in living with Christ, sharing his reign (2 Tim 2:10–12), and receiving "the crown of the upright life" (2 Tim 4:8) from him.

The PE have passing references to the angelic orders (1 Tim 3:16 may refer to the apostolic "messengers" of the resurrection). "The elect angels" of 1 Tim 5:21, loyal to God, stand in contrast to spirits and demons, who inspire false doctrines (1 Tim 4:1). The devil is perceived as implicated in certain activities for which believers face condemnation (1 Tim 1:20; 3:6–7; 5:15; 2 Tim 2:26).

This rule for faith expresses itself in the order for public worship presumed by the PE. A strong sense of community pervades the correspondence (first person plural pronouns are frequent) and the directives about assemblies for worship emphasize the groups involved. Thus the men are distinguished from the women in 1 Tim 2:8–10, and the wives are distinguished from women in general in verses 11–15. Various

groups of ministers can be discerned (see below). The place for worship, however, is not described. One infers from the paraenesis addressed to well-to-do-believers (1 Tim 6:6–10, 17–19) that the wealthy man or woman, married or widowed, offered his or her house for the liturgical assemblies (and perhaps hospitality) to itinerant apostolic ministers as well as to some indigent Christians (Titus 3:13–14; 1 Tim 5:10, 16; 2 Tim 1:18; 4:13, 19). Such a "house church" might be limited to one (extended) family; it hardly could accommodate an assembly of more than a few dozen persons for worship. As numbers increased, more homes would be the sites for separate assemblies. It is conceivable that a group of believers who were wholly of Jewish origin might have retained their own Jewish building for prayer *(proseuchē),* for their liturgical assemblies as Jewish Christians.

If the place for worship, as the PE envisions it, is elusive, the setting in time is irrecoverable. There is no evidence for the hour of the day or the day of the week which these congregations favored for their public worship, although the silence could be taken as a willingness to tolerate worship on the Sabbath (since other Jewish practices are explicitly criticized). "The widow proper … continues in entreaties and prayers night and day" (1 Tim 5:5) is a phrase which suggests the Jewish ways of reckoning the day from sunset to sunset. A hint at a ritual order for worship in 1 Tim 4:13 evinces no concern that it be observed by all congregations. The only ceremonial observance that the PE state as specific to their (Pauline) practice is that a wife does not teach or direct her husband in the liturgical assemblies (1 Tim 2:12).

The practical, day-to-day conduct of all believers is, for the PE, an integral part of their faith and worship, to such an extent that "the rule for praying" is the rule for action. The faith that expresses itself publicly in worship to God also expresses itself publicly in "fine works," *erga kala,* i.e., not simply good deeds (*erga agatha;* 1 Tim 2:10) but visibly and attractively good actions (Titus 2:7, 14; 3:8, 14, etc.). From these actions unbelievers can get a glimpse of the power of the gospel and its grace, delivering one from bad acts (Titus 2:11–12; 3:3–7), and enabling the believer to take his share in the suffering and death of Jesus (2 Tim 1:8; 2:11–12) and "to live in a sensible, honest, godly way in this present age" (see Quinn 1982). There is an emphasis upon the exemplary conduct of the baptized as "a people of his [God's] very own, enthusiastic for fine deeds" (Titus 2:14). The household codes demand certain types of action from various age groups, according to their sex as well as according to their legal status as slave or free (Titus 2:2–10; cf. 1 Tim 5:1–2; 6:1–2). Similarly, the conduct of the prebyster diaconate and the widow is prescribed with a view of each order in mind. In contrast, the qualifications for the candidate for bishop are always in the singular and envision him as an individual (1 Tim 3:1–7 and perhaps Titus 1:6–9).

The ethical conduct urged on believers (whether addressed as individuals or as members of the orders or classes of persons within the community) is an essential part of their missionary witness to the Hellenistic world. Ethical questions attracted popular interest in this society, and philosophers lectured on the streets and in the baths about moral issues. The ancient Greek drama had a powerful popular influence often overlooked in this regard: the plays, particularly those of Euripides and Menander, kept ethical debates constantly before the eyes of the populace. Thus, when the PE observe "that law is not laid down for an upright person" (1 Tim 1:9), they are not only speaking the language of the Greek philosophical tradition but also that of the Greek New Comedy (Quinn 1982: 236). The list of vicious persons that follows (1 Tim 1:9–10) reminds the reader not only of the Decalog but also of the acts that destroy the characters in Greek tragedy.

Finally, for the PE, "the rule for praying" is the rule for leadership. The approach of these letters to the conduct of apostolic ministers is typological. It is significant that in this typology, persons precede what we call "office" or "function." Paul is a "model of" and a "model for those who are going to believe in … [Jesus] for eternal life" (1 Tim 1:16; see 2 Tim 1:13). His individual teaching, his experience of the will of Christ, his sufferings, his way of living, define what it means to be an apostle. He does not fit an *a priori* abstract definition of an apostle; he personally defines what the term signals. As Paul is the apostle for the PE, so he is the teacher of one coherent teaching which explains how the believer lives according to the word of God. The PE understand the plurals "teachers" and "teachings" (2 Tim 4:3; 1 Tim 4:1) in a negative sense (Quinn 1980a). There is no evidence that the author of the PE remembered (much less tried to perpetuate) a tripartite local leadership of apostles, prophets, and teachers (1 Cor 12:28).

Titus and Timothy are in a true sense Paul's "children" (see Titus 1:4; 1 Tim 1:2, 18 etc.), and the dying patriarch directs his last will and testament to the latter as his heir. He who shared Paul's ministry during Paul's life will continue to do so after Paul's death. For the PE, Titus and Timothy are paradigmatic persons who furnish the pattern (Titus 2:7; 1 Tim 4:12) of this continuing Pauline apostolate. They are models of Paul and models for believers as they are designated to carry on the apostle's work, carry out his commands, imitate his sufferings, teach his gospel and practice it themselves, preside at the liturgy, receive material support for their ministerial work, and choose other men who will in their turn share their apostolic ministry (see Titus 1:5; 1 Tim 1:3–6, 18–19; 4:12–16; 6:11–14; 2 Tim 1:6–14; 2:1–8; 3:10–17; 4:2–5).

Even the opponents envisioned by the PE (Karris 1973) have a typological character, for to the extent that they are "anti-Paul" they are also "anti-Christ" (2 Tim 4:14); to the extent that their doctrines are opposed by the Holy Spirit they belong to unholy demons (1 Tim 4:1–2). The designation of some of the opposition by name (1 Tim 1:20; 2 Tim 1:15; 2:17; 4:14) is an unusual phenomenon in ancient Jewish and Christian polemic, which regularly demurred at granting acknowledgment of the existence of the opponents (see *Ign. Symrn.* 5.3); this underscores the typological function of the opponents in the PE. The Pauline cadre of ministers and their teaching contrast sharply with the mob of competitors who have been making inroads on the house churches, perhaps particularly through wealthy patronesses (see Titus 1:11; 2 Tim 3:6–7), who shared their strong Jewish interests in "myths and endless genealogies" (cf. 1 Tim 1:4 with 1:14; 3:9) as well as their quite un-Jewish rejection of marriage (1 Tim 4:3). Interests in emancipation from the constraints of domestic life seem to have played their part (see Titus 2:3–5; 1 Tim 2:11–15; 5:13–14). However, the key contention of the opponents is "that the resurrection has already occurred" (2 Tim 2:18), i.e., a collapsed eschatology in which the future resurrection of all believers has been simply identified with Jesus' resurrection. A form of this eschatology was already apparent in Corinth in the 50s (1 Cor 15:12).

Behind the figures of Paul and Titus and Timothy in the PE stand the unnamed leaders of the churches, leaders whose prerequisite qualities, particularly in verifiable good conduct, are spelled out in lists of vices and virtues. Presumably the congregation participates in verifying such conduct and presenting suitable candidates to Titus and Timothy; then the apostles designate them for a Pauline ministry as they once were themselves designated (see Titus 1:5; 1 Tim 5:22; 2 Tim 1:6; 2:2). Prophetic oracles appear to have been traditional in the liturgical action surrounding some appointments (1 Tim 1:18; 4:14). Those appointed lead the worship of the community, teach, care for the temporalities, provide for the needy (see Titus 1:7–9; 1 Tim 3:2–10, 12–13; 5:17). Unmarried women (1 Tim 3:11) and widows (1 Tim 5:3–16) have their own qualifications to collaborate in some of these ministries. From the two church orders in 1 Timothy the names of four groups or classes of ecclesial ministers appear (a representative of each in the Roman church may be sending a greeting in 2 Tim 4:21). A hint of the archaic Jewish-Christian origins of the ministers ("widows" and "presbyters") is that they are expected to receive financial support from believers, whereas the sources for the income of "bishop" and "deacons" are ignored (although they are not to be money-minded [1 Tim 3:3, 8; Titus 1:7] like the teachers who belong to the opposition [Titus 1:11]; see Theissen 1982: 27–67).

Titus envisions the establishment of Pauline ministers in Crete, perhaps combining the titles "presbyter" and "bishop" in order to designate them (no deacons or widows are mentioned). They are God's stewards (see Titus 1:7) for communities that appear to be small, independent house churches, dispersed throughout the many towns of the island (but not in the rural areas; Titus 1:5). If their members were of predominantly Jewish origin with strong Jewish ties and interests, the enticements of anti-Pauline teachers "from the circumcision" (Titus 1:10) with consequent controversies about the function of the Mosaic Law in Christian life become understandable (Titus 3:9). Perhaps one should think of these congregations as typologically as one does "Titus" and the "presbyter-bishop." They represent in this construction the more archaic, Jewish-Christian congregations of the Christian movement being updated according to a Pauline model.

1 Timothy envisions its text being read in the large metropolitan center, Ephesus (Tim 1:3). Apparently a significant number of the congregations are of predominantly gentile origin, since Paul in the first church order in this letter (2:1–3:13) is emphatically "the gentiles' teacher in faith and truth" (1 Tim 2:7; contrast 2 Tim 1:11). A bishop with deacon and female assistants presides over a house church with this background. However, the second church order of 1 Timothy (5:1–6:2) envisions house churches of predominantly Jewish origin, in which the registered widows and ordained presbyters are key ministers. The abuses that have risen in these orders and the set procedures for dealing with them give the impression that the Jewish-Christian house churches have been in existence somewhat longer than the predominantly gentile congregations (although these also have their members of long standing; see 1 Tim 3:6). Again, like Crete, Ephesus may be understood typologically as any large, Greek-speaking metropolis of the latter 1st century in which more or less established congregations of Jewish and gentile Christians live close to one another. 1 Timothy proposes a Pauline symbiosis for the different ways in which these groups of believers received their guidance from those who direct their worship and works of charity.

**E. Hypotheses to Explain the Data**

The PE, even in translation, differ notably from the other ten letters of the Pauline collection in the NT in their vocabulary and style, in their subject matter, in the development of their thought, and in the settings presupposed. The other Pauline letters appear to be earlier, some of them much earlier, than the PE. If, however, the PE are approached from the ecclesial world of Clement, of Ignatius and Polycarp, of Hermas, the same documents appear to be very close indeed to the other Pauline letters (thus Barrett 1963 versus Kelly 1963; but contrast Brox [*Pastorals* RNT] versus Jeremias [*Timothy/Titus* NTD]). The PE tend to resist questions about their background and origin and inquiries about when they were composed, and by whom. The historical-critical method gives these questions an urgency for modern commentators that was not always the case. All scholars of the PE draw inferences from practically the same concrete data, analyzing the linguistic, historic-sociological, and theological components of the correspondence. Yet these data have provoked dramatically different explanations about the origins and purposes of the PE. Basically, these scholars have asked four questions, each of which must be examined in detail.

**1. Who Wrote the Pastorals?** According to the text of the letters themselves, Paul is as much the author of them as he is of the other ten letters which begin with his name (thus Bernard *Pastorals* CGTC; Guthrie *Pastorals* TNTC; Spicq *Pastorals* EBib). Yet the language of this correspondence is notably different from the rest of the Paulines. On this basis, some have proposed that these letters were actually written by a member of the Pauline entourage and dispatched under Paul's authority at various times in the 50s and early 60s (thus, in various forms, Jeremias *Timothy/Titus* NTD; Kelly *Pastorals* BHNTC; Holtz *1–2 Timothy, Titus* THKNT; Fee *1–2 Timothy, Titus* GNC; see also the special studies by Dockx 1976/1984; Lestapis 1976; Reicke 1976; Metzger 1976). When an interest in gathering Paul's correspondence began at the end of the 1st century, the PE were copied into a codex of Paul's letters addressed to individuals (which also included Philemon, a letter with considerable similarities to other Pauline texts but few to the PE). In this construction, Paul is *author* of the PE because they were *authorized* by the apostle during his own ministry.

Other students of the PE submit that this hypothesis does not adequately account for the church orders and domestic codes cited in Titus and 1 Timothy or for the ministerial orders discussed in the correspondence (not to mention the differences of language). Such phenomena seem to presume that a generation of Christian development and reflection has intervened between Paul's time and that of the PE. The ancient conception of authorship was rather wider than ours. Even the epistolary genre and particularly the genre of the letter collection were not always taken as written by the person whose name stood at the head of these compositions. If the origin of the PE before the death of Paul cannot be defended, then it is conceivable that the letters were written in the second (70–100 C.E.) or even the third (100–130 C.E.) Christian generation.

Hypotheses have been advanced for each time frame. W. Bauer (1971: 222–24) has even argued that the PE were written as a riposte to Marcion (see also Gealy *1–2 Timothy, Titus* IB). A date in the third Christian generation is proposed (or presupposed) by Harrison (1921), Easton (1947), Campenhausen

(1951), Barrett (1963), Dibelius and Conzelmann (*Pastorals* Hermeneia), Hanson (*Pastorals* NCBC), and Hultgren (*1–2 Timothy, Titus* ACNT). Thus there is a tendency to favor the turn of the 1st Christian century. The ecclesial ministries envisioned by the PE appear less clearly organized and rather less developed than those in 2d-century Christian documents. Moreover, at least some of the other Pauline letters had been collected and were for the first time being cited as such by the authors in this third generation (beginning with *1 Clement* in 96 C.E.). If the PE originated in the 2d century, it is striking that they, intent on transmitting the Pauline heritage, do not quote Paul's own words. One reads in several places two or three words running which appear to be slogans from a Pauline tradition; none of these slogans is a proper citation of one of his letters. Thus Titus 1:16 states, "For the clean, all things are clean"; this is cited as if it were a proverb already in Rom 14:20.

The years from about 70 to 100 C.E. offer a time frame that allows for post-Pauline ecclesial developments as well as some linkage with the Paul of history and his apostolate (including perhaps short dispatches that he had sent to his co-workers; thus W. Lock [*Pastorals* ICC, xxii, "between 60 and 90 is probable"]; see Falconer 1937).

Some authors have been impressed by the linguistic and theological links between the PE and Luke–Acts (Moule 1982b: 112–32; 1982a: 281–82; Strobel 1969; Quinn 1978a; Wilson 1979 with critique by Marshall 1981). These links might reflect two different authors for PE and Luke–Acts, both drawing on common first- and/or second-generation traditions; or it may be, depending on the date assigned to Luke–Acts, that the author of the PE had access to Luke–Acts (or vice versa). Some scholars have hypothesized that one author was responsible for both Luke–Acts and the PE. Others suggest that the author of Luke–Acts was Paul's amanuensis for the PE (e.g., Lock *Pastorals* ICC, xxix). Another argues that they are quite separate compositions of the same author, written well into the second Christian generation (Wilson 1979). Still another has submitted that the PE were written by the author of Luke–Acts as the "third roll," intended to be read after the two volumes of Luke–Acts as an epistolary appendix that carried the narrative up to Paul's death (Quinn 1978a).

Those positing an author for the PE in the second Christian generation point to a variety of data. The emphatic apologia for Paul offered by the PE fits the decades immediately after his execution. The apostle had died as a Roman citizen subject to Roman law. There was an understandable tendency among believers, due to the shame of his end as a criminal, to play down the person of the apostle, his ministry, and his teaching (which had been controversial in the first place). Whoever wrote the PE wants to counter that tendency. Moreover, for the PE, Jewish Christianity is still a live option. House churches are still being established for Jewish Christians and are growing. Their relation with the Pauline apostolate and doctrine must still be worked out in practice. By the end of the 1st century large-scale conversion from Judaism had dwindled and Jewish-Christian house churches were withering.

Still, if this correspondence was composed in the second generation, why are there three letters? One might have sufficed. The genre of letter collections suggests the answer. Various churches in the second generation knew they had received letters from Paul. This correspondence was yet to be collected (Dahl 1962). The PE as a collection would have been received and read not as individual letters from the Paul of history but as a "characterization" of the great apostle and his teaching for the new generation.

The original order of the letters within the collection is probably Titus first, followed by 1 Timothy and then 2 Timothy. The elaborate 66-word epistolary prologue of Titus 1:1–4 sounds like a preface to the collection rather than to the short letter which follows. On the other hand, 1 and 2 Timothy complement each other and a final position for the epistolary testament of 2 Timothy is evidently appropriate (Quinn 1978a: 63–64; 1980b: 291–92). Titus does more in its initial position than introduce, on a small scale, the themes that 1 Timothy then expands at length. The house churches envisioned by Titus take first place in this collection not because they are small and relatively isolated but because they are predominantly Jewish Christian. The Pauline proclamation of the gospel in the previous generation had been "to everyone who believes," but that universal proclamation involved a divinely willed priority, "to Jew first and to Greek also" (Rom 1:16; see 2:9–10). The PE preserve this priority in their positioning of Titus

before 1 Timothy (where the house churches appear to be of predominantly pagan origin and Paul is explicitly "the Gentiles' teacher" [1 Tim 2:7]).

**2. Where Were the Pastorals Composed?** Titus and 1 Timothy profess to have been sent while Paul was on a journey from the island of Crete to Ephesus, with Macedonia and eventually Nicopolis in Epirus as his goal; 2 Timothy claims a Roman setting. If the letters originated as a collection in the second Christian generation, the data admits of several reconstructions. Some have proposed that Asia Minor, and specifically Ephesus, the destination which Timothy proposes, was actually the place of origin of the letters (most recently Hanson [NCBC] and Hultgren [ACNT]). This hypothesis postulates that an Ephesian leader with a deep attachment to the Pauline apostolate of the previous generation wrote the PE in the name of Paul to the Ephesian Christians. It is significant that in this reconstruction, the author of the correspondence proposes that this collection comes not only from Paul but from Rome.

It is also possible that the PE actually derive from the Roman church, where an author composed the collection to rehabilitate Paul, the apostle martyred in that city of which he was legally a citizen. In addition, the author may be proposing him as a teacher for the urban churches of the whole central Mediterranean area, whether the congregations were Jewish or pagan in origin. This proposal emphasizes the elements in the PE which reflect the archaic, Jewish-Christian organization of the Roman church, its Greek language, and its interests as they are documented from Romans and Acts through *1 Clement* and Hermas (see Brown and Meier 1983; Penna 1982–83; 1984). The Pauline apostolate had been an urban mission, not a rural one (Meeks 1983: 9–50). The roads that he had traversed all led to the city of Rome, whose influence was palpable in every other city of the empire. If the imperial city had executed Paul, the Roman Christians were determined to keep his apostolate alive. It is appropriate in this hypothesis that Rome was the place where letter collections had become popular and the codex had its origin.

**3. To Whom (or Where) Were the Pastorals Sent?** Assuming that the PE were written before Paul's martyrdom, the recipients of these letters were the same Titus we know from Galatians and 2 Corinthians and the same Timothy whom we encounter in the rest of the Paulines as well as in Acts, individuals who were, respectively, on the island of Crete and in Ephesus.

However, if the PE appeared after Paul's death, then the places to which the letters are addressed have a typical or representative function (see above). Thus the many small congregations on "Crete" are conceived to be comparatively new Jewish-Christian churches. "Titus" transmits and represents what Paul has to contribute to the organization and formation of such congregations. In 1 Timothy, Paul is emphatically "a herald and apostle—it is a fact though it sounds incredible—the Gentiles' teacher in faith and truth" (2:7). In this perspective, "Ephesus" stands for the result of the great Pauline mission in the metropolis of Asia Minor; some of these metropolitan congregations have a majority of members who are of pagan origin, others are predominantly Jewish-Christian house churches; "Timothy, [Paul's] true child in faith" (1:2), visibly joins these groups of large urban-centered congregations with the Pauline family of churches. In the Pauline last will and testament of 2 Timothy, the addressee is heir to the apostolic inheritance, the "deposit" (1:11–12) of Paul's teaching as well as his mission to "all the Gentiles" (4:17). Possibly the Christian congregations in Rome, those of Jewish as well as of pagan origin, were the actual models for the paradigmatic congregations of the PE.

**4. Why Were the Pastorals Written?** Whether these letters originated at the end of the first Christian generation or at the beginning of the second generation, they aim at providing continuity in the apostolic and ecclesial mission of bringing *all* persons—Jew and Gentile, slave and free, male and female, old and young—to faith in and worship of Jesus. They emphasize the links of Christians with their past, with the Scriptures of the OT, with Jewish ethics and family practices, with the Pauline apostolate and its teaching, and with the Hellenistic and Roman culture. The letters also emphasize the links between Christians and the symbiotic unity which they believe should characterize believers. They also urge a common Pauline faith and worship, a Pauline ethic, and Christian ministries that accord with Pauline precedents. The PE in addition prepare Christians for the future, a future which found the "catholic church" and the catholic canon of Scripture pitted against the gnostics and the followers of Marcion. The PE focus as well on a present Christian continuity with another "future." "Godliness is useful for everything, since it contains

the promise of a life that is now and that is going to be. This is the Christian message, meant to be believed and worth welcoming wholeheartedly" (1 Tim 4:8–9).

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## **TIPHSAH** (PERSON) [Heb *tīpsaḥ* (תִּפְסַח)]. See TAPPUAH (PERSON).

## **TIPHSAH** (PLACE) [Heb *tipsaḥ* (תִּפְסַח)]. Toponym mentioned twice in the OT.

**1.** The name of a city which marked the far NE boundary of Solomon's kingdom (1 Kgs 5:4—Eng4:24). Tiphsah (35°54´N; 38°10´E) was an important city located on the main trade route connecting Mesopotamia with the W. Its inclusion in 1 Kings 5 indicates the extent of Solomon's control of the trade routes in Transjordan (Aharoni *LBHG,* 276–77). Tiphsah was located in N Syria on the W bank of the Euphrates at its great W bend. The town, which lay about 75 miles S of Carchemish, was known as "Thapsacus" in classical times and is mentioned by Xenophon as a crossing point for major military campaigns (*Anab.* 1.4.11). During the Seuleucid period, it expanded to cover both sides of the river and was called Amphipolis. Now known as "Dibseh," the site remains a major crossing point on the Euphrates. The question of whether Solomon actually controlled the far N territory represented by Tiphsah or whether the inclusion of Tiphsah represents a late idealization of his rule is controversial (DeVries *1 Kings* WBC, 72).

**2.** According to the MT, a town in which Menahem, king of Israel (ca. 749–738 B.C.E.), executed a brutal military action, slaughtering even the pregnant women (2 Kgs 15:16). The location of this town is quite uncertain. If Tiphsah on the Euphrates is intended, many view Menahem's involvement in a campaign this far N as impossible (Haran 1967: 284–90). Since a Greek manuscript substitutes "Tappuah" (Gk *taphōe*), most scholars have viewed Tiphsah as a copyist's error and prefer Tappuah (so RSV), a town on the N border of Ephraim (M.R. 172168; Josh 17:8), which would agree with a location near Tirzah referred to in 2 Kgs 15:16 (Gray *Kings* OTL, 622–23). However, Hobbs (*2 Kings* WBC, 197) argues that Tiphsah is at least as likely as Tappuah, since Jeroboam is said to have expanded the N kingdom (2 Kgs 14:28).

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**TIRAS** (PERSON) [Heb *tîrās* (תִּירָס)]. Tiras, according to the Table of Nations in Gen 10:2 and the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 1:5, is one of the seven sons of Japheth, who himself was a son of Noah. No other mention is made of the name or of any of his descendants in the Bible.

Due to the lack of more specific information concerning Tiras, it is difficult to locate him and his descendants geographically. His siblings, Gomer, Magog, Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, as far as they can be located, are associated with Asia Minor and the area stretching E toward the S shore of the Caspian sea. This could well indicate that Tiras also is located somewhere in this general region.

Among the Sea People who descended upon Egypt and were repulsed by Merneptah in 1232 B.C. were the *Trš,* or Turša (Gardiner 1947: 196*; *CAH*$^3$ 2: 361). Since the Sea People apparently originated in the Aegean and in Asia Minor, some have sought an etymological link between the Turša and some of the peoples from this area. A common identification has been with the Etruscans *(Tyrsenoi),* who were forced out of the area of Phrygia before 1000 B.C. (*CAH*$^3$ 2: 361, 367). The link between the Turša and the Etruscans is only circumstantial, but the biblical tradition apparently linking Tiras with Asia Minor needs also to be brought into consideration. Some suggest that by the 8th century B.C. the Etruscans had migrated W to Sicily and Italy (see *CAH*$^3$ 2: 368), where Aharoni and Avi-Yonah locate Tiras (*MBA,* map no. 15). It is not impossible that only part of the original group went to each of the new areas. The location in Asia Minor seems to explain the various strands of evidence better.

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DAVID W. BAKER

**TIRATHITES** [Heb *tirʿātîm* (תִּרְעָתִים)]. A clan which belonged to the Kenite tribe and dwelt at Jabez (1 Chr 2:55). Family members evidently included scribes *(sōpĕrîm)* or else were connected with a group called Siphrites *(siprîm),* i.e., residents originally of the town Kiriath-sepher. Several different interpretations have been offered for the word "Tirathites": singers (or something related to sacred music), gatekeepers, or descendants from an unknown individual Tira (Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 98). The association of the Kenites, who seem to have been an ancient nomadic or seminomadic group, with Judah, especially at the time of David, is well known (1 Sam 30:29), but there is no reference to them afterward. Whether the Hammath from which these people came was a person or a place or both is conjectural. Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 43) records the suggestion that Hammath is to be identified with the village of that name in Naphtali along the Sea of Galilee (Josh 19:35), near which, at Kedesh, one Heber the Kenite also settled (Judg 4:11, 17). The genealogies of 1 Chronicles 1–9 do contain personifications of place names, and perhaps a city may be viewed as the "father" of its inhabitants.
EDWIN C. HOSTETTER

**TIRHAKAH** (PERSON) [Heb *tirhāqâ* (תִּרְהָקָה)]. King of Egypt of Sudanese origin and third member of the 25th Dynasty (690–664 B.C.; 2 Kgs 19:9; Isa 37:9). He was the son of Piye (Piankhi; ca. 735–712) and possibly—though not certainly—the brother of his predecessor, Shebitku (ca. 697–690). The name is Eg *Thrk* (often "Taharqa," from the original Nubian) and in Greek reads *Tarkos/Tarakos.* Tirhakah first appears among the "goodly youths," siblings of the royal house, whom Shebitku summoned from Napata to Thebes to form his court shortly after his accession (Kitchen 1983: 246, 249–52). Later, at 20 years of age, he accompanied Shebitku N to the Delta, leaving his mother (the queen mother Abala) behind in the S (Kitchen 1973: 158–61). His overinsistence in his inscriptions on divine favor and his brother's love casts a shadow over the legitimacy of his own accession upon the death of Shebitku in 690, in which year he underwent a coronation at Memphis. In both 2 Kgs 19:9 and Isa 37:9, he is listed as the king of Ethiopia (cf. Kitchen 1973; 1983).

Tirhakah proved an energetic and strong ruler and an able administrator. For the first time in five centuries Egypt experienced a building boom of major proportions. City walls were restored as population expanded, and temples were refurbished, enlarged, or rebuilt. Substantial endowments were lavished on the cults, and the personnel of the temples increased. Although Tirhakah resided in Memphis, it was Thebes and Napata, which were centers of Amun worship, that received the lion's share of the building funds; and Tirhakah maintained the traditional worship of Amun which was the heritage of the Sudanese royal house. An especially high inundation in his 6th year (684 B.C.), which flushed out the Nile valley and brought a bumper harvest, was taken as a mark of God's favor, and was commemorated all over the land in inscriptions (Leclant 1965; Meeks 1979; Moussa 1981; Parker, Goyon, and Leclant 1979).

Tirhakah did not drastically alter the administration of Egypt. He preferred to rule through the Libyan family dynasties which for centuries had dominated the townships of Lower and Middle Egypt, although he obliged them to send daughters and/or wives S to serve as priestesses and maidservants in the temples of Nubia. The Thebaid from Asyut to the First Cataract he maintained under the control of the Divine Adoratress of Amun, the titular "high priestess" of Amun in Thebes, who at the time was his own sister Shepenwepet II. Before the close of his reign, Shebitku had adopted her niece, Amenirdes (II), daughter of Tirhakah, as Adoratress-in-training. See Gräfe 1981; Gräfe and Wassef 1979.

In foreign affairs Tirhakah ran the gamut from success to failure. From ca. 683 to 680 B.C., he seems to have actively campaigned in Libya and the Levant (probably up the coast of Palestine), to judge from dedications in the inventories of the temple of Kawa in Nubia (MacAdam 1947); and in the process to have allied himself with Ba›lu of Tyre and Abdi-milkutte of Sidon, implicitly against the threat of Assyrian attack (Spalinger 1978). The latter materialized in 679 when Esarhaddon (681–669 B.C.) dispatched troops against a recalcitrant sheikhdom at Arsia, S of Raph›a, with the added purpose, perhaps, of fortifying S Philistia against Tirhakah. With Egypt in check, Esarhaddon in 677 turned suddenly against Sidon, captured and destroyed the city, and executed Abdi-milkutte. Ba›lu of Tyre eventually came to terms and signed a treaty with Assyria, while Esarhaddon tightened his grip on all the kingdoms of the S Levant, including Judah. The expected advance on Egypt came in February 674, but the Assyrian forces were defeated on the E frontier of the Delta and driven back; and pursuant to their retreat Tirhakah was able to secure the Philistine plain around Ashkelon. See Dion 1988; Goossens 1947; Spalinger 1974.

Preparations for a renewed attack came to fruition in 671. While Tirhakah had in the early spring of that year constructed a road in Nubia (in expectation of a defeat?), he seems not to have been prepared in the N. Esarhaddon and his troops with the help of friendly Arab tribes negotiated the difficult terrain across the N Sinai, keeping to an inland route away from the coast; and appeared suddenly before the walls of Migdol in the E Delta. The Assyrians had penetrated SW to the region of modern Fakus before Tirhakah could muster enough troops to oppose their advance. Three weeks of hard fighting brought Esarhaddon to Memphis, which fell to the Assyrian siege machinery within a day. Tirhakah fled S to Thebes, abandoning his wife and family and his war chest to the invaders.

In the aftermath, in spite of Esarhaddon's attempts to hold the Delta by appointing Necho of Sais as governor, Tirhakah had little difficulty in reentering Memphis and exerting his authority over the N once the Assyrian army had departed. He offered no opposition when, under Ashurbanipal, Esarhaddon's successor, another Assyrian expeditionary force invaded Egypt in 666; but in spite of his precipitous flight to the Sudan in the face of enemy columns, his authority continued to be acknowledged throughout Egypt. He died in 664 in Napata, and was succeeded by his nephew Tanutamun. See Leclant 1981–82; Parker 1960.

As a general Tirhakah was competent though not brilliant. His personal bravery is commented on by the Assyrian sources, though Esarhaddon proved far superior to him as a strategist and tactician. The Sudanese army, renowned for its stamina and running ability, was simply surprised and outmaneuvered. See Leclant *LÄ* 6: 156–84.

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DONALD B. REDFORD

**TIRHANAH** (PERSON) [Heb *tirḥănâ* (תִּרְחֲנָה)]. A child of Caleb by Maacah, his concubine (1 Chr 2:48). While it is most likely that the child was a son, it cannot actually be determined whether this proper name is masculine or feminine in gender. Noth (*IPN*, 260) considers it to have been a tribal name. Tirhanah was apparently part of a subordinate branch of Calebite families. It is probable that an early tradition dealing with the area of Calebite settlement was broken up even before the composition of the sources available to the Chronicler. Since vv 42–55 center mainly on Hebron, with several of the settlements lying beyond the borders of the postexilic province of Judah but coinciding with the earlier situation, a date during the united monarchy or shortly thereafter for this original tradition seems plausible (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 54–55). The Babylonian vocalization of the OT text has the form *tarḥannâ* for the name Tirhanah (KB, 1041).
EDWIN C. HOSTETTER

**TIRIA** (PERSON) [Heb *tîrĕyāʾ* (תִּירְיָא)]. One of the sons of Jehallelel (1 Chr 4:16).

H. C. LO

**TIRZAH** (PERSON) [Heb *tirṣâ* (תִּרְצָה)]. Daughter of Zelophehad, son of Hepher of the tribe of Manasseh (Num 26:3; 27:1–11; 36:1–12; Josh 17:3–6; cf. 1 Chr 7:15). Zelophehad's five daughters petitioned to inherit their father's land since their father had no sons. Their petition was granted but a proviso was added that they marry within their father's tribal clan in order that the ancestral land stay within the tribe that originally inherited it. Tirzah and her sisters followed the divine ruling on their case and married cousins on their father's side. Hence their inheritance remained in the tribe of Manasseh. See also TIRZAH (PLACE).
MARION ANN TAYLOR
J. GLEN TAYLOR

**TIRZAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ṭirṣâ* (טִרְצָה)]. A city in the mountains of Manasseh, and the third of Jeroboam's homes (i.e., capitals; after Shechem and Penuel; 1 Kgs 12:25) following his accession as king of Israel (1 Kgs 14:17).

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A. Tirzah in the Bible
B. Identification and Location
C. History of Explorations

D. Results of Excavations

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**A. Tirzah in the Bible**

Joshua is attributed with killing the king of Tirzah when Israel entered Canaan (Josh 12:24), but the city is not mentioned again in historical narrative until the time of Jeroboam. Jeroboam is not explicitly described as having reigned from Tirzah, although it is implied in the text in connection with the death of his son (1 Kgs 14:1–18). It is more clearly implied to be the capital of the N kingdom after Jeroboam's death; all of his immediate successors—Baasha (1 Kgs 15:21, 33), Elah (1 Kgs 16:8), Zimri (1 Kgs 16:15), and Omri (1 Kgs 16:23–24)—reigned there until Omri moved the capital to Samaria. Tirzah was the home of Menahem, who later killed Shallum and seized the throne of Samaria (2 Kgs 15:14–16). The Hebrew word for the city is derived from the root *rṣh*, meaning "pleasure" or "beauty" (BDB, 953), and it is used in the Canticles (6:4) by the bridegroom to describe his beloved: "you are beautiful as Tirzah, my love," which must allude to the beauty of the city of Tirzah, since it is paralleled with "comely as Jerusalem."

**B. Identification and Location**

The identification of Tirzah has been a matter of some discussion and even now is not certain. On linguistic grounds, Robinson (*BR* 3, 302) identified it with Tulluza, which is located ca. 6 km N of Shechem. Another possibility based upon the same reasoning was to identify it with Teyasir, further NE of Tulluza (*ISBE* [1929 ed] 4: 2987). Albright, however, affirmed that the identification with Tulluza was "based on a fancy similarity of name, and lacks archaeological support" (1931: 244). His reason for rejecting the other site is unclear except that he states that it "has nothing to commend it, toponymically or archaeologically" (1931: 244).

Albright's strategy for identifying the location of the city was based upon several lines of reasoning, which involved a process of elimination. He concluded (1931: 241–42) that for strategic reasons, the city was probably located NE of Shechem to protect against incursion from the N (Damascus) and from the E (Ammon), but would still need to be somewhat centrally located to deal with problems that might arise from the W (Philistines and Phoenicians). Further information is inferred from the Samaria Ostraca, which mention several clans (or districts) of Samaria, one of which is Hepher. Hepher was subdivided into subclans and included Noah and Hoglah, who also are mentioned in the ostraca. According to the biblical texts, Noah and Hoglah were sisters (cf. Josh 17:3), who had another sister named Tirzah. He assumed that it would be reasonable for the territories associated with these related subclans to be contiguous (or at least in close proximity). Through a process of elimination in locating the areas of the other major clans, he finally concluded that the territory of Hepher and its subclans was NE of Samaria, and that Tell el-Far‹ah "falls necessary [sic] into the region of Hefer, and the identification of it with Tirzah is imposed because of the lack of any other archaeological possibility in this region" (1931: 251). Albright identified sherds of the EB, MB, LB, and Iron Age I and II, with the most from Iron Age I (1931: 246).

The subsequent excavations at Tell el-Far‹ah have uncovered no written evidence to identify the site with Tirzah, but have revealed a stratigraphic profile that mirrors what is known about Tirzah from written sources. It is generally accepted that Tell el-Far‹ah (M.R. 182188) is the best candidate to identify with Tirzah.

The only extrabiblical reference to Tirzah was suggested by B. Mazar (see 1986: 145–46). In 1947, he attempted to clarify the route of Shishak's raid into Palestine after Solomon's death, and had reconstructed the reading of one of the cities (No. 59 on the record of Shishak's campaign preserved at Karnak) possibly to be Tirzah (although he states that the reading is doubtful, see 1986: 146, n. 13). Aharoni appears to have accepted the identification, but suggested a different route for the campaign (*LBHG,* 325–29).

Tell el-Far‹ah (North; to be distinguished from Tell el-Far‹ah [South] in the Negeb, which is known also as Sharuhen) is in the mountains of Manasseh on a hill between two springs—‹Ain el Far‹ah on the NE and ‹Ain el Daleib on the SW—at the head of the fertile wadi Far‹ah, which accommodates one of the

more copious rivers of W Palestine (*LBHG*, 34). The hill is fairly easily defensible with slopes falling away on the N, E, and S, and a saddle connecting it to the mountains to the W. It furthermore commands the strategic N-S route from Shechem to Beth-shan, a branch of which leads into the Transjordanian plateau crossing the Jordan river at the fords of Adam (*LBHG*, 57–60). The site would have been a strategic location in Jeroboam's attempt to establish and maintain control of the fledgling kingdom.

**C. History of Explorations**

Tell el-Far‹ah (ca. 600 × 300 m) is larger than Megiddo and would naturally draw the attention of scholars who have tried to identify it with a biblical site. G. Dalman (*PJ* 8: 31–32) and A. Alt (*PJ* 23: 36–37; 28:40–41) identified it with Ophrah, the home of Gideon (Albright earlier thought the same; 1931: 247). F.-M. Abel (*GP* 2: 268) identified Tell el-Far‹ah with Beth-barah of Judg 7:24. Albright (1931) surveyed the site in 1930, and argued for its identification with Tirzah. R. de Vaux, assisted by A. M. Steve, began systematic excavations in 1946, conducting nine seasons of excavations which ended in 1960.

**D. Results of the Excavations**

**1. Neolithic Period.** The Neolithic is poorly represented, but has yielded meager remains, primarily floor surfaces and hearths on virgin soil. The small finds include various flint and basalt tools. The remains represent the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B period and are similar to the materials found at Jericho.

A later phase of the Neolithic is represented and is the same as Pottery Neolithic B (sometimes also called the Early or Middle Chalcolithic). The pottery is handmade and is decorated with raised, incised, or impressed bands; painted decoration is rare. The wares, which are poorly fired, are similar to materials at Beth-shan XVIII and Jericho VIII. From an isolated tomb, de Vaux (1956: 127; 1957: 553–56) identified wares which he believes are contemporary with the PPNB materials, and which are identical to sherds from Horvat Abu Matar near Beer-sheba. From this he infers "communities of people belonging to different ethnic and cultural groups existing side by side and even intermingling" (*EAEHL* 2: 397). The Abu Matar assemblage, however, is usually identified as Late Chalcolithic, and it is probable that the materials that de Vaux identified with them were not contemporary with the PPNB wares, and hence that there was not the comingling that de Vaux postulated.

**2. Late Chalcolithic Period.** The Late Chalcolithic period has the first evidence of "architecture," in the form of pit dwellings (ca. 2.0–4.5 m diameter and 0.8 m deep) over which mud and rubble superstructures were built. The ceramic repertoire consists of the common gray-burnished ware and red-burnished pottery similar to many of the examples at Megiddo XX–XIX and Meṣer I–II. Tombs were caves, either natural or artificial, and were communal (many of which were reused in later periods). From what appears to be a contemporaneity of Chalcolithic and EB ceramics at Tell el-Far‹ah, de Vaux suggested that there was a lag in development in the central hills after the S part of the land had already progressed into the full EB culture; he attributes the change in the S to the arrival of new peoples (1956: 128).

**3. Early Bronze Age.** De Vaux contends that during the first phase of the EB development, the inhabitants built a defensive wall constructed of mud brick on a stone foundation. Over 125 m of this wall, which has towers along its course, have been exposed along the W side of the town. The wall measures over 9 m thick, and along the W course of the wall is a city gate, flanked by two huge towers (preserved to a height of 4 m) in which there were steps providing access to the top. See Fig. TIR.01. The gate was a direct access plan, but had a passage which narrowed from ca. 4 m to ca. 2.5 m. The gate went through several phases and eventually was replaced with one at a higher level which in turn was blocked up.

In phase 3, a stone wall was built, which in places was added to the mud-brick wall while in others it replaced the earlier wall, sometimes following a slightly different course. While there is some question of the date of the initial construction of the wall fortifications, they appear to have been some of the earliest in the country and date probably to the very beginning of the EB II (although de Vaux attributes it to the EB IB phase; *EAEHL* 2: 399).

Inside the town, the houses were arranged according to a plan with distinct streets (some of which had drainage systems), and at least one street was 2 m wide. The houses were rectangular and along the central axis had column bases on which pillars were placed to support the roofs. The houses were built of mud brick, which usually was founded on two courses of stone.

A building which appears to have been a sanctuary was located in phase 1, and consists of a long room with benches along the walls and which opens to the E. An enclosed cella is in the back of the building. The building continued through phase 3.

Of special significance was the discovery of two potters' workshops. The first workshop (from phase 2; de Vaux 1961: 579–82) was found near the sanctuary, and among its ruins were tools to shape, scrape, and finish the wares. Quartz and fine red sand temper were also found along with red and yellow ocher, all probably used for paint. From the next phase (de Vaux 1955: 558–59), but in the same area as the earlier workshop, was found a two-chambered kiln. The top of the kiln (the enclosed oven) was missing, but the furnace section was well preserved with a number of vertical flue openings from the lower furnace chamber into the upper oven. The technology of the kiln design remained essentially unchanged, at least to the Roman period.

The EB town continued through three more phases, and although the remains are poorly preserved, there seems to have been no major alterations. The inhabitant apparently abandoned the site about the end of EB II, inferred in part from the total absence of the distinctive EB III Khirbet Kerak Ware. De Vaux suggests (1967: 374) that the desertion of the site may have been connected with the occasional outbreak of malaria which is endemic in the region.

**4. Middle Bronze Age.** The first settlement in MB I was poor and small, and relied on the decaying EB fortifications. No public buildings or fortifications unique to this period have been located; hence the MB I should not be considered an urban phase.

Around 1700 B.C. a new stone fortification wall was built, which varied in thickness from ca. 1.8–6.0 m. The wall followed the course of the EB wall except on the E, where it excluded part of the earlier EB settlement. Supplementing the fortifications in some places was a glacis and in other places a glacis with a revetment. What appears to have been a citadel was on the NE corner and a new gate was built N of the old EB gate. The new gate had a well-constructed, covered sewage drain exiting the town beneath the roadway.

Somewhat common for this period, infants were buried in jars under the floors of houses. These should not be inferred as evidence for child sacrifices, but simply burial practices. Adults and older children were buried in tombs outside the town, some of which were reactivated Chalcolithic tombs.

In the area just inside the gate was a special basin constructed of several flat slabs of stone, which de Vaux suggests was used for ritual purposes (*EAEHL* 2: 400).

In the SW quarter was what appears to have been a subterranean sanctuary, which de Vaux believes probably had an upper level (1957: 565). It had heavy walls, but no traces of plaster to indicate use as a cistern. Further excavation revealed what may have been a favissa in one corner, and the burials of a pig fetus and a suckling pig, one which had been placed in a jar and the other which had ceramic wares buried with it. These finds, in conjunction with the votive vessels that had been left on the bench, led the excavators to infer that the building was an MB temple.

The MB gate and stratum 5 show burn destruction, which may be attributed to the raids into Canaan by the Egyptians in their expulsion of the Hyksos (ca. 1550 B.C.).

**5. Late Bronze Age.** The LB (stratum 4) is poorly preserved and the plan of the town cannot be traced. But over the earlier MB shrine were remains of a building which de Vaux suggests might have been a temple (the sanctity of a temple or shrine location often retained its status over long periods of time). The plan of this "temple" (de Vaux 1957: 574–77, fig. 8) resembles the common four-room house of the Iron Age. It had an entrance into a central area and was flanked on each side by an aisle separated by a series of four columns; at the far end was a slightly elevated "holy of holies," which was reached by steps. An additional room was attached to the front of the building on the SW corner. Inside the structure was an exquisitely crafted female figurine cast of bronze with silver leaf. The statue stands about 10 cm and

appears to represent the goddess Hathor. She is clothed to her ankles and a hole in the top of her head was probably intended to hold the horns of her headdress. De Vaux suggests that her form is derived from Syrian craftsmanship rather than Egyptian (1956: 132; 1957: 576–77). In the process of analyzing the materials and plans for final publication, after de Vaux's death, A. Chambon reassigned the "temple" to the early Iron Age I. He also reassessed the function of the building to be simply a domestic four-room house in which was found a cultic artifact (the statue) belonging to the domestic cult (1984: 20).

The end of the LB settlement is unclear, especially with the paucity of remains, but de Vaux suggests that the town lasted until the end of the 14th century B.C. and perhaps as late as the middle of the 13th (*EAEHL* 2: 400). He notes, but offers little comment on, the reference to the Israelites killing the king of Tirzah in Josh 12:24 (1967: 375).

**6. Iron Age I.** Stratum 3 was built directly on the remains of the LB, from which de Vaux seems to infer fairly immediate reoccupation of the site (the stratigraphic relationship seems to be the more critical evidence in his conclusion than the ceramic evidence). The plan of the Iron Age stratum is generally clear, and consisted of regularly arranged four-room houses along parallel streets.

The fortifications followed the MB and included a citadel on the NW corner, which was separated from the interior of the city by a fosse. The city gate was a modified form of a bent access, necessitating a right-hand turn into the city through the gate.

As was the case with the MB city, just after passing through the gate into the open area inside the city was a basin, which had been carved from one stone. Next to it was a stone pedestal on which stood a *maṣṣebâ*. De Vaux believes the two items to have been part of a "gate temple" (*EAEHL* 2: 401).

Stratum 3 had a long life, from the beginning of the Iron Age to the beginning of the 9th century B.C. The houses and features passed through several phases of repair and minor alterations and the long uninterrupted occupation is indicated by the eventual rise of the street level (ca. 45 cm) in relation to the courtyards and doors of the houses.

The end of stratum 3 apparently came as the result of the move of the capital of Israel from Tirzah to Samaria during the reign of Omri. The incomplete construction of one of the more monumental buildings is interpreted by de Vaux to indicate Omri's abandonment of the site in favor of Samaria (*EAEHL* 2: 403). However, T. McClellan (1987: 85–86), based upon the detailed publication by Chambon (1984), argues that the "incomplete structure" was not connected with Omri, but belonged to the later flourishing of Tell el-Farʿah during stratum 2 (Iron Age II).

Several terra-cotta model shrines were discovered at Tell el-Farʿah (Chambon 1984: 77–78). See Fig. TIR.02. The model has no animal or human representations on it, but probably was designed to accommodate some sort of representation of a deity. Several other examples have been discovered in the Levant, and most, if not all, were apparently associated with the worship of Astarte/Asherah (Weinberg 1979: 44–46).

**7. Iron Age II.** After the desertion of stratum 3, and before stratum 2, there is what de Vaux calls an interim stratum (1955: 583–86; *EAEHL* 2: 403). It consists of walls which were located in area II, near the gate, but which belong neither to stratum 3 nor 2. The sherds associated with this "level" are of the 9th century B.C.

Stratum 2 presents a resurgence of urban life at Tell el-Farʿah. The houses tend to be larger and better constructed than those of stratum 3 and have carefully dressed wall faces. The city gate has a bench along the inside, and the "gate temple" with its basin and *maṣṣebâ* continues in the open area just inside the gate. The basin is again a stone-slab construction, replacing the single block of the earlier period.

South of the gate are the remains of a large building that de Vaux interprets as an administrative complex. This is inferred from the size of the building (ca. 440 $m^2$), its different layout compared with the other buildings of the stratum, and its proximity to the gate (de Vaux 1951: 412–13; Chambon 1984: 44).

Immediately S of the administrative building are several large and well-constructed four-room houses which de Vaux (1952: 566) and Chambon (1984: 43–44) describe as houses of the patricians of the city. These are solidly built and laid in straight courses, usually with fairly wide walls that consist of two rows of stones which served as the foundation for the mud-brick superstructure. Just S of these larger buildings

are other buildings which by comparison are poorly built, having narrow walls of only one stone width, and which are often poorly aligned. Both de Vaux and Chambon describe these as houses of the poor people. De Vaux (1952: 566; 1967: 378) infers from these differences in quality and construction techniques that there were two levels of social stratification at Tell el-Far‹ah, and that this inequity is evidence of the kind of social injustice that Amos (5:11), Hosea (8:14), and Isaiah (9:8–9) were decrying. McClellan (1987: 86), however, disputes the basis of his interpretation by suggesting that the comparatively poorer buildings belong instead to stratum 3, which had essentially the same quality standards. He furthermore affirms that neither the elevations nor the ceramic repertoire precludes such a reassignment.

Stratum 2 is dated to the 8th century B.C. and was apparently totally destroyed by the Assyrian campaign in 723 (*EAEHL* 2: 404).

Stratum 1 appears to have been built fairly soon after the end of stratum 2, and has poor remains. The fortifications seem to have gone out of use, but the "gate temple" continued in use with the *maṣṣebâ,* which was found inside a square enclosure (*EAEHL* 2: 404). The ceramics have a distinctively non-Palestinian appearance—in clay, execution, and shape—and similar wares have been identified in the Assyrian fortress at Tell Jemmeh, and in Samaria, in addition to the palace of Sargon in Nineveh (de Vaux 1967: 378; *EAEHL* 2: 404). By about 600 B.C., the city was deserted, and de Vaux attributes part of the reason to another outbreak of malaria (de Vaux 1956: 135).

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**TISHBE** (PLACE) [Heb *tōšābê* (תִּשְׁבֵּי)]. The putative place of origin of the 9th-century Israelite prophet Elijah (1 Kgs 17:1). See ELIJAH. This identification, which is followed in many modern translations, is based on a traditional reading of the problematic Heb *mn-tšby.* Doubtless influenced by the preceding gentilic, *hattišbî* ("the Tishbite"), early witnesses (LXX, Lucian, Josephus [*Ant* 8.13.2]) read the consonantal text as a corresponding place name, *min-tišbê,* "from Tishbe." See TISHBITE. The specifying phrase, "of Gilead," would distinguish this place from a similarly named site in Galilee, the *thesbē* mentioned in Tob 1:2. See THISBE (PLACE). However, a "Tishbe in Gilead" is mentioned nowhere else in biblical or nonbiblical literature.

An early attempt to identify this Tishbe with Tisiya, S of Busra, founders on philological disparities between the names (Thenius 1873). The frequent and traditional identification with El-Istib, 8 miles N of the Jabbok in Transjordan, is equally unsatisfactory, since the earliest evidence of settlement at El-Istib does not predate Roman times. Glueck (1946: 170) proposed to emend the word to "Jabesh," a well-known Gileadite city in the Jordan valley not far from Abel-meholah (cf. 1 Kgs 19:16); but the several appearances of the gentilic "the Tishbite," all of which would then require similar emendation, make this

unacceptable. If *mn-tšby* in 1 Kgs 17:1 refers to Elijah's place of origin, we must admit that we know nothing of it beyond its location "in Gilead."

Other readings of the consonantal text have been proposed. The NT vocalizes the text *min-tōšābê,* which is itself an anomaly. It is usually emended by scholars to *min-tōšĕbê,* "one of the settlers." This is also the reading of the Targum Jonathan *(mtwtby).* Elijah, then, would be not a native of Gilead, but a permanent settler there (as opposed to a *gēr,* a temporary resident alien). Cohen (*IDB* 4: 653–54) agrees with this reading and proposes further that the gentilic *tišbî* (revocalized *tōšĕbî*) specifies not a place of origin but "settler" *(tšāb)* as a social class. He argues that the settlers from whom Elijah stemmed were the Kenites, nomadic smiths whose work on the royal chariots would have earned them the sobriquet *rēkābîm,* "Rechabites" (cf. 1 Chr 2:55). The Rechabites appear in our texts as fanatical Yahwistic traditionalists (2 Kings 10; Jeremiah 35). See RECHABITES, HISTORY OF. Simons (*GTTOT,* 359–60), on the other hand, rejects the phrase "the settlers of Gilead" as syntactically impossible, and prefers to emend *tšby* to *yšby,* "one of the inhabitants." In short, while almost all scholars are agreed that Elijah belongs to Gilead, whether as a native or as an adoptive son, it is less certain that his roots are to be sought in a site named "Tishbe."

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**TISHBITE** [Heb *tišbî* (תִּשְׁבִי)]. A descriptive cognomen of the 9th-century Israelite prophet Elijah (1 Kgs 17:1). It is used frequently of him, but occurs in no other context. In form it is a gentilic, and probably refers to a group or place of origin. Most scholars derive it from a place name "Tishbe"; this, however, is not without problems. See TISHBE (PLACE). The Targum reads it as specifying a place of origin, but vocalizes the place name quite differently: some mss read *dmtšwb,* "from Teshub," others read *dmtwšb,* "from Toshab."

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**TISHRI** [Heb *tīšrî* (תִּשְׁרִי)]. The seventh month of the Hebrew calendar, roughly corresponding to September and October. See CALENDARS (ANCIENT ISRAELITE AND EARLY JEWISH).

**TITANS** [Gk *titanes* (τιτανες)]. The phrase "sons of the Titans" appears in the song of Judith celebrating her victory over Holofernes (Jdt 16:7). In Greek mythology, the Titans are the children of Uranus and Ge, who battle with Zeus for control of the cosmos. The phrase is thus very strange on the lips of the devout Jew Judith. However, the term is occasionally used in the LXX to translate the Hebrew "Rephaim" (2 Kgs 5:18, 22). Here it should be noted that this passage in Judith is poetic, and "sons of the Titans" occurs in parallelism with "tall giants." The Greek word *gigantes* can be used to translate the Hebrew terms "Rephaim," "Nephilim," and "Anakim." If, as is generally supposed, the book of Judith had a Hebrew original, it seems clear that we have two Hebrew words in parallelism, probably "Rephaim" and "Nephilim" (it should be noted in support of this view that Josephus uses *titanes* and *gigantes* as *varia lectia,* in *Ant* 1.174; 7.71.299, 301, 304). "Rephaim" has two definitions. The first, which is also the meaning in Ugaritic, refers to some sort of inhabitant of the Underworld. This meaning is not applicable here, since it is not parallel with the meaning of "Nephilim." The second meaning is an ethnic term designating some of the inhabitants of Canaan before the Israelite conquest. These inhabitants were said to be of gigantic stature (see Deut 3:11 for the size of the bed of Og, the king of Bashan). This would seem to be the meaning required by the passage in Judith. The Nephilim, usually translated, as here, by *gigantes,* were the offspring of the (illicit) union between divine beings and human women, as told in Gen 6:1–4 (see also *1 Enoch*). They too had gigantic stature. The Anakim (another possibility for the translation *gigantes*) were also inhabitants of pre-Israelite Canaan, said to be gigantic in size (Num 13:28,

33). Thus it seems clear that Judith is referring to mythic beings familiar from both the OT and the literature of the Second Temple, whose chief characteristic was their gigantic stature.
SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**TITHE** [Heb *ʿāśar* (עָשַׂר) (verb), *maʿăśēr* (מַעֲשֵׂר) (noun); Gk *apodekatoō* (ἀποδεκατοω), *dekatoō* (δεκατοω) (verbs), *dekatē* (δεκατη) (noun)]. The religious act of giving a tenth for the support of a religious purpose.

**A. Old Testament**

The first reference to the tithe in the OT appears in Gen 14:17–20, where Abram (Abraham) gives a tithe of the spoils of his recent battle to Melchizedek, king of Salem and priest of God Most High *(ʾel ʿelyôn).* This passage is extremely difficult to date but would appear to be preexilic. It is known by the author of Psalm 110. The next reference to the tithe in the OT and probably the earliest reference chronologically is Gen 28:18–22, where Jacob, while making the shrine at Bethel, promises a tithe to God. This passage is from the E source (ca. 850 B.C.E.). While these two passages set the tithe in the patriarchal period, they cannot be accepted as historical. Gen 28:18–22, however, does establish that the tithe goes back at least as early as the period of the divided monarchy. This is confirmed by a reference to tithes in Amos 4:4 (ca. 750 B.C.E.).

Substantial information on the tithe comes from the D source (ca. 650 B.C.E.), almost surely "the Book of the Law" discovered by the high priest Hilkiah in the Jerusalem temple in 621 B.C.E. during the reign of King Josiah (2 Kgs 22:3–20). Chapters 12, 14, and 26 of Deuteronomy provide extensive regulations for tithing. The people are instructed to tithe the following resources: seed, grain, wine, oil, and firstlings of herds and flocks (Deut 14:22–23). They are to consume the tithes of grain, wine, oil, and firstlings as a sacrificial meal in a place chosen by God. Since the discovery of the Book of the Law generated a reformation of Israelite worship on the part of Josiah, and since one of Josiah's major reforms was the centralization of worship in Jerusalem, it appears certain that he understood the place chosen by God for the bringing of the tithes to be Jerusalem. The family or extended family is to eat the meal together. The family is also to invite a Levite from the family's town to eat the meal with them, since the Levites possess no land and thus have no tithes of their own to bring (Deut 14:27). If the distance to the place for the sacrificial meal (i.e., Jerusalem) is too great for the family to be able conveniently to bring all their tithes, the tithes are to be sold for money and the money brought to the place for the meal (Deut 14:24–26). The family then uses the money to buy whatever food and drink they desire for the meal. The family is to use their tithes for a sacrificial meal for two consecutive years out of every three. On every third year the tithe is to be kept within the town and given to the Levite, the sojourner, the orphan, and the widow, because they do not possess land (Deut 14:28–29; 26:12).

Two passages from the P source of the Pentateuch discuss tithes. Lev 27:30–33 states that tithes come from the seed of the land, the fruit of the trees, and every tenth animal of the herds and flocks. The owner is simply to take every tenth animal that passes under the herdsman's staff without any inquiry as to whether it is a good animal or a bad animal, and he is not to exchange it for another. But if he exchanges it for another animal, both it and the animal for which he exchanged it become part of the tithe. Animals that are a part of the tithe are considered sacred. If an owner wishes to redeem any of his tithes for money, he may do so, but only if he adds an extra fifth of the animal's full monetary value. The priest makes the valuations (Lev 27:23).

The second Priestly passage dealing with tithes is Num 18:20–32. The central subject of this passage is the role of the Levites in Israelite society. Since the Levites do not possess any land and therefore cannot readily produce their own food, they are given the agricultural tithes of the people for their sustenance and as reward for their service in the tent of meeting. The Levites are to present to the Lord a tithe of the tithes given them; that is, they are not to consume but to sacrifice a tenth of the tithes they receive. This tithe of the tithes is given by the Levites to the priests and is presumably used to support them. One marked difference in the P source's understanding of tithes from that of the D source is that the former regards *all* tithes from the people as going for the support of the Levites, not just the tithes of every third year.

Another difference from D is that P does not stipulate any tithes going to sojourners, orphans, and widows. These differences reflect the sociological viewpoints of D and P. D is a "popular" writing concerned with the whole of Israelite society: it could not easily ignore the plight of the poor. P, on the other hand, was more concerned with the status of the priestly class and less with that of the masses, who were perhaps expected to fend for themselves.

It should be noted that in both D and P tithes are by no means the only offerings of the people of Israel. Other offerings included peace offerings, sin offerings, guilt offering, wave offerings, heave offerings, etc. See also SACRIFICE AND SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS.

Tithes are also mentioned in the oracles of the prophet Malachi, who protested that the people were robbing the Lord by not bringing their full tithes into the temple storehouse in Jerusalem (3:6–11). He insisted that if the people would bring in their full tithes, God would pour down upon them "an overflowing blessing" and bless their fields with protection from ravaging insects.

In 2 Chr 31:2–12 the Chronicler attributes to Hezekiah (715–687 B.C.E.) the appointment of the divisions of priests and Levites, to whom the people then bring in abundance their tithes. What the priests and Levites cannot use immediately, they store. The Chronicler understands that the people bring their tithes to both the Levites and the priests, unlike the P source, in which the Levites give to the priests tithes out of the tithes they had received from the people. In Neh 10:32–39 the Chronicler writes that the Levites went into all the rural towns of Judah to collect the tithes from the people. They then brought the tithes to the temple storehouse in Jerusalem. In this passage as well as in Neh 12:44–45 it is clear that all tithes go for the support of the priests and Levites.

**B. New Testament**

Tithes receive very little mention in the NT. In Matt 23:23 (= Luke 11:42) Jesus rebukes the Pharisees for their meticulous tithing on the one hand while on the other neglecting "the weightier matters of the law," namely justice, mercy, and the love of God. In the parable of the Pharisee and the tax collector (Luke 18:9–14) the Pharisee thanks God for his own moral virtue in comparison to the tax collector's sinfulness. Part of that moral virtue is that the Pharisee gives tithes of all that he gets (Luke 11:12).

The only other reference to tithes in the NT is in Hebrews 7:4–10, and here the reference is to tithes in OT times. The author notes that Abraham gave a tithe of the spoils of battle to Melchizedek and that the Levites were authorized by the Law to take tithes from the people. These references are a part of the author's larger purpose of comparing Jesus to Melchizedek.

**C. Early Judaism and Christianity**

In both early Jewish and early Christian exegesis of the scriptural references to tithes the Deuteronomic sacrificial meal is forgotten. Another characteristic common to both early Jews and early Christians is generalizing of the tithes. Whereas in the OT tithes apply to specific agricultural products, rabbinic and patristic exegesis tends to include all agricultural products and eventually all forms of income as subject to the tithe. In the Mishnaic tractate on tithes *(Maʿaśerot)* is the statement, "Whatsoever is used for food, and is kept watch over, and grows from the soil, is liable to Tithes" (1:1), not just grain, wine, and oil. Later extensive lists are drawn up of every agricultural product subject to the tithe, including even relatively insignificant herbs such as thyme and mustard. This generalizing tendency can already be seen in the 2d century B.C.E. in the book of Tobit: "Of all my produce I would give a tenth to the sons of Levi who ministered at Jerusalem; a second tenth I would sell, and I would go and spend the proceeds each year at Jerusalem, the third tenth I would give to those to whom it was my duty" (1:7–8). Very early in the history of Christianity tithes are extended to include money. This occurs for the first time in *Didache* 13:7 (late first or early 2d century C.E.), then in all subsequent Christian writing on tithes. Despite this generalizing tendency virtually all references in early Judaism and early Christianity are to *tithes* (plural) not to *the tithe. Tithes* do not become *the tithe* until much later in the history of Christianity.

Another widespread tendency of early Christianity is the identification of the OT Levites, the principal beneficiaries of the tithes, with Christian priests. Origen writes, "God orders the priest-Levite who possessed no land himself, to live together with an Israelite who possesses land. And the priest-Levite should receive those earthly things which he does not have from the Israelite; and the Israelite should

correspondingly receive the heavenly and divine things from the priest-Levite. The priest should be completely free to devote himself exclusively to the service of God. He should be supported just as we provide oil for a lamp so that it can give light" (*Homilies on Joshua* 17:3, quoted in Vischer 1966: 27). The Apostolic Constitutions carry this tendency a step further by equating the OT priestly order with church order. The bishops are the equivalent of the high priest; the elders, of the priests; the deacons, of the Levites (ANF 7:410).

Two different lines of interpretation of the OT commandments on tithing may be discerned in the writings of the Church Fathers. Many of the earlier fathers and especially the early monastic writers regarded the OT commandments on tithing as superseded by the teachings of Jesus. The Hebrews were to give a tenth, but Jesus told the rich young ruler to sell all that he had to give to the poor (Matt 19:21 = Mark 10:21 = Luke 18:22). Irenaeus writes that the Jews "had indeed the tithes of their goods consecrated to Him, but those who have received liberty set aside all their possessions for the Lord's purposes, bestowing joyfully and freely" (*haer.* 4:18 in ANF 1:485). Nonetheless Christians did not give all that they had; most did not even give a tithe. The sermons of fathers such as Cyprian and Chrysostom occasionally rebuke Christians by implying that those who do not tithe are inferior to the Jews. Chrysostom writes, "Someone told me with great amazement that so-and-so gives a tithe. How shameful it is that what was taken for granted among the Jews has now become an amazing thing among Christians. And if non-payment of the tithe puts a man in jeopardy with God then, consider how many are in such danger today" (*Homilies on the Epistle to the Ephesians,* chap. 2; quoted in Vischer 1966: 16). A second line of patristic interpretation, more characteristic of the post-Nicene period, sees the OT tithes as an acceptable, though minimal, standard of giving for Christians. Augustine was the chief spokesperson for this viewpoint.

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**TITLES, DIVINE.** See NAMES OF GOD IN THE OT.

**TITUS** (EMPEROR). Titus (Titus Flavius Vespasianus), elder son of the emperor Vespasian, was born on Dec. 30, A.D. 39 and became emperor on June 24, 79. Because of the Flavian family's prominence during Claudius' reign (41–55), Titus was granted the unusual honor of an education at the imperial court, where he was brought up as the constant companion of Claudius' son, Britannicus. Not long after his twentieth birthday, he served with distinction as military tribune in Germany and in Britain (Tacitus *Hist.* 2.77; Suetonius *Titus* 4.1). Returning to Rome, he married Arrecina Tertulla, upon whose death (ca. 63) he married Marcia Furnilla, whom he divorced because of her family's involvement in the Pisonian conspiracy against Nero (65). Arrecina was probably the mother of Titus' only child, Julia.

Late in 66, Vespasian was sent by Nero to crush a rebellion in Judea. What was unusual was the appointment of Titus to control one of his father's three legions; not only was he too young (most legionary legates were over thirty), but it was unprecedented for a son to command a legion in his father's army. Titus was prominent in four sieges during 67 (Jotapata, Japha, Tarichaeae, and Gamala; Josephus *JW* 3.7.3 §142–4.1.3 §11) and was in sole command of the attack on Gischala (*JW* 4.2.1 §84 ff.). He does not appear in Josephus' battle records of 68, apparently spending much of that year in negotiations with Mucianus, the governor of the neighboring province of Syria, with whom Vespasian was quarreling. Titus' skill in diplomacy brought about a reconciliation (Tacitus *Hist.* 2.5). On Nero's death (June 9, 68), Titus' diplomatic expertise was once again in demand. He was sent to Rome on a delicate mission, ostensibly to pay his respects to Galba, but in fact to assess his family's standing with the new emperor. However, on reaching Corinth, he heard of Galba's death, openly advocated that his father seize power (Tacitus *Hist.* 2.10), and returned to Judea. His role in Vespasian's ultimate success (he was first proclaimed emperor on July 1, 69) was again essentially diplomatic, involving constant negotiations with Flavian supporters in Egypt, Judea, and Syria. As a reward, he was made consul in absentia and replaced Vespasian as supreme commander of the Jewish war. Victory came quickly: by July 70 the Antonia had

fallen and in August the temple was taken and destroyed (Josephus *JW* 6.7.2 §237 ff.). The rebels were not completely defeated, however, until 74 when the fortress of Masada was taken.

On Titus' return to Rome in June 71, Vespasian granted him powers so extensive that he was almost coruler. But he soon acquired a reputation for ruthlessness, extravagance, and licentiousness. As commander of the praetorian guard, he was "somewhat arrogant and tyrannical" (Suetonius *Titus* 6.1), crushing any opposition. Executions were his responsibility, hence the fate of the conspirators Eprius Marcellus and Caecina Alienus (Dio 65.16.3–4; Suetonius *Titus* 6.2). When the Jewish princess Berenice came to Rome ca. 75 (Dio 65.15.3), Titus lived openly with her but was soon forced to dismiss her. Men feared that on his accession, he would be a second Nero (Suetonius *Titus* 7.1).

Their fears proved groundless, according to our sources. On becoming emperor, Titus dismissed Berenice when she returned to Rome (Dio 66.18.1), executed no senators or anyone else (Dio 66.19.1), and declared that a day when he had conferred no favors was a day wasted (Suetonius *Titus* 8). Clearly, he intended to project an image of moderation, affability, and generosity. The truth is far harder to disentangle. His administration was sound and, at times, innovative, as his employment of easterners in posts of military significance suggests. His foreign policy was one of cautious advance, particularly in Britain, where his army was under the control of Tacitus' father-in-law, Agricola. But the eruption of Vesuvius (August 79), the resulting destruction of Pompeii and Herculaneum, a severe epidemic soon after (Suetonius *Titus* 8.3), and a fire that ravaged Rome imposed enormous burdens on the treasury, as did Titus' extensive building program that included the Flavian amphitheater (later called the Colosseum). Yet his fiscal policies must have been sound, for he had received from his predecessor and bequeathed to his successor a balanced budget.

After a brief reign of twenty-six months, Titus died suddenly on Sept. 13, 81, apparently of natural causes, and was immediately deified. Suggestions that he was murdered by Domitian seem unfounded. For Suetonius, Titus was "the darling of the human race" (*Titus* 1), a view shared by non-Jewish writers of antiquity. Brave and intellectually capable, he gathered all the accomplishments of a highly educated Roman noble of his time. His bland charm and diplomatic skill served to conceal both his efficiency and his ruthlessness. His reputation was enhanced by his early death.

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**TITUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Titos* (Τιτος)]. Titus was a gentile Christian (Gal 2:3) and one of Paul's chosen travel companions (Gal 2:1) and fellow workers (2 Cor 8:23). He was also Paul's trusted emissary for the Corinthian community (2 Cor 12:18) and one who assisted with the collection for the church in Jerusalem (2 Cor 8:6). In addition, Titus is the intended recipient of the NT pastoral letter bearing his name (Titus 1:4). See TIMOTHY AND TITUS, EPISTLES TO.

In the autobiographical section of Galatians, Paul identifies Titus and Barnabas as his chosen companions for his journey, originating presumably from Antioch and ending at Jerusalem (this journey has been variously identified with either the famine visit narrated in Acts 11:27–30 or the visit regarding the circumcision question related in Acts 15:2). Occurring 14 years after his first visit there with Cephas (Gal 1:18), the second visit (2:1–2) had as its purpose to present to the Jerusalem leaders the gospel that Paul was preaching to the gentiles. The choice of Titus, identified as a Greek (Gal 2:3), that is, a gentile according to the Pauline usage, reflects the wisdom of Paul's strategy.

As a gentile, Titus becomes a prototype for the Galatians and a test case for the entire gentile mission of Paul. For though he was a Greek, Titus "was not compelled to be circumcised" (2:3). The ambiguity of this phrase lends itself to two conflicting interpretations: (1) the circumcision of Titus did take place,

although there was no compulsion, either at his own initiative or by the suggestion of Paul, as a conciliatory gesture to the more conservative Jewish Christians. (In support of this alternative there is the reading in some mss [one Western text and Marcion] that Paul "did yield for a moment" [2:5] to the pressure, and allowed the circumcision to take place.) (2) False brethren (2:4–5) put strong pressure upon Titus (and Paul) for the circumcision, but they did not submit, as Paul emphatically affirms: "To them we did not yield submission even for a moment" (2:5). The first option is highly unlikely, since the circumcision of Titus, if it did in fact take place, would surely have become known publicly, particularly to the Galatian Judaizers who opposed Paul's gospel. To permit this would have compromised Paul's mission. It is more likely that Titus left Jerusalem as an uncircumcised gentile, and as such, served as a powerful witness that a gentile could participate in God's salvation without accepting this prescription of the Torah.

This takes us to the Corinthian situation. Titus figures prominently as Paul's strong right arm in his relationship with the Corinthian community after his founding visit there, as is attested by 2 Corinthians. That there is no mention of Titus in 1 Corinthians, either in the prescript or the rest of the letter, suggests that he became involved with them just after that letter was written, although by this time he had already been one of Paul's co-workers for a number of years. It is also possible that Titus was assigned (by Paul?) to manage the collection from the beginning, and that is why he figures so prominently in 2 Corinthians.

After Paul's initial visit to Corinth and his first letter (cf. 1 Cor 7:1), word came to Paul while he was in Ephesus that at least some Corinthians had turned against him. Rather than go himself (perhaps because of the demands of the pastoral situation in Ephesus, and not because Paul wanted to avoid conflict or could not subdue the revolt), Paul looked to Titus, a co-worker with proven pastoral skill, to travel to Corinth and mediate the difficult situation. Part of his task was to remind the Corinthians of their obedience to the founding apostle (2 Cor 7:15). Surely Titus was no less anxious than Paul about this mission, both of them wondering how Titus might be received and what the outcome might be.

Before Titus was sent, Paul had evidently prearranged to meet him on his return trip in the district around Troas (2 Cor 2:12), probably at the port of Troas, where Titus would arrive by sea. For some reason (Titus' longer than expected stay in Corinth or difficult travel experiences?) Titus did not make this rendezvous. This caused no small disturbance to Paul, who reflects: "My mind could not rest because I did not find my brother Titus there" (2:13). Rather than continue to wait longer, Paul, perhaps thinking that Titus had missed the last sailing of the summer season, headed north by land to the Hellespont, hoping to encounter Titus en route overland. If the shipping lanes were closed by this time for the winter season, Titus would have had to travel this route.

There was no little concern in Paul's mind about meeting Titus, for Paul describes himself as "afflicted at every turn—fighting without and fear within" (7:5). In Macedonia the reunion with Titus finally occurred. Besides the joy brought by seeing his trusted fellow worker again, Paul was further comforted by the news Titus brought. The Corinthians had evidently received Titus as well as his mediating efforts without hostility. The conflict they were experiencing gave rise to grief and their grief produced "a repentance that leads to salvation" (7:10). The Corinthians not only were a comfort to Titus, they also expressed their zeal to see Paul once again (7:7). Paul's so-called severe letter (written between 1 and 2 Corinthians), indeed in the mission of Titus had its desired effect.

No sooner had Paul met Titus than he promptly decided to send Titus back for the specific purpose of assisting in the collection for the saints in Jerusalem (8:6). Since Titus was "very earnest" to go of his own accord (8:17), Paul did not have to use much persuasion. The collection had been announced earlier (1 Cor 16:1–4) and was already under way (2 Cor 8:6, 10–11) as something willingly accepted by the community. Titus was to complete this work.

Sent with Titus were two other companions about whom we know something of their character, if not their names. One is a brother who was "famous among all the churches for his preaching of the gospel" (8:18). He was recognized not by Paul alone, but had been "appointed by the churches" to travel with Paul in the work of the gospel (8:19). The other brother is one whom Paul and his fellow missionaries had "often tested and found earnest in many matters" (8:22). Both of these emissaries are called "apostles" of

the churches (8:23); Titus alone is designated as Paul's partner and fellow worker. In light of the strong recommendation Paul has given to this trio, the question has been raised whether Paul had some misgivings about the Corinthian collection effort. Was Paul's strategy for completing the collection by sending others, one a noncircumcised gentile (Titus), a sign of the craftiness of which Paul was accused (12:12–16)? Paul even asks rhetorically whether he or Titus or the brother (now only one is mentioned) took advantage of them (12:17–18). Beyond this nothing further is known regarding Titus' efforts for the collection, although it appears that Paul eventually brought the collection to its intended recipients, the church in Jerusalem (see Acts 24:26).

Two later references to Titus are found in the NT. The author of 2 Timothy reports that Titus had gone to Dalmatia (4:10), and there is a letter addressed to Titus, who is referred to by the reputed author, Paul, as "my true child in a common faith" (1:4). Some commentators interpret this verse to mean that Titus was one of Paul's converts. According to this same letter, Titus has been left at Crete to correct a deteriorating pastoral situation and to appoint elders. The final instructions urge Titus to join Paul at Nicopolis (3:13), where he has decided to spend the winter. Soon after the letter is received, Titus is to be replaced by either Artemas or Tychicus (3:12).

Somewhat surprisingly, there is no mention of Titus in Acts, although some attempts have been made to identify him with Titius Justus (Acts 18:7). And there is a 9th-century Latin ms that refers to Titus in Acts 13:1. Various possible explanations have been offered for Acts' silence about Titus: he was not well enough known to be included; he may have been a relative or very close friend of Luke, and hence omitted as was the author's name; he may have been Luke's eyewitness for sections of the book. Also it has been argued that any mention of Titus was omitted by the author of Acts because he was involved in the more controversial events of Paul's life, including the circumcision question, the stormy situation with the Corinthian community, and the collection for Jerusalem (Walker 1981: 232–33).

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JOHN GILLMAN

**TITUS MANIUS** (PERSON). See MANIUS, TITUS (PERSON).

**TITUS, EPISTLE TO.** See TIMOTHY AND TITUS, EPISTLES TO.

**TIZITE** [Heb *tîṣî* (תִּיצִי)]. An adjective used to describe one of David's mighty men, Joha, the brother of Jediael the son of Shimri (1 Chr 11:45). In all probability, this gentilic adjective (see GKC, 240 §86h) is a geographical designation and refers to a place in Transjordan. The gentilic occurs in the unparalleled supplement (1 Chr 11:41b–47) to the larger synoptic list (2 Sam 23:8–39 = 1 Chr 11:10–41a) of military personnel supportive of David's rise to kingship in Israel. Of the eight gentilics contained in this brief supplement, four are demonstrably to be located in Transjordan ("the Reubenite," "the Asherathite" [NEB "from Ashtaroth"], "the Aroerite" [NEB "from Aroer"], and "the Moabite") (1 Chr 11:42, 44, 46b), and two are often placed there by textual emendations (thus, "the Mahavite" of 1 Chr 11:46a often becomes [Curtis *Chronicles* ICC, 194] "the Mahanite" or "the Mahanaimite," i.e., from Mahanaim, or "the Meonite," from Beth Meon; and "the Mezobaite" of RSV 1 Chr 11:47b [KJV "the Mesobaite"] is commonly replaced by "the Zobathite," i.e., "from Zobah" = NEB). But the remaining two gentilics, "the Mithnite" (1 Chr 11:43b) and "the Tizite" (1 Chr 11:45b), have resisted explanation and location, in spite of the interesting textual variations in the LXX tradition of the former (Codex Alexandrinus *ho matthani;* Vaticanus *ho baithanei;* Sinaiticus *ho bethanei* = "the Bethanite") and of the latter (Codex Vaticanus *ho ieasei;* Alexandrinus *ho thōsaoi* = "the Thosaite").

ROGER W. UITTI

**TOAH** (PERSON) [Heb *tôaḥ* (תּוֹחַ)]. An ancestor of Heman, of the levitical line of Kohath (1 Chr 6:19—Eng6:34). The meaning of the name is uncertain. Noth (*IPN,* 221), following others, derived it from the Akk *taḥū,* meaning "child." The previous list (1 Chr 6:1–15—Eng6:16–30) records Nahath as a descendant of Elkanah in place of Toah (1 Chr 6:11—Eng6:26). Rudolph ( *Chronikbücher* HAT, 54) suggested that "Nahath" in 1 Chr 6:11 should be read as either "Toah" with v 19 or "Tohu" with 1 Sam 1:1. Two pieces of evidence, however, suggest that perhaps "Nahath" should be read in both 1 Chr 6:11 and 6:19. First, the list in 1 Chr 6:1–15—Eng6:16–30 is apparently the primary list (Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 134–35). Second, the genealogical list in 1 Chr 6:16–33—Eng6:31–48 gives Samuel as a descendant of Toah, making Samuel of levitical lineage. In 1 Sam 1:1, Samuel is listed as of Ephraimite lineage and Tohu is listed as one of his predecessors. The text in 1 Chronicles 6 probably represents either an attempt by the Chronicler to give levitical lineage to Samuel, or an attempt to give prophetic heritage to Heman (cf. 1 Chr 25:1–5, which describes Heman as a seer). Whatever the reason for the inclusion of Samuel in the list, it appears that when Samuel was introduced into the list, Toah was introduced to replace Nahath, perhaps on the basis of the tradition in 1 Sam 1:1.

TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**TOB** (PLACE) [Heb *ṭôb* (טוֹב)]. Usually taken as the name of a Gileadite city, whose Jewish population had been slaughtered by the gentiles around them (1 Macc 5:13; Gk *Toubion*). Aharoni and Avi-Yonah (*MBA,* map no. 189) and Simons (*GTTOT,* section 257) identify the site as eṭ-Ṭayibeh (M.R. 266218), SE of the city of Der‹a. Simons claims further that the city was the capital of a larger area with the same name. Scholars often identify the site with the city of Tob (Heb *ṭôb;* Gk *Tōb*), mentioned in Judg 11:3, 5; 2 Sam 10:6, 8; and even the city *t-b* in the city list of Thutmose III (*CTAED,* 190–91).

Building on the work of Mazar (1957), Goldstein (*1 Maccabees* AB, 298–99) understands the term as a reference to the Tubias (Tobias) family. Their territory lay well S of the River Jabbok, i.e., outside of Judas' sphere of activity in Gilead. The Tubian Jews of 1 Macc 5:13 would have been separated from their home city. The Greek text of 1 Macc 5:13 is actually somewhat difficult since the noun is obscure which ends the phrase "who were in Tubias' ___." "Places" or "region" is a typical reading, but, based on the use of the military term *chiliarchion* at the end of the verse, Goldstein argues that the text probably referred to Tubias' "troops." Nor is the issue clarified by 2 Macc 12:17, which also speaks of Tubiad Jews (Gk *Toubianoi*). See TOUBIANI. Goldstein (*2 Maccabees* 439–40) thinks that these Jews also belonged to the Tubiad troop and that they held a fort or "palisaded camp" (Gk *charaka*) rather than dwelling in the city of "Charax" or Dathema.

It is not clear, then, whether 1 Macc 5:13 refers to a geographical place (city or region) or a group. Either way, the referent must have been situated in Gilead near the other persecuted Jews in the cities of Dathema, Bozrah, Bosor-in-Alema, Chaspho, Maked, and Carnaim (1 Macc 5:24–26). It is even less clear how the people mentioned in 1 Macc 5:13 related to those mentioned in 2 Macc 12:17. If both verses refer to the same Tubiad group, which seems likely, 1 Macc 5:13 was incorrect in reporting that all of the Tubiad Jews had been slaughtered and some had escaped. On the other hand, there could have been two or more groups of Tubiad Jews. The similarity in names would seem to rule out the last possibility, namely that they were completely separate groups.

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**TOBADONIJAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ṭôb ›ădônîyâ* (טוֹב אֲדוֹנִיָּה)]. Ostensibly one of the levitical teachers commissioned by Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, to instruct the people in the Law (2 Chr 17:8). The name was probably a scribal addition due to two errors of the eye. Although there is no grammatical or exegetical problem with the presence of the name in the list, the LXX, Syr and Ar versions of the Hebrew Bible omit it. The Ar version is too late to have much significance for this problem, while the Syr version

had been revised under the influence of the LXX, making the two witnesses one (Würthwein 1979: 81). The clear consensus of the LXX tradition is in favor of the omission and explains the variant readings. Evidently the scribe reduplicated (dittography) the first parts of the previous two names, *ṭôbîyāhû* and *ʾădônîyāhû,* and omitted the final syllables because of their similarities (homoeoteleuton).

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KIRK E. LOWERY

**TOBIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ṭôbîyâ* (טוֹבִיָּה)]. Var. TOBIJAH. Name of several (possibly related) men who were influential in Judean internal and regional affairs, especially during the Second Temple period.

**1.** A member of the exiled community (520 B.C.E.) with a special role in Zechariah's symbolic crowning of Joshua as high priest (Zech 6:9–15, esp. 9–10 and 14). Although it has not been determined whether Zechariah depicts an actual ceremony, the message concerning Tobiah is relatively clear; Tobiah should bring silver and gold for the crown and should also be mindful of the crown in the temple (Zech 6:14). Tobiah (RSV reads "Tobijah," reflecting the Heb name *ṭôbîyāhû,* whereas MT reads "Tobiah," Heb *ṭôbîyāh*), who appears with no patronym, was presumably an affluent returnee from exile. It has been proposed that he represents Yahwist factions from outside the small province of Judah (hence related to the later Tobiads from the Ammonite region; see below) and thereby affirms a widespread commitment to the restoration of the temple and its priesthood (Meyers *Haggai and Zechariah* AB, 343).

**2.** Head of a family that returned with Zerubbabel and Jeshua from the Babylonian Exile but could not prove its Israelite ancestry (Ezra 2:60; Neh 7:62; 1 Esdr 5:37). The list in Ezra 2 implies that this return took place immediately in response to Cyrus' declaration in 538 B.C.E. But 1 Esdras places this return in its more probable date at the time of King Darius (522–520).

The family of Tobiah, along with that of Delaiah and Nekoda, included 652 persons (642 in Neh 7:62), who came from Babylonian sites which can no longer be identified. They were unable to demonstrate their Israelite descent. Their plight draws attention to the importance of genealogy in the restored community; it also serves to underscore, by way of contrast, the authentic Israelite background of all the other returnees. Although the list of names does not specify the consequences, it is conceivable that the uncertain genealogy of these families forms the backdrop for the later tensions. The recurrence of some of these names as Nehemiah's opponents suggests such a possibility: Tobiah (see below), Sanballat (whose son's name is Delaiah) and Shemaiah son of Delaiah (Neh 6:10–14).

**3.** An opponent of Nehemiah who plays a major role in the intrigue surrounding Nehemiah's work in Jerusalem (445 and 433), Tobiah could have been either an Ammonite who (through marriage and money) rose to prominence in Jerusalem or a Judean (even Jerusalemite) who rose to prominence in Ammon.

Nehemiah himself implies that Tobiah was a foreigner engaged in several heated confrontations with Nehemiah and the Judeans. Nehemiah introduces Tobiah as "the Ammonite Servant" who, with Sanballat the Horonite and Geshem the Arab, scorns Nehemiah's intention to restore Jerusalem's walls (Neh 2:19). Nehemiah seems to suggest that "Ammonite" refers to Tobiah's ancestry, to be contrasted with "the children of Israel" (Neh 2:10).

According to Nehemiah's memoirs, Tobiah and his associates harass Nehemiah and his supporters at every step. They accuse Nehemiah of rebellion (2:19), demoralize the builders with taunts (Nehemiah 3), militarily threaten the Judean community (Nehemiah 4), further allege rebellion (Neh 6:6), and conspire with prophets (false prophets, according to Nehemiah) to entice Nehemiah to sin by violating cultic precepts (Neh 6:10–13). Once Nehemiah's wall is complete, the opponents' tactics change: Tobiah seems to seek rapprochement even as, according to Nehemiah, he also threatens (Neh 6:19). At this point the reader discovers how well connected Tobiah is to the Judean community: "for many in Judah were bound by oath to him, because he was the son-in-law of Shecaniah the son of Arah; and his son Jehohanan had taken the daughter of Meshullam the son of Berechiah as his wife" (Neh 6:19). We last hear about Tobiah when Nehemiah ejects Tobiah's belongings from the temple precinct. Tobiah apparently had gained a

foothold in the temple precinct with the help of the priest Eliashib (to whom he is related) during Nehemiah's temporary absence 12 years later (Neh 13:4–9). By prefacing this expulsion with a remark on the need to separate from Ammonites and other foreigners (Neh 13:1–3), Nehemiah or the editor suggests again that Tobiah is a foreigner.

Obviously Nehemiah regards Tobiah as a political and religious threat. He implies that Tobiah, like Sanballat, was a foreigner meddling in Judean affairs against Jerusalem's welfare. The actual historical situation is not altogether clear. Tobiah could have opposed Nehemiah because Nehemiah's role as governor of a new and strengthened Judean province encroached upon the neighboring powers such as Samaria and Ammon. The leaders of these provinces (Samaria in particular) may have objected to losing what had been under their control prior to Nehemiah. Such are the implications of Nehemiah's memoirs.

But the conflict could have also been primarily an inner Judean one. Many modern scholars take the "Ammonite servant" to be Tobiah's title as a Persian official over the Ammonite region. As such, Tobiah was a counterpart to Sanballat in Samaria and Nehemiah in Judah. He may have been a Jew who rose to power in the Persian Empire, and a member of a distinguished Jerusalem family connected to the priesthood (Blenkinsopp *Ezra, Nehemiah* OTL, 219). His Yahwist name ("Yahweh is good"), his son's Yahwist name (Jehohanan), and his familial ties with Jerusalem's aristocracy (e.g., Neh 6:18) as well as with the high priest Eliashib (Neh 13:7), all point in that direction. Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC), however, maintains that the adjective "Ammonite" refers to Tobiah's origin and considers Tobiah a junior partner of Sanballat, possibly even identical with the "Tabeel" (an Aramaic form of "Tobiah") of Ezra 4:23.

If this Tobiah is a descendant of the earlier Tobiah of Ezra 2:60 (see #2 above), the uncertain status of his ancestors could explain both his appointment over Ammon and the ensuing conflict with Nehemiah. The converse, however, is also plausible: the later conflict between this Tobiah and Nehemiah may have led to casting doubt on the earlier genealogy.

Several extrabiblical sources testify to an important Tobiah family or families which have been linked with Nehemiah's Tobiah. The Lachish Ostraca (6th century B.C.E.) refer to a Tobiah, the servant of the king. More prominent are the Tobiads of the 3d century B.C.E., named after a Tobiah in the Zeno Papyri and Josephus' *Ant* (11.4). These Tobiads were powerful Jewish landowners in the Ammonite region of Transjordan. According to Josephus, they were connected to the priesthood and wielded power in Jerusalem. They were the supporters of the Ptolemies. Joseph, a leading member of the Tobiad family and nephew of the high priest Onias, was granted tax-collecting privileges. As tax collectors, the Tobiads' economic influence extended as far as Syria and included Samaria and Judah in addition to Ammon (*Ant* 12.4. §4). They were later embroiled in the civil strife leading to the Maccabean revolt in the 2d century (see 2 Macc 3:11 and *Ant* 12.5 §1; see also 1 Macc 5:13 and 12:17 for a possible connection).

These famous Tobiads have been connected with the remains of the "Fortress of the Servant" (Qasr al Abd) in Transjordan (the Ammonite region). This association has been based on the title "servant" and, more importantly, on the large, 3d-century inscription of the word "Tobiah," which is carefully engraved into the cliffs at the entrance to the fortress's caves. The location of the fortress corresponds to Josephus' account of the Tobiads' residence.

Mazar (1957) places all of the references to a Tobiah in a single genealogical chain from 590 (Lachish Ostraca) to 200 B.C.E. He even postulates an earlier link with an 8th-century Tabeel in Isa 7:8 and traces a branch of the family to Nippur during the postexilic era. Most other scholars hesitate to connect all these persons but grant a likely relation between Nehemiah's Tobiah and the later Tobiads of Ammon. The two hundred years' gap in our sources precludes certain identification. See Blenkinsopp *Ezra, Nehemiah* OTL; Meyers *Haggai and Zechariah* AB; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC.

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TAMARA C. ESKENAZI

**TOBIAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Tōbias* (Τωβιας)]. **1.** The son of Tobit and a major figure in the book of Tobit (Tob 1:9 and passim). The book of Tobit is a fictional work in which a number of the names attributed to

the relatives of Tobit are wordplays (Nickelsburg 1981: 40, n. 37). "Tobias," meaning "God's goodness" or "my good is Yahweh," was probably also selected on the basis of its symbolic significance (*IDB* 4: 658).

**2.** The grandfather of Hyrcanus (2 Macc 3:11; cf. *Ant* 12.4.6–11 §§186–236), Tobias was a landowner and the commander of a garrison in Transjordan. Married to the sister of the high priest Onias II, he is identified as the founder of the influential Tobiad family, notorious for its role as "tax farmers," first for the Ptolemies and later for Antiochus III (Bartlett *Maccabees* CBC, 4–5; Goldstein *2 Maccabees* AB, 207–8).

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FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**TOBIEL** (PERSON) [Gk *Tōbiēl* (Τωβιηλ)]. The father of Tobit (Tob 1:1). Tobiel is a "theophoric" variation on the name *ṭôbîyāh* ("Yahweh is good"; see Zimmermann 1958: 44). Like the names of other characters in the book, "Tobiel" may have been selected for its symbolic significance (Nickelsburg 1981: 40, n. 37). In restoring Tobit's blindness and in freeing Sarah from the demon Asmodeus, God will manifest his goodness; and it is that goodness which reinforces the writer's appeal for obedience in the face of senseless suffering (Nickelsburg 1981: 34).

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FREDERICK W. SCHMIDT

**TOBIJAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ṭôbîyāhû* (טוֹבִיָּהוּ)] Var. TOBIAH. **1.** A Levite sent by Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, along with a team of five secular leaders, seven other Levites, and two priests to teach in the towns of Israel (2 Chr 17:8). The context implies that their mission was to instruct the people in their religious duties as well as their civic ones as a part of the king's religious reforms (Myers *II Chronicles* AB, 99; de Vaux *AncIsr* 2: 344, 394). His name means "Yahweh is my good," rather than "Yahweh is good" (against *HALAT,* 357), since there is no other explanation for the presence of the connecting *-î-* of *ṭôbî-* except as the first-person-possessive suffix.

**2.** An exile from Babylon (Zech 6:10, 14). See TOBIAH (PERSON) #1.

KIRK E. LOWERY

**TOBIT, BOOK OF.** The Greek book of Tobit (Gk *tōbeit[h]*), named after its alleged author, a Jewish exile living in "the Assyrian capital of Nineveh[!]" in the late 8th and 7th centuries B.C., is regarded as noncanonical or "apocryphal" by Jews and Protestants and, since the decrees of the Council of Trent in 1546, is termed "deuterocanonical" by Roman Catholics.

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A. Summary of the Story
B. Some Preliminary Observations
C. The Story's Fictional Character
D. Possible Secular Folktale Components
    1. The Grateful Dead and the Bride of the Monster
    2. The Story of Ahiqar
    3. The Tractate of Khons
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E. Literary Genre
    1. Romance
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**A. Summary of the Story**

Writing in Nineveh, where he had been in exile since the days of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser (V, 727–722 B.C.), Tobit son of Tobiel, a native of Thisbe in Naphtali, tells how he, unlike most Israelites of the N kingdom, had been a righteous and observant Jew, worshipping in Jerusalem as prescribed by the law of Moses. Raised by his grandmother, Tobit married Anna, who was also of his tribe, and by her had a son, Tobiah.

In Nineveh, Tobit had continued to follow God's Law, observing the laws of *kašrût* and doing such charitable acts as feeding the hungry, providing clothing for the naked, and burying Jewish corpses exposed by the king. God rewarded him for all this by making him Shalmaneser's purchasing agent.

But when Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.), Shalmaneser's son and successor, expressly prohibited the burial of those executed by the state, Tobit ignored the edict. His defiance discovered, Tobit's property was confiscated by the crown and, had he not fled for his life, he would have been executed. Two months later, Sennacherib was murdered and succeeded by his son Esarhaddon (681–669 B.C.), who promptly appointed Tobit's nephew, Ahikar son of Anael, as his chief financial minister. Through the latter's intercession Tobit was reinstated (chap. 1).

Sending Tobiah out to invite some poor compatriot to share their festal meal of Pentecost (i.e., Feast of Weeks), Tobit learned from him of another Jewish corpse in the marketplace. Only after Tobit had rescued the corpse did he finish his dinner. Then he buried the man, much to the amusement of his neighbors, who knew that such conduct had once almost cost him his life. Though Tobit had bathed, he spent that night outside by a courtyard wall, where sparrow droppings fell in his eyes, making him completely blind. Provided for by Ahikar until he moved to Elymais, Tobit was reduced to having Anna support them by doing women's work. So depressed was Tobit by his wretched situation that once he actually accused Anna of stealing a kid from her employers. Whereupon she angrily pointed out to him that *his* righteousness and good deeds had gotten him nowhere (chap. 2). Stung to the quick, Tobit prayed that God would take his life.

That same day, Sarah, daughter of Raguel, a Jewess living at Ecbatana in Media, was also praying for death. Married seven times, she was still a virgin, the evil demon Asmodeus having killed each of her bridegrooms just before the consummation of the marriage. Sarah would have committed suicide but for the distress and disgrace it would bring to her father, who had no one except her and her mother. Insisting that she was undeserving of her marital misfortunes, Sarah begged God to take her life. Fortunately, God heard the prayers of Tobit and Sarah and sent the angel Raphael to help them (chap. 3).

Still on that same day, Tobit, convinced that he was dying, remembered some money he had left on deposit with Gabael at Rages in Media. After admonishing Tobiah to treat his mother and his compatriots well, to stay always with his own people and, like his ancestors, not marry outside the tribe, and to be law-abiding and ever generous and considerate toward those less fortunate than himself, even to the point of pouring wine on the graves of the righteous, Tobit then told his son about the money (chap. 4).

Sent out to find a guide who knew the way to Rages, Tobiah quickly came upon the angel Raphael, who was disguised as one Azariah, son of Hananiah of Naphtali, who assured Tobiah that he knew the way to

Gabael's house. In his job interview, "Azariah" not only convinced Tobit that he was of pious, Jewish stock but even assured Tobit that he would soon recover his sight. They then agreed on Raphael's wages as a drachma a day, plus travel expenses and a bonus.

Ironically, while Anna was crying and begging Tobit not to send their only child on such a trip, Tobit tried to reassure her by saying that their son would succeed because "a good angel" would go with him (chap. 5).

Tobiah, accompanied by his dog, left home with "Azariah." By nightfall they were encamped beside the Tigris, where Tobiah hauled in a huge fish that had attacked his foot. On Raphael's instructions, he gutted it, saving its gall, heart, and liver. Only later did Raphael explain that the fish's heart and liver could make a smoke that drove away demons, and that the gall cured blindness.

Nearing Ecbatana, the angel proposed that Tobiah marry the brave and beautiful daughter of Raguel, a relative with whom they would be spending the night. That way, Tobiah would be fulfilling his legal and filial duties as next of kin. At first Tobiah demurred, having heard of what had happened to Sarah's previous husbands. Moreover, he was genuinely concerned about how his elderly parents would ever get along without him should he die. After reminding Tobiah of his father's instructions to marry only within his own people, Raphael explained how Tobiah could escape the fate of Sarah's previous bridegrooms, first, by smoking the demon out of the bridal chamber and, then, by praying to the Lord. Comforted by this information and assured by the angel that their marriage had been made in heaven, Tobiah fell in love with Sarah, sight unseen (chap. 6).

Tobiah and Raphael were received most cordially by Raguel and his family. During dinner Raguel learned of Tobiah's desire to marry Sarah. Genuinely liking the young man and, in principle, willing to agree to the marriage, Raguel dutifully reminded them of the terrible fate of his previous sons-in-law. But at Tobiah's insistence, Raguel wrote out a marriage contract, just as the law of Moses required. But as Edna prepared her daughter in the bridal chamber, both of them were crying (chap. 7).

As soon as Tobiah and Sarah entered the bridal chamber he burned the fish liver and heart, their smoke driving the demon Asmodeus to the most remote part of Egypt. That done, the happy couple prayed to the Lord, thanking him for the institution of marriage and asking that theirs be a long and happy marriage, one based not upon lust but upon friendship and love. Meanwhile, Raguel had his servants secretly dig Tobiah's grave. But on learning that the young man was safe and sound, Raguel praised the Lord and had it filled immediately.

The next morning, Raguel lovingly promised that in fourteen days, Tobiah and Sarah could return to Nineveh, taking half of his property with them, the rest due after he and Edna were dead (chap. 8). To save time, Tobiah had Raphael to go to Gabael's house at Rages to collect the money. A just and righteous man, Gabael not only handed it over but even came to Ecbatana to celebrate the wedding (chap. 9).

Meanwhile, Tobit was very worried about his son, while Anna, convinced that he was dead, found little comfort in Tobit's efforts to reassure her. Yet every day she would go out and look down the road for Tobiah.

True to his word, Raguel gave the newlyweds a royal send-off, giving them exactly what he had promised. Raguel and Edna each counseled the bride and groom separately, charging them to be devoted to one another, to be kind to their respective in-laws, and to raise a fine family (chap. 10).

When the entourage neared Nineveh, Raphael and Tobiah, still accompanied by his dog, went on ahead. When Anna saw Tobiah, she greeted him as if he had returned from the dead. In his joy and excitement, blind Tobit also ran toward them, stumbling and tripping as he went. No sooner did Tobiah apply the fish gall to his father's eyes than the white patches peeled off so that Tobit could see perfectly. Tobit praised the Lord that now he could actually see his son.

Later that day, Tobit welcomed his new daughter-in-law almost as warmly as he had received his son. The Ninevites were amazed at what God had done for Tobit, and all the Jews, including Ahikar and his nephew Nadab, shared in his happiness (chap. 11).

Only after Tobit had agreed to Tobiah's suggestion that in appreciation for services rendered, "Azariah" should be given half of all that Tobiah had brought back, did Raphael reveal his true identity. He explained how, after bringing the prayers of Tobit and Sarah to the Lord, he had been sent to test and help them. After assuring them that they would suffer no danger in his presence and that the entire time he had been but a vision, Raphael instructed them to write down their story for others (chap. 12). Thus, Tobit composed a hymn of thanksgiving, praising the Lord for his mercy and kindness toward the righteous as well as for his punishment of the wicked. Although the Jews were now scattered, Tobit was certain that God would look after them and would eventually reclaim Jerusalem and rebuild his temple (chap 13).

Tobit, who at age 62 was struck with blindness, lived to the ripe old age of 112, continuing to the end to `e very kind and charitable. On his deathbed and convinced of the truth of the prophets' dire predictions, especially those of Nahum against Nineveh, Tobit urged his son to take the family to Media. There, Tobit assured him, they would be safe until the time when God, true to his promises, would restore his people to their land and all nations would worship the one, true God. Meanwhile, one should serve God faithfully and give alms generously and sincerely. After all, Ahikar was saved from Nadab's treachery because of his almsgiving. Having said that, Tobit died and was given a fine funeral.

After his mother's death, Tobiah took his family to Ecbatana and settled there, taking loving care of Raguel and Edna. A very wealthy and charitable man until his death at the age of 117, Tobiah lived to see the destruction of Nineveh by the Median king Ahasuerus as well as the satisfying spectacle of Assyrians being brought prisoners to Ecbatana (chap. 14).

**B. Some Preliminary Observations**

From this rather detailed summary several points should be evident. First, although the story is quite interesting, its plot has little or no suspense, the reader being assured of the deliverance of both Tobit and Sarah as early as 3:16–17, and then being told *how* this would be accomplished even before the story is half told (6:6–8). This loss of suspense, however, is compensated by increased opportunities for irony, a major literary feature of the book (see below).

Second, the personalities of the six main characters (Tobit, Anna, Tobiah, Raguel, Edna, and Sarah) are not merely two-dimensional but are clearly and individually developed. Despite their individual shortcomings, they are basically good but ordinary people who in no way have the heroic stature or prominence of other exilic characters such as Daniel, Esther, or Judith:

> The Book of Tobit unfolds *the drama of two little people* [italics added], Tobit and Sarah, pitted against a system of apparent fate and a seemingly disinterested God (Craghan, *Esther, Judith, ...* OTM 16: 129).

Third, the influence of a number of OT stories, themes, and images are clearly evident in the book: the patient suffering of Job (Job 1:1–2:10; 42:10b–17), the betrothal scenes of Isaac and Jacob (Genesis 24, 29), the Joseph story (Genesis 37, 39–50), and the theology of Deuteronomy, to name but a few.

Finally, the story contains certain "details of fact"—or rather, geographical and historical errors (see below)—that argue against the story's being essentially historical, although it may very well reflect actual living conditions of Jews of the Eastern Diaspora (Gowan 1980: 152, 354).

What will not be evident to everyone reading the summary of the tale is that its author utilized, in varying degrees, several secular tales that were well known throughout the ancient world, notably, "The Grateful Dead," "The Monster in the Bridal Chamber," and "The Story of Ahiqar."

**C. The Story's Fictional Character**

Starting with Martin Luther, who characterized the book as "a truly beautiful, wholesome, and profitable fiction" (his preface to the book), biblical scholars have increasingly regarded it as edifying fiction, although a few Roman Catholic scholars of the 20th century have continued to argue for some kernel of historicity (Miller 1940: 8; Clamer 1949: 395; Deselaers 1982: 265–66, although Deselaers, like the Protestant Pfeiffer [1949: 46–52; 264–65], does not see that as the story's raison d'être).

The book's errors of "fact" have been a major reason for scholars denying its historicity: to wit, the tribe of Naphtali was taken into exile by Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.; so 2 Kings 15:29), not Shalmaneser V (so Tob 1:2); Sargon II (722–705 B.C.), not Sennacherib (so Tob 1:3–22), was the successor to Shalmaneser V (although 2 Kings 17:1–6 and 18:9–13 make the same error); the trek between Rages and

Ecbatana, which Tobiah did in "two full days" (Tob 5:6), is actually a distance of about 185 miles; leaving Nineveh and going eastward, Tobiah and Raphael arrived in the evening at the Tigris river (Tob 6:1–5); yet Nineveh was actually situated *east* of the Tigris unless, of course, a different "Nineveh" is intended (e.g., Seleucia [so Torrey 1922; 1945: 86]).

And while 20th-century scholars are less likely to believe in Persian demons like Asmodeus (Pers *Aeshma-Dawa,* Marshall *HDB* 1: 172–73; Grintz *EncJud* 15: 1185; but see Pfeiffer 1949: 271) or angels in disguise like Raphael, even these elements have not been the principal reason for modern scholars regarding the story as fictional. Moreover, such details as bird feces causing blindness or fish-gall curing it represent, at worst, the primitive medical science of the day and, conceivably, an effective folk remedy for a certain condition of the eye (Lundsgaard 1911; von Soden 1966; Gamer-Wallert 1970).

The recognition by 19th-century scholars that the Tobit story utilized older secular folktales finally persuaded most scholars that the story was not historical.

**D. Possible Secular Folktale Components**

Part of the continuing appeal of Tobit is explained by the very fact that its author utilized, in varying degrees, several time-tested themes or folktales.

**1. The Grateful Dead and the Bride of the Monster.** It is frequently argued that the author adapted a tale combining the universal themes of "The Grateful Dead" (i.e., the story of how a man who goes to great expense to bury a corpse is subsequently rewarded by the deceased [Simrock 1856: 131f.; Thompson 1955–58: 2.364]), and of "The Bride of the Monster" (Gerould 1908: 47–75), a variant of "The Dangerous Bride" (although Huet [1915] regards them as separate and distinct).

In contrast to most scholars, who see both tales integrated prior to the author of Tobit utilizing them, Ruppert (1972) would make "The Grateful Dead" the basic tale for Tobit while Deselaers (1982: 280–91) regards "The Bride of the Monster" as primary. Although Miller (1940) and Clamer (1949) think "The Grateful Dead" folktale may be based on Tobit, most scholars disagree and either follow Gerould (1908: 46–47) or conclude that Tobit's relationship to the folktale cannot be established (Grintz *EncJud* 15: 1186; Vermes 1986: 226). The experiences of the hero in "The Grateful Dead" have obviously been divided between Tobit and his son.

**2. The Story of Ahiqar.** This story was the third secular folktale used by the author of Tobit (Charlesworth 1981: 76), who either modeled his Ahikar after it (Dancy *Tobit* CBC, 6) or, more likely, assumed his reader's familiarity with it (Cazelles 1951: 134; Greenfield 1981: 331). An Aramaic wise man, Ahiqar was an actual person in the Assyrian court of Esarhaddon (van Dijk 1962: 43–52); and his checkered career and proverbs, the latter originally separate and independent (Lindenberger 1983: 17–19), were well known throughout the ANE. See also AHIKAR/AHIQAR (PERSON).

Although the Ahiqar story has not survived in its original form, a number of later versions have survived (for translations of some of them, see Conybeare et al. 1898; Harris et al. 1913; for the Aramaic text and English translation, see Cowley [1923] and Lindenberger [*OTP* 2: 494–507], respectively).

Even if the story of Ahiqar was not well woven into the text (Dancy *Tobit* CBC, 6–7; Ruppert [1976: 232–37] regards Ahikar as the creation of a later redactor), its influence is clearly present (Tob 1:21–22; 2:10; 11:18; 14:10). It is also evident in passages where there is no mention of Ahikar; compare, for example, Tob 4:17 of *Sinaiticus* and Ahiqar 2:10 ("My son, pour out your wine on the graves of the righteous, rather than drink it with evil men"). Compare also Tob 4:10; 4:12, 15, 17, 18 with the Syriac Ahiqar 8:41; 2:5–6, 43, 10; 2:9–11, respectively. However, Ahiqar, unlike Ahikar (Tob 14:10), was not known for his almsgivine. Moreover, Tobiah and Nadab (= Nadin, Ahiqar's nephew and adopted son) are a study in contrasts, the latter serving the former more as a foil for narrative and didactic purposes (Greenfield 1981: 331). See also NADAB.

**3. The Tractate of Khons.** It is uncertain (Vermes 1986: 226), if not unlikely (so Pfeiffer [1949: 271] and Glasson [1959: 276]; but "probable," according to Schneider 1910: 638 f.; Simpson *APOT* 1: 187–88; and Wikgren *IDB* 4: 16) that the author of Tobit also utilized a well-known Egyptian folktale entitled *The Tractate of Khons* (for English text, see *ANET*, 29–31). This tale, dating to the 5th century B.C., tells of a princess in *Bkhtn,* Egypt, who, possessed by a demon, was exorcised by Khons, an agent of the Healing

God of Thebes. In Tob 8:3, however, Upper Egypt appears to be a most far-distant land rather than the setting for the exorcism (see M below).

**4. Others.** Although the author of Tobit wove his various folktales together quite skillfully, their seams are occasionally detectable in certain loose or incompatible "threads." For example, his gratuitous mention of Tobiah's dog (Tob 6:1; 11:4), an animal held in low esteem in the Bible, strikes many readers as a vestigial remnant, or "detail of fact," from some other tale. (Zimmermann [1958: 7–12] explores several possibilities, including the theme of the Dragon Slayer; Glasson [1959], who believed the author of Tobit was dependent primarily upon the legend of Admetus, thought Tobit's dog reminiscent of that of Odysseus, while Surburg [1975] regarded it as "reminiscent of the dog who in Zoroastrianism attends Srasha" [p. 105].) And as noted earlier, Tobit's injunction to his son to pour his wine on the graves of the righteous (4:17), which is contrary to biblical teaching, *is* included in the counsels of the nonbiblical Ahiqar. Most improvable, however, is the suggestion of Nowell (1983: 59, n. 19) that a fish's attacking Tobiah is borrowed from the Egyptian folktale entitled "The Two Brothers," for in Egypt the entrails of certain fish were believed to have medicinal qualities (Gamer-Wallert 1970). In any event, Eissfeldt (1965: 584) has rightly observed that the author of Tobit has taken all "this alien material" and filled it with the spirit of Jewish legal piety.

**E. Literary Genre**

**1. Romance.** If the secular folktales noted above are the basic materials out of which the author of Tobit created his story, exactly what *kind* of fiction is it? The centuries-long popular allegorical method of interpretation (where Tobiah's safe return to Tobit foreshadows Israel's ultimate return to the Church [Scholz 1889]) is no longer in vogue (Miller 1940: 4–5; Priero 1963: 18–19).

Rather, to such nouns as "tale," "novel," "fairy tale," or "romance," scholars have prefixed a wide variety of adjectives, including "short," "religious," "romantic," "diaspora," "didactic," "sapiential," "Jewish," and the like.

All things considered, however, the book of Tobit best fits the genre of a "romance" (Perry 1967: 44–45):

> an extended narrative … which relates—primarily or wholly for the sake of entertainment or spiritual edification, and for its own sake as a story, rather than for the purpose of instruction in history, science, or philosophical theory—the adventures or experiences of one or more individuals in their private capacities and from the viewpoint of their private interests and emotions.

More specifically, this particular romance takes the form of *the successful quest*, where the perilous journey for money and the even more dangerous quest for a bride result in a deadly struggle and then complete success (i.e., wealth, a bride, and recovered vision).

**2. Biblical Elements.** A clue as to the proper adjective to modify "romance" when describing the genre of Tobit is to be found in Zimmermann's observation (1958: 12):

> In the loom of the Tobit tale, the woof comes from the folklore of mankind, and the warp and the pattern, the vitality and the color from the religious experience of the Jewish people.

That is, regardless of the extrabiblical sources used by the author of Tobit, biblical ideas and themes and stories permeate his tale, especially as they are reflected "in the needs and preoccupations of the second-century Diaspora" (Nowell 1983: 76).

Tobit's plot and structure were influenced not only by the plot and details of the Joseph story (Ruppert 1972) and the betrothal scenes of Isaac and Jacob, but also by many other elements in the book of Genesis, including its ideals of marriage, the concept of God's providential care, parent-child relationships, the concept of hospitality (Nowell 1983: 254–59), and, especially, burial of the dead as a charitable act (Abrahams 1893; Griffin 1982: 8–10).

It is, however, the book of Deuteronomy (Di Lella 1979), especially with its doctrine of retribution (i.e., God ultimately rewards the just and punishes the wicked [Deuteronomy 28 and 30]), that provides the basic theology for the book of Tobit in general and for Tobit's farewell discourse in particular (Tobit 14). Ultimately, the happy outcome for Tobit, Tobiah, Sarah, and their families (and eventually, for Israel; 13:9b–18; 14:5–8) represents God's rewarding the righteous while his earlier punishment of Israel (3:3–4;

14:4) and his subsequent destruction of Nadab (14:10) and of Nineveh and its kings (Tob 1:18, 21; 14:4, 15) represents God's judgment on the wicked.

Deuteronomy's "concept of God's plan for the nation, and the virtuous life expressed in the relationship between parents and children, respect for women, care for the *personae miserabiles* among kindred, observance of the cultic laws, and the practice of prayer" are also strong influences on the book of Tobit (Nowell 1983: 259–71). With some justice, Craghan (*Esther, Judith, ...* OTM 16: 132) characterized the book of Tobit as "Deuteronomy Revisited," inasmuch as the story of Tobit reflects the living out of the covenantal implications of Deuteronomy, although legal concerns in Tobit (e.g., Tob 1:6–8 and 2:1 and 9) are based upon other pentateuchal books as well (Gamberoni 1977).

Prophetic influences on Tobit include the Minor Prophets (Amos is mentioned by name [Tob 2:6], as are Nahum [*Sinaiticus*] and Jonah [*Vaticanus*] in 14:4) as well as Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah, especially with reference to Israel's Exile (1:3–10; 3:1–5; 14:3–4) and return (Tobit 13–14).

The author of Tobit was strongly influenced by the Wisdom books, notably Job, both in its basic problem and imagery, and Proverbs (Nowell 1983: 276–282). As for the correspondence between Tobit and Ben Sirach's Ecclesiasticus (Tob 4:3 = Sir 3:12; Tob 4:7 = Sir 14:9f. and 4:4 f.; Tob 4:10 = Sir 3:48; Tob 4:17 = Sir 12:1–7; and Tob 4:21 = 21:6b; for a fuller list, see Wikgren *IDB* 4: 661), it is problematic whether one author borrowed from the other or both independently drew upon a common source or mood (Simpson *APOT* 1: 193; Oesterley 1914: 362–64; Zimmermann 1958: 13). All things considered, then, Tobit's literary genre is best described as a short Jewish romance.

**F. Integrity**

Given the book's mixture of secular and religious elements, one should not be surprised that its integrity had been strongly questioned as early as Ilgen (1800) and as recently as Deselaers (1982), especially with reference to chapters 13 (an eschatological psalm [Flusser 1984: 556]) and 14 (Wikgren *IDB* 4: 661; Rost [1976: 62–63]; while Zimmermann [1958: 24–27] dated both chapters after A.D. 70, a view now discredited by their presence at Qumran).

Most scholars, however, have regarded Tobit as the product of just one author. Moreover, the shift from first-person narrator to third (3:7) is prompted by literary considerations, i.e., the narrator had to describe actions and thoughts to which he was not privy at the time of the action. Finally, the rhetorical analysis of Tobit by Nowell (1983) has shown that despite the book's diverse secular and religious elements, it is the product of one author.

**G. Purpose**

The author's adaptation of various secular folktales and his pronounced biblical patterns and content clearly indicate that broadly speaking, he intended to entertain and to edify his readers. But scholarly efforts, early and late, to restrict the author's primary purpose to a more specific intention such as advocating the burial of the dead (Grätz 1879), posing the question of theodicy (Rosenthal 1885: 104; Nickelsburg 1981: 32–33), or providing a model or paradigm for the Diaspora (Ruppert 1972: 117), have not gained general acceptance.

**H. Ironic Character**

A major literary technique employed by the author to entertain his audience is irony. In narratives, irony is often at the price of suspense (Booth 1961: 255; on irony in the OT, see Good 1965). Thus, on the one hand, from Tob 3:16 ol the reader knows that there will be a happy ending for Tobit, Sarah, and Tobiah; and by 6:6–8 the reader even knows how. On the other hand, the reader (but not the characters in the story!) can appreciate the book's general irony and, in particular, such passages as 5:21 and 8:9b.

Like its author's name, Tobit (= *ṭôbî*, a Semitic hypocoristic for "God/Yahweh is my good"), the entire book—its plot, characters, and message—is profoundly ironic in character (Nowell 1983: 192–200). It was Tobit's good deeds, especially his burying the dead—which should protect one from evil (so 4:10)—that brought his blindness and poverty upon him. Yet he continued to trust in God (5:10). Likewise, the generous nature of the noble Ahikar (Tob 1:22; 2:10; 11:18) was, at least for a while, successfully exploited by Nadab (14:10–11). Moreover, Tobit's most useful *human* guide during his quest turned out to be the supernatural "Azariah."

Then too, it is Raphael who was sent to cure Tobit and Sarah (3:17), but it is Tobiah who was the willing but indispensable means, willingly obeying his father to undertake a difficult, if not dangerous, journey (5:1–2, 16), willingly following "Azariah's" suggestions (6:2–8, 11–17), and bravely confronting the demon Asmodeus (7:8–12; 8:1–9). A Proppian analysis of the story argues the same conclusion (so Blenkinsopp 1981: 38). However, Sandmel (1978: 61) views Tobit as the "chief attraction of the story," while Alonso-Schökel (1973: 56) is virtually alone among scholars in viewing Tobiah as being ever passive, almost "an antiperson."

The names of most of the characters, especially at the height of their particular anguish, are also ironic: Tobiah ("Yahweh is my good"), the sharp-tongued Anna ("Grace"), and the beleaguered Raguel ("Friend of God"). The virtuous and lovable Sarah ("Mistress") hardly seems in control, plagued as she is by a demon and thoughts of suicide; and her mother Edna ("Pleasure") seems anything but happy. Even the name of Tobit's father, Tobiel ("God is my good"), is ironic inasmuch as both he and his wife died while Tobit was just a child (1:9).

In fact, *only* the supernatural "personages" have appropriate names throughout, namely, Raphael ("God heals"), Azariah ("Yahweh is merciful"), and the demon Asmodeus (meaning, if the name is Hebrew, "The Destroyer" [from Heb *šmd,* so Midrashim], or, if Iranian, as seems more likely, *Aeshma Daeva,* the Persian demon of lust [Marshall *HDB* 1: 172–73]). By the end of the tale, however, the theological affirmations in all the names are quite appropriate.

Comedic elements of an ironic character are also present in Tob 2:11–14; 8:9b–10, and, depending upon one's sense of humor, also in 2:10 and 8:8–9a. For a discussion of comedy in general, see Corrigan 1965; also Miles 1975.

**I. Religious Ideas**

Notwithstanding the very strong emphasis on cultic concerns at the beginning of Tobit in regard to tithes and worship at Jerusalem (1:3–13), and at its end with a vision of a new and greater Jerusalem and temple (13:9–18; 14:5–7), the book's primary emphasis is on noncultic matters, i.e., on the everyday practical, moral, and sapiential aspects of being and doing good (Dancy *Tobit* CBC 9; Gamberoni 1977). In Tobit, true religion is centered in the heart and home, in the day-to-day faith and pious living of the families of Tobit and Raguel (1:16–17; 4:3–19; 12:6–14). Feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, giving the condemned a decent burial, preserving dutiful and loving relationships between parents and children—these are the author's primary concerns.

Even if suffering is not *the* problem in Tobit (but so Nickelsburg 1981: 30), the author does address himself to it, showing that while a person can be free of sin and yet suffer (as in the case of Sarah) or can even bring suffering upon oneself through a charitable and courageous act (as in Tobit's burial of the corpse) so, in God's providence, man's cooperation with God (in this case, Tobiah's obedience to his father and his courageous following of the advice of Raphael) can bring the matter to a successful resolution. Jewish faith and courage can be of either an active or passive character: that of Tobit and Sarah consisted of passively accepting their suffering, Tobiah's involved actively confronting the demon Asmodeus.

There is also a *heilsgeschichte* colorization to the book. For as God has looked out for these individuals, so, the author argues, will he respond to the present suffering of his dispersed people (Tobit 13–14): "The author … seeks to embody the history of Israel in the lives of these two principal characters, Tobit and Sarah. He traces salvation history in the ups and down of these committed people" (Craghan *Esther, Judith, …* OTM 16: 134).

The book of Tobit represents a major step in the evolution of the biblical understanding of demons and, especially, of angels (on angels, see Bamburger et al., *EncJud* 2: 956–71, and Talbert 1976; for demons, see Kohler, *EncJud* 4:514–20 and Rabinowitz, *EncJud* 5: 1522–28). Here, in Tobit, are mentioned for the first time two supernatural creatures who will figure quite prominently in subsequent Jewish and Christian traditions: the archangel Raphael and the demon Asmodeus. Raphael, who is proof that Israel's transcendent God is with Tobit and Sarah and who is described in Tobit as one of the seven most

important angels (Tob 4:16–17; 12:12–15, 19–20), will loom even larger in intertestamental (e.g., Enoch 9:1, 10:4; 20:3; 40:9) and Talmudic (*Yoma* 37a) literature.

As for Asmodeus, he also appears in intertestamental (e.g., *Jubilees*), Talmudic (e.g., *Git.* 68a–b; *Pes.* 110a), and Christian literature (e.g., *T. of Sol.* 5:1–13 [Whittaker 1984: 735, 741–42]). On the magical use of the names of Yahweh, Raphael, and various demons among Jews, Christians, and Mandaeans in late antiquity, see Montgomery 1913; also Naveh and Shaked 1985.

The author effectively used within his relatively short narrative a wide variety of contemporary literary forms to express his religious ideas: monologue (e.g., 1:3–2:14; 3:10) and dialogue (2:13–14; 5:9–22; 6:6–17); prayers (3:2–6, 11–15; see Mayer 1970–72: 19–24) and hymns of thanksgiving (8:5–9, 15–17; 11:14–15a; 13:1–18); biblical quotes (Amos 8:10a in Tob 2:6) and wisdom sayings (4:2–21; 12:6–10); demonology (3:8; 6:13–17; 8:1–3) and angelophany (3:16–17; 12:11–22); and deathbed testimony (14:3–11). In her rhetorical analysis of Tobit, Nowell (1983) has effectively shown the nature and inner-relatedness of these various literary forms.

**J. Original Language**

With the discovery of one Hebrew and four Aramaic copies of Tobit in Cave 4 at Qumran (Milik 1966: 522), the century-long debate as to whether Tobit was originally composed in Greek (Fritzsche 1853: 8; Nöldeke 1879: 61; André 1903: 181; Löhr 1921: 136) or a Semitic language has now been settled in favor of the latter (Doran [1986: 296–97] seems less than convinced; Deselaers [1982: 19, 335, 342–43] still champions the Greek).

But it remains an open question whether that original Semitic language would have been Hebrew (Grätz 1879; Lévi 1902: 288–91; Joüon 1923: 168–74; Oesterley 1935: 161; Saydon 1952: 363) or Aramaic (Marshall, *HDB* 4: 788; Torrey 1945: 86–87; Pfeiffer 1949: 272; Zimmermann 1958: 139–49), although support for the Aramaic has been increasing (Simpson, *APOT* 1: 180–82; Eissfeldt 1965: 585; Milik 1966; and Nickelsburg 1984a: 45).

Part of the difficulty lies in scholars disagreeing as to which Greek text should be the basis for purposes of analysis. Of the three Greek recensions of Tobit, the one represented by *Sinaiticus* and the Old Latin (see below) contains the greater number of Semiticisms; but, unfortunately for the particular issue in question, the Greek translation of Tobit contains few, if any, egregious translation errors that indisputably presuppose either a Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage* (for lists of Semiticisms, see Müller 1908: 28–33; Joüon 1923: 170–74; Pdeiffer 1949: 272–73; Thomas 1972: 471). Even such Aramaisms as *ʾAthēr,* "Assyria" (14:4), and *ʾAthoureias* (14:15) do not settle the question, for they may simply reflect an Aramaic environment (Simpson *APOT* 1: 182; Rost 1976: 61). Some scholars maintain that the absence of a Hebrew text in Jerome's day (340?–420) also argues for the priority of the Aramaic.

**K. Author**

The author of Tobit was a Jew. More than that cannot be said with any confidence. That he was a Samaritan (Milik 1966), a Sadducee (Simpson *APOT* 1: 182, n. 3), or a member of the Dead Sea Community at Qumran (Dupont-Sommer 1968) has not gained popular acceptance.

**L. Date**

Although the book of Tobit has been dated as early as the 7th century B.C. (Gutberlet 1877) and as late as the 3d century A.D. (Kohut 1872), most scholars of the past two centuries have dated it to somewhere between 225–175 B.C., that is, after the canonization of the Prophets as the word of God (Tob 14:4) but before the Maccabean period with its turmoil and strongly antigentile spirit (Tob 13:11; 14:6–7).

The book's geographical and historical errors certainly argue against a 7th- or even 5th-century date for the book, as do such phrases as "the law of Moses" and "the book of Moses" (Tob 6:13; 7:11, 12, 13), which postdate the writing of Chronicles (2 Chr 23:18). Moreover, the author would scarcely have spoken about the temple of Jerusalem in the way he did (Tob 13:9–18; 14:5–6) had he been familiar with the magnificent temple built by Herod in the late 1st century B.C. Then too, the author's emphasis on agnatic marriage (a practice that could no longer be reasonably expected by the 1st century B.C.) and the absence of any expression of belief in personal resurrection also are more in keeping with a compositional date in the late 3d or early 2d century B.C. The book's Aramaic text at Qumran, and especially its *presumed*

affinities with Imperial Aramaic, prompted Grintz (1969: 66, n. 46) and Flusser (1984: 556) to date Tobit to the 4th or even late 5th century B.C. Greenfield (1962) too would put Tobit's composition in the Persian period.

**M. Place of Composition**

Egypt, Persia, Media, Assyria, Palestine—over the years virtually every geographical area has had its strong advocates as well as its equally convinced critics. And even today there is no consensus among students of Tobit (Nowell 1983: 31–32). For many scholars, Tobit's geographical and historical errors rule out a Mesopotamian origin, and yet the book may well reflect Diaspora conditions and be designed for a Diaspora audience.

Although an Egyptian provenance was the dominant theory for the first half of the 20th century (primarily because of the view that the story of Ahiqar was Egyptian in origin and that the Egyptian *The Tractate of Khons* had been utilized by the author of Tobit), in the second half of the present century the weight of scholarly opinion has shifted slightly in favor of an Eastern Diaspora provenance (Lebram 1964: 331; Grintz, *EncJud* 15: 1185; Nickelsburg 1984a: 45, n. 62), even though Milik (1966) favored a Samaritan provenance and Deselaers (1982: 333–43) favored Alexandria, Egypt.

**N. The Greek Text**

The nature and relative merits of Tobit's three Greek text forms have been a major preoccupation of Tobit scholars since Tischendorf's discovery of *Codex Sinaiticus* in 1844. Often referred to as $R^S$ (= a recension based on *Sinaiticus* and, in the main, attested to by the Old Latin), $R^V$ (a recension represented by codices *Vaticanus/Alexandrinus/Venetus* and most minuscules), and $R^C$ (which is a mixed text containing only 6:9–12:22), their varied assessments by recent scholars are attested by the fact that the Authorized Version (KJV) and the RSV were based upon $R^V$, or the so-called "shorter text" (shorter by 1,700 words), while the JB, NEB, and NAB used $R^S$. Moreover, the larger Cambridge Bible (Brooke, McLean, and Thackeray *Esther, Judith, Tobit* OTG 3/1: 85–144) used *Codex Vaticanus* as its standard of comparison while the Göttingen Bible (Hanhart 1983; 1984), in keeping with its standard procedure, produced for $R^V$ an eclectic text.

Although many 19th-century scholars preferred $R^V$ to $R^S$, especially in Germany (Fritzsche 1853; Nöldeke 1879; Löhr 1900; 1921; and Müller 1908), the more detailed and prolix $R^S$ now seems to be the preferred text, thanks to the work of Nestle (1899), Simpson (1913), Thomas (1972), and Hanhart (1984: 11–48). Utilizing both linguistic and literary analyses, Simpson showed that $R^V$'s content reflects ideas, historical conditions, and theological developments later than those of $R^S$. *Sinaiticus* itself, however, is not without its shortcomings, for two major lacunae (4:7–18 and 13:6b–9) must be supplied from the Old Latin. That the five Semitic copies of Tobit at Qumran (albeit fragmentary) reportedly agree with $R^S$ (Milik 1966: 522, n. 3) also strongly argues for the priority of $R^S$.

**O. Other Ancient Versions**

Like many books of the Bible, Tobit has only a couple of versions which can legitimately lay claim to being "critical editions" (for most versions their *apparatus criticus* is either fragmentary, mixed, or unscientific). Tobit has two Latin translations: the *Vetus Latina,* or OL (reprinted in Brooke et al. *Esther, Judith, Tobit* OTG, 3/1: 123–44), which rendered a Greek text similar but not identical to Codex *Sinaiticus,* and Jerome's Vg *(Libri Ezrae, Tobiae, Iudith),* which, in the case of Tobit, was a hasty reworking of the OL on the basis of an Aramaic text. Unfortunately, then, the Vg is of only limited value for establishing either the Old Latin or the older Aramaic text of Tobit.

There is an Aramaic version (Neubauer 1878) which agrees essentially with $R^S$, but it or its underlying text may ultimately be based upon a Greek text (Nöldeke 1879: 45–69); e.g., the Aramaic speaks of the city of *rʾgyš* or *rgš,* which seems to reflect the Gk *ragois* or *ragais* rather than the Semitic *rg* or *rgʾ;* likewise, Aram *ʾgbtnym,* "Ecbatana," would appear to render the Gk *ekbatanois* rather than the expected Semitic *ʾḥmtʾ* (Simpson *APOT* 1: 176–77).

Although there is a critical edition for the Syriac *(Vetus Testamentum Syriace iuxta simplicem Syrorum versionem),* the book of Tobit is not part of the Peshitta (for an introduction to the Peshitta as well as other ancient versions, see Roberts 1951). Rather, the Syriac version is based upon a defective *Vorlage,* its first

half (Tob 1:1–7:10) preserving the Syro-Hexaplaric version of Paul of Tello made in A.D. 616–17 while the second half (Tob 7:11–14:15) witnesses to $R^C$ of the Greek (Lebram 1957: 210–11; 1972: ii–iii).

The Sahidic and Ethiopic versions of Tobit are essentially based on $R^V$, although it should be noted that no genuinely critical or scientific text exists for either. Finally, several late Hebrew versions exist, notably, that of Münster (Neubauer 1878), which was probably translated from the same source as Neubauer's Aramaic text; Fagius' manuscript (ca. 1542), which seems based upon $R^V$; and two London manuscripts (Gaster 1925–28), which are really based upon the Vg (Simpson *APOT* 1: 180).

**P. Influence on Subsequent Literature**

The well-known problem of dating the various apocryphal and pseudepigraphical works (or their disparate parts) often makes it quite debatable whether a book such as Tobit influenced or was influenced by another book, or whether both were inspired by a common source. It would appear that the book of *Jubilees* (cf. Tob 10:4–6 and *Jubilees* 27; and especially Tob 5:17–21 and *Jub.* 27: 13–18 [Endres 1987: 95–96; 223–24]), the *Testament of Job* (e.g., its emphasis on charity and burial of the dead in 39:1–10; 40:6–14; 53:5–7), and the *Testimony of Solomon* (5:1–13) were influenced by the book of Tobit.

By contrast, it is debatable whether Tob 8:5 inspired or was based upon Dan 3:52–56 (i.e. LXX's "The Prayer of Azariah and the Hymn of the Three Young Men" [see Nickelsburg 1984b: 151, n. 363]). So too, one's dating of 1 Enoch, a matter of considerable controversy (Vermes 1986: 250–64), determines the proper explanation for the many elements 1 Enoch shares with Tobit (e.g., the divine throne room where seven archangels mediate prayers in God's presence [9:1–4; 99:3; 104:1]; a contest between an angel and a demon culminating in the former's binding of the latter [10:4–15]; for more examples, see Nickelsburg 1984a: 45–46). For further Jewish references to the book of Tobit, see Ginzberg (1909–38: *passim*).

Although the book of Tobit is not quoted in the NT, several phrases or ideas there suggest their writers *may* have been influenced by it: e.g., 2 Cor 9:7a (cf. Tob 4:7, 16); Gal 6:10 (cf. Tob 4:10 [see Harris 1899: 545]); 1 Thess 4:3–5 cf. Tob 4:12; 8:7–8); and 1 Tim 6:19 (Tob 13:6). For further possibilities, see Harris 1928 and Simpson (*APOT* 1: 198–99); the latter thought that "the linguistic affinities [cf. Tob 12:16–22] with the records of the Transfiguration, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ … [were] remarkable" (p. 234).

**Q. Canonicity**

**1. Among Jews.** Given the religious character and message of the book of Tobit, scholars have offered a variety of reasons for why it is not part of the Jewish canon. The Jews of Origen's day did not accept it as canonical (Origen *de orat.* 14), and Jerome had to base his Vg translation on an Aramaic version of it.

Earlier scholarly explanations for the book's not being in the Hebrew canon (e.g., that it was composed originally in Greek or was written after the closing of the Hebrew canon) have been made less probable by the discovery of Semitic copies of it among the Qumran scrolls. An equally improbable explanation is Milik's view that the book was of Samaritan origin, and "was designed to enhance the prestige of one family of national aristocracy whose people spoke Aramaic" (1966: 530).

Zeitlin (1964) and Orlinsky (1974: 284) have argued that the book was denied canonicity by Pharisee Councils such as the one at Jamnia (ca. A.D. 90) because it contradicted Pharisee *halakhah* (the oral Jewish law) on marriage. That is, in acceptable Hellenistic practice, the bride's father, Raguel, wrote out the marriage contract for Tobiah (Tob 7:14; for such an actual contract, see that of Mibtahiah in *ANET*, 222–23), but in the 1st century B.C. the law was changed by Simon ben Shetaḥ (*Shab.* 14) so that only the *bridegroom* wrote it out, thus giving the bride greater protection.

Increasingly, however, scholars are questioning the traditional view that ca. A.D. 90 the rabbinic "synod" at Yavneh (or Jamnia) finalized the Hebrew canon (Cohen 1987: 186). Rather, they see canonization as more of a process than an event. Moreover, Cohen rightly observes that "there are no objective and absolute criteria that will distinguish the works that were included [in the canon] from those which were not" (p. 190). In short, we simply do not know why Tobit was not canonized.

**2. Among Christians.** More often than not, Eastern Church Fathers denied canonical status to Tobit, cases in point being Melito of Sardis (fl. ca. 1967); Athanasius of Alexandria (293?–373); Cyril of Jerusalem (315?–386); Epiphanius, bishop of Constantia (315?–403); Gregory of Nazianzus (330?–?389);

Amphilochius of Iconium (339?–?394); Pseudo-Chrysostom; Pseudo-Athanasius (fl. 4th cent.); Leontius of Byzantium (485?–?543); John of Damascus (654?–?749); Nicephorus of Constantinople (758?–829); Ebedjesu (ca. 1300); and the Laodicean Canons (343–81). The book was accepted by Origen (185?–?254; his *Epistle to Africanus*), Anonymi *dia Timothei et Aquilae* (ca. 400), and Junilius (fl. 542), who gave it a qualified acceptance.

Although Hilary of Poitiers (315?–?367) gave Tobit only a qualified acceptance, Western Fathers evidently accepted the book; notably, Rufinus (345–410); Augustine (354–430); Innocent I (reigned 401–417); Pseudo-Gelasius (ca. 500); Cassiodorus (478–573); Isidorus (560–636); the list in *Codex Claromontanus, Liber sacramentorum* (6th–7th century); and the Council of Carthage (397).

Passages in Tobit are either cited or referred to by Pseudo-Clement (2 Cor 16:4); Polycarp (A.D. 112) in *ad Smyrn.* 10.2; Clement of Alexandria (150?–?215) in *Strom.* ii. 23, vi. 12; Origen (185?–?254) in *de orat.* 11, *in Rom.* viii. 11, *contra Cels.* 5:19; and Cyprian of Carthage (d. 258) in *testim.* 1, 6, 62. For introductions to the Church Fathers, see Altaner 1960; for the Greek and Latin texts themselves, see *PG* and *PL*. For further information on the history of the Christian interpretation of Tobit, see Schumpp (*Tobit* EHAT, 62–67) and Gamberoni (1969).

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CAREY A. MOORE

**TOCHEN** (PLACE) [Heb *tōken* (תֹּכֶן)]. A village occupied by the descendants of Simeon (1 Chr 4:32). It appears in the list of Simeonite villages included by the editor of 1 Chronicles in his treatment of various aspects of tribal genealogy (1 Chr 4:24–43). The differences between this list and that of Josh 19:1–9 seem to be merely editorial in nature, suggesting that both are derived from a single document describing the territory of Simeon sometime early in the period of the monarchy, presumably before Simeon was consolidated with the tribe of Judah (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 25–31). The absence of Tochen from the list in Joshua 19 may simply be a scribal error, or it may perhaps reflect the process of adjustment resulting from the absorption by Judah of the territory originally assigned to Simeon. The location of this ancient settlement is unknown, although it presumably lay somewhere within the transition zone between the S Shephelah and the N Negeb.
WADE R. KOTTER

**TOGA.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**TOGARMAH** (PERSON) [Heb *tōgarmâ* (תֹּגַרְמָה)]. According to the Table of Nations (Gen 10:3) and the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 1:6, Togarmah is one of three sons of Gomer, who himself is a son of Japheth, Noah's son. His descendants, or at least those called by the same name, are mentioned twice in the book of Ezekiel. In an oracle against Tyre, Beth-togarmah or "the house of Togarmah" is described as exchanging war horses and draft horses and mules with Tyre for her merchandise (27:4). The geographical location of other trading nations from the same biblical context (Ezek 27:1–13; Greece, Meshech, Tarshish, Tubal) would place Togarmah to Israel's N. The same N direction is found in 38:6. There Togarmah is specifically said to come from the far N in her support of Gog, who would ultimately suffer defeat along with all of her allies.

Neo-Assyrian texts apparently refer to this location as *Til-garimmu,* which is on the E border of Tubal. Sennacherib campaigned against the city in 695 B.C. (*LAR* 2: 138, 148; cf. 154; Parpola 1970: 353–54). Hittite texts refer to a city and district of *Tegarama* in the area of the upper Euphrates which was captured by Suppiluliumas (*ANET,* 318) along with other parts of the kingdom of Mitanni, in the mid-14th century B.C. The Assyrian and Hittite sources apparently refer to the same site, which has been identified with the modern Gurun (*CAH*$^3$ 2/2: 422; Wenham *Genesis 1–15* WBC, 218).

This people which had an historical role in its contacts with Tyre in Ezek 27:14 seems to take on an eschatological connotation in 38:6 when the mighty fall of Gog is described.

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**TOGGLE-PIN.** See JEWELRY, ANCIENT ISRAELITE.

**TOHU** (PERSON) [Heb *tōḥû* (תֹּחוּ)]. Var. TOAH; NAHATH. An ancestor of Samuel (1 Sam 1:1). He was an Ephraimite; his father's name was Zuph; he had at least one son, Elihu. Nothing more is known about him. The variant "Toah" occurs in 1 Chr 6:19—Eng6:34, the puzzling variant "Nahath" in 1 Chr 6:11—Eng6:26. Some commentators have difficulty recognizing in Nahath a variant of "Tohu" and, accordingly (e.g., Rudolph *Chronikbücher* 54), replace "Nahath" by "Tohu" or "Toah."BHS includes "Tohu" and "Toah" as variant readings for "Nahath" in this verse.

GERALD J. PETTER

**TOI** (PERSON) [Heb *tō‹î* (תֹּעִי)]. Var. TOU. King of the central Syrian city-state of Hamath and a contemporary of King David. In 2 Sam 8:9–10 (= 1 Chr 18:9–10), Toi is described as sending his son to David with a substantial gift to congratulate him for defeating Hadadezer, king of Zobah in battle. Zobah had been a major Aramean political power and a rival with David for hegemony over Palestine and S Syria. In the course of two battles described in 2 Samuel 8, David effectively eliminated Hadadezer as a political force in Syria. Toi, who according to 2 Sam 8:10 had been at war with Hadadezer as well, immediately moved to assure good relations between himself and David by sending the gift.

The exact political significance of Toi's congratulatory gift is not entirely discernible from the text. Many scholars have interpreted it as an indication that Toi became a vassal of David (Malamat 1963: 6–7; Mazar 1962: 103–4). Others suggest that Hamath and Israel may merely have become allies by this gesture (Herrmann 1981: 158). The text is too vague to make a clear determination on this point, and both interpretations are quite possible.

The name, Toi or Tou, is a well-attested Hurrian name (Liverani 1962: 70), although his son's name, given as Joram in 2 Sam 8:10 and as Hadoram in 1 Chr 18:10, is Semitic. This suggests a complex cultural situation in Hamath during this period.

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WAYNE T. PITARD

**TOKHATH** (PERSON) [Heb *toqhat* (תָּקְהַת)]. See KOHATH (PERSON).

**TOLA** (PERSON) [Heb *tōlā‹* (תֹּלָע)]. Two individuals (or an individual and a clan) mentioned in the OT bear this name, which means "worm" in Hebrew. The name probably carried a complimentary sense. RSV renders the identical nominal form as "crimson" in Isa 1:18, and "purple" in Lam 4:5, referring to cloth colored crimson or purple, with dye manufactured from a cochineal. Cf. also Heb *tôlē‹a, tollā‹at,* meaning either "worm" (Exod 16:20; Deut 28:39; Isa 14:11; 41:14; 66:24; Jonah 4:7) or "worm of scarlet," that is, scarlet (stuff), as used to describe furnishings of the wilderness tabernacle (Exod 25:4; 26:1, 31, 36; 27:16; 28:8, 15, 33; 35:6).

**1.** The first of the four sons of Issachar, according to the genealogy (Gen 46:13; Num 26:23; 1 Chr 7:1–2). The other sons were Puvah, Jashub (Iob in Gen 46:13), and Shimron. Each of the four is specified as head of a clan (Heb *mišpāḥâ*): Tolaites, Punites, Jashubites, and Shimronites (in each case using the gentilic formation, while the four together comprise the *bĕnê,* "members," of Issachar). Altogether, at the time of the census in Numbers, they totaled 64 muster units, totaling 300 adult males, not 64,300 (Mendenhall 1958). The recalculation is based on recognition of the Hebrew word *›alēp* as often standing for the smallest muster unit (anywhere from 4 to 12 men, depending on prior negotiations). The results

vastly improve the credibility of many numbers in the book of Numbers, in light of the limited population of Israel in the premonarchic period.

Tola had six sons, listed by name in 1 Chr 7:2, described there as "mighty warriors of their generations." The latter must include their offspring, in clans totaling 22 muster units, that is, 600 men (not 22,600!). Nothing more is known of Tola's six sons.

**2.** One of those who "judged Israel" in the premonarchy period (Judg 10:1–2). He is introduced immediately after the story of Abimelech's rise and downfall. Tola is the first of the so-called minor judges, notices of whom bracket the account of Jephthah's career (Jair, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon complete the list).

Tola is identified as son (rather than brother) of Puah and grandson of Dodo. Puah (Judg 10:1; 1 Chr 3:1) appears to be an alternative spelling of Puvah (Gen 46:13; Num 26:33). Instead of reading a proper name, the versions translate Heb *dôdô* as "his uncle," which seems highly improbable.

Tola exercised leadership ("judged Israel") for 23 years. The different location of the length of service within the minor judge pericopes, as well as the fact that these are not "round numbers," indicates that such numbers derive from a source or process other than mere editorial approximation.

Tola resided and finally was buried at Shamir. Samaria seems unlikely as seat of the chief subdivision of Issachar. But there are other references which suggest a connection between certain clans of Issachar and Ephraimite hill country (Aharoni *LBHG*). Shamir may lie not far S of the Jezreel plain, still to be precisely located.

Of all the "minor judges," Tola is the only one of whom it is said that he rose up "to save" Israel. In the book of Judges, "to save" generally involves fighting. Perhaps it means here that in the chaos that remained "after Abimelech" (10:1), Tola saved Israel by presiding over a peaceful interlude in the N hill country and central Jezreel valley.

That the Tola who judged Israel is identified as *son* of Puah, and that he lived at Shamir, evokes comparison with the names of Issachar's four sons (Tola, Puvah, Jashub, and Shimron). There must be some connection. Does it indicate that the four names belong to a later branch grafted on to the genealogical tradition and derived from what was remembered about the one who "judged Israel"?

The interpretation which sees the minor judge notices as wholly unhistorical, creations by an editor who needed to fill some chronological gaps, is far too severe. But neither is the opposite view faring well, which sees these units as historically accurate in every detail, snippets from an early archive. The "minor judges" appear to have functioned locally, for the most part, during periods which generated no warfare stories to be connected with them (Boling *Judges* AB, 186–89).

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**TOLAD** (PLACE) [Heb *tôlād* (תּוֹלָד)]. An alternate form of ELTOLAD.

**TONGUES, GIFT OF.** Ecstatic utterance associated with possession of the Holy Spirit. With this meaning, the Greek *glōssa,* which otherwise in the NT refers to the physical tongue (Luke 16:24), speech (1 John 3:18) or human language (Rev 5:9), is found in Mark 16:17; Acts 2:3, 4, 11; 10:46; 19:6; and in 1 Corinthians 12–14. It is often called glossolalia, from *glōssais lalein.*

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A. Nature of the Phenomenon
  1. Angelic Language
  2. Unknown Human Languages
  3. Ecstatic Utterance
B. Prevalence and Importance
C. Evaluation of Glossolalia by NT Writers
  1. Acts
  2. 1 Corinthians 12–14

## A. Nature of the Phenomenon

What was glossolalia? The NT evidence is sparse and is not entirely consistent. In Acts tongues are treated as real languages (Galileans speak "other tongues," Acts 2:4), each heard and understood as such (2:6–8). Tongues are also identified as a form of prophecy (2:16–18). In contrast, Paul emphasizes the unintelligibility of tongues (I Cor 14:2, 6–11), and carefully distinguishes this practice from prophecy (14:3–5).

Resolving the obvious conflicts between the sources requires a series of decisions concerning proper method. A first question concerns the assumption that tongues must be a single uniform phenomenon with clear characteristics. If this is our assumption, we may want to give greater credit to one source than another. Often, for example, Paul's report is regarded as firsthand and unadorned (and therefore more reliable), whereas Acts is taken as an interpretation which may camouflage the "real" event. On the other hand, even in the NT period itself, glossolalia may have appeared in several forms, not as one phenomenon but as several. In this case, both Acts and Paul could be read as witnesses to a diversity of practice as well as understanding.

Another decision concerns which evidence counts in clarifying the nature of NT glossolalia. What weight should be given to similar phenomena in the ancient world, such as early Hebrew prophecy or Hellenistic mantic prophecy? How seriously should the experiences of modern glossolalists be taken, or their claim that they represent the same "gift of the Spirit" as described in the NT? Can the extensive studies of contemporary practice by linguists, ethnographers, and psychologists be used to clarify the NT texts?

If there were a consensus on the nature of ancient and modern phenomena the helpfulness of such information would be obvious. In fact, however, research into modern glossolalia is not unanimous in its judgment on a number of critical issues, including whether glossolalia is "one thing" or several (Samarin 1972: 129–49), and whether it is invariably accompanied by or even to be identified with states of psychological dissociation (Goodman 1972: 124). Nor is there agreement on what parallel phenomena such as the speech acts of shamanism can even be considered glossolalic. Concerning the evidence from antiquity as well, debate continues on the ecstaticism of the Hebrew prophets and the manifestations of mantic prophecy (Williams 1974: 328–38; Aune 1983: 36–48).

Given this state of affairs, any definition of glossolalia in the NT must necessarily be more tentative than even in the mid-20th century. In the present discussion, current research into both ancient and modern phenomena are used, but largely as a means of excluding certain possibilities rather than providing a definitive understanding.

It is generally assumed that glossolalia is a single phenomenon. Three definitions have been suggested.

**1. Angelic Language.** A rather odd hypothesis is that tongues are, literally, heavenly language. The basis of this position, which is patently folkloric rather than scientific, is Paul's phrase "If I speak with the tongues of angels" in 1 Cor 13:1, his references to revealing mysteries (14:2) and speaking with God (14:28), and his cryptic mention in 2 Cor 12:4 to heavenly visions which he is incapable of expressing in human terms. Perhaps surprisingly, there is supporting evidence for the concept of angelic language in Jewish apocalyptic literature, and even for the speaking of it by a human in ecstasy (cf. especially in the *Testament of Job* 48.1–50.3). The obvious problem with this hypothesis is that it is unhelpful for determining the linguistic or psychological dimensions of the speech as it was practiced by early Christians.

**2. Unknown Human Languages.** A second explanation is that tongues refers to the speaking of actual but unknown human languages. This is technically known as *xenoglossia.* The report in Acts 2:4–11 is here taken as determinative. The disciples speak "other languages" and were understood by the visitors to Jerusalem from the Diaspora who spoke those languages. Appeal is also made to Mark 16:17, which refers to the "new tongues (or: languages)" which will be spoken by believers. Some aspects of Paul's discussion are also isolated to support this hypothesis. He appears to compare tongues with known human languages of the earth, for example (1 Cor 14:10–11) (Gundry 1966: 306). Most of all, Paul lists with

"tongues" another spiritual gift called "interpretation of tongues" (*hermēneia glōssōn,* 1 Cor 12:10). In light of 1 Cor 14:13, and especially 14:27–28, interpretation is taken to mean "translating" (Davies 1952: 231). Modern glossolalists sometimes consider their speech to be a language unknown to them. A substantial oral tradition contains cases in which these languages are spontaneously identified by witnesses who recognize in them languages which they themselves speak (Samarin 1968: 55–57).

The weight of evidence, however, does not support this position. Even though the Pentecost story in Acts emphasizes the intelligibility of the tongues, a careful reading indicates that the miracle consisted precisely in the *hearing,* not the mode of speaking (*pace TDNT* 1:725). The bystanders do not ask, "how can they all be speaking our own languages," but rather, "since all who are speaking are Galileans, how is it we *hear* them in our own native languages?" (2:8). This perception was also not given to all the bystanders. Some who did not hear that way concluded that the tongues were a drunken raving (2:13). According to the pattern of "tongues, then interpretation," furthermore, Peter's "clear statement" (*apophthengomai,* Acts 2:14) on that occasion ought to have "translated" the "great things of God" expressed by the tongues. What he interprets, however, is the *ecstatic state* of the speakers, not their *discourse* (2:14–16). Finally, Acts' other accounts of tongues make no mention of their intelligibility. The isolation of the Pentecost event suggests that the element of communication was emphasized by Luke to suit his narrative purposes.

The reference to "new tongues" in Mark 16:17 is too obscure to be helpful in defining the nature of the phenomenon. The "longer ending" of Mark in which it occurs is certainly not part of the original gospel. At best, the phrase provides another witness to the perception that tongues were practiced by Christians, but it is impossible to date the text before the middle of the 2d century. The textual evidence for the adjective "new," furthermore, is weaker still.

As for Paul, he could hardly make clearer his conviction that tongues are an intrinsically noncommunicative form of utterance (1 Cor 13:1; 14:2, 4, 7–9, 16–17, 23). What, then, does he mean by "interpret"? Recent research into the contemporary use of Paul's term *diermēneuo* by Philo and Josephus suggests that the term often means simply, "to put into words," or "bring to articulate expression." When Paul tells the tongue-speaker to pray that he might "interpret," therefore, he does not mean "provide a translation," but that the tongue-speaker make the transition from glossolalia to a mode of speech intelligible in the assembly (14:13) (Thiselton 1979: 15–36).

The evidence from modern glossolalists that their speech is real language, finally, is spurious. Careful linguistic study has demonstrated that glossolalia is not a "real but unknown" language, but rather "language-like" in its patterning of sounds (Samarin 1972: 74–128). Observation of the "interpretation of tongues" in practice, furthermore, shows that it is not the translation of a language but a separate utterance altogether. The stereotypical character of the reports of real languages being heard by native speakers, and the impossibility of verifying these reports, suggest that they are simply folklore (Christie-Murray 1978: 248–52).

**3. Ecstatic Utterance.** The textual and comparative evidence supports the definition of tongues as an utterance which is a form of ordered babbling. As we have seen, Paul does not consider tongues to be intelligible, and he clearly contrasts speech which is "in the Spirit" *(en tō pneumati*) but does not use the mind *(nous),* with speech which does use the mind and therefore can build up the community (1 Cor 14:14–15, 19). Glossolalia is private and noncommunicative. God is praised and the person who prays edified, but neither the mind nor the community bear any fruit from this activity (14:2–3, 14, 17, 28).

This definition of glossolalia also corresponds to the greater part of the ancient and contemporary parallel phenomena. In at least the older manifestations of Israelite prophecy, we find a combination of "inspiration" by God's Spirit, trance-like states with the physical signs of dissociation, and the uttering of inarticulate cries (cf. 1 Sam 10:5–13; 19:18–24). There remains considerable debate on the question of whether classical prophecy was also accompanied by such ecstatic states (Wilson 1980: 21–35). Something akin to glossolalia is also found in the Hellenistic popular religious phenomenon known as mantic prophecy, usually distinguished from "technical" prophecy, which was nonecstatic (cf. Cic. *Div.* 18. 34). The divine spirit was thought to possess the prophet *(mantis)* taking over his or her mind

*(enthousiasmos)* and directing the utterance of oracles. Sometimes, as at the shrines of Dodonna and Delphi, the oracles were linguistically clear, if ambiguous in meaning. Even these, however, often required "interpretation" by qualified cultic personnel, called "prophets" *(prophētai).* Such prophecy was highly esteemed, even by the sophisticated (cf. Plato, *Ion* 534 A–D; *Phdr.* 244A, *Ti.* 71 E–72B and Plut. *The E at Delphi* 387 B). It is not certain how inevitable was the state of trance or ecstasy *(furor, mania)* in such prophecy, although it is frequently mentioned (cf. e.g. Plut. *De def. or.* 417C; Cic. *Div.* 32. 70). Still less certain is the presence of glossolalia-like speech (Aune 1983: 30–35). There are scattered reports of strange sounds and garbled or foreign words (cf. Herodotus, *History* 8. 135; Plut. *De def. or.* 412 A), but these tend to be associated with wandering prophets (especially the priests of Cybele) and soothsayers (cf. e.g. Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* 10.23–24, Apuleius, *The Golden Ass* 8.27) or with those attacked as charlatans (cf. esp. Lucian's *Alexander the False Prophet* 13, 22, 49, 51, 53). It is obviously in the nature of the phenomenon (ecstatic oral babbling in a cultic setting) that accurate literary transcriptions of the speech for comparative study would rarely if ever be carried out. That Paul himself saw tongues as equivalent in appearance at least to such mantic prophecy seems certain from his word-choice in 1 Cor 14:23. He proposes the hypothetical case of the whole church speaking in tongues, and their being observed by "ignorant and unbelieving" people who would conclude, "You are raving" *(hoti mainesthe).* In context, this can only mean, "you are prophesying the way all other cults do, in a frenzy."

The understanding of glossolalia as a structured babbling, furthermore, corresponds with the best evidence derived from the linguistic study of modern tongue-speaking (Samarin 1968: 55–73). There is less agreement concerning the degree of ecstasy involved in the contemporary phenomenon. Problems of definition here are obvious. Some observers define glossolalia in terms of psychological dissociation, virtually making it the oral expression of trance (Goodman 1972: 26–34). Others deny the necessary precondition of trance for the use of tongues, or point out that the *initial* experience is frequently accompanied by dissociation, but that subsequent tongue-speaking often is without any visibly altered state (Samarin 1972: 26–34). Psychological studies reject the older view that glossolalia is intrinsically connected to psychopathology (Richardson 1973: 199–207). Nor is there any psychological type which appears to be predisposed to the experience. On the other hand, it appears that the ability to be hypnotized, and to submit to authority, are positively correlated with the experience (Kildahl 1972: 50–53). In this light, the divided allegiances of the Corinthian community (cf. 1 Cor 1:12) could be correlated with the experience of tongues, since both Cephas and Paul were also glossolalists, Paul by self-acknowledgment (1 Cor 14:18), Cephas by reputation (Acts 2:4–11). Glossolalia has for the most part a positive integrating effect for the individuals who experience it, although (as also in Corinth) it tends to foster a sense of elitism among those who have had the experience which proves disruptive in communities (Kildahl 1972: 66–75). First person accounts of the experience of glossolalia emphasize—especially for the first occurrence—positive feelings of release, freedom, and joy (Goodman 1972: 24–57). Glossolalia can be characterized in shorthand, therefore, as the linguistic symbol of spiritual release.

Although some modern glossolalia occurs in private (Hutch 1980: 255–66), it is ordinarily a public, cultic, phenomenon. It is connected above all to experiences of conversion (the connection with Acts 10:46 and 19:6 is clear), and to the practice of prayer (as in 1 Cor 14:2, 28). The understanding of glossolalia as a form of prophecy is rarer (Acts 2:4–11), as is the interpretation of tongues.

**B. Prevalence and Importance**

How prevalent was the practice of glossolalia in earliest Christianity? Estimates must be modest. All the evidence supports is that tongues were spoken by some members of the Corinthian congregation in the early 50s of the 1st century (Clement makes no mention of it writing to them 40 years later), and was thought by the author of Luke-Acts to have been a feature of some early conversion experiences.

Other NT texts sometimes cited as referring to glossolalia probably do not. Apart from Mark 16:17 there is nothing in the gospel tradition about tongues. Indeed, Jesus' condemnation of the "babbling" of gentiles in prayer could only be read by Christians as an implied criticism of any such practices among themselves (Matt 6:7). Paul speaks of "spiritual hymns" by which Christians could praise God "in their hearts" (Col 3:16 and Eph 4:19). He says that the Spirit helps Christians when they do not know how to

pray, with "unutterable groanings" (*stenagmois alalētois,* Rom 8:26). He tells the Thessalonians not to "quench the Spirit" (1 Thess 5:19). All these are too general or vague to conclude that they refer to glossolalia.

More significantly, Paul does not list "tongues" or the "interpretation of tongues" among the spiritual gifts in two other lists outside 1 Corinthians (Rom 12:3–8 and Eph 4:11). He does not mention tongues in connection with his own conversion experience or that of others (cf. e.g. Gal 3:1–5). In fact, as we shall see, Paul is ambivalent in his attitude toward glossolalia. But not even Luke connects tongues to his account of Paul's conversion (Acts 9:3–8), although a bright light figures prominently in that event, as it does also in many modern accounts of initial glossolalic experiences. Nor is tongues ever connected with the "laying on of hands" (as in modern practice), except in Acts 19:6 (cf. in contrast Acts 9:12). Finally, there is no hint of the practice of glossolalia in any other Christian writing before the middle of the 2d century.

Even for the earliest period of Christianity, therefore, glossolalia appears to be at best a sporadic and ambiguous occurrence. Two inferences about that first period are therefore inadequately supported by the data: that tongues was a normal and expected accompaniment of the Spirit (and therefore, by implication, an essential component of authentic Christianity), or that tongues demonstrates how the first Christians lived in a charismatic fog of trance or dissociation.

In the 2d and 3d century, glossolalia is mentioned by several Christian writers. The most noteworthy outburst is associated with Montanus (ca. 160) and the two women prophets who accompanied him. Montanus was a former priest of Cybele, a goddess whose worship also involved *mania* (cf. Apuleius, *The Golden Ass* 8.27). He apparently regarded himself as a passive instrument of the Holy Spirit, "like a lyre struck with a plecton" (Epiphanius, *Panarion* 48.4.1). His "strange talk" *(xenophonein)* was understood by him to be a form of prophecy, and his speech was accompanied by the frenzy associated with mantic prophecy (cf. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 5.16. 7–10). Even in Montanism, such inspired utterance did not seem to survive the founders (5.17.4), although Tertullian could refer to the presence of ecstatic utterance in his group as a proof of its truth, against Marcion (Tert. *Adv. Marc.* 5.8). Irenaeus of Lyons (ca. 200) also claims to be acquainted with the phenomenon of tongues, although his report is succinct: "We have heard many brethren in the church having prophetic gifts and speaking through the spirit in all tongues and bringing to light men's secrets for the common good and explaining the mysteries of God. Such persons the apostle calls spiritual" (*Haer.* 5.6.1; cf. also Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5. 7. 6). Irenaeus appears to understand tongues to be the speaking of "different languages." He also reports, however, on the activity of a Valentinian Gnostic called Marcus, whom Irenaeus regards as a magician and charlatan, but whose repertoire includes prophecy. He also seduces women and coaxes them to prophesy, and the manner of their speaking again suggests glossolalia or mantic prophecy (*Haer.* 1.14–16). There are occasional passages in gnostic writings, furthermore, in which a series of such syllables strung together looks very much like transcribed glossolalia (cf. *Pistis Sophia* 4.142). The Paris Magical Papyrus also contains concatenations of numinous "names." In these cases, however, it is impossible to say whether glossolalia generated the literary product. At least some Christian preachers used babbling speech even in public, according to the anti-Christian polemicist Celsus (ca. 180), who characterized their utterances as being "without form or meaning" (Or. *Cels.* 7.9).

Arguments from silence are notoriously suspect, but the paucity of evidence for glossolalia in the second 200 years of Christianity suggests that it became an increasingly marginal activity. Most of the occurrences come from Montanists or Gnostics, groups which were rejected by the Orthodox party. The silence itself, however, can variously be weighed. It may indicate that tongues was practiced rarely and then by dissident groups. Or, it may suggest that the orthodox writers, suspicious of charismatic activity, ignored manifestations of popular religion such as glossolalia which did not meet their increasingly high standards (Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.17. 2–4). In either case our information comes from the orthodox side, and the historian can at this distance only observe that by the 4th century, John Chrysostom confesses himself at a loss to interpret the passages about tongues in 1 Corinthians, guessing that Paul must be referring to the ability to speak different languages (*Hom. in 1 Cor.* 29, 32, 35). In the 5th century, Augustine

dismisses tongues as a special dispensation of the primitive church which is no longer of pertinence (*Hom. in 1 John* 6.10).

**C. Evaluation of Glossolalia by NT Writers**

**1. Acts.** Luke gives a completely positive valuation to glossolalia. As the tongues of fire at Pentecost are the *visual* sign of the Spirit's presence, which transforms followers into ministers of the word (cf. Luke 1:4), so the speaking in tongues is the *auditory* sign. It is the Holy Spirit who "gives them utterance" (2:4). In the Pentecost account, the first experience of tongues is an expression of praise: the disciples tell the "great things of God" (2:11).

As so often in Luke-Acts, the speech following this scene gives Luke's own interpretation of the phenomenon. Peter's "open declaration" (2:14) does not translate the tongues, but interprets the ecstatic event itself. He begins by citing Joel 2:28–32 (LXX 3:1–5), thereby indicating that this gift of the Spirit is in fulfillment of prophecy. In the Joel citation, Luke changes the LXX "after these things" to "in the last days," making Pentecost an eschatological event. He also alters the citation in two further ways. In 2:18 he adds the phrase, "and they shall prophesy," which makes the promise of 2:17 explicit, and also identifies tongues as a form of prophetic utterance. He also adds the words "signs on the earth below" to the Joel citation (2:19), further emphasizing these visible manifestations of God's Spirit.

All these touches serve to make Pentecost a programmatic statement for the rest of the Acts narrative, in which the apostles are depicted as the prophetic successors of Jesus, filled with the same Holy Spirit that he was, and working signs and wonders among the people. By making the diverse tongues intelligible to Jewish pilgrims from all over the Diaspora, furthermore, Luke indicates that the prophetic spirit is the fulfillment of the promises God made to Abraham, extended first to Abraham's descendants and only then to the nations of the earth (cf. 2:39).

Glossolalia functions as a sign of the Spirit in the two other Acts passages as well. Each time it marks a new stage in the mission. When the Spirit falls on the household of the gentile Cornelius, the Jewish Christians present at the scene can hear the tongues and conclude that the gentiles had received the same gift they had (10:45). Likewise when Paul lays hands on the former followers of John the Baptist in Ephesus, and they begin "to speak in tongues and prophesy" (19:6), it shows both that people in Asia have also received the Holy Spirit, and that this baptism in Jesus is greater than that of John's (19:2–3; cf. also Luke 3:16; Acts 1:5; 11:16).

In short, Acts treats glossolalia as a nonambiguous symbol of the Spirit's presence and a sign of the mission's success. Precisely the same function is suggested by Mark 16:17.

**2. 1 Corinthians 12–14.** Paul's attitude toward glossolalia is more complex. At least in part, this is due to the problems it caused in the Corinthian congregation. The elitist tendency of that church led some of them to regard all spiritual powers (*ta pneumatika,* 12:1) as a means of self-aggrandizement. Just as they used "knowledge" and "liberty" in ways careless of community identity (8:1–2; 10:23), so the spectacular gift of tongues seems to be claimed as a superior "sign of the Spirit." Indeed, some may have been claiming that only tongues truly certifies the presence of the Spirit: "tongues is a sign for believers" (cf. 1 Cor 14:22).

Paul typically finds as much common ground as possible between himself and those he must correct. But he broadens their perspective by placing all the gifts in the context of community service. Already in the letter's Thanksgiving he agrees that they have been "enriched with all speech and all knowledge" (1:5), but he also reminds them that this is a gift from God "in him" (i.e., Christ), and in "fellowship" with him, as well as the fact that their exercise of the gifts stands under God's eschatological judgment (1:7–9).

When he turns to an explicit discussion of spiritual gifts (1 Corinthians 12–14), he continues to adjust their perspective. He reminds his readers that there is a great difference between *ta pneumatika* (spiritual powers in general), and *ta charismata* (spiritual gifts from God). The former are real enough but are also ambiguous: their pagan past should have taught them that ecstasy can lead to disastrous results (12:2). The gifts of the Holy Spirit, in contrast, lead to the confession, "Jesus is Lord" (12:3), and their use must be shaped according to the messianic pattern, that is, in service to the messianic community (12:4–11). Each part of the body works toward the common good rather than to the benefit of the individual member

(12:7). Although he acknowledges "tongues" and the "interpretation of tongues" as gifts (12:10), therefore, he relativizes their importance by listing them last, after the more essential and "foundational" gifts which build up community identity (12:8–10), and by emphasizing that private experience is secondary to the good of the whole body (12:12–31).

In chap. 13, Paul relativizes tongues even further—as indeed, he does all the gifts—by asserting the supremacy of *agapē* as the most fundamental expression of God's Spirit. *Agapē* is defined in terms of service to others rather than in terms of individual gain. Using himself as an exemplar, Paul asserts that "the tongues of men and the angels" are meaningless without *agapē* (13:1). Tongues is a gift that will cease (13:8), and Paul clearly suggests that it is among the "childish" things that must be put aside if maturity is to be reached (13:11). He returns to this estimation in 14:20.

When Paul discusses the "higher gifts" which the community should pursue (12:31), tongues becomes the foil for the more important gift of prophecy, which Paul considers in every respect superior (14:5). Prophecy uses the mind, whereas tongues does not (14:14–15). It builds up the identity of the community, whereas tongues improves only the speaker (14:3–4). It is intelligible, and tongues is not (14:6–10). Paul sees tongues as an optional mode of prayer, but one which may need to be outgrown. Although he speaks them himself, he would gladly give them up for the sake of the edification of the community (14:18–19). He can leave the impulses of prophets to the prophets themselves, since they are under rational control (14:31–32). But tongues he restricts to its role as private prayer (14:13–16). The only time it can come to public expression is when it is followed by "interpretation" (14:27–28; cf. above). Tongues also escapes the discernment of the entire community, which Paul considers essential for the healthy working of the spiritual gifts (12:10; 14:29).

Paul's perception of glossolalia is best summarized in 14:20–25. He reverses the glossolalists' claim, by showing that tongues are not an unambiguous sign of belief: they can mean anything, can come from anywhere. If the assembly has glossolalia as its dominant form of expression, outsiders can legitimately conclude that this assembly is simply another cult like every other (14:23). Only if prophecy is active can they be brought to see that God is at work here (14:25). To make tongues more than an interesting variety of private prayer is to think like a child and not like an adult (14:20).

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LUKE TIMOTHY JOHNSON

**TOPHEL** (PLACE) [Heb *tōpel* (תֹּפֶל)]. One of the sites used to define the general locality where Moses expounded the law before the Israelites (Deut 1:1). This text indicates that Moses' speech was given in the "desert, east of the Jordan—that is, in the Arabah—opposite Suph, between Paran and Tophel, Laban, Hazeroth and Dizahab." Verse 5 further defines the place as "in the territory of Moab."

The precise location of Tophel is presently uncertain. Some have suggested that Tophel be identified with et-Tafileh (M.R. 208027; a village located on the road between Kerak and Petra), based on the similarity of sound. However, the Arab *t* does not correspond to the Heb *t* and the vowel patterns of the two names are different. Y. Aharoni *(LBHG,* 203) placed Tophel between Punon and Wadi Zered, but this location is S of the land of Moab.

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**TOPHETH** (PLACE) [Heb *tōpet* (תֹּפֶת)]. A cult site in the vicinity of Jerusalem. The word *tōpet* occurs only in Biblical Hebrew (and in rabbinic commentaries on the biblical passages). Its distribution is restricted to a single verse of 2 Kings (23:10) in a section recognized as the work of the Deuteronomistic Historian (DH), and to two formally similar sermonic oracles in the book of Jeremiah (7:31, 32 [2x]; 19:6, 11, 12, 13, 14). These portions of the book of Jeremiah show certain affinities with the language of DH (Carroll *Jeremiah* OTL, 38–50; Holladay *Jeremiah 1* Hermeneia, 264–70; 534–46; McKane *Jeremiah* ICC 1: 158–69; 178–80; 443–59; on the chronological proximity of Jeremiah and DH, see Freedman 1983).

The word appears to be the name of a place (Jer 7:32; 19:6), as indicated by the presence of the definite article in all but three instances, but its originality in the context is open to question. The word has no transparent etymology (older speculations are discussed by Salmond *HDB* 4: 799; more recent discussion is surveyed by Heider [1985: 347–49]. The word *tōpet* in Job 18:6 is a homonym meaning "spit"). The view that it is a loanword from Aramaic can be traced to W. R. Smith (1894: 357), and is still cited (e.g., Holladay, pp. 264–65; *ISBE* 4: 876). The vowels of *tōpet* are probably the result of alteration to make the word sound like *bōšet,* "shame" (and perhaps also the homonym meaning "spit"). The versions are inconsistent in their representations of the word: LXX, Aquila, Symmachus give *Tapheth;* Vulg *Thopheth.*

The *Onomasticon* of Eusebius, under the entry *Thapheth,* regards it as a place in the suburbs of Jerusalem lying along the fullers' pool and the field Akeldama. This would place it S of the city near the juncture of the valley of the son of Hinnom and the brook Kidron in the vicinity of En-rogel (M.R. 172130). See AKELDAMA; FULLER'S FIELD . This tradition is roughly consistent with the location of the Topheth implicit in Jeremiah's references to it, but the locational details of Jeremiah's prose sermons are themselves unsettled, so considerable uncertainty attends any attempt at more precise specification (see G. A. Smith 1907: 1.173–76 on the location of the valley of Hinnom; Heider 1985: 349–65 on the Topheth's location).

The Topheth in the valley of Hinnom was a site of rites that appear to have involved the burning of children as sacrifices, perhaps to a deity called MOLECH (2 Kgs 23:10; M. S. Smith 1990: 132–38). The reform of religion undertaken by Josiah included defilement of the Topheth (the text says nothing of human bones being used in this process, *contra* André *TDOT* 5: 340), but there is no mention of his having destroyed the installation (Holladay [p. 268] overstates this point). Two decades after the Josianic reform, Jeremiah contended against the cult of the Topheth as an ongoing institution. He envisions for the place not destruction but renaming, and corresponding use as a burial site (Jer 7:32; 19:6, 11). Its defilement will become an index of the defilement of the city of Jerusalem (19:13).

There is no physical description of the Topheth in the valley of Hinnom, but several inferences are possible. The construction of cultic installations called in Hebrew *bāmôt* (see HIGH PLACE) took place there (Jer 7:31). The reference to burning children implies a hearth, furnace, oven, or pyre in or upon which combustion was contained. A permanent or intermittently employed staff would have been necessary to carry out the tasks involved in the rites (as can be deduced from 2 Kgs 23:9).

The sole instance of the Hebrew noun *tāpteh* (Isa 30:33) is found in a depiction of a crematory. Exegetes have universally linked the word and the image with the Deuteronomist's Topheth (Heider 1985: 319–24). At the conclusion of a theophany of a fiery and wrathful Yahweh (Isa 30:27–30) is described an installation upon which the (Assyrian?) "king" is to be immolated. A large pile (Heb *mĕdurâ*) of wood is arranged for burning (RSV's "pyre" is overly specific; note the similar preparations for a pot in which Jerusalem is to be cooked [Ezek 24:8]). Many exegetes have inferred from the use of the verb *ʿāmōq* in the causative stem ("make deep") that the image includes an excavation to contain the fire; but the verb's implication of profundity need not mean literal depth: note the same verb used in Isa 31:6. The music of timbrels and lyres accompanies the ceremony (Isa 30:32), and the divine breath itself ignites the blaze.

The cult of Molech continued after the Babylonian Exile (Isa 57:9), but there is no indication whether the Topheth in the valley of Hinnom remained one of the sites (note the plural "valleys" in Isa 57:5) where ritual infanticide continued.

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**TOPONYMS AND TOPONYMY.** In the OT, toponyms (place names) figure prominently: in many cases, they are "explained" (e.g., Gen 11:9; 16:14; 19:22; etc.). Although modern scholarship regards most of these explanations as spurious (so-called folk etymologies), the fact that they were often explained indicates that for the biblical writers place names conveyed meanings (or were expected to do so). From the 2d century A.D. onwards, Christian (and later Jewish) pilgrims came to the Holy Land with the purpose of establishing physical contact with the places of Sacred History, an act that presupposes the identification of contemporary places and their names with ancient ones. Place names, actually or supposedly thought to continue the tradition of biblical names, were and are the main (and frequently the only) source for site identifications. By the end of the 19th century, the religiously inspired interest in the Holy Land had led to the recording of Palestinian toponymy unparalleled in the Near East in its breadth and depth (Rainey 1978).

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A. The Nature of Toponyms
B. The Study of Toponymy
    1. Synchronic Studies
    2. Diachronic Studies
C. Site Identification

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**A. The Nature of Toponyms**

The semantic structures of toponyms seem to be a transcultural universal. Place names are usually transparent within the name-giving community, often reflecting physical aspects of the site and/or social, ideological, and religious attitudes of the name-giving culture (see B.1 below). But when transmitted beyond that culture (as frequently happens), the meanings of the names become lost. For example, "Styuk-zōn"meant "foot of the dark hill" to the Papago Indians, but its modern equivalent, "Tucson" (Arizona), is a name without an English etymology (Barnes 1988: 455). Thus, the existence of place names which cannot be interpreted by the language of their present inhabitants makes *historical* studies of toponymy feasible.

**B. The Study of Toponymy**

When place names are transmitted beyond their language of origin they are usually adapted *phonologically* to the phonetic system of the receiving language (e.g., Tucson; cf. also al-Iskandarîyah [< Alexandria] in Egypt), a fact that makes the reconstruction and interpretation of the original form often difficult and sometimes impossible.

Place names can also be adapted *morphologically* and *lexically* to the system of the new language, and thus be "reetymologized." In this case, their origin can only be traced when earlier forms of the name are extant: *Jbayl* means "little mountain" in Arabic; if we would not know for sure that it is derived from the name Gubla, attested as early as the 3d millennium B.C., the Arabic name would not tell us. Here, toponymical studies encounter all the problems of site-identification (see C below; we have to know that Jbayl is Gubla in order to explain "Jbayl" as the present equivalent of "Gubla"). Place names can also be adapted *semantically* (i.e., they can be "translated") into the receiving language (e.g., Heb "Dan" ["judge"] becomes Ar Tell el-Qāḍī ["the debris-heap of the Judge"]).

However, continuity and discontinuity of toponyms do not say very much about the continuity or discontinuity of population or settlement. It would be wrong to assume that Tucson still has a majority of Papago Indian inhabitants, just as it would be wrong to assume that all the citizens of St. Petersburg were slaughtered or removed when the place was renamed Leningrad. Widespread *politically motivated* renaming of sites has recently affected both banks of the Jordan river (Knauf 1991). Because toponyms do contain valuable historical, linguistic, and cultural information, the recording and cataloging of Near Eastern toponyms is still an urgent task (Thompson et al. 1988). The study of why, and when, names are (or are not) preserved is still in its infancy (Negev 1976).

**1. Synchronic Studies.** Place name corpora can be investigated for the features that governed name formation in order to arrive at conclusions concerning the social and ideological structure of the naming community and its environment (Borée 1968: 104–12; Wild 1973: 287–322). The most frequent features are the following:

**a. Land Formation.** Biblical Geba, Gibeah, Gibeon derive from Heb *geba‹,* "hill"; biblical Shechem (Heb *šĕkem;* Canaanite **Ṯikmum*) means "shoulder," and Arabic Mughayyir means "small cave."

**b. Flora.** Biblical Gath-rimmon means "Wine Press of the Pomegranate Tree," Luz means "Almond Tree," Tamar means "Palm Tree," and Tappuah means "Apple Tree." In Arabic Umm er-Rummânah means "Mother (i.e., Site) of the Pomegranate Tree," while Fuqayqis means "Little Cucumbers." It can be assumed that tree names in now-barren regions attest to widespread deforestation in subsequent periods. Such names may attest to the previous distribution of a species beyond its present habitat (Kislev 1985). Place names like "Tres Alamos" ("three cottonwoods"; Kislev 1985: 451) or "Sycamore Creek" (p. 435) show that the ancient mechanisms of place-name formation are still operational even outside the Near East, and still provide information beyond the linguistic level (e.g., on the environment; Bailey 1984).

**c. Fauna.** Biblical Aijalon means "Deer Place," Beth-nimrah means "Pantherville," Hazar-shual means "Fox Hamlet," Laish (Heb *layiš,* Canaanite **Layṯ*) means "Lion," En-gedi means "Kid Spring," while Arabic Khanâzîr means "Pigs" and Qal‹at aḍ-Ḍab‹ah means "Fortress of the Hyena." These names may also testify to species which are now extinct but which in antiquity roamed the vicinity of the sites (e.g., lions). However, animal names are more difficult to interpret with certainty than are plant names since animal names often form personal and tribal names as well. For example, the EB site of Numeirah ("Little Panther") may derive its name from the *Banu Numair* tribe which occupied the region in the Middle Ages. Also, Eglon ("Calve Place") may not be named after an abundance of cattle, but because the shape of the site reminded the name-givers of the form of a bull, or because the bull was the sacred animal of their god.

**d. Land Usage.** Biblical Abel (already in Canaanite) means "Meadow, Pasturage," Adamah means "Soil," Gath (also in Canaanite) means "Winepress," Geder/Gedor/Gederah (also Gadara, Gadora) means "Terrace Walls," Helkath means "Section/Strip of Land/Field," and Migdal Eder means "Tower of the Herds" (i.e., shepherds). In Arabic Zarrā‹ah and Mazra‹ah mean "Plantation," Marj ‹Ayūn means "Meadow of the Springs," and Tell el-Jurn means "Heap of Debris of the Threshing Floor."

**e. Social and Political Status.** Place names which structurally are personal and/or clan names (or contain such names) may either refer to the site's first settler(s), or to persons who made that place famous (or infamous). Such names include biblical Beth-Arbel, Migdal-Hanaiah, Bene-Berak, and Ataroth-Beth-Joab, as well as Arabic Abu Ghosh, Humud, and Shihabiyah. Socio-political status is expressed in biblical names such as Hazeroth, "Hamlet(s)"; Succoth, "Hut(s)"; Ataroth, "Corral(s)" (the plural morpheme in these cases may be a toponymic formative); Mahanaim, "Camp" (vs. Dannah, "Stronghold," and Migdol, "Tower, Fortress"); Zephat and Mizpah, "Vantage Point"; Kerioth (Moabite), "City"; and Rabbath-Bene-Ammon, "Metropolis of the Ammonites." Due to various different viewpoints, the transmission of a name may split along demographic fissures: for example, the Roman-Byzantine Rabbathmoba continued to be known locally as ar-Rabbah ("The Metropolis" [of the region]), hence its present name (M.R. 220075), whereas supraregionally (i.e., in classical Arabic literature) the place figures as Maʾâb ("Moab"). In present-day Jordan scores of villages recently abandoned their inherited names in favor of such names as Ḥusainīyah or Hâshemīyah, thereby expressing their loyalty to the ruling king (Hussein) and his (Hashemite) dynasty.

**f. Religious Status.** Biblical place names like Anathoth, Baalath-Judah, Ashtaroth, Bethel, Beth-Dagon, Beth-Horon, Baal-Hazor, Baal-Meon, Baal-Shalisha, Baal-Gad, Jericho ("Place of the Moon God"), Ir-Shemesh ("City of the Sun-God") reflect the name of the deity that was once worshipped in these settlements (Rosen 1988). In Arabic, saints substitute for the ancient gods: Tell el-Mazār (i.e., Mazār Abū ʿUbaida), "Tell of the Tomb (of Abū ʿUbaida)"; Khirbet Sheikh ʿĪsā, "The Ruin of St. Jesus"; Nebī Yūnis, " (Sanctuary of) the Prophet Jonah." Because at least some of the place names containing the names of gods and goddesses originated *after* the emergence of Israel, they are an important witness for the religious diversity within "Israelite" territory.

**g. Historical Events.** Place names containing personal names may refer to historical events, although it is very difficult to ascertain to what kind of event (if additional data are lacking). Also, to provide an "historical" explanation for a place name does not necessarily prejudice the historicity of the event that (at least in the mind of the name-giving community) was connected with the place. In addition, names from all categories may have an historical origin that is simply beyond reconstructing. For example, a Buena Vista in Illinois most probably commemorates the 1847 battle during the Mexican War, whereas the same name in New Mexico may only refer to the "beautiful scenery" of its environs. Biblical Meribah probably preserves the memory of a quarrel, but we will likely never know when and between whom it originally occurred.

**2. Diachronic Studies. a. Semitic Names.** The diachronical study of contemporary Near Eastern place names reveals three main Semitic linguistic strata: Canaanite, Aramaic, and Arabic (Wild 1973). In terms of toponymical studies, all the Palestinian place names which originated from the 3d millennium B.C. (or even earlier) to the first half of the 1st millennium B.C. are classified "Canaanite." For example, names ending in *-ôn* (in Arabic, *-ân* and *-ûn*) can generally be identified as "Canaanite," and can be shown to have originated between the 3d and the 1st millennium B.C. (Plotting the places with Canaanite names on a map, for example, helps to delineate the *hinterland* of the individual Phoenician coastal cities [Kuschke 1977]). Environmental conditions conducive to permanent settlement seem to produce a higher rate of toponymical survival than marginal areas (Negev 1976; Knauf 1991): places which have been settled continuously throughout the past 5,000 years are more likely to have preserved Canaanite names than places which were abandoned for several centuries and then resettled. In toponymical studies, "Canaanite" comprises all the pre-Aramaic Semitic languages of Syria and Palestine from Amorite through Ugaritic, Phoenician, and Hebrew. The fact that these languages—or rather stages in the development of the Semitic languages in Southern Syria—are not corroborated by a clear-cut toponymic stratigraphy within the ca. 2,000 years covered by their development indicates that we are dealing with a continuous process of linguistic change similar to the process which led from Old English to present Southern Coastal American English as spoken in Georgia and the Carolinas. Linguistically, no Semitic "newcomers" or "intruders" can be identified prior to the Assyrians.

A major linguistic break occurred only with the introduction of Aramaic as the official language in the middle of the 1st millennium B.C., and later with the introduction of Arabic (comparable to the introduction of Latin into the Roman province of Gallia which subsequently became the mother of modern French). Within the Arabic stratum, several substrata (Pre-Standard, Standard, and Post-Standard Arabic) can be distinguished (Isserlin 1986a; Knauf 1991).

**b. Non-Semitic Names.** Non-semitic place names are rare in S Syria and Palestine. Only a few names have survived from the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods. These tend to be the names of *newly founded* settlements which served as central places for considerable areas: e.g., modern Qêsâriyah (M.R. 140212) reflects "Caesarea" (Maritima); Nāblus (M.R. 175180) reflects Neapolis; Bânyâs (M.R. 215294) reflects Paneas. However, existing places that were simply *renamed* in the Hellenistic period, usually also retained their pre-Hellenistic names: e.g., ʿAkkâ reflects Ptolemais/Acco; ʿAmmān reflects Philadelphia/ (Rabbath Bene) Ammon; and (Tabaqat) Faḥl reflects Pella/Piḥl. In many cases the "official" Greek name was not even widely used in the Hellenistic-Roman period; a Hellenized form of the Semitic name was used instead (e.g., Gadara, Gerasa). Here is a clear indication of the impact of Greek culture on the local population, or the lack thereof.

Some places continue to have names originating in Old French or Italian at the time of the Crusades: e.g., Laṭrûn (M.R. 148138) from La Toron ("The Tower") and Tell Sandaḥanna (M.R. 140111) from "St. Anna." Such names are generally not attested in Transjordan, an area where European immigrants did not settle; there are only Ifrinj (M.R. 148138), "Franks" (now Shihâbiyah, near Kerak) and Kufrinji (M.R. 217190), "Village of the Franks" (near ʿAjlūn). In both cases the name does not tell whether the Franks who settled there were prisoners of wars or landlords (regional history, however, can suggest answers to this question).

Future studies may compare the semantic categories of various strata, and arrive at further conclusions for the history of settlement (e.g., the shift from "tribe" to "state" and back again can be expected to have consequences for place-name giving). Such studies would, however, presuppose that we know more about the time when certain place-name types were productive. Important research towards this goal has been conducted by B. S. J. Isserlin (1956; 1986a and b; cf. also Knauf 1988), but much more needs to be done. Within the study of long-term processes in history, toponymical studies will become increasingly significant.

**C. Site Identification**

Because the study of Palestinian toponymy remains primarily concerned with the identification of biblical sites, the problems of site identification must be discussed briefly. Site identification tries to reconcile the traditional historical record, the present topography and toponymy of the Holy Land, and the archaeological evidence. When it comes to site identification, the different interests of the scholar and the public are often irreconcilable: the average Bible reader wants as many entries as possible on the maps at the back of his/her Bible, while scholars want to distinguish between what they can know from what they can only guess (Miller 1983). Because both the historical record and the archaeological evidence are open to a broad spectrum of interpretations, site identifications are rarely agreed upon unanimously.

Toponymic evidence for a site identification operates on different levels. First, the current name of a site may be undeniably recent (e.g., Arabic); however, this does not preclude the possibility that the site itself is ancient, but simply requires the historian and the archaeologist to resolve its ancient identity. For example, Tell el-Mutesellim, Arabic for "the lieutenant governor's heap of debris," is indisputably biblical Megiddo.

Second, the name of a site may appear to be recent, but may actually preserve an older form in modern guise. For example, Tell el-Qāḍī (M.R. 211294), which is perfectly understandable in modern Arabic ("the Judge's heap of debris"), actually is a translation of the site's previous name, biblical Dan. Similarly, Jbayl (34°07′N; 35°39′E), a perfectly correct Lebanese Arabic word ("little mountain"), is actually the Arabization of the site's name since the 3d millennium B.C., Gubla (Gk Byblos). In these cases the current place name supports the identification, but would not sustain it without additional evidence.

Third, the name of a site may appear to be archaic, but may well be more recent. For example, Rās er-Riḥāb (M.R. 208038) overlooking the Wādī el-Ḥasā is identified with Rehoboth ha-Nahar (Gen 36:37; RSV "Rehoboth on the Euphrates" [!]) by those scholars who assume that an Edomite culture already existed in the Early Iron Age. See REHOBOTH (PLACE). Admittedly, Heb *rĕḥôb* and Ar *riḥâb* are cognates. The name cannot sustain an identification, however, since there are even more Riḥābs (literally, "vastness") in the Arabic world than there were Rehoboths in the Canaanite Near East. The root *RḤB* produces meaningful place names in both cultures, and there is no guarantee that an Arabic *Riḥâb* (or compound thereof) actually derives from a Canaanite Reḥôb (or compound thereof).

Fourth, the ancient name of a site may not have been preserved; however, one can still reconstruct a plausible and logical sequence of names which are attested in sources from various periods for either the site or topographical features in its immediate vicinity. The likelihood that such a sequence actually links the lost ancient name with a name recorded in the last or the present centuries depends, however, on the topographical precision and pertinence of the various sources which are involved. For example, one can work backward from *Khân az-Zayt* to *Âbil az-Zayt* to Abela to Abel Keramim (Judg 11:33) to *Karamên* (see also ABEL-KERAMIM), or from ar-Rabbah and Ma'âb to Rabbathmôbâ to Kir Moab (Isa 16:1).

Fifth, a site may actually preserve its ancient name (i.e., a name which has no recent etymology), or the ancient name of the site may be preserved in the name of a nearby spring, field, rock, wadi, or mountain. In this case, the identification can be established on the basis of the name itself. A good example is modern Ḥisbān (M.R. 226134), which indisputably is the site of ancient Heshbon (Knauf 1990). (How the historical record on Heshbon is to be reconciled with the archaeological results from Tell Ḥisbān is another problem altogether.) See HESHBON.

Sixth, and most interesting, however, is the case where the name of a site is undoubtedly old but does not occur in ancient sources. For example, modern Kathrabbā (M.R. 293060) presupposes an Aramaic **Kfar rabbā* ("big village"; cf. Gk Megalokome), but this is nowhere attested in antiquity.

As demonstrated by the last example, toponymical studies have the potential of contributing to our knowledge of the past beyond site identification insofar as they may add ancient places to historical maps which are not mentioned in any written source. Toponymy may even suggest a site identification in cases where the biblical name has already been lost in antiquity. For example, Jinṣāfūṭ (M.R. 162176) is a modern place name reflecting a Canaanite/Hebrew **gan [ha-]šōpēṭ* ("Garden of the Judge"). Because the place is situated within the settlement area of the Manassite clan Abiezer, it is a candidate—hitherto unrecognized—for Gideon's Ophrah (Knauf fc.). Given the problems concerning each of the three parameters that constitute a site identification (history, archaeology, and toponymy), there will always be a high number of Iron Age sites known from archaeology without a biblical identification, and many sites known from the Bible that cannot be located on the map.

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**TORAH (PENTATEUCH).** The Torah is the section of the Bible composed of the first five books: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. The name Torah derives from Hebrew *tôrâ,* meaning "instruction." The work is also known as the Pentateuch, from Greek *pentateuchos,* meaning a five-book work, and as the Five Books of Moses. It is also known in traditional Jewish circles by the Hebrew name *ḥumaš,* which likewise is a form of the number five. It combines prose, poetry, and law in a chronological narrative spanning thousands of years. With the exception of a few words, it is written entirely in Hebrew. It holds a special place in relation to the other biblical books in that, first, the events it narrates are central to and assumed by most of the other books, and, second, many of these other books refer to it (e.g., Ezra 8:1–3) or allude to passages in it (e.g., Jonah 4:2). The Torah also has a special status in subsequent religious tradition, both because of the significance of the events narrated and because it contains the body of law that became normative in Judaism. Its singular place has continued in modern biblical scholarship as well in that the questions that were raised concerning its history and authorship played a foundational role historically in the development of the field (see below).

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## A. Contents and Structure

**1. Overview.** The Torah narrative moves from the creation of the universe to the establishment of the people of Israel as a free nation about to enter the land promised to its ancestors. It begins with an account of the relations between the God Yahweh and the human community in the world that he has created. It

gradually narrows its focus to a particular family, the family of the patriarch Abraham and his descendants. It then broadens its scope once more as the family grows into a nation, Israel, and is subjugated by Egypt. The narrative then recounts Yahweh's making himself known in the world by means of his liberating Israel from Egyptian bondage through miraculous acts that demonstrate his control of the forces of nature. Yahweh then makes an extraordinary revelation to the people of Israel and an even more intimate revelation to their leader, Moses, at Mount Sinai, also known as Horeb or the mountain of God. The deity makes a covenant with Israel and gives them a corpus of law. The narrative then recounts the events of their journey to the land that the deity had promised to Abraham. It culminates with their arrival at its border, concluding with Moses' farewell to the people and his death on a mountain overlooking the promised land.

The Pentateuch thus has six major parts:

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|---|---|
| 1. The primeval history | Genesis 1–11 |
| 2. The patriarchs | Genesis 12–50 |
| 3. The liberation from Egypt | Exodus 1:1–15:21 (interim: 15:22–16:36) |
| 4. The stay at Sinai/Horeb | Exodus 17–40; Leviticus |
| 5. The journey | Numbers |
| 6. Moses' farewell | Deuteronomy |

There is some variation in the ways in which scholars conceive these groupings into major parts; e.g., some see Numbers 1–10 as belonging to the Sinai/Horeb section since it describes preparations for the journey that still take place at Mount Sinai, and some connect Exodus 16–18 to the Egypt section since it is regarded as preceding the arrival at Sinai. Exodus 15:22–16:36 is identified as interim here because it fits neither the Egypt nor the Sinai section but rather depicts events that occur on the journey between the two settings. Exodus 17–18 is ascribed to the Sinai/Horeb section because its episodes contain explicit reports of events taking place in the region of Horeb and at the mountain of God (17:6; 18:5). These differences of scholars' conceptions of the narrative are minor, though, and the major units of the work are essentially clear and widely recognized.

**2. Primeval History.** The units and their contents are presented in a chronological flow of events through time. The ANE literary environment in which they were composed was characterized by myth, which has no such linear characterizations of progressions of events through generations. The Torah thus contains some of the world's first-known history writing. In the first part, the primeval history, it pictures the deity's creation of the universe, climaxing with the creation of humans, and culminating with the deity's ceasing work and resting, seeing that the creation is "very good." The narrative proceeds to track the development of the relationship between God and the humans, a relationship that involves conflict practically from beginning to end. In the story of the Garden of Eden, the first two humans acquire for their species the ability to make their own judgments of good and evil, but at the price of work, pain, a hostile environment, and death. In the story of Cain and Abel, the second generation of humans seemingly compete for divine favor, climaxing in hostility between them and the introduction of murder into the world. During the course of the flow of generations, human women are united with beings identified as the sons of God (*bĕnê ʾĕlōhîm*, the meaning of which is uncertain) and give birth to mighty offspring. Whereas the deity originally had seen that the creation was very good, now "Yahweh saw that human bad was great in the earth" (Gen 6:5). The flood story therefore follows, in which the deity wipes out life on earth, which has become corrupt, and he starts anew to repopulate it from the seed of an exceptionally righteous man, Noah. This story culminates in the account of the Noahic covenant, the first of three covenants that provide the structure in which the Pentateuchal history is housed. The Noahic covenant guarantees the preservation of the earth from recurrence of the flood, which does not mean mere rain but a cosmic crisis in which the structure of the universe is threatened by the breaking of the "fountains of the great deep" and the opening of the "windows of the heavens." The covenant sign is the rainbow.

The stories that follow indicate that there continues to be conflict in the earth despite the universal descent from a righteous man. First there is the enigmatic account of a conflict between Noah and one of his sons, Ham. This is followed by the story of the tower of Babel, culminating in the dispersion of humans throughout the earth and their separation from one another by the development of languages. The primeval history thus sets the world stage for the story to come, depicting etiologically the state of the world and how it came to be the way it is. This first section also sets the historical narrative in a cosmic mooring, picturing the divine power to create and act upon the heavens and earth, and this power then looms behind the scenes of the narrative that follows and occasionally bursts through onto the scene of history.

**3. Patriarchs.** Against this broad and powerful background the second section, the patriarchs, brings a striking narrowing of focus. The deity takes an interest in a particular man, Abraham, with no reasons given for this choice. Abraham is pictured as living in the period now known as the Middle Bronze Age. The deity commands Abraham to migrate from Mesopotamia to Canaan, tests him, takes an interest in the affairs and persons of Abraham's household, and makes promises and a covenant with him. The promises include immediate offspring and ultimately that nations and kings will be descended from him. In the Abrahamic covenant, the deity further promises (1) that the land in which Abraham resides will belong to him and his descendants, and (2) that Yahweh will be his and his descendants' God. The covenant sign is circumcision. In the story of Abraham's near sacrifice of his son Isaac and in the story of Abraham's dialogue with the deity over the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah, the complexity and conflict in the divine-human relationship is further and more subtly developed.

The patriarchal stories are disproportionately concerned with Abraham and with his grandson Jacob/Israel. Between these two is a briefer treatment of Abraham's son Isaac. In the best known stories of Isaac, he is largely passive, acted upon by his father Abraham or his son Jacob. Isaac is nonetheless important as the link in the developing chain of tradition, as the bearer of the covenant promise, which the deity renews with him. He is also important as a figure in his own right, different from his father and his son in that he never fights, never leaves the land of the covenant, and has only one wife—characteristics which, together with his passive position, are perhaps to be tied to the fact that he had once lain upon the altar as a sacrifice to God.

The covenant promises are renewed in Jacob through a chain of stories of deception, sibling rivalry, jealousies, and romantic and sexual encounters. The stories move from Canaan toward Mesopotamia and back, then to Egypt. Jacob supplants his twin brother Esau/Edom for preeminent status, marries two sisters, takes their two maids as his concubines, fathers twelve sons and a daughter, loses his favorite son Joseph due to the enmity of his other sons, and in the end is reunited with Joseph together with all the rest of his family in Egypt, where he dies. The patriarchal stories thus conclude with the family residing away from its land, but in possession of a covenant promising them nationhood, a land, and a relationship with the deity.

The primary themes of the patriarchal section then are the continuity of the Abrahamic line, the birthright in each of the generations of that line, and the covenant and its promises. These themes are developed through a series of stories of relations among the family members, layered with stories of the family's encounters with foreigners. The stories can be read individually or as a meaningfully connected, continuous account, reflecting these common themes and further united by connected chains of events, recurring terms, allusions, and ironies.

**4. Liberation from Egypt.** With the account of the liberation and exodus from Egypt, the narrative focus broadens again and becomes the story of a nation and its conflict with another nation. The family of Jacob/Israel that has migrated to Egypt at the end of Genesis has grown into a people, the children of Israel, at the beginning of Exodus. This broadening of the account into being the story of the nation, though, is intimately bound to the account's becoming at the same time the story of an individual man, Moses. Both of these narrative lines, further, are bound to a central and pervasive element of the narrative, the knowledge of God. The three foci—the deity, the nation, the man—are embroidered together in a complex and powerful dynamic in the text. Moses is the Israelite whose destiny is distinguished from that

of his enslaved brothers and sisters by a quickly recounted sequence of events at his birth and early manhood: born a slave, raised in the royal house of Egypt, forced to flee after killing an Egyptian in defense of an Israelite, settled as a shepherd in Midian. His encounter with his father's God at the burning bush leads him reluctantly back to Egypt to free his people. Wielding enormous power over the natural realm, Moses announces or initiates each of the ten plagues and the parting of the Red Sea by which the deity overwhelms the Egyptians and frees Israel. By the end of this section and in the interim accounts of events prior to reaching Sinai, Moses finds himself the leader of a frightened, unhappy, rebellious community of former slaves who have not yet learned to think and act as a free people. They direct their complaints at him rather than at the deity who is in fact responsible for their liberation and their continuing survival. The deity meanwhile is acting not only to liberate these descendants of Abraham but also to make himself known in the world. He reveals his personal name, Yahweh, to a human, Moses, for the first time. He plans to free Israel and make them his people, and then they "will know that I, Yahweh, am your God" (6:7). By his acts in Egypt he enters the stage of world history in ways that are empirically observable by all, even "hardening the heart" of the Pharaoh so as to multiply the plagues that demonstrate that Yahweh controls the forces of nature. He states explicitly to Pharaoh, "Indeed, it was for this purpose that I established you, and for the purpose of showing you my power, and in order to tell my name in all the earth" (9:16). And in the wake of the miraculous liberation, Moses' father-in-law Jethro/Reuel, a Midianite priest, acknowledges, "Now I know that Yahweh is greater than all the gods" (18:11).

**5. Sinai/Horeb.** This fundamental theme of Yahweh's becoming known continues into the next section, the largest unit of the Torah: the stay at Sinai/Horeb. In the greatest theophany of the Bible, Yahweh speaks aloud to all of the people at Sinai (Exodus 19–20). Then seventy-four persons envision him on the mountain (24:9–11). Then Moses experiences the ultimate revelation of God of the entire Hebrew Bible, seeing the form of Yahweh himself (33:18–23). The ark, the tabernacle, the priesthood, and the sabbath are all associated with knowledge of Yahweh in this section: the book of Exodus culminates in the tabernacle's consecration (Exodus 40), and Exodus notes explicitly that the function of the tabernacle is: "I shall be *known* there to the children of Israel …" (29:43). With regard to the most sacred object, the ark containing the tablets of the Decalog, Exodus notes explicitly: "I shall be known to you there …" (25:22). There are chapters of details concerning the establishment of the priesthood and its accoutrements, and the text includes the explicit statement that the function of the priesthood and the tabernacle is: "And they will know that I, Yahweh, am their God …" (29:46). The text also specifies that the function of the sabbath is: "It is a sign between me and you for your generations, to know that I, Yahweh, sanctify you" (31:13).

This section of the Five Books of Moses also develops further the three-way dynamic of the deity, the nation, and Moses. It reaches perhaps its quintessential expression in the episode of the golden calf, in which Moses pleads with the deity not to destroy the rebellious people, in response to which the deity mercifully forgives them, but then Moses descends the mountain and unleashes his own anger at them. That is, Moses represents the people when he speaks to God, and he represents God when he speaks to the people. This dramatizes the role of the prophet, a role that begins with this man in this generation in the biblical presentation of history. Others communicate with the deity prior to Moses, but Moses is the first to fulfil the formal prophetic role of receiving the divine messages and carrying them to the community.

Another formal role established in this section is that of the priest. The priesthood is bestowed upon Aaron, Moses' Levite brother, and upon his male descendants after him. This bestowal is commanded in Exodus and inaugurated in the only lengthy narrative in Leviticus (8–10).

The Sinai section introduces the third major covenant of the Torah, called the Sinai or Mosaic or Israelite covenant, the text of which is the Decalog. Unlike the Noahic and Abrahamic covenants, it is not a reward for the past loyalty of the patriarch of a line, but rather is based on the past act of the deity: "who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage." It therefore requires future actions from the human parties of the covenant, viz they are bound to observe the commandments thereof. In return, Yahweh promises well-being in the land. The covenant sign is the sabbath.

The Sinai section includes the corpus of law in Exodus 21–23, known as the Covenant Code, as well as the full book of Leviticus which is almost entirely concerned with law. Like the Decalog, the laws are divided between those that relate to the ethical realm and those that relate to ritual. Ritual laws are those that are concerned with relations between humans and God, such as the first four of the Ten Commandments and the laws concerning priests, purity, sacrifice, holidays, dietary laws, and apostasy. Laws of ethics are those that are concerned with relations between humans, such as the latter six commandments; economic laws; laws of sexual relations; rules of courts and justice, injuries, treatment of slaves; and sundry other statutes that do not readily fall into broad categories (e.g., laws against injuring the blind or deaf, or making one's daughter a prostitute). The law is divided between apodictic law ("Thou shalt …, Thou shalt not …") and casuistic law ("If a man does X, then he shall …"). Most of the laws are given without specific reasons or justifications, though one can often deduce the values they reflect. Pervading much of the ritual law is a concept of distinction: between pure and impure, holy and secular, permitted and forbidden (Lev 10:10). Pervading much of the ethical law is a concept of empathy for one's fellow humans and equal treatment before the law. Underlying all of the law is the concept of covenant. Covenant binds the legal and narrative texts together. The laws are pictured as given by Yahweh to Israel in the context of a covenant between them, established in light of past events and with implications for the future. That is, in the Torah, law is never understood apart from history; and indeed no Israelite law code has survived outside of the context of an historical account.

**6. Journey.** The historical account continues in the fifth section, the journey from Sinai/Horeb to the promised land. Though generally regarded in scholarship as a series of heterogeneous episodes, this narrative, comprising all of the book of Numbers, is unified and flows in a meaningful chronological progression. It begins with ten chapters of preparations for the journey, including a census and matters having to do with purity. (The purity of the camp, where the divine presence is at hand, is a major concern for the journey.) It then recounts the people's setting out on the journey and their initial complaints as they face hardships with regard to food and water. Miraculous solutions are provided by Yahweh, but Moses passionately declares his inability to bear the burden of the entire nation alone (11:11–15). His prophetic gift is therefore extended to others, but in the next episode Aaron and his sister Miriam criticize Moses, saying, "Has Yahweh spoken only just through Moses? Has he not also spoken through us?" (12:2). Yahweh rejects their claim as Miriam is left leprous, and Yahweh confirms explicitly that Moses does in fact have a singular prophetic status, being the only human to see the divine form. Moses' singular status then figures integrally in the next episode, the story of the spies (Numbers 13–14), in which the people reject the opportunity to enter the promised land because of their fear of the might of the residents. They seek to replace Moses with a new leader and return to Egypt. Yahweh says that he will destroy them and start a new people once more, a people descended from Moses. Moses dissuades the deity by citing, among other arguments, Yahweh's own declaration of his mercy on the occasion that Moses saw the divine form. The resulting modification in the divine judgment comes to explain why the Israelites spend forty years in the wilderness when the journey should have taken less than two: the generation that has rejected the land is to die in the wilderness, and their children are to live to take possession of the land.

The following chapter, a legal corpus, includes the reminder to the people that "You shall be holy to your God" (15:40); and the next episode brings together all of these matters: Moses' status, the people's holiness, and the condemnation that they will not live to possess the land. Korah, Dathan, and Abiram accuse Moses (and Aaron) of failing to bring them to the land (16:14) and of raising himself above the people (16:3, 13) when "all of the congregation, all of them, are holy" (16:3). Yahweh rejects these claims with fire and earthquake, and he confirms the singular religious status of the Levites in general and of Aaron in particular by causing Aaron's rod to blossom. He commands that the rod be saved in the tabernacle "as a sign to rebels" (17:25), and in the next episode, the rebellion at Meribah, Moses takes the rod "from before Yahweh" (20:9) and strikes the water-yielding rock with it. This misuse of Aaron's rod figures along with the other components of Moses' offense to result in Moses' own condemnation to die without seeing the land, and it implicates Aaron, who shares Moses' fate.

Another consequence of the condemnation to a forty-year journey is a roundabout route through the wilderness and then through the territories to the E of the Jordan river. This results in a series of confrontations with the Edomites, whom Israel avoids; with the Amorites, whom Israel defeats and dispossesses; with the Moabites, who fail in their attempt to curse Israel through Balaam; and the Midianites, whom Israel defeats. The confrontations with the Moabites and Midianites also include the heresy at Baal Peor (Numbers 28). This and the matter of Moses' bronze snake (21:4–9) continue the themes of rebellion and of Moses' status as the people finally acknowledge that they are rebelling not only against the human leader whom they can see but against the deity as well (21:5, 7). The book concludes with a list of the stations of the journey, with a new census, confirming that everyone in the older generation has died, with additional law, and with accounts relating to the distribution of the land that they are now approaching.

This section of the Torah is thus a unified narrative, recounting a meaningful progression of events, and depicting the incubation and preparation of the people before becoming a free nation in the land promised to their patriarchs, while also depicting the developing relations between the people and Yahweh. The period of the journey, also frequently called the wilderness period, is thus pictured as an age of rebellion and disasters, but at the same time it is pictured as an ideal age of incubation and closeness to God, the only age in which miracle is a daily fact of life (the column of cloud and fire; the feeding of manna and quail).

**7. Moses' Farewell.** The final section, Moses' farewell, constitutes the entire book of Deuteronomy. The book pictures Moses making a lengthy speech to the people in the plains of Moab, E of the Jordan river. He gives a history of his and the people's experience together since leaving Egypt. He admonishes them for their past failings, and he encourages them to fulfill their covenant with Yahweh and thus be successful in their new land. He gives them an additional corpus of laws (Deuteronomy 12–26), and additional blessings and curses for respectively keeping or violating the covenant. He writes "this *tôrâ*" in a book and gives it to the Levites to keep beside the ark and periodically to read publicly. He then formally designates Joshua as his successor, and he leaves Israel with two songs, concluding with a blessing: "Happy are you, Israel. Who is like you, a people redeemed by God?" (33:29). He climbs a mountain alone, from which he sees the land of the promise, and he dies.

The concluding section of the Torah thus merges prose, poetry, and law. It summarizes the events of the preceding sections, recapitulates and emphasizes major themes, especially covenant, and builds upon the body of law. It is thus an effective conclusion to the full Pentateuch. The work thus ends with an optimistic view toward the people's imminent return to the land of their ancestors and the fulfilment of the Abrahamic and Israelite (Mosaic/Sinai) covenants.

As the Torah can be viewed via its sections, it can also be reasonably analyzed and appreciated according to the traditional division into five books. The theme of knowledge of God, for example, pervades the book of Exodus, thus crossing two sections (the liberation from Egypt and the stay at Sinai). It hardly figures explicitly at all in the book of Leviticus (which continues the Sinai section), however, and so in this case division by books is more suitable than by sections. The two points of view are not alternative to one another in any case, but can be pursued compatibly—reflecting the depth of the material thus analyzed.

**B. Literary History**

The Torah was composed by a number of authors. The originally separate works of these authors were combined in a series of editorial steps into a continuous, united work. The full process of composition and editing, from the earliest passage in the Pentateuch to the completion of the work, took approximately six centuries (11th to 5th century B.C.).

The primary evidence for multiple authorship and for identification of the respective component works of the Torah is the convergence of several large categories of data. They are:

**1. Doublets.** Doublets are cases of two variations of the same story occurring in the Pentateuch. The possibility of such an occurrence in a single-author work exists, but the number of doublets in the

Pentateuch is so large as to be an indicator of a more complex history of composition. These doublets include:

1. Creation. An account of a seven-day creation in Gen 1:1–2:3 is followed by a different version of how the creation took place in Gen 2:4b–25. The two versions duplicate each other on some facts (e.g., the creation of plants, animals, and humans) but contradict each other on other facts (see B.3 below).
2. Genealogy from Adam. Gen 4:17–26 and 5:1–28, 30–32 (parallels of names in the Seth and Cain genealogies, including Cain/Cainan, Enoch, Irad/Jered, Methushael/Methuselah, Lamech).
3. The flood. Two complete versions of the flood story are intertwined. The first is in Gen 6:5–8; 7:1–5, 7, 10, 12, 16b–20, 22–23; 8:2b– 3a, 6, 8–12, 13b, 20–22. The second is in 6:9–22; 7:8–9, 11, 13–16a, 21, 24; 8:1–2a, 3b–5, 7, 13a, 14–19; 9:1–17.
4. Genealogy from Shem. Gen 10:21–31 and 11:10–26.
5. Abraham's migration. Gen 12:1–4a and 12:4b–5.
6. Wife/sister. In two separate stories Abraham identifies his wife Sarah as his sister, a foreign king takes her (Pharaoh in one version; Abimelech in another), the deception becomes known, the king confronts Abraham, Sarah is returned, Abraham is rewarded materially: Gen 12:10–20 and 20:1–18. In a third version a similar scenario is pictured with Isaac, Rebekah, and Abimelech: 26:6–11–14. (This is termed a triplet.)
7. Abraham and Lot part company. Gen 13:5, 7–11a, 12b–14; 13:6, 11b–12a.
8. The Abrahamic covenant. Genesis 15 and 17.
9. Hagar and Ishmael. (Triplet) Gen 16:1–2, 4–14; 16:3, 15–16; 21:8–19.
10. Prophecy of birth of Isaac. Gen 17:16–19; 18:10–14.
11. Naming of Beer Sheba. Gen 21:22–31; 26:15–33.
12. Jacob, Esau, and the departure to the east. Gen 27:1–45; 28:10 and 26:34–35; 27:46; 28:1–9.
13. Jacob at Beth-El. (Triplet) Gen 28:10, 11a, 13–16, 19 and 28:11b–12, 17–18, 20–22 and 35:9–15.
14. Jacob's name changed to Israel. Gen 32:25–33:20; 35:9–10.
15. Joseph sold into Egypt. Gen 37:2b, 3b, 5–11, 19–20, 23, 25b–27, 28b, 31–35; 39:1 and 37:3a, 4, 12–18, 21–22, 24, 25a, 28a, 29–30.
16. Yahweh summons Moses. (Triplet) Exod 3:2–4a, 5, 7–8 and 3:1, 4b, 6, 9–15 and 6:2–12.
17. Moses and Pharaoh. Exod 5:1–6:1; 7:14–18, 20b–21a, 23–29[—Eng 7:23–8:4]; 8:3b–11a, 16–28; 9:1–7, 13–34; 10:1–19, 21–26, 28–29; 11:1–9 and 7:10–13, 19–20a, 22b; 8:1–3a, 12–15; 9:8–12.
18. The Red Sea. Exod 13:21–22; 14:5a, 6, 9a, 10b, 13–14, 19b, 20b, 21b, 24, 27b, 30–31 and 14:1–4, 8, 9b, 10a, 10c, 15–18, 21a, 21c, 22–23, 26–27a, 28–29.
19. Manna and quail in the wilderness. Exod 16:2–3, 6–35a; Num 11:4–34.
20. Water from a rock at Meribah. Exod 17:2–7; Num 20:2–13.
21. Theophany at Sinai/Horeb. (Triplet) Exod 19:1–2a; 24:15b–18a and 19:2b– 9, 16b–17, 19; 20:18–21 and 19:10–16a, 18, 20–25.
22. The Decalog. (Triplet) Exod 20:1–17 and 34:10–28 and Deut 5:6–18.
23. The spies. Num 13:1–16, 21, 25–26, 32; 14:1a, 2–3, 5–10, 26–29 and 13:17–20, 22–24, 27–31, 33; 14:1b, 4, 11–25, 39–45.
24. Heresy at Peor. Num 25:1–5 and 25:6–19 [Eng 25:6–26:1a].
25. Appointment of Joshua. Num 27:12–23; Deut 31:14–15, 23.
26. Centralization of sacrifice. Leviticus 17 and Deuteronomy 12.
27. Forbidden animals. Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14.

**2. Terminology.** Different passages in the Torah reflect different terminology, including proper names. Some passages use a particular name for the deity, for example, while other passages use another name. Some use a particular name for a person in the story while others use a different name for the same person. This is of interest in itself, but, most importantly, *these differences of terminology fall consistently into one or another group of the doublets.* That is, when there is a doublet of a story, one of the two versions uses one set of names and terms, and the other version uses a different set. The doublets then line

up into consistent groups of stories, each with its own characteristic language. For example, in the doublet of the creation account, one of the versions (Gen 1:1–2:3) consistently identifies the deity as "God" (thirty-five times); and the other version consistently identifies the deity as "Yahweh God" (eleven times). Then in the doublet of the flood account, one version likewise consistently says "God," and the other consistently says "Yahweh." When we divide the full text of the Pentateuch along these lines of consistent language, we find that virtually all of the doublets divide along these lines into one group or another. Thus the two bodies of evidence converge to point toward a common explanation.

As collected and refined during the last two centuries of scholarship, these divisions of the text have come to be identified. There are four major divisions and some smaller passages joined to them. The four major texts are classified as follows: **J** (Jahwistic), a group of passages so named because they consistently identify the deity *in narration* (not in dialogue) as Yahweh (the siglum J following the German spelling); **E** (Elohistic), a group of passages that identify the deity only as God (Hebrew *'ĕlōhîm* or *ēl*) until the time of Moses, at which time the name Yahweh is revealed (Exod 3:13–15) and is used in this group thereafter; **P** (Priestly), a group that also identifies the deity as El or Elohim until the name Yahweh is revealed (Exod 6:2–3), the siglum P reflecting its exceptional interest in priestly matters; **D** (Deuteronomic), comprising nearly all of the book of Deuteronomy, whose bank of terminology is blatantly different from the other three divisions. See also ELOHIST ("E") SOURCE; PRIESTLY ("P") SOURCE; YAHWIST ("J") SOURCE; DEUTERONOMY, BOOK OF. The cases of characteristic terms and names that can be disproportionately or even unexceptionally identified with a particular division include:

1. The names of the deity. Though periodically challenged in scholarship, this remains a strong indication of authorship. J excludes the word "God" in narration, with perhaps one or two exceptions out of all the occurrences in the Pentateuch; P maintains its distinction of the divine names with one possible exception in hundreds of occurrences; E maintains the distinction with two possible exceptions. (The LXX and Samaritan Pentateuch have minimal differences from the MT in divine names and have been shown by Skinner to confirm these authorial identifications.)
2. Sinai is the name of the mountain where the theophany and covenant occur in J and P. Horeb and "the Mountain of God" are the terms used in E and D.
3. The expression "the place where Yahweh sets his name" or "the place where Yahweh causes his name to dwell" or "the place where Yahweh causes his name to be mentioned" occurs in D and E, never in J or P.
4. *gwʿ*—to die—eleven occurrences in the Torah, all in P.
5. *ngp*—plague—fifteen occurrences in the Torah, fourteen of them in P.
6. *ʿēdâ*—congregation—over one hundred occurrences, all in P.
7. *nāsîʾ*—tribal leader—one occurrence in J, one in E; but sixty-seven in P.
8. *rkš*—property—all occurrences except those in Genesis 14 (an independent text, not identified with J, E, P, or D) are in P. (Gen 15:14=R; see below.)
9. *lwn*—to complain (also in nominal form, *tĕlûnôt*)—twenty-two of twenty-three occurrences are in P.
10. *ʾmh*—cubit—two occurrences in D, one in E, but fifty-six in P.
11. *škb*—to lie with—of thirteen occurrences of this term as a euphemism for sex, eleven are in J. (The other two are in a single case in E—Gen 30:15–16.)
12. *>s\b*—to be sad—seven occurrences, all in J.
13. The expression "gathered unto his people" as a euphemism for death is characteristic of P (all of eleven occurrences).
14. The expression "fire went out from before Yahweh" is characteristic of P.
15. The expression "and he [or they] fell on his face" is characteristic of P.
16. The expression "be fruitful and multiply" is characteristic of P.
17. The phrase *kĕbōd yhwh*—Yahweh's glory—occurs thirteen times, twelve of which are in P.
18. In the plagues narrative in Exodus, the hardening of Pharaoh's heart is consistently expressed by the term *ḥzq* (or *qšh*) in P but by the term *kbd* in E.

19. In the plagues narrative, *tannîn* is the term used in P and *naḥaš* in E for the snake before Pharaoh.
20. The word prophet is foreign to P. The single occurrence (Exod 7:1) uses the term figuratively.
21. The expression "with all your heart and with all your soul" is characteristic of D (all of nine occurrences in the Torah).
22. The expression "lengthen your days in the land" is characteristic of D (eleven of twelve occurrences).
23. The expressions "to go after other gods" or "to turn to other gods" or "to worship other gods" are characteristic of D (all of thirteen occurrences).
24. The expression *šmʿ bqwl yhwh*—"listen to the voice of Yahweh" is characteristic of D (all of twelve occurrences).

The number of cases of characteristic language beyond this sampling is substantial. Driver (1891: 131–35) listed fifty examples of language characteristic of P. Weinfeld (1972: 320–65) provides an extensive list of language characteristic of D and other works of Deuteronomistic literature.

**3. Contradictions.** Numerous contradictions appear in the text of the Torah which are explained by the fact that they are the result of the combination of the originally independent groups of stories. *The contradictions fall along the same lines identified by doublets and terminology.* They include:

1. The order of creation in the P account is plants, then animals, then man and woman; but in the J creation account the order is man, then plants, then animals, then woman.
2. The number of animals taken on the ark in the flood account is seven pairs of clean and one pair of unclean animals in Gen 7:2, 3 (J); but it is only two of each in 6:19; 7:8, 9, 15 (P).
3. The deity limits the lifespan of humans to 120 years in Gen 6:3 (J); but many persons are reported thereafter to have lived longer than this (9:29; 11:10–23, 32 [P]). (In J only Moses lives to the full age of 120; Deut 34:7.)
4. Abraham's homeland. Abraham moves from Ur to Haran, and from Haran to Canaan (P). When Abraham is already in *Haran,* the deity tells him to "Leave your land and your birthplace …" but Abraham has already left his land and birthplace, viz. Ur. Also, Abraham later sends his servant "to my land and my birthplace" to get Isaac a wife (24:4), and the servant goes to *Haran.* (See also 15:7, referring to Abraham's coming from Ur.)
5. Benjamin's birthplace is Bethlehem in Gen 35:16–19 (E), but it is Paddan Aram in 35:23–26 (P).
6. The sale of Joseph. Joseph's brothers plan to kill him, Reuben persuades them not to do this, they cast him into a pit, Reuben plans to save him, but Midianites take him from the pit and sell him as a slave in Egypt (E). But, at the same time, it is reported that the brothers plan to kill him, *Judah* persuades them not to, and they sell him to *Ishmaelites,* who sell him as a slave in Egypt (J). (See B.5 below.)
7. Moses' father-in-law is the priest of Midian Jethro in Exod 3:1, 18; 18:1–27 (E); but his father-in-law is the priest of Midian Reuel in Exod 2:16–18; Num 10:29 (J).
8. The name of the deity. Yahweh tells Moses in Exod 6:3 (P) that his divine name was unknown to the patriarchs, but the patriarchs do know the name (Gen 18:14; 24:3; 26:22; 27:20, 27; 28:16; and see Gen 4:26—all J).
9. The construction and location of the Tent of Meeting. Moses moves the tent outside the camp in Exod 33:7–11 (E), but the Tent is not built until Exodus 36 (P). The tabernacle is erected inside the camp in Numbers 2 (P), but it is still outside the camp in Num 12:4–15 (E).
10. The Decalog. When Moses quotes the Ten Commandments in Deuteronomy there are numerous small differences in wording from the text of the Ten Commandments in Exodus 20, most strikingly the different reason given for the sabbath commandment in Exod 20:11 (P) and Deut 5:15 (D). Meanwhile the text of the Ten Commandments in Exodus 34:14–26 (J) has seven of the ten commandments completely different, and the wording is different even on the three comparable commandments.

11. In Numbers 11 (E) the people are tired of eating only manna, and so they are fed birds; but in Exodus 16 (P) it is reported that they had been getting birds along with the manna from the beginning.
12. The faithful spies. Caleb alone stands against the spies who give a discouraging report in Num 13:30; 14:24 (J), but it is both Caleb and Joshua in 14:6–9, 38 (P).
13. The location of the Amalekites. The Amalekites reside with the Canaanites in the land in Num 14:25, 45 (J); but they reside in the wilderness in Exod 17:8–16.
14. Korah's congregation is swallowed by the earth, which closes over them, along with Dathan and Abiram in Num 16:31–33 (J); but they are consumed by fire two verses later in 16:35 (P).
15. The seduction of Israel at Peor. Moabite women seduce the Israelites in Num 25:1 (J), but they are Midianite women in 25:6; 31:1–16 (P).

**4. Consistent Characteristics of Each Group of Texts.**

1. There are no angels in P.
2. There are no talking animals in P.
3. There are no dreams in P.
4. Blatant anthropomorphisms such as God's walking in the garden of Eden (J), making Adam's and Eve's clothes (J), closing Noah's ark (J), smelling Noah's sacrifice (J), wrestling with Jacob (E), standing on the rock at Meribah (E), and being seen by Moses at Sinai/Horeb (J and E) are absent in P.
5. The word mercy/merciful (Hebrew *rḥm*) never occurs in P.
6. The word grace/gracious (Hebrew *ḥnn*) never occurs in P.
7. The word repent/repentance (Hebrew *šwb*) never occurs in P.
8. The word faithfulness (Hebrew *ḥsd*) never occurs in P.
9. Sacrifices are never portrayed in P prior to the consecration of the tabernacle and priesthood in Exodus 40.
10. In P only descendants of Aaron are priests, while all other Levites are designated as lower level clergy. In the other accounts, all Levites are priests.
11. P regularly adds two major autumn holidays (Lev 16:29–34; 23:23–32; Num 29:1–11) to the standard list of three seasonal holidays contained in the other groups of texts.
12. In P Aaron and Miriam are identified as the brother and sister of Moses (Exod 6:20; Num 26:59), but they are never identified as his siblings in J, E, or D. Indeed, the identification of Aaron as Moses' "Levite brother" in Exod 4:14 (E) and the identification of Miriam only as "the sister of Aaron" in Exod 15:20 (E) indicate that Aaron and Miriam are not his siblings in these texts.
13. The tabernacle is mentioned three times in E and never in J or D, but it is of central importance, mentioned over two hundred times, in P.
14. In the plagues narrative, the P version develops the role of the Egyptian magicians; the E version does not.
15. In the plagues narrative, the E version develops a process of negotiations between Moses and the Pharaoh; the P version does not.
16. In the plagues account in P the signs are performed with the rod of Aaron; in E they are performed with the rod of Moses.
17. In the creation account in P, the deity creates a giant vault (firmament) that holds back waters that are above it; there are also waters below the dry ground. The world is thus, in this conception, a habitable air space surrounded by water. This same conception is assumed in the P account of the flood, in which the "windows of the heavens" and the "fountains of the deep" are broken up so that the waters flow in. The J creation account has no such picture, and in the J flood story it merely rains.
18. Matters such as ages, dates, measurements, numbers, and precise instructions are a substantial and continuing interest in P, with nothing to a remotely comparable degree appearing in J, E, or D.

19. In the J version of the spies story, Moses quotes the divine formula (Num 14:17–18) that had been revealed to him in the J version of his revelation at Sinai (Exod 34:6–7).
20. Paronomasia occurs relatively frequently in J and E but is very rare in P and D.

**5. Narrative Flow.**

1. The story of Dathan's and Abiram's rebellion against Moses (J) flows as a complete story when separated from the story of Korah's rebellion (P) with which it is intertwined. The Korah story also flows complete. Either can be read as a continuous story, with no intolerable gaps in wording or action. (J = 16:1b–2a, 12–14, 25–26, 27b–32a, 33–34. P = 1a, 2b–11, 15–24, 27a, 32b, 35). The only two clauses that merge the two stories—and which thus break the flow—are editorial additions (Num 16:24, 27), as evidenced by the fact that the extra words do not occur in the LXX. Other intertwined accounts that each flow complete, with virtually no breaks in the flow of the narrative include:
2. The flood story (J = Gen 6:5–8; 7:1–5, 7, 10, 12, 16b–20, 22–23; 8:2b– 3a, 6, 8–12, 13b, 20–22. P = 6:9–22; 7:8–10, 11, 13–16a, 21, 24; 8:1–2a, 3b–5, 7, 13a, 14–19; 9:1–17).
3. Hagar and Ishmael (J = Gen 1–2, 4–14. P=16:3, 15–16).
4. Jacob and Esau (J = Gen 25:21–34; 27:1–45; 28:10. P = 26:34–35; 27:46; 28:1–9).
5. Jacob at Beth-El (J = Gen 28:11a, 13–16, 19. E = 28:11b–12, 17–18, 20–22).
6. Joseph and his brothers (J = Gen 37:2b, 3b, 5–11, 19–20, 23, 25b–27, 28b, 31–35; 39:1. E = 37:3a, 4, 12–18, 21–22, 24, 25a, 28a, 29, 36).
7. Yahweh summons Moses (J = Exod 3:2–4a, 5, 7–8. E=3:1, 4b, 6, 9–15).
8. Moses and Pharaoh (E = Exod 5:3–6:1; 7:14–18, 20b– 21a, 23–29 [Eng 7:23–8:4; 8:3b–11a, 16–28; 9:1–7, 13–34; 10:1–19, 21–26, 28–29; 11:1–9. P = 7:10–13, 19–20a, 21b–22; 8:1–3a, 12–15; 9:8–12).
9. The Red Sea (J = Exod 13:21–22; 14:5a, 6a, 9a, 10b, 13–14, 19b, 20b, 21b, 24, 25b, 27b, 30–31. P = 14:1–4, 8, 9b, 10a, 10c, 15–18, 21a, 21c, 22–23, 26–27a, 28–29).
10. The spies (J = 13:17–20, 22–24, 27–31, 33; 14:1b, 4, 11–25, 39–45. P = 13:1–16, 21, 25–26, 32; 14:1a, 2–3, 5–10, 26–29).
11. Peor. The P account (Num 25:6–19 [Eng 25:6–26:1a]) appears to begin in medias res, with the Israelite man and Midianite woman acting in the sight of Moses and the people, who "were weeping at the entrance of the tent of meeting." The weeping appears to be unexplained, but if we turn back to the preceding P account and eliminate the intervening J and E material we find that this last P account, the death of Aaron, ends with the people *weeping* for Aaron in the last verse (20:29). The P narrative flow thus appears to be consistent and intact.

**6. Historical Referents.** Each of the four component texts of the Torah contains a number of elements that reflect the place and time in history in which it was composed. The J and E texts contain elements whose historical referents lie in the period of the divided kingdoms of Israel and Judah, ca. 922–722 B.C. The historical referents of J indicate derivation from the S kingdom, Judah. The historical referents of E reflect the conditions and interests of the N kingdom, Israel. The elements of J that indicate a Judean provenance are:

1. In J Abraham resides in Hebron/Mamre (Gen 13:18; 18:1). Hebron was the capital of Judah, the home city of Zadok, the Judean high priest of David and Solomon.
2. In J the Abrahamic covenant promises the land "from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates (Gen 15:18). These were the boundaries of the empire of David, the founding king of the Judean dynasty.
3. The J account of Israel's acquisition of Shechem is derogatory, involving the taking of Dinah by Shechem and the massacre of the city by Simeon and Levi (Genesis 34). Shechem was the capital city of N Israel, built by Jeroboam I, the king who had rebelled against Judah; and its background is here deprecated.
4. The J birth accounts of the eponymous ancestors of the tribes include: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah. (a) Only Judah, among these tribes, existed with a territorial identity in the era of the

monarchy. (b) J includes the story of Reuben's taking Jacob's concubine and the story of Simeon's and Levi's massacre of Shechem. As confirmed in Jacob's deathbed blessing in Genesis 49—a poetic text embedded in J—these acts result in the preeminence passing to the fourth son, Judah.

5. In the J story of Joseph, Judah is the brother who saves Joseph from the other brothers' plans to kill him (Gen 37:26–27; 42:22).
6. In the J Joseph story it is Judah who promises Jacob that Benjamin will survive the journey to Egypt (Gen 43:8–9).
7. J alone includes a lengthy story from the life of Judah (Genesis 38), culminating in the birth of Peres, the eponymous ancestor of the clan from which the Judean royal family was traced. Judah's wife is identified as *bat šûaʿ*, a name so similar to the name of David's wife *bat šebaʿ* that the two are interchanged in 1 Chr 3:5.
8. In the J spies story, the scouts whom Moses sends spy out only the territory of Judah (Num 17–20, 22–24).
9. In the J spies story, the one favorable spy is Caleb. The Calebite territory was located in Judah and included Hebron.
10. J includes a lengthy account of the birth, youthful relations, and break between Jacob and Esau/Edom. These stories reflect the kinship and historical relations with Edom on several points. J also includes the list of the kings of Edom (Genesis 36). There are no equivalent stories or records in E. Judah bordered Edom and dominated it from David to Jehoram.
11. The iconography of J corresponds to the situation in Judah. (a) J includes a description of the ark's movements in the wilderness (Num 10:33–36), and J associates the presence of the ark with military success (Num 14:41–44); but the ark is never mentioned in E. The ark was located in Judah. (b) The J Decalog only prohibits making molten gods (Exod 34:17). This denounces the golden calves of N Israel, which were molten, without denigrating the golden cherubs of the Temple in Judah, which were wooden and gold-plated. (c) In J, cherubs are used to guard the path to the tree of life, also consistent with the cherub iconography of Judah. Cherubs are not mentioned in E.
12. In J, the Hebrew root *rḥb*—of the name Rehoboam, first king of the divided kingdom of Judah—occurs six times, connoting the nation's expansion. (It does not occur in E.)

The elements of E that indicate a (northern) Israelite provenance are:

1. In E Jacob struggles with God (or an angel) and, etiologically, names the site of this event Peniel (Gen 32:31). The city of Peniel was built by Jeroboam I, the founding king of the N Israelite kingdom (1 Kgs 12:25).
2. In E there is an account of Joseph's deathbed wish to be buried in his homeland and an account of the Israelites taking his remains during the exodus. The traditional site of Joseph's grave was at the city of Shechem, which was also built by Jeroboam and capital of Israel for a time.
3. In E, territory around the city of Shechem is acquired by peaceful purchase (Gen 33:18–19). (Contrast item 3 in the preceding section.)
4. The E birth accounts of the eponymous ancestors of the tribes include: Dan, Naphtali, Gad, Asher, Issachar, Zebulon, Ephraim, Manasseh, and Benjamin—i.e., all of the tribes of Israel, but not Judah. Further, (a) in E the birthright goes to Joseph, thus creating the (northern) tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. (b) In E Ephraim is favored over Manasseh (Gen 48:13–20), corresponding to the historical preeminence of Ephraim (Jeroboam's tribe; the name Ephraim is frequently used in the Hebrew Bible as a *pars pro toto* name for Israel). (c) The term for the additional portion thus awarded to Joseph is the unusual *šekem* (Shechem; 48:22), a perfect pun on the name of the Israelite capital city, which was in fact located in the hills of Ephraim.
5. In the E story of Joseph, Reuben, rather than Judah, is the brother who saves Joseph from the other brothers' plans to kill him (Gen 37:21–22).
6. In the E Joseph story, it is Reuben, rather than Judah, who promises Jacob that Benjamin will survive the journey to Egypt (Gen 42:37).

7. In E, the Egyptian taskmasters are identified as "officers of corvee" (*śārê missîm*—Exod 1:11). The N Israelite tribes' dissatisfaction with the Solomonic policy of *missîm* was an explicit ground for their secession, which was initiated by the stoning of Rehoboam's officer of the *missîm*.
8. The heroic role of Joshua is developed in E, but not in J. Joshua was of N Israelite origins, of the tribe of Ephraim.
9. The elements of E particularly coincide with the interests of the Levites of N Israel who were of the priestly group from Shiloh. Only E includes the story of the golden calf heresy, which is led by Aaron. The Shiloh Levites' high priest Abiathar had been expelled from the Jerusalem priestly hierarchy by Solomon, his prerogatives thus passing to an Aaronid high priest (Zadok). The Shiloh prophet Ahijah had first supported the kingship of Jeroboam but later rejected it in the wake of the establishment of the golden calves at Bethel and Dan. The E golden calf story thus merges and denigrates the two symbols of the exclusion of the Shiloh Levites: Aaron and the golden calf. Meanwhile, it is the Levites in this story who violently purge the people of the heresy. (But Levite violence is criticized in J. See B.6.a (3) and (4) above.)
10. The E story of Aaron's and Miriam's criticism of Moses over Moses' Cushite wife (Numbers 12), like the golden calf story, denigrates Aaron, who is reprimanded directly by the deity. The story explicitly declares Moses' revelation to be superior to Aaron's (and to anyone else's). As in the golden calf story, Aaron submissively addresses Moses as "my lord."
11. The iconography of E corresponds to the situation in Israel—and especially to the concerns of the Shiloh Levites. (a) E includes a description of the tabernacle's establishment in relation to the camp in the wilderness, emphasizing its importance for revelation (Num 10:33–36); but the tabernacle is never mentioned in J. The tabernacle was originally associated with the N Israelite religious center at Shiloh. (b) E denigrates the golden calves. (See item 9 above.) (c) As opposed to J's prohibition of making molten gods, which attacked only the N golden calves, E prohibits making any "gods of silver and gods of gold" (Exod 20:23), thus applying to both the Israelite golden calves and the Judean golden cherubs. (d) In the E story of the golden calf, Moses smashes the tablets of the Decalog, and there is no E account of a second set of tablets being made. This casts aspersions on the ark in Judah, which would thus either be empty or contain inauthentic tablets.
12. Another sign that E derives from priestly origins is the fact that it includes a lengthy law code, the Covenant Code. All other corpora of law in the Hebrew Bible are found in texts that come from priestly circles: viz. D, P, and Ezekiel.

Both J and E contain a story of the establishment of Bethel (Gen 28:10–22); and both kingdoms, Judah and Israel, had claims and interests in Bethel. J lacks the law codes that are characteristic of priestly texts and shows no explicit signs of composition in such circles. Neither source shows any awareness of the fall of the kingdom of Israel nor of the dispersion of the N tribes, which strongly suggests composition before the fall of Israel in 722 B.C. The very character of the two sources, each fitting one of the two divided kingdoms, likewise points to composition in the period of the division. J's reference to Esau/Edom's breaking Israel's yoke from its shoulder (Gen 27:40) probably places its composition at least after Hadad's rebellion against Solomon or even after Edom's full independence from Judah in the reign of the Judean king Jehoram (849–842 B.C.). E offers few clues to narrow its composition further within the two-century period of division.

The P text contains elements whose historical referents lie in the period following the fall of the kingdom of Israel (722 B.C.) but prior to the fall of the kingdom of Judah (587 B.C.), with particularly significant elements indicative of the reign of the Judean king Hezekiah (715–687 B.C.). The majority of scholarly opinion has held since the latter part of the 19th century that P was composed in the exilic or postexilic period, but several discoveries in recent scholarship call for the preexilic provenance. These include references in other biblical books and, particularly, linguistic classification (see B.7 and B.8 below). The historical referents that indicate a preexilic and probably Hezekian provenance are:

1. The tabernacle. The P narrative spends a disproportionately large amount of space on the tabernacle, also known as the Tent of Meeting. It devotes whole chapters to the record of the tabernacle's

construction and contents, and it sets numerous episodes in the tabernacle's precincts, including the consecration of the priesthood, the deaths of Nadab and Abihu, the theophany in the spies episode, the Korah rebellion, the blossoming of Aaron's rod, the theophany at Meribah, the offense and Phinehas' zeal at Peor, and the dedication of the Midianite spoil. It identifies the tabernacle as the site of the revelation of the entire body of law recorded in Leviticus. The P laws themselves, too, are centrally concerned with the tabernacle. The P legal sections require the presence of the tabernacle for the fulfillment of numerous laws and especially for the practice of sacrifice, which according to P can be carried out nowhere but at the tabernacle (Lev 1:3, 5; 3:2, 8, 13; 4:5–7, 14–18; 6:9, 19, 23; 14:11; 16:1–34; 17:1–9; Num 5:17; 6:10; 19:4). The P legal sections declare repeatedly that execution of these laws at the tabernacle is the rule *forever* (Exod 27:21; 28:43; 30:21; Lev 3:17; 6:11; 10:9; 16:29, 34; 17:7; 24:3, 8; Num 18:23; 19:10).

The tabernacle was long regarded as a fiction in scholarly consensus, but evidence has been collected since the 1940s that the tabernacle was historical. Architectural, scriptural, archaeological, and extrabiblical textual evidence indicate that the tabernacle was housed (either stored or actually erected) in the Temple of Solomon. See TABERNACLE. It probably was destroyed when the temple was burned, at the time of the destruction and exile in 587 B.C. (Ps 74:7; Lam 2:6–7), and it certainly was not present in the Second Temple. Therefore, the interwoven centrality of the tabernacle in P law and narrative, together with the numerous declarations in P that this is the law forever, had to have been written before the Solomonic Temple was destroyed. (The older view, that the tabernacle was a fiction, was conceived to defend the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis that P was a Second-Temple composition. In this view the tabernacle had been invented to symbolize the Second Temple, thus accounting for the absence of any reference to the temple in P. But see other problems with this dating of P below.)

2. The ark, tablets, cherubs, and Urim and Thummim. These sacred objects are also centrally important in P, treated at some length, and directly connected to the tabernacle. They, too, were associated solely with the Temple of Solomon, not with the Second Temple, and therefore are compatible with preexilic interests.
3. Priests and Levites. P alone among the four source works of the Torah calls for hierarchical divisions among the clergy. Both in the P legal sections and in its narrative, this is a pervasive concern. Not all Levites are priests. Only those Levites who are descended from Aaron are priests. All other Levites are second-level clergy. The specific tasks of each group are assigned. According to the explicit report of the book of 2 Chronicles, Hezekiah was the king who established these divisions and assigned these tasks (2 Chr 31:2). The majority view in scholarship has connected the origin of these divisions to a statement by the prophet Ezekiel (44:9–16), but: (a) Ezekiel distinguishes not the Aaronids but only the Zadokite Aaronids from other Levites. (b) There is no evidence that the author(s) of P accepted Ezekiel's visions as legally authoritative. On the contrary, the P model of the tabernacle is structurally incompatible with Ezekiel's vision of the temple. (c) New linguistic evidence indicates that P was composed prior to Ezekiel. (See below.)
4. The house of Aaron. P is exceptionally concerned with the house of Aaron and visibly favors it over other levitical groups, whom P excludes from the priesthood. P places Aaron alongside Moses from the beginning in Exodus, identifies Asron as Moses' older brother, provides for Aaron's consecration and for the consecration of his sons to the priesthood; P depicts the Aaronid succession, including the death of his eldest two sons, his own death, his replacement by his third son Eliezer, and the eternal promise of priesthood through Eliezer's son Phinehas. The other Pentateuchal sources, meanwhile, understand all Levites to be priests. The other biblical work that clearly identifies only Aaronids as priests is the Chronicler's work; and the books of Chronicles praise Hezekiah as foremost among the kings of Israel and Judah. The only other king who compares with Hezekiah according to Chronicles is Solomon, and it was Solomon who first gave the Aaronid priest their exclusive hold on the Jerusalem priesthood. It was Solomon who removed the non-Aaronid priest Abiathar from his shared high priesthood with the Aaronid priest Zadok. That is,

the biblical books that hold the same view of the priesthood as P focus upon the two kings who supported P's priestly distinctions: Solomon and Hezekiah. Since P had to have been written long after Solomon's time (see below) the reign of Hezekiah is the provenance that appears to be reflected in P.

5. P's insistence on centralization of sacrifice also points to the reign of Hezekiah, who, according to both the books of Kings and Chronicles, was the king who initiated centralization. Moreover, his centralization of worship at the Temple in Jerusalem placed all sacrifice under the aegis of the Aaronid priesthood, which had held the leadership in Jerusalem since the reign of Solomon and which Hezekiah further supported. (The other Pentateuchal source text that calls for centralization is D, but D is virtually unanimously recognized by scholars to be associated with the reign of the other centralizing king, Josiah. See below.)
6. Hezekiah is also the king who, according to Chronicles, destroyed the bronze serpent of Moses, known as Nehushtan. The destruction of a sacred object that was strictly associated with Moses (in E, the source that is most favorable to Moses and the most harshly critical of Aaron, Num 21:4b–10) further fits with Hezekiah's support of the Aaronid priests over those Levites who saw themselves as the heirs of Moses rather than of Aaron.
7. The house of Aaron and the house of David. These close connections between the Aaronid priests and the royal house of David, which excelled in the time of Hezekiah, are reflected also in the notice in P that Aaron is married to the sister of Nahshon ben Amminadab, the prince of the tribe of Judah and the ancestor of David (Exod 6:23; Num 2:3; Ruth 4:20–22

The D text contains elements whose historical referents lie in the reign of Josiah, the great-grandson of Hezekiah. These include:

1. The scroll of the *tôrâ.* At the conclusion of the book of Deuteronomy Moses is said to have written a "scroll of the *tôrâ*," a document that is to be placed by the ark for reference at some future time. The book of Joshua then reminds us of the existence of this scroll three times (1:8; 8:31, 34; 23:6). The "scroll of the *tôrâ*" is then never mentioned again in the history until it is reported to have been brought out from the temple and read to King Josiah (2 Kgs 22:8).
2. Centralization of sacrifice. Josiah is then reported to have initiated a religious reform based on the text of the scroll. The components of the Josianic reform conform to the requirements of the Deuteronomic law code (Deuteronomy 12–26), particularly the centralization of religion, which is the first requirement of the code. Josiah destroys all places of worship outside of Jerusalem. It is clear that the Josianic reform is tied to the Deuteronomic law code and not to the P law code, because: (a) there is the explicit connection to Moses' scroll. (b) Josiah destroys the golden calf altar of Jeroboam at Bethel. 2 Kings 23 describes this act with the same terms used in Deuteronomy for Moses' destruction of the golden calf of Aaron, a story which obviously does not appear in the pro-Aaron P text. (c) Josiah's treatment of the Asherah of Jerusalem and other altars likewise reflects specific commands of the D law code.
3. The history of the kings of Israel in the books of Kings, as opposed to the history in the books of Chronicles, is constructed to culminate in the reign and reform of Josiah, the only king who receives a completely positive rating; and this history is written in language that manifestly mirrors the characteristic phraseology of Deuteronomy.
4. Deuteronomy is diametrically opposed to the P view of Israel's priesthood. Deuteronomy makes no distinction between priests and Levites, and it is negative with regard to Aaron. It mentions Aaron only twice, once to say that he died and once to identify him as the maker of the golden calf. It also refers to Miriam's leprosy, an episode in which Aaron is denigrated. Hezekiah's reign is compared by the Chronicler to the reign of Solomon, who favored the Aaronid priesthood, but Josiah's reform includes the destruction of Solomon's altars. Hezekiah destroyed the brass snake Nehushtan of Moses, but Josiah married his son to a woman named Nehushta.
5. There are numerous parallels of wording and action between the characterization of Moses in Deuteronomy and of Josiah in 2 Kings (e.g., the words "none arose like …" are applied only to

these two persons, both grind a golden calf—or its altar—"thin as dust," in both cases at a wadi). In recent scholarship the biblical books of Deuteronomy through 2 Kings have been identified as a continuous work, termed the DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY. The Moses-to-Josiah construction of this work is further made manifest by changes in major themes following the Josiah pericope: the concern with centralization of sacrifice and the comparison of the Judean kings to David cease after this pericope.

6. The Josianic provenance applies to the composition and original promulgation of D as a work. Much of the material within D nonetheless shows signs of having been composed in an earlier period and then included in the Josianic Deuteronomist's work. The core of the Decalog in Deuteronomy 5 and most of the Deuteronomic law code (Deuteronomy 12–26) falls in this group. Elements in the law code whose historical referents lie in an earlier period include: (a) the laws of war in Deuteronomy 20–21. The required assembling and admonishing of the people in these laws reflect the period of general conscription, when the Israelite tribes were summoned to battle. The rise of the monarchy led to replacement of the tribal musters by professional armies. These laws of war, therefore, represent the earliest, i.e., premonarchic, period of Israel's history. (b) The law of the king in Deuteronomy 17 and (c) the laws giving legal jurisdiction to the Levites, too, do not appear to derive from Josiah's court, because they limit or ignore royal prerogatives. They therefore appear to have been older than the Josianic composition but sufficiently authoritative to have been included in it. These laws, as well as others written in the interests of the Levites, indicate composition by Levites. The nonrecognition of Aaronid distinction excludes that group as possible authors of this work. The demand of centralization excludes the Levites of the various high places outside of Jerusalem. The most likely provenance of this work, therefore, is among the Levites of the pre-Jerusalem center of Israelite religion: Shiloh.
7. Also, portions of D (and of the Deuteronomistic History) show signs of having been added to the Josianic edition of the work in a subsequent editorial operation. These portions show signs of having been composed after the destruction and exile of Judah in 587 B.C. They include Deut 4:25–31; 8:19–20; 28:36–37, 63–68; 29:21–27; 30:1–10, 14–20. Each of these passages is identified as an exilic addition by a combination of several factors: terminology, theme, grammar, syntax, literary structure, and comparative data. There is also a thematic commonality among them; all refer to apostasy, destruction, exile, and dispersion. Their wording and themes match with demonstrably exilic portions of the Deuteronomistic History (cf. 1 Kgs 9:6–9; 2 Kgs 21:8–15).

**7. Linguistic Classification.** Since the 1970s, advances in linguistic analysis have made it possible to trace the stages in the development of Hebrew prose to which the source texts each belong (Polzin 1976). Through a series of studies, J and E have been shown to represent the earliest stage of biblical Hebrew prose. P and D (the Deuteronomistic texts) have been shown to represent a later stage than J and E, but a stage with still more in common with the early biblical Hebrew of J and E than with the late biblical Hebrew of postexilic texts. In a separate comparative study (Hurvitz 1982), P was found to represent an earlier stage than the book of the prophet Ezekiel. This linguistic evidence is consistent with the evidence of the historical referents and with the evidence of references in other biblical books. It is a powerful confirmation both of the division into source works and the relative dating of the sources.

**8. Identifiable Relationships Among Sources**. Another factor that contributes to the cumulative force of these bodies of evidence is the presence of signs in sources that reflect their relationship with other sources. These include:

1. P's account follows the chronology and events of the combined J and E. The parallels of persons, events, and order between P and JE are so close as to indicate that J and E were edited together and then were known to and followed by the person(s) who composed P. Consistent differences between P and JE are observable as enumerated above (see B.4 above). This fits with the view that E, the text composed in the N kingdom of Israel, was combined with J, the text from Judah, following the fall of Israel. This further fits with the evidence of P's having been composed in the time of Hezekiah, whose reign in Judah covered the years following the fall of Israel. P's tie with the Aaronid

priesthood explains the motivation for the composition of P in that period. The combination of J and E resulted in a *tôrâ* in Judah that was derogatory toward Aaron—identifying him as the maker of the golden calf—and unacceptable to Jerusalem's Aaronid priests on various other grounds as well. The P account appears to have been composed as an alternative to this work. P follows the order of JE, but it

a. promotes Aaron;
b. denigrates Moses (for striking the rock at Meribah, among other things);
c. leaves out the stories of the golden calf and Aaron's criticism over Moses' wife;
d. eliminates stories of dreams, angels, talking animals, and all references to prophets (except Aaron), thus picturing only the Aaronid priesthood as the channel to the deity;
e. eliminates all references to repentance and divine mercy, thus strictly picturing sacrifice as the means of atonement and forgiveness; and
f. eliminates all depictions of sacrifice prior to the consecration of Aaron and the tabernacle, thus identifying the Aaronid priesthood as the only divinely sanctioned conductors of sacrifice.

In virtually every P story it is possible to identify components that reflect an overall design of composition of P as an alternative work to JE. Thus the differences between the P versions and the JE versions of stories are not only observable but, in nearly every case, explainable. For example, we can explain the fact that in J Noah takes seven pairs of clean (i.e., sacrificeable) animals on the ark while in P he takes only one pair, because in J Noah offers a sacrifice at the end and therefore needs more than one pair of the sacrificeable animals or else his sacrifice would end a species. In P, however, no sacrifices are pictured prior to Aaron, and therefore Noah needs no extra animals. Similarly, we can explain P's addition of Joshua alongside Caleb in the spies story, because P cannot follow JE in establishing the merit of Joshua by his disassociation from the golden calf incident, for P eliminates the golden calf incident since it obviously denigrates Aaron.

2. D begins with Moses' review of the years he has spent with the people on the journey from Sinai. In his speech are references to passages in J, E, and, in one case, P:

a. E.g., Deut 2:26–33; cf. Num 21:21–23 = J.
b. E.g., Deut 9:12–14; cf. Exod 32:7–9 = E.
c. Deut 1:39 ("And your little ones whom you said would be a prey"); cf. Num 14:3, 31 = P.

This is further confirmation that the J, E, and P narratives were composed prior to D. The greater number of references to JE than to P (only one) in Deuteronomy also suggest that D was written in sympathy with the former but with less respect to the latter. This is confirmed by D's inclusion of the E stories that are hostile to P, by D's blatantly opposite view of priests and Levites from that of P, and by D 's reference to the Dathan and Abiram episode without reference to Korah.

**9. References in Other Biblical Books**.

1. In the book of the prophet Jeremiah there are allusions to passages in P. These allusions are found in both the poetic and prose layers of Jeremiah (the poetry usually ascribed to Jeremiah himself and the prose to his contemporary, the scribe Baruch ben Neriah, or to a "Deuteronomistic" biographer). In every case, Jeremiah's allusions to P are negative, reversing P's language and taking an opposite point of view in what are visibly deliberate plays upon P's characteristic language—which is consistent with a virtually universally recognized bond between Jeremiah and the Deuteronomistic texts. The allusions to P in the various layers of Jeremiah are consistent with the linguistic and other evidence for a preexilic date for the composition of P. They also fit with the other signs of the alternative/polemical relationship between P and the non-Aaronid Levitical sources (E and D). A poetic allusion is Jer 4:23:

I looked at the earth, and here it was unformed and void, And to the heavens, and their light was gone.

The allusion to Gen 1:1–3 (P) is patent.

2. A prose allusion is Jer 3:16, "It will be, when you multiply and be fruitful in the land in those days, says Yahweh, that they will no longer say, 'the ark of the covenant of Yahweh,' and it will not come

to mind, and it will not be made anymore." Cf. P's characteristic use of "be fruitful and multiply," and also P's focus on the ark.

3. Jeremiah says in 7:22, "For I did not speak to your fathers and I did not command them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt about matters of offering and sacrifice." Cf. P's wording in Lev 7:37–38.
4. The book of Ezekiel also alludes to passages in P. Biblical scholarship commonly regarded Ezekiel as the source for P, but the linguistic evidence (see B.7 above) has now established the priority of P. Also, the character of the texts in Ezekiel is identifiable as allusive rather than primary. Ezekiel 5–6, for example, is form-critically a genre known as a "covenant lawsuit"; and the covenant text on which the lawsuit is based is found in P. The charge in the covenant litigation in Ezek 5:7 is "You did not walk according to my statutes, and you did not do my judgments." Cf. P in Lev 26:3, 15. The allusions to P in Ezekiel conform with the other evidence for preexilic composition of P. Ezekiel's favorable attitude toward P (as opposed to Jeremiah's) together with his favorable regard for the Aaronid/Zadokite priesthood is also consistent with other evidence that the source texts reflect the positions of opposing priestly houses in ancient Israel.
5. The judgment in Ezekiel's covenant litigation includes in 5:10, "Fathers will eat sons in your midst." This alludes to a passage in P; cf. Lev 26:29.
6. The judgment continues in Ezek 5:17. Cf. P in Lev 26:22, 25. The wordings are clearly related—practically identical.
7. Likewise Ezek 6:3b–6a continues in wording that is based on the wording of P in Lev 26:30, 31a.
8. Ezekiel's criticism of priests in 22:26 is, in the precise wording of P, for their failure to fulfil the requirements of priests as stated in Lev 10:10.
9. Ezekiel's review of the Exodus in Ezekiel 20 also is based on the story in the P version in Exodus 6. (It is clearly a retelling, based on P's telling, and not the reverse.) Ezek 20:28; cf. Exod 6:8. Ezek 20:5; cf. Exod 6:3. Ezek 20:33–34; cf. Exod 6:6. Ezek 20:8; cf. Lev 26:21. Ezek 20:13, 16, 24; cf. Lev 26:43.

**10. Marks of Editorial Work.** There are observable editorial devices in the Torah that further confirm that there were originally separate works that were combined by editors ("redactors"). These evidences of editorial work, together with other evidence enumerated above, also reveal that the combining of J, E, P, and D into the united Torah was accomplished in several stages of redaction.

**a. Epanalepsis** (resumptive repetition). This is an editorial device in which a line is repeated following an insertion of one text into the body of another text. E.g., in Exod 6:12 Moses says, "How will Pharaoh listen to me, when I am uncircumcised of lips?" Then a partial Israelite genealogy that culminates in Aaron's family interrupts the account, followed by a transitional summary of what had been said prior to the interruption, and then Moses says in v 30, "I am uncircumcised of lips, and how will Pharaoh listen to me?" The epanalepsis in this case does not appear to be the author's own resumption after clumsily interrupting himself, but rather it has the character of an editor's mechanism for inserting a text into a preexisting account and then returning to the flow of the account.

**b. Reconciling Phrases.** The combining of texts that were similar but still not identical in their order and location of events inevitably resulted in some inconsistencies. Certain phrases are superfluous to the narrative but make perfect sense as editorial insertions for the purpose of reconciling such inconsistencies. For example, the J and E accounts of Jacob's return from Haran to Canaan picture him arriving at Shechem, then returning to Bethel, where God had appeared to him years earlier. The P account has him coming from Paddan Aram directly to Bethel. The P account of his arrival at Bethel begins, "And God appeared to Jacob when he was coming from Paddan Aram" (Gen 35:9). This makes no sense now that J and E texts precede it stating that Jacob had already returned and dwelled in the land. The redactor (R) therefore added a reconciling phrase to these J and E accounts of Jacob's prior arrival at Shechem, stating, "which was in the land of Canaan when he was coming from Paddan Aram" (33:18b). The Redactor also added the word "again" to the P verse quoted above (35:9), thus rendering the P report of the divine appearance at Bethel an additional theophany to that of E.

**c. Framing Devices.** The originally separate texts are united into a sensible chronological flow by three literary frames. The first is the series of "These are the generations (Heb *tôlĕdōt*) of …" passages, which arrange the book of Genesis in an unbroken chronological flow of the generations from Adam to Joseph. The second is the "Pharaoh hardened his heart" element, which frames the accounts of the plagues, Exodus, and Red Sea events. The third is the series of chronological-geographical notices of the stations of Israel's journey from Egypt to the border of the promised land. Each of these three sets of framing passages derives from a preexisting text. The first is constructed from the "Book of Generations," an originally independent text, now cut and distributed through the book of Genesis. The second is derived from the wording of the P plagues account. And the third is derived from the "List of Stations," another originally independent text, now located in Numbers 33. Each of the three texts from which the editorial frames are constructed has the character of P material. The plagues text is itself part of P, and the other two resemble P in language and data. This indicates that the redactor of the final work favored P.

**d. Texts Attributed to R.** The special relationship between the redactor and P is confirmed by the presence of passages that are similar to P but which are supplemental and which appear to come from a later period, viz. the era of the Second Temple. For example, Num 15:1–31 and Numbers 29–30 have substantial terminology and interests in common with P, but these passages nonetheless duplicate much information that is already given in P. A major difference between these passages and the P texts that they overlap, however, is that the P texts emphasize the required presence of the tabernacle, as noted above, but these passages never mention the tabernacle. This fits with the assignment of these passages to the period of the Second Temple, which unlike its predecessor did not house the tabernacle, cherubs, and ark.

**e. Degree of Completeness of Texts.** When the strands of the interwoven source works are untwisted and separated from one another, neither J nor E can be read as a continuous story. Each is incomplete. However, J and E together, with only P separated from them, do form a nearly complete and continuous narrative. It is this combined narrative that P has been shown to follow. P, as well, when separated from the other sources is a continuous and nearly complete narrative, with only an occasional lacuna. This indicates that J and E were combined in a separate and earlier editorial process and that P was added to them in a subsequent editing. It also indicates that each of the respective editors of these stages had a different set of governing principles and methods. The redactor of JE must have cut substantial portions of each of the sources in order to produce the desired combined work. The redactor who merged JE with P appears to have taken enormous pains to retain as much of the source texts as possible without producing intolerable contradictions and repetitions. This person may well have been responsible for adding D in the same editorial enterprise. The separate stages of the editing of D (the law code, then the Josianic edition, then the exilic edition) would have been completed by the time of this redactor. The joining of D with JEP required little more than moving the accounts of the promotion of Joshua and the death of Moses to the end of Deuteronomy. Since the Torah that Ezra is reported to have read in Jerusalem in the 5th century B.C. appears to have been the complete Torah, including J, E, P, and D, Ezra himself or someone from his circle is a likely candidate to be the redactor of the Torah. Ezra is identified as a scribe, as one who was particularly concerned with the Torah, as an Aaronid priest (hence the sympathy with and similarity to P), and as the first person known to possess a scroll of the complete Torah.

The strength of the identification of the four major sources of the Torah is not any single one of the categories enumerated above. Rather, *it is the convergence of all of these bodies of evidence that is the most powerful argument for this view of the Pentateuch.*

**C. Views of Authorship**

When J, E, and P were joined with D, the report near the conclusion of Deuteronomy that Moses writes "this *tôrâ*" on a scroll was taken by readers thereafter to refer to the entire combined work. From the time of its promulgation under Ezra and Nehemiah, the full Torah was regarded as having been composed by Moses (Ezra 3:2; 7:6; Neh 1:7–9; 8:1, 14; 9:14; 10:30; 13:1).

Mosaic authorship came to be doubted on the basis of anachronisms and conflicts within the text. These problems were first expressed by medieval commentators. They included

1. In the Torah, Moses is spoken of in the third person.

2. The Torah includes an account of Moses' death (Deuteronomy 34).
3. It includes a list of names of Edomite kings who lived after Moses' death (Gen 36:31–39).
4. The text notes that "the Canaanite was then in the land" (Gen 12:6; 13:7). This reflects authorship at a time long after Moses when the Canaanites no longer were the dominant people in the land, with the author informing the audience of a prior state of affairs.
5. Deuteronomy reports that Moses spoke "across the Jordan" (Deut 1:1). This reflects authorship in Israel (i.e., on "this side" of the Jordan) with the author referring to Moses' location in Moab as being "across the Jordan."
6. The Torah reports that Moses "was very humble, more than every human on the face of the earth" (Num 12:3). It is difficult to picture the humblest man on earth writing these words.

The philosophers Hobbes and Spinoza wrote treatments gathering these and other problems into overall analyses of the Pentateuch, in both cases concluding that Moses did not write the Torah. This was followed by the recognition in subsequent works, especially that of R. Simon, that the Torah had to have been composed from sources. H. B. Witter, J. Astruc, and J. G. Eichhorn published the first attempts to distinguish these sources, identifying J and E. A short time later, the text that had been identified as E was itself seen to contain two sources: E and P. Deuteronomy was also recognized as an independent text. The essential identifications of each of these sources were accomplished and widely accepted by the end of the 19th century (though the refinement of these identifications down to each verse has continued to the present time). This work became known as "Higher Criticism." The next stage was the uncovering of the historical background of each source text. W. M. L. DeWette identified D with the "book of the *tôrâ*" from Josiah's reign. With this point as the historical fulcrum, a synthesis of the relative chronology with the historical conditions of major biblical periods was arrived at through Reuss, Graf, Vatke, and Wellhausen *(WPHI).* This synthesis became known as the "Documentary Hypothesis."

The Documentary Hypothesis has remained intact in its essentials, and a substantial body of evidence has been added in support of it, as described in the preceding section. The primary developments have been (a) improved understanding of the historical circumstances and concerns of the authors, (b) improved understanding of the editors and the editorial processes that brought the source texts together, and (c) in very recent scholarship a shift in the dating of P. The Graf-Wellhausen model regarded P as the latest of the sources, belonging to the exilic or postexilic period, and this view has dominated the consensus of scholarship for a century. In 1937, a preexilic provenance of P was proposed by Y. Kaufmann *(KRI*) as an alternative to the Graf-Wellhausen model, but Kaufmann's arguments failed to persuade the majority of biblical scholars in the subsequent period. However, as pointed out above, new data has gradually been assembled to cast serious doubt on the possibility that P was composed so late.

Other alternatives to the Documentary Hypothesis that have been raised thus far have not succeeded in replacing its premises. A number of Scandinavian scholars (particularly I. Engnell) argued that the Torah was not formed out of such specifically identifiable written compositions as J, E, P, and D, but rather was the end product of the merging of numerous orally developed compositions. The converging lines of evidence listed above are not accounted for in such a model.

Attention to oral composition of narrative in general has increased in biblical scholarship. It is not so much an alternative to analysis of the literary composition of the Torah as a separate and potentially complementary enterprise. There is value in attempts to learn something about orally conveyed stories and poems that influenced the authors of the source works or which were themselves those authors' sources. Such study has been necessarily hampered by the obvious difficulty in getting at communications that were made orally three millennia ago, but the growth of this area of concentration is potentially enriching. In any case, the possibility of discoveries in this area is essentially confined to the roots of J and E, not to P, D, or R. The *written* antecedents of P, D, and R (namely JE, the Deuteronomic law code, and the two poems now included in Deuteronomy 32 and 33) are visible and, for the far greater part, are sufficient as sources to account for the present state of these works without hypothesizing unknown orally transmitted sources as well. J, also, is based at least in part on written sources, as the J prose account of the events at the Red Sea in Exodus 14 has been shown to have drawn from the poetic Song of the Sea in

Exodus 15, and the J accounts of at least Jacob's four oldest sons appear to reflect acquaintance with the poetic Blessing of Jacob (Genesis 49).

Some scholars have argued for the relative lateness of J and/or E, or of individual texts that are usually reckoned to J or E (Van Seters 1975; Rendtorff 1977). Some have even questioned the existence of J or especially E as actual source texts. In light of the linguistic evidence for the relatively early dates of these texts, arguments for exilic or postexilic provenances cannot be substantiated. The bodies of evidence of consistent characteristics of these texts, as well as the evidence of historical linkages of each text to respective groups in the divided kingdoms of Israel and Judah, also weigh heavily against arguments for the lateness or nonexistence of J or E. E is frequently characterized as a fragmentary rather than a continuous source. However, this impression appears to be the result of two aspects of the redactor's treatment of E. First, the beginning of E has been eliminated, for the first text that alearly belongs to E does not appear until Genesis 20, and it presumes prior narrative. Second, while J is heavily focused upon the patriarchs and the patriarchal covenant, E is essentially focused on the age of Moses, the Exodus, and Sinai, and it does not even have a patriarchal covenant. As scholars have worked systematically through the Torah beginning with Genesis, the J text has appeared more complete and literarily dominant. Since the divine names are a primary means of separating J from E in Genesis but are less valuable after the name of God is revealed in E in Exodus 3, scholars have tended to ascribe doubtful texts after this point to J and in general to expect J 's completeness and dominance to persist. As the historical referents and other source indications listed above lead to ascribing more text to E, it appears that E is a well-represented source, originally continuous prior to its being combined with J, and that E and J are approximately equal in quantity of text now preserved in the Pentateuch.

The field of biblical studies known as form criticism has often been regarded as an alternative to analysis of the sources and redaction of the Pentateuch, but form criticism has more often been complementary to source criticism, especially in the work of the best known form critical scholar, H. Gunkel. Form-critical analysis endeavors to identify (1) the particular genres of some of the individual units of the work, and (2) the circumstances in which the individual units were produced, particularly aiming to determine the social settings in which the particular genres of literature were composed. When such difficult identifications are possible, they can be helpful contributions to the larger picture being described here. For example, G. von Rad (*PHOE*) endeavored to place the Pentateuchal credo (e.g., Deut 26:5–9) in its *Sitz im Leben* in the history of the religion of Israel and to relate its components to the formation of the larger work (which for von Rad was the Hexateuch rather than just the Pentateuch). G. E. Wright (1962) focused form-critically on the covenant litigation *(rîb)* as a prophetic genre and applied it to the song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32. The recognition of the *rîb* form also contributed to the understanding of the relationship between Ezekiel and P, as discussed above. Most helpfully, G. E. Mendenhall (1955) and K. Baltzer (1971) shed considerable light on Israelite covenant forms, particularly that of the Sinai covenant, through comparative analysis of the suzerainty treaties of the ANE. This was complemented by light shed on the Noahic and Abrahamic covenant forms by M. Weinfeld's comparative analysis of Near Eastern royal grants (1970).

**D. Literary Qualities**

Description, analysis, and appreciation of the literary artistry of the Torah have long been the province of the classroom, while historical, linguistic, and theological matters have dominated published research in the field. But in the 1970s and 1980s more formal scholarly attention to the aesthetic qualities of the Torah has grown substantially. Especially in the wake of E. Auerbach's comparative analysis *(Mimesis)*, there has been attention to the layered quality of Pentateuchal narrative, especially in J and E. The narrative is characterized to a great degree by economy of wording in the foreground depiction of persons, events, and especially dialogue, while being at the same time rich in background—as opposed to Homeric explicit depiction of thoughts and events in the foreground. The Pentateuchal narrative is filled with ambiguities, seemingly intended, which have been fodder for a rich variety of interpretation over centuries. For example, when Abraham tells his servants on the way to sacrifice Isaac, "*We* shall return to you," his wording may be taken as wishful thinking, faith, deception of the servants, deception of Isaac, or

any of a number of other possible explanations. The Torah's narrative is filled with such literary ambiguities, which do not have the appearance of inexpert composition but, quite the contrary, beckon for decipherment and interpretation.

The narrative is characterized by frequent occurrences of irony, particularly in the Jacob and Joseph sequences. For example, Jacob deceives his father regarding his brother Esau by using his brother's garment and the meat and skins of a goat, and subsequently Jacob himself is deceived by his sons regarding their brother Joseph, and they use their brother's garment and the blood of a goat. This pattern of deception and ironic recompense pervades these stories.

There appear to be two classes of character development in the Torah. Most persons, both major and minor figures in the work, are essentially constant personalities. Noah, Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Aaron, and the Pharaoh do not grow and change dramatically from their first appearances in the narrative to their last. However, three figures in the Torah are pictured as changing through the course of events of their lives: Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. Jacob, the aggressive and deceiving youngster, becomes the passive old man. Joseph, the naive teenager who offends his family with his accounts of his dreams, becomes the adult who interprets the dreams of a king and shows understanding and forgiveness to the brothers who injured him. Most complex of all with regard to character development, Moses, who attempts in numerous ways to avoid the commission to free the Israelites, becomes a powerful and enigmatic combination of anger, compassion, discouragement, and optimism through years of functioning at the juncture of the divine and human realms.

Paronomasia is common, especially in J and E, though occasionally in other sources as well. The puns may be etiological, as in the account of Abraham's and Sarah's laughter (Heb *ṣḥq*) in episodes related to the birth of Isaac *(yiṣḥaq);* or they may be artistic bridges between the content and wording of the narrative, as when the golden calf account notes that Aaron had put the people in disarray, which in Hebrew is *pr‘h,* an apparent play on the word Pharaoh, which is consonantally the same.

Perhaps most striking among the literary qualities of the Torah is the extent to which it is both a unity and a collection of small units. The units or episodes are united (a) by common themes (especially covenant), (b) by falling into a chronological flow of generations through history, and (c) by editorial connecting mechanisms (such as the book of generations, and the list of stations of the journey from Sinai to the promised land). The result is that the Torah can be read as individual stories or as a continuous, meaningful narrative with pervasive themes.

**E. Historical Qualities**

Relatively little of the Torah's story can be verified historically. Sufficient evidence from extrabiblical sources and archaeological artifacts is lacking to make judgments for or against historical veracity. For the book of Genesis, the primeval history is barely capable of being considered from the point of view of historicity, given its conception of a finite universe surrounded by water, a talking snake, "sons of God(s)" having relations with human women, a box (ark) containing the whole of animal life, and simultaneous creation of languages. The patriarchal narrative, involving the movements of a single nomadic family across the ANE, is unlikely to find specific verification. None of the patriarchs or their spouses or their children are mentioned in any extrabiblical source. The stories have been recognized to reflect general familiarity with the behavior of some peoples of the general area in the general period of the patriarchs (the first half of the 2d millennium B.C.), but the parallels are relatively few and are unspecific in relation to actual biblical persons and events. Even the best known parallels must be considered cautiously. For example, the case of a husband adopting his wife as a sister in Hurrian texts provides an interesting parallel to the wife/sister stories of Abraham-Sarah and Isaac-Rebekah, but the case has been challenged as being of limited help in forming judgments about how widespread the practice was and about the degree of historicity of the biblical accounts. On the other side, cases of anachronisms in this narrative are pointed out which challenge the historicity of some episodes, a frequently mentioned example being the issue of the domestication of the camel in this early period.

For the Egypt experience and Exodus, too, sources are lacking for either verification or refutation. The period of Hyksos rule in Egypt is frequently cited as providing a suitable setting for the arrival of the

"Israelites" (the Jacob-Joseph migration), followed by enslavement in the period after the expulsion of the Hyksos by a Pharaoh "who did not know Joseph." Even if suitable, the scenario is without evidence pointing to it. The relationship between *ʿapiru* and "Hebrew" slaves continues to be argued, and its value, too, is to identify a possible historical setting for the enslavement, not a specific proof. The Egyptian names associated with Israel's early priesthood (e.g., Moses, Phinehas) argue for the historicity of some Egyptian experience, as does the nature of the tradition itself, i.e., a people would be more likely to invent a story of being descended from gods or kings than from slaves. On the other hand, the specific story of the naming of Moses erroneously takes his name as Hebrew and ascribes to an Egyptian princess a facility with Hebrew etymology.

The relatively extreme apologetics that have been raised to account for the miraculous events of the plagues and Red Sea have been generally groundless speculation—eclipses, red clay, tides, unusual planetary events—and have proven unhelpful to historical scholarship. In the case of the Red Sea events, we can trace the development of the Pentateuchal account from its earliest version, the Song of the Sea, through the J version, to the P version. The Song of the Sea appears to have been a source that the J author used in constructing his account, and J and the Song of the Sea were in turn sources for the P author. We can therefore observe the additions made to the story over a span of centuries. The earliest version has no splitting of the sea and no passage of the Israelites through it. Its poetry has been literalized in the prose of J and expanded in P. The centrality of the event in the early poetry indicates the likelihood of some antecedent historical event involving a redeemed Israelite group and a disaster upon an Egyptian force at some body of water, but reconstruction beyond these limits is precarious. The identification of the body of water as the "Reed" sea is also precarious to the extent that, though it is close to the meaning of *sûp*, it hypothesizes a lake by that name to the N of the western arm of the Red Sea. No lake by that name is known, and the biblical texts clearly understand the event to take place on the body of water known as the Red Sea, for the name *sûp* is applied to the eastern arm of the Sea as well (Num 14:25; 21:4). See also RED SEA.

The specific mountain known as Sinai or Horeb remains unidentified, and no extrabiblical sources have shed light on the events associated with it. The polemical character of the golden calf account in light of the calves of Jeroboam compromises its historicity, as the entire matter of relations among the priestly houses compromises the polemical accounts of Moses and Aaron in E, P, and D. The population figures of the Israelites in these accounts are routinely questioned as geographically impossible. Even the depiction of all of the tribes of Israel sharing the Egyptian and wilderness experience is subject to doubt. The identification of Moses' father-in-law as a Midianite priest in both of the earliest sources (J and E), as well as the anti-Midianite polemic of P, keep the Midianite or Kenite hypothesis recurrent and viable in scholarship.

In sum, one can speak of an historical core of persons and events in the patriarchal and Mosaic ages as recounted in these books, with historical certainty diminishing as one focuses with ever more specificity on individual actions and details in the narrative.

**F. Theological Qualities**

The Torah does not develop a systematic theology, neither in the work as a whole nor in any of the component works. Theological matters are conveyed through stories and laws, not through expressed speculation. The deity in the Torah is a God who acts and a God who speaks but is at the same time essentially a hidden God. He is known through his actions in history. He reveals aspects of his personality in words, e.g., "merciful and gracious, long-forbearing and abundant in faithfulness and truth" (Exod 34:6). But Yahweh's essence remains unknown, as do his ultimate purposes.

The Torah is monotheistic. It pictures Yahweh as sole creator of the universe. It does not personify natural forces as deities. There are occasional uncertainties in its language, as in the first commandment according to J, P, and D, which forbids worshipping other gods. This wording is taken by some to mean that the existence of other gods is allowed for, but it is equally explainable as reflecting qualities of the language itself, i.e., it is simply in the nature of language that it is difficult to formulate a command to be monotheistic without referring to the deities who are excluded. Similarly, the reference in the Exodus

account to Yahweh's rendering judgments on the gods of Egypt does not necessarily mean that the author imagined such deities as existing. The short story of the "sons of God(s)" in Genesis 6 seems to be a very likely exception to the Torah's monotheism, better recognized and left open to further analysis than denied or interpreted away. The matter of angels is more complicated, as it is not entirely clear what each author (of J and E, not P or D) pictures. The accounts in Genesis 18–19 (J) and 32:25–33 (E) both picture a man seeing an angel but speaking as if he has dealt directly with God. It is therefore unclear to what extent an angel is conceived of as an independent being or what its powers are, and so one cannot say that angels as depicted in the Torah are incompatible with monotheism. See also ANGELS.

All of the Pentateuchal sources depict the deity as male, with a masculine name, spoken of in masculine grammatical terms. Even this is enigmatic, nonetheless, because no female consort is conceived of for Yahweh in these books, and the worship of a goddess in various forms is forbidden (Exod 34:13; Deut 7:5; 12:3; 16:21), and so the masculinity of the deity where there is no feminine in existence is of uncertain meaning at best.

Partly as a result of the combination of the sources and partly as a result of the nature of the religion of Israel, the Torah pictures the deity possessing paradoxical combinations of qualities. Yahweh is both the God of the universe and a personal God, both the creator of the heavens and earth and the God who takes a personal interest in individuals and families. Similarly, Yahweh is both just and merciful, angry and forgiving; and the tension between these two conflicting divine attributes pervades the narrative of the divine-human relations.

The relationship between Yahweh and humans is conceived in the Torah in terms of covenant. The similarity of the three Pentateuchal covenants—Noahic, Abrahamic, Israelite—to ANE treaty and grant documents indicates that divine-human relations were conceived of in legal, contractual terms. The deity is pictured as entering into a defined relationship with humans, with expectations from each of the parties. The entire Pentateuchal law and most of the biblical narrative are bound to this covenant relationship.

**G. Conclusion**

The Torah is the core work of the Bible. It is a work of impressive literary artistry in its broad scope and in its small component stories. It possesses artistry of form and depth of content, housing the ideas and values of a people over centuries. Not the work of any one person, it reflects a rare event in literary history, a literary partnership in which the works of many individuals were brought together into a meaningful whole that is more than the sum of its parts. The Torah is quintessentially a work of combination. It is a single work, a collection of five books, and an editorially brilliant merging of sources. It combines history and literature. It merges prose, poetry, and law. It is concerned with God, with humankind, and with a few individuals. It contains stories of individual bonds and conflicts within families, and it recounts events involving nations. "The generations of the heavens and the earth," it sets a record of human history against a cosmic background and relates it to the divine presence.

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**TOU** (PERSON) [Heb *tōʿû* (תֹּעוּ)]. See TOI (PERSON).

**TOUBIANI** [Gk *Toubianoi* (Τουβιανοι)]. A group of Jews Judas Maccabeus encountered (2 Macc 12:17) in his search for an opponent named Timothy, whose identity is unclear, since the Ammonite Timothy (against whom Judas had fought several times) was reported killed in 2 Macc 10:37. The author of 2 Maccabees had Judas make a futile 95-mile journey from the region of Caspin (or Chaspho) and then return to attack Timothy at Carnaim, near Chaspho. Goldstein (*2 Maccabees* AB, 440) points out the unlikelihood of this sequence of events.

Who, then, are the Toubiani? Scholars usually assume that they are related to the people of Tob (Gk *toubion*), Gileadite Jews slaughtered en masse by their gentile neighbors (1 Macc 5:13). See TOB (PLACE). Goldstein (ibid., 439–40) argues that the Toubiani (or Tubiakenoi as he thinks the name should be spelled) designated Tobiad troops relocated from their original station S of the Jabbok after the surrender (but not total annihilation) mentioned in 1 Macc 5:13. While one cannot rule out the possibility that the groups were related but not identical, Goldstein's suggestion probably points in the right direction, even if his textual reading is not certain. He also argues that they were stationed in a "palisaded camp" (Gk *charaka*), not in "Charax" (or Dathema). Since the location of Dathema and its relationship to Charax remain debated, one can do no more than conclude that the location of the Toubiani must remain open, though it likely lay in Gilead, not 95 miles S.

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**TOWERS.** The term tower, as it is used in biblical, historical, and archaeological literature pertaining to the Near East, describes structures with a wide array of functions.

In the OT the Hebrew word most commonly translated as "tower" is *migdāl.* In Greek the word is *purgos,* and in Arabic *būrj.* The Arabic word *rujm* can refer to a tower, tumulus, or stone cairn. In some cases *migdāl* occurs as part of a place-name or is used in an allegorical sense; in most cases it refers to specific stone or brick structures in both towns and rural settings.

Circular or square stone structures, often less than 8 m in diameter, are scattered over huge expanses of Palestine, the Transjordanian highlands, and N Arabia. Long before recent intensive surveys began to record such sites by the hundreds, archaeologists and travelers had noticed that towerlike structures, some apparently ancient, dotted the landscape. These observers offered a wide array of possible interpretations for the structures' functions.

Archaeologists have commonly interpreted these as military watchtowers or signal stations, and many of them could indeed have had this function. Others may well be agricultural outbuildings, storage caches, farmhouses, field clearances, route markers, funerary *tumuli,* or memorial stone heaps.

**A. Agricultural Field Buildings, Farm Houses, and Field Clearances.**

Modern examples suggest that the most common function for isolated rural towers was agricultural. Like the field towers of modern Palestine, towers mentioned in biblical texts were closely associated with fields, orchards, vineyards, and winepresses (Isa 5:2; 2 Chr 26:10; Mark 12:1; Matt 21:33). In this context an alternative to a "tower" was often a "hut" or "booth" (Heb *sukkâ;* Isa 1:8).

The most common function of these towers may have been to store agricultural equipment and produce, to provide a lookout for farmers protecting their crops from thieves or animals, to house farmers temporarily while they worked in fields at a distance from their home villages, and only incidentally to hide villagers during times of social conflict (Applebaum et al. 1978: 95–97; Dalman 1935: 317–18; Doughty 1936: 329). Agricultural outbuildings, including watchtowers and corbeled huts, are still common in Palestine and other parts of the Mediterranean basin.

Many small towers on the Transjordanian plateau show no sign of having had doorways. A common type is a circle 3–4 m in diameter with a single crosswall covered by stone slabs to create a platform about a meter above the present surface. Possibly these are the foundations of grain silos or drying platforms. In

ancient Palestine, as in Egypt, silos were typically beehivelike structures, circular in plan, with domed ceilings and with interior crosswalls to raise the floor above the damp ground and to deny access to rodents (Currid 1985). Unfortunately, biblical references to silos or barns (Deut 28:8; Prov 3:10; Jer 50:26; Joel 1:17; Hag 2:19; Matt 3:12; 13:30; Luke 12:16–18) are not informative of their shape or construction, and at present we cannot ascribe this function to any of the ancient towers.

Some small rural towers probably had pastoral functions. Towers allowed shepherds to watch over their flocks and herds (2 Chr 26:10). In the past, nomadic herders may also have employed towers along their migration routes (as their modern counterparts use stone cairns) as storage caches (Doughty 1936: 323; Evenari et al. 1958, pl. 48b; Hole 1978: 153). These caches of food or valuables permit modern bedouin on the march to retrieve goods they are unable to carry. An inscription, probably dating to the 3d century A.D., attests to use of one round tower in N Arabia as a storehouse (Winnett and Reed 1973: 56).

In many stony parts of the world, massive stone "towers" are simply houses. In the Palestinian hills, stone is not only the most readily available building material, but sometimes occurs in natural blocks that require no dressing (Glueck 1939: 167). We see examples of isolated stone houses, which some of the towers in Palestine and Transjordan could resemble, throughout the Mediterranean basin. The best examples are the *trulli* and *caselle* of S Italy, with their corbeled, conical domes of stone. *Chipuro,* one of the traditional Italian words for *trullo,* has a Greek origin meaning "guardian of the cultivated field" (Branch 1966: 96), and may once have referred to outbuildings.

The most common stone *tumuli* in Palestine are simple stone heaps. Some of these could be ruined towers, but in agricultural areas most are surely repositories of stones cleared from the fields (Isa 5:2; Doughty 1936: 61; Ron 1966: 48–49). A low wall ringing the stone heap prevented dispersal of stones.

**B. Route Markers, Tombs, and Memorials**

Both stone heaps and towers sometimes served to mark roads in the desert. The usual biblical word for these heaps was *siyun.* In Jer 31:21 the "waymarks" mark the route of exile. In Arabic, *ʿalam* is a cairn used to mark the road for travelers and caravans (Doughty 1936: 96, 117, 403, 478; Oxtoby 1968: 33–34). Such waymarkers are necessary where there is only an indistinct track across the desert. They also serve to mark the locations of wells and pilgrim stations along the way. Usually they are simple heaps of stones, somewhat conical in shape, and 3–4 m in height.

Stone cairns often served as burial monuments (Gen 35:20; Isa 65:4; 2 Kgs 23:17; Ezek 39:15). Arab *rijjūm* likewise served as bedouin burial places (Doughty 1936). Cairns called *mantār* in Arabic were the "hasty graves of buried pilgrim 'witnesses' " (Doughty 1936: 117). Pre-Islamic burial cairns commonly exhibit Safaitic or Thamudic inscriptions (Harding 1953). Most are simple heaps of stones the living could go to slaughter sacrifices to the deceased, to pray, or to weep (Doughty 1936: 282). Some large *rijjūm* with central cists, and beehive-shaped structures in Sinai called *namūs* (pl. *nawamīs*), appear to have been barrows and tombs, some dating as early as the 4th millennium B.C. (Doughty 1936: 431–32). Some large earth-covered *tumuli,* similar in form to those of Thessaly and Anatolia, appear to be early Iron Age funerary monuments (Albright 1923; Amiran 1958).

Many *rijjum* apparently mark places where passersby threw stones to honor a deceased person, to mark the site of a battle, or for some other ideological reason (Buckingham 1825: 157; Hill 1891: 263; Hole 1978: 154–55; Lawrence 1926: 79). A number of biblical words for monuments could refer to such cairns (2 Kgs 23:17; 1 Sam 15:12; 2 Sam 18:18; 1 Chr 18:3; Isa 56:5).

**C. Defensive Towers**

A common interpretation of stone towers is that they were part of a military defense and communications system (e.g., Gese 1958; Hentschke 1960). In biblical passages towers are often isolated outposts where guards could watch for the approach of enemies (2 Kgs 17:9; 2 Chr 14:7; 20:24; 26:9; Isa 21:12). A less formalized military function for any *rujm* with a good view of the countryside was to permit herders or scouts to watch for the approach of enemy riders without fear of showing their silhouettes on the horizon (Musil 1927: 88–89, 138, 221).

Some towers served as fire signals in a chain of communication stations. Pre-Islamic poetry occasionally refers to cairns that are "surmounted by a beacon fire" (ar-Rashid 1980: 147), and the Arabic

word for cairn *(ʿalam)* sometimes referred to a lighthouse or fire signal *(al-mantār).* Frontinus (1st century A.D.) noted that ancient Arabs employed smoke and fire signals to communicate enemy troop movements (*Strategemata* 2.5.16). From biblical through Ottoman times some towers served as police posts along roads (Burckhardt 1829: 60, 109, 129; Doughty 1936: 556–57).

*Migdāl* sometimes refers clearly to towers in the fortifications of a town or city (2 Kgs 14:7; 17:9; 2 Chr 14:6; 26:9, 15; Neh 3:1), to a stronghold within a town (Judg 9:51), or to isolated fortresses (2 Chr 27:4), also known by the word *mĕṣād* (1 Sam 23:14, 19, 29; Jer 48:41). Archaeologists have identified small hilltop forts built during the Iron Age in Palestine, the Negeb, and Sinai that may have numbered among the last (Mazar 1982). Later functional equivalents of these forts are probably the Roman *castella* (e.g., *ʿEn Boqeq,* Gichon 1973), usually small square forts with corner towers.

Other military terms in the biblical texts to describe towers include *bahin,* "siege tower" (Isa 23:13); *pinnâ,* "battlement" (Zeph 1:16; 3:6); and *miśgab,* "stronghold" (2 Sam 22:3; Ps 18:2).

**D. Place Names and Temple Towers**

The word *migdāl* occurred in many biblical place names that may refer to fortresses, fortified towns, or towns dominated by a towered temple (e.g., *Migdol,* Ezek 29:10; 30:6; *Migdal-Shechem,* Judg 9:46–49; *Migdal-Eder,* Gen 35:21; *Migdal-el,* Josh 19:38; *Migdal-gad,* Josh 15:37). Among the former we should probably include one or more fortresses along the border of Egypt and many fortified Asiatic settlements that appear in art of the Egyptian New Kingdom.

A number of towns with names incorporating the word *migdāl* may owe their names to temples that were their principal landmarks during the MB and LB ages. Prominent temples with thick walls and a pair of towers flanking the doorway have appeared in excavations at Shechem and several other sites in Palestine. While modern archaeologists often label some of these buildings "migdal temples," they are not necessarily the ones that ancient Hebrews meant by *migdāl.* Only the *Migdal-Shechem* has good support from both biblical and archaeological evidence (Wright 1965: 123–28).

The "tower of Babel" (Gen 11:4–5) probably represents another case where *migdāl* refers to a temple. There is little doubt that the account recalls the ziggurat temples of Babylonia. See BABEL (PLACE).

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**TOWN CLERK.** See CITY AUTHORITIES.

**TRACHONITIS** (PLACE) [Gk *Trachōnitis* (Τραχωνιτις)]. A region in the N Transjordan over which Herod Philip was tetrarch (Luke 3:1). In pre-Hellenistic times the region of Trachonitis was a part of the area known as Bashan. See BASHAN (PLACE). This region in the S part of modern Syria is also known as the Hauran.

This region was an administrative district characterized by its unique topography. The name Trachonitis has its etymological origins in the term Trachones, meaning "rough rocky areas." Strabo first uses this term to describe two areas in Syria (16.2.16–20). In S Syria, el-Leja and es-Safa fit this topographical description. These two largest black basalt lava flows cover hundreds of square miles and stand as much as fifty feet above the surrounding plain. The rocky area of es-Safa is quite inhospitable, and has not eroded to form any significant topsoil for vegetation to grow in. El-Leja, located closer to Damascus and the better-watered regions nearer the Mediterranean, is not as inhospitable as es-Safa. This lava flow issued from volcanoes of the Jebel Druze and flowed NW. In places, there are springs and sufficient topsoil in which to grow crops where eroded material has washed into depressions. This rugged country was the home of a sparse population of which little is known prior to the Greeks. The Ptolemaic administrative district of Trachonitis was one of three located NE of the Yarmuk River. This district included the Leja and the rugged plains around it. In the first century A.D., Josephus describes the boundaries of Trachonitis as being adjacent to Paneas at the base of Mt. Hermon in the NW, Gaulanitis in the W, Batanaea and Auranitis in the S, and the N boundary lying 25 miles S of Damascus (*Ant* 15.344ff).

Nabatean Arabs and other Arabs increasingly occupied the area while it was considered to be under Ptolemaic control. Nabatean inscriptions begin to appear in the area ca. 100 B.C. and continue through the time that the Romans incorporated the region into the province of Arabia. The Romans claimed control of the area under Pompey in 64 B.C., but held rather tenuous control through client rulers. Zenodorus ruled much of the area E of the Sea of Galilee ca. 30 B.C., including Trachonitis, following the settlement of Octavian. Under the rule of Zenodorus, and apparently with his encouragement, the people of the area raided the Damascenes and disrupted the S trade routes into the city. They then made their escape into their rugged homeland, avoiding reprisals. Caesar Augustus responded to this disruption of the peace by assigning his loyal and powerful client-king, Herod the Great, the task of controlling these peoples. Herod, in ca. 23 B.C., added Trachonitis to the territory he controlled. According to Josephus, *razias* (raids) were considered necessary for survival among the inhabitants of the region. In order to reduce the Trachonians' need to raid others in order to survive, Herod promoted agriculture and eventually settled a colony of 3,000 Idumeans in the area (ca. 12 B.C.). Nearby, he also settled a military colony of Jews from Babylonia at Bathyra in Batanaea to help maintain the *Pax Romana.* Nonetheless, in 9 B.C., while Herod was away in Rome patching up relations with his oldest sons, the people of Trachonitis rose in revolt and had to be violently suppressed. When Herod the Great died in 4 B.C., his territory E of the Sea of Galilee was bequeathed to Herod Philip (*Ant* 17.319). Philip was affirmed as tetrarch of this region, including Trachonitis, by Augustus. Philip's realm was occupied by a mixed population of Jews, Syrians, and Arabs (*JW* 3.58). His reign was mild and peaceful, and he promoted a prosperous province loyal to Rome until his death in A.D. 34 (Strabo 16.2.20). Philo (*Gaium*, 41) used the term Trachonitis to refer to all of Philip's realm, but this usage is not adopted by Josephus or other ancient authors.

Upon Philip's death, control of Trachonitis temporarily reverted to the governor of Syria while a successor was chosen (*Ant* 18.106). In A.D. 38, Gaius Caligula granted control of Trachonitis and the

surrounding districts to Agrippa I, the grandson of Herod the Great. He followed Philip's example of maintaining peace in the area until his death in A.D. 44. Trachonitis once again reverted to the supervision of the governor of Syria until Agrippa II was old enough to follow in his family's footsteps as a loyal Roman client-ruler in A.D. 53. Under Agrippa II, the office of general of the nomads helped to maintain peaceful relations in the arid regions between nomads and sedentary agriculturalists. Agrippa II continued to control Trachonitis after the Jewish revolt, until ca. A.D. 98. The region of Trachonitis was then absorbed into the province of Syria until A.D. 295, when it became a part of the province of Arabia. Trachonitis reached the apogee of its prosperity in the early years of the 2d century A.D. Evidence of the settlement of the region is seen in the impressive basalt buildings that remain, similar to those of Bosra and Umm el-Jimmal. Early churches of this area are similarly built. Important archaeological sites in Trachonitis include Si and Qanawat. Philip the Arab, who became emperor of Rome in the mid-3d century, came from Shahba, a city of Trachonitis on the W slopes of Jebel Druze. Early archaeological surveys of the region were conducted by numerous travelers, such as Gotleib Schumacher. The most thorough recent work is that conducted by J.-M. Dentzer.

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**TRADE AND COMMERCE.** Trade is the exchange of goods, especially the buying and selling of commodities. Commerce connotes trade on a larger scale involving transportation of the goods between places. This entry consists of two articles that survey trade and commerce in the biblical world of the ANE and E Mediterranean: the first focuses on the pre-Hellenistic ANE, and the second focuses on the period of the Roman empire.

## *ANCIENT NEAR EAST*

A. Meaning of Trade
1. Money
2. Markets
3. Resources and Needs
B. Trade in the 3d and 2d Millennia B.C.E.
1. Early Trade
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3. Importing Mesopotamian Luxury Goods
4. Old Assyrian Trade
5. Amarna Age Trade
6. Ugaritic Trade
C. Trade in the 1st Millennium B.C.E.
1. Phoenician Trade
2. Solomon's Trade
3. Desert Trade
4. Urban Trade in Mid-Millennium
D. Attitudes Toward Trade

### A. Meaning of Trade

Anthropologists suggest that trade is a mechanism by which new ideas diffuse among cultures, and it has the advantage for modern students of sometimes leaving traces in the archaeological record. The ancients participated in trade in order to supplement the goods that were available in their immediate environment, and most probably they did so in order to pursue economic gain in a broad sense (Adams 1974). Though trade contact is frequently an attractive hypothesis for scholars trying to explain change in

ancient societies, it does not seem that what we would regard as international trade is really very important economically in terms of volume of goods exchanged or the value of the goods (Leemans 1977). Most ANE economies were creating many more goods and services at home than they were importing.

It is not always easy to distinguish trade from robbery on the one hand and diplomacy on the other. Vagabonds who used force to wrench goods from travelers might be sanctioned by some prince, while tribute paid by a weak king to a great one might be an effort to prevent robbery. Also, diplomats represented the presents they delivered as freewill gifts, but they fully expected them to be matched by the receiver. Though there is much ANE evidence for calmer, more day-to-day exchanges, goods changed hands in all these situations.

**1. Money.** In early periods, silver was widely used as a form of money, supplemented in Mesopotamia by grain and sometimes other staples. In the Middle Babylonian period (1360–1155 B.C.E.), gold appears to have been the standard of value (Edzard 1960). Decisions about what monies to use probably were not made by the governments involved but evolved slowly over time from custom and the availability of the precious goods that constituted the standard. Coinage did not arise until the middle of the first millennium B.C.E. in Asia Minor, but before that time small bits of silver were broken off and weighed for each transaction (Eilers 1957).

**2. Markets.** There is controversy about the existence of markets in the ANE, which derives from Herodotus' reported statement of Cyrus' that implies that the Persians have no markets, or rather, no places for cheating other people, as the Greeks did (Hdt. 1.153). But recent study suggests that although Near Eastern cities usually do not have large open places within them, they do have price-setting markets which may have come together at city gates or more informally on the outskirts of towns (Röllig 1976; cf. 2 Kgs 7:1). The quay, Akk *kārum,* was frequently a focus of trade, since it was where foreign goods were first unloaded and sold.

Market conditions in Egypt are harder to gauge, because so few cities have been excavated. But there is an important theory that argues that the unification of the Egyptian state around 3100 B.C.E. occurred as a response to the interest of people from Mesopotamia in the gold deposits in Egypt's E desert. The rulers of nomes or counties in S Egypt may have believed that they needed to control the whole river in order to ensure that others would not be able to deprive them of access to the gold finds. We see in the Gerzean and Early Dynastic periods in Egypt, about 3500 to 2686 B.C.E., artistic affinities to Mesopotamia that may point to the existence and importance of this trade, though those affinities die out after the first two Egyptian dynasties (Trigger 1983: 31–33, 37–40, 60).

**3. Resources and Needs.** Mesopotamia is poor in mineral resources but in antiquity was rich in agricultural products. Its exports probably are mostly invisible to us now, because wool and grain decay (Crawford 1973). The rivers and canals of the region made transportation cheap, though, and it is likely that even bulky goods could be moved some distance from their place of production.

Mesopotamia imported precious and semiprecious stones from the E, notably lapis lazuli, a blue stone which comes from Baluchistan in Afghanistan and was beloved for cylinder seals and pendants. Also, woods of various kinds were imported, usually from the Iranian mountains, and sometimes from the W, including Lebanon. The origin of the tin that was alloyed with copper to make bronze in Mesopotamia is still unclear, but tin usually reached Mesopotamia from the E, implying sources in Iran, while the copper may have come from Asia Minor and up the Persian Gulf (Muhly 1973).

Syria and Palestine are relatively poor in mineral resources and probably imported most semiprecious stones from Asia Minor and elsewhere. The ivory in which reliefs were carved may have come from local elephants; we have references to them from as recently as the 8th century B.C.E. Timber was available from stands in what is now Lebanon, which were important in Solomon's building efforts (1 Kgs 5). It is clear that most of the Near East at one time or another turned to these stands for lumber, termed in the Bible the "cedars of Lebanon," a symbol of strength, as in Judg 9:15 and Isa 2:13. Over the course of the millennia the stands were not replenished except by natural processes, which eventually were insufficient to keep up with demand (Klengel 1967).

Egypt, like Mesopotamia, is itself poor in mineral resources, but it is near gold deposits in its E desert and the sources of other exotic products in sub-Saharan Africa. Egyptians were probably dependent upon resinous products in Syria for some of their embalming needs.

Along with trade in material goods, there was doubtless early trade in human beings. Although slavery did not supply a major portion of the labor force in any ANE society, the writing of the word for slave in Sumerian indicates that Mesopotamians thought of slaves as men originally coming from foreign lands.

**B. Trade in the 3d and 2d Millennia B.C.E.**

**1. Early Trade.** Trade is early attested in the Near East by obsidian blades found in Neolithic village sites; obsidian, a glass formed in volcanoes, was valued for knives and was available from the mountains in what is now Turkey. The trade in obsidian may have been one in which people in one village sent the item on to those in another; it may not have involved any big investment in time on anyone's part. Çatal Hüyük in S Turkey was a center for the trade in obsidian in the 6th millennium B.C.E. The trade may have been important in offering a familiar highway for the exchange of information about the domestication of plants and animals. Already in the Ubaid Period in S Mesopotamia, about 5500–3500 B.C.E., there are bits of lapis lazuli, showing some sort of contact with the E (*RLA* 4: 77).

Egypt had a close relationship with the town of Byblos on the Lebanese coast from Early Dynastic times, 3100–2868 B.C.E. Fancy Egyptian objects are found there, and the interest for the Egyptians was the timber that the hinterland of Byblos produced. One may assume that this contact was largely by sea, and it continued whenever Egypt was unified and powerful (*CAH* 1/2: 343–51).

Ebla in N Syria (2400–2200 B.C.E.) shows a lively trade with the E, but there is also a cartouche, an oval ornamental frame with the sovereign's name, of Pepy II of Egypt (about 2200 B.C.E.), indicating connections with Egypt. The city of Mari down the Euphrates appears frequently in the Ebla texts, and there are indications that Ebla may have dominated Mari economically (Archi 1981: 154; Pettinato 1977).

**2. Persian Gulf Trade.** From the OAkk period (2334–2193 B.C.E.), there are indications that there was a seaborne trade between the Indus Valley civilization and Mesopotamia through the Persian Gulf and also probably an overland trade through what is now Iran. The remains of the trade are curiously one-sided; Indian seals are found in Mesopotamia, but nothing much Mesopotamian is found in India. In Mesopotamian texts there is mention of two ports or regions from which exotic goods were to be imported called Magan and Meluhha. Various identifications have been proposed, but it appears that in early periods these places are to be sought along the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean (During-Caspers 1972). But in the 1st millennium B.C.E., it is clear that Magan and Meluhha refer to Egypt and Sudan (*RGTC* 5: 182).

In the OB period (2004–1595 B.C.E.), we can trace the activities of seafaring merchants from Ur, the southernmost important Mesopotamian city. They ventured out to an island called Dilmun, which was probably Failaka near Kuwait or maybe Bahrain further down the gulf. There the merchants went with textiles to trade for copper (Oppenheim 1954). In the Middle Babylonian period (1360–1155 B.C.E.), the Persian Gulf trade picks up again, and there are letters from Dilmun in the Persian Gulf found at Nippur in central Mesopotamia (*RLA* 4: 87; *RGTC* 5: 182, 195, 261).

**3. Importing Mesopotamian Luxury Goods.** The trade in precious items can be followed through several centuries in administrative documents from S Mesopotamia, especially the city of Umma, which may have been in a good position to be a transshipment point for goods coming down from the Iranian hills. In the OAkk period (2334–2193 B.C.E.), we have texts that show that some of this trade was in the hands of merchants who may have worked as acquisitions agents for the government, but who also may have had commissions from individuals to buy goods. We cannot tell from the texts if these merchants traveled, but someone must have traveled and brought foreign goods to markets in Umma, since they are available there (Foster 1977).

A continuation of this trade can be seen in the series of texts from the Ur III period (2112–2004 B.C.E.) which record, along with a great many goods that were locally produced, many that came from abroad. The interesting thing about these texts is that they recorded the prices of everything purchased in weights of silver. They also recorded the prices of all the goods that were regarded as capital; that is, goods that

were sold to get silver to pay for the acquisitions. This is the world's earliest price series, and over the 15 years that it covers, it shows that this part of the S Mesopotamian economy experienced remarkable economic stability.

The capital that the Umma merchants were given, usually by city government officials, included silver, fish, leather products, grains, wools, and occasionally dates. The merchants acquired alkalies, bitumens and gypsums, fruits, metals, oils, reed, resins and spices, tanning agents, timber, and vegetables, and less frequently they received wools and grains. The metals bought included lead, gold, and copper (Snell 1977; 1982: 114–81, 208–16).

The fact that the texts recorded prices shows explicitly that the government did not control all aspects of the economy and had to spend its capital to get the goods it needed. Though collections of legal instances, like Hammurapi's so-called code, sometimes include lists of prices, there is no evidence that these tariffs were ever enforced; like the other stipulations in the legal texts, the price lists are probably meant only to show what was regarded as a fair and just price for commodities and services (Snell 1982: 204–7).

Though the merchants in the Ur III Umma texts probably worked for the state, they may also have had private commissions. The status of the merchants themselves is not known, but it is probably wrong to draw a clear official-private dichotomy in the ancient world. We would not have these texts if the merchants had not been supplying government bureaus (Snell 1982; 1988).

Similar long-distance trade interests can be traced in texts from the OB period (2004–1595 B.C.E.). Precious stones and metals, perfumes, and drugs were the most important things imported in the period, and Mesopotamia continued to export produce, leather, and oils, and to transship tin. There is evidence of these kinds of activities in several OB cities, including Ur, Larsa, Sippar, and Babylon; up the Euphrates near what is now the Syrian-Iraqi border, the city of Mari was an important center for importing tin and copper. It is likely that the last king of Larsa, Rim-Sin (1822–1763 B.C.E.), suppressed the trade or at least stepped up control in the latter years of his reign (Leemans 1950; 1960).

Again in the NB period (627–539 B.C.E.), there was a similar network of trade operating (Oppenheim 1967). Goods imported included copper, dye, tin, lapis lazuli, alum from Egypt, iron from Lebanon and from Ionia *(Yamana),* honey, wine, resins, and, oddly enough, wool (perhaps really cotton or even silk) and linen. The goods may have been brought down the Euphrates from Carchemish, and the few relevant texts come from Uruk in S Mesopotamia. The merchants who bought the goods were working not only for temples but also for private individuals. The capital goods for these operations were those that Mesopotamia produced in abundance—grain and wool.

**4. Old Assyrian Trade.** The best documented trade is that of the Old Assyrian period. Merchants from the N Mesopotamian city of Assur imported tin, probably from Iran, and transshipped it to Asia Minor, where locals combined the tin with copper to make bronze. The merchants also exported textiles from Mesopotamia and came back with copper and also huge profits in gold, sometimes as much as 100 percent on a single trip, which took a couple of months. We know about the trade because of large caches of cuneiform texts consisting of more than 16,000 documents that were kept by the leading merchants who lived in Asia Minor. The merchants may have intended eventually to return home, but their livelihood depended on the Asia Minor trade. Many intermarried with the locals, and all depended on the protection of local magnates to do their business (Garelli 1963; Larsen 1967; Veenhof 1972).

The trade was organized by a group of merchants who called themselves the *kārum,* "the quay" par excellence. Money was accumulated in the Assyrian capital, Assur, from investors. It was entrusted to a traveling agent, who received one third of the profit. The agent carried his capital in a sack as he moved his goods by donkey to Anatolia, usually to Kaneš, the most important Anatolian trade center. Note the association of sacks (Heb *ṣĕrōr*) and merchant ventures in Prov 7:20.

The Old Assyrian trade lasted from about 1900 to about 1820 B.C.E., and we can trace three generations of families involved in it; the trade was later resumed for a generation between about 1780 and 1730 B.C.E. The texts are dated in the Assyrian system of naming the year after an official; we have more than 80 such dates, but we do not know the order of the officials (*RLA* 4: 92). Still, the texts give fascinating glimpses of life in the Assyrian enclaves and of the complexities of dealing with the locals. Native princes

wanted to collect tolls and custom duties from the merchants, and merchants preferred when possible not to pay. Consequently, smuggling was an art that was sometimes profitable (Veenhof 1972: 305–42). Apparently the trade shut down because it became unprofitable and not particularly because of the arrival of new ethnic groups, including the Hittites.

We are very poorly informed about trade in areas controlled by Hittite kings, because there are few relevant archival texts. But the Hittites certainly had merchants, as we see in a fragmentary text in epic style that sketches some of their activities. The text is from the period of the Hittite Empire, 1380–1215 B.C.E., though it may go back to earlier sources. It sees the merchants' bringing "plenty and abundance." Concretely, they bring barley, maybe grapes, silver, gold, lapis lazuli, stones, iron, copper, and tin, as well as animals and people taken as booty; the text envisions the merchants driving a caravan of goods and people along for sale (Hoffner 1968).

**5. Amarna Age Trade.** Direct contact between Mesopotamia and Egypt is not clear until the Middle Babylonian period, around 1360 B.C.E. There is a tantalizing indication that there was indirect contact in the form of a treasure, found at Tod in Upper Egypt, which has a horde of Mesopotamian cylinder seals with a cartouche of Amenemhat II (1929–1895 B.C.E.), though the horde may be a collection made considerably later.

In the Middle Babylonian period, we have from Egypt an archive of cuneiform tablets written mostly in Akkadian language and found in the capital city of el-Amarna. Most famous for showing the disruptions in contemporary Palestine, they also attest to international trade in gold and other fine goods among Babylonia, Mitanni (which was the Indo-European-ruled Hurrian kingdom on the upper Habur River), the Hittite empire in Asia Minor, and Egypt. The non-Egyptian rulers in general exchanged finely made clothes and other goods for Egyptian gold. Kings of Babylon sent lapis lazuli and other stones in exchange for gold, woods, and ivory (*RLA* 4: 85). This trade was a form of diplomatic exchange rather than a regular mercantile system, although it is clear from the letters revealing the exchanges that the rulers certainly had come to expect a certain level of trade, and the Egyptian contributions sometimes disappointed them (Edzard 1960).

At the end of the period, we have an Egyptian tale about an official, Wen-Amon, who traveled to the Syrian coast to buy wood and got into misadventures when he lost his money (Lichtheim *AEL* 2: 224–30). The story, which dates to soon after 1080 B.C.E., shows that the trade the Egyptians had come to rely on was imperiled by the decay of international stability.

**6. Ugaritic Trade.** Cuneiform texts from Ugarit on the N Syrian coast between 1400 and 1200 B.C.E. reveal a transshipment spot for Syrian agricultural goods and fine art goods coming from the Aegean Sea. The trade appears to be firmly controlled by the local government, though the documents of course come from governmental archives (Heltzer 1978). Wood was available in Ugarit presumably from stands in the countryside, which the city dominated.

### C. Trade in the 1st Millennium B.C.E.

**1. Phoenician Trade.** The Phoenicians, who lived along the Lebanese and Syrian coast, traded widely by sea across the Mediterranean and by 900 B.C.E. had even set up colonies as far away as Spain. Their seamanship was legendary, and they are said even to have circumnavigated Africa (Hdt. 4.42, though Herodotus did not believe it). But lacking navigational instruments, they had to hug the coast. Their colonies were small and situated on promontories and islands that were easily defensible from the mainland; this shows that they were not interested in colonizing the hinterlands but just in setting up trading posts. Carthage on the Tunisian coast was the only large city that they founded (Harden 1962; Bunnens 1979).

The objects of trade probably included oils and wines from Syria and Greece, wood from Lebanon, and the purple dye obtainable from a mollusk on the Mediterranean coast. The color purple, *phoinix* in Greek, probably gave the Phoenicians their Greek name. They never used the name of themselves but referred to their major city of origin, calling themselves Sidonians (Muhly 1970: 33–34).

The Phoenicians were the first to use the immediate forerunner of the alphabet as a writing system; this system they shared with the Greeks, who developed it into a real alphabet in which all phonemes in Greek could be represented (Brown 1981).

**2. Solomon's Trade.** The Bible makes clear that Solomon was involved in an active trade in horses and chariots, perhaps serving as a middleman between Egypt and Anatolia (1 Kgs 10:28–29). He may also have had horse farms near Hamath (2 Chr 8:3–4). This trade was probably limited to luxurious items and may not have affected the general prosperity (Ikeda 1982). In 1 Kgs 9:26–28 and 10:11–12, we have the story of Solomon's cooperation with the Phoenicians to launch a fleet on the Red Sea to get gold. The visit of the queen of Sheba in 1 Kgs 10:1–10 may be a memory of a trade in spices, gold, and precious stones. Gowan (1922) has provided an analysis of the origins of foreign goods mentioned in the Hebrew Bible.

**3. Desert Trade.** With the advent of the camel in the ANE before 1000 B.C.E., merchants could routinely cross the Syrian desert, creating new trade routes and energizing old cities like Damascus. This trade is associated with people whose names can be understood as Arabic, and in 312 B.C.E. we see that the Nabateans dominated the trade with a network of routes in S Syria, Jordan, and Arabia (Negev 1986: 2). These Arabic-speakers wrote in Aramaic, and most of their records were probably on perishable material like parchment. The most important commodities moved seem to have been spices, probably imported from India and Africa (Bowersock 1983: 15–16).

**4. Urban Trade in Mid-Millennium.** Under the Neo-Assyrians almost nothing is known of the mechanisms of trade, but there clearly were foreign goods and foreign influences. Commerce even with India is shown by the presence of cotton (*RLA* 4: 87). In the Neo-Babylonian period many foreigners lived in Babylonia, but Babylonian merchants were not to be found in the W; under Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562 B.C.E.) the chief merchant in Babylon actually had a Phoenician name, *Hannūnu* (for Phoen *Hanno;* Oppenheim 1967: 253). In the long peace of the 6th century B.C.E., after the Persians had united most of the civilized world, the scale of commerce in Mesopotamia became much broader than ever before (Dandamayev 1971).

Little is known about retail trade in Mesopotamia, though the word for retail trader, *sāhiru* (cognate to Heb *sōḥēr,* "merchant"), has been identified (Landsberger 1967: 179–90). Also there were wandering salt and wine sellers in Neo-Babylonian cities (Oppenheim 1970: 21 and n. 54).

## D. Attitudes Toward Trade

There were both positive and negative feelings about trade in the ANE. Mesopotamian rulers were aware that it was in their interest to ensure that merchants, and especially seaborne merchants, be safe and free to go as they pleased (Finkelstein 1967: 67). Rulers granted tax immunity to traders and also boasted of the quality and variety of goods available during their reigns.

But there are also negative evaluations of the traders themselves. The passage in Ezek 28:5–7 about the Phoenician city of Tyre seems to see trade as a source of sin. And one Heb word for profit, *beṣaʿ,* usually has the sense of "unjust gain," as in Exod 18:21 where Moses' father-in-law advises him to appoint as judges "able men from all the people, such as fear God, men who are trustworthy and hate gain (RSV: a bribe)."

Some Mesopotamians may have had a similar attitude, but it is harder to find in their texts. Mesopotamians were aware of unscrupulous merchants and believed that cheating in commerce was displeasing to the gods (Lambert *BWL,* 121–38, esp. lines 103–23; Nakata 1971).

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DANIEL C. SNELL

## *ROMAN EMPIRE*

Trade and commerce in the Roman world from the late 1st century B.C. until the 4th century A.D. underwent some fundamental alterations, yet there were some aspects which remained basically unchanged. At the beginning of the period the Mediterranean basin contained a number of independent/semi-independent political states in commercial-diplomatic contact and conflict with one another and with Rome. The larger states, Seleucid Syria (until 64 B.C.), Ptolemaic Egypt (until 30 B.C.), Hasmonean and later Herodian Judea (until the 1st century A.D.), Nabatean Arabia (until A.D. 106), states in Asia Minor (Galatia until 25 B.C., Cappadocia until A.D. 18, Commagene until the 1st century A.D.) and other smaller eastern powers, both nominally independent client states of Rome and autonomous entities, as well as the few independent states in the W (the kingdom of Mauretania until the 1st century A.D.), interacted as commercially independent, if not completely politically autonomous states. By the 4th century A.D. the entire Mediterranean basin had been unified politically under the aegis of Rome. Political unification by the 4th century also brought with it a unified system of coinage and laws regulating the commerce, though not a completely unified economy. This 4th-century economy was less *laissez-faire* than that of the 1st and 2d centuries. By the 4th century the state and the church took an increased interest and role in commerce, often at the expense of the independent entrepreneur (Whittaker 1983a: 163–80). This transformation from the 1st century B.C. until the 4th century A.D. was gradual, the

by-product of a series of patchwork-stopgap solutions to economic problems rather than a deliberate long-term policy initiated by the Roman central government.

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A. Imperial Commerce
B. Monetarization of the Roman Economy
C. Inflation
D. Roman Banking
E. Transportation
F. The Merchant/Entrepreneur Class
G. Slavery
H. External Trade

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**A. Imperial Commerce**

Italy initially dominated and was the center of much of the trade and commerce in the Western empire, especially in fine ware pottery manufacturing at centers in Arretium, the Po Valley, and the Bay of Naples regions. Italian wines also had large markets both in the peninsula and abroad, but throughout the 1st and subsequent centuries Italy lost this prominence. Potteries in Gaul, North Africa, and Spain gradually supplanted the fine Italian-made wares. Italian-made ceramics had never dominated the eastern Mediterranean market, where a long tradition of fine ware pottery manufacture predated the Roman by some time. In glass manufacture the Hellenistic centers in Egypt and Syria, from the Augustan period on, witnessed increased competition from factories in the west in Italy, Gaul, and the Rhine Valley. Wines and olive oils were imported in increasingly large quantities to Rome, especially from Spain, Gaul, and North Africa, as is evident from amphorae remains at Monte Testaccio (Almeida 1984; Tchernia 1986). Although Italy would still claim *de jure* political prominence over the provinces until the 3d century, its preeminent position as a manufacturing and production center passed to the provinces (Rostovtzeff 1957: 162–69) by the late 1st –2d centuries A.D.

The cause-effect relationship between Rome's frequent foreign wars and the empire's economic prosperity has been debated frequently. Is Marxist economic interpretation of history accurate? Did the desire for economic gain promote or at least partially cause many of Rome's wars? Some argue that economic gain to the Romans was an integral part of a successful war, that to the Roman aristocrats it was impossible to dissociate the expectation of gain in the form of land, plunder, slaves, and tribute from the expectation of a successful war (Harris 1979: 2, 54, 56–57; North 1981: 1–9). Others rebut the Marxist concept of historical materialism (Frank 1912–13: 233–52; Badian 1968: 16–28; Hatzfeld 1919: 369–76). One scholar asserts that none of Rome's foreign wars were economically motivated (Finley 1985: 157–58). There is little doubt, however, that economic benefits could result from successful military expeditions and the acquisition of new territory (Sidebotham 1986: 113–74) and that at least one of Rome's foreign military adventures during the principate—that of Aelius Gallus to South Arabia in 26–25 B.C.—was economically motivated (Sidebotham 1986: 120–30).

**B. Monetarization of the Roman Economy**

Coinage was in widespread use throughout the empire, especially in the urban areas and among the military. However, it is difficult to determine how extensive the use of coinage was in many rural regions. Many commercial transactions may have involved barter rather than coinage. Certainly during the economic, political, and military troubles of the 3d century much of the economy seems to have been conducted by barter. The central government issued gold, silver, and aes coins. In many regions of the empire local aes issues supplemented imperial coinage (in Asia Minor, Palestine and the East in general, areas of Spain and southern Gaul) to meet the exigencies of local commerce. In some cases, even local issues of silver continued (Asia Minor). Egypt remained, after the Roman annexation of 30 B.C., a separate economic unit with regard to coinage. The mint at Alexandria coined billon (debased silver) and aes coinage of a standard different from that of the central government. These various local coinages, along with other indices, including the existence of regional tax zones which did not necessarily coincide

with provincial borders (de Laet 1949: 119), reveal that the Roman empire was not a unified economic system, but a collection of various regional and local systems interacting to various degrees. There was a gradual trend toward unification of the imperial coinage and the elimination of all locally and regionally minted issues. This was accomplished by the reforms of Diocletian and his Tetrarchic colleagues in the late 3d /early 4th centuries and their minting of a series of aes, silver, and gold coins of good quality (West 1951: 290–302; Erim et al. 1971: 171–77). Accompanying this coinage reform was the first recorded attempt at empire-wide control of wages and prices: the Edict of Maximum Prices. This fiat was not a success (West 1951: 290–302; Erim and Reynolds 1970: 120–41; 1973: 99–110). The basic *laissez-faire* nature of the Roman economy, the size of the empire, and the inability or lack of willingness to enforce the edict resulted in its failure. Neither the unification of the coinage nor the edict reveals, however, a unified economic system, although this may have been one of the objectives. See also COINAGE.

**C. Inflation**

Inflation was a factor in Roman trade and commerce in this period. Initially, Augustus (27 B.C.–A.D. 14) issued a series of high-quality aes, silver, and gold coins. Over the following four hundred years this system underwent a gradual modification and eventual abandonment and replacement. Inflation was historically handled by the government by debasing the fineness and decreasing the weight of the silver and gold issues and decreasing the weight and size of the aes issues. This resulted in minting a greater number of coins with the same amount of metal, which, theoretically, allowed the government to meet its expenses with a lesser amount of precious metal. Along with this there were unsuccessful attempts by the government to have the public accept debased issues at fiduciary face value rather than judging the value of the coins by the fineness and weight of the metals contained therein. Judging by prices and coinage devaluations, inflation was not severe during the 1st and 2d centuries, but in the course of the 3d century prices rose dramatically, and quality silver coinage ceased to be minted and was replaced by massive issues of a silver-washed coinage; the minting of lower-weight gold issues continued throughout the 3d century. Much of the economy, even payment of troops, seems to have reverted to a barter system. This was only rectified by the Tetrarchic, Constantinian, and later-4th-century coinage reforms (Jones 1974c: 187–227; Duncan-Jones 1982: 7–11, 66–67, 71, 255, 356–57, 366; West 1951: 290–302; Mattingly 1962: 177–78, 250–55).

**D. Roman Banking**

The Roman banking system was primitive. Much capital was reinvested in land or used for noncommercial, non-growth endeavors—conspicuous consumption and the construction of ostentatious public buildings—and not diverted into commercial enterprises. Capital might be loaned at very high rates of interest to provincial communities or client kings (Jones 1974a: 118–21) or to merchants in the form of bottomry loans (Jones 1974c: 187), etc., but in general, low-interest loans for commercial purposes were rare (cf. government incentives to *navicularii* carrying grain to the capital: Garnsey 1983a: 56–65; 1983b: 118–30; Hopkins 1983: 84–109; Casson 1984: 96–116). Letters of credit and instruments of transfer were seldom used. Nevertheless to evaluate the status of Roman trade and commerce only on the basis of the relatively backward banking system is misleading.

**E. Transportation**

The argument that Roman trade and commerce was backward and non-growth-oriented owing to attitudes, technological backwardness and stagnation, and lack of a surplus money supply among most of the population (with the concomitant lack of buying power) (Garnsey and Saller 1987: 43–63) has flaws. The bulk of the population was poor, but they had sufficient purchasing power to obtain textiles, pottery, glass, metal goods, and staple foods, much of which was imported from some distance away (Carandini 1983: 145–62). By ancient standards the economy of the Roman empire, seen as a whole, was progressive. The government placed few restrictions on merchants; tariffs, tolls, and taxes were slight on wares passing from one region to another within the empire (Sidebotham 1986: 104–5). Port, harbor, canal, road warehouse, and other commercially related transportation infrastructure construction, repair, and expansion continued throughout the 1st and 2d centuries. Items carried over long distances were not

only bulk staples such as grain (especially wheat and barley), wine, and olive oil, but also textiles, stone, timber, metals, ceramic wares, including roof tiles and bricks, and, of course, luxury goods. Fluidity of long-distance interregional or trans-Mediterranean commerce was greater at river or sea ports because of the relatively inexpensive waterborne transport (Greene 1986: 17–35). Inland regions had a lesser degree of commercial interaction with distant locations because of the high cost of landborne transport (Greene 1986: 35–44; White 1984: 127–40; Duncan-Jones 1982: 366–69), but undoubtedly did a high volume of commercial transactions within the immediate region (Hopkins 1983: 85) and, perhaps, a higher volume of longer-distance trade than has heretofore been commonly believed (Hopkins 1978: 42–47).

The need to provide the army with supplies, including ceramics, metals, stone, timber, and basic food stuffs, undoubtedly played a role in the development of long-distance trade and trade to and beyond frontier regions (Middleton 1983: 75–83; Pucci 1983: 105–17; Whittaker 1983b: 110–27), but it is impossible to determine what proportion of the empire's overall trade involved supplying the military. The military manufactured some ceramics and bricks for its own use (Peacock 1982: 136–50) and undoubtedly produced some of its own food.

Urban areas in the Roman empire were centers of consumption and production. There was a symbiotic relationship between urban/municipal areas and the surrounding rural regions. The bulk of the underpinning of the Roman economy was rural agriculture. Thus, urban areas were very dependent upon rural for basic agricultural necessities. Yet, the economic vitality of the countryside depended to a great extent upon wealthy land-owning aristocrats, many of whom dwelt in nearby cities and towns, and to transportation networks which radiated from urban areas (Hopkins 1978: 68–77; Jones 1974b: 35–60; Finley 1985: 123–49). The nearby cities and towns also produced many of the basic manufactured goods (pottery, cloth, glass, metal goods) consumed by the rural populations and were the centers of government and tax collection (Garnsey and Saller 1987: 56–57). Rural populations regularly visited nearby towns and cities for market days and religious holidays (MacMullen 1974: 28–56).

Ancient artistic evidence in the form of reliefs, mosaics, and glass bottles with ancient literary testimony and recent underwater excavations of ancient merchant ships and harbors attest to the relative sophistication of the transportation system. The art depicts both land and water transport. While banditry, costs, and length of time increased the hazards and limited the range of land transport, there was a superb road system which could be used, except in very mountainous areas, throughout most of the year. While most major paved roads were built initially with military considerations in mind, merchants could also use them (White 1984: 93–100). In some cases, short lengths of paved roads existed almost solely for commercial purposes. The *diolkos*—a paved road—connected the Saronic and Corinthian gulfs in Greece (MacDonald 1986: 191–95), and a similar roadway at Ras Banas, N of Berenice on the Red Sea coast of Egypt (Burstein fc.), served primarily if not exclusively commercial transportation purposes. Harnesses for draft animals and conveyances may not have been as inefficient and crude as previously believed (Greene 1986: 36–43; White 1984: 127–40).

Seaborne commerce basically took place from March to November. Winter weather prevented most sailing on the Mediterranean. Seaborne commerce was subject to storms, but piracy in this period in the Mediterranean was practically unknown. Merchant ships and riverboats (White 1984: 141–56, 210–13; Greene 1986: 17–35) excavated in Germany, the Netherlands, off the south coast of France (Madrague de Griens and Marseilles), Italy (Albenga and Torre Sgarrata), one of the Greek islands (Antikythera), Turkey (Yassi Ada), and Israel (Caesarea Maritima) attest to the sophisticated, careful construction of merchant vessels in this period which were mainly ships of 100 tons or less (Houston 1988: 553–64). Their ability to tack, making use of even the most adverse winds, has recently been demonstrated (White 1984: 143–45). Excavations of Roman harbor complexes in North Africa (Carthage and Lepcis Magna), in Italy (Ostia and Cosa), in Greece (Cenchreia), in Israel (Caesarea Maritima), and elsewhere have revealed that the Romans had a sophisticated knowledge of underwater currents, problems of silting and a technology which allowed them to build large breakwaters underwater from hydraulic concrete (Hohlfelder *ANRW* 2/37/4). Such large, sophisticated harbor facilities seem, however, to have been exceptional (Houston 1988: 553–64). See also TRAVEL AND COMMUNICATION.

**F. The Merchant/Entrepreneur Class**

Roman writers, many of whom were aristocrats, traditionally looked down upon merchants and traders (D'Arms 1981: 3–5). Prevailing sentiment among aristocrats was that they did not engage in such activities, but were gentlemen farmers. This impression is somewhat misleading. Some landed aristocracy did engage in commerce (Pleket 1983: 131–44; D'Arms 1981: 1–19, 48–71). Anything produced on their estates was worthy of sale, and this might include pottery, tiles, or other manufactured products (D'Arms 1981: 72–96). Trafficking in such wares did not carry a stigma; in the late 3d –2d centuries B.C., the need for a law limiting the size of a transport ship which an aristocrat might use to ship his wares to market (Livy 21.63.3–4; *lex Claudia de Senatoribus*) belied the literary topos. Often, aristocrats and the emperors themselves avoided the stigma of engaging in trade and commerce directly by having agents (usually trusted slaves or freedmen) engage on their behalf with the patron, in many cases supplying the capital (Kirschenbaum 1987: 31–88; D'Arms 1981: 39–40, 44, 63, 66, 78, 89, 103–4, 141, 155, 158).

Epigraphic evidence, in the form of tombstones, and in Egypt also numerous ostraca and papyri, reveals the social status and origins of many merchants. Slaves, freedmen, and freeborn people, both male and female, from all areas of the empire, engaged in commerce. The nomenclature and geographical origins of some enable scholars to trace connections to prominent aristocratic families both in Italy and in the provinces (D'Arms 1981: 1–19; Sidebotham 1986: 78–102). While many of the entrepreneurs themselves were not from the Roman senatorial order, and were of relatively low rank or status on the social scale, their power and prestige—gained as a result of wealth from their trade—might be great. The ostentatious, rich freedman Trimalchio in the 1st -century-A.D. novel *Satyricon* was a parody of persons of his wealth regardless of social standing (D'Arms 1981: 97–120).

Merchants were *mercatores* (Gk *emporoi*), *navicularii* (Gk *naukleroi*) and *caupones* (Gk *kapeloi*). Trading firms *(collegia)* were not companies in the modern sense; merchants/entrepreneurs invested directly into a trading venture and not into their *collegia* for a specific commercial venture. Liability seems to have been personal. Often, in the city of Rome at least, such business firms or partnerships were expressed in terms of friendship *(amicitia)* and were usually temporary. The concept of a commercial agency was never fully developed in Roman law (Jones 1974b: 41–60; Rickman 1980: 228–29; D'Arms 1981: 165).

**G. Slavery**

Slavery was an important factor in the Roman economy, but one which should not be overemphasized. A dearth of statistics prevents a quantitative evaluation of the role of slavery in the Roman economy. Basically, as long as slavery as economically viable in Roman agriculture and commerce, it continued in use. With the growing rift between *honestiores* and freeborn *humiliores* from the 2d –3d centuries on, the employment of *humiliores* as tenant farmers or dependent laborers was cheaper than the actual ownership and use of slaves (Finley 1980: 123–49). There were moral questions raised about slavery as an institution, but such sentiments had little effect upon general attitudes even after the advent of Christianity. Slaves carried on much of the commercial activity for wealthy aristocratic masters and patrons who wanted to avoid the social stigma of direct association with commercial endeavors. Often the slaves were allowed to control many or all aspects of their earnings *(peculium).* See also SLAVERY (NT).

**H. External Trade**

The Roman world had commercial contacts beyond its political frontiers. Archaeological and literary evidence attests to commercial relations with Scandinavia, free Germany, E Europe, sub-Saharan Africa (Eggers 1951; Wheeler 1955: 7–111), and lands to the E, including South Arabia, coastal sub-Saharan Africa at least as far S as Zanzibar, India, Sri Lanka, and China (Wheeler 1955: 112–82; Charlesworth 1974: 57–73, 97–111; Rawlinson 1916; Raschke 1978: 604–1378; Sidebotham 1986; Ferguson 1978: 581–603). Romans went to these lands and foreign merchants came to Roman territory to conduct this commerce, and much trade went through middlemen of various "nationalities." How extensive and intensive this trade was and what percentage of all Roman commerce this foreign trade comprised cannot be ascertained. Nor can it be determined whether this was a trade mainly in luxury or common trade

wares. Arguments that the "balance-of-trade" favored the E, based upon Pliny the Elder's hyperbolic comments, are unconvincing (*HN* 6.26.101; 12.41.84). The general lack of a concept of a "balance-of-trade surplus or deficit" within the Roman government and the fact that this "eastern" trade was conducted more, it seems, by barter than by purchase tend to dismiss such arguments (Sidebotham 1986: 13–47). However, there was Roman governmental facilitation of this extraimperial commerce in the form of road, canal, and port construction, and protection of the trade by the military. The government charged heavy customs duties of 25 percent or more which it levied directly or farmed out for collection (Sidebotham 1986: 102–10; Harrauer and Sijpesteijn 1985: 124–55) on imported items from the E. Presumably the same rates applied to imports from beyond Rome's political frontiers to the N and S as well. In addition, in more remote areas merchants and travelers bought passes to use roads which required military policing due to marauders and bandits (Sidebotham 1986: 132, 164; Garnsey and Saller 1987: 158–59). This enabled the government to help defray costs of garrisoning such locations (Sidebotham 1986: 35, 80–81). There may even have been a Roman naval unit patrolling the Red Sea to keep piracy under control (Sidebotham 1986: 70, 71, 77).

Ideas as well as commerce passed along the trade routes. Political unification of the Mediterranean basin and Western Europe under the Roman aegis prompted the suppression of piracy and the construction of thousands of miles of roads. The relative ease and safety of travel compared to earlier times and the generally tolerant attitude of the Roman government toward most foreign cults facilitated the spread of religious and philosophical beliefs from one region to another. Transported by merchants, travelers, scholars, and members of the Roman military from all parts of the empire, new cults were established at important political and commercial centers, especially seaports and major inland entrepôts where merchants from many lands resided. Army camps, especially along the frontiers and near large urban centers, also fostered the spread of new cults. Frequently these newly imported beliefs appealed to local inhabitants. Often, too, peoples in newly annexed territories practiced religions which attracted Roman devotees.

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**TRADITION HISTORY.** In modern biblical studies, it is widely recognized that the literature of the Bible, or at least large portions of it, came gradually into existence through a process in which oral or written materials were passed down from one generation to another, acquiring their final form with the assistance and contributions of many individuals and groups along the way. Tradition generally preceded text, and this tradition—just as the later canonized text itself—has a history. As a method, tradition history is one of the steps in exegesis, attempting to recover the meaning that the tradition had at each stage in its growth.

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A. The Phenomenon of Tradition
B. Development of the Study of Tradition History
C. Relation to Other Exegetical and Historical Methods
D. Application to Types of Biblical Literature
    1. Narrative
    2. Law
    3. Prophecy
    4. Lyrical Poetry
    5. Wisdom
    6. Tradition in the New Testament
    7. Early Jewish Tradition
E. Implications and Significance

## A. The Phenomenon of Tradition

Carrying the heritage from the past into the present, tradition is ubiquitous in the human community, both in primitive and modern times alike. It is, in fact, so widespread and so all-embracing a phenomenon that studying it can become an enterprise without boundaries. In biblical studies, however, tradition history has a somewhat restricted meaning in that it refers only to verbal traditions, that is, oral or written materials articulating in words that which is transmitted, such as stories, proverbs, laws, sayings, poetry, and teachings on the one hand and motifs, notions, themes, and ideas on the other. Excluded is another whole range of ways in which the word "tradition" is commonly used—for practices or beliefs such as customs, habits, rules, mores, rituals, ethos, or even social and religious institutions. These are not the direct subject matter of tradition history, even though they can and usually do affect the verbal traditions that are being handed down. Tradition history focuses, instead, on the specific literary or verbal developments that led up to the biblical literature in its present form.

Another important distinction is evident in two Latin words used in the study of tradition history. Latin *traditio* refers to the process of transmission, whereas *traditum* designates the materials themselves that are being transmitted from one person, group, or generation to another (see especially sec. C below). The process is extremely variable. In some instances it can be carried out statically through very careful, even reverential transmission, avoiding the introduction of any changes in the wording of the tradition; in other cases persons in the line of transmission can be responsible—whether deliberately or accidentally—for alterations, expansions, omissions, and new combinations of the traditions.

Of special importance in this latter respect are the category of interpretation or actualization (known also by the German word *Vergegenwärtigung*) and the effort by any given generation to contemporize its received traditions by reinterpreting them "existentially" in light of, or applying them to, its own context and time (Groves 1987). The products of the past are thereby not left as an antiquarian's artifacts but are brought to new life as articulations of a new reality. Thus, the stories about Abraham, the laws of Moses, the prophecies of Isaiah, or the sayings of Jesus are not simply residues of the ancient past but are actually reinterpreted—and consequently changed in themselves—in order to apply to the conditions and urgencies of later people, and these shifts become a part of the traditions as they continue to be handed on to the next generation. A tradition that originally had only local significance could be nationalized, just as material that began as non-Israelite and polytheistic could be adapted to Israel's monotheistic faith. This collective creative process has meant, therefore, that probably the vast majority of the biblical literature contains multiple levels of meaning; that is, that it has an extended tradition history reflecting the gradual contributions of new individuals, groups, and generations as they reinterpreted the old heritage for themselves.

Tradition history is normally associated with the oral period in which stories and sayings were composed, retold or recited, and preserved for long periods of time (Nielsen 1954; Culley 1976). While traditions could be remembered and passed on reliably in this form, a distinct degree of flexibility is to be expected for the oral stage, and different versions of a single story or saying are not unlikely. For a culture in which literacy was generally restricted to the few who needed to be able to write for governmental, commercial, educational, and religious purposes (cf. Demsky 1988), "oral literature" among the wider populace was commonplace. At some point—and this juncture varied for the different traditions—the oral materials were committed to writing, often after they had matured to a high level of artistry and had been combined with other similar traditions, and their transmission thereafter could occur through this new medium. It is not accurate to say, however, that the traditioning process—that is, the gradual, incremental growth of the traditions—transpired only through oral means. In written transmission, a given literary piece could also undergo change or growth as it was being handed down from one generation to the next.

Tradition history embraces the whole period of development, from the first formulation of a tradition on to the point where it became relatively stabilized. This latest phase would have been the stage of canonization, but most texts became essentially fixed and no longer fluid prior to that. In a sense, it is a difference between tradition *before* and tradition *after* Scripture (Barr 1966: 28–29; for more discussion of

the canonization process and its relation to tradition, see also Sanders 1972): growth and change occurred before a literary piece was rendered constant and was accepted as authoritative Scripture, whereas thereafter the text continued to be handed down but then as a document not to be altered internally but only copied and interpreted exegetically.

**B. Development of the Study of Tradition History**

Research on the history of biblical traditions did not begin in earnest until the 20th century, in fact only with the 1930s (for a full history of research, see Knight 1975). Prior to that it had indeed been recognized that the biblical literature came into being gradually and that tradition and transmission played a significant role. Seventeenth-century scholars such as Thomas Hobbes, Benedict de Spinoza, Isaak de la Peyrère, and especially Richard Simon thought it likely that portions of the Bible do not exist now in the form in which they were first written, but that they attained this form only after having been handed down to later writers. But there was little effort made to recover the details of the traditioning process, and focus fell instead on the literary stage of conflating and editing written documents. Source criticism was the dominant exegetical method through the end of the 19th century, with Julius Wellhausen's work as its showcase achievement.

The new era was introduced by Hermann Gunkel, first in his 1895 effort (partially translated in Gunkel 1984) to trace the lines of mythical materials on creation from early Babylonia to the Hebrew Bible and ultimately to the book of Revelation. But it was his development of form criticism—initially in his 1901 commentary on Genesis (see the English translation of his introduction in Gunkel 1964) and later in his studies of other narratives, prophetic literature, and the psalms—that laid the groundwork for subsequent traditio-historical studies. In identifying the wide variety of genres used by the ancient Israelites to express themselves, Gunkel drew attention to the process by which a group or an individual could receive traditional material and rework it in creative ways. In a revolutionary shift of method and perspective, he emphasized the oral stage of composition and transmission. Furthermore, with his concept of the life setting *(Sitz im Leben)* of genres, he opened the door for new inquiry into the real-life contexts in which the people engaged their own needs, problems, and crises through an innovative interpretation of their received traditions. Additionally, Gunkel was one of an influential group of Hebrew Bible and NT scholars who sought to understand the history of religion in the ANE, and this—as in his 1895 study of the creation myths—contributed to a new effort to trace the way in which religious materials, often of foreign descent, could be appropriated and revised as the *traditum* of later communities.

The initiators of traditio-historical research in its modern sense were Gerhard von Rad and Martin Noth, and for both of them the Pentateuch (Hexateuch for von Rad) served as the staging ground, as has been the case for the rise of several other of the exegetical methods. Von Rad's 1938 monographs (translated by 1966, *PHOE*) began with the assumption that the Hexateuch, a remarkable complex of diverse kinds of material, is the final stage in a long process of development and that it must be possible to recover some of the earlier stages and circumstances of its composition. His key to accomplishing this lay in what he identified as the creeds of Israel's faith, best evident in Deut 26:5b–9; 6:20–24; and Josh 24:2b–13, which articulated the rudiments of the sacred history and thus formed the structure for organizing the Hexateuchal materials into a linear whole. This literature was not authored in the modern sense; rather, it emerged out of earlier collections, crafted especially by the Yahwist, of originally independent traditions. See YAHWIST ("J") SOURCE.

Noth, in 1948 (translated in 1972, *HPT*), expanded on von Rad's work by shifting the emphasis to the *pre*-Yahwistic stage of tradition growth and by demonstrating the importance of critical analysis of all details of this growth process. Both of these scholars, in subsequent publications, also indicated the implications that traditio-historical study of the biblical literature could have in other areas: Noth for historiography, and von Rad for theology.

A distinctive approach to the study of tradition history emerged among Scandinavian scholars, above all among those who taught or studied in Uppsala (Knight 1975: 217–399; Jeppesen and Otzen 1984). Key representatives of this method were Sigmund Mowinckel, H. S. Nyberg, Ian Engnell, and G. Widengren, and later also Helmer Ringgren, Arvid Kapelrud, Eduard Nielsen, Gösta Ahlström, and Birger

Gerhardsson, to name a few. Under the leadership of Engnell especially (see Engnell 1969), tradition history became elevated as the most important of the exegetical and historical methods, and the legitimacy of other methods reflecting a modern "bookish" approach was disputed.

This circle of scholars became known for several distinctive positions. They attributed paramount importance to oral means for the composition and reliable transmission of the materials; these traditions were tied to specific places and groups wherever possible; emphasis fell on the "living," dynamic process in which the biblical literature came into being; committing oral traditions to writing was often seen as an incidental stage which had little effect on them; and ANE religious ideas were perceived as dominant influences on the content of these traditions. This line of scholarship has lost some of its characteristic edge since the 1960s, but its sense of the vitality of the tradition process remains a lasting contribution.

Traditio-historical study of both the Hebrew Bible and the NT is now established as a standard component in the analysis of the literature; in fact, Hebrew Bible scholarship is said to be "primarily traditio-historical in orientation" (Morgan and Barton 1988: 101). There is virtually no biblical section which has not been examined from this perspective, except for literary materials which did not go through a developmental, cumulative process but were composed at the outset in their final form. And even in those cases there are normally motifs, ideas, themes, and more which the author incorporated from the heritage of the past. Commentaries of biblical books now integrate tradition history as a routine part of the exegesis.

**C. Relation to Other Exegetical and Historical Methods**

The traditio-historical method represents one of the steps in modern biblical exegesis. Generally it follows directly on TEXTUAL CRITICISM, SOURCE CRITICISM, and FORM CRITICISM, making full use of their results concerning the unified or composite character of the text in question, the historical background and nature of any sources, the text's genre and life setting, and the like. The tradition historian first attempts to recover traces of the prehistory of the text (the analysis or criticism stage of the inquiry) and then hypothesizes about the probable course through which it passed in its development (the synthesis stage). To accomplish this task is somewhat analogous to an archaeological excavation, in which progressively earlier and earlier strata are discovered as one cuts deeper into the mound.

These prior levels of meaning are often identifiable as interpretations or comments attached to or integrated into the text, such as some of the motive clauses that follow on the various laws. Embellishments and stylizations which heighten the plot or message, especially in stories (the contest between Elijah and the prophets of Baal in 1 Kings 18 is a good example), also can indicate the handiwork of later traditionists, as can etiological elements. One watches, moreover, for evidence of localization—where the tradition might have been at home—and tradents—the groups that would have handed it on and reinterpreted it, such as certain cultic personnel, social sets, or political interests. The text's present literary context may well not be original, for so often the narratives, sayings, prophetic utterances, and laws arose independently and only with time became joined together with similar materials. Fusing such traditions into a larger complex or collection is itself a new level of interpretation in comparison with the meaning each bore as an entity circulating separately; this, in fact, is the stage of development which Rendtorff (1977) identifies as the often-neglected, but crucial phase in the growth of the Pentateuch.

The exegete synthesizes all of these findings into a description of the growth of the tradition from its origin to its final form. This constitutes, admittedly, a hypothetical picture that may be more or less probable. Some interpreters, in fact, dispute the extent to which an oral prehistory can even be posited on the basis of the literary text and then used as a historical source (e.g., Van Seters 1975; see, nonetheless, Vansina 1965; 1985). Yet the question is in principle legitimate: How did a specific text come into existence, and what was the import of any of its earlier forms and elements—to the extent that these can be plausibly identified? If the present text affords a glimpse of this, then it is part of the text's meaning and deserves to be studied. These findings also become part of the total cluster of information on which the historian and sociologist (see, e.g., Gottwald 1979) can draw in order to reconstruct the events and social structures of a given period.

**D. Application to Types of Biblical Literature**

Various kinds of literature comprise the *traditum,* the materials which were passed from one person or generation to the next, becoming developed and actualized in the process. The tradition history varies according to literary type as well as historical period. The examples below are taken primarily from the Hebrew Bible, to which this method has been applied most extensively.

**1. Narrative.** Stories enjoy great popular interest, especially in non- or semi-literate societies where they serve as the primary repositories of shared cultural memory. Multiple functions can be posited: entertainment for young and old alike; instruction, especially of moral and religious customs; historical remembrance; ritualistic celebrations; interpretation of contemporary realities (e.g., etiologies, eponymous stories); articulation of group identity and character. All of these purposes and more caused narratives to originate and circulate in early Israelite, Jewish, and Christian communities, just as was the case for the legends and myths of ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome. It is not unlikely that certain persons, especially gifted as raconteurs, were repeatedly called upon to tell familiar stories about the past. As they recited these favorite anecdotes before an audience, they could quite naturally introduce embellishments, stylistic refinements, and new interpretations.

Stories of the great ancestors, of the Exodus and wilderness wanderings, of the Conquest and the judges, of prophets like Samuel, Elijah, and Jeremiah, of leaders like Saul, David, and later kings—all held fascination for the common people. They generally arose as shorter, independent accounts—e.g., the numerous narratives about Abraham or about David—and gradually became gathered into cycles or collections centered on a specific character or period—such as the traditions about Abraham now recorded in Genesis 12–25, or the stories of David's rise to power in 1 Samuel 16—2 Samuel 5. Their tradition history thus spans this entire growth process and seeks to clarify the meaning and significance of each story at all of its successive stages.

**2. Law.** Large portions of the Pentateuch comprise laws now grouped in collections called the Covenant Code, the HOLINESS CODE, the Deuteronomic Code, and the scattered smaller sections often associated with the Priestly Code. See LAW. These, however, are not codes in the sense of a body of laws promulgated by a legislature or ruler with law-making prerogatives. Israelite law is better understood as customary law, which emerged among the people as the needs of their actual situations required it. Laws about a goring ox, about boundary stones, about treatment of slaves were responses to problems requiring some type of consensual resolution. As situations changed or more complexity was experienced, a given law could accrue qualifications or elaborations. Thus, capital punishment was first ordained for causing another's death, but to this was subsequently added a stipulation about how to handle a case of possibly unintentional murder (Exod 21:12–14); or the law of adultery was ramified in light of a wide range of possible liaisons and circumstances (Deut 22:22–29). The people continually worked out the terms for their coexistence in all areas of life, including cultic practice.

The Pentateuchal laws represent the later collection of such regulations, yet they betray portions of the long development that led up to this point. In addition, throughout the rest of the Hebrew Bible it is possible to trace an inner-biblical legal exegesis, an effort to apply and interpret Pentateuchal laws to new situations, especially in the face of gaps and obscurities in Israel's legal *traditum* (Fishbane 1985).

**3. Prophecy.** Prophecy in Israel was above all of the spoken word. Typically, the prophet stepped forward to speak critically or comfortingly to the general populace, the king, other leaders, the people in the marketplace, or the cult (exceptions were ecstatic and cultic prophecy). These utterances tended to be short; their power resided in the terse, poignant articulation which could be readily grasped and remembered. In some cases there may have been disciples or followers (Isa 8:16 has often been interpreted in this manner) who committed them to memory and who even added their own interpretations to them as the need arose. Collecting these into written form would generally have come at a later stage, as the incident described in Jeremiah 36 depicts (note especially 36:32, which states that after the first dictation the second included even more utterances). Some of the prophetic materials may well have appeared first in written form; many scholars think that Isaiah 40–55 was drafted as a treatise, although portions may initially have been delivered orally. The tradition history of prophetic materials, at any rate,

identifies any evidence of orality and public presentation, traces the course from independent, smaller units to the larger collections of sayings, and notes the influence of themes and motifs, religious and social institutions, and prophetic predecessors. See PROPHECY.

**4. Lyrical Poetry.** The poetry of Psalms, Song of Songs, Lamentations, and the numerous individual songs inserted elsewhere throughout the Hebrew Bible displays yet another type of tradition history. Like other biblical literature, these poetic pieces were rooted in the life of the people, for in their songs the Israelites gave expression to their joy, their sufferings, their beliefs, and their hope. Yet more so than other literary forms, these were closely tied to ritualistic settings, contexts in which individuals and groups would find it especially appropriate to celebrate or lament. At all points in their history the Israelites married, buried their dead, worked, warred, languished in illness, rejoiced over recovery or success. Traditional songs, largely anonymous in authorship, arose and persisted throughout the centuries for the people to use, much as have our modern hymns. Some, such as the songs in Exodus 15, Judges 5, Genesis 49, and Deuteronomy 33, have been shown through orthographic and linguistic analysis to be especially ancient (Cross and Freedman 1975). A traditio-historical analysis seeks to determine the course of development, the possible ritualistic settings, and the traditional materials incorporated in each such poem.

**5. Wisdom.** Some of Israelite wisdom springs from the popular sphere: the ever-present proverbs, sayings, riddles, and advice from parent to child and friend to friend. Another source was the royal court, where judicious decisions and prudent actions were highly esteemed. Beyond these was the intellectual tradition among the sages, the learned who taught the young, responded to persons facing vexing dilemmas, and reflected on persistent issues in human life, such as tragedy, injustice, self-control, personal relationships, and the nature and destiny of life in this world. The Wisdom Literature in the books of Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes and scattered throughout the rest of the Hebrew Bible is the result of a long process, stretching back to and drawing upon its ANE heritage, of trying to come to terms with the natural need for knowledge, understanding, and meaning in life.

**6. Tradition in the New Testament.** Although the time spans for growth and transmission vary significantly between the Hebrew Bible and the NT —often centuries for portions of the former in contrast to only decades for the latter—the study of tradition history has played a role also in NT studies, albeit less so than have form criticism and redaction criticism. Most notable are the Gospels, which are based on sources of sayings attributed to Jesus as well as stories about his ministry and impact (see the classic study by Bultmann 1963). The early churches preserved these in memory and in written form, actualizing and reinterpreting them as the believers faced new social and historical realities. The Gospels themselves represent such a reworking of the traditions. It was, however, no natural shift from oral to written, and the oral *traditio* was notably more flexible and fluid than was the literary. As Werner Kelber (1983) has suggested, a crisis of credit perhaps developed in the church as a result of the Roman-Jewish War, and the Gospel of Mark was written—on the basis of earlier sources and traditions—to establish a new basis for permanence and trust. The Johannine community also developed and kept alive its own perspective on the basepoints of Christianity.

For the letters by Paul, which reflect subtleties in the relationship between oral and written language (Funk 1966: 224–74), tradition history is of importance especially in analyzing the appropriation and interpretation of traditional materials, such as a hymn (e.g., Phil 2:5–11) or a credal confession (e.g., 1 Cor 15:3–5). The phenomenon of quoting is evident at an even broader level, for the NT —from Jesus through Paul to the book of Revelation—repeatedly cites its scriptural heritage—the Hebrew Bible—and interprets it in light of the new faith.

**7. Early Jewish Tradition.** Within the postbiblical Jewish community there was an especially pronounced interest in keeping alive the traditions of the past by remembering and building upon them. Jewish and Christian apocalyptic movements did this in one manner. Sects such as the Qumran community pursued assiduously their own interpretation of Scripture and, in the process, preserved for us some of the most ancient copies of biblical texts.

Of special significance, however, is the stream of tradition known as the "Oral Torah," which held authority alongside Scripture, the "Written Torah." The laws of the Pentateuch were continually studied and interpreted in an effort to clarify their minute points, especially for the purpose of deriving rules and instructions that would fit the new circumstances of the day. These emerged as *halakah,* a body of rules, norms, and legal decisions on specific points. Alongside that was the *aggadah,* a wide range of narratives, homilies, anecdotes, and aphorisms that could aid the understanding of the biblical heritage. The rabbis preserved the Oral Torah in memory through a sophisticated mnemonic system and eventually recorded and edited it into the Mishnah by ca. 200 C.E. (Neusner 1987; Weingreen 1976). From that point on to the closing of the Babylonian Talmud (ca. 600 C.E.), the traditioning process continued as new generations of sages engaged scriptural and mishnaic basepoints in light of their new circumstances.

This process occurred more in the context of sustained study and debates amone rabbis than had been the case in ancient Israel's traditioning, which often involved the wide reaches of the population. However, the principle of gradual growth of tradition through new interpretation and actualization of the past heritage is present in both. Notably, several scholars are currently seeking to apply the biblical exegetical methods of form criticism, redaction criticism, and tradition history to the complexities of this vast literature (see various discussions in Safrai 1987; also Saldarini 1986).

**E. Implications and Significance**

Tradition history, even with the hypothetical nature of its proposals, has assumed a widely accepted role in biblical exegesis. Its importance lies in the effort to uncover the creative process which issued in the biblical literature—to the extent that this process was collective and gradual. It acknowledges that numerous persons and groups, and not simply solitary authors, contributed to the growth of the tradition. While materials were at points transmitted from one generation to another in a manner that would minimize changes in the *traditum,* in many other instances the tradition was "existentially" applied to the new historical situation, resulting in novel layers of meaning which were incorporated quite naturally into the growing text.

Tradition history carries with it considerable theological implications (see articles in Knight 1977; also Morgan and Barton 1988: 93–132). For the text is thus viewed not so much as a repository of static truths revealed in a unilateral manner without human involvement, but rather as a dynamic collection of material that points to the ongoing human struggle for survival and meaning in real-life situations. Gerhard von Rad's two-volume inquiry into the theology of the Hebrew Bible *(ROTT*) takes this process of the actualization of tradition as its starting point. Similarly, the results of traditio-historical study become part of the evidence to be scrutinized by the historian of ancient Israel, as demonstrated by Martin Noth in his much-debated history *(NHI).* Yet, at a more basic level and even despite the uncertainties on many individual points, one can agree with Noth's assertion (*HPT*, xxxv, 3–4, 147) that the significance of the study of tradition history rests perhaps not so much in its answers as in the very questions it raises.

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**TRADITION OF THE ELDERS** [Gk *paradosis ton presbyteron* (παραδοσις τον πρεσβυτερον)]. The precise phrase "tradition of the elders" occurs only in Matt 15:2 and Mark 7:3, 5, in connection with Pharisees, scribes, and other Jews and their custom of ritual hand-washing. It is probably a technical term that refers to customs observed and considered binding by Pharisees and some other Jews, although not written in the Pentateuch. Although the Pharisees themselves have left no writings, several ancient sources associate the Pharisees with the term "tradition" or "tradition of the fathers" (Josephus, *Ant* 13.10.6 §297; 13.16.2 §408; Matt 15:3–9; Mark 7:8–13; Gal 1:14). Other sources mention unwritten traditions which have been handed down for generations (Philo, *Spec* 4.28.149–50; Ben Sira 1:1). Josephus reports that observance of these traditions evoked controversy with the Sadducees. The Qumran texts contain attacks on "the seekers after smooth things" (*dwršy ḥlqwt*), who are identified by most scholars as the Pharisees, for following their own traditions and not God's law (1QH 4: 7,11).

Detractors of the "tradition of the elders" stressed its human origin and contrasted it with God's law (Matt 15:3–9; Mark 7:8–13; cf. Col 2:22; Titus 1:14). Its champions undoubtedly saw it as divinely revealed, complementary to the written Law, possibly analogous to the way later rabbinic Jews regarded the oral Law (*m. ʾAbot.* 1:1).

The three NT references to the "tradition of the elders" suggest that ritual hand-washing before eating, originally prescribed only for priests eating consecrated food in the temple, gained wider practice. Though there are no other 1st -century references to the custom, 3d -century evidence shows that some Jews ate ordinary food in a state of ritual purity (*t. Dem.* 2:2).

Later Jewish literature yields no example of the phrase "tradition of the elders," although "tradition" *(mśwrt)* is common, as is the related verb "receive" *(qbl).* The expression "elders" may have been used by the Pharisees themselves to add the authority of antiquity to traditions which were transmitted orally from teacher to student in the manner of the Hellenistic schools. These traditions may have been susceptible to attack because they were neither priestly nor handed down along familial lines. Baumgarten (1987: 72) has suggested that the charges against the tradition of the elders in Matt 15:3 and Mark 7:8 may not have originated with Jesus or his followers, but may have been a common anti-Pharisaic slogan in antiquity. In other instances, Christians characterize their own traditions using the term *paradosis* in a favorable way (1 Cor 11:2; 2 Thess 2:15).

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**TRAJAN** (EMPEROR). Trajan (Marcus Ulpius Traianus) was born at Italica (Spain) on September 18, probably in A.D. 53, and became emperor after the death of Nerva on January 25, 98. The Ulpii, originally from Umbria in Italy, had been settled in Spain for generations, but Trajan's father was the first in the family to gain senatorial rank; subsequently, he served Vespasian as governor of Syria and as proconsul of Asia. Only a few details of the son's early career survive. He served as military tribune in Syria under his father, and, rising to the rank of legionary commander in the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81–96), helped to suppress a revolt against the emperor. Rapid promotion followed. In 91, he received the rare award of an ordinary consulship, but nothing else is known of his subsequent activities until 97, when he was appointed governor of Upper Germany by Nerva, and then adopted by him and awarded the title Caesar. Almost immediately, the senate added the customary imperial powers, and so, when Nerva died, the transfer od sovereignty was smoothly accomplished. A completely different version of Trajan's accession is provided by the unknown epitomist of the *Caesares,* who gave an account of various Roman emperors dating from the 4th century: according to him, "Trajan seized power with the backing of Sura" (*Epit. de Caesaribus* 13.6). Sura was an eminent general, senator, and supporter of Trajan, and was well rewarded by him subsequently; no other ancient author, however, refers to Sura's supposed role in the events of 97/98.

According to tradition, Trajan's relationship with the senate was excellent. He held the consulship less frequently than did his predecessors, thereby providing opportunities for eminent members of the order; after his fourth consulship in 101, he assumed it on two occasions only, in 103 and 112. He adopted the custom of renewing the imperial tribunician power on December 10 (the date on which, for many centuries before Augustus' reign, tribunes had taken up office), rather than use the anniversary of his own accession to the throne, as every emperor until this time had done. He participated in the senate's sittings, and senators drew up the minutes. He also allowed them to make formal declarations of war and to ratify peace treaties. But all this was nothing more than a mark of deference toward them. Furthermore, while the administration of the empire was largely in the senators' hands, the difference between the power of individual members of the order as imperial representatives and as members of the senate in Rome was now immense. Despite the respect Trajan showed them as a body, only those to whom he entrusted the command of armies or of provinces could be regarded as powerful. In essence, the autocracy was becoming more efficient, or, at least, more centralized.

Again, the distinction had long been recognized between senatorial and imperial provinces, i.e., between a settled province such as Asia Minor and one like Germany, less stable and occasionally turbulent; and, while the distinction was clear in theory and law, it was frequently less so in practice: the emperor could, and often did, intervene in senatorial provinces when he deemed it necessary. The difference now, though, was that such action was regularized and become quasi-legitimate. Pliny's appointment to Pontus-Bithynia is one example. Furthermore, a new group of officials emerged in Trajan's reign, the *correctores,* who were sent to free cities and given special powers to regulate their affairs; then came the development of *curatores,* another new group of officials sent by the central government to check the finances of communities throughout the empire. The same tendency is evident in the greater role of the equestrian order in government. Posts previously held by the palace freedmen, including those in the imperial secretariate, now passed more and more to equestrians. Twenty new procuratorships were assigned to them, and they gained full control of the imperial finances. But because they owed their positions and advancement to the emperor alone, the movement toward concentration of power in his hands became even more marked.

Trajan's provincial administration has been described as sound, benevolent, and efficient. Certainly he was more interventionist than his predecessors, as has been indicated. Important evidence of his attitude is provided by the 121 letters that passed between the emperor and Pliny during Pliny's term as governor of

Pontus-Bithynia. Of these, the two letters dealing with the Christians are particularly interesting (*Ep.* 10.96, 97). They represent the earliest pagan version of the dissension between Roman authority and the Christians and provide a fairly detailed account of early Christian services from the pagan viewpoint; most importantly, they give valuable evidence on the problem of the new religion's legal status in the early empire. The letters were known to, but had not been seen, by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.33).

One of the more interesting developments in what might be called social reform was the provision of sustenance for poor children, the system of *alimenta.* While most of our information on this reform comes from Trajan's reign, the creation of trust funds for child maintenance was not a new thing in the Roman world: private grants for this purpose were made under Claudius or Nero. On the other hand, state intervention and evidence for the distribution of *alimenta* in Italy belong to this period. The system operated as follows: interest (usually 5 percent) on money lent to farmers by the emperor was paid into a special municipal fund and then distributed to poor children. How successful the practice was cannot be assessed, though Trajan referred to it regularly on his coins and even on the arch at Beneventum; and by the end of the 2d century, a new bureaucracy had been created to administer it, under the aegis of a *praefectus alimentorum.* Ultimately, it too became part of the ever-growing centralization.

Trajan's foreign policy was more overtly expansionist than his predecessors' had been. Two wars were fought against the Dacians, culminating in the annexation of their territory and the creation of a new province by 106. Less successful in the long term was Trajan's eastern campaign. By 115, he had taken Armenia and Mesopotamia, but attacks by the Parthians on the newly won territory, together with revolts by the Jews in Cyrene, Egypt, and Cyprus, posed serious problems. Trajan left the E for Rome, but he died unexpectedly at Selinus in Cilicia on August 8, 117, and was succeeded by his relative Hadrian, who relinquished many of the E conquests.

Trajan's reputation in antiquity was always good, but the accuracy of that tradition is difficult to assess, given the absence of contemporary or near-contemporary literary evidence for his activities. The most detailed account, that of Dio Cassius, belongs to the 3d century and survives only in summaries made much later. In essence, Trajan remained a soldier with little or no interest in cultural or intellectual pursuits. The administration over which he ruled was more organized, more centralized, and, presumably, more efficient than it had been under his predecessors. Trajan, like Augustus, was regarded in antiquity as a model emperor. See *ANRW* 2/2.

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**TRANCE.** See MYSTICISM.

**TRANSFIGURATION.** The name given to events that transpired in one of the passages common to the Synoptic Gospels (Matt 17:1–9 = Mark 9:2–10 = Luke 9:28–36). Within the passage, Jesus takes Peter, James, and John up a mountain some days after he has given a discourse in response to Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi (Matt 16:13–28 = Mark 8:27–9:1 = Luke 9:18–22). Insofar as the preceding passage includes Jesus' prediction that, as the Son of Man, he must suffer, be rejected, killed, and raised, the Transfiguration is contextually redolent of christology. On the mountain, Jesus is transformed in front of the disciples (hence the name "Transfiguration," from *metamorphoō* in Matt 17:2 and Mark 9:2; *TDNT* 4:755–59), and his clothes shine white. Moses and Elijah appear with Jesus, and Peter offers to build three tents (or booths), one each for Jesus and those who have appeared with him. A cloud then overshadows the proceedings, and a voice from the cloud announces that Jesus is his son, and commands, "Hear him." Jesus is then left alone with the disciples, who say nothing of the experience at the time.

The account abounds with exegetical difficulties, all the more so when each gospel's divergencies from the common story (sketched above) are examined. Such questions resolve themselves fairly straightforwardly once we recognize the sort of material with which we are confronted. Because scholars

have tended to restrict their attention to *genres* they believe they know from the NT, the Transfiguration has been described variously as a misplaced story of Jesus' resurrection (Stein 1976), his second coming (Boobyer 1942), his heavenly enthronement (Riesenfeld 1947), and/or his ascension (McCurley 1974). The only benefit of such a categorization is that it appears to limit the number of unintelligible events associated with Jesus: for example, the Transfiguration is subsumed within the resurrection and is dealt with only in general (and probably theological) terms. But even that benefit is only apparent. The Transfiguration is quite unlike the other passages with which it has been classed, except that it is a mysterious invocation of theophany. Those other passages which have been mentioned do not constitute literary *genres*, for the simple reason that they do not appear frequently enough to establish a convention of presentation which amounts to a system of speech.

Stories concerning heavenly voices, however, are well known in rabbinic sources (*JEnc* 2: 588–92; Lieberman 1962: 194–99). A view frequently encountered is that, with the removal of the Holy Spirit and the end of prophecy, only an echo or resonance (*bat qôl,* "daughter of a voice") from the heavenly court voiced God's perspective. This is explicitly stated in *t. Sota* 13.3, and an example then follows (Neusner 1985: 114, 115): when the sages were gathered at the house of Guria in Jericho, they heard a *bat qôl,* "There is here a man who is predestined for the holy spirit, except that his generation is not worthy of it." The sages then looked at Hillel, whom they took as the object of the praise. The Transfiguration obviously includes more motifs than are involved in most stories which refer to divine voices (such as the story concerning Hillel), and yet it is possible to say that the Transfiguration is conveyed by means of the genre of an account concerning a *bat qôl.* As in the case of Hillel in the house of Guria, the basic structure of the Transfiguration locates Jesus physically and socially, and makes him the object of the praise of a *bat qôl,* as his confreres appreciate.

But if the generic structure of the Transfiguration is to be found in stories concerning divine voices, its narrative structure (in the unfolding and details of events) is reminiscent of Moses' ascent of Mt. Sinai in Exodus 24. At the close of the story, Moses is said to ascend the mountain, when God's glory, as a cloud, covered it (v 15). The covering lasted six days (v 16), which is the amount of time between the Transfiguration and the previous discourse in both Matthew (17:1) and Mark (9:2). After that time, the LORD calls to Moses from the cloud (24:16b), and Moses enters the glory of the cloud, which is like a devouring fire (vv 17–18). Earlier in the chapter, Moses is commanded to select three worshippers (Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu) together with seventy elders, in order to confirm the covenant (vv 1–8). The result is that just these people (v 9) are explicitly said to have seen "the God of Israel" in his court (v 10) and to have celebrated their vision. The motifs of master, three disciples, mountain, cloud, vision, and audition here in Exodus 24 recur in the narrative of Jesus' Transfiguration (Chilton 1980: 120–22).

As noted above, the reference to "six days" in the Matthean and Markan accounts of the Transfiguration (but not in the Lukan account) coheres with Exodus 24. Other distinctive elements (that is, elements not held entirely in common among the Synoptics) within the gospels' versions may also be associated with the complex of material to which Exodus 24 belongs. For example, Matt 17:2 uniquely refers to Jesus' face shining like the sun, which is reminiscent of Moses' aspect in Exod 34:29–35. In more general terms, the Markan reference to the whiteness of Jesus' garments, "such as a fuller upon the earth is not able to whiten" (9:3), establishes by its own means the heavenly context which is more elaborately developed in Exodus 24 (particularly vv 15–18). But the material unique to Luke most emphatically commends a Mosaic association. Luke puts a distance of eight (rather than six) days between the previous discourse and the Transfiguration, a fact that has baffled commentators. In the rabbinic interpretation of Exodus 24, however, the numerical variation is meaningful. In the *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* (Exod 24:10, 11), it is particularly Nadab and Abihu who see "the glory of the God of Israel." Because "man will not see God and live" (Exod 33:20), they are punished; but the blow falls on the *eighth* day.

Luke (9:31) also depicts Moses and Elijah discussing Jesus' "departure" *(exodus)*; quite evidently, Exodus 24 provides no firm limit to developments within the Transfiguration, since the terms "Exodus" and "Elijah" have associations all their own. Elijah's immortality is already attested in 2 Kgs 2:9–12, and is well established within early and rabbinic Judaism (Chilton 1987: 268–70). The statement in Deut 34:7,

that Moses in fact died, did not prevent Josephus from describing Moses as having "disappeared" *(aphanizetai)* in the course of conversation with Eleazar and Joshua (*Ant* 4.8.48 §326). In that Josephus speaks of Elijah and Enoch (another deathless figure) with the cognate adjective (*aphaneis*, *Ant* 9.2.2 §28), his understanding that Moses was immortal seems unquestionable. No doubt these associations are at work throughout the Synoptic presentation, as were those of Elijah's experience on a theopanic mountain (1 Kgs 19:8–18). Similarly, the term *skēnē* ("tent," "booth," or "lean-to"), although not appearing within the LXX in Exodus 24, figures both as the natural place of abode during this period (Exod 18:7) and as a particular place of God's dwelling—concerning which Moses receives commandments on the mountain (Exod 25:8–9; 25:1).

Although the term "midrash" has recently gained currency in efforts to describe the reference of the NT to the Hebrew Bible, its usage in the present case would be inappropriate. Rather than a commentary (even in the loose sense of that word) on any OT text, there is an explosive series of associations which links Moses and his cycle with Elijah and his. The force of that explosion is such that the elements of Exodus 24 are scrambled in the Transfiguration, and crucial matter (Exod 24:12–14) has no analogue whatever. In fact, Exodus 24 in the Hebrew Bible is but a preamble to the divine instructions which properly commence in chapter 25. What happens on Mt. Sinai designates Moses, in narrative and visionary terms, as the single spokesman of divine revelation (24:18); others in the chapter are presented, only to be excluded at the pivotal moment of divine disclosure. They join in the celebration of the divine vision (vv 9–11), but they do not hear what Moses hears. By contrast, the climax of the Transfiguration, the apogee of tension and the interpretative key, is precisely the moment when the voice addresses not Jesus alone but the three disciples as well. The generic structure concerning the *bat qôl* is no accoutrement of the narrative but the very focus of interest—and that which lends some order to the explosion of associations.

At other points in the story of Jesus, accounts involving divine voices were recounted. The most obvious example is his baptism, but John 12:27–33—which is often discussed in association with the Transfiguration—is perhaps a more pertinent one. It establishes that an account of a *bat qôl* could be associated with Jesus' suffering, without the elaborate, scriptural allusions of the Transfiguration. Conversely, Paul presents an instance (2 Cor 3:12–4:6) in which Mosaic imagery, perhaps rooted in a traditional association of ideas and motifs, can be developed without reference to the *bat qôl* of Jesus. In the Transfiguration, however, a christological climax is reached just as Jesus' suffering is predicted: the *bat qôl* warrants, and a Mosaic vision confirms, that Jesus in his suffering is God's son, and therefore should be heard (cf. Deut 18:15, also within the Mosaic complex of the Hebrew Bible). Fundamentally, therefore, the Transfiguration is a visio-literary metamorphosis of the genre of *bat qôl:* Exodus 24 (and associated material) is the instrument by means of which the significance of the divine voice is conveyed. 2 Peter 1:16–18 is widely regarded as a summary of the Transfiguration, and it is remarkable that, having attested the message of the divine voice (v 18), the text goes on, "and we have more securely the prophetic word" (v 19): in effect, the source of narrative embellishment is recognized. Of course, the power of the scriptural imagery is such that eschatological vindication may be intimated by it (cf. *2 Bar.* 51:3–14, and the eschatological reference to "Elijah" in Malachi 4:5, 6; cf. Matt 17:10–11 = Mark 9:11–12), but the focus of the Transfiguration is not the future, or any of those moments after Jesus' death whose central meaning is eschatological. The point is what the *bat qôl* says at the moment Jesus consciously commences a journey of suffering: This is my son, hear him as you would Moses and Elijah.

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BRUCE CHILTON

**TRANSJORDAN.** Generally the area E of the Jordan Rift Valley from the Gulf of Aqaba (Elath) in the S to Mt. Hermon in the N, and E into the desert to the edge of normal vegetation. The term does not appear in the RSV. However, the phrase "beyond the Jordan" (Heb *ʿbr hyrdn*) frequently carries at least part of the meaning, as in Josh 12:1: "beyond the Jordan toward the sunrising." This probably means Gilead and Bashan where the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh had settled (Num 34:14–15; Josh 12:6). Ammon, Moab, and Edom could also be designated by the name. Technically "beyond the Jordan" can mean either side, depending on one's place and point of view. However, the majority of references indicate E of the Jordan, or E Palestine as the area is sometimes called.

**A. Political Definitions**

Biblically, the area includes the modern Golan Heights (ancient Bashan), now part of Syria, and the modern Hashemite kingdom of Jordan, which occupies much of the traditional Transjordan. The area above (east of) the Lower Jordan (Galilee to the Dead Sea) is OT Gilead and NT Perea (which had been ruled by Herod Antipas). Some divide Gilead and S Gilead, separated by the Jabbok (the modern wadi Zarqa). When the Israelites arrived, Bashan and N Gilead were part of the kingdom of Og, extending about 90 miles from Mt. Hermon to the Jabbok.

The Jabbok begins at Amman, ancient Rabbath-ammon, and flows N –NE ca. 17 miles before turning W, and it empties into the Jordan Valley near Deir ʿAlla. After entering the valley rift, it turns SW flowing into the Jordan river. The OT kingdom of Ammon developed S of the Jabbok and had an indeterminate E boundary, while its W boundary fluctuated according to the strength of the kingdom. At times, the Ammonites controlled the whole 22 miles to the Jordan, and sometimes half of that distance.

During times of restricted Ammonite power, the area in the Jordan Valley S of the Jabbok to the Arnon (referred to in some texts as S Gilead) belonged to Moab. But this portion of Moab was conquered by Sihon (Num 21:26–30), before the Israelites arrived. The Israelites in turn defeated Sihon and Og, and the tribes of Gad and Reuben settled there. Later, it was the scene of part of the story of Ruth, after which it was conquered by the Ammonites.

The central territory of Moab was a stretch ca. 50 miles from the Arnon (Wadi Mujib) in the N to Zered (Wadi Hasa) in the S. The country of Edom was S of Moab, extending the ca. 120 miles to the Gulf of Aqaba.

**B. Topography and Climate**

The area has considerable variety in topography and climate. In the N, Mt. Hermon rises to 9,230 feet above sea level. The Rift Valley is 230 feet *above* sea level at the Huleh basin, and 695 feet *below* sea level at the Galilee. The surface of the Dead Sea is 1,275 feet below sea level, and the deepest point of the floor of the sea is 2,550 feet below sea level. To the S, the Arabah rises to 650 feet above sea level at Jebel er-Rishe and then drops to sea level at Aqaba. Paralleling the Jordan Rift to the E, the Gilead (Ajlun) hills rise as high as 3,500 feet above sea level, while the mountains of Edom reach 5,700 feet near Petra.

The northern area receives about 30 inches of rain a year, but the Dead Sea area has less than 3.5 inches. The E decline of the Transjordanian mountains slopes gently toward the E, and the rain sinks through the porous limestone following the bedding plains over the more impervious underlying granite, to appear as springs in the Sirhan in such places as the oasis of Azraq. The rains supported wheat, barley, and livestock in Bashan, grapes and forestland in Gilead, sheep and grain in Moab, and olives in much of the N area. Ancient irrigation was largely limited to the vicinity of streams, except for the *ganats* of Roman-Byzantine times (Glueck 1968: 169; 1967: 430) between the Jabbok and Nimrin wadis. The Nabateans developed an extensive irrigation system in the old Edomite area.

From ca. 3000 B.C. or earlier, the King's Highway (Num 20:14–21) extended from Aqaba to Damascus with stops at Amman and other points along the route. This road cut down across the major wadis with long hairpin turns. Coming from Aqaba, a more level road—the Pilgrim's Road—branched off at Ma'an and ran further E along the desert. However, it has less water, and in ancient times it was more exposed to raiders from the desert. The two roads merge again at Amman. The King's Highway is still in use. The modern Desert Highway follows roughly the same route as the ancient Pilgrim's Way.

Another ancient N–S route runs from Aqaba to the Lisan on the Dead Sea, where it climbs into the hills to the E. The route descends into the Jordan Valley again, just N of the Dead Sea, and extends N to the Yarmouk River Valley and thence to Damascus or down the Wadi Sirhan. The highway from Hazor crossed the N part of the region to Damascus.

The wadis were E–W travel routes. The Wadis Yabis, Jabbok, Nimrin (Shueib), and Abu Gharaba (Kefrein and Rameh/Hesban) were the more important ones in biblical times. Jacob followed the E–W route down the Jabbok from Penuel to Succoth. The Amman-Salt-Jericho Road came down the Nimrin to the Naklah ford and the more recent Allenby Bridge. Farther S, roads lead down from the plateau Madeba to the hot springs at Zerqa Ma'in and from Kerak and the Crusader's castle to the Lisan ("tongue") on the Dead Sea.

In geological times, Jordan was sometimes under water with incursions from the Mediterranean in the N and from Aqaba in the S. The "Tethys Ocean" joined the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean ca. 20 million years ago. Approximately 300,000–70,000 years ago the Lower Jordan Valley was one big lake, while another large freshwater lake, El Jafr, lay in the E desert covering ca. 1000 km $^2$. This became brackish and shallow (ca. 26,400 years ago) and eventually completely dried up.

**C. Occupational Overview**

Prehistoric human and animal remains have been found on the shores of these lakes (Vita-Finzi 1982: 25; Helms 1981: 18; Schattner 1962: 15). Old Stone Age, Middle Stone Age (Natufian), and Neolithic materials have been found in Azraq, Amman (ʿAin Ghazal), Beidha, etc. Occupation continued through the Chalcolithic and EB periods to ca. 2400 B.C. (Java, Tell Umm Hamad, Tell el-Husn, etc.).

MB occupation, the time of the patriarchs of Genesis, has been debated. Glueck found occupation in EB IV and a gap thereafter until the 13th century B.C. (LB IIB), when Moab, Edom, and then Ammon were settled again. There was another gap in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods. Glueck's own later work found more LB remains in the N (1967: 451), and subsequent survey and excavation shows no MB –LB gap N of the Arnon (Sahab, Amman, Jordan Valley). South of it remains are still scanty. MacDonald (MacDonald et al. 1983) reports no MB or LB sherds or artifacts in the Hasa (Zered) survey. Future work may yet turn up some evidence. Tell es-Safi, for example, just N of the mouth of Zered (Wadi Hasa) at the S end of the Dead Sea, has MB (1950–1550 B.C.) pottery (some identify Safi with Zoar in Gen 14:2, 8). There was no gap during the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods (Sauer 1982; 1986; MacDonald 1986; MacDonald et al. 1983).

The usual view of the LB IIB period is that the Israelites moved through Transjordan in the 13th century B.C. after their Exodus from Egypt. They found Edom, Moab, and perhaps Ammon as settled kingdoms. Sihon had recently extended his rule to the Arnon, but the Israelites conquered him and Og of Bashan to extend their rule to Mt. Hermon (Numbers 21). The tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh (half of the Joseph tribe) settled this area.

The Philistines may have controlled part of the Jordan Valley in the 12th–11th centuries B.C. Later, the Ammonites (Judg 11:4–33) and the Moabites extended their control (Eglon, Judg 3:12–30). After the split of the Solomonic monarchy, Judah was able occasionally to rule Edom, while Israel occasionally controlled Moab (2 Kgs 3:4–27; Mesha and the Moabite Stone). The Arameans of Damascus extended their control over Bashan and at times Gilead (1 Kgs 22).

The Assyrians (735–605 B.C.) eventually subdued the whole area, making N Gilead part of their provincial system while Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Judah paid tribute as client states. Afterward, the Babylonians ruled the regions (605–539 B.C.). The Persians took over in 539 B.C. and the Greeks in 333. During the Persian period, the Tobiads, apparently a Jewish family, ruled Ammonite territory (Lapp

1987). Alexander the Great's Ptolemy took over Egypt and Palestine after Alexander's death. Ptolemy II Philadelphus rebuilt Rabbath-ammon as Philadelphia, later the southernmost of the Decapolis. In the time of Jesus, the Decapolis territory extended from Philadelphia (Amman) N to the Yarmuk River and in the Jordan Valley from the Wadi Yabis to Hippos on the E side of the Sea of Galilee.

The Ptolemies held the area until 198 B.C., when the Seleucids of Syria conquered it. The Seleucids were replaced by the Hasmoneans or Maccabees, who, in turn, were conquered by the Romans in 63 B.C. The Roman client king, Herod the Great, ruled from 37 to 4 B.C. His son, Herod Antipas, ruled Perea along the Lower Jordan and the N part of the Dead Sea, from the Wadi Arnon (Mojib) to the Yabis. Another son, Philip, ruled the old area of Bashan—Gaulanitis, Ulatha, Panias, Ituraea, and Batanaea.

The Nabateans, in the meantime, had pushed the Edomites into S Palestine in the 6th century B.C. By Antipas' time, Nabatean control had crept N to the Arnon; and during the life of the Apostle Paul, King Aretas IV had a governor in Damascus (2 Cor 11:32). In A.D. 106, the Nabateans' kingdom centered on Petra and was annexed by the Romans. The E Roman or Byzantine empire began in A.D. 325, and the Muslims conquered the area in A.D. 632.

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**TRANSJORDANIAN EPIGRAPHY.** See EPIGRAPHY, TRANSJORDANIAN.

**TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE.** See THEORIES OF TRANSLATION; VERSIONS.

**TRAPS.** See ZOOLOGY.

**TRAVEL AND COMMUNICATION.** This entry consists of two articles surveying the logistics of traveling and communicating over distance. The first focuses on the ANE world of the OT, and the second focuses on the Roman world of the NT.

### *THE OLD TESTAMENT WORLD*

The interrelationship of the ANE necessitated contact and communication which spanned vast stretches of the Levant. While roads reflect, in general, the path of least resistance, choosing the terrain which provides the most easily traversed routes, various factors—difficult surfaces, climatic and seasonal variability, and human and animal interference—present dangerous and unpredictable combinations. Roads, in turn, represent important factors in military and commercial activity, and hence are a crucial subject for the study of ancient history. See ROADS AND HIGHWAYS (PRE-ROMAN). Indeed, the importance of contact and communication is illustrated by the extreme hardships that travelers and troops endured in their efforts to traverse the Near East.

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A. Difficulties
    1. Hazards
    2. Limited Daily Headway
B. Safe Roads as Metaphor
C. Modes of Travel and Communication
D. Special Occasions of Travel and Communication

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**A. Difficulties**

**1. Hazards.** For 20th-century North Americans accustomed to an interstate highway system, or for modern Europeans who have sped along the Autobahn, the notion of travel and communication in the ancient world can easily be open to misimpression. This likelihood of distortion appears to be all the more possible in light of how the Romans are often remembered for the quality of their roads. In *What Shall Endure?,* Ethelyn Miller Hartwich recalls:

> Great roads the Romans built that men might meet,
> And walls to keep strong men apart, secure.
> Now centuries are gone, and in defeat
> The walls are fallen, but the roads endure.

No such tribute could be penned of ANE travel and communication. In point of fact, even international roadways were sometimes narrow winding paths that were clogged by mud or marsh after winter rains, or dusty and rutted throughout the many months of oppressive, searing heat. Certain places along these roadways required ancient travelers to navigate difficult, almost impassable terrain. Entailments of travel could include facing the hazards of water shortage or foul weather, or confronting wild beasts of prey or the haunting threat of bandits. A letter from the Babylonian king Burnaburiash II (mid-14th century B.C.) to Pharaoh Amenophis IV offers an alarming and sobering perspective on the difficulties and dangers of ancient travel through Canaan: "I am told that the way is dangerous, water is scarce, and the weather is hot, so I have not sent you many fine presents … when the weather improves, I will send [some presents] … [my] caravans have been robbed twice" (EA 7.53–76). An Egyptian royal treatise from the 10th Dynasty *(Instruction to Merikare),* apparently composed in order to legitimize a policy of unifying Upper and Lower Egypt and of reestablishing Egyptian hegemony over its Asian frontier, and more precisely over Canaan, provides a poetic summary of some of the perils inherent in ancient travel and communication:

> Lo, the miserable Asiatic,
> He is wretched because of the place he's in:
> Short of water, bare of wood,
> Its paths are many and painful because of mountains.
> He does not dwell in one place,
> Food propels his legs,
> He fights since the time of Horus,
> Not conquered nor being conquered,
> He does not announce the day of combat,
> Like a thief who darts about a group (*AEL* 1: 103–4).

Other pieces of Egyptian literature offer substantially the same verdict concerning ancient travel and communication. Two extant papyri stress the amenities and advantages that accrued to the profession of a scribe, while at the same time they pointed up hardships in other occupations. The profession of soldier, declared the *Papyrus Lansing,* required one to travel without rest over mountainous terrain, to drink water only every third day, water that was usually rancid or strong with the taste of salt, and to face constantly the torment of attackers on every side (*AEL* 2: 172). This same refrain was echoed in the *Satire of the Trades,* where a characterization of the profession of courier included having to leave Egypt and go into

the desert, to leave all goods to one's children, and to face the fearful threat of lions and Asiatics (*AEL* 1: 188).

A portion of the main communication thoroughfare of ancient Canaan was described by the Egyptian Thutmosis III (1490–1436 B.C.) as being so narrow at one place that his horses would have to proceed single file, thus creating a vulnerable military situation in which the pharaoh's vanguard and rear guard would be separated by several miles (*AEL* 2: 31). In the late 13th century B.C., an Egyptian official traveling through Syro-Palestine also described conditions along the roadway. At one point, he reported "that the sky is darkened by day and [the road?] is overgrown with cypresses and oaks and cedars which reach the heavens" (*ANET*, 477). Elsewhere in this same papyrus, the traveler offered a similar assessment of a portion of the main road near Megiddo:

> Behold, the ambuscade is in a ravine 2,000 cubits deep, filled with boulders and pebbles … The narrow valley is dangerous with Bedouin, hidden under the bushes. Some of them are four or five cubits [from] their noses to the heel, and fierce of face. Their hearts are not mild, and they do not listen to wheedling. You are alone; there is no messenger with you, no army host behind you. You find no scout, that he might make you a way of crossing. You come to a decision to go forward, although you do not know the road. Shuddering seizes you, [the hair of] your head stands up, and your soul lies in your hand. Your path is filled with boulders and pebbles, without a toe hold for passing by, overgrown with reeds, thorns, brambles and "wolf's-paw." The ravine is on one side of you, and the mountain rises on the other. You go on jolting, with your chariot on its side, afraid to press your horse [too] hard (*ANET*, 477–78).

Some of these texts are dealing with the movement of caravans or troops, while others address the travels of a single individual; but all the documents describe the same ominous reality: travel through Syro-Palestine in the early biblical periods was a difficult and hazardous business.

The same difficulties and perils, however, were faced by travelers throughout the entire Fertile Crescent. Herodotus may have had his reasons for boasting that messengers on the Persian Royal Road were "stayed neither by snow nor rain nor heat nor darkness from accomplishing their appointed course with all speed" (8.98; cf. Xenophon *Cyrop.* 8.6.17), but such travel clearly would have been an exception to the rule. Texts from Asia Minor (*Annals of Muršili II* [CTH 61.2.23]; *Muršili's Speech Loss* [CTH 486]) tell of snow, ice, and even lightning preventing travel. An Ugaritic text (RS 20.33 trans. in Rainey 1971: 133) describes how rains had caused the overflow of wadis, thus hindering further troop movement. In the same document, the Ugaritic king was reminded that the ravages of severely cold weather had taken their toll: devoured troops, broken chariots, and dead horses. Akkadian literature is replete with references to foul weather causing delays in or even preventing travel (e.g., CAD K: 551b; Z: 160–62; cf. VAT 746.19–22).

In the same manner, travelers throughout the Fertile Crescent were required to face the hazard of almost impassable terrain. A text from Muršili II (CTH 61.2.22, 70) tells of a mountainous, densely wooded terrain that prevented passage of horses and chariots, so troops were required to proceed on foot. Assyrian literature often speaks of the perils of difficult terrain. Often these texts, admittedly, are designed to extol the virtues of a particular king, so it would be imprudent to take what they say at face value. For example, the preface of the large sculptured relief of Assurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) contains numerous epithets of the king, including statements such as "the one who marches on mountain paths, the one who progresses by difficult means through mountains, and the one who opens paths in mountains which rise perpendicular to the sky like the edge of a dagger" (*GARI* 2: 183–84, 187). Similarly, as part of the preface to his Monolith Inscription, Shalmaneser III (858–783) is described as the "one who finds (his way among) the most difficult paths, who treads the summits of mountains and highlands far and near … who opens up trails north and south … who traverses mountain and sea" (*LAR* 1: 212). The preface of the Display Inscription of Sargon II (722–705) states: "I opened up mighty mountains whose passes were difficult and countless, and I spied out their trails … I advanced over inaccessible paths (in) steep and terrifying places, I crossed over all (sorts of) plains (?)" (*LAR* 2: 25–26; cf. 40, 60; for similar claims by Tukulti-Ninurta I [1244–1208] and Tukulti-Ninurta II [890–884], consult *GARI* 1: 108, 118–19; *LAR* 1:

127–28). Though texts like these undoubtedly contain hyperbolic elements, being specimens of political propaganda, other pieces of Assyrian literature deal with the same phenomenon of traveling over difficult terrain in ways that seem to reflect actual historical description. In some cases, these texts have a ring of authenticity by virtue of the degree of detail they supply. Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076), for instance, states that he took horses and chariots with him on one campaign where it was necessary to hack out a path with copper pickaxes in order to make passable a road through a rough mountain range (of the Zagros, in the vicinity of the Lower Zab). But having crossed the Tigris later in the campaign, he had to abandon his chariot and proceed on foot (*GARI* 2: 7–8). In another campaign, this monarch tells of taking with his army a corp of engineers *(ummānu),* whose task it was to level tracks and clear roadways. They also cut down certain species of trees which were then used for constructing a bridge across the Euphrates (*GARI* 2: 12; for this translation of *ummānu,* refer to *AHW*, 1415; cf. CAD K: 11a). Sargon II speaks of cutting a road through difficult terrain, so narrow the path and so strait the passage that his infantry had to pass marching sideways (CAD G: 90b), and having to use camels and baggage asses to get to the pinnacle of a mountain (*LAR* 2: 75), including descriptions of the sound of a mighty waterfall and the presence of a certain species of fruit tree along the road on which he was traveling (*LAR* 2: 93–94). Sennacherib (705–681) describes traversing over difficult terrain on his sedan chair before the landscape became too steep. Continuing on foot, the king tells of getting tired, sitting down to rest and drink cold water before renewing his difficult climb (*LAR* 2: 122–23). In other cases, historical credibility seems to be warranted in some passages dealing with difficult roads by virtue of the fact that the respective Assyrian monarch had to admit his own limitations. For example, Assurnasirpal II was pursuing an enemy over difficult paths and rugged mountains in the area of the Lower Zab. Upon reaching a certain mountain which he says was exceptionally rugged, he was unable to pursue further (*GARI* 2: 122). Sennacherib, on one occasion, was routing his Elamite foes along a road, yet because the "month of rain set in (with) extreme cold and the heavy storms sent down rain upon rain and snow," he was afraid of the swollen mountain streams, and so he turned back in the direction of Nineveh (*LAR* 2: 125, 155–57).

Even in the Persian and Greek periods, the situation did not improve dramatically: Diodorus of Sicily refers to stretches of the Persian Royal Road that were difficult to negotiate because of steep slopes (1.2), and Xenophon's description of the "March of the 10,000" includes a number of stories about chariots stuck in the mud, and the need to clear and repair roadways (*Anabasis* 1.2.21–22; 1.5.7–8; 4.1.10; 5.1.13–15; 5.2.6; cf. *Cyrop.* 6.2.36). Even as late as the Roman period, when larger and heavier military machinery was being moved and roads received some paving, personnel to keep roads open and clear were very much needed. According to Josephus (*JW* 3.6.2; 3.7.3), road workers preceded most of Vespasian's army, to cut down trees that hindered a march, to remove stones from the road, and to build it up and make it level and straight. A similar procedure was followed by Titus (*JW* 5.2.1).

Beyond the hazards of water shortage, foul weather, and nearly impassable roads, ancient travelers also had to contend with bandits, infiltrators, and wild beasts along roads. But unlike the problem of difficult terrain, which would largely have been limited to the mountainous regions of the Zagros, Taurus, Amanus, Lebanon, and Anti-Lebanon ranges and their outliers, the hazards of men and beasts were ubiquitous. A Hittite text (*Bel Madgalti* 1–16) offered repeated instructions to scouts who were sent out to keep roadways open and safe. In the *Admonitions of Ipuwer* (19th–20th Dynasties), a "prophet" stood before pharaoh and bitterly complained: "Lo, the ways are [blocked], the roads watched. One sits in the bushes till the night-traveler comes, in order to plunder his load. What is upon him is seized; he is assaulted with blows of the stick; he is criminally slain" (*AEL* 1: 154). An Amarna text, imploring Amenophis IV to intervene on behalf of Babylonian merchants who had been robbed and murdered in Canaan, amply illustrates that the *Admonitions* contained more than mere rhetoric. My messengers, declares the sender, "were held up on business in Canaan … in the city of Hinnatun in Canaan, [certain men] of Acco killed my merchants and took their silver … I have been robbed in your land … as to the people who killed my messengers, kill them and avenge their blood. Otherwise they will return and kill either a caravan belonging to me or one belonging to you" (EA 8). Shortly thereafter, Wenamun reported that thieves had robbed him of silver and gold (in Phoenicia). He went on to discuss how some travelers

carried with them a statuette of Amun, which served as a magical protector (*AEL* 2: 225, 228). As part of Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature *(The Instruction of Ankhsheshonq),* a friend is advised: "Do not walk a road without a stick in your hand. Do not walk alone at night" (*AEL* 3: 172). And Josephus reported that Herod the Great opened a road between Syrian Antioch and Samsat (on the Upper Euphrates) that was very dangerous because of 500 ambushers and narrow passes at woods (*Ant* 14.15.8; cf. Luke 10:30). Two Egyptian literary documents from the late 13th century B.C. warned of the problem of wild beasts. "A soldier, when he goes up to Retenu (i.e., Palestine)," says the one text, "has neither staff nor sandals. He does not know whether he is dead or alive, by reason of fierce lions" (Waterhouse 1963: 160). Of conditions along a Canaanite roadway, the other papyrus utters, "Lions are more numerous than leopards or bears, (and the road is) surrounded by Bedouin on (every) side of it" (*ANET,* 477). Wild beasts were also a formidable threat to travel, as described in the Bible. Samson is said to have encountered a young lion on the Sorek valley road between Zorah and Timnah (Judg 14:5–6). Citing evidence that he was a worthy opponent of the giant Goliath, David boasted that he had slain bears and lions while tending his father's sheep along Judean pathways (1 Sam 17:34–36). The Bible also records a tragic incident on the road between Jericho and Bethel, in which two bears killed some 42 young boys (2 Kgs 2:23–25). Travelers on roads that aligned the Jordan river valley must have faced the same reality: the Medeba map depicts a lion on the prowl in the valley (cf. Jer 50:44; Mark 1:13); many Arabic towns in this valley appear to bear the names of beasts; skeletal remains of beasts have been exhumed from the Jordan's flood plain; and mention is frequently made in itineraries of the sighting of beasts in this valley.

Such difficulties and perils doubtlessly contributed to the fact that most international travel and communication was undertaken by caravans; in numbers, there was some protection against alien elements and agents. Considerable literary evidence from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor indicates that caravans were generally large and almost always escorted by security guards, armed by the public powers for their tasks, and that the caravanners were expected to stay strictly on the preordained route. It was not uncommon for caravans to include as many as 100 to 200 donkeys, sometimes carrying priceless commodities, and one extraordinary text from Mari refers to a caravan of 3,000 donkeys (Finet 1966: 24–28; cf. Greenberg 1955: 18; see also Gen 37:25; Judg 5:6–7; 1 Kgs 10:2; Job 6:18–20; Isa 21:13; 30:6; and Luke 2:41–45, for some biblical evidence of caravans). Private caravans are attested only rarely in antiquity. Wealthy travelers were in a position to buy slaves to serve as armed guards (e.g., Abraham, Gen 14:14–15), while the poorer segments of society either moved in groups or attached themselves to a governmental entourage headed in the desired direction (Casson 1984: 173). Evidence shows that a measurable portion of overland travel took place under the cover of darkness; nocturnal travel could offer the advantage of escape from the oppressive heat of the sun, while at the same time provide some avoidance of detection by brigands and bandits. One wonders, in fact, whether travel at nighttime may have contributed directly to the wide diffusion of moon-cult worship, the most prevalent form of religion across the Fertile Crescent (cf. Ps 121:6).

**2. Limited Daily Headway.** Another obstacle to overland travel and communication was the limited headway one could make per day. To be sure, factors of dissimilar terrain, different purposes of travel, and variation of season could dictate the actual distance covered in a day. Accordingly, the ancient world was not unfamiliar with exceptional distances covered in a single day: swift governmental messengers could traverse the 1,500 miles of the Persian Royal Road in only nine days (Herodotus 8.98); messengers who carried news of Nero's death to the W limits of the empire averaged almost 10 miles per hour (Durant 1944: 323); Tiberias rode some 600 miles in 72 hours to be at the bedside of his dying brother (Durant 1944: 323); and couriers in the Roman postal service averaged about 95 miles per day (Forbes 1965: 138). But these were rare exceptions in the ancient world, and they should be treated as such.

On the other hand, we possess numerous archival texts, itineraries, and military annals from all parts of the ANE: Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, and Asia Minor. Some of this evidence comes from the 2d millennium B.C., and other portions derive from the 1st millennium. The evidence is generally uniform and mutually corroborating that one day's journey in the ancient world incorporated between 17 and 23 miles, with slightly higher daily averages when traveling downstream by boat. Similar daily averages

continued to be the norm in later classical, Arab, and medieval itineraries, from Egypt to Turkey, and to Iran. Even as recently as 100 years ago or less, some modern itineraries or travel accounts document the same sort of meager daily averages. The same kind of limited headway is portrayed in a number of biblical episodes. Abraham sighted Mt. Moriah (vicinity of Jerusalem) during the third day of his trip from Beer-sheba (Gen 22:4), and the two sites are separated by approximately 50 airline miles. Kadesh-barnea (either Ain Qadeis or Ain Qudeirat) was a distance of 11 days' journey from Horeb (in the environs of Jebel Musa in S Sinai), following the testimony of Deut 1:2, and some 190 airline miles separate the two places. According to 2 Kgs 3:5–10, a march from Jerusalem via the "way of Edom" to the capital city of Moab (Kir-hareseth) lasted 7 days. The approximate distance involved in this journey was 115 miles. Ezra led a Jewish caravan from Babylonia to Jerusalem. His company is said to have departed from the Babylonian frontier on the twelfth day of the first month (Ezra 8:31), and it arrived in Jerusalem on the first day of the fifth month (Ezra 7:9), which means that the journey itself lasted a little more than three and one-half months (cf. Josephus *Ant* 3.15.3). Given the probable route traversed by Ezra and his compatriots (cf. 8:31—the more dangerous shortcut past Tadmor?), they would have traveled about 900 miles in a little more than 100 days, but the size and makeup of his caravan would have mitigated against greater daily averages. Alternatively, had they followed the longer course of the Euphrates as far as Imar/Emar, and proceeded from there along the Great Trunk Road past Damascus (i.e., the normal route), a more typical daily average would have obtained. The same distances pretty much hold true in the NT, too. On one occasion, Peter journeyed 40 miles from Joppa to Caesarea and arrived at his destination on the second day (Acts 10:23–24). The urgency of the apostle's mission allows for the inference that he took a direct route to Caesarea and made no intermediate stops. In fact, Cornelius later explained that his own ambassadors had journeyed round-trip between Joppa and Caesarea in 4 days (10:30). On another occasion, after having been charged by the Jews in Jerusalem with an offense worthy of death, Paul was hurriedly escorted to Caesarea via Antipatris in two days' time (Acts 23:23–35), a distance of about 65 miles according to the roads the soldiers most likely followed. According to Josephus (*Life* 52), it was possible to travel between Galilee and Jerusalem by way of Samaria, a distance of about 70 miles, in three days' time.

**B. Safe Roads as Metaphor**

Mindful of the perils and difficulties inherent in ancient travel and communication, one gains a greater appreciation of "open/straight/level roads" (i.e., safe roads) as metaphor for an era of peace. Opening roads (or canals) was repeatedly cited by ancient kings as an accomplishment worthy of royal distinction. Such thinking was not limited to one geographical sphere of the Fertile Crescent; nor was it restricted only to one period of time or one genre of literature. King Azittawadda was a powerful West Semitic monarch, probably of the 8th century, who erected a city and citadel at Karatepe in Asia Minor. A long autobiographical inscription found there, composed on the occasion of the dedication of city and citadel, praises Azittawadda as the one in whose days "there was, within all the borders of the Plain of Adana, from the rising of the sun to its setting, even in places which had formerly been feared, where a man was afraid to walk on the road, but where in my days a woman was able to stroll, peaceful activity, by virtue of Ba‘al and the Gods. And in all my days, the Danunites and the entire Plain of Adana had plenty to eat and well-being and a good situation and peace of mind" (*ANET*, 654). The central point here is that security of domain may be seen in terms of tranquility on the roads. This same notion appears on a tablet from the Assyrian Assurbanipal. The text states: "In the whole land, no gentleman did any evil (harm). The one traveling by himself, traveled the farthest road in safety. There was no thief, (nor) shedder of blood. No deed of violence was committed. The lands were quiet. The four regions (of the world) were in perfect order, like the finest oil" (*LAR* 2: 380–81; cf. ARM 2: 78.31; 112.8). Nebuchadnezzar II made a similar claim in one text. The Babylonian avers, "I opened passages and (thus) I constructed a straight road … I made the inhabitants of the Lebanon live in safety together and let nobody disturb them" (*ANET*, 307; cf. connection between building a highway and securing peace, found on the Moabite Stone [*ANET*, 320]). At times, an era of peace exemplified by open, straight, or level roads is ascribed to a particular deity, whether Nergal (*ANET*, 268), Osiris (*AEL* 2: 85), Aten (*AEL* 2: 97), or even Yahweh (Ps 143:10;

Prov 3:6; cf. Prov 15:19). The Bible also uses such imagery metaphorically to signify an era of peace and tranquility. The prophet Isaiah (40:3–5; cf. Luke 3:4–6) declares concerning the restoration of Israel and Judah:

In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord,
make straight in the desert a highway for our God.
Every valley shall be lifted up,
and every mountain and hill shall be made low;
the uneven ground shall become level,
and the rough places a plain.
And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed,
and all flesh shall see it together,
for the mouth of the Lord has spoken.

Elsewhere, this prophet (42:16; cf. 45:13; 57:14; 62:10) assures the nation of God's active participation in its restoration and in a period of ensuing peace:

I will lead the blind
in a way that they have not known,
in paths that they have not known
I will guide them.
I will turn the darkness before them into light,
the rough places into level ground.

The prophet Jeremiah also wishes to convince the nations of Israel and Judah that they would be restored, that God would not utterly abandon them, but that they would see an era of tranquility. He writes (Jer 31:9; cf. Heb 12:13):

With weeping they shall come,
and with consolations I will lead them back,
I will make them walk by brooks of water,
in a straight path in which they will not stumble;
for I am a father to Israel,
and Ephraim is my firstborn.

**C. Modes of Travel and Communication**

In addition to walking, the usual mode of overland travel in the ancient world was by way of pack ass. Pack asses were attested as beasts of burden as early as 3000 B.C., and they were consistently used in caravan travel and trade (Cole 1954: 706). The pack ass was strong, even tempered, surefooted, and inexpensive. Though less common, certain other animals were used in travel and communication. The ox was known as a draft animal as early as 3000 B.C., in connection with both carts and sledges (Salonen 1950: 1–8). Also, the first association of true horses and wheeled vehicles took place during the 3d millennium.

Though horses ridden for military purposes did not become common until the 1st millennium, there is pictorial evidence for ridden horses in Asia already in the early 2d millennium (Moorey 1986: 198), and from about 1800 B.C. comes evidence of horse-drawn chariotry. It has long been argued that horses and chariots, and perhaps also composite bows and battering rams, were suddenly introduced into Mesopotamia some time around the middle of the 2d millennium by Indo-Europeans (Mitannians) who emigrated from beyond the Caucasus mountains. Now it is clear enough that horse-drawn chariots were part of standard military fare by the middle of the 2d millennium. But documentation from Mari demonstrates that already in the 18th century B.C., several breeds of horses were being raised, trained, traded, and used for a variety of purposes by a population that was native. Texts from ARMT 18 even provide lists and details of horse stable personnel gear. Likewise, Akkadians at Mari had access to more than one kind of chariot; they were employed for parades, hunting, racing, and as prestige vehicles for short journeys. Whether or not they were used for military purposes as early as the 18th century B.C. is not yet clear, but a number of factors combine to offer a rather persuasive argument. First, there are about two

dozen terms attested in this archive which designate one or another chariot part. In a few texts, some of these same terms are listed as part of military issues, which also included two-wheeled chariots, leather quivers, helmets, and scale armor. Also included among these issues was the *tilpānu,* which in the past was thought to refer to a "throwing stick." But this lexeme has recently been shown to designate the "composite bow." The composite bow appears at Mari on a stone slab which portrays a siege scene. Finally, Mari texts make plain the fact that battering rams were regular combat weapons there. Nevertheless, explicit textual reference to chariot warfare is still unknown in Mari texts, and the invention of the bit comes at a later time (Littauer and Crouwel 1979: 68–70, 99–100; Dalley 1984: 159–65).

**D. Special Occasions of Travel and Communication**

As in modern travel, there would have been countless personal reasons for people in antiquity to have traveled between preexisting points. Beyond these, however, several special situations would have occasioned ancient travel and communication: (1) commercial (e.g., commodities from as far afield as India, if not Thailand and Malaya, westward as far as the Atlantic Ocean, were being traded commercially across the Fertile Crescent by the Middle Bronze Age); (2) military (e.g., innumerable texts and annals); (3) royal (e.g., diplomatic correspondence was brought by courier or governmental official to a foreign dignatary, as in the case of the Amarna letters); (4) religious (e.g., evidenced in numerous holy wars, missionary urges, and religious pilgrimages); (5) scientific (e.g., the expedition of Alexander the Great against Persia was planned in part in order to explore the entire inhabited world as far as the eastern ocean, so Alexander took with him scientists who were entrusted with keeping daily reports, recording distances between stops, and describing geographical features of the soil and landscape along the way); and (6) political (e.g., deportations which politically disenfranchised many people, or trips within the province made to procure native natural resources for the state).

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## *THE NEW TESTAMENT WORLD*

In the NT, one finds many references to travel and communication. In the ancient world, travel and communication became essential to the spread of Christianity.

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A. Communication by Water and Land
   1. The Roman Grain Fleet
   2. Roman Roads
   3. The Imperial Post
   4. Private Travel and Correspondence

B. Communication in the NT and Early Christian Record
   1. The Gospels
   2. Paul

3. The Delivery of 1 Peter
4. The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia
5. The Journey and Letters of Ignatius

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**A. Communication by Water and Land**

The great rivers of Egypt and Mesopotamia have provided convenient means of communication from time immemorial. From earliest days, too, the Aegean has facilitated communication between the Greek mainland and islands and the W coast of Asia Minor. The Egyptians, the Cretans, the Phoenicians, and later the Greeks undertook coastal voyaging and N–S crossing in the Mediterranean.

**1. The Roman Grain Fleet.** In NT times, an important means of communication by sea was the imperial grain fleet plying between Alexandria and Italy. Egypt was the granary of Rome, and as the regular and adequate supply of grain to the capital was essential, this service was organized as a department of state as early as the Ptolemaic period (Rostovtzeff 1957: 708). The ships were privately owned, but the owners (Gk *nauklēroi;* Lat *navicularii*) let out their services under contract to the state and operated under state control. An inscription from Andriace, the port of Myra, marks an imperial building for grain storage (*CIL* 3.6738); there is a similar one from the same period at nearby Patara (*CIL* 3.12129). With a steady wind from the west, the best route from Alexandria to Italy was by Rhodes or one of these Lycian ports.

The fleet served other state interests than the transport of grain: for example, state prisoners being taken under guard to Rome might be carried on board. Private passengers and cargo were also carried.

**2. Roman Roads.** "All roads led to Rome" in NT times: the Romans paid much more attention to communications between the several provinces and Rome than between province and province. The good workmanship put into Roman roads is evident from the survival of many of them to this day: the Romans spoke of "building" a road (Lat *viam struere*). They learned some road-making techniques from the Etruscans, but the idea of continuous paved roads was Roman. A road required a sound foundation, efficient drainage, and where necessary, strong bridges.

In Italy the most famous road was the Via Appia, began under Appius Claudius in 312 B.C.; it ran S from Rome to Capua, and was later extended to Brundisium (Brindisi). From there the sea-crossing to the Balkan peninsula was about 100 miles. When Macedonia became a Roman province in 148 B.C., the Via Egnatia was constructed, running east from Dyrrhachium (modern Durres) and Apollonia (modern Poyani) on the Adriatic to Thessalonica, from which existing roads ran S to the main Greek cities. The Via Egnatia was later extended farther E to Neapolis (modern Kavalla), the port of Philippi, and later still to Byzantium on the Bosporus. When the Roman province of Asia was formed in 133 B.C., the Via Egnatia (with a short sea-crossing at either end) provided easy communication between Rome and the new province.

Asia Minor was already provided with superior roads going back to the period of Persian supremacy. The Persian empire operated an efficient road system with inns or caravanseries and watering places at convenient intervals. The "Royal Road" ran from Susa to the Aegean, a distance of some 1,500 miles, a three months' journey. Herodotus (Hdt. 5.50–54) lists 81 staging posts, at each of which fresh couriers and horses stood ready to carry royal decrees to the remotest parts of the empire (cf. Esth 8:10). See also ROADS AND HIGHWAYS (ROMAN ROADS).

**3. The Imperial Post.** The Roman imperial post followed much the same system, with one important variation. Whereas the Persian system provided a fresh courier at each staging post, Augustus arranged for one courier to complete the whole journey by carriage *(vehiculum)*, with fresh horses being provided at each staging post (Suet. *Aug.* 49.3). Even with the provision of carriages, this called for considerable stamina in the couriers, but what it lost in speed it gained in efficiency, for the courier who arrived with the message knew of the circumstances in which it had been dispatched and could supplement the written account with firsthand information. Thus, couriers from Syria and Judea brought Vitellius the news (A.D. 69) that the eastern legions had sworn allegiance to him (Tac. *Hist.* 2.73).

Sometimes citizens with sufficient influence were permitted to use the imperial post for personal business. The younger Pliny, while legate of Bithynia and Pontus, wrote to Trajan, saying: "I have made it a fixed rule not to grant anyone a permit to use the imperial post unless he is traveling on your service; but I have just been obliged to make an exception. My wife learned of her grandfather's death and was anxious to visit her aunt. I thought it would not be reasonable to deny her a permit when promptness means so much in performing this kind of duty, and I felt sure that you would approve of a journey made for family reasons." The emperor replied that of course he approved: "you had no need to entertain any doubts on this score even if you had waited to ask me *first*" (*Epp.* 10.120, 121).

There is no plausibility in the suggestion that Paul sometimes used the good offices of "saints … of Caesar's household" (Phil 4:22), i.e., members of the imperial civil service, to convey his letters for him. He evidently used members of his own circle for this purpose.

While security and regularity rather than speed were the aim of the imperial post, speed was sometimes of special importance. In 9 B.C., Tiberius was at Ticinum in N Italy when he learned that his brother Drusus was mortally ill at his summer camp in Germany, 500 miles away. Using relays of horses supplied by the imperial post, he covered the distance within three days; indeed, he is said to have covered 200 miles of the journey within twenty-four hours (Val. Max., *Facta Memorabilia* 5.3). This, of course, was quite exceptional.

Speed was essential when an emperor's death and his successor's identity had to be reported to the provincial authorities. For example, Tiberius died on March 16, A.D. 37 (Tac. *Ann.* 6.50); news of his death reached the legate of Syria, L. Vitellius, while he was on a visit to Jerusalem at Passovertide that year (Joseph. *Ant* 18.122–24). Since Passover in A.D. 37 coincided with the full moon of April 17/18, the news arrived within five weeks. It is uncertain whether it was brought by land along the Via Egnatia or by sea from Italy to Alexandria. The accession of Galba (June 9, A.D. 68) was announced in Alexandria in 27 days (*CIG* 4957 = *OGIS* 669).

The voyage from Italy to Alexandria in favorable weather was much shorter and faster than the circuitous land route by Macedonia, Asia Minor, and Syria. Herod Agrippa I, appointed king of the Jews by Gaius, set out from Puteoli for his new kingdom when the NW winds began to blow in A.D. 38 and reached Alexandria "a few days later" (Philo, *Flacc* 27)—perhaps in about two weeks. By contrast, the accession of Pertinax on January 1, A.D. 193 took 63 or 64 days to be announced at Alexandria: on March 6 the prefect of Egypt issued an edict with directions for its celebration (*BGU* 646). At that time of year, the news would have come by land (ca. 2,500 miles).

Travel by sea was virtually ruled out in winter. According to the elder Pliny (*HN* 2.122), the seas were reopened to navigation on February 8; according to Vegetius (*De re militari* 4.39), they remained closed until March 10. Vegetius probably had in mind sailing over the open sea. He adds that the safe season for Mediterranean sailing ended on September 14; after that it became dangerous, and ceased altogether for the winter on November 11. In an emergency, however, winter sailing might be attempted. In a time of food scarcity at Rome, Claudius insured shipowners against the loss of their vessels in wintry weather and offered a bounty for every new ship constructed for the grain fleet. (Suet. *Claud.* 18.2). Even by land, travel was hazardous in winter, especially on roads which led through mountain passes.

Where the time taken by a journey is specified, it is usually because it was exceptionally short (or, occasionally, exceptionally long); such precise time indications afford no basis for calculating average speeds, whether for the imperial post or for private travel.

The voyage from Alexandria described by Lucian *(Nav.)* is formally fictional, but it is plainly based on real experience. The journey from Alexandria to Italy, because of contrary winds, was longer and more circuitous than that in the opposite direction, but Lucian's grain ship was dogged by misfortune: it was driven into the Aegean and docked in Piraeus on the seventieth day after setting out, whereas it should have reached its destination in an Italian port by that time.

**4. Private Travel and Correspondence.** Private travelers generally had to be content with a slower rate than the imperial post; they could not rely on guaranteed transport and were usually more leisurely in their progress. If the imperial post could cover 50 miles in a day, private travelers with horse transport would

do well to cover 25–30, while pedestrians might achieve 15–20. Yet, where business was urgent a private traveler could go surprisingly fast. When Galba was proclaimed emperor by the Roman senate on June 9, A.D. 68, he was at Clunia in Spain, but his freedman, Icelus, left Rome at once and brought him the news within seven days, two days before the arrival of the official messenger (Plut. *Galba* 7)—a journey of 348 miles by land plus four or five days' voyage from Ostia to Tarraco.

In A.D. 143–44 the orator Aelius Aristides completed a winter journey from Smyrna to Rome. He fell sick and had to spend a long time at Edessa on the Via Egnatia, reaching Rome only on the hundredth day from his departure; yet he claims that for part of the way he traveled as fast as the imperial post (Aristides *Or.* 24).

The conveyance of private letters depended on the availability of carriers bound for the appropriate destination; they might therefore be earlier or later in arrival. A letter sent by Cicero from Rome to Athens reached its destination in 21 days, which he describes as "pretty smart" (*Fam.* 14.5.1); another, though sent at the height of summer, took 46 days to complete the same journey (*Fam.* 16.21.1). Of two letters sent to Rome from Syria, one—received on May 7, 43 B.C.—had taken 61 days (*Fam.* 12.10.2); another, dated December 31, 45 B.C., took 100 days (*Att.* 14.9.3).

**B. Communication in the NT and Early Christian Record**

A study of communications in the E Roman provinces helps to elucidate parts of the NT, especially Acts but also the Gospels and Epistles.

**1. The Gospels.** In Palestine the Romans used the ancient highway which led from the Euphrates to Egypt: it ran S through Damascus, crossed to the W side of the Jordan N of Lake Tiberias, went through the plain of Esdraelon (Jezreel) and the pass of Megiddo, and turned S along the Mediterranean coast—the Via Maris. Several minor branches linked various centers in Galilee with the W coast. A road by Antipatris (modern Rosh haʿAyin) linked Caesarea with Jerusalem; from Jerusalem to Jericho the road down the Wadi Qelt continued to serve, as it had done from ancient days.

Jesus and his disciples, who went around on foot, did not need to make much use of highways suitable for wheeled traffic; there was no scarcity of pedestrian tracks for them to follow as they went from one place to another in Galilee.

**2. Paul.** Paul and other missionaries to the gentile world found the Roman road system indispensable.

When Paul and Barnabas landed from Cyprus at the river port of Perga in Pamphylia and made their way up country to Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:13–14), they probably crossed the Taurus range by the Klimax pass and went N to Prostanna, at the S tip of Lake Eğridir, and moved along the SE shore of the lake to the Anthios valley (Broughton 1937: 131–33). Pisidian Antioch, a Roman colony, was linked by road to the province of Asia on the W and to the cities of S Galatia on the E. For example, it was linked with Lystra, another Roman colony, by a military road which did not pass through Iconium. Paul and Barnabas, however, did not take this road: before going on to Lystra from Pisidian Antioch they visited Iconium. Iconium was an important road junction then as now: five Roman roads converged there. Derbe, to which Paul and Barnabas went from Iconium and Lystra, lay on the frontier between Roman Galatia and the client kingdom of Antiochus, but the Roman road system did not halt at the frontier; it continued through the client kingdom to the Cilician Gates and so on to Tarsus and Antioch on the Orontes.

On his next visit to Asia Minor (Acts 15:41–16:10), Paul set out by land from Antioch on the Orontes by the Syrian Gates, crossed the Taurus by the Cilician Gates (a gap worn by the Cydnus river), and so on to Derbe and Lystra (Ramsay 1906: 273–98). Another road from the Cilician Gates ran by Philadelphia to Troas; yet another ran N by Cappadocian Caesarea to Amisos on the Black Sea, crossing a main thoroughfare leading W from Armenia to the Bosporus.

On this occasion Paul probably intended to continue along the main road to Ephesus, but he was directed not to do so; instead, he and his companions left that road at Iconium or Pisidian Antioch and crossed the Sultan Dag to Philomelium (Akşehir), from which a road running NW would take them to Cotiaeum (Kütahya). From there they journeyed by Adramyttium to Troas (for the route, see Broughton 1937: 135). Alexandria Troas (to use its full name) was "a nodal point on what became a sophisticated

system of international routes" (Hemer 1975: 91). The imperial post used the short sea crossing between Troas and Neapolis as a link between N Asia Minor and the Via Egnatia.

Paul and his company crossed from Troas to Neapolis, and visited Philippi and then Thessalonica on the Via Egnatia. Having been prevented from going to Ephesus, Paul may have planned now to make for Rome along the Via Egnatia, but trouble at Thessalonica forced him to turn S. Thus, he eventually reached Corinth, where he stayed for 18 months (Acts 18:11).

From Corinth he returned to Palestine and Syria by sea. In general, contrary winds made Mediterranean sea travel from E to W difficult: for example, Casson (1951: 136–48) reckoned that, while the voyage from Rome to Rhodes took 7–11 days, that from Rhodes to Rome took 45–63 days. Paul, having visited Caesarea, Jerusalem, and Antioch, set out again by land for Asia Minor. This time he succeeded in reaching Ephesus. According to Acts 19:1, he approached Ephesus from "the upper country." Any route from the interior would pass through what was "upper country" from the perspective of Ephesus, but Ramsay (1897: 93–96) supposed (probably rightly) the reference to be to a higher road which left the main westward road at Apamea (modern Dinar) and led to Ephesus from the N side of Mt. Messogis (modern Aydin Dağlari). From Col 2:1, one might infer that Paul was a stranger to the Lycus valley, through which the main road ran.

After his three years' ministry in Ephesus, Paul revisited his European mission field. At Troas he hoped to meet Titus, whom he had entrusted with a delicate mission to the church of Corinth. He waited until sailing had ceased for the winter; he concluded then that Titus would come by land through Macedonia, and he set out for Macedonia to meet him (2 Cor 2:12–13; 7:5–6).

It was probably after meeting Titus that Paul visited Illyricum (Rom 15:19). To do this he would follow the Via Egnatia to the vicinity of its W terminus at Dyrrhachium (see Hammond 1974: 185–94) and then turn N along the Adriatic, either by land or (if the time of year permitted) by sea.

At the end of this time in Europe, Paul set out for Palestine, primarily to deliver the proceeds of a relief fund which he had organized in his gentile mission field for the church of Jerusalem. He was accompanied by delegates from the contributing churches. The delegates set sail from Cenchreae, the E port of Corinth, but Paul changed his mind at the last minute and went N to Philippi; from Neapolis he and Luke sailed to Troas and rejoined the others there. The voyage from Neapolis to Troas took five days (Acts 20:6), by contrast with the two days required earlier for the journey in the opposite direction (Acts 16:11), no doubt because of a prevalent northeasterly wind. By this time the Passover and festival of unleavened bread were past (in A.D. 57 the festival lasted from April 7 to 14), and Paul was anxious to reach Jerusalem in time for Pentecost (which in A.D. 57 fell on May 29).

From Troas the party set out by a fast ship, which rounded Cape Lectum and put in at Assos; Paul, for reasons not disclosed, went from Troas to Assos by land, a considerably shorter journey (25 miles) than the sea route, and was taken on board at Assos. The ship next put in at Mytilene, Samos, and Miletus. Instead of putting in at Ephesus, it sailed across the head of the Gulf of Ephesus, but it stayed in port at Miletus long enough for Paul to send a messenger asking the leaders of the Ephesian church to come to Miletus to meet him.

The ship then continued on its way to Cos, Rhodes, and Patara. As it was probably proceeding E along the S coast of Asia Minor, Paul and his party left it at Patara and found a large ship which was making a straight run across the open sea to the Phoenician coast to unload its cargo at Tyre. Chrysostom *(hom. 45 in Ac.)* reckoned that the voyage from Patara to Tyre took five days. Luke notes that on their way they sighted Cyprus to starboard.

At Ptolemais (Acco) the ship probably reached its final destination. The party went on by road to Caesarea (a journey of some 30 miles) and, as time was now well in hand, spent several days with the Caesarean Christians before completing the remaining 64 miles up country to Jerusalem, perhaps on muleback.

The hazards of travel by land and sea are underlined by a passage in which Paul lists the perils he endured in his apostolic journeys (2 Cor 11:25–26). Travel by land involved dangers from flooded rivers and highway robbers. He does not include (though he might well have done so) hazards incurred in

spending the night at inns along the road: these were notoriously dangerous and unsavory places. Travel by sea involved the danger of shipwreck, which he had endured three times (this was before he was shipwrecked off Malta); on one of these occasions he had spent 24 hours adrift on the open sea.

The hazards of sea travel are best illustrated by the account of Paul's voyage from Palestine to Italy (Acts 27). This is narrated in considerable detail, and in terms which point clearly to the record of an eyewitness who was not himself a seaman, but has provided "one of the most instructive documents for the knowledge of ancient seamanship" (Holtzmann *Apostelgeschichte* HKNT, 421).

Paul, who had been sent to Rome for the hearing of his appeal to Caesar, was (with other prisoners) put under the charge of a centurion. The ship of Adramyttium, which they boarded at Caesarea, took them to Myra; its port Andriace was a principal port of the imperial grain service. A large ship of the grain service was in harbor, ready to continue its homeward voyage; the centurion, who may have been a *frumentarius*, a supervisory officer of the grain service, put his charges on board.

It was already late in the sailing season, and the shipowner was anxious to make good speed and reach Italy before the seas closed for the winter. The NW wind slowed their progress, but they rounded Cape Salomne and sailed under the lee of Crete. By the time they came to Fair Havens (6 miles E of Cape Matala), it was clear that they could not complete the voyage before winter, so it was decided to make for Phoenix, 40 miles farther W, and spend the winter there. Suddenly, however, a violent NNE wind, called the Euraquilo (the *gregale*), blew down from the interior of Crete and drove them out to sea. During the short time that they sailed under the lee of Cauda, the crew hauled the dinghy on board, undergirded the ship, dropped a floating anchor, and then, with storm sails set, drifted before the wind on the starboard tack. The situation was so desperate that they had to jettison most of the wheat cargo, the raison d'être of the voyage and the source of the shipowner's livelihood.

With no navigational aids—neither sun nor stars were visible, because of the storm—they had no idea where they were, and all hope of survival had been given up when they found themselves approaching land—Malta, as it turned out, where they managed to get ashore, although the ship was a total wreck.

After three months' stay on Malta, they embarked on another vessel of the grain service, which had wintered there in harbor, and reached Puteoli safely. Passengers from Alexandria were normally put ashore there, while the cargo was taken on to Ostia. From Puteoli, Paul and his party went N by the Via Appia—two staging posts on the road are mentioned, the Forum of Appius and Three Taverns—"and so we came to Rome" (Acts 28:14). An adventurous journey indeed!

Paul's associates also made use of those communications on his behalf, none more assiduously than his aide-de-camp Timothy. When Thessalonica had been newly evangelized and Paul was forced to leave the city before his mission was completed, he sent Timothy back there from Athens to see how his converts were faring. This journey could have been made by land or by sea. On another occasion Paul sent Timothy from Ephesus to Corinth: he was in the course of writing a letter to the church, but received news of a situation so urgent that it called for personal intervention by a man in whom he had total confidence, before the letter could be completed and dispatched.

More arduous was the mission undertaken by Timothy when Paul was in custody in Rome. Anxious to have news of his converts in Philippi, Paul sent Timothy there. This involved a road journey of nearly 750 miles (about forty days) each way—360 miles to Brindisi from Rome and 381 miles along the Via Egnatia to Philippi—over and above the crossing of the Straits of Otranto (occupying the best part of two days). Timothy undertook it readily: one who spent so much time in the company of a man who spoke of himself as "constantly on the road" must himself have been a seasoned traveler.

**3. The Delivery of 1 Peter.** The First Letter of Peter was sent (probably from Rome) to Christians "in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia." This sequence of provinces probably indicates the route to be followed by the letter carrier. According to Hemer (1978: 239–43), if the carrier landed at Amisus in Pontus (modern Samsun), he could follow a road which took him to Amasia in North Galatia, Zela in S Pontus, and Caesarea in Cappadocia. This was the road mentioned above as linking the Black Sea with the Cilician Gates. Leaving it at Cappadocian Caesarea, the messenger could take a road west to Iconium and Pisidian Antioch (in S Galatia), and to Apamea in Asian Phrygia; then he had a choice of northbound

roads which would take him through Asia into Bithynia, to Nicaea, Nicomedia, and Chalcedon on the Bosporus, and there he could find a ship for his return journey.

**4. The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia.** The sequence of the seven churches listed in Revelation—Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea—probably also indicates the route taken by the bearer of the seven letters. "Ephesus was the messenger's natural place of entry to the mainland of the province of Asia, and the other cities lay in sequence on a circular route round its inner territories" (Hemer 1986: 15). To this day, six of the seven cities are on the railway (Pergamum being the exception). As Ramsay (1907: 171–96) pointed out, the messenger, starting at Ephesus, would visit the cities one by one, going N by Smyrna to Pergamum, and then turning in a SE direction to visit Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea. From Laodicea he would have no difficulty in taking the W road back to Ephesus.

**5. The Journey and Letters of Ignatius.** Another early Christian journey was that taken between A.D. 110 and 115 by Ignatius, bishop of Antioch on the Orontes, when he was sent under armed guard to Rome to be exposed to the wild beasts in the amphitheater. He and his guards went by land to Troas, from which they crossed to Neapolis, and so on to Rome by the Via Egnatia. The earlier part of their journey is undocumented: presumably they traveled by the Cilician Gates and then W to Iconium and Apamea. At either Apamea or Laodicea they turned N and went through Philadelphia and Sardis to Smyrna, where they arrived in August and stayed for some time. Here, our evidence for the journey becomes more detailed, thanks to letters which Ignatius sent from Smyrna to churches which, learning of his presence there, dispatched delegates to greet him—the churches of Ephesus, Magnesia by the Maeander, and Tralles. Had Ignatius' route passed through these cities, their churches would not have needed to send messengers to him at Smyrna. At the same time, Ignatius used the good offices of someone who was setting out for Rome to send a letter to the Christians of the capital, advising them of his impending arrival there and begging them not to exercise any influence to try to save him from martyrdom.

The party then went on to Troas, where there was a further stay; here Ignatius wrote letters to the church of Philadelphia, where he had stopped briefly on the way to Smyrna, as well as one to the church of Smyrna and another, more personal, to its bishop, Polycarp.

On his way through Philippi, Ignatius evidently impressed the Philippian Christians, for shortly afterwards they decided to make a collection of his letters, and wrote to Polycarp asking for his help. Polycarp's positive reply to their letter is extant: he asked them to let him know if they had any news of what happened to Ignatius and his companions.

The fictitious details of Ignatius' journey in the *Acts of Ignatius* picture him as following in Paul's footsteps.

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**TRAVELERS, VALLEY OF THE** (PLACE) [Heb *gê hā-ʿōbĕrîm* (גֵּי הָעֹבְרִים)]. An unidentified valley E of the Dead Sea in which, during the latter days, the Israelites would bury Gog and his hordes after they had been slain by Yahweh (Ezek 39:11). Subsequently, the valley would be called the "Valley of Hamon-gog (i.e., Valley of the Multitude of Gog).

Scholars disagree on both the designation and location of this valley. The MT *ʿōbĕrîm* may be read as a proper name, hence "Valley Oberim" (cf. Zimmerli *Ezechiel* BKAT, 923), or as a verbal form with the translation "Valley of the Travelers" (cf. RSV). The latter designation may suggest a play of words on "the travelers" in the context.

Revocalization of the locution *ʿōbĕrîm* could result in the reading "Abarim" (e.g., NEB and RSV marg.) which was the name of a mountain range E of the Dead Sea known from Num 33:47–48, Deut 32:49, and Jer 22:20. See ABARIM. Taking the phrase "east of the sea" to mean "east of the Dead Sea," together with the vocalization "Abarim," several scholars identify the "Valley of the Travelers" with a valley in the Abarim range or a valley below the Abarim mountains, both of which are E of the Dead Sea (e.g., Fohrer *Ezechiel* 217; Wevers *Ezekiel* NCBC, 292).

Objections to such a Transjordanian identification include: (1) the Heb word *qiḏmaṯ* need not necessarily mean "east" (cf. the translation of the LXX); (2) the Heb word for "sea" may be applied to the Mediterranean, or to the Sea of Galilee, as well as to the Dead Sea; and (3) a location in Transjordan seems to be at odds with both Ezek 39:11, which places the valley within Israel, and Ezek 47:18, which states that the E border of Israel ran along the River Jordan down to the Dead Sea.

Accepting the LXX reading that the valley was notable and stressing its location within Israel, Bewer suggested that the "sea" of Ezek 39:11 is the Lake of Galilee and the "Valley of the Travelers" should be identified with the *Wâdī Fejjas,* located about 2 miles S of the sea of Galilee (1938: 124). Other proposals include identifications with the Valley of Jezreel and with the Shephelah E of the Mediterranean. However, neither of these suggestions seems to fit the Hebrew designation for "valley" in Ezek 39:11.

More recently, Ribichini and Xella (1980), drawing on Ugaritic texts, interpreted the "Valley of the Travelers" as "the valley of those who have passed to the nether world."

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**TRAY** [Heb *maḥtâ* (מַחְתָּה)]. A word used three times in the RSV (Exod 25:38; 37:23; Num 4:9) which is more often rendered "firepan" or "snuffer." This Heb term is from a root, *ḥth,* meaning "to snatch," used to indicate the taking of hot coals from a hearth. The translation "tray" is used with "tongs" in priestly portions of the Pentateuch in reference to the utensils for servicing the golden lampstand, where it may indicate a receptacle for burnt wicks rather than coals.
CAROL MEYERS

**TREASON.** See PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES (OT AND ANE).

**TREATIES IN THE ANE.** Treaties had a significant impact on the political shape of the ANE from the 3d to the 1st millennium B.C.E. They reveal a great deal of information about international relations in this area and the history of the peoples involved. The majority of them were written in Akkadian and (to a lesser extent) Hittite, with a very small number drafted in other languages; they were inscribed on tablets of clay or metal and deposited in temples of major deities. Egypt stands out as an exception to the widespread practice of treaty making in the ANE, perhaps because it was deemed beneath pharaoh, as a living god, to enter into contracts with his servants (Tadmor 1982: 140). However, no treaty documents are known from Old Babylonian archives either, including Mari. This may indicate that in this period binding agreements between some city-states were concluded orally.

The ultimate origin of the treaty tradition in the ANE is still disputed. The earliest international treaties come from Hatti, pointing to a Hittite origin (Tadmor: 1982: 139). On the other hand, the fact that this genre shares a number of features with clearly Mesopotamian forms such as the *kudurru* (boundary stone) suggests a Mesopotamian locus (McCarthy 1978: 124; Korošec 1931: 26–35).

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A. General Characteristics
B. Types and Purpose
C. Terminology
    1. Terms for Treaties
    2. Ratifying the Treaty
D. Treaty Rituals
E. The Treaty Relationship
F. Keeping and Breaking the Treaty
G. Geographical Distribution of ANE Treaties
    1. Sumer, Ebla, and Akkad
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    3. Syria
    4. First-Millennium Mesopotamia
H. The Perdurance of the ANE Treaty Form

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**A. General Characteristics**

The ANE treaty was a sworn political agreement between two parties, at least one of which was a nation or king. At its core was an oath (Akk *nīš ilī,* lit., " (by) the life of the gods"), taken before the state deities of one or both parties. It was at the same time an imprecation (Akk *mamītu*), calling down divine wrath on the oath breaker. Treaty and oath were so closely associated that in 2d -millennium Mesopotamia one of the standard expressions for this type of document was *riksu/rikiltu u mamītu,* lit., "treaty-and-oath" (cf. Heb *bryt wʾlh* in Deut 29: 11, 13—Eng29:12, 14). The deities before whom the oath was taken were thought to act as guarantors of the treaty, punishing the one who transgressed it.

**B. Types and Purpose**

In general, one may distinguish between (1) international and (2) domestic treaties. The former were more common and may be subdivided into "parity" (between equal powers) and "suzerain-vassal" types (between a major power and a lesser nation). Parity treaties sought to establish nonaggression between the parties and to guarantee the stability of the respective ruling dynasties. Suzerain-vassal treaties served to consolidate the hegemony of the suzerain; the vassal's interests were clearly subordinate. Kestemont (1974: 346) has played down the inequality between Hittite suzerain and vassal, though his view has not won wide acceptance (McCarthy 1978: 59–60). Domestic pacts had to do with internal affairs of state, frequently with the succession to the throne, especially in Assyria (Parpola 1987: 186).

**C. Terminology**

**1. Terms for Treaties.** The ANE terms for "treaty" during the 2d millennium had the same underlying meaning, viz., "binding": Akk *riksu/rikiltu* (< *rakāsu,* "bind"); Hitt *išḫiul* (< *išḫiya-,* "bind"); Ug *mṣmt* (<

*ṣmd,* "fasten, yoke"; cf. Num 25:3, 5; Ps 106:28); Heb *bryt* (cf. Akk *birītu,* "clasp, fetter" [*TDOT* 2: 255]). The contract could also be designated by its oath component. In Akk it was called a *(ṭuppu ša) nīš ilī* " (tablet of the) oath" or a *(ṭuppu ša ) mamītu* " (tablet of the) imprecation" (Tadmor 1982: 132). The latter term was commonly used in this way in 15th-14th-century Hatti, Alalakh, Ugarit, Amarna, and Assyria. In addition, terms denoting the relationship created by the treaty were used at times to designate the agreement or the document itself (see E. below).

**2. Ratifying the Treaty.** Establishing a treaty was thought to be accomplished primarily by swearing the oath, but also by certain accompanying rites. This is reflected in ANE expressions for concluding a treaty. One of the most widely used was "to cut an oath": Phoen *krt ʾlt* (*KAI* 27:8–9); Aram *gzr ʿdn* (*KAI* 222 A 7); Heb *bryt krt;* cf. Sum *nam-erím tar/ku*$_5$, "to swear (lit., "cut") an assertory oath" (and Gk *horkia [pista] temnein*). The action may originally have referred to cutting animals into pieces in the oath ceremony. At Mari "to kill an ass" (Akk *ḫāram qatālum*) became a technical expression for making a covenant (McCarthy 1978: 91) (see D. below). The vassal treaties of Esarhaddon mention concluding a treaty by touching breasts, setting a table, drinking from a cup, and using water and oil (*ANET*, 536). Akk sources speak of "giving" (cf. Gen 9:12; 17:2) and "establishing" the treaty. The parties are sometimes said to "enter into the oath/treaty" (cf. Jer 34:10; Ezek 16:8; *TDOT* 2: 260). One treaty in Ug has *mṣmt št l-*, "to impose treaty (-obligations) upon" (cf. Heb *śm bryt l-* in 2 Sam 23:5). Similarly, the treaty oath was "sworn," "given," "placed," "uttered," or "imposed" (Tadmor 1982: 132 n. 23).

**D. Treaty Rituals**

In addition to the solemn acts that became synonymous with the establishment of the treaty, certain other rites sometimes accompanied the oath ceremony. Most of these had an intimidating character, foreboding the fate of the one who transgressed the sworn agreement. Mesopotamian sources mention "touching the throat" (Akk *napišta lapātu*) in this connection (Tadmor 1982: 134). A document from Alalakh, in reference to a treaty, reads: "Abban [Abbaʾil?] swore an oath to Yarimlim and cut the neck of a sheep, saying ' (Let me so die) if I take back that which I gave you …' " (Wiseman 1958: 129). Perhaps the most dramatic examples of such rites are mentioned in the treaties concluded with Matiʿel of Arpad (*ANET*, 532–33, 660).

**E. The Treaty Relationship**

The establishment of the treaty created a state of amicable relations between the contracting parties. This was described in 2d-millennium parity treaties by words such as "peace" (cf. Josh 9:15), "brotherhood" (cf. Amos 1:9), "friendship," and "love." Concretely, this translated into mutual nonaggression and agreement on respective spheres of influence. The relationship was commonly qualified as "eternal," since it was considered binding upon the parties' successors as well. The relationship of the vassal to his suzerain was not "brotherhood" but "servitude." In treaties of this type, the language of "father/son" replaced "brothers" and was apparently interchangeable with "lord/servant" (Fensham 1971: 125). The vassal was forbidden to seek alliances with other great powers but was to "acknowledge" only the suzerain as his overlord (cf. Hos 13:4), to be at enmity with his enemies, to extradite political refugees to the suzerain, and to report all seditious talk to him. Moreover, he was to maintain peaceful relations with all fellow vassals. Disputes between vassals of the Hittite king were brought to him for settlement.

**F. Keeping and Breaking the Treaty**

Remaining loyal to the treaty was described as "guarding" (cf. Exod 19:5; Deut 33:9) or "remembering" (cf. Amos 1:9) it. Verbs used to describe breaking it include "break" (cf. Deut 31:16), "transgress" (cf. Deut 17:2), "be false to" (Ps 89:34—Eng89:33), "despise" (cf. 2 Kgs 17:15), "erase," "sin against," "forget" (Deut 4:23; *TDOT* 2: 260–62). Breaking the oath brought the full force of the imprecations on the guilty party. Hittite texts speak of the oath gods "pursuing" (cf. Deut 28:45), "seizing," or "destroying" (Deut 28:20, 22) the oath breaker. Assyrian documents likewise speak of the imprecation "overtaking" (cf. Deut 28:15, 45), "seizing," and "destroying." In suzerain vassal treaties, this often took the form of a punitive campaign by the suzerain against the transgressor.

**G. Geographical Distribution of ANE Treaties**

**1. Sumer, Ebla, and Akkad.** There is no evidence of widespread treaty making in Sumer. The so-called "Vulture Stela" records an agreement between Eanatum of Lagash (25th century B.C.E.) and the city-state of Umma concerning boundaries (Cooper 1986: 33–39). The ruler of Umma invokes a series of curses upon himself if he breaks the oath. About ten treaties have been identified from the Ebla archives. The most important is the "Treaty between Ebla and Assyria (?)" concerning the foundation of a commercial center. Its classification as a treaty is debated, since some sections read like laws a state would lay down for its own citizens (Lambert 1987: 355). Ebla seems to have had the upper hand. A treaty in Elamite between Naram-Sin of Akkad (23d century B.C.E.) and an Elamite ruler is preserved, but is difficult to interpret (McCarthy 1978: 32).

**2. Hatti.** Extant copies of Hittite treaties date from the age of Hittite supremacy, the period of the Empire (1460–1215). They were written either in Hittite or in Akkadian, the language of international diplomacy in the LB Age. About fifty such documents are known to date.

**a. Parity Treaties.** Very few exemplars of this type of treaty survive. The earliest known were concluded between Hatti and Kizzuwatna (in S Anatolia) and between Kizzuwatna and Alalakh about 1500 B.C.E. (Tadmor 1982: 139). The best known is that between Hattusilis III and Ramesses II after the battle of Kadesh-on-the-Orontes (ca. 1280 B.C.E.), preserved in a Hittite (*ANET*, 201–3) and an Egyptian version (*ANET*, 199–201). The document deals with mutual nonaggression, extradition of political refugees, respective spheres of influence, etc.

**b. Suzerain-Vassal Treaties.** In this type, the majority of the obligations fell to the vassal. For his part, the Hittite king was obligated to provide protection and military assistance. The standard structure is as follows: (1) preamble, giving the official titles of the Hittite king; (2) historical prologue, recounting the past beneficent deeds of the suzerain (and his predecessors) to the vassal so as to establish the authority claimed in the treaty; (3) stipulations or terms ("words"—cf. Hos 10:4; Exod 20:1), which could be expressed in an imperative/precative form ("apodictic") or, more commonly, in conditional clauses ("case law"); (4) requirement that the document be deposited in a temple (of major deities) of the respective parties and read at regular intervals; (5) invocation of divine witnesses, including the gods of the Hittite pantheon and divinized natural elements; and (6) blessings and curses. Though this is the "classic" structure, exceptions did occur: e.g., the omission or curtailment of the list of divine witnesses and the de-emphasis of the curses in certain treaties in which the "vassal" was a relative of the Hittite king.

**3. Syria. a. Second-Millennium Treaties.** At least two treaties are known from 15th-century Syria. These are noteworthy insofar as both seem to have been concluded between vassals of the king of Mitanni. The first, a "treaty-document," was concluded between Idrimi of Alalakh and Pilliya (of Kizzuwatna?; *ANET*, 532). It is concerned with the extradition of refugees and concludes with a brief curse invoking three deities. The second describes itself as an " 'oath'-document" between Niqmepa, king of Mukish and Alalakh, and Ir-Arad (?) of Tunip (*ANET*, 531–32). The terms touch on the usual matters—trade, extradition of refugees, etc. It ends with a brief series of curses invoking three "great gods."

**b. The Sefîre Treaties.** A series of three Aramaic texts dating from the 8th century have come to light, preserving versions of a treaty between Bar-Gaʾyah, "king" of KTK, and Matiʿel, king of Arpad (*ANET*, 659–61; Fitzmyer 1967). Given the many Neo-Assyrian traits of this document, Lemaire and Durand have recently proposed that the suzerain was Shamshi-ilu, commander-in-chief under Shalmaneser IV (1984: 23–58). (A treaty between Matiʿel and Ashur-nirari V of Assyria is also preserved—*ANET*, 532–33). An interesting feature of these Aramaic documents is the rituals mentioned therein foreboding the fate of the oath breaker, including cutting a calf in two (cf. Jer 34:18). Similar rites are mentioned in the treaty with Ashur-nirari V (see D above).

**4. First-Millennium Mesopotamia. a. Babylon.** Only one fragmentary treaty survives that might be Babylonian, concluded in 822 B.C.E. between Marduk-zakir-shumi of Babylon and Shamshi-Adad V of Assyria (Parpola and Watanabe 1988: 4–5). It is often assumed that the Babylonian king is the dominant party, though Parpola disagrees, classifying it as Neo-Assyrian (Parpola and Watanabe 1988: xxvi;

Parpola 1987: 186). Very little of the stipulations are preserved; it concludes with a list of gods and curses almost identical with those at the end of the Code of Hammurabi.

**b. Assyria.** In 1st-millennium Assyria, the term *riksu/rikiltu* was replaced by *adê* (cf. Heb *ʿdn/ʿdwt*). This appears to be a loanword from Aram *ʿdy*, a construct plural meaning "oaths" (cf. Lemaire and Durand 1984: 91–106). Parpola (1987: 180–83) has shown that it is a general term in Neo-Assyrian for any solemn, binding agreement. To date, about twenty NA *adê*s have come to light, with references to about fifty in all (Parpola 1987: 184–86). The majority of these are international treaties. The general form of the Neo-Assyrian treaties is similar in many respects to the Hittite model. The main parts are as follows: (1) preamble, identifying the contracting parties, (2) stipulations, (3) appeal to divine witnesses (state gods of Assyria and, in some instances, of the vassal party), and (4) curses invoked upon the inferior party in case he violates the treaty (Parpola and Watanabe 1988: xxxv–xliii). The following elements are sometimes found, but apparently not mandatory: a short historical introduction, seal impressions (after the preamble), and an adjuration clause (with a list of divine witnesses).

The longest and best preserved Neo-Assyrian treaty known to date (ca. 670 lines) is a domestic treaty concluded in 672 B.C.E. between Esarhaddon and his vassals (*ANET*, 534–41; Parpola and Watanabe 1988: 28–58)—the "Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon." It is not clear whether it was imposed only on certain vassals on the E periphery of the empire or on a wider group of subjects (Parapola and Watanabe 1988: xxx). The chief purpose of the document was to ensure the succession of Esarhaddon's son, Ashurbanipal, to the Assyrian throne.

Neo-Assyrian treaties differed from their Hittite counterparts in several respects. The contract was more one-sided: virtually all the obligations fell to the vassal party. No blessings were invoked; rather, there was a decided emphasis on the curses, which explains why the treaty could be called *mamītu*, "imprecatory oath." In the Esarhaddon treaty mentioned above, the curses run some 230 lines.

## H. The Perdurance of the ANE Treaty Form

From the fact that treaties were such a significant part of international politics in the ANE, it is not surprising that this literary genre or variations of it lasted almost to the end of the pre-Christian period. The 7th-century amulet from Arslan-Tash (*KAI* 27: 8–18) shows its influence (Zevit 1977: 110–18). Nor is it possible to deny its impact on the OT idea of covenant, especially in Deuteronomy. See also COVENANT. The ANE treaty form is also clearly reflected in a text as late as 215 B.C.E., the pact between Hannibal and Philip V of Macedonia (Plb. *Hist.* 7.9; Barré 1983: 38–99).

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**TREATISE OF SETH.** See SETH, SECOND TREATISE OF THE GREAT (NHC VII,*2*).

**TREATISE OF SHEM.** See SHEM, TREATISE OF.

**TREATISE ON THE RESURRECTION.** See RESURRECTION, TREATISE ON THE (NHC I,*4*).

**TREE OF KNOWLEDGE AND TREE OF LIFE.** The tree of the knowledge of good and evil and the tree of life are two supernatural trees located in the garden of Eden (Gen 2:4b–3:24). The two trees are mentioned together at the beginning and end of the Eden story (Gen 2:9; 3:22). However, in the middle of the story only one tree is mentioned (2:16–17; 3:3, 6, 11, 12). It is clear that this tree is the tree of knowledge because of its properties and because of the prohibition placed on it (cf. 3:3, 5–6, 11 with 2:16–17). A clear understanding of what the tree of knowledge represents or what powers it can bestow is essential for interpreting the narrative of Gen 2:4b–3:24.

**A. The Tree of Knowledge**

The name of this tree presents certain syntactic difficulties. It is fully: *ʿēṣ haddaʿat ṭôb wārāʿ.* The problems center around the word *daʿat.* Is this word a substantive or an infinitive, and how does it relate to the following phrase? Those who take *daʿat* as the noun "knowledge" propose either that it is in the absolute state governed by the preceding word, "tree," or that it is in the construct state bound to the following phrase, "good and evil." In the former case, there is the problem of how *ṭôb wārāʿ,* "good and evil," relates to this. Von Rad proposed that the phrase *ṭôb wārāʿ* should be considered a "subsequent addition." In the latter case, there is the difficulty of the article being affixed to a noun in the construct state. A more satisfactory solution is obtained by taking *daʿat* as an infinitive construct of *yādaʿ,* "to know," preceded by the article and with a direct object following. This construction is admittedly rather rare but not without parallel (cf. Jer 22:16).

Scholars have given a great deal of attention to the interpretation of the tree of knowledge. Three broad areas of interpretation can be discerned among the many proposals.

(1) The tree makes possible the acquisition of certain human faculties. Proposals in this area have included the acquisition of moral values (K. Budde), attaining human maturity (H. Gunkel, U. Cassuto), claiming the right of self-determination (E. Speiser, R. de Vaux), or claiming legal responsibility for decisions (W. M. Clark). A basic problem with all of these is that there is no adequate explanation given as to why Yahweh should deny any of these responsibilities to humankind. Moreover, this approach does not clarify in what way having these qualities is to be regarded as "being like gods" (3:22).

In regard to the matter of moral values, how could Yahweh consider the humans who eat of the tree's fruit at fault when they were morally ignorant? The argument for self-determination being the power granted by the tree has some merit. The context of the story points in this direction, but further consideration needs to be given to the way the phrase "knowing good and evil" affects the context. W. M. Clark's legal argument concentrates only on those passages in which "to know/discern good and evil" has a royal or legal context (e.g., 1 Kgs 3:9; 2 Sam 13:22; 14:17). There are other occurrences of this or another similar expression which do not have these contexts.

(2) The tree introduces to the first humans the knowledge of sexual relations. This has been a popular interpretation. Various proposals along this line have been made by J. Coppens, L. Hartman, I. Engnell, and R. Gordis. Elements in the story of Eden have prompted these proposals: the nakedness of the couple, their shame, the punishment in the terms of pain in childbearing and sexual desire for her husband, the fertility associations of snakes in the ANE, and the designation of the woman as "mother of all living."

Passages such as Deut 1:39 and Isa 7:15, which speak of children not yet knowing "good and evil," and 2 Sam 19:36, in which Barzillai in old age no longer knows "good and evil," are all cited as evidence. In the last case, Barzillai declines David's invitation to join his court. David offers hospitality in return for that shown to him earlier by Barzillai (2 Sam 17:27). Barzillai would prefer to spend his old age at home and tells David that he can no longer appreciate food or drink or the sounds of the court singers. In this context, his rhetorical question whether he can "know good or evil" suggests to some a reference to the triad "wine, women, and song." Hence, "to know good and evil" is an idiom for having sexual relations. If there is an allusion here to that triad, it would be the earliest occurrence. This is a slender argument for a purely sexual understanding of "to know good and evil." One can comprehend Barzillai's rhetorical question better if it is understood that he means he can no longer know "anything" as he once could and therefore cannot appreciate David's offer fully. The whole semantic range of *yāda‘,* "to know," used in the OT needs to be taken into account.

The same could be said for the passage from Qumran, 1QSa 1:9–11, cited by R. Gordis (1957). As part of the general rule for life in the Qumran community, this passage states,

> (A man) will not approach a woman to have intercourse with her until he has attained the age of twenty when he knows good and evil.

Gordis sees this as an indication that "to know good and evil" has to do with commencing sexual relations. However, the larger context of the passage sets the age of twenty in the community not only as the age of marriage but also as the age of the conclusion of the study of the Law and acceptance into the holy congregation (1QSa 1:8–9). Thus, while "to know good and evil" could have some sexual connotations it also has legal and social ones.

One cannot ignore the sexual overtones in the story in Gen 2:4b–3:24, but they do not dominate the narrative. The tree of knowledge possibly has some connection with these overtones, but that is not the whole story. One has to consider the total range of meaning of the verb *yāda‘,* "to know," to obtain a clearer picture. Further, in the Eden story one has to consider that Yahweh does not forbid human procreation. In fact, the recognition that the relation of the man and woman in the story before they eat from the tree becomes an etiology for human marriage (2:24) cannot be overlooked.

(3) The tree gives access to some universal knowledge. This interpretation has also been proposed in various forms by many scholars, including J. Wellhausen, P. Humbert, and J. A. Soggin. Wellhausen saw the knowledge associated with the tree as a broad knowledge which transcended human limitations. It was the knowledge of the secrets of the world, and its acquisition enabled humankind to imitate the work of God.

Such interpretation of the tree of knowledge is dependent on the phrase "good and evil" being understood as a merism. A merism is a figure of speech where the totality of something is expressed by two constituent parts. There are other passages in the OT where this phrase or a similar one is used as a merism (e.g., Gen 24:50; 2 Sam 14:17, 20; Jer 42:6; Lam 3:38; Eccl 12:14). In 2 Samuel 14, a woman from Tekoa comes to King David seeking his wisdom. In v 17 she says of David, "… for my lord the king is like a messenger of God (the gods) discerning the good and the evil." In v 20 she adds, "My lord has wisdom like the wisdom of the messenger of God (the gods) knowing all which is in the earth." The passage clearly uses "the good and the evil" as a merism for "all which is in the earth." David's knowledge of "all which is in the earth" is likened to the knowledge of "the messenger of God (the gods)." This is helpful in understanding Gen 2:4b–3:24.

Also important for the interpretation of the Eden story are Deut 1:39; 2 Sam 19:36; and Isa 7:15, 16. In the first and third passages, reference is made to children who do not yet "know good and evil" or who do not yet know how "to refuse the evil and choose the good." Arguments have been made for the interpretation of "good and evil" in these passages to indicate human faculties or sexual relations. But these do not exhaust the possibilities, and when 2 Sam 19:36 and 1QSa 1:9–11 are also considered it would seem that "good and evil" can best be understood as a merism indicating a comprehensive extent of knowledge which includes various concepts of maturity, with sexual, intellectual, and social implications.

The interpretation of universal knowledge as the gift of the tree in Eden would seem to fit the story best. It ties in with the theme of the humans becoming like gods. The various aspects of divine knowledge—sexual, intellectual, social, etc.—would have allowed the ancient storytellers to highlight various aspects of the narrative as they desired. Gen 2:4b–3:24 is a story about divine-human relations, the boundary that divides the two realms, and the consequences of attempting to breach the intimacy, trust, and responsibility that is part of the created order.

**B. The Tree of Life**

The tree of life is the second of the two main trees located in the garden of Eden. It bestows immortality on those who eat from it (Gen 3:22). The origins of the concept of the tree of life are obscure. There is no explicit reference to such a tree in other ANE literature, although special plants, food, and water are often depicted as granting the gift of immortality or at least eternal youth. In the Epic of Gilgamesh, the hero, in his travels, acquires a plant by which he can regain his "life's breath." He names the plant, "In old age a man becomes young." The gift of the plant is clearly that of a return to youthful vitality. Unfortunately, a serpent steals it from him while he bathes (Epic of Gilgamesh 11.279–89; see *ANET*, 96).

In the myth of Adapa, the hero, who is a leader among peoples, is offered the "food of life" and the "water of life" by the god Anu, but on the advice of Ea he refuses them, thinking they are rather the bread and water of death. Like Gilgamesh he misses out on gaining a quality of life beyond that of other mortals (*Adapa* 67–68; *ANET*, 101–3). The "water of life" is also mentioned in the story of the descent of Ishtar to the netherworld (*Descent of Ishtar* 34, 38; *ANET*, 107–9), while the "plant of life" is connected with kingship in Sumerian and Akkadian texts.

Throughout ANE literature, occasional descriptions of sacred trees with magical powers are known. The *kiškanû* tree is referred to in Akkadian incantation and magical texts as having some special healing powers. It grows in a pure, abundant place in Eridu. The features of the location remind us of the image of the garden of the gods. See GARDEN OF GOD.

The description of the "world tree" or "cosmic tree" in Ezek 17:22–24; 31:2–9, and Dan 4:7b–9, although used in different contexts, should be noted. Such trees are portrayed as objects of beauty, grandeur, and abundant fertility. They become shelters for all sorts of creatures and are a source of sustenance for all life.

None of the above elements can be directly connected to the biblical tree of life. The aspect of "life" in each of them changes from story to story. However, the common ground between them should be recognized. The concepts of a supernatural tree as a source of life and of eating and drinking some substance to gain divine powers seem to have coalesced in the tree of life in Gen 2:4b–3:24.

Glyptic and other artistic evidence is also cited as evidence for consideration in discussions of the tree of life. Natural or stylized trees on monuments, stelae, cylinder seals, etc., have been interpreted as sacred trees or a "tree of life." These depictions fall into two broad categories. First, such trees are associated with divine figures in human form or with certain mythical beasts. A winged disk is sometimes portrayed above the tree, which often occupies a central place in the scene. In some cases, these scenes could depict some mythic episode. The tree is occasionally connected with a mountain or with streams coming forth from the deity. Secondly, some scenes depict a central tree flanked by two animals. The beasts, which can be either mythological or common domestic animals such as goats, are often seen resting their forelegs on the tree. Occasionally, the figure of a deity replaces the tree. The interpretation of this material is highly subjective. The relation of ritual significance to decorative function is unknown, and it is difficult to connect the evidence to specific mythic episodes.

OT references to the tree of life are found outside Gen 2:4b–4:24 only in Prov 3:18; 11:30; 13:12; and 15:4. It also occurs in the LXX of Isa 65:22. In Prov 3:18, the tree of life is equated with wisdom. In the other passages, it is contrasted to something undesirable. R. Marcus (1943) argues that in the Wisdom Literature the mythological understanding of the term has been replaced by a secularized understanding specifically indicating a "health-giving drug" or "remedy." However, one must keep in mind that the concept of "life" in the OT embraces a broad range of meanings from immortality to good health. The tree in Proverbs therefore need not just be reduced to a "secular" term. It is certainly devoid of any notion of

immortality, but other aspects of the mythical tree could lie behind the references. Finally, the reference to the tree of life in LXX of Isa 65:22 (cf. "the tree" in MT) builds upon and enhances the mythic imagery used in Isaiah 65.

The notion of the tree of life is carried over into intertestamental literature. There, however, the tree performs functions different than in the OT. In *1 Enoch* 25:4–5, the fruit of the tree is to be given to the elect as food on the day of great judgment. The concept of immortality is still present in the tree, but now it is reserved for those who will enjoy a risen life in God's presence. A similar situation is described with reference to the tree of life in *T. Levi* 18:10–11, *4 Ezra* 7:123–24; 8:52 (cf. also 1QS 1:3–4 and 1QH 8:5–6).

Although the concept of the "tree of life" in Gen 2:4b–3:24 cannot be seen as dependent upon any of the other supernatural trees discussed above, we can nevertheless say that this tree is a development in Israelite literature of a traditional motif. Moreover, the tree of life appears in the context of a description of a divine garden. This is also the case with the description of the *kiskanû* tree and the tree which represents Pharaoh in Ezekiel 31. As in the case of Ezekiel 17 and Dan 4:7b–9, the motif of the supernatural tree has taken on a prominent role in the story.

The concept of the tree of life reappears in the book of Revelation (2:7; 22:2 *bis,* 14, 19). In Rev 21:9–22:5, John sees a vision of the new Jerusalem. The tree of life *(to xulon zoes)* grows on either side of the river which flows from beneath the divine throne (22:2). The tree yields twelve kinds of fruit all year round. Its leaves are good for healing the nations. A share in the tree is reserved for the righteous (v 14), among whom are those who adhere to the words of the book (v 19).

The vision of the new Jerusalem is closely connected to the letters to the seven churches in Rev 1:4–3:22. The promises made to the victorious faithful at the end of each letter are realized in the vision. In particular, the letter to the Ephesians promises the victorious the right to eat from the tree of life (2:7). The tree of knowledge is not mentioned in Revelation.

There has been debate over whether the imagery behind the tree of life in Revelation is confined to the motif of the supernatural tree in paradise. The noun *xulon* was usually used in earlier Greek texts to denote "dead wood" or "timber." In the NT, *to dendron* is usually used for living wood or trees; *xulon* again refers to "dead wood," but it is occasionally used to refer to the cross (Matt 26:47; Mark 14:43, etc.). Only in limited contexts, especially the five occurrences in Revelation, in the phrase *to xulon zoes,* does it refer to living wood. In the LXX, however, *dendron* is the common word for "tree." Some scholars suggest then that in certain circumstances and under the influence of the LXX (especially in Genesis 2–3), some NT writers have adopted the word *xulon* for "tree." A few would go on to say that the use of *xulon* in Revelation carries with it an allusion to the cross as the tree of life.

In Rev 2:7, the tree of life is located in the paradise of God. In Rev 22:1–2, the paradise motif is picked up and associated with the geography of Palestine. The tree of life is located on the banks of the river of the water of life, which flows from beneath the throne of God through the midst of the new Jerusalem. The merging of the concepts of the heavenly city and paradise is also found in *2 Bar.* 4 and *T. Dan* 5:12.

The background for Rev 22:1–2 would seem to come from two sources. The first is Ezekiel's description of the restored Jerusalem in Ezek 47:1–12. A stream of water flows from beneath the altar, out of the city, and on to the Dead Sea. On either side of the stream grow evergreen trees, the fruit of which will never cease and will be for food. The leaves will be for healing (cf. Zech 14:8–9). The connections between Ezek 47:1–12 and Rev 22:1–2 are clear, but note that in the latter the trees on either side of the stream have been identified with the tree of life.

The other source is *1 Enoch* 24–25. Enoch is shown a vision of the mountain on which God will be enthroned when he visits the earth at the end with goodness. At the foot of the mountain is a fragrant tree, which will never wither. No one can touch the tree until the judgment, when it will become the source of food for the righteous. The fact that the tree will be planted in the holy place at that time connects this earthly scene with Jerusalem.

**C. The Relation of the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life**

We mentioned earlier that while the tree of knowledge and the tree of life appear together at the beginning and the end of Gen 2:4b–3:24, in the central part of the narrative only one tree plays a prominent role. Many scholars have concluded from this that the two trees were not part of the original narrative: only one tree was involved. The two have come together with the combination of different traditions in the pre-Yahwist stage of the story. The tree of knowledge and the tree of life could have been oral variants on one motif which have been placed side by side as variant narratives have been combined.

An alternative explanation presents itself. In some of the passages in Proverbs, reference to the tree of life is associated with wisdom (e.g., 3:2, 18, 22; 8:35; 9:11). Elsewhere in Proverbs, obedience to the commandments and *tôrâ,* "instruction," leads to life (4:13; 6:23; 10:17; 11:19; 12:28; etc.). Observance of Yahweh's instruction is wisdom (1:2–6, etc.). In Psalm 1, the one who is said to keep *tôrâ* is compared to a perennial tree "which gives fruit in season and whose leaf does not wither" and which is "transplanted by channels of water" (v 3a). Although the tree of life is not mentioned here by name, the allusion is to a tree sustained in life by Yahweh. In Psalm 92, the righteous are compared to a palm tree or a cedar of Lebanon planted in Yahweh's sanctuary (v 14). Moreover, in the Adapa myth there is parallelism between wisdom and eternal life in line 5. This information suggests that the association of the tree of life and the tree of knowledge, which gives wisdom (Gen 3:6), could have been an original feature of the story. The emphasis on the single tree in the central portion of the story would then be a later development.

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HOWARD N. WALLACE


**TRIAL OF JESUS.** Any study of the trial of Jesus of Nazareth immediately encounters several complex issues of interpretation. For example, two gospel narratives (Matthew and Mark) present a nighttime session of the Sanhedrin, though apparently this was contrary to Jewish law. Further, all the gospels mention that the religious leaders found Jesus deserving of death, while they differ on the grounds: "blasphemy" is mentioned in Mark 14:64, but this may simply refer to something theologically objectionable; a "messianic claim" seems to be at issue in Mark 15:2, and this gets taken up in a variety of ways by the other evangelists. Luke alone mentions charges against Jesus of "perverting our nation and forbidding us to give tribute to Caesar" (23:5). Also, the gospels are unanimous in affirming that Jesus was handed over to the Roman authorities—specifically to Pontius Pilate—thereby implying that the right to inflict capital punishment on miscreants had been removed from the Jewish authorities by Rome, a point that is contested by some scholars. Further, a theological tendency, discernible within the gospel tradition's development, that at times shifts the weight of responsibility for the death of Jesus from the Romans to the Jews—possibly out of a politically motivated apologetic purpose (i.e., legitimating Christianity in Roman eyes)—leads some observers to call into question the historical reliability of these same traditions. Finally, the fact that the sources which inform us about Jewish jurisprudence in the issues under dispute date from the late 1st century C.E. makes judgments about how the gospels depict Jewish involvement still more complex: Were the principles of Jewish law codified later on actually in effect in

the early 30s of the 1st century? Thus, in our treatment of the issues involved in the trial of Jesus, one must appreciate that some of what follows is necessarily conjectural—the reasonable conclusions which may be inferred from contemporary studies of the matter—and open to revision in the light of new data which may come to light.

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A. From Arrest to Trial
1. The Night Hearing
2. The Morning Hearing
3. The Charge Against Jesus
4. The Identity of the Authorities
5. The Mistreatment of Jesus
B. From Transfer to Sentencing
1. The Charge
2. Jewish Right to Try Capital Offenses
3. Jesus' Reply or Silence
4. A Passover "Amnesty"?
5. Pilate's Wife and Jesus before Herod
6. The Verdict of Pilate
C. Parenetic Use of the Trial Tradition
1. The Example of Stephen
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**A. From Arrest to Trial**

All the gospel narratives report the chief occurrences that followed immediately upon the arrest of Jesus (a hearing before the religious authority, Jesus' "testimony" about himself, Peter's denial that he knew Jesus, the mockery of Jesus as a false prophet, etc.), but the evangelists differ on the sequence of these events and put different emphases on those aspects which they do mention.

**1. The Night Hearing.** Mark and Matthew tell of a nighttime arraignment of Jesus before representatives of the religious leadership shortly after his arrest (Mark 14:53, 55–65 = Matt 26:57, 59–68); in a typical Markan "sandwiching" arrangement, Peter's denials of Jesus are collocated with the trial scene in such a way that Peter's cowardice is contrasted with the assurance of Jesus' confession (Mark 14:66–72 = Matt 26:58, 69–75). Luke and John both mention Peter's threefold denial of Jesus (Luke 22:54b–71; John 18:17–18, 25–27), though they do not locate it within a trial before an assembly of religious leaders but place it either at the house of the high priest (Luke 22:54a) or at the house of the high priest's father-in-law, Annas, who conducted an informal inquiry before sending Jesus over to Caiaphas, the high priest (John 18:15–16, 19–24).

**2. The Morning Hearing.** According to some scholars, Luke situates the proceedings before "the assembly of elders of the people" in the morning to give it legal validity. However, Matera has argued against this view, suggesting that, in the revision of his Markan source, Luke is not dependent on another tradition, but that all differences between his narrative and Mark's can be accounted for on the basis of Lukan theological concerns (1989: 48–59). Luke characterizes the morning gathering as a SANHEDRIN session and makes both the interrogation of Jesus and his replies more solemn. For Luke, the session does not take place in the private chambers of the high priest (cf. Mark 14:54), and false witnesses are not suborned (contrast Mark 14:57–59); indeed, many details about the testimony against Jesus found in Luke's Markan source are dropped.

**3. The Charge Against Jesus.** The central aspect of the trial narrative in all three of the Synoptic Gospels is Jesus' answer to the query of the high priest concerning his identity. Each evangelist has shaped this in terms of his own theological purpose. For Mark, the messianic secret of Jesus' divine sonship can finally be revealed before the high priest; therefore, the structuring and wording of the scene may safely be attributed to Markan redactional interests (Donahue 1973). Matthew's interest differs only

slightly from Mark's purpose; though following Mark closely, he wished also to show that all that happened to Jesus, including the trial, took place by divine decree. Further, when Jesus was put under oath by the high priest, Matthew wished to avoid having Jesus swear by oath (cf. Jesus' teaching on the inappropriateness of oaths in Matt 5:33–37). Luke, for his part, put the focus on Jesus' testimony (one of the reasons why no witness testifies against him), likening him to the prophet Jeremiah, who had prophesied to and against Israel and whose witness was not accepted [Neyrey 1985: 71–73].

**4. The Identity of the Authorities.** In the accounts of the trial, as in the Passion Narrative generally, it is curious that the Pharisees, who are prominent throughout all four gospels, receive hardly any mention; there are but two references to them. In Matt 27:62, the Pharisees assemble with the chief priests to seal the tomb after Jesus' death; in John 18:3, officers "of/from the Pharisees" come to arrest Jesus. This suggests that the historical conflict leading to the crucifixion lay between Jesus and the priestly (as opposed to the lay) religious leadership. If we can presume that the Roman authorities allowed the Jewish leadership in Palestine some measure of local consultation on important questions, as they did elsewhere in the empire, the "informal" hearing by the religious leadership becomes historically plausible; Jewish principles for the proper conduct of a trial would, in this view, derive from later in the 1st century C.E. and would not have been in effect when Jesus was tried. Each of the evangelists would have given a theological elaboration of this historical datum to cohere with his overall depiction of the last days of Jesus.

**5. The Mistreatment of Jesus.** The Synoptics concur that in the course of his arraignment Jesus was mocked as a prophet and manhandled. When indicating responsibility for this, Luke points impersonally to "the ones holding" Jesus (Luke 22:63–65), while John's account mentions a guard (John 18:22–23) and Mark mentions both the guards and the religious authorities (Mark 14:65); Matthew speaks only of the religious leaders (Matt 26:67–68). Because each evangelist has his own peculiar emphasis, it is difficult to unravel the kernel of a historical incident from the interpretive strands surrounding it. However, in this instance, Matthew (by widening Mark's notice that "some began to spit on him …" to "they spat …," by lengthening Mark's single word "Prophesy!" to the words "Prophesy to us, you Christ!" and by dropping all reference to the guards' role in the mockery) is witness to the way in which a negative coloring of the role of the Jewish religious leadership in the treatment of Jesus can be heightened in the Passion Narrative. Interestingly, only Luke mentions the blindfolding of Jesus (22:64), perhaps a reminiscence of the almost universal way in which guards are wont to "make sport" of their prisoners. Did a soldiers' game of "Who's It?" later get interpreted by means of religious terminology into a mockery of Jesus as a prophet?

**B. From Transfer to Sentencing**

In three accounts, the "handing over" of Jesus (the Gk verb is *paradidōmi,* a term deeply charged with theological significance in the gospel tradition), from the religious authorities to Pilate's jurisdiction, takes place "early" in the morning, except in Luke's account where, according to his chronology, the Sanhedrin trial must then take place. See PRAETORIUM.

**1. The Charge.** Mark's and Matthew's accounts do not mention the charge against Jesus directly but only by means of Pilate's question, "Are you the King of the Jews?" Drawing on remarks of Josephus, Sherwin-White argues that "king" in such a context means "leader of the resistance" (1963: 24–25); Pilate has interpreted religious terms by political ones. The Fourth Gospel notes Pilate's question about kingship—a theme John will emphasize in his treatment of the trial—but also shows the authorities characterizing Jesus as an "evildoer" (18:30), while Luke alone mentions a threefold charge against Jesus: "perverting our nation, forbidding us to give tribute to Caesar, and saying that he himself is Christ a king" (23:2; cf. 23:14). The last two of these seemingly "political" charges had already been refuted by Luke in his version of the question about the tribute (20:20–26) and in his qualification of Peter's confession of Jesus as the "Christ of God" (9:20). Luke deals with the broader charge (that Jesus "perverts the nation") by summing it up in a way acceptable to him, under the more general rubric of "teaching" ("he stirs up the people, teaching throughout all Judea, from Galilee even to this place" [Luke 23:5]). The impact and consequences of Jesus' ministry should not be minimized, however one evaluates them: "Herod Antipas,

Pontius Pilate, the high priest and the Sadducean party, the scribes, and the pious lay movement of Pharisees all had their varied reasons for being opposed to Jesus—and, unlike the Pharisees, the other individuals or groups had ways of getting rid of him legally. Moreover, in the great festal crowds of Passover, there was always the possibility of lynch-mob justice or assassination" (Meier *NJBC,* 1326).

**2. Jewish Right to Try Capital Offenses.** When they brought Jesus to Pilate, the Jews of John's gospel answered Pilate's suggestion that they try him themselves by saying, "it is not lawful for us to put any man to death" (18:31). Whether Jewish authorities had the right to try capital offenses in Palestine at this time has been hotly contested. In an excursus on this issue, Dauer (1972: 143–45) notes that, despite the apologetic intent in this remark (to explain why Jesus, a Jew, was handed over to the Romans for execution by crucifixion when his conviction on a capital offense in Jewish law would have called for his death by stoning), and though the verse has been redactionally formulated (the vocabulary is readily judged "Johannine"), John is drawing on a tradition here that he considers to be historically sound (for further details, cf. *JBC,* 459 [par. 31]).

**3. Jesus' Reply or Silence.** The depiction of Pontius Pilate (wishing to placate the crowd and yielding to the religious authorities) does not square with the extrabiblical portrait of brutality that typified the one who was prefect of Judea from 26 to 36 C.E. Apart from the elaborate Johannine version of the trial in which the great issues of the Fourth Gospel are played out before Pilate and the Romans (John 18:33–19:11), as they had been before the Jews throughout Jesus' ministry, the evangelists depict Jesus as silent before his accusers. His only words in reply to Pilate's question are, "You have said so" (Mark 15:2 and par.), which may be interpreted affirmatively or as meaning "The terms are yours, not mine"; it is a way for Jesus to accept the title without agreeing to the political framework Pilate suggests. For the rest, the silence of Jesus before his accusers may be seen as his fulfillment of the role of the Isaianic servant, one who was silent in the face of accusations, like a sheep before the shearers (Isa 52:13–53:12).

**4. A Passover "Amnesty"?** While all the evangelists tell of the Barabbas "episode," Luke pointedly does not mention the release of prisoners as a custom "at the feast" (cf. Mark 15:6; Matt 27:15) or "at Passover" (John 18:39)—though some ms traditions do insert such a notice (= Luke 23:17) after 23:16 or 23:19. The name Barabbas means "son of the father," and there may be a note of irony in the crowd's choice of Barabbas, the insurrectionist (a variant reading of Matt 27:16 gives his name as "Jesus Barabbas"), over Jesus, whom the gospel writers believe to be the Father's true Son. There exists no extrabiblical evidence for such an amnesty; likely, the evangelists (or their sources) have generalized an occasional instance of a festival amnesty and see this practice at work in Barabbas' release.

**5. Pilate's Wife and Jesus before Herod.** Matthew alone tells of an intervention by Pilate's wife during the trial (Matt 27:19, 24–26), and Luke alone recounts Pilate's referral of Jesus to the tetrarch Herod for an opinion (Luke 23:6–12). The historicity of each of these episodes has been called into question by scholars, since each reflects the interests and formulations of their respective evangelist-authors. Like the Magi in the infancy account, Pilate's wife is a gentile open to revelation coming from a divine medium (a dream, cf. Matt 1:20; 2:12, 13, 19, 22), while the people and religious leaders reflect the hostility of Herod and all Jerusalem at the news of the birth of the "King of the Jews" (2:3–8, 16–18). Probably the formulation of the "hand washing" by Pilate (an OT practice, cf. Deut 21:6–9; Pss 26:6; 73:13) and the people's calling down of the blood of Jesus on themselves reflect the strains between church and synagogue at the time of the gospel's composition (ca. 80–90 C.E.). Luke omits any reference to the mockery of Jesus by the Romans and details, instead, a mockery conducted by Herod and his soldiers (23:11). This scene is part of a pattern of references to Herod and his coterie that appears from time to time in the Lukan gospel (cf. 3:1, 19; 9:7, 9; 13:31); perhaps Joanna, wife of Herod's steward Chuza (cf. 8:3), had some role to play in providing this information. Despite the mockery, Herod's role in the progress of the Lukan narrative furthers the emphasis Luke gives to Jesus' "innocence" (23:14–15; cf. 23:47).

**6. The Verdict of Pilate.** Luke has carefully structured Pilate's interrogations of Jesus into two separate trials of Jesus that follow the lines of known Roman forensic procedure: charges are presented (23:2, 14b); the magistrate handles the personal inquiry (23:3, 14c) and dismisses the charges (23:4, 14d; cf.

Neyrey: 1985: 77, 81). Pilate holds up Herod's dismissal of charges against Jesus (23:15a) as supporting evidence for his acquittal of Jesus (23:15b) and the judicial warning he imposes on Jesus (the phrase Luke puts in Pilate's mouth means "teach him a lesson," 23:15c): the Roman *fustigatio* or light beating whose implementation Luke does not describe. The other evangelists concur in Pilate's finding that Jesus is guiltless (Mark 15:14; Matt 27:23; John 19:6) and join Luke in depicting Pilate's yielding to the importunity of the crowds who call for Jesus' crucifixion. Mark, Matthew, and John show Jesus undergoing flagellation—a punishment that was meant to weaken the one to be crucified and thereby hasten his death—and, afterwards, enduring mockery at the hands of the soldiers (Mark 15:16–20; Matt 27:27–31; John 19:4–7). The mock symbols of kingship (crown, purple robe [in Matthew, the scarlet garment of a soldier] and reed/scepter) are all ironically understood by the evangelists to proclaim Jesus' true status as the "royal messiah" of God's people.

**C. Parenetic Use of the Trial Tradition**

Paul is witness to the early Church's difficulties in proclaiming someone who had undergone crucifixion as God's end-time messianic envoy (cf. 1 Cor 1:23–24). But the conviction held by Christians that God had vindicated Jesus by raising him from the dead very soon led to the appropriation of aspects of the Passion Narrative for parenetic purposes. This may be seen in the developments in the transmission of the words of Jesus from the cross and of his prayer in Gethsemane as models for believers to imitate. The trials of Jesus before the religious leaders and Pilate likewise became a model for disciples, as is evidently the case in Mark, who contrasts the boldness of Jesus' replies to the Sanhedrin with the cowardly denials by Peter that he knew Jesus (Mark 14:53–72 and par.).

**1. The Example of Stephen.** In Luke's account of the trial and death of Stephen (Acts 6:11–7:60), the parallels Luke draws between them and Jesus' trial and death are striking: like Jesus, Stephen gets taken before the Sanhedrin, is falsely accused, and forgives his attackers while undergoing death by stoning. Unlike Jesus, who was for the most part silent, Stephen is full of words, ones that prompt his rejection (cf. the reaction to Jesus' words in the synagogue at Nazareth, Luke 4:16–30); Stephen prayerfully entrusts his spirit not to the Father, as Jesus had (Luke 23:46), but to the Lord Jesus himself (Acts 7:59). For the suggestion that Luke considers the trials of Peter, Paul, and Stephen in Acts as "continuations" of the trials of Jesus, see Neyrey 1985: 89–107.

**2. Christ's Confession.** In 1 Timothy 6:13–14, the Paulinist holds out the example of Christ Jesus' "good confession" before Pontius Pilate as a model for church leaders to imitate in their "testimony" to the gospel and in their remaining blameless until the "appearance of the Lord Jesus Christ." Perhaps some such formula (or a reflection on the Passion such as that found in 1 Pet 2:21–24) was at the origin of the formula "suffered under Pontius Pilate" found in the Apostles' Creed and subsequent formulations of Christian belief. This, as much as the accounts of the Passion, has served to keep the trial of Jesus as part of the collective memory of the Christian Church.

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TERRENCE PRENDERGAST

**TRIBE.** See FAMILY.

**TRIBES, LOST.** See LOST TRIBES, THE.

**TRIBULATION, THE.** See MILLENNIUM; ESCHATOLOGY (EARLY CHRISTIAN).

**TRIBUTE.** See TAXES AND TAXATION.

**TRIMORPHIC PROTENNOIA** (NHC XIII,*1*). The only text to have survived from Nag Hammadi Codex XIII. The eight not fully intact leaves containing the tractate were found lying inside the front cover of Codex VI. Their ascription to a distinct codex has been established by codicological analysis and by the presence at the end of the last page of the beginning of *On the Origin of the World* (NHC XIII,*2*), known also from NHC II. This has also made it possible to calculate the pagination. The text is a translation from Greek into the Sahidic dialect of Coptic (with Lycopolitan deviations). The extant copy comes from the 4th century.

*Trim. Prot.* is a gnostic revelation discourse by Protennoia about her descent three times into the world to instruct (by communicating mysteries) and redeem her "children of light." Therefore, in terms of genre, this text is quite closely kin to the Pronoia hymn at the end of the long version of the Sethian *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,*1*). Yet, in distinction to the Pronoia hymn, the first two parousias of Protennoia are not characterized by failure. Rather, in each of the three descents a distinct part of her work of revelation and redemption is achieved.

*Trim. Prot.* is subdivided into three parts. These discourses have been fleshed out with material from gnostic tradition. Primarily, cosmology has been built into the first discourse, eschatology into the second, and soteriology into the third. This material from the Sethian system corresponds in its concrete formulation especially to the variant as found in *The Gospel of the Egyptians* (NHC III,*2*).

*Trim. Prot.* is also a Sethian text. But since the main figure that brings herself to expression here, Protennoia, is also named Barbelo (38,9), the text has on occasion been designated "Barbelognostic." Yet it is precisely Barbelo who is the highest female deity of the Sethian divine triad. Barbelognosticism and Sethianism are in fact not alternatives, but designate the same variant of gnostic religiosity.

In addition to the triple structure of the text, Protennoia herself is presented as existing in threefold form. She is understood as Father, Mother, and Son, in that the Father appears in her and she in the Son. Her triple descent takes place in each instance in one of the three forms of the divine triad. As the first thought of the primal Father, the Invisible Spirit, she has a masculine aspect whenever she represents him. But as his partner (42,8) she has a female aspect, and as appearing in the Logos she bears the aspect of divine sonship.

The multilayered inner and outer threeness is however quite decisively transcended through Protennoia's cosmogonic and soteriological rule, which is portrayed in all its complexity and comprehensiveness. In her self-predications, she presents herself again and again as the origin and basis of the All, in general, and of each part and every being in it. At the same time, she describes herself as the root and the means of redemption of a part of these beings; namely, of the gnostics. She is the call that brings gnosis (36,10), and she is herself gnosis (36,12). She is the absolute figure of creation and salvation. In all this, she shows herself to be the gnostically metamorphized Sophia of Jewish Wisdom Literature. This figure had in turn already assimilated aspects of the female deity Isis/Selene. In the process of being fused with Barbelo and transformed into the supreme female deity of Sethian Gnosticism, ontological traits of the three-formed deity Hecate were also absorbed.

The question of the date of composition of *Trim. Prot.* remains problematic. With regard to the material taken from the tradition and the anthropology presupposed in it, the text makes a rather archaic impression. Furthermore, it is not characterized by a distinctively anti-Jewish tendency; nor does it

develop an advanced emanation theory. But obviously the text was subjected to several stages of redaction. Interpolations attest discussions which must have been taking place among the various religious currents in early Christian times. Hence, *Trim. Prot.* may have reached its final form (apart from the inexactitudes of scribal transmission) toward the end of the 1st or the beginning of the 2d century C.E.

Other assessments of the text and its problems place it somewhat later. Yet there is widespread agreement that *Trim. Prot.* in its basic substance is a document of non-Christian Gnosticism. Occasional secondary identifications of the divine Autogenes with Christ take place only superficially by the mere appending of the *nomen sacrum.* Even this is not carried through consistently. It is only a passage in the third discourse (49,5–22) that actually comes to grips with Christian material. In a polemical way it undertakes a gnostic reinterpretation of christological designations usually applied to Jesus. But this does not take place in view of given passages of the NT; rather, the vague appropriation of these "titles" shows that a debate with orally circulating tradition has left its traces. This interpolation finds its culmination in a docetic statement split off from the main part (50,12–15).

In at least two regards, *Trim. Prot.* is of considerable importance. On the one hand it is significant for research into Gnosticism, to the extent that it provides important information about a gnostic cultic practice. In distinction from the view that the Sethians had completely spiritualized their baptismal rite and would reject water baptism, the concept of the five seals in *Trim. Prot.* shows precisely the connection between baptismal ideology and the actual rite of baptism.

On the other hand, *Trim. Prot.* is important for NT scholarship in general. In addition to substantive parallels to the hymn of Colossians, the unusually close kinship of large parts of *Trim. Prot.* to the Prologue of John is especially striking. In *Trim. Prot.*, one encounters precisely those traits that in the Prologue seem to go beyond the rest of the gospel of John, but that have various history-of-religions parallels scattered here and there largely in Jewish Wisdom Literature. In *Trim. Prot.* this imprecise "background" comes into focus, in that these unusual traits are clustered in a single text where they are apparently at home. Since the parallels in form and content lie outside the interpolations in *Trim. Prot.*, it is misleading to attribute them to the result of a debate about the gospel of John and thus to ascribe them to the "Christianizing" redaction. It is a subject of scholarly debate, whether one should merely propose a shared Wisdom tradition to explain this phenomenon, or whether, as would seem more reasonable, one should postulate an identical gnostic world of thought for *Trim. Prot.* and the Logos hymn lying behind the Prologue of John.

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**TRIPARTITE TRACTATE** (NHC I,5). The last text in Codex I, the so-called Jung Codex, from the Nag Hammadi find. It is one of the longest (almost 90 pages) and best preserved tractates of that collection. Its unknown author, a representative of the W branch of the Valentinian Gnosticism, probably wrote in the early 3d century. The original language of the work was certainly Greek, although it now survives only in a sometimes obscure sub-Achmimic Coptic translation, made in the late 3d or early 4th century.

The text consists of a lengthy, relatively systematic presentation of Valentinian theology, remarkable for its revision of the teachings of the Valentinian schools known from patristic sources (Irenaeus, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen). The first and longest part of the text records the cosmogonic process. All things are seen to derive from a single monadic first principle, which is utterly transcendent and can be grasped only by a *via negativa.* By virtue of his goodness and generosity, this Father produces the entities Son and Church, who form a Trinity at the highest level of being. The third member of that Trinity is complex, and consists of a multiplicity of aeons, endowed with free will. That multiplicity is a vestige of the much more highly articulated spiritual worlds of other gnostic systems. The insistent attribution of free will to the entities of the Pleroma, providing an interesting parallel to Origen's conception of the spiritual world, constitutes an important apologetic device against critics of gnostic determinism. Like all else on the highest level of reality, this freedom will be replicated at lower levels on the chain of being.

The process of devolution from the harmonic world of the supernal Church is caused not by a feminine aeon, Sophia, as in most gnostic myths, but by a masculine entity, the Logos. Acting spontaneously, he begins a process which, despite its apparently negative consequences, is viewed positively, as a movement necessary for the ultimate reintegration of all into the primordial source. In his movement away from the primordial unity, the Logos produces three sets of powers—pneumatic, psychic, and hylic—which comprise an intermediate level of reality. Over his psychic and hylic offspring the Logos appoints a chief archon or Demiurge, the God of this world and of the OT, who has few of the negative features assigned to his counterpart in other gnostic systems.

The second segment of the text consists of an interpretation of the creation account of Genesis, which displays some of the radical hermeneutics common in gnostic sources, but has other more "orthodox" features. As usual, exegesis of the scriptural account of origins is a vehicle for the presentation of anthropological theory. In the phenomenal world, which mirrors the tripartition of the highest and intermediate levels of reality, the tripartite distinction of pneumatic, psychic, and hylic reappears. Here, however, there is no rigid separation of different types of human being. Instead, the "powers" of the intermediate level of reality produce different components of the archetypical human soul.

The third portion of the text describes the soteriological process of reintegration. That process is initiated by Christ, who is ultimately produced by the spiritual Logos, but whose full humanity is strongly emphasized. The docetic tendencies of the gnostic tradition are clearly repudiated. In this section the soteriological consequences of the modification of Valentinian anthropology become clear. The text devotes a good deal of attention to the psychics or ordinary Christians, and numerous subdivisions are seen among them. The account of reintegration into the Pleroma even seems to allow for the possibility of their participation in that event.

This revisionist development of Valentinian theology evidences considerable philosophical sophistication, sensitivity to the criticisms leveled against Valentinian positions by orthodox opponents, and a rather irenic attempt to adapt Valentinian theory to an orthodox mold. It is thus instructive for the later history of the most influential of gnostic schools.

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HAROLD W. ATTRIDGE

**TRIPOLIS** (PLACE) [Gk *Tripolis* (Τριπολις)]. Modern Tripoli (34°27´ N; 35°50´ E), a port city located on the Mediterranean coast N of Beirut. The Phoenicians and their successors used the port as a strategic military and commercial hub. The city, reportedly colonized by the three cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos, was located on a peninsula that extended into the sea, thus providing a strong defensive position against land-based attack. On the E side, a large ditch and fortifications protected the inhabitants of the city. The peninsula also provided sheltered harbor for a merchant fleet. The Phoenician name of the city is uncertain.

Under the Persians, Tripolis became the administrative center of Phoenicia, including the cities of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos. According to Strabo (16.2.15) and Pliny (*NH* 5.78), each of the three founding cities controlled a separate walled sector of the city.

In the time of Alexander the Great and his successors, the city continued to thrive. Following the Battle of Issus, 4,000 Greek mercenaries who had fought for the Persians fled to Egypt and the islands of the Mediterranean in ships which they commandeered at Tripolis. The city of Tripolis did not resist the Macedonian advance like Tyre and was thus spared. Tripolis came under Seleucid control following the death of Alexander.

The city of Tripolis was the site of a battle between rivals for the Seleucid throne in 162 B.C. Demetrius I, after escaping from Rome where he had been a hostage, brought a large army of supporters to Tripolis, where they defeated his cousin Antiochus V and General Lysias (2 Macc 14:1; 1 Macc 7:1–4; Josephus *Ant* 12.389). With the eventual decline of Seleucid power, the city gained its independence in 111 B.C. The Romans led by Pompey in the East, in 65 B.C. organized Tripolis as a city-state. Among the Roman period constructions was a gymnasium built through the patronage of Herod the Great (Josephus *JW* 1.422).

Reportedly the apostle Peter established a Christian community in the city, and it became a beachhead for Christianity in the area (Pseudo-Clementines *Recognitions* 4:6; *Homilies* 11:36). A record of bishops of Tripolis after A.D. 325 has been preserved. A Christian population remained through the early Islamic periods and the Crusades. The city, taken by the Crusaders in 1109, was later destroyed by the Mamluks.

ROBERT W. SMITH

**TRISMEGISTOS (HERMES).** See HERMES TRISMEGISTOS.

**TRIUMPHAL ENTRY.** See PASSION NARRATIVES.

**TROAS** (PLACE) [Gk *Trōas* (Τρωας)]. An important port city (Gk *Alexandreia hē Trōas*) on the coast of Mysia in NW Anatolia, 10 miles S of ancient Troy. It was located opposite the island of Tenedos. It served as a nodal point for routes through the Hellespont to the E, to the cities of Smyrna, Ephesus, and Miletus in the S, and for sea travelers to Neapolis in Macedonia and to Athens (Hemer 1975: 50). Troas is mentioned in four chapters of the NT: Acts 16:8, 11; 20:5–6; 2 Cor 2:12; 2 Tim 4:13.

On his second missionary journey, Paul was forbidden by the Holy Spirit to preach in Asia on the W coast or in Bithynia on the N coast of Anatolia (Acts 16:6–7). After traversing the region of Mysia, Paul reached the coast at Troas. Burdick suggests that Paul took the central route through Scepsis after traveling NW from Antioch to Dorylaeum (Burdick 1978: 36–40). Bowers (1979: 511) concludes, "The nature of the routes available to him for that journey suggests strongly that his journey to Troas was not that of a bewildered man groping for a point from which new options could be considered, but that of a man already with a specific destination in mind. The geographical considerations make the journey to Troas most readily explicable as an intended first stage of a journey to Macedonia (if not also beyond)."

It is significant that immediately after Paul's vision of the Macedonian, the first of the "we passages" in Acts begins (16:10). This implies that Luke joined Paul at Troas. The 150-mile sea journey from Troas to Neapolis took only two days (Acts 16:11). Because of contrary winds, the reverse journey from Neapolis to Troas (Acts 20:6) took five days.

During his third journey, Paul went to preach the Gospel at Troas and found an open door, but because of his anxiety to hear news about the Corinthians from Titus, he sailed for Macedonia after a short stay (2 Cor 2:12).

On his return trip to Troas, Paul and his party spent a week there (Acts 20:13) before Paul proceeded to Assos by himself. The reference in Acts 20:7 to the disciples gathering "upon the first day of the week" is the "earliest unambiguous evidence we have for the Christian practice of gathering together for worship on that day" (Bruce *Acts* NICNT, 407). It was after Paul's long sermon that Eutychus fell asleep on the window ledge and dropped dead on the ground, before he was revived by Paul (Acts 20:8–12).

The final reference in 2 Tim 4:13 implies that Paul may have been arrested at Troas and so did not have the time to recover his belongings, because he begs Timothy to bring them to him in prison in Rome (Hemer 1975: 106). Paul specifically requested the *membranai* "parchments." According to Roberts and Skeat (1983: 22, 60) these were not scrolls (which would have been *diphtherai*) but parchment leaves. Skeat (1979: 177) suggests that the "parchments" were therefore not literary works such as the OT, as suggested by Farrar (1903: 683) and others, "but probably notes or memoranda such as lists of Christians in various communities."

The original name of Troas was Sigia (Strab. 13.1.47). Antigonus, one of Alexander's generals, established in 334 B.C. at the site the city of Antigoneia by the process of synoecism; that is, the forcible resettlement of citizens from surrounding towns such as Colonae, Larissa, Hamaxitus, Neandria, Cebren, and Scepsis (Strab. 13.1.26). After Antigonus' death in 301 B.C., Lysimachus, the king of Thrace, renamed the city Alexandria in honor of Alexander and built a temple and walls around the city. The city came to be called Alexandria Troas to distinguish it from other Alexandrias, and then simply Troas by NT times (Magie 1950: 69, 875).

When the Gauls menaced Ilium (Troy) in 216 B.C., the siege was lifted by a relieving force of 4,000 men from Troas (Polyb. 5.111). Antiochus the Great tried to win over Troas in his struggle with Rome. When he was defeated at Magnesia in 190 B.C., the area around Troas was given to the king of Pergamum.

Because of Rome's legendary ties with Troy through Aeneas, rumors circulated that Julius Caesar intended to move the government "to Alexandria (Troas) or Ilium" (Suet. *Caes.* 79.3). Such a proposal was denounced by Horace (*Carm.* 3.3). Augustus established a colony at Troas, the only one he founded in W Asia Minor. Henceforth, the city was known officially as Colonia Augusta Troadensium or Colonia Augusta Troas (Magie 1950: 472, 1334; Jones 1971: 85).

The city benefited from the favors of the emperor Hadrian (117–38), for which its citizens erected a statue of the emperor in Athens. In his reign, Atticus Herodes built a lavish bath costing seven million drachmae at Troas (Magie 1950: 615). The main city temple was the Asclepieion, with the native god Smintheus ("mouse god"; cf. Hom. *Il.* 1.39) honored as the god of healing (Hemer 1975: 93). According to Strabo, the Augustan authority on geography, Troas was "one of the famous cities of the world." It was certainly the largest city in the Troad. Estimates of its population range from 30,000 to 100,000 (Burdick 1978: 50).

In the early 2d century, as he traveled on his way to execution in Rome, Ignatius of Antioch wrote three of his epistles from Troas (to the Smyrnaeans, to the Philadelphians, and to Polycarp). He apologized that he could not write to all the churches "because of his hurried sailing from Troas to Neapolis" (*Polyc.* 8).

Troas seems to have declined after the foundation of Constantinople in 330. Its harbors were probably silted up by the reign of Justinian in the 6th century (Hemer 1975: 94). Troas has never been excavated. The ruins of the site are today called Eski Stamboul; that is, "Old" Stamboul. The inner harbor is now a lagoon; the outer basin is silted up. Remains of the walls, which once extended about five miles, and of the baths of Herodes Atticus are still visible (Burdick 1978: 51). Additional ruins of the stadium, theater, and two temples were still visible when Chevalier saw the ruins in 1791.

Various Roman artifacts have been recovered from Troas, including a dedication to Drusus (son of Germanicus), a dedication to Hadrian, and statues of Claudius, of Nero, and of Marcus Aurelius (Vermeule 1968: 456–57).

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**TROGYLLIUM** (PLACE) [Gk *Trōgyllion* (Τρωγυλλιον)]. A promontory and small settlement across from the island of Samos about twenty miles S of Ephesus in Asia Minor (37°39´ N; 27°02´ E). This promontory and Samos are the boundaries of a waterway between the mainland and the island. This narrow channel, only about a mile wide, offered protection for a traveling vessel before traversing the open gulf en route to Miletus. On the apostle Paul's second missionary journey, it appears that he passed through this strait. There is a question, however, of whether or not the ship anchored at Trogyllium. According to the Western and Byzantine text families, Paul "tarried at Trogillium" (KJV; RSV omits, see margin). Most of the textual evidence, however, points against the inclusion of this phrase. There are two likely possibilities: either a line of thirty-nine letters dropped out of the Alexandrian and Caesarian traditions, or a Western copyist inserted the phrase based upon his knowledge of geography and current water-transportation practices. Because of the superior external attestation, most scholars opt for the latter of these two alternatives. This promontory today is known as Santa Maria, and, at the end of it, an anchorage still bears the name *"St. Paul's Port."*

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**TROPHIMUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Trophimos* (Τροφιμος)]. The meaning of the name Trophimus is based on the Greek word *tropheia,* which can refer either to "service as a wet-nurse" or to the nourishment thus provided. Therefore, the name Trophimus could mean "foster child" or "nourishment," depending on whether the emphasis was placed on the one being nourished or on the nourishment being provided.

The individual so named is mentioned three times in the NT (Acts 20:4; 21:29; 2 Tim 4:20), always as a companion of Paul's in his travels. An Ephesian Christian (Acts 21:29), Trophimus, along with TYCHICUS, apparently represented the Asian churches who participated in the collection Paul intended to bring to Jerusalem (1 Cor 16:1–4). There is some uncertainty in the manuscript tradition of Acts 20:3–6 as to whether Trophimus and Tychicus were traveling with Paul from the beginning or whether they joined the group only in Troas or Philippi (see Delebecque 1983: 556–64; 1984: 365). In any case, Trophimus and the others sailed with Paul along the coast of Asia Minor, across the Mediterranean Sea to Tyre, and eventually arrived in Jerusalem.

Jews from the province of Asia (Acts 21:27), having seen Paul and Trophimus together in Jerusalem (Acts 21:29), supposed that Paul had taken Trophimus into the inner courts of the temple (Acts 21:28). If Trophimus was an uncircumcised gentile convert to Christianity, such an action would have defiled the temple, according to Jewish law. Since Paul was attempting to follow Jewish law carefully in this instance (Acts 21:26), he would not have needlessly jeopardized his mission by bringing Trophimus into the inner courts. Thus, Trophimus was the circumstantial, but innocent cause of Paul's arrest (cf. Acts 24:6).

2 Tim 4:20 mentions that Paul left Trophimus behind in Miletus (a city not far from Ephesus), because he was sick. If this is a reference to the trip mentioned in Acts 20–21, it stands in apparent contradiction to Acts 21:29. Since he rules out any later trips through Miletus, Throckmorton (*IDB* 4: 713) considers Acts and 2 Timothy irreconcilable. Robeck (*ISBE* 4: 923), on the other hand, argues that Paul's imprisonment in Rome (Acts 28:30) was followed by a release, during which he again traveled to Miletus and was forced to leave Trophimus behind due to illness. 2 Tim 4:6–18, therefore, would refer to a harsh and lonely later imprisonment. It can be legitimately asked, however, whether traditional support for such a scenario arises from historical fact or from attempts to reconcile the apparent contradiction.

Other attempts at reconciliation focus on alternative interpretations of the language of Acts 21:29 and 2 Tim 4:20. Erbes (1909: 207–13) argues creatively that the city in which Asian Jews saw Paul and Trophimus together (Acts 21:29) was not Jerusalem but Ephesus. They recognized Paul in the temple because they had seen him at home with someone they knew well. This, however, is far from the most natural reading of Acts 21:29. Dibelius and Conzelmann (*The Pastoral Epistles* Hermeneia, 125), on the other hand, suggest that Miletus (*milêtô*) in 2 Tim 4:20 may be a corruption of the word Malta (*melitê*). Thus, Trophimus could have accompanied Paul to Jerusalem and on toward Rome (Acts 27), but have been left sick on the island of Malta while Paul and his fellow prisoners completed their journey. If this were so, it is strange that Trophimus was not mentioned in Acts 27:2. Therefore, the tradition of a post-Acts journey, in spite of the problems, is probably the best explanation of the available information.

Rutherfurd (*ISBE* 5: 3023–24) notes the possibility that Trophimus could be the highly praised but unnamed individual who, according to 2 Cor 8:16–24, was to travel with Titus to represent Paul in Corinth. This "brother" (2 Cor 8:18–20) was one of those involved in the collection for Jerusalem. But his identification with Trophimus must remain uncertain for lack of evidence.

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**TRUMPETS.** See MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

**TRUTH, GOSPEL OF** (NHC I,*3*; XII,*2*). Comprising the third, well-preserved treatise in Codex I of the Nag Hammadi library and the second, very fragmentary piece in Codex XII, this text's title is derived from its opening phrase. The work is written in the sub-Achmimic dialect of Upper Egypt and consists of an appealing homiletic reflection on the person and ministry of Jesus. Thus, it differs significantly from the form of the gospel accounts known from the NT. Its origin has been a matter of debate, although the most widely held opinion views the text as Valentinian in inspiration and as possibly authored by Valentinus himself since, according to a brief note by Irenaeus (*Haer.* 3.11.9), Valentinus reportedly

wrote a work of this title. A comparison of the scanty fragments from Valentinus with *Gos. Truth* offers enticing possibilities, but no conclusive links (Standaert 1976).

The gnostic character of the document is rather obscured, possibly for the purpose of attracting Christian readers outside the number of Valentinus' supporters. To be sure, in many features its doctrines resemble those of early Catholic sources, but traits of the text exhibit clear ties to gnostic thought. For instance, something like the gnostic myth of the fall of Sophia must underlie the opening segment, which focuses on the propagation of Error (17,4–18,11). Further, the observation that "when the Father is known, from that moment on the deficiency will no longer exist" (24, 30–32) establishes transparent gnostic affinities (McGuire 1986).

The date and place of composition remain obscure. Although the work was composed in Greek before it was translated into Coptic, whether it was written in Egypt or elsewhere is uncertain. Allusions to documents known from the NT, such as Matthew (Tuckett 1984) and certain Pauline Epistles (Ménard 1972), place the date well into the 2d century, a period that harmonizes with the rising influence of Valentinus. The richly subtle and sophisticated style and organization of the text, designed to invite readers in an inoffensive way to a certain view of Jesus' salvific role (Attridge 1988), may argue for a later date.

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**TRUTH, TESTIMONY OF** (NHC IX,*3*). The third of three gnostic tractates contained in Nag Hammadi Codex IX (29,6–75 or 76), inscribed in Sahidic Coptic. The title has been assigned editorially on the basis of content ("word of truth," 31,8; "true testimony," 45,1), reflecting the author's concern to establish "true" Christian faith and practice (i.e., gnosis) and to expose and refute "heresy." A title may have been given at the end of the tractate, but the last leaf of the codex (pp. 75–76) is lost.

Owing to the fragmentary condition of the ms, little more than half of the text is recoverable, but enough is preserved to allow for judgments to be made on such questions as literary genre, essential content, and religious character.

The first main part of the tractate is a well-constructed homily (29,6–45,6), addressed to fellow members of a Christian gnostic community. The rest of the tractate consists of miscellaneous additions based on various sources, the function of which is to elaborate on themes already sounded in the homily itself (45,6–end). Theological polemics is a major preoccupation of the author and dominates the tractate from beginning to end.

In the homily proper, the author's polemics are addressed as warnings to a potentially sympathetic audience that knows how "to hear with the ears of the mind" (29,6–9). The target of the polemics is obviously the ecclesiastical Church (Koschorke 1978: 91–174), and attacks are directed against "the Law" (Torah), with its command to procreate (29,6–31,22), catholic convictions on martyrdom and the resurrection of the flesh (31,22–38,27), and sexual "defilement," i.e., marriage and procreation (38,27–41,4). True Christianity consists in renunciation of the world and in gnosis, i.e., self-knowledge as divine knowledge (41,4–45,6).

The appended miscellanea, directed to a more general audience, consist of observations on the virginal birth of Jesus (45,6–22), an extended midrash on the serpent of Genesis 3 (45,23–49,10) with an allegorical identification of the serpent with Christ (49,7), and observations on the "spiritual" understanding of Christ, in contrast to that of those (catholic Christians) who belong to the "generation of Adam" (49,10–50,28+). The last part of the tractate, which is also the most damaged part of the ms, is devoted to denunciation of various "heresies."

One part of this last section is particularly interesting because it not only has ecclesiastical Christians in view but certain groups of fellow gnostics as well, who are mentioned by name: Valentinus and his disciples (55,1–56,5), Basilides and Isidore (57,6–8), Simonians (58,2), and others whose identities are lost in lacunae in the ms. These gnostics are attacked on the basis of their ethics and their ritual practices. That is, the gnostic groups are attacked for their sexual practices, including acceptance of marriage, and their use of the sacrament of water baptism, which the author of *Testimony of Truth* rejects. Such "errors" are ones that ecclesiastical Christians and the specified gnostic groups presumably have in common. To be sure, the gnostic author also shares much with the other gnostics; in fact, Valentinian influences can be seen at various points in the tractate. The Valentinian influences include a well-known Valentinian formula (31,29–30), a Valentinian tradition relating to the birth of Christ (45,14–15), and others.

The specific sectarian affiliation of *Testimony of Truth* is hard to establish, but Clement of Alexandria provides information in book 3 of his *Stromateis* on a person whose career fits very well the situation of the author of *Testimony of Truth,* as reflected in its content: Julius Cassianus, an ex-Valentinian who adopted a position of strict encratism, condemning marriage and sexual intercourse. Another suggestion has also been made for the authorship of *Testimony of Truth:* Hierakas of Leontopolis, discussed by Epiphanius (*Haer.* 67; cf. Wisse 1978: 439–40).

The original Greek version of *Testimony of Truth* was probably written in Alexandria toward the end of the 2d century or the beginning of the 3d, at a time when a strong ecclesiastical establishment was taking shape under the episcopacy of Demetrius (189–232).

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BIRGER A. PEARSON

**TRYPHAENA AND TRYPHOSA** (PERSONS) [Gk *Tryphaina* (Τρυφαινα)*; Tryphōsa* (Τρυφωσα)]. Roman Christians who received greetings from Paul in Rom 16:12. They were probably gentile Christians. See NEREUS. The Greek names "Tryphaena" and Tryphosa" indicate that the two women were probably slaves or freedwomen (see the epigraphical evidence from the city of Rome; Lampe *StadtrChr,* 142, 150, 152–53). Both women had "worked hard in the Lord." This term describes either missionaries (e.g., Gal 4:11; 1 Cor 15:10) or persons active within the local church-life; Paul admonished the Christians to be subject to them (1 Cor 16:16; 1 Thess 5:12; cf. 1 Tim 5:17), which would mean in this case being subject to women. A sign of the active role of women like Tryphaena and Tryphosa in the early church is that, in Romans 16, Paul used the phrase "to work hard" only for women. That Paul recalls and mentions both women closely together may have resulted either from the similarity of their names, from their being sisters, or from some common activity in the church.

PETER LAMPE

**TRYPHO** (PERSON) [Gk *Tryphōn* (Τρυφων)]. Trypho ("magnificent, luxurious"), the epithet of Diodotus, a usurper of the Seleucid throne who influenced Hasmonean policies in Judea (1 Maccabees 11–15). Diodotus was born in Kasiana, near Apamea, S of Antioch. Around 150 B.C.E., the inept Alexander Balas appointed him and Hierax as governors of Antioch. When Balas lost control in 145,

Diodotus changed allegiance to Ptolemy VI Philometer. However, Ptolemy died and Demetrius II became the sole ruler of Syria, forcing Diodotus to flee.

Demetrius' corruption and his dismissal of Syrian veterans from the army in favor of mercenaries caused widespread dissatisfaction. Diodotus seized this opportunity to rebel against Demetrius. Calling himself Trypho, he mustered veterans from Apamea and crowned Balas' infant son, Antiochus VI Epiphanes. After defeating Demetrius' army, he controlled Antioch and central Syria, the areas most affected by Demetrius' corruption. Demetrius retained control of the outlying districts of the empire.

Jonathan, the high priest, supported Trypho and Antiochus because Demetrius had turned against the Jews. Jonathan conquered Mediterranean seaports in Antiochus' name and twice defeated Demetrius' army. Worried about Jonathan's growing power, in 143 Trypho tricked him into entering Ptolemaïs with only 1,000 men. There, the Syrians killed Jonathan's guard and took him prisoner. After accepting a ransom for Jonathan, Trypho killed him anyway. Jonathan's brother Simon, the new high priest, sided with Demetrius, while Trypho killed Antiochus and made himself the king.

In 141, the Parthians captured Demetrius during his attempt to reconquer Mesopotamia. This left Trypho as the sole ruler of Syria. Demetrius' wife, Cleopatra Thea, in fear for her life, asked Demetrius' younger brother, Antiochus, to accept the crown. Antiochus VII confirmed Simon in the high priesthood to secure Jewish help. In 139, Antiochus defeated Trypho near Antioch, forcing him to flee to the seaport of Dor. Antiochus besieged it, and Simon sent 2,000 Judean troops to help (which Antiochus rejected). Trypho escaped first to Ptolemaïs, then to Arthosia, and finally to Apamea, where Antiochus VII captured him. Trypho accepted Antiochus' offer to commit suicide.

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**TRYPHO, DIALOGUE WITH.** See JUSTIN MARTYR.

**TRYPHOSA** (PERSON). See TRYPHAENA AND TRYPHOSA.

**TUBAL** (PERSON) [Heb *tūbal* (תֻּבַל)]. One of the seven sons of Japheth, Noah's son, according to the Table of Nations (Gen 10:2) and the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 1:5. Descendants of Tubal and his siblings (Gomer, Magog, Madai, Yavan, Meshech, and Tiras) are located to the N of Israel, in Greece, Asia Minor, and N Syria. It is logical, therefore, to expect to find Tubal in the same N area.

Tubal is mentioned six further times in the prophets. Isa 66:19 speaks of the distant location to which Yahweh will send messengers of his grace. They include Greece (Yavan) and Tubal, as well as "Lud, drawers of the bow (MT)." Lud, or the Lydians in W Turkey and Greece, is the only name in the context with a descriptive epithet. Rather than seeing it as such, LXX revocalizes it and reads Meshech, one of the brothers of the forefather of Tubal in the genealogies. This fits well with the other prophetic references to Tubal, in which Meshech is always found. These include an oracle against Tyre in which trade relations between the two and Tyre include their provision of slaves and instruments of bronze (Ezek 27:13). Another oracle, against pharaoh, relegates Egypt and her allies, including the uncircumcised Tubal and Meshech, to the grave because of their terrorist activities (32:26). In an extended prophecy against Gog of the land of Magog, Gog is identified as the "chief prince (or "prince of Rosh") of Meshech and Tubal" (38:2, 3; 39:1).

Herodotus mentions two nations, the Moschoi and the Tibarenoi (3.94; 7.28), and Josephus writes of Thebel and the Meschenians (*Ant* 1.124). Older, Akkadian texts mention *tabal* (Parpola 1970: 341–43) and *muški* (Yamauchi 1982: 25–27). These are located in E Asia Minor. Tabal occupies the territory S of the Halys river, to the W of Togarmah (Barnett *CAH* 2:422; *MBA*, 15).

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**TUBAL-CAIN** (PERSON) [Heb *tûbal qayin* (תּוּבַל קַיִן)]. Son of Lamech by Zillah and brother of Naamah (Gen 4:22), described in the Cainite antediluvian line as a metalworker. The term *lōtēš,* "sharpener," suggests the work of a smith who manufactures agricultural as well as military implements (Sawyer 1986: 160–64). Tubal-Cain possesses the first such compound name to appear in the Bible. Its first element, Tubal, bears resemblance to Jabal and Jubal, the two other sons of Lamech. It was with this first element alone that Josephus, *Pseudo-Philo,* and *Jubilees* characteristically referred to this figure. It may be a *Hop῾al* or a *Qal* passive form of *ybl,* "to be brought." More often, Tubal has been related to the geographic name of Tabal, known from Assyrian texts and located in E Anatolia (Barnett 1975: 420–28; Yamauchi 1982: 25). However, this has been disputed due to the different historical contexts for Gen 4:22 and Ezek 27:13, where the association with metal trade is also mentioned (Cassuto 1961: 237; Westermann 1984: 332). It is probably more than coincidence that the name of the last male listed in the line of Cain should also contain (in its second element) the name of the first figure in that line. See CAIN. Josephus, *Pseudo-Philo,* and *Jubilees* often replace this second element with a gloss on its meaning: "metal smith." For the masculine name, *qyn,* in Old South Arabic, see Müller 1963: 314.

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**TUBAS** (PLACE). See THEBEZ.

**TULEILAT EL-BATASHI** (PLACE). See BATASHI, TULEILAT EL-.

**TULEILAT EL-GHASSUL.** See GHASSUL, TULEILAT EL-.

**TUMORS.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**TUNIC.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**TURBAN.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**TURTLEDOVE.** See ZOOLOGY.

**TWELVE, THE.** In the gospel of Mark, the Twelve (*hoi dōdeka; anathrous* in Mark 3:14) are a group of disciples chosen by Jesus to be his special companions (Mark 3:14; 4:10; 11:11; 14:17). They were particularly instructed by Jesus (Mark 9:35; 10:32) and were sent by him to proclaim the coming of the kingdom and to cast out demons (Mark 3:14, 16; 6:7). The number was symbolic of the twelve tribes of Israel (cf. Matt 19:28; Luke 22:30; Rev 21:12–14) and pointed to the eschatological nature of Jesus' mission. That Judas belonged to this special group (Mark 14:10, 20, 43) accentuated the heinousness of his betrayal of Jesus.

A textually disputed passage in Mark's gospel calls the Twelve "apostles" (Mark 3:16), but the title is indisputably attributed to the group in Matthew (10:5) and Luke (6:13). In these later gospels, the Twelve have essentially the same role (Matt 10:1, 5; Luke 8:1; 9:1, 12; 18:31; cf. Acts 6:2) as they do in Mark, with a similar emphasis upon Judas, the betrayer, as one of the Twelve (Matt 26:14; Luke 22:3, 47). Matthew, however, has a special theory on the Twelve: he reduces the disciples to the Twelve (hence, the "twelve disciples"; Matt 10:1; 11:1; 20:17; 26:24) and specifically restricts their mission to Israel (Matt 10:5).

That the number twelve has symbolic value is confirmed by the early tradition of the risen Lord's appearance to the Twelve (1 Cor 15:5; cf. Acts 1:2) and the story in Acts about the selection of Matthias to fill the complement of Twelve (Acts 1:15–26). The importance of the symbolism largely explains why

the Synoptics' lists of the Twelve do not exactly correspond to one another (Matt 10:2; Mark 3:16–19; Luke 6:14–16). In the Synoptic Gospels, no individualized function is attributed to any of the Twelve, except for Peter (sometimes with James and John) and Judas.

The Twelve do not play as important a role in the Fourth Gospel as they do in the Synoptics; the Fourth Gospel does not even give a list of the Twelve (cf. John 20:2). Nonetheless, two of the Twelve are specifically identified as belonging to the Twelve, and these are each given a specific role: Judas as the betrayer (John 6:70, 71; cf. 12:4) and Thomas as the doubter (John 20:24). The fourth Evangelist's understanding of the Twelve is summarized in 6:67–71. The Twelve, whose spokesman is Simon Peter, have been chosen by Jesus. With the exception of Judas, they remained faithful even after many other disciples had abandoned Jesus.

Nonetheless, the presence of Judas and Thomas within the group and the relatively unfavorable portrayal of Simon Peter, as compared with the beloved disciple (John 13:21–25; 18:15–18; 20:2–10), indicate that the Twelve do not represent perfect faithfulness within the Fourth Gospel. Rather, they represent apostolic Christianity. Its configuration is different from that of the Evangelist's community, whose own faith hero is the beloved disciple, rather than Simon Peter.

Later traditions developed around many of the Twelve. While some of these are attested in the patristic literature, many more are to be found in the apocryphal gospels and acts.

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**TWINED LINEN.** [Heb *šēš mošzar* (שֵׁשׁ מָשְׁזָר)]. The phrase "fine twined linen" is used repeatedly in the tabernacle texts of Exodus to describe one of the major textile components of the portable sanctuary and its accoutrements (e.g., Exod 26:1). The term *šēš* ("linen"), which is used rather than the postexilic *bûṣ,* seems to be part of the ancient core of priestly materials in the tabernacle account (Hurvitz 1967). "Fine twisted linen," colored wool (blue, red, purple), and goat hair (Exod 25:4) were the three fabrics used in the tabernacle. The most holy textiles were made of a combination of twined linen and colored wool threads, a mixture forbidden for secular use (Lev 19:19; Deut 22:9, 11).

The twined linen was used in nine different places in the tabernacle. Five of these—the curtains of the tabernacle (Exod 26:1; 36:8), the veil (Exod 26:1; 36:35), the ephod (Exod 28:6; 39:2, 24), the girdle of the ephod (Exod 28:8; 39:5, 29), and the breastplate (28:15; 39:8)—were made using a special technique, *ḥošēb* workmanship (RSV "skillfully worked"). This type of workmanship was the most elaborate of a set of three different types of textile embellishment used in the tabernacle. Only the most sacred objects, garments, or hangings were crafted with the *ḥošēb* technique, which may have been a kind of needlework in which figures (cherubim for the curtains and the veil) were embroidered onto the fabric.

Two other textiles made of "fine twined linen"—used for the hangings for the door (Exod 26:36; 36:37) and the screen of the courtyard gate (Exod 27:16, 18; 38:18)—were embellished with *rôqēm* workmanship (RSV "embroidered with needlework"). This technique perhaps involved the same mixture of colors and textures as the *ḥošēb* workmanship but did not add figural embellishments.

For the other two usages of this special linen—in the hangings of the court (Exod 27:9; 38:9, 16) and for the priests' breeches (Exod 39:27)—no special workmanship is specified. Linen for these purposes was thus less costly, in keeping with the fact that the courts' hangings were on the periphery of the tabernacle's zones of holiness, as were the breeches worn by all the priests, not Aaron alone, for whom the most elaborate items of clothing were indicated.

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CAROL MEYERS

**TWO-GOSPEL HYPOTHESIS.** The Two-Gospel Hypothesis, formerly known as the Griesbach Hypothesis, proposes a comprehensive solution to the SYNOPTIC PROBLEM. It was first given this new title by Bernard Orchard (1982: vii; 1983: xii) to emphasize the central argument that the gospel of Mark was originally composed by joining together elements of the two earlier gospels, Matthew and Luke. The name is intended to distinguish this approach from the Two-*Source* (or Document) Hypothesis (hereafter 2SH), in that it does not postulate a hypothetical "lost document" such as "Q" plus Mark (or a second hypothetical "lost document" such as UrMark or DeuteroMark) as a source of Matthew and Luke. See TWO-SOURCE HYPOTHESIS. The Two-Gospel Hypothesis (hereafter 2GH) contends that the gospel of Matthew was written first in the service of the Palestinian Jewish Christian proclamation of the messiahship of the recently crucified Jesus of Nazareth. It proposes that the gospel of Luke + Acts was written second for use in the Pauline mission to the gentiles, using Matthew as the main source. It proposes that the gospel of Mark was written third as a selective combination of Matthew and Luke, as an attempt to reconcile the Jewish and gentile branches in the early Church. It proposes that the gospel of John was written fourth, revealing an extensive awareness of the other Gospels but consisting mostly of a separate stream of the Jesus tradition.

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A. Original Form of the Hypothesis
B. Revival of the Griesbach Hypothesis
C. Overview of the Two-Gospel Hypothesis
    1. Methodological Presuppositions
    2. Internal Literary Evidence
    3. External Historical Evidence
    4. Patristic Evidence
    5. Theological Consequences

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**A. Original Form of the Hypothesis**

Medieval exegesis of the Gospels assumed a point of view similar to that of Augustine, who said that the Gospels were all equally true since Truth had authored them (John 14:6; cf. *de consensu evang.* 1.35.54). They followed Augustine's example and freely harmonized the gospel texts so as to produce an acceptable, chronological account of the life of Christ. In the 1700s, Enlightenment scholars rejected the harmonistic approach, pioneering a new method. They noted that Augustine had said that all four Evangelists were inspired by the Spirit of Christ to *remember* the events of his ministry, writing them down *in ordo recordationis* and not necessarily in chronological order. This left unsolved the riddle of the original historical order of the puzzlingly divergent events described in the Gospels. They also noted that Augustine had said that each gospel author had written in full knowledge of what his predecessor(s) had written, specifically stating that Mark had abbreviated Matthew (*de consensu evang.* 1.2.4; Weirich 1963). These statements left the door wide open for a nonsupernatural explanation of the process by which the Gospels were written.

The 2GH is usually traced back to an eminent German scholar named Johann-Jakob Griesbach, of the University of Jena, who published two studies during the 1770s on the Passion Narrative and on the composition of the gospel of Mark. Probably drawing upon contemporary scholarship (such as Owen 1764), Griesbach argued that Mark's narrative had been built up by means of a systematic combination of parallel accounts taken from Matthew and Luke. The gospel of John he found to be so different in internal chronology, phraseology, and content that he could not reconcile it with the other three Gospels (Griesbach 1789–1790; cf. Orchard and Longstaff 1978, chaps. 5, 6). Thus, Griesbach published the first modern "synopsis" in which only the first three Gospels appear unharmonized, in parallel columns (Griesbach 1776). Griesbach's student W. M. L. DeWette, also published analyses of the gospel texts (DeWette 1858) and another synopsis (DeWette and Lücke 1818), setting the stage for half a century of

prominence for Griesbach's theory (Farmer 1964: 9; Reicke 1987). This ended when numerous scholars began to opt instead for alternative forms of the 2SH presupposing priority of Mark, the view which is most widely held today.

**B. The Revival of the Griesbach Hypothesis**

The recent revival of Griesbach's Hypothesis began with two scholarly attacks on the 2SH. In 1951, B. C. Butler demonstrated that a key element in the basic argument used by adherents of the 2SH to support the priority of Mark, the so-called argument from order of pericopes, was logically false (Butler 1951, Chap. 5). He also attacked the Q Hypothesis, arguing that it was unnecessary as a way of explaining the parallel material in Matthew and Luke (chaps. 1 and 2). See Q (GOSPEL SOURCE) . In 1964, W. R. Farmer carried the attack farther by publishing a history of the Synoptic Problem, in which he brought forth evidence to show that the 2SH had achieved its ascendancy not only because it was founded on clear-cut literary or historical evidence but primarily because it appealed to the cultural and theological agenda of 19th-century German liberalism (Farmer 1964: 1–117; cf. Reicke 1986: 1–23). His book focused on an unprecedented critique of the "fundamental solution" that B. H. Streeter had advanced for Markan priority (1924: 151–98; cf. Farmer 1964: 118–78) and concluded with a redactional sketch of Mark on the Griesbach Hypothesis (pp. 233–83), suggesting that it still remained the correct solution. Meantime, the German historian H.-H. Stoldt independently reached the same conclusions in his history of the Markan Hypothesis (Stoldt 1977). These two frontal attacks on the 2SH have met with little response in the scholarly literature (but see C. Tuckett 1983; answered by A. McNicol 1987; cf. also J. Fitzmyer 1970; answered by Farmer 1983: 501–23).

One apparent side effect was the rise of an extraordinary interest in the SP which took the form of an unprecedented series of ad hoc scholarly conferences: the 1970 Pittsburgh Festival of the Gospels (Buttrick and Hadidian 1970); the 1976 Münster Griesbach Bicentenary Colloquium (Orchard and Longstaff 1978); the 1977 San Antonio Interdisciplinary Dialogue on the Relationships Among the Gospels (Walker 1978); the 1979 Cambridge Conference on the Synoptic Gospels (Farmer 1983); the 1980 Fort Worth Colloquy on New Testament Studies (Corley 1983); the 1982 and 1983 Ampleforth Abbey Gospel Conferences (Tuckett 1984); the 1982 Tübingen Conference on the Gospel and the Gospels (Stuhlmacher 1983); and a major "capstone" conference held in Jerusalem in 1984 under the leadership of M.-É. Boismard, W. R. Farmer, and F. Neirynck (Dungan 1990).

**C. Overview of the Two-Gospel Hypothesis**

In the decades since its revival by W. R. Farmer and others, the Griesbach Hypothesis has been augmented considerably. To indicate this rethinking of its essential elements, the neo-Griesbachian school gave the hypothesis a more descriptive name: the Two-Gospel Hypothesis. The 2GH now rests upon more recent methodological considerations, fresh research into the literary and historical data, a reexamination of the patristic evidence, and explorations of its potential consequences for biblical theology. The key findings in each of these categories can be summarized as follows:

**1. Methodological Presuppositions.** The assumptions underlying the 2GH can be summarized thusly: A source hypothesis which limits the number of hypothetical sources needed to explain the perceived literary phenomena (cf. "Occam's Razor") is preferable to one which invents numerous imaginary "lost sources," multiple "lost earlier versions" of the Gospels, hypothetical "lost recensions" of Q, etc., to explain the literary data (Farmer 1964: 209; Dungan 1970: 71–88). The proper starting point, the basic phenomenon to be explained by any source hypothesis, is the whole concatenation of agreement and disagreement among all levels of all three Synoptic Gospels. Precisely this whole web or complex pattern is the basic phenomenon to be explained; it is the Synoptic Problem (cf. Kümmel 1965: 35). Recommendations to begin by splitting the Gospels apart in order to compare them pairwise (Mark//Matthew and Mark//Luke) destroys the basic evidence (suggested by Neirynck in *IDBSup*, 845–48 and again in *NJBC*, 589; cf. Dungan 1984: 69–72). Although oral material must have preceded the written tradition, the SP as such cannot be solved by appeal to oral tradition alone. The literary data within the Gospels require an explanation of their interrelationship in terms of direct literary dependence (Farmer 1964: 202–8).

A successful source hypothesis will provide a complete, intelligible, redactional analysis of the whole of each of the Gospels (see C.3 below). The historical data from the patristic period regarding the authorship, order of composition, and relative use of the several Gospels should be given much greater weight (see C.4 below). As with historical research in general, there can be no objective "proof" of a hypothesis. The ultimate test of the validity of any source hypothesis can only be its total convincingness. Does it do justice to all pertinent evidence: patristic, text critical, literary, historical, and theological (see C.5 below)? This also means that no hypothesis can ever be finally "proved," since new evidence keeps coming to light.

**2. Internal Literary Evidence.** Proponents of the 2GH believe that conventional judgments regarding good or poor style, broken or intact form, and early or late theological formulation are too subjective and should not be used to establish source hypotheses. All source hypotheses must rest upon two types of objective internal literary evidence: *macro*structural phenomena and *micro*structural phenomena. But which should be given precedence?

In the past, source hypotheses have been founded on microstructural phenomena such as the percentage of similar verses among the Synoptic Gospels, the number of words in common, similar grammatical forms, etc. (cf. Streeter 1924: 151–52; *NJBC*, 588a). It is methodologically incorrect to begin with this type of data. As the critical apparatus of Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ = UBS $^{3}$ clearly indicates, there was widespread intentional and/or accidental manipulation of individual words and phrases in the gospel texts in the early centuries. At the individual word level, one is so confronted by sufficient textual uncertainty that the perceived microstructural phenomena can always be explained in a variety of equally plausible ways. Conversely, there is much less evidence that there was widespread accidental or intentional *structural* modification of the texts of the Synoptic Gospels in the early Church. Therefore, for a source hypothesis to have a secure basis, i.e., one that can legitimately claim to explain the original interactions at the earliest compositional stages prior to the turbulent period, one must begin by examining the unaltered *major structural features* of the Gospels. But which ones?

The 2GH contends that the correct methodological approach is to start with phenomena that are found to exist across the entire Gospels. These would have the highest probability of having been created by the final redactors. Hence, it is of fundamental importance to begin by viewing all three Synoptic Gospels together simultaneously, not by separating them into two groups, such as Mark//Matthew and Mark//Luke (Neirynck following Lachmann; cf. *NJBC*, 588a; *IDBSup* 846; but see Dungan 1984: 68–72). Moreover, the 2GH contends that the most significant macrostructural feature in the three Synoptic Gospels is the relative order of pericopes (Dungan 1984: 72).

**a. Macrostructural Evidence.** However, it is impossible to see the literary evidence upon which the 2GH is built if one consults the two basic research tools scholars use today. The text of the Nestle-Aland$^{26}$ = UBS$^{3}$ has been shaped over the years by a succession of scholars who unquestioningly accepted the 2SH in some form or other (cf. Metzger 1971: xxviii). Likewise, the most widely used gospel synopses, despite their claims to be "neutral" with respect to source theories in their arrangement (cf. Aland 1967: vii; Huck 1976: iii; Greeven 1981: v), all favor the 2SH in their division and arrangement of pericopes (Orchard 1978; 1983: xi–xv; Dungan 1980). In fact, it is impossible to construct a totally objective, neutral synopsis (Dungan 1985). There are so many equally plausible ways to divide the text into pericopes and alternative ways to parallel them that the synopsis editor must inevitably fall back on a preconceived conception of how the materials were originally related to each other in the very act of constructing the synopsis. It is invariably a circular process. Farmer's *Synopticon* (1969) is an ingenious attempt to visualize the intersynoptic relationships through the use of colors without breaking up the text into artifical pericopes, titles, etc.

The literary facts with respect to the phenomenon of the relative orders of pericopes in the Synoptic Gospels are well known (Streeter 1924: 161; Nierynck *NJBC*, 588a; Farmer 1964: 212): the order of pericopes in Mark coincides with the order of pericopes in Matthew and Luke in every instance where Matthew and Luke agree with each other (with one possible exception: Cleansing of the Temple). In between, the order of pericopes in Mark always coincides with the order of pericopes in either Matthew or

Luke (with one exception: the Seed Growing Secretly). B. C. Butler (1951) demonstrated that this statement of the facts had been improperly used to support the argument for the *priority* of Mark (cf. *IDBSup*, 845–46).

This statement of the literary facts can most readily be explained by the hypothesis Mark combined Matthew and Luke: where their pericopes coincided in order, Mark utilized that account (see Fig. TWO.01). In between, he selected from one or the other (Farmer 1964: 211–18). All source hypotheses postulate a process of conflation to some degree. The process envisioned for Mark on the 2GH resembles Arrian's when he wrote the *Anabasis of Alexander* (see I, pref.; cf. Dungan 1974: 183–84), and it is confirmed in other biographical literature where it is known a third author used two earlier authors (Frye 1971; 1978: 279–83).

If one wishes to see the whole striking pattern of triple agreement in order of pericopes interspersed by alternating double agreement between Matthew and Mark on the one hand and Mark and Luke on the other—the pattern that led Griesbach to propose his hypothesis in the first place—one must not use any existing synopses. Fig. TWO.01 illustrates the Markan compositional pattern as understood by the 2GH. It is based on Griesbach's original outline chart in his *Commentatio* of 1789 (translated in Orchard and Longstaff 1978: 108–13; for the most recent analysis of the Markan composition on the basis of the 2GH, see now Farmer et al. 1991).

**b. Microstructural Evidence.** Customary analyses of stylistic features of the Gospels that focus on such phenomena as better or worse Greek, direct discourse vs. reported speech, increasing detail, increasing length, and greater or lesser "semiticism" have been demonstrated to be completely unreliable for determining whether a pericope or saying is early or late, since none of these linguistic traits are consistent indicators of early vs. late tradition (Sanders 1969; Frye 1978: 264–79).

Moreover, the quest for an individual gospel author's style has been plagued by questionable methods. If it is in fact the case that no one knows either the extent or the nature of the source material(s) used by each gospel writer, nor the compositional methods he followed, then the many analyses of the stylistic characteristics of the various Evangelists which assume that we *do* know the sources of the Gospels, and that we *do* know the methods they followed in incorporating them into their Gospels, have done little more than sow mass confusion. If one seeks to identify a writer's style without first recognizing the differences between the stylistic features of the *sources* as distinct from the stylistic characteristics of that *writer,* the result cannot be anything but confusion. Scholars who rely upon the classic studies of stylistic characteristics that explicitly assumed the Two-Source Hypothesis, such as Hawkins (1899), Turner (1924–1928), and Cadbury (1927), as well as more recent studies by Gaston (1973), Jeremias (1980), Dschulnigg (1984), and Luz (1985), will inevitably be misled. Methodologically worst of all are studies such as Pryke (1978) that begin by appealing to some vague consensus as to what "most scholars" consider to be the redactional passages in the gospel text (cf. Peabody's analysis of Nierynck's similar search for consensus; 1987: 11–14).

A more circumspect method is required. Peabody (1987: 3–14) is the first analysis of the stylistic characteristics of a gospel text that *does not assume a knowledge of that gospel's sources.* Peabody's logically correct starting point is the identification of merely "recurrent grammatical or syntactical features," leaving open the question whether they come from a source or the redactor (pp. 19–28). After these are collected (pp. 31–113), Peabody asks how one may determine if any of these "recurrent features" have been used compositionally, viz., by the final author of Mark to link originally separated segments into sections and sections in a progressive sequence from beginning to end of the gospel. Peabody correctly proposes the principle that a recurrent feature should only be considered a potential redactional stylistic characteristic of the final author of Mark if it appears in numerous, widely separated contexts of the gospel (pp. 115–58). Following this principle, the most widespread, recurrent stylistic feature would have the greatest probability of coming from the hand of the final author of the gospel (pp. 161–71). This feature must be the logical place to begin in identifying potential stylistic characteristics of the final gospel author.

After listing dozens of recurrent features in the text, Peabody isolates the most widespread feature, one which has been overlooked in all previous studies of Markan style: "*palin* ["again"] used retrospectively uniting two or more separated pericopes" (pp. 27, 171). Peabody further demonstrates that this unique characteristic *links together many other recurrent stylistic features,* suggesting the possibility of a potential redactional network across almost the whole of Mark's text (Table 70, pp. 56–57). Moreover, since traces of this network of *palin* used retrospectively is *entirely missing in Matthew and Luke,* we have prima facie evidence on the microstructural level that Mark could not have been the source of either Matthew or Luke, for it is hard to see why either, let alone both, would have systematically avoided this feature of Mark.

Longstaff (1977) has conducted another very useful experiment in microstructural detection by testing our customary assumptions as to the literary characteristics of conflated writings. Setting aside the usual speculations about what the gospel authors "must" have done in conflating their sources (cf. Dungan 1970: 91; 1974: 182–84), Longstaff analyzed writings of a known date, who used sources of a known date, in order to construct *inductively* a profile of the literary characteristics and compositional strategies of writers known to have conflated two or more sources. Longstaff concludes: "Mark is, at least in part, the result of a careful and detailed conflation of material taken from Matthew and Luke" (113; cf. Frye 1971; 1978: 264–79).

The results of this new microstructural research coincides precisely with the macrostructural evidence discovered in research on the relative order of pericopes. Whenever the microstructural evidence put forth by a particular hypothesis corroborates the macrostructural evidence upon which the same hypothesis is founded, it gains in plausibility.

**3. External Historical Evidence.** There are fundamental *historical* objections to the two main alternative types of source theory. First, those hypotheses envisioning a complex process in the composition of the Gospels (Parker 1953; Vaganay 1954; Léon-Dufour 1959; Gaboury 1970; Boismard 1972) invoke the existence of so many hypothetical "lost recensions" and "missing sources" of the Gospels that it is difficult to think of them as critical historical hypotheses. They are more like "conjectural scenarios" not meant to be held accountable to accepted practices of scientific evidence (Dungan 1970: 81–88). It is no wonder that none of these scholars has written a history of the early Church indicating when and where these many "lost versions" were produced or why they disappeared.

There is a different historical objection to the 2SH, however. If Mark was written first, followed by Matthew and Luke, one must then accept a disjointed historical process. According to the 2SH, the first gospel to appear was an anonymous, legend-filled portrait of a Hellenistic miracle worker (Bultmann 1963: 346–48). This first short gospel (later called "Mark") was then allegedly "corrected" by a second anonymous author who produced a "re-Judaized" revision (later called "Matthew") that *harkened back* to the theme of Jesus as the long-awaited eschatological Jewish king. Meanwhile, a third anonymous author allegedly also "corrected" the first writing to present a portrait of Jesus as the universal Hellenistic Savior (it was later called "Luke"). None of these writings came from Jesus' disciples. This hypothesis results in the denial that the historical Jesus of Nazareth can be known from the Gospels since they are largely made up of pious legends and myth (Bultmann 1963: 368–74). Paradoxically, "Q is the most important Christian text that we have … the canon behind the canon" (Robinson 1983: 28; cf. Ellis 1983: 36–38).

The 2GH, on the other hand, sees no evidence of such implausible disjunctions in the historical development of the early Church. It finds a consistent, carefully nurtured tradition extending from Jesus through the apostles into the early Church leadership (*1 Clem.* 42; cf. Gerhardsson 1961). It notes that the first gospel, Matthew, exercised an enormous influence on the life and faith of the early Church (Massaux 1950). It notes evidence that the Jesus tradition was maintained, transmitted, and applied to the living situation of the Church by a special group of traditionists especially dedicated to that task, a group which certainly included "the Twelve," James the brother of the Lord, and the apostle Paul (Gerhardsson 1964; 1986). It notes evidence that the leadership of the Church sought to maintain close and harmonious relationships, so that there might be continuity, coherency, and controlled creativity in the life of faith (Farmer and Kereszty 1990; Willis 1987). It notes evidence that the Gospel Tradition was carefully

transmitted from its beginnings down to the point when it was deposited in the four apostolic testimonies (Hofius 1983; cf. Gerhardsson 1986: 49–53). They were ultimately combined with other apostolic letters and writings (a "martyr's canon"; Farmer 1982: 213–15) as a companion volume with "the Law and the Prophets" to form the Christian Scripture. Putting the Jesus tradition into written form followed the practices of the well-known Hellenistic *bios encomium* genre (Shuler 1982; cf. Talbert 1977).

In this historical perspective, Matthew is the gospel most clearly reflecting conditions in Palestinian Judaism (Dungan 1971; Cope 1976) and might plausibly be viewed as first gospel created by the disciples of Jesus (Levi/Matthew acting as scribe) to present "the gospel" of the Hellenistic Christian synagogue of greater Syria (Orchard and Longstaff 1987: 239–45). However, some of Matthew's main themes needed modification if the gospel were to address the needs and concerns of the wider Hellenistic world. Thus, the 2GH suggests that Luke is a revision of Matthew along more universalistic lines (Orchard and Longstaff 1987: 246–62).

However, the latent distrust existing between the Jerusalem and the Pauline branches of the early Church is well documented in our sources. It is also documented that Simon Peter was a mediator in the early mission of the Church (cf. Acts 10). It is from this perspective that the 2GH understands not only the main reason for the writing of the gospel of Mark but also its remarkable structure. When the two chief Evangelists, Peter and Paul, were both executed during Nero's chaotic reign (A.D. 54–68), it shocked the Christian Church. The 2GH suggests that it is historically credible to understand Mark's intense focus on the crucifixion of Jesus as an attempt to provide a meaningful context for the recent deaths of the Church's leading apostles. Moreover, the 2GH suggests that the extraordinary unifying structure of Mark, namely, its exclusive restriction to traditions taken from the gospels of Matthew (Petrine tradition) and Luke (Pauline tradition), is an act of piety on Mark's part toward his beloved apostolic mentors (cf. Orchard and Longstaff 1987: 263–74; Dungan 1983: 412–18). Mark's dual theological parentage could also explain the striking combination of vivid eyewitness details (Petrine tradition) and Pauline theological terminology. Various dates have been proposed for the writing of the Gospels: in the 40s–60s (Orchard and Longstaff 1987: 275–77) and in the 60s–80s (Farmer 1982: 238).

**4. Patristic Evidence.** The question of the order of composition of the Gospels was not of great concern to the biblical exegetes in the early Church. However, definite traces of the original, historical order of composition can be found. Clement of Alexandria refers to a "tradition from the first elders" *(ton ekathen presbyteron)* that the Gospels with genealogies (Matthew and Luke) were written before the Gospels without (Mark and John; *Hypot.* 6; Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 6.14.5–7; cf. Farmer 1983: 6–9; cf. Gamba in Farmer 1983: 21 n. 10). The Latin manuscripts prior to Jerome often follow the order Matthew-John-Luke-Mark, an arrangement perhaps reflecting the dignity of authorship (apostles first, then disciples of apostles) as well as the chronological order attested by Clement (cf. Gamba in Farmer 1983: 21–22). The Monarchian Prologue to Mark, dating from the end of the 4th century, also assumes that Mark was written after Matthew and Luke, a view taken for granted by the 9th-century Irish historian, Sedulius Scottus (Gamba in Farmer 1983: 17–35; for the most recent full discussion, see Orchard 1987: 111–226). Augustine also reached the conclusion that Mark had conflated both Matthew and Luke (*de consensu evang.* 4.10.11; cf. Peabody 1983: 47–58).

**5. Theological Consequences.** The Two-Gospel Hypothesis rejects the Enlightenment tradition that there was a great gulf between Jesus and the disciples, or between Jesus and Paul, or between Peter and Paul (Willis 1987; Meyer 1987: 173–94). This legacy of radical scepticism is inimical to sound biblical exegesis (Meyer 1979: 13–110; 1989: 147–56). The 2GH sees a strong, broad tradition of biblical exegesis and theological affirmation running from Second Isaiah through Jesus' ministry on into the 1st and 2d centuries of Christian expansion and establishment, until it was canonized by the "great Church" in the 3d and 4th centuries (Farmer 1982). Few systematic theologians of the 20th century have used the 2SH, perhaps because of its reliance upon "lost documents" whose contents are not known even to the experts (Kingsbury 1981: 3–5) and its assumption of a bizarre history of the development of the early Church. The 2GH, however, focuses upon Gospels that the Church has canonized and explains their relationships logically and meaningfully. For this reason, it is to be hoped that the 2GH will provide a

sounder basis for biblical theology and ethics (cf. Farmer 1967; 1982; Farmer and Kereszty 1990; Dungan 1987). See also TWO-SOURCE HYPOTHESIS.

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**TWO-SOURCE HYPOTHESIS.** To account for the complexity of the Synoptic Problem, the Two-Source Hypothesis in its purest form can best be summarized in the following three propositions: (a) in the sections common to the three Synoptics (the Triple Tradition), Matthew and Luke depend on Mark; (b) in the sections common only to Matthew and Luke (the Double Tradition), these two gospels depend on a second source, designated by the letter "Q " (for the German *Quelle* = "source"), which was made up almost exclusively of *logia* ("sayings"); (c) Matthew and Luke are independent of one another. Scholars also concur that Matthew and Luke had available to them their own particular sources for those sections which are unique to themselves. This hypothesis—widely held today, though with important qualifications—was only worked out in successive stages. See also SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

**A. Origins of the Theory**

The first step was to suppose the existence of a primitive gospel (a so-called "Ur-gospel") on which the three Synoptic Gospels depended. This was worked out chiefly by G. E. Lessing in a work which, though written in 1778, was only published in 1784 after the author's death. This Ur-gospel (a gospel of the Hebrews or of the Nazarenes?) would have been written in Aramaic shortly after the death of Christ, then translated into Greek in different recensions, according to the circumstances prevailing at those times when it was reworked to a greater or lesser extent. The three Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke would have depended on diverse translations such as these.

In 1794, J. G. Eichhorn complicated this hypothesis somewhat. The primitive gospel—still one written in Aramaic—would have undergone four different revisions, which likewise would have taken place in Aramaic. Matthew would, in this view, depend on a Revision "A," Luke on a Revision "B," and Mark on a Revision "C"; this last revision would, in its turn, be dependent upon Revisions "A" and "B" (a concession to the Griesbach Hypothesis). But Eichhorn's new idea was to suppose a Revision "D" to explain the materials which Matthew and Luke had in common but which were unknown to Mark.

In 1798 the Cambridge scholar H. Marsh again took up the ideas of Eichhorn, presenting them in a more logical fashion. He clearly distinguished two different sources to explain the formation of the Synoptic Gospels. One would have been the Ur-gospel that Lessing had already mentioned, but one that had been translated into Greek and used for all three Synoptics. The other source would have been a collection of the logia and parables of Jesus, which took into account the materials common to Matthew and Luke but unknown to Mark.

The position of Lachmann in 1835 is quite close to that of Marsh. However, he made it more precise on two important points. The materials of the Triple Tradition (Matthew, Mark, Luke), which derived from the Ur-gospel (still anonymous), would have been better preserved by Mark, a view which restored to Mark a certain priority over Matthew and Luke. Lachmann offered as proof the sequence of the narratives in the three Synoptics: Matthew and Luke only follow the same order when they are in agreement with Mark; whenever they depart from Mark, each follows his own way. This argument even today constitutes one of the pillars on which the Two-Source Hypothesis rests. With regard to the materials common to Matthew and Luke but unknown to Mark, Lachmann returns to an idea of Schleiermacher's (1832), making these depend on a collection of logia which Papias attributed to Matthew's composition. Luke, meantime, would not have known about these directly but only through an intermediary, namely canonical Matthew.

In 1836, Credner prompted an evolution in the direction of today's Two-Source Hypothesis by making more complete use of the testimony of Papias, which recognized two primitive Gospels: those of Mark and of Matthew, the latter one containing the logia of the Lord. For Credner, the Ur-gospel—which had

remained anonymous since Lessing—would, in fact, have been an Ur-Marcus on which all three Synoptics depended.

Several years later, in 1838, C. H. Weisse simplified Credner's theory by abandoning the idea of an Ur-Marcus; he proposed that the primitive gospel (Ur-gospel), which had already been intuited by Lessing, was nothing other than the canonical gospel of Mark on which Matthew and Luke would have been dependent, the latter two having also made use of the logia source that Papias had mentioned. At this point, the Two-Source Hypothesis took shape.

But Weisse ran into the following difficulty: if the second source truly was a collection of logia, how could one justify the presence, in material common to Matthew and Luke, of sections that were not logia but actually narratives, such as the healing of the centurion's son at Capernaum? Consequently, Weisse, in 1856, published a new study in which he returned to the idea of an Ur-Marcus that would have contained the *narratives* common to Matthew and Luke and which canonical Mark would have eliminated.

This theory of Weisse's enjoyed little success. But it gave flight to a reworked and brilliant treatment by H. H. Holtzmann in 1863. As the first gospel source, Holtzmann argued determinedly for an Ur-Marcus, designated by the Greek letter *alpha*, comprised of not only the materials of the gospel of Mark (taking into account the parallel redactions of Matthew and Luke), but also of a short form of the Sermon on the Mount (cf. Luke 6:20–49), the episode of the healing of the centurion's son, the pericope of the adulterous woman (John 7:53–8:11), and several verses from the end of Matthew's gospel (28:9–10, 16–20). In taking up this source, each of the three Synoptics would have effected both omissions and additions. With regard to the second source, which Holtzmann designated by the Greek letter *lambda*, Holtzmann still understood it to be the collection of logia which Papias had mentioned, better preserved in the "travel narrative" of Luke 9:51–18:14 than in Matthew.

With P. Wernle (1899), the Two-Source Hypothesis returned to its quasi-classical formulation. He attributed to the second gospel source, which he designated by the letter "Q" (208 verses), *all* the material common to Matthew and Luke but unknown to Mark, even if some of this was narrative in form. Accordingly, he could take up again the first form of Weisse's thesis: Ur-Marcus would be nothing other than canonical Mark, on which Matthew and Luke depended for the materials of the Triple Tradition. Holtzmann himself, toward the end of his life, rallied to this thesis, even though he also admitted an influence by Matthew on Luke.

At the moment, the Two-Source Hypothesis is accepted by a very large number of exegetes all over the world. It is expounded in all the introductions to the NT. One may refer especially to that of Jülicher and Fascher (1931: 321–51) or to that of Kümmel (1973: 13–53), as well as to the introduction to the three gospels composed by Schmithals (1985): the latter two of these works give an almost complete bibliography of all the works that the Two-Source Hypothesis has occasioned.

**B. Foundations of the Theory**

To prove the *priority of Mark* in the case of the material common to the three Synoptics, the decisive argument remains that of Lachmann concerning the sequence of the gospel units: Matthew and Luke do not have the same order among themselves except when they agree with Mark; when they disagree with him, each follows his own way (Jülicher and Fascher 1931: 330ff; Kümmel 1973: 31). Some additional remarks are needed to complete this general rule. Thus, when the sequence of the units is not identical in the three Synoptics, that of Mark is almost always sustained, either by Matthew against Luke or by Luke against Matthew (Streeter 1924: 161). We can also add that "the earliest and the latest parallels in all three Gospels coincide with the beginning and end of St. Mark" (Woods 1890: 61). Finally, when Matthew or Luke depart from the Markan order, it is always possible to specify the reason which prompted one change or the other (Kümmel 1973: 32–33). Mark, thereby, appears as the primitive gospel on which Matthew and Luke depend.

There is another argument invoked in favor of Markan priority, and it is one that is equally *decisive* ("*entscheidend*"—Kümmel 1973: 34): this gospel often has an unpolished, popular style, more oral than written, containing Latinisms and words transcribed from the Aramaic. But these stylistic inaccuracies are often absent from the parallel passages of Matthew and Luke. The only plausible hypothesis is to suppose

that Matthew and Luke, each in his own way, improved the style of Mark to render it more flowing, less semiticizing, and also simpler (Hawkins 1909: 131–38). Moreover, Mark contains details that seem to contradict the ideas that one might conclude about Christ or his disciples, or else ones that might lead to confusion. These traits are often omitted either by Matthew or by Luke, or by the two together (Hawkins 1909: 117–25). Finally, the style of Mark is readily seen to be redundant, with a tendency to express the same idea twice (Neirynck 1972). To take these details into account, some authors have returned to the idea of an Ur-Marcus (Schmithals 1985: 201–8), on which the three Synoptics would have depended, and which canonical Mark would have modified in some small way. But such a hypothesis finds little support today. Scholars prefer to explain the minor Matthew/Luke agreements against Mark either by recourse to text criticism (which results in their being denied) or by showing how Matthew and Luke must have reacted in the same way to correct Mark's text (Streeter 1924: 293–331; McLoughlin 1967; Schmithals 1985: 209–15).

**C. The Q Source**

Matthew and Luke together contain numerous sections that are not attested by Mark, above all the "words" (logia) of Jesus, but also narratives such as that of the delegation from John the Baptist to Jesus to ask him who he was or the account of the healing of the centurion's son. The literary connections between Matthew and Luke are often so close that one has to admit either to their mutual dependence on one another or to their use of the same source. In resolving this problem, analysis of the sequence of the pericopes common to Matthew/Luke but unknown to Mark is of no help. In fact, one can count on more than one third of these sections succeeding one another in the same order, even though, at times, they are separated from each other by sections taken over from Mark (Hawkins 1909: 108–109; Kümmel 1973: 39). This phenomenon can be explained either by a mutual dependence of one gospel on the other or by their use of a common source.

But other arguments seem to exclude the hypothesis of mutual dependence. If Matthew and Luke had depended on each other—whatever the order of that dependence—how does one explain that Matthew and Luke are so different when they explain the infancy of Jesus or the appearance of the Risen Lord?

On the other hand, when one compares the texts of Matthew and Luke in their common sections, one can establish that sometimes it is Matthew, while at other times it is Luke, who offers the more archaic text (Jülicher 1931: 336–37). So, one must admit that Matthew and Luke do depend on a common source.

Finally, Matthew and Luke offer a certain number of doublets, that is, sayings of Jesus that are found twice in Matthew and Luke; once in parallel with Mark and the second time independent of Mark. This would be the case with Jesus' statement about bearing one's own cross (Matt 16:24; Mark 8:34; Luke 9:23 in the first instance; Matt 10:38; Luke 14:24 in the second) or his statement expressing the theme that "to the one who has will more be given" (Matt 13:12; Mark 4:25; Luke 8:18 in the first instance; Matt 25:29; Luke 19:26 in the second). However, it might also have been by chance that either Matthew or Luke avoided the presence of a doublet by suppressing one of its component parts. Whatever might have been the case in this last regard, the presence of such doublets suggests that Matthew and Luke depended on two different sources: Mark and a collection of logia (Hawkins 1909: 80–107; Kümmel 1973: 40–41).

**D. Weaknesses in the Theory**

The success enjoyed by the Two-Source Theory rests on the fact that, even though it is relatively simple, it allows one to account for a large number of synoptic factors. Nonetheless, it does contain weak points, which those opposed to the theory have not failed to stress. See TWO-GOSPEL HYPOTHESIS. The utilization of Lachmann's argument to prove the priority of Mark on the basis of the sequence of the pericopes common to the three Synoptics has been contested by Butler, Palmer, Sanders, and Stoldt (1980: 135–54) and by Farmer (1976: 212–15). The efforts of Streeter, McLoughlin, and many others to justify, within the framework of the Two-Source Theory, the minor agreements of Matthew/Luke against Mark have been judged to be not very convincing: these authors have minimized the importance of the negative agreements (Stoldt 1980: 263–73), have advanced arguments that often are not very weighty, and have "atomized" the problem by neglecting to consider certain concentrations of agreements within the space of a few verses (Farmer 1976: 118–52; Boismard 1980). The instances of "duality" as a

phenomenon in Mark could call attention, not to the style of this Evangelist, but instead to the fact that he fused together texts taken over from Matthew and Luke (Farmer 1976: 155–56; Rolland 1984: 110–22). Finally, if Mark often appears more primitive than Matthew or Luke, one could just as readily make this observation about Matthew, or at times even of Luke (Sanders 1969).

In another respect, what is one to think of the alleged unity of the Q source? Could the sections where Matthew and Luke have a quasi-identical vocabulary (Matt 3:7–10; Luke 3:7–9) possibly derive from the same source as those which have hardly a word in common (Matt 22:2–14; Luke 14:16–24)? And how could a collection of sayings also include several narratives? See also Q (GOSPEL SOURCE). Right from the start, the Two-Source Hypothesis has found itself faced with difficulties that even now have not been totally resolved.

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**TYCHICUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Tychikos* (Τυχικος)]. A Christian from Asia Minor who traveled with Paul on his third missionary journey (Acts 20:4) and who was later sent to the Colossians (Col 4:7–9) and Ephesians (Eph 6:21–22). In the context of the third missionary journey, Tychicus is mentioned with Trophimus, along with several others who accompanied Paul as he returned from Corinth to Macedonia (Acts 20:4). From there, Tychicus and the others went ahead and waited for Paul to catch up with them at Troas, where Paul then spent seven days (20:6). Some commentators have suggested that Tychicus was delegated by one or more of the churches to carry the collection from them to Jerusalem (1 Cor 16:3–4) (Lightfoot 1879: 233–34; Bruce *Colossians, Philemon, and Ephesians* NICNT, 176). However, while Acts relates that Trophimus went on with Paul to Jerusalem (cf. 21:6), it is not clear whether Tychicus did also.

Tychicus (assumably the same person) is described by "Paul" in Colossians as "a beloved brother, faithful minister, and fellow servant in the Lord" (Col 4:7) who is being sent to the Colossians along with

Onesimus. In Ephesians, Tychicus is sent alone, and is portrayed in the same way, although without the characterization of "fellow servant" (Eph 6:21). Each of these letters reports verbatim that Tychicus was sent to the readers so "that you may know how we are and that he may encourage your hearts" (Col 4:8; Eph 6:22). If Ephesians is dependent on Colossians, as many think probable, then the Ephesian reference to Tychicus is a literary borrowing. Whatever the case, Tychicus' twofold task is to relay pertinent information about Paul not expressed in the letters, and to provide encouragement to the community. A well-attested variant reading for Col 4:8 gives as Tychicus' first assignment: "that he may learn your news," implying that he was to report this news back to Paul. Because of his mission to relay information, the inference has often been made that Tychicus delivered both Colossians and Ephesians, and possibly the letter to the Laodiceans as well (Col 4:17).

Since Tychicus is identified as one of the "Asians" (Gk *Asianoi;* Acts 20:4), it is possible that he was already known to the communities he was to visit. However, since Colossians specifies Onesimus as "one of yourselves" (4:9), without saying the same of Tychicus, one concludes that Tychicus was probably not from that city.

Tychicus is also mentioned twice in the Pastorals. According to 2 Tim 4:12, "Paul" says he sent Tychicus to Ephesus. Was he to take over Timothy's responsibilities there? In Titus 3:12, "Paul" intended to send either Tychicus or Artemas to Crete, evidently to replace Titus, thus freeing him to meet Paul in Nicopolis where he planned to spend the winter. On the basis of 2 Tim 4:12, which would place Tychicus in Ephesus, it has been conjectured that Artemas and not Tychicus was the person eventually sent to Crete.

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**TYPOLOGY.** "Typology" has been defined as "that form of biblical interpretation which deals with the correspondence between traditions concerning divinely appointed persons, events, and institutions, within the framework of salvation history" (Achtemeier *IDBSup*, 926).

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A. Definitions
B. Biblical Focus
C. Origins and Patristic Developments
D. History of Interpretation
E. Contemporary Discussion

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**A. Definitions**

Paul expresses the hermeneutical starting point for typological thinking when he writes that the "veil" of Moses remains unlifted and obscures understanding when people "read the old covenant," that "only through Christ is it taken away. Yes, to this day whenever Moses is read a veil lies over their minds; but when one turns to the Lord the veil is removed," and "all the promises of God find their Yes in him (Christ)" (2 Cor 3:14–16; 1:20). This starting point presupposes the unity of the OT and NT and that the active involvement of God to save and deliver people in history is consistent. It presupposes, therefore, that the meaning of the OT is finally unclear without the NT, as is that of the NT without the OT; the two Testaments are connected at a substantive level. The Pauline image of the removal of the "veil" finds its antecedent subject matter in typology.

Typology is, in one sense, relevant for modern-day interpretive methodology because the latter is concerned about fundamental openness to the stated understandings of the original writers of Scripture. The roots of the discussion, therefore, are in the NT use of the Greek word *typos* and its cognates; returning to such exegetical roots out of respect for the text shapes the context for serious consideration of typology in biblical scholarship today.

**B. Biblical Focus**

*Typos* and its cognates appear in the following NT locations: John 20:25; Acts 7:43 (Amos 5:26), 44; 23:25; Rom 5:14; 6:17; 1 Cor 10:6, 11; 1 Thess 1:7; 2 Thess 3:9; Phil 3:17; 1 Tim 1:16; 4:12; 2 Tim 1:13; Titus 2:7; Heb 8:5; 9:24; 1 Pet 3:21; 5:3. The lexical problem of how to translate *typos* and cognates in these passages depends to a large extent on whether they are used as technical terms; only context can determine this. With the exception of a few noteworthy examples, *typos* is not used formally as a technical term; there are no indications that certain interpretive formulae are being appropriated, nor that a closed heuristic system of detailed interpretations with commensurate rules for application is operative; *typos,* in the main, is not part of a hermeneutical method as we normally think of it. The suggestions for translation within the secondary literature are multiple, but are, nevertheless, to be brought under the control of their respective contexts.

In John 20:25, "mark" or "print/imprint"; in Acts 7:43, "graven images"; and in Acts 23:25, " (letter) form" would reproduce in English the contextual use accurately. More problematic is Rom 6:17; it represents a much-debated context since it is not clear whether the interpretive antecedent is the Pauline "type" or "form" of teaching, in contrast to that of others, or the "shaping norm" that as such forms the conduct of those who live in the light of Christian instruction. In the latter case, *typos* could approach technical usage and be useful in the specialized discussion of typology.

In Phil 3:17, 1 Thess 1:7, and 2 Thess 3:9, personal antecedents are denoted as "example," serving as "models" or "images" that set a standard and give direction; what is put in noun form is that which is expressed by the verb *mimeomai.* It is not necessary to understand the "example" apart from faith as an ideal one. 1 Pet 5:3 is similar: *typoi* are not static patterns or wooden models but "representative, shaped ones" (of the flock). In the Pastoral Epistles of 1 Tim 1:16 and 2 Tim 1:13, *hypotypōsis,* as a derivative term, is used in contexts denoting a "picture," "display," or "initial representation" of the work of Christ (1 Tim 1:16), a "pattern" of Christian proclamation (2 Tim 1:13); *typos* denotes a "shaping representation" or "directional model" of Christian preaching and conduct in 1 Tim 4:12 and Titus 2:7.

The references to *typos* and cognates in Acts 7:44; Rom 5:14; 1 Cor 10:6, 11; Heb 8:5; 9:24; and 1 Pet 3:21, on the other hand, are more closely tied to usage as technical terms. In 1 Corinthians 10—perhaps the *locus classicus,* along with Romans 5, for the current discussion (Davidson 1981: 191–297)—the context for the use of *typos* and cognates is an OT one but not scriptural exegesis in the strict sense: individual OT references are not considered, but that which befell the people of Israel in the desert wanderings, a piece of Exodus history remembered in loose, summary connection to the OT accounts. In vv 6–13, Paul develops his point, using *typoi* in v 6 and *typikōs* in v 11. He discoverq in this history events which are "our prefigurations" of God's saving activity having occurred for the experience of the community of faith in the end time: "these things happened 'typically'/'typologically' to them, but they were written down for our instruction, upon whom the end of the ages has come" (v 11). Paul does not lift out a rule that is to be learned about God's further activity, nor does he find correspondence in an outer similarity of events; rather, he finds a directional indicator for an essential correspondence in God's activity. The image of Christ as the "Rock" that was "following" them (v 4) has several possible points of contact in rabbinic literature but does not appear to be dependent on such sources (Davidson 1981: 232–45); moreover, attempts to identify the genre of the passage as parenesis or midrash are only secondarily related to the *typos* question, inasmuch as typology is not a form-critical category. As in 2 Cor 3:14–16, something that would otherwise be obscure is seen in that history through the eyes of faith in Christ.

Rom 5:14 uses *typos* in an OT context (cf. 1 Cor 15:22, 45), but in an antithetical and heightened way (*ouch hōs-houtōs* and *pollō̧ mallon*): Adam is called a "prefiguration" of the One to come; Adam is this in negative rather than positive correspondence. Here *typos* is the "cast" or "hollow form" which, as molding pattern, contains in itself both sides of the image. Paul utilizes such a connection to express not patterned repetition—cf. contrasting contexts for *eikōn, homoiōma, apokatastasis,* and *paliggenesia* (Goppelt *TDNT* 8:253)—but the dynamic context of God's saving intervention.

For Acts 7:44 and Heb 8:5, the context is the actualization of Exod 25:40 and the "pattern" or "model" of the temple as heavenly archetype or blueprint and its derivative construct on earth. This interpretive context has points of contact in the OT (1 Chr 28:11–19) and in Hellenistic Judaism (Wis 9:8; Philo *Leg*

*All* III:102 and *Vita Mos* II:74, 141). Acts 7:44, however, leaves the interpretive antecedent of the *typos* undeveloped; perhaps there is an internal connection to the saying of Jesus about the temple in Acts 6:14 (*TDNT* 8:258). Both Heb 8:5 and 9:24, however, within the larger framework of Heb 8:1–10:18, make a direct move to connect not only Exodus 25 but also Leviticus 16 to Jesus' ministry of salvation. Here, the institution of sacrificial offerings and priestly service is drawn into a grand typological schema of vertical prefiguration, above and below, macrocosm/microcosm, not unlike Plato's heavenly world of ideas. Among other terms, the synonyms *hypodeigma* and *skia* are put into the interpretive service of the *typos* in 8:5 (cf. 9:23). The conclusion is that Christ, the high priest, has not made sacrifice with respect to the *antitypa,* those things representing the "copy" or "constructed model" (made with hands), but he "… entered … into heaven itself"—the true original rather than the copy (9:24), "the greater and more perfect tent" (9:11). In question for Hebrews, among other things, is the relationship of its vertical to its horizontal typological thought.

Finally, the reference to *antitypon* in 1 Pet 3:21 typologically links Christian baptism (1 Cor 10:1–13) with the deliverance of Noah from the flood "through the resurrection of Jesus."

**C. Origins and Patristic Development**

Out of this initial overview of terminology in context one naturally asks: where did this kind of thinking come from? and what became of it in subsequent Christian interpretive history of the OT? Various origins have been proposed for the technical hermeneutical use, e.g., Paul himself at 1 Corinthians 10, the hermeneutical practices at Qumran, Jesus himself (e.g., someone "greater" is here than Jonah … than Solomon, David, etc.; cf. Matt 12:41–42; Mark 2:25–28), and Deutero-Isaiah. The latter shaped that prophetic stream of tradition which actualized the past history of God's saving events for a new day, e.g., the new Exodus (Isa 43:18–21). Similar would be the future monarch of salvation (2 Sam 7:12; Isa 11:1), the end-time prophet (Deut 18:18; *ROTT*, 261–62). Broadly defined, therefore, typological thinking was already in use from at least the time of Deutero-Isaiah. Some see at work here the general device of analogical comparison as a way of making sense of life (*ROTT*, 364), and others see the influence of cyclical repetition (Bultmann 1950: 369–74)—a return to primal origins—common to the ANE world. One's reading of this question depends largely on one's perspectives on the history of religion: just how distinctive were faith and life in ancient Israel?

The development of typological thinking into the patristic period and beyond is marked by considerable excess, most notably in the link to allegory. In the *Epistle of Barnabas,* for example, the OT loses its distinctiveness and becomes a collection of Christian doctrine; it follows the allegorical reinterpretation practiced in Hellenistic Judaism. The *typos* of the serpent on a tree linked to the crucified Jesus is really an allegorical image (*Ep. Barn.* 12:7), as is that of Moses' outstretched arms and the crucifixion of Jesus (12:2–5). *Ep. Barn.* also makes use of seemingly trivial details: by cryptographic word codes ("gematria") based on an arbitrary combination of Gen 14:14 and 17:23, 27, it arrives at the number 318, which yields gematrial references to Christ and his cross (18 = "IH" Jesus, and 300 = "T" the cross in 9:7–9; cf. 7:3, 6–11; 8:1–7; 13:5). Similarly, *1 Clement* links the "scarlet cord" of Josh 2:18 with the blood of Christ (12:7). For additional references, cf. *Shep. Herm. Vis* IV:1.1; 2.5; 3.6; Iren *Haer* I:5.6; *Ign Magn* 6.1–2; *Trall* 3.1; Justin *Apol* 60.3; *Dial* 40.1; 41.1; 42.4; 90.2; 91.2–4; 114.1; 131.4; 134.3; Tert *Marc* 3:16; 4:40; 5:7; *De anima* 43; also the *Passah Homily* of Melito of Sardes. Among the Latin Fathers, *typos* is translated for the most part with "figura" or is left as the loanword "typus." Much of what was later used to discredit typology was based on the misperceptions of typology as allegory stemming from developments within this patristic period.

**D. History of Interpretation**

One of the early controversies within the early Church was over biblical interpretive methodology: allegorical versus literal sense. The latter was advocated by the Antiochene school, which used typology as a hermeneutical aid in the service of the literal sense and in opposition to both the excessive literalness of Jewish interpretation and the allegorical constructs of the Alexandrian school. The Antiochene program did not succeed, however, and the Alexandrian allegorical model dominated with few exceptions until the Reformation. The break with allegory and a return to the literal sense in combination with typology were

advocated and practiced by both Luther and Calvin (contra Erasmus, who preferred allegory). During the Counter-Reformation, Roman Catholic interest in the *sensus plenior* maintained dialogue with earlier discussions (patristic and medieval; cf. the *Quadriga* and Thomas Aquinas) and developed in succeeding generations perspectives that were largely independent of the Protestant discussion (Reventlow 1986: 31–47). Today, there are numerous points of contact. Among the major early Protestant contributors of studies on typology were J. Gerhard, J. Cocceius, H. Marsh, A. Hartmann, A. Tholuck, J. C. K. von Hofmann, and P. Fairbairn. Apparently, the term *typologie* was coined not by an advocate but by an opponent of these studies in the 1770s, J. S. Semler.

With the rise of historical-critical methodology and renewed interest in hermeneutics, typology entered a new phase during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Important impulses for the debate were provided by such scholars as W. Vischer, W. Eichrodt, E. Hirsch, H. Strathmann, F. Torm, M. Noth, G. von Rad, A. Weiser, and O. Schmitz. They debated issues that would become of in-principle consequence for overall theological positions in the following decades. Prior to and after World War II, a fruitful exchange developed between L. Goppelt for NT studies and G. von Rad for OT studies over the kerygmatic intention of the OT (von Rad 1963: 35; *ROTT*, 386) and the character of eschatological existence in history for the NT (Goppelt *TDNT* 8:255–56; 1982: 210). This discussion has continued until now, to one degree or another, as part of the theological heritage of those two theologians.

In each of the decades since 1940, the scholarly community and the Church have engaged typology with renewed interest and from different angles, though interest in the mainstream of biblical scholarship for the 1980s is sporadic. What the future holds will depend on several variables: (1) how one assesses the history of the discussion; (2) what becomes of the relative (in-?)compatibility of typological categories with the hermeneutical categories of today; (3) one's bearings for the future regarding the place of Scripture in the theological discussion as a whole—especially the relationship between the Testaments; and (4) the relationship of individual biblical-exegetical studies to the overview synthesis of constructive theology.

**E. Contemporary Discussion**

Out of the foregoing variables, the following sensitive areas offer themselves for dialogue in the contemporary setting: honoring the stated understandings of the original writer and appropriating the intention for today is a hermeneutical/theological issue of considerable magnitude. Is typological thinking incarcerated within the context of the ancient world?

Allegory and typology have had a long-standing and troubled relationship. The distinction, once easily drawn, that typology has to do with historical facts while allegory does not, is simplistic and an overstatement. While qualifications have been advocated along the lines of history as understood and portrayed by the scriptural account rather than objective history, the category of historicity in general still remains a problem for typological thought; moreover, the place and function of symbolic language must be integrated.

Consequently, the association of typology with "salvation history" has also been strained. Much of the discomfort over their association has been over a two-detailed, phenomenological, oft-presumptive concept of "salvation history." It remains to be seen if a revised "salvation history" can emerge. If so, an association with typology may again become viable.

It is true that some who utilize typology relinquish claims to the limitations of its being a formal hermeneutical method with rules for systematic application; they would prefer to operate in the "freedom of the Spirit" (von Rad 1963: 38) or to consider it more appropriate to refer to typology as a "spiritual approach (Goppelt 1982: 202 and *passim*), "the thought of the consummation of salvation history" (*TDNT* 8:254, 259), a "meditatively applied understanding of the Old Testament" (Goppelt 1981–82, 2: 58), or a "salvation-historical optical lens" (Goppelt 1981–82, 2: 245). On those occasions, other scholars naturally become quite nervous and skeptical in light of potential abuse. Only in concert with, and not in repudiation of, the checks and balances of historical-critical methodology can typology serve with integrity today.

For the most part, typological thinkers insist on the personal, present reality of God in the "historical antecedents" of type determination: types *are* types because God put them there toward the end of an unfolding, consummation-oriented, redemptive self-disclosure of God's very person (typology's fixed point is the gospel). It is acknowledged that this is not self-evident to any observer; it is hidden and cannot be documented as a demonstrable datum; it has to do ultimately with faith in Christ and faith's posture toward the sovereignty of God. It will do little good for "liberals" and "fundamentalists" to fault one another for the other's perceptions in this area. Typological thinking cares about the unity of the Christian Bible and is serious about understanding the saving activity of God to which it bears witness; all who care and all are serious about these matters—perhaps even the Jewish-Christian dialogue—will find typological understanding helpful if it can be directed toward subject matter about which people of today are deeply concerned. It is in connection with these related lines of questioning, and not as a topic in and of itself, that typology may very well enjoy fresh consideration. See also THEOLOGY (BIBLICAL), HISTORY OF.

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JOHN E. ALSUP

**TYRANNUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Tyrannos* (Τυραννος)]. In Ephesus, the place where Paul preached daily for two years was known as the hall of Tyrannus (Acts 19:9). Paul had at first spoken in the synagogue, as was his custom, for three months. But because of the opposition which he aroused (Acts 19:8), he was forced to find a more suitable place. The view that this was another synagogue was once advocated but is no longer maintained.

The word *turannos,* or "tyrant," first appeared in the poems of Archilochus, who boasted that he scorned the tyranny of Gyges the Lydian. In Greek usage, the word designated someone who seized power unconstitutionally, such as the famous Athenian tyrant Peisistratus (546–527 B.C.), who was none the less popular and benevolent (Adkins 1972: 68).

Williams (*Acts* GNC, 495) comments: "Since it is difficult (except in certain bleak moments of parenthood) to think of any parent naming his or her child 'Tyrant,' the name must have been a nickname given by the man's students or tenants." But the name is not an uncommon one. L. Tarutilius Tyrannos appears in two lists of *kourētes,* "young warriors," from Ephesus (*NDIEC* 4: 186).

It has been presumed that Tyrannus was either the owner of a private hall or the donor of a public building used for lectures. The "Western" type of ms evidence reads "in the hall of a *certain* Tyrannus," clearly indicating that an individual named Tyrannus is meant, and perhaps implying that he was not a prominent public figure (IDB 4: 721). The word translated "hall" (RSV; NEB, "lecture-hall"; KJV, "school") is the Greek word *scholē.* It originally meant (1) "leisure"; (2) then an activity conducted during leisure, such as a "discussion, debate, or lecture"; (3) a group to which such lectures were given; and (4) a place where such a lecture was given, i.e., "hall."

Against the majority of interpreters, Horsley (*NDIEC* 1: 130) has asked, in view of the rarity of the use of the word *scholē* with the meaning of a place, "Is there any reason why the noun in Acts 19.9 should not refer to a group of people to whom addresses were given during leisure hours?"

But the context (Acts 19:9–10) which speaks of Paul speaking daily for two years "so that all the Jews and Greeks who lived in the province of Asia heard the word of the Lord" would seem to indicate a building rather than an audience, which must have changed constantly. It is possibly from these public lectures that Paul gained the friendship of the highly placed officials called Asiarchs (Acts 19:31), who warned him of danger (Yamauchi 1980: 109–10).

The Western text inserts the most interesting addition that Paul "argued daily in the hall of Tyrannus *from the fifth hour to the tenth*"; that is, from about 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. Though this was not part of the original text, it "may represent an accurate piece of information, reserved in oral tradition," according to Metzger (1971: 470; cf. Ramsay 1896: 271). As this was the hottest period of the day, many would stop work for a midday rest at this time. Martial (*Epigrams* 4.8) wrote: "Till the fifth hour Rome tends her various tasks, then rests from the sixth to seventh." Work and school began before the crack of dawn (Mart. *Epigrams* 12.57; Juve. *Satires* 7.222–26).

This schedule would have permitted Paul to work at his own trade of tent-making (Acts 18:3, 20:34; 1 Cor 4:12). Bruce (*Acts* NICNT, 389) comments: "But Paul, after spending the early hours of the day at his tent-making … devoted the hours of burden and heat to his more important and more exhausting business, and must have infected his hearers with his own energy and zeal, so that they were willing to sacrifice their siesta for the sake of listening to Paul."

An early 2d -century A.D. Greek inscription found near the Library of Celsus at Ephesus contains the Greek word *audeitōrion* (from Latin *auditorium*), which means a lecture hall for the recitations and speeches of professors, rhetors, and poets (Hemer 1973: 128). Unfortunately, the recent attempts to investigate the area E of the library have failed to discover any remains of such an auditorium or lecture hall (Yamauchi 1980: 99–100).

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EDWIN M. YAMAUCHI

**TYRE** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣōr* (צֹר)]. TYRIAN. One of the most ancient towns on the Phoenician coast.

Tyre (M.R. 168297) is situated about 40 km S of Sidon, and about 45 km N of Acco. In antiquity it was an island ca. 600–750 m from the mainland (Curtius *Hist. of Alex.* 4.2.7), but since the time of Alexander the Great (actually beginning in the summer of 332 B.C.) the island has been linked with the mainland by a causeway, which has broadened over the centuries. Thus, Tyre is now a peninsula. With a few exceptions, it has been occupied continuously from the middle of the 3d millennium B.C. through the Greco-Roman and Byzantine periods. Consequently, the Bible is full of references to this important city.

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A. Textual References to Tyre
B. Tyre in the Bronze Ages
C. Tyre in the Iron Age
D. Tyre in the Greco-Roman Period

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**A. Textual References to Tyre**

That Tyre was built on an island is attested not only in the book of Ezekiel ("in the midst of the sea, 27:32), but also in Egyptian (*ANET*, 477), Assyrian (*ANET*, 290), and classical sources (Strab. 1.217; Arrian, *Hist. of Alex.* 2.18.2; Curtius, *Hist. of Alex.* 4.2.5). Before the time of Hiram I (969–936 B.C.), there were actually *two* islands: the main one was the city, and the smaller one was a temple of Baal. Hiram linked the two islands into a single larger one (*AgAp* 1.113); this junction still appears on Tyrian coins from a much later date (Head 1911: 801; cf. also Nonnos *Dion.* 40.468ff.). The island of Tyre was 700–750 m wide, thus the area of ancient Tyre consisted of ca. 57.6 hectares, accommodating perhaps 35,000 inhabitants (Pliny computed the circumference of the island as 3 Roman miles; *NH* 5.17.76). At the time of the conquest of Tyre by Alexander the Great, the number of inhabitants had increased because of refugees coming into the city: Alexander sold some 30,000 Tyrians and foreigners into slavery (Arrian *Hist. of Alex.* 2.24.5), while 15,000 Tyrians were rescued by the Sidonians, 6,000 were killed in battle, and 2,000 were crucified (Curtius *Hist. of Alex.* 4.4.16–17).

On the mainland opposite the island was Old Tyre, called "the fortress of Tyre" *(mibṣar ṣōr)* in the Bible (Josh 19:29; 2 Sam 24:7). This town is called Uzu in the el-Amarna letters (EA 148:11, 30; 149:49; 150:18), and Ushu in Egyptian and Assyrian records (*ANET*, 477a, 287b). In the classical sources it appears as Palaityros (*Ant* 9.285; Curtius *Hist. of Alex.* 4.2.4; Diod. 17.40.5). Pliny computed the circumference of this settlement to be about 19 Roman miles. Many freshwater springs are located nearby, and before the LB Age (certainly before the lime-plastering of cisterns was common) fresh water was regularly shipped out to the island (*ANET*, 477b; *Ant* 9.287). Old Tyre was totally demolished by Alexander the Great, who used its rubble as part of the building material for the causeway out to the island.

**B. Tyre in the Bronze Ages**

The excavations of P. M. Bikai have revealed "that the island must have been occupied at least by the middle of the third millennium B.C.,"and that "there was permanent occupation during the Early Bronze Age" (Bikai 1978: 72). This date corresponds well with the story told by the priests of Melqart to Herodotus (ca. 450 B.C.) that "the temple was built at the same time that the city was founded, and that the foundation of the city took place 2,300 years ago" (i.e., 2750 B.C.; Hdt 2.44). Further confirmation of Tyre's existence in the 3d millennium B.C. comes from Ebla (Bikai 1978: 76; Pettinato 1983: 108). The oldest known Egyptian record mentioning Tyre has been found in one of the Execration texts: there Posener (1940: 82) reads "the ruler of Tyre." The text is dated ca. 1780–1750 B.C., but Bikai's excavation found no human habitation for this period (ca. 2000–1600 B.C.); Bikai 1978: 72). This divergence can be explained by the small area excavated, or perhaps Tyre was limited to the mainland site.

A Hittite *evocatio* (*ANET*, 352) mentions the land of Tyre, and the Legend of King Keret (composed between the 16th and 15th centuries B.C. [Albright 1958: 36]) mentions the shrine(s) of the (two) Tyre(s) (Gordon *VT*, 467), i.e., one on the mainland and one on the island. In this respect, one should note the two temples of Heracles (= Melqart of Tyre), one on the island and one in Old Tyre, as mentioned by the Tyrian delegation to Alexander (Justin 11.10.11; Curtius *Hist. of Alex.* 4.2.4). In the long list of the Asiatic towns of Thutmose III (ca. 1490–1436 B.C.) dealing with his first campaign, no Phoenician town is mentioned; perhaps Tyre and its sister-towns came to an agreement with the pharaoh by paying taxes (Breasted 1962 vol. 2: §§472, 483).

During the Amarna age (ca. 1375–1350 B.C.), four letters mention Tyre; these were sent by the king of Byblos, of which EA 77 was still dispatched to Amenophis III, as well as perhaps EA 89 (Campbell 1964: 134), the latter referring to a revolution in Tyre.

EA 92 and EA 114 are written to Amenophis IV, to whom all ten letters of Abimilki, king of Tyre, are addressed (EA 146–155). The letters from Tyre complain mainly about the hostility of the king of Sidon, who had occupied Old Tyre (= Ushu), interrupting the water supply and occupying (?) the burial ground.

During the 19th and 20th Dyns. (ca. 1300–1100 B.C.), Tyre is mentioned in the Palestinian/Phoenician town lists of Seti I, in a long letter from the days of Ramesses II (*ANET*, 477), and in a journal of a frontier official from the days of Merneptah (*ANET*, 285b). From this period derive two commercial texts from Ugarit that mention textiles from Tyre, one noting a reddish-purple garment and the other mentioning linen (Virolleaud 1957: 144, 146). This evidence recalls the story about the discovery of the Tyrian purple dye by Heracles (Nonnus, *Dion.* 40.300ff). Another letter from the king of Tyre to the king of Ugarit mentions a shipwreck at Acco, and the Tyrian king reassures his partner with the words, "let not my brother worry" (Schaeffer 1962: 41). With the invasion of Asia by the Sea Peoples, ca. 1200 B.C., destruction came to all coastal towns, and among them also Tyre.

**C. Tyre in the Iron Age**

Justin has preserved a tradition that "many years later these (Sidonians, i.e., Phoenicians) who had been conquered by the king of the Ashkelonians (i.e., Philistines) embarked in ships and founded the city of Tyre, one year before the conquest of the city of Troy" (Justin 18.3.5). Josephus hints at the same date when he states that "from the founding (of Tyre) to the building of the temple (in Jerusalem) there was an interval of two hundred and forty years" (*Ant* 8.62). In his report Wen-Amon (ca. 1080 B.C.) mentions that he spent a night in Tyre on his trip from Egypt to Byblos (*ANET*, 26). At that time Egypt no longer had any say in the affairs of Asia, and the Sea Peoples were the lords of the Palestinian coastland. Stratum XIII in Tyre (1070/50) shows a massive influx of Cypriot wars (Bikai 1978: 66, 74), a sign of intensive trade connections between Tyre and Cyprus. There is no doubt that from the days of Abibaal, the father of Hiram I, the town Kition (Larnaka of today) was a Tyrian colony (Josephus, *Ant* 8.146).

During the long reign of Hiram I (969–936 B.C.), Tyre witnessed its first golden age. David's victories over the Philistines on land helped Tyre to crush the Philistinian sea supremacy (*YGC*, 190), and Tyre sent cedar and workmen to build a palace for David (2 Sam 5:11). Josephus has preserved some excerpts from the Greek translations of the Tyrian records (*Ant* 8.144–149), which describe the dismantling of ancient temples in Tyre by Hiram to erect new lavishly adorned ones—a sign of the great wealth of Tyre. Herodotus describes a golden and an emerald pillar from the temple of Heracles (Hdt 2.44). Both pillars (cf. also Ezek 26:11) are depicted in an Assyrian relief from the days of Luli (Eloulaios) (729–694 B.C.); Harden 1962: pl. 50). The two pillars in front of the temple remind one of "Jachin" and "Boaz" (1 Kgs 7:21).

This great building program must have induced Solomon to solicit Hiram's help to build the temple in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 5:16–20—Eng 2–6). Hiram gave Solomon assistance and building materials for more than twenty years (1 Kgs 5:22, 25—Eng 8, 11; 6:38; 7:1). A master-craftsman from Tyre also named Hiram (Huram) was placed in charge of all the technical production (1 Kgs 7:14; 2 Chr 2:13), which Solomon paid for with agricultural products and silver. This was a commercial treaty between two equals (1 Kgs 5:25; 9:13), but after twenty years the balance of trade was greatly in favor of Tyre, and Solomon had to give Hiram "twenty cities in the Land of Cabul" (1 Kgs 9:11). The Chronicler, who disapproved of

the territorial transfer, tells that Hiram returned them to Solomon (2 Chr 8:2). However, later Acco was still part of the Tyrian state, and we may assume that the S border of Tyre reached as far as Mt. Carmel.

Another cooperative venture between Hiram and Solomon was in overseas commerce to Ophir, the land of gold (1 Kgs 9:26–28; 10:11). Hiram was the more important partner, since he is mentioned before Solomon: "there was peace between Hiram and Solomon and they concluded an alliance" (1 Kgs 5:12).

As the power of Tyre increased, the town became "the mother of the Sidonians" (cf. later coins: Hill 1911: 800). From Tyre, the Phoenician colonial movement spread across the Mediterranean Sea. Years later, a poet sang in great admiration: "Your frontiers are on the high seas, your builders make your beauty perfect" (Ezek 27:4).

Authentic sources about the history of Tyre after the death of Hiram are confined to a list of kings who ruled Tyre from the days of Hiram until the founding of Carthage (in 815 B.C.). Josephus has preserved this list (*AgAp* 1.121–125). After Hiram's death, his son and grandson acceded to the throne of Tyre. Then followed a conspiracy, and usurpers reigned in Tyre. In 887 B.C. Ethbaal I, the priest of Astarte, seized the throne and reigned for 32 years. Ethbaal is known as the "king of the Sidonians" (1 Kgs 16:31) and as the father of Jezebel, the wife of Ahab.

The reign of Ethbaal marks the second golden age in Tyre's history. Not only the title "king of the Sidonians," but also the foundation of colonies demonstrates the vast extent of its empire. Tyre's supremacy over its neighbors is documented in the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia, and especially in the Bible, always as a leading city. Tyre and Sidon became a political unit, which existed until 701, when Sennacherib recreated an independent city-state of Sidon. From the days of Ethbaal I the island of Tyre had two harbors (cf. Ezek 27:3; Arrian *Hist. of Alex.* 1.20.10). The N one, protected by a natural bow-shaped mole, was called the "Sidonian port" (Strabo 16.2.23). It could easily be closed by a chain or by a small number of ships (Arrian *Hist. of Alex.* 2.20.8). In the S was an artificial harbor called the "Egyptian port" (Strabo 16.2.23), protected by a long breakwater. It was built by Ethbaal I, as confirmed by the underwater excavations by A. Poidebard (1939). The measurements of the dressed stones and the constructions of that wall are exactly like the constructions in Samaria and Megiddo, from the time of Ahab (873–852/1 B.C.), as well as in Kition on Cyprus (Katzenstein 1973: 154).

The power and influence of the Sidonians can be inferred from the fact that their main deity, Melqart (= Baal), was worshipped not only in Sidon, but his cult spread to Samaria and Jerusalem (1 Kgs 16:32; 2 Kgs 11:18; cf. also the stories of Elijah: 1 Kings 18–21). This happened following the alliance between Tyre and Israel, which was sealed by marriage between the Tyrian princess Jezebel and Ahab of Israel (1 Kgs 16:31; cf. Psalm 45). Tyrian influence spread further S when Athaliah, princess of Israel, married Joram, king of Judah (2 Kgs 8:18–27). Another political marriage can be inferred from the Melqart stela erected by the king of Aram about the same period (*ANET*, 655; Cross 1972: 36–42).

The similarity of the construction of the breakwater at Tyre's S port, built in the time of Ethbaal, and Ahab's palace in Samaria implies the employment of Tyrian master-builders in Ahab's great building enterprises (1 Kgs 16:34; 22:39). Josephus mentions (probably from the Greek translation of the annals of Ethbaal; cf. *Ant* 8.324) that there was a long drought, and that after Ethbaal made supplications there was a heavy thunderstorm. This rainless time is also mentioned in the tales of Elijah (1 Kgs 17:7; 18:41–45).

The long and prosperous reign of Ethbaal left its mark on the city of Tyre. It was called "Tyre, the bestower of crowns" (Isa 23:8). A bronze band at Balawat (from the palace door of Shalmaneser III, 858–824 B.C.) shows Tyre as well protected by a huge wall and fortified by strong towers with two gates (*ANEP*, nos. 356/357; cf. also Ezek 27:2). The growth of Tyre's vast international trade demanded an expansion of the harbor to accommodate a foreign anchorage. In Ezekiel 27 is a lament for Tyre which can hardly have been composed by the prophet. Incorporated into the poem is a lyrical depiction of Tyre as a glorious ship and a catalogue of Tyre's world trade (a most important source for ancient economic history) (Ezek 27:12–24). It is possible that the sources for the description of Tyre's greatness originated with Ethbaal I (Maisler [Mazar] 1952: 83–84), and there are hints of such songs in both Isaiah (23:16) and Ezekiel (26:13). Ammon and Moab may have been omitted because they were vassals of Israel and Judah, but one wonders why the Philistine city-states are omitted. The omission of Babylon justifies our doubt

that Ezekiel was the author. The same may be said of many parts of Ezekiel 28, in which traces can be detected from the ancient Phoenician epics and myths (Albright 1932: 194 n. 26; van Dijk 1968).

Mercenaries served the Tyrian empire (Ezek 27:10–11), but there is never any mention of a military campaign on the mainland in which Tyre was involved. The Tyrians knew how to defend their island stubbornly, as seen from the annals of the Assyrian kings, and also from the Tyrian records (Josephus, *Ant* 9.287; Ezek 29:18); but they always preferred, if possible, to pay tribute, which was redistributed to Tyre's customers.

Ethbaal was succeeded by his son Baal-azzor, who is mentioned in an Assyrian inscription from the year 841 as Ba›li-ma-AN-zêri (Safar 1951: 11–12, 19). During the reign of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and Ahaziah, king of Israel (852/1–851/0), there was a plan to renew navigation from Ezion-geber to Ophir, the land of gold (1 Kgs 22:49–50; 2 Chr 20:35–36), which ended in complete failure. The king of Tyre, the uncle of Ahaziah, may have been the real instigator of that scheme.

Until the coup d' état of Jehu and the murder of Jezebel and the house of Ahab, the political alliance between Tyre and Israel remained intact, but from that point, the relations were broken off. Decades later, Amos still accused Tyre of having "ignored the covenant of brotherhood" (actually a covenant between two equals; Amos 1:9). Amos speaks only of Tyre (as *pars pro toto*), but the Sidonian state did not border Judah. Tyre's transgression was the deliverance of an entire population to Aram (= Damascus; not "Edom"), thus ignoring the alliance, which had actually been broken by Jehu in 841 B.C. The background of Tyre's actions were the wars between Israel and Aram, which ended in Israel's becoming, under Jehu and his successor, a vassal of Aram. The king of the Sidonians naturally favored the stronger power, which was one of his main customers, especially since Tyre served also as the port for Damascus.

With the death of Shalmaneser III in 824 B.C., Tyre was free from paying tribute to Assyria and devoted all its efforts to its colonial empire, the crown of which was Carthage, founded in ca. 815/814 B.C. (Katzenstein 1973: 120). This important event happened in the seventh year of Ethbaal's great grandson Pygmalion (820–774 B.C.), when his elder sister Dido fled from Tyre and founded Carthage in N Africa (Josephus, *AgAp* 1.125–26). Tyre became the leading maritime power. In 805 B.C., Adad-nirari III (810–783 B.C.) appeared in the W, and among the tribute bearers was the Sidonian king. There was a period of about 35 years, between the death of Pygmalion and the appearance of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727), when Ethbaal II (?–739/738 B.C.; Levine 1972: 23) ruled over the Sidonian empire. Recently, the name of a possible further king of Tyre, Milkiram (ca. 750 B.C.), has been discovered (Lemaire 1976: 83–93). He must have ruled before Ethbaal II, since Ethbaal is mentioned in the list of the tribute bearers to Tiglath-pileser dated to 738 B.C. Milkiram may be the connecting link between Pygmalion and Ethbaal II, but we cannot be sure of it. His reign would be contemporaneous with the reigns of Jeroboam II of Israel and Uzziah of Judah, a period of great prosperity in the Israelite kingdoms, and one of great trade connections between Tyre and its neighbors (cf. Amos 3:15; 6:4).

Tiglath-pileser III initiated an aggressive policy against the W, in which a conquered country would be made an Assyrian province. Tyre resisted the expansion of Assyria into W Asia, which was aimed ultimately at the control of the E coast of the Mediterranean. Eventually, several Greek city-states on Cyprus became vassals of Assyria, hoping that this status would protect them from the encroachments of the Tyrian colonies on the island. However, the Assyrian kings did not annex the two most important centers on the Mediterranean, Tyre and Gaza; these commercial metropolises remained independent, but the tribute placed on them was huge.

The tribute lists of Tiglath-pileser III mention Ethbaal II, Hiram II, and Mattan II. Hiram II (738–730/29 [?] B.C.) is also mentioned on a fragment of an offering bowl, dedicated by the governor of Qart-ḥadašt (= Limassol) (Gibson, *TSSI* 3, 66–68; Katzenstein 1973: 207–11). In 730/729 B.C., Mattan II paid to the Assyrian *rabšaq* the enormous amount of 150 talents of gold (*ANET*, 282). The accumulation of precious metals was the symbol of a nation's status: "And Tyre has built herself a rampart; she has heaped up silver like dust and gold like mud in the streets" (Zech 9:3). And compare: "Clever and shrewd as you (= Tyre) are, you have assessed wealth for yourself, you have assessed gold and silver in your treasuries; by great cleverness in your trading you have heaped up riches and with your riches your arrogance has

grown" (Ezek 28:4–5). Perhaps because of this immense payment, the wealthy merchants (cf. Isa 23:8) saw to it that a new king, Eloulaios (called Luli in the Assyrian records [*ANET*, 287–88]), was enthroned. According to the Greek translation of the Tyrian annals (Josephus, *Ant* 9.284–87), Eloulaios subdued a rebellion of the inhabitants of Kition (Cyprus), and during his reign Shalmaneser V (726–722 B.C.) invaded Phoenicia, after which "Sidon and Akko and old Tyre and many other cities revolted from Tyre and surrendered to Assyria." Still, the island withstood the pressures and the Assyrian king reappeared. The Tyrians proved victorious in a naval battle, after which Shalmaneser retired and placed guards at the water sources on the continent. The Tyrians, however, endured the siege for five years.

When Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) ascended the throne, Eloulaios apparently saw an opportunity to make peace with the Assyrian king. The Assyrians had occupied the whole Tyrian mainland, and their hand must have been very heavy upon the Sidonians (cf. Isa 37:24; Saggs 1955: 126–31; Harden 1962: figs. 48–49). But apparently at the death of Sargon (Isa 14:8), Tyre stopped its yearly tribute, and because of its rebellion Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.) appeared and recaptured the mainland in 701 B.C. (*ANET*, 287–288; see also Harden 1962: pl. 50). Eloulaios fled to Cyprus (Isa 23:12; Ezek 28:8; Harden 1962: pl. 50), and Sennacherib broke up the kingdom of the Sidonians and installed an independent king in Sidon.

During the reign of Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.), Baal I ruled over Tyre (ca. 680–660?). Baal tried to win back by statesmanship the territories that Tyre had lost. He succeeded in creating a "third power," a bloc of the W Asiatic kings, who were respected and even courted by the big powers, Assyria and Egypt. This confederation was called by Esarhaddon the "22 kings of Hatti (12) from the seashore and (10) from Cyprus" (*ANET*, 291). Baal headed this league and was apparently followed by Manasseh of Judah, who already had a certain connection to Baal. One result of this union was the total isolation of Sidon, which was unable to muster support for its rebellion; it was conquered and destroyed, and made an Assyrian province. The S part of the former state of Sidon (apparently S of the river ez-Zaherani) was given to Baal, but Baal had to increase his yearly tribute, apparently in proportion to the Sidonian share he had received (Borger 1956: 49).

From a (draft?) copy of the treaty between Esarhaddon and Baal (*ANET*, 533–34), it seems that Baal belonged to the Tyrian royal house. This dictated treaty not only imposed obligations on Baal, but also gave him a substantial *quid pro quo.* Among the many hard conditions was the installation of an Assyrian commissioner *(qêpu)* in Ushu, who had to be present when Baal would receive a letter from his "friend" Tirhaqa, king of Egypt. Such a contact must have been made in 674 B.C., when the first Assyrian campaign against Egypt ended in a failure. Esarhaddon apparently blamed Baal for having conspired against him, and on his second campaign against Egypt in 671 he struck also against Tyre (*ANET*, 290, 292). Esarhaddon's great victory over the Egyptian forces, and the capture of Memphis, must have induced Baal to surrender and to ask for forgiveness, for which he had to pay with territorial losses (*ANET*, 291). Following his victory, Esarhaddon erected several victory steles, the most famous being that from Zinjirli (now in Berlin; *ANET*, 447). This shows the Assyrian king with two ropes in his left hand, by which he holds two prisoners: one is apparently the Egyptian crown prince, and the other may be Baal. In his third campaign against Egypt, Esarhaddon died. His successor Assurbanipal (668–627?) mentioned his "third campaign" in 667, which was directed against Baal of Tyre (*ANET*, 295–96). The Assyrian empire declined rapidly after the death of Assurbanipal, and Tyre, like all W Asiatic countries, was able to regain its former possessions on the mainland, only to lose them again after 45 years. However, during this period, Tyre again became the leading city on the Phoenician coast, and her daughter city, Carthage, became both the naval and the military protector of Tyre's colonial empire W of Cyprus.

In the prophecies of Zephaniah, the Tyrian Baal is still the primary foreign deity in Judah (Zeph 1:4); Phoenician traders may be alluded to in the expression "merchant-people" (Zeph 1:11), and perhaps also the "foreign vestment" (Zeph 1:8) may point to the "multicolored garments" given by the Phoenicians to the Assyrian kings. In the last decades of the 7th century B.C., the Egyptians appeared again in W Asia, this time trying to help the weak Assyrians counter the attacks of the Babylonians. An alliance must have existed between Egypt and Tyre, as inferred from Herodotus, who tells about a "sacred precinct of this king [apparently Psammetichus I] in Memphis … south of the great temple of Hephaestus. Phoenicians

from the city of Tyre dwell all around this precinct and the whole place is known by the name of the camp of the Tyrians" (2.112). Since Hephaestus was the god of artisans, we should credit Tyrian craftsmen with at least a part of the so-called "third group" of the famous Phoenician silver bowls (Harden 1962: 189). In return, Tyre gave to pharaoh "a (royal) domain of cedar" in the Lebanon (*ARE* 4: §970).

Nebuchadnezzar's victory over Pharaoh Neco in 605 B.C. changed the political map of W Asia (cf. 2 Kgs 24:7). From that time until the conquest of Babylon by Cyprus in 539 B.C., Tyre was the main foe of Babylon in Asia. While there were contacts between Tyre and Judah (Jer 27:3) and between Tyre and the Philistine city-states (Jer 47:4), Tyre was jubilant when Jerusalem fell in 586 B.C. (Ezek 26:2). The Tyrian king did not, however, recognize the immediate danger; only too late did Tyre recognize the political and strategic line of Nebuchadnezzar, who, after the fall of Jerusalem, turned to Tyre and besieged it to safeguard his lines for his ultimate goal, the conquest of Egypt.

Josephus quotes the Phoenician (= Tyrian) archives (*AgAp* 1.156) and also Philostratus' history (*Ant* 10.228), which record that Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre 13 years (ca. 585–573/2). This siege is mentioned by Ezekiel (29:17–18), who says that Nebuchadnezzar will carry off much booty from Egypt (29:19) as a recompense for his failure. Apparently the long siege ended with a treaty: the royal Tyrian house had to reside in Babylon. Although a Tyrian king could rule in Tyre, next to him a Babylonian commissioner was appointed with a seat in Ushu. In contrast to other royal families living in Babylon, the Tyrians could always fetch the heir apparent from Babylon (*AgAp* 1.156–59). Yet Tyre's power had been totally exhausted; its overseas territories were taken over by Carthage with the exception of Tyrian possessions in Cyprus. Indeed, Carthage became an independent state, but a filial relationship between daughter and mother, certainly in the religious field, survived until the destruction of Carthage by the Romans in 146 B.C.

In October 538 B.C., when Cyrus conquered Babylon, all W Asia became a part of the new Persian empire. But by having founded Carthage, Tyre had exerted an enormous influence upon the W world, entirely disproportionate to the tiny size of the island, which in its heyday was "perfect in beauty" (Ezek 27:3), "the crowning city" (Isa 23:8), "a famous city, whose strength lay in the sea" (Ezek 26:17).

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**D. Tyre in the Greco-Roman Period**

Alexander the Great conquered Tyre in 332 B.C.E. after a seven-month siege, ending Persian control of the area. Alexander's attack came after the city ostensibly refused to allow him to offer sacrifices to Hercules (assimilated to the Phoenician deity Melkart) (Arr. *Anab.* 2.17.1–2; Strabo, *Geog.* 16.2.23). Several dedicatory inscriptions to Hercules have been found at Tyre (Chéhab 1962: 16–18; pl. Va; cf. Char. *Chaereas and Callirhoe* 7.2.7–9). The city offered a strategically significant port for the Persian fleet, making its defeat essential for Alexander. To capture the island fortress, Alexander built a mole (still extant) from the mainland approximately half a mile long and 200–300 yards wide, using the remains of destroyed buildings on the mainland.

Tyre's prosperity took a downturn when Ptolemy Philadelphus redirected Red Sea and Indian trade from the Petra-Tyre route to Alexandria. It recovered under Seleucid rule and reestablished itself during the Roman period as a major commercial and trade center (Jidejian 1969: 81–82, 89). Hannibal escaped to Tyre after his defeat in the Punic Wars; there, he encouraged Antiochus III to battle Rome (Livy 35.48.6; 37.30.1–10). Antiochus III's subsequent defeat by the Romans at the battle of Magnesia in 189 B.C.E. strengthened Roman control over most of the Greek East.

Coin issues of Tyre and Sidon from the Seleucid period indicate the rivalry between the two; Tyrian coins call Tyre "mother of the Sidonians," and Sidonian coins call Sidon "mother city of Tyre" (Jidejian 1969: 82). Tyre became increasingly important under Roman rule. An inscription at Tyre cites the senate and the people of Tyre honoring Marcus Aemilius Scaurus, Pompey's lieutenant. The inscription, found by E. Renan, indicates that Scaurus served as Tyre's patron. Rome confirmed Tyre as autonomous and in 93/94 C.E. Tyrian currency depicts Tyre as a metropolis (Chéhab 1962: 24, 31).

Tyre played a significant role in the political and economic history of Greco-Roman Palestine. During the Ptolemaic period, slaves bought in Palestine were sold in Tyre in what was a highly profitable

business (Hengel 1974, 1: 41–42; 2: 32; cf. 2 Macc 8:11). Under Antiochus IV Epiphanes, rapid Hellenization influenced Tyre and Palestine. Jewish tradition, for example, states that Jason, high priest in Jerusalem, sent representatives to Tyre with 300 drachmas for sacrifice to Hercules-Melkart during the quadrennial games (2 Macc 4:18–20). In addition, the Jewish writer Eupolemus depicts Solomon giving to Tyre a golden pillar that was placed in the temple of Zeus (*OTP* 1: 870); this legitimated Jewish recognition of pagan deities by leaders such as Jason (Hengel 1974 2: 74).

Jewish leaders influenced many key events in Tyre and the surrounding region. Simon the Hasmonean was made *strategos* by the Romans from the Ladder of Tyre to the Egyptian border (1 Macc 11:59; *Ant* 13.146). Later, Jonathan stopped Tyre's attempt to exert control over portions of Galilee. Julius Caesar placed bronze tablets in Tyre that decreed Hyrcanus as ethnarch of the Jews and ally of Rome (*Ant* 14.197–98). Marion of Tyre in 40 B.C.E. invaded Galilee and established three strongholds. Herod the Great, however, ousted him shortly afterwards (*Ant* 14.298–99). Josephus reports that Herod the Great visited Tyre periodically and even had Tyrians in his service (*JW* 1.231–38, 275, 543). Tyre was also among the many cities that received benefactions from Herod, who built halls, porticoes, temples, and a marketplace for the city (*JW* 1.422). Nevertheless, when the Jewish revolt broke out in 66 C.E., the city killed or imprisoned many of its Jewish inhabitants (*JW* 2.478). During the revolt, Jews advanced against Kedasa, a property of Tyre (*JW* 2.459). Some Tyrians, however, enrolled as mercenaries in the service of John of Gischala (*JW* 2.588).

Tyre's economic and cultural development had certain similarities to and impact on nearby Galilee. Josephus reports that as the Roman Cestius marched into the Galilean city of Chabulon (Chabolo in *Life* 213), he found the city houses built like those at Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus (*JW* 2.504). Indirectly at least, Tyre participated in Palestine's economy. According to Acts, Herod Agrippa I supplied food to Tyre and Sidon (12:20). In addition, minted coins of Tyre have been found throughout Palestine, including a large number in the upper Galilean villages of Meiron, Gush Halav, and Khirbet Shema. The degree of direct Tyrian involvement in the Galilean economy, however, remains uncertain (Hanson 1980). Some connection seems certain. One of main trans-Galilean routes connecting Damascus and Tyre came near Caesarea Philipi and passed near the upper Galilean villages of Nabratein and Gush Halav. Roman paving stones and a milestone dating to Aurelian (270–275 C.E.) have been found on the road connecting Damascus and Tyre (Jidejian 1969: 8). The paucity of Tyrian coins at Nabratein, however, suggests that the trade and economic network in the area was more complex than previously thought (Meyers 1985: 123).

Tyrian coins have a long history. See COINAGE. Coins from Tyre minted during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus have been found at Scythopolis (Beth-shean; Hengel 1974: 89). Tyrian coins of the Greco-Roman period have a bust of Melkart with a laureate crown and wearing a lion skin around his neck (Jidejian 1969: 100–102). Considerable archaeological evidence exists for the use of Tyrian coinage in Jerusalem marketplaces, but numismatic evidence indicates that Tyrian coins were not preferred to Roman silver coins for payment of the temple tax (Ariel 1982: 285, 290; contra Jeremias 1969: 36).

The gospel tradition implies some link between Tyre and Galilee. Jesus withdraws to the region of Tyre and Sidon (Matt 15:21; Mark 7:24, 31) and while in Galilee preaches to persons from Tyre (Mark 3:8; Luke 6:17). The Q tradition contrasts Tyre and Sidon with local communities of Bethsaida and Chorazin (Matt 11:21–22 = Luke 10:13–14). Acts portrays a community of Christians living there who are visited by Paul. Paul's ship sails from the west and reflects the great amount of commercial activity that took place in Tyre in the 1st century (Acts 21:3–7).

A number of pagan and Christian scholars came from or were associated with the city, including the philosopher Meleager, the skeptic Heracleitus, the Stoics Antipater (who introduced the younger Cato to Stoic philosophy) and Apollonius, a Sophist historian Aspasios, the 2d-century geographer Narinus, the 3d-century Christian Origen, and the Neo-Platonist Porphyry (Jidejian 1969: 90–92; Hengel 1974: 84–88).

Trade in purple dye and purple-dyed clothing no doubt aided Tyre during the Greco-Roman period, as remains of abundant shells located near the city indicate. In addition, the murex snail shell, from which

purple dye was made, is found on the reverse of imperial coins of Tyre (Jidejian 1969: 150, 158). The trade was lucrative, although the dyeing process was smelly (Pliny *NH* 9.60.127; Strabo 16.2.23). An old dye factory predating the 1st century C.E. has been discovered just outside the city walls (Jidejian 1969: 108). See also PURPLE; ZOOLOGY.

Archaeological finds also include one of the largest hippodromes from the Roman period (Jidejian 1969: 111–13) and a porticoed street that measures over 170 meters long and 11 meters wide. The street located on the S part of the island, has a 2d-century mosaic pavement composed of geometric patterns, as well as a double colonnade of imported *cipollino* or white green-veined marble. Nearby, an impressive marble statue of Hadrian with tunic, cuirass, and paludamentum was discovered (Chéhab 1962: 14–22; pl. 8). Of particular interest for the 1st century is an inscription of two *agoranomoi,* or market overseers, dating to the 60s C.E. In this, Gaius Julius Jucundus appears to be a Roman citizen in charge of citizenship. The other *agoranomos,* Nicholas, a Greek name, has a father, Baledo, who bears a Phoenician name (Chéhab 1962: 30). A large burial ground, with a monumental arch and numerous Greek and Latin inscriptions, has been found near Alexander's causeway (Salamé-Sarkis 1986: 193–205; Rey-Coquais 1977).

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**TYRE, LADDER OF.** See LADDER OF TYRE.

**TYROPOEON VALLEY** (PLACE) [Gk *pharanx tōn tyropoiōn* (φαρανξ των τυροποιων)]. A valley, known today as el-Wad, which runs through the center of the old city of Jerusalem. The Greek name used by Josephus (*JW* 5.4.1 §140) means "Valley of the Cheesemakers." This attribution most probably was derived from cheese manufacture in the area. No other ancient name is known. The valley begins near the Damascus Gate at the N end of the city and runs S along the W side of the Temple Mount and the City of David. On the other side of the valley it is joined by a shallow transverse valley leading from the area of the Joppa Gate, and further to the S it is overlooked by Mt. Zion. The gradient of the valley increases significantly at the SW corner of the Temple Mount and drains to the area of the confluence of the larger Hinnom and Kidron valleys. Here at the lower end of the valley, supplied with water draining down the valley and water brought from the Gihon Spring via Hezekiah's water tunnel, were the "Old" and "Lower" pools of Siloam. The Tyropoeon Valley is sometimes described as the Central Valley, since it lays between the Hinnom and the Kidron.

Archaeological investigations around the SW corner of the Temple Mount have shown that as much as 40 feet of debris has accumulated in the upper end of the valley. Herod the Great's extension of the Temple Mount protruded into the Tyropoeon Valley. This made it necessary for the foundation of the temple precinct to go very deep. Excavations along the W side of the temple precinct have shown that in the 1st century A.D. a road ran along the W exterior of the precinct in the floor of the valley and all the way down to the Tekoa Gate near Siloam. This road was crossed by Wilson's Arch, which was a key route into the temple and also carried an aqueduct to provide water. Farther to the S, Robinson's Arch spanned the street running in the floor of the Tyropoeon Valley, providing access to the temple. Numerous shops have been identified along this street in the floor of the valley. This route through the valley would have been one of the most heavily traveled, as it provided easy access through the city and to the temple.

ROBERT W. SMITH

# U

**ʿUBAID.** See AL ʿUBAID.

**UBEIDIYA** (M.R. 205232). A prehistoric site on the W bank of the JORDAN RIVER about 3 km S of Lake Kinneret (Lake Tiberias). It is a large exposure of a Lower Pleistocene formation, originally called by L. Picard after the common freshwater shell in the deposit, designated as *"Melanopsis stufe."* It was renamed the Ubeidiya Formation following the archaeological excavations (1960–74), which provided long vertical exposures.

The excavations uncovered a composite sequence, about 150 m thick, which contained a series of archaeological horizons. Bones and shells were preserved in many of the layers, which are now folded in the form of a small anticline with several undulations, lying at –160 to –225 m below sea level. The contorted and faulted situation made the systematic archaeological excavations a challenging project. As a result, only 14 archaeological horizons were extensively excavated over surfaces ranging from 60 to 250 $m^2$.

The lithic assemblages demonstrate a limited typological variability. The common artifacts are the core-choppers and the flakes, which are generally made of flint. Polyhedrons (core-choppers with more than two stiking platforms—also made from flint) were found in moderate frequencies. Sheroids were shaped from limestone cobbles and range widely in both size and weight. Handaxes, trihedrals, and picks were mainly made of basalt but with a considerable representation of limestone and flint. The specific choice for raw material possibly took into account the needed size and the efficient cutting edge. On the whole, basalt and limestone cobbles were more abundant than the flint cobbles and pebbles. All the used raw material was available on the beaches of Lake Ubeidiya and in the wadi channels which descended from the W escarpment of the Jordan Rift.

In the lower archaeological horizons only core-choppers, polyhedrons, and soperoids are common (layers III-12 through II-24), while in the rest of the sequence bifaces appear in small percentages except for layer K-30, which is a gravel deposit rich in bifaces. According to African terminology, both Oldowan, Developed Oldowan, and Early Acheulian were represented in Ubeidiya. Naming the entire sequence as Early Acheulian will be in line with the current notion that members of the *Homo erectus* family, the bearers of the Acheulian Industrial Complex, were the hominids who moved out of Africa. Only a few fragmentary hominid remains were recovered at the site. Except for one incisor, they all were found on the surface. They were attributed to *Homo* sp. indet.

The fauna from Ubeidiya includes various mammalian species, reptiles, birds, and mollusks. Many of the bones and shells only came to rest in the deposits from which they were retrieved, and their actual habitat was either in the lake, on the hilly slopes, or upstream in the wadis. Their presence enabled the reconstruction of a very variable landscape in which these early hominids survived. It encompassed an oak-covered plateau with dry wadis descending into the lake. The slopes were partially forested and partially rocky exposures. Grassy meadows separated the hilly area from the open freshwater lake where thickets of reeds and some tamarisk formed a delta covered with pebbles and cobbles. A small lagoon stretched N of the delta. The common species, as represented by bone counts, were the hippopotamus, two species of deer, and two species of horses. However, other large- and medium-size mammals were the elephant, the rhinoceros, a giant sheep, two antelopes, thirteen species of carnivores, including bear, wolf, and lynx, one primate (other than humans), and a large number of rodents. Among these, the Mediterranean species and those which subsist in wetlands were the most common. A large number of birds, several reptiles, and a few molluscan species, some of which designate the lower Pleistocene age to the formation, complete the list. The fauna of Ubeidiya is a mixture of various geographic and ecological zones encompassing both the Eurasian world and a few African species.

Various authors have concluded that the fauna of Ubeidiya are younger than the Seneze fauna of W Europe or is of the same age as the end of Villanyian/basal Biharian in E Europe. These correlations mean that the age of the site should be estimated at 1.5–1.0 million years old. The preliminary paleomagnetic results indicate that it lies within the Matuyama Reversal Epoch. The similarity between the lithic industry of Olduval Bed II and that of Ubeidiya can be considered as additional support for the suggested date.

OFER BAR-YOSEF

**UCAL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾūkāl* (אֻכָל)]. One of the recipients of Agur's utterance, named in Prov 30:1.

Nothing else is known of Ucal. He was perhaps a friend or student of Agur along with Ithiel. It is less likely that Ithiel and Ucal are sons of Agur, since they would probably have been designated as such. The words *lĕʾîtîʾēl* and *wĕʾūkāl* may not be proper names at all. The Hebrew of this verse is completely obscure. The LXX provides a verb, *pauomai,* in place of the name "Ucal." The corresponding Hebrew verb would be *ʾăkalleh* ("I cease"). Other textual modifications yield the translations "I can/cannot do it"; "I withdraw/become faint"; or "I am consumed." The translations for *wĕʾūkāl* depend largely on the translation of the previous name (?) and subsequent context. The narrative resumes with *kî.* This indicates that the following, "I am more stupid than any man," is linked to the introduction of verse one. This leads some interpreters away from a textual change that implies an absolute cessation, since the matter is continued with the following verses. The simplest solution is to read Ucal as a proper name, but the occurrence of the *waw* preceding *ʾūkāl* will not allow an unquestionable translation. If Ithiel and Ucal were simply names, the *lamed* preposition which preceded Ithiel would also be expected before Ucal. The *waw* preceding Ucal then, seems to indicate a *waw* consecutive rather than a simple conjunction. The verb would provide a rather abrupt ending of the line "I cease," while the considerations which led to an end of the philosophical search are elaborated following the particle *ki.* The reading proposed by this interpreter is *wāʾēkel,* rather than the personal name "Ucal." See also McKane *Proverbs* OTL.

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DONALD K. BERRY

**UDHRUH** (M.R. 207971). A site, some 20 km NW of Ma'an and 15 km E of Petra on the edge of the Jordanian desert, which is watered by a perennial spring. The site has therefore attracted settlements throughout antiquity. Excavations (1980–1985) have concentrated on the town of Udhruh, and at the same time a detailed survey has been undertaken of the region from Ma'an-Ain Musa-Shobek-Ma'an (800 $km^2$).

The first historical record of the town is a reference by the geographer Ptolemy in the early 2d century A.D., although inscriptions and literary sources emphasize the wealth and importance of the town in Byzantine and Early Islamic times. The only serious archaeological work at the site was a five-day survey in 1897 by Brünnow and Domaszewski (1904). In 1980, rescue work began because a modern village had expanded westwards over the architectural remains and removed many of the walls.

The architectural site of Udhruh consists of a large Roman-walled town with twenty-four projecting defensive towers. Several towers still survive to first-story height, and sections of the town wall stand 7 m high. Other extant structures in the town include a Roman basilica, a Byzantine church, and an Ottoman fort. However, surface surveys indicate occupation as early as the Paleolithic and continuing into the Chalcolithic periods. A dense scatter of Neolithic tools and flakes outside the town implies the existence of a Pre-Pottery Neolithic settlement. EB and LB ceramics show a continuity of occupation, but late Iron Age walls in the lower levels of a deep trench near the spring are the earliest structures so far found in the town.

The Nabateans are best known for their capital at Petra, but their pottery is also one of their most remarkable legacies. The very fine and delicate ceramics have more of the texture and quality of porcelain than one would normally associate with earthenware. In fact, the fineness of the techniques used in both manufacture and decoration are unparalleled in earthenware in antiquity. Finds from the Udhruh pottery

kiln include over 1,000 kg of Nabatean ceramics, spindle sockets for potter's wheels, an iron trimming knife, and a bronze spatula identical to that used by modern potters for shaping and smoothing.

Excavations have shown that Udhruh had a sizable Nabatean settlement, which was partially underground with tunnels and semisubterranean structures quarried into the limestone hillside S of the town walls. One underground passage, over 20 m long, yielded a mass of Nabatean ceramics and glass.

The town walls were probably constructed at the same time as the *Via Traina Nova* in 112–14 A.D. A papyrus from Egypt mentions legionaries at work in regional quarries at this time, and the reference may refer to the most extensive quarries in Jordan, discovered in the 1980 survey, one km W of Udhruh. The town walls probably stood 12 m high in antiquity and would have presented a formidable obstacle to marauding desert tribes from the E. The walls were rebuilt in the Byzantine period, but were not significantly altered throughout the site's later phases, which continued without major break into the 16th century. Several of the towers and gateways have been excavated, and a central large administrative building has been exposed together with its colonnaded courtyard.

In 1980, a detailed survey of the region was initiated, and over two hundred new sites have been found, including a Roman construction camp for the town of Udhruh and a complex series of forts and towers forming a defensive frontier along the Roman highway. Tell Udhruh (500 m from the main site) was excavated in 1985 to reveal an extensive Iron II settlement terraced on the hillside. Over 110 sites have been found in the survey with Iron Age to Roman period ceramics on the surface.

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ALISTAIR KILLICK

**UEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾûʾēl* (אוּאֵל)]. A descendant of Bani and one of the returned exiles whom Ezra required to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:34). The parallel text of 1 Esdr 9:34 lists Joel here but the two names can be identified with each other. Uel was a member of a family from which a group of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:10; note that Binnui replaces Bani in Nehemiah's list [7:15]). Noth suggests that Uel is a theophoric name containing the particle *ʾēl* (*IPN,* 90). For further discussion, *see* BEDEIAH.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

**UGARIT** (35°35′N; 35°45′E). Tell Ras Shamra, near the Mediterranean coast of Syria, is the site of ancient Ugarit, capital of a kingdom of the same name that flourished in the 2d millennium B.C. Occupied since Neolithic times, it was abandoned around 1180 B.C. (with the exception of minimal later occupation). Its commercial importance was due to a rich agricultural countryside, and above all to its port, discovered on the site of Minet el-Beida (= Ug *Mahadu* [?]; *Leukos Limēn* [White Harbor] of the Greeks, *Port Blanc* of Crusader times). Its celebrity comes from the discovery since 1929 of texts written in various languages, and in particular in a language hitherto unknown—Ugaritic. See LANGUAGES (UGARITIC). The Ugaritic texts reveal cultural, religious, and mythical traditions from essentially the 14th through the 13th centuries B.C. This explains the importance given to Ugarit in historical studies of the ANE and biblical world. This entry, consisting of two articles, will describe the results of the excavations of Ugarit and the nature of its ancient texts and literature.

## *HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY*

A. History of Excavations and Discoveries
B. Geographical Setting and Natural Conditions

C. Historical Summary: 7th–2d Millennia B.C.
D. The City of the Late Bronze Age
    1. Boundaries, Access, Configuration
    2. Palace Complex
    3. The Temples
    4. Public and Domestic Architecture
E. Material Culture
    1. Daily Life
    2. Cultural Life

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**A. History of Excavations and Discoveries**

In 1928 a burial cave was discovered by accident at Minet el-Beida; since this time the French archaeological mission, directed by Claude F. A. Schaeffer, from 1929 to 1970, after the exploration of the port in this bay, concentrated on the excavation of Tell Ras Shamra, which rose up less than 1 km inland from there. The direction of the mission was then taken over by Henri de Contenson (1971 to 1974), by Jean Margueron (1975 to 1977), and after 1978, by Marguerite Yon. The work has progressed almost continuously except for one interruption from 1940 to 1947 because of World War II.

**1. From 1929 to 1939.** The first excavations concentrated in part on the Minet el-Beida dig (harbor installation and tombs, 1929 to 1935). At the same time was undertaken excavation of the city that was discovered on the Ras Shamra tell. On the acropolis of the city, residential quarters were excavated (1929–37), dominated by two temples (called the temple of Baal and the temple of Dagan), as well as the House of the High Priest (in which some of the mythological tablets were discovered). From 1932 to 1937, the living quarters located below the acropolis were explored, to the N and NE (an area called the Lower City).

**2. From 1937 to 1955.** The exploration at the W part of the tell had begun in 1937, but was interrupted by the war. The years 1937–1939 date the excavation of the NW complex, in which is located the palace of the queen mother, a four-pillared building, and the Hurrian Temple. Also begun at this time was the excavation of the royal palace (or "Grand Palace"), protected from the W by a strong fortress.

Excavation of the royal palace complex and the fortress was undertaken in earnest from 1948 to 1955. It is then that the greater part of the archives of Ugarit were discovered.

**3. From 1953 to 1974.** The inhabited areas in proximity to the palace were explored during these seasons. The residential quarters (sometimes called the "Aegean quarter") have allowed us to know homes rich in information, both by a series of discovered texts (for example the "House of Rap‹anu") and by the complexity of the organization and the diversity of the objects (for example, the House of Alabasters, 1973–74).

This area also revealed vast enclosures, also sometimes qualified as palaces: the Southern Palace (or Little Palace), excavated in 1964–65 (which yielded an archive of texts), and the North Palace, dug 1968–71, that was perhaps a royal palace preceding the LB Palace.

The large trenches, which run approximately N–S, were opened beginning in 1959 in the E half of the tell, to explore other living areas. The South City Trench, begun in 1959, and the South Acropolis Trench, dug from 1961 to 1964, have both produced groups of texts. From 1971 to 1973, the excavation of the installation called post-Ugaritic was continued toward the middle of the tell (a settlement of fairly limited extent, from the Persian and Hellenistic periods).

Moreover, the necessity of understanding the history of the site before the Late Bronze Age (of which levels appear everywhere) led to undertaking deep probes in a systematic fashion: one begun in 1953 and maintained until 1960 to the W of the temple of Baal; a probe of the Royal Palace Garden, 1954–55; and, above all, *Sondage H*, from 1962 to 1974, to the W of the Acropolis. Traversing 18 meters of occupation layers since the 7th millennium, it provides the stratigraphy of the site.

**4. From 1975 to 1988.** The excavations from 1975 to 1976 were devoted to the exploration to the NW part of the tell, and to the excavation of a large house of the LB period. Since 1978, work at the site has

been linked to the study of city planning and to the city itself: excavation of the field located in the center of the city, an architectural study of the "South City Trench" (dug in 1959), plus the area northwest of the tell (dug 1937–39). In 1986, excavation of the southern area began, near the supposed entrance of the city: a new group of texts was discovered near the place that had, in 1973 (following modern public works), yielded an important series of texts.

**5. Ras Ibn Hani (1975–1986).** A salvage excavation was undertaken in 1975 on a small tell located by the sea at Ras Ibn Hani, less than 5 km SW of Ras Shamra. A new Ugaritic settlement was discovered there (ancient Biruti?), with palaces and fortifications which yielded new texts. It has been explored since its discovery by a Franco-Syrian mission directed by Adnan Bounni and Jacques Lagarce.

**B. Geographical Setting and Natural Conditions**

The kingdom of Ugarit extended over a surface of about 2,000 $km^2$, and occupied approximately what today is the Mohafazat of Latakia. It extends from Jebel Aqraʿ in the N to the Jable region in the S, limited by the Mediterranean Sea to the W and the Alaouite Mountains (Jebel Ansariyeh) to the E.

The capital was established on Tell Ras Shamra. Located only 10 km N of the city of Latakia, the tell is on a plain, about 1 km from the bay Minet el-Beida, where the port was located. It is surrounded by a large architectural plain, fertile and fairly well irrigated, separating the hills from the sea, then the mountain Jebel Ansariyeh, which stands more than 1,000 m tall. The northern horizon is marked by the silhouette of Jebel Aqraʿ rising to more than 1,800 m, the ancient Mt. Zaphon (the Mount Casius of the Romans), whence ruled Baal, god of storms.

The presence of these mountainous areas and the proximity of the sea ensures that the region surrounding the tell has a climate favorable to Mediterranean cultures. The mountain chains to the E protect the plain from the drying winds of the Syrian steppe, all the while retaining the rain coming from the sea. The temperatures are thus fairly mild, and the rains, spread out over seven or eight months from fall to spring, amount to more than 800 mm each year.

The tell itself is ringed by two small waterways—the Nahr Habayyeb to the N and Nahr ed-Delbe to the S—that join W of the tell to form the Nahr el-Feid, which empties into the bay at Minet el-Beida. These rivulets, linked to the rainfall, are dry through several summer months, but the water table is not deep; it feeds several springs that flow at the foot of the tell, and numerous wells spread out over the city. The presence of dams to the north and south helped to maintain the level of the water supply during the summer drought.

The temperate climate which the plain enjoyed in ancient times permitted cultivation of the traditionally Mediterranean type: vines, olive groves, and cereals (as Ugaritic economic texts and archaeological evidence testify), as well as arboreal cultivation (almond and pistachio trees) and the raising of small livestock. In addition, the hills and mountains were covered with forests (of which hardly a trace survives today), in particular cedars, pines, and cyprus trees.

The exploitation of natural resources, agricultural areas, and forested land played a role in the commercial activities of maritime exchanges with countries near and far (as far as Egypt or the Aegean world) as well as supplying the inhabitants themselves. The availability of wood and stone influenced construction techniques and the development of architecture. Besides the evidence that we have from texts, archaeological observations speak worlds: the presence of numerous oil presses has been noted; buildings were constructed using stones from the Mqaté quarries, several hundred meters N of the tell; walls were supported with wood timbers from the mountains, and reinforced with wooden beams and reeds from nearby streams; terraces were made out of clay.

It is difficult to determine exactly what determined the fortune of a particular site at certain periods. Numerous elements of sociological demographic and historical character explain the avatars of a kingdom which, after having known such development, simply disappeared completely at the beginning of the 12th century. One must, however, underline the fact that this development was due to geographical realities: on the one hand, climatic conditions favorable to agricultural growth, and on the other hand, its location of the Mediterranean coast. An excellent port permitted Ugarit to trade with countries accessible from the sea (Egypt, the Levantine coast, Cyprus, the Anatolian coast, the Aegean) at the same time that it

welcomed caravans from the interior that put it in touch with Mesopotamia, N and interior Syria, the Hittite world, the Mitannian kingdom, and other powers.

**C. Historical Summary: 7th–2d Millennia B.C.**

*Sondage H* provides evidence that the beginning of human occupation of the site can be dated from the 7th millennium. During this epoch, the Neolithic (which was the period of sedentarization in Syria-Palestine), it appears that groups of farmers (as well as hunters and fishermen) established themselves there (Level V C). New techniques appear about 6000 B.C. in agriculture (raising domestic animals), as well as in agriculture (houses with a quadrangular plan, constructed of stone with plastered floors), and in the fabrication of containers made out of mineral-based materials ("white ware" in plaster, as in other contemporary sites; and above all, fired ceramics, of which we can follow the improvements for a millennium). This Neolithic phase can be subdivided in two: *Level V B* (6000–5750) and *Level V A* (5750–5250). These two levels have equivalents in other sites more or less nearby (Amuq A and B, Bouqras II, the beginnings of Tell Sukas, ancient Neolithic Byblos, Tell Ramad III, Mersin in Cilicia, and Hassuna). The distribution points to the development of a civilization with common traits over a large part of the Near East (see Fig. UGA.01).

Chronological Table of Occupational Sequences at Ras Shamra

| Approximate Dates | Life on the Tell | Level | Period |
|---|---|---|---|
| ca. 6500 | First settlements | V C | Prepottery |
| ca. 6000 | Pastoralism; ceramics, stone architecture | V B | Pottery |
| ca. 5250 | Differentiated architecture; craft specialized | IV | "Halaf" (Chalcolithic) |
| 4th millennium | Appearance of copper | III C | Final Chalcolithic "Abaid" |
| | | III B | |
| ca. 3000 | Urban center; streets; fortifications; copper smelting | III A | Early Bronze |
| ca. 2200 | Abandonment | | |
| Beginning of 2d millennium | Arrival of Amorite populations; urban development; walls, palace | II | Middle Bronze |
| ca. 1650 | Abandonment? Cultural decline? | | |
| ca. 1600 | New urban period | I | Late Bronze II |
| 15–13th century | Ugaritic kings known from texts | | Late Bronze III |
| ca. 1360 | Amistamru I | | |
| 1360–1330 | Niqmadu II | | |
| 1330–1324 | Arhalbu | | |
| 1324–1274 | Niqmepa | | |
| 1274–1240 | Amistamru II | | |
| 1240– | Ibiranu | | |
| –1225 | Niqmadu III | | |
| 1225–1180 | Ammurapi | | |
| ca. 1180 | Destruction and abandonment under attacks from the sea | | |
| 5th–4th century | Minor settlement on the tell | | Persian Period |
| 1st century | A few tracks of occupation | | Roman Period |

It seems that the Neolithic period was a time of great development at Ras Shamra, if one is to judge by growing technological advancement and population density. On the other hand, the Chalcolithic (Level IV) period is first of all characterized by a reduction in the inhabited area; it seems that the passage from the Neolithic to the Chalcolithic coincided with serious troubles and with the arrival of new oriental elements that led to a profound transformation. One recognizes, around this date, the mark of a

civilization called *Halaf*, characterized by decorated ceramics of excellent quality, that spread to the N of Mesopotamia and Syria. At this point, the architecture of Ras Shamra diversified, the artisans began to specialize (in ceramics, for example), the raising of small livestock (sheep, goats) increases. This period lasts from about 5250 to 4300 B.C.

The period that spans the end of the 5th millennium and all of the 4th (Level III C and B) seems to have been a less prosperous period for Ras Shamra; it was still characterized by ties with Mesopotamia, and it corresponds to the period called *Ubaid.* A notable development was the appearance of copper.

The final phases of Level III (Level III A) correspond to the Early Bronze Age. From around 3000 B.C. on, there was again considerable increase in the occupation of the site, apparently without a break from Level III B. The city center presents a true urban character, with small streets and ramparts for protection. The architecture, which seems at first to have been made of fired brick (EB I), increasingly employed stone, in particular in defensive constructions. Tools, still essentially lithic, also included metal objects (copper and bronze). The variety of ceramics suggests relationships with contemporary sites in Cilicia, northern Syria, and Palestine (Khirbet Kerak ceramics for example), and also with the Syrian interior (with the "simple ware" of the Amuq and Orontes region). The EB III phase at Ras Shamra, as in other regions, experienced a rapid development in metallurgy. Bronze production served largely in the fabrication of arms (lance heads, daggers), but also of tools (flat axes, needles) and of ornaments (pins). It is in this period, around 2400 B.C., that one finds for the first time the mention of the name Ugarit (*Ug-ga-ra-at*$^{ki}$) in a list of toponyms found at Elba, in the Syrian interior.

Around 2200 B.C., as is the case for other sites in the Levant, the tell was abandoned for a period of at least a century (maybe two) during the troubled period that in Egypt also marked the end of the Old Kingdom.

It was thus a new life on the site that began around 2000 B.C., during the Middle Bronze Age (Level II), with the arrival of new nomadic populations (such as the Amorites from the Syrian interior) who, little by little, became sedentary in Syria. Some among those established on the Ugarit acropolis seem to have been metallurgy experts; the presence of ornaments discovered in their tombs—ornaments that were also on silver figurines of divinities—led the excavator to designate these people as "necklace wearers." Other than the necklaces, their arms (triangular daggers, socketed lances, fenestrated axes) are characteristic, and the discovery of the molds was proved that they were made on the spot. No architecture is known from the MB I (this may be an accident of excavation, or the civilization may have conserved its nomadic traditions); only large collective tombs have been found. It is with the MB II–III (ca. 1900–1650) that one sees a new urban civilization develop in spectacular fashion, in which traditions from the Syrian coast fuse with contributions of the new arrivals. The city then covered almost the entire surface of the tell and was protected by an impressive rampart, the glacis of which is still visible in some parts (in keeping with the type of defensive construction common in the Levant). Among the MB structures that remain, one will obviously note the two temples located on the acropolis (see D.3 below) as well as the "Hurrian Temple" to the NW of the tell; it is probable also that the building designated as the North Palace (N of the Royal Palace) was constructed at the end of the MB but was abandoned during the construction of the LB Palace.

The excavations have yielded numerous objects from this period. One of the most striking features is the abundance of Egyptian objects, often with hieroglyphic inscriptions: a pearl with the name of Sesostris I (1970–1936 B.C.), funerary figurines bearing the name of an unknown deceased person, statues and sphinxes found mutilated. This mutilation, which appears to have been voluntary (statue of Chnoumet, daughter of Amenemhet II around 1900 B.C., or the sphinx from the temple of Baal), has given rise to different interpretations. Were these acts linked to international difficulties? Or were these statues the spoils of war from the period of Hyksos domination in Egypt? What is important to remember is the considerable place held by Egyptian relations with the kingdoms of the Levantine coast. But the name of Ugarit is also mentioned in the Mari texts (the Ugaritic king's desire to see the Palace of Mari; visit by the king of Mari to Ugarit; mention in the economic archives referring in particular to the tin trade), bearing witness to constant relations between Upper Mesopotamia and the coastal kingdom. In the absence of

confirmatory information, hypotheses that posit political domination by the pharaohs of the 12th Dyn. over Ugarit, while not excluded, remain only theories.

The end of the MB (ca. 1650 B.C.) and the period from the first phase of the LB until the end of the Amarna period (15th century) remain obscure, for Ugarit as well as for other Levantine sites. All that can be said is that Ugarit went through a troubled period and a decline that went perhaps as far as a temporary abandonment of the city. But the destruction was not complete, for the temples of the Acropolis remained until the end of Ugarit; the city, in addition, retained its name.

But after these years of obscurity, the LB period (Level I) once again saw an expansion of the urban center, with spectacular enrichment of the kingdom and greater and greater importance given to royal power. One can follow the development from the 15th to the 12th centuries, because from this point on the succession of kings and their relations with foreign powers can be established, thanks to texts found in the Amarna archives and at Ugarit, and to seals that marked official documents.

There is no question here of retracing the history of the kingdom of Ugarit, linked as it was to the powers that surrounded it and exerted their influence in turn—Mitanni, Egypt, Hatti—as well as to those neighboring nations with which Ugarit had amicable or hostile relations according to circumstance or period—Carchemish, Amurru, Siyannu, Kadesh, or the coastal nations like Sidon or Byblos. At the most, one can recall a few significant moments which marked local history.

It seems that from around 1400 to 1350 B.C., Ugarit was under Egyptian control. A fire in the palace around 1360 must have destroyed the earlier archives it contained, because it was in the reign of Niqmaddu II (1360–1330) that the surviving royal archives began; but the documents from Amarna and the passages from the archives of Niqmaddu II seem to show that Niqmaddu's father, Amistamru I, was in a position of submission to Amenophis III (whose cartouche was found at Ugarit). The domination was not direct; thus, a treaty by Niqmaddu with the king of Amurru appears around 1350 to have imposed a sort of Amorite protectorate, but always within the Egyptian sphere of influence.

In 1350, the expedition of the king of Hatti, Suppiluliuma, against Mitanni and its Syrian vassals succeeded in bringing Mitanni under Hittite domination, and it also brought Ugarit, Amurru, and Kadesh into the same sphere of influence. Under the reign of the king of Ugarit, Niqmepa, after a period of trouble with Nuḫašše and Carchemish, Hittite domination stabilized.

At the end of the 14th century, the role of the king of Carchemish as the administrator of Hittite politics in Syria became more precise: in many cases he was charged with resolving conflicts between Ugarit and a neighboring country (Siyannu to the S or Mukish to the N) on behalf of the Great King, whose domination over this region was firmly established. At the time of the Ugaritic king Amistamru II (mid-13th century), the rivalries and alliances between Ugarit and Amurru were explained in particular by extremely complex matrimonial politics, of which the royal correspondence chronicles the vicissitudes; one can see the international political implications through the place held by the kings of Hatti and Carchemish in these operations. Numerous texts also mention commercial and judicial agreements to resolve differences in transactions, or to ensure the security of caravans; the presence of Hittite functionaries at Ugarit is evident. But commercial relations between Ugarit and Egypt and regions under Egyptian control (such as Palestine) seem to have revived, in particular after the Hittite-Egyptian treaty between Hattušiliš III and Ramesses II in 1270.

It is clear, especially beginning in the middle of the 13th century, that the kingdom of Ugarit, whose wealth was based on a flourishing economy (maritime commerce in particular), concentrated the sources of prosperity in the hands of the royal power. On the other hand, the weak military capacity of the kingdom worsened still more. The king Ibiranu (1240) did not voluntarily participate in the war effort of the Hittite sovereign. At the end of the 13th century, with King Ammurapi, the last Ugarit period began. The raids by the "Sea People" that harassed the coastal states as well as the Hittite king, as far as Egypt, and in which the king of Alashia-Cyprus played the role of informer (perhaps a double agent), were clearly the cause of the destruction of Ugarit, as well as of numerous other sites.

But the annihilation of the Ugaritic power necessarily had other causes which explain the total and definitive abandonment of the city by its inhabitants. It is certain that the equilibrium that ensured the

stability of the kingdom was undermined from within. The evolution that saw the royal power develop in an unbridled fashion during the 13th century (also noticeable in the city in the constant improvement to the royal palace, as well as in the centralization of all economic power in the palace administration) led to a concentration of all goods around the palace; the countrysides, incapable of supporting the augmentation of fiscal needs, were little by little depopulated in favor of the city, where one was closer to the king. Thus was created a disequilibrium which proved to be fatal between regions of agricultural production and commercial sectors, between inhabitants and royal civil servants: the "sons of Ugarit" gave way to the "people of the king."

The date of the destruction has been fixed at approximately 1180 B.C. Homes were abandoned by their inhabitants, pillaged, and burned. Following this, no other urban center was ever located on the site; the evidence of subsequent occupation (Persian and Hellenistic periods, Roman period) only affects small portions of the tell, and it no longer shows any collective organization that represents a village or a city, contrary to what had happened for 5000 years; the villages had become a city and then the capital of a kingdom.

**D. The City of the Late Bronze Age**

The city that remains visible is limited by the present surface of the tell, which rises almost 20 m above the surrounding plain. It today covers a surface of more than 20 hectares, but it is certain that this measurement does not account for the entire Late Bronze Age city. We know in fact that the northwest limit of the tell has shrunk by more than 50 m, eroded by the course of the Nahr Habayyeb, giving one side the appearance of a cliff. To the E and above all to the S, the presence of modern plantations prevents an exact determination of the extent of the ancient habitation in the area that separated the archaeological site and the present course of the Nahr ed-Delbe (see Fig. UGA.02).

**1. Boundaries, Access, Configuration.** The fortifications were of vital importance, in a region as flat as the coastal plain and as close to the sea, from which an enemy could arrive. We know that the MB city was surrounded by ramparts, and that remains true for the LB city. However, we are far from having discovered the entire outline of the city wall. To the N, as we have just said, nothing remains other than a trench (from 1934) N of the acropolis. To the E, where the incline is less steep, the soundings have revealed the remains of a wall. To the S, nothing appears other than, in the still-visible relief of the land, fairly clear levees of earth angled to the S–E and S–W which could correspond to a sort of bastion on both sides of the depression that runs from the S toward the center of the tell.

To the W, excavators have brought to light an imposing fortress that protected the entrance to the royal palace. It includes a stone glacis (angled at 45 degrees), and a square tower of 14 m with enormous walls, protecting a tenaille door and an entrance by a zigzag ramp (now gone). Of this ensemble, there remains a postern—today the most spectacular element—made out of huge corbeled blocks, which gave access behind the tower by a zigzag corridor. These fortifications are thought to have been built in the MB period; but rebuilding and constant transformations affected the whole, up until the end of the LB period. (The access ramp was modified, the postern later blocked.) This whole area was profoundly transformed by the construction of the royal palace, and the subsequent improvements also affected the fortified gate that protected it to the W.

The strategic importance of this gate confirms the existence of a continuous rampart around the entire city; this fortified part protected the royal palace, which was also protected toward the city by a tambour door across the street that runs to the N; but this door was but a modest defense in comparison with the enormous exterior door. One cannot help but think that the palace, so well defended from the W, was more easily accessible to enemies that came from across the city. Later excavations will perhaps answer further questions about the defense of the city, particularly to the S.

One would like to know what points of access permitted entry, from the plain and from the port, into a city completely surrounded by walls. The only constructed entrance known today is the fortified gate that has just been mentioned, which led to the palace compound. But it is impossible to see this as the principal entrance to the city; the loaded caravans transporting merchandise from the port surely did not use the official entrance to the royal palace; and the gates that defended it (in the tower to the W and

across the street to the E) were each too narrow for such passage. The regular traffic must have been elsewhere.

Observation of the outline of the tell on the S slope shows a kind of large depression, which begins at the S limit between the two levees of earth already mentioned and rises fairly steadily toward the center of the tell (to the west of the South City Trench). It lies on the axis of the bridge-dam recently excavated, which supported the access route from the plain. One is thus tempted to see this as an important access road into the city, perhaps the principal road that, crossing the Nahr ed-Delbe, led the plain to the interior of the city (the exploration of this road was undertaken in 1986 to clarify this question). But it is certain that other approaches were also used to come from the plain, in particular from the E side, where the relief leads toward agricultural lands by a relatively regular and easy slope.

The configuration of the whole of the city shows several areas of occupation within the area delineated by the contours of the tell. Currently, out of more than 20 hectares, slightly more than 6 (thus less than a third) have been explored on the surface. This does permit, nonetheless, characterization of certain quarters and an analysis of the elements of the town plan of living conditions (with regard to which recent work is particularly interesting).

A considerable portion of the surface of the city was, during the last moments of Ugarit at least, reserved for the royal power: this part includes not only the royal palace but also the installations and outbuildings that were linked to it, whose architecture isolates them from the rest of the city. The "acropolis" area is of interest in understanding the major temples known today. The rest of the area was residential quarters.

**2. Palace Complex.** The royal palace constitutes the most spectacular monument of Ugarit, both in its dimensions and in the quality of the construction, which used largely cut stone, but also uncut stone, wood, and clay. It was built in several phases over the course of the 14th and 13th centuries, the successive improvements corresponding to the expansion of royal power (see Fig. UGA.03).

The very elaborate organization of its plan in the final state implies a differentiation of spaces with diverse functions: administrative (the management of the affairs of the kingdom was mixed with administration of the palace), public and official, and private. Some functions took place on the ground floor and others on one floor (or more?) above; witness the presence of at least a dozen stone stairs and some walls preserved as high as the first floor.

The principal entrance is located to the NW; from the paved courtyard that leads to the fortified gate, one enters the palace through a large vestibule with two columns, surrounded by benches. One then proceeds into a vast courtyard (courtyard I), which leads through another portal flanked by columns to a reception room, doubtless the throne room. All around these different spaces are arranged smaller rooms with various functions (guard rooms, administrative offices), with stairs leading to other floors. The archives were found in these rooms: the Western Archives (administrative documents and correspondence) and the annex office of archives, whose texts are mostly in Ugaritic, but also in Akkadian, not to mention several tablets in Hurrian.

To the S and E of this very official area are found complexes organized around other courtyards. The courtyards II, IV, and VI are also surrounded by smaller rooms with various proposed functions; N of courtyard II are the tombs which constituted the royal necropolis, according to the principal found in numerous private homes: the family tomb is in the home. In the area of courtyards IV and VI are found the Central Archives, mostly in Akkadian (180 as against less than 50 in Ugaritic). They are primarily a collection of juridical texts and royal contracts, with a series of 135 impressions of dynastic seals that has allowed the reconstruction of the succession of kings from the 15th to the 12th centuries. The complex around courtyard V, to the S, constitutes the most recent addition; a shallow pool (8 m × 6 m) adorns the center of the courtyard, fed by a series of channels. In the rooms located to the S, the very important Southern Archives have been found (texts on relations with Hatti), and to the W of the courtyard the South-Western Archives (with a notable proportion of texts in Hurrian); in the courtyard itself, near the pool, tablets were found in an oven dating from the last phase of the city's history, and are thus extremely precious.

The E part of the palace (of which the E limit is unfortunately badly preserved) contains a vast garden (courtyard III), around which were probably the private apartments; in a room to the NE of this courtyard, very luxurious ivory furniture has been found (a bed headboard, a pedestal table, a horn). A door, protected by guards, gave access from the city to this part of the palace. The rooms located to the far E surely had administrative functions; it is indeed there that the Eastern Archives were found, containing above all economic texts (two thirds in Ugaritic, about one third in Akkadian, several Hurrian texts, and one Hurrian-Akkadian bilingual).

Several buildings located to the N of the paved courtyard at the entrance should also be included as part of the palace area: first the buildings beyond the palace street, buildings called the Arsenal and the Military Governor's Residence; then, the complex containing the Four-Pillared Building, with a huge paved room and a monumental entrance with a staircase (and sometimes wrongly designated the Royal Stables), built without a doubt in the 13th century; and finally the Hurrian Temple, older than what surrounds it. The temple's sacred character enabled it to survive intact, despite the change in orientation of the new constructions at the end of the LB period. This complex, including the palace, was carefully defined and protected from the city by continuous walls and well-defended doorways. It also benefited from very elaborate improvements which were reserved for it, like canals to carry water, or the great sewer that crossed and drained only the royal area.

The palace itself, which extends over 120 meters from E to W and as much as 90 m from N to S, occupies almost 7000 $m^2$, and the royal area as we know it today, about 10,000 $m^2$. This large proportion with respect to the rest of the city, the development and the progressive extension of palatial buildings, and the concentration of archives found in the palace confirm the conclusions that one could draw from studying administrative and fiscal texts, lists of villages and professions, according to which the royal power did not cease to extend its influence during the 13th century.

**3. The Temples.** The temples located on the highest part of the site, the acropolis, were named respectively the Temple of Baal (because of the discovery there of a stele depicting the god Baal with sword and thunderbolt [See Fig. UGA.04] and the "stele of Baal Ṣapān"and the Temple of Dagan (on the strength of two steles bearing the name of this god discovered nearby). These conventional names are retained here.

The better preserved is the Temple of Baal, located to the W within an enclosure of which part of the wall remains. Strong foundations support a podium upon which is built the temple, comprising a vestibule, which is reached by a staircase on the facade, and a larger rectangular room, longer on one side than the other; one can still see in this room the remains of a monumental staircase of cut stone (at least in this part) that extends to three sides of the building: it is thus possible to estimate the height of the building—a minimum of 16 or 17 m above the ground. The temple must have appeared like a kind of tower, on top of which was a terrace where part of the ceremonies took place. So in the legend, King Keret is invited to offer a sacrifice "at the summit of the tower" (*KTU* 1.14.2.21–22). If one considers the fact that the acropolis itself rises some 20 m above the surrounding plain, the height of this tower at its summit would have made it a part of the terrain visible from afar and would have served as a landmark at sea. Seventeen stone anchors that have been found in this temple—incorporated in the construction of the walls, or deposited as votive offerings like steles (none in the temple of Dagan)—show the evident veneration of this sanctuary by sailors. In the courtyard in front of the temple is found a square altar of cut stone. The quality of the offerings, of which some vestiges have been found despite the pillaging of the city (for example the golden cup and plate, decorated with hunting scenes and the royal chariot), indicate the importance of the cult that was conducted in this temple.

The Temple of Dagan, of which only the foundations remain, can be analyzed in the same way, and contains the same characteristics that would warrant its reconstruction as a tower. Near these temples that are separated from the city by their enclosures are found small blocks of residences served by roads. But this quarter does not seem to be a simple and common quarter of modest habitations; one of these houses, called the House of the High Priest, has produced since 1929 an important group of arms and bronze tools, of which certain ones carrying dedications to the "High Priest." See Fig. UGA.05. These

inscriptions furnished one of the keys to deciphering Ugaritic; nearby, groups of tables were discovered, including the most important mythological texts.

Other sacred places have been found in the city, starting with the Hurrian Temple already noted in the palace complex, which seems to be a smaller version of the same structure as the two contemporary acropolis temples.

But recent work also shows the existence in the city of sanctuaries more integral in the whole complex with direct access to the streets. Certain of these even seem to be part of city blocks, of which the rest is occupied by domestic buildings. Their sacred character is recognizable on the one hand by the architectural organization, as in the case of the "rhyton sanctuary" recently discovered in the center of the city. Its decentralized plan, the platforms constructed for offerings, and the benches along the walls are similar to the types of LB architecture common in the eastern Mediterranean, in Cyprus, for example, but above all in Palestine. The sacred function of certain of these buildings, whose floor plans are often poorly preserved or difficult to interpret, follows also from the objects that have been discovered there. This includes furniture necessary for the ceremonies (libation rhytons, cultic stands, incense burners) and representations of divinities (statuettes and steles), or still other objects tied to divinatory practices, such as the inscribed livers and lungs found in the South Acropolis Trench (House of the Magician Priest).

The existence of these places of worship found throughout the city is evidence of the presence of religious activities among all the inhabited areas, and not just the areas which were reserved for it. One cannot exclude either the existence of domestic cults, a manifestation of popular religion side by side with frequentation of the great temples, if one is to judge by the number and the dispersion in all areas of the site of small figurines, whether it be pendants in precious metal or the effigy of the goddess (Astarte?), or more humble figurines modeled in terra-cotta.

**4. Public and Domestic Architecture.** As we have seen, the unearthed portion of the tell only covers about 6 hectares, of which one fifth is occupied by the palace complex. The remarks that will he made about the Ugaritic domestic architecture concern the S slope of the tell, the best known, and the part one reaches first upon entering the city by what seems to be the principal entrance.

The main road has not yet been precisely located and excavated (even if one can see its approximate location). From the residential quarter to the South Acropolis Trench, the vaguely parallel streets that more or less follow natural contours are linked to each other by small, short, straight streets running N–S. They thus outline the small blocks, of many different forms, without any concern for regularity or exact orientation. This network of streets is superimposed upon an older network, which was created over the centuries by the disordered evolution of a living habitat, by unsystematic reconstructions and modifications of properties.

We have seen in the history of the excavations the different living quarters excavated over a thirty-year period; we will limit ourselves here to noting several significant points, in particular from the texts that have been discovered.

The residential quarter in immediate proximity to the palace consists essentially of private houses, of which certain were occupied by rich merchants, royal functionaries, or representatives of foreign powers. Several caches of tablets have been found in this quarter: in the House of Rasapabu (varied texts, above all legal and economic); the House of the Scholar (literary, lexicographic, and technical texts); the House of Rap'anu (legal and economic texts, but also religious and, above all, diplomatic). The House of the Bronze Armorer contained a pile of bronze arms and tools, of which one sword is marked with the cartouche of the Pharaoh Merneptah.

The areas referred to as the center of the tell, the South City Trench, and the South Acropolis Trench, are also areas of private dwellings. The libraries are rarer: noteworthy are the House of Literary Tablets (South City Trench), which has furnished a variety of texts. The house called "of the priest of the models of inscribed lungs and livers" or "Magician Priest" (South Acropolis Trench) seems to come more from the sacred architecture tradition (see D.3 above) than from that of ordinary private dwellings; it contained religious texts in Ugaritic and in Hurrian.

The city blocks, themselves of varied dimensions, are divided into living units (houses) closely linked with one another and imbricated, so that not one of them alone constitutes an autonomous architectural unit. That is why the interior partitions have changed over the course of the history of each block, according to inheritances and sales: it was sufficient to pierce a hole or board up a doorway to modify the size or the orientation of a house.

The construction used largely stone (cut stone for the lower portions in the most beautiful houses, and rubble stone everywhere else), wood (for timber framing and beams), unbaked brick (attested in recent excavations), and mud-daubed reeds (for the ceilings and terraces). The plans of the houses are variable, but one notes in many cases a very functional partition of space, visible in the ground plan: access to the street is from a vestibule whence the interior traffic patterns branch out, horizontally by the doorways and vertically by a staircase, the first flight of which is of stone. One area is reserved for domestic activities, recognizable from culinary utensils (stone, ceramic, bone), another perhaps for the treatment of textiles, and another area for storage, with jars and sunken silos. The living quarters on the next floor up must be reconstructed. Fairly frequently, a separate area, with its own entrance but linked to the rest of the house, housed a family tomb. These private homes abutted industrial establishments, whether for agricultural production (oil pressing, for example) or jewelry or figurine workshops.

The population of the city of Ugarit is difficult to compute. For the latest phase of its history, historians have tried to extrapolate from the texts and from the surface area of the houses and their presumed density of inhabitants. A number of 6,000 to 8,000 inhabitants for the 13th-century city has been given, and about 25,000 inhabitants for the entire kingdom, but these are only estimates. The archaeological indications lead one to believe, in any case, that the population of the city increased during the 13th century; the increase in population density agrees with what can be inferred from the texts.

**E. Material Culture**

Life appears to have been very rich and refined at Ugarit, with a high development of certain techniques and an interest in improvements that make life more comfortable in an urban setting within a very restricted space.

**1. Daily Life.** The architectural remains show the existence of improvements that were sometimes very elaborate, facilitating the conduct of daily life. This is the case, for example, with everything having to do with water, for the royal area especially, as well as more modestly for the life of ordinary inhabitants (wells, aqueducts, reservoirs in stone vessels, and drainage by a monumental sewer for the palace quarter; cesspools found mainly in houses and streets in the rest of the city). By the same token, certain industrial buildings required complex installations, such as the oil presses with a counterweight press (of which there are several examples on the tell). This is only a small proportion of such establishments, for many of the industrial complexes, using only portable equipment made out of perishable material (wood in particular), left no archaeological trace.

Nonetheless, these activities, familial or larger, used instruments in stone, ceramic, carved bone, metal, etc., of which some have come down to us. Household utensils are represented by numerous stone mortars and pestles used to grind cereal; sickle blades of carved flint used to cut wheat or the reeds for roofs; fish hooks, knives, axes, and adzes; toiletries in bronze (razors, small tweezers, pins); everything that concerns textile production (a weaver's weight, spindles and spindle holders, sewing needles); and an abundance of utilitarian dishes, made locally for the most part, or more delicate pieces, imported from Mycenean Greece and from Cyprus. A great number of objects attest to the technical competence of certain Ugarit artisans whose works show highly developed technique and artistic research: glyptics on stone, for example, or better yet, ivory or metalwork and ceramics.

**2. Cultural Life.** In the archaeological record, artistic concerns appear above all in the plastic arts. Sculpture, however, is poorly represented, by only a few steles, and by what is called the "minor arts": the making of figurines or containers decorated in metal (bronze and gold); engraving and sculpture on ivory. But in these techniques the Ugarit artists produced objects that numbered among the most accomplished in the Levant during the LB period. To cite only the most famous, one should recall the headboards in sculpted ivory from the royal palace, or the golden cup and plate from the Temple of Baal. In all these

cases, these are not productions for an ordinary clientele; the artists worked for kings and gods. However, the rich also possessed luxurious objects decorated with art.

Concerning artistic activities of a more abstract nature, literature and music, also closely linked to religious preoccupations, written testimony given by the tablets is more explicit in content. But the material remains also bring their contribution: thus, musical instruments discovered in the dig (like bronze cymbals, or castanets, or even an ivory horn) evoke ceremonies in the rituals or mythic stories. As to literature—ignoring the medium of modeled fired clay (the tablet), which is itself an archaeological object, as well as the stylus of bone which allowed one to impress the cuneiform signs—it relied on the teaching of writing, of which we have evidence. A building has not been located which can be designated as a school, but the presence of several alphabet primers, lexicographic documents, and students' copies in several places in the city prove that Ugaritians learned to write, and that they were familiar with technical vocabulary and foreign languages according to very precise pedagogical techniques. But here again it was without doubt only a fraction of the population who formed the professional category of scribes.

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## *TEXTS AND LITERATURE*

"Literature" in the title of this section is to be understood in the broadest sense as "written document" and "Ugaritic" in the broad sense as "deriving from the ancient city-state of Ugarit." The purpose of this overview is, therefore, to describe briefly the documents unearthed at Ras Shamra that date from the period ca. 1400 B.C. (the only period, to date, which has furnished documents in number). The main emphasis will, nevertheless, be on the texts written in the Ugaritic script and language. (Since the Ugaritic language is written only in Ugaritic script, "Ugaritic" will henceforth be used to refer to both the script and the language.)

Ancient Ugarit was a cosmopolitan center and its scribes were well versed in both the local West Semitic language today called "Ugaritic" (ancient name unknown) and in Akkadian, the *lingua franca* of the late 2d millennium throughout the Near East. The extent of the scribes' erudition in Mesopotamian learning is becoming clearer as hundreds of Sumero-Akkadian lexical and literary texts, discovered

primarily during the 20th–22d campaigns (1956–58), are published. In addition to these principal languages, texts also exist in Hurrian (both in the Ugaritic script and in the Sumero-Akkadian syllabic script), Egyptian, Hittite (syllabic and hieroglyphic), and in a largely undeciphered script known as "Cypro-Minoan." From later periods, there is the odd Phoenician text, as well as Greek, Roman, and Arabic coins.

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A. Religious Texts
    1. Mythological Texts
        a. Baal-Anat Cycle
        b. Story of Kirta
        c. Story of Aqhat
        d. Minor Texts and Fragments
    2. Ritual Texts
B. Epistolary Texts
    1. Formulae
    2. Royal Letters
    3. Non-Royal Letters
C. Administrative Texts
    1. Lists
    2. Official Acts and Commercial Documents

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**A. Religious Texts**

Virtually all overtly religious texts are in Ugaritic and reflect West Semitic religious concepts. The few (Sumero-)Akkadian literary texts published to date belong for the most part to the category of wisdom literature, with the admixture of human and divine elements characteristic of that genre, and they tend to repeat or at least resemble known Mesopotamian texts. The Hurrian religious texts are primarily ritual in nature and reflect closely the standard Ugaritic cult. The Ugaritic texts fall into two broad categories: myths and cultic texts, the former in poetry and the latter in prose. These major categories can again be subdivided.

Some of the myths are long literary productions that deal only with deities, others are of similar length but tell of relationships between heroes and divinities, while a third category consists of various shorter poetic texts which deal primarily with divinities but without a clear attachment to any of the major myths. Because the texts from this third category are written on single tablets, usually damaged, it is often difficult to decide the precise literary type and the *raison d'être* of a given text.

The cultic texts also belong to several sub-categories: (1) rituals, which relate the events of a cultic cycle, the sacrifices, the offerings, the processions; (2) deity lists; (3) divinatory texts of various kinds.

**1. Mythological Texts.** We do not attempt to attach separate terms to each of the Ugaritic literary types because the Ugaritic types do not fully correspond, be it by subject-matter or by form, to the Homeric or Germanic types which have given rise to such terms as "epic," "legend," or "saga." Since all of the texts grouped under this heading include a divine element, we use "myth" in the broad sense of "a literary production which deals with the acts of the gods, with or without an explicit human element." The phrase "literary production" is important here, for in all of these texts one may perceive a conscious attempt to produce a literarily refined work—this literary intention is manifest in the poetic form of these works. It is indubitable that in many cases, perhaps most, the specifically "literary" form has a long prehistory of oral transmission and elaboration; it is thus the artistic (or "belle-lettristic") aspect of these works that we intend to convey by the term "literary production" (and not primarily the fact that they are written down: the writing down was probably a relatively minor part—however important it may be in practical terms for the survival of the myth to our day—of the "literary production").

**a. Baal-Anat Cycle.** The precise relationship of the tablets commonly known as the *Baal-Anat Cycle* (*CTA* 1–6 = *KTU* 1.1–6) is uncertain and the object of much debate. The common title is a fair one,

however, for wherever the text is well enough preserved to permit comprehension, it is clear that the main protagonists are Baal, god of the storm and hence of agricultural fertility, and Anat, Baal's wife-sister, perpetual "young girl" (*btlt* ≅ Heb *bĕtūlâ*), and goddess of both love and war. In these texts El is a father-figure, head of the pantheon, and attended by his wife Asherah, but these two ancient deities do not initiate action and are not the primary focus of any of the principal narratives. It is rather Baal who is the focus: he defeats his enemy *Yammu* ("Sea"), he requests and receives a palace like the other gods but is shortly thereafter himself defeated by *Môtu* ("death"), but is in the end resurrected and serves again to bring rain and plenty upon the earth.

The principal literary question regarding the Baal-Anat texts is whether they form a true cycle or simply a collection of somewhat disparate stories. The only basis of a truly cyclical interpretation yet proposed is the seasonal one (de Moor 1971), where the trials and victory of the weather could be directly related to the cycle of the seasons. Coupled with this seasonal interpretation has often been the assumption that the myths reflect a ritual cycle tied in with the seasonal cycle. A unitary interpretation, but not necessarily a cyclical one, would be to see in these texts a glorification of the young deity Baal (comparable to the glorification of Marduk in certain Mesopotamian texts): in such a view the ultimate victory of Baal could only be obtained by the defeat of the various enemies which appear in the poems (Sea, River, Death, Leviathan, etc.) and his own defeat by Death would be seen as an episode rather than as a repeating occurrence.

**b. Story of Kirta.** The *story of Kirta* (written *KRT* in Ugaritic; vocalization uncertain) is of an entirely different kind (*CTA* 14–16, = *KTU* 1.14–16). In it the clearly human though legendary royal figure Kirta struggles with the dual problem—ironically inseparable—of perpetuating his "house," i.e., his progency and hence his dynasty, while preserving his own existence (against divine retribution for sin) and maintaining his own hold on the throne (against an ambitious son). The very beginning of the first tablet is lost but soon thereafter one learns that Kirta has lost seven wives, one after the other.

*CTA* 14: (10) Kirta's household has been destroyed,
(11) Kirta's place has been removed;
(12) His rightful wife [the first] he cannot find,
(13) His proper spouse;
(14) A [second] wife he marries but she disappears,
(15) The mother's offspring who was his;
(16) A third dies in childbirth;
(17) A fourth by illness;
(18) A fifth Rashap (19) gathers in;
A sixth the lads (20) of Sea;
The seventh of them (21) falls by the sword.
(22) Kirta sees his household destroyed,
(23) His "seat" completely removed.

Saddened by the sight, Kirta weeps and falls asleep. El appears to him in a dream and enjoins him to seek a wife in the far-off city of *ʾudm*. Kirta undertakes the expedition and on his way vows to Asherah that if successful he will give twice his bride's weight in silver, even thrice her weight in gold, to the goddess. The mission is successful, the new bride produces children, but Kirta neglects his vow and is punished by a mortal illness. El contrives to heal him (the text is damaged and has preserved no reference to a rite of penitence) but on recovering his health Kirta is faced with an attempt by his son *yṣb* to take the throne. The final tablet preserved ends with Kirta's curse on his ambitious son. It is certain that this is not the end of the story, however, for the tablet is intact and the text stops in the middle of a sentence.

The meaning of this story for the Ugaritians is uncertain, but because it was written by one of the leading scribes under one of the kings named Niqmaddu (*CTA* 16 VI 59 = *KTU* 1.16: 59, to be compared with *CTA* 6 VI 53–57 = *KTU* 1.6 VI 54–58), one may assume that Kirta's dynastic problems eventually received a solution that was meaningful to the kings of Ugarit, whose own dynasty, according to their

own understanding (see RS 24.257 = *KTU* 1.113; Pardee 1988, chap. 5), went back at least to the early 2d millennium.

**c. Story of Aqhat.** The *story of Aqhat* (*CTA* 17–19 = *KTU* 1.17–19) is another long narrative containing human and divine elements. Here the royal element is largely absent, though the problem of obtaining progeny is as important as it was in the Kirta story. The poem as preserved opens in medias res with Daniel requesting of El a son and receiving a favorable answer. The son, Aqhat, becomes a hunter whose bow, a fine composite bow produced by the craftsman-deity Kutharu, is coveted by the goddess Anat. When Aqhat refuses to give up the bow, Anat has him killed. Aqhat's father recovers the body for burial and the hero's sister undertakes to wreak vengeance on Anat's hired assassin. Here the third tablet ends, again, apparently, before the end of the story. Three other fragments (*CTA* 20–22 = *KTU* 1.20–22) apparently deal with the same story, for Daniel is mentioned by name in them, but they are so fragmentary and the subject-matter is so different, that their attachment to the main tablets is not certain.

Though apparently copied by the same scribe as the Kirta text (see *CTA* 17 VI 56 = *KTU* 1.17 VI 56), royal dynastic concerns are much less evident here and the retention of the name Dan (i)el as an ancient wisdom figure in the book of Ezekiel (28:3) makes the identification of the work as a didactic one tempting. The only element in the text which may reasonably be said to belong to the category of wisdom sayings, however, is the list of "Duties of a Son," repeated four times in *CTA* 17 (= *KTU* 1.17):

I (27) Who sets up the stela of his ancestor-god,
In the sanctuary (28) of the sun-disk of his clan;
Who causes to rise from the earth his incense,
(29) From the dust the perfume of his place;
Who attacks (30) those who spurn him ("him" = his father)
Drives out those who oppress him;
(31) Who takes his hand when he is in his cups,
Bears him up (32) when he is drunk with wine;
Who presents his emmer-offering in the temple of Baal,
(32) His gift in the temple of El;
Who rolls his roof on (33) a muddy day,
Washes his harments on a miry day.

Listing is a well-known characteristic of wisdom literature and the list just translated may constitute a link between the Aqhat narrative and a more abstract form of wisdom literature.

**d. Minor Texts and Fragments.** The two best-known texts—because published early on—not belonging to one of the collections of cycles just described are the myths of *The Birth of Shahar and Shalim* (*CTA* 23 = *KTU* 1.23) and of *The Marriage of Nikkal* (*CTA* 24 = *KTU* 1.24). The first text belongs to the category of short mythological texts alluded to above because of its brevity, its lack of direct links with the larger mythological texts, and because it contains non-mythological elements, in this case instructions for a ritual. It has particularly captured the attention of specialists of West Semitic religion in part because El is the principal protagonist but not least because it contains some of the more lurid passages of a literature which is not especially graphic in sexual matters. *The Marriage of Nikkal* is stated explicitly to be a song (it begins *ʾašr* "I sing"). It contains a myth recounting the marriage of the West Semitic lunar god Yariḫu with the Mesopotamian lunar goddess Nikkal.

From a series of individual texts and fragments published sporadically since the 1930's it has become clear that we know only the tip of the Ugaritic mythopoeic iceberg and that the range of literary types contained therein was surely broader than we might believe on the basis of the major mythological texts. Only a sampling can be indicated here:

1) *CTA* 10–12 (= *KTU* 1.10–12): three texts dealing with Baal but outside the context of the Baal-Anat cycle cited above.
2) RS 15.134 = *PRU* II 1 = *KTU* 1.82: a long and relatively complete text that appears to be primarily mythological but of which the meaning is disputed.

3) RS 19.039 = *PRU* V 1 = *KTU* 1.92: another primarily mythological text, but rather badly broken, in which the goddess Athtart, not a leading figure in the standard literature, plays a major role.
4) RS 24.258 = *Ugaritica* V 1 = *KTU* 1.114 begins with a mythological narrative of the drunkenness of El and ends with a medical prescription in prose for the relief of hangover.
5) RS 24.244 = *Ugaritica* V 7 = *KTU* 1.100 contains a mythological and poetic account of how a mare-goddess is relieved by the god Horon of the threat posed by venomous serpents.
6) RS 24.252 = *Ugaritica* V 2 = *KTU* 1.108 recounts in poetic form an invitation to *Rapi'u,* "king of Eternity" (probably a title for *Milku,* a god of the underworld) to participate in a drinking feast with other deities; after a long lacuna the text ends with a blessing, probably intended for the king of Ugarit, to be effected by the intermediary of the Rephaim, the shades of former kings.

Alongside these documents which are primarily mythological and poetic in form, one can mention a few documents which are even more mixed in type:

1) Inserted at the end of the prose ritual text RS 24.266 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 31–39 = *KTU* 1.119 is a poetic prayer enclosed within instructions for when it is to be offered:

(26) When the strong one attacks your gates,
The warrior (27) your walls,
You shall lift your eyes to Baal;
(28) "O Baal, cast the strong one from our gates,
(29) The warrior from our walls.
A bull, (30) O Baal, we sanctify,
A vow, O Baal, (31) we fulfull;
A [first]-born (or: a [ra]m), O Baal, we sanctify,
(32) A food-offering, O Baal, we fulfill,
A drink-offering, O Baal, we make;
(33) We go up to the sanctuary of Baal,
We take the path to the temple of Baal"
(34) Baal will hear your prayer,
(35) He will cast the strong one from your gates,
The warrior (36) from your walls.

2) RS 24.257 = *Ugaritica* V 5 = *KTU* 1.113: On the recto is a text divided into short paragraphs but too badly broken to permit one to ascertain whether the form is poetic. On the verso is a list of the kings of Ugarit back to the founding of the dynasty more than half a millennium earlier. Many have seen in the joining of the texts on the same tablet evidence for a celebration in honor of the deceased members of the dynasty.
3) RS 24.272 = *Ugaritica* V 6 = *KTU* 1.124 appears to be a prose text but one that recounts a mythological consultation of the hero-deity *Ditanu* in order to obtain the healing of a sick child. After the description of the consultation come two oracles pronounced by *Ditanu,* both of which appear to contain quasi-naturalistic devices (placement of spices for the cleansing of the house) for the recovery of a sick person.
4) RS 34.126 = *Syria* 59 (1982) 121–28 = *KTU* 1.161 bears a text of mixed characteristics: The form is poetic, but it appears to be primarily ritualistic. At the death of a king, the deceased ancestors are invoked, sacrifices are offered, and a blessing is pronounced on the house of the new king. In this text, the poetic form is very likely owing to the mythological nature of the list of ancestors (only the two kings that immediately preceded the deceased king are well-known figures; the rest are apparently of great antiquity for their names are virtually unknown and they are called "the Rephaim of the earth" and "the ancient Rephaim").

**2. Ritual Texts.** More than one hundred ritual texts have been found at Ras Shamra, most of them in Ugaritic, some in the Hurrian language, written in both the syllabic script and in the alphabetic script (*Ugaritica* V, pp. 447–544), none in Akkadian.

The Ugaritic ritual texts are expressed with an exasperating concision: an animal or another item is mentioned in conjunction with a divine name and often in conjunction with a designation for the type of offering in which the object is classified, e.g., *šrp* "burnt offering," *šlmm* "peace offering." Unfortunately, the attribution to a deity is not always indicated by means of a preposition and the lack of vocalization prevents us from perceiving a possible attribution expressed by a case-ending. There are occasional references to preparations or to processions, e.g., RS 24.291 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 41–44 = *KTU* 1.132: 1–3 "On the 19th (day of an unnamed month) one makes the bed of (the deity) Pidray with the cover(s) of *mlk* ('the king' or the deity 'Milku'?)"; RS 19.015 = *PRU* 4 = *KTU* 1.91: 10–11 "When Athtart-*šd* enters the royal palace, when the Rashap-deities enter the royal palace …" The texts are often divided into sections by horizontal lines drawn across the tablet, by references to times (e.g., *lll* "at night"), or by numbers indicating the days of the month. Such references are far too infrequent, however, to permit the reconstruction of a cultic cycle. Indeed, it is very possible that the few texts that have come down to us were prepared in or for several different sanctuaries and that they represent, therefore, a multiplicity of cults and, perhaps, of cultic cycles. If such is the case, we are far indeed from being able to reconstruct a cultic cycle.

The exasperating concision of these texts has resulted in some rather basic questions still being undecided. Were these ritual texts meant to be "descriptive" or "prescriptive" (Levine 1963)? If they were prescriptive, why the multiplicity of forms of the cult and the apparent lack of serialization (i.e., there is not a "Book of Leviticus" from Ras Shamra)? If they were descriptive, why are many of the verbs expressed in the "imperfect," the verbal form which in prose is normally reserved for the description of non-completed acts? Our own preference is to see these imperfects at the very least as denotations of the habitual and in the apparent multiplicity of cult forms a reflection of multiple cult centers.

There are also some uncertainties as to the meaning of basic formulae: what precisely does *brr* mean in the formula *yrtḥṣ mlk brr* "the king washes himself *brr*" or *ḫl* in the phrase *ʿrb špš wḫl mlk* "at the setting of the sun, the king is *ḫl*"?

**a. Expiatory Ritual.** A very special ritual, one that was not limited to a specific sanctuary or cult, was the expiatory ritual RS 1.002 = *CTA* 32 = *KTU* 1.40. Several fragments of duplicates and of similar texts have been discovered since the publication of the original text (+ RS 17.100 = *CTA* Appendix I = *KTU* 1.84; RS 24.270A = *KTU* 1.122; RS 24.652 G, K = *KTU* 1.154)—this relatively large number of exemplars of a particular type of text may be seen as a sign of a broad usage. Though the texts are fragmentary and not perfectly understood, it is clear that the literary type is that of the ritual (the terms *dbḥ* "sacrifice," *ṯ* "offering," *š* "sheep," and *ʿr* "jack" appear), that various types of sin are being dealt with (the terms *ʾap* "anger," *qṣrt npš* "impatience," and *qṭt* "disgusting deed" appear, as well as the verb *ḫṭʾ* "to sin"), and that the inhabitants of Ugarit (*bn/btʾugrt* "son, daughter of Ugarit") and their royal household (*nqmd, ʾaṯṯ* "Niqmaddu, [his?] woman/wife") were involved.

**b. Deity Lists.** We are fortunate in having among the few Ugaritic religious texts three exemplars of a list of divine names, two in Ugaritic (RS 1.017 = *CTA* 29 = *KTU* 1.47; RS 24.264 + *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 1–3 = *KTU* 1.118), one in syllabic script (RS 20.024 = *Ugaritica* V 18). This confluence of texts in two different scripts gives us the identification made by the Ugaritic scribes of Levantine deities with their Mesopotamian counterparts, often better known, and is evidence of at least one partial form of standardization of the Ugaritic pantheon—"partial" because the text contains only thirty-three entries of which six are the repeated word *bʾlm* "a Baal." Furthermore, a ritual text, RS 24.643 = *Ugaritica* V 9 = *KTU* 1.148, contains a list of offerings made to a series of deities of which the names and the order of mention are almost the same as in the divinity lists just described (just three divine names from near the end of the list are missing in the ritual text: *ʾuṯḫt, mlkm,* and *šlm,* nos. 30, 32, and 33 of the lists). We know from the other ritual texts that other deities were worshipped in the Ugaritic cult, for not only are many other divine names mentioned but RS 24.643 is the only ritual to reflect even approximately the known "pantheon" list in its particular order. Moreover, there are other lists of divine names in other orders (e.g., RS 4.474 = *CTA* 30 = *KTU* 1.65; RS 24.246 = *Ugaritica* V 14 = *KTU* 1.102; RS 26.142 = *Ugaritica* V 170, the last in syllabic script). One can only conclude that the three identical lists and RS

24.643 reflect one cult, that of Ṣapon (RS 1.017 is headed *ʾil ṣpn* "the gods of Ṣapon,"while the ritual text bears the heading *dbḥ ṣpn* "sacrifices of Ṣapon"the Ugaritic equivalent of the classical Olympus, and that other cults, perhaps less catholic, would have had their own "pantheon" lists.

The other deity lists just mentioned furnish evidence for such a hypothesis. RS 24.246 = *Ugaritica* V 14 = *KTU* 1.102 contains on the recto a list of divine names (fourteen lines) and on the verso a list of names that resemble personal names but which are generally unattested as such and which all contain a divine name or epithet. The divinities are, of course, mentioned in other ritual texts but we have no evidence, aside from this tablet, that the names which appear on the verso were ever the object of a cult. RS 4.474 = *CTA* 30 = *KTU* 1.65 deals exclusively with the household of El. It begins with a hierarchical list of El's family, also known from the expiation ritual (RS 1.002) mentioned above: "El, the sons of El, the circle of the sons of El, the assembly of the sons of El, Thukamuna-wa-Shunama, El and Athirat." The text continues with a series of attributes of El ("grace of El," "constancy of El," "well-being of El"), two uses of the word *ʾil* (≅ El) as an appellative ("the god *ḫš,"* "the god *ʾadd"*), two forms of Baal ("Baal of Ṣapon"and "Baal of Ugarit"), and ends with a series of prepositional phrases ending in the word El ("by the sword of El," "by the adze of El," etc.). This enigmatic set of associations was certainly connected at least partially with cultic ritual (cf. the partial overlap between this text and RS 1.002).

**c. Extispicy Texts.** Another form of ritual was extispicy, the examination of internal organs from sacrificial animals for the purpose of predicting the outcome of a particular enterprise. From Mesopotamia there are both clay liver models inscribed with a prognosis and long collections of such omens each of which consists of the sign ("If the liver is in such-and-such a form …") followed by the prognosis ("such-and-such will happen"). The excavations at Ras Shamra have given us a small collection of inscribed liver models (some with Ugaritic texts, some only with marks indicating the interpretable features of the liver), one inscribed lung model (several discrete Ugaritic inscriptions), and two collections of omina (one dealing with omens based on abnormal animal fetuses, the other with omens based on abnormal human fetuses).

The liver models with Ugaritic inscriptions are votive rather than ominophorous, e.g., "Sacrifice of Bayyay, son of Sharay, to Athtart who is in Athtart" (RS 24.323 = *Ugaritica* VI, pp. 172–73 = *KTU* 1.142). The reference is to a sacrifice to the goddess Athtart in her particular manifestation in the village of Athtart, probably the village that is known as the "Estate of Athtart" (*gt ʿ ṯtrt*) in the administrative texts.

The lung model (RS 24.277 = *Ugaritica* VI, pp. 165–72 = *KTU* 1.127) bears a series of votive inscriptions ("sacrifice of …," "sheep of …") which are arranged on the three principal planes of the model at various angles to each other and separated by lines incised in the clay. It also contains an ominological statement not dissimilar to the prayer to Baal (RS 24.266) cited above: "If the city is about to be taken, if death attacks the inhabitants, the households of the inhabitants shall take a goat and they shall (thus) see afar (i.e., what will happen)" (lines 29–31).

A striking example of Mesopotamian culture translated into the Ugaritic language is that of the divinatory texts based on abnormal fetuses of animals or humans. The genre was well known in Mesopotamia and is commonly designated by the first words of the omen, *shumma izbu,* "If the abnormal fetus …" The form of the omen is that of the extispicy omens described above: the protasis describes the particular features of the abnormal fetus (e.g., "If the fetus has no tongue …") while the apodosis provides the prognosis (e.g., "… the king will destroy the enemy land"). The genre is represented by two texts from Ras Shamra, one, the better preserved, dealing with abnormal animal births (RS 24.247 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 44–60 = *KTU* 1.103 + 1.145), the other, only a small fragment from the left side of the tablet, dealing with abnormal human births (RS 24.302 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 60–62 = *KTU* 1.140). (For both texts see Pardee 1966.) There is also a very poorly preserved tablet, from the neighboring site of Ras Ibn Hani, of an omen text based on planetary phenomena (RIH 78/14 = *Syria* 57 [1980] 352–53). These texts preserve the structure (a long series of single-sentence omens, each based on a different observed phenomenon), the form (protasis, apodosis), and the terminology (e.g., "king," "land," "enemy," "destroy," "sword," "troops") of the better-known Mesopotamian texts and it is almost certain that the Ugaritic versions were

derived at some point from Mesopotamian models. The exact route by which these literary models reached the Levant is uncertain, however, for no known text of the genre from any source has the same sequence of omens as the Ugaritic exemplars.

**d. Hurrian Religious Texts.** Another aspect of the internationalism of the Ugaritic ritual texts may be seen in the important group of Hurrian religious texts found at Ras Shamra. Because the Hurrian texts are often in rather bad condition and because the Hurrian language is still poorly understood (it is non-Semitic), the Hurrian texts have not as yet made a major contribution to our understanding of Hurro-Ugaritic religion. The ritual texts and the deity lists are similar to the Ugaritic texts already described; in addition, there appear to be prayers or hymns of a length as yet unparalleled in Ugaritic (e.g., RS 15.030+ = *Ugaritica* V, pp. 463–64). The intermixture of the Hurrian and West Semitic aspects of Ugaritic culture is perhaps most clearly visible in the ritual texts, for they furnish several examples of linguistic mixture in a single text. The mix takes all forms: texts entirely in Hurrian (in both alphabetic and syllabic scripts), texts principally in Hurrian but with key phrases in Ugaritic (e.g., RS 24.291 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 41–44 = *KTU* 1.132), texts principally in Ugaritic but with a discrete Hurrian section (e.g., RS 24.643 = *Ugaritica* V 9 = *KTU* 1.148: 13–17), texts with Ugaritic vocabulary but Hurrian morpho-syntax (e.g., RS 24.291 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 41–44 = *KTU* 1.132). The speakers of Hurrian are best known from references in non-Hurrian sources to the state of Mitanni (*floruit* 14th century B.C.); its capital, Washukanni, has never been identified with certainty and the native archives for the Mitannian state are thus still to be excavated. This rather shadowy people was well represented in the Ugaritic population of the 13th century, as we know from proper names. The ritual texts in Hurrian do not differ in any significant way from the Ugaritic ones, consisting primarily of sacrifices to either Semitic or Hurrian deities, with key formulae, especially verbal phrases, often in Ugaritic. There was, therefore, an important degree of symbiosis between these two ethnic elements of Ugaritic society (to the extent that ethnicity was represented by language) and it would appear that the organization of the cult was primarily the Ugaritic (i.e., West Semitic) one, for the operative cult terms were Ugaritic.

**B. Epistolary Texts**

There are approximately eighty letters in the Ugaritic language from Ras Shamra and Ras Ibn Hani and approximately double that number in Akkadian. As is to be expected in a culture where the knowledge and use of writing was still the privilege of a small minority, most of these documents originated from the upper social classes, especially from the court itself.

**1. Formulae.** The Ugaritic epistolary formulae are relatively tightly set, though a good deal of variation is permitted within the standard pattern. In general, the literary convention is that of an oral message, in which the written tablet would have served as an *aide-memoire* (e.g., RS 18.40 = *PRU* V 63 = *KTU* 2.40: 1–4: "To the king my lord say: Message of Thapiṭba‹lu your servant"). The temporal perspective is that of the writer, and the so-called epistolary perfect is used for acts associated with the writing of the letter (e.g., RS 16.265 = *PRU* II 19 = *KTU* 5.9: 7–8: *›iršt ›aršt l›aḫy lr‹y* "A request I make [lit. "I have requested"] to my brother, my friend") (Pardee and Whiting 1987). In social situations involving a superior and an inferior, the former is usually named first (e.g., RS 18.113A = *PRU* V 8 = *KTU* 2.42: 1–3: "To the king, [my lo]rd, say: Message of the centurion, your servant"). A set of greetings may intervene between the address and the body of the letter, especially if the letter was written to a family member and/or to a social superior (RS 11.872 = *CTA* 50 = *KTU* 2.13: 1–8: "To the queen, my mother, say: Message of the king, your son: May the gods guard you and keep you well"). A request for a response to the present letter can either follow the greetings or come at the end of the letter (e.g., RS 15.008 = *PRU* II 15 = *KTU* 2.16: 16–20: "And may my mother return word to me of every good thing").

A typology of Ugaritic letters such as those proposed for Hebrew and Aramaic letters by P.-E. Dion has not yet been devised (see LETTERS [ARAMAIC]). The following discussion is organized by social status of correspondents; this status was reflected in both formulary and content.

**2. Royal Letters.** There are few Ugaritic letters in which a reigning sovereign is mentioned by name; usually only titles are used, even in international correspondence. There are a few such cases, however, where the king is addressed by name: e.g., "Message of the Sun [the king of Hatti] to Ammurapi: Say:

…" (RS 18.038 = *PRU* V 60 = *KTU* 2.39: 1–2); "[Messa]ge of Puduḫepa, quee[n of Hatti: To] Niqmaddu say: …" (RS 17.435+ = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 121–28 = *KTU* 2.36: 1–2). When the king of Tyre wrote to the king of Ugarit, he referred to the addressee only as "the king of Ugarit, my brother" (RS 18.031 = *PRU* V 59 = *KTU* 2.38: 1–34). Thus the personal name of the king of Ugarit is mentioned by his Hittite overlords while a king of equal rank uses only titles. Judging from the more voluminous Akkadian correspondence, the pattern observable in these three letters may be described as a general tendency, viz., the king of Hatti addresses the king of Ugarit by name, the local rulers do not. Thus in RS 17.132 = *PRU* IV, pp. 35–37, we find "Thus (says) the Sun, the Great King: To Niqmaddu say: …," while the king of the neighboring state of Amurru uses a formula without the name: "Thus (says) the king of Amurru: To the king of Ugarit, my son, say: …" (RS 17.152 = *PRU* IV, p. 214). That the use of the addressee's name was not simply a question of the superior-to-inferior relationship is shown by another letter from the king of a neighboring country to the king of Ugarit in which the social positions of the last letter cited are reversed but the name of the king of Ugarit is not mentioned: "To the king of Ugarit, my father, say: Thus says Ariteshub, the king of Ushnatu, your son: …" (RS 17.143 = *PRU* IV, p. 217). As many scholars have pointed out, the social relationship of the correspondents is reflected primarily in the order of mention of the two names. The use of the royal name either reflects Hittite practice or else implies a degree of formality not in use between fellow Levantine kings. Unfortunately, we do not have a letter from the king of Egypt to serve as a check, but there are two Ugaritic versions of letters from kings of Ugarit to Egyptian kings (RIH 78/3 + 30 = *Syria* 57 [1980] 356–58; RS 34.356 = *Sem* 32 [1982] 10–12) and, though damaged at the crucial spots, it is unlikely in both cases that the addressee's name was mentioned. The first of these letters is especially remarkable in that it provides for the first time in Ugaritic a series of greetings similar to those that characterize the Amarna letters written in Akkadian from the kings of Palestine and Syria to the king of Egypt in the early fourteenth century. The first twelve lines of RIH 78/3 + 30, the entirety of the recto as the tablet is preserved, are taken up by these greetings: "[To the Sun,] the great king, the king of Egypt, [the goo]d [king,] the just king, [the king of ki]ngs, the lord of all the land [of Egyp]t, say: Message of [Ammistam]ru, your servant: At the feet of [my lord] I [fall.] With my lord may it be well; [may it be well?] with your personnel, with your land, [with your horses,] with your chariots, [with your X, with all that belongs] to the Sun, the great [ki]ng, the king of Egyp[t, the good king,] the ri[ghteous king, the king of Egypt …]."

There are several letters from various persons associated with the royal throne. The most important of these personages is perhaps Talmiyanu, who writes to the queen of Ugarit as his mother, but is not known ever to have taken the throne of Ugarit—at least under the name Talmiyanu. The clearest indication of Talmiyanu's blood relationship to the throne is in RS 8.315 = *CTA* 51 = *KTU* 2.11:1–4: "To my mother, our lady, say: Message of Talmiyanu and of Aḫatumilki, your servants." In these formulas two different pronominal suffixes are used (*ʾum-y* "my mother," and *ʾadt-ny* "our lady") to distinguish the blood relationship of Talmiyanu from the simple inferior relationship of Aḫatumilki (if "mother" had been simply a title of respect, the distinction need not have been made).

The content of the royal letters is similar to that of the hundreds of known Akkadian letters from the region: usually matters of tribute and trade, duties to the "Great Kings" of Hatti and Egypt and responsibilities to the fellow kings of the region. Most of this correspondence is in Akkadian, with Ugaritic usually reserved for personal letters between members of the royal family. It is generally believed that the few Ugaritic letters of international character are translations of Akkadian originals: the two out-going letters to Egypt mentioned above must either be drafts or translations for archival purposes. One such Ugarit version, the letter from Puduḫepa referred to above, deals primarily with matters of tribute (*ʾargmny*) and trade (*qnʾum, pḥm* "purple- and red-dyed textiles") (RS 17.434+ = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 121–34 = Pardee 1983–84: 6, 29–31). On the other hand, the letter (also cited above) from an unnamed Hittite king to Ammurapi, the last known king of Ugarit, strikes a more ominous note: "As regards the letter which you sent (to me) the Sun concerning food, the Sun (himself) is perishing" (RS 18.038 = *PRU* V 60 = *KTU* 2.39). The famine that struck Hatti near the end of her existence (ca. 1200

B.C.) has been well documented and RS 18.038 is apparently a further witness to that situation (Astour 1965).

There were also not only formal statements of brotherhood, but acts of brotherly kindness are recorded as well. In the body of the letter from the king of Tyre to the king of Ugarit (address to "my brother" cited above), one finds the following account: "Your boats, that you had sent to Egypt, were foundering (lit. 'dead') off Tyre. They were caught in a bad storm. But the salvage-master took all the grain in the baskets (i.e., the cargo of grain) then I in turn took from the salvage-master all the grain, all the people (lit. 'every soul'), and all the good, and I returned (it all) to them. Your boats are in Acco, stripped (i.e., the sails were destroyed in the storm). My brother should worry about nothing!" (RS 18.31 = *PRU* V 59 = *KTU* 2.38: 10–27).

Finally, in a letter of which the address is broken but which can be ascribed to the royal correspondence because of the content and because the prostration and greeting formulas are addressed "to my mother," appears an as yet enigmatic reference to the anointment of an Amurrite princess: "Yabninu has gone to the king of Amurru and has taken (with him) one hundred (shekels of) gold as well as rugs for the king of Amurru. He has also taken oil in his horn and has poured it on the head of the daughter of the king of Amurru […]" (RS 34.124 = *KTU* 2.72). It is likely that there is a connection between this text and the so-called case of the Great Lady, which involved the repudication by Ammistamru, king of Ugarit, of an Amurrite wife (*PRU* IV, pp. 125–48; Fisher 1971), but the meaning of the ceremony (consecration, purification?) and its precise historical context (marriage, remarriage, execution?) remain unclear. Anointment is well known from a wide selection of Levantine sources and was practiced in more than one circumstance; there are especially close verbal parallels in biblical Hebrew (Pardee 1977: 14–19).

**3. Non-Royal Letters.** One may assume, for the reason stated in the introduction to the epistolary documents, that most correspondence occurred between highly placed members of Ugaritic society. Occasionally titles are used which show such to have been the case: "Head Shepherd" (RS 1–5.[001] = *CTA* 59 = *KTU* 2.2: 1), "Chief of the priests" (RS 1.18 = *CTA* 55 = *KTU* 2.4: 1). In other letters, access to a royal personage is mentioned: "How is it with the letter-tablet that I sent to Thariyelli [the queen mother]? What has she said?" (UH 138 = KTU 2.14 = Bordreuil 1982: 6–9); "GNRYN to Milkuyatan: Mention me favorably to the king" (RS 15.007 = *PRU* II 20 = *KTU* 2.15: 1–3).

There is a larger number of letters in Akkadian in which titles are used and from these one can gain a clearer perspective on the workings of the royal bureaucracy, e.g., RS 11.730 = *PRU* III, pp. 12–13: "Thus (says) the king of the land of Birutu: To the Governor of the land of Ugarit, my son, say: May it be well with you. May the gods keep you well. My son, I herewith send my messenger in order that he carry out my wishes in your land. You, my son, be on the lookout for his welfare [lit. 'put your eyes good on him']"; RS 20.239 = *Ugaritica* V 52: "Thus (says) Mada›e: to the Governor [of Ugarit] say: May it be well with you. May the gods keep you. As for my cattle which the men of Rakba stole, since you said '[The king] is leaving [Ugarit,] so remit the case of your cattle to me and let's bring it to a conclusion', so now let's bring the case to a conclusion and get my cattle back. But, if they don't give me back my cattle, the elders of Rakba, Babiyanu son of Yadudanu, Abdu along with his son and Addunu his son-in-law, and the millurion, must all come and enter the temple (i.e., swear an oath); (then only) will they be absolved."

In other cases, all that can be gleaned from the letter and the prosopography of the correspondents is the relative relationship of the correspondents: e.g., RS 29.93 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 75–78 = *KTU* 2.70: "To Yadurma, our master, say: Message of Pinḥathu and of Yarimhaddu, your servants. Greetings to our master. May the gods guard you and keep you well. At the feet of our master twice seven times we fall from afar. Here Bin-Ayyana is continually making requests to your maid-servant [i.e., one of the writers, probably Yarimhaddu]. So send a message to him and refuse him (these requests). As for me, I have taken on a workman and repaired the house. So why has Bin-Ayyana come back and taken two shekels of silver from your maid-servant? Now as concerns your two servants [i.e., the two writers], there with you (is) everything, so give them food, for thus the household of your (two) servants is continually requesting. And when your servant [i.e., the other writer, Pinḥathu] arrives to greet you, then he will have made for

my lord a *ḫupnu-garment*, (paid for) with his own wherewithal" (Pardee 1979–80: 23–35; Pardee 1981–82: 260, n. 9; Pardee 1987: 210–11).

Some letters have all the flavor of a son writing home: "Uzanu, son of Bayyay [to …]; may Baal inquire after your health. As for me, your son, I am alive (and well). At the orders of the Sun I am staying in the house of TRTN. The woman (of the house) is not furnishing my food nor is she furnishing my wine" (RS 17.117 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 392–98 = *KTU* 5.11 = Pardee 1982). The statement that the "Sun" (king of Hatti or, conceivably, of Egypt) is concerning himself with the welfare of the writer indicates that our hero is in the foreign capital with the highest possible recommendations. Differences in formulae and orthography show that this letter and a companion piece (RS 17.63 = *Ugaritica* VII, pp. 389–92 = *KTU* 5.10 = Pardee 1982) were in all probability written in that city by a scribe whose dialect and literary traditions differed from those we know from the texts written within the kingdom of Ugarit.

One Ugaritic letter permits a glimpse into the training of a scribe. RS 16.265 = *PRU* II 19 = *KTU* 5.9 is a practice tablet which begins with a model letter, then degenerates into simple writing exercises. The model letter is highly interesting, for in it we find something that is missing in most of our documents from the kingdom of Ugarit: humor. The first dose of humor is rather subtle, for it consists of an accumulation of blessings that is unparalleled in precisely this form in any genuine Ugaritic letter. The second dose is much broader, however, for it reflects the age-old (!) identification of students with wine: the apprentice scribe lists various forms of the verb "to give" then, after this build-up, he states the object of the request, a cup of wine: "Message of Ithatilli to Whomever: May the gods guard you, may they keep you well, may they strengthen you for one thousand days, for ten thousand years, throughout the ages of time. A request I would make of my brother, of my friend: May he give (= grant) it to his brother, to his friend (his) friend for all time. May you give; give; give indeed; will you not give?; give a cup of wine that I might drink it."

**C. Administrative Texts**

Altogether approximately 900 non-literary texts written in alphabetic cuneiform have been discovered. This number is far larger than that of literary texts. In syllabic cuneiform this situation is reversed: virtually all of the approximately 1250 tablets and 600 fragments are non-literary and the very few literary texts that have been found are almost all copies of Mesopotamian works.

Alongside the well-defined and well-attested text types written in alphabetic cuneiform to which the bulk of this section is devoted, there are some categories that are difficult to define precisely because of the scarcity of examples. These peculiar texts are susceptible to serious errors of interpretation because of the lack of similar texts—perhaps yet to be discovered—which would show the standard features of these texts and thereby shed light on their structure and meaning. As an example: on the two sides of a tablet, the only one of this type known to date (RS 18.025 = *PRU* V = *KTU* 4.338), are two texts which may be independent of each other: one is a personnel list, where each name is followed by a number; one the other face is what was originally taken to be the indication of a sum of money deposited for the purpose of guaranteeing a sea-faring ship. Several years after the original publication the proposal was made to see in the text a translation into Ugaritic of an Akkadian original, or, more precisely, a summary of a longer Akkadian text, a rental contract, to which a guarantee has been added, covering several ships:

(10) Five hundred and forty (shekels)
(11) of ship-money, all together,
(12) which were provided as a guarantee for ships
(13) to the king of Byblos;
(14) the king of Byblos also
(15) received fifty (shekels) of silver
(16) for the outfitting of his ships
(17) in *ʿrm*. (This) amount
(18) is their market value. (Pardee, 1975)

On the other hand, personnel lists at Ugarit, though often enigmatic as to their real context and function, are numerous and the text on the recto of this tablet can only be said to fit that broad category: "List of

personnel who have entered the house of the king and who were not inscribed on the list." Then the text continues

(4) *yrmʿl* 3
(5) *ṣry* 2
(6) *ʾirśy* 3
(7) *yʿḏrd* 3
(8) *ʾayaḫ* 2
(9) *bn.ʾaylt* 1

In this case, as in many others, we do not know what the number associated with each personal name designates: amounts received, amounts paid out, or the number of underlings for whom the person named is responsible.

If we accept that the rental/guarantee text just mentioned is only the first of its kind to be discovered at Ugarit, can we also say that the presence on one tablet of a contract and of a list of personal names is itself a feature of local procedure? The appearance of these two types of text, both often quite laconic (contracts and lists), far and away the most frequently attested in Ugaritic and Akkadian, as well as in most other corpora of texts since the invention of writing, may well have been without an intention of association. Nevertheless, it illustrates one of the difficulties that the historian of Ugarit meets with when trying to distinguish among his sources those that originated within the administration and economy of the state as opposed to those that represent private enterprise. How indeed is it possible to decide whether the individuals mentioned on the recto of the tablet have anything to do with the ships mentioned on the verso as having been rented by the king of Byblos to the king of Ugarit? Are they passengers whose names were omitted from the original manifest or "royal" sailors ("… have entered the house of the king") inscribed on a supplementary list? The figures would in these cases designate respectively the fare or the salary. Or are the texts unrelated and heterogeneous, one registering contributions from persons well known at the Ugaritic court or perhaps subsidies paid out to them, the other a document of international administration?

One can say, fortunately, that the great majority of the texts recorded are homogeneous and that the difficulties we meet in endeavoring to interpret them are principally owing to the lacunary state of many of the tablets, or, when they are complete, to the laconic formulation by which they are generally characterized. We will distinguish here between those which can, on the one hand, be grouped under the general heading of "lists" and, on the other, as "official acts" or "business documents." There are examples of each of these two major groups in several of the languages used at Ugarit, but principally in Akkadian and Ugaritic.

**1. Lists. a. Personal Names. (1) Undefined.** The purpose of lists with no defining element largely escapes us, as would a page torn at random from a modern register or extracted from the middle of a file. There are usually twenty or more names and the patronym is usually present but may be missing (e.g., *PRU* II 69). *PRU* V 22 contains about twenty-five names, all beginning with the sign (ʾi), the first example of a list organized by alphabetic principles (compare the list of realia and personal names in *CTA* 112). The *raison d'être* of such texts is enigmatic unless a tablet bears a heading which may be understood as applying to everything that follows.

**(2) Definition by Family Terms.** Generally speaking, the Ugaritians seem to have considered the patronym the most important element to be stated when identifying a person, for it is usually given and may indeed function as the only identifier (*CTA* 105), both masculine (*bn* PN "son of PN") and feminine (*bt* X "daughter of X"). Long lists, such as *CTA* 102, rarely omit the patronym.

There are a few examples of matronymic identification, probably to be explained as owing to the maternal line being the better known (see *PRU* III, p. 180). The rare examples of fratonymy (*CTA* 82 I 5 *ršpʾab ʾaḫ ʾubn; PRU* V 118: 10 *lbw ʾuḫ pdm*) and sororonymy (*PRU* III, p. 85: 4–5 *e-we-en-ni-na aḫi šar-mi-la*) probably designate individuals who have been adopted into brotherhood, such as the cases of Artiteshub adopted by Ilinergal (*PRU* III, p. 75) and Yadduaddu by Lady Inuya (*Ugaritica* V 81).

Elsewhere, some or all of the names in a list are followed by a list of their dependents, such as heirs (*w nḫlh* "and his heir"). The heirs of the heirs may in turn be indicated (*w nḫlhm* "and their heirs"); indeed,

"his heir" and "their heirs" may be indicated one right after the other for no apparent reason (*CTA* 113 II 10, 22; 116: 3). There are also formulae of the type "PN and his companion" (*PRU* V 83: PN *w r*ʿ*h*); "$PN_1$ and his pupil" (*PRU* II 48: PN *w lmdh*); "$PN_1$ + X number of persons belonging to him" (RIH 83/25+ [unpublished] $PN_1$ *tt npš lh*). On these relational terms, see Liverani (1979: 1320–21). Whether the designation of accompaniment be collective (*nḥlh, npš*), plural (*nḥlhm*), or individual (*r*ʿ*h, lmdh*), the names of the persons in question are not indicated. Cases may also be found (RIH 83/17+ [unpublished]) where "household of PN" (*bt* PN) clearly designates families who have received or given the quantities indicated on the tablet.

These lists enrich our knowledge of a very complex local onomastic repertory and the several different alphabetic and syllabic writing systems are an important aid in the reconstruction of the diverse linguistic origins of these names. It may be observed that previously unknown personal names are appearing more and more rarely as new texts come to light and one may conclude that most of the personal names in use at Ugarit during the 14th–13th centuries are now attested—though we cannot be so optimistic about our understanding of the meaning of these names. Considering that the alphabetic writing system was invented in the early 14th century and disappeared with the kingdom of Ugarit in the early 12th century, we may estimate that seven or eight generations passed during the usage of the Ugaritic alphabet. Depending on the method of demographic estimation in use, the number of personal names susceptible of being inscribed in the alphabetic script would be somewhere between 150,000 and 300,000. One may today reasonably entertain the hope that the time is nearing when the administrative documentation from the capital itself and from Ras Ibn Hani and similar dependent towns of the kingdom—virtually all yet to be excavated—will enable us to gain a clearer perception of the socio-geographic distribution of the proper names in use in the kingdom of Ugarit in the period 1380–1180 B.C.

**(3) Definition by Toponyms.** Alongside the lists of personal names in the narrowest sense of the term, those that omit any definition or that are only defined by the patronymic or other familial term, there are texts in which personal names are grouped according to geographical origin. The geographical definition is indicated by the name of the provincial town, which is to be understood as including the territory under its administrative control. Note first cases where geographical definition is added to one of the categories just discussed, e.g., *RIH* 83/5: 19 [unpublished], where the name *grgš* is defined patronymically as "son of *šm*ʿ*nt"* and geographically as "from the town of ʾ*ary"* (cf. *PRU* II 35 B I 21). Documents characterized principally by toponymic definition often bear the heading "list" *(spr)* and the gentilic suffix *-y* is very frequently attached to the geographical term. The list may simply indicate geographical origin (*PRU* II 60 B; *PRU* V 21 *spr* ʾ*ušknym* "list of persons from ʾUshkanu"or a group of persons from the same town who belong to the same profession (*PRU* II 60 A *spr … nskm rqdym* "list … of metal-workers from Riqdu"). But there is also a text in which *rqd* appears in line 1, followed by a list of patronyms, all of which must be Riqdian (*PRU* II 46). The gentilic usually corresponds to a known place name, some of which have been localized, e.g., *gb*ʿ*ly,* modern Gableh in the Gablian plain to the south of Ugarit, or ʾ*ilštm*ʿ, modern Stamo in the same region.

We lack a study of local frequencies of personal names. Such a study would in any case be far from definitive because of the relative rarity of texts linking personal and geographical names. But an example of the sort of linkages that can be proposed is the following: it is plausible that the proper name *ṣdqn* on the seal discovered in 1928 at Minet el-Beida (RS 1.[050] = *KTU* 6.5), chronologically the first attestation of the name in Ugaritic, is to be connected with the patronymic form *bn ṣdqn* which appears in two lists (*PRU* V 16, 17; perhaps also read *ṣdqn* for *ṣdqm,* a Maḫadian mentioned in *PRU* II 41) of citizens of Maḫadu *(m*ʾ*iḫdym),* a port city (cf. *CTA* 84: 1 ʾ*anyt m*ʾ*iḫd[ (ym)]* "ships belonging to Maḫad[ians]") that is almost certainly to be located at Minet el-Beida. Another example: the alphabetic writing of the name ʿ*bd*ʿ*nt* is only attested twice, neither time with a geographical designation, but the syllabic form *Abdi-a-na-tu*$_4$ appears in a text dealing with Arruwa (*Ugaritica* V 27), a city in the southern part of the kingdom of Ugarit (Bordreuil 1984). A king of Siyannu, a southern neighbor of Ugarit, bears the same name (*PRU* IV, p. 76) as does a personage named in a confirmation of property rights (*PRU* III, p. 91) that mentions the towns of Mulku, another southern locality in the kingdom of Ugarit (Bordreuil 1989), and Galba, a

city in Siyannu. One may legitimately propose a connection between this name and the southern regions of Ugarit, especially the Gablian plain. In this very fertile area, close to the Alawite mountains, the source of the many streams that cross the plain, it is no surprise to find a predilection for the goddess Anat. Further research even into the data already at hand would surely lead to great progress in this sort of identification.

**(4) Definition by Occupational Titles.** (a) profession lists without personal names: over thirty professional terms on both sides of a single tablet (*PRU* II 26: e.g., priests, artisans, squires).

(b) a number designating a total of persons who are defined by their profession alone RIH 83/2 [unpublished] contains thirty-three terms designating a profession, generally in the plural, followed by various numbers. The number "one" occurs three times, followed by a professional term in the singular (*mḫṣ* "refiner," *[m]ṣl* "cymbal-player," *kkr* "silo-keeper"). One should assume that the numbers correspond in all cases, as in the Akkadian text *PRU* VI 93, to the number of persons representing various specialties, listed together on this tablet for a reason unstated and undeterminable on the basis of present data. On the other hand, the number 61/2 found in *CTA* 74:17 leads one to analyze this and the other numbers in this text as sums of money or quantities of commodities paid in or out.

(c) personnel identified individually or grouped according to professional categories, as in *PRU* II 32: 1 *spr bldm* "list of replacements" (or "commercial agents"). The logic of these associations sometimes escapes us. For example, the two anonymous "gooseherds" (*ṯn rʿym ʾuzm*) mentioned at the head of the list *PRU* II 140 are followed directly by several "small (shepherds)" *(sġr)* named individually. Occasionally the man in charge of such groups is named: the group of shepherds in *PRU* V 72 is "in the hand of (= under the control of) *ʾiytlm;* in *PRU* II 53 *ʿbdʾil* is said to be "under" *(tḥt)* someone named *ʾilmlk.*

(d) personnel identified individually as being in the service of the palace. Several of the personnel *(bnšm)* mentioned in *PRU* V 14 are said to be under the control of the king, the queen, or the prefect. They may also be categorized according to their place of assignment, such as the "personnel of the king *(bnš mlk)* who are at Tabqa" (*PRU* V 66); other texts (e.g., *PRU* V 76) designate personnel as being in various places. In *PRU* V 71, among "the *mdrġlm* who are not under the control of Talmiyanu" there is a certain *ʾlytlm* who is defined by his patronymic (<*bn*> *śgryn*), then by his place of origin *(ʿary)* and by his place of assignment *(yny).*

(e) persons of the same profession grouped according to their ethnic origin: certain of the personnel *(bnšm)* in *PRU* V 14 are defined by the gentilic suffix as being from Ashdod *(ʿaddy)* or from Maḫadu *(mḫdy).* These names are followed immediately by the patronymic name *bn yyn mdrġl,* whose title does not include the gentilic *-y* and does not express an ethnic origin. Such sequences permit the hypothesis that certain gentilics designated the function itself—a situation similar to that with the "Swiss" guards at the Vatican. How else may one explain *mṣrym,* literally "Egyptians," in RIH 83/2 (unpublished), a list of professions already discussed above, or in *PRU* II 89:7? We may surmise that most of the standard professions practiced at Ugarit are now known (see list in Sznycer 1979: 1423–24), for new lists, such as RIH 83/2, add little to the previously known lists (e.g., *PRU* II 26). One exception is the title "royal guards" (*mrʾu mlk*; compare Akkadian [*mu*]*r-ú šarri* in *PRU* VI 93:2 and the cylinder seal of *rbnkšy mrʾu mlkʾi* in Bordreuil 1986: 292–98). Nonetheless, the precise meaning of some of these terms, such as *ṯnnm, trrm, ʾinšt,* etc., is still unknown (cf. Heltzer 1982, to be used with caution).

**b. Place Names.** As we have seen above, when place names appear along with a personal name they can provide precious data for the provincial demography of the kingdom of Ugarit. The study of Ugaritic toponymy is, however, still in its infancy. We will realize better the importance of geographical names as we examine below those that appear in royal economic and administrative texts and their contribution to the localization of various agricultural and pastoral activities. We will first discuss how they are grouped together and the conventions regulating the sequences into which they fall, irrespective of the *realia* with which they are associated, so as to extract data for localizing the borders of the kingdom as well as for the localization of several provincial towns.

**(1) Districts.** We have known for some time that certain texts with obligations to the throne are organized on a regional basis. The damaged text RIH 83/7+ (Bordreuil et al. 1984: 426; Bordreuil 1984: 1–2) records two conscriptions of individuals for the royal *corvée:* on the verso one finds the total of those sent from ǵr (*tgmr ḫrd ǵr* "total of the *ḫuradu-troops* of Gõuru"and on the recto a list of several towns, known from other texts to belong to " " ʾAraru of the towns" (*PRU* II 173:2–3 *ʾarr d qrht*)—i.e., a district—as well as what each of these towns sent *(lʾik).* The *ḫuradu-assessment* for the month named *ʾittbnm* was given as a list of names (*PRU* V 11 and RS 11.830 = *PRU* III, p. 190). The word *ǵuru* means "mountain" and should, therefore, designate the Alawite range to the E, and Araru may denote the southern region of the kingdom of Ugarit, where the town Arruwa (*ar-ru-wa* in syllabic script: *PRU* IV, pp. 72, 77) was located, in all likelihood the eponymous capital of the district. Leaving aside the territory which was in immediate dependence on the city of Ugarit itself, the third provincial district must consist of the northern portion of the kingdom, the region associated with the Gebel al-ʿAqra, Mount Ṣapānu in Ugaritic, a term that is used in several toponym lists to distinguish the northern town of Ijalba *(ḫlb ṣpn)* from its four homonyms in the kingdom (see Astour 1981).

**(2) Borders.** The existence of administrative districts within the kingdom can today be deduced on the basis of a few laconic allusions gleaned from various texts. But the existence of borders that were relatively precisely fixed and internationally recognized is not only attested but, in one case, that of the northern border with the state of Mukish, known precisely from four of the documents by which the decisions of the Hittite suzerains fixing that border were communicated. These documents (*PRU* IV, pp. 10–17), the initial act by Shupiluliuma addressed to Niqmaddu II and its confirmation by Murshili II to Niqmepa, have, in spite of their damaged state, preserved for us a total of forty-two place names stretching from the Orontes to the Mediterranean. One can follow this list *grosso modo* and situate several of the places with relative precision.

*The northern border.* The first entries on the list, badly damaged, probably designated localities in the Alawite range: a name such as Birsiḫe (no. 4), perhaps near modern Qalaʿat Burze, is followed immediately by "the waters of Ḫundurashirdblquote (no. 5), probably a designation of a nearby marshy area on the Orontes. A second section begins at Magdala (no. 11, = *mgdly* in *PRU* II 81, followed there by *yknʿm* = Yakunami, no. 19 on the frontier list), traditionally identified with the Bdama upland region, on the watershed between the Nahr el-Kebir and the Orontes, near which the modern Lattakia-Aleppo road passes. It is possible to say on the basis of recent research that the northeastern, northern and northwestern borders of the kingdom of Ugarit followed for all intents and purposes the Nahr el-Kebir basin. This means that, heading north from Magdala/Bdama along the ridges by which the Nahr el-Kebir/Orontes watershed is defined, the border would have followed the northern edge of the Urdu basin, at approximately the 800–meter line. From there it angled slightly southwest, towards Ḫalbi (no. 36, = Ḫalba of Ṣapānu, modern Qassab), leaving the mountain of the gods (Mount Ḫazi in Akkadian and Hittite texts, Ṣapānu in Ugaritic, Mount Cassios in Classical texts, modern Gebel al-ʿAqra) in a sacred (?) extraterritorial area. The last section of the border is the best known: it follows approximately the crest of Mount Nanu (no. 36′, = *nnʾu* in Ugaritic script, Strabo's Anti-Cassius, Thronos according to Stadiasmus) as far as Ḫimuli "in the sea" (no. 42, a small island a few kilometers to the north of modern Ras al-Bassit).

*The southern border.* The edict of Shupiluliuma had done little more than confirm the pre-existing border between Mukish and Ugarit (and its path through a mountainous zone where no large towns belonging to either country were located) and could hardly constitute a threat to vested interest. The situation in the heavily populated southern region was quite different. That border was established by Murshili II as part of a political *rapprochement* between Siyannu and Carchemish, and this act put an end to what must have been some form of political unity between Ugarit and Siyannu (*PRU* IV, pp. 17, 71–78). This division was operated on a fertile and well-watered region with many villages. Unfortunately, the precise allotment of these villages between the two kingdoms can no longer be ascertained because so many data are missing. Nonetheless, without denying the possibility of foreign enclaves existing within the borders of Ugarit, some of which may still be represented in modern place names (e.g., Suksi = Tell

Soukas, Tell Siano), one can estimate that the southern border followed the course of the short but abundant Nahr es-Sinn, which originated in a spring situated near the shelf that closes off the southern Gabla plain (Bordreuil 1989).

*Sequences.* The toponyms listed on the complete tablet *PRU* V 73 *(mlk, ›ar, ›ulm, m‹rby, ›uškn)* belong to a single district and may even be situated quite close together, for *PRU* V 33 places them in the district of *›arr*, the southern district of the kingdom, as we have seen. On the other hand, the 39-line tablet *PRU* V 74, also complete, includes these same toponyms but along with other places, some of which belong to the same district, but most of which must be situated in other regions. No single solution allows a division of the tablet according to a regional distribution. One can say, however, that the last five names of the list certainly belong to the northern region, particularly *ykn‹m* (line 37) = Yakunami, no. 19 on the northern frontier list just discussed. *PRU* V 75 is even more confusing, for it mixes personal names with southern place names (*›ulm*, line 3) as well as with northern ones (*ḫlby*, line 25, = no. 36 of the border list); compare *PRU* III, p. 189 (= RS 11.790).

One may hope that some of the many tells in the southern plain will one day reveal their ancient name to a fortunate excavator and thus fill the gaps in our present state of knowledge. But it would be unrealistic to count on such archaeological finds in the northern mountainous areas, for most construction there must have been of wood and will only have left faint traces. Fortunately, the place names by which this border was defined correspond well enough with several modern toponyms to allow for at least approximate localization of some towns and localization by triangulation for others. One must keep in mind, however, that the sequences may vary, depending on differing itineraries taken by the tax collectors and other administrators on whose documents we rely today when we do historical geography.

Thus Mount Nanu, associated in the Hittite texts from Yazilikaya with Mount Ḫazi (= Ṣapānu), which appears in the northern border list as Mount Nanu (No. 36´) and is to be identified with the Anti-Cassius (Bordreuil 1989), permits the identification of Ḫalbi (no. 36) with Ḫalba of Ṣapānu, a town that is probably to be situated on the southern slopes of the Gebel al-‹Aqra, near the springs of modern Qassab, at an altitude of about 900 meters. It is no surprise, then, to find grouped on one list (*PRU* VI 118; see Bordreuil 1989) the names of cattle owners from the villages of Nanu and Ḫalba; nor to learn from another (RIH 84/13; see Bordreuil 1987) that several different persons are ascribed ownership of cattle pastured in Suladu, another border town (no. 40) probably located to the west of Ḫalba and Nanu. If we take these few indications at face value, they imply that the raising of cattle, and probably of sheep and goats as well, was a major industry in the northern mountainous areas.

Along these same lines, the occurrence in several texts of the sequence Shalma (no. 37 on the border list, a name still current in the region), Aḫatu, and Yakunami (no. 19), in Ugaritic script *šlmy, ›aǵt, ykn‹m* (RS 18.479), takes us further to the east, toward the Urdu basin where the waters from several springs on the Gebel al-‹Aqra and the Gebel Kusseir flow into the Nahr el-Kebir. Aḫatu/*›aǵt* is certainly to be situated there. The attribution of several containers of flour "for the life of the weavers" of *›aǵt* (RS 86/2237) allow the conclusion that the shearing of the sheep raised locally, the washing of the wool (facilitated by the abundant sources of water), the spinning, and even the weaving of cloth, could be carried out locally. Without the most recent data, it would have been difficult to imagine such decentralization of the trades, however rational it may now appear." Similarly, is the "estate of the Mulukians" (*CTA* 74: 5) not to be linked to the fertility of the Gabla plain, where the management of irrigation must have contributed, as it did elsewhere, to the creation of municipal institutions?

Finally, one must be aware of the possibility of homonymy in the place names of the kingdom of Ugarit. Though we cannot yet give a complete list nor explain the origins of this homonymy, we can point out several cases: the four Ḫalba's (*ḫlb + ṣpn, ‹prm, krdm* and *gngnt*); one *›ar (y)* in the south (*CTA* 68; *PRU* II 134; *PRU* V 40: 4; 73; 74; RS 16.248 = *PRU* III, p. 48; RS 18.01 = *PRU* IV, p. 230; perhaps RS 17.43 = *PRU* IV, p. 217) and another in the north (*CTA* 69: 3; *PRU* 81; 176; *PRU* V 40: 23); one Shalma on the NW border near Mount Nanu (no. 37) and another in the NE part of the kingdom, in the direction of the Alawite mountains (*PRU* V 58). There is one Mount Ayali on the N border (no. 32) and another, attested only in Ugaritic *(›ayly),* south of Qaasab, near modern ‹Ayn al-Haramyieh (*PRU* V 26 and 118). In the

two latter cases, the distance between the two localities is above 20 km and since we are dealing with small towns, recourse to an explanation by homonymy is more satisfactory than pleading fantasy or distraction on the part of the scribe.

**c. Receipts and Disbursements. (1) Deliveries and Taxes/Tribute.** We saw above (C.1.b.[1]) that RIH 83/7+ records a list of contributions sent *(lʿik)* by several towns organized geographically in the list. But such precision is rather the exception. *PRU* VI 134 enumerates the lances (?) furnished by several villages. *CTA* 67 apparently enumerates quantities of jars of wine furnished by several towns of the kingdom, with a total, written in Akkadian, of 148 units. On the other hand, we have no way of knowing whether the jars mentioned in *PRU* II 84 (b gt + place name "in the estate of …") were in the process of delivery to the capital, or whether the list represents inventory. RIH 83/5 (Bordreuil et al. 1984: 431) is more explicit: it clearly deals with tax collection in the northern villages (*tgmr ksp dʿly w d* […] "total of the silver which went up […]." The total is stated to be 200 shekels of silver.

**(2) Inventory Lists.** C. Virolleaud introduced the phrase "états de solde" to refer to a great number of texts consisting of personal names followed by an indication of a quantity or weight. The numbers are sometimes written according to the Mesopotamian system of symbols (*PRU* V 16, 58 [toponyms], 87, 151; RIH 83/8 [unpublished]), sometimes spelled out as Ugaritic words according to the local system. The total *(tgmr)* is sometimes indicated at the end of the list, but one can rarely be sure whether it refers to distributions, perceptions, or payments, except in texts such as *PRU* II 131, where each numerical entry is followed by *šlm* "has paid" (only partial payments everywhere except in line 2); *PRU* V 36 *prs̀ qmḥ d nšlm* "*prs̀*-measure of flour which has been paid for (?)"; and RIH 83/7+, already quoted above, where the numbers correspond to what was sent *(lʾik)* by each town. In some cases the reference is to payments of money, probably for salaries. This is made explicit in *CTA* 113 by a marginal note in Akkadian (X *kaspa ša mariani* "X-amount of money of the Mariyannu"), but such a solution is only a surmise for *PRU* II 28–30. It is clear that the expression "four (jars of) wine for the Mariyannu" *(ʾarbʿ yn l mrynm)* in *PRU* II 89 means that the jars of wine are intended for the Mariyannu. But one does not find a corresponding expression phrased in purely monetary terms ("X-amount of money for Y-professional term"). All examples are of quantities of foodstuffs or of other products intended for a given professional group. We do not even know if such issues of goods consist of periodic payments in kind or of bonuses from an employer.

**(3) Regular Distributions.** Other texts illustrate periodical distributions (monthly, according to the extant texts) of rations (*ḫpr*). The recipients are sometimes identified: "list of rations for the royal personnel during the month "*iṯṯbnm*" (*PRU* V 11 *spr ḫpr bnš mlk b yrḫ ʾiṯṯbnm*). There are also records of food distributions (*ʾakl*) according to locality: by estates (*gt*, as in *PRU* V 13), or by households (*bt*, as in *PRU* II 99). These consist of legumes (*ʿšdm*—precise variety uncertain), of cereals (*kšmm* "emmer," *ḥṭm* "wheat," *šʿrm* "barley"), as well as wine (*yn*) and vinegar (*ḫmṣ*) measured by jars (*kdm*). Some texts (e.g., *PRU* II 98; V 13) indicate that a certain amount of the grains distributed to each estate should be set aside as seed. That is usually the largest part, with other parts to be used to feed oxen (draft oxen?) and for rations to personnel (*ḫpr bnšm*).

**(4) Disbursements.** It is difficult to say whether the texts in *PRU* 106–15 are records of extraordinary disbursements (elegant garments, precious stones) or whether they are everyday operations, as in *PRU* II 109 *spr npṣm d yṣʾa* "list of garments which were delivered (literally: went forth)." *PRU* II 107: 5–8 *mlbš ṯrmnm k yṯn w b bt mlk mlbš ytn lhm,* "when the garments of the *trmnm* became old, new garments were given to them in the house of the king (= from the royal palace)," refers to a distribution of clothing for the statues of divinities.

The distribution of raw materials to artisans is another form of disbursement. *CTA* 147 records a disbursement, of eight talents and 1200 (shekels) of bronze, to the metal-workers (*ṯlṯ d yṣʾa … l nskm ṯmn kkrm ʾalp kbd [m]ʾitmkbd*), whereas *PRU* V 51 refers to a large order *(ʾiršt)* from the *yṣḫm* (a professional term of uncertain meaning). Another text (*CTA* 119) records the distribution of small arms (bows and quivers) to persons from various towns in the southern district, though the subtotals are three times given incorrectly. *PRU* II 123 does not indicate for whom were intended the arms and accessories listed there,

but the successive mention of forty bows and one thousand arrows allows the conclusion that the usual consignment of arrows per quiver was twenty-five. *PRU* II 121 records the receipt by the palace (*ʿrb bt mlk* "entered the house of the king") of eight chariots *(mrkbt),* outfitted with harnesses *(ṣmd),* two of which are not equipped with weapons. Of fifty-seven royal personnel *(bnš mlk)* who were under the supervision of (*bd* "in the hand of") someone named *prṯ,* twenty-nine received *šš̈lmt*-cloth and twenty-eight *šʿrt-cloth* (*PRU* II 25). According to *PRU* V 98, certain shepherds *(rʿym)* receive *šʿrt-cloth* while their subordinates *(ṣ̀ġrm)* receive *šš̈lmt*-cloth (cf. *PRU* II 118 and *PRU* V 52).

**(5) Gifts.** Reference to gifts is by the term *mnḥ* "to offer." Either receipts or disbursements may be so designated, depending on whether the tablet was prepared for the giver (perhaps *CTA* 141) or for the beneficiary. Sometimes there is no indication of origin (e.g., RIH 78/2; Bordreuil and Caquot 1980: 362). The meaning of *ndb* in the heading of RIH 78/19 (ibid., p. 364) is more ambiguous: it could designate sheep that have been "furnished." *PRU* V 107 may also be a list of gifts, though this is not stated explicitly.

**d. Inventories and Stocks. (1) Movable property.** The most important and valuable movables are the tribute items for the Hittite court (RS 11.732 = *PRU* III, p. 181) and the "trousseau" of the queen of Ugarit Aḫatumilki (RS 16.146 + 161 = *PRU* III, pp. 182–86). Such lists are usually more modest (*PRU* V 102; VI 168; AO 21.088 = Caquot and Masson 1977: 10–15; RIH 83/24 + 84/2 = Bordreuil 1987: 289–90) and more varied (*PRU* VI 155). They can sometimes remind us of the classified section of a newspaper: we learn from *PRU* V 48 that a stock of various metal instruments may be obtained in Atallig—prices and quantities are indicated. The same text adds the information that a family from *mrʾil* has settled in the area of *ḫrbġlm.* The items in a given text are usually, however, more homogeneous: wood (*PRU* VI 113), metals to be worked (*PRU* VI 140), instruments (*PRU* VI 141, 142, 157), vessels (*PRU* VI 147), wine (*PRU* II 91, 92), cereals (*PRU* VI 98–111), oil (*PRU* II 96: production of an olive orchard owned by the queen in the Nahr el-Kebir valley), fowl (*PRU* II 129), ovids-caprids (*PRU* VI 120; RIH 78/19 = Bordreuil and Caquot 1980: 364–65), bovids (*PRU* VI 118, an account of bovids in northern towns; 115, an account of bovids managed by a certain family), equids (*PRU* II 138, 139), or garments (RS 15.76 = *PRU* VI p. 99). In *PRU* V 38 various items are classified by estate: teams of draft animals *(ṣmdm),* or employees *(bnšm)* under the responsibility of an assherd *(rʿy ḫmrm)* or of a gardener *(nġr mdrʿ).* Alongside multi-entry lists of items distributed to several persons, *PRU* V 50 enumerates the private effects of an individual traveler, perhaps a tradesman who, burdened with his scales *(mznm)* and bedding *(mrbd, mškbt),* had to travel armed *(mrḫm)* because of the dangerous roads.

**(2) Real Estate.** The parcels of land mentioned in these texts are usually "fields," without further qualification. The marginal note on *PRU* V 11 refers to twenty-six employees *(bnš),* with the concluding notation *bʿl šd,* that could mean either "agricultural workers" (literally "workers of the field") or "land owners." The latter meaning is suggested by the occurrence of the same phrase in *PRU* II 39 where it appears to describe masons (*ḥrš bhtm*). It may be preferable to see here artisans who have acquired property rather than part-time workers in both agriculture and construction. *PRU* V 23, where some twenty *bnšm* are said to own oxen, supports this interpretation. Individually owned property was not restricted to the territory of one's own village; thus according to *PRU* V 26 inhabitants of *snr* and *mʾidḫ,* northern towns in the area of modern Ras al-Bassit, owned steep *(ʿqb)* fields in *ʾayly* in the mountainous area to the east of their towns (on *ʾayly,* see above). *PRU* II 79 lists vineyards *(šd krm)* after fields, whereas *PRU* II 81 deals exclusively with vineyards. Salt flats are mentioned in *PRU* V 96 and in RS 19.18 (= *PRU* IV, p. 291). The latter text situates them near Atallig, thus confirming the localization of this town near the sea (cf. *PRU* V 56 *ʾany … d bʾatlg* "boat … that is at Atallig").

**2. Official Acts and Commercial Documents.** Under this heading are grouped texts relative to the royal administration, whether issued by the palace or addressed to it, as well as those representing private business, finance, and contractual obligations, though the documents are so laconic as often to preclude a decision regarding the origin of the text.

**a. Palace Documents.** Judging from the extant data, one must conclude that seals inscribed in alphabetic cuneiform were rare (Bordreuil 1986: 292). From one of them, a seal mounted as a signet ring,

imprints have been discovered, one on a tablet (RS 16.270 = *PRU* III, pp. 41–44), the other on a bulla (RIH 83/21). Its inscription reads "seal of ʿAmmiyidtamar, king of Ugarit" (Bordreuil and Pardee 1984). Not only were such seals rare but they were used rarely: official documents dated in the reigns from that of Niqmaddu II until that of his grandson Niqmaddu III, whether recording acts *before* the king or acts *of* the king, are authenticated by means of the dynastic seal (see *Ugaritica* III, pp. 77–78). Tablets of foreign origin will, of course, bear the seal impression of the sender, often the Hittite king.

**(1) Documents Issued from the Ugaritic Palace.** *Acts before the king.* Following J. Nougayrol (*PRU* III, pp. 27–28), these have been classified as: *gifts* to a spouse (RS 16.263 = *PRU* III, p. 49, Niqmaddu II), to sons (RS 16.143 = *PRU* III, pp. 81–83, Niqmepa), or to other parties (RS 15.146 = *PRU* III, p. 58, Niqmaddu II [?]); *purchases* (RS 15.119 = *PRU* III, pp. 86–87, Niqmepa); *sales* (RS 15.136 = *PRU* III, pp. 121–22, Ammistamru II); *exchanges* (RS 15.70 = *PRU* III, p. 130, Ammistamru II); *division* of familial property (RS 15.90 = *PRU* III, p.~ 54, Niqmaddu II); *adoptions* into sonship (RS 15.92 = *PRU* III, pp. 54–56, Niqmaddu II), or into brotherhood (RS 16.344 = *PRU* III, p. 75, Ariḫalbu); *mutations* from status of earnest money to property (RS 16.131 = *PRU* III, pp. 138–39, Ammistamru II); and *verdicts* (RS 16.205 = *PRU* III, pp. 153–54, Ammistamru II).

*Acts of the king:* royal *gifts* (*PRU* II 8, 9; RS 15.127 = *PRU* III, p. 132; *PRU* VI 28–31), with (RS 15.109 = *PRU* III, pp. 102–5, Niqmepa; VI 27, Ammistamru II) and without (RS 15.85 = *PRU* III, pp. 52–53, Niqmaddu II) counter-gifts, and with conditions (RS 15.114 = *PRU* III, pp. 112–13, Ammistamru II); *alienation* of property (RS 15.137 = *PRU* III, p. 134, Ammistamru II); *re-attribution* of property located in special zones (*PRU* VI 55, Ammistamru II); *exchanges* of landed property (RS 16.197 = *PRU* III, pp. 150–51, Ammistamru II [?]), of houses (*PRU* III, pp. 164–65, between Ammistamru and a private citizen); *purchase* of land by the queen (*Ugaritica* V 159–61); *manumission* of slaves (RS 16.267 = *PRU* III, p. 110, Ammistamru II); *granting* of franchises (RS 16.238 = *PRU* III, pp. 107–8, Ammistamru II); *confirmation* of gifts (RS 16.249 = *PRU* III, pp. 96–98, Niqmepa), of purchases (RS 16.174 = *PRU* III, p. 63, Niqmaddu II), of property rights (RS 15.88 = *PRU* III, p. 88, Niqmepa); *last wishes* (RS 16.144 = *PRU* III, p. 76, Ariḫalbu).

**(2) International Documents.** These texts enable us partially to follow the relations between Ugarit and her neighbors from the reign of Niqmaddu II until that of Ammurapi, the last king of Ugarit. RS 17.132 (*PRU* IV, pp. 35–37) is a proposal from the Hittite king Shupiluliuma for an alliance with Niqmaddu against the states of Nuḫashe and Mukish. In exchange for this protection, Ugarit is to pay an annual tribute calculated on the basis of her wealth, adding up to 22,000 shekels-weight of wool cloth, eleven tunics, two gold cups and three silver cups, to be divided among the king, the queen, the crown prince, and the four principal dignitaries of the Hittite court (RS 17.227 = *PRU* IV, pp. 40–44; this text is also known in a Ugaritic version, RS 11.772 = *CTA* 64). With this list of "gifts" one should compare the lists recorded in RS 11.772 and 11.732 (*PRU* IV, pp. 44–48). Ugarit obtained as reward for her loyalty substantial frontier modifications, particularly at the expense of her northern neighbor Mukish. These changes were sanctioned by RS 17.340 (*PRU* IV, pp. 48–52; see above C.1.b.[2]) and confirmed by Murshili II, first for Niqmaddu, then for his successor (RS 17.338, etc. = *PRU* IV, pp. 85–101). Murshili II also intervened with his authority to redefine the southern border of Ugarit after the seccession of Siyannu (RS 17.335 = *PRU* IV, pp. 71–78), a territorial reduction that led the Ugaritic palace to request a reduction of tribute (RS 17.382 = *PRU* IV, pp. 80–83). Finally, we have the record of a proposal from the king of Carchemish, Initeshub, for a military alliance against Nuḫashe (RS 17.334 = *PRU* IV, pp. 54–55).

Several international matters were decided by the Hittite sovereign Tudḫalia IV during the reign of Ammistamru II. For example, it was he who ruled against the sons of the queen of Ugarit, perhaps the reigning king's own brothers, who were removed from the line of succession as a result of palace intrigues the details of which are still unknown to us (RS 17.352, etc. = *PRU* IV, pp. 121–24). Another case was that of Ammistamru's divorce from the daughter of the king of Amurru (RS 17.159, etc. = *PRU* IV, pp. 126–28; RS 1957.1 = Fisher 1971), who was also the daughter of the king of Amurru (as well as the sister of the queen involved in the preceding case?)

On the other hand, it was Inteshub of Carchemish who had to set the damages for destruction that occurred during a frontier incident with Siyannu (RS 17.341 = *PRU* IV, pp. 161–63). He also, logically enough, was responsible for setting up the accord with regard to the civil penalties incurred by a thieving merchant of Hittite origin (RS 17.128 = *PRU* IV, p. 179) and the penalty for murder committed against citizens of Carchemish living in Ugarit or as citizens of Ugarit in Carchemish (RS 17.230 = *PRU* IV, pp. 153–54; an analogous decision by Hattushili III directed to Niqmepa is known from RS 17.229 = *PRU* IV, p. 106; cf. RS 17.146, 18.115 = *PRU* IV, pp. 154–60). In RS 17.158 (= *PRU* IV, pp. 169–74) we find the record of such a sentence being applied, with the stipulation that the royal decision was without recourse. Some of these acts were declared by the king of Ugarit then submitted to arbitration by Initeshub. Two undated documents record judgments by the king of Carchemish, probably Initeshub, in cases of (unjust?) imprisonment during which the detainee died (*PRU* VI 35–36). This same monarch ratified an act of Ammistamru whereby a man convicted of larceny was redeemed and assigned to the royal retinue (RS 17.108 = *PRU* IV, pp. 165–66). According to other texts, the king of Ugarit could be one of the parties in a suit and Initeshub the judge (RS 17.129 = *PRU* IV, pp. 166–67). At the conclusion of a case lost by a Ugaritic citizen, the king of Ugarit paid out to the winning party, by the intermediary of the prefect of Ugarit, the amount of the irrevocable fine set by Initeshub (RS 17.110 = *PRU* IV, pp. 178–79). Initeshub's gift of a building to Ammurapi was certified by an official act from Initeshub (RS 17.68 = *PRU* IV, pp.164). An act from the time of Ammistamru, certified by a long list of witnesses (RS 17.319 = *PRU* IV, pp. 182–84), records the return of certain stolen property to merchants of Ura, who renounce the right to further judicial action against Ugarit in the matter. From the same period is a verdict by Queen Puduḫepa of Hatti rendered in the case of a sunken Ugaritic ship (RS 17.133 = *PRU* IV, pp. 118–19).

The reign of Ibiranu seems not to have got off on the right foot: when he took the throne of Ugarit, he neglected to send greetings and presents to the Hittite sovereign (RS 17.247 = *PRU* IV, p. 191). The king of Carchemish wrote to remind him of his obligations, urging him to send, before the arrival of the Hittite inspector, the contingents of soldiers and chariots that he was required to furnish (RS 17.289 = *PRU* IV, p. 192), as well as logs, specifications for which had already been sent (RS 17.385 = *PRU* IV, p. 194). He was further enjoined to accord treatment in accordance with his rank to a son of the Hittite king who was scheduled to take up residence in Ugarit (RS 17.423 = *PRU* IV, p. 193). The king of Carchemish returned to the territorial question in a text confirming the borders of Ugarit as set out by Armaziti (RS 17.292 = *PRU* IV, p. 188). In yet another text (RS 17.314 = *PRU* IV, p. 189), this same Armaziti dismissed the complaint of a tax-collector against a merchant in the service of the queen of Ugarit, whereas in an international juridical degree witnessed by little merchants from Ura he was himself condemned to pay a fine to the king of Ugarit and to a third party (RS 17.316 = *PRU* IV, p. 190). Finally, we may cite a letter of introduction addressed to the prefect of Ugarit for an agent of a high Hittite official named Ebina'e; included in the letter was a stipulation requiring exemption from taxes (RS 17.78 = *PRU* IV, pp. 196–97).

To the reign of Niqmaddu (III?) may be attributed a document recording the redemption by the king of several persons from the control of a certain Kiliya, king of Zinzaru (RS 18.02 = *PRU* IV, p. 201). Another text (RS 18.20 = *PRU* IV, pp. 202–3) attaches a heavy fine to any attempt on the part of a merchant named Kumyaziti, perhaps from Ura, to appeal a decision in favor of the Ugaritic king rendered by a high official of Carchemish.

From the reign of Ammurapi we know a verdict by Talmiteshub according to which certain goods belonging to the Ugaritic king should be returned to him by Eḫlinikkaly, daughter of the Hittite king (RS 17.226 = *PRU* IV, p. 208). In return (?), the king had to give back to her certain goods that she had brought in as dowry (RS 17.355 = *PRU* IV, pp. 209–10).

**(3) International Commerce.** The geographical location of the port city of Ugarit, at the end-point of various routes extending into Asia and with Cyprus only a few kilometers away by sea, gave her a natural door onto the Aegean world and dictated that this industrious people should devote itself largely to international, even intercontinental, commerce. Not only do we find the mention of "shipbuilders" (*ḥrš ʾanyt: PRU* II 40) and of "sailors" (*ṣbʾu ʾanyt: CTA* 79: 7), but, as we have seen above, of an actual guaranteed contract for the rental of ships (*PRU* V 106). Despite its fragmentary condition, one can detect

in *PRU* V 56 reference to loading a (foreign?) ship docked in Atallig. Maritime shipping at that time involved cabotage (sailing near the shore and putting in near to shore at night), which more or less automatically entailed stopping at every port. *PRU* V 95 reflects this practice, for it records the following commodities and destinations: 660 jars of oil for an Alashiot (Cypriot), 130 for an Egyptian, 100 for a Rishian, and another quantity (now broken) for an Ashdodite. The text does not state explicitly that these items for customers in various localities made up the cargo of a single trip, but the enumeration does bring to mind the customary cabotage route between Ugarit (the town of *rʾiš* was within the kingdom of Ugarit), Ashdod, Egypt and out into the Mediterranean (to Cyprus?). The activities of foreign merchants were regulated by an edict of Ḫattushili III (RS 17.130 = *PRU* IV, pp. 103–5), stipulating that the merchants from Ura in Cilicia could not reside in Ugarit during the winter. Thus they could not establish permanent residence in Ugarit but, on the other hand, the king of Ugarit was obligated to assure that debts owed to them by Ugaritians were honored, if necessary by surrendering the debtor and his family to the creditor as slaves. Certain monetary payments by Ugaritians from southern localities (*PRU* VI 138) seem to be in connection with the crew of a ship, involving at least ten men. Do these payments represent venture capital for a maritime commercial operation? From RIH 83/22 (Bordreuil et al. 1984: 431–33) we clearly see that commercial activities by Ugaritians (here perhaps men of Reshu) had a broad geographical extension, as far as Carchemish, where an emissary with partial financial backing from the king is depicted as going in order to take care of a problem *(ḥtb)* related to ships. Did these ships belong to the king of Ugarit, as did the *ʾan[y]t mlk* of *PRU* V 57? In a merchant metropolis as cosmopolitan as Ugarit, a table of weights and measures (*Ugaritica* V, pp. 251–57—recovered in a sadly fragmentary condition) as well as polyglot vocabularies (*Ugaritica* V, pp. 230–51) were indispensable for a proper knowledge of the equivalence between different systems, local or regional, for converting from one system to another, and for understanding terminology in another language.

**b. Private Documents. (1) Royal Guarantees.** There is one mixed document (*PRU* VI 45) that covers three different transactions: first a redemption of real estate, followed by a royal donation of land and of servants. But such a diverse document is exceptional. Most fall into relatively discrete categories. These are, following Nougarol's classification: *gifts* to a wife (RS 8.145 = *Syria* 18 [1937] 246), to a son (emancipation: RS 16.129 = *PRU* III, pp. 32–33), to a daughter (dowry: RS 16.61 = *PRU* III, p. 39), to a daughter-in-law (RS 15.85 = *PRU* III, pp. 52–53); *purchases* of real estate (RS 15.37 = *PRU* III, p. 35); *sales* of real estate (RS 15.182 = *PRU* III, pp. 35–36); *redemption* of goods and real estate ("RS 8.213" = false number for RS 8.146 = *Syria* 18 [1937] 247) or of servants ("RS 8.208" = false number for RS 8.303 = *Syria* 18 [1937] 248 = *PRU* III, p. 110).

**(2) Guarantees Before Witnesses.** *PRU* VI 40 records the purchase of the paternal domicile by a sibling from his brothers; this was attested by five witnesses. The document was written by a scribe who is named and who is also one of the five witnesses. Elsewhere, three brothers give a quitclaim to a fourth brother (*PRU* VI 50) before eight witnesses—again the scribe was one of the witnesses. The various types of adoption were also effected before witnesses: There were four witnesses (one of whom was the scribe) to *PRU* IV 37. On the other hand, we have adoptions into brotherhood before witnesses (*Ugaritica* V 81) and before the king (RS 16.344 = *PRU* III, p. 75). Texts such as *PRU* V 116 prove that the scribe was not always one of the witnesses.

Witnesses seem to have played an important part in sales on credit (*PRU* V 53, 116). One such transaction is found in two slightly different versions (RIH 83/12 [see Bordreuil et al. 1984: 430–31] and 84/8): the second text may contain a correction of the first. The seller's witnesses (one witness per entry in these texts) is given as usual; then a certain *bʿl mšlm* is added, who may be the buyer's witness (Bordreuil 1987: 295). Other texts (*PRU* II 161; V 46, 79; RIH 84/3 [see Bordreuil 1987: 294]) refer to the *ʿrbn*, the "guarantor" whose presence probably facilitated the launching of a commercial enterprise undertaken by partners in different localities.

**(3) Declarations.** *Property transfers.* These were expressed as follows: "field *(šd)* of $PN_1$ is transferred to *(1)* $PN_2$" (*PRU* V 89). The location of the real estate can be included in the formula of transfer (e.g., *PRU* V 29). In *PRU* II 104 are references both to individual fields under the management of the *skn*

("prefect") and to a large estate *(gt),* whereas in *CTA* 82 fields are organized according to the professional categories of the owners.

*Invoices and debts. PRU* II 110 indicates the value of certain tunics and of the jewels with which they were decorated. When the document was prepared these items were either in the process of delivery or already delivered—the document itself is probably an as-yet-unpaid invoice. *PRU* II 109 is a "disbursement" document but the price of the principal item is mentioned, and one may interpret this text as a sort of invoice if one is willing to admit that the price of the other articles is assumed to be known. *PRU* II 131 is, as was observed above (C.1.c.[2]), a summary of partial payments that have already been made. *PRU* V 100 and 101 (the latter of which bears the heading *ḥṯbn*) contain lists of amounts of metals, garments, precious stones, cattle and sheep. The total values in the two texts are, respectively, 250 and 1300 shekels of silver. RS 22.03 (Bordreuil 1981) is a message enumerating several deliveries already made. *CTA* 66 may be termed a *pro forma* invoice: it enumerates the number of days (of work?) that certain northern towns of the kingdom are to render *(tššlmn).* The Ashdodite products listed in *PRU* VI 156 are certainly "for sale" *(ana makāri). PRU* II 143 is apparently unique: it seems to divide up among several persons the proceeds of the sale of a field, ownership of which had previously been divided between two persons in a $^{2}/_{3}$ to $^{1}/_{3}$ ratio. *PRU* VI 116 is an account of sums paid by the inhabitants of Nanu for pasturage rights. RS 31.80 (= *KTU* 4.755) enumerates sums paid by *yrmn* to different persons to be credited to the "house" account *(šlm ʿl bt)*.

According to *PRU* II 132 a woman of Siyannu owed twenty shekels of silver. Such recourse to credit seems to have been relatively common: a group of three Ugaritic tablets from Ras Ibn Hani casts new light on the workings of the credit system. The first of the three, twenty-two lines long (RIH 84/33 [unpublished]), contains a list of debts (X *ksp ʿl* PN "X amount of money upon [= to the debit account of] PN ") owed by several persons hailing from various provincial towns, beginning with those from Ushkanu. The second document (RIH 84/6 [Bordreuil 1987: 295]) repeats in nine lines the same amounts followed by the personal names of the first four lines of RIH 84/33 preceded by the word *ʿm* "with, toward," the preposition used to express a credit amount (cf. *PRU* II 143: *ʿmn*). The third text (RIH 84/4 [Bordreuil 1987: 294]) repeats the end of the list of debtors from RIH 84/33 and adds there more debtor accounts. The three tablets may be organized chronologically as follows. The first is RIH 84/33. It lists the amount of each debt and the identity of the debtors; it is organized according to the debtors' towns of residence. RIH 84/6 came next. It records the first repayments, corresponding to the names at the head of the first text. Some time later, RIH 84/4 was written for the purpose of noting payments in arrears. It omits the names of those who had already made their payment and brings the list up to date by adding debts incurred subsequently.

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**ʿULA, AL-** (PLACE). See DEDAN (PLACE).

**ULAI** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾûlāy* (אוּלָי)]. The river beside which Daniel received his vision of the two-horned ram and the he-goat (Dan 8:2, 16). It flowed past the N section of ancient Susa, the capital of Elam which later became the winter capital for the Persians. Modern scholars have determined that the Ulai was actually an artificial irrigation canal, starting about twenty miles NW of ancient Susa at the Choaspes River (modern Kerkha), and extending in a southeasterly direction to the Coprates River (modern Abdizful, Waterman 1947: 319). The canal was known as *u-la-a* in Akkadian sources (see Parpola 1970: 366 for references) and Eulaeus by classical authors (Pliny, *HN* vi.27). Ashurbanipal took credit for making its waters red with the blood of his enemies in 640 B.C.

Some have argued that the word translated "river" or "canal" in Dan 8:2, 3 and 6 *(ʾûbal)* is a corruption for the Akkadian loanword *abullu* ("city gate"), known in various forms in Mishnaic Hebrew, Targumic Aramaic, and Syriac (Hartmann and Di Lella *Daniel* AB, 223–24; Ginsberg 1948: 57). The LXX, Syriac and Vg support this reading. Thus, Daniel would have received his vision, not beside the banks of the Ulai, but at "the Ulai Gate" in Susa (contrast RSV with NJB at Dan 8:2). This gate presumably opened onto a road leading to the canal N of the city. The unusual expression *bên ʾûlay* in v 16 has been understood as "between the gate" based on a variant in Theodotion (Hartman and Di Lella *Daniel* AB, 227). Lacocque takes *ʾûlay* in v 2 as a wordplay on its homonym meaning "perhaps" as an expression of hope or prayer. In this way, the name of the river (or gate) was carefully chosen to express the possibility that the exiles may experience a miraculous reversal of their situation (*Daniel* CAT, 157).

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**ULAM** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾûlām* (אוּלָם)]. **1.** The Manassite son of Sheresh, who is mentioned only in 1 Chr 7:16–17. His name is from the Hebrew *ʾûl* and probably meant "first" or "leader" (Noth *IPN*, 231). According to the MT, his brother was Rakem (the LXX omits Rakem from the genealogy), and his son was Bedan. Some form of textual corruption is undoubtedly responsible for the introduction of the latter in v 17 with the phrase, "The sons of Ulam." While an early copyist may have replaced the singular form "son" with the plural "sons" (the Vulgate reads "son"), it is also possible that an earlier form of the genealogy named additional children of Ulam.

**2.** A Benjaminite tribal leader, whose sons were archers in the military (1 Chr 8:39–40). Ulam was the firstborn son of Eshek, and his two brothers were Jeush and Eliphelet. Ulam's sons and grandsons were numerous—totaling 150 (190, according to a few LXX mss)—and were recognized for their military prowess.

The two verses that treat Ulam and the other sons of Eshek are problematic for several reasons. First, they represent a change of syntax from the earlier forms in the chapter to the form: "the sons of PN: PN and PN " (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 127–28). In addition, the verses are only loosely attached to the rest of the chapter. While Eshek, the father of Ulam, is linked to Azel and called "his brother" in vv 38–39, when Azel and his sons are listed again, along with other Benjaminites, in 9:35–44, the family of Eshek is unmentioned. Therefore, it has been proposed that vv 39–40 may have been a genealogical fragment—perhaps from a military census, as the military vocabulary suggests—that was inserted at the end of chap. 8 (Curtis and Madsen *Chronicles* ICC, 167; Braun WBC, 127–28). Finally, the number of Ulam's sons and grandsons (150) seems a bit high (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 82).

Benjaminites appear again as bowmen in 2 Chr 14:7 (—Eng 14:8), where they number 280,000 and constitute a major contingent of Asa's army. While most interpreters believe that this number is far too large, some think that authentic military records lie behind it and suggest that "Judah" and "Benjamin" had come to designate the S army's heavy and light divisions, respectively (Junge 1937: 37–45; Williamson *Chronicles* NCBC, 262–63). Others, however, deny that the verse reflects the conditions of Asa's reign and believe that the author of Chronicles composed it to show how God had blessed Judah (Welten 1973: 79–82).

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**ULCER.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**ULLA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿullāʾ* (עֻלָּא)]. While Ulla's three sons are listed in the Asherite genealogy in 1 Chr 7:39, this figure stands detached from the surrounding material. Missing from the Syriac, he is not connected to earlier figures nor does his lineage continue beyond his sons. Scholars have proposed that Ulla is a textually corrupt form of a previous name in the genealogy; suggestions include Shua, Shual, Amal, and Ara. See also Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT.

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**ʿUMEIRI, TELL EL-** (M.R. 234142). Neither the biblical nor ANE identification for this Transjordanian tell some 10 km S of Amman is yet known for sure. Ibach has suggested it to be the Amorite Heshbon (1978: 209–13; cf. Num 21:21–30) while Redford (1982: 66–70; cf. Judg 11:33) considers it to be biblical Abel-keramim. Geraty (1985: 87) has wondered if it might be one of the towns mentioned in Jer 48:21–25. Its linguistic root can be related to the meaning "to be plentiful, copious, abundant, abound (water); to overflow" (Geraty 1985: n. 6). If so, the name would obviously have reference to the tell's spring, the only natural water source between Amman and Madaba.

The name ʿUmeiri actually applies to three tells roughly 250 m apart, now divided not only by a wadi but also the freeway from Amman to its international airport to the S. These tells lie on a major ancient N -S route at the point where the Madaba Plains join the Ammonite hill country. In fact Tell el-ʿUmeiri

(West) is the first fortifiable hill (with water) on this route N of the plains. The NE tell is the latest in terms of its occupation history: Islamic Period. The SE tell is smaller and earlier in terms of occupation: Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Periods. The W tell is largest, approximately 16 acres in size and higher—ca. 900 m in elevation, some 60 m above the wadi. At its base is the major natural water source. The slopes of the tell incorporate several terraces but rise steeply on all sides except the W where the hill joins a ridge. Considerable evidence of architecture is to be seen on the site, especially on the summit. The summit, though irregular, is fairly flat. It drops off abruptly on all sides along a scarp which has proved to be the line of a defensive wall. Huge quantities of sherds can be found on the surface of the site. These range in date from Chalcolithic through the EB, MB, and LB (especially on the slopes) to Iron Ages I and II (primarily on the summit), and a very few Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine.

Andrews University initiated the excavation of Tell el-ʿUmeiri in 1984 both as a successor to the excavation of Tell Hesban and as part of a more comprehensive Madaba Plains Project that has included the excavation of three other sites as well as a regional survey within some 5 km radius of the tell (designed in part to provide understanding of changes over time in the food system of the region). This was the first excavation of the tell though a few explorers and archaeologists had previously visited the region, notably Ibach (1978; 1987), Franken and Abujaber (1979), and Redford (1982). Successive seasons of excavation have taken place in 1987 and 1989.

The excavations at Tell el-ʿUmeiri have taken place in seven Fields and have discovered stratified remains from EB III (ca. 2500 B.C.) to the Early Roman Period (ca. 1st century A.D.).

**1. Early Bronze Age.** The earliest remains found were on the S and N shelves of the mound and indicate that an EB town covered the complete site. The most extensive of these remains came from the S shelf (Field D) where three broad terraces organized roads and domestic dwellings. The most coherent of these remains came from the middle terrace where a street ca. 1.5 m wide separated two housing units, along one wall of which was a line of stones, perhaps intended to hold fodder for a tethered beast of burden. On the other side of the street three walled spaces produced significant remains with bins and a cobbled hearth suggesting food processing and perhaps animal sheltering. A large storeroom contained the remains of 28 storage vessels of various types, mostly jars. Protected by the debris from the superstructure of the house which fell on top of the jars during its destruction and preserved by the fire that ravaged the building, the vessels still contained carbonized seeds of the foods used by the ancient family that lived there. These included legumes (lentils and garbanzos), fruits (grapes and figs), and grains (wheat and barley). Two jugs may have contained oil. Many of the vessels were the bottoms of jars reused as large bowls; apparently nothing was discarded that had a use.

On the N slope (Field G), a “V”-shaped topographic feature suggested wall lines descending the slope but excavations uncovered no such feature. Instead an unstratified dump seemed to sit on top of EB tumble.

The EB Age was the age of urbanization when people first settled in large groups, many times with massive fortification walls surrounding the settlement. Tell el-ʿUmeiri seems to represent a modest expression of this process. The housing complexes were made up of livingrooms, storerooms, courtyards, and animal shelters. Each complex was a series of structures built around courtyards, unlike the coherent, single-house structures of later periods. It is almost as if, in this early period of urbanization, people had simply moved their farms tightly together. No fortification wall for the town has been found as yet and, because the southernmost materials have been strongly eroded, it would appear that none existed on the S slope. However, the town was apparently well-planned with housing units separated by narrow, straight streets, and built on well organized terraces climbing up the slope of the hill. The finds suggest an orderly, neat, and efficient use of space and resources for a population that was perhaps the largest Tell el-ʿUmeiri ever saw. All subsequent settlements were smaller in size.

**2. Middle Bronze Age.** The site seems to have been resettled toward the end of the MB Age. The inhabitants abandoned the S shelf and reduced the intensity of occupation on the N slope and E shelf. However, the excavations in Field B, on the W slope of the summit, have probed ca. 1 m into an earthen

rampart containing a few potsherds from MB II. The top layer of the rampart sloped at ca. 30° and was made of beaten earth with a few thin lenses of crushed lime.

**3. Late Bronze Age.** The first earth layers from the LB were uncovered in 1989 at Tell el-ʿUmeiri, in Field F, on the eastern shelf. Although no architectural remains could be isolated, the layers produced a Cypriot Base Ring sherd and a well-preserved Astarte fertility plaque common to the period.

**4. Iron I Period.** In 1989 it became clear that the casemate fortification system found previously in Field B on the W side of the summit was of Iron I date. Outside the casemate wall, an earthen rampart almost 2 m thick was constructed immediately on top of the MB rampart. The relationship of the layers in the rampart to the courses in the casemate outer wall, suggests that the rampart was to provide support against the weight of debris building up inside the wall. All three layers of the rampart produced Iron I pottery. At the bottom of the rampart a revetment wall supported the rampart where a dry moat plunged into bedrock ca. 4 m. The rock and clay that was excavated from the dry moat went to lay the first layer of the rampart. The W slope was the most vulnerable to attack and the occupants of the site apparently wanted a strong fortification system—perhaps the first so far found in Palestine that included a casemate wall, a rampart, and a dry moat.

Excavations inside the casemate room and further inside the town revealed a deep destruction layer ca. 2 m thick which marked the end of Iron I in this field. The destruction layer consisted primarily of burned mudbricks and stones, but also included burned wooden roofing beams. The fire was so hot that it turned some of the wall stones to lime. Beneath the destruction debris in the casemate room were smashed storage jars, most of which had collared rims, typical of Iron I throughout Palestine. Several of these large jars contained the same potter's mark on the handles, but none sported precisely the same type of collar.

Over this destruction the remains of an early Iron II storeroom were found. In Fields A and F an ash layer provided the stratigraphic boundary between Iron I and Iron II as well. It would thus seem that the destruction which ended Iron I at Tell el-ʿUmeiri was sitewide. Is it possible that this destruction was caused by the army of King David attacking the Ammonites? Bathsheba's husband, Uriah the Hittite, was killed at the walls of nearby Rabbath-ammon when David conquered that city (2 Sam 11). Could ʿUmeiri, probably one of the Ammonite border towns, have been destroyed during this same campaign? Although the pottery in the casemate room would seem to be somewhat earlier than the early 10th century B.C., when David lived, it is possible that such large storejars lasted for long periods of time.

**5. Iron II and Early Persian Periods.** Field A (at the W end of the summit) produced extensive remains from at least two phases stretching from the Late Iron II period into the beginning of the Persian Period. Three large buildings dominated the excavated area during the earliest phase. Only two or three rooms of a large building with very thick walls have been found in the S, but the central building has been completely exposed. It consisted of four rooms—three long rooms abutting a broad room, a style typical in W Palestine, but now found more frequently in Transjordan as Iron Age sites are excavated. The third building (on the N) was oriented at a right angle to the four-room house and included a broad room with at least five long rooms abutting it. One of the rooms was formed with a row of pillars. This third house had doorways connecting all the rooms. It appears that at least the first two buildings were basement structures, that is, the walls were built into a large pit dug for the whole structure. No individual foundation trenches were found for any wall and immediately outside the buildings Iron I layers were found. Surfaces were found only in the N building where a typical domestic repertoire of objects, such as grinding tools, was found. However, the thick walls, the basements, and the large size of the two S buildings suggest they were used for non-domestic, administrative activities. Perhaps they should be connected with the royal seal found in this area in 1984.

On a ceramic cone found in the sift from soil near the mound's surface was a seal impression depicting a winged scarab flanked by two standards surmounted by sun discs and crescent moons and the Ammonite letters: *lmlkm-ʾwr ʿbd bʿl-ysʿ* ("belonging to Mikom-ʾur, servant of Baʿal-yashaʿ"The design is typical of the 7th/6th century B.C. (Younker 1985) and the script dates to ca. 600 B.C. (Herr 1985: 172). Both of the personal names in the inscription constitute "firsts" in biblical archaeology. The name of the owner, Milkom-ʾur, is the first known occurrence of the well-known Ammonite divine name Milkom as

one of the elements in an Ammonite proper name. Obviously, the person with this name was a prominent government official, because in these Iron Age seals, the name which follows the one identified as "servant of" is invariably royal. In this inscription, the royal name, too, is a "first": Ba‹al-yasha‹ is the first extra-biblical confirmation of the Ammonite king BAALIS mentioned in Jer 40:14. The slight difference in spelling between Jeremiah and the seal impression can be explained linguistically (Geraty 1985: 100; Herr 1985: 172).

Other important inscriptional finds from the Iron Age include a seal impression of Thutmose III found on an Iron I jar handle (Redford 1990); an early 6th century B.C. seal reading *lsm‹z,* "belonging to Shem‹az" (Geraty, Herr, LaBianca 1988: 250); an early 7th century B.C. scaraboid seal inscribed on both sides with the name of the owner, *l›l›ms bn tmk›l,* "belonging to ›El›amas son of Tamak›el"; and two seal impressions from different jar handles but apparently made by the same seal, reading, *lb›r‹mn,* "belonging to Be›er‹ammon," where it is likely that the national name ‹Ammon was used as the theophoric element.

Other major structures from Iron II were found in Field F on the eastern shelf. Three parallel walls may have made up a small gate structure with a narrow passageway between the eastern two walls. A later phase of structures was built over the walls of Field A, seemingly ignoring the earlier walls completely. Unfortunately, the surfaces that went with these walls have been destroyed by agricultural activities on top of the mound in the Middle Ages, but the pottery associated with them was Early Persian.

**6. Early Roman Period.** A small plastered pool or ritual bath with steps was excavated at the N edge of Field A. If there were associated structures, these were destroyed in subsequent use of the tell summit. The pool was dated by two Early Roman sherds which were found in the foundation of the structure which otherwise exhibited only Persian pottery.

**7. Middle Ages.** Because the pool mentioned above is normally subterranean and no associated buildings or pottery of the Roman Period were found anywhere in the immediate region, it appears that the Roman buildings have disappeared and that the present day surface of the mound has been lowered considerably since Roman times. It may be suggested that agricultural activity combined with wind erosion has lowered the top of the tell by as much as a meter. This may account for the large quantities of pottery and objects found in topsoil in Field A—wind erosion removed the soil but left stones, pottery and objects. Farmers removed the stones to the many large rock mounds scattered over the site.

**8. Water Source.** An important water source for the whole region lies at the base of the tell to the N. The Madaba Plains Project is attempting to date the construction associated with this source in Field E. So far it has been found that earth layers from Iron I were cut by a plaster and cobble installation built during Iron II times. The Iron II remains were, in turn, cut by an Early Roman plastered channel. Then, during Byzantine times, all structures were cut by a deep foundation pit for a tunnel leading to the well house.

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**UMM AL-BIYARA** (M.R. 191970). A steep hill rising above the Nabatean city of Petra. There is clear evidence of an Edomite settlement on the top and Glueck, who first sounded the site in 1933 (1933: 13–14), identified it as biblical SELA‹, the Rock of Edom (Judg 1:36; 2 Kgs 14:7; 2 Chr 25:11–12; Isa

16:1; 42:11; Jer 49:16; Obad 3). Morton (1956: 26–26) sounded the site in 1955 and supported Glueck's conclusions. However, excavations by C.-M. Bennett, who sounded the site in 1960 and conducted two seasons of excavation in 1963 and 1965 (Bennett 1966) have cast doubt on this identification as she found no pottery dating prior to the end of the 8th century B.C. This is not in accord with 2 Kgs 14:7 and 2 Chr 25:11–12 in which Sela‹ is mentioned as an object of attack during the campaign of Amaziah, king of Judah (798–769 B.C.). Starcky (1964) also argued against the identification of Umm al Biyara with Sela‹ on textual grounds, preferring a more northerly location. Bennett (1966: 375) suggested that biblical Sela‹ be identified with a modern site of the same name a few km N of the Edomite capital of BOZRAH. Surface surveys there, however, have also produced no pottery earlier than the late 8th/7th centuries B.C. (Hart 1986). The matter remains unproved but current scholarship follows Starcky and Bennett and places biblical Sela‹ at either modern Sela‹ or at another site as yet unidentified.

Umm al Biyara is located in central Edom inside the Nabatean city of Petra near the modern village of Wadi Musa (El-Ji). It is several km off the presumed course of the Kings' Highway (the major N-S route through Transjordan) which must have passed near TAWILAN. By following the Wadi Musa W, it is possible to reach the Wadi Arabah.

The site is situated on the flat top of an isolated sandstone massif and is virtually inaccessable. A series of steps, cut during the later Nabatean period, has obliterated any evidence of the Iron Age access route but it must have been a difficult trackway. The name Umm al Biyara means in Arabic "Mother of Cisterns" and more than 50 large cisterns supplied water for the community.

Buildings are constructed of the local sandstone which breaks easily into slabs along natural striations. Houses were built on either side of a long N-S wall which ran along the entire area of excavation. Bedrock formed the only floor, and there is little evidence of plaster on either floors or walls. The area was partly destroyed by fire at which point the settlement was abandoned.

Finds indicate a domestic settlement rather than a fortress, despite the strong natural defenses of the site. In many rooms, large caches of loom weights were discovered. Pottery is typically Edomite in shape but, in contrast to other Edomite sites, is unpainted. It is not clear whether the reasons for this are chronological or relate to the nature of the site.

An absolute date is given by a royal seal impression which reads, "lang513 QWS G … King of E …" This is almost certainly Qos Gabr whom we know from Assyrian annals to have been king of Edom around the year 670 B.C. A general 7th century B.C. date for the site is most likely.

In the Nabatean period (4th century B.C. to 2d century A.D.) a temple was built on the edge of the site, a stairway cut into the slope, and various tombs cut in and around the base of the hill. There is no evidence of any subsequent occupation.

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STEPHEN HART

**UMM EL-JIMAL** (39°19´N; 36°22´E). The modern name, Umm el-Jimal, means "Mother of Camels" (or possibly "Mother of Beauty"). The ancient name is not known. H. C. Butler speculatively chose Thantia from the Peutinger Table (Butler 1911: xiv–xvi), but D. Kennedy has argued convincingly that Thugrat el-Jubb, a site farther S on the *via nova Traiana,* is Thantia (Kennedy 1982: 148–52). H. MacAdam has since suggested plausibly that Surattha from Ptolemy's *Geography* was ancient Umm el-Jimal (MacAdam 1986: 17). Thus far there is no epigraphic evidence to support these theories and the ancient name remains uncertain.

**A. Location and Topography**

Umm el-Jimal is located in the semi-arid region of N Jordan, on the edge of the basalt plain created by prehistoric volcanic eruptions from Jebel Druze, which is fifty km to the north in S Syria. This plain,

called the S Hauran, is made up of deep basalt bedrock covered with a fertile layer of reddish volcanic soil that receives about 100 mm of rainfall per year. This rainfall is barely sufficient for an occasional wheat crop, but with careful collection and storage of the runoff, it is possible to follow the spring wheat harvest with irrigated crops of produce. In the Late Roman, Byzantine, and Umayyad periods, Umm el-Jimal was one of dozens of prosperous rural towns and villages scattered on the plain between Dera'a to the W and Deir el-Kahf to the E.

The great Roman highway, the *via nova* constructed during Trajan's rule, passes Umm el-Jimal 6 km to the W on its way from Bostra to Philadelphia (Amman). Umm el-Jimal itself lay on a side road that left the *via nova* at Qasr el-Ba'ij, and went on to Umm el-Quttein and Deir el-Kahf. This side road was part of a network of secondary roads that connected the S Hauran's towns and villages with major market centers like Bostra and Suweida, and the desert oasis of Azraq.

Umm el-Jimal nestles in a fork created by the joining of two wadis that brine the runoff waters from the lower slopes of the Jebel Druze. The earlier village was located on the W bank of the eastern branch, while the standing town lay on the E bank of the west branch.

**B. History of Exploration and Excavation**

Umm el-Jimal was "rediscovered" in the middle of the 19th century, and has been the subject of sporadic scholarship ever since. However, the major work done before the present study was the Princeton University Expedition to southern Syria in 1905 and 1909 led by Howard Crosby Butler. As a result, reporting and research on the site must be divided into two phases: "Before Butler" and "After Butler." Butler himself lists the following visitors to the site (Butler 1913: 151): C. Graham (1857), W. H. Waddington (1861–2), M. de Vogue (1861–2), C. Doughty (1875–6), S. Merrill (1876), W. H. Thomson (1877), H. Frauberger (1890), G. R. Lees (1893), G. Schumacher (1894), R. Dussaud and F. Macler (1901), and G. Bell (1905). These visits yielded some descriptive reporting, the sketching of a few buildings, and the recording of some inscriptions. They formed the basis of the more intense work done by Butler and his team of specialists in 1904–5 and 1909.

This intensive survey involved the mapping of the site including its public buildings, churches, reservoirs, monumental tombs, and twenty of the 131 housing complexes. All the visible Greek, Latin, Nabatean, Safaitic, and Arabic inscriptions were collected under the supervision of E. Littmann. The publications of these materials remain an invaluable reference for the site (Butler 1913; Littmann 1913). N. Glueck included Umm el-Jimal in his study of the extent of Nabatean influence in Syria in *Explorations in Eastern Palestine* (Glueck 1951). In 1956 G. U. S. Corbett did a detailed study of the Julianos Church from which he concluded convincingly that Butler's naming and dating of the church in the 4th century is based on a reused funerary inscription and therefore incorrect (Corbett 1957). Since 1972, Bert de Vries has been working on the site, completing Butler's mapping of the town in 1972–3 and directing teams of excavators in 1974, 1977, 1981, and 1984. The results of this work have been the completion of the architectural survey done by Butler and the determination of a more precise architectural and cultural history based on stratigraphic chronology.

**C. History of the Site**

Umm el-Jimal was occupied for 700 years from the 1st century A.D. to the 8th century, and again early in the 20th century. There were four distinct occupations over this period.

**1. 2d–3d Century Village.** In the 2d–3d centuries A.D., it was a rural village that received its impetus from late Nabatean sedentarization, but its prosperity from the incorporation of the region into the Roman Empire after the peaceful transformation of the Nabatean heartland of Jordan into the *provincia Arabia* (the Roman Province of Arabia). Thus from Trajan (A.D. 106) to the end of the Severan Dynasty (A.D. 235) the village appears to have had an undisturbed and relatively prosperous rural life, as inferred from the hundreds of tombstone inscriptions in Greek and Nabatean, most of which were reused as corbels and stairway treads in the later, still-standing town. These inscriptions give us the Arabic and Hellenized names of several generations of villagers: "Asad, (son of) 'Akrab, age 30" (in Greek); "Masik, son of Zabud" (in Nabatean).

This relative tranquility ended in the middle of the 3d century, when the village became a victim of the wave of turmoil that ravaged the Roman Mediterranean; a likely hypothesis is that it was ruined during the civil war triggered by Queen Zenobia of Palmyra's rebellion against Rome. After the destruction, the village and its cemeteries provided building materials for the later fortifications and houses. Ruined to foundation levels, the site remains a 300–400 m diameter "moonscape" of rubble 200 m E of the SE corner of the later town.

**2. 4th–5th Century Fortifications.** The second Umm el-Jimal was a military station on the *limes Arabicus*, the 4th–5th century fortified frontier defensive system created and constructed by the emperors Diocletian and Constantine. Already in the 2d century, the Roman imperial authorities had begun construction of a gate and a wall next to the village, on the site of the standing town. This is known from a dedicatory inscription (recorded by H. C. Butler from the ruins of the "Commodus Gate") commemorating the construction of a defensive wall during the co-regency of Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus. The construction of the great reservoir and the Praetorium followed. See Fig. UMM.01 (nos. 9 and 2). But after the destruction of the village, Diocletian's imperial reorganization resulted in the construction of a major fortification, the *castellum* (nos. 133–4) on the E side of what later became the town. Now Umm el-Jimal functioned as a stitch in the blanket of total defensive security in which Diocletian had attempted to swaddle his empire. The 4th–5th century consisted of the Commodus Gate, the Praetorium, Reservoir no. 9 and the fort, but without the Barracks, the houses, and the churches.

**3. 5th–8th Century Town.** This military security may have enabled or forced the civilian resettlement of the site, to set the stage for Umm el-Jimal's third persona, that of a prosperous rural farming and trading town of the 5th to 8th centuries. The transformation from military station to civilian town was gradual, and is typical of the general transformation from imperial to late antique culture that took place in the E Mediterranean in the 4th century. This resulted from the failure of Diocletian's system of massive defenses along the E frontier and the reaction to the debilitating economic oppression such a system required. Ironically, as imperial military security weakened and decentralized, the prosperity of the E frontier increased to reach a peak in the 6th century.

At Umm el-Jimal the Tetrarchic (refers to the type of imperial government inaugurated by Diocletian) *castellum* lost its military function in the early 5th century, and may have been converted into a market place, as inferred from the nature of the artifacts found in the streets between its barracks. At the same time the Barracks (Fig. UMM.01, no. 1) was constructed as a bivouac for the diminished Early Byzantine garrison inside the town walls. The last vestige of paganism, a small Roman temple (Fig. UMM.01, no. 8), dated to the earlier Nabatean era by H. C. Butler, was constructed at this time.

This little temple was soon engulfed in a domestic complex constructed by Christians (no. 49), one of 131 such complexes that were in use in the 6th century. The conversion to Christianity also brought churches of which 15 were constructed in the late 5th and 6th centuries. The Barracks building went through a major remodeling that included the construction of the SE corner tower, a symbol of the localized defense prevalent during the period of the Ghassanid phylarchy (the Arabic tribal rule which Byzantine emperors used to protect the E flank of their empire from the mid-6th century to the Islamic conquest). Thus the town enjoyed its moment of greatest prosperity at the time that centralized imperial controls were at their weakest.

Undoubtedly, the fortunes of Umm el-Jimal were diminishing during the rather catastrophic decades of the late 6th century, when the E suffered the twin ravages of plague and Persian wars. Centralized control returned in somewhat different form after the Muslim conquest under the Umayyad caliphs ruling from Damascus (A.D. 661–750). Occupation at the site was uninterrupted to the end of the Umayyad period. The population continued to occupy at least the central structures (the Praetorium and House XVIII), and at least one church (no. 22) was remodeled in the Umayyad period. The Praetorium was extensively refloored and decorated with frescoed plaster, and appeared to be a prosperous equivalent of contemporary desert castles like Qusair 'Amra. However, Umayyad controls could not stem the tide of depopulation that had begun in the previous century. When the earthquake of A.D. 747 hit, neither

manpower nor economic resources remained with which to rebuild as they had done in more prosperous times.

**4. 20th Century Twilight.** For more than 1100 years the city lay virtually abandoned and untouched. Though buildings experienced the continuous slow crumbling that non-maintenance causes, as well as occasional earthquake jolts, the durable basalt masonry and the high quality construction enabled a remarkable state of preservation. Thus when the Druze were expanding S from their mountain perch, some of them found Umm el-Jimal an attractive place to remodel. Before 1935 a number of buildings had their walls reconstructed, and corbeled roofs newly laid on arches set in the Roman style. When the Druze left to move S to Azraq and Amman, they abandoned a place that appears even more remarkably preserved than when travelers and explorers like Butler and Bell visited it earlier in this century.

**D. Culture**

The role that Umm el-Jimal played in recorded historical developments is difficult to determine, because its ancient name is unknown. Without the help of literary sources, the nature of the settlement has to be understood from the ruins themselves.

Umm el-Jimal is no Jerash. The place is plain, without frills. But this has great significance. Whereas Jerash is monumental, a symbol of the glory of Rome, Umm el-Jimal is ordinary, a symbol of the real life of Rome's subjects. Umm el-Jimal gives us a glimpse of local people, Arabs, Nabateans, and Syrians, living ordinary lives. These people were the backbone of the Roman order and economy. They belonged to the frontier tribes who settled at the urging of Nabatean water technology and Roman military order. One could say they benefitted from the security Rome brought; one could also say they suffered under the iron fist of Rome's military might. Their ruined buildings reveal that they coped rather well at times.

Umm el-Jimal's ordinary houses give clues to the habits of their residents. The architecture of these plain houses makes it clear that the residents were chiefly farmers. In most the bottom floors were barns and stables; the enclosed courtyards doubled as living rooms for humans and pens for animals. Outside, the elaborate water collection systems of both the 2d century village and the 6th century town, combined with the terraced fields along the wadis, indicate extensive cultivation. Both the ruins of the village and the standing buildings of the town indicate enough economic surplus from the export of animals and produce to nearby cities to enable the construction of the plain, but sturdy and comfortable houses that characterize the entire region.

These houses were built exclusively of the local steel-grey basalt. The prevalent use of corbeled rather than vaulted or pedimented roofs, with resulting narrow rooms and flat roofs, adds to the solidity and practicality of this no-frills, high quality architecture. The combination of somber color, surprising rows of corbels and excellent preservation give the place its unusual attractiveness today.

The income from agriculture may have been bolstered by caravaneering as well. Places like Umm el-Jimal and Umm el-Quttein are convenient stopovers for goods in transit from Arabia and the Gulf via the Wadi Sirhan and Azraq to Bostra and Damascus. To explain the existence of these places as "Caravan Cities," however, is an exaggeration. The backbone of local economy and sustenance was the agriculture that flourished from the twin benefits of superb water engineering and excellent soil.

Who were these residents? It is tempting to call them Nabateans, because the site has one of the largest numbers of Nabatean inscriptions anywhere. However, indications are that Nabatean was an adopted culture. The villagers who wrote the Nabatean texts used much more Greek, another second language, if poor grammar and spelling are any indication. And practically none of the typically Nabatean pottery was used. The post-3d century town people used no Nabatean at all, only Greek.

The best interpretation is that the earlier village was settled by local Arab tribes under Nabateanizing influence from the nearby capital at Bostra. These villagers probably spoke an Arabic or Aramaic dialect, and super-imposed both Nabatean and Roman cultures on their own desert ways as they became sedentary. The names on their tombstones, though written in Greek, are mostly Arabic/Aramaic in ethnic identity (Sartre 1985: 199–200). After the destruction of the Nabateanized village in the 3d century, the builders of the new town were other regional Arabs who adapted and refined the earlier hydraulic and architectural technology, but had no interest in the Nabatean language and religion.

It is also a misnomer to call the people of this later town Roman or Byzantine. True, the pottery they used was mostly typical of the Roman and Byzantine pottery of the Mediterranean. But the architecture and the way of life is indigenous, with only some Greek and Roman influences. The answer to the question, therefore, is that the people of Umm el-Jimal belonged to local Arabic tribes who settled into rural communities in the context of Nabatean, Roman, Byzantine, and Umayyad political and cultural expansion and control.

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BERT DE VRIES

**UMMAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿumâ* (עֻמָּה)]. A town in the tribal allotment of Asher (Josh 19:30). Most scholars consider the name Ummah as an error for Acco, a major town which is absent from Asher's list here, but appears in Asher's list of "Conquest Lacunae" (cities that the respective tribe did not manage to conquer) in Judg 1:31. In certain periods in Hebrew paleography, *mem* and *kap* are easily confused, which would lead to the erroneous *ʿmh* for *ʿkh.* Notice also that LXX $^{C}$ reads *kai Akko.* If this error is not accepted, then the location of Ummah is unknown.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**UNCLEAN AND CLEAN.** These terms designate negative or positive ritual and moral conditions in persons and sometimes in objects. Uncleanness or impurity is basically defined as that which is a threat to or opposes holiness, and hence must be kept separate from that sphere. On the relationship of purity and impurity to the profane (i.e., nonholy or common) and holy, see HOLINESS. Impurity may arise from natural and necessary conditions, such as bodily discharges, or from sinful situations.

***OLD TESTAMENT***

In the OT, the concern about purity and impurity preponderates in the Priestly writings (= P; including the Holiness Code, Leviticus 17–26). This corpus presents extremely systematic legislation on this topic. Because P deals with purity so completely and lucidly, this article will mainly describe its legislation. Non-P evidence will be appended in most sections. For comparison of purity ideas in later Jewish and Christian literature and in the ANE, see Milgrom *Leviticus* AB; Neusner 1973; Paschen 1970: 83–200; Wright 1987b.

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A. Terminology
B. The Impurities
  1. Permitted Impurity
    a. Classes
    b. General Purification and Dedication Rites
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C. Other Excretions, Blemishes, Foods, and Mixtures
D. Purification and Rectification Procedures
1. Permitted Impurities
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E. The Rationale and Theology of Impurity
1. Strengths and Places of Impurity
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3. Rationale for Impurities

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**A. Terminology**

In P and in the rest of the OT the main Hebrew roots for describing purity and impurity are as follows: (1) for purity: *ṭhr* (verb: *Qal* "be pure," *Pi‹el* "purify; declare clean" ["clear away" Job 37:21], *Pu‹al* "be cleansed, purified," *Hitpa‹el* "purify oneself"; nouns: *ṭōhar, ṭōhŏrâ* "purity, purifying" ["splendor" Ps 89:45]; adj.: *ṭāhôr* "pure"; the adj. is also used of the gold of cultic implements and incense in P to refer to elemental, not ritual, purity [but see Exod 31:8; 39:37; Lev 24:4; cf. Zech 3:5; 2 Chr 13:11]; the root is also used outside of P of stones and gold); for impurity: *ṭm›* (verb: *Qal*, "be/become impure," *Nip‹al* "defile oneself; be impure," *Pi‹el* "defile; declare unclean," *Pu‹al* "be polluted," *Hitpa‹el/Hotpa‹al* "defile oneself, become unclean"; noun: *ṭum›â* "impurity"; adj.: *ṭāmē›* "impure").

Other roots deal with purity (this and the following paragraph list only verb forms and other parts of speech from these roots that deal specifically with the idea of purity): *brr* (verb: *Qal* "purify; clean," *Nip‹al/Hitpa‹el* "purify oneself, be pure," *Pi‹el* "purify," *Hip‹il* "cleanse, polish"; nouns: *bōr* "purity; lye, soap," *bōrît* "lye, soap"; adj.: *bar* "pure, clean"); *zkh* (generally carrying a notion of "be innocent"; verb: *Qal* "be pure; justified," *Pi‹el* "purify," *Hitpa‹el* "purify oneself"); *zkk* (verb: *Qal* "be bright, guiltless," *Hip‹il* "purify, wash"; adj.: *zak* "pure, blameless"); *zqq* (generally of refining metals but the *Pi‹el* verb "purify" is used in Mal 3:3 of people; cf. the *Pu‹al* Ps 12:7); *ḥṭ›* (verb: *Pi‹el* "purify; offer a purification sacrifice," *Hitpa‹el* "purify oneself"; noun: *ḥaṭṭā›t* "purification sacrifice"); *ḥpp* (attested only in Job 33:9; adj.: *ḥap* "pure"); *kpr* (verb: *Pi‹el* "appease, make appeasement; purify"; *Pu‹al* "be expiated, purified," *Hitpa‹el/Nitpa‹el* "be expiated" [BDB, 498]; noun: *kippurîm* "appeasement, expiation"); *lbn* (verb: *Hip‹il* "turn white; purify"); *nqh* (mainly refers to judicial and religious innocence but at points has contacts with the idea of purity, particularly the noun *niqqayôn* "innocence, cleanness"; cf. the adj. *nāqî* "innocent, clean"); *ṣdq* (generally with a judicial or religious significance of being innocent, right, true; as a *Nip‹al* verb in Dan 8:14 with a sense "be purified"); *ṣrp* (of purifying or smelting metals used figuratively; verb: *Qal/Pi‹el* "refine, purify," *Nip‹al* "be refined, purified"; see also *ntk*); *qdš* (generally referring to holiness but the *Pi‹el* and *Hitpa‹el* are sometimes used to mean "purify [by bathing]"; see HOLINESS); *tmm* (once as a *Hip‹il* verb meaning "destroy" impurity; Ezek 22:15). To be considered with the terminology of purification are words or roots dealing with ablutions or related methods of purification: *glḥ* ("shave"; cf. *ta‹ar* "razor"); *dwḥ* ("wash"); *zrq* ("throw; sprinkle"); *kbs* ("launder"); *nzh* ("sprinkle"); *mrq* ("scour"); *neter* ("natron"); *rḥṣ* ("bathe, wash"); *štp* ("overflow; rinse"). Cf. *b‹r* ("burn, consume"); *ṭbl* ("immerse, dip"), *śrp* ("burn").

Other roots dealing with impurity are: *g›l* (II) (verb: *Nip‹al* "be polluted," *Pi‹el/Hip‹il* "pollute," *Hitpa‹el* "defile oneself"; noun: *gō›el* "defilement"); *ḥll* (technically of making something holy profane but often with a notion of defilement [see HOLINESS]; verb: *Nip‹al/Pu‹al* "be profaned, defiled," *Pi‹el/Hip‹il* "profane, defile"); *ḥnp* (verb: Qal "be polluted, profane; be evil," *Hip‹il* "pollute, desecrate"; nouns: *ḥōnep, ḥănuppâ* "impiety"; adj.: *ḥānēp* "impious, wicked"); *niddâ* ("menstrual discharge; impurity"; as "abomination" in Lev 20:21); cf. *ṭnp, ktm, piggûl* (see HOLINESS). To this list could be added roots and words that refer to the notion of abomination (*zimmâ* "wickedness"; *šqṣ/šeqeṣ*

"abomination"; *tʿb/tôʿēbâ* "abomination"; etc.) and those for specific impurities *(zwb* "to flow; have a flux"; *ṣāraʿat* "surface/scale disease"; etc.).

Bordering the terminology of purity/impurity is that of holiness (see HOLINESS) on the one hand, and sin, guilt, and righteousness (see SIN; RIGHTEOUSNESS) on the other. On the terminology, see Paschen (1970); Zatelli (1978; a semiotic approach; cf. Bean 1981); and *TWAT /TDOT* under the foregoing terms.

**B. The Impurities**

P displays a broad spectrum of impurities, from those lasting one-day which are quite innocuous to those that are extremely severe arising out of sin. These can be divided into two types. One type is permitted impurity. Though any form of this impurity can harm the sacred by contact and stronger forms of this impurity can aerially pollute sanctuary sancta (see below), this type is not disallowed because of its *natural* and *necessary* occurrence. It includes impurities relating to death, sex, disease, and the cult. P discusses this type most frequently. It characteristically has simple methods of rectification (ablutions, sacrifices, time elements, or disposal). The locus of pollution is always the person, and, as indicated above, the sanctuary in severe cases. The other type is prohibited impurity. Though the effect of this impurity may be extremely severe, its effects may be no more severe than those of permitted impurity. This type of impurity grows out of situations which are controllable and are not natural or necessary, such as delaying purification from impurity, polluting specific sancta, sexual transgressions, idolatry, and murder. Punishments, beyond sacrificial requirements, often are necessary for rectification. The locus of uncleanness may be the person, but prescriptions talk more of the pollution of the sanctuary or land. For a distinction between types of purity based on nonbiblical anthropological evidence that has points of resonance with the classification presented here, see Rosen 1973.

**1. Permitted Impurity. a. Classes.** Leviticus 11–15 and Numbers 19 contain P 's main discussion of permitted impurity, though throughout the corpus other brief references are found. These impurities can be organized into four classes: (a) death related, (b) sexual, (c) disease related, and (d) cultic. Each class is comprised of main impurities (see below) which are capable of generating secondary conditions of impurity in other objects or persons. In some cases, these secondarily impure persons or objects can cause tertiary impurity in other persons and objects. In one case a fourth level impurity is found. Hence, each main impurity, a "father of uncleanness" in rabbinic terminology, can generate a family of lesser impurity (its "offspring"). The number of "fathers of impurity" is quite limited, but with the ability of extended propagation the number of possible impure conditions is quite large.

**(1) Death Related. (a) Human Corpse.** The most severe of all the permitted impurities is the human corpse, called the "father of the fathers of uncleanness" in later rabbinic tradition (Rashi on *b. Pesaḥ.* 14b, 17a; cf. *m. Kelim* 1:1–4; *Ṭohar.* 1:5). Persons and objects polluted by it are impure for seven days (Num 19:11, 16, 19; 31:19, 24). Pollution occurs when the persons or objects touch the corpse or are merely in the same enclosure with it (19:11, 13, 14, 18). Pollution comes not only from a corpse, but from a human bone, a slain body, or a grave (19:18; 31:19). Corpse-contaminated persons and objects can pollute other persons and objects by touch for a one-day duration (19:22 [*ṭāmēʾ* refers to the corpse-contaminated person]; Lev 22:4–7).

Various restrictions and purification procedures apply to corpse-generated impurities. The corpse itself, whose impurity cannot be rectified, is removed from the area of habitation for burial (Lev 10:4–5).

Two views of restriction appear for corpse-contaminated persons. According to Num 5:2–3 and Num 31:13–24, corpse-polluted persons are to be excluded from the camp. Numbers 19, however, implies that such persons could remain in the area of habitation. The stricter rule in Numbers 5 and 31 is probably to be understood as applying only to the wilderness camp, a type of war camp. War camps have more rigorous purity rules (Deut 33:10–15; 1 Sam 21:4–7). The leniency of Numbers 19 is explained by its being the law that was to apply to settled communities after the conquest. Of course, corpse-contaminated persons and objects were restricted from anything holy, including festal occasions (cf. Num 9:6–14; see below on Lev 21:1–4, 10–12; Num 6:6–12).

Corpse-contaminated persons become pure by being sprinkled on the third and seventh days of their impurity with the water of purgation (*mê niddâ;* 19:9, 12, 13, 18–21; 31:19, 23), a mixture of water and

the ashes of the red cow (19:2–11). On the seventh day, impure persons bathe themselves and launder their clothes and are pure at evening (19:19; 31:24). Corresponding to the ablution for persons is the requirement that objects be passed through fire if they can endure it, or be immersed in water if they cannot (31:19–24; see Wright 1985). Polluted earthenware is broken (an exception to this is made in Num 19:15; see Wright 1987b: 93–113). Ezekiel, whose legislation in chapters 40–48 is closely related to P 's, requires a corpse-contaminated priest to bring a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* (purification) sacrifice (44:25–27; cf. the Nazirite's similar requirement in Num 6:6–12; see below).

Persons and objects polluted by corpse-contaminated persons and things are impure for one day (Num 19:22) and have no restrictions from profane (nonholy) matters. Persons polluted for one day bathe, and objects are washed (these ablutions are implied from the larger context). All these become pure at evening. See HEIFER, RED; WATER FOR IMPURITY.

Outside of P a similar picture obtains. One who is corpse-contaminated can pollute objects (specifically foods, Hag 2:13). Corpses after a battle pollute and need to be buried (Ezek 39:12–14; called a purification of the land). Graves pollute (cf. Isa 65:4). In this regard, the OT generally shows the concern to bury outside of towns, presumably because of the concern of corpse contamination. An exception appears in the case of Judahite kings who were generally buried inside the City of David or Jerusalem (1 Kgs 2:10; 11:43; 14:31; 15:8; etc.; see Wright 1987b: 115–28). Corpses desecrate sanctuaries (Ezek 9:7; 43:7–9) and cities (Jer 19:11–13). The food of mourners was considered unclean (Hos 9:4; cf. Deut 26:14). See Wright 1987b: 169–72, 196–200.

**(b) Animal Carcasses.** Typically related to the impurity of the human corpse is that of the animal carcasses. Leviticus 11, the main source in P for this subject, is hard to understand and betrays a complex historical development. As it presently stands the chapter seems to distinguish between a large group of animals which cause pollution when *eaten* and a more limited group within this larger class that cause pollution when merely *touched* or *carried.* Those that pollute by ingestion are: all land animals that do not have a split hoof and do not chew the cud, or those with these characteristics that have not been properly killed (cf. vv 2–8, 24–45); water animals that do not have fins and scales (vv 9–12); and certain listed birds and certain flying insects (vv 13–23). Only *some* of these animals appear to pollute by simple contact: the camel, hyrax, hare, and pig of vv 2–8; large land animals such as the horse and bear implied by the criteria of vv 24–28; only eight types of small land animals (*šeraṣîm:* reptiles and rodents; see CRAWLING AND CREEPING THINGS) in vv 29–38; and improperly killed large land animals that are potentially edible in vv 39–40. In sum, all large land animals and only eight types of small land animals pollute by touch; other small land animals and sea and air animals do not. See Wright 1987b: 200–06.

The chapter has a further complexity of *prohibiting* ingestion or contact with some of these animals. Almost all the animals described above as being able to pollute by ingestion are prohibited to the diet (Lev 11:2–4, 8, 9, 11, 13, 20, 21, 41, 42). A prohibition of touching, however, is found only in the case of the carcasses of the camel, hyrax, hare, and pig (v 8; cf. vv 4–7; vv 41–45 and 20:25 appear to refer to eating, not touching). That eating and, in some cases, touching are prohibited shows that animal impurities do not fall completely under the category of permitted impurities. The method of contracting pollution from other classes of impurities helps solve this anomaly. Other impurities arise by means of *external* contact (apart from self-generated impurity of the fathers of pollution). Only with animal carcasses does impurity come from both external contact and internal consumption. The reason for the prohibition of eating appears to be the dietary laws' particular purpose to serve as a sign of Israel's holiness—its separateness from the nations (11:44–45; 20:25–27; a holiness rationale for food prohibitions appears at the earliest level of Israelite legislation, Exod 22:30; and is perpetuated in Deut 14:21). Other purity rules are oriented more toward the inner workings of the cult and the Israelite people; the concern for purity lies in its effect upon the sphere of the holy. Impurity in these other cases is allowed if handled correctly. The dietary laws, however, though they fit in the system of cultic purity, have the additional symbolic significance of manifesting Israel's relationship to God vis-à-vis other nations. Avoiding ingestion of certain animals is a sign of Israel's commitment to its covenant with God. Hence, eating impure animals is prohibited. It is possible that the care to observe the covenant led to the

prohibition of touching the large land animals in Lev 11:4–8, a "fence" to insure observance (compare the echo of this in Gen 2:17; 3:3). In the end, it should be observed that the text never prescribes any punishment for transgressing these prohibitions.

The extent of animals prohibited to the diet must be defined more precisely. Israelites, of course, may eat any of the animals that are pure according to Leviticus 11. But while most polluting meat is prohibited, eating carcasses of clean animals that have been improperly killed is presumably allowed (vv 39–40). Compare Leviticus 17 which after establishing a mood of prohibiting items from the diet (i.e., animal blood, vv 10–14) only gives purification procedures for eating the carrion of pure animals, not prohibitions against it (vv 15–16). Thus appears a marginal class of meat which, though able to pollute by ingestion, is not prohibited (cf. 7:24). But if a lay Israelite may eat such meat, a priest, because he is holy, may not (22:8; cf. Ezek 44:31). For a similar distinction in prescription for lay Israelites versus priests, see below on corpse contamination of priests.

Touching, carrying, or eating carcasses of large land animals and the eight small land animals causes a one-day impurity. Of note is the difference in pollution caused by *touching* one of these animals versus *carrying* them. A person who only touches one of these carcasses needs only bathing, while the person who carries part or all of the carcass needs laundering also (Lev 11:24–25, 27–28, 39–40). vv 39–40 equates the effect of eating with carrying. Polluted objects are washed. Polluted persons and objects require no restriction from the profane sphere. Leviticus 11 does not say anything about the pollution effect and purification requirements when an animal is eaten except in the case of an improperly killed animal in vv 39–40. Presumably the procedures would be the same as those in these verses. On animal impurities in P see also Lev 5:2; 7:21; 27:11, 27; Num 18:15.

Outside P, the food prohibitions in Deut 14:3–21 parallel closely P's rules in Leviticus 11 (on the relationship, see Moran 1966; Milgrom *Leviticus*). Other short legal passages are Exod 13:13; 22:30; 34:20. Some passages reflect the idea that holy persons are to not to eat impure foods: Samson's mother while carrying her son who would be a Nazirite (Judg 13:4, 7, 14; she is not expressly called holy); Ezekiel, a priest (Ezek 4:14). This last passage manifests the theme of exiled Israelites eating unclean food in foreign lands (v 13; cf. Hos 9:3–4; Daniel 1; on the impurity of foreign lands and foreigners, see Josh 22:19; Amos 7:17; Ezra 6:21). The J (Yahwist) flood tradition has Noah bringing seven pairs of clean animals versus one pair of unclean animals (Gen 7:2; 8:20). The P tradition, in contrast, requires only one pair of each type of animal (6:19–20; 7:15–16; 7:8–9 is a mixture of the traditions). For the abhorrence of impure animals in an idolatrous context, see Ezek 8:10.

**(2) Sexual.** For the discussion of these impurities, see DISCHARGE. Listed here are the five fathers of impurity in this class and biblical references in and outside of P: a seminal emission (Lev 15:16–18; cf. Exod 19:10–11, 14–15; Deut 23:10–15; 1 Sam 21:4–7); menstruation (Lev 15:19–24; 18:19; 20:18; cf. Gen 31:35; 2 Sam 11:4; Isa 30:22; Ezek 7:19; 22:10; 36:17; Lam 1:17; Ezra 9:11); a lochial discharge after birth (Lev 12; cf. Job 14:1, 4); an abnormal sexual discharge in a male (Lev 15:2–15; 22:4–6; Num 5:2–3; cf. 2 Sam 3:29); an abnormal menstrual discharge (Lev 15:25–30).

**(3) Diseases.** For the discussion of the impurity under this category, see LEPROSY. The impurity of this class, leaving aside the pathological conditions of abnormal sexual discharges of the foregoing class, is that of *ṣāraʿat,* commonly but erroneously translated "leprosy." The term actually includes a number of skin lesions in humans (e.g., psoriasis, etc.) and certain fungal growths in houses and in fabrics (cloth and leather). Five fathers of impurity belong to this class: humans diagnosed as having *ṣāraʿat* (Lev 13:1–46; 14:1–32; 22:4; Num 5:2–3; cf. Exod 4:6–7; Num 12:10–15; Deut 24:8; 2 Sam 3:29; 2 Kgs 5; 7:3–10; 15:5 = 2 Chr 26:16–21; perhaps Job 2:7–13; 18:13); humans suspected of having *ṣāraʿat* (Lev 13:1–46); a person purifying from *ṣāraʿat* (14:8–10); houses (Lev 14:33–53); fabrics (cloth and leather; Lev 13:47–59).

**(4) Cultic Impurities.** These impurities are those that arise in cultic rites or situations that have the goal of rectifying prohibited and other permitted impurities. While these are not natural as is the case with the foregoing impurities, they are necessary in order to rectify other, noncultic impurities. The cases here reveal a paradox: something or someone that is pure, even holy, which is used or serves as an officiant to

remove impurity becomes impure, sometimes to the extent of being able to pollute other persons and things.

**(a) The *ḥaṭṭāʾt* Sacrifice.** The *ḥaṭṭāʾt* (purification offering) purifies various sancta (altars and sanctuary rooms) from impurity (Exod 29:36; Lev 8:15; cf. Ezek 43:20–23; 45:18). The pollution it removes derives from either the more serious permitted impurities (lochial and abnormal sexual discharges, Lev 12:6–8; 15:14–15, 29–30; *ṣāraʿat* in persons, 14:19, 31; corpse contamination of a priest in Ezekiel, 44:27), or from sinful situations (the mismanagement of permitted impurities, inadvertent corpse contamination of a Nazirite, and inadvertent and intentional sins; on these see below). The sacrifice is also used in dedicating the burnt offering altar (see below). These impure conditions or sins pollute the sancta from a distance; impure persons or transgressors need not be in the sanctuary precincts to cause the pollution. Depending on the type of the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* (see below), purification may be achieved by placing its blood on the horns of the burnt-offering altar (Exod 29:12; Lev 4:25, 30, 34; 8:15; 9:9; 16:18–19; for a bird see 5:9), placing it on the horns of the incense altar (Exod 30:10; Lev 4:7, 18), sprinkling it on the *kappōret* and in the adytum (16:14, 15), or sprinkling it in the shrine (4:6, 17; cf. placement on the door posts in Ezek 45:19). The particular locale of the sanctuary that is polluted (indicated by where the blood is used) depends on the character of the impurity or sin. Severe permitted impurities and inadvertent sins committed by individuals (cf. Lev 4:22–35) pollute only the outer altar. Sins by the community or by the high priest pollute the incense altar and shrine (the outer room of the tabernacle) (4:2–21). Intentional sins (*pešāʿîm;* 16:16) and presumably other unrectified sins and impurities pollute the adytum (the most holy place). In this graded scheme, it is noteworthy that serious permitted impurities affect only the outer altar.

There are two types of *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifices. The types are determined by the use made of the blood or the party for whom the offering is made. The one type is that whose blood is used only at the outer altar and whose meat is eaten by priests (Lev 4:22–35; 6:20–23; 10:16–18). It is not clear if this type pollutes. Certain procedures surrounding it suggest some pollution exists: blood must be washed out of a garment, metal vessels in which it is cooked need to be scoured, and earthenware cookery needs to be broken (Lev 6:20–21). That the priest may eat of it suggests that it is virtually pure. It is doubtful if the priests' eating is an act of purification—the removal or disposal of an impurity (cf. Lev 10:17). The other type is that whose blood is used in the shrine or adytum of the sanctuary, or which was offered for the priests' benefit (Exod 29:10–14; Lev 4:2–12, 13–21; 6:23; 8:14–17; 9:8–11; 10:18; 16:27). This type is not eaten. The carcass is disposed of by burning outside the camp in a pure place (Exod 29:14; Lev 4:11–12, 21; 6:23; 8:17; 9:11; 16:27). This type pollutes persons and, by deduction, objects for one day (cf. Lev 16:27–28).

Lev 6:20 hints that the blood of the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* is impure. If so, pouring out the blood remaining after the initial blood applications and sprinklings at the base of the altar could be considered an act of disposal (Exod 29:12; Lev 4:7, 18, 25, 30, 34; 5:9; 8:15; 9:9).

Persons polluted by the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* bathe and launder; objects are washed. On the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* in general, see Milgrom 1983b: 67–95; Wright: 1987b: 129–59; 219; cf. Janowski 1982: 183–276.

**(b) The Scapegoat.** In the yearly Day of Atonement ritual, the people contribute a goat to carry sins to the wilderness (Lev 16:8, 10, 21–22). Aaron confesses over it "all of the transgressions of the Israelites and their crimes including all their sins." The goat is then taken to the wilderness (vv 21–22). The one dispatching the animal becomes unclean, implicitly for one day, and needs laundering and bathing (v 26). The scapegoat as a carrier of evil is never reclaimed but let loose in the wilderness (but cf. *m. Yoma* 6:5–6). See Wright 1987b: 15–31, 217–18; AZAZEL.

**(c) The Red Cow, Its Ashes, and the Water of Purgation.** To remove corpse contamination a special ash and water mixture is sprinkled on a polluted person (see on corpse contamination, above). The ash is made by burning a red cow with scarlet, hyssop, and cedar wood outside the camp in view of the sanctuary (Num 19:2–10). Both the ash made in this rite and the water mixture in which it is used pollute. The priest officiating in the ash making ritual, the one who burns the cow, and the one who gathers the resulting ash become impure. Their impurity lasts one day and they need to bathe and launder (Num 19:7, 8, 10; bathing for the case of the last verse is deduced). When the ash is used to purify a corpse-contaminated person, a pure person is to sprinkle the water mixture (v 18). This person, paradoxically,

becomes impure and needs to bathe (deduced) and launder (v 21). A person who merely touches the water needs only bathing (the ablution is deduced; v 21). By deduction, objects would become impure too by contacting the water or ashes. The ashes, because they are impure, are stored outside camp (v 9). See Wright 1987b: 215–17; Milgrom 1983b: 85–95.

**(d) *Ṣāraʿat* Bird and Bird Blood.** To help purify a person or house that have recovered from *ṣāraʿat,* a priest sprinkles a mixture of water and bird blood on the patient by means of a live bird, hyssop, scarlet material, and cedar wood. The live bird is let loose toward the area outside of the habitation (Lev 14:2–7, 49–53). That the dispatched bird and blood-water mixture cause pollution is surmised from the analogous case of the scapegoat. The pollution would be similar to that case. See Wright 1987b: 75–86, 214–15.

**b. General Purification and Dedication Rites.** P contains several purification rites that do not rectify a particular impurity but which serve to establish the purity of persons or objects so that they may perform or be employed in cultic service. These can be considered under the class of permitted impurities.

**(1) Purification of the Levites.** The levites, chosen to serve in the place of the Israelite firstborn to perform the labor of the sanctuary and assist the priests, are purified by shaving, laundering, and being sprinkled with "water of purification" (*mê ḥaṭṭāʾt;* Num 8:6–7, 15, 21; probably not the same as the *mê niddâ* for corpse contamination). This ablution, with accompanying sacrifices, establishes the levites' purity (but not holiness) so they may assume their responsibility.

**(2) Purification of the Altar.** As part of the temple consecration rites, the burnt-offering altar is purified with *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifices (Exod 29:36; Lev 8:15; cf. 16:10–14; Ezek 43:20–27). Here the purification is part of a larger process of sanctification. See HOLINESS.

**(3) Priestly Ablutions.** Aaron and his sons are washed before they are dressed in their priestly clothing and consecrated (Exod 29:4; 40:12; Lev 8:6). This purification is similar in purpose to that of the levites and the altar. Before priests can serve on a daily basis in the sanctuary, they need to wash their hands and feet (Exod 30:18–21; 40:30–32; cf. 2 Chr 4:6). Ablution for purification is otherwise a full body washing; hence this limited washing is unique. The high priest on the Day of Atonement is to bathe entirely ("his flesh") at the beginning of the rite before putting on special linen clothing (Lev 16:4) and after the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* blood manipulation and dispatch of the scapegoat when he changes out of the special clothing (v 24). The initial washing is like the priests' preparatory hand and feet washings. That the whole body must be washed probably has to do with the intensive rite that follows in which the priest enters the most sacred room of the sanctuary (vv 12–15). The latter ablution seems to mark the priest's exit from the intensive portion of the ritual (a desanctification rite) to the regular sacrificial rites that follow (vv 24–25).

**2. Prohibited Impurity.** This type of impurity arises from the mismanagement of permitted impurities or other moral breaches. On the classification of these impurities into two categories, see below on purification procedures for prohibited impurities. The discussion here takes the examples in P case by case with non-P examples appended where applicable. With permitted impurities pollution affected persons, and in more severe cases, the sanctuary. Here the loci of impurity expand to include the land as well.

**a. Delaying Purification.** Delay of purification from permitted impurities exacerbates the effect of an impurity. This is considered sinful and is consequently penalized. Those who contract pollution from impure objects, animal carcasses, or from human impurities including a corpse, and find out about it or remember it after the period prescribed for purification has passed need to bring a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifice, presumably in addition to their required ablutions (Lev 5:2–3; cf. vv 1–13). The requirement for a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* shows the sanctuary has been polluted. Corpse-contaminated persons who do not purify pollute the sanctuary and will suffer *kārēt* "cutting-off" (premature death or extinction of progeny; Num 19:13, 20; see Wold 1978). The verses in Numbers 19 are talking of conscious avoidance of purification while those in Leviticus 5 are talking of an inadvertent lapse. Hence, attitude determines the type of penalty assessed. See also Lev 17:15–16; cf. 15:31.

**b. A Corpse-Contaminated Nazirite.** A Nazirite is not to come in contact with the dead (Num 6:6–7). The reason for this is that he, particularly his head, is holy (vv 5, 8, 11, cf. 7). Accidentally contacting the dead is a sin (v 11). On the eighth day, after the passage of seven days during which he presumably

purifies as any other corpse-contaminated person (vv 9–10), he brings two birds for a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* (purgation offering), and *ʿōlâ* (burnt offering), and a ram for an *ʾāšām* (reparation offering; vv 10–12). The purgation-offering bird, perhaps aided by the burnt-offering bird, cleanses the sanctuary sancta. The reparation offering appears to rectify the sacrilege that occurred when the Nazirite's head was desecrated (Milgrom 1976: 66–70). The shaving of the head does not seem to be purificatory, but rather to remove a desecrated sanctum (v 9; cf. v 18). Since v 9 says that the contact was sudden *(bepetaʿ pitʾōm),* hence unexpected and accidental, it can be presumed that a more strict penalty such as *kārēt* "cutting-off" would apply if a Nazirite intentionally contacted a corpse.

**c. Corpse Contamination and Priests.** Regular priests are not to contact any corpses except those of their near relatives (Lev 21:1–4). A high priest is prohibited from contact with any corpse, like the Nazirite (vv 10–11; cf. Lev 10:1–7). Though P lists restrictions, it does not mention what penalties apply should priests become impure nor does it hint at the issue of intentionality (the rectification procedure in Ezek 44:25–27 applies to legitimate priestly corpse pollution).

The cases of corpse contamination regarding the Nazirite and priests reveal again an important notion in Priestly law: the higher the holiness of a person, the more the restrictions from impurity. Israelites may become impure by any corpse; regular priests may become impure only by corpses of close relatives; the high priest and Nazirite are not to become impure by any corpse. Recall from the discussion on animal carcasses, above, that while Israelites could eat the improperly killed carcasses of pure animals, priests could not (Lev 22:8).

P gives stricter rules for priests only in the cases of corpses and carrion of pure animals. Limitation of stricter rules to these two cases makes sense in P's system. These rules represent two modes of contracting pollution: ingestion for the animal carcasses and external contact for corpses. This difference in the manner of pollution indicates that the two prohibitions are to be explained apart from one another. The significance of the eating prohibition has already been treated in the section on animal carcasses, above. Eating, as opposed to touching, is the main focus of proscription because of the significance of the diet as a sign denoting Israel as a holy people. The prohibition about corpses is explained in relation to impurities that cause pollution by external contact. A priest is not to contact corpses because they are the most severe external pollutant, bringing an impurity lasting seven days. All other externally contracted impurities last for only one day (one exception is impurity contracted through intercourse with a menstruant, but this is prohibited to all in the Holiness Code; see below). A priest is apparently allowed to contact the lesser impurities as long as he does not pollute what is sacred (22:2–9). Indeed, though a priest is prohibited from eating the carcasses of improperly killed pure animals, he apparently is not prohibited from touching these as well as other animal carcasses (v 5). Other impurities that are as severe as a corpse, or more severe, are self-generated (*ṣāraʿat* and an abnormal sexual discharge). These cannot be prohibited because of their nature.

**d. Sins and the Day of Atonement.** Both inadvertent and intentional sins pollute the sanctuary as is clear from the requirement of a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifice (Lev 4:1–5:13; 16:3–20; Num 15:22–31). While the offerings of offenders purify impurity from unintentional sins throughout the year, extensive *ḥaṭṭāʾt* rites efface impurity from deliberate sins (and certainly that from any other unremedied sin or impurity) on the annual Day of Atonement. The *ḥaṭṭāʾt* rites together with the dispatch of the scapegoat, alleviate the effect of the people's sin and thus in a sense purify the people themselves (Lev 16:30). Deliberate sins of which offenders repent appear to become equivalent to inadvertent sins. Sacrificial expiation at the time of admission and confession would rectify these (5:1, 5–13; Num 5:6–8; see Milgrom 1976: 108–21; 1983a: 249, 252). On other aspects of the *ḥaṭṭāʾt,* see above on cultic impurities and below on purification procedures.

The majority of passages outside of P that mention purity or impurity deal with that connected with righteousness or sin (for pollution from sexual sins, idolatry, homicide, and polluting the sacred in particular, see the sections below). The loci suffering pollution or which are pure are the people (2 Sam 22:27 [= Ps 18:27]; 22:25; Isa 64:4–11; Jer 33:4–9; Ezek 14:11; 20:38, 43; 22:2–14; 24:11–13; 36:25–32; 37:23; 39:23–24; Hos 5:3; 6:10; Mic 2:10; 6:11; Ps 51:4, 6, 9, 12; 119:9; Prov 16:2; 20:11; 21:8; Job 8:6;

15:14–15; 25:4–5; 33:9; Lam 1:8–9; Neh 13:30; cf. the various phrases: a clean heart: Jer 4:14; Ps 24:4; 51:12; 73:1, 13; Prov 20:9; 22:11; clean hands or washing hands: Gen 20:5; 2 Sam 22:21; Ps 18:21, 25; 24:4; 26:6; 73:13; Job 17:9; 22:30 [cf. Deut 21:6]; unclean lips: Isa 6:5; cf. pure speech in Zeph 3:9; Job 33:3; Sirach 40:21; see other examples, below, on the rectification of impurity); the land (Gen 3:17; Isa 24:5–7; Jer 12:4; Ezek 22:24; Ezra 9:11); and the sanctuary (2 Chr 36:14; the sin here is probably idolatry). Cf. also Hab 1:13; Zech 3:5; Job 4:17; 16:17.

Punishment for sinful impurity is often exile or other destruction (Isa 64:4–11; Ezek 20:38; 22:2–14, 24, 31; 24:11–13; 39:23–24; Mic 2:10; cf. Ezra 9:11). This punishment serves as a means of rectification and purification. Another consequence may be agricultural failure (Gen 3:17; Isa 24:5–7; Jer 12:4; see on homicide, below). The people's repentance and their restoration from exile may be discussed in terms of purification (Jer 33:4–9; Ezek 20:43–44; 36:25–32). Finally, Ezekiel has temple purification rites similar to those of the Day of Atonement (45:18–20). See DAY OF ATONEMENT.

**e. Sexual Transgressions.** According to Leviticus 18, sexual sins pollute persons (vv 20, 23, 24, 30) and the land (vv 25, 27, 28). Polluting the land results in expulsion from it (vv 25, 28) and *kārēt* "cutting-off" for the people (v 29). The sins that cause this pollution are incest (vv 6–18), adultery (v 20), homosexuality (v 22), and bestiality (v 23). Overlapping with permitted impurities is the case of intercourse with a menstruant (v 19; also 20:18; cf. 15:24). This sexual relationship is forbidden with a penalty of *kārēt* attached. In addition to Leviticus 18, the pericope about the suspected adulteress designates an actual adulteress as impure (Num 5:13, 14, 19, 20, 27, 28, 29). Calling those involved in improper sexual relationships impure is a way of calling the persons sinful.

Outside P, sexual transgressions pollute persons and the land. A man who commits adultery with a woman (Ezek 18:6, 11, 15; 33:26), rapes her (Gen 34:5, 13, 27), or has an incestuous relationship with her (Ezek 22:11) defiles her. A woman who is divorced from a first husband and marries a second cannot, after divorce from the second man or after his death, remarry the first. She is impure. Should she marry him, the land would be defiled (Deut 24:1–4; cf. Jer 3:1–10).

**f. Idolatrous Impurities.** Offering a child to Molech (an idolatrous god) pollutes the sanctuary (Lev 20:2–5; God's name is also desecrated; cf. 18:21). The offender is to be put to death by stoning. God will also apply the *kārēt* "cutting-off" penalty to the person. Consulting the dead, an idolatrous act, also defiles a person (19:31).

Non-P literature is replete with the idea of the pollution of idolatry, idolatrous implements, or general apostasy. Idolatrous implements are considered impure (Isa 30:22; Ezek 7:19–21). The idols or their worship pollutes the devotees (Josh 22:17; Jer 2:23; Ezek 20:7, 18, 26, 31; 22:3–4; 23:7, 13–14, 17, 30; 36:25, 29, 33; 37:23; Ps 106:36–40; cf. Gen 35:2; Hos 5:3–4; 6:10), the sanctuary (Jer 7:30; 32:34; Ezek 5:11; 23:37–39; 2 Chr 36:14), and the land (Jer 2:7–9; Ezek 36:17–18; cf. Jer 13:27 of Jerusalem). Child sacrifice, which often is an accompaniment of idolatry, is a cause of pollution (Ezek 20:26, 31; 23:37–39; Ps 106:37–38). Deuteronomy places idolatrous implements under *ḥērem* ("extreme dedication") status which means that as the Israelites conquer Canaan they are to destroy the implements (7:5, 25). One who misappropriates idolatrous materials falls under *ḥērem* status (Deut 7:25–26; cf. Josh 6:18; 7:12; 1 Kgs 20:42). One under this status is liable to death (Lev 27:29; Deut 13:13–19—Eng 13:12–18; Joshua 7). One who sacrifices to other gods also falls under *ḥērem* status (Exod 22:19). Kings and Chronicles talk of reforming Judahite kings removing idolatrous installations in the temple and Jerusalem and disposing of them in the Kidron valley (Asa: 1 Kgs 15:13 = 2 Chr 15:16; Hezekiah: 29:5, 15–16, 18; 30:14; Manasseh: 33:15 [the Kidron is not specified here]; Josiah: 2 Kgs 23:4, 6, 12; cf. 2 Chr 34:3–5, 8). Idolatrous materials are also disposed of by burying (Gen 35:4) and burning (Exod 32:20; Deut 7:5, 25; 9:21; 13:17; 2 Kgs 10:26; 23:15; 1 Chr 14:12). In Deut 9:21 Moses discards the dust of the golden calf into a stream running down the mountain (cf. Deut 21:1–9). Terming idols and their worship impure grows out of the perception of their threat to Israelite religion and to God's holiness. See Feldman 1977: 45–47; Wright 1987b: 279–90; see also Zech 13:2.

**g. Homicide.** This impurity is distinct from that of corpse contamination. Corpse contamination arises from the *state* of the corpse itself; homicide pollution arises from an illicit *act* of killing. Only those

deserving of capital punishment (e.g., under a *mišpat māwet,* Deut 19:6; Jer 26:16) and enemies in war not under agreements of protection (Josh 2:19; 2 Sam 21:1–10; 1 Kgs 2:5) may be killed without the result of homicide pollution. But any corpse, including any that results from homicide, pollutes persons and objects for seven days as described above (cf. Num 31:13–24).

In P, homicide brings pollution on the land whether the killing was intentional or unintentional (Num 35:33–34). The death of the murderer removes the pollution (vv 12, 16–21, 31; cf. Gen 9:5–6). In the case of manslaughter, the slayer must reside in a city of refuge until the death of the high priest. The priest's death apparently purges the pollution (Num 35:12, 15, 22–25, 28, 32). If the manslayer leaves the refuge city and the victim's avenger kills him before the death of the high priest, the pollution would appear to be alleviated (vv 26–27). P may have considered the sojourn of a manslayer in a refuge city as effectively negating the pollution, as long as he stayed there (cf. vv 32–33). Persons are also the locus of bloodguilt. This is described as the blood (*dām*) of a victim being on the killer (cf. v 27; see below).

Evidence from other parts of the Bible complements what is found in P. Illicit killing brings pollution on the land and on people (Deut 22:8 uniquely mentions bloodguilt on a house or household). When child sacrifice in idolatry is viewed as murder, then the sanctuary as a locus of homicide pollution can be added (see above). The land may suffer agricultural failure as a result of homicide. The land will not produce well for Cain because of Abel's murder (Gen 4:10–12; 2 Sam 21:1–14; Hos 4:2–3; Ps 106:38). Deut 21:1–9 prescribes a rite for removing to a remote locale pollution caused by a murder in which the culprit is not known, apparently to prevent agricultural failure (vv 8–9 also indicate that pollution lies on the community). See HEIFER. Other passages that deal with land pollution or possibly so include Deut 32:43; 2 Sam 1:21–22; Isa 26:21; Ezek 9:9; 36:17–18. Though not a case of murder, the pollution that an exposed body hanging overnight causes is comparable (Deut 21:23). In regard to persons as a locus of pollution, those guilty of murder, and even their family and descendants, may suffer physical, economic, and social decline and other oppression (Judg 9:22–57; 2 Sam 3:29; 16:7–8; 1 Kgs 2:31–33; Prov 28:17; cf. Jer 22:3–5).

As in P, execution of the offender (cf. Exod 21:12–21, 28–32; Deut 19:1–13; 2 Sam 3:27; 1 Kgs 2:28–34) or of his family or descendents (cf. 2 Sam 21:1–14) rectifies the bloodguilt. The rite in Deut 21:1–9 is a temporary measure for allaying the effects of blood pollution until the murderer is found. Asylum at an altar according to earlier legislation (Exod 21:13–14; cf. 1 Kgs 2:28–29) or in refuge cities according to later legislation (Deut 4:41–43; 19:1–13; Josh 20:1–9) is available.

The terminology for homicide pollution is discrete from that of other impurities. The usual terminology for purity or impurity is found infrequently (the few examples include: Deut 21:8 *kpr*; 32:43 *kpr*; Isa 59:3 *gʾl;* Ps 106:38 *hnp*; Lam 4:13–15 *gʾl, tmʾ* [perhaps menstrual imagery is mixed here], and P's Num 35:33–34 *tmʾ, hnp, kpr*). Bloodguilt or blood pollution is usually described with *dām* (lit. "blood") which is said to be on a person (Deut 19:10; Josh 2:19; Judg 9:24, 2 Sam 3:28–29; 16:7, 8; 1 Kgs 2:5, 33; Jer 2:34; 26:15; 51:35; Ezek 23:45; 35:6; Joel 4:21—Eng 3:21; Jonah 1:14; Prov 28:17) or on cities and the land (2 Kgs 24:4; Ezek 9:9; 24:6–9 [mixed imagery]; Hos 6:8). This *dām* needs to be removed and returned to the true culprit (2 Sam 16:18; 1 Kgs 2:31–33). See Wright 1987a; PUNISHMENTS AND CRIMES; DEATH.

**h. Polluting the Sacred.** Many cases in the previous sections reveal the concern to keep what is unclean from polluting what is sacred. Examples in P include removing corpses from the sanctuary area, keeping certain impurities from sacred persons, cleansing the sanctuary with *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifices, and requirements of excluding severely impure persons from the habitation (cf. Num 5:2–3). In addition, P lists general prohibitions about bringing what is impure into contact with what is holy. Priests, priestly households, and Israelites are not to contaminate sacrificial meat and other offerings (Lev 7:19–21; 22:3–7; Num 18:11, 13). If they do, they are liable to the *kārēt* "cutting-off" penalty. A parturient during her second stage of impurity is not to make any contact with sancta or go to the sanctuary (Lev 12:4). People impure from corpse contamination are to defer celebration of the passover, a sacred occasion with offerings, to the second month (Num 9:6–13). It was one of the duties of the priests to teach the distinctions between

pure and impure and the holy and the profane so that improper contact of the spheres would be avoided (Lev 10:10; cf. 11:47; Ezek 22:26; 44:23).

The non-P literature has many attestations of this notion. Impurity is not to contact offerings (Deut 12:15, 22; 15:22; 1 Sam 21:4–7; Hag 2:14; Mal 1:11; cf. Deut 26:14). Sacrificial feasts and cultic gatherings require the purity of both priestly and lay participants (1 Sam 16:5; 20:26; Joel 2:16; Ezra 6:20–21; Neh 12:30, 45; 2 Chr 5:11; 29:34; 30:3, 15, 17–20, 24; 35:6; cf. Gen 35:1–5; Job 1:5; for God's eschatological "sacrifices," cf. Isa 13:3; Zeph 1:7; for pagan worship, cf. Isa 66:17). Cultic implements and persons contacting them must be pure (Isa 52:11; 66:20; 1 Chr 15:12, 14). Pollution must be kept apart from sanctuaries (Neh 13:9; 2 Chr 23:19 [cf. v 6]; 2 Chr 29:5, 15; cf. 1 Kgs 11:15; 1 Chr 23:28). Foreign incursion into the sacred precinct defiles it (Ps 79:1). With the intent to insure the purity of the temple, Ezekiel condemns the preexilic practice of burying the corpses of kings too close to the sanctuary (43:7–9; cf. the effect of corpses in 9:7). This burial, plus other abominations of the people, are said to pollute God's name. Hence there appears another sanctum which must be protected from pollution (the root *ḥll* is used to describe the desecration of God's name with essentially the same meaning, see HOLINESS). Besides the temple, holy persons such as priests are to maintain purity (Ezek 4:14; 44:31; cf. Judg 13:4, 7, 14). Sacred occasions, such as the Sabbath, were protected from profanation (Neh 13:19, 22; see HOLINESS). Theophanic experiences in which God's power is miraculously manifested require purity: the revelation at Sinai (Exod 19:10–15, 22), the coming of the quail (Num 11:18), the crossing of the Jordan (Josh 3:5), the determination of Achan's guilt (Josh 7:13). Those with seminal emissions must remain outside war camp, where God's presence is found, until they are pure (Deut 23:11–15). Only the pure (i.e., repentant and righteous) can pass over the way from captivity (Isa 35:8). Jerusalem, the redeemed holy city, will not have those uncircumcised or unclean come to her (Isa 52:1). Josiah used impurity to defile illicit cult installations (2 Kgs 23:8, 10, 13, 16).

**C. Other Excretions, Blemishes, Foods, and Mixtures**

Certain bodily excretions and abnormalities, as well as certain foods and mixtures of substances, are not strictly impure though abhorrence or prohibitions may be attached to them. These should not be confused with the impurities discussed in the foregoing.

P does not discuss urine, excrement, sweat, and saliva and thus presumably they are not impure in its system. Only the spittle of one with an abnormal sexual discharge is polluting, but this is because the person is impure (Lev 15:8). Other sources display an abhorrence of these excretions (excrement and urine: Deut 23:13–15; Ezek 4:12–14; cf. 1 Kgs 14:10; 2 Kgs 18:27; Isa 4:4; 28:8; 36:12; Prov 30:12; cf. Isa 30:22 with the emendation of *BHS*; perspiration: Ezek 44:18; saliva: cf. 1 Sam 21:14; Isa 50:6; Job 30:10; [17:6?]). Of these, excrement comes closest to being described as impure. There is no indication that blood, pus, hair, fingernails, body odors, or body oils were considered impure or particularly abhorred. See DISCHARGE.

Priests with bodily blemishes or defects are restricted from performing sacrifices, but are not impure (Lev 21:16–23). That such priests may eat the most holy offerings shows this is so (vv 22). Not only must one be pure to eat these offerings, but one must be pure to enter the sanctuary court where these offerings had to be eaten (Lev 6:9, 19; 7:6; 10:12–13, 17; 24:9; cf. Ezek 42:13–14; 46:19–20). Similar to a blemished priest is a blemished animal. As the former cannot officiate at the altar (Lev 21:23), so the latter cannot be sacrificed at the altar (22:17–25; a slight defect is allowed for a freewill offering, v 23; cf. Mal 1:7–8). Moreover, as blemished priests are pure, so blemished animals are pure. This means that such animals are not prohibited from the Israelite diet. Apart from P, Deut 23:2, which says one with crushed testicles or a severed phallus cannot enter the "congregation of the Lord" does not refer to natural bodily blemishes or to the specific issue of cultic access and thus cannot be used to prove blemishes exclude one from the sanctuary. 2 Sam 5:8, however, does represent a tradition where the blind and lame were excluded from the temple. But note that the basis for the custom is David's hatred of such persons, not impurity.

Finally, blood (Gen 9:4; Lev 3:17; 7:26–27; 17:10–14; 19:26; Deut 12:16, 23–25; 15:23; 1 Sam 14:32–34; Ezek 33:25), fat (Lev 3:17; 7:22–25), the thigh muscle (Gen 32:33), produce of trees in their first

three years (Lev 19:23–25), cooking a kid in its mother's milk (Exod 23:19; 34:26; Deut 14:21), and mixtures (of seeds, fabrics, or animals; Lev 19:19; Deut 22:9–11) are not prohibited on the basis of impurity. Rather, the basis of prohibiting some of these is their holy nature (see HOLINESS).

**D. Purification and Rectification Procedures**

**1. Permitted Impurities.** In P, rectification of permitted impurities is achieved by four methods: ablutions, sacrifices, the passage of time, and disposal. The first two methods are exclusive of the fourth. Impurities that are not rectified by disposal have at least the elements of ablutions and the passage of a period of time. Only some of these latter impurities require sacrifices.

**a. Ablutions.** This category includes true ablutions such as bathing of persons and washing of objects but also the related cleansings of laundering clothes, sprinkling water and water mixtures, shaving, and passing through fire. Bathing for humans (complete washing of the body) and washing for objects is a basic element in all purification rites for permitted impurities in P. Where such prescriptions are not given, they are to be assumed (see Wright 1987b: 185 n. 38, 212). A person who makes a more severe form of contact (e.g., carrying versus touching; see above on animal carcasses) or who suffers an impurity that lasts longer than one day requires laundering as well (Lev 11:24–25, 27–28, 39–40; 14:46–47; Num 19:21). Apart from these cleansings, shaving (Lev 14:8, 9; Num 8:7), sprinkling of water or water mixtures (Lev 14:7, 51; Num 8:7; 19:13, 18, 19, 20, 21) may be required. The fire purification in Num 31:21–23 is equivalent to washing (see above, on corpses). Washing of hands and feet is required of priests prior to their cultic service (see on general purification rites, above). Outside of P, bathing (Deut 23:12; indicated by *qdš* in Exod 19:10, 14, 22; Num 11:18; Josh 3:5; 7:13; 1 Sam 16:5; 2 Sam 11:4 [cf. v 2]; Isa 13:3; 66:17 [pagan worship]; Joel 2:16; Zeph 1:7; Job 1:5; 1 Chr 15:12, 14; 2 Chr 5:11; 29:5, 15, 34; 30:3, 15, 17, 24; 35:6; the bathing in 2 Kgs 5:10, 12, 13 is healing not purification) and hand washing (Deut 21:6) are found.

**b. Sacrifices.** In addition to ablutions, more serious permitted personal impurities in P require a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* (purgation offering), and sometimes other sacrifices. These include a person healed from *ṣāraʿat* "scale disease" (a female lamb or a bird for a *ḥaṭṭāʾt;* a male lamb or a bird for an *ʿōlâ* [burnt offering], a male lamb for an *ʾāšām* [reparation offering], and a *minḥâ* [cereal offering], Lev 14:10–32), persons with abnormal genital discharges (two birds, one for a *ḥaṭṭāʾt,* and the other for an *ʿōlâ,* 15:14–15, 29–30), a puerperal woman (a bird for a *ḥaṭṭāʾt,* and a male lamb or bird for an *ʿōlâ,* 12:6–8). To be compared here is Ezekiel's requirement that a corpse-contaminated priest bring a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* (Ezek 44:27).

The function of the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* sacrifice has already been discussed (see above on cultic impurities). The requirement of a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* is not to purify the impurity of a person's body, but to purify its *external* effects on the sancta. The blood is never applied to a person; the sacrifice is only done on the person's behalf. The statements saying that a person is pure that occur in the text after prescriptions for bringing a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* (Lev 12:7, 8; 14:20; lacking in 14:32; 15:15, 30) appear to mean that all the effects stemming from the person's impurity have been terminated, not that the offering has purified the persons themselves. The case of a person purifying from *ṣāraʿat* does not qualify this observation. This person brings a different offering, an *ʾāšām.* Uniquely, its blood is applied to the right ear, thumb, and toe of the person. Though it may be argued that this blood rite purifies the person, it is better seen as simply a rite of transition symbolizing the passage of the person from a state of restriction and exclusion to a state of full reintegration into social and religious life (cf. a similar use of sacrificial blood in Exod 29:20 and Lev 8:23–24 which is not for purification). In other words, the healed person has already achieved bodily purity before sacrifices are brought.

Aside from the significance of the blood application, the larger reason for bringing the *ʾāšām* in this case is not immediately clear. A strong argument has been made that, since this type of sacrifice is generally brought for sacrilege against the sancta, there is a suspicion that the person committed sacrilege and was afflicted with *ṣāraʿat* as a punishment (cf. 2 Chr 26:16–19). An *ʾāšām* is necessary to rectify this suspected trespass against the sancta (Milgrom 1976: 80–82). If this explanation is correct, the issue of sacrilege and the *ʾāšām* should be discussed under the category of prohibited impurities (the impurity of *ṣāraʿat* itself, however, would remain in the arena of permitted impurities). Yet, that human *ṣāraʿat* is the

most severe among all the purifiable permitted impurities and that only this permitted impurity requires an *ʾāšām* whose blood is used in an exceptional way suggest that the sacrifice may be required to alleviate the effects of this particular impurity, which are not necessarily sinful, arising *after* the onset of the disease.

Another issue is how sacrifices other than the *ḥaṭṭāʾt,* purgation offering, fit into the purification scheme. The effect of these sacrifices in the context of purification and elsewhere is described by the verb *kipper.* The verb has the meaning of "to make appeasement, propitiation" (with the *ʿōlâ,* burnt offering: Lev 1:4; 16:24; cf. 9:7; 12:8; 14:20, 31; 15:15, 30; Num 6:11; 8:12; the *ʾāšām,* reparation offering: Lev 5:16, 18, 26; 7:7; 14:21; 19:22; Num 5:8; the *minḥâ,* cereal offering: Lev 5:13 [a version of the *ḥaṭṭāʾt*]; cf. Ezek 45:15, 17; the *minḥâ* may have also been a substitute for an *ʿōlâ*). Even with the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* where the verb in some instances can be construed as "to purify," the notion of appeasement is present (Lev 4:20, 26, 31, 35; 5:6, 10; 16:6, 11, 16, 17, 18, 20, 27, 30, 32, 33, 34, etc.). The underlying notion is that the effects of sins and impurities have estranged God, so sacrifice is made to rectify these effects and thus reconcile God with those who have sinned or have become severely impure. For the *ḥaṭṭāʾt* the appeasement comes through purification of the sancta with unique blood rites and the burning of portions of the animal on the altar; for the other animal offerings it comes through the throwing of blood on the sides of the altar and (including the *minḥâ*) burning portions on the altar. Purification rites with accompanying appeasement offerings are found in other societies of the ancient Near East (see Wright 1987b: passim).

To be mentioned with sacrifices is the red cow rite (Num 19:2–10). It is a called a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* (vv 9, 17), but as such it is unique. Similar to the red cow and *ḥaṭṭāʾt* rites in general structure and function, though not a sacrifice, is the bird ritual for a person or house recovered from *ṣāraʿat* (Lev 14:4–7, 49–53).

**c. Passage of Time.** For purification the passage of a certain period of time is necessary. All impurities last at least one day, until the evening following contraction of the impurity. The one-day impurities, too numerous to list, include, for example, pollution arising from a seminal emission, touching an animal carcass, touching a menstruant, and touching a corpse-contaminated person or object. The next longest period of impurity is seven days. Included here are menstruation (Lev 15:19) and corpse contamination (see above). After proper ablutions, these impurities dissipate on the evening of the seventh day. Those who recover from *ṣāraʿat* and abnormal sexual discharges pass through a seven day period as well, but they also bring offerings on the eighth day (Lev 14:8; 15:13, 28). Presumably their personal pollution ends on the evening of the seventh day and all that is necessary on the eighth is the bringing of sacrifices; the people do not need to wait until the evening of the eighth day. To be compared to seven day impurities are the week long quarantine periods for suspected *ṣāraʿat* spots in persons, fabrics, and houses (Lev 13:4, 5, 21, 26, 31, 33, 50, 54; 14:38). The parturient has the longest fixed period of impurity (Leviticus 12). It consists of two stages: a severe stage like that of menstruation which can pollute the profane and a less severe stage which is not a threat to the profane. For a male child the first period lasts seven days and the second, thirty-three, totaling forty. For a female child the periods are doubled (14 + 66 = 80). The parturient brings sacrifices after her impurity, probably on the forty-first or eighty-first day (but see DISCHARGE). The length of fixed periods of impurity that persist more than one day are common biblical numbers or their multiples (7, 14, 40, 80). Other impurities last indefinitely or would if not destroyed. Included here are irreclaimable impurities (the human corpse, animal carcasses, semen, the water of purgation, red cow ashes, the scapegoat, *ḥaṭṭāʾt* carcasses and blood, the bird and blood used in the *ṣāraʿat* purification rite, *ṣāraʿat* infected fabrics and building materials) and diseases in humans (an abnormal sexual discharge, *ṣāraʿat* in persons; plus the furniture of these persons).

Outside of P, the impurity of a seminal emission lasts only one day, expiring at evening (Deut 23:10–12). Encounters with the holy demand advanced purification, by one day (Num 11:8; Josh 3:5; 7:13; cf. Gen 35:1–7; Job 1:5) or two days (Exod 19:10–15).

**d. Disposal.** Permitted impurities in P that cannot be purified are disposed of or made innocuous in some way: burying corpses outside the habitation (see above); burning *ḥaṭṭāʾt* carcasses (outside the habitation in a pure place; see above) and *ṣāraʿat* infected fabrics (Lev 13:52, 55, 56, 57); sending the

scapegoat and the live bird of the *ṣāraʿat* rite away from the habitation (see above); dumping *ṣāraʿat* infected building materials outside the camp in an impure place (14:40, 41, 45); pouring out *ḥaṭṭāʾt* blood at the base of the outer altar (see above); washing semen out of clothing (15:17); breaking impure earthenware (6:21; 11:32–33; 15:12; Num 19:15). Presumably other incorrigible impurities whose disposal is not prescribed were treated similarly (animal carcasses, leftover water of purgation, and blood and carcass of the slaughtered bird in the *ṣāraʿat* purification rite). Note that the ashes of the red cow, though not disposed of, are stored outside the habitation (Num 19:9).

**2. Prohibited Impurities.** Though in P prohibited impurities cover a wide heterogeneous field, two categories can be discerned based on rectification procedures and attitude. One is where an offender's life is not at stake and the person can be reintegrated eventually into the religious community through various purification rites. The sins in this category are unintentional: an inadvertent delay of purification, a Nazirite's or priest's unintentional pollution from prohibited corpses, an inadvertent sin, and unintentional homicide. Also included here is impurity remaining from deliberate sins of which a person has repented. The other category is where the person's life is forfeit and where purgation of the temple by the community is necessary. Sins in this category are deliberate, unconfessed transgressions: deliberately delaying purification, a Nazirite's or priest's intentional pollution from prohibited corpses, wanton sins, polluting sancta, sexual irregularities, sacrifice to Molech, and murder.

Rectification of impurities of the unintentional class is achieved by: (a) following purification procedures for permitted impurities when the sinful impurity is of the same type and (b) offering required sacrifices (usually just a *ḥaṭṭāʾt* "purgation offering"; a corpse-contaminated Nazirite brings an *ʿōlâ* "burnt offering" and *ʾāšām* "reparation offering" as well; see above). The case of a manslayer is rectified differently. The killer remains in a refuge city until the high priest dies (see the section on homicide, above). No sacrifice or bodily purification is required. The requirements of purification for sins excluding unintentional homicide are essentially the same as those of serious permitted impurities that require sacrifice. This overlap reveals the blurred line that actually divides permitted and prohibited impurities.

Rectification of impurities of the deliberate class is achieved by (a) the execution of the culprit (for murder and Molech worship) or (b) the divine penalty of *kārēt* "cutting-off" (explicitly for Molech worship, sexual sins, delay in purification, and polluting sancta), and (c) purifying the sanctuary on the Day of Atonement and the dispatch of the scapegoat (for all deliberate sins). For sexual sins expulsion from the land is listed in addition to *kārēt.* See the discussion of specific cases, above.

In literature outside P the picture is less systematic and usually only deliberate sins receive attention. Various punishments, such as exile, agricultural failure, or individual tragedies (see the discussion of prohibited impurities) achieve rectification. Specific methods of purification or punishment are found. As in P, homicide requires the death of the killer if intentional or asylum if accidental (Exod 21:12–21; Deut 19:1–7). Disposal of impurities is found: disposing of, burning, or burying idols (see above) and removing blood pollution to an innocuous locale in Deut 21:1–9. Literary images of disposal are found in Mic 5:5–11 and Mic 7:19. Ablution occurs as a literary figure of repentance and purification: bathing (e.g., Isa 1:16; 4:4; Jer 4:14; Zech 13:1; Ps 51:4, 9; cf. Ezek 16:9); washing with soaps (Jer 2:22; Mal 3:2); hand washing (Ps 26:6; 73:13; Job 9:30; cf. 31:7); sprinkling (Ezek 36:25; Ps 51:9); fire (Isa 6:6–7; Ezek 24:3–12). Related to purification by fire is the image of refining people and purifying them as metals (Isa 1:25; 48:10–11; Jer 6:29–30; 9:6; Ezek 22:20–21; 24:11–12; Zech 13:9; Mal 3:2–3; Ps 17:3; 66:10–12; Dan 11:35; 12:10; used of the purity of God's word in Ps 12:7; 18:31 = 2 Sam 22:31; Ps 119:140; Prov 30:5; cf. Ps 19:9, 10 [see the *BHS*]; Prov 15:26).

**E. The Rationale and Theology of Impurity**

The previous discussion has presented several points relating to the nature, function, and theology of impurity. Several other points deserve special discussion.

**1. Strengths and Places of Impurity.** In P's system, impurity is not transmitted from a "father of impurity" to other persons and objects, and from them to still others, and so on, ad infinitum. Rather, the chain is usually only two or three generations long (including the "father"). Only in the case of sexual intercourse with a menstruant (or, deductively, with a woman in the first stage of impurity after childbirth

or a woman with an abnormal sexual flow) is there a chain four generations long. Though impurities at the head and in the middle of pollution chains have various lengths and purification procedures, those at the end of such chains have a common character: they last only one day and have simple purification requirements (bathing or washing; sometimes laundering for persons). For a graphic description and thorough discussion of the chains of impurity, see Wright 1987b: 179–228.

An analysis of the chains of uncleanness reveals two different types of impurities: communicable, those that can pollute other profane (i.e., nonholy) persons and objects; and noncommunicable, those that cannot pollute the profane. These two impurities are treated differently in their relation to the nonholy sphere. While noncommunicable impurities suffer no restriction in regard to the profane, communicable impurities if not excluded from the area of human habitation are at least restricted in it (cf. Lev 13:45–46; Num 5:2–3; and see above on disposal). Correlating this data about the exclusion and restriction of communicable impurities with data concerning places the biblical text qualifies as "holy," "pure," and "impure" (holy: Exod 29:31; Lev 6:9, 19, 20; 7:6; 10:13, 17; 14:13; 16:24; 24:9; pure: 4:11–12; 6:4; 10:14; impure: 14:40, 41, 45) reveals what conception P has about the qualities of various locales in a town or camp with a sanctuary in its midst. See Fig. UNC.01. Any type of impurity is to be excluded from the sanctuary area which is to be kept holy. Communicable impurities are to be excluded from or restricted in the area of human habitation around the sanctuary. Noncommunicable impurities are tolerated in the habitation since they are short-lived and do not perpetuate themselves. Thus there is a descending tripartite gradation of the qualities of holiness, purity, and impurity: holiness prevails in the sanctuary area; general, but not complete, purity within the habitation; and unrestricted severe impurity outside the habitation. Though the area of human habitation seems to be rather full of impurity, the impurity is actually minimal. With communicable impurities restricted in the habitation, the populace would be minimally exposed to pollution from these sources. Noncommunicable impurities last only one day and would terminate at evening when proper procedures are followed. Furthermore, the purity of the habitation is enforced by sanctions against prolonging noncommunicable impurities (e.g., Lev 5:2–13; 17:15–16) and requirements to destroy items such as earthenware that have noncommunicable but incorrigible impurities. See Wright 1987b: 231–247.

This model of impurity exclusion can be compared to the garden and sin story in Genesis 2–3. The garden is much like a sanctuary since God's presence is there (see Wenham 1986). When the woman and man eat from the forbidden tree, they are expelled from the garden, much as one with impurity would be excluded from the sanctuary or one with a serious communicable impurity would be excluded from the habitation. The analogy, however, goes deeper than just the notion of exclusion. It can be argued that eating from the forbidden tree represents a person's (or persons') growing-up. Before eating the woman and man are like children: without wisdom or knowledge, sexually immature, unashamed of nakedness, immortal (i.e., as children who are not entirely cognizant of their mortality), and not responsible for or aware of sin. After eating the couple becomes wise and knowledgeable, sexually mature (in the J story only after the eating does the subject of reproduction come up, 3:16, and naming the woman Eve "life," the "mother of all the living" occur, v 20), ashamed of their nakedness, mortal, and sinful. This suggests that the latent reason for the pair's expulsion from the garden is their acquisition of a mature, mortal, human nature. The sources of permitted impurity in P have a similar character. They arise from distinctly human conditions which parallel the traits acquired by the man and woman: death, disease, and sexual processes. Animal and cultic impurities do not invalidate the analogy. The former is parallel to corpse impurity and the latter exists only as a response to the other types. Hence, from a structural point of view, the garden story and P's purity laws reflect similar ideas: the mortal condition is incompatible with God's holiness. When mortal characteristics become excessive, they must be excluded from the divine realm.

**2. Nondemonic Character of Impurity.** The foregoing indicates that impurity is human centered. It arises mainly out of persons' bodily conditions and sins and is otherwise largely under their responsibility (note only dead animals—inanimate objects which persons must manipulate—pollute; live animals with wills of their own do not). The focus on humanity as the cause of impurity draws attention to another aspect of biblical impurity: its lack of a demonic character. This is exceptional in the ancient Near Eastern

milieu where most other religions consider demonic presence to accompany corpses and certain bodily discharges and diseases or consider demons as the source of evils and impurities. The Bible's monotheistic ideal rejects any demonic impurity. The closest connection of impurity with the demonic is the figure Azazel as the goal to which impurity is sent on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:8, 10, 26). This figure, however, seems to be virtually impotent and insignificant. See AZAZEL. Outside of P, see Zech 5:5–11.

**3. Rationale for Impurities.** The issue that most interests scholars is the rationale for pollution: why certain conditions are considered impure and how the impurities function in the religious community. Some reasons are not entirely satisfactory: (a) phenomena or conditions are labelled impure because they cause disease; (b) phenomena or conditions of other cultures are called impure to prevent idolatry and assimilation; (c) things that stink, that are displeasing to the sight, or animals with abhorrent characteristics are labelled impure; (d) animals that compete with humans ecologically or economically are called impure to keep them from being raised (e.g., the pig competes with man for the same food); (e) phenomena or conditions are called impure because they are beset with or caused by demons; (f) phenomena or conditions are called impure because they are sinful; (g) the laws have symbolic moral significance (e.g., the cow's cud chewing signifies remembering God and reviewing what one has learned to better remember it). Though some of the foregoing rationales can be brought into play for explaining how a few individual phenomena came to be perceived as impure historically (see [a]–[d]), many cannot explain the complete system of impurity in P as it presently stands. For critiques of most of these views see Kornfeld 1965; Chan 1985; Milgrom *Leviticus*; Wenham 1981; and Wright 1989.

Other interpretations, though not without difficulties, offer more fruitful avenues for understanding impurity in P: (h) G. Wenham (1983) and J. Milgrom (*Leviticus*) have argued that impurities are connected with death (cf. Kornfeld 1965; Paschen 1970: 55–64; Feldman 1977: 35–41; and see Meigs 1978). For Milgrom, the system is symbolic and reminds the people to cleave to life and reject death. (i) Milgrom (1983b: 104–118; 1989; *Leviticus* on Leviticus 11; see Wright 1989) finds an additional, ethical significance in the dietary rules. The limitation of meats in the diet teach that animal life is to be held in reverence. (j) The most productive insights have come from anthropologists, especially M. Douglas. The list of contributors to the anthropological study of purity is long and explanations have been diverse (for a sample see the rationales for sexual discharges listed in DISCHARGE, and see, e.g., Bean 1981; Meigs 1978; Rosen 1973). Only Douglas's three main contributions can be summarized here. (1) She defines purity as normality and wholeness. (2) This judgement of purity derives not from objective physical reality, but from the cultural understanding of a particular society. Purity rules are symbols—a language—which express and reflect larger social concerns. The rules work in concert with other structures of thought to deliver and support a common message. (3) The body is a locus where purity concerns are manifested. It is a symbol for—a microcosm of—the larger social body. Concerns about things entering and exiting the body reflect concerns about the boundaries of society. Many of Douglas's observations have been developed from or applied to the biblical evidence. Since she is not a biblical scholar, however, her (and other anthropologists') conclusions must be cautiously used. Nevertheless, her observations have been of benefit to biblical scholars. An example of this is Wenham's (1981) and particularly Milgrom's refinement of ideas in her essay, "Deciphering a Meal (1975: 249–75), which structurally analyzes the social significance of biblical food laws. These studies offer a basis for developing a clearer understanding of the purity and holiness laws in P.

A tripartite correlation can be made between the divine-human sphere and the animals that members of this sphere use in meal situations. See Fig. UNC.02 (a). God's sacrificial "diet" consists of pure domestic animals (bovines, sheep, goats, and birds of the pigeon class); Israel's diet consists (ideally) of the same pure domestic animals plus pure game animals; the diet of foreign nations consists of all animals, pure and impure. One of Douglas' main points is that individual parts of such structural divisions are given significance by the other members; any one member of the division implicitly calls the others and their meaning to mind. Hence, when Israelites seek out and eat proper meat, they reinforce, emphasize, and perhaps consciously recall the supremacy of God as well as their distinction from other nations. The food

laws, then, help define the boundaries of the social group. Milgrom adds to the correlation of persons and foods a spatial aspect (Fig. UNC.02 (a)): God's habitation is the sanctuary, Israel's is the land of Canaan, the nations live outside the land. Thus, not only what one eats, but where one resides reflects and defines the larger social and theological issues of the community. The threefold structure of the sanctuary camp seen in Fig. UNC.01 may also be correlated with the divisions of persons and foods as an alternative spatial division. This structure echoes on a small scale the larger spatial division of sanctuary, land, and foreign land. This is particularly so in the context of the wilderness camp where everything outside the habitation is foreign land.

Symbols within symbols can also be discerned. The element of sacrifice in the threefold classification of different foods can be subdivided itself and correlated with a subclassification of divine and human beings. See Fig. UNC.02 (b). God receives burnt offerings and fat pieces of other offerings on the altar; priests receive portions of the most holy sacrifices and portions from the Israelites' *šĕlāmîm* (well-being?) offerings; Israelites receive other portions of their *šelāmîm* offerings. In contrast to the larger correlation of foods and peoples in Fig. UNC.02 (a) that shows how food laws may define the external boundaries of the group, this correlation suggests that the sacrificial food laws serve to reinforce and clarify the positions or roles of different subgroups within the group. Nevertheless, the distribution of sacrificial portions, being part of the food laws in general, would structurally reinforce group definition vis-à-vis other nations. Theologically, it would again emphasize Israel's relationship to God.

Another symbol within a symbol is found in the spatial models (either in Figs. UNC.01 or UNC.02 (a)). This division correlates a subdivision of the sanctuary area with different subgroups of Israelites who are allowed access to the various areas in the sanctuary. See Fig. UNC.02 (c). Admittedly, the correlation is not as neatly tripartite as the foregoing, but it is still instructive. The high priest, the holiest person according to P, is the only one who may enter the most holy place (adytum). This he may do only once during the year on the Day of Atonement. The high priest also has the responsibility of performing the regular service in the shrine (the outer room of the tent), though it is possible the regular priests could do this or assist (cf. Exod 27:21; Lev 16:17; Num 4:5–20; see Haran 1978: 205–29). The regular priests, who are holy, and the levites and pure Israelites, who are not holy, served or worshipped in the court (some have argued that the court was divided into a back- and forecourt, and that the Israelites and levites were restricted to the latter; Haran 1978: 184–87; Milgrom 1971: 17–18). As in the case of the rules about who may eat portions of various sacrifices (Fig. UNC.02 (b)) the rules regarding access to places in the sanctuary area encode and reinforce the social distinctions between different classes within the group. This model can be added to that in Fig. UNC.01 to show theologically that the further one moves toward the center of a sanctuary habitation and the sanctuary itself, the more godlike (i.e., holy and pure) the person's character must be.

Finally one other symbol within a symbol may be observed. See Fig. UNC.02 (d). On a microscopic level, the body is subject to impurity. Unclean foods entering it and certain discharges and diseases pollute it. On a macroscopic level, human bodies have their place in the larger spatial models adduced above. On this level, impure human bodies threaten the larger communal and religious body. Just as impure foods are not to be taken into the body, an impure body, depending on the strength of its impurity, is not to be taken into or be given free reign in the community's habitation or be taken into the holy place. Just as the body serves as a symbol reflecting the society's concerns about the group and its boundaries, so the camp structure and its impurities represent on a larger scale these social concerns.

This analysis shows how interwoven purity concerns are with issues of space and holiness and demonstrates the structural redundancy or synonymy in the symbolic system in different areas and at different levels.

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DAVID P. WRIGHT

## *NEW TESTAMENT*

Just as the cultic determination of unclean and clean in the OT is seen as the absolute will of God as revealed in the Torah, so in NT times the concept of unclean and clean is regarded as the absolute binding inheritance from early Judaism. The question of unclean and clean in the NT is principally a question of the authority of the Mosaic law. However, since the authority of the Mosaic law is a matter of debate in the NT, the laws of ritual cleanness are also a point of controversy. The question of unclean and clean, however, must not in every case be seen in light of the debate concerning the Mosaic law.

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A. The Community at Qumran
B. The Proclamation of Jesus
C. The Synoptic Gospels
D. Paul and the Pauline Tradition
E. Hebrews
F. The Gospel of John

G. Cult and Ritual in the NT
H. The Early Church

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**A. The Community at Qumran**

The determination of unclean and clean plays an important role in Judaism of the NT due to its groundedness in the OT. This is especially evident in the writings of Qumran because of their great emphasis on purity. The members of the community are set apart because of their purity. One must grasp the self-understanding of the community in terms of unclean and clean. Clean are the men of the community ("purity of those who have pledged themselves to holiness"), unclean are those who trespass the words of God (1QS 5:13f.), those who do not join the community (1QSa 2:3–5; 1QH 6:20f.). The ethical and the cultic aspects of purity are interwoven for the community at Qumran. For example: the cultic aspect comes to expression in the water of purification (1QS 3:4–6). The ethical aspect comes to expression in the context of the cult; the wicked priest defiles the sanctuary with his personal wealth (1QpHab 8:3–13). More difficult is the interpretation of CD 12:1–2 where a man is not to lie with a woman in "the city of the sanctuary" lest they defile the city of the sanctuary with their uncleanness.

It would be very one sided to see the determination of unclean and clean only in terms of the OT and surrounding Judaism. The NT must be understood as a Hellenistic writing, therefore one must not overlook the Greek conception of unclean and clean, both philosophical and religious (Pl. *Phd.* 113d).

**B. The Proclamation of Jesus**

The most significant words of Jesus concerning the question of unclean and clean are found in Mark 7:15. The authenticity of this saying is still a matter of debate among scholars. Despite scholarly debate, evidence speaks for the authenticity of these words of Jesus (Kümmel 1978; Hübner 1975–76). In this saying the cultic regulations of Leviticus are abrogated in principle and reinterpreted, for nothing that goes into a person from without can make that person unclean, not even the foods that are declared unclean in the Torah. It is only that which comes out of an evil heart that makes one unclean. If one maintains the authenticity of this logion, then it is difficult to suppose that this saying was so radically formulated without consideration of consequences as far as food is concerned. Here the differentiation between unclean and clean is implicitly abolished. The concept of unclean and clean is transposed from the cultic to the ethical level. It must be said, however, that the differentiation between cultic and ethical is a modern conceptualization drawn upon to aid interpretation.

Jesus' disregard for the laws concerning unclean and clean foods is carried over to his treatment of persons. When Jesus sits at table with tax collectors and sinners (Mark 2:15–17; Luke 15:1–2), he provokingly rejects the boundary between what is unclean and what is clean.

Given Jesus' radically new understanding of reality and his conduct resulting therefrom, it is no wonder that many of his opponents regarded him as one possessed by an unclean spirit (Mark 3:30; K. Hübner 1985).

The transformation of the concept of cleanness from the cultic to the ethical level comes to clearest expression in Matt 5:8. Here cleanness of heart entails the direction of the entire existence of a person toward goodness of being, which in the last analysis is entirely a gift of God. Perhaps, having before him Psalm 24 or Ps 51:12, this concept is one familiar to the evangelist. Jesus' teaching on purity of heart is later reflected upon in 1 Tim 1:5; 2 Tim 2:22; 1 Pet 1:22 and Acts 15:9.

**C. The Synoptic Gospels**

As a further answer to the question of the Pharisees and Scribes in Mark the logion Mark 7:15 follows the corban-saying (Mark 7:9–13) in the redaction of Mark 7. Here the authority of the Torah is not directly put into question, but rather a Pharisaic halakah. It is therefore doubtful that the writer of Mark understood this logion as radically as Jewish himself did (Käsemann 1970: 207). Käsemann further contends that:

> Whoever contests that uncleanness envades a person from without runs up against the presuppositions and words of the Torah and the authority of Moses himself. Moreover, he runs up against the presupposition of the entire cultic character of antiquity with its sacrificial and propitiatory practices.

Since the concept of *nomos* "law" does not occur in Mark, and the debate concerning the law is never actually thematized, the question remains as to the extent to which the gentile readers of Mark, ca. A.D. 70, held Jesus' critique of the law as central, either because of his critical stance or because of its actual content. The appended inauthentic Hellenistic catalog of vices (Mark 7:21–22) demonstrates with its summary in v 23 that the evangelist is primarily interested in how uncleanness is the evil that emerges from the hearts of evil persons.

In the redaction of Mark 7:21–22, Matthew inserts (Matt 15:1–20) the sense of Mark 7:15. The radical stance, however, is toned down in Matt 15:11. Against the backdrop of the rabbinic discussion of that time, Matthew emphasizes that which makes the hands and foods unclean is not in every case that which makes the person unclean. Matthew 15:11 remains on the level of halakah as embodied in the question of v 2 (which is eventually answered in v 20). With this Matthew leaves Leviticus 11 unscathed, true to his intention to leave the authority of the Torah intact wherever possible (Hübner 1986: 176–82).

Contrary to some scholarly opinion, Luke did find Mark 7 in his Markan *Vorlage*. However, he purposely omitted it because his conception of the life of Jesus, which originates "according to the law of Moses" (Luke 2:22, 27, 39), recognizes no abrogation of the law. This happens partially in the "age of the church" (Conzelmann 1977) which is reported in the book of Acts. Luke thereby transposes the nullification of the cultic dietary laws to the period after Pentecost (Acts 10–11). Peter, who according to Luke knows nothing of Mark 7:15 and after Pentecost still refuses to eat the heaven sent "common and unclean" food, must himself be instructed: What God declares as clean must not be regarded as unclean (Acts 10:14–16, 11:9). The abrogation of the cultic dietary laws follows the partial abrogation of the law in the "age of the church," or is also the case with the abrogation of circumcision for gentile Christians (Hübner 1986: 189–91).

The remaining references pertaining to the question of unclean and clean, as far as the teaching of Jesus is concerned, do not provide a unified picture. The tradition histories of Luke 11:37–41, 44 and Matt 23:25–28 are problematic and hardly admit a solution. The tenor of this saying is that it is not enough to practice cultic purity while ignoring ethical purity. Therefore, cultic and ethical cleanness are not seen as opposites but as a requisite combination. The polemic against the Pharisees that comes to expression here is to be traced back to the evangelists, perhaps even to Q, but is not to be traced back to the historical Jesus (Hübner 1986: 185–89).

The OT language of purification (Leviticus 13) emerges in Mark 1:40–45 (= Matt 8:1–4; Luke 5:12–16) as it does in Luke 4:27: Matt 10:8; Matt 11:5 (= Luke 7:22). Jesus himself most likely already drew on Leviticus 13, however, this manner of conceptualizing does relativizes Jesus' saying in Mark 7:15. Furthermore, it must not be concluded from Luke 7:14 that Jesus disregarded the laws of impurity from contact with the dead, nor is it to be concluded from Mark 5:25–34 (= Matt 9:20–22; Luke 8:43–48) that Jesus ignored the OT conception of impurity from sexual contact. However, the rejection of these purity laws would comport well with Jesus' comparatively revolutionary religious intent. In the Synoptic Gospels all nineteen occurrences of uncleanness *(akathartos)* occur as "unclean spirit" (or its plural), as well as two of the five references in Acts (Acts 16:13, 18:2).

**D. Paul and the Pauline Tradition**

In Rom 14:14, 20 Paul states that nothing is in itself unclean, rather all is clean (cf. Titus 1:15). Here there is a close connection to the saying in Mark 7:15, though it cannot be determined whether or not Paul knew this saying. The attempt to derive Mark 7:15 from Romans 14 or Paul's conceptual milieu is fascinating, for the question does not arise why early Christianity was shaken by disputes over the law though fundamentals of the law were nullified by Jesus in Mark 7:15 (Räisänen 1986: 216). Galatians 1:13–14 is to be weighed in this argument: Paul persecuted the early congregations as a zealot for the ancestral tradition, that is, as a zealot for the law. It must be understood that the Christians, in their early years of existence, were persecuted as Jewish transgressors of the law. Since these Jewish Christians were for the first time coming into contact with gentiles, one must here think of the levitical dietary laws.

On the whole, Paul's disputes with the congregations were concerning the question of cultic purity. In Galatians 2:11–16 Paul demonstrates how he stood in the face of certain Jewish Christians from

Jerusalem. For the followers of James, though they may not be called Judaizers in the strict sense of the word, table fellowship between Jewish Christians and, one may suppose, unclean gentile Christians was sacrilege. Paul permits the members of the Corinthian Church to eat meat which is unclean and has been offered to idols, as long as it does not bother the conscience of those who are weak in faith (1 Corinthians 8, cf. Romans 14–15). In these disputes concerning that which is clean and that which is unclean one can see how difficult it was for Jewish and gentile Christians to grow together into one Church.

Romans 13:8–10 gives the impression that the commandment to love one's neighbor (Lev 19:18) incorporates every commandment in the Torah (including the unnamed cultic commandments in v 9 "… and any other commandment …"). In Rom 14:14, 20 on the other hand, the cultic laws of purity are nullified without direct reference to the law. One does not find a conceptual balance in Romans but a lack of reflection on the part of Paul which he probably would have redressed had he addressed himself again to the question of the law after Romans.

In the letters of Paul it is evident that words with the root *kathar-* hardly play a role (2 Cor 7:1 is part of a non-Pauline interpolation, 2 Cor 6:14–7:1). With the exception of Rom 14:20 one encounters only *akatharsia* "uncleanness" (Rom 1:24, 6:19; 2 Cor 12:21; Gal 5:19; 1 Thess 2:3, 4:7; deutero-Pauline: Eph 4:19, 5:3; Col 3:5) *akathartos* "unclean" (1 Cor 7:14), and *koinos* "common" (Rom 14:14; deutero-Pauline: Eph 5:5 cf. 2 Cor 6:17). Typical for the language of Paul's ethic is the multiple parataxis *akatharsia* "impurity, immortality" and *porneia* "fornication" which suggests synonymity (2 Cor 12:21, Gal 5:19) and the opposing of *akatharsia* and *hagiasmios* "uncleanness and holiness" in 1 Thess 4:7, the latter understood as moral sanctification (see also Rom 6:19).

The ethical understanding of cleanness also emerges in the post-Pauline writings, for example in the exhortation for the deacons to hold the faith with a clear conscience in 1 Tim 3:9 (cf. also 2 Tim 1:3). This ethical understanding is especially prominent in Jas 1:27: a pure and undefiled conscience consists of the care of widows and orphans, and in keeping oneself unstained from the "world" (see also Jas 4:8). In the Pauline tradition one finds the concept of cleanness used soteriologically (Eph 5:26, Titus 2:14). This usage, however, is not found in the writings of Paul. In the context of baptism, cleansing is understood as redemption (Eph 5:26), whereupon *katharizein* "to cleanse" and *hagiazein* "to sanctify" coverage in terms of their meaning (see also Heb 1:3; 2 Pet 1:9; 1 John 1:7, 9).

**E. Hebrews**

In the epistle to the Hebrews there is a unique line of argumentation in which Pauline thinking undergoes a specific modification. The word *katharizein* "to cleanse" is found primarily in Hebrews 9 and 10, within the section of Hebrews 7–10 in which the writer of Hebrews reflects upon the law. After a break in the train of thought in Heb 10:1 the law is taken positively, it is and always has been God's law and is a shadow of things to come. In Heb 7:18, however, the law is castigated for its weakness. In the context of the "dialectic" the writer of Hebrews advances in 9:12–14 an argument from lesser to greater cause for the eternal redemption that Jesus effected through his blood, although it is actually an argument by contrast: if indeed the blood of rams and bulls sanctifies by the purification of the flesh, then even more so will the blood of Christ cleanse our conscience from dead works (see also Heb 9:22–28, 10:2). Thus, the OT cultic cleanness was brought to its fulfillment in a certain sense, but in reality it was negated along with cultic thinking per se.

**F. The Gospel of John**

In the gospel of John, cleanness is also understood soteriologically, though rarely in a sacramental sense, despite the reference "the one who has bathed" in John 13:10. Baptism is not part of the theological message of chap. 13. According to John 15:3 it is through the words of Jesus that the disciples are clean.

**G. Cult and Ritual in the NT**

The foregoing presents fairly a well-unified picture: cleanness is no longer understood as cultic/ritual in the NT, rather as ethical/soteriological, and soteriological/sacramental. Therefore, over against the OT and ancient thought (the Greek enlightenment should also be considered here), a radically new understanding of reality for the relation of God to humanity is gained.

There emerges an opposing force in the NT that appears quite pragmatic and harmless, though in the Patristic period (see below) has a disasterous effect and renews reactionary thinking in the categories of uncleanness and cleanness once overcome by Jesus and NT reflection.

Consistent with his intention to portray the life of Jesus as conforming to the law from the beginning, Luke (Luke 2:22) speaks of the purification of the mother of Jesus, who was made unclean through the birth of a child, in accordance with Lev 12:1–8, though incorrectly. The partial lifting of the law effects, in turn, the definitive abrogation of the dietary laws (Acts 10). Yet this abrogation is relativized by the apostolic decree in Acts 15:19–21 (the cultic text tradition, not the ethical one, is original; cf. Kümmel 1965, and Conzelmann *Die Apostelgeschichte* HNT, 92 *porneia* "fornication" must not be taken in terms of Leviticus 17 as Waitz 1936; cf. Hübner 1986: 48, n. 31). The Apostolic Decree maintains a minimum cultic standard which in v 21 is not pragmatically grounded but is grounded in the authority of Moses (see also Acts 15:28–29; 21:25). In principle the gentile Christians are ritually set apart from the rest of the world. Cultic and ritual thinking contrary to the proclamation of Jesus and the writings of Paul along with the understanding of reality is alive once again. It is the broadest consensus among exegetes that the Apostolic Decree was not decided at the council on the gentile mission (Gal 2:11–21); rather, this assignation was made first by Luke or perhaps by his tradition (cf. 1 Corinthians 8).

**H. The Early Church**

The more the Church recognized the OT as genuine and authoritative, the more its levitical laws of purity became part of the tide of its theological and ecclesial reception. Dorothea Wendebourg (1984) has shown how, against the phenomenon of the cultic purity laws as set forth in Luke-Acts (now a special hermeneutical problem) the laws of purity determine the praxis and biblical interpretation of the early Church and how they once again negate an essential and specific characteristic of the NT; the aforementioned new understanding of reality. There were attempts to retain the theological meaning of the laws of purity and, at the same time, to practice the freedom from them: allegory (cleanness and uncleanness really denote religious/moral qualities) and typology (cultic cleanness is to be understood as a prefigurement of the death of Christ or of baptism). In the Apostolic Fathers one can see how little cleanness is understood in a ritual sense, for they often speak of a "clean heart" or a "clean conscience" (*Ep. Barn.* 1; *2 Clem.; Shepherd of Hermas*, esp. *Shep. Herm.* 23:5 [see further Kraft 1963]). The ethical accent is clear in the injunction to make oneself clean (*Shep. Herm.* 56:6). Of the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, the *Epistle of Barnabas* should be noted. In *Ep. Barn.* 10:2 the levitical commandments concerning food are so interpreted that even Moses appears to have understood them allegorically: "This is, then, not a commandment of God that they should not eat [these things] much more did Moses speak in the spirit." So Barnabas, for example, interpreted the prohibition of partaking of flesh of swine as a prohibition of developing close contact with persons who are similar to swine (*Ep. Barn.* 10:3).

Clement of Alexandria (d. ca. 215) and Methodius of Olympus (d. ca. 311) see the cleansing that takes place through baptism as the reason why ritual defilement through sexual intercourse or unclean foods cannot occur (*strom.* 3, 12.82.6; Meth. *arbitr.* 12.6—he bases his argument in 7.6 on the sayings of Jesus and on Paul). However, on the way to the adoption of the Stoic axiom that sexuality is only justified for the purpose of procreation, precisely for sexuality levitical purity regulations gradually became authoritative. In his Montanist phase, Tertullian, upon the prompting of Lev 19:2, declares prayer and sexual activity mutually exclusive (*On Exhortation to Chastity* 10.2–4, 7.1–2 advances Lev 21:14 as an argument to which a priest, for his purity's sake, may not marry a woman who has already been married). Origen, upon the prompting of Leviticus 12, grounds infant baptism on the impurity of reproduction and birth (*In Lev.* 8:3ff; cf. Wendebourg 1984: 158–60).

To a certain extent, the praxis of the church corresponds to the theoretical ruminations of the theologians. The so-called Apostolic decree shows forth its effect over time:

> In the early imperial Church, at the latest, the range of foods forbidden to the decent person expanded beyond blood and foods containing blood. Over the centuries this range came to include all possible sorts of animals found here and there to be repulsive and eventually resembled the list offered by the

OT. There developed a system of punishment and purification rituals for people and things which had come into contact with certain animals (Wendebourg 1984: 161).

Regarding sexuality, there is a shift in perspective, as far as the relationship between worship and sexuality is concerned. Despite many regulations which abide in the spirit of the NT, it eventually becomes a matter "of prescriptions, in no way inferior to those in the OT" (Wendebourg 1984: 162). Above all in Alexandria, sexual processes, because of their supposed impurity, were increasingly regarded as a barrier to the receiving of the sacraments. Besides Origen, Bishop Dionysius (2d century) and Bishop Timothy (4th century) should be named: for the sake of cultic purity they forbade conjugal intercourse on weekends and baptism during menstruation (see Wendebourg 1984: 166). Although the thought of the cultic impurity of sexual life is not explicitly stated, no one may understand canon 33 of the Spanish Council of Elvira (ca. 306) without such a background (Wendebourg 1984: 167). This council, among other things, placed rigorous restrictions on the sexual life of all priests, deacons, and other clerics. This disposition gained acceptance in the Western churches but not in the Eastern churches, where an attempt to accept such measures at the council of Nicea foundered on the objection of Bisop Paphnutiur (Socr. *h.e.* 1.11). The Eastern church recognizes only celibacy of bishops and monks.

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TRANS. RONALD B. THOMAS, JR.

**UNDERWORLD.** See DEAD, ABODE OF THE; HADES, HELL; DESCENT TO THE UNDERWORLD.

**UNFORGIVABLE SIN.** The concept of the unforgivable sin is based on Jesus' words in Mark 3:28–29 (= Matt 12:31; Luke 12:10), "Truly I say to you, all sins will be forgiven the sons of men, and whatever blasphemies they utter; but whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit never has forgiveness but is guilty of an eternal sin." The NT has two other passages which also seem to refer to an unforgivable sin. One is Heb 6:4–6, "For it is impossible to restore again to repentance those who … commit apostasy, since they crucify the Son of God on their own account and hold him up to contempt." The other is found in 1 John 5:16: "If anyone sees his brother committing what is not a mortal sin, he will ask, and God will give him life for those whose sin is not mortal. There is sin that is mortal; I do not say that one is to pray

for that." Before any general conclusions about the nature of the unforgivable sin can be drawn, all of these passages need to be examined in their unique contexts.

The references to the unforgivable sin in Mark and Matthew occur as part of the ongoing confrontations between Jesus and the scribes and Pharisees. In this particular confrontation, the question at issue is the source of the power manifested in Jesus' ministry. The scribes and Pharisees have accused Jesus of casting out demons by the power of Satan, not the power of God (Mark 3:22–30 [= Matt 12:24–32]). Jesus answers the scribes' and Pharisees' accusations by first pointing out the absurdity of the assumption that Satan would undermine his own authority. He then warns the scribes and Pharisees that they are not only guilty of refusing to acknowledge the spirit of God, but are also manifesting their own spiritual perversity. Those who are so spiritually perverse as to call Jesus' healing ministry evil, are in danger of completely rejecting the spirit of God and with it any possibility of forgiveness. Such persons place themselves out of reach of God's forgiveness, not because God's forgiveness is limited, but because they would refuse it as evil.

The reference to the unforgivable sin in Luke 12:10 (= Matt 12:31) is found as part of Jesus teaching on persecution: "He who denies me before men will be denied before the angels of God. And every one who speaks a word against the Son of man will be forgiven; but he who blasphemes against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven." In this context, the unforgivable sin is most often understood as apostasy, the denial of Christ by one who has previously acknowledged and followed him. However, this statement makes a clear distinction between blaspheming against the Son of Man and blaspheming against the Holy Spirit. The former sin, blaspheming against the Son of Man, will be forgiven and it is this sin which seems to be a reference to apostasy. For this reason, some see the sin of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit as a rejection of the Holy Spirit as it is manifested in the disciples and the Church. The type of hostility toward the Holy Spirit which results in the persecution of Christians as evildoers, is the same type of spiritual perversity which sees Satan as the source of Jesus' healing power. This hostility cannot be forgiven, because it rejects the Holy Spirit which is the agent of God's forgiveness.

Hebrews 6:4–6 contains a clear reference to the sin of apostasy, the denial of Christ by one who has been a professing Christian: "It is impossible to restore again to repentance those who … commit apostasy, since they crucify the Son of God on their own account and hold him up to contempt." But is the apostasy referred to here an unforgivable sin? The author of Hebrews probably has a definite pastoral situation in mind. At the end of the 1st century, Jewish-Christians were under considerable pressure to denounce Christ and return to Judaism. This passage is a warning about the seriousness of such a choice. Here apostasy does not refer to denying Christ under persecution, but to a deliberate rejection of Christ in favor of the Law or some other means of salvation. Those who did this would clearly have cut themselves off from the forgiveness which God offers in Christ. The clue to identifying this type of apostasy is the complete absence of repentance for the sin of rejecting Christ.

The somewhat obscure reference to the "sin which is mortal" in 1 John 5:16 also seems to refer to a sin for which there is no forgiveness. This sin results in death (the meaning of "mortal sin") rather than life. Since 1 John 5:13 declares that those "who believe in the name of the Son of God … have eternal life," it is probable that this "sin which is mortal" involves the rejection of the Son of God and results in spiritual death. On the basis of this passage alone, it is difficult to say exactly what this "sin which is mortal" might be.

The NT acknowledges the possibility that one can be so closed to the spirit of God that one is incapable of receiving God's forgiveness. But this possibility is never seen as limiting God's willingness to forgive in any way. Blasphemy against the Holy Spirit is never equated with any particular sin; even the sin of denying Christ will be forgiven. The only thing which could possibly result in an unforgivable sin is a person's refusal to receive God's forgiveness. This refusal might take several forms. One would be the type of spiritual perversity which would reject God's forgiveness because it would see that forgiveness as an evil rather than a good. Another would be a deliberate turning away from the forgiveness offered in Christ by one who had already experienced that forgiveness. But even these forms of refusal would have to be permanent to be unforgivable. The NT consistently confronts its readers with God's willingness to

forgive those who turn to him in repentance and are willing to accept the forgiveness offered in Christ. The unforgivable sin is only mentioned as a possibility. God's forgiveness in Christ is a permanent offer.
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**UNITY/UNITY OF HUMANITY.** Unity is the totality of that which is diverse and varied. It is a oneness which does not obliterate what is distinctive about its members. "Unity does not mean uniformity, but solidarity, the tension-filled interconnection between those who differ among themselves" (Käsemann 1968: 56). The language field can somewhat be defined. The word *heis* ("one") appears 337 times in the NT; frequently it simply means "one" or "someone" without any theological significance. At other times it is of extreme theological importance. Other terms are less frequent but more often of theological significance; *henotēs* occurs in Eph 4:3, 13, and in Ignatius ten times; *henōsis* does not appear in the NT but is used eight times by Ignatius.

In the NT unity is of particular concern at two points: the unity of humanity and the unity of the Church. The unity of humanity is a concept which was widely extant in the ancient, particularly Hellenistic, world. For Paul it was an organizing principle of his anthropology and represented in part his response to the anthropology of his contemporaries.

The unity of the church was a burning issue for Paul, the gospel of John, and to a lesser degree the Synoptics. The older view of scholarship that an initial study within the Church was threatened only by the rise of later heresy was successfully challenged by Bauer in 1934 (Bauer 1971). From the beginning, in fact, the Church was confronted with both doctrinal and sociological disunity.

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A. Unity Outside the NT
B. Unity in Paul
C. Unity in the Gospels
D. Ignatius of Antioch

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**A. Unity Outside the NT**

Outside the NT there are four major arguments for the unity of humanity. The first was the concept of one God. From the 4th–3d centuries B.C.E. on interest in monotheistic belief increased in the West, as national boundaries were destroyed by Alexander. Syncretism ensued, giving impetus to general monotheistic thought; the one divinity was supranational, no matter how many names were used in its praise (Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 377F–378A; *De E apud Delphos* 393B–C; Apuleius, *Met.* 11:2, e.g.).

Monotheism in antiquity was represented above all by the Jews. Israel first conceived Yahweh as the only God for Israel and then eventually as the only God of the whole world (Exod 20:3; Deut 6:4; Jer 2:11, 5:7; Isa 45:5, 46:9–10). In Jewish Greek literature monotheism was taken for granted (*Sib Or.* 3:11, 15–16, 571, 718; Philo *Op* 61.172, *Spec. Leg.* I.12.67). In rabbinic Judaism the unity of God was *the* central concept; a Jew, in fact, was defined as one who professed the unity of God (*Esth. Rab.* 6:2). Unity was expressed most clearly and profoundly in the *shema* (Deut 6:4–9). The one God of the rabbis also had a relationship with all people (*Sipre* Deut. art. 31), having created them in God's image (*ʾAbot* 3:18; *b. Nid.* 31a).

The second major argument for the unity of humanity was the recognition of one universal human nature. In the Greek experience such self-identification became necessary when the Greeks encountered the barbarians. Were these beings people or not? The resulting struggle of thought led to the first philosophical theories of humanity's unity, propounded by the Sophists. They assented to the Athenian ideal of the equality of citizens but rejected written laws in favor of nature *(physis).* Thus for Protagoras, "Of all things the measure is man, of the things that are that they are, and of the things that are not, that they are not." (80 B 1 = DK II, p. 263, lines 3–5; cf. Pl. *Prt.* 333D; *Tht.* 167C) Hippias built on the law-nature dichotomy: "I think of you all as kinsmen and family members and fellow-citizens by nature, not by law" (*Prt.* 337C–D). His concern was with *anthrōpos,* with humanity as humanity. Antiphon argued that humanity was free from the constraints of law (87 B 44A = DK II, p. 346, col. 1, line 1-p. 349, col. 4,

line 22), including distinguishing the noble-born from the low-born and separating barbarians from Greeks (87 B 44B = DK II, p. 352, col. 1, line 35-p. 353, col. 2, line 35). The medical authors also argued for a common human nature based on their observations as wandering physicians. Differences between nations arise through variations in climate and geography, not in human nature ( *De aere* chap. 16). People have, therefore, the same nature *(De natura hominis),* a fact which in part leads to the Hippocratic Oath, in which all patients without regard to sexual and social differences are the objects of the physician's medical care (*Jusjurandum,* lines 24–28).

Objections to these concepts of a unified humanity were raised. Socrates concentrated on humanity as "soul" *(psychē),* the primary component of which was the *logos,* or "reason." His emphasis on reason divided humanity into wise and foolish. For Plato the human being was a temporary union of soul and body, with the soul clearly being the dominant and eternal factor (*Phdr.* 246C). Souls varied, and their differences provided another way of distinguishing people (*Resp.* 439C–441B). For Aristotle the divine element in humanity was expressed in the fact that human beings have *nous,* "mind," together with the fact that they alone have *logos* and therefore the ability to reason and speak. Yet at the same time Aristotle maintained distinctions between people, arguing for natural divisions between ruler and ruled, men and women, slaves and free (*Pol.* 1253b33, 1254a9–13, 1254b19–1255a2, 1260a8–24, 1269b5–1270b7; *Gen. An.* 767b8–10). Much of the Greek tradition could be summarized in the thanksgiving variously attributed to Thales, Socrates, and Plato that "I was born a human being and not a beast, next, a man and not a woman, thirdly, a Greek and not a barbarian" (Diog. Laert 1.33; Lactant. *Div. Inst.* 3.19).

In Stoicism reason was felt to be common to all people. Whether or not a person utilized that reason he or she still retained it, a fact which was a strong component in the Stoic drive for equality and for involvement by the wise person in the world's affairs (Marcus Aurelius *Med.* 4.4). At the same time the emphasis on reason led to division between the wise and the foolish (von Arnim 1964: 1.216–29, p. 52, line 25-p. 55, line 3; 3.544–684, p. 164, line 3-p. 171, line 19; Cic. *Acad.* 2.44.136; Epict. *Diss.* 1.3.3–4; 2.8–10).

Movement toward the idea of humanity's unity was greatly affected by the influence of Rome, as the Roman Empire provided a successor to the political world unity sought by Alexander. The history of Polybius was the earliest document of Greco-Roman times to view humanity as a unity; the Romans had mastered all the *oikoumenē,* "inhabited world." Cicero (1st century B.C.E.) sought consciously to put into practice the ideals commonly associated with Alexander and the Stoic Panaetius, especially the ideal of a unified humanity in society (*Off.* 3.6.31; 3.17.69). Beginning with reason, Cicero posited therefrom a kinship of people which resulted in *humanitas,* "humanity" or "urbanity" (*Leg.* 1.7.22–23; *Tusc.* 5.13.38–39; *Orat.* 2.53.212, 3.15.58; *Fin.* 5.19.54). All people have the same common, divine origin and thus are one (*Leg.* 1.8.24–25; 1.10.28–30, 32).

Among the representatives of the later Stoa, the brotherhood and equality of humanity were assumed. Five major arguments can be isolated: all people are equally amenable to moral instruction (Sen. *Ben.* 3.18.2; *Ep.* 31.11, 44.2, 66.3); all are children of God (Epict. *Diss.* 1.13.3–4; Dio 7.138, 12.27; Marcus Aurelius *Med.* 2.13, 3.4.4, 4.3.2,); all have sinned (Sen. *Clem.* 1.6.3,4; *Ira* 2.7.1–2.9.4, 3.26.4; *Ben.* 1.10.3); all are equally ruled by fate and death (Epict. *Diss.* 1.27.9; Sen. *Ep.* 91.16, 123.16); and all are citizens of the same great kingdom, frequently expressed through use of the image of the body (Sen. *Ep.* 95.51–53; *Ben.* 4.18.2–4; Epic. *Diss.* 2.5.24–26, 2.10.3–5; Marcus Aurelius *Med.* 2.1; 8.34; 7.13; 11.8). A practical result of such thought was the conclusion that slave and free person were equal (Sen. *Ben.* 3.22.1; Philo, influenced by Stoicism, in *Spec. Leg.* II.16.69). On the whole, the Stoics did not extend the practical results of their position to women, in contrast to the earliest Christian churches.

The OT had a unified concept of anthropology. That is, the human being was to be viewed wholistically and not divided into constituent parts. It is also to be noted that the word *adam,* "man/humanity," refers not to a single individual, but to the collective. Therefore, Genesis 1–2 do not limit to Israel the creation of a special relationship with God. Created humanity is a unity. Hellenistic Judaism, on the other hand, had a strongly dualistic anthropology, as is seen in Philo, who is dominated by body-soul dualism (*Migr* 2.9–12; *Gig* 3.12–15; *Leg. All* III.22.69). At the same time Philo exhibited a vibrant anthropological

universalism which included active care for others (*Dec* 10.41–43; *Virt* 25.131; *Spec. Leg* I.38.210–11). Yet neither he nor the rabbinic tradition extended that care in the direction of equality for women, although Philo did adopt the Stoic view of slavery.

On the question of the unity of Jew and gentile, there are opposing tendencies. On the one hand, the particularism of Israel had deep roots in the Hebrew experience. Yahweh had chosen Israel as God's special people (Deut 7:6–11, 10:12–22, 14:2, 26:18–19, 28:1; Exod 6:6–8). The people of Israel were to remain pure and holy, but the gentile nations were defiled and unclean. Separation from the gentiles was especially emphasized in postexilic writers (2 Chr 28:1–4; Ezra 6:19–22). On the other hand, there were strong universalistic elements which built on indications throughout the Hebrew Bible of a universalistic concern for all people (Gen 12:3; Deut 4:5–6; 1 Kgs 8:41–44; Isa 2:2–4, 18:7, 25:6–8, 42:6–7, 45:18–25, 49:6, 55:4–5, 56:1–8; Zech 2:11–12, 8:20–23; Ruth; Jonah). Even the humanitarian legislation regarding the resident alien or sojourner encouraged a positive attitude toward non-Israelites (Exod 22:21–22; Deut 14:28–29, 24:14–18, 26:12–13, 27:19; Lev 24:22). Hellenistic Jewish authors universalized the Jewish religion even more by presenting it in Greek dress, which provided the bridge for Judaism to become a proselytizing religion. Partnership instructive are *Pseudo-Eupolemus, Artapanus,* Sirach, *Aristobulus, Eupolemus,* the *Sibylline Oracles,* the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,* the *Letter of Aristeas, Joseph and Asenath,* the Wisdom of Solomon, Philo, and Josephus. In this process, Abraham became an extremely important figure, since he was both gentile and Jew and the first proselyte (*Ps-Eup.* in Eus. *P.E.* 9.17; Philo *Migr*; Virt 39.212-19).

The particularistic-universalistic dichotomy is also found throughout rabbinic literature and is epitomized in the different approaches of Hillel and Shammai in the famous story about the reception of a convert (*b.Šabb.* 31a). Among those more positively oriented toward proselytizing the figure of Abraham as proselyte and missionary was quite important (*b. Sukk.* 49; *Mek.* Nez. 18:9–36; *Gen. Rab.* 30:8, 39:14, 46:2, 48:2–9, 54:6, 84:4). Yet Abraham was also pre-eminently for the rabbis one who fulfilled the law (*m. Qidd.* 4:14; *Cant. Rab.* 8; *Midr.* Ps. 116:10), and the rabbis introduced this prayer into the synagogue liturgy: "R. Judah says: Three blessings one must say daily: Blessed (art thou), who did not make me a gentile; Blessed (art thou), who did not make me a woman; Blessed (art thou), who did not make me a boor" (*t. Ber.* 7:18).

In Judaism one of the most important ways that the unity of humanity was affirmed was by the use of the figure of Adam. In his very name Adam comprehended all geographical areas and thus implicitly all people (*Sib. Or.* 3:24–26; *2 En.* 30:13–15). He was the ancestor of all of humanity (Philo *Op* 47.136). In rabbinic Judaism that concept was expressed by Adam's huge body, which filled the entire world (*Gen. Rab.* 8:1) and which was composed of dust from all parts of the world (*b. Sanh.* 38ab; cf. *Pirqe R. El.* 11 [6b], where the four basic colors of humanity are found in Adam). In his pre-fall body were to be found all of his descendants (*Exod. Rab.* 40:3). At other times Adam as the prototype was stressed as a way to talk about a unified humanity (*b. Sanh.* 38a; *m. Sanh.* 4:5). Negatively, his sin affected all (*2 Bar.* 48:42, 56:5–8; *4 Ezra* 7:116–19; *Gen. Rab.* 19:6; *Sipre* Deut. 323 [138b]).

A third argument for the unity of humanity was the unity effected by the bonds of society, particularly that of law. For Plato the chief bond was *dikaiosynē,* "justice," which meant to fulfill one's role within society (*Resp.* 372A, 433A). In both of his ethical treatises Aristotle closely related justice and love (*philia,* the love of friends; *Eth. Nic.* bks. 8 and 9 [1155a–1172a] and *Eth. Eud.* bk. 7 [1234b–1246a]). Love was viewed as a primary bond between people, proceeding originally from parental love and extending as a common bond from the family until it embraced one's relationship with all people (*Eth. Nic.* 1155a17–32), thus creating from disparate elements a harmonious, reciprocal fellowship *(koinōnia)* which united those who were part of it (*Eth. Nic.* 1159b31, 1160a8–13; *Pol.* 1251a1–7).

Of most significance for the Stoics was the conception of a universal law which united all people. For them the nature of humanity, with its *logos,* was intimately bound with that of the world law and world reason, the *logos orthos* ("right reason"; Diog. Laert. 7.88; Cic. *Leg.* 1.7.23). The law was a powerful unifying force, binding together God and humanity (cf. *SVF* 2.1129, p. 327, lines 21–28). That law, moreover, was one law (Cic. *Leg.* 1.15.42; *Rep.* 3.22.33; Epict. *Diss.* 1.11.12–13, 1.22.4), which was also

viewed as a natural law (Chrysippus, *SVF* 2.599, p. 184, lines 31–32; Diog. Laert. 7.128; Cic. *Leg.* 2.5.13, *Nat.D.* 1.14.36). Because the law was natural it was also universal and had clear implications for the fellowship of all people (Cic. *Off.* 3.6.27–28). Related is the idea of a law of nations, *ius gentium,* which is above civil law (Cic. *Off.* 3.5.23, 3.17.69).

In the OT society originated from the activity of God in electing the people of Israel. God thus initiated a covenant (*bĕrît*), which resulted in a legitimate order (Exod 19:5). The Law (Torah), then, was the positive response of the people to a delivering God and that God's call to obedience. In the postexilic period the Law assumed an ever more central role, so that the necessity of obedience to that Law became the basis of the community's life. In Hellenistic Judaism the Law of the OT covenant became a universal law potentially applicable to all people (*Sib. Or.* 3:755–59). In Philo the Jewish Law was also identified as the law of nature (*Sacr* 39.131; *Op* 19.61; *Vita Mos* II.3.13–14, 2.8.48). Abraham was the test case, for he followed the unwritten law of nature (*Migr* 23.127–28, *Abr* 1.4–6, 3.16, 46.275–76). Another way that Jewish authors expressed the concept of one law was by means of the Noachian laws, which were the laws given before the Mosaic law and which were considered binding on all people (*Jub.* 7:20; *b. Sanh.* 56a; *b. ʿAbod. Zar* 64b; *t. ʿAbod. Zar* 8:4; *Gen. Rab.* 16:6, 34:8; *Deut. Rab.* 2:25; *Cant. Rab.* 1:16).

The fourth major argument for a unified humanity was the notion of one world, or cosmological cosmopolitanism, in which the world/*kosmos* was viewed as one vast city/*polis* which included all people. Crucial was the ideology which grew up around Alexander the Great. A first element in that ideology was his positive treatment of barbarians, based on their virtue, as well as his adoption of barbarian customs and dress (Strab. 1.4.9; Plutarch, *De Alex. fort.* 329B, *Alex.* 27.4–5, 45.1–3; Arrian 1.23.8; Diodorus Siculus 17.7.4–5). A second element was the understanding in antiquity that he sought to unify the races and thus the world (Arrian 4.19.5, 7.4.4–8, 7.8.1–12.4; Curtius 10.3.10–14; Plutarch, *De Alex. fort.* 327E–332A, *Alex.* 27.3–6). Once this image of Alexander was formulated, it itself became a factor in the further development of the conception of humanity's unity. In addition there were the practical results of his career, the most lasting of which were the economic and cultural unification of the Greco-Oriental world. His empire implied the existence of one world.

In rejecting the supreme importance of the city-state, the Cynics used cosmopolitanism as a specific tool of protest against society, which for them represented the negative influence of law over against their positive concept of nature. Thus the goal became to live according to nature (Diog. Laert. 6.71). In rejecting the city Diogenes scornfully called himself a cosmopolitan, "a citizen of the world" (Diog. Laert. 6.63) whose commonwealth was "as wide as the universe" (6.72; for Crates see 6.85, 93, 98). Stoic cosmopolitanism was more positive and more society-oriented. For them the world/*kosmos* was itself a unified organic being (Diog. Laert. 7.87, 142–43; *SVF* 2.527, p. 168, lines 11–14). The world was further conceived as being one vast city (*SVF* 2.645, p. 194, lines 16–17 and 2.528, p. 169, lines 26–29; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 36.29–30; Philo *Jos* 6.29).

The Middle Stoa and Later Stoa, led by figures like Panaetius, sought to effect cosmopolitan ideals in the government of Rome, and Cicero held out to Roman governors the ideals of *humanitas.* Citizenship in the commonwealth of the *kosmos* was universal, as all people contained reason (Cic. *Leg.* 1.7.23, 1.23.61; *Fin.* 3.19.64; Sen. *Ot.* 4.1, *De Ira* 2.31.7, *Ep.* 28.4, *Vita* 20.5; Epict. *Diss.* 1.9.1–6, 10.2–3; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 36.35–38; Marcus Aurelius, *Med.* 3.11.2, 4.3.2, 4.4, 6.44, 10.15, 12.36). The Stoic ideal of the cosmopolis was made concrete in Rome (Ael. Aristid. *Or.* 26.36). The world of the NT was thus a militarily united world in which much thought and propaganda were devoted to supporting that unity.

Within Judaism cosmological cosmopolitanism is to be found in Philo. The first aspect of his cosmopolitanism was negative: Abraham at the command of God became homeless (*Abr* 14.67, 18.86; *Virt* 39.218, *Gig* 13.61), as did in general the people of God (*Gig* 13.61). Yet Philo's cosmopolitanism also had positive content, as Abraham found a "truly vibrant and living commonwealth" in true belief (*Virt* 39.219), a home which was open to all (*Virt* 33.175, *Spec Leg* I.9.51, *Vita Mos* I.28.157). Philo viewed the world as a *megalopolis,* with one polity, one law, and one nature (*Jos* 6.29), founded on the basic Jewish confession that God is one (*Op* 61.171). (For more detail on unity outside the NT, see Taylor 1981.)

**B. Unity in Paul**

For Paul humanity was united, first of all, in its opposition to God (Rom 1:18–3:23a). Neither those with the Law nor those without it are safe from God's wrath (2:12). The gentiles are not at a disadvantage, for they have the unwritten law (2:14–16), which brings them quite close to natural law. Yet Paul did not use law as a positive bond. For Paul law united negatively in binding all people under sin (3:20). All are under sin (3:9) and all have fallen short of the glory of God (3:23a).

A second aspect of the negative unity of humanity is unity in death. Death for Paul was the result of sin (Rom 7:9–13; cf. 1:32 and 7:5; 1 Cor 15:56). The connection between sin and death is made very explicit in Rom 6:20–23. In v 23 Paul equated death with the punishment of the sins of the individual; similar is Rom 5:12d, where Paul, having stated the universality of sin and death in mythological language, concluded by saying that sin and its result, death, have occurred because all people have sinned. While similar to Stoicism's emphasis on the universality of death, Paul's conception was not fatalistic. Rather, death came by sinning, so that it was viewed as the result of the sin which had broken humanity's relationship with God.

Related to the first two aspects is the third: unity in the *kosmos,* "world." For Paul the unredeemed person was bound up with existence in the "world." The world tries in its wisdom to know God on its own terms, but it fails (1 Cor 1:20–21). The note of judgment on the world is expressed when Paul speaks of "this world" (1 Cor 3:19; 5:10; 7:31, 33–34), but it is also evident when he speaks only of "the world" (1 Cor 11:32; 2 Cor 7:10; Phil 2:15) or of "this aeon" (Rom 12:2; 1 Cor 1:20, 2:6 and 8, 3:18; 2 Cor 4:4).

A final negative argument for the unity of humanity was unity in Adam. In Rom 5:12–21 Paul developed the thesis that sin entered the world through the "one man," the *heis anthrōpos,* Adam. He avoided further mythological speculation, however, such as one finds in Gnosticism, and instead of locating the origin of sin outside the human being, localized that origin firmly in Adam himself. Through that sin death enters, but death is appropriated by the individual as he/she participates in the sinful realm by sinning (5:12d). The emphasis on the one man/humanity provided a new argument: there is one humanity which is already implicated in the one sin of the one man Adam. The unifying figure of Adam is also used in 1 Cor 15:21–22 where the weight is on the connection of Adam and death.

The only divine intervention that could effect the unity of humanity in any lasting way Paul found in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus, through whom humanity was positively to be unified into one. The universal significance of the cross and the (potential) unity of all humanity in that salvific event can be seen in the Adam-Christ typology. In Rom 5:14 Adam is the type of the one to come in his universality and effect on all people. Just as Adam is universal, so is Christ. Just as Adam's sin included all, so does the sacrifice of Christ. Jesus Christ is "the one man" over against the one man Adam (5:15, 17–19). Each stands as the head of humanity; each comprehends in himself all people. Similar thought is developed in 1 Cor 15:20–28, 42–49, where once more the two men and their opposite effects are juxtaposed. Whereas through the one man death came, through the other man the elimination of that effect has come about by the resurrection of the dead. The second man (Christ) thereby reverses the negative direction initiated by the first. That view is particularly clear in 15:45, when Christ is identified as "the last Adam," i.e., the Adam of the end, the one to set right the negative effects of the first Adam. All people bear the image, or form, of the man of dust, Adam, in whom all of humanity is united. The believer, however, will be able to shatter that image by participation in another image, that of the man of heaven (vv 45–46).

The final goal for Paul was therefore the unity of humanity. As elsewhere, the oneness of God is foundational to humanity's oneness (Rom 3:28–30; 1 Cor 8:4–6; Gal 3:20; cf. Eph 4:6). It is the same one God who has been revealed to all (Rom 1:18–32) and that same one God has acted through the one man Jesus. The unity of humanity is in fact the goal of the whole redemptive process. For Paul, however, it is foolish to speak of any positive unity of humanity apart from the eschaton. Thus the concept of the unity of humanity is ultimately a future concept to be realized only at the resurrection (Pannenberg 1972b; 1972c). On the last day the believers who are alive will be changed and the dead in Christ will be resurrected (1 Cor 15:51–55; 1 Thess 4:13–18). For Paul that existence will be somatic (1 Cor 15:35–44, 2 Cor 5:1–5), which is an indication that Paul viewed the future, resurrected existence as human existence

and not an absorption into the divine. The result of resurrection is that the unity of humanity in death will be destroyed, just as justification destroyed the unity of humanity in sin. Death is the last enemy but it will be overcome by resurrection (1 Cor 15:26, 54–57).

Paul and the tradition which followed him used various symbols to illustrate the final goal of the unity of humanity. "New creation/creature" is found in Gal 6:14–15 and 2 Cor 5:17–18. The former passage likely has a baptismal reference and refers to the restoration of the believer to the true human reality to which God calls all people. The believer is a new creature who stands apart from the divisions of the old age. The second passage points especially to the present-tense experience of that new creaturehood which will be fully realized in resurrection. A second symbol used by Paul is that of the image of God which refers in the first place to Christ (2 Cor 4:4; cf. Col 1:15). No person since the fall has that image and it is only Christ who can give it back. The "image of God," therefore, can be viewed as the destiny of all who believe in Christ; i.e., this symbol can be understood as a statement by Paul of the positive unity of humanity possible in Christ. While Paul can write of a conforming to the image which begins at baptism (Rom 8:29, 2 Cor 3:18; Col 3:10), the concept is future-oriented (1 Cor 15:49), even if the process does begin in the present. A third symbol is utilized in the deutero-Pauline tradition. Whereas Paul in the undisputed letters stops short of designating believers as a new humanity, Ephesians does just that in 2:14–16. Christ makes one new humanity by eliminating the distinctions of law which have resulted in the two humanities (Jew-Greek) who are at enmity with each other (Gal 3:28, Col 1:21–22). The reference is clearly a corporate one. The new humanity is created "in himself," i.e., in Christ, and that new humanity is further identified with the "one body" (of Christ) in v 16. Related is the thought expressed in 4:13–16 of a perfect humanity toward which the ministry of the church enables Christians to develop. The concept is further developed in Col 3:9–11 and Eph 4:22–24, where Christians are directed to put off the old humanity and put on the new humanity, in distinction from Paul in whom the new existence is a covering of the old (2 Cor 5:4). There is also in the deutero-Paulines a unity even beyond the unity of humanity. God has "a plan for the fulness of time, to unite all things in him [Christ], things in heaven and things on earth" (Eph 1:10). All history—both human and cosmic—will ultimately be united in Christ (cf. 1:22–23; Col 1:15–20; 1 Cor 15:28). In Col 1:15–20 Christ is once more viewed as the agent of unity, although his work is understood in terms of creation as well as redemption. Thus he is the first-born of all creation, in whom and through whom and for whom all things were created. He is also the goal of creation. In addition, it is in Christ that the creation holds together (v 17).

Paul rejected other ways to unity besides the unity offered in Christ. One way to unity that he explicitly rejected was that of the Mosaic law. While Paul could say many positive things about the Law (Rom 7:10, 12; 9:14; 10:5; Gal 3:12b), he viewed the Law as weakened by the flesh and therefore powerless to save (Rom 8:3). Even when the Mosaic law was fulfilled Paul rejected it in favor of Christ (Phil 3:4–9). The Law was until Christ; with his arrival comes faith and the effective end of the Law (Gal 3:19–25; Rom 10:4). Thus no one is justified through works of the Law (Rom 3:20; Gal 3:10–14), and the Christian has in fact died to the Law (Rom 7:4–6; Gal 2:19–20). His approach to law becomes paradigmatic of his approach to other arguments for the unity of humanity: all religious and political striving for unity was put by Paul under the categories of sin and death.

Paul had similar difficulties with cosmological cosmopolitanism. *Kosmos,* as we have seen, was not a particularly positive term for Paul. On the other hand, Paul lived every day of his life with the practical results of Roman imperial political cosmopolitanism. The sheer fact that he thought of humanity in such broad, inclusive terms may be due in part to his contact with Roman political realities. Phil 3:20 does, however, possibly indicate a redefinition of Roman cosmopolitanism. It may be that Paul in effect was saying that the true Rome, the Christian commonwealth *(politeuma),* was not in Italy but in heaven and that the Christians had realized the ancient dream of cosmopolitanism, albeit in an altered form (cf. Phil 1:27, where Paul uses the verb *politeuomai,* "I lead my life, conduct myself as a citizen"). Related is his approach to peace. While there is no explicit confrontation in his letters with Roman *pax* (with the possible exception of 1 Thess 5:3), his redefinition of peace did in fact end any thought, within 1st-century Christian circles, at least, of imperial, governmental peace as a way to unite humanity. Peace in

the NT is above all the eschatological salvation of the whole person, and so peace is the normal state of the new creation (1 Cor 14:33; cf. Rom 15:33; 16:20; 2 Cor 13:11; Phil 4:9; 1 Thess 5:23). The God of peace gives peace, and the apostle expresses his wish that peace would be granted to his listeners when he repeatedly gives his standard epistolary greeting in the words, "grace to you and peace" (Rom 1:7; 1 Cor 1:3; 2 Cor 1:2; Gal 1:3; Phil 1:2; 1 Thess 1:1; Phlm 3; also Eph 1:2 and Col 1:12). The Christological basis of that peace is stated in Rom 5:1 (cf. Col 1:19–20 and Eph 2:14–17). Peace is the result of having been justified, of having been included in the Christ act. Peace for Paul is therefore not a human achievement nor the gift of the state.

Another argument for unity rejected by Paul was that of human wisdom or reason (1 Cor 1:17–31). Paul preaches the gospel "not in eloquent wisdom" but by means of the cross of Christ (v 17), thus setting wisdom and cross in opposition to each other. Indeed, the cross is folly to outsiders (v 18), but God has "made foolish the wisdom of the world" (v 20). Paul could write positively of wisdom, but by it he meant Christ, "the power of God and the wisdom of God" (v 24). Thus wisdom as a worldly concept is rejected; only divine wisdom has unifying power, which is in part illustrated by the reversal of the type of wise-foolish distinction preached by the Stoics and others (vv 26–29).

While the unity of humanity is for Paul an eschatological concept, there are present positive results which can be grouped under unity in baptism and unity in the body. The classical passage on unity in baptism is Gal 3:26–29. The identification of the Galatians as the "sons of God" (v 26) extends to gentiles a concept usually applied to Jews only; v 27 explains how it is that gentiles are the sons of God: by baptism. Further, the act of being baptized and the act of putting on Christ are identified. Putting on Christ "describes the Christian's incorporation into the 'body of Christ' as an act of 'clothing,' whereby Christ is understood as the garment" (Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 187). The result of putting on Christ is unity with him, or being "in Christ Jesus" (v 28). The negative result of that unity is stated first, as Paul utilizes the major divisions existing between people: "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is not male and female." The divisions which had separated humanity are now considered overcome in Christ.

The elimination of the Jew-Greek distinction was one of the chief issues in both Galatians and Romans (Romans 1–3, especially 2:25–29; 10:12; Gal 5:6; 6:15; cf. 1 Cor 7:19; Phil 3:3) and was rooted in Paul's concept of apostleship, as he understood himself as a Jewish apostle in mission to gentile people (Gal 1:15; Rom 1:1–5, 14, 16; 11:13). He thus sought to unite two worlds in a way not unlike the unification goals attributed to Alexander by trying to include the gentiles in a new social and eschatological reality. A primary symbolic gesture of the elimination of this division was the monetary collection taken by Paul among his predominantly gentile-Christian congregations for the Jewish-Christian poor in Jerusalem. The symbolic unity to be expressed by the offering is indicated by his choice of the word *koinōnia,* "fellowship" as a term referring to the offering (Rom 15:26; 2 Cor 8:4 and 9:13). Paul also expressed the unity of Jew-Greek by means of the figure of Abraham, who was justified prior to the law and therefore served as the prototype of the Christian believer who is justified by grace through faith (Gal 3:6–18; Rom 4:1–25; 9:6–13; on his redefinition of Israel see Gal 6:15–16; Phil 3:3; Rom 2:25–29). At the same time the difficulty of effecting that unity is indicated by the Jerusalem conference and the misunderstandings which resulted from it (Acts 15; Galatians 2; Achtemeier 1987). The social and legal distinction between slave and free likewise for Paul existed no more (1 Cor 7:20–23). The third pair is more difficult to interpret. Elsewhere Paul does not speak in favor of the elimination of all distinctions between the sexes; rather, he seeks to eliminate the value judgments which are assigned to the male-female division (contra *TDNT* 2:440–41). Thus in the Pauline churches women lead worship (1 Cor 11:5, within an admittedly convoluted passage) and serve as deacon, missionary leader, and apostle (Rom 16:1–7). Paul concludes Gal 3:28 with the positive result: "you are all one in Christ Jesus." The "one" may refer to one *anthrōpos;* one body; or (simply) unity or oneness. All three options argue for a unity of humanity which transcends human limitations and the value judgments placed on the distinctions between people. Nor is that unity available only in the future; it is proleptically present now in the Church. Baptism, besides being the rite of initiation, is the act by which the unity of humanity is constituted (cf. 1 Cor 12:13; Col 2:11–15; 3:11).

The identification of the believer with the Christ event is more clearly stated in Rom 6:1–11. In v 5 the positive unity of humanity expected at the resurrection is rooted in the two past historical events of Christ's death and the believer's own death in baptism. Moreover, the new life is corporate in nature: "*We* have been united." The unity is a unity in the first place with Christ, but it is also a unity with other believers. That unification, within the context of a baptismal reminder, is also evident in Eph 2:11–22 and in 4:3–6, where "the unity of the Spirit" is a unity *(henotēs)* created by the Spirit, which in the Pauline tradition is normatively given at baptism (v 5). Just as the Spirit is one (v 4), so are the Christians to be one (body).

The second major way in Paul that one can identify the present positive results of the unity of humanity is in the unity of the Church, for the Church is the beginning of the new humanity (Pannenberg 1972a: 154). The context within which Paul worked out that Church unity, however, was one of division (1 Cor 1:10–17, e.g.; the Jew-gentile conflicts throughout his ministry; the opponents in 2 Corinthians and elsewhere). Paul responded in part by reminding his readers of the unifying cross of Jesus (1 Cor 1:18–25). Above all, he recalled to his readers the concept of the body of which they were a part. Paul argued that the body was not to be devalued since it belongs to the Lord (1 Cor 6:13, 20). Devaluation of the body could also affect one's understanding of the body in the Lord's Supper, and so Paul argued that from the one loaf of the Eucharist the many are constituted into one body (10:14–17; note the uses of *koinōnia* in v 16). Thus one body (v 17) indicates the horizontal somatic unity of believers in the Lord's Supper. Behind the unity of the believers is, of course, the one Lord and his one, crucified-resurrected body (v 16). It is by participation in that body by means of the Lord's Supper that the Church is constituted as body. The Lord's Supper both creates the unity of humanity in the body of Christ and is the most obvious manifestation of it. For that reason the social divisions evident at the Lord's Supper were especially abhorrent for Paul (1 Cor 11:27–34a; Theissen 1982). Thus the one unable to discern the body (of the Church) brings judgment upon him/herself (v 29). In response to the situation, Paul reminded the Corinthians of the community-constituting nature of the Supper by quoting the words of institution (vv 23–26). At the same time, he pointed to the anticipatory nature of the meal as it looks forward to the messianic banquet with the exalted Jesus (v 28). The Lord's Supper, therefore, is of great importance as a symbol of the future: the Church, which represents the future community of the new humanity, does its task of representation precisely in the Supper. The Supper is the paradigm of the unity of humanity.

The unity of the Church is further indicated by Paul's use in 1 Corinthians 12 of the body and its gifts. It is the same Spirit, the same Lord, and the same God who are the source of all gifts (vv 4–6). The unity of the body is found in baptism by the one Spirit which is given to all baptized Christians. In Rom 12:3–6 Paul again uses the analogy of the body, although he emphasizes more the unity which comes from incorporation into Christ (cf. Rom 6:1–11). In Ephesians the Church is once more called Christ's body (1:23, cf. 2:16; 5:31–32) which is to be built up by the ministry of the Church's leaders (4:12) as it functions as a unified body with every part working properly (4:16). Moreover, the goal of the Church's ministry is unity (*henōtes,* v 13), particularly the unity of faith (on the figure of the apostle Paul as a unifying factor in the post-Pauline period see DeBoer 1980; Collins 1975). That is, the unity of the Church is part of the Church's essence. What is also clear in Ephesians 4 is that the activity of being built up is ongoing, not complete; each part is needed for the proper functioning of the body, yet the growth of the whole entity is what is emphasized. The basis of the growth is love (cf. Col 3:12–15).

All people, however, do not believe. For Paul they therefore do not take part in the positive unity in Christ. Thus, whereas originally humanity was bound together in unity in Adam/sin, a unity which was broken by the Christ event, in the present age humanity is not only not united but is even more fundamentally divided than before the Christ event into those who believe and those who do not. So in Paul humanity is divided into the spiritual and the unspiritual (1 Cor 2:14–3:4); those inside the Church and those outside it (1 Cor 5:9–13); the flesh-walkers and the Spirit-walkers (1 Cor 8:4–9); those of the Spirit and promise and those of the flesh (Gal 3:3; 4:21–31; 5:16–26; 6:8); the seeing and the unseeing (2 Cor 4:3–14); the believers and the unbelievers (2 Cor 6:14–18); the righteous and the sinners (Rom 5:19); those of the Spirit and those of the written code (2 Cor 3:6); those of the Spirit and those of the law

(Romans 7, Galatians 3–4); and above all, those in Christ and those in Adam (Rom 5:12–19; 1 Cor 15:20–28, 42–49). Another way in which Paul expressed division among people was by the designation of Christians as a third race. So in 1 Cor 1:22–24 he seems to write of three groups: Jews, Greeks, and those who are called from both the Jews and the Greeks, namely, the Christians. The Christians appear as the new, third audience (1 Cor 10:32). In time this incipient concept was developed by others, so that Christians were called a third race (*Kerygma Petrou,* in Clem. *Str.* 6.5.39–41; *Diogn.* 1; *Apologia Aristidis* 2.1; 16; 17; Tert. *Ad Nat.* 1.8, *Scor.* 10; Clem. *Strom.* 3.10.10).

In sum, Paul was neither unique in posing the problem of the unity of humanity nor naive in the solution he proposed. Constantly in dialogue with a secular and religious world which had tried many proposals for unity, Paul determined that only the universality of Christ's cross could effect that long-desired goal.

**C. Unity in the Gospels**

In the Synoptic Gospels unity/oneness/unity-of-humanity is not developed as independent theological motifs. Certainly one can identify a commitment to one God (Mark 12:29, 32), although it tends to remain implicit. At the same time there is a dualistic strain, as the world is not unambiguously under the reign of God but is the battleground between God and Satan, as is seen in the career of Jesus from temptation to cross (Matt 4:1–11 [= Mark 1:12–13; Luke 4:1–13]; Luke 22:3, 23:35 [= Matt 27:41–42; Mark 15:31–32]). The conflict is seen also in the parables of Jesus. So, e.g., the sower sows the seed, but the birds devour it (Mark 4:3–4 [= Matt 13:3–4; Luke 8:51]), which is understood in the allegorical interpretation to be Satan (v 15 [= Matt 13:19; Luke 8:12]). In response, Jesus calls into being a new unified people, symbolized in the disciples. The unity of the new, eschatological people is revealed in the common table, which reaches a highpoint but is by no means limited to the Last Supper. The Synoptics are also concerned, in their own way, to express the unity of humanity. So in Mark there is a clear geographical pattern of movement, in which Jesus crosses the lake in such a way as symbolically to unite Jew (on the west) and gentile (on the east; 4:35–41; 5:21; 8:13). Jew and gentile are also united in the one loaf (6:30–44, 8:1–9, 8:14–21). At the same time, male and female are carefully balanced so that what happens to a male happens also to a female (1:21–26 and 1:29–31; 5:21–24a, 35–43 and 9:14–29). In Luke there is emphasis on the poor, with special attention being given to women (Elizabeth and Mary in chap. 1; 10:38–42) and to the non-Jew (10:30–37). In the second volume of Luke–Acts there is, of course, a universal mission to all people, symbolized by the reversal of the Tower of Babel at Pentecost (chap. 2), together with a brief statement about unity in a primal figure (17:26). In Matthew the Magi represent the gentile world's coming to the universal messiah (2:1–12). Yet, again somewhat parallel to Paul, the fulness of that potential unity will be realized only when the eschatological kingdom of God has fully arrived (Matt 6:10 [=Luke 11:21).

Oneness is the key to proper interpretation of the gospel of John. The key to unity in John is christological unity, specifically the unity of the Son with the Father. Jesus is the one shepherd, the one who is the exclusive shepherd of God's people (10:16). In 10:30 the christological oneness is stated most clearly: "I and the Father are one." Still, the Father and the Son are distinct even within their unity (10:38). The final major passage dealing with christological oneness is 17:11, 21–23. Even here, though, John does not work out a clearly delineated statement on the relationship of the Father and the Son, although it is obvious that they are united in such a way that it is impossible to have one without the other. It is also obvious that "the relationship of the Father to the Son and of the Son to the Father is the prototype of true solidarity" (Käsemann 1968: 69).

A second aspect of unity in John is that salvation is being one with the heavenly reality. So in 11:52 the death of Jesus is not only for Israel but for the purpose of gathering into one the scattered children of God. The distinctions between people are thus relativized, as we have seen also in Paul. Yet the goal of oneness is still to be realized rather than being an already fully present reality (17:11). The agent of that salvation is the one human being, *heis anthrōpos,* Jesus (11:50; 18:14). A final major aspect of unity in John is ecclesiological unity, which is seen already in 10:16, where John includes the "one flock, one shepherd" formula. The one flock is a future goal: either, with the majority of commentators, of Jew and gentile (cf. 12:20–23), or with Appold, of present and future believers (Appold 1976: 264). In either case, the oneness

of the flock is based on the oneness of the shepherd. In 11:52 the believers are to be gathered into one, regardless of where they are. The high priestly prayer of Jesus in chap. 17 expresses the hope of the Johannine Jesus for the future oneness of the church, again based on the model of the oneness of Father and Son (vv 11, 21–23). While one could argue that the prayer contains an implicit directive to Jesus' followers, it is in fact a prayer to God for God to bring about unity. To the extent that the earthly Church is in unity with the Father and the Son, to that extent it reflects the unity toward which it is moving and being called. The line of development is thus from the unity of Father and Son, to that of Son/Revealer and believer, to that of believers with each other. Similar ideas predominate in 1 John, where believers abide in the Son and in the Father (2:24) and where fellowship *(koinōnia)* between believers is based on fellowship with the Father and the Son (1:3, 6–7).

At the same time that unity is a major theme in John, so too is dualism, which is more clearly present here than elsewhere in the NT. People must be saved from the world and that salvation is made possible through the Revealer from heaven who speaks the word to which the elect will respond. Thus reality is divided into light-darkness (1:5, 9), law-grace (1:17), spirit-flesh (3:6, 6:63), life-condemnation (3:14–21), truth-falsehood (8:44), free-slave (8:34–35), and believer-unbeliever (passim). In the later portion of the Johannine tradition called Revelation, the battle between God and the forces of evil is primary.

**D. Ignatius of Antioch**

The trajectories of Church unity arising from Paul and John are further developed outside the NT in Ignatius, in whom unity is of the greatest significance. Negatively, sin for Ignatius was basically division (*Philad.* 2.1). It was that lack of unity which made humanity so vulnerable to the forces of evil. Unity, then, was the supreme gift (*Magn.* 1.2; 15). It is through Jesus Christ that unity is obtained; it is only unity with and in him that produces true harmony among people. Thus unity is possible only within the Church and is in fact promised by God (*Trall.* 11.2). It is for that reason that Ignatius so strenuously urged unity with and obedience to the bishop: "Be united with the bishop and with those who preside, for an example and lesson of imperishability" (*Magn.* 6.2; cf. *Ign. Eph.* 4; *Philad.* 3.2). Or, in Johannine terms, "As, then, the Lord did nothing apart from the Father, either by himself or through the apostles, since he was united with him, so you must do nothing apart from the bishop and the presbyters" (*Magn.* 7.1; cf. *Philad.* 7.2, *Eph.* 5.1–2, *Mag.* 13.1–2, *Tr.* 7.2). It is the bishop who guarantees the true unity of the Church (*Smyrn.* 8.2), becoming virtually identified with Christ as the guarantor of unity (*Trall.* 2.1, *Eph.* 6.1, *Smyrn.* 9.1). So, too, the ministry of Ignatius has been devoted to unity (*Philad.* 8.1). Finally, as in Paul but developed even further, the Eucharist is the sacrament of unity. There is one flesh of Christ and one Eucharist. Therefore, the Church, too, is to be one (*Eph.* 20.2; *Philad.* 3–4; *Smyrn.* 1.2, 7.1).

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**UNIVERSE.** See COSMOGONY, COSMOLOGY.

**UNKNOWN GOD, INSCRIPTION TO THE.** According to Acts 17:22–31, Paul addressed a group of Epicurean and Stoic philosophers when he was at Athens. He based his speech, the so-called "Areopagus Speech," on an altar inscription that read: "To an unknown god" (17:23). As of yet, no epigraphic evidence has been found that corresponds to Paul's alleged inscription, i.e., an altar inscription to an unknown god. Moreover, there is no literary evidence, apart from Acts and related Christian texts, that conclusively answers the question whether or not there ever was an altar *(bōmos)* with such an inscription.

Hugo Hepding published in 1910 a mutilated inscription that probably derives from the 2d century and was discovered in the precinct of Demeter in Pergamum. He argued that the inscription should most plausibly be restored to read:

*theois agn[ōstois]* To unk[nown] Gods
*Kapit[on]* Capito[n]
*dądoucho[s]* torch-beare[r].

It is just as probable, however, that the inscription read: *theois hag[iōtatois]:* "To [the] most holy Gods" (Deissmann 1972: 288–91; Haenchen *Acts* MeyerK, 521 n. 2). This evidence is too uncertain to answer our question conclusively.

However, the literary evidence does attest to altars addressed to "unknown *gods*" (PWSup 1: 28–30). In his *Description of Greece,* which was written in the latter-half of the 2d century, Pausanias (I.1.4) says that near the harbor of Phalerum stood a sanctuary of Demeter, temples of Athena Sciras and Zeus, "and altars of the gods named Unknown *(bōmoi de theōn te onomazomenōn agnōstōn).*" Similarly, he reports (V.14.8) that at Olympia, near the great ash-altar dedicated to Zeus, there was "an altar of Unknown Gods *(Agnōstōn theōn bōmos).*" Philostratus (ca. 170–245 C.E.), in his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (VI.3.5), attests to the proverbial piety of Athens when he says it is a place "where altars are set up in honor even of unknown gods" *(hou kai agnōstōn daimonōn bōmoi hidruntai).* Diogenes Laertius (ca. 200–250 C.E.) reports that "nameless altars" *(bōmous anōnymous)*—altars reflecting uncertainty to which particular local deity they should be dedicated, or altars dedicated to gods whose names were forgotten—could be found in different parts of Athens *(Lives of Philosophers* 1.110).

Strabo (ca. 64 B.C.E.–21 C.E.) reports (*Geog.* 3.16) that among the Celtiberians sacrifices were made to a "nameless god" *(anōnymǭ tini theǭ).* A nameless deity is, however, not necessarily equivalent to an unknown deity; only sheer speculation can equate this Celtiberian deity with Athens. Also speculative is the ingenious thesis that the Athenian altar in question was really dedicated to Yahweh, god of the Jews, who was unknown by name (Gärtner 1955: 242–47).

In sum, this evidence argues for the existence of altars "to unknown gods" near Phalerum, at Olympia, and in Athens, but it offers no support for altars dedicated "to *an* unknown god" or "to *the* unknown god." In other words, all the evidence agrees *against* our inscription by speaking either of deity in the plural or of a "nameless" rather than an "unknown" god. The evidence indicates that the usual form for an altar inscription in Greek was with the deity's name in the genitive case ("… *of* the" deity). The dative, singular form of the inscription in Acts 17:23 ("… *to* the" deity), therefore, is unusual. Inscriptions in the

latter form are more frequent in the 2d century and seem to indicate a change in fashion (Lake and Cadbury 1933: 242) (examples: Isidore of Pelusiam's letter to Hero [*PG* 78, col. 1128]; Pseudo-Lucian's *The Patriot* 9; and Pseudo-Athanasius' *On the Temple of Athens* [*PG* 28, col. 1428]).

How then should we interpret Paul's reference in Acts 17:23? On the one hand, it is *possible* that a dative, singular inscription existed and is yet to be discovered (if it survived). On the other hand, it is *probable* that there never was such an inscription. The latter probability is implied by Jerome (ca. 340–420 C.E.), who states that the Athenian inscription was in the plural, and read: "To the Gods of Asia and Europe and Africa, to unknown and strange gods *(diis ignotis et peregrinis),*" and that Paul *changed* the inscription, evidently to suit his purposes (*Commentary on Titus* I.12). Similarly, other Christian writers, who certainly know Acts, appear to be aware of the Athenians' concern with "unknown *gods*" (example: Tertullian [ca. 160–240 C.E.] in *To the Nations,* II. 9, and *Against Marcion,* I. 9; Augustine [354–430 C.E.], in *The City of God,* 6.3).

It is interesting to note that Euthalius, a 4th century Christian grammarian, knows the same inscription mentioned by Jerome, but renders its last phrase ("to unknown and strange gods") in the *singular* rather than the plural (*PG* 85, col. 692), obviously an assimilation to the text in Acts. This accommodation is, according to Lake (1933: 243), further reflected in the Christian authors Oecumenius (*PG* 118, cols. 237–38) and Theophylact (*PG* 115, cols. 745–48, 997–1000).

Thus, Jerome, Tertullian, and the alteration of Euthalius lend support to the evidence presented thus far that there were altars in Athens raised to unknown gods. They differ from Pausanias and Philostratus in that they have the name of the deity in the dative, rather than the genitive case.

The question concerning the origin of "unknown gods" is usually explained by resorting to several ancient traditions (Lake and Cadbury 1933: 240–246; Gärtner 1955: 244–45). Diogenes Laertius recounts a tradition concerning Epimenides (ca. 600 B.C.E.), a Cretan wise-man and wonder-worker who purified the city of Athens from a pestilence. "He [Epimenides] took sheep, some black and others white, and brought them to the Areopagus; and there he let them go whither they pleased, instructing those who followed them to mark the spot where each sheep lay down and [to] offer a sacrifice *to the local divinity (tǭ prosēkonti theǭ).* And thus, it is said, the plague was stayed. Hence even to this day altars may be found in different parts of Attica *with no name inscribed upon them (bōmous anōnymous),* which are memorials of this atonement" (LCL, 1.110). This was a widespread and ancient tradition: Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) probably refers to it (*Athenian Constitution* I) and Plutarch (ca. 46/48–120/125 C.E.) knows it (*Solon* 12). It connects the existence of "nameless altars" with deities who were unknown beyond their local region(s) and who were perceived to have acted favorably toward Athens. It should be noted that the phrase *tǭ prosēkonti theǭ* ("to the god in that place"), in the dative singular, does present the possibility that other inscriptions in this form existed prior to the 2d century when they apparently became common (Strabo 3.16). This, however, is moot (Lake and Cadbury 1933: 242).

Herodotus (ca. 480–425 B.C.E.) recounts another legend that concerns a crisis in Athens and relates the origin of the Pan-cult there. He says that Pheidippides, the Marathon runner, was accosted by Pan and told to say to the Athenians: " 'Why is it that you take no thought of me, that am your friend, and ere now have oft been serviceable to you, and will be so again?' […] they [the Athenians] founded a temple *(hiron)* under the Acropolis, and for that message sought the god's favor with yearly sacrifices and torch-races" (LCL, 6.105). In this way the Athenians overcame their ignorance of Pan. This account of the Attic Pan-cult is also a widespread tradition. For example, it is recounted in Pausanias (1.28.4; 8.54.6) where Pheidippides' name is spelled Philippides. It is also found in Christian writings, where, due both to confusion and apologetic interests, it is variously altered and appended to support the reading in Acts. For example, the Pan-temple is identified with the altar "to an unknown god" (see Isidore of Pelusiam, Isho'dad Bar Salibi, and Bar Hebraeus in Lake and Cadbury 1933: 244–45; Dibelius 1956: 39–41; Gärtner 1955: 244–45).

The Attic Pan-cult tradition alludes to another, and probably the principal, reason for raising altars to unknown deities: the fear of neglecting to pay homage to some unknown god or goddess and thus either failing to procure the deity's benefits, or incurring his or her wrath. St. John Chrysostom (ca. 354–407

C.E.) provides a similar explanation (*PG*. 60, cols. 268–69). According to Minucius Felix (fl. ca. 200–240 C.E.) the same anxiety was felt by the Romans, who also dedicated altars to unknown gods and spirits of the dead (*Octavius* 6.2). See also *CIL* X 1552 (Grant 1986: 29–42, 178–181).

The meaning of the phrase *agnōstos theos* is difficult; it occurs nowhere in the OT and is found in the NT only in Acts 17:23. Eduard Norden, whose research remains fundamental for any discussion of this issue, proposed that it be understood in connection with gnosticism (1913: 56–83). Despite the fact that the theme of "the unknown god" is vital to gnosticism (Rudolph 1983: 58, 61–65, 67), Norden's theory is hardly likely because the gnostic idea of a deity beyond rationality has no connection with the Areopagus speech. Similarly, the phrase should not be defined on the basis of philosophical discussions which properly belong to a later period when the knowledge of god's existence and nature was the subject of debate (*TDNT* 1:119–21; Conzelmann *Acts* Hermeneia, 141). The meaning of the alleged inscription, as it is reported in Acts, is to be discovered in the speaker's conception of the God "in [whom] we live and move and have our being," who is worshipped by, but unknown to, the Athenians. This is the God Paul will proclaim to them.

Did such an altar inscription ever exist? The evidence simply does not permit a conclusive answer. The fact that (a) there is a lack of both epigraphic and literary material which exactly corroborates Acts 17:23; that (b) the literary support refers to altars, especially at Athens, dedicated "to unknown *gods*" (plural); and that the later evidence supporting the alleged inscription "to the unknown god" appears to have been assimilated to it—combines to make the existence of such an inscription improbable. Norden's suggestion (1913: 31–56) that the Areopagus speech is a literary creation is correct (Hommel 1955: 147–78; Grant 1986: 49–51), but his postulation (1913: 46) that Luke was literarily dependent on Philostratus is both doubtful and unnecessary. But given the apparently widespread knowledge of the traditions about Athenian unknown gods, it is not unlikely that the author of Acts was aware of them. Hence, the statement of Jerome that the plural "gods" was changed to "god" to suit the missionary preaching of Paul, whether done by Paul himself (as Jerome states) or by the author of the speech, still remains the best explanation of the inscription: 'To an unknown god.' See further *RGG* 1: 176 and *EncRel* 1: 135–38.

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**UNLEAVENED BREAD AND PASSOVER, FEASTS OF.** "Passover" is the name of the sacrifice that is slaughtered on the 14th day of Nisan and eaten toward evening, at the end of the day or soon after sunset marking the beginning of the 15th day of Nisan. Scripture presents the Passover as the key element of a rite commemorating the Exodus from Egypt and the bounty of divine redemption. "Unleavened Bread" is the name of an originally distinct 7-day festival which began on sunset of the 15th day of Nisan. Scripture combines the Passover sacrifice with the feast of Unleavened Bread, and in post-biblical times the two festivals were fully integrated as a single holiday.

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## A. Introduction and Terminology

**1. Terms.** The Hebrew Bible uses three terms in connection with Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread: *pesaḥ, ḥag,* and *maṣṣōt.* The term *pesaḥ* denotes the Passover offering and more generally the feast centering on that sacrifice, which was eaten at night (the "Passover Meal") and which comprised a holiday in its own right, "Passover" or the "Festival of the Passover Offering"; this term appears beside another technical term for a festival, *ḥag,* only in Exod 34:25. The word *pesaḥ* has been connected with a Hebrew verb meaning "protect" (Isa 31:5) or "limp" or "skip" (2 Sam 4:4; 1 Kgs 18:21, 26) as well as with roots in other languages such as the Akkadian *paššaḫu,* "make soft, supple, soothe, placate," "the Egyptian masculine article followed by *sḫ*ꜣ, the 'commemoration,' " or ꜣ*sḫ (poseḫ),* the "harvest," *śḥ,* "the blow," or the Arabic *fsḥ,* "separate" (Segal 1963: 96–101; Sarna 1986: 86–87). The word *maṣṣōt,* appearing with or without the word *ḥag,* denotes either unleavened bread or "the Feast of Unleavened Bread." The Hebrew Bible employs the terms *pesaḥ* and *maṣṣōt* to refer to two celebrations—Scripture assumes they are combined—which mark the exodus from Egypt. These festivals became not only powerful symbols of hope and redemption but also central religious experiences in the life of Israel and of people who identified with biblical Israel. In postbiblical times, when the two festivals were fully intertwined, the terms were used interchangeably.

**2. Stages.** Six critical stages in the history of the festivals fall within the purview of this article: (1) the prehistory of the festivals of *pesaḥ* and *maṣṣōt;* (2) the biblical joining of the two festivals; (3) the transformation of the festivals into aspects of a pilgrimage holiday; (4) later biblical trends enhancing the character of the festivals as national celebrations; (5) NT and early Christian developments; (6) early rabbinic transformations adapting the holiday to the loss of the Passover offering. Contrasting phases 5–6 with 1–4 helps illuminate the character of the first four. In turn, noting the diverse features of both the holidays and the models of religious piety found in the biblical sources enables us to recognize their adaptations in the later Christian and rabbinic reworkings of the rites.

## B. Origins and Prehistory

**1. Prehistory of the Festivals in Scripture.** Although scholars agree that the *pesaḥ* and *maṣṣōt* festivals were distinct originally, scholars differ in their analysis of the festivals' prehistory and the processes behind the combination and historicization of the festivals. Since all the primary evidence comes from the Bible, we can best assess the theories by analyzing the scriptural text. Hence, after briefly sketching the early history of the festivals, we will critically review the biblical evidence and then outline how that evidence has been employed in different theories to depict the prehistory of the festivals.

**2. Linking Two Distinct Festivals.** The Holiday of the Passover Offering (broadly drawing on the perception of Exodus 12–13) consisted of the preparation of a one-year-old sheep or goat on the 10th day of the month of Nisan (usually April in the Julian calendar), its slaughter or sacrifice on the 14th day of the month, and its consumption in family gatherings on the night of a full moon ushering in the 15th day (the time of the vernal equinox). The animal was eaten along with a vegetable (the "bitter herb") and a grain (the "unleavened bread"), and this constituted the rite of a sacrificial meal. Diverse scholars such as Beer and Pedersen have concurred in seeing the origins of this sacred meal in the practices of pastoral or nomadic conditions of life, in particular, as emphasized by Rost, a spring rite to ensure the successful movement of the group and the flock to summer pasture. Some suggest that such an offering would have lent itself to reinterpretation in terms of the Exodus experience because its apotropaic function would have been seen as appropriate for protecting the Israelites on the night before the Exodus, an approach lucidly developed by Loewenstamm (1972: 80–94, v–vii; cf. Haran 1978: 320–21).

This sacred meal was apparently followed by yet another festival. During the seven-day Feast of Unleavened Bread, starting on the night of the 15th day of Nisan, Israelites were to avoid leaven and eat only unleavened bread, *maṣṣōt.* Many of the above scholars, as well as Welhausen and especially Benzinger, suggest that this second holiday seems to originate in settled communities that celebrated a spring agricultural festival centering on the barley harvest (associated with the Feast of Unleavened Bread in Leviticus 23). This festival probably took hold only after the Israelites had themselves settled in Canaan.

Since the two festivals—the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread—may have originated in different kinds of societies, they may represent alternative models of what each society viewed as most life sustaining: the flock or the harvest. The experiences and hopes of both groups would have been given new meaning in terms of the Exodus experience as a celebration of God's liberation of Israel. Some writers have treated the reference to the calendar in Exod 12:1–2 (perhaps tied to a calendrical reform) as evidence that earlier celebrations had been adapted (see Childs *Exodus* OTL, 197; Sarna 1986: 81–85).

It may be that two spring festivals were transformed because, it was believed, God took the Israelites out of Egypt in the spring (*AncIsr*, 492–93). The fact that unleavened bread was to be eaten along with the Passover sacrifice also facilitated the joining of the two festivals. The precise reconstruction of how this occurred will depend upon one's picture of the history of Israelite religion and the priority one gives to different biblical sources.

## C. The Biblical Record

Biblical passages mentioning these festivals include: Exodus 12–13; Exod 23:15 and 34:18, parts of the two cultic calendars; Lev 23:4–8; Num 9:1–15; 28:16–25; and 33:3; Deut 16:1–8; Josh 5:10–15; 2 Kgs 23:10–14; Ezek 45:21; Ezra 6:19–22; 2 Chr 30:1–27; 35:1–9. De Vaux (*AncIsr*, 484–93), Segal (1963), as well as the standard handbooks and encyclopedias such as the *TWAT* (4: 1074–82) review these sources and the secondary literature. Bokser (1984: 14–19), with extensive bibliography, reviews the material as part of an analysis of the central role of the Passover offering. We turn first to Exodus 12–13, the most extensive of the sources.

**1. Exodus 12–13.** Exodus 12–13 presents the fullest scriptural account of the two celebrations and the one most permeated with the Bible's theological message. This passage presents the two festivals combined, and attributes to these festivals numerous interpretations with which they had become associated; the passage offers insight into how later Israelites understood the rituals. In Exodus 12–13 the festival material is redacted as part of the narration of the tenth plague in Egypt; the text describes a divine oracle to Moses, his report to the people, the actions of the Israelites, and guidelines about how the rite should be remembered in subsequent years. Source critics, pointing to different terminology and interests in these chapters, divide the text into its component Priestly (P), J, Deuteronomistic, and E sources (see Driver *Exodus* CBSC, 87; *AncIsr*, 185–86; Childs *Exodus* OTL, 184; Haran 1978: 317, 323–27). Source critics uniformly differentiate the strands that narrate the Egyptian experience from those materials that prescribe the future celebration. But, as Childs (*Exodus* OTL, 204) observes, the accounts are so intertwined that the narrator appears to have shaped the story with the later use of this experience in

mind (e.g., Exod 12:14, 24), specifically how the original experience would later be simulated as a remembrance and memorial (see also Greenberg 1974: 57–83).

After bringing a one-year-old sheep or goat as a Passover sacrifice, Israelite lay persons were to slaughter it on the fourteenth day of Nisan; meeting in fraternity groups at night they were to eat it broiled whole, with bitter herbs and unleavened bread; and as they ate they were to be dressed for the road with girded loins, sandals on the feet, and staffs in hand as if in haste, for it is a "Passover offering [*pesaḥ*] to the LORD." (Since the last three features are not mentioned in vv 21–27, perhaps they are included as a result of the later ritual simulation of the event.) Scholars aptly recognize that the bitter herbs made up the vegetable associated with a meal and that unleavened bread comprised the standard grain offered with other sacrifices to God (Lev 2:11; 6:10; Exod 23:18). One scholar accounts for the absence of leavening by suggesting that sacrifices which are offered to God in general involve objects in "their least altered state," closest to the manner in which God made them (Greenberg 1974: 66); however, another scholar sees in the absence of leaven a symbolism, only articulated in later sources, based on the notion that leaven is emblematic of corruption and spoiling (Sarna 1986: 86; see *TDOT* 4: 487–93). The Passover lamb, however, is the main object; as in a standard sacrificial meal, the other foods are simply condiments served with the sacrificial meat (Tabory 1981b). By putting some of the animal's blood on the doorposts, the Israelites provided a sign that the Destroyer or angel of death should "skip over," i.e., *pass over* (or "protect"), the Israelite homes and afflict only the Egyptians (vv 13, 23).

By using the comment in Exod 12:14 that this date should be an annually celebrated memorial and by turning then to the dates of the Festival of Unleavened Bread, Scripture bonds the two festivals temporally. In further stating that the injunction to eat unleavened bread and to avoid all leaven lasts seven days (vv 15–20), it begins this period on the 14th day in the evening *(bāʿereb),* i.e., on the evening of the 15th day, the time for eating the Passover sacrifice. It calls that day a holy convocation (v 16) and explains that it is associated with the Exodus because God took the Israelite hosts out of Egypt, though at this point it does not indicate how the eating of *maṣṣōt* supports that association. Besides enjoying the eating of *maṣṣōt* for seven days, it proscribes leaven in any Israelite home.

Moses' repetition of the divine oracle (vv 21–27) is placed in the context of a response to a child's inquiry regarding the prescribed protocol for the festival. This literary structuring serves to highlight the significance of the festival: "You shall say, 'It is the Passover sacrifice to the LORD, because He passed over the houses of the Israelites in Egypt when He smote the Egyptians, but saved our houses' " (Exod 12:26–27). By assuming that the sacrifice and placing of the blood elicit this question, Scripture presents the act of divine service, not simply the day, to be the memorial. In the narrative, vv 33–34 emphasize that the Egyptians urged the Israelites to leave in haste, causing the people to take their dough before it was leavened; they carried "their kneading bowls wrapped in their cloaks upon their shoulders." The theme of haste reappears in v 39, where it is stated that the Israelites made unleavened cakes because they could not delay in leaving Egypt and were without other provisions (see also Num 33:3). Oddly, this event fulfilled a longstanding promise and had been anticipated by God for generations (vv 40–42). Here the text's multifaceted perspective on the same event clearly emerges. Moreover, this act of finding an inherent significance in the use of unleavened bread, and the attempt to explain why this particular festival appropriately celebrates the Exodus, complements both the incidental use of unleavened bread with the Passover sacrifice and the coincidence that both holidays start simultaneously.

In stating who in the future will be eligible to partake in the paschal sacrifice, Exod 12:43–50 indicates how participation in the rite determines who was considered part of the Israelite community. The text treats those who bring the Passover offering as priests in the cult: they are not to take the meat outside the group or to break the animal's bone (features that complement the earlier prescription to bring and slaughter the offering and not leave any of it over till morning [v 10]). These features, together with the sacrifice's essential role in protecting the Israelites have led Loewenstamm (1972: 80–94) and others (see Bokser 1984: 115 n. 2) to consider the sacrifice as an apotropaic device warding off danger. Scholars who define magic as an act that forces the divine to do something emphasize that the blood is a sign to God, who in turn willingly protects Israel (Sarna 1986: 92–93). Other definitions of apotropaic and "magical"

acts do not necessarily make such a distinction (see *EncRel* 9: 81–89). Either way, the sacrifice came to represent God's saving act. Through the annual bringing of a lamb on the fourteenth day of Nisan and eating it in kinship groups, the Israelites celebrated the fact of liberation; they did not simply imitate the Israelites in Egypt who would have anxiously awaited redemption.

Expanding on how to remember and internalize the experience of the Exodus, chapter 13 speaks of the eating of unleavened bread and emphasizes the need to avoid seeing leaven for seven days (v 7). The text also speaks of the dedication or redemption of firstborn humans and animals to mark the slaying of the firstborn Egyptians as part of the tenth plague (vv 1–16, though the account in Exodus 12 treats the Israelites as a whole and not the first born [Childs *Exodus* OTL, 191]). The passage brings out this ideological message in the form of pedagogic instructions to a child. Moreover, to fit its wider redactional context, the section closes with language that recalls the plague narrative, highlighting that God demonstrated the divine strength before the Egyptians and the Egyptian gods.

Except for the pilgrimage aspect of the holiday, Exodus 12–13 provides all the other essential features that became associated with the two festivals during the biblical period. To be sure, Haran (1978: 317–48), for one, believes the portrayal of the family observance in Exodus 12 derives from an anachronistic "optical illusion" caused by the linking of the Passover offering with the Exodus. Even though it had been a pilgrimage festival, *ḥag* (Exod 12:14), and had been celebrated in temple cities, it was dissociated from that cultic context. Hence, although we cannot determine exactly when each of the features emerged, when we confront the many repetitions, inconsistencies, alternative formulations, and divergent redactional uses of the material—which may point to different sources—we can discern that rites have been combined, have attracted diverse interpretations, and been made part of the wider plague and exodus narrative. By turning now to other biblical accounts, which are considerably shorter, we find confirmation that at one point or another certain features were perceived and presumably observed differently.

**2. Other Pentateuchal References. a. Exod 23:10–19 and 34:18–26.** Two cultic calendars listing three pilgrimage festivals are found in these passages. They treat the Feast of Unleavened Bread as a seven-day spring pilgrimage when people, bearing gifts, are to celebrate "before the LORD." Since the passages do not directly mention the Feast of the Passover Offering, they usually are seen as evidence of the distinct nature of the two festivals and indicate the original agricultural background of the unleavened bread festival. As Childs (*Exodus* OTL, 484) notes, the historical meaning ascribed to these days as the time when Israel "went out of Egypt" (23:15; 34:18) has been seen as an added gloss, and some other association originally lay behind leaving the bread unleavened. Thus, for example, one scholar suggests that the "bread made from the first produce of the new crop is to be eaten in its original state, untouched by leaven" (Noth *Exodus* OTL, 191). But Haran (1978: 327–41), following a rendering earlier offered by *Targum Onqelos* and others such as Luzzatto (1965: 363), finds mention of the paschal offering in two similarly worded rules later in the pericope (Exod 23:18 and 34:25). The first parts of the texts in Exodus 23 and 34 proscribe offering a sacrifice in conjunction with leavened bread or leaven. Most readings understand this to refer to the grain offering accompanying animal sacrifices in general, but the approach advanced by Haran treats it as a reference to the Passover. The second halves of the passages proscribe delaying the burning of fat parts of the festival offerings; Exod 23:18 does not specify which sacrifice, though Haran takes it to be the Passover offering, while Exodus 34:25, on the other hand, speaks of "the sacrifice, *zebaḥ*, of the (pilgrim) festival of Passover, *ḥag happāsaḥ."* The latter comprises the only biblical instance in which *pesaḥ* is called a *ḥag*. It is usually taken as a later gloss but Haran argues that it represents a conflation of two early variations, "the sacrifice of my festival" and "the sacrifice of the Passover" (cf. Noth *Exodus* OTL, 264–65 and Childs *Exodus* OTL, 482–86, 604–15).

**b. Lev 23:4–8, Ezek 45:21–24, and Ezra 6:19–22.** These passages testify to the distinct nature of the two festivals. In a list of holidays, they mention the Passover offering on the fourteenth of the month and then, separately, the seven-day Feast of Unleavened Bread. Lev 23:9–14, emphasizing the agricultural origins of the latter festival, deals with bringing the first sheaf of the harvest to the priest. Along with the day's special sacrifice, the sheaf is to be elevated (or waved) before the LORD. This all happens during the holiday and from then on the people are permitted to make use of new produce. The festival's

association with the ensuring of continued divine bounty has thus remained, and we can understand how some Israelites could conceive of the divine redemptive acts in Egypt as paradigmatic of ongoing divine assistance.

**c. Num 28:16–25.** In the course of listing sacrifices for holidays, Num 28:16–25 distinctly juxtaposes the two festivals, one on the 14th and one on the 15th days of the month. The emphasis on the date, as in Exodus 12, enables the text to mention both festivals. Several texts attest one or the other festival. The cultic calendars in Exodus 23 and 34 mention the Festival of Unleavened Bread. Num 9:1–15 treats the unusual need for a "second Passover" for those who cannot observe the first because they were in a state of impurity or on a journey. In what is portrayed as a special oracular ruling, Moses is shown telling such people to bring a paschal offering one month later "in accordance with all its rules and rites" and to eat it with unleavened bread and bitter herbs. Num 9:13 states that failure to participate in the *pesaḥ* causes dire results, perhaps because, as Fishbane (1985: 99, 103) suggests, the text assumes that this omission would somehow disfranchise people from their ethnic status, a notion that expands on Exod 12:43–50.

**3. Centralization of the Cult.** Deut 16:1–8 constitutes another key section adapting the earlier heritage to the centralization of the cult. While scholars agree that this text matches Exodus 12–13 in combining the two festivals, they differ in assessing how to employ this section in reconstructing the holiday due to, among other things, differences in their dating of D and disagreement over whether or not D may be drawing on earlier sources (a possibility which Ginsberg [1982] develops).

By locating the Passover rite in the sanctuary that "God will choose," Deut 16:1–8 changes the celebration from an exclusively domestic rite to part of a national gathering—though families might celebrate individually in that central location. Note that Deut 16:3–4 interpolates into an account of the Passover offering the ban on leavened bread and the requirement to eat unleavened bread. A rationale tying this to the Exodus experience is provided: the *maṣṣōt* are bread of distress. In being emblematic of the haste to leave Egypt the bread serves as a reminder of the day of the Exodus. The subtle connection may also account for the specification that the offering be slaughtered "in the evening, at sundown, the time of the day when you departed from Egypt" (v 6), which echoes the statement in v 1 that the Exodus took place at night. Hence, to an even greater degree than in Exodus 12, the Passover has become the meal ushering in the Festival of Unleavened Bread.

Scholars have pointed to several changes in details of the rite, which may have considerably influenced the nature of the festival's experience. In allowing Israelites to return to their home on the morrow of the offering, the holiday differs from the other two pilgrimage festivals (the Festival of Weeks and the Festival of Tabernacles) which, occurring at the end of harvest times, emphasize joy. The festival's blessing, therefore, depends not on its agricultural dimension but on its historical connection to the Exodus (Greenberg 1984: 161–63). Accordingly, if there had been a pilgrimage dimension *(ḥag)* to the Festival of Unleavened Bread, in particular on the 7th day as suggested by Exod 13:6, it now was to be observed on the 1st day (Ginsberg 1982: 57), something suggested by other sources (Exod 12:14; Lev 23:6; Num 28:17). One will agree that the festival has undergone a shift if one believes, with Haran (1978: 296–316), for example, that the holiday previously had a pilgrimage dimension.

Deuteronomy is even clearer in making the holiday and the sacrifice, now called a *zebaḥ*, similar to communal sacrifices that were to be offered up at the central sanctuary. In the first place, by not playing up the apotropaic aspects of rituals, the text deletes the smearing of blood on the doorposts and the ban on breaking the bone, thereby placing emphasis on the commemorative nature of the rite. Secondly, the text recasts Exodus's regulations of the types of animals and manner of offering (boiling instead of roasting; sheep or cattle instead of lambs and goats, i.e., no cattle), and does not specify that it be one-year-old males (von Rad *Deuteronomy* OTL, 110–13; Weinfeld 1972: 216–17; Ginsberg 1982: 42–48, 55–58, 61, 78; Fishbane 1985: 135–38).

The pentateuchal references, therefore, support the notion that originally two distinct holidays existed. Our analysis reveals how the festivals could be simply juxtaposed, linked, or combined either as a domestic rite or as part of a pilgrimage festival. Since diverse social contexts would color the experiences of the participants, Deuteronomy would, in particular, highlight the national character of the holiday, a

holiday when individuals on pilgrimage would have their identity as part of a national group reinforced (Bokser 1984: 81–83). Likewise, participating at a central shrine rather than a local altar would heighten the experience of the sacred, increasing the sense that participation in the *pesaḥ* meal brings people closer to the divine (*KRI*, 176).

**4. From Joshua to Chronicles.** Depending on their reconstruction of the festival, scholars have employed the remaining biblical passages as evidence in the history of the rites and as examples of how the pentateuchal traditions were interpreted, blended, or harmonized. Josh 5:10–15 describe the first Passover on the W side of the Jordan River, on the 14th day of the month at night, after which the Israelites ate unleavened bread and parched grain and experienced the cessation of the manna. This attests to the *pesaḥ's* association with bounteousness of the land. Fishbane (1985: 145–51) has suggested that this section reflects Lev 23:10–14.

2 Kgs 23:21–24 depict Josiah's reform of the cult, a reinstatement of the Passover offering in Jerusalem, which had not been performed, or rather not performed properly, for generations. Ezek 45:21, juxtaposing the two festivals, prophesies how the Temple will be purified, the Passover sacrifice offered on the 14th day of the month, and the seven-day Festival of Unleavened Bread observed. A similar distinct juxtaposition of the festivals is evident in Ezra 6:19–22, which highlights the inherently national celebratory character of the holiday. The Festival of the Passover Offering occurs on the 14th day of the first month, followed by the seven-day Festival of Unleavened Bread as part of a national celebration at the dedication of the reconstructed Temple. Thus the evidence indicates that even after the festivals had been linked, they remained distinct.

Especially notable are the accounts of 2 Chr 30:1–27 (Hezekiah's one-month delayed Passover) and 35:1–19 (Josiah's Passover) which portray a celebration centralized in Jerusalem. They further blend and preserve diverse earlier pentateuchal traditions, though chapter 30 presents the several innovations as actions necessitated by "lay impurity" while chapter 35 normalizes the changes (Fishbane 1985: 135–38, 154–59). The texts emphasize great rejoicing and the role of Levites and other experts in singing praises to God, and specify that the eating of the Passover sacrifice took place in kinship groups. Chap. 30 alternates in referring to the Festival of the Passover Sacrifice (vv 1–12, 15–20) and to the Festival of Unleavened Bread (vv 13, 21–27), perhaps to indicate that each holiday retained its distinct nature. On the other hand, chap. 35 focuses chiefly on the great Festival of the Passover Offering; only half a verse mentions that the people also observed the seven-day Festival of Unleavened Bread (v 17). The importance of these chapters lies primarily in the festival's later biblical history. Passover, as it took on the dimension of a national holiday celebrated in Jerusalem, became associated with joyous festivity and praises to God. Despite the depiction of the Levites performing the sacrifice in chap. 35, they distributed the dead animals to local clan heads who apportioned them to the family groupings. Moreover, whatever such accounts may reflect historically, be it only the practices of the community or the thinking of the postexilic writer, they do attest a national pilgrimage festival of *pesaḥ* and *maṣṣōt* (cf. Haran 1978: 289–90). Hence, although cultic functionaries took a greater role, lay involvement remained and continued to reinforce the significance of the offering for every Israelite as a reminder of the Exodus experience.

**5. Elephantine Texts.** The only extra-biblical evidence earlier than the 2d century B.C.E. comes from the Jewish military colony in Elephantine Egypt, whose temple was destroyed in 411 B.C.E. One papyrus letter dated to the year 419 B.C.E. (Cowley, no. 21) apparently refers to our two festivals, one following the other, the first on the 14th day of the month and the second from the 15th to the 21st days of the month, though the key terms (the names of the festivals) have to be reconstructed from a lacuna. It likewise speaks of "being pure and taking heed" and of avoiding drink (beer?) and leaven for seven days and of sealing up leaven in one's chambers. Further, two inscribed Aramaic potsherds (Ostraca Berlin P 10679; Sayne 1911) briefly mention Passover *(pasḥa)*, though it is unclear if the meaning is to "perform" something on Passover or (as is more likely) to "offer" the Passover sacrifice (see Sukenik and Kutsher 1942: 55–56). A third potsherd (Sachau, pl. 63.1, vol. 1, pp. 233–34), which may refer to Passover, mentions when a person must stop eating bread before the holiday. In thus mentioning Passover and in reminding the soldiers of its regulations, these sources attest the existence of the two festivals and their

association with one another. Depending on the meaning of their verbs, they might suggest that a sacrifice was to be offered in this Egyptian Jewish temple and thus that Josiah's restrictions did not have effect or force in that locale (Porten 1968: 128–33, 279–82, 311–14). On the other hand, the reference to purity may suggest that the adoption of priestly temple behavior would heighten the participants' experience of the sacred. Overall, the efforts on the part of the postexilic communities to follow the biblical injunctions indicate that some actual practice underlay the biblical material.

**D. Theories of Origins**

The foregoing analysis explains why scholars believe that Passover and the Festival of Unleavened Bread were originally separate and initially may not have celebrated the Exodus from Egypt. Segal (1963: 78–188), Childs (*Exodus* OTL, 184–95), and Sarna (1986: 85–89) provide lucid summaries of the diverse explanations of the holidays' possible original significance and their historicization. Let us briefly contrast some of these theories to highlight the range of interpretations.

According to Wellhausen (*WPHI*, 87–108, 351–52), at the time of the Deuteronomic centralization of the cult (here represented by Deuteronomy 16), the holiday of *maṣṣōt* (previously an agricultural festival as presented in Exodus 23) was combined with Passover (previously the offering of the firstlings of the cattle), and in the process historicized as part of the commemoration. This process would have been completed by the postexilic priestly writers (represented in Leviticus 23 and in parts of Exodus 12–13), who also returned the holiday of *maṣṣōt* to its family context.

Variations on this idea will be found among those who differ on the dating of the pentateuchal sources. Some believe the association with the Exodus occurred earlier, and some maintain that elements of both holidays had been combined in ancient times and tied to a place of pilgrimage. Among those developing this approach in different ways, we find Kraus (1958), who points to the depiction of the Passover at Gilgal in Josh 5:10–12 as proof of a celebration at a central cult place, Segal (1963: esp. 187), who sees in the rite a New Year Festival in which "the Israelites went out in military array from the city to the desert," and Haran (1978) who believes the *pesaḥ* had always been connected to a temple site. (Cf., however, *CMHE*, 103–5, 123.) Hence they believe that D restores *pesaḥ* to its original character, which had been disrupted by the development of the family setting. Likewise, Josiah would not be innovating but rather reviving the joint centralized celebration.

For some scholars extra-biblical rites, in particular those of ANE holidays, are the clue to the Passover's prehistory. Rost (1943, see Childs *Exodus* OTL, 189) suggests that Passover was originally connected to a semi-nomadic festival taking place during migration and designed to protect the nomads and their flock throughout the annual spring migration from the desert to arable land. Many have adopted this approach because it nicely fits the situation of Passover, even providing an analogue to the apotropaic use of blood to protect the Israelites from the destroyer (see e.g., *AncIsr*, 488–90). Obviously, however, as Haran (1978: 320–21) remarks, any details about the nomadic background can only be speculative.

The complexity of the historical problems is highlighted by scholars such as J. Pedersen who investigate the impact of the cult on the history of the traditions. He sees Exodus 1–15 "as a cultic legend which had historicized in a story the various elements which constituted the original ceremony. Thus the victory over Pharaoh reflected the victory of order over the primordial dragon of chaos, which was followed by the mythical battle with the sea" (see Childs *Exodus* OTL, 190; Pedersen 1934; Ringgren 1966: 34–35; 186–88).

Whereas scholars are somewhat divided over the prehistory of the Passover holiday, there is greater agreement regarding the origin of the *maṣṣōt* holiday in an agricultural festival initiating the barley harvest. This festival is discernible in Exod 23:14–15, 34:18, 23, Lev 23:10–15, and Deut 16:9 (cf. Segal 1963: 108–13); and, like the *pesaḥ* festival, the holiday of *maṣṣōt* became historicized. At one point it may have been connected with a pilgrimage, as indicated by Exod 13:4, 23:15 (where it is called a *ḥag*), and 34:18 (Segal 1963: 63–64; Ginsberg 1982: 57). Some see this also in the comment in 1 Kgs 9:25 that Solomon brought certain sacrifices three times a year—sacrifices that 2 Chr 8:12–13 defines as the three festivals. Whatever the original state of the holidays, the Passover offering and the eating of unleavened

bread became festivals within ancient biblical Israel because they were historicized and served to simulate, commemorate, or remember the Exodus.

**E. Postbiblical References**

Due to our inability to map out the social background of the Second Temple sources, assessing the significance of this literature's references to religious institutions in general and to our two festivals in particular is difficult. With regard to the holidays under consideration here, the fact that diverse works repeat certain themes suggests that those features of the celebration had become part of a common Jewish heritage or experience. Likewise, rationales for particular details suggest that different circles of Jews reflected on the meaning of the rites and sought to enrich the celebration.

**1. 2d Century B.C.E. Writers.** Several works of the 2d -century B.C.E. mention the Festival of Unleavened Bread in the course of a more extensive treatment of the Passover sacrifice, thus appearing to take the former almost for granted.

*Jubilees* chap. 49 omits the bitter herbs and refers to unleavened bread only as part of the Festival of Unleavened Bread; the main theme is the rite of the Passover offering at the central sanctuary, and the text emphasizes the slaughter of the sacrifice and the people's joy as they eat, drink wine (here required for the first time), and praise God. *Jubilees* 49 focuses on the exact times for the slaughtering and for the eating of the offering, emphasizing how the eating of the sacrifice took place in Egypt at the time of the plague of the Egyptian firstborn. Expanding on remarks in Exodus 12 regarding the protective aspect of the offering, *Jubilees* states that those who observe the Passover will be free from plague in the coming year. It thus applies the message of Passover to the people's future in terms other than those of national independence (see Loewenstamm 1972: 88). In this connection, the text provides a rationale for the ban on breaking the animal's bone, "because no bone of the children of Israel will be broken" (49:13). The Passover was to function until the end of the fiftieth Jubilee, the Jubilee of Jubilees, when complete redemption was expected. As we shall see, certain details have parallels in the Temple Scroll (see Segal 1963: 231–37; Wacholder 1985; and especially Bokser 1984: 19–20).

The Festival of Unleavened Bread does receive separate attention in the book of *Jubilees* in a section that highlights the distinctive nature of the festival. As part of the effort to show that the festivals were tied to earliest Israelite history, memorializing events in the lives of the patriarchs, *Jub.* 17:15, 18:3, and 19 portray the binding of Isaac as the basis for the Festival of Unleavened Bread. *Jubilees* states that Abraham initiated a seven-day festival starting on the 15th day of the seventh month, i.e., Nisan, commemorating the seven days in which he "went and returned in peace," and which is to be observed "with festival joy" (18:18–19) (see Schürer *HJP²* 3/1: 310).

The epic Greek writer and non-Palestinian Jewish poet Ezekiel (*OTP* 2:814–16, lines 152–92), vividly describes the preparations of the night before the Exodus. In his reiteration and expansion of Exodus 12–13, Ezekiel mentions the time in the evening to slaughter and eat the offering, and he notes the accompanying preparations: girded loins, sandaled feet, staff in hand, and blood on the doorposts. These procedures are to provide a release from evils and death. Ezekiel, as Jacobson (1983) suggests, includes two sets of instructions for the future: eating the unleavened bread for seven days in memory of the seven-day journey from Egypt to the Sea of Reeds where the Israelites attained final liberation; and the offering of firstborn animals to recall God's deliverance of the Israelite firstborn in Egypt. Hence, like *Jubilees,* Ezekiel exhibits an interest in demonstrating the connection between the rite and what happened during the Exodus (see also Bokser 1984: 20; Schürer *HJP²* 3/1: 563–65).

The focus on the Passover offering (without mention of the Festival of Unleavened Bread) is further attested in the fragments of the Jewish Greek philosophical work by Aristobulus. *Fragment* 1 treats the astronomical characteristics of the date for the Passover offering. Drawing on the fact that the sun and moon are then passing through an equinoctial sign and hence in opposed positions, he implies that the festival has cosmic significance (see *OTP,* 831, 834, 837).

**2. Temple-Centered Non-Jerusalemite Communities.** In addition to the 5th-century B.C.E. evidence from Elephantine, which attests the efforts to observe the ban on unleavened bread and which possibly

alludes to the Passover offering, the Samaritan and Qumran communities supply information concerning the two festivals.

The Samaritans, who have offered the Passover sacrifice since Second Temple times, attest the ongoing importance of the Passover sacrifice. Although the history of their religious practices is difficult to trace, the existing practices follow the procedures detailed in Exodus 12, but with adaptation to Deuteronomic centralization, which the community believes refers to Mount Gerizim. They slaughter the animal in the evening, and while the meat roasts, the people gird their loins, put on heavy shoes, and take up staffs. At midnight family groups eat the meat while making sure not to break any bones, and then burn the leftover meat and bones before morning. Notably, during the slaughter of the animal and afterward, the Samaritans engage in prayer and praise of God. They also observe a seven-day period of eating unleavened bread. With great pageantry the sacrificial nature of the Passover night ritual for a Second Temple group is demonstrated (see Bokser 1984: 21).

In the scrolls found at Qumran—the third community that is known to have provided alternatives to the Jerusalem Temple—there are fragments of biblical texts and references to biblical verses relating to the festivals (see Fitzmyer 1975: 152–70); however, no apocryphal and sectarian texts treating the festivals of Passover or Unleavened Bread are preserved at Qumran. In one set of prayers for festivals (4Q509), the modern editor of the fragments (Baillet 1982:105–6) suggests that the festival of Passover would have been mentioned in what is now a lacuna, and a calendric fragment from Cave 4 *(Book of Priestly Courses)* does list Passover among the annual festival (see Talmon 1958: 168–76; Schürer *HJP²* 3/1: 460–61, 466–67).

Collections of animal bones, buried without any flesh attached and either charred or uncharred, have been uncovered at Qumran, and conceivably might be remnants of a paschal sacrifice (see the discussion in de Vaux 1973: 14–16 and nn. 2–3). But since no altar has been discovered and since the Qumran literature indicates that at that time the group believed no sacrifices could be offered, the sacrificial identification has not received wide acceptance. At most, scholars agree that the bones are the remains of meals. If the Passover interpretation were correct, we would have evidence that the community considered the Passover sacrifice so special that it brought this offering although it did not offer other sacrifices (see Schiffman 1979: 46–49; Bokser 1984: 21).

On the other hand, the *Temple Scroll* (found at Qumran but possibly written by someone outside the community) directly mentions the Passover sacrifice (17:6–9) and the Feast of Unleavened Bread (17:10–16). The former reference draws especially on Lev 23:4, Num 9:2–5, and Deut 16:1–7. Some of the specific details of the rules—the appointed time for preparing and offering the sacrifice, its application to all Israelites older than 20 years (the age of mustering, full maturity, and, for Qumran, for full membership in the sect; see Schiffman 1983: 55–60, 63–65), and its consumption at night in the courtyards of the sanctuary—accord with *Jubilees* 49 and may reflect exegesis of ambiguous biblical terms or programmatic conceptions of the cult (see Schiffman 1985b: 224–26). Thus the mention of the courtyards probably follows an idealized picture of the Temple that included the whole city, as Schiffman (1985a: 315–18) suggests. Separating this rite from the adjoining Festival of Unleavened Bread, 11QTemple 17:9 paraphrases the rule of Deut 16:7 to arise early in the morning and to return to one's tent. The second pericope, 11QTemple 17:10–16, drawing also on Lev 23:7 and Num 28:26–31, speaks of a seven-day Festival of Unleavened Bread starting on the 15th day of the month. It specifies the sacrifices for each day and the ban on work on the first and last holy days. But the text does not mention the festivals' ideological historical basis in the Exodus redemption experience, which is not surprising once we consider that the scroll is oriented toward the future redemption, the messianic age, providing guidelines for how, in the interim, one may serve God in a state of perfection (see Yadin 1977, 1: 79–81; 1984, 1: 96–99; Bokser 1984: 21–22, 116; and Maier 1985: 78–79).

**3. Wisdom of Solomon, Philo, Josephus, Pseudo-Philo.** The Wisdom of Solomon (written ca. 37–41 C.E.), as part of its attempt to demonstrate that godliness will be blessed and ungodliness, especially idolatry, will be cursed, portrays how divine wisdom and justice were at work during the Exodus. Chap. 18, in particular, points out the strikingly antithetical details associated with the death of the Egyptian

firstborn and the protection and glorification of the Israelites in Egypt. God provided punishment to one and reward to the other. Again, the account of the Exodus is taken up not for its own sake but as a medium for the author's own interests, here, the reward of godliness (see Winston *Wisdom of Solomon* AB, 313–29; Bokser 1984: 22; and Schürer *HJP²* 3/1: 568–73). Of particular note, Wis 18:9 mentions the offering of the sacrifice and, apparently on the basis of the later custom, the praising of God.

Philo and Josephus contain numerous references to the two festivals. They closely follow the biblical record except where they speak of the celebratory nature of Passover as a national thanksgiving for the deliverance from Egypt. They describe the multitude of participants who came on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the great number of sacrifices eaten in fraternity groups, and the singing of the Levites accompanied by musical instruments (see Bokser 1984: 24–25).

Philo, in particular, seeks to convey his own views as he describes the festivals. Writing as if the Passover sacrifice had been offered from the start in appreciation for the "great migration from Egypt," Philo associates the celebration with the act of bringing the sacrifice: "So exceedingly joyful were they that in their vast enthusiasm and impatient eagerness, they sacrificed without waiting for their priest. This practice, which on that occasion was the result of a spontaneous and instinctive emotion, was sanctioned by the law once in every year to remind them of their duty of thanksgiving." He further describes the sacrificial meal as a spiritual "banquet" *(symposia)* taking place in houses with the "semblance and dignity of a temple." Following the trend we have already seen, he mentions that the Israelites are to offer prayers and hymns, though in accord undoubtedly with his emphasis on the spiritual dimension of the meals and religious life, he does not mention wine (*Spec Leg* II.27). After treating this "crossing-feast," he turns to the Feast of Unleavened Bread and offers extensive interpretations of its meaning, quite distinct from that of the Passover offering (*Spec Leg* II.28). In these and other accounts of the two festivals he finds in these rites and their details the higher purpose of perfecting the soul and of being in accord with the cosmic and natural order (see also *Quest Ex* I:1–23; *Leg All* III.52; *Sacr* 16–17; and *On Mating with the Preliminary Studies* 28).

His explanatory comment on the second Passover Numbers 9 reflects the assumption that even for Philo, the great spiritualizer of the Bible, no celebration would take place without the sacrifice (*Vita Mos* II.41–43; see Bokser 1984: 22–24, 116). The bringing and preparation of the offering led up to the experience of the sacrifice, which culminated in the sacrificial meal. Since this festival was synchronized with the Exodus events and the divine salvific act, and being designed to simulate the experience of the Israelites during their last night in Egypt, it comprised the main and presumably most widely known memorial or celebration for the Exodus. Philo, moreover, aptly depicts the pilgrims' probable experience during such a festival in the capital city, including the respite and release from normal life; the openness to an emotional high, to joy, and to a sense of holiness in honoring God; and even the friendships and positive feelings that would have been engendered and would have reinforced the pilgrims' sense of celebrating a national holiday together (*Spec Leg* I.12; see Bokser 1984: 80–83).

Josephus frequently mentions Passover but adds little that is not found in the other sources. He links the festivals of Passover and Unleavened Bread and sees them as a thanksgiving for the deliverance from Egypt. In *Antiquities,* he paraphrases the accounts in Exodus and Leviticus as well as the celebrations of the returnees from Ezra 6 and of Hezekiah and Josiah. He speaks of eating the sacrifice in fraternities, the multitude of participants who came on pilgrimages to Jerusalem, and the great number of sacrifices. He further mentions the singing by the Levites and their use of musical instruments (cf. 2 Chronicles 30 and 35). In *Jewish War* and the parallel sections in *Antiquities,* Josephus depicts the several 1st century C.E. instances of the celebration and the huge number of pilgrims, many of whom came from abroad. He emphasizes, like Wisdom and Philo, the joy the participants experienced, and discovers the structural basis of the holiday in the Passover offering (see *JW* 6.9.3; cf. Feldman's index in LCL 9 of Josephus's writings, s.v. "Passover," for a full list of passages; cf. also Bokser 1984: 24–25, 105–6, 117).

Josephus and Philo vividly indicate that the pilgrimage shaped the experience of the celebration, thus filling in what scholars such as Haran (1978: 289–316) reconstruct from allusions in the Bible. The significance of these observations is enhanced by considering the anthropological work of Turner (1969;

1974: 166–230), which Bokser (1984: 80–84) employed in his treatment of the rite of the Passover offering.

The *Biblical Antiquities* attributed to Philo ("Pseudo-Philo") further indicate how the two holidays were identified and perceived as the pilgrimage festival par excellence. Chap. 13:4 adapts Lev 23:4–8, but in focusing on the presentation of loaves to God, skips Passover and mentions only the Festival of Unleavened Bread. Chaps. 48:3 and 50:2 define yearly pilgrimages mentioned in Judg 21:19 and 1 Sam 1:3 as the Passover (see Feldman 1971: cxxx).

**4. Summary.** Postbiblical evidence underscores the relation between the two festivals and supports a critical reading of Scripture. The Passover, even though juxtaposed and combined with the Festival of Unleavened Bread in Scripture, retained its distinctive dimension and apparently overshadowed the latter holiday as a community celebration. As Bokser (1984) has argued, while we cannot deny that some Israelites or Jews who could not offer the paschal lamb may have assumed that they could still participate in the festival and that conceivably some of those who did not travel to Jerusalem might have wanted to gather without the sacrifice, we have no evidence apart from an ambiguous and indecisive papyrus from the 5th-century Elephantine community that such a gathering took place prior to the Second Temple's destruction. If it had, it would not have been perceived as the primary means of marking the evening and *by definition would not have been part of the Festival of the Passover Offering.* These Jews could, of course, still observe the seven-day Festival of Unleavened Bread by avoiding leaven; on their own they might gather to usher in the holiday with a special meal, instruct a child on the meaning of the event, offer praises to God, and drink wine. But all those who had once gone on pilgrimage would have realized that they were missing the national celebration. Building on the insights offered by Turner (1974) we can understand how the heightened experience of departing from home and normal social structures and going on pilgrimage amidst throngs of pilgrims would cause people to abandon their usual approach to the world and open themselves to new experiences, in this case a communal experience of the sacred.

**F. NT and Early Christian Developments**

The NT refers to the two festivals, in particular the Passover rite, in narrating the LAST SUPPER (Mark 14:1–51; Matt 26:1–46; Luke 22:1–53; John 11:55, 12:1, 13:1–38) and in interpreting Jesus as a paschal lamb (the references and voluminous literature are discussed by Windisch *TDNT* 2:902–6; Jeremias *TDNT* 5:896–904; Bokser 1984: 25–28). Moreover, the NT treats Passover as part of the Festival of Unleavened Bread (Mark 14:2, 12) or even uses the latter term to refer to the former festival (Luke 22:1, 7; Matt 26:17; cf. Acts 12:3–4; John 13:1, 4; 18:28). Mirroring the descriptions in Josephus and other Second Temple sources, the passion narratives along with other passages such as Luke 2:41 mention that Jews would go up to Jerusalem to participate in the Passover Feast among throngs of pilgrims and would eat from the Passover sacrifice in kinship groups. While those descriptions accord with other accounts of ancient Jewish meals as to the dipping of vegetables, the drinking of wine, and the recitation of opening blessings, the texts also reflect the importance of the Passover sacrificial meal and its redemptive associations. Critical NT readers, however, note that the gospels differ in the basic chronology. While the Synoptic Gospels (Mark 14:6, 12–17; Matt 26:17, 19–20; Luke 22:7–9, 13–14) indicate that the last meal Jesus ate with his disciples the night before his crucifixion was a sacrificial meal which the disciples had prepared, John (13:1; 18:28; 19:14, 42) states that it occurred "before the feast of Passover." Despite numerous studies by Jeremias (1966), Lietzmann (1979), and others advocating one or the other date or harmonizing the sources, we are unable to go beyond the literary sources to determine which account is historically "accurate" (Williams 1975). Rather, as argued by Bokser (1984: 25–26; and especially 1987b), we see how Jesus' followers and the early Church understood the Last Supper and interpreted the event to fit the message of Jesus.

As portrayed in the gospels, the meal is not structured to celebrate the Exodus but is reinterpreted in a way that relates to the future of the Jesus movement, that is, Christianity. The bread becomes the salvational body of Christ and the wine his blood—the sign of future redemption; though, as Saldarini (1984: 58) observes, these two symbolizations, which might derive from the liturgical formulae used by the early Christians in their worship after Jesus' death, could be understood in light of sacrifices in general

and not necessarily the Passover offering. The body of a sacrifice served to ensure the sense of relationship with the divinity and its blood, the power of atonement. Recognizing that early Christians did not focus narrowly on the Exodus enables us to appreciate how they made the Last Supper an anticipation of a future salvific experience. The Synoptics concentrate on Jesus in the kingdom of God, on the future judgment, and on the meaning of the passion, that is, on Jesus' death as a permanent sacrifice. Hence Jesus' message is to await the coming event, just as the Israelites, according to Exodus 12 (and as rabbis were to suggest in the Mishnah), were to await their redemption, and, in effect, in the course of the meal to experience part of that redemption. They thus adapted the sacrificial meal to the new message that redemption is at hand.

John, on the other hand, uses the Passover analogy in a way that requires him to place the Last Supper before the Passover meal and Jesus' condemnation on "the day of Preparation of the Passover" (John 19:14). John, in thus portraying Jesus crucified at the time the paschal lambs were being sacrificed at the Temple, depicts Jesus as a Passover offering. This synchronization explains how Jesus died for humanity and, it is claimed, gives his death a more enduring redemptive quality than the regular Passover sacrifice.

John, like the letter to the Hebrews and the letters of Paul, thus saw the crucified Jesus as a sacrifice atoning for the sins of the believers, though he identified it as a paschal offering. Such an interpretation, which occurs as early as 1 Cor 5:7–8, could subtly contrast the literal Passover offering with the ultimate one, namely Jesus. Later writers such as Melito of Sardis (Hall 1979) deftly develop this theme in Passover homilies, in which Jesus becomes the paschal lamb who ensures redemption and salvation. 1 Corinthians 5 also makes use of the figurative antithesis between leaven and unleavened dough: Christ helps cleanse out the old leaven of malice and evil.

**G. Early Rabbinic Developments**

First and 2d-century rabbinic authorities, as represented in the Mishnah, restructure the Festivals of the Passover Offering and of Unleavened Bread as part of their response to the destruction of the Temple, highlighting the fact that such festivals had been closely tied to the sacrificial cult (see Tabory 1977; 1981a; 1981b; Bokser 1984; 1987a; 1987b).

While some Jews may have been so caught up in their grief over the loss that they could not react, and certain others might have tried to continue the sacrificial meal without the sacrifice by preparing a lamb in imitation of the offering (Bokser 1984: 101–6; 1987a), the approach that was to become dominant in the nascent rabbinic movement permitted Jewish life to continue without the sacrifice at all. These rabbis drew on and elevated the importance of those biblical rites which did not require sacrifices and tried to make other religious rituals independent of the Temple cult. *Mishnah Pesaḥim,* edited ca. 200 C.E., represents the earliest literary remains of such efforts. The text not only focuses on the preparation and details of the Passover sacrifice but defines leaven and unleavened bread, the rules for searching for leaven, and the protocol for a meal ushering in the festival. The account of this meal (chap. 10) implicitly introduces fundamental changes into the rite by reworking the domestic sacrificial version of the Passover observance, as described in Exodus 12, into a non-sacrificial seder. It equates eating unleavened bread and bitter herbs with the sacrifice, teaching that all three comprise the festival's essentials. Because the latter two remain viable irrespective of the existence of the Temple cult, the biblical rite can become independent of the sacrifice. Moreover, by suggesting that Jews outside the Temple before 70 C.E. had a meal without the Passover offering, it creates a pre-70 precedent for the new rite without the sacrifice (*m. Pesaḥ.* 10:3, following the Kaufmann and other mss and attested in *t. Pesaḥ.* 10:9). The Mishnah therefore writes as if the new rituals were the standard pre-70 practice, anachronistically reading back into temple days rituals that had not yet been adopted. Such reworking of history was undoubtedly intended to convince Jews that they should believe that what they were doing pursuant to Mishnaic rules was religiously viable.

Like the early Christians, these rabbis adapted the message of the Exodus to the needs of the community. One text, *m. Pesaḥ.* 10:4, requires Jews to narrate the history of the Israelites culminating in their freedom from Egyptian slavery and to expound a classical biblical text of that history (Deut 26:5) that conveys the notion that Israel continues to enjoy the divine bounty. This activity will enable the

participants to derive new meaning from the scriptural account of redemption from slavery. The rabbis thus made special efforts to lead people to focus on the ongoing promise of redemption. This effort is also reflected in the symbolic explanation for the three key elements (*m. Pesaḥ.* 10:5), which helps overcome the sense of the physical loss of the sacrifice, and forms part of the process that replaced the Passover offering with the unleavened bread as the central element and symbol of the Passover (formerly sacrificial) meal. According to this text, the sacrifice is made because the LORD passed over the houses of the Egyptians, the bitter herbs are eaten because the Egyptians embittered their lives *and the unleavened bread is eaten because the LORD redeemed his people.* This symbolic meaning of the unleavened bread—redemption—leads to the religious consequences of recognizing redemption: giving thanks and praises to God for the miracles which—people are to believe—affected them ("who did for us all these miracles"). Such Psalms, in Second Temple sources (such as 2 Chr 30:21–26; 35:15–18) sung by experts or others over the sacrifice, are recited by individual Jews (see Bokser 1984: 43–45).

In attempting to create the impression that the extra-sacrificial rite continues a pre-70 protocol, the Mishnah only once refers to the current situation without the cult; and it consists of a passing allusion in a liturgical text attributed to R. Akiba and speaks of the future in terms of the continued presence of God who redeems. The postmishnaic authorities (3d to 5th centuries C.E.) considerably expand this issue as part of their overall development of the seder (Bokser 1984: 95–100; 1985; 1988).

Passover has thus undergone a transformation. No longer a pilgrimage holiday celebrating national independence, the festival has taken on a new dimension, reaching back to the pre-Temple perspective projected by Exodus 12, emphasizing the meal as a family gathering independent of any national cult. It further deals with the hope for future redemption by channeling it into the experience of the seder. Making the sacrificial meal into a seder, these rabbis, like the gospel writers, restructure the holiday so as to demonstrate that Judaism could continue after the destruction of the Temple, that the God of Israel still related to Israel, and that Israel could still experience God and find favor in God's eyes. The biblical story of the Exodus, simulated and remembered in the rite of the Passover Offering and in the Festival of Unleavened Bread thus found new life in the Christian and Jewish traditions of late antiquity.

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BARUCH M. BOKSER

**UNNI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿunnî* (עֻנִּי)]. The name of one or two different persons mentioned in the OT.

**1.** One of the Levites of second rank appointed to provide music during David's second effort to move the ark to Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:18, 20). For further discussion, see ELIPHELEHU.

**2.** The Q for the K *ʿunnô* at Neh 12:9; the name of a Levite who returned to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel. See UNNO.
RAYMOND B. DILLARD

**UNNO** (PERSON) [Heb K *ʿunnô* (עֻנּוֹ); Q *ʿunnî* (עֻנִּי)]. A levitical music director listed among those who returned from exile under the leadership of Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Neh 12:9). This is the only occurrence of Unno, who is absent from other references to his colleague Bakbukiah (cf. 11:17; 12:25). If the correct spelling is Unni (supported by the Qere and some Vg mss), this would be a different individual than the levitical musician mentioned in 1 Chr 15:18, 20, though possibly of some relationship to him.
JOHN KUTSKO

**UPHAZ** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾûphāz* (אוּפָז)]. A place in the Hebrew Bible noted for its gold (Jer 10:9; Dan 10:5). In a pronouncement against idolatry, Jeremiah describes the making of idols by skilled craftsmen using "hammered silver brought from Tarshish and gold from Uphaz" (10:9 NIV; cf. KJV, RSV, NASB). The context and syntax would indicate Uphaz is a geographical location and a source for gold. The same context occurs in the Daniel passage which describes a vision of a man robed in linen engirdled "with gold of Uphaz" (10:5 RSV, KJV, NASB). In both passages, the English translations are following the MT.

Because the location of Uphaz is unknown, ancient witnesses attempted to resolve this difficulty by an identification with a known place. The Aramaic Targum and the Syriac followed by the NEB and NJB read Ophir for Uphaz in Jeremiah. In Daniel, several Hebrew manuscripts followed by the NEB have the same reading. The reading is not without merit since Ophir is a known source of gold in S Arabia. Furthermore, the letter forms for *"z"* and *"r"* are similar enough in the Hebrew script that a scribal misreading can be responsibly suggested.

Both modern and ancient interpreters of these two passages have attempted to resolve the geographical difficulty by emendation: *mûpaz* in Jeremiah and *paz* in Daniel meaning "refined, pure." Both emendations come from the same Heb root *pzz* "purify, refine" (Gregor 1988: 19; Thompson *Jeremiah* NICOT, 324). This type of alteration, involving the loss or addition of the letter *ʾalep* which is often quiescent in Hebrew, could have arisen during oral transmission of the text. The proposed Hebrew root does describe gold in the OT: 1 Kgs 10:10 (the Peshitta adds "from Ophir") and Cant 5:11. In Daniel, the emendation, "pure gold," occurs in both ancient and modern renderings of the text (*b. Yoma* 45a; Vg; NJB; NIV). However two modern translations combine both the emendation and the proper name: "pure gold of Uphaz" NASB; KJV (Goldingay *Daniel* WBC, 273, 275). In a Yemenite votive inscription from the mid-1st millennium B.C., the word *ʾpz* is in a context where it can only signify a quality of the metal gold (Gregor 1988: 19–22).

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DAVID W. BAKER

**UPPER GATE** (PLACE) [Heb *šaʿar haʿelyôn* (שַׁעַר הָעֶלְיוֹן)*; šaʿar bêt yhwh haʿelyôn* ( שַׁעַר בֵּית יהוה הָעֶלְיוֹן)]. A gate of the Temple's inner or upper court that is spoken of as either being N of the Temple (Ezek 9:2; Avi-Yonah, 1954: 241) or as being S of the Temple (2 Kgs 15:35; 2 Chr 23:20 and 27:3). The Upper Gate is first mentioned as an important landmark in the account of Joash's coronation procession (836–798 B.C.E.) as he was marched "down from the house of the Lord, marching through the Upper Gate to the King's house" (2 Chr 23:20), thereby locating it S of the Temple. It may be suggested that the Upper Gate and the Gate of the Guards are the same since one-third of the troops stationed at the gate behind the guards (2 Kgs 11:6) were for securing the palace.

The Upper Gate is next mentioned as being built (or rebuilt) by Jotham (758–743 B.C.E.) and was referred to as the New Gate (at least until the reign of Jehoiakim, 597 B.C.E.). It was noted (2 Chr 27:3) that Jotham—unlike his father who trespassed the sacred precincts of the Temple (2 Chr 26:16–21)—was careful about the sacred Temple precincts and his rebuilding of the Upper Gate may have been in response to his father's unauthorized intrusion into the Temple.

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DALE C. LIID

**UPSILON.** The twentieth letter of the Greek alphabet.

**UR** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾûr* (אוּר)]. The father of Eliphal who was one of King David's chief military men (1 Chr 11:35). Many names appear in both of the parallel lists of these military elite (1 Chr 11:10–41a = 2 Sam 23:8–39), but in 2 Sam 23:34 the father of Eliphelet (a variant of Eliphal?) is Ahasbai of Maacah, not Ur. If Eliphal is identical to Eliphelet, then there has been some corruption during the transmission of the list, or possibly some additional editing by the Chronicler. Textual variance cannot explain the difference in the names and no place name appears in 1 Chr 11:35; thus one can only speculate about the origin of the name Ur (Williamson *1 & 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 103).

RUSSELL FULLER

**UR** (PLACE) [Heb *ʾûr* (אוּר)]. A very important Sumerian city that played an active role in the 3d millennium and in the beginning of the 2d millennium B.C. Its modern name is Tell Muqqayyar (30°56′N; 46°08′E). After Babylon, it is without a doubt the best known Mesopotamian site in the Bible because it is mentioned in connection with Abraham. According to Gen 11:31 it is from the city of Ur in Chaldea that Terah and his clan left to go to Haran, a great caravan site located in the belt of the Euphrates in N Syria. The Bible however, says nothing more about this great Sumerian metropolis, which was a real key in Mesopotamian commercial relations with the countries of the Persian Gulf and undoubtedly with the

Indus valley as well. There is, moreover, a certain contradiction in the closeness suggested by the Genesis text between a prodigious urban capital and a nomad clan that one could no doubt compare to, perhaps even identify with, one of the Amorite groups that, circulating in the Near East, often ended up taking power. However, because the Hebrew's credo begins with "A wandering Aramean was my father …" (Deut 26:5)—another Semitic group that played a more and more preponderant role toward the end of the 2d millennium—it is not very easy to make all this different information coincide into a coherent explanation, unless, as is highly likely, they are completely different traditions.

First discovered in 1625 by Pietro della Valle, the ovoid tell which measures 1300 m by about 900 m and rises to a height of 18 m was excavated for the first time by Sir W. K. Loftus in 1849. However, during a sounding done in 1855, J. E. Taylor found an inscribed brick that allowed Sir H. C. Rawlinson to identify the tell with the city of Ur known by the biblical texts. In 1918 Campbell Thompson and then H. R. Hall in 1919 became interested in the site, but it was Sir C. L. Woolley as director of a joint expedition uniting the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania who led a systematic exploration from 1922 to 1934. No research of any depth has taken place since 1934, but restoration work has been done on the ziggurat.

The excavations have allowed for the delineation of the principal stages of the history of the city. The earliest occupation of the site seems to go back to the middle of the 5th millennium, that is to say, to the middle of the Ubeid period. It is certain that the city was important toward the end of the 4th millennium with the rapid development of urban civilization, but the excavations have scarcely explored the levels from this period. It is in the Early Dynastic (ED) III period (between 2600 and 2500 B.C.) that a fuller picture of the city appears; this is the period of the First Dynasty of Ur and its kings Mesanepada and Aanepada; it is also the period of the famous royal tombs whose occupants Meskalamdug and Puabi, unknown in the king-lists, are probably predecessors to the rulers of the First Dynasty. An eclipse of the city seems to mark the Akkadian period, but it would again play an important role during the Sumerian renaissance under the energetic influence of the sovereigns of the Third Dynasty of Ur, above all under Ur-nammu (2111–2094) and Šulgi (2093–2046). In 2003 B.C. the Ur III state collapsed under internal and external pressures, and the city of Ur fell under the domination of Isin, of Larsa and then of Babylon. Henceforth its role was secondary, but it remained a religious metropolis that Nabonidus, the last Babylonian sovereign (556–539) honored when he privileged the lunar cult in Mesopotamia by constructing a palace for his mother whom he made the grand priestess of the god Sin. It is with the Achaemenids that the city fell into permanent oblivion.

Concerning the city itself, of which it is not certain that it had exactly the same form that is generally recognized today, Woolley really only dug in the area that contained the large secular and religious buildings and two private quarters; numerous soundings over the whole tell have given complementary information, often interesting, but also too punctilious to give us a precise image of the condition of life in a S Mesopotamian city. The houses are of very different size and often have a second story which reflects not only the habits of daily life but also the social organization of the quarter (with the merchant's stalls and the poorest houses situated near the master's houses).

The best known monument is the ziggurat which was constructed by Ur-nammu, the founder of the Third Dynasty. He particularly distinguished himself as a builder of ziggurats in Mesopotamia; he began with his own city, dedicated to the god Nanna (Sin in Akiadian) and regularly maintained the ziggurat until the end of the existence of the Ur III city. This ziggurat (62.5 m by 43 m at the base) was relatively well-preserved and the analysis of the remains allows us to think that it was built out of raw bricks surrounded by a protective skin of baked bricks. It rose probably three stories high, the first was accessible from three monumental staircases. At the summit was found, according to presently accepted opinion, a temple perhaps dedicated to the god Nanna. The ziggurat was built inside an enclosure of more than 100 m long that delimited a space that also contained other cultural buildings; one had access to it through a small courtyard.

Another temple, that of Ningal, furnished an excellent example of complex religious architecture; with two large sanctuaries, a chapel, private apartments, workshops, stores and kitchens, it represents a complex world that is strongly linked to the organization of a palace.

A palace that belongs to the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur has, however, been brought to light and it represents the first example of a pattern that will dominate the Near East for several centuries. At the end of the history of the city, the palace constructed by Nabonidus for his mother furnished an interesting example of civil architecture from the middle of the 1st millennium.

However, the archaeological fame of Ur rests above all on the discovery of several royal tombs. The first group that contained the richest grave goods belongs to the ED III period. Purely by chance some of them have been discovered intact, in particular that of Meskalamdug and the queen Puabi. They are funerary chambers constructed out of stone with corbelled ceilings, located at the bottom of a well entered by a descending corridor from the floor's surface. In the corridors and in the wells, funerary chariots are found with their teams of equids, their drivers and a whole group of servants and musicians that must have accompanied the king in death. Sometimes more than 80 bodies have been found, certainly sacrificed before the funeral. An exceptional collection of precious objects has been found in these tombs: jewelry, golden weapons—helmets, daggers, swords, musical instruments—harps and lyres encrusted with mother-of-pearl, game tables, vases of precious materials and the famous "standard of Ur." All of this attests to the extraordinary riches that one can doubtlessly link with Ur's role in the Persian Gulf trade.

Another group of royal tombs belongs to the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur. They are large vaulted chambers found in the basement of a building constructed out of baked bricks and bitumen. On the surface the building served the funerary cult, but it was in no way linked to the temples. It is thus a building with a very particular nature that has up until now remained unique in the documentation of the Near East.

The excavations of Ur ended in 1934; nevertheless, there remains much to be understood about this important Mesopotamian city.

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**URARTIAN LANGUAGE.** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

**URARTU** (PLACE). See ARARAT (PLACE).

**URBANUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Ourbanos* (Οὐρβανος)]. Received greetings from Paul in Rom 16:9. He was the only Christian in Rome other than Aquila and Prisca (Rom 16:3) whom Paul expressly called a "co-worker." Urbanus had immigrated to Rome from the east of the Roman Empire where he had done mission work with Paul. He probably was a gentile Christian. See NEREUS. It has often been proposed (e.g., Cranfield, *Romans* ICC, 790) that Urbanus was a (freed) slave. But the epigraphical material indicates that the name was not ordinarily a slave name (see Lampe *StadtrChr*, 150–52). Urbanus was more likely freeborn.


PETER LAMPE

**URI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾûrî* (אוּרִי)]. **1.** The father of Bazalel, who was the master craftsman responsible for the building of the utensils for the Tent (Exod 31:2; 1 Chr 2:20; 2 Chr 1:5). Noth believes that Uri is a short form of Uriel *(ʾûrîʾēl)* or Uriah *(ʾûrîyāh)*, "God (Yahweh) is the dispenser of beloved warmth" (*IPN*, 38, 168). The text in 1 Chronicles is part of the genealogy of Judah (2:3–4:23). This list, which names Caleb as Uri's grandfather, juxtaposes the families of Caleb and Ram. Williamson argues that the inclusion of Uri and Bazalel here is a deliberate attempt to bring together the monarchy (David, a descendant of Ram) and the temple (Bazalel, a descendant of Caleb) (*Chronicles* NCBC, 53).

**2.** The father of Geber, one of the twelve officers responsible for providing food for the royal household (1 Kgs 4:19). There is wide agreement that this text is problematic. Some suggest that the phrase in v 19, *geber ben-ʾūrî* is a variant for *ben geber* in v 13 since both are associated with Gilead. Others raise the possibility that, instead of Gilead, Gad should be read in v 19 (as it is in one edition of LXX) since it does not appear elsewhere. However, Fichtner points out that Gad, along with Sihon, would have been a part of the seventh district, mentioned in v 14 (*1 Könige* BAT, 87). Albright provides a plausible solution. One of the source documents for this list had a damaged right margin as one can see by the several persons listed only as "the son of …," the name on the right margin having been lost. The original v 13 named "[Uri] son of Geber" as the officer in charge of the sixth district. A marginal note at the end of the list confused this information and was subsequently inserted as the present v 19. If this is the case, Judah becomes the twelfth district, making the text clearer (1925: 25–26, 34–35). If Albright is correct, Uri himself was one of the twelve officers in charge of the royal provisions.

**3.** One of the three gatekeepers among the returned exiles whom Ezra required to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:24). The parallel text of 1 Esdr 9:34 omits Uri completely. For further discussion, see TELEM.

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**URIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾûrîyâ* (אוּרִיָּה), *ʾûrîyāhû* (אוּרִיָּהוּ)]. The name *ʾryw* occurs in the Sameria ostraca (*TSSI* 1: 10 no. 50:2). The variant *ʾwryw* occurs in seals (Vattioni 1969: 378 no. 184; cf. Puech 1980: 119 n. 5), and another variant, *ʾryhw* is found in the 8th century B.C. Khirbet el-Qom inscription (Hadley 1987: 51). Puech (1980: 125) has found *ʾwryh* on a 2d century A.D. potsherd.

In Ugaritic one finds the enigmatic *bn ʾuryy* (*UT*, 336a no. 351; cf. *PTU*, 53, 103), and in Assyrian texts the name *U-ri-ia-a* appears (Tallqvist 1914: 243b). The name in Hebrew can be translated: "Yahweh is my light/fire" (*IPN*, 168). This name is borne by five (or perhaps six, see #3 below) persons in the OT.

**1.** The Hittite. (If his name is Hittite, then the ending cannot be the divine name, "Yah"—cf. *HALAT* 25a for different interpretations with bibliography.) McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB, 285) points out that his designation as "the Hittite" does not necessarily make him a foreigner. It may merely mean that an ancestor came from one of the Neo-Hittite states in northern Syria, where Hittite civilization survived the collapse of the empire. He is one of the warriors in David's elite force of the "Thirty" (2 Sam 23:39; 1 Chr 11:41); he is mentioned at the end of the list in 2 Samuel, which draws attention to him, for the reader calls to mind what is associated with his name (Hertzberg *Samuel* OTL, 408). His wife was Bathsheba, daughter of Eliam (2 Sam 11:3) and perhaps granddaughter of Ahithophel (cf. 23:34).

Uriah was serving in the army besieging Rabbah, the Ammonite capital, when David sent for him. The king wanted it to appear that Uriah was the father of the child that was to be born to Bathsheba. David therefore told Uriah who had expressed loyalty to the ark, his commander Joab, and to David, to go to his house and then sent him food from the royal table. Uriah, however, spent the night "at the door of the king's house with all the servants of his lord" (2 Sam 11:9). When David asked him why he did not go into his house, the reply is that "the ark and Israel and Judah dwell in booths; and my lord Joab and the servants of my lord are camping in the open field" (v 11), and that staying in his house would give him comforts they do not possess. David made him drunk, but still he would not go to his house. The king

then gave Uriah a letter for Joab who is ordered to place Uriah in the thick of the battle and allow him to be isolated so that the enemy will kill him. According to vv 16–17 this duly happens, but vv 20–21 show that Uriah is killed by a shot from the wall. Joab then sent a messenger to inform David of the progress of the war, including the death of Uriah.

The narrative prompts some questions. Uriah's refusal to sleep in his house seems to be connected with a taboo which required sexual abstinence of soldiers in the field (cf. 1 Sam 21:6—Eng 21:5). Yet this would not strictly apply to Uriah who in any case does not abstain from alcohol at the royal table. Uriah's drunkenness in fact serves to emphasize his conduct. Uriah sleeping with the king's retainers does, however, recall the ancient ideals of the military monarchy, the direct relationship of loyalty between leader and followers (cf. 2 Sam 18:2; 21:15–17), which must give way to changed circumstances (Stoebe 1986: 394).

Also to be noticed is that Joab informs the messenger in some detail of David's probable reaction to the news he will bring of the death of the soldiers who fell with Uriah. Joab's awareness of the difficulties in dealing with kings discloses a typical concern of wisdom (Fontaine 1986: 64). In the MT David's angry reaction fails to take place, whereas the LXX does mention it (11:22). Stoebe (1986: 391–92) argues that the LXX is here following another tradition which gives the words to be expected of a pious David who is upset by the loss of life. The messenger in the MT cleverly avoids David's angry reaction by at once informing him of Uriah's death (Barthélemy 1982: 261), and the LXX 's fuller account of David's response may be included for the smooth flowing of the narrative (Pisano 1984: 49–54). At the same time the reader notices in the MT an implicit criticism of David and the institution of monarchy: human lives are merely means to attain an end (cf. Stoebe 1986: 392).

The discrepancy between the plan and manner of Uriah's death may be explained by the growth of the tradition (Stoebe 1986: 392–93). At an earlier stage Joab will have wished to direct David's attention away from a failed military maneuver by mentioning Uriah's death. Later, when the emphasis lies more on the David-Uriah-Bathsheba story, the king is made to plan Uriah's death, hence the letter which owes more to literary fiction than to historical fact. Nevertheless, all stages of the tradition include serious criticism of David's highhanded disposal of human lives.

Bathsheba lamented for her dead husband, and then David took her to be his wife (11:26–27). Nathan told David that he had sinned against Yahweh and David accepted the prophetic rebuke (12:1–14; cf. 1 Kgs 15:5bB).

**2.** A priest; one of two reliable men whom Isaiah chose to witness a prophetic oracle written on a tablet, doubtless because they enjoyed public trust (Isa 8:2). Uriah is probably the high priest (see #3 below) and if Isaiah wanted to put his tablet in the temple precincts would have had to give his leave (Wildberger *Jesaja* BKAT, 315). That such a prominent citizen placed himself at Isaiah's disposal shows to the reader (cf. Kaiser *Isaiah 1–12* OTL, 182) the respect in which the prophet was held.

Isaiah required two witnesses (cf. Deut 17:6) not merely to confirm that he was the author of the inscription or to explain its meaning to the public. More important is that they testify to the date of the writing, the time of the Syro-Ephraimite war. Isaiah is so confident that the oracle (Isa 8:3b–4) will be fulfilled (cf. Deut 18:22) that he announces the despoiling of the kingdoms of Damascus and Samaria at a time when Judah is still free to choose its policy (Wildberger *Jesaja* BKAT, 317).

**3.** Chief priest in the reign of Ahaz; almost certainly the same as #2 above. Ahaz went to Damascus to meet Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria and "saw the altar that was at Damascus" (2 Kgs 16:10). This was probably a Syrian altar (McKay 1973: 5–12; Jones *Kings* NCBC, 537–38), and on it Ahaz sealed the vassalage treaty with Tiglath-pileser, sending a sketch and detailed plan of the altar to Uriah who then built a copy (vv 10–16). This would remind the people of their vassal status (McKay 1973: 8, Jones *Kings* NCBC, 538). Uriah is one of several high priests omitted in the list in 1 Chr 6:4–15.

**4.** Son of Shemaiah of Kiriath-jearim; a prophet who was put to death for preaching against the city and the land (Jer 26:20–23). King Jehoiakim and his officials having heard the message sought his life, and he fled to Egypt. Elnathan was then sent to extradite him (see Thompson *Jeremiah* NICOT, 527). Uriah was

brought to Jerusalem and Jehoiakim had him executed with the sword. The body was thrown into the common graveyard.

The narrative is an appendix to Jeremiah's temple sermon, added to show that Jeremiah's preaching brought him into great danger. Nicholson (1970: 52) maintains that Jeremiah 26 is an "edifying story" composed by the Deuteronomist and so not biographical; it centers "on the theme of Judah's rejection of the word of Yahweh spoken by the prophet Jeremiah and the judgment which this rejection entailed" (1970: 56). The inclusion of the story is clearly related to Jeremiah's predicament, though the Deuteronomist may well have found it in his sources.

**5.** Father of Meremoth; descendant of Hakkoz (Ezra 8:33; Neh 3:4, 21; 1 Esdr 8:62).

**6.** One of the men, named without title or paternity and therefore probably laymen, who stood with Ezra at the public reading of the law (Neh 8:4; 1 Esdr 9:43). They were important persons, quite possibly leaders of the community (Myers *Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 153; Fensham *Ezra and Nehemiah* NICOT, 217).

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**URIEL** (ANGEL) [Lat *Urihel*]. Mentioned in the deuterocanonical apocalyptic text of 2 Esdras (4:1; 5:20; 10:28), where he instructs Ezra concerning evil, commands him to fast, and interprets his vision.

The earliest traditions about Uriel are those found in *1 Enoch* 72–82, the Astronomical Book (no later than the 3d century B.C.E.). There Uriel appears as the leader of the luminaries (72:1) who has command over all the celestial lights (75:3), a function related to his name, which means "God is my light" (VanderKam 1984: 89). In the Astronomical Book Uriel also serves as Enoch's guide and mentor in astronomical knowledge (72:1; 74:2; 75:3–4; 78:10; 79:6; 82:7). In *1 Enoch* 1–36 (the Book of the Watchers) Uriel is one of several angelic guides for Enoch (19:1; 21:5, 9; 27:2; 33:3–4). Although Uriel is listed by some Greek mss as one of the four archangels in *1 Enoch* 9:1, the Aramaic fragments from Qumran Cave 4 give the name Sariel instead. Sariel, not Uriel, is probably also the angel who warns Noah of the impending flood in 10:1 (see Milik 1976: 172–74; VanderKam 1984: 130, n. 74). Uriel does appear among the list of archangels in *1 Enoch* 20:2 as "one of the holy angels who is over the world and Tartarus" (Tartarus being the fiery region where the rebellious angels and stars are imprisoned [21:1–10]). Yadin has suggested that Uriel's dual role may be related to the ambiguity of his name, since *ʾr* might be read as *ʾur,* "fire," or as *ʾor,* "light" (Yadin 1962: 239).

Later writings continue the association of Uriel with revelation of astronomical information (see esp. *2 Enoch* 22–23, where Uriel is to be identified with the angel Vreveil; so Milik 1976: 110–11; VanderKam 1984: 89). He is also the angel who appears to answer the questions of Ezra (*2 Esdras* 4:1; 5:20; 10:28). Early Christian tradition develops his role as guardian of Tartarus (*Sib. Or.* 2.215–35; *Apoc. Pet.*), while in Jewish midrashim he is associated with light and enlightenment (e.g., *Num. Rab.* 2.10, the "one who brings light to Israel").

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**URIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾûrîʾēl* (אוּרִיאֵל)]. The name of two persons mentioned in the OT.

**1.** A Levite among the descendants of Kohath, one of the leaders appointed by David to move the ark from the house of Obed-edom to Jerusalem (1 Chr 6:9—Eng6:24; 15:5, 11). Many regard 1 Chr 15:4–10 as a later insertion into Chronicles; however, both Talmon (*IDBSup,* 322) and Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC) argue that the repetition of the names in 15:11 is a literary device marking an insertion of source material by the original author. The context of 1 Chr 6:9—Eng6:15 appears concerned with tracing the lineage of Samuel the prophet, to whom the Chronicler assigns levitical ancestry (1 Chr 6:13, 18—Eng6:28, 33; cf. 1 Sam 1:1); this reflects the Chronicler's pervasive interest in the prophetic function of the levitical musicians (1 Chr 25:1–8; 2 Chr 20:14; 29:25; 34:30; 35:15).

**2.** A man from Gibeah, the father of Maacah, wife of Rehoboam and mother of Abijah (2 Chr 13:2). The MT gives her name as Micaiah, though most LXX mss, Syr, 2 Chr 11:20, 15:16, and 1 Kgs 15:2 give her name as Maacah. The identity of Uriel is complicated by issues surrounding the ancestry of Maacah who is described both as the "daughter of Absalom" (1 Kgs 15:2; 2 Chr 11:20) and as the "daughter of Uriel" (2 Chr 13:2). The solution ordinarily adopted for this problem is to identify Maacah as the granddaughter of Absalom. Absalom had a beautiful daughter named Tamar and three sons (2 Sam 14:27). Since the sons do not appear to have survived childhood (2 Sam 18:18), Maacah was probably born to Tamar through a marriage to Uriel of Gibeah.

RAYMOND B. DILLARD

**USURY.** See INTEREST AND USURY.

**UTHAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿûtay* (עוּתַי)]. A personal name, probably shortened from a longer theophoric name, whose derivation has invited considerable speculation. Aḥituv (*EncMiqr* 6: 112) believes it is an abbreviated form of *ʿătāyâ* (Athaiah). Praetorius (1903: 524) earlier suggested the same and identified this shortened form—calling it *Caritativ*—as having *û* as the final root syllable and an *ay* ending. Noth (*IPN,* 191) believed the assumed root *ʿth* of the longer theophoric name, which he rendered "Yahweh has surpassed himself," derived from the Ar *ʿatā* which he understood as meaning "to exceed above the measure." In addition to seeing the name as a shortened name *(Kurznamen)* along the lines of the Arabic diminutive form *fuʿail* (*IPN,* 40, cf. 36), Noth also included it among those names *(Danknamen)* which give expression of thanks for an event in which the hand of God was perceived to have intervened in human life (*IPN,* 169–70, 191). Brockington (1969: 98–99) suggested the name could be a shortened form of either Athaliah (Noth *IPN,* 191, n. 4 also believed the short name could belong to the formations with *ʿtl*) or Athaiah—"Yahweh has shown himself preeminent"—while Achtemier (*HBD,* 1108) also believes it to be a variant of Athaiah—"pride of Yahweh" or "Yah is my pride." Gehman (*WDB,* 968), who renders the Ar *ʿatā* "to be proud, go beyond bounds," believed the name means "Yahweh has shown himself surpassing." Fallows (1906: 1694) suggested "Jehovah succors," probably from *ʿwš* (= *ʿwt* see KB, 692). Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 170) concluded that the name's meaning was uncertain and its origin obscure. The name is born by three individuals.

**1.** The son of Ammihud of the Judahite family of Perez (1 Chr 9:4) among those who dwelt in Jerusalem (v 3) upon returning from exile in Babylon. He is the first named of the "heads" (v 9) of Judahite families (Perez, Shelah and Zerah were three of Judah's five sons, cf. 2:3–4) who were listed (vv 4–9) among those lay Israelites who returned. Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 131) suggests that the basic structure of 1 Chronicles 9 is dependent upon Nehemiah 11 and that the Athaiah in Neh 11:4 and Uthai (LXX Codex Vaticanus *Gōthei,* Alexandrinus *Gōthi;* Lucianic *Outhi*) mentioned here are the same person. Rothstein (*1 Chronikbuch* KAT, 172) and Curtis and Madsen (*Chronicles* ICC, 170) are unable to determine which of these name forms are original. On the other hand Rudolph ( *Chronikbücher* HAT, 85) observed the different lineages recorded and concluded that these two names do not refer to the same person.

**2.** The head of the family of Bigvai (Ezra 8:14, Heb *bigway;* LXX Codex Vaticanus *Bago,* Alexandrinus *Gabouaei*) or Bani (1 Esdr 8:40, LXX Codex Vaticanus *Banai,* Alexandrinus *Bago*) who went up with Ezra from Babylon during King Artaxerxes' reign (Ezra 8:1; 1 Esdr 8:28). The presence of two "sons" in Ezra 8:14—"Uthai (LXX Codex Vaticanus *Outhi,* Alexandrinus *Gabouei*) and Zaccur (Heb Q *wĕzakkûr,* K *wĕzābûd;* LXX Codex Alexandrinus *kai Zaboud*)"—followed by the preposition with a singular suffix "and with him" *(wĕ ʿimmô)* suggests a different reading of the MT. Since LXX Codex Vaticanus of Ezra 8:14 omits the second name and since 1 Esdr 8:40 reads "Uthai the [son] of Istalcurus" (Codex Alexandrinus *Outhi ho tou Istalkourou*) or "Uthai [the son] of Istacalcus" (Codex Vaticanus *Outou Istakalkou*), it has been assumed that only one name preceded the preposition. This is the case throughout the list with the exception of Ezra 8:13 (1 Esdr 8:39) where three "sons" are mentioned. The commonly suggested emendation of the MT is "son of Zaccur/Zabud" *(ben-Z)* instead of "and Zaccur/Zabud" *(wĕz-)* (Batten *Ezra, Nehemiah* ICC, 319; Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 67; Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 108; Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 159). Bowman (*IB* 3: 634) and Rudolph (*Esra und Nehemia* HAT, 78) suggest that after the text was corrupted to read two names, the preposition was made to agree by changing it to read "and with them," as in several mss and the Vulgate. Uthai's family, that of Bigvai, is the last of 12 listed in Ezra 8:3b–14 and 1 Esdr 8:30–40 and numbered seventy males in the caravan.

**3.** The head of a family of temple servants (see NETHINIM) which is listed in 1 Esdr 5:30 and in the LXX Codices Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus (but not Vaticanus) of Neh 7:48 among those exiles returning from Babylon to "Jerusalem and the rest of Judah … with Zerubbabel …" (1 Esdr 8:8). The name in Greek is *Outa* which Bewer (1922: 27) believes to be a "corrupted variant" of *Akoub,* a name appearing in Ezra 2:45 (LXX Codex Alexandrinus) but written as *Akoud* immediately preceding *Outa* in 1 Esdr 5:30 and in LXX$^{A}$ of Neh 7:48 and as *Akoua* in LXX$^{s}$ of Neh 7:48. Discounting this Rudolph (*Esra und Nehemia* HAT, 12) believes the Hebrew names behind *Outa* and *Kētab* (*-ar* LXX$^{AS}$ Neh 7:48) cannot be determined.

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RODNEY H. SHEARER

**UZ** (PLACE) [Heb *ʿûṣ* (עוּץ)]. A country in NW Arabia (Jer 25:20; Job 1:1; Lam 4:21), which various geographical lists in the OT connect with either Aram (Gen 10:23; Gen 22:21; 1 Chr 1:17) or Edom (Gen 36:28; 1 Chr 1:42).

Jer 25:20 places "all the kings of the country of Uz (MT *hāʿûṣ*), and all the kings of the Philistine country" between Egypt (v 19) and Edom (v 21). The passage, which is missing in the LXX, is probably a gloss referring to Edom according to Lam 4:21 ("daughter Edom, that you dwellst in the country of Uz"). Geographically, Jer 25:20 shares the concept of the LXX of Job: Job lived on the border between Idumea and Arabia (42:17b). According to Jer 25:20 and Job 42:17b (LXX), Uz would be located in the S of Palestine, between the Negeb and the Sinai peninsula. This, however, is a geographical speculation of the late Persian or early Hellenistic period. Then, Edom was confined to Idumea W of Wadi ʿArabah. Originally, the country of Uz was situated in NW Arabia, between Dedan (see DEDAN) and Edom.

Job is depicted suffering from Sabean (1:15) and Chaldean (i.e., Neo-Babylonian) raids (1:17). This state of affairs reflects the situation in NW Arabia between 552 and 542 B.C., when the Neo-Babylonians under Nabonidus tried to evict the Sabeans from the incense route and the incense trade (Guillaume 1963: 107; Knauf 1983: 26–28; 1988: 67, n. 4). Prior to Nabonidus, Edom had extended its economical and, perhaps, political control into N Arabia (cf. Jer 49:8 and Ezek 25:13; Lindsay 1976: 34; Weippert *TRE* 9: 292), which explains Lam 4:21 (Edom sitting in the country of Uz) as well as Gen 36:28 and 1 Chr 1:42

(where Uz is listed as a "descendant" of Seir). A tribal name *ʿḏ*, Arabic *ʿAuḏ* (Nöldeke 1886: 184) is attested in an ancient N Arabian inscription which was found N of Dedan (Knauf 1983: 28–29). Hebrew *ʿwṣ* is the regular equivalent of Arabic *ʿ(w)ḏ*, according to the orthographic conventions of the 1st millennium B.C. Among the sedentary, agricultural tribes of NW Arabia (cf. Job 1:3, 14), tribal names and regional names are frequently equivocal.

It is impossible to ascertain whether Uz, "son" of Aram (Gen 10:23; Gen 22:21; 1 Chr 1:17) refers to the same geographical feature or to another tribe or region. In any case, the Aramean connection of Uz together with the derivation of Bozrah from Job's wife (42:17c LXX) induced the location of Uz and of Job's abode at Shaykh Sa'd in S Syria by the Christian and Muslim tradition (Schmitt 1985).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

**ʿUZA, HORVAT** (M.R. 165068). A site in the E Negeb (not to be confused with a site of similar name in the plain of Acco).

**A. The Site and Its Identification**

Horvat ʿUza (Kh. Ghazze) is located in the E Negeb at the E edge of the Arad depression, at the top of the deep Naḥal Kina (Wadi el Keini). The fort dominated the wadi in which was probably an ancient road, which perhaps already existed in prehistoric times, as evidenced by the Neolithic finds recently discovered in the concealed cave in Naḥal Ḥemar in this same area. During the Israelite and later periods, the wadi was the easiest and most convenient access route to the Arabah and Edom. This was probably the biblical "Way of Edom" mentioned in 2 Kings 3:20 (cf. Aharoni *LBHG*, 59).

Horvat ʿUza was first surveyed at the beginning of this century by Musil, who briefly described the site without however dating it to any particular period. Both Alt and Avi-Yonah regarded the site merely as part of the string of forts in the Roman *Limes* of Palestine, ignoring its existence during any other periods. The first thorough survey of Horvat ʿUza was made in 1956 by Y. Aharoni, who published a sketch-plan of the fort as it appeared on the surface, but of the settlement he only mentioned that its remains were located on the wadi slope. According to his description, the site was an Israelite casemate fort with towers and a courtyard, in which was a row of casemate rooms. He also collected a small quantity of sherds dating from the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman periods in the area of the fort. Aharoni dated the Israelite phases of the fort to the 8th–7th centuries B.C., and claimed that an earlier occupation existed, based on sherds dating from the 10th–9th centuries on the wadi slope. He suggested to identify the site with Ramah of the Negeb, which is mentioned in the list of cities of Simeon (Josh 19:8), as well as in Letter 24 from Arad, in which its commander is ordered to send reinforcements to Ramah of the Negeb. Aharoni argued that Ramah of the Negeb was the first settlement in the area to be exposed to Edomite aggression and hence should be located near Judah's border. Aharoni has suggested that Kinah, which in the list of Negeb cities (Josh 15:21–22) comes after Arad (MT and RSV read "Eder"), should be identified with Horvat Tov, located immediately NE of Arad. However, other scholars (Lemaire, Rainey, Naʾaman) identify Ramah of the Negeb with TEL ʿIRA which is on the highest point in the region and was included in the area of settlement of the tribe of Simeon.

The results of the excavations do not support Aharoni's suggested identifications, since at Horvat ʿUza, no occupation remains earlier than the 7th century B.C. were discovered; the fact that Ramah of the Negeb is connected with the Davidic period as having received Amalakite booty, obliges one to identify it with a site having remains from the 10th century. Evidence of 10th century occupation have recently been discovered at Tell ʿIra, which makes its identification with Ramah of the Negeb more plausible. Recent evidence from both Horvat ʿUza and Horvat Qitmit (Beit-Arieh 1986), indicating Edomite presence at

these two places, permits one to revive the assumption of deep Edomite penetration into the S region of Judah about the time of the Babylonian conquest. Ramah of the Negeb would not, therefore, have to be located on the Judah-Edom border. If this assumption should prove correct, then Horvat ʿUza may be identified with Kinah. The wadi over which Horvat ʿUza stands, wadi el Keini, may preserve the ancient name of Kinah.

**B. The Excavations and Their Results**

Twenty-two years after Aharoni's original survey at Horvat ʿUza excavations began at the site. Five seasons of excavations (1982–1986) were directed by I. Beit-Arieh and B. Cresson. Excavations concentrated mainly in, and around the area of the fort, but a few squares in the area of the settlement were also opened.

**Stratigraphy of the Site**

| | Stratum Period | General Dates | Remarks |
|---|---|---|---|
| I | Roman | 1st and 3d cents. A.D. | |
| II | Herodian | 1st cent. A.D. | Two phases |
| III | Hellenistic | 3d and 2d cents. B.C. | |
| IV | Israelite II | Second half of 7th cent. B.C. Beginning of the 6th cent. B.C. | Two phases (IV B and IV A) |

**1. The Israelite Period (Phases B and A).** The archaeological data indicate that the fort was constructed during the 7th century B.C. on the standard pattern (with only slight deviations) of a fort with towers, like those at Arad and Kadesh-barnea. The dimensions of this earlier fort are 42 × 51 m (approximately 100 × 120 short cubits). The fort was surrounded by a solid wall 1.5 m thick, strengthened by towers at its four corners and at intervals along its sides.

A series of casemate rooms (ca. 3 m wide) was built along most of the length of the inside of the wall. The courtyard was densely built up with various structures and had intersecting "streets." Three large, adjoining complexes (structure nos. 398, 397, 370) were excavated in the SE half of the courtyard. Although the excavation of two complexes (nos. 397, 398) is incomplete, it is clear that the structures served as workshops for various domestic crafts and industries, implied by the installations like chambers, ovens, stone basins, and pits in which were found upper and lower handmill stones and loom weights. A smaller structure containing a similar assemblage of finds stood near the gate, abutting its pier. From the functions of the structures, it is clear that the activities in the fort were not exclusively military, but included ordinary domestic occupations, despite the fact that there was a civilian settlement nearby.

A structure distinguished by its massiveness and dimensions was partly uncovered in the NW half of the fort (structure no. 437). See Fig. UZA.01. Its plan (only fragmentarily disclosed) consists of a SE wing containing three rectangular rooms and a large open space, apparently an inner courtyard. The dimensions of the SE wing are 17 × 3 m (inner). It included openings both toward the SE (the gate area) and toward the NW (the inner courtyard). The thickness of its wall was 1 m. The SE wing abutted on the inner face of the NE wall of the fort, and its NE room (413) was integrated into the fort's gate. The dimensions of the entire complex, based on the surviving sections of wall, are: 17 × 18 m. (i.e., ca. 1/7 of the area of the fort).

The gate is located between two projecting towers in the NE wall of the fort. In its second phase, at least, the gate was not symmetrical on the pattern of most gates of this type, but had only one SE wing with two rooms. It may be assumed, however, that in its first phase the gateway had the usual two wings, but due to alterations made during its second phase the NW wing was abolished and its second pier, facing inward toward the fort, was incorporated into the wall of the massive structure. However, this suggestion is as yet inadequately tested. Among the debris of fallen bricks and stones covering the gateway passage were charred beams of cedar, probably the remnants of the doors. In the center of the passageway, which was paved with stone slabs, was a well-preserved, sunken drainage channel over 20 m long. The channel was stone-lined and covered with stone slabs. The channel began at the inner pier of the

gate, where apparently it collected the water runoff from the interior of the fort. The channel continued below the sill-stones of the gate to a rock-cut cistern at the top of the wadi slope outside the fort.

A fieldstone platform stood in the courtyard of the fort, near its gateway. It stands independent of other structures, in the center of a small open area (Room 366), at the side of the street. The platform measures 1.5 × 1 m and ca. 1 m high. Three steps in its SW corner lead to its upper level. Beside the platform was a thick layer of ashes mixed with animal bones. The platform's proximity to the gateway suggests that it might have been a *bamah*—one of the "high places of the gates" mentioned in the Bible (2 Kgs 23:8).

**a. The Settlement Outside the Fort.** The settlement outside the fort extended over an area of approximately 7 dunams (ca. 2 acres). See Fig. UZA.02. Much of its remnants are visible above ground. It was built on the upper part of the steep wadi slope, N of the fort, and extended up to the support wall (revetment) of the gateway. Near the revetment wall, blocks of structural remains, some of very large buildings, stood on artificial terraces. Intersecting these remains were street-like passages of varying width (2–4 m).

One of the blocks of structural remains was excavated and consisted of two structures joined by a long common wall. The outer walls and the common wall of these structures served as support (revetment) walls for the terraces; these walls were built on strong and solid foundations and were especially thick (over 70 cm).

Although few surrounding structures have been excavated, they clearly attest the technical skill and great physical effort invested by the builders. It is necessary not to overlook the complexities connected with building on steeply sloping ground, which therefore implies, that they built the settlement at this particular location for a reason. We have no definitive conclusions of what factors influenced the planners to choose this location for the settlement, though evidently one was the proximity of the gate of the fortress, which allowed the civilian population to find speedy refuge within its protective walls. Apparently, similar topographical-security considerations were operative in the choice of location for the gate of the fort itself.

**b. The Ostraca.** The most important finds recovered at Horvat ʿUza were the 17 ostraca, of which 16 are Hebrew and one Edomite. Two of the ostraca were found within the settlement's structures, the remainder in scattered places inside the fort. The majority of the ostraca are incomplete. They include lists of people apparently connected with food distribution; lists of names probably connected with military and economic matters; a literary text; and a letter written in Edomite.

The Ahiqam ostracon is a four-line message, which apparently was addressed to the commander of the fort. It reads:

1. *-lm.lʾḥqm.bn.m-m* -lm to Aḥiqam, son of M—m,
2. *ʿmdyhw.bn.zkr.mmlda* ʿAmadyahu son of Zakkur, from Molada,
3. *hošʿyhw.bn.nwy.mrntn* Hoshaʿyahu son of Nawy, from Rinaton,
4. *mky.bn.hṣlyhw.mmqdh* Machi, son of Hiṣilyahu, from Maqeda.

The first and fourth words in the first line are unclear. One possible reading is "Shalom to Ahiqam, son of Menahem." The three men who are listed seem to have been sent to the fortress with a written order to Ahiqam, who probably was the local commander. The men came from various places, all apparently in Judah. The name Rinaton is unknown from any other source.

The ostracon indicates that the military organization of Judah involved transferring people from different areas to protect the borders of the kingdom, probably against the Edomites.

A restored Edomite ostracon measures 9.5 × 11.5 cm. It is inscribed with six lines of text in a large, widely spaced script. Most of the words are separated from one another by a dot. While most of the inscription can be read, a few letters in lines 1, 4, and 6 are either too blurred or too faint to be legible, partly because of surface flaking.

1. *ʾmr.lmlk.ʾmr.lblbl.* (Thus) said Lumalak (or Elimelek): say to Blbl!
2. *hšlm.ʾt. whbrktyk* Are you well? I bless you

3. *lqws.w‹t.tn.›t.h›kl* by Quas. And now give the food (grain

4. *›šr.‹md.›h›mh* that Ahi ma/o …

5. *whrm ‹z›l.‹l mz[bh] (?)* ... And may U[z]iel lift it upon (the alter?) …

6. *[]ḥmr. h›kl* [lest] the food become leavened (?)

The content of this letter indicates that it was written by a high Edomite official who addressed it to the commander of the fort, ordering him to supply (quickly?) a quantity of foodstuff—apparently dough for breadmaking—before it soured. In the opening of the letter, the writer inquires about the health and well-being of *blbl*, the commander of the fort, and invokes the blessing on him of the chief Edomite deity, Qaus.

Although the last three lines are not entirely clear, this cannot detract from the general content of the letter, nor from the implication of its discovery at Horvat ‹Uza, indisputably proving an Edomite presence at this site. It also may indicate that the fort was captured by the Edomites shortly before the Babylonian conquest.

**2. Hellenistic Period.** After the fort stood in ruins for several centuries it was restored and rebuilt during the Hellenistic period. Its area was reduced by two-thirds of what it had been during the Israelite period. On its W side, the casemate wall was shifted E by ca. 18 m and a new projecting tower was attached to it. The remaining walls were repaired and continued in use. However, the new rooms built against the walls were broader (up to 3.5 m, compared to 2.5 m during the Israelite period).

The settlers of the Hellenistic period evidently cleared the ashes from the burnt-out rooms of the fort before restoring and occupying them. The west-wing structure was also cleared of its ashes, although it remained outside the limits of the fort. Apparently the first intention of the new settlers was to use the entire area of the old Israelite fort, and they therefore cleared all of it, but afterwards changed their plan. The excavations indicate that only the rooms along the walls were used by the new settlers; the courtyard was undeveloped except for a few installations such as the grain-silos excavated in its W part. The Hellenistic finds consist mainly of typical 2d century B.C. sherds, but also include some small objects, including an ostracon, a game-tablet, a bronze seal, and bone implements.

The fort was probably part of the string of fortifications—a sort of Hellenistic *Limes*—which the Seleucid kings erected on the S border of Idumea.

The Hellenistic-period fort continued in use until the first half of the 1st century B.C., as attested by the discovery of a Nabatean coin dating from the time of Haratat I or II; however, no Hasmonean coins have been found so far in the fort.

**3. The Roman Fort.** The fort of the Roman period coincided in its limits with the Hellenistic-period fort. The rebuilt outer walls of the fort continued along their former alignment, with new rooms built on top of the levelled debris. Along the outer wall in one area were noted two main strata: a Herodian stratum with two sub-phases, and a Middle Roman stratum. During the Middle Roman period, the walls perpendicular to the fort's outer walls were shifted about a meter from their earlier alignment, whereas the walls parallel to the outer wall were on a common alignment in both strata. Unlike the Israelite period, the foundations of the outer wall-rooms were deep (up to 2 m), which gave these rooms a fortified character. Additional fortified structures were discovered along the fort's W side—in its center, at its S corner, and opposite its towers. The rooms of the Hellenistic period had been packed with medium-sized stones, which created a raised platform about 2 m above ground level. A series of steps was uncovered at the corner platform, leading from the courtyard to the upper level. Apparently these stone-filled rooms were designed to strengthen weak areas in the fortifications, while at the same time allowing direct access to the towers.

Enclosures which joined to the E and N sides of the Roman-period fort were evidently part of the fortification system. The area covered by these enclosures was approximately 2 dunams, and their walls were nearly 1 m thick. These walls contained large stones in their courses, and were preserved to a height of 1 m. In the middle of the E wall of the E enclosure, a gate structure was uncovered. It is assumed that these enclosures served as fortified camps for this S border fort on the Roman *Limes* of Palestine.

The dated finds from the Roman fort include Palestine city coins: from Ascalon (i.e., Ashkelon; period of Vespasian), from Gaza (period of Septimus Severus), and from Caesarea (period of Marcus Aurelius).

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ITZHAQ BEIT-ARIEH

**UZAI** (PERSON) [Heb *lʾûzay* (**אוּזַי**)]. The father of Palal, one of those who worked on the wall of Jerusalem following the return from Babylonian exile (Neh 3:25). Brockington (*Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* Century Bible, 143) says that the name may be shortened from a name like Azaniah, which occurs in 10:9 and means "Yahweh has listened."

MICHAEL L. RUFFIN

**UZAL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʾûzāl* (**אוּזָל**)]. A son of Joktan and hence the name of a South Arabian tribe or place (Gen 10:27; 1 Chr 1:21). Since the time of Bochartus (1674: 130–34) this biblical name has usually been combined with ʾAzāl which, according to South Arabian tradition, is said to have been a Pre-Islamic name for Ṣanʿā, the capital of Yemen. In fact, ʾAzāl is equated with Ṣanʿā (al-Hamdānī 1979: 193,8), and the name occurs also frequently in poetry, e.g., in a verse of the Pre-Islamic poet ʿAlqama b. Dhī Jadan (al-Hamdānī 1979: 72,8) or in a poem which is attributed to the Himyaritic king Asʿad Tubbaʿ (al-Hamdānī 1979: 56,5). According to a tradition not Shem, the son of Noah, but ʾAzāl, the son of Joktan, is said to have built Ṣanʿā and her castle Ghumdān and to have called the town after his name (ar-Rāzī 1974: 14–15). In the Sabean inscriptions, however, the later capital of Yemen is always referred to under the name *ṣnʿw,* Ṣanʿāw, and never under *ʾzl,* ʾAzāl, although the triliteral root *ʾzl* is attested in proper names, e.g., as epithet of the ancient town Waʿlān in the SE part of Yemen, *wʿln tʾzl,* Waʿlān Taʾzil (YMN 4,2). According to one of the meanings of the Arabic verb *ʾazala,* "to restrain," the cognomen possibly expressed the wish that the fortified place should prevent enemies to enter it; ʾAzāl as place-name could be explained in the same way. Already Glaser (1890: 310) had pointed out that the hitherto accepted view of the identification of Uzal with Ṣanʿā has to be given up. The Jews of Ṣanʿā were probably the first who connected this town with a biblical name and called it ʾAzāl (Glaser 1890: 427). His proposal, however, to look for Uzal in the region of Yathrib/Madīna in the E Ḥijāz (Glaser 1890: 434), does not conform with our present historical knowledge of that region of Arabia.

On the other hand, no notice has yet been taken of the fact that aside from the use of ʾAzāl for Ṣanʿā, the name ʾAzāl occurs two further times as a designation of places in Yemen (see al-Maqḥafī 1988: 26). The one ʾAzāl is a region in the district of ar-Raḍama, some 30 km E of Yarīm; the other ʾAzāl is a region of the Banū ʿAmmār in the district of an-Nādira NE of Ibb on the upper course of the Wadi Banā. Both places are so far unattested in Sabean inscriptions since the areas referred to have not yet been investigated by archaeologists. In the last mentioned region there is the castle *al-ʾAzālī* which is currently in ruins but which was formerly among the famous castles of Yemen. Therefore it cannot be entirely excluded that this ʾAzāl might be the place in which one has to look for Uzal in the table of nations.

In Ezekiel 27, where the partners in the trade with Tyre and the merchandise imported into this commercial town are listed, MT *mĕʾûzzāl* is attested (v 19). This might be interpreted as "spun yarn," if one interprets it as a *Puʿal* participle of the verbal root *ʾzl* (as a variant of *ʿzl,* "to spin"). Several Heb mss, however, offer the reading *mēʾûzāl* (LXX *ex Asēl*), which points to a place-name, "from *ʾÛzāl."* Making a conjecture at the beginning of the verse, which is presupposed by the LXX, the translation of the first half of the verse could read as follows: "and wine from Uzal they exchanged for your wares." Uzal has been identified with *Izalla* mentioned in Akkadian documents, a district NE of Mardin and Nisibin, especially since wine formed a part of the tribute paid to Ashurnasirpal by *Izalla.* By alteration of

three *waws* into *yods*, the first three words of Ezek 27:19 have been interpreted and translated "and casks of wine from *Izalla*" (*mē›îzāl;* see Millard 1962: 201–3). Since iron is mentioned in the second half in the verse, another (though less probable) proposal is that Uzal may be the Heb transliteration of the name *Ušawalaš,* known from Hittite documents as an Anatolian town in the region of modern Konya, where rich deposits of iron-ore exist; the translation of the unaltered MT would then be: "and Dān and Yāwān exchanged for your wares from Uzal iron …" (see Elat 1983: 323–30). In any case *›*ûzāl* in Ezek 27:19 is to be separated from *›ûzāl,* the son of Joktan in the Table of Nations in the book of Genesis.

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**UZZAH** (PERSON) [Heb *‹uzzâ* (עֻזָּה), *‹uzzā›* (עֻזָּא)]. Var. UZZA. Five persons carry this name in the OT. Uzzah means "Oh [Yahweh or God, my] Strength," and is a short form related to the names Uzziah/Uzziel, "Yahweh/El (God) is my Strength" (Noth *IPN* 38, 160). It is also parallel to names formed on the Heb root *‹zr:* Ezri, Ezra, Azariah, and Azriel (cf. the interchange of the famous king's names, 2 Kgs 15:7 vs. 15:13). Different *matres lectionis* (Heb consonants used to indicate vowels) for the final *ā* produce the variant Hebrew and English spellings.

**1.** Son of Abinadab. With his brother, Ahio, Uzzah attended to the new cart which carried the ark of God when David attempted to bring it from Abinadab's house in Baale-judah (Kireath-jearim) to the city of David (1 Sam 6:1–11 [= 1 Chr 13]). At the threshing floor of Nacon (Chidon in 1 Chr 13:9) God smote Uzzah when the oxen stumbled and he reached out to steady the ark (1 Sam 6:6–7 [= 1 Chr 13:9–10]). The place name, Perez-uzzah, recalls this "breach" in Uzzah's family line (McCarter *II Samuel* AB, 161–70) or this "bursting forth" by Yahweh against Uzzah (Hertzberg *Samuel* OTL, 276, with LXX, Vg, Tg and most modern English versions). In view of Uzzah's custodial role with the ark and the interchange attested between the name with Heb roots *‹zz* and *‹zr*, he should perhaps be identified with Eleazar, Abinadab's son consecrated to such service (1 Sam 7:1).

**2.** Unknown except as the person in whose garden Manasseh and Amon were buried (2 Kgs 21:8, 26).

**3.** Benjaminite of the family of Ehud (1 Chr 8:7). They were residents of Gibeah of Benjamin, Tel el-Ful (M.R. 173136) 6 miles N of Jerusalem, who were exiled to Manahath (v 6). It is unclear whether his immediate progenitor in the genealogy is (1) Gera "who deported [*heglām*] them" (NIV) or did not deport them (Rudolph *Chronikbücher* HAT, 76), or (2) Gera, known also as Heglam (RSV; cf. LXX, *iglaam*), or (3) a person now unnamed in the list.

**4.** Head of a family of temple servants *(nětînîm)* posted among the first returnees from exile under Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:49 [= Neh 7:51]). Listed after priests, Levites, singers and gatekeepers, these "temple servants" (literally "ones given" or "assigned") were descendants of state slaves attached to the temple under David as assistants to the Levites (Ezra 8:20; cf. Josh 9:23, 27; Deut 29:10 and Ezek 4:7–9). Uzza, like his sons, probably would have been such a servant. See NETHINIM.

**5.** Listed among the Merarite clans of Levi as the son of Shimei (1 Chr 6:14—Eng6:29).

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**UZZEN-SHEERAH** (PLACE) [Heb *›uzzēn še›ĕrâh* (אֻזֵּן שְׁאֵרָה)]. Uzzen-sheerah, "ear" or "corner of Sheerah," is a city that was founded by Sheerah (1 Chr 7:24), daughter of Beriah, descendant of Ephraim. The location of the city is unknown. Uzzen-sheerah is not mentioned elsewhere in the OT. Sheerah is said to be the founder of two other cities, Upper and Lower Beth-horon. They are located in S

Ephraim (Josh 18:13–14) and are traditionally linked to Joshua (Reed in *IDB* 1: 394). Both were the scenes of numerous military conflicts (Josh 10:10–11; 1 Sam 13:18).

Sheerah was a descendant of Ephraim according to 1 Chr 7:20–24. Verses 21b–24 are a fragment that interrupts the Ephraim (Joshua) genealogy. The Chronicler's reasons for putting it here are unclear. The only other listing of the Ephraimite clan in the OT is Num 26:35–36 and it contains no mention of Sheerah.

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**UZZI** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿuzzî* (עֻזִּי)]. Short form of Uzziah or Uzziel, " (Yahweh/El) is my strength."

The name is particularly well attested in postexilic texts.

**1.** Most prominent is Uzzi's mention in several genealogies of the priestly family of Eleazar. Ezra 7:1–5 (cf. 1 Esdr 8:1–2, Gk *Ozias*) purports to give the genealogy of Ezra, tracing backwards 16 generations through Uzzi, Bukki, Abishua, and Phinehas to Eleazar the son of Aaron. The obvious brevity of this list led to its being expanded in 1 Chr 5:29–41—Eng6:1–15, partially by extension backwards to Levi, and partially by repetition of the triad Amariah–Ahitub–Zadok. This longer genealogy gives a satisfactory 12 generations from the Exodus to the building of the Solomonic temple (480 years following Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 86) and an equal span from Zadok to the Exile. A shorter extract of this genealogical information is given in 1 Chr 6:35–38—Eng6:50–53. All of the lists are late, and reflect the intention of securing for the Zadokite priesthood an Aaronite ancestry, traced through Aaron's son Eleazar. The latest version of this genealogy is attested in 2 Esdr 1:1–3, where Uzzi (Lat *Ozia*) is listed as the son of Borith. This list duplicates that of Ezra 7:1–5 with the insertion of three additional generations between Amariah and Ahitub.

**2.** In 1 Chr 7:1–3 Uzzi is listed as the grandson of Issachar. The specific numeration of Issacharites in the postexilic period is limited to the five descendants (Heb "sons") of Uzzi (Izrahiah and his four sons, v 3), suggesting the importance of this family among the returning Issacharites. The military terminology used of this family is probably not original to the list, but was likely influenced by the similar terminology used of Benjamin in the following passage.

**3.** In 1 Chr 7:6–8 Uzzi is listed as the grandson of Benjamin. However, this list is difficult to correlate with information given in the other genealogies of Benjamin. Though Bela's name is consistent (Gen 46:21; Num 26:38; 1 Chr 8:1–2), little else is common to the tradition. The names of Bela's five sons as given here, including Uzzi, are possibly based upon a postexilic military census, thereby accounting for the military terminology of the text.

**4.** Uzzi son of Michri was the father of Elah, the latter listed in 1 Chr 9:8 as one of the Benjaminite families living in Jerusalem following the return from exile. 1 Chr 9:7–9 lists four families (fathers' houses) of such Benjaminites, totaling 956, along with their ancestry. The parallel list in Neh 11:7–9 only has the names Sallu and Meshullam in common, though it is possible that the name Hodaviah son of Hassenuah is reflected in Judah son of Hassenuah. Otherwise the lists are at complete variance. Many commentators suggest that the list in 1 Chronicles 9 is dependent upon that in Nehemiah 11.

**5.** In Neh 11:22 Uzzi is designated as the overseer of the Levites in Jerusalem during the postexilic reconstruction. His family of Asaphites is traced back five generations. That this list is several generations removed from the earlier list of Levites in 11:15–18 is suggested by the reference in v 17 to Mattaniah son of Mica, Uzzi's great-grandfather, who was contemporary with the reconstruction. The presence of Uzzi here therefore reflects later interests in the fully developed temple ritual. These later developments were retrojected into the earliest years of the return in order to enhance their stature.

**6.** Uzzi appears as the head of one of the 20 priestly families in the second generation of the postexilic community. Neh 12:19 gives his name as the head of the family (father's house) of Jedaiah during the chief priesthood of Joiakim. The author incorrectly presumed that this was also the generation of Ezra and Nehemiah (so v 26).

**7.** Uzzi is listed by Neh 12:42 as being among those who led in the celebration and dedication of the walls which were rebuilt under the leadership of Nehemiah. Neh 12:42 seems to continue the listing of

priests begun in v 41, in which case Uzzi and his colleagues would be priests. However, the formal parallelism with vv 33–36a suggests otherwise. There the listing of priests is concluded with the reference to trumpets. This list is then followed by one comprised of Levites, who are associated in v 36a with "musical instruments of David." Given the formal parallelism of these two lists, the persons mentioned in v 42 are most likely Levites rather than priests.

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**UZZIA** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿūzîyā* (עֻזִּיָּא)]. One of King David's chief military men from Ashtaroth in Bashan (1 Chr 11:44). The name means "My strength is Yah (weh)." Uzzia is one of the sixteen Reubenites from the Transjordan listed in the Chronicler's expansion (1 Chr 11:41b–47) of the parallel lists of David's military elite (1 Chr 11:10–41a = 2 Sam 23:8–39). The location of Ashtaroth supports the Transjordanian origin of these warriors. The addition of the sixteen names in vv 42–47 may have been inspired by 1 Chronicles 12 (Myers, *1 Chronicles* AB, 90), but most scholars believe that these verses were not part of the original list. Williamson (*1 & 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 104) and others (Mazar 1986: 101–102; Rudolf *Chronikbücher* HAT 1st series, 101) have argued that the Chronicler or a later redactor did not fabricate these names.

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**UZZIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿuzzîyāhû* (עֻזִּיָּהוּ), *ʿuzzîyâ* (עֻזִּיָּה)]. Var. AZARIAH. Six persons in the Bible bear this name.

**1.** King of Judah, who succeeded his father Amaziah on the Jerusalem throne (2 Kgs 15:1–2), and was in turn succeeded by his son Jotham. Provisional dates for Uzziah's reign span 783–742 B.C.E. Though the name "Uzziah" surfaces 25 times in the Bible as the name of this successful monarch, his other name, "Azariah" *(ʿăzaryāhû; ʿăzaryāh),* is attested nine times. Biblical tradition remembers Uzziah as one who mended the defenses of Jerusalem, reorganized and reequipped the Judean army, won and capably maintained control over numerous caravan routes to the S, extended Judah's frontiers at the expense of neighboring Philistines and Edomites, and suffered significant personal setback when he was stricken by leprosy toward the end of his rule.

**a. The King's Name.** The presence or absence of merely one Hebrew consonant (*rēš,* "r") accounts for the two names of the king, making the difference between the two forms far greater in English than in Hebrew. As Honeyman (1948: 20–22) has convincingly noted, extensive textual corruption fails to account for the variants. The answer lies elsewhere. Solely attesting "Uzziah," six chronological references in the prophetic corpus (Isa 1:1; 6:1; 7:1; Hos 1:1; Amos 1:1; Zech 14:5) argue for the plausibility that "Uzziah" was the king's throne name and "Azariah" his personal name. Since the ritual uncleanness of leprosy prevented the king from discharging his regal duties during his autumn years (2 Kgs 15:5; 2 Chr 26:16–23), this might explain why both names were used by the narrator in 2 Kgs 14:21–15:34 ("Azariah" eight times and "Uzziah" four). When Jotham was required to serve as regent in his father's stead, the latter rejoined the ranks of Judah's private citizenry. Accordingly, the throne name was set aside. Nevertheless, subsequent Hebrew tradition sought to establish some uniformity in the king's name. Thus Honeyman (1948: 21) credits the Chronicler with the "alteration of Azariah to Uzziah in every passage in which he is editing the narrative of II Kgs." Moreover, in the Peshitta the name always appears in the Syriac as Uzziah.

**b. Historical Context.** Though Uzziah's ascension to the throne as a lad of 16 when the people made him king (2 Kgs 14:21; 15:2; 2 Chr 26:1, 3) poses no problem, the twice attested claim that his reign spanned all of 52 years (2 Kgs 15:2; 2 Chr 26:3) has been dismissed by many scholars as excessive. Since the biblical record offers no precise statement that Uzziah ascended the throne of Judah on the day that his father Amaziah died, perhaps popular support ushered Uzziah to the throne at an appreciably earlier

moment. Though mention of Amaziah's death by assassination at Lachish (2 Kgs 14:19; 2 Chr 25:27) prefaces any mention of Uzziah's investiture as king, the historically correct sequence may have been just the opposite. Indeed, Judah's unwarranted declaration of war against its N neighbor Israel, and the humiliation that Judah was forced to endure in the battle that ensued (2 Kgs 14:8–14; 2 Chr 25:17–24) might have provoked some of Judah's disgruntled citizenry to drive Amaziah out of office and to entrust the struggling nation's welfare to his son Uzziah.

A cuneiform fragment with mention of a certain *Az-ri-ya-a-u Ya-u-da-a-a* (*ANET*, 282–283) was once embraced as helpful extrabiblical testimony that in his W campaign waged in 743 B.C.E., Assyria's monarch, Tiglath-pileser III, was momentarily opposed by a coalition headed by Azariah/Uzziah of Judah. But Na›aman (1974: 25–39) has persuasively demonstrated that the fragment presumably attesting Azriau king of Yaudi actually issues from the more recent reign of Sennacherib and alludes to Hezekiah rather than to Azariah. Moreover, whereas the annals of Tiglath-pileser twice refer to Azariah, his country goes unmentioned. Impressed by Na›aman's argument, Donner (1977: 424) concludes that "the Azriau of Tiglath-pileser's annals and Azariah of the Bible should be regarded as two different individuals."

Given the lack of extrabiblical epigraphic data, the proclivity of the Deuteronomic editor of 2 Kings to attribute tenures of excessive length to several of Judah's monarchs who ruled from roughly the mid-9th to the mid-8th century B.C.E., the severely limited coverage accorded Uzziah in 2 Kings, and the theological bias of the Chronicler who does offer a fuller account of his reign, our knowledge about the Uzziah of history is far from ample. Since his son Jotham is associated with Israel's king, Jeroboam II (ca. 786–746), in 1 Chr 5:17, it may be assumed that Uzziah was plagued by leprosy near the year 750. Even so, his impact on affairs of state may have been felt until the time of his death not more than a decade later.

**c. Uzziah's Political Posture.** Under the leadership of Uzziah of Judah and his slightly older contemporary, Jeroboam II of Israel, the dual kingdoms enjoyed a period of impressive resurgence. Despite the king's historical significance, the author of the 2 Kings narrative limits mention of Uzziah's efforts at statecraft to a single phrase: "He built Elath and restored it to Judah" (14:22a). Even that is ambiguous since "he" could in fact refer to Uzziah's father Amaziah. If the notation is intended to portray the reign of Uzziah, then we may infer that Uzziah was successful in continuing his father's incomplete conquest of Edom. Situated at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba, this Red Sea port would have been reclaimed and refurbished by Judah as a vital commercial outlet. Thus the merchant ships of Judah might once again set sail for Arabia.

After replicating the above-mentioned phrase in its ambiguity (2 Chr 26:2a), the Chronicler, whose knowledge of the monarch has undoubtedly been enriched by the possession of an unknown text, has much more to say. He portrays Uzziah as triumphant in his attempt to subdue the Philistines in the W. He specifically notes that the king dismantled the walls of Gath, Jabneh, and Ashdod (26:6a). Though Uzziah could scarcely press N where Jeroboam II held sway, he found it possible to target areas to the S and W. The text is imprecise, but it seems that Uzziah did not delay in tightening his grip on Philistine regions that fell his way (26:6b). By erecting a system of forts, the king was able to assert control over various caravan routes that passed through the Philistine plain. Moreover, Uzziah seems to have triumphed over Edom-based Meunites as well as Arabs dwelling near Gerar—Myers' reading of "Gerar" for the unknown site of "Gurbaal" mentioned in 26:7 (*II Chronicles* AB, 149) is reasonable. This phase of Uzziah's expansionist endeavors accorded him substantial control over trade routes extending into Arabia. In a summarizing statement, the Chronicler reports that Uzziah's military engagements were of such scope that "his fame spread even to the border of Egypt" (26:8).

Various building and agricultural projects were also set in motion by this ambitious Judean monarch. Whereas the Chronicler is not very lucid in spelling out the specific ways whereby Uzziah undertook to shore up Jerusalem's defenses, he does report that "he made engines, invented by skilful men, to be on the towers and the corners, to shoot arrows and great stones" (26:15). Since catapults and related machinery are unattested in detailed palace reliefs that dramatically depict the Assyrian conquest of various Judean cities of this era, it is unlikely that this is how the Chronicler wishes to be understood. Yadin's

interpretation of this cryptic verse (1963: 326) makes good sense. He argues that the allusion does not concern firing engines, but rather "special structures built on to the towers and battlements to facilitate the firing of arrows and the casting down on the heads of the assault troops 'great stones.' " The presence of such cleverly constructed protecting screens made it possible for defending troops to move from a crouching to a standing position and to control their weapons with both hands.

The Chronicler adds that Uzziah "built towers in the wilderness, and hewed out many cisterns" (26:10). During the 8th century B.C.E., the Negeb was the locus of extensive building activity. Aharoni (1982: 251) credits the erection of the fortresses at Kadesh-barnea and Horvat ʿUza (Ramath-gilead) to Uzziah since the earliest pottery discovered there dates to that century. And he adds that contemporary with these structures are fortress towers above En-gedi and several well developed water installations situated near the N shore of the Dead Sea. Presenting Uzziah as one who "loved the soil" (26:10), the Chronicler implies that this king was strongly committed to agricultural pursuits. National resurgence seems to have manifested itself at many different levels. Finally, Uzziah is remembered for having reorganized and refitted Judah's armed forces. That, too, is historically plausible though the notion that his troops attained a count of 307,500 men is manifestly excessive.

**d. Uzziah's Religious Posture.** In the 2 Kings narrative, the initial religious assessment of the king is favorable: "he did what was right in the eyes of Yahweh" (15:3). Though Nelson (*Kings* IBC, 221) may be justified in claiming that the writer "refuses to moralize about the king's leprosy," reference to the "high places" that Uzziah tolerated (15:4) is itself a forthright indication that the king's piety knew certain limits. It may further serve to explain why leprosy struck a Judean monarch who otherwise pleased the deity. Due to his uncleanness, Uzziah became unfit to discharge the public regal responsibilities. These became the responsibility of his son Jotham who functioned as regent until his father's death. Though it is typically said in English translations that Uzziah now lived in a "separate house" (15:5), the case for the king's isolation is easily overstated. Since the literal reading of the Hebrew *(bêt haḥopšît)* is "house of freedom," it is important to recognize that whereas the king was now exempt from affairs of state, his freedom of movement was not appreciably curtailed.

In his account of the religious aspects of Uzziah's life, the Chronicler steps to his own beat. During the early years of his reign, Uzziah is said to have had the benefit of the counsel of a certain Zechariah "who instructed him in the fear of God" (2 Chr 26:5), but eventually the king's pride in his own accomplishments led to his undoing (26:16). For having usurped priestly prerogative by invading the Jerusalem temple and burning incense to Yahweh, the king is reprimanded by a contingent of 81 priests who are quick to mobilize. The story reaches its climax when the king's anger is aroused to such a point that he breaks out in leprosy (26:19). Though the historicity of this episode is most dubious, some tension between regal and priestly power might have shown itself during Uzziah's tenure.

On balance, Uzziah was one of Judah's strongest monarchs. If it is regrettable that the narrator in 2 Kings offers such a fleeting glimpse of Uzziah, at least parenthetical allusions to his rule are relatively numerous. Amos and Hosea are presented as Uzziah's contemporaries and Isaiah's temple vision is dated to the year of his death (Amos 1:1; Hos 1:1; Isa 6:1). Finally, an earthquake of overwhelming proportions is also linked with Uzziah's rule (Amos 1:1; Zech 14:5).

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**2.** Father of Jonathan, one of King David's overseers in charge of the storehouses in outlying districts, towns, villages, and watchtowers (1 Chr 27:25). The name occurs in a list of David's overseers.

**3.** Descendant of Kohath, one of Levi's sons, and the immediate son of Uriel (1 Chr 6:22–24).

**4.** A Judahite whose son, Athaiah, was one of the rulers of Israel chosen by lot to be a resident in Jerusalem after the exiles returned from Babylon (Neh 11:1–4). He is not listed in the genealogy recorded in 1 Chr 9:2–17.

**5.** One of the priests, a descendant of Harim (cf. 1 Chr 24:8), who returned to Judah following the exile. Because he married a non-Israelite woman, he was one of seventeen priests (along with other Israelites) instructed to divorce his wife as a sign of Israel's repentance, so that purity might be restored to Israel (Ezra 10:21).

**6.** Key elder (Gk *Ozias*) of Bethulia, the home town of Judith, the heroine of the apocryphal book which bears her name (Jdt 6:15, 16, 21; 7:23, 30; 8:4, 28, 35; 10:6; 13:18; 14:6; 15:4). He seems to have been very prominent in giving leadership to the townspeople, helping them to recognize the action of Judith and its implications.

L. J. PERKINS

**UZZIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ʿuzzîʾēl* (עֻזִּיאֵל)]. A popular name particularly in postexilic texts. The name Uzziel, "God is my strength," appears prominently in levitical leadership, but also on occasion it is used in non-levitical contexts.

**1.** Uzziel was, according to standardized tradition, a grandson of Levi and the fourth son of Kohath (Exod 6:18; Num 3:19; 1 Chr 23:12). His children were Mishael, Elzaphan, and Sithri (Exod 6:22), the first two of whom, according to Lev 10:4, carried the remains of Nadab and Abihu from the camp following their demise. According to 1 Chr 23:20 and 24:24–25, however, Uzziel's sons were Micah and Isshiah; these latter names ought rather to be taken as representative of major guilds during the first temple period, purportedly installed by David in the temple service. The initial importance of the family of Uzziel is attested by the fact that his son Elzaphan is listed as "head of the fathers' houses of the families of the Kohathites" (Num 3:30), and had charge of the ark, table, lampstand, altars, and temple vessels.

The information given in 1 Chronicles 6 is more confused. The material begins with an initial genealogy of the "high priestly" line of Eleazar, the grandson of Amram, Kohath's first son (1 Chr 5:27–41—Eng6:1– 15). Then follows a standard genealogy of the Levites through the third generation, the grandchildren of Levi (6:1–4a—Eng6:16–19a), again listing Uzziel as fourth son of Kohath. Then, however, follows a genealogy of Gershom, Kohath, and Merari (6:4b–15—Eng6:19b–30) which is at considerable variance from the others, due in part to its form as a strictly linear genealogy. It does not mention any of the otherwise familiar four sons of Kohath, and instead traces Kohath's descent through a son Amminadab, otherwise unknown in Kohathite genealogies. Furthermore, it lists in strict linear descent the names of Korah, Assir, Elkanah, and Ebiasaph. These names are generally linked to Kohath's second son, Izhar, but not in strict linear descent. The differences in this genealogy are often explained as due to its peculiar intent. It purports to trace the ancestry of the later temple singers, Asaph, Heman, and Ethan, to the lines of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari respectively. Such intention would explain why each line is pursued through only one son, and why therefore neither Amram, Hebron, nor Uzziel are mentioned as sons of Kohath (some take Amminadab to be a variant of or an error for Izhar).

These genealogies may reflect an earlier situation in which various unrelated guilds held certain prerogatives in the temple. As the temple service grew more elaborate and was formalized, the various guilds began to relate to one another through power structures which eventually were symbolized as familial relationships. These relationships were fluid and unstable, however, representing the shifting power struggles in the administration of the temple. That Uzziel once held a position of considerable prestige is suggested not only by the text of Num 3:30 mentioned above, but also by 1 Chr 15:10. Here the Uzzielites are listed alongside the families of Kohath, Merari, Gershom, Elizaphan, and Hebron as parallel families equal in stature in the temple administration instituted by David (some connect the Jaaziel/Aziel of vv 18 and 20 with this family of Uzziel). Only later did Elizaphan become the son of Uzziel, Uzziel the brother of Hebron, and both the sons of Kohath, demonstrating the flagging of the Uzzielites, probably as a result of the increasing importance of the families of Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun,

and finally Ethan, who replaces Jeduthun. Thus in the listing in 2 Chr 29:12–14 the place of Uzziel and Hebron are taken by Asaph, Heman and Jeduthun (for another listing, cf. Num 27:5).

**2.** In 1 Chr 25:4 Uzziel is listed as belonging to the "sons of Heman," one of the three guilds of lyrical prophets in the postexilic temple. According to the Chronicler, such guilds were instituted by David, who established 24 courses of 12 singers each. The Chronicler lists the primary functions of the guilds as follows: Asaphites, the royal prophets; Jeduthunites, lyrical prophecy in worship; Hemanites (including Uzziel), temple music. The name Uzziel is given as Azarel in v 18, but this shift from "strength" *(ʿoz)* to "help" *(ʿezer)* in personal names is not unknown (cf. King Uzziah, var. Azariah).

**3.** 2 Chr 29:14 lists Uzziel as one of the two leaders of the levitical guild of Jeduthun, the lyrical prophets, during the days of Hezekiah. Alongside Shemaiah, Uzziel led the Jeduthunites in their support of Hezekiah's reform movement. The guild of Jeduthun later gave way to that of Ethan in the postexilic temple leadership.

**4.** In 1 Chr 4:42–43 Uzziel is listed as a leader of the Simeonite family of Ishi who, along with 500 other members of that family, migrated to Mt. Seir (i.e., Edom). There they dispossessed the Amelekites who themselves were refugees from earlier conflicts with Israel. If the migration did in fact take place during the days of Hezekiah, suggested though not demanded by v 41, it raises critical issues concerning the fate of the tribe of Simeon. Though it is generally assumed that Simeon was absorbed by the tribe of Judah, such historical information suggests that some identifiable elements of the tribe may well have persisted in Judah's history.

**5.** Uzziel is listed in 1 Chr 7:7 as one of the primary families *(bêt ʾābôt)* of the Benjaminites, being the third son of Benjamin's oldest son Bela. Conflicting information is provided by 8:1–40, which provides an extensive genealogy of the Benjaminites. Only Bela, the firstborn of Benjamin, is common to these lists. Otherwise there is little or no agreement. Most assume that such confusion is due to the lateness of the tradition, representing the social configuration of the postexilic community. The fact that such attention is given to Benjamin in these texts is considered to be evidence of the significance with which the Chronicler regarded the family of Benjaminites.

**6.** Uzziel the son of Harhaiah is reported by Neh 3:8 to have been among those who helped in the rebuilding of the walls under the direction of Nehemiah. That Uzziel and his father are reported to have been goldsmiths may indicate that they directed the efforts of a guild, similar to the more usual involvement of family units in reconstructing the wall.

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# V

**VAIZATHA** (PERSON) [Heb *wayzātā*ʾ (וַיְזָתָא)]. One of the ten sons of Haman (Esth 9:9). On problems surrounding this list of names, see ADALIA (PERSON). Vaizatha (*zabouthaion*) perhaps renders the otherwise unattested Old Iranian name **Vahyazzāta* (Hinz 1975: 253), which in turn probably derives from **Vahyaz-dāta-* "given from the best one," a name attested in Aramaic papyri from Egypt (*CAP*, 253, 34—*wyzdt*), Persepolis Elamite texts, and Akkadian (Hinz 1975: 253 s.v. **vahyazdāta;* Kornfeld 1978: 105 s.v. *WYZDT* for references).

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**VALENTINIAN EXPOSITION** (NHC XI,*2*). This text, whose name is abbreviated as *Val. Exp.* (NHC XI,*2*), and its five liturgical appendices comprise the second of two Valentinian tractates occupying the first half of Codex XI, and written in the first of the two scribal hands responsible for the inscription of that Codex. The language of composition is a rather standard sub-Achmimic dialect of the Coptic language, bearing many resemblances to the compositional language of Codex I (the "Jung Codex"), whose inscriptional hand is often similar to that of Codex XI, and whose contents are for the most part also Valentinian. Although the first tractate of Codex XI bears a subscript title (and evidence of a superscript title as well) "The Interpretation of Knowledge," neither the present tractate nor its five liturgical appendices display any evidence of such titles. Therefore, the present author has named the main tractate (NHC XI,*2*: 22, 1–39, 39) "A Valentinian Exposition (*Val. Exp.*)," and the five appendices as "On the Annointing," "On Baptism A," "On Baptism B," "On the Eucharist A," and "On the Eucharist B," titles which reflect the nature of the content and form of the respective texts. The entire manuscript has suffered extensive damage, necessitating extensive philological reconstruction.

The main tractate, in which the author begins by saying he is about to reveal a mystery, contains a full exposition of the theogony, cosmogony, anthropogony, soteriology, and eschatology characteristic of the Valentinian theology expounded in such patristic sources as: Irenaeus' exposition of the teaching of Ptolomaeus (*Haer.* 1.1.1–8.6), of Valentinus (*Haer.* 1.11.1–12.3), and of Marcus (*Haer.* 1.13.1–21.5); Hippolytus' account of the "monadic" version of Valentinian theology (*Ref.* 6.29.2–36.4); Epiphanius' similar account (*Pan.* 31.5.1–27.16); and Clement of Alexandria's *Excerpts from Theodotus.* As such, *Val. Exp.*, in addition to the *Tripartate Tractate* of Codex 1 (NHC 1,*5*: 51,1–138,25), with which it shares a number of doctrinal affinities, constitutes one of the only two original non-heresiological and complete expositions of Valentinian theology known to modern historians.

The five liturgical supplements seem to be placed in such a way that the reader is to construe *Val. Exp.* as a doctrinal catechism for initiates who are invited to participate in the special annointing, baptism, and Eucharist whose significance has been previously revealed by an exposition the "mystery" contained in *Val. Exp.* itself. Unfortunately, the liturgical supplements are merely prayers which contain little information to advance research into the nature of the Valentinian sacraments.

Bearing in mind the extreme fragmentary state of the text, the basic content of *Val. Exp.*, from the initial theogony to its conclusion, seems to be the following:

(1) The primal being, the high deity called the Father and the Root of the All, is introduced as the Monad residing alone in a state of quiescence; this state of quiescence seems to be interpreted as the potential existence of Silence (who in other sources relating the teaching of Valentinus and Ptolemaus is regarded as his coeval consort). In this way, Silence seems to be identified with the potential existence of the Dyad, namely Monogenes (Mind) and Truth, in the Father's thought. Thus, in terms of the Valentinian school debate concerning whether the first principle was monadic (as contemporary Neopythagorean

Platonism and the Valentinians of Hippolytus [*Ref.* 6.29.2–36.4] held) or dyadic (as the later Plato, most Middle Platonists, Valentinus and Ptolemaeus held, i.e. the One and the Indefinite Dyad), *Val. Exp.* seems to urge the position of the "monadic" school, as does the author of the *Tripartate Tractate* (NHC 1,5: 51,1–138,25).

(2) The Father then brings forth the Son, Monogenes, the Mind and Father of the All, as well as Limit, whose function is to establish a lower bound of the divine realm, the Pleroma of Aeons. Through Monogenes arise the Dyad (probably Silence as the hypostatization of the Father's tranquility, regarded by other Valentians as the Father's original consort) and the Tetrad (probably Truth as the feminine consort of Monogenes himself). In a sense, Monogenes forms the upper limit of the Pleroma (the inner sanctum of which he is "High Priest"), separating the subsequent Aeons from the Father and conveying to him their praise, while Limit forms the lower boundary. This notion is at odds with the teaching of Valentinus and Ptolemaeus that there are two Limits, a higher one separating the Father from all below him, and a lower one, forming the lower bound of the Pleroma, to protect the Aeons from infection with the transgression of the lowest Aeon, Sophia, when she later attempts to produce a creation alone and unaided by any male consort, in imitation of the monadic Father.

(3) Although the account of Sophia's (Lady Wisdom's) activity occurs later in the tractate, at this point, the Aeons request the manifestation of Christ to minister to the errant Sophia by using his four powers: to separate from her the passions resulting from her audacious attempt to imitate the Father, to restore her original aeonic stability, to restore her essence now depleted by her passions, and to provide her female essence with the masculine form without which she had acted, but which was a prerequisite to the productive activity of any Aeon save the Father.

(4) From the unbegotten Tetrad (the Father and Silence; Monogenes and Truth) is projected the begotten Tetrad of Word and Life and thence Man and Church. The former pair produce ten further Aeons, and the latter twelve further Aeons, the lowest of which is Sophia, a total of thirty Aeons.

(5) Sophia now wills to leave her station in the "thirtieth" where she was originally placed with her consort Theletos ("desired") in order to imitate the monadic Father's emanative power, but in express disobedience to the Father's will that nothing "happen in the Pleroma apart from a syzygy" (i.e. a male-female pair). The result is that she falls into various passions and produces only "seeds" that are incomplete and formless, lacking the harmonious union of male form and female substance considered requisite for any normal offspring. In this sense, *Val. Exp.* agrees with those members of the Valentinian school who consider her creative transgression of the Pleromic protocol as the autonomous and intentional act of a generated being who wished to rise above the condition of all the other generated Aeons comprising the Pleroma in which all must function in male-female pairs, and to have the power of the unbegotten Father who alone is able to emit beings without a consort. This interpretation of Sophia's transgression is at variance with that of Valentinus and Ptolemaeus, who tend to see it as merely one expression of the involuntary desire typical of all the Aeons to achieve closer communion with the Father.

(6) The rectification of Sophia's transgression is now further continued by the "Son" (presumably of all the Aeons), Jesus, in whom the whole Pleroma exists "bodily" and who descends through the Limit to the separated Sophia, who has now repented of her transgression. Apparently, even though both the Limit and the Pleromatic Christ possessed the four redemptive powers of confirmation, separation and formation according to form and essence, they are able only to perform these restorative functions upon Sophia herself, but not upon the formless seeds emitted by her, nor are they able to restore her to her original place in the Pleroma. These final acts can be performed by no-one "except her own Son;" (in the original system of Valentinus, Sophia's Son is the Pleromatic Christ himself). Thus Jesus causes her formless seeds to become a creation, separating her passions into the spiritual and fleshly elements of which the lower creation will be comprised, and in addition he introduces from the Pleroma the male angels in preparation for the ultimate redemption of the female seed.

(7) At this point, the lower world is brought into being as the realm of the Demiurge, the Jewish creator God, who creates mankind in his own image and in the likeness of the Aeons above. Immediately strife breaks out between the Demiurge and the angels over the fate of the seed.

(8) The final restoration of all things occurs through the joining together of the male angels with the female seeds into pairs, so as to provide the seeds with a perfect form like those of the Aeonic pairs in the Pleroma. Sophia then receives her consort Jesus, and all together Sophia and the seeds gain readmission to the Pleroma, and the "All" is restored to unity and perfection.

In sum, the significance of *Val. Exp.* is that it is an original Valentinian composition that allows insight into the Valentinian school debates of the 2d century over the monadic versus dyadic nature of the ultimate deity, the redemptive functions of Limit vis-a-vis those of Christ, and the precise nature of Sophia's transgression, whether a blameless longing to praise the Father versus an audacious attempt to exercise the powers of the Father for herself. In general, the position taken by the author of *Val. Exp.* is that of the Western school of thought represented by Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1.2.4), Hippolytus (*Ref.* 6.29.2–32.8), the general drift of the *Tripartite Tractate* and perhaps of Heracleon, as opposed to the views of Valentinus himself and of his disciple Ptolemaeus.

In general, *Val. Exp.* seems to represent a trend toward Neopythagorean Platonic Christian theology, a greater emphasis on the soteriological role of Christ (as opposed to that of Limit), more along the lines of the doctrine of the Catholic Church, and a correspondingly more moralistic interpretation of Sophia's transgression as the culpable and intentional act of an identifiable individual rather than as a less comprehensible tragic split in the divine realm. *Val. Exp.*, then, seems to witness a period in the Valentinian tradition during which initiation had to be prefaced by a careful delineation of doctrine, not so much from that of the Catholic Church, as from competing Valentinian theologies. As such, one would tend to see it as a Western composition produced some time between Irenaeus' work against the gnostics, ca. 180 A.D., and Constantine's edict against heretics of 326 A.D., when Valentinians would have tended to defend their theology as a whole against that of the Catholics, rather than to debate the finer points of their own tradition.

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**VALENTINUS.** Valentinus (ca. 100–ca. 175 C.E.), one of the major creative intellectuals of the early Church, is best known for his revision of the classic gnostic myth according to the terms and conceptual categories of emerging orthodoxy. Also influential was the "school" of Valentinian gnosticism, already active during the lifetime of Valentinus, that apparently continued into the late 7th century.

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A. Sources
1. Patristic
2. Papyrological
B. Theological Influences on Valentinus
C. Valentinus' System of Theology
D. Gnosticism in the Tradition of Valentinus

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**A. Sources**

**1. Patristic.** Due to the success of the intense heresiological polemic against Valentinianism, the vast majority of Valentinus' writings, and those of his followers, are lost. Apart from two complete works (the *Summer Harvest* and possibly the *Gospel of Truth*) discussed below, the writings of Valentinus have come down to us in the form of quotations in the writings of four patristic authors. Each presents us with only brief and fragmentary selections from Valentinus' writings.

Irenaeus of Lyon, our earliest patristic source, writing about 180 C.E., presents a relatively detailed description of a portion of Valentinus' theological system but with the usual heresiological biases. Irenaeus speaks of the emission of the spiritual universe, the creation of the material universe, and the history of humankind (*haer.* 1.11.1). Irenaeus' immediate concern seems to have been the comparison of Valentinus' system with that of the sect called the Gnostics (Layton 1987: 217–27).

Clement of Alexandria, writing about the year 200 C.E., quotes six sections from Valentinus' writings (= frags. C through H in Layton 1987: 229, 234–45) that touch on several issues and include quotes from, apparently, three philosophical treatises (frags. C, E and H), two sermons that allude to the dissolution of death (frag. F) and the presence of moral truths in pagan texts (frag. G), and a metaphorical discussion on Adam's name from a text of an unknown genre (frag. D).

Hippolytus of Rome, writing about 222–235 C.E., summarizes an autobiographical, and possibly visionary account concerning Valentinus (frag. A). He also transmits a complete seven-line poem called the *Summer Harvest* that Rudolph calls a hymn "which conforms to early Christian hymnic style" (1983: 318) and that Layton has described as "a cosmological poem that is visionary and personal in character" (1987: 229–31, 246–49).

Finally, Marcellus of Ancyra (d. ca. 374 C.E.) preserves, instead of a quote, only the title of an otherwise unknown theological work by Valentinus entitled *On the Three Natures.* This text apparently made reference to Valentinus' teaching that the spiritual universe has a tripartite structure (frag. B in Layton 1987: 229, 232–33).

**2. Papyrological.** With the discovery and publication of the Nag Hammadi Library (Robinson 1988: 1–26) some scholars have argued that the *Gospel of Truth* is quite likely a text written by Valentinus. While the majority of scholars withhold judgment on the precise identification of its author, there is a consensus that the text is at least Valentinian. Aptly described by Layton as "a Christian sermon on the theme of salvation by acquaintance [gnosis] with god," this text is full of allusions to and paraphrases of NT texts and, in a continuation of Paul's theology, focuses on Jesus' crucifixion as the central object of faith (Layton 1987: 250–52). The text may have been designed "to introduce Valentinian soteriological insights to members of the great church" (Attridge and MacRae 1988: 38–39). It discusses the plight and final salvation of those who are ignorant of both the father and their own natures but who, in the process of receiving knowledge (gnosis) of the father through the word (or son who is emitted from the father), reach the desired goal of repose (authentic existence). Two excellent recent translations into English can now be compared (Layton 1987: 253–64; Attridge and MacRae 1988: 40–51).

The original Greek text is apparently no longer extant. Two independent translations into Coptic were found at Nag Hammadi, one (NHC XII,*2*) in the Sahidic dialect is heavily damaged and very fragmentary (Robinson 1973: xiii–xv and pls. 95–100), and the other (NHC I,*3*) in the sub-Achmimic dialect is virtually complete (Robinson 1977: vi–xxxi and pls. 20–47).

**B. Theological Influences on Valentinus**

The very breadth, depth, and popularity of Valentinus' teaching, as well as its synthetic, eclectic, and speculative nature, all suggest a conceptual base which was informed from diverse sources.

Born in the Egyptian Delta around the year 100 C.E., Valentinus was educated in Alexandria, and possibly influenced by the teaching of the gnostic Basilides (Layton 1987: 417–44) and the Hellenistic Jewish biblical interpretation of Philo Judaeus (Layton 1987: 217–19). Valentinus may also have been exposed to the mystical Thomas tradition that originated in Mesopotamia and was popular in Egypt in Valentinus' time (see the discussion in Layton 1987: 359–409).

After teaching in Alexandria, Valentinus moved to Rome before the year 140 C.E. and it is likely that he was already exposed to classic gnostic teaching before he left Alexandria. Tertullian informs us that Valentinus was a candidate for the office of bishop in the church in Rome (ca. 143 C.E.). As a speculative theological reformer, Valentinus sought to revise the classic gnostic myth according to the terms and conceptual categories of emerging orthodoxy. Valentinus certainly accepted the authoritative texts of the orthodox camp (Williams 1983; Layton 1987: 251) and with them the traditional Roman formulation of belief.

But the genius of Valentinus' exegetical and theological contributions, and the contributions of his students, was found in the use of a peculiar allegorical interpretation of those commonly accepted texts. By this allegorical method, Valentinus sought to discover deeper levels of meaning within the texts and so made the (apparently tacit) claim of having discovered the hermeneutical key to those texts (Tate in *OCD*, 45–46; Layton 1987: 272–74), a claim which certainly put Valentinians at odds with emerging orthodoxy.

**C. Valentinus' System of Theology**

It is clear from the preceding survey that the paucity of primary texts makes the reconstruction of Valentinus' system very difficult. Researchers have depended on the heresiological accounts which describe the systems of his followers, hoping to see an imprint of their mentor's system. Helpful modern discussions of the classic gnostic myth are those by Layton (1987: 5–22) and Rudolph (1983: 53–272), while useful discussions of Valentinus' own gnostic system, and the systems of his followers, also can be found in Layton (1987: 267–353) and Rudolph (1983: 317–25).

Valentinus accepted the classic gnostic world-view, as represented in the *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,*1;* III,*1;* IV,*1;* and BG 8502,2), but with his own revisions. Rudolph suggests that we see in Valentinus' teaching the apex of gnosticism, the greatest and most influential of the gnostic schools (1983: 322–23).

**D. Gnosticism in the Tradition of Valentinus**

Even before the death of Valentinus some of his students were already becoming influential teachers. But soon after his death the Valentinian school split into two groups, the "Eastern" (or Anatolian, mostly located in Alexandria) and the "Western" (or Italic, situated in Rome). The Eastern branch produced such luminaries as Axionicus of Antioch, Kolorbasos (?), Mark, Theodotus ("Excerpta ex Theodoto"; Casey 1934; Sagnard 1948; and Hill 1972), Ambrose and Candidus, while the West produced Heracleon (Brooke 1891; Pagels 1973), Ptolemy (*Epistle to Flora;* Quispel 1966), Secundus, Alexander, Flora, Florinus, and Theotimus (Layton 1987: map 5; Rudolph 1983: 322–25).

The heresiological assault on the Valentinian schools began in about the middle of the 2d century. Such orthodox thinkers as Justin Martyr (Rome, ca. 150), Miltiades (ca. 165), Irenaeus (Lyon, ca. 180), Clement (Alexandria, ca. 200), Origen (Alexandria, ca. 200), Tertullian (Carthage, ca. 195–207), Hippolytus (Rome, ca. 222–235), Ambrose (Milan, ca. 338), John Chrysostom (Antioch, ca. 386), Theodore (Mopsuestia, ca. 400), and Theodoret (Cyrrus, ca. 450) wrote merciless polemic against the Valentinians. The presence of Valentinian texts, representing more than one Coptic dialect, in the Nag Hammadi library attest to the continued interest in Valentinian concepts, in the mid-4th century, within circles of ascetic monks, who were themselves not Valentinian. The emperor Constantine proscribed the Valentinians, among other "sectarians," in about the year 325, while the last contemporary condemnation dates from the Trullan Synod (Canon 95) of 692 (Constantinople).

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**VALLEY GATE** (PLACE) [Heb *ša‹ar haggayˀ* (שַׁעַר הַגַּיְא)]. A gate of Jerusalem on the W side of the City of David (2 Chr 26:9; Neh 2:13, 15 and 3:13) approximately 500 m N of the Dung Gate (Neh 3:13; Williamson 1984: 83) located at the S tip of the E hill. Earliest mention of the Valley Gate was in regard to its fortification with defensive towers by Uzziah (769–733 B.C.E., 2 Chr 26:9; Williamson 1984: 84, 87 n. 2). It was from this gate that Nehemiah departed for his inspection tour (Neh 2:13, 15), and it is universally accepted that it was from this point that the dedicatory processions began (Neh 12:31–43).

Two primary objections (surveyed by Simons 1952: 125) to the Valley Gate being located on the W slope of the City of David are: (1) the Hinnom Valley (not the Tyropoeon or Central Valley) is usually "the valley" to which the scriptures refer (Jer 2:23) and (2) the maximalist view, that Nehemiah repaired the walls around the western hill, requires that Nehemiah's dedicatory processionals started on the western hill S of the present-day Zion Gate, which lacks archaeological support. But the increasing weight of evidence (Williamson 1984: 81–88; Avi-Yonah 1954: 244–45) again points to the W slope of the City of David as the location of the Valley Gate and more specifically to the W gate uncovered by Crowfoot and Fitzgerald in 1927–28 (1929).

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**VANIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *wanyâ* (וַנְיָה)]. A descendant of Bani and one of the returned exiles whom Ezra required to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:36 = 1 Esdr 9:34). According to Noth, the text is corrupt here and Vaniah is not a proper name (*IPN*, 241). This is supported by wide variations among other texts. Several Hebrew mss read *znyh,* the LXX reads *ououania,* and the parallel text in 1 Esdr 9:34 reads *kai anos.* The editors of *BHS* suggest reading *ʼmibbĕnê* ("from the sons of"), making Meremoth the patriarch of another family; however, there is no textual support for this. We may assume that "Vaniah" was an individual whose actual name has been lost. This person was a member of a family from which a group of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:10; note that Binnui replaces Bani in Nehemiah's list [7:15].) For further discussion, see BEDEIAH.

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**VASHTI** (PERSON) [Heb *waštî* (וַשְׁתִּי)]. Wife of Ahasuerus and queen in the Persian Empire about 485–465 B.C., and a prominent character early in the story of Esther (Esth 1:9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19; 2:1, 4, 17). Her refusal to respond positively to an invitation from the king threatens to demean not only the prestige of the royal throne but also the status of husbands as heads of households throughout the kingdom. Her behavior in not appearing at the royal banquet in order to display her beauty and person is understood in the royal court as an act against the stability and order of the whole empire. When the princely advisers to the king successfully sought to rid the court of Vashti's rebellious presence, they opened up the way to the throne for her successor, Queen Esther, facilitating the ultimate deliverance of the Jews from their oppressors in the empire. Vashti completely disappears from the concerns of the story once Esther takes her place (Esth 2:17).

The name Vashti has been thought to be of Persian origin and to mean "the best" or "the beloved, the desired one" (Moore, *Esther* AB), and the historical accuracy of the preservation of Persian names in the Hebrew texts has been substantiated (Millard 1977). The variants in the spelling (LXX - *ashtin;* Cambridge LXX - *ouasthein;* Josephus - *aste;* Vulgate - *vashti*) can perhaps be explained with a better

understanding of the practices of orthography in various speech communities. The historical connection of Vashti with Queen Amestis evidently has been abandoned.

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**VATICANUS.** See CODEX (CODEX VATICANUS).

**VEGETABLES.** See FLORA.

**VEIL.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION.

**VEIL OF THE TEMPLE** [Heb *pārōket* (פָּרֹכֶת)]. Var. CURTAIN. The fabric that served to divide the inner sanctum ("holy of holies") of the Tabernacle from the outer sanctum. It guarded the most holy object, the ark, from the profanity of contact with humans. Thus, no one could pass through this veil, not even Levitical priests (Num 18:7, so Haran 1978: 206). Only the high priest could go past it, and only after special cleansing, for the annual atonement ceremonies (Lev 16:24). Hanging before the ark, which symbolized God's presence and served as the place of God's glory, the veil marked the place where the divine and the human met (Exod 30:6).

Its fabrication and placement are described in Exod 26:31–35 (cf. Exod 36:35–36), and it is referred to in various other priestly passages (e.g., Exod 27:21; 40:21; Lev 4:17; 16:12; Num 4:12). Because it shielded the sacred ark, it was made of the finest materials and was crafted with the most elaborate workmanship. It was the premier piece among the series of textiles that were integrated into the Tabernacle's design.

The veil was to be made of a blend of colored wools (blue, red, purple) and fine twined linen. Its fabrication involved the technique known as *ḥôšēb* workmanship (RSV "skilled work"), which was probably a kind of needlework that produced figural designs—cherubim in the case of the veil—on the fabric. It was suspended on golden hooks from four acacia-wood pillars, which were overlaid with gold. The golden offering table of the outer sanctum was to be placed in front of the veil, opposite the ark that was hidden behind it. Its connection to the sanctity of the ark is expressed not only by its costly design and its placement but also by the fact that it was said to have been used as a cover for the ark when the Tabernacle was dismantled for journeys (Num 4:5). As such, it was the only fabric to be carried by the Kohathites, the most important of the Levitical families. See also TABERNACLE for a different interpretation.

Because the portable Tabernacle involved the use of fabrics for its walls, doors, and roof, not all of those fabric elements were said to be used for the analogous parts of the Temple. Wood and stone architectural elements were used instead of textiles. The screens of the Tabernacle, which marked its other two main passageways, are omitted from the temple texts; instead wooden doors were placed at entrances. However, for the veil, there is some evidence of its existence in the Temple, at least in the Second and/or Herodian Temples, at the doorway between the holy of holies and the main interior space (*hêkāl*). The temple texts in Kings do not mention the veil, but it appears in the parallel Chronicles account (2 Chr 3:14). In addition, the NT refers to the rending of the veil at Jesus' death (see Matt 27:51; Mark 15:38; Luke 23:45). These gospel references are rendered "curtain" in the RSV, but the Greek employs the same word that the LXX uses for "veil." See also SCREEN.

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**VENGEANCE.** The verbal and nominal forms normally translated as "to avenge, vengeance, etc." fall into two categories of definition: (1) the rendering of a just punishment upon a wrongdoer or the recompense given to the victim of the wrongdoing; (2) vindictive revenge inflicted by wicked people upon the innocent. The most common Hebrew word translated by this term is *nāqam* (verb, "to avenge") and its nominal relatives, *nāqām* and *nĕqāmâ* ("vengeance"). In the NT the usual word is *ekdikeō* (verb)

and its nominal derivatives, *ekdikēsis* and *ekdikos.* In addition the RSV translates a few specific occurrences of three other verbs as "to avenge." These are: *hôšî‹a* (usually, "to save") in 1 Sam 25:31; *rāb* (usually, "to contend, to take to court") in 1 Sam 25:39; and *hēšîb* (usually, "to bring back, requite") in 2 Sam 16:8. The other significant word translated with this term is the participle, *gō›ēl,* in the phrase *gō›ēl haddām,* which is rendered, "the avenger of blood" (see below). Words related to the concept of vengeance and often used in parallel with *nqm* include *hēšîb* ("to bring, give back = make requital"); *šillēm* ("to requite, recompense, reward"); *dāraš* ("to seek, require," particularly in the phrase, "to seek the blood of"); *gĕmûl* ("dealing, recompense").

The concept of vengeance in the Bible is complex and multi-faceted. Although the English term, "vengeance," has generally been perceived as having a negative or pejorative connotation, the concept designated by the root *nqm* in the Hebrew Bible is generally presented in a positive light as a type of action appropriate (with certain limitations) to humans and particularly to God. The term, *nqm*, appears to have developed its central meaning in the context of judicial language. Most of its occurrences are found in passages which have at least a vague legal theme, in which the "vengeance" is viewed as the rectification of some misdeed. The root occurs 74 times in some 49 passages in the Hebrew Bible. Of these passages, 14 have an explicit legal context—*nqm* appears in some laws themselves (e.g., Exod 21:20–21), as well as in prophetic oracles which have been cast in the form of speeches in court (cf. Isa 1:24; 59:15–19; Ezek 25:13–14). In these passages *nqm* always refers to the just punishment meted out to a wrongdoer or to the damages or recompense awarded to the victim of the crime. This is not to be seen as malicious or vindictive retaliation by the wronged person, but rather as a just recompense for a crime.

In addition to these 14 passages, 24 others use the word where it is reasonably clear that the notion of "just recompense" for a crime is reflected, although not in a strictly legal context (cf. Josh 10:12–13; Jer 15:15). Only in the remaining 12 passages (one passage, Jer 20:10–12, falls both here and in the first category) does *nqm* appear in contexts which might call for a negative or pejorative translation related to "revenge" or "malicious retaliation for inflicted wrongs" (cf. Gen 4:24; Ezek 25:12, 15; Ps 8:3—Eng8:2; Lam 3:60). In most (but not all) of these cases, the "avenger" is an enemy of Israel or God. (A complete listing of the passages may be found in Pitard 1982: 17.)

The concept of vengeance may be divided into several categories. Probably the most significant of these is the division between human and divine vengeance. Human vengeance may be either a private redressing of wrongs or public and judicial in nature. It may be perceived as either appropriate or inappropriate retaliation. Divine vengeance, however, is always presented as appropriate and is often requested by a petitioner when the latter is afraid that justice may not be done on a human level (cf. 1 Sam 24:12; Jer 11:19–20; Ps 79:9–10). The exact form of the divine vengeance upon the wicked is usually left quite vague.

Private vengeance is an important element in a number of narratives and is particularly significant in the case of murder. Legal material in the Pentateuch indicates that the responsibility for punishing a murderer was invested in the kinship group of the victim, which was to appoint a kinsman of the victim to avenge the death (cf. Num 35:19–21). This person is called *gō›ēl haddām,* translated "the avenger of blood" in the RSV, although a better rendering would be "the redeemer of the blood." It was his responsibility to restore the balance of (i.e., "redeem") the kinship group by seeing that the murderer was put to death. This form of private vengeance, while deeply rooted in ANE practice, was also recognized for its tendency to lead to cyclical retaliation in the form of blood feuds. As the Israelite state became more centralized and as the court system began to develop, legislation appeared which attempted to limit the violence of private vengeance by adding a number of restrictions to its performance. For example, the cities of refuge were instituted, which allowed a person who had accidentally killed someone to find safety from the "redeemer of the blood" until judicial authorities in the city could determine his guilt or innocence (cf. Num 35:22–28). In addition, unrestrained and excessive vengeance was forbidden under the *lex talionis* (Exod 21:23–25), which mandated that punishment should be in accordance with the crime. The extreme violence that could develop from unrestrained personal vengeance is well illustrated in the song of Lamech (Gen 4:24) and the story of Samson (Judges 14–16), which recounts repeated acts of revenge on the part of both

Samson and the Philistines, climaxing with Samson's killing of 3,000 Philistines "that I may be avenged for one of my two eyes." On blood vengeance, see especially Merz 1916.

Various biblical books present different views toward the use of vengeance (just retribution) by individuals. Generally, the authors assume that it is fully appropriate for innocent victims to be avenged upon the guilty. In fact, the laws in Num 35:31–34 make it mandatory to execute a murderer, since the blood of a victim is a defilement of the land that can be expiated only by the blood of the perpetrator of the crime (see also Deut 19:11–13 and, in a more private context, 1 Kgs 2:5–9). However, while those who seek vengeance for other offenses are not condemned (cf. Judges 14–16; 1 Samuel 25), several narratives suggest approval for those who opt for forgiveness and refuse to take legitimate vengeance. See especially the story of Joseph and his brothers (Genesis 45; 50:15–21), the stories of David's refusal to kill Saul in 1 Samuel 24 and 26 (cf. also Lev 19:18). On the other hand, limits to this kind of forgiveness are evident in certain narratives, in which a character (the king) is condemned for showing mercy to his enemy (1 Sam 15:4–33; 1 Kgs 20:30–43).

As the Israelite monarchy developed, the state attempted to preempt private vengeance with the development of a court system. The legal portions of the Pentateuch in large measure reflect this attempt (cf. Num 35:9–35; Deut 24:16).

While a substantial number of the legal passages about vengeance deal with human avengers, the avenger par excellence in the Hebrew Bible is God himself. This is particularly in evidence in the Psalms and prophetic literature, where God is described as the One who will bring about a just recompense upon those who have attacked Israel or one of God's faithful. Divine vengeance is particularly invoked upon external enemies who oppress Israel, on the upper class which has unlawfully enriched itself at the expense of the humble, on those who have been unfaithful to Yahweh, and on those who seek to injure the faithful individual. Again, these announcements of or calls for God's vengeance generally are not to be construed as calls for vindictive action by God, but rather should be understood as appeals for justice. God's vengeance will restore the balance which has been upset by wickedness. God is asked to, or announces that he will, bring about a just punishment for the guilty and compensation for the victim (cf. Ps 94:1–2; Jer 51:34–37; Isa 35:4; Ps 79:10). Because of its relationship to justice, the divine vengeance can be described both in terms of encouragement to the oppressed, as in Isa 61:1–4, or in harsh terms of punishment, as in Psalm 58.

In recent years, a different understanding of the term *nāqam* was developed by Mendenhall, which received considerable acceptance. Mendenhall (1973: 69–104) proposed that the meaning of *nqm* has been misunderstood and has nothing to do with vengeance, which he defined as a basically negative term. He argued that the context of the word was not in the judicial sphere at all, but rather in the realm of covenant terminology. He suggested that *nqm* does not denote a legal process, but rather an extralegal intervention by a sovereign into a situation of danger or chaos in a vassal state where all regular and normal legal processes have broken down. The sovereign intervenes to rescue the faithful vassal and punish the forces that are causing the trouble. These two aspects of *nqm* he labeled as "Defensive Vindication" and "Punitive Vindication." His primary evidence for this proposal came from the Amarna tablets, where he found six letters that appeared to have occurrences of the verb *naqāmu.* In these letters, the Canaanite writers petition the Pharaoh of Egypt to rescue their cities or themselves from attackers. The verb in these passages clearly means "to rescue" and never approaches a meaning such as "to avenge." From this starting point Mendenhall examined occurrences of *nqm* in the Hebrew Bible and proposed that the root here, too, is a technical covenant term for the intervention of the sovereign (in this case, usually God, with Israel as his vassal). Mendenhall's proposal, however, must be rejected, since the verb in the Amarna letters, which is the foundation for his argument, has been shown to be unrelated to the root *nqm* (see Pitard 1982: 5–16). As seen above, the context of the verb in normal legal terminology seems beyond doubt.

The concept of divine vengeance or recompense continues to play a role in the NT writings. Human vengeance is discouraged, and reliance on God's action is emphasized (cf. Rom 12: 17–21). The theme of forgiveness and renunciation of vengeance, found already in the Hebrew Bible, becomes a major theme in

the words of both Jesus and Paul (cf. Matt 5:38–48; Luke 17:3–4; 23:34; Rom 12:17–21). God's intervention in the last days is portrayed as the day of vengeance, when the wicked will be punished for lack of faithfulness to God and for their oppression of God's people (2 Thess 1:5–10; Rev 6:10; 19:2), thereby continuing the earlier Israelite theme.

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**VERSE, HEBREW.** See PARALLELISM.

**VERSIONS, ANCIENT.** This entry consists of 9 articles that treat various ancient versions of the Bible. The first article provides an introductory overview to the corpus of ancient versions and their value for the textual criticism of the Bible. The next four articles cover the most archaic (3d century A.D. or earlier) versions: Greek, Syriac, Latin, and Coptic. These are "primary versions:" that is, they constitute translations of biblical books from their original languages (Hebrew [OT] and Greek [NT]). The final four articles in this entry cover the next most-ancient versions: Gothic, Armenian, Ethiopic, and Georgian. These are for the most part "secondary versions:" that is, they tend to be early translations of various primary versions, and therefore they have some value in helping scholars establish the nature of the ancient versions. These articles can be supplemented by the entries on AQUILA'S VERSION; ARISTEAS, LETTER OF; DIATESSARON; HEXAPLA OF ORIGEN; SEPTUAGINT; SYMMACHUS, SYMMACHUS'S VERSION; SYRO-HEXAPLA; TARGUM, TARGUMIM; THEODOTION, THEODOTION'S VERSION; and VULGATE. See also TEXTUAL CRITICISM; DEAD SEA SCROLLS; NAG HAMMADI; and WADI MURABBAAT. For discussions of the various languages themselves into which these versions are translated, see LANGUAGES.

### *INTRODUCTORY SURVEY*

Translation was not unknown in antiquity. We find bilingual versions of treaties and of the inscriptions of kings, and the rendering of religious ceremonies from Sumerian into Akkadian; at a later date, agricultural and other practical treatises find their translators. But the translation of the Bible, first in the Jewish context, and later in the Christian, is innovative in various ways, especially in the extent of the literature reproduced. The centrality of scripture to the religion and theology both of Judaism and of Christianity brought this about. While the cultic aspects of the texts first translated and the legislative function provide some sort of parallel to the other translated material which were known in antiquity, the narrative and poetic aspects, as well as the theological and philosophical overtones, rendered into the language (and later, the languages) of another culture, make the enterprise novel in its totality. (For various surveys, see Burkitt 1903; Metzger 1962, 1977; Vööbus 1954; Eissfeldt 1966: part 5.)

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A. Historical Survey of Ancient Versions
  1. Earliest Versions of the Hebrew Bible
    a. Aramaic
    b. Greek
    c. Syriac
  2. Earliest Versions of the Christian Bible
    a. Latin and Syriac
    b. Coptic
  3. Subsequent Versions and Editions
B. The Critical Study of Ancient Versions
  1. History of the Canon

2. History of the Text
3. The "Original Text"
4. The Ancient Languages Themselves

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**A. Historical Survey of Ancient Versions**

**1. Earliest Versions of the Hebrew Bible.** The deportation of the Jewish people to Mesopotamia deprived them of their temple worship and they were thrown back upon scripture for a principle of coherence of religious and national identity. Thus the returning exiles in the following century, although they restored the worship of the temple, adhered to the Law and its public reading, as the books of Ezra and Nehemiah reveal. Nor were the Jews now confined to Palestine: at the time of the deportation, there were already communities of exiles in Egypt, and the community there grew under Persian rule, while a Jewish population remained in Mesopotamia. The successors of Alexander the Great encouraged people of many races to settle in newly established cities, and Jews thus greatly increased in number in Egypt, and spread throughout the Hellenistic world. All these events brought linguistic change of habit. Aramaic, for Palestinian and Mesopotamian Jews, took the place of Hebrew as the vernacular, while the Jews of the Hellenistic cities adopted Greek as their tongue. These are the languages of the first translations of biblical writings, on the one hand the Targumim, on the other the Greek translation known as the Septuagint (LXX).

**a. Aramaic.** Tradition has the origin of the Aramaic translations or Targumim in the days of the return from exile, and Neh 8:8 is taken to refer to translation being given when the Hebrew scriptures are read, in this case, the participle *měpōrāš,* is taken to mean "with an interpretation" rather than simply "clearly," or "distinctly". However, the tradition cannot be substantiated. But it is clear from the Qumran scrolls, the NT, and passages of the Mishnah, that by the end of the Second Commonwealth, Targumic interpretations were part of the exegetical inheritance among the Jews. See also TARGUM, TARGUMIM. Such translations would at first have been transmitted in oral tradition, and only later committed to writing. In the earlier Targumim, there is a certain amount of haggadic material or MIDRASH introduced along with the Aramaic rendering of the Hebrew text: this illustrates how the two senses of "interpretation" are present in this translation. Not only are obscure passages given a more specific application in this way, but edifying or merely interesting detail is added to the accounts. In the later Targumim, this element is not entirely absent but has been reduced. The discoveries in the materials from the Cairo Genizah, from Qumran, and in the Codex Neofiti of the Vatican library, have shown the variety of renderings which existed, sometimes showing links with the kind of textual variation in the Hebrew which the Qumran finds in particular have revealed. This suggests that in origin the translations represented may have arisen in different places or communities. (For a good survey, see Bowker 1969.)

**b. Greek.** It has been suggested by a few scholars that the Septuagint (LXX) translation arose in a similar way, with different Greek translations made in different Greek-speaking Jewish communities. In this way the different families of text within the LXX tradition are explained as the representatives of early forms of the texts, and not as later corruptions or revisions. See SEPTUAGINT. But although scholars of stature have put such views forward, they have not commanded general acceptance. The evidence is held by most experts to signify that, for the Pentateuch at least, we can accept the notion of a distinct single act of translation in the third century before the Christian era.

Such a specific dating is found in the *Letter of Aristeas.* This work purports to be a letter exchanged between Greeks describing the origin of the Greek rendering of the Jewish Law. It is alleged to have been undertaken at the command of Ptolemy II Philadelpus (283–246 B.C.E.) at the instigation of his librarian Demetrius of Phalerum. At the request of the king, the Jewish high priest sends seventy-two scholars who finish the translation in as many days. (Later forms of the story in Christian writers introduce the miracle that these scholars worked in pairs without consultation with any others, and upon collation, were found to have produced the same identical Greek text!). The details of the story will not stand up to investigation. Demetrius was not Ptolemy's librarian, and was in fact banished by him. Moreover, the story, though purporting to be the work of a Greek, is written in many respects from a Jewish point of

view. However, it is generally conceded that in spite of this, the origin of the translation should be placed at the date, apparently traditional, which the *Letter* ascribes to it. (For a survey of the LXX, see Jellicoe 1974.) See ARISTEAS, LETTER OF.

Examination of the text of the Greek OT shows that its translation was the work of a number of translators: we may date the rendering of the Pentateuch in the 3d century, and it would appear from the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus (ca. 116 B.C.E.) that by that date the whole of the Jewish scriptures had been rendered. This is also demonstrable from the use of the translation made by Alexandrian Jewish historians and a probable echo of the translation of Isaiah in the work of the poet and scholar Callimachus (ca. 300–240 B.C.E.). The style differs: much is marked by a tendency to imitate Hebrew constructions in the Greek, but there are varying degrees of such literalness. Some Wisdom books are marked on the other hand by great freedom, which sometimes strays far from the sense of the original: perhaps the great difficulty of parts of the original encouraged this.

In general, there was great concern for accuracy, and from this arose a succession of revisions of the text. Our earlier knowledge of this from later Christian scholars has been enhanced and rendered more precise by manuscript discoveries in the caves by the Dead Sea at Qumran and Muraba'at. See DEAD SEA SCROLLS; WADI MURABBAAT. Certain manuscripts characterized particularly by the rendering of the Hebrew *wĕgam* by the Greek *kaige* have been associated with the name of Theodotion, previously assumed to have lived in the late 2d century of the Christian era, but now by the dating of the manuscripts necessarily placed at an earlier date, the first century B.C.E. or C.E. The name of Theodotion was already known, along with those of Aquila and Symmachus, as revisors of the Greek text, whose motivation was greater accuracy and verbal equivalence between the Hebrew original and the Greek rendering. See AQUILA'S VERSION; SYMMACHUS, SYMMACHUS'S VERSION; and THEODOTION, THEODOTION'S VERSION. References in early fathers and in marginal annotations provided our main source of knowledge until modern manuscript discovery filled out the picture. The context of their activity, especially that of Aquila, was theological controversy between Christian and Jew over the interpretation of the testimonies drawn from the Hebrew scriptures, which the Christian urged should be understood to support the claims made for Jesus Christ and the Church. In such controversy it became clear to the Christian participants that their arguments were rendered weak when based on passages where the LXX differed from the Hebrew adduced by their Jewish opponents. As a reference aid in such circumstances, the Alexandrian scholar Origen produced the six-columned work known as the HEXAPLA. In this work, the Hebrew text, along with a transcription, was accompanied by the versions of Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus (and by other versions in certain books), together with the text of the LXX, which Origen had provided with a critical apparatus to remedy its shortcomings. This work (of which a few manuscript traces have lately come to light), although intended to clarify, became at length a potential source of corruption as the significance of Origen's apparatus became incomprehensible. The work of the Antiochene Lucian also sought to provide a more accurate relationship between the Hebrew and the translated Greek text. See also GREEK VERSIONS below.

**c. Syriac.** In the opinion of many scholars, the Syriac Pentateuch is believed to have been a Jewish translation in origin, although preserved in the Bible of the Syriac-speaking church. It has many contacts with the Targumic tradition. It is suggested that the conversion of the royal house of Adiabene to Judaism in the 1st century C.E. was the occasion for this translation. A similar suggestion for the origin of the Latin version in Jewish circles in Antioch and its adaptation by the Christian church, made on mainly linguistic grounds, has not however met with acceptance. See SYRIAC VERSIONS below.

**2. Earliest Versions of the Christian Bible.** The NT writings, in Greek, drew upon the text of the LXX and its variety: both Testaments were used by the church, after some time, as inspired scripture. The church spread among Greek-speaking urban dwellers: here the inherited scriptures of the OT and NT were immediately available, and their influence is evident in early traces of the development of liturgy, canon law, theology, and the legends of the saints. But as the Gospel expanded in the course of the 2d century, it encountered and converted, both in the Latin speaking West and in the countryside of the Hellenized East, indigenous peoples unfamiliar with Greek. It must shortly have discovered the necessity of translating the

scriptures which were the source of the substance and form of its belief and life. The translation of the OT for Jews who had lost Hebrew as a native tongue was the analogy of this; but, although there were many similarities in methods and in end-product, the analogy does not seem to have been recognized.

**a. Latin and Syriac.** The earliest translation appears to have been in Latin. See LATIN VERSIONS below. This appears in Africa towards the end of the 2d century: but it is not altogether certain that it originated there. An Eastern origin in Antioch and a N Italian origin in or near Milan have also been suggested. In textual terms, however, the form of the Latin version which survived in Africa appears to be the most primitive.

In the Syriac–speaking world of the East, a gospel tradition in the fourfold gospel form would appear to be attested fairly late, by comparison with the Latin: this is due to the creation in the 2d century C.E. of a gospel harmony by the apologist TATIAN, a Syriac speaker by birth, who introduced his work, known generally as the DIATESSARON, among his fellow Syriac speakers. The influence of this harmony upon the gospel text in Syriac was all-pervasive, even when a fourfold gospel form was adopted: it reveals itself in harmonistic readings and in other variants of theological *Tendenz* deriving from Tatian's encratite and anti-Judaic views. Such readings, through the influence of the Syriac text, have spread to versions derived from or influenced by it, such as the Armenian, Georgian, and Ethiopic (see Lyonnet and Vööbus). Whether Tatian's harmony was composed in Greek (since he was in the West at the time of his conversion and wrote in Greek before his return to his native Mesopotamia) is a question still debated. We have a 3d century fragment of the Diatessaron in Greek from the frontier town of Dura-Europos on the Euphrates, and it has recently been very plausibly argued that the Greek hymnodist Romanos the Melodist was influenced by the Diatesseron in the early 6th century. The above data, however, need not imply the existence of a Greek Diatessaron. Hence, the view once entertained by a number of scholars that such a document had influenced the text of such a witness as Codex Bezae is no longer canvassed.

There is still a stronger body of opinion that the Latin tradition was affected by the harmony of Tatian. This view rests not only upon the evidence of readings in the manuscripts of the Latin tradition, but also upon a number of gospel harmonies dated at various times throughout the Middle Ages in languages of Western Christendom (German, Dutch, English, Italian, and French). From this has been deduced the existence of a Latin harmony, derived from Tatian's work, if not actually composed by him: and its corrupting influence upon the Latin text of the fourfold gospel has been suggested. But although several manuscripts of Latin harmonies are known, the view outlined is by no means that of all scholars, many of whom consider the Latin and Western harmony tradition to be an independent development, and its coincidences with what we know of Tatian's text to be fortuitous.

**b. Coptic.** The translation of the first Coptic version is not so precisely to be dated as that in Latin or Syriac: however, the date cannot be later than the 3d century. The conversion of St. Antony through the hearing of scripture about 270 C.E. indicated the existence of a Coptic version, since he knew no Greek, and about 50 years later Pachomius, writing a rule for monks in Egypt, demanded the capacity to read scripture, or to recite it, from postulants. The sensational find of NAG HAMMADI is of manuscripts of the 4th century, among them the *Gospel of Thomas*, a collection of sayings attributed to Jesus, many of them with parallels in the Synoptic Gospels. The translation of these in Coptic owes a great deal to the canonical gospels in Coptic, and therefore presupposes their existence. All these data point to the 3d century as the latest *terminus a quo* for the earliest Coptic translation. We have not only parts of the gospels, but of many other parts of the Bible in the various dialects into which Coptic had developed by the effect of the geography of the Nile Valley. The Sahidic dialect came to overwhelm the others in course of time: this may be related to the fact that one of the others, sub-Achmimic, was preeminently the language of Gnosticism and Manichaeism, and the eventual triumph of orthodoxy brought the literary use of that dialect to an end. Sahidic in its turn was superseded by Bohairic, which remains the liturgical language of the Coptic church. The complicating factor of harmonization is not found in the Coptic gospels.

All other parts of the Bible, both NT and OT, were translated in due course. The different estimations of the extent of the canon played their part in different areas. In the Syriac speaking regions, the NT lacks

the books of 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and Revelation, which were counted among the *antilegomena* in the early 4th century, according to Eusebius. The major part of the OT in Syriac, was rendered from Hebrew, including the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sira (which only came to light in Hebrew within the last hundred years): only the letter of Baruch, the additions to Daniel known only in Greek, and the deutero-canonical books of Tobit, Judith, the Wisdom of Solomon, and 1 Maccabees were rendered from Greek. Latin and Coptic were rendered from Greek throughout the Bible, and the whole of the NT in Syriac.

**3. Subsequent Versions and Editions.** The three versions mentioned hitherto, Latin, Syriac, and Coptic, are all termed "primary versions" of the NT, since they are all rendered from the Greek text. For the OT, in addition to the LXX, the only primary versions used by Christians were the Syriac and the Latin Vulgate (most parts of which were translated from Hebrew by Jerome, but a few books were simply revised from the Old Latin, which was itself based on the LXX). See VULGATE. Later primary versions of the NT are attested for Gothic and Slavonic, each translated directly from Greek. See GOTHIC VERSIONS below. "Secondary versions" are those made from a translation, as opposed to the original language; thus, any version of the OT translated from the LXX is a secondary version. Syriac engendered many (the earliest stratum of the Armenian version, Arabic, Persian, and Sogdian), while the Ethiopic, translated from Greek, was subject to a revision from Syriac. Coptic also gave rise to Arabic translations and provided the base of the Apocalypse in Ethiopic. See ARMENIAN VERSIONS and ETHIOPIC VERSIONS below.

As churches became established, and scholarship could arise, greater recourse to the original Hebrew or Greek was made. Thus the Old Latin, in which there are different strands, was eventually revised, at least in part, by Jerome: the Old Syriac, with its debt to Tatian, was supplanted by the Peshitta. The Armenian turned to the LXX and the Greek NT for its revisions leading to later authorized versions. The Georgian version, in part at least the offspring of the Armenian, was revised to a Greek standard on more than one occasion. See GEORGIAN VERSIONS below. In Syriac, we have a valuable rendering of the critical work of Origen, the Hexapla, known therefore in Western scholarship as the SYRO-HEXAPLA version which seeks to give a word for word equivalence to the Greek. A similar NT version was also produced, known as the Harklean, after the birthplace of Thomas, its translator.

While the West was served in the earliest periods of Christian expansion by the Latin version alone, and this continued to be the preeminent text of scripture throughout the Middle Ages, there were nevertheless translations into a number of languages of the Germanic invaders of the Roman Empire as these were converted, namely into Old High German, Anglo-Saxon or Old English, and Icelandic or Old Norse: while at a later period, translations and paraphrases are known in the Middle German, Middle English, Middle Dutch, Old French, and in the Tuscan and Venetian dialects of the medieval form of the Italian language.

The versions of the Bible entered into a new phase of influence with the invention of printing. In the West, the Vulgate was committed to its first printed edition in the 15th century and became available for critical study as manuscripts were studied and compared. The various Eastern versions, which had begun to be known in the West through the attempts to unify the church in the 15th century, were the object of both Catholic and Protestant scholarship. Type for the major languages was already cut in the 16th century, but the appearance of full Bibles in some cases waited for more than a century. Where biblical texts were available, they found a place in the Polyglot Bibles of the 17th century. When editions with critical apparatus began to be made, beginning with Mill's in the early 18th century, the versions were included as fully as they were known (often, though, in case of the Eastern versions, in reliance upon Latin renderings, not always accurate). In the course of the 19th century, as textual criticism developed for the Hebrew Bible, the LXX and the NT, the evidence of the various versions (Latin, Greek, and Eastern) played an increasing part. Although opinions differ sharply on the weight to be given to evidence from these sources, they continue to occupy the attention even of those who underrate their importance. See TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

As to editions, the present position is far from perfect. For some versions, especially the Vulgate, we are in a position of advantage, while for others there are projects of critical edition under way (e.g., the Old

Latin or the Peshitta OT). Others still, such as Coptic and Georgian, while having valuable editions of many manuscripts available, still lack a critically coordinated edition. Others again, such as the Armenian and the Ethiopic, are still not available in a critically useful form. The minor versions, both Oriental and Western, are often very difficult of access. Another problem is that of manpower: while there may be many scholars competent in a language important for Christian or Jewish antiquity, few may make editorial or philological work on biblical (or indeed other relevant) texts their main research. For languages which few Westerners still learn (Georgian, Sogdian, Nubian, medieval Western languages), the situation is even more unsatisfactory to the biblical scholar (the cultural policy of the former Soviet Republic of Georgia has made Georgian a special case). It should also be noted that the study of Latin now is far less common or advanced than a generation or two ago.

**B. The Critical Study of Ancient Versions**

Before outlining the importance of the versions in a study of the Bible, a sketch must be given of the necessary memoranda for users of versions for that or any other study. Every version has its own history, as the sketch above will have shown. This perhaps obvious fact has a number of ramifications. There may have been independent tentatives at translation when this was first undertaken, or a first attempt may have been neglected as a possible base of revision, at a later date, and a new translation begun. In establishing this, attention must be given to the way in which the same original is rendered in the language receiving the translation: the same text may be rendered in distinct ways. To trace this, we need access not only to manuscripts of the Bible, but to quotations from the Bible in the writers of the receiving language, and to liturgy, hymnody, and so on, in which scriptural words may have been adapted or echoed. The study of the Old Armenian by Lyonnet, and many classics of the study of the Old Latin version are fine examples of this type of research. A further corollary of this is that a manuscript does not necessarily represent the same version in all parts (as is true also, textually, of Greek manuscripts of the NT). Manuscripts and quotations, too, may also be the result of revision, which has produced a mixed text. This is a singularly difficult problem to deal with.

Whether studying the version itself, or in relation to its putative model, we must note its style and the approach of the translator to his task. Does he paraphrase or gloss his model, or does he painstakingly, or even pedantically, reproduce his model word for word? Does he comprehend his text, or does he struggle? Does his translation derive from an original in which there were corruptions, such as mistakes in copying? Investigation of these aspects will be an aid to determining whether the version primarily comes from the original Greek or Hebrew, or whether it is a secondary or even tertiary version. In all this, we shall become aware of the limitations which the idiom of the receiving language has placed upon translation. For example, quoting a classic article by Ll. J. M. Bebb (1902), "there are no distinctions of gender in Armenian, no neuter in Arabic, no passive voice in Bohairic, no article in Latin, and therefore these versions afford no help where readings involving such points are being discussed."

**1. History of the Canon.** The ancient versions are valuable objects of study, both in themselves and in the context of the study of the Bible and of church history. First, they illuminate the history of the development of the canon of scripture. The fact that the Samaritans possessed only the Pentateuch reflects the state of the concept of the extent of scripture at the time of the Samaritan schism. The Syriac NT canon, with the absence of the lesser Catholic Epistles and Revelation, corresponds to the contrast of *homologoumena* and *antilegomena* in Eusebius's description of canonical status in his day: the late rendering of Revelation into Georgian shows how long doubts about that book persisted within Eastern Christianity. On the other hand, the presence of the book of *Enoch* within the canon of the Ethiopic church illustrates that the existence of a penumbra to the canon could eventuate in inclusions as well as exclusions. It is often on the borders of Christendom that older states of the biblical literature survived, when the progress of theology and scholarship in the Greek "center" had produced new parameters.

**2. History of the Text.** This also reveals itself in the second of the fields upon which the versions, critically studied, may cast light, namely, the history of the text of scripture. We may use the versions, if we know their history, to erect an historical framework for the dating of variant forms by a series of *termini ante quem.* Often in dealing with the earliest variants and the earliest versions, it is the knowledge

of the version's history that is the most difficult requirement to attain. As has been pointed out above (with respect to the translations into Syriac, Latin, and Coptic), we can only arrive at tentative and approximate conclusions about the place and date of the translations, and the same is true certainly of Georgian and Ethiopic, to mention only two other striking cases. We must beware of the circular argument which is always there to entrap us. Nevertheless, we can argue, even in these important areas of problematic, that a reading existed "by such and such a date, at least."

It has often been further deduced that such a reading existed in the original. Evidence coming to light in new discoveries sometimes confirms this, as when readings previously known only in Greek form, for instance, have been found in the Hebrew of Qumran documents. Can we make it a general rule however? The study of the text of the NT continues to be bedeviled by debate over this point. In earlier days, when the Greek evidence was largely confined to manuscripts dating from the 4th century C.E., a scholar such as F. C. Burkitt could argue that the sharing of a reading by the oldest form of the Latin gospels and the oldest form of the separated gospels in Syriac not only indicated its antiquity, but also guaranteed its candidacy for consideration as the original text. Recently, in the work of Kurt and Barbara Aland in their survey of the text of the NT (1987), and in many papers of Kurt Aland, we find such a view dismissed with virulent scorn on the grounds that no such text as those versions presuppose had been found in the 2d and 3d century Greek papyri of the gospels we now possess. The methodological question involved here is found in the fact that the gospel manuscripts which the Alands can draw upon are of Egyptian origin, for it is only (with rare exception) in the climate of Egypt that papyrus survives to our day. Greek fathers, of other provenance but early date, such as Justin, Irenaeus, and Clement, can frequently be found to attest variants known otherwise only in the earliest versions, while the papyri do not invariably fail to share versional readings against other witnesses. Thus, the arguments of the Alands, while they justifiably draw attention to certain dangers of overemphasis in older use of the versions, themselves overemphasize their point. In spite of their misgivings, it cannot be gainsaid that in the versions we may find forms of text, or individual readings, which have left no traces in Greek manuscripts presently known to us. But in many cases the presence of such textual forms or readings in the quotations and allusions of early Greek Christian writers demonstrates that the readings of the versions were most probably derived from Greek manuscripts at the time of their translation.

**3. The "Original Text."** This leads to the third aspect of biblical study upon which the versions have been held to have a bearing, namely, the establishment of the original text. The use to which versional evidence has been put has differed in the NT and the OT. In the NT the method has usually been as in the case outlined. The coincidence in reading between versions either against the Greek tradition as a whole, or supporting one or a few significant witnesses against the rest of the Greek tradition, has been held to give a reading acceptable as original. But this has not generally been applied in any mechanical way, but the argument for any acceptable reading has been reinforced by the arguments of rational criticism.

In the OT, versional evidence has generally been that derived from the LXX: readings in which the meaning of the Greek differed materially from the Masoretic text of the Hebrew have at certain periods been made the basis of conjectural emendation of the Hebrew text, based either upon paleographical considerations or upon comparative philological considerations which have drawn upon real or alleged alternative meanings of the same roots, which would explain the LXX rendering. Such approaches have aroused dissent, and trenchant criticisms have been made; nevertheless, the renderings of the New English Bible in its OT portion bear the marks of this type of textual procedure. However, in some cases, the finds of Qumran have revealed the existence of Hebrew originals upon which the Septuagintal renderings have been based. This removes the debate from the field of the versional evidence to that of a critical choice between variations now known to have existed in different text-types of the original.

Variant readings in the original or in versions, apart from those which may arise from sheer error, may be due to the understanding of the text. This may come either from the knowledge of the language from which the translation is made by the translator, or from a tradition of exegesis which he has inherited. Thus, the versions are of value in both these ways. They reveal to us the understanding of obscure words or the resolution of ambiguous punctuation as those were circulating in Christian circles, and they may

also show the exegesis current at the time of translation. Exegetical translation often comes about by making the generalized more specific or by clarificatory additions. There are many examples in the Targumim, especially in passages such as Genesis 49 and Isaiah 53. Lexicographical material latent in translations is most readily seen in the NT, since the earliest translations in that case are only a few centuries later than the original, when much the same Greek was still spoken.

**4. The Ancient Languages Themselves.** The last matter upon which the ancient versions bear takes us outside biblical study itself, namely the history of the languages of the versions. It is often the case that the Bible version is the earliest source for our knowledge of the language, or that it constitutes a valuable corpus of information about the language dateable to a particular time. So, for example, Gothic, Armenian, and Georgian biblical versions are a primary source for our study of the languages in which they are composed, while the Greek of the LXX, the Latin of the Bible, and the dialects of Coptic known from biblical versions are important corpora representing well defined stages in the history of those languages.

The ancient versions, insofar as they represent pioneering work in the activity of translation, also provide a significant chapter in that aspect of intellectual history. Detailed work upon the methods of the translators and the pitfalls which beset them will illuminate questions which have only recently attracted full investigation as modern linguistic science has expanded. The ancient translators, for the most part unknown by name, have not left much theoretical discussion of their endeavor. There are, however, interesting remarks to be found in several works of Jerome (see e.g., Kelly 1975, chap 15).

Both in its specifically biblical application and in its more general ramifications, the study of the ancient versions is a field still containing much that is worth discovery, examination, and discussion, bearing upon biblical study, church history, the history of doctrine, and linguistic study of many kinds. It is to be encouraged and presented as an area deserving the attention of both seasoned scholars and beginners. (Surveys of the subject may be found in the articles "Bibelhandschriften" and "Bibeluebersetzungen" from *TRE* 6, Lieferung 1/2 [1976].)

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J. NEVILLE BIRDSALL

## *GREEK VERSIONS*

The Torah, or first five books of the Hebrew Bible, was initially translated into Greek in the 3d century B.C.E. in the Egyptian metropolis of Alexandria. This initial translation is generally known as the Septuagint (LXX). The term Septuagint is also applied to the earliest Greek rendering of the remaining books of the Hebrew Bible. See SEPTUAGINT. This or Old Greek (OG) text was revised on a number of occasions, and fresh translations from the Hebrew were occasionally undertaken. These later or non-Septuagintal Greek versions are the subject of the following article.

Among the best known of these versions are the works of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus (known collectively as the Three). These three individuals were Jews who lived in the 2d (or, in the case of Symmachus, possibly in the 3d) century C.E. Theodotion and Aquila can be viewed as revisers of already existing Greek texts; Symmachus is more correctly seen as the initiator of a fresh translation from the Hebrew.

Other ancient revisions or translations are also known. Lucian, for example, a Christian leader in 3d-century Antioch, produced an influential Greek text of the Bible, as Origen had done earlier in the same century at Caesarea. And Origen, who was responsible for preserving the work of the Three, also preserved the text of an additional three Greek translations or revisions—known only as Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh (Quinta, Sexta, and Septima). Anonymous readings are also found in the works of Church Fathers and Jewish writers, on the margins and in the texts of Greek manuscripts, and in a variety of writings in other languages.

A chief factor leading to the production of revisions or new translations was the observation that then current Greek and Hebrew texts differed at numerous points. To certain Jews, these differences reflected misrepresentations of the Hebrew text and created an urgent need to "correct." However, we should not artificially limit the factors that motivated individuals or groups to make changes in the Greek version possessed by their community. In the case of the Three, for example, we can detect a variety of stylistic and theological motivations of an inner-Greek nature, in addition to the desire to reflect with more accuracy a particular Hebrew text. Each of these has also been linked to one or more rabbinic traditions of exegesis.

This willingness to modify the LXX or other existing Greek biblical texts stands in contrast to the position taken by the *Letter of Aristeas,* one of the earliest witnesses (mid-2d century B.C.E.) to the OG translation of the Torah. In *Aristeas'* view, the LXX text of the Torah was authoritative, sacred, and fixed for all time. The same authority was later attached to the LXX or OG translation of other biblical books.

That *Aristeas* insisted on the immutable status of the first Greek translation makes it evident that a challenge to that status—in the form of "corrections" or revision toward the current Hebrew text—had arisen in his community. Even if we cannot date any particular revision from as early as the mid-2d century B.C.E., there is no reason to doubt that the process had begun by that time.

Evidence for revision at a period only slightly later than *Aristeas* is contained in the text transmitted under the name of Theodotion. The composite nature of this text is now widely recognized: "historical" Theodotion lived in the 2d century C.E., but distinctive "Theodotionic" readings are found in earlier sources. This first "layer" of Theodotion's work appears to be part of a larger burst of recensional activity, from the 1st century B.C.E., known as "kaige." It is this "Ur-Theodotion" who heavily influenced the work of Aquila. The text of Lucian, referred to above, has also been divided into an earlier, or Proto-Lucianic layer, and a later one.

The issues raised in the preceding section exemplify the complexities that arise when we begin to investigate carefully the surviving remnants of ancient Greek texts. Many gaps in our knowledge remain, but we are not without resources to bridge at least some of them. New manuscript discoveries offer illuminating possibilities for expanding our knowledge, as do comparative studies and forays into translation theory. Through textual criticism and analysis, scholars are reconstructing the Old Greek or original translation that frequently lies buried underneath mountains of conjecture or molehills of variants. The readings of dozens of manuscripts are carefully collated, in order to identify family and other genetic groups among extant texts. Every ancient author is culled for a stray reading that might have hitherto escaped notice. An increasing number of details are thus discerned, discussed, and drawn together. Broader hypotheses are then developed, debated, and dismantled—only to begin again the procedures necessary for a reconstruction of the new evidence.

In order to achieve best results, scholars must be sure to cite the Greek evidence in a clear way. All too often in contemporary scholarship a reading is haphazardly and uncritically lifted from its source in a manuscript or ancient author and enshrined as *the* LXX or OG. This type of methodological and terminological sloppiness makes it difficult for researchers to make proper use of the Greek evidence.

When correctly understood, this evidence points to a tradition—with a long textual and exegetical history—that is far too rich and much too valuable to be ignored or, even worse, misused.

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LEONARD J. GREENSPOON


## *SYRIAC VERSIONS*

This article surveys the translation of the Bible, or parts of it, into the Syriac language.

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A. Old Testament
1. Peshitta
2. Syro-Hexapla
3. Other Translations
4. Christian Palestinian Aramaic

B. New Testament
1. Diatessaron
2. Old Syriac
3. Peshitta
4. Philoxenian
5. Harklean
6. Christian Palestinian Aramaic

C. Translations and Commentaries


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### A. Old Testament

The two main translations into Classical Syriac (Eastern Aramaic) are the Peshitta, made from Hebrew, and the Syro-Hexapla, made from Greek; fragments of two further translations, both from Greek, also survive. The translation into Christian Palestinian Aramaic (sometimes called Palestinian Syriac; a Western Aramaic dialect) was made from the LXX and is only partially preserved.

**1. Peshitta.** This is the standard version of the Syriac Churches (Syrian Orthodox, Maronite and Church of the East). The name, meaning "Simple," is not found until the 9th century when it was first used to distinguish this version from the Syro-Hexapla (in the OT) and the Harklean (in the NT). The origins of the Peshitta OT lie in obscurity: both date and place remain matters of conjecture. Most, if not all, the work must have been completed by the 3d century A.D., for the Old Syriac Gospels adapt some OT quotations to the Peshitta OT text. Perhaps most books date from 1st–2d century A.D. As with the LXX, the OT was not translated as a whole, but book by book; it is possible that some books were translated by Jews and others by Christians. Certain books (notably the Pentateuch) have a loose connection with the Targum tradition, perhaps by way of some lost ancestor of the extant Palestinian and Babylonian Targum traditions; in the case of one book (Proverbs) the extant Targum derives from the Peshitta (which was thus presumably of Jewish origin for this book). Suggestions have been made that there once existed an "Old

Syriac" form of the Syriac OT (on analogy with the situation in the NT), but the evidence adduced for this is unconvincing. See also TARGUM, TARGUMIM.

All books of the Peshitta OT were basically translated from Hebrew, though in some books there are the links mentioned above with the Targum traditions, and in others the translators may have made occasional use of LXX. With the exception of Ecclesiasticus, also translated from Hebrew, the Apocrypha were translated from LXX. Because mss of the complete Peshitta OT are rare, the division between canonical and uncanonical was not clear cut; thus the earliest complete OT ms, Milan, Ambros. B.21.Inf. of 6th–7th century (7al in the Leiden edition), also contains the following, mostly intermingled with the canonical books: Wisdom of Solomon, Epistle of Jeremiah, Epistle of Baruch, Baruch, Bel and the Dragon, Susanna, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, *2 Baruch, 4 Ezra,* 1–4 Maccabees, and Josephus *JW* 6. Some Psalters contain Psalm 151 (from LXX) and 152–5 (made from Hebrew ca. A.D. 800; the original of Psalms 154 and 155 is now known from 11QPs$^{a}$).

Manuscripts of the Peshitta OT range in date from 5th to 20th century; they include the two oldest dated biblical mss in any language, British Library Add. 14512 of A.D. 459/60 (palimpsest of Isaiah), and Add.14425 of A.D. 463/4 (Pentateuch). Some 60 mss from the 6th and 7th centuries are preserved; these normally contain single books, or small groups, and only one is a complete OT. A system of chapter divisions (different from the one in current use, which is of European origin) is found in most mss from the 8th century onwards. Separate Lectionary mss occur from the 9th century onwards; some of these include lections taken from the Syro-Hexapla. A small number of mss, dating between 9th and 13th century, contain what is referred to as a "masorah" (i.e. notes on pronunciation, etc.). A few illuminated mss survive, notably Sinai 1048 (6th century?), Paris syr.341 (8al, 7th/8th century), and Cambridge Oo.1.1–2 (12al, 12th century). The order of books is variable, but Job often follows the Pentateuch (based on the Jewish tradition identifying Job with Jobab and the author as Moses).

Compared to the LXX, the textual history of the Peshitta OT is relatively stable, and variations of any real importance are infrequent. Recent studies (notably Koster) have indicated that in many books at least three slightly different text forms are to be found in the extant manuscripts. The earliest stage, closest to the Hebrew, is only poorly preserved, being partially represented in the rare 5th century mss and in some of the aberrant readings in 9al. The next stage, represented by mss of 6th–8th centuries, is well preserved. The differences between the first and second stages concern small alterations in vocabulary and improvements in style, making the text read more smoothly. This process was taken a stage further in later mss, containing the medieval Textus Receptus. For the textual critic interested in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Peshitta it is essential to work from the oldest stage attainable, recorded in the apparatus of the Leiden Peshitta, and not from other printed editions which, being based on late medieval mss, reproduce the most evolved stage of the Peshitta text (many of the references to Peshitta in *BHK* and *BHS* are unreliable in this respect).

The most important older editions are: the Paris Polyglot of 1645, the London Polyglot of 1657, S. Lee (1823), and three editions published in the Middle East, Urmiah (1852), Mosul (1887–92), and Beirut (1951). None of these are critical editions and all are based on late mss; in some cases the mss used can be identified (Emerton). Lee's edition has been republished by the United Bible Societies (1979), with the addition of the Apocrypha (evidently based on the Mosul edition). Of more use for critical purposes is A. Ceriani's photolithographic edition (1876) of 7al, the ms which also serves as the basis for the Leiden Peshitta Institute editions, which are equipped with a good apparatus; to date (1986) the following volumes have appeared: Sample Edition (1966; Cant, Tob, *2 Bar.*); I.1 (1977; Gen, Exod); II.1a (1982; Job) II.2 (1978; Judg, Sam); II.3 (1980; Pss); II.4 (1976; Kgs); II.5 (1979; Prov, Wis, Eccl, Cant); III.3 (1985; Ezek); III.4 (1980; 12 Proph, Dan, Bel; IV.3 (1973; *2 Bar.*, 4 Ezra); IV.6 (1972; *Odes Sol.*, Pr. Man., Pss 151–55, *Pss. Sol.*, Tob, 1 [3] Esdr). The main aim of the Leiden edition is to provide the early ms evidence; a critical edition, based on eclectic principles corresponding to those behind the Göttingen LXX, remains a task for the future.

Good or satisfactory editions of some individual books exist: Pentateuch (W. E. Barnes 1914); Psalms (Barnes 1904); Lamentations (B. Albrektson 1963); Wisdom of Solomon (J. A. Emerton 1959); Apocrypha (P. de Lagarde 1861). For Isaiah an apparatus alone was published by G. Diettrich (1905).

Concordances for the following books are so far available: Prophets (W. Strothmann 1984); Psalms (N. Sprenger 1977); Ecclesiastes (Strothmann 1973); Sirach (M. M. Winter 1976).

There is an English translation of the Peshitta OT by G. M. Lamsa (1957); this needs to be used with caution.

**2. Syro-Hexapla.** This is a 7th-century Syriac translation of Origen's revision of the LXX text, bringing it into line with the Hebrew. In several mss the hexaplaric signs are preserved, together with numerous marginal readings taken from Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. The translation was probably commissioned by the Syrian Orthodox patriarch Athanasius and it was undertaken (as we know from colophons) by Paul, bishop of Tella (N Mesopotamia) in a monastery at the Enaton, or ninth milestone, of Alexandria in the years 615–17. During the same period and at the same monastery the Syriac NT was revised by Thomas of Harkel (Harklean, see below, B.5). Both the Syro-Hexapla and the Harklean make use of highly sophisticated techniques of literal translation which Syriac translators had developed by this period (Brock); their aim was to mirror every detail of the Greek original in the Syriac translation, and this has been achieved with such success that the modern textual critic, for whom the Syro-Hexapla is a key witness to the hexaplaric recension of the LXX, is enabled to reconstruct the underlying Greek text with a high degree of confidence.

Syriac writers normally refer to the Syro-Hexapla as "the Seventy" or "the Greek." Although the translation was mostly transmitted in Syrian Orthodox circles, use was sometimes made of it by scholars of the Church of the East, notably Isho‘dad of Merv (9th century).

From an early date the Syro-Hexapla circulated in two different forms: in mss containing individual books or groups of books, and in folio sized "pandects" constituting a two-volume edition of the entire work. A magnificent 8th or 9th century ms of the second volume of this edition is preserved in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, and has been published photolithographically by Ceriani (1874). A ms of the accompanying first volume (Pentateuch and Historical Books) was in the possession of the 16th century scholar A. Masius, but has since disappeared. The loss of this ms is made good only in part by the survival of some 20 mss containing individual books (many of these date from 7th to 9th century; an important later one is an incomplete Pentateuch of 1204, published photographically by Vööbus). From the mss available in 1892 A. Rahlfs and P. de Lagarde published what could be recovered of the contents of the lost first volume. Some additional materials discovered subsequently have been published by J. Gwynn, Baars, Vööbus and others; some of these passages are derived from lectionary mss. Baars (p. 25) lists all passages of the Syro-Hexapla not yet (in 1968) recovered; some of these lacunae have now been filled by the Pentateuch ms of 1204. See SYRO-HEXAPLA.

**3. Other Translations.** Two other translations, covering only individual books, survive in part. A fragmentary translation of Isaiah is preserved in British Library Add. 17106; its editor, Ceriani (1868), attributed this version to Polycarp, author of the Philoxenian NT, on the grounds that the Milan Syro-Hexapla attributes an alternative rendering of Isa 9:6 to "the version which was translated by the care of the holy Philoxenus." Polycarp is also said by his contemporary, Moses of Inghilene, to have translated the Psalms, but of this no trace survives. This Syriac version of Isaiah is made from the LXX and in the apparatus of the Göttingen LXX it is referred to as "the Syrolucianic."

Another translation, of which the Pentateuch, 1–2 Samuel, 1 Kings, Isaiah, Ezekiel and Daniel alone survive in whole or in part, was made by the great Syrian Orthodox scholar Jacob of Edessa, shortly before his death (708). Jacob evidently constructed his version out of three sources: the already existing Syriac texts of the Peshitta and Syro-Hexapla, and some LXX mss containing a Lucianic text. Only a few samples of this version have so far been published.

**4. Christian Palestinian Aramaic** (CPA). The literature in this dialect consists entirely of translations from Greek and was the product of the Aramaic-speaking Christian community in Palestine which remained loyal to the Council of Chalcedon (451), popularly known as "Melkites." Extant mss (often

palimpsests and almost all fragmentary) date from 6th to 13th century (by the latter date the dialect was rapidly being replaced by Arabic). Only parts of the OT in CPA survive, and many of these are in the form of lections, rather than straight Bible texts. The version is basically from the LXX, though some scholars claim to have discerned the sporadic influence of the Peshitta and even of the Targumim.

The oldest OT mss are all palimpsests and are almost all fragments of lectionaries. Particularly important is the well preserved OT Lectionary published by Lewis (1897), with texts from Pentateuch, Job and Prophets. A list of all known biblical texts in CPA up to 1903 was given by F. Schultess in his *Lexicon Syropalaestinum,* pp. vii–xvi. A much-needed republication of all OT texts is being undertaken by Goshen-Gottstein and Shirun.

**B. New Testament**

**1. Diatessaron.** Tatian's Harmony of the Gospels, or Diatessaron, is not preserved in its original form, and it remains disputed whether Tatian, who flourished ca. 160, compiled it in Greek or in Syriac. The most important textual witnesses are the small parchment fragment in Greek from Dura Europos (thus dating from before 256, when the town was destroyed), and the Syriac quotations to be found in Ephrem's Commentary on the Diatessaron, of which the whole survives in Armenian translation and about two-thirds in the original Syriac. Later Gospel Harmonies in various languages, eastern and western, probably preserve something of the structure of Tatian's Harmony, but their text has undergone considerable adaptation (e.g., to the Peshitta in the Arabic Harmony, and to the Vulgate in the Latin Codex Fuldensis).

The Diatessaron was regarded as an authoritative gospel text by the early Syriac-speaking Church. When by the 4th century it became necessary to distinguish the Diatessaron from the Syriac translation of the four gospels (Old Syriac), the former was given the name *Evangelion da-mĕḥallĕṭē,* "Gospel of the mixed ones," while the latter was called *Evangelion da-mĕpharrĕshē,* "Gospel of the separated ones." The Diatessaron only fell out of favor in the 5th century: Theodoret, who found 200 mss of the Diatessaron in use in his diocese of Cyrrhus, tells (*Haer. fab. comp.*, 1.20) how he replaced them by mss of the four gospels.

Besides drawing on the four gospels (primarily Matthew), Tatian appears to have made some use of apocryphal sources as well: thus he evidently introduced the theme of light (or fire) appearing at the baptism of Jesus (a feature developed in Syriac liturgical poetry).

The Syriac evidence for the text of the Diatessaron is collected by Leloir and Ortiz de Urbina. It has been suggested that prior to the Diatessaron the earliest gospel text available in Syriac may have been the *Gospel of the Hebrews* or the *Gospel of Thomas,* but the evidence is very tenuous. Somewhat more plausible is the suggestion that Tatian himself drew on the *Gospel of Thomas,* though the reverse is also possible. See also DIATESSARON.

**2. Old Syriac.** Although some earlier scholars claimed that the Diatessaron was preceded by a Syriac translation of all four gospels (i.e., the Old Syriac), there is now a general consensus that the Old Syriac followed the Diatessaron in time. Two witnesses to the Old Syriac text survive, both belonging to the 5th century, known as the Curetonianus and the Sinaiticus. In neither ms is the text of the gospels complete.

The Curetonianus was named after W. Cureton who first published a large part of the ms (British Library Add. 14451) in 1858. Subsequently three further leaves were identified in a Berlin ms (Or. Quad. 528) and these were included in F. C. Burkitt's edition (with English translation) of 1904, which remains the standard. In 1985 a further leaf, filling the lacuna of Luke 16:12–17:1 between two of the Berlin leaves, was found to be still remaining at the Syrian Monastery in the Nitrian Desert (Egypt) by D. McConaughy. There still remain many lacunae (almost all Mark, and much of John, is missing). The unusual sequence Matthew, Mark, John, Luke is provided.

The Sinaiticus, a palimpsest ms, was discovered by the twin sisters, Mrs. A. S. Lewis and Mrs. M. D. Gibson, in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai (Sinai syr. 30). The Old Syriac gospel text is to be found in the under writing (the upper writing contains *Lives of Women Saints,* in an 8th-century hand). Again the text is not complete and many passages have remained impossible to read with certainty. See SINAITICUS, SYRUS. Although Burkitt's edition of the Curetonianus gives the variants of the Sinaiticus, the subsequent edition of the Sinaiticus (recording the variants of the Curetonianus) by Mrs.

Lewis in 1910 contains several improved readings. There is also a photographic edition of the ms by A. Hjelt (1930). New techniques for reading the under text, developed at Princeton, should result in the recovery of much more of the text.

Besides the many small variations between the two mss are some larger ones; thus the longer ending of Mark is absent from the Sinaiticus but present in the Curetonianus. It is generally agreed that the two mss represent two somewhat different revised forms of a common original text; the date of this original translation is not known, but the 3d century is now widely accepted. The two main characteristics of the Old Syriac text are the large number of harmonizations and the many "Western" readings which they attest. Whether or not the former are due to the influence of the Diatessaron is disputed. Both mss contain several archaic linguistic features; these have sometimes been identified as traces of Palestinian Aramaic, but more probably they should be seen as survivals of "Proto-Syriac," otherwise known from pagan Syriac inscriptions of 1st –3d centuries. The character of the translation is the freest of all the Syriac versions, and so caution needs to be exercised when citing the Old Syriac in any apparatus to the Greek NT.

No Old Syriac text of Acts or the Epistles survives. Isolated readings of this pre-Peshitta text can be recovered from quotations by early Syriac writers. Ephrem's commentaries on Acts and on the Pauline Epistles, preserved only in Armenian translation, are important witnesses. Materials have been collected by J. Molitor (1938) and Kerschensteiner. In his Commentary on the Pauline Epistles Ephrem includes the apocryphal *3 Corinthians,* which, however, was later dropped from the Syriac canon and so no longer survives in that language.

**3. Peshitta.** This is the standard version of the Syriac churches. It covers all the NT apart from 2–3 John, 2 Peter, Jude and Revelation, which do not form part of the canon of the early Syriac Church. The following passages are also missing: Matt 27:35b; Luke 22:17–18; John 7:53–8:11; Acts 8:37; 15:34; and 28:29.

As can be seen from the gospels, the Peshitta is not a new translation, but a revision of the Old Syriac, bringing it more closely into line with the Greek; for this purpose a Greek ms (or mss) with an early form of the Byzantine text was evidently used. The revision must have been completed in the early decades of the 5th century and it was propagated very effectively, for it soon replaced its earlier rivals. Although the famous bishop of Edessa Rabbula (died 435) may well have had a hand in propagating the revised text, he cannot have undertaken the revision himself (as Burkitt proposed), for there is evidence for "revised" readings in existence before his time. It is now recognized that the process of revision must have taken place over an extended period (each of the two Old Syriac mss indeed already show traces of such revision here and there on the basis of the Greek).

Over 60 Peshitta NT mss dating from the 5th and 6th centuries survive (the majority contain just the gospels). They exhibit a remarkably uniform text and only in a few mss do some Old Syriac readings survive (notably in a Berlin ms of the 5th–6th century, Phillipps 1388). Elsewhere in the Peshitta NT significant variations are rare: a famous example occurs at Heb 2:9, where early Peshitta witnesses are to be found for both "apart from God" and "in his grace, God" *(sic).*

In mss with the complete Peshitta NT the Pauline Epistles follow, rather than precede, James, 1 Peter, and 1 John. A system of chapter numbering, different from the current one, is first found in Add. 14460 of A.D. 600, and soon became widespread. Several early Peshitta gospel mss are provided with the Ammonian Sections and Eusebian canons, in an elaborated form. Separate Lectionary mss are found from the 9th century onwards. A number of gospel and lectionary mss contain illuminations; most famous of these is a gospel ms in Florence (Plut. I, Cod. 56) written in A.D. 586 by a scribe named Rabbula (hence often called the "Rabbula Gospels").

The first printed edition of the Peshitta NT, edited by J. A. Widmanstadt and published in Vienna in 1555, receives mention in the Translators' Preface to the King James Version of 1611. In the Paris and London Polyglots, for the books missing from the Peshitta canon the minor Catholic Epistles were supplied from the "Pococke Epistles" (see under Philoxenian), and Revelation from the Harklean. The only edition based on a collation of a selection of early mss is that of the gospels by G. H. Gwilliam

(1901). Gwilliam's unpublished work for the rest of the NT served as the basis for the British and Foreign Bible Society's edition of 1920 (without apparatus), and this remains the most satisfactory text. For this edition the text of those books not in the Peshitta canon was taken from Gwynn's editions of 6th-century translations of these books (see below). Both these editions employ a vocalized *serto* script. An *estrangelo* edition, based directly on early mss, has been published by The Way International (1983); although the introduction states that the books not available in the Peshitta are taken from the Harklean, in fact they derive from the 6th-century translations. The United Bible Societies' edition of the entire Syriac Bible (1979) provides a reprint of Lee's edition of 1832; this retains a large number of rubrics indicating lections. For books not available in the Peshitta Lee used the "Pococke Epistles" and the Harklean Apocalypse.

No concordance proper to the Peshitta NT yet exists, although one is promised. Word lists with full references, however, are to be found in C. Schaaf, *Lexicon Syriacum Concordantiale* (2d ed. 1717) and The Way International's *The Concordance to the Peshitta Version of the Aramaic NT* (1985). Besides Schaaf's *Lexicon* (Syriac-Latin) there is a handy Syriac-English NT Lexicon by W. Jennings (1926). There are English translations of the Peshitta NT by J. Murdock (1896) and G. M. Lamsa (1957); an earlier translation of the gospels alone was made by J. W. Etheridge (1846).

**4. Philoxenian.** In his Commentary on the Prologue of John, the Syrian Orthodox writer Philoxenus (bishop of Mabbug, d. 523) tells how, being unsatisfied with some loose translations in the Peshitta of certain key doctrinal passages, he commissioned a revision of this version, bringing it closer into line with the Greek. The work was undertaken, according to a contemporary author, Moses of Inghilene, by his chorepiscopus Polycarp, while the date and place (Mabbug, 507/8) are given in the colophons to the Harklean gospels.

Ever since J. White edited the Harklean NT with the misleading words *versio philoxeniana* in the title, there has been a long dispute over whether the text of White's edition represented the Philoxenian revision (as White thought, in which case Thomas of Harkel's work was limited to the critical signs and marginal readings), or Thomas of Harkel's own revision (in which case the Philoxenian is lost). Argument centered largely around the ambiguous wording of the colophons, found in many Harklean mss, which describe Thomas' work. The publication in 1977 of Philoxenus' Commentary on the Prologue of John (from a 6th-century ms) provided a final solution to the problem, for Philoxenus there frequently quotes from a revised text, rather than the Peshitta; this revised text, which will doubtless be Polycarp's work (i.e., the Philoxenian) is not the same as White's text, but represents a half-way stage between the Peshitta and that text. Thus White's text can now definitively be identified as the Harklean. This means that the Philoxenian revision can only be recovered from quotations in the later works of Philoxenus and in some other 6th-century writings.

It is evident that Polycarp also introduced the Euthalian material into Syriac, to accompany his revision of the Peshitta; this survives only fragmentarily in British Library Add. 7157 of A.D. 767/8.

Certain anonymous biblical translations have often been identified as belonging to the Philoxenian version. This applies to the anonymous Syriac translation of Isaiah from Greek (see above, A.3), and to a version of the minor Catholic Epistles and Apocalypse which clearly served as the basis for the later Harklean. For the NT books the identification remains uncertain, since Philoxenus himself never makes use of these NT books which fall outside the Peshitta canon; on the other hand, the Harklean colophon to the Catholic Epistles implies that all seven letters were in the Philoxenian. In any case these anonymous translations can safely be attributed to the 6th century on the basis of the translation technique employed.

The 6th-century version of the minor Catholic Epistles (often referred to as the "Pococke Epistles," after E. Pococke who first published them in 1630) already features in the Paris and London Polyglots, whence it was taken over by other editions such as that by Lee; a much improved text, based on the earliest mss available, was edited by J. Gwynn (1909). In the same volume Gwynn also published two versions, of the 6th and of the 7th century, of the Pericope on the Adulteress. The text of the anonymous translation of the Apocalypse (often referred to as the "Crawford Apocalypse," after a former owner) was also published by

Gwynn (1897). The texts of Gwynn's editions are republished in the standard British and Foreign Bible Society's edition of the Syriac NT.

**5. Harklean.** The Harklean version, covering the entire NT, represents the culmination in the long process of bringing the Syriac NT into as close conformity as possible to the Greek, employing techniques of "mirror translation" very similar to those used for the Syro-Hexapla. Like the Syro-Hexapla, the revision was undertaken at the Enaton, outside Alexandria; the work was done, as we learn from detailed colophons preserved in many mss, by Thomas of Harkel, and was completed in 616 (the gospel colophons specify that 2 or 3 Greek mss were used). The text is accompanied in the best mss by a number of obeli, asterisks and marginal readings; the precise purpose of these remains disputed, though several of the marginal readings are specifically identified as being derived from different Greek manuscripts. In Acts the Harklean margin is an important witness to "Western" readings. Thomas also revised the earlier translation of the Euthalian material.

The Harklean gospels are preserved in over 50 mss, of which at least 10 (not all complete) belong to the 8th or 9th centuries (a few may even belong to the late 7th century). The rest of the NT is much less satisfactorily preserved, and only three fuller Harklean NT mss survive, Oxford, New College 333 of the 11th century, Cambridge Add.1700 of A.D. 1170, and (it seems) Damascus Patr.1/2 of A.D. 1419; these contain (besides the gospels) Acts and the Epistles, but not Revelation. The Harklean gospels, Acts and Epistles (including all seven Catholic Epistles) were published (with Latin translation) by J. White under the erroneous title *Versio Syriaca Philoxeniana* in three volumes (1778, 1799, 1803). His source was the Oxford ms, from which the end of Hebrews had been lost; this was eventually published, from the Cambridge ms, by R. L. Bensley (1889). The Harklean version of the Apocalypse is known only from a ms of the 12th/13th century in Mardin (Turkey), published photographically by Vööbus (1978), and from a group of late Maronite mss from which all printed editions derive; the text was first published by L. Le Dieu, (1627); it is also given in the Paris and London Polyglots and in Lee's edition. About 70% of the text of the Harklean Apocalypse is also to be found in an anonymous Syriac commentary on this book, preserved in British Library Add. 17127 of A.D. 1088 (to be published by S. Larson).

The Harklean text often features in gospel lectionaries (9th century onwards), and for the Passion Narrative this is sometimes in the form of a harmony compiled by Daniel of Beth Batin (near Harran). A new edition of the Harklean NT is much to be desired.

**6. Christian Palestinian Aramaic.** This version is only partly preserved; it was made from Greek and shows only minimal traces of influence from the older Syriac versions (including the Diatessaron). The date of the version is uncertain, but the oldest mss (all palimpsests and very fragmentary) may belong to the 6th century. Among the better preserved later mss are three complete gospel lectionaries (dated 1030, 1104, and 1118; two of the scribes are associated with ʿAbud, a village between Jaffa and Caesarea). Apart from the gospels, fragments from Acts, most of the Pauline Epistles, and James and 2 Peter are represented; the majority of these are preserved only in lectionary manuscripts. Although most of the extant fragments come from Sinai, Damascus and the Cairo Geniza (discovered at the end of last century), there have been a few more recent finds in the Judean Desert (Perrot).

The three gospel lectionaries have been edited in synoptic form by A. S. Lewis and M. D. Gibson (1899). A list of CPA texts published before 1962 is given by Perrot, who published a new fragment of Acts.

**C. Translations and Commentaries**

Some Syriac biblical versions (usually Peshitta, but in some cases Syro-Hexapla and Harklean) have been translated in the Middle Ages into other languages, notably Arabic, Persian and Sogdian. Traces of Syriac influence have also been discerned in certain books in the Armenian, Georgian, and Ethiopic (Geʿez) versions, all of which are otherwise basically from Greek.

The main extant commentaries on the Syriac Bible (OT and/or NT, in whole or in part) are by Ephrem (d. 373) and then, (i) in the Syrian Orthodox tradition, Jacob of Serugh (d. 521), Philoxenus (d. 523), Jacob of Edessa (d. 708), Moshe bar Kepha (d. 903), Dionysios bar Salibi (d. 1171), and Barhebraeus (d. 1286); and (ii) from the Church of the East, Narsai (d. ca. 500), Theodore bar Koni, Ishoʿbar Nun,

Isho‘dad of Merv and two anonymous commentators (all 8th/9th century), and the Gannat Bussāmē, a commentary on the Lectionary of the 13th century.

(Full bibliography up to 1960 can be found in C. Moss, *Catalogue of Syriac Printed Books and Related Literature in the British Museum* [London: the Trustees of the British Museum 1962] cols. 110–96 and Addenda, cols. 29–52; supplements for 1961–70 and 1971–80 in S. P. Brock, Syriac Studies: a classified Bibliography, in *Parole de l'Orient* 4 [1973], pp. 405–10, and 10; [1981–82], pp. 306–14; and 14 [1987], pp. 299–302. For the Peshitta OT see Dirksen 1989.)

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S. P. BROCK

## *LATIN VERSIONS*

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**A. The Greek Bible in Latin (Old Latin)**

**1. Origin.** During the first centuries of Christian expansion, the vernacular language of the Mediterranean world was mainly Greek, even in the West. The books of the OT were read in the early Christian churches according to the LXX and the NT in Greek. When the necessity arose—as early as the 2d century in Roman Africa—the Bible was translated into Latin from the Greek. In many places, Tertullian (ca. 160–220) used a Latin version already at his disposal, certain peculiarities of which remained throughout the history of the Latin Bible. When, in the middle of the 3d century, Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, quoted Scripture at great length and not from memory ( *Libri III ad Quirinum,* commonly called *Testimonia*), he did it according to a Latin translation which was itself a revision and had already a complex history. This process of successive revisions continued for centuries and is a special feature of the Latin Bible. The *Acta martyrum,* in Africa again, mention sacred books as early as 180.

**2. Unity and Diversity.** As it appears from patristic quotations and from manuscripts, the Old Latin is not constant and contains many divergencies. Augustine and Jerome were aware of this *vitiosissima varietas* (most vicious diversity). But, with the exception of some special cases, the differences do not attest the plurality of translations for a given book. Similarities are too characteristic and numerous, and differences only attest successive and even parallel revisions. The quotations of Novatian (ca. 250) do not succeed in demonstrating the existence of a distinct European translation independent of the African. The use of *testimonia* (anthologies of scriptural quotations) is an adequate explanation for some of the major divergencies. Liturgists know that the Latinization of the Christian community in Rome was slow and did not succeed completely before Pope Damasus. The history of the Latin version of the Greek Bible is, on the one hand, that of revisions according to Greek models (LXX and NT) different from those used by the first translator and, on the other hand, that of alterations in Latin vocabulary and style following the evolution of the language.

**a. Revision According to Greek Models.** The first translation was done from Greek witnesses differing considerably from texts commonly received in the 4th century. In the NT, the model was, as a rule, a witness of the "Western Text"; the OT (LXX) was marked by many of the so-called Lucianic variants, which were certainly prior to the martyr Lucian (died ca. 310) and which sometimes went back to the oldest known form of the LXX (Old Greek). Before Cyprian and repeatedly afterwards especially at those points where the differences were apparent, the Latin was revised on Gk mss akin to the great uncials. From this point of view, the Latin version had no independent authority; its authority depended on its reliability when compared with received Greek witnesses. It is worth noting that the stability of liturgical use and the memorizing of texts slowed the process of alteration.

**b. Changes in Vocabulary.** At the same time, a progressive change in vocabulary and style took place. Some technical words, some common words, and even some form-words (e.g. *itaque*) disappeared, and others came into use. At the outset, these may be called "African", later being replaced by the term

"European". The change is probably no less a matter of chronology than of geography. It is clear from quotations by Augustine that the Italian "European" use was soon to return to Africa.

The joint use of these two types of observation permits the modern investigator to distinguish some marked stages in the evolution of the text which are attested in the majority of the books of the OT and of the NT: the old African text (Cyprian), a more advanced African text (Ticonius, died before 400), an Italian text, and another European text (Lucifer of Cagliari, middle 4th century). The final victory, from the Carolingian Times onwards, of the Hieronymian translations and the success of some other texts not revised by Jerome involved the disappearance of nearly all non-conform witnesses. The terms "Old Latin" and *vetus latina* perfectly suit translations and revisions prior to Jerome. They are extended to old revisions the absolute date of which we do not know.

**3. Witnesses.** The sources of our knowledge of the Old Latin versions may be listed as follows: (1) Quotations in patristic literature (inventory in Frede 1981; 1984; 1988). Most relevant on account of the number and the length of the quotations are the works of Cyprian, Lucifer of Cagliari, Jerome, Augustine and some *florilegia,* such as the *Liber de divinis scripturis.* All the patristic material is available on files in the Vetus Latina Institut of Beuron (West Germany) and is being published. Biblical texts from quotations are approximately dated and localized by their context.

(2) Biblical manuscripts written in the period when the Old Latin was still in use. Many are fragmentary or palimpsests; some are well preserved (Lowe 1934–1972).

(3) Carolingian and medieval Bibles. Especially for books not translated by Jerome from the Hebrew, it may be that their text is copied according to an archaic form in the middle of a Vulgate Bible. Examples are known even in 13th century Bibles.

(4) Glosses or additions to the translations of Jerome, especially when the Hebrew and Jerome are notably shorter than the Greek and the Old Latin (Samuel, Proverbs).

(5) Biblical lessons, canticles, and antiphons in early and medieval liturgical books of the various rites (Milanese, Roman, Gallican, Mozarabic). Liturgy is conservative.

**4. Editions.** The editions are scattered in many publications and not always easily accessible. Only editions of at least one biblical book are mentioned here. The *Vetus Italica* of P. Sabatier (1743) remains useful. The Vetus Latina Institut of Beuron started in 1949 the critical edition of the Old Latin Bible (manuscripts and quotations). The volumes of the *Vetus Latina* already printed are masterpieces of scholarship.

**5. Relevancy.** The Old Latin, not the Vulgate, has been the Bible used and commentated on by the Fathers of the Church; the translations of Jerome are discussed, although rarely quoted by late authors. The lemma of the commentaries has often been changed by copyists to conform with the Vulgate but the commentary itself may offer a clue to the original. Identifying the quotations may be a difficult task because, in some books of the OT especially, the LXX (followed by the Old Latin) and the Hebrew differ greatly. In such cases, concordances of the Vulgate are of no use; only the Greek concordance of Hatch and Redpath gives assistance after tentative retroversion. The earlier forms of the Old Latin are older witnesses to the Greek than the preserved Greek manuscripts. The Old Latin sometimes attests the Old Greek, itself witnessing an Old Hebrew prior to the MT.

**B. The Books Translated by Jerome**

It would be erroneous to identify the Vulgate with the translations of Jerome (see C below). Nevertheless Jerome occupies an unequalled position in the history of the Latin versions of the Bible. His genius as a translator and an exegete did more for the diffusion of his works than his choice of the *veritas hebraica* (against the LXX), which was much criticized in his own time and afterwards.

During his stay in Rome (382–385), Jerome revised the Latin Gospels, using old models of a European type *(b, ff²),* correcting them most probably according to Gk mss of *koinē* type ("K" in H. von Soden terminology). Pope Damasus accepted the dedication (prologue *Novum opus*), thus involving his high authority in this venture. Jerome also did a first revision of the Psalter of which nothing is known.

At Bethlehem (after 387), Jerome began to translate the Origenian or hexaplaric edition of the LXX, easily recognizable by the use of the asterisk and the obelus. He published a new Latin Psalter, called

hexaplaric or, commonly, Gallican (it was used for the liturgy in Gaul), which subsequently became the Vulgate Psalter. He also published in this way a translation of Job (extant), Proverbs, Canticles (extant), Ecclesiastes and 1–2 Chronicles (the prologues are extant). It is not known if he translated more from the hexaplaric Greek. The material he did translate was to appear in the *codex grandior* of Cassiodorus.

With the assistance of the Greek translations of Aquila and especially of Symmachus, Jerome undertook a translation of the OT from the Hebrew. He probably began with the Psalter *(iuxta Hebraeos),* continued with the Prophets, including Daniel and its Greek supplements (390–392), 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings (392 or 393), Job (before 394) and, in one book called Esdras, Ezra-Nehemiah (394). Then followed 1–2 Chronicles (395–396), Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles (398), the Pentateuch (ca. 400). He achieved the whole Hebrew Bible with Esther and its Greek supplements (shortly before 404) and with Joshua, Judges and Ruth (405–406). Again, using his often declared principles, he translated Tobit and Judith, without much care and using Old Latin texts (before 407).

No experienced scholar ever attributed to Jerome the translation or the revision of Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon, 1–2 Maccabees, Baruch, and the Epistle of Jeremiah, which are to be found in Vulgate mss. It is also accepted today that Jerome did not touch the Pauline and Catholic Epistles, Acts, or Revelation. The Pelagian circles in Rome and Rufinus the Syrian are likely the authors of the Vulgate revision of those NT books.

At the outset, Jerome's new translations did nothing but add to the multiplicity and the diversity he fought against. Nor did they end other attempts at translation. Moreover Jerome was certainly not the editor of a complete Latin Bible and not even of his own grouped translations.

**C. The Vulgate**

**1. The Term "Vulgata."** In the usage of the Latin Fathers, including Jerome, the term *vulgata* (*koinē,* "common") is applied to the Greek Bible in the current and nonrevised text and to its Latin version. However, since the 16th century, the term has been used to refer to the current Latin Bibles containing the translation of Jerome. No decision was taken in patristic times to give the translation of Jerome an official character, and his short canon (without the so-called deuterocanonical books) was never received. But the mention of Pope Damasus in the prologue of the gospels is likely to have subsequently extended his authority to the rest. Probably in the middle of the 5th century, the Hieronymian translations were completed with others and put together by an editor who used the terminology of Rufin of Aquileia. This compilation is rather well preserved in the Bible of Saint-Germain-des Prés (Paris, B.N., lat. 11553 ca. 800).

**2. "Bibliotheca" and "Pandectes."** No Latin Bible in one codex is known with certainty before the middle of the 6th century. The Bible was actually a *bibliotheca* (nine or more *codices*), and this custom remained common until the 9th century. The parts of such *bibliothecae* were not necessarily homogeneous and it was not easy to produce a general edition. The first mention of Bibles in one volume comes from Cassiodorus, under the term *pandectes* (complete collection). Their use spread slowly. The oldest two are the palimpsest Bible of Léon (Catedral 15; 7th century) and the *Amiatinus* written in Wearmouth-Yarrow between 689 and 716. They became the common practice in the scriptoria of Alcuin (Tours) and Theodulf (Orléans) from the very beginning of the 9th century. In those Bibles, which were widely disseminated, the translations of Jerome were privileged and, for the other books, the choices of Alcuin and Theodulf (under Spanish influence) rather similar. Regional differences continued to remain and certain attempts at revision on the Hebrew will interfere until, at the beginning of the 13th century, the University of Paris and its librarians generalized a type of Latin Bible *(Biblia Parisiensia)* quite similar to what we call the Vulgate. At the same time, Stephen Langton (1150–1228) introduced those chapter divisions still in use today.

**3. Content.** Since the beginning of the 9th century, the following parts are common in the mss: (1) the translations from the Hebrew by Jerome, including Judith, Tobit, and the supplements to Esther and Daniel; (2) the hexaplaric version of the Psalter (also called *gallicanum*) by Jerome, used in the Carolingian liturgy and chosen by Alcuin, and not as one might have expected the *iuxta Hebraeos,* although chosen by Theodulf (on the respective diffusion of the Latin Psalters, see Fischer 1985: 407–

415); (3) the revision of the gospels by Jerome; (4) in the Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, 1–2 Maccabees, and the rest of the NT, the Alcuinian text, sometimes influenced by the Theodulfian and with persistent regional differences. Baruch which was not separated from Jeremiah in the Old Latin, is often absent between the 8th and the 13th centuries; the Bibles of Theodulf preserved a type of text of Baruch which became common only in the *Biblia Parisiensia* (13th century). These Bibles usually put 3 Esdras (Esdras A in the LXX), which was a part of the Old Latin Bible, after Ezra and Nehemiah (counted as 1–2 Esdras). The book of 4 Esdras, which entered under Spanish influence, followed 3 Esdras. The short Prayer of Manasseh follows 2 Chronicles. These books, which the Council of Trent did not recognize as canonical, were nevertheless printed as an appendix in the Sixto-Clementine Bible (1592 and following editions).

**4. History.** Medieval erudition marked the transmission of the Latin Bibles, introducing new series of *capitula,* prefaces, and marginal and interlineary glosses. Some revisors tried to produce a text nearer to the Hebrew than Jerome's (e.g., an anonymous scribe of the school of Theodulf, Étienne Harding). Others aimed at eliminating errors and wrote *correctoria.* Humanists in the 16th century printed Latin Bibles corrected according to the Hebrew and to the Greek. The first to look for reliable old Latin mss to prepare an improved text was Robert Estienne especially in his edition of 1540. It is to him that we owe the present verse numbering (1553, 1555), which he introduced to subdivide the chapters of Stephen Langton. The Council of Trent, which recognized the Vulgate as the authentic (authoritative, official) Latin version, gave only a list of canonical books and commissioned scholars to provide the Church with a new edition. It was published by Sixtus V (1590) and a better edition appeared under Clement VIII (1592) with the assistance of Robert Bellarmin. The continuity from Alcuin to the Sixto-Clementine via the *Biblia Parisiensia,* the Gutenberg Bible (1450–1455), the Estienne Bible and the Louvain Bibles (1547, 1583) is manifest. In its final stabilization, just as in its long and complex history, the Vulgate appears as the result of two main trends: respect for the original tradition (the first *vulgata,* the Greek Bible translated in Latin) and the translations of Jerome according to the *hebraica veritas.* When they conflicted, the latter supplanted the former. The result is the Vulgate in the usual sense.

**5. Critical Editions.** The NT has been critically edited by J. Wordsworth, H. J. White and H. F. D. Sparks (1889–1954). The OT has been critically edited by the Benedictines of San Girolamo in Rome (H. Quentin, R. Weber, J. Gribomont, H. de Sainte-Marie, J. Mallet, A. Thibaut, 1926–1987). Only 1–2 Maccabees have not yet been published (see De Bruyne and Sodar 1932). R. Weber, with the help of others, has given an excellent edition of the whole Vulgate with an abridged apparatus (1969).

## D. The Neo-Vulgate

In 1979, John Paul II promulgated a new official Latin translation of the Bible which was the final product of the Pontifical Commission for the Neo-Vulgate created by Paul VI in 1965. This new version respects the tradition of the Christian Latin language and is a revision of the Vulgate according to the Hebrew and to the Greek. It follows with caution the present state of modern exegesis. There are notable innovations in the deuterocanonical books; e.g., Judith and Tobit are translated from the Greek with the help of the Old Latin.

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## *COPTIC VERSIONS*

A "Coptic Version" is a translation of the Bible (or some part of it) into Coptic. Portions of the Bible are extant in all of the Coptic dialects, although Sahidic and Bohairic are the most important. See also LANGUAGES (COPTIC). Early translators apparently utilized then current Gk texts of the NT as well as

the LXX. The only complete codices come very late, i.e., after the 11th century C.E., and thus are of only relative importance. The early translations exist in various mss often of a single NT writing and frequently are only partially preserved. In the 3d and early 4th centuries virtually all of the NT texts were translated into Sahidic Coptic. In fact, several NT books were translated more than once by different translators. The so-called NAG HAMMADI codices reflect the Sahidic dialect, but often mixed with other dialects.

The Bohairic Version, translated independently of the Sahidic, came to supersede the Sahidic as the standard Coptic Version (this dialect continues to be used today as the liturgical language of the Coptic Orthodox Church). These translations, however, are generally later than the Sahidic. Until only recently, the oldest ms of the Bohairic dated to the 10th or 11th century, however several recent mss have come to light dating from the 4th and 5th centuries.

In the NT writings, the text of both the Sahidic and Bohairic often agrees with the Alexandrian text though there are a number of agreements with the Western text in the gospels and Acts. See also WESTERN TEXT; TEXTUAL CRITICISM (NT).

Until the 20th century the "Coptic NT " existed only in fragments scattered throughout the world. In 1905 George Horner completed a critical text of the Bohairic Version (four volumes) and in 1924 he completed the Sahidic (seven volumes). The Coptic Orthodox Society published a one-volume Bohairic text in 1934 based upon Henry Tattam's *Coptic New Testament* and Horner. The "Coptic Versions" are preserved for the most part in fragments scattered throughout the world in various collections. A list of published manuscripts to about 1922 may be found in A. Vaschalde; for those after 1920 until the late 1950s, in W. Till.

There are numerous limitations indigenous to the Coptic, as compared to the Greek, that make it difficult to infer with exactness the Greek text that may underlie a specific Coptic rendering. For example, Sahidic Coptic has no case endings (a fact that puts enormous stress upon word order in Coptic); Sahidic Coptic has no neuter gender (thus most Greek neuter nouns are rendered as though they were masculine); Sahidic Coptic has only the active voice; Sahidic Coptic often renders the Greek imperfect and the aorist as perfects, etc. Early Coptic translations reflect a heavy use of Greek loan-words, but often with variations in spelling especially with regard to vowels. As B. Metzger observes, "Compared with Greek [Coptic] is much more wooden and lacking in suppleness and variety of expression" (1977: 107). Yet, despite these and other limitations, scholars generally agree that the Versions can be of great importance in the effort toward establishing the critical text.

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## *GOTHIC VERSIONS*

### A. The Gothic Nation

The Goths, who originated in Scandinavia, migrated South and East during the early Christian centuries, settling in the Balkans and the Ukraine. The two Gothic branches of Ostrogoths (East Goths) and Visigoths (West Goths) were separated geographically by the river Dniester. They were a problem to the Empire for some centuries, invading Cappadocia in 264, and carrying off prisoners to Moesia. There is

some evidence, even so early, for Christians amongst them, and a Gothic bishop was present at the Council of Nicaea in A.D. 325.

**B. The Translator**

The bishop whom tradition designates as translator of the Bible into the Gothic language was ordained in 341: his grandparents were among the prisoners taken to Moesia in 264. His name is usually given in modern handbooks in the form Wulfila, which is a retroversion from the Greek forms Oulphilas and Ourphilas, and the Latin forms Ulfila, Vulfila, Vulphilas, and Gulfila. He is credited by his eulogist Auxentius (ca. 383) with knowledge of Greek, Latin, and his native Gothic.

Wulfila led his persecuted flock to within the Roman empire in about 348. With the Visigothic kingdom there was further persecution in 370 and after, but shortly thereafter some Visigoths became Christian under their leader, Fritigern. After wanderings in Italy, the Visigoths established a kingdom in Spain, which survived until 711. The conversion of the Ostrogoths was later, certainly by 454, although the exact date is not known. Both groups were converted to the Arian form of Christianity, as were the related Vandals, who shared the same language. The Visigoths turned to Catholic Christianity in 589. In the later years of their rule in Spain they no longer used the Gothic language.

**C. The Gothic Language**

This language is a member of the Germanic group of the Indo-European languages, a group which is subdivided into North-Germanic, West-Germanic, and East-Germanic. To North-Germanic belong Norse and Scandinavian languages; to West-Germanic belong German, Dutch, Frisian, English, and related languages; while Gothic, now extinct, is the only representative of East-Germanic. Our knowledge of the Gothic language comes largely from the Bible translation traditionally ascribed to Wulfila; the only other extensive document is a commentary on the gospel of John, called Skeireins ("Interpretation") by its first modern editor. Otherwise, we are limited to glosses, two trading receipts, Gothic names known from historians, and some inscriptions in the runic script. Wulfila used signs from the Greek and Latin alphabets, and a few signs taken from runic, to form an alphabet for the transcription of Gothic.

**D. Manuscript Evidence**

Of the surviving mss of the Gothic version, the best preserved is the *Codex Argenteus Upsaliensis,* 187 leaves of a "de luxe" ms, written in silver, with golden initials, upon purple vellum, containing the gospels in the order Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. It marks the Ammonian Sections in its margin, and has a corresponding harmony based on the Eusebian Canons at the foot of each page. Dateable about 500, it is often considered to have been produced for Theoderic the king of the Ostrogoths (see Friesen and Grape 1927). Two further fragments contain respectively 20 verses of Matthew (Milan, Ambrosianus I.61 sup.), underwriting of a palimpsest, and a short section of Luke (formerly in Giessen, Germany, now destroyed), which is from a Gothic-Latin bilingual found in Egypt. We have evidence for all Pauline Epistles (except Hebrews) in a number of palimpsests (Milan, Ambrosianus 1.61 sup. [in which leaves of two different mss are preserved for the Paulines], and mss in Turin and Wolfenbüttel). For about half the extent preserved, we have two ms representatives of the text, which increases our knowledge of this part of the version. Chapter divisions appear to be related to the Euthalian apparatus, which is known from Greek, Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian sources: but the Gothic reflects only certain aspects of what is elsewhere attested. The absence of Hebrews may be accidental, but may be due to the Arians' initial uncertainties about its canonicity. In another palimpsest (again, Milan Ambrosianus 1.61 sup.) are preserved the only other part of the Bible known in Gothic, Nehemiah 5–7. According to Greek sources, Wulfila translated the OT, apart from the too warlike books of Samuel and Kings, but no more than these fragments survive, with the exception of references to single words and numbers from Genesis, which appear to be more a school exercise than a biblical text. References to traces of a Psalms translation, in some earlier scholarly literature, seem to rest on misinterpretation of data, and the same applies to references to Ezra, rather than to Nehemiah.

**E. Interaction of Latin and Gothic Versions**

One gospel fragment (Giessen) and one ms of the Paulines (Wolfenbüttel) are Gothic-Latin bilinguals. We can see from the study of these that such bilinguals have left their mark upon the rest of both parts of

the NT extant in Gothic, even when the text is not preserved in an actual bilingual. Readings, unknown in Greek, and derived from the Old Latin, have infiltrated the Gothic text. In our analysis then, we must distinguish between readings of the Gothic which are derived from the Greek original from which the translator worked, and intrusive readings from the Latin, derived in the way we have outlined. These are not witnesses to the Greek original, but date from the later stages of Gothic history, and the history of the Gothic text, when migration had brought the Goths into contact with Latin speaking Christianity in Italy, S Gaul, and Spain. We also have evidence that, given a bilingual manuscript, the process could work the other way, with readings from the Gothic intruding into the Latin. One Old Latin ms, the codex Brixianus (of the 6th century, preserved in Brescia: conventional siglum *f*), has many readings which distinguish it from the rest of the Old Latin tradition of the gospel text, but which show close affiliation with the type of Gk mss from which the Gothic was taken. In these cases then, such a Latin manuscript is no longer a witness to the Old Latin, but an ally of the Gothic and its Greek original.

**F. Text-type of Greek Original (New Testament)**

Both in the Gospels and in the Paulines, the basic text used by Wulfila was an early type of the text which dominates the later Greek ms tradition, and which is known as early as the quotations of John Chrysostom (d. 407); in textual theory it has borne a number of different names, and today is generally known as the Byzantine text. Its origins and history have not recently been investigated, but it would appear that it was, in one of its forms at any rate, associated with Antioch, since it is known in writers linked with Antioch (such as Chrysostom himself, Severian of Gabala [d. after 408], and Theodoret [d. about 466]. The Gothic may then be treated as another witness to the early form of this long surviving text-type. But as has been observed, the user of the Gothic must always be alert to the possibility of Latin corruption in the extant witnesses.

**G. Wulthres**

The codex Brixianus shows in its preface that Gothic scribes and scholars made comparisons with both Greek and Latin. Here the author indicates that symbols, indicating Greek and Latin respectively, will be found above a *wulthre.* This Gothic word, transliterated in the Latin text, is otherwise unknown. A considerable literature of debate amongst students of the version has developed, some believing that differences of the respective texts were thus being noted, while others believe that identities of meaning were being noted. Since the preface presupposes a Gothic-Latin manuscript, it is no surprise that the Brixianus, which is a descendant of such, but in Latin only, retains no instances of the use of the term, nor any example of the data to which it referred. A few marginalia are found in the codex Argenteus and in one Pauline manuscript preserved in palimpsest leaves in Milan (referred to as Cod. Ambr. A); but in neither case is found the sign referred to in the Brixian preface. However, for all its enigmatic quality, the preface reveals the Goths of the later centuries as giving close attention to the text of their Bible.

**H. Absence of the *Pericope Adulterae***

The Gothic gospel text, as we have indicated, is taken from Gk mss of Byzantine text-type. But the date of the surviving manuscripts makes it inevitable that readings from the Latin have crept in. The most striking of these, in all likelihood, is the absence of the pericope of the Woman taken in Adultery (John 7:53–8:11). The presence of this is distinctive of the Byzantine text, although the pericope is older than that text. Its absence in the Gothic is the more remarkable. We may note that it is absent not only in the codex Brixianus but in three other Old Latin mss as well, and is not quoted by Latin Christian writers until the late 4th century. Such a type of Latin text, where the pericope was not known, may then have early led to its exclusion from the Gothic when that version began to encounter Latin tradition.

**I. Text-type of the Greek Original (Old Testament)**

Of the OT, only parts of Nehemiah are known, apart from the fragmentary and baffling hints of knowledge of Genesis. We can be clear of the affiliations of the Gothic Nehemiah, however: time and again it shares readings (often in very distinctive matters such as numbers and the spelling of names) with three Gk mss numbered 19, 108, and 93 in the current lists (known as b´, *b*, and $e^2$ in the Cambridge LXX). These mss are the basis, in the books of Kingdoms, for Rahlfs' study of the Lucianic text. It may follow, then, that the Gothic version of Nehemiah may attest the Lucianic text, since these mss appear to

be its witness elsewhere than in Kingdoms. Recent debate about the nature, origin, and antecedents of the Lucianic text may change any interpretation of these data of affiliation, but the data themselves are secure.

**J. Value and Future of Research**

We have a number of excellent monographs on the Gothic version, especially of the NT, but almost without exception these are from the hand of Germanists. Their objective has been to secure sound philological grounds for the use of Gothic in the reconstruction of the history of the Germanic languages. Their work is of great value to the biblical textual critic, enabling him to comprehend the Gothic language; but with some exceptions, few of these scholars have given the Gothic much attention as a witness to the biblical text. This is true for the NT, and even more so the old. There is scope here for further work in biblical textual criticism.

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J. NEVILLE BIRDSALL


## *ARMENIAN VERSIONS*

**A. Evangelization of Armenia**

Christianity entered Armenia through Syria, probably as early as the first century. The new religion, apparently Ebionitic in character, spread slowly through the southern provinces, encountering opposition from the dominant religions, the native Armenian worship of Anahita, consort of Mithra, and Zoroastrianism.

Armenia was converted to orthodox Christianity during the reign of Tiridates III (ca. 287–ca. 314) through the preaching of Gregory, called the Illuminator. The son of an Armenian nobleman, Gregory was converted to Christianity in Caesarea of Cappadocia, where he had been reared and educated. Returning to Armenia as a missionary, Gregory suffered years of persecution until the king, in 304, proclaimed Christianity the national religion.

**B. The Translation of the Bible**

The political implications of the conversion of Armenia to orthodox Christianity were not lost on the Persians. During the following three centuries, Armenia became the unfortunate battlefield in the political and religious rivalry between Ctesiphon and Constantinople. Both the Sassanians and the Byzantines were determined to impose their own religion on the Armenians. Syriac language and literature were forbidden in the West, Greek language and literature in the East. The partition of Armenia between the Persian and Roman Empires in 387 and the attempts to impose foreign cultures on the people, to say nothing of the persecutions and deportations, threatened the very existence of the young Christian nation.

This crisis was met by the visionary leadership of the Catholicos Sahak (ca. 350–439) and the scholar-preacher Mesrop Mashtotz (ca. 361–440). With the support of the king, Mesrop created an Armenian alphabet (ca. 406), after which Sahak and Mesrop and their disciples translated the Bible, liturgical literature, and the writings of Syriac and Greek church fathers and secular authors into Armenian. This

was nothing less than a spiritual and cultural renaissance which insured the survival of the Armenian church and people.

**C. Nature of the Biblical Text**

**1. Patristic Testimony.** The testimony of the early Armenian historians regarding the archetype of the Armenian Bible and the process of translation is contradictory and difficult to interpret. Koriun (5th century), one of Mesrop's students, gives Mesrop the major role in translation but does not indicate the nature of the base text. Moses of Khorene (7th or 8th century) refers to both Mesrop and Sahak as translators and states that Sahak was translating from Syriac texts because the Persian king had ordered all Greek books in Armenia burned. Koriun further states that Sahak, Eznik, and others revised this "hurriedly-done" translation (Arm 1) on the basis of accurate Gk mss brought from Constantinople following the Council of Ephesus (431). Moses also refers to this thorough revision based on Gk mss (Arm 2) but differs in some details. Lazar of P'arp (5th century) speaks only of Sahak's translation of the OT and NT directly from Greek and does not mention an earlier, less accurate translation. The work of translation and revision was completed by about 435.

**2. Internal Evidence.** Scholarly investigation of the text itself supports the patristic testimony to two or three stages of translation and revision in the 5th century: an initial translation (Arm 1) followed perhaps by a preliminary revision, and later a thorough revision or new translation (Arm 2). Vestiges of the Arm 1 text of Psalms, the Gospels, and Acts have been found in 5th-century patristic quotations, early liturgical mss, Old Georgian mss, endsheet fragments of Armenian gospel mss, and even in the Arm 2 text itself. In addition, two versions of Chronicles, Song of Songs, Maccabees, and Sirach are extant, the earlier of which may represent Arm 1.

Studies of individual OT books indicate that the Arm 1 translations of Ruth, 1 Samuel, Daniel, and Sirach were based on both the Syriac and the Greek Lucianic texts. Some scholars speak of an initial translation from Syriac followed by a revision according to the Greek; others view the Arm 1 translation as composite from the start. The texts of Deuteronomy, Song of Songs, and the Epistle of Jeremiah show little evidence of Syriac influence. The text of Chronicles was based on the proto-Lucianic text of the LXX in Syria.

Arm 2 was clearly translated from Greek. The text of Genesis was based on the Hexaplaric recension of the LXX. The nature of the Septuagintal text in Deuteronomy, Ruth, 1 Samuel, Isaiah, Daniel, and Wisdom of Solomon has been identified as Lucianic or non-Hexaplaric, although secondary Hexaplaric influence is clearly evident in all but Daniel and Wisdom. Job, on the other hand, is an excellent witness to Origen's Hexaplaric text. The text of Jeremiah, though Septuagintal, has been corrected throughout by the Hebrew or Syriac text in regard to the omissions in the LXX text and the ordering of chapters and verses.

The gospel text has received more scholarly attention than any other portion of the Armenian Bible. The debate over whether the Arm 1 text of the gospels was translated from Greek or Syriac would appear to be settled in favor of Syriac, since every study published since 1938 has advocated that position. The form of the Syriac gospels was probably the Old Syriac separated gospels, although a few scholars have favored the Diatessaron. Evidence of the Syriac base of Arm 1 in the extant Arm 2 mss includes Old Syriac and Tatianic readings, proper names transliterated from Syriac, confusion of singular and plural forms, addition of the personal pronoun after the verb, and the rendering of Greek participles by finite verbs.

Limited investigation of the remaining NT books suggests that Acts, the Pauline Epistles, and 1 John were also translated first from Syriac. The absence of any trace of Syriac in 2 Peter and Revelation and the inclusion of 3 Corinthians in the early Arm 2 canon reflect the early Syriac canon and support the conclusion that the Arm 1 NT was translated from Syriac.

As with the OT, the Arm 2 NT was translated from the Greek. Inquiry into the nature of the Greek text has been limited largely to the gospels. The prevailing view that the Arm 2 gospels were translated from Caesarean-type mss must be revised in view of the overwhelming evidence against the existence of a Caesarean text-type. The "pre-Caesarean" witnesses to which the Armenian gospels are most closely

related may well represent a wide-spread Early Koine text which developed from the Alexandrian text-type and provided the Greek base for the earliest Old Syriac, Old Latin, and Arm 2 Gospels.

**D. The Arm 2 Canon**

Judging from the contents of the extant mss, the Arm 2 OT canon followed the LXX in including all of the Hebrew canon plus the Apocrypha (except for *4 Maccabees*). Other apocryphal and pseudepigraphal books such as *4 Ezra* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* also appear in many mss. Medieval canon lists appear to follow Greek sources and do not reflect actual church practice.

The Arm 2 NT in the early centuries included the orthodox canon plus the apocryphal *3 Corinthians.* Although Revelation was translated in the 5th century, it was little used until the 12th, when its text underwent careful revision. Mark 16:9–20 and John 7:53–8:11 were apparently not in the original Arm 2 text, since they are absent from virtually all Armenian mss through the 12th century, and from many later Armenian mss as well.

**E. The Text from the 5th Through the 11th Centuries**

The Arm 2 text of the 5th century was closer to Arm 1 than appears in our extant mss. From the 5th through the 8th centuries, Arm 2 underwent gradual revision to conform it more closely to the Greek text. Certain evidence suggests that Arm 1 continued in use until the eighth century, competing with Arm 2 for acceptance. Apocryphal books not in the original Arm 2 canon were translated during this period and found their way into some biblical mss.

The earliest extant biblical mss come from the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries, an era of peace and cultural florescence in Armenia. The power of the Bagratid Kingdom (859–1045) and smaller neighboring kingdoms allowed monasteries and scriptoria to flourish. During these centuries the Arm 2 text became more standardized and attained that fidelity to the Greek text and idiom for which the Armenian version is noted.

**F. The Text from the 12th Through the 18th Centuries**

As the Bagratid period ended with the onslaughts of the Seljuk Turks from the east and the Byzantine armies from the W, the center of Armenian political and religious life shifted from historic Armenia to Cilicia. The Kingdom of Cilicia (1080–1375) directly involved Armenians for the first time in the governmental and ecclesiastical politics of Europe and the Roman Catholic Church.

Although we hear of no systematic revision of the Arm 2 text during the Cilician period, the changes in the biblical text were significant. Scribal errors and variant readings were dramatically reduced. Hexaplaric marginal notations were dropped. The first one-volume Bibles appeared in the early 13th century, made possible by the shift from erkat'agir (uncial) to bolorgir (minuscule) script. The influence of the Vg text is seen in the adoption of the Frankish chapter divisions, the acceptance of disputed Gospel passages into the text, and the more frequent appearance of *4 Ezra,* Sirach, and Revelation in the biblical mss.

These and other changes produced a text that was fuller and smoother than the Arm text of the Bagratid period. Meanwhile, in historic Armenia, where there was considerable animosity toward Cilicia, scribes continued to produce the standard Arm 2 text.

The Kingdom of Cilicia succumbed to the ravages of the Black Death and the attacks of the Moslem forces of Egypt and Syria. The survivors fled, carrying with them their cherished biblical mss. In this way, the textual traditions of Cilicia spread throughout Greater Armenia and the diaspora and further shaped the Arm 2 text during the succeeding centuries, reinforced by the ever-present influence of the Greek Byzantine text.

**G. Ms Collections and Catalogs**

Armenian biblical mss number well over 2,500, including approximately ninety complete Bibles and 2,100 Gospels. The largest collections are at the State Manuscript Library (the Matenadaran), Erevan, Armenia; at the Armenian Patriarchate, Jerusalem; and in the libraries of the Mekhitarist Fathers in Venice and Vienna. The remainder are in libraries, museums, and private collections throughout the world.

The oldest extant biblical mss, excluding fragments, are two gospel mss from the 9th century located in Erevan and Venice. Gospel mss from the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries number approximately 45. The oldest non-gospel ms is a Venice ms of the Psalms from the 10th or 11th century. The oldest Armenian Bible is a Venice codex dated A.D. 1220.

Catalogs are available for the major collections and for many of the smaller ones (Leloir 1960: 817; Metzger 1977: 157–58; Cox 1982: 102–3). In addition, centralized collections of microfilm are being gathered at Erevan, Jerusalem, and the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library (Collegeville, MN). Microfilm of 26 mss from the Jerusalem collection are available from the Library of Congress (Washington, DC), and St. Louis University (St. Louis, MO) has microfilm of all mss in the Vatican collection. The Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center (Claremont, CA) has microfilm of some mss in Jerusalem and the United States.

**H. Printed Editions in Classical Armenian**

Many printed editions of the Armenian Version have appeared, both in classical Armenian and in the E and W dialects of modern Armenian. Only the principal ones are noted here (Hyvernat 1926: 1011–14; Leloir 1960: 814–15, 817–18; Nida 1972: 20–21).

The first portion of the classical Arm 2 text to appear in print was the Psalter in 1565 in Rome (Hyvernat 1926: 1011 says Venice). One hundred years passed before Bishop Oskan published the first Bible in 1666 in Amsterdam. Oskan conformed the text of his base ms (Ms. 180, Erevan, A.D. 1295) to the Latin Vg at many points.

In 1805 in Venice, the Mekhitarist Y. Zohrabian (Zohrab) published the Cilician text of Venice Ms. 1508 (A.D. 1319) with an apparatus listing the variant readings of mss which he, unfortunately, did not identify. The Zohrab Bible became the standard text of the Armenian Apostolic Church. Though inadequate as a critical tool, it has had to serve scholarly purposes as well. The Matenadaran and the Academy of Sciences in Erevan, with the assistance of Armenologists world-wide, are now preparing a critical edition of the OT with the NT to follow.

**I. Printed Editions in Modern Armenian**

A few of the principal editions in modern eastern Armenian are the following: 1835, NT, British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), Moscow; 1860, NT, BFBS, Constantinople; 1896, Bible, BFBS, Constantinople; 1976, NT, Armenian Catholicate, Echmiadzin. In modern W Armenian: 1825, NT, BFBS, Paris, translated by Zohrab; 1853, Bible, American Bible Society, Smyrna, the standard version among Armenian Protestants; 1911, Gospels and Acts, Society of Jesus (Jesuits), Beirut; 1981, NT, Armenian Patriarchate, Jerusalem, an adaptation of the 1976 eastern Armenian NT.

**J. Value of the Version to Textual Scholars**

The Armenian Version is one of the earliest translations of the Greek Bible and, as such, has text-critical value for determining the original text of the LXX and the NT. Since the quality of the translation varies from book to book, the usefulness of the version will, of course, vary. More serious factors affecting its usefulness are our limited knowledge of the archetypes and the absence of MSS from the first five centuries of the version.

Nevertheless, it may be said that for many of the biblical books, e.g. the gospels, the Arm 2 version translates the Greek base sensitively and accurately, reproducing word order, proper names, grammatical constructions, and even nuances of the Greek idiom with precision (for the limitations of the Armenian in representing the Greek base, see Metzger 1977: 171–81; Cox 1981: 223–41).

The last twenty years have seen renewed interest and significant progress in the study of the Armenian biblical text. As Armenologists prepare critical editions of the OT and NT and shed light on the early history of the Arm 1 and Arm 2 texts, the usefulness of the Armenian Version will increase dramatically.

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JOSEPH M. ALEXANIAN

## *ETHIOPIC VERSIONS*

### A. The Bible in Ethiopia

Early Ethiopic tradition ("Ethiopic" stands for "Classical Ethiopic" or "Ge‹ez" language; see LANGUAGES [ETHIOPIC]) does not distinguish clearly between "canonical" and "extra-canonical" books. In addition to the canonical and deutero-canonical (apocryphal) books of the traditional Western canon, Ethiopic biblical mss may contain pseudepigraphical works, such as *1 Enoch, Jubilees, Ascension of Isaiah* and *Paralipomena of Jeremiah (4 Baruch).* Quotations on inscriptions as well as other evidence suggest that all these books were translated from the Greek between the 4th and the 6th centuries.

More pseudepigrapha, such as *Testament of Abraham* (Aešcoly 1951), *Death of Moses* (Ullendorff 1961), *Colloquy of Moses with God on Mount Sinai* (Denis 1970: 138), *5 Baruch* (Leslau 1951: 57–76) and *Wisdom of the Sybil* (Denis 1970: 311), were translated from the Arabic in the 14th and 15th century. *Shepherd of Hermes, Didascalia Apostolorum,* and other pseudo-apostolic literature (Hammerschmidt 1964), are often also considered to be part of the canon.

**1. The Old Testament.** The earliest form of the Ethiopic OT is a rather literal translation of the LXX. No clear relationship could be established between the Ethiopic and one particular recension of the LXX. There are some interesting examples of theocrasy. In Sir 31:8 and 37:21 "The Lord" is translated with the name of the Semitic god "Astār." The usual word for the godhead is literally "The Lord of the Land." The expression "Son of Man" is translated "Son of the Offspring of the Mother of Life."

Since the 14th century the Ethiopic Bible has been revised repeatedly on the basis of Arabic texts. Because Arabic Old Testaments originated from many sources, it is very hard to establish which Arabic texts have been used in producing the ensuing "Vulgar Recension." In Genesis and Daniel it has been shown that the Arabic version of Saadya had no influence.

Amazingly, in some of the more recent mss (notably in the late 17th century ms Paris: Bibl. Nat. d'Abb 35, containing practically the whole OT minus the Octateuch) one finds the odd Hebrew word, vocalized in accordance with the MT, in Ethiopic transcription. It appears that these Hebrew words are only the most conspicuous sign of a wide scale recension, which probably took place in the 16th century, on the basis of the Hebrew Bible. It is known as the "Academic Recension."

A number of mss (notably Cambridge: University Library Add. 1570) contain a text which does not fit into either of these categories. Some OT books show some influence from the Peshitta. This is most likely due to medieval revision, either directly or indirectly via Arabic (Knibb 1988).

**2. The New Testament.** Research on the NT has been limited to Matthew (Hackspill), the Act of the Apostles (Montgomery), the Apocalypse (Hofmann) and the Synoptic Gospels (Zuurmond 1989). The

general picture is identical with that of the OT. The earliest translation must have been made from the Greek between 350 and 600 A.D. From the late 13th century onward this text has been emended several times on the basis of various Arabic texts. In the Synoptic Gospels one may distinguish five types of text. The earliest is the "A-text", extant in two mss from the 13th century or earlier: Abbā Garimā 1 and 2. There is ample reason to assume that in the half millennium between its origin(s) and the date of the earliest extant mss, occasional changes on the basis of Greek, Coptic, Syriac or early Arabic gospel traditions have been introduced.

The A-text alternates literal translation with what almost amounts to paraphrase. It tends towards stylistic simplification. Synoptic harmonization is extremely frequent. No clear type of Greek text lies behind the A-text. Hackspill drew the attention to some "Western" elements, but one could also point at many "Byzantine" readings. A clear correlation has only been established in the first five chapters of Mark, between the A-text and the Greek codex W (Freerianus), which is supposedly "Western" in these chapters.

The "B-text" appears only in the gospel of Matthew. The earliest example is offered by the Vatican ms Etiop. 25 from the 13th or 14th century. There is a tradition that at one time Abbā Maṭā‹, known as Libānos, translated the gospel of Matthew. Libānos however is supposed to have flourished in the 6th century, whereas the B-text probably originated not earlier than the 12th century. Since neither date is historically beyond doubt there still may be a connection. The B-text is usually closer to the Greek than the A-text. It is probably an A-text corrected on the basis of an Arabic *Vorlage.* In the 13th century scribes began to conflate the A-text and the B-text. The earliest example is EMML 1832 from Ḥayq Esṭifānos, dated 1280/81. In the course of its ever expanding development this "C-text" absorbed many other elements: stylistic improvements, additions originating from Arabic versions, glosses. In some mss of the 17th century one may find conflations of as many as six readings. From the 17th century onward several efforts have been made to correct the C-text. One was the rather widespread "D-text," (a good example one finds in ms Or. 518 of the British Library in London) made on the basis of an Arabic text distinguished by a number of Diatessaron readings. Another was the much more rare "E-text" (e.g. in London: B.L. ms Or. 509), obviously with the "Alexandrian Vulgate" as point of comparison. In the 18th–20th centuries several types of eclectic texts began to emerge. Towards the middle of the 20th century they had developed more or less into a new standard text, such as may be found in modern Ethiopian printed editions.

Without thorough source criticism readings from random mss or from uncritical editions of the Ethiopic Bible should not be used for research into the earliest origins of the version. It is at this point that A. Vööbus' thesis of an (Old) Syriac *Vorlage* of the Ethiopic gospel fails to convince.

**3. The Pseudepigrapha.** Only in recent times has the text-critical work on the Ethiopic Pseudepigrapha by scholars like Dillmann and Charles been resumed. The discovery of extensive Aramaic fragments of *Enoch* and tiny Hebrew fragments of *Jubilees* in Qumran gave a new impetus to the study of these books.

**B. Editions**

The Asmara edition of a complete Bible by F. da Bassano in 1922–26, is unreliable for text-critical purposes. The same goes for other editions printed in Ethiopia during the 20th century. The first printed edition of any part of the Ethiopic Bible was the *Psalterium Chaldaeum,* edited by J. Potken in Rome in 1513. The first critical edition was J. Ludolf's *Psalterium Davidis* in 1701. A large part of the Ethiopic OT was critically edited by A. Dillmann in the second half of the 19th century. In *Annotationes* to each book Dillmann registered the differences between the assumed Greek *Vorlage* of his text and the Septuagint. The Octateuch edition of Boyd (1909–1911) covers one more ms (Paris: Bibl. Nat. Eth. 3) than Dillmann's, but since the edition contains a large number of inaccuracies, Dillmann's edition should have preference. All 20th century editions, some of which are excellent (e.g. Löfgren 1927 and 1930), some of which have rightly been criticized (e.g. Ecclesiastes by S. A. B. Mercer in 1931), are mentioned by Ullendorff (1968: 34) and by Knibb (1988: 12). Much work remains to be done, or—in view of the large increase in available manuscripts—redone.

For the NT the situation is even worse. The text of the *Editio Princeps* (Rome, 1548), although based on relatively early mss, has occasionally been emended by its editor. The Gospel is based on Vatican Etiop. 51, exhibiting a B-text in Matthew and an A-text, in the other gospels. The text of Acts was copied from the 15th century Vatican ms Etiop. 23, but its extensive lacunae have been filled with a translation of the Latin Vulgate. Other Vatican mss from the 15th or 16th century provided the text for the Catholic Epistles and Hebrews (Etiop. 5) and the Apocalypse (Etiop. 68). The Pauline Epistles were added in 1549 from a mss imported from Cyprus. Because of the delay, they are missing in some of the earlier copies of the edition. The complete Roman edition has been reproduced in Walton's *Polyglot*.

The most common edition of the Ethiopic NT was prepared by Thomas Pell Platt and published in 1830. Since then it has regularly been reprinted. The text is eclectic and without value for textual criticism.

The only part of the NT ever critically edited is the book of Revelation (Hofmann). Hackspill (1896: 367–88) reproduced the text (of the Paris ms Bibl. Nat. Eth. 32) of the first 10 chapters of Matthew. It contains a slightly contaminated A-text. Zuurmond's critical edition of the gospel of Mark, based on 24 mss, is scheduled to appear in 1989. Most of the Pseudepigrapha in Ethiopic await reedition. The most recent editions are *Enoch* by Knibb (1978), *Jubilees* by Charles (1895; J. C. VanderKam prepares a new edition), *Ascension of Isaiah* by Charles (1900), *5 Baruch* by Halévy (1902), and *Testament of Abraham* by Aešcoly (1951). The last two have been edited from Falasha mss, but they also exist in the Christian tradition. Leslau (1951) provided an English translation of these books, with a short introduction. A Christian fragment of the *Testament of Abraham* was also edited by Aešcoly (1951). Parts of the *Lives of the Prophets* have been published by Knibb (1980–85).

**C. Manuscripts**

Most Ethiopic mss are of a recent date. A 15th century mss is considered to be "old." Only a handful of mss antedate the 14th century, in particular some in the Vatican Library (*Ascension of Isaiah:* Etiop. 263; Samuel/Kings: Borg. Etiop. 3), in the Davies collection and in the EMML collection at Collegeville (see below). Recent lists of available biblical mss have been published by Zuurmond (1982: 115 *Jubilees;* 1988: 34 Octateuch; 1989 Synoptic Gospels and Apocalypse) and Knibb (Ezekiel 1988). Other lists may be found in the appropriate editions. Some 13th–14th century polyglot Bible-mss from Egypt contain—apart from Coptic, Syriac, Arabic and Armenian—an Ethiopic column. They are: the Psalter (Vatican, Barb. Or. 2), the NT Epistles and Acts (Milan, Ambrosiana 6) and fragments of the Gospel (Oxford: Bodleian Copt. c.2.; and London: British Library Or. 1240). The most extensive collections of Ethiopic biblical mss are those in London (British Library), Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale), the Vatican Library (its Cerulli collection has not yet been catalogued), Cambridge (in particular the collection of the British and Foreign Bible Society, deposited in the University Library), and Berlin (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz). Important microfilmed collections are the Lake Ṭānā mss (Hammerschmidt: 1973–1977) and the huge collection in the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library at Collegeville, Minnesota (Macomber 1975–78; Getatchew 1979–88). The Davies collection of microfilmed early biblical mss, containing a.o. the three Abbā Garimā Gospels (13th century or earlier), has now also been deposited in Collegeville. It was described by Macomber (1979).

Detailed bibliographies and other useful information may be found in Ullendorff (1968), the editions of the corresponding biblical books, and in many of the studies listed in the bibliography below.

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ROCHUS ZUURMOND

## *GEORGIAN VERSIONS*

The versions of the Bible produced in the early days of the church form an important object of study since they provide information about the types of Greek texts that were current and approved at the time of the translation. Since in many cases the text employed was commended by Church authority or Christian scholarship, the versions inform us about textual knowledge and criteria at an early period. Thus the various stages of translation into the Georgian language are of importance to the textual critic in particular, and have played a not inconsiderable part in text-critical theory. The earliest manuscripts of the versions date from the 5th to the 10th centuries.

The versions here described are written in the Georgian language, the modern form of which is still spoken by over three million people in the Georgian Republic, and is an official language in which publication and instruction take place.

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A. Name and History of the Georgian People
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### A. Name and History of the Georgian People

The geographical name Georgia became common in the West during the Middle Ages, and was sometimes erroneously linked with the Christian saint George: it is identical in root with the Persian *Gurğistan;* the Russian form is *Gruziya. Georgi* as the name of its inhabitants is known in Pliny (1st century A.D.). An older name is Iberia, which is linked with the Armenian and Parthian designations for the region: the inhabitants can be called *Iberi* or *Iveri* (in Latin or Greek), from which the formerly Georgian monastery on Mount Athos, the *Iveron,* derives its name. (The identity in sound and spelling with "Iberia" used as an old name for Spain is unexplained and probably accidental.)

Our earliest knowledge of the language (*k'artuli ena* "the Georgian language") dates from the 5th century of the Christian era. There are inscriptions from that date, and a palimpsest manuscript of the gospels has been so dated. These post-date the entry of the Christian faith into the country, probably in the 4th century. All examples of the language are from Christian texts: there are no literary remains of the pagan period. Christianity spread to the Georgians both from the Armenians (whose early links were with the Syriac church) and from the Greek-speaking church. Ecclesiastically, the Georgians were at first linked with the Armenians, with whom they opposed the formulations of the council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) and the formula of attempted reconciliation of the emperor Zeno, termed the Henoticon (A.D. 505–506). As a result, the dominant cultural influences of this period were Armenian. But about A.D. 600 the Georgian church accepted the Chalcedonian definition, and remained thereafter in close theological and cultural contact with the Byzantine church and empire.

As the country lay on the frontiers of the Byzantine empire and of lands of various other peoples, and as it is very fruitful, it was throughout its history open to invasion and to the overlordship of whichever power happened to be in ascendancy. The greatest period of unity of the various groups speaking Georgian was in the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, and was brought to an end by the Mongol invasions. After several centuries of Turkish and Persian supremacy, the Georgians became a part of the Russian Empire, by a decision of their own kings, taken for the defense of their own country. After the Revolution, they enjoyed a brief period as an independent state from 1918–1921, but afterwards became a part of the Soviet Union, in whose history they have played a not insignificant part.

**B. Language and Problems of Translation**

The Georgian language is totally unrelated to any language which figures in the account of the early translation of the scriptures in ancient and medieval Christendom. It should particularly be noted, in the light of modern political geography, that it has no links with Russian or Old Slavonic. The language is almost *sui generis,* since its only relatives are three languages spoken in the same area, namely Laz, Mingreli, and Svan. These together form the South-Caucasian or K'artvelian languages (from *K'artvelebi,* "Georgians"). The language has many consonants and few vowels. Its morphology is basically agglutinating, although some inflection is found. The verb is polypersonal, that is, within the one verbal form, morphemes may indicate the subject, the direct object, and the indirect object of the verb. The so-called "passive construction" (e.g., "it was written by me" contrasted with "I wrote it") is much favored and is always found in verbal forms built on the perfect tense stem (or "third series," to use the recent terminology). There is no definite or indefinite article, nor any distinction of gender.

The peculiarities of the language lead to various difficulties for the interpreter as they no doubt did for the translator. The absence of the article causes less difficulty than might be anticipated, because often another feature of the sentence makes it clear whether definition is present. A number of functions performed by prepositions in Greek, Armenian, or Syriac, are those of morphemes within the noun: hence prepositions may not be explicitly represented (e.g., the Greek preposition *en* when used instrumentally may be represented by the instrumental form of the noun, or when used locatively, by the locative form). There is also, especially in the earlier strata of the translations, much freedom of rendering, giving rise for instance to singular for plural, or *vice versa.* The polypersonal verbal construction leads to the frequent lack of an explicit pronominal indirect object. Besides these problems of language difference (such as all versions exemplify), we also encounter the expected changes which arise from exegesis and interpretation.

**C. Early Georgian Texts (5th–8th Centuries)**

The earliest known Georgian texts are Christian. The earliest biblical documents date from the 5th century, and the first inscriptions, with Christian vocabulary of prayer and dedication, are from the same period. By this time the alphabet, which is carefully devised to fit the phonetics of Georgian, was fully formed, while the language shows signs of prior use for the expression of Christian belief and practice. Most of the mss which have survived from this period are fragments, generally found in palimpsests, that is, mss made up of leaves from previous mss that have been cleansed of the prior writing and reused. From the OT, there are fragments of Genesis, Proverbs, and Jeremiah, all published, and of Deuteronomy and Judges, still unpublished, and of the deutero-canonical 1 Esdras. From the NT, there are considerable portions of the gospels, in four mss, and smaller fragments of Romans and Galatians. The mss range in date from the 5th to the 8th century: their ancient character is emphasized by the fact that they are written in forms of the Georgian language which had become extinct by the first half of the 7th century.

Many of these mss are from continuous texts, but others from lectionaries. The form of lectionary from which they come is known to be that of the Jerusalem church, as its liturgy developed in the 4th century, and pilgrimage to the Holy Places began to be a custom. Some rubrics punctuate the readings in these mss sources. Other sources of knowledge of the earliest forms of Georgian texts are to be found in quotations and echoes of biblical texts in the earliest literature which gives accounts of the martyrdoms of Georgian Christians of the earliest centuries at the hands of Mazdaean and Muslim persecutors.

**D. Later Manuscripts (9th–10th Centuries)**

Before these fragmentary mss were discovered or the literary echoes of biblical material examined, scholars had knowledge of the Georgian biblical texts in mss of the 9th and 10th centuries, giving a full text of those parts of scripture which they contain. A majority of these have survived in Georgia itself, but others in the centers of former Georgian monasticism: Jerusalem, Mount Sinai, and Mount Athos.

**1. Gospel Translations.** From the material in all these mss we may deduce that translation of scripture took place at the earliest point in the existence of Georgian Christianity, and even at that earliest point we may observe different types of textual affiliation. For example, our oldest complete mss of the four gospels dates from the 9th century, and carries the name of *Adiš,* the village where it was found. The text of this mss shows very clear signs that it had been translated from Armenian, not directly from Greek. The rest of the mss tradition of these early centuries probably rests, in the gospels at least, on such a text rendered from Armenian but has also been revised from the Greek. But when we examine the very early fragments, we do not find, as we might expect to do, that they all agree with the text based solely on the Armenian; on the contrary, the majority of those fragments agree more with the text revised from the Greek than with the other. This duality of text type is also found in the allusions and quotations. Moreover, in some of the passages used in the lectionaries, we meet some texts which are identical in wording with the continuous text mss alongside others which differ. Because of the date of the earliest sources of information, we cannot posit successive stages of translation (unless this began long before we know there to have been either a Georgian church or a Georgian alphabet). It would appear rather that there were translations, sometimes from Armenian, sometimes from Greek, and that very early these became mixed by some sort of mutual interaction, whether intentional or accidental. The centers of these translations would have been in the border regions of Armenia and Georgia, and in early Georgian monastic centers in Palestine and perhaps also in Egypt. That there were at the beginning more than two tentative translations may be shown by the fact that some passages within the mss of the Jerusalem lectionary present very different linguistic and textual features from those of the mss (such as the *Adiš* manuscript and the others alluded to which are known to us in detail already.

**2. Gospel Affiliations.** Because of the situation in the publication of texts, our knowledge of the affiliation of the Georgian texts to the original Greek of the NT, to the LXX, and to other versions made from these, differs considerably in depth from book to book. The gospels have received the most attention, especially the gospel of Mark (which is the common practice of textual critics, since Mark is the shortest gospel, and the one in which early variation tends most regularly to survive). Two different emphases have been made. Some scholars, on the grounds of the probable Armenian base of the Georgian, and of the Syriac background of the Armenian, have laid stress on the harmonistic readings in

the text. On their hypothesis, these will have been derived from the gospel harmony of Tatian, made in the 2d century, which we know to have had a considerable influence upon the oldest strata of the Syriac, and to have been reflected in the Armenian. Others have laid their stress upon links which may be perceived with the text of the gospels reflected in the quotations of Origen at certain times in his life, and of Eusebius. The readings which provide these links are often found in a number of Gk mss, especially various relatively late minuscules, often of South Italian provenance. This difference of emphasis and interpretation is linked with the debate over the so-called "Caesarean Text" of the gospels, in which the Georgian version was amongst the witnesses considered to bear strong witness to the existence of this type of text (see Lake et al. 1928; Klijn 1949; Vööbus 1953; Birdsall 1983). Suffice it to say, that whichever emphasis may prove better founded, the Georgian version is shown by its early links to be one which must be taken into account in any description or assessment of the text of the gospels, for it is, in its earlier forms, a version with close links to the very center of developing Christianity.

**3. Other NT Affiliations.** The same can be said in principle about the Acts, the Catholic epistles, and the Pauline corpus on the basis of such research as the more recently published texts have attracted. In the Acts, while we have no trace of the distinctive longer text (known from Codex Bezae), the readings of the Georgian do sometimes accord with "Western" witnesses, in cases where those readings were of wider circulation, but also, on other occasions, accord with Alexandrian witnesses. In the case of the epistles of Paul, we find links with the earliest Greek papyri in some distinctive readings, and with forms of text attested in early fathers. The text of the Catholic Epistles is related in similar ways. Although the book of Revelation was translated only at a later stage in the development of the Georgian versions, we may appropriately mention here its textual value. It is known in three mss, and gives the text in the form known from and generally accompanied by the commentary of Andreas of Caesarea (5th century). The Georgian manuscripts are of the same date as the translation itself, and moreover, antedate all but three of the mss of the Greek original. Since that text and commentary preserve a very important witness to the original text of Revelation, the Georgian version is of great importance for the textual critic of that book.

**4. Affiliations in the OT.** Less specific information is available about the text of the Georgian versions of the OT and the deutero-canonical books, but we may judge from sources published in Georgia the general direction research is taking. There is agreement that Armenian bases underlie the earliest translations into Georgian, but that, in a manner reminiscent of the discoveries about the NT, there was also early recourse to Greek models for revision. We must state the textual affiliations in terms of the history of the LXX: generally, the texts translated were of the type termed Lucianic, but there are also traces of the critical work of Origen in his repertorium of textual information which is called the Hexapla. Here again, we glimpse how the Georgian may preserve information from the history of the biblical text in early Christian times. In another respect too, we find a similar phenomenon to one within the data of NT documents: some of the earliest fragments retain evidence of distinct translations which were not to become part of the mainstream of Georgian biblical usage (Proverbs and 1 Esdras are among the books in which such examples are known).

**E. Later Revisions (10th–12th Centuries)**

In the 10th and 11th centuries, scriptural translations were revised by three great literary figures, two of them from the Georgian monastery on Mount Athos (the monastery of the *Iveron*), and the third from the center of Georgian monasticism near Antioch in Syria, the "Black Mountain," or "Wonderful Mountain". The first of these was Euthymius the Athonite (963–1028), who with his father John founded the house of the *Iveron.* He was the translator of the book of Revelation, which had not previously been translated into Georgian. It was a book which, while accepted early as scripture in the churches of the West, had always been viewed with great suspicion in the Eastern churches. He is also said to have translated the Psalms, but the text has not come down to us. He produced a version of the gospels (a revision of the older translations).

To the second, George the Athonite (active in translation on Athos about 1040), we owe two versions of the Psalms, one close to the old text, and one more accommodated to the usage of his own day. He revised yet further than Euthymius the translation of the gospels, and undertook new translations of the Acts, and

the whole corpus of the epistles (Catholic and Pauline). These he brought into textual congruence with the biblical texts which had become dominant in the Greek church in the recent centuries, perhaps in the wake of the revival of learning after the end of the Iconoclast controversy. His translation of the Psalms and gospels became the standard thereafter in the Georgian church, but the rest of the NT awaited another revision by Ephrem Mcire (the Less), after 1057, whose center of work was on the Black Mountain. The book of Revelation, however, in spite of the work of Euthymius, remained of dubious canonicity, and was not revised.

For the OT, apart from the Psalter (which had an existence of its own because of its central importance in worship), we are not yet informed in so detailed a way. A ms of the 12th century (known as the Gelati manuscript from the monastery where it was preserved) presents a revision of the OT in which a slavish imitation of Greek has been adopted as a means of representing the Greek original in Georgian. In the opinion of some, this work was that of Ephrem Mcire, in part at least; in that of others, it was that of John Petrici (late 11th and early 12th century), a noted translator of classical philosophy. As his cognomen implies, he worked in the Georgian monastery of Petriconi in Bulgaria.

**F. The Printed Bible**

The printed Bible (Psalms and gospels in Tbilisi [1705] and the complete Bible in Moscow [1742–43]), before the rise of 20th century scholarship, was eclectic in text. It rested to some extent upon the learning of Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani (18th century) and the Mcxeta Bible, a ms prepared for him. But it also suffered revision from the Old Slavonic Bible in use in the Russian Orthodox Church. As a critical tool then it is without value, although it is a monument to various stages of earlier Georgian attempts at biblical revision. In 1963, an authorized version of the NT was published by the Catholics of the Georgian Orthodox church, based on recent scholarly editions. A translation into modern Georgian had not been made until 1980 when the gospels and Psalms were produced by a Swedish Bible Society. This version is apparently based on modern critical Greek and Hebrew texts and owes nothing to the long earlier tradition.

**G. Modern Scholarship and Publication**

The bulk of the published materials on which these preliminary analyses can be made is the work of both Georgian and foreign scholars of the present century, and most of it has been done since the Second World War. The whole of the NT is available. The older recensions of the gospels have been twice edited, once in Georgia and once in the West, and so has the Acts of the Apostles; but for later recensions of the gospels, for the epistles, and for the book of Revelation, we have one edition only, each the work of Georgian scholars. Because of increasing cooperation between the two groups of scholars involved, no duplication in these areas is planned or necessary. We do not yet have the whole of the OT available. The prophetic corpus has been edited as a whole outside Georgia, and the book of Ezekiel independently by Georgian scholars. Some incomplete texts of parts of the Pentateuch, some of the deutero-canonical (or apocryphal) books, and all the recensions of the version of the Psalter have been edited in Georgia.

There are many studies available, and many summaries of other studies made as theses and so on (in addition to the bibliography, see the articles on “Georgien,” “Georgische Handschriften,” etc. in *Kleines Wörterbuch des Christlichen Orients* [Wiesbaden 1975]). The text of the Bible of Mcxeta, which was written for the eighteenth century for the traveller, diplomat, and scholar Sulxan-Saba Orbeliani, compiled from many sources, is in the process of publication. Work proceeds both outside the former Soviet Union and in Georgia itself, especially in the Institute of Manuscripts, Tbilisi, and in the Department of Old Georgian Language in the University of Tbilisi. There are a number of journals, Georgian and foreign, which act as a means of information and vehicles of scholarly analysis (e.g., *Le Muséon* [Louvain], *Oriens Christianus* [Leipzig & Wiesbaden], *Bedi Kartlisa: Révue de kartvelologie* [Paris], and *Révue des études géorgiennes et caucasiennes* [Paris]).

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J. NEVILLE BIRDSALL

**VERSIONS, CATHOLIC.** Although the Roman Catholic versions of the Bible can be conveniently divided according to the various modern languages, it is more important that the division among them be made on a chronological basis. Since the Council of Trent had decreed that the Vulgate was the sole "authentic edition for public reading, disputations, sermons and explanations," the vast majority of Roman Catholic translations of the Bible in the 17th–20th centuries were translated from the Latin rather than from the original Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. Only with the publication of Pius XII's encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (1943) and especially because of the Second Vatican Council's dogmatic decree *Dei Verbum* (1965) have Roman Catholic editors systematically begun to publish translations based primarily on the original languages of the biblical texts. The decree strongly encouraged the translation of the Bible into the modern languages (Par. 22) and cited the particular responsibility of bishops to see to it that such translations be made available (Pars. 26).

The World Translations Progress Report of the United Bible Societies for 1988 reported that the Bible had been translated, completely or in part, into 605 languages and that 1988 was a record year for Bible translations. Some of these translations were the work of Catholic missionaries, as for example, those provided for some native populations in Guatemala. Since it is impossible to provide a complete listing of all the versions produced under Catholic auspices, the remainder of this article will concentrate on the modern European language translations of the Bible, especially those in English.

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A. English Versions Based on the Vulgate
B. English Versions Based on the Original Languages
C. Versions in Other Languages
D. Ecumenical Projects

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**A. English Versions Based on the Vulgate**

Prior to 1943 the most common English-language Roman Catholic Bible was the Douay-Rheims version. Sponsored by Canon (later Cardinal) William Allen, the translation was prepared on the European continent by Gregory Martin, an Oxford trained scholar, who published the NT at Rheims in 1582 and the OT at Douay in 1609. The translation was literal and the style stilted. The NT was revised and provided with explanatory notes by Bishop Richard Challoner in 1749 and 1752. Challoner's revision of the OT appeared in 1750 and 1763. Challoner's work, which radically modernized the English language and style of the text, particularly eliminating the Latinisms of the earlier version, served as the standard version of the Bible for English-language Roman Catholics for two centuries.

In the United States the Episcopal Committee for the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine sponsored a revision of the Rheims-Challoner version of the NT (1941). Commonly known as the Confraternity edition, its footnotes took into account the Greek text of the NT, but the translation itself was based on the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate, even when this departed from Jerome's work. A revision of the Douay-Challoner OT was undertaken, only to be abandoned because of the publication of *Divino Afflante Spiritu.*

In Great Britain the Catholic hierarchies similarly approved a new translation of the Vulgate, the work of Ronald Knox, an Oxford-trained scholar, reputed for his use of English style. The so-called Knox Bible appeared in 1944 (NT) and 1950 (OT). Although the translation was based on the Latin, the footnotes made use of the Greek and Hebrew. Because of its style and because Knox's knowledge of Greek was superior to his knowledge of Hebrew, the NT is generally considered superior to the OT.

**B. English Versions Based on the Original Languages**

A somewhat pedantic version of the NT, known as the Westminster Bible and edited by C. Lattey, appeared in Great Britain in 1935. Lattey abandoned work on the OT in 1949. In 1961 John Bligh's revision of the Westminster NT appeared in a missal. In the United States, the Kleist-Lilly translation of the NT appeared in 1950 and 1954. J. A. Kleist was responsible for the gospels and J. L. Lilly for the epistles. The translation was intended to keep pace with modern developments in English, but the overall effort is theologically slanted and occasionally marred by poor scholarship.

The New American Bible (NAB) was a major endeavor sponsored by the bishops of the United States to provide the faithful with a biblical translation based on the original languages. It is, in fact, the version most commonly used in Roman Catholic liturgical celebrations in the United States. The translation was done by members of the Catholic Biblical Association (CBA), under the chairmanship of Louis F. Hartman (OT) and Myles Bourke (NT). The language of the translation is formal, but modern, following the American idiom. The work on the OT (1952), done at a relatively leisurely pace, made ample use of the recently discovered Dead Sea Scrolls. The NT (1970), however, was prepared in haste so that it would be available for use in the vernacular liturgy which was permitted and encouraged by the Second Vatican Council. Under the care of a committee chaired by Francis Gignac, a revision of the NT appeared in 1987, but the so-called revision is really an entirely new translation by members of the CBA, including some non-Roman Catholics. This revision is in greater conformity with the Greek than was its predecessor; the translation itself is rather similar to that of the RSV. A revision of the translation of the Psalter is expected to appear in 1990–91.

The Jerusalem Bible (JB) was published in 1966 under the general editorship of Alexander Jones. Inspired by the *Bible de Jerusalem,* the first draft translation of most books was based on the Hebrew or Greek and then compared with the French. In some cases, however, the OT translations were initially based on the French with the draft subsequently revised in the light of the Hebrew or Aramaic. Although highly esteemed for personal reading and liturgical use because of its readability, the Jerusalem Bible suffers from many of the same idiosyncracies of the French forerunner (particularly with regard to issues of textual criticism) and the conservative posture of Roman Catholic biblical scholarship in the 1950s. The New Jerusalem Bible (NJB) appeared in 1985 under the general editorship of Henry Wansbrough. This vastly improved revision was inspired by the French revision of 1973 and consciously attempts to avoid sexist translations.

**C. Versions in Other Languages**

The 19th and 20th centuries have seen an almost untold number of new translations by Catholic authors. Those published in the second half of the 20th century are generally based on the original texts, while many of the more recent translation projects are the fruits of ecumenical cooperation.

**1. French.** Richard Simon's anonymously published translation of the NT appeared at Trévoux in 1702. A number of rather staid translations were produced under the inspiration of Port Royal and the Jansenist school. Of these the most important was the work of Louis Isaac le Maistre (De Sacy) whose NT (1667) was based on the Greek, while the OT (1695) was based on the Vulgate.

Two of the most popular 20th-century Bibles have been Crampon's *La Sainte Bible* (Paris, 1907) and Canon Osty's *La Bible* (Paris, 1973). The 1952 edition of the former included Joseph Bonsirven revision of the OT and Andre Tricot's new translation of the NT. Osty's work has been considered the standard-setter for French translations of the Bible. It is particularly esteemed because of its philological exactness and the quality of its French expression.

In Belgium, the *Bible de Maredsous*, produced by Benedictine monks, was published in Brussels in 1950 and 1951 (corrected edition, 1970). In Canada, the Association catholique des études bibliques published a version of the NT in Montreal in 1952.

The most important of the French translation projects were, however, associated with the École biblique, founded in Jerusalem by Marie-Joseph Lagrange in 1890. Scholarly translations of individual books of the Bible appeared in the commentaries of the Études bibliques series. A particularly significant project, *La Bible de Jerusalem (BJ)* initially appeared as a series of 43 fully annotated individual volumes (1948–54) under the general editorship of Roland de Vaux, assisted by Pierre Benoit for the NT. For the most part the translations and commentaries were the work of scholars associated with the École biblique in Jerusalem, but some scholars based in Europe were also involved in the project. The translation of the OT occasionally relies on the LXX rather than the MT; its notes often reflect a Christian slant. The text on which the NT translation is based often relied on the text-critical positions of M.-E. Boismard, thus imparting an idiosyncratic quality to the work. The translation was particularly esteemed because of the quality of its French style, but was admittedly periphrastic as far as the biblical text itself was concerned.

A single volume edition of the *BJ*, with footnotes and introductions greatly reduced, appeared in 1956. A number of translations into other languages attest to the popularity of the original *BJ*. A radically revised edition appeared in 1973. Less periphrastic than the original, its introductions and notes moved away from the conservative stance found in much of the earlier work.

**2. Italian.** Subsequent to Benedict XIV's cautious suggestion that the laity be allowed to read the Scriptures (1757), Antonio Martini published an elegant translation of the Vulgate into Latin (1776). A revised and corrected version was published in Turin in 1920. During the 19th century, especially under the influence of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, the Bible was translated into various Italian dialects. Under the auspices of the recently founded Pontifical Biblical Institute (1909), a translation of the Bible into Italian began to be published in 1922 under the direction of Alberto Vaccari. A version of the Bible produced by Giuseppi Ricciotti and other scholars appeared in Florence in 1929.

In 1961 the Pontifical Biblical Institute published a new edition of the Bible in Italian, based on the Scriptures in their original language. Alberto Vaccari, a professor at the PBI, was general editor of this project. Work on *La Sacra Bibbia traditta dai testi originali e commentat*, under the chairmanship of Salvatore Garofalo, rector of the Pontifical Urban University in Rome, was begun and published (1963) before the completion of the Second Vatican Council. Francisco Vattioni chaired the OT section of the project and Leone Algisi, rector of the seminary in Bergamo, chaired the NT section. In the same year another translation, edited by Enrico Galbiati, Angelo Penna and Piero Rossano, was published in Turin under the same name. A translation of the Bible has also been produced under the auspices of the Italian Episcopal Conference (CEI).

**3. Spanish.** The first complete publication of the Bible in Spanish in Spain (1793) was the work of Felipe Scio de San Miguel, later bishop of Segovia. The ten-volume work was based on the Vulgate. A nineteen-volume 2d edition appeared in 1794–97. Scio's work remained popular even though Felix Torres Amat, later bishop of Astorga, produced a new Spanish translation of the Vulgate (1825), for which he made a comparison between the Latin and the original Hebrew and Greek texts.

The first complete Spanish translation from the original languages was prepared under the auspices of the University of Salamanca by Eloíno Nácar Fuster and Alberto Colunga (Madrid, 1944). In Madrid, in 1947, Francisco Cantera and José Maria Bover published another Spanish version of the Bible based on the original languages. A major project has been the publication of the *Nueva Biblia Española*, the work of Luis Alonso Schokel and Juan Mateos. It is an idiomatic rendering of the biblical text. The translation of the OT began to appear in a series of commentaries beginning in 1965. The NT appeared in 1974. A revised edition of the complete Bible, originally published in 1975, appeared in 1977.

During the 20th century, many translations of the Bible into Spanish have been published in South America. Among them is an Argentinean pastoral version of the Bible, *El Libro del Pueblo de Dios* (1981), prepared by A. J. Levoratti in collaboration with A. B. Trusso and a Chilean pastoral edition (2nd. ed., 1972) presented by a team under the general direction of Ramon Ricciardi.

**4. Portuguese.** The first translation of the Bible into Portuguese was the work of Joao Ferreira d'Almeida, a priest who later became a Protestant missionary. The NT was printed at Amsterdam in 1681. The entire Bible first appeared in Batavia in 1753, when d'Almeida's work on the OT had been completed by other missionaries. The first Portuguese Bible printed in Portugal itself was the work of the priest Anton Pereira de Figueiredo. Complete with copious notes, it was published in Lisbon in twenty-three volumes (1783–90).

*Biblia Sagrada versao dos textos originais* is an ecclesiastically endorsed Portuguese version of the Bible, prepared in Portugal, but commonly used in the Portuguese-language communities throughout the world. The annotated OT (Lisbon, 1968) was the work of a team of seven Capuchin priests, Alcindo Costa, A. A. Tavares, J. C. Das Neves, J. M. Lima, J. N. Carreira, M. A. Rodriguez, and G. C. Dias, while the NT translation (1970) was the work of Costa.

**5. German.** A so-called "Catholic" or "Mainz" Bible circulated in Germany well into the 18th century. Its NT was based on Hieronymus Emser's 1527 translation, in fact, a revision of Luther's 1522 work, only slightly amended for conformity with the Vulgate. Emser's work was subsequently revised by Johann Dietenberger who, in collaboration with other scholars, published the entire Bible in 1534. The OT followed Luther's version. The translation was further revised in 1630 by Caspar Ulenberg in Cologne and again in 1662 by a group of Mainz theologians, whence its popular name.

In the 20th century, a translation of the Bible by P. Riessler and R. Storr (Mainz, 1949) was published in an eighth edition just seven years after its initial appearance. The earlier work of two Capuchins, Konstantin Rosch (NT, 1932) and Eugen Henne (OT, 1936), likewise appeared in several editions over a short period of time. The most popular German translation of the Bible under Catholic auspices was the work of Pius Parsch, a monk of Klosterneuberg, Austria, whose project of translation from the original languages was completed in 1952.

**6. Dutch.** The first Dutch Catholic version of the complete Bible, prepared by Alexander Blankaert and others on the basis of the Vulgate, but making use of the Delft Bible as well, was published under the aegis of the University of Cologne in 1478. The translation produced at Louvain by Canon Claes van Winghe and periodically revised since its original publication in 1548 has, nonetheless, remained the standard Catholic version of the Bible in Dutch for centuries.

Between 1936 and 1939 the so-called Canisius edition of the Bible was published at Amsterdam by Bernard (later Cardinal) Alfrink, R. Jansen, and J. Cook. *De Katholieke Bijbel,* whose OT was the work of Laetus Himmelreich and whose NT was the work of Crispinus Smits, was published at Bruges and Hertogenbosch in 1938. During the 1970s the Dutch and Flemish Biblical Associations produced the so-called Willibrord Bible. In 1987 a new translation of the gospels and Acts was published by the Dutch Catholic Bible Society and the Flemish Bible Society.

**7. Other Languages.** The Cracow Bible, the first Polish translation of the Bible, was published in 1561, but its history is clouded in obscurity. Another Polish translation, more faithful to the Vulgate than the Cracow Bible, was published at Cracow in 1599. This translation, produced by the Jesuit Jakub Wujek, and revised even in the 20th century, became the classic Polish Bible.

Work on an Irish translation of the Bible was started in 1945. Completed in 1981, the translation was published as *An Biobla Naofa*.

A new translation of the Bible into Latin, the *Nova Vulgata,* appeared in 1979. Intended for liturgical and pastoral use, the text represents a happy synthesis between the demands of textual criticism and respect for the ecclesiastical Latin of the church.

**D. Ecumenical Projects**

Paragraph 22 of *Dei Verbum* (1965) approved and encouraged ecumenical cooperation in the modern translations of the Bible. "Guidelines for Interconfessional Cooperation in Translating the Bible" were developed by the Vatican's Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity in conjunction with the United Bible Societies (1968; revised, 1987). Accordingly, John Reumann, a Lutheran, was a member of the committee responsible for the revision of the NAB's NT.

On the European continent, self-styled ecumenical translations are commonly used. As early as 1960 a German-language ecumenical translation project was begun. Having been endorsed by the German Catholic bishops in 1978, the *Einheitsübersetzung* appeared in 1980. A French-language *Traduction oecuménique de la Bible* (TOR), whose NT is based on the Greek, was published in 1975 (new edition, 1988), and the Italian *Parola del Signore: Il Nuovo Testamento-Traduzione interconvessionale dal testo greco in lingua corrente* appeared in 1976. After seven years of scholarly and financial ecumenical cooperation, in which the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum was a partner, the first complete Bible in Japanese was published in 1978.

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**VERSIONS, ENGLISH.** Because the Church of England had broken off from the Roman Catholic Church, and because Jews were not permitted to live in England until 1655, most of the English translations surveyed in this five-article entry were used in "Protestant" contexts. The first article surveys the history of English versions of the Bible up to 1960. (For a survey of post-1960 English translations, see THEORY OF TRANSLATION; and VERSIONS, AMERICAN. Subsequent articles treat various particular aspects of the English Bible: Wycliffe's Version, the term "Authorized Version," the King James Version, and various American versions. Within each article are cross-references to other related entries. See also VERSIONS, CATHOLIC; VERSIONS, JEWISH; and VERSIONS, MODERN ERA.

***PRE-1960 ENGLISH VERSIONS***

A. Beginnings
B. Pre-Reformation Bibles
C. Printed Bibles
    1. The Tyndale New Testament
    2. The Coverdale Bible
    3. The Matthew's Bible
    4. The Taverner's Bible
    5. The Great Bible
    6. The Geneva Bible
    7. The Bishops' Bible
    8. The Rheims-Douay Bible
    9. The King James Bible
D. From the 17th to the 19th Century
    1. America
    2. Catholic Bibles
    3. Jewish Translations
E. The Revised Version, 1881–85
F. The 20th Century (Before 1960)
    1. Overview
    2. Catholic Translations
    3. Bibles with Note Systems

**A. Beginnings**

The origins of Christianity in Britain are shrouded in legends that date earlier than the conversion of Constantine. Almost a hundred years later than Constantine, Patrick began work in Ireland in A.D. 405. Ninion (died 432) was a missionary and monastic bishop of North Britain, and Columba (about 565) worked first in Ireland and later, going out from Iona, in Scotland. Christianity received great impetus through the coming of Augustine in A.D. 596. Following a period of conflict between the Irish and Roman forms of Christianity, the Roman form became dominant.

There is no evidence of vernacular translation of the Scriptures at these early dates. Christianity spread through the oral teaching of monks who used the Latin Vulgate. Codex Amiatinus was made at either Jarrow or Wearmouth about A.D. 716. Carvings and pictures in the churches as well as miracle and mystery plays instructed the masses, most of whom were unable to read Latin.

The first paraphraser of Scripture into Anglo-Saxon is traditionally Caedmon, an unlearned secular brother of piety and humility who resided at the monastery of Whitby about A.D. 680. Caedmon, declining his turn for entertaining by singing, is said to have retired to the stable where an apparition ordered him to sing of the beginning of created things. Awaking from his sleep, Caedmon remembered what he had sung and later added to it. When he revealed his experience, learned men expounded messages to him which he turned into verse. His paraphrases covered the creation, the Exodus, the entrance into Canaan, and the incarnation, passion, and resurrection of the Lord. Caedmon's work has largely not survived, but a metrical version from a 10th century manuscript in the Bodleian Library is sometimes attributed to him. Morrell (1965: 18–31) insists that while this text may be Cadmonian in inspiration, it is by a series of authors and not by Caedmon, as previously thought.

Guthlac (A.D. 673?–714), a Saxon anchorite, is said to have glossed the Psalms at Crowland and Peterborough near the end of the 7th century. There are fourteen Psalters with old English glosses ranging in date from the 8th to the 12th centuries (Morrell 1965: 45).

Aldhelm, abbot of Malmesbury, about A.D. 700 sang religious themes as a minstrel on the bridge of the city. In addition to Greek and Latin, Aldhelm could read Hebrew. His translation of the Psalms into Anglo-Saxon survives in a single ms preserved in the National Library in Paris. Also Egbert about A.D. 700 produced a translation of the gospels.

Cuthbert, one of Bede's disciples, in 735 tells the romantic story of Bede's rendering the gospel of John, finishing the last sentence on the last evening of his life. No trace of Bede's translation survives. It is not known whether it was from Greek or Latin.

King Alfred of the West Saxons is said to have put the translated Ten Commandments at the head of his laws. He is also said to have begun a translation of the Psalms which he did not finish.

The earliest surviving examples of translation into the vernacular are the Anglo-Saxon glosses between the lines of Latin mss. The Lindisfarne Gospels were written in Latin by Bishop Eadfrith about A.D. 700 and were beautifully illuminated. An added interlinear gloss of the tenth century is attributed to Aldred. The Rushworth Gospels, written in an Irish half-uncial hand about A.D. 800, has an Old English gloss added throughout. The gospel of Matthew and parts of Mark and John are by Farmen and the remainder by Owun. Parts are merely copied from the Lindisfarne Gospels.

Six manuscripts of West Saxon Gospels, intended to be read in church, all derive from a single version made by an unknown translator about A.D. 1000–1050. One has the order Mark, Luke, Matthew, and John, and another Mark, Matthew, Luke, and John. An edition of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels was printed with a preface by John Foxe in 1571 (Herbert 1968: no. 131) and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth.

Aelfric (ca. 1005), about whose identity there has been much discussion, complains of the lack of knowledge on the part of those who could not read Latin. His Heptateuch was an abridgement and translation of the first seven books of the OT. He also did a homily on the book of Job.

The Norman conquest in 1066 by William the Conqueror brought a new ruling class to Britain who read Norman French while the language of the farmhouse and cottage remained Anglo-Saxon. Although there was a prose translation into Norman French about A.D. 1260, Latin was thought of as the language for religious use.

Orm (ca. 1200), a monk living in the Danish territory of England, turned "the gospels of the year" into English speech. Orm paraphrased, adding a quaint and mystical explanation. His work *The Ormulum*, preserved in a single copy in the Bodleian Library, consists of about 20,000 lines.

Interesting as these early efforts are, they are not to be thought of as forming a genealogical continuum with the later printed English Bibles. They were not complete Bibles. They were principally read by the clergy rather than by lay readers and did not create the problems for the church which later translations did.

**B. Pre-Reformation Bibles**

The English language supplanted Anglo-Norman, and in the mid 14th century the book of Psalms was collected into the West-Midland Psalter (formerly attributed to William of Shoreham). A northern metrical version of the Psalms was made about 1300. Richard Rolle (d. 1349) of Hampole in Yorkshire turned the Psalms into English following the commentary on the Psalms of Peter Lombard (Herbert 1968: no. 2033). In south England, the texts of Peter, James, three epistles of John, and the Pauline Epistles were translated (Paues 1904). This manuscript already had "breeches" for Adam's and Eve's clothing (Gen 3:7). These early versions were orthodox and there was no opposition to their being read by the few who could read. There is no evidence that the church encouraged or allowed versions among the common people. The custom was for the preacher to give his own English rendering of the verse on which he spoke. No two citations are completely alike (see further, *CHB* 2: 362–86).

With the appearance of the Bible of John Wycliffe (1324–1384), church officials began to look with suspicion on translation (*CHB* 2: 387–414). Wycliffe was a vigorous participant in the ecclesiastical disputes of his time, and his followers were known as the Lollards. Certain points of Wycliffe's teaching were condemned in the summer of 1382. His translation was a part of a larger movement which put "God's law" and "Christ's law" in conflict with the canon law of the church. Vernacular Scripture threatened the unity which universal use of Latin in the church represented.

It is uncertain exactly what part Wycliffe played in the translation which appeared about 1382. See VERSIONS, ENGLISH (WYCLIFFE'S) following. His name is not attached to the text of any manuscript which survives. Deanesly (1920: 254) is positive that the translation was done by Wycliffe's followers. Nicholas of Hereford translated the OT up to Baruch 3:19, as a note at that point attests. Wycliffe died in 1384; the Council of Constance in 1414 ordered his bones dug up and burned. His body was exhumed, burned in 1428, and the ashes thrown into the River Swift.

The first Wycliffite version approaches a word-for-word rendering. John Purvey (about 1388) is credited with a revision and with the prologue which accompanies it. He describes an effort to collect many old Bibles and expository works in order to establish a Latin text, and speaks of studying especially helps from Nicholas of Lyra, and of consulting grammarians and old divines. Once done, the revision was submitted to "many good and cunning fellows." Purvey stated a conviction that common Latin Bibles had more need to be corrected than did the English Bible he had worked on. Purvey's revision is more idiomatic, more free of Latinisms than the earlier edition, and its vocabulary less archaic. Mozley (1937: 77) gives 180 as the number of extant Wycliffe Bible manuscripts, not all dating at the same time and not all intended for the same economic level of reader. Only about 30 are of the first edition. Wycliffe's NT was first printed by John Lewis in 1731 (Herbert 1968: no. 1011). Forshall and Madden issued the first printing of the complete Purvey revision in 1850 (Herbert 1968: no. 1876).

A bill before the House of Lords about 1390 to suppress the English Bible was spoken against by John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster, who said, "We will not be the dregs of all, seeing that other nations have the Law of God, which is the Law of our Faith, written in their own language." However, a provincial council convened in 1408 at Oxford by Archbishop Arundel of York forbade translation without approval of the diocesan bishop or of a provincial council. Persecution records reveal that one of the incriminating evidences against victims was possession of forbidden English Bibles (Foxe 1843–49: 4.135). At the same time, in the hands of proper people reading was permitted. Archbishop Arundel commended Anne of Bohemia at her funeral for having read English Gospels. See VERSIONS, ENGLISH (AUTHORIZED) following.

The question of the circulation of authorized English Bibles in the 15th and prior centuries remains an enigma. Tyndale claimed there were no predecessors to imitate; but Thomas More said that the whole Bible had been translated into English before Wycliffe's time and claimed he had seen Bibles known to the bishops and left in the hands of laymen and women. Thomas Cranmer in his famous prologue to the Great Bible spoke of prior Bible reading and of copies of translations into Saxon remaining in his time. John Foxe in his dedication of the Saxon Gospels (printed in 1571) spoke of translations before Wycliffe was born. No trace of these remain, and it is the consensus of current thought that Wycliffe was the first to produce an English Bible.

In the century following Wycliffe, momentous events affecting Bible circulation changed the history of Europe forever. The fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 forced eastern European scholars to flee westward, bringing with them Greek and Hebrew manuscripts previously unavailable in the west. Oxford had a professor of Greek in the person of Grocyn in 1491. Erasmus admired the state of Greek studies at Oxford in 1497. Ferdinand and Isabella's expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 stimulated the study of Hebrew throughout Europe. Robert Wakefield, in 1520, was the first professor of Hebrew at Oxford.

Particularly influential was the invention of printing with movable type by Johannes Gutenberg who issued the Latin Gutenberg Bible in 1456. Printing made books affordable and made possible the production of many copies exactly alike, an accomplishment not possible in hand copying. William Caxton, among his numerous other works, issued *The Golden Legend* on November 20, 1483. The *Legend* includes an almost literal translation from the Vulgate by Caxton of nearly the whole Pentateuch, passages from the historical books, and a paraphrase of a great part of the Gospels (Butterworth 1941: 52–54). Though the source was not designated, here were sections of the Bible in English in printed form for the first time. In its use of "breeches" for the clothing made of fig leaves by Adam and Eve (Gen 3:7), the *Legend* long antedated the Geneva Bible.

England was late among European countries in having a vernacular printed Bible (Guppy 1935: 2). The basis for a vernacular Bible was being laid with Ximenes' preparation of the *Complutensian Polyglot,* which began as early as 1502 (publication was delayed until 1522). Meanwhile Erasmus hurriedly edited and published his Latin-Greek NT in 1516; new editions appeared in 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1536. Erasmus' Greek Testament gave great impetus to NT study and became the tool used by English translators. Knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew originals made a Latin-based Bible no longer acceptable to the English reader.

**C. Printed Bibles**

A comprehensive listing of printed English Bibles is given in the catalogues of Hills (1961) and Herbert (1968). For a general discussion, see *CHB* 3: 141–74.

**1. The Tyndale New Testament.** William Tyndale, educated at Oxford and Cambridge, became the chaplain and tutor to the family of Sir John Walsh in Little Sodbury in Gloucestershire. There he resolved to make the boy who drives the plow to know more Scripture than the clerics with whom he debated (Foxe 1843–49: 5.117). The lay people could only be established in the truth by giving them the Scriptures in English.

Tyndale sought support in London from Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall in the summer of 1523. Success would have cleared him of transgression against the prohibition of translation passed by the convocation of Oxford in 1408. However, Tunstall had been present at the Diet of Worms and heard Luther's statements there. Lutheran books were publicly burned in St. Paul's churchyard in 1521, and Henry VIII had written his *Defense of the Seven Sacraments* for which he received from the Pope the title "Defender of the Faith." Tunstall suggested that Tyndale look elsewhere for support.

After a year in the employ of Humphrey Monmouth, Tyndale despaired of translating in London and left for Hamburg in May 1524 (Mozley 1937: 50). There aided by William Roye, he completed his NT which contained notes many of which were derived from Luther's work. The printing in quarto size, entrusted to Peter Quentel at Cologne, was interrupted by John Dobneck (Cochlaeus) after completion of eighty pages. Tyndale and Roye rescued the pages and fled to Worms where in 1525 they brought out the quarto size Testament of which one copy survives (Herbert 1968: no. 1) and also an octavo size without

notes of which two copies survive (Herbert 1968: no. 2). Tyndale was about thirty-one years of age at the time. Reproductions of the octavo have been issued in 1836, 1837, 1862, and 1939. A reprint of the quarto edition was done by Arber in 1871.

Smuggled into England in merchandise, the Testament was being sold early in 1526 and by the autumn was being bought for burning by Tunstall and Warham. Tunstall claimed to find two thousand errors in it (Anderson 1849: 54). Tyndale found the burning nothing other than what he had expected. British church leaders saw the translation as a tool of Lutheranism. Henry VIII appealed to the queen of Holland and to the governor of the English House at Antwerp to search for copies for burning. English agents attempted in vain to locate Tyndale to bring him back to England.

Seeing the profit in Testaments, Christopher van Endhoven in 1526, 1530, and 1534 did unauthorized reprints of Tyndale's work and exported them to England. Because they were not proofread by an Englishman, the Dutch prints became increasingly corrupt.

Henry VIII in 1529 issued a decree against the circulation of Lutheran books; Tyndale's writings were on the list of proscribed works. Another condemnation in 1530 specified Tyndale's NT (Pollard 1911: 163). Meanwhile, Tyndale had published several other treatises objectionable to church authorities. Having failed to lure Tyndale back to England, Tunstall authorized Thomas More in 1528 to read heretical books for the purpose of refuting them. More spent the next five or six years at the task, casting his first reply in the form of a dialogue which was issued 1529. While he claimed that translating Scripture into English was good, he proposed that the bishops do it and then let their work be read by trusted people, not by the masses. In the harsh language of the day, he gave an adverse report on the work Tyndale was doing. More's actual case deals with about six words (Anderson 1849: 137). He objected to the dropping of the words "priest," "church," "charity," "grace," "confession," and "penance" in favor of "senior," "congregation," "love," "favor," "witnessing," and "repentance." Tyndale replied to More, and More then answered Tyndale.

While these events were transpiring, Henry VIII was seeking an annulment of his marriage to Catherine. Cardinal Wolsey, failing to procure the annulment, fell from power, was removed from office, replaced by Thomas More. Thomas Cromwell became keeper of the Great Seal. Influenced by these developments, in 1530, Henry VIII authorized a commission to consider the expediency of an English translation (Pollard 1911: 163). The report was negative, but Henry stirred hopes that he would grant a translation when the time was right. Efforts through an agent Vaughan failed to persuade Tyndale to agree to return to England. These efforts gave way to an unsuccessful plot to kidnap him.

Tyndale was busy translating the OT. Tyndale's books, along with his manuscript of Deuteronomy, were lost in a shipwreck off the coast of Holland in 1529 (Foxe 1843–49: 5.120). He issued the Psalms in 1530 as well as the entire Pentateuch (a copy of which is in the British Museum [Herbert 1968: no. 4]). It was reissued in 1534, and after Tyndale's death was reprinted in 1551, 1884, and the text of Genesis in Weigle (1965).

Tyndale published his translation of Jonah with a prologue in 1531. He did a reissue of his NT in 1534 which had notes and prologues to the Epistles. A revision of 1535, printed by G. van der Haghen (now known as the G. H. edition), had no notes, and became the basis of later English Testaments.

The English Primers containing English Scripture selections hold a special place in the history of the English Bible. The *Hortulus Animae* of 1530, thought to have been by George Joye and to have reproduced his earlier Primer, which is now lost, had The Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, prayers from various parts of the OT and texts of thirty-nine different Psalms (Butterworth 1953: 28–46). Though Primers were frequently prohibited, English printers issued many during the reign of Henry VIII. Compilers felt free to choose readings from any source available to them. The Primers were a means by which Britishers came to know Scripture. By 1546, Henry VIII issued an authorized Primer with instructions about its use for instruction of youth and its being read by the aged.

In 1533 Henry VIII married Anne Boleyn, who "reigned in the king's heart as absolutely as he did over his subjects" (Burnet 1837, 1: 279). Thomas Cranmer became Archbishop of Canterbury the same year. The Act of Supremacy in November 1534 made Henry the Supreme Head of the Church of England. John

Fisher and Thomas More were executed for refusing to acknowledge the invalidity of Henry's marriage to Catherine and to accept Henry as the Supreme Head of the church.

Anne Boleyn was known to favor reform sentiments. There was expectation in England for a Bible. Tyndale in absentia presented Queen Anne a NT in 1534 with her name on the edge, which is now preserved in the British Museum. George Joye had earlier issued translations of OT books. His Psalms of 1530 had at Ps 91:3 the reading "a frayd for any bugges by night." Later editions were in 1534 and 1541. His Isaiah was issued in 1531. Joye, an English exile who had met Tyndale on the Continent, had earlier issued translations of OT books. His Psalms of 1530 had at Ps 91:3 the reading "a frayede of night bugges." Later editions were in 1534 and 1541. His Isaiah was issued in 1531. Joye now translated a portion of Genesis and sent a copy to both the King and Queen hoping in vain to get a license to print a Bible (Foxe 1843–49: 5.132). Joye also translated Proverbs through Lamentations and the prophet Jeremiah. He used "backslider," a word which still lives in English religious language. Less felicitous were "triakle" in Jer 8:22 and "sheephoke" in Psalm 23.

Joye while acting as a proofreader, introduced changes into the edition of Tyndale's NT which a Dutch printer was issuing. Tyndale in three months issued his 1534 revision and included a section in which he denounced Joye. Most offensive to him was the change of "resurrection" to "life after this life" or "very life" in some places. Joye complained of Tyndale's lack of charity, defended himself as best he could, but again issued his NT in 1535 without important changes (Butterworth and Chester 1962: 165–82).

Thomas Cranmer in 1534 stimulated the Convocation of Canterbury to petition the king for a Bible. About this time Cranmer divided the NT into portions which were sent to the bishops for correction. A sharp negative reply from Bishop Stokesley foiled the project (Mozley 1953: 36–37; Pollard 1911: 197), but the effort is remembered as a precedent for the committee concept of revision as contrasted with that of a single individual.

In May 1535 Tyndale was enticed out of the Merchant's House in Antwerp by a pretended friend, Henry Phillips, and imprisoned at Vilvorde Castle. A touching letter from Tyndale to the governor of the castle survives. It is thought that he translated the biblical section Joshua to 2 Chronicles while in prison, leaving it behind in manuscript. He was executed Oct. 6, 1536, at the age of forty-two. His dying words were, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes." Back in England, 1536 saw a reprint of Tyndale's NT of 1534, the first done in England. Within a year of Tyndale's death both Coverdale's and Matthew's Bibles had received royal licenses, within two years Cromwell had ordered the Great Bible set up within the churches, and within five years a royal proclamation made the setting up of Bibles mandatory.

Tyndale is the most significant individual contributor to the English Bible. Between 1525 and 1566 there were more than forty editions of Tyndale's NT which are known, and there may be others which perished (Pollard 1911: 10). Francis Fry (1878) described in detail twenty-one of the numerous editions appearing before 1550. Estimates are that 80 percent of the KJV wording is due to Tyndale. His influence continued to be dominant up to the rise of the modern speech translations.

**2. The Coverdale Bible.** On Oct. 4, 1535, a year before Tyndale's death, Myles Coverdale, then about forty-seven years of age, issued his Bible, the first complete English Bible to be printed. Coverdale, while living in Cambridge, had at the White Horse Inn come into contact with Reformation ideas (Foxe 1843–49: 5.415). By 1527 he was corresponding with Thomas Cromwell, who had become his patron. Accused of heresy, Coverdale fled to Hamburg where he associated with Tyndale for a part of the year 1529. Mozley (1953: 86) conjectures that he was also at Antwerp. Tyndale, however, does not mention meeting Coverdale.

Coverdale, alternating between England and exile, lived on into the reign of Elizabeth, participated in the consecration of Matthew Parker, and finally died in 1569 at the age of 81.

Coverdale began his translation by rendering a Latin paraphrase of the Psalms in 1535. His Bible (Herbert 1968: no. 18) was prepared and printed on the Continent. The Bible was dedicated to Henry VIII, whom Coverdale invited to correct it, improve it, or completely reject it as he saw fit. Unable to read Greek and Hebrew, Coverdale had worked from Latin and confesses dependence on five interpreters (whom scholars conjecture to be Luther, the Zurich Bible, Leo Juda, Pagninus, and the Vulgate). In the

NT he was heavily dependent on Tyndale, but also revised in the light of the German versions (Mozley 1953: 98). Like Tyndale, he used the words "congregation," "elder," and "love" but also used a variety in words like "image," "idol," "grade," "favor," "confess," and "knowledge." He used "penance" but explains that he meant by it true repentance (Mozley 1953: 106).

The place of the printing and the name of the printer of the Coverdale Bible remains disputed. The title page had six woodcuts with a picture of Adam and Eve after the fall at the top. At the opposite side, the Redeemer tramples the serpent's head. At the bottom, the King is delivering the Bible to his prelates. The Bible was brought into England in unbound sheets for the purpose of being sold by J. Nycolson, who prepared a second title page which omitted the statement that it had been translated out of "Douche and Latyn." Nycolson in August sent a copy of the Bible to Cromwell asking that he obtain permission for its circulation (Mozley 1953: 111).

The Coverdale Bible is divided into six parts: Pentateuch, Historical books, Job to Song of Solomon (called *Salomons Balettes*), Prophetic books, Apocrypha, and the NT. About 188 woodcuts illustrate the text. The Pentateuch, the book of Jonah, and the NT are Tyndale's, but the rest of the OT and the Apocrypha are Coverdale's, appearing in English for the first time. Coverdale followed the practice of Luther and Olivetan of printing the Apocrypha between the Testaments.

Coverdale was not offensive to Henry VIII as Tyndale had been. Matthew Parker later credited Queen Anne Boleyn with the Coverdale Bible's being permitted, though authorization was not granted. She had a copy in her chamber (Mozley 1937: 118–20). After her execution, the Bibles had a new title page in which her name was omitted and that of Queen Jane substituted. Nycolson reprinted the Coverdale Bible in folio and quarto sizes in 1537, and reprints of the quarto were in 1550 and 1553.

The text of Coverdale's Bible was reprinted by Bagster in 1838 and in a memorial edition in 1847. His Jonah was printed along with Tyndale's in 1863 and his Psalms in 1911, 1926, 1930, and 1935. The Coverdale Bible was issued in a facsimile in 1975, printed for Wm. Dawson and Sons in Britain. There are eighty copies of the Coverdale Bible known to exist, all of them imperfect (May 1977: 55).

**3. The Matthew's Bible.** Two years after the publication of the Coverdale Bible, and less than a year after Tyndale's death, in 1537 John Rogers issued a Bible under the pseudonym of Thomas Matthew. An alternate identity suggested by Whitley (1937: 61–72) has not been convincing. Rogers had associated with Tyndale and Coverdale at Antwerp (Foxe 1843–49: 6.591). Rogers ultimately suffered martyrdom under Mary Tudor.

In preparation of the Matthew's Bible (Herbert 1968: no. 34), Rogers used Tyndale's Pentateuch and the section Joshua to Chronicles which Tyndale had left in manuscript form (Pollard 1911: 195–96), but the rest of the OT and Apocrypha, except for the Prayer of Manasseh, which Rogers supplied, was revised from Coverdale. In the NT, Tyndale was followed with modifications. Grafton and Whitchurch supplied the funds for publication. The printing was done perhaps by Matthew Crom of Antwerp.

The Matthew's Bible was in folio size, printed in black-letter with two columns to the page and illustrated with 119 separate pictures. The order of NT books was that of Luther. The Epistle to the Romans was preceded by Tyndale's prologue in small print, and there were about two thousand annotations borrowed from various sources (Mozley 1953: 146). Christological headings were supplied for the Song of SongsSongs which Rogers called *Ballet of Balettes of Solomon.*

Ignoring the Bible's dependence on Tyndale, Cranmer sent a copy of the Bible to Cromwell calling it a new translation and new printing and asking that Cromwell get a license for it to be sold and read by all. While admitting that there were faults, Cranmer claimed to like this Bible better than any he had seen. Recalling his earlier failure to produce a revision, he stated that he did not think the bishops would get around to supplying a translation until "a day after doomesday." Cromwell wrote back that the license had been granted. The title page of the Bible carried the statement "Set forth by the Kinges most gracyous licēce."Coverdale's quarto Bible of the same year (1537), which is thought to be the first English Bible printed in England rather than abroad, also carried the phrase.

Some churches purchased copies of the Matthew's Bible, and they were read (Mozley 1953: 177–78). Foxe (1843–49: 5.410) speaks of offense taken by the clergy at the prologues and at the collection of

Scriptures about the Lord's Supper. The Matthew's Bible was printed again in 1538, 1549, and 1551. The British church attempted a statement of belief in *The Institution of a Christian Man* in 1537. A royal proclamation was issued in 1538 concerning reading the Bible, and injunctions were issued to the churches (Guppy 1938: 23–25). Public reading of the Bible proved so disruptive that in 1539 the king found it expedient to order that no person read the Bible in church with a loud voice during the time of service.

**4. The Taverner's Bible.** The King's printer, Thomas Barthlet, secured the services of Richard Taverner to prepare a Bible which was published in 1539. Taverner, a thirty-two year old practicing lawyer educated at Cambridge and Oxford, was a capable Greek scholar. It is not known whether his Bible or the Great Bible appeared first; both were of the same year. Taverner's was the first of the translations totally printed in England. Nycolson earlier had printed a Coverdale folio in 1537.

Taverner's Bible (Herbert 1968: no. 45) in the OT made use of the Matthew's Bible with some changes by comparison with Latin. The NT followed Tyndale with changes from Greek. It was the last of the English translations to follow the order of books of Luther. Many of the Matthew notes were dropped and Taverner's own inserted. Tyndale's prologue to the Epistle to the Romans was dropped. There were no woodcut illustrations. The Bible, folio in size, was dedicated to Henry VIII.

A revised edition of Taverner's NT was issued in quarto and octavo in 1939. The OT was issued in five parts between 1549 and 1551, and Taverner's OT, revised by Edmund Becke, was combined with Tyndale's NT and published by John Day in 1551. Other editions are unknown.

Westcott (1927: 83–84) and Butterworth (1941: 128) found Taverner exercising only minor influence on the later English Bible. The appearance of the Great Bible in the same year no doubt adversely affected the circulation of Taverner's.

**5. The Great Bible.** Cromwell planned a Bible with Coverdale as the editor and Grafton as the publisher. Coverdale used Matthew's Bible rather than his own as the basis and also used the Latin OT of Sebastian Münster. Münster was to OT study what Erasmus was to NT. The Apocrypha was left almost unrevised (Mozley 1953: 221). Coverdale and Grafton went to Paris to secure better paper and better printing. Henry VIII petitioned the French king to allow the printing (Foxe 1843–49: 5.411); however, after the project was well under way the Inquisitor-general intervened (Strype 1853: 1.120–21). Coverdale and Grafton escaped. After six months of negotiations the presses, types, and workmen were brought to London, and the Bible was completed by April 1539.

From its 15 × 9 inch size, the Bible is known as the Great Bible. Bonner promised Grafton that he would set up Bibles in St. Paul's (Foxe 1843–49: 5.412), and he issued an admonition that it be read reverently without disturbing sermon or service (Mozley 1953: 265). Five months later he found it necessary to threaten the removal of the Bible because of abuses.

The title page of the Great Bible reflects the political and religious loyalty desired in the British situation. Henry VIII is depicted as receiving the Word of the Lord from the Lord and passing it to Cromwell and Cranmer, who deliver it to the people. The people call out "God save the King!"

In the Great Bible, the OT is followed by the Apocrypha, but the NT is in Erasmus' order, not that of Luther, as earlier English Bibles had been. Notes were planned and markers inserted for them, but the notes never appeared. Words derived from the Latin Bible but not represented in Greek are in smaller type enclosed in brackets. See also GREAT BIBLE.

The seven editions of the Great Bible, issued in the three years 1539–41, were the subject of a study by Francis Fry in 1865. The second edition had the preface by Cranmer which gave the Bible the name "Cranmer's Bible." It had on the title page: "This is the Bible appointed to the use of the Churches." The Psalter became that later used in *The Book of Common Prayer.* In most cases the ecclesiastical words which had caused controversy are changed as Tyndale had modified them (Mozley 1953: 240).

Cromwell was granted a patent for printing the Bible for five years from Nov. 14, 1539. A royal proclamation of May 1541 ordered curates of the churches to provide themselves a Bible of the largest volume and also set the price of the Bible. However, Cromwell's plans for a league with the Lutheran princes failed, and Henry VIII's marriage to Anne of Cleves which Cromwell had arranged was annulled.

Cromwell fell from power and was beheaded on July 28, 1540. The Bible, however, was not withdrawn; extant church records show purchases of Bibles (Mozley 1953: 261–65). Cromwell's most lasting contribution was to give the English people a free Bible.

At about this period the Counter-Reformation began to get the upper hand. Henry VIII hesitated in reform. *The Six Articles* of 1539, which are distinctly Catholic, attempted to control diversity of opinion. It was declared in Convocation in 1542 that the Great Bible was not suitable for reading in church (Pollard 1911: 230). However, a motion for the undertaking of a fresh version failed. When the NT was divided among fifteen bishops and an OT committee formed, Gardiner supplied a list of 99 Latin terms which had to be retained. The project was referred to the universities, and nothing came of it (Mozley 1953: 272–75; Pollard 1911: 272–74).

In 1543, acts against Tyndale's translation were passed. *The Erudition of any Christian Man* further defined the English theological position. By 1546 both Tyndale's and Coverdale's Bibles were included on the prohibited lists. There was a further burning of Bibles at St. Paul's Cross on Sept. 26, 1546 (Mozley 1953: 287). Henry's last address to Parliament lamented that the Bible was "disputed, rhymed, sung, and jangled in every alehouse and tavern."

With the accession of Edward VI, injunctions to the churches to acquire Bibles were renewed. Unsold stocks were called upon to supply the need, but also all the English versions were reprinted—an impressive number of thirteen editions of the whole Bible and thirty-five of the NT (Eadie 1876: 1.423). At this period *The First Book of Homilies* was issued, as well as a translation of the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus. The first *Acts of Uniformity*, Jan. 21, 1549, required that the books of services be acquired by the parishes.

A translation of Matthew and Mark done about 1550 by Sir John Cheke, professor of Greek at Cambridge, remained in manuscript until published in 1843. Cheke's work was divided into chapters but not verses. He attempted to avoid words derived from Greek and Latin and in the process offered striking innovations in vocabulary. Any influence on later English translations is untraceable. A plan to undertake an official revision during Edward's reign failed when Martin Bucer, who had come to England at the invitation of Archbishop Cranmer, died (Strype 1853: 1.280–86).

Edward VI died after a reign of six and a half years; Mary Tudor came to the throne in 1553. England was absolved from schism by Cardinal Pole. Painting of Scripture quotations on the walls of churches was forbidden. Bible printings ceased, and, while no specific act against the Bible was passed, in some instances Bibles in the churches were destroyed (Mozley 1953: 299–301) as were those of some individuals (Foxe 1843–49: 8.318, 379, 469, 529, 561). Among the three hundred martyrs were John Rogers and Thomas Cranmer, both of whom had been significant in the story of the English Bible. Some 800 church leaders favoring reform fled to the continent. Mary's reign lasted only five years.

**6. The Geneva Bible.** On June 10, 1557, William Whittingham, an English refugee in Geneva, issued a NT for which Calvin supplied the preface (Herbert 1968: no. 106). In addition to the Greek text, Tyndale, the Great Bible, and Beza's Latin were consulted. An abundance of marginal notes and other supplementary materials were included. This NT was printed in Roman type with supplemental words italicized and with the verses as separate paragraphs. Whittingham's text can be found in *The English Hexapla* of 1841; it was reprinted separately in 1842.

In 1560, Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, and Thomas Sampson, who had remained for the purpose in Geneva after Elizabeth's accession in 1558, issued the Geneva Bible in quarto size with the expense borne by the congregation. The Bible (Herbert 1968: no. 107) is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth and contains the OT, Apocrypha, and NT. The OT had been revised in the light of the Hebrew text in consultation with a recently published Latin version. The NT followed Tyndale, revised with reference to Beza's translation. Without official sanction, this most popular of 16th-century English translations went through at least one hundred and forty printings before its last in 1640.

Elizabeth had kissed a NT presented her on her way to her coronation and had promised to read it, but she never gave recognition to the Geneva Bible. Injunctions in 1559 required the setting up of the Bible as

well as the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus in the churches. Reprints were done of The Great Bible and of Tyndale's NT.

History has ignored the chief merits of the Geneva Bible and called it the "Breeches Bible" because of its rendering of Gen 3:7. Roman type was used for the text with supplemental words in italics. The text was broken into paragraph verses for the first time in English Bibles. There were woodcuts, maps, and other study aids. Its most distinctive trait was its system of notes, some of which were anti-Catholic and others pro-Calvinistic; however, the majority of the notes were not polemic.

The Geneva Bible circulated in two other forms besides the original. Laurence Tomson did a revision in 1576, and then in 1599 it was printed with Junius's Revelation instead of Tomson's. The Geneva was issued in at least fourteen folio editions in addition to the many quartos, making it suitable for both home and church. It was the first Bible printed in Scotland where it received authorization of the Kirk.

The Geneva was used in early life by King James, used by Shakespeare in his later plays, preferred by the Puritans, used by Bunyan and used by the Pilgrims who came to America on the Mayflower. The Geneva Bible, the best of the translations up to its time, was issued in a facsimile reprint by the University of Wisconsin Press in 1969. See also GENEVA BIBLE.

**7. The Bishops' Bible.** Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, dissatisfied with the Geneva notes, organized another Bible revision by assigning sections for revision to individuals most of whom were bishops. Parker revised some of the books, compiled the whole, and gave the initials of the participants at the end of their books. Rules of procedure specified limited modification of Bibles then in use. Bitter notes were to be omitted, and places not edifying were to be marked so that the reader could pass them over. Although there were no general meetings of the translators for discussion of various readings, the effort set a pattern later followed that a committee should revise Scripture. Parker instructed Jugge, the printer, to use heavier paper on the NT because of its greater use.

Issued in 1568, the Bishops' Bible (Herbert 1968: no. 125), though not the largest, was the most elaborate of 16th century Bibles. It had pictures of Queen Elizabeth, William Cecil, and Robert Dudley. There were 150 woodcut engravings, coats of arms in initial letters, and extensive supplementary material, including Cranmer's Preface. The print was black-letter and the text divided into verses but with the older system of A, B, C. also down the margin marking divisions.

Though Parker sought authorization of his Bible from the Queen, it was not forthcoming. However, the *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical* of April 3, 1571, ordered that each archbishop and bishop have a copy at his house. Cathedrals were to have them and churches as far as convenient. Contemporary church records show the purchase of Bibles.

The Bishops' Bible underwent revision in 1569 (the year of the last printing of the great Bible) which incorporated criticism of Thomas Laurence. The 1572 edition printed the Great Bible Psalms in parallel with the Bishops' Psalms after which, with the exception of a 1585 printing, only the Great Bible Psalms were included. The 1572 printing used the picture of Leda and the Swan, giving the Bible the name "The Leda Bible." The Bible went through twenty editions with the last in 1602 which was used by the KJV translators. The NT was last printed in 1633 in the fourth edition of a work by William Fulke intended to refute the Rheims NT. The NT text was reproduced in *The New Testament Octapla* in 1962. The text of Genesis is in *The Genesis Octapla* of 1965.

The Bishops' Bible circulated in folio printings but also in quarto. Some homes had copies. As true with the preparers of other translations, some of the bishops who worked on the revision continued to quote the Geneva in their sermons. Richmond Noble (1935) demonstrated that Shakespeare used the Bishops' Bible in his earlier plays. See also BIBLE, BISHOPS'.

**8. The Rheims-Douay Bible.** English Catholic exile Gregory Martin, aided by William Allen and Richard Bristow at Rheims, prepared a translation with the NT in quarto size and Roman type issued in 1582 (Herbert 1968: no. 177). Martin translated two chapters a day, and the work was corrected by the others. The notes, saturated with Catholic doctrine, are said to be the work of Bristow. The text is paragraphed with verse numbers on the inner margin rather than being broken into verses. OT quotations are in italics.

A preface denies that vernacular translations are necessary and defends the use of the Latin text rather than the Greek, insisting that where they differ, the Latin is superior. Greek was not ignored and most chapters have Greek words in the margins. The existing English translations had been consulted. Carleton (1902) pointed out that there are more resemblances than differences. Treatments of the Rheims usually emphasize the Latin terms, which are incorporated without translation, and despite words like "gratis," "character," "resuscitate," and "victory," all of which have since become accepted English words, the wording must have been confusing. The Glossary included in the NT explains 58 words. Martin felt that reading the Latin words would make the reader familiar with them.

William Fulke and Thomas Cartwright produced works for the refutation of the Rheims. Fulke in 1589 printed the text of the Rheims in parallel with the Bishops' in a work which went through three reprints (1601, 1617, and 1633) and made for wider knowledge of the Rheims than otherwise would have been.

Though Martin prepared the OT before his death on Oct. 28, 1582, it was not published until 1609–10 (Herbert 1968: 300) after the college had moved back to Douay in 1593. Laurence Kellam had done additional revision in keeping with the Latin text published by Clement VIII in 1592. Lack of funds necessitated the delay. The accompanying notes are less polemic than those of the NT, yet the Preface criticizes Protestant Bibles of 1552, 1577, 1579, and 1603.

The NT was reprinted in 1600, 1621, and 1633, but not again until a revision in 1738. The OT was reprinted only in 1635 and then not again until Challoner's revision in 1750 and 1763–64. The OT and NT were not printed together until 1790 and then in a form based on Challoner. Catholics were a persecuted minority in Elizabethan England, and their Bible enjoyed no such popularity as is attested by the many editions of the Protestant Bible. See also DOUAY VERSION.

**9. The King James Bible.** King James took up the suggestion of John Reynolds made at the Hampton Court conference that a new translation was needed and set in operation the machinery to produce one that the whole church might be "bound to it and none other." The 54 persons (extant lists have only 47 names) were divided into six companies with two meeting at each Cambridge, Oxford, and Westminster. Fourteen rules of procedure authorized only a minimal revision of the Bishops' Bible with the translations of Tyndale, Coverdale, Matthew, Whitchurch, and Geneva followed where they were preferable. The old ecclesiastical words were to be retained. If the repeated screenings suggested in the rules were actually done, a careful revision would have been made. A group of overseers composed of two members of each company was to put the whole together.

Information about the actual procedure followed is sparse. Replacements were made in the groups when deaths occurred. Financing plagued the project. Unable to finance the revision himself, King James attempted to raise money from the Bishops, Deans, and Chapters. Church positions were to be held open for the participants, and the universities were to furnish room and board for those working on their campuses. Eventually, the Stationers' Company supplied 30 shillings a week each for the group that went to London for the final work.

Scattered evidence suggests that the groups were working after 1604. Miles Smith wrote the "Translators to the Readers" which regrettably no longer is printed in King James Bibles but which gives great insight into the purpose of the translation. They aimed to make a good translation better "or out of many good ones, one principal good one, not justly to be excepted against." A flattering dedication by Bishop Barlow to King James is still printed. Bishop Bilson is credited with chapter summaries called "arguments."

The King James (Herbert 1968: no. 309) was issued in folio and in black-letter in 1611 by printer Robert Barker. It contained the OT, the Apocrypha, and the NT as all its predecessors in English had done. Though free of notes, some variant readings and some alternate translations were indicated, and there were center references. Initial letters decorated books, and curiously enough that to the gospel of Matthew is of Neptune taming the sea horses. The title page carried the phrase "Appointed to be read in Churches."

The last reprint of the Bishops' Bible had been nine years earlier. The Geneva was cited in the preface of the KJV, and older translators like Andrewes and bishops like Laud continued to use the Geneva.

Though there is no record of an official authorization, the KJV from the beginning dominated the field. There were seventeen editions of the KJV in the first three years, and in the period 1611 to 1640, there were only fifteen editions of the Geneva against 182 for the KJV (Kenyon 1958: 305). Ecclesiastical recognition came in 1662 when the fifth *Prayer Book* used citations for the Gospel and Epistles from the KJV instead of from the Great Bible.

The KJV has never been free of criticism and has been progressively revised across its history, beginning as early as 1616. Its literary excellencies have always been recognized. For the next centuries it was the Bible of the English reading public. See VERSIONS, ENGLISH (KING JAMES VERSION) following.

**D. From the 17th to the 19th Century**

The drive for English Scriptures which had produced 9 revisions in 85 years had spent itself with the KJV. (See the survey in *CHB* 3: 361–82.) A growing recognition of the excellencies of the KJV is in part responsible. Men improved it and commented on it, but civil war in Britain following the death of King James in 1625 occupied public interests. However, private translators continued their work. Translations of the Psalms of David were popular, and one of 1631 said to be by King James is attributed to Sir William Alexander. In 1650 a translation of Psalms in meter was issued by the Kirk of Scotland. Henry Danvers published Solomon's Proverbs alphabetically arranged in 1666.

Henry Hammond in 1653 published his paraphrase of the NT in parallel with the KJV text, and in 1706 Philip Bedingfield did the same for four books of the OT and Apocrypha. Paraphrases were issued in 1727 on OT books by Simon Patrick Lord Bishop of Ely. Philip Doddridge's "The Family Expositor" of 1739–56 contained a commentary and paraphrase on the NT and was printed in America after 1808.

Daniel Mace, a Presbyterian, published a Greek-English diglot in 1729 and is considered a pioneer in NT text criticism. His English was colloquial and, among some oddities, used phrases anticipating those later chosen by others.

William Whiston, translator of Josephus, published a NT in 1745 in which he had made particular use of Codex Bezae but also used the Latin Clermont manuscript and Alexandrinus. Anthony Purver, a member of the Society of Friends, published a Bible in 1764 which is remembered for its colorful rendering of Song of Songs 2:12. Edward Harwood in 1768 rendered the NT which is remembered for its bombastic style of which one example has Peter say, "O, Sir! what a delectable residence we might establish here!"

John Wesley, founder of the Methodists, published a NT in 1755 (Herbert 1968: no. 1114) which shows many departures from the Textus Receptus, making use of the Greek texts which had been published up to his time. Wesley has 12,000 departures from the KJV. He used "love" instead of "charity," returned to pre-Geneva paragraphing, used "who" instead of "which" when referring to persons, and in other choices anticipated twentieth century translations. Wesley also modified unjustified Calvinistic renderings as in Acts 2:47 and Gal 5:17. Wesley retained, however, old English pronoun and verb forms.

Translations aimed at reflecting the increasing knowledge of the text of the NT include William Newcome's work in 1796 based on Griesbach's Greek text as also were those of John Gorham Palfrey in 1828, which modified the KJV text, Samuel Sharpe in 1840, and Edgar Taylor in 1840. Rodolphus Dickinson in 1833 attempted to correct the NT to the content and form of Griesbach's Greek Testament. Leicester Ambrose Sawyer in 1858, Robert Ainslie in 1869, and Samuel Davidson in 1875 used Tischendorf's Greek Text. John Taylor in 1852 issued a NT in which he had compared the KJV with the various readings of the Vatican manuscript. J. B. Rotherham translated the NT from Tregelles's text in 1872. A Tauchnitz edition of the NT in 1869 had English equivalents of variants from the Sinaitic, the Vatican, and Alexandrian manuscripts at the bottom of each page. *The Emphatic Diglott* in 1864 by Benjamin Wilson had Griesbach's Greek text with an interlinear translation and notes on readings of the Vatican manuscript. This work has had vogue with the Watch Tower Society and was printed by it after 1902. In England, Herman Heifetter in 1864 issued a text in a sixth edition from the Vatican manuscript.

The Peshitta version received notice with J. W. Etheridge's translation of the gospel of Matthew in 1843, the four gospels in 1846, and the Acts and epistles in 1849. The NT was translated by James

Murdock in 1851. Etheridge translated the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch in 1865, and Agnes Scott Lewis the four gospels from the Sinaitic Syriac in 1894.

**1. America.** Explorers and settlers brought Bishops' Bibles, Geneva Bibles, and the KJV with them (Simms 1936), but no Bibles were printed in America without false imprints of British printers until after the colonial period. The Bay Psalm Book (1640), a versified paraphrase of the Book of Psalms, went through many editions. John Eliot in 1663 produced a Bible translation in the language of the Massachusetts Indians. The Continental Congress considered authorizing the printing of a Bible but declined because of the unavailability of suitable materials in America (Simms 1936: 126; Herbert 1968: 272–73).

Robert Aitken in Philadelphia in 1777 published a NT and then a complete Bible, the first in America, in 1782. Charles Thomson, former secretary to Congress from 1774 to 1789 issued in 1808 the earliest translation into English from the Septuagint. In 1844 Bagster in Britain printed a translation from Codex Vaticanus by a scholar Charles Lee Brenton. Both of these works have been reprinted in the second half of the 20th century.

The English Version of the Polyglot Bible, using the text from Bagster's Polyglott Bible of 1816 had many reprints in Britain, began to be printed in America in 1831 and had a particular vogue with over a hundred reprints within fifty years (Herbert 1968: no. 1785).

In 1826, Alexander Campbell, preacher for the churches of Christ, issued a NT (Herbert 1968: no. 1759; Hills 1961: no. 567). Campbell had assembled modified translations done by George Campbell, James Macknight, and Philip Doddridge. This very popular work was progressively revised through six editions under Campbell's supervision, was then reprinted many times afterwards, and continues in print. Campbell was a pioneer in the movement toward current speech.

The American Bible Union, an interdenominational cooperation in America formed out of dissatisfaction with the policies of the American and Foreign Bible Society, and wanting an "immersion" version, produced a NT in 1862 with a second revision in 1865.

The KJV text of the NT was arranged in paragraphs by James Nourse in 1827, Alexander Bell in 1837, and Robert B. Blackader (with dates inserted) in 1851. The Bible followed in 1866. A revised Testament of 1824 paragraphed the KJV text, modified punctuation, and expunged some words not in the original. J. T. Conquest in 1841 published the KJV text with 20,000 emendations from various authorities. The OT in the KJV wording was arranged in chronological order by George Townsend in 1821. The NT followed in 1825. A NT with books chronologically arranged was translated from Tischendorf's text by L. A. Sawyer in 1858.

Other 19th-century innovations in the appearance of the Bible include the insertion of a "family register" of births, deaths, and marriages begun in 1804 in printings of Matthew Cary, was continued in 1822 by Samuel Wood, and was taken up by other printers. Near the end of the century in 1899 a publisher began the practice of printing the words of Jesus in red. A later effort in 1910 to indicate in red the OT passages thought to be concerning Jesus failed to become a practice.

Jonathan Morgan, advocate of spelling reform, attempted to improve the orthography of the KJV in 1848; A. Comstock in 1855 attempted use of a phonetic alphabet for the NT.

Joseph Smith's revision of the KJV, called The Holy Scriptures Translated and Corrected by the Spirit of Revelation, was a work of three years (1830–1833) but changes continued until Smith's death in 1844. Smith, without claiming to consult the languages, made the wording relevant to the Latter Day Saints. This revision was published in 1867, has been reprinted several times, and was issued as "The Inspired Version" by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ in 1936.

Remembered because done by a famous person is the revision of the KJV in 1833 by Noah Webster who made corrections in the KJV text in grammar, obsolete words and phrases, and in certain mistranslations. Webster used "Holy Spirit" instead of "Holy Ghost."

Julia E. Smith, a member of the Sandemanian sect, was the first woman to translate the entire Bible. Her word for word rendering was published in 1876, and the OT follows the order of books in the Jewish canon. Smith claimed to have written out the Bible five times. Helen Spurrell in 1885 made a translation

from unpointed Hebrew. Women participated in the preparation of the Twentieth Century New Testament, and in the 20th century, Helen Barrett Montgomery, a Baptist, published in modern speech the Centenary New Testament in 1924. See VERSIONS, ENGLISH (AMERICAN VERSIONS) following.

**2. Catholic Bibles.** The Psalms of David were published by C. Caryll in 1700. Cornelius Nary, dissatisfied with the wording of the Rheims-Douay effort, produced a NT from the Latin Vulgate, supplying annotations and marginal notes, in 1719. Robert Witham issued a NT in 1730 in which he claimed to show the differences between the Latin and the Greek. The most influential reviser was Richard Challoner, who with Francis Blyth issued the Rheims NT in a fifth edition in 1738; but then in 1749 the first of Challoner's revision of the Rheims NT appeared, it was successively revised in following editions. In 1764 the Challoner edition of the Bible containing both the OT and NT appeared, and a fifth edition in 1772 which has been the form widely used by Catholics until modern times. Challoner used the Vulgate edition published by Clement VIII in 1592. He made the language of the Catholic Bible approximate more closely the language of the KJV. The first Catholic Bible published in America was issued by Carey, Stewart, and Company of Philadelphia in 1790. George Leo Haydock compiled a Bible with notes from various commentators which was issued in 1814. Francis Patrick Kenrick, in an effort to exclude corruptions in current Rheims-Douay versions, issued the NT in 1849–51 and the OT in portions completed by 1860 (Hills 1961: noss. 1414, 1730). For other Catholic translations, see F.2 below. See also VERSIONS, CATHOLIC.

**3. Jewish Translations.** Jews were excluded from England until 1655. Jewish English Bible translation, appearing later on the scene than Anglican, begins with David Levi's *The First (-Fifth) Book of Moses* in 1787. He was followed by Isaac Delgado in 1789 with a translation of the Pentateuch, by a complete OT translated by A. Benisch (1851–56), and by a commentary and translation done by M. M. Kalisch (1855–72). The Hebrew Scriptures were published in America with marginal notes in 1813, but in 1845–46 Isaac Leeser published the Torah in Hebrew and in English aiming at being as literal as possible. Leeser then followed in 1854 with the whole OT in the KJV style, while introducing many changes. Leeser's work was used for a half a century. A project presided over successively by Marcus Jastrow, Cyrus Adler, and Max L. Margolis, began work in 1892 and finally issued its Bible in 1917 under the auspices of The Jewish Publication Society. The KJV style was followed in the English. See also VERSIONS, JEWISH.

**E. The Revised Version, 1881–85**

After much discussion and agitation on the part of many people for further revision of the KJV, Bishop Samuel Wilberforce introduced a motion for revision of the NT in the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury on February 10, 1870. The motion was enlarged to include also the OT. In the plans which developed, Anglicans were to be in the lead, but Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Unitarians were represented on the committees. Roman Catholics declined to participate. Harold Browne chaired the OT group of 27 members and C. J. Ellicott the N.T. group of 28 members, making a total of 55. Eight governing principles were agreed upon. The work began in June 1870.

After the project was well under way, it was decided to invite Americans to participate, and Dr. Philip Schaff assembled a group from various denominations who began work on October 4, 1872. Lists of British participants and of rules followed are given by Cadoux (1940: 242–47), and a list of the Americans is in the Documentary History of the Revision.

The NT group held 407 meetings, completing their work in ten and a half years. The OT group met 792 days over a longer period. The British and American companies never met face to face for discussion. A British draft was sent to America and then returned with American suggestions. Those suggestions receiving approval of two thirds of the British committee were accepted. An appendix was projected to carry the important American suggestions which were rejected. The NT was issued May 17, 1881 (Herbert 1968: no. 2017) and printed in both Britain and in America. The OT was issued in four volumes May 19, 1885 (Herbert 1968: no. 2037); but the Apocrypha was only begun later, revised by four committees, and not issued until 1895 (Herbert 1968: no. 2061).

The purpose of the revision was to bring the English Bible into harmony with the original texts—"to make a good translation still better, more accurate and self consistent, and to bring it up to the present

standard of biblical scholarship." Changes in the underlying Greek text followed in the NT are estimated at more than 5,788. E. Palmer in 1881 printed the Greek text with readings adopted by the Revisers, and it was issued in 1947 in a second edition with apparatus by A. Souter. There are estimated to be 36,000 changes in the English of the NT. The OT group did not find it necessary to reconstruct a Hebrew text, but did make use of advances in Hebrew learning.

The text was printed in paragraphs, but traditional chapter divisions were retained for convenience of reference. Dates were omitted in the center column; a special committee dealt with margin references. Book titles remained the same, but page and chapter headings and italics were revised. Poetry was more clearly indicated. The revisers rejected the variety in rendering accepted in 1611 and attempted always to render a Greek word by the same English word. The practice made for difficult English style and for some warping of meaning.

Though received at first with enthusiasm on both sides of the Atlantic, the RV also touched off much criticism. Dean John W. Burgon published a series of harsh critical essays which eventually were gathered into *The Revision Revised*, 1883. Though not convincing in his own day, periodically Burgon's arguments have been revived by such persons as K. B. Wilkinson, D. O. Fuller, and L. P. Letis. In what seems to be an often repeated but unlocatable quotation, Spurgeon characterized the revision as "Strong in Greek and weak in English."

The RV went through numerous printings in its own right but also touched off numerous unauthorized publications in which the two versions were printed in parallel. A Linear Parallel Edition combination of the KJV and RV of 1898 (Herbert 1968: no. 2078) had one line of type where the two versions agreed but printed differences above or below the line. Another in 1899 (Herbert 1968: no. 2087) printed the KJV with the differences in the margin. An edition was printed in America in 1898 with revised marginal references (Herbert 1968: no. 2076) and a similar edition in England in 1903 (Herbert 1968: no. 2124). The Revised Version Old Testament in 1885 (Herbert 1968: no. 2043) printed the American preferences as footnotes. An 1898 printing (Herbert 1968: no. 2077) inserted the American preferences into the text and printed the British preferences in the Appendixes. Printings without the marginal notes began for the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1903 (Herbert 1968: nos. 2125, 2126, 2127) which had decided in 1901 to circulate the RV as well as the KJV. The Society decided in 1904 to circulate the Nestle Greek Text instead of the Textus Receptus. The NT was printed with references compiled by Scrivener and Moulton in 1910 (Herbert 1968: no. 2163).

Despite all these efforts, and despite the revision's being accepted for use in Canterbury Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, and in some parish churches, the passage of time made clear that the RV would never displace the KJV in the hearts of the people.

The American participants in the revision were dissatisfied with the Appendix which the British published. The wording suggested to them an implication that the preferences printed were all the important differences the Americans had. Though abiding by their agreement not to issue a rival revision for 14 years, they planned an American edition.

Within the intervening period all members of the American NT committee died except T. Dwight, M. B. Riddle, and J. H. Thayer. Of the OT committee only G. E. Day, J. DeWitt, C. M. Mead, and H. Osgood survived. Philip Schaff died October 20, 1893.

Work on the final revision—the American Standard Version (ASV)—was begun on the NT on June 24, 1897. Mead edited the OT, and Thayer, who had kept notes of meetings of the earlier committee, led the NT committee. The completed work was copyrighted by Thomas Nelson and Sons to protect "the purity of the text," and the Bible was placed on sale August 26, 1901. Thayer died three months later on November 26. For ASV differences from the RV, see Lewis (1982: 69–105).

The Lockman Foundation, aiming to preserve the ASV and spread its influence, produced the New American Standard Version with NT in 1963 and complete Bible in 1970. The names of the revising committee have not been revealed in order that the merits of the revision not be judged on the basis of those who prepared it. The NASV has an appeal to those who want literalism but are unconcerned about

English style. Considerable freedom has been exercised, however, in inserting added information in the text by use of italics. There have been numerous reprints with modifications since 1970.

**F. The 20th Century (Before 1960)**

**1. Overview.** While the KJV continued in popularity with many reprints in many forms throughout the 20th century, a renewed concern arose just before the dawn of the 20th century to bring the English Bible into conformity with current archaeological information, with the current state of Hebrew and Greek knowledge, and with current English speech. Special impetus was given later by Adolph Deissmann's theory that the NT was first written in koine Greek—the language of the people. People came to feel that the NT, not designed to be a masterpiece of prose or poetry but to communicate God's message to men, should be translated into non-literary contemporary English.

The Twentieth Century New Testament, issued in parts, but printed as a unit in 1902? and 1904?, was prepared over fourteen years by a group of about thirty-five men and women of various ages, religious affiliations, and educational qualifications. Though the translators were long unnamed, a study by Kenneth Clark (1955) revealed their identities. The preface, in declaring that the Greek of the NT writers was "the form of language spoken in their day," anticipated Deissmann's discovery. The aim of the translation, which was a pioneer in modern speech versions, was "to exclude all words and phrases not used in current English." Text passages which Westcott-Hort considered not a part of the original text were bracketed. The text was paragraphed with chapter and verse numbers in the margin. OT quotations were printed in italics. Within the traditional groupings, books were given in what was considered chronological order. Money sums were given in current values. Poetry was printed in poetic form. Many of the phrases of this translation have influenced later translations. The Twentieth Century NT was re-issued in 1961 by Moody Press with the books in the usual order.

Ferrar Fenton issued his translation in parts, beginning with the Epistle to the Romans in 1882, with The New Testament in Modern English completed in 1900 and the Complete Bible in Modern English in 1903. The books of the OT, rendered from Hebrew, were in the traditional Jewish order. The NT was translated from the Westcott-Hort text. Fenton is among the few persons who single-handedly have translated the entire Bible into English. A reprint of this Bible was issued in 1938.

The ASV text was issued as The Student's Chronological New Testament in 1904 with the books in an assumed chronological order and with notes by A. T. Robertson. Another chronological effort using the KJV text was made by T. M. Lindsay in 1906. Other chronological efforts were by W. L. Courtney in 1915 and G. W. Wade in 1934. C. F. Kent arranged OT books logically and chronologically in 1927 while translating the texts into their modern equivalent.

The New Testament in Modern Speech, translated by R. F. Weymouth from his Resultant Greek Testament but revised by Ernest Hampden-Cook, was issued in 1903, 1904, and 1909. The fourth edition of 1924 had been revised by well-known NT scholars, and a fifth in 1929 revised by J. A. Robertson. Books had introductions and explanatory footnotes. This work was reprinted in 1936.

Richard G. Moulton issued his Modern Reader's Bible in 22 volumes in 1906, in one volume in 1907, and in an abridgement in 1922. Moulton's work was a rearrangement of the English Revised Version. There are extensive notes. Choices are made between readings in the text and the margin, and there are slight changes of wording needed for modern literary structure.

James Moffatt published The Historical New Testament in 1901, in which he preserved the language of the KJV; however, by 1913 he had prepared a new translation of the NT in modern speech based on the von Soden Greek Text. Moffatt's text was published in parallel with the KJV in 1922. His OT was issued in 1924, and then the whole Bible in a "revised and final edition" in 1935. Moffatt's work enjoyed a phenomenal sale with numerous reprints. Moffatt was later until his death in 1944 executive secretary of the committee preparing the RSV.

Edgar J. Goodspeed prepared The New Testament. An American Translation in 1924 in which he had followed the Westcott-Hort text and had sought "simple, straight-forward English of the everyday expression." There were many printings, with an Anniversary Edition in 1948 containing improvements. Goodspeed's NT was combined with a translation of the OT edited by J. Powis Smith in 1931 with the

title The Bible, An American Translation. Goodspeed also translated the Apocrypha in 1938, and the 1939 edition of the Bible contained the Apocrypha. Goodspeed was later active in the production of the RSV.

The Concordant Version of the NT edited by A. Knoch, appearing in parts between 1919 and 1926, attempted to give the Bible reader a means of interpreting the original text for himself through a uniform English translation for each Greek form. The Greek Textus Receptus with a sublinear literal English translation was on one page and an idiomatic translation on the opposite one. Reprints were issued in 1931, 1944, and a Memorial Edition in 1966.

George M. Lamsa had completed his translation from the Peshitta Syriac by 1957. Lamsa believed that the Syriac was "written in the language in which our Blessed Lord, His disciples, and the Early Christians spoke and wrote." Apart from his questionable presuppositions about the value of the Peshitta, Lamsa was greatly influenced by the KJV and followed its style and format.

Charles B. Williams, Professor of Greek at Union University, Jackson, Tennessee, in 1937 issued The New Testament: A Translation in Language of the People. Working from the Westcott-Hort text, Williams sought to make the NT "readable and understandable by the plain people." A slightly revised edition was issued by Moody Press in 1950. This work is not to be confused with The New Testament in Plain English of 1952 by C. Kingsley Williams, which uses a limited simple vocabulary.

C. F. Kent, C. C. Torrey, and others attempted to eliminate duplicated matter in the NT in The Shorter Bible of 1918, which was then followed by the OT in 1921. A committee directed by S. H. Hooke issued in 1941 The New Testament in Basic English using a vocabulary of 850 words supplemented by 50 special Bible words. This work was followed by The Basic Bible in 1949.

Gerrit Verkuyl issued The Berkeley Version of the New Testament in 1945 from the eighth edition of Tischendorf's text with reference to the Nestle text. Dates for events or sayings and writings of the NT are given. The OT, prepared by a committee with Verkuyl as chairman, was published in 1959. In a revised form, this Bible has become The Modern Language Bible published by Zondervan.

William G. Ballantine issued the thoroughly modern Riverside New Testament in 1923 (revised in 1934). E. V. Rieu issued The Four Gospels in 1952 as one of the Penguin Classics. Hugh Schonfield, a Jewish scholar, translated the gospel of Matthew in 1927 from an old Hebrew manuscript but in 1955 translated the rest of the NT from Greek as The Authentic New Testament. The NT Letters were prefaced and paraphrased by J. W. C. Wand in 1946.

While all of these translations were appearing the American Standard Bible Committee of the International Council of Religious Education began a revision of the William Tyndale line of Bibles last represented by the ASV. Three committees (with Luther A. Weigle as chairman of the whole) made the revision. The consonantal Hebrew text of the OT and the Westcott-Hort Greek text of the NT served as a basis. The revision, done in the light of modern scholarship, aimed to make a Bible suitable for private and public worship. The revision was to be in the direction of the simple, classic English style of the KJV. The NT was completed in 1946, the Bible with a second edition of the NT in 1952, and the Apocrypha in 1956. A Catholic edition issued in 1965 restored to the text some of the passages printed as footnotes due to lack of textual support. "Lord" was used for the name of the Deity. Archaic terms were replaced; however, old English forms were retained in address to the Deity, liturgical passages, and prayers.

Though innovative for its day, the RSV had come by the 1980's to appear conservative in translation practices. The English used was not contemporary. A further revision called the NRSV, done by an international, interdenominational group of men and women, was issued in September 1989. Among other matters, particular effort was made to remove sexist language.

J. B. Phillips began his publication with Letters to Young Churches in 1947. Phillips, during the London blitz of World War II, had found the KJV hard for young people to understand and had begun translating. He had completed his NT by 1958. This very popular work was frequently reprinted and was further revised. Phillips' The Four Prophets followed in 1963, but the rest of the OT was never completed.

In 1950 the New World Translation Committee of the Jehovah's Witnesses issued a NT based on the Westcott-Hort text supplemented by the texts of Nestle, Bover and Merk. The OT was issued in 1960 and

the combined OT and NT entitled The New World Translation of the Holy Scriptures issued in 1961 and 1971.

The Lockman Foundation of Lahabra, California, issued in 1958 The Amplified New Testament edited by Francis E. Siewert and a committee. Alternate words and phrases thought to restore the full meaning of the original Greek are added in brackets. Parts of the OT were issued in 1962 and 1964, and the whole eventually became The Amplified Bible.

**2. Catholic Translations.** Catholic translations in the 20th century began with F. A. Spencer's modern translation of the four gospels from Greek with reference to Latin and Syriac in 1098. Spencer had completed the NT before his death in 1913, but his work was not published until revised by Callan and McHugh in 1937. In England, The Westminster Version, edited by C. Lattey and J. Keating, was successively issued in volumes of NT books by various scholars from 1913 to 1935 and made into one volume in 1948. Issuing of the OT began in 1934 but was not completed. The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine sponsored revision of the Challoner-Rheims version. Working from the Vulgate, with reference to the Greek, Catholic scholars issued the annotated NT in 1941. In 1949 the NT was combined with the Challoner-Douay OT and a new translation of the Psalms from the new Latin version to make The New Catholic Edition of the Holy Bible. Combinations of the Challoner-Douay and the Confraternity editions were issued in 1950 and 1956. The OT from the Challoner-Douay was combined with the NT and Psalms from the Westminster text in 1958.

Ronald Knox, whose literary skills are well known, issued his NT translated from the Vulgate in London and America in 1944, and in Australia in 1947. Knox issued the OT in 1949, and the two were combined in the Bible of 1956. Knox's language is described as "timeless English," but he occasionally resorts to paraphrase. Knox's Bible received official approval for use in Britain.

A very significant event in Catholic history was the papal decree *Divino Afflante Spiritu* of 1943, which opened the way for Catholic translations from the original languages. In 1954 the NT was translated into modern popular English from the 1943 Bover Greek Text by J. A. Kleist and J. L. Lilly, but the effort failed to gain official approval. The fruit of other translating efforts is beyond the scope of this article.

**3. Bibles with Note Systems.** One of the most influential note systems of the 20th century is that of C. I. Scofield. These notes have been printed with the KJV text (with revised renderings of some words) since 1909. Scofield, a lawyer turned Congregational minister, was assisted by a board of editors. The reference notes and the introductions to various books set forth premillennial and dispensational teaching. A second edition was issued in 1917 and the copyright renewed by Oxford University Press in 1961 and 1971. A New Scofield Reference Bible, edited with considerable modifications by a group headed by E. Schyuler English was issued in 1967 and 1971. Many of the revised renderings have been placed in the text with the earlier translation in the margin. This work maintains the original theological position but is edited for today's readers.

Also of wide use has been the Thompson Chain Reference Bibles compiled and edited by Frank Charles Thompson beginning in 1908. Since 1929 the copyright is held by the Kirkbride Bible Company. Extensive cross references of terms and names, as well as an index of Chain Topics of the KJV text, seek to guide the reader in tracing any important theme through the entire Scripture. This Bible went through many editions and reprints. As of 1983, the Thompson Chain-Reference Bible has also been adapted to the NIV text and issued jointly by Kirkbride and Zondervan.

Yet another Bible of wide circulation using the KJV text is the Dickson Bible which began in 1902? as The Indexed Bible compiled under the direction of the John A. Dickson Publishing Company. This Bible became in 1931 The New Analytical Indexed Bible edited by James R. Kaye with ASV variants inserted in brackets in the text. With concordance reset and with a new index, this Bible was issued in 1950? as The New Analytical Bible and Dictionary of the Bible. It continues to be marketed by the Dickson Company.

For a discussion of more recent English translations of the Bible, see THEORIES OF TRANSLATION.

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## *WYCLIFFE'S VERSION*

John Wycliffe (1330–1384; also spelled Wyclif and Wiclif), an active participant in the church struggles of his day (the time of the so-called Babylonian Captivity of the Papacy: 1378–1417), backed Parliament in its refusal to pay the sums the Pope demanded. In theological debates, he attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation. Wycliffe supported and was protected by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster and leader of the feudal party in its struggle against the temporal power of the clerical party. Oxford–trained and Rector of the church in Lutterworth, Wycliffe recruited volunteer lay preachers who came to be known as the Lollards. Wycliffe is quoted as having said, "No man is so rude a scholar but that he can learn the words of the Gospel according to his simplicity."

Wycliffe, trained in Hebrew and Greek, and his associates translated the Latin Bible into the English of his day (about the time of Chaucer: 1340–1400). The NT was completed about 1380. A manuscript in the Bodleian Library makes clear that Nicholas of Hereford did the OT up to Baruch 3:20 where it abruptly breaks off. The identity of the translator of the rest of Baruch, the rest of the OT, and the NT is unknown, but is traditionally ascribed to Wycliffe, though it may actually have been his secretary John Purvey. Completed about 1382, the Bible was a small pocket edition. The language is a stiff, literal translation from inferior Latin texts whose exact identity is unknown.

A second edition in a refined English style which broke free from the influence of the Latin syntax was issued about 1388 after Wycliffe's death. The earliest ms of this refined second edition bears the date 1408. Though names are omitted from the preface, the work is thought to have been done by John Purvey. Purvey tells the reader that he "had much travail with divers fellows and helpers, to gather many old [Latin] bibles, and other doctors, and common glosses, and [so] to make one Latin bible in some measure correct" (Preface). About 30 of the 170 extant mss are of the original text, and the rest are of Purvey's revision. The *Epistle to the Laodiceans* (an apocryphal work of the 4th century) was inserted in this second edition. On the other hand, the doxology of the model prayer (Matt 5:13) was not included. The book of "The Deeds of the Apostles" follows the Epistle to the Hebrews. According to Foxe (1563), in the 14th century, a copy was quite expensive.

Wycliffe's Bible aided in the unification of the English language and prepared the way for later English translations. While the language of Wycliffe is hardly understandable to a current English reader, and while an ample number of oddities can be cited, "the strait gate," "the narrow way," "the beam and the mote," "compass land and sea," and other phrases have stayed with us. Butterworth attributes four percent of the King James Version's wording to Wycliffe and contemporary English sermons.

A provincial synod at Oxford in 1408 proscribed Wycliffe's work and forbade any person to translate any part of Scripture without permission of the bishops, but the bishops made no move to give the people vernacular Scriptures. Bishop Arundal spoke of "That wicked and pestilent fellow, the son of a serpent, the herald and child of Anti-Christ, John Wycliffe" whom he saw "doing the work of Anti-Christ by the expedient of a new translation of Scripture into the mother tongue." The Council of Constance condemned Wycliffe's writings to be burned and ordered his bones dug up out of consecrated ground. Wycliffe's bones were burned in 1428 and the ashes thrown into the River Swift.

The earliest printing of Wycliffe's NT (later edition) was by John Lewis in 1731 (Herbert 1968, No. 110), with a reprint in 1810 (No. 1537). (All numbered references follow Herbert 1968.) The text from a different ms was included in Bagster's *English Octapla,* 1841, and a printing from another manuscript was in 1848 (No. 1868). The first printing of the complete Wycliffe Bible from the Purvey revision was by Forshall and Madden in 1850 (No. 1876). The Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels were printed in parallel columns with Wycliffe (early version) and Tyndale in 1865. A New *Biblia Pauperum* of 1877 (No. 2008) has pictures based on verses extracted from Wycliffe. Forshall and Madden's NT was extracted and reprinted in 1879 by Skeat (No. 2011), and parts of the OT in 1881 (No. 2015). A photographic reprint of the NT in the Purvey revision was issued in 1986 by International Bible Publications (Portland, Oregon). For further discussion see *CHB* 2: 387–415.

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## *AUTHORIZED VERSIONS*

Authorized version means authorized for use in the Church of England. A provincial Oxford Synod in 1408 forbade English Bible translation until permission was had from the diocesan bishop or provincial council; but the bishops were slow to grant such permission because early translators had Lollard or Lutheran connections. There appears to have been no royal prohibition, but the decree of the synod seems to have been influential beyond the actual authority of the gathering.

Even before Henry VIII became head of the Church of England in 1534, desirous people were looking to the king for authorization of Bible circulation, but the king was not yet favorable toward such action. In June 1530, the king had issued a royal proclamation prohibiting possessing Holy Scriptures translated into the vulgar tongue of English, French, or German; at the same time the king promised to provide for an authorized translation when the time was right (Pollard 1911: 163–69). An anonymous letter attributed to Hugh Latimer reminded the king of the promise in December 1530.

William Tyndale in 1531 offered in vain to return to England to suffer whatever fate might be in store if the king would allow to circulate a bare text of Scripture done by any translator whom he would choose. In 1533 George Joye sent his sample translation of Genesis to Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn in an unsuccessful effort to obtain a license to translate the whole Bible. In December 1534, the Canterbury Convocation petitioned the crown for an English Bible by translators to be named by the king and then to be delivered to the people for their instruction (Pollard 1911: 175–77). Cranmer at one time divided Bible portions among bishops and clergymen for revision, but the project failed (Pollard 1911: 196–98).

Before her death in 1536, Anne Boleyn persuaded Henry VIII to have an English Bible placed in every church, and injunctions to this effect were prepared by Cromwell in 1537. The Injunctions, however, were not issued.

Coverdale's first edition had a dedication to "King Henry and Quene Anne" which assumes that the king was personally interested in Bible translation. The atmosphere in Britain was changing rapidly. The 1537 edition (Herbert 1968: No. 32) substituted "Quene Jane," and then the quarto edition of 1537 (No. 33) dedicated to "King Henry and Quene Jane," carried on its title page "Set forth with the Kynges moost gracious licence." Hence, in a sense, it was the first authorized version of the English Bible.

The merchant-publishers Richard Grafton and Edward Whitechurch bore the cost of 1500 copies of the Matthew's Bible. Grafton in August 1537 sent a copy to Archbishop Cranmer. In a letter of August 4, 1537, Thomas Cranmer commended the Matthew's Bible (No. 34) to Thomas Cromwell and requested that Cromwell secure a license from the king for its circulation. Within a week (August 13th) Cromwell replied that he had obtained permission for it to be bought and sold within the realm (Pollard 1911: 215–16). Dedicated "to the moost noble and gracyous Prynce Kyng Henry the eyght," it carried the print "Set forth with the Kynges most gracyous lycēcex." The king was the supreme head of the Church of England licensing the Bible for personal and political reasons.

The merchant-publisher Grafton presented six copies to Cromwell on August 28 requesting further licensing which would protect the investment he had in printing (Pollard 1911: 218–19). Later, Grafton wrote again proposing that every curate have a Bible and each monastery have six as a means of overcoming the papists (Pollard 1911: 222). A diglot New Testament (No. 36) containing Latin and Tyndale's English was published in 1538 by Robert Redman and carried the claim, "Set forth vnderthe Kynges moste gracyous lycence." In the same year a diglot (No. 37) including Coverdale's testament with the identical claim was published.

In September 1538, injunctions were drafted to the clergy that they by a certain date must obtain "one boke of the whole Bible in the largest volume in Englishe." No man was to be discouraged from reading the Bible. The GREAT BIBLE, already in preparation, was then issued in April 1539 to meet the need as

well as to correct problems raised by the authorization of Matthew's Bible with its prologue and notes which was heavily dependent on Tyndale. A royal decree of November 1538 forbade the importation of divine Scripture with notes, prologue, or additions without his majesty's special license (Pollard 1911: 18, 240–42).

The title page of the Great Bible depicted God at the center top with hands outspread blessing the king who is giving out the Bible to Cranmer and Cromwell, who are giving copies to the people. A crowd of people are exclaiming "Vivat Rex" and "God Save the King." The symbolism connects authorization of Scripture with proper and loyal obedience to King Henry VIII. On November 14, 1539, Cromwell secured a Royal patent which gave him authority for five years to determine what Bibles were printed in England (Pollard 1911: 257–59).

In its April 1540 printing (2nd edition), the Great Bible was the first Bible to carry the imprint "This is the Byble apoynted to the vse of the churches." The fourth and sixth editions had "auctorised and apoynted by the commaundement of oure moost redoubted prynce and soueraygne Lorde, Kynge Henry the.viii … to be frequented and vsed in every church w'in this his sayd royal realme …" Cromwell, patron of the Great Bible, fell into disgrace and was executed in July 1540, but the Bible continued to be printed with Cromwell's coat of arms excised from the title page.

The November 1540 (No. 60) and November 1541 (No. 62) editions carried the names of the Bishops of Duresme and Rochester, the first of whom was Cuthbert Tunstall who as Bishop of London had refused to aid Tyndale and later had ordered Tyndale's testament to be burned. A royal decree, May 6, 1541, further ordered curates and parishioners to provide Bibles in the churches (Pollard 1911: 261–65). Bishop Bonner provided six for St. Paul's in London.

After 1542 Bibles were not printed in England during the remainder of the reign of Henry VIII, and freedom for Bible reading became more restricted. A February 1542 Convocation moved to have another version issued which was to be corrected by the Vulgate. Committees for revision were formed, but the effort failed with the king's proposal to submit the need to the universities, an action which he never carried out (Dore 1888: 170; Pollard 1911: 276–77).

An act of Parliament in 1543 authorized the circulation of all Bibles not of Tyndale's translation (Dore 1888: 125). The same act allowed noblemen to read the Bible in their homes and noble women to read to themselves alone, but people of lower rank were forbidden to read in English. In 1546, all Bibles were proscribed except the Great Bible (Bruce 1978: 79). In London large collections of other Bibles were burned at St. Paul's Cross. Henry VIII died in January 1547, and, with his passing, policies governing the printing of Bibles changed.

During the reign of Edward VI there were issued printings of thirty-five Testaments and sixteen Bibles of various sorts. A 1547 injunction ordered placing in the parishes the whole Bible of the largest volume in English along with Erasmus's paraphrases on the gospels in English. However, with the accession of Mary, printing again ceased. No official use of the English Bible was allowed, but private Bible possession was not forbidden.

When Elizabeth came to the throne (November 1558), the injunctions of 1538 were repealed and various Bibles were again reprinted and circulated freely. In 1559, an injunction that the Great Bible was to be set up in the churches was issued. A 1569 printing by Cawood of the Great Bible (No. 127) carried the claim "According to the translation that is appointed to be read in the churches."

Although never sanctioned by royal authority, convocation, or by Parliament, the GENEVA BIBLE prepared by English exiles in Geneva enjoyed great popularity with 140 editions between 1560 and 1640. It was first issued in convenient quarto size in contrast to the folios of the Great Bible, Bishops' Bible, and the King James. John Bodley received a patent for the right to print it in England for seven years, a right which he seems not to have exercised. After its expiration, Matthew Parker petitioned for a twelve year extension for Bodley; however, the Geneva Bible was printed first in England only in 1578, three years after Parker's death. A 1597 printing had on the title: "To the most vertuous and noble Queen Elizabeth." The Geneva was approved for use in Scotland in 1579. However, after the Geneva ceased

being printed in England in 1616, Archbishop Laud forbade the importation of the Geneva Bible into England because of errors in the Amsterdam printings.

Much earlier Archbishop Matthew Parker had in 1568 requested that William Cecil (secretary to Queen Elizabeth) obtain royal approval of his BISHOPS' BIBLE which had been prepared by about eighteen persons most of whom were bishops. The Bible had Elizabeth's picture on the title page, but was not otherwise dedicated to her. The license seems never to have been forthcoming. Nevertheless, printed by Jugge, the royal printer, the Bishops' Bible colophon carried "cum privilegio Regiae Maiestatis" which applied to the printing not to its use. Convocation of the Province of Canterbury in 1571 did order that every bishop and archbishop have a copy "of a Bible of the largest volume as published recently in London" in his house and that each cathedral and other churches have copies as convenient. Editions of 1574–78 had "Set foorth by aucthoritie"; the 1584 edition (No. 185) had "Of that Translation authorised to be read in Churches"; then the 1585 edition (No. 188) and successive editions including the 1602 had "Authorised and appointed to be read in Churches." However, no injunction requiring the Bishops' Bible to be read in churches was ever passed by royal authority.

Archbishop Whitgift, noting in a letter to Bishop Wicham, 16 July 1587, that some churches lacked Bibles or only had torn or defaced ones "and yet not of the translation authorized by the synods of bishops," instructed Wickam in his visitations to see that churches had "one Bible or more, at your discretion, of the translation allowed as aforesaid …" In printing his *The Text of the New Testament* … of 1589 which contained the Bishops' NT in parallel with the Rheims, William Fulke called the Bishops' "the translation of the Church of England." Nevertheless, the Geneva continued in popular use and some were bought by churches.

The KJV was produced with the encouragement of King James who at the Hampton Court Conference proposed that it be approved by the bishops, the chief learned of the church, the Privy Council, and at last ratified by his Royal authority, "with this whole church bound to it and no other." History has, however, preserved no record of its ever having received official approval by Parliament, King, Privy Council, or Convocation. Some have conjectured that an authorization once existed but that the record was destroyed in the fire at Whitehall in 1616; however, scholars have not been convinced and suppose that no authorization existed. Butterworth (1941: 6) suggested that the KJV was not entered in the Stationers' Register because it was considered a revision rather than a new book. From the first edition the KJV carried the print "diligently compared and revised by his Maiesties special Cōmandement"and "Appointed to be read in Churches" just as the Bishops' Bible before it had. The dedication expressed great hope that "the Church of *England* shall reap great good thereby." Certain of the Visitation Articles began to specify a Bible of the "latest edition," and the Scottish Canons Constitutional and Ecclesiastical of 1636 specified "the translation of King James"; however, the ruling was rejected two years later. With more than one translation allowed, there was no authorized version in Scotland. Official church recognition in England for the KJV came in 1666 when the fifth edition of the Prayer Book used the KJV for its scripture.

The King James NT was printed first in Scotland in 1628 (No. 420), the complete Bible in 1633 (Nos. 476–77), in Ireland in 1714 (No. 928), and in America (with a fictitious imprint) in 1752.

Historically "Authorized Version" has meant authorized for use in the Church of England. Denominations may authorize any particular translation for use within the denomination, but there is no ecclesiastical or political body with authority to authorize a translation for the use of all Christendom.

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## *KING JAMES VERSION*

The King James Version developed as a result of a suggestion of need made at the Hampton Court Conference in 1604 by John Reynolds, a leader of the Puritans. Surprisingly, the suggestion was taken up by King James who was new in England at the time. King James at the same time derided the Puritans with derogatory remarks about the Geneva Bible which they preferred, and then he approved the making of a translation "so that the whole church to be bound unto it, and none other." Richard Bancroft, Bishop of London, who had opposed Reynolds' proposal promptly lined up with the king, but made the proposal that no notes be included in the Bible.

While a letter of the king states that fifty-four men were appointed to the task, the surviving list of participants has only forty-seven names. Paine (1977) and Opfell (1982) have made detailed studies of the personalities, qualifications, and careers of the men who did participate. Notably missing from the participants is Hugh Broughton who had argued persuasively for a new translation and who considered himself as the most qualified person to make one.

The king, unable to finance the project, suggested that the translators be given preferment in church positions. They seem to have received no remuneration but to have been cared for while at the task at the colleges where they worked. Two companies each were at Oxford, Cambridge, and Westminster. A list preserved by Burnett gives fourteen rules for their guidance, but at a report to the Synod of Dort (1618) only seven rules were mentioned. The revision was to be minimal. The Bishops' Bible was to be followed where it agreed with the Hebrew and Greek, but "Tindall's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's, Geneva" are next mentioned. Proper names were to be preserved as nearly as possible to the original. Ecclesiastical terms were to be preserved. Bancroft's proposal that no marginal notes be included was accepted, except in the cases where Hebrew and Greek terms were to be explained.

From various sources it can be established that after 1604 the groups were at their tasks without fanfare. Replacements were made in the groups from time to time when deaths occurred, but it is not entirely clear who replaced whom. Seven of the translators were eventually elevated to the episcopate and seventeen or eighteen to other offices. Ward Allen (1969) has identified and published notes kept by John Bois during the work. Puritan and Anglican churchmen, linguists and theologians, laymen and divines, worked side by side. The aim was to produce a translation for the common man.

Following the preliminary work, a further revision was done in a period of about nine months by a smaller group for which they were paid thirty shillings a week by the Stationer's Company. Then Bishop Thomas Bilson and Miles Smith put the finishing touches on the project, supplying chapter summaries, page headings, a preface, and dedication to the king. From 1611 Robert Barker was given a monopoly on the printing, a monopoly later claimed by his son Matthew Barker in 1651.

In their preface, the revisers give as their aim the making of an already good translation even better, "or out of many good ones, one principal good one, not justly to be excepted against." The translators are thought to have used Beza's Greek text and probably the Hebrew text of the Complutensian Polyglot. They were influenced by Beza's Latin, the Geneva, and the Rheims. They give a defense in the preface of their use of variety in rendering terms. The cadences and rhythms which improve on the original won among English readers a love for the style which has not yet died.

While the first edition carried the statement "Newly translated out of the originall tongues & with the former translations diligently compared and reuised by his Maiesties speciall comandement. Appointed to be read in Churches," history has not preserved a record of endorsement by Convocation, Parliament, Privy Council, or the King himself. The Bishops' Bible was not reprinted after 1602, but the Geneva continued until 1644 in Holland. Churchmen like Andrews and Laud continued to use the Geneva in their sermons. However, by 1640 there had been forty editions of the KJV by Barker and his successors. There was no question that it was superior to its predecessors. Ecclesiastical recognition came in 1662 when the fifth Prayer Book was printed using citations from the Gospels and Epistles of the 1611 translation. Despite some very vocal criticisms by Catholics, Hugh Broughton (who said he had rather be tied between wild horses than to let it go forth among the people, and that the translators had put the errors in the text and the correct readings in the margins), William Kilbourne, Robert Gell, and some others, by the

end of the 17th century it had become *the* Bible for all English speaking people. However, the Great Bible Psalms continued to be used in the liturgy.

As a specific example, debate has reigned over whether the 1611 folio edition which read "she" in Ruth 3:15 or that which had "he" is the earlier, with bibliographers favoring "he." The Bible had an elaborate title page and many initial letters. That of the Gospel of Matthew shows Neptune taming the sea horses. Early printings were plagued by misprints one of which is "strain at a gnat" (Matt 23:24) for "strain out a gnat" which has never been corrected. Unnecessary variety in spelling proper names like Isaiah and Esaias, Jeremiah, Jeremy and Jeremias, Elijah and Elias complicates reading. Mythical animals like the unicorn, dragon, cockatrice, and arrowsnake appear. For other communication and translation problems, see Lewis (1981: 35–68). Butterworth estimated that (apart from the Apocrypha) thirty-nine percent of the wording and phraseology of the KJV first makes its appearance in this revision.

The KJV has not been static across the years. Changes made by unknown persons began in 1612 (Herbert 1968: nos. 313–18) and more were made in 1616 (no. 349). The Apocrypha was omitted in 1629 when the first printing at Cambridge (no. 424) was done. In 1633, the first printing was done in Scotland (no. 476). An edition corrected by Goad, Ward, Boyse, and Mead was issued in 1638 at Cambridge and remained the standard text until Paris's edition of 1762 (no. 1142). Benjamin Blaney did a correction for the Oxford University Press in 1769 (no. 1194).

Facsimile reproductions of the 1611 folio were done by the Oxford University Press in 1833 and by World Publishing Company in 1965. A page reprint was done with an introduction by Alfred W. Palmer by Oxford University Press in 1911. The King James 1611 text was printed in Bagster's *English Hexapla* in 1841 and in Weigle's *The New Testament Octapla* in 1962; the text of Psalms in the *Hexaplar Psalter* of 1911 and the Genesis text in Weigle's *Genesis Octapla* of 1965.

The KJV, called "the noblest monument of English prose," has been the object of much praise. Its impact on English speech and literature is beyond measure. It has spawned countless proverbs and proverbial forms of speech. It is the source of quotations which English writers have worked into their productions. It has enriched their vocabulary and their images, and has contributed to their rhythms. For almost four centuries it has been without rival the Bible for the common reader who tends to forget that it is a translation. Despite its original merits and its contribution, however, with the secularization of the English speaking world and the normal change of language, numerous words of the KJV are no longer in use. Its message becomes less understandable to the common person for whom it was intended. In 1988 the KJV lost its dominance in sales on the American market to the NIV.

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## *AMERICAN VERSIONS*

The translating of the Bible into the vernacular in the United States has been carried out by numerous individuals and by various committees with a broad variety of purposes. Many of these translators have been concerned with only the translation of the NT. Although the translations of major import have been carried out by committees, individual translators have played significant roles in responding to the need for a new translation, whether out of theological, textual, philological, or translation theory motives.

Individual translators have not been confined by the restraints of religious communities nor by the need to maintain a particular tradition of translation. Indeed the absence of such restraints has contributed to the publication of versions of the Bible committed to particular theological concerns or addressed to persons sharing a specific form of Amero-English. Translation into languages other than English (e.g., North American Indian) has been a more minor aspect of Bible translation in the United States. The existence of bilingual communities resulting from immigration, however, has been an important stimulus to Bible editions and translations.

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A. The Colonial Period
B. The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries
    1. The KJV and its American Revisions
        a. The American Standard Version (ASV)
        b. The Revised Standard Version (RSV)
        c. The New American Standard Bible (NASB)
        d. The New King James Version (NKJV)
    2. Other Modern Bible Translations
    3. American Jewish Versions
    4. American Catholic Versions
C. Conclusion

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**A. The Colonial Period**

The history of the United States in its colonial phase reveals the dominance of Bibles imported to America, especially the Geneva Version (1560) and the King James Version (1611). For Bibles in the English language the American settlers depended on Bibles produced by royal license, permission normally extended to the King's Printer or to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The Crown Copyright covered the printing of the Bible and was respected by American printers until the American Revolution.

Bible versions in other languages were not affected by Crown Copyright and we can note as the first American Bible, the Eliot Indian Bible. The Eliot Bible was a translation of the entire Bible into the local Algonquin language and was produced in roman type in Cambridge in 1663. The magnitude of John Eliot's work can be seen in the printing of the Indian Bible in an edition of 1180 pages, each page containing some four thousand characters.

During the colonial period a further American version was produced for German readers. In 1743 Christopher Sower printed a quarto German Bible in Germantown, a suburb of Philadelphia. Second and third editions of this Bible were published by Sower's son in 1763 and 1776. The Sower Bible was a printing of the 34th edition of Luther's Bible with certain sections derived from the Berleberg Bible.

On the eve of the American Revolution, two major language groups in the American Colonies possessed Bibles: the English in imported form from Britain and the Germans through the printing efforts of the Sowers.

The onset of the Revolution severely reduced the importation of Bibles and removed the need to observe the Crown Copyright. During this period there was discussion in the Continental Congress about the restricted supply of imported Bibles and a resolution, never effected, was passed to import 20,000 copies of the Bible. Robert Aitken, a printer of Philadelphia, published the NT in 1777 with three further editions and petitioned Congress for permission to print the whole Bible. The Robert Aitken Bible, a King James Version, was published in Philadelphia in 1782, becoming the first English Bible openly printed in America and with an American imprint.

**B. The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries**

The formation of the Federal government and the ratification of the United States Constitution created an environment in which Bibles could be printed without royal authorization. It is also true that there was a common recognition of the need to revise the King James Version. Many persons recognized the

changes in the English language since 1611 and there was also a ferment acknowledging the need to review the Greek text used as the basis for the translation of the NT.

The first translation of the Bible by an American was that of Charles Thomson, who had served for fifteen years as Secretary of the Continental Congress. When Thomson retired in 1789, he devoted the next twenty years to the study of Greek and the translation of the Bible, accomplished in 1808 with the publication of four volumes. Thomson's use of the Greek text of the Bible was based on the belief that the Greek text was a more accurate reflection of the original Hebrew text of the Hebrew Bible than the MT. Thomson's translation was unusual in another respect, namely, in serving as the first translation of the LXX into any modern European language.

The independence of the United States led to a freedom for translators of the Bible which produced a series of translations from the beginnings of the 19th century to the present day. Individuals used this freedom from the constraints of religious bodies and from the need to defer to authorized versions to create versions suited to many needs. Reflections of the current results of biblical critical studies could be incorporated in such translations including new conclusions about the best Hebrew or Greek text. The widespread growth of biblical criticism in England and Europe in the 19th century fueled this drive for new translations. Experiments in translation occurred with translation principles not reflected in the traditional versions. Translations reflecting the theological concerns of particular religious groups were expressed in new translations. Theories about the original languages of the Bible led to the creation of new translations reflecting those theories. Any of these motivations led individual translators to produce a steady stream of translations in the 19th and 20th centuries. In retrospect some of these translations are of little value in the history of Bible translations except as they point to the prevalence of particular theological or linguistic theories which were subsequently abandoned. The richness of these efforts, however, can be seen in noting that there have been more than seventy translations of at least an entire Testament by American translators since the publication of Charles Thomson's translation.

**1. The KJV and its American Revisions.** A number of 19th-century translations were the result of individual or collaborative efforts to revise the KJV, seeking an improvement of style or to express the particular translation theory of the translators. David Bernard collaborated with several translators, including A. C. Kendrick and George Ripley Bliss, to produce in 1842 a Bible published by the J. B. Lippincott Company of Philadelphia. Editorial revisions of the KJV were effected in the Bernard Version: consistency in the orthography of OT and NT names, alteration in archaic words, and corrections of improper grammar. This translation is one example among several reflecting the 19th century debate about the best translation into English of the word, baptize, seen as a transliteration into English from the Greek text. The Bernard translation and several others of this period argued that the only proper translation is "immerse." American versions of the Bible following the "immersion" translation appeared from at least 1826 (the Alexander Campbell version) to 1928 (the George N. LeFevre version). Notable among these immersion translations is the translation by Julia E. Smith of the entire Bible, published in Connecticut in 1876 and notable as the first translation of the complete Bible by a woman.

An important voice in the creation and distribution of Bibles in America was the American Bible Society, founded in 1816. By 1849 a history of the American Bible Society could report that more than five million copies of Bibles and Testaments had been distributed. The Society, a major publisher of the KJV, was among those who determined to revise and standardize the King James text. In 1847 the Society appointed a committee to review the King James text. The efforts of the committee led to the publication of a "standard" text in 1850 of the KJV and the entire Bible in 1852. Although the American Bible Society's committee found some 24,000 variations among the six King James texts reviewed, the committee reported that none of these variations damaged the integrity of the text or affected biblical doctrines or precepts. A second committee, more conservative in its revisions of the King James text, issued a further revised King James text in 1857. In 1962 the American Bible Society issued an even further revision of a standardized King James text, printing the text in paragraph form and dividing the poetic sections into lines.

The efforts to revise the KJV by agencies like the American Bible Society and by individuals helped to sustain the widespread popularity in the United States of the KJV. Individual efforts were made to translate the Bible, or especially the NT, by persons committed to particular theories characterized by a modern historian (Simms 1936: 228) as "eccentric in character or claim." An instance of this can be seen in the commitment to spelling reform by Jonathan Morgan, a Maine lawyer, who published in 1848 a NT translation incorporating various examples of phonetic spelling.

**a. The American Standard Version (ASV).** Further important efforts to revise the KJV in the United States must be understood as efforts to respond to the British initiative in the publication (1881–1885) of the English Revised Version (ERV). In England in 1870 the upper house of the Convocation of Canterbury established a committee, subsequently including non-Anglican members, to revise the KJV. Efforts to involve American scholars in the preparation of the ERV failed because of distance. The result of the limited involvement of Americans led to the publication in 1901 of the American Standard Version (ASV), with Thomas Nelson and Sons holding the copyright. A comparison of the ERV and the ASV reveals the frequent departures of the ASV Committee from the decisions of the ERV Committee. Whatever the merits of the eclectic decisions of both the British and American Committees with respect to the choice of a particular NT Gk text, the ASV revealed a heavy dependency of the translation on the syntax and style of the Greek and Hebrew texts. This was consistent with an acknowledged goal of being as nearly literal as possible. Although the ASV avoided many archaic expressions in the KJV (e.g., "holpen," "bewray," "pourtray"), the translators did not use those English terms for biblical words and phrases which would have been natural in the usage of their time. The result was an English translation judged by many American readers to be stylistically unappealing.

**b. The Revised Standard Version (RSV).** The ASV copyright was acquired and renewed in 1928 by the International Council of Religious Education, which appointed a committee to recommend on the need for further revision. A positive recommendation was made with the stipulation that the revised translation remain close to the Tyndale-King James tradition. It was expected that the best understanding of Greek and Hebrew texts would be used and that the English usage would reflect modern usage. The work of the American Standard Bible Committee was interrupted in the early 1930's and in 1937 the International Council authorized a new revision intended for use in "public and private worship" which would "preserve those qualities which have given to the King James Version a supreme place in English literature." The language of the Revised Standard Version (RSV) was to be "in the direction of the simple, classic English style of the King James Version." Such direction separated the intended translation from modern speech translations and paraphrases and also freed the translators from the need to use Elizabethan English, a restriction honored by the translators of the ERV and the ASV.

Separate committees produced the RSV NT in 1946, the OT and complete Bible in 1952, and the Apocrypha in 1957. The translation committees considered the evidence from ancient translations and were guided on occasion by "other authorities" cited in the footnotes of the translation. The OT was not forced into conformity with the NT (e.g., Isaiah 7:14). Idiosyncratic theories of translation or minority views from biblical scholarship were avoided. The RSV tended to follow mainstream positions on textual and other critical matters. The translation language has been viewed as ranging between the 17th and early 20th centuries, but not wholly identifiable with any period in the history of the English language.

Despite widespread acceptance, the RSV has still not displaced the KJV in the sales and distribution of Bibles in America. Although the RSV introduced the large numbers of Bible versions available in the contemporary market of American Bible versions, it is now viewed as a rather traditional translation with respect to translation theory and even in its retention of archaic language. Unlike other translation committees which disbanded upon the completion of their work, the RSV Committee with changes in personnel has continued to meet and in 1989 issued a further revised edition of the RSV, the NRSV.

**c. The New American Standard Bible (NASB).** The Lockman Foundation of La Habra, California, believed that "interest in the American Standard Version should be renewed and increased." It was committed to produce a translation "in clear and contemporary language" and established a group of fifty-eight anonymous translators to work on the project. The intent of the Lockman Foundation was not to

produce a revised ASV, but "to follow the principles used in the ASV." The result of this effort was the publication of the NT in 1963 and the OT and NT in 1970.

The NASB emerged as a Bible representing a conservative and literal approach to Bible translation. The conservatism of the NASB is evident in its theological outlook and in its approach to the determination of the Heb and Gk texts to be used. The theological conservatism of the translators is evidenced in such examples as the several instances in which explicit references to Jesus Christ are introduced into the OT text. In its textual policy the traditional Hebrew text was used with relatively slight attention to textual readings from Hebrew manuscripts or ancient versions. Although the 23d edition of the Nestle Greek NT was the basic translation text, considerable use was made of the Received Text, the underlying text of the King James translators.

Although the NASB made a number of advances over the ASV in the physical presentation of the translation, it failed to achieve a contemporary language or an idiomatic English usage. Despite various strengths of the NASB, it is unlikely to exceed the ASV in popularity among English Bible translations in America.

**d. The New King James Version (NKJV).** The popular appeal of the KJV has continued unabated, despite the various efforts to revise its language and style, to improve its typographic appearance, and to replace its textual base. This popular appeal led Thomas Nelson Publishers to undertake a revision of the King James Version which would update the original text as much as possible, but effect as little change as possible. Following discussions in 1975 and 1976 more than one hundred scholars were invited to participate in a new revision. A translation process was established in which individual translators worked with individual books of the Bible and recommended changes to the KJV text. Executive editors reviewed these, as well as an English editor. An executive review committee gave final approval to a translation which was published for the NT in 1979 and for the OT in 1982. The NKJV improves the KJV with respect to readability, but does not attempt to change the format or text of the KJV. In general, the NKJV has been favorably received in theologically conservative Christian circles, though this translation is more successful in linguistic changes than in changes from the text of the KJV.

**2. Other Modern Bible Translations.** In addition to the various attempts to produce a revision of the KJV in the United States there have been many other Bible translations. Some of these seek to serve the needs of particular populations: children, youth, Christian converts, dialect speakers. There have been attempts to produce paraphrase translations, translations concerned primarily with translation meaning, translations reflecting contemporary Biblical scholarship, translations using "inclusive language" to reduce the sexist language of the Biblical text. At all times there have been translations concerned with the theological significance of the translated text.

**a. Modern Language Translations.** Among the more recent modern-language translations and also reflective of Biblical scholarship in the 1920's is the University of Chicago Press publication of 1931, *The Bible: An American Translation.* Two Chicago professors, Edgar J. Goodspeed and J. M. Powis Smith (with three scholar collaborators), produced the work. The NT was Goodspeed's translation and the OT was carried out by Smith and his collaborators. Arguing that the NT was written in the ordinary language of its time, Goodspeed intended that contemporary readers should also be able to read the NT in a popular, contemporary usage. The Smith OT was based on the same translation principles as Goodspeed's NT and the two translations were combined in 1931.

The American Bible Society turned in the 1960's to the preparation of "common language" versions of the Bible in several languages. Robert G. Bratcher of the American Bible Society produced in 1966 *Good News for Modern Man,* a translation of the NT referred to as *Today's English Version* (TEV). Bratcher chaired a committee of six to prepare the OT translation which was published in combined form in 1976. The Apocrypha was prepared by three members of the OT Committee and released in 1979. Modern critical Greek and Hebrew texts were used by the translators and the format of the translation was that of most modern versions of the 1960's and 1970's. The text is presented in paragraph form, verse numbers imbedded in the text. Lists, letters and poetry are indented. The translation theory of TEV is based heavily

on the scholarship of Eugene A. Nida of the American Bible Society and exhibits a "dynamic equivalence" translation with great emphasis on effective and accurate communication.

**b. Expanded Translations and Paraphrases.** Notable among the expanded translations seeking to provide the reader with an enlarged meaning vocabulary has been *The Amplified Bible.* In 1958 the Lockman Foundation and the Zondervan Publishing House jointly issued the NT of the Amplified Bible, prepared by Frances E. Siewert. A committee produced the OT and the entire Amplified Bible was published by Zondervan in 1965. Thousands of words or phrases, more from the NT than from the OT, are supplied with expanded meanings following the translated word in brackets, parentheses, or italics.

The most popular paraphrase translation since the publication of the NT in 1967 and the whole Bible in 1971 has been *The Living Bible.* Using the ASV as the basis of his translation, Kenneth Taylor worked for almost twenty years to produce a translation with the primary goal of communication. The communication is reflective of the theological conservatism of the translator, but the translation has become the most widely read popular English version published by an individual. No attempt was made to use the most recent manuscript evidence and in the absence of the constraints imposed by a committee process, the translator was free to add or remove material from the text as he believed appropriate.

**c. Conservative Theological Translations (Protestant).** The most successful modern language version reflecting a conservative theological outlook is the New International Version of the Bible (NIV) which was published by Zondervan Bible Publishers in 1978. Originating in the initiatives of committees from the Christian Reformed Church and the National Association of Evangelicals, the New York Bible Society (now known as the International Bible Society) assumed responsibility for the projected translation and appointed a committee of fifteen scholars to oversee it. This 1978 translation emerges from the work of more than one hundred scholars from more than a dozen evangelical Christian denominations. The publishers stress the transdenominational and international character of the NIV. The translators are said to have a "high view of Scripture" and the Preface states that all translators were committed to "the full authority and complete trustworthiness of the Scriptures which they believe is God's Word in written form." The OT is based on the MT and the NT rests on an eclectic Greek text, close to the standard United Bible Societies and Nestle-Aland texts. The response to the NIV has been favorable with respect to its readability and to its format policies.

**3. American Jewish Versions.** Despite the recognition that the Hebrew text is the only authentic basis for the study of the Torah in the Jewish community, many American Jews in the 19th century knew little Hebrew and used the KJV as their Bible. Not only did this mean the use of a Christian Bible with two Testaments, but also the need to read editions of the KJV in a christological format with Christian interpretations of the OT introduced regularly into the biblical text. Beyond these objections lay the further recognition that the KJV translators had introduced Christian readings into their translation.

The first response to these objections came from the energetic American Jewish leader, Isaac Leeser, who issued a Jewish version of the Hebrew Scriptures between 1845 and 1853. Leeser strove to produce a literal translation of the Bible, dependent on rabbinic commentators and the work of contemporary German Jews.

By the last quarter of the century Jewish scholar immigrants from Europe were increasing rapidly and many Jews believed that there should be a new Jewish translation. The appearance of the ERV in 1885 led some Jews to argue for issuing a revision of the ERV, following the example of London Jews, who published sixteen pages of corrections in 1896 as an *Appendix to the Revised Version.* The initiatives of the Jewish Publication Society led to various attempts at a new translation beginning in the discussions of 1892. Finally, in 1917 under the general editorship of Max Margolis, the Jewish Publication Society translation (JPS) was published. The JPS translation claimed to take into account "the existing English versions" and also to reflect ancient versions as well as the observations of traditional rabbinic commentators.

As the ERV played a significant role in pressing the Jewish community for a new Jewish translation, the publication of the RSV in 1952 had a similar effect on a larger and ever more confident group of Jewish Biblical scholars. Under the general editorship of the scholar Harry Orlinsky, three committees were

established to deal with the three parts of the Torah. In 1962 a new translation of the Torah was published, followed by the Prophets in 1978 and the Writings in 1982. The translators based their work carefully on the MT, even while consulting other versions and commentaries. In English style their goal was an idiomatic English, rather than a literal translation. In 1985 the Jewish Publication Society published a single-volume translation, *TANAKH, a New Translation of The Holy Scriptures according to the Traditional Hebrew Text* (NJPS).

**4. American Catholic Versions.** The response of the Catholic community to translations of the Bible was conditioned by traditions relating to the required use of the Vulgate as the basis of translation. The widespread use of the KJV in America represented for Catholics the prohibited use of an unauthorized translation. There were additional needs for authorized translations in French, Spanish, and Portuguese to meet the needs of a growing population of Catholic immigrants. For English-speaking Catholics the standard translation was the Douay version, itself the source of various revisions, including that of Bishop Richard Challoner.

In 1790, in response to the urging of Bishop John Carroll, Matthew Carey, a Catholic publisher of Philadelphia, issued the first Catholic Bible in the United States, based on Challoner's second edition in 1764 of the entire Bible. There was concern, however, among Catholic prelates that there should be an authoritative version of the Douay Bible with annotations. The project was undertaken by Bishop Francis P. Kenrick when he was Bishop of Philadelphia and completed by him when he had become Archbishop of Baltimore. The Kenrick Version appeared in six volumes between 1849 and 1862. Archbishop Kenrick never published an edition of the entire Bible, but a complete NT was issued in 1862. Despite considerable support, Kenrick's revision was not accepted as the official American Catholic version. American Catholics used various editions of the Douay-Challoner-Rheims version until the 1930's.

A major step was taken in the project initiated by Bishop Edwin Vincent O'Hara to produce a new translation of the NT from the Vulgate. The initial committee of supervision included thirteen priests who determined that the Clementine Vulgate would be the basis of the translation. In 1941, the Confraternity edition (Confraternity of Christian Doctrine) of the NT was published. Its official title was *A Revision of the Challoner-Rheims Version.* The production of what was known as The Confraternity Version continued and by 1969 the OT was completed, including the Apocrypha. On the basis of the 1943 Encyclical, *Divino Afflante Spiritu,* urging translations from original languages, the NT was retranslated from the Greek. Finally in 1970 the New American Bible (NAB) was published and for the first time there was an American Catholic Bible translated from the original languages. The translation, accomplished by a team of more than sixty scholars (including five Protestant scholars), relied heavily on the MT for the OT translation and on the Nestle-Aland 25th edition of the NT with some use of the United Bible Societies' Greek version of the NT. The format of the NAB is in paragraphs with verse numbers embedded in the text. The translation has been commended for its readability and is intended to serve various uses—liturgical, study use, devotional use, reading in the home. Continuing criticism of the NAB led to a commitment by the Catholic Biblical Association a revision of the NAB approximating a new translation. In 1987, a new translation of the NAB NT was published.

**C. Conclusion**

In an age of prolific Bible publication, with versions appearing to serve every taste and to suit every need, we can observe several developments. The considerable cost involved in producing a major translation will argue for further versions which are revisions of revisions (e.g., as in the case of the American RSV and the British NEB). A primary concern for meaning and readability will influence the trend to produce translations which are more reflective of "dynamic equivalence" than "formal equivalence." The strong voices of the major religious traditions will seek to continue the achievements represented by such American translations as the RSV, the NAB, and the NJPS. At the same time, there will be both an attempt to produce translations which are supportive of the theological views of particular segments of a religious tradition (e.g., the NIV) as well as attempts to find a common Bible translation which can surmount the differences between religious traditions (e.g., the experiments with an edition of the RSV acceptable for use by both Catholics and Protestants). The 19th and 20th centuries have emerged

as a major period of Bible translation and publication. Within that major period American versions of the Bible play a role of increasing importance.

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ERNEST S. FRERICHS

**VERSIONS, JEWISH.** All translations of the Hebrew Bible are basically Jewish; they cannot be otherwise. For not only is the Hebrew text itself a Jewish work, but the earliest translations of it, the (Greek) Septuagint (LXX) and the (Aramaic) Targums, were also made by Jews for Jews in pre-Christian times; indeed, even the next important translation of the Bible, the (Latin) Vulgate made by Jerome at the end of the fourth century for Christian readers, was made directly from the "Hebrew Truth" *(hebraica ueritas)* and was strongly influenced by LXX and by Jerome's Jewish teachers *(hebraeus meus)*—to the point where it was regarded, and denounced, by some contemporary Christians as manifesting too much Jewish influence.

The great age of Bible translation brought on by the Reformation in the early 16th century was marked significantly by additional Jewish influence. The commentaries and grammars produced by learned Jews during the preceding half-millennium, especially in Moslem countries during the floruit of the great Islamic culture—it was still the "Dark Ages" in Christian countries before the Renaissance emerged—were widely and intensively used by the new, Protestant translators. Best known among these Jewish scholars were Rashi (d. 1105), Abraham ibn Ezra (d. 1167), and David Kimchi (or Radak; d. 1235); and best known among the Protestant translators and versions were Martin Luther, Wiliam Tyndale (and such revisions of Tyndale as the Coverdale, Matthew, Great, Geneva, and Bishops' Bibles), the translators of the King James Version (1611) and hence of the two major revisions of KJV, the British Revised Version (1885) and the American Standard Version (1901)—down to and including the New Revised Standard Version (1989). Indeed, if Luther was mocked by his detractors, not without justification, in the ditty, *Si Lyra non lyrasset/Lutherus non saltasset* ("If Lyra had not played the lyre/Luther would not have danced"), even more justifiable would have been the additional lines, *Si Rashi non composuisset/Lyra non lyrasset* ("If Rashi had not composed the music/Lyra would not have played the lyre"). Nicholas of Lyra, a Jewish convert to Christianity, had literally adopted Rashi's commentary as his own, turning the original into Latin. To cite but one more case in point, it has been observed (Margolis 1917: 61) that "the influence of Kimḥi … may be traced in every line of the Anglican (KJV) translation of 1611."

The Jewish people were not given to making translations of the Bible, for unlike the Christian communities they generally had direct access to the original Hebrew text; indeed, the text was an integral part of their daily life. Thus, e.g., the Pentateuch and the Haftarot (portions of the Prophets), the book of Psalms and the Five Scrolls, constituted a part of the daily liturgy and of the prayers for the Sabbath, the sacred festivals, and other special occasions. There was an additional important factor. Already in the last centuries before Rome deprived Judea of its sovereignty, the Jews had developed the legal concept of the Oral Law (*torah še-bĕʿal-pê*), according to which God gave Moses on Mount Sinai an Oral along with the Written Law *(torah še-biktāb),* with the Oral Law prevailing over the Written when the two could not be harmonized with one another. The Oral Law was determined by the rabbis in power at any given time, and the arguments pro and con may be found readily in the pages of the Talmud. Since the Written Law, i.e., the Hebrew text of the Bible, and the Oral Law were accessible to Jewish communities everywhere, translation of the Bible into a vernacular was only relatively rarely necessary, and at best sporadic.

During the long history of Bible translation, covering a period of some 2,200 years, four Jewish translations of the Bible stand out insofar as scholarship and impact are concerned: the LXX and the Targums during the last couple of centuries B.C.E., Saadia's version in the 10th century, and the New Jewish Version (NJPSV) in our own days (1962–82; one-volume edition, 1985). The LXX and the Targums—the former especially because it became the Bible of the Christian world—determined the basic character of virtually every serious Bible translation that came into being prior to the 1950s, above all in the matter of philosophy of translation. The translators of the Septuagint and the Targums were making the sacred Word of God available in the vernaculars to their fellow Jews, and one did not toy with divinely revealed and inspired Holy Writ. Moreover in that period and milieu, Greek and Latin were the dominant vernaculars, and as cognate languages it was natural to translate the text in either one of them into the other virtually literally, word for word and in the same word order. These two independent factors combined to create a philosophy of Bible translation, that of word-for-word reproduction of the Hebrew text, a philosophy that is only in our own days giving way to another.

The Targums, too, even if often enough in oral form, followed the order of the Hebrew—Hebrew and Aramaic are, after all, cognate languages; occasionally, however (but far less frequently than scholars have tended to assert) interpreting a phrase or event. The impact of the Targums on Christian Bible translation (in part by way of Kimḥi's frequent citations of it in his widely-used commentary) was especially strong from the Reformation on, through direct contact with Jewish scholars and scholarship and through Latin translations of Jewish writings.

Probably the outstanding translation of the Bible ever made by an individual is the (Judeo-) Arabic version by Saadia ben Joseph (892–942 C.E.). His sound philological knowledge and his essentially rational approach to the comprehension of the text found expression not in a mechanical, word-for-word "pony" translation but in an overall philosophy of translation according to which the idiom of the original Hebrew was turned into a corresponding idiom of his Arabic vernacular; thus the reader was told exactly what the biblical author meant to convey to his reader. In sum, sound scholarship, clarity, and elegant diction characterized Saadia's version.

An interesting aspect of this philosophy is the way in which Saadia sometimes ignored the traditional Hebrew sentence division so as to reproduce for his reader the intent of the text. Thus in Genesis 1, he combined the verses containing the refrain, "And it/there was evening and morning …," with the verses that followed: 4–5a, 5b–6, 8–9, 13–14, 17–18, and 23–24, not to mention 1:51–2:1. A striking example of mid-verse division may be found at 2:4b.

With the advent of the Reformation and the rise of a new economic-political-social order in the form of commercial-urban capitalism, first within and alongside traditional agrarian feudalism and then increasingly in opposition to it, Jews began to move into the more tolerant centers that were springing up. In time, enough Jewish communities adjusted to their new environments and absorbed enough of their new cultures that, like the Jewries of Alexandria and Western Asia before them and of North America after them, they had lost working knowledge of Hebrew and required versions of the Bible in their new vernaculars. And so they began to produce versions of the Bible, though never large in number, to satisfy their needs.

What were these needs? And why couldn't the Jews use the Bibles that the Christians had produced and were using? The basic and clear fact was that the Bibles that the Christians were using were actually Christian, that is to say, they were Christianized versions of the Hebrew Bible with a long history behind them. When the Septuagint became the Bible of the early Christians, it soon came to be interpreted so as to provide proof texts for Christian theological beliefs where they ran counter to those of their Jewish contemporaries. Thus the Gk *pneuma (tou theou)* and the Heb *ruaḥ (ʾĕlohîm)* in Gen 1:2 were given the meaning "Spirit" (viz., the Holy Spirit) in place of original "wind"; Gk *hē parthenos* and consequently also Heb *hā-ʿalmâ* in Isa 7:14 were given the meaning "the virgin" in place of original and correct "the young woman"; and corrupt *našš̆ēqû-bar* in Ps 2:12—even now beyond scholarly comprehension, with none of the versions of real help—was understood as "kiss the Son" (viz., Jesus). It was not the text that was altered, but the meaning of the text. On occasion the Jews were accused of altering the text, e.g.,

when it was claimed that LXX 's *apo tou xylou* (to be understood as "from the cross") following on "The Lord reigns" in Ps 96:10 represented an original Hebrew text that was subsequently deleted by the Jews; or that original *bĕtûlâ* (to be understood as "virgin") was excised in favor of *ʿalmâ* (simply "young woman") in Isa 7:14. Accusations of this kind are described by Swete (1968: 464–69) as "… often obviously wrong … sometimes … even grotesque …"

And so the Jewish versions that began to appear from the Reformation on derived directly from and were essentially no different from the Protestant versions, except in "theological" passages. A striking example is offered by the Spanish Ferrara Bible (1553), where one and the same text was printed for Christians and Jews, except that in Isa 7:14 *virgen* appeared in the Christian edition and *moça* ("maiden") and even *la ALMA* in the non-Christian editions. In England and in the United States, several de-Christianized versions of the King James Bible and then of the Revised Version were published by Jews for Jews; none of them, whatever their claims, was really a "New Translation" or a substantial "Revision," but in this respect they are no different from the scores of Christian Bibles that have appeared since the King James and Revised Version down to our own day and have made the identical claims.

In 1789 Isaac Delgado, described as "teacher of the Hebrew Language," produced in England an English version of the Torah that was intended to correct the King James Bible "wherever it deviates from the genuine sense of the Hebrew expression, or where it renders obscure the meaning of the text, or, lastly, when it occasions a seeming contradiction." Fifty years later, Selig Newman (1788–1871; born in Poland, resident most of his life in England; died in the U.S.A.) published *Emendations of the English [KJ] Version of the Old Testament.* Abraham Benisch (1814–78) published in 1851–56 the *Jewish School and Family Bible,* which "while in the legal portions of the Pentateuch it faithfully reproduced Jewish opinion, was intended otherwise to be an independent product." And Michael Friedländer (1833–1919) edited still another variation on the theme of the King James, *The Hebrew Bible with English Translation. Sanctioned by the [Jerusalem] Rabbinate;* while described as the KJV "slightly retouched," a more revealing description of Friedländer's product would include mention of the fact that it deleted—rather than confronted—such Christianized contexts as Gen 1:2, Isa 7:14, and Ps 2:12 (respectively *rûaḥ, ʿalmâ,* and *naššĕqû-bar*).

In keeping with the relatively small and culturally meager Christian population of the United States until well into the 19th century, certainly so far as a knowledge of biblical Hebrew was concerned, even more did the minute Jewish minority lag behind the level attained by their Jewish counterparts in Europe. This was to be expected; as put by the American author of *New England's First Fruits* (1943),

> After God had carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient place for God's worship, and settled the civil government: one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches when our present ministers shall be in the dust.

As for the American Jewish community prior to the 20th century, it was not until the Jewish masses of Eastern Europe, with their remarkable knowledge and thirst for knowledge, began to enter this free country, that biblical scholarship began to assert itself. George Foot Moore put it bluntly, in 1889, when he asserted that the critical study of the Old Testament in America was hardly more than a decade old.

It was largely to Jewish scholarship that the American community owed its knowledge of the grammar of biblical Hebrew. One need mention only the first Hebrew grammar, *Dickdook Leshon Gnebreet,* etc., by Judah Monis (a convert to Christianity) in 1735; *A Key to the Hebrew Tongue* in 1815 by Emanuel N. Carvalho; *A New Edition of a Hebrew Grammar* in 1823 by the converted Jew, Joseph Samuel Christian Frederick Frey; *A Manual Hebrew Grammar for the Use of Beginners* in 1833 by James Seixas; *A Key to the Hebrew Language and the Science of Hebrew Grammar* in 1834 by Joseph Aaron; Solomon Deutsch's *New Practical Hebrew Grammar,* in 1868—preceded a quarter of a century earlier by probably the most influential of them all, the two-volume edition of *A Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language* in 1842 by Isaac Nordheimer (published a year before he died at the age of 42).

It should come as no surprise, therefore, that standing alone as the best translation of the Hebrew Bible produced in America in the nineteenth century is Isaac Leeser's version of the Pentateuch, *Torat ha-*

*Elohim* ("The Torah of God"; 5 vols., Philadelphia, 5605–1845) and in 1853 *The Twenty-Four Books of the Holy Scriptures … Carefully Translated According to the Masoretic Text on the Basis of the English Version*, both publications offering the Hebrew text along with the translation.

Born and raised in Westphalia, Leeser (1806–68) was orphaned by his mother when he was eight years old and by his father in the year of his bar mitzvah; at the age of fourteen he entered the Catholic Academy in Münster where he received his secular education, and the city's Jewish Institute for his Jewish education. Four years later he came to a maternal uncle in Richmond, Virginia, and a half decade after that he moved on to Philadelphia. There he became the *ḥazzan* of the Mikveh Israel synagogue, and he served the congregation with distinction for just over two decades as spiritual leader, preacher, and educator, before retiring in order to devote himself completely to the translation of the Bible.

L. Sussman has observed (1985: 161)—citing in this connection the observation by Tocqueville in his *Democracy in America* (1831 [shortly after Leeser had settled in Philadelphia]) that "there is no country in the world in which the Christian religion retains a greater influence over the souls of men than in America"—that Leeser recognized that "the core of religion in Protestant America was the Bible," and that the King James was that Bible. And so it was the KJV that Leeser adopted as the basis for the version he would compose. This version, Leeser envisaged, and achieved, would be a Judaizing of the Christian KJV and a rendering of the Hebrew text that would not run counter to the rabbinic understanding of it; in addition, his German background and training, which gave him, e.g., direct knowledge of Leopold Zunz's German translation of the Bible (1838–39) and his own access to German scholarship, helped Leeser maintain a measure of independence from the King James Bible.

Leeser's Bible included the Hebrew text facing his translation, with each verse in the English beginning a new line and each section in the Hebrew marked in the English by the sign for a paragraph; also, none of the Hebrew poetry was reproduced in the form of poetry in the translation. Clearly the format of the KJV lay in the background. But upper case "S" in "Spirit" in Gen 1:2 and in "Son" in Ps 2:12, the norm in KJV and Christian Bibles generally, appeared in lower case in Leeser ("Do homage to the son"); "this young woman" represents *hā-ʿalmâ* in Isa 7:14 (though the incorrect future tense, as in most versions before and since, Jewish and Christian alike, is retained for adj. *hārâ* and for part. *yoledet* "shall conceive, and bear …").

The *thou*'s and the *ye*'s and the corresponding forms of the verbs are preserved, as they were, e.g., in the Revised Version three decades later and in the Jewish version of 1917; and the pronouns referring to God, in accord with KJV (and RV, ASV, RSV, and the rest) are not capitalized.

Yet Leeser will render the sense of a phrase, rather than reproduce it mechanically, more often than the KJV before him and RV and the Jewish version of 1917 after him, so that, e.g., *ûtĕḥî* in Gen 19:20 becomes "that my life may be saved" (adopted in the New Jewish Version) in place of traditional, and meaningless, "and my soul shall live." In Ps 90:3 Leeser departed from the KJV " (Thou turnest man to) destruction," for unclear *dakkāʾ*, in favor of "contrition," a rendering adopted by the 1917 Jewish version and as an alternate by the New Jewish Version (as against "dust" in the text, as in RSV).

An interesting aspect of Leeser's philosophy of translation involves the different methods he used to introduce rabbinic exegesis. "For example," Sussman has noted (1985: 172ff.), "he used parentheses to indicate words he added to elliptical verses 'to make the sense clear.' Instead of having Samuel 'lying down in the temple of the Lord,' he had him 'sleep in (the hall of) the temple' (1 Samuel 3:3), a correction that brought the translation into agreement with a rabbinic understanding of priestly protocol but, nevertheless, was a non-literal addendum. In some instances, Leeser … sought to harmonize conflicting passages … 'so that they reflect the final decision in Jewish law.' …" Thus he rendered *lĕ-ʿōlām* in Exod 21:6 by "till the jubilee" instead of "for ever," and thus accords with Lev 25:10. In sum, as put by Margolis (1917: 94), "… the changes introduced by [Leeser] are so many and so great that his translation may lay claim to being an independent work …"

As the 19th century wore on, the increasing influx of Jews from Eastern Europe brought about two major developments in the American Jewish community. In 1888 the Jewish Publication Society of America (JPS) came into being in Philadelphia, with the avowed purpose of constituting the cultural

representative and funnel of the entire Jewish population of the country; in time it achieved that purpose, largely under the leadership of Cyrus Adler, the first American to receive the Doctorate in Semitics at an American university (Johns Hopkins). The other major development involved the making of the Bible translation that replaced Leeser's as the unofficially "official" Bible of English speaking Jews in America and the world over. Indeed, the raison d'être and growth of the Society was tied closely to the making of that Bible.

At its second biennial convention (1892), the Society decided to produce a new English version of the Bible for use in synagogue, home, and school, the version to be based on Leeser's Bible. But for various reasons, virtually nothing was achieved for almost two decades, until a new procedure was introduced in 1908. The outstanding Jewish biblical scholar, Max L. Margolis, would serve as editor in chief of a committee of seven in all—none of the other six were specialists in Bible—and he would prepare a draft of the new version for the committee to work from; the draft, however, would not be based on Leeser—which had been based on the KJV —but directly on the Revised Version that the British had published in the mid-eighties. The project was completed in 1917, with the publication of *The Holy Scriptures according to the Masoretic Text. A New Translation with the Aid of Previous Versions and with Constant Consultation of Jewish Authorities,* soon to be called simply "The JPS Bible."

Like so many other Bibles before and after 1917, the word "New" is a misnomer in connection with the word "Translation"; for the JPS Bible was essentially a very modest revision of the Revised Version, along the lines of Leeser's revision of the King James. Both Leeser and JPS—though the former often less so than the latter—adhered to the same word for word philosophy of translation and to the same kind of old-fashioned vocabulary and style. What made them Jewish was their de-Christianization of the Christianized passages of the Hebrew. No serious attempt was made in any way to produce a fresh translation directly from the Hebrew text; whatever was satisfactory in the KJV or RV was retained. As for the externals, unlike KJV-Leeser, where every sentence, prose or poetry in the Hebrew, constituted a separate paragraph, RV had introduced paragraphing; but JPS went beyond RV, by printing its text as poetry when the Hebrew was poetry, by capitalizing the KJV-Leeser-RV pronouns "thou, thee," etc., when they referred to God, and by putting direct discourse inside quotation marks.

Mention must be made, even if but briefly, of translations in Yiddish. The earlier ones, in the 17th–19th centuries, were made for women in Eastern Europe, where their education lagged far behind that of men; the translations generally covered the *Ḥumaš* (Pentateuch), the *Haftarot,* and the *Megillot,* and they came to be called familiarly *ṣê (ʿ)nâ ûrĕʿênâ* (cf. Cant 3:11). The most serious Yiddish version was that by Yehoash (Solomon Bloomgarden; 1870–1927), who lived to see the first two volumes (the Pentateuch) of a beautifully printed edition in eight volumes (1937). A two-volume *Folks Oísgabe* (People's Edition) came out in 1938, followed by a bi-glot edition (Hebrew and Yiddish) in 1941. In 1949 Mordecai Kosover published a volume of *Heʿáros* (Notes) *tsum Tanakh fun Yeshoash.*

Naftoli Gross (1896–1956) produced fine Yiddish translations of the Megillot (1936) and of the Pentateuch (1948); unlike Yehoash, he tended more toward an idiomatic rendering.

An English version for American Jewry was that by Alexander Harkavy. It had no special merit so far as scholarship was concerned, being essentially a de-Christianization of the King James and Revised Versions. But American Jewry received it well, and a third edition appeared in 1924 in four handsome volumes, containing the Hebrew text and his revised translation. World War I had come and gone, but the economic and social problems that had brought it on were not solved by it. The rampant inflation of the Twenties, the Great Depression that set in after the Wall Street Crash of 1929, the consequent totalitarianism that began to sweep Europe in the Thirties—these created enough anxiety and despair on both sides of the Atlantic for people to wonder whether science and reason sufficed to solve their problems; many turned back to religion as an additional resource. This meant a return to the Bible.

But to what Bible? The old Bibles, KJV, Douay-Challoner, Leeser, RV, ASV, JPS, and the rest, no longer sufficed; their language was less than current and their accuracy open to doubt—for hadn't archaeology been making available considerable and important data for the better understanding of the Bible ever since King Tut's tomb had been discovered in 1922? And so Protestant and Catholic

authorities had begun in the Thirties to plan and to start on the making of new Bibles for their constituents: the Revised Standard Version, which appeared in 1952, and the Confraternity Bible, which was completed by the end of the Sixties.

The Jewish community of the United States and Canada was ready, even eager, for something better than the JPS Bible of 1917; that community was no longer the relatively small and insecure collection of recent arrivals from inhospitable Europe. True, it had just experienced the shattering act of genocide perpetrated by the Nazis and their associates upon European Jewry; at the same time a sovereign Jewish state was already in the making, and North American Jewry itself had grown in numbers and had reached a level of security, prosperity, and sophistication never before attained in the more than two thousand years of diaspora existence. This was not the kind of community that would be content with still another revision along the lines that its Christian counterparts were planning and producing; nothing short of a completely new translation of the Hebrew text was acceptable. More than that, not only would all new data pertinent to the comprehension of the text be utilised, regardless of the beliefs of any of the groups that made up North American Jewry, and not only would the language reflect current literary usage, but the philosophy of translation would, for the first time in the history of official Bible translation, be that of idiom for idiom instead of word for word; the new Jewish version that was being planned would offer the reader in idiomatic, clear English what the original Hebrew author had meant to convey to his audience in the first place.

The New Jewish Version, sponsored by the Jewish Publication Society, made its public debut in 1962 (5723 according to the Jewish calendar) with the publication of *The Torah: The Five Books of Moses*, followed by *The Five Megilloth and Jonah* in 1969 (5729), *The Prophets/Nevi*ʾ*im* in 1978, and *The Writings/Kethubim* in 1982, the whole in one volume in 1985 (5740), entitled *Tanakh: A New Translation of THE HOLY SCRIPTURES According to the Traditional Hebrew Text.* In 1969 (5730) H. M. Orlinsky edited for the Committee of translators a volume of *Notes on the New Translation of the Torah;* as put in the Preface (p. 3), "This is the first time that a committee responsible for an official translation of the Bible has attempted a public and systematic exposition … of its labors and reasoning. This unprecedented act is due in no small measure to the fact that there is now available, for the first time, a large knowledgeable and inquisitive audience for such *Notes* … This sociological fact is evident from the new translation itself."

The idiom for idiom philosophy of translation introduced in the New Jewish Version constitutes a revolutionary breakthrough in the long history of Bible translation. It helped usher in the new, Fourth Great Age of Bible Translation, now represented—in contrast to the King James, Revised, American Standard, JPS 1917, Revised Standard Versions (in part), and such allegedly "New" Bibles as the New American Standard Bible, New King James Version, and (in large part) New International Version, all members of the Third Great Age (early 16th century to essentially the 1960's)—by such other current versions as the Jerusalem Bible, New American Bible, New English Bible, Good News Bible/Today's English Version, and the New Revised Standard Version.

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HARRY M. ORLINSKY

**VERSIONS, MODERN ERA.** It may be argued that Bible translation in the "modern era" began with the invention of printing in Europe in the 15th century C.E. At this time books certainly became more widely available, and in time the effect upon literacy and literature was immense. Yet the art of printing did not at once increase Bible translation activity. When Gutenberg's famous Latin Vulgate Bible appeared about 1456, by one count (North 1938: 2, 37) the Bible had been translated in whole or in part into 33 languages (European, 22; Asian, 7; African, 4). In time Scriptures were published in printed form in all of these languages from versions already in existence. By the mid-15th century several of the 33 languages were no longer living languages, and the Scriptures in these so-called "dead languages" were eventually printed for scholars, or for liturgical use.

By 1500 the Scriptures had been printed in 11 of the 33 languages, and two languages had been added to the number of those in which Bible translation had been done, namely Serbo-Croatian and Portuguese.

Some authorities would make a case for beginning the modern era of Bible translation with the Protestant Reformation of the 16th century. This movement was indeed a stimulus to such activity. Yet much of the effort went into new translation in languages that already had one or more versions of the Scriptures, or into the revision of existing versions. There was no marked increase in the number of languages into which the Bible was translated. By 1600 there were versions of the Bible in perhaps another 10 languages, all European, for a total of 45.

Two hundred years later, on the eve of the 19th century, the number of languages in which some significant part of the Bible had been printed came to 70 (European, 48; Asian, 13; African, 4; North American, 3; Latin American, 2). These figures do not include a few languages in which Bible translation had been done at some time, but in which the resulting versions had not been printed.

The year 1800 marked a most important turning point. In the first quarter of the 19th century, the number of languages in which versions of Scripture were published almost doubled, to about 125 languages. In the second quarter of the century, the number reached 205. By the end of 1987 the Bible, or some significant part of it (a Testament, or at least one book of the Bible), had been printed in 1,884 languages and dialects. Included in this number are 303 languages in which there are complete Bibles, 670 in which there are Testaments (mostly NT), and 911 having portions. About half of these publications appeared in the half-century prior to 1988. These languages into which the Scriptures had been translated represent the languages spoken by about 97% of the population of the world.

Besides the extraordinary increase in the number of languages into which Bible translations have been done in the modern era, there has been a significant growth in the number of versions produced in many of the major languages of the world. For example, if one takes into account not only complete Bibles, but Testaments and portions, the number of English versions produced in the 20th century alone comes to 159 (Kubo and Specht 1983: 345–75). Similar developments have taken place in other major languages and language families. Even in languages representing fewer users, it is common to find that many versions have been produced.

This article will attempt to describe and explain the monumental development in Bible translation that began about the year 1800. Much more is involved than the numerical increase in the number of languages into which the Bible has been translated. Following a brief historical sketch of movements that affected the production of translations of the Bible, and a review of the spread of Bible translations among the peoples and languages of the world, we will treat several other aspects of the development: the translators and their sponsors; what was translated (texts, versions, scope); how it was done (purposes,

kinds of language and rendering, approaches to translating); and the results (versions, editions, text forms). Finally, we will look at the future of Bible translation.

In dealing with this subject, it is important to note that for hundreds of languages in which Bible translation has taken place, there have been—and in some cases still are—more than one name by which a language may be known. For the most part, we will use the names that are currently in use by the United Bible Societies. In some cases, however, with an eye on history, we may use an older name, where it is appropriate and meaningful in the context. In most such cases the present-day name will also be used.

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**A. Currents of History and Bible Translation**

**1. The Catholic Reformation.** During the period from about 1500 to 1750 the expansion of the Christian faith from Europe to the New World was largely the work of the Roman Catholic Church. The reformation of the Roman Catholic Church was not simply a response to the Protestant Reformation, but took place in parallel, at times stimulated by the Protestant movement, and again, more or less independent of it (Greenslade *CHB* 3: 384).

The concurrence of reformation in the Roman Catholic Church and the activity of Catholic nations (notably Spain and Portugal, and later France) in the early exploration, colonization, and commercial development of the New World resulted in a widespread expansion of the Roman Catholic Church in this period. Of great use to the Church in this endeavor were the monastic orders, from which recruits for the missionary task were drawn.

Because the Bible was not deemed so central to Catholic missionary activity as the Church and its doctrine, Scripture was not widely translated into the languages of the peoples who were Christianized by Roman Catholic missionaries. To be sure, some parts of Scripture or creed needed for instruction and worship were often rendered for those purposes by the missionaries. For example, Francis Xavier, the great Jesuit missionary to India and the Far East, while working with the Paravas of southeast India in the 1540's, translated for them the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, along with the Apostles' Creed (Latourette 1953: 929).

There was, however, during this period of Roman Catholic missionary activity, significant Catholic Bible translation done in many of the languages of Europe prior to the year 1800. This was in part in response to Protestant Bible translation inspired by the Reformation. Pope Benedict XIV, on June 13, 1757, issued a decree permitting the reading and printing of vernacular Bibles, provided they were approved by the Holy See, or published with orthodox notes under the supervision of a bishop. But the Roman Catholic Church was not of one mind on the matter. For example, until near the end of the 18th century the Inquisition's ban on the use of vernacular Scriptures continued in Spain, with the curious exception of versions in verse (Greenslade *CHB* 3: 125, 354, 358).

An important change, which greatly affected Roman Catholic Bible translation, came with the encyclical issued by Pope Pius XII on September 30, 1943 entitled *Divino afflante Spiritu.* The encyclical encouraged the study, exposition, and translation of the Bible from the text in its original languages. This was further undergirded by the work of Vatican II in the 1960's. See VERSIONS, CATHOLIC.

**2. The Protestant Movement.** The Bible was clearly at the center of the Protestant Reformation. In Europe this provided a stimulus for the translation and revision of the Scriptures, especially in the languages of nations where the Reformation was active. Yet in its early centuries the movement was so engrossed in the problems of survival and controversy—both with the Roman Catholic Church and within itself—that it did not reach out in mission to other parts of the world, except in a tentative and isolated fashion. Some Protestants even had a theological bias against such activity (Greenslade *CHB* 3: 387). But as nations where Protestantism was strong became more active in colonizing and in overseas commerce, people of those nations began to take interest in missionary endeavor. It was A. C. Ruyl, a representative of the Dutch East Indies Company, who in 1629 issued the first Malay Gospel, "the earliest example in the history of the translation and printing of a book of the Bible in a non-European language as a means of evangelization" (North 1938: 220).

It was not, however, until the 18th century, with the Evangelical Revival in Great Britain, the Great Awakening in America, and similar movements on the continent of Europe, that the stage was set for the phenomenal growth of the Protestant missionary movement, which caused Latourette (1941–44) to call the 19th century "the Great Century." This movement resulted in a marked increase in Bible translation.

As a result of the Protestant missionary movement, the Bible or significant parts of it were nearly always translated into the language of a people as soon as missionary work was begun among them. In fact, more than once the Scriptures were translated in the language of a people and sent in among them even before the missionaries themselves could gain access (e.g., Korea, China, Tibet).

The Protestant churches did not have monastic orders from which to recruit missionaries. Instead, serving to recruit, train, and support missionaries on the field, there grew up a large number of missionary societies and agencies in Europe and America. This movement had tentative beginnings in Great Britain and Europe about 1700, but it burgeoned beginning in the last decade of the 18th century (*CHB* 3: 387), and had much to do with the great increase in Bible translation activity in the modern era.

Further, of greatest significance for the cause of Bible translation was the rise of the Bible societies (*CHB* 3: 388–93), again at first in Europe and America, but spreading eventually to over a hundred nations around the world. The primary function of these societies was the translation, publication, and distribution of Scriptures around the world. To avoid the sectarian rivalry associated with many earlier annotated versions of the Bible, and to encourage interdenominational support and cooperation, the Bible societies, beginning with the first one formed, the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804), undertook to publish the Bible "without note or comment." Later on the United Bible Societies adopted the modified

guideline, "without doctrinal note or comment," as a concession to the usefulness of objective notes on text and rendering and on cultural or historical background. The Bible society movement had the most profound effect on the proliferation of Bible translations around the world. In time, many other organizations were formed with similar, though often with more special or limited purposes, that served to provide Bible translations as part of the Christian missionary movement (see C.2 below).

**3. Orthodox Churches.** The long history of the Orthodox churches of E Europe and the Middle East was marked by conservatism in the translation and use of the Scriptures. In the centuries before the modern era, one ancient version stands out, that done in the 9th century C.E. by Slavic missionaries from Macedonia (Salonika) to Greater Moravia, namely Cyril and Methodius. They translated the Bible—or major parts of it—from Greek (LXX and the traditional NT text) into what is called Old Church Slavonic, a version long used liturgically by Orthodox churches even after Slavonic was no longer a living language. The alphabet for this venture in translation was devised by Cyril (or his brother Methodius, or a disciple) and later became the alphabet used for the Russian language.

Old Church Slavonic continued to be used liturgically in some countries (Russia, Bulgaria, Serbia), even in the modern era, much as Latin was used by the Roman Catholic Church long after Catholics could no longer understand it. The Slavonic version underwent numerous revisions reflecting regional development of the Slavic languages. In turn, it became the basis of early translations into Czech (1475) and Bulgarian (1840), and influenced still other versions in Slavic tongues (Nida 1972: 397).

In the 19th and 20th centuries, as further Bible translation and revision took place in the languages where Orthodoxy was strong, the text basis slowly became Hebrew and Greek. A Russian version of the Psalms translated from Hebrew was published in 1822; the books Genesis to Ruth followed in 1825. Another example was Bulgarian, with a NT based on Greek published in 1859, and an OT from the Hebrew printed in three parts between 1862 and 1864 (Metzger *IDB* 4: 779). The gospels were translated into Modern Greek by A. Pallis from Codex Vaticanus and published in 1902.

**4. Jewish Bible Translation.** As Jewish people settled in the nations of Europe in significant numbers during the Middle Ages, there was need for their Scriptures, the Tanakh (which Christians call the OT), to be translated into the languages of those nations, and into Jewish national languages such as Yiddish and Ladino.

In part because of proscription against Jewish outreach into the gentile community, most Scripture translation by Jewish scholars was done for Jewish readers. Yet it is significant that during the 16th century and following, as Christians translated the OT into their vernaculars, they sometimes depended on the work of Jewish scholars for translation from the Hebrew Bible.

It is also important to note on the other hand that as versions of the Bible were produced for Jewish readers, there was sometimes dependence upon Christian versions for wording in the languages of Europe. A notable example of this was the influence of the English KJV on the Jewish Publication Society version of the Scriptures in English published in 1917. Long before that, Jews of England had published the KJV text itself, but without the tendentious headings and notes of earlier editions of the KJV.

By 1800 there had been significant Scripture translation by and for Jews into several European languages. During the 19th and 20th centuries, some of the previous Jewish versions were revised, and there were new translations made, sometimes guided and informed by previous efforts. If one counts the translations of parts of the Jewish Scriptures, along with those projects that embraced the whole, the number of Jewish Bible translations in this period is considerable.

Languages in which at least one whole Bible—i.e., the entire Tanakh—was published sometime between 1800 and 1971 are: Judeo-Tatar (for the Karaites of the Crimea, in Russia), Yiddish, English, German, Italian, French, Hungarian, and Polish. Parts of the Jewish Scriptures were translated during this period into Russian and Danish (see *EncJud* 4: 864–89 and VERSIONS, JEWISH).

**5. Interconfessional Bible Translation.** Although there had been some more or less isolated cases of interconfessional cooperation and consultation in Bible translation before, during, and after the Reformation period, the movement for this became a matter of stated policy in the period following

World War II. Contributing greatly to such cooperation were the papal encyclical of 1943, *Divino afflante Spiritu*, and the new openness toward ecumenical cooperation encouraged by Vatican II. In 1968 a statement was issued jointly by the United Bible Societies and the Vatican's Secretariat for Christian Unity, entitled "Guiding Principles for Interconfessional Cooperation in Translating the Bible." By 1985 no less than 172 translation projects had been based on the guidelines of this publication (see G below).

There have been in the modern era a great variety of forms of interconfessional cooperation in Bible translation. To illustrate, the New American Bible of 1970, a Roman Catholic translation done for the most part by members of the Catholic Biblical Association of America, included among its translators five prominent Protestant biblical scholars. In Thailand, a thorough revision of the Thai Bible was published (NT, 1967; OT, 1971) under the auspices of the Thailand Bible Society (TBS), with the aid of the American Bible Society (ABS). Although most of the work was done by Protestant scholars, both Thai and American, Roman Catholic scholars worked with them on a new system of transliterating Bible proper names, so that this might be used in the revised text, to make it possible for the Roman Catholics of Thailand to use the TBS/ABS text of the OT. There was a Catholic version of the NT in Thai.

In many other instances there has been a larger or smaller degree of cooperation, especially between Protestants and Catholics in Bible translation. Further, several recent Protestant Bibles have included the Deuterocanonical (Apocryphal) books in at least some editions, and have received the Roman Catholic imprimatur. On the other hand, many recent Catholic versions have come to be widely used by Protestant readers and scholars. It may also be noted that as biblical scholarship has become more and more ecumenical and interconfessional in nature and appeal, Bible translators in recent decades have, even in working on versions intended for readers of a particular confession, used the help to be gleaned from all reliable sources, whatever the background of the scholars consulted might be.

**B. The Expansion of Bible Translation, 1800–1988**

As was noted in the introduction, up until the beginning of this period, by far the greatest number of versions of the Bible, or of parts of it, had been published in languages of Europe (48 languages). Asia was a poor second (13, several of which were no longer living languages), and then, with very few, came Africa (4), North America (3), and Latin America (2). What follows is a brief sketch of the phenomenal growth of Bible translation in the period under review, looked at area by area, for the most part continent by continent, following the arrangement used by the UBS publication, *Scriptures of the World*, which is issued biennially.

It should be noted that in this study in some cases a particular language may be included in an area or continent on the basis of geography, while linguistically it belongs to another. For example, Malagasy, the language of Madagascar, is counted here among the languages of Africa, but linguistically it is related to the Malayo-Polynesian family of Asia and Oceania.

**1. Europe.** By the year 1800 there had long existed versions of the Bible in all the major languages of Europe, except Russian. There were also versions in some of the languages spoken by smaller numbers of people than the major languages. In addition, significant parts of Scripture had been rendered in still other European languages.

Thus, in the period under review, most European Bible translation activity was devoted to the revision of earlier versions, and to the extension of parts translated in the cases of versions not yet including the whole Bible. In the case of some languages, however, even where older versions existed, fresh translations were made. The reasons for this were various. As the language in which older versions were translated became outdated, completely fresh translations were undertaken, in part because of the feeling people had against revising older, cherished versions. Again, better texts of the Bible in the original languages, and new understanding of the ancient meaning of some passages, often seemed to demand a fresh approach. Sometimes new kinds of readers were identified in major languages, and translations were made especially for them. In 1800 there were still some languages of Europe in which there was no part of Scripture, but they were nearly all languages spoken by relatively few people.

The first European language in which a complete Bible was published in the period 1800 to 1988 was Gaelic (1801), a language spoken by some of the people of Scotland, and closely akin to Irish—which is

also sometimes called Gaelic. The first portion, for the purpose of this article at least a whole book of the Bible, was Romans in Russian, published (1815) in a diglot with Slavonic, long the liturgical language of the Eastern Orthodox Church. The NT was published in 1821, the OT in 1867. The first complete Russian Bible in a single volume did not become available until 1877 (known as the version of 1876).

By the beginning of 1988, the number of languages in which there were complete Bibles in European languages was 58, Testaments 23, and portions 105, for a total of 186.

**2. Asia.** William Carey and his associates, principally Joshua Marshman and William Ward, made the first substantial beginning with the translation and publication of the Scriptures in Asian languages in the modern era. Carey, an English Baptist, sailed to India in 1793, established the Serampore Mission near Calcutta, and with his colleagues began one of the most extraordinary efforts at Bible translation in history. By the time of Carey's death in 1835, the Serampore group had translated some or all of the Bible into 34 languages of India, and had given help to translation projects in Chinese and Burmese. They had significant help from native speakers of the languages they worked with. From their work came six complete Bibles, three others that were nearly so, 20 New Testaments, and at least a gospel in five more languages.

In the 19th century the first Asian language in which any portion of the Scriptures was published was Bengali. In this language Carey's translation of Matthew was printed in 1800, his first NT in 1801, and the first complete Bengali Bible in 1809. All this was printed first by the Mission Press at Serampore.

By the end of the 19th century the number of languages in which whole Bibles had been translated and published in Asian languages had grown to 33, and from then until 1988 there were another 59, for a total of 92. In addition to this there was a very large number of languages in which New Testaments (153) or portions (226) had been published. By the beginning of 1988 the total came to 470.

**3. Africa.** In the 19th century, missionary activity under the societies burgeoned in Africa as it did in Asia. The first Scripture portion printed in a modern African language after 1800 was the gospel of Matthew, published in the Bullom language of southern Sierra Leone in 1816 (Nida 1972: 54). The first NT in a language of Africa was in Amharic, now the official language of Ethiopia (1829). The first complete Bible was in Malagasy (1835), a language spoken in the Malagasy Republic (before 1960, known as Madagascar). By the end of the century there were 14 complete African Bibles in that many languages, and by the end of 1987, 100 more, for a total of 114. In addition to this there was a very large number of portions (226) and Testaments (197), so that by the end of 1987 the total number of languages in which there was some Scripture came to 537.

**4. Oceania.** As North (1938: 2) says, by 1800 there was one language of Oceania in which there had been Bible translation; it was Malay, a language geographically associated with Asia, though of the Malayo-Polynesian language family, which is also found in Oceania. The first Bible translation in the area was Tahitian: Luke (1818), the NT (1929), and the Bible (1838). Tahiti was the first island in the South Pacific where a Christian mission was founded, and it became the center of mission work in the area.

By the end of the 19th century, Bible translation had produced 10 complete Bibles in Oceania, and by December 31, 1987, 15 more, for a total of 25. The total number of languages in Oceania in which there are Bibles, Testaments, or portions comes to 288.

**5. North America.** Before 1800 little Bible translation work had taken place on the North American continent. Settlers from Europe brought with them to the New World their versions in the languages of Europe. Following 1800, the first portion to be printed in North America was in Labrador Eskimo (1810), the first NT in the same language (1826), and the first complete Bible in Hawaiian (1838). If this last should rather be included in Oceania, then the first Bible in North America in a non-European language was in Plains (or Western) Cree, in 1861.

During the period under review, most of the Bible translation activity in North America in new languages was in various Indian tribal languages of Canada and the U.S.A. By 1988, the total number of languages in which complete Bibles had been printed was 7; New Testaments, 17; and portions 45, for a total of 69. Of course, the languages in which there were now Bibles and Testaments had, in many cases, had portions in print prior to the completion of the larger units.

**6. Latin America.** Bible translation was slow to begin in Latin America. This was due in part to the dominance of Roman Catholicism in the region, at a time when the Catholic Church did not encourage the use of the vernaculars of the native populations in worship and the study of Scripture. Spanish was the common language of government and commerce, except in Brazil, and Latin was the language of liturgy.

Before 1800 very little had been done. By the end of the 19th century, however, there were portions in 12 scattered Indian languages of the area, and just one NT, in Sranan, or "Negro English," the creole used in the coastal area of Surinam.

In the 20th century, Bible translation in the region increased greatly, so that by 1988 there were complete Bibles in six languages of Latin America, Testaments in 165, and portions in 160, for a total of 331 languages.

**C. Translators and Their Sponsors**

The modern era of Bible translation has been marked by the extraordinary variety and numbers, both of the translators and of the sponsors who supported their work.

**1. Translators Themselves.** Bible translators and their assistants in the modern era, numbering in the thousands, included missionaries, nationals, trained linguists, scholars and teachers in Biblical studies, men of letters, and yet others.

By far the largest group were Christian missionaries from Europe and America, though some came from other continents as well. Through most of the modern era, Bible translation was dominated by Protestant missionaries, who upon first entering a country—and sometimes even before that—made the translation of some part of Scripture into the language (or languages) of that country a priority.

Pioneer translators, to name a few by way of example, were: William Carey (India), Robert Morrison and S. I. J. Schereschewsky (China), Adoniram Judson (Burma), Karl F. A. Gutzlaff (Japan), Henry Martyn (Persia), Henry Nott (Tahiti), John Williams (Rarotonga), John G. Paton (New Hebrides), Hiram Bingham, Sr. (Hawaii), Hiram Bingham, Jr. (Gilbert Islands), and, working in Africa, Robert Moffat (Chuana), Edward Steere (Swahili), and George Pilkington (Ganda).

In most cases, these translators depended heavily on native speakers for assistance. These nationals were often, though not always, converts. As the period of the pioneer translators drew to a close, and churches and biblical training were established in mission lands, there was a shift from missionary translators to more and more reliance upon native speakers of the languages into which translation and revision was done. But even in the earlier period, there were sometimes native speakers who did the actual translation. For example, as early as 1804 the Gospel of John was published in Mohawk, having been translated by John Norton, a Cherokee Indian who had lived among the Mohawks. This was the first publication of the newly organized British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS). In 1829 Matthew was published in Cherokee, having been translated by both S. A. Worcester of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and Elias Boudinot, a Cherokee Indian, using the syllabary that had been devised by George Guess (also known as Sequoya), another Cherokee. Ye Suchon, a Korean converted in Japan, translated the Gospels and Acts into his own language; they were published in Yokohama in 1884 by the ABS and the BFBS.

During the modern era the preparation of translators for the task varied greatly. Some did the work by necessity, with little or no formal training. Others were well trained. It was the policy of some Bible societies to use missionaries on the field for Bible translation. Other societies, e.g., the Netherlands Bible Society, trained and sent out their own personnel to do Bible translating.

Also active in Bible translation, especially in Europe and the U.S.A. during this period, were scholars, usually connected with universities or theological seminaries, with special training in biblical studies, theology, and sometimes philology and linguistics. There was some involvement in Bible translation by literary specialists, sometimes as stylists rather than primary translators. One example is J. R. R. Tolkien of England, who had such a role in the preparation of the Jerusalem Bible (1966).

Some translators do not seem to fit into any of the categories so far delineated. B. J. Bettelheim was a Hungarian Christian physician of Jewish birth, who while serving the British "Naval Mission" to the Luchu Islands, learned the Japanese dialect used there and translated the NT into that form of Japanese. It

was published in Hong Kong, but the dialect was unusable in Japan proper. Later Bettelheim revised his work in Chicago with the help of Japanese residents there. Luke and John were published by the BFBS in 1873, and Acts in 1874 (North 1938: 181, 183).

Along with those engaged in direct translation, there was a large number of others in this period who assisted in translation work in a variety of ways: as language teachers, consultants, stylists, copyists, members of committees that reviewed and helped to revise drafts, administrators of translation and revision projects, and editors and publishers.

Most of the Bible translators in this period were men, but some women were involved as well. For example, Mrs. Hiram Bingham, Jr., is said to have inserted 120,000 commas into her husband's translation of the Gilbert Island Bible. Ann H. Judson, who, while her husband Adoniram worked on the Burmese Bible, learned Siamese (Thai) from prisoners of war in Burma and translated Matthew into that language ten years before any Protestant missionary set foot on the soil of Siam. There have been husband and wife teams that have done translation work. For example, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Lewis together translated the NT into Akkha (a tribal language of Burma); it was published in 1968 by the Bible Society of Burma.

**2. Sponsors of Translators.** The Bible translators of the modern era could not have done the monumental work they did without having behind them a large number of organizations that provided support, expert help with the organization and work of translation, and in some cases training for the task, and facilitation of publication and distribution. Notable among these organizations were the Bible societies and other groups devoted to Bible translation. Also of importance were the missionary societies of various churches, some of them interdenominational in scope; the denominations themselves with their mission agencies; at times and in some places, governments, publishing houses, and in much rarer cases, individuals.

The Bible society movement began about the turn of the 19th century and very quickly took on a most important role in Bible translation. Although the British and Foreign Bible Society and the American Bible Society were the largest societies, there came to be over 100 national societies and offices around the world, all committed to the translation, publication, and distribution of the Scriptures. Along with the BFBS and the ABS, the Netherlands Bible Society (NBS) has been among the most active. The results of the work of the Bible societies have been almost incalculable. In some countries, more than one society worked, and projects have often been done on a cooperative basis. In 1946, most of the Bible societies of the world formed an organization, the United Bible Societies, in order to coordinate work around the world, and to share resources and personnel for the common task.

Other groups devoted to Bible translation, usually with more limited purposes than the Bible societies, have played a significant part. Among them are the following:

The Wycliffe Bible Translators, along with its related organization, the Summer Institute of Linguistics, is dedicated to the translation of Scriptures into languages that have had no such translation before, and often where there is no written form of the language. Begun in 1934 (SIL) and 1942 (WBT), by 1983 these organizations had translated and published 200 New Testaments. The hallmark of the group is the special training given to translators, who are required in many cases to reduce the languages they work with to writing. Evangelization is an essential aim of the WBT/SIL.

The International Bible Society, based in New York, sponsors the publication of translations around the world that are based on the principles of the (English) New International Version, whose translators were committed to a plenary view of the inspiration of Scripture.

Living Bible International undertakes translations in various parts of the world that are based on, or translated from, the paraphrased Living Bible of Kenneth Taylor, published by Tyndale House.

The Institute for Bible Translation, based in Stockholm, is concerned with translations in the non-Slavic languages of the former Soviet Union.

Scores of missionary societies and other mission agencies provided personnel for Bible translation work and cooperated with the Bible societies in helping to provide Scriptures for the people among whom they worked. This has sometimes included the work of publication and distribution, as well as translation. These societies were typically agencies of church denominations, but there have been examples of

interdenominational cooperation, as, e.g., the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, organized in 1810 and supported by the Congregational, Presbyterian, and other churches. Further, denominations have often worked together to produce particular versions, such as the ASV (the International Council of Religious Education), the RSV (the National Council of Churches in the U.S.A.), and the NEB, sponsored by most of the Protestant denominations of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as Bible Societies (BFBS and NBS; for a discussion of state-sponsored Bible translation and revision projects, see VERSIONS, ENGLISH (AUTHORIZED).

The most notable individual to sponsor Bible translation in this era was Prince Louis-Lucien Bonaparte, a nephew of Napoleon, who had a keen interest in philology, and especially in the dialects of European languages. During the mid-19th century, for reasons of philology, he arranged for the translation and publication, in limited editions, and at his own expense, of portions (Matthew or the Song of Solomon) in about 70 dialects of English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and languages of Russia (Nida 1972: 7).

**D. Source Texts**

There is no single, uncomplicated answer to the question of just what was translated during the modern era into so many languages. At times the translation was done from some form or other of the text in the original languages of Scripture, sometimes from one or more versions—or from a variety of combinations of both.

**1. Texts in Original Languages.** When a text in the original languages was used for translation, one must still ask, what particular text form?

When the OT has been translated from Hebrew (and Aramaic), the text used in the modern period has nearly always been the Masoretic Text (MT), but with a significant development that resulted, in many cases, in modifications of the MT as the text base used for translation. There became available critical printed editions of the text, with alternative manuscript and versional readings in the margin. These alternative readings were sometimes adopted for translation. Notable among the critical editions of the MT, and widely used, was Rudolph Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, beginning with the first edition in 1906. At first, there was also in Kittel much reliance in the critical apparatus on conjectural emendations. In the 7th edition (1951) there was added to the textual apparatus variants from the almost complete Dead Sea scroll Isaiah ms and from the Habakkuk scroll. Many of these variants have been used by Bible translators since they appeared. The most recent form of Kittel is *Biblia Hebraic Stuttgartensia*, edited by K. Elliger (1977).

Critical study of the text provided guidelines that enabled Bible translators to make informed judgments on variant readings in cases of textual difficulty. Thus most translations from the original language of the OT in the latter part of the modern era have used an eclectic text, basically the MT, but modified to include readings from Hebrew mss, from the Qere as well as the Kethib, and from the ancient versions. Occasionally conjectural emendations were adopted by translators.

As for the NT, the Textus Receptus (TR) continued to be used for Bible translation. But as new and improved texts became available, they were increasingly used as the text base for translation. Critical editions of the Greek NT based on better mss than the TR slowly found acceptance. See TEXTUAL CRITICISM (NT). The first NT text based on such mss, critically evaluated, came after 1800.

A recent Greek NT of great importance for Bible translation was prepared by an international team of scholars under the auspices of the United Bible Societies, *The New Testament in Greek (1966, 1968, 1975, 1983).* The textual apparatus includes evaluation of selected alternative ms readings of special importance to translators.

**2. Versions as Source Texts.** A considerable amount of Bible translating done during this period, especially in the first part, was not based on the Hebrew and Greek texts. Instead, it was done from various versions of the Scriptures already in existence, both ancient and modern. Or, if the text in the original languages was used for translation, one or more versions was often used as a guide to text and interpretation in the translation process. Sometimes it was the other way around: the translation was made from a version, and then checked against the Hebrew or Greek to make sure that it accorded with the original languages.

Illustrating the role of versions of the Bible in modern translation work is the fact that, until recent decades, the translation base for most Roman Catholic Bibles was the Latin Vulgate, even when the Hebrew and Greek texts were consulted in the process of rendering the Latin text.

In Europe, the German version of the Bible that went back to Martin Luther had great influence upon other European versions, especially those in the Scandinavian languages and Dutch. It was sometimes translated directly, and often used as a guide. As the latter, its influence has continued well into the modern era.

Again, in the English-speaking world, as missionaries went out across the world, more often than not the first Bible translation efforts were based on the KJV, and later in some cases on the ERV and the ASV or the RSV. Even some of the versions more recent than these have had a role in Bible translation in cases where the translators do not use Hebrew or Greek.

**3. Scope of Texts Translated.** The scope of biblical texts translated in the modern period has varied greatly, from short passages to complete Bibles. For the purpose of counting languages in which Bible translation has taken place, the Bible societies have generally included only those languages in which at least one book has been translated. This has usually, but not always, been one of the four gospels.

In the list of 670 languages in which Testaments (apart from complete Bibles) have been published by 1988, nearly all are New Testaments. Further, there has not been agreement as to what constitutes a "complete Bible." The canon varies among different religious traditions. The scope of the text of the Bible is not the same for the following groups: Jews (the Tanakh), Protestants (the 39 books of the OT and the 27 of the NT), Roman Catholics (the 66 books of the OT and the NT, plus the Deuterocanonicals), and the Eastern Orthodox (who include apocryphal books not in the Roman Catholic canon).

**E. Bible Translation Process**

Before considering the organization of Bible translators for their work, and the means of getting translations on paper, we will discuss various factors affecting the translation process: languages with written forms vs. those with no writing, translation aims, intended readership, language and dialect groups, kinds of language, types of rendering, and new translation vs. revision. At times decisions regarding such matters were made deliberately, in other cases they were not consciously made, but were always important in determining process and results.

**1. Written and Unwritten Languages.** As Bible translators began to reach out into areas where the Bible had not been translated before, they encountered a wide diversity of languages and writing systems. In the case of many languages, there was not only a well-established written form ready for use, but a well-developed literature. In some cases this literature either included religious expression, or was predominantly religious in character. This meant that translators had to take the literature into account, sometimes using its vocabulary and forms of expression to advantage, but in others avoiding some terminology in order not to compromise the biblical message. An example was Arabic, with its great religious classic, the Quran. Some languages are written in more than one script; the selection of writing system may be related to social or religious factors. Translators of Scripture in such languages must select the writing system to be employed. In some instances translations of Scripture have been published in more than one script.

Scores of languages did not employ any writing system. In such cases, translators of Scripture have often developed a script in which to write the language.

**2. Effects of Translation Aims.** The aims of the translators (and their sponsors) often had a marked effect on the way a translation was done, and upon the results. Let us look first at the effect of the intended function or functions of a version, and then at that of the intended readership.

**a. Intended Function.** Typically, when a new translation, or a revision, was undertaken, the translators and their sponsors had in mind certain kinds of usefulness that they hoped the version would serve: evangelism, Christian nurture, public worship and liturgy, personal study, private devotion, and so on. The aim at times focused on one or more of these purposes, but sometimes embraced all of them. The intended function governed several aspects of the translation process. For example, if the primary purpose was evangelism, this helped to govern what was translated and published first in a new language: it was

usually a gospel, though in some instances (as in Thailand) Genesis might be regarded as crucial for laying the groundwork for evangelization. If the purpose was mainly Christian nurture, then vocabulary that had become traditional in the life of the church for which the translation was made needed to be considered. The first translation in Asia that was made primarily for an established church, rather than for evangelistic purposes, was in Malayalam, which was spoken by members of the Malayalam-speaking Syrian Church in Travancore (completed in 1841). Versions used for the liturgy took into account the way passages deemed important for public worship sounded when read aloud.

**b. Intended Readership.** Many matters important for the translation process, such as choice of vocabulary, interpretation, the use (or non-use) of explanatory notes, and so on, were effected by the intended readership of a version.

There is first of all the intention with regard to the religious constituencies translators have had in mind, such as Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Eastern Orthodox, or, more broadly, interfaith readership in some combination or other. Obviously, if a version was intended for one or another of these communities, decisions regarding the above matters were affected.

Further, within a religious communion, there have often been special groups for which particular versions were intended. In English, for example, as an answer to the RSV, which some conservatives regard as being too "liberal," the NIV was prepared to appeal to conservative Protestants. On the other hand, interfaith versions have attempted to appeal to readers of various persuasions by an approach to language and interpretation that is more inclusive.

The ways in which translations were made was influenced in many cases by the social or cultural groups that translators had in mind as they worked. For example, some versions have been done for children (e.g., the American Bible Society *A Book about Jesus*), others for new readers in various languages, still others primarily for scholars (e.g., the Anchor Bible), one for people in the southern part of the U.S.A. (the Cottonpatch Version). Such intended readership has affected not only the vocabulary used, but also interpretation of the text, the format, the use of illustrations or pictures, and so on.

**c. Language Groups.** In addition to the translation of the Bible into major, primary languages, there has been much attention in our period to translation into various dialects of those, or of lesser languages. Also, in cases where it was feasible, there has often been the attempt, at least, to prepare translations in "union" languages, that might be useable among peoples who speak closely related dialects. In three cases, there have been translations into constructed languages, such as Esperanto.

**3. Kinds or Levels of Language.** Bible translation has often involved the choice of the kind or level of language to be used for a particular version. Should it be literary, reflecting established literary norms? Or colloquial, to meet the needs of people who do not know or have a literature? Should "common" language be used, so that the version will be intelligible to all users of the language? For a few versions the question has been asked, to what extent can translators or revisers of a version of the Bible use gender-inclusive language. Such language has been used in a few versions to the extent that sound exegesis will permit (e.g., NJB, and the rev. NT of the NAB).

**4. Types of Rendering.** There is a wide range of types of rendering that have been used in the modern era. The summary here is based on de Waard and Nida (1986: 40–42). Basically there have been five main types, with some versions marked by more than one type. The five kinds of translation are: (1) interlinear, word-for-word translations, usually of special interest to linguists or philologists; (2) literal renderings, that conform as much as possible to the form of the source language, while at the same time being grammatically possible, though often stylistically awkward, and sometimes misleading; (3) renderings that provide the "closest natural equivalence," whether on a literary level, or the level of "common" language; (4) adapted renderings, with some special accompanying code in mind, such as verse form; or adaptation governed by a theological stance (e.g., the Living Bible, with its harmonization, deletions, additions, explanations, and "corrections"); (5) Culturally reinterpreted renderings (such as Clarence Jordan's Cottonpatch Version of most of the NT).

**5. Revision Versus New Translation.** The approach to Bible translation has been deeply affected by whether a particular translation project is conceived as a revision of a previous version or a fresh

translation. If it is a revision, then it needs to be determined what kinds of changes are to be made, and on what basis: correction of translation errors, changes in the language, better text, or new light on meaning. There has been much need for revision, sometimes often repeated, in the modern era, because the first translation in so many languages was done by non-speakers of the language.

**6. Organization of Translators.** There has been almost endless variety in the way Bible translators and their assistants have organized for their task. Many, especially in the earlier part of the period, worked alone, or virtually so. Even these usually had some kind of help from consultants or native speakers of the languages they worked with.

In other cases where the work was done by a team, the ways of setting it up varied. Typically, there were one or more primary translators, who provided the initial draft of the translation, sometimes of an entire portion, Testament, or Bible. Again, there were often many translators who worked separately on various parts of a version to produce working drafts. Then there were one or more committees to review and correct the work of the primary translator(s). In addition, there were often consultants, who usually did not meet as a group, who read the translation drafts and provided written criticisms to be taken into account by the translators and the review committee. If the translation project was connected with a society or organization devoted to such work, there were often specialists related to these organizations who from time to time gave help with special problems, or took part in the training of translators. Often persons with a special sense of the language were brought in for stylistic review. Lastly, in the case of projects sponsored by Bible societies or church bodies, there was at times review by representatives of these groups for final approval before publication. There were, of course, many variations in the actual application of the above pattern. In connection with any particular translation project there was usually a statement of principles and procedures for the guidance of those involved.

**7. Writing Technologies.** A period of less than two hundred years saw a marked change in the ways of actually getting the text of a translation down on paper. In the early decades the mss of new translations were handwritten. In some cases, where the work was a revision rather than a new translation, the changes were simply introduced by hand into printed copies of the version being revised.

The second stage was the development of typewriters. The first practical typewriter was built by Christopher L. Sholes, an American inventor, in 1867. In 1874, the first typewriters were put on the market. The typewriter was soon adapted for use with scripts of other languages than those that used the Roman alphabet, and these became available for the use of Bible translators. For example, the first Siamese (Thai) typewriter was made by Edwin MacFarland, the son of a Presbyterian missionary to Siam in the latter part of the 19th century. More recently, sophisticated electronic typewriters have become available and been put to use.

In recent years, there has become available a still more versatile writing tool, that greatly facilitates the correction and reproduction of translated text. This is the computer, with its word processing capabilities and the capacity to generate a wide range of fonts and type styles. Word processors are now being widely used in Bible translation in numerous languages around the world.

**F. Results**

We have already focused attention in this survey on the remarkable increase between 1800 and 1988 in the number of languages in which the Bible or some significant part of it was translated (see B above). This is only part of the story, however. In many major languages of the world, there have been in this period numerous versions in a particular language produced for a variety of purposes. The reasons for this are mainly three: changes in the language that required either revision of previous versions, or new translation; new knowledge of the biblical text and its interpretation, that needed to be used; and the development of new aims and insights in the area of rendering. In numerically important languages where there is a developed Christian community, it has come to be recognized that at least three types of versions may be useful: "one of a traditional and conservative orientation for the majority of Bible readers, one based on critical texts and provided with helps for more sophisticated readers, e.g., students and ministers, and a 'simple-language' translation for the newly literate and for those who are reading an acquired language" (Bratcher 1971: 1245).

Along with the multiplication of versions, however, there have been in numerous instances of particular versions the production of more than one—often many—editions and forms to meet the needs of various kinds of readers. For instance, many recent versions have been published in basically two forms: one with few or no aids to study and use, and another with a range of accompanying aids, such as: introductions to the Bible, Testaments, extended portions, or individual books; section headings, cross references, concordances, indexes, glossaries, chronologies, lists of weights and measures, maps, illustrations.

There has been an effusion of kinds of Bibles produced for various sorts of readers: family Bibles (one with material doubtful for children printed at the bottom of the page), Scriptures for women, youth, children, new readers, the blind (in Braille or sound recordings), the sight-impaired (large print Bibles), red-letter editions (with Jesus' words printed in red), diglots and polyglots, editions with special forms of the language (e.g., in American English and in British English), editions for scholars, editions for various religious communities or combinations of them.

**G. Future of Bible Translation**

The momentum of Bible translation in the last two centuries is still with us. Currently, under various auspices, there are under way over 570 Bible translation and revision projects in which the UBS is in some way involved *(World Translations Progress Report 1987).* These are of four kinds: translations into languages that have up to now had no Scripture, continuing translation to extend the scope of versions partly completed, the revision of previously published versions, and fresh translation in languages where there are older versions. In addition to the above, over 765 translation projects are reported by other groups, notably Wycliffe Bible Translators.

A most important development is the production of "common" language translations in many of the world's languages. "Common" language here means the resources of a given language common to the usage of both the educated and the uneducated. It strikes to make the version both acceptable to the former and accessible to the latter. At present the total number of such versions as recorded at the Library of the American Bible Society comes to 173, including 34 Bibles, 94 New Testaments, and 45 portions, with many more to be produced in the future. Many persons have been involved in this development, but two have had major roles in the formulation of the linguistic principles and guidelines behind it: Eugene A. Nida, formerly Translations Secretary of the American Bible Society and Translations Research Coordinator for the United Bible Societies, and William L. Wonderly, Translations Consultant for the UBS.

Another important development that will have a considerable effect upon Bible translation in the years to come is the production of interconfessional translations of the Bible. By the end of 1987 there had been reported no less than 292 interconfessional projects undertaken to date, with a substantial number of them having produced versions in the publication stage, while others are yet to be completed.

If all goes as expected, the 1990's should see the Bible, or some substantial part of it, published in over 2,000 of the world's languages and dialects, with a total number of versions and editions of the Bible, or parts of it, far greater than this.

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**VESPASIAN** (EMPEROR). Titus Flavius Vespasianus, the future emperor Vespasian, was born in 9 A.D. His father was a tax-collector; on his mother's side he had senatorial connections. The major steps in his career occurred under Gaius Caligula and Claudius. The former advanced him to the praetorship, the latter to legionary commands in Germany and Britain, followed by a consulship in 51 A.D. Under Nero, he held the proconsulate of Africa (ca. 63 A.D.) and accompanied the emperor to Greece in 66 A.D. as one of his *comites,* or staff. It was here that he was appointed to take command of the Roman army engaged in suppressing the rebellion in Judea (February, 67 A.D.). His operations in Judea were so successful that only Jerusalem still remained to be subdued at the time of Nero's downfall and suicide (June, 68 A.D.). Vespasian immediately halted operations to watch on events in Rome.

Vespasian accepted the rule of Nero's successor, Galba, and then that of Otho. However, after the suicide of Otho and the advent to power of Vitellius, Vespasian and Mucianus, the governor of neighboring Syria, began to form plans for an attempt on the imperial position. They were joined by the Prefect of Egypt, Tiberius Alexander, himself a Hellenized Jew. On July 1, 69 A.D., Vespasian's movement began with his proclamation as emperor by the Egyptian legions; the legions of Syria and Judea quickly followed suit. Vespasian's plan was that Mucianus should lead an army against the Vitellians in Italy, Vespasian himself should hold Egypt and its grain supplies, while Titus, Vespasian's eldest son, should press on with the Jewish War. However, the plan was frustrated by the accession to Vespasian of the legions of the Danubian provinces. Troops from these provinces, commanded by the legionary commander Antonius Primus, without waiting for Mucianus, burst into Italy and defeated the Vitellian army at the second battle of Bedriacum. After the battle, Antonius' troops stormed and sacked Cremona and commenced a bloody march through Italy against Rome. Before his arrival at Rome, Vespasian's brother, Flavius Sabinus, was killed and the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol burnt down by the soldiers of Vitellius. Antonius' entry into Rome was accompanied by savage fighting; Vitellius was seized and executed; and on December 22, 69 A.D., the Senate met and formally acclaimed Vespasian as emperor. A part of the Senate's decree conferring the imperial powers on the new emperor may be seen on the famous bronze tablet set up 1300 years later in the church of St. John Lateran by Cola di Rienzi.

The power of Antonius, in alliance with Vespasian's younger son, Domitian, was soon broken by the arrival in the capital of Mucianus. Vespasian himself remained in Alexandria, where he allegedly performed miracles of healing. He returned to Rome only in late 70 A.D. Meanwhile, Mucianus controlled affairs in Rome and the West. His ruthless removal of potential enemies and skilful dispersal of Vitellius' Praetorian Guard put Vespasian deeply in his debt.

The new regime was faced with many problems. Politically, there was the task of consolidating the power gained by usurpation. Economically, it was necessary to restore financial stability to a state that had been devastated by Neronian extravagance and a year of civil war. Militarily, there was the need to restore discipline among the troops and to suppress a serious rebellion on the Rhine, as well as complete the reduction of Judea. Finally, order and confidence had to be revived in all sections of the community, especially at Rome itself.

To consolidate his rule, Vespasian frequently hearkened back to the examples of Augustus and Claudius. He also tried to increase the prestige of his family by ensuring that he and his sons held many consulships. His supporters in the civil war were also rewarded with consulships and other offices. The office of censor, held along with Titus, further increased his dignity. Military distinction was essential for a Roman emperor; and Vespasian sedulously promoted the victories won during his reign. The settlement of the Jewish rebellion, culminating in Titus' capture and destruction of Jerusalem in September, 70 A.D., was celebrated by father and son in a joint triumph in 71 A.D. and coins were struck with the legend "Judea Captured." The fact that Vespasian had two adult sons to succeed him had been a powerful argument used by Mucianus in 69 A.D. Vespasian diligently promoted his dynastic plans in his speeches and on his coins. Titus was carefully groomed to succeed; and for the greater part of the reign was effectively the deputy-emperor. Some senators disapproved of the dynastic concept, but most accepted that it removed the danger of civil war among rival contenders. Moderation and accessibility were

Augustan qualities practiced by Vespasian and much approved after the regal trappings of a Nero. He was able to pursue this policy largely because Titus, as Praetorian Prefect, efficiently crushed any plots and opposition before they could mature. The success of Vespasian's consolidation of his and his family's power can be seen in the smooth and undisputed succession of Titus.

The measures taken by Vespasian to restore the finances of the empire were far-reaching, in some cases harsh and inevitably unpopular. Among the measures may be mentioned: removing from some areas of the immunity from taxation granted by previous emperors; turning client-states into Roman provinces and hence tax-producing areas; increasing—in some instances doubling—provincial taxation; and devising new taxes. As an example of the last may be mentioned the poll-tax imposed on all Jews in the empire, for which a special Fiscus Iudaicus ("Jewish Treasury") was established. In theory, the Jews were obliged to pay to Jupiter the two drachmae which they had paid each year to the temple at Jerusalem. Vespasian's methods in raising new sources of revenue made him the object of satire and won for him a reputation for avarice. His success may be seen from the fact that he was able to pursue an extensive program of public building at Rome and to hand on to Titus an apparently full treasury.

In the military sphere, both the rebellion on the Rhine and the Jewish revolt were ended in 70 A.D. Discipline was restored to the Roman armies, and units that had disgraced themselves were disbanded. Next, the frontiers could be given the emperor's attention. Military operations in S Germany resulted in the annexation of the Black Forest area between the Rhine and the Danube. On the E frontier, client-kingdoms were brought under direct Roman rule and the upper reaches of the Euphrates were secured by making Cappadocia an armed province. Roman influence was also strengthened in the Caucasus area. In Britain, Agricola completed the conquest of N Wales.

The restoration of order and confidence was achieved in several ways. As censor, with Titus as his colleague, Vespasian carried out a revision of the Senate. Many new senators were enrolled or promoted to higher rank. The new senators were mostly from the Italian municipal aristocracies and they brought into public life the more frugal, sober virtues of that class, in strong contrast to the extravagance and ostentation of Nero's reign. The emperor himself was an example, being averse to pomp and ceremony and modest in his life-style. Measures were passed to strengthen the difference between the freeborn and servile sections of society and to deter money-lenders from lending to young men against their future inheritances on the death of their father. An impressive program of building both provided work for the masses of Rome and emphasized Vespasian's concern for religion and the people. Most significant of these were the new temple of Jupiter Capitolinus—a symbol of Rome's resurgence—the Temple of Peace, the completion of the temple of the Deified Claudius, and the commencement of the Flavian Amphitheatre, or Colosseum, which was completed by Domitian. The emperor's interest in promoting among the subject-peoples the benefits of the Roman way of life can be seen in his grant, perhaps as censor, of Latin status to the whole of Spain. Latin status guaranteed the attaining of Roman citizenship by the magistrates of each Spanish municipality and thus an ever increasing body of Roman citizens of Spanish origin. Extensive remains of the charters regulating the administration of three of the new Latin communities have been recovered from Baetica in S Spain.

When Vespasian died in 79 A.D., he was immediately deified by the Senate—a genuine mark of its respect and admiration for the man and his work. The coins which he struck during his reign proclaimed "The Augustan Peace," "Rome Rising Anew," and "The Happiness of the People." These were not empty phrases. Even "Liberty Restored" had a certain plausibility. For though Vespasian was no less an autocrat than Nero had been, his modest, down-to-earth manner, his affability, and his accessibility at least helped to conceal the realities of power. His shrewd judgement, combined with a quick wit and keen humor, enabled him to avoid or deflect difficult and unpleasant situations. He had deserved well of Rome, for he had ended a calamitous civil war, brought back order and prosperity and, above all, had restored confidence in Rome and its system of government. He has been called "the common-sense emperor"; but in Vespasian it was the common-sense of genius. For further discussion see *CAH* $^{2}$ 10: 808–39; 11: 1–45, 131–86, 393–432.

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**VESSELS.** See POTTERY.

**VESTIBULE** [Heb *ʾûlām* (אוּלָם)]. See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

**VICES.** See VIRTUE/VICE LISTS.

**VINE.** See FLORA.

**VIPER.** See ZOOLOGY.

**VIRGIN** [Heb *bĕtûlâ* (בְּתוּלָה)]. The Hebrew word occurs 50 times in the OT; the Greek word *(parthenos)* appears 15 times in the NT.

The Semitic root from which the Hebrew word derives does not appear in other Hebrew words except in a plural form, which means "virginity." The closest cognate is Akk *batultu,* generally meaning "young (unmarried) girl," with an equivalent masculine form. In Ug, *btlt* occurs as an epithet for the goddess ʿAnat, the wife of El.

**A. Old Testament**

The writers of the OT use the word in a variety of situations. From significant passages, one sees that the word's meaning is not that of the modern English word, one who has not experienced sexual intercourse. The Hebrew word is usually qualified by a phrase such as "who has never known a man" (e.g., Gen 24:16, Num 31:18) when the word is used specifically to mean what the word "virgin" means today. The Hebrew word designates a young woman who has not yet married, although in Joel 1:8 it seems to refer to a woman who has already had a husband. In later legal terminology, the Bible's usage approaches the modern use. One can compare that development to the gradual specialization of the German word *"Jungfrau"* from "young woman" to "virgin."

This lack of a word for the condition suggests that physical virginity held no special role in ancient Israel. Israel, indeed, shares a linguistic phenomenon with other ancient languages, as put by C. Gordon (*UT*, 378): "There is no word in the Near Eastern languages that by itself means *virgo intacta.*" The word frequently simply suggests "youth." One can see this emphasis on youth when the word is paired with the word for young man *(bāḥûr),* about 12 times.

The book of Deuteronomy offers a passage which might deceptively suggest that physical virginity of a woman before marriage was a particular value in ancient Israel. Closer inspection of Deut 22:13–21, however, reveals a different stress. The young woman who marries but who previously had intercourse with a different man has disgraced not herself but her father. On the other hand, if the husband's charge of his wife's premarital indiscretion does not prove correct, this procedure in Deuteronomy protects the innocent woman from being abandoned.

**B. Special Uses of the Word**

In Job 31:1, Job avers that he has not "looked upon a virgin." Although one might read this as an exercise in avoiding sexual arousal, the weight and the context of the verse indicate that the reference is to the Canaanite goddess and not any young woman. The Israelites often appear in the Bible as somewhat attracted to the Canaanite religion that had both male and female deities. Job declares his resistence to this attraction.

Another striking use of the word "virgin" occurs in the phrase in two of the prophets, "the virgin of Israel" (RSV has "virgin Israel"). Commentators often have taken the phrase to be an instance of the feminine depiction of the people Israel. Careful analysis, however, has argued that Israel is never depicted as feminine. This position relies in part on the grammatical gender of peoples (masculine) and cities (feminine) in biblical Hebrew and especially on the analysis of particular texts.

In the phrase "virgin of Israel," "virgin" is a reference to a city, just as cities are typically termed mothers, wives, whores, sisters, daughters, and widows. Amos refers to the impending fall of Samaria (5:2). The book of Jeremiah, too, uses the phrase in reference to Samaria (31:4, 21), but also to Jeremiah's native city, Jerusalem (18:13). The designation "virgin," beyond the general feminine depiction of the city, alludes to the ancient practice by which an unmarried woman continued to live under the protection of her father.

**C. New Testament**

In two passages Paul uses the word "virgin." In 1 Cor 7:36–38, Paul writes of a man who has a virgin, and he is uncertain whether to marry her (to another?) or not. There is a problem of translation and interpretation: the passage leaves unclear whether the man is the father of the young woman or her fiance (RSV has "unmarried" in v 25, "girl" in v 28, and "betrothed" in vv 34, 36, 37, 38). In either case, physical virginity is not the issue. Paul thinks, at that point, that one need not bother about marriage since the world will soon end.

In 2 Cor 11:2, Paul compares the Christian community of Corinth to a "chaste virgin" (RSV, "pure bride") whom Paul has betrothed to Christ. It is unclear whether Paul is influenced mainly by the traditional depictions of cities as women, by the reputation of Corinth as a center of prostitution, or by the Adam and Eve story (cf. 11:3).

The authors of both Matthew and Luke emphasize that the mother of Jesus conceived him while she was still a virgin (in the modern sense). This emphasis on the virginal conception of Jesus is primarily a statement about the special status of Jesus and secondarily a statement about his mother, Mary. The tradition in both these gospels is somewhat different, and the variations suggest that the tradition is already an old one by the time of the writing. It is well known that Matt 1:23 quotes from the LXX of Isa 7:14, which has the word "virgin" *(parthenos)* while the Hebrew has simply "young girl" *(ʿalmâ).*

One of the parables of Jesus in Matthew concerns "ten virgins" (Matt 25:1–13). Matthew lays no obvious emphasis or interpretation on the "virginity" of the ten. The RSV translates the word as "maiden"; Robert Lattimore translates it as "girls." The parable deals rather with the readiness with which the Christian should respond to the gospel. The tradition uses the *parthenos* as "unmarried."

The last occurrence of "virgin" in the NT is in Rev 14:4. The passage describes 144,000 followers of the Lamb, those who "have not defiled themselves with woman, for they are virgins" (RSV, "chaste"). Although this brief passage could be understood as remarkably offensive toward women, the more careful understanding is that the faithful (of both sexes) have been true to their Christian faith and not followed the Hellenistic religions with their goddesses.

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**VIRGIN MARY.** See MARY, MOTHER OF JESUS.

**VIRGIN, APOCALYPSES OF THE.** There are two *Apocalypses of the Virgin Mary,* as well as some similar material in the Assumption literature:

**A. Greek *Apocalypse of the Virgin***

This work is known in a large number of Gk mss, which vary quite considerably. (Variant texts, from various mss, are published by Gidel 1871; James 1893: 109–26; Vassiliev 1893: 125–34; Pernot 1900; Delatte 1927: 272–88; Dawkins 1948; see also Tischendorf 1866: xxvii–xxx; Stegmüller 1950: 238–39; Halkin 1957: 128–130; 1984: 294–295.) There are also versions of it in Armenian (Voicu 1983: 177), Old Slavonic (Kozak 1892: 151–52; Müller 1961; de Santos Otero 1978: 188–95) and Rumanian (Stegmüller 1976: 207). It is very probably dependent on the *Apocalypse of Paul,* but other literary relationships cannot be determined until a critical edition of the text is available. Its date is uncertain: it might be as early as the 6th century or as late as the 9th.

This text is one of the latest of a group of apocalypses in which a seer is given a conducted tour of the torments of the damned in hell and intercedes for them *(Apocalypse of Zephaniah, Apocalypse of Peter, Apocalypse of Paul,* Greek *Apocalypse of Ezra,* Latin *Vision of Ezra*). In this case, the archangel Michael conducts Mary the Mother of God through hell and explains the punishments to her. They correspond to particular kinds of sin, according to a pattern which is standard in such apocalypses: in this case they also have strongly ecclesiastical and anti-Semitic features. Mary's prayer for mercy for the damned, in which she is joined by Michael and various saints, is granted in the form of a respite from punishment for fifty days each year (the period from Easter to Pentecost), presumably in addition to the weekly Sunday rest which Paul's intercession (in the *Apoc. Paul*) had already secured for the damned. At least one manuscript adds an appendix in which Mary is shown the righteous in paradise.

The work was evidently very popular in the Orthodox churches, no doubt because it both portrays hell in vivid imaginative terms as a warning against a whole series of specific sins and also because it expresses a natural compassionate reaction to the sufferings of the damned. The conflict between eschatological justice and mercy is not expressed as penetratingly as in some other apocalypses of this type, but at least this issue is posed. This accounts for the Russian novelist Fyodor Dostoyevsky's use of a summary of this apocalypse (in its Slavonic version) in Book 5, chap. 5 of *Brothers Karamazov,* where it helps to form a link between Ivan Karamazov's argument about eschatological justice and forgiveness in the preceding chapter and his famous parable of the Grand Inquisitor which follows.

**B. Ethiopic *Apocalypse of the Virgin***

This work, though distinct from the Gk *Apoc. Vir.*, belongs to the same type. Mary is taken up into heaven, sees the fate of good and bad souls as they leave the body at death and are judged, paradise and its inhabitants, and the punishments of hell and their victims, and pleads for mercy for the damned. Much of the content is closely related to the *Apoc. Paul*, from which it seems to have been borrowed and freely adapted. Since the *Apoc. Paul* itself is not extant in Ethiopic, it could be regarded as in effect the Ethiopic version of that apocalypse.

There are some undoubtedly late features: one category of sinners in hell are Muslims, while the weekly period of respite for the damned, granted at Mary's intercession, lasts from the evening of the sixth day to the morning of the second, in line with the Sabbath observance of the Ethiopian church. But whether the work was composed in Ethiopic or translated from another language is uncertain. The fact that the *Apoc. Paul* is not known in Ethiopic might suggest the latter, but it is possible that an Ethiopic version of the *Apoc. Paul* fell out of use, replaced by this *Apocalypse of the Virgin.* Another closely related work is the Eth *Apocalypse of Baruch,* which is perhaps dependent on the Eth *Apoc. Vir.* and on the *Apoc. Paul*.

An interesting feature of the work, not to be found in the *Apoc. Paul*, is the abundance of biblical quotations. Explicit quotations of Scripture are rare in the older apocalypses, but are found in later apocalyptic works, such as the apocryphal *Apocalypse of John* and the medieval Hebrew apocalypses, where they serve to give canonical support to non-canonical revelations.

**C. Assumption Literature**

In addition to these two *Apocalypses of the Virgin,* some of the narratives of the *Assumption of the Virgin* contain what are in effect apocalypses: revelations of heaven and hell given to the Virgin after her death and resurrection. Two such apocalyptic accounts occur.

One is in the final section (fifth and/or sixth book) of the Syriac *Transitus Mariae* (Lewis 1902: 64–69; Wright 1865b: 156–60; cf. Budge 1899: 131), which in its present form dates from about the 5th century. (The section is also found in Arabic and Ethiopic versions: Enger 1854: 88–107; Chaîne 1909: Latin section 39–42). It describes how Mary, whose body has been transported to the earthly paradise, is raised up by Christ and taken by him through the heavens to see the heavenly Jerusalem where God dwells, the mansions of the righteous, and the fires of hell. One text adds a further vision of the throne of God and the worship of Christ by all the angels (Lewis 1902: 67–68). Unlike the other apocalypses of the Virgin, this one shows little or no sign of dependence on the *Apoc. Paul*. Some features of the account link it with the old apocalyptic tradition of accounts of ascents through the heavens.

In heaven Mary sees the mansions which the righteous do not yet inhabit, but will inherit on the day of resurrection. Similarly, she does not see the wicked suffering in hell (as is usual in apocalyptic visions of hell): rather they view it from afar and fear the day of judgment when they will be consigned to it (cf. *4 Ezra* 7:78–87; Hipp. *de Universo* 1). Mary begs Christ to have mercy on them when he judges them at the last day.

Apart from the plea for mercy, which is found in other apocalypses, this account of Mary's vision of hell has nothing in common with the Gk *Apoc. Vir.* to which it is probably quite unrelated.

Other versions of the assumption narrative include a different apocalypse at the same point, following Mary's resurrection in paradise. This is best preserved in the Eth *Liber Requiei* (Arras 1973: Latin section 34–39) and in the Irish *Testament of Mary* (Donahue 1942: 50–55), though there is also a substantial Syriac fragment (Wright 1865a: 47–48) and a somewhat abbreviated Latin version (Wenger 1955: 258–59). It must date from about the 5th century.

In this account Christ takes Mary, accompanied by the apostles and the archangel Michael, to see hell. They see the punishments of a number of particular types of sinners. The damned cry out for mercy, and the intercession of Mary, accompanied by Michael and the apostles, wins for them a period of three hours respite each Sunday. (Probably the *Apoc. Paul* is here presupposed, so that readers would know that the period of respite was later extended, through Paul's intercession, to the whole of Sunday.)

The account seems dependent on the *Apoc. Paul* (35–39, 43–44). Its resemblances to the Gk *Apoc. Vir.* extend only to features which both share with the *Apoc. Paul*, and since both must also be independently indebted to the latter there is no reason to postulate a direct connection between this vision of hell by the Virgin and that in the Gk *Apoc. Vir.* But the fact that the Gk *Apoc. Vir.* was well known in the Byzantine church and provided a fuller account of the same kind of material may account for the absence of a vision of hell from the extant Greek versions of the Assumption narrative.

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**VIRGIN, ASSUMPTION OF THE.** An apocryphal legend about the death of Jesus' mother Mary, and about her bodily transfer to heaven shortly afterwards. In 1950, "the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin" became an official part of Roman Catholic dogma, consequently there has been renewed interest in this legend. (The materials relevant to the dogmatic question have been collected by Jugie 1944, and Balic 1948.)

Written legends about the Dormition of the Virgin Mary exceed 70 various types of texts, most of which are in non-Greek languages, the oldest Greek type having disappeared. There remains one old legend in Greek (Wenger 1955: 210–240), and from ca. 591 onwards, a standard liturgical lecture for the 15 August (Tischendorf 1866). The oldest manuscript fragments of the legend are in Syriac, dating to the 5th century (Wright 1865a; Smith-Lewis 1902). The oldest quotation is a sentence in a homily of Eusebius of Alexandria from the late 4th century (van Esbroeck 1985: 292). The most primitive redaction corresponds to the "Exsequiae Mariae Virginis" published by W. Wright (1865a: 55–65). Its strong literary parallelism with the Ethiopic, Irish, and Georgian versions points to a lost old Greek redaction (van Esbroeck 1973: 55–57). A further development is the so-called Syriac version "in six books" (each one by two apostles), also published by Wright (1865b) and illustrated by the old palimpsest (Smith-Lewis 1902). That redaction reflects the period of Zeno's Henoticon (A.D. 483), while it attempts to harmonize previous divergent traditions about the Virgin's Dormition. The standard Greek liturgical text (Tischendorf 1866) strongly resumes this longer Syriac legend. Another Georgian redaction, the pseudo-Basilian Transitus, presupposes Justinian's policy in 543, with a whole Holy Week for the Virgin (van Esbroeck 1974). The Coptic (and Ethiopic) traditions presuppose (and therefore post-date) the Monophysite-Chalcedonian struggle over various theological views about the body of the Virgin.

The general outline of the legend in its Greek/ Latin/ Syriac form is the following: the Virgin is visited by an Angel (in the Coptic version she is visited by Christ Himself) who tells her of her imminent death, and that Christ himself will take her personally above any celestial power. The apostles then gather from all parts of the world to assist the Virgin and to hear her last recommendations (in the Coptic version the apostles have not yet been scattered around the world). Christ then descends from heaven and takes the soul of Mary back with Him. All the celestial powers and the patriarchs and prophets assemble to praise God's grace. The apostles take the body of the Virgin and place it in the tomb of Gethsemane. Along the way, a certain Jew attempts to destroy her body; he is punished by heaven but healed by the prayers of the apostles addressed to the Virgin. The apostles sealed the tomb and remained three days in prayer. On the third day, celestial voices proclaim that the Virgin has been assumed bodily to heaven (in the Coptic version the Virgin's assumption occurs 206 days after her death).

An important and related question is the origin of the liturgical celebration. Emperor Mauritius introduced the fixed date of August 15 around 591; however, the Georgian pseudo-Basilian text and their calendar make it clear that earlier Emperor Justinian devoted a whole week to the celebration (a sort of

Virgin's Holy Week) associated with the inauguration of the *Nea Maria* church in Jerusalem on August 17, 543. Before Justinian, the celebration had been the subject of debate between Monophysites and Chalcedonians just after 451. One can demonstrate that the Coptic version's chronology of 206 days between Mary's death and assumption—January 16 (= 21 Tobe) for the death of the Virgin, and August 9 (= 16 Mesore) for her Assumption—reflects the struggles of 453, when Juvenal used the imperial police to reduce Monophysite opposition in Gethsemane on January 16. The Virgin and her immortal nature was understood to have been killed on that same day, and her body was believed to have been taken to heaven simultaneously with the former celebration of the Jewish destruction of the temple 206 days later (August 9).

A full bibliography is available in Arras 1974: 71–74, where reference to extant texts are given. A general summary of these early medieval texts is offered by van Esbroeck (1981).

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MICHEL V ESBROECK


**VIRTUE/VICE LISTS.** The practice of compiling lists of virtues and vices was widespread in the ancient Mediterranean world. These lists typically specified vices or sins that were to be avoided and virtues that were to be practiced. The code of conduct reflected in such lists was normally the conventional one of the period. Both abstract and concrete terms for virtues and vices were employed, and mental dispositions as well as overt acts were mentioned. In addition, types of people who exhibited particular virtues and vices were frequently enumerated, and occasionally various vices and virtues were even personified. These ethical lists were used for a wide variety of purposes, including characterization, description, exemplification, instruction, exhortation, apology, and polemic. Numerous examples of these lists, which vary enormously in length, form, function, and content, are contained in polytheistic, Jewish, and Christian literature.

**A. Greco-Roman World**

As the comprehensive examination by Vögtle (1936) established, lists of virtues and vices occur in both literary and non-literary sources of the Greco-Roman world. They are found, for instance, in philosophical discussions of virtue and vice, in the diatribe and Roman satire, in rhetorical and astrological texts, and on inscriptions. Stoics, who maintained that virtue is the only good and vice the only evil, were especially fond of compiling extensive lists of the various virtues and vices. Accepting Plato's fourfold division of virtue *(aretē)* into *phronēsis* (wisdom, prudence, understanding), *sōphrosynē* (moderation, temperance, self-restraint), *dikaiosynē* (justice), and *andreia* (courage), they divided these cardinal virtues into numerous sub-types.

A similar procedure was used in regard to both vices and emotions, with a basic fourfold division applied in each case. *Aphrosynē* (folly), *akolasia* (profligacy, licentiousness), *adikia* (injustice), and *deilia* (cowardice) were given as the four cardinal vices *(kakiai),* and each was understood as the antithesis of the corresponding virtue. Closely linked to the vices were the emotions and passions *(pathē).* Stoics viewed these negatively and regarded *apatheia* or freedom from passion as the ideal. The four chief passions were seen as *lypē* (grief), *phobos* (fear), *epithymia* (desire, lust), and *hēdonē* (pleasure). Specific

types of *lypē* were said to include not only such emotions as anguish and distress but also jealousy, envy, and even pity.

Both passions and vices proper were mentioned in Stoic vice lists, which were often used to describe and castigate the sinful and irrational life led by the masses or by particular individuals. Whereas vice lists thus depict the deficient life that fails to achieve its human potential, virtue lists paint and praise the ideal, whether it be that of the ideal manner of life or of some ideal figure, such as that of the wise man or of the good sovereign. Lists of virtues and vices thus play an important role in moral instruction and exhortation (Malherbe 1986: 138–41).

Greco-Roman authors who use the lists include Pseudo-Aristotle *(On Virtues and Vices),* Pseudo-Cebes (Fitzgerald and White 1983), Cicero (e.g., *Tusc.* 4.11–27), Pseudo-Crates (e.g., *Ep.* 15), Pseudo-Diogenes (e.g., *Ep.* 28), Dio Chrysostom (Mussies 1972: 67–70, 172–77), Diogenes Laertius (e.g., 7.92–93, 110–12), Epictetus (e.g., *Diss.* 3.20.5–6), Pseudo-Heraclitus (Attridge 1976: 25–39), Horace (e.g., *Ep.* 1.1.33–40; 6.12), Lucian (Betz 1961: 183–211), Maximus of Tyre (e.g., *Or.* 36.4c), Musonius Rufus (e.g., Frag. XVI), Onasander (Dibelius and Conzelmann *Pastoral Epistles* Hermeneia, 158–60), Philostratus (Petzke 1970: 220–27), Plautus (e.g., *Pseudolus* 138–39, 360–68), Plutarch (e.g., *Mor.* 468B, 523D; see the indices in Betz 1975: 367 and 1978: 581), Seneca (Bultmann 1910: 19 n. 3), Soranus (Vögtle 1936: 79–80), Teles (e.g., Frag. IVA), Virgil (e.g., *Aen.* 6.733), and various astrologers, including Ptolemy (= Claudius Ptolemaeus), Teucer of Babylon, and Vettius Valens (Vögtle 1936: 84–88; Kamlah 1964: 137–39). In addition, lists of virtues and vices occur in the Corpus Hermeticum (Kamlah 1964: 115–36), especially in tractates I and XIII (Grese 1979: 111–12, 121, 127–28, 131–33).

**B. The Ancient Near East**

While catalogs of sins and transgressions in both Mesopotamian (Schmökel 1978: 131–33) and Egyptian materials (e.g., *Book of the Dead* 125) have been noted, particular attention has been given to lists in ancient Iranian cosmological traditions. These mythological lists contain the names of various spirits of good (under Ahuramazda) and evil (under Angra Mainyu) which oppose one another in a cosmic, dualistic struggle. These divine and demonic spirits are largely personifications of abstract virtues and vices (Jackson 1928: 37–109), so that the juxtaposition of these two groups serves to form an antithetic catalog of good and evil. Kamlah (1964) has paid particular attention to this primitive Iranian myth with its antithetic catalog form and has endeavored to trace the history of its development and use in both Iranian (e.g., the *Bundahishn*) and non-Iranian literature (e.g., Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 46–47 = *Mor.* 369D–370C).

**C. The Hebrew Bible and Non-Canonical Early Jewish Literature**

The Hebrew Bible contains surprisingly few lists of sins. Simple lists occur in Jer 7:9 and Hos 4:2, which presuppose the sins forbidden in the Decalogue (Exod 20:1–17; Deut 5:6–21), and in Prov 6:16–19, which gives seven evils hated by God (cf. Prov 8:13). Similarly, lists of virtues are brief and appear in descriptions of God (Exod 34:6–7; Num 14:18; Pss 86:15; 103:8; Jonah 4:2), of humans endowed by God (Exod 31:3; 35:31; Eccl 2:26), and of righteous men (Job 1:1, 8; 2:3). In the judgment of most scholars (e.g., Wibbing 1959: 26; Conzelmann *1 Corinthians* Hermeneia, 100; Schweizer 1976: 463 n. 13; Betz *Galatians* Hermeneia, 282), however, these lists neither constitute a fixed literary form nor serve as the models for later Jewish and Christian catalogs.

In contrast to the Hebrew Bible, lists of both virtues and vices are quite numerous in later Jewish literature. They vary widely in both form and content, with some reflecting the influence of the Decalogue (Berger 1972: 272–73) and others that of Greek philosophy. The lists appear, for example, in *Apocalypse of Abraham* 24, *3 Baruch* (4:17; 8:5; 13:4), *1 Enoch* (10:20; 91:6–7), *2 Enoch* (9:1; 10:4–6; 34:1–2; 66:6; Kamlah 1964: 160–62), *Jubilees* (7:20–21; 21:21; 23:14), *4 Maccabees* (1:2–4, 18, 26–27; 2:15; 5:23–24; 8:3), Philo (Lagrange 1911: 539–42; Lietzmann *An die Römer* HNT, 36; Vögtle 1936: 107–13; Wibbing 1959: 27–29; Kamlah 1964: 50–53, 104–15), *Sybilline Oracles* (Bussmann 1975: 155–57), *Testament of Abraham* 10 (rec. A), *Testament of Moses* 7, *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Vögtle 1936: 102–06; Wibbing 1959: 31–33; Kamlah 1964: 171–75), Wisdom of Solomon (8:7; 14:22–26; Easton 1932: 1–3), and in rabbinic literature (Klein 1909: 94–101; Francke 1930: 24–27; Kamlah 1964: 150–60; contrast

Vögtle 1936: 106–07), as well as in the writings of Qumran. The double catalog in 1QS 4:3–14 has received particular attention (Wibbing 1959: 43–76; Kamlah 1964: 39–50; von der Osten-Sacken 1969: 150–63) in regard to Gal 5:19–23 and other early Christian texts (Braun 1966: 1.172, 212–14; 2.289–301; Mussner *Galaterbrief* HTKNT, 392–95).

**D. The New Testament**

The fullest list of NT catalogs of virtues and vices is given by Mussies (1972: 67, 172), who cites as examples the following:

*Virtue Lists:* 2 Cor 6:6–7a; Gal 5:22–23; Eph 4:2–3, 32–5:2; 5:9; Phil 4:8; Col 3:12; 1 Tim 3:2–4, 8–10, 11–12; 4:12; 6:11, 18; 2 Tim 2:22–25; 3:10; Titus 1:8; 2:2–10; Heb 7:26; 1 Pet 3:8; 2 Pet 1:5–7; (1 Cor 13:4–7).

*Vice Lists:* Matt 15:19; Mark 7:21–22; Rom 1:29–31; 13:13; 1 Cor 5:10–11; 6:9–10; 2 Cor 12:20–21; Gal 5:19–21; Eph 4:31; 5:3–5; Col 3:5–8; 1 Tim 1:9–10; 6:4–5; 2 Tim 3:2–4; Titus 1:7; 3:3; 1 Pet 2:1; 4:3, 15; Rev 9:21; 21:8; 22:15.

While other scholars would delete some of Mussies' examples and/or add further instances (e.g., Luke 18:11), there is a broad consensus that the lists played an important role in both early Christian parenesis and polemic (Karris 1971; 1973). Debate has centered on the origin of the NT lists. Various Hellenistic (e.g., Lietzmann *An die Römer* HNT, 35–36; *ANRW* 25/2: 1088–92), Jewish (e.g., Seeberg 1903: 9–44; 1905: 109–29; Daxer 1914: 25–58; Wibbing 1959), and Iranian (Kamlah 1964; Suggs 1972: 65–73) sources have been proposed, but no solution has become definitive (so Käsemann 1980: 49–50; Coetzer 1984: 37–39). Of the NT lists, greatest attention has been paid to those in the Pauline corpus (Larsson 1962: 210–23; Furnish 1968: 84–89; Schweizer 1976), especially those in the Pastoral Epistles (McEleney 1974; Mott 1978; Donelson 1986: 171–76).

The functions of the NT lists are broadly analogous to their use outside of early Christian literature. For example, Greco-Roman philosophers frequently began their speeches with a list of vices in order to depict the wretched moral condition of the masses. Paul, similarly, uses a vice list at the beginning of Romans (1:29–31) to depict the condition of people who have not appropriated the knowledge of God (Malherbe 1987: 24, 31–32). Again, lists of virtues are employed in both philosophical tractates and the NT to delineate the qualifications and characteristics of good leaders, such as the ideal king or bishop (Malherbe 1986: 138–39).

**E. Non-Canonical Early Christian Literature**

Many of the Apostolic Fathers, the apologists, the authors of the NT Apocrypha and Nag Hammadi Codices, the theologians, and other early Christians made frequent use of lists of virtues and vices. In general, these lists have received surprisingly little scholarly attention. Recent exceptions to this neglect include studies by Rambaux (1978) of Tertullian's lists and by Mussies (1981) of a personified list of vices and virtues in the Gnostic treatise *On the Origin of the World* (NHC II,106,27–107,17). Examples of the non-canonical lists cited in secondary literature include the following:

1. Apostolic Fathers: *Barn.* 2:2–3; 18–20; *1 Clem.* 3:2; 30:1,3,8; 35:5; 62:2; 64:1; *2 Clem.* 4:3 (see Donfried 1974: 114–18); *Did.* 2:1–5:2; *Herm. Mand.* 5.2.4; 6.2.3–5; 8.3–5, 9–10; 11.8, 12; 12.2.1; 12.3.1; *Sim.* 6.5.5; 9.15.2–3; *Vis.* 3.8.3–7; *Ign. Eph.* 3:1; Pol. *Phil.* 2:2; 4:3; 5:2; 12:2.

2. Apologists: Aristides, *Apol.* 8; 9; 11; 13; 15; Athenagoras *Res.* 21; 23; Justin *Apol.* II,2; 5; *Dial.* 14; 93; 95; 110; Theoph. *Autol.* 1.2; 2.34.

3. New Testament Apocrypha: *Acts Andr.* 8; 10; *Acts John* 29; 35–36; *Acts Paul and Thecla* 17; *Acts Pet.* 2; *Acts Phil.* 90; *Acts Thom.* 12; 28; 55–56; 58; 79; 84–85; 126 (see Klijn 1962: 218–19); *Apoc. Paul* 5–6; *Apoc. Pet.* 22–34 (see Dieterich 1913: 163–95); *Ps-Clem.* Hom. 1.18; 2.44; 8.23; 11.27; 17.16; *Ps-Clem.* Rec. 4.36; 9.17.

4. Nag Hammadi Codices: I,80,3–11; 85,7–12; II,18,14–31; 106,27–107,17; VI,23,12–17; 30,34–31,7; 39,22–33; VII,37,26–35; 84,19–26; 95,20–33. For other Gnostic lists, see *Pistis Sophia* 102; 127; 146–47; Irenaeus *Haer.* 1.29.4.

5. Other: *Altercatio Simonis et Theophili* 21; Ps-Clement, *de virg.* 1.8; Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 2.6, 20; 7.12; *Const. App.* 2.6, 24; 7.18, 33; Ps-Cyprian, *adv. aleat.* 5; Hippolytus, *Haer.* 4.15–26; John

Chrysostom, *Cat.* 1.32–33, 36 (Series Stavronikita); 2.16, 39, 42–43 (Series Montfaucon); and Tertullian (see Rambaux 1978: 212–13). For additional Christian vice lists, see esp. Resch 1905: 117–24.

Lists of virtues and vices continued to play an important role in later Christianity. The three "theological" virtues of faith, hope, and love were added to the four Platonic-Stoic "cardinal" or "natural" virtues to form the "Seven Virtues" (Zöckler 1904; Kirk 1920: 29–48). The most famous vice list was that of the "Seven Deadly Sins," which were held to be pride, covetousness, lust, envy, gluttony, anger, and sloth (Zöckler 1893; 1897: 253–56; Kirk 1920: 265–68; 1932: 201 n. 4). The popularity of such lists resided, above all, in their utility for moral instruction and exhortation.

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JOHN T. FITZGERALD

**VISION.** See PROPHECY; MYSTICISM.

**VOPHSI** (PERSON) [Heb *wopsî* (וָפְסִי)]. The name Vophsi is not known outside of the Hebrew text of Num 13:14. Manuscripts of the LXX, on the other hand, have five different readings with *Iabi* or *Iabei* being the most probable. This unlikely transliteration suggests that the Hebrew text containing the name Vophsi is problematic. Although its meaning is uncertain, Noth (*IPN*, 8) speculates that the name may have a Persian origin. Vophsi is the father of Nahbi who represented the tribe of Naphtali among the 12 men Moses sent from the wilderness of Paran (Num 12:16) to spy out the land of Canaan.
JON PAULIEN

**VULGAR LANGUAGE.** See BIBLE, EUPHEMISM AND DYSPHEMISM IN THE.

**VULGATE.** The name Vulgate, indicating a text generally accepted as standard (Latin *vulgatus*, meaning "common," or "commonly known"), was not applied to Jerome's Latin Bible until the Middle Ages. While its title of "Jerome's Vulgate" is unlikely ever to be abandoned, the most striking result of the past century of study is to have shown that Jerome's role in the production of its NT was far more limited than had traditionally been assumed.

**A. Origins**

A chief characteristic of Old Latin biblical texts is their lack of unanimity. It was because of this that in 382 or 383, Pope Damasus (ca. 304–384) commissioned Jerome (ca. 342–420) to produce an authoritative Latin Bible. The new version of the gospels was completed within the year. It has been shown that, as the work progressed, Jerome altered fewer and fewer acceptable readings from the OL mss on which his version was based. Neither the character of these mss, nor the Gk mss with which he collated them, has been identified in specific terms. Suggestions that he used several text-types of each kind are more acceptable, although these theories emphasize the fact that, particularly for the OL, we do not have enough evidence to form a judgment. All that is clear is that the text-type represented primarily by Codex Bezae (which contains both a Gk and an OL text) is not influential.

At about the same time, we find Jerome concentrating his attention on the OT. In a letter of 384 he writes that he has been comparing Aquila's Greek version with the Hebrew. In this period he produced the first of three versions of the Psalter. This is generally identified with the Roman Psalter, so-called because it was used in the Roman Liturgy until about 1570. This is a far less detailed revision than the gospels. Based on the Septuagint (LXX), it presents a predominantly OL text.

Returning from Rome to the East, Jerome settled at Bethlehem in 386. His next edition (387 is a possible date) was the Gallican Psalter (the title is due to its first being adopted by the churches of Gaul). For this he used the best materials available—Origen's Hexapla. This second Psalter is the text printed in the official version of the Vulgate. Shortly afterwards he produced Job, the three books attributed to Solomon, and Chronicles, again translating from the LXX. Of these revisions only Job is extant. We have the prefaces of the remainder.

There is no proof that Jerome translated any more books from the LXX than these, although he occasionally implied that he had translated the whole of it. It is more likely that instead he broke off and—as was perhaps inevitable—began a more thorough undertaking. He was already using the Hebrew in his LXX revisions. But to abandon the LXX altogether was a bold step, for it was accorded a higher place in the Western church than the Hebrew itself. Learning Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic was to

labor in empty fields of study, and in several prefaces Jerome tells of his difficulties. The result, his Latin version of the *Hebraica veritas,* the Hebrew verity, appeared at intervals between 390 and 405. H. J. White (1902) suggested the following chronology:

390 or 391 Samuel and Kings

392–93 The Psalter (his third version, the *Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum*), Prophets, Job

394 Esdras

396 Chronicles

398 Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles

401? Genesis, Exodus–Deuteronomy

405 Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Esther, Tobit, Judith, and the apocryphal parts of Daniel and Esther.

At this point it must be emphasized that we have been describing, not precisely the creation of the Vulgate itself, but Jerome's work as a Bible translator. The formation of the Latin Vulgate is another stage.

**B. Development**

Jerome's version of the Hebrew OT and the gospels by no means won universal approval. Given a deep-seated and irrational resistance among the churches, we should not be surprised that many OL texts, far from being outdated, were still in their infancy. We find them being copied as late as the 13th century. The fact that these late examples are all from Vulgate Bibles of which some books are OL, illustrates the development of the Vg. The vast majority of ancient Bible mss were of a part only. Larger collections were made from whatever materials were available. The creation of the Vg was from just such disparate elements, and this is how the rest of the Vg NT became connected with Jerome's versions.

An early form of the Vg Pauline Epistles is first encountered in Pelagius's Commentary, which was written between 405 and 410. The version's origins probably lie in the closing years of the 4th century. The same translator was certainly responsible for the Catholic Epistles, and possibly for the other books of the NT. Many different OL text-types were used as the bases of these productions.

In spite of the opposition, Jerome's version and its companions continued to grow in popularity. One indication of this is the provision, during the 5th and 6th centuries, of ancillary material, namely, chapter headings and prefaces. Some, such as the *Marcionite Prologues* to the Pauline corpus, were taken over from the OL tradition. The *Priscillianist Prologues* to the NT were probably of independent origin. Chapter headings to Acts that are to be found in a few mss were the work of a 4th-century Donatist. Other prefaces are from Pelagian circles. Thus the Vg proves to be as variedly orthodox and heterodox in its ancillary material as its text is mixed. These aids are to be found in the mss in a variety of combinations, and their study is of great importance in reconstructing the history of the Vg.

By the middle of the 6th century, there was the first movement of which we know towards the compilation of a complete Latin Bible. It is associated with Cassiodorus (ca. 485–ca. 580), the monk and scholar of Vivarium in the extreme S of Italy. He brought together a team of scholars who prepared three editions of the Bible. The first, in nine volumes, was the OL text which Cassiodorus himself used. The second and most famous was the one volume *Codex grandior littera clariore conscriptus.* Its OT text was Jerome's revision according to the LXX (we have to assume with other sources for the books not treated by Jerome). For the NT Cassiodorus probably used Jerome's gospels, and an OL text or texts for the rest. The third edition, known as the Lesser Pandect, has a Vg text throughout. Nothing is known in detail of the character of any of these three editions, although Cassiodorus's biblical citations in his writings give us a little knowledge about the first. It is not therefore possible to make any assessment of their influence on the transmission of the text.

It is only in relation to the Northumbrian school that we know anything about the fate of Cassiodorus's productions. Ceolfrid, the abbot of Wearmouth in Northumbria, brought the *codex grandior* to his monastery in 678. And here, in the first years of the 8th century, he instigated the copying of the Codex Amiatinus. This was derived largely from Italian mss, the gospels being of a Neapolitan type, although the Psalter is an indifferent Irish text, and the Catholic Epistles include elements of a Northumbrian type.

The influence of the *codex grandior* consists in externals—the adoption of the one volume format (and Ceolfrid was responsible for two more such), and the order of the books.

**C. The Vulgate in the Middle Ages**

The further development of the Vg is marked by the growth of a number of distinctive texts. These texts, either local or national according to their degree of importance, owe their distinctiveness partly to the influence of the OL text predominant in their area, partly to their continued history in isolation. Typical to each group is the text, the orthography, and the ancillary material. The study of the Vg down to the 9th century is the study of these groups. Seven texts are generally isolated as being of the first importance. These are Italian (which can be subdivided in more detail), the Spanish, the Anglo-Saxon (the Northumbrian and Canterbury texts can be isolated), the Irish (these can be divided into those written in Ireland and those written on the Continent), the Languedoc, a number of Gallic texts, and the Swiss (of which mss connected with St. Gall form a particularly clear sub-group). It must be added that these groups did not all continue for centuries in isolation.

The 9th century and the Carolingian renaissance saw a new stage. It is associated with the work of two scholars. The first, Theodulph (ca. 750–821), was abbot of Fleury and bishop of Orleans from the closing years of the 8th century. He was responsible, not for a single definitive text, but for a revision which he continually modified. The belief that his text was fundamentally Spanish in character has now to be abandoned: amongst many sources, Italian models were pre-eminent.

The edition of Alcuin (ca. 735–804) was, deservedly, far more influential. Undertaken at the very end of the 8th century, it was presented to Charlemagne at his coronation in 800. Alcuin drew on the textual traditions of his native Northumbria, which by now included a S Italian text mediated through Canterbury, as well as the text of Ceolfrid. By the consistency both of its physical appearance and of its text, as well as by its importance in Charlemagne's program of reform, the Alcuin Bible has a claim to be the first standard Latin Bible. It was to become, for the majority, "the Vulgate" of the Middle Ages. In particular, we may trace its influence down to the early 13th century. At this period there was developed the Paris Bible. This small, convenient "hand edition" was designed for use by students in conjunction with the Gloss. From it come the chapter divisions in use today. In spite of attempts to improve this text, full as it was of interpolations and corruptions, its influence continued into the Renaissance.

**D. The Modern Period**

The first printed Vg was the Mazarin Bible, probably completed in 1455. Over a hundred more editions are known to have been produced by 1500. The first critical editions were the work of Robert Estienne (Stephanus) of Paris. Seventeen mss are cited in the *apparatus criticus* of his fourth edition of 1540. This formed the basis of the 1547 Louvain edition of Hentenius, who collated a further 31 mss, and the 1574 revision by Arianus Montanus, who examined over 60.

As a result of the authority accorded the Vulgate by the Council of Trent in 1546, a committee to produce a new text was established. Using good mss that included the Amiatinus, and based on the Louvain Bible, the Sixtine edition appeared in 1590. It was short-lived. The Clementine Vulgate (both editions are named after their sponsoring pope) of 1592 took its place. Corrected editions appeared in 1593 and 1598, and it has been the official Roman Catholic Vg text ever since.

One aspect of the developing science of textual criticism was a growing awareness of the importance of the Vulgate in understanding the early history of the biblical text. John Mill (1645–1707) and Richard Bentley (1662–1742) both stressed this. Their arguments are worked out in practice in the *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine* (1842–50) of Karl Lachmann.

In the most recent period two great projects have collected much manuscript evidence, and established a critical text. Since there are estimated to be over 10,000 Vg mss in existence, it is clear that only the most important can be used. The NT of Wordsworth and White has a text based on the Codex Amiatinus. Twenty-nine mss are cited for the Gospels, and between 15 and 21 for the rest of the NT.

In 1907 Pope Pius X established a commission to revise the Vg Genesis appeared in 1926 under the first editor, Dom Henri Quentin, and publication of the OT was almost complete in 1988. As yet none of the NT has been undertaken.

Among many smaller editions the most valuable, with respect to both text and apparatus, is the Stuttgart edition (1969 2d ed. 1973 3d ed. 1983); whose chief editor was Robert Weber. Study of the Vulgate is also a part of the researches of the Vetus Latina Institut at Beuron in Germany.

Besides its importance in text-critical studies, the investigation of the history of the Vulgate is fundamental, not only for the study of exegesis in the Latin church, but also for the understanding of the growth of western European society.

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**VULTURE.** See ZOOLOGY.

# W

**WADI.** Geographic names with the element "wadi," meaning "river," generally can be found under the second element of the name; for example: DALIYEH, WADI ED-; JILAT, WADI AL-. Exceptions are WADI MURABBAAT and WADI MUSA.

**WADI MURABBAAT** (M.R. 110185). At the end of November 1951 bedouin from the Judean desert began to bring fragments of manuscripts to Jerusalem. It was immediately clear that they did not come from Qumran, but it was only in January 1952 that the bedouin were persuaded to reveal their source. The documents came from a series of four caves in the N wall of the Wadi Murabbaat, which is the name given to a section of a long wadi that begins just W of Herodium and drains into the Dead Sea. On modern Israeli maps it is identified as Nahal Teqoa which becomes Nahal Darga.

**A. Archaeology**

When the excavators arrived on the site on 21 January 1952 they found the bedouin manuscript seekers actually at work in the caves. This guaranteed the provenance of the manuscripts and artifacts they sold in Jerusalem. The excavation continued until 1 March 1952, and was directed by R. de Vaux, L. Harding, and D. Barthélemy. Their task was complicated by two earlier clandestine excavations that had disturbed the stratigraphy. The first was the bedouin exploitation of guano deposits in the 1920s, when pieces of leather (now known to be manuscripts) were thrown away as valueless, and the second the recent manuscript hunt. Nonetheless, a clear occupation series could be reconstructed from the artifacts discovered.

In the 4th millennium B.C. the caves were occupied for a considerable time. The pottery vessels and flint tools are typical of the middle Chalcolithic period. Most unusual for this period in Palestine, an undisturbed layer produced wooden objects, splints, hardwood needles, fire-making devices, and an adze handle with its leather binding for the flint blade intact.

The later MB and Iron Age II remains do not suggest permanent occupation. The MB artifacts (a scarab of the Hyksos period, an alabaster juglet made in Egypt, toggle pins, wooden combs) suggest an Egyptian fugitive who, like Sinuhe, sought refuge in the desert. Similarly the paucity of Iron II remains (pottery and two iron knives with wooden handles) indicates a passing traveller who accidentally dropped a document (Mur 17).

The majority of the finds come from the Roman period. Although the clandestine operations had been most destructive in this level, the excavators were able to distinguish two main phases.

One coin of the year 42/43, three dated to 58/59, and one to 69/70, when taken in conjunction with pieces of pottery that have close parallels with Qumran II, indicate that the caves were occupied by Jewish refugees during the First Revolt (66–70). This is confirmed by an IOU dated to 55/56 (Mur 18), which would not have been conserved indefinitely by its owner.

The second phase is the more important, and is securely dated by nine coins of the Second Revolt (132–135), by two letters from the leader of the rebellion, Simeon ben Kosba (Mur 43–44), and by two legal documents dated 131 (Mur 22) and 133 (Mur 24). That Jewish rebels with their families took refuge in the caves during this troubled period is confirmed by a variety of domestic objects, a key, a writing tablet, needles, spindles, rings, combs, buttons, and sandals belonging both to adults and children. The remains of their garments show them to have been of excellent quality though repatched many times. They had prepared for their exile by bringing with them a saw to provide firewood. Some of these objects may have been leftovers from the occupation during the First Revolt.

The presence of Roman soldiers is indicated by the discovery of a pilum, two javelins, three arrowheads, and parts of military uniforms. One of the soldiers left behind a wooden stamp with two lines of Roman script, C[ENTURIA] ANNAEI/GARGILIU[S] "Gargilius of the century of Annaeus." Since all the biblical texts on parchment, with the exception of the phylactery, were deliberately torn into shreds, it

seems clear that the Roman patrol must have trapped the refugees, who would never have left their sacred books behind. On the basis of two coins of the Tenth Legion and a fragment mentioning the emperor Commodius (Mur 117), de Vaux argues that a Roman garrison must have remained in the caves until the end of the 2d century A.D. The evidence is perhaps better explained as due to sporadic visits by desert patrols, since the caves do not offer the wide perspective that would merit permanent observers.

The caves also had visitors in the 8–10th centuries A.D. as indicated by a coin struck in Ramla in the 8th century and by a document written in Arabic on paper and dated 938/939.

In March 1955, three years after the end of the excavation, a bedouin shepherd discovered the remains of a scroll containing the Hebrew text of the Twelve Minor Prophets in a fifth cave located in the S wall of the wadi some 300 m upstream from caves 1–4. It had been buried with a corpse, but the cave showed no sign of habitation.

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**B. Texts**

In addition to material culture, finds in the four large Murabbaat caves have yielded numerous manuscripts. Letters appear from the period of the Second Revolt (132–135 C.E.), written on papyrus and addressed to the cave dwellers from Simeon Bar Kokhba. Other nonbiblical materials include documents written in Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew.

The Hebrew biblical remains from Murabbaat date to the Roman period and are written in Herodian script. All are fragmentary, and their tears may have been deliberately made by Roman soldiers. Fragments from the Pentateuch appear to derive from a single scroll, although little of their text remains. Pentateuchal readings also appear on phylacteries which, unlike those found at Qumran, adhere to tannaitic regulations. From Isaiah, only eleven verses remain.

Most numerous and complete of the texts are fragments from the Minor Prophets, likely from a single scroll. Very little of Zechariah and no readings from Hosea and Malachi have been preserved; all other books of the Minor Prophets are represented, in present Masoretic order.

Many textual critics consider these biblical manuscripts, along with those retrieved from Nahal Hever and Masada, as evidence that the consonantal text of the Hebrew Bible was standardized by the period of the Second Revolt. While the great variety in types of biblical texts found at Qumran suggests that no one textual type was considered authoritative at the turn of the era, the biblical manuscripts from the second century at Murabbaat, Nahal Hever and Masada reflect only the textual type preserved in the present MT. This interpretation of the Murabbaat finds was suggested by de Vaux during his initial work and has been accepted by most historians of the biblical text.

The Murabbaat biblical manuscripts do exhibit some differences from the present MT. Most of these differences are minor, often involving the presence or absence of vowel letters (25 cases) or alternate spelling. Occasional variations are more substantive, reflecting the use of a different preposition (e.g., Mic 5:7) or even a different phrase (e.g., Hab 3:10, perhaps a harmonization toward Psalm 77). Despite these differences, the prominence of the MT textual type is clear: all additions and corrections to the fragments are made toward the MT (18 cases).

Of further interest to textual critics, the Murabbaat texts alternately agree with the *qere* and the *kethib* readings of the MT. This fact may lend support to the argument of Rabin (1955) and Orlinsky (1960) that the Masoretic *qere/kethib* system functions to preserve variant readings rather than to offer corrections.

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**WADI MUSA** (M.R. 196970). The name of an Arab village located E of Petra. As a designation of a settlement, the name is relatively recent. In Musil (1907–08) "Wâdî Mûsâ" refers only to the valley which derives its name from the perennial spring of ʿAin Mûsâ. The name of the valley changes at its exit from the depression of Petra. The name of the wadi, "Valley of Moses" is secondary to the name of the spring, "Moses' Spring." The post-biblical, but pre-Christian Jewish tradition localized Kadesh (Num 20:1; 20:22) at Petra, and, accordingly, the miracle of the water from the rock (Num 20:2–13) and Aaron's death (Num 20:23–29) in its vicinity. Aaron's tomb, originally a pre-Islamic sanctuary (Jeremias 1958: 107), is traditionally located at the highest peak of the Petra region: Nabî Hârûn, "The (sanctuary of the) Prophet Aaron." For the name of the village below that spring, Musil and his contemporaries still recorded el-Jîʾ. This is the ancient name of the settlement: *Gaia* (Eus. *Onomast.* 62, 18–19 [4th century A.D.]), *gyʾ* in Nabataean inscriptions (1st century A.D.), and *rĕqam gêʾâ* (Petra) for Kadesh-barnea in the Targum (Deut 1:19). "The Valley," *hag-gayʾ* in 1 Chr 4:39 may refer to the same place (see *infra*).

Wadi Musa is situated on the first terrace of the Transjordanian Plateau's escarpment leading down to the Wadi ʿArabah. Relatively gentle slopes surrounding the village to the N, E, and S and continuing below the village to the W provided potential for terrace farming and horticulture. Annual rainfall averages 300 mm; together with the perennial flow of its spring, ʿAin Mûsâ, the village occupies an environment that allows continuous settled occupation. This case is an exception rather than the rule in S Jordan. Manageable roads, transformed by Trajan into the *Via Nova Traiana*, linked Wadi Musa/el-Jîʾ to the N and to the S. A camel track, which was still used by pilgrims in the Roman period, connected Wadi Musa with the caravan station of Udhruh on the E side of the Transjordanian ridge. All traffic bound for Petra from the N, E, and S had (and still has) to pass through Wadi Musa.

Being continuously occupied, i.e., without standing monuments, and overshadowed by the magnificence of the architectural remains at nearby Petra, Wadi Musa had not yet become a focus of archaeological research. Monumental architecture which is epigraphically and literally attested (Eusebius called Gaia a *polis*, "city"!) has been destroyed and partially recycled by later building activity (Wenning 1987: 91–92). Nabataean and Roman architectural pieces have been reported by Dalman (1908: 359–60), Kirkbride (1960), and Zayadine (1981: 350). A Nabataean inscription from Wadi Musa was erroneously attributed to Petra (Khairy 1981). The foundations of a major temple were bulldozed in 1978 (Brooker and Knauf fc.).

The Iron Age predecessor of Wadi Musa was located at Ṭawīlān, which produced Midianite sherds (13th–12th centuries B.C.) and Edomite occupational strata (8th through 5th centuries B.C.). See TAWILAN. From the Hellenistic period onwards, surface pottery is reported from Wadi Musa (unpublished). 1 Chr 4:39–43 reports an action of Simeonites against *hag-gayʾ* (v 39) in Seir (v 42) with repercussions on *mĕʿînîm*, Minaeans (v 41). Because this action cannot have taken place in the time of Hezekiah (v 41), it is likely that the account alludes to economic and political conflicts at the time of the Chronicler, i.e., the late Persian or early Hellenistic period (Knauf 1985: 116–17; and see MEUNIM). The text, then, reflects the prominence of Gaia/Wadi Musa in the early Nabataean period. Minaean presence among the Nabataeans and in the Petra region is epigraphically attested (Knauf 1985: 117, n. 17). The supreme deity of the Nabataean state is called "Dushara of Gaia" in two inscriptions from Dumah/el-Jôf (A.D. 44; Savignac and Starcky 1957) and Oboda (A.D. 98; Negev 1961: 127–28). The evidence from epigraphy and geography suggests that Gaia/Wadi Musa was the administrative center of the Nabataean realm (Milik 1982: 265; Brooker and Knauf fc.), whereas the significance of Petra was predominantly religious in nature. The precedence of Gaia over Petra is also reflected in the Targumic designation of Petra: *Reqam Gêʾâ,* "Petra of Gaia" vis-à-vis a second *rĕqam, Rĕqam d-Ḥegrâ* (the Nabataean rock-cut necropolis Madâʾin Ṣâliḥ near ancient Hegra, al-Ḥijr). Besides Dushara, Nabataean inscriptions mention the deities Baalshamin (Khairy 1981) and al-Kutbâ (Savignac 1934: 586–89) for Gaia/Wadi Musa. When, early in the 12th century A.D., the Crusaders erected a fortress NW of el-Jîʾ amidst an early Nabataean sacred area (Brown 1987), for the first time its name referred to the "Moses-Valley-tradition": "Li Vaux Moyse," today al-Wuʿayrah.

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**WAFER.** As a translation of Heb *rāqîq*, "wafer" indicates an item that was part of the array of foodstuffs which comprised the various sacrificial offerings specified in the priestly texts of the Pentateuch. As "wafer" suggests, this type of break was a thin cake; the Hebrew term can be related to an Arabic word meaning "to be thin." In the more detailed listings of the offerings (Exod 29:2; Lev 2:4; 7:12; Num 6:15), the wafer is said to be unleavened and to be spread with oil. It was to be made of fine wheat flour.

The wafer was used in the "wave offerings" to consecrate priests (Exod 29:2, 23; Lev 8:26); it was also included among the elaborate sacrifices made by Nazirites when they completed their vows (Num 6:14–15). The officiating priest would wave the wafers along with other forms of unleavened bread, the meat from the sacrificed animals, and sometimes its fat and kidneys.

The wafer was also used in the "cereal offerings," when an Israelite layperson would prepare and bring the wafers to the officiating priest, who would offer part of the bread directly to God; the remainder would go to the priest (Lev 2:4, 8–10). Like other cereal offerings (see Leviticus 2), wafers could either be brought by themselves (Lev 2:4) or accompany a peace offering (Lev 7:12). The wafer also appears in the list in 1 Chr 23:29 of foodstuffs that the Levites were supposed to help prepare.

Although all these references to wafers are in cultic passages, it is to be assumed that thin cakes were eaten in everyday life. One passage in Exodus (16:31) compares manna to "wafers made with honey," although the Hebrew word in this verse is *ṣĕpîḥit.*

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**WAHEB** (PLACE) [Heb *wāhēb* (וָהֵב)]. Considered a place name by the RSV and the NEB, Waheb introduces a poetic fragment taken from the ancient Book of the Wars of Yahweh which has been inserted into the Transjordanian itinerary of the Israelites (Num 21:14). Both the grammar and versional variants indicate that the reading is disputed. Though the MT considers Waheb to be an object it appears to provide no verb on which Waheb is dependent within the poetic section. The LXX and OL read *Zōob* for Waheb assuming the Heb reading *zāhāb* which is the name of a locality in Deut 1:1. The KJV following Vg, which in turn reflects early targumic readings, assumed the Heb root *yhb* for Waheb and translated it by a verb "what he did." If Waheb is a place name, as is most likely, it designates an unidentified location in Moab near the river Arnon.

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**WAILING WALL.** See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

**WALLS.** See FORTIFICATIONS (LEVANT).

**WANTING AND DESIRING.** The expression "desire" or "inordinate longing" is reflected in the OT primarily by the roots *ʾwh* and *ḥmd*. The root *ʾwh* appears as a verb in the *Piʿel, Hitpaʿel*, and *Nipʿal* (30x) and as a noun in the forms *ʾawwâ, taʾăwâ,* and *maʾăwayîm*. The root *ḥmd* appears as a verb in the *Qal, Piʿel, Nipʿal* (21x) and as a noun in the forms *ḥemed, ḥemdâ, ḥămudôt, ḥemdûn, maḥmăd,* and *maḥmōd* (*TWAT* 1: 145–48; 2: 1020–32; *THAT* 1: 74–76, 579–81).

The words *ʾwh* and *ḥmd* are synonymous and often appear in parallelism (Gen 3:6) or interchangeably in the same context (Exod 20:17 and Deut 5:21; Prov 6:25 and Ps 45:12; Ps 68:17 and Ps 132:13–14). Nevertheless, even the word *bḥr* ("choose") can appear in parallelism with *ʾwh* (Ps 132:13–14; Job 23:13, conjecture following Fohrer, *KAT* XVI, 362–63). Likewise, there is a thematic connection between the terms *ʾwh* and *ḥmd* and the semantic range of *ḥšb* ("think, consider"). Finally, even the noun *hawwâ,* "desire" (Mic 7:3; Prov 10:3; 11:6), is related in meaning and cannot be distinguished semantically from *ʾwh*.

In the *Piʿel* the verb *ʾwh* is always associated with *nepeš* as a subject (except in Ps 132:13–14). Likewise, the nouns *ʾawwâ* and *hawwâ* are always found in connection with *nepeš,* while the noun *taʾăwâ* is determined by *nepeš* (Isa 26:8; Ps 10:3), *leb* (Ps 21:3), or *ʾādām* (Prov 19:22). That indicates clearly that the verb *ʾwh* (shades of meaning between its verbal roots cannot be distinguished) as well as the corresponding nouns understand "desiring," "wishing," and "wanting" as a natural expression of the human personality or ego. The intensity and the object of this desire can be quite diverse. It is noteworthy, however, that this desire is concerned primarily with the basic needs of human life such as drinking (2 Sam 23:15), eating (Deut 12:20; Mic 7:1; Job 33:20; Prov 23:3, 6), a partner of the opposite gender (Ps 45:12), or good fortune in general (Prov 10:24; 11:23; Ps 21:3), to which belongs even a correct relationship with God (Isa 26:8–9; Amos 5:18).

Human desire is viewed throughout as normal and good insofar as a reasonable and correct measure is not exceeded and it is not directed toward the wrong ends. For this reason, desire for the property of one's neighbor (Deut 5:21) and striving for the company of evil persons (Prov 24:1) is prohibited. Whoever strives for evil is a wicked person (Prov 21:10), and the wicked person's desire is just as fruitless as is that of the lazy person (Prov 13:4; 21:25–26; Ps 112:10), because it is an inappropriate desire that has no actual basis. That applies also especially to an unquenchable desire that is directed against God (Num 11:4; Pss 78:29–30; 106:14). This desire, which is an expression of human self-realization, represents gulity rebellion against God that must be punished. Eve's desire for the tree in the midst of God's garden and its fruits should also be understood from this perspective (Gen 3:6): in doing this, she abandoned a state of obedience, and this called for punishment.

When God is the subject of *ʾwh* (Ps 132:13–14; Job 23:13), the word *ʾwh* expresses God's far-reaching freedom to make decisions, of which he makes full use.

Statements associated with the semantic range of the word *ʾwh* allow one to recognize that the latter does not simply refer to desire as an intellectual reflection, but even includes forms of behavior that might lead to the acquisition of the object. This information applies equally to the semantic range of *ḥmd* (Herrmann 1927). If the word *ʾwh* expresses the desire that arises from an inner human need, then the word *ḥmd* refers to the desire that comes from seeing something beautiful (Moran 1967).

Both the verb *ḥmd* in its various verbal roots and the corresponding nouns always designate a behavior or activity that was caused by a visual perception of a desired object or person. Still, in such a situation one should again distinguish between positive and negative uses within the semantic range. Just as the semantic range of *ʾwh* expresses desire that is allowed, one may treat the word *ḥmd* also as an expression of such desire—as long as it is not directed toward clearly forbidden objects and does not harm the neighbor and the community. Sexual desire is not prohibited *per se* (Cant 2:3); on the other hand, desire for the wife of one's neighbor (Exod 20:17 = Deut 5:21; Prov 6:25) as well as his property (Exod 20:17; Mic 2:2) is. Likewise, the desire for goods that are reserved for God, and which have therefore come

under the ban *(ḥrm)* (Deut 7:25; Josh 7:21), is not allowed. In contrast, God's legal judgments are characterized as especially desirous (Ps 19:11). The desire for objects and goods that enhance human life, thereby making it more comfortable—e.g., nice clothes (Gen 27:15), good food (Dan 10:3), and possessions in general (Ps 39:12; Isa 32:12)—is thought of as normal and legitimate. Of course, even striving for beauty and a good figure are entirely permissible (Cant 5:16; Ezek 23:6, 12, 23), while plainness is unpleasing (Isa 53:2).

Just as individuals and human groups can be the subject of *ḥmd,* so can God (Ps 68:17). God's desire can be fulfilled without limitation.

Whether expressed by *ʾwh* or *ḥmd,* the expression "desire" acquires a theological significance whenever the desire in question not only breaks human rules of behavior but even violates divine instructions. Such a situation appears both in Eve's desire to eat from the fruits of the tree that stands in the midst of God's garden, in spite of divine prohibition (Gen 3:6), and in the desire of the Israelites in the wilderness for food other than manna (Num 11:4; Ps 78:29–30; 106:14). These desires amount to a rejection of God's leadership and care. Such human behavior, directed against God, is understood theologically as sin necessitating divine punishment. Moreover, the statement that God does what he desires (Job 23:13) unconditionally and independent of human influence provides a clear testimony to God's eminence and omnipotence. This is also confirmed in the view that God desires Mount Zion as an earthly residence (Pss 68:17; 132:13).

Based on Num 11:4, there emerged in late Judaism a tendency to interpret every human desire that issued from external stimulation as a strong action against God, and to understand it as a sin. The thematic overlapping of the prohibition of theft (Exod 20:15 = Deut 5:19) and of coveting (Exod 20:17 = Deut 5:21) was fundamentally significant in extending this view. Regardless of how illogical it may seem, this view led to the false inference that Exod 20:17 = Deut 5:21 in particular must refer to a mental transgression, thereby already prohibiting desire as *intention* (rather than as *deed*). This perspective devalues all human desire and makes all human urges, especially the sexual one, a tabu. In Judaism as well as Christianity this attitude led to unequivocal statements about the general sinfulness of desires and urges. Corresponding statements can be found in the Qumran writings (1QS 9:25; 10:19; 4:9–11; and 5:5) and rabbinic sources (Str-B 1: 298–301; 3: 234–36; 4/1: 466–68).

The NT, in Matt 5:28 and Rom 7:7, makes this especially clear (*TWNT* 3: 168–73). According to Matt 5:28 Jesus already considers desirous thoughts about a married woman—thoughts which have been caused by an urge—as tantamount to adultery with her. This agrees with the rabbinic view that an adulterer is not only a person who physically has had sexual relations with a married person but anyone who commits adultery with his eyes (*Lev. Rab.* 23 [122b]). Undoubtedly, optical-mental desire is already understood in this case as a sin. According to Paul in Rom 7:7, desire in general is a sin: he held the view that the prohibition of desire (= the Law) had initially awakened desire in humans, thereby bringing them for the first time into a state of sin. Correspondingly, Col 3:5 prohibits each and every type of desire and puts it on the same level with greed, incest, unchastity, and passion.

Finally, *4 Macc* 2:2–6 reveals how human desire can be controlled and overcome, especially the sexual urge. Using Joseph as its model, this passage introduces reason or rational thinking as a counterforce to desire. Accordingly, the knowledge of human susceptibility vis-à-vis the senses of seeing and feeling, which compel the person to act, points to the possibility of self-control and self-examination. The human *ratio* is able to interrupt the connection between perception, desire, and action by bringing that desire under its control.

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**WAR AND WARFARE.** See WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE; MILITARY ORGANIZATION IN MESOPOTAMIA. On the subject of "holy war," see DEUTERONOMY, BOOK OF.

**WAR IN THE NT.** War is a state of armed conflict between two groups of people in which lethal violence is used to coerce one to do the other's will. Karl von Clausewitz (1780–1831) described war as an activity engaged in by duly constituted states that is: "a continuation of political commerce … by other means" (von Clausewitz 1968: 101, 119). In the 2d century, Aelius Aristides wrote that "people no longer believe in wars" and indeed they doubted that they had ever happened. War was like a myth from the past (*EulogyR.* 70; Levin 1950). That may have been true in Athens, where Aristides acquired his rhetorical skills, or Rome, where he visited; but Palestine had been ravaged by war nearly 200 times in 150 years; and between the time that Jesus lived and most of the NT was written the Jews experienced the worst war in their history, leaving Jerusalem in ruins and the temple destroyed. See JEWISH WAR. Whatever Greek or Roman historians may have written and whatever emperors may have claimed about the Roman peace, the perception "from below" of the NT writers is quite different. Weary of war, and disillusioned with its claims to bring or enforce peace, they saw it as demonic and the opposite to the peace which their Lord had brought.

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A. NT Words for War
B. War in the Greco-Roman World
C. God as Warrior in Judaism
D. Jesus as Messianic Warrior
E. War in the Early Christian Writings
F. The Early Church and the Military

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**A. NT Words for War**

The noun "war" *(polemos)* appears sixteen times in the NT, of which nine occurrences appear in Rev (eight are symbolic) and the verb "to make war" *(polemeō)* appears 7 times, of which 6 occurrences are found in the Revelation. Christ is described as "making war" with the "sword of his mouth" (Rev 2:16); the Word of God is "just in judgment and in making war" (19:11) (an allusion to Ps 96:12 and Isa 11:4; the reference to war is an addition to the LXX). The other occurrences depict war as something done under evil influence. Related words like "fighting" (*machomai, machē:* 2 Cor 7:5; 2 Tim 2:23; Titus 3:9; Jas 4:1; John 6:52) describe quarrels and are negative, for "the servant of the Lord must not be pugnacious" (2 Tim 2:24). The term "to contend" *(palē)* appears only once (Eph 6:12). The verb *strateuō* "to serve as a soldier" and the related terms *strateia* ("battle," "warfare") *strateuma* ("army," "soldier") and *stratiōtes* ("soldier") are used a total of 45 times, both literally and figuratively. Paul, although never referring to himself as a "soldier of Christ" describes his work as an apostle (1 Cor 9:7; 2 Cor 10:3–4; 1 Tim 1:18) along military lines; but the operative statement is: "While we are in the flesh, we do not fight according to the flesh" (2 Cor 10:3). The admonition of 2 Tim 2:3, "Take your share of hardship, like a good soldier of Christ Jesus," could be a genuinely Pauline sentiment, but it is a simile (rather than a metaphor) and it occurs only once.

The hope expressed in Mic 4:3, Zech 9:10, Hos 2:18–23 and Isa 2:4 that eventually the instruments of war and war itself will be abolished as the nations allow God to adjudicate their disputes, is not reflected in the NT. Rather, a pronouncement is attributed to Jesus that war is a birth pang of the new age signaling the coming of the end (a recurrent motif of Jewish apocalyptic: Volz 1934: 157, 213). Thus in Mark 13:7 (= Matt 24:6) reference is made to hearing of "war and rumours" of wars (Luke 21:9 "war and tumults").

Some see an indication here that wars are an essential divinely willed aspect of history. That question is not addressed in this text. The primary reference is to the temple's destruction.

James asks, "From whence come wars *(polemoi)* and conflicts *(machai)* among you? Don't they come from the fighting *(strateuō)* among your members? You desire uncontrollably and cannot have, you quarrel *(machōmai)* and fight *(polemeō).* You have not because you do not ask" (4:1–2).

In two of the fifteen references to war in the Revelation, God or God's agent is portrayed as making war (2:16; 19:11); always by the "word of his mouth." "To make war" is behavior more characteristic of the beast (11:7; 13:7; 16:14; cf. 17:14; 19:19; 20:8) or the angelic beings against the dragon (12:7, 17).

Research on war in the NT has focused on five issues: war in the Greco-Roman world, God as "warrior" in Judaism, Jesus as eschatological or Messianic Warrior, the NT and the Christian Soldier, and the Early Church and the military.

**B. War in the Greco-Roman World**

In ancient Greece war was seen as essential to the existence of the nation state. Had it not been for the unsuccessful war of Athens against Sparta the praise for war could have been unrestrained. Even the great epics of war, the *Illiad* and the *Odyssey* of Homer, painted graphically both the horrors of war and its glories. In Hector's farewell there is no hint that this is a war to end all wars; rather, much as he regrets the foolishness of the Trojan war, as he takes his son into his arms he prays to Zeus not for the vocation of peace for his young son, but for the life of a warrior, who, better far than his father, might "kill his enemy and bring home the blooded spoils and delight the heart of his mother" (*Il.* 6.465–82).

Bauernfeind (*TDNT* 6:503) has shown that in the Homeric epics war is intimately tied to the rule of the gods, although it is hardly legitimate to designate war-gods. The symbol depicted on the shield of Achilles of Ares and Pallas Athena leading the armies indicates that these two stand together only in war (*Il.* 18.516).

Ares, originating in pre-Homeric times, is the ideal wild hero, driven by a warrior's courage, insatiable in fighting (*Il.* 5.388) and noted for his violent acts, "for killing so many and such good Achaian warriors for no reason, and out of due order," and he is referred to as "this maniac who knows nothing of justice" whom Kypris and Apollo of the golden bow had let loose (*Il.* 5.759–62).

Athena, however, rewards only the deliberate strategies of war and the heroes who emerge from it. She seeks to control the more impetuous Ares (*Il.* 5.851ff.; 21.385ff.), who seems to be in poor repute even on Mount Olympus (*Il.* 5.890; *Od.* 8.267ff.). Thersites, however, lays the blame for war squarely at the feet of the monarch, Agamemnon, who seeks to fill his storehouse with plunder and his harem with new women (*Il.* 2.211–42).

In reaction to this and to balance the poems of Tyrtaeus which encouraged men to battle there were the writings of Euripides and Aristophanes, which dramatized the evils of war. Euripides had a special talent for bringing to the world stage the voices of the children and women most deeply affected by the tragedies of war *(Medea, Women of Troy).* In Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* the magistrate decries the impudence of the women who have no idea what a war means and seek to instruct men on politics. Lysistrata replies, "We are the people who feel it the keenliest, doubly on us the affliction is cast; we bore the sons you took for soldiers" (Rogers 1955: 310).

The wisdom poet Hesiod accepts the divine origins and city-destroying actions of Ares (*Theog.* 922). He reports that the goddess Athena derives deep joy from war and battle (*Theog.* 926). On the whole, however, he approaches the relationship between the gods and war differently. Presumably Hesiod saw behind the wars of mortals the designs of the immortals, but the latter are not seen as being an original cause nor as directly involved; thus, Hesiod places a greater distance between the gods and war (*TDNT* 6:503).

The cause of war is *eris* (*Op.* 14): contemptible, despicable *eris.* Because there are two kinds of *eris* on earth, whose spirits are completely opposed, the person who is wise should praise the one, and blame the other, which stirs up the evil of war and the conflict of battle. In the first two world ages there was no war. Only in the third age does the tragic business of Ares begin (*Op.* 145ff.). As time goes on the goddess

Athena takes precedence over the god Ares; Ares becomes someone who needs to be vanquished. The epithet Eualios, the war-like one, is used for Ares by many writers and on temples (*TDNT* 6:502–7).

Hesiod recognizes that "even war has its honor." But the honor given to *eris* and what it breeds is reluctantly bestowed. Already Achilleus expresses the wish that "*eris* would vanish away" but seems driven by destiny to allow it to run its course in his own life (*Il.* 18.105–15). Hesiod does not recognize war as natural nor as divinely directed to confirm and maintain the truly human. In this respect he differs from Heraclitus, who believed: "It is necessary to know that war *(polemos)* draws people together, and justice is strife *w (eris)* and all living things come into being through strife *(eris)* and necessity" (B 80). His most often quoted saying: "War *(polemos)* is the father of all things and is the king of all" (B 53) has been the philosophy which has guided much of Greek and Roman statecraft.

Among the philosophers the legitimacy of war is at first seldom questioned. Plato describes the Greeks and Barbarians as "enemies by nature and war as the fit name for this enmity and hatred" (*Resp.* 5.470C). The origin of war, "comes from those things from which the greatest disasters, public and private come to states" (*Resp.* 2.373E). He sees armies as necessary for they protect "all our wealth and luxuries." He calls the business of fighting an "art and a profession" *(agonia* and *technikē)* and tries to persuade others that "the right accomplishment of the business of war is of supreme moment" (*Resp.* 2.374C). Soldiers are "to be gentle to their friends and harsh (Gk *xalēpous*) to their enemies" (*Resp.* 2.375C). When asked how they can have both traits, he replies that even dogs are kind to those whom they know and harsh to the stranger (*Resp.* 2.375E).

For Plato, education revolves around military preparedness; the guardians should learn mathematics, geometry, and even astronomy "for the uses of war and for facilitating the conversion of the soul itself from the world to the generation of essence and truth" (*Resp.* 7.525C–527D).

In considering whether a *politeia* in which there is reconciliation of Greek with Greek can ever come into existence, Socrates is told that if it did it would be altogether lovely "… and the [inhabitants] would also be most successful in war [against barbarians] because they would be least likely to desert one another, knowing and addressing each other by the names of brothers, fathers, sons. And if the females should also join in their campaigns … I recognize that all this too would make them irresistible *(amachoi)*" (*Resp.* 471D).

The pursuits of men and women must be the same in peace and in war and their rulers are to be those who have proven themselves the best in both war and philosophy (*Resp.* 8.543).

The Greeks gave strong impetus to viewing war as under human control and determined by degrees of tolerance, and by access to appeals to justice and communication rather than weapons (Leipoldt 1958). This is especially true of the Cynics, who sought to get rid of war by attacking the causes of war. In the Cynic Utopia as described by Crates there will be no war, for the "things for which men make wars on each other, or take up arms for cash or for renown" will not exist; only Pera, the knapsack (Baldry 1965: 109). When that which all have in common and the unity of humankind are stressed the glorification of war ceases. There is at the same time a considerable expansion of the military metaphor as applied to the struggles of life, begun already by Plato and probably going back as far as the Pythagoreans and appearing with some prominence in both the cult of Isis (Apuleius speaks for example of the "holy militia of Isis" which one joins through the *sacramentum* [*Meta.* 9.15, 5]) and of course Mithraism (Edmonds 1938: 21–30). Indeed Ovid enjoys the use of war metaphors in his manual on how to conquer in love and boasts that he has supplied his reader "with arms as Vulcan did to Achilles" and foresees that the reader will "conquer your Amazon with the sword I have sharpened for your use" (*Ars* 2). He sees himself as providing the "proper tools of war" (*Ars* 3), and the love chase as a military service (*Ars* 2).

Sharp criticisms of war come also from the Cynics of the first century, who direct at Alexander their judgment that war is "senselessness" (Diogenes *Ep.* 40). Their clever rhetorician under the name of Heraclitus registers one of the sharpest denunciations of war. Not even animals arm for conflict; war is "defiling" and insulting to "Athena the warrior, as well as Ares who is called the war-like." He does not consider it a laughing matter that they draw up phalanxes and "men against men pray for each others' slaughter" (Heraclit. *Ep.* 7).

Cicero spoke of two ways of settling disputes: "one by reasonable discussion, the other by force. Although reason is characteristic of men and force of beasts, you must resort to force if there is no opportunity to employ reason. Therefore wars should be undertaken only so that one may live in peace without wrongdoing" (*Off.* 1.34).

It is not entirely true that the concept of the religious or holy war is missing from among the Greeks and Romans (Nestle 1935) but religion was less intrusive in Greek and Roman wars than it was in some Hebrew sources and certainly than it was in later Christian and Islamic practice. The Romans more than the Greeks politicized all religion and tended to sacralize war. In the 4th century B.C.E., M. Furius Camillus upon becoming dictator brought the ten-year war against Veii to an end by calling upon her tutelary deity, Juno Regina, with a prayer promising her a temple in Rome worthy of her majesty and offering to make Rome her city (Livy 5.21.3; Schilling 1969: 461).

In a class by themselves are the various expressions of praise for the *pax romana* culminating in Aelius Aristides in the latter half of the 2d century. Augustus took pride in having closed the doors of the war temple of Janus Quirinus three times, something that had happened only twice before in history. Seneca described his age as a "time of deep peace when military conflict is in abeyance everywhere, when an international peace covers all of the globe" (*Epis.* 91.2). In the provinces, at Priene near Ephesus, Augustus is celebrated in 9 B.C.E. as the one "who has brought war to an end and has ordained peace." For the world the birthday of the god means "the beginning of his tidings of peace" (Wengst 1987: 9). The inscription at Halicarnassus in Asia Minor celebrates Augustus as Savior of the human race for "land and sea have peace … people are filled with happy hopes for the future and with delight at the present" (Wengst 1987: 9).

The *pax Romana* has been hailed as "one of the most solid, if not sublime, achievements in history" (Levin 1950: 8). Klaus Wengst has observed, however, that such a judgment can only be sustained if made without any serious comparison with Jewish and Christian views of peace and war. In those religious communities war, and of course peace as well, were seen from the perspective of a God of love and a community in which power was shared with the weak (Wengst 1987).

**C. God as Warrior in Judaism**

The warlike image of Yahweh or the example of Jewish fighting prowess is no longer invoked as exemplary, as it was during the First World War (e.g., Gunkel 1916: 2–3, 23, 25) and during the Second World War (Rendtorff 1937). The discovery of the War Scroll at Qumran gave considerable impetus to research on this theme for the period of the Second Temple.

As evident from the LXX, some members of the Jewish community were uneasy about portraying Yahweh as a warrior. The Hebrew prophets had already portrayed Yahweh as a military leader of foreign nations, thus modifying the idea that Yahweh might be invoked as their exclusive military leader (Isa 42:13–16). Cyrus is depicted as Yahweh's anointed, the instrument of righteousness. Of him it is said that God will "take him by the hand, to subdue nations before him" (Isa 45:1–8).

The LXX was equally daring in taking each of the four texts in which Yahweh is described as "a man of war" and changing them to "one who destroys war" (Exod 15:3; Isa 42:13; Jdt 9:7; 16:3). In at least one LXX passage the "destruction of war" is added where it does not appear in the MT (Mic 2:8); and in some the hope is escalated from the destruction of instruments of war to the destruction of war itself (Hos 2:20). Apparently influential members of the Jewish community sought to minimize the bellicose depictions of Yahweh (van Leeuwen 1940: 24–29) for it is reflected in the Targums as well (on Isa 42:13 see Chilton 1987: 82). The external pressures which bore on the community thus to change the Hebrew text are not known. There is inherent, however, in the theology of war developed in the Hebrew scriptures the potential for this change. If Yahweh is God of war, Yahweh can destroy it, for it is an institution, not a part of the created order.

Philo foresees an end to war globally (*Praem* 91) and certainly is convinced that "war will not pass through the land of the godly at all … when the enemy perceives … that they have in justice an irresistible ally" (*Praem* 93). A permanent and bloodless victory will be won over war.

The Qumran Scrolls depict a war in more graphic terms, although it is not likely that a literal war is visualized. 1QM is apparently based on a Roman military manual and the battle cries, banners, and the detailed prescription of how to fight would seem to indicate that this group, while non-violent towards their own Jewish compatriots, did not hesitate to engage the Romans in battle when the occasion presented itself. It has been argued that in 1QM a distinction is made for the first time not on the basis of nationalistic or ethnic language "but rather on the moral forces of good and evil, or the cosmic principles of light and darkness … it opens up a possibility radically different from the traditional nationalistic conception of holy war which we still find in the mythological framework of Daniel" (J. Collins 1975: 609). This possibility, according to Collins, is not carried through consistently, nor indeed does he see it as an unmixed blessing. In any case the cry, "Rise up O Warrior! Take your captives, O Man of Glory" in 1QM 12:10 appears to be an exception to the trend noted above.

Finally there was a very strong movement within Judaism which took evil seriously, and consistently saw life as a conflict between evil and good in non-literal terms. Some examples from one of the oldest midrashic works, the Tractate Beshallah [ (Lauterbach 1976); *Mek.* 214] illustrate this. Four groups of Israelites are depicted at the Red Sea: (1) Those who want to throw themselves into the sea; "Stand still and see the salvation of the Lord." (2) Those who wish to return to Egypt. (3) Those who wish to fight the Egyptians are promised that the Lord will fight for them. (4) Those who wish to cry out against them are told to hold their peace confident that the Lord will always fight for them. They are assured, "if even when you stand there silent, the Lord will fight for you, how much more so when you render praise to him!" God will fight for them and their task is to engage in worship.

In the Tractate Shirata (Lauterbach 1976: 2.30–35) commenting on Exod 15:3–4 ("The LORD is a Man of war") R. Judah finds this verse to mean that the LORD appeared to them with all the implements of war: *like* a mighty hero girded with a sword (Ps 45:4); *like* a mighty horseman, (Ps 18:11); in a coat of mail and helmet (= righteousness and salvation; Isa 59:17); with a *spear*, (Hab 3:11; cf. Ps 35:3); with a bow and arrows (Hab 3:9; cf. 2 Sam 22:15); shield and buckler (= truth; Pss 91:4; 35:2).

For R. Judah, the LORD fights with his name and has no need of any of these weapons. "If so, why need Scripture specify every single one of them? Merely to tell that when Israel is in need of them, God fights their battles for them." There follows an extensive comparison between Yahweh as divine warrior and a "king of flesh and blood" (Lauterbach 1976: 2.35).

This depiction of Yahweh as a warrior who fights with his word or with his name is exceedingly frequent in Judaism. The transfer also applies to instruments of war; e.g., the sword and the bow are in fact "prayer and fasting" (*Tg. Onq.* Gen 48:22 [Grossfeld 1988: 156]), the "soldier and the warrior" and "those who repel attacks at the gate" in Isa (3:2; 28:6) are not warriors but "those who know how to dispute in the battle of the Torah" (*b. Hag.* 14a; *b. Meg.* 15b). The sword of the mighty is the Torah (*Midr.* Ps. 45:4). The military leaders of the Bible are transformed into scholars and heads of the Sanhedrin, and David's armed men (2 Sam 23:8) are none other than manifestations of the might of his spirit.

Military terms are applied to the struggle between good and evil. In 2 Maccabees the zeal of the martyrs emulating Phineas becomes the ground of Divine deliverance. Moreover in *4 Maccabees*, where the battles of Judas Maccabaeus are not even mentioned, the mother of the Maccabean sons is described as a "warrior of God in the cause of religion" who "defeated the tyrant by her endurance and was found stronger than a man" (*4 Macc.* 16:14–15). The mother urged the sons to "fight their battle zealously on behalf of the Law" (*4 Macc.* 16:16), for "truly it is a holy war" (17:11). Not only has justice been victorious through their sacrifice and the propitiation made by their deaths purified the country, Israel has been delivered through their death (*4 Macc.* 17:22). Lastly, "through them the nation obtained peace and restoring the observance of the Law in our country has captured the city from the enemy" (*4 Macc.* 18:4; Brownlee 1983: 288).

The members of the Qumran group also saw themselves as chosen to clear iniquity "by active performance of justice and passive submission to the trials of chastisement" (1QS 8:3–4). Participants in the community are seen as "effecting atonement for the earth and ensuring the requital of the wicked"

(1QS 8:10). Apparently the members of the community will participate in the holy war or in the vengeance which God enacts against the evil. In the highly symbolic War Scroll it is said repeatedly, "Thine is the battle" (11). At the same time the community seems to prefer military imagery for God, referring to El as the "hero" or "strongman" (Heb *gibbôr*) of the war (12:9). It appears that they are not prepared to depict God in non-military terms and their own role was aggressively enough defined that they most likely joined in battle against the Romans some time between 66 and 74. This likelihood increases if one admits the possibility that John the Essene, mentioned by Josephus (*War* 2 §567; 3 §11, §19) as a military commander against Vespasian, was a member of the sect. Indeed one of the difficulties of identifying the Qumran sect with the Essenes is that Philo states clearly that the Essenes would have nothing to do with the manufacture and sale of weapons (*Quod Omn* 78). Josephus, while describing them as "ministers of peace" (*JW* 2.135) says that they wore arms for protection against brigands (*JW* 2.125). To speak here of "spiritualizing" or internalizing a struggle does not do justice to it. Rather there was emerging among Jews and Greeks an understanding of the human struggle which saw it as going beyond flesh and blood to ideas, concepts and values. Perhaps it was always there but the articulation of this new kind of battle came into its fullest strength when military images were used to portray the human battle.

**D. Jesus as Messianic Warrior**

One writer states that "the extensive use of the Holy War theme has not been elucidated … only implicitly recognized" by students of the NT (Longman 1982: 291). In fact attention to this theme goes back to the same decade in which OT scholars began to publish on the subject, and to the first and still most important book to deal with Jesus and the messianic war motif (Windisch 1909). Windisch saw that there are certain strands in the gospel tradition which point in the direction of militancy, battle and struggle; in short, despite other indicators; nevertheless "Jesus possessed a certain militancy" (1909: 53). Without the messianic war, it is hard to understand how these militant features came into the gospel tradition. It is no longer possible to deny them: "Jesus conducts the holy war in deed and word to defend and establish the Divine Rule" (Betz 1956: 128–29).

A comparison with the Targumim and their definition of the role of the Messiah as military liberator (Levey 1975: 11, 65) indicates that Jesus took the myths of the Messiah around him, and transformed them by engaging in a battle against the demonic powers which freed people from slavery to them. In the gospel tradition "the exorcisms themselves are regarded as a victorious combat with the devil and his kingdom" (Leivestad 1954: 47). On the road to his victory as "the complete renunciation of every demonstration of power on his own behalf" (Leivestad 1954: 12) he was rejected as simply another messianic pretender when he died on the cross. "We had hoped this one would save Israel," Cleopas said in deep discouragement shortly after Jesus died on the cross (Luke 24:21). Later they would attribute to Jesus (or perhaps recall?) the statement: "My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world my 'officers' would have fought and continued to fight" (John 18:36; for this translation, see BDF 360 (3)). The verb *agonizo* translated "fight" is used only twice in the gospels (Luke 13:24), but only here in the literal sense. The usage has affinities with the wrestling match portrayed in *T. Job* 27 as well as *4 Maccabees,* where it ends in martyrdom. The images of an athletic contest and battle merge into one and this word makes it easier to see the struggle as unconventional. The difference in the kingdoms can be seen most clearly in the fact that the followers of Jesus do not use violence.

In Paul, where the *agon* motif is especially strong, there is a rich confluence of Jewish and Greek ideas on the theme of conflict. The Greek sources, going back to at least Plato, were gathered by Hilarius Edmonds (1935). In 1 Thessalonians 5 with its reference to "peace and security" (v 3) Paul invites the Thessalonians to be "armed with faith and love as breastplate, and the hope of salvation for helmet" (1 Thess 5:8, alluding to Isa 59:17 [LXX]). We have here the first evidence of Paul's inclination to use war terminology and apply it to three fundamental aspects of the style of the Christian life. Malherbe (1983) has pointed out some striking parallels between Paul and Philo and Hellenistic writers of the 1st and 2d centuries. In 2 Cor 10:3–6 Paul uses the image of the siege, and the main verb "to fight" *(strateuō)* is modified by three participles meaning, respectively "to demolish," (v 4), "to compel to surrender" (v 5) and "to punish" (every rebellion; v 6). Although the image of the siege is also used in Prov 21:22, it is

much more detailed here. It is similarly used in Philo, but as Malherbe observes, Philo along with the Hellenistic moralists has in mind primarily the passions. Here virtue becomes the "indestructible and impregnable fortress." He further points out that for Paul the structures he attacks are defensive in nature, the issues are cognitive and volitional rather than sophistical, as in Philo. He writes that "the Spartans held that a city is well fortified when it is surrounded by brave men, who are in fact its walls and the virtues of its inhabitants provide sufficient fortification" (Malherbe 1987: 59). Sentiments like that appear regularly for centuries in many different kinds of literature; only once in Paul.

These observations could also be extended to Eph 6:10–20, which has an extended listing of battle imagery. The threefold repetition of the command to "stand" (vv 11, 13, 14) already indicates the author's main concern. Borrowing freely from Wis 18:14–25, this passage obviously has taken individual pieces of armor and the image of a battle and radically revised it. For here it is not a virtuous person fighting against vices or evils. It is a community clothed in the armor of God and battling, not against people, but against the structures of evil which lie behind them. Although the imagery is similar to that found in Isa 59:15b–18 the weapons of justice (2 Cor 6:7) are depicted differently here. Nevertheless similar imagery appears in the "triumphal procession" terminology (Col 2:15; 2 Cor 2:14). Obviously Paul found some war terminology useful. He used it ingeniously to assist people in struggling against evil powers.

The most problematic book in the NT with regard to war symbolism is the book of Revelation. Recent scholarly work (Caird 1966; Leivestad 1954) makes it possible to see the rich imagery of apocalyptic literature in context and to perceive that many apocalyptic thinkers were in fact non-violent and quietists. Above all it is possible to see in the book the myths of conflict found in the OT as well and to observe their adaptation to the Christian community.

One cannot make sense of the book without recognizing the central place which the Lamb has in the book. Clearly this Lamb (Gk *arnion*) is the source of all action after chap. 5 and becomes the central figure. The author while describing the Lamb's wrath (6:16) shows it as leading (7:17; 14:4) and even as conquering (17:14), but never as engaged in warring activity or as waging war (contra Longman 1982: 300, 302) even when the ten kings and the Beast attack. Rather, the Lamb's victory takes place in solidarity with those "who are called, chosen and faithful" (17:14). The most difficult passage of all is Rev 19:11–21. The imagery of Word and Sword are brought together here and the critical question is how the sovereignty of King of Kings and Lord of Lords is affirmed. The language to describe the victory is borrowed from classical war terminology: "rider on a horse" (19:11, 19, 21), "armies of heaven" (19:14, 19) "the sharp sword that smites the nations" (19:15; cf. 1:16) and the marshaling of the "kings of the earth and their armies to do battle with the Rider upon the horse and his army" (Rev 19:19). This clearly is the last war. Here the Lamb has become the Word, but even the instrument used to overcome the enemies is the Word coming out of his mouth (Rev 19:15), and whatever "killed" means in verse 21, the instrument used remains the sword that comes out of the Rider's mouth. These images do not lend themselves to facile translation into modern language. It is surely possible that the community out of which they come had not resolved the tension that exists between Christ as Lord of Lords and as suffering Lamb who died for the World out of love for it. In addition we are here in the presence of rich imagery with a long history in which apocalyptic and wisdom realms flow together. Wisdom 18:14–25 which sees the "Almighty Word leaping from the throne in heaven … like a relentless warrior, bearing the sharp sword of thy inflexible decree" subduing the avenger and beating back the Divine wrath may be in the back of the author's mind. In any case the motif of the Divine warrior comes to its historical climax here and must in some way be seen in the light of the rich history or "appropriation, reformulation and transformation" it has experienced (Neufeld Yoder 1989: 156).

Although Isaiah, Wisdom and Paul as well as the author of Ephesians had contributed to it, the most thorough rewriting in all of Jewish Christian literature of the war motif was done as the titles of Domitian (Stauffer 1955) are conferred upon the Lamb, and the symbol of non-violent suffering of Judaism—the Lamb—is used to transform the Messianic War. This is not a retreat into privacy, for the Revelation engages political power which has become demonized. In a rich assortment of images, the text signals the direction holy disobedience is to take. The Revelation "makes use of holy war traditions to interpret the

situation of its first readers … and advocates passive resistance … The elect are not purely passive, because the deaths suffered by members of the community are thought to play a role in bringing about the turning point, the eschatological battle" (A. Y. Collins 1977). Far from advocating "an abortive hatred that can only lead to … destruction" (*IDB* 2:176) the book's evocative Christology combines an appeal to faithfulness and following the Lamb. While taking injustices seriously it also rejects all vengeance secure in the knowledge that the Lamb was "slain and by his blood ransomed for God people from every tribe and language, people and nation, making of them a royal house, to serve God as priests; and they shall reign upon the earth" (Rev 5:9–10; cf. Klassen 1966).

**E. War in the Early Christian Writings**

Some scholars argue that the NT itself has nothing to say directly on the matter of war or military participation. Others insist that a careful reading of the NT can only lead to the conclusion that "war by its very nature contradicts the principles [of the Kingdom] point by point" and that it "represents a concentration of all those things in human life which are most irreconcilably opposed to the will of God as shown in Jesus Christ" (Dodd 1939: 12, 15). The dominant position until recent times is that the NT does not rule out all participation in wars.

Those who allow for Christian participation in war have to come to terms with two aspects of the early Christian teaching which are very difficult to reconcile with participation in war, or indeed with any lethal violence.

The first and the most important is the teaching of Jesus that his disciples are to love their enemies (Luke 6:28, 35). The illustrations he provides on how this might work make the point that the enemy can be treated as God treats people, treating enemy and friend alike (Matt 5:43–8). No Stoic passivity is recommended; rather, an assertive act of engaging the enemy through an act of love which invests in the furtherance of the life of the enemy. Any attempt to justify participation in war must come to terms with this clear and undisputed teaching.

During past wars it has usually been stated or tacitly assumed by exegetes that the teachings of Jesus do not apply in this instance. A manual provided for German soldiers during the Second World War written by a distinguished professor argued that Christians make the best soldiers and that "the Christian is cheerful in life, cheerful in death, friendly towards friends and courageous towards enemies" (Rendtorff 1937: 6). The same author affirms that "Genuine soldierhood and genuine faith in God belong together. It is no joke that on our belt buckles as soldiers the words appear: God with us; and that these words have been preserved for us over many dark years" (ibid. 7). It is difficult to resurrect such arguments in favor of wars, for our understanding of the message of the kingdom of Jesus and of the church has grown. Moreover, Martin Luther King and Cesar Chavez, who actively loved their enemies and manifested courageous non-violence, seem closer to the rule of God.

In addition, the technology of modern warfare makes a profound difference to the discussion. Few believe that a "just" war is possible today, and it is hard to make a moral case for pursuing a nuclear war. The greatest global security may come as people learn to love their enemies and seek a solution in which there will be no losers but only winners. Modern war depersonalizes the enemy. To love enemies makes it possible to regard them as human beings for whom Christ died. To be sure some would restrict "enemies" to personal enemies and suggest that the command has nothing to do with international relations or group relations; or that the claims of justice must also be met and that Jesus says nothing about what to do when others are being abused. In the case of grave abuses, it is argued, resorting to violence is necessary to avert greater harm. There is no easy way to resolve the dilemma.

The second issue to be addressed is the nature of the social reality Jesus brought into being, which he called the kingdom, and which later Christians called the church. While the argument whether the NT allows participation in war cannot be settled, there is agreement that the conflicts which came into being as a result of Jesus' call to discipleship do not constitute the purpose of his mission. When he said that he came "to bring not peace but a sword" he was not disagreeing with his own beatitude for the peacemaker (Matt 5:9) or denying that his disciples should be called children of peace (Luke 10:6) or the hope of the angelic promise at his birth: "Peace on earth" (Luke 2:14). Rather he was realistically and

compassionately saying that the birth pangs of the messianic age would be violence and war (Borg 1984: 199). The writer of Acts described the message of the early church in a nutshell as a "gospel of peace" (Acts 10:36).

The writer to the Ephesians saw the work of Christ as the great bringer of peace who destroyed walls and brought reconciliation between Jew and Greek, and who killed not his enemies but the enmity that existed between humans and God and between various human classes (Eph 2:14–18). With all this came a new view of God—as the God of peace.

Finally in contrast to the earlier pacifism which was grounded on an optimistic view of human nature biblical scholarship now takes seriously the relation between peace and justice and recognizes that passivism, or indeed nonresistance, is never the way of the NT. The profound commitment of early Christians to the values of justice and peace, their sagacity in avoiding the pitfalls of the *pax romana* are in retrospect impressive. There is increasing recognition of the fact that behind this movement stood one person of considerable strength, Jesus of Nazareth, who, drawing from his religious heritage said a decisive no to war. There were other strands in his heritage. He could have chosen Phineas as his hero, the most widely honored Jewish leader in the first century (Klassen 1986). The dominant positions in Judaism of his time saw participation in war as a god-given duty and his creativity in rejecting those options is especially remarkable (Kocis 1971). He stood with Johanan ben Zakkai and others of his generation and in retrospect it is hard to fault him for that path. Those who chose the path of war brought untold pain and suffering to their people and harm to their religion. It is generally agreed "that the ethic of Jesus is the antithesis of the warlike mood, and if universally accepted, would create an ethos in which war was impossible" (*IDB* 4: 801).

**F. The Early Church and the Military**

Since Adolf Harnack wrote his book *Militia Christi* in 1903, scholars have devoted much time to the question, Did early Christians participate in the military and if not what were the reasons for their refusal? Hans von Campenhausen argued that until the year 175 C.E. there is no evidence that there were any Christians in the army, ergo there was no problem. Even the NT he argued, cannot be pressed into service on this issue: "Every attempt to derive answers from the early sources, especially from the NT itself on this question are doomed to failure" he concluded (von Campenhausen 1960: 206).

Ten years later the distinguished church historian, Robert M. Grant reached the opposite conclusion. He singled out, "The only point, though it was a crucial one, at which Christian teaching sharply diverged from that of most Greek and Roman moralists was in relation to war and military service. Jesus' pronouncements about nonresistance left an indelible impression on the minds of the early Christians. Early Christian theologians condemned murder and cited war as prime instance. Manuals of church discipline refused to allow for the possibility of military service and insisted that upon conversion a soldier had to leave the army" (Grant 1970: 273).

There has, however, been unrelenting pressure from those for whom the early church is in some sense normative, to ask why there are no Christian soldiers in the army till 175 and why so few from 175 till 310? Was it the violence connected with the army or the idolatry? Or did it perhaps have something to do with the fact that the words, "love your enemies" as a summary of their faith were among the most often quoted by the 2d -century Christians? Already *2 Clement* noted that pagans, when they heard of Christians, admired the doctrine of loving the enemies, but goes on to lament the fact that it was so seldom put into practice (*2 Clem.* 13:4), even towards their friends.

Adolf Harnack's interest arose from the growth of the church. He was fascinated by the fact "that the early Christians perceived themselves as God's soldiers and that the historical shift from paganism to Christianity first took place publicly in the army" (1963: 24). Harnack's work was severely criticized by historians, pacifist (Cadoux 1919: 10–13) and non-pacifist (Hornus 1980) alike. In the introduction to the English translation of Harnack (1981) David McInnes Gracie has masterfully outlined the course of the discussion. It is clear from his survey that the discussion can easily be divided into "hawks and doves" as he himself does. It is also clear that through the careful historical work of Hornus, Helgeland, Daly,

Bainton and others more light is cast upon this issue. The fullness of the evidence is now being assimilated and we will need clearly to revise the extreme positions on either side.

Harnack was no doubt mistaken in his conclusion that apocalyptic imagery can lead to easier use of violence. He is also perhaps less than candid in his reasons why the designation, soldier *(miles)* for a Christian fell into disfavor. The evidence Hornus (1980) gathered suggests that Christians invoked a higher loyalty and that there was always then some uneasiness about Christians serving in the military (police duty) or killing their neighbors. Just as modern policemen and soldiers often have trauma after killing someone, so by the late 2d and 3d centuries Christians sought to assist not only their own when lethal violence had been used, but also to prevent them from doing so. Invoking the higher law then covered more than merely the commandment to "love one's enemies." It made it possible to serve the *politeuma* of God without renouncing the *politeia* in which they lived.

Even now there is no agreement on the issue of Christian participation in the military in the first few centuries. The NT indicates that army personnel were recruited into the church. There is no report whether they continued in their occupation. Some Church Fathers speak against Christians participating in the military. By the 4th century, Martin of Tours, a Christian in the military, was so revolted by the use of violence in his time that he left the military because "It is not lawful for me to fight" (Hornus 1980). Without the strong conviction that Jesus was the Messianic King and that the Christian call is to fight with different weapons under his Lordship, that break could not have been undertaken. In any case the NT cannot be invoked in support of participation in war or for traditional pacifism. When certain questions are asked of it we must first ascertain the context in which those questions are asked and the context in which the NT was written. On the question of war, the answers have always been varied and therefore invite continuing dialogue based on careful study before a consensus can be reached.

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**WAR RULE** (1QM). Also known as the *War Scroll* or *War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness,* this scroll was among the major documents discovered in Qumran Cave 1, and was first published by Sukenik (1954–55). The definitive edition in English is that of Yadin (1962). Several fragments from this work have also been found in Cave 4 (see Hunzinger 1957; Baillet 1972, 1982), their contents suggesting that the work existed in different recensions, probably at different times. Nineteen columns of 1QM (= *Milḥamah*) have been preserved, but the bottom of all the columns and almost certainly some final columns have been destroyed. Column XIX was written on a separate sheet, and may not have followed directly after XVIII; however, its contents form a plausible sequel to those of XVIII.

**A. Contents**

The document is divided into three sections. The first (cols. I–IX) describes the plan of the war, and regulations regarding the warriors and their equipment. The overall sequence of events is first given (col. I): the war will last for forty years, beginning with a conquest of the land of Israel in six years. It will be fought by the "children of light" and predominant among the enemy (the "children of darkness") in the initial phase is the nation of the "Kittim." The seventh, sabbatical year (col. II) is devoted to the (reformed) temple cult. The remaining years of the war will be divided into campaigns against the nations of the known world, who are listed according to Genesis 10. Cols. III–IV describe the army's trumpets, banners, (also shields?) and their inscriptions. Cols. V–VI.7 are apparently intended to depict the formation, weaponry, and age-limits of the three components of the army of the "children of light": infantry, light infantry (?—*nšy hbynym*), and cavalry. All women, children, and cultically ineligible persons are barred from the camp. VII.9–IX describe military maneuvers, the pitched battle, siege (?), and ambush.

The second section (cols. X–XIV) contains various liturgical pieces juxtaposed without any explicit rationale, and unfortunately the beginning of the section is lost at the foot of col. IX. However, it seems from the quoting of Deut 20:2–4 that the first item (XI.1–5) comprises a speech from the chief priest before battle. X.5 prescribes an address by "officers" *(sôterîm)* to the soldiers, but it is unclear whether the following items of liturgy in X.6–XII.17, which are juxtaposed without a break or any further rubrics, are meant to constitute such an address, or whether the whole of cols. X–XII is the chief priest's speech. There is certainly no doubt that the various items are originally quite independent and indeed quite varied in theme and ideology. They offer an interesting form-critical challenge to scholars. By contrast, the settings of the contents of cols. XII and XIV are clear. XIII opens with a rubric stipulating that the chief priest (?—the reference is lost at the end of col. XII), the other priests, the Levites, and "elders of the *sereḥ"* ("army"?) shall "bless … the God of Israel … and they shall curse Belial, and all the spirits of his lot *(gôral).*" The following material is the only markedly dualistic part of this section, and shows strong similarities with the covenant renewal ceremony described in 1QS 1:18 (see Yadin 1962: 224). Col. XIV also opens with rubrics: "After they have retired from the slain towards the camp, they shall all sing the 'psalm of return.' In the morning … they shall bless all together the God of Israel …"

The third section, cols. XV–XIX, describes the battle against the "Kittim," whose seven stages are won alternately by the "children of light" and the "children of darkness." This consists of three kinds of material: liturgical items, battle-descriptions, and the framework which binds them together and provides the overall picture of the encounter. Some of the material is paralleled elsewhere in the document (see below).

The battle itself, as well as the liturgy, is conducted by the priests, headed by the chief priest. Priestly leadership of the army is in fact maintained throughout all the sections of the scroll. The brief reference to the inscription on the shield of the "Prince of the Congregation" (v 1) is tantalizing. This character belongs to the source-material rather than to the ideology of the scroll as a whole, for its presence serves to emphasize the complete absence of any lay figure elsewhere in 1QM, a curious and interesting absence. It seems that the only "messianic" figure in 1QM is priestly. The place of a lay warrior "messiah" is filled by the angelic host, or an individual angel, the "Prince of Light" (XIII.10) or Michael (XVII.6), or God himself (XIII.13; XIX.1). The lack of consistency in 1QM in this respect as well as others is almost certainly to be explained by its complex literary history.

**B. Literary History**

Although the overall plan as outlined above is reasonably clear, the arrangement of the contents is not without its problems. First, the relationship between the 40-year war of cols. II–IX, and the seven-stage battle of XV–XIX is unclear. Although col. I seems to explain that the battle of XV–XIX represents the opening stage of the war of II–IX, XV–XIX depict an eschatological confrontation between light and darkness, while II–IX depict Israel against the nations. Second, the relationship between the liturgical items in X–XIV and between this section as a whole and the rest of the scroll is unexplained. Third, the three sections of the scroll share material which is either virtually identical (XII.7ff. and XIX.1ff.) or

closely related (XIV.2ff. and XIX.9ff.; battle descriptions from VII and XVI). Such observations have led to suggestions that it was compiled from several sources. After earlier assumptions about the literary unity of the document, it has been recognized that the document has a literary history (Davies 1977). This is confirmed by fragments from Cave 4, which appear to belong to a different recension (or recensions) of the work.

Although the Cave 4 fragments (4QM$^{iii–f}$[491–496]) have now been published in full (Baillet 1982) and compared with 1QM, no analysis of the data has yet been undertaken in terms of the literary history and recension of the document. On the basis of a study of dualism at Qumran (P. von der Osten-Sacken 1969) argued that the "eschatological war-dualism" of 1QM I was the earliest form of that belief at Qumran and the earliest stratum of 1QM itself. A detailed analysis focusing on the document itself (Davies 1977) reached the opposite conclusion, namely that the dualistic material in the document was one of the latest strata, and the non-dualistic nationalistic ideology lay in the earlier strata. Similar conclusions have been reached by Duhaime (1977, 1987). The first Cave 4 fragment published (4QM$^{iii}$: Hunzinger 1957) was held to represent an "older recension" which was demonstrably less "sectarian" and more "nationalistic." Further comparison of 1QM with the Cave 4 fragments will hopefully clarify: (1) the nature of literary recensional activity at Qumran (which can be applied to other works such as 1QS, CD, and 1QH); and (2) the development of ideology at Qumran, especially with respect to dualism.

**C. Genre and Historical Background**

The purpose of the scroll remains disputed. The ms of 1QM dates from the end of the 1st century B.C.E. or early 1st century C.E. According to Yadin the tactics and weaponry described in it reflect Roman practice of the time of Caesar and Augustus. However, this view remains disputed, and the fact that all the fighting in the scroll is done by light infantry with a large body of heavy infantry and cavalry used only in pursuit may point to the experience of guerrilla warfare such as used in the Maccabean period (Davies 1979: 65–67). If the scroll has a long history then obviously many different political and military conditions may have influenced it. However, it seems impossible that in our document the Kittim are any other than the Romans; no other "final enemy" could possibly be in view. In Yadin's view, and that of several other scholars, 1QM is essentially a practical composition which foresees a war against Rome which would be eschatological. Such a background is plausible; indeed, the mixture in the scroll of dualistic and nationalistic viewpoints may be the result of a deliberate effort to harmonize formal idealistic notions of the final overthrow of evil with zealous antagonism to the power of Rome. However, this can only be speculative and may not hold for earlier versions of the work which seem to have circulated and will have reflected a different historical context and even a different enemy. It has been suggested, for example (Davies 1977), that II–IX contain materials from a Hasmonean military manual (see also Duhaime 1986). The view has also been expressed that 1QM is entirely idealistic—perhaps a liturgical text (Carmignac 1958; North 1958). Generic analysis is important for this question; although earlier commentators have sometimes described 1QM as an "apocalypse" (e.g., Michaud 1955), more recent analyses based on more technical definitions (Collins [ed] 1979) of "apocalypse" have withheld this label. Duhaime (1986) has recently conducted a comparison with other Greco-Roman military works, concluding that 1QM corresponds rather closely in content and structure to Hellenistic military manuals. Nevertheless, its obvious impracticalities, such as the highly choreographed movements which entail the enemy falling or fleeing on cue, the direction of all maneuvers by priests blowing trumpets, and the direct intervention of God render this work unique and link it as closely to OT theological traditions (see, for example, 2 Chronicles 20) as to the practicalities, political and military, of the Hellenistic-Roman world whose destruction it envisages.

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**WARRIOR, DIVINE.** The understanding of God as a warrior is grounded in the origins of biblical religion. The image of the divine warrior dominates the oldest Israelite poetry, remains a frequent characterization of God throughout the biblical period, and gains a new prominence in the apocalyptic literature of both Jewish and Christian communities. Throughout its use in different literary and historical contexts this image of God retained many of its fundamental features and yet functioned in various ways in the thought and practice of the communities which employed it.

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A. The Hebrew Scriptures
1. The Premonarchic Era
2. The Monarchy
3. The Postmonarchic Era
B. Postbiblical Jewish Literature
1. Apocrypha
2. Qumran
C. Early Christian Literature

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## A. The Hebrew Scriptures

**1. The Premonarchic Era.** Israel's earliest literature, a group of archaic poems, describes divine activity primarily in terms of war. Most of these poems—Exodus 15, Deuteronomy 33, Judges 5, Habakkuk 3 (cf. Genesis 49, Psalm 68)—are hymns of victory recording Israel's early military successes. In them God is described fighting alongside Israel's tribal militia and representing the determinative factor in the victory. The oldest of these hymns introduces Israel's deity with explicit military language: "Yahweh is a warrior,/Yahweh is his name./Pharaoh's chariots and army/he cast into the sea" (Exod 15:3–4). Though not mentioned in these hymns, references in other historical traditions indicate that the ark was carried into war in this early period as a concrete representation of the divine presence on the battlefield (Numbers 10:35–36; cf. Joshua 6; 1 Samuel 4–7). The "Book of the Wars of Yahweh," which is quoted briefly in Numbers 21:14–15 but has not survived, and mention of other records of divine war (Exod 17:14–16), suggest that these archaic hymns are a small sample of a larger literature which once existed in early Israel describing God as a warrior.

This notion of war as a religious event in which God fought as a participant was not unique to Israel, but common throughout the ancient Near East. The historical annals of the great empires in Mesopotamia and Egypt describe major military engagements as including the participation of divine warriors, both male and female, alongside the king and his human armies. Wars recorded in these texts are typically initiated by a deity through an oracle or divination ritual, and won as a result of the strategy, frightening presence, and superior strength of the deity (e.g., *ANET,* 234–37, 253–56, 267–90). This understanding was reflected on the battlefield itself where, for example, each division in the armies of Seit I and Ramesses II was named for a god whose image preceded it into battle (*ANET,* 253–56).

While Israel's premonarchic poems represent divine warfare as an historical reality undertaken to secure its existence in the land of Canaan, the imagery for the divine warrior as well as for Israel's enemy is

taken from the realm of nature. The divine warrior is portrayed as a storm god. God appears with the storm cloud representing the divine chariot (Judg 5:4; Hab 3:8; Ps 68:4, 7–9, 33) and heavily armed with the powers of the thunderstorm, violent winds (Exod 15:8–10), and lightning bolts (Hab 3:9–12). Accompanying the storm god are heavenly armies, sometimes identified with other aspects of nature (Deut 33:2–3; Judg 5:20; Ps 68:18; Hab 3:5, 11; Miller 1973). When the divine warrior appears, nature on earth is devastated (Judg 5:4–5; Hab 3:6, 16–17). The historical enemy in these poems is commonly identified with another natural symbol, the sea or river (Exod 15:4–10; Judg 5:19–21; Ps 68:22–23; Hab 3:8–15). When the enemy is vanquished, nature returns to life and produces abundant crops (Deut 23:28; Ps 68:10–11).

This imagery indicates that Israel's understanding of the divine warrior has its roots in an ANE myth recounting a battle between the gods themselves: the storm god and the sea, a deity symbolizing cosmic powers of chaos and death. Detailed examples of this conflict myth are present in the neighboring cultures of Mesopotamia and N Canaan. In *Enūma eliš,* a Babylonian myth, the storm god Marduk defeats the deity Tiamat, the sea, thereby vanquishing all forces of chaos and disorder in the cosmos. Consequently, Marduk establishes the natural orders underlying human life and the political orders in which Babylon was granted preeminence (*ANET,* 60–72, 501–3). A similar picture is presented in texts from the Canaanite city of Ugarit in which the storm god Baʿal defeats Yamm, the sea (alias Nahar, the river), a myth recited presumably to celebrate Baʿal's control of both natural and historical orders (*ANET,* 129–42).

By using nature imagery drawn from the ANE myth of divine conflict to describe its divine warrior, its enemies, and its battles themselves, Israel's early poet-theologians claimed that each historical battle was part of a larger conflict, a conflict between Israel's God and the forces of chaos in the universe as a whole. The primordial victory of Israel's God over these forces, celebrated in the mythic imagery of these early poems, ensured the stability and fertility of the natural orders which sustained physical life and also secured the political orders which guaranteed the survival of Israelite tribal society. Israel's poets knew existence as a struggle to survive and recognized threats to well-being from both natural and political realms, realms not clearly distinguished from one another in antiquity. Within this struggle they perceived the presence of divine powers—described as warriors—who were believed to be instrumental in its outcome. The fascination of Israel's early poets with the notion of God as warrior thus expressed their confidence that the life of the people of Israel would be preserved from all threats against it.

The exact character of the historical conflicts between Israelite tribal coalitions and their enemies, which the divine participation legitimated and mandated is difficult to determine because the literary corpus of poetry from this period is limited and the historical and sociological situation hard to reconstruct. The warfare of Israel and its God in this early period has been described as primarily offensive (Miller 1973), primarily defensive (von Rad 1951), and as a popular struggle for liberation from an oppressive city-state regime (Gottwald *IDBSup,* 942–44). Likely, conflicts of each of these kinds were involved in the emergence of the new Israelite state in the Canaanite hill country. Whether Israel understood its divine warrior to fight these wars alone, requiring no human participation, is less likely (Lind 1980; see esp. Exodus 15). The emphasis on the determinative character of the divine presence does lead to a kind of passivism in later apocalyptic presentations. But in Israel's old poetry, as war literature from neighboring cultures also suggests, the focus on the divine warrior acknowledges divine power as the ultimate determiner of human fate without denying or discouraging the warfare of human armies (e.g., Judg 5:12–18, 23; cf. *ANET,* 289–90).

**2. The Monarchy.** The conception of the divine warrior in Israel's premonarchic poetry is preserved in its fundamental features in literature which comes from the royal court and temple in Jerusalem during Israel's monarchy. In fact, the notion of divine warfare is a major theme linking the religious ideology of the tribal period to that of the kingdom (*CMHE,* 91–111). In psalms written to honor the rule of God and the Davidic king on Mount Zion, the imagery of the divine warrior is prominant (e.g., Psalms 2; 18; 24; 46; 48; 76; 89; 97; 132; 144). As did the earlier poetry, these poems picture the deity as a warrior who has vanquished primordial chaos and become king in the universe, ruling on Zion and ensuring the failure of

any natural or historical threat to Israel's security and well-being. In some hymns, reflections of primordial-divine conflict are particularly vivid (Pss 18:8–16; 89:6–14; cf. 74:12–17). The new element in these monarchic hymns is the connection between the divine warrior and Jerusalemite royal institutions. Mount Zion has taken the place of the old southern mountain as the divine sanctuary (Psalms 46; 48; 76; cf. Deut 33:2; Judg 5:4; Hab 3:3–7), and the Davidic king, as commander of the royal armies, has become the human representative of the divine warrior (Psalms 2; 89:9, 25). The identification of the divine warrior with Jerusalem lends divine legitimation to the monarchic institutions and to the use of force to preserve the political orders they represent (cf. Paul's view of the state in Rom 13:1–7).

Another type of Israelite literature from the royal court which highlights the warfare of God is the Deuteronomistic History (DH, Deuteronomy–2 Kings), a history of the state of Israel which reflects in its original edition the point of view of the court of the Davidic King Josiah near the end of the monarchy. This history of Israel preserves older traditions about divine warfare in poetry (e.g., Deuteronomy 33; Josh 10:12–13; Judges 5), narrative (e.g., 1 Samuel 2; 4–6) and legislation (e.g., Deuteronomy 20). As did these and other early traditions, the DH attributes Israel's military successes, both in the tribal period and in the monarchy, to the fighting of the divine warrior (Deut 7:16–26; Joshua 6; 2 Sam 5:17–25), though the primordial dimension of divine warfare which was so much a part of earlier poetry has essentially been omitted in the historian's own commentary. The historian's particular treatment of the divine warrior focuses on God's declaration and leadership of tribal warfare as a unified conquest of the entire land (Joshua 1–12), on God's demand that the enemy with its idols and possessions be completely annihilated (Heb *ḥerem;* Deut 20:10–18; Joshua 6–7), and on God's demand for obedience to the law as a condition for divine combat on Israel's behalf (Josh 1:1–9; 23; Judges 2; 2 Kings 17). These characteristics of the divine warrior's activity in Israel's history all appear to reflect the understanding of the Josianic historian rather than actual earlier concepts or practice. They reflect a theological interpretation of the divine warrior's activity in Israel's history which lends support to Josiah's own policies; his renewed commitment to the law, his purge of non-Yahwistic shrines and killing of their priests, and his move toward political independence from Assyria and the reclamation of land which had earlier been Israel's (2 Kings 22–23).

A third kind of literature from the period of monarchy reflects an understanding of the divine warrior within a different institutional setting—the circles of the prophets. Israel's prophets shared the tribal and royal conception of God as a warrior whose involvement in military engagements determined their outcome and preserved or destroyed nations, but they saw political implications in this image less closely identified with Israel's own national interest. The prophets, like Israel's poets and historians, considered Israel's deity to be king of the universe who executed the divine will through the practice of divine warfare (Isaiah 6; Mic 1:2–4; Zeph 1:14–18; Joel 2:1–11). The fervent concern for justice among Israel's prophets, however, gave a unique emphasis to their apprehension of the kinds of warfare in which the divine warrior was engaged. For the prophets, the divine warrior entered military conflicts against any nation characterized by injustice and political hubris. Thus the prophecy of Amos begins with the announcement of a series of attacks against Israel's neighbors who had violated acceptable standards of international fidelity and social justice (Amos 1:3–2:3). Yet, the more remarkable conviction, which dominates the remainder of Amos' speeches (2:4–9:10) and the prophetic books as a whole, is that Israel's divine warrior could attack Israel itself as judgment for the corruption in its own society. Repeatedly, in oracles against Israel (e.g., Amos 2, 9; Hosea 9) and Judah (e.g., Micah 1; Isaiah 5; Jeremiah 9), the divine warrior is identified with the armies of Assyria or Babylonia fighting against God's own people. Thus prophetic circles associated the warfare of God with the divine maintenance of justice in the world, a justice which would eventuate ultimately in the abolition of war and the reign of peace (e.g., Isaiah 2; 11; Jeremiah 31).

**3. The Postmonarchic Era.** After Jerusalem was destroyed and Israel ceased to be an independent ANE state with its own government and political institutions, the conception of God as a warrior was preserved and developed primarily in a new literary genre, the apocalyptic vision. In this literature, arising from circles which had become disillusioned with efforts to revive the Israelite state after the Babylonian

exile, the image of the divine warrior is invoked in a way which exploits its earliest roots in ANE myth and at the same time identifies it with a new political crisis. New divine warrior hymns from prophetic schools preserving and editing the oracles of Isaiah and Zechariah picture the divine warrior with images which highlight the cosmic conflict with the chaos deity present in the ANE combat myth, and in Israel's earliest divine warrior poetry (e.g., Isa 26:16–27:6; 59:15b–20; 63:1–6; Zech 9:1–17; 14:1–21; Hanson 1975). In apocalyptic visions, however, the setting of the divine combat shifts from the primordial origins of the universe when chaos was vanquished and order established as preeminent, to the future in which the powers of chaos and death will be annihilated absolutely and the universe will be reconstituted as a world free from any threat to physical or political well-being. This new emphasis on the character of divine conflict as a cosmic event inaugurating a new era, together with the fact that Israel no longer had its own state or military, gives the impression that divine warfare was no longer considered part of an actual historical battle between human armies. Rather, the appearance of the divine warrior was understood as an attack by heavenly forces which would destroy existing political institutions oppressing God's faithful people and establish an enduring divine government without precedent.

The culmination of this apocalyptic conception of the divine warrior within the Hebrew Scriptures is found in the book of Daniel, composed in response to the Seleucid repression of Jewish religion in the middle of the 2d century B.C.E. With imagery reminiscent of the divine warrior's conflict with the sea in older Israelite and ANE texts, the visionary describes in Daniel 7–12 the fall of four earthly kingdoms culminating in the destruction of that of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. The victory is so exclusively attributed in these visions to the divine warrior that the author appears to renounce any human participation in the conflict (Daniel 7; 12; Collins 1977: 153–223). The final solution to oppressive force is still seen as force, but the force of divine armies, not human ones. The culmination of the war, anticipated by this visionary, was to be a new age without death in which God's people would reign (Daniel 12).

**B. Postbiblical Jewish Literature**

**1. Apocrypha.** Written to record another Jewish response to the same political crisis which gave rise to the book of Daniel, 1 and 2 Maccabees also see the survival of the Jews dependent on the intervention of God as a warrior. In these works, however, the divine warrior is not described as acting alone to achieve a final, apocalyptic victory over the evil earthly kingdom of Antiochus. Rather, God is understood to command and participate in the armed insurrection led by the Maccabees. The outnumbered Jewish guerrillas recognized, according to these accounts of the war, that only power from heaven could ensure their success (1 Macc 3:18–22; 4:9–11, 30–33). In visions on the battlefield itself the Maccabees are reported to have seen a heavenly cavalry leading the Jewish army into battle (2 Macc 10:27–31; 11:6–12; cf. 5:1–4). Thus the old image of the divine warrior was used in response to a new political crisis in contrasting ways: in 1 and 2 Maccabees to inspire armed resistance in an actual historical conflict, in Daniel to disparage human resistance and express confidence in a divine solution beyond the limits of current human institutions.

**2. Qumran.** Within the separatist religious sect at Qumran, the image of God as a warrior is particularly prominent in the War Scroll, where it assumes highly apocalyptic form. The War Scroll describes a divine battle against the forces of darkness which will eradicate evil once and for all. In this case, members of the sect expect to participate in the final war, and detailed instructions are included to prescribe the regulations for officers, recruitment of soldiers, organization of armies, kinds of signals, battle strategy, and even the hymns of victory to be sung following the conflict. In this apocalyptic document, the expectation of a cosmic conflict between the divine warrior and cosmic and earthly evil is combined with the preparation for human participation in the battle. The war will not be a narrowly historical one, however, as the Maccabean war or the insurrections against Rome, but one inaugurated by the appearance of the divine warrior and culminating in the founding of divine rule in the world.

**C. Early Christian Literature**

Though the use of the divine warrior image is not widespread in early Christian literature, it does have a prominent place in one NT book, the Apocalypse of John (Revelation). Its use here is influenced primarily by its apocalyptic coloring in Isaiah 56–66, Zechariah 9–14, and Daniel 7–12. The author of these visions,

writing in response to the repression of Christianity by the Roman Empire, regards the divine warrior in ways particularly reminiscent of the book of Daniel. The Apocalypse is structured according to the pattern of the ancient combat myth. It pictures the divine warrior, heavily armed and leading the heavenly armies against the Roman Empire, symbolized as a dragon (19:11–21; Yarbro Collins 1976). As in Daniel, this conflict was to be no ordinary war but the final conquest by the divine warrior—in this case the triumphant Christ—of human political institutions which acted contrary to God's designs and persecuted the faithful communities of believers. The result was to be the establishment of the rule of God on earth at which time both natural and political orders would be reconstituted to ensure the complete well-being of God's people (chaps. 21–22). As in Daniel, the divine warrior acts alone and the description of victory over the dragon reflects the author's confidence that ultimate powers were moving against repressive human institutions and would in the end reward the passive resistance of the faithful.

Elsewhere in the NT, imagery drawn from the divine warrior tradition is neither as prominent nor as directly related to actual political institutions as it is in the Apocalypse of John. When Paul (Rom 13:11–14; 2 Cor 6:7; 10:3–6; 1 Thess 5:2–11) or his disciples (Eph 6:10–20; Col 2:15) use military imagery, they urge the Christian community to see itself involved in a struggle not with human adversaries or institutions (2 Cor 10:3–4; Eph 6:12; cf. Rom 13:1–7), but with the powers of evil which threaten the gospel. Lying behind this Pauline perspective is the apocalyptic idea that the world is caught in a struggle between divine and diabolical forces which will one day be resolved by the conquest of chaos and death (Rom 8:18–25; 1 Cor 15:1–28). Until then, Paul and his disciples instruct Christians to arm themselves with the values of the gospel—truth, righteousness, faith, peace—in order to become participants in the present, earthly dimensions of this larger spiritual and moral struggle.

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## WARS OF THE LORD, BOOK OF THE

[Heb *sēper milḥămōt yhwh* ( סֵפֶר מִלְחֲמֹת יהוה)]. A book, or perhaps an epic poem, mentioned only once in the Bible, which apparently contained an archaic poetic account of God's "Holy War" directed against the enemies of Israel in the time of Moses and Joshua (Num 21:14). Most scholars have assumed it to be an anthology of old war poems dealing with the conflict between the invading Israelites and the original inhabitants of Canaan, suggesting that it perhaps be identified with the Book of Jashar. See JASHAR, BOOK OF. According to a tradition preserved in the LXX and in the Aramaic Targums, the phrase "The Wars of the Lord" is the beginning of the poetic quotation and not part of the actual title. The book referred to would then be the Torah. But according to the Vulgate and both medieval and modern exegetes, this is the complete title of a book which, like the Book of Jashar, has not been preserved.

The brief poetic quotation was cited by the narrator primarily because it placed the boundary of Moab at the Arnon River. Though the Hebrew text is difficult, it may be rendered as follows:

The Benefactor (i.e., Yahweh) has come in a storm;
Yes, He has come to the wadies of the Arnon.
He marched through the wadies;

He marched, he turned aside—to the seat of Ar;
He leaned toward the border of Moab.

Because of archaic features, the text was subsequently misread with resultant confusion in the ancient versions and some textual corruption in the transmission of MT. The picture presented is that of the Divine Warrior poised on the edge of the promised land, before the most celebrated battles of the Exodus-Conquest. He has come in the whirlwind with His hosts to the sources of the Arnon River in Transjordan. He marches through the wadies, turning aside to settle affairs with Moab before marching against the two Amorite kings to the N, and then across the Jordan to Gilgal and the conquest of Canaan. The picture is indeed a fitting one for the *incipit* of a narrative poem entitled "The Book of the Wars of Yahweh."

The citation appears in a prose context in which two other ancient poems are also quoted: "The Song of the Well" in Num 21:17–20; and the Amorite "Song of Heshbon" in Num 21:27–30 (Hanson 1968). It is not certain whether the book was actually a written source as such. It may have been a familiar song in the oral repertoire of the professional singers of ancient Israel, which was used within some festival context—perhaps in the celebration of the Ritual Conquest tradition at Gilgal in premonarchic Israel. If so, we have here a reference to a major poetic source behind the familiar JEDP sources of Pentateuchal criticism.

The origin and concept of the Day of the Lord in Israel's prophetic tradition is apparently connected with the content of this book (von Rad 1959: 108). The "Wars of the Lord" are the classical battles of the Exodus-Conquest era, which were celebrated within the cult of ancient Israel (see also Christensen 1975: 50–51).

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**WASHINGTONIANUS.** See CODEX (CODEX WASHINGTONIANUS).

**WASM (CAMEL BRAND).** Brands (Ar *wasm,* pl. *wusūm*) are used by the bedouin tribes as an indelible mark to indicate the ownership of camels. While, as with any herdsman, the bedouin would be able to recognize their own animals, were a dispute to arise over a camel that has strayed the brand would provide proof of ownership. Many different shapes, usually of quite simple and often symmetrical forms are used by the tribes as brands, and are known by the names of familiar objects. See Fig. WAS.01. In Jordan today, for example, the Howeitat tribe use the *ʾafayhij* and the Beni Sakhr the *dabbūs.* Subsections of a tribe sometimes use a completely different *wasm* from that of the main tribe, or use the same basic shape in combination with another. Frequently, the additional brand is one or more straight lines *(miṭraq)* which, when it is used to indicate this distinction, is called *šāhid* (pl. *šawāhid*). The line (or lines) may be placed in any relationship to the main *wasm* and in some instances is joined to the basic shape (for example, the *ṭuwayqah* in Fig. WAS.01 is used by the Faiz branch of the Beni Sakhr). Some authors have compared European heraldic devices used to distinguish branches of a family; however, too close a comparison is not justified, as there is no rigid system or set of rules governing adoption of *šawāhid,* and they are often subsequently abandoned when the distinction is no longer useful or necessary (Huber 1891: 178).

The position of the *wasm,* whether branded on the camel's cheek, neck, shoulder, or thigh, for example, is as important for identification as the shape itself (see the descriptions of *wusūm* in Dickson 1949: 420–25; Oppenheim 1939–52, 1967–68). In some cases when the same basic shape is used by more than one tribe it is the only distinction.

When a camel is sold, the new owner brands the animal with his tribal *wasm* and although the previous brand remains, the tribal *wasm* of the latest owner can be recognized as more recent, thus identifying the animal (Musil 1926: 28–29).

The tribal brand is not generally used on smaller livestock such as sheep and goats, which are either not marked at all (Musil 1927: 232) or which have their ears clipped or incised with a different shape.

In addition to being used to mark the ownership of camels, the *wasm* is often inscribed on graves, on the rocks around wells and shelters and on isolated boulders and outcrops. On gravestones a single *wasm,* that used by close kinsmen of the deceased, is usually engraved alone, although sometimes the *wusūm* of all branches and subsections of his tribe can be inscribed as well (Musil 1928b: 419). *Wusūm* are hammered into rocks around or inside wells to indicate ownership (Dickson 1949: 428) but also, as with shelters, to mark the temporary presence of members of a tribe. As a form of graffiti they are found on isolated boulders and rock faces throughout the deserts of Arabia.

The identification of inscribed *wusūm* presents considerable difficulties (Field 1952: 2). It is impossible to date them, and even if they are not very old, they are frequently not recognized by the people living in the area today. Different tribes often use the same shape as a *wasm,* the identifying factor being the position of the brand on the camel's body; this distinction is lost when the *wasm* is hammered or chiseled into a rock. A further complication when inscribed *wusūm* occur in groups such as those covering the walls of buildings (Field 1952: fig. 22–23) is the difficulty of separating the various signs into particular combinations. Unless there is an obvious space, difference of patina, or technique of inscribing, it is hard to know where one *wasm* ends and another begins. A few records of inscribed *wusūm* have been made, but the only major published study is Field (1952). In recent years systematic recording of inscribed *wusūm* has been undertaken in Jordan as an important aspect of epigraphic surveys (Macdonald and Searight 1982; King 1987).

*Wusūm* have been identified as marked on camels depicted in the ancient rock art found in Arabia; an example occurs, for instance, in Littmann (1904: pl. VII) and have been found in association with Early North Arabian inscriptions (Field 1952: 31–35; van den Branden 1950 *passim,* 1966: 63–64; Livingstone 1983: 114) although, in some cases the copies of these inscriptions are inaccurate and misleading and the interpretations of the signs as *wusūm* incorrect.

Littmann (1904: 78–102) pointed out the similarities between the forms of *wusūm* (both ancient and modern) and the shapes of the letters of the Thamudic inscriptions. However, one should not place too much significance on this (cf. Knauf 1985: 75) since it is probably the result of a preference when defining a brand to choose simple clear shapes based on a cross, circle, triangle, or rectangle which also frequently correspond, coincidentally, to the symmetrical forms of some of the letters in the scripts used in Early North Arabian and Sayhadic inscriptions. After all, similar shapes used as *wusūm* have been found in such diverse locations as Algeria, the Central Sahara, and Egypt (Field 1952: 31–35).

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**WATEN, KHIRBET EL-.** See MOLADAH (PLACE).

**WATER FOR IMPURITY.** Water which has been mixed with ashes obtained from the burning of the Red Cow for purifying persons and objects from corpse contamination (Numbers 19). (On the burning of the Red Cow, the treatment of the ashes and the preparation and use of the ash-water mixture, see HEIFER, RED.)

The Hebrew term *mê (han)niddâ* (Num 19:9, 13, 20, 21; 31:23) has been variously understood. Most of the instances of the noun *niddâ* signify "impurity." It is used specifically of menstrual impurity (Lev 12:2, 5; 15:19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 33; 18:19; Ezek 18:6; 22:10; 36:17) and of impurity in a general sense (Ezek 7:19, 20; Lam 1:17; Ezra 9:11; 2 Chr 29:5). Once it has the meaning "abomination" (Lev 20:21). In view of this usage, the phrase *mê (han)niddâ* has been translated "water of impurity," or since, the water mixture is used to remove corpse contamination, "water (for the removal) of impurity."

Recently a different understanding of *niddâ* has been advanced (J. Milgrom and D. P. Wright in *TWAT* 5: 250–53). Its etymology is not entirely clear; it may be connected with the root *ndd* which means "depart, flee, wander" *(Qal)* and "make flee, chase away" *(Hip‹il)* or with the root *ndh* "chase away, put aside" *(Pi‹el).* Whatever the etymology, the base meaning of *niddâ* according to these near synonymous verbal roots could be "explusion, elimination." Thus, in the case of menstruation, *niddâ* could signify "discharge" or "elimination" of blood. From this specific use the noun would have acquired a more general sense of "impurity" and "abomination." In the phrase *mê (han)niddâ* the noun retained its more original meaning "elimination." Hence *mê (han)niddâ* signifies "water for the elimination (of impurity)," or simply, "water for purification." This understanding is supported by Zech 13:1 which talks of a water source being opened up for *ḥaṭṭā›t* and *niddâ.* It has been shown that *ḥaṭṭā›t* here can be understood as a privative *Pi‹el* noun meaning "purification, purgation" (Milgrom 1971). This suggests that *niddâ* should have a similar meaning of "purification" rather than "sin." Also Num 8:7 prescribes that the Levites are to be cleansed with *mê ḥaṭṭā›t.* Again, if *ḥaṭṭā›t* here is taken as meaning "purification," then this phrase and *mê (han)niddâ* have a very similar meaning: "water for purification."

Wefing (1981: 356–63) views the term *mê (han)niddâ* as a secondary element of the text. In its present context it means "water against impurity" or "water for purification." Perhaps the term at an earlier stage of the ritual had a connection with ordeal waters such as in Num 5:18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 27 and Exod 32:20.

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**WATER GATE** (PLACE) [Heb *ša‹ar hammayim* (שַׁעַר הַמַּיִם)]. A gate on the E side of Jerusalem in the Persian period, mentioned in connection with Nehemiah's building of the wall (Neh 3:26) and its dedication (Neh 12:37). At this site Ezra read the law to the returned exiles (Neh 8:1, 3 (= 1 Esdr 9:38, 41), and booths were set up for the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles (Neh 8:16). All that is known about the gate is that it was located on the E side of Jerusalem. There is general agreement that the Water Gate was in some proximity to the Gihon spring, serving either as a city access to the spring (Burrows 1933–34: 120), a palace gate (Avi-Yonah 1954: 247), or an access for water for temple use (Pohlmann

1970: 151–54). The parallel account in 1 Esdras identifies the site only as the "east gate of the temple" (1 Esdr 9:38). Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 287) suggests that because of the ruined state of the E wall the reading of the law (Neh 8:1, 3) and celebration of Sukkoth (Neh 8:16) took place outside the city wall "a little down the slope in the general vicinity of the spring itself," rather than inside the city. The mention of the Water Gate provides a common link between material considered to belong to the Ezra Memoir (Ezra 7–10 and Nehemiah 8) and the Nehemiah Memoirs.

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**WATER WORKS.** Because of the necessity of water for human existence, access to and/or storage of this commodity has been a matter of constant concern, and particularly so in the marginally arid regions typical of the E Mediterranean land masses.

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A. Introduction
B. Springs
C. Wells
D. Cisterns and Reservoirs
E. Conduits, Aqueducts, and Qanats
F. Terraces, Cleared Fields, Dams
G. Irrigation Cultures: Mesopotamia and Egypt
H. Water-lifting Devices

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**A. Introduction**

The climate throughout the E Mediterranean is dry or subject to annual periods of minimal rainfall, usually from May through September. Palestine proper has quite a significant overall annual rainfall, totaling 300 mm at Gaza, but rising gradually as one moves N and E, to 700 mm near Bethlehem and 600 mm at Acco. The coastline of Lebanon and Syria also receives substantial precipitation. But the rest of the Middle East is far more arid, and 90 percent of the region S and E of Palestine in an average year receives less than 100 mm of precipitation. The lower limit at which drought farming can be carried on is 250 mm. Not only is the rainfall meager in this area, but it is unevenly distributed in space and time, and the total amount that actually falls in a given area can vary dramatically from year to year. This precipitation arrives during the cooler months, so there is no cloud cover or new moisture to moderate the strength of the summer sun. In consequence, the rates of evapo-transpiration are very high. Because of the low levels of precipitation, the protective cover of vegetation in the Middle East is thin and difficult to replace once damaged. The soil, often light and lacking an absorbent cover of humus, is then soon washed away by the winter rain, which, when it comes, tends to fall in short, intense storms.

These factors, combined with topography, have always had a marked effect on the location and density of human populations in this region, and on their activities. Since humans and the plants and animals on which they feed cannot live without water, and since immediate local water resources usually were not sufficient to sustain life in this region, settled populations have always had to interfere with the natural hydrology. From at least the early Neolithic period it was necessary, or at the very least advantageous, to enhance the flow of springs, to divert the local runoff from precipitation, to conduct and store water, and to tap the flow of occasional or perennial streams. These activities were assisted early on by water works: structures or specialized procedures and tools designed to manipulate the flow of water for human benefit. The types of structures involved were spring houses, wells, agricultural terraces, enhanced runoff fields, wadi barriers, conduits, cisterns, reservoirs, dams, and canals. Several simple water-lifting devices were in use by the MB Age, and a wide variety of procedures evolved in tandem with the appearance of the

structures just noted. Not least of all, the crucial importance of a secure water supply, and the vulnerability of most water works, stimulated the appearance in the ancient Middle East of formal law codes regulating the management and use of water. This process was simply the codification of informal rules of ownership, access, precedence, and maintenance that had evolved among earlier nomadic and settled groups in response to the demands of typical local situations. The hierarchy of applications usually applied to the water managed by such ancient societies in this region included drinking, watering livestock, washing, industrial or craft processes, and irrigation. The Greek and Roman cultures applied much the same sequence of needs to water use (see Vitr. 8.1.1, 6.2; Frontin. *Aq.* 2.91; Pl. *Criti.* 117, a-b). Several related topics fall outside the boundaries of this discussion, such as agricultural schedules, harbors and navigational canals, baths and bathing, sewers, sanitation and drainage, the law codes dealing with all the above, and the symbolic value and practical applications of water in the ancient Middle East.

A rich variety of source materials survives for the history of ancient water works in the Middle East. The archaeological evidence is the most extensive, including both the remains of structures, machines, or tools and the contemporary visual representations of such structures or implements in use. Written sources are also important for our understanding of the ancient water works. Literary sources, such as the Bible or the works of Greek and Roman historians, everyday records on clay tablets in palace archives, inscriptions, and Egyptian papyrus documents all provide critical data on the design, construction, use, and social context of ancient water works in the Middle East. It is fortunate that the literary evidence is richest for the cultures of Egypt and Mesopotamia, where the archaeological evidence has for the most part been lost, and that there is much archaeological evidence in ancient Palestine and the adjacent territories, for which the literary evidence is more restricted. Although essentially outsiders, the Greeks and Romans occupied and affected much of the region, and the written comments and sophisticated structures they left behind testify to the special character of problems of water supply in the ancient Middle East. The Greek and Latin texts in particular provide more objective and extensive information than most local sources.

Nevertheless, in this context the biblical evidence will be the point of departure for the discussion. Certainly the author of Deut 11:10–11 identified the major dichotomy that characterized the use of water in the region in antiquity: "For the land which you are entering to take possession of it is not like the land of Egypt from which you have come, where you sowed your seed and watered it with your feet, like a garden of vegetables; but the land … is a land of hills and valleys, which drinks water by the rain from heaven." Hydraulic technology in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia was governed by the presence of the only three great rivers in the region: the Nile, Tigris, and Euphrates. All three were fed by sources far outside their thickly-settled river valleys: they constituted exogenous water sources in regions where local precipitation was and still is completely insufficient for agriculture or urban life. The rest of the region had to depend on endogenous resources, particularly precipitation and the consequent recharge of local aquifers. Irrigation in the Egyptian sense of the word was impossible here, except on a very small scale for special crops. It was also for the most part unnecessary once structures and procedures had evolved to deal with the typical aridity. Since for the most part the water works of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian cultures differed markedly in character from those in the rest of the Middle East, they will be discussed separately below. Another typical pattern is the contrast, and sometimes the conflict, between the farmer and the herder, embodied early on in the story of Cain and Abel (Gen 4:1–16). Most often the settled and the nomadic ways of life were complementary, enforced by the natural and social resources of specific regions or periods. The two groups did, however, have need of different water works, and distinct resources were available to them. The literary and archaeological evidence reflect this reality as well.

**B. Springs**

The author of Deut 9:7 optimistically describes the promised land as "a land of brooks of water, of fountains and springs, flowing forth in valleys and hills …" Since perennial streams are rare in the region, most early settlements had to depend on springs for their water supply. These sources are fairly common in the porous limestone landscape that comprises most of Palestine, bursting to the surface of the hilly landscape at points where the percolation of ground water is arrested by an impermeable stratum, but are

far less frequent elsewhere in the region. The clarity and convenience of flowing spring water led biblical authors to use it as a symbol of God's goodness: Pss 87:7; 104:10; 107:35; 114:8; Isa 41:18; 58:11; John 4:14. Springs were particularly welcome in the arid regions of the S and E where other water sources were absent, as at the oasis of Elim on the border with Egypt (Exod 15:27; Num 33:9). In completely waterless regions, long-distance travel required the provision of water depots, such as those Herodotus (3.6) reports were developed by the Persians in the N Sinai: all the empty wine jars in Egypt were sent to Memphis, filled with water there, and carried out to the desert for storage at strategic points. The Pharaohs of New Kingdom Egypt made similar provisions for travel along the critical Wadi Hammamat pass from the Nile valley to the Red Sea by building cisterns along the road.

In certain situations it is possible to increase the flow of water by excavation of the rock or earth around the mouth of a spring. It may be that some such intervention is behind the famous story of Moses striking a rock in the Sinai to release a stream of water (Exod 17:1–7; Num 20:10–11). Some spring houses in the ancient Mediterranean world are merely facades fronting deep galleries cut back along the water-bearing stratum to increase the flow and store the result. The famous Peirene spring in Corinth is an example, and in the early stages of its use the Gihon spring at Jerusalem probably was enhanced in this manner. Certainly at Palmyra, Gezer, and Gibeon the original spring caves were excavated to expose more of the aquifer. Strabo (16.2.13) records an ingenious solution to the problems of exploiting a submarine spring near the small, waterless island of Aradus off the coast of Syria (cf. also Pliny *HN,* 5.34.128). The inhabitants collected the precious flow of water by letting down over it a weighted funnel connected to a leather pipe. The fresh water gradually displaced the saltwater in the pipe and was allowed to pour into containers in waiting boats. Just as the flow of springs could be enhanced, so it could be reduced or stopped altogether. Such sabotage could be inflicted by an invading army on occupied land (2 Kgs 3:25), or be adopted as part of a scorched earth policy by a retreating populace. During his preparations for Sennacherib's siege in 701 B.C., Hezekiah had the springs around Jerusalem stopped up in order to deny water to the invading army (2 Chr 32:2–4).

Although the purity of spring water could generally be assumed in antiquity, there were some exceptions caused by natural or man-made pollution. In 2 Kgs 2:19–22, Elisha is informed that the spring of Jericho causes miscarriage, death, and agricultural infertility, and he purifies the water with a bowl of salt. Vitruvius (8.6.15) recommends the addition of salt to purify and improve the taste of cistern water. Pliny (*HN,* 31.22.36) states that water from certain "nitrous and salty acid" springs in the desert around the Red Sea could be made sweet within two hours by the addition of pearl barley, and that the barley itself could then be eaten. The character of well or cistern water was less reliable, and to the prophet Jeremiah (2:13) perverse faithlessness was symbolized by a preference for leaky cisterns over flowing spring water. Pliny (*HN,* 31.21.31) also notes the superiority of flowing water over still, and there was even a connoisseurship of the varying qualities of spring water in the Greek and Roman world (see Hippoc. *Aër.* 7.58–65; Vitr. 8.1.2; Pliny *HN,* 31.2.4–20.30, 24.41; Frontin. *Aq.* 1.11–12, 2.89–93). Perhaps because of the general scarcity of water in the Middle East, such refinements of judgment generally did not find expression there. The Parthian kings were an exception: they drank only water from the Choaspes and Eulaeus rivers, scorning the Tigris, Euphrates, and all others (Pliny *HN,* 31.21.35).

Most ancient city mounds in the Middle East were located over or near springs, but the earliest stages of development have now nearly always been lost. Since pools of water attract significant human and animal traffic, unimproved springs soon become muddy and polluted. This unpleasant condition is a symbol of wickedness in Prov 25:26, and all the Roman authors concerned with hydraulic technology emphasize the need to keep springs and wells free of reeds, vegetation, and mud (Vitr. 8.4.2; Pliny *HN,* 31.22.36–7; Faventinus 5; Frontin. *Aq.* 2.90; Vegetius *Epitoma rei militaris* 3.2). At Byblos it can be seen that planning was exercised from an early stage in the city's history. Even before 3000 B.C. a small pool was dug out of a marsh below the spring to receive the flow and keep the area around it dry. The area was also kept free of habitations and burials for a radius of ca. 15 m. As the level of the town rose during the mid-3d millennium, the walls of the original pool were reinforced with stone blocks, a second reservoir 25 m in diameter was added, and steps were provided to facilitate access to the water. This sort of structural

protection, including paving and the provision of pools, must have been repeated countless times throughout the Middle East from the Bronze Age onward. Another Bronze Age example survives at Tell Dor, and the remains of the Efca spring at Palmyra embody many of the same features.

Later periods saw the introduction of proper spring houses: architecturally distinct structures designed to collect the water, protect it from the sun and from pollution, provide convenient access to the flow, and—occasionally—to present an impressive facade. These needs usually were served by the construction of a small reservoir hidden behind a protective wall provided with overflow spouts that might be used to fill containers directly, or to fill a basin for dipping. The populist tyrants of 6th-century B.C. Greece first fulfilled these requirements with the monumental public spring houses that appeared in Megara, Samos, Corinth, and Athens. Paving and drainage channels for the runoff were essential. There are two ornate fountains of the 2d century B.C. at the Hasmonean palace of Iraq el Emir, in which water poured through the mouths of panthers cut in low relief in stone slabs set into the facade. The Greeks and Romans expended particular care on the architectural facades of their spring houses, which might resemble a small shrine or an enormous theater building. The most elaborate structure of this type in the ancient Middle East was the Nymphaeum at Gerasa, constructed in the late 2d century A.D. The two-story Corinthian facade was a paradigm of Roman baroque architecture, combining rich architectural decoration with sculpture, jets of water, and a large pool. Similar monumental fountains were built during the Empire at Petra, Miletus, and Corinth.

Structures such as these usually were far removed from their water source and were served by conduits, but a different and more utilitarian solution to the problem of water supply was needed at many of the fortified centers typical of the LB and early Iron Age in the Middle East. At Megiddo, Gibeon, Gezer, Hazor, and Ibleam the springs on which the settlement depended were close by the habitation mound but outside the massive fortification walls. In order to secure their access to water during siege, the rulers of Megiddo built a covered stairway down the side of the mound to the spring early in the 10th century B.C. Since this arrangement was very vulnerable to interruption, a tunnel was excavated during the mid-9th century B.C. in the bedrock below the city, connecting the spring with a shaft 30 m deep inside the walls by means of a stepped tunnel. At first, access to the spring from outside may have been preserved, but later on the whole spring was enclosed, and the sloping tunnel was extended to allow the water to flow of its own accord to the base of the stepped access shaft, a total distance of 75 m. Similar but smaller-scale arrangements were made during the LB or early Iron Age at Gezer and Gibeon, where the springs appeared in caves. At Gibeon, a circular shaft 11 m in diameter and 11 m deep cut in the bedrock provided access through a spiral staircase to a stepped tunnel leading to a spring 14 m below. See Figs. GIB.02 and GIB.03. This complex, possibly the "Pool of Gibeon" mentioned in 2 Sam 2:13, was constructed soon after 1200 B.C., but early in the 1st millennium it had to be supplemented with a stepped tunnel 40 m long that led down to a radically enlarged spring cave outside the city walls. The arrangement in 9th-century Hazor looks similar but reflects a greater understanding of the behavior of groundwater. An enormous shaft 15 m by 19 m was excavated through the earth inside the settlement to a depth of 30 m. Stairs around the interior led to a tunnel 25 m long cut in the bedrock and sloping downwards for another 10 m to a water-bearing stratum. The engineers had apparently observed the level of a natural spring located outside the walls and predicted correctly that the same aquifer could be tapped artificially at a more convenient point. The similar but smaller scale spring shafts dug at Tel Beit Mirsim in the early Iron Age are possibly the *gullôt mayim* mentioned in Josh 15:19 and Judg 1:15 (but see discussion also of DEBIR).

This type of protected access to water provided by a combination of cyclopean architecture and tunneling can be seen throughout the E Mediterranean in the LB, with particularly striking examples at the Mycenaean citadels of Mycenae, Tiryns, and Athens. At Tiryns, two sloping, corbel-vaulted tunnels 20 m long were built at the end of the 13th century B.C. to provide passage to subterranean springs, and at Athens a hidden stairway was constructed down a 35 m deep fissure in the Acropolis to water level. The Hebrew word for such stepped tunnels may have been *ṣinnôr,* a term used in 2 Sam 5:8 when David sends his men into Jebusite Jerusalem through "the water shaft" (cf. 1 Chr 11:6), revealing the innate

vulnerability of such a system. Because of chronological considerations, the shaft mentioned in this passage is probably not the one that led to the Gihon spring, later incorporated into King Hezkiah's complex (discussed below).

**C. Wells**

Common sense suggests that constantly flowing spring water at ground level was the first type of source to attract the attention of human populations and would have continued to be preferred for its purity, coolness, and convenience. Nevertheless, well water, although inferior to spring water, was still considered high in quality. Pliny, in fact, extols its character (*HN*, 31.23.38–9):

> From which type of source, than is the best water obtained. From wells, of course, as I see them arranged in towns, but from those which through frequent dipping have the recommendation of circulation and that clarity produced by filtration through the earth. This is enough for wholesomeness. For coolness, both shade is necessary, and that the well be open to the sky. Above all, one observation …: the spring should issue from the bottom of the well, not its sides.

This judgment is echoed in Jer 6:7. Because of its high quality and the effort required to draw it, well water was used mainly for human consumption and for watering livestock rather than for irrigation. Exceptions usually involved the use of water-lifting devices (see below). It was a sign to Abraham's servant when he arrived at Nahor in Mesopotamia that Rebekah willingly drew water for both him and his camels (Gen 24:11). The drawing of well water was a proverbially tedious task, and as such it was usually delegated to women. It was this difficulty that stimulated the pathetic eagerness of the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well in John 4:6–15 to obtain the "living" (i.e., "flowing") water that she might "not thirst nor come here to draw."

Vitruvius (8.1.1–5) provides detailed instructions on the selection of a suitable site for a well, and he outlines the proper procedures for safe excavation and lining of the shaft (8.1.6, 6.12–13; cf. Pliny *HN*, 31.26.43–28.49). No such instructions survive in ANE literature, but the basic procedures are based on empirical experience and most undoubtedly were current even in the Neolithic period. They involve the observation of topography, soil, surface moisture, and vegetation. The settled, agricultural character of Neolithic life meant that communities could no longer follow their water supply, as they had once followed animal and plant food sources. The concomitant restriction of nomadic groups herding domesticated species of animals to increasingly marginal land in this arid region meant that they too, although ostensibly more mobile, were hard-pressed to find sufficient water. If springs or streams were not available or were seasonal in character, the easiest method of obtaining an alternative water supply was to tap an aquifer through excavation. The presence of wells has been proposed to explain the success of early Neolithic herding and agricultural communities at Beidha and Wadi Dhobai in Jordan, but at most sites successful early wells probably have been transformed by later enlargement.

The first wells must have been ragged, unlined pits in wadi beds, something even desert animals provide for themselves. Progress would have involved first the provision of a wood, stone, or baked brick lining to prevent collapse of the shaft, construction of a wellhead to keep people and animals from falling into it (cf. Luke 14:5), and—much later—the construction of a roof to protect the pooled water from the sun. Some of these developments may have come about early, for a Neolithic well found in a submerged site off Kefar Samir near Haifa was lined with alternating courses of unshaped stones and wooden beams. The provision of rollers or a pulley wheel to facilitate the lifting of the containers came only after the 9th century B.C., when the earliest such device appears in an Assyrian relief. An inscription of Sennacherib concerning the water supply of the palace at Nineveh mentions posts, crossbeams, cables, and bronze buckets intended to make the supply from the wells more abundant and reliable. In general, biblical texts are reticent about the design of the wells they mention, other than specifying occasionally the presence of some sort of cover (which implies a firm wellhead; e.g., Gen 29:1–3; 2 Sam 17:19) and of a trough nearby to receive the water drawn for animals (e.g., Gen 24:20; 30:38; Exod 2:15–16). These troughs probably were carved out of stone.

Success in well-digging depends not just on an understanding of the local hydrology, but also on the ability of a culture to excavate to a sufficient depth or through hard enough strata to tap reliable aquifers

at a location convenient to the settlement or grazing grounds. In most of Palestine the presence of hard bedrock close to the surface ensured that wells were relatively small and shallow until the advent of metal tools. Subsequent accomplishments were remarkable. Wells of the Roman period in Palmyra were 75 m deep, and a Byzantine well at Eboda in the Negeb was cut 60 m through limestone. Digging all but the most rudimentary wells required skill and the organization of significant amounts of labor, and in the Bible such structures consequently are associated with major personalities who own the well and jealously guard access to it. In typical Near Eastern fashion, the people of Israel in Num 21:17–18 describe the new well at Be'er as "the well which the princes dug, which the nobles of the people delved, with the scepter and with their staves." Since a successful well tended to remain in use for as long as a particular site was occupied, the real or imagined antiquity of wells in Palestine led the inhabitants to connect most of them with the Patriarchs. The most famous was the well at Beer-sheba, called "Well of the Oath" or "Well of the Seven" because Abraham asked Abimelech for an oath over seven lambs "that you may be a witness for me that I dug this well" (Gen 21:30–31). Lapses in use could result in disputes over title, however, as Isaac found when he cleared out old wells in the valley of Gerar that had been stopped up by the Philistines after Abraham's death. The local herdsmen successfully claimed ownership even though they had not participated in the restoration (Gen 26:18–22). During the exodus, Moses asks for permission for the people of Israel to travel through Edom on the King's Highway, first assuring the local king that they would not drink water from any well (Num 20:17), then—more realistically—offering to pay for any water the people or their livestock consumed (Num 20:19; cf. Deut 2:27–28). Numerous Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions and literary sources mention that armies on the march in arid regions had to dig their own wells to obtain water (cf. 2 Kgs 19:24; Isa 37:25). Some Egyptian representations of such wells show only irregular pools, others neat circular wellheads built of masonry. Hydrostatic pressures encountered in the deep, porous sandstones of oases W of the Nile occasionally provided the Egyptians with artesian wells.

In situations where several families owned rights to a single well, simple mechanisms developed to ensure fair distribution of the supply of water. In NW Mesopotamia, for example, Jacob encountered a group of three Aramean shepherds who shared a well with Laban, his uncle. The wellhead was covered with a stone large enough that only the entire group of co-owners could roll it away, preventing any unsupervised use of the water (Gen 29:1–3, 7–8). In urban situations, wells could be found in the courtyards of private homes (e.g., 2 Sam 17:18; cf. Pro 5:15–17). These presumably were privately owned, but wells in the streets, whatever their origin, seem to have been available to all comers (Gen 24:11; John 4:6–11). Unless very deep, urban wells were subject to pollution through percolation of the contents of adjacent cesspools into the aquifer. Cisterns were more reliable in this regard, and they were most often private property.

Wells have been encountered in archaeological excavations throughout the Middle East, but because of the patterns of preservation and excavation, most are from urban situations. At the palace of Ebla a series of wells and cisterns were dug and built in a courtyard around 2350–2200 B.C. The cisterns were meant to be filled by runoff from adjacent roofs, but the wells tapped the local aquifer. Wells of the 14th or 13th centuries B.C. have been identified inside private homes and in the palace courtyard at Ugarit. The wellheads were made of square or round stone slabs carrying a circular opening ca. 0.50 m in diameter, allowing access to a stone-lined shaft of approximately the same dimensions. At the site of Habuba Kabira on the upper Euphrates, wells were sunk at the same time the site was fortified in the second half of the 3d millennium. The wells, which are spaced at regular intervals inside the line of fortification walls, were apparently intended for the use of refugees and their flocks. More sophisticated wells were found in the palace of Assurnasirpal II (884–859 B.C.) at Nimrud. The shaft of one was round in plan and lined with 330 courses of burnt brick. Another had a stepped platform of bricks waterproofed with bitumen that supported some sort of large pulley for lifting water from the well. Tethering stones standing nearby suggest that the well was designed to water animals.

**D. Cisterns and Reservoirs**

In the absence of sufficient supplies of running spring water or of well water from an accessible subterranean aquifer, it was necessary to catch and store the runoff from whatever precipitation fell during the wet months. Even in areas that received less than 250 mm of precipitation annually, properly designed catchment fields—anything from a rooftop to a hillside—of appropriate dimensions provided enormous amounts of water. In an area receiving only 100 mm of rain annually, the runoff from a 1.0 ha field is 1000 $m^3$. If only 20 percent of this water is caught and stored, it still can provide 4 lt/day for over 100 people for a year, or sufficient water for over 700 sheep for the same period. At a site such as Petra, runoff was the only possible source of water for many areas of the settlement and necropolis, and in consequence the cliffs are riddled with cisterns. The high acropolis with its Iron Age settlement contains so many cisterns that it is now called Umm el Biyara, "Mother of Cisterns." But even where wells and springs were available, cisterns were also constructed to provide an emergency reserve of drinking water or a supply of low-quality water for irrigation or craft processes. In some households, cistern water might also have to replace well or spring water that was difficult of access, controlled by hostile families, or sold at too high a price. Even in Jerusalem, which was well supplied with water from both local springs and regional springs connected to the city by aqueduct, domestic cisterns constituted an important supplement. The drying up of the cisterns in Jerusalem represent the ultimate catastrophe of drought in Jer 14:1–6 and the extremity of siege conditions in Bethulia in Jdt 7:20–1 (cf. Vegetius *Epitoma rei militaris* 3.10). In the inscription on the Moabite Stone, set up in Dibon around 830 B.C., Mesha of Moab commemorates his regulation of this aspect of the local water-supply system: "Since there was no cistern inside the city …, I said to all the people, 'Each of you make himself a cistern in his house!' "

Nevertheless, cistern water had a bad reputation among the Greeks and Romans with regard to taste, clarity, and healthfulness. According to Pliny (*HN*, 31.21.34), cistern water was bad for the digestion, and contained more "slime and disgusting insects" than water from other sources. Judging from the lack of complaints in biblical texts, ancient cultures in the Middle East were less fastidious about their water, but Jeremiah 2:13 does imply that a preference for cistern over spring water is foolish. Perhaps the experience of being thrown into Malchiah's cistern in Jerusalem soured him (Jer 38:6), even though "there was no water in the cistern, but only mire …" Although rain water is pure, sediment and pollution can enter the water as it drains off the catchment field. Most ancient cisterns were supplied with a settling tank to allow the heaviest particles to settle out of the water before it flowed into the storage tank, but the sudden intensity typical of rain storms in the Middle East, combined with their generally infrequent occurrence, meant that significant amounts of sediment could enter a cistern each year. The provision of a roof over the storage tank prevented further pollution or the proliferation of animal and plant life (cf. Lev 11:36), and slowed down the loss of the contents through evaporation. Most cisterns had to be cleaned out every year, generally when they went dry in late summer.

In contrast to the supply of water from springs and wells, that from cisterns is frequently associated in biblical passages with agricultural activities as well as stock-raising. Cisterns are mentioned along with houses, vineyards, olive and fig trees as one of the facilities or amenities of a small farm in Deut 6:10–11; 2 Kgs 18:31; Isa 36:16; Neh 9:25; 2 Chr 26:10; and Eccl 2:4–6. Although in 2 Kgs 18:31 and Isa 36:16 the cistern water is to be drunk, its use for irrigation is implied as well.

Cisterns are mentioned frequently in the Egyptian papyri of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, primarily in the context of irrigation, but also in use for stock-raising and various craft processes. Since there is virtually no rainfall along the Nile valley, most of these structures were filled from wells or from canals connected with the Nile, by means of water-lifting devices (discussed below). The papyri from Nessana in the S Negeb include two 6th-century A.D. documents (P.Ness. 31, 32) that mention orchards and vineyards fitted out with cisterns and water channels to allow irrigation. Since there are no rivers or springs in the immediate area, these cisterns must have been filled with runoff water. In exceptional circumstances, even very large cisterns could be filled with water carried in by donkey-trains or porters, as at Masada. In the Jewish world, specially designed cisterns filled at least in part with rainwater that had not been dipped or poured in a broken stream were used as *mikva'ot,* or ritual baths. Cisterns of this type,

provided with a stairway to allow immersion, have been found in large numbers at Jerusalem, Qumran, Masada, Herodium, and elsewhere.

As Deut 6:10–11 implies (cf. Jer 2:13; Neh 9:25; 2 Chr 26:10; Sir 50:3), cisterns usually were cut into the bedrock. This procedure saved on building materials and ensured the stability of a structure that had to resist very substantial internal pressure. Since the limestone bedrock underlying most of Palestine is very porous, it has been suggested that only the discovery of an impermeable plaster made of burnt and slaked lime at the beginning of the Iron Age (ca. 1200 B.C.) made possible the routine construction of cisterns and consequently the spread of habitation to locations distant from springs and wells. Recent archaeological discoveries, however, include much earlier cisterns waterproofed both with clay and plaster. At Tell Ai, the early Iron Age inhabitants cut their cisterns only in deposits of chalk that became impermeable automatically when wet. The simplest and possibly earliest form in the Middle East is the bottle-shaped cistern: a deep, round reservoir with a small entrance hole, all cut in the rock. This design and variations on it, made waterproof with clay or plaster, appears in the EB at Bab edh-Dhraʿ and Taanach, in the MB at Hazor, and in the Iron Age at many other sites. The Augustan historian Diodorus Siculus describes just the same type of cistern in use among the Nabateans of his day (19.94.6–8). Most ancient urban and rural habitation sites in the Middle East located in areas where bedrock was accessible are riddled with cisterns of one sort or another, testifying to the importance of this type of water source: Gezer, Beth-shemesh, and Jerusalem are only a few examples. Built cisterns were not only less common but also less likely to survive.

During the Hellenistic and Roman periods, cisterns tended to take on a more regular square or rectangular shape and were lined with a waterproof plaster made with the addition of crushed potsherds. A very characteristic design found in the regions occupied by the Nabateans was a deep square or rectangular basin cut in the rock or built of blocks and roofed with long flat slabs carried on arches that crossed the cistern on its short axis. This design, well suited to the treeless regions of the desert, probably was borrowed from the Greeks, since examples of the Hellenistic period appear at Delos and Claros. Nabatean examples of the 1st century B.C. or 1st to 2d century A.D. can be seen in large numbers at Eboda, Mampsis, Nessana, Avara, Petra, and Umm el-Jimal. See Fig. UMM.01.

In contrast to cisterns, which tended to be small and private, reservoirs were large, usually unroofed pools designed to store quantities of water for public use or for applications that required significant volume. They could be filled by springs as well as by runoff water. Irrigation is the typical application and is mentioned explicitly in Eccl 2:4–6: "I made myself pools from which to water the forest of growing trees" (cf. Neh 3:15). The upper and lower pools and an associated reservoir mentioned in 2 Kgs 18:17; Isa 7:3; 22:9–11; and 36:2 may have been part of the water system of Jerusalem supplied by the Gihon spring, designed to save surplus water that would otherwise have drained off down the Kidron valley. A primary purpose of this system probably was the provision of drinking water, but the upper pool mentioned in 2 Kgs 18:17 was on the highway to the Fuller's Field, suggesting that it may also have supplied the large volumes of relatively clean water needed for the processing of woolen cloth. Since the sick bathed in the commodious Pool of Bethzatha in Jerusalem (John 5:2), it is unlikely to have been used for human drinking water. But it was located next to the Sheep Gate, so perhaps it provided water for livestock. Around 200 B.C. the high priest Simeon built a reservoir to help Jerusalem withstand siege (Sir 50:3): "In his days a cistern for water was quarried out, a reservoir like the sea in circumference." Other pools are mentioned at Samaria (1 Kgs 22:38), Gibeon (2 Sam 2:13), and Hebron (2 Sam 4:12).

Because of their size, reservoirs usually were at least partly built rather than cut in the rock (but cf. Sir 50:3), the blocks being used to supplement spots where the bedrock was lacking. The inscription on the Moabite stone mentions that King Mesha himself built "the retaining walls of the reservoir … inside the city" of Dibon. They were also usually unroofed. The great vaulted reservoirs built into the platform of the temple at Jerusalem were an exception, and their imperial scale and finish were paralleled only in the covered reservoirs of Byzantine Constantinople. Significantly, reservoirs appear as early in the archaeological record as cisterns: it is their scale and potential application that is different rather than their technology. Already in the late 4th millennium B.C., engineers at Jawa in Syria's basalt desert built a

system of reservoirs with a volume of 75,000 $m^3$, designed to be filled by runoff. The water was meant for human consumption, for livestock, and for irrigation in an otherwise almost waterless region. Other urban reservoirs of the Bronze Age, built of slabs of stone sealed with clay, have been found in Byblos, Arad, Tell Ai, Ugarit, and Ebla. Reservoirs also formed part of the system of inundation irrigation practiced in Mesopotamia and Egypt (discussed below). During the late 8th century B.C. a great shaft 22 m by 25 m square and 25 m deep was dug into one corner of the city mound of Lachish, possibly to serve as a reservoir, but the project was never completed. The famous Pools of Solomon, a series of three large reservoirs near Bethlehem fed by springs and runoff, were connected to the aqueduct system serving Roman Jerusalem. Some features of the complex may be as old as the Hasmoneans, but there was much expansion in the Roman and Byzantine periods. As preserved, they have a total capacity of 400,000 $m^3$. Numerous enormous, rain-fed reservoirs were built in the Negeb and Transjordan by the Nabateans and Romans: for example at Sobata, Bostra, Umm el-Jimal, Qasr Hallabat, Petra, Avara, and Quweira.

**E. Conduits, Aqueducts, and Qanats**

The significant weight and typical liquid form of water provide the advantage that it can be made to flow of its own accord to locations distant from the source. All that is needed is a relatively impermeable conduit with a slope sufficient to overcome the friction along the surface in contact with the water. This adaptability is noted in Prov 21:1: "The king's heart is a stream of water in the hand of the Lord; he turns it wherever he will." The term used is *palgê mayim,* which can also take the significance of "irrigation conduit" (cf. Ps 65:10; Job 38:25). The main problems with water conduits of more than local significance are the investment of time and materials required for their construction, the need for constant maintenance, and their vulnerability. These characteristics meant that in the pre-Roman Middle East, as in pre-Roman Greece, aqueducts on a regional scale were extremely rare. The small and troubled states simply did not have the resources or stability to support aqueducts on the scale later made customary by the Romans. Exceptions were Jerusalem, which was a capital city, the facilities developed within the centralized Assyrian empire, and the subterranean *qanats* of Persia. A unique temporary pipeline in the region mentioned by a skeptical Herodotus (3.9) probably never existed:

> The Arabian king had cowhides and other skins stitched together to form a pipe long enough to reach from the Carys—a large river in Arabia which runs to the Red Sea—all the way to the desert; here he had large reservoirs constructed, filled them by means of the pipe, and so stored the water. The water was brought to three separate places, over a total distance … of a twelve day's journey.

The famous aqueduct of Hezekiah at Jerusalem is mentioned in 2 Kgs 20:20 as a characteristic example of his might (see also Isa 22:8–11; 2 Chr 32:2–4, 30). It was essentially a rock-cut tunnel 533 m long designed to carry the water of the Gihon spring through a limestone ridge to a more protected position at the Pool of Siloam. See Figs. DAV.03; DAV.04; and JER.09. The system's elements are listed in Sir 48:17: "Hezekiah fortified his city, and brought water into the midst of it; he tunneled the sheer rock with iron and built pools for water." The stimulus was Sennacherib's threatened siege of Jerusalem in 701 B.C. An inscription cut into the conduit wall commemorates the accomplishment, which was considered all the more remarkable because the tunnel was cut from both ends at once. Hezekiah's engineers preempted water that previously had been carried around the Kidron valley by open-air conduits built of mortar or cut in the rock, possibly alluded to in 2 Chr 32:30. There were only two similar accomplishments in the Greek world. The first was a tunnel several km long excavated through a mountain sometime in the 14th century B.C. to drain Lake Copais in Boeotia. The second was a water tunnel at Samos cut 1000 m through a mountain by Eupalinos in the third quarter of the 6th century B.C. Tunnels cut in rock were a common feature of some of the extensive water systems constructed by Assyrian kings in the 13th and 9th centuries B.C. to supply their royal cities. The system at Jerusalem was extended 22.5 km S of the city by one of the later Hasmonean kings who built tunnels and a plastered conduit to tap the water of the spring at the lowest of the later "Solomon's Pools." It was only in the early empire that the resources of Herod the Great and then of the Roman procurators allowed extension of the system to its final length of 67 km, including upper and lower aqueducts and the reservoirs later attributed to Solomon.

Herod built a totally new aqueduct system 8 km long to serve his city of Caesarea. It was later expanded by the Romans, who also built aqueduct systems at Antioch on the Orontes, Salamis, Pella, Sebaste, Palmyra, and many other cities in the region. A handbook of the aqueduct system of Rome in the late 1st century A.D., Frontinus' *De aquis urbis Romae*, has survived and provides excellent evidence for the careful design, maintenance, and administration of Roman aqueducts. Such water-supply systems were expensive but could completely alter the natural hydrology of a city. Both aspects are embodied in Josephus' allusion to the aqueduct Herod built to serve his Herodium near Jerusalem (*Ant* 15.318325): the palace was "worth seeing because of the way in which water, which is lacking at that place, is brought in from a distance at great expense." See Figs. HER.05 and HER.07.

The *qanats* of Persia constitute another exception to the local character of water conduits in the pre-Roman Middle East. These were gently sloping tunnels tapping the aquifer of a talus, or debris slope, at the foot of a mountain range. The course of the channel and the proper water level were found by sinking access shafts every 30 to 50 m. These shafts allowed excavation to proceed from two directions at once, provided a means for removing debris, and facilitated maintenance. The subterranean water course could extend from several km up to 20 or 30 km, depending on the depth of the source, surface topography, and the distance from source to intended point of use. The technique probably was developed in Urartu, where the use of *qanats* is alluded to for the first time in the late 8th century B.C. by Sargon II, who was busy destroying them. They became characteristic of Persia and probably spread from there westward. They appear at Damascus, Palmyra, Phasael in the Jordan valley, Jotbata in the Wadi Arabah, and N Africa. The fact that they were cut in the subsoil rather than built, protected *qanats* to an extent from the problems of materials and vandalism that affected conventional aqueducts, but they did require constant maintenance. Systems of this type are still in use.

The earliest small-scale water conduits undoubtedly were simple earth channels connecting a spring or stream with an irrigated field. As long as the soil is not too porous and the stream velocity not high enough to cause serious erosion of the channel walls, earth conduits are perfectly satisfactory for temporary purposes, and they have continued in use up to the present. For the most part these would have been relatively short conduits used in gardens, but the great irrigation systems of Egypt and Mesopotamia depended on earth conduits as well. Xenophon (*An.* 2.4.13) compares the final ramifications of the extensive system of irrigation channels leading from the Tigris in Mesopotamia to the small channels used in Greece to irrigate fields of millet. At Jawa, too, in the late 4th millennium, the conduits of the great urban water system supplied by runoff were simply excavated in the stony soil.

Where erosion or the porosity of the soil was a problem, or permanence was required, conduits were constructed of lines of stone slabs waterproofed with clay, or made of a series of blocks carved with a longitudinal channel, set end to end. Both types are found already in the 14th century B.C. at Ugarit, Knossos, and most other major palace and habitation sites of that period in the E Mediterranean. The long blocks carved with a channel had the advantage of a greater resistance to leaking and collapse, and they continued to appear throughout the region into the Late Roman period wherever raw materials and financial resources allowed. This type of conduit was particularly favored by the Nabateans, who used it in systems of varying lengths, from a single farm to the water supply for a whole settlement. At Avara (modern Humayma) in the Hisma, 26 km of conduit carried the water from three springs to the habitation center. Examples of the Roman period can be seen elsewhere in the E Mediterranean at Corinth and Kourion. An alternative to the monolithic stone conduit was the conduit built of mortared rubble covered with a layer of waterproof plaster. This design was in use throughout the Middle East from the early Iron Age on, and particularly extensive systems have been found serving Qumran and the Hasmonean and Herodian palaces at Jericho. See Figs. QUM.02 and JER.06.

The growing sophistication of ceramic production in EB Mesopotamia suggested to hydraulic engineers the possibility of manufacturing sections of water pipe in clay, and such pipelines appear during the late 2d millennium at Ur and later on at Mari. By the LB, the innovation had spread throughout the E Mediterranean, and examples have been found at Knossos and numerous sites in Egypt. Clay pipelines enjoyed great popularity because they were very effective when the joints between the sections were

properly sealed, inexpensive to manufacture, relatively easy to lay, and provided a clean water supply with the added convenience and security of a subterranean course. Even in early imperial Rome, where lead pipes had become common, Vitruvius notes that terra-cotta pipelines were preferable for the purity of their water and the simplicity of repair (8.6.10–11). Extensive municipal water-supply systems were executed using such pipes in classical Athens, Hellenistic Pergamon, and during the 2d century A.D. at Kourion.

Water in open conduits can flow only downhill, while tightly sealed pipelines, whether of metal, stone, or terra-cotta, can be pressurized systems in which the conduit rises back up almost as high as its source after descending into one or several intermediate valleys. As long as the pipes could withstand the increased pressure at the low points, this procedure allowed conduits to avoid long detours around valleys and other depressions and made it possible for the first time to provide a supply of running water to an isolated acropolis. The first major pressurized system was constructed to serve the acropolis of Pergamum in the early 2d century B.C.; it sustained maximum pressures of 20 atm. This feature reappeared during the Roman period in the water-supply systems of Jerusalem, Philoteria, Hippos, Caesarea, and the baths of Gadara. The technology is described in Vitruvius 8.6.6–9.

**F. Terraces, Cleared Fields, Dams**

Even in extremely arid regions of the Middle East, runoff water from local precipitation constituted a substantial resource that was often tapped for filling cisterns. The resource was even more substantial if the water was held back by terraces and wadi barriers so that it could sink into the soil and sustain crops. Early man in the Middle East recognized these possibilities, and by at least the MB, terraces had appeared on the hilly areas of Palestine, especially in central Canaan, and in Lebanon. These terraces depended on the action of low, massive stone walls built across the slope to hold back soil and increase its depth, to prevent erosion and allow water to sink into the soil, and to provide horizontal fields for more convenient cropping. In the portions of this area that receive significant quantities of rain (up to 700 mm/year) the procedure was meant as much to avoid erosion as to store up water, but elsewhere it was crucial to the preservation of moisture. S and E of the Mediterranean coast, where the topography was less steep and the soils lighter, the runoff from surrounding hills was often directed by low earth barriers or channels to wide terraces in the more gentle slopes directly below. The Nabateans were particularly skilled in this practice, and terraced farms of this type are common in the Negeb, around Eboda, Mampsis, and Subeita. The runoff fields on the hills sometimes were enhanced by heaping up the small stones on the surface in long rows or regular patterns of piles: this procedure fostered crusting of the soil immediately upon contact with rainwater, inhibited its absorption in the soil, and thus increased the yield of water below.

Low walls, sometimes reinforced with natural vegetation, were also built across small natural watercourses, now called wadis, to hold back the water that surged through them after rain in the surrounding hills. The sudden violence and unpredictability of these watercourses became a proverb, as in 2 Kgs 3:16–17: "I will make this dry stream-bed full of pools … You shall not see wind or rain, but that stream-bed shall be filled with water, so that you shall drink, you, your cattle, and your beasts" (cf. Ps 126:4). Some extensive examples of the 9th to 6th centuries B.C.—one 740 m long—have survived at el-Buqei'a, the ancient Valley of Achor. Hillside terraces and, to a lesser extent, stream barriers were used throughout the E Mediterranean world from the Bronze Age on and are still maintained today. Plato (*Leg.* 761 a-b) describes the practice and its long-term effect on the landscape:

> Concerning the rainwaters, they are to take care that these waters not harm the land, but help it instead. They are to block up with dams and channels the outflows of the runoff which comes down from the heights into hollow torrent glens up in the mountains. By both storing up and causing the water to be absorbed into the ground, thereby making streams and springs for the fields and all the underlying districts, they will cause even the driest spots to become abundantly supplied with water, and good water at that.

Biblical texts do not mention these procedures explicitly, but the allusion to the Israelites destroying fields in the hill country of Moab by piling stones on them (2 Kgs 3:25) may possibly refer to interference with runoff fields, particularly since this action is linked with the stopping up of springs.

Where water requirements were more extensive or greater resources of manpower available, dams were built across watercourses to divert the water to reservoirs or hold it back in a pool. There is very little comment in ANE or classical texts on the construction and function of this type of structure, but the remains of a surprising number of dams have survived in the archaeological record. Very substantial dams were built as early as the late 4th and early 3d millennia B.C. The earliest, at Jawa, were rubble-mound structures designed to divert runoff from several major wadi systems to a series of reservoirs. The enormous dam across the Wadi Garawi in Egypt, built around 2600 B.C., was intended to control flooding: it was 116 m long, 10 m high, and 85 m thick, built of masonry over a rubble core. Unfortunately, a great flood destroyed it during construction. There were other large and more successful Bronze and Iron Age dams in the Fayūm, and across the Tigris 30 km above Nimrud. The knowledge of this large-scale intervention in stream-flow probably spread from the Middle Eastern cultures to the Hittites, who constructed a number of major dams in central and SE Anatolia, to the Mycenaeans, who built a rubble dam near Tiryns and major dykes around Lake Copais in Boeotia (Paus. 8.23.2), and to Urartu, whose kings built dams as part of the extensive, integrated irrigation systems commemorated in inscriptions of the 9th and 8th centuries B.C.

Most of the later dams in the region were built by the Nabateans or Romans, who usually produced more scientific designs executed with cut stone blocks or mortared rubble. Very substantial Nabatean dams for diverting or pooling the flow of wadis survive at Mampsis, Petra, and numerous smaller sites such as Avara. Large Roman dams, sometimes based on Nabatean predecessors, were built along the Arabian frontier to provide drinking and irrigation water for desert settlements. Extensive remains survive at Harbaka, 80 km SE of Homs, of a masonry dam 200 m long and 18 m high. At Homs itself, a dam built by Diocletian still holds back the Orontes to form a large lake: the structure, built of masonry over a rubble core, was 2 km long, as high as 6 m, and as thick as 20 m at the base.

**G. Irrigation Cultures: Mesopotamia and Egypt**

In biblical tradition, Adam, the first man, was given a typical Mesopotamian pleasure garden to inhabit in Eden (Gen 2:8–14); it was watered by a river that split into four streams, including the Tigris and Euphrates. This idyllic tradition is a reflection of the early awareness of the unique fertility of Mesopotamia: a flat land of deep, rich alluvium, sodden with water. Egypt too was proverbially rich, and during the Exodus, the people of Israel longed for the fleshpots of their former land (Exod 16:3), the fruitful gardens, and its dependable water supply (Exod 17:3; Num 20:5). The author of Deut 11:10–11 succinctly sums up the essential contrast between life in the river valleys of Egypt and Mesopotamia and that in Palestine: in Egypt "you sowed your seed and watered it with your feet, like a garden of vegetables," but Palestine "drinks water by the rain from heaven." The contrast is that between irrigation from perennial sources and drought farming based on precipitation, local runoff, and small-scale exploitation of rain-fed aquifers.

But there were also significant differences in the patterns of irrigation that developed in these two great river-valley civilizations during the Neolithic and Bronze Ages, differences based on the behavior of their rivers. The Tigris and Euphrates, fed by melting snows in the highlands of Armenia and Anatolia, rise suddenly and violently in the late spring or early summer, too late to help a spring sowing, and too early to assist a crop through the summer's heat. In consequence it was necessary to store up water in great reservoirs for flow irrigation of the fields after the flood, or to lift it from an intricate network of irrigation canals to the level of the fields by means of water-lifting devices (discussed below). This irrigation network was vulnerable to damage from the floodwater and could easily be choked by the silt carried by the river, a load five times heavier than that in the Nile. Careful drainage was crucial to prevent salinization of the soil, but difficult because of the low relief and high water table. There is a detailed account of the design, function, and maintenance of this water system in Strabo 16.1.9–10 (cf. Hdt. 1.193).

Increasing centralization of government in the course of the Bronze Age allowed the development of enormous and gradually more sophisticated irrigation networks, attested by bureaucratic records, accounts, and law codes preserved on clay tablets in palace archives. Great canals were dug to harness the

water of the Tigris; the longest, the Nahrwan, was 120 m wide and ran parallel to the river for 340 km. The date of this canal is unknown, but Sennacherib himself recorded his construction of the Jerwan canal in 691 B.C. It brought the water of the Greater Zab 90 km to irrigate fields around his capital at Nineveh. A great weir stored up river water and diverted it into the stone-lined channel, which passed over at least one valley on a stone aqueduct bridge 100 m long.

While in Mesopotamia the objective was storage of the floodwaters to allow irrigation through the growing season, in ancient Egypt the flood came in the heat of summer, and the procedures were designed to ensure that the river itself flooded every possible field. The Nile began to rise gently early in July and reached its maximum in August. At a moment carefully calculated by measurement of the height of the river at the Nilometers (see Strabo 17.1.48; Pliny *HN*, 5.10.58), dykes were breached simultaneously throughout the length of the valley to allow the water to inundate the maximum number of fields. The water was kept in the fields through September to drop its load of fertile silt and to replenish the groundwater, then drained off. The wet fields were then sown with seed, weeded once, and the rich harvest gathered in late spring, before the summer sun parched the fields. Water-lifting devices were used to supplement the reach of the inundation. This strikingly convenient natural cycle was the basis for Egyptian prosperity, and—unlike the author of Deuteronomy—the Egyptians regarded dependence on rain as very risky: "… for learning that the Greek land is watered by rain, and not, like theirs, by river, they said that some day the Greeks would be disappointed of their high hopes and miserably starve" (Hdt. 2.13). Pliny (*HN*, 18.47.167–70) provides a detailed account of Egyptian irrigation (see also Hdt. 2.14). The character of the Nile is noted in Jer 46:8, and Egyptian irrigation works are summed up in Exod 7:19 as "their rivers, their canals, and their ponds, and all their pools of water" (cf. 2 Kgs 19:24; Isa 37:25).

Clearly there was nothing in Palestine to equal these idyllic circumstances. Only the Jordan valley came close, which in Gen 13:10 is compared to both Egypt and the Mesopotamian Eden: "And Lot lifted up his eyes, and saw that the Jordan Valley was well watered everywhere like the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt." The Jordan even provided its own inundation (Josh 3:15) but at an inconvenient time, like the Tigris and Euphrates. The water probably was carried to the fields by a combination of water-lifting devices and dirt channels. Outside of the three great river valleys, inundation irrigation on a large scale in the E Mediterranean was always the product of special local circumstances, as at Thisbe in Boeotia. In contrast with the otherwise arid landscape of Greece, this mountain valley without natural exit was inundated with runoff. This resource was used to water the land by flooding half of it each year, on either side of a great earthen dyke (Paus. 9.32.3).

**H. Water-lifting Devices**

Since water naturally flows downhill, it is necessary either to intercept the flow above the level where it is needed, or to lift it artificially to a higher point after which it is channeled to the target area. Because of the relative convenience of tapping into flowing water and the relative difficulty of lifting it in sufficient quantities, all cultures have tried to intercept water as close to its source as possible: on the slope of a hill, at a spring, or near the headwaters of a river.

Nevertheless, in many situations water must be lifted to the point of use. Wells and most cisterns are good examples: although they were positioned to be filled by freeflowing water, their contents had to be removed by dipping, a circumstance crucial to the meaning of the story of the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well in John 4:6–15 (cf. Isa 30:14; Eccl 12:6). Jars, skin bags, and buckets were the typical containers used (e.g., Gen 21:19; 24:20), which were either hand-held or lowered on a rope. Pulley wheels or rollers were known after the 9th century B.C. as aids for lifting water from wells or deep cisterns, but the cranked bucket roller is not attested until the 9th century A.D. In any case, most wells in the Middle East in antiquity, as today, probably provided only a sturdy wellhead with a circular opening through which the container was lowered directly on the rope. In drawing up the heavy, full container, the rope often was allowed to rub on the sides of the stone curb, leaving sets of abrasion grooves. Exceptions were found in palace situations, such as the well at Nimrud mentioned above, or the water-supply system of the gardens of the Persian king at Susa in the 4th century B.C. Fragments of Ctesias of Cnidus report (*FGrH* IIIC no. 688, frag. 34): "In Susa the king has a large number of cattle, each of which lifts 100 buckets of

water a day to irrigate the drier sections of his parks." Details provided in the rest of the passage suggest that the oxen were working at a water-lifting device now called a *čerd,* a large, self-emptying leather water bag lifted from a well by means of a rope passing over a roller as the animals were guided down a sloping walkway. A similar device is probably intended by Diodorus Siculus' description of the water-supply system of Hanging Gardens of Babylon (2.10.6): "a gallery with shafts from the highest level and water-lifting machines by means of which a quantity of water was drawn up from the river." This original system was modernized sometime in the Hellenistic period by the installation of the series of water-screws mentioned by Strabo (16.1.5).

The only other water-lifting device in use before the Hellenistic period was the *shādūf,* a swing beam with counterweight at the short end and a pole or rope suspended from the other to lift a bucket or skin bag from a well, cistern, river, or water channel. This simple but effective device first appears in Mesopotamian art in the mid-3d millennium and in Egyptian art and literature slightly later. It is still in use today essentially unchanged. Irrigation accounts in ancient archives throughout the Middle East record its use in lifting water for irrigation, livestock, craft processes, and human consumption. Although there is no explicit mention of it in the Bible, the *shādūf* probably was involved in some of the situations involving water-lifting recorded there.

The other mechanical water-lifting devices of the ancient E Mediterranean region probably were invented by scholars or engineers associated with the Museum in Ptolemaic Alexandria: the wheel with compartmented rim or body, the water-screw, the bucket-chain, and the force pump. The water-screw, a rotating tube with interior helix of wooden or copper vanes to lift the water, was invented by Archimedes in the late 2d century B.C. to solve certain irrigation problems in the Nile delta. Agatharchides of Cnidus records its typical application (*FGrH* IIA no. 86, frag. 19):

> Since [the Nile delta] is formed by river alluvium and is well watered it produces fruit of all sorts in great quantity; for the river in its annual inundation always deposits new mud, and the inhabitants easily irrigate the whole region by means of a certain device which Archimedes the Syracusan invented, called the "screw" on account of its design.

The wheel with compartmented rim to lift water is mentioned in the 3d century B.C. by Philo of Byzantium (*Pneumatica* 61), and is probably "the wheel broken at the cistern" in Eccl 12:6. This type of device, which is mentioned in numerous Greek papyri and Greek and Latin literary works, could be worked by men treading on the rim or by water power working on paddles around the circumference. Like the water-screw, the compartmented wheel was used to raise water for irrigation throughout the ancient Middle East. Both devices also found application in water-supply systems for settlements, such as that serving the Roman camp at the later site of Cairo, described in Strabo 17.1.30: "There is a ridge running from the camp down to the Nile along which wheels and screws bring water up from the river; 150 prisoners are kept busy at the work." The early 2d-century papyrus P.Lond. 1177 preserves the account of the water-supply system of a small Egyptian *mētropolis: shādūfs,* water-screws, compartmented wheels, and bucket-chains were used to provide water for a bath, public and private fountains, a brewery, and a synagogue. The compartmented wheel could also be turned by oxen treading a circle and applying their power to the axle through an angle gear made of wooden wheels with peg teeth. This device, now called the *sāqiya* gear, in antiquity the *mēchanē, machina,* or *organon,* was also applied to the bucket-chain.

The bucket-chain allowed a degree of mechanization in the laborious task of lifting water from wells or cisterns too deep or narrow for the *shādūf,* water-screw, or compartmented wheel. It consisted of a series of wood, metal, leather, or ceramic containers on a rope or chain, strung over the water source on a thick revolving axle. Many of the Egyptian papyri mention such devices, and there is a charming description of a gear-driven bucket-chain in use in the Egyptian desert in Sulpicius Severus' *Dialogi* 1.13:

> There was a well at that spot, a very rare thing in those parts. The hermit possessed one ox whose only task was to raise water by driving a machine fitted with wheels, for the well was reputed to be about a thousand feet deep or more. There was a garden there, well supplied with numerous green vegetables … for the copious watering gave such fertility to the sandy soil …

The force pump, invented in the 3d century B.C. by Ctesibius of Alexandria, was used mainly as a fire extinguisher. Many cities of the Roman Middle East kept such devices on hand for use by the local fire brigades (see Hero, *Spir.* 1.28; Apollod. of Damascus, *Poliorcetica* 174.1–7; Pliny, *Ep.* 10.33.2; Pion., *v. Polyc.* 28).

Although mechanical water-lifting devices figure frequently in Egyptian papyri, in various Syrian and Mesopotamian palace archives, and in Greek and Latin inscriptions and literary sources concerning the E Mediterranean, there are only two possible allusions in the Bible: Deut 11:10–11 and Eccl 12:6. The allusion in Deuteronomy, probably 7th-century B.C. in date, is made to agricultural practices in Egypt—"where you sowed your seed and watered it with your feet, like a garden of vegetables." This comment may refer to the labor of raising water to high fields by means of the *shādūf,* but it may also simply allude to the constant work of irrigation agriculture in contrast to the more sporadic tasks of drought farming in Palestine. The proposal of an allusion to a compartmented wheel in Ecclesiastes is more secure, since the context of a cistern and the vocabulary resemble many Greek papyri that concern irrigation with this device. The absence of mechanical water-lifting devices elsewhere in the OT, and in the NT as well, is probably a reflection of the concentration of the narration for the most part on arid rural environments where the wells were used to water livestock and a small population, and on villages in which one would not expect wells to be equipped with devices to provide large-scale discharge.

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JOHN PETER OLESON

**WATERS OF MEGIDDO.** See MEGIDDO, WATERS OF.

**WATERS OF MEROM.** See MEROM, WATERS OF.

**WAVE OFFERING.** See SACRIFICE AND SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS.

**WAW.** The sixth letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

**WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS OF WARFARE.** What distinguishes a butcher knife from a soldier's dagger is the context in which the implement is used. Having been developed for very practical purposes, weapons cannot be understood apart from the context of warfare within which they are employed. The context of warfare, though, is virtually unrestricted because it encompasses military, civilian, domestic, political, religious, technological, economic and other realms of human existence, as well as factors such as geographical location, terrain, climate, and natural resources. Due to the overwhelming scope of this aspect of the discussion, treatment of the context of warfare is deferred to other more thorough technical works (e.g., Yadin 1963).

Taking the Bible as a point of reference, it is apparent that the weapons mentioned there are not unique to the political entities and religious communities which compiled the Bible. ANE civilizations developed weapons long before the nation of Israel was formed; these were utilized in battles with enemies, never in isolation from other people. Several works cover the development of, and archaeological evidence for,

weapons from the dawn of human history through the 2d century C.E. (Maxwell-Hyslop 1946; Goetze 1963; Yadin 1963; Snodgrass 1964; Glock 1968; Gonen 1975; Bar-Kochva 1989; Davies 1989). This ongoing history supplies the background for the more narrowly focused survey developed herein, which is primarily concerned with enumerating and illustrating those weapons that the Bible mentions.

In the Bible, weapons are named or discussed in various literary contexts, and these names may refer to several technically distinct weapons (e.g., Heb *hereb* "sword" may signify several very different types of swords or daggers). General terms like "weapons," "weaponry," or "armor" translate various Hebrew (e.g., *kĕlî; nešeq; šelaḥ*) and Greek terms (e.g., *hoplon; panoplia; skeuos polemikos*); most characteristic of these terms is the use of the plural form, as in 1 Chr 12:34—Eng12:33 "… equipped for battle with all the weapons of war …" The Bible specifies by name individual weapons in such diverse literary contexts as narrative (1 Sam 17:5–7, 38–39), law (Deut 20:19–20), and poetry (Job 41:5–21—Eng 41:13–29).

Broadly defined, weapons and implements are tools or instruments utilized in armed conflict. To organize our treatment, a system based on the function of weapons is employed. More specifically, the functions and uses of weapons allow them to be classified into four groups: (1) projectile; (2) shock; (3) mobile; (4) protective.

David's use of a sling and stones to kill well-armed Goliath (1 Sam 17:40–50) illustrates both the employment and effectiveness of this primitive projectile in combat. Stones can be shock weapons (e.g., hitting an enemy on the head, rolling boulders down a hill), but when hurled from a sling (Heb *qela‘;* Gk *sphendonē*) they become lethal. Similar to the sling stone, the javelin (Heb *kîdôn; sĕgôd; širyâ*) and dart (Heb *massā‘; šēbet;* Gk *belos; kentron*) are thrown. The javelin is hurled by hand, possibly aided by a cord with a loop on the end to increase distance and accuracy (Yadin 1955). The javelin, with its metal head attached to a shaft of reed or wood, was effective because it could penetrate protective armor, as opposed to sling stones. Likewise, metal-tipped darts could penetrate armor, but they were supposedly smaller and therefore could be thrown, blown through a hollow reed, or thrust at close range (2 Sam 18:14, though here Heb *šēbet* could mean "shaft" or "spear"). Eph 6:16 speaks figuratively of the "flaming darts" of the evil one, which might indicate another dimension of this weapon, but Gk *belos* is more frequently translated "arrow," and "flaming arrows" are widely attested as weapons for setting cities on fire.

The sharp metal or stone head of an arrow was designed to pierce armor from long range. Several Hebrew *(ḥēṣ; ḥēṣî; ben qešet; nešeq)* and Greek terms *(belos; schiza; toxeuma)* are translated "arrow." The designation *ben qešet* (lit. "son of the bow") identifies the arrow by its correlate; the other part of an archer's gear is the quiver (Heb *ʾašpâ; tĕlî;* Gk *pharetra;* see Gen 27:3). Aside from the natural wonder of the rainbow after the deluge (Gen 9:13–16), the bow placed in the sky is God's promise of no more war with humanity (Mendenhall 1973: 47–48). Simple "convex" as well as "composite" bows were used with stone- and metal-tipped arrows throughout the 2d millennium (*AncIsr* 1: 243). Armies included corps of expert archers (1 Chr 5:18; 2 Chr 35:23; Jdt 2:15) who might, like Jonathan (1 Sam 20:20–22), have taken target practice. Throughout the Bible, the bow and the arrow signify death and evoke fear.

Most prominent and diverse in the storehouse of weapons was the cache of shock weapons. Shock weapons are generally used in hand-to-hand combat. Though shock weapons can be theoretically divided into thrusting and striking implements, the exigencies of combat blur this distinction. In addition to the sword (Heb *ḥereb; mĕkērâ; šelaḥ;* Gk *machaira; hromphaia*), the spear (Heb *ḥănît; kîdôn; ṣilṣāl; qayin; rōmaḥ;* Gk *gaisos; dory; komax; logchē*), the lance (Heb *rōmaḥ*), the handpike (Heb *maqqēl yād*), and the peg (Heb *yātēd*) fall within the thrusting category.

Various types of sword were developed in the ANE for different purposes: (1) the sickle sword whose convex edge was sharp and intended for striking (Josh 10:28–39); (2) the long, straight-blade two-edged sword which could stab as well as strike the enemy (Ps 149:6); and (3) the short two-edged sword or dagger (Judg 3:16; see Yadin 1963, 1: 10, 44, 60, 78; *AncIsr* 1: 241). To carry the sword a soldier wore a sheath or scabbard (Heb *nādān; taʿar;* see 1 Sam 17:51; 2 Sam 20:8; Ezek 21:3–5). During the late 2d millennium the swords used by most soldiers would have been made of iron (1 Sam 13:19, 22), while other less economical metals were also used (e.g., bronze).

Spears and lances are distinct from javelins in that javelins are thrown, but spears (John 19:34) and lances (1 Kgs 18:28) are thrust at the enemy. Individual footsoldiers carried spears (usually with shields) and a unit or phalanx was outfitted with lances that had longer shafts. Similar, but much shorter, weapons were the handpike (Ezek 39:9) and peg (Judg 4:21). Each of these thrusting weapons, except the peg, had a sharp metal head attached to a shaft of variable length. Depending on the length of the weapon, the soldier would use it to stab or slash the enemy.

Equally common in the arsenal were the striking weapons, the axe (Heb *garzen; qardōm*) and the club (Heb *mēpîṣ; tôtaḥ;* Gk *xylon; hrabdos*). Axes were standard military equipment in the ANE (Yadin 1963), but there are only two biblical occurrences of "axe" in battle contexts, neither of which is narrative: Jer 46:22 speaks of axes cutting down Egypt's forest, Ezek 26:9 refers to Babylonian axes destroying Jerusalem's towers. Like sickle swords, axes slashed and cut the enemy. The club, on the other hand, smashed the helmet and knocked out the enemy. A technically unsophisticated weapon, the club was available to warrior and civilian alike (Matt 26:47, 55 = Mark 14:43, 48). Shock weapons as discussed above are wielded by individual soldiers, but there are other types of shock weapons.

Two pieces of weaponry that might be considered support equipment are the battering-ram (Heb *kar; qĕbōl;* Gk *krios*) and the siege work (Heb *dāyēk; derek; māsôr; mĕsûrâ; sōllâ*). These weapons were intended to overcome fortifications, either by breaking them down (e.g., city gates, walls), or by scaling and mounting them, and because of their magnitude these weapons required teamwork. During a siege the army surrounds a city, builds up siegeworks (2 Kgs 25:1 = Jer 52:4) and uses battering-rams to destroy the fortifications (Ezek 4:1–8). Although the armies of Israel and Judah besieged various cities during their history, the Bible never records their use of battering-rams or siegeworks, only of Israel's and Judah's enemies using these weapons against them (cf. 2 Macc 12:15–16).

Projectile and shock weapons combine with mobile weapons to constitute the full compliment of military firepower. Horses (Heb *sûs; pārās*), or cavalry (Gk *hippeus; hippikos; hippos*), and chariots (Heb *merkāb; merkābâ; ʿăgālâ; rekeb; rĕkûb;* Gk *harma*) are the most versatile weapons. They serve as mobile attack platforms for archers and javelin throwers, and play a major role in battle tactics and strategy (Yadin 1963). Solomon's army had companies of horsemen and chariots (1 Kgs 4:26; 9:19, 22; 10:26), as did the armies of his successors in Israel and Judah. But it was the horses and chariots of Assyria and Babylon that intimidated the entire ANE in their day, and the fear of which gripped Israel and Judah before they were taken into captivity. Nonetheless, horses and chariots play an important part in Israel's early history (Exod 15:1, 19, 21; Judg 5:22) and continue as an important image in later, NT writings (Rev 6:2–8).

Aside from the weapons carried to attack the enemy, soldiers were outfitted with protective gear. A soldier's gear could consist of: (1) a coat of mail (Heb *siryōn; širyôn;* Gk *halysidōtos; thōrax*); (2) a breastplate (Heb *širyôn;* Gk *endyō; thōrax*); (3) scale armor (Heb *debek*); (4) greaves (Heb *miṣḥâ*); and (5) a helmet (Heb *kôbaʿ; māʿôz rōʾš; qôbaʿ;* Gk *korys; perikephalaia*), all of which is referred to as armor (Heb *hăgôrâ; kĕlî; mad*). This armor protects the soldier from the impact of some projectiles and shock weapons, but a shield (Heb *māgēn; ṣinnâ; šeleṭ;* Gk *aspis; hyperaspizō; thyreos; kalymma; hoplon*) or buckler (Heb *māgēn; sōḥērâ; ṣinnâ*) provides the primary defense against projectiles and shock weapons. Long shields, half-shields, and the smaller circular buckler were mostly constructed of a wooden, wicker, or metal frame covered with leather. The equipment issued by Uzziah to his army included "shields, spears, helmets, coats of mail, bows, and stones for slinging" (2 Chr 26:14); the shield probably being a lighter half-shield which allowed for mobility.

The development of projectiles, shock weapons, mobile weapons, and protective gear resulted from successful and unsuccessful military engagements. ANE weapons of warfare were diverse and numerous, the weapons named in the Bible simply bringing to light one segment of the ANE arsenal. Further insight into the design, development, function, and war contexts of these weapons depends on the fortunes of future archaeological excavation.

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MARK J. FRETZ

**WEASEL.** See ZOOLOGY.

**WEATHER.** See PALESTINE, CLIMATE OF.

**WEDDING.** See MARRIAGE.

**WEEDS.** See AGRICULTURE.

**WEEK.** See CALENDARS.

**WEEKS, FESTIVAL OF.** In the Hebrew Bible the second of the three pilgrimage festivals is named "the feast of harvest" (*ḥag haqqāṣîr* [Exod 23:16]), "the feast of weeks" (*ḥag šābuʿôt* [e.g. Deut 16:10]), and "the day of the first fruits" (*yôm habbikkûrîm* [Num 28:26]).

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A. Definitions and Sources
B. The Festival in the Hebrew Bible
C. Later Evidence
1. The Targum to Chronicles and the Book of *Jubilees*
2. The Qumran Texts
D. The Evidence of the New Testament

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**A. Definitions and Sources**

The holiday was called Pentecost *(pentēkostē)* in the Greek texts of apocryphal books (Tob 2:1; 2 Macc 12:32), the writings of Josephus (*Ant* 3.10.6; 13.8.4; 14.13.4; 17.10.2; *JW* 1.13.3; 2.3.1; 6.5.3), the works of Philo (*Dec* 160; *Spec Leg* 2.176), and the NT (Acts 2:1; 20:16; 1 Cor 16:8). This term, which means "fiftieth," was selected because the rules for calculating the date of the festival prescribe that it be celebrated on the 50th day after the "sheaf of the wave offering" was presented (Lev 23:15–16). In rabbinic texts one meets the name *ʿăṣeret* (*m. Bek* 9.5; *m. Ḥag.* 2.4, for example; cf. Josephus *Ant* 3.10.6: *asartha*)—a word which is used elsewhere for the sacred assembly on the last day of the Festival of Booths (Lev 23:36; Num 29:35; 2 Chr 7:9; Neh 8:18). Use of it may suggest that the Festival of Weeks was regarded as the final day of the harvest season which began at the time of the wave offering. The festival is unusual among holidays in the Hebrew Bible in several respects: it is never assigned a precise date; it is never associated with one of the great events of Israel's history (but see Deut 16:12); and it is never mentioned by name except in lists of cultic festivals (Exod 23:16; 34:22; Lev 23:15–21; Num 28:26–31; Deut 16:9–12; and 2 Chr 8:13). Though it is somewhat surprising that it is named only once in the historical books, it is most remarkable that Ezekiel fails to include it in his calendar for the restored community (Ezek 45:18–46:7).

**B. The Festival in the Hebrew Bible**

Exodus 23:16 (E), which is part of the Covenant Code, designates the second of the annual festivals "the feast of harvest" (*ḥag haqqāṣîr;* cf. the Gezer Calendar, 1. 5: *yrḥ qṣr*) and refers to the first fruits of crops that are planted in the field. One first meets the name "feast of weeks" in Exod 34:22 (J) where it is associated with the first fruits of the wheat harvest *(bikkûrê qĕṣîr ḥiṭṭîm).* These two passages specify no date for the festival but place it in relation to a part of the spring harvest season.

Deuteronomy 16:9–10a addresses the question of the time of the festival and clarifies why it was named Weeks: "You shall count seven weeks; begin to count the seven weeks from the time you first put the sickle to the standing grain. Then you shall keep the feast of weeks to the Lord your God." Verses 10b–12 stipulate that one is to present a freewill offering whose size depends upon one's ability to pay and that all are to rejoice before the Lord at the sanctuary as they remember Israel's former bondage in Egypt.

Two pericopes from the priestly source provide additional details about dating the festival and about the sacrifices which are to be presented. Leviticus 23:15–16a gives a formula for dating whose working appears to be sufficiently specific: "And you shall count from the morrow after the sabbath [*mimmāḥŏrat haššabbāt*], from the day that you brought the sheaf of the wave offering; seven full weeks shall they be, counting fifty days to the morrow after the seventh sabbath." The day for starting the 50-day count is the one when the *ʿōmer* (Lev 23:9–14) was waved, but, since Leviticus gives no exact date for it, by implication it does not identify the date for the Festival of Weeks. The ambiguity of the phrase "from the morrow after the sabbath" was later to occasion lively debates about the correct times for presenting the wave offering and observing the holiday, though all groups agreed that Weeks fell at some point in the third month of the year.

Leviticus 23:16b–20 and Num 28:26–31 enumerate the sacrifices and offerings which marked the Festival of Weeks. Leviticus 23:16b–17 further describes the new grain offering as consisting of two loaves of bread baked with leaven. The only other place where leaven is required in a sacrifice is in Lev 7:13 which deals with the "sacrifice of his peace offerings for thanksgiving." Both Lev 23:21 and Num 28:26 refer to a holy gathering on this day on which no work is permitted.

**C. Later Evidence**

The Festival of Weeks was clearly important to many groups in the period after the books of the Hebrew Bible were written, and sources from that time eliminate two of the deficiencies in the biblical treatment of the festival: they frequently relate it to events in Israel's history, and they furnish several specific dates for it.

**1. The Targum to Chronicles and the Book of *Jubilees.*** These texts indicate that at least two OT passages became associated with the Festival of Weeks: 2 Chr 15:8–15 and Exod 19:1. The Chronicles pericope describes several cultic reforms by King Asa and a large assembly of Israelites and Judeans at Jerusalem in the third month (v 10—that is, the month in which Weeks occurs). Verse 12 says that they entered a covenant with the Lord, and vv 14–15 add that this was done with an oath and with rejoicing. Though the Hebrew text does not mention the date for this covenantal ceremony, the targum to Chronicles places it on the Festival of Weeks.

This targum is late, but it can be shown that the association of Weeks with covenant (or rather renewing of covenant) and oath far antedates the targum in question. The book of *Jubilees* (ca. 150 B.C.) demonstrates that already at the time of its author these connections had been drawn. It seems likely that Exod 19:1, which dates the Israelites' entry into the Wilderness of Sinai to the third month (no date is specified), first suggested a correlation between the covenant and giving of the Law at Sinai on the one hand and the great festival of the third month on the other (later, Exodus 19 became the lectionary passage for Weeks [*b. Meg.* 31a]). *Jubilees* 1:1 implies that the covenant of Exodus 19 occurred on 3/15 (that is, the fifteenth day of the third month) because it has Moses ascending the mountain to receive the Law and testimony on the sixteenth. In *Jubilees* one learns that the Festival of Weeks had been celebrated in heaven from the day of creation on and that Noah and his family first observed it on earth (6:18). On the occasion of the Noachic covenant which was concluded in the third month (see 6:1), Noah and his sons swore an oath that they would not consume blood (6:10), and Moses, to whom the contents of the book are addressed, is told that the covenant which he made with the Israelites occurred in the same month. It, too, was accompanied by an oath (6:11). "For this reason it has been ordained and written on the heavenly tablets that they should celebrate the Festival of Weeks during this month—once a year—to renew the covenant each and every year." The covenant with Abraham likewise fell on this festival (15:1; cf. 14:20; for other references to the festival, especially as a harvest holiday, see 6:21–22; 22:1–5; 44:1–4; and 29:7–8, in which Jacob and Laban swore on 3/15 not to cross over the boundary of the other). The regular

association in *Jubilees* of the oaths which accompany covenants and the Festival of Weeks has led some authors to conclude that in this book the holiday was named, not Weeks *(šābuʿôt),* but Oaths *(šĕbuʿôt).* It is more likely, however, that the author was resorting to paronomasia than that he changed the name of a historic festival.

It can be shown that in the calendar of *Jubilees* the festival was celebrated on 3/15. This conclusion follows from 15:1, where it is said that Abraham celebrated it in the middle of the third month, and from 44:1–5 which implies that 3/15 is the date since Jacob offered a sacrifice on 3/7, waited seven more days, then observed the harvest festival, and received a theophany on 3/16 (cf. also 1:1). If 3/15 is the date for Weeks, it entails that 1/26 would be the time for the wave offering, though *Jubilees* never mentions this rite. The same dates are found in some of the calendaric texts from Qumran (see below) and indicate that the writers of *Jubilees* and the Dead Sea Scrolls did not follow the other known calculations for these days. These authors interpreted "morrow after the sabbath" in Lev 23:11, 15 to mean the first Sunday after the Festival of Unleavened Bread. The Pharisees, however, understood it to refer to the day after the first day of Unleavened Bread (i.e., 1/16) and hence Weeks would occur on 3/6 (see *m. Menaḥ.* 10.3). Still other groups (the Boethusians, Samaritans, and Karaites) took "sabbath" to mean a literal Sabbath and regarded it as the one that fell within the seven days of Unleavened Bread. Their exegesis produced a varying date for Weeks early in the third month (see *b. Menaḥ* 65a).

**2. The Qumran Texts.** It is now well known that the Qumran covenanters followed the 364-day calendar of *1 Enoch* 72–82 and *Jubilees* 6 (see 11QPs[a] 27.6–7). The evidence from the so-called Mišmārôt texts and from the Temple Scroll allow one to establish that the *ʿōmer* ceremony occurred on 1/26 and the Festival of Weeks was celebrated on 3/15. The Temple Scroll (its section about the festival is found in 18.10–19.10) does add a new dimension of some interest because it makes Weeks only one in a series of four first fruits festivals (including the day of the *ʿōmer* ceremony) each of which is separated from the previous one by 49 days. 11QT 43.3 also mentions that the new wheat may be eaten from the time of Weeks until the same festival the next year. It is often claimed that the Qumran sectarians not only celebrated the festival on 3/15 but also used it as the occasion for their annual ceremony in which they admitted new members and renewed the covenant. 1QS 1.16–2.18 is supposed to describe this ceremony, but nowhere is it said that this ritual was performed on the Festival of Weeks (2.19 does mandate that this be done every year). J. T. Milik has written that the oldest manuscript of the Damascus Document dates the ceremony for renewing the covenant to the third month (Milik 1959: 117). If this is so, then it is very likely that the occasion was Weeks, especially when one considers the close relation between the Qumran texts and *Jubilees.* CD 16.1–5 is also important in this regard. It mentions the covenant and an oath to return to the Law of Moses, refers to *Jubilees* for calendrical details, and notes that Abraham was circumcised on the day when he gained knowledge. *Jubilees* 15 dates his circumcision to the Festival of Weeks (the sequel in the Damascus Document deals with oaths).

**D. The Evidence of the New Testament**

Pentecost is mentioned three times in the NT (Acts 2:1; 20:16; 1 Cor 16:8). In Acts 20:16 it is reported that Paul, as he neared the end of his third journey, wished to return to Jerusalem by the time of Pentecost, and in 1 Cor 16:8 he writes the Corinthians that he would be staying in Ephesus until Pentecost. The only more extended description of it figures in Acts 2 in which the famous account of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the nascent church is dated to Pentecost (2:1). Because of the rich overtones of covenant renewal that the Festival of Weeks had acquired in at least some Jewish circles, it would not be surprising to find some of this reflected by the author as he depicted what could be regarded as the beginning of a new covenant and the inception of a new revelation. In fact, several scholars have maintained that there are subtle reminiscences of the Sinai tradition in the Pentecost story and in its context. For example, it has been noted that there is a parallel of sorts between Moses who disappeared into a cloud on the mountain (Exod 24:15–18) and brought back the divine Law and Jesus who, as he ascended, was hidden from the disciples' view by a cloud (Acts 1:9) and later sent the Spirit with its inspiring power. Also, it is possible that the phenomenon of glossolalia echoes a rabbinic tradition that at Sinai all nations heard, in their 70 languages, the voice from the mountain (*b. Shabb.* 88b). Yet, it must be admitted that the narrative in Acts

2 does not refer explicitly to the Sinai covenant or giving of the Law, nor does the narrative seem to have been influenced to any significant degree by the traditional accounts about them. Peter referred to the Law in his sermon (v 23) but by that term he meant only the specific injunction which those who were responsible for executing Jesus had violated. Patristic authors certainly drew the connection between Sinai and Pentecost, but Acts 2 is largely silent about this.

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JAMES C. VANDERKAM

**WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.** The origin of weights and measures probably goes back into the paleolithic period, long before people planted grain and herded animals, but about such matters our knowledge is minimal.

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A. Overview of Metrology
  1. Near Eastern Metrology in General
  2. Mesopotamian Metrology
  3. Egyptian Metrology
  4. Biblical Metrology
  5. Other Biblical Uses of Measures and Mensuration
B. Length
  1. OT Systemic Measures of Length
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  3. Length Measures in the Apocrypha and NT
C. Surface
D. Volume
E. Capacity
  1. OT Capacity Measures
  2. Capacity Measures in the Apocrypha and NT
F. Weight
  1. Weight Measures in the OT Period
  2. Weight Measures in the Apocrypha and NT Period


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**A. Overview of Metrology**

**1. Near Eastern Metrology in General.** In the Mesopotamian area measures had already been formed into systems by ca. 3000 B.C., and these may go back as far as ca. 3500 B.C. Parallel developments must have taken place in Egypt about the same time, and highly developed systems of metrology are attested in Syria (at Ebla) from the latter part of the EB Age and for the LB period at Alalakh and Ugarit, as well as for the Hittites in Anatolia. From the 2d millennium on, such systems must have existed all across the Near East, though it is still impossible to describe any of these in detail except for Mesopotamia and Egypt.

**2. Mesopotamian Metrology.** Attested over a period of almost three millennia (literature and discussion by Powell in *RLA* 7: 457ff.), a consecutive history is possible only for Babylonia, where one can distinguish four eras: (1) to ca. 2200; (2) ca. 2200–1600; (3) ca. 1600–650; (4) after 650 B.C. The 3d millennium is characterized by many local systems structured along sexagesimal lines, a heritage from the Sumerians, but around 2200 B.C., probably under the patronage of one of the Akkad kings, a system of

integrated measures linking length, area, volume, capacity, and weight was created. Completely developed by the end of the Ur III period (ca. 2000), it was incorporated into mathematical instruction as a part of scribal training and became the standard system of calculation and accounting down to the end of the Old Babylonian (OB) period (ca. 1600 B.C.). As a scientific system it continued to be taught and used at least into the Seleucid period and probably later.

Only a few key units of this elaborately structured system can be given here: the "forearm/cubit" (Sum KUŠ, Akk *ammatu*) ≈ 50 cm; the "garden plot" (Sum SAR, Akk *mušaru*) ≈ 36 square m, based on the square of a *nindan*-rod (≈ 6 m) consisting of 2 reeds (Sum GI, Akk *qanû*) or 12 cubits; the "volume garden plot" ≈ 18 cubic m, defined as an area "garden plot" by 1 cubit of height; the SILA (Sum) or *qû* (Akk) ≈ 1 liter; and the mina (Sum MANA < Akk *manû*) ≈ 500 g, consisting of 60 shekels (Sum GIN, Akk *šiqlu*) or 10,800 barleycorns (Sum ŠE, Akk *uṭṭetu*). Sub-units ("fractions") of surface, volume, and capacity are expressed in a system of shekels and barleycorns taken over from the weight system.

The period 1600–650 B.C. shows restructuring of the area and capacity systems, and, for the first time areas of land are expressed in units of capacity, like the surface homer and seah in the OT. Basic norms seem to continue relatively unchanged throughout, but after ca. 650 B.C., there is again restructuring in the systems of length, area, and capacity. Nevertheless, all systems remain primarily sexagesimal, and even the 7-cubit length and area reed is only a device to avoid irrational fractions. The sexagesimal structure of the weight system perseveres intact, but the Semitic system of unit-fractions, already well-known from as early as the OB period, manifests itself in such units as 1/4, 1/5, 1/6, 1/8, 1/12, and 1/24 shekel. The last, identified with the seed of the carob tree (*ceratonia siliqua*), Akk *girû*, appears in the OT as gerah and was to have a long and varied history as the carat.

The Sumero-Babylonian scientific system was exported as a part of scribal training in cuneiform and is attested in upper Mesopotamia at Gasur/Nuzi as early as ca. 2200 B.C.; however, by at least 1800 B.C., we find evidence there of strong non-Babylonian influences. These result in such typically non-Babylonian phenomena as decimal rather than sexagesimal patterns, in the previously unattested and obviously West Semitic "homer," and in much non-Babylonian nomenclature. The scientific system continued to be taught as a part of scribal education, but in Assyria by the 1st millennium most sexagesimal structures had been modified by decimal influences.

**3. Egyptian Metrology.** The history of measures in Egypt, as in Mesopotamia, runs parallel to the major historical periods (literature and summaries: *LÄ* 3: 1199–1214). The cubit is attested by both textual and monumental evidence at least as early as the Third Dynasty (ca. 2700). From the Old Kingdom also comes textual evidence for the derived system of area and marked specimens of weights (but no textual evidence); capacity measures seem to be unattested, but the Middle Kingdom "sack" is thought to go back to the Old Kingdom. With the Middle Kingdom begins a more or less continuous documentation that continues down into the Greco-Roman period.

The cubit *(mḥ)*, estimated conventionally at 52.5 cm, was composed of 7 palms *(šzp/šp),* each consisting of 4 fingers *(ḏbꜥ/tbꜥ).* The 7-palm cubit, obviously longer than the normal 6-palm "cubit of a man," is, like the Late Babylonian 7-cubit reed, a device to avoid irrational fractions in calculations. The so-called "short cubit" of 6 palms is never attested in Egyptian calculations (*LÄ* 3: 1205, n. 5).

The Egyptian area system is based on squares of the cubit and operates on the same principle as the Late Babylonian system of measurement in reeds: one takes a linear base measure and then extends lines at right angles from each end of this base until a square is reached. Pharaonic land measure seems originally to have used 10 cubits (≈ 5.25 m) as the base and thus arrived at a land unit of 100 square cubits (≈ 27.5625 square m), called *t* or *mḥ-t€* . Higher units corresponded to powers of 10, and lower units were formed by the principle—widely attested in ancient land measure—of halving. Noteworthy is the unit (called *s̲t€ t*) of 10,000 square cubits, formed on a base of 100 cubits, which continues through the New Kingdom into the demotic period (called *st*) and becomes the *aroura* of Ptolemaic times. By the New Kingdom 100 cubits had been defined as the length of the standard measuring rope *(ḫ-nwḥ),* and in the late period a cubit of ground *(mḥ-jtn)* consisted of a base of this length with a side of 1 cubit (i.e., 100 square cubits). This type of mensuration is also well known from Late Babylonian surface measures,

which likewise use the unit of 10,000 square cubits (≈ 2,500 square m), and similar mensurational procedures probably were employed throughout the ANE.

Volume measures were based on the cubic cubit, and, in the Ptolemaic period, volume and capacity measures seem to have been linked, but the absolute norms on which this linkage was based are still obscure. A late text identifies the cubic palm (but probably not 1/7 of the pharaonic cubit) with a hin (*LÄ* 3: 1210, 1212, n. 21; cf. Viedebannt 1917: 49, 129, 151–55).

The Egyptian capacity system was apparently grounded on the hin, now reckoned conventionally at ca. 0.48 liters, with a multiple of 10 hin (*ḥq€ t* ≈ 4.8 liters), from which higher units (not all attested contemporaneously) were formed: 40 hin, 50 hin, 100 hin (*ḫ€ r,* "sack" ≈ 48 liters), 160 hin (*jpt,* Gk *oipe* ≈ 76.8 liters), 200 hin (two "sacks" ≈ 96 liters). Fractions of the basic units of 10 and 160 hin were formed by the principle of halving up to 1/64, with *r* representing 1/320 of the *jpt*/*oipe* (= 1/20 *ḥq€ t* ≈ 240 ml). In the Greco-Roman period, the *artabe* (Persian in name but with varying local norms) plays a major role, varying in size from 29 to 40 of the Greek *choinix* (a capacity unit of ca. 1 liter: Foxhall and Forbes 1982).

The basic unit of the weight system was called deben (*dbn*), for which the Old and Middle Kingdom norm seems to have been ca. 13.6 g and for which a double standard for weighing copper also seems attested. In the New Kingdom, the deben weighed ca. 91 g and was divided into 10 *qdt* of ca. 9.1 g.

**4. Biblical Metrology.** Which measures the Israelites brought with them, as opposed to which measures they found when they appeared in the region of present-day Israel-Jordan at the end of the LB Age, are questions that two millennia of discussion have not been able to resolve. Lack of contemporary documentation for economic life makes reconstruction of OT systems of metrology heavily dependent upon non-biblical sources, and deportation of thousands of Hebrews into upper Mesopotamia in the 8th century and into Babylonia in the 6th has left an enduring imprint on the metrology of the OT. Even elements from the patriarchal narratives, such as the "three seahs of fine meal" used by Sarah to prepare food for the three strangers in Gen 18:6, like Ur of the Chaldees (Gen 11:28, 31), probably reflect postexilic redactions. For the period after the Macedonian conquest of the Near East, Greek (and later Roman) influence becomes increasingly important and manifests itself particularly in the NT.

Measures have always posed a special problem for translators, for which various solutions have been tried: (1) an approximate equivalent such as the ubiquitous cubit, a choice made already by Wyclif and followed by most subsequent English versions, or the firkin (quarter-barrel) in Tyndale's "two or thre fyrkyns" for the "two or three *metrētai"* in John 2:6 (followed by KJV); (2) a metrological "translation," as in RSV 's rendering of the latter passage by "twenty or thirty gallons"; (3) paraphrase, as in the rendering of seah as "measure" by KJV and RSV in Gen 18:6; 1 Kgs 18:32; 2 Kgs 7:1, 16, 18, and even to the point of using "measure" for entirely different words in one and the same work, as KJV and RSV do in Luke 13:21 (*saton,* "seah"), 16:6 (*batos,* "bath"), and 16:7 (*koros,* "kor"); (4) phonetic transcription, of which ephah and shekel are the best examples.

The first and last methods have much to recommend them. It is almost impossible to translate ancient measures precisely into modern metrological terms. Regardless of how precisely stated, most modern equivalents have a margin of error extending to ±5 percent or even greater, and ancient measures were never able to achieve either the degree of precision or of standardization that characterize modern measures. The ancients themselves encountered great obstacles when they tried to define units of measure in the absence of standardized systems, and the difficulty was especially great when diachronic or cross-cultural definitions were involved, making most ancient "equivalences" only rough approximations.

**5. Other Biblical Uses of Measures and Mensuration.** The universal lack of precise standards in antiquity left the door wide open to fraudulent use of weights and measures, and the prophets have a rather dim view of measuring associated with buying and selling, typified by Amos' condemnation of those who are anxious for the sabbath to be over so that they can get back to the business of making a profit and who "make the ephah small and the shekel great, and deal deceitfully with false balances" (Amos 8:5). Amos' suspicion of merchants was all too justified, as we know from other biblical passages forbidding or denouncing such deceptive practices or admonishing the use of just measuring practices

(Lev 19:35–36; Deut 25:13–15; Prov 11:1; 16:11; 20:23; Ezek 45:10; Hos 12:7; Mic 6:10–11; Sir 42:4), as well as from the Code of Hammurabi and other Mesopotamian sources (Powell 1979: 83–86). Measurement and measures are also used as literary devices, as in the portent foreshadowing the doom of Belshazzar (Dan 5:24–28), prophetically as an image of divine judgment (Ezek 5:1–12), symbolically in apocalyptic visions (Zechariah 5; Rev 6:5–6), describing human misery (Job 6:2–3), in appeals for divine justice (Job 31:6; 2 Esdr 3:34), in proverbial metaphors (Sir 28:25; Matt 5:15; Mark 4:21; Luke 11:33), and as a means of evoking the power of the divine and the limitations of humanity (Ps 39:6—Eng v 5; 62:10—Eng v 9; Isa 40:12; 2 Esdr 4:5).

**B. Length**

**1. OT Systemic Measures of Length.** These include the cubit *(ʾmh),* span *(zrt),* handbreadth/palm *(ṭpḥ),* and fingerbreadth *(ʾṣbʿ).* The probable structure of this system is:

4 3 2

finger → palm → span → cubit

Cubit or ell means basically the forearm and probably usually expressed the length from elbow to tip of fingers. The 4-finger palm and 24-finger cubit is attested all over the ANE and Mediterranean area and may be a widespread convention that goes back to the paleolithic period. It seems likely that this was the structure of the Hebrew cubit. The Egyptians also used a 4-finger palm, but reckoned 7 palms to the cubit, probably to circumvent the irrational fractions that occur in calculating with the number 7. The 30-finger Babylonian cubit is probably also prehistoric, originating in Sumerian sexagesimal counting, though here, too, 6 "hands" (but reckoning 5 fingers each) seem to underlie the cubit. This cubit continued to be used for scientific calculation in Babylonia, but, by the Chaldean period and perhaps considerably earlier, the usual 24-finger composition of the cubit had been reintroduced for normal mensuration (houses, lots, fields, etc.). Probably the restructuring was due to West Semitic influence, but redefinition was accomplished by varying the size of the finger rather than the size of the cubit itself (*RLA* 7, §§ I.3.b–I.4).

In the OT, the cubit is the length measure par excellence, analogous to the shekel in the weight system. The Hebrew system shares with N Mesopotamian systems (*RLA* 7, §§ I–IA.13) the practice of using the cubit to express all long distances that can actually be measured, e.g., the 21,815 cubit perimeter of Nineveh mentioned in an inscription of Sennacherib (actual measurement: ca. 12 km) or the 25,000 cubit length of the holy district in Ezek 45:1 (other examples over 300 cubits in length: Josh 3:4; 2 Kgs 14:13; 2 Chr 25:23; Neh 3:13; Ezek 45:2–6; 47:3–5) or the 1,200 cubit length of Hezekiah's tunnel in the Siloam Inscription. Essentially a West Semitic, decimally oriented system, its tendency to express great distances by large numbers associated with a small unit marks it as a later stage of development than the Sumero-Babylonian system which expresses long distances in sexagesimally structured units with special names (reeds, rods, ropes, stages, etc.: *RLA* 7, §§ I–IA.13).

The foot, so familiar to speakers of English, does not occur in ANE systems. These systems reflect an older tradition of natural measures, whereas the foot (normally 2/3 cubit) is characteristic of later strata of cultural development like the Greek and Roman. Cubits, spans, hands, and fingers are the natural units in which to express the height of a person or of any other object, because objects were measured, by laying on the forearm, the span of the hand, the palm, or the finger. In Babylonia and Egypt, these natural measures had already been transformed by ca. 3000 B.C. into an abstract system, defined by reference to some objective standard, such as a measuring rod, which was, in theory, universally applicable. However, non-systemic, natural measures continued to be used all over the ancient world, and we find excellent examples of this in the OT in the bed of Og of Bashan, four by nine cubits "according to the cubit of a man" (Deut 3:11), and the height of Goliath as "six cubits and a span," i.e., 6.5 cubits (1 Sam 17:4; cf. *RLA* 7, § I.2.d for similar accounts).

For translating cubits into modern metric or British-American terms, division in half gives the approximate number of meters or yards and multiplying this number by 3 gives the approximate number of feet. This yields a very rough approximation, but precision is rarely an issue in the length measures in the Bible.

Many attempts have been made to determine the size of cubits mentioned in biblical and post-biblical Jewish sources (e.g., Petrie 1892; 1894: 73–77; Scott 1958; 1959: 23–27; Ben-David 1978; Kaufman 1984), but none is without problems of method and evidence. Inference of cubit standards from the monuments is fraught with many difficulties, and it seems doubtful that, in the absence of written evidence, reliable standards can be inferred from the archaeological evidence alone.

Varying standards must have existed, since this characterizes the history of metrology until recent times; however, specific demonstration of such standards has proved elusive. In particular, the "short cubit" and the "royal cubit," which have played major roles in modern discussions of biblical measures, are not actually mentioned in the Bible, and neither Mesopotamia nor Egypt has produced unequivocal evidence to support the existence of such standards. Thus, modern scholars conventionally use 50 cm for the Mesopotamian cubit and 52.5 cm for the Egyptian cubit. Given the significant geographic and time dimensions, it is probable that the bounds of these values cannot be reduced below ±5 percent, and ±10 percent may be more realistic. Outside of Egypt, 50 cm recommends itself as a rule of thumb, unless there is reliable evidence to the contrary, because it is the midpoint of values (44 to 56 cm) derived from the "natural" cubit. There were larger "cubits," but these always have special names, e.g., the Babylonian *ammat arê,* "cubit of the pace," which was ca. 75 cm and thus approximately identical with the 40-finger Greek *bēma* (conventional value 74 cm).

In all attempts to determine the structure and size of the Hebrew cubit, the metrological statements in Ezekiel's vision of the New Jerusalem (Ezekiel 40–48) have played a major role, because the cubit is twice defined in parenthetical comment as being "a cubit and a handbreadth" (*bʾmh wṭpḥ* in 40:5; 43:13). From this it has been inferred that the intended cubit consisted of 7 palms. This inference, however, has no direct evidence to support it and is based primarily on two further hypotheses: (1) postulated identity of the structure of Ezekiel's cubit-plus-a-handbreadth with the structure of the Egyptian cubit of 7 palms; and (2) postulated identity of the base cubit, to which the handbreadth is added, with a "short" cubit of 6 palms. These hypotheses have been combined with 2 Chr 3:3 (MT -LXX-Vg differ slightly; KJV: "by cubits after the first measure"; RSV: "in cubits of the old standard") to infer that Solomon's cubit also contained 7 palms. This is an extremely tenuous hypothesis. No archaeological evidence substantiates that the dimensions given in 1 Kings 7 and 2 Chronicles 3–4 are in fact contemporaneous with Solomon himself, and the extraordinary number of sexagesimal ratios in the account of Solomon's building activities, as well as the equally remarkable fact that building of the temple is said to have begun exactly 480 years after the Exodus (1 Kgs 6:1), points to Babylonian influence, making the metrological value of the given dimensions doubtful.

Serious problems arise in attempting to use the metrological statements in Ezekiel, because, even if the professed Babylonian background of Ezekiel is unproven, the context is indisputably postexilic. Thus, the "cubit and a handbreadth" may be nothing but the Babylonian cubit of ca. 50 cm, and "cubit and a handbreadth" may reflect nothing more than the fact that the Babylonian cubit really was approximately equal to the "cubit of a man," measuring from fingertips to elbow, plus a handbreadth. A parallel case is the "royal cubit" of Babylonia, said by Herodotus (1.178) to be 3 fingers larger than the "measuring cubit," where "measuring cubit" may mean nothing more than the OT "cubit of a man" (against Powell, *RLA* 7, § I.4k). Modern treatments of these and other ancient comparisons proceed from the unlikely assumption that the authors of such comparisons were speaking in precise terms.

Clearly of Babylonian origin, but raising even more serious textual problems, is the reed *(qnh),* mentioned in the OT only in Ezekiel (40:3, 5–8; 42:16–19) and said explicitly to be composed of "six cubits in the cubit and a handbreadth" (40:5). This 6-cubit reed must derive ultimately from the Babylonian "scientific" system, standard from ca. 2200 to 1600 B.C. but subsequently replaced in house and field mensuration by other systems. In the Chaldean-Achaemenid period, field measure was based on the square of 100 cubits, and house and lot measure was based on a reed that consisted of 7 cubits, which was created by simply adding another standard-sized cubit to the reed (to avoid problems with the number 7). Thus, Ezekiel's 6-cubit reed can hardly have been borrowed from Babylonian practice in the Chaldean-Achaemenid period. An earlier origin than the Exile is unlikely, because there is no evidence

for preexilic use of the reed. A possible solution is suggested by a metrological table preserved in a Byzantine author of the 14th century A.D. and attributed to a much earlier but otherwise unknown architect Ioulianos (Julian) of Askalon, which gives the length measurements used in Palestine in the late Roman period (Viedebantt 1917: 123–25) and seems to reflect a merging of Greek units with the Babylonian units of the older scientific system (*RLA* 7, § I.2i), making it likely that the 6-cubit reed was spread westward from Seleucid Babylonia. Whether this be true or not, the metrological statements in Ezekiel are of dubious value for preexilic measures.

The span, Heb *zrt,* probably represented the maximum reach of the open hand from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the fingers, and is translated by Gk *spithamē,* a unit of 12 fingers (*Ant* 3.6.3 § 116–119) representing the half-cubit (Exod 28:16; 39:9; 1 Sam 17:4). In describing rims for the altar, Ezek 43:13 uses "span" *(zrt)* in parallelism to and apparently as a synonym of the more common term "half of the cubit" *(ḥṣy hˀmh)* in 43:17.

Handbreadth, Heb *ṭpḥ,* probably the width of the four fingers at their base, occurs in a metrological sense in Exod 25:25; 37:12; 1 Kgs 7:26; 2 Chr 4:5; Ezek 40:5, 43; 43:13. That this "handbreadth" corresponded to the expected 4-finger pattern is indicated by the translation "palm" (Gk *palaistē,* Lat *palmus*) in the LXX-Vg of Ezekiel, and by four "fingers" in the LXX-Vg of Exod 25:25 and the Vg of Exod 37:12, and by three "inches" (*unciae*) in the Vg of 1 Kgs 7:26 (metrologically, 3 *unciae* = $^{3}/_{12}$ of 16 fingers = 4 *digiti*). It is the preferred measure in the Mishnah, probably because it was regarded as less ambiguous than the cubit (cf. Krauss 1911: 388; on the Aramaic synonym *pšk,* see *RLA* 7, §§ I.4b, IA.1a).

Fingerbreadth, Heb *ʾṣbʿ,* occurs only in Jer 52:21, where the dimensions of the bronze pillars carted away by the Chaldeans are said to have been 18 cubits high, 12 in circumference, and 4 fingers thick (*ʾrbʿ ʾṣbʿwt*), and the same thickness is given in the LXX of 1 Kgs 7:15. Smaller units than the finger are not attested in the Bible, but later rabbinical tradition (*HDB* 4: 909) assigned 144 barleycorns to the cubit, making 6 per finger (as in the Babylonian system), and this may have been the ancient Hebrew system also.

**2. Non-systemic and Uncertain OT Measures of Length.** The day's journey (*drk ywm:* Gen 30:36; 31:23; Exod 3:18; 5:3; 8:27; Num 10:33; 11:31; 33:8; 1 Kgs 19:4; 2 Kgs 3:9; *mhlk ywm:* Jonah 3:3–4) does not usually imply specific length measurements. However, Num 11:31–32, which describes the quails sent to feed the children of Israel as being spread out a day's journey about the camp, suggests some underlying calculation because of the specificity of the other numbers: 2 cubits deep, at least 10 homers gathered apiece, and the 600,000 people mentioned in Num 11:21. Marching patterns of the Assyrian army suggest 40,000 cubits or ca. 20 km as a vague rule of thumb for the day's journey (*RLA* 7, § I.2l). Another natural measure for approximating shorter distance was the bowshot (Gen 21:16), probably about the same length as the *stadion* (see NT below). It is possible that the MT of 1 Sam 14:14 contains a reference to a length measure *ʿmʿnh,* "furrow length"; for parallels, see Krauss 1911: 175; *RLA* 7, §§ I.2i, IA.10, IIC.4), but the variants in the LXX and Vg show that the passage was already obscure in antiquity, and the date of the corruption is uncertain.

The gomed *(gmd)* occurs only in Judg 3:16 as a description of the length of the sword with which Ehud killed Eglon. The word was already enigmatic in ancient times, but "cubit" (KJV-RSV) is impossible, because "cubit" (Heb *ʾmh*) is one of the most common words in the OT, and the LXX translates *spithamēs,* "of a span," the Vg *palmae manus,* "of a palm of the hand." Some Jewish sources (Krauss 1911: 390) interpret it as the length from the elbow to the knuckles (≈ Gk *pygmē,* i.e., 18 fingers; cf. perhaps Akk *kimṣu,* "shin," *RLA* 7, § IA.5). It is uncertain whether the pace or step *(ṣʿd)* in 2 Sam 6:13 is a systemic or indefinite unit of length.

**3. Length Measures in the Apocrypha and NT.** Among smaller measures, the cubit *(pēchys)* continues (Matt 6:27; Luke 12:25; John 21:8; Rev 21:17), but its precise length is as uncertain as the OT cubit, and the same rules of thumb apply. The fathom, Gk *orguia,* denoted the stretch of the arms from fingertip to fingertip. Reckoned as 4 cubits (ca. 1.8 m) in Greco-Roman usage, 20 and 15 fathoms are used in Acts 27:28 to describe the depth of the sea.

As larger systemic measures, we find the *stadion* (2 Macc 12:9–10; Matt 14:24; Luke 24:13; John 6:19; 11:18; Rev 14:20; 21:16), *milion* (Matt 5:41), and *schoinos* (2 Macc 11:5). The *milion* is a Roman intrusion from Roman *mille passus*, "thousand paces," where the pace equaled 5 Roman feet of ca. 0.296 m each, thus making a Roman mile of ca. 1480 m. In relating the *stadion* to the mile, western Greco-Roman practice normally used the ratio $8^1/_3$ stadia (of 600 Roman feet each) per Roman mile. Near Eastern practice reckoned 7.5 stadia per Roman mile (or 7.5 *rys* in Jewish sources; Krauss 1911: 391–92). This divergence may reflect larger Near Eastern cubits, but the origin of this practice probably lies in reckoning 360 (rather than 400) cubits to the *stadion* (as per Ioulianos of Askalon), and this must ultimately go back to Mesopotamian practice (probably diffused during the Assyrian, Chaldean, Persian, and Seleucid empires), because 360 cubits = 1 Babylonian UŠ (reading unknown) ≈ 1 *stadion* ≈ 180 m; and 60 *stadia* ≈ 1 Babylonian *bēru* (stage) ≈ 10.8 km. The *schoinos,* for which lengths of 60, 48, 40, and 30 stadia are attested, should probably be identified with 30 stadia (≈ the Persian parasang ≈ 0.5 *bēru* ≈ 5.4 km).

The sabbath day's journey (Acts 1:12), the traveling distance permitted by religious law for the Sabbath, is generally reckoned in Jewish sources (Krauss 1911: 391) as 2,000 cubits (≈ 1 km).

**C. Surface**

This type of measurement is poorly attested in the OT and not at all in the NT. Small areas (houses and lots) were probably expressed in some form of square cubits, but field measure may have been expressed in the whole Levant as early as the 3d millennium in terms of the normal amount of seed used to sow a specific area of ground. The origin of this has often been sought in Mesopotamia, but this cannot be correct. "Seed" mensuration in Mesopotamia (*RLA* 7, §§ II–IIC.6) is first attested in the LB Age and is probably of West Semitic origin, being introduced to some areas of Greater Mesopotamia in the early 2d millennium by the Amorites and spread to Babylonia in the 1st millennium by the Arameans.

A common misconception about biblical surface-capacity systems is that they were somehow vague or only grossly approximate; however, the Mishnah everywhere implies (e.g., *Kil.* 2:9–10, 3:7; *ʿErub.* 2:3; *B. Qam.* 6:2, 4; *B. Bat.* 2:5, 7:1–3) and Mesopotamian sources everywhere demonstrate that areas expressed in "seed" always correspond to precise squares of length measures. "Seed" (Heb *zrʿ*) is merely one ancient way of expressing square measure. This usage of "seed" (Akk *zēru*) is well known from Babylonia and is not very different from "acre" (etymologically, "field"). Surface-capacity systems arose naturally out of agricultural practice, but, metrologically, they served the more important purpose of avoiding the cumbersome fractional terminology associated with squares of length measures.

In the OT, it is almost impossible to draw the line between preexilic and postexilic surface measures. Perhaps preexilic are the "homer" in Lev 27:16 and Isa 5:10 and the "yoke" in Isa 5:10 (perhaps also, to judge by the Vulgate, in the corrupt MT of 1 Sam 14:14). Almost certainly postexilic is 1 Kgs 18:32, describing the area within Elijah's trench on Mount Carmel, where the "house of two seahs" is probably a gloss that has crept into the text.

Leviticus 27:16 prescribes the basis for redemption of dedicated land as 50 shekels per homer of barley "seed." This suggests the 1:1 ratios favored by ancient metrology and perhaps implies a system of surface:money linkages: 1 homer ≈ 1 mina; 1 ephah ≈ 5 shekels; 1 omer ≈ 1 beka (= 10 gerah = 0.5 shekels). If so, the system may not be preexilic (see F below).

Isaiah 5:10, decrying acquisitiveness, predicts that ten yoke of vineyard will produce only a bath of wine, and "seed" (i.e., land) of the size of a homer will produce only an ephah of grain. The parallelism of 10 yoke ≈ 1 bath and 1 homer ≈ 1 ephah suggests a conceptual, though not necessarily metrological, identity of 10 yoke of vineyard and 1 homer of grain land. Both LXX and Vg interpret "yoke" *(ṣmd)* in Isa 5:10 as the amount of land worked by a yoke of oxen in a day, pointing to a "yoke" in the range of the Roman *iugerum* (≈ 0.2523 ha.). "Yoke" *(ṣmd)* and "furrow length" *(mʿnh)* occur together in the MT of 1 Sam 14:14, which is too obscure for precise interpretation; however, the Mishnah (*Ohol.* 17:1) explicitly associates the "furrow length" with 100 (length, not square) cubits (so correctly, Krauss 1911: 175, 559 n. 172) and with 4 seahs (i.e., 10,000 square cubits). This again suggests that, regardless of what the passage in 1 Sam 14:14 originally said, the "yoke" in the MT probably refers to an area of 10,000 square cubits.

This in turn indicates that the 10 yoke in Isa 10:5 are probably 100,000 square cubits; the homer may have been about the size of the postexilic surface kor (see below).

The postexilic surface system is almost identical in structure to the Late Babylonian systems and was surely derived from them, but the proportions of seed reckoned per unit of land are different, indicating that, like the late Hebrew capacity system, a lot of adaptation and adjustment of norms has taken place. Two Late Babylonian systems are known (from Babylon and Uruk; *RLA* 7, § IIB.2). Both used the square of 100 cubits, but their systems of calculation were sexagesimal and the technique of halving was not vital as in the more traditional Hebrew system. The postexilic Hebrew system identified 2,500 square cubits (1/4 of the base square formed on a length of 100 cubits) with a unit, the seah, and the rest of the system was constructed around this identity:

6 30

kab → seah → kor = 75,000 sq. cubits

Modern approximations for the postexilic system are obtained by using a cubit of ca. 50 cm: seah ≈ 625 sq. m, homer/kor ≈ 1.875 ha. This is similar to the homer of ca. 1.8 ha. known from the Nuzi texts, which is based on 80 × 100 "legs" or "strides" (Akk *purīdu*) of land (= 240 × 300 cubits = 72,000 square cubits; *RLA* 7, § IIC.6). The structure of the postexilic seah system is sexagesimal, whereas the preexilic structure of the surface homer was probably decimal, as Isa 5:10 perhaps implies. See E below.

**D. Volume**

Sparsely attested in the ANE and in the Bible only indirectly, volume measure is well known only from Egypt and Babylonia, where both documents and mathematical texts have survived.

The Bible does, however, imply a linkage of length, area, volume, and capacity in the accounts of Solomon's famous "molten sea" in 1 Kgs 7:23–26 and 2 Chr 4:2–5. The shape of this vessel has been debated since antiquity, but both accounts merely say that it was "round," and the simple, integer dimensions (30 cubits in circumference, 10 cubits in diameter, 5 cubits in height) point to the common approximative value 3 for pi (explicit in the Mishnaic prescription, 3 palms of circumference = 1 of width, *ʿErub.* 1:5) and to a cylindrical shape for the intended figure.

Its contents are given in baths, 2,000 in 1 Kgs 7:26, 3,000 in 2 Chr 4:5. Various theories have been proposed to explain the divergent number of baths in these accounts, but most of these lack ancient evidence. Sophisticated values for pi and the formula for finding the volume of a hemisphere are not common knowledge today and are not likely to have been a part of the intellectual repertoire of the authors of either Kings or Chronicles and, in any case, are not likely to antedate the Hellenistic period. Josephus' statement that it was hemispherical, 10 cubits in diameter, and contained 3,000 baths (*Ant* 8.3.5 §79–80) is completely at odds with his statement (*Ant* 8.2.9 §57 also discussing the works of Solomon) that the bath contained 72 *xestai/sextarii* (≈ 36 liters), indicating that he, like the author of the 3,000 baths in Chronicles, was not capable of thinking through the implications of the metrological and mathematical realities.

It is highly probable that Kings presupposes a cylindrical "sea" of 375 cubic cubits or 5 layers of 75 cubes each. Thus, 2,000 baths would imply 5 layers of 400 baths each and a volume: capacity ratio of 1 cubic cubit ≈ $^{1}/_{35}$ baths or $^{7}/_{81}$ cubic cubit ≈ 10 baths, i.e., $^{15}/_{8}$ ≈ 10. Where pi ≈ 3, 8:1 is the ratio between the area of a square inscribed within a circle and the area of one of the four segments of the circle, and eighths (i.e., 3 finger sections) of a cubit cube have a remarkable set of integer correspondences with the bath: 15 eighths ≈ 10 baths, 30 eighths ≈ 20 baths, 60 eighths ≈ 40 baths, etc. A peculiar sexagesimal "reciprocal" turns up in the ratios 60 eighths ≈ 7.5 cubic cubits. Higher ratios have integer relationships between the cubic cubit and the number of baths: 15 cubic cubits ≈ 80 baths, 30 cubic cubits ≈ 160 baths, etc.

Sexagesimal ratios always suggest Babylonian connections and a postexilic date, but the metrological evidence seems to favor preexilic tradition for this account in 1 Kings 7. Assuming a cubit in the 50±2.5 cm range and allowing a 3–3.16 range for pi, the bath would fall into the 19–27 liter range, with a median of 23 liters, close to the postulated value based on fragments of marked jars, on unmarked but measurable

jars about double this size, and on similar evidence from the Greco-Roman period (Scott 1959: 29–30). If the archaeological evidence is sound, then the measures in 1 Kings 7 probably reflect a reliable metrological tradition about the size of the preexilic bath.

The 3,000-bath "sea" of 2 Chronicles 4 is likely to be the result of metrological miscalculation, perhaps by misapplying the "rule" for the ratio (2:3) of liquid to dry capacity known from Jewish sources (Krauss 1911: 392), formulated as 40 seahs liquid = 2 kors dry (*Kelim* 15:1; *Ohol.* 8:1), which expresses the approximate weight ratio between water and barley (reminiscent of Babylonian "coefficients"). The 3,000 baths in Chronicles may be an intended "modernization" of the more ancient text in Kings, based on identification of an "old" bath, supposed to be about 2 seahs, with a "new" bath composed of 3 seahs. This is mathematically impossible, but, just as mathematics did not prevent Josephus from making a hemisphere out of the molten sea, it will not have prevented the Chronicler from drawing this conclusion, and, if this is the origin of the 3,000 baths, it also points to a preexilic bath in the 24 liter range.

Volumetric calculations may be embedded also in the size of the Ark of the Testimony in the P tradition (Exod 25:10; 37:1), which corresponds to the volume of 30 of the baths in 1 Kings 7. The unusual number ratios (5:3:3) are striking (interpreted by Josephus *Ant* 3.6.5 §135 as spans). Volumetric arithmetic may also have played a role in the dimensions of Noah's ark (Gen 6:15): 300 cubits long by 50 wide by 30 high. These ratios, $10{:}1^2/_3{:}1$, are typical of a sexagesimal calculation with strong decimal overtones, and the base of the Ark just happens to be equal to 50 Chaldean-Achaemenid *qû* of "seed" in the Babylonian system (or 6 Hebrew seahs), and the volume just happens to correspond (in cubic cubits) to $5^5$ Babylonian volume *sar* (12 by 12 cubits by 1 high). Perhaps all coincidences, but Utnapishtim's "ark" (in the Gilgamesh Epic) was a cube with an edge of 10 *nindan* (= 120 cubits), and the authors of these dimensions appear to have been little concerned about whether the boat would sail or sink, but they do seem to have had an abiding interest in numbers and number ratios.

**E. Capacity**

**1. OT Capacity Measures.** These are, in approximately descending order of size: kor (*kr*, cor in KJV-RSV), homer *(ḥmr),* letech *(ltk),* ephah *(ʾph, ʾyph),* bath *(bt),* seah *(sʾh),* hin *(hyn),* kab (*qb*, cab in KJV), issaron *(ʿśrwn)* / omer *(ʿmr),* log *(lg).*

Some of these belonged originally to distinct systems of liquid (bath, hin, log) and dry (homer, letech, ephah, kab, issaron/omer), while others (kor, seah) reflect Babylonian systems and probably belong to a postexilic stratum. In the postexilic period, probably under Babylonian influence, there seems to have been an attempt to merge dry and liquid measures into one system by identifying the absolute capacities of kor and homer and of bath and ephah, as explicitly stated in Ezek 45:10–14. Divergent systems and norms nevertheless persisted, as Ezekiel 45 tacitly admits by insisting that the bath and ephah should be identical but then names them together (45:10), showing that by custom, and probably by shape, they were distinct.

Ancient editors and commentators in the postexilic period who attempted to interpret preexilic measures were confronted with the same kind of obstacles that plague the modern metrologist: lack of preexilic measuring vessels and lack of documents from the preexilic period with which to interpret the preexilic metrological systems. A more serious obstacle was this: they possessed traditions, but they did not have access to the complex set of information and techniques which makes it possible for the modern scholar to make history rather than story out of the ancient evidence. Many of the problems in the ancient sources arise from the postexilic identification of the homer with the kor and the inability of ancient authors to see that different structures and norms distinguished preexilic metrology (primarily decimal structures and western norms) from postexilic metrology (strongly influenced by sexagesimal patterns and Babylonian norms).

It is inherently probable that there were a number of preexilic systems of capacity measure, but it is not now possible to reconstruct any of these except the system of dry measures, which seems to have had this structure:

10 10

omer/issaron → ephah → homer

Though the structure of this system is deducible from evidence in the OT (Exod 16:36; Ezek 45:11), there is no OT occurrence of the homer itself that can be assigned unequivocally to this system, and its range of values must be inferred from indirect evidence. If one takes diachronic and political circumstances into consideration, it seems likely that there could have been a number of homer norms in the preexilic period, which perhaps accounts for the rather contradictory statements in the later sources.

Instructive as a paradigm for the "natural" homer is the N Mesopotamian homer, which also had (originally) a decimal structure (*RLA* 7, §§ IVA.4–IVA.5):

10 10

*qû* → *sūtu* → *imēru* ≈ 100 liters

Unknown in Mesopotamia prior to the Amorite invasion, the homer is clearly a West Semitic import, making it likely that the norms of the Hebrew system were similar. The term homer derives ultimately from the "assload," and the weight which a donkey can carry lies somewhere in the 90 kg range, fixing the assload of barley at ca. 150 liters or the assload of wheat at ca. 120 liters. Even allowing for uncertainties and upward adjustment by redefinition of norms, the "natural" assload can hardly have exceeded 200 liters.

Also pointing to a smaller size for the preexilic homer is Josephus' identification (*Ant* 3.6.6 §142) of the issaron in Lev 24:5 with 7 Attic *kotylai* (≈ 1.75 liter). Since the issaron was one-tenth of the ephah and since, in the postexilic system, one-tenth ephah would be ca. 3.6 liters, modern opinion has long regarded this as an error. However, Josephus was well aware of what the postexilic norms were and consistently translates the entire postexilic system into Greek units via the basic approximation 1 log ≈ 1 *xestēs (sextarius).* Much more likely is that this estimate goes back to some oral tradition that the "showbread" (containing 2 issaron) consisted of about 7 log (i.e., 14 *kotylai*).

Josephus' estimate would bring the homer down to ca. 175 liters, still above the range of the "natural" assload, but not wholly improbable if the system was no longer directly tied to the natural assload. Greek sources of the Roman period speak of a "little *gomor*" of 12 *modii* (≈ 96 liters) and a "big *gomor*" of 15 *modii* (≈ 120 liters), which is identified by Epiphanius, perhaps rightly but more likely wrongly, with the letech. These values are similar to large capacity measures known from Mesopotamian metrology where West Semitic influence is strong (*RLA* 7, §§ IVA.2–IVA.5). The parameters of the probable for preexilic OT dry measures can therefore be represented schematically as follows:

10 10

1–2 liters → 10–20 liters → 100–200 liters

omer ephah homer

However, that early Hebrew norms for the homer may not have been very different from the Mesopotamian homer of ca. 100 liters is suggested by the omer (*ʿmr*, LXX-Vg *gomor*), named as a measure in the OT only in the story of manna (Exod 16:13–36). The omer is explicitly identified as the daily ration of "bread" (*lḥm* in Exod 16:15, 22, 32), and the preservation and dedication of precisely one omer of manna (Exod 16:32–34) probably reflects the character of this capacity measure as a daily food ration. The ancient norm for a daily food ration seems to have been widely regarded as ca. 1 liter, usually of barley, e.g., one SILA (Sum) or *qû* (Akk) throughout the entire history of Babylonia and two *sextarii* (Roman) or one *choinix* in the Mediterranean area (Foxhall and Forbes 1982). The basic meaning of omer is probably "sheaf" (as in Lev 23:10; Deut 24:19), thus the quantity of grain threshed from an average sized sheaf (cf. Josephus *Ant* 3.9.5 §251), known elsewhere as a traditional agricultural measure.

The usual term for this unit in the OT is issaron (Exod 29:40; Lev 5:11; 6:13—Eng6:20; 14:10, 21; 23:13, 17; 24:5; Num 15:4, 6, 9; 28:5, 9, 12–13, 20–21, 28–29; 29:3–4, 9–10, 14–15), *assarōnos* in Josephus (*Ant* 3.1.6 §30 as an interpretation for omer in Exodus 16; *Ant* 3.9.4 §233 on Numbers 15), which means something like "one of a group of ten" (analogous to the Roman *sextarius*). It is sometimes specified in the MT as the tenth part of an ephah (e.g., Num 28:5; Lev 5:11), for which the corresponding

espressions in LXX and Vg are *dekaton tou oiphi* and *decima pars ephi.* Not really a fraction but an archaic term reflecting a concept of number to which fractions are alien, it is rendered in KJV and other early translations as "tenth deal," whereas RSV and later translations opt for "tenth of an ephah."

Also suggesting smaller norms for the older system are: a loaf (probably a flatcake) of bread made from a tenth of an ephah (Lev 23:17; 24:5); Gideon makes cakes for the angel from an ephah of flour (Judg 6:19); Ruth (2:17–18) gleans and threshes about an ephah (reflecting late tradition, Vg adds, *id est, tres modios*) of barley in one day and carries it to her mother-in-law; Hannah takes to Shiloh her just weaned son along with a bull, an ephah of flour, and a skin of wine (1 Sam 1:24); and David carries an ephah of parched grain and 10 loaves to his three brothers and 10 cheeses for their commander (1 Sam 17:17–18).

The decimal structure of the homer also reflects this older system, and Ezek 45:11 explicitly defines the homer as 10 ephah but merges dry and liquid measures and divides the ephah into 6 parts (45:13; 46:14), reflecting postexilic metrology. Decimal structure probably underlies also the surface homer in Lev 27:16 and Isa 5:10 (see Surface) as well as Hosea's purchase of the slave girl for "fifteen (shekels) of silver and a homer and a letech of barley" (Hos 3:2). The letech, which occurs only here in the OT, is rendered by the Vg as *dimidio coro* (LXX has: "a *gomor* of barley and a *nebel* of wine") and is treated in the Mishnah as half a homer. One expects the slave girl to cost 30 shekels (as per the price scale in Lev 27:1–8), which suggests that the underlying homer had 10 parts and the letech 5, i.e., 15 ephah, and that 1 ephah ≈ 1 shekel. This seems a high price for barley, but 2 seahs of barley sell for a shekel in 2 Kgs 7:1, 16, 18 after the siege of Samaria, seemingly as a "good buy," and 2 seahs (in postexilic tradition) is ca. 24 liters. Thus, if the story in 2 Kings 7 means that barley was selling for half price (at a rate of 1/2 shekel per seah ≈ 12 liters), and if the seah in 2 Kings 7 is a postexilic "translation" of a preexilic ephah, then Hos 3:2 would imply 1 ephah ≈ 1 shekel ≈ 12 liters and 1 homer ≈ 10 shekels ≈ 120 liters, placing this homer within the expected range.

Preexilic liquid measures are likewise uncertain. Attested, in ascending order of size, are log (Lev 14:10, 12, 15, 21, 24, all probably referring to a vessel of standard size and shape), hin (Exod 29:40; 30:24; Lev 19:36; 23:13; Num 15:4–7, 9–10; 28:5, 7, 14), and bath (1 Kgs 7:26; 2 Chr 2:9—Eng2:10; 4:5; Isa 5:10). Under "Volume" (sec. D above), evidence for a 20–30 liter bath was cited. This size is similar to large liquid capacity measures in Mesopotamia (*RLA* 7, § IVB.1c) and corresponds to what one expects in terms of the weight of such vessels (cf. the Roman amphora of ca. 26 liters). If the preexilic log was, like its postexilic counterpart, about 0.5 liters, i.e., ca. 1 *sextarius,* as implied in the Mishnah (*Kelim* 17:11), and if the preexilic log:hin ratio was 12:1 like the postexilic ratio, then the structure and size of the preexilic capacity system probably looked like this:

$$\text{log} \approx .05 \text{ liters} \xrightarrow{12} \text{hin} \approx 6 \text{ liters} \xrightarrow{4} \text{bath} \approx 24 \text{ liters}$$

This fits the evidence of the Pentateuch, which links fractions of the hin with the tenth-part (issaron) of the ephah but in such a way as to show that the hin cannot have had the decimal structure of the dry capacity system: one-fourth (Exod 29:40; Lev 23:13; Num 15:4–5; 28:5, 7, 14), one-third (Num 15:6–7; 28:14), and one-half (Num 15:9–10; 28:14), but never one-tenth or one-fifth. Ezekiel's prescription (46:14) for the morning cereal offering of "one sixth of an ephah, and one third of a hin of oil to moisten the flour," i.e., a 3:1 ratio, seems to be based on a different ratio from those in the Pentateuch. However, the prescribed portions of fixed offerings in Ezek 45:13–15, seem to be $^1/_{60}$ for grain, $^1/_{100}$ for oil, and $^1/_{200}$ for sheep. Thus, the mention of one-tenth bath in Ezek 45:14 does not necessarily mean that the bath was ever fractioned into tenths.

The function of the ephah and hin as the primary measuring vessels for dry and liquid capacity, as well as their similarity in size, is indicated by Lev 19:36: "you shall have just balances, just weights, a just ephah, and a just hin." Mesopotamian parallels suggest that, for practical reasons (handling, pouring, etc.), the hin ought to lie in the range of the *sūtu* (minimum 4, maximum 12 liters).

Postexilic systems are better known, but distinguishing between competing norms mentioned in late Jewish sources remains problematic. The main postexilic system is an adaptation of the Late Babylonian capacity system:

6 3 10

kab → seah → ephah/bath → kor/homer ≈ 360 liters

6 6 5

*qû* → *sūtu* → *pānu* → *kurru* ≈ 180 liters

This system seems to have merged the ephah and bath and redefined them to coincide with the Late Babylonian *pānu* of ca. 36 liters (a vessel into which one poured a commodity to be measured). The Hebrew kor, twice the size of the Late Babylonian *kurru,* may reflect decimal counting (10 × 36), a year's rations, the size of the seah, or all of these. The Late Babylonian *sūtu* was taken over as the seah but was doubled in size from ca. 6 to ca. 12 liters, probably to replace the functions of the preexilic ephah (a vessel size easily handled in the process of mensuration). Since the Jews arrived in Babylonia as prisoners of war, it is not likely that they brought along a whole array of large measuring vessels but very likely that the absolute values of the late system were built up from smaller measures by identifying 2 log with one *qû* and 2 *qû* with a kab (identified with 4 *xestai* in Josephus *Ant* 9.4.4 §62, on 2 Kgs 6:25).

The kab (probably of Egyptian origin) occurs in the OT only in the story of the siege of Samaria (2 Kgs 6:24–7:20), where its use together with seah points to a postexilic date (compare perhaps the "dove's dung" in 2 Kgs 6:25 with Akk *zē summati,* "seeds of the false carob"; Josephus, *Ant* 9.4.4 §62, guesses use as salt). The kab probably goes back to some preexilic norm in the 2 liter range, perhaps belonging to a system distinct from that of the preexilic homer.

The Babylonian system did not distinguish between dry and liquid capacity, and the Hebrew liquid capacity system seems to have identified the hin with the Late Babylonian *sūtu:*

12

log → hin ≈ 1 sūtu ≈ 6 liters

Approximate ancient equivalences deducible from Josephus and the Babylonian evidence are: 6 *qû* ≈ 1 hin ≈ 12 *sextarii* (= 2 Attic *choes: Ant* 3.8.3 §197, 3.9.4 §234), 12 *qû* ≈ 1 seah ≈ 24 *sextarii* (*Ant* 9.4.5 §85), 36 *qû* ≈ 1 bath ≈ 72 *sextarii* (*Ant* 8.2.9 §57). Divergences from this system in Josephus are probably due to text corruption or, less likely, to miscalculation (*Ant* 3.15.3 §321) and to the same kind of gross approximation that is ubiquitous in modern "translations" of ancient measures (10 Attic *medimnoi* = 1 kor, *Ant* 15.1.2 §314).

Given the nature of our evidence, it behooves us to follow ancient practice and identify the log with half a liter. Or if one prefers the "pint," one has a variety of choices, surely fewer than those which confronted the ancient writers on metrology: US liquid ≈ 0.473 liters, US dry ≈ 0.550 liters or British imperial ≈ 0.568 liters. These modern choices illustrate how futile it is, given our limited evidence, to argue about whether the *xestēs* was 0.544 liters or 0.453 liters or whether the log was identical with the Egyptian hin (e.g., Viedebannt 1917: 127–32). Small measures like the log and the *sextarius,* when linked with dry capacity, are usually tied to daily rations, like the Greek *choinix* (Foxhall and Forbes 1982) and the Babylonian *qû,* both ca. 1 liter.

Preexilic systems must have continued in Palestine after the Exile, accounting for the various norms mentioned in late Jewish sources, which attempt to relate these older norms to the new system via integer ratios (e.g., 2:3 and 5:6).

**2. Capacity Measures in the Apocrypha and NT.** Most of these are essentially the postexilic system described above, but with Greek names. The *artabē* is Persian in name but, like the daric, seems to have been shaped by Babylonian norms as it migrated westward, though it is obvious that many "bushel" sized capacity norms came to be called "artabe." Thus, in Bel and the Dragon 3, twelve *artabai* and six *metrētai* are offered by the Babylonians to the god Bel. The *artabe* and *metrētēs* are attested in Greek and Egyptian sources in sizes estimated at ca. 20 to 50 liters. However, the measures in Bel and the Dragon 3 probably

originated in 12 and 6 Late Babylonian *pānu* of ca. 36 liters (≈ 72 log ≈ *xestai*) each. The same is true of the jugs of water in John 2:6 which hold "two or three *metrētai* (i.e., baths of ca. 36 liters each). The *choinix* (RSV "quart"), describing famine prices in Rev 6:6, is a day's ration (≈ 1 Babylonian *qû* ≈ 2 log ≈ 2 *sextarii* ≈ 1 liter), and the *modios* (Matt 5:15 ≈ Mark 4:21 ≈ Luke 11:33), translated "bushel" in KJV-RSV, would be ca. 8 liters (i.e., 16 log/*sextarii*) if it were a measure, but here it merely means "measuring vessel."

**F. Weight**

Weight-pieces were called "stones" in Hebrew (*ʾbn*, e.g., Lev 19:36; Deut 25:13, 15; Prov 11:1; 16:11) as in Akkadian *(abnu)*, reflecting a tradition that is at least as old as the EB Age. Thousands of weight stones incorporating a plethora of norms have been recovered from all over the ANE, but systematic, scientific investigation of these remains a work for the future. Aside from Egypt and Mesopotamia, there is only sporadic evidence to show how Near Eastern weight systems were structured (Ebla, Alalakh, and Ugarit are quasi exceptions), leaving one to guess at these structures by analyzing the weight specimens themselves, which often leads to erroneous conclusions. Most surviving weight specimens are small and deviation from a given norm increases as the size of the weight decreases. Where diachronic and foreign factors come into play, correct interpretation of small specimens becomes almost a matter of chance. The difficulty of the problem is well illustrated by the deviant norms attested among over sixty weights found in a single goldsmith's cache from Old Babylonian Larsa (literature in *RLA* 7, § V).

**1. Weight Measures in the OT Period.** Insofar as the names of these are known, these are, in approximate order of descending size: talent *(kkr)*, mina *(mnh)*, shekel *(šql), ns\p* (only known from marked specimens), pim *(pym)*, beka *(bqʿ),* and gerah *(grh).* The kesitah *(qśyṭh)* in Gen 33:19, Josh 24:32 and Job 42:11 is more likely to be a sheep than either a weight or a "piece of money" (as in KJV-RSV), which is a modern anachronism.

The talent probably originated in the "load" that a man could carry, as indicated by the etymologies of Akkadian *biltu*, Greek *talanton*, and probably Sumerian GUN. West Semitic words for talent seem to reflect a later stage of evolution (< **krkr* or **grgr*, a prehistoric, non-Semitic, word for something that rolls?). By the LB Age, however, the talent had become a trade weight, reflected in the widespread occurrence of talent-sized copper "oxhide" ingots in the 28–30 kg range. This norm may reflect, in part, accommodation to the Sumero-Babylonian "load" of ca. 30 kg, but W of the Euphrates, by the LB Age, it seems to have been widely defined as 3,000 shekels, attested at Alalakh and Ugarit (Parise 1970–71: 14–15; Zaccagnini 1978) and in the OT (Exod 38:25–26).

That talents had a sexagesimal structure had become a basic tenet of western metrological theory by the Hellenistic period, formulated by an Alexandrian writer thus: "every talent has its own 60 minas" (Viedebantt 1917: 73 n. 4). This has also been the general opinion of modern scholars, but the Near Eastern evidence is equivocal about this.

The Sumerian mina with its typical sexagesimal structure, is attested in the 3d millennium at Ebla, but in the 2d millennium the mina is an elusive unit W of the Euphrates. Counting in hundreds and thousands of shekels without any mention of minas characterizes not only Alalakh and Ugarit but also the OT (Gen 20:16; 23:15–16; Exod 30:23–24; 38:24–25, 29; Num 3:50; 31:52; Judg 17:2–4; 1 Sam 17:5, 7; 2 Sam 14:26; 1 Kgs 10:29). The mina, on the rare occasions that it occurs in the OT, appears only in the postexilic contexts of Ezra 2:69, Neh 7:71–72 and Ezek 45:12, and in 1 Kgs 10:17, where it is probably also postexilic (along with weights associated with the stories about Solomon, which have too many sexagesimal numbers: 1 Kgs 9:14, 28; 10:10, 14, 16, 29, etc.). Ezek 45:12 has been interpreted as implying a sexagesimal structure for the mina, but the metrology of the MT-LXX-Vg versions is so muddled and so at odds with the other straightforward metrological statements in Ezekiel that the text cannot be in order and, standing alone as it does, is of no evidential value for the structure of the mina.

In the 1st millennium, Assyrian practice seems to have equated 2 Mesopotamian minas with 100 western shekels thus creating the "strong" (Akk *dannu*) shekel and mina norms, versus older norms which were referred to as the "lesser/lighter" (Akk *gallu*) norms. "Strong" talents, however, are not clearly attested (against *RLA* 7, § IVB.4; cf. also the 30 talents of gold, as tribute from Hezekiah in both 2 Kgs

18:14 and in Sennacherib's annals). This "strong" standard is not attested in Assyria until the 1st millennium (and never in Babylonia) and was probably never more than a mechanism designed to facilitate, for tax purposes, transformation of weights normed on a western decimal system into the Mesopotamian sexagesimal system.

Consequently, arguments about whether the Ugaritic or other western minas contained 50 shekels or 60 shekels may not be pertinent to the problem. The OT treats the shekel as the primary unit of weight metrology, even to the point of omitting the word shekel entirely (Gen 20:16; 37:28; Judg 17:2–4, 10). Parallel uses of the shekel are abundantly documented at Ugarit (Heltzer 1976: 17–73) and Alalakh (Zaccagnini 1978; Parise 1970–71: 14 n. 11, also with earlier examples from Mari).

It seems likely that *nṣp,* inscribed on Israelite weights (also attested in documents from Ugarit), incorporates the shekel norm that lies behind the Assyrian "strong" mina, because the norms deducible from marked Israelite specimens lie in the 10 g range (literature and examples in Ben-David 1979: 41–45), and 100 such shekels would indeed be roughly 2 Mesopotamian minas. The root *nṣp* has been compared to Arabic *nṣf,* but, although this root does produce words in Arabic meaning "half," the basic meaning may have been something like "divide into equal parts" (cf. Akk *mišlu,* "half" < *mašālu,* "to be like/equal"). Thus, the "double-shekel" of which the *nṣp* has been supposed to be the "half" is probably just another metrological phantom. Geographically, marked *nṣp* weights from excavations, like the *pym* weights, seem to be primarily from the kingdom of Judah (Ben-David 1979: 45). One small weight (2.54 g) marked *rbʿ nṣp,* "quarter *nṣp,*" was purchased in 1890 near Samaria and bears on one side a bungled inscription sometimes interpreted, but improbably, as "quarter shekel" (*HDB* 4: 904; Pilcher 1912: 180–81; Diringer 1942: 85). To summarize: the *nṣp,* the Ugaritic shekel, and the Alalakh shekel were probably all in the 9–10 g range, corresponding approximately to the 100th part of 2 Mesopotamian minas.

A distinct norm seems to be represented by the *pym* (literature and examples in Ben-David 1979: 30). Mentioned in the OT only in the corrupt 1 Sam 13:21, where the Philistine fee of a *pym* seems to be associated with the plowshare or the mattock and, if the generally accepted emendations are correct, one-third shekel with the goad. In both cases these charges probably refer to smithing costs for covering the wooden share of the plow, the wooden blade of the mattock, or the end of the goad with a thin sheet of iron and reflect the precipitous drop in the price of iron that took place beginning about the 11th century.

The meaning of *pym* is not certain. Possibly a Semitic expression for "two-thirds" (Pilcher 1916; Diringer 1942: 87–88; Ben-David 1979: 35–37), it is certainly not derived from Sumerian but could be of foreign (Philistine) origin. It is not impossible that it represents "two-thirds" of the "shekel" norm in the 11–13 g. range, but both the philological and the metrological evidence is too tenuous to use this as the basis for entire metrological theories (with Ben-David 1979; *contra* Parise 1984: 129 n. 11). The Ugaritic text (Ben-David 1979: 29–35) around which the metrological part of this controversy now revolves is a bit obscure, but it does seem to translate 7 talents of Ashdod into 5 talents 1,800 shekels of Ugarit, and, if so, it probably means 10 shekels of Ashdod ≈ 8 shekels of Ugarit (i.e., 21,000 ≈ 16,800).

To summarize, the *pym* probably denotes the "shekel" of Ashdod. In the LB Age this "shekel" seems to have weighed about 80 percent of the Ugaritic shekel, i.e., 5 shekels of Ashdod ≈ 4 shekels of Ugarit. Since the Ugaritic shekel seems to have been in the 9–10 g range (Ben-David 1979: 30, 42), this suggests that the *pym* should be in the 7.2–8 g range.

Other "shekel" norms are more elusive. However, it seems clear from surviving weight specimens that there was yet another weight norm, distinct from and heavier than the *nṣp.* This heavier norm seems to have fluctuated (perhaps diachronically and geographically) in the 11–13 g range. Marked weights of this norm are characterized by a symbol which looks like an unfinished figure 8, usually interpreted as "shekel," but its meaning is obscure. Distinctive also is the use of Egyptian hieratic number symbols, where 5, 10, 20, 30, and 40 denote 4, 8, 16, 24, and 32 multiplies of a norm that usually lies in the 11–12 g range. Here again, there is a curious 10:8 ratio. These facts have usually been interpreted (since Aharoni 1966) to mean that the underlying standard of reference is the *qdt* (theoretically ca. 9.1 g), implying a shekel norm of ca. 11.4 g. This seems to be a workable rule of thumb, but much remains obscure about how this system functioned, and even quite large weight specimens (e.g., Pritchard 1959: 30 from Gibeon,

51.585 g, marked "5" [= 4]; Kerkhof 1966 from Shechem, 188.5 g, marked "20" [= 16]) deviate considerably, leaving the underlying norm of reference in doubt.

Weight specimens marked *bqʿ* leave no doubt that the beka (Gen 24:22; Exod 38:26) was the half-shekel of the 11–13 g norm (Shany 1967). The arithmetic of Exod 38:24–26 also makes it clear that the beka was regarded as the half-shekel; however, neither the arithmetic nor the parenthetical explanation "a beka a head (that is, half a shekel by the shekel of the sanctuary)" can be dated with certainty. It seems not improbable that this 11–13 g norm is the one implied by the "shekel of the sanctuary" (Exod 30:13, 24; 38:24–26; Lev 27:3, 25; Num 3:47, 50; 7:13, 85; 18:16), but neither the metrological evidence nor Talmudic calculations make this a certainty (against Ben-David 1968; see the evidence for *māʿāh* cited in *RLA*, 7, § VA.1d).

This problem is associated with the history of the gerah, which occurs in the OT only in connection with the shekel of the sanctuary in the Priestly Code (Exod 30:13; Lev 27:25; Num 3:47; 18:16) and in Ezek 45:12, both of which identify 20 gerahs with one shekel. The origin of the gerah is still obscure, but both Babylonian and Greco-Roman sources point to 1/24 as the original division and 1/20 as the derivative (*RLA* 7, §§ VA.1c–d). The LXX translates "shekel of the sanctuary" as *to didrachmon to hagion*, "the sacred didrachma," but whether this hearkens back to a tradition identifying it with the daric and the Babylonian shekel of 8.3–8.4 g (i.e., a didrachma of the 5th century B.C.) or whether it reflects the identities that emerge in the Roman period is unclear. Josephus (*Ant* 3.8.2 §195 on Exod 30:13) identifies the shekel of the sanctuary with 4 Attic drachmas (≈ 13.6 g), probably only an approximation, but nevertheless suggesting that no reliable knowledge of ancient weight metrology survived in the 1st century A.D. (against Ben-David 1968).

Whether the "shekels" of Neh 5:15 and 10:33—Eng v 32 belong to this system or refer to the Achaemenid daric (i.e., Babylonian shekel) remains uncertain, but the latter cannot be excluded, because Aramaic papyri from the Jewish community at Elephantine already reflect a mingling of Babylonian, Greek, and Persian standards by ca. 450–400 B.C. (see *RLA* 7, § VA–VA.1j).

Special norms have sometimes been seen in the "shekels of silver current with the merchant" (Gen 23:16) and in the story that the annual cutting of Absalom's hair yielded "two hundred shekels by the king's weight" (2 Sam 14:26). However, the first story probably means only that Abraham went to a local merchant and had him weigh out 400 shekels to Ephron, and the point of interest in the second story was probably not the "king's weight" (royal standards can hardly have been remarkable in David's time) but rather the heaviness of Absalom's hair: about twice the wool produced by an average sheep.

**2. Weight Measures in the Apocrypha and NT Period.** With the Apocrypha begins an era in which "weights" of precious metals often refer to monetary units, rarely to actual weight (talents expressing the weight of silver vessels: 1 Esdr 8:56). Almost all weight units in the NT are monetary in nature. Thus, the "ten thousand talents" owed by the unforgiving debtor in Matt 18:24 would be at least 204 metric tons of silver but probably reflect the fabulous sum of 60 million denarii (versus the mere 100 denarii which he tries to squeeze out of his own debtor in 18:28). The "pound" *(litra)* of ointment used by Mary on Jesus' feet in John 12:3 and the "hundred pounds" of embalming ointments brought by Nicodemus in 19:39 are not intended as precise measures but are expressed in weight because ointments and perfumes, being expensive, were usually reckoned in weight rather than capacity; the underlying conceptual unit is probably either the Roman pound of ca. 326.4 g (= 96 denarii) or the mina of ca. 340 g (= 100 denarii). No precise weight is intended by the talent-sized hailstones poured out of the bowl of the seventh angel in Rev 16:21, but they would have been formidable, weighing, even by the late Jewish definition of the talent, at least 20.4 kg.

The metrology of the Near East during the Greek and Roman periods is still poorly understood. Coins bring additional evidence but complicate matters enormously because we do not have the evidence to control either the effect of prices or politics. Most remarkable is the survival of the Bronze Age definition of the talent as 3,000 shekels, reflected in a weight inscribed in Latin which identifies 125 "pounds" with a talent of 3,000 shekels (*pondo CXXV talentum siculorum <M> III*, also known from Epiphanius, *HDB* 4: 906), where the "shekel" is probably the Tyrian tetradrachma (theoretically, ca. 14.1666 g), which

plays an important role in Talmudic money and metrology (Ben-David 1968; 1971), and this talent seems to be intended by a weight discovered in Jerusalem about a century ago weighing ca. 41.9 kg (*HDB* 4: 906). Mention of "125 pounds" is noteworthy, because Josephus (*Ant* 3.6.7 §144 on Exod 25:39) translates Heb *kkr* as "100 minas" and adds "*kinchares* is the Hebrew word that means *talanton* in Greek," where he is probably thinking about the Roman *centarius* of 100 "pounds," but elsewhere (*Ant* 14.7.1 §106) he relates that Crassus took a bar of gold "of three hundred minas," noting that "our mina is two and a half *litrai*." This *litra,* usually interpreted as a Roman pound, is probably the "mina" of 100 denarii (≈ 340 g), and 125 such "minas" would be the mass of a Tyrian talent (≈ 42.5 kg), suggesting that the Tyrian talent may have been divided in Josephus' time into 50 "minas" (340 g × 2.5 × 50 = 42.5 kg). Thus, the "shekel" of NT times probably refers to the Tyrian tetradrachma (so Ben-David 1966). This seems to be based on a "mina" of 100 denarii (100 × 3.4 g), corresponding to the Roman pound plus 4 denarii, divided into 24 parts, yielding a "shekel" of ca. 14.1666 g and a 3,000-shekel talent of ca. 42.5 kg. Thus, Josephus was probably speaking only in approximate terms in identifying the "shekel" with 4 *drachmai-denarii* (*Ant* 3.8.2 §195, 18.9.1 §312, *JW* 7.6.6 §218; likewise Matt 17:24).

The denarius was eventually identified in Jewish tradition with the *zūz,* originally a Babylonian term denoting the half-shekel (*RLA* 7, § VA.1j), and 3,000 of these "shekels" were identified with the "talent." However, in the Galilee area another system obviously prevailed, and the term called *šql* in the S was called *sl*ʿ in the N, perhaps recalling an old "half-shekel" norm in the 6–7 g range (the OT beka) but more likely based on the mass of the Tyrian tetradrachma of ca. 14 g. The weight norms therefore remain uncertain, but the approximate, relative ratios are fairly secure: 100 drachmai-denarii ≈ 1 mina *(mnh),* 6,000 drachmai-denarii (= 3,000 *šql*) = 1 talent (*kkr*) ≈ 20.4 kg (denarius standard) or 21.25 kg (Tyrian standard), 3,000 Tyrian tetradrachmas (i.e., southern *sl*ʿ) ≈ 42.5 kg.

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MARVIN A. POWELL

**WEST.** The direction of the setting sun, which in both Hebrew *(mābô› [haš]šemeš)* and Akkadian *(erēb šamši)* provided one of the common phrases for the direction. In many of its uses, west is contrasted with east, and the rising and setting sun serve as indicators of the two directions. In this usage, the phrase often becomes a merism representing a totality.

The Hebrew words for west include, in addition to *mābô› (haš)šemeš, ma‹ărāb* (literally, the place of evening or sunset), and *›aḥărôn* (literally, behind or after). This last word for west shows how the Hebrews used their body for orientation. They faced east; west was the direction behind them. West was the location of the Western Sea ( *yam ›aḥărôn*) also called the Great Sea, which is known today as the Mediterranean Sea. Also the Philistines were the people who lived to the west of the Hebrews.

Like the Hebrews, the Akkadians used the phrase "the setting of the sun" to refer to west, but they also used the word *amūrrū,* which referred to the cardinal direction west. In addition, *amūrrū* referred to the people who lived in the western regions, the westerners, probably a term related to the Amorites mentioned in the OT.

JOEL F. DRINKARD, JR.

**WEST SEMITIC LANGUAGES.** See LANGUAGES (INTRODUCTORY SURVEY).

**WESTERN SEA** (PLACE) [Heb *hayyām hā›ăḥărôn* (הַיָּם הָאַחֲרוֹן)]. A body of water to the W of the promised land. The phrase appears twice in the Pentateuch (Deut 11:24; 34:2) and twice in the Minor Prophets (Joel 2:20; and Zech 14:8). In the former it depicts the ideal W border of the promised land, and in the latter, it designates the edge of the occident.

The LXX and the Vulgate render the term *hayyām hā›ăḥărôn* (Deut 34:2; Joel 2:20; Zech 14:8) as *tēn thalassan tēn eschatēn* and *mare Novissimum,* respectively. (For Deut 11:24, Field 1964: 290). While the W orientation of the sea is derived from the general content of the verses, the unique adjectives modifying *thalassa* and *mare,* clearly connote a remote location. Modern renderings have missed this sense completely. They translate the term as "western sea," i.e., the Mediterranean, and even modern commentators who sense the singularity of the phrase nevertheless choose to explain the term as the "western sea" and identify the geographical location as the Mediterranean Sea. See MEDITERRANEAN SEA.

The evidence, however, from the ancient sources and traditions prevalent among E Mediterranean peoples, indicates that *hayyām hā›ăḥărôn* is a cosmic body of water, located to the far W, leading to the Abode of the Dead.

The literal meaning of *mare Novissimum* is the farthest sea, referring to the water at the rear, the edge of the sea. Ugaritic literature calls these waters *nbk; mbk nhrm;* "the source of the two rivers" (*UT* 19.1957). The Bible, which incorporated the phrase *nibkê yām* into its sea nomenclature (Job 38:16), paralleled it to *tĕhôm,* the cosmic place of the Deep, known to the ancients as the watery abode of Ugaritic El (Gordon 1965: 51:IV:21–22). The Vulgate rendered *nibkê yām* and *tĕhôm* with Lat *profunda maris* and *novissimis abyssi* "the sources of the sea" and "the edge of the Deep" respectively. It would seem therefore that the Vulgate's use of the term *novissimum* is both literal and figurative and suggests that the Vulgate comprehended *hayyām hā›ăḥărôn* as the edge of the cosmic sea.

The standard Aramaic translations render *hayyām hā›ăḥărôn* as *yamā› ma‹arbā›āh* literally the "western sea," while other manuscripts of the Aramaic translate it as *yamā› batrā›āh* (Deut 11:24; 34:2), literally the "rear" or "hinder" sea. Pseudo-Jonathan (Clarke 1984: 223) specifically identifies it with the

ocean sea, the primordial waters of creation in the W. The equation with the primeval ocean places the sea in the cosmographic realm, reminiscent of the Homeric tradition about the ocean surrounding the world (depicted graphically on the shield of Achilles [*Il.* 18.606–7]), a perception cited by the Targum (Eccl 1:7). The conception of the extreme W direction is always balanced by an extreme E bearing. See EASTERN SEA.

The cosmic aspect of *hayyām hā›ăḥărôn* is further supported by the Greco-Roman term *Acheron* (Lubetski 1978: 73–74). The phonetic similarity between Greek *Acheron* and the Hebrew *(hayyām hā)›ăḥărôn* is remarkable. Yet, it does not end there. *Acheron* lacks a Greek etymology and is likely to be a Semitic loan word. Both words indicate a body of water located in the W. Greek literature views *Acheron* as a cosmic river flowing around Hades (*Od.* 10.511–14), a river of gloom and misery. While Greek *Acheron* clearly was known to be the Abode of the Dead, the biblical term was not perceived to bear this characteristic. The Midrash, however, associates *hayyām hā›ăḥărôn* with the "last day," the time of the resurrection of the dead (cf. *Sipre* Deut. 357). The clearest relationship of the Abode of the Dead with the cosmic ocean located in the uttermost W is found in post-biblical pseudepigraphic literature (see *1 Enoch* 17:1–7). Enoch's journey to the nether world, the place where no humans walk, provides us with a full description of the cosmographic location and description. *Acheron,* common to Greeks, retains the original meaning of *hayyām hā›ăḥărôn.* While familiar to those who borrowed it, it became obscured to the originators.

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MEIR LUBETSKI

**WESTERN TEXT.** The term "Western Text" refers to a particular textual tradition or "text-type" in the NT manuscript tradition that is longer, less homogeneous, and generally less polished than the Alexandrian (Egyptian or "Neutral") textual tradition. Since the "Western" and Alexandrian are the earliest identifiable NT "text-types" (though this is disputed by Aland and Aland 1987: 54–56, 64–69) and both were widespread in their use, some scholars have argued that the less homogeneous "Western" text more closely represents the original text, though most consider it to be a secondary and aberrant tradition.

"Western Text" is applied first and primarily to a text of this kind in the gospels and Acts, represented most prominently by the 4th or 5th century Greco-Latin Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis (given the symbol D), and secondarily to a similar textual complexion in the Pauline Epistles, represented preeminently by the 5th century Greco-Latin Codex Claromontanus (given the symbol $D_p$). See CODEX (BEZAE CANTABRIGIENSIS); CODEX (CLAROMONTANUS). A number of other Gk mss attest the same general textual tradition, e.g., P5, P69 (3d century) and 0171 (3d/4th century) for the gospels; P38 (ca. A.D. 300), P29, P48 (3d century), 0165 (5th century), 614, 383 (13th century) for the Acts; and $F_p$ and $G_p$ (9th century) for the Epistles. In addition, it is attested by numerous Old Syriac (especially the Harclean marginal notes), Old Latin, and other ancient versional mss. It is of great importance also that most of the earliest Church Fathers who quote the NT reflect the "Western" text substantially, such as Marcion, Tatian (= Diatessaron), Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Cyprian. Ephraem of Syria (4th century) is a notable witness for Acts.

The term "Western" is placed in quotation marks because it is largely a misnomer, for the supporting witnesses are only partially western in their provenance. Codex Bezae, first thought to have originated in Gaul (where it was found) or in Sicily, actually might have originated in the East (Jerusalem or Egypt [Clark 1933]). Moreover, the various supporting witnesses are from both the West (North Africa, Italy, S France) and the East (Egypt, Syria). The "Western" textual tradition's actual place of origin is likely to have been Syria (Aland 1986).

The term "Western text" reaches back to the very beginnings of modern scholarship, for Richard Bentley in 1720 viewed Greek NT mss as transmitted from three areas: Egypt, Asia, and the West. It was

J. A. Bengel, however, who (in 1734 and 1737) pioneered the division of extant mss into two classes (he called them "syzygies"): the "African family," which included the oldest Gk mss and versions (Codex A, the Greco-Latin codices, and the Ethiopic, Coptic, and Latin versions), and the "Asiatic family," consisting of the more recent Gk mss and versions. The "Western" tradition was included in his African group, along with other early witnesses. J. S. Semler, who (in 1766) appears to be the first to apply the term "recension" to a group of mss, regarded the "western" family as one of three old recensions. Then J. Griesbach (beginning in 1777) developed his theory of three recensions: the Alexandrian, the Western, and the Constantinopolitan. The term "Western" text was firmly established in scholarship, however, by its use in the influential work of Westcott and Hort (1881–82) and by numerous scholars up to the present. Others, however, tried to replace it with more neutral terms, such as the "D-text" (from the symbol for its most famous representatives), used today by most scholars; or the "d" or "δ" *(delta)* text, used by F. G. Kenyon (1949: 213) to refer to his fourth important text-type, but at the same time linking it with the "D" mss; or the "non-committal" (and unexplained) symbol "Z," used by A. C. Clark (1933).

Though the "Western" text (from the time of Semler, to Friedrich Blass in 1896–97, and to J. H. Ropes in 1926) was considered a product of systematic revision, this is less certain now, especially because of the lack of homogeneity among its extant witnesses. Thus, H. A. Sanders (1934: 282) called the "Western" text a "group of related texts"; D. W. Riddle (1936: 230) called them "popular texts"; and E. G. Colwell (1969: 53, 166) referred to them as "the uncontrolled, popular text of the second century." Recently, Barbara Aland (1986) has attempted a developmental hypothesis for the "Western" textual tradition.

The "Western" text is usually longer or more expansive in its language than the Alexandrian text (one-eighth longer in Acts). There are substantial additions, including those in Matt 20:28; Luke 6:4; 23:53; Acts 1:2; 4:18, 32; 5:15, 39; 6:10–11; 8:24; 10:25; 11:2; 12:10, 23; 14:2–7; 15:2, 12, 20, 29; 16:4, 35, 39; 18:4, 8, 19, 27; 19:1, 9, 14; and 21:16 among many others (most are discussed by Metzger [1971] and, for Acts, by Ropes [1926] and Epp [1966]). The Bezan addition at Luke 6:4 provides an otherwise uncanonical saying of Jesus to a man found working on the Sabbath: "Man, if you know what you are doing, you are blessed; but if you do not know, you are accursed and a transgressor of the law" (Delobel 1985). There are, however, some celebrated instances where the "Western" text is shorter and lacks certain phrases or clauses which do occur in the otherwise shorter Alexandrian text. The most prominent examples are Matt 27:49; Luke 22:19b–20, 62; 24:3, 6, 9, 36, 40, 51, 52. These passages are designated "Western Non-Interpolations," a confusing term applied to them by Hort (Westcott and Hort 1881–82, 2: 175–77), who used this odd circumlocution (rather than the more proper phrase, "Neutral interpolations") because of his conviction that the "Neutral" (Alexandrian) text-type was pure and could have suffered no interpolations. Unfortunately, no alternative terminology has been established for this interesting group of textual variants (Snodgrass [1972]; Parsons [1986]).

Various explanations have been offered to explain the origin of this aberrant "Western" text. "Hort (Westcott and Hort 1881–82, 2:112–13) had demonstrated that "Western" readings can be identified in some abundance in early Church Fathers like Marcion, Justin Martyr, Tatian, Irenaeus, and Cyprian in the 2d century, and like Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, and even Origen in the 3d century. With such demonstrable roots in the 2d century, the "Western" text's early origin was assured, and any arguments for its secondary nature had to be based on grounds other than date.

Its "love of paraphrase" and its penchant for assimilation led Hort (Westcott and Hort 1881–82 2:122–25) to describe it as a "corruption" of the "Neutral," derived from the "Neutral" by a freely creative reviser. Hort, and many after him, therefore treated the "Western" text as secondary. J. H. Ropes (1926: ccxxxi–ii; ccxliv–v) argued that it was expanded by a single reviser before A.D. 150, who used the Alexandrian text as a base in an unsuccessful effort to improve its literary character. More recently, Hanson (1965–66) has argued that an "interpolator" with no strong connections to Judaism produced the "Western" text in Rome between A.D. 120 and 150. The dual features—its early and widespread use and its lack of homogeneity—suggested to others that the "Western" text might represent very early "unrevised" textual traditions of the NT, perhaps even the original text. A. C. Clark (1933: xxiv–xxxii),

argued that the longer "Western" text of Acts, which is "more picturesque and more circumstantial," was the original and was systematically abbreviated to form the Alexandrian version, which is "more colorless and in places more obscure."

Another explanation for the "Western" text of Luke-Acts is that their author wrote two "editions" of his work. Friedrich Blass (1896; 1897; 1898), building on older suggestions, proposed that the longer, "Western" Acts was written first in Rome, followed by the shorter, Alexandrian edition in the East. He was forced, however, to argue on the same grounds that the slightly longer Alexandrian edition of the gospel of Luke was written first, in Rome, followed by the shorter, "Western" edition. This theory, though not widely accepted, has been revived recently by Boismard and Lamouille (1984) and by Delebecque (1986); Schneider (1987) offers a critique of both works.

After many generations of scholarship, there is still no definitive answer as to whether the Alexandrian or the "Western" text better represents the original text of the gospels, Acts, and Pauline letters, though the vast majority of textual critics hold that the Alexandrian is more likely original. The lack of finality is due, primarily, to the recognition that the origins of both the Alexandrian and "Western" traditions are lost somewhere in the 2d century: the Alexandrian is attested by 2d century papyri and 3d century Church Fathers, while the "Western" is attested by 2d century Church Fathers and 3d century papyri. The preference for the Alexandrian text is based primarily on its presence in the "best" mss (Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus as well as P75) and on arguments that numerous "Western" readings can be shown to be secondary to Alexandrian readings. Rather than seeking to demonstrate the originality of either the Alexandrian or the "Western" text *in its entirety*, the predominant approach currently is the eclectic method which separately assesses each variation-unit in the NT text to determine the likelihood of an *individual reading's* originality. Under this methodology, a fair number of "Western" readings are judged to be original, but far more are judged to be secondary. See TEXTUAL CRITICISM (NT).

The question of originality is not the only kind of assessment made of the "Western" text. J. Rendel Harris (1891) hypothesized that its Greek form, as in Codex Bezae, was due to Latinization; F. H. Chase (1893; 1895) proposed, rather, that it was influenced by re-translations from Syriac; C. C. Torrey (1941: 112–48) tried to demonstrate that it had been translated from Aramaic; and A. J. Wensinck (1937; see Black 1967) maintained that Aramaic influenced its textual transmission. Another approach is the attempt to identify a distinctive ideological flavor or theological bias in the "Western" text by studying the variations between it and the Alexandrian. For example, Harris (1891: 148–53, 221–34) claimed that the "Western" text had been both "Montanized" and influenced by Marcion. An anti-Judaic bias was suggested as early as 1896 by Peter Corssen and in 1897 by Blass, who pointed to a few instances in Acts; more were noticed by P.-H. Menoud in 1951, and the view was developed fully by Epp (1966), then documented in Luke (Rice 1979–1985) and explored in Paul (Eshbaugh 1975), but disputed for Acts by others (Hanson 1965–66; 1967–68; Barrett 1979; Wilson 1979; see the surveys by Grässer 1976: 175–81, and Martini, 1980: 165–79) and found absent from Matthew (Holmes 1984). The "Western" text's treatment of the apostles has been explored by Martini (1980: 103–13; 181–88) and Rice (1984), and recently the themes of women and anti-feminism have been treated by Witherington and Pervo.

In spite of extensive study over many generations, the last word has yet to be written on the origin, development, nature, value, and significance of the so-called "Western" text of the NT. (For literature prior to 1966, see the works of Klijn [1949; 1969] and the extensive bibliography in Epp 1966: 172–85.)

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ELDON JAY EPP

**WESTERN WALL.** See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM.

**WHEAT.** See AGRICULTURE; FLORA.

**WIDOW.** See LEVIRATE LAW.

**WIFE.** See FAMILY.

**WILD GOAT, WILD OX.** See ZOOLOGY.

**WILDERNESS WANDERINGS.** Following the exodus from Egypt and the giving of the law on Sinai, the wilderness wanderings are the traditional "forty years" which the people of Israel spent in the wilderness of Sinai, on account of their unfaithfulness to Yahweh, before they entered Canaan.

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A. In the Bible
B. Literary Analysis
C. Geographical Aspects
D. Historical Questions
E. Theology

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**A. In the Bible**

The main wilderness narratives are found in Exod 15:22–17:15 and Num 10:33–22:1; 33:1–49, with a preliminary "exposition" in Exod 13:17–22 (Coats 1972a). The status of the sea-narratives (Exodus 14–15) and especially the speeches located in "the plains *(ʿarbōt)* of Moab" (Num 22:1–Josh 2:24) is somewhat ambiguous and transitional, and they will be left out of the account here, as is the Sinai-complex, which is dealt with separately. See EXODUS, THE; and SINAI, MOUNT. Further accounts are found in Deut 1:19–3:29 (cf. 8:2–5, 15–16; 9:22–24; 10:6–7; 29:5–8), in several Psalms (78; 105; 106; see also 81:7; 95:8–11; 114:8; 135:10–12; 136:16–22), and in prophetic literature (e.g., Jer 2:2–6; Ezek 20:10–26; Hos 2:14–15; 13:4–5; Amos 2:10; 5:25). The expression "wilderness wanderings," though common, is misleading, as the itinerary framework of the narrative suggests an orderly journey through the wilderness: indeed the closest literary analogies are descriptions of armies on the march (see below). Only in the latter stages is the idea of aimless wandering present, where it is regarded as a divine punishment for the Israelites' failure to make a direct assault on southern Palestine (Num 14:33–34; 32:13; Deut 2:1–3). In the wilderness itinerary in Num 33:1–49 the notion of "wandering" is completely lacking.

**B. Literary Analysis**

Structurally the wilderness narratives consist of a sequence of episodes and laws more or less loosely attached to an itinerary "chain," which describes a journey from the borders of Egypt to the river Jordan (Coats 1972b). The Sinai-complex is one such episode that has been elaborated more than any other. The other episodes mainly describe the Israelites' experiences of various physical problems posed by life in the desert environment, such as lack of food, lack of water, disease, earthquake, snakes, but also warfare and attempts to enter the cultivable land of E and W Palestine (for their theological motifs see below, E). The legal material is mainly found in Numbers 15; 18–19 (see also Exod 16:22–36) and deals with sacrifices, the remuneration of priests and Levites, and a ritual for purification after contact with a corpse.

The distinction between Priestly and non-Priestly material is generally straightforward, with longer sections of the former only occurring in Exodus 16 and Numbers 13–20. In addition to the legal material mentioned above it comprises most of the "manna" story in Exodus 16, sections of the spies' story (Num 13:1–17a, 21, 25–26, 32; 14:1–2, 5–7, 9–10, 26–38), the rebellion of the Korahites (16:1–11, 16–24; 17:1–15—Eng 16:36–50; 17:16–28—Eng 17:1–13, the "water" story in Num 20:1–13, and the story of Aaron's death in Num 20:22–29. Much of the itinerary-material is normally also attributed to P (Walsh 1977), but there are good reasons for ascribing most of it to an earlier redactor and only a few verses to P (Davies 1983).

Despite its relatively late incorporation into the main Pentateuchal narrative, the itinerary-material appears mainly to derive from a source, Num 33:1–49, whose origins lie in the monarchic period and

whose form is closely comparable to that of official documents from the ANE (Davies 1974). The attempt (Noth 1940) to isolate an earlier form of this document, in which the names paralleled in Exodus and the rest of Numbers are regarded as secondary additions, must be regarded as misguided: the parallels are more likely to be due to the inclusion of extracts from this document in the main narrative.

The early wilderness narratives apparently consisted of a series of episodes loosely linked together, with notes of movement from place to place only sporadically included at major points of transition (Exod 13:17–18, 21–22; 15:22; 19:2b; Num 10:33–36; 21:12–20; 25:1). Although the attempt has been made to separate this material into two or even three sources (Eissfeldt 1922), it is in fact impossible to find clear evidence of more than one (Fritz 1970). The order in which the episodes were recounted was apparently variable, as can be seen from a comparison of the early narrative strand, the Priestly material and the Psalms (see also Deut 9:22). This is only to be expected where clear geographical indications were generally lacking and thematic connections might be given greater weight. The individual stories take their departure from well-known desert phenomena (manna, quails, water-resources, sickness, conflicts with tribes, attempts at sedentarization), and in a few cases from place-names that were presumably still known in later Israel. In the latter instances an aetiological function is recognizable, but the remaining features evidently derive from acquaintance with conditions in the desert itself. Noth (1972: 127–34) perhaps too quickly discounted the possibility that this knowledge could be rooted in the actual experiences of Israel's ancestors in the pre-settlement period (see further below, D), but it remains likely that some features of the stories derive from later elaboration.

**C. Geographical Aspects**

The area to which these traditions refer is defined by their narrative framework as the Sinai peninsula and S Transjordan. The place-names in the early narratives and the phenomena described in them fit for the most part what is known of these regions, though some of the place-names (e.g., Taberah, Num 11:3) are otherwise unknown. The attempt had been made to restrict the range of the allusions to the N or the S of the peninsula, but this is impossible, and even narratives which are closely associated in the book of Exodus (e.g., those concerning Amalek [Exod 17:8–16] and Mount Sinai [Exodus 18ff.]) may refer to widely separated areas (confirming that the order of the narrative is not geographical). A possible problem is the reference to Midian (Exodus 2–3; 18:1; Num 10:29), because in later times at least this was located E of the Gulf of Aqaba in NW Arabia. However, the Israelites are never said to have entered Midian, and there are also reasons for thinking that in biblical times the Midianites occupied a wider area.

Later elements in the texts give a more precise indication of where the Israelites were thought to have traveled. Secondary passages in Deuteronomy (2:8, 26) and some related passages (Num 20:14–20; 21:4, 13, 18; Judg 11:17–18) take the Israelites around the areas in Transjordan later settled by Edom and Moab, through the wilderness to the E; although the basic Deuteronomic narrative, as well as Num 21:12–20, implies a journey through these territories. The more circuitous route is probably influenced by anti-Edomite polemic. Num 33:1–49 is a much more detailed account of the journey, and extracts from it inserted in the main narrative of Exodus and Numbers have imposed its conception of the route on the more loosely associated stories there. The end of the passage (vv 42–49) clearly describes a northerly journey through Moabite territory to a point just N of the Dead Sea. Its beginning can be related to place-names in NE Egypt, but there are two distinct theories about the route described: the "northern" route leads to Lake Bardawil on the Mediterranean coast, where Baal-Zephon and the Red Sea (or "Reed Sea") are said to be located, while the "southern" route passes by the Bitter Lakes in the S part of the Isthmus of Suez. The topographical evidence is complex and not entirely clear, but some important factors favor the "southern" route (see Davies 1979: 79–83 and fc., against Cazelles 1955 and Anati 1984: 139–151). Discussion of the central part of the passage has been influenced by Noth's theory that embedded in it is a list of pilgrimage stations which pointed the way to a location of Mount Sinai in NW Arabia (Noth 1940; cf. Koenig 1964, 1971; Gese 1967). In fact there are serious difficulties with the sequence of identifications proposed in the more southerly section of this route, and the routes indicated should be sought within the limits of the Sinai peninsula (Davies 1979: 84–89). Complete certainty is impossible, as most of the names have no parallel in the modern Arabic names of the region, but a framework is

provided by the beginning and end of the passage and by those places whose location is more or less certain (e.g., Mount Sinai, Kadesh, Ezion-Geber). As it stands the passage seems to imply a route leading to the S massif of the Sinai peninsula, then N toward Wadi Arabah, which is then followed S to Ezion-Geber at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba. From there the route turns NW to Kadesh and then crosses E to Punon S of the Dead Sea. This is very similar to the view of the route implied by the Priestly sections of the main wilderness narrative. Ewald (1864–68: 2.283–5) suggested that a more plausible route would be obtained if Num 33:36b–41a were transposed so as to stand between the first and second halves of v 30 (cf. *BHS*); this produces an inland route to Kadesh, then a SE journey to Ezion-Geber, from where Wadi Arabah is followed N to Punon, which corresponds exactly to the route implied in Deuteronomy 2 (without the secondary additions). The present order of the list can be plausibly attributed to the Priestly editing which is evident elsewhere in the chapter. It is clear that this relatively late material does not present a unified picture of "the wilderness journey." Its origin can only be conjectured, but it may derive from the knowledge of traders and others who used these desert routes. The recent discoveries at Kuntillet ʿAjrud have confirmed that at least one section of the route reconstructed here was in use in the period of the Israelite monarchy.

**D. Historical Questions**

Noth's influential account of the history of Pentateuchal tradition left him with no basis for any historical discussion of the wilderness tradition (1972: 58–59). Most recent histories of early Israel, likewise, give it little if any space, whether because of the presumed unreliability of the biblical sources or because of a dominating interest in the "emergence" of Israel in Canaan (Gottwald 1979; Soggin 1984; Miller and Hayes 1986; Donner 1987). It must of course be recognized that many aspects of the tradition, particularly in the Priestly account, are greatly exaggerated or even entirely fictitious, and that a majority of the elements which made up later Israel probably never went near the Sinai peninsula. But if, as seems difficult to deny, a group whose later significance greatly exceeded its size had been in Egypt and adopted the worship of Yahweh of Sinai, it is highly likely that the Pentateuch preserves some relics of their existence in the desert. There is room therefore for the kind of constructive discussion of the evidence presented by de Vaux (1978: 419–425) and Herrmann (1975: 69–85). Egyptian references to Shasu in the desert and the archaeological finds at Timna, especially the so-called "Midianite shrine" of the 12th century B.C., provide some external points of comparison (Giveon 1971; Rothenberg 1972). In the biblical tradition the role of Moses as a leader with both social and religious power over the group, and perhaps of other individuals such as Aaron and Miriam, can be recognized, but it is clear that his authority was challenged, though not overthrown; the story of Dathan and Abiram in Numbers 16 probably gives the most authentic account of such rebellion (cf. Coats 1968: 156–184). The oasis area of Kadesh is of some importance, both as the burial place of Miriam and as a natural gathering-point for an (at first unsuccessful) attempt to penetrate into Canaan (de Geus 1977). But theories which identify it as the focus of the wilderness period go well beyond the available evidence. It is likely that the "proto-Israelites" from whom the wilderness tradition chiefly derives lived, like the modern bedouin, in separate small encampments for a period (Meshel 1980) before moving into Transjordan and subsequently W Palestine, where they apparently joined (or rejoined) other groups who were in the process of establishing a society which was largely independent of the remaining Canaanite city-states. On this view the historical period referred to will lie in the 13th and 12th centuries B.C. The recent suggestion by Anati (1984) and Cohen (1981: 104) that the wilderness narratives derive from a population that lived in the N of the Sinai peninsula ca. 2000 B.C. is fanciful.

**E. Theology**

The theological development of the wilderness theme, both in Exodus-Numbers and elsewhere, is unusually rich. The simple distinction between a "positive" and a "negative" interpretation of the wilderness period is in danger of obscuring this richness, and "negative" motifs are already present in the earliest surviving narratives (Barth 1966: 14–23; Coats 1968). Yahweh is repeatedly portrayed as providing for Israel's needs in the desert in the most dramatic ways: these include guidance by the pillar of cloud and fire (Exod 13:21–22) and by the movement of the ark (Num 10:33), as well as the provision

of food and drink. Even the hardships of the journey are seen positively as divine discipline (Deut 8:3–5). To this divine care, according to one tradition, Israel responded with exemplary devotion (Hos 2:15; Jer 2:2), which is contrasted with her later apostasy. According to a different view, the divine gifts were received by a complaining people, an attitude which reaches its climax in the rejection by the majority of the opportunity to enter Canaan itself (Numbers 13–14) and, in the Priestly narrative, in Moses' own rebellion against Yahweh which debarred him from entering the promised land (Num 20:2–13; 27:12–14). It has been suggested that, as in Psalm 78, the murmuring motif was developed as a Judean polemic against the N kingdom (Coats 1968: 251). This may be correct, but it should also be noted how it serves to confirm the authority of a number of individuals and groups over the common people, and particularly that of Yahweh. In the older material it is the authority of Moses, the seventy elders and prophecy that is chiefly involved (Numbers 11–12), but in the Priestly material it is naturally the conflict between Aaron and his sons and the rest of the Levites which is mainly in view (Numbers 16–17).

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G. I. DAVIES

**WILL OF GOD IN THE OT.** In every text where God is the speaking/acting subject one has to deal with issues relating to the divine will. Every word God speaks and every deed God does would be understood by the author of the text to be in accord with the divine will; given convictions regarding divine integrity, God would not have spoken or acted in ways contrary to God's own will in the matter. The divine activities closely related to the decision-making process, such as choosing, judging, and

appointing, would provide more focused perspectives. More general reflections on God's activity (e.g., Exod 34:6–7 and its parallels) would also give us clues to Israel's understanding of God's will. Thus, a wide range of texts become pertinent for the discussion.

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A. Basic Principles
B. The Vocabulary of Will
C. Experiencing the Will of God
D. Knowing the Will of God
E. Doing the Will of God

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**A. Basic Principles**

The focus for this article, however, will be on those words which are informed specifically by Israelite reflection on the will of God. (A full study would also need to consider certain purpose clauses and prepositional phrases; cf. Exod 9:16; 1 Chr 13:2; Job 10:13.) The fact that no single Hebrew word or phrase for the divine will predominates may mean that Israel's reflection on the matter was not as focused as more modern discussions have been. Yet, the diversity of language may mean a level of complexity not yet understood. This is reflected in the variety of English translations. In fact, English versions do not commonly use the word "will" in their translations. Other verbs and nouns which belong to the same semantic field are: determine, desire, want, choose, plan, swear, judge, decide, resolve, intend, command, take pleasure in, delight in, thought, purpose, way.

This language regarding the divine will is used in a wide range of genres, though it is especially prominent in the direct divine speech of prophetic oracles. The language is also used in a variety of traditions, from the Deuteronomistic history to wisdom to apocalyptic. It is most frequent in Isaiah and Jeremiah. It is least common in the pentateuchal traditions.

To speak of the will of God is to use an anthropomorphic metaphor; language pertaining to the human will is used to speak of God. Crucial to a proper understanding of a metaphor is the recognition of both similarity and difference between the human and divine spheres. Thus, with respect to the divine will, one must speak of both continuities and discontinuities with the human will. The latter may be said to focus on the decisiveness, steadfastness, responsibility, and integrity of the divine will when compared to the human.

Generally speaking, the will of God refers to the considered and deliberate divine purpose, intention, or determination; it mobilizes and focuses the power of the divine self toward others, both within and without the community of faith. It thus assumes reflection, judgment, and a directedness toward certain ends or objectives in the world. It is God's resolve to move toward a certain kind of future for others. Inasmuch as willing implies not-willing, it assumes that God is faced with choices and rejects or accepts alternative possibilities. God's will is always freely exercised at the divine initiative and motivated by love toward the other and by faithfulness to God's own promises (cf. Deut 7:8; 1 Kgs 10:9). God moves resolutely and decisively to action (or non-action) on behalf of that which is willed; God's will may not always be realized in individual instances, however, for it is resistible by the human will. Negatively, the divine will is not capricious, double-minded, blind, driven, drifting, compulsive, or oppressive (as the human will often is).

The divine will is the will of one who has willed to be in genuine relationship with the world. It is thus not a static will, but living and active. This is seen in the law as it is shaped ever anew by changes in Israelite society. God's will for the people moves with their times and places; new occasions teach new duties. This is also characteristic of the word of the prophet, which speaks to particular historical circumstances. The will of God expressed through the word of the prophet takes one form, e.g., in Amos, another in Second Isaiah. Yet, in every change of law or prophecy, the word of God is informed by a will which is faithful and constant, namely, God's will for life for those in relationship: "for our good always, that he might preserve us alive" (Deut 6:24), "that it may go well with you, and that you may live long" (22:7), "that you may live" (Amos 5:14).

One must thus speak of the will of God as both constant and changing. This necessitates a distinction such as that between the absolute and the circumstantial will of God (cf. Weatherhead 1944). The absolute will of God for his creatures remains always and everywhere the same: life, blessing, salvation. It is exercised on behalf of others. While unconditional and freely exercised, once having so willed God is eternally resolute and committed to that end. The circumstantial will of God is also freely exercised, but it is not set from eternity on every matter; it is open to the future and will often be shaped in interaction with a changing world. Alternative future possibilities will shape the divine directedness (cf. Jer 22:1–5). At the same time, while God might will judgment in a specific instance, it is for the sake of the absolute divine will for people and world. The circumstantial will of God is always in the service of the absolute will of God; they remain closely connected.

The will of God in relationship is not only expressed actively in word and deed. It is also expressed more passively in an appropriate receptivity; God lets things happen to himself. God's eyes and ears are open to the world (2 Kgs 19:16); God chooses to receive the world into the divine life. God's will is so much for others that suffering comes to be in God himself (cf. Isa 42:14).

**B. The Vocabulary of Will**

**1.** *lēb,* heart. Also *nepeš,* soul, mind. Understood as the seat of the human will, the heart is often mentioned as the "organ of God's distinct will" (Wolff 1974). David praises God "because of thy promise, and according to thy own heart, thou hast wrought all this greatness" (2 Sam 7:21). God commends Jehu for "carrying out what is right in my eyes … according to all that was in my heart" (2 Kgs 10:30; cf. 1 Kgs 9:3). In other words, God's will was done. What is (not) "right/good in [God's] eyes" is often used alone elsewhere, especially in the Deuteronomistic traditions (cf. Deut 12:25, 28; 2 Sam 10:12; 15:26; 2 Sam 11:27; 1 Kgs 11:33, 38; Isa 65:12). God's resolve to be faithful to his people is similarly expressed: "with all my heart and all my soul" (Jer 32:41).

Other phrasings used are "after my/his own heart" (1 Sam 13:14; Jer 3:15) and "in my/his heart/mind" (Gen 8:21; 1 Sam 2:35; Isa 63:4; Jer 7:31; 19:5; 32:35; 44:21). On *nepeš* in Job 23:13, cf. below. It is important to see in a number of these texts how the people's actions are explicitly said not to have been willed by God (though God willed that such actions would be possible). God does not will all that happens, though God's will may be said to be active *in* all that happens. Especially striking is the statement that God does not "willingly [lit. from his heart] afflict or grieve people" (Lam 3:33). Suffering is not (at least) the absolute will of God for Israel either. God's will is thus explicitly excluded as the initiating factor in certain events (suffering; sinful activity) and included in others (raising up leaders; keeping promises; as obeyed by certain individuals).

One can see how some of these words function in relationship to one another in Ezek 38:10–11: words/thoughts arise in the *lēb* and (evil) plans are devised, issuing in the announcement of a decision.

**2.** *zāmam; mĕzimmâ,* to intend; purpose, intent. This word and the next *(ḥšb)* are particularly prominent in Jeremiah. The noun is used with *lēb* to express the purpose or intent of the divine will (Jer 23:20; 30:24). The prophet as a member of the divine council has been made privy to the divine will for judgment (cf. its application to Babylon in Jer 51:11–12). The will of God is here circumstantial, directed to a specific historical moment; it cannot be generalized or considered atemporal. When the judgment has been executed, the will of God has been accomplished. It is also to be noted that these texts make a clear distinction between the divine (preliminary) decision and the execution thereof. The use of the verb in Jer 4:28 and Zech 8:14 with *niḥām,* repent, implies that it is possible to consider God's will not moving through to its execution; but not in this instance (cf. Lam 2:17). God's not repenting with respect to God's own will for judgment on this occasion becomes the basis for assuring the post-exilic community that God's will for good will stand (Zech 8:15). The use of the noun in Job 42:2 suggests that the will of God cannot (finally?) be thwarted, but it is pertinent only to God's purpose in Job's situation and cannot be generalized.

**3.** *ḥāšab; maḥăšābâ,* to plan; purpose. The noun is used with *lēb* in Ps 33:11 to contrast the eternality of God's purposes for good with the ephemeral purposes of the nations. God's (good) purposes are also contrasted with the (evil) purposes of Joseph's brothers in Gen 50:20. It is not that the good end for

Joseph and his brothers was predetermined by God, only that God's will for life was at work in the situation and came to prevail (cf. Jer 6:19, where the evil purposes of the people bring a judgmental end).

God's devising of a plan against Israel is met with Israel's own plans and plots rather than repentance (Jer 18:11–12, 18). The shaping of the divine purpose toward judgment is intended as preliminary, as is God's intention in Jer 26:3 and 36:3. Israel's response will affect whether those plans move to execution or God repents. In Lam 2:8 God no longer restrained God's hand and let the plans for destruction go forward (cf. Mic 2:3). Jer 51:29 states that the divine purposes against Babylon will stand (cf. 50:45; 49:20; Mic 4:12). On the far side of the destruction of Jerusalem, God's absolute purposes for Israel come into view; they are for peace rather than judgment, to give them a "future and a hope" (Jer 29:11). Such purposes are praised along with God's wondrous deeds in Ps 40:6—Eng v 5 (cf. 92:6—Eng v 5).

Generally speaking, God's purposes are not those of human beings, indeed they are of a different order (Isa 55:8–9). It is not that God's purposes are beyond human understanding, indeed they have just been articulated in 55:6–7 and elsewhere in Second Isaiah. Nor is there complete discontinuity between divine and human purposes, only that human purposes could not have made the gracious move God here makes. God's will for Israel's salvation is a matter of the divine initiative and will come to pass for those who "return to the Lord."

These words are common in Wisdom Literature, with primary reference to human plans. Divine plans stand in some tension with those of human beings. The plans of the righteous are considered just (Prov 12:5) and those of the diligent lead to abundance (21:5) and can succeed (*qûm*) with counsel (15:22; cf. 20:18). Yet, Prov 19:21 suggests that while human plans may be many, the purpose (*ʿēṣâ*, cf. below) of God shall be established *(qûm).* It is not that human and divine plans are inevitably at cross-purposes; human plans (*not* divine plans) will be established *(kûn)* if they are committed to the Lord (16:3). Prov 16:9 suggests this relationship: human plans are of no little importance, but are dependent finally on God's work to bring them to completion *(kûn).* This suggests not only that God works in and through human beings in the establishment of the divine purpose in the world, but also that human involvement is real and effective to that end (cf. 16:1). God wills that this be so. Hence, wicked human plans are an abomination to the Lord (6:18). It makes a difference to God what the human plans are.

**4.** *yāʿaṣ; ʿēṣa,* to counsel; plan, purpose. These words sometimes appear in parallel constructions with *ḥāšab* (cf. Ps 33:10–11; Prov 19:21; Jer 49:20, 30; 50:45; Mic 4:12). They are especially common in the prophets' oracles against the nations. In the oracle against Tyre, Isaiah speaks of God's purpose in its judgment, "to defile the pride of all glory" (Isa 23:8–9). These words are piled up in the oracles against Assyria (Isa 14:24–27), where special attention is given to God's not reversing the decision for judgment. Against Egypt (Isa 19:1–17), the Lord will confound its plans (v 3) while fulfilling God's own (vv 12, 17), which cannot be discerned by Egyptian planners (v 11). Jeremiah speaks of comparable divine purposes against Babylon (50:45) and Edom (49:20), prompted not least by the "pride of your heart" (49:16) and the "proud defiance" of the Holy One of Israel (50:29). The same language is used for Nebuchadrezzar against Hazor (Jer 49:30), suggesting that he is the instrument for God's plans. Mic 4:12 speaks of God's plans for judgment against the nations in general; such a world-wide divine purpose is also voiced in the Psalms (33:10–11) and by Isaiah (14:26) and Jeremiah (50:46).

These passages demonstrate that the will of God has to do not simply with the people of Israel; it has a scope which is universal. God is at work among all peoples effecting God's purposes. God uses the nations as the instruments of the divine purpose, even though they may not know it (cf. Isa 10:7; 46:11). Whatever plans they may have, they are nothing compared to the purposes of God; the divine will endures while theirs will fail (Ps 33:10–11; cf. Prov 19:21).

Israel itself often neglected or spurned God's purpose, carrying out their own plans, thinking that they could be the beneficiaries of God's will regardless of their evil ways (Pss 106:13; 107:11; Isa 5:19; 29:15; 30:1). Because of this, God could purpose judgment (2 Chr 25:16). Even then, on the far side of judgment, God's will is to act on behalf of Israel's salvation, and this God will do through "the man of my purpose" (i.e., Cyrus; Isa 46:10–11; cf. 44:26). These long-standing purposes effected in wondrous deeds are faithful and sure, deserving of praise (Isa 25:1; 28:29) and confession (Jer 32:19).

The verb *dāmah (Pi‘el)* is used twice in this sense (Num 33:56; Isa 14:24).

**5.** *rāṣāh; rāṣôn,* to be pleased with, accept; favor, will. The noun may be as close a word as any to what is often called the will of God. In Ps 40:9—Eng v 8, the will of God in which the psalmist delights is in parallel with the torah of God; in Ps 103:21, doing the will of God is parallel to doing God's word. In Ps 143:10 the psalmist asks God: "Teach me to do thy will" (cf. the phrases "the way I should go" and "a level path" in the context). In Ezra 10:11, doing the will of God appears to be synonymous with obedience. The will of God is here understood as something more objective, available to the community of faith; it can be learned and indeed done, the doing of which is considered a delight and not a burden. While obedience to the law may be in view in some texts, the will of God is more broadly conceived than embodied in an external code.

The verb (and some uses of the noun) relates to the above in that God is pleased with that which is in accord with the divine will. Thus, God is (not) pleased with certain persons, occasions, or matters because they do (not) conform to the will of God. For example, God is pleased with the servant (Isa 42:1), with David (1 Chr 28:4), with those who trust God rather than other sources of power (Ps 147:10–11), with uprightness (1 Chr 29:17; Prov 11:20; 12:22), with justice (Prov 11:1), with a joyful life (Eccl 9:7), with the prayer of the upright (Prov 15:8), and with the rebuilding of the temple (Hag 1:8). God finds unacceptable those who do not worship well (Mal 1:10–13; cf. Lev 22:17–29) or who do, but ignore kindness and justice (Isa 58:5–6; Jer 14:10–12; Amos 5:22; Mic 6:7), contrition (Ps 51:18–19—Eng vv 16–17; Hos 8:13), or faithfulness in human relationships (Mal 2:13–14). It is apparent from such a list that God's will for Israel encompasses the full range of their daily lives, from specific matters to general behavior. The will of God thus often has a quite particular focus. There is a special concern for the practice of worship and its relationship to personal conduct.

To speak of God's taking pleasure is a striking anthropopathism. It makes clear that God is not conceived in unfeeling terms. God's good pleasure is the interior, dynamic side of the divine will. God's will and the world's response to it are a matter of deep, living concern. The will of God is thus not an external, objective matter of volition unrelated to more subjective dimensions of the divine life.

**6.** *ḥāpēṣ; ḥēpeṣ,* to be pleased with; delight. These words are sometimes used in parallel constructions to those just noted (cf. Pss 51:18–21—Eng vv 16–19; 147:10–11; cf. also *‘ēṣâ* in Isa 46:10).

The words play a central role in Second Isaiah. The absolute will of God is focused on the future salvation God has in store for Israel and the means by which that will is to be accomplished. God says regarding that future: "I will accomplish all my will" (Isa 46:10); Cyrus is the one chosen to "fulfill all my will" (44:28), specifically with respect to Babylon (48:14). The servant is also a means for the accomplishment of God's will for Israel. It was God's purpose to work through his suffering; in his hand the will of God would prosper (53:10; cf. 42:21). God's word regarding this future will not fail; "it shall [finally] accomplish that which I purpose" (55:11). Hence, God uses human beings, both within and without the community of faith, to carry out the divine will in the world. Moreover, that will is accomplished through means as disparate as victory over the forces of evil and individual suffering at the hands of those who oppose the purposes of God. Suffering as related to God's will is here understood in specifically vocational terms and cannot be utilized to speak of suffering in general.

To speak of the Lord delighting in someone is to speak of the will of God in relationship to that person (the verb often has the sense of "desire" or "wish" when human beings are the subject). Thus, to say, "If the Lord delights in us" (Num 14:8) is to say, in effect: if it is the will of God (or God's good pleasure) for us. For God to delight in the welfare of his servant (Ps 35:27) is to will his vindication. David was delivered and Solomon enthroned because God delighted in them, that is, it was God's good pleasure so to do (2 Sam 22:20; 1 Kgs 10:9). God acts favorably toward others when it is his good pleasure so to do, for example, David (2 Sam 15:25–26). On the other hand, God has no pleasure in the death of anyone, even the wicked (Ezek 18:23, 32; 33:11, where the oath formula is used); such is not the will of God. These passages would seem to stand in contradiction to 1 Sam 2:25 (cf. Judg 13:23), which states that it is God's will to slay the sons of Eli because of their wickedness. It may be suggested that the Samuel

passage belongs with those which speak of God's purpose in judgment in specific circumstances, while Ezekiel articulates God's absolute will with respect to death.

God himself practices steadfast love, justice, and righteousness in the earth, and God's will in his own actions conform to the divine will for all (Jer 9:23–24; Mic 7:18; cf. Gen 18:25; Ps 5:5—Eng v 4; Eccl 5:4). God desires these qualities of life rather than sacrifice (Hos 6:6; Ps 51:8—Eng v 6; Isa 1:11; Ps 40:7—Eng v 6; cf. 51:18, 21—Eng vv 16, 19). It is this line of thought that may help explain those passages where it says that God does what pleases him (Pss 115:3; 135:6; cf. Prov 21:1; Jonah 1:14; Eccl 8:3, used of human kings). These texts may mean nothing more than whatever God does conforms to God's own will. However true that is, they likely claim more, namely, that God does whatever it pleases God to do. Compared to idols, God does what God wills to do. The concern is with God's freedom of action. It goes beyond the text to suggest either that God chooses to do everything that gets done in the world or that God's will prevails over every resistance in everything that God undertakes.

God is (not) pleased with those who make certain choices in life (Isa 56:4; 65:12; 66:4; Pss 16:3; 37:23) because it does (not) accord with the divine will (though Mal 2:1 indicates that there were doubters of this in Israel). God is pleased with the newly redeemed Israel, so in accord with the divine will is this new bride (Isa 62:4). In this passage, *ḥāpēṣ* is parallel with *śûś* (62:5). The latter verb is used to speak of God's delight in doing good to Israel, multiplying and prospering them (Deut 28:63; 30:9; Jer 32:41, where *lēb* is used), but also bringing ruin upon them in judgment (Deut 29:63).

**7.** *yāʾal (Hipʿil),* to be pleased. 1 Sam 12:22 is an especially pointed statement of the divine will: "The Lord will not cast away his people, for his great name's sake, because it has pleased the Lord to make you a people for himself." God puts the divine reputation behind this commitment. God's will is to have this people in relationship with himself forever. God will not cast them off. In the context of the divine promise to David (2 Sam 7:29), God's good pleasure on behalf of the Davidic dynasty is appealed to.

**8.** *yāṣar,* to frame, devise in the mind, purpose. This verb is used in parallel with both *ḥēpeṣ* and *ʿēṣâ* in Isa 46:10–11, stressing that through Cyrus God will bring God's long-standing redemptive purpose for Israel to pass. God's will for Israel is sure and it will be fulfilled. The verb is also parallel with *ḥāšab* in Jer 18:11, indicating God's plan for judgment against an Israel following its own plans. The use of this verb for both salvation and judgment should be related to the distinction between the absolute and circumstantial will of God. The expression of God's will for judgment is conditional, is tied to very specific circumstances, and is in the service of God's will for salvation. God's will for the salvation of God's people has been declared from the beginning, is unconditional in character, and will prevail.

In Isa 37:21–29 Sennacherib is indicted for his prideful arrogance in presuming that his victories were entirely his own doing. He failed to recognize that he was an instrument in a long-standing divine plan to bring judgment (37:26) and hence would himself be the object of judgment. This divine plan, however, does not imply that the course of these events has been predetermined by God. The planning and bringing to pass are distinguished here as elsewhere (cf. above), so that the judgment remains conditional upon the nature of historical developments. The situation of Isa 22:11 is comparable, with Israel's trust in military means rather than God being the focus for the indictment.

The translation of Jer 33:2 is uncertain but may speak of the will of God to create the world. Ps 139:16 in the RSV, "the days that were formed for me," would appear to be pertinent to this issue, but NEB is the preferred translation.

**9.** *ʾāwāh, ʾawwâ,* to desire; desire. This highly anthropopathic term expresses God's desire for Zion as the divine dwelling place (Ps 132:13–14). The depth of commitment in God's will for the divine presence in Zion is strongly indicated in its repetition. Job states that whatever God desires, that God does (23:13); come what may, God will complete what God has in store for Job. It is difficult to draw general theological conclusions from this passage, however, given the futility felt by Job in his struggle with God's seemingly oppressive presence.

**10.** *ʾābāh,* to be willing. This verb is used to indicate God's unwillingness to destroy Israel in the wilderness (Deut 10:10; 23:5; Josh 24:10) and during the monarchy (2 Kgs 8:19; 13:23; 2 Chr 21:7), or to pardon stubbornly disloyal individuals (Deut 29:20) or Israel before the fall of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 24:4).

**11.** Two Aramaic words also speak of the will of God. The word *rĕʿû* occurs in a general way in Ezra 7:18. The word *ṣĕbāʾ,* in Dan 4:14, 22, 29—Eng vv 17, 25, 32 (cf. 5:21), refers to God as one who gives the kingdom to whomever he pleases. Nebuchadnezzar also refers to the will of God in his prayer (Dan 4:32—Eng v 35), that God "does according to his will" in heaven and on earth. This apocalyptic view appears to state that God's will is accomplished in the world come what may, and is perhaps best understood in terms of God's absolute will.

**C. Experiencing the Will of God**

God's work and God's word are expressions of God's will, and all God's creatures experience the effects of this divine will. God wills to be involved in all the world in creation and redemption.

**1. Creation and Providence.** Creation is not simply a thought or a deed, it is an act of will. The concrete word bringing the creation into being (Genesis 1) is the outward expression of the will of God. Creation thus is not accidental or arbitrary, it is a deliberately formed purpose of God. In its order and structure, the creation bodies forth the will of God. The language of divine command, *ṣāwāh (Piʿel),* also has an important place in both creation (Isa 45:12; Pss 33:9; 148:5) and continuing creation (Isa 34:16; Ps 78:23; Job 37:12). All creation and its life is continually grounded in and permeated by the providential will of God; it remains within the scope of the ongoing divine will of blessing for the world. As such, the creative order witnesses to God's will for the world; it is a source of Israel's knowledge of that will. Moreover, because God does not confine God's willing activity to the people of Israel, God's will is experienced and known, at least in part, in places where God's name is not explicitly confessed.

**2. Promise and Salvation.** Promise is most closely associated with the divine will in the use of the verb, *šābaʿ,* swear (cf. its association with verbs of planning in Isa 14:24). This refers to a solemn divine oath; God in effect lays his own life on the line for the sake of the promise. God swears by himself that the will articulated in the promise is sure. God's oath to the ancestors is fulfilled in the covenant relationship, in the Exodus deliverance, and the establishing of Israel in their own land (Gen 22:16; Deut 4:31; 7:8; Josh 21:43; Ps 105:9; Jer 32:22; Ezek 16:8; Mic 7:20). God swears that the promise to David is God's sure will; God will not lie (Ps 89:4, 36, 50—Eng vv 3, 35, 49) or repent concerning this matter (110:4; cf. 2 Sam 7:21). God's will for David and God's will for presence among the people are combined in Ps 132:11–14. The them of divine election *(bāḥar)* is also pertinent to the divine will in these contexts (cf. Pss 89:4—Eng v 3; 132:13; Deut 7:6). God swears concerning the certainty of that will for the salvation of Israel (Isa 62:8; cf. 54:9), indeed of all people (Isa 45:23; cf. 49:6). The universality of the divine will for salvation is also evident in other traditions (cf. Exod 9:16; 1 Kgs 8:43; Ps 67:3—Eng v 2; Isa 12:4–5). God also swears an oath with respect to matters of judgment (cf. Amos 4:2; Jer 22:5; 49:13).

**D. Knowing the Will of God**

God wills to be known. God's will is to reveal God's will (cf. Isa 65:1–2). The OT testifies that God has in fact made God's will known. While the word of God in theophany is the primary and most articulate way in which God discloses that will at the divine initiative, every divine act is disclosive of that will and hence a potential source of the knowledge of God. See THEOPHANY IN THE OT. The prophets are also understood to be participants in the divine council *(sôd)* in which they hear the divine will (cf. Jer 23:18, 22; Amos 3:7; cf. Job 15:8).

In addition, God has provided for means by which God's will can be sought *(dāraš)* by the community of faith. Various leaders are given specific responsibilities in this matter. Moses is one to whom the people come to inquire of God; he in turn conveys the will of God to them (Exod 18:15–20), or Eleazar the priest so functions for Joshua (Num 27:21), or the prophets for kings (e.g., 2 Kgs 3:11; Jer 21:1–2; cf. Hag 2:11–13), or David himself (1 Sam 23:2; 2 Sam 2:1; 5:19–25). Such a wide range of texts shows that the will of God was understood not to have been made known to Israel in all of its particulars; it needed to be sought out in ever new life situations, at which times it was thought to be available from God.

Generally, divination is condemned in Israel, though it is practiced at times and becomes the object of prophetic indictment (cf. Deut 18:10–14; Ezek 13:9, 23). In early Israel, however, some instruments are used to inquire of God: Urim and Thummim (lots), kept in the pocket of the Ephod, a liturgical vestment. However, no description or theological interpretation of the procedure is given (cf. 1 Sam 14:41–42;

23:9–12). At times a direct word of God is heard, which seems redundant (1 Sam 23:9–12; 30:7–8); at other times an answer is not forthcoming (1 Sam 14:37; 28:6).

It is uncertain whether Israel understood the casting of lots (a commonplace in the ancient world) in a deterministic sense, with God controlling the outcome. Prov 16:33 suggests this (but cf. above on *ḥašab* in Proverbs for another way of viewing related texts), as does 1 Sam 10:16–26 (though there are doubters, v 27). In many passages it seems to be more like the toss of a coin, a randomizing device for eliminating human will and bias that might obscure the divine will in the situation (cf. Lev 16:9; Num 33:54; Josh 18:6, 10; Judg 20:9; Neh 11:1; Ps 22:19—Eng v 18; cf. Prov 18:18). That such procedures were fair would be based on cumulative experience that no systematic biases took place (on early theories of probability, cf. Rabinovitch 1973). It is a way in which God could work in and through a situation of neutrality, without the contrariness so common to the human will. In other words, genuine randomness or chance for the sake of fairness was the will of God in the situation, which would in turn provide greater opportunity for God to be at work according to God's own will. Eccl 9:11, "time and chance happen to them all" (on chance see 1 Sam 6:9; cf. Ruth 2:3; 1 Sam 20:26; 2 Sam 1:6), testifies to a neutral natural order. The lots were an expression of that neutrality and fairness which is characteristic of random phenomena, such as the weather (see Matt 5:45), in and through which God could work.

**E. Doing the Will of God**

The people of God are called upon to obey the will of God and to be the agents of God's will in the world. In some traditions this is referred to as God's way (*derek; ʾōraḥ;* cf. the parallels with *rāṣôn* in Ps 143:8–10 and *ḥāšab* in Isa 55:8–9). God's people are to "walk in all his ways" (cf. Deut 10:12; Josh 22:5) and are taught that way (Gen 18:19; Exod 33:13; Pss 5:9—Eng v 8; 25:4, 9–10; 27:11; 86:11; Isa 2:3; cf. Pss 18:31—Eng v 30; 44:19—Eng v 18; Jer 5:4–5). Even non-Israelites are called upon to be such divine instruments (cf. Cyrus), though they may not realize the source of their calling.

The law for Israel is grounded in a relationship to a personal and gracious will. God's will as expressed in the law is not arbitrary, unrelated to worldly reality. It is always intersecting with life as it is. It moves with the times, taking human experience and insight into account, while remaining constant in its objective: the best interests of people. The law, therefore, is not considered right simply because it embodies God's will. It is right because it can be seen to serve life and well-being. It is right because it contributes to wisdom and understanding and can be recognized as such by those who are not a part of the community of faith (cf. Deut 4:6).

In the law God's will for people's lives is both personalized and particularized. It is personalized by the way in which it is conveyed to Israel within the context of an already established personal relationship. Hence, Israel is to understand the law in comparably personal terms. It is particularized because God's will for human life does not remain at the level of general principle. Because God has Israel's best interests at heart, God has a will for the ordering of life in its particulars, while recognizing that they may change because of the historical character of human life. Israel's obedience to that will does not come from the pressure of the law but in the knowledge that that will is instruction for life in all of its fullness, that it is motivated by love, and that in having experienced salvation in the Exodus event Israel has already experienced first-hand the divine will for them. The divine will in the law thus has a gracious objective: it is for the purpose of extending into all aspects of one's own life, and the lives of others, the already experienced salvific intention of that will: life and well-being (cf. Deut 4:40).

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**WILLOW.** See FLORA.

**WILLOWS, BROOK OF THE** (PLACE) [Heb *naḥal hā‹ărābîm* (נַחַל הָעֲרָבִים)]. A stream mentioned in an oracle against Moab (Isa 15:7). Though the precise location of this watercourse remains uncertain the flight pattern in the oracle of the fugitives who cross the brook appears to be in a S direction. A S location would argue against identifications of this watercourse with the *Wâdī Gharbeh,* the southernmost tributary of the Jordan (e.g., Odelain and Séguineau 1981: 383) or with one of the tributaries of the river Arnon (van Zyl 1960: 56). The predominant view is that the Brook of the Willows [or "of the Arabim" or "of the Poplars"] should be identified with the *Wâdī el-Ḥesā* (see ZERED, BROOK OF) which flows from the SE into the S end of the Dead Sea and formed the ancient boundary between Moab and Edom (Kaiser *Isaiah 13–39* OTL, 69; Wildberger *Jesaja* BKAT, 616).

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**WIND.** See PALESTINE, CLIMATE OF.

**WINNOWING.** See AGRICULTURE.

**WISDOM IN THE OT** [Heb *ḥokma* (חָכְמָה)*;* Gk *sophia* (σοφια)]. "Wisdom" is a term that can be used to indicate certain books which deal particularly with (biblical) wisdom, or it can refer to a movement in the ancient world associated with "teachers" or sages, and it can also suggest a particular understanding of reality which presents some contrasts with other biblical books.

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**A. Introduction**

**1. Terminology.** The Hebrew term for wisdom *(ḥkm)* occurs in one form or another 318 times in the OT, and over half of these (183) are found in Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes (*TWAT* 2: 558). Hence these three books, along with Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon (in these two apocryphal books forms of *sophos/sophia* occur over 100 times), have come to represent Israel's "Wisdom Literature."

In itself the root has a fairly wide range of meaning (*TDNT* 7:476–92). "Wise men" are associated with the diviners and magicians of Egypt (Gen 41:8; Exod 7:11), and in the book of Daniel with the interpretation of dreams (Dan 2:27). The basic meaning of "skill, ability" appears in the designation of Bezalel and the workers on the desert sanctuary as "wise" (Exod 36:2, 8). The term is applied artisan

skills such as metalwork (1 Chr 22:15–16) and carpentry and weaving (Exod 35:35). More often wisdom is used in the sense of cleverness or cunning. The actions of even the smallest animals betray their "wisdom" in surviving (Prov 30:24–28). Cunning can be employed wickedly, as by the "very wise" Jonadab (2 Sam 13:3), or benevolently as in the case of the wise woman of Tekoa (2 Sam 14:2).

The "wisdom" or skill of sailors (Ps 107:27) is matched by the "steering" (*taḥbulôt,* Prov 1:5) which the wise are able to provide for the voyage through life. The goal of their teaching is to enable one to cope with life, and to impose a kind of order on the myriad experiences which surround a person. The wise know when to speak and when to be silent (esp. the latter; cf. Prov 17:27–28). This orientation to proper action is fundamental, for wisdom is practical, not theoretical. Even when the sage describes some aspect of reality as "the way it is," the purpose remains practical. The commands and the prohibitions make this explicit, and even most of the sayings are filled with value judgments that urge a given course of action. Truthfulness, fidelity, kindness, honesty, control of the appetites—these are staple topics in the instructions in Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus. There is in fact a striking parallelism between *ḥkm* and *ṣdq* ("righteous") in both works.

Further understanding of wisdom can be supplemented by the broad semantic range of terms associated with *ḥkm: byn* (understand), *yʿṣ* (advise), *ykḥ* (reprove), etc., as well as by the opposites, *ʾwyl* (fool), *ksyl* (fool), etc. (Scott 1971: 121–122; Whybray 1974: 121–150).

**2. Date and Setting.** Solomonic authorship is explicitly claimed for three wisdom books: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Wisdom of Solomon. This "authorship" might be better understood as patronage, as in the case of Davidic "authorship" of Psalms. Solomon came down in the tradition as the wise man par excellence, and that is the reason for the attribution of these later works to him. The passage in 1 Kgs 5:9–14 (—Eng 4:29–34) ascribes to Solomon a wisdom that surpassed the wisdom of all the people of the East and all the wisdom of Egypt. The fact of the matter is that only portions of Proverbs (especially in chaps. 10–31) can be considered as coming from the preexilic period, and it is not possible to date these, although Prov 25:1 mentions the "men of (King) Hezekiah," as being engaged in some kind of scribal activity. Ecclesiastes was certainly written in the postexilic period, probably in the 3d century. Ben Sira can be securely dated to the first part of the 2d century, probably 200–180. Although a majority opinion considers Job as postexilic in date, a preexilic origin cannot be excluded (Pope *Job* AB, xxxii–xl). The Wisdom of SolomonSolomon is generally assigned to the last half of the 1st century B.C. (Larcher 1983–85: 141–161). Thus, the Wisdom Literature, as literature, is largely a postexilic phenomenon, even if its origins are in the preexilic period.

Its origins are not easy to determine (Murphy 1981a: 26). At one time Israelite wisdom was widely considered to be the work of the court school in Jerusalem, because of the similarities that it presented with Egyptian wisdom, which was the work of a royal or scribal class. But origins in family and tribal wisdom must also be considered (Gerstenberger 1965). Probably both school and tribe contributed to the wisdom movement. The existence of the institution of a "school" in Israel remains only a reasonable inference (Hermisson 1968: 113–136; Golka 1983: 257–270; Lemaire 1981; 1984; Crenshaw 1985b). The precise setting *(Sitz im Leben)* of the Israelite sages cannot be determined. Qoheleth is described as a "wise man" who taught the people knowledge (Eccl 12:9), but we know nothing of his situation. Ben Sira refers to his "school" (Sir 51:23), but concrete details are lacking. Because it is difficult to get a clear picture of the "wise men" in Israel, Whybray (1974: 54, 69) has denied that a class of sages existed, and has tried to explain the movement as the product of "the activity of men of superior intelligence." However, such texts as Isa 29:14, Jer 8:8, and the activity of the *yôʿēṣ,* or counsellor (de Boer 1955: 42–81), would suggest that they constituted a recognizable group. Further research on the various roles of sages in Israel and the ANE will sharpen their sociological profile (Gammie and Perdue 1990).

**3. Wisdom Genres.** The definition of "proverb" is notoriously difficult. The Hebrew term *māšāl,* commonly translated as "proverb," has a wide range of meanings (indicating even the taunt song in Isa 14:4ff.). Etymologically it seems to be connected with comparison and with rule or power. Another term for the sayings in the Wisdom Literature is "aphorism." J. Williams (1980: 38–40) enumerates several features of aphoristic speech exhibited by the biblical proverbs: the speech is assertive, apparently self-

explanatory, and says something as though it is *a priori;* it is frequently paradoxical; it is brief and concise; there are frequent plays on words; the comparison is a basic feature. It appears that the word "proverb" should be used for sayings that have come into popular *use,* whatever their origins (Hermission 1968: 33; J. Williams 1981: 78–80).

The basic wisdom saying is usually composed of two lines in parallelism, a common feature of Proverbs 10–31. Very often there is simply a juxtaposition, without a verb, as the following illustrates: "A gatherer in summer—a wise son; a sleeper during harvest—a disgraceful son" (Prov 10:5). The juxtapositional style, which is not evident in the usual translations, enables the author to put things together (synonymous parallelism), and also to contrast them (antithetic parallelism). But even the "identity" of two subjects is more or less an implicit comparison. Sometimes the comparison is made explicit: "Like a bird straying from its nest—a man straying from his home" (Prov 27:8). The style of the sayings varies considerably. One can have "not good" sayings (Prov 19:2), or "abomination" sayings (Prov 11:1), or "better" sayings (Prov 22:1), or "numerical" sayings (x-number, plus 1; cf. Prov 30:18–19), or "impossible questions" (Job 8:11; Crenshaw 1979). In English, or in any other vernacular translation, it is practically impossible to convey the striking alliterations, assonance, and wordplay which generally characterize the collections of Hebrew proverbs (McCreesh 1982). Two examples must suffice: *bāʾ zādôn wayyābōʾ qālôn* (Prov 11:2a, "comes pride, then comes disgrace"); *ṭôb šēm miššemen ṭôb* (Eccl 7:1a, "a good name is better than good ointment"). Such sayings deal with a vast array of topics. Sometimes they register a paradox (Prov 20:17), or convey an observation: "a rich man's wealth—his strong city; destruction of poor—their poverty" (Prov 10:15). The latter saying merely registers a fact: money makes a difference. It does not of itself draw a moral (contrast 15:16). However, most proverbs are value-laden and hence explicitly didactic, attempting to influence action.

An admonition is clearly such an attempt, and it can be expressed positively (16:3; contrast 16:20), or negatively. Negative admonitions are common in Proverbs 1–9 and 22–24, and throughout Sirach. Very often a motive clause is appended in order to persuade the audience: "Injure not the poor … For the Lord will defend their cause" (Prov 22:22–23).

The obvious contrast between the disparate sayings in Proverbs 10ff., and the consecutive poetry in Proverbs 1–9 and in Job and in many parts of Sirach suggests that one may speak of "wisdom poems." These may be structured along alphabetic lines, such as the 22 lines in Proverbs 2, with its *alep* and *lamed* stanzas (Murphy 1981b: 52), or as the deliberate acrostic in Psalm 34 (Ceresko 1985), or the acrostic poem on the valorous woman in Prov 31:10–31. P. Skehan detected several alphabetic factors entering into the speeches of Job (1971: 96–123). Although the speeches in Job have been called "disputation speech" (Crenshaw 1974: 253–255), it must be admitted that they have also incorporated other genres from law and wisdom.

As the structure of Ecclesiastes is highly disputed (Wright 1968; 1980), so also the literary forms are difficult to capture. The several sayings in the book (e.g., chaps. 7, 10) are obvious. For the rest, the author seems to utilize reflections on various turns in life (Ellermeier 1967: 66–79; Braun 1973: 155–158). Ben Sira ranges over the whole gamut of literary genres including hymns and prayers in his 51 chapters (Baumgartner 1914). Various genres have been suggested for parts of the Wisdom of Solomon: apocalyptic, the Hellenistic syncrisis, midrash, epideictic, and encomium (Larcher 1983–85: 109–114; Bizzeti 1984). At least the structure seems to have been adequately established by the recognition of inclusions (Wright 1967a).

**4. The Thought World of Wisdom.** Gerhard von Rad (1972: 6) was the first to raise the question of the "understanding of reality" reflected in Israelite wisdom. The answer depends partly upon the understanding of straightforward wisdom doctrine, and partly upon inferences and reconstruction of the world of thought in which the sages moved. Several of these deserve explicit treatment.

The most striking characteristic is the absence of elements generally considered to be typically Israelite: the promises to the patriarchs, the Exodus experience, the Sinai covenant, etc. It is true that Sirach identifies wisdom with Torah (Sirach 24) and provides a catalogue of Israel's heroes (Sirach 44–50), and Wisdom of Solomon presents a midrashic consideration of the plagues (chaps. 11–19). But these

exceptions prove the rule: salvation history is absent from the realm of wisdom. Another way of putting this is to say that wisdom is an international heritage in which Israel had a share (see the treatment of extra-biblical Wisdom Literature below).

One result of this characteristic has been a tendency to push wisdom to the perimeter of OT theology, or even to exclude it as a legitimate topic for biblical theology (Preuss 1974; 1987). Hence there has been much discussion of "Yahwism" as opposed to "Wisdom" (Murphy 1975; Collins 1980). But the opposition between these two entities is more conceptual than real. One can indeed distinguish between saving history (Exodus, covenant, etc.) and an experiential attitude toward life's daily events. But this distinction existed in the one Israelite individual who worshipped *yhwh* and denominated *yhwh* as God. Those same Israelites ultimately canonized the Wisdom Literature as a genuine expression of their traditions. There was no conflict for them. Even when Sirach eventually identifies wisdom with Torah (Sir 24:23), this is achieved not with a sigh of relief, or as if by some sleight of hand a major division in Israelite religion had been healed. The fact of the matter is that there is no incompatibility between the saving God of history and the God of human experience. The Psalms show this perhaps most clearly. The psalmists usually ask for salvation in the concrete order of things, not for an intervention in national history. They seek *šālôm* from the hostile agents they recognized in daily life. It is this same *šālôm* which the sages held out to their readers: the good life. Indifference to Israel's historical experience does not indicate that wisdom is any the less "Israelite" or "religious."

One of the distinctions made by von Rad has contributed to the unnecessary dichotomy between Yahwism and wisdom. Using the terminology of Martin Buber, he distinguished between the "pan-sacral faith" implicit in the early narratives about divine intervention into human affairs (from patriarchs to Philistines), and a "worldly sphere" in which humans have a more independent role, as the so-called Succession Narrative (2 Samuel 6–1 Kings 2) illustrates. But one must be fair to von Rad. He is not talking about faith and the lack of it. He is reconstructing "an understanding of reality, a conception of the environment, which has fundamentally altered *vis-à-vis* that of 'pan-sacralism' " (von Rad 1972: 59). It is true that the mentality behind the Samuel narrative recognizes the distinctiveness and independence of human motivation and action. Such a recognition is blurred in other narratives (the stories of Joshua or Gideon, for instance), where divine intervention is highlighted. Perhaps the transition from one mentality to the other is not the way to put the question. The issue is the relationship between divine intervention and human independence. These two factors are *always* operative in the biblical story. Sometimes one, sometimes the other, is emphasized; but both are at work. Moreover, there is no discernible point in time where Israel passed from one mentality to the other. Neither denies the other; they complement each other. We shall see a similar balance in the consideration of the problem of retribution (divine intervention *vis-à-vis* "destiny-producing" deed).

Biblical wisdom is basically religious, not secular. The fateful distinction between religious and secular, sacred and profane, so widely accepted in modern culture, has been applied in much too wholesale a fashion to the Bible. In particular, the classification of the sayings according to the absence or presence of "God-language" (McKane *Proverbs* OTL, 451) or by the appearance of the sacred name *yhwh* (Whybray 1979) is too facile. The categories of religious and secular are not to be defined merely by content. It is only too easy to contrast the advice about table manners (Prov 23:1–3; Sir 31:12–31) with statements about fear of the Lord (Prov 1:7; Sir 1:11–30). This differentiation does not get to the heart of the matter. The rules of wisdom cover all areas of life from a perspective that is ultimately religious; the fear of the Lord is the *beginning* of wisdom (Prov 9:10). For some scholars the basic goal of wisdom is to live by the order of the world posited and guaranteed by the Lord, and in the circumstances of everyday life (Skladny 1962: 93). Even if one demurs at the notion of "order," there can be no denial that the wisdom perspective is governed by an understanding of creation and activity as reflected in Israel's tradition. Here attitude tells us more than content. G. von Rad has expressed this aspect very well: "Thus here, in proverbial wisdom, there is faith in the stability of the elementary relationships between man and man, faith in the similarity of men and of their reactions, faith in the reliability of the orders which support human life and thus, implicitly or explicitly, faith in God who put these orders into operation" (von Rad 1972: 62–63).

There seems to be a general consensus that biblical wisdom connotes a search for "order" (Murphy 1978: 35–36; Gese 1958: 198–199). That is to say, the sages held that there was a fundamental order in the world, discernible by experience, and the teachings were designed to bring about conformity with this order that had been determined by God. No one would deny that his is a modern reconstruction of Israelite mentality. Nor can one deny that the ancient recognized a certain order in creation. This understanding is reflected in such passages as Amos 6:12 ("does one plow the sea with oxen") or Jer 31:35. There is an order to natural events, and to the day by day activities of human beings. But does "search for (objective) order" adequately describe the wisdom enterprise? At most the sages perhaps impose an order on experience; they present conclusions drawn from observation. Despite the dogmatic form of their statements they were also aware of mystery and uncertainty (see below on the limitations of wisdom).

The emphasis on "order" in scholarly research is at least partially due to the existence of such a view among the Egyptians (the concept of *ma›at* discussed below). Although Egyptian influence upon Israelite Wisdom Literature is undeniable, more caution should be exercised in reconstructing the mentality of each people.

In this connection the famous study of Koch (1955) is to be noted. On the basis of several biblical passages (Prov 26:27–28 can provide an example) he reconstructed a specific mentality behind biblical reward/punishment. For him there is no retribution or intervention by God; rather, deed and result are mechanically related. An evil deed produces an evil result; a good deed produces a good result. Hence Koch speaks of a "destiny-producing" deed; the Lord does not intervene. In Koch's metaphor, God is a kind of "midwife" watching over events and their results, good and bad. This is the nature of the "retribution" that God has established. Again, we are faced with an inherent "order" of things. In fact, some scholars (Gese 1958: 45) have argued that the books of Job and Qohelet demonstrate that the influence of Yahwism broke through this ANE idea of the fate-producing action. That seems to be too easy a victory for Yahwism. Instead, one should recognize that the OT sources present retribution from two points of view: *both* divine intervention and destiny-producing action. There is no evidence that one view is earlier than the other or, for that matter, more religious than the other. Certainly a cardinal affirmation in the Bible is the primary activity of the Lord in all that happens.

The doctrine of the sages, especially as expressed in Proverbs and in the speeches of Job's three friends, easily give the impression of a rigid dogmatism. This is misleading. The sages believed in their teachings, and like all teachers expressed themselves in such ways as to gain adherents. Exaggeration is one mode of convincing students. When one turns to the books of Job and Ecclesiastes, there is no escape from the hard questions that are put to the reigning wisdom orthodoxy. But even here one has to acknowledge that these hard questions arise from within the wisdom movement. If it is undergoing a crisis, at the same time it remains true to its aims. A fair understanding of the traditional doctrines of the sages has to be achieved for a correct assessment of the development that takes place.

C. Fontaine (1982: 54) quotes the saying of a modern paroemiologist that "the proverb in a collection is dead." Any attentive reader of OT wisdom soon realizes the cost of the mental struggle to revivify the sayings as they appear in collections. Modern literary studies insist on illuminating the "proverb performance" (Fontaine 1982: 57–63), an attempt to capture the context of the saying and the interaction which accompanies it. This is very difficult to do for proverbs that have been transmitted in collections. N. Lohfink (1980: 50–51) has thrown new light upon Eccl 7:1ff. by his attempt to establish a dialectic between traditional wisdom and Qohelet. If 7:1a is a traditional praise of good reputation, then 7:1b–4 cuts in to say that one cannot lay claim to it before death. Here is interaction within sayings that have in the past been merely viewed as collections of disparate proverbs. For the most part, however, the biblical proverbs do not manifest such a dialectic. The juxtaposition of "answer not a fool according to his folly" with "answer a fool …" (Prov 26:4–5) is a striking reminder that the sayings are more subtle than they appear to be at first sight. Even the seemingly most banal proverbs have a certain evocative power if they are approached perceptively.

In view of the imposing array of confident sayings in the collections, from Proverbs down to Sirach, one may ask if the sages were aware of their own limitations. Many sayings reveal such an awareness (von Rad 1972: 97–110). Perhaps the most telling is Prov 21:30, "There is no wisdom, no understanding, no counsel, against the Lord." This radical statement points to the mystery over which the sages had no control: the activity of God. All their careful thoughts about success and the good life deserved to be expressed, but there were certain "limit situations" which they recognized. They recognized the importance of advice and planning for any venture, especially for war (20:18), but no matter the number of horses, "victory belongs to the Lord" (21:31). The realm of experience to which the sages constantly resorted, also indicated to them that certainty was not always to be had.

One may make plans in the heart
but what the tongue utters is from the Lord.
All the ways of a person may be pure in his own eyes,
but it is the Lord who proves the spirit.
In his mind one plans a course,
but the Lord directs the steps (Prov 16:1–2, 9).

The sages allowed a large margin of error because they had experienced mystery as well as certainty.

The most striking expression of this awareness comes in sayings which even warn about the possession of wisdom. Because wisdom can blind a person to reality:

You see a person wise in his own eyes?
There is more hope for a fool than for him (Prov 26:12).
Be not wise in your own eyes,
fear the Lord and turn away from evil (Prov 3:5).

In the same direction is the admonition of Jeremiah against glorying in one's wisdom (Jer 9:23–24). So great were the possibilities of self-deception, that even the possession of wisdom turns out to be tenuous.

It can be said that the Israelite sages expressed the mystery of God and life even more effectively than the rest of the biblical writers. Zophar (Job 11:7–8) reads a lesson to Job (however insensitively and ultimately unjustifiably):

Can you penetrate the designs of God?
Dare you vie with the perfection of the Almighty?
It is higher than the heavens; what can you do?
It is deeper than the nether world; what can you know?

And despite the bombastic introduction to his speech, Elihu (Job 36:22–26) is also aware of the limit situation:

Behold, God is sublime in his power.
What teacher is there like him? …
Lo, God is great beyond our knowledge;
the number of his years is past searching out.

Israel experienced the mystery of God more radically in the area of wisdom than in the traditions of its own history!

**B. Wisdom and OT Theology**

"The integration of wisdom into Old Testament Theology is an unsolved task that remains for the future" (Reventlow 1982: 201). One might reply to this statement by asking if this is more of a problem for OT theology than for wisdom. Wisdom presents a theology of its own kind, although with certain resonances in the rest of biblical theology. The statement of Reventlow points up the difficulty which current scholarship is having with the notion of biblical theology itself. It would appear that a conceptual unity has not yet been achieved for biblical theology. The recent discussion on the center or *Mitte* of OT theology has yielded no clear result (Hasel 1972: 49–63; Reventlow 1982: 138–147), and to say that God is the center is to return to square one. There are in fact several theologies within the OT, and there seems to be no line of thought that can bind them together into a neat package (Murphy 1984: 65–71).

**1. Wisdom and Creation.** The situation is best illustrated by showing the problem that the standard OT theology has had with the notion of creation. G. von Rad entitled this the "Theological Problem of the Old Testament Doctrine of Creation" (*PHOE*, 131–143), and he underlined the opposition between the doctrines of election/redemption and creation. A literary analysis of texts dealing with creation supposedly shows that they are not central to Israelite faith as this is expressed, for example, in Deut 26:1–11. They are absent from most of the prophets (the creation doxologies in Amos 4:13; 5:8–9; 9:5–6 are "theological accretions, arising from the reflections of a later writer" [*PHOE*, 135]). There are many powerful passages concerning the Lord's victory over chaos in Deutero-Isaiah (e.g., 44:24–28; 51:9–10), but here creation is clearly subordinate to the redemption which the prophet is proclaiming to the exiles: "Your husband is your Creator … your Redeemer is the Holy One of Israel" (54:5). Psalms 8, 19, 54, 104, in which creation is treated rather independently, are considered to be secondary and derivative, dependent upon outside influence, especially Egyptian. Even the Priestly portrayal of creation (Genesis 1) is interpreted as motivated by the theology of salvation history. In short, "the doctrine of creation was never able to attain to independent existence in its own right" (*PHOE*, 142).

The approach of C. Westermann (1978: 58–117) is similar but different. In his view, the first article of the Apostles Creed which affirms a belief in God the Creator is not genuinely biblical. Westermann thinks that faith must allow for alternatives, to believe or not to believe, and Israel supposedly had no other alternative to the fact of creation. Hence there can be no conflict between a scientific explanation of creation and biblical faith. As with von Rad, Israel's fundamental experience focuses on God as savior. This is then expanded to include creation and other areas of life. Creation is seen as fitting into God's *blessing* upon all the divine handiwork. Blessing is the continuous, unobtrusive, working of God which is different from the once-for-all saving actions. Westermann's view of creation dictates his understanding of wisdom: "The theological position of *wisdom* is thus to be determined from the perspective of creation and primeval history" (1978: 100). The blessing of humanity in Gen 1:28 is correlated with wisdom: "When Adam and Eve are commanded during creation to cultivate and maintain the garden, wisdom as a coming to terms with life is implied in this commission" (1978: 99).

W. Zimmerli (1963) had already anticipated the thought of Westermann. He approached it from a slightly different point of view: how does wisdom fit into OT theology? His solution was also found in Gen 1:28. The command to be fruitful and have dominion is the divine authorization for the wisdom enterprise of going out to master the world. Thus the position of wisdom within the OT is again justified from the point of view of a text in the Torah, as though wisdom cannot speak for itself. It is in this essay that Zimmerli also stated that wisdom theology is creation theology. That conclusion is something all can and do agree with. Wisdom does work within this sphere, rather than in the area of the covenant tradition.

The studies of von Rad, Westermann, and Zimmerli show that wisdom and creation are mirror images of each other (Murphy 1985). Where creation doctrine is not valued in and for itself, there also wisdom is treated as marginal. The way out of the impasse demands a broader view which holds salvation and wisdom together. Such a view can be illustrated in the psalter. The cult is not a frequent topic in the Wisdom Literature, but neither is it foreign (Perdue 1977). The prayers of the psalter (laments of the individual, especially) are highly focused on the present life, the experience of the individual. The hymns rehearse the events of salvation history, but quite frequently also the creative activity of the Lord. No conflict exists between these themes in the psalms. Psalm 93 moves easily from creation (v 1ff.) to the divine decrees and temple (v 5). So also Psalm 95. In Psalm 96 the movement is from the Lord's salvation to an invitation to nature to rejoice in his work. In the laments and thanksgiving psalms the Israelite prays for *life:* to be delivered from Sheol (the state of non-being or death which is the prime metaphor for the distress afflicting the psalmist). Here appears the personal experience, the existential struggle, which is characteristic of wisdom. The same Lord who saved the people is now invoked to deliver the psalmist.

Thus it is the experience of Israel that suggests the inadequacy of the theological conclusions based on literary analysis on the style of von Rad. Inferences from literary texts relative to the centrality of wisdom/creation remain highly subjective. The God of immediate experience, i.e., the wisdom experience, is the creator who is also the *gôʾēl* or redeemer of Israel. He is the "personal god" of

patriarchal religion. Theologians have come to understand the "god of the fathers," who is continuous with *yhwh* (*CMHE*, 3–75). There is a reflection of this in the book of Job. He and three friends are all identified as non-Israelites, although they argue from the point of view of Israelite wisdom. Moreover, there is a certain air of the patriarchal period about their life-style as well as their religion. Job does not appeal to the God of Sinai, *yhwh,* but to "El Shaddai," although the framework (chaps. 1–2, 42) of the book provides a yahwistic context. The flavor of the patriarchal religion, the "god of the fathers," is seen in his frequent recourse to God, over and beyond his words to the friends: "I will say to God: Do not put me in the wrong! Let me know why you oppose me. Is it a pleasure for you to oppress, to spurn the work of your hands, and smile on the plan of the wicked … Your hands have formed me and fashioned me; will you then turn and destroy me? Oh, remember that you fashioned me from clay! Will you then bring me down to dust again?" (Job 10:2–9). Janzen (1985: 5–14) has shown how Job's relationship to God is "covenantal."

**2. The Wisdom Experience.** One cannot describe the biblical Wisdom Literature without trying to understand the experience that lies behind it. The sayings, or the "wisdom teaching," are the encoding of a lived experience, and only facets of this encounter with reality can be captured in words. It is the encounter which generated the insights into the world and human beings. As Aristotle (*Metaphysics,* I.ii.19) remarked about philosophy, wisdom also can be rooted in wonder. The sage called attention to the mysterious wonder of sexual attraction by comparing it to "ways" like the "way" of an eagle in the air (Prov 30:18–20). God and king can be compared: the glory of God in what he conceals, the glory of the king in what he understands (Prov 25:2). On the other hand, wisdom goes with smallness, as in the case of the ants who store up their food in the summer (Prov 30:24) and whose "ways" are a model for wisdom (Prov 6:5). Job can taunt his friends to learn lessons from beasts and from the birds of the air (Job 12:7). Qoheleth can compare even a little folly to the fly that spoils the perfumer's ointment (Eccl 9:18). This openness to nature, and to the experiences involved with human beings as well, is characterized by the insistence upon "hearing" (Prov 1:8, 33; 4:10; 12:15, etc.). In 1 Kgs 3:9 Solomon asks for a "listening heart" so that he might govern his people. The ideal of listening had already been underlined by Egyptian sages. Ptahhotep even speaks of the "master-hearer" in the epilogue to his work (*AEL* 1: 73–76). In contrast is the fool who fails to listen, who is not docile: "The way of the fool seems right in his own eyes, but he who listens to advice is wise" (Prov 12:15).

The experience is guided by the extraordinary claim that fear of God/Lord is indispensable:

The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge;
wisdom and instruction fools despise (Prov 1:7).
The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord,
and knowledge of the Holy One is understanding (Prov 9:10).

"Fear of God" is not lacking in the literature of the ANE (Barré 1981); reverence before the numinous is practically a given in the ancient world. But in Israel it describes the basic orientation toward wisdom, "in a nutshell the whole Israelite theory of knowledge" (von Rad 1972: 67). The issue here is not the presence or the frequency of the notion; "fear of God/Lord" is common in the Bible and indeed it has acquired various nuances (Becker 1965). But it is a key concept for wisdom (Murphy 1987: 451–56). Only in this fundamental attitude is progress in wisdom possible. It is glossed with "discipline" (*mûsār,* Prov 15:33), which is itself a "path to life" (Prov 10:17). The concept is briefly mentioned in Job (avoidance of evil, 1:1; 28:28; cf. Prov 3:7), but it is central to the book of Ecclesiasticus (Haspecker 1967). It is also important in Ecclesiastes, but without the soft and consoling aspect that Ben Sira gives it. Qoheleth uses the verbal form, not the nominal. Human beings are to "fear" God because of the inscrutable and mysterious divine ways (Eccl 3:14; 5:6).

The doctrine of "fear of God/Lord" indicates that the wisdom experience has an unmistakable religious quality which G. von Rad (1972: 62) expressed thus: "Israel knew nothing of the aporia which we read into these proverbs. It was perhaps her greatness that she did not keep faith and knowledge apart. The experiences of the world were for her always divine experiences as well, and the experiences of God were for her experiences of the world." In effect, the wisdom experience provides a model for living; the

literature prescribes the way one should live. The wisdom experience is found in the "mysticism of everyday things" (K. Rahner), where the Israelite found God (not without also bewailing the divine absence). To know God, in the Wisdom Literature, is to be in, and to do, the truth. This is as much a faith experience as any of the cultic acts in the Jerusalem temple.

**3. Wisdom and Moral Action.** Akin to the wisdom experience is the "way" which wisdom urges the Israelite to walk in. The most common word is *derek* (about 75 times in Proverbs), but it is often interchangeable with *ʾōraḥ,* as in the phrase, "way of life" (Prov 2:19; 5:6; 6:23; 15:24). This is the way that leads to, or secures, life in the full sense, prosperity and a relationship to the Lord. The way itself is the conduct which incarnates the teachings of the sage: honesty, diligence (Prov 10:4; 26:14), self-control (14:17; 15:1), a sense of responsibility (10:26; 27:23–27), etc. While there is often a certain overlap with the Decalogue (e.g., the frequent warnings against adultery), most of the sayings deal with the grey area of forming character and integrity of action. The approach of wisdom to morality is much broader than that of the Decalogue in that it aims at character formation. It is also deeper in terms of the motivation it supplies. Whereas the Decalogue simply invoked divine authority (thou shalt not!), the sages develop specific motivations, and anticipate temptations. Thus the famous description of seduction in Proverbs 7 is a strong motivation. It aims to anticipate a stressful situation, and to strengthen resolve. If one may designate the codes in the OT as "law," the wisdom rules are better described as "catechesis," or moral formation. It seems likely that both the wisdom lessons and the legal commands ultimately go back to a family or tribal setting, before "law" separated from wisdom counsels (Audet 1960; Couturier 1980).

The sages use specific motivations, often those of enlightened self-interest, to achieve their end. Here the charge of eudaemonism or pragmatism has been made: moral action is determined by what is good for the individual person. This charge has been softened somewhat by the claim that the purpose of wisdom teaching is to bring the individual into harmony with the underlying "order" established by the Lord. In a similar way, the Egyptian understanding of action in accordance with *maʾat,* has been defended against pragmatism (Frankfort 1961: 62–72). However, it is difficult to escape the appearance of self-interest. Indeed all human action is prompted by complicated motives; eudaemonism is not absent, but neither is it the only motive. Moreover, the sages recognized the danger of self-interest, as the question of Satan in Job 1:9 shows: "Is it for nothing that Job is God-fearing?"

A characteristic and striking move within the Wisdom Literature is the identification of the righteous *(ṣaddîq)* with the wise person *(ḥākām).* The frequent division of humanity into the wise and the fools is matched by a division into just and unjust. This is particularly conspicuous in Proverbs 10–15, but it is not lacking in Job and Sirach. "The fear of the Lord prolongs life, but the years of the wicked will be short" (Prov 10:27); wisdom is identified with virtue and its rewards, and folly with wickedness *(rśʿ)* and its deserts. "Treasures gained by wickedness do not profit, but righteousness delivers from death" (Prov 10:2). Morality and wisdom cannot be separated, although biblical wisdom is not to be reduced to a moral code.

**4. Wisdom and Scepticism.** The confident tone of the sage has been adverted to above. It was the confidence of one who plunged into the events of life with verve (a spirit that was not lacking even in Qoheleth! Eccl 9:10). And even if, as has been seen, the sages were aware of the limitations of their teaching, they did not dwell upon these overmuch. Obviously the mystery that was God was not a defeat for the sage, nor embarrassing. That the Lord was beyond wisdom (Prov 21:30) was an easy admission to make.

The rub came when things did not turn out as expected. There is always the (apparent?) triumph of the fool and the knave. It was against this that the author of Psalm 37 spoke: "Be not vexed over evildoers, nor jealous of those who do wrong" (37:1). It was such a problem that nearly brought the downfall of the author of Psalm 73. A temporizing kind of answer to this difficulty is to be found in Prov 3:11–12.

The discipline of the Lord, my son, disdain not;
spurn not his rebuke;
For whom the Lord loves he reproves,
as a father the son he favors.

Adversity, or the failure of things to work out the way they were supposed to, is seen here as the disciplining of a father. This perspective is to be found elsewhere. The medicinal aspect of adversity is held out by Eliphaz and by Elihu (Job 5:17–21; 33:19–30), where, however, it never becomes independent of a presumed guilt, as supposedly to be found in Job. Suffering thus could be viewed as a step taken by the Lord in the conversion of a sinner (hence there could be no understanding, but only astonishment, at the suffering of the servant in Isaiah 53). In other words, it had to be fitted into the overall view of retribution as taught by the sages.

It is remarkable that the problem of divine justice (or retribution, or whatever term one might choose) becomes *the* problem for the sages. One need not be surprised by the admission of Agur (Prov 30:1–6) that he is stupid and ignorant. That is the human condition. But it is hard to deal with adversity that can find no reasonable explanation. A human standard of justice is applied to God, and it does not work. This situation is often termed the "crisis" of wisdom (Crenshaw 1985a: 381), and the books of Job and Ecclesiastes are the prime evidence. But it can be just as well argued that these works prove the resilience of the wisdom movement, which did not skirt problems, even if it could not solve them. The "scepticism" of these books is in conflict with the retribution theory of Proverbs (and of Deuteronomy and other books, one may add). But the real thrust is to purify an overconfident wisdom, to make the sages more aware of the limitations which they acknowledged only too theoretically.

The book of Job does not cancel out the book of Proverbs. It is in a dialectical movement with it, surely. And it obviously corrects any rigid interpretation of the sapiential message of life as something humans can simply achieve. Proverbs 2:6 finally acknowledges that wisdom is a gift of God. This was not a conclusion that was easily come by. The sages had to travel the path of Job and Qoheleth. Wisdom does not become futile because it is challenged and modified. The witness of Job and Qoheleth is treasured by the community which also retained the book of Proverbs (Wilson 1984: 189–192).

If the author of Job broke through a simplistic understanding of divine justice, Qoheleth succeeds in safeguarding the inscrutability and freedom of God (Zimmerli 1963: 155–158). Time after time he affirms that one cannot know what God is doing (3:11; 8:17; 11:5). Here too wisdom has the boldness to confront the divine mystery, and the confrontation is made possible on the basis of the honesty and integrity of the wisdom movement: "even if the wise man says that he knows, he is unable to discover it [all God's work]" (Eccl 8:17).

**5. The Personification of Wisdom.** Participating in the divine mystery is the figure of Lady Wisdom which appears in Job 28; Proverbs 1, 8, 9; Baruch 3:9–4:4; Sirach 24; Wis 7:7–9:18. It is better to speak of personification than hypostasis (Marcus 1950–51). Personification is no stranger to the Hebrew Bible. Justice leads Israel out of Babylon (Isa 58:4); in Ps 84:11 kindness and truth meet, justice and peace kiss. Wine is arrogant (Prov 20:1). But the personification of wisdom is simply unique in the Bible, both for its quantity and quality.

The personification of wisdom in Job 28 is sudden and unexpected. The message is simple: humans can find hidden treasures in the earth, but they cannot find wisdom (28:12, 20). It is inaccessible, known only to God. The description of God's relationship to wisdom is obscure. Apparently he knows wisdom's place because he sees everything (v 24). It was in the creation of the wind and the rain (vv 25–26) that he became actively involved with wisdom: seeing, appraising, establishing and searching her out (v 27). This is all very tantalizing. What did God do with wisdom? The author has not answered that question clearly, but wisdom is certainly involved with the divine creative activity. The precise manner of this is difficult to state. Is it merely in the divine mind, a master plan (cf. Prov 3:18), or is it somewhere in the universe? For N. Habel (*Job* OTL, 400) it is "the fundamental principle which governs the design of the world." For J. G. Janzen (1985: 197–198), wisdom is "in" the creative act. G. von Rad (1972: 146–148) thought that it must be in the world, while being separate from created things—"something like the 'meaning' implanted by God in creation" (p. 148). It seems as though wisdom remains inaccessible in this very text of Job! While many scholars regard 28:28, associating fear of the Lord with wisdom, as a spurious addition, it can make sense in context. It affirms that piety is the (only) way to wisdom available to humans. On the lips of Job it must be ironic, or perhaps it serves as a kind of inclusion with 1:1. The personification does

not emphasize the female characteristics of wisdom (*ḥokmâ* is a feminine noun), in contrast to the picture that emerges in Proverbs.

In Prov 1:20–33 Lady Wisdom is portrayed in the style of an OT prophet, threatening her audience (out in the public streets) with ridicule and doom. Only at the end of her public speech does she offer peace and security to those who obey her. In Prov 9:1–6 she changes her tone, and invites the "simple" to the banquet of bread and wine. This description is in deliberate contrast to that of Dame Folly in 9:13–18, who issues another invitation to the "simple" to partake of bread and water (stolen, v 17!)—an invitation that the author characterizes as a trip to Sheol.

Once more, and with great flourish, Lady Wisdom appears in Prov 8:3–36. Again, she addresses the "simple" in public places. Her proclamation is encouraging: truth, more precious than silver or gold (8:10–11, 19); love, for those who love her (8:17). Then she begins the famous description (vv 22–31) of her relationship to God and to creation:

The Lord begot me, the firstborn of his ways …
From of old I was poured forth …
When there were no depths I was brought forth …
Then was I beside him as his craftsman,
  and I was his delight day by day.
Playing before him all the while,
  playing on the surface of his earth;
and I found delight in the sons of men.

She emphasizes (six times!) her existence before creation, and describes herself as *ʾāmôn* (v 30) at the side of God. The meaning of that term is uncertain, either crafts (wo)man or nursling (Rüger 1977). Perhaps she was actively engaged in the creative activity (cf. Prov 3:19). But she clearly has a role with God and human beings. She describes herself as "delight" (v 30; "his delight" in the LXX), and speaks of "playing" before God, much like David "played" before the Lord when he brought the ark into Jerusalem (2 Sam 6:14–16, 21; Keel 1974). Moreover, her delight is to be with human beings (8:31); presumably this engagement involves her speeches in the previous chapters, and especially the promise of life with which she concludes her present speech (8:32, "the one who finds me finds life").

Who is Lady Wisdom? Many identifications have been offered (Lang 1975: 147–176). She seems to be something of God, born of God, in God. Usually she is said to be a divine attribute, a personification of the wisdom with which God created the world (Prov 3:19; Whybray 1968). This identification is explicitly denied by von Rad (1972: 156–157), who sees wisdom as an attribute of the world, "by virtue of which she turns towards men to give order to their lives." God did not merely found the earth by wisdom (Prov 3:19); he built it into wisdom. Wisdom is the mysterious order of the world which beckons to human beings. However, one may ask if this identification with order does justice to the divine origins, and to the role Lady Wisdom occupies relative to human beings. Is Wisdom not the Lord, who turns toward creatures and summons them through creation, through the wisdom experience? (Murphy 1985). She certainly seems to be a communication of God. Ben Sira recognized this aspect, and identified Wisdom more clearly for his generation.

Ben Sira begins his long work on a note of wisdom: "All wisdom comes from the Lord …" (1:1). The poem on Lady Wisdom in chap. 24 is clearly modeled on Proverbs 8 (Skehan 1979). She is now presented as speaking "in the assembly of the Most High," i.e., in the heavenly court, and not merely to "simple" earthlings. Yet she has the same old concern for humans, and invites them to her banquet (again! 24:19–22 and Prov 9:1–6). She describes her journey throughout the cosmos (v 5, "the vault of heaven," "the depths of the abyss"). Like God, she seems to possess the whole world (v 6). Yet she has no fixed residence, until the Creator bids her to take up her dwelling in Jacob (v 8). So she settles in Jerusalem where she performs liturgical service (v 10, *eleitourgēsa*). In an elaborate comparison she describes her life there: like a tall cedar, fruitful olive tree, balm and myrrh (vv 13–17), and she issues an invitation to her meal (v 21), where paradoxically eating will only increase the appetite for more.

At this point Ben Sira makes the identification:

All this is the book of the covenant of the most High God,
the law which Moses commanded us (24:23).

Lady Wisdom is the Torah, an identification prepared for by the postexilic vision of the Torah (Psalms 19 and 119; Deut 4:6–8), and reflected in the apocryphal work of Baruch (Bar 3:9–4:3).

It is clear from the above that Lady Wisdom is a complex figure, whose traits accumulate as one goes on through the Wisdom Literature. And this enables individuals to make concrete identifications, as Sirach did for his generation. As a general comment, which respects the mystery in which Lady Wisdom is cloaked, the words of von Rad (*ROTT* 1: 444) are worth quoting: "None the less it is correct to say that wisdom is the form in which Jahweh's will and his accompanying of man (i.e. his salvation) approaches men … the most important thing is that wisdom does not turn towards man in the shape of an 'It,' teaching, guidance salvation or the like, but of a person, a summoning 'I.' So wisdom is truly the form in which Jahweh makes himself present and in which he wishes to be sought by man."

**6. Wisdom and Immortality.** It has been observed often enough that the goal of wisdom is *life* (Murphy 1966). That is to say, life in this world, marked by prosperity and blessing, a fullness of days until one was finally buried with the fathers. The Hebrew world displayed a remarkable resignation to the inevitability of death (e.g., Psalm 49). Nonetheless it gradually became a problem with the sages. The thought of Job is constantly hovering between life and death, light and darkness (3:2–23; 10:18–22; 14:10–20). The most poignant lament of Qoheleth is his cry, "How is it that the wise man dies as well as the fool!" (2:16). The issue was exacerbated by the problem of injustice and suffering in this life. It was not an adequate answer to point out that the unjust person dies a premature or painful death (Psalm 37). Qoheleth is crushed by the fact that there is the same lot (death—the "evil time") for the just and the wicked (9:2). But there is an eventual breakthrough, and in typically wisdom style.

It seems that the period of the martyrs (Maccabean era) gave rise to a firm belief in the resurrection of the body (Dan 12:2–3; 2 Maccabees 7). Hence it is often said that the doctrine of bodily resurrection is the "typical" Hebrew response to the issue of immortality. While this is obviously the view indicated in the book of Daniel, another approach is expressed in the Wisdom of SolomonSolomon and perhaps in the literature of the Essenes. In Wis 1:15 righteousness *(dikaiosunē)* is said to be undying *(athanatos)* and many times eternal blessedness is mentioned for the just (Wis 2:23–3:4; 5:5). What is interesting here is that the author who clearly is aware of the Greek doctrine of soul and body (Wis 1:1–4; 9:15) does not conclude to personal immortality on the basis of the nature of the human composite. That would have been a Greek solution. He may have shared such an idea, but he does not reason about immortality in that fashion. Instead, blessed immortality flows from righteousness (1:15), from the wisdom that is the gift of God (Wis 7:7; 9:4). It lies in the nature of the relationship between God and those who follow him. Immortality consists in a relationship that death cannot sever. The old doctrine of Sheol (Eccl 9:10), where a loving contact with God was missing (Pss 6:6; 30:10), now yields to an enduring presence (Ps 73:23–28). The presence is not limited to God and the individual; the blessed one is accounted among "the sons of God" or "holy ones" (Wis 5:15), i.e., the members of the heavenly court. The association of the just with the angels is also made in the Qumran literature (1QS 11:8–9; 1QHod 3:20–22; 11:10–14), and this seems to suggest a kind of immortality. The description of a blessed immortality in terms of association with the heavenly court is a logical development. The old lament was that no one could praise God in Sheol. Now one will praise him with the other members of the heavenly court.

**C. Wisdom Influence in OT Literature**

Paradoxically, recent studies have underscored the presence of wisdom throughout the rest of the Bible, even if wisdom and creation have been given a perilous perch within biblical theology. Modern scholarship has become aware of what has been called "wisdom influence" on specific books. Among these are Psalms (Mowinckel 1955; Murphy 1963; Kuntz 1974); Amos (Wolff 1973); Isaiah (Whedbee 1971); Esther (Talmon 1963); the Joseph story in Genesis 37–50 (*PHOE*, 292–300); the Succession Narrative in 2 Samuel–1 Kings 1 (Whybray 1968); and Deuteronomy (Weinfeld 1972). These works are not to be considered Wisdom Literature (Crenshaw 1969), but it is reasonable to speak of wisdom influence in one or another instance (Morgan 1981).

The problem lies in the manner in which "wisdom influence" is conceived, and the means by which such influence was exerted on particular writers. The following observations should be borne in mind:

(1) The distinction between a specific literary genre and wisdom influence must be maintained. A lawyer may write a short story that reflects legal background, but the work remains a short story, not a legal document. It is an exaggeration to affirm that the "Joseph narrative is a didactic wisdom-story" (*PHOE*, 300), or that the Succession document is a deliberate attempt "to illustrate specific proverbial teaching for the benefit of the pupils and ex-pupils of the schools" (Whybray 1968: 95). In both instances one is dealing with a genre of history, not wisdom.

(2) The notion of wisdom influence should be narrowly conceived. A common culture and world of ideas was shared by all classes in Israelite society. The sapiential understanding of reality (described above in "thought world") was not a mode of thinking cultivated exclusively by a small group. Hence it is to be expected that it can appear as it were unconsciously in various types of expression. One cannot speak meaningfully of "wisdom influence" because a prophetic judgment speech contains a saying or a comparison (Isa 1:2–3). Such expressions belong to educated speech in general and are not confined to Wisdom Literature. Although a certain type of vocabulary may suggest wisdom influence (Whybray 1974: 121–154; Hurwitz 1988), a mere linguistic criterion is weak. It was not only the sages who used this vocabulary. Similarly, wisdom motifs could have circulated and would not be the exclusive possession of a given class. The wisdom heritage must have constituted a common fund of knowledge experience for each Israelite.

(3) The appearance of a didactic purpose or a wisdom theme does not suffice to categorize a work as "wisdom." Thus the book of Hosea remains prophecy, even if the editors may be responsible for the wisdom tag ("let one who is wise understand these things") in 14:10[—Eng 14:9]. Similarly, the problem of the suffering of the just person is the concern of all people (e.g. Jer 12:1–5), not simply the sages.

Finally, the Song of Songs has been recently associated with wisdom (*IOTS*, 573–575; Würthwein 1969: 31). This is rather a unique case. All scholars would admit that the Song is love poetry with its own genres (Murphy 1981b: 98–124). The only wisdom element in it may be the lines which speak of love as strong as death (8:6; Tromp 1979). However, this does not change the genre. Nevertheless, it may be that the sages were responsible for the transmission and editing of the Song (and its attribution to the wise Solomon), because it was in line with the societal values (fidelity, etc., of Prov 5:15ff.) which the sages treasured.

**D. Extra-biblical Wisdom**

During the last century and a half the discoveries of the literatures of Israel's neighbors have had a great impact on the understanding of the Bible. This has been particularly the case for the Wisdom Literature, which has been illumined by the wisdom of ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt (Buccellati 1981; R. Williams 1981). "Wisdom" may be a misnomer as applied to these ancient literatures (*BWL*, 1), since the designation derives from biblical studies. But there is enough similarity in the works of international wisdom to justify this convenient term.

**1. Egypt.** Many "teachings" or "instructions" *(sebayit)* have been handed down over a period of about 2500 years, from that of Prince Hardjedef (or Djedefhor, of the Fifth Dynasty) down to the Insinger Papyrus which dates from the Ptolemaic period. The style of the *sebayit* is standard: a teacher, often a high official if not a king, hands down rules of conduct: "the beginning of the instruction which X made for his son Y." The rules cover such areas as truth and integrity, generosity and moderation, proper and timely speech, the need to "hear" (and obey), a correct relationship with officials, women, one's household and friends. By and large a certain upper class morality, eventually democratized, is evident. Warnings are given against pride and any lack of discipline. The model person is the "silent" one. Silence is a sign of self-control and thoughtfulness, a characteristic of one who is master of the situation, in contrast to the rash, impetuous person. All these ideals are held together by the Egyptian concept *ma›at.* The word cannot be easily translated; it designates order, truth, justice (Frankfort 1961: 54). It is the divine order in the world into which a human being is to be integrated by his conduct. Success in this

process of integration means prosperity; failure means chaos. This harmonious integration into *ma›at* underlies the teachings.

"Wisdom" is not an important term in the teachings, but biblical scholarship (Schmid 1966: 159) has made a correlation between Egyptian *ma›at* and Hebrew *ṣĕdāqâ* (justice) and *ḥokmâ*. To a certain extent this is justified, insofar as the description of wisdom in Proverbs 1–9 reflects some of the attributes of *ma›at.* But it is not to be exaggerated. For one thing, *ma›at* is deified as a goddess in Egypt. Moreover, Hebrew wisdom has its own characteristic orientation to tradition and experience. It is not to be interpreted simply out of the Egyptian mentality concerning order.

The Egyptian instructions are fairly integrated and consecutive pieces (thus comparable to Proverbs 1–9), abounding in if-clauses, imperatives, negative admonitions, and motive clauses. Gnomic sayings are mixed in, but they become conspicuous only in the later Demotic writings. Here the single sentence or monostich (as in Onkhsheshonqy 11:10, "he who sends up spittle to the sky, upon his face it falls"; *AEL* 3: 76) prevails as the stylistic medium. As in Hebrew, parallelism is a common feature in the *sebayit.*

The more important instructions are those associated with Phahhotep, Merikare, Amenemhet, Ani, Amenemope, and the Demotic writings of Onkhsheshonqy and the Papyrus Insinger. The explicit similarities between Prov 22:17ff., and the teaching of Amenemope are indubitable (Bryce). This is not the place to attempt a summary of the contents of the various instructions; they are best appreciated by examining the English translations (*ANET*; Simpson 1973; *AEL*).

Several other Egyptian works of a more "speculative" nature have been compared to biblical wisdom, but there seems to be no evidence of an "Egyptian connection." The "Harper's Songs" and the "Dispute of a Man with his Soul" present passages that reflect universal human experiences that are naturally enough found in Ecclesiastes and other biblical works. In a similar way, the love poetry of ancient Egypt provides broad parallels to the biblical Song of Songs (White 1978; Fox 1985).

**2. Mesopotamia.** Here, as in Egypt, writing and schools flourished already in the 3d millennium B.C. In the Sumerian *e-dubba* ("house of tablets") or school, the scribes copied out in cuneiform signs many types of literature, some of which may be compared with Hebrew wisdom. Several collections of proverbs (many bilingual, in both Sumerian and Akkadian) have been published (Gordon 1959; *BWL*, 222–275), along with various literary types such as fables (Lambert *BWL*, 150–212). Comparable to the Egyptian instructions are the Instructions of Šuruppak (Alster 1974), which contain the advice of a king to his son Ziusudra, the hero of the flood as remembered in the Sumerian tradition. Similar in style is the Akkadian *Counsels of Wisdom* which treats of proper speech, avoidance of bad companions, etc. (*BWL*, 97–107).

As was the case with Egypt, there is a reflective literature in ancient Mesopotamia that has suggested comparison with Job and Ecclesiastes. Discussed in this literature, the issue is a perennial one, namely that of suffering, and especially the suffering of the righteous. A Sumerian text, "Man and His God" (*ANET*, 589–591) and the Akkadian *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* ("I will praise the Lord of Wisdom," *ANET*, 596–600) provide two examples. H. Gese (1958: 63–78) argued that the Akkadian work exemplified the literary form of Job: a paradigm of an answered complaint. But the book of Job provides no "answer" in the way that the *Ludlul* does. Both works describe the situation and complaint of a suffering devotee. In the end the Babylonian sufferer is restored by the intervention of Marduk. There is no exploration of the raw and poignant depths of suffering as in the Hebrew work.

With more justice the "Dialogue of Pessimism," an Akkadian work dated around the 12th century B.C., has been compared with Ecclesiastes (*ANET*, 600–601). A slave and his master hold a conversation about several areas of life. The master expresses an opinion and the slave at once agrees, even adding further reasons to justify the master's declaration. Then the master states the opposite, and the slave again falls in line and gives reasons for this decision. It is this ability to look at extreme positions, to search out contradictions, that reminds one of Ecclesiastes. Assyriologists have debated whether this is a farce or a serious work (*BWL*, 139–141). The work ends on the topic of death, and perhaps by suicide. This grim note is of course not present in Qoheleth, for whom death is unwelcome but simply inevitable (Eccl 11:7–12:7); it is never envisioned as a salvation to life's problems.

Another poem, "The dialogue about Human Misery" (also called "The Babylonian Theodicy," *ANET*, 601–604) is an acrostic work in 27 stanzas of 11 lines each. The characters in this dialogue are the sufferer and a sympathetic (unlike Job's "friends") listener. They range over many topics that reflect upon the justice of the gods. Although the friend never finds fault with the main speaker, his consolation is anemic. He thinks that the common belief in the reward of piety still holds. But there is a rather surprising ending, for he admits that the gods have made humans evil. They "gave twisted speech to the human race. With lies, and not truth, they endowed them forever" (*ANET*, 604). W. Lambert (*BWL*, 65) has justly remarked that this conclusion removes the problem; if the gods are responsible for evil in humans, there can be no dialogue.

One of the most famous compositions of the ancient world is the story of Ahiqar, which traveled across many cultures and has been transmitted in about a dozen languages (Lindenberger 1983: 4–7; Küchler 1979: 319–41). The most ancient version extant is the Aramaic, which appeared among the 5th century B.C. papyri that were discovered on the Elephantine island in the Nile and published in 1911. The work was perhaps written a few centuries before the date of the papyri, either in Aramaic or in Akkadian, and it tells the story of the betrayal and restoration of a certain Ahiqar, a court official during the reign of Sennacherib of Assyria. The pertinence of the work lies in the proverbs which Ahiqar transmits in the story. In general these resemble the proverb collections of the ANE, but J. Lindenberger has pointed out that "genuinely close parallels between the Aramaic proverbs and the Bible are few" (1983: 25); he indicates lines 81–82 concerning corporal punishment (Prov 23:13–14) and line 207 about pride (Jer 9:22). There is a tantalizing statement about wisdom in lines 94–95 which has been interpreted as referring to its divine origin and eternal reign. But the text is too fragmentary to support definite conclusions (*ANET*, 428; Lindenberger 1983: 68–70). See also AHIQAR, BOOK OF.

**3. Hellenistic Literature.** *Sophia*, or wisdom, is of course a well-known concept in Greek philosophy and literature. Alexander's conquest of the Fertile Crescent in the 4th century B.C. ensured the flourishing of Hellenistic culture which had already begun in the area (Hengel 1974). Without the Greek cultural background that blanketed the Mediterranean world a book like the Wisdom of SolomonSolomon would never have been written. Although it remains an intensely Jewish book, it is to be read in the light of Hellenistic culture (Larcher 1969: 179–236; Reese 1970), and especially of Philo (Larcher 1969: 151–178; Mack 1973: 108–184).

Considerable debate has raged over the relationship of Qoheleth to Hellenistic culture. O. Loretz found Mesopotamian influence in the book (1964: 90–134), but R. Braun has argued just as vigorously for parallels between Ecclesiastes and Hellenistic philosophy (1973). Different points of view have also been expressed about Ben Sira. Hengel (1974: 131–175) recognizes some dialogue with Greek thought, but not as much as T. Middendorp (1973: 13–24) who argues for strong dependence upon Theognis. But this is another intensely Jewish work, written in Hebrew probably in Jerusalem before the Maccabean outbreak; its dependence on earlier biblical works is undeniable, whatever it may owe to the Hellenistic period.

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**WISDOM OF BEN-SIRA.** One of the earliest and certainly the longest of the deuterocanonical/apocryphal books of the OT. The Wisdom of Ben Sira provides the most comprehensive example of wisdom literature preserved in the Bible. The book is also known as Sirach (the name found in the Greek mss) or Ecclesiasticus (the Latin title, which probably means "the ecclesiastical [or church] book," since it was used extensively in the liturgy). It is consciously modelled on the book of Proverbs; but unlike the latter, which is a compilation of materials by different authors spanning several centuries, it is clearly the work of a single author, Ben Sira, who wrote in Jerusalem during the early 2d century B.C. The book contains moral, cultic, and ethical maxims, folk proverbs, psalms of praise and lament, theological and philosophical reflections, homiletic exhortations, and pointed observations about life and customs of the day. For that reason it has been popular with both Jews and Christians; and it has left its impact on the proverbial literature of the West. All citations from the Wisdom of Ben Sira are taken from the AB translation (Skehan and Di Lella *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* AB 39), which uses the chapter and verse numbers found in the critical edition of the Greek (Ziegler 1965) in order to avoid the confusion that still prevails with these numbers in most modern translations of the book.

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**A. The Book**

**1. Title.** In English Bibles the Wisdom of Ben Sira (or "Sirach" for short) is known by several other titles. In the NAB the title is "The Book of Sirach"; in the NJB, "Ecclesiasticus," a word taken directly from many Latin Vulgate mss; in the NEB, "Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach," a title similar to that in the NRSV. The Wisdom of Ben Sira is one of the rare books of the OT that was actually composed by the author to whom the book is ascribed. Since the extant Hebrew mss begin at 3:6b, we do not know the original superscription or title of the book. In the corrected text of 50:27 (Cairo MS B), however, the author identifies himself as "Yeshua [or Jesus] ben [son of] Eleazar ben Sira." The name appears in the same form in the subscription of MS B (Skehan and Di Lella *Sira* AB, 579–80). The subscription reads: *ḥokmat yēšûaʿ ben ʾelʿāzār ben sîrāʾ*, "The Wisdom of Yeshua son of Eleazar son of Sira," apparently the original Hebrew title of the work. The Greek title is similar: "The Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach." Among the Jews the work was called "The Book of Ben Sira," "The Instruction of Ben Sira," and "The Proverbs of Ben Sira."

**2. Author.** Though the author's proper name was *Yēšûaʿ* or Jesus, as the grandson states in the foreword to his Greek translation of the book, he is generally called Ben Sira. Using the name of one's grandfather (as our author did) or earlier male ancestor as a patronymic with "Ben" prefixed was not unusual,

especially when the name of one's father was not sufficiently distinctive (Box and Oesterley *APOT* 1: 271, 292).

**3. Date.** The date of the book can be calculated on the basis of information provided by the grandson in the foreword to his translation. He states that he arrived in Egypt in the 38th year of the reign of King Euergetes, and that he spent many sleepless hours of hard work in preparing his Greek translation for publication. The epithet "Euergetes," which means "Benefactor," was given to only two of the Lagid kings, Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246–221 B.C.) and Ptolemy VII Physkon Euergetes II (170–164 and 146–117). Since the former reigned only 25 years, the latter must be the Euergetes in question, for he began his rule in 170 conjointly with his brother Ptolemy VI (181–146), and he died fifty-three years later, in 117. Calculating from 170, Ptolemy VII's official accession year, the 38th year (when the grandson migrated to Egypt) would be 132.

The grandson made the Greek translation in the following years, publishing the work after Ptolemy VII's death in 117 B.C. (Skehan and Di Lella *Sira* AB, 8–9). Allowing sufficient time between grandfather and grandson (who presumably was an adult when he migrated in 132), we come to a date in ca. 180 for the composition of the book. This date is confirmed by the book itself. In 50:1–21, Ben Sira has a panegyric on the high priest Simeon II (219–196 B.C.). From the detailed and graphic descriptions of the vestments and liturgical actions, we may conclude that Ben Sira personally witnessed Simeon celebrating the elaborate rituals of the Daily Whole-Offering in the Temple (Ó Fearghail 1978: 301–16). Ben Sira gives the clear impression, however, that Simeon was already dead. Moreover, Ben Sira does not even allude to the disastrous events that occurred in Palestine during the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.), the archvillain in Daniel 7–12. We may rightly assume that if Ben Sira had composed his book during those troublous years, he would have made some reference or allusion to the atrocities pious Jews suffered. Thus it is reasonable to conclude that Ben Sira had died before 175, or at least had published his book by that date.

**B. Ben Sira and His Times**

**1. Occupation.** Ben Sira was a professional scribe (Heb *sôpēr,* Gk *grammateus;* cf. 38:24), which at that time meant wise man or sage (Heb *ḥākām*). He has in fact been called the last of the wise men of Israel and the first of the scribes (Hadot 1970: 76). The grandson writes in the foreword that Ben Sira devoted himself to the diligent study of the Law, the Prophets, and the other Writings—all of which we now call Sacred Scripture. Hence the book sediments and articulates Ben Sira's lifelong reflection on the traditions and inspired literature of Israel that form the core of his teaching.

Doubtless Ben Sira was describing his own life when he writes of the life and work of the Jewish scribe:

How different the person who devotes himself to the fear of God
and to the study of the Law of the Most High!
He studies the wisdom of all the ancients
and occupies himself with the prophecies;
He treasures the discourses of the famous,
and goes to the heart of involved sayings;
He studies the hidden meaning of proverbs,
and is busied with the enigmas found in parables (38:34c–39:3).

Though Ben Sira held a position of honor in his society, he was also keenly aware of his responsibilities to the community:

Take notice that not for myself only have I toiled,
but for every seeker after guidance (33:18)

He utilized the talents, which he acknowledged he received from the Lord, not for personal gain or glory (cf. 51:25) but for the common good. He lived in Jerusalem (50:27 Gk), where he had a school or academy. His students were young Jewish males; hence he often introduces a proverb or section of discourse with the expression "My son." He traveled widely in order to gain experience, often at great risk to his personal safety (34:12–13; cf. 8:15–16 and Luke 10:29–37).

**2. Hellenization of the Near East.** The world in which Ben Sira lived had been thoroughly Hellenized. It was a society dominated by Greek ideas and ideals, customs and values, art and excellence. The Jews in Palestine were not politically free but subject to Egyptian (Lagid) or Syrian (Seleucid) kings who fought repeatedly against each other for control of that strategically significant territory. Ben Sira's prayer expresses the intense feelings many other pious Jews must have felt toward their gentile overlords:

Come to our aid, God of the universe,
and put all the nations in dread of you!
Raise your hand against the foreign folk,
that they may see your mighty deeds (36:1–3).

Palestine had been under Persian domination from 539 to 332 B.C. at which time Alexander the Great gained control. After his death in 323, his enormous empire was split up among his generals, called the Diadochoi. Only two of these men are of interest here: Ptolemy I Lagi of Egypt and Seleucus I of Syria. Palestine became a bone of contention between the Hellenistic dynasties founded by these two monarchs. In 301 Ptolemy I (323–285) finally gained control, and for a century afterward his successors maintained sovereignty over the Holy Land. The Ptolemies apparently adopted the enlightened Persian administrative system under which the Jewish high priest was not only the spiritual leader of his people but also a kind of secular prince, for he had the duty of collecting the tribute owed to Egypt. Because for the most part the Jews remained submissive and paid the taxes due to the Egyptian crown they lived in relative peace and enjoyed many of the advantages of improved agricultural methods and trade with Egypt (Bright *BHI*, 414).

Meanwhile the Seleucid kings strove to gain control of Palestine but with little success until Antiochus III the Great (223–187 B.C.) smashed the army of Ptolemy V (203–181) at Panium (Caesarea Philippi of the NT), near the headwaters of the Jordan. The Holy Land now came under Seleucid sovereignty. Josephus (*Ant* 12.3.3) writes that the Jews, presumably under the leadership of the high priest Simeon II, welcomed the Syrians, even giving them supplies, including elephants (the battle tanks of antiquity). Antiochus rewarded the Jews for their help. Timber for the repair of the Jerusalem temple, apparently damaged in the war, was exempt from toll charges. In 50:1–4, Ben Sira praises Simeon II for renovating and fortifying the temple precincts. Temple personnel were exempt from the poll tax, crown tax, and salt tax. As a group the Jews were exempt from taxes for three years and from a third of their tribute. Antiochus III was done in by his ambition. Foolishly, he crossed swords with Rome by advancing into Greece. The mighty Roman armies quickly defeated him at Thermopylae in 192 B.C. Finally, in 190 at the decisive battle of Magnesia, between Sardis and Smyrna, the Romans overwhelmed Antiochus (cf. Dan 11:18), forcing on him humiliating peace terms and a huge indemnity. He was assassinated in 187 while sacking the treasury of Bel (one of his own gods) in order to pay his tribute to Rome. He was succeeded by his son Seleucus IV (187–175), a weak and ineffective monarch (cf. Dan 11:20), who was also murdered. His successor was his younger brother Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164), of whom we spoke earlier.

These were the times in which Ben Sira lived. If, as we may rightly assume, he was an old man when he published his book in ca. 180, then we can safely conclude that he was born ca. 250. Palestine was under Ptolemaic rule for most of his life, from his birth to 198, and under Seleucid control for the remainder, from 198 till his death, probably some time after 175.

**3. Purpose of the Book.** Both Ptolemies and Seleucids vigorously promoted the policies of Hellenization instigated by Alexander the Great. Hence it mattered little whether a Seleucid or a Ptolemy held sway over Palestine. At home as well as in his travels abroad, Ben Sira must have witnessed the baneful effects of Hellenization on the faith and practices of the Jews. He must have encountered many Jews whose faith was rocked by the questions and doubts that arose from Greek philosophy, religion, and lifestyle. To strengthen the faith and confidence of his fellow Jews Ben Sira published his book. His purpose was not to condemn Hellenism as such, but rather to demonstrate to Jews and even gentiles of good will that true wisdom is to be found primarily in Jerusalem and not in Athens, more in the inspired literature of Israel than in the clever writings of Hellenistic humanism (Di Lella 1966a: 140–42). Yet Ben

Sira himself often read pagan literature and incorporated many of its insights and values in his own book. Totally secure in the faith of his ancestors, Ben Sira had nothing to fear from exposure to gentile influences and writings. He did not even hesitate to borrow gentile thoughts and expressions as long as these could be reconciled with the faith and traditions of Israel (see F.3 below).

**C. Canonicity**

The Wisdom of Ben Sira is listed among those books which Jews and Protestants call apocryphal, but which Roman Catholics call deuterocanonical, for they believe it to be part of the canon of the OT.

**1. Jewish Attitudes to the Book.** Several facts are to be taken into account when one examines Jewish attitudes to the book. First, in pre-Christian times Greek-speaking Jews in Palestine and in the Diaspora considered the Wisdom of Ben Sira as one of their sacred writings, for it was included in the LXX, a Jewish work. Second, the 1st-century B.C. Jewish group at Masada had a Hebrew copy of the book that had been written stichometrically, i.e., each bicolon (or poetic line) is written on one line, the first colon (half-line) appearing on the right-hand side of the column, and the second on the left-hand side (Yadin 1965: pls. 2–4, 6–8). The same style of writing was used in 2Q18, two small 1st-century B.C. Hebrew fragments of the book from Qumran (Baillet, Milik, and de Vaux 1962: pl. 15). This procedure, which was usually reserved for books that were later received into the Jewish canon, is another indication of the reverence the Essenes and others who were Palestinian Jews accorded the book. (The medieval Cairo Geniza mss B, E, and F of the book were also written stichometrically.) Third, at least some Jews apparently accepted the book as sacred and inspired, for from early in the 1st century B.C., the book underwent successive Hebrew and Greek recensions in Palestine (see D below).

Ancient rabbinical tradition itself is inconsistent. Rabbi Akiba (d. ca. A.D. 132), e.g., placed the book among the "outside" or noncanonical books (*y. Sanh.* 28a). In like manner the Tosefta (*Yad.* ii 13, ca. A.D. 250) states that "the books of Ben Sira and all other books written after the prophetic period do not defile the hands," i.e., they are not canonical (Box and Oesterley *APOT* 1: 271). Nonetheless the book remained popular among the Jews despite its official exclusion from their canon. Even the Talmud, the Midrashim, the *Derek Ereṣ*, and similar tractates show traces of Ben Sira's influence. Some 82 times the book is quoted approvingly in the Talmud and other rabbinical writings. Sometimes passages are even introduced by the words "it is written" (e.g., *Nid.* 16b; *y. Ber.* 11c), a formula reserved only for quotations from the canonical scriptures (Smend 1906b: xlvi–lxi). Yet near the end of the 1st century A.D. the Pharisaic rabbis officially excluded the Wisdom of Ben Sira from the Jewish canon. The probable reason is that the Pharisees disliked some of Ben Sira's teaching (e.g., his denial of retribution in the hereafter), which resembled the theology of their adversaries, the Sadducees.

**2. Christian Acceptance of the Book.** Till about 1960, the commonly held view was that there were two Jewish canons of the OT in antiquity: the so-called Alexandrian (or Septuagint) canon that included all the deuterocanonical books and the shorter Palestinian (or Hebrew) canon that excluded the deuterocanonical books. It was the Alexandrian canon, in this theory, that the Christian church eventually adopted as its own official list of OT books. Jerome (d. 420) distinguished between "canonical books" and "ecclesiastical books," but only after he had come under the influence of Jewish teachers in the Holy Land. He did not accept as Sacred Scripture the "ecclesiastical books" that later were called deuterocanonical. St. Augustine (d. 430), disagreeing with Jerome's distinction, insisted on the ancient tradition of the church that all books in the LXX collection are equally authoritative. In the 16th century, however, Martin Luther broke with the church's tradition by accepting Jerome's view of the so-called Palestinian canon as alone being the list of Scriptures used by Jesus and the early Christians. In his German translation of 1534, Luther was the first to remove the deuterocanonical books from their logical and traditional places in the canon (e.g., the Wisdom of Solomon and the Wisdom of Ben Sira from the Wisdom books) and to locate these books, to which he gave the inaccurate label "Apocrypha" (= "hidden away"[!]), in a separate section between the OT and NT. Most Protestant translations of the Bible, if they include the "Apocrypha" at all, follow Luther's lead in segregating these books.

The hypothesis of the Alexandrian or LXX canon has been successfully challenged by A. C. Sundberg (1964; 1966; 1975). He has shown that in Jesus's day there never was a shorter Hebrew canon in Palestine

and a longer LXX canon in Alexandria. At least by the turn of the era, there were many Greek-speaking Jews in Palestine who used the LXX as a collection of undifferentiated religious writings long enough even to make a revision thereof. Thus there never was an actual Alexandrian (LXX) canon or a Palestinian (Hebrew) canon before ca. A.D. 90, at which time the rabbis drew up their list of sacred books. Obviously, the rabbis could not decide the limits of the Christian canon. But the church did receive "scriptures" from Judaism, if not a canon. The determination of the Christian OT canon took place in the West at the Council of Hippo (A.D. 393) and two Councils of Carthage (A.D. 397 and 419). That ancient canon includes all the books of the Jewish canon as well as the Wisdom of Ben Sira and the other deuterocanonical books, but not 1–2 Esdras and Prayer of Manasseh (Sundberg 1975: 356–57).

**3. Place in the Canon.** In Roman Catholic editions of the Bible, the book is located among the Wisdom books of the OT; the order is the following: Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Qoheleth, Song of Songs, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Ben Sira. The Latin Vulgate has the same order as does also the 4th-century Codex Vaticanus, one of the oldest copies of the LXX, with the exception of Job, which is found after the Song of Songs. In Protestant editions of the Bible, the "Apocrypha," if included at all, are located either between the OT and NT (as in Luther's German translation and the NEB) or at the end of the NT (as in the NRSV). The Wisdom of Ben Sira is found in these editions after the Wisdom of Solomon and before Baruch.

## D. Text and Versions

Ben Sira wrote his book in Hebrew, as the grandson states explicitly in the foreword to the Greek translation. The original Hebrew text began to disappear, however, after the rabbis excluded the book from the Jewish canon (see C.1 above). For centuries the Hebrew text was known from only a few quotations found in the Talmudic and rabbinical literature. The Greek and Syriac versions, from which all other translations (ancient and modern) had been made, became the principal witnesses to the book.

**1. Original Hebrew Text.** Between 1896 and 1900, many fragments of the book were identified from the vast collection of materials recovered from the Geniza (storage room for worn-out or discarded mss) of the Qaraite Synagogue in Old Cairo. These were parts of four distinct mss (A B C D); a fifth ms (E) was discovered by J. Marcus (1931). These mss were dated from the 10th to the 12th centuries. In 1958 and 1960, a few more leaves of mss B and C were identified (Di Lella 1964). Qumran Cave 2 yielded two small pieces of the book, 2Q18 (Baillet, Milik, and de Vaux 1962: pl. 15) from the second half of the 1st century B.C. Qumran Cave 11 produced 11QPs$^{a}$ (Sanders 1965), dating from the first half of the 1st century A.D.; it contains 51:13–20, 30b. Y. Yadin (1965) published the important Masada fragments (39:27–44:17) that date to the first half of the 1st century B.C. Finally, A. Scheiber (1982) found, among the Geniza materials of the Taylor-Schechter Additional Series collection at Cambridge University Library, a new leaf of Ben Sira and the corner fragment of a damaged leaf of ms C (first published in 1900). Scheiber (1982: 179–80) states that the new leaf (containing 31:24–32:7 and 32:12–33:8) is from ms D. This identification, however, is wrong for two reasons: (1) the new leaf is written stichometrically (like mss B and E and the Masada ms) whereas ms D is not so written; and (2) the handwriting is different from ms D. The leaf cannot be from ms E either, for ms E (a single leaf containing 32:16–34:1) has some of the same bicola found in the new leaf, and the hands are not the same. Hence I conclude that what Scheiber has found is a portion of a sixth manuscript, hitherto unknown. I give the name ms F to this new leaf (Di Lella 1988). About 68 percent of the book is now extant in Hebrew: some 2,200 cola of the 3,221 that are found in Codex B of the Greek (Swete 1907: 754).

Not long after the discovery of the original Hebrew of the book at the turn of the century, a few scholars began to doubt the authenticity of the Cairo Geniza mss. Some argued that the Geniza text was retroverted from the Syriac. Others proposed that it was translated from Greek or from Greek and Syriac. I. Lévi (1904), after several changes of heart, maintained that the Geniza text is substantially authentic although it contains some retroversions from the Syriac. Today the controversy has abated, thanks primarily to the discovery of the Masada scroll (Yadin 1965: 7, 10), which supports the authenticity of Cairo ms B and indirectly the other mss as well. The scholarly consensus is that the Geniza mss are essentially authentic (Di Lella 1966b: 20–105).

Kearns (*NCCHS*, 547–50) has shown that there are two basic forms of the Hebrew text: HTI, the Hebrew original of Ben Sira, and HTII, the expanded Hebrew text of one or more recensions. GI, the grandson's Greek translation, was made from HTI; GII, the expanded Greek translation, from HTII. The Geniza mss seem to bear witness to both HTI and HTII. GII corroborates this conclusion as do the Talmudic and rabbinic quotations. HII differs from HTI primarily by additions, some of which are simply alternative readings of HTI while others are doctrinal, comparable to the additions in GII (see 11:15, 16; 15:14b, 15c; 16:15, 16; 31:6d; 51:1).

Though Kearns is generally convincing in his analysis of the confusing textual witnesses, he fails to account for the existence of retroversions from Greek and Syriac that Ziegler, Lévi, Skehan, and Di Lella have proposed (Skehan and Di Lella *Sira* AB, 57–59). The hypothesis that the Cairo mss contain some medieval retroversions is compatible with the theory that these mss (especially ms B) witness to more than one recension of the Hebrew text, viz., HTI and HTII. In fact, some of the passages that have been analyzed as retroversions do not have the same kind of Hebrew as HTII (or "the secondary Hebrew text-form," as Rüger [1970: 1–11] calls it), which supposedly dates to the 1st century B.C. The diction and grammar of these retroversions are often demonstrably mishnaic (Di Lella 1966b: 115–19, 134–42) and quite different from what one would expect in HTII.

**2. Greek and Other Versions.** GI is found, for the most part, in the uncials A B C S and their dependent cursives. In his splendid critical edition, Ziegler (1965: 74–75) notes that GII is not preserved in any single ms, not even 248. The witnesses to GII, generally the Origenistic or hexaplaric mss (*O:* 253 Syrohexaplar V $S^{c}$) and the Lucianic mss (*L:* 248–493–637; and *l:* 106–130–545–705), transmit the text of GI, which was then expanded under the influence of one or more other mss. The translator of GII did not produce an independent translation but used mss of GI and translated from HTII only in those cases where he thought it to be necessary. Many readings of GII mss go back to a Hebrew *Vorlage*, a recension of HTII, which differed from HTI. The additions found in the mss do not give the complete contents of GII but only a selection. Over the centuries, the transmission of the Greek text has suffered a great deal and often is mutilated in the mss. Hence the textual critic must take great pains to remedy these corruptions with more or less success. GII has about 300 cola not found in GI; Ziegler prints these extra cola in the text itself, but in smaller letters.

The Old Latin (OL) is an important witness to GII, either directly or indirectly. OL, however, preserves the correct order of chapters after 30:24, whereas in all the extant Greek mss two sections, 30:25–33:13a and 33:13b–36:16a, have exchanged places. OL supports many of the GII additions, but it also contains 75 bicola peculiar to itself (Smend 1906b: ic–cxiii). OL, which was eventually incorporated into the Vulgate because Jerome did not make a fresh translation of the book, was made from a GII text type probably in the 2d century. Because of a complicated textual history, OL of Sirach has more doublets, variants, and interpolations than any other book of the Latin Bible. Nonetheless it is of great importance for the textual criticism of the expanded text of the book.

The Syriac was translated no later than the 4th century, probably by Ebionite Christians, and was revised in the late 4th century by orthodox Christians who gave it its present form (Winter 1977). It was translated directly from a Hebrew *Vorlage* that had combined HTI and HTII. In choosing between doublets in his *Vorlage*, the Syriac translator was often guided by what he saw in his copy of the Greek text, which was not identical with GII but which had many of its readings. Syriac has 70 of the approximately 300 extra cola found in GII, as well as several shorter additions in common with GII. It also contains 74 cola and other shorter variants proper to itself. Many of these are probably of Christian origin, but several others show the doctrinal trends of GII and OL (Kearns *NCCHS,* 548).

The textual criticism of the book is, as should be obvious from the above, enormously complicated, especially when the critic attempts to understand the relationships that exist between and among the various witnesses. No other book of the OT is as textually complex and difficult to work with. Though the theory of two recensions of the Hebrew text (HTI and HTII) seems most probable, it is not always clear when an addition to the text should be seen as evidence of HTII or as a gloss or as a retroversion from the Syriac or Gpeek. Though GI remains the most reliable form of the book as a whole, it too has many

scribal errors and other corruptions as well as mistranslations due to the grandson's failure to understand the Hebrew *Vorlage.* Hence, there are no iron rules or golden rules for the textual criticism of the book. The careful critic must take into account all these bewildering features and then make a judgment that seems most reasonable for the passage under consideration.

**E. Contents**

The Wisdom of Ben Sira belongs to the Wisdom Literature of Israel, together with Job, Proverbs, Qoheleth, the Wisdom of Solomon, and several wisdom Psalms. Except for chaps. 44–50, which in ms B are entitled "Praise of the Ancestors of Old," the book, like Proverbs, manifests no particular order of subject matter or obvious coherence. This is not surprising since the book seems to be a compilation of lecture notes that Ben Sira used with his young Jewish male students. But unlike Proverbs, which consists of mainly one-line aphorisms, the book has larger units, usually from 10 lines to the classic 22- and 23-line lengths. Ben Sira learned the 22- and 23-line convention from such pieces as Proverbs 2; 6:20–7:6; 7:7–27; 31:10–31; Psalms 9–10, 25, 33, 34, 94, 145. The book contains several poems in praise of Wisdom and its Author as well as exhortations and advice for the young. It is a kind of handbook of moral behavior for the early 2d-century B.C. Jew.

**1. The Grandson's Foreword.** The foreword or prologue resembles the classical historical prefaces by Herodotus, Thucydides, and Polybius, and may be compared also to the Prologue to Luke (1:1–4). Found in most mss, including GII, the foreword to the Greek translation has three paragraphs: (1) the grandson explains why Ben Sira composed the book; (2) he invites readers to study the book with indulgence for any failure on his part to render the Hebrew faithfully; and (3) he gives autobiographical information about his arrival in Egypt and his hours of hard labor to produce the translation (see A.3 above). He refers to "the Law, the Prophets, and the other books of our ancestors;" this is the first mention of the threefold partition of the OT (cf. Luke 24:44). He also speaks of the third part as "the rest of the books," which later came to be known in Hebrew as *kĕtûbîm,* "the Writings."

**2. First Major Division (1:1–23:28).** All wisdom (personified as a woman) comes from the Lord who imparts her as a gift to those who love him (1:1–10; cf. Marböck 1971: 17–34). Cf. Prov 8:22–31; Wis 7:27–29; 9:4, 6. The first major poem is in praise of wisdom as fear of the Lord (1:11–30); it has 22 bicola, the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. The book closes (51:13–30) with an alphabetic acrostic of 23 bicola, thus forming a literary *inclusio,* which supports the unity of authorship. (The reason for 23 bicola, as a variation, instead of the usual 22 is this: the opening bicolon has ʾ*alep,* the middle bicolon *lamed,* and the last bicolon *pe,* the three letters thus forming the verb ʾ*alep,* "to learn.")

*2:1–4:10:* Fidelity to fear of the Lord and steadfastness in the face of trials as well as hope and trust in God (2:1–11) are hallmarks of the true believer. Compromise with Hellenism (2:12–14) leads to disaster. Children must honor and respect their parents, especially when they are old and feeble (3:1–16). Humility (3:17–29) keeps you from delving into matters that are too sublime (i.e., the pretensions of Greek philosophy and science). Almsgiving, like filial piety (3:3), atones for sin (3:30). The poor, the oppressed, the orphan, and the widow are to be treated with courtesy and compassion (4:1–10).

*4:11–6:17:* Those who love Wisdom love life and are loved by the Lord (4:12, 14). Avoid false shame and favoritism (4:20–22, 27; cf. Jas 2:1–4); never tell lies. Do not rely on deceitful wealth or presume on the Lord's mercy (5:1–8; cf. Isa 1:18–20). "Be swift to hear, but slow to answer" (5:11, a proverb quoted in Jas 1:19). Unruly passion has been the downfall of many (6:2–4). Test your friends lest they take advantage of you (6:5–17).

*6:18–8:19:* The search for Wisdom begins in youth and continues till old age (6:18–37, a 22-line poem). Avoid political ambition, for it brings many moral dangers (7:1–7)—a warning to Jews who served in the royal courts (cf. 2 Macc 3:4–13). Beware of empty formalism in prayer (7:14; cf. Matt 6:7). Be kind to a sensible wife and members of your household (7:18–21), but be firm in disciplining your children (7:23–24). In all areas of your life, "remember your last days, and you will never sin" (7:36). Be prudent in dealing with others, and take advantage of "the tradition of the elders" (8:9).

*9:1–11:6:* Be on your guard in associating with women, especially those of questionable virtue (9:1–9). Hold on to your old friends. "A new friend is like new wine" (9:10); it needs to be aged (cf. Luke 5:39).

Cf. also 6:5–17; 7:18; 37:1–6. The wise make the best friends and the best rulers (9:17–10:5, a tract on government [Prato 1975: 369–72]). Pride and arrogance are detestable and cause utter ruin (10:6–18). Fear of the Lord is the glory of people in every social class (10:19–11:6; cf. Di Lella 1982b).

*11:7–14:19:* Avoid rash judgment and useless arguments (11:7–9). The pursuit of wealth can lead to sin; and the miserly rich will leave their wealth to others (11:10–19; cf. Luke 12:16–21). Use caution in choosing your friends and watch out for your enemies even when they seem friendly (11:29–12:18). Do not associate with those who are wealthier or more influential than you, lest you suffer grief; associate with your own kind (13:1–14:2). "Wealth is good where there is no guilt" (13:24). But it should be used wisely on oneself and shared generously with others, for "death does not tarry" (14:3–19).

*14:20–19:17:* Happy indeed are those who through fear of the Lord seek Wisdom and ponder her ways; "like a young bride" she will embrace them (14:20–15:10). Since God made humans free to choose between good and evil, he is in no way responsible for sin (15:11–20; cf. Wis 11:24; Jas 1:13). It is better to "die childless than have impious children" (16:3). The wicked are punished, for they alone bear responsibility for their sins (16:5–14). No one can hide from God's all-seeing eye (16:17–23). God's wisdom can be seen in the order and providence of creation; every creature exists in harmony with the rest of creation (16:24–30; cf. Wis 11:20). Humans, made in God's image, have received the largest share of divine bounty; fear of the Lord enables them to marvel at his works and to "praise his holy name" (17:1–24). But humans must repent by turning again to the Most High (17:25–31), for he is a kind and merciful judge (18:1–14). Do not spoil the gift, you give, with harsh words (18:15–18; cf. Jas 1:5). Watch your tongue, honor your responsibilities in all matters, and do not indulge your desires (18:15–19:17).

*19:18–23:27:* Wisdom consists in fear of the Lord and keeping the commandments (19:20). Not all knowledge is wisdom, as the Greeks thought. It is better to be thought a fool, free from sin, than a savant, detested by God (19:22–30). Learn when to speak and when to keep silent (20:1–8). Appearances can be deceptive: misfortune can bring success and vice versa (20:9–17). "Favors and gifts blind the eyes" (20:29). Flee from sin, a two-edged sword (21:1–10). Personal behavior distinguishes the wise from the foolish (21:11–22:5). Weep for the fool: he is worse off than the dead (22:11–12). Act responsibly and kindly toward your friends; make amends if you have hurt them (22:19–26). Beware of destructive sins, especially of the tongue and the flesh (22:27–23:26). "Nothing is better than the fear of the Lord, nothing sweeter than obeying his commandments" (23:27).

**3. Second Major Division (24:1–43:33).** This division, like the first, begins with a lengthy poem on Wisdom. Chap. 24 has 35 lines, exactly the number in Proverbs 8 that served as model (Skehan 1979). After a brief introduction, personified Wisdom delivers a 22-line speech (24:3–22), in which she describes her origin from God and her heavenly and earthly activity. Though she holds sway over all peoples, she dwells in Jerusalem, having Israel, "the portion of the Lord," as her inheritance. Ben Sira, now the speaker, identifies Wisdom with the Law or Torah of Moses. He then speaks of himself as being a channel of divine inspiration (24:23–33).

*25:1–26:27:* Harmony among kindred and neighbors and mutual love of husband and wife are pleasing to the Lord and humans. But the proud, the rich, and the old lecher are loathsome. Whoever finds wisdom is great but not greater than the one who fears the Lord (25:10). Do not choose a wife on looks alone or marry for her money (25:21). Blessed is the husband who dwells with a sensible wife and has joy in his children. Nothing is worse than an evil wife, "a chafing yoke." Rival wives who cannot get along cause heartache and grief. But a good wife, "choicest of blessings," brings happiness to her husband.

*26:28–29:20:* Beware of hazards to your integrity. Many have sinned for the sake of profit, "and the struggle for wealth blinds the eyes" (27:1). Your faults appear when you speak. "Birds nest with their own kind" (27:9); so associate with the wise and not with fools, i.e., evildoers. Keep faith with your friends, for betraying a secret destroys confidence and friendship (27:16–21). Whoever digs a pit falls into it. Wrath and anger are loathsome; the vengeful will suffer the Lord's vengeance. So forgive your neighbor and hold no grudges; "then when you pray, your own sins will be forgiven" (28:2–7; cf. Matt 6:14; Jas 2:13). Avoid strife; the quarrelsome kindle disputes leading to bloodshed. Cursed is the gossip, the meddler, and the double-tongued; they destroy the peace of many. "A blow from the tongue smashes

bones" (28:17). So keep a seal on your mouth, for the tongue can be a raging fire (28:8–26; cf. Jas 3:5–6). Be quick to lend to those in need and go surety for others if you can, but also be cautious to avoid loss (29:1–7, 14–20). Do not keep the poor waiting for your alms; almsgiving is spiritual treasure that will save you from every evil (29:8–13; cf. Tob 4:7–11; Matt 6:20).

*29:21–33:18:* A simple meal at home is better than a sumptuous banquet with strangers (29:21–28). Be strict in disciplining your son; whip him if necessary. Otherwise he will bring you to heartache (30:1–13). Good health is better than wealth. Envy, anger, and anxiety shorten life (30:14–24). The lover of gold is a fool with no peace. But the rich who are blameless are praiseworthy (31:1–11). Watch your manners at a banquet and curb your appetite lest you suffer distress and lose sleep. Wine in moderation is joy of heart and good cheer (cf. Ps 104:15); when abused, it leads to disgrace (31:12–31). If you preside at a banquet, be considerate and sensitive to others; and when it is time to leave, do not linger (32:1–13). If you fear the Lord and keep the Law, you will never be put to shame; but the sinner (= the fool) suffers loss (32:14–33:6). God planned the polarities or opposites in creation (Prato 1975: 13–61): he exalts certain days and lists others as ordinary; he blesses some people and others he brings low (33:7–15; cf. 15:11–20). Ben Sira reminds the reader that he has toiled not for himself alone "but for every seeker after guidance" (33:16–18).

*33:19–38:23:* Keep control of your property as long as you live, lest you become subject to others (33:19–24). Treat a lazy slave harshly and give him plenty of work; but never be unjust or unkind (33:25–33). Put no trust in dreams; they have led many astray (34:1–8). Travel, though dangerous, helps the wise gain wide experience (34:9–13). The tainted sacrifices of the wicked are an abomination. "He sheds blood who denies the worker his wages" (34:27; cf. Lev 19:13). Prayer and fasting are futile if one does not turn away from sin (34:28–31). Keeping the Law, giving alms, refraining from evil are meaningful offerings (35:1–5). Be generous and cheerful when you make an offering to the Lord (35:6–13). You cannot bribe the Lord for your sins of injustice against the poor (35:14–26). Ben Sira begs God to rescue his people from domination by the gentiles and to bring back to Palestine all the scattered Jews (36:1–22). Foods vary in quality as do women. A good wife is a husband's richest treasure (36:23–31; cf. Prov 31:10–31). Not all friends are true. Seek counsel with care, but in the end follow your own conscience (37:1–15). Gluttony makes you sick (37:27–31). The physician has his calling from God. So if you are sick, first pray to God who heals and then go to the physician and take the medicine he gives you (38:1–15). Mourn for the dead but not to excess (38:16–23).

*38:24–41:13:* Though manual laborers make essential contributions to society (cf. *ANET,* pp. 432–34), it is the scribe who has the leisure to devote himself to the study of the Law, the wisdom of the ancients, and the prophecies. He is in attendance on the great; he travels to foreign lands. The congregation speaks of his wisdom and declares his praises (38:24–39:11). Ben Sira now extols the goodness and purposefulness of creation and of God's providence. Everything ultimately fulfills God's will and plan (39:12–35). But life can be miserable and painful for rich and poor alike (40:1–10). Each person will receive his due, in this life: disaster for the wicked; long life and prosperity for the virtuous. A series of "better than" proverbs culminates in fear of the Lord, "a paradise of blessings" (40:18–27). The life of the beggar is no life. Death is bitter for one who prospers, but sweet for one who is old and feeble. The reprobate and their children are cursed; but a good name will never be annihilated (41:1–13).

*41:14–43:33:* Be ashamed of immorality, lying, disloyalty, theft, refusing an alms, lusting after another's wife, and other sins. But never be ashamed of the Law of the Most High, justice, honesty in business, training your children strictly, bargaining with merchants, sharing expenses, and other good activities (41:14–42:8). You have reason to worry about your daughter; so keep watch over her lest she go astray. "Better a man's wickedness than a woman's goodness" (42:14)—the meanest of Ben Sira's harsh comments about women (see G.6 below). The glory of the Lord shines through all the marvelous and stupendous works of creation. God is revealed as the one who knows all things and is almighty. He made all things in twos, "one corresponding to the other"—light and darkness, hot and cold, etc. The heavens, the sun, moon, and stars, the rainbow, hail, rain, thunder, lightning, storm-wind, snow, ice, frost, and every sea creature—all do God's bidding. In this splendid lyric poem, similar to Job 38–41 and Prov

30:15–31, Ben Sira admits that not even the holy ones (= angels) are capable of praising God as he is (42:15–43:33).

**4. Third Major Division (44:1–50:24).** This is the only unified section of the book. In Cairo ms B, it has the title "Praise of the Ancestors of Old"; in most Greek, Latin, and Syriac mss, "Praise of the Ancestors" (cf. Mack 1985 and Lee 1986).

*44:1–49:16:* "I will now praise those godly people, our ancestors, each in his own time": rulers of royal rank, counselors, seers, governors, lawgivers, sages, framers of proverbs, composers of psalms, and lyric poets; their "virtues will not be forgotten … their glory will never be blotted out." Even those who have left no obvious memorial are remembered for their fidelity, and their names and their families live on and on. Enoch heads the list of ancient worthies (44:16) and appears again by way of *inclusio* in the conclusion of this section (49:14). Ben Sira extols the early patriarchs Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Israel; Moses, "dear to God and humans," Aaron, who receives the lion's share of attention because Ben Sira loved the cult and levitical priesthood, and Phinehas; Joshua, Caleb, the judges as a group, and Samuel, the last and greatest of the judges; Nathan the prophet, David, and Solomon, who is acclaimed for his wisdom and for building the temple but is blamed for his sins with foreign women; the prophets Elijah and Elisha; pious King Hezekiah and Isaiah, the prophet of his reign; good King Josiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Job, and the Twelve (minor) Prophets, Zerubbabel, Jeshua, Nehemiah; and finally Enoch, Joseph, Shem, Seth, Enosh, and Adam, the first human.

*50:1–24:* This lengthy panegyric serves as an appendix to the preceding section. Simeon II, son of Johanan, was high priest from 219 to 196 (cf. Josephus, *Ant* 12.3.3). He renovated the temple, fortifying its precincts, built a large reservoir, and strengthened Jerusalem. Ben Sira gives a lyrical description of the ceremonies of the daily whole-offering, and not of the Day of Atonement, as often thought (Ó Fearghail 1978).

**5. Conclusion and Appendixes (50:25–51:30).** Ben Sira detests the Edomites (cf. Ezek 25:12–14), Philistines (proverbial enemies of Israel), and Samaritans (who were despised by Jews; cf. Ezra 4:1–24). Then in a postscript he declares happy those who take to heart what he has written in his book (50:25–29).

*51:1–12:* The first appendix is a skillfully crafted prayer, classified as a declarative psalm of praise for deliverance from a major peril (Di Lella 1986).

*51:12 i–xvi:* Found only in Cairo ms B and in none of the versions, this hymn is probably inauthentic but old, prior to 152 B.C. (Di Lella 1966b: 101–5). Modelled on Psalm 136, it is completely biblical in orientation.

*51:13–30:* The second appendix is autobiographical; it is an elegant alphabetic acrostic, like the conclusion of Proverbs (31:10–31), in 23 lines (Skehan 1971). Ben Sira tells how he kept seeking Wisdom from his youth, resolving to tread her paths without relenting. He prayed with purified hands outstretched and thus attained to her. He invites the untutored to come aside with him and to lodge "in the house of instruction (or discipline)" (so Greek and Syriac; ms B: "in my house of instruction," an inferior reading), so that they also may gain wisdom, without money.

**F. Composition**

In composing his book, Ben Sira utilized the forms of expression and literary styles he found in the older books of the OT, especially the Wisdom Literature, of which Proverbs was by far his favorite book.

**1. Literary Genres.** The principal literary genres in the book are these: *māšāl,* hymn of praise, prayer of petition, autobiographical narrative, lists or onomastica, and didactic narrative (Baumgartner 1914).

**a. *Māšāl.*** The noun *māšāl* may have one or more of the following meanings: "proverb, aphorism, maxim; comparison, similitude; paradigm, model, exemplar; byword; word play; taunt song; allegory; didactic poem" (Duesberg and Fransen 1966: 65–68; von Rad 1972: 25–34).

A well-crafted proverb has shortness, sense, and salt. Written in memorable language, often with alliteration, assonance, and rhyme, it also heightens one's awareness. "Wealth makes wit waver." The proverb rings true to the listener. "The greatest wealth is contentment with a little." The proverb stretches the mind and captivates the imagination. "Better wit than wealth." The proverb may be amusing or

satirical. “He has great need of a fool that plays the fool himself.” A good proverb exemplifies Lord John Russell’s classic definition: “A proverb is one man’s wit and all men’s wisdom.”

Ben Sira composed many memorable proverbs: “Like an arrow lodged in a person’s thigh is gossip in the breast of a fool” (19:12). “A blow from a whip raises a welt, but a blow from the tongue smashes bones” (28:17). “Whoever touches pitch blackens his hand; whoever accompanies a scoundrel learns his ways” (13:1). “Tainted his gift who offers in sacrifice ill-gotten goods” (34:21). “A person may purchase much for little, but pay for it seven times over” (20:12). Often Ben Sira uses a single *māšāl* to introduce a series of other proverbs that develop a theme from several points of view. See, e.g., 2:1–6; 16:1–4; 18:30–19:3; 26:1–4; 28:12–16.

The numerical *māšāl* of the type *x/x*-plus-one (as in Job 5:19–22; 33:14–15; Ps 62:12; Prov 6:16–19; 30:15b–16, 18–19, 21–23, 29–31) is also found in Ben Sira: 23:16–18; 25:7–11; 26:5–6, 28; 50:25–26. Proverbs of this kind apparently served as pedagogical devices to aid in learning (von Rad 1972: 35–37). The increasing numbers in such proverbs go from one-two (e.g., Job 33:14–15) to nine-ten (e.g., Sir 25:7–11). Similar in form and function is another type of numerical proverb in which certain things are said to total up to a single number given at the beginning of the text (cf. Prov 30:7–9, 24–28). Ben Sira gives two examples (25:1–2).

The *māšāl* may also be an exhortation or warning, in brief or extended compass, stated in positive or in negative terms. The purpose was to urge readers to practice appropriate behavior and right thinking. See, e.g., Sir 28:1–7 and 51:25–27.

**b. Hymn of Praise.** Basically there are two modes of calling on God: praise and lament/petition. The Psalms, with few exceptions, may each be reduced to one or both of these modes. Hymns of praise occur with some frequency in Ben Sira: 1:1–10; 18:1–7; 39:12–35; 42:15–43:33; 50:22–24; 51:1–12.

**c. Prayer of Petition/Lament.** This kind of prayer is not common in Ben Sira. But it is found in at least two places: 22:27–23:6 and 36:1–22. These prayers have the same features as petitions in the Psalms.

**d. Autobiographical Narrative.** This type of narrative or confessional statement occurs in the Wisdom Literature when the sage appeals to his own authority and experience in order to emphasize a point for his students or readers (von Rad 1972: 37–38). This literary genre originated in Egypt; cf. the “Instruction of King Merikare” (*ANET*, pp. 414–18) and the “Instruction of King Amen-em-het” (*ANET*, pp. 418–19). It is found often in the OT; cf., e.g., Prov. 4:3–9; 24:30–34; Ps 37:25, 35–36; Qoh 1:12–2:26; 4:7–8; Wis 7:1–9:18. Ben Sira uses this genre to make the point that his search for wisdom was not for himself alone but for all who seek her (33:16–18). The long autobiographical poem (51:13–30) that concludes the book is primarily didactic, as is clear from its alphabetic acrostic form.

**e. Lists or Onomastica.** Lists of geographical, mineralogical, cosmic, meterological, and other natural phenomena became a literary genre in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia and were later utilized in the Wisdom Literature of Israel. See, e.g., Job 28; 36:27–37:13; 38:4–39:30; 40:15–41:26; Psalm 148; Dan 3:52–90 (NAB), Wis 7:17–20, 22–23; 14:25–26. Ben Sira uses onomastica in his hymns in praise of God the Creator (39:16–35; 42:15–43:33). In the latter poem, he lists the splendors of God’s creation in the heights (sky, sun, moon, stars, rainbow, hail, lightning, thunder, winds, snow, frost, rain) and on the earth (the sea and its amazing creatures, islands in the midst of the sea, monsters of the deep). The purpose of this long list is stated at the end of the poem:

Let us praise him the more, since we cannot fathom him,
for greater is he than all his works (43:28).
It is the LORD who has made all things,
and to those who fear him he gives wisdom (43:33).

**f. Didactic Narrative.** An excellent example of didactic narrative is the long poem (44:1–50:24), entitled in Cairo ms B “Praise of the Ancestors of Old.” The didactic purpose of this composition is made clear in the opening and closing lines of the introduction:

I will now praise those godly people,
our ancestors, each in his own time (44:1).
At gatherings their wisdom is retold,

and the assembly declares their praises (44:15).

**2. Ben Sira's Poetry.** As regards metrics, Ben Sira wrote most often in 3 + 3 accents per bicolon (or poetic line). There are, however, many cola that have two as well as four accents. On occasion he also wrote in the *qînâ* meter (3 + 2); see 12:14 and 36:18–19. Most of Ben Sira's longer poems have a reasonably clear strophic structure (see the NAB and the AB translation [Skehan and Di Lella *Sira* AB]). Ben Sira made extensive use of such poetic and rhetorical devices as assonance, alliteration, rhyme, chiasm, rhythm, and *inclusio* in order to enhance the quality and power of his poetry (Di Lella 1982a). Like the great Hebrew poets before him, he often composed units of twenty-two and twenty-three lines and used these to signal the opening or closing of a major portion of the book, to show the unity of a section of text, or simply to add elegance to his work. See 1:11–30 (the opening poem of the book); 5:1–6:4; 6:18–37 (the opening poem of a part of the book); 12:1–18; 13:24–14:19 (the closing poem of that same part); 21:1–21; 29:1–20; 29:21–30:13; 38:24–34; 49:1–16 (the closing unit on Israel's great ancestors); 51:13–30 (an alphabetic acrostic poem that closes the book). Ben Sira learned this technique of composition from such OT texts as Deut 32:1–14, 15–29, 30–43; Prov 2; 6:20–7:6; 7:7–27; 31:10–31 (the final poem of the book); Pss 9–10; 25; 33; 34; 37; 94; 111; 112; 119; 145; and Lamentations 1–5 (Skehan and Di Lella *Sira* AB, 74).

**3. Jewish Sources.** In his prologue, the grandson writes that Ben Sira spent a lifetime studying the Scriptures of Israel. Before becoming a wisdom teacher, Ben Sira immersed himself in the Torah (Law), Prophets, and Writings that had already become the nation's literary and religious heritage. Not surprisingly, Ben Sira adapted the older Scriptures in order to make them relevant to the new Hellenistic age in which he and his people lived. Though he often quotes or alludes to a sacred text, he usually alters it or changes its wording so that there is a new emphasis or a different meaning. Compare, e.g., Deut 6:5 and Sir 7:29–30; Job 29:21 and Sir 13:23; Isa 51:3 and Sir 15:6. Ben Sira cites or alludes to the Pentateuch, Joshua, 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings, 1–2 Chronicles, Nehemiah, Psalms, Job, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Haggai, and Malachi. He also mentions the Judges (46:11–12), the Twelve Minor Prophets (49:10), the Psalms as compositions of David (47:7), and Proverbs as the work of Solomon (47:14–17).

Ben Sira often bases his didactic discourse on a single text from the Torah. See, e.g., 3:1–16 on the honor due to parents, a section that explains Exod 20:12 (or Deut 5:16), the commandment to honor one's father and mother. But the work that Ben Sira comments on most frequently is Proverbs, the book most like his own. He did not merely quote or paraphrase a maxim from Proverbs but explained and developed its implications for his own day and world. His dependence on Proverbs can be seen in almost every part of the book. Compare, e.g., Prov 8:22 and Sir 1:4; Prov 1:7 and Sir 1:14; Prov 8:18–19 and Sir 1:16–17; Prov 17:3 and Sir 2:5; Prov 3:5–6 and Sir 2:6–9; Prov 3:34 and Sir 3:18. There are of course differences in subject matter and emphasis between Proverbs and Ben Sira, for the social matrix and political situation had changed considerably. Nonetheless both books reflect the same type of wisdom traditions and the same religious heritage. By commenting and reflecting on Proverbs and other parts of the OT, Ben Sira created a new synthesis that served the needs and preoccupations of the Jewish community of his day. Herein lie Ben Sira's genius, significance, and lasting contribution to the thought of Israel's sages.

**4. Gentile Sources.** Though Ben Sira opposed vigorously any compromise of Jewish values and pronounced a curse on those who forsook the Law (41:8), he himself learned a great deal from the world in which he lived, a world that included non-Jews. He traveled extensively abroad (cf. 34:9–13) and doubtless met many gentile sages; we may assume that he read their literature (cf. 39:2–4). It is not unreasonable to believe that he would incorporate some of what he read into his own book. Proverbs itself, Ben Sira's favorite source, provided a legitimate precedent for borrowing from gentile literature. Prov 22:17–24:22, a section that may be called "The Thirty Precepts of the Sages," is modelled in part on an Egyptian work entitled "Instruction of Amen-em-ope" (*ANET,* 421–24).

There can be little doubt that Ben Sira also derived material from gentile sources. Compare, e.g., Sir 14:18 and *The Iliad,* vi 146–49. T. Middendorp (1973: 8–24) provides a good overview of evidence adduced by scholars who have seen parallels between Ben Sira and various Greek authors. He claims there are about a hundred texts in Ben Sira that have clear parallels in Greek literature. J. T. Sanders

(1983: 29) rightly criticizes Middendorp for exaggerating Ben Sira's dependence on Greek sources. Then Sanders (1983: 33–38) shows that there are many convincing parallels between Ben Sira and Theognis. He explains (1983: 55–59) that Ben Sira used Hellenic materials only when it suited his Jewish purpose, in which case he claimed it for Judaism. Thus despite the use of Greek ideas, what Ben Sira wrote was an essentially Jewish book. Apparently, Ben Sira knew Egyptian Wisdom literature as well, for "The Satire on the Trades," also called "The Instruction of Duauf" (*ANET,* 432–34), seems to be the source, directly or indirectly, of many ideas found in Sir 38:24–39:11 (Skehan and Di Lella *Sira* AB, 449–53). The most important source, however, is *Phibis,* of which over 15 per cent, according to Sanders's calculation (1983: 98–99), is reflected in Ben Sira. But Sanders (1983: 102) rightly insists that Ben Sira never quotes exactly from *Phibis* material; rather, "Ben Sira derived *gnomic insight* from *Phibis.*"

Ben Sira's dependence on several gentile sources seems beyond question. But it must be observed that Ben Sira utilized certain gentile expressions and aphorisms only because he judged these to be true and hence, in his mind, conformable to Jewish doctrine. What he does, in effect, is to make his gentile sources as Jewish as possible; and this procedure is far more important and significant for our understanding of his book than the fact that he borrowed or adapted such material in the first place. Though he employed foreign authors, what he writes comes out as something completely his own, and accordingly can be described only as something thoroughly Jewish and compatible with earlier biblical tradition. That is why his maxims, even when they parallel material from Theognis or *Phibis,* have more the tenor and theology of Proverbs than of either pagan source. Ben Sira made use of gentile materials, not because he gave in to the spirit of compromise and syncretism that was rampant at the time, but because he felt he had to show his fellow Jews that the best of foreign thought is no danger at all to the true faith but could even be incorporated into an authentically Jewish book, the purpose of which was to encourage fidelity to the ancestral religion (Skehan and Di Lella *Sira* AB, 49–50).

**G. Theology**

Like other biblical authors, Ben Sira had no intention of offering a systematic theology. As noted above (E), there is little discernible order or obvious coherence in the topics he chose to discuss. What is offered here is not exhaustive or strictly systematic, but rather selective in an attempt to show the dimensions and grandeur of Ben Sira's theology. But I shall also point out his considerable limitations. For similar surveys, cf. Burkill (*IDB* 2: 19–21), Duesberg and Fransen (1966: 53–64), Kearns (*NCCHS,* 543–46), and Skehan and Di Lella (*Sira* AB, 75–92).

**1. Wisdom as Fear of the Lord.** There is dispute about the primary theme of The Wisdom of Ben Sira. J. Haspecker (1967: 87–105) argues that fear of the Lord is the total theme *(Gesamtthema)* of the book whereas G. von Rad (1972: 242) and J. Marböck (1971) insist that wisdom is the fundamental theme. R. Smend (1906b: xxiii), however, suggests the best approach when he writes: "Subjectively, wisdom is fear of God; objectively, it is the law book of Moses (chap. 24)." Hence I would contend that Ben Sira's primary theme is wisdom *as* fear of the Lord, and that his fundamental thesis is this: wisdom, which is identified with the Law, can be acquired only by one who fears God and keeps the commandments. Ben Sira puts it this way:

The whole of wisdom is fear of the Lord;
  complete wisdom is the fulfillment of the Law (19:20).

The expression "fear of God," or its equivalent, occurs fifty-five to sixty times in Ben Sira. In the rest of the OT, only the Psalter, where the expression is found 79 times, has a larger number of occurrences (Haspecker 1967: 82). Clearly, fear of the God is a paramount concern of Ben Sira. But so is wisdom (Gk *sophia*), a noun that occurs 55 times in the Greek translation. The opening chapters (1:1–2:18) contain the thematic introduction to the book; these give a detailed treatise on wisdom as fear of God, an expression found 17 times. But the word "wisdom" occurs 11 times in chap. 1 alone.

At the outset Ben Sira states his argument:

All wisdom is from the Lord,
  and with him it remains forever (1:1).

He restates the same idea at the beginning of the second half of the book where he has personified Wisdom say:

From the mouth of the Most High I came forth,
and mistlike covered the earth.
In the heights of heaven I dwelt,
my throne on a pillar of cloud (24:3–4).

Wisdom, says Ben Sira, existed before all other creatures and will be everlasting:

Before the ages, from the first, [God] created me [Wisdom],
and through the ages I shall not cease to be (24:9).

Ben Sira derived many of his ideas about wisdom in 24:1–22 from Prov 8:22–31. Wisdom is something God alone possesses fully (1:8); only he can pour "her forth upon all his works" (1:9).

God confers the gift of wisdom solely "upon his friends" (1:10b), i.e., those who "keep the commandments" (1:26) of the Law and fear him (15:1; 43:33). Ben Sira calls fear of the Lord "the beginning of wisdom" (1:14a; cf. Prov 9:10a), the "fullness of wisdom" (1:16a), "wisdom's garland" (1:18a), and "the root of wisdom" (1:20a). Hence fear of God is the essence of wisdom. It is also "glory and exultation, gladness and a festive crown … [It] rejoices the heart, giving gladness and joy and length of days" (1:11–12). Fear of the Lord and wisdom make life meaningful and satisfying and full of days (1:20b; 34:14–20; cf. Deut 6:24; 30:15–20).

Nothing is better than the fear of the Lord,
nothing sweeter than obeying his commandments (23:27cd).
Whoever finds wisdom is great indeed,
but not greater than the one who fears the Lord.
Fear of the Lord surpasses all else,
its possessor is beyond all compare (25:10–11).

Although Wisdom holds sway over every land, people, and nation (24:6), she received the divine command to strike root in Jacob, her inheritance in Israel (24:8, the glorious people (24:12a). Hence true wisdom is to be found "in Jerusalem" (24:11b), and not in Athens or Alexandria. All of which is to say that Israelite wisdom is incomparably superior to Hellenistic wisdom and culture. Ben Sira makes his most emphatic statement that wisdom is the Law of Israel in 24:23a: "All this [what Wisdom says about herself in chap. 24] is true of the book of the Most High's covenant."

Though wisdom is a free gift from God, the faithful must do their part in order to receive it. They are to fear the Lord and keep the Law, but they must also expect affliction as a test of their fidelity (2:1–10; 4:17–19). In time of trial, the faithful will be saved by the Lord (2:10–11). They must also strive for discipline if they hope to attain wisdom (6:18):

Put your feet into her [Wisdom's] net
and your neck into her noose.
Stoop your shoulders and carry her
and be not irked at her bonds (6:24–25).

The struggle to obtain wisdom is great, but her rewards are many (6:29–31). Despite the varied and marvelous benefits wisdom confers (4:11–16), many do not strive for her because of the prerequisite discipline (6:22).

After coming to wisdom by loyalty to God and the Law, the believer must be careful not to sin, for sin drives away wisdom (4:19). That is why sinners or fools—the terms are synonyms in Ben Sira's dictionary—never attain wisdom (15:7–8). But the virtuous or the wise person—these terms in Ben Sira are also synonyms—pursues wisdom "like a scout" (14:22a) and then "pitches his tent beside her and lives as her welcome neighbor" (14:25). The result is that "motherlike she will meet him, and like a young bride she will embrace him" (15:2). It is to be observed that Ben Sira, despite his many negative comments about women (see G.6 below), personifies wisdom as a woman: Wisdom is teacher (4:11–19), mistress (6:18–31), welcome neighbor, mother, and wife (14:20–15:8), and lover to be wooed (51:13–21). These are daring images for an inveterate misogynist.

Fear of the Lord, in Ben Sira's theology, is synonymous with love of the Lord (2:15–16). In general, Ben Sira subscribes to the great Deuteronomic equation: to fear God=to love him=to keep his commandments=to walk in his ways (cf. Deut 10:12–13; 30:16). Thus wisdom as fear of the Lord puts one in a right relationship of trust and love with God and with one's neighbor.

**2. Doctrine of God.** Ben Sira, like his predecessors, has much to say about God. God is one and not many—the basic tenet of Israel's theology; and Ben Sira prays that all nations may come to recognize him as true God (36:1–2, 4–5). God "is from eternity one and the same" (42:21b). "He is the all" (43:27b), or as the Old Latin puts it, "He is in all," i.e., God reveals himself in all his creatures. Thus God is not only transcendent but also immanent in creation.

God is the Creator of all things, including wisdom, as noted above (G.1). He created by uttering his all-powerful word (39:17–18; 42:15; cf. Gen 1:3–24). He knows everything, for he calls into being the deepest mysteries of the cosmos; and he sees all things, even before they come to be (15:18–19; 23:19–20; 39:19–20a; 42:18–20). The amazing order and astounding beauty of the heavens as well as all the ordinary and awesome elements of nature are due to God's wisdom and might (43:1–26). Each creature exists, in God's plan, in harmony and equilibrium with the rest of creation (16:26–30). It is such splendor that prompts Ben Sira to exult in creation and to exclaim:

How beautiful are all his works,
  delightful to gaze upon and a joy to behold! (42:22)

God is merciful not only to the people of Israel but to every people as well (18:13; cf. also 17:29). But God is, above all, righteous; accordingly he punishes the evil of Jews and gentiles alike. The unrepentant sinner can expect only divine wrath (5:5–6; 11:26; 16:6–13; 35:15bc). The faithful, however, because they have a filial relationship with the Lord, may address him confidently as Father and savior (23:1a; 51:10).

**3. Sin and Free Will.** Texts like Exod 11:10, "Yahweh made Pharaoh obstinate, and he would not let the Israelites leave his land," seem to imply that God was responsible for Pharaoh's sin (cf. also 2 Sam 24:1–10), whereas other texts state clearly that humans have free choice to obey or disobey the Law (e.g., Deut 11:26–28; 30:15–20). As regards the question of free will, however, Ben Sira has made significant advances over the earlier biblical books. He states explicitly that God is in no way involved in human sin:

Say not, "It was God's doing that I fell away";
  for what he hates, he does not do.
Say not, "It was he who set me astray";
  for he has no need of the wicked (15:11–12).
It was he, from the first, when he created humankind,
  who made them subject to their own free choice (15:14).
Before each person are life and death;
  whatever he chooses shall be given him (15:17).

See also 15:15–16, 20. Since all humans have freedom of choice in moral decisions, they are responsible both for their good deeds and their sins (cf. Hadot 1970: 91–103).

Elsewhere, however, Ben Sira seems to suggest that God predestines some people for blessing and others for cursing (33:11–13). But Ben Sira stops far short of saying that human sin was caused by God and that predestination negates freedom of choice. The most probable meaning of 33:12cd—"Others [God] curses and brings low, and expels them from their place"—is that God curses some humans because they have already chosen to do evil; they are not wicked because God has cursed them.

With respect to the "historical" origin of sin, Ben Sira follows the traditional teaching:

In a woman was sin's beginning;
  on her account we all die (25:24).

This text was derived from Gen 3:1–6 and 2:16–17 (cf. 2 Cor 11:3; 1 Tim 2:14). In the Genesis story the woman in the Garden of Eden sinned before the man. Later Jewish theology, however, generally taught that Adam was the real cause of sin and death (Box and Oesterly *APOT* 1: 402). Paul says the same thing in Rom 5:12, 14–19; 1 Cor 15:22; cf. Wis 2:23–24.

Though Ben Sira does not present a systematic discussion of sin and free will, we may conclude from the texts given above and others such as 4:26; 7:1–3, 8, 12–13; 8:5; 21:1–2; 23:18–20; and 27:8 that he held to the reality of sin, on the one hand, and on the other, that humans have the freedom of choice to be good or bad.

**4. Retribution.** Ben Sira subscribed to the traditional doctrine of retribution (as spelled out, e.g., in Deuteronomy 28) according to which reward for fidelity to the Law and punishment for infidelity were meted out in this life to each individual. There was thought to be no retribution in the afterlife. Adversity and suffering could serve, however, also as a test of fidelity (cf. Judg 2:22–3:6). After death, saint and sinner alike went to Sheol (the netherworld) from which the dead would not rise again (cf. Job 14:12). Hence Sheol cannot be considered a place of retribution. Its inhabitants were said to share alike a dark, dismal, and dull survival separated from God (Di Lella 1966a: 143–46).

Ben Sira states repeatedly that reward for virtue and punishment for vice take place only in the here and now:

Opt not for the success of pride;
remember it will not reach death unpunished (9:12).
Give, take, and treat yourself well,
for in the netherworld there are no joys to seek (14:16).

Humans must, therefore, seek their complete meaning and fulfillment only in the present life; there is nothing else to hope for. Survival in Sheol is gloomy and pointless:

Who in the netherworld can glorify the Most High
in place of the living who offer their praise?
No more can the dead give praise than those who have never lived;
they glorify the Lord who are alive and well (17:27–28).

For the Jew, there was no life worth living without the worship and praise of the Lord.

Suffering may come to the faithful as a test of their loyalty or as a means of purification:

My son, when you come to serve the Lord,
prepare yourself for testing (2:1).
For in fire gold is tested,
and those God favors, in the crucible of humiliation (2:5).

In the long run, however, the upright will enjoy long life (1:12), good health (1:18), a good marriage (26:3), happiness (26:4), joy in their children (25:7c), and a good and lasting name (37:26; 39:11). Being a keen observer of real life, Ben Sira was, however, painfully aware of the anomalies involved in this theory of retribution: often enough good people did die young and in agony, and bad people did prosper till the end of their lives. But, writes Ben Sira, disaster awaits the sinner though it be delayed till the last hours of life:

It is easy for the Lord on the day of death
to repay a person according to his conduct.
Brief affliction brings forgetfulness of past delights;
the last of a person tells his tale (11:26, 27).

After death, a person lives on in his children and in his good, or bad, name. A virtuous parent can approach death with calm assurance:

At the father's death, he will not seem dead,
since he leaves after him one like himself (30:4).

But the wicked parent faces a grim future, for he will receive only reviling from his children:

Children curse their wicked father,
for they are in disgrace because of him.
When you stumble, there is lasting joy;
and when you die, you become a curse (41:7, 9cd).

A good reputation or name also insures one a form of survival after death:

Have respect for your name, for it will stand by you

more than thousands of precious treasures;
The good things of life last a number of days,
but a good name, for days without number (41:12–13).

The original Hebrew text of Ben Sira does not even mention the possibility of rewards or punishments after death. But the grandson's Greek translation does make definite allusions to retribution in the afterlife; see, e.g., Gk 7:17b and 48:11b. This fact is not unexpected, for the grandson made his translation of GI (see D.2 above) in Alexandria after the publication of the book of Daniel, in which a blissful resurrection is promised to the faithful (Dan 12:1–2a), whereas apostate Jews "will become everlasting objects of contempt and abhorrence" (Dan 12:2b, AB). GII has even more references to retribution in the hereafter; see, e.g., 2:9c; 16:22c; 19:19. The Syriac also has explicit references to life beyond the grave (cf. 1:12b, 20; 3:11b) as does OL, a Christian translation (cf., e.g., the glosses after 18:22b and 24:22b). Cf. Skehan and Di Lella (*Sira* AB, 86–87).

**5. Ritual, Social Justice, and Morality.** Ben Sira has a high regard for the priesthood and temple worship (cf. 7:29–31). He delights in describing Aaron decked out in his liturgical vestments performing his priestly functions (45:6–22). The glowing panegyric of the High Priest Simeon II (50:1–21) officiating at the ceremonies of the Daily Whole-Offerings suggests that Ben Sira attended the temple rituals with some regularity. He praises David for his constant prayer (47:8a) and for making music a major part of the temple ritual (47:9–10).

But prayer, temple sacrifice, and liturgy are utterly worthless if one's personal morals are not what they should be, especially in the area of social justice:

Tainted his gift who offers in sacrifice ill-gotten goods!
Presents from the lawless do not win God's favor.
The Most High approves not the gifts of the godless,
nor for their many sacrifices does he forgive their sins (34:21–23).

The Law is essentially a moral law, for which there are no substitutes. Like the great prophets (Amos 5:21–25; Isa 1:10–20), Ben Sira states categorically that sacrifice itself is an abomination when offered by one who has trampled on the rights of the poor:

Like one slaying a son in his father's presence
is whoever offers sacrifice from the holdings of the poor.
The bread of charity is life itself for the needy;
whoever withholds it is a person of blood.
He slays his neighbor who deprives him of his living;
he sheds blood who denies the workingman his wages (34:24–27).

In contrast, observance of the moral law is the highest form of sacrifice and worship of God:

To keep the Law is a great oblation,
and whoever observes the commandments sacrifices a peace offering.
In works of charity one offers fine flour,
and when he gives alms he presents his sacrifice of praise.
To refrain from evil pleases the Lord,
and to avoid injustice is an atonement (35:1–5).

Although the offering of sacrifice is enjoined by the Law, only "the just person's sacrifice is welcomed" (35:9a). The Lord refuses the oblations and contributions of those who are guilty of injustice (35:14–15). Ben Sira teaches that concern for social justice is the absolutely indispensable precondition for one who wishes to please the Lord in the temple cult. In Ben Sira's theology, concern for social justice is far more significant and central to authentic religion than any prescribed ritual, no matter how colorful, inspiring, and emotionally satisfying it may be (Snaith *Ecclesiaticus* CBC).

Thus personal morality must take precedence over all else; without it religious practices, even the most sublime, become exercises in hypocrisy. Ben Sira's principal moral concerns are social justice and almsgiving.

Give a hearing to the poor,

and return his greeting with deference.
Deliver the oppressed from his oppressors;
let not right judgment be repugnant to you.
To the fatherless be as a father,
help the widows in their husbands' stead;
Then God will call you a son of his,
and he will be more tender to you than a mother (4:8–10).

Teaching of this kind Ben Sira learned from biblical tradition: e.g., Exod 22:22; Deut 24:17–22; Lev 19:9–10; Job 29:11–16; Prov 14:13; Amos 5:10–15. Ben Sira insists that the poor must be treated kindly and generously for this very good reason:

As water quenches flaming fire,
so alms atones for sins (3:30; cf. Prov 10:12; 1 Pet 4:8).

In caring for the needy and the oppressed, you must never delay or behave in a patronizing way, for such conduct is insulting and may anger them, and they may hurl at you a curse that their Maker will hear (4:2–6; cf. also 7:10b; 29:8–13; 35:3–4).

**6. Attitude toward Women.** Contemporary Western readers will be repelled by much of what Ben Sira has to say about women. See these texts that deal with woman as wife, mother, daughter, adulteress, or prostitute: 3:2–6; 7:19, 24–26; 9:1–9; 19:2–4; 22:3–5; 23:22–26; 25:1, 8, 13–26:18; 28:15; 33:20; 36:26–31; 40:19; 23; 42:6, 9–14. At the outset, it must be noted that Ben Sira was a typical oriental Jewish male who wrote his book in a patriarchal society and culture in which a woman had few rights as a free and sovereign human being and was subject in almost every aspect of her life to either her father or her husband. In most of the OT, woman was regarded as man's chattel, whom he could dispose of for his personal advantage (cf. Gen 12:12–20; 19:8; Judg 19:24–30). In Exod 20:17, one form of the conclusion of the Decalogue, the wife is listed with a man's property. It was legal, hence moral, for a man to sell his daughter as a slave, and she could not be freed (Exod 21:7), as could a male slave, at the end of six years' service (Exod 21:1–2). This was the religiously validated social order Ben Sira lived in. Thus we could hardly expect that he would write about women in a way that would appeal to us in a Western social order in which, for the most part, women are socially and politically equal with men, at least in law if not in fact.

Ben Sira was not motivated by a personal, negative bias against women, as W. C. Trenchard (1982) attempts to prove. Rather he simply reflects the typical male-oriented mind-set and outlook of his time and culture. This fact, however, does not mitigate his intemperate comments that are often chauvinistic (e.g., 25:13–26) or even downright gross (e.g., 42:14a); such remarks are to be deplored. But it must be remembered that in the patriarchal society in which Ben Sira lived and taught, such remarks would not have occasioned any serious criticism or rebuttal, for women were viewed only in their sociologically legitimated roles, i.e., in their various relationships to the significant men in their lives, and never as autonomous human beings or the equals of men. Moreover, Ben Sira wrote his book only for the instruction of young men in a male-dominated society; hence his vocabulary and grammar are masculine-oriented. Like the other biblical wisdom writers before him, he simply had no intention of instructing young women. When we take such factors into account, we can see why Ben Sira wrote about women the way he did. But that does not make his distressing and often cynical, even caustic, comments about women any more acceptable for us today. See Bailey (1972) and McKeating (1973–74).

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**WISDOM, BOOK OF.** See SOLOMON, WISDOM OF.

**WISE MEN.** See INFANCY NARRATIVES IN THE NT GOSPELS.

**WITCHCRAFT.** See MAGIC (OT).

**WITHERED HAND.** See SICKNESS AND DISEASE.

**WITNESS, ALTAR OF** (PLACE) [Heb *lammizbēaḥ kî ʿēd hû*ʾ (לַמִּזְבֵּחַ כִּי עֵד הוּא)]. An altar the Transjordan tribes erected to show that they also worshiped the Lord and were part of his people (Josh 22:34). The KJV simply transliterates the name of the altar calling it "Ed." The best Hebrew mss do not give the name of the altar. Many reasons have been advanced for this: the name may have been considered too holy to mention, too scandalous, or it could have been dropped through a copyist's error. Most later mss and versions supply "witness" as the name of the altar, compare the LXX *(martyrion),* Syriac, and Targums. The name was probably inferred from the context (Josh 22:27–34) or perhaps influenced by Isa 19:19–20. Rashi also said to supply "witness" as the name of the altar.

Soggin (*Joshua* OTL, 213) suggested that the altar may have been more than an altar; it could have been a defensive structure to help control access to Gilgal. He further suggested that the name "witness" may conceal an original "pact or alliance" between the tribes on either side of the Jordan.

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**WIZARD.** See MAGIC (OT).

**WOE.** An interjection denoting pain, discomfort, and unhappiness. It is a distinctive form of prophetic speech, and is found both in the OT and in the NT.

**A. OT "Woe" Oracles**

**1. Forms and Usage.** This distinctive form of prophetic speech is often found accompanying an accusation or threat which immediately preceded an announcement of judgment. The particle *hôy* occurs approximately 50 times in the OT. It is closely related to the less frequently occurring *ʾôy,* as well as the particle *hāh.* All three particles are onomatopoeic in origin, expressing a sharp outburst of feeling, sometimes of anger, sometimes of grief, and sometimes of alarm. In its most striking occurrences in prophecy *hôy* is followed by a descriptive definition, frequently couched in participial form, of the persons and activities against which this feeling is directed. It is characteristic, therefore, that the woe cry should be used in an impersonal formulation expressing intense anger and directed against certain types of activity which are strongly disapproved of: "Woe to those who do …" We may cite Isa 5:8 as a typical example of the prophetic use of the formula:

Woe to those who join house to house,
who combine field with field,
until no more room is left,
and you are left, dwelling alone in the midst of the land.

The judgment that is merited by such anger, which is expressed prophetically as conveyed by the mouth of God, is then set out in the pronouncement which follows (v 9 see also Mic 2:1–3).

Accepting this to be the fullest and most typical form of the prophetic woe oracle, we can note the following features. It is an intense outburst of invective directed against wrongdoers, conveying a note of threat, which is then more fully spelled out in the pronouncement that follows.

Problems have arisen in connection with the woe oracles because this full form is not adhered to in any uniform way. Attempts to draw all the main occurrences under a single heading have proved difficult to maintain. Similarly most modern English translations have found it impossible to establish any uniform

English equivalent; the use of "Woe to …" has sometimes appeared archaic, with a consequent concern to avoid using it as far as possible (so NEB), and there is disagreement whether *hôy* and *ʾôy* should be regarded as identical in significance (Wanke 1966). Most of all, however, uncertainty has arisen over whether the prophetic usage is to be connected with the use of the *hôy* cry in a funerary lamentation (Janzen 1972: 3–39).

The prophetic usage of the *hôy* cry as a threat appears in three major clusters: Isa 5:8, 11, 18, 20, 21, 22; 10:1; Amos 5:18; 6:1, 4; and Hab 2:9, 12, 15, 19. In the book of Isaiah there are other instances of the *hôy* cry evidencing a somewhat different usage and significance (Isa 1:4; 10:5; 17:12; 18:1). The LXX usually translates with *ouai*, but occasionally varies this by using *ō*. Janzen (1972: 18) comments that "Biblical *ouai* does not occur outside of the LXX and the New Testament." Ugaritic includes the interjection *y* and *ya* which appear to be closely related to the Hebrew *hôy* (cf. also Akkadian *uʿa*). Both in Ugaritic and Akkadian the cry is followed by a vocative, as it is in the biblical funerary lament (e.g., Jer 22:13–15).

**2. Origin and Development of the Woe Oracle.** Initial attempts to understand the form and significance of the prophetic woe oracles proceeded on the assumption that they were adaptations from the cultic curse formula (Westermann 1960: 137; Deut 27:15). This would carry the conclusion that the woe oracle was simply a by-form of the curse, or had been consciously modified by prophets from the more commonly occurring curse formula.

Such curse-formulae, however, show some points of contact with didactic conventions, indicating that "Cursed is the man who …" could have been used in a weakened fashion as a means of expressing disapproval of certain types of conduct. From this it is then possible to explain the widespread use in didactic contexts of the benediction formula (*ʾašĕrê* … ), which in several respects represents a close formal parallel to usage of the woe cry. Although the sense is opposite there would then be a simple contrast: "Woe is he who …./Blessed is he who …" If this were the case, it would strengthen the claim that the woe-cry originated as an educational device delineating reprehensible forms of conduct (Gerstenberger 1962: 249–263; Wolff 1964: 12–23).

A very different line of explanation for the origin and development of the prophetic woe oracle has also been proposed and has received a considerable measure of support and attention. In this theory the prophetic *hôy* formula is regarded as a development and adaptation from the use of the identical cry *(hôy)* in funerary lamentation, such as Jer 22:18 (Clifford 1962: 458–64; Janzen 1972: 40–80). The use of the woe oracle would then contain an indirect allusion to funerary usage, clearly intended by the prophet, suggesting the fatal consequences of the actions condemned (Vermeylen 1978). There are, however, two major problems. The first of these concerns the syntactical point that, in the funerary usage, the cry is followed by the vocative, whereas in the prophetic invective it is followed by an impersonal third-person formulation. This feature is regarded as a major objection by Kraus (1973: 15–46), but is much alleviated by several observations concerning usage in cognate languages by Hillers (1983: 185–88). The second, and potentially more fundamental, problem is that in the funerary lament the *hôy* cry expresses grief, whereas in the prophetic invective it clearly expresses intense anger. How has one emotion been transformed into the other? A solution to this question is put forward by Janzen in suggesting that the emotion of grief passed over into a desire for vengeance against the cause, whether human or supernatural, which had occasioned death. Consequently, from this desire for vengeance there arose an expression of intense anger (Janzen 1972: 27–39). It has to be noted that this requires a rather speculative and difficult emotional transition in order to connect the prophetic use of *hôy* with that of funerary lamentation. It is possible, however, that nothing more was intended by the prophetic usage than to suggest, even perhaps vaguely, a funerary situation. On the other hand, it may be noted that the use of *hôy* in prophetic contexts to convey grief and commiseration (Isa 1:4; 17:12 etc.) would serve to strengthen the belief that the cry of lamentation and the cry of anger were originally separate. The use of a very simple onomatopoeic particle to express both emotions has given rise to the notion that the one originated from the other. In reality the two originally separate cries have come to be associated with each other.

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**B. "Woe" in the NT**

At the start of an oral statement, the Gk *ouai*, "woe," denotes pain, discomfort, or unhappiness. It is then followed by an indication of the person/thing (in the dative, nominative, or accusative case) to whom the unpleasant reality relates. Woes are found in biblical and extra-biblical literature, including intertestamental and rabbinic texts. Thirty-seven woes are found in the NT, especially in the gospels of Matthew (13 woes) and Luke (15 woes).

With the exception of Matt 18:7 (the world), Luke 10:13 (Chorazin and Bethsaida = Matt 11:21), and Rev 18:10, 16, 19 (Babylon), the NT woes are directed to persons or groups of persons. Paul's hapax use of a woe (1 Cor 9:16) is the only NT woe that is directed to the speaker/writer himself.

**1. Revelation.** The use of "woe" in the book of Revelation—none are found in the other books of the Johannine corpus—is also unique. Revelation contains the only NT woes where the initial interjection is doubled for emphasis' sake (Rev 18:10, 16, 19; and 8:13, where *ouai* is trebled), a rhetorical device also attested outside the bible.

*Ouai* is used as a noun only in Revelation (four times, twice each in Rev 9:12 and 11:14). In each instance the noun *ouai* is qualified by an ordinal. The first woe is described in Rev 8:12–9:12, a series of plagues on the inhabitants of the earth, introduced by a blast of the fifth angel's trumpet. The second woe is described in Rev 9:13–21 where, at the sound of the sixth angel's trumpet, three additional plagues are let loose upon humankind. The third woe is yet to come, but, according to the apocalyptic vision of the seer, it is to come soon (Rev 11:14). These enumerated woes are introduced by an announcement from a screeching eagle, "woe, woe, woe to those who dwell on the earth" (Rev 8:13). The triple *ouai* may not only be a case of repetition for emphasis' sake; it may also serve as an announcement that three woes are to follow.

**2. Synoptics.** The majority of the woes found in the Synoptics derive from the Q source (Luke 10:13; 11:42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 52; 17:1 [with their parallels in Matthew]; Matt 18:25 [= Luke 11:39]; and possibly Luke 6:24–26). They are found principally in three major collections: the seven woes of Matt 23:13–33, the four woes of Luke 6:24–26, and the six woes of Luke 1:42–52.

The presence of isolated woes such as Luke 10:13 and 17:1 (from Q) and 21:23 and 22:22 (from the triple tradition) indicate that the woes were originally uttered as independent sayings. As is the case with the beatitudes, their collection is a literary phenomenon. It is quite likely that Jesus made use of woes in his speech—as a kind of negative prophetic oracle—but the actual formulation of the woes in the Synoptic Gospels as well as their literary context generally reflects the editorial hand of the respective evangelists.

The two Markan woes (Mark 13:17; 14:21; par.) are eschatological sayings. The seven woes of Matt 23:13–33 are derived from Q (cf. Luke 11:42–52), but the designation of those to whom the woes are addressed, "scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites," in all seven woes is clearly an element of Matthean redaction and reflects the situation of his community, trying to define its existence with respect to Pharisaic Judaism. In the Textus Receptus there is an eighth woe in the collection (Matt 23:14), but this is not found in the older majuscules and seems to have been a scribal formulation under the influence of Luke 20:47.

Except for the four woes appended to the beatitudes (Luke 6:21–26), all of the woes in Luke have a parallel in Matthew. The woes of Luke 6:24–26 accentuate Luke's social interpretation of the beatitudes. They appear to have been formulated by Luke on the basis of extant Q material (not, however, in the form of woes). The presence of these four woes in Luke's Sermon on the Plain is consistent with some antithetical formulations in the tradition of the sermon. Ecclesiastes 10:16–17 provides a biblical precedent for the juxtaposition of a beatitude and a woe. In terms of content, these woes are consistent with some prophetic elements in the Jesus tradition (cf. Luke 11:37–44). Their Lukan formulation is congenial with Luke's own views on the poor and the marginalized.

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**WOLF.** See ZOOLOGY.

**WOMEN.** This entry consists of three articles that survey aspects of women's lives and social status in the world of the Bible. The first focuses on women in Mesopotamia, the second on women in the OT, and the third on women in the NT.

## *MESOPOTAMIA*

Information on the lives of Mesopotamian women is available in a rich, though uneven, assortment of sources: excavated artifacts, works of art (reliefs, sculptures, seals), literary texts (love poetry, epics, wisdom literature), and contemporary documents (administrative, legal, and epistolary texts). The last have been the focus of most Assyriological study regarding women, especially the many law codes which devote much space to marriage and divorce (Driver and Miles 1955).

Despite the views of some to the contrary (e.g. Kramer 1976), Mesopotamian civilization, consisting of Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian traditions, was throughout its long history patriarchal in structure orientation. The greater prominence of female and mother goddesses in the very early period, the proliferation of female figurines, and even the possible existence of female polyandry do not constitute evidence of matriarchal rule. Socioeconomic and political changes, so characteristic of Mesopotamian history, were the significant factors that must have impinged upon and affected the status of women. But study of these in relation to women's lives is still in its infancy. Furthermore, the accidental nature of textual and archaeological finds should not be overlooked as it so frequently skews the evidence.

The Mesopotamian woman was, with few exceptions, defined either as the daughter of her father or as the wife of her husband. Women rarely acted as individuals outside the context of their families; those who did were members of royal and elite families. The quality of the lives of ordinary women can be guessed at with some accuracy. Especially revealing for this are the administrative texts found throughout Mesopotamian history.

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A. Marriage, Divorce, Widowhood
B. Economic Role
C. Cultic Roles
D. Royal Women
E. Images of Women

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### A. Marriage, Divorce, Widowhood

The laws of Mesopotamia, which may or may not represent the actual legal realities, nevertheless mirror ideal rules to govern spheres of prime concern to women (and men): marriage, divorce, and inheritance.

Because these have been the subject of much writing by generations of Assyriologists, they are here treated summarily.

From a Sumerian proverb it would appear that child marriages were frowned upon ("I will not marry a wife who is only three years [old] as an ass [does]"). Girls, and possibly boys too, were expected to marry not long after reaching puberty. Elopement was not regarded favorably. The permission of parents was necessary for marriage to be recognized. Betrothal arrangements were made by fathers (at times along with the mother). If the father was dead, the mother alone or the oldest brother would initiate the proceedings. It can be assumed that the girl's consent was not unsolicited. Except in dynastic marriages arranged to cement political alliances (see D below), love may often have played a role in the match. For although there was a double standard in Mesopotamia it was assumed and expected that love and sexuality would be confined to the conjugal relationship, that the husband would not seek out slave girls and prostitutes for sexual gratification.

Marriage, with some differences depending on time and place, was formalized by the exchange of gifts between the two families. The bride was usually given a dowry (described variously as *šeriktu, širku, nudunnu*) by her father. This was of supreme importance to the girl for should her husband divorce her, she took this back with her. Otherwise, at her death it belonged to her heirs. The father of the bride in return received a bridal gift from the groom or the groom's father *(terḫatu, zubullu, biblu).* On occasion a husband might, if he wished, provide his wife with a gift *(nudunnû)* to insure her support after his death. Rites of passage, such as anointing, making the transition of the bride from unmarried to married status, are attested mainly in early Sumer and late Assyria. Bathing and libations might also have such significance in Babylonia (Greengus 1966). Veiling the bride is mentioned in Assyrian laws.

By and large, except among royalty, monogamy was the rule. However, in certain cases, such as sterility or disease, a man might take a concubine as a secondary wife to bear children. The primary wife's superordinate position might then be spelled out in a contract. Exceptional are the examples in the Old Assyrian period of traders who have a native wife in Assyria and a foreign wife abroad.

Marriage and divorce contracts, relatively common in the earlier period, become rarer in time. It is difficult to say whether this is accidental or reflects a deterioration in women's position. Virginity, which may well have been an expectation at all times, is explicitly referred to in later marriage contracts.

Mothers, like fathers, were to be treated respectfully, the son accused of filial impiety to mother or father was to be punished. Children, daughters included, were expected to make funerary offerings to deceased parents. Childbirth and menstruation made for impurity which was removed by bathing.

Divorce was probably never a common occurrence. If a man divorced a woman without a legitimate reason once she had had children, he would have to forfeit all his property, at least in certain periods. Prior to the birth of offspring, he might have to pay her a limited sum in compensation. Only in the Old Babylonian period does it seem that a woman might have the right to divorce her husband if he ill-treated her, a situation which she would have to prove before witnesses.

Adultery was of course a most serious charge and grounds for divorcing one's wife. It should be noted that adultery was always defined in terms of extramarital relations on the part of the wife, never of the man. In Assyria punishment of the adulteress lay with the husband. He, and not a legal body, meted out punishment to his wife and her lover, or to her lover only if he had been aware of the woman's marital status.

The love poetry of Mesopotamia speaks only of the love between men and women and the sexual pleasure of both sexes. Women shared with men similar symptoms when they were "lovesick" *(muruṣ râmi).* There was no body/soul dichotomy and no formula as there was for the Greeks, that body/nature/woman ranked below soul/culture/man. Sexuality was enjoyed by both sexes. Male sexual dysfunctions of impotency and premature ejaculation were recognized, as evidenced by the ŠA.ZI.GA incantations recited to cure these problems.

The powerlessness of solitary women was taken into consideration by the laws. A woman deserted by her husband might usually after five years legally remarry. Under certain conditions, cohabitation with a widow was considered a common-law marriage. Sons were responsible for maintaining widowed

mothers, for arranging marriages for sisters when parents were dead, and for providing dowries for sisters who were not provided for in their father's will. Women without living male family members or possessions had few avenues for survival: slavery or prostitution. However, perhaps at most times, the two great economic centers of Mesopotamia, the temple and the palace, served as welfare institutions providing food and shelter to homeless women (and children), who thereby became part of their huge work forces.

The vulnerability and plight of widows (and orphans) are proverbial in the literature of the ANE. Nevertheless, widowhood for the well-to-do might offer the only opportunity for true independence. Even in Assyria, notorious, perhaps fallaciously so, for its mistreatment of women, the widow *(almattu),* without a male guardian, without father-in-law or sons, was given the right to "go wherever she pleases" (Saporetti 1979). There is even the rare occurrence of a widow having the primary right of inheritance of her husband's estate, even to the exclusion of her children.

**B. Economic Role**

Ordinarily the wife was expected to take care of her family and home. Most women, unless there were household slaves, spent their time at the traditional feminine tasks: grinding grain and baking bread (various millstones might be part of the dowry), spinning and weaving clothes for the family, cleaning, etc.

Women of independent means, though always few in number, are found at all times purchasing and selling real estate and slaves, hiring and renting out slaves and houses. In certain periods women owned general stores and taverns. In the Old Babylonian period the woman tavernkeeper *(sabītu)* was an important moneylender to her clientele. Special mention should be made of the wives of the Old Assyrian traders, some of whom managed a kind of textile cottage industry, hiring transporters to deliver their goods. The remarkable instance of a Nuzi mother, apparently head of her family, who was involved in more than thirty land purchases should be noted (Grosz 1983: 203). But these are special and limited examples of women's high economic position.

Large numbers of women of the lower social classes were employed in temple and palace workshops. Some were free, many slaves. Here too they worked in traditional feminine occupations, in the kitchen as cooks, pastry makers, and menials; in the textile industry as spinners and weavers. Usually all were under the supervision of men. Free women might have brought their children with them. Women of the poorer classes must have helped their husbands in whatever occupation they were in, for there was no sequestering of women. Women might also have worked in various agricultural jobs in palace and temple fields and with animals.

Women are well attested as midwives *(šabsūtu)* and wetnurses *(mušēniqtu).* For the well-to-do and royal households there were nurses *(tārītu)* to feed and care for children once they were weaned (traditionally at the age of three).

Rarely do women appear who belong to professions outside those related to cultic functions (see D below). But there were women sufficiently educated to serve as scribes in the Sumerian and Old Babylonian periods and even, rarely, as physicians. Here mention should be made of the literary works of Enheduanna and of the LUKUR women of the Ur III period. Women trained as musicians, singers, and dancers were part of the palace staff as well as that of the temples.

**C. Cultic Roles**

From the very earliest periods women appear in visual and written sources as participants in the cult. The priestess of the highest rank was the NIN.DINGIR; below her the LUKUR and NU.GIG. The last two may have been involved with sacred prostitution (Renger 1964). Priestesses are shown in reliefs and seals participating in rituals connected with the building of temples and attending banquets associated with religious fesitivals (Asher-Greve 1985). One of the major functions of the NIN.DINGIR priestess was to represent the goddess Inanna in the sacred marriage ceremonies.

From earliest times, women, presumably of high rank, dedicated votive offerings to the gods and left statues of themselves in prayerful stance in the temples as signs of their piety.

Especially in the Sumerian period, the wives and daughters of rulers represented the ruling families in temple ceremonies. In Lagash the queen traveled to temples and shrines in different cities of the kingdom to participate in festivals and give offerings.

A high point in the institution of NIN.DINGIR (Akk *entu*) is reached under Sargon, the founder of the Semitic Old Akkadian dynasty, with his appointment of his daughter, Enheduanna, as the high priestess of the Moon God at Ur. Hallo (1976) has suggested that he did this so as not to offend Sumerian sensibilities, as would have happened had he "arrogated both the political and cultic titles of the great Southern cities." Enheduanna, unquestionably one of the outstanding women in Mesopotamian history, authored several original works which served as models for later writings. For the next 500 years a succession of thirteen princesses was appointed to this position, holding office for an average of 35 to 40 years, a lifespan which probably points to their celibacy. These women, apart from cultic and literary functions, probably also specialized in dream interpretation.

The Old Babylonian period was characterized by a variety of special classes of women. Most prominent and richly documented is the institution of the *nadītus,* who were unmarried virgins. The *nadītu* of Marduk of Babylon might marry but was prohibited from bearing children, and so might provide her husband with a second wife. According to Stone (1982), the *nadītu* of Nippur, "daughter of tribal leaders, constrained by endogamy and rank, often had difficulties finding a suitable spouse." Harris (1964) stresses the concern of well-to-do families "to maintain the integrity of the paternal estate."

In Sippar, the *nadītu* of the god Samaš participated in a ceremony of the god's festival at which time "the rope of Shamash" was placed on her arm, thus marking her change in status to daughter-in-law or bride of the god. At times a *nadītu* might assume a religious name, signifying special devotion to the god or his consort Aja. The letters of *nadītus* abound in pious phrases, and they and other texts allude to their participation in religious ceremonies and the efficacy of their prayers on behalf of family members. Once a year, the living *nadītus* remembered the childless dead, thus assuming the filial obligation of living progeny. Most striking are the hundreds of legal and epistolary texts from Sippar which attest to the central importance of the *nadītu* to the economic life of the city for a major part of this period. In Nippur their business activities were not of such significance.

Also remarkable was the full share of the inheritance, equivalent to that of a male, assigned to the *nadītu* in the Laws of Hammurapi. The "ring money" usually given to them by their fathers was theirs to dispose of as they wished. And since many had to provide for themselves when they grew old, they adopted younger *nadītus,* sometimes relatives, to support them.

There are far fewer references to women characterized as *ugbabtu, kulmašītu, ištarītu,* and *qadištu.* The *ugbabtu* apparently was also not to marry and had to be sequestered in the cloister. The others were not confined and might marry and bear children. The religious functions of these women are unclear, although they were devoted to various gods and goddesses. The *qadištu* is known to have functioned as a wet nurse, and from Sumerian texts seems to have played a role in childbirth. The question as to whether any of them were involved in sacred prostitution cannot be answered at this time. See PROSTITUTION. Interestingly, in the late incantation series *Maqlu,* these women of special status are associated with witchcraft and elsewhere with prostitution. In the patriarchal society of Mesopotamia, groups of women living outside the conventional norms were anomalies and therefore suspect.

Note should be made of those women who at various times functioned as dream interpreters *(šāiltu).* They are attested throughout Mesopotamian history, but they functioned outside and below the arena of official temple religious life. Marginal too are the prophetesses, ecstatics who appear sporadically in the texts. Best known are the professional and lay prophetesses of Mari, the former attached to specific deities and temples, the latter coming from all walks of life. They are described by various terms: *āpiltu, muhhūtu, qabbātu* (Batto 1974). There are even occasional references to female diviners *(bārītu).* But only in Mari may they have enjoyed equal status with their male counterparts. See also PROPHECY (ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN PROPHECY).

**D. Royal Women**

Queens and princesses deserve special mention, for some of them because of their high position, and others perhaps because of exceptional personal qualities, acted more independently than other women of Mesopotamia. Here again the name of Enheduanna should be noted, and the institution of *entu* priestesses.

The names of queens and princesses, especially from Lagash, are known, and their active participation in temple administration and festivals is specified. They are represented on reliefs and inlays. Queens sat beside husbands in banquet scenes, equal in status, it would seem. The well known tomb of Queen Pu-abi of Ur of Early Dynastic times with her luxurious personal possessions and accompanying staff of 74 people give evidence of her rank and wealth. With the growth of city states, women formed "an important link in legitimating the succession" (Hallo 1976). Princesses continued to be used as instruments to cement political alliances throughout Mesopotamian history. And as is so apparent from the Mari archives, royal women had little to say about these arrangements.

Ku-bau, the one woman who became queen of Kish in her own right in Early Dynastic times, was viewed as an anomaly. A late omen text associated her rule with a hermaphroditic birth.

The archives of Karana and Mari are exceptional in giving information not only about the activities of their queens but in providing rare glimpses into the individuality and personal lives of these women (Dalley 1984). Shibtu, queen of Mari and wife of Zimri-Lim, may have given birth to eleven daughters (some perhaps were born to concubines). She was an unusual woman, well informed about various matters of state and cult. When her husband was away she managed palace personnel and distribution of food supplies. She wrote to male officials and spoke with them directly. Shibtu's concern for her husband's health and welfare is revealed over and over again in her letters.

The correspondence of Iltani, queen of Karana, also shows her to have been a person of high administrative skills. She managed the palace enterprises, especially of textile and food production, and even received appeals against injustice, taking the usual role of the king. Hers was a far less pleasant and assured personality than was Shibtu's.

Less direct, though probably no less influential, were the positions of certain queen mothers. The inscription of the Babylonian Sammuramat, wife of the Assyrian Shamshi-Adad V and mother of Adad-Nirari III, appears on a stela, a rare occurrence for a woman. She may have been responsible for the increase in the popularity of the Babylonian god Nabu in Assyrian royal circles.

Another Babylonian married to an Assyrian king, Zakutu (Aram "Naqia"), wife of Sennacherib, may have played a crucial role in the harem plot that led to her husband's death and the ascent to the throne of her son Esarhaddon.

Finally there was the incredibly long lived (104 years) mother of Nabonidus, a devotee of the god Sin, of Harran in Syria, who was probably an important religious influence on her son, an influence that led to his exceptional devotion to Sin and to his attempt to reinstitute the long dead institution of *entu* priestesses of the Moon God. His special devotion to Sin resulted in the bitter hostility of the Marduk priesthood, who welcomed his downfall at the hands of Cyrus. See also QUEEN.

**E. Images of Women**

The literary texts of Mesopotamia are a still underutilized source for learning about male attitudes toward women. Here one finds evidence of the high value placed on the nuclear family and on the hoped-for reciprocity between husband and wife, as well as the expected ambivalence of male toward female (the last especially in the Wisdom Literature).

The Gilgamesh Epic, for example, displays images of women, even of such an outsider as the prostitute, as nurturing, caring, and encouraging. Women were regarded positively when they gave advice and supported men in achieving their goals. Only Ištar, who acts like a man by proposing marriage, wanting to bestow gifts, and making threats, is rejected. Her behavior was unacceptable for a female.

A popular Sumerian text, translated by the ancients into Akkadian and Hittite and purporting to be a message sent by a loving son to his mother, portrays the ideal Mesopotamian woman as "beautiful, radiant, productive, gracious, joyous, sweet-smelling" (Kramer 1976), and, it might be added, as one always concerned with husband and children.

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RIVKAH HARRIS


## *OLD TESTAMENT*

The common Hebrew term for "woman" is *ʾiššâ* (constr. *ʾēšet*), which may also be translated "wife" (the corresponding masculine term, *ʾîš* "man," is used analogously for "husband," along with *baʿal* "master," "lord"). Women characterized by particular attributes are designated by descriptive nouns, adjectives or participles, used either alone or as a qualifier to *ʾiššâ:* e.g., *(ʾiššâ) zônâ* "prostitute," *hôrâ* "pregnant woman," *ʾiššâ ḥăkāmâ* "wise woman," *(ʾiššâ) zārâ* "strange/foreign woman," *zĕqēnôt* "old women," *mĕyallĕdôt* "midwives" (lit. "birthing women"). Other nouns describing women of particular age, state or position, include *bat* "daughter"; *kallâ* "daughter-in-law," "bride": *ʾāḥôt* "sister"; *ʾēm* "mother"; *bĕtûlâ* "young woman," "virgin"; *ʿalmâ* "young woman"; *naʿarâ* "young woman," "girl"; *ʾāmâ* and *šipḥâ* "female servant or slave"; *malkâ* "queen"; *gĕbîrâ* "lady," "queen mother." The term for the female of human as well as animal species is *nĕqēbâ* (typically paired with *zākār* "male," as in Gen 1:27).

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A. Introduction: Methodological Considerations
B. The Israelite Family
C. Primary Roles and Images
    1. Wife and Mother
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### A. Introduction: Methodological Considerations

In the Hebrew Bible women appear for the most part as minor or subordinate figures; yet they play an essential role in the record of Israel's faith and include some of the best remembered actors in the biblical story. The names of Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel, Miriam, Deborah, and Ruth are indispensible to the rehearsal of that story, as are Jezebel, Esther, and Eve. Behind these, however, stand thousands of

unnamed, and unnoted, women who have engaged the attention of recent biblical scholarship. Through new literary and sociological analyses attempts are being made to reconstruct Israel's history and reinterpret its literature with an aim to restoring a glimpse of the missing women and reassessing the surviving portraits.

Key to understanding the roles, images, and limited appearances of women in the OT literature is the patrilineal and patriarchal organization of Israelite society and its family-centered economy. Although the patriarchal character of the society has long been recognized, recent scholarship (summarized in Meyers 1988: 3–46) has given new insight into the economic, social and psychological dimensions of gender relations in patriarchal societies and, more specifically, into women's lives in premodern agrarian and pastoral societies, bringing a new comparative perspective to the biblical data.

The OT is the product of a patriarchal world, and more specifically, of a literate, urban elite of male religious specialists. Whatever the ultimate origin of its traditions in family worship, clan wisdom, popular tales, or the songs of women, the present form of the Hebrew Bible is the work of male authors and editors, whose views created or reflect the dominant theological perspectives. Women in the biblical texts are presented through male eyes, for purposes determined by male authors. This does not mean that women are necessarily suppressed in the account or portrayed unsympathetically. It does mean, however, that women are not heard directly in the biblical text, in their own voices; the OT gives no unmediated access to the lives and thought of Israelite women. (For implications and strategies in interpreting androcentric texts see Russell 1985; Tolbert 1983; Collins 1985; Sakenfeld 1988; 1989; Trible 1989; and Day 1989.)

Women in the biblical text provide the primary clues to women behind the text. But interpretation of these clues requires knowledge of women's lives in comparable societies, ancient and modern, where fuller documentation of the private and economic spheres offers a broader view of women's roles and activities within the context of the larger society. New archaeological investigation focusing on family and village life (size and arrangement of dwellings, density of settlement, diet, mortality rates, etc. [Stager 1985; Meyers 1988: 47–71]) together with documents from surrounding cultures relating to the domestic realm (e.g., personal letters, marriage and adoption contracts, inheritance stipulations, and other economic and legal documents [Lesko 1989; Durand 1987]) enable construction of a more adequate picture of women's roles, activities, and authority within ANE patriarchal society and, more particularly, within the family, which is the primary sphere of women's activity.

To these data from the social world of ancient Israel comparative anthropology brings a cross-cultural perspective of gender roles and relationships that correlates patterns of gender interactions with technoeconomic and sociopolitical variables, such as differences between pastoral and agrarian societies, between intensive irrigation agriculture in lowland plains and cultivation of new or marginal upland areas, and between tribal federations and centralized monarchic states. Such differences within the broad category of patriarchal societies are reflected in differing demands for women's productive and reproductive labor and differences in the value of women's services, range of activity outside the home, and authority within the family (Whyte 1978; Meyers 1988: 24–46, 189–94). Anthropological study of gender reveals complex patterns of male-female relationships within patriarchal societies, involving distinctions of formal and informal power and recognition of spheres of influence and authority, which require qualification of many commonly held views of women's lives in ancient Israel.

The OT does not yield a single portrait of women in ancient Israel. Its millennium-spanning traditions and the differing purposes and perspectives of its authors have produced a kaleidoscopic image, whose distinct components require note. A common status or life style cannot be assumed for the woman of an Early Iron Age pioneer settlement, the wife of a wealthy merchant or large landowner in Samaria or Jerusalem, the daughter of an indebted 8th-century peasant, the foreign wife of a returned exile, a priest's daughter, queen mother, palace servant, childless widow, or prostitute. Nor can one expect a common portrait from narrative compositions, proverbial sentences, prophetic oracles, and legal stipulations.

Behind the disparate images and distinct life histories, however, lies a common set of expectations and values that govern the life of every Israelite woman of every period and circumstance. These are rooted in

the need for women's labor in the domestic sphere, and more specifically in childbearing and nurture, broadly described as "reproductive" work. To this primary work, which was the expectation of every woman, are joined the major tasks of household management and provision. The importance of this work in a society in which the family, rather than the individual, was the basic social, economic, and religious unit (at least during significant periods of Israelite history), is evidenced in the honor and authority given to women in their role as mother. Fulfillment of that socially demanded, and rewarded, role also meant self-fulfillment for most women, for whom barrenness was a bitter deprivation.

It is the woman's primary and essential role within the family, with its multiple demands of time and skill, that accounts for her highest personal and social reward—but also for her restriction in roles and activities outside the family and her hiddenness in documents from the public sphere. It also accounts for changes in women's status and roles over the course of Israel's history as the size, autonomy and economic status of the family changed. And it provides clues to the interpretation of women's roles and activities outside the family, which may be understood in large measure as extensions or adaptations of women's primary roles within the family.

**B. The Israelite Family**

The Israelite family was in all periods a male headed household (called *bêt ʾāb* "house of the father"), in which descent and transmission of property (in particular, the patrimonial land, *naḥălâ* "inheritance") were reckoned through males. In early Israel, family associations (lineages, or "clans") and tribes based on patrilineal descent exercised primary political as well as social functions. Although the monarchy deprived the lineage system of most of its political power, the Israelite family continued to function as the basic social and economic unit and to bear a patrilineal and patriarchal stamp, exhibited in patterns of organization and authority, marriage, place of residence, and inheritance.

One consequence of patrilineal organization is that women are to some extent either aliens or transients within their family of residence. Married women are outsiders in the household of their husband and sons, while daughters are prepared from birth to leave their father's household and transfer loyalty to a husband's house and lineage. Preference for endogamy seems to have operated in certain periods as a means of reducing the strains associated with the "alien" wife (Gen 24:4; 28:1–2). When the woman was a foreigner, the strain might be perceived as a threat, as seen in the repeated condemnations of foreign marriages (Deut 7:3; Ezra 9:12; 10:2). Underlying this attack is the assumption that the foreign wife will maintain her alien ways, and more particularly her religion, undermining the religious ethos and solidarity of the family and the nation (Exod 34:16; Num 25:1–2; Deut 7:4; Judg 3:5–6; Neh 13:23–27; Meyers 1988: 185).

The OT attack on foreign wives is indirect testimony to the independence and power of women within the family sphere despite the formal structures and symbols of patriarchal power. It reflects the power of influence that wives may exert over husbands (Judg 14:17; 1 Kgs 1:15–21) as well as the important educational role of the mother in transmitting basic religious values and wisdom essential for life (Prov 1:8; 31:1). It also reflects fear of foreigners, and more particularly the foreign woman *(ʾiššâ zārâ, nokrīyâ),* who in Proverbs becomes a symbol for the immoral, seductive, and predatory woman, an embodiment of evil (Yee 1989: 54). Admonitions against intermarriage with foreigners may include reference to sons as well as daughters, but only the foreign daughter is described as a threat (Deut 7:3–4; cf. Ezra 9:2).

Another consequence of patrilineal family organization is that women do not normally inherit land. Exceptions treat daughters as placeholders in the absence of sons (Num 27:1–11), bridging the gap between the generations until their sons can resume the paternal line and legacy (insured, according to Num 36:6–9, by requiring the daughter to marry within her father's tribe). Similar concern for the preservation of the patrimony appears to underlie the institution of levirate marriage, which obligated a man to marry the wife of a deceased brother (Deut 25:5–10; Gen 38:8) or close kinsman (Ruth 2:20; 4:5–6) in order to continue the brother's "name."

The importance of patrilineal organization in ancient Israel may be seen in the prominence of genealogies and genealogical narratives in the OT. The genealogies, which serve a variety of social,

political, and literary functions, account for the majority of personal names recorded in the OT and for the great preponderance of male over female names (1212:108, approx. 12:1). As lists of those who "counted" in the society, these normally all-male lists provide dramatic testimony to the androcentrism that characterizes the formal structures of patriarchal societies. A different picture is obtained, however, by comparing the common nouns for "man" *(ʾîš)* and "woman" *(ʾiššâ),* whose ratio of occurrences is 2160:775 (KB), or roughly 3:1. Excluding the many generic uses of *ʾîš* (as, e.g., in Ps 1:1, "Blessed is the one *[ʾîš]* who walks …") increases the relative weight of references to women, suggesting the importance of women as a social category, if not as named individuals.

A characteristic feature of patriarchal societies, illustrated by the disparity of ratios between named and unnamed men and women, is asymmetry of gender roles and symbols, including language. Male genealogies, male oriented legal codes and cultic stipulations, masculine forms for generic speech, and the predominance of males in historical records and recollections all reflect the male dominance of Israel's public life and formal structures. The primary social and economic unit, however, which provided the basis for life in the public sphere, was the family, in which women exercised significant formal and informal power, at times equaling or even exceeding that of men, according to some scholars (Meyers 1988: 181, 187). Even in its reduced economic role under the monarchy, the family continued to play a dominant role in socialization.

Asymmetry between male and female-centered spheres of life may be seen in the fact that the family was represented in the public sphere by its male head or adult male members—and it is this male-dominated sphere that is the locus of the major overarching and integrating institutions of the society. Here women are to some degree always outsiders, characterized by temporary appearances (e.g., marketing, legal process, payment of vows) or marginal roles (e.g., prostitutes and cult attendants). At the same time, men are given legal authority over women, even in the sphere of women's primary activity, the family. Moreover, since the legal and religious institutions that give expression to the society's values and attempt to regulate behavior belong to the public sphere and are designed and governed by men, the values they articulate and seek to enforce are essentially male values, though formulated in general or universal terms. Thus asymmetry between the primary spheres of male and female activity has the character of encapsulation and penetration of the domestic sphere by the public sphere.

**C. Primary Roles and Images**

**1. Wife and Mother.** The life and work of the Israelite woman centered in the home and duties to family. The ideal portrait of the adult female depicts her as the mother of many children (or sons; Heb *bānîm* [pl. of *bēn* "son"] may have either meaning) and the wise and industrious manager of the household, providing for the welfare of husband and children (Prov 31:10–29). This latter image, which gives rare attention to the role of wife, is the product of Wisdom reflection designed to counsel men concerning the path of success in life, in which knowledge of women and their ways plays a critical role. Thus the book of Proverbs warns against the loose or foreign woman and especially the adulteress, who can cost a man his life (Prov 5:3–5; 6:24–35; 9:13–18), while counseling fidelity (5:15–19) and extolling the "woman of worth" *(ʾēšet ḥayil)* in detailed and extended commendation (Prov 31:10–29). Such a wife will "do him good, and not harm" (v 12). Emphasis in this portrait is on skill, resourcefulness, industry, wisdom, and charity, rather than fertility or beauty (the latter characterized in v 30 as "deceitful" and "vain").

The role of wife is rarely separated from the dominant role of mother, appearing outside the Wisdom Literature primarily in tales of courtship, conflict, and conquest (Judges 14; 1 Sam 18:20–27; Genesis 34). Here sexual attraction plays a role, but also wit and will (1 Samuel 25)—and often family or ethnic ties. Behind many scenes of courtship lies a genealogical theme, which points to an ultimate role of mother. The woman as wife also describes a fundamental biosocial category, designating the one who provides the essential sexual and social complement to the man, creating the pair that represents the species (Gen 1:27; 2:18–23) and assures its continuity (thus Noah and his sons [named] enter the ark together with his wife and sons' wives [unnamed], Gen 7:13). Here, too, the wife is usually a mother.

The role of mother dominates OT references to women. Motherhood was expected and honored, reflecting social need (Judg 21:16–17) and divine sanction (Gen 1:28). Desire for many children, and especially sons, is a prominent OT theme (1 Sam 2:7; Gen 30:1; Pss 127:3–5; 128:3–4), attributed to women as well as to men, despite the pain and dangers of childbirth. Rooted in the economic needs of subsistence agriculture and social need for perpetuation of the lineage, the demand for childbearing was rewarded with security and prestige (Deut 5:16; 27:16). As a consequence, women identified children with status (Gen 30:20; 1 Sam 1:2–8) and sometimes vied with one another in childbearing (Gen 30:1–24).

Barrenness was viewed as the ultimate disgrace, understood as a sign of divine disfavor (Gen 30:23; 2 Sam 6:20–23). (The literary theme of the barren wife—who subsequently bears—assumes this negative expectation in order to reverse it.) The barren, or childless, woman suffered not only lack of esteem, but also threat of divorce or expulsion from her husband's household at his death. Unable to continue his line, she cannot claim his inheritance, and she has no sons to support her in old age.

The role of mother included primary care of children of both sexes at least until the time of weaning (ca. age three), the education and disciplining of older children, and provision of food and clothing for the entire household. The latter required arduous and time consuming labor: sorting, cleaning, parching, and grinding grain, as well as kneading and baking bread; drawing water and collecting fuel (a task of both sexes); cleaning and butchering small animals; milking, churning butter and making cheese and yogurt; tending vegetable gardens and fruit trees; and preserving fruits and meat for storage. Women may also have produced at least some of the common ceramic ware, as suggested by cross-cultural study of ceramic production (Meyers 1988: 148). If so, OT references to male potters (Jer 18:2–4; 1 Chr 4:23) may be seen as an example of a widely attested pattern of male professional specialization of crafts originally practiced exclusively by women. Such crafts may continue as female occupations within the domestic context while men dominate commercial production (e.g., weaving, sewing/tailoring, cooking and baking).

Clothing the family involved not only spinning, weaving, tailoring and sewing, but also preparation of raw wool or flax fibers (Prov 31:13). Spinning and weaving are identified throughout the ancient Mediterranean world as symbolic of female domestic activity and skill, so that even queens and wealthy women are depicted holding a spindle (*ANEP*, 43 [pl. 144]; Prov 31:13, 19; Judg 16:14; cf. English "spinster" and "distaff side"). The mother, together with other females of the household, also bore the burden of washing and cleaning.

The mother's role in the socialization and moral instruction of small children was critical for both sexes, but her instruction seems also to have had a more formal and extended character, even in the education of sons, as attested in the Wisdom Literature (Prov 1:8; 31:1; Meyers 1988: 151–2). An extension of the mother's role as teacher and counselor may be seen in the "wise woman," whose skill (in negotiation and persuasion) commands public recognition (2 Sam 14:1–20; 20:16–22). The mother also had a special role in educating daughters in the traits and competencies expected of the adult woman (wife), as well as in specialized female skills.

Among the features that make up the OT's portrait of women there appears to be a primary cluster of attributes and images that derive ultimately from association with birthing and nurture, or womb and breasts (cf. *ANEP*, 162, pl. 469; Luke 11:27; 23:27). The pain and danger of childbirth has stamped itself on the consciousness of the OT's male narrators and poets, who employ images of women in labor as symbols of anguish and helplessness (Isa 13:8; 21:3; Jer 48:41; Mic 4:9–10). A different type of maternal pain is associated with the death of a child, formalized in the ritual wailing of women at funerals and in the specialized female profession of keener, performer and composer of dirges (Jer 9:16, 19—Eng9:17, 20). The mother's bond with the fruit of her womb is understood as deep and persisting (Isa 49:15), overriding self-interest (1 Kgs 3:16–27) and extending even beyond death, as exemplified in Rizpah's vigil over her slain sons (2 Sam 21:8–14), protecting them in death (a female role) as she could not do in life (a male role). It is also evidenced in the customary roles of women in preparing the dead for burial and in visits to tombs (Mark 16:1; cf. Luke 23:55–24:1).

Care for the dead may be seen as an extension of the mother's primary role in care for the living, initiated in the nursing of infants (1 Sam 1:22; cf. Num 11:12; Isa 45:15) and continued in nursing of the sick and infirm (2 Sam 13:5; 1 Kgs 1:2; 2 Kgs 4:18–30). If the feeling of tenderness toward the weak expressed as "compassion" or "pity" is attributed to fathers (e.g., Ps 103:13) as well as mothers, the Hebrew etymology of the term identifies it as "womb-feeling" (*raḥămîm;* verb *rāḥam* < *reḥem* "womb").

As the female head of a household or family unit within an extended household, the mother supervised the work of dependent females, including daughters, daughters-in-law, and servants. Although there is no direct evidence for the way in which multiple wives shared responsibilities of household management (narrative and legal texts focus on rivalry and favoritism: Deut 21:15–17; Gen 29:30–31; 1 Sam 1:6; cf. Exod 21:10), some form of seniority system may be assumed, especially where a second wife had the status of a concubine. Each woman, however, would have control over her own children. Normally a woman gained authority with age, together with a measure of freedom and leisure, although there is no recognized role for women comparable to that of the male "elders." It is likely that many of the specialized roles and activities of women outside the home or involving public recognition and action (prophets, mediums, wise women, keeners, midwives) were performed by older women no longer burdened by the care of small children (e.g., the wise woman of Tekoa plausibly presents herself as a widow with grown children [2 Sam 14:4–7]). Cross-cultural studies attest increased religious activity and authority, including new religious roles, on the part of post-menopausal women or women with grown children.

**2. Virgin Daughter or Bride.** Alongside the image of the mother is another image that represents both a prior state and an alternative or complementary ideal of the feminine, viz. the virgin daughter or bride. In this portrait female sexuality is described in erotic rather than maternal terms. The subject is the young woman who is sexually ripe and ready for love, who may be designated *bĕtûlâ* "virgin," *ʿalmâ* "young woman," "maiden," *kallâ* "bride" or, in the conventions of ANE love poetry, *ʾāḥôt* "sister" (Cant 4:9). She may be a young wife or an unmarried woman. She is described as the object of male desire (Canticles 4), but also as one who seeks a man's embrace (Cant 3:1–4). The ultimate tragedy of the death of Jephthah's daughter is expressed in the notice that "she had never known a man" (Judg 11:39). The bride is praised for her beauty (Gen 12:11, 15; 24:16; 1 Sam 25:3; Cant 4:1–5), fragrance and adornment (Cant 4:10–11; Isa 61:10; cf. 3:16, 18–24), in which she also takes delight (Cant 2:1–2; Jer 2:32). Although little of the rich erotic metaphor of the love songs is found in the restrained language of the courtship narratives, both share the ideal of the virgin bride as ripe and unblemished fruit, or fair and chaste (Cant 4:10–13, 16; Gen 24:16). The same ideal viewed from the perspective of male control underlies the legal stipulations regarding women's sexuality.

In the love poetry of the Song of Songs sex is free and freely given; but in Israelite society, as every society, it was not free. Patrilineal and patriarchal interests demanded exclusive right for men to their wives' sexuality. A woman's sexuality was consequently guarded before marriage by her father (Deut 22:13–21, 28–29; cf. Gen 34:5–7) and after marriage by her husband (Num 5:11–31). Adultery was the most serious of women's crimes, though both partners received the same sentence—death (Lev 20:10; Deut 22:22). Proverbs identifies the adulteress with the evil/dangerous woman (Prov 5:2–4; 7:10–23; Yee 1989: 61)—while the adulterer is portrayed as a weak and foolish victim, succumbing to her advances (Prov 6:32; 7:7–13, 21–27; 9:13–18). In prophetic metaphor the promiscuous bride, likened at times to a professional prostitute, becomes a symbol of apostate Israel (Hosea 1–3; 4:10, 12, 17–18; Jer 3:1–3; Ezekiel 16; 23).

Prostitution in ancient Israel (Gen 38:13–26; 1 Kgs 3:16–27; Amos 7:17; Prov 23:27) is characterized by the same ambivalence attested in other cultures (Bird 1989: 121–2, 131–3). It exemplifies the asymmetry of sexual relations in patriarchal societies, also exhibited in the "double standard" respecting premarital sex (Deut 23:28–29) and the male prerogative of divorce (Deut 24:1). Prostitution allows men to maintain exclusive control of their wives' sexuality while providing opportunity for sexual relations with other women without violating another man's rights. The prostitute, who supplies this service for her

livelihood, is a social outcast, who is generally forced into the profession by destitution or loss of parents or spouse (Bird 1989: 120–22, 129–33).

**D. Roles and Activities Outside the Family**

Women's roles and activities outside their household-centered work were of two types, assistance in the basic tasks of production (agriculture and animal husbandry), and specialized professions and services. Women's contribution to the primary work of production is difficult to determine; it fluctuated not only in relation to seasonal need, but also to geographic, demographic, technological, and political factors (e.g., drought, war, and disease). Meyers (1988: 50–63) argues that the peculiar ecological conditions of a frontier society demanded intensification of female labor in both productive and reproductive tasks during the early settlement period—with corresponding heightening of female status. Radically altered circumstances in later periods will have produced different patterns of participation and reward. Scanty data for all periods, however, make inferences hazardous. There is textual evidence for women's involvement in harvesting (Ruth 2, where male and female workers form distinct groups) and in tending flocks (Gen 29:9; Exod 2:16).

Women's work in clothing their households or in other types of domestic production may lead to limited commercial development in manufacture for sale (Prov 31:24); women's cottage industry may be associated with urban growth. Specialized female labor was also employed by the palace, whose workforce of female slaves or impressed servants included perfumers, cooks and bakers (1 Sam 8:13). One well attested type of professional specialization is service to other women, best exemplified by the midwife (Exod 1:15–21), who in other ANE cultures was a religious specialist as well as a medical technician.

**E. Religious Life**

Little is known of women's religious life in ancient Israel, except what is depicted in conjunction with men's activities (1 Sam 1:13–18) or highlighted by explicit mention of women in collective references (Neh 8:2; cf. Deut 16:11, 13, where the wife is assumed in the masculine singular address to the male househead). Inferred participation of women in activities ascribed to the "people" or "congregation" or formulated in "generic" masculine terms expands the picture, but may not represent women's actual participation, which may be limited or peripheral. Women's religious activity may also take other forms hidden from the communal record (Bird 1987: 408–10). One area of women's lives given explicit ritual attention is that related to procreation, with prescriptions for purification following menstruation and childbirth (Lev 15:25–30; 12:1–8).

Evidence of women's magic, or devotion, is seen by many scholars in the small clay plaques or figurines of a naked female found throughout Iron Age excavations. Interpreted either as amulets to aid in conception or birth (especially those depicting a pregnant woman) or as representations of a "mother goddess," these mass-produced images appear in both domestic and (peripheral) cultic sites. Although generally identified with women's practice, their precise meaning and use remains uncertain, due to the variety of forms, changing styles, and lack of clear correspondence to objects mentioned in the biblical text (Pritchard 1943; Fowler 1985: 334–5; Holladay 1987: 275–80; Winter 1983: 96–134).

Within the sphere of public religious practice women specialists are attested in several roles, especially in sources for the premonarchic period. They include women who ministered at the entrance to the tent of meeting (Exod 38:8; 1 Sam 2:22); prophets, of whom three are named: Deborah (Judg 4:4–16), Huldah (2 Kgs 22:14–20), and Noadiah (Neh 6:14); and "consecrated women" *(qĕdēšôt),* usually described as "cultic prostitutes" and associated with Canaanite type cultic practices (Hos 4:14; Deut 23:19–20). See PROSTITUTION (CULTIC). Miriam, though identified as a prophet in Exod 15:20, appears to have exercised some form of cultic leadership (Burns 1987: 39–79).

**F. Legal Status**

Women's legal status is a function of the larger system of social values and needs, and it cannot be isolated or absolutized. As it can be inferred from the OT's disparate and partial sources, it may be characterized as generally subordinate to that of males. This is evidenced in women's "hiddenness" as legal persons behind the male citizen or husband addressed by the law (Exod 20:3–17; Deut 16:4); in

indirect (3d person) reference to women within masculine formulated direct address (Exod 20:17), or in literary subordination to a male subject (Exod 21:3; Jer 44:25); in limitation of women's rights in conflicts of interest (Num 30:3–8), and in generally circumscribed rights and duties in the public sphere. Apart from the treatment of vows and suspected adultery (both cases involving extrafamilial interests), OT laws do not generally treat intrafamilial relationships. Parental authority over unruly children was invested in both parents (Deut 21:18–20) and also, apparently, responsibility for a daughter's chastity (Deut 22:15)—though the father alone represents his daughter "in court." As a general rule, women within the family were subject to male authority, either as daughters or wives. Only widows, divorced women (Num 30:9), and prostitutes (Josh 6:22) had legal status unmediated and unqualified by males. Although wives, together with children, slaves, and livestock, were counted among a man's possessions (Exod 20:17; cf. Deut 5:21), neither wives nor children were understood as property.

**G. Literary and Symbolic Representation**

While legal subordination reflects the formal structures of power, it is an inadequate measure of women's actual power or even recognized authority. Hints of the wider influence and power exercised by women in Israelite life may be seen in the OT's literary presentation of women, which depicts them as more complex and forceful than their legal status suggests and gives them leading roles in some of the critical biblical dramas (e.g., Sarah and Hagar, Rahab, Deborah, Jezebel, Huldah, Esther). The expanded role of women in literature, however, especially in family sagas and novellas, reflects artistic need as well as lived reality. Behind this need is a more general pattern of gender symbolization, exhibited in linguistic as well as literary forms.

Woman as symbol plays an important role in the OT literature and must be distinguished, at least conceptually, from woman in history or society. Important examples of female symbolization in the OT include the female as goddess or symbol of divinity (most prominently exhibited in Asherah and the *ʾašerîm*), representation of the capital city or nation as virgin, mother, or bride (Amos 5:2; Isa 40:2; Jer 31:21; Hosea 1–2), and the hypostatization of Wisdom in Proverbs 8. The negative symbolization of woman is represented in Dame Folly (Prov 9:13–18), apostate Israel (Hosea 1–2; Jer 2:20; 3:2; 4:30; Ezekiel 16; 23), and fallen Tyre (Isa 23:15–18; cf. Rev 17:4–5), all portrayed as a harlot or adulteress.

**H. Conclusion: Hermeneutical Considerations**

Within the OT, viewed either as canonical text or historical testimony, the women who emerge as actors testify to the essential and active role of women in the formation and transmission of Israel's faith. Despite its overwhelmingly androcentric and patriarchal orientation, Israelite faith was a woman's faith—cherished, defended and exemplified by women. But the text also exhibits a tension between the statement made by the leading female figures and that made by the nameless and voiceless women "offstage." Acknowledging their presence and incorporating their voices into the message of the OT is part of the new hermeneutical task, requiring new interpretive strategies and techniques.

Various forms of literary criticism (including rhetorical and structuralist approaches) have provided feminist interpreters with a tool for re-presenting the women of the OT in relation to contemporary concerns. As a counter or complement to historical exegesis, such interpretation focuses on the received form of the text, tracing the sexual dynamics of its narrative portraits and inviting identification with its female subjects. Depicted according to contemporary norms as victims (Jephthah's daughter)—and challengers (the Hebrew midwives; Ruth and Naomi)—of patriarchal ideology and power, or simply as survivors in a man's world, the women of the ancient text reflect and prefigure modern struggles and ideals. While interpreters such as Trible (1978; 1984), Bal (1987; 1988), Exum (1983), and Fuchs (1985) represent differing aims and approaches to the patriarchal text, they share a common reader orientation that invokes response to their retold tales: celebration for unsung triumphs, mourning and rage for unlamented victims and unnamed crimes. These literary-constructive readings present the mothers and daughters of ancient Israel as sisters "heard into speech" by modern feminist interpretation. See FEMINIST HERMENEUTICS.

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PHYLLIS A. BIRD

## *NEW TESTAMENT*

In order to understand the position and roles of women in the NT era, it is necessary first to examine the historical and social context in which 1st century women lived. The primary matrix for assessing women's roles in the Jesus movement and in early Jewish Christianity is the status and roles women had in early Judaism, especially in Israel. The position and roles of women elsewhere in the Roman Empire is also of relevance in assessing the place of women in the Pauline communities and in the communities of the gospel writers.

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A. The Historical Setting
    1. Women in Early Judaism
    2. Women in Other Mediterranean Cultures
B. Women in the Ministry of Jesus
C. Women in the Pauline Communities
D. Women and the Third and Fourth Evangelists
E. Conclusions

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**A. The Historical Setting**

**1. Women in Early Judaism.** The Palestinian Jewish culture was one of the most patriarchal in the Mediterranean crescent. The home and family were basically the only spheres where women could play significant roles in early Judaism. This was true not only because of the extensive power that a father had over both his wife and daughters in determining their activities and their relationships, but also because various levitical laws were interpreted in such a way that women were prohibited from taking significant roles in the synagogue due to their monthly period of levitical uncleanness.

Women could not make up the quorum that constituted a synagogue, could not be counted on to recite the daily *Shema* or make the pilgrimages to Jerusalem for the major feasts, nor are there any known examples of women reading the Torah in the synagogue in Jesus' era (cf. *m. Hag.* 1.1, *m. Ber.* 3.3). Mishnah *Qidd.* 1.7 teaches: "The observance of all the positive ordinances that depend on the time of year is incumbent on men but not on women …" Women did receive and pass along some basic religious education in the home. There were, however, various teachers in early Judaism that frowned on women being given anything more than a rudimentary religious education, especially in regard to the oral *halakah* (Witherington 1984: 6–7). Furthermore, there is no evidence that prior to Jesus' ministry Jewish women were ever allowed to be disciples of a great teacher, much less travel with such a teacher, or to instruct anyone other than children. In such a restrictive context, Jesus' relationship to women must have seemed radical indeed, though on the wider scale of 1st century Mediterranean culture it seems not to have been unprecedented. In fact, seen from the broader cultural context, Jesus can be described as a reformer of patriarchal society, but not as one who outright rejected a patriarchal orientation.

In regard to the legal position of a woman in early Judaism, her testimony was considered valid by some early Jewish teachers, but suspect by others (cf. *m. Ned.* 11.10). In practice, women were entrusted with much responsibility and their word was normally accepted, especially in the home. The legal position of a woman even in a family, however, was seriously restricted in regard to the right of inheritance (she was basically entitled only to maintenance not inheritance) and the right of divorce (strictly speaking only the male could divorce, though a woman could precipitate a divorce). Furthermore, a woman was often passed from the control of her father to that of her husband with little or no say in the matter, not least because Jewish women in this era married at or soon after the time they came of age. The laws which were later codified in the Mishnah say that a woman, like a gentile slave, could be obtained by intercourse, money, or writ (*m. Qidd.* 1.1), though normally marriage was transacted by the heads of the households who would make an agreement and settle on a bride price.

These facts should not cause us to overlook the positive statements made by early Jews about honoring and respecting women, nor should we ignore the extensive responsibilities placed on a Jewish husband in regard to his wife and daughters, nor forget that much of what we have discussed resulted from the attempt by an occupied people to preserve their culture and religious way of life. Nevertheless, the dominant impression left by our early Jewish sources is of a very patriarchal society that limited women's roles and functions to the home, and severely restricted: (1) their rights of inheritance, (2) their choice of relationships, (3) their ability to pursue a religious education or fully participate in the synagogue, and (4) their freedom of movement.

**2. Women in Other Mediterranean Cultures.** Within the patriarchal framework that existed throughout the Roman Empire, there was a surprising degree of variety in the roles and positions women could and did assume from culture to culture. For example, in Rome women could at most be the power

behind the throne, whereas in Egypt women could openly rule. Or again, in Athens married citizen-women seem to have been confined to domestic activities, whereas women in Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Egypt engaged in their own private businesses, served in public offices, and had prominent roles in various religious cults.

Note that with the rise in popularity of the Isis cult came also the rise to prominence of all sorts of women in various significant religious roles, besides the traditional ones of being a Vestal Virgin (in Rome), or an oracle (e.g., at Delphi) roles open only to a few women who led atypical lives. Since Corinth in Paul's day was a Roman city, and Rome was generally suspicious of imported oriental religions, allowing only an indigenous religion to receive official sanction, it is difficult to assess whether the oriental cults (e.g., Isis) played any significant role in Corinthian life. More certainly, in various places in Greece and elsewhere in the Mediterranean world in the 1st century women were allowed: (1) to be the organs of revelation; (2) to have prominent roles in the Dionysian cult; (3) to take the lead in the mystery plays, and the agricultural and fertility rites (Farnell 1907, 3: 106–16).

The degree that the father/husband controlled the family varied somewhat from culture to culture in the Mediterranean world. In Asia Minor women could dispose of their own property, and their dowry remained their own. This was also true in Egypt, but in Athens women's property rights were more restricted.

In Rome, the *patria potestas* had been attenuated by laws that allowed marriage without the traditional patriarchal *in manu* procedure. Women as well as men could also end a marriage even on very flimsy grounds in Roman society. In general, a Roman woman's property rights and freedom in marriage were greater than that of women elsewhere in the Empire, with the exception of Egypt and perhaps Asia Minor and Macedonia.

It is notable that in Roman society, unlike some parts of Greece, the education of women was considered important and desirable. Even among poorer families both daughters and sons received at least a rudimentary education, while in wealthier families all children regularly had tutors (Balsdon 1962: 252). Yet this did not lead Romans, even during the age of the Empire, to allow women to vote or hold public office, unlike the case in Asia Minor.

In summary, in terms of personal, property, and educational rights the women of Rome, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Macedonia faired better than the women of Greece or Judea, but in terms of political rights Roman women were at a disadvantage when compared to Egyptian or Macedonian women (and those women in Asia Minor, Egypt, and elsewhere who inherited the benefits of Hellenism). In terms of roles and status in religious settings, women in Egypt, Asia Minor and Macedonia had more possibilities than Greek or Roman women in general, until the coming of various Oriental cults and Hellenistic ideals into Rome and the Roman colony cities in the Empire.

**B. Women in the Ministry of Jesus**

On a cursory examination of the gospels it might be possible to see Jesus as just another advocate of a patriarchal society, since he chose twelve men to be his personal followers, and since he probably exhorted his listeners to follow the OT commandment about honoring parents (Mark 7:10; 10:19 and parallels). In fact, it appears that he taught that for two people joined together by God divorce is not a legitimate option (Witherington 1984: 18–28). This is only one side of the story, however, for the gospels also portray Jesus as one who accepted women both as followers and as traveling companions (Luke 8:1–3). This same Jesus is said to have preferred for a woman to listen and learn from him as a disciple would, rather than to serve him in a woman's traditional capacity (Luke 10:38–42). It seems that Jesus rejected many levitical laws about clean and unclean since he apparently fellowshipped with the unclean, allowed unclean women to touch him, and was willing to touch a corpse and stop a funeral procession to help a woman (Mark 5:25–34 and parallels; Luke 7:11–17, 36–50). Nowhere is it recorded that after such occasions Jesus went through the regular levitical procedures to make himself clean again.

Further light is shed on Jesus' attitude toward women by the radical sayings which suggest that among his followers the family of faith supercedes the physical family as the primary group of identification (Mark 3:34–35 and parallels; Matt 10:34–39= Luke 14:26). One must also bear in mind a saying like Matt

19:3–12, which may have been Jesus' vindication of his own celibate lifestyle, but which also allowed for both women and men to remain single for the sake of the Dominion of God. Such a teaching was foreign not only to the Jewish ethos where marriage and procreation were considered obligations (Gen 1:28), but also to the larger context of the Roman Empire where writers from Greek and Roman cultures were known to expound on the duty of marriage and procreation (Daube 1977). This teaching about being given the ability to be single for the sake of the Kingdom opened the door for women to assume roles in the Jesus movement other than the traditional domestic ones. It is not accidental that the gospel tradition records that women were among the witnesses of Jesus' crucifixion, burial, empty tomb, and resurrection. Herein we see the liberating effect the teaching and life of Jesus had on women, and the loyalty with which they responded to that life.

Taking all the probably authentic material in the gospels together, it would appear that Jesus was a reformer of patriarchal society, sometimes making suggestions that would have been considered radical in a Jewish context. This applies both to what he said and to what he allowed in regard to women's religious roles in his movement. Also his teaching about marriage, divorce, and singleness would have been seen as radical not only by Jews but also by various people outside a Jewish context in the Roman Empire (Witherington 1984: 49–52, 77–79, 123–31).

**C. Women in the Pauline Communities**

When one investigates the letters of Paul, one finds concepts already in evidence in the Jesus tradition. On the one hand, there is an affirmation of marriage and family (1 Cor 7; Eph 5:22–31; Col 3:18–25; 1 Cor 11), and a modified, Christianized patriarchal structure seems to be advocated. On the other hand, the family of faith is seen as the primary unit of identity and there is a clear advocacy of women assuming important roles in the Christian community including proclamation roles (1 Cor 11:5; 16:19; Rom 16:1, 3, 7; Phil 4:2–3).

The "occasional" nature of Paul's letters must be taken into consideration when evaluating such difficult texts as 1 Cor 14:34–35, or its parallel in 1 Tim 2:8–15. In both cases, Paul and/or the Paulinist who wrote these verses is dealing with problems in the Pauline communities. The rulings given apply to specific problems of women disrupting the worship service, or usurping authority over others. In both cases, the abuses are being ruled out, but this does not foreclose the issue of whether or not women who did not abuse their privileges might speak or exercise authority if it was done in a proper and orderly manner (Witherington 1988: 90–104, 117–24). In fact, in view of the evidence that various women were Paul's co-workers in the Gospel ministry it is unlikely that these texts were ever intended to do more than rule out certain abuses.

Many recent interpreters have seen in Gal 3:28 the Magna Carta of human equality (Stendahl 1966). However, closer attention to both the baptismal context of this saying (which suggests that it is about entrance requirements for being "in Christ"), and the specific wording of the text (which reads "no male *and* female" *not* "no male or female"), suggests a different interpretation (Witherington 1981: 593–604.). Paul says that neither one's racial nor social nor marital status should determine whether or not one can be in Christ. In Christ such distinctions as Jew and gentile, or married and unmarried, still exist (Romans 9–11; 1 Corinthians 7), but they have no inherent salvific value, nor do they determine whether or not one can be in Christ.

It is striking how Paul, in his assessment of marriage, divorce and singleness, seems to be drawing directly on the Jesus tradition in several ways. First, Paul agrees that there is a creation order that God used to set the pattern for proper marital relationships that supercedes Mosaic legislation (1 Cor 11:3–15; Matt 19:3–12 and parallels) (Witherington 1985: 571–76.). Second, Paul prohibits divorce for marital partners who are both believers (1 Cor 7:10–11; Mark 10:11). Third, he prefers the single status and states that the ability to lead a celibate life is a gift from God not given to all (1 Cor 7:7 and Matt 19:11–12). Furthermore, Paul seems to have had a healthy respect for marriage and human sexuality, as did Jesus, for he believes marriage is not merely a *remedium concupiscentiae* (1 Corinthians 7). This becomes especially clear if Ephesians 5 was written by Paul as seems probable. Finally, we may note that Paul's constant use of family language to refer to his fellow believers indicates that he, like Jesus, saw the family

of faith as the central and controlling social reality. Paul certainly does not warrant the title of chauvinist, but he was also no radical feminist. Rather, as was the case with our investigation of Jesus, what we see in Paul is: (1) an affirmation of new religious roles for women, and (2) a reaffirmation—with some Christian modifications—of the traditional roles women had been assuming in the family. In some contexts, particularly among Jews and Jewish Christians, both (1) and (2) would have made Paul appear to be radical. In other contexts, among some gentiles, Paul's moral conservatism and reaffirmation of traditional roles for women would have appeared too confining (this appears to have been the case in Corinth). 1 Corinthians 11 and 14 seem to be Paul's reaction to those whom he perceived to be overly "liberated" women. For Paul, the family of faith was central (as it was for Jesus), and this meant that the structure and roles of the physical family would be affected, and in some ways transformed, by the transcending practices of the family of faith. Paul walked a difficult line between reaffirmation and reformation of the good that was part of the creation order on the one hand, and the affirmation of new possibilities in Christ on the other (Witherington 1988: 125–26).

**D. Women and the Third and Fourth Evangelists**

Apparently, various 1st century churches struggled with the teaching of Jesus, Paul, and others about the new roles women could assume in the Christian community. This can be inferred from the fact that when the Third and Fourth Evangelists set down their gospels in the last quarter of the 1st century they felt it important to stress the new roles of women and the equality of women with men as objects of God's grace and gracious endowments.

This stress is especially apparent in Luke–Acts where we find as part of Luke's redactional agenda a tendency to pair parables and stories about men and women to show their equal place in God's new activities through Jesus. Thus, for instance, we may point to such parables as Luke 13:18–21, or 18:1–14, or the pairing of the story of Aeneas and Tabitha in Acts 9:32–42 (Witherington 1988: 129). One may also note how the paradigmatic sermon of Jesus in Luke 4:18–19 seems to structure how Luke presents the liberation of various women from diseases or infirmities in Luke 4:38–44 or 8:1–3. H. Flender (1967: 10) rightly concludes: "Luke expresses by this arrangement that man and woman stand together and side by side before God. They are equal in honor and grace; they are endowed with the same gifts and have the same responsibilities …" Luke is also not reluctant to portray a woman as a prophetess (Acts 21:9), a religious teacher of a notable male Christian leader (Acts 18:1-3, 24–26), a hostess for a house churches (Acts 12:12–17), the first convert in a new region (Acts 16:12–40), and as assuming the roles deaconnesses were later to have (Acts 9:32–42). It is not accidental that Luke clearly mentions church meetings in the homes of women (Acts 12:12; 16:40). Luke has carefully chosen five vignettes to show the different roles women were assuming in the early Christian communities. In fact, these five stories show how the Gospel progressed through the female population across the Empire from Jerusalem (1:14; 12:12–17), to Joppa (9:36–42), to Philippi (16:11–15), to Corinth (18:1–3), to Ephesus (18:19–26), to Thessalonica (17:4), to Beroea (17:12), and to Athens (17:34). In this way, Luke not merely chronicles the effect of the Gospel on women in the early churches, but also provides a written precedent for women to continue in such roles.

In the Fourth Gospel there are at least five episodes which feature women and their roles: (1) Mary, Jesus' mother (John 2, 19); (2) the Samaritan woman (John 4); (3) Mary and Martha (John 11–12); (4) the mention of the women at the cross (John 19); and (5) the appearance of Jesus to Mary Magdalene. Taken together, these tales reveal women on their way to becoming Jesus' disciples, progressing in understanding and faith in Jesus. Thus, for instance, while Jesus clearly disengages from his mother's parental authority in John 2, nonetheless they are reunited at the cross where Mary is accepted into the family of faith. Or again, in the story of Mary and Martha we find women who believe in Jesus, but inadequately, and who learn to fully confess who Jesus is. The same can be said of the detailed account of the Samaritan woman in John 4 where the immoral woman is portrayed as one who better understands and shares Jesus' real "food" than the disciples who are still operating on a more material level. This woman bears witness about Jesus in the community in a way the disciples are not portrayed as doing.

John 20 is very important for here we find not only that a woman received the first appearance of the risen Lord, but also that she was commissioned to be an evangelist to the Eleven, proclaiming the Good News to them. The witness list mentioned in John 19 also indicates that the testimony of women was critical in regard to another crucial element in the Christian creed—Jesus' death. Since it is improbable that early Christians would have invented the idea of women being the key witnesses to the concluding events in Jesus' earthly career, it is more likely that the Fourth Evangelist is basing at least some of these narratives on historical data.

One may wish to ask why the Fourth Evangelist felt a need to stress a positive portrayal of how women responded to Jesus. At the end of the 1st century A.D. the role of women in the Christian community was probably still being debated, and in order to further the teaching of Jesus and other early Christians on these matters the Fourth Evangelist has presented various women as models of the process of coming to faith, and bearing witness to that faith in various ways.

**E. Conclusions**

There seems to be a consistent trajectory from the life and teachings of Jesus to the life and teachings of various of the earliest Christians including Paul. The authors addressing the earliest churches argue for the new freedom and roles women can assume in Christ. However, evidence shows an attempt at *reformation*, not *repudiation*, of the patriarchal structure of family and society evident in the 1st century. This reformation must take place "in Christ." Therefore, we find no call to social revolution or to the overthrow of a patriarchal society outside of the Body of Christ. This reformation, however, led to greater stability and equality in the marriage structure, and to greater roles in the church both for married and unmarried women. Understanding the tension between the family of faith and the physical family was key to understanding the new roles women could play in the Church. Men, too, found that greater freedom meant more responsibility, not more privilege.

This affirmation of women was not quickly or universally accepted in the fledgling Christian Church. The writers of the New Testament documents had to argue for these new ideas even as late as the end of the 1st century. In fact, a review of post-NT and pre-Nicene material suggests that the resistance to both the reformation of the roles of women, and the affirmation of women in general, intensified. The modern debate on the role of women continues, but the starting point for each discussion should continue to be the biblical material.

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BEN WITHERINGTON, III

**WOOD.** See FLORA.

**WOOL.** See DRESS AND ORNAMENTATION; ZOOLOGY.

**WORD OF GOD.** The word of God in the OT is both a word about God and a word from God. It is a word about God, however, only because it is a word from God, that is, it is a word in and through which God discloses himself. While the word of God does have a content which deserves careful attention, the primary subject of this article has to do with the word as the medium of such a content.

The most important Hebrew term for the word of God is *dābār.* No conclusions can be drawn regarding its meaning on the basis of etymology, concerning which there is no fundamental agreement. Moreover, efforts to connect its basic meanings of "word" and "thing" do not sufficiently take polysemy into account. The term is used in all periods of Israel's history and in every type of literature. It is used of both human beings and God, with the latter usage predominating in the prophets. There are nearly 400 references to the word of God in the OT, with the phrase, "word of the Lord," appearing over 240 times. Other words used, *ʾēmer, ʾimrâ* and *millâ,* are much less frequent. The verbs, *ʾāmar* and *dibber (Piʿel),* "to say, speak," with God as the subject, are also an important resource for this discussion, as are verbs which imply speaking (e.g., to call, command).

The meaning of the Hebrew terms is basically an articulate and intelligible utterance. When used of God it refers to a medium of divine communication, a verbal encounter between God and individual(s) whereby the divine will becomes operative in the lives of those concerned. Common formulations are: "The word of the Lord came to …;" "Thus says the Lord;" "Hear the word of the Lord."

English translations of the terms vary somewhat. In certain contexts it is thought possible to translate with somewhat greater precision than "speak" or "word." For example, the NAB translates *dābār* with "promise" and "command" in a number of texts (e.g., Josh 23:14–15; Deut 1:18).

While consideration will be given to some specific traditions, the focus of attention will be on more general OT perspectives.

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A. Word of God as Metaphor
B. Word of God as Speech-Act
C. Word and God
D. Word and Will of God
E. Word and Situation
F. Word and World
G. Word of God as a Relational Category
H. The Creative Word of God
I. Word of God as Personal Encounter
J. Word and Fulfillment

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### A. Word of God as Metaphor

To speak of the word of God is to use the language of metaphor. Such language is drawn from human experience, specifically the experience of speaking and hearing. As with all metaphors, both the differences and similarities with respect to the human analogue need to be kept in mind. On the one hand, God's speaking cannot be reduced to the limits of human speaking; on the other hand, there are genuine similarities between human and divine speech. The former can be seen in the testimony of the biblical authors to the manifold vehicles for the speech of God. God's word is conveyed in and through dreams, visions, voices out of clouds, and encounters with strangers, as well as directly to the human mind. At the

same time, human beings apprehend and understand the word of God in a way not dissimilar from human speech; the word of God is an intelligible word to human minds.

There is no word of God to human beings apart from the words and other symbols by which human beings communicate. There is thus no pure, unmediated word of God. But the finite is capable of the infinite; human words can bear the divine word. One cannot finally sort out the divine word from the human, however; they are bound up together in every reported word of God in the OT. But the word, nevertheless, is called the word of God.

There is no speculation as to how this communication is possible, nor any apparent concern to distinguish between internal and external hearing. God's speaking is sufficiently common so that normally it is not understood to be an extraordinary event, though it may occasion surprise or fear in some instances, especially in communal contexts (cf. Exod 20:19 with Deut 5:24). Yet, divine speech is never understood to be unambiguously divine, so that, for example, Samuel can mistake it for a human voice (1 Samuel 3) and false prophets can make claims to have heard it (Jer 28:2). The word of God is believed to be from God and sufficiently clear and effective to shape faith and life, but no criteria are available to demonstrate beyond a reasonable doubt that such speech had a divine origin. The claim to have heard a word of God is not a self-authenticating claim.

**B. Word of God as Speech-Act**

A magical understanding has been a prominent feature in the study of the word of God in the OT. That is, the spoken word in and of itself was believed to possess an autonomous power, even a quasi-material identity, which ineluctably worked to bring about what had been articulated. But contrary to popular understanding, this is not a theological consideration; it has its roots in a particular view of language in general.

The recently developed field of speech-act theory, building on the work of J. Austin (1962) and others, has shifted this discussion to a new level and demonstrated the inadequacy of the above-noted understanding. This is the study of language-use which is understood to be, or to be a part of, the doing of an action, hence the designation "performative speech." Such words not only express ideas or convey content, they do something. It is the performance of an act *in* saying something as opposed to an act *of* saying something. In many such instances the utterance of the word itself coincides with the act (has an illocutionary force), while in other cases the word seeks to have an effect on reality (perlocutionary force); in many cases words have both forces. Examples would be: promises, vows, wagers, verdicts, namings, warnings, blessings and curses.

Unlike magical understandings, however, these words are not effective because of some inherent, independent power in the words themselves. Nor can all words be so described. Rather, these words produce effects because of certain societal understandings regarding the function of such speech-acts. These words must be spoken in a particular situation by the appropriate person in the proper form to be so effective; in fact, if these factors are not present the words may have the opposite effect intended (e.g., Prov 27:14).

This is certainly the case with blessings and curses. Thus, for example, the blessing of Jacob in Genesis 27 is not a magical transfer by word power, but reflective of cultural understandings of the effectiveness and legally non-rescindable character of such testaments. The fact that modern legally attested oaths would be comparably understood is illustrative of the fact that Israel's understanding of word was not particularly unique. Both in ancient and modern societies certain words immediately produce effects because they are spoken by individuals exercising authority in certain conventional or institutional situations. No magical understanding of word is implied.

The importance of the one who speaks these words deserves special mention when the speaker is God or God's representative. The power of the words spoken by God directly or through a prophet is to be related not to some mysterious power which the spoken word itself possesses, but to the power of the speaker. It is God, who has an ongoing relationship to a word spoken, who brings about the fulfillment of the word, not the word in itself in some autonomous way. Fulfillment is a testimony to God's work, not to a word's power.

This is evidenced negatively by the phenomenon of false prophecy and the reality of divine repentance. While the words of the false prophets may well have an effect—they could be believed by those who heard them—the words are not fulfilled (cf. Deut 18:22; Jer 28:9; cf. Isa 44:26). Moreover, the fact that God occasionally is said to have repented of a word spoken (cf. Jer 26:19; Jonah 3:10) means that God's ongoing relationship to that word is such that it may or may not be fulfilled. It is also to be noted that God can change intended curses to blessings (Deut 23:6; Josh 24:10; Neh 13:2; cf. Mal 2:2).

In view of these perspectives, certain passages commonly cited to illustrate the autonomous power of the word are to be explained in other terms. When it is stated that the "word of the Lord came to" a prophet (e.g., Joel 1:1), it probably means nothing more than that the word became an active reality in the life of the prophet from a source other than the prophet's own mind. 1 Kgs 13:9, 17 are certainly instances of poetic personification. Jer 1:9–10 has reference to the word of God as embodied (cf. below). Isa 55:10–11, "my word shall not return empty," would say little about God that is remarkable or informative if this were true about words in themselves. The same may be said with respect to the creative word of God (cf. Ps 33:6, 9).

Only because the word is the word of God can it be spoken of in such powerful terms. The word of God will endure forever because its speaker is God himself (Isa 40:6–8). Metaphors for the word of God such as weapon (Hos 6:5; Isa 9:7—Eng v 8 cf. Zech 9:1), fire (Jer 5:14; 20:9), hammer (Jer 23:29), messenger (Pss 107:20; 147:15, 18), and rain and snow (Isa 55:10–11) are simply striking ways in which the swift and powerful effect of the word of God can be made more vivid. Later tendencies to view word as an hypostasis (Wis 18:15–16?) can be viewed as an extension of this use of language. In general terms, this objectifying language serves to show that the word of God is not a product of human minds; it is a reality which comes from outside the self.

Generally, the lack of an independent power for words is shown by the fact that words may be ineffective, and cannot in and of themselves compel response (Prov 2:3–4; 17:10; 29:19; cf. Judg 17:2). Moreover, words are no substitute for deeds (Prov 14:23). The common magical understanding of the use of words in the OT is thus rooted in a mistaken view of language. Such words are rather to be seen in a double light, in terms of the dynamics of performative speech and the identity of the speaker.

This understanding of the word finds parallels among Israel's neighbors in the ANE. The creative word of the gods is a common theme in both Mesopotamia and Egypt. The Enuma Elish (e.g., 4.22–26; see *ANET*, 66) speaks of the power of the word of Marduk. Also it is said of Sin in "Hymn to the Moon-God": "Thy word goes out from above like a wind, it makes pasture and watering place luxuriant … Thy word causes justice and righteousness to arise" (*TDOT* 3:93; cf. *ANET*, 386). Egyptian literature speaks often of creation through the word and of "the word of God." For example, it mentions Amon, "who spoke with his mouth and there came into existence all men, gods … cattle" (*ANET*, 371). On the other hand, accounts of a god speaking directly to human beings is rare.

These commonalities between Israel and the surrounding societies, most common in later OT literature, are probably not due to explicit borrowing. Rather, it is more likely that Israel's understanding of the word was reflective of a general cultural understanding in that part of the world. In any case, these connections should be positively viewed; at least some of the truth about God's relationship to the world is not unknown outside Israel.

**C. Word and God**

Central to the OT understanding of the word of God is a certain view of God. Israel's God is a God who speaks. It is not only that God can speak, but that God has spoken. Indeed, Israel testifies to a God who is in ongoing conversation with the world. This God has not only spoken in the past, with that word now on deposit, as it were. This God continues to speak in every new present. Moreover, the new creation will be characterized by intimate divine-human conversation (Isa 58:9; 65:24). Israel's God is not a silent God, in past, present, or future.

Israel's God, therefore, differs from idols "who have mouths but do not speak" (Pss 115:5; 135:16; Jer 10:5). 1 Kgs 19:26–29 is an especially sharp statement of this point: "Answer us, Baal! But there was no

sound, and no one answering." Speaking and responding is one of the distinctive characteristics of the God of Israel compared to the idols of other peoples.

**D. Word and Will of God**

The word of God is always an intentional, never an idle word. The word of God is the vehicle for the will of God; the word expresses what God intends. The intention of the word of God is to serve the purposes of God in the world, to move the world along toward the objectives God has for it. The word activates the will of God; it represents a decision by God to accomplish what God wants to accomplish in a specific situation. It does not simply add something to the situation, it renders a divine decision concerning it. Having been addressed by the word of God, that situation is decisively altered. The word does not make God present in that situation, but seeks to clarify and direct the shape of God's will within that already pervasive presence. The word makes available to the world what would not otherwise be available—an experience (including knowledge) of the will of God. The result is that the will of God can be discerned in the world; the will of God can be known to the extent that God has let it be known through the word.

The word as reflective of the will of God tells the truth about God and the world (2 Sam 7:28; Ps 119:43). God is not deceptive in his speaking; the word is reliable (Ps 119:140; 2 Sam 22:31). God's word is characterized as good and upright (Josh 21:45; 23:14–15; 1 Kgs 8:56; Ps 33:4; Isa 39:8), correspondent to the will of God.

It is important to note that the will of God is not defined in a singular way in the OT. See also WILL OF GOD IN THE OT. One must distinguish between the circumstantial and the absolute will of God. God's absolute will as expressed in the word has to do with God's will for the salvation of the community. While the word of God brings light and understanding (Ps 119:130), its goal and effect are more wide-ranging: it is a life-giving word upon which people depend for their very existence (Deut 8:3; 30:11–20; 32:46–47; Ps 119:25, 50, 116, 154). If the word is not heard, it is as if there were a famine in the land (Amos 8:11–12). God's circumstantial will is also expressed in the word; for example, God can speak of judgment (cf. Ps 50:7; Zeph 1:1–18). But this word of God is in the service of God's absolute will for the salvation of as many as possible (Ezek 18:23, 32; 33:11).

The will of God is also reflected in the commanding word of God. As such, the word of God can refer to the Decalogue (Exod 20:1; 34:28), individual ordinances (Deut 15:15; 24:18, 22), and the entire Torah (Deut 30:14). Israel is called upon to obey this word because it is the will of God. But God's will as expressed in this commanding word is not arbitrary, nor is it unchanging; its intent is to serve life and well-being in ever-changing circumstances (cf. Deut 28:11–14; 30:11–20). This word is for the purpose of extending into all aspects of one's life, and the lives of others, the intention of that will already experienced in the Exodus. Hence, this commanding word is in tune with the absolute will of God for Israel.

The word of God, therefore, is a word in which the people place their trust and hope (Pss 56:5, 11—Eng vv 4, 10; 106:12; 119:42, 74, 81, 114, 147; 130:5). The word is a basic means by which the people can be comforted and assured because it expresses God's will for their salvation. Hence, it is something in which they rejoice (Ps 119:161–162; Isa 66:2, 5).

**E. Word and Situation**

God's speaking is always a temporal event. Every word of God has its time, and God knows the proper time for a given word. The word expresses the will of God with respect to a particular moment in the life of the world. The word of God always arises in a specific situation, is spoken into that moment, and is designed to make a difference in that situation. The word of God thus always fits the situation is some particular way; it consists of words of judgment, promise, instruction, command, and blessing as they are pertinent to the moment and in consonance with the will of God for that moment. Therefore, if a word no longer seems applicable in view of changes in the situation, God can repent of that word (see below).

At the same time, the words of God are commonly believed to be applicable across situations. For example, existing commands of God in older law codes such as Exodus 21–24 are picked up and reinterpreted in Deuteronomy. Certain promises are also repeated (cf. Isa 2:1–5 with Mic 4:1–5; Isa 11:6–

9 with 65:25). The word of God is a living word that has enduring meaning across centuries (Isa 40:8; 59:21; Ps 119:89, 160).

Yet, the use to which Deuteronomy puts the law indicates that the word of God was not necessarily considered an enduring reality in a literal sense. The word is not only handed down within the community of faith, it is reused, elaborated, and creatively applied in ever new situations in life. This adaptation of the word no doubt often occurred in Israel's worship life (cf. Exod 33:7–11; Psalms 50; 81). Within this context, the continuing proclamation of the word of God played an integral, ongoing life-giving function for Israel.

Eventually this leads to the word of God being written down and enduring in that form. The beginnings of this process are occasionally visible in pre-exilic texts (cf. 2 Kgs 23:1–3; Isa 8:17; Jeremiah 36); the written form of the Decalogue and other laws may also be noted (Exod 20:1; 34:27–28; cf. Josh 8:34–35). Some concern arises for a fixed form of the word to which the community can repair and which can function as an authoritative word (cf. Deut 4:2; 31:24–26; Prov 30:6; 2 Chr 34:21; 35:6). The word thus assumes a form which the community can study and meditate upon (Ps 119:148). For the postexilic community the Law of Moses most commonly functions in this way (cf. Ezra 7:11; 9:4; Neh 8:9, 13; cf. Job 23:12; Ps 119:9, 17, 105).

**F. Word and World**

God's word is directed primarily, but not solely to Israel. God's speaking to the world is centered in Israel, and is most articulate there (Deut 4:33; Ps 147:19–20; Isa 51:16). Israel, however, is not unique in being the recipient of that word. God's word to Israel is a special instance of God's more wide-ranging word to the world. Gen 1:28 (cf. 9:1) testifies to a speaking of God to the wider human creation. The word of God spoken through the prophets is at times directed to other peoples (cf. Jeremiah 46–51; Jonah); Jeremiah is in fact called to be a prophet to the nations (Jer 1:5). Indeed, God's word to Israel is for the sake of that word being more fully declared to the entire world (e.g., Exod 9:16; Ps 96:3, 10; cf. Ps 138:4).

Even more, God's speaking is said to include an audience among the nonhuman creatures. God addresses the earth (Ps 50:4; Isa 1:2; Hag 1:11), speaks to/with natural entities (Gen 1:22; 3:14; Isa 45:8; Job 37:6; 38:35), and calls them by name (Isa 40:26; Ps 147:4). God's call to the waters and the earth to participate in the creative activity (Gen 1:11, 24) suggests that the relationship is such that there can be a responsiveness to the word of God on the part of that which is nonhuman. This nonhuman order can in turn become the medium for God's word to the world (Ps 19:1).

God's speaking is also said to be characteristic of relationships within the heavenly realm (cf. 1 Kgs 22:20–22; Job 1:7–12; Psalm 82; 103:20–21; Isa 6:8). It is the word of God spoken in the heavenly council which the prophet "overhears" and conveys to Israel (Jer 23:18–22).

**G. Word of God as a Relational Category**

Generally, word is a verbal event which, like love, involves at least two parties. The basic structure of the word, therefore, is not a bare statement but involves a relationship, communication by one and reception by another. In any talk about God's word, therefore, a certain understanding of the relationship God has established with the created order is assumed. This relationship is of such a nature that God and the creatures can communicate with one another. Words are integral to such communication, at least to divine-human interaction (cf. above on God's word to the nonhuman creation). While other forms of communication might be cited, speaking and hearing, listening and responding, are central to the divine-human conversation. God can speak and the creatures can hear and understand; human beings can speak to God (e.g., in prayer) and God can hear and respond.

Even more, certain texts suggest that God is eager to be in communication with the people (Isa 65:1–2); indeed, God expresses a sense of obligation to speak with those who are chosen (Gen 18:17; Amos 3:7). The knowledge of God and his ways on the part of the human party is deemed essential if the relationship is to be real and genuine. God's speaking, however, is here seen not simply as a matter of the conveyance of a certain content, but important in itself as integral to God's faithfulness within a relationship. The

word of God is therefore fundamentally a relational category by means of which the relationship between God and people can be realized more fully.

The word of God is spoken most directly to leaders within Israel, who in turn convey that word to the larger community. Occasionally, in a theophanic encounter (cf. below) God will speak to other individuals (cf. Hagar in Gen 16:11–14; Manoah in Judg 13:9–23). But, most commonly, it is leaders like Moses who mediate the word of God to the community (Deut 5:5).

The content of the word of God also is to be understood in relational terms. God does not simply speak about more objective realities, as if it were simply a matter of data or information that constitutes the word of God. The various texts reveal a divine concern about a considerable range of matters that bear on the relationship (cf. Num 12:1–8; Zech 7:9–10; Gen 35:10). The word also includes the conveyance of divine emotions or feelings (cf. Num 14:10–11; Jer 31:20; Hos 11:8). Indeed, God's word will include the revelation of inner-divine reflections (cf. Gen 2:18; 8:21; Ps 95:10–11; Jer 3:7, 19–20). God's own self is thus not removed from the word. The word is truly revealing of the God who speaks it, and this for the sake of a fullness of relationship.

This relationship has a fundamental integrity to it. It is not only what God says that affects the relationship; how the creatures respond affects the relationship as well. God's word is not spoken into a void (even in Genesis 1 the word is addressed to existing material) or to unthinking creatures; it assumes that there is an audience for that word, those who can hear and interact with that word. God's word is not a monological reality. While God's word is always freely spoken, it calls for response on the part of those to whom it is directed. As a result, God's word may not always be the initiating word; it may be respondent to, indeed in dialogue with, the creaturely party to the relationship (cf. Num 14:11–25). God's word may bring into being, but it is not thereby done with that which is created. Interaction with those addressed is essential for the creation to be what it is called into being to be: in genuine relationship with its Creator.

Human response can thus affect what is heard when God speaks. Finitude and sin may lead to the misunderstanding of the word of God; faithfulness to the relationship and alertness may lead to insight. Indeed, even when it is understood, human response to the word may range widely. The relationship is such that, however powerful God's word may be (like fire and a hammer crushing rocks, Jer 23:29), believing is not the only response available to those who hear. God's word does not overwhelm those to whom it comes; it is resistable (Ezek 2:7). The word of God can be challenged (Exod 32:9–13) or questioned (Jer 1:6–7) or rejected (Zech 7:11–12) or ridiculed (Gen 18:12–13) or scorned (Jer 6:10) or despised (Jer 23:17) or disbelieved (Ps 106:24) or doubted (Judg 6:13–17) or freely obeyed (Exod 24:7; cf. Jer 35:17). The word of God is therefore not only powerful, it is vulnerable. Such a seeming contradiction can only be made coherent if the word of God is understood fundamentally in relational terms.

While a few prophetic passages suggest a certain compulsion to speak the word of God which has been received (Jer 20:7–9; Amos 3:8), prophetic freedom is not finally compromised (Jer 15:16, 18–19; 23:28). A certain freedom in the transmission of the word of God can also be noted in the Deuteronomistic history. One of Elisha's disciples assumes much freedom in conveying the word of God (cf. 2 Kgs 9:3 with 9:7–10). Joshua exhibits comparable freedom in transmitting the word of God he received (Josh 6:2–5) to others (Josh 6:6, 7, 10, 16–19).

**H. The Creative Word of God**

It might be suggested that the word of God in creation constitutes an exception to this relational understanding, with magical understandings of word near to hand. The spoken word goes forth and brings into being what has been commanded. The command seems to be without an addressee; there is no receptor of the word, let alone any response on the part of that which is created. But, this would be the case only if the creation account were understood in terms of creation out of nothing.

Most scholars now understand Genesis 1 in terms of the ordering of already existing material. There is thus a receptor of the word. It is true, that which is commanded is that which is done, not only at the beginning (Genesis 1; Pss 33:6, 9; 148:5) but also more generally in the natural (Pss 105; 31,34; 104:7;

147:18) and historical (Ps 107:20; cf. Wis 16:12) realms. It is important to note, however, that God's saying and doing are distinguished in the creation account (as also in Isa 45:12; 48:13); God's creative activity is not solely comprehended in terms of what is said (cf. also Ezek 37:4–6; Isa 48:3). The work of the Spirit of God in Gen 1:2 must also be considered in combination with the word of God (cf. Isa 34:16; Job 37:12).

The fundamental purpose of the word in these contexts is to indicate that creation was not accidental or arbitrary, but a deliberate act of the divine will. The word alters the situation of chaos decisively, but it is not suggested that there was no divine activity apart from speaking. God's spirit and power follow in the train of the word and produce certain effects.

In addition, the divine word is not unrelated to creaturely responsiveness, as the earth is called to bring forth vegetation and living creatures (Gen 1:11, 24), the beasts and human beings are commanded to be fruitful and multiply (Gen 1:22, 28), and human beings are commanded to subdue the earth and have dominion over it (Gen 1:28). Elsewhere, various aspects of the created order are responsive to the divine command (Pss 148:8; cf. 78:23; 107:25; 147:15; Isa 5:6). Moreover, the common use of *ʿāśāh* in Genesis makes it clear that God's creative work is not without analogy in the human sphere.

The use of the word of God in Ps 147:15–19 may provide a clue to the interpretation of these texts. This passage speaks of word both in terms of the law and of God's work in nature and history, suggesting that word is a way of speaking of God's providential governance. To so speak of the word of God is a way of personalizing the active will of God at work in the world. Generally, because the will of God is evident in the effects produced by the word in the creative and historical orders, one can read something of the will of God off those realities. To speak of word emphasizes this point.

**I. Word of God as Personal Encounter**

It has been most common in recent generations to claim that God reveals himself in history. See THEOLOGY (OT). This view tends to stand over against an understanding of revelation which stresses God's speaking directly to individuals. By history is usually meant key events such as the Exodus in which God has decisively acted on behalf of his people. By the way in which God so acted, it is thought, Israel was able to infer certain things about God and God's ways with the world. In such formulations, the word of God is fundamentally an external event, though the event in and of itself is inarticulate and its significance highly ambiguous.

Whatever continuing values such a "revelation in history" perspective may have, there are severe inadequacies in its usual formulation: the neglect of the nonhistorical material (e.g., wisdom); the emphasis on historical event to the virtual exclusion of both natural and liturgical event; the ignoring of God's more unobtrusive activity in Israel and among the nations; the emphasis on God's interventionist, intrusive work highlighting images of God of a more virile sort; the emphasis upon story to the exclusion of generalization; the failure to recognize the variety of modes God uses to reveal himself.

The most important critique for these purposes is that the word of God as verbal event, particularly associated with the theophany, has been neglected. Theophanies are in fact the vehicle for the most common and most articulate revelations from God. See THEOPHANY IN THE OT. Usually this entails the speaking of words by God, appearing often if not always in human form (cf. Genesis 18; Judg 6:11–18; Isaiah 6; Jeremiah 1), even in those contexts where the divine presence is veiled by fire or cloud (cf. Exod 3:2; 24:9–11; see Fretheim 1984 for details). The word of God is thereby delivered through personal encounter in a quite direct way through a verbal communication, often "face to face" (cf. Exod 12:6–8).

However important an event such as the Exodus was, the texts make very clear that it was the prior appearance of God to Moses (Exodus 3) that provided the proper interpretation of what was to happen. Discerning the appropriate meaning in the event, inarticulate and ambiguous in and of itself, was dependent upon the prior word received in the theophany. Only in such verbal communications were the divine purposes made clear. This is also true for the prophets; their call narratives indicate that it is the word of God received in more direct, verbal ways that provides the hermeneutic for the proper interpretation of history.

The reception of the word of God in vision and dream is only a variation of the theophanic mode of revelation (cf. Gen 28:12–13; 1 Kgs 3:5; 9:2; cf. Gen 31:11–13; 15:1). These appearances are referred to later in the respective narratives without reference to dream or vision (cf. Gen 35:1, 9; 48:3; 1 Kgs 11:9). Apparently they are recognized as no different in kind from appearances which occur during wakefulness. Num 12:6–8 suggests some differences, but in clarity not in kind; this may be the case because of the fuller functioning of the person in wakefulness. At the least, there is no diminishing of the form which God assumes in these appearances (cf. Gen 28:13, 15:5). The negative assessment of dreams in Jer 23:25–29 is not typical, no doubt reflecting a particular conflict with false prophets. References to prophets seeing the word (cf. Amos 1:1; Mic 1:1; Hab 1:1) seem best understood as a word received in vision (cf. NAB). The word of God in dream and vision thus retains its character as personal encounter.

A common element in the theophanies is the promise of presence (e.g., Gen 26:24; 28:15; Exod 3:12; Jer 1:8). This continuing divine presence in the world is necessary not simply for the people involved, but also for the sake of the word spoken. While some words of God are illocutionary and may be effected immediately (e.g., naming), others are more future oriented. In such instances, the God who gives the word does not, as it were, leave the word to do its own work, however forceful that may be. Word of God and presence of God must always remain together. If the word is to accomplish God's intended aim, God must continually be at work in the world to see to its life (cf. Ps 105:42; Deut 9:5; Jer 29:10). And hence the word of God must not finally be separated from subsequent events, in which God is active. But this is not to be understood in the sense that the word takes on a quasi-material existence and in independent ways works itself out in the world. God continues to be active with that word, working in ways to make that word effective.

But, while God continues to work on behalf of the word, the word is now not only in God's hands. It has been received by those who can misuse the word, who can twist it toward ends not consonant with God's purposes, and prevent it from having its intended effect. For example, Exodus 32 witnesses to what happened to the word given at Sinai. Further divine appearances, beyond continuing presence, were deemed necessary to correct the course that the recipients of the word had taken with it, or even to propose more drastic measures (Exod 34:1–7; Num 14:10; 16:19).

In view of the importance of the theophany in any understanding of the word of God, one can say that the word of God so given is an embodied word. God assumes human form in order to speak a word in personal encounter. The word spoken is the focus for the appearance, but the fact that the word is commonly conveyed in personal encounter is of considerable significance. "Visible words" have a kind of import that merely spoken words do not. They render the personal element in the divine address more apparent and give greater directness and sharper focus to the word spoken. Words so spoken have the capacity of being more persuasive and effective. They also make clearer that the source of the word is not "of their own minds" (Jer 23:16) but outside of the human self; God *appears* in order to speak.

This understanding of word is also seen in the fact that it is conveyed to the larger community in and through a human figure such as a prophet, who not only embodies the word of God but also engages in certain symbolic acts which give flesh to the word (e.g., Isaiah 20). The prophets, however, move beyond the theophanies at one point in particular. God does not just appear, speak a word, and then leave. God leaves the word behind imbedded in the prophet.

The idea of the embodied word becomes particularly apparent in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. In Jer 1:9 (cf. 15:16; Deut 18:18) the word of God is placed by God's hand directly into Jeremiah's mouth; the word is conveyed into his very being without having been spoken. This is graphically portrayed in Ezek 3:1–3; the prophet ingests the word of God. The word of God is thereby enfleshed in the very person of the prophet. It is not only what the prophet speaks but who he is that now constitute the word of God. The prophet conveys the word in a way that no simple speaking or writing can. The people now not only hear the word of God from the prophet, they see the word enfleshed in their midst. The word of God is not a disembodied word; it is a personal word spoken in personal encounter.

For the times beyond the theophanies, therefore, God chooses human instruments as the primary means by which his word is to be faithfully conveyed to the people, whether they heed or resist (Jer 23:28; Ezek

2:7). The word of God spoken by the prophet has a fundamental continuity with both the content and the form of God's word in theophany, a word spoken in direct personal encounter with individuals. The word of God thus remains a highly personal matter throughout the revelatory process, from God through prophet to people. Historical events may indeed be a vehicle for divine revelation, and hence indirect words of God, but they are ambiguous with respect to meaning without the verbal/mental encounter both before and after the event.

This entire grouping of factors may be called a complex word-event. A typology of a typical word-event according to the testimony of the OT itself would thus consist of the following four components.

**1.** The religious heritage and tradition in which the receiver of the word of God stands. Presuppositional to all of this is the word of God to Abraham in Gen 12:1–3, canonically represented as the initial word of God to Israel. From that point on, the present text speaks of a gathering of traditions around that initial word—the building up of the heritage.

**2.** The reception of the word of God by the prophet or other spokesperson on one or more occasions through verbal encounter. Because the prophet's mind receives, processes, and contextualizes this word, it is thereafter no word of God in a pure sense. The word of God has been internally interpreted by the prophet; yet, it remains the word of God.

**3.** The occurrence of key events in the life of individuals or the community, in both history and nature.

**4.** The spokesperson's interpretation of the meaning of the event to the larger community in view of the prior interaction of the tradition and the personal encounter. In patriarchal and prophetic traditions, because the word of God is often about events in the future, (3) may also occur after (4); the interpretation of the event is announced before it occurs.

Thus the word of God finally has reference not simply to the word received on the part of the spokesperson, but to the conveyance of that word by the individual to the larger community with past, present, or future events in view. Because for the prophets the key event has often not yet occurred, the word which they speak does not need the actual occurrence of the future event in order to be designated the word of God. This makes it clear that the verbal communication is the primary matter in any definition of word of God. Moreover, because the event announced will sometimes not occur—God may repent—more than the word spoken is necessary for the fulfillment of that word. It is not the case, however, that the word takes on a quasi-material identity, going forth to inevitably accomplish that which has been articulated. The post-word interaction among God, word, and receptors of the word, will shape the effects of the word in the world.

**J. Word and Fulfillment**

There are a number of passages, however, which suggest that God's word once spoken will move to fulfillment irrespective of such human response or human resistance. But it seems clear that, while the interpretive issues are difficult, a more qualified statement must be made. A closer look at a number of OT traditions should help clarify this.

**1. The Deuteronomistic History.** This historical corpus is often cited in terms of such an understanding of the fulfillment of the word (cf. von Rad 1953). It is commonly suggested that one of its most basic perspectives is that God's word shapes Israel's history. With respect to God's word of judgment, one can point out many instances of the word spoken through the prophets being fulfilled later in the history (cf. Josh 6:26 with 1 Kgs 16:34; 1 Sam 2:31 with 1 Kgs 2:27). In fact, fulfillment is specified as the standard by which one determines if the word is from God (Deut 18:21–22). It is certainly true that the word of God as judgment moves toward fulfillment throughout Israel's history, and that it has a powerful effect on the people's life. But that is not the only story to tell.

Now and again, the judgment word of God spoken through the prophets is not fulfilled or not literally fulfilled. Isaiah announces to Hezekiah: "You shall die; you shall not recover" (2 Kgs 20:1–6). The word of God does have some effect, but then, in response to Hezekiah's prayer, God responds and reverses the prophetic word (but even then not independent of human medical efforts, 20:7). Similarly, when Ahab responded in repentance to the word of the Lord spoken by Elijah, God delayed the fulfillment of the word (1 Kgs 21:27–29; cf. 2 Chr 12:1–12). God's word to Elijah in 1 Kgs 19:15–18 is only partially

fulfilled in the ministry of Elijah; some of it remains for another to accomplish (2 Kings 9). In addition, God's merciful interaction with the people would affect the course of history, even in the face of contrary prophetic words (cf. 2 Kgs 13:23). The fact that some of the judgment words of God are not fulfilled or not literally fulfilled means that in every case the future is understood to remain open until the fulfillment actually occurs.

With respect to God's word of promise, the Deuteronomistic history specifies it as an unconditional word, either to David or to the people of Israel (Deut 4:31; Judg 2:1; 1 Sam 12:22; 2 Sam 7:16). The fulfillment of that promise in Israel's history is noted (1 Kgs 8:20, 56), though it is stressed that it is not simply the word which has gone forth to fulfillment; God has fulfilled it by his own hand (1 Kgs 8:15, 24; cf. 2 Sam 7:25). But even when fulfillment is said to have occurred, a literal fulfillment may not be in view. For example, the strong words of Josh 23:14 (cf. 11:23; 21:43–45; 1 Kgs 8:56) that every word of God regarding the land of promise had been fulfilled stands in some tension with other notices that territory remains to be taken (cf. 15:63; 23:4–13; Judges 1). These tensions may be reconciled by suggesting that all the words of God did come to pass, not with the kind of precision one might like, but a decisive fulfillment nonetheless.

A comparable perspective on fulfillment of words of promise may be present in the Davidic texts. While the promise would appear to be conditional in 1 Kgs 2:3–4 (cf. 9:5–7), this is limited in scope, and the promise is reiterated in these more limited terms (1 Kgs 11:11–13, 32–38). At the end of the Deuteronomistic History, however, the fulfillment of the promise is stated somewhat ambiguously (2 Kgs 25:27–30). While the word of judgment on Judah is stated in unequivocal terms (2 Kgs 23:26–27), the promise articulated in earlier texts is not denied. It is still there for the believing to cling to, but it is not suggested that all Israel would experience its fulfillment.

Generally, it can be said that God's word of promise will not fail; it will never be made null and void as far as God is concerned. The promise can be relied on; but a rebellious generation might not live to see the fulfillment because they have rejected God. The word of promise remains in force; the faithful can know that God will ever be at work to fulfill it. For such faithful ones, God's word will not return empty, but will prosper in the ways God has purposed (cf. Isa 55:10–11).

**2. The Prophets.** A comparable perspective can be discerned in the prophets. The primary perspective is certainly that God's words of both judgment and promise will move toward fulfillment (cf. Isa 46:11; Jer 1:12; 33:14; Ezek 33:33; Hab 2:3). In fact, at least with respect to announcements of salvation, the divine origin of such a word is certain only upon fulfillment (Jer 28:9). At the same time, many texts indicate that any talk about the inevitability of the fulfillment of the word must be qualified.

With respect to words of judgment, one must reckon with the possibility of divine repentance. God may repent, *niḥām,* in response to prayers from the people themselves (Jonah 3:10) or an intecessor (Amos 7:3–6), or for God's own sake, without human mediation (Jer 42:10). That is to say, God may reverse himself with respect to an announced judgment, whether or not that announcement was stated in conditional terms. The constant availability of divine repentance is made clear in Jer 18:7–10 and Jonah 4:2. In later Israel, this theme becomes such an important dimension of Israel's understanding of God that it is incorporated into credal and hymnic formulations (Joel 2:13; Ps 106:45). This becomes a confession of God's openness to change directions with respect to the future, even if it means that a prophetic word will not be fulfilled.

For example, in Jer 26:18–19, Mic 3:12 is quoted as an example of a prophecy that was not fulfilled in view of Hezekiah's response to the word. In Jonah 3:9–10 we learn that such divine repentance has been made available even for non-Israelites. In Jer 26:3, 13, the prophet is asked to proclaim God's decision for judgment. But the purpose for the prophetic word is clear: to elicit Israel's repentance. If the people repent, God will turn from the decision for judgment. The fundamental motivation for such talk about divine repentance is that God's desire is for life, not death. In fact, it may be said that God desires that the words of judgment *not* proceed to fulfillment, so that God's salvific will can be realized. God's will is done, it would seem, when words of announced judgment fail.

There does come a point in the history of Israel, however, where the divine judgment must fall. The situation has progressed to such a point that the fulfillment of the word can be delayed no more (Ezek 12:25, 28); the divine repentance is no longer available (Ezek 24:14; Jer 4:28). Yet, even after the judgment falls, divine repentance is available to stop it from proceeding to total destruction (Jer 42:10). In Joel 2:13–14, in the midst of a tragedy for Israel, the possibility of divine repentance is held out as a hope.

In certain other prophetic texts, the passage of time may affect the shape of the fulfillment of a word. Hence, Ezekiel's prophecy with respect to Tyre is adjusted in view of events (cf. 26:1–21 with 29:17–21). Adjustments are also made in Isaiah's oracles against Moab (Isa 16:13–14).

With respect to words of promise, the issue is comparably complex. Jer 18:9–10 is unique in the prophets in that it envisions the divine repentance of an announced good. Israel cannot rely on the divine declaration of a promise while neglecting its own response to that word of God. In fact, Israel's unfaithfulness makes this negative possibility a near reality. God's promise may be relied upon absolutely, but neither Israel nor any other community can be guaranteed participation in the reality of fulfillment irrespective of its response. God will remain true to God's promises, but not in some universalistic sense. Those who reject God's word will suffer the consequences of self-removal from the sphere of the promise, a move which God will honor.

It is just such a perspective that should inform the assessment of passages such as Isa 55:10–11, "my word shall not return empty." In the first instance, this text does not have a general reference to the word of God, only to the promise of return from exile (cf. 55:12–13; Isa 44:26). Secondly, it is a strong statement on the efficacy of the word, but not in some autonomous way. The reference is to the words of the prophets being confirmed by God (cf. Isa 44:26). Finally, the word of the Lord will be fulfilled for those who are spoken of in vv 6–7, those who "return to the Lord." Those who are forgiven and faithful will experience the fulfillment of this word. The salvific will of God will not fail for them; God's word will indeed prosper.

The history of Israel is thus shaped by more than the word of God; how individuals and community respond to that word also shapes that history. Even more, the word of God is open to change by God himself. The word of God is never a matter of fate once spoken. God can revoke a word, not carrying it into effect, or adjust a word in view of changing situations. In view of the interaction of divine word and human response, Israel's history is open to a variety of turns. God is not trapped within his own word, as if the word spoken had a life of its own and would move inexorably to its fulfillment. Yet, any divine movement away from this word would only be in the interests of God's absolute salvific will for Israel and the world. The issue for God, finally, is not the fulfillment of a word, but the salvation of as many as possible.

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TERENCE E. FRETHEIM

**WORDPLAY, HEBREW.** Use in proximity of words that display similarity of sound with dissimilarity of meaning. The Hebrew Bible in both its prose and verse abounds in various types and degrees of explicit and implicit wordplay, with the total number of instances far exceeding the 502 explicit examples enumerated in the fundamental study by Casanowicz (1894). It is rarely captured in translation.

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**A. Definition and Terminology**

In classical rhetoric, "paronomasia" generally refers to words whose form is similar but whose meaning is different. In biblical studies, it is the term most often applied to perceived wordplay. The Bible itself has no term for this phenomenon, but extended plays on series of place-names (e.g., Amos 5:5; Mic 1:10–16) and personal names (e.g., Gen 49:3, 8, 16, 19), as well as multiple plays in such passages as Isa 27:7, convince readers that paronomasia was an important convention of ancient Hebrew composition. The evidence of plays on personal names is particularly compelling. In Ruth 1:20 Naomi interprets her own name etymologically: "Do not call me Naomi [Pleasant One], call me Mara [Bitter One], for the Almighty has dealt very bitterly [*hēmar*] with me." In 1 Sam 25:25 Abigail connects the name of her feckless husband with his character. His name, *Nābāl,* as a common noun means "rogue" or "fool." "As his name is," she explains, "so is he. Nabal is his name, and folly is with him." If biblical characters perform wordplay (between a proper noun and a common usage), it would seem likely that biblical authors did, too.

In the 6th century C.E. the rabbinic midrash Genesis Rabbah (18:4; 31:8) describes such biblical wordplay as the derivation of *ʾiššâ,* "woman," from *ʾîš*, "man" (Gen 2:23) and the juxtaposition of *něḥaš,* "serpent (of)," and *něḥōšet,* "bronze" (Num 21:9) as "language falling on top of language" *(lāšôn nôpēl ʿal lāšôn),* i.e., two different locutions (at least partly) coinciding in sound. This understanding of biblical wordplay is similar to the classical definition of paronomasia and was adopted in such early expositions of biblical rhetoric as Moses ibn Ezra's "Poetry of Israel" (ca. 1135, in Arabic) and Judah Messer Leon's "Book of the Honeycomb's Flow" (1475, in Hebrew).

Casanowicz restricts his analysis of paronomasia to the classical definition, excluding such common biblical phenomena as plain repetition (which is used for a variety of grammatical and rhetorical functions; see Eitan 1920), the figura etymologica (because the repetition is grammatically conditioned), and sheer coincidence (because it is presumably unintentional). That approach will be followed here.

**B. Forms**

Paronomasia may involve the entire sound-shape of words or only a part of them; it may be explicit or implicit; and there are different types of paronomasia.

**1. Complete and Incomplete Sound Repetition.** Paronomasia may entail the repetition of the same word, which is called "antanaclasis." In Judg 5:6, for example, the word *ʾŏrāḥôt* occurs twice, once in the sense of "caravans," and once in the sense of "byways." The proverb in Qoh 7:6, "For as the crackling of thorns under a pot, so is the laughter of fools," has fun with the homonym *sîr,* which serves as the word for both "thorn" and "pot." Samson's boast that he slew a "mass" (lit., "pile") of 1,000 men with the jawbone of an ass plays on the homonymy of *ḥămôr,* "mass" and "ass" (Judg 15:16).

Much wordplay capitalizes on the polysemy (multiple meaning) of words, creating puns. In Gen 48:22, for example, Jacob blesses Joseph with a "shoulder" (mountain) over and above his brothers. The Heb term *šĕkem* denotes not only the common noun "shoulder" but the city of Shechem, which is located in Joseph's territorial inheritance. Polysemy poignantly enriches the poetry of Job 7:6: "My days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle, and come to their end without hope." The word for "hope," *tiqwâ,* has the root meaning of "cord," so that the metaphor and its reference coalesce: the course of life and the shuttle both run out for lack of *tiqwâ.* The meaning of an entire sentence can be doubled through polysemy. Such sentence-long polysemy, called "amphibology," though rare, seems to occur, e.g., in Gen 4:13. Cain's exclamation "My punishment is greater than I can bear" can also mean "My sin is too great to bear," by dint of the word *ʿawôn's* polysemy. In fact, because the expression *nāśāʾ ʿawôn* means "to forgive" as well as "to bear sin," the statement can also mean, "My sin is too great to forgive."

Hebrew wordplay often exploits the nature of Semitic morphology by which inflection of a verb-stem alters sense. In addition to the example of Isa 27:7 cited above, note, e.g., Isa 1:19–20: "If you are willing and obedient, you shall eat the good of the land. But if you refuse and rebel, you shall be devoured by the sword." "You shall eat" and "you shall be devoured" are conjugated from the same verbal root, *ʾ-k-l,* producing an ironic choice, to eat or be eaten. Jeremiah plays a number of times on different forms of the verb *šûb,* "to turn (forward or back)" (cf. Carroll 1981: 75, 120, 211).

More often than not, biblical paronomasia operates with words that are not identical in root or sound but are strikingly close. Because Hebrew words comprise a consonantal root interspersed with changing vocalic schemes, we generally demand of wordplay that at least half the consonants, usually two of the common root's three, are identical or phonologically similar. A parade example is Isa 5:7b, where the antonymous terms ironically sound alike: "he looked for justice [*mišpāṭ*], but behold, bloodshed [*miśpāḥ*]; for righteousness [*ṣĕdāqâ*], but behold, a cry [*ṣĕʿāqâ*]!" Typical are pairs of near-synonyms that alliterate or otherwise echo one another; e.g., *nāʿ wānād,* "a wanderer and meanderer" (Gen 4:14); *ʿāpār wāʾēper,* "dust and ashes" (Gen 18:27); *pālîṭ wĕśārîd,* "fugitive and survivor" (Jer 44:14). Note in the last example that the two nouns share a vowel scheme and that the second and third root consonants are close (*l* and *r* are liquids, *t* and *d* dentals) though distinct.

A special case of such pairs is "farrago," where two terms combine to give a joint meaning and at least one of the terms is contrived in order to rhyme (cf. in English: hocus pocus, helter skelter, etc.). Examples are *tōhû wābōhû,* "wild and waste" (Gen 1:2) and *šeṣep qeṣep,* "for a moment's wrath" (Isa 54:8).

Frequently the play on words involves a metathesis (cf. Tur-Sinai 1959). In Isa 61:3 a transposition of consonants reinforces a replacement of sense: "to give them a garland [*pĕʾēr*] instead of ashes [*ʾēper*]."

Incomplete paronomasia, in which the operative words differ in consonants or their sequence or in the vowel scheme (see above), often characterizes plays on personal names. The name Cain *(qayin)* is apparently etymologized in Gen 4:1 from the root *q-n-y,* "to make, acquire" (note metathesis). The biconsonantal name Noah *(nōaḥ)* is connected with the triconsonantal verb *nîḥēm (Piʿel),* "to comfort" (Gen 5:29). In one of its two etymologies in Gen 30:20, the name Zebulon *(zĕbūlûn)* is derived from *zābad,* "to bestow (a gift)."

**2. Explicit and Implicit Wordplay.** Paronomasia is most explicit when a proper noun is overtly etymologized. This may occur through a naming formula; e.g., "And Leah said, 'Happy am I [*ʾŏšrî*]! For the women will call me happy [*ʾiššĕrûnî*];' so she called his name Asher [*ʾāšēr*]" (Gen 30:13). Or it may take the form of a blessing or doom prophecy; e.g., "Dan [*dān*] shall judge [*yādîn*] his people" (Gen 49:16); "for Gilgal [*gilgāl*] shall surely go into exile [*gālōh yigleh*]" (Amos 5:5).

Name derivations sometimes lack a formula, but their reference seems clear from context. Moab [*môʾāb*] is not only the eponymous "forefather of Moab [*ʾăbi-môʾāb*]" (Gen 19:37) but a son whose mother conceived him "by (her) father" (*mēʾāb;* cf. *mēʾăbîhen* in v 36). Similarly, Job *(ʾiyyôb)* would seem to be implicitly interpreting his name in the light of his experience when he accuses God of regarding him as an "enemy" (*ʾôyēb;* Job 13:25). When Noah condemns his grandson Canaan *(kĕnaʿan)* to be subservient to his brothers (Gen 9:25–27), we may find an implicit play on the verb *kānaʿ,* "to kneel, be subservient."

Names may also play on synonyms. The naming of Sitnah (*śiṭnâ,* "hostility") in Gen 26:21 follows from the "contention" *(rîb)* between Isaac's men and the men of Gerar. The "kings of peoples" that "shall come from" Sarah (Gen 17:16) may involve a play between "king" *(melek)* and the name Sarah, which derives from *śār,* a near-synonym of "king." Similarly, the epithet "blessed" *(bārûk)* in the blessing of Asher (Deut 33:24) may implicitly interpret the name Asher, from the root *ʾ-š-r,* "happy, blessed."

If so, we may identify plays on synonyms or "synonymous substitution" (Strus 1978: 62; cf. generally Garsiel 1987; Zakovitch 1980) in even subtler usages. In Deut 33:22 Dan is called "a lion's whelp"; the earlier name of the northern town of Dan was Laish (cf. Judg 18:29), and *layiš* is a poetic word for "lion."

**3. Types of Wordplay.** We may classify forms of biblical wordplay in a variety of ways. Illustrations of the following types are cited above. One may distinguish between play on proper names and on common nouns (cf. Strus 1978, Garsiel 1987), or between explicit and implicit derivations (e.g., Zakovitch 1980). One may taxonomize according to the sound patterns involved (cf. Glück 1970). Alternatively, one may differentiate between polysemy in the strict sense and paronomasia, in which slightly dissimilar sounds or words are entailed. Such a distinction is not hard and fast, for a pun may work in either way.

The pun proper, a form of witticism, includes a "double entendre" in which the audience catches the second meaning by way of a delayed surprise or double-take. Naming formulas, since they rarely involve surprise, do not typically pun. When a very upset Esau exclaims, "Is he not rightly named Jacob? For he has tricked me *[wayyaʿqĕbēnî]* these two times …" (Gen 27:36), he is punning on Jacob's name. At first the name was related to the noun *ʿēqeb,* "heel," when Jacob emerged from the womb grasping Esau's foot (Gen 25:26). Here, Esau discovers a second meaning by which he accounts for his brother's guile.

## C. Functions

Wordplay would seem to serve diverse functions in biblical literature. For convenience of organization, we shall divide the functions between paronomasia in general and the case of the proper noun alone.

**1. General.** A number of functions involve both common words and proper names.

**a. Euphony.** On occasion paronomasia would seem to serve no function but an aesthetic one. The nuts-and-bolts passages describing the plans and construction of the tabernacle in the wilderness, for example, are enlivened by such rhyming wordplays as *lĕbātîm lĕbaddîm,* "as holders for the poles" (Exod 25:27), *ʾet-qĕrāsā (y)w wĕʾet-qĕrāšā (y)w,* "its hooks and its frames" (Exod 35:11), and *paʿămōn wĕrimmōn paʿămōn wĕrimmōn,* "a bell and a pomegranate, a bell and a pomegranate" (Exod 39:26).

**b. To Highlight an Idea or Association.** Repetition of sound between juxtaposed words within or even between clauses reinforces the sense they share (cf., e.g., Saydon 1955). A common image of destruction is evoked by *paḥad wāpaḥat wāpāḥ,* "terror, and the pit, and the snare," in Isa 24:17. In Judg 5:4 the verbs in the roughly synonymous parallel clauses sound alike: *bĕsēʾtĕkā,* "when you went forth," *bĕṣaʿdĕkā,* "when you marched." The line of development from Jonah's descent into the ship and on into an oblivious sleep is underscored by the play between *yārad,* "he went down," and *wayyērādam,* "he went to sleep" (Jonah 1:5; cf., e.g., Halpern and Friedman 1980: esp. 84).

**c. The Leading Word.** The last example illustrates the phenomenon Buber (1936) called the "Leitwort," or leading word. Its recurrence within a passage may underline a theme; its appearance within or between passages, if sufficiently striking, erects an exegetical trajectory. When Laban justifies his deception of Jacob by saying, "It is not so done in our country, to give the younger [daughter] before the firstborn [*bĕkîrâ*]" (Gen 29:26), the reader, according to Buber, should recall the birthright *(bĕkōrâ)* and blessing *(bĕrākâ)* that Jacob wrested from Esau (see Gen 27:36) and interpret Laban's act as indirect divine retribution to Jacob. Note, too, that the verbal stem *r-m-y,* "to deceive," appears prominently in both Gen 27:35 and 29:25.

**d. Allusion.** Wordplay may serve to allude to another passage, adding an association to the present one. Tur-Sinai (1959:113), for example, has suggested that the Golden Calf incident evokes the apostasy at Baal Peor [*pĕʿôr*] (Numbers 25) when it says "Moses saw that the people had broken loose [*pārūaʿ*], for Aaron had let them break loose [*pĕrāʿōh*]" (Exod 32:25).

**e. Irony.** Paronomasia is by its nature most efficient for producing or reinforcing irony. It is a favorite device of the prophets; e.g., "You said, 'No! We will speed upon horses [*ʿal-sûs nānûs*],' therefore you

shall speed away [*tĕnûsûn*]" (Isa 30:16); "I will cut off [*wĕhikrattî*] the Cherethites [*kĕrētîm*]" (Ezek 25:16). The Garden of Eden's irony in that a clever serpent talks and a human couple goes naked is driven home by the homonymy between the word for "cunning," *ʿārûm* (Gen 3:1) and "naked," *ʿărūmmîm* (2:25). See also HUMOR AND WIT (OT).

**f. Satire.** A pun can target a person or place for abuse, as satire. A classic example is Isa 5:22, which plays on an ironic use of the regular terms for military heroes, *gibbôrîm* and *ʾanšê ḥayil*, respectively: "Woe to those who are heroes at drinking wine, and valiant men in mixing strong drink."

**2. Proper Names.** There was a belief in the ancient world that, on the one hand, names signify certain essential characteristics of their bearers and, on the other, names betoken a fate or destiny. This belief would seem to underlie plays on the names of persons and places in the Hebrew Bible. We shall organize our treatment of plays on names with reference to past (etymology), present (essence), and future (fate or destiny) associations.

**a. Etymology.** Explicit and implicit naming generally relates the denominated person or place to one's or its background or the circumstances in which he, she, or it came into being (etiology). The first human being was called *ʾādām* for having been formed from the earth (*ʾădāmâ;* Gen 2:7). Babylon *(bābel)* was named for the confusion (verb *bālal*) of language that effected its collapse (Gen 11:9). The twelve sons and daughter of Jacob were nearly all named by Leah and Rachel to reflect their personal struggles to bear children (Genesis 29–30, 35). Pharaoh's daughter named Moses *(mōšeh)* for her having drawn him out of the Nile: *mĕsîtîhû*, "I drew him out" (Exod 2:10). The morphology of Heb *mōšeh,* however, ironically signifies his role, or destiny, as the "one who draws out" Israel from Egypt through the Sea of Reeds.

**b. Essence.** As Abigail suggested of her husband Nabal (see A above), and as we now see with Moses, names may represent the character or role of the bearer. David, whose name means "beloved (of YHWH)," epitomizes divine chosenness; cf. the throne-name of Solomon, Jedidiah *(yĕdîdyâ)*, whose name is a synonymous substitution (see B.2 above) for "and the Lord loved him" (2 Sam 12:24–25). Isaiah would seem to have satirized the name of the Moabite city Dibon, transforming it to Dimon so that it would embody the "blood" *(dām)* with which its "waters" were "full" (Isa 15:9). In Isa 37:17–25 the name of the Assyrian king Sennacherib *(sanḥērîb)* is interpreted through paronomasia by Heb *ḥereb,* "sword," and the verb *ḥērēp,* "to mock (God)," thereby defining his character. Ruth's noble helper is unsurprisingly Boaz, whose name evokes *bô ʿōz,* "in him is strength." The wordplays on places in Mic 1:10–16 relate names to the nature or conduct of the locations.

**c. Fate or Destiny.** Words, like visual symbols, often bear the seeds of future meaning in the biblical world. The branch of the almond tree *(šāqēd)* that YHWH shows Jeremiah mantically suggests the participle *šōqēd,* "watching," and betokens God's commitment to fulfill his prophecy: "for I am watching over my word to perform it" (Jer 1:10–11). Similarly, the "summer fruit" *(qayiṣ)* that YHWH shows Amos conjures up the "end" *(qēṣ)* that "has come upon my people Israel" (Amos 8:1–2). The polysemy of language, as in these symbolic visions, conceals revelation. Consider the writing on the wall in Dan 5:24–28, *mĕnē› mĕnē› tĕqēl ûparsîn.* It can be read coherently as a jingle: "a mina, a mina, a shekel, and (two) half (-shekels)." Daniel, the gifted interpreter, reads each item as the key to a different though related sentence.

When Jacob blesses his sons in Genesis 49, or a prophet condemns a nation, by interpreting their names through paronomasia, they may be more than merely playing with words. They may be releasing a hidden fate. For Jeremiah, the geographic name Madmen presages the silence or desolation *(tiddōmmî)* that will befall it (Jer 48:2b). The Moabite sisters-in-law, Orpah and Ruth (Ruth 1), each fulfill the destiny implicated in her name. Orpah turns her back (*ʿōrep,* "back of the neck") on Naomi, and Ruth brings fertility (from the root *r-w-y*) to Naomi's household (see Ruth 4:15–16). The coincidence of similar names may convey a sense of destiny. The fact that Jacob *(yaʿăqōb)* is engaged in struggle *(wayyēʾābēq)* by a man at the Jabbok *(yabbōq)* ford (Gen 32:23–25), appears as though it was fated to be.

**D. Bilingual Wordplay**

There would seem to be some wordplay between Hebrew and neighboring languages in the Bible (cf., e.g., Rendsburg 1988). In Exod 10:10, the narrator may inject a satirical allusion to the Egyptian god Ra

in Pharaoh's accusation: "Look, you have some evil purpose [*rāʿâ*] in mind." The name of the manna *(mān)* is (implicitly) explained in Exod 16:15 by Aramaic *mān hˇ,* "What is it?"

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**WORDS OF THE LUMINARIES** (4QDibHam). Three fragmentary manuscripts from Qumran Cave 4 (4Q504–6) contain prayers for the days of the week; the (probable) original title of the work (Hebrew *Dibrê Hammĕʾôrôth*), also translated as "Words of the Heavenly Lights," was written on the reverse of one of the fragments. The composition probably contained prayers for each day of the week, and most of the preserved text (1:1–7:3) is apparently prescribed for Friday, since 7:4 reads "praises for the Sabbath day." The extant text is a penitential prayer, comprising confessions of past sins and appeals for divine grace, with extensive use of biblical quotation. In the OT this genre is also found in 1 Kgs 8:46–53, Nehemiah 9 and Daniel 9, as well as 1 Bar 1:15–3:8. The similarity of form, content, and language to the ancient *taḫanun* ("supplication"), still part of daily Jewish liturgy, has been demonstrated by Lehmann (1964). The 4QDibHam prayer recalls the election of Israel, its past sins culminating in the destruction of the First Temple, and the dispersion, and specifically asks for restoration from that dispersion, which is emphasized as Israel's present plight.

The editor of the fragments, M. Baillet, dates them paleographically to the mid-2d century B.C.E., though the origin of the various component prayers may be considerably earlier. An important question is whether this text is "sectarian." It contains no specific indications of Qumran ideology, and has been classified by Baillet as "pre-Essene" (by which he means strictly "pre-Qumranic"), and as a product of "Hasidean piety" in the Maccabean period. However, few scholars now identify the Qumran community precisely as a whole, and it is increasingly acknowledged that the ideological roots and probably the formation of the Essenes predate the Maccabean period. The ideology of 4QDibHam, with its stress on Israel's past sins and its exilic perspective, is strikingly similar to the *Admonition* of the *Damascus Document,* although 4QDibHam, unlike CD, carries no implication of a sectarian community as its setting. Hence the prayer may have been non-Essene in composition, but used by Essenes, including the Qumran community. It is thus one of a number of Dead Sea scrolls which raise the question of what criteria define a Qumran manuscript or its contents as "sectarian."

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PHILIP R. DAVIES

**WORKS OF GOD.** In this precise form the phrase appears only twice (John 6:28; 9:3), but the idea appears often in cognate forms. An author may use the noun "work" in the singular rather than the plural without a clear shift in meaning (John 6:28–29). In many cases, "work" is a verb in the present tense with God as the subject who is invisibly present in the activity of a human being (John 5:17). When a human person is the subject of this verb, God's role may be indicated in a prepositional phrase, the work being done by, through, or in God. Of course, many other verbs than work are used with God as subject: he calls, speaks, sends, reveals. Various antonyms appear: God's works are set over against the works of darkness, of the flesh, of the devil. Accordingly, the concept points to a hidden warfare between God and Satan in which an author believes the stakes are final judgment and salvation (John 3:19–21).

There is only limited reference to OT usage, although we find occasional mention of God's works in the six days of creation (Heb 1:10; 4:4) and to the rescue of Israel from Egypt and the gift of manna in the wilderness (Heb 3:9; Rev 15:3). Authors refer more frequently to the present vocation of individuals, whether of Christ (John 17:4), of the apostles (Acts 13:2), of Epaphroditus (Phil 2:29), or of members of the church in Thyatira (Rev 2:26).

The Johannine tradition makes major use of this idea. Here the works of God become visible in the work of Jesus who reveals Him. The will/words/works of the divine sender are synonymous with the will/words/works of the human messenger. The same linkage defines the paternal/filial image; whatever the Son does the Father does. A wide range of the Son's activity is placed within this context: giving sight to the blind (John 9:3–40), giving life to the dead (John 5:19–24), giving bread to the hungry (John 6; 28–33), or relaying the words of God (John 14:10). To believe in the one whom God sends is itself a work of God (John 6:29). The blind man who is healed becomes a work of God (John 9:3–4). The works of those whom Jesus sends become his works and in turn the works of God (John 14:12–14). These greater works are made possible through the gift of the Holy Spirit, whom God sends to the disciples at the request of Jesus (John 14:15–26). By completing the work that God gave him to do, Jesus glorifies God and is glorified by Him (John 17:4–5). This work is then continued in and through believers (John 17:20–26).

The pattern is less prominent in the Pauline tradition but the underlying perspective is similar. Paul assumes the identity of Jesus' mission with God's works but speaks more often of the works of Jesus Christ as Lord or of the work of the Holy Spirit. The existence of the church in Corinth is an example of work done *in* the Lord (1 Cor 9:1); as such the church itself has become a work *of* the Lord (1 Cor 16:10). Members of that congregation, by doing the work of the Lord, are assured that their work is not futile (1 Cor 15:58). Paul views the entire story of the Philippian congregation as bracketed between the beginning and the completion of God's work, and this view gave him both gratitude and confidence (Phil 1:6). Participation in God's work, of course, involves believers in a conflict with the works of darkness and the devil (Rom 13:12; Gal 5:19–21; Eph 5:11). When Paul uses the phrase "the work of God," it is sometimes difficult to be sure of the exact reference. In Rom 14:20, for instance, he may refer (1) to an individual believer whose faith is threatened, (2) to the cohesion of the community as a whole, (3) to the "righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Spirit," or (4) to all of the above.

Throughout the NT certain attitudes are constant. Apart from God, human works are evil and ephemeral; when done in God they are good and enduring (Acts 5:38–39). To accomplish God's work is "to do the will of him who sent me" (John 4:34). This is to do everything in the name of God so that one name binds together the activity of the Father, the Son, and all who serve them. This activity points back toward an origin in a new creation (Gal 6:15) and forward toward a completion "at the day of Christ" (Phil 1:6). Such attitudes are expressed in language that is meaningful only to community members; it is a prophetic and liturgical language that conveys a strong sense of communal identity and of historical vocation (2 Cor 5:16–6:2).

PAUL S. MINEAR

**WORLD, ON THE ORIGIN OF** (NHC II,5). The title given to the fifth tractate of Codex II from Nag Hammadi. It is written in Sahidic Coptic with some influences of Subachmimic. The treatise covers 30 pages of approximately 36 lines each. The text is generally well preserved, except at the bottom

corners. The tractate is untitled and is sometimes referred to as the "Untitled Work." A variant of the opening lines survives from Codex XIII (NHC XIII, *2* 50, 22–31).

*Orig. World* opens with a polemical introduction which claims to refute the opinions of those who hold that nothing existed prior to chaos (97,24–98,10). This opinion may be traced back to Hesiod (*Theog.* 116). The Hesiod text was allegorized by Stoic philosophers and is discussed in Theophilus (*Ad Autol.* ii,6). Thus *Orig. World* claims that only gnostic cosmologies can provide the truth about the origins of the world. Other elements of cosmological speculation corrected by the author include the doctrine of providence and the fiery destruction of the world. On the former, the author insists on a distinction between a heavenly Providence and the rule of Fate over the lower world (111,32–112,10; 121,16; 123,12–16; 125,27–32); on the latter, that in the end-time the material world and its ruling Fate are completely destroyed (125,23–127,17).

The author is familiar with philosophical debates of the mid-2d century C.E. and has also made extensive use of other gnostic expositions of Genesis. The treatise appears dependent upon a version of that tradition that is very close to *Hypostasis of the Archons* (NHC II,*4*), the work which immediately precedes it in Codex II (cf. *Orig. World* 98,11–23 with *Hyp. Arch.* 94,5–10; 99,2–22 with 94,10–14; 100,1–14 with 94,14–19; 100,19–26 with 87,11–14; 103,2–15 with 86,30–31 and 94,21ff.; 103,15–32 with 94,23–26 and 87,1–4; 103,32–107,17 with 95,13–96,15; 107,36 with 94,27f.; 112,32–113,2 with 87,23–26; 113,12–114,15 with 95,18–35; 114,8–15 with 89,15–17; 114,15–20 with 88,17–18; 114,24–115,3 with 87,23–35; 115,3–15 with 88,3–4; 115,15–30 with 87,35–36; 115,30–116,8 with 89,4–6, 14–15; 116,33–117,15 with 89,26–27; 118,6–119,19 with 89,31–90,19; 119,19–120,3 with 90,19–31; 120,3–12 with 90,30–91,3; 120,17–121,13 with 88,19–21 and 91,3–11). Further examples of the type of Genesis exegesis presupposed in these treatises are found in *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,*1*). *Orig. World* has expanded its inherited mythic story with other myths, most notably an extensive account of the origins of Eros and the offspring of Eros and Psyche (108,14–111,29) and the origins of the Phoenix in Egypt (121,35–123,1). Thus, this work is a rich source for 2d century cosmological speculation, for gnostic traditions of Genesis exegesis and for other elements of popular mythology.

*Orig. World* holds that Fate, working with the demonic powers, has led the world astray into magic, bloodshed, idolatry, false sacrifices, and injustice (123,2–24). The appearance of the "True Man," the Savior, the Logos sent from the Immortal Father has taught the gnostics the truth about the rulers of Chaos. The gnostics "put to shame all wisdom of the gods and their Fate was shown to be condemnable, their power dried up, their rule destroyed and their foresight and glories became empty," (125,27–32). At the end of the age everything which belongs to the lower world will be destroyed and all will return to the primordial world of light (125,32–127,17).

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PHEME PERKINS

**WORM.** See ZOOLOGY.

**WORMWOOD.** The popular name for any of several plants which belong to the genus *Artemisia,* named after the Greek goddess Artemis. Several species of *Artemisia* grow in Palestine and Syria. The wormwood mentioned in the Bible is likely *Artemisia herba-alba* Asso (also called white wormwood), a small, heavily branched shrub with hairy, gray leaves. It is the most common variety of *Artemisia* in Israel and neighboring countries, found even in dry, desolate areas. Other possible species included in the biblical references to wormwood would be *Artemisia judaica* and *Artemisia absinthium.* The wormwood plant, known for its extremely bitter taste, is eaten by goats and camels, and its leaves are dried and steeped by Bedouins to make a strong aromatic tea. Wormwood has also been used widely in folk

remedies, one of which is as a treatment for intestinal worms. This practice probably explains the popular name for the plant.

In the Bible, wormwood (the usual translation of the Heb *laʿănâ*) is always used figuratively for bitterness and sorrow. Though itself not poisonous, wormwood is often linked with the Hebrew word *rōʾš,* sometimes translated as "gall," which refers to a bitter and poisonous plant. Deut 29:18 warns against the fruit of idolatry which is gall and wormwood (RSV: poisonous and bitter fruit). The prophet Amos describes perverted justice and righteousness as wormwood (5:7; 6:12). Jeremiah declares the judgment of God against the people of Judah, saying, "Behold, I will feed this people with wormwood, and give them poisonous water to drink" (9:15; cf. 23:15). The author of Lamentations compares his distress over the destruction of Jerusalem to being filled with bitterness and wormwood (3:15, 19). In Proverbs the loose woman is portrayed as a deceiver whose lips drip honey, but who in reality "is bitter as wormwood" (5:3–4). The only NT usage of the term occurs in Revelation as a description of the effects of one of the trumpet judgments. When the third trumpet is sounded a great star named Wormwood falls into the waters on the earth and "a third of the waters became wormwood, and many men died of the water, because it was made bitter" (8:10–11).

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MITCHELL G. REDDISH

**WORSHIP, EARLY CHRISTIAN.** Early Christianity differed strikingly from other religions in the Roman world in that it had no cult statues, temples, or regular sacrifices (whether of animals or produce), or the customary musical accompaniment. Christian worship had a primarily verbal character, and in this respect it was similar to synagogue Judaism, with which it had strong historical ties. Yet Christians did have religious gatherings where various types of rituals were practiced. Christians gathered to eat together (i.e., to celebrate the Lord's Supper), to baptize new members, to read Scripture, to listen to God speak to them through other Christians, to experience healing, to pray and sing hymns of praise and thanksgiving to God. These activities were not tied to particular places but could be practiced virtually anywhere. The primary unifying feature was temporal rather than spatial (cf. Smith 1987: 94f.): Christian worship occurred primarily on Sunday, the day commemorating the resurrection. Narrowly viewed, not all of these activities can be characterized as the worship of God (Marshall 1985), though all are part of the distinctive Christian conception of divine service. Despite the fact that Christian baptism, prayer, and sacral meals were rooted in Jewish traditions, the choice of new times and places for worship were means whereby Christians distanced themselves from Judaism (*Ign. Magn.* 9:1; cf. Perrot 1983). Christian worship can be understood as the reverent homage paid to God and Christ in the context of a Christian assembly. Christians assembled for various reasons, and each type of assembly was a complex of several kinds of ritual behaviors and celebrations all combined into a unified whole. Thus while particular features of religious services may not in themselves constitute a ritual of worship, the context in which they are set means that they are part of the constellation of activities which constitutes Christian worship. In this article the focus will be to describe what can be known about religious activities which characterized Christian assemblies.

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B. The Morphology of Christian Worship
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**A. The Problem of Method**

The sources for our knowledge of the various aspects of early Christian worship are exceedingly incomplete and fragmentary until the end of the 2d century A.D., and are difficult if not impossible to synthesize. The evidence which does exist has been manipulated by scholars on the basis of a variety of theological biases. The major methodological problems and issues involved in the study of early Christian worship and liturgy include the following. (1) There has been a marked tendency to read early, fragmentary evidence anachronistically in the light of later, more detailed accounts of Christian liturgical practices. (2) There has been a strong inclination to read a chronological and geographical uniformity of development into the history of early Christian worship practices, though the evidence strongly suggests that great variety existed at various places and times during the first two centuries of Christian history. (3) While the quest for origins (particularly in connection with the ritual of the eucharist or Lord's Supper) often assumes the validity of the single-origin theory, i.e., that various eucharistic rites are descendants of a single original archetype, developments in the study of Jewish liturgy suggests that such "original forms" cannot be shown to have existed (Heinemann 1977; Sarason 1978; Reif 1983; Bradshaw 1987). (4) The tendency toward "panliturgism," i.e., the discovery of supposedly liturgical texts or fragments of liturgical texts throughout the NT wherever parallels to later liturgical texts are found (Moule 1961: 7), must be restrained. (5) The first time that a particular phrase occurs in a liturgical text does not mean that that is the first occurrence of such a phrase. (6) The widespread views that Jesus was a radical critic of traditional Jewish worship (Hahn 1973: 14–31), that early Christianity did not have a cult in the proper sense of the term (*BTNT* 121f.; Conzelmann 1969: 46f.), and that Christianity eliminated the usual distinction between the sacred and the profane (Hahn 1973: 38–39), are exaggerated claims based on modern theological biases with tenuous historical support in early Christian literature. (7) It is no longer viable to treat the history of early Christian worship in terms of overlapping religious and sociocultural categories of Aramaic-speaking Palestinian Christianity, Greek-speaking Jewish Christianity, and gentile Christianity (the procedure of Hahn 1973: *TRE* 14: 28–39).

**B. The Morphology of Christian Worship**

While the basic function of religious ritual is to act on the other world for the purpose of influencing this world, the more specific functions of ritual depend on many variable factors including the relationship of the religious group to the social context within which its members live. For early Christianity, a minority group within an often hostile religious and cultural environment, group ceremonies and ritual functioned in a way which tended to dramatize and actualize the new, distinctively Christian norms and values. The use of such terms as "brother" and "household" suggest that Christians attempted to overcome social rejection by creating a surrogate family. Further, the isolated character of individual Christian

communities was overcome by the maintenance of links with other similar communities which culminated in the development of the conception of the Church universal.

Religious rituals exhibit several general features throughout the religions of the world (Grimes 1982: 55f.): (1) they are repeated, (2) they are sacred, (3) they consist of formalized or stereotypical words, gestures, and actions, (4) they are traditional, and (5) they are intentional. All these elements mean that ritual activity is a way of ceasing regular activity and of focusing attention on matters of intense importance which are of common interest (Smith 1987: 103).

Worship, as distinguished from religious ritual, has several phenomenological characteristics (Smart 1972: 51): (1) worship is relational, (2) the ritual of worship expresses the superiority of the focus of worship to the worshipper, (3) worship performatively sustains or is part of the power of the focus of worship, (4) the experience worship expresses is that of the numinous, for the object of worship inspires awe, (5) the focus of worship is unseen and transcends particular manifestations, (6) the superiority of the focus give it greater power than the worshipper, and (7) worship involves praise directed to the focus of worship. The core of Christian worship was ritual combined with the intention or beliefs of the worshippers (Smart 1972: 5). Christian worship functioned in two primary ways: (1) it was not only a model and celebration of the distinctive religious and moral ideals of Christians, but (2) it also had an anticipatory function in that it provided a vehicle for actualizing the perfect future realization of these religious ideals in the present.

The terms "ritual" and "worship" are largely synonymous with the term "cult," a designation no longer widely used in English (though *Kult* and *Kultus* continue to be used in German). Nineteenth-century Idealism, which negatively assessed the external characteristics of religion, has had a significant impact on the way in which NT scholars have used the term "cult." Bultmann, for example, suggests a restrictive and implicitly pejorative three-part definition of cult (*BTNT*, 121): (1) human action (particularly sacrifice) intended to influence the deity to act in the interests of the group; (2) the action occurs at fixed sacred times in sacred places and in accordance with sacred regulations; (3) the action is performed by religious specialists (primarily priests) who mediate between the community and the gods. Earlier, Adolf Deissmann (1957: 114–18) reacted to von Dobschütz' view that the external signs of cult were temple, priest, and sacrifice, and the purpose of cult was to influence the deity by distinguishing between "acting" cults (those which try to influence the deity) and "reacting" cults (those in which human action is in response to a prior action of the deity). According to this schema, early Christianity was a "reacting" cult. However, "cult" may be defined in a much more objective and useful manner, with Mowinckel (*RGG* 4: 120f.), as "the visible, socially arranged and ordered, efficacious forms through which the religious experience of communion between the deity and the 'community' is actualized and its effects expressed." The term "cult," then, is virtually synonymous with "ritual" and "worship" to the extent that all three terms simply refer to the corporate religious activities of Christians.

Early Christian worship focused on God, but particularly upon the salvific benefits of what God had done for humanity through Jesus Christ. The focus of Christianity, both theologically and ritually, was therefore salvation. While salvation had been inaugurated in the past through the first coming of Christ (focusing on his incarnation, death, and resurrection), it had yet to be fully consummated in the future through the second coming of Christ, the Parousia. Many features of Christian worship, such as the celebration of the eucharist (Wainwright 1981) and the singing of hymns, often combined historical features (aspects of the past mission and achievement of Jesus) with eschatological elements (centering on the future completion of eschatological salvation). For Christians God was present in worship in a variety of manifestations and degrees (Smart 1972: 11f.). Though Christians worshipped the same God as Jews, the role of Christ in defining God is an essential and distinctive feature of Christian worship.

**C. Evidence for Liturgical Sequences**

While many separate features of Christian worship, such as the celebration of the Lord's Supper, baptismal liturgies, hymns, doxologies, and creedal formulas, have been preserved in the NT and early Christian literature (particularly in letters), there is often little indication of the original liturgical setting within which such individual traditions were set. Thus while Paul preserves a short account of the Lord's

Supper in 1 Cor 11:23–26, and later discusses many features of the Corinthian services of worship in 1 Corinthians 14, there is little indication of how these separate elements fit together as a whole. There have been a number of attempts to piece together the fragmentary evidence to reconstruct a liturgical setting for separate elements of worship services. Since Christian worship retained an elasticity and flexibility well into the 2d century A.D., the structures of Christian worship described below exhibit little uniformity nor are they variants of a single order of worship.

**1. The Order of Worship in 1 Corinthians.** In 1 Corinthians 8–14, Paul deals with a number of issues, including the problem of food and worship. One of the methodological issues in interpreting this section is the problem of distinguishing the actual practices of the Corinthians from Paul's notions of the ways in which they ought to behave. In 1 Cor 11:23–26, Paul provides the earliest extant account of the Lord's Supper, framed by discussions of the proper decorum for eating the Lord's Supper (vv 17–22) and the necessary attitude one must have when participating (vv 27–34). Paul does not suggest that the words of institution in vv 23–26 are or should be recited at the Lord's Supper, but he uses those words in order to convey the true meaning of the meal (cf. 1 Cor 10:16–17). Paul does not tell us the context in which the Lord's Supper is eaten, though it would appear from 1 Cor 11:20–21 that the communal meal occurred first. After a discussion of spiritual gifts in 1 Corinthians 12–13, Paul focuses on the role of tongues and other activities in Christian worship in 1 Corinthians 14. This description is important and has become the basis for describing the characteristics of the Service of the Word (Bauer 1930: 17–39). For Paul, glossolalia consisted of praying, singing, and blessing with the Spirit, to which the response "amen" is ordinarily expected (1 Cor 14:15f.), and is an activity which takes place in the context of a Christian assembly (v 23). Paul wants those present to be edified, and so emphasizes the value of the interpretation or explanation of glossolalia in ordinary human language (vv 13f.), and particularly stresses the value of prophecy (vv 24f.). Paul recommends that when Christians assemble, each one comes with a previously prepared hymn, lesson, revelation, tongue, or interpretation (v 26); the accent is thus on individual participation for mutual benefit. This suggests that the Corinthian practice is to make extemporaneous contributions to the service and to disregard the issue of comprehensibility and edification. Paul recommends that a maximum of three people be allowed to speak in tongues, accompanied by interpretation (v 28), and that a maximum of three prophets be allowed to prophesy (v 29). The other prophets present should evaluate what individual prophets say (v 29).

Several conclusions can be drawn from Paul's discussion. (1) The general sequence at Christian assemblies appears to begin with the Lord's Supper, and continue with a variety of activities involving hymns, lessons, revelations, glossolalia, interpretation of glossolalia, and prophecy. This sequence roughly corresponds to the structure of Greek symposia. (2) The Corinthian worship service appears to have been relatively free and unstructured; Paul's recommendations have the force of introducing order, decorum, solemnity, comprehensibility, and male dominance (vv 33b–35) into the proceedings. (3) In Paul's brief description of a number of activities which took place in worship services at Corinth, the only element reflecting a Jewish origin is the mention of the responsory "amen" (1 Cor 14:16). (4) Paul does not mention readings from Scripture, homilies, the kiss of peace, or other rituals or activities of Christian worship, though a detailed description of the structure and activities of worship was not his main purpose.

**2. Reconstructed Liturgical Sequences in NT Letters.** Many scholars have speculated that the beginnings and endings of NT letters may reflect various aspects of early Christian services of worship. Some NT letters were expressly written to be read before Christian congregations (1 Thess 5:27; Col 4:16; Rev 1:3; Acts 15:30; cf. Polycarp *Phil.* 3:2), and may have been intentionally designed to fit into an order of service through incorporating a variety of liturgical forms and sequences. The salutation found at the beginning of many letters, for example, "Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ" (Rom 1:7; 1 Cor 1:3; 2 Cor 1:2; Gal 1:3; cf. Rev 1:4), may have been adapted from the introductory greeting used to open a Christian assembly for worship (Delling 1962: 48–49). Similarly, it is possible that the prayer of thanksgiving which usually follows the epistolary prescript may also have been modeled after prayers in the opening part of such worship services.

Many NT letters conclude with a sequence of features which have led scholars to suggest that they reflect a liturgical sequence linking one part of a service, the service of the word, with the celebration of the eucharist (Lietzmann 1979: 186f.; Robinson 1953; Bornkamm 1969: 169–76; Gibbs 1977–78). The following elements in this hypothetical liturgical sequence, present in a relatively complete form in 1 Cor 16:20–24 and *Did.* 10:6 (but also present more fragmentarily at the end of several other letters, e.g., Romans and Revelation), have been identified: (1) the holy kiss, (2) the invitation for believers to come, (3) the exclusion of the unworthy, (4) the *marana tha* ("our Lord come!"), and (5) the promise of grace. This sequence, the theory goes, led to the celebration of the eucharist. The strength of the proposal lies in the fact that *Did.* 10:6 is clearly part of a liturgical sequence which either introduces or concludes the eucharist (complete with the *marana tha* formula), and the kiss of peace found at the conclusion of five NT letters (Rom 16:16; 1 Cor 16:20; 2 Cor 13:12; 1 Thess 5:26; 1 Pet 5:14) concludes the prayers offered just prior to the eucharist in Justin (*1 Apol.* 65.2), ca. A.D. 155.

A simpler proposal, though just as speculative, is that there is a basic three-part pattern found at the conclusion of Romans which reflects the conclusion of a worship service at which the eucharist was not celebrated (Cuming 1975): (1) a peace wish, e.g., "The God of peace be with you all. Amen" (Rom 15:33), (2) the holy kiss, e.g., "Greet one another with a holy kiss" (Rom 16:16a), and (3) the grace benediction, e.g., "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you" (Rom 16:20b); cf. 1 Thess 5:23, 26, 28; 2 Cor 13:11, 12, 14; 1 Cor 16:20, 23; Phil 4:9, 21, 23).

**3. The Evidence from the *Didache.*** The *Didache,* or "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," is a pseudonymous treatise on "church order," of composite origin, containing an extensive section of ethical exhortation arranged in the pattern of the "Two Ways" of virtue and vice (*Did.* 1–6), and a manual of instructions relating to baptism, fasting, prayer, the agape and/or eucharist, and the roles of prophets, bishops, and deacons, with a concluding eschatological scenario (*Did.* 7–16). The date of the *Didache* is disputed, and is placed by scholars anywhere from A.D. 60 (Audet) to ca. A.D. 125, though a date ca. A.D. 100 is in many ways the most satisfactory. See also DIDACHE.

It is reasonable to suppose that the general sequence of topics in *Did.* 7–10 reflects the order of Christian services of worship at the place and time when this section of the *Didache* was formulated, a supposition confirmed in part by the order of worship found in Justin *1 Apol.* 61–67 (see below). Since the extensive ethical instruction in the Two Ways tradition in *Did.* 1–6 immediately precedes the instructions on how to administer baptism (*Did.* 7), the specific setting for such paraenesis appears to be the baptismal liturgy itself. Baptism is to be administered "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (*Did.* 7:1), a formula derived from Matt 28:19, where it is already explicitly connected with baptism. Those who actively participate in the ritual of baptism should fast one to two days beforehand (*Did.* 7:4; cf. Hippolytus *Apost.* 20.7). The Lord's Prayer, in a version close to that found in Matt 6:2–4, is found in *Did.* 8:2, where it is required to be prayed three times each day. Though the plural pronouns and verb forms suggest a corporate setting for the Lord's Prayer, the frequency with which it is used also suggests a setting of private prayer in which it is a conscious substitute for Jewish prayers. Eucharistic prayers with no reference to the sacrifice of Jesus are then given (*Did.* 9:1–4), before a regular meal, followed by a prayer prescribed for the conclusion of the meal (*Did.* 10:1–5). The latter is similar in form and content to the standard Jewish grace following meals, the *birkat haz-zimmun* (Heinemann 1977: 115–22). Since only those who have been baptized may eat the eucharist together (*Did.* 9:5), those two rituals very probably occurred in that order when baptisms were held. The miscellaneous statements which conclude the final prayer (*Did.* 10:6) are problematic and have been thought by some to indicate that the meal just eaten was the agape, while the eucharist itself is being introduced but not actually mentioned:

> Let grace come and let this world pass away.
> Hosanna to the God of David!
> If anyone is holy let him come. If not, let him repent.
> Our Lord, come!
> Amen.

The prophets are given latitude to celebrate the eucharist in their own way (*Did.* 10:7), a statement which seems to confirm the impression that the prayers prescribed in *Did.* 9:1–4 were in fact intended as eucharistic prayers. In a section describing the inspired utterance of prophets (*Did.* 11:7–12), a congregational setting seems presupposed, a setting which is certainly true for the freely worded eucharistic prayers of prophets (*Did.* 10:6). In *Did.* 14 it is recommended that on the Day of the Lord, i.e., Sunday, the congregation assemble to break bread and give thanks, following the confession of sins. Using imagery from the OT (Mal 1:11, 14), the eucharist is considered a sacrifice *(thysia)* in *Did.* 14:2–3.

To briefly recapitulate, the order or worship enjoined by the *Didache* consists of the several features in the following possible, but hypothetical, order: (1) fasting in preparation for baptism (7:4), (2) baptism "in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" (7:1–3), (3) recitation of the Lord's Prayer (8:2), (4) exclusion of those who have not been baptized (9:5), (5) confession of sin (14:1–2), (6) celebration of the Eucharist, consisting of prayers of thanksgiving over the cup and the bread (reversing the usual order) following by the meal proper, and concluded with a final thanksgiving (9:1–10:5), (7) inspired words and actions of prophets who are present (11:7–12; cf. 10:7). No mention is made of the holy kiss, the reading of Scripture, or the giving of a homily, though none of these features may have been a matter of concern for the author in the present context.

**4. The Evidence from Pliny.** One of the oldest descriptions of what Christians did when they gathered together is found in a letter of Pliny the Younger which he wrote to the emperor Trajan, ca. A.D. 108 (*Ep.* 10.96.7). This text is important because it provides the perspective of an outsider based on information derived from Christian informants, but which for that reason may be incomplete or distorted. Pliny provides the following details: (1) Christians met on a regular basis on a fixed day *(statio die)* before dawn (i.e., in the free time before beginning work, though *statio die* does not necessarily mean Sunday, nor indeed any particular day of the week); (2) they sang hymns honoring Christ as though to God (probably humns of praise); (3) they bound themselves by an oath *(seque sacramento … obstringere)* to abstain from immoral behavior (perhaps referring to baptismal vows or possibly even the eucharist, to which the term *sacramentum* may refer, though this is more likely a way of referring to the content of Christian prayers generally); (4) they assembled again after an interval (probably after a day's work) to share a communal meal together, probably the eucharist (if it was not included in the *sacramentum*). The dawn service is commonly understood to be a service of the word, while the evening service appears to consist primarily of the eucharist.

**5. The Evidence from Justin Martyr.** The evidence for the order of worship preserved in Justin *1 Apol.* 61–67 contains several points of agreement with the *Didache* and reflects the most complete order of worship before the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus (ca. A.D. 215). Justin (ca. A.D. 100–165) was born in Flavia Neapolis (ancient Shechem) in Palestine, taught at Ephesus, and later moved to Rome, where he taught as a Christian philosopher. In *1 Apol.* 61–67, in which he explains Christian worship practices to outsiders, we have the first relatively complete descriptions of Christian services which can be set in a specific geographical and chronological setting: Rome, ca. A.D. 155. Justin describes two services, the first a baptismal service followed by a eucharist (*1 Apol.* 61–66, with a lengthy apologetic excursus in 62–64), and the second a regular Sunday worship service (67.1–8). In describing the first service, Justin reports that the ritual of baptism (called *photismos,* "illumination," *1 Apol.* 61.12), is preceded by prayer and fasting by everyone in the relatively small group present, and the candidates are washed "in the name of God the Father and Master of all, and of our Savior Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit" (*1 Apol.* 61.3). The newly baptized are then brought to the assembly of those called "brothers," where prayers are offered centering on themes appropriate to baptism, i.e., that Christians who have been illuminated will obey the divine commands (65.1). After the conclusion of the prayers, those present greet each other with a ritual kiss (65.2). The president of the assembly then offers prayers of thanksgiving at some length over the bread and a cup of water mixed with wine, at the conclusion of which the congregation says "Amen" (65.3). The deacons (a title used for those who distributed sacrificial meat at pagan religious festivals, cf. Hatch 1881: 50) then distribute the bread and wine to those present and take bread and wine to those who

are absent as well (65.4). Only practicing Christians are allowed to take part in this sacral meal called "eucharist" (66.1), which is based on the gospel traditions of the Last Supper, where it is reported that:

> Jesus, taking bread and having given thanks, said, "Do this for my memorial, this is my body." And similarly taking the cup and giving thanks he said, "This is my blood." And he gave it to them alone (66.3).

The second section describes the type of service regularly held on Sunday (67.3), a day which Justin claims commemorates both the creation of the world and the resurrection of Jesus (67.7). At this meeting the Gospels or the Prophets are read "as long as time allows" (67.3), followed by a homily based on the reading given by the president, which concludes when all present stand and pray. Then bread and a mixture of wine and water are brought and the president offers prayers of thanksgiving, to which the congregation responds, "Amen!" (67.5). The bread and wine are then distributed and taken by the deacons to those absent. A collection is then taken up for distribution for those in need, i.e., widows, orphans, the sick, prisoners, and visitors (cf. 1 Cor 16:2).

Several summary observations can be made about these two worship services which Justin has described with some care and attention to detail. (1) The eucharist is an essential element in both services. (2) Baptisms, which apparently can be held on days other than Sunday, are always linked to a celebration of the eucharist. (3) Scripture readings and homilies based on them occur only in the context of the Sunday service. (4) Prayers in the Christian assembly which follow the ceremony of baptism appear to be thematically linked to baptism by emphasizing the pursuit of virtue and the avoidance of vice (cf. *Did.* 1–6). (5) The holy kiss is mentioned only in connection with the baptism-eucharist service. (6) While the "president" of the assembly is not identified it would appear to be a role exercised by the bishop, since deacons are specifically linked with the distribution of the eucharist. (7) The eucharistic bread and wine are not part of an actual meal, yet are understood as a symbolic reenactment of the Last Supper. (8) Though Justin knows the gospel tradition of the words of institution, he does not say that they are recited in connection with the eucharist itself, mentioning only the lengthy prayers of thanksgiving (similar in function to those prescribed *verbatim* in *Did.* 9:1–10:6).

**D. The Origins of Christian Worship**

Since Christianity arose within Judaism, quickly spread to the major urban areas of the Roman world and attracted increasingly large numbers of pagans which soon outnumbered Christians of Jewish origin, Christian worship must be understood against the background of both Jewish and Greco-Roman religious practices.

**1. Judaism.** Christianity originated within Judaism and was considered a "sect" *(hairesis)* of Judaism (Acts 24:14), and according to Acts the spread of Christianity throughout the Roman world tended to begin with the evangelization of diaspora synagogues (Acts 13:5, 14; 14:1; 17:2, 10, 17; 18:4, 19: 19:8). There was therefore both contact and continuity between Christianity and synagogue Judaism. The Aramaic term for synagogue is *by knyst›,* "place of assembly," while two widely used Greek terms are *synagōgē* (derived from the LXX), means "assembly," and *proseuchē,* "place of prayer," probably referring to a synagogue (Acts 16:13, 16). Synagogue worship was entirely verbal in character and was largely dependent on congregational participation. The essential features of synagogue worship were Scripture reading and prayer, neither of which was dominated by specialists. Synagogal prayers focused on praise and thanksgiving rather than on petition, and so were appropriate for a worship setting. While synagogue worship undoubtedly had a profound impact on early Christian worship, very little is known about the specific nature of Jewish worship and ritual before the codification of the Mishnah toward the end of the 2d century C.E. The recitations of the Shema, now consisting of three passages from the Torah (Deut 6:4–9; 11:13–21; Num 15:37–41), but probably much shorter originally (Dugmore 1964:18–20), and of the Eighteen Benedictions go back at least to the 1st century A.D., though no corresponding statutory prayers were characteristic of early Christian worship. There is clear evidence that the Torah was read regularly on the sabbath by the 1st century C.E. (Acts 13:15; 15:21; Josephus *AgAp* 2.175; *Ant* 16.43; Philo in Eusebius *p.e.* 8.7.359d), and also strong evidence that the Torah reading was often followed by a homily. Exegetical preaching was practiced in synagogue Judaism before A.D. 70 (cf. Luke 4:16–30; Acts

13:15; Philo *Vita Mos* 2.215f.; *Spec Leg* 2.62). In Judaism, two characteristic types of homiletic forms developed, the *Yelammedenu rabbenu* form, which began with the formula "May our Master teach us," and the proem homily, which began with a biblical text from the Writings (Kethubim) and related it to the Torah lection of the day (Heinemann 1977: 994–98). NT scholars have isolated a number of proem homilies in the NT (John 6:31–58; Acts 13:16–41; Rom 1:17–4:25; 1 Cor 1:18–3:20), but in every instance the structure of these passages, which focus on the exegesis of the OT, conforms to neither the *Yelammedenu rabbenu* or the proem form of homily.

**2. Hellenism.** Despite the admitted connections between Jewish synagogue organization and the organization of some Christian churches (the role of "elder" is certainly of Jewish origin), Hatch (1888: 26–55) has shown that the terms "bishop" and "deacon" were important designations in Greco-Roman associations.

While there were many types of sacred meals in the Greco-Roman world (analyzed by Klauck 1982), one often overlooked the type that took place within the context of a symposion. The symposion, or "drinking party," was a social and religious custom widespread in the Greco-Roman world, set in the context of the main meal of the day (Greek *deipnon;* Latin *cena*), which was framed with prayers, libations, and food offerings and thus had the character of a sacral meal. Symposia were also the main social activities of Greek clubs *(thiasoi, eranoi),* pagan organizations which lend themselves to comparison with early Christian religious associations which held sacral meals as a central part of their activities. Pliny considered the Christians under his jurisdiction as members of a *hetaeria* (*Ep.* 10.96.7). The symposion was essentially a sacral meal which began with food offerings to the appropriate divinities (Athenaeus *Deipn.* 5.179), and concluded with the pouring of libations and singing of hymns to the appropriate deities (Athenaeus *Deipn.* 5.149). Meat from sacrificial animals was preferred (Athenaeus *Deipn.* 4.140, 173; 11.459; 12.534). After the meal itself was concluded, the tables were removed and the *potos,* or after-dinner drinks, the symposion proper, was begun with three libations to the Olympian deities generally (followed by a hymn to Dionysus), to the Greek heroes, and finally to Zeus Savior. As a drinking party, the symposion could often end in intoxication (Lucian *Symp.* 17; Athenaeus *Deipn.* 2.36). For many ancients the question of order and decorum at symposia was a matter of central concern (Plutarch *Quaest. conv.* 614F–615A; Athenaeus *Deipn.* 10.420). The activities at symposia ranged from intellectual conversations, storytelling, dancing, and recitations of various types; brawls and sexual promiscuity were not unknown.

Paul explicitly compared Christian and pagan sacred meals with regard to their mutual implications for the participant (1 Cor 10:14–22). The structure, customs, and decorum of Christian meals at Corinth exhibit a number of similarities with the corresponding aspects of the symposion, particularly as practiced in religious societies. Paul strongly disapproves of the lack of decorum at meetings where Christians eat together (1 Cor 11:17–22), just as Plutarch and other ancients were concerned about the problems of disorder at symposia. Just as at Greek symposia, the meal *(deipnon)* constitutes the initial stage of the festivities and involves the "sacrifice" of a portion of the food to be eaten and concludes (1 Cor 11:25) with a ceremony involving wine. The various features of Christian worship which Paul discusses in 1 Corinthians 14 have parallels with the kinds of activities engaged in at Greek symposia.

### E. Christian Assemblies

One of the most pervasive practices of early Christians was their assembling at various times for various purposes. In fact, one of the primary terms used for such assemblies or congregations, *ekklesia,* by a remarkable extension of meaning came to refer to the totality of Christian assemblies or congregations, i.e., all Christians everywhere. In Greek and Roman cults, in contrast, a temple was ordinarily intended not as a meetingplace for congregations of the faithful, but rather as a house for the god, where the cult statue of the god or goddess was placed (altars where sacrifices were made were not located within the temple but were situated in the open air outside). The notion that Christians chose the term *ekklēsia* in order to differentiate themselves from the Jewish *synagōgē* (Bauer 1930: 10), however, cannot be substantiated. Early Christians met in homes (1 Cor 16:19; Rom 16:5; Col 4:15; cf. Acts 2:13), and Acts presents Paul as using private homes to proclaim the Gospel (Acts 18:7–11; 20:20; 28:23). The earliest

known church building at Dura-Europas is a private home adapted for Christian gatherings (before A.D. 256). Though some have claimed that all Christian assemblies centered on the celebration of the eucharist (Cullmann 1953: 29), such a claim clearly goes beyond the evidence. It is far more likely that Christians held religious meetings for a variety of purposes. Acts 2:46 reports that Christians in Jerusalem both attended the temple and gathered daily "to break bread" in their homes. Though the evidence is meager, it is likely that many Jewish Christians participated in the services of existing synagogues until they were forced out (cf. John 9:22; 12:42; 16:2), while others may have founded synagogues of their own (Js 2:2; Ign. *Polyc.* 4:2; Hermas *Man.* 11.9, 13, 14; Justin *Dial.* 63.5). The term "synagogue" continued to be used to refer to a congregation of Christians (Dugmore 1964: 5). There is evidence suggesting that some Jewish Christians observed the Jewish Sabbath as well as the Christian Sunday (Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* 3.27.5; cf. Rordorf 1968: 216–18).

Christians gathered together for a variety of religiously motivated purposes. There were three primary ways in which the religious gatherings of the earliest Palestinian Christians differed from the practices of synagogue Judaism (Bauer 1930: 10): (1) the "teaching of the apostles" was a matter of central concern (Acts 2:42), (2) the exercise of prophetic gifts characterized the early community from the very beginning (Acts 2:1–14; 11:27–30; 13:1–2; 15:32; 21:8–11), and (3) the earliest community ate a sacral meal at its gatherings called "the breaking of bread" (Acts 2:42).

One distinctive form of Christian assembly, an oracular consultation, is described in Hermas *Man.* 11, a section of the larger composition which originated ca. A.D. 125 or earlier. The author describes what he considers a deviant type of Christian service which could be designated as a séance, or prophetic service. The prophet is presented as seated before a group of Christians who ask him questions about the future (11.2), and, it is implied, pay him for answering them (11.12). The author insists that the spirit which is from God cannot be asked questions, but speaks spontaneously through the true prophet (11.5). The true prophet, or man "with the divine spirit," is one who, when he is present at a Christian assembly, speaks to the congregation whatever God wishes to communicate as a result of the prayers of those present. The false prophet, on the other hand, avoids such Christian assemblies (11.13). When he does attend such an assembly he is powerless to speak forth, since the earthly spirit which inspires him flees (11.14). There is little evidence to suggest that such Christian oracular consultations were widespread in the period before the middle of the 2d century A.D. The evidence provided by Hermas *Man.* 11 is important because it indicates that prophetic speech, often a subordinate activity in Christian services of worship, could be elevated to the focal activity. The language of Hermas *Man.* 11 suggests the influence of Hellenistic magical divination, which may account for the opposition to such oracular consultations expressed by the author.

**F. The Days for Worship**

It is widely perceived that early Christianity, which had emerged from Judaism, abandoned the Jewish special day of rest and worship by transferring those functions to Sunday in commemoration of the resurrection of Jesus (Beckwith and Stott 1978). That perception is both oversimplified and incorrect. Yet there is no unambiguous evidence in the NT that Christians abandoned the Sabbath (too much is often read into Gal 4:8–11 and Col 2:16–17). While the Sabbath was a day of worship and rest in Judaism, Sunday began as a Christian day of worship but became a day of rest only by a series of laws promulgated by the emperor Constantine beginning on March 3, 321 (Rordorf 1968: 154–73).

The Jewish term for "Sunday" was simply "the first day of the week," and this was also its Christian designation until comparatively late in the 1st century. The earliest references to the "first day of the week" as a day of worship in the NT are found in 1 Cor 16:2 (written ca. A.D. 54 or 55), and Acts 20:7 (written ca. A.D. 90). In the first passage, Paul suggests that Corinthian Christians put away a contribution on the first day of every week so that he will not need to take a special collection himself when he arrives. The passage refers not to the collection of money at public worship (a later development), but to the individual Christians who lay aside money to be collected when Paul himself arrived in Corinth. Acts 20:7f. contains a great deal of information regarding Christian worship on the first day of the week: "on the first day of the week when we had gathered together to break bread, Paul talked to them, intending to

leave the next day. There were many lights in the upper room where they had gathered together." Here the phrase "to gather together" is a technical term referring to the assembly of Christians for worship, and is frequently combined with the phrase "to break bread" in Christian literature (1 Cor 11:20; *Did.* 14:1; *Ign. Eph.* 20:2). Although the "breaking of bread" spoken of here could be either a common meal or the eucharist, it is more probable that the latter is meant. The time of the gathering is certainly Sunday evening rather than Saturday evening, although this question is dependent on whether one uses the Jewish method of reckoning time (sundown to sundown) or the Roman method (sunrise to sunrise). The time of the gathering appears to have been Sunday evening until early in the 2d century, when for various reasons the major service of worship was moved from Sunday evening to Sunday morning, before dawn. Since Sunday was in no sense a day of rest, Christians, as all other inhabitants of the Roman Empire, had to work during the daylight hours of Sunday. Two other characteristics of this description of the Christian day of worship may be significant. First, there is the reference to Paul's lengthy sermon, and second, there is the observation that there were many lights in the upper chamber where there were meetings. Finally, the resuscitation of Eutychus by Paul may reflect the practice of performing miracles of healing during the worship service.

We have yet to determine the reason why many Christians abandoned the seventh day, the Jewish sabbath, for their worship services and selected an entirely different day, "the first day of the week." Since there is no evidence for a pre-Christian use of this day for religious worship on a weekly basis among Greco-Romans or Jews, the only convincing reason seems to be that worship on the first day of the week was a celebration of the day on which Jesus had risen from the dead (Mark 16:2, 9; Matt 28:1; Luke 24:1; John 20:1, 19: Justin *1 Apol.* 67.7). Though the phrase "first day of the week" is a Semitic expression, it quickly became a quasi-technical term in early Christian communities.

The phrase "the Lord's day" is found just once in the NT in Rev 1:10: "I was in the Spirit on the Lord's Day." The Greek adjective modifying day, *kyriakē,* occurs only rarely in early Christian literature, where it means "belonging to the Lord," or "the Lord's." In Greco-Roman inscriptions and papyri, however, it means "imperial," and refers to the Roman emperor. While some contend that the expression "the Lord's Day" originally referred to Easter Sunday and only later was applied to the weekly service of worship, it seems more probable that the term always referred to the weekly day of worship observed by Christians, as it does in modern Greek. Indeed, in the *Gospel of Peter,* the adjective *kyriakē* is applied twice in the narrative to the day on which Jesus rose from the dead (9.35, 12.50).

That "the Lord's Day" refers to the weekly day of worship and not merely to Easter Sunday is suggested by other evidence. *Did.* 14:1 contains the exhortation "On the Lord's day of the Lord come together, break bread and hold eucharist, after confessing your transgressions that your offering may be pure." Here "the Lord's Day" is certainly the weekly day of worship, whatever the reason for the strangely redundant phrase "the Lord's day of the Lord." Again, in *Ign. Magn.* 9:1, the parallel between the phrases "keeping the sabbath" (which Ignatius opposes for Christians) and "the Lord's Day" indicates that the expression can only refer to the weekly Sunday.

The precise meaning of the phrase "the Lord's day," however, needs clarification. Some consider it equivalent to the Septuagint expression "the Day of the Lord," but this meaning is unlikely. More popular is the view that "the Lord's Day" refers to the day on which the Lord (i.e., Jesus) rose from the dead (Justin *1 Apol.* 67.7). A clue to its meaning may be provided by the only other occurrence of the adjective *kyriakos* in the NT, 1 Cor 11:20, where Paul refers to the Lord's Supper *(kyriakon deipnon).* Since the breaking of bread, i.e., the Lord's Supper, was the central ritual of Christian worship, it is possible that this very early way of referring to the ritual as "the Lord's Supper" was later used to designate the day of worship itself.

**G. The Language of Worship**

The primarily verbal character of Christian worship was characteristically expressed in hymns and prayers which say things about God which are well known to the worshipper, but are nevertheless repeated because they are thought to have a performative significance, particularly if the words

mimetically narrate a foundational sacred event. This ritual repetition of a sacred event of the past serves to reactualize the event in the imagination of those present.

**1. Prayers.** Prayer was a central group activity of the earliest Palestinian Christian community as described in Acts (1:14; 2:42; 4:23–31; 6:4), and it is natural to suppose that these prayers were derived from those used in daily private and synagogue prayer in early Judaism, although no traces of a Christian adaptation of such statutory prayers as the Eighteen Benedictions has been found (Bradshaw 1982: 28f.), though such Jewish prayers had not achieved fixed form by the 1st century A.D. (Dugmore 1964: 75–77). While many prayers have been preserved in early Christian literature, their present literary context often reveals little about their actual setting in services of worship. In the letters of the NT, prayers of petition and intercession occur frequently (Wiles 1974: 297f.). The Jewish *bĕrākâ* ("benediction") style of prayer, in which God was blessed for what he had accomplished for his people, occurs rarely in the NT and early Christian literature (Luke 1:68; 2 Cor 1:3; Eph 1:3; 1 Pet 1:3; Ignatius *Eph.* 1:3; *Ep. Barn.* 6:10), and in the case of the NT passages is followed not by petitions but by praise, suggesting a liturgical setting (Bradshaw 1982: 30). The Jewish *hodayah* ("thanksgiving") pattern of prayer, which characteristically began with the phrase "I/we thank you," is frequently found in the NT and early Christian literature (Luke 2:38; Heb 13:15; Rev 11:17–18). This type of prayer is also frequently used in Paul to introduce petitions and intercessions (Rom 1:8; cf. Phil 4:6; Col 4:2; 1 Thess 5:16–18). A third type of prayer which Christianity inherited from Judaism begins directly with an *anamnesis* ("recollection") of the mighty works of God and lacks an introductory formula (Acts 4:24–30; Bradshaw 1982: 15, 33f.).

The Lord's Prayer was certainly the most widely used of all ancient Christian prayers. It is preserved in a longer version (Matt 6:9–13 and *Did.* 8:2, with the addition of the doxology) and a shorter version (Luke 11:2–4). In addition, it appears likely that the prayer of Jesus in John 17 is a paraphrastic elaboration of the longer version of the Lord's Prayer (Walker 1982). The shorter Lukan version is generally considered the more original with regard to length, while the longer Matthean version is often considered as preserving the more original wording (Jeremias 1978: 89–94). In its original Jewish setting in the teaching of Jesus, the Lord's Prayer exemplified major features of Jewish private prayer (brevity, addressing God in the second person singular, opening with epithet for God, "our Father"; cf. Heinemann 1977: 179–92), and at least in its present context in Matthew (6:5–6) and the *Didache* (8:2–3) it functioned as a Christian substitute for the Eighteen Benedictions. The brevity of the Lord's Prayer in Matthew and Luke, together with the fact that both versions end abruptly without a doxology, suggest that in early Christianity they were incorporated into longer prayers. In its original setting, the Lord's Prayer appears to have functioned as a private supplement to the recitation of the Eighteen Benedictions (Sigal 1984: 73). The Lord's Prayer quickly became, at least in some circles, a statutory public Christian prayer; *Did.* 8:3 commands that it be prayed three times daily (cf. *Apostolic Constitutions* 7.24), doubtless as a substitution for the Jewish practice of praying thrice daily (cf. Dan 6:10, 13; cf. Acts 3:1; 10:30). Though there is little doubt that the Lord's Prayer was part of the liturgical tradition of early Christianity from the mid-1st century A.D. on, there is no explicit evidence until the mid-4th century A.D., when Cyril of Jerusalem quoted it in a catechetical lecture as a prayer used immediately before the eucharist. The Lord's Prayer is essentially a petitionary prayer, with seven petitions in the longer version, rather than a prayer of praise or thanksgiving.

The brief Aramaic prayer *maranatha* occurs in an untranslated form in a liturgical setting in *Did.* 10:6 and probably 1 Cor 16:22 as well. This formula can be translated either "our Lord, come!" (preferred by most scholars) or "our Lord has come." A slight variation of this formula occurs in Rev 22:20, where it is translated "Come, Lord Jesus," and may also be reflected in the phrase "the Lord is at hand" (Phil 4:5). While *maranatha* can be translated in either of the two ways mentioned above, the first translation has two possible meanings. "Our Lord, come!" may be an eschatological prayer uttered in expectation of the imminent return of Jesus, as in Rev 22:20 and Phil 4:5 (Schulz 1962), or it may be a prayer which is intended to effect the cultic presence of the exalted Jesus. Yet it can also be argued that the formula can refer *both* to the cultic and eschatological coming of Jesus at one and the same time, i.e., an eschatological expectation can have dimensions which can be realized in present experience (Audet 1958: 411f.).

**2. Creeds and Confessions.** Creeds and confessions, if defined as brief formulas summarizing the essentials of the Christian faith and promulgated with ecclesiastical authority, are not found in early Christianity before the mid-2d century. Nevertheless, within the literature of the NT and the Apostolic Fathers there are creedlike statements and rudimentary confessional formulas which reflect the developing tradition of the early Christians with widely varying degrees of fixity.

Since creeds such as the Apostles' Creed (the earliest evidence for which appears in A.D. 390 in Ambrose *Ep.* 42.5) were believed to have originated with the twelve apostles, earlier scholars were bent on finding evidence for later creeds in the NT by identifying various creedal statements scattered throughout the writings and by assuming their basic unity. More recently, and particularly using form-critical methodology, this approach has been reversed. Rather than beginning with later creeds and tracing their ancestry back into earlier Christian literature, scholars have developed various criteria for identifying the existence of early creedlike statements and confessional formulas which have been embedded in the NT. One of the weaknesses of this more recent approach, however, is the tendency to consider one or another such isolatable confessional formulas as the "earliest" or the most "primitive" formula, and subsequently to arrange other formulas along a trajectory of evolutionary development from the most simple and primitive to the most complex and developed forms.

Some scholars have isolated numerous creedal formulas in the NT and other early Christian literature but have limited the possible original liturgical setting of these forms to the rite of baptism. The complexity of early Christian life and worship makes this simplistic approach improbable. Cullmann has isolated six types of contexts in which confessions and creeds were used and developed in the early Church: (1) baptism and catechetical instruction, (2) worship, (3) exorcism rituals, (4) persecution, (5) opposition to heretical teachers and teachings, and (6) preaching. Since very few of the confessional formulas discussed below can be firmly fixed in any of these settings, it is important to avoid rigid insistence on specific religious settings.

The shortest confessional formula in the NT contains the name of Jesus together with a title in the predicate. In 1 Cor 12:3, Paul wrote, "I therefore want you to know that no one who speaks by the Spirit of God ever says 'Jesus is accursed!' and no one can say 'Jesus is Lord!' except by the Holy Spirit." Since Paul is primarily concerned with the worship services of the Corinthian church in 1 Corinthians 12–14, the latter acclamation had its primary setting in communal worship. This tersely abbreviated confession means "Jesus [who was rejected and crucified] is [risen from the dead and exalted to the right hand of God, and therefore] Lord." The negative confession "Jesus is accursed!" may belong to other settings, such as one of persecution where Christians were encouraged to revile Christ (cf. *Mart. Pol.* 9:3; cf. Pliny *Ep.* 10.96) and to proclaim "Caesar is Lord!" (*Mart. Pol.* 8:2). Another possible setting is in controversies between Christians and Jews. Justin Martyr observed that some Jewish converts to Christianity had subsequently returned to Judaism and cursed Christ. However, in 1 Cor 12:3, it is more probable that some Corinthian Christians thought themselves inspired by the Spirit when they made that statement, perhaps making a sharp distinction between the heavenly Christ (the Christ party of 1 Cor 1:12?), and the earthly Jesus. The confession "Jesus is Lord!" is also found in Rom 10:9–10, where it means the confessor believes that God has raised Jesus from the dead. This is very likely pre-Pauline, perhaps belonging to a baptismal context. The combination of the terms "confess" *(homologein),* "believe" *(pisteuein),* and "be saved" *(sodzein)* suggests the setting of baptism.

Another important passage in which the primitive confession "Jesus is Lord!" occurs is at the end of the Christ hymn in Phil 2:5–11, where the phrases "every knee should bow" and "every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord" almost certainly indicate a liturgical setting. The hymnic setting of this confession is significant, for it suggests the eschatological context in which the confession could be used.

Another brief confession which links the name of Jesus with a significant religious title is "Jesus is the Messiah!" Some regard this as the oldest of the confessions, though "Jesus is Lord" may be equally early. The appropriateness of the confession is dependent on which ascription, messiahship or lordship, was the most religiously meaningful to the individual or congregation.

**3. Doxologies.** A doxology is a short liturgical formula which characteristically ascribes glory to God. Though rare in Judaism, doxologies are relatively common in early Christian texts (Deichgräber 1967: 40–43). They consist of four stereotypical elements: (1) the mention of God or Christ, usually in the dative, (2) the mention of specific attributes ascribed to them, with "glory" *(doxa)* the most common, (3) a formula describing the eternal validity of the ascription, usually "forever," or "for ever and ever," and (4) a concluding "Amen." The fact that doxologies are used to conclude a religious text (*1 Clem.* 64:2; *2 Clem.* 20:5) or a unified section of a religious text (Rom 11:36; 1 Tim 1:17; *1 Clem.* 20:12) suggests that they were similarly used to conclude a liturgical sequence in Christian services of worship. This is confirmed by the use of doxologies to conclude a liturgy narrated in a text (Rev 4:9; 5:13f.; 7:12; Tob 14:15; *1 Enoch* 39:10; *Did.* 8:2; 10:2).

**4. Hymns.** Several NT texts suggest that the singing or chanting of hymns of praise was an important part of Christian worship (1 Cor 14:15, 26; Col 3:16; Eph 5:19; cf. Acts 16:25; Pliny *Ep* 10.96.7). Col 3:16 refers to singing "psalms, hymns, and songs, all inspired by the Spirit, with thankfulness in your hearts to God." Though we cannot distinguish the nuances of difference which may have existed among these three terms, the phrase "in your hearts" (cf. Eph 5:19) apparently means that such songs are not merely mechanical liturgical practices but are meant to express the inner devotion of the worshipper (Quasten 1983: 78). Specific examples of such hymns occur very rarely in early Christian literature. Important examples include (1) the three hymns in Luke 1–2, the Magnificat (Luke 1:46–55), the Benedictus (1:67–79), and the Nunc Dimittis (2:29–32), which appear to be psalms of Jewish Christian origin (Farris 1985: 86–98); (2) the sixteen hymns or hymnlike compositions in Revelation, presented as two single hymns (12:10–12; 15:3–4) and as seven antiphonal units (4:8–11; 5:9–14; 7:9–12; 11:15–18; 16:5–7; 19:1–4, 5–8); and (3) the *Odes of Solomon* (Aune 1982). The hymns in Revelation present special problems. While some scholars have proposed that they were drawn from contemporary Christian liturgy, it rather appears that the author composed them himself for insertion in their present context. While some of the hymns make use of Jewish liturgical elements, e.g., the hallelujah, the amen, the trishagion (Rev 4:8), the doxologies (5:13; 7:10, 12; 19:1), and the acclamations (4:11; 5:9, 12; cf. Hahn 1973: 47), many other parts of the hymns appear to have been modeled after Roman imperial court ceremonials which included the singing of hymns to the emperor and the shouting of acclamations in his honor (Dio Cass. 59.24.5; Suet. *Ner.* 20.3; Aune 1983).

The form-critical analysis of NT epistolary literature has revealed the presence of a number of hymns which have been quoted or adapted to their present literary contexts, though they are never explicitly identified as hymns. Some of the more important text-units which have been identified as hymns focus on the incarnation of Christ in the framework of his preexistence and exaltation: Phil 2:5–11; Col 1:15–20; John 1:1–18; 1 Tim 3:16; Heb 1:1–3; 1 Pet 3:18–19, 22; cf. Deichgräber 1967: 118–55). Two other hymns have been identified in Heb 5:7–10 and 7:1–3, 26, though there is less scholarly consensus on the validity of the identification (Zimmermann 1977: 60–100). More specific liturgical settings have been suggested for several of these hymns, although such hypotheses far exceed the evidence. Col 1:15–20, for example, has been connected with a baptismal liturgy (Käsemann 1964b). Other hymns and fragments of hymns have been preserved in the letters of Ignatius of Antioch, the most extensive of which is found in Eph 19:1–3 (Deichgräber 1967: 155–60).

There is little concrete evidence for the actual role which singing and musical accompaniment played in early Christian worship during the 1st and 2d centuries A.D. (Quasten 1983: 103–10). Rev 5:8 mentions that the 24 heavenly elders accompanied their song on harps, and Ignatius speaks of being attuned to the bishop as strings are to a harp (i.e., zither) and of singing harmoniously to God the Father through Jesus Christ (*Eph.* 4:1–2). Though these are metaphors, they may nevertheless reflect the use of instruments and choral singing in Christian worship during the time of Ignatius (Quasten 1983: 104).

**5. Prophecy.** One of the features of early Christian worship which clearly distinguished it from the forms of worship typical of synagogue Judaism was the inclusion of various forms of inspired speech uttered by Christians who were regarded by themselves and others as prophets. The term "prophet," from the Greek word *prophētēs,* literally means "spokesperson," and in a religious context refers to a

spokesperson for a deity. In the LXX the Greek term *prophētēs* was the regular translation of the Hebrew word *nābîʾ*, customarily translated "prophet" in English. Though the term *prophētēs* was applied almost exclusively in Greek-speaking Judaism to biblical prophets or prophets expected to appear in the eschaton, the term was widely applied by early Christians as a designation for those inspired persons who were regarded as human channels for messages from the exalted Jesus or the Spirit of God.

In Paul's description of aspects of congregational worship at Corinth, various forms of prophecy (including speaking in tongues and the interpretation of tongues, since unintelligible utterances were often considered to be a type of prophetic speech in the ancient world) played an important role (1 Cor 14:1–5, 23–32, 39). Paul considers prophecy to be a gift of the Spirit bestowed on particular individuals (1 Cor 12:10; Rom 12:6), and indicates that prophets are, together with apostles and teachers, community leaders (1 Cor 12:28–29; cf. Eph 2:20; 3:5; 4:11). Some of the leaders of the Christian congregation at Antioch were prophets and teachers who exercised their gifts within the setting of public worship (Acts 2:1–21; 8:14–17; 10:44–46; 19:1–6). According to Acts 15:30–32:

> So when they were sent off, they went down to Antioch; and having gathered the congregation together, they delivered the letter. And when they read it, they rejoiced at the exhortation. And Judas and Silas, who were themselves prophets, exhorted the brethren with many words and strengthened them.

Apart from 1 Corinthians 12–14 and Acts, prophecy is only rarely mentioned in early Christian literature as an activity appropriate for Christian worship (*Did.* 10:7; 11:7–12; *Herm. Man.* 11.9). The author of Revelation implies that he is a prophet (Rev 1:3; 22:9f.), and he intends his revelatory book to be read before each of the seven congregations (Rev 1:3), perhaps as a substitute for his presence. Hermas (*Man.* 11) argues against prophets who hold private oracular consultations (i.e., séances), and in so doing describes the appropriate role for a prophet in a congregational setting (*Man.* 11.9):

> When a person with the divine Spirit attends a meeting of righteous men who have the faith of the divine Spirit, and prayer is directed to God by the assembly of those men, then the angel of the prophetic Spirit who rests on him will fill the person, and the person so filled with the Holy Spirit speaks to the assembly whatever the Lord wishes.

Prophets who speak to Christian congregations were also subject to some kind of evaluation (1 Thess 5:19–22; 1 Cor 12:10; 14:29; *Did.* 11). Paul's language in 1 Cor 14:29–32 suggests that prophets constituted an identifiable group within the Corinthian congregation and that they evaluated the prophetic utterances of prophets in their group.

What was the substance of prophetic speech within a congregational setting? Paul indicates that they performed a diagnostic function by revealing the secrets of those present, thereby proving the presence of God (1 Cor 14:24f.). The seven proclamations of Revelation 2–3, which are prophetic messages to be read before the seven congregations, contain censure, demands for repentance, threats of judgment, and promises of salvation. *Did.* 10:7 indicates that prophets were permitted to offer extemporaneous prayers over the bread and wine of the eucharist.

**6. Sermons or Homilies.** When Justin speaks of the reading of the Gospels or the Prophets as one of the activities characteristic of regular Sunday worship (*1 Apol.* 67.3), he says that after the Scripture reading is concluded, "the president in a discourse urges and invites the imitation of these noble things" (67.4). In *2 Clem.* 19:1, often erroneously thought to refer to the public reading of the OT in worship, the author reveals that he is reading an exhortation to his congregation, i.e., a previously prepared homily. The practice of following the reading of Scripture with a homily which elaborates on some aspect of the biblical lection is clearly derived from Judaism. While it is highly likely that many sections of NT epistolary literature reflect the oral style of Christian preaching, no stereotypical patterns have yet been successfully identified which reflect types of early Christian sermons.

**H. Scripture Reading**

One important feature of Christian worship with close parallels in synagogue Judaism is the practice of reading aloud from sacred texts, usually accompanied by a homiletic explanation of the meaning and significance of the reading. Such reading is not in itself worship, though the context in which it is done is. However, if worship is regarded as communication between God and his people, then the reading of

Scripture must be construed as one important mode whereby God's word is mediated to those assembled. The first mention of the liturgical reading of Scripture is found in 1 Tim 4:13, which can be dated ca. A.D. 100 or slightly later: "Give heed to the public reading of scripture, to preaching, to teaching." The earliest clear evidence for the reading of Scripture in a regular Sunday service is found in Justin *1 Apol.* 67.3, where Justin mentions a reading "from the memoirs of the apostles [i.e., the gospels] or the writings of the Prophets" (not both). There is no clear evidence that the OT was read in Christian worship before ca. A.D. 155 (Bauer 1930:39–47). Paul doubtless intended that at least some of his letters be read aloud in Christian assemblies (1 Thess 5:27), a practice followed by at least some communities (2 Pet 3:16). Further, Paul appears consciously to have designed them to fit in with a service of worship (see C.2 above). Col 4:15 reflects the practice of different churches exchanging the letters of Paul and reading them publicly. Yet the partial contents of some letters appears inappropriate for any but the leaders of the community, e.g., Galatians (cf. 3:1: "O foolish Galatians!") and 2 Corinthians (Bauer 1930: 62f.). Nevertheless, the regularity of reading apostolic letters before the community assembled for worship made it possible for the author of Revelation to frame his apocalyptic message as a letter intended for public reading in each of the seven churches (Rev 1:3; 21:18–19). By the middle of the 2d century, Justin attests the regular practice of reading from the Gospels and the Prophets (*1 Apol.* 67.3): "the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read as long as possible."

**I. Sacred Rituals**

Rituals usually involve physical action on the part of the worshipper, i.e., conventional, symbolic gestures, postures, or behaviors, often accompanied by stereotypical words. The two primary rituals of early Christianity are the eucharist and baptism, both of which exhibit great variety of form and significance during the first two centuries A.D. In addition, there are a number of less prominent rituals which are also characteristic behaviors of Christians worshipping together.

**1. Eucharist.** In early Christianity the central ritual is that of the sacred meal, often called the eucharist, a ritual which exhibits great variation of form and significance during the 1st and 2d centuries A.D. The term "eucharist" is a transliteration of the Greek word *eucharistia,* meaning "thanksgiving," and originally referred to the prayers that were offered before the distribution of the bread and wine in early Christian sacral meals. By the early 2d century A.D., *eucharistia* had become a technical term for the meal itself, i.e., the liturgical commemoration of the Lord's Supper (Ign. *Philad.* 4; *Smyrn.* 7:1; 8:1). Since the eucharist or Lord's Supper continues to be celebrated in most forms of Christianity, anachronistic theological conceptions of the significance of the eucharist are often unwittingly read back into the earliest evidence. Augustine defined a sacrament as a visible form of an invisible grace. By the early 3d century, the Church held that the sacraments were the material instruments and vehicles through which divine power was transmitted. There is no unambiguous evidence that the eucharist or baptism had this theological significance until well into the 2d century A.D. While the eucharist appears to have been held on Saturday evening during the 1st century A.D. (Rordorf 1968: 179f., 200–205, argues for Sunday evening), but on Sunday morning from the 2d century on (Rordorf 1968: 250–52).

**a. Meals in Early Christianity.** There is abundant evidence in the NT to suggest that early Christians often gathered to eat communal meals (Acts 2:46; 1 Cor 11:20–32; Jude 12). The sharing of common meals was one activity which characterized Jesus' followers before and after his crucifixion. The gospels depict Jesus as an itinerant preacher who was accompanied on his travels by a band of followers. Since they were often away from home, they undoubtedly ate meals together, although on this point the gospels are strangely silent. The gospels therefore contain many references to Jesus eating meals with a variety of people, including social outcasts (Matt 9:11–16; Mark 2:15–17; Luke 15:2; 19:1–10), those who came to hear him preach (Mark 6:35–44; 8:1–10), and Pharisees (Luke 7:36–50; 11:37–54; 14:1–24). Meals eaten by Jesus and his disciples, however, are not found in gospel tradition, with the exception of the Last Supper and the legendary meals of the resurrected Jesus with his disciples. These meals had an inherently religious character since pious Jews began and ended all meals with table prayers (Petuchowski and Brocke 1978: 50). Though wine was drunk only on festive or solemn occasions, all Jewish meals began with a blessing said over the bread (Mark 6:41; 8:6; John 6:11; Acts 27:35) of the type "Blessed art thou

who bringest forth bread from the earth" (*m. Ber.* 6.1). If wine is served after the meal, one should say the benediction for all of the type "Blessed art thou who createst the fruit of the vine" (*m. Ber.* 6.6). The frequent suggestion that the meals of Jesus and his followers were analogous to the meals of the Pharisaic *haburot* ("communities") is problematic, since the evidence for such meals is late. Though Jeremias argued that such meals never existed (1966: 29–31), Heinemann has shown that they were both important and ancient (1977: 116–21).

Food was a focal problem in early Christianity (Mark 7:1–30; Acts 15:12–29; Rom 14:1–23; 1 Cor 8:1–13; Gal 2:12; Col 2:16; Rev 2:20). The issue of table fellowship between (Christian) Jews and (Christian) gentiles is one prominent aspect of this problem (e.g., Gal 2:11–14), one which was particularly emphasized by the author of Luke–Acts (Acts 10:1–11:18; 16:31–34; cf. Esler 1987: 71–109). Just as the meals Jesus shared with those of various social classes who responded to his message symbolized his full acceptance of them, so in early Christianity, meals shared by Jewish Christians and Hellenistic Christians dramatized the fact that they "are one body, for we all partake of one bread" (1 Cor 10:17).

**b. Accounts of the Last Supper.** Paul preserves the earliest account of the institution of the Lord's Supper in 1 Cor 11:23–26 (ca. A.D. 54). Each of the Synoptic Gospels (ca. A.D. 70–90), contain parallel accounts of the words of institution (Mark 14:22–25; Matt 26:26–29; Luke 22:15–20). John omits the words of institution from his account of the Last Supper (John 13–16), but inserts them after the miraculous feeding of the 5,000 (6:25–40) in the guise of a discourse interpreting that event (6:41–59). The Last Supper may originally have been a Passover meal (Jeremias 1966: 41–88), as each of the Synoptic Gospels suggests (strongly emphasized in Luke 22:15, where the author has Jesus refer to eating the Passover lamb which is before him). According to John, however, Jesus' last meal was held on the day before Passover (cf. John 19:14), a view also reflected in the *Gospel of Peter* (2.5). Nevertheless the Synoptic Gospels do not describe the food and liturgy typical of Passover meals, but rather that characteristic of ordinary Jewish meals, the breaking of bread and the blessing over the cup. It is likely that each evangelist has superimposed a later liturgy of the Lord's Supper over the historical account of the Last Supper, thus blending the foundation event with particular forms of its ritual repetition.

**(1) 1 Cor 11:23–26.** The earliest evidence for the liturgy of the Lord's Supper is found in 1 Cor 11:23–26. Paul, however, reveals very little about the relation of this sacral meal to other features of Christian worship services. There are several distinctive features in Paul's recital of the words of Jesus at the Lord's Supper. (1) The prayer of thanksgiving over the bread and the cup frame an actual meal, as the phrase "after supper" in v 25 indicates, following the pattern of Jewish meals. Arguments that the phrase "after supper" is simply an old liturgical formula (Bornkamm 1969: 142) and that at Corinth a regular meal was eaten prior to the eucharist (Neuenzeit 1960: 71f.) are not convincing. (2) Paul interprets the cup as "the new covenant in [Jesus'] blood" (vv 24–25), i.e., as a covenant sacrifice rather than as an atoning sacrifice (as in Mark 14:24; Matt 26:28). (3) The phrase "do this in remembrance of me" (v 24) after the bread and the phrase "in remembrance of me" (v 25) after the cup have no parallel in the Synoptic Gospels. The fact that Paul transmits these sayings of Jesus to the Corinthians suggests that they were unfamiliar with them. Paul does not recommend that these words of institution be repeated whenever the Lord's Supper is celebrated. The primary reason for mentioning them at all is to underscore the gravity and solemnity of the occasion, an implicit criticism of the deportment of the scandalous behavior of the Corinthians when they dine together (1 Cor 11:17–22).

**(2) Mark 14:22–25; Matt 26:26–29.** The account of the Last Supper in Mark 14:22–25, followed closely by Matt 26:26–29, begins with Jesus taking bread and blessing it "as they were eating" (v 22a), i.e., the ritual over the bread and cup is presented as occurring at the conclusion of the meal rather than as framing the meal, as is the case in 1 Cor 11:23–26. Further, the close association of the words over the bread and the cup in Mark appear to have influenced the phraseology of the latter. Whereas Paul speaks of the cup as "the new covenant in my blood" (1 Cor 11:25), Mark has Jesus interpret the cup as "my blood of the covenant" (Mark 14:24), i.e., more parallel in form and content to the formula pronounced over the bread.

**(3) Luke 22:15–20.** Of the many types and contexts in which sacral meals were eaten in Greco-Roman religious cults, one type is reflected in the many papyrus invitations to attend a dinner with the god Sarapis (13 such invitations are known, the most recent of which is *P. Oxy.* 3693; cf. 1 Cor 8:10). *P. Köln* 57 is an example: "The god summons you to a banquet being held in the Thoereion tomorrow beginning with the ninth hour." These invitations imply that the god is understood as present at the dinner, which was probably attended by seven to ten people. A second type of sacral meal is the kind prepared by magicians either to summon a god or daimon to establish a permanent bond or for divination (*PGM* I.1–42, 42–95, 96–195; IV.1840–70; XIa.1–40; XII.14–95).

**c. The Eucharist in the *Didache.*** The liturgical prayers in *Didache* 9–10 and the procedure enjoined in *Did.* 14 (in a document written ca. A.D. 100) are both important and problematic for understanding the history of the eucharist. The term *eucharistia* (with the generic meaning "thanksgiving") is explicitly used (*Did.* 9:1), and the verb *eucharistein* (with the generic meaning "to be thankful") occurs probably with the more specific meaning "to celebrate the eucharist" (*Did.* 9:7; 14:1). Yet scholars disagree on whether or not these terms are used in a technical sense, in part because of the possible early date of the *Didache* (Audet dates it to ca. A.D. 50–70, while most scholars place it ca. A.D. 100). Further, since the traditional form of the words of institution is absent, some have argued that the eucharist is not in view in *Did.* 9–10 (Jungmann 1959: 37). It is also unclear whether the prayers are used specifically in connection with the eucharist or simply in connection with the ordinary meals of the community. There are several views on the significance of *Did.* 9–10. (1) *Did.* 9–10 refer to the eucharistic prayers followed by a regular meal, the so-called *agape* (*Did.* 10:1); *Did.* 9–10 reflect no divorce of the agape from the eucharist. (2) *Did.* 9 refers to the eucharist, while *Did.* 10 refers to the agape. (3) *Did.* 9–10 refer to an agape meal, while *Did.* 14 refers to the eucharist (Dibelius 1938; Rordorf 1978); cf. *Did.* 14:1: "break bread and celebrate the eucharist." The view that *Did.* 9–10 refer to the eucharist is probably correct and has the strongest arguments (Lietzmann 1979: 188–94; Vööbus 1968: 63–171). Those who argue that these table prayers are not eucharistic prayers point to the fact that the thanksgiving over the cup precedes the thanksgiving over the bread, an order supposedly not used in any Christian celebration of the Lord's Supper (Jeremias 1966: 118, n. 5). Yet Paul discusses the significance of the "cup of blessing" before the significance of the bread in 1 Cor 10:16–22, and the shorter version of the Last Supper in Luke 22:17–19a reflects an ancient liturgical order in which the cup precedes the bread. For the same order from a Jewish sphere, cf. *Sib. Or.* 4.24–26: "Happy will be those of humankind on earth who will love the great God, blessing him before drinking and eating." Further, it is important to note that while the accounts of the Lord's Supper in the gospels and 1 Cor 11:23–26 mention the fact that Jesus gave thanks for the bread and the cup, the substance of those prayers of thanksgiving are never given. The words of institution themselves are not part of the prayers of thanksgiving. The prayers for the eucharist described by Justin (*1 Apol.* 65.3–4; 67.4; *Dial.* 41.1) also lack any allusion to the words of institution and are similar to those found in *Did.* 9–10, though Justin does allude to the words of institution in *Dial.* 41.4 and 70.4, while the sacrificial character of the eucharist is also mentioned in *Dial.* 41.3 and 117.1–3. Dibelius (1938) argued that *Did.* 9:1–10:5 contain the prayers used before and after the agape meal, while 10:6 introduced the eucharist itself. *Did.* 9–10 is widely understood in this way (Jeremias 1966: 117f.; Rordorf 1978: 1–23 = 1986: 187–208).

**d. The Origin of the Eucharist.** The problem of the origin of the eucharist has been a matter of some speculation. Cullmann (1958: 8–16) argued that the element of joy in the "breaking of bread" or the common meals in which the earliest Christian community in Jerusalem participated (Acts 2:42, 46) originated neither in the Lord's Supper nor in the fellowship meals which Jesus shared with his disciples during his lifetime, but in the meals which the risen Jesus ate with his disciples when he appeared to them (Luke 24:30, 41–43; John 21:9–13; Acts 1:3–4; 10:41). Similarly, Rordorf (1968: 215–37) argues that the breaking of bread in the earliest Christian communities was a continuation of the disciples' actual table fellowship with the risen Lord on Easter Sunday evening. He vainly attempts to prove that the breaking of bread took place only on Sunday evening, discounting clear evidence to the contrary (e.g., Acts 2:46). These proposals have generally been rejected (Bacchiocchi 1977: 85–89; Bauckham 1982: 234f.). First, it

is doubtful that such comparatively late and legendary expressions of Easter faith, such as the meals reportedly shared by Jesus and his disciples, could have become the basis for the radical institution by the earliest Christians of a new ritual meal to be enacted on a new sacred day. Second, the meal motif is entirely missing from the resurrection narratives of Mark and Matthew. Third, meals are not a central focus of the resurrection narrative, and when they are mentioned they tend to function in a very different way (e.g., Luke 24:41–43 is not depicted as a meal; the disciples reportedly gave Jesus broiled fish, and no mention is made of bread, wine, or a blessing).

One of the more influential attempts to account for the origin and development of the eucharist was proposed by Hans Lietzmann. Lietzmann (1979: 204–208) distinguished two types of sacral meals in early Christianity, the "breaking of bread," and the Lord's Supper. The first, which Lietzmann called the "Jerusalem" type, originated in the table fellowship which Jesus enjoyed with his disciples, and it was continued after his death. It was a rite of communion consisting of a meal of eschatological joy with no reference to the death of Jesus. This type is reflected in the *Didache* (9–10), the shorter Lukan account of the Lord's Supper (which omits Luke 22:19b–20), perhaps reflecting 2d century liturgical practice (Schürmann 1951), and is in harmony with the supper ritual generally in Luke–Acts. The Egyptian liturgy is later exemplified by Serapion. It was characterized by the breaking of bread at the beginning of the meal; while water was drunk, and occasionally wine, no cup was passed around at the conclusion of the meal. The second type (the "Pauline" type, because it is first attested in 1 Cor 11:23–32, and so existed at least as early as A.D. 50), exemplified in the eucharistic liturgy of Hippolytus, arose only after the death of Jesus and was not a continuation of the daily table fellowship of the disciples of Jesus with their Lord, but rather was connected only with Jesus' final meal, the Lord's Supper. This meal is repeated as a rite of atonement by the community as a memorial to the death of Jesus. This meal was framed by the breaking of bread at the beginning and the passing of the cup of wine at the end, symbolizing respectively the body and the blood of Jesus.

**e. Meaning and Function of the Eucharist.** In the various fragmentary liturgies of the Lord's Supper found in the NT and in early Christian literature, despite the particular features of each which reflect developed Christian practice in a particular region, it was often thought essential that the worshipper perceive the basic unity between the celebration of the Lord's Supper and the original Last Supper at which Jesus officiated. The latter is a foundational event which authorizes the former. In earliest Christianity the eucharist was celebrated within the setting of a meal, though different patterns developed. The earliest pattern was to frame the meal with the eucharistic elements of bread and wine (e.g., 1 Cor 11:23–32), the pattern typical of Jewish meals, though not of Sabbath meals, which began with a blessing over the wine. Later the eucharist was placed at the conclusion of the meal (e.g., Mark 14:22–25; Ethiopic text of *Epistula Apostolorum*), or separated from the meal on Sunday morning (Justin *1 Apol.* 67). The meal itself was called the *agape* (Jude 12; Ign. *Smyrn.* 8:2; *Ep. Apost.* 15; *Acts Paul* 25; Clem. *Paed.* 2.1.4; Tert. *Apol.* 39; cf. Pliny *Ep.* 10.96.7). The agape (from which the eucharist is not distinguished in the NT) originated in Jesus' practice of having fellowship meals with his disciples, the last and most dramatic of which was the Last Supper (Matt 8:11f.; Luke 13:29; Matt 11:16–19; cf. Perrin 1967: 102–108).

**2. Baptism.** "Baptism," transliterated from the Greek term *baptismos,* meaning "dipping, washing," and the term *baptisma,* meaning "[Christian ritual of] baptism," is a Christian designation for the ritual of washing or bathing in water which functioned as an initiation rite for entry into the Christian community. Water is widely used in religious rituals to symbolize death (i.e., dissolution), life (i.e., regeneration), and purification (Eliade 1958: 188–215). In early Christianity, baptism is a polyvalent ritual which is assigned not only all three meanings (though rarely in the same context), but also variations in each main category of meaning: (1) death (ritual imitation of the crucifixion of Jesus with a moral application; cf. Rom 6:1–3; Luke 12:50), (2) life (ritual imitation of the resurrection of Jesus with a moral application, regeneration or rebirth, bestowal of the Spirit), and (3) cleansing (moral purification, forgiveness of sins). Paul, following an earlier Christian theological conception, understands baptism as a ritual reenactment of the death and resurrection of Christ in which the believer experiences death to the old life of disobedience to God and

resurrection to the new life of obedience (Rom 6:3–11; cf. Col 3:1–3). According to Hermas *Sim.* 9.16.4, "they go down into the water dead and come up alive." The cleansing properties of water are often extended to refer to the notions of purification (Heb 10:22) and the forgiveness of sins which repentance followed by baptism provides (Acts 22:16; 1 Cor 6:11; *Ep. Barn.* 11:1; *Acts Thom.* 132; *Clementine Homilies* 11.27.1). This is perhaps the view of John the Baptist (Mark 1:4) taken over by early Christianity. Baptism is also linked with the conception of regeneration or new birth (John 3:5; Titus 3:5; Justin *1 Apol.* 61.3; *Acts Thom.* 132; *Clementine Homilies* 11.26.1), and is also connected with the bestowal of the Spirit of God (Mark 1:8; John 1:33; Acts 10:44–48; 11:16; 1 Cor 12:13; 2 Cor 1:22; Eph 4:30). A new conception of the meaning of baptism is introduced by Ignatius of Antioch, who regards Christian baptism as based on the historical baptism of Jesus, who purified the water (*Eph.* 18:2). Historically, the ritual of baptism as a once-and-for-all initiation ritual was adapted from the practice of John the Baptist by Jesus (though the evidence is fragmentary; cf. John 3:22; 4:1–2; *Pistis Sophia* 122), and by the early Palestinian Christian community.

Acts contains several brief narratives of baptisms which function as a rite of acceptance into the Christian community after the proclamation of the gospel is responded to with repentance and baptism (Acts 2:38). Baptism is performed in two slightly different settings: (1) publicly, as part of a positive response to the proclamation of the Gospel (2:41; 8:12–13; 16:15; 18:7–8), and (2) semi-privately, in situations in which the baptizer and those who are baptized are present (8:36–38; 10:44–48; 19:1–5; 22:16). Though this pattern may appear to be a Lukan construct, it is also found in Hermas *Vis.* 3.7.3, as well as in Hermas *Sim.* 9.16.5, where baptism is referred to as "the seal of the preaching." Though very little of the character of the baptismal ceremony is revealed in these brief narratives, the interpolation found in the Western text of Acts 8:36–38 (quoted in italics) shows the influence of an early baptismal ritual:

> [36] And as they went along the road they [Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch] came to some water, and the eunuch said, "See, here is water! What is to prevent my being baptized?" [37] *And Philip said, "If you believe with all your heart, you may." And he replied, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God."* And he commanded the chariot to stop and they both went down into the water, Philip and the eunuch, and he baptized him.

Here the phrase "what prevents x from being baptized?" appears to have been a stereotypical ritual question used in some baptismal liturgies (cf. Acts 10:47; 11:17; cf. Matt 3:13f.). Similarly, the confession "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God" (added in the Western text) appears to have had a fixed place in early baptismal liturgies (cf. Acts 22:16; Neufeld 1963: 62, 144f.), although it was also used in other settings (e.g., exorcism, healing, worship, persecution). In Rom 10:9f., the confession of Jesus Christ as Lord is accompanied by the confession that God raised him from the dead.

The most widespread liturgical formula used in connection with baptism is the phrase "to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ" (Acts 2:38; 8:16; 10:48; 19:5; 1 Cor 1:13; Gal 3:27; *Did.* 9:5), or "to be baptized in the name of the Lord" (*Herm. Vis.* 3.7.3). This formula was later expanded to a three-part trinitarian formulation, "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (Matt 28:19; *Did.* 7:1; Justin *1 Apol.* 61.3, 13; *Acts Pet.* 2.5; *Acts Thom.* 119; *Clementine Homilies* 11.26.3). Several later texts indicate that fasting was practiced, both by baptismal candidates and by others present (*Did.* 7:4; Justin *1 Apol.* 61.2; Hippolytus *Apostolic Tradition* 20.7). Several texts from the 2d and 3d centuries indicate that candidates removed their clothes before baptism and put them on again afterward (Hipp. *Apost.* 21.3, 20), and it is possible that the earlier "put off"/"put on" language of the vice and virtue lists in Col 3:5–17 and Eph 4:22–23 may reflect baptismal paraenesis.

The practice of following the rite of baptism with the eucharist is hinted at by the sequence in *Did.* 7–9 (cf. 9:5), and specifically described in several early sources (Justin *1 Apol.* 65 and *Acts Pet.* 2.5; *Acts Thom.* 119, 132f.). One of the reasons for linking baptism with the eucharist was precisely because participation in the latter was general forbidden to the unbaptized (*Did.* 9:5; Justin *1 Apol.* 66.1), and immediate participation on the part of the newly baptized would dramatically affirm their membership in

the Christian community. By the time of Tertullian, in the late 2d century A.D., baptism was a special service held at Easter and Pentecost (*De bapt.* 19).

The lack of evidence for the specific character of the ritual of baptism has not discouraged scholars from discovering baptismal liturgies embedded in early Christian literature. Several scholars have proposed that 1 Peter, which has a relatively large number of cultic terms, contains a baptismal liturgy in 1:3–4:11, though baptism is explicitly mentioned only in 3:21. Cross (1954) argued the presence of a baptismal liturgy in 1 Peter by comparing it with the Easter baptism and confirmation rite, followed by the eucharist, in Hippolytus *Apost.* 21–23. Boismard (1956–57) has discerned the following elements of baptismal liturgy in 1 Peter:

1:3–5 Baptismal hymn

1:13–21 Homily preparatory to baptism

1:22–2:10 Homily following baptism

2:11–3:7 Charge to newly baptized on Christian living

5:1–5 Charge to newly baptized on Christian living

5:5–9 Baptismal hymn.

**3. Lesser Ritual Actions. a. Bowing or Prostration.** One of the simplest and most basic actions connected with worship is that of "bowing down." Various forms of bowing, whether bending forward at the waist with eyes downcast, kneeling, or prostration, are all symbolic actions which indicate subjection or subservience, i.e., the inferior status of the one who bows in comparison with the one to whom one bows. The ritual expressions of superior/inferior status, such as bowing, are often identical with social expressions of such status. Further, bowing gives behavioral expression to the experience of religious awe. Frequently the term *proskunein* + dative has been thought to be used in the sense of "to worship" (i.e., God or the Dragon; Rev 4:10; 7:11; 11:16; 19:4, 10; 22:9), while *proskunein* + accusative is thought to mean "to bow, prostrate oneself," or "to do homage to," i.e., before the Animal and his image (Rev 13:4, 12; 14:9, 11; 20:4). The difference is between "worship" and physical "prostration." However, J. Horst has shown that this distinction is untenable (*Proskynein,* 33–43). Conclusion: in every instance but Rev 3:9, cultic worship is in view, and the supposed contrast between the attitude of worship and adoration and that of external physical bowing or prostration is untenable. The role of "bending the knee" in the Christian embedded in Phil 2:5–11 suggests that this ritual mode of acknowledging the Lordship of Christ was practiced in at least some of the Pauline churches. Early Christians accepted both standing and kneeling as acceptable postures for prayer (Acts 7:60; 9:40; 20:36; 21:5; Eph 3:14; the only reference to standing, however, is Mark 11:25).

**b. The Kiss of Peace.** At the conclusion of four letters, Paul urges the recipients to greet each other with a holy kiss (Rom 16:16; 1 Cor 16:20; 2 Cor 13:12; 1 Thess 5:26). This ritual appears to have dramatized the relationship of Christians to one another in terms of a surrogate family. This ritual expression of affection is called the "kiss of love" in 1 Pet 5:14. Later it was called the "kiss of peace" (Tert. *De orat.* 18: *osculum pacis;* Hipp. *Apost.* 4.1; 18.3; 22.6). By the middle of the 2d century it is clear that the kiss was used to mark the conclusion of the service which preceded the eucharist (Justin *1 Apol.* 65.2; Origen *comm. in Rom.* 16:16; *Apos. Con.* 8.11.9). Yet since a century separates Paul from Justin, it is not completely clear that Paul regarded the holy kiss as part of the ritual introduction to the eucharist. It may, for example, have functioned as a conclusion to a service of the word (Cuming 1975–76).

**c. Anointing with Oil.** This ritual is mentioned in Mark 6:13, where the disciples are said to have driven out many demons and healed many sick by anointing them with oil. James 5:14 recommends that the elders visit the sick, pray for them, and anoint them with oil "in the name of the Lord." It is also possible that what appears to be a secondary interpolation between *Did.* 10:7 and 11:1 may at first have been part of the original text (Wengst 1984: 57–59): "Concerning anointing oil, give thanks as follows: 'We thank you, Father, for the fragrance of the oil which you made known to us through Jesus your servant. Glory be to you for ever. Amen." By the end of the 2d century A.D., the practice of anointing a

newly baptized person with oil begins to be attested widely. The bestowal of the Holy Spirit is associated with this postbaptismal ritual. In the NT, Paul associates the terms "anointing" and "sealing" with the gift of the Holy Spirit (2 Cor 1:21f.), though there is disagreement regarding whether or not baptism is in view. If it is, it would appear that Paul knew that the gift of the Holy Spirit was bestowed by the rite of a material anointing with oil (Ysebaert 1962: 262). The ritual of postbaptismal anointing follows the ancient secular practice of anointing the body with oil after bathing.

**d. Laying on of Hands.** This ritual gesture is a ceremonial act which functions to heal, consecrate, or anoint the individual who is touched. Jesus is frequently depicted as laying hands on, or touching, afflicted individuals as part of the healing process (Mark 1:41; 5:23; 6:5; 7:32), and this practice is continued by the early Church (Acts 3:7; 5:12; 28:8). The laying on of hands functions as an ordination ritual (Acts 6:6; 13:3; 1 Tim 4:14; cf. 5:22), and as a means of bestowing the Holy Spirit (Acts 8:17f.). The ritual of anointing with oil and that of the laying on of hands may be different ways of referring to the same rite, for after oil is poured on an individual's head, the ritual of anointing may simply involve touching the person at that place.

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D. E. AUNE

**WRATH OF GOD.** A combination of philosophical presuppositions originating in classical Greek thinking has left Jewish and Christian theologians having to wrestle with the frequent biblical references to God "becoming angry." Among such presuppositions is the notion that every emotion, especially anger, is aroused by "evil spirits" dwelling in the soul; to act upon emotion in general—or upon anger specifically—is therefore seen as a sign of either weakness or sickness. Other presuppositions are based upon the Platonic distinction between reason and emotion: subsequent Hellenistic notions about God tended to emphasize divine mind and thought, which altogether transcend joy and sorrow. In this prevailing view, God comes to be viewed as indifferent to humanity and oblivious of the world, possessing a fundamental will and consciousness that is impassive and aloof; the important point in this context is that God possesses no emotions that cause him to be moved or affected by mortal conduct and affairs.

### *OLD TESTAMENT*

In the study of the Hebrew Bible, an ongoing theological problem has been to reconcile these essentially non-Semitic philosophical presuppositions with the OT text which portrays Israel's god Yahweh in

blatantly "anthropopathic" terms (i.e., possessing human emotions). This problem was confronted early on by Jewish philosophers such as Philo, and it was subsequently addressed by medieval Jewish scholastics and by Maimonides. Early Christian theologians like Clement of Alexandria, Marcion, Tertullian, Arnobius, and Lactantius also wrestled with the philosophical issues presented by the OT texts depicting divine wrath. (For more general treatments of philosophical issues related to anthropopathism and divine wrath, see esp. Heschel 1962, vol. 2, chaps. 1–6; also Berkovitz 1964; Micka 1943; Otto 1923, chap. 4; and Creel 1986.)

Current theological discussions continue to focus primarily upon two important issues that preoccupied earlier Jewish and Christian thinkers: (1) whether "the wrath of God" is a rhetorical figure of speech or an ontological reality; and (2) if anger is an ontological reality, whether it constitutes a permanent attribute of God co-equal with love, or something more transient that is precipitated by man's behavior.

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B. "Passion" or "Pathos"?
C. Divine Wrath in the ANE
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F. Summary

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**A. Terminology**

Nahum 1:6 lists some nouns frequently used to designate God's "wrath" *(ʾap, ḥēmâ, ḥārôn, zaʿam),* and there links the notion of divine wrath with the notions of divine jealousy and vengeance. Deut 29:18–28, which comment on the curses contained in the preceeding chapter, also provide a rich catalog of words and images associated with divine wrath.

The noun most frequently used to refer to "anger," whether divine (140 times) or human, is *ʾap* (dual *ʾappayim*), which literally means "nose" or "nostrils." Derived from **ʾnp* ("to become angry"), it originally may have referred to "snorting"; nevertheless, it suggests that the nose is the seat of anger (Ezek 38:18; Ps 18:9 [—Eng 18:8]). God's anger is depicted as "burning" (*ḥrh,* see below), "blazing" (**bʿr,* Isa 30:27), and "fuming" (*ʿšn,* Deut 29:19 [—Eng 29:20]). The verb **ʾnp,* whether in the *Qal* or the *Hitpaʿel,* always (14 times) refers to God "becoming angry" (Deut 1:37; Isa 12:1; cf. also Ps 2:12).

The incendiary character of anger is also clearly conveyed by another noun frequently used to refer either to divine (almost 90 times) or to human "wrath," *ḥēmâ* (from **yḥm*, "to be hot"). In Nah 1:2 God is said to be *baʿal ḥēmâ,* "lord of wrath." God's wrath can be "kindled" (**yṣt*, 2 Kgs 22:13, 17) and is said to "go forth like fire" (Jer 4:4; 21:12), to "blaze like fire" (**bʿr,* Ps 89:47 [—Eng 89:46]), or to be "poured out like fire" (Lam 2:4; Nah 1:6). The notion of wrath being "poured out" (*špk, ntk,* esp. in Jeremiah and Ezekiel) apparently led to the notion of God's "cup of wrath" (Isa 51:17, 22; Jer 25:15; cf. Hab 2:15–16). "Wrath" *(ḥēmâ)* appears parallel to or in conjunction with "anger" *(ʾap)* almost three dozen times (e.g., Deut 29:22 [—Eng 29:23]; Mic 5:14 [—Eng 5:15]; Ps 90:7), and over one-third of its occurrences are in Ezekiel.

A noun used exclusively (41 times) for divine "rage" is *ḥārôn.* It too has incendiary connotations (it literally means "burning"), and it is also used about three dozen times in association with "anger" (*ḥarôn ʾap,* "flare up/rage of anger" or simply "fierce anger"). The related verb *ḥrh* ("to ignite") either appears with divine anger *(ʾap)* as the subject (God's anger "flares up/rages" about three dozen times, e.g., Exod 22:23 [—Eng 22:24]; Num 22:22) or is used impersonally, *ḥārah l-,* "he (God) became enraged" (Gen 18:30; Ps 18:8 [—Eng 18:7]). Since the object of this rage is almost always Israel (except Hab 3:8 and Ps 18:8 [—Eng 18:7]), and since the source of provocation often is "transgression of the covenant" (Josh 7:1; 23:16; Judg 2:20) or "pursuit of other gods" (Deut 6:14–15; 11:16–17; 31:16–17), *ḥrh* and *ḥārôn* seem to have a specialized use designating the legitimate rage of a suzerain against a disobedient vassal.

The noun *qeṣep* is generally used (26 times) to refer to God's "ire" (Num 17:11 [—Eng 16:46]; Deut 29:27; Jer 10:10), and it refers to human ire only in two very late texts (Eccl 5:16 [—Eng 5:17]; Esth 1:18). About half of the occurrences of the verb *qṣp* in either the *Qal* or the *Hipʿil* refer (16 times) to God "becoming irate" (Deut 9:7, 8, 19, 22; Isa 57:16–17).

The noun *ʿebrâ* usually (24 times out of 30) refers to divine (as opposed to mortal) "fury," often in association with "anger" (Hos 13:11; Hab 3:8). Ezekiel refers to "the fire of (God's) fury" (21:36 [—Eng 21:31]; 22:21, 31; 38:19). The *Hitpaʿel* of **ʿbr* usually (5 times) refers to God "becoming furious" (Deut 3:26; Pss 78:21, 59, 62; 89:39 [—Eng 89:38]).

Yet another noun, *zaʿam,* almost always (21 times) refers to divine "indignation." It appears primarily in the prophets, where it is also used along with other words having incendiary connotations (Isa 10:5; 66:14–15; cf. also Isa 30:27; Ezek 22:31). In Ps 78:49 it appears alongside *ḥărôn ʾap* and *ʿebrâ* in a list of the various malevolent forces God loosed against the Egyptians. Divine indignation, like divine wrath, can be "poured out" (*špk,* Ps 69:25 [—Eng 69:24]; Ezek 21:36 [—Eng 21:31]; Zeph 3:8). No precise distinction seems to have been drawn between *zaʿam* as emotion or as "curse" (Isa 30:27; Mic 6:10). When the deity is the subject of the verb *zʿm* (6 times), it clearly refers to God "becoming indignant" (Isa 66:14; Zech 1:12; even Num 23:8). In Ps 7:12 (—Eng 7:11), God is referred to as *ʾēl zōʿēm,* "God of indignation."

The noun *kaʿas (kaʿaś* in Job 10:17) occasionally (8 times) refers to divine "aggravation" (e.g., 1 Kgs 15:30; 21:22), although occasionally (7 times) it refers to that of humans (e.g., 1 Sam 1:6). Other words for wrath are rarely connected with it, leading some to translate it "grief" in certain contexts (e.g., Ps 6:8 [—Eng 6:7]). The Deuteronomistic Historian, however, perhaps building upon notions found in the archaic poem Deuteronomy 32 (vv 19, 27), used the *Hipʿil of kʿs* (43 times) to portray God regularly being "aggravated" (RSV "provoked to anger") by Israel's repeated apostasies (Deut 4:25; 2 Kgs 17:17, etc.; see McCarthy 1974: 100, 108 n. 5 for these Deuteronomistic "provocation formulae").

The noun *zaʿap* is used only twice to refer to divine "vexation" (Isa 30:30, Mic 7:9). The root *rgz,* meaning "to be agitated," sometimes refers to divine irritation (Job 12:6; Hab 3:2; cf. also 2 Kgs 19:27–28). The noun *rûaḥ,* "breath, spirit," denotes divine "exasperation" (Isa 30:28) as well as that of humans (Judg 8:3; Prov 29:11). (More complete treatments of these various terms can be found in *TDOT* 1: 348–60; 4: 106–11, 462–65; 5: 171–76; *TWAT* 4: 298–302; 5: 1033–1039.) Beyond this specific terminology, one might be able to infer divine wrath in almost any biblical reference to divine punishment or vengeance.

**B. "Passion" or "Pathos"?**

Any attempt to outline how divine wrath is depicted in the OT must first concede the overall anthropopathic character of Hebrew descriptions of Yahweh, a fact reinforced by the terminology above. But even though analogies are drawn from human anger, the wrath of Yahweh is portrayed somewhat differently from human anger in the Hebrew Bible. In some respects this is essentially the difference between "passion" and "pathos" (see Heschel 1962, vol. 2, esp. chap. 1).

"Passion" can be understood as an emotional convulsion which makes it impossible to exercise free consideration of principles and the determination of conduct in accordance with them. Although the OT discusses human anger much less frequently than divine wrath, it tends to portray human anger as such as a loss of self-control and then censures it, particularly in the wisdom writings (Prov 14:29; 16:32; 19:19;

29:22; 30:33; Eccl 7:9; cf. Sir 1:22–24; 28:3), thereby echoing Egyptian wisdom teachings (cf. also Gen 49:7; Amos 1:11).

"Pathos," on the other hand, is an act formed with care and intention, the result of determination and decision. It is not a "fever of the mind" that disregards standards of justice and culminates in irrational and irresponsible action; it is intricately linked to "ethos" and approximates what we mean by "righteous indignation" (Heschel 1962, 2: 5, 63). The wrath of God tends to be portrayed in this way in the OT, especially in the prophets; it seems not to be an essential attribute or fundamental characteristic of Yahweh's *persona* but an expression of his will; it is a reaction to human history, an attitude called forth by human (mis)conduct.

**C. Divine Wrath in the Ancient Near East**

Attempts to understand the wrath of Yahweh as it is depicted in the OT must also compare that depiction with the many portrayals of divine anger found in numerous ANE texts. Here, we note that the anger of a particular god is often portrayed as an idiosyncratic aspect of that god's *personality,* generally resembling the "passion" type described by Heschel. Sometimes, however, a god's anger is portrayed more as a legitimate exercise of his/her *"office,"* generally resembling the "pathos" type of anger.

**1. "Passion" of the Gods.** The most blatantly "mythological" texts of the ANE focus primarily upon the divine world and the interrelationships of the gods. In such texts, the anthropomorphic and anthropopathic portrayals of the gods tend to be especially heightened: deities become drunk, or sexually aroused, or frightened, or surprised, or overjoyed, or sullen and resentful, etc. Because of the apparent popularity of such myths in the ANE, there is good reason why deities in the various cultures surrounding Israel "are often represented as aimless, fitful, and arbitrary, acting without purpose" (Albrektson 1967: 89), and why those gods could often be portrayed as becoming angry "for no good reason." In such mythological portraits, the wrath of the pagan gods approaches a malicious and uncontrolled type of "passion" which is often characteristic of an implacable personality (cf. Sophocles and Herodotus, who attributed to the Greek gods an almost whimsical inclination to harm mortals gratuitously, and Aeschylus and Pindar, who detailed the sexual passions that gripped Zeus and Poseidon).

Only a few examples from ANE mythic texts need to be called as illustration. In the Myth of Atrahasis (*ANET,* 104–106), the distemperate gods, led by Enlil (the storm-god), decide to obliterate humanity by means of a flood because the human race had multiplied to the point that its noise kept the gods (and particularly Enlil) awake at night. Similarly, in the Epic of Gilgamesh (*ANET,* 72ff.), it was Enlil who, "unreasoning, brought on the deluge" and who was "filled with anger" when he saw Utnapishtim's boat and realized that his plans had been thwarted (XI: 168, 171). Indeed, in a recurrent ANE mythological type-scene, the angry god (in this case, Enlil) must be calmed down by other deities who fear that his anger is getting out of control (XI: 180ff.). Also in the Gilgamesh Epic, the goddess Ishtar (goddess of love/war) is portrayed as a spoiled adolescent who, when spurned by Gilgamesh, angrily yet tearfully implores her father Anu to destroy Gilgamesh because, in her words, "he has heaped insults upon me (by) calling attention to my odious behavior" (VI: 80f.).

The Egyptian gods also had their passionate tirades. In the Contest of Horus and Seth (*ANET,* 14–17), the goddess Neith vows to get angry and cause the sky to collapse if her favorite (Horus) is not chosen to succeed Osiris; furthermore, the god Re-Har-akti goes off to brood when another god reminds him that no one worships at his shrines anymore. In yet another myth (*ANET,* 10–11), the bloodthirsty goddess Hathor/Sekhmet goes beserk and almost annihilates the human race which is saved when other gods intervene, tricking her into believing that red-colored beer is human blood. In fact, in Egyptian mythological texts the god Seth is so vividly portrayed that he came to be known as "the raging one" whose irrational anger against the ideal order (implied in the myth of Horus and Osiris) seems to represent all the chaotic aspects of the world (Te Velde 1967: 23–24, 101).

In the Telepinu Myth of the Hittites (*ANET,* 126–28), the god Telepinu becomes so angry that he cannot put his shoes on the correct feet before running away from home. The consequence of his anger is clear: drought and famine throughout the world. The reason for his anger, however, is not clearly stated,

although it may have been prompted by a disagreement with his father. Regardless, his anger was only intensified when a bee found him asleep and stung him to awaken him.

In Canaanite mythology, Anath appears to resemble Hathor as a goddess whose bloodthirst can scarcely be sated. In the Myth of Baal's Defeat of Yamm (*ANET*, 129–31), the god Baal, worried that he may be required to become subservient to the god Yamm, scornfully rebukes those gods who bow down to Yamm's emissaries; when El orders him to submit to Yamm, he becomes so enraged (Ug *ʾanš*) that he impulsively grabs a knife to slay Yamm's emissaries. Significantly, he has to be restrained by Athtartu/Ashtoreth. (For further discussion of the wrath of the Canaanite gods, see Gray 1947–53.)

In these and other ANE myths, gods and goddesses are anthropomorphized so vividly that it is often possible to describe (even in some psychological detail) their idiosyncracies and personal characteristics. In the mythological texts, their anger often seems a natural extension of their personalities. In light of the caprice often attributed to these ANE gods, it is not surprising that magic and incantations to secure protection against their ragings were prevalent in the ancient world.

**2. "Pathos" of the Gods.** However, other ANE texts—particularly those that (like the Bible) attempt to relate historical events to divine will—often portray the wrath of the gods as a type of "pathos" legitimately occasioned by human offenses against the righteous will of those gods (see Albrektson 1967; references to divine wrath can be found on almost every page of chaps. 1 and 6). In these texts, the anthropomorphisms are more restrained, and the anger of the pagan deities comes close to approximating that of the Israelite god Yahweh. The matter can be summarized as follows:

> "If a defeat or the fall of a dynasty is regarded not only as the manifestation of divine anger but as anger at some transgression or negligence, then this implies also the view that the universe is in some way governed according to the laws of justice: it rules out the conception that the god's actions are nothing but arbitrariness and whimsicality … In Mesopotamia, as in Israel, the idea of historical events as a revelation of divine wrath or mercy for sins or godliness presupposes both that the deity acts in history and that the universe is ruled with justice" (Albrektson 1967: 103).

In these texts, two types of human transgressions tend to provoke a god's legitimate and "official" wrath: contempt for that god's temple, and violation of solemn oaths.

**a. Anger Prompted by Cultic Sacrilege.** In some Mesopotamian texts (discussed by Albrektson) the historical devastation of a particular city (Akkad, Ur, Babylon, Uruk) is attributed to a deity (Enlil, Irra, Ninurta, Ishtar, or Marduk) who becomes angry, usually over some cultic offense (e.g., kings desecrating that god's shrine). Thus, at least on a superficial level, one can say that these are examples of divine *pathos* insofar as the gods can legitimately insist that their places of worship be respected. The important Weidner Chronicle, in which the rise and fall of historical kings and dynasties are interpreted in terms of divine punishment, is a good exemplar of these texts. As Albrektson observes (1967: 103), "the norm according to which these rulers are judged is their relations to Babylon and above all to the cult of Marduk in the central sanctuary, Esagila" (cf. the book of Kings, where N Israel is repeatedly condemned and eventually destroyed in part because it embraced the "sin of Jeroboam, son of Nebat," who set up temples rivaling that of Jerusalem).

Yet the distinction between divine *pathos* (righteous indignation) and *passion* (resulting, for example, from a bruised ego) is not always so clearcut when a god's own cult is concerned. In some respects, the cult in the first place exists for humans to influence and manipulate the god, thus some degree of divine egocentrism is implied by the simple fact that a shrine exists (even in Israel; see Roberts 1975). To what extent, then, does its desecration constitute primarily a violation of a divine ordinance (eliciting legitimate, divine pathos) or an insult to a divine personality (eliciting vitriolic passion)?

In fact, these various Mesopotamian texts themselves often blur the distinction. For example, in the "Curse of Akkad," which attributes the Gutian destruction of Akkad (ca. 2150 B.C.) to Naram-sin's destruction of the Ekur (Enlil's temple), eight deities must intervene to "cool Enlil's heart," a possible indication that, as far as these other gods were concerned, Enlil's anger was moving beyond legitimate and "official" pathos to unreasoning and "personal" passion (cf. Enlil's behavior in the various ANE flood stories). Similarly, in the Irra Epic, which may attribute the long and chaotic "dark age" of Babylonia

(early 1st millennium B.C.) to the sins of prior Babylonian kings, the god Ishum intercedes to appease Irra's rage. Lambert (1962: 119), however, concludes that this text ultimately suggests no grounds for Irra's rage—it was simply *"in the god's nature"* (emphasis added; Irra was, significantly, a plague god). This type scene (others deities interceding to placate a god's wrath) suggests that even when the ancients believed that their gods had legitimate reason to vent anger, they nevertheless harbored deep anxieties about whether those gods had any *internal* motivation to control or limit that anger: undoubtedly the mythological texts elaborating on divine distemper lingered in the backs of their minds. Indeed, such anxieties may have been further heightened by the traditional associations of these various gods with nonrational and often violent natural phenomena (storm; plague; love/war). It is perhaps also significant that most Near Eastern and biblical terms for anger—whether of the passion- or pathos-type—were drawn from another, often violent natural phenomenon: fire.

**b. Anger Prompted by Broken Oaths.** In certain other ANE texts (e.g., the Plague Prayers of Mursilis, *ANET,* 394–96), momentous historical catastrophes are attributed to a deity who becomes angry because people (almost always political leaders) break certain solemn oaths they are sworn to keep. For example, in the Tukulti-ninurta Epic, which seeks to justify the Assyrian conquest of Babylon (ca. latter third of 13th century B.C.), the Babylonian gods become angry because the Babylonian king has repeatedly violated a border agreement with Assyria; consequently, the Babylonian gods abandon their shrines in Babylon and defect to the Assyrian side (cf. Ezekiel 9–11). Similarly, in the account of Ashurbanipal's 9th Campaign, the king of the Arabian tribes becomes the object of divine wrath because he violated his loyalty oath to Ashurbanipal.

There is a strong formal similarity between these ANE depictions of divine pathos and that of Yahweh, who in the OT prophets and historical narratives is portrayed as being angry at Israel for its repeated violation of its covenant obligations. However, these ANE texts have obvious ideological functions that the OT lacks: they are self-serving documents written by kings seeking to legitimize their policies. In other words, in the Bible no political entity ever profits from the wrath of Yahweh. But the important point of similarity is that in these portrayals the "personal" feelings of the god are not the force driving the anger; the driving force is rather the god's "official" duty to uphold the moral foundation for human political and social life.

**c. The Mesha Stele.** The one ANE text that portrays a god's anger in language most reminiscent of the Bible is a Moabite text (*ANET,* 320–21). See also MESHAʿ STELE. There it is stated that Chemosh, god of Moab, became angry with his own land and handed it over to Omri, king of Israel, until Mesha became king and liberated Moab from Israelite control. The text does not state what precipiated Chemosh's anger, but like the other ANE texts that are "history oriented" rather than "myth oriented," the implication is clearly that Chemosh had some legitimate reason for being angry with his people. What is not clear is whether the Moabites offended him through some cultic offense or through some moral or political offense.

**D. The Wrath of Yahweh**

**1. Causes of God's Anger.** Assuming that anger is directed against its cause, any listing of factors inciting Yahweh's wrath must also specify those against whom it is directed. The following constitutes an attempt toward a theological synthesis of the biblical references to divine wrath, rather than an historical description of Israelite ideas about divine wrath.

**a. Inexplicable Caprice.** At best, only a very few passages seem to suggest that, like other ANE deities, Yahweh could behave in an irrational manner unrelated to any moral will: Gen 32:23–33 [—Eng 32:22–32]; Exod 4:24–26; 19:21–25; Judg 13:21–23; and 2 Sam 6:6–11 (although only this last passage explicitly refers to divine anger [*wayyiḥar-ʾap YHWH,* 2 Sam 6:7]). The objects of such anger tend to be those who, unfortunately, are simply in the wrong place at the wrong time. Possibly underlying all these passages (particularly the latter three) is the fairly universal notion that the *mysterium tremendum* of deity is intrinsically life-threatening to mortals (Gen 16:13; see Otto 1923, chap. 4, esp. pp. 18–19). If the legends of Gen 32:23–33 (Jacob wrestling at Peniel) and Exod 4:24–26 (Moses as "bloody bridegroom") initially circulated in connection with popular notions of Yahweh's demonic or savage "passion," these

aspects focusing on Yahweh's personality were subsequently censored out, and the legends were transformed to depict Yahweh acknowledging the force of both Jacob's desire for a blessing and Zipporah's solemn act of consecration implied by the circumcision (*ETOT* 1: 261).

**b. Human Sinfulness.** Because all of history—even chance (Exod 21:13)—is understood to be the domain of Yahweh, any misfortune or unexpected disaster, whether personal (2 Sam 12:15–18; Ps 88:17 [—Eng 88:16]) or corporate (Exod 9:14; 2 Sam 24:21; Amos 3:6) can be regarded as a manifestation of Yahweh's wrath, although the OT does not necessarily regard every misfortune or disaster as such. Here the instruments of divine wrath include natural elements (Isa 30:30; Joel 1), sickness and disease (Num 11:33; 1 Sam 6:4), or famine and pestilence (Ezek 5:13–17; 7:15). Divine displeasure was also thought to manifest itself in cataclysms of seemingly supernatural proportions (cf. Gen 6:17; 19:24).

As in other cultures, especially ANE ones, the proximate cause for such a display of divine anger was generally felt to be some specific human sin (Josh 7:11–12; 1 Kgs 17:18). When such could not be readily identified, it was tempting to attribute the misfortune to the unstable and temperamental personality of the god. Yet this seems not to have been the case in Israel, where the aniconic tradition helped assure that Yahweh would remain a fairly nondescript personality (also note that magic and incantations to secure protection against divine rage appear not to have existed in Israel). The Eden narrative (Genesis 2–3), by associating the miserable aspects of human life with some fundamental act of disobedience by the prototypical human being, effectively acquits Yahweh of any charge of capricious "passion" from that point on: specific misfortunes and even death are attributed to generic human sinfulness (in theological parlance, "the Fall"), an interpretation still widely held. In this perspective, the divine wrath beneath misfortune is still considered a justified "pathos," not capricious "passion": thus adversity becomes the expected and deserved norm for such flawed human life (Job 14:1f.; also Ecclesiastes), while experiences of good fortune become instances of undeserved divine favor [see *ISBE* 4: 154–59].) In the end, however, because the metaphysical "cause" of misfortune remains an enigma, so must the operation of divine wrath; at least two biblical texts suggest that the appropriate response is simply to bow to the possibility that misfortune indicates divine displeasure (2 Sam 15:26; Job 42:6).

Curiously, despite much provocation by human sin, God in Genesis is never explicitly said to have "become angry." God curses the serpent (3:14), expels Adam and Eve (3:23), refuses Cain's offering and subsequently curses Cain (4:5), regrets *(nḥm)* making human beings and sends the flood (6:6), thwarts the pretentious labors of the people of Babel (11:5), afflicts plagues upon Pharaoh's house (12:17), destroys Sodom and Gomorrah (18:20; see vv 30, 32), threatens Abimelech, king of Gerar (20:6), terrorizes cities (35:5), and slays Onan for doing what was wrong in God's eyes (38:10); but none of this is explicitly tied to divine "wrath."

It is perhaps significant that the first OT occurrence of God exhibiting anger appears in passages intimately tied to Yahweh's deliverance of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage. Yahweh's anger *(ʾap)* is kindled for the first time against Moses when the latter attempts to back out of his special calling as deliverer (Exod 4:13–14), and subsequently God's rage *(ḥārôn)* is celebrated poetically as the force that simultaneously consumed the pursuing Egyptians and delivered the fleeing Israelites (Exod 15:7). Thus divine anger first appears as Yahweh's response not to generic human sinfulness but to whatever would impede efforts to free the Israelites from Egyptian enslavement.

**c. Covenant Trespass.** It is also significant that the very next reference to Yahweh displaying anger occurs *after* the Sinai covenant: the reference is embedded in a casuistic law outlining the consequences of Israel's failure to do justice (Exod 22:21–24). In one sense this passage sets the tone for almost all subsequent references to divine wrath that address preexilic Israel (the emphasis is different in passages that address later contexts; see below). From Sinai on, Israel is in covenant with Yahweh; therefore, the major cause of divine anger is Israel's failure to abide by the terms of the covenant (see comments on *ḥrh* above; cf. Amos 3:2). This is portrayed literarily by the motif of the "murmuring in the wilderness." On the way to Sinai, the Israelites' complaints about food and water induce Yahweh to respond favorably (Exod 15:22–17:7); however, when they lodge similar complaints on the way from Sinai, Yahweh typically becomes angry and punishes them (Numbers 11; 14; 16). The point is obviously not that

Yahweh underwent some fundamental personality change at Sinai, but rather that from Sinai on, Yahweh and Israel are in covenant, with Yahweh ruling as Israel's king; from that point on, "murmuring" is tantamount to rebellion, and the king (Yahweh) is entirely justified in acting to reinforce his kingship. This anger is clearly of the "pathos" type. See COVENANT.

Israel's rebellion against the kingship and rule of Yahweh is the major cause of divine wrath in the OT, regardless of whether this rebellion is expressed by murmuring against God (cf. Deut 1:26–36; Ps 78:21–22), by flagrantly disobeying God's command (Josh 7:1), by generally scorning God's word (2 Chr 36:15–16), or even by "going after other gods" (Exod 32:1–10; Num 25:1–5; Deut 13:2ff.). The failure to provide the social justice implicit within the stipulations of the covenant also makes Israel liable to divine wrath (Ps 50:21–22; Isa 1:23–24; 42:24–25; Amos 8:4–10; Micah 6). The DH narrative of Israel's past is built around the theme of Israel transgressing the covenant (*ʿābar ʾet-bĕrît,* Josh 23:16; Judg 2:20) and thereby "provoking God to anger" (see comments on *kaʿas* above; McCarthy 1974; Haney 1960). It is interesting to note that Heb *lemaʿan* is used not simply in a resultative sense ("so that") but in a purposive sense ("in order that"), suggesting that covenant violations are (subconsciously?) *intended* to aggravate God (e.g., Jer 7:18), thus compounding the severity of the violation.

The notion that divine wrath is related to covenant trespass is reinforced by a cursory examination of phrases describing the resulting punishment. Especially in the prophets, the wrath of Yahweh is manifested in terms similar to treaty curses from other ANE cultures (Hillers 1964): drought and barrenness (Deut 11:17), afflictions for the land (Deut 29:22 [—Eng 29:23]), being scattered abroad (Jer 32:37), and ultimately destruction (Deut 9:19).

**d. Pagan Arrogance.** "When Yahweh has completed all his work (of punishment) on Mt. Zion and on Jerusalem he will punish the arrogant boasting of the king of Assyria and his haughty pride" (Isa 10:12). The references to divine wrath that appear in exilic and postexilic contexts envision Yahweh's wrath shifting from Israel onto the nations who oppress Israel, although references to divine wrath directed against foreign oppressors also appear earlier in various depictions of Yahweh as a warrior. The very nations which at one moment are Yahweh's instruments of wrath directed against Israel (Judg 2:11–15; 2 Kgs 13:3; 2 Chr 36:15–17; Zech 7:11–14; Lamentations 2) at another moment are themselves the objects of Yahweh's wrath (Jer 50:25; Ezek 36:1–7; Mal 1:2–5).

There are at least two reasons why God's wrath is directed against the nations. First, Yahweh's vindictive retaliation is directed against those who harmed His people (Jer 10:25; Ezekiel 25; Nahum 1 [—Eng 1:1–2:1]; cf. Jeremiah 50–51; Obadiah). Such passages seem to exude a narrow, triumphalistic nationalism, and in a few rare instances (e.g., Ezek 25:14) the tables are turned and Israel is depicted as God's instrument of wrath against a foreign nation. Second, other passages portray God's anger directed against foreign nations not simply because they oppressed Israel but because they failed to realize that in so doing they were not autonomous, but were merely tools being wielded by Yahweh (cf. Isa 10:5–19; Jer 25:7–14). The self-idolatry of the nations is what kindles the wrath of Yahweh against them.

**2. The Day of Wrath.** The prevalence of injustice in history led to notions about God's decisive and climactic intrusion into history, when God's saving purpose would be finally accomplished. See DAY OF YAHWEH; APOCALYPSES AND APOCALYPTICISM; ESCHATOLOGY. Apocalyptic texts refer to the "time of (God's) indignation" (*zaʿam;* Isa 26:20; Ezek 22:24; Dan 8:19) and to the "day of God's fury" (*ʿebrâ;* Ezek 7:19; Zeph 1:15, 18; cf. Prov 11:4; Job 21:30). Because the present world is at enmity with God, this eschatological moment is regarded as a day when Yahweh defeats His enemies (Isa 2:12ff.; 13:6ff.; Amos 5:18–20; etc.), and Isaiah envisions it also as a day when wrath is ended, reconciliation achieved, and Yahweh's people flourish (27:1–6).

**E. Divine Anger as Royal Prerogative?**

When the anthropopathic characterization of Yahweh is compared with that of other ANE deities, one immediately notes that in some fundamental ways Yahweh's anger is significantly different from the often passionate and sometimes petty tirades of other ANE deities: Yahweh's anger never seems to be a function of his personality.

But a comparison of Yahweh with other ANE kings may lead to some important nuances in our understanding of divine emotion. For example, on several occasions Sargon II is said to have acted "in a sudden rage" (*ANET,* 286), and a rather stylized expression repeated by Ashurbanipal was "I became very angry on account of these happenings, my soul was aflame" (*ANET,* 294, 296). In these and other (especially Neo-Assyrian) royal inscriptions and annals, "anger" is depicted as a royal prerogative essentially synonymous with "exercise of sovereignty." The same can be said of the rage of the Egyptian Pharaoh, who "is Sekhmet against those who transgress his command" (*ANET,* 431; on Sekhmet, see C.1 above). Yet even though the subjects here are all mortal kings, still we are cautioned against taking too literally these references to anger. "Wrath" is not necessarily the king's personal disposition but instead often appears to be a figure of speech referring to the king's unapologetic intent to extend his domain into hostile territory. Royal "wrath" is not necessarily a personal or idiosyncratic emotion but rather a programatic orientation and, indeed, duty; it is a matter more of official policy than of private sentiment.

Because royal policy is often met with opposition and accompanied by (sometimes brutal) violence and warfare, one many infer that personal and emotional distemper is a factor. However, it may be that these references to royal "wrath" actually served rhetorically not to humanize and familiarize the king by focusing on his emotionalism but rather to aggrandize and distance him by suggesting that royal policy is accountable to no factor other than the king himself (cf. Ezek 20:8–9, 13–14, 21–22). The wrath of the king is not to be viewed like the wrath of other mortals; it is not one of the vicissitudes of being human, it is one of the prerogatives of being king: it is not of the *passion* type, but of the *pathos* type.

Indeed, some references to the wrath of pagan deities seem to make sense in this regard—these ANE gods could also exhibit a type of *pathos* legitimately linked to their "official" responsibilities for maintaining the just government of the universe (see C.2 above). Thus, Jacobsen has noted that already in the 3d millennium B.C. "the gods, *seen as kings and rulers,* were no longer powers in nature only, they became powers in human affairs—in history" (1963: 479; emphasis added). In other words, their ragings were no longer analogous simply to that of the unpredictable and violent storm, fire, plague, war, or emotion; now they could be analogous as well to the calculated and disciplined control over human affairs.

To what extent was Yahweh viewed as a king programatically extending divine rule—the fate of opponents being not a matter of personal enmity between them and Yahweh but a matter of Yahweh exercising the prerogatives of power in truly omnipotent fashion, i.e., without apology or explanation? On the one hand, there is no doubt that in those passages where Yahweh becomes angry at Israel for covenant violations, Yahweh is clearly portrayed as Israel's equivalent to a "king." On the other hand, however, those passages which depict mythological creatures as the object of Yahweh's "wrath" also suggest that Yahweh's wrath is a component not of emotion but rather of omnipotence (Job 26; Ps 89:5–13). God has the prerogative to act "in anger" because, at creation, God was able to extend sovereignty over the powers of chaos (Job 9:4–13). Thus, in order to destroy all his enemies, God "in anger" can deal with creation as a sovereign (Isa 30:27, 30).

In this regard, it is possible to suggest that the anthropopathic portrayals of Yahweh's "wrath" had the effect in ancient Israel not of "humanizing" Israel's god but rather just the opposite, of exalting Yahweh. Such a suggestion perhaps also enables us to understand why some early interpreters (e.g., Philo, Clement) insisted upon the impassibility of God and the nonliteral interpretation of those anthropopathic portrayals (see Micka 1943; Creel 1986). In this sense, we can likewise speak of God's omnipotence as entailing at least a certain type of "apathy" (a "royal aloofness"), thereby necessitating, at least to some extent, a figurative interpretation of the anthropopathic language used of God.

**F. Summary**

There is no uniform evaluation of divine wrath in the OT. On the one hand, because God's righteousness is called into question when He appears indecisive in opposing evil, divine wrath is viewed positively, as an understandable reaction to human misconduct (Mic 7:9; Ezra 8:22). Indeed, anyone who sins ought to anticipate divine wrath even before it is manifested in punishment (1 Sam 24:6 [—Eng 24:5]; 2 Sam 24:10). Thus, God's wrath is righteous because it destroys the wickedness that impedes

deliverance (Isa 34:2), and for that reason psalmists repeatedly yearn for it (Pss 59:14 [—Eng 59:13]; 79:6).

On the other hand, because God's righteousness is also called into question when divine punishment seems disproportionate (cf. Job), God's wrath can be viewed negatively, especially when it appears to be excessively cruel (Lam 2:4) or unjust (Num 16:22; Job 19:11). Therefore, God is often portrayed tempering his anger against Israel with compassion and love (Exod 32:12–14; Isa 54:7–8; Hos 11:8; Mic 7:18). It is important to note that Yahweh is depicted as having the desire to restrain his own anger, in contrast to the depictions of the various ANE deities, whose ragings often must be restrained (sometimes forcefully) by the intervention of other deities. An ancient liturgical formula that apparently does intend to describe the *persona* or "personality" of Yahweh extols Yahweh as "slow to anger and abounding in steadfast love" (Exod 34:6; Num 14:18; Ps 103:8; Jonah 4:2). Despite its tragic necessity, however, anger is not depicted as an emotion God delights in; instead, it grieves God to be angry (Lam 3:33) and God would prefer to avoid it altogether (Isa 27:2–3; Hos 11:9). Some biblical writers portray God's anger as being restrained until a more propitious moment when the righteousness of the punishment can be seen more readily (although God usually proclaims the punishment in advance through a prophet; 1 Sam 15:23–28; 2 Sam 12:10–14; Amos 7:1–6). By asking "How long?" (Ps 89:47 [—Eng 89:46]; cf. also Ps 77:10 [—Eng 77:9]), the psalmist confesses his own inability to fathom the workings of divine wrath.

There is also no uniform answer for Israel's truly serious concern: how to be delivered from the wrath of its own God. One answer calls for the death of the guilty, either literally (Josh 7:22), vicariously through animal sacrifice (Leviticus) or metaphorically (the exile as "death"). Another relies upon the efficacy of priestly intercession (Num 16:41–50). Yet a third envisions "repentence"—a return to obedient service—as the proper way to circumvent divine wrath (Jer 4:4; 18:7; Amos 5:15). Another answer simply calls upon Israel to appeal to divine mercy and the hope for a new covenant wherein human disobedience and the consequent divine wrath no longer exist (Jer 31:31–34; Ezek 36:26–30).

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GARY A. HERION


## *NEW TESTAMENT*

Although divine judgment is a significant theme throughout the NT and is expressed in a wide range of images, references specifically to God's wrath are confined mostly to the Pauline Epistles and the Revelation to John.

**A. Terminology**

In classical Greek there is a tendency for *thymos* to represent the inner emotion of anger, while *orgē* stands for its outward expression. The LXX uses the two words interchangeably to represent a large variety of Hebrew expressions for "anger." The NT reflects this usage, though when the subject is divine anger Paul shows a marked preference for *orgē:* he uses *thymos* only once (Rom 2:8, where *orgē* and *thymos* are combined in an OT quotation). The author of Revelation, on the other hand, shows a preference for *thymos* (14:19; 15:1, 7) or for both words together (14:10; 16:19; 19:15).

**B. The Gospels**

Wrath appears in John the Baptist's urgent question to the crowds (Luke 3:7) or to the Pharisees and Sadducees: "Who has warned you to flee from the wrath that is coming?" (Matt 3:7). The reference is to the eschatological day of judgment, when evil will be wiped out (Isa 13:9; Dan 8:19; Zeph 1:15; 2:2; *Jub.* 24:28; *1 Enoch* 62:12; 1QH 15:17; 1QS 4:12–13; 1QM 3:9). On that day, which John belives to be imminent, not even Jews will escape the wrath unless they demonstrate a radical repentance (Matt 3:7–10 = Luke 3:7–9).

In Luke 21:23 Jesus warns of "great distress upon the land and wrath upon this people" in connection with the destruction of Jerusalem (the parallel passage, Mark 13:19, refers to "tribulation"). Although Luke has taken over the apocalyptic discourse of Mark 13, from his perspective the fall of Jerusalem is separated in time from the end of the present age and the coming of the Son of Man. Hence wrath is associated not so much with final judgment as with the expression of divine judgment within history. Probably he intends an allusion to God's wrath in the fall of Jerusalem to Nebuchadnezzar (2 Chr 36:16; Lam 4:11; 5:22).

Occasionally in parables a king who in some sense "represents" God is said to be angry *(orgizomai)* with those who resist his purpose (Matt 18:34; 22:7; Luke 14:21). Jesus himself expresses anger at his critics' hardness of heart (Mark 3:5). But neither in the gospels nor elsewhere in the NT is the adjective "angry" or the verb "to be angry" used with God as subject.

It is probable that the "cup" about which Jesus prays in Gethsemane (Mark 14:36; cf. 10:38) alludes to the "cup of wrath"—an OT image for God's judgment upon sin (Isa 51:17–23; Jer 25:15–29). Hence Jesus is seen as identified with sinners and as bearing in his passion the judgment of God on their sin (Cranfield *Mark* CGTC, 337, 433, 493; Lane *Mark* NICNT, 379–80, 517). Less likely is the view that the cup alludes more generally to a destiny of suffering (Schweizer 1970: 313).

John's gospel has only one reference to wrath: "He who believes in the Son has eternal life; he who does not obey the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God rests upon him" (3:36). Characteristically, John speaks not of a future, final expression of wrath but of wrath as an ongoing state which arises from the refusal to respond to Christ. Just as eternal life is the present experience of believers, so unbelievers have already chosen for themselves the experience of alienation from God (3:16–21; 5:24).

**C. Paul**

An evaluation of Paul's 18 references to wrath suggests the following conclusions. First, wrath occurs both within history and at the final judgment. Its association with final judgment is clear in Paul's reference to "the day of wrath when God's righteous judgment will be revealed" (Rom 2:5; cf. 2:8; 5:9; 1 Thess 1:10; 5:9). But the wrath expected on that future day is already experienced by those who resist God's purpose in Christ, just as the hope of eternal life has already become part of the experience of believers. Thus Paul says of Jews who have persecuted Christ and his messengers, "The wrath has come upon them in a final way" (1 Thess 2:16). And God's wrath is now being revealed in his "giving up" people to the consequences of their own wrong choices (Rom 1:18–32).

Second, Paul does not think of wrath impersonally, as has been argued by C. H. Dodd (*Romans* MNTC, 21–23) and A. T. Hanson: "For Paul the impersonal character of the wrath was important; it relieved him of the necessity of attributing wrath directly to God, it transformed the wrath from an attribute of God into

the name for a process which sinners bring upon themselves" (Hanson 1957: 69). They rightly stress that Paul never describes God as angry, and draw attention to the fact that Paul speaks of "the wrath *of God*" only in Rom 1:18, Eph 5:6, and Col 3:6; elsewhere he can speak of "the wrath" in an apparently impersonal way. But against them it may be pointed out that the wrath clearly has its origin in God in 1 Thess 5:9, and in Rom 3:5, 9:22, and 12:19. Also Paul sometimes refers to "grace" without calling it "God's grace" (Rom 5:20–21), but we do not conclude thereby that grace is an impersonal process. And how can wrath be conceived as impersonal in a genuinely theistic universe?

Third, wrath represents no so much a "feeling" *(affectus)* in God as an action *(effectus)* of God—his judgment on sin. While it would be wrong to set these two understandings of *orgē* in opposition to each other, the emphasis in Paul's usage is certainly on wrath as *effectus.* When, for example, he describes wrath as eschatological, he is thinking primarily of God's final judgment on sinners, rather than of God's revulsion towards sin (which would be expressed in the present, when the evil is done).

Fourth, wrath is always directed at unbelievers, on account of their "ungodliness and wickedness" (Rom 1:18). Paul never uses *orgē* in connection with the sufferings of Christians or God's disciplinary judgment on them. The only possible exception to this is Rom 13:4–5, where the governing authorities are described as "the servant of God to execute his wrath on the wrongdoer." The background to this is the OT idea that the nations may be the agents of God's wrath (Isa 10:5; Jer 50:25). So Paul makes the hypothetical point that Christians who became wrongdoers would experience God's wrath through the state's punishment.

Fifth, the wrath of God is expressed as a spiritual condition of alienation from God. It is said of those who refused to enter into relationship with God that "God gave them up" (Rom 1:24, 26, 28)—God allows people to experience the consequences of their refusal to live in relationship with him. "The enterprise of setting up the 'No-God' is avenged by its success" (Barth 1933: 51). A similar meaning is probably intended in 1 Thess 2:16: the wrath which has come upon the Jews is their separation from Christ, the inevitable outcome of their rejection of him. Condemnation at the final judgment will be a consummation of this alienation. Thus is the wrath of God contrasted with salvation (1 Thess 5:9), eternal life (Rom 2:7–8), justification (Rom 1:17–18; 5:9), and membership of the kingdom of God (Eph 5:5–6).

Sixth, God's wrath must be understood in relation to his love. Wrath is not a permanent attribute of God. For whereas love and holiness are part of his essential nature, wrath is contingent upon human sin: if there were no sin there would be no wrath. In the structure of Romans, the warning of God's wrath (1:18) follows immediately the announcement of the gospel of justification through faith (1:16–17). God's opposition to people's sin exposes them to his wrath, but he offers in Christ the way of deliverance from wrath. L. Morris has argued forcefully that Paul's description of the work of Christ as a "means of propitiation" (Rom 3:25) includes the idea of the averting of God's wrath (1965: 179–202). But this is not the pagan idea that an angry god may be appeased by sacrifice: for God himself provides the means of propitiation and justification. In Christ, God himself absorbs the destructive consequences of sin. Hence the gospel creates a division between those who are freed from wrath through trust in God's merciful love (1 Thess 1:10; 5:9; Rom 5:9) and those who remain under wrath because they despise his mercy (Rom 2:4–5, 8; 9:22–23; Eph 2:3; 5:6; Col 3:6).

Finally, the background of Paul's understanding of wrath lies mainly in Jewish apocalyptic eschatology. Hanson's opinion that "we need look no further [than the Chronicler's impersonal view of wrath] for the origin of Paul's doctrine of the wrath of God" (1957: 23) is to be rejected. For regularly in the Chronicler's work God's people Israel is the object of wrath, whereas Paul shares the apocalyptic perspective that wrath is reserved for unbelievers (or "sinners," or "the wicked," though this may for Paul include unbelieving Jews), whereas the true people of God ("believers," "the righteous") are safe from wrath. And whereas the Chronicler speaks of wrath operating in historical events, Paul shares the apocalyptic focus on a final day of wrath. Of course, Paul differs from apocalyptic literature in believing that wrath is at work already. But that is all of a piece with his conviction that because the Messiah has come, the characteristics of the age to come (the Spirit, justification, eternal life, etc.) are already being experienced.

**D. The Revelation to John**

C. G. Jung found in the book of Revelation "a veritable orgy of hatred, wrath, vindictiveness, and blind destructive fury" (1954: 125). Hanson, however, can claim that "the concept of the wrath in the Book of Revelation is more profoundly Christian than that which is found in any other part of the New Testament" (1957: 178). The allusive and paradoxical character of the book's language and imagery requires that any interpretation of its theology must be somewhat provisional. But the following insights may be suggested.

John, like Paul, sees wrath as an eschatological phenomenon which already casts its shadow in the experience of history: historical events such as the impending doom of Babylon (Rome) herald the coming of Christ and the end of the present age. Thus wrath is associated with the sixth seal just before the end (6:16–17); with the seventh trumpet, which signifies the end itself (11:18); with the judgment on Babylon (16:19); and with the coming of Christ to "tread the wine press of the fury of the wrath of God the Almighty" (19:15). More generally, in chap. 16 the whole sequence of events leading up to Babylon's destruction is described as "the seven bowls of the wrath of God" (16:1).

John sometimes speaks of a battle between the wrath of God and the wrath of rebellious nations and the devil whom they serve (11:18; 12:12, 17; cf. Psalm 2), but it is more characteristic of him to say that God uses human wrath to achieve his own wrathful purposes. This is implied in the numerous occurrences of the image of the cup of wrath (14:8, 10; 16:19; 18:3; and the "bowls of wrath" in chaps. 15–16 are probably a variant on this theme). According to 14:8, Babylon has made the nations drink the wine of her impure passion *(thymos)* by seducing them with economic luxury and political security. But that wine turns out (14:10) to be the wine of God's wrath experienced by those who worship the beast rather than the Creator. And this process recoils on Babylon herself, for the harlot is devoured by the evil beast from whom she drew her power and by the nations over whom she ruled (17:15–18). Evil is self-destructive, and God's wrath is his allowing the worshippers of the beast to be involved in that self-destructive process. John is expressing in more mythological language the same thought as Paul expounds in Rom 1:18–32.

John thus combines vivid anthropomorphic language about "the fury of the wrath of God" with a sophisticated theology of divine judgment worked out through the experience of people in history. Wrath is not impersonal, but it is not irrational or vindictive. The paradoxical nature of the wrath is heightened by the description in 6:16 of "the wrath of the Lamb." It is the wrath of one who himself has experienced alienation from God so that those who are faithful to him might be delivered from it. It has been argued that "the wrath of the Lamb" is not as paradoxical as it sounds, since in apocalyptic literature there are predictions of a conquering lamb who will destroy Israel's enemies (*T. Jos.* 19:8; Beasley-Murray 1974: 123–26, 139). But since the Lamb of Revelation 5–6 is specifically the Lamb who was slain to ransom men for God (5:9), surely the paradox remains striking. It is by his death that the Lamb conquers.

Finally, Revelation, more than Paul, makes explicit the idea that God's wrath in history is intended to provoke people to repent (9:20; 16:9). But refusal to repent seals their destiny forever (14:10–11).

**E. The Problem of Translation**

Modern English versions have not resolved the difficulty of translating *orgē* and *thymos.* The RSV normally preserves the archaic word "wrath" with reference to divine *orgē,* while using "anger" when the human emotion is at issue. *Thymos* in Revelation is variously translated "wrath," "anger," "fury," and "passion." Because "wrath" is not used in everyday speech, its use with reference to divine judgment makes it a semi-technical term. This has the advantage of reducing the risk that God's wrath be misunderstood as an arbitrary emotion, and the disadvantage of distancing the NT from ordinary language. The RSV also adopts the questionable practice of adding "of God" to the reference to wrath in Rom 5:9; 12:19; 13:5.

The NEB prefers to translate *orgē* in Paul by "retribution" (in Romans; 1 Thess 2:16), "dreadful judgment" (Ephesians; Colossians), "terrors of judgment" (1 Thess 1:10; 5:9). In Revelation it has "wrath" often for *thymos,* and for *orgē* it has "retribution" (11:18; 19:15) and even "vengeance" (6:16, 17; 14:10; 16:19). "Retribution" is misleading, since wrath in the NT is not normally retributive in the strict sense of the infliction of an equivalent penalty for deeds done. And "vengeance" introduces overtones of

"taking the law into one's own hands"—which is hardly a true representation of NT teaching on divine judgment.

In the NJB, *orgē* in Paul and Revelation is consistently rendered as "retribution," *thymos* usually as "anger." The earlier JB also had "anger" for *orgē.* The GNB usually has " (God's) anger," though it has "punishment" in Rom 3:5; 13:4–5, and uses "furious anger" where the Greek has *orgē* and *thymos* together.

These examples serve to illustrate the dilemmas faced by translators and the impossibility of separating translation from interpretation. To retain the traditional "wrath" is to hide overcautiously behind a technical term—rather like declining to translate "Paraclete" in the Fourth Gospel. But other approaches have their pitfalls. Translators may either adopt the bold anthropomorphism of "anger"—and risk misunderstanding by those who do not study the nuances of how this term is used in the NT; or they may adopt a more strongly interpretive approach which translates the terms differently in different contexts—and accept that at each point their interpretation is open to challenge.

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STEPHEN H. TRAVIS

**WREATH.** This English word appears five times in the RSV as a translation of three different words, two Hebrew and one Greek. The two Hebrew terms, both found in the temple texts of 1 Kings, are obscure. One of these, *gĕdilîm,* refers to "wreaths of chain work" that were part of the elaborate ornamentation of the capitals surmounting Jachin and Boaz, the two huge bronze pillars flanking the entrance to Solomon's Temple. This word, which is related to Babylonian *gidlu,* "cord," seems to indicate that wreaths were not part of the capitals but were fastened to them. But their exact nature cannot be determined, especially since they are not mentioned in the parallel descriptions of the pillars in 2 Chronicles and Jeremiah nor in the Greek versions.

The other Hebrew term, *loyôt,* is of uncertain derivation, although it may be related to an Arabic word meaning "to twist." It refers to the decorative element of the ten bronze stands that held the lavers in the courtyard of Solomon's Temple (1 Kgs 7:29, 30, 36). Because it has an archaeological parallel on a laver stand from Larnaka in Cryprus, the "wreath" may in fact have been a guilloche design (Gray, *Kings* OTL, 194, 196). See also LAVER.

The Greek word *stephanos* denotes a wreath used as a crown to reward the winner of a footrace (1 Cor 9:25).

Several other terms rendered "cord" or "network" in the RSV are translated "wreath" in other English versions, notably the KJV. See also NETWORK; LAVER; JACHIN AND BOAZ.

CAROL MEYERS

**WRITING AND WRITING MATERIALS.** The Bible consists of a corpus of literature which was set down in writing during a period from the end of the 2d millennium B.C. until the beginning of the Common Era. As such, it has an important place in the history of writing and, more precisely, in the history of the early diffusion of the alphabet. If we want to understand how the Bible was written, we have to situate it in a historical and cultural context; this involves taking into account the writing materials used in its production and the ways in which writings were preserved and transmitted. To appreciate the

significance of this literature for Israelite and early Christian society, it may be useful to observe the history of the diffusion of writing in the ANE and to consider the importance of scribes in this process.

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A. Early History of Writing
B. Early History of the Alphabet
C. Writing Materials
D. Archives and Libraries
E. Diffusion of Writing
F. The Scribes

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**A. Early History of Writing**

When the first biblical texts were written, writing had already been known and practiced for over two millennia in the ANE. The first evidence of writing appears toward the end of the 4th millennium B.C. in Mesopotamia and Egypt. In both areas writing was originally pictographic. To indicate an object or an animate being a simple picture would suffice. A very ancient written text might be a succession of pictures. Very soon, however, some pictures were used to stand not only for things but also for actions (for instance, a food could mean "to stand" or "to walk") and even sounds (this is called the *rebus* principle). At this stage, writing began to become phonetic, and its expressive power grew. The signs used in writing were able to represent not only objects, actions, and abstractions, but also the sounds of a language.

Writing seems to have developed in Mesopotamia during the 4th millennium in connection with accounting practices of the city-states, probably to meet the administrative and economic needs of Mesopotamian cities. The first step was to incise ciphers and pictograms in tablets of soft clay in order to keep a record of transactions. Early tablets of this type have been discovered at Uruk dating from ca. 3300 B.C. Scribes rapidly developed a more efficient method of writing that indicated not only the objects or animals exchanged in a transaction but also words of the language in which the transaction took place. In such texts, words are analyzed into syllables and represented by syllabic signs. Thanks to this early systematization, we have an idea of the Sumerian language used in S Mesopotamia ca. 3000 B.C.

Sumerian scribes generally wrote with a stylus of reed or wood held in one hand, incising signs in a tablet of soft clay held in the other hand. The inscribed tablet could be baked in the sun or in an oven and then kept for generations (or millennia). Because it is difficult to incise line drawings in soft clay, signs were generally made by a succession of short strokes, the resulting pictures becoming simplified and stylized. The use of a square or round stylus gave these small strokes the appearance of wedges, so this writing is called *cuneiform,* "wedge-shaped." Texts written in cuneiform were at first composed with the signs aligned in vertical columns, but later in horizontal lines, from left to right.

Cuneiform was first used to transcribe the Sumerian language; later (during the 3d millennium B.C.) it was adopted by speakers of Akkadian, a Semitic language. Both changes, the 90-degree rotation of signs and the adaptation of the system to a Semitic language, stimulated an evolution of the shapes and of the phonetic values of the signs, which were about 600 in number. The shape and phonetic value of cuneiform signs varied to some degree with location and time. CUNEIFORM writing remained in use until the first century of the current era.

In Egypt, the first inscriptions appear ca. 3150 B.C. but they are evidence of a developed system of writing which is probably older. By ca. 3080–3040 B.C., Egyptian inscriptions already used several hundred signs, many used to transcribe either full words (ideograms) or words of only two or three consonants (Egyptian writing generally did not indicate the vowels). Other signs, called determinatives, were used to classify the words in order to distinguish between homographs. In addition to these, about twenty "alphabetic" signs were used to represent only one consonant; these signs were used mainly to transcribe foreign names. This system of signs, employed most visibly in texts incised on monuments, is called *hieroglyphic writing.*

Many Egyptian texts were engraved in rock or stone so that they would be preserved, and many of these can still be read after nearly 5000 years. Most Egyptian texts, however, were written on wood, ostraca, or papyrus with a kind of small brush made of reed or rush and black or red ink; red ink was generally used for the titles and important passages (hence the word "rubric"). Papyrus was the commonly employed writing surface. Such a flexible writing system involving drawing or painting lines (linear writing) could naturally evolve toward simplified drawings or signs. While the early hieroglyphic writing remained in use for engraving texts on stones and monuments until the beginning of the Christian era (because it was considered one of the representational arts), a system of cursive and simplified characters for writing on papyrus also had a long history of nearly three millennia. This classical cursive writing system was used primarily to transcribe literary and sacred or religious texts, hence its name, *hieratic.*

Toward 700 B.C., another type of cursive writing, mainly used to transcribe the everyday language of accounts, administrative texts, letters, and contracts, became so different from the hieratic that it must be considered an independent writing tradition: popular or *demotic* writing. Because of its extremely cursive character, demotic writing is sometimes difficult for modern interpreters to read and to understand. These three types of writing (hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic) were used concurrently in Egypt until the beginning of the Christian era.

Both systems of writing, the Egyptian and the cuneiform, eventually disappeared because of the widespread use of alphabetic writing, particularly Aramaic and Greek. However, the older systems were very widely used; the Akkadian language of the 15th–13th centuries B.C., written in cuneiform, was for a while an international language and writing system used throughout the ANE as far as Egypt and Anatolia. Cuneiform was employed also in the writing of other non-Semitic languages such as Hittite and Hurrian.

**B. Early History of the Alphabet**

The alphabet is one of the great discoveries in human history. Reducing the number of written signs from several hundred to twenty or thirty made the system generally accessible. Even a five-year-old child, at least theoretically, could easily learn to read and write. Alphabetic writing was not a completely new invention, for consonantal or alphabetic signs had been used in Egypt for centuries to transcribe foreign names. What was new was the systematization of the use of these consonantal signs so that in alphabetic writing no other signs need to be used.

The early history of the alphabet is not yet completely clear, and some details are still a matter of dispute. So far, the first evidence of alphabetic writing comes from peoples speaking a West Semitic (Canaanite?) language in Palestine and Sinai ca. 16th–15th centuries B.C. The first alphabetic inscriptions were found at Shechem, Gezer, and Lachish in Palestine, and at Serabit el-Khadem in the Sinai. This last site is well known for the forty-five "Proto-Sinaitic" inscriptions that were found there, incised on rock or on stone. Their decipherment is not yet satisfactory, but most of epigraphers agree on the reading *lbʿlt,* "to the Lady" (probably the goddess Hathor), and accordingly think that the signs constitute an alphabetic writing system, dated probably to ca. 1500 B.C. The date and place of discovery could indicate that the first alphabetic writing was used by the Hyksos, a West Semitic people who controlled Palestine and the eastern Egyptian delta in the 17th–16th centuries B.C. (Lemaire 1986a). What is clear is that this alphabetic writing developed under Egyptian influence and employed a linear writing technique. Furthermore, most of the letters were drawn according to the acrophonic principle: for instance, the consonant *m* was a horizontal jagged line represented waves on the surface of a body of water, the word for which begins with the sound /m/ in the West Semitic languages (*mayim/mêm,* "water").

Although the first alphabetic writing was linear, and in this respect like the Egyptian systems, in the 14th–13th centuries B.C. alphabetic letters were also written on clay tablets in a cuneiform script. This is known from several places in Syria-Palestine, mainly from Ras Shamra/Ugarit. Actually, two systems are known: a long alphabet (30 letters) and a short or simplified one (22 letters). The discovery of several abecedaries at Ugarit has revealed the names of the letters and their traditional order, and this confirms that this alphabetic cuneiform writing was an adaptation of the linear alphabet of the 16th–15th centuries

B.C. (Cross and Lambdin 1960). Actually, several "Canaanite" inscriptions in linear script of the 15th–13th centuries B.C. have been found in Palestine, mainly at Lachish and Beth-shemesh.

While cuneiform alphabetic writing ceased with the great upheaval in Syria-Palestine at the beginning of the 12th century B.C., the simplified linear alphabetic script (22 letters) was preserved and used in Phoenicia and Palestine in the Iron I period, as is shown, for instance, by the inscribed bowl found at Qubur el-Walaydah (near Gaza) and inscribed texts from Byblos (ca. 1000 B.C.) as well as by several inscribed arrowheads found at El-Khadr (near Bethlehem) or in Phoenicia.

When Israel appears as a people in central Palestine toward the end of the 13th century B.C. (as indicated by reference to it in the Merneptah Stele), the Israelites occupied a region where alphabetic writing was already known for several centuries. They naturally adopted the "Canaanite" alphabetic linear script as is probably shown by the Raddanan inscribed handle (12th century B.C.), the inscribed ostracon from Izbet Sartah (near Aphek; dated 11th century B.C. [Cross 1980]), and the Khirbet Tannin fragment (end of the 11th century B.C. [Lemaire 1985c]).

Around 1000 B.C., the direction of West Semitic writing is definitively fixed from right to left. It is probably about this time that the Greeks started to adopt the linear alphabetic script from the Phoenicians (or from the Arameans?) with some transformations (writing from left to right, use of primitive "guttural" letters to transcribe vowels, addition of new letters). The Greeks may have taken several centuries in this adaptation of the linear alphabetic script, with several local variants, before they fixed their own tradition (McCarter 1975).

At the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. in the Levant, various national schools of scribes connected with the state organizations of the Phoenician, Hebrew (see David's kingdom), Aramaic, Ammonite, and Moabite kingdoms started to develop distinctive styles of writing. As a result, while it is still difficult to precisely say whether the Gezer tablet (2d half of 10th century B.C.) is "Canaanite," Phoenician, or Hebrew, the Moabite script of the Mesha stele (ca. 810 B.C.) clearly is different from the Aramaic script of the Tell Fekherye inscription (N Syria, ca. 840 B.C. [Abou Assaf et al. 1982]) or from the Aramaic stele of Barhadad (ca. 797 B.C. [Lemaire 1984]).

During the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., there is evidence of an increasing use of the alphabetic writing system all over the ANE. In Israel and Judah, probably in connection with the development of scribal schools (Lemaire 1981), more and more paleo-Hebrew inscriptions are found, not only in the capitals or main cities (Samaria, Jerusalem) but also in small towns, fortresses, and villages. It is probably because of the destructive dampness of the climate of Palestine that only one paleo-Hebrew papyrus is known to have survived from this period, found in the Wadi Murabba‘at in the Judean desert; but several hundred clay bullae (which were used to seal papyrus documents) show clearly that writing on papyrus was widespread in this period, mainly in Judah ca. 600 B.C. Furthermore seals, seal impressions, ostraca, inscriptions on vases, inscribed weights, and several inscriptions on stone or rock, as well as two inscribed silver amulets, are ample evidence of the paleographical developments of the paleo-Hebrew script during this period.

Around 800 B.C., the Phoenicians expanded W, founding harbors and settlements along the Mediterranean shores of Europe and North Africa and even along the Atlantic coasts of Morocco and Spain. Consequently the Phoenician and later Punic scripts came into use all around the Mediterranean Sea and beyond the Straits of Gibraltar.

By this period there is solid evidence of the use of the alphabetic scripts, originally with various local differences, in Greece and Asia Minor. The Greek script was adopted in Italy with a few modifications, first by the Etruscans and later by the Latins.

In the 9th–8th century B.C. the Aramean kingdom gradually fell under the control of the Assyrian empire, but this did not mean the end of the Aramaic script. See ARAMAIC SCRIPT. There were official Aramaic scribes in the Assyrian administration and the Aramaic script became more and more widespread in Mesopotamia itself. Its use continued in the Neo-Babylonian Empire. During the Persian period (539–332 B.C.), Aramaic became one of the official scripts and languages of the Persian Empire and it was practically the only writing system used in the administration of the western provinces in Egypt and Anatolia. Eastward, Aramaic appears as far away as Afghanistan.

In Palestine, Aramaic became the official language and script of the administration of the province of Yehud (Judah), and is found in seals, seal impressions, and written on ostraca. Paleo-Hebrew script is only attested on a few seals and bullae, and was probably still used in copying traditional literary texts such as the biblical texts. However, even in the writing of biblical manuscripts the Aramaic script superseded, little by little, the use of paleo-Hebrew. It was perhaps in the period following Ezra's mission (probably ca. 398 B.C.) and later on during the Hellenistic period that the Aramaic script came to be used in copying the books of the Torah, which was recognized as the official religious law of the Jews by the Persian administration. The books of Ezra and Daniel have sections in both the Hebrew and Aramaic languages (cf. Ezra 4:6–6:18; 7:16–26; Dan 2:4–7:28).

If we ignore a few Judean coins and several fragments of biblical manuscripts in paleo-Hebrew script and the practice of writing the divine name in paleo-Hebrew characters in other biblical manuscripts, and bracketing the continuation of the paleo-Hebrew script in the Samaritan tradition, we see that during the Hellenistic period the Aramaic script almost completely superseded the paleo-Hebrew script and was used by Jews to write Hebrew as well as Aramaic texts. This Jewish Aramaic script, which developed special forms of certain letters in word-final position, came to be called the "square Hebrew" script.

Meanwhile the Greek language and script started to be used in the higher levels of the Judean administration and in trade. Thus, toward the beginning of the Christian era four kinds of script were used in Palestine. (1) The paleo-Hebrew script was used essentially by the Samaritans and in a few archaizing Judean inscriptions (especially on coins). (2) The Jewish Aramaic script (or "square Hebrew") was the everyday writing style of most Jews from Judea to the Galilee. The Jewish Aramaic script is attested in inscriptions on ossuaries and ostraca, as well as for writing letters and contracts on papyrus and leather. This script was also used in the copying of biblical manuscripts as well as for other newly composed literary Hebrew or Aramaic texts such as those found at Qumran and Massada. (3) The Greek script was used in the official administration, in trade, and among Jews living in the Western Diaspora. It is attested on a few literary manuscripts, on ostraca, and on ossuaries; it was also used to write official monumental inscriptions such as the one forbidding pagans to enter the Jerusalem temple. (4) The use of Latin was restricted to the higher levels of the Roman administration and to the army; it was mainly used in Palestine by foreigners temporarily residing there (e.g., Roman coins and the inscription of Pontius Pilate found at Caesarea).

**C. Writing Materials**

Virtually any surface can be used as a medium for writing an inscription: one has only to use tools appropriate to the surface. However, certain writing surfaces with their appropriate instruments are more commonly attested than others, and this is especially true in ancient Israel in connection with the writing of biblical texts.

Stone can be used as a writing surface either for monumental inscriptions or for graffiti. Monumental inscriptions on stone, often associated with reliefs, are well attested in Anatolia, N Syria, Persia, Phoenicia, and Egypt. In ancient Israel, several monumental inscriptions were engraved on stone in Jerusalem, among them the famous Siloam inscription and several tomb inscriptions cut into the E slope of the Kidron valley. These latter indicate the place of the tomb, the name of the owner (one has the title *ʾšr ʿl hbyt,* "royal steward" cf. Isa 22:15), and sometimes a curse against a possible violation. Other tomb inscriptions found in Khirbet el-Kôm are not so beautifully inscribed; they were incised or written with ink. Although found in a cave, the Khirbet Beit Lei and Nahal Ishai inscriptions are graffiti, incised or written in ink. See PALESTINIAN FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS. Depending on the type of inscription, stone might be inscribed with a chisel (for monumental inscriptions; note Job 19:24; Jer 17:1) or a sharp engraving tool of metal or hard stone. Brief texts were written on stone with a pen.

All over the ANE, large stones were set up as steles and inscribed with texts commemorating a significant event, such as the victory of a king or a treaty between two kings. Inscribed steles are attested in Syria and Palestine in the 1st millennium B.C. Important examples of such inscribed steles are the Aramaic steles from Sfire (or from Afis) and the famous stele of Mesha, king of Moab, commemorating his victory over Israel during the 2d half of the 9th century B.C. See MESHAʿ STELE . So far, such

beautiful steles have not been found in ancient Israel or Judah, but a few fragments of monumental inscriptions on stone found in Samaria and Jerusalem may be fragments of such steles or of some monumental building inscription.

Smaller stones could be cut into the shape of a tablet and used in the copying of brief texts, especially school texts. The best example of these stone tablets is probably the Gezer calendar, incised on limestone. Such tablets may be alluded to in the story of writing the Decalogue (Heb *luḥōt hāʾeben;* Exod 24:12; 27:8; 31:18). To write a longer text, such as the text of the Law (Deut 27:2–3; cf. also Josh 8:32?), a stone surface was sometimes coated with a thin layer of plaster. This sort of writing surface is known from a few plaster wall inscriptions dating from the 8th century B.C. Paleo-Hebrew and Phoenician inscriptions that had been written on plaster were found at Kuntillet Ajrud, but the best example is the Deir Alla plaster inscription, probably a copy of an Aramaic book about the seer "Balaam son of Beor" (Lemaire 1985b, 1986c). See DEIR ʿALLA (TEXTS); KUNTILLET ʿAJRUD

Stone was also the usual material for weights and seals, and these were often inscribed. Like most seals from the ANE made of precious, semi-precious, or ordinary stone, the paleo-Hebrew seals could be made with amethyst, turquoise, chalcedony, opal, steatite, amazonite, azurite, serpentine, jasper, agate, carnelian, marble, quartz, or other valued stones, but quite a lot of them, especially toward the end of the Judean kingdom, were of local limestone. See SEALS, MESOPOTAMIAN.

The use of metal as a writing material is rare but well attested. In Mesopotamia, metal tablets of gold, silver, copper, or bronze could be inscribed for special occasions, while objects of metal (bowls, scepters, statues) could be incised with the names of their owners. In Iron Age I Palestine, some arrowheads of bronze were incised with the names of their owners. A few bronze bowls dating from Palestine of the 8th century B.C. have been found inscribed with the name of their Israelite owner. Inscribed weights and seals could occasionally be made of bronze, iron, or silver. Two small silver amulets with incised Hebrew texts have been found recently in tombs near Jerusalem (Barkay 1986); part of the incised text is a variant of the priestly blessing attested in Num 6:24–27. In the Bible, a priestly inscription on gold is mentioned in Exod 28:36, while 1 Macc 8:22; 14:18, 27, and 48 record that treaties and commemorative inscriptions could be engraved on "tablets of bronze." Later on, probably to be dated during the Second Jewish Revolt, a copper scroll found at Qumran contained a list of the hiding places of treasures.

Clay was a common material most everywhere and could be used as a writing surface in many different ways. Clay tablets were the usual medium for writing the cuneiform script in Mesopotamia. The scribe shaped the moist clay and then smoothed the surface, probably with the side of a stylus (a piece of wood or reed); then he inscribed the cuneiform signs with the square or round end of this stylus, working from left to right. As it dried, the tablet hardened; but to make it more durable it could be baked in the sun, or better, in a kiln. Once baked, a tablet could easily travel or be placed in storage. During the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, clay tablets were sometimes written in Aramaic or at least given an Aramaic title.

Clay vessels were commonly used in daily life, and they were sometimes inscribed with the name of the owner or a label indicating the contents of the vessel. This could be incised before or after firing, or written with ink on the outside of a jar or jug, especially when it contained wine. In this last case, Lachish and Arad inscriptions show that one could indicate the year, the place, the owner (or producer?), and the quantity. In Iron Age II Judah, many pottery vessels were incised after firing in a special way: by a continuous chiseling.

Writing on ostraca differs from inscribing on vessels because there is no functional relation between the inscription and the potsherd, which is used simply as the medium upon which to write. Since potsherds were very common, cheap, and offered a nearly flat surface, their use as a writing material was widespread in countries using a linear script (Egypt, Syria-Palestine, Greece). Although ostraca do not seem to be mentioned in the Bible as a writing surface, they were commonly so used in ancient Israel, as is shown by the paleo-Hebrew ostraca found in Samaria, Jerusalem, Lachish, Arad, and other places (Lemaire 1977). See also ARAD OSTRACA; LACHISH LETTERS; SAMARIA (OSTRACA). The

scribes usually chose fairly flat sherds and often gave them the rectangular shape of a tablet so they could be held easily in one hand.

Even if a few ostraca were incised with a sharp-pointed tool (nail or flint), most were written with a rush cut obliguely and then frayed at the end to form a brush, or with a reed cut obliguely and split. Traces of both types of pen are discernable on paleo-Hebrew ostraca. Ink was generally black and made of carbon (soot) mixed with an organic gum. The scribe generally wrote first on the outer surface of the sherd (recto) and then, if necessary, on the inner surface (verso). There were small ostraca containing only one name and there were larger ones; the largest one known is ostracon 6 from Kadesh-barnea (ca. 22 × 30 cm), which contains a list of measures of capacity and weights. This inscription reveals that ostraca could be used to write school exercises as well as lists of names, letters, or short messages.

Wooden tablets, often coated with stucco, were frequently used in Egypt, especially for schoolboys' exercises. Such tablets have little chance of surviving in Mesopotamia or Syria-Palestine because of the climate. Only one example is known from Palestine: a letter sent by Bar Kosiba/Kokhba and found in Nahal Hever.

Another kind of wooden tablet was used in Anatolia, Syria, and Palestine, and later on in Greece, Italy, and the whole Roman Empire: the wooden tablet coated with wax. Generally several tablets (probably Hebrew *luaḥ*, and Akkadian *lē›u,* with the determinative for "wood") were hinged together to form a diptych or a polyptych; this type is already well attested in Assyria and N Syria in the 8th century B.C. The most beautiful diptychs or polyptychs could be made of wood or of ivory, as is shown by the ones found in the Nimrud excavations. We also have an idea of the appearance of these diptychs because they are represented in neo-Hittite reliefs of the 8th century, especially on the stele of the young scribe Tarhunpias, probably from Marash, and on a relief from Zençirli representing the king Barrakib with a minister in front of him wearing a diptych. These reliefs also show that scribes wrote on these tablets with a stylus, using the sharp-pointed end to write and the other end to smooth out. Wax makes an excellent writing material because it is very easy to write on, to erase on, and to write on anew; this explains why these diptychs or polyptychs were often used by secretaries and professional scribes as well as by wealthy schoolboys. Scribes used these tablets to write a first draft from dictation and could then copy the text carefully onto a sheet or roll of papyrus or leather.

So far, no wax-coated writing boards have been found from 1st-millennium Palestine, but two biblical texts may allude to this writing material, namely Isa 30:8 and Hab 2:2; both passages seem to describe the way prophetic oracles or visions were recorded. First they were written from dictation onto wooden tablets; then they were carefully copied onto a scroll. This procedure is all the more plausible since these biblical texts are contemporary with the polyptychs found in Nimrud and those represented in neo-Hittite reliefs. With the use of wax as a writing material from the 8th century B.C. on (see also Luke 1:63), one can better understand how the prophetic books were born. Later on, these diptychs or polyptychs, commonly used in the Hellenistic and Roman world, were probably the ancestors of the codex.

Papyrus is a typically Egyptian writing material used from about 3000 B.C. Thin strips of pith were cut from the stalk of the papyrus plant (an aquatic sedge common in Egypt), and the strips were laid in two layers, the first side by side to form a sheet, the second at right angles to the first. These two layers were pressed, beaten, and smoothed to create the writing surface. Individual sheets were then joined together with glue to form a long strip that could be rolled into a scroll. This writing material was light and supple but strong; because of these qualities, papyrus was in great demand as a writing material. Large quantities of papyrus were exported into Syria-Palestine and, later on, into Greece and Italy. The English word "paper" is derived from "papyrus."

The proximity of Palestine to Egypt made papyrus easy to obtain there, all the more so during the LB period, when Canaan was an Egyptian protectorate. Archaeological discoveries directly and indirectly confirm the use of papyrus in the 1st millennium B.C. Because of the climate, papyrus documents from this period are likely to be preserved only if they are in a dry desert and in a cave or shelter. So it is not surprising that the only paleo-Hebrew papyrus (from the 7th century B.C.) was found in a cave in Wadi

Murabba‘at; this sheet is 18 × 8 or 9 cm and was written on twice (that is, it is a *palimpsest*). The first text written on it was a letter; later, the letter was (incompletely) erased and a list of names written.

Later Aramaic papyri were found in another cave in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh. They are 4th century B.C. contracts (Cross 1969; 1985). See DALIYEH, WADI ED-. Other papyri were found in caves around Qumran (1st century B.C. and A.D.) and in Nahal Hever (2d century A.D.). One must also mention the 5th century B.C. Aramaic papyri of the Jewish community of Elephantine in S Egypt.

As is clearly shown by the Elephantine (Porten 1979, 1980, 1983) and Samaria papyri, contracts and letters written on papyrus were usually tied and sealed with one or several bullae. Consequently these bullae exhibit a seal-impression on one side and generally the impression of the papyrus on the other side. Several hundred bullae from the time of the Israelite kingdoms are known today. Some of them were found in regular excavations, others were illicit digs; they have been found at Samaria, Lachish, Tell el-Hesi, Beth-zur, and Jerusalem, and on most of them one can see the seal impression on one side and traces of the string and of the papyrus fibers on the other. Thus the bullae confirm indirectly that sheets of papyrus were widespread in Israel and Judah in the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.

Official documents such as deeds and contracts were frequently written on papyrus. Jeremiah 32:10–14 tells in detail how a deed for the purchase of a piece of land was prepared. A deed of purchase containing the terms and conditions of sale was prepared in two exemplars (v 11); both exemplars were signed by Jeremiah and witnesses (v 10) and only one exemplar was sealed; both texts were then entrusted to the scribe Baruch son of Neriah to be deposited in an earthenware jar for preservation (v 14).

Papyrus was not only used in sheets for the writing of lists, letters, and contracts; literary texts were written on scrolls. In Egypt, inscribed rolls were already known in the 3d millennium B.C. and papyrus scrolls were used to write literary texts in hieratic or even, during the Persian period, in Aramaic. At Elephantine in Egypt the Aramaic proverbs (Lindenberger 1983) and story of Ahiqar, as well as a copy of the Bisitun inscription (Greenfield and Porten 1982), were written on a roll of papyrus in the 5th century B.C. See ELEPHANTINE PAPYRI. The use of papyrus scrolls to copy biblical texts during the First Temple period is probable. Jeremiah 36 concerns the fate of a scroll of prophecies dictated by Jeremiah and written by Baruch, son of Neriah, the scribe. A bulla has recently come to light with the inscription *brkyhw bn nryhw hspr;* it has traces of papyrus on its reverse, and this shows that at least in this case, Baruch, son of Neriah, wrote on papyrus. It is generally more difficult, however, to decide whether a scroll (Heb *měgillâ*) mentioned in the Bible was written on papyrus or leather. There is a great likelihood that both were used to write biblical texts at least until the Persian period (Haran 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985a; Hicks 1983; Lemaire 1985a).

In Egypt, the use of tanned skins as writing material dates, at least, from the early 3d millennium B.C. Leather scrolls were sometimes deposited in temples. Leather was also used in Mesopotamia, at least during the 1st millennium B.C., to write Aramaic, but no leather sheet or roll survived there because of the climate. The use of leather scrolls during the Persian period is attested literarily by Diodorus Siculus *(basilikai diphterai* 2.32.4) and confirmed by the Arsham letters, written in Aramaic on leather, found in Egypt but sent from Persia. The Torah scroll brought by Ezra from Babylon (Ezra 7; Nehemiah 8) was probably a leather scroll; the earlier scroll (of Deuteronomy?) found by Hilkiah in the Jerusalem temple (2 Kings 22) may have been a leather scroll as well. Although papyrus is attested at Qumran, most of the biblical texts found there are on leather. According to Talmudic tradition the Torah must be copied on leather scrolls (see Haran 1985b), and the elegant Torah scrolls mentioned in the *Letter of Aristeas* (line 176 [*OTP,* p. 24]) were of fine leather (the letter was written can. 150–100 B.C., but refers to the period 287–247 B.C.).

Parchment, a fine processed leather whose name derives from the name of the city Pergamum, an ancient center of its manufacture, was prepared by removing the hair from sheep or goat skins and smoothing the hides with lime. Its use in the preparation of books became widespread in the 2d century B.C.

Scrolls, whether of papyrus or of leather, were the form taken by literary texts of all sorts, and biblical books were no exception. A scroll had the advantage of being long enough (often around 10 m) to contain

a whole book in a small volume, once it was rolled up. The scribe wrote on these scrolls in vertical columns (Heb *delet,* Jer 38:18, 23; Lachish ostracon 4:3). A scribe prepared columns by tracing a frame of vertical and horizontal lines either with red ink (as in the Deir Alla inscription) or with an etcher's point. The letters were written with a pen (Heb *ʿēṭ sôpēr;* Ps 45:2), either a rush cut obliquely and frayed to form a small brush, or a pointed reed (calamus) split to form a nib. Black ink (Heb *dĕyô*) was made of carbon and organic gum, and red ink, used sometimes to write the rubrics, was generally made of iron oxide and gum. The scribe prepared these inks by mixing the dry ink with water in an inkwell in his writing case (Heb *qeset hassōpēr* [Ezek 9:2, 3, 11]; this Hebrew word was borrowed from the Egyptian *gśty*). The scribe's writing case was worn tied to a girdle when not in use. The scribe also used a knife (Heb *taʿar hassōpēr* [Jer 36:23]) to cut a sheet from a roll or to erase letters if he made a mistake.

The famous Isaiah scroll found at Qumran provides us with a good example of a leather biblical manuscript dated near the turn of the current era. Such leather scrolls were used for the reading of biblical texts in synagogue services in the 1st century A.D., as is shown by Luke 4:17, where the scroll of the prophet Isaiah is called *biblion* in Greek. The plural *biblia* (2 Tim 4:13) provided the origin of the word "Bible."

If OT books were generally written on leather scrolls, most of the NT books, especially letters, were probably first written on papyrus. Some of these letters are very short and could have been easily written on a single sheet; the first collections of these letters may have been made of several sheets fastened together or copied onto a scroll in the traditional manner.

By 1st century A.D. and probably first at Rome there appeared a new book format, the *codex.* The idea of the codex was probably inspired by the example of the polyptychs, which sometimes had a dozen or more wooden tablets bound together. A codex consisted of individual sheets of papyrus or parchment bound together at one edge so that a text could be written on both sides of a sheet and the pages could be read sequentially. While the Jewish tradition continued to write official biblical texts on leather scrolls, Christians very quickly adopted the new format to copy the NT and even the whole Bible translated into Greek. (The most famous Greek biblical codices are called Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and Alexandrinus.) However, these codices retained from the earlier scroll tradition the practice of writing two, three or four columns per page.

**D. Archives and Libraries**

Today we often distinguish archives, which contain administrative documents, contracts, and letters pertaining to private persons or organizations, from libraries, which shelter books. But in the ANE, where all the texts were manuscripts, there does not seem to have been such a distinction. All types of writings presented the same problems of preservation. The major differences among documents were the type of writing material: clay tablets required different storage conditions than papyrus and leather scrolls.

Archives and libraries of cuneiform texts are well attested in Mesopotamia (Uruk, Isin, Larsa, Nippur, Babylon, Nuzi, Mari, Nineveh), Anatolia (Boghazköy, Kultepe), N Syria (Ebla, Emar, Alalah, Ugarit), and even Egypt (El-Amarna), the most famous one being probably Assurbanipal's library in Nineveh (7th century B.C.). These libraries tried to collect most of the technical, legal, and literary texts known in their times (history, astronomy, religion, myths, etc.) so that they could be easily consulted; eventually catalogues of the titles of the texts were compiled to make consultation easier. The tablets themselves were kept in baskets (especially in private or administrative archives) or set up vertically on benches or wooden shelves (especially in large libraries) so that one could read the title on the top of the tablet. Literary texts were often too long to be written on one tablet and a scribe had to continue writing on other tablets; in this case each tablet starts with the last words of the previous one. The scribe might also write his name at the end of the text and give details about the circumstances of the copying process; a scribal note of this type is called a *colophon.* Once a clay tablet was baked in fire, the texts housed in cuneiform libraries could be kept for centuries; but the tablets were heavy and took up much space.

In Egypt, libraries had a different look. Archaeological excavations have not yet discovered any ancient Egyptian library with scrolls still in situ. At Edfu, however, a Ptolemaic building could be identified as a library because there were still wall inscriptions above recesses giving the main themes and sometimes a

catalogue of the scrolls kept in each. Literary texts give further witness to the existence of libraries, probably connected with the "life houses" *(pr ʿnḫ)*, situated generally near temples. Egyptian libraries could be smaller than their Mesopotamian counterparts because a papyrus or leather scroll 10 m long did not take up more space than a small tablet, but its content was the equivalent of ten large tablets. Several literary texts might sometimes be contained on the same scroll. Although much more practical than tablets, scrolls had the great disadvantages, at least for later ages, of rapid disintegration under normal use (requiring that they be recopied periodically) and flammability. This is why nothing is left of the largest library of the ancient Hellenistic world. Founded by Ptolemy I Soter (325–285 B.C.) at Alexandria, this famous library, connected with a museum (a kind of university/academy), collected all the Greek literary texts of its time as well as translations or adaptations of important works written in other languages (such as the histories of Manetho and Berossus). According to the *Letter of Aristeas,* the Greek translation of the Torah called the Septuagint was undertaken for the needs of this library, which probably contained half a million scrolls or volumes (from Lat *volumen* "scroll"). See ALEXANDRIA; SEPTUAGINT.

To this day no library or archive housing documents written on papyrus or leather has been discovered in Palestine. A few small archives of administrative ostraca have been found in Samaria, Lachish, and Arad, however, and groups of bullae from Lachish and Jerusalem are indirect evidence of the existence of paleo-Hebrew papyrus archives ca. 600 B.C. Libraries and archives were probably more numerous in the Persian period, to judge from the archives of Aramaic ostraca from Arad and Beer-sheba and a small private archive containing Aramaic contracts of the 4th century B.C. from Wadi ed-Daliyeh, parallel to the famous Aramaic archives of the 5th century B.C. from Egypt. A further group of bullae from the early Persian period is also evidence of a postexilic Judean archive (Avigad 1976). From the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods, several remains of archives were found in the desert of Judah (Murabbaʿat, Nahal Hever) as well as a significant portion of the holdings of a library probably housed at Qumran. The discovery of the famous Qumran library reveals that, by this time, scrolls were being stored in sealed jars. The scrolls were not found in situ in a library building, but in caves. It can be determined from the many manuscript fragments discovered, especially in Cave 4, that this library contained several hundred manuscripts, most of them written on leather and only a few on papyrus.

These archaeological discoveries confirm a few hints found in biblical tradition. According to 2 Kgs 22:8, there may have been some kind of library in the Jerusalem temple in the 7th century B.C. The existence of libraries in Jerusalem during the Persian and Hellenistic periods is pointed to in 2 Macc 2:13–15 and in later rabbinic traditions. Furthermore, the Aramaic word for an archive or library, *bêt siprayyāʾ,* is attested in Ezra 6:1–2, referring to the royal Persian archives kept in Ecbatana.

**E. Diffusion of Writing**

The problem of literacy in the modern world is not always very clear because reliable statistics are wanting. The problem is still much more complicated for antiquity, and there may be differences of appreciation among historians. The situation was certainly different for each epoch and countries; for the ANE, literacy varied further according to the systems of writing in use. However, this last point is sometimes overstated. With the discovery of the alphabet any person of average intelligence could learn to read and probably to write within a few weeks, but this does not mean that literacy flared up at once. Historically we do not see anything like that. The alphabetic script that developed around 1600 B.C. had many difficulties asserting itself ahead of the two traditional writing systems in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Even in LB IIB Palestine, excavations have uncovered more Egyptian than alphabetic inscriptions. During David's reign we have no sure evidence of either the Egyptian system or of alphabetic writing.

Even if reading and writing an alphabetic script is much easier than learning Egyptian or Mesopotamian cuneiform, literacy still had to be taught. The problem of literacy is therefore also a social and institutional problem connected with the existence and number of schools. Unfortunately ancient schools did not leave many distinctive archaeological traces, even as late as the Roman period (cf. Huttenmeister and Reed 1977) and one can only identify them from literary indications or epigraphical evidence (schoolboys' exercises, such as abecedaries, lists of names, and tables of measurements). However scanty, this epigraphic evidence shows that there was some kind of system of schooling during the First Temple

period, especially in 8th–7th century B.C. Judah. This fits well with the fact that we now have evidence of paleo-Hebrew inscriptions from this period not only in the capital, but also in villages and fortresses. Most paleo-Hebrew epigraphers agree that literacy was widespread in Judah toward the end of the 7th century B.C.: "Ancient Hebrew written documents, recovered by archaeology, demonstrate both that there were readers and writers in ancient Israel, and that they were by no means rare. Few places will have been without someone who could write, and few Israelites will have been unaware of writing" (Millard 1985b: 308). This seems to confirm a few indications of the biblical tradition, mainly in Deuteronomy (6:9, 11:20, 17, 18, 24, 12), and this probably explains how the Judeans could maintain their own literary tradition while in exile.

After the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C., most of the educated populace were taken into exile, while the people left in the country were mainly "wine-dressers and laborers" (Jer 39:10). So although literacy may have been widespread among the exiles, it was probably less common among the poorer class left in the country. This situation was probably more or less the same at the beginning of the Persian period in the province of Yehud. However, with the return of the exiles, the situation improved little by little, but with a big difference: Aramaic writing took the place of paleo-Hebrew writing. At the beginning of the Hellenistic period, Ben Sira's book gives an idea of the high level of education given in the schools of Jerusalem. By the end of the 1st century B.C. there were schools in most of the Jewish towns. According to one Talmudic tradition, the high priest Jesus, son of Gamaliel (63–65 A.D.), ordered schoolteachers to be appointed in every town and children to be brought to them from the age of six or seven. From these indications one may assume that literacy was widespread among the Jewish people in Palestine in the 1st century B.C.; even if Jesus did not attend a high rabbinic school (cf. John 7:15), he was able to read the Scripture in the synagogue (Luke 4:17).

**F. The Scribes**

Even if literacy was widespread at certain periods in ancient Israel, this does not mean that everyone could read, much less write, with ease. Many Israelites doubtless learned rudimentary reading and writing, but for many this probably meant the ability to write their own names. The average villager probably would have had a difficult time composing a letter and probably did not have the technical skill to draft a will or a contract. Besides the dexterity necessary to write clear letters, an experienced writer had to master the formulaic language of decorum, business, or law. So even in an ancient society with a certain level of literacy, the professional scribe still played a very important role.

This was all the more true in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt, where writing was more difficult to learn but just as necessary, especially for the administrative needs of an empire. In both countries scribes were highly appreciated and could rise to important positions in the state administration. The scribe's elevated status was the reward of long and tedious training in schools; many wisdom books remind the young schoolboy of these advantages to make him more docile to his master's teaching. These same texts reveal an awareness that the scribe belongs to a higher class, and inculcate in their readers the notion that it is a privilege to belong to the scribal profession. The scribe's calling, like most professions, was generally inherited from one's father, even if most of the training was given in schools.

Appreciative comments on the scribal profession are to be found in several biblical passages, especially in Sir 38:24–34. In ancient Israel scribes played an important role, probably from the time of David's reign, because the king needed scribes for his administration. One of the members of the royal cabinet even had the title "scribe" (2 Sam 8:17; 20:25; 1 Kgs 4:3; 2 Kgs 18:18, 22:3ff) or "royal scribe" (*sopēr hammelek* [2 Kgs 12:11]) and was probably some kind of "secretary of state." During Josiah's reign, scribes are mentioned several times in prophetic oracles as a special group around the king, acting as advisers; and in this capacity they are sometimes criticized as deceitful guides (Jer 8:8). Nonetheless, Jerusalemite scribes were probably the originators of many biblical books, among which may have been Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomistic tradition (Weinfeld 1972). Baruch the scribe appears to have had a role in compiling the book of Jeremiah. The narrative of chap. 36 is very informative because it shows how a written collection of prophetic utterances could be produced in several editions by a single scribe even during the lifetime of the prophet (Jer 36:32). The title *spr*, "scribe," appears on several paleo-

Hebrew seals, as well as on Moabite or Ammonite seals; these seals were undoubtedly used to authenticate the documents written by these scribes. A deed of sale is sealed in Jer 32:10.

Jewish scribes also played a very important role during the Persian period in transmitting the Jewish tradition, as well as in codifying and enforcing it as a law. Ezra, "a scribe skilled in the law of Moses" (Ezra 7:6), was "sent by the king and his seven counselors to make inquiries about Judah and Jerusalem according to the law" of God with which he was entrusted (7:14), now on par with the "law of the king" (Ezra 7:26).

More and more, the title of "scribe" was used not only of professional scribes in daily life but also for people learned in the Jewish law and able to give an official interpretation of it, especially in a difficult religious or political situation (cf. 1 Macc 7:12; 2 Macc 6:18). In the NT, scribes (Gr *grammateus*) appear essentially as "scholars," specialists in the Jewish law and in the interpretation of the Scripture. They are generally associated either with the Pharisees or with the high priests and members of the Sanhedrin. See SCRIBES. Saul/Paul is a good example of these pharisaic scholars learned in the Jewish law (Acts 22:3, 23:6, 26:5; Phil 3:5–6) who eventually became a Christian (Matt 13:52). But even with all his learning, Paul, when he wrote long letters, dictated them to a professional scribe (one is named in Rom 16:22); he wrote with his own hand only one short personal letter (Phlm 19, 21) and the conclusions to the longer ones. On these occasions he writes with pen and ink (cf. 3 John 13) with his own hand (2 Thess 3:17) and in big letters (Gal 6:11).

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ANDRÉ LEMAIRE

**WYCLIF'S VERSION.** See VERSIONS, ENGLISH (WYCLIFFE'S).

# X

**XANTHICUS** [Gk *Xanthikos* (Ξανθικος)]. In 2 Macc 11:30, 33, and 38, the name of the month from the Macedonian calendar cited in official letters preserved there; in 2 Macc 11:30, the name employed in the expiration date of a general amnesty for Jews. Some Lucianic mss (93, 542) read *Xandikos* (see also Bickerman 1980: 20). In v 38 Katz (1960: 15) and others prefer to read *Dioskoridou*, the genitive of *Dioskorides* on the basis of some Latin versions (see DIOSCORINTHIUS), while Vg and 771 integrate the two names into a doublet (de Bruyne 1922: 40). Hanhart (1961: 473–74) rejects the possibility that the latter versions of v 38 could be original readings.

According to Josephus, Xanthicus corresponded to Nisan in the Jewish calendar (*Ant* 1.81, 3.248, 11.109; cf. *HJP²* 1: 596–99). By arguing rather that it is equivalent to Adar, Goldstein can relate the events cited here to the Megillat Taanit reference to the 28th of that month (*2 Maccabees* AB, 418–19).

The authenticity of all four official letters preserved in 2 Maccabees 11 has been upheld in recent scholarship (Goldstein ibid., 408–09; but note Momigliano 1975: 84–85), with the exception of the dates (Habicht 1976). Habicht has raised questions about the coincidence of the dates in 2 Macc 11:33 and 38, as well as the brevity of the span between the date of the granting of the amnesty on Xanthicus 15 in v 33 and its expiration on Xanthicus 30 in v 30, particularly if it came from Antiochus IV while he was in the E portion of the empire. Goldstein (418–21) has responded, arguing that the decree was granted under the auspices of Antiochus V as coregent.

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JOHN KAMPEN

**XERXES** (PERSON). **1.** The Achaemenid king Xerxes I was born in 518 B.C., the first son of Darius and his favorite queen Atossa, born after Darius had come to the throne. He was elevated to official crown prince some years before the death of his father.

The transfer of kingship from Darius to Xerxes in 486 B.C. went smoothly, though at the time Egypt was in revolt. This serious rebellion had begun in June 486 B.C., before Darius's death, and was successfully suppressed some time before January, 484 B.C. Shortly thereafter Babylon also rebelled, and Xerxes suppressed the uprising with a particularly heavy hand. Local temples were destroyed, the statue of the city-god Marduk may have been carried away, and there is evidence for at least a temporary interruption in the Persian imperial policy of ruling conquered peoples with great tolerance.

The most significant events of the reign of Xerxes involved the Persian invasion of mainland Greece in 480/79 B.C. After massive preparations for the campaign in that part of NE Greece already controlled by the Achaemenids, the Persian army advanced southward down the E coast of the peninsula, supported from the sea by a coordinated advance of their fleet. The first battle of the war took place at the famous pass of Thermopylae. The Persians then marched rapidly southward to capture Athens and burn the Acropolis. The Persian fleet, meanwhile, had suffered considerable damage in a storm at sea, but when it reached the Bay of Salamis it nevertheless outnumbered the challenging Greek fleet led by the Athenians. Legend has it that Xerxes sat on a throne on the cliffside and personally watched the complete defeat of the Persian navy in what was almost certainly the greatest naval engagement in history to date. Xerxes then returned to Asia, leaving the Persian land forces under the command of the general Mardonius. Both armies then went into winter quarters. When good weather returned in 479 B.C., after much maneuvering,

the Greeks and Persians came to battle on the field of Plataea. Persian defeat in this battle, after a fairly even fight, came as their morale cracked when Mardonius was slain.

Little is known about Xerxes' reign during the 14 years before his death. We have almost no sources for these years, either primary or secondary. The great king may have been primarily involved with his massive construction works, particularly at Persepolis. Here he not only meticulously finished works begun by his father, he also greatly enlarged the Persepolis platform and constructed several monumental buildings in his own right, including the Gate of All Nations, the Hall of One Hundred Columns, and his own residential place. Xerxes was assassinated, apparently in a very complicated court intrigue, in 465 B.C.

Traditionally Xerxes has been viewed as a weak king, unable to recover from the reverses his army and navy experienced in Greece. While it is true that under him the expansion of the Achaemenid empire came to an end and, indeed, some contraction of Persian territorial control resulted from defeat in Greece, nevertheless Xerxes may not have been so ineffective as tradition would have it. Certainly he was his dynamic father's explicit choice for the kingship and the early years of his reign were marked by vigorous action. In the end a proper assessment of his reign is difficult, given our lack of good source materials.

The setting of the book of Esther is at the court of Xerxes I, who is called Ahasuerus in this story. See AHASUERUS and ESTHER, BOOK OF.

**2.** Xerxes II, son of Artaxerxes I. He was assassinated only a few weeks after the death of his father (424 B.C.).

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T. CUYLER YOUNG, JR.

**XI.** The fourteenth letter of the Greek alphabet.

# Y

**YAEL, EIN.** See REPHAIM, VALLEY OF.

**YAHUDIYA, EL-** (PLACE). See JEHUD (PLACE).

**YAHWEH** (DEITY) [Heb K *yhwh* (יהוה)]. The name of God in the OT. When it stands alone, and with prefixed prepositions or the conjunction *wa-*, "and," the name is always written with the four Hebrew letters *yod, he, waw, he,* and is for that reason called the Tetragrammaton. In this form the name appears more than 6000 times in the OT. (Variation in the Masoretic mss makes it difficult to establish the number of occurrences exactly.) Shorter forms of the divine name occur in personal names. At the beginning of names the form is *yĕhô-* or the contracted form *yô-;* at the end of names, *-yāhû* or *-yāh.*

**A. Pronunciation**

The pronunciation of *yhwh* as Yahweh is a scholarly guess. Hebrew biblical mss were principally consonantal in spelling until well into the current era. The pronunciation of words was transmitted in a separate oral tradition. See MASORETIC TEXT. The Tetragrammaton was not pronounced at all, the word *ʾădonāy,* "my Lord," being pronounced in its place; *ʾelōhîm,* "God," was substituted in cases of the combination *ʾădonāy yhwh* (305 times; e.g., Gen 15:2). (This sort of reading in MT is called a *qere perpetuum.*) Though the consonants remained, the original pronunciation was eventually lost. When the Jewish scholars (called Masoretes) added vowel signs to biblical mss some time before the 10th century A.D., the Tetragrammaton was punctuated with the vowels of the word "Adonai" or "Elohim" to indicate that the reader should read "Lord" or "God" instead of accidentally pronouncing the sacred name (*TDOT* 5: 501–02).

The form "Jehovah" results from reading the consonants of the Tetragrammaton with the vowels of the surrogate word *Adonai.* The dissemination of this form is usually traced to Petrus Galatinus, confessor to Pope Leo X, who in 1518 A.D. transliterated the four Hebrew letters with the Latin letters *jhvh* together with the vowels of Adonai, producing the artificial form "Jehovah." (This confused usage may, however, have begun as early as 1100 A.D.; note *KB,* 369). While the hybrid form Jehovah has met much resistance, and is universally regarded as an ungrammatical aberration, it nonetheless passed from Latin into English and other European languages and has been hallowed by usage in hymns and the ASV; it is used only a few times in KJV and not at all in RSV.

The generally acknowledged vocalization "Yahweh" is a reconstruction that draws on several lines of evidence. The longer of the two reduced suffixing forms of the divine name, *yāh* and *yāhû,* indicates that the name probably had the phonetic shape /yahw-/ with a final vowel. The vowel is supplied on the basis of the observation that the name derives from a verbal root *hwy,* which would require the final vowel /ē/; this inference is confirmed by the element *yahwī* occurring in names in the Amorite language (see *TDOT* 5: 512; the relevance of the Amorite names is challenged by Knauf 1984: 467). In the Aramaic letters from Elephantine in Egypt (ca. 400 B.C.; *ANET,* 491–92), the divine name occurs in the spelling *yhw,* probably with the vocalization /yahû/ (*TDOT* 5: 505). Instances of the divine name written in Greek letters, such as *Iao* (equivalent to "Yaho"), *Iabe* (known to the Samaritans, Theodoret [4th century A.D.], and Epiphanius), *Iaoue, Iaouai* (Clement of Alexandria [3d century]), and *Iae* also favor the form "Yahweh" (*NWDB,* 453).

**B. Meaning**

The meaning of the name is unknown. Arguments favoring particular meanings have been for the most part grammatical. The name has long been thought to be a form of the verb *hāwāy,* an older form of the Hebrew verb *hāyāh,* "to be." The reconstructed form *yahwēh* is parsed as either a third-person Qal imperfect of this verb or as the corresponding form of the causative stem. This analysis is encouraged by theological notions of God as one who is, or who exists, or who causes existence. Thus the explanation of

Yahweh in Exod 3:14, "I am who I am," is a folk etymology based on this verb (*ROTT,* 181–82). The analysis of the name as a causative falters on the grammatical point observed by Barr that "the causative of this verb does not occur in Hebrew elsewhere" (*HDB,* 335). However, the name could be a unique or singular use of the causative stem.

**C. Origin**

The date and origin of the name has been debated. Its earliest appearances are in the Song of Deborah (Judges 5; which has been dated to the 11th century B.C.), on the Mesha Stele (9th century; *ANET,* 320), in an ostracon from Kuntillet ʿAjrud (8th century; Freedman 1987: 246), and in the Arad and Lachish Letters (6th century; *ANET,* 569, 322).

To move outside of the Levant, we find Egyptian name lists which include a Syrian site, *Ya-h-wa* (No. 97), which is identical to Yahweh. A Rameses II (1304–1237 B.C.) list is found in a Nubian temple in ʿAmarah West with six names (Nos. 93–98) following the designation "Bedouin area." Nos. 96–98 have been found at Soleb in Nubia on an Amon temple of Amenhotep III (1417–1379). No. 93, *Sa-ʿra-r,* has been identified with Seir (Edom) and related to the biblical references (Deut 33:2) which associate Yahweh with Seir and Paran. This could be taken as evidence the name was known in Edom or Midianite territory ca. 1400 B.C. (*EncRel* 7: 483–84).

However, Astour (*IDBSup,* 971) notes that the writing "S-r-r" is incorrect as opposed to the spelling in other Egyptian inscriptions. Furthermore, three of the sites, including *Yi-ha,* on Rameses III's temple in Medinet Habu, are in a Syrian context suggesting that *Ya-h-wa/Yi-ha* was also in Syria. Thus the name is not associated with Edom or Midianites but does seem to appear as early as 1400 B.C. in Syria.

From a later time, the 8th century B.C., two Aramean princes have names with the element "Yau." This has been taken to mean that some Arameans may have worshipped Yahweh (Rankin 1950: 95). This could relate to the earlier connection of the Patriarchs with the Arameans, e.g., Jacob's sojourn with Laban, the eponymous ancestor of the Arameans (Genesis 29–31). The divine name is not found in any cuneiform texts.

The formative *-yw* in some personal names from Ugarit (ca. 14th century B.C.) is not a divine element and has no connection with the name Yahweh. Considerable controversy arose over the alleged occurrence of a theophoric element *-ya* in personal names from Ebla. The cuneiform sign NI, read as /ya/ by Pettinato (1980) and others (Dahood 1981: 276–77), is now read $IL_x$ "god" when used in personal names. See EBLA TEXTS.

**D. Yahweh in the Bible**

In terms of the biblical narrative, some suggest that Moses derived the name of Yahweh from the Egyptians, while others think Yahweh was a Midianite deity worshipped by the Kenite clan. Moses would have been introduced to this new deity when he married the daughter of Jethro (Exod 3:1; 4:18) or Hobab (Num 10:29; Judg 4:11), a priest of Midian (Exod 18:1, 12) or the Kenites (Judg 1:16). See KENITES.

**E. The Magical Aspect of the Name**

In antiquity, the significance of a name goes far beyond a mere label. In ancient times, the name held magical power. One who knew the name of the deity could wield power over the deity and summon him to his/her aid, e.g., against one's enemies. The importance of the name is underscored by the story of Jacob wrestling with a divine being who was reticent to reveal his name to Jacob (Gen 32:24–30; cf. Judg 14:17–20). Adam's naming of the creatures (Gen 2:20) may be the J writer's version of the Priestly 1:28, "have dominion … over every living thing …" The name also reflects the character of the named, as in Nabal ("fool") in 1 Sam 25:25 and the change from Abram to Abraham (Genesis 17), Jacob to Israel (Genesis 32).

**F. Character**

While the date and origins of the name are debatable, the character of Yahweh is certainly clear, although multifaceted in the biblical text. He is a storm god who speaks in the thunder, who hurls or shoots lightning (Exod 19:16–19; 20:18; Ps 18:14; Job 37:5; Amos 1:2; Hab 3:11). He is a god of the mountains (Exodus 19; 1 Kgs 20:3). Fire is both a sign of Yahweh's presence and a weapon (Exod 13:21; 1 Kgs 18:38). He is a god of the desert (Judg 5:4). He has control over the waters of the earth—the sea

(Exod 14:21; Jonah), the rivers (Josh 3:16–17), and the rain (Gen 2:5; 1 Kings 17). He is the giver of life and one who brings death. He is a god of war and of peace.

But most important to the biblical tradition, Yahweh is the god of the covenant. Yahweh created, maintains, and sustains the natural world, which includes humanity. There are covenants with Noah which include the natural world, with the patriarchs, with Moses and the people, Aaron and Phinehas and the priesthood, David and the royal house, and others. No matter what the origin of the name or the non-Israelite nature of his epithets, Yahweh had chosen Israel to be his people and had entered into covenants with them. This fact is the central theme of the OT. See also COVENANT.

For further discussion see *TDOT* 5: 500–21.

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**YAHWEH, DAY OF.** See DAY OF YAHWEH.

**YAHWIST ("J") SOURCE.** The scholarly designation for one of the alleged sources of the Pentateuch.

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A. Name and Definition
B. "Birth" of the J Source
    1. Beginnings
    2. J in the Graf-Wellhausen System
    3. Problem of the Unity of J
C. J as the Architect and Theologian of the Pentateuch
    1. Von Rad's Conception
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D. The Calling in Question of J
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E. J in the Current Debate
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    2. A Solomonic J with a Reduced Substance
    3. An Exilic or Postexilic J
    4. Nonexistent J
F. Conclusion

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**A. Name and Definition**

In the historico-critical exegesis of the OT, the term "Yahwist" (abbreviated "J") designates one of the principal literary sources of the Pentateuch. Since these sources are not self-evident but can be reconstructed only by modern literary criticism, it is important to keep in mind that "J," like the other presumed sources of the Pentateuch, represents in fact, and has always represented, a scientific hypothesis. Its name derives from the fact that the texts attributed to this source resort, when speaking of the God of Israel, almost exclusively to the Tetragrammaton YHWH. According to the classical consensus (see C.3 below)—which in the meantime has been severely shaken (see D below)—"J" was seen as the first source presenting the narrative thread of the whole Pentateuch, its inception starting with the "second" Creation story in Genesis 2. Commonly dated to the 10th or 9th century B.C., "J" has been long regarded as the most ancient historiographic work of the Bible.

**B. "Birth" of the J Source**

**1. Beginnings.** The discovery of a Yahwist source in the Pentateuch is linked to the early stages of critical research on the Pentateuch in the 18th century (cf. Kraus 1982: §28; Houtman 1980). The idea that the Pentateuch could be composed of several sources was provoked mainly by the existence of two creation stories in Genesis 1–3. H. B. Witter and J. Astruc had both been struck by the fact that the two stories (Gen 1:1–2:3 and 2:4–3:24) were using different names when speaking of God, *ʾĕlōhîm* and *yhwh.* Astruc was led to the conclusion that a "memoir" A had to be distinguished from a "memoir" B. It is the distinctive use of the name YHWH (or, at that time, JHVH) that was soon to accredit the term "Yahwist" (J) to designate Astruc's memoir B. One century later, the siglum "J" was nearly unanimously accepted among critics, one notable exception being A. Dillmann (*Genesis* KEHAT), who continued to designate the different sources as A, B, and C. The "Yahwist's" success came about with the acceptance of the "newer documentary hypothesis" *(neuere Urkundenhypothese),* which is linked to the names of Hupfeld, Delitzsch, Riehm and others. At that stage, however, "J" was not yet considered the oldest of the sources. Among the three sources he admitted, Hupfeld (1853), for instance, distinguished the "primary elohistic document" (*elohistische Urschrift,* = the future "P"), the "younger elohistic document" (*jüngere elohistische Schrift* = the future "E"), and, as the latest source, the "document using the divine name Yhwh."

**2. J in the Graf-Wellhausen System.** The reversing of the sources' chronology was provoked by the discovery, due to Reuss, Graf, and Wellhausen, that the priestly legislation belongs to the latest—and not to the earliest—stage in the development of Pentateuchal law. As a result, Wellhausen's paradigma of the sources (J-E-D -P, in that chronological order) imposed itself to the majority of scholars, and J came to be regarded as the oldest source of the Pentateuch. The main criterion in attributing texts to the J source remained the distinctive use of the name YHWH, but the existence of doublets or parallel narratives (such as Genesis 15 and 17, or Exodus 3–4 and 6; see the list offered by Seebass [*TRE* 16: 443–44]) also played a role in the argumentation. Holzinger (1893: 93ff.) and Driver (1913: 116–26) tried to establish a "lexicon of J" (peculiarities of vocabulary, style, and grammar). Often, more general features, such as the "anthropomorphisms" in the presentation of God (as opposed to E and P), were invoked. But a complete and specific description of the linguistic features of J—contrarily as to what became possible for P (McEvenue 1971)—was never attempted, and it is not surprising that for Wellhausen and his pupils, "J" remained without a precise profile and functioned mainly as a scientific siglum to designate the remaining text material once the more easily recognizable layers (such as E, P, and D/Dtr) had been subtracted.

Wellhausen himself did not attempt a precise dating of J and contented himself with the general attribution of J to the monarchic period. Even more telling is that Wellhausen (1899) often did not bother to distinguish between J and E, preferring to speak of JE or of "jehowistic" texts.

**3. Problem of the Unity of J.** For Gunkel, who was more interested in the literary genres than in the sources, J represented not a single author *(Einzelschriftsteller)* but a school of narrators *(Erzählerschule)* (Gunkel 1910: LXXXV; cf. also Smend 1978: 94). Therefore, it may seem only slightly paradoxical that Gunkel joined those scholars who argued for further literary subdivisions within the J source, using such sigla as $J^a$, $J^b$, $J^e$, and $J^4$. This trend, launched by Budde (1883: 455–57; cf. also Bruston 1885) who had hoped to subdivide J into $J_1$ and $J_2$, was developed into a full-fledged theory by Smend Sr. (1912) and

Eissfeldt (1922; 1974). In later years, the theory was still being defended by Simpson (1948: 31–36), Fohrer (1965: 173–79) and Cazelles (*DBSup* 7: 770–803). Eissfeldt called his older source (Budde's and Smend's $J_1$) "L" (*Laienquelle,* lay source), whereas Fohrer (1965: 173–79) opted for the siglum "N" (*Nomadenquelle,* nomadic source). However, Eissfeldt's 1922 synopsis of the sources of the Hexateuch proved through its sheer complexity to have a discouraging and even self-defeating effect; consequently the theory of two Yahwists did not find many followers in subsequent years. It had become evident that the very real problem of J's coherence could not find its solution through the subdivision of sources into ever more infinitesimal layers.

**C. J as the Architect and Theologian of the Pentateuch**

If the understanding of the Yahwist underwent a major change in the critical exegesis, it was due notably to the work of von Rad and Noth. For Wellhausen, the (however numerous) authors of the sources were seen as *Schriftsteller* ("writers"). Gunkel (1910: VII–XCII) had shown that the Yahwist and the Elohist had to be understood as collectors of folktales and other oral traditions, and that their work therefore consisted mainly in the writing down and editing of these traditions. Von Rad was the first to ask himself what precisely could be considered as the "personal" contribution of the Yahwist to the inherited tradition, and what was his "theological" purpose in composing such an extensive work. With these questions it was clear that the Yahwist had ceased to be a collective "school," possibly working over decades or centuries, but had become a *person,* a unique thinking and organizing mind. To this day the most crucial issue in the debate remains whether or not, behind the J source, there is to be seen a creative personality. Or, to put the question in other terms, in the genesis of what was to become the J source, at what specific point can the intervention of such a personality be perceived, and what are the clearest textual witnesses to that intervention?

**1. Von Rad's Conception.** In *Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuch* (1938), later published in English as *PHOE,* von Rad defends the idea that the Pentateuch—or rather, the Hexateuch—is ultimately the work of J. It is J who creates the "history of salvation" that begins with the creation of the world and ends with the entry of Israel into Canaan. As a basis for his construction, the Yahwist could rely on the ancient "Historical Credo" of Deut 26:5–9, which von Rad considers as the archaic kernel of the future Hexateuch. The merit of the Yahwist, according to von Rad, is not only to have given this ancient "Credo" a narrative form, but also to have initiated three decisive developments: (1) the insertion of the primeval history as a "prologue" to the whole; (2) the development and extension of the story of the Patriarchs (three patriarchs instead of one); and (3) the insertion of the Sinai-tradition (see 1961a: 58–75; *Genesis* OTL).

The Yahwist appeared to von Rad as a man of such creativity and freedom that only one historical period seemed to offer a suitable environment for so remarkable an enterprise: the "enlightened" era of Solomon's reign (*PHOE,* 69). That allowed von Rad to date the Yahwist to 950–930 B.C. Furthermore, such a great literary work could not have been undertaken without a specific ideological or theological purpose. That purpose, according to von Rad, was to reinterpret the ancient traditions of tribal Israel in the light of the Davidic monarchy: it was with the establishment of this powerful kingdom (and empire) that the blessing of Abraham and the promises to the fathers found their true fulfillment.

With that, von Rad presented the Yahwist not only as the first "architect" of the Pentateuch, i.e., the first to conceive the history of the origins of Israel with its basic components (primeval history, patriarchal stories, Joseph, Moses, exodus, Sinai, conquest), but also as *the* theologian *par excellence* of the early monarchy.

**2. Noth's Reconstruction.** Noth also considered that in terms of theology J "contains the most important testimony found in the Pentateuchal narrative as a whole" (*HPT,* 236), but his main interest was to determine how the traditions, before they came into the hands of the Yahwist, had reached their normative shape, grown together, and found their place in the nascent "hexateuchal" structure. While not resting his case entirely on the "Historical Credo," Noth agreed with von Rad that Israel's normative historical traditions had matured in the premonarchic period, i.e., before the Yahwist set out to write his comprehensive account of these traditions. Noth distinguished five main "themes" which had taken shape

in oral tradition and which the Yahwist had taken over from that tradition (*HPT,* 46–62): (1) the leading out of Egypt; (2) the leading into the land of Canaan; (3) the promise to the fathers; (4) the leading in the desert; and (5) the revelation at Sinai.

Noth postulated that some of these originally autonomous themes had already found their way into a structured document which he labeled "G" (*Grundlage,* the common basis for the Yahwist and the Elohist), leaving open whether this document existed in a written or an oral form (*HPT,* 38–41). The diversity of themes and the inconsistency of outlooks within J confirmed the fact that J had used (written or oral) sources to compile his great work.

After the attempt of Eissfeldt, Noth (*HPT,* 28–32) was one of the rare exegetes to propose a complete enumeration of the texts he considered as belonging to J (compare the lists in Eissfeldt 1974 and Noth, *HPT,* 28–32). It is his reconstruction that served as a basis for all the subsequent discussion on J from the 1950s to the 1970s. Within the general consensus about J as was generated by the work of Noth, the modifications proposed by later authors were of minor importance, the only unresolved issue was where precisely the J source ended (see C.3.e below).

**3. The Classical Consensus.** Even if the views of von Rad and Noth on J do not always coincide (on the presuppositions of von Rad, see the reservations of Noth [*HPT,* 40–41]), it is nevertheless on their convergences that the consensus of the following twenty years rests.

**a. Text and Content of J.** According to the unanimous judgment of mainstream exegesis after Noth and von Rad, the J source begins with the story of the creation of man in Gen 2:4b. The Yahwist then sets out to narrate the origins of humanity up to the episode of the Tower of Babel. This first period—which von Rad had placed under the heading "proliferation of sin"—is marked by a pessimistic, or rather realistic, view of human beings. Then comes, as a positive answer to these calamitous beginnings, the story of Yahweh's calling of Abraham in Genesis 12 which is J's starting point in the history of the chosen people. After having dealt with the mythical ancestors in Genesis 12–50, J turns to the birth of the *nation* starting with Exodus 1: the oppression in Egypt and the liberation through the mediation of Moses. The sojourn in the desert is characterized by the constant murmuring of the people, but its main event is the revelation of Yahweh to his people on Mt. Sinai (Exodus 19–24): in spite of Israel's disobedience, Yahweh will lead his people to the promised land.

The confidence of most authors in the possibility of reconstructing the J source was such that several scholars did not hesitate to offer a continuous translation of the Yahwist source (see Schulte 1967; Smend 1967: 24–87; Resenhöfft 1977). The only major problem still remained the riddle of the end of the J source.

**b. Date and Origin of J.** With von Rad's brilliant staging of the "Solomonic enlightenment," his proposed date of around 930 B.C. was no longer seriously questioned. Some even went so far as to suggest that the priest Abiathar, the companion of David exiled to Anathoth by Solomon (1 Kgs 2:26–27), might be the author of the J source. In fact, the foundations for that early dating were rooted in the vision that Noth (1930; *HPT,* 252–59) and von Rad had developed of premonarchic Israel. Noth especially had insisted on the fact that all the constitutive "themes" of the Pentateuchal tradition, as well as their integration into a normative sequence, were marked by a "pan-Israelite" outlook (*HPT,* 42–51). The advent of this pan-Israelite consciousness presupposed, of course, the formation of a tribal league in the mountains of Palestine. But that the Pentateuchal tradition belongs in its essence to the pre-Davidic period appears from the fact that the monarchic institution is remarkably absent and that the center of gravity of Israel still seems to rest with the tribes of central Palestine (Joseph, Benjamin)—especially apparent in the Jacob and Joseph stories of Genesis and in the conquest narratives of Numbers—and not with Judah (*HPT,* 51, 56, 208–213). The monarchy thus was the necessary condition only for the writing down of the traditions. Symptomatic of Noth's argumentation is the following statement: "As far as I can see, there is nothing in the original material of the J narrative which would force one to place its composition later than the Davidic-Solomonic period" (*HPT,* 230). For this 10th-century dating, the following further arguments were adduced: (1) the J material contains no allusions to the Aramean or Assyrian perils which Israel encountered starting with the 9th century B.C.; (2) there is no hint of the division between Israel and

Judah; the tribes of the N and S are considered a unity; and (3) the cursing of Canaan in Gen 9:26 (J) reflects the situation of the Davidic and Solomonic empire, as do a number of other texts (e.g., Gen 15:18; 25:23; 27:37, 40a; Num 24:15–19).

The geographic origin of J was located in the south (Judah) rather than in the north for the following reasons: (1) in the primeval history, the tradition of Cain (Genesis 4) points to the Negeb; (2) the cycle of Abraham and Lot (Genesis 12–13) is rooted in Mamre, near Hebron; (3) Judah plays a dominant role in the J strand of the story of Joseph (Gen 37:26; 43:3, 8–10; 44:14–34; 46:28); (4) the peculiar material of Genesis 38 concerns Judah; and (5) in the Exodus narrative, J presents traditions connected mainly with Kadesh and the Midianites (e.g., Exod 3:15–22; 18:1 (J?); Num 13:26; 20:1, 14–16). Finally, the absence of specifically Jerusalemite traditions in the corpus of J led some authors to locate the Yahwist in the rural areas of Judah (see Steck 1971: 553).

**c. Theology of J.** Interest in J's "theology," sparked by von Rad, has grown because the possible *kerygma* of that source is much less explictly stated than that of P or Dtr (Smend 1978: 91). J's primeval history, however, which is commonly regarded as freely composed by the Yahwist, allows the careful reader an insight into some of its author's profound mode of thinking. The major stories in that section (Gen 2:4b–3:24; 4:1–16; chaps. 6–8; 11:1–9) all concern human transgressions, the consequences of which are used to explain the suffering and frustration encountered in life (e.g., hostility between animals and humans, pain of childbirth, aridity of the soil, wearisome work, animosity between brothers). Thus the frustrations of the *conditio humana* are attributed not to God nor to hostile deities or powers but to the fallibility of human beings. The constant human urge to transgress the limits established by YHWH prompts a reaction of the Creator, but beyond punitive interventions, YHWH evermore takes preservative measures to keep humanity from destruction (see Westermann 1964: 51–58).

This very subtle art of storytelling, which avoids supernatural interference and has forsaken all forms of magical or manichaean thinking, bears a distinctive flavor that brings it close to Wisdom Literature. At the same time, the primeval history of J offers a genuine and coherent theology insofar as it portrays a universal YHWH, at the same time almighty and gracious to man, who declares (Gen 8:21), "Never again will I curse the ground because of man, even though every inclination of his heart is evil from childhood." Many of these traits can be found again in other parts of the J source (notably in the Jacob cycle, in the Joseph narrative, and in the desert stories) or, for that matter, in the "Succession Narrative" (2 Samuel 9–20; 1 Kings 1–2) which may come from a similar background. The same message is repeatedly suggested: Whatever good happens to the chosen of YHWH is not due to their own merit, but to the gracious and hidden forbearance of God (see de Pury 1975: 91–116).

Admittedly, the theological intention is less easy to define in the subsequent sections of the J narrative. If, starting with the patriarchal stories, J is not the "inventor" of most of his narrative material, how is it possible to determine the theological purpose of his work? Wolff (1966: 136–37) suggests that there are two areas where the intention of the Yahwist may be recognized: (1) in the "programmatic" passages that are due to his own wording (such as Gen 8:21–22; 12:1–4a; 18:17–18, 22b–33; 32:10–13; 50:20, 24), and (2) in the juxtaposition or rearrangement of previously unconnected narrative units. Very typical of that second possibility might be the insertion of an episode illustrating Abraham's infidelity in Gen 12:10–20 after the promise of the land in 12:7, or the placing of Gen 32:23–33 [—Eng 32:22–32 as YHWH's answer to Jacob's prayer in 32:10–13 (see Stoebe 1954).

For the interpretation of the Yahwist's theology, the key passage has always been Gen 12:1–3. Here both elements—programmatic statement and linking of narrative units—are present. Von Rad (*PHOE,* 65) already gave these verses utmost importance:

> "In this interlinking of primeval history and history of salvation the Yahwist accounts for the intent and purpose of the salvatory relationship that Yahweh has granted Israel. It is the etiology of all etiologies of Israel."

The problem, though, is to know whether this relatively serene universalistic kerygma, extending the blessing of Abraham not only to his offspring but also to "all the clans of the earth," may be translated into a "political" message and interpreted in terms of a Davidic "history of salvation." Von Rad (1961a:

75–81) thought that J had in mind to legitimate the Davidic monarchy as the fulfillment of God's plan (see also Rost 1956: 5; Amsler 1969: 243–45). Others perceived in the Yahwist's message a more critical vein, his intent being not only to accept fully the Davidic turn in Israel's history, but also to lay bare the hubris of the Solomonic court (Henry 1960: 15–20; Wolff 1966: 155; von Soden 1974) and, possibly, to denounce the servitude imposed on "brother" nations like Edom (see Gen 27:40b) or Ammon (on the whole question, see de Pury 1975: 117–65). The second option is more in line with the above reading of Genesis 2–11, but it entails that the Yahwist was not the first narrator to have told the story of Israel's origins in the wake of the establishment of the Davidic kingdom. That brings us to the question of J's antecedents.

**d. Sources of J.** Since the time of Gunkel (1910: VII–XCII), everyone has admitted that the Yahwist did not invent most of what he narrates in his work. J and E are essentially *tradents* of a lore of tales carried by oral tradition (see also Westermann, *Genesis* BKAT, 11–51). Yet some of the "incoherences" within the thread of the J narrative may be so sharp that the suspicion arises that the Yahwist is not just retelling old tales, but coping with already formulated earlier narratives. We have mentioned Noth's hypothesis of "G" as a first pre-J source of the Pentateuch. In later years, some authors thought there were sufficient indications to reconstruct one or several segments of this pre-J strand. Kilian (1966: 1–35, 220–22, 285–94, 301–06), de Pury (1975: 49–58, 130–33) and Otto (1979: 82–88) found pre-J strands in the Abraham and Jacob narratives, Otto (1975: 241–99) in the Sinai pericope, Fritz (1970: 107–34) in the desert stories, and Richter (1986: 29–57) in the primeval history. Recently, Vermeylen (1989) has proposed the reconstruction of a pre-Yahwist, Davidic narrative extending through the whole book of Genesis (suggested siglum: Dv). These attempts are all rooted in the observation that the texts attributed to J often bear traces of a prolonged redactional elaboration. The main question, then, is: does the Yahwist, from the point of view of his method, represent an analogous phenomenon to that of the Deuteronomistic Historian, i.e., besides being occasionally a narrator, could he be first and foremost an "editor." But in that case, it is not surprising that the arguments invoked for his dating and the determination of his sociohistorical roots call to be reexamined, as will be shown below.

**e. Problem of the End of J.** In line with his conception of history of salvation, as it had been reconstructed mainly from Gen 12:1–3, J's work had to include the story of Israel's entry into Canaan and, most probably, to end with it. That, at least, was the opinion of practically all mainstream authors. Since the conquest of Canaan is told only in the book of Joshua and in Judges 1, some authors (and among them von Rad) traced segments of the J narrative up into the book of Joshua. Noth thought that the end of J had been suppressed when the Pentateuch (or, rather, the Tetrateuch) had been linked up with the Deuteronomistic History (DtrG) (Noth, *HPT*, 33, n. 127), since that historiographic work already contained an account of the entry into Canaan (for a discussion of that problem, see Auld 1980). But other proposals for the location of the end of J were also defended:

—Num 14:8a (Weimar 1977: 163–64; 1980: 121, 134);
—Joshua 11 (Otto 1975: 95–103);
—Joshua 24 (Seebass, *TRE* 16: 445);
—Judg 1:26 (Eissfeldt 1922: 83–84, 252);
—1 Kings 2 (Budde 1883);
—1 Kings 12 (Hölscher 1952);
—1 Kgs 14:25 (Resenhöfft 1977).

It thus becomes apparent that even at the time of the consensus, the end of J was perceived as a major problem. It is therefore no surprise that it is precisely at that point that some of the critics of the "J" theory entered with their objections.

**D. The Calling in Question of J**

Starting with the 1970s, the entire research on the Pentateuch was submitted to a radical critique, and it was quite natural that the "Yahwist" stood from the outset in the first line of the debate. After the premonitory motion launched by Winnett (1965), the decisive works in reopening the discussion on the Yahwist were those of Van Seters (1975), Schmid (1976), and Rendtorff (1976). Without retracing here

the antecedents of the discussion (for that, see Whybray 1987; de Pury and Römer 1989), one can say that it is no longer possible today to speak of the "Yahwist" without acknowledging that the former consensus has vanished. The attacks against Noth's and von Rad's Yahwist developed along two main lines: either J was radically "re-dated," or his existence was entirely contested in the course of an overall critique of the Documentary Hypothesis.

**1. Redating J.** In his *Der sogenannte Jahwist,* Schmid took as his starting point the Yahwist as defined and delimited by Noth. After examining a number of key J texts (in Exodus 3–4; 7–10; 14; 15; 17; 19; 24; Numbers 11; 12; 21; plus the promise narratives in Genesis), Schmid concluded that these "Yahwist" texts were very closely related to the style and the theological preoccupations of Deuteronomistic literature. The call of Moses (Exod 3–4), for example, presupposes the call of the classical prophets, and the theme of the people's disobedience in the desert reflects a mode of thinking known mainly from the Deuteronomistic school. Therefore, the historical context of the Yahwist seems to be a time of crisis rather than that of the glorious Solomonic "enlightenment" (which appears to Schmid as an invention of modern exegesis. The approach of Schmid takes its place in the wake of the (re)discovery of Deuteronomic/Deuteronomistic influences in the Pentateuch initiated notably by Brekelmans (1966), Perlitt (1969), Reichert (1972), and Fuss (1972).

In the same general line, Rose (1981; 1986) takes Schmid's intuition one step further. Whereas Schmid refrained from proposing a specific date for J and left open the exact chronological relationship between J and DtrG, Rose submitted certain Deuteronomistic texts in Deuteronomy and Joshua to a minute comparison with the corresponding episodes in the J narrative, and he concluded that J is later than DtrG. That discovery led him to the thesis that J composed his work in order to provide the historiography of DtrG with a "prologue" and perhaps to correct the somewhat too "legalistic" tendency of DtrG. It should be noted that if J never had an autonomous existence, Rose's thesis would offer an elegant solution to one of the major problems of the "old" J theory: that of its "lost end." Van Seters (1983; 1986) defends a similar approach. In his eyes, the Yahwist is essentially an "historian", i.e., an intellectual comparable to the Greek historians of the Persian period, who "conceived" Israel's prehistory and placed it as an opening of the earlier Deuteronomistic history.

This theory of Rose and Van Seters turns the classical consensus upside down insofar as it considers J, formerly the "oldest" source, now a postexilic work. On the other hand, it preserves unharmed the system of the sources as such (see the critique of Diebner 1985), and it even allows scholars to reclaim some of von Rad's inspiring theological interpretations (theology of grace, anthropological pessimism, the Historical Credo, etc.) by transposing them into the postexilic context. This theory today seems to rally increasing support (see Cryer 1985; Kaiser 1984: 93–96).

**2. The Dissolution of J.** In his *Überlieferungsgeschichtliches Problem des Pentateuch,* Rendtorff proclaimed an irreversible "farewell to the documentary hypothesis" (1976: 148). First and foremost, that meant abandoning the notion that the Yahwist is a continuous source in the Pentateuch (see also Rendtorff 1977). He tried to show that in spite of appearances, "J" is a very fragile construction. The substance of J is traditionally obtained by way of subtraction of the more easily recognizable other sources (see Smend 1978: 86; Seebass, *TRE* 16: 441), and there are no positive criteria for the attribution of a single text to the J source. Neither is there a consensus on the extension of the Yahwist or on his "theology." A more promising approach is therefore to liberate oneself from the yoke of the source theory and to explain the composition of the Pentateuch on the basis of the "major unities" recognized by Noth (primeval history, patriarchs, exodus, desert, Sinai, conquest). But contrary to Noth, Rendtorff does not consider these "unities" as themes that were carried only by oral tradition: he sees in them autonomous literary works that were transmitted independently from each other until they were reunited by a redactional enterprise of "Deuteronomistic" type. The "promises to the fathers" that were for von Rad the expression of the *ipsissima verba* of the Yahwist become, for Rendtorff, the most visible traces of this "Dtr" redaction. In such a system there is no room any more for a continuous Yahwist.

How are these autonomous "unities" to be imagined? Rendtorff's model was applied to the primeval history by Crüsemann (1981), who tried to show that Genesis 2–11 had not been composed with the

intention of serving as an opening for the Yahwist history of salvation, but instead represented an independent reflection on the origins of humanity, reflecting presumably the point of view of Judean peasantry in the time of the early monarchy. Blum (1984), after having shown (among other things) the weakness of the traditional argument based on the distinction between the divine names YHWH and Elohim, ventured to explain that the patriarchal cycle of Genesis 12–50 had grown as an independent unity during a long redactional process (extending from ca. 1000 to 400 B.C.).

An approach comparable to that of Rendtorff and his students is defended by Houtman (1980: 243–45) who refuses a source-system based on a continuous J and who presents the Pentateuch as the conglomerate of three previously independent unities: Genesis, Exodus-Numbers, and Deuteronomy.

**E. J in the Current Debate**

After more than a decade of severe attacks against the classical consensus on the Yahwist, there is still no new majority view in sight. Some scholars, perhaps waiting for better days, seem to refrain from writing much on the Pentateuch, and many of those who venture into the field do so with great prudence. In the current publications, four main approaches stand out (see Coote and Ord 1989 for an overview).

**1. Defense of the Classical Conception.** In spite of all the turbulence, a few scholars maintain categorically their allegiance to the Yahwist of Noth and von Rad. This is the case of exegetes such as L. Schmidt (1977; 1983: 90–95), W. H. Schmidt (1981; 1985: 72–74), Kohata (1986a; 1986b), Scharbert (1986), and Kreuzer (1989: 114–17). Others, like Smend (1978: 92–94), Seebass (*TRE* 16: 445–47), or Stendebach (1987) continue to believe in the existence of the J source, but do no longer find sufficient evidence for a precise datation—like Wellhausen, they are content with situating it generally during the monarchy. Moreover, they do not consider J to be an individual, but take it, once again, as a siglum for a "school."

**2. A Solomonic J with a Reduced Substance.** Taking heed of the current criticism of an ancient date especially concerning the more "theological" passages of J, some authors such as Weimar (1977; 1980), Zenger (1982; 1985), Vermeylen (1981; 1989), and Peckham (1985) seek a solution in the drastic reduction of the J source. These exegetes admit that many texts commonly attributed to J (e.g., Genesis 15; 24; etc.) are evidently much later than the 10th century, but they remain convinced that there *is* a Solomonic Yahwist comprising at least the primeval story, the Patriarchs, and the exodus, even if the substance of that work may comprise only two or three pages of text. The problem with that position is that it becomes more and more difficult to find palpable arguments to justify the proposed delimitation of the text.

**3. An exilic or Postexilic J.** As has been shown (see D.1 above), Rose and Van Seters maintain the Yahwist source in its traditional delimitation, but they date it to the Persian period. In the same line, one could mention the studies of Vorländer (1978), who dates the "Jehowist" (he refuses to separate between J and E) to the time of the exile, and Schmitt (1980), who sees in J a postexilic redaction of an earlier "elohistic" version of the Pentateuch. The problem with Rose's and Van Seters' conception is that it does not try to account for the depth of the redactional process that may often be recognized behind a J text. Has not the homogeneous Solomonic Yahwist of von Rad simply been replaced by a Yahwist of the Persian era which is equally homogeneous?

**4. A Nonexistent J.** As we have seen (see D.2 above), Rendtorff, Blum, and others hold that there are, comprised within what was commonly attributed to J, relatively ancient literary unities, but that a continuous J source never existed. If these views should finally prevail, critical exegesis would either have to renounce entirely the use of the siglum "J" or give that name to the (late) compiler/redactor who integrated the different unities into a coherent—and theologically assertive—whole. That second possibility would bring us again into the vicinity of the solutions of Rose and Van Seters, but with the recovery of an interest for the pre-"Dtr" literary history of each individual unity. The problem with Rendtorff's approach is that the very obvious (and secondary) "Dtr" passages in the Tetrateuch (e.g., Gen 22:15–18; 26:3b–5) are not sufficiently distinguished from the supposed "Yahwist" redaction.

**F. Conclusion**

The debate on the Yahwist obviously is not closed. No new scholarly consensus is yet in sight. And new research, discoveries, and points of view may bring about yet another turn in the appreciation of this complex literary corpus.

What currently seems to have been most severely shaken is the hypothesis of an extensive J historiography in the time of Solomon as von Rad and Noth had conceived it. In spite of the diversity of expressed opinions, the debate of the last two decades has shown some convergence in drawing the attention of exegetes to two related problems: (1) the apparent autonomy of the major components of the traditional J source, and (2) the apparent fragility of the links that bind together these major components. On these two aspects, a few final remarks are in order.

First, the main components of the traditional J source—the primeval history, the patriarchal saga, and the "national" saga (the birth of Israel in Egypt, exodus, entry into the land, etc.)—are too different from each other, and too autonomous in their outlook and scope, to have been conceived for the purpose of a single historiographic work. Each of these components can stand on its own. The patriarchal saga (and more specifically the Jacob cycle) and the story of the exodus/conquest even offer two rival etiologies for the presence of Israel in Canaan (they are still perceived as such in Hosea 12). There are good chances that these autonomous developments not only belong to the preliterary levels of the traditions, but that they also marked the first stages of their growth as literary works.

Second, the links that explicitly bind together the three components of the traditional J source are rather tenuous, and some of them are manifestly late. That is the case most notably of the story of Joseph (Genesis 37–50), which links the exodus story to the patriarchal narratives. The story itself, held by von Rad (1961b) to be a literary gem of the Solomonic Yahwist, the purest expression of that enlightened era, tends to be considered today by some scholars as a postexilic Jewish diaspora novel (Redford 1970; Meinhold 1975/76). Its function as a bridge between the Jacob and exodus stories might be even later. The P source knows of a descent of Jacob and his sons to Egypt but tells nothing of Joseph (Gen 37:1–2; 46:6–7, 8–27; 47:27b–28; 49:29–33; 50:12–13, Exod 1:1–5a, 13). The same can be said of the Dtr and post-Dtr Credos (Deut 10:22; 26:5; Josh 24:4; 1 Sam 12:8). The only text that mentions the story of Joseph is Ps 105:18–23, a very late psalm that presupposes the final redaction of the Pentateuch (Römer 1987). It is less easy to determine the age of the descent of Jacob to Egypt, but it likewise has all the appearances of a redactional link.

If one considers the question from the side of DtrG, the connection between patriarchs and exodus does not appear before the final redaction of the Pentateuch. As Römer (1988) has shown (after Van Seters 1972), the "fathers" frequently referred to in Deuteronomistic literature never designate the patriarchs but have in mind the successive collective generations of ancestors that came out of Egypt. It seems that DtrG ignores—or intentionally omits—the whole "prehistory" told in Genesis.

There remains the problem of Gen 12:1–3 and of the link between primeval history and patriarchal narratives. That link is evidently older than P, since P also connects a primeval tradition with the story of the patriarchs, but even if it should be relatively old, it does not necessitate a continuation of the patriarchal story in the exodus story. The only few explicit cross-references between the exodus and patriarchal stories (e.g., Gen 15:13–16; Exod 3:6aβ) most probably belong to the final phases of the redaction of the Pentateuch. Thus, if one decides to define the Yahwist as the author of Gen 12:1–3—to whatever period that may lead—one still does not get a corpus that extends beyond the book of Genesis.

What remains to be determined is the precise nature of the connection between the Genesis and the Exodus narratives. Were there any links prior to P? If not, does that make P the true "inventor" of the Pentateuch as a literary project combining the two rival stories of Israel's origins? If the "Yahwist" is defined with Rose as the provider of a prologue to DtrG, did his prologue begin with Genesis 2 or with Exodus 1? In that case, does one have to expect a second Yahwist for the inclusion of Genesis, or was this inclusion brought about by P or $R^P$? These and many other questions will undoubtedly have to be faced by those who hope to know a little more about that elusive "Yahwist" who has fascinated biblical scholarship for so long.

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ALBERT DE PURY

**YAʿNIN, KHIRBET.** See NEIEL (PLACE).

**YAVNEH** (PLACE) See JAMNIA (JABNEH), COUNCIL OF.

**YAVNEH-YAM** (M.R. 121147). An ancient coastal city (Minât Rubin) located some 15 km S of Joppa. According to one theory, Yavneh-Yam was the harbor suburb (or "port") of the city of JABNEEL (M.R. 126141) situated 8 km to the SW. According to another theory, the site was called Heb *mḥwz* (= "port"), which is attested in Egyptian inscriptions as *Mukkazi* (a name that has also been attributed to Tell Abu-Sultan 6 km E of Yavneh-Yam). From the Hellenistic period on, Yavneh-Yam was known by the name *Iamnētōn ... limēn,* which persisted to the end of the Crusader period.

A square enclosure bounded by freestanding ramparts constitutes the most impressive remains at this site. More than half of this enclosure has been eroded due to the slowly rising sea level. However, the entire E rampart (800 m long) and parts of the N and S ramparts are still preserved, and it can be reasonably assumed that the entire enclosure was a square of 640 dunams. A complete square enclosure of this type was first observed at el-Mishrefe in Syria (Mesnil de Buisson 1926; 1927).

The Yavneh-Yam fortifications were excavated between 1967 and 1969 with the purpose of examining the method and materials used to construct the enclosure. Work was concentrated in two areas: in the N rampart (area A), and in the S half of the E rampart (area H). In area A, a vertical cut was made from the top of the rampart down to its base. Apparently the rampart was constructed first by leveling the whitish sand covering the virgin soil along the intended line of the rampart. Then a 12-cm-thick layer of *khamra* (red clay soil of the coastal plain) was laid down along the line to serve as the core of the rampart; it was then encased by a sheath of *khamra.* On the outer face the glacis originally consisted of two layers. The first (or interior) layer was made of heavy clay soil approximately 60–70 cm thick, extending from the top of the rampart down to virgin soil. The second (or covering) layer was made of crushed kurkar 50 cm thick, probably intended to prevent the damp clay from drying out and crumbling. At a later stage an additional glacis (or third layer) was applied over the crushed kurkar layer (see the schematic drawing in *EAEHL* 4: 1217).

On the analogy of the el-Mishrefe enclosure, the Yavneh-Yam fortification was assumed to have one entrance gate on each of its four sides. Indeed, in area H three superimposed gates were uncovered, indicating that the enclosure was entered from the space during each of the periods it was used as a fortification. The two lower gates (II and III) were built of sun-dried brick, were protected on the exterior by heavy walls of rubble, and were flanked by towers. The bottom gate (III) contained three pairs of gate piers. The lower part of gate II, with only two pairs of gate piers, was especially well preserved. The plan of one of the defensive towers of gate II is thus far unattested elsewhere. The walls of the right-hand tower were 2.4 m thick, and the narrow space between its walls and its central massive structure apparently contained a staircase leading to the upper story. Half of a smaller rubble-stone gate (I), dating to LB II, was exposed above the ruins of gate II.

Although this enclosure, like that of el-Mishrefe, was apparently intended to house large numbers of troops and their families and livestock, no traces of occupation were uncovered inside the open enclosure. However, in addition to occupational remains on and around the small mound of Minât Rubin, building remains and graves were found lined only along part of the inner rampart slope. In area A, for example, 9 layers were uncovered along and near the inner rampart slope. The earliest layer (9) contained no building remains and yielded only some MB I sherds. Layers 3–8 yielded sherds and a few vessels dating from MB II–III, while layers 1–2 contained LB I sherds, especially of "Tell el-Ajjul ware." In a small area of virgin soil in front of gate III (area H) were found the remains of hearths. Inside and around them were found MB I sherds, fragments of an incense burner, and a number of ivory plaques incised with designs. MB I sherds were also found on the lowest floor of one of the chambers of the gate towers and in the foundation trench of one of the tower walls.

The Yavneh-Yam excavations have thus furnished information about the construction method of the terre pisee ramparts, glacis, and gate structures of the MB I square enclosures (Kaplan 1975). It is now evident that the square enclosure with the three-pier gates made its first appearance in MB I between 2000 and 1800 B.C. The small quantities of pottery found in the two excavated areas indicate that the Yavneh-Yam enclosure was used intermittently, with alterations and repairs, throughout the remainder of the MB Age, and that the enclosure ceased to function as a fortification at the beginning of the LB Age.

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JACOB KAPLAN

**YEAR.** See CALENDARS.

**YEAST.** See MEAL CUSTOMS (JEWISH DIETARY LAWS).

**YERUHAM, MOUNT** (M.R. 139045). A site in the Negeb highlands, located on the NE spurs of Har Rakhma above Nahal Revivim and the Yeruham Reservoir. Scattered over an area of 5 $km^2$ are found most of the typical phenomena of the EB IV culture in the Negeb: a central settlement with about 50 habitational units; a cemetery containing about 80 burials in tumuli; a high-place located on a barren hilltop; and scores of isolated buildings, tumuli, and straight-built-lines. Mount Yeruham's nature as a key site for the EB IV in the Negeb was the reason for its excavation, the first excavation from this period in the Negeb. It took place in 1963 and was directed by M. Kochavi. Another expedition, led by R. Cohen, excavated the site in 1973.

Two superimposed strata were discerned in the central settlement, both belonging to the EB IV. Stratum II, the earlier and more substantial one, consisted of rectangular buildings surrounded by a stone fence. Stone pillars made of roughly rounded stone drums supported the roofs. In the lowest area of the settlement were various installations, including a potter's shop with a kiln and a clay storeroom. Stratum I consisted of only a few round buildings and two large enclosures, all built on top of Stratum II remains. Pottery finds from both strata show the same typology fitting into the "Southern" family of EB IV wares. The existence of a few red polished sherds, however, may indicate some connections with Transjordan. Two small animal figurines found by the pottery kiln are unique. A hoard of eighteen copper ingots found in a Stratum I courtyard demonstrate the high level of metallurgy obtained in this period.

The burials in the tumuli consisted of well-built cists in which the skeletons and burial offerings were put to rest on two superimposed floors. Some tumuli, including the eight built on top of the Stratum II remains in the settlement, were built as small step-pyramids, 4–5 m in diameter. All other tumuli, including those from the cemetery, were 7–8 m in diameter, and in each the area between the outer circular wall and the cists was filled with stones. The high-rise tumuli were assigned to Stratum I and the larger filled-in tumuli to Stratum II.

The high-place had a magnificent view from a rocky outcrop on a hill crest near the central settlement. The outcrop had 12 cupmarks of different sizes and a well-built stone wall encompassing about 500 $m.^2$. No building remains were observed near the high-place, but many were discerned on the saddle connecting the high-place and the spur.

Mount Yeruham was one of the main centers of the EB IV in the Negeb. Its first settlers built rectangular houses in a well-organized, defensive settlement. Other spurs near the settlement were designated for burial and for cult. The economy was based on seasonal agriculture in the well-watered riverbanks below and on hunting and herding on the nearby hills. The second wave of settlers belonged essentially to the same culture, but their settlement at the site was ephemeral.

A small Byzantine farmstead, hidden in a small wadi, was the only other ancient remain at the site.

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MOSHE KOCHAVI

**YIFTAHEL** (M.R. 171240). A prehistoric site some 8 km E of Nazareth. Adjacent to this is a small tell, Kh. Khalladiyeh, and a perennial spring. The ancient name of the site is unknown and the modern appelation, Yiftahel, derives from the identification of this small valley with that bordering the land

allotted to the tribe of Zebulon (Josh 19:12, 14). A recent historical-geographical study of this area has challenged this identification, placing the vale of Yiftahel some small distance to the E.

Beneath a heavy alluvial cover, where road construction cut into the valley floor, evidence of a prehistoric occupation was first encountered. Preliminary soundings unearthed only a Pre-Pottery Neolithic B occupation, exemplified by white plaster floors and an extensive flint industry. A large-scale salvage excavation proved the site to be far more extensive, with evidence of several aceramic Neolithic levels and EB I, MB I, and possibly MB II occupations.

The Neolithic strata included several successive buildings with the well-known white plaster floors which the excavator was able to assign to houses of rectangular plans. The best preserved had a central roofed room flanked by 2 open-aired rectangular courtyards, and it resembles dwellings of the same cultural horizon at Jericho. Remarkably preserved organic finds included charred pulses and the earliest instances of horsebean *(Vicia faba L.)* yet encountered (Kislev 1985). In another aceramic level, several long, rambling stone walls, probably of large enclosures, perhaps surrounding tent dwellings, were unearthed. They are unlike anything heretofore unearthed of this period in the S Levant.

In another aceramic Neolithic occupation were found a series of rectangular houses with earthen or cobbled floors, all neatly aligned, suggesting a degree of central planning or organization. Several of these houses had porticoes attached to the entrance. The best preserved had 3 rooms in a linear alignment with a pillar base and plastered doorsill. Its plan is somewhat reminiscent of a Neolithic building excavated by Garstang (1948: 59–60) at Jericho and described by him as a probable temple. A number of primary and secondary burials found in and around these several levels can be assigned to the same horizon.

Directly above the Neolithic layers were the remains of at least 22 whole or partial houses spread over more than 2400 $m^2$ of the valley floor, all dating to several phases of an EB I occupation, making this one of the largest exposures of any site dated to this period in the S Levant. A peculiarity of this occupation was the apparent avoidance of any form of angularity in building techniques; all structures were oval, sausage-shaped, or circular in plan. See Fig. YIF.01. Pottery of this period included pithoi, amphoriskoi, storage jars, and some small bowls, usually covered in red paint or wash. The absence of grain wash as a painting technique and the presence of a gray burnished carinated bowls with projecting sinuous lines, (apparently an early type of Esdraelon Ware) date this occupation to early in the EB I horizon. Important architectural affinities with these curvilinear structures are found at Byblos (Dunand 1973, Installation Eneolithique) and Sidon-Dakerman (Saida 1979) of the Eneolithique Period as well as at other sites in Israel and Jordan.

Some sparse evidence of a squatter's occupation in the abandoned ruins of the EB I levels was encountered in the field. In the adjacent valley slope a rock-cut tomb of the MB II period attests to human activity. Surface pottery from the nearby tell suggests occupation in the Roman, Byzantine, Arab, and Turkish periods.

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ELIOT BRAUN

**YIN‘AM, TEL** (M.R. 198235). A site located among the fields of Moshavah Yavneel near the W edge of the floor of the Yavneel Valley in the E Lower Galilee, also known as Tell en-Naam. The mound is about 85 m in diameter N–S and has a large terrace settlement. While many researchers have identified the site with Yenoam mentioned in New Kingdom Egyptian texts, this identification has been questioned (Liebowitz 1981: 92, n. 1). In Israelite times, however, the site seems to have been known as Jabneel, a S border city of the Naphtali tribe (Josh 19:33).

While the site was surveyed by the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1973 and sherded by Saarisalo (1927: 44, 49), Aharoni (*LBHG*, 79, 125–29), and Amiran, regular excavations at the site were first begun by

Liebowitz in 1976. With the exception of a small salvage dig conducted on the terrace settlement in April 1978, all excavation has thus far been limited to the mound.

Like many sites in the Near East, Tel Yin‘am had a lengthy history. It was initially occupied in the Neolithic period and yielded sherds, flint blades, and small objects of worked stone paralleling similar material from Shaar Hagolan. The site was also occupied during the late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods. However, since no one has yet reached the earliest levels of the site, the assemblages from these cultural phases have not been found in stratified contexts.

Early Bronze I material, including a rare terra-cotta bull protome, was found near a small, round cultic installation in the terrace settlement. The tell was subsequently abandoned until the MB II period, though two EB IV tombs were excavated 2 km away in the Moshavah proper.

While no one has found substantial evidence for a MB occupation at Tel Yin‘am, the upper part of a unique, apparently MB jar which had contained a copper figurine recalling those from Byblos, and a unique electrum figurine recalling somewhat a type found in copper at the Nahariyah temple, were found just below the earliest floor level of the northernmost room of building 2. These finds are consistent with the discovery of an earthen surface at the W edge of the mound containing sherds dating to an early phase of MB II. The tell was subsequently abandoned through the remainder of the MB and during the LB IA, LB IB, and early part of LB IIA.

The LB II reoccupation of the site began around 1325 B.C. Like many LB sites, the settlement was not surrounded by a city wall. The major LB structures excavated consist of a palatial building and adjoining secondary buildings. These structures yielded a major assemblage of local pottery, the earliest known bronze ploughshare found in Israel, and rare and unique imports from Egypt, Late Helladic Greece, and Assyria. The NW room of the palatial structure was reused as a primitive iron smelter (Liebowitz and Folk 1984). The LB settlement was destroyed by fire sometime in the mid-13th century.

The site was reoccupied at the beginning of the Iron Age and was continuously occupied throughout the Iron I period. Jug-shaped cooking pots are very prevalent throughout the Iron I period and are a hallmark of the period. Changes are also discernible in the jewelry: shell beads became prevalent and small stone club-shaped pendants make their appearance. The Iron II (10th century) stratum is particularly rich. As in the LB Age the stone sockles of the building are approximately 1 m high and the floors of the side rooms are cobbled. The buildings are well constructed and the pottery is well made. Of the many small objects perhaps the most interesting is a knife consisting of an iron blade, copper rivets, and a bone handle. The Iron IIC level is poorly represented architecturally, but a rich repertoire of Iron IIC pottery (cooking pots, storage jars, jugs, and a lamp) was found in two partially excavated houses in areas B and G.

The Persian Period loci yielded an interesting array of local pottery forms and imported Attic and East Greek pottery. The buildings of the period are well constructed and the walls are more than a meter wide. Although there was a gap in occupation during the Hellenistic period, discovery of Herodian lamp nozzles and coins attest to reoccupation of the site in the Early Roman period. The site was apparently also occupied during the Middle Roman Period. However, the overwhelming majority of the late material dates to the Late Roman/Byzantine period (3rd–6th century). The Roman period architecture yielded evidence for several phases; but the floor levels, close to the modern surface of the tell, were not well preserved, and it is difficult to associate the favious assemblages found on these floors and in pits with specific building phases. Indeed the most important assemblages come from pits dug from uncertain surfaces. In addition to remains of domestic structures, the Byzantine period yielded a well-preserved *mikveh* (Jewish ritual bath) dated by $C_{14}$ to around 525 C.E. By the 6th century, if not earlier, the tell was permanently abandoned.

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HAROLD A. LIEBOWITZ

**YIRON** (PLACE) [Heb *yir·ôn* (יִרְאוֹן)]. A fortified city listed as part of the inheritance of the tribe of Naphtali (Josh 19:38). The name does not appear elsewhere in the Bible. The LXX renders the name both as *Iarion* (LXXB) and as *Keroe* (LXXA). The town is probably mentioned in the list of towns in Galilee conquered by Tiglath-pileser III: Ak *Ir-ru-[na]*. The ancient toponym is preserved in the village of Yarun (M.R. 189276), which is situated in the Upper Galilee of Lebanon at an altitude of 800 m above sea level and 5 km S of Bint Jibel. Archaeological surveys uncovered there Iron Age sherds. Scholars maintain that the place was founded as one of the Israelite mountain settlements (Abel *GP* 2: 65, 351; Press 1954: 405–406; Garstang 1931: 102 n. 1; *SWP* 1: 258).

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RAMI ARAV

**YOD.** The tenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

**YOHANAN BEN ZAKKAI.** Rabbinic Judaism pictures Yohanan as the person most responsible for the survival of Judaism after the Great Roman War of 66 C.E.–73 C.E., and the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 C.E. By establishing a school in Jamnia/Yavneh, Yohanan—a legislative innovator, a mystic, and a creative biblical exegete—made it possible for Judaism to survive despite the destruction of its physical and spiritual centers.

Even though Yohanan plays a central role in the rabbis' construction of the history of Judaism, several American scholars have argued for the impossibility of writing conventional biographies of the early masters such as Yohanan, or of establishing the validity of the tradition's claims about them (Green 1978). Unlike other cultures of late antiquity, rabbinic Judaism did not leave us any documents organized around the names or sayings of individual sages (Porton 1981). Rather, Jewish texts are organized around themes, topics, or scriptural verses (Green 1978: 80). Moreover, rabbinic comments "almost always focus on matters of detail, so that they (the rabbis) appear as glossators, never as innovators" (Green 1978: 80). Even the literary features of the rabbinic texts mitigate against our discovering much about the figures who appear in them, for the materials in these documents have been shaped and transmitted in literary patterns which "by [their] nature remove us from a historical figure because they 'package' or epitomize his thought, obscure idiosyncrasy and unique modes of expression, and thereby conceal distinctive elements of personality, character and intellect" (Green 1978: 81). Finally, we lack certainty even about the reliability of the attributions (Green 1978: 83), because we are often confronted with inconsistencies concerning the attribution of a particular saying when we compare the parallel versions of a pericope or the relevant manuscripts (ibid., 84).

It is not surprising, therefore, that the traditions of Yohanan ben Zakkai have been preserved and transmitted according to the frameworks and agenda of the editors of several collections and not as part of a narrative centering on Yohanan's life or career (Neusner 1970: 1). Nor are the inconsistencies which we find among the various parallel accounts of a single event unexpected (Neusner 1970: 5). Furthermore, the lacunae we encounter in our information is not unanticipated (ibid., 5–6).

Neusner's study of the Yohanan-traditions has demonstrated that the different rabbinic collections and the various strata of these texts preserve dissimilar information and paint disparate pictures of Yohanan. Neusner has shown that while the earliest strata of the Tannaitic midrashim contain minimal references to Yohanan's view of the Revolt, his work at Jamnia, his mysticism, and his principles of biblical exegesis, it does not mention his escape from Jerusalem, a story central to the rabbinic view of his importance

(1970: 16–35, esp. 35). The Yohanan-material in the Mishnah, which describe him as a lawyer-judge who exhibits little or no interest in historical or political events, has virtually no relationship to the Yohanan-corpus in the Tannaitic midrashim (Neusner 1970: 62–63) or the Tosefta (ibid., 81). Many passages designated as Tannaitic in the Babylonian Gemara add new information to the picture of Yohanan's activities and teachings found in the earlier texts. In some cases we find different versions of rulings first encountered in the Mishnah, in others we see significant expansions of earlier pericopae, and in still others we discover totally new information (Neusner 1970: 110). The Amoraic stratum of the Palestinian Talmud indicates that only a few of Yohanan's legal sayings were subjected to serious study in the later Palestinian academies (Neusner 1970: 155). Much of the material concerning Yohanan's life first occurs in the Amoraic stratum of the Babylonian Talmud (Neusner 1970: 156), so that a substantial amount of information about Yohanan's career appears for the first time in the stratum of both talmuds created furthest from his lifetime. Because material which occurs in later texts appears to be late (Neusner 1970: 265) and most of the biographical information we have comes from the later strata, it is unlikely that we can construct an accurate biographical sketch of Yohanan ben Zakkai. Furthermore, because the earliest strata of Yohanan's sayings are brief, while much material occurs for the first time or at least is fully developed for the first time in the later strata (Neusner 1970: 273), it is also doubtful that we can paint an historically accurate portrait of Yohanan's intellectual activity.

Even if we ignore the problems outlined above, the traditions about Yohanan ben Zakkai do not yield much information about him. The exact dates of his birth and death are unknown to us, and we do not learn anything about his parents (Neusner 1970a: 12) or his early schooling (ibid., 31). Although Mishnah *ʾAbot* tells us that Yohanan took over from Hillel and Shammai (Neusner 1970a: 33), it is only much later traditions which draw a strong connection between Yohanan ben Zakkai and Hillel (Neusner 1970: 110). It is also striking that Yohanan does not quote Hillel or that neither Hillel's nor Yohanan's disciples juxtaposed the supposed master with his famous disciple (Neusner 1970: 290). Neusner suggests that connecting Yohanan with Hillel reflects "the desire to claim continuity of Pharisaic leadership from Hillel before the destruction [of the Temple] to Yohanan b. Zakkai after it …" (1970: 41–43, quoted from 43). In a comparatively late source we are told that Yohanan was a tradesman (Neusner 1970a: 16), a fact minimally supported by other late material which informs us that he had some knowledge about how the systems of weights and measures were employed in the marketplace (ibid., 17–18).

From passages in the Babylonian Talmud we learn that Yohanan moved with his wife and son to Arav in Galilee; however, we are not informed about why he left Jerusalem for the north (Neusner 1970a: 47). Yohanan was not well known during this period, for it appears that he attracted only one student, Hanina ben Dosa (Neusner 1970a: 50–53). Yohanan returned to Jerusalem after spending perhaps twenty years in Galilee (Neusner 1970a: 47). It is possible that Yohanan's disagreements with the Sadducees (Neusner 1970a: 75–86) and the priests (ibid., 61–75; 86–89; Allon 1977: 318–23) should be set during this period.

Perhaps the most famous event of Yohanan's life is his escape from the besieged Jerusalem, his meeting with Vespasian, and his eventual settling in Jamnia. The story of the escape occurs in relatively late collections: *ʾAvot de Rabbi Nathan A, ʾAvot de Rabbi Nathan B, Lamentations Rabbah,* and Babylonian Talmud *Giṭṭin* (Neusner 1970: 228–34; Saldarini 1975; Schaefer 1979: 44–56). Neusner argues that "[n]one can possibly date from Tannaitic times …" (1970: 228). He believes the versions in *ʾAvot de Rabbi Nathan* are the earliest, while that in the Babylonian Talmud is "clearly a composite" (1970: 228), with the version in *Lamentations Rabbah,* perhaps a post-Islamic text, having been "corrected in important details to conform to the criticism of b. Git …" (ibid., 232). Neusner suggests that "some sort of independent materials circulated widely, and were used by the authors of the several stories independently of one another" (1970: 233). Saldarini argues that "all four versions of the escape story depend upon a *Vorlage,* a basic, original story which then developed through two traditions into the four versions" (1975: 190). He thinks that the original story of Yohanan's escape "runs from his being carried out of Jerusalem in a coffin to his meeting with Vespasian where he predicts that Vespasian will be emperor and Vespasian grants him a school in Jamnia" (1975: 199), so that the original story focused on the founding of the school in Jamnia. The emphasis on the siege and destruction of Jerusalem probably occurred after the Bar

Kokhba War, at which time "many supplementary details and motifs were added" (1975: 199). Although we cannot know what actually happened or whether Yohanan and Vespasian ever actually met, Saldarini states that "a reasonable hypothesis is that Vespasian had ordered escaping Jews to be quartered in Jamnia and that once there Johanan did the natural thing and began teaching. Only gradually did his school become authoritative and central for Judaism. The story of the meeting with Vespasian explains that gradual development by one, critical meeting" (1975: 204).

Schaefer offers the most detailed analysis of the several versions of the escape (1979: 57–58) and concludes that the speculations and theories about which versions are earlier or later are irrelevant (1979: 62). The historical value of the details in each rabbinic source must be established independently and by taking the *tendenz* of each document into account (1979: 98). Further, Schaefer believes that because late sources can contain valid historical information about earlier events, the date of a text's final redaction is not always relevant (1979: 57–62). He argues that on some points the rabbinic materials are dependent on Josephus and other materials from his time (ibid., 92–93). Schaefer concludes that the Romans probably had information about the affairs within Jerusalem and that they controlled the negotiations with Yohanan (1979: 70–72). Although it is impossible precisely to date Yohanan's escape from Jerusalem or discover the reasons behind it, Schaefer suggests that the most important factor was Yohanan's opposition to the war. Schaefer doubts that the burning of the supplies in Jerusalem was the motivating factor behind Yohanan's escape (1979: 62–70; 72–75; 80–82). Schaefer believes that Yohanan was first taken into custody by the Romans in Gophna and then later moved by the Romans to Jamnia (1979: 82–83). He, like Neusner (1970a: 243–45), rejects Allon's (1977a) theory that Jamnia was a Roman prisoner-of-war camp (Schaefer 1979: 88–90). He further rejects the historicity of Yohanan's prophecy about Vespasian's becoming emperor, but Schaefer does suggest that it may go back to an authentic interpretation of Isa 10:34 by Yohanan (1979: 83–88). For this reason Schaefer believes that Yohanan's request to found a school in Jamnia is not a historical fact, but the "foundation myth of rabbinic Judaism" (1979: 98).

By looking at the descriptions of Yohanan and his activity, we can discover what the rabbinic tradition thought was important about itself and its origins. The sayings attributed to Yohanan are not placed in the context of the development of pre-70 rabbinic thought, for he does not quote those who went before him, such as Hillel or Gamaliel I; rather, his laws go back to the biblical prophets or to Moses. Similarly, his exegetical comments always appear as the first example of a rabbinic comment on the particular verse. Thus the tradition pictures Yohanan as standing at the beginning of a new epoch (Neusner 1970: 3). This new epoch saw the foundation of the rabbinic movement, and Yohanan's ritual innovations and his disagreements with the priesthood place the rabbinic usurpation of priestly prerogatives at the very inception of the rabbinic movement. For the rabbis, as symbolized by Yohanan, it was Torah, not military power, which carried the day. Following Jeremiah's advice, Yohanan left the war-torn Jerusalem and retired to Jamnia to study God's word and to teach that word to his disciples. Yohanan was a sage, a lawyer, a mystic, and a biblical exegete. Thus, each of the rabbinic modes of interpreting and expressing Judaism could trace its origin to Yohanan. This meant that nothing was new; it all had been present at the very beginnings of the rabbinic movement. Through the powers he gained from his knowledge of Torah, Yohanan was able to win the respect and admiration of the ruler of the most powerful political and military force of his time. Thus the rabbinic way of life and the activities pursued by the rabbis gave them the ability to conquer all opposition, and this was true from the very inception of the movement. This is probably why Yohanan was described as he was, for by picturing him in this way, the whole of rabbinic Judaism was placed at the origin of the movement and all facets of its being were present from its birth.

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**YOKE** [Heb *môṭ/môṭâ* (מוֹט/מוֹטָה), *ʿôl/ʿōl* (עוֹל/עֹל), *ṣemed* (צֶמֶד); Gk *zygos* (ζυγος) and related terms]. Most language, vocabulary, and concept studies make it very evident that terms which have come to be considered technical were once in common usage. This is certainly true of the "concept of the yoke" as it developed within the context of ANE, Hebrew, Apocryphal, rabbinic, and Christian literature. In the earliest periods the yoke was the simple instrument which bound animals—singularly, in pairs, or in groups—to a mechanism of production. Such a concept was very visual, concrete, and specific.

The use of a yoke mechanism employed to bind and control animals was transferred very early in ANE usage to instruments used to control and discipline human prisoners. After the fashion of the "yoke" commonly used to carry water, the center of a yoke bar was secured to the prisoner's neck and his hands were fastened at the two extreme ends (see Jeremiah 27–28).

From such early concrete concepts of the yoke, however, figurative ideas began to develop. The term came to apply to the number "2" in the fashion of a pair or yoke of oxen, and to the area of land a yoke of oxen could plow in a day. This figurative interpretation was not limited to the world of animals; it also came to be applied to human beings.

In all of the earliest applications of the yoke concept, the yoke was seen as a symbol of control, ownership, or service. Consequently, the yoke became a symbol quite early of the owner-owned, master-slave, lord-subject relationship. Indeed, even as animals were frequently marked with the symbol of the owner either through branding or through the fastening of a cord or chain to which was affixed an ownership tag, so owners, masters, or lords came to mark their human property either with actual brands (i.e., Cain) or with fastened tags (i.e., at the ear hole). These practices are frequently characterized as or designated by the term "yoke." There is a significant relationship between the continuing development of ornamental pieces such as necklaces, anklets, bracelets, earrings, and the like, and the use of these "slave tags" fastened to cords or chains. Indeed, there would also seem to be a close relationship between the "putting on of the Yoke of the Kingship of God" in Tannaitic Judaism and following, the use of "tefillin" as symbols of one's being marked as the "subject of God," and the wider concept of the yoke.

Out of these very literal attitudes toward the yoke, more and more metaphorical applications were made. Forced economic or political labor (corvée) was regularly designated as "bearing the yoke." To "wear the yoke" indicated one's economic subservience to another. To "wear the yoke" symbolized one's subjugation to one's political or economic ruler, with or without actual yokes or subjugation tags. To submit to the yoke either by allowing a foot literally to be placed on one's neck, by allowing a literal yoke to be placed on one's neck and hands, by wearing a slave tag, or by bringing tribute to one's sovereign or owner (tribute is frequently designated by the term "yoke") was thus to acknowledge the ownership and sovereignty of another. To lay the yoke on someone either by placing one's foot on his neck or by the other real or symbolic means declared the sovereignty of the king or owner.

It is no surprise to find that these symbols at the literal, economic, and political levels would eventually be used to describe and define the relationship between man and his celestial owners or sovereigns, the gods. Even as earthly conquerors and owners declared their sovereignty and ownership of their subjects through "the laying on of the yoke," and the conquered and slaves acknowledged that sovereignty and ownership through "the receiving of the yoke" (frequently accomplished through the bringing of tribute by means of the use of a yoke, in which case the "bearing of the yoke" was transferred in meaning to "the bringing of the tribute"), so attitudes and practices of religion and worship appropriated the familiar patterns related to economic and political life and applied it to relationships between gods and humans.

The yoke concept within the Hebrew literary traditions is strongly related to the idea of the Sovereignty Covenant. God laid his yoke on his people. His people either bore the yoke (an obedient, proper relationship) or broke off the yoke (a relationship of rebellion). God's people might choose to attempt to wear the yokes of other gods, which was the same as throwing off the yoke of Israel's god. Obviously, one could not wear two yokes at the same time.

The wearing of the yoke as viewed in Hebrew scripture was the outward sign of an inward relationship. Thus one might bring the offerings and do all of the things of religion and still not be bearing the yoke in terms of attitudes and relationships. Hebrew scriptures can thus view the bearing of the yoke of God's sovereignty as joy, honor, and privilege rather than tragedy, hardship, and sorrow.

The yoke concept in apocryphal Jewish literature continued to reflect the general secular and religious ideas noted above. The yoke figure underwent a great change during this period, however, as it was coupled with such ideas as Torah, wisdom, and God's instructions. The yoke was evidence of one's acknowledgment of the sovereignty of God, who gave these expressions of his nature and will to the people, and it was the people's expression of their relationship to God. It would seem that this association provided a link between the more general use of the yoke concept in prior material, and the liturgical use in later Tannaitic and perhaps even Christian literature.

When one comes to the Tannaitic material (the rabbinic materials from approximately 200 B.C.E. to 200 C.E.), one finds in place a new and dynamic liturgical and personal employment of the term "yoke." When the Shema was recited twice daily and when tefillin were used, the Jew took upon himself the yoke of God's kingship. He hereby declared God's sovereignty in his choice, direction, discipline, and blessing of Israel. He also declared the oneness of God in contrast to the many gods of the idolaters and polytheists, and, perchance, with the developing proclamation of the divinity of the Christ of the Christians.

Nor is the yoke image absent in the NT. Indeed, the Christian concept of the yoke may well be a reflection both of the background of Christianity in Judaism and the conflicts which developed between these two brother faiths. The synoptic materials speak of taking up the yoke in connection with learning of the Messiah. Such an act is associated with meekness and lowliness. Such a relationship is also associated with restfulness and peace. Certainly, as with the Tannaim, the yoke was seen as an indication of privilege and honor, and not reproach and hardship.

It is also likely that the statements concerning taking up one's cross are to be associated with the Jewish practice of reciting the Shema each day as the sign and symbol of God's sovereignty. Indeed, the use of the term "daily" in association with this Christian concept would make this suggestion even more likely. When one realizes that the term for the cross beam which Jesus is pictured as having carried to the place of execution is the same term frequently used for the cross beam known as the yoke, and when one realizes that at least some of the early Christian interpreters of Jesus' words saw a specific relationship between cross and yoke, the likelihood of there having been a daily assumption of the "Yoke of the Kingship of God" (the term used by the Jews with respect to the Shema/assumption of the Yoke of the Kingship of God) by Christians via some type of recitation becomes more likely. It would seem reasonable to associate such a ritual as including the recitation of the model prayer or some other liturgical formula. Perhaps, also, as the assumption of the yoke was symbolized in tefillin in Judaism, some religious object(s) or symbol(s) were used as a part of this personal worship among the Christians. For further discussion see *TDNT* 1:572; 2: 96–101; *ISBE* 5: 3126–27.

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**YOKEFELLOW** (PERSON) [Gk *syzygos* (συζυγος)]. A member of the Philippian church urged by Paul to help Euodia and Syntyche to settle their differences (Phil 4:3). Paul addresses him or her as Gk *gnēsie syzyge.* There has been some speculation that this could be read as a proper name, Syzygus, with Gk *gnēsie* being interpreted as "truly called." In this case Phil 4:3 would offer a parallel to the play on the name of Onesimus in Philemon 11. Thus the propriety of Syzygus' name would be indicated: as one

"truly called" Syzygus (lit. "yoked together") he was to bind these two women together again in accord. But no corroborating evidence exists to confirm Syzygus as a proper name.

If the epithet, however, is rendered as "true yokefellow," based on the literal meaning of *syzygos,* "yoked together," then the question arises as to who this was. Theories have suggested a broad range of candidates, among them: (a) Epaphroditus, as the bearer of the letter, who "seems most probable … for in his case alone there would be no risk of making the reference unintelligible by the suppression of the name" (Lightfoot 1888: 158); (b) Timothy, despite the fact that he is coauthor of the epistle (1:1), since Paul earlier in Phil 2:20 had indicated he was "genuinely (Gk *gnēsios*) anxious" for the welfare of the Philippians; (c) Paul's wife, perhaps Lydia, on the supposition they may have married, i.e., become partners or yokefellows. The host of nominees for yokefellow also includes the husband or brother of EUODIA or SYNTYCHE, Paul's companions Silas or Luke, the chief bishop at Philippi, the whole Church addressed as one person, and even the Lord himself. It does seem rather certain that the person addressed as yokefellow must be male, since one would have expected Paul to address a female as Gk *gnēsia,* but beyond that, as the multitude of suggested names testifies, scholarship has hardly reached a consensus.

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**YOM KIPPUR** [Heb *yôm kīppûr* (יוֹם כִּפּוּר)]. See DAY OF ATONEMENT.

**YOQNEAM, TELL.** See JOKNEAM (PLACE).

**YUTTAH** (PLACE). See JUTTAH (PLACE).

# Z

**ZAANAN** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣa›ănān* (צַאֲנָן)]. A village in the Shephelah of Judah (Mic 1:11). While the town is otherwise unknown, it is likely to be identified with Zenan (Josh 15:37), listed in the context of the other Shephelah towns Adullum, Lachish, Achzib, and Mareshah (vv 33–44), which are all mentioned in Micah's dirge (1:10–16). The difference in spelling is an *›alep;* the *nomen proprium loci* could have had variant spellings, the Joshua occurrence could have been written defectively, or Micah could have added the *›alep* to make clear his wordplay on *yāṣĕ›â* "get out." The grammatical situation is not exactly the same but it may be noteworthy that Mareshah is spelled with an *›alep* in the Joshua list and without it in Micah's (Josh 15:44 where variant mss record the defective spelling of Mareshah like Mic 1:15). In Mic 1:11, the Greek versions spell "Zaanan" alternatively *Sennaar, Sennan, Sainnan, Sanaoμn,* and *Saniōn.* Symmachus translates the word *euthēnousa* "thriving, flourishing," evidently reading *ša›ănān* "at ease, secure" as attested by 1 MS Kenn. and 4 de Rossi. Peshitta records Zoan. On the basis of Arabic *el-‹Araq,* some have identified with modern ‹Arâq el-Kharba W of Lachish, but this location has gained no consensus (Abel *GP* 2: 455).

Micah's lament is well known for its paronomasia whereby a town's *nomen* is its omen, and for its personification of the Shephelah towns with their inhabitants [Heb *yôšebet*] as women (verbs and suffixes are feminine). See MAROTH. As mentioned, Zaanan is a pun on the Hebrew word for "get out," and the wordplay is continued with the following Beth-ezel. Therefore, v 11b should be translated, " 'Lady Exiton' [Zaanan] will not get out; mourning in 'Witholdon' [Beth-ezel] will keep her support from you!" The point is that the neighboring village of Beth-ezel will be so busy mourning her own destruction that she will be unable to come to the rescue of her sister village Zaanan. See Elliger 1934; Kellerman 1978.

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**ZAANANNIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣa‹ănannîm* (צַעֲנַנִּים)]. One of the place-names on the S border of Naphtali (Josh 19:33), and the site of the camping place of Heber the Kenite (Judg 4:11). The complete name of Zaanannim is "oak of Zaanannim" (Heb *›ēlôn bĕṣa‹ănannîm*), and so probably refers to a familiar local geographical feature rather than a town name. Parallels to this type of name are the Diviner's Oak in Judg 9:37 and the well-known oak of Moreh in Gen 12:6 and Deut 11:30.

The site of Zaanannim has not been satisfactorily identified. Nor is it yet clear whether we are dealing with two sites or one; it seems more probable that this is one location. Abel (*GP* 2: 64, 312, 439) accepts them as one site and identifies Zaanannim as Khan et-Tujjar, a caravan station between Beth-shean and Damascus, four miles SE of Adam. This caravan station was part of the Via Maris, and located near Tell Abu Qedeis, which is to be identified with the Kedesh in Judg 4:11.

Aharoni (*LBHG*, 201) places Zaanannim on the border of Naphtali's inheritance in the vicinity of the Jabneel valley, away from the battle zone in Judges 4, toward Hazor, whither Sisera fled. Kallai (*HGB*, 228–34) notes that the site is closely associated with Mount Tabor, and also places it near Tell Abu Qedeis, in proximity to Taanach and Megiddo. He also states that the Kedesh in Judg 4:11 is in no way related to the Kedesh-Naphtali in Judg 4:6, the home of Barak, the son of Abinoam.

Finally, Noth (*Josua* HAT) claimed that Josh 19:33 was a distorted description of Naphtali's N border, but this view is not accepted by the majority of scholars.

It seems best, therefore, to identify Zaanannim as a well-known sacred tree near the S border of Naphtali, on the edge of the territory of Kedesh, in the vicinity of Mt. Tabor. A more exact location cannot be given.

SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**ZAAVAN** (PERSON) [Heb *zaʿăwān* (זַעֲוָן)]. A clan name in the genealogy of Seir the Horite in Gen 36:27. Zaavan also appears in the parallel genealogical clan list in 1 Chr 1:42 (KJV reads Zavan). In both lists he is described as second of three sons of the clan chief Ezer, and is thus a grandson of Seir. These clans, not to be confused with the Hurrians, inhabited the area of Edom prior to the coming of the Esau clans and are said to have been subsequently dispossessed by these more aggressive peoples (Deut 2:12–22). Their designation as "cave dwellers" may be a reflection of their use of these natural shelters for themselves and their flocks or it may be a disparaging remark by their conquerors to demonstrate how "uncivilized" they were. The conquest of the Horite tribal territories in Edom is paired in the text with the conquest of Canaan by the tribes of Israel.

VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

**ZABAD** (PERSON) [Heb *zābād* (זָבָד)]. The name "Zabad" can be understood to mean " (Yahweh or God) has made a gift." In the OT, the verb is used only in Gen 30:20 (Zakovitch 1980: 31–50).

**1.** A descendant of Judah, who shared Israelite and Egyptian ancestry (1 Chr 2:36–37). He was the son of Nathan, grandson of Attai, and great-grandson of Jarha. The Chronicler reports that Jarha was an Egyptian slave, owned by Sheshan, to whom Sheshan gave his daughter as a wife (1 Chr 2:34–35). Zabad was the father of Ephlal.

**2.** A descendant of Ephraim (1 Chr 7:21). Tensions can be seen in 1 Chr 7:20–29 apparently arising from the literary history of Chronicles. 1 Chr 7:20 begins a linear genealogy characterized by the form "[name 1] and [name 2] his son, and [name 3] his son," etc. Chronicles would thus depict Zabad as the son of Tahath and the father of Shuthelah, Ezer, and Elead. Ezer and Elead were killed when they went down to raid cattle belonging to the natives of Gath (1 Chr 7:20–21). 1 Chr 7:22 reports that "Ephraim their father mourned many days." If "father" is understood to mean "ancestor" some tension may be avoided, but other difficulties remain. Ephraim would be understood as mourning the seventh generation of his descendants. This incident is used to explain the name of another son of Ephraim (v 23), Beriah (Heb *bĕrîʿâ*), so named because "evil had come upon his house" (Heb *bĕrēʿâ hāyĕtâ bĕbêtô*). After a notice about Ephraim's daughter (v 24) the genealogy of the line of Ephraim through Beriah (characterized by the form discussed above, though Resheph is an exception) continues in vv 25–27, culminating with Joshua. Understandings of the literary history of this passage vary, as can be seen in the commentaries.

**3.** The son of Ahlai, listed as one of King David's outstanding warriors in 1 Chr 11:41b. The warriors of greatest renown were known as "the three": Josheb-basshebeth, a Tahchemonite; Eleazar, the son of Dodo; and Shammah, the son of Agee the Hararite (2 Sam 23:8–12). (1 Chr 11:10–14 mention the exploits of Jashobeam a Hachmonite and Eleazar the son of Dodo.) Other warriors of renown were called the thirty (2 Sam 23:24; 1 Chr 11:15). Neither the list in 2 Sam 23:24–39 nor the list in 1 Chr 11:26–47 contains exactly thirty names, although 1 Chr 11:26–41a parallels the list in 2 Sam 23:24–39 with some variations. The names found in 1 Chr 11:41b–47, on the basis of differences in both form and content, are sometimes considered to have come from another source (Braun *1 Chronicles* WBC, 159–60; Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 88–91; Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 103–104). See also DAVID'S CHAMPIONS .

**4.** Identified by the Chronicler as a servant of King Joash; he was the son of Shimeath the Ammonitess, who with Jehozabad, son of Shimrith the Moabitess, conspired against Joash because the king had ordered the stoning of Zechariah the prophet (1 Chr 24:25–26). Zechariah was the son of the priest Jehoiada, who had shown great kindness and loyalty to Joash. After the death of Jehoiada, when Joash turned from God to idols, Zechariah had announced God's judgment, "You have forsaken Yahweh and Yahweh has forsaken you" (2 Chr 24:20). Zabad and Jehozabad killed Joash as he lay in his bed wounded from his encounter with the Syrian army (2 Chr 24:23–26). The Chronicler does not report any consequences suffered by these servants for the assassination of the king, but does report that though Joash was buried

in the city of David, he was not buried in the royal tombs. The Chronicler's report of the death of Joash differs from that of 2 Kgs 12:20–22—Eng 12:19–21. The RSV adopts the reading found in the LXX and in many Hebrew mss and identifies the servant first named in 2 Kgs 12:22—Eng 12:21 as Jozacar (Heb *yôzākār*) the son of Shimeath; the MT of *BHS* has Jozabad (Heb *yôzābād*). 2 Kgs 12:22—Eng 12:21 identifies the second assassination as Jehozabad the son of Shomer.

**5.** An Israelite, and a descendant of Zattu (Ezra 10:27, Gk *Zabad;* 1 Esdr 9:28, Gk *Sabathos*). Zabad is listed as one of those who divorced his foreign wife in accordance with the covenant described in Ezra 9–10 = 1 Esdr 8:65–9:36—Eng 8:68–9:36. The list of those who divorced their foreign wives and disowned the children born to them may seem "extraordinarily small considering the furor and the census figures in chapter ii" (Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 87). Myers discusses three possible explanations: (1) the problem was not as serious as it would seem on the surface; (2) the list preserved is only a partial list perhaps reflecting only the upper classes; or (3) the reform was not successful (ibid., 87–88; *1 and 2 Esdras* AB, 99). Stating that the first explanation can be easily dismissed, he favors the second explanation. Blenkinsopp, on the other hand, argues that the reform was not successful (*Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 197–201).

**6.** A descendant of Hashum who divorced his foreign wife (Ezra 10:33, Gk *Zabed;* 1 Esdr 9:33, Gk A *Sabannaious*, B *Bannaious*). See above, no. 5.

**7.** A descendant of Nebo who divorced his foreign wife (Ezra 10:43, Gk *Sedem;* 1 Esdr 9:35, Gk *Zabadaias*). See above, #5.

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**ZABADEANS.** Name of an Arab tribe invaded and looted by Jonathan the Hasmonaean in 143 B.C.E. (1 Macc 12:31). Josephus (*Ant* 13.179) made a geographical and ethnic error, stating that Jonathan raided "Arabia" and took "Nabatean" prisoners. However, the additional information (of taking prisoners and selling them in Damascus) is reasonable, although its source cannot be traced.

Jonathan's victory over the Zabadeans is apparently alluded to in *Meg. Taʿan.* "On the seventeenth of it (Adar) Gentiles arose against the surviving scribes in the country of Chalcis and Be-Zabdi (n) and there was a salvation" (Lichtenstein 1931/32: 36). This is probably a dim echo of Jonathan's resourcefulness in rescuing Jewish refugees who had taken shelter in the Lebanon Valley since the persecutions of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. The specific circumstantial background was probably the political rivalry of Jonathan and the Zabadeans during the wars of Seleucid succession. In fact, Jonathan had already carried out similar campaigns in the past together with Judas Maccabeus and Simon (1 Macc 5:9ff). Historically, the evidence of *Meg. Taʿan.* sounds reasonable, but the *Scholion* (i.e., the Commentary) annexed to it does not help to solve the mystery, due to its lateness and medieval atmosphere (Efron 1987: 208–209).

It is difficult to ascertain the precise geographical location of the Zabadeans. Although 1 Macc 12:31 gives two possibilities—the Emesa region and the Chalcis-Damascus area—the second seems to be more attractive as it is supported by *Meg. Taʿan.* If the Zabadeans were related to the Arab ruler Zabdiel (mentioned in 1 Macc 11:16–17), and if Zabdiel was father of Imalkue the Ituraean, we could further reinforce the second possibility (Kasher 1988: 37–41).

The name "Zabadeans" is derived from *Z-B-D* meaning "to give as a present" (Harding 1971: 294–95, Altheim-Stiehl 1964: 279, 296, 356). There was an ancient settlement in the Lebanon Valley called *Kaprozabdaiōn* (*CIG* 9893); to this day, a village called *Zabed* and a region called *Zebdani* may be found along the Beirut-Damascus road, and several other sites whose name include the elements *Z-B-D* are located N to Damascus and in the foothills of Mt. Hermon (Dussaud 1927: 203–4; Abel 1949: 226; Dar 1978: 62–63, 143). This name, known since biblical times (*EncMiqr* 11: 892–893; *EncMiqr* 11: 892), remained fairly common in Jewish circles during the Second Temple, Mishnaic, and Talmudic periods (e.g. Matt 4:20–22; Kosovsky 1985: 208–209).

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**ZABBAI** (PERSON) [Heb *zabbay* (זַבַּי)]. **1.** A descendant of Bebai and one of the returned exiles whom Ezra required to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:28 = 1 Esdr 9:28). Noth claims that Zabbai is a shortened form of a name derived from the Aramaic root *zbd,* "gift"—a name much more prevalent in the postexilic era (*IPN,* 39, 46–47). For further discussion, see ATHLAI.

**2.** The father of Baruch, one of those who repaired a section of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh 3:20). Clines raises the possibility that Zabbai is also the Zaccai listed in Ezra 2:29 (*Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 149); however, that is highly conjectural. Myers points out similarities between "Zabbai" and an Assyrian personal name and "Zabe," which appears in the Alalakh texts (*Ezra, Nehemiah* AB, 111).
JEFFREY A. FAGER

**ZABDI** (PERSON) [Heb *zabdî* (זַבְדִּי)]. **1.** Grandfather of Achan, son of Zerah, from the tribe of Judah (Josh 7:1). Achan sequestered some of the devoted booty; in response to this infidelity, the Lord punished Israel by having them defeated by Ai. Joshua complained bitterly to the Lord and was told to assemble Israel by tribes. The guilty party was revealed by a narrowing process: first the tribe of Judah, then the family of Zerah, and next Zabdi (Josh 7:16). Zabdi presented his family man by man, and his grandson Achan, son of Carmi, was finally identified as the perpetrator. Achan and his household were subsequently stoned by Israel under the direction of Joshua (Josh 7:25).

**2.** Third of nine sons of Shimei, a Benjaminite (1 Chr 8:19). Shimei (= Shema) was the head of a Benjaminite family from Aijalon which along with Beriah's family routed the occupants of Gath (1 Chr 8:13), an event which is not noted elsewhere. The time period covered by this genealogy is not mentioned. In addition, neither the connection of Shimei/Shema to earlier Benjaminite generations nor that of Zabdi to later ones is indicated.

**3.** A state official; a Shiphmite. One of twelve stewards of royal property appointed by David, his specific charge was oversight of the produce of the vineyards (1 Chr 27:27). Of the twelve, he is one of seven identified with a gentilic rather than by paternity, indicating perhaps that he was from outside the tribal structure. There is no other occurrence of the term "Shiphmite."

**4.** A Levite descended from Asaph (Neh 11:17 and 1 Chr 9:15 [read Zabdi for Zichri]). Both lists indicate four generations (beginning with Asaph, then Zabdi/Zichri, followed by Micah, and ending with Mattaniah) and both include this line with several other Levitical lines. The list in Nehemiah is part of the enumeration of the volunteers and draftees who repopulated Jerusalem when Nehemiah restored the walls. In Chronicles the same basic list provides the names of those who first returned from exile and inhabited Jerusalem. For detailed comparisons of the two lists, see Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 129–44) and Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 341–54).
RICHARD W. NYSSE

**ZABDIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *zabdî·el* (זַבְדִּיאֵל)]. The name of three different persons mentioned in the OT. Zabdiel is derived from "God" (Heb *·ēl*) and "gift" (Heb *zābād*), and means "my gift is God" (BDB, 256; cf. *TPNAH,* 132–33).

**1.** The name of a father of one of David's officers, Jashobeam, son of Zabdiel (1 Chr 27:2). The family was descended from Perez of the tribe of Judah.

**2.** The overseer of a group of priests in Jerusalem according to Neh 11:14. Zabdiel is described as the "son of the great ones" (Heb *haggĕdôlîm*). This term may be a title or it may represent a personal name. The confusion over the term "great ones" may be seen in the texts of the LXX which either translate the term "son of Haggedolim" or omit it altogether.

**3.** The Arab who decapitated the Seleucid king Alexander Balas and sent the head to the Egyptian Ptolemy VII (1 Macc 11:17). Alexander Balas had been defeated by Ptolemy in Cilicia on the S coast of Asia Minor and had then fled to the country E of Damascus (*KlPauly* 1: 483) into the hands of Zabdiel the Arab, who presented Ptolemy with the head of his foe. Josephus, knowing the account in 1 Maccabees 11, records that the Arab Zabeilus was responsible for the death of Alexander (*Ant* 13.4.8 §118). Diodorus Siculus (32), however, states that Alexander Balas fled to Arabia and sought refuge with Diocles, a local sheikh, and was killed there by two of his own officers, Heliades and Casius. The accounts in 1 Maccabees and Josephus can be made to agree with that of Diodorus if we posit that the Arabic name of the sheikh was Zabdiel. Diodorus would thus have recorded only the Greek name Diocles (meaning "glory of Zeus"), which was probably not the original name of an Arab sheikh. Evidence does exist for the use of the name "Zabdila" among Arabs in Palmyra (Cooke 1903: 272). Livy (*Ep.* 52) contradicts the accounts of 1 Maccabees, Josephus, and Diodorus by stating that Alexander died in battle with Demetrius, his contender for the Seleucid throne.

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**ZABUD** (PERSON) [Heb *zābûd* (זָבוּד)]. A priest and friend of the king at Solomon's court (1 Kgs 4:5). He was a son of Nathan, but it is not clear if this was Nathan the Prophet, Nathan the son of David (2 Sam 5:14), or another Nathan. The responsibilities of the office of king's friend are not specified, but he was probably a counselor to the king (Jones *Kings* NICOT, 137). A parallel may be found in David's court where Hushai was both king's friend and counselor (2 Sam 15:37; 16:16; 17:5 ff.).

PHILLIP E. MCMILLION

**ZABULON.** See ZEBULUN.

**ZACCAI** (PERSON) [Heb *zakkāy* (זַכָּי)]. Var. CHORBE. Head of a family of Babylonian exiles who are listed as returnees under the leadership of Zerubbabel and others (Ezra 2:9 [= Neh 7:14 = 1 Esdr 5:12]). In place of the name Zaccai, the list in 1 Esdras gives the form CHORBE. For discussion of the Ezra 2 list, see AKKUB.

CHANEY R. BERGDALL

**ZACCHAEUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Zakchaios* (Ζακχαιος)]. Apart from the passage in Luke 19:1–10, Zacchaeus is otherwise unknown. The name is the graecized form of the Hebrew, *Zakkai* or *Zaccai* (Neh 7:14; Ezra 2:9; *Zakchos* in the LXX). It appears as an officer of Judas Maccabees (2 Macc 10:19) and of the father of a famous rabbi from the end of the 1st century, Yoḥanan b. Zakkai. *Zakkay* means "clean, innocent" and is often used in parallelism with *ṣaddiq*, "righteous, upright." It is not to be associated with the name Zechariah. According to later ecclesiastical tradition, the Zacchaeus of Luke 19 became the bishop of Caesarea (Ps-Clem. *Hom.* 3.63–72; *Recogn.* 3.66,4), appointed by Peter against the will of Zacchaeus. Clement of Alexandria identified him with Matthias (*Strom.* 4,6,35).

The story of Zacchaeus cannot be viewed as a later and secondary development of the call of Levi (Mark 2:14–17; Luke 5:27–32), for this theory accounts for neither the name nor such details as the climbing of the tree and the localization of the scene in Jericho (*Luke* AB, 1219,1223; *Luke* NIGTC 695). Moreover, Jericho was a likely city for a toll collector (better translation than tax collector?) of some

standing. The city was an important customs station for the major trade route between Judea and the lands E of the Jordan. It also produced and exported costly balsams (*NIDNTT* 3: 758).

Perhaps the most important question about the Zacchaeus story is its literary form. Is it a legend, a conversion story (Kariamadam 1985: 56–58), a vindication story (White 1979: 93–96), or a biographical apophthegm in which the saying of Jesus is the point of the story and generally comes at the end (Bultmann 1963: 55–56)? The latter seems the most likely. Also, the various biblical criticisms yield different understandings of the passage.

Zacchaeus is portrayed in gentle, humorous fashion, and the "it is necessary" places the whole narrative within God's providence. The portrayal of Zacchaeus is complex. As a chief toll collector (*architelōnēs* occurs only here in the whole of Greek literature), viewed by his fellow townspeople as a sinner and described as "lost," Zacchaeus certainly qualifies as one of the "poor" or disadvantaged to whom the Lukan Jesus is particularly sent.

The dominant thought pattern in the Zacchaeus story is seeking, seeing, and salvation. Zacchaeus sought to see (cf. Luke 9:9; 23:8) who Jesus was and even climbed a sycamore tree to get a better view. But Jesus noticed Zacchaeus in the tree and invited himself to Zacchaeus' house. Exactly as instructed, Zacchaeus made haste and descended and received Jesus joyfully. Once they arrived at the house, Jesus explained that today salvation had come to this house because Zacchaeus, too, was a son of Abraham (cf. Luke 13:16); for the Son of Man came to seek and save the lost (19:9–10). He who sought to see Jesus is really sought, seen, and saved by him. The movement is from the actions of Zacchaeus to Jesus' actions on his behalf.

Zacchaeus also demonstrates a correct attitude toward wealth. The text does not explicitly say that he cheated anyone (but see Salom 1966: 87; Watson 1966: 282–85). At a minimum, Zacchaeus stood in need of salvation; otherwise, Jesus' comments in vv 9–10 would be nonsensical. Zacchaeus did distance himself from his wealth. He gave half of his goods to the poor, and although the normal recompense for money illegally acquired was that amount plus one fifth (Lev 5:16; 6:1–5; Num 5:5–7), Zacchaeus restored the amount plus a threefold penalty, as demanded of those who steal ox and sheep (Exod 22:1; Jos. *Ant.* 16 §3; *Luke* AB, 1225; *Luke* NIGTC 698). This latter might be a reference to the fourfold restitution that David calls for in 2 Sam 12:6 (Grindlay 1987: 46–47). Apparently, similar practices existed in Roman and Egyptian law.

Zacchaeus and his story have been compared to a number of other pericopes in Luke's gospel. For instance, John the Baptist preached that one should share one's possessions with the poor and that toll collectors should not exact more than what was permitted (3:10–14). The cure of the paralytic (5:17–26) and the story of Zacchaeus have the following in common: presentation of Jesus with a journey motif, attempt to see Jesus, prevention of this by the crowd, climbing, positive reaction of Jesus, criticism by some men of Jesus' action, and Jesus' reply with a Son of Man saying about salvation. Moreover, both Levi (5:27–35) and Zacchaeus are identified as toll collectors who responded joyfully to Jesus, took a correct stance toward their wealth, and gave a banquet for him in their houses. Again Jesus was on a journey. He took the initiative; he first saw each of the toll collectors. A crowd was present, and Jesus was criticized by adversaries. He defended himself with a saying about his salvific mission. The story of the sinful woman (Luke 7:36–50) likewise resembles that of Zacchaeus: Jesus becomes a guest, the host is named, there is a presentation of a sinful person, there is murmuring against Jesus, the sinner is converted, Jesus defends his actions, and finally, there is a statement of salvation (Kariamadam 1985: 32–33, 48–53). Furthermore, the prodigal son is described as "lost" (15:24,32; cf. vv 4,6,8–9) as is Zacchaeus (19:9).

Luke 18 is particularly significant for understanding 19:1–10 (Hobbie 1977: 285–87). Thanks to a correct attitude toward God, according to 18:9–14, the toll collector went home justified, but the Pharisee did not. Luke makes the rich magistrate similar to Zacchaeus by explicitly calling him rich (*plousios*) and by emphasizing his social role (18:18,23; cf. 19:1). Besides, each needed to be cured of a blindness associated with his wealth which made it impossible for him to enter the kingdom. But with God, salvation is possible. By way of contrast, the rich magistrate acknowledged only Jesus as "good master,"

clung to his property, and grew sad while Zacchaeus received Jesus with joy, called him "Lord," and separated himself from his wealth.

Between the narrative of the rich magistrate and that of Zacchaeus stands the third prediction of Jesus' death and resurrection and the healing of the blind beggar. Both the story of the blind beggar and that of Zacchaeus begin with a journey notice about Jesus. Like the beggar, Zacchaeus was at first unable to see Jesus, experienced the murmuring of the crowd, remained resolute in his quest and, transformed, acknowledged Jesus as Lord. Is the truly blind man really Zacchaeus who wants "to see Jesus, who he was" (Hamm 1986: 463–65; Kariamadam 1985: 37–38, 62–64)?

The story of Zacchaeus occurs near the end of the travel narrative and reflects its theology. Luke's emphasis is on Jesus' initiative to save the disadvantaged, despite the murmuring of others, and on the divine power present in him to fulfill the promises made to Abraham (Loewe 1974: 330–31). Luke 19:9–10 are probably redactional (Schneider 1975: 278–79) and summarize what is enacted in the story. Furthermore, Jesus incarnates in v 10 the messianic shepherd of Ezekiel (34:2,4,15–16,22; Dupont 1969; 252–53). This overall interpretation is confirmed by the many Lukan parallels to the story of Zacchaeus.

Many Lukan themes appear in the Zacchaeus story. There are God's providence and Jesus, the savior of the disadvantaged, who actually seeks us. Zacchaeus represents persistent effort to seek and to see Jesus, precise and joyful response, hospitality, recognition of Jesus as "Lord," and a correct attitude toward wealth (Kariamadam 1985: 58–72; O'Hanlon 1981: 16–22). Finally, Luke reflects on who really belongs to Israel and makes indirect reference to the journey to Jerusalem.

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**ZACCUR** (PERSON) [Heb *zakkûr* (זַכּוּר)]. The name Zaccur can be understood to mean " (Yahweh or God) has been mindful."

**1.** A Reubenite, the father of Shammua (Num 13:4). Shammua was one of the spies sent by Moses from the wilderness of Paran to spy out the land of Canaan (Numbers 13).

**2.** A man listed by the Chronicler as a descendant of Simeon; he was the son of Hammuel and the father of Shimei (1 Chr 4:26).

**3.** A Levite, a descendant of Merari, belonging to the family of Jaaziah (1 Chr 24:27).

**4.** A Levite of the family of Asaph (1 Chr 25:2, 10). Zaccur, according to 1 Chronicles, was the leader of a group or family of twelve persons set apart by David as the third of 24 divisions made up of Levites from the families of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun to prophesy with musical instruments in the temple. The Asaphites set apart for this duty were under the direction of Asaph, who was under the direction of David (1 Chr 25:1–31).

**5.** A descendant of Bigvai, listed with Uthai (RSV) as a leader of a group of 70 males who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezra 8:14). The consonants and vowels in the body of the MT are *zabbûd.* A note in the Masora parva to be found in the margin of *BHS* indicates that the name is not to be read as "Zabbud" (Heb *zabbûd*) but as "Zaccur" (Heb *zakkûr*). The consonants written in the body of the text and

the consonants written in the note in the Masora parva of *BHS* are designated by the terms Ketib and Qere respectively, derived from the Aramaic passive participles meaning "what is written" and "what is read." In printed editions and most mss, the consonants of the Ketib are pointed with the vowels to be read with the consonants of the Qere note. These notes, which are not used in synagogue scrolls, point to the Masoretic concern to preserve both the consonantal text and the tradition for reading the text—which in these cases were at variance with each other (Yeivin 1980: 52–64). Myers (*Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 64–67) and Blenkinsopp (*Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 159; but p. 234 has "Zakkur" with a reference to Ezra 8:14) read the Ketib "Zabbud," noting that the preposition with a singular objective suffix "with him" (Heb *ʿimmô*) would require the reading "Uthai, the son of Zabbud," and cite 1 Esdr 8:40 "Uthai the son of Istalcurus."

**6.** The son of Imri who presumably with his family and/or servants worked to rebuild the section of the Jerusalem wall next to that worked on by the people of Jericho (Neh 3:2).

**7.** A Levite (Neh 10:13—Eng 10:12) who signed the covenant described in Nehemiah 10—Eng 9:38–10:39. In the present arrangement of the material, this covenant is linked ("Because of all this," Neh 10:1—Eng 9:38) to the day of penance described in Nehemiah 9—Eng 9:1–37. The origins and chronology of the materials in Ezra and Nehemiah is, however, a matter of scholarly debate.

**8.** A descendant of Asaph and an ancestor of Micaiah and Zechariah (Neh 12:35). Perhaps to be identified with #4 above.

**9.** The son of Mattaniah and the father of Hanan (Neh 13:13). Hanan was appointed by Nehemiah to assist Shelemiah the priest, Zadok the scribe, and Pedaiah the Levite in the distribution of provisions to the priests and Levites.

**10.** A temple singer listed in 1 Esdr 9:24 (Gk *Bakchouros*) as one of those who divorced a foreign wife. The list of those who divorced their foreign wives and disowned the children born to them may seem "extraordinarily small considering the furor and the census figures in chapter ii" (Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 87). Myers discusses three possible explanations: (1) the problem was not as serious as it would seem on the surface; (2) the list preserved is only a partial list perhaps reflecting only the upper classes; or (3) the reform was not successful (ibid., 87–88; *1 and 2 Esdras* AB, 99). Stating that the first explanation can be easily dismissed, he favors the second. Blenkinsopp, on the other hand, argues that the reform was not successful (*Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 197–201).

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**ZADOK** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣādôq* (צָדוֹק)]. **1.** One of the two priests at the Jerusalem shrine during the reign of King David, and the single holder of that position after Abiathar was banished to Anathoth by King Solomon. Most historians have concluded that the descendants of Zadok held a monopoly on the Jerusalemite priesthood from the time of Solomon until the exile (586 B.C.). According to the program which the prophet Ezekiel proposed for postexilic Israel, the priesthood was to be restricted to Zadokites. This restriction did not, however, prevail following the exile, as priestly ordination was extended to the descendants of Aaron.

Zadok is first mentioned in 2 Sam 8:17, where he is listed as the son of Ahitub, but this genealogical information is suspect because of apparent textual disarrangement (see below). He appears in 2 Sam 15:24–29, along with Abiathar, as one of the two priestly custodians of the Ark of the Covenant of God. Eventually Zadok ascends to sole possession of the Jerusalem priesthood when his co-priest Abiathar has the bad fortune to support Adonijah in the contest for the kingship with Solomon and is subsequently banished from Jerusalem by King Solomon (1 Kings 1–2).

Zadok's genealogy constitutes a problem which has long puzzled OT scholars. If Zadok's father Ahitub was the brother of Ichabod (1 Sam 14:3), this would incorporate Zadok into the family of Eli. This would make Zadok brother to Ahimelech and uncle of Abiathar (1 Sam 22:20; cf. Rowley 1939: 113–16; *HAIJ*, 114–15, with genealogical chart). This genealogy, however, conflicts with the point of 1 Sam 2:27–36 and

1 Kgs 2:26–27, which seek to explain how it came about that Zadok's family superseded the family of Eli in the priestly service.

Another tradition, traced in detail in 1 Chr 5:29–34; 6:35–38—Eng 6:3–8, 50–53, also posits Ahitub as Zadok's father but derives both from a line which does not include Eli. In the Chronicler's version Zadok derived from a line descended from Aaron's son Eleazar, and 1 Chr 24:3 specifically contrasts his descent from Eleazar with the descent of his co-priest Abiathar from another son of Aaron, Ithamar.

Most scholars since Wellhausen have considered the pivotal verse 2 Sam 8:17 to be problematic. The reversal of the Ahimelech-Abiathar sequence (contrast 1 Sam 22:20) raises the suspicion of either accidental or intentional alteration of the original reading. Most would restore the text to read "Zadok and Abiathar son of Ahimelech, son of Ahitub" (so NEB: cf. *AncIsr*, 373; contrasts *CMHE*, 212–14), leaving Zadok without any genealogy.

Scholarly consensus has generally regarded these genealogies as patent fictions, intended to create an appropriate lineage for a priest who in fact was not derived from any of the traditional Hebrew priestly families. If this be the case, whence, then, did Zadok enter into such a prominent role in the Hebrew priesthood?

A number of theories have been proposed to account for Zadok's position in the period of the united monarchy. One suggestion is that prior to their joint service in Jerusalem, Abiathar was priest at Jerusalem and Zadok was serving at Gibeon, where we find him in 1 Chr 16:39. Zadok would have been the priest who gave David the fateful oracle of 2 Sam 21:1—which should be relocated in the early years of David's reign—and David showed his gratitude by subsequently bringing Zadok to the Jerusalem sanctuary (Auerbach 1931; 1969: 49–50). There is, however, no conclusive evidence to show that Zadok had ministered at Gibeon prior to the mention in 1 Chr 16:39.

Another theory proposes that the *ʾaḥyô* ("Ahio") in the MT of 2 Sam 6:3–4 should be emended to *ʾāḥiyw*, so that the verses read, "Uzzah and *his brother*, the sons of Abinadab, were driving the new cart with the Ark of God; and *his brother* went before the ark," and that the brother was Zadok (Budde 1934: 48–50). Eleazar, son of Abinadab, who has charge of the Ark according to 1 Sam 7:1, is the same person as Uzzah. Zadok's association with the Ark, of which we are explicitly apprised in 2 Sam 15:24–29, would therefore have begun much earlier. One difficulty with this theory is that the unnamed brother of Uzzah, though associated with the Ark in 2 Sam 6:3, is not mentioned later in 2 Samuel 6 when the Ark is brought into Jerusalem. Furthermore, to put Zadok in the same generation as Eleazar, living at the time of the Philistine capture and return of the Ark, makes it rather unlikely that he would be yet serving some sixty-plus years later in the time of Solomon (1 Kings 1) as a co-priest with Abiathar, whose great-uncle Ichabod (cf. 1 Sam 14:3; 22:20) was born at the time of the Ark's capture (1 Sam 4:19–21).

The theory which has commanded the widest support maintains that Zadok was a priest of the Jebusite cult prior to the conquest of Jerusalem (Jebus) by David (Bentzen 1933; Rowley 1939; Ringgren 1966: 210; Zimmerli *Ezekiel 2* Hermeneia, 457; cf. Cody 1969: 91–93). The installation of Zadok alongside David's own priest Abiathar was a measure designed to placate the Jebusite subjects of David, who constituted a significant portion of the citizenry of the new capital. That Zadok was the pre-Davidic king of Jerusalem (so Bentzen 1933) is not widely held, for it seems unlikely that David would elevate his defeated opponent to such a prominent role in the government.

Several forms of the Hebrew root *ṣdq* occur rather frequently in the OT in connection with Jerusalem (Melchizedek, Gen 14:18, Psalm 110; Adoni-zedek, Josh 10:1; Zedekiah, 2 Kgs 24:17–18; cf. Isa 1:26, Jer 31:23, Ps 118:19; cf. Rowley 1950: 465, Ahlström 1961: 122). Since the word seems to have frequent associations with Jerusalem, its occurrence in the name of a priest (Heb. *ṣādôq*) who appears just after David's takeover of that city suggests that the priest might have been native to the city.

It is suggested (Rowley 1939: 126–28) that Kind David, rather than allowing the Ark to remain throughout his reign in the tent which he prepared for it (2 Sam 6:17), housed it in Zadok's Jebusite shrine after Nathan dissuaded the king from building a temple (Ahlström 1961). The story of Melchizedek and Abraham in Genesis 14 and the enthronement Psalm 110 were created in an effort to legitimate the Jebusite priesthood and to express the mutual recognition between the Jerusalemite priest and the Davidic

ruling house (Rowley 1950). This series of events facilitated the identification of Yahweh with *ʾEl ʿelyôn,* the Canaanite god of Zadok and Melchizedek (Gen 14:18)—an identification attested in OT texts such as Pss 7:18—Eng v 17; 47:3—Eng v 2; 91:9 (Rowley 1967: 74–75).

Zadok's support for Solomon, son of the Jerusalemite Bathsheba, against his rival Adonijah makes especial sense on the supposition that Zadok was a Jerusalemite. The presence of the bronze serpent Nehushtan, which King Hezekiah removed from the Jerusalem Temple (2 Kgs 18:4), becomes, on this theory, a relic of the pre-Davidic Jebusite shrine (Rowley 1939: 132–41).

An additional argument advanced to explain why the appointment of a Jebusite Zadok would have commended itself to David builds on the mention in 1 Chr 12:29—Eng 12:28 of a warrior named Zadok coming among those who repaired to David at Hebron as the latter was building his group of supporters (Hauer 1963; Rosenberg 1965: 168). It is proposed that this was the same Jebusite priest Zadok and that his defection to David at Hebron ingratiated him to the young king sufficiently to warrant the installation of Zadok as priest in Jerusalem upon the capture of the city.

Several recent writers have been critical of the theory of Zadok's Jebusite origins (*CMHE*, 195–215; Olyan 1982). Cross maintains that the *ṣdq* appellative is attested in too many other Canaanite areas for it to be regarded as exclusively Jerusalemite. Moreover, there is no evidence to indicate that David took over an existing Canaanite shrine, and passages such as 2 Sam 6:17 and 7:6 militate against that possibility. The appointment of a pagan priest by a devout Yahwist such as David, who sought to establish his state's link with the traditions of the tribal league, is regarded as most unlikely.

Furthermore, if the Zadokites felt the need for a pedigree reaching back to an ancient noble, why, instead of claiming descent from the ancient figure of Aaron (as the postexilic traditions do), would they not appeal to their lineage from Melchizedek? If the Jebusite contingent was powerful enough to motivate a conciliatory gesture by David, why the need to conceal Zadok's Jebusite lineage?

Recently, several writers have looked for Zadok's origins within Judah. Cross argues (*CMHE*, 211–14) that *ṣādôq ben ʾaḥîtûb* in 2 Sam 8:17 is not necessarily an error which should cause us to discount Zadok's Aaronide ancestry, as traced through Ahitub (1 Chr 5:29–34). Zadok's father Ahitub need not be the same Ahitub who was the grandson of Eli and the grandfather of Abiathar (1 Sam 14:3; 22:20). Cross postulates that Zadok was in fact a scion of the Aaronide family, and that the rift between Abiathar and Zadok represents a conflict between two rival priestly families—a Mushite priesthood descended from Moses and an Aaronide family with roots in Hebron (see Josh 21:10, 13; 1 Chr 6:42—Eng 6:57). Installing the leader of each priestly house as a diplomatic move made by David to avoid alienating either—a tactic later employed by Jeroboam I, who set up an Aaronide temple in Bethel and a Mushite shrine in Dan (cf. 1 Kgs 12:26–30). Since Hebron was David's first capital, it is reasonable that he would install a Hebronite as his priest upon the move to Jerusalem. With the ascendancy of the Zadokites (Aaronides) under Solomon (1 Kgs 2:26–27), they gained a monopoly at the Jerusalem Temple and the priestly traditions which they preserved elevated Aaron more and more to a prominent role.

A somewhat similar hypothesis works from 1 Chr 12:29—Eng 12:28 (see above), but instead of interpreting this text as the report of a Jebusite defecting to David, it proposes that Zadok was the son and aide of the Aaronide Jehoiada, mentioned in the adjacent verse, 1 Chr 12:28—Eng 12:27 (Olyan 1982). This Jehoiada was a priest and was father also of Benaiah (2 Sam 23:20; 1 Chr 27:5), who was to become a warrior for David and eventually the king's commanding general. Zadok, Benaiah, and their father came from the town of Kabzeel (2 Sam 23:20), in the Negeb, where David built a base of support during his sojourn among the Philistines. Both sons of Jehoiada were to rise to prominent posts in David's government, and they worked in tandem to ensure Solomon's succession to David's throne (1 Kgs 1:32–40). The recurrence of the name "Jehoiada" in the line of the Jerusalem priests (2 Kings 11; 2 Chr 22:11) strengthens the supposition of a family connection between the Zadok and the Jehoiada of 1 Chr 12:28–29. However, one must wonder why, if this theory be followed, the actual Aaronide lineage of Zadok was suppressed and an alternative, but fictitious, Aaronide genealogy constructed for him.

Since all of these theories about Zadok's origins are forced to rely on indirect evidence and inferences from texts which often convey the impression of being tendentious, no solution at present claims the overwhelming confidence of OT historians.

It is not so certain as many of the above-mentioned scholars assume that the preexilic priesthood in Jerusalem was monopolized by a family descended from Zadok (whatever his origins might have been). The references in the Deuteronomistic and the Chronicler's Histories to men holding the office of "the priest" or "the high/chief priest" do not at all make it clear that we can assume hereditary succession for them (Bartlett 1968). None of the priests mentioned for the period between Zadok and the exile is explicitly and unambiguously called the son of the previous priest. Other priesthoods are mentioned in Jerusalem (cf. 2 Sam 8:18; 20:26; 1 Kgs 4:5), indicating that there was not in fact a Zadokite monopoly. Moreover, Bartlett's study of some of the terminology relating to the chief priest suggests that the position might have been one to which men were appointed by the king in consideration of their ability rather than hereditary.

The program for the postexilic community which was spelled out in the book of the prophet Ezekiel expressly relegated the "Levites" to inferior temple duties and reserved priestly service at the altar for "the sons of Zadok" (Ezek 44:9–31). Repeatedly in Ezekiel, a distinction is made between those priests "who have charge of the temple" and those priests "who have charge of the altar," with the latter group restricted to the sons of Zadok (Ezek 40:45–46; cf. 43:19; 48:11).

In actual postexilic practice, however, it was not just the "sons of Zadok" who served as priests, but a broader group, the "sons of Aaron." It has been suggested that after the Temple was destroyed and the majority of Zadokites were carried off into exile, makeshift religious services were continued in Jerusalem during the exile and supervised by non-Zadokite priests; upon the return of (mostly Zadokite) priestly personnel from the exile, there was conflict between rival houses, and some sort of compromise proved necessary (cf. *AncIsr*, 395–97; Cody 1969: 156–74; Hanson 1975). In the work of the Chronicler and the Priestly writers, all sons of Aaron have priestly privileges (1 Chr 24:1–6; Exodus 28–29; Num 3:1–4). But even though the postexilic literature extended the priesthood to all Aaronides, the line of Zadok's ancestor Eleazar is given a more prominent role in P (cf. Num 26:1–4; 31:13, 21, 25–31) and is granted the Lord's promise of perpetual priesthood (Num 25:10–13). See also LEVITES AND PRIESTS.

The Zadokites apparently managed to hold the high priesthood until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the origin of the community of the Dead Sea Scrolls likely was related to the loss of that office by the Zadokites (Cross 1961: 127–60; *CMHE*, 334–42).

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GEORGE W. RAMSEY

**2.** The son of Azor and father of Achim, according to Matthew's genealogy tying Joseph, the husband of Mary, to the house of David and Solomon (Matt 1:14). The name does not appear in any other

genealogy or list of Jesus' ancestors (except in Luke in D, where an adaptation from Matt 1:6–15 is substituted in Luke 3:23–31), although Albright and Mann (*Matthew* AB, 4–5) believe the name is characteristic of names used in the last two centuries B.C. Gundry (1982: 18; following Hervey 1853: 133) posits that Matthew's interest in Davidic Christology leads him to incorporate the name of Zadok, who was an "outstanding high priest during David's reign (1 Chr 6:8 [MT 5:34)" (see #1 above), following Azor, short for the Azariah mentioned in 1 Chr 6:9–5:35–36 (—Eng 6:9–10), and preceding Zadok's son, Ahimaaz (shortened to Achim). Gundry's theory is intriguing but difficult to prove, since Matthew's dependence on 1 Chronicles in 1:13–15 is difficult to establish.

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STANLEY E. PORTER

## ZADOKITE FRAGMENTS (DAMASCUS DOCUMENT).

First discovered in two medieval manuscripts from the Cairo *genizah* by Solomon Schechter in 1886, this sectarian text, abbreviated CD, was later found in several manuscripts at Qumran. It is now considered to be part of the sectarian literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls. See also DAMASCUS RULE (CD).

### A. Manuscripts

Schechter's two medieval manuscripts are held in the Cambridge University Library. Ms A (T.-S. 10 K 6), dating to the 10th century C.E., is preserved in 16 pages (cols. 1–16), while ms B (T.-S. 16 32), from the 12th century, consists of 2 long pages (numbered 19–20, skipping 17–18). Much of ms B is a somewhat expanded version of pp. 7–8 of ms A, indicating that the work survived even into the Middle Ages in varying recensions. In addition, Qumran Caves 4, 5, and 6 have yielded a number of copies (*5Q12* and *6Q15* in Baillet, Milik and de Vaux 1962: 128–31, 181). The bulk of the material, that from Cave 4, still awaits publication. Without question, these fragments confirm the intimate link between the *Zadokite Fragments* and the sectarian texts from Qumran, most notably the *Rule of the Community* (1QS, 1QSa and 1QSb). In general, the Qumran fragments which have been published agree with the recension in ms A.

J. T. Milik, entrusted with the publication of these texts, suggests that the Qumran manuscripts require a reordering of the text, and indicate that several pages have been omitted from ms A. J. A. Fitzmyer (in Schechter 1970: 18–19) has presented a revised outline of the text in accord with this evidence, while observing that the Cave 4 material indicates that the text circulated in various recensions reflecting the stages in the history of the Qumran community.

### B. Contents

The text as a whole, somewhat like the book of Deuteronomy, consists of two primary units, the Exhortation (Admonition), and the Laws. The Exhortation recounts the place of the sect in Jewish history, arguing that it is the only true continuator of biblical tradition. The sect was constituted by those who perceived the iniquity of their generation, but lacked direction and leadership. The rise soon afterward of the Teacher of Righteousness (or "Correct Teacher") soon filled this gap. Damascus (cf. Amos 5:27) serves as a code word for the sectarian settlement at Qumran (CD 7:19), hence the designation "Damascus Covenant." The Exhortation argues for predestination toward the paths of good and evil, and condemns the evils of the rest of the Jewish community, alluding to the various groups of Jews which existed in the Hasmonean period. The sins of the rest of Jewry are catalogued, and the sectarians are pictured as being the only ones who know the correct interpretation of the Torah, the "hidden" laws, and who properly observe them. Scholars are divided as to whether the text expected one "Messiah of Aaron and Israel" or two separate messianic figures. Parts of the Exhortation must have originated as arguments to join the sect, while other sections must have been designed to maintain the loyalty of members of the group in the face of political, religious, and eschatological disappointments.

The Exhortation quotes *Jubilees* and the *Testament of Levi* and alludes to older traditions of biblical exegesis and to various legends which were part of early Second Temple Judaism. Much of the text

consists of *pesher*-like interpretations of various biblical texts which the members of the sect and their leaders saw as crucial to their self-definition.

The second section is a compilation of laws arranged topically. These laws are composed of biblical phrases which indicate to modern scholars the exegesis which lay behind each legal ruling. Following Fitzmyer's outline, the following topics are covered: rules for entering the sect; laws pertaining to oaths, witnesses and judges; ritual purification; Sabbath laws; miscellaneous laws; relations with non-Jews; additional purity rules; communal organization; and the sectarian penal code. Confirmation of the order will have to await final publication of the Qumran manuscripts.

**C. Dating**

The text of the *Zadokite Fragments* has to have reached approximately its present form (discounting medieval expansions and scribal errors) by the date of the earliest manuscripts, ca. 75–50 B.C.E. (Milik 1959: 38). This puts to rest the earlier theories which before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls sought to identify this text as medieval Karaite or early Christian. Since the earliest date for Qumran settlement in the Hellenistic period is the reign of John Hyrcanus (135–104 B.C.E.), and since this text represents within it several stages of historical development, we would have to date its final composition to the latter years of John Hyrcanus or the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.). (Scholars who see the text as emerging from a pre-Qumranic milieu do date the composition of this text somewhat earlier [Davies 1983: 202–204].)

**D. Character of the Laws**

Both the Exhortation and the Laws present a consistent view of Jewish law, the source of its authority, and the method of its derivation. The laws are of two types. Those laws clearly mentioned in Scripture are termed *nigleh,* "revealed." These prescriptions are known to all the people of Israel who nonetheless violate them. Known only to the members of the sect are the *nistar,* the "hidden" laws, those which are not explicit in Scripture, and which the sect saw as derived through inspired biblical exegesis. All Israel is guilty of violating these prescriptions, which pertain to virtually every area of Jewish law (Schiffman 1975: 22–76). In this way the sect accomplished the expansion of Jewish law beyond its biblical origins, a matter also accomplished in different ways by the Pharisaic "traditions of the fathers," the redaction of the *Temple Scroll* in the form of a direct divine revelation, and the later rabbinic oral Law concept. For the sect, there had been a one-time revelation at Sinai and all further laws, for each and every epoch of history, would be derived from their form of legal exegesis (Schiffman 1983: 14–17).

**E. Relation to Other Qumran Documents**

Immediately after the publication of the *Rule of the Community* from Qumran, the close affinity of the new material from the caves with the *Zadokite Fragments* was clear. Indeed, the new scrolls confirmed the broad outlines of what Louis Ginzberg had described already in 1911 as "an unknown Jewish sect" (1970). Yet early studies tended to rely on circular methodology. It was assumed that the *Zadokite Fragments* and the *Rule* described the very same community, and that this was the Essene community also described by Philo and Josephus. Only with the advent of more scientific methodologies did scholars come to see these texts as describing a group of related and similar sects (or subsects) within the broad range of groups and approaches which constituted Second Temple Judaism.

With these advances the relationship of the *Zadokite Fragments* to the *Rule of the Community* is now much clearer. The *Rule* prescribes the rules and regulations for those living and studying at the sectarian center at Qumran, whereas the *Zadokite Fragments* legislate for those who join the sect but choose to remain in "camps," sectarian communities spread throughout the land of Israel. The *Zadokite Fragments* provide only for the initial stages of the novitiate, but full entry into the sect, possible only at the Qumran settlement, is described in the *Rule.*

The *Zadokite Fragments* have also been found to have affinities with a variety of other Qumran documents, especially as regards use of the characteristic terminology of the sect, as well as the sharp animus toward outsiders. The relationship of the *Zadokite Fragments* to the *Temple Scroll* (11QTemple) is a more difficult question. Y. Yadin, the editor of the *Temple Scroll,* saw this text as being in substantial agreement with the *Zadokite Fragments* whenever they dealt with similar issues. In fact, while this is

sometimes the case, there are other points at which the two texts diverge or where there is substantial incongruity between them. This is because the provenance of the *Temple Scroll* is to be found in related and perhaps earlier circles, but not in the Dead Sea Sect itself.

**F. Significance**

The *Zadokite Fragments* occupy a unique place in the history of modern scholarship. Their publication a half century earlier than the Qumran finds opened the eyes of scholars to the existence of what we now know as the Qumran or Dead Sea Sect. In this way it was possible for students of rabbinic Judaism and early Christianity to begin to take into account this sect in the early 20th century. As a repository of written Jewish legal materials organized by subject, the *Zadokite Fragments* quickly became a source for the study of the history of Jewish law and tradition. With the Dead Sea Scrolls, this text has illuminated the existence of various groups in the Second Temple period, and has provided a firm basis for understanding the sect's image of itself and of its fellow Jews, as well as its relation to the heritage of Scripture which preceded it and to the Judaism which followed it.

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LAWRENCE H. SCHIFFMAN


**ZAHAM** (PERSON) [Heb *zāham* (זָהַם)]. A son of King Rehoboam (2 Chr 11:19). Zaham was one of three sons born to Rehoboam and Mahalath. The latter was Rehoboam's cousin who descended from Jesse through the line of Eliab, one of David's brothers. The note on Zaham's birth occurs in an extended passage not found in 2 Kings (2 Chr 11:5–23). This passage seems to be a unit in itself. It begins with a description of cities that Rehoboam fortified and ends with a statement that the king distributed some of his sons among all the fortified cities. Presumably they functioned as part of Rehoboam's governmental bureaucracy. The narrative does not specify which of Rehoboam's sons filled these positions. Zaham's position is therefore left unspecified. His name appears to be connected to the Hebrew root *zhm,* "loathsome." What this designation refers to is impossible to determine.


JAMES M. KENNEDY


**ZAIR** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣā‹îr* (צָעִיר)]. A site at which a clash took place between King Joram of Judah and the Edomites (2 Kgs 8:21). In the parallel account in 2 Chr 21:9, we find instead of the place-name the phrase *‹im śārāyw* (i.e., "with his generals"). Already in the reign of Joram's father, Jehoshaphat, a Judean superintendent governed Edom (1 Kgs 22:47). In the reign of Joram, however, in the middle of the 9th century, Edom detached itself from Judah's sovereignty and again became an independent monarchy (2 Kgs 8:20–22). The text of 2 Kgs 8:21 assumes that Joram was at least partially successful ("and he defeated Edom"). However, we ought perhaps to assume that the text has been altered (*›t* instead of *›tw:* originally "and Edom defeated him") so as to camouflage Joram's defeat.

It is difficult to say just where this battle took place. Although the LXX reads *Siōr,* Zair has been held to be identical with the Zior (Heb *ṣî‹ōr*) of Josh 15:54 and ultimately with the village of Seir (Ar *se‹īr/sa‹īr*), situated 8 km NE of Hebron (Abel *GP,* 464). This identification is difficult because the shift from Heb *ṣ* to Ar *s* is unusual in place-names. Furthermore, it is difficult to imagine a battle with Edom in the vicinity of Hebron in the early monarchical period. Even less plausible is the assumption of a scribal error which would represent Edom as Heb *ṣē‹îr,* not *śē‹îr* (cf. Gen 32:4—Eng 32:3; Judg 5:4). In 2 Kgs 8:21, Edom and Zair/Seir are simply not interchangeable.

Because of the geographical situation of Edom SE of the Dead Sea, the location of Zair is to be sought at some distance from the heartland of Judah. It is inviting to associate Zair with Lot's hiding place Zoar (Gen 19:20–22), as this name is likewise based on the root *ṣ-ʿ-r* ("to be small") (Borée 1968: 28). According to Gen 19:31–38, Isa 15:5, and Jer 48:34, Zoar is located on the border of the Moabite hill-country (see also Deut 34:3). This would point to a location SE of the Dead Sea, where the site was also posited by Josephus (*JW* 4.482) and the Madaba map of the Byzantine period (Keel and Küchler 1982: 254). Joram of Judah is then likely to have encountered the Edomites somewhere in the vicinity of *ghor eṣ-ṣafije*.

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RÜDIGER LIWAK

**ZALAPH** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣālāp* (צָלָף)]. The father of Hanun who worked to reconstruct the Jerusalem wall (Neh 3:30). It is suggested that the name means "caper-plant," as is attested in Middle Hebrew.

NORA A. WILLIAMS

**ZALMON** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣalmôn* (צַלְמוֹן)]. One of David's champions, from the clan of Ahoah of Benjamin (2 Sam 23:28). See AHOHI. The parallel name in 1 Chr 11:29, Ilai the Ahohite, may be a corruption of the diminutive form of Zalmon—Zilai. See ILAI. The name Zalmon is a diminutive nominal form of the Heb root *ṣlm,* meaning dark or darkness. The term is related to the Akk *ṣalāmu* ("to be/become black, dark"), and in the dimunitive form probably means "the small, dark/black one." It may also refer to a dark cloud, or clouds, in which sense it could convey the idea of a mountain shrouded in dark clouds; a good vernacular translation might be simply "black mountain." On the basis of the Arabic word *ẓalmūn,* Noth (*IPN*, 223) argued that Zalmon meant "light" or "splendor." It is also possible that Zalmon the Ahohite, a Benjaminite, was named for Mt. Zalmon in neighboring Ephraim. See ZALMON (PLACE).

D. G. SCHLEY

**ZALMON** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣalmôn* (צַלְמוֹן)]. A mountain in Ephraim in the neighborhood of Shechem. In Judg 9:48, Abimelech and his men are said to have climbed Mt. Zalmon and cut brushwood to burn out the rebels who had barricaded themselves in the Tower of Shechem. It has been suggested that this Zalmon may refer to one of the shoulders of Mt. Ebal or Mt. Gerizim, the two mountains flanking Shechem. Another suggestion is that Mt. Zalmon here refers to Mt. Ebal. Psalm 68:15 (—Eng 68:14) also mentions a Mt. Zalmon, but the parallelism of this text suggests that the mountain is an eminence in Bashan, the territory NE of the Sea of Galilee. On the meaning of the name, see ZALMON (PERSON).

D. G. SCHLEY

**ZALMONAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣalmônâ* (צַלְמֹנָה)]. The word may mean something like "dark" or "shady," and is the name of the Israelite encampment between Mt. Hor and Punon at the time of the Exodus (Num 33:41–42). The location is unknown. Due to its name it may have some reference to a Mt. Zalmon, a mountain covered with brush as in Judg 9:48; Ps 68:14.

JEFFREY K. LOTT

**ZALMUNNA** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣalmunnāʿ* (צַלְמֻנָּע)]. One of the two "kings of Midian" captured and killed during Gideon's war against the Midianites. See ZEBAH AND ZALMUNNA.

**ZANOAH** (PLACE) [Heb *zānôaḥ* (זָנוֹחַ)]. **1.** A town situated in the N Shephelah, or lowlands, of Judah (Josh 15:34), within the same district as Socoh and Azekah. This settlement is listed among the

towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The theory that this list is derived from an administrative roster compiled under the Judean Monarchy (Alt 1925) has been widely accepted, although controversy continues over the precise make-up of the districts, the proper context of the town lists of Benjamin and Dan, and the period of the monarchy to which the original roster belongs (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 64–72). Neh 11:30 records that Zanoah was among the Judean villages reoccupied by those returning from exile in Babylon. Zanoah's inhabitants played a role in rebuilding the wall around Jerusalem, sharing with Hanun responsibility for the Valley Gate and the accompanying wall segment stretching to the Dung Gate (Neh 3:13). Given its location and the obvious similarity in name, ancient Zanoah has most often been identified with modern Khirbet Zanu (or Zanukh), a hilltop site approximately 3.5 km S, and slightly E, of Beth-shemesh (M.R. 150125). The discovery of Iron Age pottery on the surface of the site provides persuasive archaeological support for this identification (Albright 1925: 10–11).

**2.** A town situated in the S hill-country of Judah (Josh 15:56), within the same district as Maon. As with its northern namesake, it appears in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Jos 15:21–62). In 1 Chr 4:18, Jekuthiel, one of the "sons" of Caleb, is referred to as the "father" of Zanoah. The occurrence of several other southern hill-country town names in this context, such as Soco, Keilah, and Eshtaol, suggests that the relationship between a village and its founders is here signified by means of a kinship metaphor. Given the Calebite connection, it seems most likely that Zanoah of 1 Chronicles is to be identified with the hill-country village rather than with that in the N Shephelah. A common identification locates the hill-country Zanoah at Khirbet Zanuta, approximately 10 km SW of Hebron. As Rainey (*ISBE* 4: 1172–73) indicates, this identification is unacceptable for several reasons: the site is much too far to the W in relationship to the other towns of the district, the similarity in names seems to be superficial, and there is no evidence of pre-Roman occupation. A more plausible alternative (*IDB* 4: 934) is Khirbet Beit Amra (M.R. 155095), located approximately 2 km W of Yatta (ancient Juttah) near Wadi Abu Zennakh, which may distantly reflect the ancient name. However, surface remains give no evidence of occupation prior to the Byzantine period.

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WADE R. KOTTER

## ZAPHENATH-PANEAH (PERSON) [Heb *ṣāpĕnat paʿnēaḥ* (צָפְנַת פַּעְנֵחַ)]. The name in Gen 41:45 (KJV: Zaphnath-paaneah) which Joseph received from the Pharaoh when he was made vizier of Egypt as a reward for his services. Numerous attempts have been made to reconstruct the Egyptian original (Vergote 1959: 151–52; Redford 1970: 230), but most are either unacceptable phonetically or have no sound parallels in Egyptian. As first suggested by Steindorff (1889), the original Egyptian form is now considered by most scholars to be Djed-pa-netjer-iw-f-ankh (**Ḏd-p€ -nṯr-jw.f-ʿnḥ*), "The God speaks and he [the bearer of the name] lives" (cf. Schulman 1975: 240–41). This is a type of Egyptian birth name attested from about the 21st Dynasty on, although invariably a specific deity is indicated where the proposed name has the generic "god" (Redford 1970: 230).

Criticisms have been raised against this interpretation because the name is attested much later than the normally held dates for the Patriarchal age, and because there is no connection between the meaning of the name and the narrative. Both arguments can perhaps be dealt with by assuming that the writer of the Joseph story simply utilized an Egyptian name from his own time to add authenticity to the narrative. Indeed, the use of a characteristic Egyptian birth name at this point in the tale might symbolically underscore Joseph's rebirth as an Egyptian (Humphreys 1988: 163).

No convincing Egyptian original has been found for the LXX form of the name, *Psonthomphanech.* The translation "revealer of secrets" found in Josephus, *Ant* 2.6.1, and the Targums, although contextually apposite, must come from a Hebrew derivation, the first part of which was based on Heb *zâphan,* "to hide."

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GARY H. OLLER

**ZAPHON** (PLACE) [Heb *zāpôn* (זָפוֹן)]. A town located at the S end of an E Jordan valley near Succoth and Beth-Nimrah, taken from King Sihon of the Ammonites, and given by Moses to the tribe of Gad (Jos 13:27). Zaphon (Judg 12:1; Gk *Zephina;* Heb *zāpōnāh*) is also apparently the battleground for the feud between Jephthah and the Ephraimites, who failed to help the men of Gilead fight the Ammonites on the E side of the Jordan.

This movement across the Jordan leads Mitmann (1970) to speculate that Zaphon could be a S site in Gilead, but this seems unlikely. Two locations on the E Jordan side could be proposed (Mittmann 1970: 218–20) for Zaphon: little known Tell el-Mezār (M.R. 207182, 3.25 km NNW of Tell Deir ʿAlla [M.R. 208178]; i.e., Succoth) or Tell es-Saʿidiye (M.R. 204186, 5.75 km "further northwest from the end of Wadi Kufrinje"). Glueck (1943: 20–23) prefers Tell el-Qôs (M.R. 208182, 5 km N of Tell Deir ʿAlla) on the N side of Wadi Rāğib. The talmudic tradition and Josephus seem to support this location (actually a double tell which includes Tell ʿAmmata only 500 m away). Josephus reports that Alexander Jannaeus fought at ʿAsophan (*Ant* 13.12.5), but Mittmann cautions that ʿAsophan should not be identified with ʿAmathous (Tell ʿAmmata) because there are no Hellenistic ruins in this vicinity outside of Tell el-Qôs.

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PAUL NIMRAH FRANKLYN

**ZAPHON, MOUNT** (PLACE). A mountain identified with modern Jebel ʾel-Aqraʿ (35°59′N; 36°00′E), and located near the mouth of the Orontes River in N Syria. Mt. Zaphon was the sacred mountain of the storm god Baal-Hadad in ancient Canaanite mythology. It was also known as Mt. Casius in classical sources, and Mt. Hazzi in Hurrian texts. Aside from the passages discussed below, *ṣāpôn* is usually the general designation for "north" in the Hebrew Bible.

The etymology and semantic development of "Zaphon" has long been disputed. Grelot (1958: 62) sees "north" as the original meaning of "Zaphon." However, most scholars follow Eissfeldt (1932: 16–20), who argued that "Zaphon" was applied to the mountain before it was applied to the point on the compass. Also viewing "north" as a late semantic development, de Savignac (1984) argues that "Zaphon" originally referred to the wind that brought rain and clouds to the mountain, which then assumed the same name. For de Savignac and other scholars "Zaphon" derives from the root *ṣpn*, "to hide." Clifford (1972: 57), among others, derives the term from the root *ṣpw/y* ("to look out, spy out"), perhaps vocalized as *ṣapānu* in Ugaritic. For Clifford (ibid.) the meaning of "simply 'north' " is not found in Ugaritic, and in the Bible it is due to Zaphon's prominent location N of Israel. Grave (1980: 229) argues that "Zaphon" (from *ṣpw/y*) first referred to "clearness of the sky/wind (from the north)," and subsequently to the mountain from which such clearness supposedly originated. Finally it displaced the older *śamʾālu* as the term for "north" in the Northwest Semitic area.

Recent discussion of Mt. Zaphon has focused on the function of sacred mountains in Canaanite religion, especially as exemplified in Ugaritic texts. Along with F. M. Cross (*CMHE*), Clifford (1972) has provided one of the most detailed studies of the association of Mt. Zaphon with the kingship of Baal in the Ugaritic texts. Indeed, the mountain was the site of Baal's royal palace built by Kothar-wa-Hasis, the divine architect. Mt. Zaphon was a feasting place for the gods (*CTA* 4.5.106–117) and the site of Baal's proclamations (e.g., *CTA* 3.3.10–28). It was also where Baal and his archrival Mot engaged in a cosmic

battle (*CTA* 6.6.12–34). The mountain itself appears as a deity in many Ugaritic offering lists and in Phoenician personal names such as *ʿbdṣpn,* "servant of Zaphon."

According to Eissfeldt (1932: 12–15) and other scholars, one of the earliest texts referring to Mt. Zaphon in the Hebrew Bible is Ps 89: 13—Eng v 12, where Yahweh is said to have created *ṣāpôn* along with Mt. Hermon and Mt. Tabor. Ps 48:2–3—Eng vv 1–2 describes Mt. Zion as a sacred mountain of Yahweh, and the use of *yarkĕtê ṣāpôn* ("distant north," "utmost peak of Zaphon," among other renditions) in the phraseology appears to identify Zion with Mt. Zaphon. Divine decrees issue from Mt. Zion (cf., Isa 2:3) as they do from the holy mountains in Ugaritic myths. Baal's theophany on Mt. Zaphon involves stormclouds, lightning, and a thunderous voice which shakes the mountains and the earth itself (*CTA* 4.5.68–71; 4.7.29–35). The theophany of Yahweh at Mt. Sinai (Exod 19:16–19) also involves clouds, lightning, Yahweh's thunderous voice, and earthquakes. Isa 14:13 mentions the *yarkĕtê ṣāpôn* in a poem which apparently describes the actions of a rival deity against Yahweh. Although traditions about Canaanite El and his mountain (Mt. Amanus) may be preserved in this passage, the language and theme is also reminiscent of the struggle between Baal and Mot on Mt. Zaphon. Roberts (*IDBSup*, 977) suggests that reference to *ṣāpôn* being stretched out over the void in Job 26:7 may be due to the effect seen when clouds envelope the base of the mountain.

According to Clifford (1972: 136–37) and earlier scholars, places such as Baal-zephon (Exod 14:2) and Zaphon, a city of Gad (Josh 13:27), may reflect a geographical "translation" of Mt. Zaphon traditions to other areas of the Near East.

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HECTOR AVALOS

**ZAREPHATH** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣārĕpat* (צָרְפַ֫ת)]. A city-state located near the tip of a promontory along the Lebanese Mediterranean seacoast about 14 miles (ca. 22.5 km) N of Tyre and 8 miles (ca. 13 km) S of Sidon. Since Zarephath was located on the coastal road in Phoenicia, it encountered many passing armies and therefore is occasionally mentioned in ancient records, but it never became an important city. An inscription unearthed near the site of Zarepath indicates that its name may have been preserved in the modern village of Sarafand, situated in the hills immediately SE of the rather inconspicuous tell. A 13th century B.C. Egyptian papyrus lists Zarephath as the site of a Phoenician harbor (*ANET*, 477).

At the time of Zarephath's peaceful surrender to Sennacherib in 701 B.C., he described it as a walled city of Sidon named at that date "Zaribtu" (*ANET*, 287). The city was transferred to Tyre's control in the time of Esarhaddon (ca. 680–669 B.C.). Located about 50 miles (80 km) N of Mount Carmel, Zarephath is mentioned in the Bible as the town where the prophet Elijah went during a severe famine in Palestine and was entertained by a poor widow. The prophet miraculously provided her with a constant supply of oil and later raised her dead son as a reward for her unselfish hospitality (1 Kgs 17:8–24; Luke 4:26). The prophet Obadiah envisioned Zarephath as the N boundary of restored Israel (Obad 20).

Recent archeological excavations undertaken by J. B. Pritchard since 1969 have unearthed information showing Zarephath to be a sizable commercial city during both the Phoenician and Roman occupations. They showed the site to have been inhabited during the latter part of the 2d millennium and through most of the 1st millennium B.C. More than 20 pottery kilns were uncovered, showing that the city probably was a center for manufacturing pottery. The city possessed industrial, religious, and residential quarters. The main business was the production of textiles and ceramics. Exports included grain, oil, wine, and a red-purple dye extracted from local shellfish from which both Zarephath and Phoenicia ("red-purple") derive their names. Of the old city, considerable indications remain to this day. A large, technically sophisticated

Roman port was found dating from the 1st to 6th centuries A.D. A shrine of the goddess Tanit was discovered overlooking the Roman port, and scholars have associated the shrine with pagan religious ceremonies calling for the sacrifice of children, a practice strongly condemned in the Hebrew Bible (Jer 7:31; 19:3–6; 2 Kgs 23:10). Pilgrims journeyed to Zarephath as early as the late 4th century A.D. A tower was constructed marking the site of the "upper chamber," in which the prophet Elijah was to have lived (1 Kgs 17:23).

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RAY L. ROTH

**ZARETHAN** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣārĕtān* (צָרְתָן)]. A site on the E side of the Jordan River, about halfway between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea.

Its first reference in the Bible is in Josh 3:16, which describes the stopped flow of the Jordan River when the Israelites crossed the river during the spring flood (v 15). Verse 16 narrates that the waters "rose up in a heap far off, at Adam [i.e., Tell ed-Damiya below the Jabbok], the city that is beside Zarethan …"

Tell es-Sa‹idiyeh (M.R. 204186) is over 11 miles N of the Damiya Bridge. The Jerusalem Talmud (*Soṭa* 7:5, Rabbi Yohanan, 3d century A.D.) locates Zarethan 12 miles N of Adam. Since ca. 11 miles seems a little far for "beside," some look for a Zarethan nearer Tell ed-Damiya (M.R. 201167). One suggestion has been Qarn Sartabeh (M.R. 193167; the Hellenistic Alexandrium, later fortified by Herod the Great) on the W bank, opposite Damiya. However, archaeological survey has found no evidence of occupation here between the Chalcolithic and Iron Ages and no other likely site is in the area.

Albright (1925: 33 n. 37) attempted to resolve the problem by translating "as far from Adamah as beside Zarethan," i.e., the waters backed up as far as Zarethan. Glueck (1943: 6) retranslated "beside" to "fortress" (*msd* to *mesad*) so the waters backed up to "fortress Zarethan." The striking feature of the event was the distance the waters backed up. Similar stoppages of the Jordan have been observed as natural phenomena in 1267, 1906, and as recently as 1927, when the riverbanks at Damiya caved in and blocked the water for 21.5 hours (Garstang 1931: 136–37). These observations, however, have left no records of how far the water backed up in these naturally occurring events.

Zarethan is mentioned in 1 Kgs 4:12 as a reference point to delineate the fifth Solomonic district: the district contained "Taanach, Megiddo, and all Beth-shean which is beside Zarethan below Jezreel …" Beth-shean is 18 miles N of Tell es-Sa‹idiyeh, and on the W bank. Smick (1973: 103 n. 32) claims the reference is to the "district" of Zarethan, and not the town site. But Ottosson reasons that Zarethan was near Beth-shean and suggests its identification with Tell el-Meqberah (on the Wadi Yabis). Once again there is a problem in the interpretation of "beside," since the Valley of Jezreel is W of Beth-shean, while Zarethan is traditionally located to the S in the Jordan Valley.

The localities are further complicated by the second phrase that says Baana's district extended from Beth-shean to Abel-meholah, as far as the other side of Jokmeam (1 Kgs 4:12). Pritchard (1987: 230 and front endpaper map) locates Jokmeam S of Wadi Far‹ah, 25 miles S of Beth-shan, probably at west-bank Tell el-Mazar (M.R. 195171; also Aharoni, *LBHG*, 313). But Smick (1973: 95, 167–68) identifies it with east-bank Tell el-Mazar (M.R. 207181), near Deir ‹Alla.

Abel-meholah has also been located in several places S of Beth-shean and on both sides of the river. Three places are cited on the W bank: Tell Hilu (M.R. 197192), 11.5 miles due S of Beth-shan (Pritchard 1987: 99; 111); Tell Abu Sifre (Soggin, *Joshua* ET, OTL, 144), W of the Wadi Yabis; and Tell Abu Sus (M.R. 203197), at two of the Jordan's fords, 9.4 miles from Beth-shan (Pritchard 1987: 210). Aharoni (*LBHG*, 313) claims the Abu Sus identity can be made with much confidence. Two places cited on the E bank are Tell el-Maqlub (M.R. 214201) in the Wadi Yabis (which some identify with Jabesh-gilead), and

Tell el-Meqbereh or Tell Abu Kharaz (which others identify with Jabesh-gilead) in the Wadi Yabis (Pritchard 1987: front endpaper map).

The passage in 1 Kings 4 could be a chiasm with the two phrases parallel in an a:b:: b:a pattern. Baana's district is described from W to S in the first phrase and from S to W in the second. But this would reveal only that Zarethan and Abel-meholoah are S of Beth-shean.

In this same period Solomon built the temple in Jerusalem, and among the furnishings were various bronze articles which were cast in earthen molds between Succoth and Zarethan (1 Kgs 7:46; 2 Chr 4:17). Succoth is usually identified with Tell Deir ʿAlla (M.R. 208178), two miles N of the Jabbok, 8 miles N of Adam (Pritchard 1987: 247; Aharoni, *LBHG*, 284 n. 224; Glueck 1968: 121–25). The Palestinian Talmud (*Šeb.* 9.2, 38d) says Succoth is Tarʿela or Darʿela, which sounds like Deir ʿAlla. Excavations have found evidence for a bronze smelting industry in the 12th–11th centuries B.C.

Deir ʿAlla's excavator, H. J. Franken, prefers to identify Deir ʿAlla with Gilgal (1 Sam 13:15) and Succoth with Tell Ekhsas ("booths"), 1.5 miles W and a mile from the river (1978: 321). See DEIR ʿALLA(ARCHAEOLOGY). Glueck (1943: 18–19) said Succoth was Tell Umm Hamad (M.R. 205172), SW of Deir ʿAlla. Ottosson says Tell es-Saʿidiyeh, "five miles NW of Deir ʿAlla, is Succoth (1969: 225 n. 60; Pritchard 1985: 2). The area is assumed to have been selected because of the clay deposits in the valley. The copper ore could have been brought up from the Arabah S of the Dead Sea, or bronze loot from raids and wars could have been sent there to be recast (cf. 1 Chr 18:8). The forests of Gilead (Ajlun) could have provided wood for the fire.

There is clearly more textual evidence for Succoth than for Zarethan. Josh 13:27 refers to places in the valley including Succoth and Zaphon, but not Zarethan. The references to Succoth in Judg 8:5, 8, 16, when the people of the city refused to help Gideon with provisions and his later punishment of the inhabitants, is usually interpreted also as the site in the valley near the Jabbok. (The Succoth in Egypt [Exod 12:37, 13:20; Num 33:5, 6] is a different place, of course, but suggests Succoth as a city-name rather than simply the common noun for booths which gave the site its name in Gen 33:17.)

Zaphon (Josh 13:27; Judg 12:1) was another site in the area, and Aharoni (*LBHG*, 34) locates it at Tell es-Saʿidiyeh (Pritchard 1987: 254 and first endpaper map) and in turn identifies Zarethan with Tell Umm Hamad (*LBHG*, 284 n. 222, 313). However, Pritchard (1985: 3; *EAEHL* 4:1028) says that identification of Saʿidiyeh with places mentioned in the Bible has so much uncertainty that "any conclusions about the ancient names of the sites must of necessity remain hypothetical." Ottosson (1969: 216), who was on the excavation staff, agrees: "The excavations … have yielded no results whatever in … favor" of identifying Saʿidiyeh as Zarethan. After renewing excavations for two seasons, Tubb (1986: 124) had no further clues on the identity of the site. However, others claim the excavations confirm or prove that Saʿidiyeh is Zarethan (Soggin, *Joshua* ET, OTL, 62; Glueck 1967: 431). Glueck's initial identification of Saʿidiyeh as Zarethan was based on its prominence at the edge of the Jordan River (1968: 126–30). Ottosson's reasons for identifying Saʿidiyeh as Succoth are that Ps 60:8 refers to the "Vale of Succoth" and such a reference "calls for an eye catching spot …; the most obvious from both north and south is unquestionably *tell es-sa>idije*." See SAʿIDIYEH, TELL ES-.

Tell Qos (Zaphon or Zarethan) is on the Wadi Rajib, 3.5 miles N of Deir ʿAlla and 4.5 miles E-SE of Tell es-Saʿidiyeh (Zarethan or Zaphon or Succoth). Tell Umm Hamad is 3.5 miles SW of Deir ʿAlla and on the N bank of the Jabbok. Hamad is 1.5 miles E of the Jordan and 3.5 miles NE of Damiya. This location would make the backing up of the waters in Josh 3:16 less of a miracle. Its distance from the Jordan River is not a problem (Saʿidiyeh is 1.1 miles from the Jordan), for the backing up would presumably include the Jabbok River as well. And the term "beside" may be loose enough simply to refer to the next big tell. In any event, the "miracle" was not in the backing up of the water as such, perhaps natural in itself, but in the timing of the event.

Pritchard (1987: first endpaper map) also shows Zarethan *south* of the Jabbok, but the archaeological name is not given for the site. The possible location of Zarethan at Qarn Sartabeh was cited earlier. Here we should add the possibility of Tell Sleihat, S of Tell el-Meqbereh, 10 miles N of Deir ʿAlla (Albright

1925: 33; McClellan *HBD*, 1156; Sleihat is a natural hill and not an ancient tell, according to Glueck 1951: 345; 1968: 134–35; but cf. Yassine 1988: 169).

Obviously considerable uncertainty remains on the location of biblical sites like Zarethan, Zaphon, Succoth, etc. Perhaps future excavation of other sites will shed light on the question of Zarethan's identity.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**ZARIUS** (PERSON) [Gk *Zarios* (Ζαριος)]. Supposed brother of king Jehoiakim, who seized Zarius in order to deport him to Egypt (1 Esdr 1:38). But the author of 1 Esdras apparently confused 2 Chronicles 36 and 2 Kings 23–24 by conflating the names Jehoiakim and Jehoiakin and by associating the exile of Zarius with that of Jehoahaz (Jeconiah in 1 Esdr 1:34) (Meyers *1 and 2 Esdras* AB, 32–33). The spelling of Zarius probably is due to an orthographic corruption of the *dalet* to a *reš* in Zedekiah (Heb *ṣidqîyāhû*). The name Zarius, variously formed among LXX manuscripts, is otherwise unidentifiable.

CRAIG D. BOWMAN

**ZATTU** (PERSON) [Heb *zattû* (זַתּוּא)]. The name of a non-priestly family, some of whom returned to Palestine with Zerubbabel shortly after 538 B.C.E., the end of the Babylonian exile (cf. Ezra 2:8 and Neh 7:13). Another contingent accompanied Ezra a century later (cf. Ezra 8:5; but note the name is omitted in Hebrew). The later parallel narrative of 1 Esdras mentions both these returns (1 Esdr 5:12; 8:32).

The family of "the sons of Zattu" participated in the reform recorded in Ezra-Nehemiah. They divorced their foreign wives (Ezra 10:27) in obedience to Ezra's ban upon foreign marriages. The head of the family signed the pledge of reform (Neh 10:15—Eng 10:14), which committed the Jewish community to the observance of Yahweh's law.

The Gk versions use a variety of transliterations of this word (Ezra *zathoua/zaththoua*, Neh *zathoua/zathoueia/zaththou (i)a*), but especially in 1 Esdras (*zathoui/zatou/zaton,* 1 Esdr 5:12; *zathoēs,* 8:32; and *zamoth,* 9:28). They are all rendered "Zattu" in the English versions.

STEVEN R. SWANSON

**ZAYIN.** The seventh letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

**ZAZA** (PERSON) [Heb *zāzā* (זָזָא)]. Son of Jonathan and a descendant of Jerahmeel by his wife Atarah of the tribe of Judah. Zaza is mentioned once in 1 Chr 2:33 as the brother of Peleth, and his name concludes the genealogy of Jerehmeel. Variant spellings of Zaza are found in the LXX (B *Ozam,* A *Ozaza,* L *Zēiza*). Many speculate that the *omicron* of LXX BA is probably due to misunderstanding the *waw* of the MT as part of the name rather than as the conjunction "and." Many scholars consider the genealogies of the LXX corrupt (especially Codex Vaticanus), but the genealogies of Jerahmeel in the MT

are viewed by most contemporary commentators as being in good order. For further discussion of the provenance and authenticity of the genealogies in 1 Chronicles 2, see MAAZ.

The meaning of Zaza is uncertain. Some commentators suggest that this short form was fashioned by the duplication of one sound from a full word as a term of endearment (*IPN*, 40–41).

W. P. STEEGER

**ZEALOTS.** The study of zeal and the Zealots focuses on the late Second Temple period in Israel's history from the Maccabean Revolt in 167–142 B.C.E. to the Roman-Judean War of 66–74 C.E. There has been much confusion in the study of zeal and the Zealots because scholars differ in their views and their use of terminology. The issues can be organized around three questions: What was the concept of zeal? Who were the Zealots? Was the Jewish revolutionary struggle of the 1st century a "Zealot Movement?"

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A. The Concept of Zeal
B. Who Were the Zealots?
  1. Josephus' Perspective
  2. The Pre-war Revolutionary Period
  3. Revolutionary Groups in the Jewish War (66–74)
    a. The Sicarii
    b. The Zealots
    c. John of Gischala
    d. Simon bar Giora
  4. The Aftermath of the War
C. Resistance Against Rome and the Zealot Movement
  1. Political Causes
  2. Socioeconomic Causes
  3. Religious Causes
  4. Multiple Causes
D. The Revolutionaries and Jesus
E. The Revolutionaries and the Essenes


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**A. The Concept of Zeal**

During this two-century period, "zealot" became a technical term for a model of piety rooted in zeal for God and the Law (Kohler 1905; Farmer 1956; Hengel 1956). Zeal is behavior motivated by the jealous desire to protect one's self, group, space, or time against violations. In the biblical tradition, human acts of zeal punished idolatrous violations of God's right to exclusive allegiance from Israel. As expressed in the First Commandment, God is a jealous/zealous God who requires the allegiance of the people. Because God's holiness will not tolerate idolatry or other violations against the covenant (Exod 20:5; Deut 5:9), God will punish the whole nation for such offenses unless someone acts on behalf of God—zealous with God's jealous anger—to kill or root out the offenders.

The prototype of such zeal was Phineas, the grandson of Aaron the priest (Num 25:1–15). When God put the Israelites under a plague for their idolatrous relations with the Moabites, Phineas discovered Zimri in the act of sexual intercourse with a Midianite/Moabite woman and, "zealous for his God," stepped in on behalf of God and killed them both with a single spear thrust (Num 31:6). God removed the plague from the land and rewarded Phineas with the covenant of a perpetual priesthood for his descendants. The features of this model of piety included a spontaneous unofficial action taken with the courage of one acting alone, expressing the jealous anger of God against an act of idolatry committed by a fellow Israelite, which "made atonement for the people" by ridding the land of an uncleanness and which turned back God's wrath so that God "did not consume the people of Israel." This act was reckoned to Phineas as righteousness (Ps 106:28–31), God rewarding him with a "perpetual priesthood."

Other biblical figures expressed similar zeal. Simeon and Levi took zealous vengeance by killing the men of Shechem for the rape of their sister Dinah (Gen 34:1–31). Elijah was "zealous for the Lord" in killing the prophets of Baal (1 Kgs 18:36–40; 19:10–18. "In zeal for the Lord" King Jehu slaughtered all who worshipped Baal (2 Kgs 10:16–27). And King Josiah rooted out idolatry from the land (2 Kgs 22:1–23:30).

Throughout the Second Temple period, many Jews venerated these ancient figures. Sirach ranks Phineas "third in renown" after Moses and Aaron for "being zealous" (45:23–24). Sirach also glorifies Elijah for "his zeal" (48:1–2). 1 Maccabees depicts Mattathias showing zeal "as Phineas had done" (2:26) and refers to Phineas as "our father, who never flagged in his zeal" (2:54; cf. 2:50 and 2 Macc 4:2). *4 Maccabees* gives Phineas the epithet "the zealous priest" (18:12). The veneration of Phineas continued into the later rabbinic period (Hengel 1956: 154–78; Klassen 1986). The book of Judith describes Simeon as "aflame with zeal" for God's cause (Jdt 9:2–4). The book of *Jubilees* portrays Levi as "zealous to execute righteousness" (30:17–19; cf. *T. Levi* 6:3; *T. Ash.* 4:2–5). *2 Baruch* holds up Josiah as one who was "zealous with zeal for the Mighty One," because he alone was "firm in the law at that time so that he left none that was uncircumcised or that wrought impiety in the land" (66:5).

During this period, the objects of zeal extended beyond idolatry against God to include all offenses against the Law. Those zealous for the Law would not only personally endure imprisonment, beatings, and death rather than transgress the Law (1 Macc 2:50), such zealots might also maim, kill, or destroy the property of others who disobeyed the Law. They would "root out" transgressors in order to turn back God's wrath because transgressors defiled Israel (*Jub.* 41:25). The literature identifies numerous offenses against which people might take zealous action: idolatry (1 Macc 2:24), intercourse with a heathen woman (*m. Sanh.* 9:6; *T. Levi* 6:3; *Jub.* 30), the profaning of God's name (*Jub.* 30:15), the presence of uncircumcised people in the land (1 Macc 2:44–46), the use of images (*JW* 2.169–74, 195), the misuse of the temple (John 2:17), the stealing of sacred vessels (*m. Sanh.* 9:6), and the presence of a gentile in the sacred court of the temple (Acts 21:8–29; *JW* 5.194; *Ant* 15.417). According to the gospel of John, Jesus acted out of zeal in cleansing the temple (John 2:17; cf. Ps 69:10—Eng v 9). Paul the apostle identified himself as a former zealot who persecuted Christians to death on behalf of the traditions of the forefathers (Gal 1:13–14; Phil 3:6; cf. Acts 22:3 and Rom 10:1–4). Later many Jews and Jewish Christians in Jerusalem who were "zealous for the Law" threatened to kill Paul (Acts 21:20; 23:12–14). Simon the zealot, the disciple of Jesus, had probably earned the epithet by taking it upon himself to punish transgressors (Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13; cf. Matt 10:4 and Mark 3:18). Some writings show a concern that zeal on behalf of God and the community not be an excuse for plunder (*Pss. Sol.* 2:27) and that vigilante actions not be a substitute for the regular procedures of the Law (Salomonson 1966). Nevertheless, as Philo put it, "Thousands are watchful, zealots of the laws, strictest guardians of the institutions of the fathers, merciless to those who do anything to subvert them" (*Spec. Leg.* II: 253).

None of these examples refers as such to actions which were revolutionary, although at times zeal for the Law spilled over into revolutionary action. 1 Maccabees portrays zeal as the driving force behind the Maccabean Revolt. The author describes how Mattathias "showed his zeal for the law, as Phineas had done toward Zimri," by killing a Syrian officer and a Jew who had offered a sacrifice to a pagan god (2:19–28). Mattathias invited others who would be "zealous for the law" to flee with him to the mountains. 1 Maccabees depicts those who subsequently fought in the revolt as striking out at Jewish sinners, circumcising by force, tearing down altars, plundering, and maiming those Jews who did not cooperate with the war against the Syrian Empire (2:44–46). 1 Maccabees also commends those who were willing to suffer persecution for their zealous devotion to the Law in opposition to foreign rule (2:50; *4 Macc.* 18:12). The same kind of zeal seems also to have typified some actions of later revolutionaries who opposed Roman rule, vigilante actions against Jews who cooperated with the foreign powers in order to cleanse the land and thereby to guarantee God's support in their cause against the Roman oppressor (Farmer 1956).

Some scholars assume that citations to zeal and zealots in the 1st century, such as the NT references to Simon the zealot, refer to a Jewish sect of Zealots dedicated to revolution against Rome. Other scholars

disagree. The failure in ancient manuscripts to distinguish formal nouns allows for differing interpretations regarding the use of the term "zealot." It seems clear, however, that Jewish and Christian writings of the period refer to a wide variety of offenses against which private individuals or groups might act in zeal on behalf of the community, some of these actions being revolutionary and others not. Moreover, the diversity of offenses, the cross-section of literature glorifying zeal, and the variety of individuals and groups to which zealous actions were attributed (e.g., Paul the Pharisee was a "zealot") suggest that the term "zealot" was not a sectarian designation but descriptive of a type of piety which was not limited to one group or sect. The evidence from Josephus suggests that it was not until about 68 C.E. during the Roman-Judean War that one of the revolutionary factions came to identify itself formally as the Zealots. Therefore, it is anachronistic to view people acting with zeal before 68 C.E. as members of a sect called the Zealots.

Zeal was only one tradition or model of piety among many in the period before the war, and it usually related to specific actions and did not become a sectarian way of life. Zeal was also only one of many religious factors which inspired the revolutionary activity against Rome. The influence of zeal was limited (Horsley 1987: 129), but it was certainly not inconsequential. Zeal was an intensification of the general Jewish concern for holiness, so central to Israel's cultural identity as a nation. As such, the zealot model of behavior likely influenced many revolutionary actions against Rome.

**B. Who Were the Zealots?**

Historians disagree whether the title "Zealots" properly applies to all Jewish revolutionaries who engaged in war against the Romans or to only one of many factions active in the resistance movement. Although there are a few scattered references to revolutionaries in Roman writers and rabbinic literature, the debate about the identity of the Zealots focuses on the interpretation of the writings of the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, the only extant works to offer a comprehensive history of Palestine in this period.

**1. Josephus' Perspective.** Josephus was born in 37 C.E. in Jerusalem and was an eyewitness of the events leading up to and including the war period. In fact, he fought against the Romans as general of Galilee under the Jewish wartime government. Josephus surrendered to the Romans under Vespasian at Jotapata and subsequently cooperated with the Romans by appealing to the Jews under siege in Jerusalem to surrender to Titus. After the war, Titus took Josephus back to Rome and provided him with house and pension, and the emperor Vespasian commissioned him to write the official Roman history of the war. As an official historian, Josephus wrote three works relevant to the study of the war: *The Jewish War* (75–80 C.E.), *The Antiquities of the Jews* (93–95 C.E.) and the autobiographical *Life* (95–100 C.E.).

Scholars continue to disagree about the reliability of Josephus' writings (Cohen 1979; Moering 1984; Rajak 1984), particularly with regard to the accounts of those events in which Josephus himself was involved. Josephus had a personal history of conflict with the revolutionaries and a desire to malign them, as well as an apologetic need to justify his participation in the war on first the Jewish and then the Roman side. Josephus' own role as Jewish general of Galilee is uncertain, as attested by the fact that Justus of Tiberius, who also participated in the war, wrote a history of the Roman-Judean war (no longer extant) which attacked Josephus for fomenting war against the Romans. As a result of all these factors, Josephus' works are filled with bias. For example, he wrote *The Jewish War* from an official Roman point of view the purpose of which was to dissuade Jews in the Parthian Empire from opposing Rome in the aftermath of the war. In this work he sought to exonerate Romans and Jews in general by blaming the war on a small sectarian minority of Jews and a handful of corrupt Roman procurators (Moering 1984). Josephus penned each of his writings with different purposes and for different audiences (Cohen 1979).

Disagreement about the historical identification of the group called the Zealots centers on Josephus' depiction of Judas the Galilean. Judas enjoined resistance in 6 C.E., when the Romans turned Judea into a province and conducted a census in preparation for tax assessment (*JW* 2.118, 433; 7.253–57; *Ant* 18.4–10, 23–25, 102). Although Judas was from Gamala in Galilee, he was active in Judea, that part of the country which became a province at this time. Disagreement exists over whether Judas merely called for non-cooperation with the census (Horsley 1987: 88) or actually incited people to rebellion against Rome

(Rhoads 1976: 47–60). In any case he enjoined resistance because in his view the land belonged to God, and the Romans had no right to claim the ownership implied by a census. Judas upbraided his countrymen for being willing to submit to Roman slavery and for giving up the freedom they had fought so hard (under the Maccabees) to obtain. Judas and his followers opposed Jews who cooperated with the census, for they considered cooperation with Caesar to be an idolatrous transgression of the First Commandment to have "no other lords before me." Judas' small and unsuccessful revolt was carried out in the belief that if the Jews were faithful to the covenant, God would honor their cause by bringing victory in the struggle against Rome. Judas was apparently killed as a result of his actions.

Josephus' historical accounts show that Judas was followed by a family of leaders who opposed Roman rule. Judas' sons, James and Simon, were executed for revolutionary activity under the procurator Tiberius Alexander (46–48 C.E.; *Ant* 18.102). His grandson (?) Menahem was killed by other revolutionaries in 66 C.E. (*JW* 7.253). And a descendant Eleazar ben Jair was head of the group which died at Masada in 74 C.E. (*JW* 2.447). Furthermore, although the evidence is tenuous, some scholars argue that Judas the Galilean was the same Judas, son of Hezekiah, who according to Josephus led one of the revolts which occurred after the death of Herod in 4 B.C.E. (*JW* 2.56; *Ant* 17.271–72). Josephus tells us this Judas attacked the royal palace at Sepphoris and aspired to rule Israel. His father Hezekiah was a bandit chief, perhaps among the last of the Hasmonean dynasty who fought against Herod early in Herod's reign. If Judas the Galilean was the son of Hezekiah, then he was part of a family tradition of opposition to Roman rule which lasted from the beginning of Herod's reign until the fall of Masada (Kennard 1946).

Josephus refers to Judas as a "teacher" and tells us that with a Pharisee named Zadok he founded a sect which Josephus designates as the Fourth Philosophy in order to distinguish it from Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. This Fourth Philosophy, Josephus tells us, was in all respects like the Pharisees except for the principle of "No lord but God" (*JW* 18.23). This principle represented a novel application of the First Commandment which treated cooperation with Caesar and the Romans as idolatrous allegiance to a lord other than God. Josephus goes on to tell us that after "they had won an abundance of devotees, they filled the body politic immediately with tumult, also planting the seeds of those troubles which subsequently overtook it, all because of the novelty of this hitherto unknown philosophy" (*Ant* 18.9). After the revolt in 6 C.E., however, we hear nothing of Judas' sect for four decades. Judas' sect of followers was either inactive or ineffective (Baumbach 1985) until after 44 C.E., the year when all Israel, including Galilee, became a province of Rome. Then, under the procurator Albinus (62–64 C.E.), the "Sicarii," as Josephus calls Judas' descendants and their followers, began a new form of banditry by assassinating the high priest Jonathan and other notables in Jerusalem and by kidnapping officials to bargain for the release of their compatriots (*JW* 2.254–57; *Ant* 20.165, 186, 204, 208–210). In 66 C.E., Menahem, grandson of Judas, leader of the Sicarii and also a "teacher," briefly took charge of the war effort in Jerusalem. Menahem was, however, assassinated by other revolutionaries; Menahem's followers then fled to Masada, where they remained throughout the war under the leadership of Eleazar ben Jair.

Scholars who embrace the traditional view about the Zealots (Hengel 1974; Brandon 1965) take Josephus' statements about Judas at face value (*Ant* 18.9), concluding that "Judas the Galilean founded the so-called fourth sect, an actual party with quite definite points of view …, a firm organization and unified leadership, which decisively determined the fate of the Jewish people during the next two generations and which formed the stable center-point of the growing Jewish freedom movement" (Hengel 1956: 89). According to this view, Judas' sect caused havoc in the countryside and panic in the city until with its ideology of freedom it dragged the rest of the nation into war. During the war, the group splintered into conflicting revolutionary factions. Scholars who take this position argue that Judas' sect of revolutionaries was called the Zealots. In this view, all revolutionaries were Zealots and the war was a Zealot movement, because zeal for the Law—rooting out from the land all idolators (Romans as well as the Jews who cooperated with them)—was the paradigm for the revolt against Rome.

Recently, however, several scholars have rejected this monolithic picture of the revolutionaries in favor of one that depicts the revolutionaries as a movement which from the beginning was composed of

heterogeneous elements without a unifying ideology (Smith 1971; Rhoads 1976; Horsley and Hanson 1985). The main arguments are as follows: (1) Josephus exaggerated Judas' movement when depicting it as a sect or Fourth Philosophy because he was eager to blame the war on a small, separate, and distinguishable group that embraced an "innovation" in Jewish Law (*Ant* 18.9). Hence Josephus' statements about Judas' innovation indicate only that Judas was "the first to make resistance to alien rulers a religious duty and to set the example for the fanaticism which later led to disaster, not that he founded an organization which produced all the later incidents" (Smith 1971: 6; cf. *JW* 7.262). (2) Josephus' subsequent narrative suggests that Judas' followers had limited influence. They did not emerge until after 44 C.E. In the prewar period, they were only one of many factions, and they did not control other revolutionaries. In the war period, the Sicarii were one of five different revolutionary factions listed by Josephus, factions which had independent origins and did not result as splinter groups of a single movement. Furthermore, the followers of Judas' descendants were rejected early in the war by other revolutionaries and spent the entire war period isolated on Masada. They did not participate with other revolutionary groups in the defense of Jerusalem. (3) In any case, Josephus does not refer to the group led by Judas' descendants as the Zealots. Previous to his account of the events of 68 C.E., Josephus does not refer to any revolutionary group as Zealots. Even then the title refers to only one faction which formed in 68 C.E., made its headquarters in the temple, and overthrew the provisional government. Only in one passage is the term "zealot" connected with Judas' descendants. Josephus depicts Menahem's bodyguards as "a suite of armed zealots" (*JW* 2.444, cf. 2.564, 65). This reference occurs before Josephus explains the other group's adoption of this name and occurs without the definite article. It probably means "zealots" or "devotees" and might best be translated "a suite of armed fanatics" (Feldman 1984: 645). Josephus consistently refers to the descendants of Judas and their followers not as Zealots but as Sicarii. Apparently the Romans referred to some revolutionaries as "sicarii" because they assassinated with a dagger called a sica (*Ant* 20.186). The name was at first an epithet, the "sicarii," but came to be employed as a title which Josephus used to distinguish this faction from other revolutionary groups.

Thus, Josephus' overall narrative belies the bias of his few statements blaming the whole war on this revolutionary faction. Judas' sect did not unify the revolutionaries or by itself bring on the later war. Nor did Judas' Fourth Philosophy provide the dominant ideology for the war, even if other groups were influenced by his teaching. In light of the arguments cited above, it is therefore incorrect to apply the title "Zealots" to the revolutionary movement as a whole. Despite the fact that Judas' followers may have acted often on the model of zeal, they did not bear the title "Zealots." Rather, the Zealots were one of several revolutionary factions active in the war period. What follows is a discussion of the larger revolutionary movement in the pre-war and the war periods, with a characterization of the various revolutionary groups.

**2. The Pre-war Revolutionary Period.** Once we discard the view that a small sect was responsible for the war, a complex picture of the pre-war period emerges, one which shows broad resistance to Roman imperialism from all quarters. The pre-war period had its roots in the time of Herod. The widespread revolts after Herod's death attest to the popular dissatisfaction with his high taxes, political oppression, and promotion of Hellenism and Roman imperialism (*JW* 2.55–65; *Ant* 17.269–85). These revolts were put down quickly by Varus, the Roman Legate of Syria. Scholars usually mark 6 C.E. as the beginning of the pre-war period. At this time the Romans turned Judea, the S part of Israel, into a province, sent a procurator and Roman troops, and began to collect tribute directly. After the brief resistance movement led by Judas the Galilean, the first procuratorial period from 6–44 C.E. was relatively quiet, perhaps because the Jews were waiting to see whether the procuratorial arrangement with greater autonomy for Israel under a high priest would be effective (see Tacitus' comment that "Under Tiberius all was quiet," *Hist.* 5:9). There were a few popular insurrections at the time of the procurator Pilate (26–36 C.E.; cf. *JW* 2.169–77; *Ant* 18.55–64, 85–89), and in the early 40's there occurred a series of massive protests against Gaius' plan (aborted by his death) to put his statue in the temple at Jerusalem, a crisis which some scholars consider to be a turning point in Roman relations with Judea.

After a brief period under the rule of Agrippa I (41–44 C.E.), the whole of Israel became a Roman province, at which time a few minor protests took place. Then, during this second procuratorial period of 44–66 C.E., a series of incidents caused a deterioration in Roman-Jewish relations. Under the procurator Cumanus (48–52 C.E., cf. *JW* 2.223–46; *Ant* 20.103–36), a Jewish crowd became irate at an obscene gesture made near the temple by a Roman soldier, a Jewish bandit group attacked a Roman caravan, some Roman soldiers caused a riot by burning a copy of the Law, and Cumanus showed extraordinary negligence in failing to deal with a conflict between Jews and Samaritans. Although Cumanus was recalled to Rome as a result of formal Jewish protests, from this point on, law and order broke down in the countryside and bandit groups operated with impunity, a condition which subsequent procurators did little to alleviate. Then, under Festus (60–62 C.E.) and Albinus (62–64 C.E.), the atmosphere also deteriorated in Jerusalem, with conflicts among Jewish high priestly factions jockeying to gain the procurator's favor. The situation in Jerusalem was exacerbated by the atmosphere of terror resulting from assassinations and kidnappings by the "sicarii" (*JW* 2.272–77; *Ant* 20.182–215).

Thus the combination of Roman ineptness and Jewish insurrection led to an atmosphere in the city and in the countryside in which the populace was ready to erupt into conflict at the slightest provocation. Nero's decision to place the governance of Caesarea into the hands of the Greek populace (*JW* 2.284–93) and the action by the last procurator Florus forcibly to extract the tribute money from the temple treasury (*JW* 2.293) provided the catalysts for the war.

Throughout much of this pre-war period there were various forms of resistance to Roman rule (Borg 1984; Rhoads 1976; Horsley and Hanson 1985). There were the official Jewish protests to Caesar, along with delegations complaining of the ineptness of the procurators, which led to the recall of three procurators (*Ant* 18.89; *JW* 2.239–46; *Ant* 20.193–95). These official protests culminated in the 60's with the national refusal to pay the tribute. There were popular protests and riots against the actions of Pilate, the efforts of Gaius to put his statue in the temple, and the failure of Cumanus to act against the Samaritans, ending in the widespread burning and pillage in reaction to Nero's decision about Caesarea (*JW* 2.457–80). Bandit groups such as that led by Eleazar ben Dinai (*JW* 2.235–36, 253; *Ant* 20.121, 161) arose from among dissidents and the economically marginal, attacking Romans as well as wealthy and powerful Jews who cooperated with the Romans (Hengel 1956; Horsley 1979b; 1981). The "sicarii" created terror with their kidnappings, their assassination of the high priest Jonathan, and the attacks on other notables. Oracular prophets such as John the Baptist (*Ant* 18.116–19) and Jesus, son of Ananias (*JW* 6.300–309), stirred up expectations of hope or doom. Action prophets such as Theudas (*Ant* 20:97–98), the Egyptian (*JW* 2:261–63; *Ant* 20:169–72; Acts 21:38), and other figures led people to cross the Jordan or to go into the desert for signs of liberation, actions similar to the liberating events of the exodus from Egypt (Barnett 1980; Horsley 1984; 1985a; 1986c). All the prophetic figures fueled a millenarian atmosphere.

Resistance to Roman rule, both violent and nonviolent, was widespread. Resistance came from virtually every quarter—Pharisees, high priests, peasants, local villagers, Jerusalemites, people of every geographical sector. The causes and motivations varied tremendously—poverty, overtaxation, incompetent procurators, and unruly soldiers, as well as a variety of beliefs, including zeal and commitment to the Law. Far from a single unified sect dragging the rest of the nation into war, there is the picture of much of the nation in resistance, struggling to cope with the foreign occupation by the Romans—a picture which coheres well with what we know otherwise of the diversity in 1st-century Judaism. By the time this turmoil came to a head in 66 C.E., the war was supported by some portions of virtually every sector of the populace, cutting across sectarian categories, economic classes, and geographical regions.

**3. Revolutionary Groups in the Jewish War (66–74).** The war itself began when the procurator Florus (64–66 C.E.) attempted to seize money from the temple treasury to cover the Jewish tribute (*JW* 2.293–96). Hand-to-hand fighting led to the expulsion of Florus and his troops from the city (*JW* 2.325–32). Herod Agrippa tried unsuccessfully to persuade the Jews to pay the tribute and to restore relations with Rome (*JW* 2.342–407). Then lower-class priests officially ended the relation with Rome by stopping the

daily sacrifices on behalf of Caesar (*JW* 2.409–421). These priests and other revolutionaries took control of the temple and fought the combined forces of the Jewish aristocracy, the royalist troops, and the Roman contingent, all located in the upper city. The insurgents gained enough control of the city (*JW* 2.322–24) to hold off the siege by Cestius, the legate of Syria, who had come with the Roman Twelfth Legion to reestablish Roman control over Jerusalem (*JW* 2.499–561). When Cestius withdrew, probably because of the impending winter, the Jews pursued the Romans out of the country, seized weapons and equipment, and returned victorious to Jerusalem. The event unified much of the country in favor of war.

This initial Jewish victory brought even the aristocracy onto the side of war. In general, the wealthy ruling elite had sought to avoid conflict with Rome because they were responsible to Rome for peace in the nation and because they had the most to lose by war. Nevertheless, they now joined the anti-Roman cause, probably because they knew it was the only way to retain leadership of the nation. Under the leadership of the high priests, then, the Jews formed the provisional government of independence which appointed governors to the various regions to prepare to fight the Romans when they returned to reconquer the province (*JW* 2.562–68). In addition, the provisional government began to fortify Jerusalem and to train troops. It is likely that the high priests and the lay aristocracy sought to establish military strength and to unify the nation in order to negotiate the best terms with the Romans if that became possible or to fight the most effective war against the Romans if that became necessary.

In 67–68 C.E., Vespasian led the Tenth Legion to recapture Israel. He conquered Galilee and Idumea, as well as Judea, and prepared to besiege Jerusalem (*JW* 3.309–4.120, 550–56). Vespasian had to withdraw, however, because of unrest in Rome, and in 69 C.E. he became emperor (*JW* 3.655). Meanwhile, in 68 C.E. a coalition of revolutionaries in Jerusalem overthrew the moderate provisional government. When the Romans returned under Vespasian's son Titus, the Jews were divided by factions, their ranks and supplies depleted from fighting each other. They did combine, however, to offer a valiant and sustained defense of the city. Nevertheless, in 70 C.E. the Romans conquered Jerusalem and razed the temple.

Josephus identifies five revolutionary groups active in the war period (*JW* 7.262–70): the Sicarii, the Zealots, John of Gischala and his followers, Simon bar Giora and his followers, and the Idumeans. These factions differed in origin, goals, methods, type of leadership, and composition. For the most part, when they were not cooperating in opposition to a common enemy, these factions were in conflict with each other. What follows is a description of four of these factions and a delineation of their role in the war; the role of the fifth group, the militia from Idumea, will become clear in the discussion of the other four groups.

**a. The Sicarii.** The Sicarii were the group led by the descendants of Judas the Galilean. Several leaders were described as "teachers." They had promoted a program of social equality and a balanced distribution of wealth, perhaps based on Deuteronomy 15 and Leviticus 25 (Baumbach 1965). Their actions often exemplified a zeal to cleanse the land. They were prepared to fight and die rather than submit to any other than God as their lord.

At the opening of the war, this group under Menahem, apparently to gain a foothold of power in relation to the other Jews, seized Masada from the Romans by a trick and took over the arsenal of weapons there (*JW* 2.408, 434). Meanwhile, other Sicarii slipped into the temple to join the revolutionaries in Jerusalem who had initiated war there (*JW* 2.425). These Sicarii were probably instrumental in burning houses of the wealthy as well as the Public Archives which held the record of debts in order "to cause a rising of the poor against the rich, sure of impunity" (*JW* 2.426–29). Then Menahem, the leader of the Sicarii and the grandson of Judas the Galilean, entered Jerusalem "like a veritable king" with the arms he had seized from Masada and assumed charge of the revolutionary forces in the city (*JW* 2.433–34). He spearheaded attacks against the upper class and assassinated the high priest Ananias (*JW* 2.435–42). However, Eleazar, the leader of the revolutionaries from Jerusalem and the son of Ananias the High Priest, whom Menahem killed, rose up against Menahem. When Menahem made a play for greater power by entering the temple in royal robes, this was too much for the Jerusalem revolutionaries, who considered this brash Galilean to be "far below themselves." They killed him and drove his followers out of the city (*JW* 2.443–48). The Sicarii fled to Masada, where they remained throughout the war. They had little contact with other

revolutionary groups, raided Jewish villages to gain supplies, and did not participate in the defense of Jerusalem (*JW* 4.400–5, 516).

After Jerusalem fell, Masada held out, along with the fortress cities of Herodium and Machaerus (*JW* 7.163–209). In 74 C.E., after a lenghty siege, Roman troops under the new procurator Flavius Silva made it to the top of Masada, only to find that the defenders of Masada had committed suicide rather than submit to Roman lordship and slavery (*JW* 7.304–406). This same devotion to have "no lord but God" led other Sicarii who had earlier fled Masada for Alexandria and Cyrene to endure great torture and death rather than acknowledge Caesar as lord (*JW* 7.410–419, 437, 444).

**b. The Zealots.** The Zealots were a coalition of lower priests, Jerusalem insurgents, and refugee bandit groups from the countryside who overthrew the provisional government in 68 C.E. in order to assure the successful prosecution of the war. Their major goal was political independence from the Romans. They opposed Jews with power and privilege, set up their headquarters in the temple, and established an alternative egalitarian government. The Zealots contributed little, however, to the actual battles against the Romans.

Josephus writes that the Zealots emerged as a distinct faction in the winter of 67–68 C.E. Nevertheless this group probably had roots in the events at the opening of the war. In 66 C.E., shortly after Florus was driven out and Agrippa was banished from Jerusalem, some lower priests, probably from Jerusalem and Judea, led by a few upper-class priests and supported by some laypeople from Jerusalem, stopped the sacrifices which the Jewish nation had agreed to provide twice daily on behalf of Caesar as an official sign of allegiance to Rome (*JW* 2.409–417). These lower priests under the leadership of the temple captain Eleazar, son of the high priest Ananias, were cleansing the temple of all gentile influence. Their cessation of these sacrifices withdrew all divine benefits for Rome and was a declaration of independence. Civil war broke out in Jerusalem over the matter (*JW* 2.418–56). The lower priests took control of the temple and confined the high priests, the lay aristocracy, and the royalist troops in the upper city, excluding them also from temple worship. Joined by Sicarii and other revolutionary groups, this coalition gained sufficient control of the city to defeat the remaining Roman troops and to hold off the Syrian legate Cestius Gallus when he came to retake the city for the Romans (*JW* 2.499–562).

Eleazar, son of Simon, was a priest and one of the revolutionaries who had seized money and weapons in the rout of Cestius as he retreated N (*JW* 2.564–65). Because of fear of Eleazar's influence, the provisional government which was established after Cestius' withdrawal excluded Eleazar from appointment to regional posts. As the war progressed, Eleazar became dissatisfied with the progress of the war and sought to gain control of the government. When the provisional government resisted his efforts, conflict erupted. Eleazar and his forces (*JW* 5:5) joined the bandit groups, local militia, and other refugees who fled to Jerusalem from Vespasian's devastating conquest of Galilee and Judea (*JW* 4.138–50); they withdrew into the temple and used it as a fortress (*JW* 4.151–52). At this point in his narrative, Josephus clearly identifies this revolutionary coalition as the Zealots (*JW* 4.161). These Zealots, led in part by priests, set up their own egalitarian government with a collective leadership. They also chose by lot from among the descendants of Zadok their own high priest, an uneducated peasant from Judea (*JW* 4§153–57).

Scholars disagree about the origins and goals of the coalition of Zealots. Some scholars (Baumbach 1968; Stern 1973; Rhoads 1976) argue for a continuity between the early priestly group under Eleazar son of Ananias, who in 66 C.E. stopped the sacrifices for Rome, and the later group of Zealots which formed in 68 C.E.: both groups were committed to war, opposed the aristocracy and the royalists, had their headquarters in the temple (even the inner temple, where only priests were permitted), had priestly leadership, revived ancient traditions, and excluded other Jews from temple worship. These scholars also point to the implied continuity of priestly leadership in Eleazar son of Simon, as well as the possible connection with Eleazar son of Ananias who was appointed leader of the Idumean militia, to whom the Zealots later turned for help (*JW* 2.566). The scholars who support this position emphasize the religious motivations of those who chose to call themselves "Zealots" as Jews who wanted to purify the temple and the city. Other scholars (Smith 1971; Horsley 1986a) claim that the Zealot faction which formed in 68

C.E. had little in common with earlier revolutionaries in the city but comprised refugees and bandit groups who had fled to Jerusalem in the face of Vespasian's conquest of NW Judea (*JW* 4.135, 138). These scholars argue that the Zealots reflected views typical of peasants in their anti-aristocratic attitudes, their establishment of an alternative government, and their egalitarian leadership. The truth may be a combination of both views. It is likely that the Zealots were a coalition of the forces already situated in the city under Eleazar, son of Simon, and the refugee forces from Judea which entered the city. Besides, the lower class priests and the peasants of Judea would have shared a common religio-political outlook.

In any case, there was in 68 C.E. a civil war raging between the Zealots in the temple and the provisional government (*JW* 4.162–207). At this point, John of Gischala told the Zealots, now under siege in the temple, that the provisional government intended to turn the city over to the Romans for terms of surrender (*JW* 4.208–233). So the Zealots sent secret messages to the standing army of Idumea (*JW* 4.224–35). Under cover of a rainstorm at night, the Idumeans entered the city surreptitiously and freed the Zealots from the temple (*JW* 4.283–313). Joined by these Idumeans and the forces under John of Gischala, the Zealots took over the city and began a reign of terror, killing the high priest Ananus and bringing to justice by trials, torture, imprisonment, public shaming, and execution all those upper-class Jews, particularly the Herodian nobles, suspected of treason (*JW* 4.314–344, 355–65). Thus they succeeded in preventing the provisional government from coming to peaceful terms with the Romans.

Eventually the Zealots withdrew to the inner temple (*JW* 5.59). John of Gischala set up his force in the outermost temple (*JW* 4.389–97), most of the Idumean units broke with the Zealots because of their excesses (*JW* 4.345–54), and the surviving Jerusalem nobles who were released by the Idumeans fled to Simon bar Giora (*JW* 4.353). Subsequently John overpowered the Zealots and retook control of the inner temple (*JW* 5.98–103). The remaining core of dedicated Zealots, located in the inner temple, fought under John's command (*JW* 5.20) and cooperated cautiously with Simon's forces in defending the city against the Roman siege led by Titus (*JW* 5.248–51, 358–6.92, 148). When the Romans stormed the walls, those Zealots who were able to flee died fighting the Romans in the forest of Jardes (*JW* 7.210–15).

**c. John of Gischala.** John of Gischala was a prominent rival of Josephus in Galilee who aspired to command the nation. John showed neither the social radicalism nor the apocalyptic hopes which typified other groups. He appears to have been drawn into the war as events progressed (Rappaport 1983). A realistic nationalist who hoped to defeat the Romans, John used every opportunity to gain power. It is a mistake to identify John as a Zealot (Lake). Nor is he to be characterized as a bandit chief (Horsley 1981), despite Josephus' labeling of him as such in *The Jewish War.*

Although poor at first, John had likely been an impoverished member of the landed gentry (*JW* 2.590; Baumbach 1965). He may also have been a Levite (Baumbach 1986). He initially opposed war against Rome but was goaded into it by nearby gentile cities which attacked and burned his hometown and other cities in N Galilee (*Life* 43–45). John mustered a large force of refugees from these razed cities and retaliated. Then he rebuilt and fortified Gischala with funds raised by marketing the imperial corn he had seized (*Life* 73) and by selling oil to Jews in Syria (*Life* 76), and he made Gischala his headquarters.

John resented the appointment of Josephus as governor of Galilee and had several encounters with him (*Life* 84–103). Since John knew well the leading Pharisee in Jerusalem, Simon ben Gamaliel, and had contact with the provisional government, he appealed to them to remove Josephus from his post (*Life* 89–193). After the provisional government sent a delegation to investigate, the popular assembly in Jerusalem confirmed Josephus in his post (*JW* 3.309–310). John's views were vindicated, however, when Josephus voluntarily surrendered to Vespasian at Jotapata (*JW* 3.340–408). Then when the Romans attacked Gischala, John and his band fled to Jerusalem to take up the war there (*JW* 4.84–120).

With his own fighting force in Jerusalem (*JW* 4.121–28), John had influence with the provisional government, which asked him to negotiate with the Zealots fortified in the temple (*JW* 4.208–215). As we have seen, John's declaration to the Zealots that the provisional government was about to betray the city to the Romans led to the subsequent Zealot takeover of the city (*JW* 4.216–32). John joined in the reign of terror against the upper classes in the hope of gaining greater power. Unable to gain command over the Zealots because of their egalitarianism, John formed his own coalition and took control of the outer

temple (*JW* 4.389–97). However, the arrival of Simon bar Giora in Jerusalem prevented John from gaining control of the whole city. In the end, John's force gained leadership over the Zealots (*JW* 5.98–105) and defended Jerusalem alongside Simon's larger army.

John did not have a social program like the Sicarii and Simon, nor did he have the zealotic concern for the purity of the temple. Also, he did not have messianic aspirations like Simon bar Giora. John was apparently convinced that the Romans would deplete their resources conquering the countryside and that "had they wings, the Romans would never surmount the walls of Jerusalem" (*JW* 4.126–27). John believed God was an indomitable ally in the Jewish struggle. He melted sacred vessels for use as weapons in the conviction that the nation "should not scruple to use divine things on the Divinity's behalf" (*JW* 5.564). When near capture, John requested the Romans to permit his group to leave the city to settle in the desert (*JW* 6.351). Instead, the Romans seized him and later imprisoned him in exile (*JW* 6.434; 7.118).

**d. Simon bar Giora.** Simon son of Giora was a champion of the lower classes. He rose from obscurity, as David had, to become his country's leader. His name probably means "son of a proselyte" (Roth 1960: 53). From Gerasa in the Transjordan, Simon was a popular "strong man" known for his youth, physical prowess, and courage, similar to Athronges and Simon, a slave of Herod, who each led revolts at the death of Herod in 6 B.C.E. (*JW* 2.57–65; *Ant* 17.273–84; Farmer 1957; Horsley 1984: 488–91). Simon, whose loyal followers obeyed him "like a king" (*JW* 4.510) apparently had messianic aspirations.

Simon was the leader of a band active in the Judean countryside in the pre-war period. He first appears in 66 C.E., attacking Cestius Gallus' troops and seizing Roman supplies (*JW* 2.521). Simon subsequently took control of the Acrabatene region in NE Judea, plundering the wealthy pro-Roman citizens (*JW* 2.652–54). The provisional government in Jerusalem was alarmed by this development and sent a force to disarm him, whereupon Simon fled S to the Sicarii at Masada, with whom he had little in common except antipathy for the Jewish government (*JW* 4.503–513). After the provisional government was overthrown and the high priest Ananus had died, Simon moved out to the hill country and later overran Idumea, with headquarters at Nain (*JW* 4.515–37). He greatly increased the size of his following by a royal-like proclamation of "freedom for slaves and rewards for the free" (*JW* 4.507–508; cf. Isaiah). Also, many nobles fled the Zealot reign of terror in Jerusalem to join Simon (*JW* 4.353, 510). When it became clear to the Zealots in Jerusalem that Simon was preparing to storm the city, they kidnapped his wife, which made him furious (*JW* 4.538–44). Then some Idumeans in Jerusalem who had broken with the Zealots opened the city gates, and, in 69 C.E., the people welcomed Simon as "savior and protector" of the city (*JW* 4.574–75). Although Simon was unable to dislodge either the Zealots or John of Gischala from the temple areas (*JW* 5.23–26), he nevertheless took control of the upper city and part of the lower city with headquarters in the tower of Phasael. He was now "Master of Jerusalem" (*JW* 4.577).

In the defense of Jerusalem, Simon led the largest force, comprising 10,000 men, and under him served the Idumeans, 5,000 strong. In battles against the Romans, these troops cooperated with John of Gischala, who had 6,000 men under him, and the Zealots, who numbered 2,500 (*JW* 5.248–50). As a commander who inspired great loyalty (*JW* 5.309), Simon exerted firm discipline, executing upper-class people suspected of treason, prohibiting assembly, imprisoning suspected deserters, and providing burial for the dead (*JW* 5.527–45, 567, 6.380–81). After Simon's troops were defeated and he and the leaders of his group had fled into the underground passages of Jerusalem (*JW* 7.26–27), Simon emerged alone in white robes and voluntarily surrendered, perhaps to assume his messianic role even in defeat and to prevent further ill-treatment of his troops (*JW* 7.28–29). The Romans obviously considered Simon to be the main Jewish commander, for they paraded him in chains at Rome, where he was executed in the Forum (*JW* 7.153–54).

**4. The Aftermath of the War.** By the end of the war, the city was destroyed and the temple was completely razed. Most Jewish warriors were killed and their families enslaved. A few fortresses in S Israel held out after the war—Machaerus, Herodium, and Masada—which the Romans subdued by 74 C.E. The economic life of the nation was devastated by the loss of the temple and by the scorched-earth practices of Roman conquest. The temple tax now went to the Romans. The Sanhedrin and the ruling classes were destroyed in the war, and the priests could no longer participate in a sacrificial cult. The

surviving Pharisaic rabbis established a center at Jamnia, studied the Law in hopes of a restoration of the nation, and may even have exercised some jurisdiction in civil cases (*HJP²* 1: 514–28).

The Romans maintained Judea as a province under Roman governors until the Bar Kokhba War of 132–135 C.E. at the time of the emperor Hadrian. When the Romans subdued this Jewish revolt in Palestine, they turned Jerusalem into a Roman colony, renaming it Aelia Capitolina and prohibiting any Jew from entering there. This was the end of Israel as a political entity in the Roman Empire.

**C. Resistance Against Rome and the Zealot Movement**

Scholars have consistently referred to the revolution against Rome as the Zealot Movement. If they mean by this that all revolutionaries were Zealots or that all revolutionaries embraced the particular ideology of "zeal," then undoubtedly the depiction is incorrect. However, if the Zealot epithet for the movement simply emphasizes a predominance of religious motivations over social or political motivations in the war against Rome, then we must weigh the causes and the motivations of the war, the preconditions, and the precipitating events in order to determine how appropriate it is to refer to the war as a Zealot Movement in this broad sense.

The dynamics of the war were extremely complex. Not only was this a national war against the Romans, who dominated and exploited the Jews politically, economically, and culturally, but it was also a civil war among Jews. In a traditional peasant society like Israel, there was widespread hostility against exploitation by the Jewish ruling elite, especially where the elite ruled on behalf of foreign power. This social situation pitted peasants against the wealthy, lower priests against high priests, rural against urban, populace (including urban laborers) against the aristocracy. These internal conflicts drew the majority of the nation, including the reluctant elite, into the struggle against Rome. In addition, as we have seen, the factions had different ideological bases, conflicting political programs, and a variety of methods to achieve their goals. During the war these Jewish factions made continual war on each other except when constrained to form coalitions in the presence of the common enemy, Rome. In the end, this was a popular war resulting from widespread and longstanding grievances affecting large segments of the population. The causes and motives were therefore many and varied, including the ordinary human drives for survival, honor, wealth, and power. Scholars variously emphasize three major sets of causes for the war: political, socioeconomic, and religious.

**1. Political Causes.** Some scholars emphasize a political cause (Aberbach; Moering; Rappaport; Smallwood): the Roman Imperial imposition of the Hellenistic-Roman culture upon a local national culture struggling to survive. This Roman domination is evidenced by the emperor Gaius' intention to put his statue in the temple, the establishment of Hellenistic cities and culture in Palestine under Herod, the particular conflicts in Palestine between Jews and Greco-Syrians over control of cities and scarce land, the gradual change in official Roman policy toward the Jews which became more negative as the century wore on and eventually led to the volatile decision by Nero in 66 C.E. to give the Greek populace of Caesarea charge of the city over the Jews who lived there, and finally the massacre of Jews in Hellenistic cities at the opening of the war. Add to these the political mismanagement of the province, including (a) the rapid turnover of procurators who used the position as a means to gain wealth and as a stepping stone to higher rank (cf. *Ant* 18: 172–78), (b) incompetent and corrupt procurators who showed little sensitivity for Jewish customs, (c) erratic procuratorial appointments to the office of high priest which resulted in conflicts among the high priestly houses, (d) the failure to station an adequate number of troops in Palestine, and (e) the Roman use in their auxiliary forces of non-Jewish residents from Palestine who already had a history of hostility toward Jews. Such an ineffective governance of the province, if it did not cause the war, certainly provided the conditions for the rise of revolutionary factions. In addition, there were the military miscalculations of Cestius Gallus at the opening of the war (Gichon) and the harsh Roman prosecution of war—a scorched earth policy and a refusal in the conquest of cities to distinguish between those who favored war and those who did not—which fueled the flames of war throughout.

It should be noted, also, that the Jews were not easy to govern. They had a strong historic commitment to freedom from foreign domination, which in this period had become an article of religious faith (Feldman 1984: 661). Coins of the revolt bore the inscription "The Freedom of Zion." And from the

Roman point of view, Jews had peculiar religious sensibilities, such as the prohibition against images, about which the Jews were adamant. Judea was like "the top of a volcano of Jewish nationalism which might erupt at any moment" (Smallwood 1965: 316). And the conflicts between the ruling high priestly families and their efforts to gain power by bribing the procurators only exacerbated the Roman struggle to control the province.

**2. Socioeconomic Causes.** Other scholars emphasize socioeconomic issues (Appelbaum; Goodman; Horsley; Kreissing; Rajak): the confiscation of property by the Romans, the foreclosure on property resulting from failure to repay loans to wealthy Jews, the restriction in the size of peasant holdings at a time when the population had burgeoned due to the displacement of Jewish peasants from city territories restored to gentile hands by Pompey, the subordination of peasant holdings to large estate owners, an extremely burdensome system of double taxation for the Jewish and Roman governments, famine in the late 40's, and significant unemployment due to the completion of the temple in 64 C.E. These factors led to peasant indebtedness, indenturing, forced urbanization, and widespread banditry and terrorism against the upper classes—which in themselves contributed significantly to the atmosphere leading to war. The victims of these conditions swelled the ranks of revolutionaries. Revolution arises in peasant societies where the governance is ineffective and the peasantry is economically marginal. In Israel, the result was a class struggle, a peasant rebellion, against both the Romans and the ruling Jewish elite.

**3. Religious Causes.** Still other historians emphasize the religious motivations of the Jews (Borg; Freyne; Hengel; Stern): an ideology of "no lord but God" which was absolutely incompatible with Roman rule; the belief that God's land should be free of foreign domination; the obstinate defense of the Jewish Law; the commitment to execute God's vengeance; the zealous cleansing of the holy land, city, and temple from profane gentile influence as a means to secure the prosperity and freedom of the nation; and the conviction that when they fought for the Law, as the small group of Maccabees had once fought, God would honor their cause. Add also the widespread eschatological atmosphere fueled by the presence of prophetic figures, the belief that scriptures were about to be fulfilled, and the expectation of a messianic figure (which Josephus states as the main religious motive, *JW* 6.312)—all informed by the conviction that the worse things got, the greater was the likelihood that God would intervene. Many leaders believed God was the ally to guarantee their cause in the course of events: the Jews in Parthia and Abiadene might bring those territories to Israel's aid; the Jews in the Roman Diaspora might rise; unrest in Rome during the year of four emperors which led Vespasian to withdraw in 68 C.E. might cause a breakdown in Roman rule; disturbances among the Gauls and Celts might distract the Romans; or the Romans could wear down their war machines on the fortresses of Galilee and then be unable to overcome the formidable walls of Jerusalem. Many Jews interpreted the withdrawal of Cestius and disturbances in Rome to be signs of God's inevitable victory. Even the coins of the revolt, bearing "Jerusalem the Holy" and "the Redemption of Zion," attest to the fundamentally religious nature of the conflict.

**4. Multiple Causes.** Given the complexity of the war, it is perhaps not possible to identify any one of these major causes without which the war would not have happened. And while each of these causes is necessary to explain the war, no one of them is by itself a sufficient explanation for the war. The war was caused by the accumulative effect of a variety of factors over a long period of time (Bilde; Harter; Levine; Rhoads). Besides, religion was not a discrete factor in the ancient world, but was deeply embedded in political and economic realities. All understood their political situation and articulated their social hopes in religious terms. Every social, economic, political, and cultural issue was at the same time a thoroughly religious issue. Therefore, in the end it is not appropriate to distinguish the religious from the social, for example, as separate factors causing the war. So the Jewish resistance movement against Rome cannot adequately be capsulized by the phrase "Zealot Movement." It was that, but it was also a "social revolution," a "peasant rebellion," a "quest for holiness," a "clash of cultures," a "millenarian movement," a "national war for freedom," and much more. Only by the use of several depictions can we adequately characterize the complexity of events comprising the Roman-Judean War.

**D. The Revolutionaries and Jesus**

Historians have proposed that Jesus of Nazareth was a zealot (Reimarus; Kautsky; Eisler) or a Zealot sympathizer (Brandon 1967). This view is based on the notion that the gospels transformed Jesus into a pacifist figure and that the true revolutionary picture of Jesus can be inferred from such details as his execution by the Romans on the charge of being a revolutionary, his inclusion of Simon the zealot (e.g., Luke 6:15) among the Twelve, and his admonition to the disciples to buy swords (Luke 22:36; cf. 12:51). Other historians agree that Jesus was revolutionary in his thinking but that he rejected the Zealots (Hengel 1971; 1973; Edwards 1972), pointing to his rejection of violence (Matt 26:52), his acceptance of Jews who collected taxes for the Romans (e.g., Mark 2:15–17), and his command to love one's enemy (Matt 5:44; Luke 6:27–31, 35).

All of these scholars have tended anachronistically to see Jesus in terms of whether he was a Zealot or not. However, in light of the diversity in Judaism, the multiform character of resistance to Rome, and the late appearance of the Zealot group, scholars will do well to compare and contrast Jesus with various groups, such as the differing schools of the Pharisees, the action prophets, the "zealots," the Fourth Philosophy, and so on (Borg 1984; Horsley and Hanson 1985). in this regard, we can assess Jesus not in terms of whether he was a Zealot or not, political or not, but in terms of his larger vision and strategy for the nation of Israel as God's people, particularly in relation to the issues which came to a head at the end of Jesus' generation in the Roman-Judean War. For example, Jesus shared with some revolutionaries an opposition to the imbalance of wealth and the authoritarian use of power, and he called for renewal at every level of national life based on an egalitarian model of shared wealth and power (Horsley 1987). On the other hand, Jesus' program of renewal was opposed to the ideology of holiness which inspired much of the war, an ideology which called for radical separation from what was considered unclean. By contrast, Jesus' ideology was to spread holiness through mercy so that holiness in the land might be attained not by suppression or exclusion but by the transformation of what was unclean through healing, forgiveness, and a renewal of the temple and Torah (Borg 1984). For Jesus, the fundamental principle for interpreting the law was not "No Lord but God" (the Fourth Philosophy) nor the command to "be holy" (Pharisees and Essenes) nor the concern for proper temple worship (Sadducees) but the command to love God and to love one's neighbor, including one's enemy, as oneself (Mark 12:28–34 and parallels).

While Jesus pursued his activity nonviolently, he was nevertheless a significant threat both to the Jewish authorities and to the Roman governance of the province. In word and action, he challenged and condemned any claim to authority other than that which was an expression of the coming Kingdom of God. His apocalyptic program called for an end to the present order in the expectation that God would soon establish a new Messianic order. These and other factors help to explain why Jesus was condemned by the Jewish leaders and executed by the Roman procurator.

Although some Jewish followers of Jesus after his death were "zealous" for the Law (Acts 21:20) and probably joined the war against the Romans, most early Christians shared Jesus' rejection of violence and therefore opposed the Roman-Judean War. The gospel writers viewed the defeat of Israel at Roman hands as the consequence of the nation's rejection of Jesus and his program of renewal. Paul renounced his former zealous behavior. Although the author of Revelation had great hostility toward the Romans and shared the zealot antipathy to images and to political idolatry, the author believed that God, not humans, would exact vengeance. No early Christian writing extant advocates armed revolution as a way of expressing devotion to God.

**E. The Revolutionaries and the Essenes**

While most scholars have identified the Dead Sea sect at Qumran as Essenes, a few have equated them with the Zealots (Roth; Driver). The latter base their view on the mutual hatred both groups shared toward the Romans, the correlation of figures in the Dead Sea Scrolls with revolutionaries active in the war, and a calendar held in common with the Sicarii on Masada. However, the evidence for a similarity in calendar is inconclusive, and the tenuous correlation with revolutionary figures in the war is unlikely since the Scrolls were probably written long before the war (Rowley 1959; Vermes 1977). Also, while both groups hated the Romans, the ethic of the Dead Sea sect was contrary to that of the revolutionary groups and the piety of zeal. The revolutionary zealots hated the Romans and wanted to cleanse the land with acts of

vengeance on behalf of God. They were activists who believed they could force God's hand, for God would honor their zeal by removing the Romans. By contrast, the Essenes left vengeance in the hands of God. They withdrew and waited, unwilling to fight until God initiated the eschatological battle, fantastically depicted in the *War Scroll.* Their pacifism is confirmed by archaeologists who have found no weapons for the period prior to the destruction of the Qumran community by the Romans in 68 C.E.

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**ZEBADIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *zĕbadyâ* (זְבַדְיָה), *zĕbadyāhû* (זְבַדְיָהוּ)]. The name means "Yahweh has given a gift." In the OT, the verb is used only in Gen 30:20 (Zakovitch 1980: 31–50).

**1.** A descendant of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:15) through the line of Elpaal and Beriah (1 Chr 8:15–16).

**2.** A descendant of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:17) through Elpaal (1 Chr 18:17–18).

**3.** A Benjaminite, the son of Jeroham (1 Chr 12:8—Eng 12:7), who with his brother Joelah joined David in Ziklag during the time David could not move freely about because of Saul. The Chronicler describes the Benjaminites who joined David as kinsmen of Saul, who could shoot arrows or sling stones with either their right or left hands (1 Chr 12:2).

**4.** Listed as a gatekeeper, a Levite, the third son of Meshelemiah (1 Chr 26:2). Zebadiah's father Meshelemiah is identified as the son of Kore and, in the MT, as belonging both to the Korahite family of gatekeepers and to the family of Asaphites. Commentators regard it as unlikely that Meshelemiah and his family are to be linked with the family of the Asaphites who were known as temple musicians. $LXX^B$ has Abiasaphar instead of Asaph. Myers (*1 Chronicles* AB, 174) suggests "Abiasaph" and "Ebiasaph" as possibilities and notes that Ebiasaph appears in 1 Chr 9:19. Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 170) suggests reading Ebiasaph. Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 248–49) reads Abiasaph.

**5.** The son of Asahel who, according to 1 Chr 27:7, succeeded his father in bearing responsibility for the division of laborers that worked in the fourth month in a twelve-month rotation. Although 1 Chr 27:1–15 intends to depict the administrative structure established by David, Zebadiah's father Asahel was killed before David became king of all Israel (2 Sam 2:18–23). Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 174–75) notes that the mention of Zebadiah acknowledges this difficulty, but does not eliminate the tension raised by the text.

**6.** One of the Levites, who according to the Chronicler was sent by Jehoshaphat in the third year of his reign, along with the king's officers and two priests, in order to teach in the cities of Judah (2 Chr 17:8). Myers (*2 Chronicles* AB, 99) proposes that the fact that laymen were mentioned as teachers points to a tradition older than the Chronicler, since the Chronicler considered the Levites to have had the primary responsibility as teachers. He considers 2 Chr 17:8 as a possible addition by the Chronicler. The nature of the "book of the law of Yahweh" which the officials, Levites, and priests are reported to have taken with them is not known. Williamson holds that the Chronicler understood it as primarily religious in character, based on what we now know as the Pentateuch (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 282–83) but agrees with the suggestion by Myers (*2 Chronicles* AB, 99–100) that the book referred to in the Chronicler's source may have been a royal law code. The possibility that the report of the teaching mission in 2 Chr 17:7–9 represents another version of the report of judicial reform in 2 Chr 19:4–11 has also been discussed.

**7.** The son of Ishmael, called the governor (Heb *nāgîd*) of the house of Judah (2 Chr 19:11). According to the report of Jehoshaphat's judicial reform (2 Chr 19:4–11) Zebadiah was charged with supervising the judges who were responsible for matters of royal law, while Amariah the chief priest supervised the judges in matters concerning Yahweh.

**8.** The son of Michael, listed in Ezra 8:8 as the head of the father's house of Shephatiah which included eighty males who returned to Jerusalem with Ezra. Myers (*Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 67) notes that while 1 Esdr 8:34 has "Zeraiah" (Gk *Zaraias*), the name Zebadiah has been found on a 5th century ostracon from Ashdod.

**9.** Listed in Ezra 10:20 as a descendant of the priestly family of Immer who divorced his foreign wife (= 1 Esdr 9:21, Gk *Zabdaios*). The list of those who divorced their foreign wives and disowned the children born to them may seem "extraordinarily small considering the furor and the census figures in chapter ii" (Myers *Ezra-Nehemiah* AB, 87). Myers discusses three possible explanations: (1) the problem was not as serious as it would seem on the surface; (2) the list preserved is only a partial list perhaps reflecting only the upper classes; or (3) the reform was not successful (ibid., 87–88; *1 and 2 Esdras* AB, 99). Stating that the first explanation can be easily dismissed, he favors the second explanation. Blenkinsopp, on the other hand, argues that the reform was not successful *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 197–201).

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KEITH L. EADES

**ZEBAH AND ZALMUNNA** (PERSONS) [Heb *zebaḥ wĕṣalmunnāʿ* (זֶבַח וְצַלְמֻנָּע)]. The two "kings of Midian" who were captured and executed because they had killed Gideon's (half-?) brothers at Tabor (Judg 8:5ff.; Ps 83:12 [—Eng 83:11]; Knauf 1988: 91). The name Zebah means "sacrifice" (cf. Old S Arabic *ḏbḥm, ḏbḥn;* Palmyrene *dbḥ*). The name Zalmunnah in Hebrew, by popular etymology, means "shadow is withheld." The various versions (LXX *Selmana;* Vulg *Salmana*) have preserved the correct vocalization: the name therefore is a composite with the divine name *Ṣalm* and the verb *mnʿ—ṣalmmanaʿ*, "Ṣalm protects." The name *Ṣlm* ("statue") is already attested as a divine name in the Hittite capital during the LB Age (see *ṣalm* in CAD). It is perhaps worth noting that the Assyrians worshipped deified statues of kings. A god with this name is also attested at Taima as early as the 6th century B.C., and it survives well into the Roman period as far N as Palmyra and Transjordan.

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GEORGE E. MENDENHALL

**ZEBEDEE** (PERSON) [Gk *Zebedaios* (Ζεβεδαιος)]. The father of the apostles James and John (Matt 4:21 par.; 10:2 par.; 26:37; John 21:2) and the husband of Salome (Mark 15:40; cf. Matt 20:20), who herself was a disciple of Jesus (Matt 27:56; Mark 15:40; 16:1). Zebedee and his sons were involved in the fishing industry in Capernaum in Galilee and were closely associated in the business with Simon Peter and his brother Andrew (Mark 1:16–20; Luke 5:1–11). Zebedee was with James and John in the fishing boat when Jesus called them (Matt 4:21; Mark 1:19–20) and was left to fish alone with the hired servants upon his sons' departure (Mark 1:20). The *Gospel of the Nazarenes* 33 calls Zebedee a "poor" fisherman. However, having servants in his employ (Mark 1:20) and a wife, Salome, who may have contributed to Jesus' support (cf. Mark 15:40–41; Luke 8:1–3) indicates he may have been a man of some financial means. It is nowhere recorded that Zebedee actively participated in the ministry of Jesus as did his wife and sons.

JOANN FORD WATSON

**ZEBIDAH** (PERSON) [Heb *zbydh* (זְבִידָה)]. Mother of Jehoiakim, King of Judah (2 Kgs 23:36). Her name occurs in the regnal formula of her son found in 2 Kgs 23:36 but is omitted from the parallel account in 2 Chr 36:5. She is the daughter of Pedaiah from Rumah. Her marriage to Josiah is seen by some as evidence of Josiah's influence in the N. Zebidah is the Kethib of 2 Kgs 23:36 (*zĕbîdâ*); the KJV follows the Qere and reads Zebudah (Heb *zĕbûdâ*). See also JEHOIAKIM; QUEEN.

LINDA S. SCHEARING

**ZEBINA** (PERSON) [Heb *zĕbînāʾ* (זְבִינָא)]. A descendant of Nebo and one of the returned exiles whom Ezra required to divorce his foreign wife (Ezra 10:43). The parallel text of 1 Esdr 9:35 omits Zebina completely. According to Noth, the name Zebina means "bought," perhaps because the child was an orphan (*IPN*, 231–32). Zebina was a member of a family from which a group of exiles returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:29 and Neh 7:33). For further discussion, see BEDEIAH.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

**ZEBOIIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣĕbōyîm* (צְבֹיִים)]. One of the five "cities of the plain." According to biblical tradition, Zeboiim was located near Sodom and Gomorrah and destroyed with them. Zeboiim is cited as one of the towns marking the Canaanite's S border (Gen 10:19). Its king, Shemeber (along with the kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zoar), was defeated by the Elamite King Chedorlaomer and his three allies (Gen 14:2, 8). The account of God's overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 19:24–28) does not explicitly mention Zeboiim. However, its destruction is assumed in Deuteronomy (29:22—Eng 29:23), where Zeboiim and Admah are presented along with the better known Sodom and Gomorrah as proverbial examples of divine punishment. Hosea 10:8 also recalls Zeboiim's destruction (cf. Wis 10:6).

The historicity of Zeboiim's association with Sodom and Gomorrah is uncertain. Scholarly opinion has ranged from characterizing the story of the existence and destruction of the "cities of the plains" as an etiological creation to accepting the essential historicity of the Genesis 14 account of the league of five cities (Schaub 1982: 18–20). Several scholars hold that the relatively infrequent number of references to Zeboiim and Admah indicates that they have been secondarily added to a core Sodom tradition. The association of these two cities with Sodom and Gomorrah is, however, very strong. Zeboiim and Admah are mentioned apart from Sodom and Gomorrah only in Hosea 10:8. The location of Zeboiim is also disputed. Biblical references suggest that the cities of the plain were located near the Dead Sea (cf. Gen 14:3). However, scholars debate whether their ruins should be sought near the sea's N or S shore. Five EB Age towns found to the SE of the Dead Sea have been hailed as the cities of the plain; however, there is no archaeological evidence directly linking the sites to the biblical cities. See Harland 1942; van Hattem 1981; Simons *GTTOT*, 222–29.

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CAROLYN J. PRESSLER

**ZEBOIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣĕbo͑îm* (צְבֹעִים)]. **1.** A valley toward which a reconnaissance party of Philistine soldiers from Michmash was sent at the time of Saul's uprising (1 Sam 13:18). The scouts evidently headed SE along the N rim of the Wadi es-Ṣwenīt toward the desert. Today, approximately 9 km SE of Mukhmas (Michmash), near the conjunction of the Swenit with the Wadi el-Ḳelt, exists the Wadi Abū Ḍibā͑ (Arab: "Valley of the Father of Hyenas"), which seems to retain the ancient Hebrew toponym.

**2.** A town of the Benjaminites in the period following the Exile (Neh 11:34). It is listed among towns that seem to lie in the W portion of traditional Benjaminite territory. Kh. Sabīyah, N of Lod, is frequently suggested as its location.

PATRICK M. ARNOLD

**ZEBUL** (PERSON) [Heb *zĕbūl* (זְבֻל)]. Abimelech's appointed governor (Heb *pāqîd* "delegate" in Judg 9:28; *śar-hā͑îr* "ruler of the city" in Judg 9:30; cf. *HALAT*, 904; Reviv 1966: 255) of Shechem, who warned his master of Gaal's sedition and impending revolt. Suggesting that Abimelech ambush Gaal and his men at dawn (Judg 9:32), Zebul first played down Gaal's fears the next morning, and then taunted him to rush out impulsively to defend the city (Judg 9:38). After Gaal's defeat, Zebul denied Gaal reentry to Shechem as a base for continued opposition (Judg 9:41). Throughout the narrative, the only dialogue is between Zebul and Gaal. Abimelech never speaks, but only acts (Soggin *Judges*, OTL, 188). Zebul's title, *pāqîd*, is related to a Hebrew verbal root meaning "to recruit, muster." One of his activities must have been that of "mustering" forces for the universal practice of military and civil forced labor, which could not have increased his popularity with the Shechemites (Boling *Judges* AB, 177). Zebul is the remnant of a sentence name and means "exalted" (Gamberoni *TDOT* 4:30). It probably refers to the "exalted" state of some deity rather than the title of his own political position. It occurs often in Ugaritic texts as an adjective, of Baal and Yam (the Canaanite sea god). It also occurred once as a personal name in an Egyptian inscription (Ward 1963: 426).

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KIRK E. LOWERY

**ZEBULUN** (PERSON) [Heb *zĕbûlūn* (זְבוּלֻן)]. Var. ZABULON. ZEBULUNITE. The sixth son born to Leah and Jacob, and the full brother of Issachar and Dinah (Gen 30:20). Zebulun is also the eponymous ancestor of the tribe whose territory is in the Galilee.

Zebulun is born to Leah after an unspecified period of infertility. The narrative implies that Leah's inability to bear additional children is a result of Jacob's refusal to sleep with her. The circumstances of Leah's isolation change when her firstborn son, Reuben, discovers some mandrakes (an aphrodisiac), prompting Leah's hopes to have intercourse with her husband. Her childless sister Rachel, however, bargains for the mandrakes, but Leah exacts as the price from Rachel that Leah will sleep with Jacob (Gen 30:14–18). This extraordinary account culminates with four births: Leah has Issachar, Zebulun, and Dinah; Rachel gives birth to her first child, Joseph.

Upon bearing Zebulun, Leah poignantly exclaims, "God has given me (*zĕbādanî*) a good gift (*zebed*); now my husband will dwell with me (*yizbĕlēnî*), because I have borne him six sons" (Gen 30:20). Interpreters have posited two sources for the name Zebulun in this popular etymology. Some suggest, for example, that the words *zebādanî* and *zebed*, both of which come from the root *zbd*, is E's explanation for the name, whereas J's explanation is based on *yizbĕlēnî*, which comes from the root *zbl* (BDB, 256–59). The translation of *zbl* as "dwell" is supported by Gen 49:13 with an emendation to the text. The proposed Hebrew reads *zĕbûlūn lĕḥôp yammîm yizbōl* ("Zebulun will dwell by the shore of the sea"), with the substitution of *yizbōl* for MT *yiškōn.* As the narrative in Genesis 30 stands, both *zbd* and *zbl* contribute to the understanding of the name, and it is not necessary to posit two distinct sources for Leah's statement of the significance of Zebulun's name. *Zbd* reflects the name because of the assonance, and *zbl* mirrors the root from which Zebulun comes (*IPN*, 159). The naming is ultimately ironic because there is no indication that Jacob ever ended his disdain for Leah, his less beautiful but more fertile wife. Nonetheless, Leah's naming of the child indicates that she understands the son to be a gift, as are all the children who are given to her because of God's sympathy (Gen 29:31). Whatever the origins of the actual etymology or the popular etymology, Noth suggests that the name was originally a personal name (*NHI*, 66), and Elliger proposes that the name originally referred to a god or a specific dwelling place (*IDB* 4: 941; cf. *TPNAH*, 197, 300).

The very explicit borders of the tribal territory of Zebulun are found in Josh 19:10–16. The territory, found in the Galilean highlands, is alongside the territory of Issachar. The reference in Gen 49:13 to Zebulun dwelling at the shore of the sea probably refers to the tribe's early attempts to possess the shores of the Chinnereth, or it could refer to the tribe's Solomonic borders, which extended to the Mediterranean. Aharoni (*LBHG*, 237) has identified the tribe's borders as including the region bounded by Sarid/Sadud (tell Shadud) on the SE border, to Wadi Musrarah/Kishon on the W, to the Sahl el-Battof on the NE and W. Zebulun, along with Asher and Naphtali, dwell in mountainous and forested terrain, a situation that prompts Gottwald to suggest that they lived in pockets within the territory dominated by Canaanite city-states (1979: 528). Judg 1:30 recounts, "Zebulun did not drive out the inhabitants of Kitron, or the inhabitants of Nahalol; but the Canaanites dwelt among them, and became subject to forced labor." It is possible that Zebulun and Issachar shared some territory, since Deut 33:18–19 implies they had a mountain sanctuary in dual possession and because Moses' blessing to Issachar and Zebulun is given together.

Zebulun usually is listed as the sixth tribe of Israel (Gen 35:23, 46:14, Exod 1:3), although there are deviations. For example, when the tribes and their spies for the land are listed in Num 13:1–16, Zebulun is listed seventh. Not much information is given about the activities of Zebulun. It is mentioned as one of the tribes summoned by Barak of Naphtali when he fought Sisera in the Galilee region at Deborah's request. The song of Deborah praises Zebulun for its courage in the battle. Zebulun also assisted Gideon in battle against the Midianites and Amalekites. Only a few individuals of Zebulun are given distinction. One of its commanders, Eliab son of Helon, represents Zebulon when Moses orders a census of the tribes and commands its troops (Num 1:9, 2:7). Other leaders include Elizaphan, son of Parnach, who divides the territory of Zebulun upon Moses' appointment, and Elon, who judges Israel in the years between

judges Ibzan and Abdon. The only other thing that is known about him is that he was buried at Aijalon in Zebulon (Judg 12:12). Although the cited numbers of the Zebulun's troops cannot be considered historically accurate, the tribe is consistently represented as having a proportionately large population. In Num 1:30–31 it has the fourth largest number of troops of all the tribes, and in 1 Chr 12:33 it provides the single largest army of all the tribes to fight for David's installation as king. Elliger points out, however, that since Zebulun is not included in the enumeration of the Solomonic districts (1 Kgs 4:7), it may be surmised to have been of lesser economic importance (*IDB* 4: 941). In the days of Hezekiah, some people from Zebulun responded to Hezekiah's plea to return to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover (2 Chr 30:11). Although some did not follow all the prescriptions, Hezekiah's prayers for them were answered (2 Chr 30:17–20). Isaiah speaks of Zebulun's future glory (Isa 8:23—Eng 9:1), and Ezekiel hopes for the restoration of Zebulun alongside Issachar and Gad (Ezek 48:26–27).

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SHARON PACE JEANSONNE

**ZECHARIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *zĕkaryâ* (זְכַרְיָה), *zĕkaryāhû* (זְכַרְיָהוּ)]. Var. ZECHER. Zechariah appears in the biblical writings first as an Israelite name in the mid-8th century B.C.E. (see nos. 1–2). Its etymology, "Yahweh remembers," may explain the rise of the name at this time. In light of the societal pressures caused by the rise of the Neo-Assyrian empire and the developing Israelite traditions of its deity's involvement with the establishment of the Israelite nation, the name may represent a religious plea of the Israelite and Judean nobility to invoke renewed divine aid. The absence of the name in the biblical corpus in the 7th century supports this interpretation. The name becomes most prominent again in the Persian period. Given the development of the biblical traditions and the political and social hardships suffered by the Judean communities in Judah and in Diaspora during this time frame, the etymological significance of the name again was most appropriate, as is seen in the thematic importance of Yahweh "remembering" within the Priestly source (see, e.g., Gen 8:1). The name achieved widespread geographical dispersion in the period. The name is found for historical persons in Babylon (see ## 21–23), in Judah (see ## 20, 26, and 29), and in the Judean military colony in Elephantine Egypt (see Porten 1968: 240–43). In addition, the name represents a favorite for the Chronicler to employ in order to create anachronistically his history of the Jerusalem temple-state (see ## 3–18 and 28–29). The Chronicler was especially fond of utilizing the name for his newly created priestly and levitical personnel (see ## 5–9, 12, and 14–18), reflecting perhaps the particular association of the name within these groups in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.E. The name persisted in Judah throughout the Hellenistic (see # 30) and Roman eras (see ## 31–32), though it does not seem to have maintained the widespread popularity that it possessed within the Persian period.

**1.** A king of the N kingdom of Israel in the mid-8th century B.C.E. (2 Kgs 15:8). The son of Jeroboam II (2 Kgs 14:29), Zechariah lasted only six months in office until he was assassinated, ending the dynasty of Jehu (2 Kgs 15:10). The account of his reign in 2 Kgs 15:8–12 is characterized by the stereotypical Deuteronomistic condemnation of the northern kingdom's rulers. Therefore, his reign informs us about the political intrigue and instability of the northern kingdom only in the thirty years before its downfall to the Neo-Assyrian empire.

**2.** A Judean whom Isaiah of Jerusalem called upon to witness the prophet's prediction of the downfall of the northern kingdom, Israel, at the hand of the Neo-Assyrians (Isa 8:2). Most likely from the aristocracy of Judah, Zechariah, along with "Uriah the priest," served to insure the credibility of the prophet, who took care to inscribe this prophecy upon a large tablet (Isa 8:1). While certainty alludes us because of the fragmentary nature of the evidence, the same Zechariah may also be found in 2 Kgs 18:2 (= 2 Chr 29:1) as the father of Abi, the mother of Hezekiah. This identification takes on increased probability in light of Uriah the priest's presence in the reign of Ahaz (2 Kgs 16:10–16; see Kaiser *Isaiah 1–12* OTL, 180). If so, Zechariah was the maternal grandfather of Hezekiah. His presence in the early

career of Isaiah suggests a long familial relationship between the prophet and Hezekiah, clarifying perhaps Isaiah's influence within Hezekiah's court.

**3.** According to the Chronicler, a Reubenite kinsmen of Beerah (1 Chr 5:7). The Reubenite genealogy of 1 Chr 5:1–10 contains many difficulties, including the rough transition between vv 1–6 and vv 7–8. While this Zechariah and his kinsmen Jeiel and Bela may represent fragments of an earlier source (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 45–47, 63–64), the vocabulary in the passage and the close association of Zechariah and Jeiel in other artificially constructed onomastic lists (see 1 Chr 8:29–31; 9:35–37; 15:18, 20–21; 16:5; 2 Chr 20:14; 26:5–11; 35:8–9) suggest that the Chronicler may have created Zechariah the Reubenite to fill out his genealogical list.

**4.** According to 1 Chronicles, a Gibeonite, the son of Jeiel and uncle of Saul (1 Chr 9:37). 1 Chr 9:35–44 essentially duplicates the Benjaminite genealogy in 1 Chr 8:29–40, where the name "Zechariah" appears without the theophoric ending as "Zecher" (1 Chr 8:31). The exact relationship between the two genealogies remains contested. Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 83, 91–92) argues that 1 Chr 9:35–44 depends upon 1 Chronicles 8, itself patched together from independent sources, whereas Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 122) holds the opposite.

**5.** According to the Chronicler, a prominent levitical gatekeeper during the reign of David (1 Chr 9:21–22). According to 1 Chronicles 9, Zechariah was the son of Meshelemiah (also called Shallum, 1 Chr 9:19 and Shelemiah, 1 Chr 26:14), the chief gatekeeper of David's administration (1 Chr 9:17–19). Appointed to the entrance of the tent of meeting, the Chronicler portrays Zechariah as possessing the chief security and administrative responsibilities for the tent of meeting (1 Chr 9:24–28). During the establishment of a permanent personnel system by David for the soon-to-be temple, Zechariah receives by lot the care of the N area of the temple (1 Chr 26:14). The Chronicler designates him as a "wise counselor," a phrase that indicates Zechariah's high status as a royal counselor in Chronicles (see Wright 1990). This Zechariah illustrates how the Chronicler could personify a common name from his era, place it into an important civil office within the social framework of Judah in the Persian period, and transplant it anachronistically into the era of the united monarchy.

**6.** A levitical musician whom David appoints to take part in the procession of the ark into the tent of meeting in Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:18). Zechariah received the specific assignment to play the harp in this procession (1 Chr 15:20), an assignment that becomes permanent once the ark is established in the tent of meeting (1 Chr 16:5). Zechariah becomes part of the levitical musical care of the ark under the direction of Asaph. The inclusion of this specifically levitical corpus into the Deuteronomistic ark narrative is unique to Chronicles, and it most likely represents the Chronicler's own ideological invention rather than a historical account of a procession during the reign of David.

**7.** A priestly trumpeter whom, according to the Chronicler, David appointed to go before the ark in a processional into the tent of meeting in Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:24). Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 126) has argued that Zechariah and his priestly colleagues represent the interests of a later priestly redactor to Chronicles, attempting to redress a levitical bias in the original work. Yet the style of the passage and especially the parallels between 1 Chronicles 15 and the dedicatory processional of Nehemiah 12 suggest that the Chronicler composed the entirety of 1 Chronicles15. The Chronicler either employed Zechariah to expand this scene due to its commonality in his day or possibly because of the presence of Zechariah the trumpeter within the Nehemiah Memoirs (Neh 12:41; see no. 29).

**8.** The son of Isshiah and one of the "remaining Levites" who, according to the Chronicler, casts lots before David, Zadok, and Ahimelek in order to receive his place among the levitical household leaders (1 Chr 24:25). For a discussion of the historical provenance of 1 Chr 24:20–31, see ISSHIAH. The Chronicler most likely borrowed a common name from his era in order to complete a suitable list of levitical names for the reign of David.

**9.** According to the Chronicler, a levitical gatekeeper of the house of Merari during the reign of David (1 Chr 26:11). This Zechariah, the fourth son of Hosah, took up his position with his relatives in the W region of the Temple area, providing security on an important road that led outside the city (1 Chr 26:16).

The Chronicler again employed a common name from his day to detail anachronistically a scene in a previous era.

**10.** According to the Chronicler, the father of IDDO, a prince of the half-tribe of Manasseh in Gilead (1 Chr 27:21).

**11.** According to the Chronicler, a Judean aristocrat contemporaneous with Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 17:7). Jehoshaphat assigns this Zechariah, along with other Judean leaders and Levites, to travel through the cities of Judah in order to enforce the "book of the Law of the Lord" (2 Chr 17:9). While Albright (1950: 61–82) argued that this government-sponsored religious reform reflects a historical event from the time of Jehoshaphat, it seems more likely that the Chronicler invented the whole passage, including Zechariah, to aid in his portrayal of the "good" reign of Jehoshaphat.

**12.** According to the Chronicler, the father of Jahaziel, a levitical singer-prophet who prophesied victory for Jehoshaphat's Judean army in an impending battle against the Moabites, Ammonites, and Meunites (2 Chr 20:14). Zechariah, a name that the Chronicler continually associated with levitical personnel, represents the construction of an artificial genealogy for Jahaziel, thereby channeling prophecy into the levitical order (Petersen 1977: 55–87).

**13.** According to 2 Chronicles, a son of Jehoshaphat, a brother of Jehoram (2 Chr 21:2). 2 Chr 21:2–4 alone describes the misfortune of Zechariah, along with his brothers Michael, Azariah, Jehiel, and Shephatiah. Zechariah and his brothers receive wealth and their own fortified cities from their father (2 Chr 21:3a). Their fortune, however, is short lived. Following Jehoshaphat's death, firstborn and heir-designate Jehoram purges his kingdom of all potential rivals to the throne, including Zechariah and his brothers. For a discussion of the historicity of this scene, see MICHAEL (PERSON). The Chronicler most likely anachronistically retrojected the common postexilic name "Zechariah" into the time of the divided kingdom for his narrative purposes.

**14.** According to the Chronicler, the son of Jehoiada, a priest who led a palace coup against Athaliah and established Joash as king of Judah (2 Chr 24:20). Absent from the Chronicler's source in 2 Kings 12, Zechariah appears only as a character in the reign of Joash in 2 Chronicles 24. After Jehoiada's death, Joash submitted to the pressure of his nobility and "forsook the house of the Lord … and served the Asherim and the idols" (2 Chr 24:18). Therefore, Zechariah delivers a prophetic oracle against Joash. Despite Zechariah's father's support for Joash, the king orders the execution of Zechariah. Zechariah dies in the court of the temple (2 Chr 24:22), where previously Jehoiada had saved the life of the young prince, Joash (2 Chr 23:9–11, 15–16). Before his death, however, Zechariah utters a curse upon Joash (2 Chr 24:22), setting into motion the Chronicler's theology of immediate divine retribution. Joash is assassinated by his own servants "because of the blood of the son of Jehoiada the priest" (2 Chr 24:25). The significant differences between 2 Kings 12 and 2 Chronicles 24 has caused some commentators (see, e.g., Rudolph *Chronikbücher* 273–74) to posit that the Chronicler utilized an independent source in the composition of this narrative. The Chronicler's own ideology, however, sufficiently explains the differences that exists between the two narratives. Zechariah, therefore, would represent a literary character of the Chronicler's own invention, a priestly and prophetic figure like the restoration prophet of the same name (see ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF), rather than a historical figure. Despite this lack of historicity, it is this Zechariah who is referred to in an early Q saying (Luke 11:51), possibly indicating that Chronicles was considered by this time to be the last book in the Hebrew Bible (see Dillard *2 Chronicles* WBC, 193). Matthew, however, mistakenly interprets this early Jesus-saying to refer to the Zechariah of the prophetic book ("Zechariah the son of Barachiah," Matt 23:35; cf. Zech 1:1). See # 31 below.

**15.** According to the Chronicler, a mentor of king Uzziah (2 Chr 26:5). The Chronicler credits Zechariah for Uzziah's early success because he taught him "the fear of God," which brought about divine favor (2 Chr 26:5). The identity of this Zechariah is unclear. Williamson (*1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 334) suggests that the Chronicler found a Zechariah associated with Uzziah in an independent source; Dillard (*2 Chronicles* WBC, 208) raises the possibility that the Chronicler referred to the Zechariah of Isa 8:2. Perhaps, however, it is best to understand the Chronicler appealing to the Zechariah

of 2 Chr 24:20 (see # 14). The language of 2 Chr 26:5 mirrors that of Zechariah's speech in 2 Chr 24:20–22, and prophecy (2 Chr 24:20) and instruction (2 Chr 26:5) are closely related in Chronicles (see, for instance, 1 Chr 25:1–8). The Chronicler relates proper royal behavior to the king's obedience to prophetic instruction through the figure of Zechariah.

**16.** A levitical descendant of Asaph, who, according to the Chronicler, participated in the cultic purification of the temple in Hezekiah's reforms (2 Chr 29:13). The levitical workforce cleaned only the outer areas of the temple, leaving the altar and vicinity for the priests (2 Chr 29:16). While debate exists concerning the compositional history of 2 Chronicles 29 and the historicity of the Chronicler's portrayal of the reforms and Passover of Hezekiah, there is a general consensus that the appearance of this Zechariah and his levitical colleagues are a result of the Chronicler's own ideological tendency, anachronistically portraying postexilic names as persons from the time of Hezekiah.

**17.** A Levite from the family of Kohath who, according to the Chronicler, supervised work crews during Josiah's temple renovation (2 Chr 34:12). The Chronicler seems to portray these levitical supervisors as temple musicians (2 Chr 34:12b) who also possess other civic duties ((2 Chr 34:13b). It is interesting to note that Zechariah appears with Meshullam in this scene, reminiscent of the proximity of the two names elsewhere in 1 Chr 9:21 and 26:1–19 (see no. 5). Zechariah here again represents the Chronicler's literary imagination retrojecting a name from his own day to construct the history of preexilic Judah.

**18.** A priestly nobleman who donated sacrificial animals for the Passover festival during the reign of Josiah (2 Chr 35:8=1 Esdr 1:8). This Zechariah is designated as a "ruler" (*nāgîd*) of the temple. This position seemingly generated abundant wealth from which he donated for the special Passover celebration. The Chronicler's own hand is apparent throughout this narrative, indicating that he again drew upon the name of Zechariah to portray a priestly individual who played an important supporting role in the religious reforms of preexilic Judah.

**19.** According to 1 Esdras, a representative of Josiah who observed the proceedings of the Great Passover celebration with his colleagues Asaph and Eddinus (1 Esdr 1:15). Zechariah here exists as a variant reading for "Heman" in 2 Chr 35:15 (as Eddinus is for Jeduthun). In light of the significant association of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthan throughout Chronicles (see 1 Chr 16:37–42; 25:1; 2 Chr 5:12; and 29:13–14), it seems that Zechariah may have appeared in the text of 1 Esdras either as the result of assimilation of an association between Zechariah and Asaph found in 1 Chr 16:5 or of Zechariah's important role within the Josiah narrative (1 Esdr 1:8=2 Chr 35:8). This event is altogether omitted in 2 Kings 23.

**20.** The late-6th century prophet and contemporary of Haggai to whom the book of Zechariah is attributed. See ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF.

**21.** A 5th century B.C.E. Diaspora Judean in Babylon who led 150 kinsmen back to Judea with Ezra (Ezra 8:3=1 Esdra 8:30). For the historical value of Ezra 8:1–14, see GERSHOM. Zechariah was from the house of Parosh, a family heavily involved in the first repatriation of Judah under Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:3). Members of the contingency led by Zechariah participated in the reforms of Ezra by divorcing their non-Judean wives (Ezra 8:25) and appear, most likely as a literary construct, signing Nehemiah's covenant in Nehemiah 10 (see Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 310–14).

**22.** A 5th century B.C.E. Diaspora Judean in Babylon who led a small group of 28 kinsmen to Judea with Ezra (Ezra 8:11=1 Esdr 8:37). For the historical value of Ezra 8:1–14, see GERSHOM. Zechariah was from the family of Bebai, who also participated in the first repatriation of Judah under Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:11). Members of the contingency led by Zechariah participated in the reforms of Ezra by divorcing their non-Judean wives (Ezra 8:28) and appear, most likely as a literary construct, signing Nehemiah's covenant in Nehemiah 10 (see Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 310–14).

**23.** A leader of the exiled Judeans returning to Judah with Ezra (Ezra 8:16=1 Esdr 8:44). Upon Ezra's discovery that no levitical families existed among the new group of repatriates, Ezra sent a group of leading men, including Zechariah, to Iddo, in order to obtain levitical personnel for the repatriation. There is no way to tell whether this Zechariah is identical with the Zechariah from the family of Parosh, Bebai, or Bigvai, or whether he is unknown in the extant literary sources from the 5th century B.C.E.

**24.** A member of the family of Elam who lived in Judah during the reforms of Ezra (Ezra 10:26=1 Esdr 9:27). Zechariah had married a non-Judean wife. He agreed to divorce her under the threat of complete ostracism from the Jerusalem temple-state during Ezra's reforms.

**25.** A Judean official who appeared in Jerusalem with Ezra during the public reading of the "Book of the Law" (Neh 8:4=1 Esdr 9:44). While a later editor seems to have thoroughly redacted this scene of Ezra's reform, the reference to specific individuals may represent the presence of an underlying historical source (see Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 284–87). This may have been one of the Zechariahs who returned with Ezra from Babylon (see nos. 21–23). The scribe who added Meshullam to the MT in Neh 8:4 seems to have identified this Zechariah with the Judean leader of the same name that Ezra sent with the embassy to Iddo of Casiphia (Ezra 8:16–17; see # 23).

**26.** According to the book of Nehemiah, an ancestor, possibly the grandfather, of Athaliah, an inhabitant of Jerusalem in the Persian period (Neh 11:4). Zechariah here appears as a genealogical link between Athaliah and Perez, one of the sons of Judah (Gen 46:12). Zechariah thus "proves" Athaliah's lineage as one of the "sons of Judah" (Neh 11:4).

**27.** According to the book of Nehemiah, an ancestor of Maaseiah, an inhabitant of Jerusalem in the Persian period (Neh 11:5). Zechariah here appears as a genealogical link between Maaseiah and Shelah (Gen 46:12), who is referred to here as "the Shilonite" (Neh 11:5). Zechariah thus "proves" Maaseiah's lineage as one of the "sons of Judah."

**28.** An ancestor of Adaiah, the head of a priestly family in Jerusalem in the Persian period (Neh 11:12). The inclusion of Zechariah here illustrates well the process by which an editor, possibly the Chronicler, formed artificial genealogies. The editor of Neh 11:1–24 inserted "son of Pelaliah, son of Amzi, son of Zechariah" (Neh 11:12) between Jeroham and Pashhur in 1 Chr 9:12. He thereby increased Adaiah's lineage from three to six without disrupting extensively the original genealogical framework.

**29.** A priestly trumpeter who participated in Nehemiah's dedication of the restored walls of Jerusalem (Neh 12:35, 41). Zechariah appears in Nehemiah 12 leading the priestly trumpeters behind Ezra in Nehemiah's dedicatory processional (Neh 12:35). Following the circumambulation of the walls in opposite directions, the two groups, one lead by Nehemiah (12:38) and one by Ezra (12:31b–36) rejoined each other in the temple (12:40). Under the direction of Jezrahiah, Zechariah participates in the musical culmination of the dedicatory ceremony (Neh 12:41–42). This performance of the temple musicians thereby initiated the accompanying sacrifices and subsequent festival (Neh 12:43). The exact lines of the compositional history of Neh 12:27–43 are difficult to discern with precision. An editor, possibly the Chronicler, has carefully redacted the original Nehemiah Memoirs throughout this section (see Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 343–48). Thus, while Zechariah's appearance in the temple (Neh 12:41) seems to represent an original part of the Nehemiah Memoirs, his leadership of half the procession around the Jerusalem walls seems to have originated in the redactional work of the editor. Zechariah here receives a distinguished lineage that originated with Asaph (Neh 12:35), an original temple musician according to 1 Chronicles 25. The editor thereby utilized the name "Zechariah" to unify his narrative purposes with his historical source.

**30.** The father of Joseph, an unsuccessful Judean general during the Maccabean War (1 Macc 5:18, 56). The presence of Zechariah in the 2d century B.C.E. attests to the continued presence of the name in Judah throughout the Hellenistic and into the Roman period. It does not seem to have achieved the popularity, however, that the name possessed in earlier Second Temple times.

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**31.** Father of John the Baptist, a member of the priestly division of Abijah (Luke 1:5; 3:2; 1 Chr 24:10). Zechariah appears in the infancy narrative in Luke 1 as a witness of the dawn of the messianic age. Zechariah and his wife, Elizabeth, were aged and without children. When Zechariah was serving at the temple, the archangel Gabriel appeared and revealed that God had heard his prayers; he and Elizabeth would have a son, and his name would be John. John's character would be "filled with the Holy Spirit" and his task was to prepare the people in the spirit and power of Elijah. In light of Zechariah's doubt regarding his and Elizabeth's ages, Gabriel provided a sign: Zechariah would be unable to speak for the entire duration of Elizabeth's pregnancy (1:5–25).

Upon the circumcision of John, he confirmed Elizabeth's choice of the name John rather than the customary name of the father or grandfather, by writing it on a tablet. Then his voice returned and he prophesied regarding Israel's messianic hope with what is now called the Benedictus (1:68–79).

Zechariah also appears in the apocryphal *Protevangelium of James* 23–24 as slain in the temple forecourt as a result of Herod's wrath. However, this account is a conflation of Luke 1 with the reference to the prophet Zechariah in Luke 11:51. There is confusion as to the exact identity of the Zechariah in Luke 11:51 (Ross 1987). Luke's passage could refer to 2 Chronicles 22–24 to Zechariah, the son of the high priest Jehoiada (see # 14 above). Filled with the Spirit, Zechariah denounced apostasy and was stoned to death by order of King Joash. His death was avenged by the taking of Joash's life (24:25). Matthew (23:34–36) calls Zechariah "the son of Barachiah," identifying the martyr with the postexilic minor prophet (Zech 1:1; # 20 above). Some think Zechariah may be an unknown prophet who was killed in the temple within a short time of Jesus' ministry.

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**ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF.** The book of Zechariah, in both the MT and the LXX, is the eleventh book of the Twelve Minor Prophets. Many scholars believe that the book is a composite production, made up of First Zechariah, which includes chaps. 1–8, and Second (or Deutero-) Zechariah, which includes chaps. 9–14. First Zechariah is considered to be a product of the late 6th century, contemporary with the postexilic prophets Haggai and Malachi. However, there is no general consensus on the date for the oracles in chaps. 9–14.

## *ZECHARIAH 1–8*

First Zechariah is presumably the name of the prophet who wrote most of Zechariah 1–8 and who was also the redactor of the Haggai-Zechariah 1–8 composite work. See HAGGAI, BOOK OF. Of priestly descent, the prophet is identified in Zech 1:1 with a double patronymic (Zechariah ben-Berechiah ben-Iddo), which suggests the importance of the prophet's family in the restoration period.

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A. The Structure of Zechariah 1–8
B. The Structure of the Composite Work, Haggai-Zechariah 1–8
C. Historical Background
D. Features of the Three Parts
1. Zechariah, Part One (1:1–6)
2. Zechariah, Part Two (1:7–6:15)
3. Zechariah, Part Three (7:1–8:23)

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### A. The Structure of Zechariah 1–8

The first eight chaps. of Zechariah can be divided into three main sections, based on date formulas that introduce each: Part One (1:1–6) is a brief introduction connecting Haggai with First Zechariah; Part Two (1:7–6:15) is the heart of First Zechariah and comprises the visionary sequence (seven visions plus a prophetic vision) interspersed with oracular material; and Part Three (chaps. 7 and 9) consists of an introductory section (7:1–6), an address to a delegation (7:7–14), and two sets of oracles (8:1–17 and 8:18–23).

**B. The Structure of the Composite Work, Haggai-Zechariah 1–8**

Haggai and the first eight chaps. of the canonical book of Zechariah belong together as a composite work. This statement can be justified on thematic grounds alone. Both prophets deal with the reorganization of national life and institutions in the restoration period. The dated prophecies of both Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 take place within a very close time frame (29 August 520 to 7 December 518 B.C.E.). The cast of characters in the two works is virtually the same: the high priest Joshua, the governor Zerubbabel, priests, and the citizenry or representatives of Yehud (Judah). While they diverge to a certain extent in the specifics of their words, the two prophets complement each other, as one might indeed expect of two men of God who are responding to virtually the same questions and quandaries. Together they provide a pragmatic program as well as a world view that looks to the future in the process of dealing with the challenges and opportunities their people confronted at the outset of the reign of Darius I.

Correspondence of Literary Features between Haggai and Zechariah 7–8

| Feature | Hag | Zech |
|---|---|---|
| date formula | 1:1, 15; 2:1, 10, 18, 20 | 7:1 |
| oracular question | 2:11ff. | 7:3ff. |
| "House of Yahweh of Hosts" | 1:14 | 7:3; 8:9 |
| "people of the land" | 2:4 | 7:5 |
| devastation of land | 1:6 | 7:14 |
| "remnant" of the people | 1:12, 14, 2:2 | 8:6, 11, 12 |
| be strong | 2:4 (3x) | 8:9–10 |
| refound/rebuilt temple | 1:2, 2:18 | 8:9 |
| House = temple | 1:2, 2:3, 7, 15, 18 | 8:9; 7:3 |
| earnings | 1:6 | 8:10 |
| man/beast | 1:11 | 8:10 |
| man/beast | 1:11 | 8:10 |
| prosperous sowing/temple building | 1:6–11; 2:18–19 | 8:12 |
| land/produce; heavens/dew | 1:10 | 8:12 |
| blessing | 2:19 | 8:13 |
| "do not fear" | 2:5 | 8:13 |
| "nations" | 2:7, 22 | 8:13, 22, 23 |
| hem/garment | 2:12 | 8:23 |
| Elohim | 1:12 (2x), 14 | 8:8, 23 |

Aside from these obvious congruencies of content and context, various features of their literary structure indicate that Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 are a combined work. Furthermore, the individual utterances of these two prophetic leaders of the restoration were apparently delivered and then collected and organized into the present arrangement within a relatively few years. Haggai's words help initiate, or reinitiate, work on the temple in 520, and then draw attention to the significance of the actual ceremony of refoundation, an event related to Zechariah's visionary experiences, which he presents along with his oracles in his prophetic work. Zechariah's last group of oracles comes less than ten months after the refoundation ceremony. The chronological headings provide a span of less than two-and-a-half years for the materials in Haggai and Zechariah 1–8 and indicate that the two works could not have been put together as they stand any earlier than the last date given, 7 December 518. In other words, the latest date in Zechariah 1–8 serves as a *terminus post quem* for the compilation of the whole work.

**C. Historical Background**

Like Haggai, before him, Zechariah joins the ranks of Israelite prophecy amid the new and unfamiliar circumstances of the beginning of Darius I's rule. More than any other factor, the absence of a realistic opportunity to restore the monarchy influenced his emergence as a prophet and determined the content of his utterances. The hegemony of Persia in all local affairs is presupposed in his oracles. Moreover, the dyarchic pattern of rule in Yehud (Judah), consisting of governor and high priest, is never questioned. Zechariah followed Haggai in giving his prophetic authority in support of the reestablished province of Yehud. He held a realistic, pragmatic viewpoint as he tried to assist his people in the difficult transition back to "normalcy."

But the normalcy of the Second Temple was not the same as that of the First Temple. The premonarchic pattern of dual leadership in civil and religious affairs gained new meaning and cogency in the postexilic era. The two prophets Haggai and Zechariah faced the challenge of assuring their audience of the traditional authority and present feasibility of the dual pattern of leadership.

At the same time, the temple still lay in ruins. Haggai and Zechariah together provided that crucial measure of support for the enterprise of rebuilding that tipped the balance in favor of temple restoration being achieved. The people heeded the words of Haggai and set about their task of rebuilding the temple. Since Haggai and Zechariah overlap in their ministries, and since Zechariah presupposes that temple work had already recommenced, Haggai's exhortations had apparently brought about the building efforts. Whereas Haggai is largely concerned with the reluctance of the people, because of their preoccupation with personal over national affairs, to respond to the Persian mandate, Zechariah addresses the meaning and symbolism of the temple as a legitimate and legitimizing expression of the new pattern of dyarchic leadership that accompanied the temple project. For Zechariah the national focus of Yehud has already been transformed, or revitalized, by the initiation of work on the temple, which he relates to the lessons of the past as evident in the destruction and exile of Judah. It is the progress on the rebuilding of the temple that inspires Zechariah to reflect on the world around him and to advise people how to operate within it.

Part One (Zech 1:1–6), which overlaps in time with Haggai, expresses Zechariah's only reservations about his compatriots. Otherwise, his main focus is to clarify in visions and oracles the contemporary world and to articulate a hopeful view of the future. That world is painted with literary artistry and prophetic authority. The prophet's audience is transported into a visionary state in which the temple and its chief appurtenances signify and legitimize aspects of the existing world order. Like so many of his predecessors, the prophet is an individual of great political acumen; he has correctly perceived the stability and staying power of Persian dominion. Only the Second Vision reflects a concern for potentially negative manifestations of Persian rule.

For Zechariah the key to the establishment of a largely ecclesiastical system of community autonomy under Persian rule is the restoration of the sacred temple in Jerusalem. Without a dynastic power in Yehud, this enterprise ran counter to the pattern of the centuries of the Davidic monarchy in Judah and to the general integration of temple and palace in the political states of the ancient world. Could Yehud countenance a temple without a king? Could internal rule be legitimate, resting on the temple and its leadership alone, without the historically predominant monarchic component of national life? Zechariah provides an affirmative answer to these questions. Chap. 3 offers divine sanction for the expanded powers of the high priest. Chap. 4 and also the Crowning (6:9–15), the final oracular scene of Part Two, justify the presence of a civil leader of the royal line and at the same time interpret how the monarchic kingdom is to be realized only at some eschatological moment. Part Three of Zechariah (chaps. 7–8), which bears the latest chronological marker of the entire Haggai-Zechariah 1–8 corpus, presupposes a Jerusalem ecclesiastical power in full control (7:3), despite the fact, which we know from biblical as well as from archaeological sources, that civil governors continued to function throughout the restoration period.

In terms of religious affairs, Zechariah is concerned with the presence of foreign cults and influence (Sixth Vision) and insists that Persian hegemony must not threaten Yahweh's supremacy. But in his eschatological expectations, he is broad-minded in his view of the role of foreign nations (8:23).

As for Haggai, Zechariah's ground of theological retrospection is the authoritative Law of the Covenant (Fifth Vision) and the influential words of the earlier prophets, to whom he repeatedly refers (e.g., 7:7,

12). Persian efforts to organize the provinces and to encourage local religious leaders to collect and codify their laws, especially during the reign of Darius I (522–486 B.C.E.), clearly had a great effect on Zechariah and his contemporaries. Zechariah's persistent mention of what appears to be a written corpus suggests that the Primary History (Genesis through 2 Kings) together with a prophetic corpus already constituted a body of sacred writings. Indeed, the impetus to combine Zechariah 1–8 with Haggai could well have arisen in part from Darius' policies in this regard. The composite work, perhaps intended to be presented to the people in time for the temple rededication ceremony, thus expressed the ideological basis for the Second Commonwealth. It would have been appropriate to have had it recited at the dedication of the Second Temple, the institutional center of developing Jewish life.

**D. Features of the Three Parts**

**1. Zechariah, Part One (1:1–6).** When seen as a part of the compendious work of Haggai-Zechariah 1–8, these six verses emerge as a transitional piece that connects the two sections of Haggai with the two subsequent sections of Zechariah. By echoing some of his language and by referring to his effectiveness in bringing about a change in the stance of the community with respect to temple building, Zech 1:1–6 exhibits an awareness of Haggai's prophecies.

The mixture of genres in Part One—narration with retrospection along with oracular material—accords with the style of Haggai; and the insertion of oracular statements into 1:1–6 has the same general character as the use of oracles elsewhere in Haggai-Zechariah 1–8. However, the layering of oracles in this section is particularly dense, with an intricate series of quotes-within-quotes in just a few verses. No fewer than five, and perhaps six, quotations appear; and they are layered as well as consecutive. This complex arrangement represents several converging influences: Zechariah's sensitivity to previous prophetic activity; the nature of prophecy as the mediated word of God; the growing authority of traditional materials; and perhaps also the highly developed epistolary style of the Persian empire, with its reports of conversations held by government officials.

**2. Zechariah, Part Two (1:7–6:15).** First Zechariah presents in this section a carefully arranged sequence of eight visions, which together exhibit a number of important characteristics. First, the visions are organized into three subsets. There are three visions in front (nos. 1–3), three visions at the end (nos. 5–7), and two visions in the middle (Vestment Scene plus vision 4):

Vision 1: Horses Patrolling the Earth
Vision 2: The Four Horns and the Four Smiths
Vision 3: The Man with the Measuring Cord
Prophetic Vision: Joshua and the Priestly Vestments
Vision 4: The Lampstand and the Two Olive Trees
Vision 5: The Flying Scroll
Vision 6: The Ephah
Vision 7: The Four Chariots

Second, this sequence is justified and enriched by the fact that there are correspondences and correlations of content and structure between the first three visions and the last three. These connections include subject matter (e.g., the horses of visions 1 and 7), internal structure (e.g., two parts each to visions 2 and 6 and direct inclusion of oracular material in visions 3 and 5), and language. These general correspondences are accompanied by other specific ones, found in each pair of visions though different for each.

Third, the correspondences between the individual units of the first and third subsets are organized in inverse order, with the first and last visions complementing each other, the same for the second and sixth, and also for the third and fifth. The correlations can be established on stylistic grounds for the first three and last three visions. This has the effect of establishing the central pair as a complementary set, although the stylistic correspondences between those two are absent; stylistic contrast (see below), in fact, characterizes the relationship of the central two visions.

Fourth, the stylistic correlations between the first and third subsets are accompanied by thematic relationships. In particular, the scope of one member of the paired visions is comparable to that of the

other member. Figure 2 shows in two ways the purview of the visions. The outer two have a universal dimension, dealing as they do with Yahweh's worldwide scrutiny (vision 1) and power (vision 7). The middle two (visions 2 and 6) are international in scope in that they are concerned with Judah/Yehud and the imperial powers (Assyria, Babylon, and/or Persia) that determined her destiny in the 7th and 6th centuries. The inner two narrow to a national focus, examining Yehud's territory (vision 3) and self-rule (vision 5). As a result of this progressively smaller field of interest, the central subset emerges with the temple in Jerusalem as the center of the prophet's universe. The overall structure, in spatial terms, can be conceived of as a series of superimposed circles (See Fig. ZEC.01) with Yahweh and the whole world as the largest circle, and the temple and the leadership of Yehud at the center. Such an arrangement implies that the smaller circles are inseparable from the larger ones that contain them. Jerusalem at the center is part of Yehud, of the international community of nations, and of the cosmos as ordered by Yahweh.

Fifth, all the above features relate to the existence of a centerpiece: the intricate structure of the visionary sequence has the effect of drawing attention to the central set, the Vestment Scene and the Fourth, or Lampstand, Vision. The prophet's ultimate concern, we learn from this arrangement, lies with the temple and the leadership in Jerusalem. In this sense, the full visionary set can properly be called Zechariah's "Temple Visions." Although only the central two visions deal explicitly with the temple, the fact that the center is an integral part of a carefully constructed whole indicates that the entire sequence emerges from the prophet's acute awareness of the conceptual and political problems surrounding the reorganization of the postexilic community and the reconstruction of that community's institutional core.

All of these characteristics of the eight visions have been presented using a system of numbers whereby the first three are called visions 1, 2, and 3 and the last three are designated visions 5, 6, and 7. In the center are the Fourth Vision and an unnumbered one. In a sense this enumeration is arbitrary, since the prophet himself did not number his visions. However, analysis of 3:1–7 reveals enough (five) distinct characteristics of that passage to warrant its being excluded from the numbered sequence.

Interspersed with the visions are a number of oracles. Although it would be convenient to separate the oracles and consider them as a discrete component of Part Two, their integral relationship with the visionary units invalidates such a separation. The oracles are incorporated into the visions in several ways. In some cases they have been worked into the very fabric of a vision, as in the First, Third, and Fifth Visions. In other places they appear to be more self-contained units, as in the Expansion of the First Three Visions (2:10–17 [—Eng 2:6–13]), the Supplementary Oracle of Chap. 3 (3:8–10), the Zerubbabel Insertion of the Fourth Vision (4:6b–10a), and the oracular portion of the final Crowning Scene (6:9–15) of Part Two.

In these latter instances the words "expansion," "supplement," and "insertion" are to be understood appropriately. These terms are not meant to indicate a separate origin or identity for the material so designated. All of the oracular sections not already incorporated into the actual visions are nonetheless integral to the visionary sequence. The ideas expressed by the oracles are based upon and also amplify themes found in the visions with which they are associated. In other words, vision and oracles complement and supplement each other. They are alternate modes of prophetic communication, employed in tandem by the prophet. Each is peculiarly suited to an aspect of his message, and so the message is communicated in the two modes. But the message is incomplete without the mutuality of these two forms of prophetic language.

The convergence, or more accurately the merger, of vision and oracle in First Zechariah is analogous to, and perhaps also functionally related to, the close relationship of poetry and prose in Haggai-Zechariah 1–8. The language for conveying a visionary experience is normally the prose of narration, whereas the language for communicating an oracle is often poetry. The former describes an indirect communication of the divine will, through the symbolic meaning of objects or persons; and the latter communicates, as only poetry can, the prophet's direct experience of God's word. Since Zechariah's prophetic activity involves both vision and direct "auditions" of Yahweh's word, vision and oracle, narrative and poetic language, are intertwined through the rich and varied expressions of First Zechariah's prophetic consciousness. The presentation of the visions takes on its characteristic dialogic character because of the role of the

Interpreting Angel; but that feature should not deflect us from perceiving the basic narrative structure of those visions.

**3. Zechariah, Part Three (7:1–8:23).** Chaps. 7 and 8 of the book of Zechariah form a distinct literary unit in the organization of Zechariah. Although composed of four sub-units, these two chaps. exhibit an overall integrity as one of the three major sections of First Zechariah. In addition, their special relationship to the material in Haggai forms a framework for Haggai-Zechariah 1–8 and indicates that Zechariah 1–8 together with the two chaps. of Haggai constitute a composite work.

The independence of chaps. 7 and 8 as a literary whole within Zechariah is apparent first and foremost on stylistic grounds. The use of formulaic clauses or phrases at the outset of this section sets it apart from the rest of Zechariah 1–8. The chief and most obvious example of this is the use of the date formula, which introduces the ensuing prophetic materials in relationship to the regnal year of the Persian emperor. The date formulas create three sections, of which this is the third. While this feature in and of itself might not be sufficient to justify such a division, it is accompanied by an oracular formula ("The word of Yahweh came …"), which likewise is found in Zechariah 1:1 and 1:7. This formula is rather awkward in its present position within the chronological heading, a fact which suggests that it has been inserted there in order to reinforce the impression, already created by the date formula, that Zechariah 7–8 stands as a section distinct from 1:1–7 and 1:8–6:15. Furthermore, Part Three contains no visions and in that way is distinct from Part Two; and it does contain extensive oracular passages and so differs from the terse narration with retrospective that dominates Part One.

The two chapters contain diverse kinds of prophetic and oracular materials that have been shaped into a unit as the result of the event that, according to the information supplied at the beginning of chap. 7, occasioned the prophetic utterance in the first place. A delegation from Bethel came to the temple with a question about fasting. The query provoked a series of retrospectives and oracles, which culminate in an eschatological vision that transforms the original question about fasting into an opportunity to depict the future of Israel and of all the nations. Yet it is the delegation's arrival and query that frame and underlie the prophetic words. The internal stimulus for the prophetic activity recorded in Part Three is accompanied by external conditions implied by the date of this section. All the other dates given in Haggai and Zechariah are in the second year of Darius' reign. Part Three is attributed to the fourth year. The temple building project was the stimulus for the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah 1–6; and now, two years later, another development in Yehud within the Persian Empire provoked Zechariah's final prophetic outburst.

Part Three itself can be divided into four segments or sub-units on the basis of both content and stylistic features. The latter includes the use of an introductory statement signifying the transmission of a divine message. The formula "The word of Yahweh came (to Zechariah)" occurs as such or with minor variations four times in chaps. 7–8, and each of those occurrences marks a new unit of material. Several features within the units so formed further suggest the integrity of those units. For example, the second unit (Further Retrospection on Divine Justice) begins in 7:7 with a question containing the word "proclaim"; it draws to a close in 7:13 with a sentence featuring "Thus … proclaimed." The response to the initial question has been brought to its conclusion, and an appended oracle (v 12b–14) develops from the second part of the "Thus … proclaimed" statement and serves as a coda to the second sub-unit. For the third and fourth sub-units, the separate oracles within each are distinguished by the use of another formula (in addition to the initial transmission formula noted above) marking the actual delivery of the divine message. "Thus spoke Yahweh of Hosts" introduces the ten (seven in 8:1–17, three in 8:18–23) oracular pronouncements of these units in every case except one (8:3), which lacks only "of Hosts."

These literary features of the sub-units are accompanied by differences in content. The Introduction (7:1–6) provides the setting of time and place, the people involved, and the situation ostensibly responsible for evoking the subsequent collection of prophetic utterances. The next three sub-units follow a time sequence. Further Retrospection on Divine Justice (7:7–14) moves backward from the prophet's day to the preexilic period and then to the trauma of destruction and dispersion. Zion and Judah Restored (8:1–17) has a chronological orientation that includes the prophet's immediate past, his present, and the

imminent future. An eschatological perspective perhaps also colors some of the seven oracles, but they can for the most part be seen as referring primarily to the prophet's own historical period. Finally, Judah and the Nations (8:18–23) looks to the eschatological future. Furthermore, building upon the situation described in the Introduction to Part Three, the prophet expands the demographic focus of interest from Jerusalem to all of Yehud, to the neighboring Palestinian peoples, and—by way of simultaneous climax to Zechariah 7–8, to Zechariah 1–8, and to Haggai-Zechariah 1–8—to all the nations of the world. Zechariah's message ends on a resoundingly universalistic note.

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## *ZECHARIAH 9–14*

Because many scholars believe that chaps. 9–14 of the book of Zechariah were not written by the same person who wrote chaps. 1–8, but by a Second (or Deutero-) Zechariah, it is necessary to examine these latter chaps. as a unit.

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A. Authorship, Date, and Literary Unity
1. History of Research
2. Recent Studies
B. Oracle One (Zechariah 9–11)
C. Another Oracle (Zechariah 12–14)

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### A. Authorship, Date and Literary Unity

Questions regarding the very existence of Deutero-Zechariah, much less its date of origin and authorship are best approached from the perspective of earlier scholarly efforts.

**1. History of Research.** Discussions of the authorship of Zechariah 9–14 initially arose from reflection upon Matt 27:9–10, which refers to Zechariah 11:12–13 and imputes authorship of these verses to Jeremiah. The issue for earlier interpreters was not so much one of higher criticism as it was the relative authority of the gospel of Matthew over against the book of Zechariah. And, as the definitive review of the research by Otzen demonstrates, it was the same issue, the so-called conflict between the Testaments, which sparked post-Renaissance debate upon the unity of Zechariah. This was first clearly evident in the work of Joseph Mede (1653), who contended that Zechariah 9–11 was written by Jeremiah, whereas Zechariah 12–14 might be attributed to Zechariah. In little more than one century after the publication of Mede's work, the issues of literary unity and date were joined in critical discussions. In 1785, William Newcombe distinguished Zechariah 9–11 as preexilic, material which he deemed similar to much in Hosea, from Zechariah 12–14, which he dated after the death of Josiah. Newcombe's position, that Zechariah 9–14 comprised two distinct parts, was advanced by Bertholdt (1812–19), who argued that Zechariah son of Jeberechiah (Isa 8:2) was the author of Zechariah 9–11 and that these three chapters had

been linked to Zechariah 1–8 because of the authors' identical names. (For Bertholdt, Zechariah 12:1–13:6 and 13:7–14:21 made up yet further components of the book, both dating to the late preexilic period.) H. Ewald (1840) proposed a reordering of Deutero-Zechariah to make Bertholdt's case even stronger. Ewald maintained that Zechariah 13:7–9 belonged originally after 11:7, since 13:7–9 and 11:4–17 both share the notion of indicting bad shepherds. Such a rearrangement allowed for an apparent coherent indictment of Israel's preexilic leaders to fall exclusively in Zechariah 9–11; whereas Zechariah 12–14, without 13:7–9, was eschatological in orientation and, therefore, later in date. The consensus on the dating of Zechariah 9–11 to the preexilic period and of Zechariah 12–14 to a later period began to break fundamentally with the challenges of Eichhorn (1823–24) and Stade (1881–82). Eichhorn theorized that Zechariah 9–10 stemmed from no earlier a time than that of Alexander the Great and that 13:7–14:21 probably derived from the Maccabean period. Stade advanced this argument for a late date of composition and maintained that Deutero-Zechariah was essentially one literary unit, rather than a variety of snippets from various dates in the Hellenistic period. For Stade, Deutero-Zechariah was a literary piece composed soon after the death of Alexander the Great.

With Stade's hypothesis, the basic options for interpreting Deutero-Zechariah were, more or less, complete: literary unity vs. literary diversity and preexilic vs. postexilic dates. These various conclusions in large measure mirrored the differing methods used by scholars; that is to say, some focused on literary style whereas others raised essentially historical questions.

Methodological diversity and remarkable variety in conclusions has continued in the twentieth century. For example, Elliger (*The Twelve* ATD) continued the impulse of Eichhorn by linking Zechariah 9:1–8 with the year 332 B.C.E. Standard introductions to the Hebrew Bible have, however, suggested something like a scholarly consensus: Zechariah 9–11 and 12–14 are separate booklets, each with its own complex literary history. Zechariah 9–11, which may include some preexilic material, achieved its final form in the Persian period, whereas chaps. 12–14 derive from the Hellenistic period.

**2. Recent Studies.** Diverse methods continue to provide differing ways of understanding Deutero-Zechariah, such that it has become difficult indeed to speak of scholarly consensus. Since 1960 there have appeared five studies, each of which uses a discrete or explicit combination of methods, arriving at conclusions not readily integrated with one another. Lamarche (1961) advocated the use of a literary structuralist method. He discerned an architectonic structure in Zechariah 9–14. Twelve primary units combined to form two entities of six units each: 9:1–8; 9:9–10; 9:11–10:1; 10:2–3a; 10:3b–11:3; 11:4–17 and 12:1–9; 12:10–13:1; 13:2–6; 13:7–9; 14:1–15; 14:16–21. Parallelism and chiasm relate the constituent units to each other in a complex way. A pronounced development of thought occurs throughout the six chapters which make up Deutero-Zechariah, a development which arises out of four primary themes: foreign nations, idols and false prophets, war and victory of Israel, and king and shepherd. Lamarche proposed to date the composition to ca. 500–480 B.C.E.

Otzen (1964) published not only a thorough review of the research but also a volume that focused upon historical-critical inquiry. He identified several units that derived from distinctive historical contexts: Zechariah 9–10, from Judahite circles in the Josianic period; Zechariah 11, from just before the fall of Judah; Zechariah 12–13 (12:2–13:1; 13:2–6; 13:7–9), which are early exilic, and Zechariah 14, which is late postexilic. Otzen's study did more than identify points of historical origin since he treated as well the matters of literary structure and tradition history, the former in dialogue with Lamarche's work when appropriate.

Saebø (1969a) used the form-critical method and identified thirteen primary rhetorical units, the compilation and recasting of which involved a complex process (e.g., the creation of Zechariah 9:1–8). Saebø's approach, as did Otzen's, allowed for the development of the literary history, whereas Lamarche's did not.

In an influential study on the origins of apocalypticism within Israel, Hanson (1975) devoted one chapter to Deutero-Zechariah and advocated the use of three methods: typological prosodic analysis, form criticism, and tradition history. The application of these methods allowed Hanson to identify six units in the text (9:1–17; 10:1–12; 11:1–3; 11:4–17 and 13:7–9; 12:1–13:6; 14:1–21) and to establish a

chronology for them; Zechariah 9:1–17, the earliest text, dates to the mid-sixth century, whereas Zechariah 14, the latest, derives from a period no later than 425 B.C.E. The use of form criticism enabled Hanson to place the Deutero-Zechariah rhetoric within the context of the history of Israelite literature (for example, the use of certain martial hymns) and tradition history enabled him not only to address the use of ANE mythological patterns in Deutero-Zechariah but also to treat the more general issue of the transition from prophetic to apocalyptic eschatology.

Childs (*IOTS*) has used canonical criticism to raise questions and answers different from all the above-mentioned studies. These questions are essentially twofold: what is the canonical (not simply literary) shape of Zechariah 9–14, and what is the relation of Zechariah 9:14 to Zechariah 1–8? Using form critical insights as part of his work, he answers the second question by suggesting that "the effect [of Zechariah 9–14] is to expand, develop, and sharpen the theological pattern of the end time which had begun to emerge in Proto-Zechariah" (p. 483). Whereas Zechariah 1–8 focused on the hope of a second exodus, this time from Babylon, that would constitute the end time, Zechariah 9–14 distinguishes between this new exodus and the anticipated final events. Statements about the canonical shape of Zechariah 9–14 cannot be answered apart from statements about the overall shape of the entire book. However, Zechariah 9–14 does introduce a new note, one "which distinguishes between the return from exile and the coming of the end time" (p. 483).

Methodological pluralism has, in the case of Zechariah 9–14, led to radically diverse assessments of the book. Because of this as-yet-unresolved diversity, the best current approach to the contents of the book is to take our methodological clues from the text itself, since there can be little argument that for the final redactor the book comprises two "oracles": Zechariah 9–11 and 12–14. (Zechariah 9:1; 12:1 and Mal 1:1 each begin with the word *massaʾ,* "oracle.")

**B. Oracle One (Zechariah 9–11)**

Zechariah 9 begins with oracles against foreign nations, a feature shared by the book of Amos. As is the case with the Amos oracles, in our literature, the states are those of Syria-Palestine: Philistia, Phoenicia, and Syria. Also similar to Amos, the cities within these territories are mentioned prominently, Yahweh's defeat of these nations and cities will enable him to be perceived as a guardian of his "house."

In Zechariah 9:9–13, Yahweh's role as military victor enables him to be construed as king; a royal procession into Jerusalem is envisioned. This kingship will secure peace for Israel and universal dominion for Yahweh (vv 9–10). Moreover, good news may be proclaimed to Jerusalem; its captives will be freed (vv 11–12). Those so liberated will function gloriously as Yahweh's military subalterns (v 13). Nonetheless, it is Yahweh who will perform the necessary military feats (v 14). As a result, those whom he is protecting will drink the blood of those who have been slain (v 15). Such victory will result in fertility and prosperity for the people, here construed as Yahweh's flock (vv 16–17).

In Zechariah 10, the tone shifts. Moreover, one senses less literary cohesion than in the foregoing chapter. In striking the note of fertility, Zechariah 10:1 establishes a link with the last verse of the previous chapter (v 17). Zechariah 10:2 comprises a judgment oracle, linking improper intermediation with current woe expressed in metaphoric terms: the people depicted as a flock without a shepherd. The key word "shepherd" joins 10:2 to 10:3. Although it seems clear that the term "shepherd" refers to the leader, it is not easy to determine whether the leader is Israelite or foreign. Zechariah 10:3–12 appears as an integrated poem which, apart from the indictment in v 3, provides words of weal, especially geographic restoration (vv 6, 8–11) and military victory (4–5, 7), though the foe is ill defined.

Zechariah 11 commences with what appears to be another standard oracle against a nation, here Phoenicia, spoken of as Lebanon. However, imperative rhetoric with an abundance of literary personifications predominate, for example, "O, cypress." What appears as a call to obedience quickly and ironically becomes a call to self-destruction: "Open your doors … that the fires may devour your cedars" (v 1). Zechariah 11:1–3 is filled with tree imagery: cedar, cypress, glorious tree, oak, forest, jungle. These symbols of verdure are consistent with the notion of fertility broached in 9:17–10:1. Here, however, the destruction rather than the commencement of fertility is at issue. The direct discourse in Zechariah 10:1 and 11:1–3, as well as the motif of fertility, create an *inclusio:* 10:1 with 11:3.

The remainder of Zechariah 11, save the woe oracle, v 17, is prosaic in style. Moreover, there is considerable scholarly sentiment in favor of linking Zechariah 13:7–9 with 11:4–17 since both texts condemn shepherds (and this despite the fact that 13:7–9 has a more consistent poetic form than does 11:4–16). Zechariah 11:4–16 is, formally, an autobiographical narrative, though the identity of the individual being described is unclear. Someone is charged with the task of being a shepherd over a doomed flock. Improper gain leads to doom for the "sheep." An individual performed this task (11:7–8) and then rejected it (11:9), since the flock was ultimately destined to die. The termination of the role of the shepherd is recounted in 11:10–14, which details the attendant ritual destruction of the symbols of office. Then, Yahweh again challenges an individual to be shepherd, though this time apparently without success (11:15–16). Within the context of this appeal, the author broaches the image of yet another shepherd, one who destroys. The role of the shepherd is ambiguous, though this metaphor typically refers to the royal office in the ANE. In the postexilic era, the metaphor might refer either to a civil or a religious leader. The tone of this chapter is decidedly negative in its references to both the leader and the people. The woe oracle in 11:17 repeats the notion of a worthless shepherd (so 11:15) and introduces curses upon this figure.

Zechariah 13:7–9 also focuses on punishment of the shepherd; here, however, it is Yahweh's or "my shepherd." But, as with 11:6–9, there is a strong sense of solidarity between the sheep/people and the shepherd/leader and the suffering they all will undergo. In Zechariah 13:8–9, there is provision for a remnant, a group that Yahweh will refine out of the population and that Yahweh will call, following the covenant formulary, "my people." Without these verses, Zechariah 11, as it caps off the first oracle, is negative in its implications; woe overshadows weal.

**C. Another Oracle (Zechariah 12–14)**

The editorial introduction specifies that this section is a "word of the Lord concerning Israel," unlike the case with Zechariah 9–11, an oracle against foreign nations. It is not surprising, therefore, that with chap. 12 literary style and theme change markedly. Prose overtakes poetry. Moreover, the connective tissue provided by the phrase "on that day" makes the composition appear atomistic. (That phrase appears in Zechariah 12:3, 4, 6, 8 [2x], 9, 11; 13:1, 2, 4; 14:4, 6, 8, 9, 13, and 20.) Despite these features which distinguish chaps. 12–14 from chaps. 9–11, this oracle does begin in a way similar to the first one, namely, by setting the international or cosmic context for what Yahweh is doing. There will be conflict between Yahwist and non-Yahwist (Zech 12:2a, 3, 4). The text includes stock images of judgment, including siege by many nations, to reinforce the severity of punishment that Judah will incur. Moreover, there will be intra-Israelite conflict (12:2b; this verse may be corrupt). The site of this conflict will be Jerusalem, though there is a competing tradition in which Judah suffers the same fate as does Jerusalem.

In 12:5–9, the author seems intent on articulating the special place Zion/Jerusalem and its inhabitants will have: Yahweh will glorify Jerusalem and its inhabitants. In addition, "the house of David" receives special and ambiguous mention. The house of David may not be exalted over Judah, but it will be like God. This section expresses a revised version of the Zion and David tradition, as that tradition is attested in Isaiah and Psalms.

In Zechariah 12:10–13:1, attention shifts to the Davidic house, its past sin and future possibilities. These verses are words of weal, presumably to the Davidides of the postexilic era. However, such promising words are conditioned by the persecution in which they (Davidides) have been involved (Zech 12:10). Moreover, this sin engendered by the Davidides will result in radical lamentation (12:11–14), not only by the Davidic house but by the entire ruling elite, including both priestly and royal elements.

With Zech 13:2–6, the author addresses a new topic—prophecy. One senses here a claim that prophecy in the preclassical or classical model is a thing of the past. If someone claims to be a prophet, "his father and mother who bore him, will say to him, 'You shall not live.' " If Zech 12:10–13:1 strikes a note of continuity with earlier Israelite traditions by allowing for a positive view of the Davidic house, then Zech 13:2–6 strikes a note of discontinuity by disallowing the possibility of prophetic performance.

In the final section, Zech 14:1–21, motifs already broached in Deutero-Zechariah recur, but in a more intense or cataclysmic manner. Many interpreters define this as a chapter more apocalyptic in its

orientation. There is also considerable reference to earlier prophetic literature. As with 12:1–13:6, the material appears fragmented because of the prominence of the phrase "on that day." And again the Zion tradition is adduced, namely, foreign nations will come up against Jerusalem and Yahweh will defend his city. In this attack on Jerusalem, Yahwists will suffer (14:2). Moreover, Yahweh's theophany will involve not only defeat of the enemy but also fundamental disturbance of the natural order (14:2–6). The appearance of Yahweh will also engender living waters, which will lead in turn to marvelous fertility (14:8). All of this results from Yahweh's manifestation as divine warrior, a role that allows him in turn to be acclaimed as king. (In Zechariah 14, the Davidide apparently has no royal role.) The royal city will remain exalted even as "the whole land" recedes, literally, in significance (14:10).

In Zech 14:12–15, the topic reverts to Yahweh's decimation of enemy peoples. Language from Israel's holy war traditions (v 13) as well as more general curse rhetoric (vv 12, 15) predominates in a way that direct language of military combat does not. Intra-Israelite conflict occurs as it had in Zech 12:1. After this ritual cosmic conflict, there is to be an enforced peace. Peace will occur within the context of pilgrimage to Jerusalem and cosmic celebration there of the Feast of Booths. A general threat of drought for those who do not celebrate this festival is provided as is a more specific threat of plague against Egypt. Finally, 14:20–21 underlines the ritual character of the ceremony and eventual resolution. The feast will occur at the temple and with the appropriate ritual paraphernalia. The booklet's concluding verse, 14:21, emphasizes that the requisite ritual purity for the celebration will be achieved.

Important themes which occur in both "oracles" include: (1) the prominence of military conflict, especially with Yahweh as warrior and against foreign nations; (2) criticism of a community's leaders, whether foreign or domestic; (3) future weal for Jerusalem and on behalf of some of Yahweh's venerators; and (4) the anticipation of a future which is very good but not utopian (especially Zech 14:17–19). Despite considerable formal diversity in Zechariah 9–14, there appears to be some thematic unity. Readers discover two versions of a cataclysm which they may construe as having a fundamentally positive outcome for some, although certainly not all, Israelites, and, especially for the city of Jerusalem. Zechariah 9–11 is colored by doom, and Zechariah 12–14 by promise. (For further discussion, see commentaries in TOTC, SB, HAT, CAT, CBC, ATD, and KAT.)

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**ZECHER** (PERSON) [Heb *zeker* (זֶכֶר)]. See ZECHARIAH (PERSON).

**ZEDAD** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣĕdād* (צְדָד)]. Part of the line of the N boundary of Israel as described in Numbers 34:8 (from the Priestly source). The boundary extends from the Great Sea to Mount Hor to the entrance of Hamath and the end of the boundary is Zedad (v 8), but v 9 continues the boundary to Ziphron and ends at Hazar-enan. Ezek 47:13 provides another description of the N side of the inheritance of Israel, which passes from the Great Sea by way of Hethlon to the entrance of Hamath and on to Zedad (v 15) and continues to Berothah, Sibraim (on the border between Damascus and Hamath) to Hazer-hatticon on the border of Hauran.

The Great Sea is usually thought to be the Mediterranean Sea, from which the boundary passes to Zedad in N Syria. Zimmerli (*Ezekiel 2* Hermeneia, 528–30), however, points out several variant opinions. Noth draws the line from the headwaters of the Jordan River, curving E into Syria or N Transjordan and then curving back to the E shore of the Sea of Galilee. This is the border of the tribe of Dan. For Noth (*Numbers* OTL, 249–50), the location of Zedad is uncertain, but presumably it is somewhere near the sources of the Jordan River. The Samaritan and LXX have Zerad, located at Kh. Serada in Marj ʿAyun, W of the Hasbany branch of the Jordan and N of ʿAbil. This identification would compel us to draw the ideal boundary along the Qasmiyeh Valley and E to Hermon, much too far S according to Elliger. He claims the description represents the N boundary in the time of David. The correct Zedad is Zadad (M.R. 330420) E of the road from Damascus to Aleppo via Homs, in the vicinity of Riblah, as pointed out earlier by Robinson (1841: 461, App. 171). Eichrodt (*Ezekiel* OTL, 589) describes Zedad as SE of Homs on the way from Riblah to Palmyra, 62 miles N of Damascus. He identifies Hamath with Hamath on the Orontes (Hama, 30 miles N of Homs, 115 miles N of Damascus). He was concerned that Damascus was not in Israelite territory, so he suggested that one might emend the text to Zerada, SW of Mount Hermon, as in the Samaritan version.

While the boundary descriptions may have some reflection in reality, as in the time of David, e.g., 2 Sam 24:1–9, they seem to be more of an ideal than a reality (Simons *GTTOT*, 98). Thus the inclusion of Damascus is not really a problem in locating Zedad or other sites. Zedad is on the edge of the desert, while Hazar-enan is the last oasis in the Syrian desert as one travels toward Tadmor (Palmyra). Cooke (*Ezekiel* ICC, 525) suggested that the Priestly writer (ca. 550 B.C.E.) idealized the past in Numbers, while Ezekiel idealized the future.

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**ZEDEKIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣidqîyâ* (צִדְקִיָּה); *ṣidqîyāhû* (צִדְקִיָּהוּ)]. Meaning "Yah (or Yahu) is my righteousness," namely, "Yahweh is my right (He helped me to obtain my right)," or "Yahweh is my salvation" (*HALAT,* 944; *TPNAH,* 75, 358).

**1.** Son of Chenaanah; a prophet who promised Ahab victory against the Arameans at Ramoth-gilead (1 Kgs 22:1–28; 2 Chr 18:1–27). Ahab wishes to reconquer the city and asks Jehoshaphat king of Judah if he will help. Jehoshaphat agrees but suggests first seeking divine counsel by means of an oracle (cf. 1 Sam 23:1–5). Ahab gathers the four hundred prophets together, and they prophesy before the two kings in the *gōren,* here an open public place at the gate of Samaria (Gray *1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 450). While they are chanting a prophecy of victory, Zedekiah, about whom nothing else is known, apparently emerges from their midst and performs a symbolic act. He puts horns of iron on his head, indicating great power, and prophesies the destruction of the Arameans (cf. Deut 33:17; Jer 28:13–14). Zedekiah's prophecy, however, conflicts with that of Micaiah, who is summoned at Jehoshaphat's urging. Micaiah foretells disaster, including the death of Ahab, and attributes the false prophecy of victory to Yahweh's putting a lying spirit in the mouth of the king's prophets (cf. 1 Sam 16:14; Job 1). This divinely inspired power of prophecy lures the king to his destruction (Gray *1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 452–53). Zedekiah now strikes Micaiah on the cheek, so disclosing his anger and frustration. But each prophet believed Yahweh had inspired them both. See MICAIAH.

**2.** Son of Hananiah, a state official of Judah under King Jehoiakim (Jer 36:12). He was sitting with the other high officials when Micaiah reported on Jeremiah's oracles which Baruch had been reading aloud in the temple. Baruch was then asked to read the oracles to the assembled officials (vv 13–15).

**3.** Son of Maaseiah and contemporary of the prophet Jeremiah, who accused Zedekiah of prophesying falsely among the people in Babylon (Jer 29:21–23). He seems to have been one of several prophets against whom Jeremiah (Jer 29:8–9) makes the standard charges of prophesying a lie, dreaming dreams, deceiving the community, and not being sent by Yahweh (Carroll 1981: 190–91). Zedekiah is also

condemned for immorality in committing adultery, and therefore Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon will kill him (v 22). No doubt he was involved in some political offense such as encouraging the people to revolt. He and Ahab son of Kolaiah were executed by roasting in the fire, which was a punishment used in Babylon over a long period (Thompson *Jeremiah* NICOT, 549; see Hammurabi laws 25, 110, 157 [ANET, 167, 170, 172]; Dan 3:6).

**4.** The last reigning king of Judah (ca. 597–586 B.C.), the uncle and successor of Jehoiachin; he died in Babylonian captivity. His given name was Mattaniah (2 Kgs 24:17).

Zedekiah was twenty-one years old on his accession, and he reigned eleven years in Jerusalem (2 Kgs 24:18; 2 Chr 36:11). His mother was Hamutal, daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah (2 Kgs 24:18). He was Jehoiachin's uncle (2 Kgs 24:17) and a younger brother of Jehoahaz and Jehoiakim. 2 Chr 36:10 calls him Jehoiachin's brother, but this should be understood in the sense of "relative," for the genealogical list in 1 Chr 3:15 makes him the third son of Josiah.

Zedekiah succeeded at a difficult time. In 597 B.C. Nebuchadrezzar had deported Jehoiachin and most of the leading citizens to Babylon (2 Kgs 24:15–16). As a result the new king lacked experienced advisers. The prophet Jeremiah compared those who remained in Judah to rotten figs, unfit for eating, and saw the future as lying with the exiles, whom he likened to the most tasty figs (Jeremiah 24). Zedekiah is portrayed in the book of Jeremiah as too weak to do what he knows is right: three times during the Babylonian siege Zedekiah approaches Jeremiah (Jer 37:1–10, 16–21; 38:14–28), but faced with the opposition of officials, courtiers, and people, the king feels unable to follow the prophet's advice and to surrender to Nebuchadrezzar. Jeremiah nowhere condemns Zedekiah, but he does denounce his advisers. The king, in fact, saves the prophet's life, though he cannot spare him imprisonment.

Kings and Chronicles say little about Zedekiah's reign until the siege of Jerusalem. The Babylonian Chronicle (Wiseman 1956) shows that Nebuchadrezzar had difficulty in subjecting Syria and Palestine. In 595 B.C. a revolt broke out in Babylonia (Garelli and Nikiprowetzky 1974: 153) and was put down with much loss of life. The Chronicle features a gap after Nebuchadrezzar assembles his army to march to Syria in December 594. This rebellion forms the background to Hananiah's words spoken "in the fourth year" (Jer 28:1). Hananiah proclaimed that God had broken the yoke of the king of Babylon and would bring back the exiles, including Jehoiachin, within two years. The "fourth year" is generally understood to refer to that of Zedekiah's reign, i.e., 594–593. Sarna (1978), however, argues that the reference is to the sabbatical cycle designating 597 and harmonizing with Jer 27:1, which places the same event *bĕrēʾšît mamleket yĕhôyāqīm*, translated, "in the beginning of Zedekiah's reign," reading with nearly all scholars "Zedekiah" for "Jehoiakim." Another possibility is to translate "after the completion of Jehoiakim's reign," avoiding the emendation as well as the contradiction with Jer 28:1, and forming a link with Jeremiah 26 which deals with Jehoiakim's reign.

Egypt seems to have been a factor in the opposition to Babylon. Neco II died in 595 B.C. to be succeeded by Psammetichus II, and a number of W nations now banded together to rebel. Jer 27:1–11 shows envoys from Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon coming to try and persuade Zedekiah to revolt against the king of Babylon. They failed in this endeavor, partly perhaps due to the attitude of Jeremiah, but also relevant may be the Judean mission to Babylon in the fourth year of Zedekiah (29:3; 51:59), which no doubt confirmed the king in his refusal to rebel at this time. Finally, however, he did rebel against the king of Babylon (2 Kgs 24:20), no doubt after making due preparations (Ezek 17:15).

There is evidence for military cooperation between Egypt and Judah in 593, and the following year Psammetichus II organized a triumphal visit to Palestine (Greenberg *Ezekiel 1–20* AB, 13). The pharaoh died in early 589 and was at once succeeded by Hophra (= Apries). It is against this background that Zedekiah's rebellion should be considered. According to Ezek 17:15, it is Zedekiah's government that takes the initiative in sending an embassy to Egypt and that breaks the alliance with Babylon. Ammon joins the coalition (Ezek 21:20), as does Phoenicia.

Nebuchadrezzar quickly marched to the West and established his headquarters at Riblah on the Orontes (2 Kgs 25:6, 20). He subdued Phoenicia, besieged Tyre, and sent his troops to reduce the Judean fortresses. Ezekiel has preserved a tradition of Nebuchadrezzar's indecision regarding his plan of

campaign (Ezek 21:26–27—Eng vv 21–22). After consulting the oracles, he sent an army to attack Jersualem. He himself remained at Riblah (2 Kgs 25:6, 20).

The account of the siege and fall of Jerusalem in 2 Kgs 25:1–21 is paralleled in Jer 39:1–10; 52:4–30 (cf. 2 Chr 36:13–21). The date of the siege is a vexed question and Fensham (1982: 56–57) counsels leaving the whole issue open. According to 2 Kgs 25:1 and Jer 52:4 (cf. 39:1) the siege began in the ninth year of Zedekiah's reign, in the tenth month, on the tenth day of the month; that is, on January 15th of either 588 (Kutsch 1974) or 586 (Malamat 1975; Vogt 1975) the walls were breached and the city fell. Zech 8:19 mentions that the "fast of the fourth (month)" and the "fast of the tenth (month)" were kept in later times, no doubt in memory of these two events.

The siege was interrupted when news came of an Egyptian advance (Jer 37:5). It is possible that this was in response to an appeal by Zedekiah, perhaps reflected in Lachish letter 3 (lines 13–16) which reports that Coniah, the commander of the Judean army, went to Egypt (*BHI*, 330; *TSSI* 1: 38). The Babylonians successfully countered this threat (cf. Ezek 29:1–16; 30:20–26; 31:1–18), though details of what happened are lacking. The siege was then resumed.

It is in this context that we must understand the oracle of Jeremiah accusing the rulers and people of perfidy (Jer 24:8–10). Zedekiah had entered into an agreement with the people of Jerusalem to free their Hebrew slaves, most probably in connection with the sabbatical law of Deuteronomy 15 (Sarna 1973). After the Babylonians withdrew to meet the Egyptian army, those who had been freed were again enslaved.

When the walls of the city were breached, famine had already brought the inhabitants to desperate straits (2 Kgs 25:3). Lamentations 4 portrays the horrors of the siege. Zedekiah tried to escape by fleeing toward the Arabah, the arid steppe region E of Jerusalem (Jer 39:4; cf. 2 Kgs 25:4–5; Jer 52:7–8) but was overtaken and captured by the Babylonians near Jericho (Gray *1 and 2 Kings* OTL, 765; James *1 and 2 Kings* NCBC, 642–43). Ezekiel describes Zedekiah's flight in graphic terms (12:12), while Obadiah reproaches the Edomites for handing fugitives over to the Babylonians (chap. 14).

Zedekiah was taken to the king of Babylon at Riblah, where sentence was passed upon him for breaking his covenant oath (cf. Ezek 17:11–21). His sons were killed in front of him and he himself was blinded, the ineluctable consequences of breaking the oath of allegiance (Deist 1971); he was then taken in chains to Babylon and put in prison. According to the LXX of Jer 52:11 he was confined in the "house of the mill," where he would have had to perform the degrading task of grinding with a hand-mill (van der Toorn 1986). He died in captivity. The prophecies of Jeremiah (34:2–5) and Ezekiel (12:13) were fulfilled.

There are some apparent discrepancies with regard to the dates in the biblical records. Jer 52:28 dates the first deportation in the seventh year of Nebuchadrezzar, while 2 Kgs 24:12 assigns the exile of King Jehoiachin and his officials to the eighth year. The Babylonian Chronicle seems to support Jeremiah, but it is likely that the Chronicle is simply relating all the events connected with the campaign in Judah to the seventh regnal year, which allows him to begin the eighth year, like the other years, with a new campaign (Vogt 1975: 225–28). 2 Chr 36:10 suggests that Jehoiachin's deposition and Zedekiah's accession took place in the eighth year. Jer 52:29 dates the second deportation to Nebuchadrezzar's eighteenth year, whereas 2 Kgs 25:8 dates it to his nineteenth year. It is possible that Jeremiah's deportation of 832 persons refers to those captured before the fall of the city, as it were its first fruits (Vogt 1975: 223–24).

Zedekiah was in a difficult position. Nebuchadrezzar appointed him king, but many believed that Jehoiachin would soon return and resume his rightful position as king of Judah (cf. Jer 28:4). Jehoiachin himself no doubt bore such a hope (Jer 22:27). Jeremiah, however, emphasized that God had rejected Jehoiachin who would never return (22:27). Yet Ezekiel dated his prophecies according to the exile of Jehoiachin (8:1, 20:1 etc.) and not the reign of Zedekiah. Even the Babylonians allowed Jehoiachin the rank of king (2 Kgs 25:28).

The Bible portrays Zedekiah as a weak ruler who "did not humble himself before Jeremiah the prophet" (2 Chr 36:12), that is, did not repent and so led God to forgive and restore (Williamson *1 and 2 Chronicles* NCBC, 416, 225). As a result, he brought ruin to Jerusalem and Judah. He appears to have

been pro-Babylonian and anti-Egyptian but failed to follow Jeremiah's advice and yield to Nebuchadrezzar. The Deuteronomistic historian passes judgment on the king in the standard formula, "He did what was evil in the sight of Yahweh" (2 Kgs 24:19).

**5.** An otherwise unknown son of king Jehoiakim (1 Chr 3:16).

**6.** A signatory to Ezra's covenant and probably an official acting in an unstated capacity (Neh 10:1 [Heb 10:2]).

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**ZEEB** (PERSON) [Heb *zĕʾēb* (זְאֵב)]. One of the "princes of Midian" captured and killed during Gideon's war against the Midianites. See OREB AND ZEEB.

**ZEIRAQOUN, KHIRBET** (M.R. 239222). An Early Bronze Age site located about 12 km NE of Irbid and about 2.5 km SSE of Tell el-Mughayyir. The site sits on a plateau cut out of the fertile agricultural plain S of Wadi el-Yarmouk by two valleys, the Wadi eš-Šellale and Wadi Rahub.

N. Glueck surveyed the area from 1939–47, and again from 1963–65. Later S. Mittmann conducted an intensive survey which initiated the joint excavation project of Tell el-Mughayyir and Khirbet Zeiraqoun. In 1984 and 1985, excavations were directed at both sites by S. Mittmann and M. Ibrahim.

The area of Khirbet Zeiraqoun (ca. 400 × 300 m) is clearly delimited by the surrounding fortification wall. The area has fortunately remained uninhabited since the EB, which has made investigation much easier. The city wall is ca. 7 m thick and has been exposed for a distance of ca. 30 m. It is strengthened by a bastion at one point, making the defensive mass up to 15 m thick. The construction of the wall is characterized by parallel running seams. Across the wall are a series of niches, perpendicular to the length of the wall and irregularly spaced, in which beams were apparently inserted to reinforce the construction. The wall was used in two main settlement phases that are indicated by two compacted floors in which were small stones. The wall clearly belongs to the EB III, but earlier dates still need to be confirmed, although there is some evidence of Chalcolithic occupation.

Excavations in the inner area of the upper city revealed a stone-built circular platform which clearly seems to be an altar some 7 m in diameter. See Fig. ZEI.01. Its design, size, and date (EB III) correspond to altar 4017 from Megiddo. Cf. Fig. MEG.02. The altar, with steps from the E leading to the top, is located on the W edge of a court. S of the altar is a diagonal wall connecting the altar with a broadroom building which has an anteroom opening onto a court. In the anteroom, as in the main room, low benches of plastered stones border the base of each wall. Found within these rooms were a large, hemispherical stone basin and a rectangular stone platter. Within the broadroom was found a large amount of EB III pottery along with KHIRBET KERAK WARE. In this area was found also a complex of squares ca. 30 × 20 m. According to the ceramic evidence, the wall-like and pavement-like constructions belong to the EB IV.

Three stepped shafts lead to the water table from inside the town; these would attest to the site's importance during the EB Age. One of these shafts measures some 100 m deep, and descends to the base of Wadi eš-Šellale.

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**ZELA** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣēlaʿ* (צֵלַע)]. The name of a city in Benjamin. According to 2 Sam 21:14, it was the location of the ancestral tomb of the Saulides. It is likely that some of the patrimonial estates of the house of Saul and perhaps the clan of Matri lay within the city's limits.

In the Benjaminite city-list in Josh 18:21–28, the place name Zela ha-eleph, "ox-rib," appears (v 28) in a sub-grouping of fourteen cities (vv 25–28). In order to obtain fourteen place-names from the list, one must construe Ha-eleph as a separate site. However, the names Gibʿath and Kiriath grammatically appear to form a single site name, and they too must be counted individually to yield fourteen towns. It seems preferable to recognize two compound names within the group of twelve towns and to suggest that the summary phrase "fourteen cities with their villages" was a later editorial addition based on a misunderstanding of the elements in the older list. LXX a and b preserve different recensions of the list, including names not attested in the Hebrew, and both summarize the final count as thirteen. The former reads Zela-haʿeleph as a single entry, while the latter reads Selekan, and has no entry corresponding to ha-eleph. The city almost certainly is identical with Benjaminite Zela in 2 Sam 21:14.

It has been suggested that another variant of the name occurs in 1 Sam 10:2 in the form *Zelzah.* However, the grammatical construction of the verse favors an adverbial meaning for the phrase *bṣlṣḥ,* rather than representing a place-name introduced by the preposition "in." See ZELZAH.

The site of Zela is unknown. On the basis of presumed preservation of the ancient name, two identifications have been proposed: (1) Kh. Shʿab Salah, just S of Ramallah (Conder 1877: 38); and (2) Kh. es-Salah, immediately NE of Lifta, at the juncture of Wadi Beit Haninna and Wadi es-Somar (Dalman 1930: 61). The latter is the favored choice. Neither has been included in a published archaeological survey to date.

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**ZELEK** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣeleq* (צֶלֶק)]. Mentioned only in 2 Sam 23:37 (= 1 Chr 11:39), twenty-seventh in the list of "the Thirty," David's corps of military elite (*hagibbōrîm*). See DAVID'S CHAMPIONS . Zelek is identified as an Ammonite, perhaps one of many professional mercenaries attracted to David. Zelek's name stands in the latter portion of the list among non-Israelite entries, perhaps reflecting lower rank as well. It is possible that he should also be linked with the name Naharai/Horai (?) the Beerothite, as a weapon-bearer of Joab (McCarter *II Samuel* AB, 494, following the Kethib, *nôśĕʾê,* in v 37).

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**ZELOPHEHAD** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣĕlopĕhād* (צְלָפְחָד)]. The son of Hepher, the son of Gilead, the son of Machir, the son of Manasseh, of the tribe of Manasseh (Num 26:33; 27:1, 7; 36:2, 6, 10–11; Josh

17:3; 1 Chr 7:15). Zelophehad died along with the old generation in the wilderness leaving five daughters but no male heirs. In the case which his daughters, Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah and Tirzah, presented regarding their legal right to their father's inheritance, they specified that their father did not die because he was among Korah's followers; rather he died because of his own sin (Num 27:2–4). Their request for the inheritance was granted and it became the occasion for the establishment of a new law regarding female inheritance in cases where a man dies without male heirs (Num 27:8–11). However, in order that the property continue in Zelophehad's name and tribe, it was further specified that the daughters must marry within their father's tribe (Num 36:1–11).

The regulations that grew out of the case of Zelophehad's daughters likely did not repeal the principle of levirate marriage (Deut 25:5–10). Weingreen (1966) suggests that the daughters' protestation of their father's innocence was a necessary part of legal procedure, a demonstration to the court that no legal impediment stood in the way of the transfer of property to Zelophehad's legal heirs. Moreover, he posits that the protestation testifies to an ancient law not recorded in the Pentateuch about the property of a person convicted of treason.

Although attempts have been made to cast light on the mysteries surrounding both the name and figure of Zelophehad (Lemaire 1972), he remains an enigmatic figure. Research into questions about the literary and theological purposes of the narratives about Zelophehad's daughters has proved more fruitful (Olson 1985; Budd *Numbers* WBC).

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**ZELZAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣelṣaḥ* (צֶלְצַח)]. A dubious place name occurring only once, in 1 Sam 10:2.

Samuel predicts that Saul, while en route to his own home, will meet two men by Rachel's tomb at the border of Benjamin *bṣlṣḥ,* "at Zelzah," who will inform him that his father's asses have been found. The meeting constitutes the first stage of a three-part predictive sign by which Saul is to be reassured that his secret anointing is indeed the will of Yahweh. As frequently noted, the locale for the meeting is pinpointed very specifically by reference to the landmark tomb and its situation at the border of Benjamin, so that the appearance of the phrase *bṣlṣḥ,* which appears to function as another geographical indicator, is unnecessary and probably secondary (i.e., Budde *Samuel* KHC, 66; Smith *Samuel* ICC, 69; Driver *Samuel* 1913: 78; Stoebe *Samuelis* KAT,1, 197). In addition, the quadriconsonantal root yields a non-Semitic-sounding place name. Such concerns did not prevent the translators of the Syriac version and Targum Jonathan from following the MT's construal of the phrase as the preposition *bĕ* + Zelzah, a place name. If original, the phrase would best be interpreted as a temporal indicator or as a prepositional phrase describing action by the two men.

The Greek text renders the Hebrew phrase in three ways in its various manuscript traditions. Vaticanus reads *hallomenous megala,* "leaping greatly," presuming a Hebrew text reading *sōlĕḥim* for *hallomenous* and either *rbm* or *mgl/mʿl* for *megala,* depending upon whether the translator rendered the underlying Hebrew according to meaning or by transliterating the Hebrew consonants and adding vowels that would yield a familiar Greek word. The Latin translation of the LXX in the Polyglot Bible follows this rendering in its translation, *salientes granditer.* The term *megala* does not occur elsewhere in the LXX in an adverbial sense; and the root *ṣlḥ* cannot express the idea of leaping unless followed by the preposition *ʿal* and then only in a metaphorical sense; so the rendering seems to be a guess at interpretation by the translators.

The second rendering is found in the manuscripts of the Church Father Lucian (ca. A.D. 300), who augments the first rendering by adding an initial *mesēmbrias,* "at noon," after "in Benjamin." The same reading is reflected in the Vulgate's *in meridie.* Lucian's version appears to present two variant renderings

of the underlying Hebrew text, since *mesēmbrias* presumes a Hebrew consonantal phrase *bṣl ṣḥ,* "in glowing shade" (i.e., Driver *Samuel* 1913: 78; Tsevat 1962: 111) or *bṣhrym,* "at noon" (i.e., Dhorme *Samuel* EBib, 83; McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 171).

The third rendering, *en Selo en Bakalath,* appears to be a transcription of an underlying Hebrew consonantal phrase rather than an attempt at translation. It would seem to presume a Hebrew text of *bṣlh bbklt.* This rendering precedes the first one, *hallomenous megala,* in certain mss. Three variant forms occur in various mss: *en Selom Bakala, en Selom Bakallath,* and *en Selo smaakalath.*

A number of attempts to reconstruct a plausible Hebrew consonantal text that would make sense in the established context have been made, highlighting the uncertainty of the original text and its meaning. Maintaining the MT consonants intact, one proposal suggests that the phrase reads "at Zelzah," reflecting a place name whose identity has been lost (Keil and Delitzsch 1872: 97; Klein *1 Samuel* WBC, 91). A second reads *bĕṣēl ṣaḥ,* "in scorching shade," deriving the substantive *ṣaḥ* from the root *ṣḥḥ* and translating "cloudless clear atmosphere" in the sense of scorching heat rather than of the sometimes presumed hot wind (Zimolong 1938: 175–76; for a slight variation, see Hertzberg *Samuel* OTL, 77). A third proposal favors the adoption of *bĕ‹ēt soḥŏrayim* "around noon," following the second variant reading attested in Lucian (i.e., Dhorme *Samuel* EBib, 83), while a fourth views the MT phrase to be a corruption of an original *bĕṣēlā‹,* reflecting the burial place of Kish (2 Sam 21:14) and entering v 2 as a scribal gloss (i.e., Smith *Samuel* ICC, 67; Miller 1974: 159–60). A fifth alters the final *ḥet* to a *lamed* and adds a *mem,* reading *bĕṣelṣĕlîm,* "with cymbals" or "with music" (Cappell 1689).

A sixth proposal alters the initial *bêt* to an *‹ayin* and the second *ṣade* to a *śin* to reconstruct the original text as *‹ēṣel śīaḥ,* "near a bush" (Caspar *Samuel* KAT, 111). A seventh, reconstructing a Hebrew text *ṣlḥy rbm* from the first Greek rendering, suggests that the resulting Hebrew text itself is a corruption of an original Hebrew consonantal text *ṣdym bkm,* "awaiting you impatiently," referring to Saul's father and his fellow townspeople's anxiously awaiting the return of Saul and his companion (Dalman 1929: 354). An eighth similarly proposes that the MT and Greek text both reflect a corrupted underlying Hebrew text but restores it as *ṣōpîm lĕkā,* "looking out for you," referring back to the two men (Budde *Samuel* KHC, 66). A ninth proposal links the phrase to the verbal expression used in vv 6 and 10, *ṣālāḥ ‹al,* "take possession," or "rush upon," and suggests that it was intended to indicate that the two men Saul would encounter were divinely possessed (Ackroyd *1 Samuel* CBC, 82). A tenth proposal reconstructs an underlying Hebrew text *bṣl‹m bmqlwt,* "in their limping on staffs," from the first and third Greek renderings (McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 171).

Finally, an eleventh suggests that the third Greek rendering transliterates an original Hebrew *bṣlh b‹lh,* "at Silo of Ba‹alah," and that the resulting phrase is a geographical indicator referring to a hamlet in the neighborhood of Kiriath-jearim. Ba‹alah is an alternate name for Kiriath-jearim in Josh 15:9 and 1 Chr 13:6, the reported onetime home of the ark. The pilgrim Theodosius (ca. A.D. 530) refers to a site called Silona, where the ark of the Lord had been located (Tsevat 1962: 112, 114–15). In this case, the phrase would best be taken as a secondary gloss meant to clarify the location of Rachel's tomb in light of Gen 35:16–21.

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

**ZEMARAIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣĕmārayim* (צְמָרַיִם)]. **1.** A town appearing in the list of cities belonging to the E part of Benjamin (Josh 18:21–24), possibly identifiable with Ras et-Taḥuneh (M.R.

170147; *LBHG*, 385; cf. *HGB*, 401). Shishak's campaign list in the Amon temple at Karnak also mentions this town (*CTAED*, 204).

**2.** A mountain in the hill country of Ephraim where Abijah of Judah met Jeroboam I of Israel in battle (2 Chr 13:4). The outcome of the battle was that Judah annexed part of S Ephraim.

The town Zemaraim and the mountain Zemaraim could be identified as the same location if one explains that the once Ephraimite Mt. Zemaraim was annexed and thereafter reckoned as part of a Judahite administrative district (as described by Josh 18:21–24), either by Abijah after his victory against Jeroboam I (Cross and Wright 1956: 222–23) or by Josiah through his annexation of territory from the Assyrian province of Samaria (Noth *Josua* HAT, 111–12).

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WESLEY I. TOEWS

**ZEMARITES** [Heb *ṣĕmārî* (צְמָרִי)]. A people descending from Canaan, son of Ham and grandson of Noah (Gen 10:18; 1 Chr 1:16). They are associated in these genealogies with peoples who are found elsewhere in the OT among the native, pre-Israelite inhabitants of the land of Israel (Deut 7:1; Josh 3:10; 24:11). They were dispossessed under Joshua and during the settlement period. In Akkadian texts there are several references to a city of Ṣimir, Ṣimiri, or Ṣimirra, while the Amarna Tablets from Egypt refer to Ṣumur. All place it in Syria. Tiglath-pileser I (ca. 1116–1078 B.C.) refers to the city as lying S of Arvad. An exact identification of the site has not been made; but a location between Arvad and Tripoli, the area of the later Phoenicians, fits the evidence. See also *EncMiqr* 6: 740–42.

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DAVID W. BAKER

**ZEMER** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣemer* (צֶמֶר)]. A city on the coast of Phoenicia near the mouth of the Elutheros river (Nahr el-Kebir) at the site of the modern town of Sumra, located between Arvad and Tripoli, just N of the Syrian-Lebanese border. Zemer was conquered by Thutmose III of Egypt in the 15th century B.C. but was lost in the Amarna period. Seti I captured it again later in the 14th century B.C. During the Assyrian supremacy it, like other Phoenician cities, became tributary to Tiglath-pileser III and those who succeeded him. It is possibly this city that is referred to by the conjectural rendering Zemer [Heb *ṣemer*] in Ezek 27:8, RSV, where the Masoretic Text reads *ṣôr*, "Tyre." Zemer was inhabited by one of the Hamite tribes, who are represented in the genealogical tables as "sons of Canaan" (Gen 10:18; 1 Chr 1:16). The men of Zemer were noted for their skilled service as pilots on the Tyrian ships (Ezek 27:8).

RAY L. ROTH

**ZEMIRAH** (PERSON) [Heb *zĕmîrâ* (זְמִירָה)]. A Benjaminite, son of Becher (1 Chr 7:8). Nowhere else are the sons of Becher listed. The genealogical list found here bearing Benjamin's name follows Issachar. Normally Zebulun, who is missing from this list, follows Issachar. Another Benjaminite genealogical list occurs later in its normal sequence (1 Chronicles 8). This second list does not list Becher as a son of Benjamin or consequently Zemirah. Genesis 46 is the only other place Becher the Benjaminite is mentioned, and there the families are not mentioned. If Benjamin has mistakenly replaced Zebulun in this list, then Becher would be a son of Zebulun, and Zemirah would be a Zebulunite rather than a Benjaminite. Noth (*IPN*, 242) and BHS read the fem. ending and thus *zĕmaryāh* with LXX$^{AL}$.

TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**ZENAN** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣĕnān* (צְנָן)]. A town situated in the Shephelah, or lowlands, of Judah (Josh 15:37), within the same district as Lachish. This settlement is listed among the towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The theory that this list is derived from an administrative roster

compiled under the Judean monarchy (Alt 1925) has been widely accepted, although controversy continues over the precise makeup of the districts, the proper context of the town lists of Benjamin and Dan, and the period of the Monarchy to which the original roster belongs (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 64–72). It may be the same place as Zaanan, which appears in Mic 1:11 along with several other lowland towns in the prophet's lament over the fate of Judah and Jerusalem. Although ancient Zenan is surely to be found in the general vicinity of Lachish, no more precise identification can be offered at the present time.

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**ZENAS** (PERSON) [Gk *Zēnas* (Ζηνας)]. A Christian, identified as a lawyer, whom "Paul" urged Titus to speed on his way from Crete along with Apollos (Titus 3:13). The name Zenas is Greek, a contraction of *Zēnodōros,* "gift of God." Zenas is described as a *nomikos,* meaning "learned in the law," or "lawyer," although it is not clear whether he was an expert in Jewish law (e.g., a scribe or rabbi versed in the Torah), Roman law, or Greek law. Three different reasons can be given to explain his identification by the author of Titus as lawyer: (1) simply to distinguish him from another person of the same name; (2) to show that "Paul" was free from prison when the letter was written and no longer needed Zenas' services; (3) to demonstrate that the Church of the author's day attracted to itself individuals with this status (from an earlier period, cf. Erastus, the city treasurer, Rom 16:23).

It is often assumed that Zenas and Apollos, who is named with him, were with "Paul" when the letter was written and that these two delivered the letter, after which they were to be sent on their way (back to Paul?). It has also been inferred from Zenas' association with Apollos that he, like Apollos, was a Christian preacher. In sending the two men back, Titus is instructed to "see that they lack nothing" (3:13). They were to be provided with whatever provisions they needed for the journey.

According to post-NT tradition (the Greek Menologies), the first bishop of Diospolis (Lydda) in Palestine was Zenas, who wrote a letter to Titus; but this letter was most likely attributed to that bishop from the reference to the Zenas named in Titus 3:13. Also, in the *Acts of Paul* 3.2 a certain Zenon is named as a son of Onesiphorus (cf. 2 Tim 1:16; 4:19), thus leading some commentators to see a possible connection between him and the Zenas mentioned in Titus 3:13 (Dibelius and Conzelmann *The Pastoral Epistles* Hermeneia, 153).

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**ZEPHANIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣĕpanyâ* (צְפַנְיָה), *ṣĕpanyāhû* (צְפַנְיָהוּ)]. **1.** A Kohathite and ancestor of the levitical singer Heman (1 Chr 6:21—Eng 6:36). He is the son of Tahath (6:22—Eng 6:37; cf., however, 1 Chr 6:9—Eng 6:24, where Uriel is named as the son of Tahath).

**2.** A prophet during the reign of Josiah (640–609 B.C.E.). He is identified as son of Cushi, son of Gedaliah, son of Amariah, son of Hezekiah (Zeph 1:1). This extended genealogy is exceptional. Although Jer 36:14 is comparable (cf. also Bar 1:1), it is to be noted that this verse is very possibly to be emended to read "Jehudi son of Nethaniah *and* Shelemiah son of Cushi." In the case of Zephaniah's father, it is not clear whether the designation "Cushi" (Heb *kûšî*) represents a proper name or the gentilic form. If the gentilic form ("the Cushite") is intended, this alternative does not necessarily signify that Zephaniah's father was of foreign descent. However, it is possible that the extended genealogy does reflect a concern to avoid any possible misunderstanding occasioned by the name of Zephaniah's father and seeks to demonstrate that the prophet was in fact of native descent. It is improbable that the Hezekiah named as Zephaniah's great-grandfather was the Judean king by that name, although the possibility cannot be ruled out on chronological grounds. Apart from what is stated in the superscription, the book of Zephaniah provides no further information relating to the person of the prophet. It is apparent that Zephaniah exercised his prophetic ministry in Jerusalem. A bulla which dates from the early 6th century and which is

inscribed *lyrmyhw bn ṣpnyhw bn nby[ʾ?]* has been found at Lachish (see Seybold 1985: 64–65; and inscription no. 31 in Hestrin et al. 1972: 25 [Eng], 36 [Heb]). Although certain identification is impossible, the inscription may refer to the prophet Zephaniah. If this is the case, Zephaniah was the father of Jeremiah (the owner of the seal), who appears to have been a member of a prophetic guild. See also ZEPHANIAH, BOOK OF.

**3.** "Second priest" of Jerusalem (next in rank to Seraiah) and one of the royal officials put to death in Riblah by the Babylonians in 587/586 B.C.E. (Jer 52:24–27; 2 Kgs 25:18–21). He was preceded in this office by Jehoiada (Jer 29:26). As the son of Maaseiah (Jer 21:1; 37:3), Zephaniah may have been a cousin of the prophet Jeremiah (cf. Jer 32:7; 35:4). On two occasions Zephaniah was a member of a deputation sent by Zedekiah to consult Jeremiah (Jer 21:1; 37:3; some scholars believe 21:1–7 and 37:3–10 to be different accounts of the same event). Zephaniah's responsibilities included the maintenance of order in the temple (Jer 29:24–27; cf. Jer 20:1–2). In a letter written by the exiled prophet Shemaiah, Zephaniah is reprimanded for not having rebuked Jeremiah (Jer 29:27; the LXX has a different reading in 36:27). However, rather than punishing Jeremiah, Zephaniah is reported to have read to Jeremiah the letter which he received from Shemaiah (Jer 29:29).

**4.** The father of Josiah, to whose house Zechariah was commanded to take the gold and silver received from the exiles Heldai, Tobijah, and Jedaiah (Zech 6:10, 14). Possibly he is to be identified with #3 above. In 6:14 Josiah's name has been replaced by *ḥēn* (RSV reads "Josiah" with the Syriac and 6:10). It has been proposed that the word *lĕ ḥēn* in 6:14 may be an administrative title (cf. Neo-Assyrian *laḫḫinu* and Aram *lḥn*) and that Josiah was a temple steward in charge of cultic apparel (Demsky 1981). It is to be noted that some commentators and translations favor a reading of 6:10 which would include Josiah, son of Zephaniah, among those who returned from Exile bearing gold and silver (e.g., NEB).

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**ZEPHANIAH, APOCALYPSE OF.** An early Jewish text describing the cosmic journey of a righteous soul accompanied by an angelic guide who interprets the seer's visions of torment, heavenly intercession, and final judgment. Only fragments of this work have survived. The largest extant portion of text is a Coptic ms in the Achmimic dialect which was found in the White Monastery of Shenoute near modern Sohâg in Upper Egypt. Separate leaves of the manuscript were purchased by European scholars between 1881 and 1888 and published together with a much smaller fragment in the Sahidic dialect by G. Steindorff in 1899. Prior to that time, our only knowledge of an ancient *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* was a brief quotation by Clement of Alexandria (*Str.* 5.11.77) and mention in three early Christian lists of apocryphal writings.

The anonymous *Catalogue of the Sixty Canonical Books* included a work entitled the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah.* The *Synopsis scripturae sacrae* of Pseudo-Athanasius and the stichometry appended to the chronography of Nicephorus also list an apocryphal book attributed to Zephaniah. The latter source assigns it a length of 600 stichoi. There is little reason to doubt the traditional opinion that all three citations refer to the work that Clement quotes. That quotation describes

> And a spirit took me and brought me up into the fifth heaven. And I saw angels who are called "lords," and the diadem was set upon them in the Holy Spirit, and the throne of each of them was sevenfold more (brilliant) than the light of the rising sun. (And they were) dwelling in the temples of salvation and singing hymns to the ineffable most high God. (*Str.* 5.11.77)

The fragment which is preserved in Sahidic is about three times the length of Clement's quotation, and it contains the very important notice that "Truly, I, Zephaniah, saw these things in my vision." That is the

only internal evidence in any of the surviving fragments that the seer was Zephaniah. The Sahidic fragment is closely related to the longer Achmimic text, although it does not contain any of the episodes described in the surviving Achmimic text. The Sahidic fragment employs such exact parallels in literary expression that it may be identified as part of the same text, possibly fitting somewhere within a lacuna of the Achmimic manuscript, or else as part of a slightly expanded Sahidic recension. In any case those two Coptic fragments can be regarded as part of the same *Apoc.Zeph.*

The relationship of Clement's quotation to the Coptic fragments is more problematic. The quotation does not match any episode in the Coptic fragments nor does it share any characteristic phrases. Carl Schmidt, who assumed that the Coptic text was part of the *Apoc.Zeph.* cited in the stichometry, was of the opinion that the Achmimic fragment contained only about one-fourth of the complete work. If that is true, there would be plenty of room to include a trip to the fifth heaven. If, on the other hand, the Achmimic fragment is virtually complete, such an inclusion would not be possible. Because of the literary genre, it is difficult to determine how complete the Coptic text may be. That difficulty can best be described on the basis of a relatively detailed outline of the content of the text.

The beginning of the Achmimic text is missing. It now starts with a fragmentary description of a funeral, followed by a cosmic journey on which the seer is led by an angelic guide. The journey provides visions from six different locations before the seer crosses a river to reach the land where Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Enoch, Elijah, and David reside. In that place four additional visions are each accompanied by a trumpet blast. After the fourth blast, the incomplete text breaks off in the middle of a sentence.

Within that framework, the series of visions described during the journey include:

(1) Scenes from above Jerusalem, where the seer observes men and women going about their daily tasks unaware of the tenuous nature of human life, which hangs "like a drop of water suspended from a bucket." The scene ends with a glimpse of tormented souls and the seer's plea for God to have compassion on them. (2) Scenes from the top of Mt. Seir, where the seer learns that recording angels continually accompany men. Angels of the Lord record their good deeds and angels of the Accuser write down their sins. (3) A vision of ugly angels, who bear the souls of ungodly men and circulate for three days in the air before casting the souls into eternal punishment. (4) A brief vision of a beautiful heavenly city. (5) Scenes of a fiery sea and Hades, where the seer is confronted by an ugly threatening angel, but delivered by the good angel, Ermiel. While there, the seer is shown two manuscripts, one containing his sins and one relating his good works. The description of the second manuscript is incomplete because at least two pages of the Coptic text are missing at that point. (6) The ms resumes with a fragmentary scene from the crossing of a river between Hades and the land of the patriarchs. The seer is praised and given an angelic garment which enables him to understand the language of the angels and join them in prayer.

The four trumpet scenes include: (1) a vision in which the seer is declared triumphant and sees the six Old Testament heroes mentioned above. (2) A vision of Hades and tormented souls. (3) A vision of the patriarchs and all of the righteous performing intercessory prayer for those in torment. (4) A trumpet blast which precedes a description of God's coming wrath.

As the synopsis shows, the surviving text contains a number of separate visions loosely bound together by the motif of travel or of trumpet blasts. There are abrupt changes of subject. After contemplating the fleeting nature of all human life, the seer suddenly intercedes with God on behalf of the tormented. On top of Mt. Seir, the seer learns that angels record both the good and evil deeds of men, and then he travels to Hades, a place of judgment, where he confronts his own two recorded manuscripts. Between Mt. Seir and Hades, however, are two less connected visions: a fleeting glance at ungodly souls about to be cast into eternal punishment and a very brief vision of a heavenly city. After arriving at the land of the blessed patriarchs, the seer once again sees Hades, but now it is a place of torment. The seer is delivered from scenes of torment in two places, the beautiful city and the land of the patriarchs, but the reader is left to guess how those good regions are related.

Abrupt shift of scene, digression, and repetition are characteristic features of many of the ancient pseudepigrapha, particularly apocalyptic writings such as *1 Enoch, 2 Enoch, 3 Baruch,* and the *Apocalypse of Paul*. Each contains similar accounts of seers who are guided on a cosmic journey by an

angelic guide. In the composition of such works, anonymous authors, editors, and copyists freely expanded and abbreviated existing episodes or inserted new visions until each account of the heavenly journey received its final editing. The *Apoc.Zeph.* bears marks of the same sort of evolution. In working with episodic literature of that type, scholars are unable to reconstruct what may have preceded or followed the portion of text contained in the Achmimic fragment. Consequently, it is possible but not demonstrable that the episode in the fifth heaven described by Clement belongs to the same apocalypse as the Achmimic fragment. For contrasting opinions, see Himmelfarb (1983: 157) and Wintermute (*OTP* 1: 498–501).

The date of the *Apoc.Zeph.* cannot be determined precisely, but the fact that the author alluded to the story of Susanna would date it later than the circulation of the Greek additions to the book of Daniel. If the quotation in Clement belongs to the same apocalypse, the text must be dated long enough before the writing of his *Stromata* to have gained credence as an authentic apocalypse. A similar early date would seem to be called for by Himmelfarb, who suggests that the source of Clement's quotation might be "a reworking … of an earlier Zephaniah Apocalypse now preserved in Coptic" (1983: 158). Recent research tends to support a date between 75 B.C. and A.D. 150.

The provenance cannot be fixed with certainty, but a case can be made for Alexandria. The general opinion is that the text was originally composed in Greek. The writer notes as an ethical failure "a day when I did not turn to the sons of Israel," a comment which suggests the enticement of a Diaspora Jew. A citation by Clement makes it clear that some version of the apocalypse was known in Alexandria, and the existence of both Sahidic and Achmimic fragments demonstrates its continued widespread use in the later Coptic church in Egypt. If the text was composed by a Jew living in Alexandria, however, it should be dated before the destruction of the Jewish quarter in A.D. 117.

Although the *Apoc.Zeph.* is fragmentary, it is an exceptionally important witness to Jewish views of angelology, intercessory prayer, afterlife, and the ethical bases for judgment of the dead. The angelology is moderately dualistic. There are beautiful angels who assist the righteous and ugly angels who are sent to terrify sinners. The "Accuser" is the most important ugly angel, but there is nothing to suggest that he operates in opposition to God as either a fallen angel or chief of demons. His role is similar to that of Satan in the book of Zechariah. All souls are judged by a very sensitive code of ethics. It was recorded as sin when the seer failed to fast, pray, or visit the sick, widows, and orphans. Souls are tormented for sins of bribery, usury, and apostasy, but the patriarchs and righteous souls continually intercede for those in torment. The journey of the seer follows the route of a righteous soul past a judgment in Hades to an afterlife of praise, prayer, and intercession in the land of the patriarchs and righteous.

The text shares several interesting literary images with the NT. It contains a proverbial saying which describes the transitory nature of life by observing two men on a road, two women working at a millstone, and two people in one bed. Matt 24:40–41 and Luke 17:34–35 employ the same vignette to describe the sudden end of the present age. The seer was rebuked when he worshipped the splendor of an angel whom he mistook for the Lord Almighty. A similar scene appears at Rev 19:10. The seer's description of the angel Ermiel is based on a figure appearing in Dan 10:11–15. That description was modified by omitting notice of a "body of beryl," comparing the radiance of his face to the sun, and identifying the figure as one responsible for those imprisoned in the abyss and Hades. The same details appear as part of the description of the risen Christ, who has "the keys of Death and Hades" at Rev 1:13–18. It would appear that the description of Christ is partially based on a traditional Jewish model of a benevolent angel who delivered justified souls from the dead.

The most significant subsequent influence of the *Apoc.Zeph.* is its use by the author of the *Apocalypse of Paul.* All versions of that work exhibit some familiarity with the *Apoc.Zeph.* but the Coptic version has the most extended literary parallels, providing a further indication of the continued popularity of that apocalypse in Egypt.

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ORVAL S. WINTERMUTE

**ZEPHANIAH, BOOK OF.** The ninth book of the Twelve Minor Prophets of the OT, containing the oracles of the prophet Zephaniah. Zephaniah was a Judahite prophet active during the reign of Josiah (640–609 B.C.E.), probably before the reforms undertaken by Josiah as a result of the declining power of Assyria. Attempts to locate Zephaniah later, in the reigns of Jehoiakim or Zedekiah, have not generally won assent. The Josianic date for Zephaniah is consistent with the Deuteronomistic features of the text: e.g., "the host of heaven" in 1:4 (cf. Deut 4:19; 17:3; 2 Kgs 17:10; 21:3; Jer 8:2), worship "on the rooftops" in 1:5 (cf. 2 Kgs 23:12; Jer 19:13; 32:29), and the futility curse in 1:13 (cf. Deut 28:30).

In addition to locating Zephaniah's prophetic activity in the reign of Josiah, the editorial heading of the book (1:1) provides the prophet with a four-generation genealogy that traces Zephaniah's lineage back to Hezekiah. While most scholars have regarded as unprovable Zephaniah's descent from the 8th-century reforming king Hezekiah of Judah, Wilson (1980: 279–80), emphasizing the unusual character of the abnormally long genealogy, has argued for the royal descent of Zephaniah, a prophet who called for reform from within the political and religious establishment.

Zephaniah is firmly in the prophetic tradition of the great Judahite prophets of the 8th century, such as Isaiah (cf. Zeph 3:1–3; and Isa 1:21–23) and Micah (cf. Zeph 3:3–5; Mic 3:1–12); and Zephaniah's theme of the exaltation of Zion (3:14–18), to which the nations will bring tribute (3:10), reminds one of Isa 2:2–4 (= Mic 4:1–4). Zephaniah also shares features and concerns with his contemporary Jeremiah and with the 6th-century prophets Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah; among these shared features is apocalyptic eschatology (1:2–3, 7–8, 14–18), a development of late preexilic prophecy that flourished in the prophetic writings of the Exile.

### A. The Unity and Authenticity of Zephaniah

The unity and authenticity of this book have been a subject of some debate. An older tradition of historical-critical scholarship analyzed the book as composed of a core from the prophet Zephaniah supplemented by more or less extensive additions and glosses. An extreme form of this view saw only chap. 1 and 2:12–15 as authentic material by the prophet of the Josianic era, with the rest of the book assigned to the exilic or postexilic eras. Current study tends to assign the greater part of the book to the 7th-century prophet Zephaniah, recognizing that the book may have been expanded in the exilic and postexilic periods, in such passages as, e.g., 2:8–11 (in which the oracles against Moab and Ammon are believed by some commentators to reflect the era and conditions of the Exile) and 3:14–20 (considered by many to be a postexilic addition; but see below).

### B. The Text of Zephaniah

While the Masoretic Text (MT) of Zephaniah is generally without difficulties, there are a number of passages that contain obscurities (e.g., 1:2, 14; 2:1–2; 3:17–19). Further textual data are now available from the Dead Sea Scrolls: two fragmentary pesharim (commentaries) on Zephaniah from Qumran Cave 1 (1QpZeph 1:18–2:2) and Cave 4 (4QpZeph 1:12–13) and a scroll of the Minor Prophets from Murabaʿat, dating from ca. 100 C.E., containing most of Zephaniah (1:1; 1:11–3:6; 3:8–20) in a textual tradition very close to the MT.

The Septuagint (LXX) of Zephaniah has been studied exhaustively by Gerleman (1942), who concluded that the LXX *Vorlage* of the consonantal text of Zephaniah, while not identical to the MT, stood very close to it, despite variants due to scribal errors, omissions, glosses, different word divisions and vocalizations, and a few instances of possible tendentious translations, e.g., in 2:11, where the Hebrew *ʾĕlōhê hāʾāreṣ* ("the gods of the earth") was translated as *tous theous tōn ethnōn tēs gēs* ("the gods *of the peoples* of the earth") under the influence of Jewish monotheism. Finally, a Greek translation of the twelve Minor Prophets from the 1st century C.E., discovered at Naḥal Ḥever (8 Ḥev XII gr) contains

fragments of Zephaniah (1:1–4, 13–17; 2:9–10; 3:6–7). The importance of this discovery for LXX textual studies has been demonstrated by D. Barthélemy (1963; for the Zephaniah fragments, see 163–78).

**C. The Structure and Contents of Zephaniah**

The structure of the book of Zephaniah follows the familiar prophetic pattern of oracles of disaster and judgment (1:2–3:8), followed by oracles of salvation (3:9–20). The book begins with an apocalyptic picture of universal world judgment (1:2–3) which will fall first upon Judah and Jerusalem (1:4–2:3). This picture is followed by a series of oracles against the nations (2:4–15), a traditional prophetic speech form. In Zephaniah 3, there is a repetition of the pattern of divine judgment on Jerusalem (3:1–5) and on the nations (3:6–8), followed chiastically by promises of salvation to the nations (3:9–10) and to Zion (3:11–20).

**1. Zeph 1:1–6.** The editorial heading is followed by an apocalyptic picture of universal judgment (1:2–3) in which annihilation will be the fate of "human and beast, birds of the heavens and fish of the sea"; this series of four is the same as that which occurs in Gen 1:20–26 but in reverse order (fish, birds, beasts, and humans). The inversion in Zephaniah is probably meant to describe God's act of judgment as an act of "anti-creation" (Hos 4:1–3; Jer 4:23–26). The conclusion of the gloss in 1:3 ("I will cut off humankind from upon the face of the earth") is similar to such Deuteronomistic passages as Deut 6:15; 1 Kgs 9:7; 13:34 (cf. Amos 9:8).

In 1:4–6 the perspective shifts from world annihilation to the divine punishment of Judah and Jerusalem for idolatrous practices; these idolatrous cults condemned by Zephaniah were abolished by Josiah (2 Kgs 23:12–13). For the extending of God's hand as a gesture indicating divine punishment, see Ezek 14:13; 25:13, 16, where it is paired with "cut off" as in Zeph 1:4. Verse 5 contains further Deuteronomistic language, as was pointed out above.

**2. Zeph 1:7–13.** In this section the theme of the "day of Yahweh" is introduced; here as in Amos 5:18–20, it is a day of national punishment (of Israel for Amos, of Judah for Zephaniah). On that day God will prepare a great sacrificial feast, in which will be slaughtered the cosmopolitan, assimilated officials who offended God by their foreign cults and by filling the royal palace (or the temple) with goods gotten by violence and deceit (cf. Jer 5:27). For a similar description of the Day of Yahweh see Isa 34:1–8.

The districts mentioned in vv 10–11 were new Jerusalem suburbs from the time of Hezekiah or Manasseh (2 Kgs 22:14 [= 2 Chr 34:22]; 2 Chr 32:5; 33:14; Neh 11:9; 12:39). The punishment of the complacent and indifferent (v 12) is a futility curse (cf. Amos 5:11). Zeph 1:4–12 are a vivid portrayal of Jerusalem before Josiah's reforms.

**3. Zeph 1:14–2:3.** In 1:14–18 the apocalyptic Day of Yahweh reappears; this time divine punishment is not described as God's great sacrifice of those who worshipped other gods, but as God's warfare against Judah (Isa 13:9–13; Joel 3:1–5). Concluding this section is an exhortation to the "poor of the earth" to avert God's wrath by "seeking Yahweh"; the failure to do so in 1:6 brought divine judgment.

**4. Zeph 2:4–15.** This section contains a series of oracles against the nations, a standard element in prophecy (Amos 1–2; Isaiah 13–23; Jeremiah 46–51). In Zephaniah these oracles provide the theological basis for Josiah's program of political expansion in the era which saw the waning of Assyria's might. This expansion by Josiah first extended to the Philistine pentapolis (less Gath, as in Amos 1:6–8, which perhaps had already been destroyed—Amos 6:2). In a series of double entendres, the Philistine cities are personified as women whose fates will be abandonment, spinsterhood, divorce, and barrenness.

The "Cretans" (RSV CHERETHITES) appear nine other times in the OT (1 Sam 30:14; 2 Sam 8:18; 15:18; 20:7, 23; 1 Kgs 1:38, 44; 1 Chr 18:17; Ezek 25:16) as mercenaries who may have come to Canaan along with the Philistines, whose traditional place of origin was Crete (Caphtor: Jer 47:4; Amos 9:7). Zephaniah declares that their coastland will be uninhabited, fit only for pasturage (Isa 17:1–2; 27:10; 32:14; Ezek 25:5).

The theme of the "remnant" appears in 2:7, as it will again in 2:9 and 3:12–13. It is not an innovation of Zephaniah since it was used by the preexilic prophets. In Amos, the survival of only a remnant underlines the almost complete annihilation of Israel (3:12; 5:13, 15). Isaiah speaks rather of a purified, repentant remnant that survives the catastrophe (10:20–22; 11:11, 16; 28:5). In Zeph 2:7 "the remnant of the house

of Judah" takes possession of land previously held by Cretans, Moabites, and Ammonites. In 3:12–13 the remnant of Israel is described as "a people humble and lowly who take refuge in the name of Yahweh"—the same people as those addressed in 2:3 as "the humble of the land" who may find shelter on the day of Yahweh's wrath. This remnant of the lowly and humble will survive the calamities of the Day of Yahweh, and their survival will make possible a reformed and renewed people beyond the divine judgment of sinful Judah.

Like the Cretans in 2:5–7 and Nineveh in 2:13–15, Ammon and Moab (2:8–11) are addressed with traditional curses: they shall be without inhabitant (2:5), land fit only for pasturage (2:6–7), like Sodom and Gomorrah (2:9), the dwelling place of wild animals (2:14, 15), an object of horror to passersby (2:15). For similar curses see Isa 13:19–22; 34:11, 13–15; Jer 18:16; 19:48; 49:17–18; 50:13, 39–40; 51:37. The curse in 2:9 (a wasteland of weeds and salt pits) has two noteworthy extrabiblical parallels in an 8th-century Aramaic treaty (Sefire, *KAI* 1: 222) and in the 7th-century Akkadian annals of Assurbanipal (*LAR* 2: 310).

In 2:11 Yahweh's superiority over "all the gods of the earth" brings about submission and worship from the nations who served these gods. In 2:12 the Cushites (Ethiopians) are destroyed by the sword of Yahweh (Isa 34:5–6; Jer 47:6; Ezek 21:8–10). In the oracle against Assyria (2:13–15), Yahweh again stretches out his hand (as in 1:4) in judgment. Using the traditional curse formulas described above, Yahweh turns Nineveh into a desert waste and a lair of wild beasts that make the passerby shudder.

**5. Zeph 3:1–5.** The series of oracles against the nations in 2:4–15 is followed by an oracle of judgment against Jerusalem. This sequence of oracles against the nations climaxing in an oracle against Judah's principal city may derive from Amos 1–2, wherein the prophet closes his invective against Israel's former vassals (1:3–2:3) with oracles against Judah (2:4–5) and Israel (2:6–16). The judgment pronounced against Jerusalem in Zeph 3:1–5 recalls a similar passage in Isa 1:21–26, where the leaders of Judah (princes, judges, and counselors) are denounced for their dishonesty and corruption. Similar denunciations are found elsewhere in prophetic literature (Mic 3:1–7, 9–11). The instance of this traditional form in Zephaniah is especially interesting in that it served as the model and prototype of Ezek 22:25–28.

There is an effective contrast between the "princes in her midst" in 3:3 and "Yahweh in her midst" in 3:5. The "violence" of the priests in 3:4 recalls the "violence" in 1:9, and this link may identify "the house of their Master" in 1:9 as the temple.

**6. Zeph 3:6–8.** In this section we hear the words of Yahweh, whose judgment of the other nations was to serve Judah as a warning of its fate if it did not engage in self-correction and reform (3:7). The first two verbs in 3:6 ("cut off" and "are laid waste") are key words that effectively summarize the judgment pronounced against Judah and Jerusalem in chap. 1 (where the same verb "cut off" occurs in vv 3 and 4), and the doom foreseen for the nations in chap. 2 (where the verb "lay waste" or the related noun occurs in vv 4, 9, 13, and 15). The cities devastated by Yahweh are described traditionally as being turned into uninhabited and untraversable wastes (Jer 2:6; 50:12–13). The concluding v 8 returns to apocalyptic language in its picture of God's judgment coming upon the whole world (1:3–4, 18). And as Zeph 3:1–4 is the prototype for Ezek 22:25–28, so likewise Zeph 3:8 is the source for Ezek 22:31.

**7. Zeph 3:9–13.** The picture of the divine judgment upon Jerusalem and all the nations in 3:1–8 is followed in 3:9 by a picture of purified nations invoking and serving Yahweh (as promised in 2:11). The conversion of the gentiles and their bringing of tribute to Yahweh are motifs present in Deutero-Isaiah (45:14–17; 49:6; 60:5, 6, 11).

In 3:11–12 Zephaniah pairs Yahweh's removal of the proud "from your midst" with the placing of a humble remnant "in your midst" (for the antonyms "proud" and "humble" cf. Prov 16:19). In 3:13 the humble remnant will follow Yahweh in doing no wrong (cf. 3:5) and in turning away from deceit (cf. 1:9). The conclusion of v 13 looks forward to a peaceful Judah engaging once again in undisturbed shepherding of flocks; the words of judgment on the Cretans in 2:6–7 have become words of blessing for Judah.

**8. Zeph 3:14–20.** The concluding verses of Zephaniah provide two pictures of joy: the joy of Israel in its redemption by Yahweh (3:14–16) and Yahweh's joy in his people (3:17–18). The joy of Israel over

Yahweh in its midst is found in Isa 12:6 and Zech 2:14–16 [—Eng 2:12–13], and the joy of Yahweh in his people is a motif found in such late texts as Isa 62:4–5 and 65:18–19.

The relationship between these two descriptions of joy is evident in the chiastic arrangement of 3:14–17: "Sing joyfully … shout for joy … rejoice and exult" (A); "the king of Israel" (B); "Yahweh in your midst" (C); "Do not fear any further evil" (D); "Fear not" (D); "Yahweh your God in your midst" (C); "a warrior who will save" (B); "He will be joyful … with gladness … he will rejoice … with joyful song" (A).

The contacts of Zeph 3:14–17 with exilic and postexilic texts have led many scholars to consider the concluding verses of Zephaniah to be a late addition to the text (similar to the view that Amos 9:12–15 is a late addition to the prophetic book). However, the similarity of Zeph 3:14–17 to the preexilic psalms celebrating Yahweh's enthronement (Psalms 47, 95, and 97, where Yahweh is worshipped as king in the midst of his joyful people) makes such a late dating of the conclusion of Zephaniah less certain.

In 3:18, Yahweh's removal of disaster from Israel forms an inclusion with the removal of all things from the face of the earth in 1:2–3. As elsewhere in Zephaniah, words of judgment are transformed into words of consolation and grace (as in Zeph 2:6–7 and 3:13). The same literary device is present in 3:19, where Yahweh's promise to assemble for salvation the lame and the outcast (cf. Mic 3:11) recalls and reverses his assembly of the nations for judgment in 3:8 (cf. Mic 4:6–7; and Jer 31:7–8). Zeph 3:20 brings the book to an end by repeating motifs and vocabulary from 3:19: the gathering and the giving of praise and renown in 19 are repeated in 20; and "in all the earth" in 19 is complemented by "among all the people of the earth" in 20.

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JOHN S. KSELMAN

**ZEPHATH** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣĕpat* (צְפַת)]. One of the Canaanite sites in the region of the Negeb which had not been captured during the original Israelite conquest under Joshua. It was subsequently taken by the allied forces of Simeon and Judah (Judg 1:17). According to the biblical account, the site was renamed Hormah (Heb *ḥrm* "destruction") by the Israelites because it had been destroyed. An alternative account of the naming of Hormah is found in Num 21:3, where it is placed in the vicinity of Arad. Since Zephat was originally a Canaanite name for a town largely destroyed by Israel, it is not surprising that the name is not found elsewhere in the Bible.

The LXX reads *sephek* in Judges 1:17, possibly related to *ḏpk*, which was included in a topographical list of Shishak I from Karnak (Kallai *HGB*, 352–53); but the evidence for this reading and for the subsequent identification is not compelling. An identification of Zephath/Hormah with Tel Masos (M.R.

146069; Kempinsky *EAEHL* 3, 816–19; *RAB*, 114), while not proven, appears to fit the biblical and archaeological evidence.
DAVID W. BAKER

**ZEPHATHAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣĕpatâ* (צְפַתָה)]. A valley near Mareshah (Tell Sandahannah [M.R. 140111], about 1 mile S of Beit Jibrin [Eleutheropolis, M.R. 140112]), where Asa fought Zerah, the Ethiopian, and his raiding party (2 Chr 14:9—Eng 14:10). According to the LXX, the battle took place N of Mareshah. If Zephathah is a place name, as the Hebrew suggests, it can probably be identified with *Wâdī eṣ-Ṣāfiyeh* (Robinson 1841: 31).

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TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**ZEPHO** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣĕpô* (צְפוֹ)]. Var. ZEPHI. The third son of Eliphaz and a grandson of Esau (Gen 36:11, 15; 1 Chr 1:36 [*ṣĕpî*]). He was one of the "tribal leaders" (Heb *ʾallûpîm*) of Edom (Gen 36:15), and as such his name probably represents a clan within the Edomite tribe of Eliphaz. The name can be derived either from Heb **ṣpw/y* "clear, pure," or more likely from Heb **ṣpy,* "to see, behold," and is perhaps a shortened form of a theophoric personal name ("God's beholding").
ULRICH HÜBNER

**ZEPHON** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣĕpôn* (צְפוֹן)]. Var. ZIPHION. ZEPHONITE. The first of seven sons of Gad listed in the second census taken by Moses in the wilderness (Num 26:15). He is the ancestor of the tribe of the Zephonites. In the related genealogy in Genesis 46 (Gen 46:16), and also in *Jub.* 44:20, his name is given as Ziphion. There is no manuscript evidence to support Zephon or Ziphion as the preferred reading. Rather, these seem to be alternate renderings of the same name.
CHRISTINA DE GROOT VAN HOUTEN

**ZEPHONITES** [Heb *ṣĕpônî* (צְפוֹנִי)]. See ZIPHION.

**ZER** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣēr* (צֵר)]. According to the RSV, one of the fortified cities of Naphtali (Josh 19:35). However, the appearance of Zer alongside Ziddim is problematic, and raises the possibility that MT *ṣr* here may refer to Tyre (Heb *ṣr; ṣôr*). See also ZIDDIM.
RAFAEL FRANKEL

**ZERAH** (PERSON) [Heb *zeraḥ* (זֶרַח)]. ZERAHITES. The name means "dusk," or more likely, is a shortened form of *zĕraḥyāh* or **zĕraḥ-ʾēl,* "Yahweh [God] has risen [like the morning-sun]." The name belongs to various persons and clans mentioned in the OT. Names from the root **ḎRḤ* are attested in Amorite, Canaanite, ancient S Arabian, and ancient N Arabian (Weippert 1971: 252; Harding 1971: 251f.).

**1.** One of the five subtribes of Judah, allegedly descended from Judah's daughter-in-law and concubine Tamar (Gen 38:30; also Gen 46:12; Num 26:20; 1 Chr 2:4, 6). In Joshua 7 (referred to in Josh 22:20), the fate of Achan from the clan of Zerah serves as a warning to those who disregard the ban (*ḥerem*). According to 1 Chr 27:11, 13 Hushah and Netophah (Kh. Bedd Fālūḥ; M.R. 171119; Kob 1978) belonged to this clan; Zerahites were among the inhabitants of Jerusalem (1 Chr 9:6; Neh 11:24).

**2.** A clan of the tribe of Simeon (Num 26:13; 1 Chr 4:24). In Gen 46:10, Zohar is listed instead of Zerah. It is not necessary to decide which one of these two contradictory statements is correct. After Simeon and Levi were dispersed in the course of a conflict with the city of Shechem (Genesis 34; 49:5–7), the tribe of Simeon disappeared from the historical record. The references to this tribe (except Genesis 34; 49:5–7) are highly doubtful (Donner 1984: 130f.; Mittmann 1977: 217–19).

**3.** A levitical clan (1 Chr 6:6, 26). It is impossible to say whether or not this clan derived from the Judahite clan (see #1 above). Clearly, however, the majority of the later Levites were the offspring of the priesthoods of local sanctuaries abolished in the course of cultic reforms emanating from Jerusalem in the 7th to the 5th centuries B.C., rather than the descendants of the lost (and half-mythical) tribe of Levi in Genesis 34 (Donner 1984: 352f.).

**4.** A subtribe of Reuel, second largest of the three Edomite tribes (Gen 36:13, 17; 1 Chr 1:37). It is even conceivable that the Judahite clan (#1 above) had emerged out of this Edomite tribe and had crossed from the E side of the Wâdī Arabah before it joined Judah. The name of this tribe has survived into the classical, Islamic, and modern periods as the name of the town Udhruḥ (M.R. 207971) in S Jordan, 9 km E of Petra (Knauf and Maʿani 1987); this location may indicate the general territory of this tribe.

**5.** The father of Jobab, the second ruler of the Edomite King List (Gen 36:33; 1 Chr 1:44). This Zerah may have been a historical person; however, no further reference to him is known. Alternatively, the filiation could indicate the tribal background of this ruler (Knauf 1985: 246).

**6.** An Ethiopian (Heb *kûšî*) who appears to have been the leader of an Arab tribe (2 Chr 14:8—Eng 14:9; cf. Cushan in Hab 3:7 and perhaps "Cushite" in Num 12:1; Knauf 1988). He cannot have been a ruler of the "Ethiopic" (Cushitic) dynasty in Egypt. Zerah is attested as a name of ancient Arabs (see above); but it cannot possibly be the name of an Egyptian ruler, since ancient Egyptian had no phoneme that was rendered as *z* by any ancient Semitic language. The account in 2 Chr 14:8–14 is unhistorical (Welten 1973: 129–40); it may reflect a skirmish with bedouin in the vicinity of Mareshah sometime in the postexilic period, as indicated by the nature of the booty (v 14).

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ERNST AXEL KNAUF

## ZERAHIAH (PERSON)

[Heb *zĕraḥyâ* (זְרַחְיָה)]. A personal name formed by adding the theophoric element *yāh* to the Heb verb *zrḥ,* which means "to rise" (BDB, 280) and "to flash up" or "to shine forth" (KB, 267) as of the sun or of light. The verb is used in Deut 33:2 (*wĕzāraḥ*) and in Isa 60:2 (*yizraḥ*) with Yahweh as its subject, thus picturing the deity, as Noth (*IPN,* 184) suggests, as a bringer of success and joy. Interpretations of the name include "Yahweh will arise/shine" (BDB, 280), "Yahweh has shone forth" (*ISBE* 4: 1192), "Yah has dawned" (*HBD,* 1162; *EncBib* 4: 5411). Noth (*IPN,* 184 n. 1) invites a comparison with the S. Arabic name *drḥ ʾl,* as does Mauch (*IDB* 4: 954) with the Akkadian *Za-ar-hi-ilu.* Two individuals in the Hebrew Bible bear this name.

**1.** A descendant of Aaron through Eleazar, and the son of Uzzi and father of Meraioth. Zerahiah (1 Chr 5:32—Eng 6:6; LXX Codex Vaticanus *Zaraia,* Alexandrinus *Zaraias* [first] and *Zarias* [second]) is the seventh-named generation in a genealogy of preexilic "sons of Aaron" (5:29b–41—Eng 6:3b–15) which Braun (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 83) says is part of the most extensive and the latest priestly line in the OT. He is listed seventh (1 Chr 6:36—Eng 6:51; LXX *Zaraia*) in a shorter genealogy of "sons of Aaron" (6:35–38—Eng 6:50–53). In a third genealogy (Ezra 7:1–5) which provides Ezra with Aaronite lineage, probably collaterally (Clines *Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther* NCBC, 59; Blenkinsopp *Ezra-Nehemiah* OTL, 136), Zerahiah (v 4; LXX *Zaraia*) appears in the position of seventh generation from Aaron. This third list appears defective (Williamson *Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC, 91) and/or selective (Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*

OTL, 136) when compared with the first genealogy. The Greek name *Zaraia* also appears in the LXX Codex Alexandrinus (but not Vaticanus) of 1 Esdr 8:2.

**2.** A member of the "sons of Pahath-moab" whose son Eliehoenai was among those who went up from Babylonia with Ezra (Ezra 8:4; 1 Esdr 8:31). Zerahiah's (*Zareia* LXX$^{B}$; *Zaraia* LXX$^{A}$ = Ezra 8:4; *Zaraia* = 1 Esdr 8:31) son was accompanied by 200 males from his family.

RODNEY H. SHEARER

**ZERAIAH** (PERSON) [Gk *Zaraias* (Ζαραιας)]. An alternate form of the name ZEBADIAH.

**ZERDAIAH** (PERSON) [Gk *Zerdaias* (Ζερδαιας)]. A descendant of Zamoth and one of the returned exiles who married a foreign woman during the era of Ezra's mission (1 Esdr 9:28). In the parallel text of Ezra 10:27, the name Aziza appears in the position Zerdaiah holds in 1 Esdr 9:28. For the discussion, see AZIZA.

JEFFREY A. FAGER

**ZERED, BROOK OF** (PLACE) [Heb *naḥal zered* (נַחַל זֶרֶד)]. VALLEY OF ZERED. The wadi and valley that the Israelites crossed, ending their 40 years of sojourn in the wilderness (Deut 2:13–14). The Bible elsewhere suggests that it was located S of Moabite territory and the Arnon river (Wadi Mujib). Thus, most scholars identify the Zered with the Wadi Ḥasa, which empties into the Arabah Valley near the SE end of the Dead Sea, and consider its 35-mile-long canyon—with its span of 3.5 to 4 miles—to have been the ancient boundary between Moab and Edom.

A number of other biblical references are often associated with this wadi, including Isaiah's reference to the "Brook of the Willows" (*naḥal hāʿărābîm*) in his oracle against Moab (15:7). Amos' reference to the "Brook of the Arabah" (*naḥal hāʿărābâ*) probably also refers to the Zered as the southernmost limit of Israelite territory (note the poetic parallelism with "the entrance to Hamath" as the northernmost limit). The reference to "this dry stream-bed" (*hannaḥal hazzeh*) in conjunction with the Israelites' circuitous seven-day march (i.e., around the S tip of the Dead Sea) against Moab (2 Kgs 3:16) probably also alludes to the Zered.

GARY A. HERION

**ZEREDAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣĕrēdâ* (צְרֵדָה)]. **1.** The hometown of Jeroboam, who revolted unsuccessfully against Solomon, but who later became king of the N kingdom of Israel in a successful revolt against Solomon's son, Rehoboam. 1 Kgs 11:26 identifies Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, as an Ephraimite of Zeredah and as a servant of Solomon, whose mother's name was Zeruah (leprous), a widow. Jeroboam was in charge of the forced labor of the house of Joseph (1 Kgs 11:28), i.e., Ephraim and Manasseh (or Israel? all of the traditional ten tribes). The LXX inserts after 12:24 that while Jeroboam was in charge of the labor gangs, he built Sarira in the hill country of Ephraim, raised a force of 300 chariots, fortified the City of David, and aspired to the kingdom—a slight expansion on the MT reading that he "lifted up his hand against the king" (1 Kgs 11:27).

Thus Zeredah (= Sarira), probably Jeroboam's birthplace, instead of Shechem (cf. 1 Kgs 12:25) was the place of both the unsuccessful earlier revolt against Solomon (11:26) and the later successful revolt against Rehoboam (12:16). It is not impossible that Zeredah is an alternate name for Shechem, but its name may be reflected in ʾAin Seridah adjacent to Deir Ghassaneh (M.R. 159161; Pritchard 1987: 254), 15 miles SW of Shechem (Aharoni *LBHG*, 123; Wright *WHAB*, 64, map IX) in the center of Ephraim's territory. The designation of Nebat, Jeroboam's father, as an Ephraimite would seem to locate the place in this tribal area.

The name of Jeroboam's mother in the LXX (3 Kgdms 12:24b) is Sarira, and she is called a harlot. Commentators have wondered if she is called leprous (Zeruah, MT) or a whore (LXX) as a libelous jibe at Jeroboam. Perhaps Zeruah and Sarira are wordplays indicating that Zeredah is not a place but a symbol or metaphor of Jeroboam or of the contempt in which he was held by orthodox writers. The MT has "from

the zeredah" in 1 Kgs 11:26, and the definite article would add to the suggestion that the word is a noun and not a proper name.

**2.** A site in the plain of the Jordan usually identified with Zarethan. The Zeredah spelling is used in 2 Chr 4:17, which parallels 1 Kgs 7:46, where the spelling is Zarethan (Heb *ṣārtān*). It is also taken as the equivalent of Zererah (Heb *ṣĕrērâ*) in Judg 7:22. The KJV follows the MT in 2 Chr 4:17 and spells it "Zeredathah." The ending may be a locative. The identity of Zeredah depends, of course, on the location of the Solomon/Hiram bronze-working area in the Jordan Valley. The *kikkar* is the plain, circle, or territory of the Jordan River valley (1 Kgs 7:46; 2 Chr 4:17); and Succoth and Zarethan are where they are usually located (these two sites are usually identified with Tell Deir ʿAlla [M.R. 208178] and Tell es-Saʿidiyeh [M.R. 204186] respectively). See ZARETHAN.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**ZERERAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣĕrērâ* (צְרֵרָה)]. A site mentioned in the path of the Midianite flight from Gideon. After Gideon's surprise night attack on the camp of the Midianites, the army fled as far as Beth-shittah toward Zererah (MT *ṣĕrērātâ*), as far as the border of Abel-meholah by Tabbath. Most scholars understand Zererah to be a variant spelling of Zeredah (1 Kgs 11:26; Zeredah in 2 Chr 4:17)—20 Hebrew manuscripts read *ṣĕrērātâ* in both Judg 7:22 and 1 Kgs 11:26. Both are usually seen as variants of Zarethan (Josh 3:16; 1 Kgs 4:12; 7:46).

One could assume the Midianites fled to the site of Zererah as some scholars suggest; but the text says they fled as far as Beth-shittah, which is toward or in the direction of Zererah. The location of Beth-shittah is unknown. Soggin (*Judges* ET, OTL) notes an Arab village, Shattah, *west* of Beth-shan, but adds that Zererah may be a locality beyond the Jordan. Smick (1973: 81) claims that Zererah was at the site of one of the fords of the Jordan River. Boling (*Judges* AB, 48, map 2) suggests Beth-shittah was up the Wadi Kufrinje E of Tell es-Saʿidiyeh, i.e., E of Zarethan. Zarethan might also be Tell Abu Hamad on the lower Jabbok, while Tell es-Saʿidiyeh may be biblical Zaphon (Aharoni *LBHG*, 313). Pritchard identifies Saʿidiyeh with Zaphon (1987: 230, 251; the first end map shows Zaphon on the Wadi Kufrinje and Zarethan S of the Jabbok and S of Deir ʿAlla; pp. 96–97 identify Zarethan with Tell es-Saʿidiyeh and Zaphon with Tell Qos on the Wadi Rajib, both N of Deir ʿAlla; Pritchard [1985: 3] and Tubb [1986] have both indicated that there is insufficient evidence to conclude with what biblical site Saʿidiyeh may be identified).

Smick (1973: 105 n. 70) recognizes that Zererah may be the correct reading. If so, he suggests the place may be 3.5 miles S of Saʿidiyeh and S of the Wadi Rajib near Tell el-Mazar (M.R. 207181) and that the name "Zererah" may be preserved in the name of the nearby town of Darar (just a mile N of Deir ʿAlla). Darar is 890 feet above the river at sea level on an E scarp of the Jordan Valley.

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HENRY O. THOMPSON

**ZERESH** (PERSON) [Heb *zereš* (זֶרֶשׁ)]. The wife of Haman in the story of Esther (Esth 5:10, 14; 6:13). She is portrayed as one of the chief advisers to her husband. In Esth 5:14 she, along with certain friends, advises Haman to obtain royal consent for the execution of his archenemy, Mordecai. As Paton notes, this is reminiscent of the story told by classical authors about the Persian queen Amestris, who asked her husband King Xerxes to kill her rival (*Esther* ICC, 240; cf. Herodotus 9.10; Plut. *Art.* 14, 17, 23).

In Esth 6:13 Zeresh and the same certain friends, now called, "wise ones," again counsel Haman. They warn him that he will not prevail in his struggle with Mordecai but that he will surely fall before him because Mordecai is a Jew. Several scholars have noted that most likely here, the author puts his own theology into the mouths of Haman's advisers. To the author, OT traditions such as Exod 17:16; Num 24:20; 1 Sam 15:2ff.; 2 Sam 1:8–16; etc., had established long before that the house of Saul, to which Mordecai is linked (Esth 2:5), would win out over the house of Agag, the Amalekite with which Haman is associated (Esth 3:1, 10; 8:5; 9:10, 24). Thus Zeresh and Haman's wise friends are portrayed as echoing these OT traditions in a prophetic way (Clines 1984: 43–44; *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* NCBC, 309–10; Berg 1979: 103–4; Moore *Esther* AB, 66).

Paton feels *zereš* is the Heb equivalent of Pers *zara,* "gold" or Old Bactrian *zarš,* "desirous," (*Esther* ICC, 70). Gehman links it to Avestan *zaršayamna,* "the joyful one," or perhaps "the one with ruffled hair" (1924: 327). Others have claimed that *zareš* is a corruption of *kiriša,* the name of an Elamite goddess, or *siris,* the Babylonian wine goddess (Paton *Esther* ICC, 70, 89).

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JOHN M. WIEBE

**ZERETH** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣeret* (צֶרֶת)]. The son of Asshur and his wife Helah (1 Chr 4:7).

H. C. LO

**ZERETH-SHAHAR** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣeret haššaḥar* (צֶרֶת הַשַּׁחַר)]. A Moabite town in the region dominated by Heshbon and given by Moses to the tribe of Reuben on the E side of the Jordan river (Josh 13:19). The definite article in the Hebrew causes the LXX to split the place into two towns, Serada and Sior (Gk *Serada kai Sior*) on top of Mt. Emak. Emak is a transliteration of the Heb word *valley (ʿemek).* Codex Vaticanus confuses matters further with reference to Zion on Mt. Enab. The text of Joshua indicates a location on a "mountain" in the middle of the valley. Kallai (*HGB*, 441) speculates that this mountain refers to a ridge which rises slowly to Heshbon on the plain of Madeba.

Boling and Wright (*Joshua* AB, 342–43) locate the town at *ʾel-Zarat* (M.R. 203111) near (Mount?) ʿAttarus (Ataroth) and directly above the E shore of the Dead Sea. The traditional identification of the site with the hot springs known to Arabs as *ez-Zāra* is based on speculation in 1854 (Seetzen) and 1874 (Tristam) that Zereth-Shahar was near Callirrhoe and the wâdī Zerqa Maʿin (Strobel 1977). They found merely the ruins of an old fort with broken basalt columns near an "old Roman or Jewish road." From this description we should conclude that the site is thoroughly unknown today.

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PAUL NIMRAH FRANKYLN

**ZERI** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣĕrî* (צְרִי)]. One of the sons of Jeduthun who were appointed to prophesy with musical instruments under the direction of their father and the king (1 Chr 25:3). When the lots are cast to determine duties (1 Chr 25:9–31), the name Izri (1 Chr 25:11) appears where the name Zeri would be expected, suggesting that the two names are variants. For further discussion, see IZRI.

J. CLINTON MCCANN, JR.

**ZEROR** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣĕrôr* (צְרוֹר)]. The great-grandfather of Saul ben Kish, the first king of Israel; likewise, the father of Abiel and the son of Becorath (1 Sam 9:1). Three variant forms of the name are found in the LXX: Sara in $LXX^{L}$, Sared in $LXX^{D-A}$, and Ared in $LXX^{B}$. The first lacks the final *reš* of the MT; the second and third have read the final consonant as a *reš* instead of a *dalet,* while the third has read the initial *ṣadē* as an *ʿayin.* The name probably means "flint" (Noth *IPN*, 225).

Zeror appears only once in the Hebrew Bible, in the genealogy given for Saul in the introductory verse of the old folktale underlying 1 Sam 9:1–10:16. The author of the story has opened his account using the literary convention of the seven-generation ancestry to emphasize that Saul was destined to greatness from birth (Sasson 1978: 185; contra McCarter *1 Samuel* AB, 168; for details, see APHIAH).

Zeror's absence from the Saulide genealogy in 1 Chr 8:33–40 and 9:39–44 can be explained in three ways. One approach would be to use anthropological models to suggest that the two genealogies represent a change in the ranking of the extended Saulide family branches for dynastic succession, a change that led to the elimination of Zeror when he no longer served a useful function for asserting lineage prominence (indirectly, Flanagan 1981: 59). A second approach would be to identify Zeror with Zur in 1 Chr 8:30 and 9:36 by postulating a loss of the second *reš* from the name (Demsky 1971: 17). Since Zur appears as one of ten sons, and the brother of Kish instead of his grandfather as in 1 Sam 9:1, one would have to assume a change in ranking as well, as in the first approach. A third approach would be to suggest that the name was deliberately dropped by the Chronicler along with Abiel, Becorath, and Aphiah to allow him to graft the Saulide family tree onto the postexilic genealogy of the clans resettling Gibeon. See NER.

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DIANA V. EDELMAN

**ZEROR, TEL** (M.R. 147203). A 12-acre mound, formed of two summits connected by a saddle, and situated near an ancient fork of the Harerah River in the Sharon Plain. The mound was excavated in 1964–66 and in 1974 by a Japanese-Israeli team directed by K. Ohata. Twenty-one occupational levels were discerned, dated from the MB I to the late Middle Ages.

The site was first settled in the MB I, to which the earliest four strata were assigned. Two superimposed systems of fortifications were exposed, consisting of brick walls built upon artificial earth embankments with a moat and an earthenwork counterscarp at the base. A large tower or city gate was also partially exposed. The site was abandoned at the end of the period and was left uninhabited during MB II–LB I (ca. 1800–1500 B.C.).

In the LB II, Zeror was an unwalled town and a center for commerce and industry. A building of palatial dimensions was uncovered on the S summit. Remains of smelting furnaces, bellows nozzles, and clay crucibles, as well as copper slag, give ample evidence for a metallurgical industry. There was an abundance of Cypriot pottery associated with the metallurgical installations. The cemetery, located on a low knoll outside the town limits, had its first interments in this period. During the LB, Zeror was probably a Cypriot colony of coppersmiths and merchants, who obtained copper ingots from their homeland and traded their finished products with the local population.

No signs of destruction were observed in the last LB stratum. The 12th-century settlers cut pits and silos into the deserted remains of the previous levels. The material culture of these settlers resembles in every aspect the culture of the small contemporary settlements found in the adjacent hill country, generally attributed to the Israelite settlement.

In the 11th century, the S summit of the mound was fortified by a casemate wall, and burials in the cemetery resumed. The cist graves were built of stones and covered with large slabs. There were several interments in each cist, suggesting a family sepulcher. The burial offerings included weapons, copper bowls, figurines, and rich pottery assemblages. Among the unique finds were oil lamps with closed nozzles, without comparison in this period. It has been suggested that 11th-century Tel Zeror was a S outpost of Dor, 20 km to the N.

Under the kingdom of Israel the same pattern continued. The S summit was again surrounded with a wall, while the other parts of the mound were left unfortified. The wall was only 1 m thick and was reinforced with inner buttresses, placed at regular intervals. The houses were built according to the typical four-room house plan of the Iron Age. A cistern dug at the base of the fort supplied water to the town. A

bowl, bearing an inscription in Aramaic characters, read: … *B› L›LSMK* ("… b›a belonging[?] to Elsamak"). The fort and the village at the foot of the tell suffered several destructions during the 10th–8th centuries B.C. Iron Age Tel Zeror came to an end in the 8th century, probably as a result of the Assyrian conquest of the kingdom of Israel.

Small farmsteads and lookout posts continued to exist on the S summit during the Persian, Hellenistic, and Early Roman periods. The site was deserted forever in the Byzantine period, and only the S summit was inhabited again in the late Middle Ages (Mamluk period).

The question of the identification of Tel Zeror remains unsolved. Mazar (i.e., Maisler) has suggested *ḏ-r-r*, #115 in Thutmose's list, while Aharoni (*LBHG*, 166–68, 188 n.85) preferred *m-k-t-r* (Migdal), #71 of the same list.

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MOSHE KOCHAVI

**ZERUAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣĕrûʿâ* (צְרוּעָה)]. Mother of Jeroboam, the first king of N Israel, and widow of Nebat, an Ephraimite (1 Kgs 11:26). Zeruah's name occurs in a genealogical note introducing Jeroboam, a "servant of Solomon," who later becomes king of Israel (1 Kings 12). While the identity of the king's mother is a common feature in Judean regnal formulas, it is missing from those of Israelite kings. Thus, the identification of Zeruah in 1 Kgs 11:26 is a rare reference to an Israelite king's mother.

In a variant version of Jeroboam's origin—1 Kgs 12:24 (LXX)—Jeroboam's mother is Sarira, a "harlot." The name "Sarira" (lit. "leper") along with the epithet "harlot" may signify an attempt to vilify the house of Jeroboam.

LINDA S. SCHEARING

**ZERUBBABEL** (PERSON) [Heb *zĕrubbābel* (זְרֻבָּבֶל)]. A Babylonian Jew who journeyed to Palestine after the Exile (Ezra 2:2) and served as governor of Judah under Darius I (522–486 B.C.). His name is probably derived from Akk *zēr-bābili,* "seed of Babylon."

**A. Ancestry**

Zerubbabel was of the line of David. Although the Bible typically designates him the son of Shealtiel (Ezra 3:2, 8; 5:2; Neh 12:1; Hag 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 23), 1 Chr 3:19 lists Pedaiah as Zerubbabel's father. Scholars have generally offered two possible solutions to this discrepancy. Some have suggested Shealtiel died childless and Pedaiah his brother fathered Zerubbabel, who then became the legal son of Shealtiel according to the principle of levirate marriage (Deut 25:5–10). Others have proposed that the text of Chronicles contains an error in transmission or refers to another individual by the same name.

Scholars have also debated the relationship between Zerubbabel and Sheshbazzar (Ezra 1:8). Some have contended that the two names refer to the same person (cf., e.g., Ezra 1:8; Josephus *Ant* 11.1.3 §13–14) since both are designated "governor of Judah" (Ezra 5:14; Hag 1:1) and both receive credit for laying the foundation of the Second Temple (Ezra 3:8–10; 5:16). Against this identification, others have cited (1) Ezra 5:14–16, which seems to distinguish the two men, and (2) the unlikelihood of a Jew, especially a Jew of the royal house, bearing two Babylonian names. Other interpreters have proposed that Sheshbazzar was the Shenazzar of 1 Chr 3:18, and was therefore Zerubbabel's uncle; but although the names are similar, the identification must remain uncertain. Still another suggestion, and probably the simplest, is that Sheshbazzar began the work on the temple's foundation and Zerubbabel finished it; and, consequently, both received credit for the task in the biblical record.

**B. Historical Background**

The fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians in 586 B.C. had resulted in the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple and the deportation of much of the Jewish population to Babylon. After the Persians conquered Babylon in 539 B.C., the decree of Cyrus in the first year of his reign gave the Jews the opportunity to return home and rebuild their city and temple with the full support of the Persian government (Ezra 1:1–4). This action of Cyrus regarding the Jews illustrates his general policy of tolerance toward subject peoples, a policy he no doubt intended to help promote and maintain good will in his empire. The decree opened the door to an exciting new era of Jewish history, an era in which Zerubbabel played a prominent role.

**C. Zerubbabel's Role**

Along with Jeshua, the high priest, and many princes of Judah, Zerubbabel led the first group of returnees back to Judah to begin the rebuilding process. (On Zerubbabel's relationship to Sheshbazzar, see above.) His title, "governor" (Hag 1:1, 14; 2:2, 21), refers to the head of a satrap or small province, and demonstrates the significance of Zerubbabel's role in the eyes of both the Persians and the biblical writers. Zerubbabel functioned as the local political leader of the Jewish people, while Jeshua ("Joshua" in Haggai-Zechariah) served as their spiritual leader.

Under Zerubbabel's leadership the people began restoring Jerusalem soon after their arrival. Jeshua, assisted by the other priests, established the altar of burnt offerings according to the law of Moses, and reinstituted the morning and evening offerings and other sacrifices (Ezra 3:2–6). Then in the second year after the return, in the second month, extensive work on the temple began as a united effort of political and spiritual leadership; and the temple's foundation was soon laid and dedicated about 536 B.C. amid great celebration (Ezra 3:8–13).

But work on the temple did not continue smoothly. Opposition arose from Judah's enemies, who initially offered to assist the Jews on the temple project. When Zerubbabel and the Jewish leaders rejected their offer, they proceeded to harass and frustrate the Jews so much that temple work soon slowed to a standstill. Conditions remained that way throughout the rest of the reign of Cyrus and all the days of his son Cambyses II (529–522 B.C.) until Darius I came to power in 522 B.C. (Ezra 4:1–5, 24).

Early in the reign of Darius, matters came to a head. The prophets Haggai and Zechariah, convinced the time had come to rebuild God's house, challenged the people's apathetic attitude and urged Zerubbabel, Jeshua, and the others to revive the work and complete the temple (Ezra 5:1–2; Haggai; Zech 4:6–9). The words of these prophets brought about a renewed interest in the work, an interest noted by Tattenai, governor of Syria, who investigated the matter to discover who had authorized the rebuilding of the temple. When Zerubbabel and the Jewish leadership informed him they were acting under Persian authority, Tattenai sent a letter to Darius to verify the truth of their statement (Ezra 5:3–17).

When Darius received the letter from Tattenai, he ordered a search of the royal archives, a search that uncovered Cyrus' decree on behalf of the Jews (Ezra 6:1–5). The king sent a reply to Tattenai informing him of the decree and confirming Zerubbabel's authority to continue the work. Furthermore, Darius commanded that the costs of the work be covered with funds from the royal treasury and warned against hindering the Jews in any way (Ezra 6:6–12).

The decree of Darius no doubt fanned the prophetic flames lit by Haggai and Zechariah; and work on the temple resumed, again under the leadership of Zerubbabel and Jeshua (cf. Sir 49:11–12). In the sixth year of Darius (516 B.C.), the temple was completed and its personnel appointed to their tasks, an accomplishment the people celebrated with great joy (Ezra 6:15–18). About a month later, all Judah gathered together in Jerusalem to observe the Passover and celebrate the Feast of Unleavened Bread around their finished temple (Ezra 6:19–22).

Zerubbabel's connection with the line of David may have fueled messianic hopes in Judah. The prophet Haggai spoke of a coming day of God's judgment against heaven and earth, when God would make Zerubbabel his signet ring, a chosen instrument for a special purpose (Hag 2:20–23; cf. Sir 49:11). Some interpreters have understood the prophet Zechariah as echoing this theme; but although Zechariah mentions Zerubbabel as God's instrument for completing the temple (Zech 4:6–9), the eschatological dimension of Zechariah's prophecy focuses more on Jeshua ("Joshua" in Zech 3:1–10; 6:9–15).

Following the accounts of the completion of the temple, Zerubbabel disappears from the biblical record, except for three NT verses that include him in the genealogy of Jesus Christ (Matt 1:12, 13; Luke 3:27), but make no further comment about him. What happened to him is unknown. Some scholars have proposed that Zerubbabel fell into disfavor with Persian authorities and was then either deposed, taken to Persia, imprisoned, and/or put to death. Such theories, however, are based upon arguments from silence. Simply because a person is not mentioned after a certain time, we cannot conclude that this indicates his death or removal from office. Zerubbabel is probably not mentioned in the biblical narratives after the completion of the temple because he no longer played a role in the biblical writer's overall purpose.

The apocryphal work of 1 Esdras (3:1–5:6; cf. Jos. *Ant* 11.3) recounted how Zerubbabel won the right to rebuild Jerusalem after proving himself the wisest of the king's bodyguards. Rabbinic tradition held Zerubbabel in high regard, and the 6th-century A.D. *Seder ʿOlam Zuṭa* suggested that, after completing the temple, Zerubbabel returned to Babylon to occupy a place of prominence.

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BRYAN E. BEYER

**ZERUIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣĕrûyâ* (צְרוּיָה)]. The name "Zeruiah" is compounded from the elements *ṣŏrî* (an aromatic tree, either mastic or balsam) and *yāh* (the short form of Yahweh). Thus, Zeruiah means something like "the balsam of Yahweh" or "the mastic of Yahweh." The name "Zeruiah" is applied exclusively to the sister of David who was also the mother of three of his chief retainers: Joab, Abishai, and Asahel (1 Chr 2:16; 2 Sam 17:25), the infamous "sons of Zeruiah."

D. G. SCHLEY

**ZERVANISM.** Zervanism (or Zurvanism) takes its name from Zurvan, the personified conception of time among the ancient Iranians. Zervanism was not an independent religion and formed no community of its own but appeared as a theological current within Zoroastrianism, which expressed itself particularly in cosmogonic and cosmological thought. Unlike the Mazdeans, who worshipped Ahura Mazda as the supreme deity, Zurvanites can be defined as those who instead put Zurvan in that position. The practical value of such a distinction is, however, considerably weakened by the fact that only a few sources explicitly state that Zurvan was the highest god.

Zervanism took shape in W Iran and was especially associated with the magi. From the late Achaemenid period (404–331 B.C.) down to the fall of the Sassanian Empire in the 7th century A.D., the official forms of Iranian religion were strongly influenced by Zurvanite concepts.

According to the principal myth of Zervanism, attested mainly in Christian polemical sources of the 5th century A.D., there existed in the very beginning one almighty deity named Zurvan. He made sacrifices for a period of a thousand years in order to have a son who would be the creator of heaven and earth. When the thousand years had passed, doubt occurred in his mind as to the efficacy of his sacrifice. At that moment two sons were conceived, Ahura Mazda from the sacrifice and Ahriman from the doubt. Having promised rulership to the firstborn, Zurvan reluctantly gave it to Ahriman, who cunningly succeeded in piercing the womb before his brother. Then, when Ahura Mazda appeared, Zurvan immediately recognized him as the son for whom he had offered sacrifice. Ahura Mazda is made overlord, and all that he creates is good and truthful. Ahriman receives kingship for 9,000 years, and his creatures are all evil and false. After that period, however, Ahura Mazda will rule in total power for eternity.

Zervanism thus relegates the primordial opposition between the Good and Evil characteristic of genuine Zoroastrianism to a 2d stage in the development of cosmic history, thereby introducing to the dualistic heritage a monistic framework, which was of no less importance to the Zurvanites than to the Mazdeans.

The image of the god Zurvan is complex. On the one hand, he appears as an otiose high-god with clear pantheistic traits who has left the creation of the world to his son Ahura Mazda. On the other, he is invoked as a more active deity (cf. personal names like *Zurvāndāt* "given by Zurvan") who also manifests himself through different hypostases. These are grouped in tetrads in which Zurvan himself appears as the fourth entity or is made up by the totality of the four aspects or elements without his being named explicitly. The best-known tetrad *ašōqar, frašōqar, zarōqar,* and *zurwān,* has been preserved only in Syriac texts but clearly reflects Avestan cult epithets (cf. Yašt 14:28). The first three epithets have been interpreted as "making virile," "making resplendent," and "making old," and have been taken to refer to the three stages of man's life; youth, maturity, and old age. This interpretation is not undisputed, however. The idea of Zurvan as a tetramorphous god of time and fate seems also to underlie the Zoroastrian concept of a world history of 12,000 years subdivided into four periods of 3000 years each.

Other aspects of Zervanism are little known. A tendency for misogyny can be discerned in some Zurvanite myths preserved in the Pahlavi texts, and the depreciation of women may have been a distinctive feature of Zervanism.

The origins of Zervanism can ultimately be traced back to Indo-Iranian speculations on time and sacrifice, but Zervanism as we know it developed into a distinct phenomenon only through the encounter of the Iranians with the high cultures of the ancient Near East in the 7th to the 5th centuries B.C.

From the viewpoint of the history of religions, one should notice that Zervanism was the branch of Zoroastrianism which provided the background for Manichaeism and the Mysteries of Mithras and which exerted considerable influence on Judaism in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

In spite of the efforts made by qualified researchers in the 20th century, Zervanism is still incompletely known, and several problems remain to be solved. The usefulness of distinguishing specific Zurvanite elements outside the range of cosmogony and cosmology must be seriously questioned. The relationship between Zurvanites and Mazdeans within the history of Zoroastrianism needs to be elucidated in more detail. Last, but not least, the intricate question of how to interpret the evidence of the Pahlavi texts requires further discussion. See also ZOROASTER, ZOROASTRIANISM.

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ANDERS ÅHULTGRD

**ZETA.** The sixth letter of the Greek alphabet.

**ZETHAM** (PERSON) [Heb *zētām* (זֵתָם)]. A Levite in the Gershonite division of temple bureaucrats and a son of Ladan (1 Chr 23:8). The name appears to be related to *zayît,* "olive tree," although complete assurance on this matter is elusive. In 1 Chr 23:8 he is noted as having two brothers, Jehiel and Joel. 1 Chr 26:22, however, seems to indicate that Zetham was the son of Jehiel. The latter text is ambiguous. One option of interpretation is to read 1 Chr 26:22 as implying that Jehiel's son, who is not named in the text, as well as Zetham and Joel, his brothers, were treasurers in the temple. One must also reckon with the possibilities that 1 Chr 23:8 and 26:22 preserve two different traditions of who Zetham's father was or that the text has suffered in transmission.

JAMES M. KENNEDY

**ZETHAN** (PERSON) [Heb *zêtān* (זֵיתָן)]. A Benjaminite, and grandson of Jediael, son of Benjamin (1 Chr 7:10). This is the only place Jediael is listed as son of Benjamin. The genealogical list found here bearing Benjamin's name follows Issachar. Normally Zebulun, who is missing from this list, follows Issachar. Another Benjaminite genealogical list occurs later in its normal sequence (1 Chronicles 8). This second list does not list Jediael as a son of Benjamin or consequently Zethan. If Benjamin has mistakenly replaced Zebulun in this list, then Jediael would be a son of Zebulun, and Zethan would be a Zebulunite rather than a Benjaminite. According to Noth (*IPN*, 230) the name probably means "olive keeper."
TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**ZETHAR** (PERSON) [Heb *zētar* (זֵתַר)]. See MEHUMAN.

**ZEUS, FRIEND OF STRANGERS.** See GERIZIM, MOUNT.

**ZEUS, TEMPLE OF.** See OLYMPIAN ZEUS, TEMPLE OF.

**ZIA** (PERSON) [Heb *zîaʿ* (זִיעַ)]. A Gadite, who was one of the ten (or eleven; see SHAPHAT) sons of Abihail (1 Chr 5:12–13). His name is formed from the root *zwʿ* and probably meant "the trembler" (Noth *IPN*, 242).

Zia and his kinsmen lived opposite the Reubenites in "Bashan as far as Salecah" and "in Gilead, in Bashan … and in all the pasture lands of Sharon to their limits" (1 Chr 5:11, 17). Although Num 13:24–28 assigns Gilead to Gad, it mentions neither Bashan, which is too far N, nor Sharon, which is too far W. It may be that the reference in 1 Chronicles 5 to Bashan reflects confusion about the N boundary of Gad or about the limits of Bashan (cf. Deut 3:10). The inclusion of Sharon within Gad's territory finds support in the Mesha inscription (line 13; *ANET*, 320), which refers to a city or region by that name in Transjordan.

The claim (1 Chr 5:17) that Zia and the other sons of Abihail were enrolled "in the days of Jotham … and … Jeroboam" poses a problem since the kings' reigns were separated by several years (unless Jotham's co-regency with his father Azariah/Uzziah is counted).

Neither Zia nor the others named in the Chronicler's genealogy for Gad (1 Chr 5:11–17) appear in other lists of Gadites (Gen 46:16; Num 26:15–18; 1 Chr 12:9–16—Eng 12:8–15).
M. PATRICK GRAHAM

**ZIBA** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣîbāʾ* (צִיבָא)]. Servant/steward of the house of Saul during the early reign of David mentioned in 2 Sam 9:3–4, 9ff.; 16:1–4; and 19:17, 24–29.

There is a question as to the exact nature of his status. In 9:2 he is referred to as *ʿebed,* "servant," of the "house of Saul." In other places, however, he is termed *nʿr šaʾûl,* literally "the lad of Saul" (9:9), and *naʿar mĕpîbōšet,* literally "the lad of Mephibosheth" (16:1). McCarter (*2 Samuel* AB) argues that while the term *naʿar* usually refers to ordinary house servants, the scope of the authority given this individual in 9:9 suggests that he was most probably a "steward" of Saul's. Additional evidence is found in 19:18, when Ziba is referred to as *naʿar bēt.*

There are three different narratives regarding Ziba. The portrayal of this character in them is multifaceted. The first narrative is rather neutral. He is introduced as a trusted servant of Saul's who was intimately aware of the situation of the members of the royal family (9:2–3). He is also portrayed as a capable administrator, given the charge he has to administer all the lands of Saul's household and to fund Mephibosheth (9:10). Similarly, he is portrayed as a successful business person, given the size of his own household (9:10b). Finally, he is portrayed as one who willingly transfers his loyalty from his former master, Saul, to David (9:11).

The second and third narratives are conflicting in their portrayal of him. In 16:1–4 he is seen as one who is completely loyal to David, in that he conveys much-needed supplies to the king on his flight from

Jerusalem and he also informs the king of the impending treason of his master, Mephibosheth. The result of this behavior is that he is greatly rewarded in that he is given complete control over Saul's lands.

In the third narrative complex, 19:17b–18, 24–30, he is portrayed as one who is totally solicitous of the king, while also as one who is duplicitous. The results of this narrative lead to his losing half of the gains of the lands garnered in the second narrative. Thus, one is not sure whether to see Ziba as only an opportunist or as "one after David's own heart"!

RANDALL C. BAILEY

**ZIBEON** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣib‹ôn* (צִבְעוֹן)]. **1.** A clan name in the genealogy of Seir the Horite in Gen 36:20, 24, 29. Zibeon is listed as the third of four sons of Seir in these passages as well as in the parallel genealogy in 1 Chr 1:38, 40. He was the father of two sons, Aiah and Amah, and served as a clan chief over the Horites in the region of Edom. These clans are not to be confused with the Hurrians but rather represent the original inhabitants (perhaps as cave dwellers) of the region of Edom. They were subsequently displaced by the encroaching "sons of Esau" (Deut 2:12–22). The conquest of the Horite clans is paralleled in the text by the conquest of Canaan by the tribes of Israel.

**2.** A Hivite, perhaps a Hurrian living in Palestine, whose granddaughter, Oholibamah, daughter of his son Anah (KJV incorrectly reads "his daughter Anah"), was married to Esau. Wilson (1977: 176–77) suggests that the combining of Esau's genealogy with the Horite genealogy of Gen 36:20–30 is a misinterpretation by the author. It may also be due to a confusion between Horite and Hivite (see North 1973: 58–61). Thus Gen 36:2–3 is a "literary composition" compiled in parallel with Gen 36:9–19; 26:34; and 28:9. It follows the pattern of having first a Hittite, and then a Hivite wife, regardless of the names.

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VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

**ZIBIA** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣibyā‹* (צִבְיָא)]. A Benjaminite, son of Shaharaim by Hodesh (1 Chr 8:9). According to 1 Chr 8:28, Zibia was one of the Benjaminites who dwelt in Jerusalem. The fem. form of this name (Zibiah) can be found in 2 Kgs 12:2 and 2 Chr 24:1, which speaks of the mother of Jehoash (Joash).

TOM WAYNE WILLETT

**ZIBIAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣibyāhû* (צִבְיָהוּ)]. Mother of Joash, king of Judah (2 Kgs 12:2—Eng 12:1 = 2 Chr 24:1). Zibiah's name occurs in the regnal formula of her son. Because she was from Beer-sheba, her marriage to the house of Judah may indicate the latter's attempt to gain support from the Negeb tribes bordering Edom. See also JOASH; QUEEN.

LINDA S. SCHEARING

**ZICHRI** (PERSON) [Heb *zikrî* (זִכְרִי)]. Twelve different persons in the Hebrew Bible are known to have had this name: one Reubenite, one Judahite, one Ephraimite, four Benjaminites, and perhaps as many as five Levites. In the LXX tradition the name is given either as *zechrei/zachrei* (Codex Vaticanus) or *zechri* (Codex Alexandrinus), except as noted below.

**1.** A Levite, the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, and brother of Korah and Nepheg, and thus first cousin of Aaron, Moses, and Miriam (Exod 6:16, 18, 20–21; Num 26:59). The name appears in a genealogy (Exod 6:14–25) dealing with Israel's first three sons (Reuben, Simeon, and especially Levi) embedded in the midst of a Priestly (P) narrative on the commissioning of Moses and Aaron (Exod 6:2–7:7). The point of the listing is to underscore the tribal and family ties (Exod 6:16–25) of both Moses and Aaron (Exod 6:13, 26–27), while giving respectful but brief deference to Israel's firstborn (Exod 6:14) and secondborn (Exod 6:15).

**2.** A Benjaminite, the son of Shimei (1 Chr 8:19, 21). He is said to have had eight brothers (1 Chr 8:19–21). His father, Shimei (KJV Shimhi), is probably identical with the person named "Shema" in 1 Chr 8:13, who together with his brother Beriah is credited with having led the Benjaminite families dwelling at Aijalon in driving out the inhabitants of Gath (1 Chr 8:13), an event otherwise unknown.

**3.** A Benjaminite, the son of Shashak (1 Chr 8:23, 25). He had ten brothers, whose names are given in 1 Chr 8:22–25. His name occurs as "Zabdi" in the Syriac Bible.

**4.** A Benjaminite, the son of Jeroham (1 Chr 8:27). This Jeroham is perhaps the same person as "Jeremoth" mentioned in 1 Chr 8:14. The names of his five brothers are supplied in 1 Chr 8:26–27. His name (cf. also ## 2 and 3 above) is found in a listing of heads of Benjaminite families who, according to 1 Chr 8:28, were living in Jerusalem in the postexilic period. However, this verse may have been imposed and repeated in its present position from 1 Chr 9:34, on material originally supportive of contemporary postexilic Benjaminite locations outside Jerusalem.

**5.** A Levite, the son of Asaph, and distant ancestor of Mattaniah (1 Chr 9:15). His name occurs in connection with a list of specific Levites (1 Chr 9:14–16) within a larger register of principal groups (1 Chr 9:4–33) said to have been resident in Jerusalem after the return from Exile (1 Chr 9:2–3, 34). In the Synoptic parallel to be found in the book of Nehemiah, the corresponding name is "Zabdi," a person further described as the ancestor of Mattaniah, the leader who regularly began the thanksgiving in prayer (Neh 11:17). The name "Zaccur," mentioned in 1 Chr 25:2, 10 and Neh 12:35, may represent still another textual variant on the name.

**6.** A Levite descended from Eliezer, the son of Moses, from Kohath through Amram (1 Chr 26:25; 23:6, 12–13, 15, 17). His family was important to the Chronicler as one of a number of families which King David by tradition once authorized to be in charge of the disposition of gifts dedicated for the maintenance of the temple (1 Chr 26:26–28).

**7.** A Reubenite, the father of Eliezer, who was chief officer over his tribe (1 Chr 27:16). The positioning of his name points to a probable connection with the census reportedly undertaken in the time of David and Joab (1 Chr 27:23–24). As the portrayal of David's role in this census appears in a more positive light in comparison with that given by the Chronicler in 1 Chronicles 21, the verses involved may reflect some secondary, editorial revisioning in support of David.

**8.** A Judahite, the father of Amasiah, who, according to the Chronicler, willingly offered himself for service to Yahweh (cf. Judg 5:9), together with a sizable force of warriors (2 Chr 17:16), in the reign of Jehoshaphat (ca. 873–849 B.C.E.). The mention here of military security was part of the Chronicler's programmatic effort to show his postexilic audience that Yahweh never fails to reward faithfulness.

**9.** Perhaps a Levite, the father of Elishaphat (2 Chr 23:1), who was one of five captains enlisted by the priest Jehoiada to help overthrow Athaliah in the 7th year of her reign (ca. 837 B.C.E.). In the parallel verse in 2 Kgs 11:4, in place of the names of the five captains, reference is made only to "the captains of the Carites and of the guards." The Chronicler's version of the story attempts to remove any suggestion that non-Levites had once entered the sacrosanct precincts of the temple. In Israel's past the Levites had often exercised a quasi-military function (Spenser 1984: 270). In the absence of a native military presence in the postexilic period, it was not unusual for the Chronicler to want to underscore the legitimacy and potential of such cultic personnel for the preservation of the postexilic sacrosanctity of the temple (Dillard *2 Chronicles* WBC, 180). The LXX mss reflect a variety of spellings of this name: *zacharia* (Vaticanus), *zacharias* (Alexandrinus), and *zechri* (Lucian recension).

**10.** A valiant Ephraimite in King Pekah's (ca. 737–732 B.C.E.) army who, according to the Chronicler, killed a royal prince and two high royal officials of King Ahaz (ca. 735–715 B.C.E.) of Judah (2 Chr 28:7). The Chronicler uses this person to illustrate the principle of divine retribution at work in the lives of such wicked persons as King Ahaz. The illustrative unit involved (2 Chr 8:5–15) is a supplement unique to the Chronicler, without parallel in 2 Kgs 16. In fact, 2 Kgs 16:5–6 = Isa 7:1 would seem to contradict the Chronicler's claim about Ahaz' defeat and losses. Here also the LXX mss exhibit a number of variant spellings of the name under consideration: *ezekrei* (Vaticanus), *ezechri* (Alexandrinus), and *zacharias* (Lucian recension).

**11.** A Benjaminite, the father of Joel, who was an overseer, resident in Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah (Neh 11:9). He is linked with those individuals of Benjamin and Judah (Neh 11:4) whom the people blessed since they were willing to forgo living in the Judean towns outside Jerusalem to live in the holy city itself (Neh 11:1–3). His name is missing in the corresponding synoptic section in 1 Chr 9:7–9 (= Neh 11:7–9).

**12.** A levitical priest who was head over the priestly course of Abijah (NEB Abiah), the eighth course of priests (see 1 Chr 24:10; Neh 12:4; 10:8—Eng 10:7), in the days of the high priest Joiakim (Neh 12:17). Joiakim was the high priest (ca. 520–445 B.C.E.) who succeeded Jeshua (Neh 12:10), the contemporary of Zerubbabel (Neh 12:1). The name is contained in a list (Neh 12:12–21) basically updating an earlier list in the same chapter (Neh 12:1–7). In the Lucian recension of the LXX, the name is given as *zacharias.* In the NT period another Zechariah (Gk *zacharias;* KJV Zacharias), the husband of Elizabeth and father of John the Baptist (Luke 1:5, 57, 59–63), belonged to this same priestly course.

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**ZIDDIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣiddîm* (צִדִּים)]. According to the RSV of Josh 19:35, one of the fortified cities of Naphtali, listed immediately before Zer (MT *ṣr*). These two cities are listed immediately after the unusual introductory phrase "and fortified cities" (Heb *wĕ‹ārê mibṣār*). The Talmud explains: "Ziddim Kefar Hitayya, Zer adjoining" (*y. Meq.* 1:1:70a). Abel accepts this identification, placing Ziddim at Hattin el-Qadim near Hittin (M.R. 192245) and Zer in the vicinity; he also connects the place name Zer to the personal name Jezer, the son of Naphtali (Gen 46:24; *GP:* 1, 457, 460–61, Map 3).

However, the construction of the Hebrew phrase in Josh 19:35 is unusual. Ziddim is prefixed by *he* (the definite article), while Zer lacks the conjunctive *waw* usual in the town lists in Joshua. Saarisalo (1927: 128 n. 1) suggested that Ziddim and Zer do not represent names of towns, and Alt (1927: 72 n. 2) proposed that the whole opening phrase is a corrupted form of "from the fortress of Tyre to Great Sidon" (cf. Josh 19:28, 29). In the LXX, Josh 19:35 reads: "and the fortified cities of the Tyrians, Tyre and …" Aharoni (1957: 80) suggests that wording is a result of dittography, the letters *ṣadê* and *reš* appearing three times in the presumed Vorlage, while Ahituv (*EncMiqr* 6:765) sees it as an attempt to interpret the difficult text. Kochavi (1984: 68), however, proposes that the LXX represents the original text, reflecting an otherwise undocumented strong Tyrian influence in upper Galilee as also evidenced by archaeological finds such as those from Mt. Adir. See also GALILEE (PRE-HELLENISTIC). If this is correct, there were no cities by the name of Ziddim and Zer.

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RAFAEL FRANKEL

**ZIHA** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣiyhā›* (צִיחָא)]. An overseer of the Nethinim, the temple officers (Neh 11:21). The chronologies in other passages list the sons of Ziha as comprising a part of the Nethinim (Ezra 2:43; Neh 7:46). There is a possibility that Ziha (Neh 11:21) is an eponym of a family of the Nethinim. Williamson (*Ezra, Nehemiah* WBC) points out that this verse was an addition to the genealogy of priests and Levites (Nehemiah 11). Thus, Ziha may be a name used to represent overseers of the temple officers. See NETHINIM.

GARY C. AUGUSTIN

**ZIKLAG** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣîqlag* (צִיקְלַג), *ṣīqlag* (צִקְלַג)]. A town in the transition zone between the N Negeb and the S Shephelah, initially assigned to the tribal territory of Simeon (Josh 19:5) but later incorporated into the Negeb province of Judah (Josh 15:31). It is also mentioned by the editor of 1 Chronicles as one of the towns occupied by the descendants of Simeon (1 Chr 4:30). The differences between the list in 1 Chronicles and that in Josh 19:1–9 seem to be merely editorial in nature, suggesting that both are derived from a single document describing the territory of Simeon sometime early in the period of the Monarchy, presumably before Simeon was consolidated with the tribe of Judah (Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 25–31). The inclusion of Ziklag in the list of Josh 15:21–62 obviously reflects the situation after the territory of Simeon had been absorbed by the tribe of Judah. The theory that the list of Josh 15:21–62 is derived from an administrative roster compiled under the Judean monarchy (Alt 1925) has been widely accepted, although controversy continues over the precise makeup of the districts, the proper context of the town lists of Benjamin and Dan, and the period of the Monarchy to which the original roster belongs (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 64–72). Even though it was assigned to the territory of Simeon, during the reign of Saul Ziklag had come under Philistine control. In exile among the Philistines, David was given Ziklag by Achish, Philistine king of Gath, as a reward for his presumed loyalty (1 Sam 27:6). David and his band used Ziklag as their base of operations in a campaign against various groups who threatened the S borders of Judah. 1 Chr 12:1–8 relate that warriors from Benjamin, presumably unhappy with Saul's increasing incompetence, buttressed the strength of David's band based at Ziklag. Upon his return from the Philistine muster at Aphek, where he had been released from any obligation to join the Philistine attack on the Israelites, David found that Ziklag had been ransacked and burned by a band of marauding Amalekites (1 Sam 30:1–3). After rescuing their captive wives and children, David and his men returned to Ziklag (1 Sam 30:26), where news of the defeat of the Israelites and the death of Saul at the hands of the Philistines soon arrived (2 Sam 1:1–9). 1 Sam 27:6 suggests that Ziklag remained under Judean control from David's time down to the end of the Monarchy, and Neh 11:28 informs us that it was among the towns of Judah resettled by those returning from the Babylonian Exile.

Ziklag has often been identified with Tell el-Khuweilfeh (Tel Halif; M.R. 137087), a large mound approximately 15 km NE of Beer-sheba (eg., *IDB* 4: 957). However, its geographical position raises some difficulty with this identification since it appears to lie within the territory of Judah rather than that of the Philistines (*ISBE* 4: 1196). It would seem that an Iron Age site further to the W, more within the area of Philistine domination, would be a better candidate. One mound which fits this description (Oren 1982) is Tell esh-Sharia (M.R. 119088), along the Naḥal Gerar approximately 25 km SE of Gaza and 17 km due W of Tell el-Khuweilfeh. Strata of the appropriate periods for historical Ziklag have been uncovered in recent excavations, including indications of a substantial Philistine presence in the later part of the Iron I period (Oren 1982: 163; see further below). Continuing work at these sites, and other nearby Iron Age mounds, will no doubt clarify our picture of this region during the early part of the Iron Age.

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WADE R. KOTTER

Many scholars, following Press (1955: 806–7; cf. Mazar 1975: 114, n. 12; Aharoni *LBHG*; Kallai 1967; Rainey *IDBSup*, 984–85; Naʾaman 1980; and Seger 1988), identify Ziklag with Tell esh-Shariʿa (M.R. 119088; also known as Tel Seraʿ). Tell esh-Shariʿa is situated in the NW Negeb, midway between Beer-sheba and Gaza. The mound rises on the N bank of Naḥal Gerar (Wadi esh-Shariʿa) near several perennial springs. The mound is horseshoe in shape with steep slopes on all but the W side, where apparently the city gate was located. The area of the summit is some 4–5 acres, and it rises 168 m above sea level, and the accumulation of occupational debris may reach 10–12 m.

Six seasons of excavations were conducted at Tell esh-Shari‘a (1972–1982) under the direction of E. D. Oren. These have revealed occupational remains from the Chalcolithic to the early Islamic periods. Excavations focused on two major areas: A in the southeast corner and D on the north edge of the tell, as well as area B in the southwest corner and R on the south bank of Naḥal Gerar (see the following table).

| Stratum | Era | Areas |
|---|---|---|
| I | Byzantine Period (4th–6th centuries C.E.) | D, R |
| II | Hellenistic-Roman Period (2d century B.C.E.–1st century C.E.) | A, B, D, R |
| III | Persian Period (5th–4th centuries B.C.E.) | A, B, C, D |
| IV | Iron Age IIC–III (7th–6th centuries B.C.E.) | A, D |
| V | Iron Age IIC (7th century B.C.E.) | A, C, D |
| VI | Iron Age IIB (8th century B.C.E.) | A, D |
| VII | Iron Age IC–IIA (10th–9th centuries B.C.E.) | A, B, D |
| VIII | Iron Age I (12th–11th centuries B.C.E.) | A, B |
| IX | LB IIB–Iron Age IA (early 12th century B.C.E.) | A |
| X | LB IIB (13th century B.C.E.) | A |
| XI | LB IIA (14th century B.C.E.) | A |
| XII | MB III–LB IA (17th–15th centuries B.C.E.) | A, B |
| XIII | Chalcolithic–Early Bronze I, IV | A |

**A. Bronze Age Settlements (Strata XII–IX)**

Excavations at Tell esh-Shari‘a demonstrated that the successive MB and LB Age settlements developed uninterruptedly from the earliest, stratum XII, of the MB III in the 17th century B.C.E. until the destruction of stratum IX of the LB IIB in the mid-12th century B.C.E. The earliest Canaanite town was established in MB III; and is represented by a well-preserved monumental structure, most likely a palace, that occupied the SE corner of the tell and was erected on a massive platform, more than 1 m high. The excavated section consisted of a large courtyard enclosed on two sides by a series of small chambers resembling in plan the “courtyard Palace” at Tell el-Ajjul. Four phases (stratum XII 1–4) of rebuilding were recorded in the palace, the topmost of which was assigned to the late LB I (15th century B.C.E.). It is noteworthy that, unlike many other MB settlements in Canaan, Tell esh-Shari‘a did not produce evidence of destruction at the end of the MB or a gap of occupation during the early LB.

Strata XI–IX of LB II are represented in area A by well-organized administrative and cult structures. The architectural remains in stratum XI of the 14th century B.C.E. consisted of a large structure on stone foundations and a wide open courtyard. The latter is pitted with *favissae* that were full of animal bones intermixed with rich collections of pottery vessels, such as bowls on high pedestals, perforated cylindrical stands, and Cypriot imports. The area immediately above the courtyard and *favissae* is occupied in the next stratum (X) by a large structure, Building 1118, and a circular mudbrick granary nearby. The main hall of Building 1118, identified as a Canaanite sanctuary, is furnished with plastered benches and a small plastered platform fronted by a stone-built basin. The three successive floors of stratum X and the associated *favissae* were packed with pottery vessels intermixed with charcoal and sacrificial animal bones. The collection included Egyptian alabaster vases, ivory inlays, cylinder seals, and scarabs, as well as numerous Mycenaean and Cypriot imports.

Immediately N of the sanctuary a well-preserved structure, Building 906, which has been identified as a governor’s residency, was excavated. See Fig. ZIK.01. Three structural phases (stratum IX 1–3) were distinguished. Building 906 was originally square in plan, 25 × 25 m, including a central courtyard with column bases and small chambers on three sides; and it was roofed over with cedar beams. The building came to an end by a wholesale fire that resulted in the collapse of the upper story. Building 906 yielded a large collection of pottery, faience, and alabaster vases. The most intriguing find was a group of eleven

bowls and ostraca inscribed with Egyptian hieratic of the late New Kingdom. These texts deal with large measures of grain, presumably taxes paid to the local temple or fort; and they shed new light on the tax system in Canaan under Egyptian rule. One of the inscriptions reads "Year 20 + x" most likely of Rameses III. The destruction debris of stratum VI at Lachish yielded similar hieratic inscriptions mentioning "Year 4" and "Year 10." The discovery of some bronze objects in stratum VI inscribed with the cartouches of Ramesses confirmed our observations and implies that the destruction of Canaanite Lachish, like that of Tell esh-Shari‘a, occurred in the mid-12th century B.C.E., after the death of Rameses III. The destruction of stratum IX and its residency at Tell esh-Shari‘a may be ascribed to a group of Sea Peoples or to a raiding party of nomads (Amalekites?) from the Negeb.

**B. Iron Age and Persian Period (Strata VIII–III)**

The early Iron Age Philistine settlement, stratum VIII, of the 12th–11th centuries B.C.E. is represented by three phases of rebuilding, the latest of which was followed closely, with no destruction or gap in occupation, by the Israelite stratum VII of Iron Age IC–IIA in the 10th–9th centuries B.C.E. The cultural continuity is manifested by both architectural and ceramic tradition, testifying to the occupation of the city throughout the Iron Age I–II periods by a strong Philistine element of the population.

Stratum VII in the 10th–9th centuries witnessed the most intensive Iron Age building activity, marked by four or five phases of rebuilding and a considerable accumulation of debris. Area A is represented by well-planned four-room type houses consisting of a rectangular courtyard flanked by small rooms on two sides. The courtyard is divided in the middle by a row of pillars with one section nicely paved and the other furnished with cooking and baking installations. Two small chambers probably served as staircases leading to the second story of the house. In area D and partly under the "Assyrian Fort" of stratum V were excavated the impressive remains of ashlar buildings (stratum VI) that once flanked a street. The lower courses of the mudbrick wall were lined on the outer face with nicely squared *kurkar* blocks which were drafted with flat margins and laid in alternating headers and stretchers. The mudbrick walls of these buildings were erected directly on the foundations of earlier structures with a similar ground plan. The pottery repertoire from these buildings suggests that sometime in the 9th century B.C.E. the walls were razed to the foundation level and new structures of ashlar facing were erected. The ashlar buildings were destroyed in the 8th century by a tremendous fire that left behind masses of charred beams, baked brick, and cracked ashlar blocks.

Stratum V of the 7th century B.C.E. is represented by two large fortified structures that guarded the SE and NE approaches to the Iron Age town. The one in area A was badly destroyed by a brick-lined silo and storage pits of stratum III. Excavations in area D unearthed the remains of a massively built citadel that consisted of long and narrow basement halls and was enclosed by a 4-m -thick wall. The brick-lined floors of the halls were scattered with an assortment of objects including some unique finds. A socketed crescent-shaped bronze standard of Assyrian type, symbolizing the moon-god Sin, was found in the N hall next to a heavy iron chain, which was ca. 1 m long and on one end of which were four pitchforklike prongs. The latter was perhaps used as a grappling device for climbing walls. The central hall produced a large socketed bronze spearhead which is closely paralleled on Neo-Assyrian reliefs and N Syrian orthostats. The floor debris yielded fragments of delicate Assyrian palace ware, a faience statuette of the Egyptian goddess Sekhmet, and a long Aramaic ostracon listing commodities, such as silver, olives, and aloes, and personal names including those of S Arabic origin. One of the pottery vessels was inscribed with the word *lyrm* ("belonging to Yaram"). See Fig. ZIK.02.

Excavations in the spacious open courtyard of the citadel yielded evidence for iron-working installations, most likely for military purposes, such as iron slag, crucibles, clay pipes for bellows, as well as an intact smithy for repairing iron implements and weapons. The late 7th-century B.C.E. date for the destruction of the citadel, probably during a military campaign of the Saite dynasty, is confirmed by Archaic Greek imports found in refuse pits which were cut into the walls and floors of the citadel (stratum IV). The presence of Assyrian type bronzes and Assyrian Palace Ware suggested that the citadel, like nearby Tell Jemmeh, had been occupied for some time, or perhaps had been constructed by the Assyrian military administration in S Philistia.

The architectural remains of the Persian period (5th–4th centuries B.C.E.) consisted of two superimposed houses of the courtyard type. In area A a well-preserved brick-lined grain silo, some 5 m across, came to light. Identical structures were recorded at neighboring Tell Jemmeh. These structures yielded numerous imported Greek vessels, bronze Greek fibulae and terra-cottas, as well as a number of Aramaic ostraca.

**C. Roman and Byzantine Settlements**

During the Roman period the town evidently moved down the plain on the S bank of Naḥal Gerar (area R), and the summit of the mound was only sporadically occupied. On the tell were exposed the remains of a large structure (stratum II), perhaps a villa, which was protected by a massive stone wall and watchtower. The floor of the inner building was found heaped with fragments of painted wall plaster decorated with geometric and floral designs as well as Nabatean, Roman, and Aretine wares. Some fragmentary walls associated with Hellenistic ceramics imply a short-lived occupation during the 2d to 1st centuries B.C.E.

Remains of a large structure, probably a Byzantine church or monastery, were recorded on the summit of the tell where a fragmentary mosaic floor was discovered by chance in the early 1950s. In area R a well-preserved bathhouse was partly excavated. It consisted of a hypocaust with red brick arched niches and clay pipes built in the walls, as well as a system of stone-lined channels for drainage. The pottery repertoire from this building provides a 5th–6th century C.E. date for the latest use of the bathhouse.

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ELIEZER D. OREN

**ZILLAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣillâ* (צִלָּה)]. Second wife of Lamech in the line of Cain, mother of Tubal-cain and of Naamah (Gen 4:19–22). Along with Lamech's other wife, Adah, Zillah was the addressee of Lamech's song of vengeance (Gen 4:23). See LAMECH. To understand the name, it is possible to compare the Hebrew *ṣēl,* "shadow, shade," or *ṣll,* "to shrill, tinkle." If the former meaning is the original, then it may carry the sense of refreshment or of "dark"; if the latter meaning is correct, then the context invites the meaning of "a shrill war cry" or of "a cymbal," the latter with possible reference to the beauty of the voice (Gabriel 1959: 416). If Adah refers to the Hebrew word for ornament and Zillah to the word for tinkling cymbal (*ṣilṣûl*), then there is a word pair similar to that in Cant 2:14 (Cassuto 1961: 234). Stamm (1967: 337) regards the name as of unclear meaning. Forms of personal names with the same root may occur in the Hebrew Bible in *haṣṣĕlelpōnî* (a feminine name in 1 Chr 4:3; Sawyer 1986: 159; but cf. *IPN*, 241), and in *bĕṣal›ēl* (Exod 31:2 et al.; *IPN*, 152; *EncMiqr* 6: 733). The root *ṣll,* "shade, protection," appears in personal names of the W Semitic world in Old Akkadian (Gelb 1957: 243–44; Gevirtz 1963: 25–26) and Amorite (Gelb et al. 1980: 34, 365). While occurrences of *ṣillu* are common in Akkadian names of various periods (Tallqvist 1914: 303), the W Semitic element is attested in the early 2d millennium B.C. in personal names.

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RICHARD S. HESS

**ZILLETHAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣilletay* (צִלְּתַי)]. The name of two different persons mentioned in the OT.

**1.** A Benjaminite, descendant of Shimei, who headed a family that lived in Jerusalem (1 Chr 8:20). Braun considers the statement that these families lived in Jerusalem (1 Chr 8:28) as applying to the entire genealogy of Benjaminites in 1 Chr 8:1–28 and, therefore, as a contradiction of the statements in 1 Chr 8:6, 8, 12, 13 placing various segments of the genealogy in other locations (*1 Chronicles* WBC, 126). The statement in 8:28, however, probably applies only to the immediately preceding names. Williamson argues that one should distinguish between the history of the various families and the locality in which they lived at the time the genealogy was recorded (*1–2 Chronicles* NCBC, 85). Since Jerusalem lay on the border between Judah and Benjamin, it is not surprising to find Benjaminites residing there.

**2.** A member of the tribe of Manasseh who allied himself with David during his time at Ziklag (1 Chr 12:20). Williamson (109) notes that since David had accompanied the Philistines at least as far as Aphek near the border of Manasseh, it is quite credible that men of Manasseh would have defected to him at this time (1 Sam 29:11; 1 Chr 12:19).
RAYMOND B. DILLARD

**ZILPAH** (PERSON) [Heb *zilpâ* (זִלְפָּה)]. The maid of Leah and the concubine of Jacob. When Jacob married Leah, Laban gave Zilpah to his daughter Leah (Gen 29:24). After Leah had stopped bearing children to Jacob, Leah gave Zilpah to Jacob as a concubine (Gen 30:9) in the same way that her sister Rachel had given her maid Bilhah to Jacob (Gen 30:3). Zilpah conceived two sons by Jacob: Gad and Asher (Gen 30:10–13; 35:26). The sons of Zilpah became shepherds, and they tended the flock of their father (Gen 37:2). When Jacob and his family migrated to Egypt at the time of the great famine in the land of Canaan, sixteen descendants of Zilpah are listed among the seventy people who went to Egypt (Gen 46:18). Among these were Gad and his seven children (Gen 46:16) and Asher and his four sons, his daughter, and his two grandchildren, the sons of Beriah (Gen 46:17).

Speiser (*Genesis* AB, 227) attempted to relate Laban's giving Zilpah to Leah with Hurrian marriage practices as attested in the Nuzi tablets. Speiser said it was customary among the upper-class citizens in Hurrian society to give a personal slave girl to the bride at the occasion of her marriage. However, this view has been strongly disputed by Frankena (1972) and by Van Seters (1969: 394) because the giving of a maid to a bride was a common practice in ancient Mesopotamia.

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CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

**ZIMMAH** (PERSON) [Heb *zimmâ* (זִמָּה)]. A Gershonite Levite, son of Jahath and father of Joah (1 Chr 6:5, 27—Eng 6:20, 42). The name "Zimmah" appears related to a root *zmm,* "to purpose, devise." The *he* on the end probably alludes to the theophoric element. 1 Chronicles portrays Zimmah as the fifth generation from Levi, but 2 Chr 29:12 indicates he was the father of a contemporary of Hezekiah. Regarding the period of time in which he lived, the latter is probably the historically accurate of the two

notices. Concerning 1 Chr 6:5, 27—Eng 6:20, 42 the possibility exists that the redactor of Chronicles places Zimmah and his son Joah in as close a relation to Levi as possible in order to provide and enhance legitimacy for Joah's role in 2 Chronicles 29. Another possibility is that the list in 1 Chronicles 6 derives from a fragmentary source which omitted names.
JAMES M. KENNEDY

**ZIMRAN** (PERSON) [Heb *zimrān* (זִמְרָן)]. A clan name mentioned in the genealogy of Abraham and his wife Keturah in Gen 25:2 and in the parallel genealogical list in 1 Chr 1:32. Zimran is described as the first of Keturah's six sons. No clear regional identification has been made with this name, although the clan was most likely among those living on the fringes of the Negeb and in N Arabia. As Skinner (*Genesis* ICC, 350) notes, the connection with Zabram (Ptolemy 6.7.5), placing them W of Mecca, is too far S. Their very obscurity was used by the biblical author(s) to stand in stark contrast with the importance of the descendants of Isaac, Abraham's son by Sarah. Even those of Ishmael have a slightly better position within the scheme of Israelite history than that of these Arabian tribes.
VICTOR H. MATTHEWS

**ZIMRI** (PERSON) [Heb *zimrî* (זִמְרִי)]. **1.** The eldest son of Zerah and grandson of Judah and Tamar, according to the Chronicler's genealogy in 1 Chr 2:6. The name is given as Zabdi in the earlier source, Josh 7:1, 17–18. The change from the original Zabdi to the Chronicler's Zimri was likely due to two factors. Orthographically, both the *bet/mem* interchange (both labials) and the *dalet/reš* interchange (similar appearance) would easily lead to confusion. Secondly, the Chronicler's attention to temple music is evident in this passage. As brothers of Zimri he lists Ethan and Heman, elsewhere associated with Israel's temple music (Psalms 88–89). Such interest likely influenced reading the name as Zimri since the name would be related to the singing of cultic music (*zamar/mizmor*). In relating the name as "Zimri" the chronicler thus associates later temple music with all three of these brothers. The confusion between "Zabdi" and "Zimri" is further reflected in the LXX reading of "Zambri" at Joshua 7. According to Joshua 7 Zimri/Zabdi's son was Achan, whose family was destroyed in the Valley of Achor (so the name "Achan" is given as "Achar" in 1 Chr 2:7) because of his illicit confiscation of the banned goods.

**2.** Zimri, son of Salu, was a Simeonite leader ("head of a father's house") who during the wilderness wanderings broke faith with God by bringing a Midianite princess named Cozbi into his family home (Num 25:6–18). This act of personal infidelity followed upon the heels of the people's "apostasy at Peor" and the ensuing divine judgment, which included both execution of the offenders as well as widespread plague. Whether Zimri engaged Cozbi for purposes of marriage, for some form of cultic prostitution, or for purposes of divining an end to the plague is unclear. In its present form the story, a part of the P narrative, serves to legitimate the Zadokite priesthood (v 13), which in the postexilic period traced its ancestry back to Aaron through Phinehas. As such, Phinehas is the "hero" of the story, who smote both Zimri and Cozbi for their indiscretion (contra Ps 106:30–31, which does not yet know of the tradition concerning Zimri and Cozbi, and which speaks in general terms of Phinehas' "interposition"). That the name "Zimri" is given so late in the story has suggested to some that the names were added only at a late stage as an attack upon those who claimed descent from this Zimri.

**3.** The name Zimri is given in the Saulide genealogy in 1 Chr 8:36 (= 9:42) in descending order as follows:

> Jeiel, Gibeon/Ner (contrast 8:29–30, 33; 9:39; in 9:36 Ner is listed as Gibeon's son, i.e., Kish's brother), Kish, Saul, Jonathan, Meribbaal, Micah, Ahaz, Jehoaddah (given as Jarah in 9:42), Zimri, Moza, Binea, Raphah (given as Rephaiah in 9:43), Eleasah, Azel …

The redundancy of the lists in 8:29–40 and 9:35–44, as well as the confusion of whether Ner is Kish's father or brother, suggests that the lists have undergone considerable editorial revision. Many assume that the former genealogy is dependent upon the latter. Saul's genealogy in vv 33–38 was probably prompted by the mention of Kish in v 30 and, together with the doublet in chap. 9, provides a bridge to the narrative of Saul at Gilboa in chap. 10. The present form of the genealogies is certainly exilic, as evidenced by the

14 generations which follow Saul. This genealogical tradition is in conflict with the statement in 1 Chr 10:6 that the entire Saulide house perished. The account in the Deuteronomistic History, however, allows that the house was continued through the line of Jonathan's son Mephibosheth (= Meribbaal), though even here there is confusion, as is attested by 2 Sam 9:3; 19:24; and especially 21:7–8.

**4.** The king of Israel ca. 876 B.C.E., who came to the throne by means of a coup and who committed suicide in the midst of a second coup after reigning only seven days (1 Kgs 16:8–20). During an initial phase of extreme instability in the Israelite royal house, there was a rapid succession of coups and countercoups as various military leaders attempted to consolidate power in the wake of the demise of Judean suzerainty and tumultuous international intrigue. The house of Jeroboam (Jeroboam and Nadab) was overthrown by Baasha, perhaps in an effort by Baasha to divert energies away from foreign engagements against the Philistines to focus upon consolidating power against Judah. Baasha had a long rule, marked by continuous border skirmishes against Judah. His son, Elah, was not able to consolidate power, and after only two years was killed in a coup led by Zimri, one of his chariot commanders. Zimri did so without the support of the army, which proved to be his downfall. Omri, the commander of the army, was invested with popular support and laid siege to the capital city, Tirzah, where Zimri sought refuge. Seeing that the situation was lost, Zimri burned the citadel down upon himself. After a brief period Omri was able to consolidate his royal control and established the longest-lived and most powerful dynastic house in Israel's history.

The very name of Zimri became a slur which could be used against one's adversary, as used by Jezebel against Jehu during his coup (2 Kgs 9:31). In referring to Jehu as a "Zimri," Jezebel may have been referring to any of several different facts. Unlike Baasha, who assassinated Nadab in the midst of battle (1 Kgs 15:27), Zimri did his treacherous work behind the curtain of domestic tranquillity, when such violence was least expected. Elah was drunk in a private home in Tirzah when Zimri, presumably entering as a friend, struck him down. Zimri likely did so with the help of Elah's chief steward, Arza, who likely was "assisting" Elah into his stupor. To be a "Zimri," then, may have connoted someone who conducts his treachery behind the screen of supposed goodwill and with the help of insiders who ply the victim with hospitality until he is incapable of defending himself. Thus the appropriateness of Jezebel's question when she asks Jehu, her own "Zimri," if he is coming "in peace." Such is the way "Zimris" always come!
ROD R. HUTTON

**ZIMRI** (PLACE) [Heb *zimrî* (זִמְרִי)]. The name "Zimri" occurs in a list of nations which, according to the prophet Jeremiah, Yahweh plans to destroy (Jer 25:25). The kingdom of Zimri is otherwise completely unknown; the LXX omits any mention of its name. Bright (*Jeremiah* AB, 161) suggests that Zimri is an error for Zimki, and that Zimki is an "atbash" for Elam. An atbash is "a cipher by which letters of one name, counted from the beginning of the alphabet, are exchanged for corresponding letters counted from the end" (ibid.).
SIDNIE ANN WHITE

**ZIN, WILDERNESS OF** (PLACE) [Heb *midbar ṣin* (מִדְבַּר צִן)]. A desert region and perhaps a place located in the Negeb on the S border of Canaan wherein was situated Kadesh-barnea (Num 13:21; 20:1; 27:14; 33:36; 34:3–4; Deut 32:51; Josh 15:1, 3). The itinerary in Num 33:36 lists it as the area of the stopping place after Ezion-geber and associates the Wilderness of Zin with Kadesh. This same area is referred to as the Wilderness of Kadesh in Ps 29:8. It is thus part of "that great and terrible wilderness" (Deut 1:19; 8:15) and is one of the seven wildernesses (Shur, Etham, Sin, Sinai, Paran, Zin, and Kadesh) crossed by Moses and the Israelites in the Exodus.

It is mentioned in the episode of the spies who "spied out the land from the wilderness of Zin to Rehob" (Num 13:21) and in connection with the death of Miriam at Kadesh (Num 20:1). It is also the setting of the episode at "the waters of Meribah of Kadesh in the wilderness of Zin" in which Moses failed to sanctify the Lord before Israel and was punished by not being permitted to enter the promised land (Num 27:14; Deut 32:51).

The Wilderness of Zin is not to be confused with the Wilderness of Sin. There is no distinction made in the LXX or the Vg between Heb *ṣin* and *sîn,* both of which are rendered "Sin" (but see Num 34:4; and Josh 15:3, where MT *ṣinâ,* "to Zin," is rendered "Senna" in both LXX and Vg). Modern English translations uniformly render the distinction Zin and Sin.

Zin and the Wilderness of Zin are prominent landmarks in the descriptions of the boundaries of the tribe of Judah in Num 34:3–4: "your south side shall be from the wilderness of Zin along the side of Edom, and your southern boundary shall be from the end of the Salt Sea on the east; and your boundary shall turn south of the ascent of Akrabbim, and cross to Zin, and its end shall be south of Kadesh-barnea." A similar description is found in Josh 15:1, 3. In both Num 34:4 and Josh 15:3 the name "Zin" occurs with the locative *h-* in a context that suggests a distinction between Zin and the Wilderness of Zin. Some have interpreted these passages as evidence that there was a specific place, located between Kadesh and the ascent of Akrabbim, named Zin from which the wilderness derived its name (*GTTOT,* 136).

The location of Kadesh-barnea at Tell el-ʿAin el-Qudeirat (M.R. 096006) first suggested by Woolley and Lawrence in their survey of the area (Woolley and Lawrence 1914–15: 62–71) has gained general acceptance (*EAEHL* 3: 697–98) and provides a specific landmark from which the boundaries of this area can be determined. See also KADESH-BARNEA. The E border of the Wilderness of Zin is Edom, and it extends to the W at least to Kadesh-barnea and possibly beyond. The border on the N is approximately a straight line from the southern end of the Dead Sea through Beer-sheba to Gaza (*GTTOT,* 247–51), while the border on the S is the Wilderness of Paran. Kadesh is said to have been located in the Wilderness of Paran as well as the Wilderness of Zin in the episode of sending out the spies (Num 13:3, 26), and the fact that it is variously located in both wildernesses may indicate that it was on the border of the two areas. See PARAN. A detailed description of this area can be found in Woolley and Lawrence 1914–15 and *GTTOT,* 247–51.

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DAVID R. SEELY

**ZINA** (PERSON) [Heb *zînāʾ* (זִינָא)]. See ZIZAH.

**ZION** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣiyyôn* (צִיּוֹן)]. An ancient name for various parts of Jerusalem, of Judah and all the land, and also a metaphor for the people of God, at various periods, from biblical times to the modern period. See ZION TRADITIONS.

**A. Origin and Meaning of the Name**

The exact meaning of the name is uncertain. Various proposals as to etymon of the word include: (1) the Heb *ṣāwāh,* "to erect" (i.e., a structure), or *ṣāyāh,* "to be dry" (because of the dryness of Jerusalem; cf. Isa 41:18, "parched ground"); (2) the Hurrian *seya,* "brook," "river," suggesting the Gihon spring just below the City of David; (3) the Arabic *ṣahweh,* "hillcrest," "ridge," i.e., the location of the city; *Ṣahyūn* (= "Zion" and the comparable Syr root *Ṣĕhyûn,* from which the Ar form may have developed); or possibly, the most plausible, *ṣâna,* "protect," from a hypothetical etymon **ṣiyan,* "fortress." This etymon is related to the Heb root *ṣnn* found in the derived form *ṣinnâ,* " (large) shield." These Arabic etyma would suggest that Zion was a fortress located on a ridge.

Among the many references to Zion are (1) "the sons of Zion" (once, Lam 4:2); (2) the "Daughters of Zion" (one time, Cant 3:11); (3) "the Daughter of Zion" (many times in the OT and twice in the NT); (4) "the Virgin Daughter of Zion" (three times, 2 Kgs 19:21; Isa 37:22; Lam 2:13); (5) Mt. Zion (a number of times); (6) Zion (many times) or O Zion (six times). Although not used as frequently as the name Jerusalem (760 times), Zion is a very common appellative for Jerusalem and God's people. Zion sometimes is used metaphorically, such as the spiritual "Mount Zion … the Heavenly Jerusalem, the city of the living God" (Heb 12:22).

**B. Zion in the Bible**

Most often Zion refers to parts of the city of Jerusalem and its environs or the country of which the city is the capital. Frequently, Zion even represents the inhabitants of Jerusalem or the whole country. Sometimes physical features connected with Zion are stressed. The praise of God is to be made in the "gates" of the Daughter of Zion (Ps 9:14), that "stronghold" which has "watchtowers" (Mic 4:8) and whose "wall" the Lord determined to destroy (Lam 2:8). Mt. Zion experiences "dew" falling on it as the dew falls on Mt. Hermon (Ps 133:3). See Smith 1907: 134–69; Simons 1952: 60–64; Kenyon 1967: 187–93; Finegan 1969: 147–52.

When David captured Jerusalem at the beginning of the Monarchy, the city was called "the fortress of Zion," "the City of David" (2 Sam 5:7; 1 Chr 11:5). At that time, it was only a small fortified city on the SE ridge S of what would subsequently become the Temple Mount. 1 Kgs 8:1 (= 2 Chr 5:2) relates how Solomon subsequently brought up from Zion, the City of David, the ark of the covenant to the new Zion, the Temple Mount.

The temple is therefore also called Zion, Mt. Zion, or the holy hill of Zion. The divine King of Israel is frequently spoken of as dwelling there. God, the Lord, is said to be enthroned in Zion (Ps 9:11); it (the temple) is his dwelling place (Ps 76:2), his holy hill (Joel 3:17, cf. the glory of God on the tabernacle, Exod 40:34). The Lord Almighty, is dwelling on Mt. Zion (Isa 8:18). God shines forth from Zion (Ps 50:2), the place where his Name dwells (Isa 18:7). It is from Zion that a deliverer/redeemer will come forth (Rom 11:26a [= Isa 59:20a]). This deliverer is the Son of whom God speaks, "I have installed my King on Zion, my holy hill" (Ps 2:6). He is that one whom God has laid as the cornerstone in Zion (Isa 28:16 [= Rom 9:33; 1 Pet 2:6]). In the future, it is from Mt. Zion that the Lord will rule over men forever (Mic 4:7); the Lord Almighty will reign on Mt. Zion, even in Jerusalem (Isa 24:23). Furthermore, it is at the temple of the divine king that aliens such as Moab are instructed to bring lambs as tribute to the mount (the temple) of the Daughter of Zion (Isa 16:1). Also, when the Assyrian army advances against Jerusalem, Isaiah describes how that the enemy will defy the mount (the temple hill, or Jerusalem including the temple hill) of the Daughter of Zion (Isa 10:32).

Frequently the term "Zion" is used for Jerusalem, the city, or the people who inhabit it. The good news of the gospel is to be proclaimed to Zion, the people of Jerusalem (Isa 40:9; 52:7). Later this is expanded in Rom 10:15 to include the whole world. Making Zion prosper is equated with building up the walls of Jerusalem (Ps 51:18); furthermore, bringing judgment against Zion is also bringing judgment against Jerusalem (Isa 10:12). The Lord's roaring from Zion is the same as his thundering from Jerusalem (Joel 3:16). The bloodshed practiced in Zion is explained as an illustration of wickedness of Jerusalem (Mic 3:10); the result of this wickedness will be that "Zion will be plowed like a field, Jerusalem will become a heap of rubble" (Mic 3:12).

Often the term "Daughter of Zion" describes the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Only once is the plural Daughters of Zion used (Cant 3:11). On occasion these inhabitants are called the Virgin Daughter of Zion, indicating their presumed chaste nature as children of God. The Virgin Daughter of Zion, the Daughter of Jerusalem, will mock Sennacherib, king of Assyria, as he approaches with his army (2 Kgs 19:21 [= Isa 37:22]). Although condemning Jerusalem for her sin, the Lord still reminds her that she is the Virgin Daughter of Zion (Lam 2:13). The Lord provides the blessing of his salvation to the daughter of Zion by sending to Jerusalem his king (Zech 9:9 [= Matt 21:5; John 12:15; cf. Isa 62:11]). In the NT, the fulfillment of this blessing is seen in Jesus as he rides among the crowds into Jerusalem on a donkey (cf. Zeph 3:14; Zech 2:10). Zion, the holy city of Jerusalem, which was viewed as the captive Daughter of Zion (Isa 52:1–2), is called upon to awake. But the Lord's punishment for sin is the lot of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the Daughter of Zion (Lam 2:8). In her rebellion, "the Daughter of Zion is left like a shelter in a vineyard" (Isa 1:8); and because of her sin, the splendor has departed from her (Lam 1:6). The Lord has covered her with his anger (Lam 2:1) and poured out his wrath on her (Lam 2:4). Writhing like a woman in labor, the Daughter of Zion will go to Babylon into Exile (Mic 4:10). For further discussion, see ZION, DAUGHTER OF.

Sometimes Zion refers to the tribe or land of Judah, or to the whole of Israel. In his electing process, God chose the tribe of Judah, Mt. Zion, whom he loved (Ps 78:68). They, Mt. Zion, are the tribe of God's

inheritance (Ps 74:2); Mt. Zion, including the villages of Judah, rejoices because of God's righteous acts (Ps 48:11). On occasion, Zion includes all the land of Israel. Captive Israel is brought back to (the land of) Zion (Ps 126:1); after the Babylonian Captivity, the people of Israel will turn their faces toward Zion (Jer 50:5).

Sometimes the metaphorical dimension of Zion is stressed. "Those who trust in the Lord are like Mount Zion" (Ps 125:1). Believers are told that they have come to Mt. Zion, the heavenly Jerusalem, the city of the living God (Heb 12:22). Prophetically, the Lord has sent his king to Zion, his holy hill (Zech 9:9 [= Matt 21:5; John 12:15]) and there placed him on the throne (Ps 2:6). He has laid his cornerstone in Zion (Isa 28:16 [= Rom 9:33; 1 Pet 2:6]), and, in the future, the Lamb will stand on Mt. Zion with the 144,000 (Rev 14:1).

**C. Zion in the Byzantine and Early Church Age**

By the 4th century A.D., the name "Zion" had been transferred in Christian usage from Jerusalem's SE ridge to its SW ridge. This is an understandable change for two reasons. First, this part of the city was the least destroyed by Titus in A.D. 70. Second, even after Hadrian's suppression of the Second Jewish Revolt (A.D. 132–35), it provided the Christians a place to worship not far from the crucifixion site. The Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333) definitely calls the W hill Sion (CChr Series Latina CLXXV, 16) and Epiphanius (d. A.D. 392) also makes that identification. He makes reference to the existence of a small church there in Hadrian's time that commemorates the place where the disciples had gathered on the day of Pentecost. This same place also came to be identified as the place of the Lord's Supper. This church eventually was replaced by a large basilica named, Holy Mount Zion, the Mother of All Churches (which is pictured in the Madeba Mosaic map, ca. A.D. 575). Later, the SW ridge became the location for the tomb of David (Mare 1987: 224–25, 233–36) as well as the Cenacle (the place of the Lord's Supper). Thus there continued until modern times a confusion between the Davidic Zion, located both on the SE hill and the Temple Mount, and the Christian Mt. Zion on the SW hill. Even today the SW hill is called Mt. Zion and the gate of the S side of the wall, the Zion Gate.

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**ZION GOSPEL EDITION.** The name given by Schmidtke to a group of Greek NT gospel mss (first identified by Bousset 1894: 132–35) which, after each gospel, or, in some cases, only after certain gospels, all have the same colophon: "Gospel according to (name) ; having been written and checked against the ancient copies reserved in Jerusalem on the holy mountain; in (#) *stichoi* (lines) and (#) *kephalaioi* (chapters)." Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* 16.4; Migne *PG* 33, 924) tells of a church standing on Mt. Zion in the mid-4th century; Schmidtke assumed that the "ancient copies" were located there. In their margin, some of the mss contain variant readings in marginal scholia introduced by the words *to Ioudaïkon*—"the Jewish (gospel)," which has led scholars to connect the scholia with the lost Judeo-Christian gospel tradition.

The "Jerusalem colophon" is found in mss 039, 20, 117, 153, 157, 164, 215, 262, 300, 376, 428, 565, 566, 686, 718, 728, 748, 754, 892, 899, 901, 922, 980, 1032, 1071, 1118, 1121, 1124, 1187, 1198, 1355, 1422, 1521, 1545, 1555, 1682, 2145, and 2245, all dating from the 9th to the 13th centuries. Their text is generally Antiochene, indicating that the archetype was probably deposited there after its collation in Jerusalem. Two of these mss (566 and 899) contain scholia with variants from *to Ioudaïkon;* another ms (1424) has additional scholia introduced by the same formula but lacks the colophon. The scholia in ms 566 are at Matt 4:5; 16:17; 18:22; and 26:74. (The last two of these scholia are given as the standard canonical reading in mss 4 and 273.) Manuscript 899 gives two of the scholia found in ms 566 (Matt 18:22; and 26:74), as well as an additional scholion at Matt 12:40. Although it lacks the "Jerusalem

colophon," ms 1424 contains the scholia at Matt 16:17 and 26:74, as well as eight additional scholia, all introduced by *to Ioudaïkon:* Matt 5:22; 7:5; 10:16; 11:12; 11:25; 15:5; 16:2; and 27:65. In addition, this ms gives two further scholia at Matt 2:21 and 6:13 which, although not introduced by the *to Ioudaïkon* formula, probably come from the same source as the other scholia, according to Schmidtke.

Examples of the scholion are: at Matt 4:5; "*to Ioudaïkon:* has not 'into the holy city' but 'to Jerusalem' "; at Matt 11:25: "*to Ioudaïkon:* 'I thank thee,' " omitting "Father" *ante* "I" and substituting *eucharistō* for *exomologoumai.* Strikingly, many of the scholia can be paralleled from much earlier Christian literature, invariably connected with the lost Judeo-Christian gospels: the *Gospel of the Hebrews,* the *Gospel of the Ebionites,* or the *Gospel of the Nazoraeans.* For example, the first scholion given above (Matt 4:5) agrees with the reading of the Liège Harmony ("to Jerusalem"), itself dependent upon Tatian's 2d-century *Diatessaron,* which harmonized not just the four canonical gospels, but also a fifth, Judeo-Christian source. The second scholion (Matt 11:25) agrees in its omission of "Father" with the 2d-century writer Marcion (per Tertullian, *adv. Marc.* 4.25.1) and with the 4th-century Vetus Latina ms *a,* which contains numerous readings from the Judeo-Christian gospel tradition, such as the light in the Jordan at Jesus' baptism. Furthermore, it is significant that all of the scholia are attached to Matthew; for the gospel(s) written in "Hebrew letters" used by Judeo-Christian groups are variously called the "authentic text of Matthew" (Jerome, in *Matt.* 12.13; cf. also *de vir. ill.* 3) or "Matthew which is not complete but falsified and distorted" (Epiphanius, *haer.* 30.13.1; cf. also 29.9.4). The parallels with other Judeo-Christian traditions and this association with Matthew are what led scholars to conclude that the variants come from one of the now-lost Judeo-Christian gospels named above. Schmidtke (1911) assigned the readings to the *Gospel of the Nazoraeans,* and Vielhauer (1963) has followed him. However, one must remember that this attribution is tentative; for we cannot be certain from which—if any—of the Judeo-Christian gospels the scholia derive; indeed, they may come from more than one source. Acknowledging this difficulty and recognizing that the scholia appear only in the 9th century, one must not underestimate their value; for the fact that virtually all of the scholia can be paralleled from much earlier sources connected with the Judeo-Christian gospel tradition argues decisively for their antiquity and authenticity.

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**ZION TRADITIONS.** Meaning: theology and traditions connected with the term "Zion."

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A. The Meaning of "Zion"
B. The Theology of Zion
  1. Enthronement after Victory
  2. The Election of Zion and David
  3. Visions of Peace
C. History of the Zion Traditions
  1. Israelite Antecedents
  2. Canaanite Antecedents
  3. Zion in the Monarchy and the Second Temple Period
  4. Zion in Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism

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**A. The Meaning of "Zion"**

In its biblical usage, the term "Zion" has at least four meanings. The word seems, first, to have been the name of a fortress in Jerusalem during the period just before David captured the city from the Jebusites. It was he who changed the name "the stronghold of Zion" to "the City of David" (2 Sam 5:7, 9). The

likelihood is that the earliest biblical usage of the term was in reference to the ridge in the SE section of Jerusalem which lies between the Wadi Kidron and the Tyropoeon Valley. David's son and successor Solomon expanded Jerusalem to the NW, building his great temple of YHWH, the God of Israel, upon a hill that came to be known as "Mount Zion" (e.g., Ps 78:68–69). Indeed, as we shall soon see, the biblical Zion traditions are usually tightly associated with the theology of the temple. It is thus this second meaning, the use of "Zion" to designate the Temple Mount, that is most relevant to our discussion. From the second derives the third meaning: by a process of metonymy "Zion" came to refer to Jerusalem itself, that is, to the entire temple city. Thus, Lamentations uses "Fair Zion" (e.g., JPSV [1985]) and "Jerusalem" interchangeably (e.g., Lam 2:6–8). "Fair Zion" is simply the poignant personification of the great temple city; a sharp distinction between the traditions of Zion and those of Jerusalem cannot be sustained. By a further use of metonymy, Zion, like Jerusalem, came to refer to the people Israel and not just their temple mountain and city, so that Second Isaiah reports YHWH to "[h]ave said to Zion: 'You are My people!' " (Isa 51:16; JPSV), and Zechariah can apostrophize thus: "O Zion, you who dwell in Fair Babylon!" (Zech 2:11; JPSV). This last citation, from about 520 B.C.E., shows how much the term "Zion" changed—or, rather, grew—in the half millennium from the time Israel first used it. Once the name of a ridge in pre-Davidic Jerusalem, it had now become a designation for the people of Israel themselves, though without having shed its spatial reference. Since the fates of the Temple Mount, of Jerusalem, and of the whole house of Israel were inextricably intertwined in the temple theology, it stands to reason that the same term could come to refer to any and all of the three.

Today "Mount Zion" is the name of a hill in Jerusalem on which are found structures that are purported to be David's tomb and the upper room in which Jesus is reported to have eaten his Last Supper. It must be noted that the identification of this hill with the biblical Zion is postbiblical, in fact Byzantine. Rather, the Mount Zion of the Bible is the Temple Mount (*har habbayit*), at the foot of which one finds today the Western Wall and atop which sits a spectacular mosque, the Dome of the Rock.

**B. The Theology of Zion**

The larger significance of the biblical term "Zion" lies not in the domain of topography but in that of theology.

**1. Enthronement after Victory.** The term evokes a whole range of concepts having to do with the kingship, might, justice, and faithfulness of YHWH and the security and beatitude of those privileged to lodge in his sacred mountain in humility and faith and to witness his (re)enthronement upon it. These "Zion traditions" lurk behind dozens of passages in the Hebrew Bible but are especially evident in Psalms and Isaiah. In the former book they are most pronounced in Psalms 2, 46, 48, 65, 76, 84, 87, 95–99, 110, 122, 125, 128, and 132. In Isaiah the Zion traditions are prominent in 8:5–10; 17:12–14; 24:21–23; 25:6–12; 26:1–7; 30:27–33; 33:5–6, 14–24; 37:33–38; 60–62; and 65:17–25. In most of these passages, Zion is explicitly mentioned; but even in those in which it is not, the theological concepts associated with it are in abundant evidence.

A sense of those traditions can be gained from Psalm 48 (JPSV), a representative song of Zion. The term "song of Zion," though of biblical origin (Ps 137:3), is, of course, misleading, since if there can be only one subject of this and kindred poems, it is clear that the subject is not Zion, but YHWH. Psalm 48 begins and ends with the praise of him who is "great," "much acclaimed," and the worshipping community's "God forever." But the place at which this message of the incomparability, invincibility, and faithfulness of God has been made known is not extraneous. Rather, Zion is "his holy mountain," and for good reason, as it is "fair-crested, joy of all the earth," and the "summit of Zaphon" (v 3). This last word is known from Canaanite poems of the LB Age to have been the mountain abode of Baal, the great god of the thunderstorm, whose martial exploits constitute the subject of some Canaanite epics (Sarna *EncBib* 6: 747–49). Canaanite Zaphon lay somewhere to the N of Israel, as can be learned from the fact that the same word came to mean "north" in Hebrew. The application to Zion of the name of Baal's mountain suggests a large degree of continuity between Israel and Canaan, though it does not constitute proof that the Jebusites had already identified Zion with Zaphon (Roberts 1973: 336).

It is not altogether clear that "the great king" of whom Zion is the city (v 3) is YHWH rather than David, his chosen vice-regent and adopted son; but this identification makes less difference here than in other streams of biblical tradition; for in the Jerusalem theology the sovereignty of YHWH and that of David cannot usually be disengaged. Still, the likelihood is that the kingship celebrated in Psalm 48 is YHWH's. As is common in the Hebrew Bible and the rest of the ANE, this kingship is thought to rest upon a victory; the victory demonstrates the would-be king's overwhelming might and establishes his suzerain claim upon those whom he has rescued. In our psalm, the enemy YHWH overcomes is a coalition of unspecified kings who seem to be undone by the mere sight of the battlements of the great temple city (vv 5–9). It is this effortless victory over these unnamed adversaries that grounds YHWH's claim to suzerainty—he is "the great king"—and proves him "a haven" to those who shelter within Zion's sacred precincts. It is not that the great triumph happens to occur at Zion, as if it could just as easily occur elsewhere. Rather, as v 9 makes clear, Zion provides vivid visual testimony to these theological affirmations of the invincibility, sovereignty, and reliability of YHWH, God of Israel. Mount Zion and its structures are the geographical and architectural equivalent of a theophany. They provide direct visual evidence for certain key points of theology. This is the reason that the worshipping community (perhaps a group of pilgrims) is instructed in vv 13–14 to make a careful tour of Zion, noting all its towers, ramparts, and citadels. These are to the eye what the stories of his mighty acts are to the ear: "what we heard we have now witnessed" (v 9).

One of these key points of theology is God's "beneficence" (*ṣedeq,* v 11). The association of this term with the joy and exultation of Zion and the towns of the Judean countryside suggests a more specific meaning. Joy is, of course, often associated with enthronement (Ollenburger 1987: 33–35), just as inauguration days are festive occasions now. Given the connection of Zion with enthronement, it is not surprising that joy, in turn, should be a prominent feature of the Zion tradition and that the mount itself could be termed "joy of all the earth" (v 2). But in the ANE it was not unusual for a king upon his accession or the anniversary of it to give his subjects a very tangible cause for joy by issuing a decree that would cancel debts, release prisoners, repatriate prisoners of war, and the like. Weinfeld has shown that the expression *ṣedeq ûmišpāṭ,* usually rendered as "justice and righteousness" (or something similar), is, in fact, a technical term for this sort of decree (biblical law routinized these instrumentalities of redemption through the institutions of the Sabbatical and jubilee years and the Sabbath itself; e.g., Leviticus 25; Weinfeld 1985; Levenson 1988: 100–106). Thus the "beneficence" (*ṣedeq*) of Ps 48:11 is to be associated with the "judgments" (*mišpāṭîm*) of the following verse. The two words are a hendiadys that has been separated. Between them lies the consequence of the easements to which they refer, the joy of Zion and exultation of Judah.

Whether the attack narrated in Psalm 48 actually happened or not, the enemies in it are historical, a coalition of kings, and not some natural force. A distinction between historical and natural enemies, however, would be artificial when applied to the Zion traditions. In another song of Zion, Psalm 46, the potential sources of fear fall into both categories. The mountains topple into the sea—creation itself is undone—and "nations rage," but the worshippers remain serene, secure in the knowledge that God is in his holy city and will rescue it by daybreak, even from the historical/natural cataclysm that rages outside its walls (Ps 46:2–8). Similarly, Psalm 65, which begins with the praise of God in Zion (v 2), speaks of him as the one:

> [7]who by His power fixed the mountains firmly,
> who is girded with might,
> [8]who stills the raging seas,
> the raging waves,
> and tumultuous peoples (Ps 65:7–8; JPSV)

The serenity of those privileged to dwell in Zion derives from their faith in the power of YHWH to master all assaults upon him (and them), whether from raw nature or from the rebellious human heart. The enthronement of YHWH signifies his unassailable mastery over all else, his establishment of order in nature, and his unshakable fidelity to those who seek and have no hope but him. The drama of YHWH's

(re)enthronement on Zion is a re-presentation both of the cosmogonic events that have come to be called "creation" and of the great lesson of the history of redemption—that YHWH shall not fail to deliver his faithful allies. The safety of those who dwell in the city of God as the "waters rage and foam" and "kingdoms topple" (Ps 46:4, 7; JPSV) recalls Israel's successful crossing of the sea and the drowning of pharaoh's troops in hot pursuit (Exodus 14–15). Though the Zion traditions do not touch upon the redemption from Egypt and are less historically particular than those of the Exodus, to set the two complexes of tradition into opposition, as is often done, is to miss the high degree of theological congruity between them (Levenson 1987: 185–217).

In contrast to the angry, chaotic waters mentioned in Pss 46:3–4 and 65:7–8, we also hear mentioned "a river whose streams gladden God's city" (Ps 46:5; JPSV), which may be synonymous with "[t]he gently flowing waters of Siloam" of Isa 8:6 (JPSV). The latter refers to a conduit, expanded in the 8th century B.C.E. into a tunnel, which brought water from the spring of Gihon into the city of Jerusalem. By making such an identification, however, we may be missing the old Canaanite roots and deep mythical character of the river of the gladdening streams. The vision of the new order of things in Ezekiel 40–48 includes a spring arising from the temple itself and flowing into the Dead Sea, which it will then miraculously desalinize (Ezek 47:1–12; cf. Zech 14:8; Joel 4:18—Eng 3:18). Ultimately, this imagery and that of Ps 46:5 probably derive from the description in Canaanite sources of the abode of the great god El "at the sources of the two rivers,/In the midst of the fountains of the double-deep" (Cross *CMHE*, 36–38). In all likelihood, the biblical Zion traditions conflate elements of the myths of El and of Baal (Roberts 1973: 336). YHWH, the God enthroned on Zion, is indebted to both of these Canaanite deities but identical to neither and different from both in important respects.

**2. The Election of Zion and David.** The image of Zion that emerges from the literature examined so far is that of an enchanted mountain on which the victory of YHWH over all adversaries and in defense of those faithful to him is consummated, celebrated, and perhaps even reenacted. Other passages, however, see Zion's uniqueness as owing to election: YHWH has *chosen* it as the site of his royal palace, the temple, the place where he finds rest (Pss 78:68–69; 132:13; cf. 1 Kgs 8:44, 48; 11:13, 32, 36; 14:21; 2 Kgs 21:7; 23:27; Zech 1:17; 2:16; 3:2). Ollenburger argues that the election of Zion "is to be understood predominantly in a cultic sense and is probably dependent upon the Deuteronomic doctrine of cult centralization in which the cultic site of [YHWH's] choice … is restricted to Jerusalem" (Ollenburger 1987: 61). It is surely the case that the absence of any language of chosenness in so many of the poems that reflect the Zion traditions casts doubt upon the claim that those traditions were always grounded in election. But it is also doubtful that the Deuteronomistic school innovated the idea of YHWH's choice of Zion, for in two poems that seem to be pre-Deuteronomic, the election of Zion is explicit (Pss 78:68–69; 132:13). It is telling that in both these instances YHWH's choice of Zion is conjoined to his choice of David (Pss 78:70–72; 132:11–12, 17–18). Though the evidence is in any event slight, it is probable that the idea in the royal theology that the house of David was chosen for kingship is the mother of the idea of Zion's election. Going even further, Roberts once saw the Davidic theology as the very source of the Zion traditions, so that the defeat of YHWH's enemies at Zion reflects a revolt by vassals of Judah against their Davidic suzerain (Roberts 1973). Though this theory nicely fits the image in Psalm 2, in which YHWH reiterates his support for his afflicted vassal installed on Mt. Zion (v 5), it does not fit many other exemplars of the Zion tradition, which generally lack all mention of David. It bears mention that the victory of the god against an assault by foreign peoples has ample mythological antecedents in both Mesopotamia and Canaan (Stolz 1970: 72–101), and this has led Roberts to modify his thinking (1982: 102–3). It is unnecessary to search for precise historical events behind the reflection of this old motif in the Zion traditions.

Though the traditions of Zion cannot be subsumed into those of David in the Jerusalem cultus, the union of the two traditions in poems like Psalms 2 and 132 is hardly surprising. In both pieces, David serves as YHWH's vice-regent, the terrestrial manifestation of God's governance of the world, his vicar in the sanguinary realm of politics (cf. Psalm 110). In this high royal theology, one cannot speak of the enthronement of the one sovereign apart from the other. Indeed, in Psalm 89 (in which Zion is not

mentioned), YHWH's creation of the world finds completion in his commissioning of David, into whose keeping he commits the malevolent forces of chaos (v 26; Levenson 1988: 111–17). Since Zion is in some of the literature the locus of creation, that is, of YHWH's mastering and taming the pernicious forces of disorder, and since the human king on occasion plays a key role in that cosmogonic drama, it follows that the Zion and the David traditions would connect, as they in fact have in Psalms 2, Psalm 110, and 132.

**3. Visions of Peace.** The paradoxical consequence of YHWH's great victory at his holy city is an end to the weapons of war and the inauguration of a reign of peace:

[9]Come and see what the LORD has done,
how He has wrought desolation on the earth.
[10]He puts a stop to wars throughout the earth,
breaking the bow, snapping the spear,
consigning wagons to the flames.
[11]"Desist! Realize that I am God!
I dominate the nations;
I dominate the earth."

(Ps 46:10–11; JPSV; cf. Ps 76:4; Ezek 39:9–10)

The basis of this vision of peace is not pacifism, but rather the limitless scope of YHWH's triumph: his victory over the nations, his dominance over the world ensures that weapons will be futile. The recognition of YHWH's lordship is the basis of universal peace.

In Isa 2:2–4 (paralleled in Mic 4:1–4), the exaltation of Zion over all other mountains results in a joyful pilgrimage of the nations to the source of divine instruction (*tôrâ*). Instead of a battle, we hear of YHWH's successful arbitration between the nations:

And they shall beat their swords into plowpoints
And their spears into pruning hooks:
Nation shall not take up
Sword against nation;
Never again shall they train for war. (Isa 2:4)

The idea of peace is prominent in the traditions of Zion/Jerusalem, in part because the last three consonants of the holy city's name (*šlm*) appear to have been understood as related to the word for peace (*šālôm;* e.g., Ps 122:6–8). The deeper reason, however, has to do with God's protection of his temple city and its status as a visible symbol of the futility of wars and weapons when they are directed against the master of all that is. It is through acknowledging the invincibility of the God of Israel, symbolized by the exaltation of his Temple Mount, that the war-weary nations at long last find peace (Wildberger 1957).

The protection and peace that Zion symbolized and manifested were thought to be available even in the absence of the eschatological glorification of the mountain that Isa 2:2–4 envisions. Individual worshippers longed for admittance to the mountain of YHWH and the temple atop it; some even expressed a wish to spend their lives there (e.g., Pss 23:6; 27:4). The conditions for admittance were a prominent feature of the "entrance liturgies" (e.g., Psalms 15; 24; Isa 33:14–16). Only those could be admitted who lived a blameless and upright life, avoiding slander, fraud, interest taking, and bribes, upholding oaths and honoring those who, like themselves, revere YHWH:

Such a one shall dwell in lofty security,
With inaccessible cliffs for his stronghold,
With his food supplied
And his drink assured (Isa 33:16; JPSV)

Delekat reconstructs a more limited context for these criteria of admission, connecting them with the use of holy sites as places of asylum (e.g., Exod 21:12–14; Num 35:9–34; Deut 19:1–12; 1 Kgs 1:50–53; 2:28–35; Delekat 1967: esp. 166–76). If this connection is correct, then the entrance liturgies served a precise legal function: they distinguished those who were deserving of asylum from those who were not. In the case of a homicide without malice aforethought, admission to the temple complex could mean the difference between life and death at the hands of his victim's blood avenger. Perhaps this is what lies

behind the psalmist's statement that YHWH "spread[s] a table before me in full view of my enemies" (Ps 23:5; JPSV) and that he is "chased" (*rdp*) only by goodness and love while he dwells in the temple (v 6). The safety of the hunted individual within the sacred precincts of the temple is the correlative of the inviolability of Zion from attacking kings in compositions such as Psalms 2, 46, and 48. The connection of Zion's inviolability with old provisions of law again argues against an origin of the motif in a specific historical event.

**C. History of the Zion Traditions**

**1. Israelite Antecedents.** The history of the Zion traditions is difficult to trace because the dates of so many of its key texts are uncertain. One of its sources almost surely lies in the traditions of the ark, the full name of which seems to have been "the ark of the covenant of the LORD of Hosts enthroned on the cherubim" (1 Sam 4:4; cf. 2 Sam 6:2; JPSV). The expression "LORD of hosts" becomes prominent in the Jerusalem cult. Psalm 24, for example, celebrates the triumphant entry of the "LORD of hosts," identified with the "King of glory" (*kābôd,* v 10; JPSV) into his holy mountain. *Kābôd* is another term associated with the ark. After its capture by the Philistines in the 11th century B.C.E., the daughter-in-law of the high priest of Shiloh names her son Ichabod (*ʾî-kābôd;* literally "no glory") because "the glory [*kābôd*] has departed from Israel" (1 Sam 4:21; JPSV). The idea of YHWH as enthroned on the cherubim was also an important item of the Jerusalem cultus (see Isa 37:14–16; and esp. Ps 99:1–3). Though this evidence is more exiguous than we would like, it does suggest strongly that one antecedent of the Zion traditions lay in the ark traditions, especially as they developed at Shiloh just before the emergence of the monarchy (Mettinger 1982: 19–37; Ollenburger 1987: 37–43).

**2. Canaanite Antecedents.** The Shilonite ark traditions cannot, however, explain the sense of Zion as an enchanted *place,* the inviolable mountain home of YHWH. One antecedent of this important aspect of the Zion tradition would seem to lie in certain traditions of Mt. Sinai, which were transferred to Zion (Levenson 1987: 89–92). It is possible that this transference was aided by a mythology of Zion already held by the Jebusites, from whom David took the mountain stronghold (Rowley 1939; Hayes 1963: 423–24). Proponents of the Jebusite origin of the Zion traditions point especially to Gen 14:18–19, in which Abram gives a tenth of his booty to Melchizedek, priest-king of Salem (i.e., Jerusalem; see Ps 76:3). Evidently an etiology of the Israelite tithe, this passage would seem to imply considerable continuity between the pre-Israelite and the Israelite priesthoods of Jerusalem. The obscure mention of Melchizedek in Ps 110:4 seems to speak to the same point. More convincing is David's purchase of the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite for an altar after the apparition of the angel of YHWH at that spot (2 Sam 24:15–25). If the cultus of Jerusalem in the early Monarchy was influenced by Jebusite traditions, it is entirely possible that those elements in the Zion tradition that seem to lack secure rooting in old Israelite tradition came in from this Canaanite source. It is likely that the tendency in the Hebrew Bible, especially the psalms, to describe YHWH as a rock, crag, stronghold, and the like was influenced by the very topography of Jerusalem (e.g., Ps 71:3; see also Ps 125:2). Unfortunately, the paucity and ambiguity of the evidence prevent the indebtedness of the Zion tradition to pre-Israelite Jerusalem from moving beyond conjecture.

**3. Zion in the Monarchy and the Second Temple Period.** With David's conquest of Jerusalem and accession to the throne of the united kingdom of Judah and Israel and then Solomon's construction of the state temple, the traditions of Zion undoubtedly became an essential component of Israel's religious tradition. The partial union of the Zion and the David traditions mentioned earlier probably goes back to this period, though it is important to remember that either tradition could be articulated independently, without allusion to the other. Zion as a symbol of the people of Israel's national honor derives from the conception of the mountain as the place in which the human king, who is the viceroy of the divine king, sits enthroned, effortlessly subduing rebellious vassals, just as his divine suzerain and adoptive father subdues the kingdoms that assault his sacred mountain (e.g., Psalms 2; 110). As the royal shrine first of the united monarchy and then of Judah alone after the schism, the temple atop Zion would have become a site for pilgrimage (see, e.g., Psalms 84; 122), an institution that would have become more important as Judean kings such as Hezekiah and Josiah attempted to centralize sacrifice in Jerusalem (2 Chronicles 30;

2 Kgs 23:1–27). During the former's reign in the latter part of the 8th century B.C.E., Zion traditions seem to have come to the fore through the preaching of the prophet Isaiah (Hayes and Irvine 1987: 54–56; Levenson 1987: 156–65). It has, however, been argued that the Zion theology in Isaiah is a later interpolation and that the idea of Zion's inviolability developed after the failure of the Assyrian king Sennacherib to depose Hezekiah in 701 B.C.E. (Clements 1980: 72–89). Such radical literary-critical surgery is not necessary. The traditions of the Holy One of Israel enthroned in majesty in his unassailable mountain temple need not be ascribed to later tradents. They fit comfortably into Isaiah's worldview.

After the fall of Judah and the torching of the temple in 587 B.C.E., Zion became a poignant symbol of national disgrace, of the contradiction between the great royal city of promise and memory and the pitiful ruins of the present era. The widowed lady of Lamentations, "Fair Zion," is a personification of the chosen nation in the agony of its rejection by God (e.g., Lam 1:1–11). The direction is reversed, however, after the Exile, as Third Isaiah envisions the remarriage of the spurned nation, the return of her lost children, a pilgrimage of foreign nations and their kings, once her tormentors but now bent on doing her homage (Isaiah 60–62). All this results from the new victory of her husband and deliverer, as he again comes in glory, to be enthroned as of old (Isaiah 60–62). Though Wanke sees the Zion theology generally as postexilic (1966), demonstrably postexilic literature such as Third Isaiah is markedly different from the Zion psalms and more complex. Ps 137:3 shows that the songs of Zion were a known quantity before the Exile.

**4. Zion in Christianity and Rabbinic Judaism.** In the NT, the Zion traditions as outlined here are not to be found, though much of their characteristic spirituality persists under different symbols. As Cohn notes, "the increasingly Gentile composition of the predominantly diasporic 'church' was bound to loosen attachments to a place few had known" (Cohn 1981: 77). The tendency in early Christianity was thus to spiritualize and delocalize the traditions of the Hebrew Bible in a way that left scant room for the old ideas of sacred space. Paul's allegory in Gal 4:22–26, for example, is predicated upon a stark dichotomy of the earthly and the heavenly Jerusalem. The former is identified with the Jews and slavery, the latter with the Church and freedom. The distinction between the two Jerusalems is known in the rabbinic tradition as well, except that, as Talmon points out, "the idea of the celestial Jerusalem as it was conceived by Jewish thinkers, and even by mystic fancy never lost its touch with down-to-earth reality" (1971: 309), as it often did in Christian allegory and the spirituality that it expressed. Though the rabbinic tradition evolved the practice and study of torah into a religion fit for Diaspora, it continued to pray for the restoration of Zion and the return of Jewry to its sacred homeland. It is no wonder that in modern times the Zion traditions have provided the name of a powerful movement for Jewish survival and renewal, "Zionism."

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JON D. LEVENSON

**ZION, DAUGHTER OF** [Heb *bat-ṣiyyôn* (בַּת־צִיּוֹן)]. A poetic personification of the city of Jerusalem and its inhabitants. This expression, more properly translated "Daughter Zion" (Stinespring 1965), occurs 26 times in the OT, all in poetic contexts. The plural, *bĕnôt-ṣiyyôn,* occurs four times, also in poetic contexts but always referring specifically to female inhabitants of the city, a literal signification which does not ever fit the singular form of the phrase, which therefore must be understood as figurative.

The expression probably originated to symbolize the nationalistic traditions of Judah, epitomized by its capital city. Zion is technically the name of the pre-Davidic fortified hill of Jerusalem but occurs frequently, especially in poetry, as a synonym for the city as a whole. The "Daughter Zion" expression accounts for about 25 percent of its total appearances in the OT. The expression "daughter of Jerusalem" (always in the singular; 2 Kgs 19:21 = Isa 37:22; Mic 4:8; Zeph 3:14; Lam 2:18; and Zech 9:9), occurs only in association with "Daughter Zion" and may be regarded as a virtually synonymous phrase.

The people represented by the expression *bat-ṣiyyôn* have a home, a place from which they derive identity. That place is Zion, the city of the Lord. The holy city is both a meeting point for God and people and a center, a point of stability, around which the human community revolves.

Why is that holy city personified as a daughter? Partially, because such a practice was common in the Hebrew language. Not just Jerusalem, but Tyre (Ps 45:13—Eng 45:12), Babylon (e.g., Ps 137:8), and Tarshish (Isa 23:10) were so described. The reasons behind that practice, however, are not entirely clear. Perhaps cities were thought of as daughters—subordinate offspring—of a nation as a whole. Perhaps the Hebrew predisposition to use feminine nouns for abstract or collective concepts is at work here. Or perhaps the reason is more subtle. While sons are thought to represent the adventuresome spirit of a society, constantly pressing beyond established boundaries at the outmost part (the circumference) of the community, female children are associated with stability, with nurturing the community at its very center. While the stereotypical male spirit lies in conquest, the stereotypical female spirit lies in culture. Accordingly, the expression *bat-ṣiyyôn* is not used to refer to the Hebrew people in their wilderness wanderings or in their territorial conquests in Canaan during the period of the Judges. Rather, the expression refers to the Hebrews as a settled people, a centered and stable people whose life and culture revolved around the divine-human encounter focused on the holy city, Jerusalem.

A comparison with Greek traditions about Athens, the "holy city" of the divine daughter Athena, suggests that one may understand the femininity of Zion not merely in terms of the city as being the mother of its inhabitants (the traditional explanation for the personification), but also (and perhaps rather) in terms of the city as divine daugher. As such, the city is the quintessence of civilization and culture, of a stable lifestyle, of permanent relationships. It is also the particular recipient of divine favor and, conversely on occasion, of divine wrath and punishment.

Precisely half of the occurrences of Daughter Zion imagery in the OT reflect dignity, joy, favor, and exaltation. Typical is this passage from Zephaniah (3:14, RSV):

> Sing aloud, O daughter of Zion (sic);
> Shout, O Israel!
> Rejoice and exult with all your heart,
> O daughter of Jerusalem!

(Additional references include Isa 16:1; 52:2; 62:11; Mic 4:13; Jer 6:2; Lam 4:22; Zech 2:14—Eng 2:10; and Ps 9:15–Eng 9:14.)

The remaining half of the occurrences cite the city as the object of wrath, mortification, and destruction—a pitiful image indeed, made poignant by the fact that the expression itself probably originated to depict the city and her people in victorious, secure prosperity. Here, then, in Lam 2:13 (RSV), is found ironic reversal, the downfall of what has been cherished, refined, and cultured:

> What can I say for you, to what compare you,
> O daughter of Jerusalem?
> What can I liken to you, that I may comfort you,

O virgin daughter of Zion?
For vast as the sea is your ruin;
Who can restore you?

(Additional references include Isa 1:8; 10:32; Mic 1:13; 4:10; Jer 6:23; Lam 1:6, 2:1, 4, 8, 10, 13.)

The expression *bat-ṣiyyôn,* "Daughter Zion," is more than simply the personification of a group of people. Rather, it is an image of the unity between place and people within which divine favor and civilization create a setting of stability and home. To see the beauty of that setting defaced is, therefore, to the ancient poet comparable to seeing a beloved and cherished young woman in anguish (Jer 4:31):

For I heard a cry as of a woman in travail,
anguish as of one bringing forth her first child,
the cry of the daughter of Zion (sic) gasping for breath,
stretching out her hands,
"Woe is me! I am fainting before murderers."

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ELAINE R. FOLLIS

**ZIOR** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣîʿōr* (צִיעֹר)]. A town situated in the central hill country of Judah (Josh 15:54), within the same district as Hebron. The only reference to this settlement occurs in the list of towns within the tribal allotment of Judah (Josh 15:21–62). The theory that this list is derived from an administrative roster compiled under the Judean monarchy (Alt 1925) has been widely accepted, although controversy continues over the precise makeup of the districts, the proper context of the town lists of Benjamin and Dan, and the period of the Monarchy to which the original roster belongs (Boling and Wright *Joshua* AB, 64–72). Although modern Sair, about 8 km NNE of Hebron, bears some similarity in name to ancient Zior, it is located too far to the N to be an acceptable candidate (Boling and Wright, *Joshua* AB, 389). The ancient site is surely to be found in closer proximity to Hebron.

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WADE R. KOTTER

**ZIPH** (PERSON) [Heb *zîp* (זִיף)]. **1.** A grandson (?) of Caleb and therefore probably the name of a prominent Calebite family in Judah (1 Chr 2:43). The wording of this list is problematic, and the MT and LXX differ over the name of Ziph's father; consequently, the genealogical relationship between "Ziph" and "Maresha" is confusing (see Myers *1 Chronicles* AB, 11).

**2.** The son of Jehallelel, who is listed in a genealogy of Calebites (1 Chr 4:16). This Ziph was therefore the name of a prominent Judean family, although it is unclear what relationship this name has with Ziph #1 above or with the several Judean places named ZIPH. In all probability this genealogical list (1 Chr 4:16–20) is preexilic, since it includes Ziph and Eshtemoa, both of which lay outside Judean territory in the time of Nehemiah (Myers, p. 29).

GARY A. HERION

**ZIPH** (PLACE) [Heb *zîp* (זִיף)]. ZIPHITES. **1.** A city of Judah which lay in the administrative district to the SE of Hebron, the district which also contained Maon, Carmel, and Juttah (Josh 15:55). Eusebius noted a village by this name to the E of Hebron. However, the two sites which today bear the ancient name, Tell Zîf and its neighbor Khirbet Zîf, are situated about 7 km to the SSE of Hebron.

Tell Zîf (M.R. 162048) is generally accepted as the biblical site. It stands on the edge of the Judean desert, which falls away steeply to the E. No systematic excavations have taken place at the site, but a

Jewish ossuary with a bilingual inscription in Greek and Aramaic was recovered from one of the tombs (Rahmani 1972).

When David was alienated from Saul, he gathered a small army of 600 men and fled into the desert. Much of this time was spent in the "Wilderness of Ziph," the desolate area to the E of the city; and Jonathan visited him there (1 Sam 23:14–16). The citizens of the city, however, were loyal to Saul and sent word to him at Gibeah that David was hiding in the area (1 Sam 23:19–24; 26:1). Saul came to Ziph to pursue David (1 Sam 26:2); but David refused to harm Saul when the king's guards fell asleep, leaving Saul unprotected (1 Sam 26:6–25). Memory of David's perilous time in the Wilderness of Ziph gave rise to the superscription of Psalm 54.

According to 2 Chr 11:8 Ziph was one of the cities fortified by Solomon's son Rehoboam. Recently it has been suggested that the list of cities in 2 Chr 11:6–10 should be redated to the time of Hezekiah and that the list represents the attempts of the latter to meet the impending threat of Assyria (Naʾaman 1986).

**2.** A city of Judah in the district of the S Negeb near the border with Edom (Josh 15:24). Questions have been raised about its existence on both literary and archaeological grounds. In the LXX, the name of Ziph is either missing or confused. A Khirbet ez-Zeifeh has been reported SW of Kurnub (M.R. 156048), but its history of occupation is unknown.

**3.** One of the four places named in the royal-stamp jar handles. It is generally equated with Ziph # 1 above. See STAMPS, ROYAL JAR HANDLE.

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H. DARRELL LANCE

**ZIPHAH** (PERSON) [Heb *zîpâ* (זִיפָה)]. Son of Jehallelel in the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr 4:16). It has been observed that this name is a feminine form of Ziph, which precedes it. The suggestion has been made that Ziphah is a dittography of Ziph (Curtis *Chronicles* ICC).

H. C. LO

**ZIPHION** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣipyôn* (צִפְיוֹן)]. ZEPHONITES. The oldest son of Gad (Gen 46:16). He was the grandson of Jacob and Zilpah, the maid whom Laban gave to his daughter Leah on the occasion of Leah's marriage to Jacob (Gen 29:24). Ziphion's name is included in the record of Jacob's family which descended with him to Egypt at the invitation of Joseph at the time of a great famine in the land of Canaan (Gen 46:8–27). In the Sam. Pent. and the LXX the name Ziphion appears as Zephon. This reading agrees with the second census list of the clans of Gad in Num 26:15, where Zephon appears as the son of Gad and the ancestral leader of the Zephonites, one of the Gadite clans. Ziphion's name does not appear in the genealogical list of the other clans of Gad mentioned in 1 Chr 5:11–17.

CLAUDE F. MARIOTTINI

**ZIPHRON** (PLACE) [Heb *ziprôn* (זִפְרוֹן)]. The exact location of this place is not known but is described as a marker for one of the boundaries of the area of Canaan (Num 34:9). The text reveals that it is situated between Zebad and Hazar-enan.

JEFFREY K. LOTT

**ZIPPOR** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣippôr* (צִפּוֹר)]. The father of Balak, the king of Moab during the days of Moses (Num 22:2, 4, 10, 16; Josh 24:9; Judg 11:25). It was Zippor's son, Balak, who contracted with Balaam, the son of Beor, to curse the Israelites during their residency in the plains of Moab (Numbers 22–24). The tradition in Josh 24:9 suggests that Balak ben Zippor summoned Balaam in the wake of a military standoff. Balak attacked Israel and then sent for Balaam. However, the rhetorical question in Judg 11:25 suggests that there was no military confrontation between Balak and Israel. This latter view is

supported by the full narrative in Numbers 22–24, which only hints at possible military confrontation (e.g., 22:6, 11; 24:17) but which also suggests that no such conflict preceded Balaam's oracular activity.

Whether Balak, son of Zippor, is a fictitious eponym symbolizing the region of *el-belqa* or is a historical figure based upon a petty city-king is impossible to determine since no records exist to confirm that there was a "royal house of Moab" in these early days of Moab's rising national identity.

ROD R. HUTTON

**ZIPPORAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣippōrâ* (צִפֹּרָה)]. The Midianite woman who emerges briefly from the shadows of her father (Reuel/Jethro) and husband (Moses) to act as savior in a mysterious and dangerous situation (Exod 4:24–26). Exod 2:16–22 present Zipporah as the daughter of the Midianite priest Reuel (called Jethro in the rest of the book of Exodus). She was given in marriage to Moses, and the two became parents of Gershom and Eliezer. Zipporah wards off a divine attack which presumably occurred as she and Gershom accompanied Moses on his return to Egypt from Midian. The tradition of Exod 18:1–9, however, suggests that Zipporah stayed with Jethro during the events surrounding the Exodus, only to be reunited with Moses when he and the Israelites approached the Wilderness of Sinai.

That Zipporah is cast in a saving role is one of the few certainties about the intractable narrative of Exod 4:24–26. She averts a divine attack by performing a threefold ritual: she cuts off her son's foreskin, touches his feet (genitals?), and pronounces the words, "Surely you are a bridegroom of blood (*ḥătan dāmîm*) to me!" (v 25). The verse is laden with difficulties. First, the referent of the pronoun "his" is uncertain. In supplying the antecedent "Moses," the RSV adopts the view of many commentators. Second, many assume that Zipporah's words are directed to Moses, although that too is uncertain. Third, the expression *ḥătan dāmîm* is enigmatic (see *TDOT* 5: 270–77). The fact that the narrator of v 26b attempted to explain the expression suggests that it was ambiguous even at some stage of textual composition. Finally, the biblical writer does not explain how Zipporah knew what to do in this threatening situation and how she came to adopt a male role in performing the circumcision of her son. Other problems and proposed solutions connected with the meaning of Exod 4:24–26 are discussed by Childs (*Exodus* OTL); Kaplan (1981); Houtman (1983); and Robinson (1986).

Zipporah is relegated to a peripheral role by the writers of Exod 2:16–22 and 18:1–9. Exod 2:16–22 is a bethrothal type scene, the standard features of which are outlined by Culley (1976: 41–43). Zipporah is mentioned by name only in being identified as the daughter given to Moses by her father, the real point of the narrative being the relationship between Moses and his father-in-law, as Coats (1973) and Fuchs (1987) have shown. Likewise, in Exod 18:1–9 Zipporah and her sons altogether disappear from the narrative at the point of the family's reunion after the Exodus, indicating that the significant "family" here consists of Moses and Jethro.

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**ZIV** [Heb *zîw* (זִיו)]. The second month of the Canaanite calendar, roughly corresponding to April and May. See CALENDARS (ANCIENT ISRAELITE AND EARLY JEWISH).

**ZIZ, ASCENT OF** (PLACE) [Heb *maʿălēh haṣṣîṣ* (מַעֲלֵה הַצִּיץ)]. A mountain pass used by a coalition of Moabites, Ammonites, and Meunites to attack Jerusalem during the reign of Jehoshaphat (2

Chr 20:16). The context suggests that the pass was a strategic link between Jerusalem and En-gedi on the W shore of the Dead Sea (2 Chr 20:2), and that the end of the wadi (Heb *naḥal*) associated with this ascent lay E of the Wilderness of Jeruel (v 16) in the vicinity of Tekoa. The Ascent of Ziz has often been associated generally with the Wadi Ḥaṣaṣa (Naḥal Ḥaṣeṣôn) that drains the hills 8 miles SE of Tekoa into the Dead Sea about 6 miles N of En-gedi. Thus it has been suggested that MT *ḥṣyṣ* may be the corruption of an original **ḥṣyṣ*, "Ascent of Ḥaṣîṣ" (*IDB* 4: 961). However, more recently the Ascent of Ziz has been associated quite specifically with a military road constructed during the Israelite monarchic period and winding up into the cliffs outside En-gedi. The course of the road winds for more than a mile covering a distance of less than half a mile "as the crow flies"; it thus reduces the 45 percent gradient of the cliffs to 19.5 percent (the road's gradient; Harel 1967, but note that the compass indicator on related fig. 3 appears to be pointing *south*, not north as indicated!).

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**ZIZA** (PERSON) [Heb *zîzāʾ* (זִיזָא)]. 1. The son of King Rehoboam of Judah (ca. 922–915 B.C.E.) and Maacah (KJV Maachah), the daughter of (NEB "granddaughter") of Absalom, and the brother of Abijah, Attai, and Shelomith (2 Chr 11:20). His name occurs in a subsection (2 Chr 11:18–23) of the Chronicler's presentation of the reign of Rehoboam (2 Chr 10:1–12:16), whose initial obedience to Yahweh's word, in contrast to the idolatrous activities of Jeroboam I (ca. 922–901 B.C.E.), the rival king of Israel, brought Yahweh's corresponding blessing on the womb and family (see also 1 Chr 3:1–9; 14:2–7; 25:4–5; 26:4–5; 2 Chr 13:21). This son of Rehoboam, in fact, was one of 88 children in all (28 sons and 60 daughters), the children of 18 wives and 60 concubines (2 Chr 11:21b). It is added that Ziza's mother, Maacah, was the favored wife of Rehoboam (1 Chr 11:21a) and that Ziza's eldest brother, Abijah, was designated the crown prince (1 Chr 11:22) and eventually did succeed his father as king of Judah (2 Chr 12:16). Elsewhere, in the RSV, the name of the mother of Ziza's brother is given as "Micaiah (KJV Michaiah; NEB Maacah) the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah" (2 Chr 13:2) and also as "Maacah (KJV Maachah) the daughter (NEB 'granddaughter') of Abishalom" (in the Synoptic parallel in 1 Kgs 15:2). While it is clear that Asa succeeded Abjiah (1 Kings 15 = Abijam), his father, as king (2 Chr 13:23—Eng 14:1; 1 Kgs 15:8), it is perplexing to read further on in the RSV that Asa's "mother" was a woman named "Maacah (KJV Maachah) the daughter (NEB 'granddaughter') of Abishalom" (1 Kgs 15:10; 15:13 = 2 Chr 15:16), thus making her a wife of Ziza's brother Abijah! For clarification, see MAACAH (PERSON).

2. A Simeonite, the son of Shiphi (1 Chr 4:37). He is named as one of the 13 princes of the tribe of Simeon who, in the days of King Hezekiah (ca. 715–687/686 B.C.E.), migrated "to the entrance of Gedor," or as often amended on the basis of the LXX "to the entrance of Gerar," because of overpopulation and the need for additional pastureland (1 Chr 4:34–41). Ziza's importance to this list of princes is perhaps indicated in the fact that his name is the last one given and the only name whose genealogy is traced back five generations, to his distant ancestor Shemaiah. This interest in the tribe of Simeon, in a day when the tribe had long ceased to be a viable political entity, was part of the Chronicler's postexilic agenda of promiting an all-inclusive Israel.

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ROGER W. UITTI

**ZIZAH** (PERSON) [Heb *zîzâ* (זִיזָה)]. Var. ZINA. Zizah is named in 1 Chr 23:10–11 as the second of four sons of Shimei of the levitical line of Gershom (v 6; but written Gershon inv 7). The variant Zina (Heb *zînāʾ*) in v 10 is not supported by the LXX (*Ziza*) or Vg (*Ziza*). According to Rudolph (*Chronikbücher*, HAT 152–55) the list in which this name is included is part of a subsequent expansion of the Chronicler's work and thus represents the arrangement of levitical temple service at a time later than the Chronicler. Williamson (*Chronicles* NCBC, 158–61) agrees that the list represents an arrangement

contemporaneous with its composition but contends that it was "an originally independent piece" incorporated by the Chronicler himself.
J. S. ROGERS

**ZOAN** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣō‹an* (צֹעַן)]. Major Egyptian city of the 1st millennium B.C., situated in the 14th township of Lower Egypt on the lower Tanitic branch of the Nile in the E Delta, 29 miles S of the Mediterranean (Baines and Malak 1980; Num 13:22; Ps 78:12). The various renderings of the name in other languages include: Eg *Ḏ‹nt,* Akk *Ṣa›nu,* and Gk *Tanis* (Romer in *LÄ* 6: 194–209). Excavation of the site was begun by A. Mariette (1850s) and W. M. F. Petrie (1883–86) and P. Montet (1929–51) and is being pursued currently by the Institute français d'archáologie orientale under J. Yoyotte and P. Brissaud. Although the district "Field of the Storm (*Ḏ‹,* whence *Ḏ‹nt*)" is known from the middle of the 13th century B.C., Zo‹an the town is first mentioned in the 23d year of Ramesses XI of the 20th Dyn. (ca. 1183 B.C.). It is the residence of Smendes, the officer assigned to the administration of Lower Egypt. When Ramesses died (childless?) and Smendes succeeded him as founder of the 21st Dyn. (ca. 1176–931 B.C.), Zo‹an became the official residence, replacing the old Ramesside capital, Pi-Ramesses, 30 km to the S (See Montet 1941). As Pi-Ramesses declined and was abandoned (thanks perhaps to a shifting of the Nile branch which deprived its harbor of water), its monumental buildings and installations were dismantled and the masonry shipped N to build Zo‹an. Even statues and steles which had once adorned Pi-Ramesses now came to rest in the new city. So many blocks mentioning Ramesses II, Merneptah, and even kings of the 13th through 15th Dyns. ended up at the new city that early excavators, such as P. Montet, mistakenly identified Zo‹an with Pi-Ramesses and Avaris, an identification now universally abandoned (cf. Num 13:22 for a similar mistake).

The first great builder to turn the small provincial town into a monumental city was Psusennes I (Montet 1951), son and successor of Smendes. He laid out the enclosure and built the temple of Amon, which was enlarged by Siamun (984–965). Zo‹an was dedicated to the Theban Triad, Amon, Mut, and Khonsu, whose temples formed the central enceinte of the city; and "high priest of Amon" became a formal title of the kings of the 21st Dyn. While maintaining friendly relations with the family of Herihor which held the office of (true) high priest of Amon at Thebes, the 21st Dyn. severed mortuary ties with the S city and now preferred burial within the enclosure of Amon at Zo‹an. Excavation has recovered several royal interments at the site, some intact with silver coffins and gold jewelry, including those of Psusennes I (1050–1000), Osorkon II (873–844, Montet 1947), and Sheshonk III (819–767, Montet 1960).

The Libyan 22d Dyn., founded by Sheshonk I (931), maintained the city as a residence and, from 873, built extensively at the site (cf. 1 Kgs 14:25). With the last king of the dynasty, Zo‹an's political primary lapsed (ca. 725 B.C.), as Sais and Napata became the power centers in the Nile Valley for the next two centuries. Nevertheless, the pharaonic administration continued from time to time to raise new buildings or enlarge the old in the city from the Saite period to the end of Ptolemaic rule; and the city continued prosperous into Roman times (see Montet 1952, 1966).

The Hebrews became familiar with Zo‹an during the period of the Monarchy, when it was the Egyptian capital (Isa 19:11, 13; 30:4; Ezek 30:14); one tradition localized the confrontation between Moses and Pharaoh in the "Field of Zoan" (Ps 78:12, 43).

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**ZOAR** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣō‹ar* (צֹעַר)]. A city marking the southernmost point of the Valley of Jordan (or the Valley of Jericho) in Gen 13:10 and Deut 34:3. According to Gen 14:2, 8 the unnamed "king of Bela, that is, Zoar" was a member of a coalition of five kings which was defeated by Chedorlaomer and his allies. Since the other five kings are called by their names, it is probable that "king of Bela, that is, Zoar" originally read "Bela, king of Zoar" (Albright 1921: 70). *Bela‹* means "swallowed" or "destroyed" and belongs to the type of "speaking names" borne by his four allies. (*Pal. Tgs.* and *Tg. Ps.-J.* explained Bela as "the city that swallows its inhabitants.") Bela as a royal name is attested in Gen 36:22 as that of the first king of Edom, a region that included Zoar. It is possible that an editor reversed the sequence of names in the passage in question in order to harmonize it with Gen 19:20–22, according to which Zoar received its name only after the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Lot begged the two angels who had led him out of the doomed Sodom to spare the nearby town—which was but "a little thing" (*miṣ‹ār*)—so that he would be able to reach it before the disaster struck. His request was granted; therefore the town was called Zoar (from the root *ṣ‹r,* originally *ṣġr,* "to be small"). This is an etiological story to explain the contrast between the desolate nature of the W shore of the Dead Sea, especially of Jebel Usdum (see SODOM AND GOMORRAH), and the immediately adjacent lush oasis of Zoar.

It was supposed that Zoar appears in two Amarna Letters from Palestine as $^{uru}$*Zu-uḫ-ra,* EA 334:3, and $^{uru}$*Zu-uḫ-ru,* EA 335:3 (in which *zu* could be read *ṣú*); see *GP* 2: 466. However, the contents of EA 335 indicate that the city in question was located in W Judea, near Lakiši (Lachish) and Muḫrašti (Moresheth). It may rather correspond to Zior (*ṣî‹or*; Josh 15:54), in the district of Hebron, probably to the W of it.

Zoar is mentioned in two poems describing a catastrophic invasion of Moab by an unnamed enemy (probably the Babylonians), which form the chapters of Isaiah 15–16 and Jeremiah 48 but were composed toward the middle of the 6th century B.C. In Isa 15:5, fugitives from Moab flee to Zoar; in Jer 48:4 (emended in RSV following LXX), Zoar is the farthest point where the cry of the Moabites is heard; in v 34, it appears in a similar context. Did it belong to Moab? Its role as a place of refuge for fleeing Moabites (Isa 15:5), and its identification with a site on the S bank of the border stream Zered (see below), speak for its belonging to Edom. It was also located near the border of the kingdom of Judah. Zair (**ṣā‹ir,* loc. *ṣĕ‹îrāh*) in 2 Kgs 8:21, where King Joram fought the Edomite revolt, may represent the same place.

In the Hellenistic period, Zoar, along with all of Edom, passed into the hands of the Nabateans. At that time, it was known under the Aramaic form of it name, *Zō‹ar* (from *z‹r* "to be small"). Alexander Jannaeus conquered it, among other places, from the Nabateans; but Hyrcanus II retroceded them (Joseph. *Ant* 13.15.4 §397: *Zoara;* 14.1.4 §18: *Zōara*). After the annexation of the Nabatean kingdom by Rome (A.D. 106), Zoar belonged to the province of Arabia (*Zoara,* Ptol. *Geog.* 5.17.5, in Arabia Petraea), then to its S part that was renamed *Palaestina Tertia* by Diocletian (*Zoara,* Not. dign. or. 34:26; *Zōora,* Hierocles 721:7; Georgius Cyprius 1051). On the 6th-century mosaic map of Palestine from Medeba, the city appears under the double designation *Balak* (LXX form of Bela) and *Zoora* and is shown as a middle-sized (three-towered) fortress surrounded by palm trees, situated near the southern tip of the Dead Sea, on the S bank of a stream corresponding to Zered. To the crusaders of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the place was known as Segor (as in Vg) or Palmaria.

In the Middle Ages, under the Arabs, the city was called both *Ṣuġar* and *Zuġar,* and experienced a period of great prosperity. The Dead Sea was called the Sea of Zuġar. It became a major commercial center and the principal city of the province of aš-Šarâh (ancient Edom). Its surroundings, which combined hot climate with abundance of water from perennial brooks and springs, were famous for their fertility. It exported dates, date syrup, indigo, sugar, and balm. (The data of medieval Arab geographers are conveniently collected in le Strange 1890: 286–92; cf. also *GP* 2: 466–68). The city was later abandoned, and little of it is visible on the surface.

The information on Zoar provided by the Bible, Josephus *JW* 4.8.4 §482, and the Medeba Map, is corroborated by Dimmašqi: 213 (quoted in le Strange 1890: 292), who specifies that "Zuġar lies in the district of aṣ-Ṣâfîyah in the Ġawr (or el-Ghôr, the Rift Valley)." A Jordanian village on the S bank of Wâdī

Ḥasâ (Zered), ca. 3 km from the shore of the Dead Sea, is still called Ṣâfî, and the area E of it, Ġôr eṣ-Ṣâfî. 1.5 km to the SE of Ṣâfî, where the Zered is joined by a perennial brook from the W, there rises a hillock (perhaps a tell) with ruins of a Byzantine fort, generally assumed to correspond to the Roman-Byzantine Zoara/Zoora (see Glueck 1935: 7–10; 1937: 20–21; Map I/12 in the *Atlas of Israel*). The surrounding area contains traces of Bronze Age, Nabatean, Roman-Byzantine, and medieval Arab settlements. Excavations may yet disclose the biblical and postbiblical city of Zoar.

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**ZOBAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣôbâ* (צוֹבָה)]. Also called Aram-Zobah (*ʾăram ṣôbâ/ṣôbāʾ*), this was the name of a powerful Aramean kingdom of southern Syria during the 11th century B.C.E. Zobah, under its king, Hadadezer, came into conflict with the new kingdom of Israel under David. Most scholars now locate Zobah in the N Biqaʿ valley of modern Lebanon, extending E of the Anti-lebanon range to the N of Damascus and into the plain of Homs (Malamat 1963: 3–4).

The only substantial source of information preserved about this state is in the Hebrew Bible. Accounts of three conflicts between Zobah and Israel are found in 2 Sam 8:3–8 (= 1 Chr 18:3–8) and 2 Sam 10:1–19 (= 1 Chr 19:1–19). Zobah is also mentioned in 1 Sam 14:47, where it is listed as one of the nations with which Saul did battle during his reign. However, it is not clear how reliable this latter source is (Pitard 1987: 90).

The accounts in 2 Samuel/1 Chronicles suggest that Zobah was the dominant state in central and S Syria during the latter part of the 11th century and that it was the center of a small empire that encompassed most of the minor states surrounding it. Some scholars (cf. Malamat *POTT*, 141–42) have suggested that the empire controlled by Hadadezer, the only king of Zobah actually attested in our sources, extended as far N as Pethor (Pitru), in the region of Carchemish in N Syria; 2 Sam 8:3 and 10:16 indeed suggest a wide influence by Zobah in N Syria. However, caution is in order when speculating about the extent of Zobah's actual political control since 2 Sam 8:10 indicates that the important kingdom of Hamath, directly N of Zobah, was not under Zobah's domination during the time of Hadadezer's reign. Whatever Zobah's position was in the N, the evidence seems clear from our sources that it dominated most of S Syria and perhaps parts of Transjordan, including Ammon.

That the leading state of the area would eventually come into conflict with the expanding young kingdom of Israel is not surprising. It appears that the event that led to the opening of hostilities between the two was the intervention by Zobah in a conflict that arose between Israel and Ammon (2 Sam 10:1–19). According to 10:6, Ammon "hired" several armies to join them in battle against Israel, including Zobah, Beth Rehob, Maacah, and Tob. It seems likely, however, that Ammon was a vassal of Zobah (or was offering to become one in exchange for protection) and that Hadadezer decided to use this opportunity to deal with the new threat to his empire. Beth Rehob, Maacah, and Tob were also probably part of Hadadezer's empire (cf. 2 Sam 10:19).

The first battle (2 Sam 10:9–14), in which Joab divided his forces and fought the Aramean and Ammonite armies separately, seems to have been a standoff since all sides withdrew after the battle (10:14). Hadadezer then regrouped his forces, adding fresh troops; and David himself led the Israelite army to the site of Helam (location unknown), where the Israelites defeated Hadadezer's army (10:15–19). At this point several of Hadadezer's vassals astutely switched their allegiance to David.

There has been some question as to whether the battle described in 2 Sam 8:3–8 was a distinct one or whether this passage is simply a different account of the battle of Helam. Most likely it is an account of a separate encounter between the two nations, and this battle took place after those described in 2 Samuel

10 (Pitard 1987: 93). Although the circumstances which led to this battle are not clear (8:3 is obscure as to who was on his way to the Euphrates, David or Hadadezer), the battle seems to have taken place in Hadadezer's territory; and it was a decisive victory for David, who captured much of Zobah's chariotry and plundered two of Hadadezer's cities.

From this time on, Zobah lost its political influence. During the 10th century, Damascus became the dominant power in S Syria, and Zobah seems to have become a part of Aram-Damascus' territory. See ARAM (PLACE). When Aram-Damascus was eventually defeated by the Assyrians (732 B.C.E.) and incorporated into the Assyrian Empire, the area that it had controlled was divided into provinces. One of those provinces is called *ṣubatu*, presumably the area of Zobah (Forrer 1920: 62–63). References to this district have been found in documents from the reigns of Sargon II, Sennacherib, and Asshurbanipal (see Parpola 1970: 325).

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WAYNE T. PITARD

**ZOBEBAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣōbēbâ* (צֹבֵבָה)]. The son of Koz (1 Chr 4:8) in the genealogy of Judah.

It is interesting to note that the name is preceded by the definite article in the Hebrew text. This element is not represented in the LXX as well as modern translations. Myers, however, construes the definite article as part of the name (*Chronicles* AB).

H. C. LO

**ZOHAR** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣōḥăr* (צֹחַר)]. **1.** The father of Ephron the Hittite (Gen 23:8; 25:9). Zohar's son Ephron sold a field which contained the cave of Machpelah to Abraham so that Abraham could bury his wife Sarah. Hoffner (1969: 32) has shown that the names of persons called "Hittites" in the OT are almost all good Semitic names, e.g., Ephron, Gen 23:8; Judith et al., Gen 26:34; Ahimelech, 1 Sam 26:6; etc. Zohar is also a good Semitic name from *ṣḥr* meaning "tawny." Therefore, it is most likely that Zohar was part of a group of Canaanites living in the hills near Hebron during the time of Abraham and not a Hittite from Anatolia. See also *POTT*, 197–228.

**2.** One of the sons of Simeon (Gen 46:10; Exod 6:15). In Num 26:13 and 1 Chr 4:24 he is called Zerah and is the founder of a family of the tribe of Simeon called Zerahites. For possible relationships between the lists in Genesis 46 and Number 26, see Noth *Numbers* OTL, 203 and Budd *Numbers* WBC, 290.

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JAMES C. MOYER

**ZOHELETH, STONE OF.** See SERPENT'S STONE.

**ZOHETH** (PERSON) [Heb *zôḥēt* (זֹוחֵת)]. An individual of the tribe of Judah, the son of Ishi (1 Chr 4:20).

DAVID CHANNING SMITH

**ZOLDERA** (PLACE). See LYSTRA.

**ZOOLOGY (FAUNA).** This article surveys what is known about fauna, especially domestic fauna, in the ANE, and particularly in ancient Palestine from the EB Age to the Greco-Roman period. Gathered together here are all entries on fauna and animal-related topics, which in other Bible dictionaries are usually separately titled. In addition, the orientation of the article is radically different.

First, in consideration of the limited space allocated for the article, most of the discussion is devoted to those animals which have played a significant role in the cultural history of the Near East. These are primarily the domestic animals. The heading "Zoology" is thus something of a misnomer, since a great many animals are largely or totally ignored. For comprehensive zoological descriptions of Palestine/Israel, the reader is referred to the works of Tristram (*SWP* 7) and Bodenheimer (1935; 1960).

Second, the purpose of this article is not to illustrate or explain the biblical text, but rather to give the reader a better understanding of one aspect of the day-to-day world in which people lived during the biblical period, especially as this is recoverable from archaeological excavations. Biblical texts are accordingly cited only where they contribute to that understanding. Literary topoi involving animals as a rule are not discussed.

The scope of the discussion devoted to each animal is therefore not limited to what the Bible happens to say about that animal, as has so often been the case in treatments of "biblical" fauna. The purpose of the article is to present a basic historical and biological profile of each animal, the latter emphasizing those features which made it useful to humans. Wherever archaeological data on the use of an animal exist, these are discussed, along with anthropological models and comparative studies which may help to explain the archaeology. In a few cases, such as the horse harness, the camel saddle, and the plow, brief discussions of technology relevant to the exploitation of an animal are given as well.

One of the most exciting developments in archaeology of the last twenty or so years is the realization that the systematic study of animal bones from a site provides invaluable insight into the economic and cultural life of its inhabitants. Some of this literature is discussed in the text. Additional references are included in the bibliography. At the end of the article, the reader will also find an index of studies on fauna from sites in Israel and selected sites in Jordan. Unless referred to in the paper, studies on Stone Age sites were generally not included in the index, since their date lies too far outside the time frame of this survey. For comparative purposes, however, Chalcolithic and EB sites were included.

Perhaps the most important function of the article is to guide readers to sources for further reading. The bibliography is therefore fairly comprehensive. Most of the articles and books listed there were consulted for the preparation of this article. A few additional entries are included for the sake of completeness.

Since both the Hebrew Bible and the NT are treated in this dictionary, the scope of this article might legitimately have extended to the Greco-Roman world as well. However, the discussion of domestic fauna and their use in Greece and Rome would have meant an even larger article. So, practical necessity forces the writer to exclude most of this material. Some use is made of classical texts on agriculture and animal husbandry, and occasional references to other classical texts may be included for comparative purposes.

This entry is divided into three major parts. The first part focuses on background issues, such as the environmental aspects of animal habitats in biblical lands, animal domestication, and recent methods designed to increase our knowledge of animals and how they were utilized in antiquity. The second part, constituting the bulk of this entry, provides profiles of specific animals. The animals discussed are grouped according to modern zoological categories. In its third major part, this entry concludes with two appendices: one listing the animals mentioned in the Bible, along with the corresponding Hebrew name and its various Semitic cognates (with some brief philological notes provided); and the other indexing studies on faunal remains discovered in selected sites in Israel and Jordan.

## *BACKGROUND ISSUES AND METHODS*

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A. Environmental Zones and Their Animal Inhabitants
B. Animals and Early Human Society
    1. Hunting and Its Cultural Legacy
    2. Domestication
    3. The "Secondary Products Revolution"
    4. Effects of Domestication
C. Animal Bore Archaeology
    1. Relative Frequency of Species

2. Slaughtering Schedule
3. Butchering Technique

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**A. Environmental Zones and Their Animal Inhabitants**

One of the most important factors in the cultural and political history of ancient Palestine was that it was a bridge between the Hittite and Mesopotamian empires in the north and west and that of Egypt in the south. In ecological terms, too, Palestine is a meeting place of different zones: the Palearctic, the Irano-Turanian, the Tropical, and the Saharo-Arabian, each with its own characteristic climate, flora, and fauna.

The *Palearctic region* in Israel extends N and S along the moist hill country of the Levant as far S as the Negeb desert. Annual rainfall in this region may be as much as 1000 mm (39 in) or more. There are two reasons, a dry summer (May through October) and a wet winter (November through April). See also PALESTINE, CLIMATE OF. The flora of this zone, like that of other Mediterranean countries, was originally, dominated by oak forest or maquis. See also FLORA. Typical wild fauna include the wild boar (*Sus scrofa*), roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*), brown bear (*Ursus arctos*), weasels (*Mustela nivalis*), and shrews (*Crocidura russula, Crocidura leucodon*). Israel/Palestine is the most southernmost limit of the range of many palearctic species.

The *Irano-Turanian* zone is a semi-arid steppe separating the Mediterranean environment from the desert. It extends in a strip along either side of the Jordan River from the Sea of Galilee in the N to the Dead Sea in the S. In contrast to the Mediterranean region, which was once covered by oak forest, and where horticulture can be practiced without irrigation, trees do not grow naturally in the steppe. Its climax plant is the shrub *Zysiphus lotus.* Within this region, however, are pockets of tropical vegetation, which thrive around natural springs and along the banks of the Jordan River. These are no doubt relicts of a much larger tropical zone which flourished in the area in prehistoric times. Typical Irano-Turanian fauna include the goitered gazelle (*Gazella subgutturosa*), Iranian fallow deer (*Dama dama mesopotamica*), and the Asiatic mouflon (*Ovis orientalis*), the ancestor of modern domestic sheep.

The *Tropical Zone* is restricted to pockets of land around desert springs and to the marshy areas along the Jordan River. Israel's marshlands also once included 15 $km^2$ of swamp in the Huleh Valley, most of which was drained in the 1950s. Animal and particularly bird life in these marshes is rich because they are an important stopping place for migratory birds, as well as home for local waterfowl. Tropical fauna species were entirely restricted to these pockets of marshland. The hippopotamus, for example, appears to have survived in some marshlands until at least the Iron Age. Hippopotamus bones have been found in the Iron Age strata (XII–XI) at Tell Qasileh (Haas 1953; Davis 1985). According to Davis, one of the bones, a metacarpus, shows signs of cut marks, suggesting that the animal was slaughtered for meat. Hippopotamus bones are also reported to have been found at Aphek and Dan.

Another marshland species was the crocodile, which inhabited the marshes of the Nahal Tanninim (wadi ez-Zerka) N of Caesarea (Buchanan 1920; Masterman 1921; Fast 1959). Just N of Caesarea was a place called Crocodilon Polis (Strabo, *Geog.* 16.27; Pliny, *HN* 6.17). Several dead crocodiles purportedly from the Nahal Tanninim were purchased by Europeans in the last decade of the 19th century.

The *Saharo-Arabian* zone is hot and arid with less than 50 mm (2 in) of rainfall per year. Actually, when annual rainfall is this low, it is not the upper limit, but the lower which is decisive in determining the nature of local flora. In Eilat, it is not unusual for a year to pass with no rainfall at all. Native fauna include various species of gazelle (*Gazella dorcas, Gazella gazella*), the lesser Egyptian gerbil (*Gerbillus gerbillus*), the jerboa (*Jaculus jaculus*), the golden spring mouse (*Acomys russatus*), and the sand rat (*Psammomys obessus*). In most historical periods, the desert zone has been of only marginal cultural significance. Animal life of the desert accordingly receives short shrift in this article. From a zoological point of view, however, it is among the most interesting environmental zones. Before we conclude this section on environment, therefore, we must take a brief look at the animal life of this region.

The heat and aridity of the desert pose two significant challenges to animal life: maintaining an acceptable body temperature, and preventing dehydration (Schmidt-Nielsen 1964; Schmidt-Nielsen and Schmidt-Nielsen 1952; Evenari et al. 1982). Desert animals adapt to these environmental challenges in

different ways, depending on their size. With their large surface-to-mass ratio, small animals are much more liable than large animals to rapid rises in temperature when exposed to heat and radiant energy. Given their limited water resources, it would be far more costly for them to eliminate excess heat by evaporating sweat than it is for large animals with smaller surface-to-mass ratios. For example, a mouse weighing 100 g would have to expand 15% of its body weight in water to avoid overheating, as against 1% for a camel and 1.5% for man (Evenari et al. 1982: 315). Most small animals (rodents, insects, mollusks, birds, and reptiles), therefore, do not sweat to cool themselves, nor do they even have sweat glands; consequently, they protect themselves from the heat by burrowing. This convenient option is not open to large animals. Often unable to find much shelter from the sun or the heat, they respond by sweating, which hastens the rate at which heat is eliminated from the surface of the body. This extra cooling is needed because large animals have more mass to cool but relatively less surface area through which excess heat can escape than do small animals. However, because of their size, large animals are also able to absorb a greater amount of heat before their body temperature rises. The temperature of a 10 kg (22 lb) animal exposed to daytime desert heat will rise 5°C (9°F) in half an hour, while that of, say, a 500 kg (1100 lb) camel will take over seven hours to reach the same point (Hillel 1982: 59).

Desert animals may thus be divided into two groups, depending on how they regulate heat and water. The first group comprises small animals which do not expend water for heat regulation. The second group includes large land animals, which must sweat in order to eliminate heat. To this second category belong the ungulates (camels, sheep, goats, and gazelle) and the larger carnivores. Within each of these two groups there is an additional subdivision between those animals which obtain sufficient water from their food alone and those which must drink extra water. Each of these groups is more fully considered below.

Since they do not sweat, desert rodents survive by burrowing underground, an act that insulates them from the heat of the sun. A burrow 20 cm (7.8 in) underground may be as much as 20°C (36°F) cooler than the surface, and similarly warmer at night. Since small animals cannot survive continuous temperatures in excess of 45°C (113°F), and since daytime ground-surface temperatures may rise as high as 60–70°C (140–160°F), this insulating difference is vital. Burrowing is the necessary concomitant of the rodent's small size because small animals are especially vulnerable to big fluctuations in temperature.

Burrowing also protects an animal from dehydration, for the relative humidity of the burrow may be as high as 90%, as against 10% or less on the surface. Dry foods stored in this humid environment absorb moisture from the soil. According to Evenari, Shanan, and Tadmor (1982: 317), for example, seeds of the spiny zilla (*Zilla spinosa*) stored in the burrow of the fat jird (*Meriones arassus*) at a relative humidity of 60% contained 23–26% more water than the same seeds outside the burrow. Water thus derived, combined with water produced by the metabolism of carbohydrates and fats, is usually sufficient to meet the requirements of many rodents. These species thrive on dry foods without access to drinking water or even green vegetation (see further Schmidt-Nielsen and Schmidt-Nielsen 1952: 137–47). Carnivorous rodents, of course, derive needed water from the bodies of their prey, which ordinarily contain 60–70% water by weight.

Among all desert-dwelling animals, water losses are held to a minimum. Waste products such as urea and excess electrolytes are often expelled in concentrated form, and feces are relatively dry. For example, the urea concentration in the feces of the golden spring mouse is about five times greater than that in human feces, and the electrolyte concentration six times greater (Evenari et al. 1982: 315). The jerboa's urea and electrolyte concentrations are respectively about four and three times more concentrated than man's. These values are not untypical of Israel's desert rodents in general. The feces of the desert rat contain less than 40% water by weight. Values for some larger species are given in the following table.

Table 1
Percentage of Water in Feces

| | Feed | % Water by Weight |
|---|---|---|
| Camel | Hay and dates, no water | 43% |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Camel | Hay and dates, daily water | 52% |
| Donkey | Had and dates, daily water | 64% |
| Man | Mixed Diet | 66% |
| Cow | Pasture | 85% |

Source: Schmidt-Neilsen 1964: 61

As regards waste products, one advantage of plant- as opposed to meat (i.e., protein)-rich diets is that less urea (a by-product of protein metabolism) is produced in the first place.

Birds, like rodents, have no sweat glands, and therefore do not dissipate excess heat through perspiration. Instead, water is evaporated from their lungs during respiration. This respiratory cooling is accelerated by panting, which has been found to have certain advantages over sweating as a means of evaporative cooling. Experiments on dogs, which also cool themselves in this manner, and humans, who sweat, show that the latter are much more liable to dehydration, because they will drink only as much water as is necessary to maintain a constant concentration of chloride in the blood. The absolute amount of chloride, however, steadily falls as salt is lost in sweat. Not only are humans thus susceptible to dehydration, but the drop in the relative percent of electrolytes in the blood is also potentially fatal. In panting, however, no salt is lost. A dog will therefore drink enough water to regain its original body weight. Panting, while thus conserving body salts, is also quite adequate to dissipate excess body heat. This has been experimentally verified in the case of the black raven of the Negeb (*Corvus corax ruficolis*). Birds, like reptiles, limit their water losses by expelling highly concentrated waste products (uric acid and excess electrolytes) in the feces rather than in the urine. While carnivorous and omnivorous birds obtain sufficient water from their diet alone, graminivorous birds must drink water.

Birds are most active at night or in the morning and evening, when heat and radiant energy are less than at midday. Those that are active during the day escape some of the heat by hovering high above the ground. When stationary, they hold their wings away from the body in order to facilitate the elimination of body heat. Their feathers, like the fleece of sheep, also keep heat out. In one case, a gradient of 30°C (54°F) was reported between the outer feathers and the skin underneath (Evenari, et al. 1982: 319). The body temperature of birds is also higher than that of mammals, reducing the need for cooling in the first place.

Reptiles, like birds, cool themselves by respiration. Although cold blooded, even reptiles cannot tolerate excessive heat. Snakes in particular are vulnerable because they are in direct contact with the hot ground. Most desert snakes are carnivorous, and their food therefore contains enough water (at least 60–70% of body weight) to satisfy their needs.

Even mollusks, which are usually associated with moister climates, have adapted to life in the desert. Two species, the desert snail (*Eremina desertorum*) and the white desert snail (*Sphincterochyla boissierii*), are commonly seen in the Negeb. On occasion, the former may cover dwarf bushes in considerable numbers. Water content of the snail body is typically between 60 and 90%, and may be reduced by as much as 65% of body weight without injuring the animal (Evanari et al. 1982: 323).

By way of comparison with animals native to the desert, a word may be said about how human beings fare in desert environments. Humans lack most of the special physiological adaptations found in desert natives. But, it turns out that not all of these adaptions would necessarily be advantagous. For instance, under desert conditions, the rate of sweating in human beings may be as high as 1.5 liters per *hour*. The minimum amount of water needed for proper urine formation, by contrast, is 500 ml per *day*. Little would be gained, therefore, even if the concentration of the urine could be doubled, since this form of water loss is an insigificant fraction of the amount of water daily expended in sweat (Schmidt-Nielsen and Schmidt-Nielsen 1952: 151).

Man’s natural ability to rehydrate after severe water loss is limited in comparison with some other animals, especially the ungulates. Although a man’s weight is 2/3 that of a donkey, after exertion he may nevertheless drink as little as 1/10th as much water in a short space of time, no matter how thirsty he is.

Thus a human being requires several hours to rehydrate, whereas a dog may do so in half an hour, and camels and donkeys in a matter of minutes. Provided with adequate water and salt, however, humans function well in a desert climate. What humans lack in specific biological adaptation, they make up for in overall flexibility, which allows them to function in a variety of environments. They can compensate for their biological shortcomings with respect to a given environment by behavioral changes (e.g., diet, settlement patterns, etc.) and technological innovation.

The climatic map of Palestine/Israel which underlies its ecological divisions has remained fairly stable in historical times, though there has been some fluctuation in the location of the border between the desert in the S and the arable land in the N. A northward shift in this border, for example, is thought to have been one of the factors in the decline of the EB city of Arad. The country's natural distribution of flora and fauna, however, has changed enormously since large-scale settlement of the area began in the EB Age. This is especially true of the temperate regions, where settlement has been most intense. New plants such as the vine have been introduced, and natives such as the olive have been domesticated (Stager 1985), while aboriginal vegetation such as oak forest has been cleared for cultivation. In view of its effect on wild fauna, the process of deforestation merits some discussion here.

In prehistoric times, the highlands of Transjordan and much of Cisjordan were covered by heavy oak or mixed oak/pistachio forest (cf. Baruch 1986; Gophna, Liphschitz, and Lev-Yadun 1987). While much of this was destroyed in historical times, remnants survived until as late as the 19th century (literature and details in Rowton 1965; 1967; Mikesell 1969; Gophna, Liphschitz, and Lev-Yadun 1986; 1987). Sometimes, the only traces of the trees are the place names they have left behind (Schumacher 1888: 15, 23; Kislev 1985). But the Bible itself makes it clear that large blocks of heavy forest still existed in the mid-1st millennium B.C.E. (Josh 17:14–18; 2 Sam 18:6–8; Isa 2:13; Ezek 27:6). Exactly how much is hard to say. One indication comes from studies of pollen (e.g., Baruch 1986), which show that by about 1000 B.C.E. the proportion of Tabor Oak (*Quercus ithaburensis*), for example, had declined by approximately 67% and that of Evergreen Oak (*Quercus calliprinos*) by 33–50% from what they had been before intensive settlement in the area began in the EB Age. These declines correspond to increases in the proportion of the olive tree due to human cultivation. While these findings clearly indicate that a great deal of oak forest had been lost prior to the biblical period proper (i.e., the Iron Age), they also show that much of it remained. It was not until the Roman period that the loss of oak forest reached anything near completeness. (These results taken from the Galilee are said by Baruch [1989] to be indicative of samples he has taken elsewhere in the country.)

The extent of deforestation in a given period can also be roughly calculated by estimating the cumulative effect of human populations on primitive forest cover. At any given time, the extent of deforestation would have been equal to the amount of primitive forest cleared in earlier periods minus the amount of forest regenerated when settlements were abandoned. In Israel, the periods of greatest settlement activity are the EB II–III (Gophna 1984; Broshi and Gophna 1984), the MB II (Gophna 1984; Broshi and Gophna 1986), the Iron I–II (Shiloh 1980; Zertal 1986; Finkelstein, *AIS*), and the Roman-Byzantine period (Broshi 1979). The EB IV is thought to have been a period of less intensive settlement, in which pastoral nomadism was relatively more important than in periods of urban activity (Dever 1980). In the hill country, the LB Age is also a period of marked decline in terms both of the number of settlements and of their size (Gonen 1984; Zertal 1986; Finkelstein, *AIS*). These periods of decline in settlement activity are much longer than the recovery rate of oak forest, which is between 30 and 50 years (Gregg 1988: 123; Livneh 1981: 82), and would thus have allowed ample time for regrowth. Certain factors favored regrowth. The technology available to Bronze Age farmers for clearing forests left stumps and root systems capable of producing new growth sooner than would be the case from virgin soil (Gophna, Liphschitz, and Lev-Yadun 1986: 78; Rowton 1965: 379; also cf. Isa 11:1). What is more, the trees often anchor themselves in underlying bedrock, since the topsoil is not infrequently rather thin. This makes the extraction of root systems, which are capable of sending out new shoots, very difficult.

A preliminary estimate of the extent of deforestation due to human settlement has recently been done for the Sharon by Gophna, Liphschitz, and Lev-Yadun (1986), based on their study of settlement patterns

in the central coastal plain. They estimated that even at the height of urban settlement in the area (the MB II), only about 25% of the forest cover had been lost. This estimate is probably too conservative, since continued grazing undoubtedly prevented complete recovery of the forest in some areas. Still, such studies give us a rough idea of how forest reserves were affected by human settlement patterns. When the results of the archaeological surveys of Ephraim and Manasseh are published in their entirety, it should be possible to make fairly reliable estimates of deforestation in the hill country.

These changes in flora have brought about changes in the distribution of animals. Forest dwellers, such as bear, wild boar, and various species of deer, have become less common or even extinct. But the most significant change in fauna has been, of course, the introduction and spread of domestic livestock. These processes are discussed in more detail below.

**B. Animals and Early Human Society**

**1. Hunting and Its Cultural Legacy.** For the last 10,000 years or so, man's closest association with animals has been with domestic species. Hunting has played an increasingly minor role in both the economic and the cultural spheres. Indeed, already in the great civilizations of antiquity, big game hunting at least had become little more than sport for the aristocracy. The only cultural significance was its role in royal ideology, whose purpose was to celebrate the martial prowess of the king. Royal hunting was highly ritualized in nature in the sense that as a behavior pattern it had lost its original function, and had been invested with new value as a purely symbolic activity. In the extreme case, no real hunting would even take place. The symbolic requirements of the ritual hunt could be satisfied if the king slew a token animal, such as a lion, which could be caught beforehand and bound so as to present no real danger (so the Abyssinian enthronement ritual described by Littmann and Krencker 1913: 37). The symbolic and propagandistic value of the ritual hunt is much in evidence in ancient Assyria (cf. Meissner 1911) and in Egypt. In ancient Israel, the mythos of the king as intrepid hunter is not in evidence.

Of all the varieties of the hunt, only fishing and fowling were still widely pursued in historical times. Unlike big game hunting, these activittes were still relatively profitable and could be managed without the benefit of sophisiticated weapons or the use of horses. Whereas the bow and arrow were weapons characteristic of the aristocracy and symbolic of the king's far-reaching power, the tools of the ordinary hunter were nets and traps. While they were used to capture large game, such as gazelle, they were most commonly employed for catching fish and birds. It is to bird traps, for example, that the Hebrew terms for "trap," *môqēš* and *paḥ,* invariably refer (Gerleman 1946). The use of nets was among the oldest and most widespread hunting techniques. The snaring of birds and fish is frequently depicted in both Mesopotamian and Egyptian art. Indeed, the very word of "hunting" in Sumerian, NIGIN, is graphically represented by the ideogram for "net." But no matter how widely practiced, even those most common forms of hunting contributed only marginally to most ancient economies, all of which were dominated by the exploitation of domestic plants and animals.

The dependence of civilization on domestic animals, and the consequent decline of hunting as a way of life, are nevertheless comparatively recent events in the history of the human species. For something like 99% of our existence as a species, we have lived as hunters. It should therefore come as no surprise that certain of our most basic cultural institutions have their origins in our prehistoric association with the hunt.

Animal sacrifice, for instance, almost certainly originates in the hunt (Burkert 1983). Only a phenomenon as old and as basic as hunting can explain the ubiquity of animal sacrifice as *the* sacral act par excellence throughout the ancient world. Of course, sacrifice came to be interpreted in many different ways. On the underlying formal level, however, one finds striking similarities both between sacrificial rituals among widely disparate cultures, and between hunting rituals on the one hand and sacrificial rituals on the other (cf. Meuli 1946 and discussion in Burkert 1983: 12–16).

In Egypt, for example, the sacrificial bull was treated as a foe vanquished in the hunt (Moret 1908; Otto 1950; Eggebrecht 1973). The slaughtering ritual, as reconstructed by Otto, began with the lassoing (*śpḥ*) of the wild bull. Lassoing was also used in the hunting of the other common sacrificial species, antelope, gazelle, and ibex, and is depicted already in predynastic rock drawings (Winkler 1937: figs. 17, 47, 56,

57, etc.; 1938–39; Pls. XV.1, XXIX.1). After being caught, the victim was fettered and slaughtered. In depictions of this stage of the ritual, a woman named "kite" (*ḏr.t*), who stands next to the butcher, taunts the bull, "Your two lips have done that against you [i.e. your own cry has betrayed you to the hunter]. Does your mouth (still) open?" (Otto 1950: 168). Ms. Kite is thought to represent the carrion bird of the same name, which would have been a frequent sight on the hunt. Next, a courtier says to the statue receiving the offering, "I have fettered them [the victims] for you. I have brought you your enemy." He then addresses the victim, "Do not attack that god" [the recipient of the offering], probably referring to the fact that unlike most game animals the wild bull will charge the hunter.

Like the ritual of capture and killing, the choice of victim was determined by the tradition of the hunt. In Egypt, the preferred species for sacrifice continued to be those which were commonly hunted: wild cattle, antelope, gazelle, and ibex. The common domestic species, sheep and goats, were avoided (Barta 1963).

In the other great urban cultures of antiquity, however, it was not wild but domestic animals which were usually sacrificed. This fact would seem to belie any connection between hunting and sacrifice. But, sacrifice, like hunting itself in the wake of the Neolithic food revolution, was ritualized behavior. By Neolithic times, the ritual killing of animals had become an indispensable accompaniment to every sacred occasion or turning point in life, such as birth, purification, and death. Tradition, in other words, associated piety with the slaughter of animals. When domestic animals replaced wild game as human's principal source of meat, they also filled the role previously played by game in sacrifice.

Like the hunt, sacrifice or at least the sacrificial meal was typically a collective activity, providing occasion for kin to gather together for a meal of meat, a treat which came infrequently for all but the aristocracy. Sacrifice thus continued many of the social functions of the hunt. It reinforced kinship ties and regulated the distribution of precious animal resources.

**2. Domestication. a. History and Traits.** For a long while, prehistorians believed that the domestication of plants and animals evolved as hunter-gatherers realized that by farming they could produce larger amounts of food more reliably and with less labor than was possible by hunting. What gave this idea credibility was the assumption that the life of the hunter-gatherer was one of deprivation and unending exertion. But, recent studies of contemporary hunter-gatherer societies such as the!Kung Bushmen (Lee 1968; 1969; 1979) suggest that, left to themselves, these groups lead a relatively carefree life in which food is plentiful and easily acquired. Except for highly specialized hunters such as the Eskimo, who are subject to extreme climatic conditions and a limited variety of food resources, modern hunter-gatherers generally have access to a food base that is adequate and reliable, and they do not expend inordinate amounts of time in collecting it. The!Kung work week, for instance, which includes time spent in foraging and hunting for and preparing food, collecting firewood, and making and repairing tools, amounts to only about 42 hours a week (Lee 1979: 272–80). It is not without a certain delight in turning old preconceptions about this lifestyle on their head that Marshall Sahlins thus calls these people "the original affluent society."

It is the farmer's life, by contrast, that is difficult. He must not only prepare and plant his fields, harvest the crops, and tend his livestock, but also build pens to shelter the animals and fences to keep them out of the fields. Nowadays, it is therefore suggested by some that the switch-over to agriculture and the use of domestic livestock were forced upon hunter-gatherers by a combination of factors such as a lower density of game, climatic change, and a loss of habitable land (Harris 1977). According to this view, the ever-increasing scarcity of resources remains perhaps the single most powerful force shaping human culture.

While scarcity no doubt shapes culture, there are other ways of looking at the process of domestication. It has been suggested, for example, that people might have started raising young animals that they captured or whose parents had been killed in the hunt. Another theory is that domestication was a natural consequence of mutual adaptation or co-evolution (cf. Clutton-Brock 1987). From the animal's viewpoint, it is argued, natural selection itself played a role in the process of domestication, because from an evolutionary perspective, domestication offered significant advantages to animals as well as humans (as the success of domestic animals demonstrates). Domestic animals enjoy among other things protection from predators, and are thus more likely to survive. It was therefore in an animal's interest to associate

with humans. The closer its association, the greater its advantage over others of its species. Natural selection thus favored tame animal populations. According to this scenario, animals gradually gave up their aggressive and territorial traits, needed for survival in the wild, in return for protection and food. It would have been a modest step for humans to undertake to manage these animals, and so exploit them at will. Those species whose management ultimately proved most consistently profitable soon monopolized man's attention. No doubt there was experimentation with a number of species. An interesting example of a close man-animal relationship that did not end up in domestication is the fallow deer of prehistoric Cyprus. These animals were deliberately introduced by man, and intensively exploited. At Dhali-Agridhi, for example, fallow deer account for about 79% of the bones in the sample (Carter 1989; Croft 1989). Having once realized the benefits of keeping their own animals, people may have abandoned hunting long before economic necessity drove them to do so.

As the example from Dhali-Agridhi illustrates, the animals that humans hunted or even managed were not necessarily the ones that ended up being domesticated. Domestication in the fullest sense of the word was made possible by the fact that certain animals demonstrated an inherent predisposition to human control. One could say, therefore, that there is a certain inevitability about domestication, for given a sufficiently intimate association with the domestic-animals-to-be, people could scarcely have failed to notice their inherent susceptibility to human control.

The traits indicative of domesticability are the following. First, the social behavior of the animal must naturally be based on a hierarchy of dominant and submissive individuals, into which human beings can insert themselves as leader. Second, the animal must not be adapted for instant flight because such animals (e.g., the gazelle) will not breed freely if penned up or herded too closely together. Third, the animal must be easy to tend, that is, rather placid, flexible in its feeding habits, and naturally gregarious, so that herdsmen need expend a minimum of energy in keeping a herd together. Lastly, the animal must be responsive to human behavior—human commands, mood changes, facial expressions, etc. The best illustration of this sensitivity is the dog, which will imitate the smile on its owner's face or be frightened by an angry look (cf. further Clutton-Brock 1987: 15–16, 36).

Domestication, in its fullest sense, means that an animal's breeding, territory, and food supply are controlled by humans (Clutton-Brock 1987: 11, 21). *Populations* of animals managed in this way are said to be "domestic." One speaks of populations, because domestication involves more than the exploitation of an individual animal during its lifetime. The management of breeding enables humans to manipulate the characteristics of entire animal populations over generations through artificial selection. However, with certain animals, artificial selection offers no significant advantage. As a result of natural selection, some animals are already perfectly adapted to meet certain human needs. In such cases, breeding many as well be left to nature. Such animals are said to be "domesticated" rather than "domestic." They are tame *individuals* which are also dependent on humans, but whose breeding involves little or no selection. These "exploited captives" include the camel and the elephant.

The establishment of sedentary communities based on agriculture and animal husbandry has created still another type of human-animal relation, one stage further down the scale of intimacy from that of the domesticated animal. Known as commensalism, it is defined as a one-sided symbiosis between a passive, but dominant partner—in this case humans—and another species, which derives exclusive benefit from the relationship (cf. Tchernov 1984). The benefits accruing from this relationship include greater availability and dependability of the food supply, protection from predators, and a decrease in interspecific competition. The greater the degree of human sedentation, the greater the benefit to the commensal partner. Man's commonest commensal partners are the house mouse (*Mus musculus*), the black rat (*Rattus rattus*), the brown rat (*Rattus norvegicus*), the sparrow (*Passer domesticus*), and the *Columbidae*. In the latter case, commensalism led to actual domestication.

**b. The Primary Domesticates.** In view of the conditions which must be satisfied before an animal can be domesticated, it should come as no surprise that there are so few domesticates. The ones which shall concern us here are the common livestock species: sheep, goats, cattle, and pigs. After the dog, these were the first animals to be domesticated and remained the most important throughout antiquity.

Domestic sheep (*Ovis aries*) are the descendants of *Ovis orientalis,* the Asiatic mouflon, a dark, small-bodied, short-tailed sheep, still found in the mountainous zone from Asia Minor to S Iran. Domesticated sheep may have arrived in Palestine by way of trade with Anatolia, from which imports, such as obsidian, first appear in the Neolithic. The domestic goat (*Capra hircus*), too, descends from a wild species, the bezoar (*Capra aegagrus*), native to this region. It is therefore in this area that these two animals must first have been domesticated; and, indeed, the earliest paleozoological evidence for their domestication occurs here. Within this region, however, domestication may have arisen simultaneously and independently. The date of the domestication of sheep and goats is thought to have been sometime during the 9th millennium B.C.E. (Clutton-Brock 1987: 56), preceding the domestication of cattle by about 1500 years.

Cattle were domesticated later than sheep and goats because their size and often combative disposition presented would-be herdsmen with a much stiffer challenge. The wild ancestor of domestic cattle, the aurochs (*Bos primigenius*), stood about 2 m high and bore large, forward-facing horns. These formidable beasts were found throughout the prehistoric Near East, including regions such as Saudi Arabia, where today cattle are only infrequently found (Tchernov 1974: 240). They survived in remoter areas, such as N Mesopotamia, until at least 900 B.C.E.—long after the introduction of domestic cattle.

Domestic pigs all descend from a single wild species, *Sus scrofa,* despite some 19th and early 20th century claims to the contrary (Flannery 1983: 164). Signs of domestication, such as smaller dentition, first appear in the archaeological record between 6500 and 6000 B.C.E. at Jarmo in the Zagros mountains and perhaps a little earlier at Çayönü in S Turkey. In the Levant, dates for the introduction of domestic swing range from about 6000 B.C.E. at Tell Judaideh in the Antioch Plain to 5000 B.C.E. at Jericho. In Egypt, the earliest domestic specimens occur ca. 4000 B.C.E. At many sites, the appearance of domestic pigs is associated with the introduction of pottery. This raises the possibility that the practice of raising pigs spread along with the technology of pottery making. Such a scenario would also explain the late debut of the domestic pig at Jericho, where wild boar had been a major food item in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic (Clutton-Brock 1971). There may have been, however, multiple centers from which this knowledge spread, since cattle and pigs were being domesticated in Greece at least as early as 6200 B.C.E. (Flannery 1983: 182).

To conclude this section on domestication, we shall look at one of the earliest examples of the phenomenon in which the entire process is illustrated. The site in question is Tell Jericho, whose history of occupation spans the period during which the domestication of plants and animals began.

In the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (PPN A), about 8000 B.C.E., domestic cereals (emmer wheat and hulled two-row barley) made their first appearance. Domestic animals were as yet unknown. The inhabitants of the village at this period, numbering perhaps about 2000, practiced simple agriculture and hunting. The importance of the latter is indicated by the large proportion of gazelle bones in the sample, along with bones of other wild species, such as the boar and the common fox (*Vulpes vulpes;* Clutton-Brock 1971). (For foxes as food animals, see also Turnbull and Reed [1974: 99] and Flannery [1969: 314].) Although it has been claimed that the gazelle at Jericho were tamed captives (Legge 1972), there is no evidence for this in the bones themselves (Clutton-Brock 1987) or in the proportion of juveniles (Ducos 1978). (For a general discussion of bone size and age distribution, see further below.) It is more likely that they were caught and killed in large numbers in nets, or in corrals or "kites" of the sort found further S in the Arabah, in the Sinai, in Transjordan, and in Syria (see below under Gazelle).

In the PPN B, the period associated with the domestication of animals, the make-up of the food supply is already different. The importance of gazelle, for example, has diminished. Gazelle now constitute only half as much (ca. 18%) of the meat supply as in the preceding period. While it is likely that cattle and goats were being domesticated in this period, this is difficult to prove because these earliest domesticates are all morphologically indistinct from their wild counterparts. That is, their bones are much larger than those of domestic cattle and goats from later periods, indicating that they have not long been domesticated. (More will be said below about the phenomenon of size reduction in domestic animals.) Some of these large animals may therefore have been wild aurochs and bezoar. Sheep are not certainly attested until the EB Age.

In the Bronze Age, the importance of gazelle continues to decline while that of goats increases. By the MB Age, gazelle contribute only 3.4% of the meat supply. The pig, whose contribution to the food supply during the EB Age had been fairly small, stages a comeback, albeit in domestic form. The effects of domestication are evident: these pigs are smaller than those of the Pre-Pottery period, and the proportion of juveniles—another indication of domestication—has increased (12.5% in the Pre-Pottery, 32.5% in the Bronze Age). Relatively speaking, however, the pig's contribution is still less than it was in the Pre-Pottery period because of the growing importance of domestic cattle, goats, and sheep.

**3. The "Secondary Products Revolution."** In recent years it has become fashionable in some circles to speak not of a single revolution in the use of animals, but of two. Proponents of this view argue that for a long time after their domestication domestic animals still appear to have been kept chiefly as sources of meat. Many of the activities which we associate with animal husbandry may only have became widespread as late as 4000–3500 B.C.E.—three or four thousand years after the advent of farming. These activities include the exploitation of livestock for milk, riding, traction, and pack transport. These developments collectively make up what Sherratt (1981; 1983) calls the "secondary products revolution." His arguments are in brief as follows.

The use of the scratch-plow drawn by oxen first appears in the iconographic record about 4000 B.C.E. at Uruk, though the invention of this technology may have preceded its appearance in art by some time. From the Near East, use of the plow spread to Europe, where it is attested by actual plow-marks in datable surfaces and by copper models of yoked oxen ca. 3700–3500 B.C.E. Also from the 4th millennium comes the first evidence for the use of equids as pack animals. Excavations in a tomb at Giv‘atayim, in Israel, uncovered a donkey figurine with containers on its back. The figure dates to the Ghassulian (Late Chalcolithic) period (Kaplan 1969: 31, and pl. VII). Another pack donkey figure was found in an EB I tomb at Tel Azor (Druks and Tsaferis 1970). As Sherratt notes, the Late Chalcolithic and EB periods witnessed a growth in the number of settlements in the Negeb and Sinai, due to the trade in copper, in which donkey transport played an essential role. Again, from the 4th millennium we have our first evidence from both iconography and faunal studies of the use of goats and cattle for milk, as well as of the development of woolly sheep by artificial selection. From this point on, the use of wool is said increasingly to have replaced that of vegetable fiber such as linen.

Sherratt's concept of a "secondary products revolution" has drawn sharp criticism from some circles (e.g., Chapman 1983). One of its obvious defects is that the dates at which various innovations in animal husbandry are first attested constitute only a terminus ante quem. It cannot be ruled out that while archaeologically unattested, some of these innovations go back as far as animal domestication itself.

Still, there can be little doubt that the exploitation of animals for "secondary products" did in fact lag behind their use as a source of meat. For example, the amount and quality of the wool obtainable from hairy sheep would alone scarcely have justified the effort of keeping them. And, in fact, Mesopotamian and Egyptian art both show that hairy sheep continued to be raised even after woolly sheep had been introduced. Hairy sheep were obviously not then being kept principally for their wool and probably never had been. The issue is not whether the very earliest farmers used secondary products, but how significant their use was. These farmers may have collected wool shed by hairy sheep, but that is exploitation of a far different order than the deliberate breeding and selection of sheep for that purpose. The same distinction applies to the use of milk from cattle, sheep, and goats. The question in this case is whether it is likely that groups of humans still in the throes of the transition from hunting to farming would have valued milk or milk-products enough to make them a principal consideration in determining how to manage their herds.

There is also something more to be said about the first use of animals in intensive agriculture. While this event no doubt precedes its appearance in art by some time, it was probably not by millennia. Indirect evidence for this comes from the ‘Uvda Valley, in the SE Negeb. Intensive agriculture based on animal labor begins in this area sometime during the 4th millennium B.C.E., as evidenced by the introduction of numerous circular threshing floors and large, subterranean granaries (Avner 1989). The circular form of the threshing floors indicates the use of tethered animals rather than human labor. Once again, the use of animals is associated with a 4th-millennium context. The development of agriculture in this marginal area

no doubt lagged behind that of major cultural centers. But the lag-time involved was probably on the order of hundreds rather than thousands of years.

Some additional support for Sherratt's theory comes from the study of the timetable according to which animals were slaughtered. Theoretical models suggest that if there was a widespread trend at early sites toward the slaughtering of young animals, this would be evidence for an emphasis on meat rather than on milk or wool production. While a preference for adult animals could indicate either meat or milk production, an increasing dependence on adult animals over time would be evidence for a shift in emphasis to secondary products. In fact, this is precisely what one sees at Neolithic sites in the Deh Lurah Plain and the Kermanshar Valley, Iran (Flannery 1969; Davis 1984; Hesse 1978). At Shiqmim, a Chalcolithic site in the Negeb, over 50% of all male caprovines were slaughtered before they reached their first year of age, and over 50% of female goats were killed before age 21/2, clearly indicating that goats of both sexes and male sheep were raised primarily for meat. Female sheep survived in greater numbers, indicating their use for wool (Grigson 1987). The pattern for EB Arad is similar (Lernau 1978).

While a shift toward the use of secondary products thus does seem to have occurred, it is difficult to determine exactly when this took place. In fact, it may have occurred at different times, depending on the product involved and the geographical location. Sherratt oversimplified the problem in lumping all of the secondary products together. Evidence for a change in herd management to accommodate milk and wool production exists as early as the 6th millennium in Iran, while in Palestine hairy sheep were still the dominant species as late as the EB II (Lernau 1978).

In addition to milk, wool, and traction, domestic livestock provided other less valuable resources, whose place in the domestic economy nevertheless should not be overlooked. Dung cakes, for example, were and still are an important fuel for the household hearth, especially in areas where firewood is scarce (cf. Moens and Wetterstrom 1988; Miller 1984). Another use of dung was as a tanning agent. In areas where oak trees were available, tanning was usually extracted from acorn cups, roots, and bark (cf. Parsons 1962: 214 n. 1; Mikesell 1961: 101–2), but in ancient Palestine the dung of dogs and pigs was also used (*b.Ber.* 25a).

**4. Effects of Domestication. a. On the Animal.** An animal's adaptation to the conditions of captivity produces certain anatomical changes. Some of these are rather superficial and are only apparent in the living specimen. Others are evident in the skeletal structure and the teeth, and are thus susceptible to archaeological analysis. In general, these changes are the same regardless of species. A term often used to describe them is "pedomorphism," the retention of juvenile features into adulthood. The mechanism which causes these changes to occur is still poorly understood. It may not be generic. For example, it has been suggested that these effects may be the result of arrested development caused by precocious sexual maturity, or by hormone changes resulting from changed environmental conditions (Boettger 1958: 20; Spurway 1955: 349). In any event, because some changes are relatively superficial, domestic animals which return to the wild quickly revert to a morphological state more like that of wild than of domestic species. An example of this is the feral pigs of New Zealand (cf. Newberry 1928: 217).

**(1) Morphological Changes Apparent in Skeletal Remains.** As a result of domestication, overall size is reduced in most species. One important exception is the horse, whose size has increased (Epstein 1962: 295). The size of the bones is therefore the primary criterion by which wild and domestic species are distinguished in faunal remains from archaeological excavations. At Jericho, for example, it is possible to illustrate the decreasing size of cattle over several millennia (Clutton-Brock 1971: 44–46). As a measure of size in this case, the width of the distal end of the metacarpal (forefoot) bones was used. In the Pre-Pottery period this figure ranges from 69–75 mm, in the Bronze Age from 54–65 mm, and in the Iron Age from 46–58 mm. Smaller bone size corresponds to smaller dentition. Since teeth are generally better preserved than almost any other part of the skeleton, they are among the commonest measures of domestication in faunal samples.

While the chief effect of domestication noticeable in bone samples is a reduction in size, there are some other noteworthy changes. Among ungulates, for instance, hornlessness in females is also evidence of domestication. Since males cannot be distinguished from females in a bone sample, this characteristic

manifests itself simply in a paucity of horn cores relative to what one might have expected from a wild sample of comparable size. In the case of goats there are also clear trends in the shape of the horns (Flannery 1965: 1254; Clutton-Brock 1971: 49–50). The wild goat has scimitar-like horns whose bony cores are diamond-shaped in cross section at the skull. The earliest domestic goats are also all of this type. By 6000 B.C.E., however, a twisted-horn variety with a flattened core appears at sites in N Mesopotamia and the Zagros and quickly spreads through this region. Elsewhere, the change is slower. In PPN B Jericho, the scimitar shape is overwhelmingly predominant. During the EB Age, the two types appear in about equal numbers. In the MB Age, however, it is the twisted-horn variety that predominates. The reason for the change in horn shape is as yet unclear. One explanation has it that the twisted horn, a rare aberration among wild goats, was artificially selected because goats with this characteristic could be distinguished more easily from their wild counterparts (Clutton-Brock 1971: 50). However, it may be that the change in horn formation is not in itself important, but points to a preference for some other feature associated with the twisted-horn type.

Apart from morphological changes in the bones and teeth, domestication may be indicated in a faunal sample by the presence of an abnormally large percentage of juveniles. In particular, this suggests that the animals were being raised for meat. On the other hand, juveniles are also easier to hunt, so this criterion must be used with caution (Ducos 1978).

**(2) Changes Not Apparent in Skeletal Remains** (in general see Clutton-Brock 1987: 22–25). The result of selective breeding, several morphological changes are not attested in skeletal remains. One of these is the lengthening of the ears, which is typical of most domestic animals except the horse. Another is the fat-tail of sheep, which in some breeds has grown to a length of several feet. Herodotus (3.113), for example, describes a breed of Arabian sheep whose tails were so long that they required special wagons to support them (cf. Anati 1968, discussed below under Sheep). Such breeds became possible only because of the protection afforded them by humans against natural enemies (Hilzheimer 1936). Third, the tails of other animals have also undergone considerable development. In horses, the hair of the mane and the tail is much longer than in wild horses, asses, and zebras. Also the hair of the mane falls to one side in all domestic breeds, whereas in their wild relatives it stands erect. In dogs and pigs, the curled tail is a mark of domestication.

Most morphological characteristics such as these, which distinguish specific *breeds* within a species, will not appear in the skeletal remains, since the selection of such features usually involves rather superficial changes. This makes it difficult to identify breeds within a faunal sample. Further, while different breeds no doubt existed, the production of well-defined breeds was open to a great deal of chance, since a proper understanding of genetic inheritance was lacking. In any event, in the absence of widely acknowledged and precise criteria for the identification of a breed, the perpetuation of a breed over many generations was in part a matter of chance. In a few cases, such as the Arabian horse, detailed pedigrees *were* kept (Clutton-Brock 1987: 33).

**b. On Humans.** In the process of domesticating animals, human beings were also changed. Domestication, in other words, is a process of reciprocal adaptation. For example, peoples with a long history of association with cattle, sheep, and goats have developed the ability to absorb lactose (milk sugar) even as adults (see further below under Goats). In some cases, the adaptation is almost wholly on the part of the human being. For example, the lifestyle of camel nomads is entirely determined by the capabilities and limitations of the camel, while the camel appears to have changed very little and is dependent on humans only in those areas where it is unable to obtain water by itself.

**C. Animal Bone Archaeology**

Given the paucity of detailed written information from antiquity about animals, we are often dependent on the archaeologist for what knowledge we have about the history of man's relationship with them. Where detailed written information exists, as in ancient Mesopotamia, it still does not give us a complete picture even of the common domestic animals, much less of those which were of little or no use to human beings. Unfortunately, it is only within roughly the last twenty years that the recovery and analysis of faunal remains has become a regular part of most excavations. There are some notable exceptions to this

generalization, such as the University of Chicago's excavation at Tell Asmar, whose faunal remains were studied by Hilzheimer (1941). And, generally speaking, archaeologists of prehistory have done a better job of studying faunal remains than those of the historical periods, since the latter have been preoccupied with architectural remains and the reconstruction of pottery sequences.

Having at last come into their own as a vital element in archaeological excavations, faunal studies are now capable of providing insights into problems of primary interest to social historians. However, the value of faunal analysis is conditioned by the quality and size of the sample provided by the excavation itself. In older excavations, only the bones of large mammals were kept, if they were saved at all. The remains of smaller mammals, birds, fish, reptiles, and insects went largely undetected, since they are recoverable only when the excavated dirt is sifted through a series of fine mesh screens (cf. the figure in Caloi, Compagnoni, and Tosi 1978). The tiniest skeletal material, such as that of insects and mollusks, will pass through the finest screen. In order to recover this, archaeologists use a technique called a flotation, the basic idea of which is that organic remains have a lower specific gravity than inorganic and will float to the surface of a liquid where they can be retrieved, while the rest of the (inorganic) material will sink.

While the analysis of bones from archaeological excavations is of interest to zoologists, its essential purpose is to aid the archaeologist in reconstructing aspects of human society. For this reason, faunal analysis is no longer simply a matter of identifying the species from which bones derive. Instead, it emphasizes those aspects of a bone sample which shed light on problems of culture and economy. These include the problems of domestication and "secondary products" discussed above. It is also possible to derive information from the bones about such aspects of animal use as the relative proportions of species (e.g., sheep and goats versus cattle), the slaughtering schedule, and details of butchering technique (Hesse and Wapnish 1985; Davis 1987a). The following synopsis is intended to give the non-specialist an overview of the methods used to extract information of this sort from bone samples.

**1. Relative Frequency of Species.** Like all statistical studies, bone counts of any sort presuppose that the sample is large enough to be statistically significant. The relative proportion of species is measured in several ways. Of these, one of the commonest and simplest is to compare and total number of bones from each species. However, there are several potential problems with frequencies based on simple bone counts of this sort. If, for instance, a sample contains 50% cattle parts from whole carcasses, and 50% horse parts consisting only of skulls, then in fact many more horses are represented than cattle, despite there being an equal number of fragments of each species (cf. Hesse and Wapnish 1985: 112). Account should therefore be taken not only of total number of fragments but also of uneven distribution of bone types.

A second difficulty with simple number counts is the likelihood that fragments from the same bone will be counted separately instead of as a single analytic unit. If all bones in the sample had been subjected to the same processes of destruction, this source of bias could perhaps be ignored. But, if the bones of some species had been preferentially broken, the number of bones counted in that group would be much higher than that of other groups in the sample, making it look as if those species were more common than they actually were. Finally, estimates of relative abundance may be skewed by the fact that the more bones a species has, the greater its share of the sample will be, and the more likely it is to be represented in the sample in the first place. Its importance may therefore be overestimated.

These biases can be corrected as follows (cf. Hesse and Wapnish 1985; Wapnish et al. 1977; Hesse and Perkins 1974). A skeleton contains a certain number of specimens of each bone type, e.g., 2 shoulder bones (*scapulae*), 2 of each of the various fore- and hindleg bone types, etc. The total number of the element type is divided by its anatomical frequency to correct for the likelihood of recovering different bones from the same skeleton and for the fact that not all bones occur with the same anatomical frequency from one species to another. Bone types which according to this correction are over- or under-represented are eliminated. The arithmetic mean of the resulting list of frequencies is then calculated for each animal. By comparing the mean frequency of the various species, one arrives at a more reliable estimate of relative proportions in the sample.

Many zooarchaeologists still prefer to compare the minimum number of individuals (MNI) represented by the bones of the respective species (Watson 1979). The maximum MNI in a sample of bones of a given species is equal to the total number of bones of the most common bone type divided by the number of such boxes per individual. The bone type selected as the diagnostic is typically one of the large bones, since they are more likely to survive, and will therefore yield the greatest minimal number of individuals. The accuracy of the MNI can be increased by sorting the bones according to age and size and adding MNIs for each of the age and size groups (Bökönyi 1970). MNIs counted in this way will be higher than those based on a gross sample.

The drawback of this method is the inherent improbability of the resulting numbers in all but very large samples. The reason for this is that the bone type or element of bone type selected as the diagnostic may be over-represented in certain species as a result of cultural factors. For example, when an animal was butchered, those portions selected for meat may have been taken to one part of the site and those used for tools to another. Unless the bones of every species are utilized in the same way, and this is unlikely to have been the case, there may be significant variation in the relative proportions from one part of the site to another.

Other methods for estimating relative abundance are bone volume and bone weight. Since these are almost never used at sites in the Near East, the reader seeking additional information about them is referred to the technical literature (e.g., Hesse and Wapnish 1985).

**2. Slaughtering Schedule.** Several methods are used to determine the age at which animals were slaughtered. When an animal reaches a certain age, the ends of its long bones (epiphyses) fuse. The age at which this fusion occurs is more or less constant within a species and is therefore a diagnostic for determining the relative proportion of juveniles and adults in a sample. The age at which fusion takes place, while roughly uniform in a species, is nonetheless linked to factors such as sex and nutrition. Age at fusion is therefore best given as a range of values. Data for domestic livestock are found in Todd and Todd (1938) and Silver (1969). Since the epiphyses of various bones fuse at different ages, it is possible to compile a schedule of the proportion of animals slaughtered at various ages (cf. Payne 1973; Redding 1981).

A potential source of bias in this method is the fact that mature (fused) bones survive in greater numbers than immature (unfused) bones. Absolute numbers obtained in this way are therefore not entirely trustworthy. However, by comparing the porportion of fused bones at one age with those at another age it is still possible to draw general conclusions about patterns in the age at death.

Cognizance also must be taken of any differential deposition of bones at the site. Adults and juveniles, for example, may have been slaughtered at different parts of a site depending on the particular uses to which they were put. Males and females may similarly have been segregated. Differential deposition of this sort may obscure the true slaughtering patterns for the site as a whole.

Another method of determining age at death is the eruption sequence of the teeth (Ewbank et al. 1964). In order to distinguish the age of older animals whose complement of teeth is complete, tooth wear is examined. Wear sequences are now available for sheep and goats, cattle, horses, and camels (Grant 1975; 1978; 1982; Deniz and Payne 1982; Crabtree 1982; Sisson and Grossman 1953; Rabagliati 1924; Payne 1973).

**3. Butchering Technique.** In addition to providing data on age at death, bones also indicate how animals were butchered. From cut marks on the bones, for example, one can observe precisely how an animal was skinned and dismembered. Additional information on the details of slaughtering is obtainable from the distribution of the bones. In the Palegawra cave in N Iraq, for example, onagers appear to have been the principal meat source. But their skulls appear infrequently among the bones, indicating that the animals must have been killed elsewhere and that only the meat-bearing portions were transported to the site (Turnbull and Reed 1974). This sort of differential deposition has been labelled the "Schlepp Effect" (Perkins, Daly, and Daly 1968).

## *ANIMAL PROFILES*

A. Ungulates
    1. Domestic Species
    2. Animals as Food
    3. SHEEP
    4. GOATS
    5. CATTLE
    6. PIGS
B. Equids
    1. ONAGERS
    2. HORSES
    3. ASSES
    4. CAMELS
    5. ELEPHANTS
    6. GAZELLE
    7. DEER
    8. Rodents and Other Small Mammals
    9. Carnivores
    10. DOGS
C. BIRDS
    1. DOVES AND PIGEONS
    2. CHICKENS
    3. Falconry in the ANE
    4. Birds in Navigation
D. FISH
E. Mollusks
F. Arthropods and Insects
    1. LOCUSTS
    2. BEES
    3. Aphids and Scale Insects
G. Earthworms

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**A. Ungulates**

**1. Domestic Species.** In primitive Mediterranean and ANE societies, whether urban or seminomadic, livestock was the principal form of useful wealth. The wealth of Homer's heroes, for example, is never related other than in terms of cattle, sheep, and goats, even if they own large tracts of land. If this is true of a sedentary society such as Homer's, it goes without saying that it characterizes pastoralist societies. Israel's ancestors, who according to the patriarchal narratives were tent-dwelling seminomads (Gen 13:3, 7, 18; 18:1, 10; 26:17; 35:21; 46:32, 34), are said to have possessed movable wealth, but no property (Gen 26:14). When Abraham wished to bury his wife Sarah, he first had to buy a plot of land (Genesis 23; also cf. Gen 33:19).

Among Near Eastern pastoralists, as among city-dwellers, livestock (cattle, sheep, and goats) functioned as a standard and even medium of exchange. The same is true of numerous pre-modern societies. Traces of such livestock currency are preserved in the business vocabulary of many languages. English "fee," for example, corresponds etymologically to German *Vieh*, "cattle," and from the Latin cognate *pecu*, "cattle," we derive *"pecuniary," "impecunious,"* etc. The Indian *rupee* comes from Sanskrit *rupa*, "cattle." Similarly, Hebrew *miqneh* means both "livestock" and "purchase." For the use of livestock as a medium of exchange in the Bible, see Gen 38:17. Even if the actual medium of transaction was silver, measured by weight (in shekels), the value of a thing might be calculated in terms of livestock (Gen 33:19; Josh 24:32; contrast Genesis 23). This was true of early Greece (cf. *Iliad* 2: 448–49; 6:236; 23:703, 885), and the Hittite empire as well. In the latter case, though payment was clearly made in silver, prices for

livestock were calculated based on value relative to one sheep, where 1 sheep = 1 shekel of silver (Laws II §63ff., ed. Friedrich 1959; *ANET*, pp. 195–96, §178ff.).

**a. Relative Value of Cattle, Sheep, and Goats.** For certain periods, livestock prices are known for much of the Near East. Data on prices are to be found in economic documents (receipts, price lists, etc.), in legal texts, and occasionally in narratives. In Mesopotamia, where rich documentation exists from an early date, it is even possible to track prices over a long period. Comparative data are collected in Heltzer (1978).

From this material it emerges that prices are relatively uniform from one area to another and stable over time. The relative value of cattle and sheep was typically ten to one, cattle having a monetary value of ten shekels, sheep one (cf., e.g., Hittite Laws II §63–64, ed. Friedrich 1959; *ANET*, pp. 195–96, §178–79; for Nuzi, cf. Speiser 1960: 32). This ten-to-one ratio was recognized throughout the Near East in all periods, as well as in early Rome (Festus, *Epit.* 24). The goat cost two-thirds of a shekel (Hittite Laws II §64; *ANET*, p. 196, §179), because the woolly fleece, which accounted for the sheep's total value, brought a higher price than goat's hair (valued at one-fourth of a shekel, Hittite Laws II §71; *ANET*, p. 196, §185A).

**b. Composition of Mixed Herds.** It is possible to derive some information about the relative proportions of animals on the farm (ratio of sheep/goats to cattle) from numbers in lists of property or sacrifices scattered throughout the Bible. These data are compiled in the following tables.

Table 2
Compositon of Herds

| Texts | No. of Sheep/Goats | No. of Cattle | Relative Proportion |
|---|---|---|---|
| Job 1:3[a] | 7,000 | × | 7:1 |
| Num 31:31[b] | 675,000 | 72,000 | 9.4:1 |
| | | | Avg. 8.2:1 |

[a]The data here are assumed to be fictional and representative of what an Israelite writer thought were the typical proportions of an average herd.

[b]These figures represent the booty taken in the Israelite conquest of Midian. Again, their historical validity is dubious. But even as fictions they tell us something about what were thought to be proper proportions.

Table 3
Composition of Sacrificial Lists

| Text | No. of Sheep/Goats | No. of Cattle | Relative Proportion |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gen 32:14–15 | 2 (200 + 20) | 40 + 10 | 8.8:1 |
| Num 7:17 etc.[a] | × | 2 | 7.5:1 |
| 1 Kgs 8:63 | 120,000 | 22,000 | 5.5:1 |
| Ezra 6:17 | 200 + 400 | 100 | 6.0:1 |
| Ezra 8:35 | 96 + 77 + 12 | 12 | 15.4 [8.0]:1[b] |
| 2 Chr 15:11[c] | 7,000 | 700 | 10.0:1 |
| 2 Chr 29:33 | 3,000 | 600 | 5.0:1 |
| 2 Chr 30:24 | 7,000 | 1,000 | 7.0:1 |
| | 10,000 | 1,000 | 10.0:1 |
| 2 Chr 35:7–9 | 30,000 | 3,000 | 10.0:1 |
| | 2,600 | 300 | 8.7:1 |
| | 5,000 | 500 | 10.0:1 |
| | | | Avg. 8.7 [8.0]:1[d] |

[a]Only the values of the *zebaḥ haššĕlāmîm* are taken here. N.B.: no historical value is necessarily to be attached to any of these numbers or indeed to any of the events described. As in Table 1, they may at best illustrate only what was thought to be a proper proportion.

[b]The numbers 96, 77, and 12 are significant in their own right. In particular, 77 and 12 appear to have some symbolic importance, 12 indicating one animal per tribe, 77, like the number 7, indicating symbolic completeness. The 96:12 (8:1) ratio is more in line with what we find in other texts.

[c]The author of Chronicles appears frequently to use a 10:1 ratio as a rule of thumb.

[d]The ratio in brackets is based on a figure of 8:1 rather than of 15.4:1 for Ezra 8:35.

Data on the proportion of sheep to goats is sparse. According to 1 Sam 25:2, sheep outnumber goats by three to one. According to an extra-biblical source, the ratio was 10.3 to 1 (Annals of Thutmose III, *ANET*, 237). Figures on the proportion of females to males are also hard to come by. According to Gen 32:15, however, there were about ten females for every male.

Data about the composition of herds are also now available from archaeological excavations. These figures are given in Table 4.

Table 4
Composition of Herds Based on Faunal Analysis

| | | | | | | Caprovines[b] | | Cattle | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Period | Site | Total No. of Bones All Species[a] MNI | No. MNI | % | Ratio of Sheep to Goats[c] | No. MNI | % | Ratio of Caprovines to Cattle[d] | Source | |
| *Chalcolithic* | | 206 | 156 | 75.6 | | 17 | 8.3 | 9.1 | Angress 1959 | |
| | Beer-sheba | 63 | 39 | 61.9 | | 9 | 14.3 | 4.3 | | |
| | | 258 | 218 | 84.5 | 5.8[e] | 27 | 10.5 | 8.0 | Jodien 1955 | |
| | Bir Abu Matar | 32 | 22 | 68.8 | 2.7[e] | 6 | 18.8 | 3.7 | | |
| | | 533 | 501 | 94.0 | 9.2 | 15 | 2.8 | 33.6 | Josien 1955 | |
| | Bir es-Safadi | 46 | 38 | 82.6 | 4.4 | 4 | 8.7 | 9.5 | | |
| | Shiqmim | | ca. 90 | | | | ca. 10 | ca. 9 | Grigson 1987 | |
| *EB* | Arad (EB I) | 383 | 345 | 91.3 | 2.1[g] | 29 | 7.7 | 11.9[h] | Lernau 1978 | |
| | Arad (EB II[f]) | 1408 | 1244 | 89.9 | 1.4[g] | 105 | 7.6 | 11.8[h] | Lernau 1978 | |
| *Middle Bronze* | Lachish (MB IIB–C) | | | 75.0 | | | | 5.0 | Hellwing and Sadeh 1985 | |
| | Shiloh (MB IIB) | 241 | 191 | 79.2 | | 42 | 17.4 | 4.6 | Hellwing and Sadeh 1985 | |
| | Shiloh (MB IIC) | 443 | 373 | 84.1 | | 56 | 12.6 | 6.7 | Hellwing and Sadeh 1985 | |
| | Tell Aphek (MB IIA) | 1129 | | 49.4 | | | 33.5 | 1.5 | Hellwing and Gophna 1984 | |
| | Tell Aphek (MB IIB–C) | | | 52.6 | | | 29.6 | 1.8 | Hellwing and Sadeh 1985 | |
| | Tell Jemmeh (MB IIB–C) | ca. 2500 | | 72–83[i] | 4 | | 7–139[9] | 6.4–10.3[i] | Wapnish and Hesse 1988 | |
| | Tell Masos (MB IIB–C) | | | 87.5 | | | | | Tchernov and Drori 1983 | |
| | Tell Michal (MB IIB) | 110; 19 | 49 | 44.5[j] | | 45 | 40.9[j] | 1.1 | Hellwing and Feig 1989 | |
| *Late Bronze* | Lachish | | | 63.0 | | | 22.0 | 2.9 | Hellwing and Sadeh 1985 | |
| | Shiloh | 2332 | 2152 | 92.2 | | 155 | 6.6 | 14.0 | Hellwing and Sadeh 1985 | |
| | Tell Michal | 641; 44 | 289 | 45.0 | | 258 | 40.2 | 1.1 | Hellwing and Feig 1989 | |
| *Iron Age* | Beer-sheba (Strata IX–VI) | 1303 | | 77.5 | | | 12.5 | 6.2 | Hellwing 1984 | |
| | Dan | | | 52.0[k] | | | 33.0[k] | 1.6 | Wapnish et al. 1977 | |
| | Heshbon | 620 | 510 | 82.3 | | 48 | 7.7 | 10.7 | LaBianca | |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | 1973 | |
| | ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah[1] | 1203 | 635; 34 | 52.7; 46.5 | | 411; 18 | 34.3; 24.6 | 1.5[i]; 1.9 | Hellwing and Adjeman 1986 | |
| | Lachish | | 11 | 46.9 | | 11 | 48.3 | 1.0; 1.0 | Lernau 1975 | |
| | Lachish (Iron II) | | | 67.5[m] | | | 17.5[m] | 3.9 | Hellwing and Sadeh 1985 | |
| | Qasile (Iron I) | | 212 | | | 35[n] | | 6.1 | Davis 1985 | |
| | Shiloh (Iron I) | 1333 | 1000 | 75.0 | | 306 | 22.9 | 3.3 | Hellwing and Sadeh 1985 | |
| | Shiloh (Iron II) | 148 | 99 | 66.8 | | 41 | 27.7 | 2.4 | Hellwing and Sadeh 1985 | |
| | Tell Masos (Iron I) | | | 65.8 | | | 25.8 | 2.6 | Tchernov and Drori 1983 | |
| | Tell Masos (Iron II) | | | 42.8 | | | 7.3 | 5.9 | Tchernov and Drori 1983 | |
| | Tell Michal (Iron II) | 406 | 239 | 58.8 | | 123 | 30.2 | 1.9 | Hellwing and Feig 1989 | |
| | Tell Qiri | 971 | 793 | 81.6 | 1.0 | 142 | 14.6 | 5.6 | Davis 1987b | |
| | Tell es-Saʿidiyeh (Iron II) | | | 50.0 | | | 24.0 | 2.1 | Martin 1988 | |
| *Persian* | Tell Michal | 3281; 194 | 1799 | | | 1136 | | 1.6 | Hellwing and Feig 1989 | |
| *Hellenistic* | Shiloh | 100 | 62 | 62.0 | | 32 | 32.0 | 1.9 | Hellwing and Sadeh 1985 | |
| | Tell Michal | 527; 44 | 327 | 62.0 | | 144 | 27.3 | 2.3 | Hellwing and Feig 1989 | |
| *Hasm.* | Tell Michal | 171; 22 | 111 | | | 46 | | 2.4 | Hellwing and Feig 1989 | |
| *Roman* | Dan | | | 61.0 | 1.1 | | 24.0 | 2.5 | Wapnish et al. 1977 | |
| | Heshbon | 597; 46 | 471; 11 | 78.9; 23.9 | | 4 | | 2.8 | LaBianca and LaBianca 1976 | |
| | Qumran | 492; 57 | 408; 46 | 82.9; 80.7 | 1.0 | 69; 10 | 14.0; 18.0 | 5.9; 4.5 | Zeuner 1960 | |
| | Shiloh | 135 | 97 | 71.8 | | 30 | 22.2 | 3.2 | Hellwing and Sadeh 1985 | |
| | Tell Michal | 207; 26 | 114 | | | 65 | | 1.8 | Hellwing and Feig 1989 | |

[a]Where two figures are given for a site, the upper represents the total number of bones, the lower the minimum number of individuals. In the percentage columns, the upper and lower figures are respectively based on the number of bones and MNI.

[b]The total of all sheep and goats. Sheep and goat bones are often not distinguished from one another in faunal analysis. Even where they are, a large number of bone fragments usually remain, which are only identifiable as belonging to either sheep or goats. Hence the value of a combined category.

[c]The ratio of sheep to goats in the sample is typically based on a small fraction of bones definitely identifiable as belonging to either sheep or goats. Since the number of such bones is usually small, the resulting ratio must be taken with a grain of salt.

[d]Based on the respective percentages of caprovines and cattle.

[e]In the Negeb today, sheep outnumber goats by about three to one (Levy 1983).

[f]Values for the EB II represent totals for all four strata, since the respective proportions of cattle, sheep, and goats remain almost constant throughout this period.

[g]Davis (1976: 155) reports the following ratios. For EB I: 1.5 (Area T), 2.0 (Area K); for EB II (strata III–I): 1.0 (Area T), 1.2 (Area K).

[h]While MNIs are not given separately for the two periods, the total MNI from both periods is 80 for caprovines and 7 for cattle, giving a ratio of 11.4 to 1.

[i]The first value is simply based on the fraction of the total number of bones, the second on a comparison of the mean relative frequency of selected bone types of each species.

[j]Calculated according to the method outlined by Watson (1979).

[k]Based on a comparison of the mean relative frequency of selected bone types of each species.

[l]The data from Strata I–III are here combined. There is a noticeable trend toward the raising of sheep and goats at the expense of cattle. In III, the ratio of caprovines to cattle is 1.2; in II it is 2.0; and in I it is 2.5.

[m]Average of Strata V–IV.

[n]In Davis' opinion, the cattle bones are over-represented since sieving was not undertaken.

From the table, it is evident that in desert areas sheep and goats were raised in preference to cattle, on average by a little over 10:1. In the coastal plain, the ratio of caprovines to cattle was on the order of between 1:1 and 2:1. The difference between these two ratios is readily explained as a result both of the richer supply of fodder and of the moister climate. The hill country and Shephelah occupy a place somewhere between these two extremes. In the region, sheep and goats typically outnumber cattle by between 2:1 and 7:1.

It is difficult to know how representative these ratios are of actual proportions, since detailed comparative data for some areas are not available prior to the Israeli occupation of the West Bank in 1967. The results of the 1974 animal census of the West Bank have now been published in part by Finkelstein (*AIS*, 134). In general, the ratio of caprovines to cattle is everywhere much higher than in the archaeological samples considered above. This is no doubt due to the fact that mechanized farming has largely replaced the use of the ox-drawn plow. There would therefore be little purpose in dwelling on exact figures. Certain of the regional tendencies noted in the composition of ancient herds are nevertheless apparent even in the recent censuses. In the desert areas comprising the E portion of the country (those areas Finkelstein calls the "desert fringe" and the "central range"), caprovines far outnumber cattle, as they did in archaeological samples from the Negeb. Since agriculture in the desert zone is limited, but pasturage is abundant, the absolute number of sheep and goats is also very high. The E "desert fringe," for example, had almost as many caprovines as the "central range," despite the fact that it is one-third as large (for the definition of these areas, see Finkelstein, *AIS* ). In the hill country, the relative proportion of caprovines to cattle varies by as much as a factor of 5, depending on local terrain. Where agriculture is intensive and the terrain moderate (as in the foothills [Shephelah], the N slopes, and the N central range), the proportion of cattle is greatest. Where the terrain is rugged (as in the S slopes), horticulture predominates, and the proportion of cattle decreases.

**2. Animals as Food. a. Diet, Sacrifice, and Slaughter.** Regardless of the place or period in question, diets in antiquity were predominantly vegetarian. The use of animal products was in large measure confined to milk curds and cheeses. Based on figures given in the Mishnah (*Ketub.* 5:8–9), Broshi (1986) has estimated that in Roman Palestine, for example, cereals constituted perhaps 50% of the caloric intake in the average Jewish diet, with wine, olive oil, legumes, and fruit making up the rest. Although precise figures are seldom given, studies of diet in other areas of the ancient world confirm that meat was not a common item in the average diet. For Mesopotamia, see Bottéro (1985), Ellison (1981; 1983; 1984), and Limet (1987); for Egypt, see Saffirio (1972), Darby et al. (1977); for Rome, see André (1961) and K. White (1976); and for Arabia, see Jacob (1897: 88–109) and Rodinson (*Ency. Islam* 2: 1057–72). Most people could afford to eat meat only on special occasions. Typically accompanying these was a sacrifice of some sort. Indeed, it was not uncommon for a single animal to provide both the sacrifice and the meal. Every use of meat thus became a sacral meal, and every act of animal slaughter a sacrifice.

The Bible makes this connection explicit. In Israelite priestly literature, sacrifice and slaughter were nearly synonymous. According to Leviticus 17, all animals of sacrificeable species (cattle, sheep, and goats) were to be slaughtered at the *mizbēaḥ* or "altar," literally "the place of sacrificial slaughter" (*zebaḥ*). An unrelated literary text suggests that slaughter had once taken place on the altar itself (Gen 22:9–10). Whenever a person wished to eat beef or mutton, it would in theory have been necessary to take an animal to the sanctuary and to slaughter it there. A priest would then have flung its blood against the

altar and burnt the fat covering the internal organs. In payment for his services, the officiating priest received the right shoulder (*šoq*), while the priestly corps was awarded the breast (*ḥazeh*) as a sort of prebend. The owner got what was left. Game animals were not sacrificeable in Israel, and could therefore not be brought to the sanctuary (e.g., as captives, as was done in Egypt [see above]). The only rule regulating their slaughter was that the blood must be drained out on the ground and covered. Failure to observe these rules rendered one guilty of bloodshed, no less than if one had committed murder (Lev 17:4). Animals which had died a natural death, or which had been killed by wild beasts were (in theory at least) off-limits as food (Lev 22:8). The violation of this rule made one temporarily impure but did not carry the penalty of divine retribution.

Whether actual practice ever conformed to this legislation is open to doubt. It would certainly have been impracticable to have only one location where people could take their animals for slaughter. It is possible, therefore, that the text is simply a utopian agenda. Alternatively, one could argue that while the text of Leviticus 17 speaks only of a single sanctuary, in fact it presupposes the existence of numerous local sanctuaries, whose prototype was the legendary Tabernacle. Multiple sanctuaries in fact existed until the Josianic reform, which restricted all cultic activity to the temple in Jerusalem.

The centralization of the cult forced a revision in the rules for animal slaughter, utopian or not. Both the reform and the new legislation are reflected in Deut 12:15. Since local sanctuaries had been done away with, people living long distances from the central sanctuary were allowed to slaughter animals wherever they wished, provided that they drained the carcass of its blood. It is explicitly said that domestic animals were now to be treated like wild game ("like gazelle and deer," v 15). Deuteronomy's legislation may be said to represent a step in the direction of the secularization of animal slaughter vis-à-vis the priestly corpus.

The only other restriction on the killing of animals was that newborns could not be sacrificed or, presumably, slaughtered for any purpose until they were at least eight days old (Exod 22:28–29; Lev 22:27). This eight-day waiting period is perhaps reminiscent of that required before a newborn boy could be circumcised (Gen 17:12). The rationale for this delay is not given, but may have had something to do with the ritual impurity attached to the process of birth. This is strongly suggested by the mention of circumcision in Lev 12:3 in connection with the week-long impurity of a woman who has given birth to a boy. Compare the week-long secondary contamination contracted by intercourse with the woman who has had an issue of blood (Lev 15:24).

The determination of the gender of the animal slaughtered was in part at least determined by economics. Only a few male animals are needed to ensure that reproduction takes place at an acceptable pace. In Mandate Palestine, for example, a single ram could fertilize 35 or more ewes. Since males give no milk, there was little purpose in maintaining them as adults. With this large reserve of slaughterable males, it is perhaps not surprising that male animals constituted the majority of sacrificial victims irrespective of species. In ancient Israel, males were *required* for the burnt offering (*ʿolâ*), the purgation offering (*ḥaṭṭāʾt*—if brought in behalf of the high priest, the people, or the leaders of the people) and the reparation offering (*ʾāšām*), as well as for the regular sacrifices described in Numbers 28–29. Females were required only in the private *ḥaṭṭāʾt.* Either male or female could be used for the *zebaḥ.*

While there is no explicit discussion of the method by which animals were slaughtered, it can be inferred from the terminology. The term for "slaughter" in biblical Hebrew is *šaḥat,* which, like its Arabic cognate *šaḥata,* literally means "to cut the throat." This remains the way in which animals are slaughtered in both Judaism and Islam. When an animal was to be killed but not eaten or sacrificed, its neck was broken (Exod 34:20; Deut 21:4), indicating that no sacrificial connotation was attached to the act. The offering of a limb amputated from a live animal, a practice attested in Egyptian funerary rites (Weigall 1915: 10; Dondelinger 1979, pl. 6; Eggebrecht 1973: 55–61), was implicitly forbidden.

**b. Food Prohibitions.** The biblical dietary law (Leviticus 11; Deut 14:1–20) has elicited many different explanations. A convenient review of relevant scholarship to 1969 is found in Kornfeld (1969). Until a little over 20 years ago, scholarly opinion concerning the rationale of the dietary law was divided into two broad categories, which we may call the *religious* and the *hygienic.* Scholars of the first group typically

held that certain animals were regarded as unclean because of their association with pagan worship (Elliger, *Leviticus* HAT, and many others). For criticism of this view, see Kornfeld (1969). Along a different tack, it was suggested that the motivation of Israel's food prohibitions was to inculcate respect for life by limiting the consumption of animal flesh (Milgrom 1963). This explanation ignores the fact that no restrictions are placed on the primary food-producing species. Proponents of the hygenic approach, on the other hand, maintained that the prohibitions were intended to identify health hazards. They pointed in particular to the fact that the pig is often a carrier of trichinosis (Albright, *YGC*, 177–78; cf. already Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, 3.48). This approach too, while still popular in some circles, can no longer be maintained. For criticism, see Harris (1977: 200; 1985: 160; Simoons 1961: 37ff.).

More recent discussions of the dietary law have sought to explain it in economic or sociological terms. Prominent among these are the studies of the American anthropologist Marvin Harris (1974; 1977; 1985), who maintains that Israel's food prohibitions were designed to ensure that people's tastes did not jeopardize their economic security. Certain animal foods were prohibited, Harris argues, because producing them had proved to be a waste of scarce resources (Harris 1985). At the heart of Harris' theory is his treatment of the pork prohibition. This is dealt with at length in the section on the pig (see below).

The other notable contribution to the study of the dietary law is the work of the British sociologist Mary Douglas (1966; 1975). Douglas believed that she had discovered in the biblical criteria for distinguishing clean and unclean animals an essential unity of motivation: clean animals had those essential morphological features judged to be proper to their respective habitats. Douglas identified the means of locomotion as the most crucial of these features. Thus, cattle were expected to go on four (cloven) hooves, birds to fly (rather than to walk), and fish to move by means of fins. The biblical classification regards as unclean "creatures which are anomalous, whether in living between two spheres or having defining features of another sphere, or lacking defining features" (Douglas 1975: 266).

Although it is a conceptual advance over its predecessors, Douglas' idea of an animal taxonomy based on the means of locomotion ultimately proves to be untenable (Firmage fc.). One brief example must suffice to illustrate why. In the case of the unclean birds, for example, there is nothing about their wings that is at all anomalous. In contrast, it is precisely the unclean quadruped's missing hoof or cleft in the hoof and the marine creature's lack of proper fins which make them "anomalous." Douglas emphasizes the fact that some unclean birds swim or dive in addition to flying. But, unlike fish, which can only swim, and land animals, which can only walk on the ground, *all* birds locomote in at least two ways, and all would, according to Douglas' logic, be unclean. Thus, neither in regard to their means of locomotion, nor in their movement between two environmental spheres can the unclean birds be called anomalous.

The key idea in Douglas' theory is that the boundaries dividing one animal taxon from another are like the boundaries that separate Israelites from non-Israelites, clean from unclean, holy from profane. And, indeed, there are similarities between the ways in which animals and people are classified. But Douglas missed the most important analogy of all, the one which in fact explains the dietary law. In its most elemental form, the analogy is the divine injunction with which the dietary law concludes, "You are to make yourselves holy and keep yourselves holy, because I am holy" (Lev 11:44). On the practical level, this meant that every aspect of life, including diet, should be scrutinized to see whether or not it conformed to this command. As far as diet was concerned, the problem facing Israel's priesthood was to decide on what basis foods should be judged proper or improper. Their solution was simply to compare what Israelites ate with what YHWH "ate." YHWH's "diet" was, of course, the sacrificial offerings (cf. the phrase *leḥem ʾelohîm;* Lev 21:6, 8, etc.; 22:25). YHWH's "table" was the altar (*šulḥān YHWH;* cf. Ezek 44:16; Mal 1:12). (On the anthropomorphic background of these terms, see Haran 1961.) The sacrificeable species, cattle, sheep, and goats, thus became the paradigm against which the "cleanness" of all other animals could be measured (Firmage fc.).

The criteria for the selection of clean quadrupeds (i.e., that clean animals must be ruminants and have cloven hooves) are a précis of this paradigm. These are the features which the priests judged to be both

comprehensive and easily applicable. And, in fact, of the superficial features apparent (as they had to be) even to the most inexperienced observer, these are, zoologically speaking, very logical choices.

The criteria, then, were from the beginning an essential element of the dietary law. But, the priests needed no criteria to tell them that bears, lions, dogs, rodents, and countless other animals were different from the domestic livestock they offered to YHWH. The differences from the paradigm of clean animals were self-evident. The problem was that as a legal principle it was not enough simply to prohibit all animals that did not *look like* domestic livestock. Inevitably, there would have to be guidelines for deciding difficult cases (such as the camel and the pig) and guaranteeing consistency of application. Some sort of criteria were necessary if the prohibition was to be practicable. Our criteria are therefore those features which the priests believed could be most simply and unambiguously applied by the layperson to whom the law is addressed (Lev 11:1).

According to Lev 11:3 all clean land animals satisfy two criteria: they have cloven hooves, and they are ruminants. The four outlawed species singled out for special mention in Lev 11:4–7 are there because they are anomalous in having only one of these required characteristics, but they are not the only ones excluded by these two criteria. Douglas failed to recognize that these two criteria alone suffice to exclude *all* land animals which are not cloven-hooved, including those species mentioned later in vv 26–30. In fact, the four species of vv 4–7 are the *only* ones commonly encountered in Israel's immediate environment which meet one but not both criteria. Within this tiny group, the pig has a special place, for it alone in the entire animal world known to Israel has cloven hooves but does not chew the cud. Of all prohibited quadrupeds, therefore, only the pig is excluded on the basis of the criterion of rumination. With this one exception, all unclean animals could have been excluded simply by the requirement that they have cloven hooves.

When it comes to fish, this model seems to shipwreck on the fact that there was no temple paradigm as in the previous case, for fish were not allowed on the altar, and there was therefore no reason for any fish to be declared unclean. In principle, all marine life would have been licit, for there was no potentially restrictive temple model that would have obliged the priests to exclude certain fish species as unclean. Nevertheless, some species were prohibited, because in lacking fins and scales they were regarded as snakes (see below under Fish). In other words, fins and scales were the criteria used to distinguish fish from snakes (so already Yerkes 1923–24). For further examples of the equation of fish and snakes, see Scheftelowitz 1911 and Lagercrantz 1953.

It might be objected that the absence of a food category from the temple paradigm would on the contrary have forced the priests to regard that category as unclean. But this clearly was not the case or else all fish would have been declared unclean. There are any number of other common food items (such as fruit, nuts, herbs, and vegetables) which are not included among the altar offerings. Further, items such as yeast and honey, which are specifically *prohibited* from being offered on the altar (Lev 2:11) are nevertheless allowed in the ordinary diet.

With regard to the birds, no theory can avoid being speculative since no criteria are given. However, it is widely held that the twenty unclean species and their subspecies (designated by *lĕmînēhû/-â/-ô* ) are excluded because they are predatory or carrion birds. This explanation is found already in the *Letter of Aristeas* (146; *OTP* 2: 22). The Mishnah too gives it as the rationale: "A bird that seizes food in its claws is unclean; one which has an extra talon, a claw, and the skin of whose stomach can be pealed is clean" (*Ḥul.* 3:6). This explanation is credible, but requires more comment than is possible here (see, however, Firmage fc.). The important point is that birds, too, have a paradigm against which their fitness as food may be judged. That paradigm is of course defined by Israel's domestic birds, the pigeon and the dove, which are graminivorous.

Flying insects are dealt with as a subset of the birds, because they also have wings. Leviticus 11 classifies them as winged creatures of the swarming variety (*šereṣ hāʿôp*). As winged creatures, they presumably came under the paradigm of the pigeon and the dove. Yet the criterion specified in the biblical text has nothing to do with the one suggested for the preceding list of birds (i.e., diet). In the case of insects, however, their much more obvious physical dissimilarity with the paradigm would automatically

have excluded them to begin with. They were as self-evidently different from the paradigmatic birds as lions, horses, and rats were from the cattle paradigm. Thus, in principle, all flying insects would be excluded from the diet, because they do not resemble the birds under whose paradigm they fall. (Crawling insects without wings would of course be excluded, with all other *šĕrāsîm,* on the basis of the domestic animal paradigm.) Therefore, in fact, Leviticus 11 states that "*all* swarming winged creatures which go on all fours shall be an abomination to you" (v 21). The law, however, makes an immediate concession, "But *these* you may eat from among all the winged swarmers which go on all fours—those with joints above the lower legs (or feet) which they use for leaping across the ground" (v 22). That the priests were concerned that the concession might be abused is evident in the fact that, uniquely in Leviticus 11, the *licit* species are specified by name (v 23). The reason for the concession is unknown.

To summarize, it has been suggested that in two categories, land animals and birds, the priests already had a general notion of what animals would be unclean because their dissimilarity to the sacrificial paradigm was obvious. In order to make this elemental observation practicable the priests drew up criteria which the layperson could be expected to apply without difficulty. Criteria for fish were added as a result of a secondary analogy with the land animals.

Of the criteria, the most singular is certainly that of chewing the cud. The reader will recall that the pig is the only animal excluded by this requirement that could not have been outlawed solely on the basis of the cloven-hoof criterion. It is therefore not unreasonable to suggest that when the criteria were first developed, the only basis of selection was whether the animal had cloven hooves or not. The fact that a second criterion was extrapolated from the sacrificial species solely in order to exclude the pig may indicate that, alone among the prohibited animals of Leviticus 11, the pig was already an unfavored species. This is the only demonstrable instance in the dietary law where the priests would seem to have accepted an ancient tabu (on this tabu, see Pig below).

**c. Food Prohibitions in Egypt and Mesopotamia.** Dietary restrictions are known in both Egypt and Mesopotamia as well as in Israel. In Egypt, certain foods, most of them animal products, were prohibited to specific sections of the populace (Montet 1950). Our knowledge about these prohibitions derives in the main from lists of prohibited items inscribed in the temples at Denderah, Edfu, and Kom Ombo. From these lists, it emerges that each nome had its own prohibition (*bwt*), the precise nature of which was determined by the local cult. Thus, for example, in areas where the chief deity was Hathor, who manifests herself in bovine form, the use of the cow as food was prohibited. At Tjebu, the capital of the tenth nome of Upper Egypt, and at Tanis in the Delta, it was similarly forbidden to kill the hippopotamus, one of the animals mythologically associated with Seth, the principal local god in each case. In other parts of the country, however, the hippopotamus was actively hunted, not only because it threatened human life, but also *because* of its connection with Seth. It is noteworthy, therefore, that at Edfu itself, one of the cult centers of Horus, Seth's mythological rival, it was likewise forbidden to hunt the hippopotamus. The explanation of the prohibition in this case is apparently that the hunting of the hippopotamus was reserved for the priests, who would kill it as part of the ritual reenactment of the conflict between Horus and Seth.

As these and other examples show, Egypt's food prohibitions were restricted in several ways. First, they did not apply to the nation as a whole. Second, where dietary restrictions did apply, they typically dealt with only one species. As we shall see, the pattern of Egypt's dietary laws was in both these respects markedly different from that of ancient Israel. On the other hand, the two systems were similar in that the dietary prohibitions originated in cultic considerations.

While we are less well informed about Mesopotamian dietary restrictions, there seem to have been two different kinds of prohibition. The relevant terms are Sum *níg-gig,* "bad thing" (Akk *ikkibu;* see Hallo 1985; Klein and Sefati 1988) and Sum *azag* (KUG.DINGIR), "sacrosanct" (Akk *asakku*). Common in proverbial sayings, the first of these terms, in its earliest usage, covers acts of injustice, dishonesty, and bad manners; in later texts it also includes a variety of cultic infractions offensive to the gods, among which are some relating to diet. Diet, however, is far from being a central concern. *Ikkibu* corresponds to Hebrew *tˀēbâ* (from **WˀB,* a root attested in the opposite meaning in Egyptian), which has the same range of application, including food (Deut 14:3). The Akkadian equivalent usually occurs in calendars listing

the months and days when certain kinds of activities should be avoided. Again, dietary restrictions are among these but are not central. On the 7th day of the 7th month (Tasritu), for example, one should avoid embarking on a boat, crossing a river, jumping a ditch, eating pigeon or chicken, and so on (cf. Hallo 1985: 31). The motivation of most of these proscriptions is obscure. The second term, *asakku,* as the Sumerian ideogram suggests, originally referred to something set apart for the deity (DINGER). The idiom *asakkam akālum,* "to violate a tabu," suggests perhaps that which was reserved for the deity was or had often been a food offering (cf. Jer 2:3). In actual usage, however, food was not necessarily involved.

It is evident from the foregoing that there is no connection between the biblical and the Egyptian or Mesopotamian dietary prohibitions.

**3. SHEEP.** The native sheep of Israel is the fat-tailed Awassi, which is also the predominant species in Syria, Jordan, and Iraq. It is typically white with brown or black head and feet. Rams are usually horned, ewes hornless. Its height at the withers is around 68 cm in adult females and 75 cm in males (vital statistics unless otherwise noted are from Hirsch 1933). Body weight of a ewe at shearing time is between 30 and 50 kg (66–110 lb), 40–65 kg (90–145 lb) at summer's end; newborns weigh 3–6 kg (7–13 lb), and yearling weights vary between 25 and 40 kg (55–90 lb). Mature rams weigh from 60 to 90 kg (130–200 lb). The tail may weigh up to 15 kg (33 lb) in the female and 10 kg (22 lb) in the male (Evenari et al. 1982: 311; smaller figures in Hirsch 1933: 16).

Fat-tailed sheep were apparently being bred as early as the late 4th millennium B.C.E. in Mesopotamia. They are first depicted on a bowl of the Uruk III period (photograph in Zeuner 1963: 173), and on the "Standard of Ur" from the Early Dynastic III period (*ANEP* #304 central row, 3d figure from left, incorrectly identified in the notes as an oryx). The view that the fat tail is a product of domestication has been challenged by Anati on the basis of rock drawings of fat-tailed sheep from S Arabia, said to date to the early 2d or even 3d millennium B.C.E. (1968: 38). Anati's reason for thinking that these may represent wild individuals is that in several drawings (pls. I; IVA, B; VIIIB) the sheep are transfixed by a spear, indicating that they were hunted. Anati observes (1968: 40–41) that the concentration of fat in the tail may be a natural adaptation to desert life, much like the camel's hump (for discussion of the biology involved, see Camel below). The speared animals, however, may represent feral individuals (i.e., once-domestic escapees), especially since none of these particular drawings is very early. The decisive point against Anati's thesis is that the genus *Ovis* is absent from the wild fauna of this part of the world (Tchernov 1974: 244).

**a. Wool Production.** The coat of wild sheep, like that of deer and gazelle, consists of stiff, permanent, outer hairs (called the kemp) covering a short woolly underlayer, which grows during winter and is shed in summer. The outer hairs are produced by "primary" hair follicles, the underfur by smaller follicles located close to the primaries in groups of three to five (Flannery 1965: 1253–54). In domestic sheep, however, the number of secondary follicles per primary may be doubled. The advantages of the permanent woolly fleece of the domestic sheep, which requires shearing, are not only that there is more of it, but also that it can be quickly collected without any loss.

When wool is cleaned, much of the lanolin, which makes natural wool soft and water-resistant, is washed away. Not a little wool is also lost. Talmudic sources relate that in order to minimize these losses, some sheep were from birth wrapped in a cover which kept the wool clean and obviated the need for washing, producing what was called "Milat-wool" (Ben-David 1974: 130). The same practice is attested in Anatolia, at least as early as the 4th century B.C.E. (cf. Aristophanes, *Lys.* 732). In Mandate Palestine, rams produced an average of 2.25 kg (5.5 lb) annually, ewes 1.75 kg (4 lb), yearlings 1.4 kg (3.3 lb), and lambs 0.5 kg (1.1 lb; Hirsch 1933: 9). According to Talmudic sources, the first shearing produced as little as 215 g (0.5 lb) of wool per sheep (Ben-David 1974: 130).

Sheepshearing was often localized where the weaving and dyeing of cloth was performed. One such shearing center in Iron Age Israel was Timnah (Gen 38:12). Recent archaeological excavations on the site have uncovered numerous loom weights, indicative of the cloth industry. Early breeders paid little attention to the color of the fleece. But, with the growth of the purple dye industry, the demand for white wool increased, since dye cannot be used on black, tan, or gray wool (Epstein 1962: 292).

**b. Grazing and Water Requirements.** During winter and spring, sheep and goats graze on the rich grass produced by the rains. In summer and early autumn, they feed on weeds, as well as stubble left over from the harvest. Late autumn and early winter are seasons of shortage, during which sheep subsist on the fat stored in their tails. Unlike cattle, sheep and goats move as they graze and are therefore better suited to the nomadic way of life. Having a higher tolerance to hot, arid climates than most other mammals, sheep and goats can endure long periods of temperatures in excess of 43° C (110° F). Sheep eliminate heat by sweating and by panting. At high temperatures, the respiration rate may increase tenfold (from 30 to 300 times per minute). When body temperature reaches 41° C (106° F), open-mouthed panting begins (Schmidt-Nielsen and Schmidt-Nielsen 1952: 154). They derive some benefit from the insulating effect of their fleece.

Like other ungulates, sheep can replenish water losses in short order. After five days without water, for example, a sheep may drink as much as 9 liters (2.5 gal U.S.) of water in a few seconds (Evenari et al. 1982: 311). In pasture, sheep can go for weeks without drinking. But, growth improves when they are allowed to drink daily or every other day. The Awassi fat-tailed sheep will graze 15–20 km (10–12 mi) from the waterhole.

**c. Sheep as Milk Producers.** Although their average yield is only about half that of goats (Dalman 1939: 189; Hirsch 1933: 8), sheep rank second only to goats as milk producers in the Near East. The yield of the fat-tailed Awassi sheep varies between 30 and 150 liters (8–40 gal) per annum (Hirsch 1933: 19; cf. Evenari et al. 1982: 311). The fat content of the milk is between 6 and 8% (Hirsch 1933: 19). Milking begins during February or March and continues for 3–4 months.

**d. Reproductive Capacity and Slaughter Schedule** (Hirsch 1933: 26). Female fertility among sheep is governed by pasture conditions. Estrus begins in June and continues until September, the months when females are in peak condition as a result of rich spring and summer grazing. Lambs are born from December to April, when fodder for the young is at a maximum. The gestation period is 152 days. In years of normal pasturage, new births total about 70% of the number of fertile ewes. Single births are normative. Weaning takes place at about two months, and young males are usually sold for slaughter at this time. Their weight at this age is between 15 and 25 kg (33–55 lb). Natural mortality rates among bedouin flocks are said to be between 15 and 20% in normal years, 40 and 50% in bad ones (Hirsch 1933: 24). Ewes typically bear their first lamb at two years of age and reproduce annually until seven. Unlike bull calves, rams are not often castrated. However, a few individuals may be castrated to function as leaders of the flock (bellwethers). These individuals are taken from their mothers at birth and raised by the shepherd.

**4. GOATS.** Israel's native goat, known in Arabic as the Ma῾az Jebali, is usually black, though gray and mixed colors also occur. Both sexes are bearded, but the beard of the male is longer than that of the female. Males are on average about 80 cm (31 in) high at the withers, females 69 cm (28 in). Body weight of bucks is from 60 to 90 kg (132–200 lb), while doe weigh from 30 to 55 kg (66–110 lb). Newborns weigh 1.5–3.0 kg (3.3–6.6 lb).

One of the trends observable in the breeding of goats is the changing shape of the horns (Flannery 1965: 1254). The wild goat has scimitar-shaped horns whose bony cores are diamond-shaped in cross section at the skull. The earliest domestic goats are all of this type. By 6000 B.C.E., however, a twisted-horn variety with a flattened core appears at sites in N Mesopotamia and the Zagros, and spreads quickly in this region. Elsewhere, the change is slower. In PPN B Jericho, the scimitar shape is overwhelmingly predominant. During the EB Age, the two types appear in about equal numbers. In the MB Age, however, it is the twisted-horn variety that predominates. The significance of this trend is as yet unclear. It may be that the change in horn formation is not in itself important, but points to a change in preference for some other feature associated with the twisted-horn type.

As indicated above, it is usually impossible to identify domestic breeds from bones alone. However, it is possible to say something about regional differences among domestic goats in Israel. Northern breeds appear to have been somewhat larger than those of the south (Wapnish et al. 1977: 37), much as today one distinguishes between the Negeb goat and the larger Baladi goat of the Galilee. These two Israeli species

are in turn immediate in size between the large Syrian mountain goats and the Hejaz dwarf goats of the Arabian peninsula (Epstein 1946). Being adapted to life in a harsh mountain environment where food and water may be scarce, goats are perhaps the most versatile of domestic animals. As part of a mixed herd, they thus enable the pastoralist to make the fullest use of marginal land, for they will eat woody and thorny vegetation which sheep and cattle will not. Like sheep, goats are also naturally well adapted to the arid climate that characterizes much of the Near East. Pastoralists depend upon this adaptation as well. Bedouin goats can go for as long as two weeks without drinking and, like the camel, replenish lost water very quickly—as much as 40% of body weight within a few minutes (Hillel 1982: 61). Their ability to go for longer periods without water extends the distance they may be driven from the water hole, which in turn means additional grazing. A doubling of the radius from the water hole quadruples the grazing area. Where the carrying capacity of the land is low and water holes scarce, this additional grazing range is crucial.

The downside of grazing goats is that unless controlled they are capable of destroying the vegetation of an area. Thus, some early Greek colonial charters prohibited the grazing of goats where young trees were growing (Varro, *Rust.* 1.2.14–16). In some farming areas where arable land was scarce, goats were prohibited altogether (Robert 1949). Unfortunately, pastoralists have had little incentive to safeguard pastures from overgrazing. If the vegetation of one area is depleted, they, unlike the farmers, can simply move on to another. While ultimately dependent on the land, they have no personal investment in it.

Overgrazing by goats has also contributed to the decline of the forests by impeding or even halting regrowth. Saplings up to 12 feet are vulnerable to destruction by goats (Gregg 1988: 123; see also the photo in Weitz 1974: 25). Where there is moderate grazing, the forest generally will not regain its former density or height, but will return to some sort of intermediate shrub form (maquis or garigue; Rowton 1965: 378; Mikesell 1961: 105ff.).

**a. Goats as Milk Producers.** In general, until very recently, goats rather than cattle were the primary suppliers of milk throughout the Near East. This is epitomized in the Talmudic saying, "The goat is for milking, the sheep for shearing, the hen for laying eggs, and the ox for plowing" (*b. Šabb.* 19b). The use of goats rather than cattle in milk production is also implicit in the biblical commandment not to boil a kid in its mother's milk (see below). It may be, as Haran (1979) suggests, that "kid" in this passage represents all young animals. Even so, it is the goat that is chosen as the paradigmatic milk-giving animal. Omitting the quantity of milk consumed by the kid, a goat's annual yield is between 50 and 250 liters (13–65 gal) but averages about 75 liters (20 gal; Hirsch 1933: 8), daily quantities falling between one and three liters. Lactation lasts for seven to eight months.

Close association with cattle and goats, and the necessity of exploiting the resources they provide, have led to an important adaptation in humans: the ability of adults to metabolize lactose from milk. Adaptation is indicated by the strong correlation between the ability of a population to absorb lactose on the one hand, and a tradition of pastoralism on the other, and conversely by the correlation between lactose malabsorption and the absence of pastoralism (cf. Simoons 1979; Harris 1985: 130–53).

Goat milk is richer in protein and fat, and easier to digest than cow's milk. Unimproved varieties of goat in the Near East today produce from 3–6 liters (0.75–1.5 gal) per day for up to six months a year.

**b. Boiling a Kid in its Mother's Milk.** Concern to protect the milk supply is thought by some to underlie the biblical commandment not to boil a kid in its mother's milk (Exod 23:19; 34:26; Deut 14:21). At least since the Mishnaic period (cf. *m. Hul.* 8:4), this injunction has been interpreted in Judaism as implying an extended restriction on contact between meat of any kind and milk, not only in cooking, but also in eating. So thorough-going is the segregation of the two in Jewish law, that separate sets of utensils must be used in the preparation and serving of meat and milk dishes. One finds similar restrictions among some pastoralist societies in contemporary Africa, whose concern is evidently that certain substances, such as meat, by contact with milk adversely affect its production. This led Frazer (1918: 150–54) to suggest the same rationale for the Israelite prohibition.

While by no means implausible, this interpretation has against it the fact that the rigorous separation of meat and milk as it appears in rabbinic Judaism seems to have been unknown to Israel's pastoralist

ancestors (or at least to the writer who recounts their story [cf. Gen 18:8]). Indeed, there is some reason to suppose that the practice of their separation in fact does not antedate the 1st century C.E. First, Philo (ca. 20 B.C.E.–45 C.E.) seems to grant that meat may be boiled in milk provided that one does not violate the literal sense of the biblical commandment (*Virt* 144), which he takes to be that no young animal should be cooked in its own mother's milk. Second, notices of the separation of meat and milk are lacking in Second Temple literature, even where they might reasonably be expected (as in the *Letter of Aristeas*). Third, the separation of meat and milk as it is practiced in Africa is not known among pastoral tribes of the Near East. On the contrary, 19th and 20th century travellers frequently report that bedouin cook the flesh of young goats in milk (sources in Haran 1979).

According to Philo, Moses' intent in prohibiting the boiling of a kid in its mother's milk was to teach Israel that mercy and self-restraint should govern people's relations with animals no less than with each other (cf. *Virt* 125–44). A person may not satisfy his or her appetites with disregard for the feelings of animals, especially where mothers and their young are concerned. One was barred, for example, from sacrificing a newborn animal until it was at least eight days old (Exod 22:28–29; Lev 22:27). Nothing could be more brutal, Philo says, than to add to the mother's birth pangs the pain of being separated from her young immediately after giving birth, for it is at this time that her maternal instincts are strongest.

In other respects, too, the law called for self-restraint. It would be an act of unnatural excess, Philo argued, to cook a young animal in the very substance with which nature intended it to be sustained. In a similar vein, the law prohibits one from sacrificing an animal together with its young (Lev 22:28), since this would again involve an unnatural combination of that which gives life and that which receives it.

There is something to be said for each of these ideas. Biblical law does in fact prescribe that animals be humanely treated. This is most obvious in the commandment not to muzzle the ox during threshing (Deut 25:4). But, it is doubtful that Exod 22:28–29 and Lev 22:27 are similarly motivated (see above on Sacrifice and Slaughter). However, the connection between Lev 22:28 and the prohibition of cooking a kid in its mother's milk may be roughly correct. It is the sort of thing that is difficult to prove.

One other explanation of this prohibition must be mentioned, if only to be refuted. Since Maimonides' day, many scholars have suggested that the boiling of a kid in its mother's milk refers to some pagan practice which Israel is commanded to forsake. However, no example of such a rite has ever been cited. This explanation remains nothing more than scholarly speculation (for further discussion, see Haran 1979; Keel 1980).

**c. Goat's Hair** (Akk *saqqu;* Heb *śaq* > Gk *sakkos;* Lat *saccus* > Eng "sack, sackcloth"). In the Near East generally, the value of goat's hair was limited first by the fact that it was too coarse for use in most garments, and second by its black color (Isa 50:3; Rev 6:12), which prevented the use of dyes. The wearing of a goat-hair garment thus indicated either that one could afford nothing better, or that one was in mourning or doing penance. More typical uses included the manufacture of sacks (Gen 42:25; Lev 11:32) and tent fabric. Bedouin tents today are still made of this fabric. It is against this background that the use of *śaq* for the outer covering of the Israelite Tabernacle must be understood. In Mandate Palestine, the weight of the hair from an adult goat varied between 300 and 500 g (0.75–1.0 lb; Hirsch 1933: 60). Shearing takes place in May.

**d. Reproductive Capacity and Slaughtering Schedule.** The gestation period is 5 months. In years of normal pasturage, the number of newborns is about 70% of the number of bearing females (Hirsch 1933: 8). First-time mothers usually give birth to a single kid. In subsequent births, however, twinning is normal. Weaning takes place at about two months, at which time a kid will weigh 10 to 15 kg (22–33 lb). Most male kids are slaughtered as yearlings, while doe are kept until age eight and are then slaughtered.

**5. CATTLE. a. Physiology.** Like most animals, mammals lack the enzymes needed to metabolize cellulose. But ruminants, such as cattle, sheep, and goats, have complex stomach consisting of four chambers. The first of these, the rumen, functions like a huge fermentation vat (Rogers 1958). In a large cow its capacity may be 160–200 liters (40–52 gal). Microorganisms in the rumen begin to break down the insoluble cellulose, from which they synthesize nutrients such as Vitamin B, amino acids, and proteins. These microbes in turn are digested by the animal in the last of its stomachs. In this way,

ruminants are able to obtain proteins and vitamins even on protein-deficient diets, such as grass. As the microbes digest the carbohydrates formed by the breakdown of the cellulose, the by-products produce chiefly acetic acid (vinegar), the salt of which is absorbed directly from the rumen into the bloodstream and oxidized as a source of energy, much as humans use glucose. This first stage of digestion takes about 9 hours. Then, from the rumen, the partially digested food passes into the second stomach, from which it is regurgitated into the mouth as "cuds." After being chewed and swallowed again, the food passes through the first two stomachs and into the third, where water is squeezed from the pulp. In the fourth stomach, food is digested much as in the stomachs of other animals. The use of the rumen is a gradual process of adjustment (Rogers 1958). At birth, feeding on milk, the calf digests its food like non-ruminants. Its rumen is small and there are few microbes in it. This situation changes only once the young animal begins to eat grass.

**b. Milk Production.** As already noted, cattle were valued in antiquity less as milk providers than as sources of traction. The use of goats rather than cows as milk providers is also implicit in the biblical commandment not to boil a kid in its mother's milk (see above). (However, it might also be said that mention only of the goat reflects a cultural stage during which the Israelites were exclusively sheep and goat pastoralists.) Several factors may have contributed to the preferential treatment given to goats as providers of milk. Among these are the hardiness of the goat and its ability to make do on very marginal fodder, as well as the fact that in arid or even semi-arid climates a goat may in fact produce as much milk as a cow.

In unimproved breeds, getting a cow to let down her milk is not always a straightforward affair, as is evidenced by the many tricks used to get the milk flowing (in general see Amoroso and Jewell 1963). The Scythians, for example, are said to have employed two people to milk a cow: one would insert a hollow tube into the cow's vagina and blow air inside it while the other milked (Herodotus 4.2), the idea being that sexual stimulation facilitates release of the milk. The same technique was used in early modern Arabia (Bílek and Segert 1958: 185), in Europe, and is still practiced in much of Africa (Amoroso and Jewell 1963). The physiology of the milk-ejection reflex and its connection with sexual stimulation are now well understood. Stimulation of the breast during suckling and sexual arousal both cause the brain to release the hormone oxytocin, which in turn stimulates the contraction of the basket cells in the udder which contain the milk. This same hormone initiates contractions in the uterus.

Reflex though it is, the ejection of milk is not infrequently conditioned by other factors. That is, the mother associates letting down her milk with regular events, such as the suckling of her calf. Farmers can also exploit these associations. The cow learns to associate, for example, the presence of a certain milker, the sound of buckets, or a set time of day with the act of milking. The greater the regularity of the association, the easier milking will be. To facilitate the process, the calf may be tied near the mother or even to her leg (cf. *ANEP*, 100), or a substitute may be used in the calf's stead. If the calf has died, for example, its skin may be stuffed and placed next to the mother, or the milker may use it to disguise him- or herself. In modern Scotland, when a calf is born, the milkmaid covers her hands with blood from the birth and lets the cow lick them clean just as she does the calf. This is supposed to form a bond between milkmaid and cow like that between calf and mother (Spurway 1955: 352).

Lactation in a cow lasts perhaps 7–10 months, and the daily yield in unimproved varieties is around 4 liters (1 gal). A cow will lactate as long as she is capable of bearing offspring.

**c. Reproductive Capacity and Slaughtering Schedule.** A heifer is usually mated when she is between 15 and 27 months old. Each year thereafter, she will bear a calf, until about age 7. The gestation period is nine months. In rural Palestinian society today, cows are thought to cope with work in the field better than bulls. Most male calves are therefore slaughtered for meat (Turkowski 1969: 30). This practice has the additional advantage of conserving more of the cow's milk for human use.

Not all young males were slaughtered, however. A certain number not used for breeding were kept for drawing the plow. These were usually castrated in order to make them more tractable, and to promote the build-up of fat in the tissues. Following castration, the bones continue to grow in length but not in girth (Clutton-Brock 1987: 25). A castrated ox is therefore fatter and longer in the limb than a bull raised under

the same conditions. Methods of castration included cutting, crushing, or cauterizing the testicles (cf. Aristotle, *Hist. An.* 510b3; Columella, *Rust.* 6.26). The biblical prohibition of offering certain kinds of blemished animals refer to the first two of these methods (Lev 22:24).

**d. Oxen and Plow.** As indicated above, oxen, not horses, were the principal draught animals in ancient agriculture, despite the fact that a horse can pull a given weight half again as far as an ox can in the same amount of time (L. White 1962: 62 citing earlier literature). A horse also has more endurance than an ox, and can work an additional hour or two per day. This greater efficiency was recognized by farmers in areas where horses were used in agriculture. In Slavic parts of 12th century Germany, for example, land was measured according to how much could be worked by a pair of oxen or by one horse. On such a scale at least, a horse would be worth two oxen. Similarly, according to the Hittite Laws (II §63–65, ed. Friedrich 1959; *ANET*, pp. 195–96, §178–80), a plow horse (ANŠU. KUR.RA *tu-ri-ia-u-as*) is almost twice as valuable as an ox used for plowing (GUD.APIN.LAL) (the prices are 20 and 12 shekels respectively).

Prior to the introduction of the horse in European agriculture, one common measure of agricultural land had been the area that an eight-ox team could work (cf. L. White 1962: 52–53). In the modern Middle East, there is a similar method of land measurement, though only a single team of oxen is used. In modern Arabic, this unit of land, a *faddan* (about one acre), is the amount of land one "yoke" (*faddan*) of oxen can plow in a day (Turkowski 1969: 30). The same association is found in Isa 5:10, *ṣemed,* "yoke; measure of surface area."

The smaller number of oxen in the typical Palestinian term is indicative of the fact that in Europe a much heavier plow was needed to exploit denser alluvial soils. Unlike the scratch plow used until today throughout the Mediterranean, the European plow with its coulter, share, and mold-board not only cuts through turf, but also turns it over. To move such an apparatus through the soil required a much larger team. The two-oxen team seems to have been normative in the Levant throughout antiquity (cf. Pliny, *HN* 8.18 for Syria), though larger teams were known (1 Kgs 19:19). Because the scratch plow does not usually turn over the soil, a field must be plowed twice. In the hill country of Israel, the first plowing takes place in December, the second in January. The second time, the ground is cross plowed (i.e., in a direction at right angles with the first).

**6. PIGS. a. Distribution of the Wild Pig.** The distribution of the wild pig in antiquity was much as it is today, from Europe and North Africa in the W to China in the E. It is found in the Nile Valley, the Delta and the Fayyum, and throughout the Fertile Crescent from the Beer-sheba Basin to the Persian Gulf; within this range, it is most abundant in forest and marshland. Wild pigs are so abundant in the marshlands of S Iraq, for example, that they pose a significant threat to local agriculture as well as to human life (Thesiger 1983: *passim;* Maxwell 1957: 73). In the medieval period, wild pigs abounded in the lowlands of the Orontes and provided sport for hunters (Hitti 1929: 231, 251–52). According to al-Jāḥiẓ (*Kitāb al-Ḥayawān,* 4.49), wild boar were in fact so common a feature of rural Syria that farmers allowed lions to roam their lands in order to keep pigs away.

Wild boar are abundant in Israel as well. They thrive in the wadis and remoter highland areas on either side of the Jordan River. They inhabit the Golan and parts of the Galilee, where they are hunted by kibbutzniks and Christian Arabs. Since these areas are still rather thinly populated, they constitute a kind of refuge for the pig. In earlier times, however, boar were to be found everywhere. Tristram (*SWP* 7:3) observed that the boar was abundant "in every part of the country … it extends into the bare wilderness, even where there is no cover, nor other food than the roots of desert bulbs." The southernmost extent of the wild pig's range in W Asia is roughly along a line extending from the N Arabah (Ilani 1983) in the E to Gaza in the W (Hart 1891: 233).

Wild pigs are not found today in the Arabian peninsula, nor have they been part of its natural fauna during historical times, although in the Neolithic period wild pigs were found in central Arabia (Tchernov 1974: 242). However, the Arabian climate then was wetter than it is today. In the period of desiccation which followed the Neolithic, the pig and other forest dwellers such as the fallow deer (*Dama dama mesopotamica*) and the Indian elephant (*Elephas maximus*) became extinct in this region. Other species, such as cattle, not well adapted to a desert environment, also appear increasingly uncommon. Around

2000 B.C., the pig was reintroduced into Central Arabia as a domestic species but never became a significant element in the economy.

**b. Raising Pigs.** Pigs are by nature omnivorous. The precise make-up of their diet in the wild will therefore depend on what is available in the environment. Common food items, however, include acorns, bulbs (e.g., *Urginea undulata* [Hart 1891: 233]), but also small invertebrates, snakes, and carrion. However, pigs are not well adapted to a grass (cellulose) diet since they are not ruminants.

Like their wild counterparts, domestic pigs thrive on almost any diet, except grass. The care of domestic pigs differs therefore altogether from that of sheep and goats. Whether or not a community raised pigs was determined in part by its way of life and in part by its environment. Although they are occasionally herded over long distances on their way to market (Diener and Robkin 1978: 498; Harris 1985: 114), pigs are not so well suited to transhumance (as are sheep and goats). While more versatile than is often supposed, pigs prefer to range in oak forests, where they feed on acorns, tubers, and grubs. In the E Mediterranean, they might also feed on the pods of the carob tree, which is native to the area (Luke 15:15–16; nowadays, it serves as pig fodder in Spain as well [Parsons 1962: 228]). But it would be difficult for entire communities to follow herds of pigs through the forests. Further, as previously noted, pigs are not well adapted to cellulose (e.g., grass) diets. Nor do they provide valuable secondary products, such as milk and wool. For these reasons, pigs are not found in communities where pastoral nomadism is the dominant way of life. Swineherding, as we find it in antiquity and the Middle Ages, is associated with settled communities.

Urban pigs would often be sent out each day in the care of a swineherd to forage in the forests or to grub in fields which were lying fallow (Columella, *Rust.* 7.9.9; Parsons 1962: 218; Hémardinquer 1979: 53–54). At night, the swineherd would bring them back to town. Incidentally, it was this practice, not some uncleanness attached to pigs that accounts for the swineherd's separate existence. It also explains Herodotus' remarks about swineherds in Egypt (2.47): he took the aversion to swineherds as support for his claim that pork was prohibited. All it indicates, however, is that urban folk found these rustic types just a little too dirty for comfort. It had nothing to do with pigs *per se.* Shepherds were treated with the same disdain (cf. Gen 46:34).

While their natural habitat is the oak forest, pigs also thrive in urban environments, where there is an abundance of waste material on which they can feed. Before the advent of the modern meat industry, it was not uncommon in many parts of the world for an urban family to raise a pig or two at home on household refuse and agricultural waste. In the Mediterranean area, this waste is known to have included common items such as bran and olive pulp. Plautus (*Capt.* 4.2.28), for example, informs us that in Rome millers kept pigs which they fed on bran (cf. also Columella, *Rust.* 7.9.2). The same practice is attested in early modern France (Hémardinquer 1979: 54). Possible evidence for it also comes from ancient Mesopotamia: in Old Babylonian texts from Sippar a certain Marduk-dayyan is given $^{zid}$*ḫulāṣu,* "bran?" for pigs (Goetze 1948: 88–89, nos. 15.1 and 16.1).

Olive pulp is attested as pig food in early modern Languedoc (Hémardinquer 1979: 55) and contemporary Spain (Parsons 1962: 229). In rural Tunisia today, olive pulp is used to feed camels which drive the crushing apparatus (cf. Cato, *Agr.* 10–11, according to whom the proper equipment for an olive yard included a swine herd). Since over 80% of the olive may end up as waste (Ruppin 1920: 62; Eitam 1987: 26, 54 n. 27) this was potentially an enormous source of rich fodder.

Other abundant waste products which might have been used as pig fodder, though explicit statements to this effect are lacking, include chaff (cf. Grigson 1982: 301; Simoons 1961: 29) and grape pulp. Grape pulp *was* used in Roman Italy as supplementary cattle fodder (Cato, *Agr.* 25: Varro, *Rust.* 54).

Additionally, pigs were often allowed to roam the streets in search of whatever refuse they might find; this might well include (in addition to the items mentioned above) inedibles such as feces (cf. Maimonides, *Guide* 3.48) and carrion (cf. Grigson 1982: 299 and literature cited there). This practice of leaving pigs to fend for themselves is widely attested in ancient and medieval Europe (cf., e.g., Plautus *Capt.* 4.2.28ff. [*in publico*]). According to Evans (1906: 158ff.) pigs still wandered the streets of S Italy and Sicily in the early years of this century. Pigs running wild in the cities were often responsible for the

death of little children, and were publicly tried and executed for their offenses. This problem elicited numerous civic ordinances banning pigs from the streets (Hémardinquer 1979: 53; Defoe 1987: 64). One can still see pigs scavenging in the streets of the poorer Christian areas and garbage dumps of modern Cairo. A possible reference to these street-wise pigs in the ANE occurs in the Hittite Law I §82, which speaks of the ŠAḫ *ḫi-la-an-na-aš*, "swine of the gate (?)" (Friedrich 1959: 44). The gate might be the location of the city garbage dump (Greenfield and Shaffer 1983: 125), or the site of a threshing floor where waste from the processing of grain would be available (1 Kgs 22:10; Ruth 3:2; in extra-biblical literature, cf. 2 Aqhat v. 6–7 [*ANET*, 15]). Hittite Law I §86 (*ANET*, 193) deals with the case of a pig which has run amuck in someone's property—perhaps another instance of the same phenomenon. That pigs scavenged inside the city limits may also be inferred from the two references to pigs in the Hittite Instructions for Temple Officials (Sturtevant and Bechtel 1935: 160, 14.60, 64; *ANET*, 209). In this text, the pig is linked with the dog, another scavenger, as a potential source of contamination of kitchen vessels. This suggests that, as in Europe, pigs may have been fed on kitchen midden. But the Instructions are also concerned about keeping pigs away from the entrance to the temple, which probably indicates that they were roaming the streets.

Explicit evidence for pigs scavenging in the streets comes from Babylonia. Describing his revenge on the murderers of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon says, "I fed their corpses, cut into small pieces, to dogs [and] pigs … After I had performed this and (thus) made quiet … the hearts of the great gods … I removed the corpses whom the pestilence had felled, whose leftovers (after) the dogs and pigs had fed on them were obstructing the streets …" (Rassam Cylinder iv. 65–82; *ANET*, 288). The scavenging of pigs in the streets is also indicated in the following popular maxim from about the same time as the events just described (*BWL*, 215, lines 13–14; on its background, cf. Lambert 1957–58: 189):

> The pig is unholy […] bespattering his backside,
> Making the streets smell, polluting the houses.

Of course grain (in the Near East usually barley) was also fed to pigs, as attested in Old Babylonian tablets from Sippar (e.g., Goetze 1948: 90, no. 18) and Lagash (Bauer 1972: 169 [no. 41, IV.9–V.1], 177–78 [no. 42, V5.8–VII.2]). It is difficult to say in these cases whether grain was used simply as a dietary supplement prior to slaughtering or whether it formed a significant part of the pig's diet at all times. Either way, it is important to keep in mind that grain used to feed pigs need not have been fit for human consumption. Spoiled grain can also be used as fodder (Kridder and Carroll 1971: 10). The amount of grain spoilage in Iron Age Israel was perhaps between 10 and 25% (Finkelstein, *AIS*, 267 n. 21; Rosen 1986: 173).

The frequency and time of farrowing, and hence the slaughtering schedule for pigs, are perhaps more variable than those for cattle and caprovines. In the wild, two farrowings per year are typical (Lauwerier 1983). Gestation lasts just under four months. Litters are born from March to June, depending on the availability of acorns in the forest. Two farrowings a year also seem to have been the norm for domestic pigs, according to classical and early modern sources (cf. Varro, *Rust.* 2.4.7; additional sources in Lauwerier 1983). Litters may consist of as many as a dozen piglets. The young reach sexual maturity at 18 months. The natural lifespan is 15–20 years.

**c. Pigs in Religious Ritual.** Pigs played a prominent role only in certain kinds of sacrifice. Among the Hittites, young pigs and dogs were favored as symbolic victims in rites for the elimination of impurity (cf. discussion under Dogs below). An example of these rites is the "Ritual for the Elimination of Family Discord" (Rost 1953). The operator, an old woman ($^{SAL}$š U.GI), took a young pig (ŠAḫ.TUR) and held it up before the quarreling parties then recited, "Look, it has become fat on plants and grain. As it will not see the sky or the other piglets hereafter, so these who are making the sacrifice shall not see the evil curse." Having said this, she swung the piglet between the parties. They then killed it and buried it along with an offering of bread and a libation of wine (ii.44–54). The ritual was clearly a composite of two different types of action. It was first a rite of elimination by which an evil was transferred to something else, in this case an animal, and then destroyed or banished. Burial was one means of returning the animal to the

underworld, whence impurity, disease, and magical spells were thought to arise. But it was also a propitiatory offering to the numinous powers of that world, hence the bread and wine.

Another of these Hittite rituals was one performed to eliminate plague in the army or in the land (Friedrich 1925). In this case, there was again a transfer to animals (rams), but instead of being "returned" to the underworld they were banished into foreign territory. An adult pig, a goat, and a ram were sacrificed to the deity believed to be responsible for the plague. Here the offering of the pig was purely propitiatory.

On the basis of the Hittite material, it would seem that the pig as sacrificial victim was closely associated with rituals of a chthonic character. This association was not limited to Anatolia. Among the Romans, pig sacrifices were associated with agricultural rites for the promotion of the harvest. Cato (*Agr.* 134.1) mentions that a pig was offered to Ceres before the harvest, when thinning a grove (*Agr.* 129), and before tilling the ground (*Agr.* 140). Similarly, when one wanted to purify the land, one made a sacrifice consisting of a piglet, a lamb, and a calf. The animals were led around the land to be purified, and prayers were offered to Mars (*Agr.* 141). Aulius Gellius (4.6, 7) mentions that there was also a pig sacrifice after the harvest.

The association of the pig with agricultural ritual is at the heart of the Greek Thesmophoria, the principal form of the Demeter cult (Burkert 1985: 242–46). In Athens and Sparta, this festival was held in October or November before planting took place. For three days, married women would live in temporary shelters in the precincts of the sanctuary; men were strictly excluded. Each woman would bring certain offerings with her including a young pig, which would be thrown into a special ritual pit known as the *megara* (< W Semitic *mʿrh,* "cave"). On the first day of the festival, the decayed remains of earlier pig offerings would be brought up to the surface to be spread with the seed at planting time in order to bring a good harvest. On the second day, the women would fast in commemoration of the abduction of Kore. The third day of the festival, introduced with a banquet, celebrated the goddess Kalligeneia ("of the beautiful birth"), who is perhaps Demeter herself in one of her aspects. The association of the pig with the vegetation goddess is both old and widespread. Ceramic pig figurines marked with impressions of grain have been found at Luka Vrublevets-Kaya, a Chalcolithic site in the Ukraine, and a pig-faced vegetation goddess was found at Rastu, a site of the same date in W Romania (Gimbutas 1982: 211–14).

Pigs also figured in elimination rites of the sort found among the Hittites. Indeed they are the usual victims in all rites of purification in Greece. Agamemnon dedicated a pig to Zeus, Helios, and the Furies as part of his reconciliation with Achilles. He took an oath of innocence, then had the pig thrown into the sea, whereupon he told Zeus who had been the cause of the conflict, to take his dinner and leave them alone (*Iliad* 19.250–75). (For the sea as repository of impurity, see *Iliad* 1.313–14.) Agamemnon's pig was a purificatory oath sacrifice. As in all purificatory sacrifices (cf. the Israelite *ḥaṭṭāʾt*), the offerer never partook of the victim's flesh, since his purpose was to rid himself of the impurity absorbed by the victim.

A pig sacrifice was part of the Greek ritual for the purification of the homicide. In this case, a piglet was slaughtered over the head of the person to be purified, and the blood was then rinsed off. The idea of this rite, according to Burkert (1985: 81), was that the person defiled by blood should once again be covered with blood. His defilement by bloodshed was thus reenacted and given a form that could be seen and felt. When it was washed away, guilt went with it. This scenario is strongly reminiscent of the Israelite ritual prescribed in the case of a homicide victim whose killer is unknown (Deut 21:1–9; for discussion cf. Wright 1987b).

Another purification ritual involving pig sacrifice took place at the beginning of the popular assembly in Athens (Nilsson 1955: 105; Burkert 1985: 81–82). Officials called *peristiarchoi* would carry a piglet around the square, slaughter it, and spray its blood over the seats, and then discard the carcass. Several details of this ritual are worth pointing out. First, as both Nilsson and Burkert have observed, the name of the officials indicates that the ritual originated in the purification of the (public) hearth of altar (*hestia*) prior to the resumption of sacrifices. Second, the purifying agent, blood, is applied all around the area to be cleansed. As in the purification of the homicide, blood is used as the ritual detergent. Third, the animal

victim is disposed of and is not eaten by the offerer(s). In each of these respects, the ritual reminds one of the Israelite *ḥaṭṭāʾt,* whose purpose was the purification of sancta, and especially the altars of the tabernacle (cf. Leviticus 4; 5:1–13; 6:17–23; 16:11–19; Num 15:24–31). A pig sacrifice was also one of the preliminaries of initiation in the cult of Eleusis. Opinions differ on whether this pig sacrifice was purificatory in nature (so Burkert 1983: 256–64) or an offering to Demeter, with whom the cult of Eleusis is associated (Nilsson 1955: 105 n. 1).

In summary, pigs (and dogs) were customary only in sacrifices in which the offerer had no share in the sacrificial meat. These were most commonly of a purificatory nature. The choice of these two animals was probably dictated in part by the fact that they were cheap and easily available. However, the contempt in which both dogs and pigs were almost universally held also must have been determinative, for neither animal was used in other kinds of sacrifice. One would not have offered a pig or a dog, however inexpensive, to an Olympian deity. This was not because pigs and dogs were more "chthonic" than other animals, as is sometimes said, but simply because they were contemptible. In fact, what made them contemptible also made them cheap: they needed little care and could be fed on refuse or allowed to scavenge in the streets.

There is nothing in rituals associated with the pig in the ANE or in Greece to justify the conclusion that its involvement in these motivated its prohibition as food in Israel. Indeed, the pig's traditional role in purificatory sacrifice was in Israel performed by "clean" animals, as in the ritual for the unsolved murder. Another such case is the ceremony for the Day of Atonement (Leviticus 16), which is a classic rite of elimination involving the transfer of impurity to a "scapegoat." Like its pagan analogues, the goat bearing the impurity was banished beyond the borders of society into a world inhabited by demons. Obviously this was not considered grounds for prohibiting the consumption of goat meat. If Israel could adapt pagan rituals of this kind to fit its world-view, there is no reason why the pig should not have retained its traditional role in the cult. It would seem, then, that the absence of the pig from Israelite ritual results from other concerns.

**d. Prohibition of Pork in Israel.** Despite the abundance of wild boar in many parts of the ANE, and despite the efficiency with which domestic pigs convert refuse into high-quality animal protein, pork has been prohibited in at least two major Near Eastern cultures: Israel and Islam. The biblical prohibition of pork has elicited several major types of explanation: the religious, the hygienic, and the ecological.

Those who explain the prohibition on religious grounds generally argue that it was the pig's association with pagan worship that rendered it impure (Price 1925; de Vaux 1958: 262; Noth, *Leviticus* OTL; Elliger, *Leviticus* HAT, 150). This view, as just indicated, has little to recommend it. Others hold that in antiquity the pig was a totem of the Semitic tribes and therefore was prohibited as food except on special occasions (Smith 1927: 290; Chelhod 1964: 202–3). While fashionable in some anthropological circles at the turn of the century, the concept of totemism in general has lately been severely criticized (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1963), and its relevance to the Near East in particular has always been doubtful.

Proponents of the hygienic approach, for their part, suggest that it was either the pig's filthy habits, such as its willingness to eat excrement (Maimonides, *Guide* 3.48), or its association with trichinosis (Albright, *YGC*, 177–78) that rendered it unclean. This explanation too, though attractive in the case of the pig, must ultimately be abandoned (for discussion, see Harris 1977: 200; 1985: 160; Simoons 1961: 37ff.).

The ecological approach is chiefly associated with the work of the American anthropologist Marvin Harris, who argues that the pig was prohibited because in the end it proved too costly to raise (1977: 195–98; cf. also 1974; 1985). He argues that there were several reasons for this. First, unlike other domestic animals, the pig cannot be used for transport, riding, or milk production: it is therefore useful only as a source of meat. Second, once deprived of their natural forest habitat, pigs would have to be raised on precious grain reserves. Finally, the pig is not well adapted to the hot, arid climate of the Near East. Other anthropologists, however, counter that the pig is a rather good economic investment even in the Middle East and that pigs could have been maintained with a minimum of expense (Diener and Robkin 1978). In fact, they argue, the pig was so cheap to raise that the early Muslim empire builders outlawed it in order to insure that conquered non-Muslim communities did not have too much economic autonomy. The

prohibition of pork in ancient Egypt is similarly supposed to have been intended to assert government control over the masses. According to this model, a domestic pig industry flourished among the peasants whenever and wherever strong, central control was absent.

Neither of these theories in the end bears critical examination. Harris exaggerates the problems involved in raising pigs. As Diener and Robkin point out, the Near East is by no means uniformly hot and arid. Furthermore, pigs can survive even in desert conditions, where forest cover is lacking and where water and food are scarce. For example, wild boar are found S of the Atlas Mountains in N Africa, where annual rainfall is less than 100 mm (*EncBrit* [15th ed.] 24: 924). Also, domestic pigs are sometimes raised in very inhospitable conditions, as among the Moshaweng Tlokwa of the E Kalahari Desert (Grivetti 1978). The wide geographical distribution of the wild boar and the domestic pig in fact suggests that the pig's adaptability to environment is much greater than Harris described.

The idea that raising pigs would have been a drain on food supplies is also doubtful. As Harris is well aware, the pig is among the most efficient scavengers. With the many potential sources of food discussed above, it seems likely that a small-scale pig industry could have been supported largely from waste products. Such an industry would not necessarily have produced prime specimens; but pigs can survive, albeit in stunted form, on amazingly sparse rations. When the diet is inadequate, it is possible to bring pigs up to an acceptable weight simply by delaying the time of slaughter (cf. Parsons 1962: 229).

Pigs were doubtless also fed on good quality grain, but this does not necessarily mean that people were put at a disadvantage. The cost-benefit ratio would have depended on the amount of surplus grain available. Harris seems to have assumed that there simply was none. Nevertheless, it is beyond doubt that certain geographical areas and economic groups enjoyed considerable surpluses. Parts of the Transjordan, for example, were able to export a surplus of wheat to Tyre (Ezek 27:17). The same area provided a tribute of 10,000 kor each of wheat and barley to the Judean king Jotham (2 Chr 27:5). Even small rural communities may have enjoyed substantial surpluses. Finkelstein has suggested that the annual surplus at ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah (Level II—11th cent.) was on the order of 100% (*AIS*, 268–69). This figure is over and above probable crop losses and seed needed for planting. By way of comparison, Arab villages in the ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah area according to the 1945 Village Statistics on average also produced twice as much grain as they consumed. In general, the specialized horticulture that we find in Iron Age Israel characterizes a society that has developed beyond a meager subsistence economy (Stager 1985: 181). Harris further assumed that Israel's forests had all but disappeared, yet this was probably not the case (as indicated above).

Archaeological excavations show that during certain periods in areas where pork is now prohibited because of Jewish or Islamic law, pigs were once raised in substantial numbers, a fact which suggests that the prohibition of pork is more a matter of culture than of environment. At Carthage (N Africa), for example, pig remains are almost as numerous as those of sheep and goats in the Roman, Vandal, and Byzantine periods (Reese 1977). In Egypt during the same periods, they were raised on a large scale in the Fayyum (cf. Preaux 1939: 221–23) and elsewhere (Johnson and West 1967: 206–7, 213), as they had been in pharaonic times (see Hecker 1982). The situation at sites in Israel, while indicating that Israelites in fact did not eat pork, gives us no reason to suppose that environmental conditions were decisive. While no pig remains were found in Iron Age contexts at ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah (Hellwing and Adjeman 1986) and Shiloh (Hellwing and Sadeh 1985), and only traces have been reported from the Iron Age levels at Dan (Wapnish et al. 1977), in other parts of the country pig bones have been found in Iron Age contexts. At Miqne/Ekron (Hesse and Wapnish 1985), 315 fragments of the genus *Sus* are reported, as against 1496 for cattle and 2300 for caprovines—a significant percentage. Much smaller but still significant percentages occur at Qasile (Davis 1985) and Tell Qiri (Davis 1987b). In the bone sample from the Iron II strata at Tell es-Saʿidiyeh, juvenile (hence probably domestic) pigs constituted 13% of the sample (Martin 1988). Horses, bear, and lion were also eaten. The presence of pig bones at these sites likely reflects ethnic and cultural differences rather than environment. The pig skeleton found at Hazor in an Iron II (Israelite) context is enigmatic, not only by virtue of its occurrence, but also because it is complete (Angress 1960). The reason for playing down the importance of environment is that in periods preceding the Iron Age,

pigs are found in significant numbers in areas where (according to Harris' theory) there would be little reason to expect them. In the bone sample from MB Tell Jemmeh, for instance, pigs constituted between 10 and 15% of the total—at least as much and probably more than cattle (7–13%; Wapnish and Hesse 1988). Pigs were raised in the same area during the Chalcolithic, as attested by the faunal remains at Wadi Gaza D and Gilat, where pigs respectively made up 36.0 and 17.9% of the sample (Grigson 1987: 235). It is true that these sites enjoy slightly more rainfall than others in the Nahal Besor, and it may therefore be said that even this small amount determined whether pigs could be raised or not. But if pigs could be raised under these still harsh conditions, then there can scarcely have been any environmental impediment to their being raised under the much more favorable conditions obtaining to the N.

In light of the foregoing discussion, it seems fair to conclude that had the Israelites wanted to raise pigs they could have done so. Furthermore, there is no reason why the Israelites could not in any event have hunted wild boar. Harris would perhaps argue that hunting was a waste of time for farmers and pastoralists, and indeed in the faunal remains from most Israelite sites wild animals make up only a tiny percentage of the total. But the fact remains that the biblical dietary law allows Israelites to hunt other kinds of game.

To criticize Harris' exaggerated version of materialistic determinism is not to deny that culture broadly conforms to ecological constraints; rather it is to assert that "it does so according to a definite symbolic scheme which is never the only one possible" (Sahlins 1976: viii). Harris' theory, even if it showed why pork is not eaten, would fail to explain why the dietary law justifies itself in terms of the symbolic categories of cleanness and impurity. It was as a part of this symbolic system, and not simply as a list of tabus, that the dietary law was transmitted to the people. It was within this system that the formulators of the law themselves evidently sought the ultimate justification for the prohibitions.

For all its vehemence, Diener and Robkin's attack on Harris' theory scarcely fares better. Their explanation of the pork prohibition in early Islam founders on its presupposition that pork was a significant element in the economy of pre-Islamic Arabia, a view for which absolutely no textual or archaeological support is forthcoming. It is more reasonable to suppose, as scholars have long done, that the Islamic pig prohibition was adopted from Judaism as part of Muhammad's effort to establish himself as a prophet in the tradition of the Bible (Wensinck 1914; Cook 1986). Jewish influence also probably explains the avoidance of pork reportedly practiced among the Saracens (Sozomenos, *h.e.* 6.38). (On their explanation of the pork prohibition in ancient Egypt, see below.)

To date, the most satisfying explanation of the pig prohibition is still perhaps that of Simoons (1961), who held that the prejudice against pigs and eating pork first developed among sheep and goat pastoralists. Characteristic of agricultural peoples, the pig was alien to the pastoralist's way of life and was treated with disgust. Modern Americans, for example, tend to react in this way to insectivory or to the consumption of horsemeat. This is not to say that the proto-Israelites regarded the pig as "unclean" in the sense in which that word is used in the book of Leviticus. It may be that the author(s) of the biblical dietary law took a pre-existing avoidance of pork and incorporated in into a systematic ideological superstructure.

**e. Prohibition of Pork in Egypt.** The idea that pork was prohibited in ancient Egypt stems principally from classical writers (Herodotus 2.47; Plutarch, *de Is. et Os.* 352.5; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists* 7.300a; Sextus Empiricus, *Pyr.* 3.223). The prohibition they describe seems to have been restricted to priests (so explicitly Plutarch and Sextus Empiricus). The ambiguous term "Egyptians" used by Herodotus and Athenaeus likely refers only to a certain segment of the population. Given that Herodotus knew Egypt only second- or third-hand, he might easily have made generalizations that had no basis in fact. Athenaeus, a native of Naucratis, no doubt provides reliable information, but one must keep in mind that he was not writing a treatise about Egyptian food habits. For the purpose of casual reference, it may have been convenient for him to refer to an "Egyptian" prohibition of pork, although he was aware that in fact it did not apply to all Egyptians. Either way, the information provided by classical writers has limited applicability, for none of them could accurately describe the situation in earlier periods.

Without the statements of these classical writers, it is unlikely that the idea of a pork prohibition would ever have arisen. Egyptian sources themselves suggest that pigs were commonplace of the domestic economy. For example, pigs were part of the bequest made to the 3d Dynasty noble Metjen by his father (the term "cattle" used in the text is determined by ideograms for asses and pigs; *Urk.* 1.3.2; cf. Breasted, *ARE* 1: 171). Large herds of swine were maintained on the properties of the Ptah temple of Amenophis III at Memphis (1000 swine, 1000 piglets; *Urk.* 4.1797.2), and of the mortuary temple of Seti I at Abydos (Kitchen 1975: 1.51.12). Renni, governor of El-Kab, says he possessed 122 oxen, 100 sheep, 1200 goats, and 1500 pigs (*Urk.* 4.75.15). Pigs are included in the list of livestock of Thutnakht, a subordinate of the chief steward Rensi in the *Eloquent Peasant* (B.ii.138; *ANET*, 410). It is hardly credible that such herds were maintained solely for the once-a-year event in which (according to Herodotus) pigs were sacrificed and eaten in honor of the "moon god"; the sacrifice of pigs in this cult would not explain the donations to the temples of Amenophis III and Seti I.

There is also important archaeological evidence for pig consumption. Pig bones have even been found among the domestic animal remains from 1st Dynasty cemeteries at Helwan, in the 5th Dynasty pyramid of Dedkare-Isesi at Saqqara, in the 6th Dynasty tomb of Hetep Heres at Giza, and at Tell ed-Ḍabʿa (Hecker 1982: 64). But by far the most important evidence has come from the workmen's village at Amarna, where pigpens were recently identified adjacent to the E side of the housing complex (Kemp 1987: 40). Pig bones were also found in significant numbers in the refuse heaps. A preliminary study of the ratios of pigs to cattle and goats yields the following results (Hecker 1982: 66):

Table 5
Relative Percentages of Animal Bones at Tell El-Amarna

| | Houses 5 and 6 | Area S of Village Wall |
|---|---|---|
| Pig | 67.2% | 39.8% |
| Goat | 28.4% | 38.4% |
| Cattle | 3.4% | 21.3% |

Pig bones were also found in the workmen's village at Deir el-Medineh (Hecker 1982: 64). (In this connection, note that pigs [*šʾiw*] also occur as commodities in the ostraca from Deir el-Medineh [Janssen 1975: 177].) This evidence belies Herodotus' account about the segregation of swineherds, at least as far as earlier periods are concerned. And, of course, it shows that the pork prohibition affecting priests, if it existed at all in this period, did not apply to other levels of society.

First of all, the association of the pig with Seth cannot certainly be dated even as far back as the Old Kingdom (Griffiths 1960: 32–33). Second, during the period of Egypt's most powerful central government, the New Kingdom, Seth became the patron deity of the pharaoh himself. At Tukh, the center of Seth worship from the earliest period, there is a New Kingdom temple, with contributions by 18th Dynasty and Ramesside kings. Seth was also worshiped at Tell ed-Ḍabʿa during the Ramesside period. This last cult center, of course, does not tell us much about the worship of Seth in earlier periods, since the association of Seth with the site is no doubt the result of the local Hyksos cult of Baʿal, with whom Seth was identified (cf. the story of the 400th anniversary of Seth worship at Tanis; *ANET*, 252). Still, the fact that Seth could reestablish himself as the patron deity of the Ramesside kings goes a long way toward invalidating Diener and Robkin's suggested association with the peasantry.

In any event, what happens in the cult does not necessarily reflect what happens in the economy. Seth may "rise" and "fall" in significance, but Seth is not the embodiment of pig farming any more than Horus represents falconry. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the pig—even though it was one of the animals associated in mythology with Seth—was ever part of the *cult* of Seth, i.e., that it was a favored offering. Indeed, Seth's only actual (i.e., non-mythological) association with the pig is the "Seth-animal" which Newberry (1928) identified with a species of wild pig (many do not accept the identification). There is, therefore, no evident connection between the fortunes of Seth and the place of pigs in the domestic economy or in the cult. This is as true of Seth's rise as it is of his fall from grace.

The prominence of Seth during the Ramesside period is motivated by concerns which have nothing to do with the pig. When, for example, after his attack on Qadesh, Seti ("Seth's man") erected a stela to Seth, Amun, and Montu (*ANET*, 252), it was in celebration not of the god's cult animal but of the more abstract quality of martial prowess which the god embodied (cf. already Thutmoses III's Armant Stela; *ANET*, 236, lines 85ff.). As a warrior god, Seth became the patron of the king in battle (e.g., Amenhotep II: Memphis Stela, *ANET*, 245; Ramesses III: Medinat Habu, *ANET*, 250, 263). In the "Marriage Stela" (*ANET*, 257), Ramesses II invokes Seth as his father along with Re. Seth, in other words, is not a code word for popular resistance and pig-consumption, as Diener and Robkin would have us believe.

The Rassam Cylinder inscription of Sennacherib suggests that pigs were still a common feature of daily life in 7th century Mesopotamia. Unfortunately, studies of faunal remains from Mesopotamian sites of this period are virtually nonexistent, and it is thus impossible to establish how large a role pigs played in the economy. From earlier periods, however, evidence is more abundant. These data are collected in the following table.

Table 6
Relative Percentages of Animal Bones in EB Sites in Mesopotamia

| Site and Period | Caprovines | Cattle | Pigs | Source |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tell Asmar NO. | 62 | 47 | 65 | Hilzheimer (1942) |
| MNI | 6 | 4–5 | 14–16 | |
| %[a] | 26.0 | 19.7 | 27.3 | |
| Lagash MNI | 30 | 2 | 6 | Mudar (1982) |
| %[b] | 65 | 5 | 19 | |
| Nippur NO. | 167 (55%) | 67 (22%) | 70 (23%) | Boessneck (1878) |
| MNI | 11 (44%) | 6 (24%) | 8 (32%) | |
| WT. (g) | 1525 (34%) | 1900 (43%) | 015 (23%) | |

[a]Based on total number.
[b]Based on MNI

The many different terms for pigs in Sumerian and Akkadian are discussed in Salonen (1974). For a detailed study of pig raising in Sumeria, see Rosengarten (1960).

**B. Equids**

**1. ONAGERS.** Two principal species are found, the Syrian (*Equus hemionus hemippus*) and the Persian (*Equus hemionus onager*). The onager is the only equid native to the Near East but is not the ancestor of the domestic donkey, as is sometimes thought. This is evident from the fact that the offspring of the Asian donkey and the onager is sterile, while that of the Asian donkey and the African wild ass is fertile (Clutton-Brock 1987: 98). The onager was never domesticated because, like the gazelle, it is temperamentally unsuited to manipulation by man. Though its remains are frequently found in archaeological sites, there is no evidence in the bones or teeth that would point to domestication (Clutton-Brock 1987: 98 *contra* Zeuner 1963; Hilzheimer 1941). These remains are more likely evidence of the hunting of onagers, as depicted in the much later reliefs from the palace of Ashurbanipal.

**2. HORSES. a. Prehistoric Distribution.** During the Paleolithic era, herds of wild horses (*Equus ferus*) roamed the grasslands of both the Eurasian and the American continents. But due to the growth of forests following the last Ice Age and to overhunting by man, the horse was already extinct in North America by 8000 B.C.E. In the Old World, it was driven farther and farther E, until today the remnants of the primitive wild horse, the so called Przewalski horse, are found only in Mongolia. Had it not been for its domestication by man, the horse would probably have disappeared altogether from the Old World as it had from North America (Clutton-Brock 1987: 81).

The various modern breeds of horse are probably all the descendants of a single primitive stock, their different characteristics being the result of artificial selection by man, as well as of certain environmental

influences which affect all mammals. Northern, "cold-blooded" breeds have heavy bodies and short extremities (legs, ears), while southern, "hot-blooded" breeds are sleeker and more finely featured (cf. Clutton-Brock 1987: 83). These differences, apparent already in the 2d millennium B.C.E., were however less marked than today. There was not the sharp distinction between heavy N workhorses and S thoroughbreds that there is today, since horses in the ancient world were all generally smaller (most less than 125 cm [49 in] at the withers).

**b. The Horse in the Near East.** As just noted, the homeland of the domestic horse was in the Eurasian steppes, where it was first domesticated in the late Neolithic. Its appearance S of the hilly flanks of the Near East is due to human activity. From these hills, the horse was first introduced into the Near East, as we learn from (among other things) the Sumerian term for horse, ANŠE.KUR.RA, "donkey of the mountains." On the basis of textual, iconographic, and archaeological evidence, it appears that this took place during the late 3d millennium B.C.E., perhaps somewhat earlier in S Iran (Moorey 1970; Zarins 1976). The arrival of the horse coincides with the development of the chariot, in association with which we first meet the horse in every other society in the ancient world. The still-popular idea of prehistoric Eurasian horse-nomads must be abandoned (Wiesner 1968).

Compared with cattle, sheep, and goats, the horse played only a minor role in the economy of the Near East. It was never extensively used in agriculture or transport, despite its efficiency. In agriculture it was the ox, and in transport the donkey, which were principally used. Failure to exploit the horse's work potential ultimately played a large role in the decline of the Near East vis-à-vis the West in the Middle Ages (see L. White 1962: 57ff.; Braudel 1981: 344–45). The principal use of the horse was for drawing chariots. Before the horse's rise to prominence in the 2d millennium B.C.E., donkeys, mules, and oxen were used for this purpose as well. Mounted cavalry make their first appearance in the 1st millennium B.C.E. This was true also among the Arabian nomads, later renowned for their horsemanship. In central Arabia, the horse appears in rock art for the first time in the "Literate Period" (ca. 1000 B.C.E.–650 C.E.). Its earliest possible use, then, would have been at about the same time that the camel is thought to have been fully domesticated (Tchernov 1974: 247). The widespread use of the horse among nomads, however, came rather later. Inscriptions apparently associated with these rock drawings indicate a date in the latter half of the Literate Period. Unlike the camel, which played a vital economic role in bedouin society, the horse was chiefly valued as an item of prestige.

Given the enormous expense of purchasing and maintaining warhorses, specialized handling and veterinary expertise were called for. A book of instructions on the handling of horses is extant in Hittite (Kammenhuber 1961). Another on the treatment of diseases in horses has survived from Ugarit (Cohen and Sivan 1983; Pardee 1985). Fragmentary Akkadian prescriptions for horse disorders are also extant (Pardee 1985).

**c. Equipment.** The history of the exploitation of the horse in warfare is very much a history of the technology associated with horsemanship. Of prime importance were bits, bridles, and harnesses (Potratz 1966; Bittel 1975; Littauer and Crouwel 1979). Much of the earliest technology for controlling equids had originally been designed for cattle. Prior to the invention of the bit and bridle, for example, horses and other equids were often controlled by means of a nose-ring attached to a single cord. While adequate for leading cattle, this arrangement was an unsatisfactory means of steering a horse from behind, especially if the horse was pulling a chariot. It was the need for more effective control of the horse in warfare that provided the impetus for the development of the bit and the bridle. The use of these probably remained confined to the military. A proper bit consists of a solid mouthpiece or cannon attached to cheekplates, which prevent the cannon from sliding out of the mouth and also exert pressure on the sensitive sides of the mouth. The first metal bits appear in the 16th century B.C.E. Bits dated to the 15th century were excavated at Tell el ʿAjjul (Stewart 1974).

Like the nose-ring, ancient yoke harnesses, being originally designed for oxen, were ill suited for the horse. In oxen, the yoke pulled not against the throat, but against the front of the animal's withers. The neck strap served only to keep the animal in line. In horses, however, the withers are much less well developed, so that it was no longer the yoke resting against the withers, but the neck strap around the

throat which pulled the burden, choking the horse. The effect of this type of harnessing can be seen in representations of horses drawing chariots. Not only does the neck choke the horse, it also forces the horse to hold its head erect. This posture in turn limits the horse's speed, because a horse can extend its front legs only as far as the line running from the tip of its nose to the ground. The more erect the horse's head, the shorter the step and the choppier the pace.

Used on a horse, the yoke harness was also relatively inefficient, since the point of traction was up at the withers rather than at the shoulders and was thus too high for maximum mechanical effect. In practical terms, this means that a team of horses, which today (thanks to the horse collar) could be expected to pull 2,500 kg (5,500 lb), could pull only 500 kg (1,100 lb) in ancient harnesses (White 1962: 156, n. 1 to p. 60).

The horseshoe proper (White 1962: 57ff.) is not certainly attested before the 9th century C.E., when it appears in rider-graves in the Yenisei region of Siberia. At about the same time, it is mentioned in the *Tactica* of the Byzantine Emperor Leo VI, who reigned 886–911. The Greco-Roman world knew only of hipposandals, which were attached with thongs or wires, either for ornamentation or to protect a broken hoof (cf. Catullus 17.26, which refers to a *solea* and not to a shoe). The silence of Greco-Roman writers on the subject of horseshoes is telling, given the size of the literature devoted to the use and care of horses (cf. Xenophon, *On Horsemanship;* Columella, *Rust.* 6.27–35; Oder and Hoppe 1924). There is also no evidence from the Near East to justify our supposing that the horseshoe was known there.

Since the principal use of the horse was for pulling chariots, horseback riding was relatively uncommon (cf. Moorey 1970). Saddles in the proper sense of the word were therefore unknown, though saddle blankets, and girths were occasionally used. From the Mesopotamian evidence, it is clear that when people first began riding horses they sat toward the back, as they were accustomed to sit on the donkey. The ass has low withers and straight shoulders, which make it advantageous for the rider to sit toward the rump if he wishes to avoid falling off. Bareback riding techniques obviously took some time to develop. The earliest depiction of horseback riding in Mesopotamia occurs on a seal impression from Kish dated to the Early Dynastic III period (Zarins 1976: 260–61). In Egypt, the first depiction of figures on horseback comes from the 18th Dynasty (Schulman 1957). In almost all of these representations, Egyptian and Mesopotamian alike, riders are depicted either nude or only lightly armed, indicating that they probably served as scouts or messengers.

The stirrup (White 1962: 14ff.) first appeared in the late 2d century B.C.E. in India, where, at its most advanced stage, it accommodated only a barefoot rider's big toe. From India the idea spread to Pakistan and Afghanistan sometime before 100 C.E. There, however, it consisted of a bar or hook capable of supporting a shod rider. Buddhist missionaries then spread the idea to China, sometime during the Chin Dynasty (265–420 C.E.). Hunan tomb figures of this period are shown equipped with stirrups. By the time it first occurs in Chinese literature (477 C.E.), it is already in common use. It reached Iran and the Arab world in the late 7th century and Europe in the early 8th. The stirrup was totally unknown in the classical world, and in the ANE. Xenophon (*On Horsemanship* 7.5) for example, describes the technique for proper riding as follows:

> When he has taken his seat, whether on the horse's bare back or on a cloth, we do not like that he should sit as if he were on a carriage seat, but as if he were standing upright with his legs somewhat apart; for thus he will cling more firmly to the horse with his thighs, and, keeping himself erect, he will be able to throw a javelin or to strike a blow on horseback, if it be necessary, with greater force.

The absence of the stirrup prevented the use of the horse in shock combat since a rider could easily be unmounted.

**3. ASSES.** The wild ass (*Equus africanus*) appears to have originated in N Africa. It is unknown exactly when the ass was first domesticated, though a date of 3500 B.C.E. is suggested. (On the early use of the donkey, see above under "Secondary Products Revolution.") From the beginning, its primary role was as a pack animal.

The donkey also played an obscure role in certain cultic situations. It was not permitted as a sacrifice or as food in ancient Israel and appears only infrequently in sacrificial texts from Ugarit (cf. *UT* 62:18ff.).

Noteworthy, therefore, is its prominence as a symbolic victim in the ritual of covenant making among the W Semitic inhabitants of the Mari area (Noth 1957), as well as in S Arabia (see below). At Mari, the idiom to "kill an ass" (*ḫa-a-ri-im qa-ta-li-im,* ARM II 37.6, 11) meant to make a treaty (*ḫayārum* is the Akkadian realization of W Sem *ʿayr* [Heb *ʿayir,* Ug *ʿr*]). Compare also *ḫayaram ša šalīmim qutulma,* "kill an ass of peace-making" (Dossin 1938: 109). In S Arabia, too, the donkey seems to have played a role in the ritual of treaty making, as seen in the following passage: *kl gwm ḏ›lm wšymm wḏḥblm wḥmrm* "every community (owing allegiance to) a god or patron deity or (bound by) an alliance or *ḥmr* [ass] -treaty" (*RES* 3945.1; cf. 3624; 3948.4ff.).

The domesticated ass or donkey is physiologically well suited to its one-time role as the primary beast of burden in the ANE. While not altogether the camel's equal as water conserver, the donkey can likewise tolerate significant losses of body water (as high as 25–30% of body weight), though for shorter periods (Schmidt-Nielsen 1959). Like the camel, it can do so because its water losses come from the tissues and not from the blood, the volume of which remains fairly constant. And, like the camel, the donkey can replenish its entire water loss in a matter of minutes—an adaptation to the necessity of being in a constant state of readiness to flee while drinking at the water hole. However, the donkey requires water more frequently than the camel because it eliminates heat by evaporating sweat as much as four times faster than the camel. Apparently the donkey can store a certain amount of water against future losses. One of the donkey's important adaptations is a low concentration of chloride in the sweat (Schmidt-Nielsen and Schmidt-Nielsen 1952: 155). The fact that more of the chloride remains in the blood means that when the donkey rehydrates the concentration of chloride is not drastically reduced. In humans, rehydration must be accompanied by the ingestion of salt or else shock or even death may result. A wild animal, however, might find it difficult to replace its salt as quickly, and salt loss could cripple its ability to evade predators. Thus, the donkey's low-salt sweat clearly has survival value.

Different equid species do not usually interbreed in nature. Man-made hybrids are the *mule* (the offspring of a male donkey [jackass] and a mare) and the *hinny* (the offspring of a stallion and a female donkey [jenny]). The offspring in either case may be male or female, but will always be sterile. The two types are morphologically distinguishable. In each case, the front end resembles that of the sire and the hindquarters those of the dam. Mules therefore have a large head and ears like those of the donkey and powerful hindquarters like those of the horse, the tail consisting of long hairs originating in or near the root. Hinnies, on the other hand, have lighter, more finely featured heads and smaller ears, while the tip of the tail is tufted.

**4. CAMELS.** Primitive camelids first appeared some 40 million years ago in N America. Toward the end of the Tertiary, they spread from there into South America, where their descendant, the llama, survives today. Another group migrated across the Bering Strait to Asia, and quickly spread to the Near East and Africa. Camel bones have been found in Plio-Pleistocene levels in the Omo beds in Ethiopia (Howell et al. 1969), in the Marsabit Road (Early Pleistocene) in N Kenya, and in Olduvai Bed II (Middle Pleistocene; Gentry and Gentry 1969). The earliest certainly datable camel remains in the Near East are those from the Acheulian (Middle Pleistocene) site at Latamne, Syria (Hooijer 1961). Camel bones have been found at several Levallois-Mousterian (Middle Paleolithic, Upper Pleistocene) sites, including Bir-Sahara (Wendorf et al. 1976) in SW Egypt; Mugharet el-Emireh (Bate 1929), Sabha (Vaufrey 1951), Qafzeh (Bouchud 1974), Tabun C (Payne and Garrard 1983), Far›ah (Grigson 1983) in Israel; and Azraq in Jordan (Clutton-Brock 1970). Assemblages from still later periods have been recovered from the Neolithic site at Sha‹ar Ha-Golan (Stekelis 1951) and in Strata IV and III (EB I–II) at Arad (Lernau 1978: 87). A few bone fragments were found in the EB IV level at Be›er Reṣiṣim (Hakker-Orion 1984). By the beginning of the historical period, however, the wild camel was probably extinct in most parts of N Africa, the Levant, and Egypt. See also CAMEL.

In historical times, there have been two species of camel, the Bactrian (*Camelus bactrianus*), a stocky, two-humped camel native to the cold deserts of central Asia, and the Arabian (*Camelus dromedarius*), a swift, longer-legged animal with a single hump, today found throughout N Africa and the Near East. Camels are even-toed ungulates. But, unlike other ungulates, they do not have proper hooves. Their toes

are instead protected by a pad of skin. Although they ruminate, they also differ from true ruminants in some respects. Ruminants, for example, typically have a complex stomach consisting of four chambers (see under cattle above); the camel, however, has three. Also unlike other ruminants, camels have vestigal incisors in the premaxilla (upper jaw) and large canine teeth. In other ruminants, the lower incisors bite against a hard upper gum.

**a. Adaptation to Desert Life** (Schmidt-Nielsen 1959; Gauthier-Pilters and Dagg 1981). Anatomical study has shown that the camel has no hidden water reserve. This is also indicated by the fact that a camel deprived of water for a long period will drink only as much water as it has lost. The camel's trademark, its hump, is a mass of fibrous connecting tissue and fat, and not, as is popularly believed, the animal's water supply. When the animal is starved, this hump disappears: it is, in fact, the camel's principal energy reserve.

In other mammals, especially domestic animals, fat is distributed throughout the body under the skin, though there may also be areas where it accumulates in larger quantities (e.g., the rump or tail of sheep). The concentration of fat in a single location is one of the camel's adaptations to life in an arid environment. It allows the body to dissipate heat readily, without sweating. Where fat is deposited evenly under the skin, as in humans, it acts as an insulator to keep heat inside, and more sweating is required to draw the heat off. Camels do sweat, but they can tolerate a rise of temperature to as high as 105°F before they sweat freely (6°C above normal). In order to mitigate water loss through sweating, the camel's body temperature may be allowed to drop as low as 93°F at night. This 12° tolerance compares with about 2° in humans. For a 500 kg (1100 lb) camel to dispose by perspiration the heat represented in that 6° rise in temperature (i.e., 500 kg × 0.8 cal/kg [the specific heat of animal tissue] × 6 = 2400 cal) would require about 5 liters (1.3 gal) of water.

Another means by which sweating is minimized is the camel's coat of hair (part of which is retained year-round), which insulates the body from heat absorption from the outside and which shields the camel from the radiant energy of the sun. Shorn camels will sweat 60% more than those that are unshorn. This adaptive strategy reminds one of the fact that the bedouin themselves dress in several layers of woolen clothing.

The camel limits its water losses in one other, though less significant way. It has developed the ability to reprocess urea, one of the principal waste products expelled in urine. Sheep and cows also have this ability to some extent (Rogers 1958). The urea that is not reprocessed and other waste products are expelled in highly concentrated form—in summer in as little as one liter (34 oz) of urine per day.

The key to the camel's tolerance of heat and aridity, however, is not its methods of water conservation but its ability to maintain a constant amount of water in the blood plasma. A camel that has lost one-quarter of its body weight in water loses less than one-tenth of its plasma. Under the same conditions, a man would lose up to 33% of his plasma (a loss of 12% is usually fatal in human; the blood becomes too thick to carry off heat, and this leads to rapid overheating and death). Camels, on the other hand, can still function with plasma losses as high as 25% and within minutes of drinking will regain their former condition. This tolerance for water loss is possible because losses come not from the blood but from the tissues.

The camel's other adaptations to life in the desert include the ability to close its nostrils (e.g., during sandstorms), long eye lashes to shade the eyes from the sun, and a split upper lip enabling it to grasp and eat the thorny plants and shrubs that are commonly found in the desert.

There are, however, factors which limit the productivity of the camel. Unlike almost all other domestic animals, male camels rut only at certain times of the year (during or after the rainy season; Kohler 1984: 202). Females reach sexual maturity rather late (at 5 years) and produce a calf only every other year, until about age 21 (Gauthier-Pilters and Dagg 1981). The breeding season is short and the gestation period long (12 months, as compared with 5 for sheep and goats). Nor will females go into heat while they are lactating (Kohler 1984: 202). The mortality rate among calves is perhaps as high as 30%. The net result of all these factors is that the annual growth rate of camel herds is around 1.5% as against 18% for sheep and 33% for goats (Dahl and Hjort 1976). This means that only in very large herds could camels be a

significant source of meat. The camel is therefore principally valuable as a source of milk and as a beast of burden.

**b. Domestication of the Camel. (1) Early Evidence.** Since the primary use of the camel has always been outside urban centers and since domestic camels are too valuable a resource to be used except rarely as food, the camel is seldom well represented in faunal deposits. It is therefore difficult to trace the early history of the camel's relationship with man. The earliest evidence for some sort of domestication of the camel comes from Shar-i Sokhta in central Iran (Compagnoni and Tosi 1978) and from Umm an-Nar (Hoch 1977) off the coast of Abu Dhabi. At the former site, four camel bones were found in fills dated to between 2600 and 2500 B.C.E. Another was found in a stratified road deposit dated between 2700 and 2600 B.C.E. The excavations also uncovered a jar of camel dung buried in the floor of a house dated between 2700 and 2600 B.C.E. and a wad of yarn composed of camel's hair woven together with fiber from sheep and goats. These finds suggest that the camel was being exploited as a supplier at least of fiber and fuel. This relationship may perhaps be interpreted as the beginning of the process of domestication. But one must keep in mind that domestication will mean different things from one animal to another. In the case of the camel, it has not involved significant intervention in the animal's morphology and behavior, as it has with sheep and goats. The reason is simply that artificial selection could scarcely improve the one feature which makes the camel so useful: its ability to be used as a beast of burden under hostile desert conditions. The domestication of the camel has instead been the process of man's learning to exploit the camel's natural adaptation to the desert and to adapt *himself* to the camel's way of life. The camel may be said to have been fully domesticated when it was used as a beast of burden in the settlement of and movement through the desert (Compagnoni and Tosi 1978: 100). This was certainly not the state of affairs at Shar-i Sokhta. Indeed, even as a producer of renewable products the camel played a very minor role, to judge by its small attestation in the sample (5 bones in 20,000).

New data from the Arabian peninsula conform to the same pattern. In rock art from central Arabia, the camel appears already in the earliest of the Neolithic period and sporadically thereafter until ca. 1000 B.C., when the number of depictions rises enormously. Except for one questionable example, all of these drawings depict the dromedary. This chronological distribution corresponds very well with what we find elsewhere in the Near East.

**(2) The Camel in Egypt and Mesopotamia.** Although the camel was apparently found in N Africa as late as the Paleolithic, it does not seem to have survived there into historical times. Its disappearance may be due in part to changing climatic conditions. From about 9000–6000 B.C.E. and again from 3500–2500 B.C.E., the Sahara experienced wet phases, during which its climate was like that of the modern savanna. Preferring a more arid environment, the camel may thus have been driven S. In any event, reliable archaeological evidence for the presence of the camel in Egypt is not found until the Middle Kingdom (Midant-Reynes and Braunstein-Silvestre 1977 *pace* Ripinsky 1975; 1983). Of particular importance is the find at Sayala, Nubia (Bietak 1966: 33–34, 38). If, as is generally thought, the wild camel had long been extinct in N Africa, then the Sayala find must be regarded as evidence for the domestication of the camel in the early 2d millennium B.C.E.

The only other reliable find is a small ceramic figurine of a camel bearing two jars on its back found in a 19th Dynasty tomb from the Rifeh area, near Giza (Petrie 1907, pl. 27). This is among the earliest pieces of evidence for the dating of the first use of the camel as a beast of burden. Though early, it falls just close enough to the time of the camel's apparent domestication in W Asia to be credible.

The earliest representations of the domestic camel (i.e., of camel with rider) are (1) a N Syrian seal dated to between 1800 and 1400 B.C.E. depicting two Bactrian camels with riders (Gordon 1939: 21 no. 55, pl. VII no. 55), (2) another Syrian seal dated to the 17th century B.C.E. showing a dromedary with rider (Ward 1910: 319, no. 1011), and (3) a fragmentary ceramic relief probably of camel with rider from the Ur III period at Tell Asmar (Frankfort et al. 1940: 212 figs. 126–27). The second of these is perhaps disputable: the animal lacks a hump, its feet look like those of an equid, and its tufted tail suggests that if it is an equid it is probably a donkey. Its neck, however, is much too long for an equid, and the head is more like that of a camel than that of a horse. The rider is sitting sidesaddle, a common way of riding the

camel but unusual for the horse. If these pieces of evidence are valid, they would suggest that the domestication of the camel took place at the latest in the early 2d millennium B.C.E. rather than in the 12th century, as argued by Albright.

**c. The Domestic Camel in Palestine.** While camel remains sporadically occur at MB and LB sites, it is not until the Iron Age that they are found in significant numbers. Isolated and often stratigraphically dubious, camel remains from the MB Age are reported at Gezer, Megiddo, Taanach, and el-Jisr (Isserlin 1950). At LB sites, camel bones have turned up only at Timna (Rothenberg 1972: 105), and these may belong to wild species from Arabia. In Palestine at least, there is therefore no reason to suppose that the domestic camel was in use until after 1200 B.C.E. Donkey bones, on the other hand, are found at most sites in both these periods, suggesting that it was indeed the donkey rather than the camel that was the primary pack animal.

In the Iron Age, however, the situation was radically different. Camel bones have been found in abundance in all three levels at Kadesh-barnea (Hakker-Orion 1984), in Stratum II (Iron I) at ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah (Hellwing and Adjeman 1986), and also in the Iron II level at Tell Jemmeh (see below). Not surprisingly, camel bones are found at numerous Nabatean sites in the Negeb, such as Moa and Avdat. A Greek inscription written on a camel scapula found at Avdat mentions the sale of camels to caravans and lists their prices (Negev 1977). To date, the distribution of camel remains in Israel suggests a strong association with the trade routes of the Negeb (Hakker-Orion 1984).

Given the paucity of camel remains in ANE faunal deposits, the size of the Tell Jemmeh collection makes it especially important for the study of the utilization of the camel in this area (Wapnish 1984). There 472 camel bones, 357 in a stratified context, have been uncovered. They come from all parts of the site, but only from the LB levels onward. In the levels of the 7th century, a period of massive Assyrian involvement in the area, there is an eight-fold increase in the number of camel bone fragments relative to the LB Age. This number in turn more than quadruples in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian levels. All parts of the camel are represented in these samples. Eighteen percent of the bones show cut marks, and 20% are burned, indicating that the inhabitants used the camel as a source of meat. The number of unfused bone elements is small, and in the major periods the proportion of bones from juvenile animals is less than 18%. At the same time, there are no indications of great age or disease in the bones. The mortality pattern is thus dominated by healthy, mature animals (5–20 years). Since young animals are not prominent in the sample, it is unlikely either that camels were raised on the site or that there was in the area an intensive meat industry. Some portion of the animals may have come from nearby pastoralist groups, but this would not explain the sharp increases in later periods. Hence, it is suggested that the bulk of the animals came from caravans passing through the area.

**d. The Camel and the Development of Nomadism.** Without the camel, human exploitation of the deserts would have been impossible. Since the domestication of the camel took place only toward the end of the 1st millennium B.C.E., this date is also the terminus post quem for camel nomadism. However, even after this date, the full potential of the camel remained long undeveloped, due to inadequate riding technology. Like the horse, for example, the camel could play an effective role in mounted combat only once a proper saddle had been developed. In the case of the horse, the key element was the stirrup; but in the case of the camel, it was a saddle frame straddling the hump with a (saddle) horn on either side to give the rider maximal support in shock combat. Adapted from the horse saddle, which first appears in the Asian steppes at about the beginning of the Common Era, the camel saddle appears not to have been used on the camel until ca. 250 C.E. (Dostal 1958). It is first attested in reliefs from Syria (e.g., Palmyra and Dura-Europos), where Arabian camel riders came into contact with saddle technology from the N. This date coincides with the "bedouinization of Arabia," which until then had been settled by farmers. See also BEDOUIN AND BEDOUIN STATES.

**e. Patterns of Camel Use.** The camel could be used for transport, which is of critical importance for all bedouin. Pack animals were usually either geldings or non-lactating females, and were mature animals over 5 years of age.

Camels also produce large quantities of milk whose fat content (7.11%) may be as much as twice that of cow's milk (3.5–5%). Camel lactation lasts for 12 months, so that camel pastoralists have a source of milk year-round, even during the dry season. Some bedouin are able to maintain themselves solely on a diet of 5 to 10 liters (1.5–2.5 gal) of camel milk a day. Surprisingly this protein- and fat-rich diet has no adverse pathological effects (Lapicirella et al. 1962). Among bedouin whose principal product is milk, most male calves are slaughtered in order to conserve their mother's milk (Sweet 1965a; Dahl and Hjort 1976). Females are slaughtered only if they are too weak to survive. Healthy adults are seldom slaughtered, except for ritual purposes (Sweet 1965b; S. Smith 1978; Nelson 1974).

Camel pastoralists will occasionally sell old or sick animals in urban markets. Many bedouin consider it a sacrilege to sell their camels (Torry 1974) or will do so only in great need (S. Smith 1978). Merchant caravans will also sell intractable or vicious animals in order to prevent possible losses en route. A number of factors facilitate the management of camels en route. First, camels have strong attachments to areas associated with certain experiences. A female for example, will return to give birth where her first calf was born. When lactating, she will suckle her calf in the same place each day (Kohler 1984: 203). If separated from the herd, a camel will wait at the place where it was left. Second, camels are now largely dependent on humans for their water, which must be drawn up from wells.

**5. ELEPHANTS.** Two species of elephant survived the end of the last Ice Age: the African (*Loxodonta africana*) and the Indian (*Elephas maximus*). Several characteristics distinguish the two types. First, the elephant of the African savanna is bigger and has much larger ears than its Indian counterpart. An African bull may reach a height of 6–7.5 m (20–24 ft) and weigh over 6000 kg (13,200 lb). African females are somewhat shorter and weigh about 3000 kg (6600 lb). Indian bulls are typically 2–3.5 m (6.5–11.5 ft) high, and weigh 5000 kg (11,000 lb). Classical writers believed that the Indian was the larger and were followed by Linnaeus, hence the misnomer *Elephas maximus* for the Indian species. It may be that the classical writers were describing the smaller "forest" variety of the African elephant (*Loxodonta africana cyclotis*), which now inhabits only isolated parts of west and west-central Africa, but which in ancient times may have ranged through N Africa as well, until its extinction at the hands of the Romans (Scullard 1974). Second, the African type is straight- or sway-backed, while the Indian is convex. Third, both males and females of the African elephant have tusks; females of the Indian type may occasionally carry tusks, but they are very small. Fourth, the teeth of the Indian elephant are more numerous and more closely packed than those of the African. Finally, the trunk of the African elephant terminates in two finger-like projections, whereas that of the Indian elephant has only one.

All elephants prefer jungle and forest habitats, but can adapt to any environment with sufficient vegetation. Their gestation period is 22 months, and offspring mature slowly, much like human offspring. Lifespan in the wild is about 60 years. Though gregarious, intelligent, and highly responsive to control by humans, elephants have not been bred in captivity over generations, like domestic animals. Tame individuals have, however, been kept since at least ca. 2000 B.C.E., when they appear in seals from the Indus Valley. In some of these seals, they carry a blanket on their backs, indicating their use by man.

A sub-species of the Asian elephant appears to have survived well into historical times in the marshes of the middle Euphrates and Habur rivers. Egyptian texts of the New Kingdom describe elephant hunts in this region (known as the land of Niy). Amunemhep, the general of Thutmose III, describes one such hunt which took place about 1464 B.C.E., in which 120 elephants were slaughtered. Assyrian kings from Tiglath-pileser I to Ashurnasirpal II also mounted elephant hunting expeditions around Harran. As a result of overhunting, elephants were exterminated from W Asia by the 9th century B.C.E.

Despite their strength, elephants were not exploited for labor either in the Near East or in the classical world. They played a minor role in the armies of the Persian and Roman empires and were used by Hannibal against Rome, but they often proved to be more of a liability than an asset. In the Roman Empire, elephants also fought in the games and performed tricks in the circuses.

The elephant's great "contribution" to ANE culture was of course ivory (Barnett 1982). Among the earliest of luxury items, ivory was being traded already in the Chalcolithic period. At Bir es-Safadi, a Chalcolithic site in the Negeb, remains of an ivory workshop, an unworked elephant tusk, and statuettes

carved from ivory were found (Mellaart 1966; Perrot 1959; 1964). Objects carved from hippopotamus ivory were also found here and in the "Cave of the Treasure" in the Nahal Mishmar (Bar Adon 1980), another Chalcolithic site. Hippopotamus tusks were found in the EB II level at Arad (Davis 1976). In view of the geographical location of these sites, it is likely that the ivory in question was imported from Egypt.

Further details about the ivory trade and the production of ornamentation in ivory can be found in Barnett (1982).

**6. GAZELLE.** Two species of gazelle are found in Israel, the dorcas (*Gazella dorcas*) and the mountain or Arabian gazelle (*G. gazella*). In Transjordan, one also commonly finds the goitered gazelle (*Gazella subgutturosa*). The two Israeli species are distinguishable on the basis of size, color, and habitat (Shalmon 1987). At 140 cm (4.5 ft) *G. gazella* is over twice as tall as *G. dorcas,* whose average height is 60 cm (2 ft). *G. gazella* is gray-brown in color and *G. dorcas* light brown. *G. dorcas* inhabits the desert plains while *G. gazella* is a mountain type. The goitered gazelle is the largest and most heavily built of the three. It is also distinguished from the other two species by the hornlessness in the female.

Although gazelle constituted one of the hunter-gatherer's primary sources of food, and despite the hunter's intimate knowledge of their behavior (which was exploited in the construction of traps, see below), humans were unable to domesticate gazelle because they lacked the requisite traits of domesticability. Gazelle are adapted to quick flight, and they panic when confined; consequently, they will not breed freely in captivity. Gazelle are territorial. Further, they do not live in a social system based on a hierarchy of dominance and submission. As a result, they have never been domesticated or managed on a large scale (*pace* Legge 1972). Egyptian pictures of people feeding gazelles (e.g., Tomb 3 at Beni Hasan) are not necessarily evidence to the contrary since these animals may simply be captives. Captive gazelle (MAS.DA) were kept in Mesopotamia as well (Gadd 1940: 52, no. A965). The gazelle's principal use to man has therefore been as a source of meat acquired by hunting. The prominence of gazelle bones in the faunal assemblage from Jericho indicates their importance in the local economy before the advent of animal domestication. It has been estimated that gazelle supplied almost 37% of the meat consumed in PPN A Jericho (Clutton-Brock 1971). In the PPN B, however, gazelle contributed slightly less than half that amount, and by the MB Age only 3.4%. The gazelle made up 15.6% of the total number of bones (22.2% based on MNI) at Chalcolithic Beer-sheba (Angress 1959). At Tell Aphek and Tell Dalit in Israel's coastal plain, gazelle bones constituted 5.3% of the EB I–II, and 5.6% of the MB II sample (Hellwing and Gophna 1984). At most sites from later periods, gazelle bones constitute 1% or less of the total sample. Generally, it may be said that the proportion of gazelle, deer, or antelope in an archaeological sample is a measure of the role which hunting played in the economy of that area, and varies inversely with the proportion of sheep and goat bones. In Europe before the Neolithic, the economy was based on deer, in the Near East on gazelle. Thus, in the sample from PPN A Jericho, gazelle bones outnumbered those of sheep/goats 10 to 1, whereas in PPN B (ca. 7000 B.C.E.)—the cultural period associated with the introduction of domestication—sheep and goats outnumbered gazelle about 3.5 to 1.

The principal method of hunting gazelle involved the use of large corrals ("kites") in the shape of triangles open at one end into which gazelle would be driven. The walls of these corrals, constructed out of local stone so as to blend with natural surroundings, converge to an opening built on the verge of a natural slope or artificially constructed pit, also surrounded by walls, into which the gazelle would leap unawares, as they fled. Trapped here, and often injured, they would be slaughtered en masse. The arms of these kites are occasionally only a single course of stones high—far too low to serve as a real barrier; however, it seems that gazelle will follow these short walls rather than jump them. This simple technology evidences an intimate knowledge of gazelle behavior. (The Israeli Nature Authority has imitated this kite technique, using [instead of stone walls] strips of white plastic tape laid out on the ground, with the same extraordinary results.)

In Palestine, half a dozen kites, first built perhaps as early as the Chalcolithic period, have been located in the Arabah and the Negeb (Meshel 1980: 271–72, 284–85; Rothenberg 1972: 53). Others have been found in Sinai, Syria, and Transjordan (Meshel 1974; 1980, both with earlier literature; Pravolotsky 1980;

Betts 1983–85). The kites of the Black Desert (Jordan) may date from as early as the 7th millennium B.C.E. The use of these kites by bedouin continued into our century and has been witnessed by western travelers (cf. literature quoted in Meshel 1974: 134–35). The use of kites for hunting gazelle is also depicted in a Safaitic rock drawing from E Jordan accompanied by an inscription indicating the name of the builder of the kite. In Palestine and the Sinai, one usually finds single kites; in Syria and the Transjordan, however, they often occur in groups or chains that may comprise dozens of kites stretching over many kilometers. This difference reflects the fact that the common gazelle species of Syria and the Transjordan, *Gazella subgutturosa,* lived in herds numbering thousands of individuals, while in Palestine and Sinai the common species, *G. dorcas* and *G. gazella,* are found in groups of less than 20 head. A cluster of over fifteen kites has, however, been found in the vicinity of Jebel Junna some 40 km NE of St. Catherine's Monastery. Associated with the group of kites are a number of rock drawings depicting the hunting of ostrich, wild asses, oryx, and ibex, which apparently thrived on the abundant local vegetation (acacia trees and broom plant). Together, these two plants can provide various forms of food almost year-round, and today support a large population of camels and goats raised by bedouin. The location of the kites in the Arabah was similarly determined by the forest of acacia trees found in the vicinity of the spring at Jotbata.

The use of "kite" technology is not restricted to ancient W Asia. Similar corralling techniques are found among the Indian tribes of the Great Basin in the western United States (Steward 1938: 34–36, 231–33) who hunt antelope and deer in this fashion. The rationale for the use of corrals is the same in both cases: antelope and gazelle are very difficult for lone hunters to chase on foot. Collective effort greatly increases the efficiency of the hunt.

While the Hebrew term or terms for the kite have not certainly been identified, one promising candidate is *madḥēpâ* (Ps 140:12), a noun of instrument or place, which could indicate either some sort of device used in the chase or else a trap into which game would be driven. In the context of Psalm 140, the latter meaning is clearly preferable (cf. Mishnaic Hebrew *ṣād le-* "hunt into an enclosure," e.g., *m. Šabb.* 13:5). For discussion see Greenberg (1977).

**7. DEER.** Though sometimes found in treeless environments, deer are woodland fauna (see in general Chaplin 1977 and Whitehead 1972). The elimination of the Palestinian forests and competition with domestic ruminants for grassland contributed to the eventual disappearance of Palestine's deer species. During the biblical period, however, sizable populations probably still existed. Iranian fallow deer (*Dama dama mesopotamica*), for example, were found in the Galilee as late as the 1880s (Tristram *SWP* 7: 4) but were extinct by the end of the last century. In 1979, fallow deer were brought from Khuzistan and reintroduced into the Hai Bar Carmel Reserve.

Somewhat larger than its European relative, the Iranian fallow deer reaches heights in excess of 90 cm (3 ft) at the shoulder in the male, 78 cm (2.5 ft) in the female. Males weigh from 63–103 kg (140–227 lb), females 29–55 kg (64–121 lb). As is the case with all deer except the reindeer, only the male fallow deer has antlers, the proportions and complexity of which are indicative the animal's age. The antlers of the fallow deer are said to be palmate, meaning that the space between the bases of some of the branches is filled in. The antlers are typically about 70 cm (27 in) in length. Unlike horns, antlers are shed every winter and regrown in the course of the following year. Although the fallow deer is often seen in large herds, its social organization is actually based on individual or mother-fawn units. Much of the time, males and females roam in separate herds. When rutting begins in early fall, male and female herds congregate and remain together through early winter. Females do not go into heat simultaneously, but one after the other. Gestation takes about 8.5 months, and new births arrive at the beginning of summer. On fallow deer in general, see further Chapman and Chapman (1975).

The other deer species of Palestine, the roe (*Capreolus capreolus*), is distinguished from the fallow by its smaller size (63–88 cm [2–3 ft] shoulder height in the male) and weight (17–23 kg [37–50 lb] in the male). Unlike the fallow deer, it congregates only in small herds, parents and their offspring constituting the basic unit. During winter months, however, several family groups will join together. Rutting takes place from mid-June until the end of July. Gestation lasts about 11 months, and twinning is usual. A full-

grown male stands about 70 cm (2.3 ft) at the shoulder. The last roe deer was shot on Mt. Carmel in 1910 (Tchernov 1974: 239).

Like the gazelle, deer constituted only a small percentage of the meat supply at most Bronze and Iron Age sites. In the Iron Age level at Tell Dan, however, deer (probably fallow deer) made up 13% of the total number of bones, amounting to about 4% of the meat supply, as against 7% for sheep and goats and 89% for cattle (Wapnish et al. 1977). Although never domesticated, deer are known to have been kept in captivity in some places. Texts from 15th century Alalakh include a ration list for animals among which is the stag (DÀRA.MAŠ [*ayalu*]; cf. Lambert 1960).

**8. Rodents and Other Small Mammals.** Wild rodents appear never to have been a noteworthy food resource (Redding 1978: 65). They may be introduced into a site from nearby areas by birds of prey or by domestic or wild carnivores, or they may colonize an area as a consequence of human settlement there (cf. the note on "commensalism" above). In some periods, however, domesticated rodents have been exploited as food sources. The Romans, for example, raised dormice as a delicacy, until the practice was prohibited by the sumptuary laws (cf. Varro, *Rust.* 3.15).

The most important meat-supplying rodent was the rabbit. Though once regarded as rodents, rabbits and hares differ anatomically from rodents in certain respects (cf. Clutton-Brock 1987: 145). Their way of digesting fibrous vegetation is also peculiar. After having once digested a meal, they excrete this and then ingest the feces. After food has thus been doubly digested, the remainder is eliminated as scat. There is therefore a certain resemblance between rabbits and hares and ruminants in that food is redigested in each case, and, like the ruminants, rabbits and hares always seem to be chewing. It is possible that it was this superficial observation which led the creator(s) of the biblical dietary law (mistakenly) to classify the hare with the ruminants (cf. Lev 11:6).

The hare (Akk *arnabu;* Heb *ʾarnebet*), the larger relative of the rabbit, is native to the Near East. The rabbit, on the other hand, though ubiquitous today, was unknown in the ANE. Its present, world-wide distribution, like that of the horse, is due to human intervention (cf. note on *sapan* in the Table of Animal Names at the end of this article). It was originally found only in Spain, S France and perhaps N Africa. The Romans discovered the rabbit in Spain and quickly took to raising it in captivity. With the Romans, the rabbit spread to Europe and from there to the rest of the world. Even the "wild" rabbit of Europe is the feral descendant of this Roman import. We also owe to the classical world the symbolism of the hare and the rabbit (Goodenough 1958; Maringer 1978). Closely associated with Dionysus, the god of fertility and life, but also of death and immortality, the hare was commonly depicted on Greco-Roman and, later, Christian funerary monuments (the "Easter Bunny" is the latest manifestation of the tradition).

Apart from the hare, the other prominent "rodent" of the Bible is the coney or hyrax (*Procavia capensis*). (In fact, hyraxes are not rodents, but primitive ungulates; they show close affinities with the elephant and the aardvark.) Indigenous to Sub-Saharan and E Africa, the hyrax is found as far N as Syria. Its habitat is rocky terrain, in both desert and forested regions. It varies in size from about 44–54 cm (17–21 in) and weighs 1.8–5.4 kg (4.0–11.9 lb). Hyraxes feed mainly on grass and do not ruminate, although they have a three-part digestive tract like that of ruminants. Like the ruminants, they digest fiber by means of microbes in the gut. Although like desert animals they use water efficiently, excreting highly concentrated urine, they have difficulty regulating body temperature and therefore seek shelter in the rocks. Social organization consists of family groups of about half a dozen related adult females and an adult male. Family units may join to form larger groups of up to about 25. Mating takes place once a year, typically resulting in one to four offspring. Gestation last about 240 days. Upon reaching sexual maturity at 16 months, females join the family group. Males leave the group at about 2.5 years. Lifespan is 9–12 years.

**9. Carnivores.** The wild carnivores of Palestine included the wolf, the lion, the leopard (both spotted and black varieties), the cheetah, the jackal, and the bear. Recent archaeological excavations have uncovered remains of both the lion and the bear in Iron Age levels (Martin 1988). While the lion appears to have disappeared before modern times, the bear survived until early in this century. Tristram (*SWP* 7), for example, wrote of having seen a Syrian bear (*Ursos arctos syriacus*) in the Wadi Hammam. Wolves,

leopards, and cheetahs were also still seen as late as the beginning of this century in Carmel and Galilee. Leopards survive today in parts of the Judean Desert and the Negeb.

While the lion captured the imagination of biblical poets (as in Homer, most of the references to the lion occur in poetic similes), the leopard seems to have had a greater real impact on human society. Leopard traps from as early as the Chalcolithic period are found in the ʿUvda Valley in the SE Negeb. To date, about five of these have been discovered in the area. These traps typically consist of a rectangular chamber built of local stones. The chamber is just large enough to accommodate a leopard and at the same time prevent it from turning around once inside. The floor is made of large flat stones to prevent the animal from digging its way out. Bait was tied to a peg at the far end of the trap opposite the door. This peg was in turn attached by rope to another peg supporting the door of the trap. When the leopard pulled at the bait, the second peg was dislodged, causing the door to fall. Located on paths leading to dwelling sites, these traps were apparently designed to protect the inhabitants from night attacks by the leopard.

Among the Chalcolithic inhabitants of the Negeb and the Sinai, the leopard was apparently also divinized. Schematic leopard figures in profile composed of small stones laid in the sand have been found in both regions in association with open-air sanctuaries (Avner 1984; Yogev 1983). A number of the leopards are shown with cubs on their backs. The leopards' spots and one of their eyes, greatly exaggerated in size, are also depicted by stones. All of the animals are oriented to the E, perhaps indicating their divine status. This interesting exception aside, however, wild carnivores had very little impact on human society.

**10. DOGS.** Our earliest evidence for the domestication of the dog comes from the Palegawra Cave in Iraq, ca. 10,000 B.C.E. (Turnbull and Reed 1974: 100). The domestic dog is distinguished from the wolf by several features resulting from domestication. These include the lengthening of the ears and the development of the curly tail. Another domestic feature is the propensity to bark, which is undeveloped in wild canids but which has obvious value as a form of communication (e.g., warning) between dog and master.

Dogs, like pigs, lived as scavengers. Feral pariah dogs roamed in packs on the outskirts of towns (Ps 59:6, 14; cf. Rev 22:15), where refuse was plentiful. Inside the towns, dogs also lived by scavenging (cf. *ANET*, 209, 228; cf. 1 Kgs 14:11). Even today one sees feral or nearly feral dogs scavenging in the streets of Cairo. Today we commonly speak of the dog as "man's best friend." In the Bible, however, the dog is always spoken of in contempt.

Noteworthy, though still unexplained, is the dog cemetery recently uncovered at Ashkelon (Rabinovich 1988). The cemetery, dating from the Persian period (500–450 B.C.E.), has so far yielded 700 shallow burial pits, each containing the carefully articulated body of a dog. Sixty to seventy percent of the animals are puppies. There is no sign of associated cultic activity: there are no offerings, and the bones show no cut marks, nor are the neck bones broken. Likewise, no temple or cultic architecture has, as yet, been found. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that sentiment alone can explain the burials. There are as yet no known parallels to dog burials of this sort either among the Philistines, who continued to live in the city at this time, or among the Phoenicians, who ruled the city in behalf of the Persian Empire, although 7 dog burials from the same period were uncovered at neighboring Ashdod. Dogs were revered among the Zoroastrians but were not buried in cemeteries. Tentatively, Stager (1991, esp. pp. 39–42) has proposed that the Phoenicians were responsible for the dog burials at Ashkelon and regarded the dogs as sacred, possibly associated with a healing cult.

Dogs, and particularly puppies, played a role in rites for the elimination of impurity and disease in both Anatolia and Mesopotamia. In these rites, they are frequently associated with young pigs (see discussion above). Thus, in the Tunnawi ritual, a pig and a dog are waved over a patient in order to absorb his illness before they are burned (cf. Wright 1987a: 59). The pig and the puppy appear again together in the "Ritual Against Family Discord" (Rost 1953), where in order to eliminate this form of curse, the two parties involved spit into the dog's mouth. The dog is then killed and buried, thus disposing of the discord (iii.14–18). Puppies and piglets appear again together in the ritual for the purification of an army after defeat (Masson 1950; also discussed in Gurney 1954: 151). In this case, a pig, a dog, a goat, and a man

are cut in half and placed some distance apart. A gateway is then built and placed in front of the pieces. Fires are built before the gate on either side. The army passes through the gate and between pieces, and on reaching the other side is sprinkled with water. Dogs were used in similar ceremonies in Macedonia and Boeotia (Nilsson 1955: 106; Burkert 1985: 82).

Another common ritual use of the dog and the pig is in Lamaštu- (in older studies, "Labartu-") exorcisms (cf. Myhrman 1902; Thureau-Dangin 1921). Lamaštu was the female demon of sickness and fever responsible for the death of children, on whose flesh and blood she was thought to feed. In one exorcism type, an image of Lamaštu is made, then the offerer places the heart of a young pig in its mouth. She is given a black dog as her servant and is told to go off to the mountains to hunt young animals instead of children. Young pigs would have been especially well suited as substitutes because of the human qualities. The equivalance of the child victim and the pig substitute is strongly suggested by the fact that Lamaštu is said to suckle (*ušēnaq*) the child victim (IV R 58 iii 35 in Myhrman's collection; cf. also Falkenstein *LKU* 33:22 *bilanni mārēkina lušeniq,* "Bring me your children that I may suckle [them]"; additional references in *CAD* E, 165 [2]); in amulets, Lamaštu is depicted suckling a young pig at one breast and a puppy at the other (e.g., *ANEP*, 657, 658, 857). If the pig was the substitute for the human victim, the dog seems to have been her companion and helper. Thus, in one text (IV R 58 ii 49–52), Lamaštu is told to grab (i.e., shut) the mouths of her dogs so that they will not disturb the sleeping child.

In addition to the dog and pig offerings, Lamaštu is given bread and roasted grain and a leather bag in which to carry them, a jug of water, grain for making beer, oil to anoint herself, clothing and sandals that never wear out, an ass to carry her across the desert, and a ship to take her across the sea. Thus provisioned, she is banished to the underworld, located in the W across the sea (Thureau-Dangin 1921: 183ff.). The underworld is the ultimate source and repository of impurity and disease. For additional examples of the dog's association with the underworld, see Pope, *Song of Songs* AB, 210–14.

Images of dogs were used in Hittite rituals designed to exorcise evil spirits from the royal palace (Friedrich 1925: 14–15, I.22–26, II.15–23). They would be set up at the threshold to keep spirits away during the night and to prevent spirits that had been banished from returning. Dog models were similarly used in Assyria (Meissner 1919; 1922), though in this case they were buried under the threshold. In the Mari area, dogs were on occasion ritually slaughtered as part of the ritual of covenant-making (cf. Noth 1957; see also Asses above).

The word "dog" was also a technical term for certain cultic functionaries in Israel (cf. Deut 23:19), Phoenicia (*KAI* 37A 16; B 10), and among the Hittites. Hittite texts indicate that these "dog men" (LU.MEŠ.UR.GER$_X$) "sing" and "bark." They may have been male prostitutes of some sort. Cf. further Jakob-Rost (1966). See also PROSTITUTION.

**C. BIRDS**

Israel's bird population is among the most varied in the world. Tristram's (*SWP* 7) survey lists over 350 species. Some of these are year-round residents, others visit only briefly during their autumn and spring migrations. Every year, for example, hundreds of thousands of raptors from E Europe fly S over Israel on their way to winter homes in Africa (Leshem 1984–85). Large birds prefer this route because, with their long wings and heavy bodies, they are best adapted for soaring and gliding and cannot endure the long periods of sustained flight necessary to cross the E Mediterranean. By taking the overland route, they can exploit currents of warm air rising from the land during the day, riding these currents upward until the air cools and ceases to rise, and then gliding down to the next thermal. In this way, raptors travel long distances (90–150 mi) without expending large amounts of energy. Among these migrants are the white stork (*Ciconia ciconia*) and the buzzard (*Buteo* species). Israel's local raptor population, though now much diminished by pesticides and poisons, included the bearded, black, and griffon vultures (*Gypaetus barbatus, Aegypius monachus, Gyps fulvus*), the golden, imperial, spotted, and tawny eagles (*Aquila chrysaetos, A. heliaca, A. clanga, A. rapax*), and lanner and peregrine falcons (*Falco biarmicus, F. peregrinus*). The identification of specific Heb words with particular species of birds is problematic (see Appendix below, esp. notes 34–64).

Israel offers other attractions to bird populations, both temporary and permanent. Chief among these is the Sea of Galilee. Prior to its reclamation in the 1950s, the Huleh Swamp was also home to a variety of birds. The bird populations of these areas are described in Lulav (1978). As of 1948, permanent residents, numbering at least 14 species, included the collared dove (*Streptopelia decaocta*), the rock partridge (*Alectoris graeca*), the quail (*Coturnix coturnix*), the pied kingfisher (*Ceryle rudis*), the smyrna kingfisher (*Halcyon smyrnensis*), and the fish owl (*Ketupa Ceylonensis*).

The wild birds of Palestine also included the ostrich, which not only inhabited desert areas (where it was frequently depicted in rock art) but also could be found in the coastal plain, as demonstrated by the recent discovery of ostrich eggs (dated to the Chalcolithic period) near Tel Michal. The ostrich survived in the country until the present century. Ostrich-egg containers are known from an early date.

**1. DOVES AND PIGEONS.** Although the Bible does not explicitly mention the raising of doves or pigeons, nor is this practice yet attested in excavations, this activity must have been a fairly common feature of daily life in ancient Israel since doves and pigeons were regularly sacrificed. They were required offerings for the purification of the parturient (Lev 12:6), of persons with certain venereal diseases (Lev 15:14, 30), and of a Nazirite polluted by corpse contamination (Num 6:10). Birds could also be substituted for expensive livestock in both the burnt offering (Lev 5:7; 12:8; 14:21–22) and the purification offering (Lev 5:7; 14:21–22). For the poorest of the poor, even bird offerings might prove too expensive, and they were permitted to bring a little grain instead of a live offering (Lev 5:11). These rules presuppose that doves or pigeons are readily obtainable and relatively cheap. This sort of modest demand could probably have been met by raising doves in one's own house.

During the Hellenistic period, however, doves and pigeons began to be raised in large, industrial installations (see Tefer 1986). The earliest such installation, or *columbarium,* is found near Mareshah and dates from the end of the 3d century B.C.E. It is thought that the particular type of dovecote represented there, and the large-scale industry which it implies, were introduced from Ptolemaic Egypt, with which Mareshah had important commercial ties. Dove raising on a similar scale is well known from the classical world (cf. Saglio 1887).

The type of *columbarium* found at Mareshah, like many of the area's agricultural installations (stables, barns, and sheep pens), was located underground, apparently because the limestone which makes up the hills of this region was easily quarried and because such installations were more stable and longer-lasting than surface structures. The underground *columbaria* of the Mareshah type were of various shapes and sizes. A small installation could contain as few as 20 or 30 niches, a large one as many as 2000. Each niche was typically 15 to 25 cm in each direction. Entrance to the *columbarium* was usually from above. In larger *columbaria,* steps are carved into the walls of the chamber, in smaller installations ladders must have been used. (The Mishnaic term for such a ladder, *lul,* came to denote the *columbarium* as a whole; this same term refers to a chicken coop.) To date, approximately 1000 *columbaria* have been found in the country, 900 of which are located in the Shephelah, and most of these are of the Mareshah type. Such *columbaria* are found in most settlements in this region. Their combined capacity is estimated at around 170,000 pigeon holes. This particular kind of installation came to an end as a consequence of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, in preparation for which many of the *columbaria* were converted into hiding places for the Jewish rebels. After the revolt had been put down, the Jewish population in the Shephelah was severely reduced, and the center of Jewish activity shifted to Galilee. In the wake of these changes, the cultural tradition of the raising of doves on such a large scale came to an end.

No single reason can explain why people began raising doves as a major industry during the Hellenistic period. An impetus from Egypt, where doves had probably long been raised, may have stimulated their development. But the perpetuation of the industry must have been fueled by local demand. In Egypt, one of the principal demands was for dove dung, since domestic livestock were uncommon and their dung consequently unavailable. Since a single bird produces about 10 kg (22 lb) of dung per year, a large number of birds would be required to make a dung-based industry work. However, in Israel the demand for dove dung would have been rather less, since the dung of livestock was readily available.

Another reason for raising pigeons was of course for their meat (which comes, as it were, packaged in convenient meal-sized units produced with modest expense). As meat producers, doves and pigeons are a highly cost-effective investment. Under optimal conditions, a pair of doves produces 3 or 4 batches a year, each batch comprising 2 chicks; the young begin to reproduce already before the end of their first year. Hence, a large coop of, say, 1500 birds, comprising 500 reproducing pairs, might generate 3000–4000 marketable young per year. Expenses for food at least can be reduced by allowing the birds to leave the coop at certain times. The only other expenses involved in raising pigeons would be those connected with the construction of the coop itself and its maintenance. In the case of the underground installations of the Shephelah, construction costs would be restricted to labor, since the entire installation was hewn from rock.

A further incentive for the establishment of the pigeon industry was the standing need for sacrificial offerings. Initially at least, doves would have been marketed only to local pagan cults, since Mareshah's population was non-Jewish. Prior to its conquest by John Hyrcanus ca. 110 B.C.E. and the forced conversion of its inhabitants, the city had been an Edomite (Idumean) enclave. In the mid-3d century B.C.E. a Sidonian colony was also established in the area. In view especially of the latter population, Oren (1968) has argued that the Mareshah type dovecote originally provided doves for the cult of Aphrodite-Atargatis, to whom the dove was sacred. He suggests that the tradition of raising doves continued after Mareshah's inhabitants converted to Judaism, because the birds still had a certain usefulness in magical rites. This last idea seems a bit far-fetched. It seems more likely that the doves supplied the needs of the temple in Jerusalem.

John Hyrcanus' conquest and conversion of Mareshah had far-reaching results for the raising of doves. First, it opened up a market for locally produced doves among the Jews. Rabbinic sources inform us that doves and pigeons were supplied to the temple in Jerusalem from sources outside the city (Tefer 1986: 186), and Mareshah may have been among the first of these. More importantly, though, the conquest spread knowledge of the basic technology to Jewish settlements. During this period the number of *columbaria* expanded greatly. The production cycle was probably designed so as to provide birds for the thousands of pilgrims arriving in Jerusalem for the three major annual festivals.

Homing pigeons are not attested thus far in Mesopotamia, or in Egypt until the Byzantine or Islamic period, but apparently they were known in Greece as early as 444 B.C.E. (PW [2d ser.] 8: 2479–2500). The story goes that a certain Taurosthenes of Aegina informed his father of his victory in the Olympic games by tying a small token to the leg of a pigeon. For further literature, see Keel (1977).

**2. CHICKENS.** The wild ancestor of the domestic chicken (*Gallus domesticus*) is the red jungle fowl (*Gallus gallus*), a native of India. The earliest attestation of the domestic chicken in Palestine comes from the LB Age at Tell Michal (Hellwing and Feig 1989). The chicken makes its first appearance in Israelite art in seals from the late 8th century B.C.E. (Hestrin and Dayagi-Mendels 1979: 20–21, nos. 5, 6).

According to Talmudic sources, chickens produced on average 10 eggs per month (as compared with 20 today) (Ben-David 1974: 130).

**3. Falconry in the ANE.** It is widely believed that falconry was practiced in the ANE (Reiter 1988). This view is based on the following evidence. First, in Mesopotamian omen texts, mention is made of a certain *šurdu*-bird, often identified with the hunting falcon because it is said to attack other birds. Second, Middle Babylonian *kudurru*s depict what is thought to be a falcon on top of a pole. Third, a Neo-Assyrian relief from Khorsabad appears to depict a figure with a falcon perched on his right wrist. In his left, he holds arrows, though he carries no bow. A second, larger figure is shown shooting down a bird with bow and arrow. Fourth, late Hittite reliefs and seals depict deities or demons in association with falcons. On one relief type, for example, a deity standing on the back of a stag carries a falcon in one hand and in the other holds a shepherd's staff.

This evidence is far from compelling. The *šurdu*-bird in the omen texts, though perhaps a falcon, is not necessarily a hunting falcon. The "bird on the pole" in the *kudurru*s, the symbol of the divine pair Sugamuna and Sumaliya, is also not necessarily to be connected with hunting, any more than is the Horus-falcon in Egypt. In addition, a number of uncertainties plague the interpretation of the Khorsabad

relief (presently found in the Louvre). The precise identification of the species of bird in question here (and of birds in Assyrian reliefs in general) is not straightforward. Further, it is possible that the bird is not perched on the man's wrist, but is held in his hand. As servant of the second figure (and his smaller size suggests that he is such), he would be responsible for retrieving the fallen bird and for extracting the arrow with which it was felled. This would explain the arrow in his hand and his lack of a bow. If this is indeed an illustration of falconry, then the use of bow and arrow is puzzling, for there is no need for either. Equally puzzling in their absence would be the horse and the dog, which have been associated with falconry from early in its history (e.g., in Han Dynasty China). Finally, in the Hittite reliefs and seals the association of the falcon, the hare, and the stag with a divinity probably indicates the latter's role as protector of wildlife, of predator and prey alike. There is no necessary connection with the human use of falcons for hunting.

On the basis of this material, then, there is little reason to suppose that falconry was known in the ANE. More convincing, however, is the literary evidence. In the story of Aqhat from Ugarit, Anat tells Yatp, "I will put you like an eagle (*nšr*) on my *ḥbš,* like a hawk (*dˀiy*) on/in my *tʿrt*" (3 Aqhat 17–18; cf. 28–29). *Ḥbš,* etymologically, is presumably something which one binds on or about oneself. Gibson (1978: 112) renders it "wristlet" (but cf. also EA 147:12, where *ḥabši* glosses ZAG, "right hand"). *Tʿrt* in Ugaritic (cf. 1 Aqhat 27) and *tʿr* in biblical Hebrew have the meaning "sheath." Gibson here translates "glove." It is conceivable, therefore, that falconry was known, at least in Syria, as early as the LB Age.

**4. Birds in Navigation.** The use of birds as aids in navigation is attested in a number of seafaring societies (Hornell 1946). According to Indian sources of the 5th century B.C.E., Hindu merchants going overseas would take "shore-sighting birds" with them in order to locate land when their ship became lost. Pliny (*HN* 6.24 [81]) mentions the same practice among sailors from Ceylon in his day. Polynesian sailors not only use trained birds for this purpose but also followed the paths of migratory birds.

The use of birds in navigation in the Near East has left its traces in the biblical story of the Flood (Gen 8:7–12) and its Mesopotamian analogue, Gilgamesh (*ANET*, 94–95). In the Gilgamesh version, Utnapishtim sends out in succession a dove (*summatu*), a swallow (*sinuntu*), and finally a raven (*aribu*), the last of which finds land and does not return. In the biblical account, Noah first sends out a raven (*ʿorēb*), which flies around until the water covering the earth has dried up. Then, he releases a pigeon, which having failed to find a place to light, comes back. A week later, he sends the pigeon again, and it returns with an olive twig in its beak. After another week has passed, he releases the pigeon, but it does not return. According to the text, the pigeons are launched in order to see how far the water had subsided. Each successive trial reveals some new information about the habitability of the land. The raven, on the other hand, is sent just once. Unlike the pigeon, it will not return to the ship. It is therefore useless as a measure of how high the water is. But it will indicate by its flight the direction in which land is located. The raven is thus the logical choice to be released first. Since the biblical version of the story is the more sensible, it is possible that the motif of releasing birds originates in the W and is a later addition in the epic of Gilgamesh. (Compare Freedman 1973, but note that the classical sources he cites have nothing to do with the calculated use of birds in seafaring, nor do his arguments about the Gilgamesh poet's ignorance of boatbuilding seem convincing.)

## D. FISH

Israel's freshwater fish fall into two geographical groups: the first comprises species inhabiting rivers flowing into the Mediterranean, the second those found in the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan River. Apart from marine immigrants such as the eel, all but one of the fishes of the first group belong to the Mediterranean type. The composition of the second group, however, shows the same variety with respect to zoogeographical zones that characterizes Israel's land animals. Of the 19 fish species native to Galilee, for example, about half belong to the Ethiopian zone. The rest are divided among the Palearctic, the Oriental, and the Tethys (perimediterranean) zones (Ben-Tuvia 1978). On Israel's freshwater fish, see in general Goren (1983).

Of Israel's native fish species, the most economically important is the Galilee sprat or sardine (*Mirogrex terraesanctae terraesanctae*), which today accounts for about 60% of the total annual catch from the lake.

Spawning starts in late November, when water temperatures drop below 20°C (68°F), and continues until mid-March. Eggs are laid on rocky bottoms of the E shores. Minimum size is 10 cm (3.9 in) for males, 11.5 cm (4.5 in) for females (small by comparison with other species in the lake). Other economically important species include two types of Tilapia, the St. Peter's fish (*Sarotherodon galilaeus*) and the Jordan St. Peter's fish (*Sarotherodon aureus*), both of which spawn from April until August. Average minimum size for both species is 20 to 25 cm (7.8–9.8 in).

Our knowledge of fishing in ancient Israel is limited not only by a paucity of written material, but also by a lack of relevant bone studies. While the study of large animal bones from archaeological excavations is now well advanced, fish bones have received less attention, in part because of a certain bias among bone specialists toward large animal studies, and in part because the retrieval of such small bones involves a greater expenditure of time and money than many archaeologists can afford. What we do know about ancient fishing comes from Israel's neighboring cultures (cf. Nun 1964). But, despite this dearth of information, it is probably safe to say that the Israelite diet in most places was fish-poor. During the biblical period, the Israelites had but limited access to the sea, since the S coast was controlled by the Philistines and the N coast by the Phoenicians. Along the remaining stretch of coast, there are no harbors, so maritime activity on a large scale was out of the question. Fish from the coasts therefore had to be purchased from foreign agents (Job 40:30—Eng 41:6; Neh 13:16). The amounts involved can scarcely have been very large. For Israelites living inland, the primary sources of fish were the Jordan River and the Sea of Galilee. But the quantity of fish derived from these too was small and probably only satisfied local markets. For an approximate idea of how much fish the Galilee supplied, one may compare data from the Mandate period, during which time the annual catch varied between a mere 200 and 500 tons (Ben-Tuvia 1978: 427). The Israelites' lack of firsthand familiarity with fish is reflected in the fact that in the entire Bible not a single species name is preserved.

In view of our present lack of archaeological data, it is difficult to say which fish the Israelites ate. Leviticus 11 prohibits all fish lacking fins and scales, but we do not know how old this rule is or whether it was ever observed. This rule is significant, however, for what it tells us about how the Israelites classified fish. As noted above in the discussion of the dietary law, what made some fish unclean was their resemblance to snakes. Odd as it may seem to us, this comparison was fairly widespread. The Babylonians apparently avoided catfish (Akk *girītu,* Sum MURRA) on the same grounds (Salonen 1970: 185–87). The identification of the *girītu* as a form of snake survived the end of Mesopotamian culture. Its Arabic derivative, *jirrīt,* is compared in classical Arabic lexica to Persian *marmāhi,* "snake fish" (*Lane,* 404). Another example of the comparison of scale-less fish and snakes is Akk *kuppu,* "goby (?)," which is determined not only by MUS, the sign for snake, but also by $KU_6$, that for fish. Pre-eminent among snake-like fish is the eel, which was widely identified as a form of snake. In the Greco-Roman world, for example, it was believed that the *muraena* eel mated with a viper (PW [2d ser.] 31: 652–57). Indeed, the Latin term for eel, *anguila,* derives from that for snake, *anguis.* The equation of eels and snakes is also found in Muslim legal and zoological texts (Cook 1986: 242; al-Jāḥiẓ 1982: 2.56). For further examples of the identification of fin-less and scale-less fish as snakes, see Scheftelowitz (1911). One should also note that in much of contemporary Africa, there is as a result of this identification widespread aversion to eating any fish (Lagercrantz 1953).

**E. Mollusks**

The mollusks constitute a phylum of the kingdom *Animalia,* comprising perhaps as many as 100,000 living and 35,000 extinct species, most of which inhabit the oceans. Among the classes belonging to this phylum are *Gastropoda,* which comprises univalves (or one-shelled mollusks) such as snails, as well as shell-less species, such as slugs; *Pelecypoda* (also called *Bivalvia*), i.e., those with two-part shells, including clams, mussels, oysters, and scallops; and *Cephalopoda,* which comprises squids, cuttlefish, and octopuses.

**1. Basic Anatomy and Physiology.** As their name (< Lat *mollis*) indicates, mollusks are soft-bodied, boneless creatures. Their unsegmented bodies typically consist of a "foot," used for creeping and burrowing, and a head attached directly to the foot. But there are many variations on this pattern. In

squids and octopuses, for example, the "foot" is divided into a number of sucker-bearing tentacles. In snails and cephalopods the head is well developed. Bivalves on the other hand have no head.

On the dorsal surface of the foot is the visceral hump, which contains the internal organs. Covering the hump is the mantle, a thin tissue whose inner surface is elaborated into either gills (in the case of marine species) or a lung, and whose outer surface excretes the shell typical of most mollusks.

All mollusks except the bivalves feed by means of a device known as the radula (Lat "scraper"), which consists of a chitinous ribbon set with recurved, chitinous teeth. Somewhat like the blade of a chain saw, the radula is pulled back and forth over a piece of cartilage (the odontophore) which protrudes into the mouth. This sawing action enables the mollusk to break up its food.

Molluscan diets exhibit considerable variety. Simple gastropods, such as the abalone, use the radula to collect and to break up algae and other tiny particles of food. Most snails, on the other hand, are scavengers and may eat fresh or decaying vegetable and animal matter. A few gastropods are predatory, among them marine snails such as the whelks (*Buccinidae*), the rock shells (*Muricidae*), and the volutes (*Volutidae*). Among the animals on which these carnivores prey are other mollusks, whose shells offer surprisingly little protection. The predatory mollusk projects the odontophore and radula from the mouth and employs them like a drill to pierce its victim's shell. Having drilled a hole in the shell, the predatory snail then extends its proboscis and inserts it into the hole to extract its food. Like the gastropods, the cephalopods use the radula to feed. In addition, they have chitinous jaws (resembling a beak) with which they tear their food, and claw-bearing tentacles with which to grab it. Formidable predators, large cephalopods such as the giant squid can tear a good-sized animal apart in minutes. The peaceable bivalves lack a head and therefore have neither jaws nor radula. Most are therefore filter feeders. Particles of food are trapped in the gills and carried along ciliated grooves into the mouth.

The reproductive anatomy and life cycle of mollusks vary considerably. Most marine snails, bivalves, and cephalopods are unisexual (i.e., having distinct male and female individuals). Land snails and slugs, on the other hand, are bisexual (hermaphroditic). Other mollusks, such as the slipper limpet (*Crepidula fornicata*) and perhaps the murex species *Trunculariopsis trunculus* (see below), change sex—a phenomenon also found among fish (Ross and Losey 1983; Shapiro 1987). Most mollusks are oviparous or ovoviviparous. Lifespan is usually one year for snails, one to four years for cephalopods. Land snails in moist environments usually breed in the spring; those preferring a dry climate mate in autumn. Gestation in both cases lasts a few weeks.

Nearly 70 snail species are found in Israel, in all regions. Particularly noteworthy are desert species, such as the desert snail (*Eremina desertorum*) and the white desert snail (*Sphincterochyla boissierii*), which between rainstorms survive in a dormant state, sometimes for periods of a year or more. Commonly seen in the Negeb, they may on occasion cover dwarf bushes in considerable numbers.

**2. Mollusks in Archaeology.** Like the bones of vertebrates, mollusk shells found in excavations are the object of increasingly sophisticated scientific study. One relatively recent example of such work is the use of mollusk shells as a sort of biological calendar by which seasonal activity at a site can be identified. Shell building, it turns out, takes place only at discrete, daily intervals (Pannella and MacClintock 1968; House and Farrow 1968). This regularity is most clearly seen in the bivalves. When examined under a microscope, light-colored increments of daily growth are punctuated by thin bands of dark color indicating a hiatus in shell deposition. In addition to this daily rhythm, there is a 14-day periodicity linked to the tides. The increments of daily growth laid down during neap tides are thinner than those of the spring tides. This tidal periodicity is in turn modulated by a seasonal pattern. During the cold winter months, shell deposition is at a minimum. Maximum growth takes place just before and after the summer months. The periods of minimal and maximal growth are respectively marked by dark and light macro-bands.

If we compare the pattern of these alternating bands of growth and recession in shells obtained in archaeological excavation with that of live shells from the environment in which the excavated shells originated, it is possible to determine among other things at what season the mollusk was culled. Such

information can be of great value to the archaeologist in determining whether a site was only seasonally occupied or not (Coutts 1970).

It is also possible to determine the season in which a marine mollusk was culled by examining the ratio of $O^{16}$ and $O^{18}$ in the calcium carbonate from the growing edge of the shell (Killingley 1981; Deith 1983). This ratio depends on the temperature of the water in which the mollusk was living and can therefore be correlated with seasonal changes.

Land snails, for their part, provide the archaeologist with valuable information on paleoclimates (J. Evans 1972). In a diachronic study, a decline in the abundance of previously common species, or the increase in that of uncommon species, may indicate long-term changes in temperature or rainfall. The effect of human activity is also detectable from changes in the mollusk species of an area. The clearing of woodland, for example, will manifest itself in a decline of woodland species and an increase in grassland and xerophilous species.

**3. Murex (Purple Dye).** The most culturally significant of the mollusks were the murex snail, of which there are three important varieties, *Trunculariopsis trunculus, Bolinus brandaris,* and *Thais haemastoma.* The dyes from these mollusks were highly prized in both the ancient Mediterranean world and the Near East. On Crete, the murex snail was being exploited at least as early as the Middle Minoan III (Hutchinson 1962: 239). Their production was one of the cultural trademarks of Levantine, and especially Phoenician culture (see Ziderman 1990; Rendsburg 1991). The association of Phoenicia in particular with the dye industry is reflected even in the toponomy of the area. Modern Haifa, for example, which is situated on the S edge of Phoenicia's purple dye producing region, was known during the Hellenistic period as *Porphyrion,* literally "Purple Town" (*EncMiqr* 1: 529–30; on the etymology of *porphyry*/purple, cf. Astour 1965). According to Pliny, it was the search for murex beds which led the Phoenicians to set up colonies all around the Mediterranean.

Large heaps of discarded shells produced by the dye industry are found in association with Phoenician settlements along the Lebanese, Italian, and N African coasts (cf. Jensen 1963: 106–7). Those at Tyre and Sidon are particularly noteworthy (Jidejian 1969: 150 n. 29; 1971: 11–12). Smaller deposits have been excavated at Sarepta (Pritchard 1978: 126–27) and Ugarit (Schaeffer 1951). In the accumulation of shells from Shiqmona, near modern Haifa, shells from all three dye-producing snail species but no animal bones or other mollusk shells were found—evidence that the shells were indeed refuse from dye production (Karmon and Spanier 1988).

Otherwise, physical remnants of the purple dye industry are surprisingly few, considering its importance. Sherds of LB pottery stained by traces of the dye have been found at Minet el-Beida, the harbor quarter of Ugarit (Schaeffer 1951), and at Sarepta (McGovern and Michel 1984; 1985). Iron age sherds with purple stains have been found at Tell Keisan (Briend et al. 1980: 226–27) and Tell Shiqmona (Karmon and Spanier 1988). Excavations at APOLLONIA, on the shore of the S Sharon Plain, revealed large numbers of murex shells from Persian and Hellenistic period contexts. At Tell Mor, excavations uncovered a dyeing installation of the Hellenistic period consisting of several plastered pools connected by pipes, which were found near a cistern containing thousands of shells (*EAEHL* 3: 889–90).

Despite the significance of these dyes, archaeologists and scientists are still ignorant about many aspects of their production, in part because of the paucity of archaeological remains associated with the dye industry, in part because of the complicated chemistry of the dyes. Production began with collection of the snails. *Truncullariopsis trunculus* was gathered by hand in shallow water along the coasts of Lebanon and N Israel. The other two species were collected from deeper water by means of nets and traps baited with cockles (the use of which is attested not only by Pliny but also by their presence in the accumulations of murex shells at Tyre and Sidon; Jidejian 1969: 143, 150 n. 30). The harvested snails were then apparently kept in captivity until a sufficient quantity had accumulated. The evidence for this claim is that holes drilled in some of the shells from Akko and Caesarea, once thought to be the work of the dye makers, in fact turn out to be the result of conspecific cannibalism (Spanier and Karmon 1980). The extent of such cannibalism would increase in captivity, when the snails only had each other to feed on. As noted already by Pliny (*HN* 9.128), the murex feeds on other mollusks by using its radula to drill through the shell.

A large number of snails was necessary to produce dye in any quantity. According to Pliny (*HN* 9.135), 125 kg (275 lb) of snail glands were needed to dye 20 kg (44 lb) of wool. (The exact amount of wool is actually missing in the mss, but 50 Roman pounds is suggested on textual grounds [Bailey 1929: 156]. This figure is also about what one would extrapolate from the following data on the amount of wool one snail gland is capable of dyeing.) A single snail yields 0.1–0.12 mg of pure dye, the chemical name for which is 6,6´-dibromoindigotin (hereafter abbreviated as DBI) (Friedländer 1909; Bruin 1967). In other words, as many as 10,000 snails might be needed to produce one gram of dye. While generally indicative of the large number of shells required, this figure is perhaps somewhat misleading. Friedländer and Bruin wanted to produce *pure* dye for chemical analysis, whereas the ancient dye makers may have been satisfied with a product which was less than entirely pure. Cruder dye could be extracted in much greater quantity. Fouquet and Beilig (1971) obtained 1.2 mg of crude precursor from a single *Trunculariopsis trunculus* and 0.6 mg from *Bolinus brandaris.* Furthermore, it must be kept in mind that very little dye is actually needed to color cloth. According to Elsner and Spanier (1985) and Elsner (1988; *apud* Ziderman 1987), a single dye-producing gland will dye 1 gram of wool to a standard shade of 1:1–2:1.

According to Pliny (*HN* 9.125–42), once a sufficient number of snails had been gathered, the larger shells were cracked open and the hypobranchial gland, the source of the dye, was removed. Smaller shells were simply crushed. This mass of glands and other matter was steeped in salt for three days, water was then added to this mass, and the whole was inspissated at a moderate temperature in a leaden (*plumbum)* container for 9 days. (*Plumbum* sometimes also refers to tin, and experiments using tin have been conducted [McGovern and Michel 1987]. Cf. however Bailey 1929: 155.) This liquid was strained to remove unwanted organic waste from the snails and was then suitable for dyeing.

The liquid extracted from the gland is initially white. When oxidized, however, it soon turns yellow, which is apparently also the color of the fluid (the so-called leuco-base) into which the wool was dipped. When exposed to sunlight and air, purple color would develop *in the wool.* This is the usual process for indigoid dyes. The use of a leuco-base is actually detectable on the sherds from Tell Keisan and Tell Shiqmona (see Karmon and Spanier 1988). These sherds come from large storage vessels in which the leuco-base was kept. The reducing dye in the belly of the vessel left no color on the walls. But the surface of the liquid, which was oxidized by contact with the air, left a band of purple color around the rim of the vessel—a deposition of organic fractions from the snail remains which had absorbed the oxidized dye. Tyrian purple was therefore what is now known as a vat-dye. A vat-dye is applied in a reduced, water-soluble form, then oxidized in the fiber back to its insoluble form. Color thus introduced into cloth will not wash out or fade in water.

It is generally said that the dye derived from *B. brandaris* is red-purple, while that from *T. trunculus* is blue-purple. The former is therefore equated by some with the Hebrew color term *ʾargaman* and the latter with *těkēlet* (cf. Ziderman 1987). But the determination of the color of the dye from these shells depends on a number of variables, and it is thus perhaps an oversimplification to say that a given color is specifically associated with a given shell (cf. the ongoing debate between Ziderman [1987; 1988] and McGovern and Michel [1988]).

The first of the factors influencing hue is the sex of the snail. In *T. trunculus,* for example, the male usually yields a blue dye (indigotin), the female blue-red (DBI) (Elsner and Spanier 1985). In a large sample, where males and females had been collected together, one might therefore expect a bluer dye than one where females alone were used, other factors being equal. Furthermore, the sex bias, and therefore the color of the dye, may thus have varied seasonally, for it turns out that the prevalence of the sexes varies according to season (Elsner 1988 *apud* Ziderman 1988: 85). Males, it seems, predominate in early spring, females in summer. One explanation for this variability is that the snail changes its sex—a well-documented phenomenon in some mollusks (e.g., *Crepidula fornicata*) and in fish (see above under Fish).

Second, DBI itself may convert to indigotin when the leuco-base is exposed to light (Driessen 1944). This means that in a given sample of DBI, some indigotin (blue) is likely to be present. The extent to which such conversion takes place would depend among other things on how much light is present during processing. Further, while the primary chromogen in both species of murex is DBI, their respective dyes

are said to respond with differing sensitivities to light. The dye from *B. brandaris* develops in strong sunlight, whereas that from *T. trunculus* may form even in the dark (Jensen 1963: 109). Third, color can be altered by changing the pH of the dyeing bath (Elsner 1988: 87; Jensen 1963: 109).

Finally, according to Pliny (*HN* 9.135) at least, the best color (resembling congealed blood) was in any event to be obtained by first dipping the material in dye from the snail he called the purple or *pelagia* (i.e., *B. brandaris* or *T. trunculus*), then in that of *buccinum* (i.e., *Thais haemastoma*), which contained a greater amount of blue. The fact that the heaps of shells around Sidon had been segregated according to species is perhaps evidence of such discrete processes (cf. Born 1937: 111).

In antiquity, two basic varieties of purple were recognized, which respectively contained more red or more blue. The former, known in Hebrew as *ʾargaman* (LXX *porphyra*), is mentioned in the Bible but is actually described only in rabbinic sources (see Dalman 1939: 78–84). The same term is used of reddish purple wool (*argamannu* = SIG.ZA.GÍN.SA$^5$) in Middle and Neo-Assyrian sources (on this and the following terms, cf. Landsberger 1967). The blue variety of purple was known in Hebrew as *tĕkēlet* (Gk *hyakinthos;* Akk *takiltu* = SIG.ZA.GÍN.MI [Middle and Neo-Assyrian], applies only to wool). In Ugaritic, the terms for blue-purple and red-purple are *ʾiqniʾ* and *pḥm* respectively (see discussion in Landsberger 1967: 158, which gives earlier literature; see also Hoffner 1967). The latter term is thought to mean "glowing coal," hence its association with red. The former has an interesting and very ancient genealogy. First attested in the Sumerian word GÍN, as in ZA.GÍN, "lapis lazuli" (literally "precious GÍN-stone"), it appears to be a *Kulturwort.* Other manifestations of this word are Akk *uqnu,* Hurr (Nuzi) *kinaḫḫu,* Hit *ku (wa)nnas,* Syr *qunʿa,* and Gk *kyanos,* from which we derive "cyan." The choice of lapis lazuli as a cover term to describe purple-dyed wool (SIG.ZA.GÍN) is not a little odd, since its constituent colors are in fact blue and green, rather than blue and red. However, the Semitic languages and Sumerian in common with Greek had no generic terms for purple or blue, and lapis was evidently the closest approximation they could come up with.

In view of the cost of purple dye, it is not surprising that it characterized the dress of the wealthy. In ancient Israel, as in the classical world (cf. Wilson 1924), purple in both its varieties was associated with aristocracy and especially with royalty (e.g., *ʾargaman:* Judg 8:36; *tĕkēlet:* Ezek 23:6). Both varieties were used in the garments of the high priest, who is decked out in royal splendor (Exod 28:6, 15, 31; cf. 1 Macc 10:20), and in the inner drapery (*miškan*) of the tabernacle, which is the residence of YHWH, the divine king (Exod 26:1; cf. also *Ant* 7.7; *JW* 7.6). In pagan cults, the divine image was similarly outfitted (Jer 10:9). A single cord of *tĕkēlet* was attached to the tassels of the common person's dress, in token of his status as a member of YHWH's holy people (Num 15:37–41; cf. Milgrom 1983).

**F. Arthropods and Insects**

The animals of this phylum, which includes crustaceans, insects, and spiders, are characterized by a chitinous skeleton composed of jointed segments. According to the dietary law of Leviticus 11, all insects except locusts were prohibited as food. Here, as in the case of the pig, it is often said that the prohibition arose from considerations of hygiene. Of course, insects often do carry disease, but (as we observed in the case of the pig) so do animals that are not prohibited. Most insect-borne parasites, viruses, and bacteria would in any event be destroyed in cooking. Alternatively, it is suggested that insects are "bad-to-think," that insectivory evokes a certain natural squeamishness. This reaction, however, would seem to be a peculiarity of modern Western culture, since the use of insects as human food is widespread (cf. Bodenheimer 1951; Bates 1959–60; Harris 1985: 154–74). Certain insects, such as the locust are in fact excellent sources of protein, when they can be had. In the larval stage, insects in general provide a high percentage of protein to body weight (Redford and Dorea 1984).

**1. LOCUSTS.** The locust is a migratory phase of the grasshopper (*Schistocerca gregaria*), which is regularly found throughout the Near East as a solitary insect incapable of flight. In remote areas, away from population centers, developed land, and forests, the number of individuals may grow without restraint. When conditions become sufficiently crowded, the grasshopper undergoes certain morphological and behavioral changes, the result of which is the formation of migratory swarms capable of devastating regions on an international scale.

An eyewitness of the plague of locusts which descended on Palestine in the spring of 1915 describes its progress as follows (L. Bauer 1926). Swarms of locusts flew overhead for five days, darkening the sky and leaving droppings everywhere. During this time, males and females mated. The females each then deposited clumps of 50–80 eggs in uncultivated ground, at a depth of 5–8 cm (2.0–3.1 in). After 30 to 40 days, the young locusts, each about 1 cm in length, began to hatch. Within another 5 to 6 weeks, they had grown to a length of 5 to 7 cm, their appetite increasing proportionately. Four distinct stages were recognizable. The first generation was pale yellow in color, their offspring at first black. Having shed this first skin, the young emerge green-yellow, with black and white dots and stripes. They change skin again, becoming red with black marbling in the wingtips. In this final stage, they are winged.

Once an infestation has begun, there is little that can be done to stop it; even modern pesticides are only partially effective. Given the mobility of these insects, virtually no community in the Near East is immune from their attack. Because locusts originate in regions where ground cover is sparse (such as the desert), certain areas are more vulnerable than others. The presence of natural forest or agricultural land appears to impede the population explosion which sets off the swarming process. In the case of forest, predators keep the population under control. In the case of agricultural land, it seems that harrowing and plowing destroy the eggs.

**2. BEES.** Although bees had been raised in Egypt from as early as the Old Kingdom (Kuény 1950), there is no evidence for this practice in ancient Palestine until the Hellenistic period (Neufeld 1978, which discusses earlier literature). Despite this lack of evidence, they may well have been raised. The one thing we know for sure is that the honey of wild bees was collected (cf. 1 Sam 14:25–28). The richest source of wild honey was the forest, but it could also be gathered from hives in the cliffs (Deut 32:13; Ps 81:17). The yield from honey hunting is surprisingly large. A single hive may produce as much as 50 kg (110 lb) of honey. Honey eaten in the comb may offer certain side benefits. It is not uncommon for the larvae to be eaten with the comb (cf. R. Bailey 1989: 685), and larvae are an excellent source of protein.

Since bees were raised in Egypt, there was little need there to raid wild hives. The typical Egyptian beekeeping installation consisted of cylindrical ceramic tubes a meter or so in length laid horizontally one upon the other. These tubes were modeled after the hollow tree trunks or limbs in which one might encounter bees in the wild. When the honeycombs had been filled, honey could easily have been extracted from the end of the tube with a hook. This entire technology is precisely paralleled among modern Palestinian peasants (see discussion in Neufeld 1978).

In Mesopotamia, the first evidence for beekeeping comes from the stele of Šamaš-reš-usur (early 8th century B.C.E.), who boasts that he had "brought down from the mountain of Habha people, the flies which collect honey, which none of my predecessors had ever known or brought down … and located them in the gardens of the town GN. (There) they might now collect honey and wax. I (even) knew how to separate honey (from) wax by boiling (the comb) and (my) gardeners know it too" (Weissbach 1903: 11 col. iv.13–16; v.1–6). In view of the absence of any mention of honey hunting or beekeeping in texts prior to this time, Šamaš-reš-usur's claim is credible.

**3. Aphids and Scale Insects.** Aphids (or plant lice) and scale insects (or mealybugs) are among the most successful herbivores. Their reproductive capacity, genetic adaptability, and feeding habits also make them among the most destructive agricultural pests (Brown 1975). The life cycle of aphids and scale insects, like that of the locust, depends substantially on weather and food supply. When conditions become sufficiently crowded, they, like the locust, undergo certain morphological and behavioral changes resulting in the formation of migratory swarms. The numbers involved are staggering. A single fundatrix could produce as many as $10^{16}$ individuals per summer (Brown 1975: 267). While natural controls, such as predation by other insects (ladybugs, wasps, etc.) and by birds, keep aphid and scale populations in check, they are nevertheless capable of destroying vegetation on a large scale. Unlike locusts, aphids and scales do not actually consume the leafy matter of a plant, but instead suck out its juices through tube-like beaks. Deprived of nutrients, the plant victim is stunted, and becomes more susceptible to attack by viruses and fungi, which may be transmitted by the aphid or scale itself.

Despite their destructive potential, a few aphids and scale insects have proved useful to humans, chiefly in the production of varnishes, waxes, and dyes (Brown 1975). Some of these are still without synthetic substitutes. The Indian scale insect *Laccifer lacca* Kerr, for example, secretes the resinous material from which shellac is made. As regards the Near East, there have been two principal uses of scale insects and aphids. The first of these is the famous cochineal dye (known in biblical Hebrew as *tôlāʿat šani*) produced by the Mediterranean scale, or Kermes insect (*Kermes ilicis*), which infests the Kermes oak (*Quercus coccifera*). Cochineal was extracted from the waxy protective shell (scale) secreted by the insect (for details, see Forbes 1956: 102–6). As in the case of purple dye, it seems to have been the inhabitants of Phoenicia and N Israel who were most closely associated with the production of the cochineal. According to biblical genealogies (Gen 46:13; Num 26:23), there was a Galilean clan whose eponymous ancestor was Tola, i.e., "Kermes," first of the sons of Issachar. Tola's brother was Puvah, whose name means "madder" (Ar *fuwwa*), the plant from which another red dye was manufactured. The gentilic form of Puvah is Puni (Num 26:23), which is no doubt also what the term "Phoenician" means (Astour 1965).

The second and most famous benefit conferred by scale insects, though it was not recognized as such, was MANNA. Bodenheimer (1951) suggested that the biblical manna was the product of two species of scale insects, *Trabutina mannipara* and *Naiacoccus serpentinus*, which live on the tamarisk tree in the Sinai peninsula. Like other insects which feed on plant sap, these scale insects excrete large quantities of excess sugars, or honeydew, which accumulate in granular masses. The connection between manna and insect secretions is strongly suggested by the fact that the Arabic cognate *mann* denotes both the aphid and the "honeydew" which it excretes. *Man as-simmā,* "honeydew (*manna*) from heaven," is found in Arabic pharmacopoeias.

**G. Earthworms**

Although of no direct economic or cultural significance in Near Eastern history, earthworms play a vital role in the formation of surface soil and thus indirectly influence agricultural productivity. Their activity in the soil also has consequences for archaeology. On both points see already Darwin (1881) and more recently Atkinson (1957).

Most worms are active only in the top 15–18 cm of soil, though some species may burrow as deep as 2 m, especially in cold or dry weather. Worms live in burrows formed in part by the expansion of the worm's body in interstices in the soil, and in part by the ingestion of soil. In all species, soil ingested underground is itself the primary constituent of the diet, though some species, such as *Allolobophora nocturna* and *Allolobophora longa*, also feed on vegetable matter on the surface. These two species play the greatest role in the formation of new surface soil, which they create by depositing on the surface remains of the earth they digested underground. The net effect of such deposits, multiplied millions of times (earthworm densities per acre may range from 500,000 to several million, depending on the habitat), is a layer of extremely fine soil. It is estimated that this soil is laid down at the rate of 0.5–6.4 mm (i.e., up to 0.25 in) per year. This deposition takes place in autumn and spring, when the worms are active. Worms are dormant during summer and part of the winter.

As a result of earthworm activity, material left on the surface of the ground gradually disappears, as it is worked further and further into the soil. This sinking is caused by the ongoing deposition of new surface soil, and by the collapse of worm burrows further underground. The absolute level of the surface remains more or less constant because these two processes cancel each other out. But small objects will sink relative to the surface. The rate of this sinking is about 5 cm (2 in) in 10 years and may continue until the bottom of the soil layer is reached in 40 years' time. The effect of this process may be seen in the field. Where earthworms are active and the land has long been undisturbed by agriculture, one finds a stone-free zone of fine surface soil. Plowing destroys this stone-free zone by bringing up rocks from deeper down. This creates the stony soil which characterizes agricultural land. The sinking process has consequences for stratigraphy, since small finds such as sherds and coins may be displaced downward from the stratum in which they were originally deposited.

## *APPENDIX 1: ANIMAL NAMES IN BIBLICAL HEBREW*

The following is a comprehensive list of biblical animal names and their Semitic cognates. The list shows that cognate names signify the same animal in the vast majority of domestic and common wild mammal species. In the case of birds and fish, on the other hand, far fewer species are identified by shared generic names. The same is true of reptiles and insects. The date of the earliest attestation in Akkadian is given in parenthesis; but if no such parenthetical period is indicated, that means that the name is already attested in Old Babylonian or earlier (cf. lamb and ewe). Parentheses in the English column indicate that the animal was certainly known, though the term appearing in the Hebrew column is not attested in biblical Hebrew (e.g., elephant; "MH" means Mishnaic Hebrew).

The identification of the animals represented by these names is not always certain. As the list demonstrates, this is especially true of birds, fish, reptiles, and insects. Domestic and common wild mammals are more readily identified thanks to their attestation in literary sources.

## UNGULATES

| | Akkadian | Hebrew | Ugaritic | Aram/Syr | ESA/Ethiopic | Arabic |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DOMESTIC ANIMALS GENERAL TERM | | *bĕhēmâ*[1] | | | | *bahīmatun* |
| EQUIDS | | | | | | |
| ass (masc.) | *imērum*[2] | *ḥămôr* | *ḥmr* | *ḥămārā*› | *ḥmr* | *ḥimārun* |
| ass (young male) | | ‹*ayir*[3] | ‹*r* | | ‹*r* | ‹*ayrun* (wild ass) |
| ass (fem.) | *atānum* | ›*ātôn* | *aÙtnt* | ›*atānā*› | | ›*atānum* |
| mule? | | *pered*[4](f. *pirdâ*) | | | | |
| horse | *sisûm*[5] | *sûs* | *ššw* | *sûsyā*› | | |
| horse | | *rekeš*[6] | | | | |
| onager? | | ‹*arôd*[7] | | | | |
| onager? | *parûm* (also "mule") | *pere*› | | | | *para*›*un* |
| CATTLE | | | | | | |
| wild ox | *rīmum* | *rĕ*›*ēm* | *ruÙn* | *rēmā*› | *re*›*im* | *rí*›*mun* (white antelope) |
| cattle (domestic) | | *bāqār* (coll.) | | *baqrā*› | | *baqarun* |
| cattle | *alpum* | ›*elep*[8] | *aÙlp* | | | |
| head of cattle[9] | *šūrum* | *sôr* | *tr* | *taurā*› | *sor* | *ṯaurun* |
| small bovine or caprovine | *parru* (lamb; NB) | *par* (young steer, fem. *parâ*) | *pr* | *partâ* (ewe) | | *furārun* (young caprovine or bovine) |
| calf | *agalum* | ‹*egel* | ‹*gl* | ‹*íglā*› | ›*ĕg*$^{w}$*lt*[10] | ‹*ijlun* |
| CAPROVINES | | | | | | |
| goat | *enzu*[11] (fem. occ. masc.) | ‹*ēz (z)* (fem.) | ‹*z* | ‹*enzā*› | | ‹*anzun* |
| he-goat | | *śāír*[12] | | | | |
| he-goat | | *tayiš* | | *têšā*› | | *taysun* |
| he-goat | *atūdu*[13] (wild boar) | ‹*āttûd* (att. only in pl.) | | | | ‹*atûdun* (yearling goat, masc. fem.) |
| he-goat | | *ṣāpír* | | *ṣĕpírā*› | | |
| wild goat? | | ‹*aqqô*[14] | | | | |
| young he-goat | *gadû* (late < Aram) | *gĕdí* | *gdy* | *gadyā*› | (*Gaděy*, Capricorn) | *jadyun* |
| ram | | ›*ayil*[15] | | ›*aylā*› | | |
| ewe | laḫrum | *rāḥēl* | | *raḥlā*› | | *raḥil*, *riḥl* |
| lamb | *kabsu* (NB, NA) | *kebeś*[16](fem. *kibśa*) | | *kebšā*› | | *kabšatun* (ram) |
| lamb | | *ṭālê* | | *ṭalyā*›(kid) | *ṭali* | *ṭalan* (young ruminant; young animal) |
| he-lamb | | *kar* | | | | |
| sheep/goats | *ṣēnum* (coll., fem.) | *ṣô*›*n* (usu. coll., fem.) | *ṣiÙn* | ‹*anā*› | | *ḍa*›*nun* (coll., sheep only) |
| sheep | *šû* (MA; OB *šu*›*ātum)* | *śê* (one head) | *š* | | | *šā*›*un* |
| MISCELLANEOUS | | | | | | |
| camel | *gammalu* (NA; WSem. loan) | *gāmāl*[17] | | *gamlā*› | *gamal* | *jamalun* |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (elephant) | *pīrum*[18] | (MH *píl*) | | *pílā*› | (Cf.? *falfal*) | *fīlun* |
| gazelle | *ṣabītum* | *ṣḗbí* | *ẓby* | *ṭabyā*› | | *ẓabyun* |
| ibex | | *yā‹el* | *y‹l* | *ya‹lā*› | *wĕ›ĕla* | *wa‹lun*[19] |
| stag (fallow deer) | *ayyalum* | *›ayyāl*[20] | *›yl* (fem. *›ylt*) | *›ayyālā*› | *hayyal* (ibex) | *›iyyalun* (mtn. goat = *wa‹lun)* |
| stag | | *‹oper* | | | | *yahmūr*[21] |
| addax? | | *díšōn*[22] | | | | |
| swine | *ḫuzīrum* (= *sahû*) | *ḥăzír* | *ḫnzr* | *ḥăzírā*› | *ḥanzír* | *ḫinzírun* |

## CARNIVORES

| | Akkadian | Hebrew | Ugaritic | Aram/Syr | ESA/Ethiopic | Arabic |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| bear | *dabû* (= *asum*) | *dob* | | *dubbā*› | *dĕbb* | *dubbun* |
| dog | *kalbun* | *keleb* | *klb* | *kalbā*› | *kalb* | *kalbun* |
| fox | *š ēlebum* | *(ša‹albím*, GN) *šu‹al* | | *ta‹ălā*› | | *ta‹labun tu›ālatun* |
| wolf | *zībum* (jackal; NB vulture) | *ze›eb* | | *dêbā*› | *ze›b* | *di›bun* |
| hyena | | *›oaḥ* | | | | |
| jackal | | *›í* | | | | |
| jackal/wolf | | *tan* | | | | |
| panther | *nimrum* | *nāmēr* | | *nemrā*› | *namr* | *namirun* |
| lion | *armu*[23] | *›aryeh* | | *›aryā*› | *›arwē* (any wild animal; def. by foll. gen.) | *›urwīyatun* (mountain goat) |
| lion | *nēšu* | *layiš* | | *lētā*› | | *layṯ* |
| lion[24] | *lābum* | *lābí*› (m.) | *lb›ı* | | | *labwatun* |
| lion | | *šaḥal*[25] | | | | |
| young lion | | *kĕpír* | | | | |

## PRIMTES

| | Akkadian | Hebrew | Ugaritic | Aram/Syr | ESA/Ethiopic | Arabic |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| monkey[26] | *uqūpu* | *qôp* | | *qôpā*› | | |

## RODENTS AND OTHER SMALL MAMMALS

| | Akkadian | Hebrew | Ugaritic | Aram/Syr | ESA/Ethiopic | Arabic |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| rodent | | *ḥăparparâ*[27] | | | | |
| rodent | | *ḥoled*[28] | | | | *huldun* (mole; blind rat) |
| mouse | *akbarum*[29] | *‹akbār* | | *‹akbĕrā*› | | |
| hare | *arnabu*[30] | *›arnébet* | | *›amĕbā*› | | *›arnabun* |
| hyrax | | *šāpān*[31] | | | | |
| bat | | *‹ăṭalēp*[32] | | | | |
| porcupine? | | *qippod*[33] | | *quppoḏā*› | *q*$^{w}$*ĕnfĕz* | *qunfuḏ* |

## BIRDS

| | Akkadian | Hebrew | Ugaritic | Aram/Syr | ESA/Ethiopic | Arabic |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| GENERIC TERMS | | | | | | |
| All birds (and Insects) | | *‹ôp* (coll.)[34] | | *‹āpā*› | *‹of* | *‹awfun* (cock)[35] |
| Young birds (any sort) | | *gôzāl* | | *guzalā*› | | *jawzalun* (young pigeon) |
| DOMESTIC AND COMMENSAL[36] BIRDS | | | | | | |
| general Term | *ṣibāru* (sparrow) | *ṣippôr*[37] | | *ṣippar* | | *‹usfūr* |
| (Chicken)[38] | *tarlugallum* | | | *tarnā/ūglā*› | | |
| dove/pigeon | | *ynâ* | *ynt* | *yonā›/yawnā*› | *wanos (?)* | |
| turtle dove | | *tor*[39] | | | | |
| goose? | | *barbur*[40] | | | | |
| partridge | | *qore*›[41] | | | | |
| quail | | *śĕlāw* | | *salway* | | *salwā* |
| swallow | | *dĕrôr* | | | | |
| swift | | *sîs* | | | | |
| BIRDS OF PREY, CARRION BIRDS | | | | | | |
| General Term | | *‹ayiṭ*[42] | *‹ṭ* | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| hawk? | | *ayyâ*[43] | | | | Cf. *yuʿyuʿun* (a kind of hawk) |
| griffon | *našu* | *nĕyser*[44] | *nšr* | *nešrăʿ* | *nesr* | *nasrun* |
| vulture, eagle | (eagle; NB) | | | | (eagle) | (eagle) |
| raven/crow | *ā/ēribum* | *ʿorēb*[45] | | *ʿurbāʿ* | | *ġarābun* |
| ostrich? | | *yāʿēn*[46] *bat-yaʿănâ* | | *yiʿen* | | |
| bearded vulture? | | *peres*[47] | | | | |
| bearded vulture? osprey? | | *ʿozníyâ*[48] | | | | |
| hawk? | | *dāʿâ*[49] | *dʿiy* | | | |
| owl? | | *taḥmās*[50] | | | | |
| gull? owl? | | *šaḥap*[51] | | | | |
| hawk? | | *nēṣ*[52] | *nṣ* | *neṣāʿ* | | |
| owl? | | *kôs*[53] | | | | |
| fisher owl? | | *šālāk*[54] | | | | |
| owl | *enšub/pu* | *yanšûp*[55] | | | | |
| owl | | *tinšemet*[56] | | | | |
| owl? | | *qāʿat*[57] | | | | |
| osprey? | | *rāḥām*[58] | | | | *rahamun* |
| stork/heron? | | *ḥăsídâ*[59] | | | | |
| cormorant? | *anpatu* | *ʿanapâ*[60] | | *ʿanpāʿ* | | |
| hoopoe | | *dûkípat*[61] | | | | |
| bustard? | | *qippod*[62] | | | | |
| bird | | *qippoz*[63] | | | | |
| bat | | *ʿăṭalēp*[32] | | | | |
| bustard? | | *ḥoreb*[64] | | | | |

## ARTHROPODS AND WORMS

| | Akkadian | Hebrew | Ugaritic | Aram/Syr | ESA/Ethiopic | Arabic |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| ant | *namālum*[65] | *nĕmālâ* | | *nĕmālāʿ* | | *namlun* (coll.) |
| moth/mothworm | *sāsum* | *sās*[66] | | *sāsāʿ* | | *sūs (at)un* |
| bee | | *dĕbôrâ* | | *dabbartāʿ* | | *dibrun* (swarm of bees or hornets) |
| fly | *zubbum* | *zĕbûb* | *ḏbb* | *díbābāʿ* | *zĕnb* | *ḏubābun* |
| flea? | *perš/saʿum* | *parʿošʿ* | *prġt* | *purt/ṭaʿnāʿ* | | *burġūṯ* |
| locust | *erbūm* | *ʿarbêh*[67] | *ʿirby* | | | |
| locust | | *ḥargol* | | *hargôlô* | | *harjalun* |
| locust | | *ḥāgāb* | | | | |
| locust | | *gāzām* (coll.) | | | | |
| locust | | *gôbay* (coll.) | | | | |
| locust | | *ḥāsíl* (coll.) | | | | |
| locust | *(ṣāṣirum)*[68] | *ṣelāṣal*[69] | | *(ṣarṣurā)* | | *ṣurṣurun* (cricket, cockroach) |
| Kermes insect | *tultum* | *tôlēʿâ/tôlāʿ* | | *taulʿāʿ* | | |
| maggot | | *rimmâ*[70] | | | | |
| gnat? or lice? | | **kēn* (only pl. *kinním)* | | | | |
| spider | | *ʿākkabís*[71] | | *ʿakkabítāʿ* | | *ʿankabūtun* |
| scorpion | *agrabu* (NB) | *ʿaqrab* | | *ʿeqarbāʿ* | *ʿaqrab* | *ʿaqrabun* |

## REPTILES

| | Akkadian | Hebrew | Ugaritic | Aram/Syr | ESA/Ethiopic | Arabic |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| lizard? | *tinšémet*[72] | | | | | |
| poisonous snake | | *peten* | *bṯn* | *pitnāʿ* | | *baṯanun* (< Aram) |
| poisonous snake | | *śārāp*[73] | | | | |
| viper | | *ʿepʿeh* | | | | *ʿafʿan* |
| lizard? | | *ʿănāqâ*[74] | | Syr *ʿāmaqtā?* | | |
| lizard? | | *ḥomeṭ*[75] | | | | |
| venomous snake | | *nāḥāš* | *nḥšm*[76] | | | *ḥanašun*[77] (snake) |

## AMPHIBIANS

| | Akkadian | Hebrew | Ugaritic | Aram/Syr | ESA/Ethiopic | Arabic |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| frog | | *ṣĕpardēaʿ*(coll.) | | | | *ḍafdaʿ* |

## FISH

| | Akkadian | Hebrew | Ugaritic | Aram/Syr | ESA/Ethiopic | Arabic |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| fish | | *dag* (fem. *dagâ* coll.) | *dg* | | | |

MOLLUSKS

| | Akkadian | Hebrew | Ugaritic | Aram/Syr | ESA/Ethiopic | Arabic |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| snail | | *šablûl*[78] | | | | |

[1]Probable etymology "dumb" (beast). Cf. Eth *bĕhma*. In general, it is opposed to *ḥayyâ*, "wild animal" (e.g., Gen 7:14). According to Jeffrey, Arabic *bahīmatun* < Heb.

[2]Note that the Akk term also came to denote an "ass-load" (Heb *ḥomer*) at Mari and Nuzi.

[3]Cf. Eg *ʿr*, a collective term for both goats and asses.

[4]While clearly distinct from horses (cf. 1 Kgs 10:25), the texts give us little with which to distinguish the *pered* from the *ḥămôr*.

[5]The generic term for horse, *sûs* is an old *Wanderwort* attested as *sí-sí* in Sumerian texts of the Ur III period and as *sisāʾum* in Old Assyrian. According to Goetze (1962: 34–35), the spelling of the Ug form *�least* (*�least* being used for foreign words) and the prominence of the horse in Hurrian culture suggest that the immediate source of the Ugaritic term at least may be Hurrian (*siswo-*). Goetze has suggested that a "*centum*" form of the word, **sikwo-*, underlies Linear B *(h)iqo*, Gk *hippos*, and Lat *equus*, while the Sanskrit equivalent *aśva-* seems to underlie Hurrian *iššiya-* (<? **ekwiyo-*) and *aššušš anni-*, the name which Kikkuli, the horse specialist of the Hittite hippiatric texts, gives to his profession.

[6]In the two passages where this word is used (1 Kgs 5:8—Eng 4:28; Mic 1:13), it is likely that chariot horses are intended.

[7]Only Job 39:5.

[8]The word only occurs in the plural. Note also the name of letter *ʾalep*, thought to represent a bull's head.

[9]Usually denotes a head of cattle, without differentiating sex. The Semitic term passes into Indo-European as *taur-*, Gk *tauros*, Lat *taurus*. Like other animal names (e.g., *ʾayil*), the term also denotes prominent persons. In Keret iv.7–8, 17–18, for example, *ṯr* is applied to nobility.

[10]The Ethiopic *ʾĕgʷal* denotes the young of any animal; *ʾĕgʷlt* is more specifically "calf." One also finds *ʾĕgwal*, with initial *ʿayin*.

[11]A W Semitic variant *ḫazzum* (i.e., *ʿazzim*) occurs at Mari.

[12]Etymologically, "the hairy one." Usually occurs in the phrase *śĕʿîr ʿizzîm*.

[13]*Atūdu* is equated with *s/šappārum* (SEG$_9$.BAR), identified in most lexical citations as a wild ram (e.g., CAD A.1 225b, A.2 521a, D118a, but correctly as "wild boar" in B4a). In the *Malku = šarru* series both *atūdu* and *šappāru* are equated with *šaḫû*, "swine" (V:46f.). Despite its identification with the boar, *šappāru* is thought to be the source of Heb *šopār*, "ram's horn." For a similar semantic shift in cognates, cf. Lat *caper*, "goat," Gk *kapros*, "boar."

[14]Only Deut 14:5.

[15]Note fig. meaning "leader" (of people) and similar usage of *ʾayyāl* and *ʿāttûd*. *ʾayil* < **ʾayl*) appears to be based on the same root as *ʾayyāl*, "stag." Underlying both perhaps is the notion of leading the flock/herd (cf. Ar *ʾawwal* "first").

[16]Metathesized variant *keśeb/kiśbâ*.

[17]In addition to this common term for camel, cf. also Obil, David's camel driver (*ʾôbîl*, 1 Chr 27:30), which recalls Akk *ibilu*, "camel," "dromedary," and Ar *ibilun*, "camel" (coll.).

[18]Perhaps derived from Prakrit *piḍu* (Barnett 1982: 9). The Greek *elephas* is probably ultimately derived from Semitic *ʾlp* via Anatolia (Laroche 1965; Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 346). This derivation is reinforced by the Sumerian term for elephant AM.SÍ "ox with a hand."

[19]In the Golan this term refers to the roebuck (Post 1890).

[20]Cf. note 15 on *ʾayil*, "ram."

[21]Among the Palestinians of the Carmel, this term denotes the roebuck (Conder 1890; Post 1890). Its name presumably refers to its reddish, *fallow* color.

[22]Only Deut 14:5. Cf. Dishon, the tribe located in Edom (Gen 36:21), the natural habitat of the Addax. The LXX *pygarg* means "white-rumped."

[23]There is an old form *arm/wûm, arwium* attested in Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian PNs and in later lexical lists meaning "gazelle buck" (*ar-mu-u = ṣa-bi-tu*), along with a variant form *armu* found in Middle Babylonian and Assyrian and later texts meaning "mountain goat buck."

[24]The Indo-European (cf. Linear B *lewōn-*, Cl. Gk *leōn*, Germ *Löwe*, Eng lion) probably derives from this Semitic root. The *-nt-* stem seen in Linear B and Greek may indicate Anatolian mediation in the transition (Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 346).

[25]Only in poetry.

[26]Only 1 Kgs 10:22 = 2 Chr 9:21. Imported by Solomon's Israelite-Phoenician fleet from an undetermined location (not Tarshish!) somewhere in either E Africa, S Arabia, or India (cf. Barnett 1982: 9 and literature cited there). For baboons in Arabia see Harrison 1964–65: 1.183–90. Underlying all of the Semitic forms in Sanskrit *kapi,* from which is also derived Gk *kēbos* and Eg *gꜣf* (also *gwf, gf*—all determined by the monkey rather than baboon sign).

[27]The name is based on an emendation of Isa 2:20 (MT): people will throw their idols *laḥpor pērôt ûlāʿātallēpîm*." The emended phrase would yield a meaning "diggers," referring to rodents of some kind. On *ʿătalēp*, "bat," see n. 32 below.

[28]Only Lev 11:29. For possible etymology, cf. Aram *ḥĕlad*, "creep"; MH *ḥālad*, "undermine."

[29]In Old Babylonian only in PN 's.

[30]As PN already in Old Akkadian.

[31]Lev 11:5 and Deut 14:7 describe the *šāpān* as being like the hare in that it always seems to be chewing (the biblical definition of a ruminant). Elsewhere, it is said to be a small animal inhabiting rocky areas (Ps 104:18; Prov 30:26). This information, while insufficient for a positive identification, suggests the hyrax. The word *šāpān* has an interesting story connected with it. When the Phoenicians reached Spain, they encountered the rabbit for the first time and so named the place *I-sapan*, "the island of hyraxes," apparently confusing the rabbit with a kind of hyrax. This is the origin of the Latin Hispania.

[32]The bat is technically a mammal and not a bird, according to modern zoological classification (its young are born alive and are nursed by the mother). The biblical classification operates according to simpler anatomical criteria: the presence or absence of wings.

[33]The translation "porcupine" suggested by the cognates is perhaps possible in Isa 14:23, but unlikely in the other two occurrences of the word, where it seems to denote some kind of bird (see under Birds of Prey).

[34]*ʿôp* serves primarily to distinguish flying creatures of all sorts from creatures of the land and the sea. Thus, its most frequent use is in the phrase *ʿôp haššāmayîm* (36X).

[35]This is only one of the many meanings of this word, others being "state, condition, fortune, guest, lion, a kind of idol, and locust." Less multivalent is the verb *ʾayafa*, "to loath," "to take an augury."

[36]For the term, cf. Tchernov (1984), and see above under Domestication.

[37]"Chirpers." Cf. Akk *ṣapārum*, "chatter, twitter," Ar *ṣafara*, "whistle, chirp." In origin, this name is also probably onomatopoeic, like Eng sparrow, Lat *passer*, both with initial *sp-, ps-* combinations that imitate "chirping" (itself an onomatopoeic word). Another Hebrew root of this form is *ṣāpap* (used of birds in Isa 10:14), whose Ar cognate *ṣufṣufun* denotes the sparrow in some dialects. The Akk cognate is equivalent to Sum, "street bird" (AILA.MUŠEN), also suggesting the sparrow.

*Ṣippôr* denotes all birds like the sparrow which were caught for food (Deut 22:6–7; Amos 3:5; Lam 3:52) and which lived around human settlements (Pss 84:4; 102:8). It includes the important domestic categories of dove and pigeon (Gen 15:9–10; Lev 14; *passim*; Cf. also Hos 11:11). Used in conjunction with *kānāp* (e.g., in the phrase *kol ṣippôr kol-kānāp*), it becomes a term for birds in general (Gen 7:14; Ezek 17:23; 39:4; Ps 148:10). In Lev 14:4, the addition of *ṭĕhorôt* has nothing to do with the distinction between clean (i.e., edible) and "unclean" (inedible) birds, and thus does not indicate that *ṣippôr* by itself might also refer to raptors. In other words, while *ʿop kānāp* (Gen 1:21) may be redundant, the same cannot be said of *ṣippôr kānāp*.

[38]The chicken is pictured on Hebrew seals and must therefore have been known to the Israelites, though its Biblical Hebrew name is unknown. Mishnaic Hebrew has *tarnĕgôl*, derived from Akkadian *tarlugallum* (< Sum DAR.LUGAL.MUŠEN).

[39]Perhaps onomatopoeic. Cf. Gk *trugos*, Lat *turtur*. In addition to *yonâ* and *tôr* note also the name Jemimah, *yĕmîmâ* (Job 42:14), which also probably refers to the dove (Driver 1955–58: 1.130).

[40]1 Kgs 5:3—insufficient in itself for identification. On the nominal pattern, cf. Nöldeke (1904: 117). The fact that the birds were fattened, however, reminds one of the forced feeding of cranes, ducks, and geese in ancient Egypt (cf. Darby, Ghalioungui, and Grivetti 1977: 1, 273) and suggests the identification of *barbur* with one of these species.

[41]1 Sam 26:20; Jer 17:11. These passages are insufficient for identifying the species of bird in question.

[42]Apparently meaning "screamers" (cf. Ar *ʿāṭa*). Cf. also Gk *aetos*, "eagle." The Ar root may derive not from birds per se, but from some primitive sound thought to typify screaming. The Ug *ʿṭ* occurs in a list of goods which includes livestock and geese (*uÙz*) but the species is unidentifiable.

[43]Both the Ar and the Heb names are onomatopoeic. For the Ar pattern, see Nöldeke (1904); for the Heb, note the similarly onomatopoeic names based on the same root: *ʾî*, "jackal," Ar *ʾibn āwā*. The identification of the bird is very uncertain. Apart from Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14, it is attested in Job 28:7, which describes it as keen-sighted.

[44]According to Driver (1955–58: 1.8) the name is onomatopoeic, composed of sonant *n* + base *šr* representing a whirring sound (cf. Lat *susurrus*, Germ *schwirren*, also *ṣrṣr*, etc., under "locust" below). The identification with the griffon vulture is based on its long wing span (Ezek 17:3) and its ldblquote bald spot" (Mic 1:16). The griffon vulture first consumes the soft parts of the body such as the eye, before turning to the rest (cf. Prov 30:17). The gathering of the nations to devour the spoil (Deut 28:49) also suggests the vulture rather than the more solitary eagle. LXX has *aetos*, "eagle." There are, however, a number of passages where the bird could just as well be the eagle, including some which Driver initially ascribed to the vulture (corrected in Driver 1955–58: 3). The precise identification of the species indicated by Ug *nšr* is not possible on the basis of our texts.

[45]The etymology ("black one") strongly suggests the crow/raven or "blackbird" (cf. Song of Songs 5:11). Its habit of plucking out the eyes of its victims (Prov 30:17) is also characteristic of the raven (cf. Aristophanes, *Birds* 582 and *Acharnians* 92). The name is descriptive rather than onomatopoeic (*pace* Driver 1955–58: 1.12 n. 44).

[46]Etymology uncertain. *Yaʿēn* is attested only in Lam 4:3 (*qre*). The alternative form *bat-yaʿănâ* is attested in Lev 11:16; Deut 14:15; Isa 13:21; 34:13; 43:20; etc., which depict the bird as a desert-dweller. The identification of the bird with the ostrich (LXX *strouthos*) is consistent with this habitat and with the description in Job 39:13–18: it lays its eggs on the ground and leaves them unprotected, as ostriches do during the day, and is noted for its speed on land (v 18). The ostrich can go for long periods without water and is thus suited to life in the desert. On the other hand, the wailing of the *bat-yaʿănâ* (Mic 1:8) and its fondness for old ruins suggest the owl (Driver). Perhaps the term denoted different birds at various times or from one region to another.

[47]Only Lev 11:13; Deut 14:12. The word means "smasher" (cf. Heb *pāras*; Akk *parāsu*). The bearded vulture or "bone breaker," as it is popularly known, drops its victims from a great height until the bones are shattered. Cf. Ar *kāsir aṭ-ṭair*, "predatory bird."

[48]Driver (1955–58: 1.10) derives the name by metathesis from the root *ʿnz* from which is derived Akk *enzu*, Heb *ʿēz*, "goat," hence "goat vulture" (cf. Gk *aigupios* < *aix*"goat" + *gups* "vulture"). It was identified as such because of its goat-like "beard." Attested only in Lev 11:13; Deut 14:12. LXX has *aliaetos*, "osprey," which also means "bone-breaker."

[49] Only Lev 11:14; Deut 14:13. The variant *dayyâ* occurs in Isa 34:15. The verb *dāʾâ* is probably denominative (Driver). The general sense of the verb, "to swoop," would suggest perhaps a hawk of some kind. The Ugaritic cognate *dıÙy* is paralleled by *nšr* (UT, 383 #634).

[50]Lev 11:16; Deut 14:15. According to Driver (1955–58: 1.13), the name means "robber" (cf. Targumim *ḥaṭîpitâ*). Driver suggests an owl of some sort (so LXX *glaux*). But cf. Ar *ẓalîm*, "male ostrich," from a root meaning "to do wrong."

[51]The Versions translate "sea gull" (*laros*). Driver, however, suggests the long-eared owl, which is said to be very thin when at rest (cf. Ar *saḫufa*, "be emaciated").

[52]Outside Lev 11:16 and Deut 14:15 only Job 39:26. LXX has *ierax*, "hawk, falcon." Ug *nṣ* occurs in a list of foodstuffs, along with another bird, the *ʿṣr* (cf. Akk *iṣṣur*), but its exact meaning is unknown.

[53]Lev 11:17; Deut 14:16; Ps 102:7. In the latter passage it is said to inhabit the ruins, probably indicating an owl (so LXX, Vg). Driver, following Knobel, compares Germ *Kauz*, "tawny owl," the similarity of which suggests that the word may be onomatopoeic.

[54]Lev 11:17; Deut 14:17. Perhaps a diving bird (cf. Heb *hišlîk*; Gk *kataraktēs* points in the same direction).

[55]Lev 11:17; Deut 14:16; Isa 34:11 (in a list of birds which will inhabit the ruins of Edom). LXX has *eibis*, "ibis," but this bird is unknown in Palestine. This equation may reflect Egyptianizing on the part of the translator. The possible Akk equivalent *enšub/pu* (SB) may denote an owl of some sort. It is a bird of ill omen which frequents human habitations. The Heb etymology (< NŠP "blow") also suggests an owl. The nominal pattern of this word, *yaqtûl*, is found in other Semitic animal names, such as Syr *yarbûʿāʾ*, "jerboa"; *yaḫmûrāʾ*, "a kind of deer"; *yaqrûrāʾ*, "a toad"; Ar *yaʿsûb* "male bee, drone."

[56]Lev 11:18, 30; Deut 14:16. LXX *porphyrion*, "water hen." More probably some sort of owl, as indicated by its name (< NŠM, "pant". Cf. the derivation of the *yanšûp*.

[57]Lev 11:18; Deut 14:17; Isa 34:11; Zeph 2:14; Ps 102:7. LXX has *pelekan*, but this is improbable in Isa 34:11 (cf. above on *yanšûp*), as well as in the passages from Zephaniah and Psalms (*qĕʾat midbar!*). Driver suggests the name may be onomatopoeic for the cry of the scops-owl, "kiu-kiu."

[58]Lev 11:18; Deut 14:17. LXX *kuknos* "swan." Driver's objections to the translation "vulture" are not very compelling, but, as he points out, the Arabic cognate also refers to the pelican (Dozy), and the closely related *ruḫam* to the osprey. If the approximate equivalents in our list are correct, then a vulture is out of place at this point in the list. Hence our tentative "osprey."

[59]Lev 11:19; Deut 14:18; Jer 8:7; Zech 5:9; Ps 104:17. LXX *arōdios*. Jer 8:7 suggests a migratory bird. The Hebrew term has traditionally been taken to refer to the tender care which the stork bestows on its young, though of course this criterion is not decisive. Neither is the fact that the bird nests in trees (Ps 104:17). Another bird fitting this profile is the heron, which Driver suggests may have been included with the stork under this name.

[60]Lev 11:19; Deut 14:8. LXX has *charadios*, meaning uncertain. The name may refer to the bird's prominent beak ("nose"). Driver suggests the cormorant.

[61]Lev 11:19; Deut 14:18. LXX has *epops*, "hoopoe." Onomatopoeic. Cf. e.g., *qwqwpt*, Copt *koukoufat*; Syr *qâqûpāʾ*.

[62]Apparently a bird in Isa 34:11; Zeph 2:14. The cognates, however, refer to the porcupine (see above under Rodents).

[63]Only Isa 34:15. Certain identification impossible, but context suggests a bird.

[64]Possible cognates include Akk *ḫarbu* (an unidentified bird) and Ar *ḥarbun*, "male bustard" (Driver 1955–58: 2.137).

[65]Cf. NB *kulbā*.

[66]Isa 51:8. Cf. also Eth *ḍaḍe*; Gk *sēs*.

[67] Of the terms for "locust" only *ʾarbeh* is commonly used. Most others appear only once or infrequently: *ṣĕlāṣal* (Deut 28:42), *ḥargol* (Lev 11:22), *ḥāgāb* (Lev 11:22; Num 13:33; Isa 40:22; 2 Chr 7:13), *gāzām* (Amos 4:9, Joel 1:4; 2:25), *gôbay* (Amos 7:1; Nah 3:17), *ḥāsîl* (1 Kgs 8:37; Isa 33:4; Joel 1:4; 2:25), *yeleq* (Jer 51:14; Nah 3:15, 16; Joel 1:4; 2:25; Ps 105:34). Neither the contexts nor the etymologies are sufficient to enable us to identify whether or not we are dealing in each case with separate species or stages of development in one or two species.

[68]Variant form *ṣarṣaru*, meaning "cricket."

[69]Cf. Nöldeke (1904) on this type of nominal formation in bird and insect names. The roots *ṣlṣl* and *ṣrṣr* are onomatopoeic. Cf. Ar *ṣarṣara* "scream," *ṣarra*, "chirp" (of cricket), etc.

[70]Both the etymology (< *RMM* "decay"; cf. Ar *ramma*) and the contexts suggest this meaning. Cf. Exod 16:24; Isa 14:11; Job 25:6 both parallel *tôlēʿâ*.

[71]Certain identification on the basis of Isa 59:3, which refers to the *qûrê ʿākkabîš*, "spider threads."

[72]Lev 11:30. Note that this same term refers to a kind of owl in Deut 14:16.

[73]? < *śārap*, "burn."

[74]Only Lev 11:30.

[75]Only Lev 11:30.

[76]Ug *nḥšm* parallels *bṯnm* in RS 24.244.

[77]Most probably like *nāḥāš*. Onomatopoeic.

[78]Only Ps 58:9. From the *Šapʿel* of BLL (Heb *bālal*, "mix with oil," Ar *balla*, "moisten," Akk *balālum*, "sprinkle, mix") apparently referring to the trail which the snail leaves behind.

## *APPENDIX 2: KEY TO ANALYSES OF FAUNAL REMAINS FROM ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS*

*APHEK.* Hellwing and Gophna (1984).
*ARAD.* Davis (1976); Hopf and Zachariae (1971: 63–64); Lernau (1978).
*BEER-SHEBA.* Angress (1959); Hellwing (1984).
*BIR ABU MATAR.* Josien (1955).
*BIR ES-SAFADI.* Josien (1955).
*DAN.* Wapnish, Hesse, and Ogilvy (1977).
*EN-SHADUD.* Horwitz (1985).
*GEZER.* Feldman (1988); Legge (1988); Legge and Zeder (1988).
*HAZOR.* Angress (1960).
*HESHBON* (Jordan). Alomia (1978); Boessneck (1977); Boessneck and von den Driesch (1977; 1978; 1981); LaBianca (1973; 1976; 1978); Little (1969); LaBianca and LaBianca (1975; 1976).
*ʿIZBET ṢARṬAH.* Hellwing and Adjeman (1986); Rosen (1986).
*JEBEL QAʿAQIR.* Horwitz (1987).
*JERICHO.* Biggs (1963); Clutton-Brock (1969; 1971; 1979); Clutton-Brock and Uerpmann (1974); Zeuner (1955; 1958).
*LACHISH.* Bate (1953; 1958); Lernau (1975); Drori (1976).
*MEGIDDO.* Bate (1938).
*MIQNE-EKRON.* Wapnish and Hesse (1985); Hesse (1966).
*NAHAL MISHMAR ("CAVE OF THE TREASURE").* Haas (1980).
*QASILEH.* Davis (1985); Haas (1953).
*QUMRAN.* Zeuner (1960: 27–30).
*SASA.* Horwitz (1987).
*SHAʿAR HA-GOLAN.* Stekelis (1951).
*SHILOH.* Hellwing and Sadeh (1985).
*SHIQMIM.* Grigson (1987).
*TELL DALIT.* Hellwing and Gophna (1984).
*TELL EL-HAYYAT* (Jordan). Metzger (1983).
*TELL JEMMEH.* Wapnish (1984); Wapnish and Hesse (1988).
*TELL MASOS.* Tchernov and Drori (1983).
*TELL MICHAL.* Hellwing and Feig (1989).
*TELL QIRI.* Davis (1987b).
*TELL ES-SAʿDIYEH* (Jordan). Martin (1988).

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EDWIN FIRMAGE

**ZOPHAH** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣôpaḥ* (צוֹפַח)]. A descendant of Asher, named in the genealogical list in 1 Chr 7:35. His father, Helem, is perhaps to be identified with Hotham, placing Zophah within the dominant line of the Asherite genealogy. Although eleven sons are attributed to him, nothing else is known about this figure: his name does not appear in the parallel lists of Asher's line in Numbers 26 and Genesis 46 or elsewhere, and its etymology ("wide, broad") reveals little. As Gray notes, many of the names in this list appear to be geographical or tribal rather than personal. In keeping with such an interpretation, Edelman suggests that Zophah may be equated with the land of Zuph (Edelman 1985: 86).

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**ZOPHAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣôpay* (צוֹפַי)]. See ZUPH (PERSON).

**ZOPHAR** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣôpar* (צוֹפַר)]. The third friend of Job, identified as "the Naamathite" (Job 2:11; 11:1; 20:1; 42:9). His name is perhaps related to "bird" (e.g., Num 22:2, 10, etc.), but the meaning is problematic. With the near consensus that Job is not to be seen as reflecting any recognizable historical background, the characters of the book have come to be viewed as dramatic figures possessing individual pecularities which surface in their dialogue with the miserable Job. The three friends come first, we are told, "to comfort and condole" the sufferer (2:11). Zophar is the third speaker among Job's friends. One certainly finds his speeches in chaps. 11 and 20; however, Zophar has no speech in the (apparently disrupted) third cycle. This has led to all kinds of guesses about the original order of the cycle in an attempt to reconstruct a third Zophar speech. However, several scholars have offered serious attempts to read the existing text as essentially original and undisrupted (cf. Habel *Job* OTL; Janzen *Job* Interpretation).

In his first address (11:2–6), Zophar rejects Job's claim to innocence and the implication that God is somehow irrationally guilty for Job's trouble. He goes on to warn Job that if God would only speak, Job would realize that his claims of innocence and great wisdom are in fact pretentious and blasphemous (vv 7–12). By implication, of course, Zophar himself claims this same great wisdom. Surely part of the author's intent is to satirize Zophar as a very poor friend indeed who is more interested in preserving his theological certainty than in listening with openness to the sufferer (Habel *Job* OTL, 205).

The second speech in chap. 20 is more brutal in its attempts to prove Job to be evil, fully deserving his misery. That speech demonstrates the author's brilliant poetic skill which consists in the use of preceding speeches by succeeding speakers to reject the ideas of the earlier speakers by holding them up to sustained ridicule. One might call this device "hoisting one on one's own petard" (cf. Holbert 1981 and Habel *Job*

OTL). For example, Zophar classes Job with the sinners by using Job's own words against him. Job, in reference to the *gō‹ēl,* "redeemer," had earlier said, "as the last one he will rise on the dust" (19:25). Zophar, referring to Job's youthful strength, now retorts, "it will lie with him in the dust" (20:11). While Job looks for a "rising" of his redeemer, Zophar speaks of Job's own "lying down" in death. Job pictures his redeemer standing firmly "on the dust"; Zophar pictures the "dust" as Job's grave.

Such analysis makes it very clear that the Joban dialogue is clearly a real dialogue and not a series of monologues bearing little or no connection to one another. As one reads this dialogue, one must keep vigilant for the repeated, and redefined, word or phrase, now used ironically or satirically in the new speech. Thus will the poem's masterful subtlety be laid bare to the reader. Zophar's second speech of chap. 20 is one of the best examples of the technique.

In terms of his basic theological stance, Zophar's differences from his two friends are very slight. However, he is different from Eliphaz and Bildad in terms of the origin of his knowledge. While Eliphaz has a direct revelation from God (4:12–21) and Bildad is a reader of the sacred tradition (8:9–12), Zophar seems to rely on hallowed sayings of the wisdom school, which inform his attempts to refute Job (11:7–12). But, like his friends, Zophar's second address to Job does not bother to "footnote" the source of information; it merely goes on the attack, holding Job up to ridicule by means of invective and, unlike the first speech, offering the sufferer no possible place of repentance or acceptance (compare 11:13ff. with the unrelieved "end of the wicked" material of 20:6–29). One might say that the friends' initial attempt to prove Job wrong by the relative niceties of theological debate soon gives way to the raw language of the infuriated inquisitor. Such a pattern can also be seen by comparing chaps. 4 and 5 with chap. 15 (Eliphaz) and chap. 8 with chap. 18 (Bildad).

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JOHN C. HOLBERT

**ZOPHIM** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣōpîm* (צֹפִים)]. A high point near or on the top of Pisgah and close to the NE end of the Dead Sea (Num 23:14). Zophim was the second place to which Balak took Balaam hoping that he would curse the Israelites. Insofar as *ṣōpîm* literally means "watchers," Num 23:14 may include the descriptive label "field of the watchers" rather than a proper name "Zophim." Since prophets were at times called "watcher" (Isa 52:8), such a label would be especially appropriate here. Some have suggested, however, that modern Tala‹at es-Safa possibly preserves the actual name.

TERRY L. BRENSINGER

**ZOR** (PLACE). See JORDAN, JUNGLE OF.

**ZORAH** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣor‹â* (צָרְעָה)]. ZORITE; ZORATHITE. A town located in the Sorek valley, identified with Sar‹a (Tel Zor‹a; (M.R. 148131), about 3 km N of Beth-shemesh. Zorah is mentioned in the Amarna Letters as one of the towns in the kingdom of Gezer attacked by ‹Apiru (EA 273). At the time of the Israelite conquest, Zorah was allotted to the tribe of Dan. It was, together with Eshtaol, the core area of Danite settlement in the Judean foothills: Manoah, father of Samson, hailed from Zorah (Judg 13:2), Samson was first inspired between Zorah and Eshtaol (Judg 13:25), and both Manoah and Samson were buried between the two sites (Judg 16:31). Finally, it was from Zorah and Eshtaol that the Danites sallied forth to conquer Laish (Judges 18).

Later, Zorah was annexed to Judah (Josh 15:33) and was inhabited by Judahites of the clan of Kiriath-jearim (1 Chr 2:54–55). Zorah was one of the Judean cities purportedly fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr 11:10) and was also one of the cities settled at the time of the return of the Judean exiles from Babylon (Neh 11:29). Aharoni (*LBHG*, 410) has suggested, however, that the town could have been among those whose inhabitants were not exiled but were permitted to stay on under Babylonian rule.

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RAPHAEL GREENBERG

**ZOROASTER, ZOROASTRIANISM.** "Zoroastrianism" is the name of the religion founded by Zoroaster, probably sometime late in the 2d millennium B.C. It enjoyed great popularity during the time of the Persian Empire, and is still adhered to by minorities in Iran and the Indian subcontinent and by scattered migrant groups, mostly in Europe, North America, and Australia.

———

A. The Prophet
B. Sources
C. Background
D. Teachings of Zoroaster
E. Worship and Observances
F. Brief History of the Faith
G. The Religion in Modern Times

———

**A. The Prophet**

Zoroaster was the great Iranian prophet and founder of the religion named after him. The Iranian form of his name was Zarathustra. A tradition preserved in a few late sources (none older than the 3d century A.D.) sets him at "228 years before Alexander," i.e., in the 6th century B.C.; but this dating is now generally rejected as spurious, it being agreed that he belonged to what were for his people prehistoric times. Present debate centers on whether he lived during the Iranian pastoral period on the central Asian steppes (between ca. 1400 and 1200 B.C.) or after the Iranian tribes had moved S into the land now known as Iran (ca. 1000 B.C.). The evidence comes solely from the *Gāthās,* 17 short poetic works composed by him and preserved in a liturgy of the daily Zoroastrian act of worship, the *yasna.* They are accordingly identified as *Y (asna)* 28–34, 43–51, 53.

The *Gāthās* are in an E Iranian language very close to the Hindu *Rigveda* (whose many hymns are assigned to ca. 1400–900 B.C.); but in Iran they are almost isolated in their antiquity, with many hapaxes and baffling syntactical problems. This is part of the reason they are very difficult to understand; they belong, moreover, to a school of mantic poetry—already old in the prophet's day—which is subtle, condensed, and richly allusive. The *Gāthās* are seldom expository, being addressed, for the most part, in lofty, impassioned terms, to God himself (known to Zoroaster as Ahura Mazda). The underlying doctrine can accordingly be fully understood only with the help of the later Zoroastrian scriptures.

All that can be certainly known of Zoroaster himself is to be deduced from these hymns. They show him to have been a priest of the Old Iranian religion, trained in beliefs and rituals, but also a prophet and seer, one who saw God in visions and believed that, by preaching what he thus apprehended, he could lead men to salvation and help to redeem the world from evil. He appears as a man of powerful intellect, who evolved a remarkably logical and coherent theology. He failed, nevertheless, to win a hearing from his own people, and eventually left them, impoverished and rejected (Y 46.1–2). He made his way to another Iranian tribe, ruled by Kavi Vishtaspa. This prince accepted his teachings (Y 51.16); and Zoroaster, settling at his court, saw his religion established. Some *Gāthās* were composed during his early life, others were composed or extended during this period. Iranian tradition required priests to marry, and in one of the later *Gāthās* (Y 53) he speaks of his youngest daughter, Pouruchista.

The legend of the prophet's life, although almost entirely hagiographical, probably contains some factual matter, such as his father's name and that he lived long (dying, it is said, at age 77). According to the legend, Zoroaster had three wives, three sons, and three daughters—a suspect symmetry, since three is the holy number of Zoroastrianism. Different sources recount miracles of his birth (among them, that he was born laughing) and childhood, tell of his wanderings as a seeker of truth, and describe his moment of illumination when, fetching pure water from a river at dawn, he was visited by the divine (cf. Y 43.5). Although Zoroaster is regarded by his followers as wholly human, his spirit receives profound veneration, and his name is constantly invoked.

**B. Sources**

Controversy over what appear to have been Zoroastrianism's remarkable contributions to religious thought is largely due to deficiencies in its written sources. When Zoroaster lived, the Iranians had no knowledge of writing; and when, perhaps in the 8th century B.C., the religion reached the W Iranians (i.e., the Medes and Persians), the systems of writing which it encountered (cuneiform and alphabetic Aramaic) were unsuitable for recording an Indoeuropean language accurately. The Zoroastrian priests believed in the power of the word as a union of sound and sense; and, accordingly, they rejected the use of writing for religious works. The Avesta—their collection of holy texts in the otherwise unknown E Iranian language called "Avestan" (after the collection)—therefore remained in oral transmission for more than a thousand years more, until, probably in the 5th century A.D., the 44-character "Avestan" alphabet evolved to record the texts. The *Gāthās,* having been strictly memorized, were well preserved, but much else, handed down in a more fluid transmission, suffered textual corruption to varying extents.

The written "Great Avesta" was divided into three parts: religious, legal, and miscellaneous works. The first contained the liturgical texts, including all those in Old Avestan. Chief among these are the *Gāthās* and two great *manthras* or holy sayings. One, the *Yathā ahū vairyō* (Middle Persian *Ahunvar*), attributed to Zoroaster himself, is constantly recited. It and the *Airyəmā išyō* are both brief utterances, which in the *yasna* liturgy enclose the *Gāthās.* These in turn enclose the *Yasna Haptanhāiti,* a short liturgy which accompanied the offerings. Over centuries the *yasna* was extended to 72 sections, mostly in Younger Avestan, some of the added materials being taken from the "great" *yashts,* in part very ancient hymns to individual divinities, the *yazatas.* The liturgical texts include the *Vendidād,* a mixed compilation concerned mainly with purity laws. Apart from two short, difficult works on ritual and some fragments, only these parts of the "Great Avesta" survive, the rest being lost under Islam and known only through summaries and the *zand* or "interpretation."

*Zands* had existed in various Iranian languages, but only one survives extensively, in Middle Persian, also called Pahlavi. Unfortunately this is a poor language for exegesis; its grammar is simple to the point of ambiguity, and it is written in a difficult script. Almost all extant Avestan texts have their *zand,* which has been compared with Jewish midrash. It consists regularly of a literal translation of the Avestan, often a more idiomatic Middle Persian rendering, and a commentary, sometimes extensive and added to by named authorities over centuries. Several important Pahlavi books (notably the *Bundahishn* and *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādsparam*) consist largely of selections from the *zand* of lost Avestan works, and these contain substantial amounts of dogmatic theology. They received additions down to the 9th century A.D. (the last period of considerable scholastic activity in the face of growing repression by Islam) and have accordingly been classified as "9th-century books"—a misleading title, since most of their contents go back over many centuries. Absolute dating is, however, impossible for any of the materials in such slow-growing compilations; and there is still a lack of satisfactory editions of most Pahlavi works.

Close dating is possible for religious elements in inscriptions, notably those of the Achaemenids (chiefly 6th century B.C.), and Sassanians (mostly 3d century A.D.). There is datable evidence also in the writings of Greek, Latin, Syriac, and other foreign authors.

Alongside the written texts the magisterium of the living religion lasted down to the mid-19th century. Thereafter, social change (with a weakening of the priesthood), the impact of Western academic theories, and religious reform have produced a diversity of beliefs, though orthopraxy is still largely maintained. These developments are recorded in a considerably modern literature in English and Gujarati.

**C. Background**

The beliefs and rituals of the ancient Iranians can be reconstructed partly from comparison with the closely related religion of Vedic India, partly from fragmentary evidence about other Iranian religions (e.g., Old Persian and Scythian), and partly from archaic elements surviving in the Avesta and in Zoroastrian observance. They were polytheists who conceived their gods as cosmic beings, essentially benign, and apprehended a universal principle, *arta* or *asha,* "that which ought to be"; this should govern everything in the natural and human spheres. They acknowledged three Ahuras (Lords) who guarded *asha,* the chief being Ahura Mazda, Lord of Wisdom (Pahlavi *Ohrmazd*). Animatism dominated their way of perceiving the world, and they endued feelings, qualities, and states, no less than natural phenomena,

with personality. The gods, they believed, had created the world in seven stages: sky, water, earth, plants, animals, man, and fire (the vital force which gives warmth and life to the rest and, through the sun, is to regulate nature). Then, by sacrifice, they set it in motion, with new life following death and the cycle of the seasons beginning. This state of new life was thought to be unending as long as men did their part through sacrifice and worship, notably by the daily performance of a priestly rite, the *yasna,* by which the creations were purified and blessed. The essential rituals were offerings to fire and water. Worship was performed mostly in the open, without temples, altars, or images.

At death most souls were thought to pass as shadows to an underworld, needing food-offerings from their descendants to sustain them; but some fortunate souls, it was hoped, would ascend to join the gods in heaven. With this hope was belief in resurrection of the body within a year or so after death, so that the soul, reincarnated, could thereafter fully enjoy again the pleasures it had known on earth.

**D. Teachings of Zoroaster**

The *Gāthās* show that Zoroaster lived at a time of social turmoil, with bloodshed and lawlessness. This apparently reflects changes brought about by the coming of the Bronze Age to the Central Asian steppes, with the war chariot (first attested there ca. 1500 B.C.) giving new mobility to predatory, well-armed warrior bands. Zoroaster was driven accordingly to meditate profoundly on good and evil and the goal of life, and finally achieved a majestic vision of cosmic unity and purpose (see esp. Y 30.2; Y 45.2). He apprehended Ahura Mazda as God, the one eternal uncreated Being, wholly good, wise, and beneficient; but coexisting with him he saw another Being, the Evil Spirit, Angra Mainyu (Pahlavi *Ahriman*), who was wholly evil, ignorant, and malign, likewise uncreated, but doomed in the end to perish. Ahura Mazda, Zoroaster held, has created this sevenfold world as a battleground where evil can be encountered and overcome. To help in this great struggle he sends forth lesser divinities, notably the six "Holy Immortals" (Aməsha Spəntas; Pahlavi *Ameshaspands*), who are at once hypostases of the powers of God and independent divinities, yet also forces which can enter into the just man. Further, each, together with the holy spirit of Ahura Mazda, guards one of the seven physical creations and can dwell within it, if it is in a state of purity, being thus both immanent and transcendent divinities.

These complex concepts, arising from ancient animatism, seem both mystically and logically apprehended. The names of this great Heptad (whose translations can be only approximate) are as follows: Desirable Dominion (*Khshathra Vairya,* Pahlavi *Shahrevar*), who guards the sky; Wholeness or Health (*Haurvatāt/Hordād*), water; Holy Devotion (*Spənta Ārmaiti/Spendārmad*), earth; Immortality (*Amərətāt/Amurdād*), plants; Good Purpose (*Vohu Manah/Vahman*), animals; the Holy Spirit (*Spənta Mainyu/Spenāg Mēnōg*), man; and Best Truth or Righteousness (*Asha Vahishta/Ardvahisht*), fire. The Heptad is represented at the *yasna* through the seven creations, and its members enter into just and pure worshippers.

Zoroaster thus gave new dimensions to the daily act of worship and linked the moral, spiritual, and physical worlds in a remarkable way. The great Aməsha Spəntas emanated other lesser divinities, the main ones being the beneficent gods of the old religion, among whom was the lesser Ahura, Mithra. These beings, like the Heptad, are called *yazatas,* i.e., "those to be worshipped." The *yazatas* are all of one essence and of one will with Ahura Mazda; and all strive together, with different functions, to fulfill a single aim: the defeat of evil. Zoroaster thus recognized a unity of divine purpose but a multiplicity of agents, under God, to fulfill it. The names of the Heptad recur throughout the *Gāthās* (notably as a group in Y 47.1), the doctrine concerning them being, with radical dualism, at the heart of Zoroaster's teachings. Angra Mainyu produced his own counterforces of evil, notably the Daēvas (ancient war gods), who, like him, are to be repudiated and defied.

Through his Holy Spirit (Y 44.7), Ahura Mazda created the world perfectly good; but in his omniscience he foresaw Angra Mainyu's attack upon it, which brought corruption on all things and the blow of death. All seven creations should strive, instinctively or, in the case of man consciously, to combat him and his forces and so bring about Frasho-kərəti (Pahlavi *Frašegird*), "Making wonderful," i.e., the restoration of the world to its original state of goodness, which will be enduring.

Zoroaster believed profoundly in the justice of God (*asha*), which has been called the decisive confessional concept of his religion; but the injustices of his own time drove him to project its strict, final administration to the hereafter. Fusing the two existing beliefs about life after death, he taught that everyone, man and woman alike, could attain heaven by accepting his revelation and acting justly in accord with it (Y 46.10). But all must first be judged when, on the third day after death (as in traditional Iranian belief), the soul ascends at sunrise to the peak of Mt. Hara, the mythical mountain at the center of the earth. There its good thoughts, words, and acts are weighed in a balance against the bad; and if the good are preponderant, the soul crosses the broad Chinvat Bridge and passes on up to heaven. If the bad outweigh the good, the bridge contracts, and the soul plunges down through a chasm into the underworld, seen by Zoroaster as the "place of worst existence," i.e., hell, where the Evil Spirit presides over retributive punishment. The blessed and damned will remain in heaven or hell as spirits only until Frasho-kərəti. At that time there will be a general resurrection of bodies, and the departed spirits will be reincarnated to undergo the Last Judgment.

Among the ancient Iranians the ultimate judicial test was an ordeal by fire, and Zoroaster also saw the Last Judgment to be enacted through such an ordeal, but on a cosmic scale. Molten metal would flow out from the mountains to form a burning river; and the reincarnated souls, together with those still living, would pass through it in the flesh. Similar to the belief with the ordinary judicial ordeal, the good will be saved by divine intervention, but the wicked will perish in soul and body on this last day (Y 51.9). The fiery river will then flow down into hell, cleansing it; and Angra Mainyu and his legions will perish. God's great goal will thus be achieved, making evil extinct. There will be an end of history since there will be no more need for striving, no more begetting or dying. The blessed will share a communion meal at a last *yasna,* which will make their bodies immortal; and they will forever live joyfully in the kingdom of Ahura Mazda on this once-more-perfected earth, made level and as beautiful as a garden (Persian "paradise") in spring.

Zoroaster called on all men to be *saoshyants,* i.e., those who will help to redeem the world; and after his death—but still well within the prehistoric period of Zoroastrianism— a belief evolved that in a last great battle before Frasho-kərəti, the forces of good will be led by *the* Saoshyant, the world savior, who will be born miraculously of a virgin mother by Zoroaster's own seed, preserved in the depths of a lake.

**E. Worship and Observances**

Zoroaster retained the traditional priestly act of worship, the *yasna,* with the new significance that the laity could participate by sharing in the consecrated offerings. The ancient Iranians had three traditional times for private prayer: sunrise, noon, and sunset (Y 44.5). For Zoroastrians, these were increased to five, with midnight and dawn prayers added, the same prayers being said each time. These were obligatory for men and women, whether priests or laity, after they had been invested with the sacred cord (Avestan n*aiwyəhana,* later called *kusti/kushti*) at the age of fifteen. This cord is passed three times around the waist and tied in front and back with a reef knot; it is untied and retied while praying standing in the presence of fire (sun, moon, or hearth fire), which is the "creation" of Asha Vahishta and, accordingly, the icon of truth and justice (cf. Y 43.9). The essence of the appointed prayers consists of two Gathic verses (Y 46.7 and 46.16), of which the first (in one translation) runs: "Whom, Mazda, hast thou appointed protector for one like me, if the Wicked One shall dare to harm me? Whom but thy Fire [= *Asha*] and thy (Good) Purpose, by whose acts, Lord, Truth is nourished. Proclaim this teaching to my inner self." They also include a short affirmation of faith, as follows: "I profess myself a Mazda-worshipper and follower of Zarathushtra, having pledged myself to and avowed the faith. I pledge myself to the well-thought thought, I pledge myself to the well-spoken word, I pledge myself to the well-acted act. I pledge myself to the Mazda-worshipping religion, which throws off attacks, which causes weapons to be laid down, which is just, which of all faiths which are and shall be is the greatest, the best, the fairest, which is Ahuric, Zarathushtrian." The *Ahunvar* is also always recited.

For communal observance there were appointed seven holy days of obligation, devoted to the Heptad and their creations. These days were spent in corporate worship, followed by feasting and merrymaking—Zoroastrian doctrine holds that grief belongs to Angra Mainyu and that fasting is a sin, since it weakens

the good body created by Ahura Mazda and saps the strength needed to fight evil; so all holy days are observed joyfully. The sixth feast, dedicated to Ahura Mazda and man, was followed that night, the last of the old year, by an evidently traditional festival of All Souls (Avestan *Hamaspathmaēdaya*); and the next day was celebrated in honor of Asha and fire. This festival, known as "New Day" (Pahlavi *Nō Rōz*), is the holiest and most joyous in the Zoroastrian year, prefiguring the "New Day" of Frasho-kərəti to come.

Close parallels with Indian usages show that the cult of the dead was of great importance in the Old Iranian religion. Its significance was presumably much reduced by Zoroaster, whose stress was on individual responsibility for one's own fate after death; nevertheless, old observances persisted or were reabsorbed as his religion spread among the Iranians. Rites were performed for the soul during the three days after death, at the fourth-day dawn, monthly during the first year, and thereafter annually for thirty years, after which the departed soul was remembered at All Souls with the family dead, who were expected to help their descendants in return for consecrated offerings of food and clothing (*Yasht* 13, 49–52). These rituals, still maintained in traditionalist families today, are clearly associated in origin with belief in a hereafter in a shadowy underworld.

Evidently there also had been ancient purity laws, which received a firm doctrinal basis through Zoroaster's dualism, by which pollution of all kinds was attributed to Angra Mainyu. These laws accordingly appear to have been greatly extended by successive generations of Zoroastrian priests. The worst contamination was that which came from a dead body; and because the creations are to be kept as pure as possible, corpses were disposed of, not by burial or cremation (polluting to earth and fire), but by exposure in barren places, to be swiftly devoured by birds or wild beasts. Later funerary "Towers of Silence" (*dakhmas*) were built for this purpose. Another serious contamination derived from a flow of blood from the body, and harsh laws developed isolating menstruating women. There was a series of purificatory rites, notably, for severe contamination, the "ablution of nine nights" (Persian *barashnom-i nō-shabe*) in which ritual washing was administered by priests (or, for women, by priests' wives) with recital of holy texts and was followed by a nine-night retreat, with further ritual ablutions.

**F. Brief History of the Faith**

Zorastrianism entered history under the Achaemenids, who ruled the Persian Empire (ca. 550–331 B.C.). The Persians gradually introduced certain alien practices into the E Iranian religion, notably by founding temples, some with images of *yazatas*, others, more orthopractic, with fire as the sacred icon. The religious calendar was created under their rule, with each month and day being dedicated to a *yazata*. When month and day name coincided, this was celebrated as that *yazata*'s feast day, the number of holy days being thus markedly increased. Zervanism also appears to have evolved in W Iran at this time. See also ZERVANISM.

The magi, priests of the old religion under the Medes and Persians, now became known as the primary Zoroastrian priests, accompanying Persian rulers, soldiers, and colonists throughout the imperial lands. This was still an age of ethnic religions; Zoroaster had been ahead of his time in preaching a creedal, universal faith; but his followers had mainly come to regard his teachings as an Iranian possession. They therefore made little effort, it seems, to seek converts among the subject peoples. Still, leading Zoroastrian beliefs must have become widely known, the impact of some of which has been seen in the works of early Ionian philosophers, and of Plato and his school, and has been traced in some exilic and postexilic parts of the OT, notably Second Isaiah and possibly Genesis 11. It has also been suggested that the wide extension of Jewish purity laws at this time, to cover most aspects of daily life, may owe something to Zoroastrian example, with Nehemiah (who served as cupbearer to one of the Persian great kings) perhaps playing some part in this.

It is, however, in the Hellenistic period, after Alexander had conquered the Persian Empire, that doctrines appear in the Jewish intertestamental writings which, in Pharisaic Judaism and Christianity, form an eschatological system markedly similar to the Zoroastrian one. This similarity used to be perplexing because of two misconceptions. One was that after Alexander, Zoroastrianism survived only within Iran itself. The other was that even in Iran it yielded largely to Hellenistic religion, surviving in orthodoxy only secretly in Persia proper (i.e., the modern province of Fars, in SW Iran). It is now known

that under the polytheistic and tolerant Hellenes, descendants of Iranian colonists maintained their ancestral religion and its places of worship in W Asia Minor down to at least the 3d century A.D. and in E Asia Minor to at least the 5th, living in some places (such as Sardis) on friendly terms and as fellow citizens with Diaspora Jews. Both Iranians and Jews spoke and wrote Greek; and probably already in late Achaemenid times, Persian Sibyllists were composing Greek verses. In these, after Alexander, they seem to have incorporated a good deal of Zoroastrian eschatology, looking for the Macedonians to be defeated by the Saoshyant, i.e., to be the last earthly power. Their works were evidently among those studied by the Jewish Sibyllists, and they appear to have been an important channel for the transmission of Zoroastrian beliefs and expectations to the Hellenistic world generally.

It is also now known (thanks largely to archaeological discoveries) that in Iran itself Zoroastrianism flourished uninterruptedly under the Seleucids; and that the Arsacids from NE Iran, who ruled the Parthian Empire (essentially Iran and Babylonia) from 141 B.C. to A.D. 224 and had many and on the whole friendly contacts with Jews of the E Diaspora, were good Zoroastrians. They maintained the innovations of temple worship and a common religious calendar; and toward the end of their epoch, one of their kings ordered the collection and preservation of all known Avestan texts in oral transmission. Under their rule there were regional Zoroastrian churches, rather than a single church; and they continued the Achaemenid tolerance toward the religions of other peoples. During Seleucid and Arsacid times, Zoroastrianism, like other religions in the same period, absorbed a quantity of Hellenistic-Babylonian astrological lore.

The Arsacids were overthrown by the Persian Sassanians, the last Zoroastrian dynasty of Iran. They were more authoritarian, establishing a unified church under a Persian high priest; and with ever-increasing pressure from more proselytizing religions, notably Buddhism, Christianity, and Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism was put on the defensive; and intermittent persecutions took place. The Syriac "lives" of Christian martyrs yield interesting, if biased, information about Sassanian Zoroastrianism, which, as far as the kings and higher clergy were concerned, was evidently Zervanite. With the writing down of Pahlavi and Avestan texts and increasing notice by foreign observers, the late Sassanian period is the best known in the ancient history of Zoroastrianism. Fire temples were founded in almost every village in Persia, and a vigorous iconoclastic campaign (pursued throughout the epoch) resulted by the 7th century in the suppression of the use of cult images throughout the community. The power and wealth of the priesthood appear to have increased steadily, with an increase also in rites and observances necessary for salvation. Scattered information on this appears in the "Book of a Thousand Judgments" (*Mādiyān ī Hazā Dādestān*), a casebook of Sassanian law, ecclesiastically administered.

The Arab conquest of Iran in the 7th century and the establishment of Islam as the state religion led to the slow erosion of Zoroastrianism. Scholastic activity continued, however, until the 9th century; and several books, including a massive compilation, the "Acts of the Religion" (*Dēnkard*), and an original work of the time, the "Doubt-dispelling Exposition" (*Shkand-gumānīg Vizār*), contain serious debates with Muslims, Jews, and Christians. Late in that century, with persecution increasing, a small group of believers sought religious freedom overseas, settling in Gujarat in W India, where they were known as Parsis (Persians). After years of obscure poverty they began, from the 17th century, to prosper as brokers and merchants, gaining fame for their individual wealth and philanthropy—charity is strongly inculcated in Zoroastrianism, since it is each man's duty to care for his fellow man, as the special creatures of Ohrmazd.

Meanwhile, in Iran the Zoroastrians suffered cruelly through invasions by Turks and Mongols and ever-harsher punitive laws until they were reduced to an impoverished remnant living chiefly around the desert cities of Yazd and Kerman in central Iran. Their mss were repeatedly destroyed, and those Pahlavi books which survive were saved by being sent to their coreligionists in India. Only essential doctrine and observances could be maintained, but Zoroastrians upheld these with tenacity. Their circumstances improved slowly from the late 19th century, and they in turn produced wealthy philanthropists. Changing political conditions in the second half of the 20th century have brought about considerable emigration from both communities.

## G. The Religion in Modern Times

At no point in the ancient history of the faith is there any trace that its dualism was being questioned (except by Zurvanite monism), either by its own adherents or by foreign observers. In early encounters with Christianity and Islam this dualism was firmly upheld as a satisfying answer to the problem of evil. In modern times, however, Europeans began to speculate about Zoroastrianism before the Avestan or Pahlavi books were known in the West. From the Greeks they had learned to respect Zoroaster, while Christian history taught them to abhor dualism. From the 17th century they argued accordingly that Zoroaster had been misrepresented in this respect, being in fact a monotheist. After the *Gāthās* became known, a German philologist proposed a textual basis for this idea on Zervanite lines: "Truly there are two primal Spirits, twins renowned to be in conflict" (Y 30.3). The term "twins" is well attested in Vedic usage for two beings or things that for some reason form a pair, here plainly in that they were alike uncreated; but instead of following Zoroastrian tradition in seeing these "twins" as Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu, he supposed Ahura Mazda to be the putative "father" of the "twins," understood to be his own Holy Spirit and the Evil Spirit. The problem of theodicy was thus introduced into the academic study of Zoroastrianism, and it was confidently assumed that Zoroaster had taught his followers so inadequately that from the very beginning they had misunderstood him concerning this essential belief. It took Western scholars, some 3000 years later, to set the error right. The difficult and archaic doctrine of the Heptad, which still underlies the Zoroastrian world outlook, was at the same time reduced to one of philosophical abstractions; and the highly abstract nature of Zoroaster's teachings has since been much discussed.

These interpretations were introduced to the English-speaking, i.e., Western-educated Parsis of Bombay in a series of lectures in the 1860s. They had been suffering from sharp attacks by a Christian missionary on their dualism and so-called polytheism; some influential lay reformists gladly embraced the escape thus offered them and forthwith proclaimed Gathic doctrine to be a simple monotheism. There was no single recognized priestly authority to rebut this position; and gradually, linked with other aspects of reform, monotheism became the prevailing belief in the community, shielding it from attacks by both Christians and Muslims. It also gave reciprocal support to Western academic theorizing (which, the anchor line of Zoroastrian tradition having been cut, has developed in diverse and often highly speculative ways).

Doctrinally, the religion is now in disarray and open to inroads by theosophists, ritualists, and popular "gurus," the priesthood also being affected. A number of its adherents respond to this confusion by concentrating on practice, especially on the threefold ethic of good thoughts, words, and acts. Practical problems (i.e., the dwindling numbers of priests, outside marriages, new funerary rites, and the acceptance or rejection of converts) also occupy much attention. Yet, however great the controversies, the differing groups remain united by a determination to uphold their ancient and noble religion despite all difficulties.

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**ZOSTRIANOS** (NHC VIII,*1*). The figure Zostrianos is the visionary in the gnostic apocalypse *Zostrianos* in the Nag Hammadi library. Though the manuscript is poorly preserved, enough of the Sahidic Coptic text remains to indicate that this tractate depicts a heavenly journey. Following a divine call, Zostrianos leaves his body by means of a mystical trance and travels through the heavenly world. During his ascent he learns from a series of interpreting angels a mythological gnosis and its philosophical interpretation. Finally he is commissioned as a messenger of this gnosis and returns to earth to preach it and to leave it in book form for the elect, who are called the children of Seth. A concluding homily urges the reader to flee from the bondage of this world (from femaleness) and to choose the salvation of maleness.

*Zostrianos* provides an important witness for a non-Christian, philosophical brand of Gnosticism known previously only through polemical references in the writings of Plotinus and Porphyry. Its gnosis is most clearly related to that of *The Three Steles of Seth* (NHC VII,*5*) and *Allogenes* (NHC XI,*3*). Of particular interest is its identification of the three mythological aeons of the Barbelo Aeon with the Existence-Life-Mind triad known from later Neoplatonists such as Marius Victorinus. *Zostrianos* posits a high-god, the thrice-powerful Invisible Spirit, as the ultimate source of everything. The Barbelo Aeon and her three constituent aeons (the Hidden, the First-appearing, the Self-begotten) represent successively imperfect emanations from the Invisible Spirit. Each of these aeons contains within itself a multitude of entities (aeons, angels, glories, waters, etc.) which serve as patterns or models for similar but less perfect entities in the next lower level. Thus, the lower levels of the Self-begotten Aeon contain a heavenly Adam, a Seth, models for the various types of souls found on earth, and the like. Using these patterns, the fallen Sophia constructs the physical universe in which souls are trapped.

Although its basic orientation is philosophical, *Zostrianos* contains some materials that ultimately derive from Judaism and Christianity. Names such as Adam, Seth, and Daveithe are obviously Jewish in origin, as is the idea that creation was accomplished by a word (9,1–4). There are also both formal and material connections to some Jewish apocalyptic works, especially *1* and *2 Enoch.* Zostrianos is portrayed as standing before heavenly entities after each stage of his initiation in the manner of angels who stand before the Lord. This "standing" is then interpreted philosophically as a sign that he has transcended material existence. Baptisms with water also play a significant role in the tractate; at each stage of his ascent Zostrianos is baptized in the name of the entities in whose region he now stands. These baptisms as well as a warning against the baptism of others (the Christians?) in the concluding homily (131,2–5) suggest a cultic use of baptism similar to that known in Hellenistic Judaism and in Christianity. Yet specific references to the NT are few, and those that do occur seem to reflect a general cultural knowledge of passages rather than a particular interest in Christianity. There are, for example, references to seeking and finding (3,18–19; 131,17–19). One passage (28,20–22) in a list of the types of souls alludes to the Pauline triad of faith, hope, and love known best from 1 Corinthians 13, saying that there are some who love, some who hope, and some who believe. To these three it evidently added a fourth, in lines now lost.

Thus, the tractate *Zostrianos* is more valuable as a witness to our knowledge of philosophical Gnosticism than to the Christian varieties. Because of the proposed relationship to Plotinus and his school, *Zostrianos* probably dates from the late 2d or early 3d centuries C.E. For more specifically Christian versions of a similar gnosis, consult *The Apocryphon of John* (NHC II,*1*; III,*1*; IV,*1*) and *The Gospel of the Egyptians* (III,*2*; IV,*2*).

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**ZUAR** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣûʿar* (**צוּעַר**)]. The father of the chief (*nāśîʾ*, Num 2:5) Nethanel of the tribe of Issachar. Each of the five times that Zuar is mentioned in the OT occurs in a tribal list where his mark of distinction is his status as the father of Nathanel. Under the leadership of Zuar's son Nethanel, the tribe of Issachar participated in the census of Israelite fighting men carried out by Moses (Num 1:8, 28–29), presented its offerings on the second day of the twelve-day celebration of the dedication of the altar (Num 7:18, 23), took its proper place on the E side of the tabernacle in the Israelite camp (Num 2:5), and assumed its position in the order of march at the Israelites' departure from Mt. Sinai (Num 10:15). The name Zuar means the "small one" and probably refers to the small physical build of the person (*IPN*, 225).
DALE F. LAUNDERVILLE

**ZUGOTH.** The Hebrew word *zûgôṯ* means "pairs," and it is used in rabbinic Judaism to designate five pairs of individuals who constitute the primary chain of tradents of the oral torah (lit. "memorized torah") from the Great Assembly to the rabbis of the beginning of the Tannaitic age (1st century C.E.). In the Mishnah, tractate *ʾAbot* 1:4–15 lists these five pairs as: (1) Yose b. Yoezer and Yose b. Yoḥanan, (2) Joshua b. Peraḥyah and Nittai the Arbelite, (3) Judah b. Tabbai and Simeon b. Shetaḥ, (4) Shemaiah and Abtalion, and (5) Hillel and Shammai. The Mishnah's framers (*m. Ḥag* 2:2) hold that one of these individuals was always the *nāśîʾ* (lit. "prince") of the Sanhedrin while the other was the *ʾab bēt din* (lit. "father of the court"). The precise significance of these titles remains unclear. Furthermore, scholars have attempted to identify some of these names with figures known from other sources, such as Josephus. But these identifications constitute little more than speculation. Indeed, since the pairs are first mentioned in texts dating some 130–200 years after the death of the last of them (Hillel and Shammai) and several centuries after the earliest, it is probable that the pairs, like the Great Assembly, are creations of the rabbis of the post-70 period.
PAUL V. M. FLESHER

**ZUPH** (PERSON) [Heb *šp* (**שׁף**)]. Var. ZIPH; ZOPHAI. An ancestor of Samuel (1 Sam 1:1). He was an Ephraimite and the father of at least one son, Tohu. The variants of his name are uncertain in the text: his name is given as "Ziph" in 1 Chr 6:20—Eng 6:35, Ketib, for which the Qere is "Zuph" and which the LXX renders as "Souph." 1 Chr 6:11—Eng 6:26 has "Zophai" (RSV Zophai); but the LXX renders this as "Souphi," reading the vowel *šûreq* rather than *ḥōlem.* Thus both variants may be considered doubtful; perhaps "Zufi" was a variant. The district of ZUPH was almost certainly named in his memory.
GERALD J. PETTER

**ZUPH** (PLACE) [Heb *ṣûp* (**צוּף**)]. A district where Saul sought his father's asses (1 Sam 9:5). Though its exact location is uncertain, it was almost certainly in the tribe of Ephraim and derived its name from the person Zuph. The MT of 1 Sam 1:1a creates the impression that after the district derived its name from the person, it gave its name in turn to a village. Therefore the name, "Ramathaim-Zophim" would

suggest "Ramathaim, inhabited by the residents of Zuph." But the construction of the town name is grammatically improbable, if not impossible (cf. Wellhausen 1871: 34–35). The final *m* of "Zophim" (Heb *ṣōpîm*) should be deleted (dittography) yielding "a man of Ramathaim, a Zuphite of the hill country of Ephraim, whose name was Elkanah." If this is correct (most scholars agree with this resolution of the textual difficulty), Zuph was the home district of Elkanah, Samuel's father, and thus also of Samuel. Ramathaim was then most probably identical with the Ramah with which Samuel was closely associated (1 Sam 7:17; 8:4), and Zuph may be further identified as the district in which Ramah was located. McCarter (*1 Samuel* AB, 51) reviews the treatment of the textual question since Wellhausen. See Edelman (1988: 56, 58) for possible identification of the region.

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**ZUR** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣûr* (צוּר)]. The name of two persons in the OT.

**1.** A Midianite "king" (Num 25:15; 31:8; Josh 13:21). The list of Midianite "kings" in Num 31:8, together with the account into which it is embedded, poses several historical problems. See EVI; HUR; REBA; REKEM (PERSON). According to Knauf (1988: 166–67) these names form an itinerary through S Transjordan and N Arabia in the Persian period. Zur can be identified with Khirbet Dôr, where pottery from the 7th through 5th centuries B.C. is attested (Knauf 1988: 166 n. 706). His daughter Cozbi (for her name, see Knauf 1988: 164) serves in Num 25:15 as one of several redactional links between Numbers 22–24, the Balaam episode, and Numbers 31, the Midianite War (Knauf 1988: 161–65).

**2.** A Benjaminite, contemporary with Saul's father, Kish, who lived at Gibeon (1 Chr 8:30; 9:36). As a personal name, Zur is also attested in Phoenician. In both languages the name is probably derived from *ṣûr* "rock," whereas it is difficult to connect Safaitic *ṣr* (from *ṢRR*), Safaitic or Lihyanite *ḍr* (from *ḌWR* or *ḌRR*), or Safaitic *ẓr* with the Benjaminite's name (Knauf 1988: 89). Any of these Arabian parallels would apply to Zur #1, if the "Midianite king" should indeed have been a person rather than a place.

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**ZURIEL** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣûrîʾēl* (צוּרִיאֵל)]. A Levite of the clan of Merari, son of Abihail (Num 3:35) according to the first census taken by Moses in the wilderness. He was head of the Merari family, who were to be encamped on the N side of the tabernacle and were responsible for its frame.

CHRISTINA DE GROOT VAN HOUTEN

**ZURISHADDAI** (PERSON) [Heb *ṣûrîšaddāy* (צוּרִישַׁדָּי)]. Var. SARASADAI. The father of the chief (*nāśîʾ*, Num 2:12) Shelumiel of the tribe of Simeon. Each of the five times that Zurishaddai is mentioned in the OT occurs in a tribal list where his mark of distinction is his status as the father of Shelumiel. Under the leadership of Zurishaddai's son Shelumiel, the tribe of Simeon participated in the census of Israelite fighting men carried out by Moses (Num 1:6, 22–23), presented its offerings on the fifth day of the twelve-day celebration of the dedication of the altar (Num 7:36, 41), took its proper place on the south side of the tabernacle in the Israelite camp (Num 2:12), and assumed its position in the order of march at the Israelites' departure from Mt. Sinai (Num 10:19).

The name "Zurishaddai" means "Shaddai is my rock." The rock metaphor is not uncommon in personal names either as the theophoric element (e.g., Pedahzur) or as a description of the qualities or actions of the deity (e.g., Elizur). Noth (*IPN*, 156) categorizes more specific uses of the rock metaphor in characterizing Yahweh as follows: sending help (Pss 89:27—Eng v 26; 95:1), providing powerful protection (Isa 17:10; Pss 31:3—Eng v 2; 62:8—Eng v 7) and safety (Deut 32:37; Pss 18:3—Eng v 2;

94:22), and standing firm as a reliable source of help (Isa 26:4). The genealogy of Judith, listing Salamiel, son of Sarasadai (8:1), may refer to Zurishaddai and his son Shelumiel.
DALE F. LAUNDERVILLE

**ZURRAʿA, KHIRBET EL-.** See GATH-HEPHER.

**ZUZIM** [Heb *zûzîm* (זוּזִים)]. In Gen 14:5, a people defeated by Chedorlaomer and his allies at Ham, listed between the Rephaim and the Emim. Its position corresponds to that of the Zamzummîm in the enumeration of prehistoric peoples in the "first introduction" to Deuteronomy (Deut 2:20), from which the author of Genesis 14 borrowed the names of the other early peoples of the Transjordan. Questions arise whether *zûzîm* in Gen 14:5 is the original writing or a distortion of *zamzummîm* (as may be suggested by 1 QapGen) and why LXX rendered it "mighty nation," *Tg. Onq.* and *Tg. Ps.-J.* "powerful ones," Syr "mighty ones," and the Palestinian Targum "distinguished, noble ones." The old derivation of *zûzîm* from Ziza in the Roman province of Arabia (Ptol. *Geog.* 5.17.6), medieval Zîzâ (on which see le Strange 1890: 554–55, cf. 493; Dillmann 1897: 2, 41) is not probable because that site (now el-Jîzah, 15 km east of Medebah), lies too close to Kiriathaim, which belonged to the Emim (see SHAVEH-KIRIATHAIM). The assumption that "mighty nation" in rendered an original **ʿazûzîm* (see commentaries) is possible but inconsistent with Deuteronomy 2. The explanation may lie in an alternative etymology of *zamzummîm.* The name is usually derived from Ar *zamzama* "to produce a murmur that can be heard from afar; to mutter indistinctly," as it was understood by *Tg. Ps.-J.* in Deut 2:20, which translated it *zimtānê,* cf. Syriac *zam* "to sound, resound, buzz." But Ar *zumzûm-* means "the best, the select (of men or camels)," and a word with a similar meaning apparently existed in Hebrew as well, for *Tg. Onq.* in Deut 2:20 translated *zamzummîm* by *ḥaŝbānê* "prominent, respected, high-standing people," which is semantically very close to the renderings of *zûzîm* in LXX, Syr, and the Targums. It is also a better epithet for a race of giants than "murmurers" or "mutterers." It is therefore probable that not only 1QapGen but the LXX, Syr, and the Targums as well, proceeded from *zamzummîm* (or rather **zūmzummîm,* as in 1QapGen) instead of *zûzîm.*

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